GUIDE TO THE SF10 CHIRIGUANO FILE

[The Chiriguano are a nation of agriculturalists, speaking a language of the Tupi-Guarani stock, and living in eastern Bolivia in South America. They have lived in the area since the 15th century, having migrated from the East shortly before that time. They are slash-and-burn agriculturalists, primarily dependent on maize, but also growing pumpkins, sweet potatoes, beans and sweet manioc. Hunting, fishing and collecting are of secondary importance.

There are seven sources in the Chiriguano File (numbers 1-2, 4-8), three of which are in English, two are translations from the Spanish (4: Nino, 8: Schmidt), one translation from the French (1: Métraux), and one a translation from the German (6: Nordenskiöld). The major sources are 1: Métraux, by a well-known Swiss anthropologist, which is a descriptive and historical analysis of technology and material culture; 4: Nino, by a Roman Catholic missionary, a general ethnography containing much useful information, as well as much religious dogma: 5: Nordenskiöld, by a noted Swedish explorer-anthropologist, a comparative study of acculturation and material culture; 6: Nordenskiöld, a generalized ethnographic description from a visit made in 1908-1909; 7: Rosen, a study by a Swedish ethnologist of Chiriguano material culture and other aspects of the culture from observations made during a visit in 1901-1902; and 8: Schmidt, a comprehensive but not exhaustive study of Chiriguano society based on a field trip made in 1935. As can be seen,

most of the data derive from the period ca. 1890-1935, with some historical information contained as well. There should be no particular focus problems in using these materials; however, the historical depth of the file may produce some problems and should be noted in using the materials. The file contains much information on material culture and subsistence patterns, less on socio-political organization. It should be adequate for most comparative purposes. One making decision has been made: information on 'great chiefs' has been filed in Category 643, information on ordinary chiefs in Category 622. The file was processed between 1964 and 1968.]

/295/ Preface

114 121 In the chapters to follow, I propose to publish part of the results obtained in the course of the expedition that I undertook in the Bolivian and Argentinian Chaco in my capacity as director of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Tucumán.

114 [101] This expedition took place from February to June, 1929. Its itinerary was the following: Having left Tucumán, I went by railroad to La Quiaca where I stayed for several days, making observations on the more or less half-breed natives of the region. From La Quiaca I went to Tarija, where I remained longer than I might have wished because of the suspicions my trip raised at the time of the Paraguayan-Bolivian conflict.

114 101 103 After a 15-day stop I left Tarija to reach the Chiriguano tolderías of the upper Pilcomayo. I crossed the village of Santa Ana, then the Abra del Cóndor, the Narvaez River, the post of San Diego, passed five kilometers from San Luis (Entre-Ríos) to stop at the Cuesta de San Simon, where I found the first Chiriguano. Once having crossed the Cuesta de San Simón I quickly reached the Salado River, then the Chiriguano villages of Timboy [126] (Saladito). It was there that I made my best acquisitions of pottery and where I collected the oldest objects. The inhabitants [178] of these rancherías, who live relatively far from the highway from Argentina to Santa Cruz, have preserved the traditions and culture of their ancestors better than their racial brothers have. From Saladito I reached the village of Itasiti and then Salado Grande, [361] in order /296/ to reach the Pilcomayo at the confluence with the Salado. There, the Chiriguano villages are large and numerous. The most interesting are those of Ñawirenda, Ibopeytí, and Yumbía.

After stopping for some time in this place, I continued my trip toward Huacaya and the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo.

In one day I went from Boicovo to Cuevo, going by way of the mission of Santa Rosa.

[797] [178] From Cuevo on I was in the mission of Ivu, which is without doubt the one where the old Chiriguano customs have undergone the fewest modifications.

/296 cont./

114 From Cuevo I left for the northwest toward the Parapiti River
101 region. I crossed this river near Pipi. After stopping in that village,
103 I followed an Indian path which led me to Carurutí, to the home of my good friend Captain Karnapadyú. I spent a week with him and left him only to explore the whole Caipipendí valley, visiting all the Indian villages one after another. At Caipipendí itself I made fruitful excavations and collected interesting myths.

The limit of my trip toward the north was the little city of Charagua.

I devoted the last part of my trip to more or less long stays in the Franciscan missions of Tarairí, Tigüipa, Machareti, and Ivu.

Before going back to Argentina I made an excursion into the Igüembé valley as far as the village of Masavi.

114 The last two weeks of my expedition were devoted to the
127 study of the Chané Indians who live near Aguaray in the Salta Chaco (Argentine Republic).

Previously I had been obliged, for various reasons, to stop at Oran for a month. I took advantage of this to make collections among the Ashluslay Indians who come there for the sugarcane harvest.

In this volume I shall publish only the results of my expedition which bring new facts and details to light. Therefore the chapters I devote to the Chiriguano must not be considered an exhaustive study of their culture, but simply as a contribution. Chiriguano culture has been the subject of four important works, two of which are by ethnographers of great authority (1). /297/

1. Nordenskiöld (2, 5, and 10) and Rosen (1) /the underlined numbers following an author's name refer to the boldface numbers in the bibliography/. Campana's monograph on the Chiriguano, which I shall often have occasion to cite, is only a recompilation and reorganization of the manuscript notes left by the Italian missionary, the Reverend Father Doroteo Giannechini. This work is excellent in many respects. As for the book of the Reverend

/300 cont./

and id., 1, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.). I shall limit myself to tracing here, in their main lines, the characteristics of the great Guarani migration which ended in the formation of the Chiriguano tribe.

The Chiriguano Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family. A branch separated from the great Guarani nation or, more exactly, a swarm separated from the whole group of tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil called Guarani, they came to establish themselves at the foot of the Andes at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century after crossing the Chaco plains.

/301/ The causes of this great movement, which swept along so many thousands of Guarani toward the frontiers of the Inca Empire, are explained by the singular attraction which metal objects, clothes, in a word everything that can make life easier and more beautiful, exerted and continue to exert on the Indians. The Guarani of Paraguay and the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had known for a long time about Peru and its riches. From there they used to receive bronze instruments and ornaments of silver and sometimes also of gold (1). At the same time as these objects,

1. On the trade relations between the peoples of the Andes and the tribes of the Chaco, Paraguay, and Brazil, cf. Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 255-259.

confused descriptions reached them of these mountain peoples, so strange, who lived in stone huts, had "deer with long hair" at their service, and who decorated their persons with brilliant jewels. Bronze axes, necklaces, bracelets, breastplates, diadems, and goblets of silver reached them by a trade route whose exact position is unknown, but which probably used to pass through the northern Chaco. The Chané /Chane/ who lived in direct contact with the populations of the Inca Empire and traded with them, played the role of brokers, and with them as middlemen these tools and ornaments reached Paraguay, passing from hand to hand (2).

2. Hernández, p. 322: "They were asked of what race are those who have the silver and the

/320 cont./

C 175 342

interesting: "they make a very big dormitory and, within it, as many small rooms as there are residents, and so small that they do not have room for more persons, and it is enough for them, because they do not have furniture, nor do they have wearing apparel and hence they go about naked." /Translated from the Spanish./ These facts agree on every point with those of the Relaciones geográficas, etc. (Vol. II, Plate CIV) and of Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 259) on the same subject. The Guarani, just like the Tupinamba and other Tupi tribes, lived in maloca, gigantic halls capable of containing more than 150 persons and which often in themselves formed the village. The existence of this type of dwelling among the Chiriguano in the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes new proof for the recent character of their migration. In the 18th century we find them already in possession of the small rectangular house which they still have now and where one single family lives. (See Métraux, 2, p. 51.)

C [114] [113]

C [171]

C [174] [167]

C 114 127 175

novelist Garcilaso which might allow one to suppose that he really knew who the Chiriguano were. As for this conquest by the Inca, it would have been barely an attempt at conquest... Garcilaso confuses the Chiriguano with all the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes whom he had vaguely heard mentioned. Let us note that he is the only one to attribute this expedition to the Inca Yupanki, while the other chroniclers, better informed, are satisfied to say that the Inca Yupanki made an expedition against the Antis, probably around Cuzco. Unfortunately the vogue this pleasant writer enjoyed at a time when the history of America was still in limbo bluffs some modern critics into believing him, and they go so far as to prefer one of his unwarranted affirmations to the serious /321/ and precise evidence of chroniclers who get their information at first hand and from reliable sources.

C 114 127 175 648 [101]

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

C
Ce
175
648

/328 cont./

Chané of Santa Cruz province coming to ask for aid and protection from the Chiriguano who were tracking them down; in 1798 the Chané of the Itiyuro were still making incursions against the Chiriguano of the region of Itáu and destroyed that mission almost completely. (See Corrado, pp. 98 and 225; Tamajuncosa, p. 211.)

Ce
[172]

Co
648
178
131
Ce
[162]
[101]

/329/ The Chané tribe did not succumb to these hecatombs or to slavery. It was able to maintain itself on two points of its former territory: on the Itiyuro and the Parapití. Several villages whose density is rather great still exist there. The Chané of the Itiyuro still number about 1,500. They all live in Argentine territory in the province of Salta. I do not have any statistics for the Chané population of the lower Parapití, but I know these Indians are still numerous there.

Ce
191
[101]
C
[197]
Ce
[198]

Today the Chané are not distinguishable from the Chiriguano by their material culture or their language. They speak Guarani, but use certain locutions and certain words which the Chiriguano say they do not understand and which are perhaps so many vestiges of their ancient Arawak speech. They have kept the latter as a secret language. Nordenskiöld (2, p. 157) was able to collect a short vocabulary of it among the Chané of the Parapití. As was supposed a priori, it is certainly an Arawak dialect closely related to Moxo-Mbaure.

Ce
648
186
C
[186]
C
[101]

The modern Chané are no longer slaves, but their early condition is still manifested in their relations with their former masters. The Chiriguano always regard them with a certain scorn and a protective air, to which the Chané respond with open animosity. A Chiriguano would feel offended to be called Chané, and a Chané Chiriguano. The name by which the Chiriguano designate the Chané is always Tapii.

Ce
192
167

Even if historic traditions or ethnic facts were not in agreement to prove the existence in the western Chaco of an Arawak population, archeology alone would suffice to teach it to us. At Tarupayu, Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 40-41) brought to light pottery

C /331 cont./
105
175
[167]
[173]

This migration had as its motive power the attraction which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

Ce
[197]
[177]

At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

C
[648]
[563]
[619]

The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives.

The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

C
[177]

From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

Ce
[177]
[197]
[198]

On their part the Chané adopted the language of their conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a secret language.

C
175
131

Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Mataguayo and the Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

C
[101]
C
[361]

/333 cont./

Chapter II

Agriculture

241 The Chiriguano, like the Guarani and the Chané, their ancestors, are excellent farmers, and the working of the soil represents their principal occupation and their great concern.
243 For them corn is of prime importance; it constitutes the basis
[273] of their diet, for it enters into the preparation of most of their dishes and in addition gives them their preferred drink, chicha or kāwi.

[132] The sandy lands of the western Chaco and its climate,
[134] hot and dry a great part of the year, but also rainy during the summer months, seem to be particularly suitable for this grain. I have never seen such beautiful fields of corn anywhere. The ears are large, well filled out /334/ with kernels, and extremely tasty. The Bolivian half-breeds and settlers who are coming in greater and greater numbers to take the place of the Indians devote themselves like them to the growing of corn, which, with cattle-raising, is their main resource.

114 My trip to the Chaco, which took place from the month
243 of February to the month of June, did not give me a chance to
● [101] be present at the sowing which is done at the beginning of the rainy season. For many details I shall therefore be forced to
[127] refer to Corrado (pp. 42 and 48), Campana (pp. 96-98), Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 181-184, and 10, pp. 23-24), to Nino (pp. 237-241), and Rosen (1, p. 205).

241 When a Chiriguano wishes to cultivate a new piece of
243 ground for himself and his family, he scours the environs of his village looking for a spot which may suit him and which is, in addition, easily irrigable. This condition is generally fulfilled by the lands at the foot of a hill or rising ground. The rain water which pours down there assures them of fertility.

/398 cont./

17 this explains why the Chiriguano culture of the upper Pilcomayo presents such close affinities with that of the Chicha, the Humahuaca, and the Atacama (1).

175
648
[101]
[177]

1. On the western borders of their territory the Chiriguano were in constant touch with the Chicha, whose territory they devastated and whom they obliged to pay tribute to them.

Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 282): "the quality of the valley (of Tarija) being known, and the importance of its being populated, in order to check in that direction the Chiriguanas, who had done no little harm to the Chichas there, and they even paid them tribute, named as " corregidor, etc...." /translated from the Spanish/.

Lizárraga (Vol. II, p. 117): "he went to Mosquera and returned, and with more than thirty natives, twenty of them Chiriguanas, and the rest indios Chaneses /Chane Indians/ in service, and among them two more illustrious Chiriguanas, one called Marucare and the other par excellence Inga Condorillo, and another Indian of Chicha nation, whom they confined with those Chiriguanas ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

Archivo de Indias (74-4-1, cited by Coni, p. 19): "and in about a month they reached another nation of indios called chiriguanaes, who thus neighbor this city a dozen leagues from potosí, and they carry off a pueblo of indios chichas who are called chupas." /translated from the Spanish./

Coni (p. 21): "In a letter from the licenciado Matienzo he tells us that the Chiriguanaes continued to raze the plains of Manso and, in addition, made frequent onslaughts on the Charcas, where they

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

TRIBES OF THE EASTERN SLOPES OF THE BOLIVIAN ANDES

By Alfred Métraux

INTRODUCTION

Five tribes live along the slopes of the Bolivian Cordillera from the Argentine border to Perú: The *Chiriguano*, the *Yuracare*, the *Mosetene* and *Chimane*, the *Leco*, and the *Tacana*. The *Chiriguano* belong to the *Tupí-Guaraní* group; the *Yuracare*, *Leco*, and *Tacana* represent still isolated linguistic families. The *Mosetene* and *Chimane* form a single linguistic group. 101

CHIRIGUANO AND CHANE

HISTORY

The *Chiriguano* (*Ava Chahuanco*) (map 1, *No. 3;* map 2; map 8, *No. 5*) are the descendants of the *Guaraní* who in historic times migrated from Paraguay and crossed the plains of the Chaco in successive waves to settle along the foothills of the Andes from the upper Pilcomayo River to the upper Río Grande (Guapay River). (Lat. 18°–23° S., long. 63°–64° W.) Seven migrations are alluded to in historical documents. 175 167 101

The first migration (1471 or 1476), reported by Garcilaso de la Vega, took place during the last year of the reign of Inca Yupanqui. Another, between 1513 and 1518, can be surmised from the testimony of a *Guaraní* Indian who spoke to Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca. A *Chané* Indian captured by the *Guaraní* and brought to Itatí told Domingo de Irala in 1542 of a third migration, between 1519 and 1523, which probably came after the 1513–18 invasion and certainly before that in which Alejo García took part. The *Guaraní* migration described by Diego Félipo de Alzaya, curate of Mazaca, may perhaps be this third one, though many details are certainly fanciful. According to Gandía (1935 a, p. 24), this was the migratory shift which took the *Guaraní* from the region of Itatí to the Province of Santa Cruz and which contributed to the formation of the *Guarayú-Pauserna* tribe.

The fourth *Guaraní* invasion, about which we have the most complete information, occurred between 1521 and 1526. It is famous because a few White men, shipwrecked sailors of the Solís armada, accompanied the invading Indians. One of them, Alejo García, seems to have played a conspicuous part in this migration, although Díaz de Guzmán's (1914, 9:26–30) statement that García was the organizer of the raid may be doubted. With a strong force of *Guaraní* he crossed the Chaco, probably at lat. 13° S., and invaded the borderlands of the *Inca* Empire. The raiders advanced as far as Presto to the northeast and Tarabuco to the southeast of Sucre. Fearing a victorious return of the *Charcas* (*Chicha*), the invaders retreated, carrying their booty. On reaching Paraguay, with *Chané* and *Tarapecosi* (*Chiquito*), Alejo

[Maps 1, 2, 8 not processed for this file]

/76 cont./

174 When experience showed them that they could settle
167 in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen.
241 The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly
433 very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every
[461] type of cereal; maize matures exuberantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hooks and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

433 But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and
241 then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and
511 sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's
[931] new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably. In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /77/ along some stream; plantings of this type are called socorro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

192 By what has already been related it can easily be under-
[101] stood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guarayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guarayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

[194] [171] 1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

/232 cont./

301 171 Berry women put pieces of glass and bits of ivory in their lips, respectively; among the Mittoo /Mittu/ and the Lobbatk, men and women wear in the lower lip tembeta that are conical in shape, and in addition the women even wear hoops in the upper lip (2).

> 2. In many tribes of the world, the tembeta is a mark of modesty, and women who wear it do not show themselves in public without having it in the lip.

In other regions the women are coquettes, only wearing in their upper lip a wood or ivory hoop, which the Sciulus do. Finally, even the Cormá /Korma/, investigated not long ago by the Italian Bottego, wear in their lip wide wooden hoops which increase the wideness of the lip itself.

In North America the tembeta is used by preference by the /233/ women; it serves them as an ornament, and they put around it as many little pieces of wood as they have years of age. The tembetas of the Tapíi of Isoso are small, and those of the Choroti and the Tapiete are of wood or of cane; no doubt up until today it was difficult for them to get the metal to make a de luxe one (1).

•101

> 1. The Tapiete are, or were, Chiriguano Indians. They stayed near the inlets, where there is flat land with hills and streams, in order to be able to do their planting.

301 773 776 According to what is known through faith, clothing was given to humanity as punishment for its disobedience, a punishment which has been converted into the luxury of frequent and extravagant fashions, so also among the Chiriguano does there exist the fabulous belief that the tembeta, which today they consider to be a distinctive mark of the race and a sign of virility, strength, and valor, was nothing other than a bitter and well-deserved punishment which a marvelous and very

/273 cont./

175 729 728 History tells us that the Chiriguano were not the first inhabitants of the region that they now occupy. Other savages had lived here, who handed over the territory by reason or right of the stronger. Subjugated by the number and valor of the invaders, some of them emigrated to perish, and others remained as vassals in their own land and little by little came to an end, leaving the Chiriguano masters of their land.

175 648 [101] In time the Incas tried to conquer this extensive territory, leaving behind innumerable marks of their tenacity, but they had to abandon this noble thought, contenting themselves with calling them with great contempt Chiriguano or Chirihuano, cold excrement. But however warlike or invincible a people or nation shows itself to be or is, its hour to succumb arrives. 175 648 799 What was not achieved by the Incas or by the arms of the Spaniard here has been brought about by the patience of the missionary and the tenacity of the whites of Santa Cruz and Tarija. Today the dread Chiriguano is subdued and bows his haughty head. 648 799 He has been reduced to nothing, and one who does not live in the missions is the vassal of the white man, who has dominated him completely. It is the disposition of Providence, which subdues the proud and decrees that they experience, although much more gently, what they made the invaded ones experience. It seems that in the last war of Curuyuqui, the Chiriguano learned his inferiority, but it cannot be denied that this race has been one of the most warlike that has existed here (2). [181]

175 648 729 266 2. The Incas tried to conquer the Chiriguano in order to moderate their customs. The Chiriguano treated the Tapiî with great cruelty: according to what has been told by the natives of Parapiti, they fattened them in order to eat them later.

/309 cont./

169
464
511

of the Argentine Republic for eight or ten years: they drink it all up and when they want to come back they scarcely bring back more than a knife and a small black garment /tensino/, which costs little.

If one asks the reason for this procedure, so strange for them themselves, they answer that in their town they could never save up ten or 15 bolivianos, because they spend them immediately on trifles for themselves and their families, while in the Argentine Republic they keep their money in the master's house and, when they come back, buy clothing and even animals, reals, saddles, and other items. There is some truth in this, but just as it is not completely true that here their money does not last, neither is it completely true that they bring clothing and other things from Argentina. Those who are a little careful and who are not lazy dress very well here, while the vice-ridden in Argentina let themselves be overcome by laziness and return as naked as they were before: they arrive, spend or waste, if they have anything, and finally go off to live as they please (?).

101
169

2. The Chiriguano Indians call the gauchos, or natives of Argentina, criollos /Creolos/: they apply the same name to those of their own race who settle there for many years.

999
897
191
199

The method of instruction as it is applied yields prodigious results in the girls, who, in addition to learning their letters and worship, learn in the schools the tasks proper to their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold: certain mission schools for girls, for example, the one at San Antonio del Paraquiri and the one at San José de Tigüipa arouse real admiration in visitors, both because of /illustration appears here/ /310/ the handwork which is done in them and, in the former, because of the Spanish language, which from first to last they all speak with considerable perfection, since from the beginning the language of their parents has been absolutely prohibited for them in the school, even among themselves.

Ac Nmo--425 M-2 (1903-1911) 1912, 1910 Chiriguano 1910
Zamuco SK14
Tapiete SK13
Tumiguas

/315 cont./

N 695 921 Nothing is known about the origin of these wretched Indians because they run away from civilized peoples; nor do they allow the latter to occupy the region that they inhabit, because they kill treacherously by night or even by day, if they are superior in number.

N 221 Perhaps in some distant day they can be reduced with the colonization of the territory, because it is supposed that they follow the dry course of the Parapiti River in order to be able to live, at least in winter, when the water in the lakes dries up.

Yanaiguas or Nanaiguas

T 174 199 It is not true that the Nanaiguas are Chiriguano in origin, for if this were so they would all speak something of the language. Those who understand it are rare, and those who speak it very rare; the latter have learned it from their dealings, not only with the Chiriguanos, but also with certain whites to whom they have begun to lend their services.

T (64) T 131 Their territory is located between the Parapiti River and the stream of Cuevo, from 20° to 20° 35' latitude and from 65° to 65° 40' longitude.

T 181 199 648 They are not numerous, but are quite inoffensive and peaceful, for which reason it is easy to reduce them, and I do not believe the day is far off. In the region of these and other Indians, there are explorations going on today which will necessarily result in intercourse and subsequent civilization, given the peacefulness of the natives.

C 101 186 T 101 The Chiriguano have given the said name to these Indians. They call them Yanaiguas because they are dwellers in the forest, and this is a term of contempt, because, according to the Chiriguanos, only wild animals live in the forest.

T 179 424 648 As I have said, these Indians are not like the previous ones, who run away from civilized peoples; they are already working with the whites, although not more than half a day, like the Toba and Matacos, and without the tenacity of the latter. They are often seen on the right bank of the Parapiti in little

4: Nino--446 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/332 cont./

Music of the Mbapa Páure /omitted in the original source/
Chiriguano carnival 361
Music of the Alleluia /omitted in the original source/
Bows, arrows, etc. 368
Group of Choroti Indians 384
Choroti Indian houses 392
Girls' school of the San Pascual Mission 401
Schoolgirls at work (San Francisco del Parapiti) 410
Interior of the San Pascual Church 418
Group of Mataco Indians 422
Group of Toba Indians 430

/The corrections in the list on p. 333 have been made in the text of the translation. Page 333 continues with the following note concerning the end map./

101 Note: The map which is found at the end of the work con-
102 tains the following errors: (1) the juntas of San Antonio should
103 be of San Francisco; (2) the line which comes out of Cuevo
131 toward the Azero River is not a river, but a dividing line between
133 Santa Cruz and Sucre; (3) the missions of the Parapiti occupy
361 the left bank of said river; (4) Ibo occupies the right bank of the
797 Cuevo River; (5) the projected city of Manso should be near the bank of the Pilcomayo River.

4: Nino

101
102
103
131
133
361
797

SF10 Chiriguano SF10

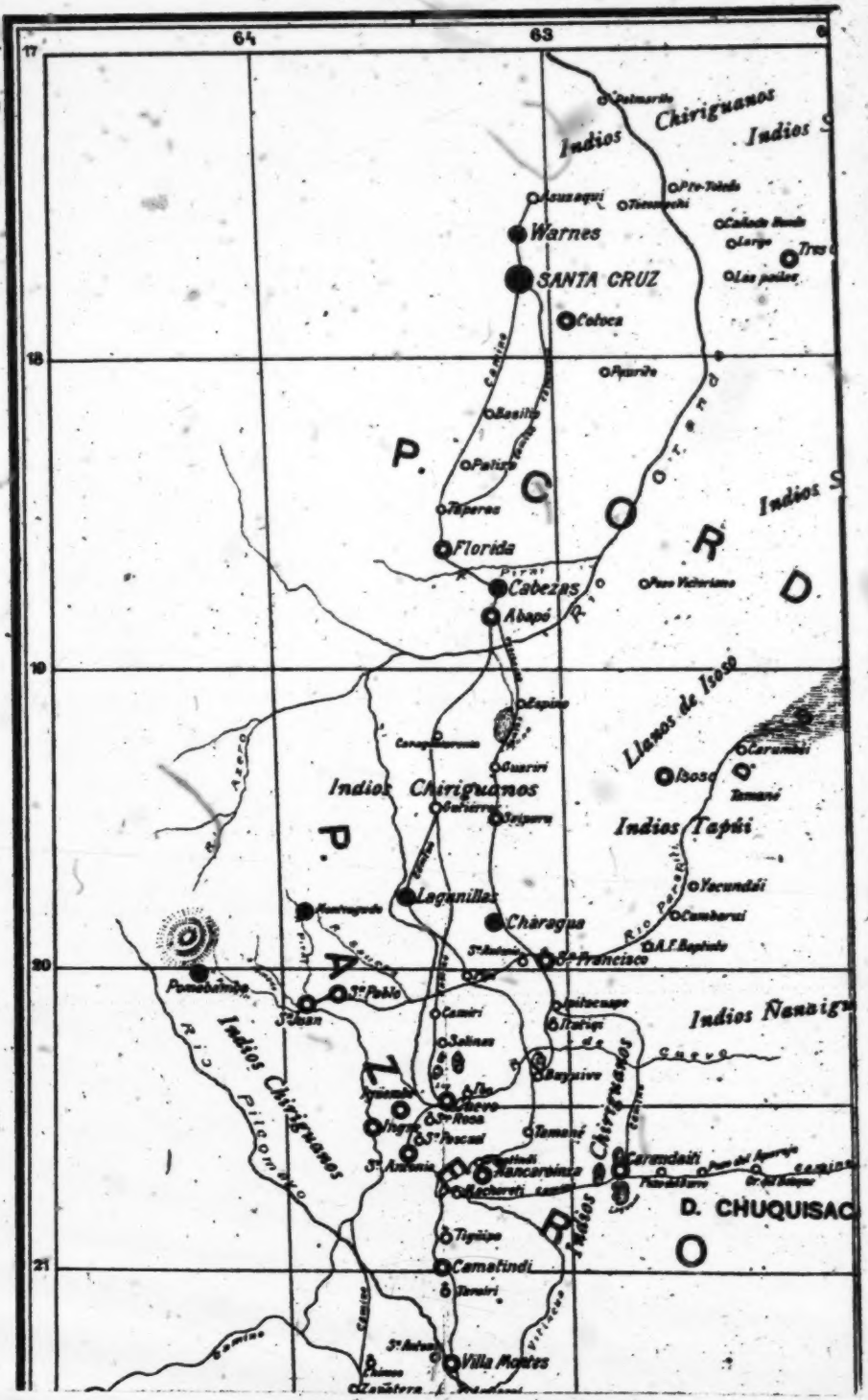
p. 447	p. 448	p. 449
p. 450	p. 451	p. 452

Chart of Positions of End Map, (pp. 447-452).
/facing End Map/

4: Nino--447 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

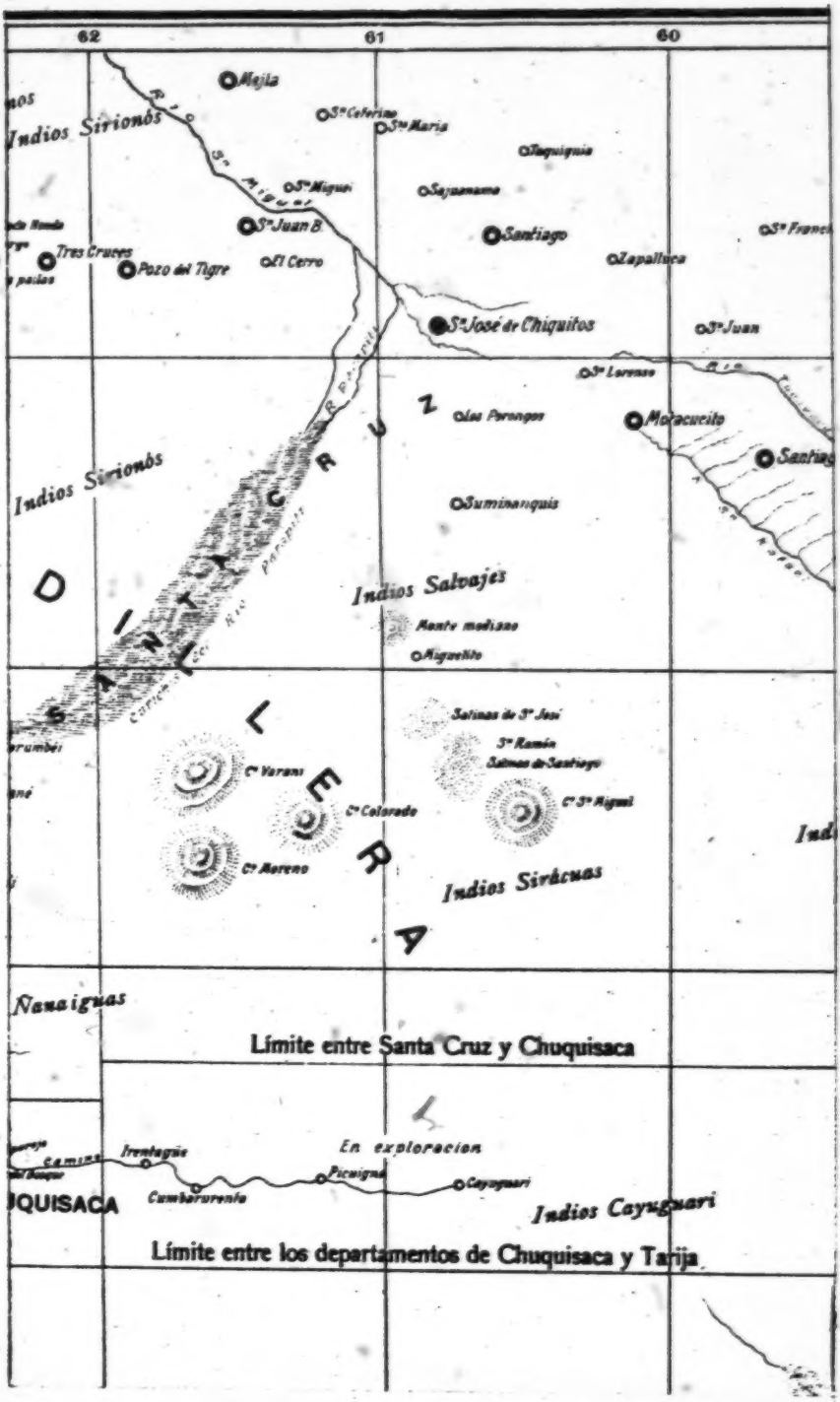
Map of the Gran Chaco
by Father Bernardino de Nino

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



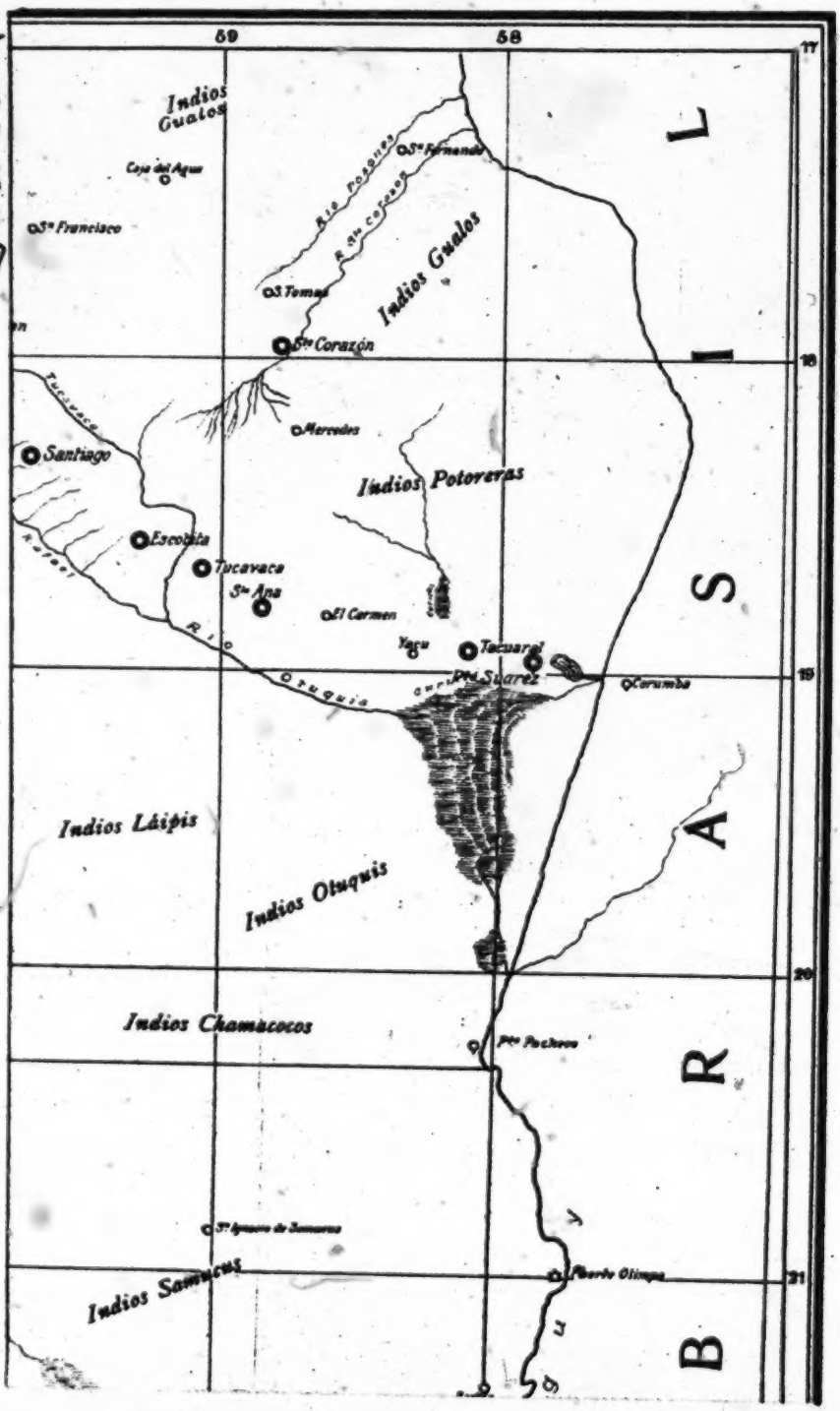
4: Nino--448 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



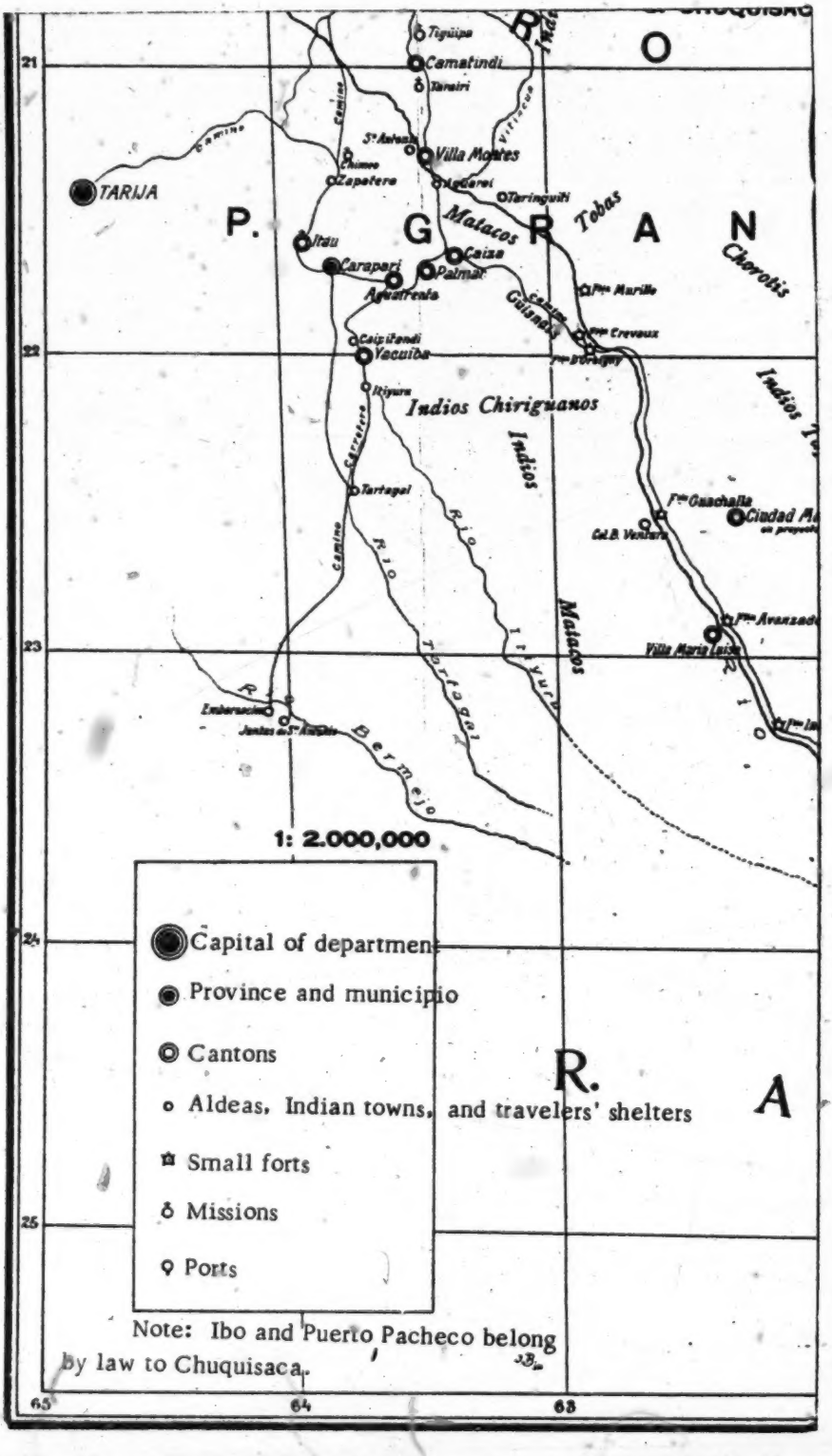
4: Ninó--449 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797

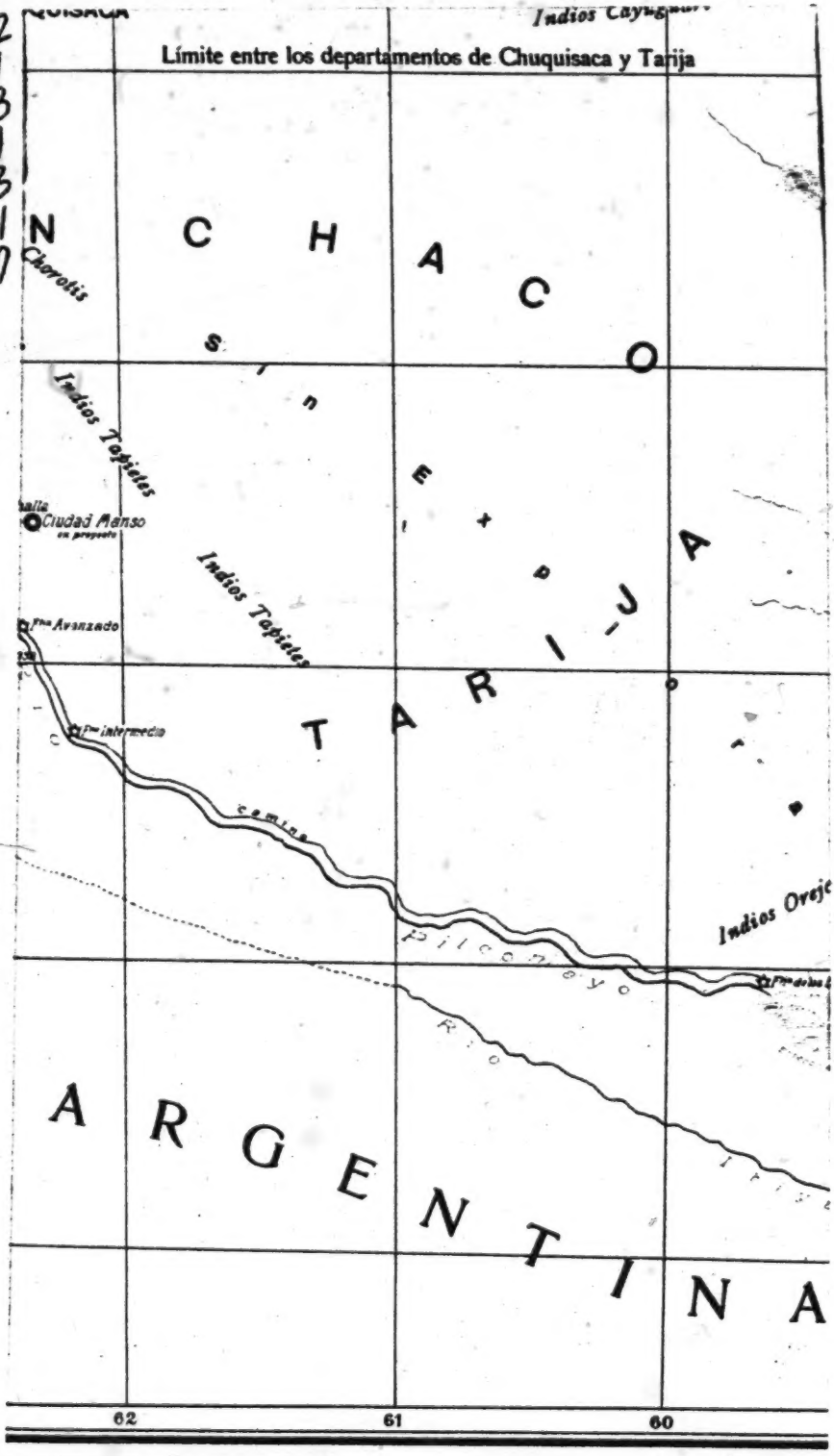


4: Nino-450 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797

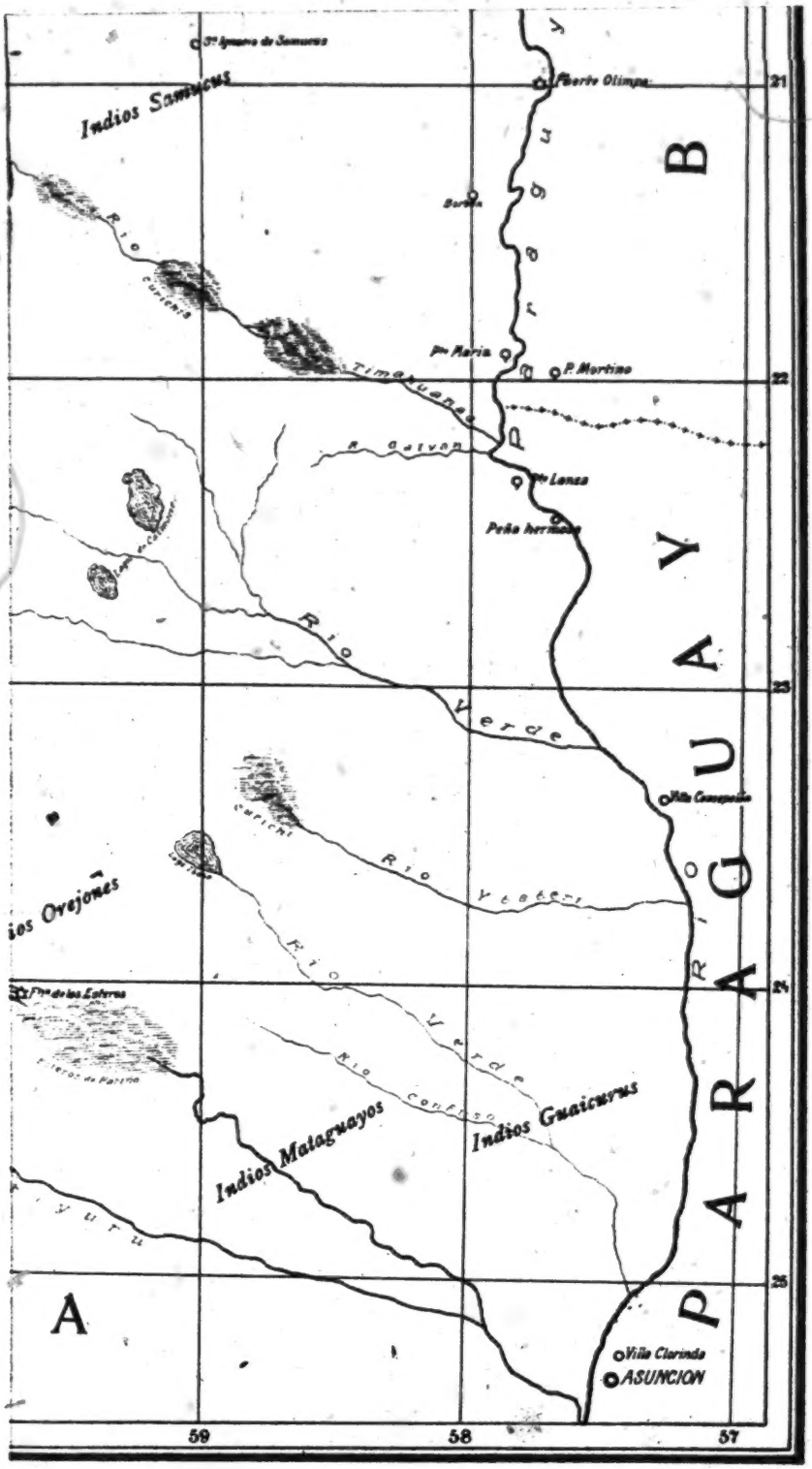


102
101
103
131
133
361
797



4: Nino--452 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



StNordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Introduction.

c
ce
114

In Part I of this work I sought by a new method to analyse the material culture of two Indian tribes the Choroti and Ashluslay. In the introduction to the aforesaid work I explained the method employed. In Part 2 I have sought by the same method to make an ethno-geographical analysis of the civilization of two other Indian tribes. These are the Chiriguano and Chané, who dwell in the southernmost part of Bolivia and northernmost Argentina. The Chiriguano are Guarani Indians, while the Chané are Guaranized Arawaks[1]). They thus belong to two of the most important tribal groups in all America. Their civilisation is already well known, thanks to the missionaries who have worked and still work among them. Their works are referred to in the bibliography. The most important are those by CORRADO and NINO. DEL CAMPANA wrote a monograph on the Chiriguano based on information supplied by missionaries. We also find mention of the Chiriguano in many older works. The information they give us of their manners and customs is unfortunately scanty. It is, indeed, only in LIZÁRRAGA, CHOMÉ, VIEDMA, LOZANO and one or two of the LITTERAE ANNUEA that we find any useful matter.

c
ce
[101]
[131]
[197]
c
.114

SERRANO Y SANZ wrote an excellent work on the post-Columbian history of the Chiriguano. OUTES has written about their pottery. LEHMANN-NITSCHE has dealt with their physical anthropology. Works on their languages have been published by several missionaries. I visited these

[1]) Vide NORDENSKIÖLD (8).

C
CE
121

can be kept in a museum or for which one may find — given favourable circumstances — archeaological comparative material. Besides weapons, ornaments etc there is thus included also burial customs, tatooing, dancing-masks, etc.

C
CE
128

The reader will find that I have endeavoured to make this part more graphic than Part I . From the maps of bibliography it will be seen regarding what regions I have had access to literature; it can also, in some measure, be seen whether the blanks on the maps are due to those particular tribes never having been closely studied.

The maps of distributions in this work are fewer in number than in Part I. This is because we find the Chiriguano and Chané, or one of these tribes, on twenty-nine maps in Part I. Part I is largely preparatory to Part II. Parts I and 2 together contain 45 maps showing the distribution of culture-elements occuring among the Chané and (or) Chiriguano.

C
CE
121

All who are interested in the ethnography of S. America will, I venture to think, find the maps worth close study and will see that from them various deductions can be made not only respecting the Chiriguano and Chané Indians but also as to the ethnography of S. America in general. In some measure I have, indeed, endeavoured to do this myself.

C
CE
131

The land of the Chiriguano and Chané the Indians streches from near Sta Cruz de la Sierra to near Rio Bermejo. Southwards of Sta Cruz the territory inhabited by the Chiriguano is continuous. The Chané, on the other hand, live in several different quarters, some at the river Itiyuro in the Argentine, some at Caipipendi near the Rio Pilcomayo, some at the Lower Rio Parapiti, and others near Itau south of the Rio Pilcomayo. The neighbours of the Chiriguano and Chané are the Mataco-Vejos, Mestizos, and Whites to the south, the Mataco, Toba, Tapiete, (Yanaygua) and Tsirakua to the east, to the north Mestizos and Whites, and to the west Quichua, Mestizos, and Whites.

C
CE
101
162

Some Choroti live near Yacuiba. In nearly all of the Chiriguano territory there are Mestizos and Whites. There are also several large missionary stations in their territory. Some few Chiriguano live in the village of Sta Rosa to the north of Sta Cruz de la Sierra. Some Chiriguano who sought refuge in central Chaco after their last rebellion, live there still. They are the only tribe of Chiriguano-Indians who are quite independent of the Whites. C 101 162 131 [797]

The country which is inhabited by the Chiriguano and partly by the Chané is a border land between the Andine mountains and the great plain of the Chaco. It is in the valleys between the outermost mountain ridges towards the Chaco and on the plain to the east of them that the Chiriguano and the Chané live. The land of the Chiriguano and Chané-Indians is not a real country of primeval forests. There are some great forests, but on the whole it is sparsely wooded, in places even very poorly wooded. The supply of water is the governing condition for settlement in the land of these Indians. It may be said that wherever there is access to water there the country is inhabited, at any rate as regards the region south of the Rio Grande, one of the great rivers that run through their territory There need not be a great supply of water for the Indians to find the country inhabitable. All that is necessary is sufficient drinking-water for man and beast, as at Itatique and in the Caipipendi valley near Rio Parapiti. C Ce 131 135 C Ce 361 312

The biggest rivers running through the territory of the Chiriguano and the Chané are the Rio Grande, the Rio Parapiti and above all the Rio Pilcomayo. The Rio Grande may now almost be considered the boundary river of these tribes towards the north, and is of but little importance to them. The Rio Parapiti is a strange river. While well supplied with water in the mountains it is almost shrinks to nothing in the plains during the dry season. During the rains it is very full of water and may be dangerous to ford. Fish are plentiful only in the Rio Pilcomayo, and we C Ce 133 C Ce [226]

/Pages 1-147 (Introduction and Chapters 1-8), Plates 1-15, and Figs. 1-73 are omitted in the translation./

/148/ Chapter Nine

The Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Just as I have tried to give a picture of the life of the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, I shall also try to describe the Chané and Chiriguano Indians and my various visits among them. These Indians are considerably more advanced than the "savages" of the Chaco. For the most part they live in a state of dependence on the whites, and their old unique culture is disappearing more and more.

The Chiriguano are now also to a very considerable extent Christians. For more than 300 years, first the Jesuits and then the Franciscans have tried, with varying results, to convert them to the one soul-saving Christian faith. Even now there are several mission stations among the Chiriguano, but none among the Chané.

In the Chané and Chiriguano we meet people with a higher culture, people who are entirely different from the Indians about whom we have read in the preceding chapters. Comparisons between the two types of culture that we come across in the Chaco are, naturally, of interest.

What will perhaps surprise the reader most is the fact that the two primitive cultures are able to exist side by side, and have doubtless done so for centuries, without fusing, indeed, without learning from each other, and this even though there are no natural boundaries here.

/153 cont./

In the dry season the wind heaps large dunes along the banks of the river. After it has left the mountains, it does not receive a tributary. The Rio Parapiti is very wide, but never deep. During the driest period its bed is transformed into a sand desert where the wind plays with the fine river sand. When it storms, the sand is swept across the bottom of the river. If one wishes to cross it on such days, one may perhaps not get his feet wet, but he must shield his eyes. C 133 132

The Rio Parapiti is rich in fish, but the fish are tiny. The banks are quite fertile, but inasmuch as they are flooded during the rainy season, the harvests are easily lost. Often in the dry season everything is wasted by the scorching droughts. The locusts, too, hawk about in these regions and leave behind in their own unappetizing bodies a poor substitute for what they have destroyed. C 13

On the Rio Parapiti, high up in the mountains, live the Quichua Indians, then come the Chiriguano, beyond them, near the river, the Tapiete, also called Yanaygua, then the Chané, and finally, in the unknown wilderness, the Tsirakua Indians. C 101

My first visit on the Rio Parapiti was paid to Father Carmelo, who had a small mission station there among the Chiriguano. I became very fond of this monk; /154/ he had such confidence-inspiring friendliness. He is one of the missionaries who are needed here, people who desire and are able to sacrifice themselves for others, who show an equally great friendship toward all. C 114 797

I now continued along the Rio Parapiti to Isiporenda on the north bank of the river. The Tapiete live opposite Isiporendo. I shall later describe a visit that I made to them. C 114 T [31]

At Isiporenda I met the first Chané, or, as they are called here, Tapuy. I then visited most of their villages. I made the acquaintance especially of some of their storytellers, of whom Batirayu, the nephew of the last great chief, Aringui, became my good friend. Ce 114 [101 538 123]

From the lower Rio Parapiti I proceeded by way of Charagua, a village inhabited almost exclusively by whites, to the Caipipendi valley, where I stayed with the Chiriguano chief Taruiri. C 114

/155 cont./ C
Piray and finally unites with the Rio Mamoré. A few Chiriguano 133
live along this river, and savage Tsirakua and Siriono also [101]
rove about in the forests along it. C

Between the Rio Grande and the Rio Parapiti there is a 133
region with an extreme scarcity of water and largely covered 137
with completely impenetrable underbrush and low scrub forest 312
full of caraguata and cacti. This monotonous, dismal vegetation is interrupted here and there by hills and grassy plains. C

Besides the savage Tsirakua Indians who make these thickets 136
unsafe, one finds another curiosity here, namely the guanaco C
(Auchenia). It is altogether strange to find an animal like the [132]
guanaco, which one thinks of only in connection with the cold plateaus of the Andes or the /156/ pampas of Patagonia, often afflicted with frost, in this bush which is frequently scorched by droughts. It would be interesting to be able to determine whether this guanaco of the tropical forest is really the same as the one known from the colder regions. Intelligent whites with whom I have discussed this and who have seen both regard them, however, as the same species.

Having returned to the Rio Parapiti, I looked up Batirayu, Ce 115
with whom I had already become intimately acquainted in 1908 and who also speaks excellent Spanish.

With no other Indians with whom I became acquainted did I become as close as with Batirayu. He understood that I was collecting the old mementos out of an interest in his tribe. Batirayu did his best to explain to me the religious conceptions of his tribe. In the evening we used to sit in his room with a cigarette, and he told about olden times, sorcerers, chiefs, Ce
and spirits. Occasionally an old chief, Bóyra, also came, and [122]
from him I heard many charming Chané legends. We would sit until far into the night and chat by a flickering light that I had with me in order to take notes. Ce

One would be very much mistaken if he were to believe that 115
the conversations with these men were merely an interesting 123
study. I felt comfortable with these fine, tactful, yes, why not, cultured human beings. It was genuinely refreshing after coming
from the often vulgar, empty whites.

Ee /248 cont./
439
177

When we present a collection from the Chiriguano and Chané, we must not forget that, through trade between the tribes, they have obtained many things from the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Tapiete; otherwise we would have a mistaken conception of the
Ee great difference /249/ between the material culture of the Chaco tribes named here and the Chiriguano and Chané.

171 If we compare the material culture of the Choroti and Chané
Ee with that of the Choroti and Ashluslay likewise described here,
[285] we must remember the following. The Chiriguano and Chané produce basket work -- the
c Choroti and Ashluslay never.
Ce The former know how to paint
[323] clay vessels before firing,
Ee which is unknown to the latter.
[286] The Chiriguano and Chané
c never make bags out of
[415] →
[531]

Fig. 126.
Decorated calabash bowl.
Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/5.

caraguata, etc. If, moreover, we compare all the products made by the Chané and Chiriguano with those of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we find that most of them are entirely differ-
c ent. The Chaco Indians probably learned how to make certain
[177] things, such as the serére (Fig. 120) and huiramimbi pipes (Figs. 36 /omitted in the translation/ and 80), from the Chiriguano,
Ee but this is relatively insignificant.

177 We see here how two cultures can exist side by side for hundreds of years without mingling.

Ee If we follow the Rio Pilcomayo down toward the mountains,
● 101 we first come across the Quichua /Quechua/ culture, then come the Chiriguano and Chané, and after that the Chaquensic /Chaco/ culture which embraces equally the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Ashluslay, as well as the Lengua and other tribes in the Paraguay Chaco. These three cultures are entirely different.

The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between these culturally allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against the whites (in 1890), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are still remaining.

The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly gourd plants and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group, the Chiriguano being counted with the Guarani group, whilst the Chané are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija valley.[1] Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which is Guarani. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches of Rio Parapiti.[2] The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means »dirt people» was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word »guano» is the name for the well-known bird manure-found on the coast of Peru and Chile. It seems however unfair indeed that the Chiriguano, who, in contradistinction to the Puna and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal name.

---

[1] de Matienzo (1), p. 150. Nordenskiöld (18).
[2] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 156.

/3 cont./

Ce 101 or Tapyi /Tapii/, it was not possible from what they said to ascertain with which of the tribes known to ethnology they can be identified. The Chiriguano call themselves "Mbya." C [101] If the Izozó were a part of them, they would have called themselves by this name. Ce 101 17 No doubt they are Chané and that part of the latter which once had their homes in the Izozó River region, taking the name of this river for their own. Their culture, as demonstrated by the objects I collected among them, confirms this opinion. There are some differences between the objects collected among the Izozó and the Chiriguano in Machareti, either with regard to the decorations of the baked clay vessels or with regard to the making of the nets. But in principle it is not possible to decide whether these differences might not be only local differences. In general the culture of C 171 the Chiriguano was diffused in this way throughout the tribes 172 successively subjugated by them, which is why it is proper to 128 deal below with the aspects of the culture of the Chiriguano 648 of Machareti together with that of the Izozó.

C Ce 101 17

Influences on the Culture of the Chiriguano and Izozó, Taken from Historical Data

C Ce [197] At the present time the Chiriguano and Chané form a cultural entity which can be designated as the culture of the Chiriguano, because the Guaraní language of the Chiriguano came to be the common language of the whole group. The Izozó also belong to this ethnic entity. Thus it is necessary to consider this entity /4/ as being formed of completely different tribes. It is also necessary to conceive of their culture as the product of the fusion of very heterogeneous cultural elements. Nordenskiöld deals with this question in one of his books (1)

Ce [113]

1. Erland Nordenskiöld: The changes in the material culture of two Indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative Ethnological Studies, 2. Göteborg, 1920. Cited in the following: Nord. 2.

Guayaki SH4
Chaco SF8
E2020

C
Ca
901
17

/4 cont./

and divides (2) the sum of Chiriguano cultural elements into

2/ Noed. 2, pp. 196-212.

different categories depending on whether they received them from the whites, from the culture of the ancient Peruvians, or from the Mataco, Toba, and other tribes of the Chaco, or have them in common with the tribes of the north and the east related to them, as well as those that they brought with them from their primordial homes between the Paraná River and the Paraguay River. In what follows we shall often run into this matter, and inasmuch as these cultural influences have taken place in historical times and we know the history of the Chiriguano through existing documents dating from the first days of the Spanish conquest, I would like to make a resumé of these historical data in what follows, insofar as they have influenced the cultural development of the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
Ca
101
17
121

Gi
174

In one of my previous publications which appeared in this journal, entitled "Los Guaraní," I ran into the point at issue, to wit: whether the first Guaraní immigration into the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco took place before the expedition of the Portuguese Alejo García to Peru or whether it took place after that time. In that paper I then deduced that it can be supposed that before Alejo García's expedition there were no Guaraní in the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, because no author mentions that García, who was accompanied by many Guaraní, had met other Guaraní in those regions. With this opinion that the Guaraní immigration to the west occurred after García's expedition, which is based principally on indications by Guzmán, the opinions of Manuel Domínguez and Erland Nordenskiöld also agree. This question of the Guaraní invasion into the western part of the Paraguayan Chaco is also dealt with in detail by Fulgencio R. Moreno in his work Cuestión de límites con Bolivia (3). In that place (4) there

Gi
175

Gi
[113]

3. Ministerio de Exteriores. Cuestión de límites con Bolivia. Negociaciones diplomaticas. 1915-

/A cont./

Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori, since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní, after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after their defeat by Grigora, henceforth being called by the Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through which they had previously passed.

In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the part that they call Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Ibíduo II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a Guaraní foray.

The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with the various native groups of the lands through which they passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians, they devastated their camps /[illegible]/ /?/ and carried off with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat by Grigora had settled permanently on the cordillera, they

/33 cont./
has published Chiriguano and Chané types (49).

49. Erland Nordenskiöld: Forskningar och Äventyr i Sydamerika /Inquiry and Adventure in South America/. Stockholm, 1915. Bls. 14-16; 20 and 21. Nord. I. Figs. 75, 76, 78, 87, 106, 110, 111, 112, 116, 132, and Pl. 18-2 /the second figure of this number in the twenties is illegible/.

The Territory of the Chiriguano

Concerning the location and extent of the territory of the Chiriguano at the time of their independence, that is, from the beginning of the 16th century to the second half of the 19th century, we have Moreno's detailed studies in two places in his work already cited many times above, the titles of which are: "Las tierras de los Chiriguanos /The lands of the Chiriguano/" (50). According to Moreno (51), the

50. Moreno II, pp. 79-128 and pp. 235-254.

51. Moreno II, p. 236.

Chiriguano--Chiriguano /14/ of the Cordillera in contrast to the Ñatines-Guaraysu and the Piritagaris also often called Chiriguano in the literature -- from the time of the Conquest until they lost their independence inhabited the same territory, that is, the western spurs of the Andes from south of the Pilcomayo up to the lands which extend on both sides of the Guapay. The Chané, who formerly had a large well-populated territory, "although they formed several partial migrations, remained in great number subject to the conquering Guaraní within the region which these latter had converted into their impregnable abode" (52). In 1883 Father Alejandro Corrado

52. Moreno II, p. 249.

/445/

102
171
285

Map 1, showing the distribution of the technique called wicker work

4: Nino

101
102
103
131
133
361
797

SF10 Chiriguano SF10

p. 447	p. 448	p. 449
p. 450	p. 451	p. 452

Chart of Positions of End Map, (pp. 447-452).
/facing End Map/

4: Nino--446 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/332 cont./

Music of the Mbapa Páure /omitted in the original source/
Chiriguano carnival 361
Music of the Alleluia /omitted in the original source/
Bows, arrows, etc. 368
Group of Choroti Indians 384
Choroti Indian houses 392
Girls' school of the San Pascual Mission 401
Schoolgirls at work (San Francisco del Parapiti) 410
Interior of the San Pascual Church 418
Group of Mataco Indians 422
Group of Toba Indians 430

/The corrections in the list on p[illegible]3 have been made in the text of the translation. Page 333 continues with the following note concerning the end map./

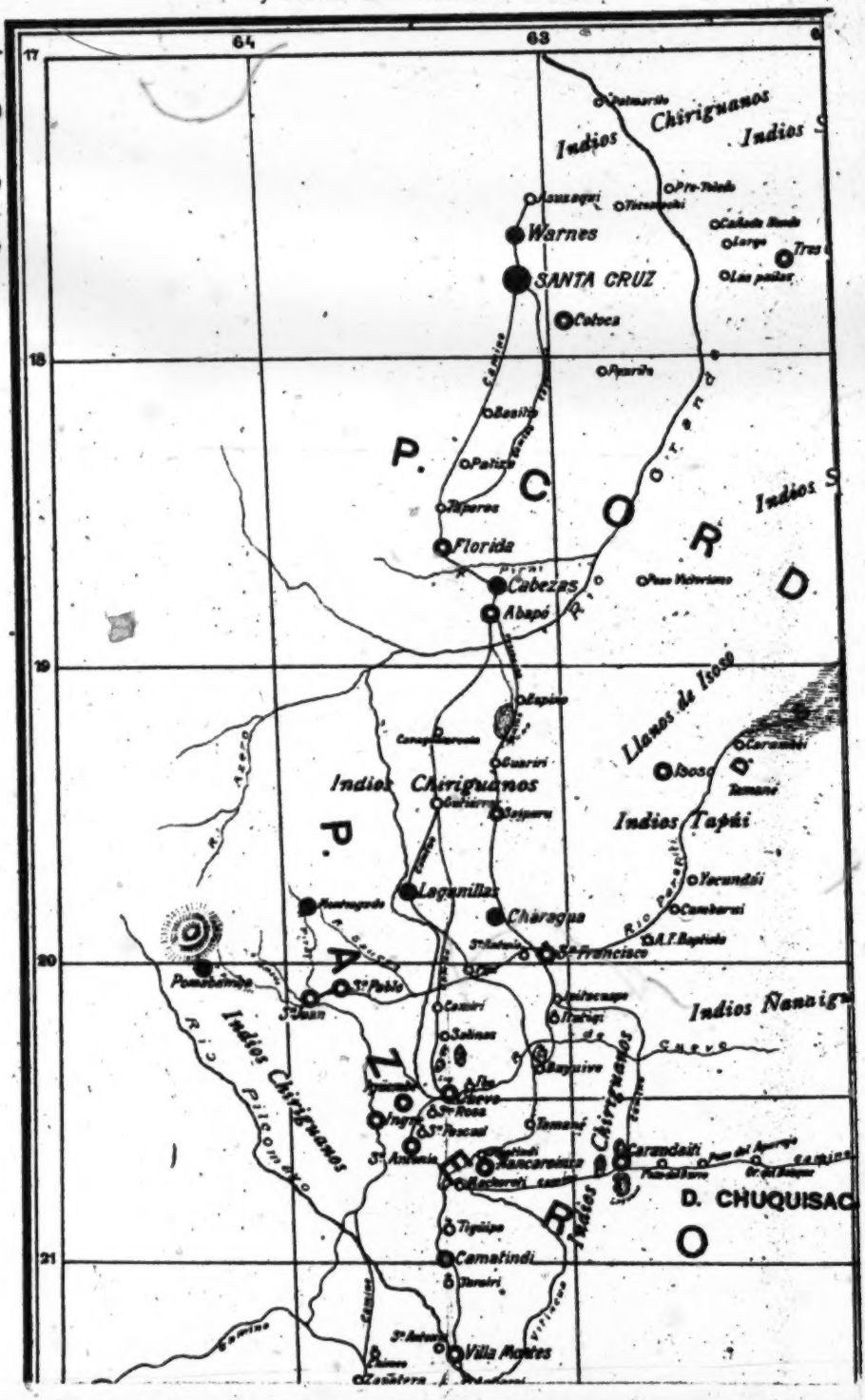
101 Note: The map which is found at the end of the work con-
102 tains the following errors: (1) the juntas of San Antonio should
103 be of San Francisco; (2) the line which comes out of Cuevo
131 toward the Azero River is not a river, but a dividing line between
133 Santa Cruz and Sucre; (3) the missions of the Parapiti occupy
361 the left bank of said river; (4) Ibo occupies the right bank of the
797 Cuevo River; (5) the projected city of Manso should be near the bank of the Pilcomayo River.

4: Nino--447 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Map of the Gran Chaco

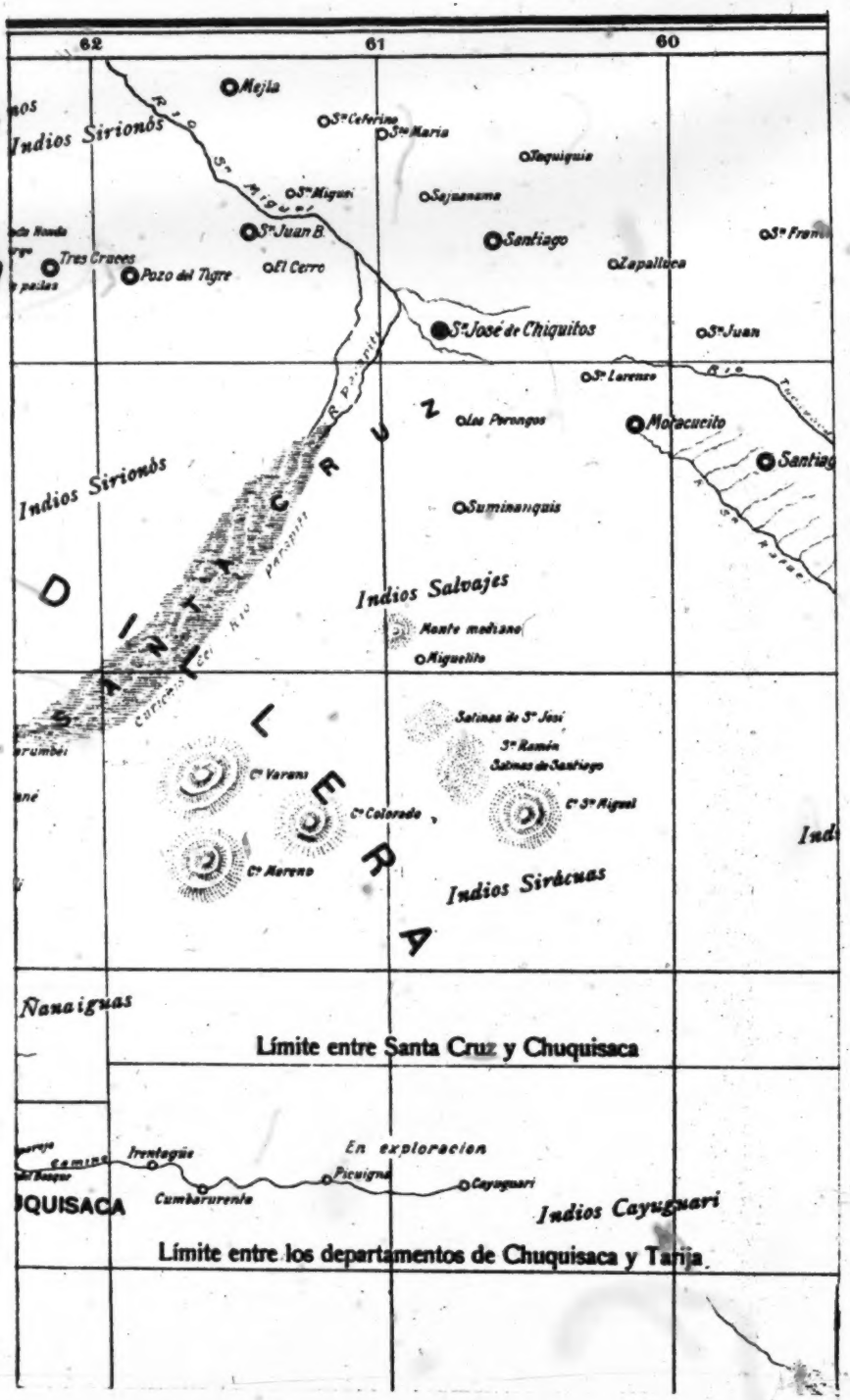
by Father Bernardino de Nino

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



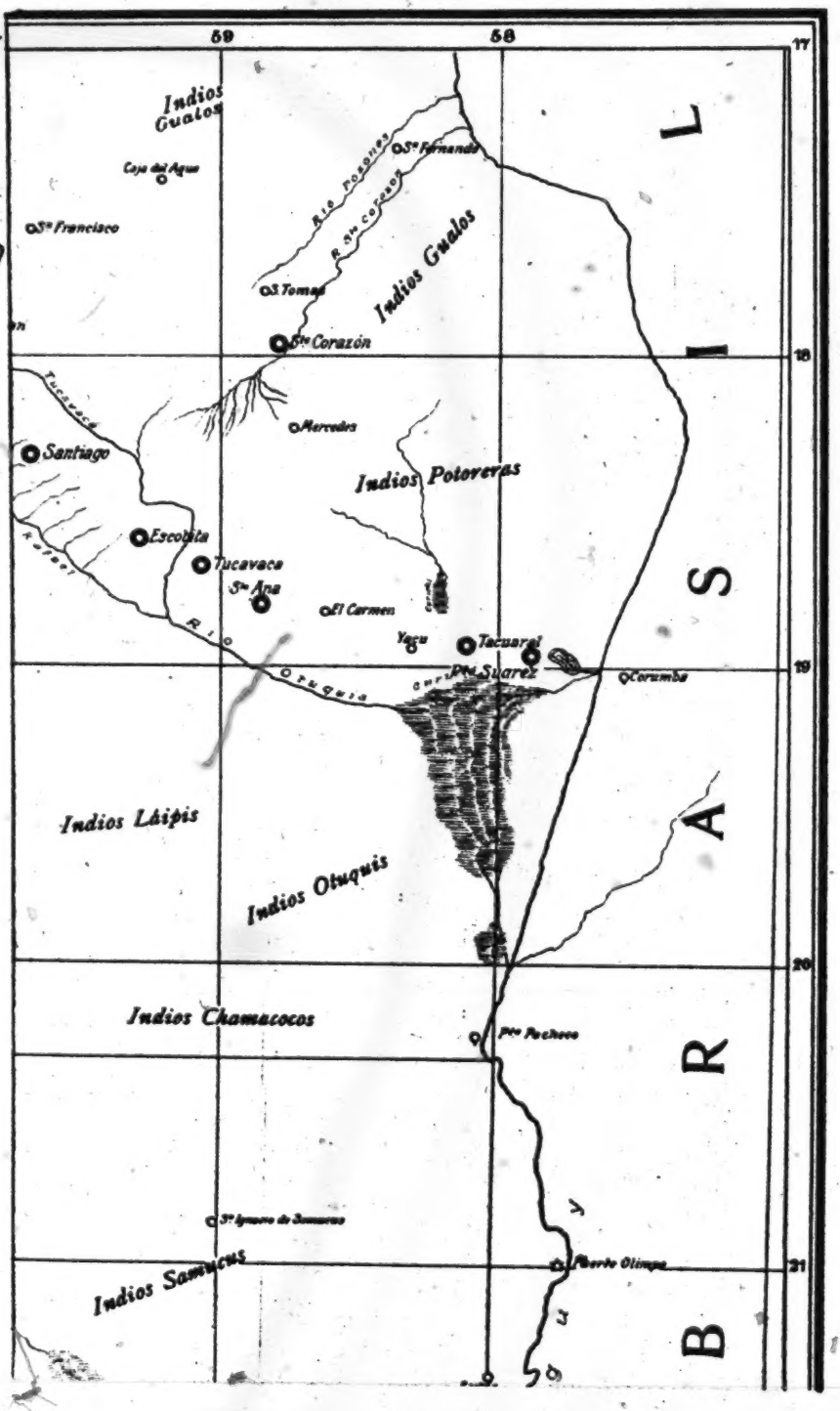
4: Nino--448 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



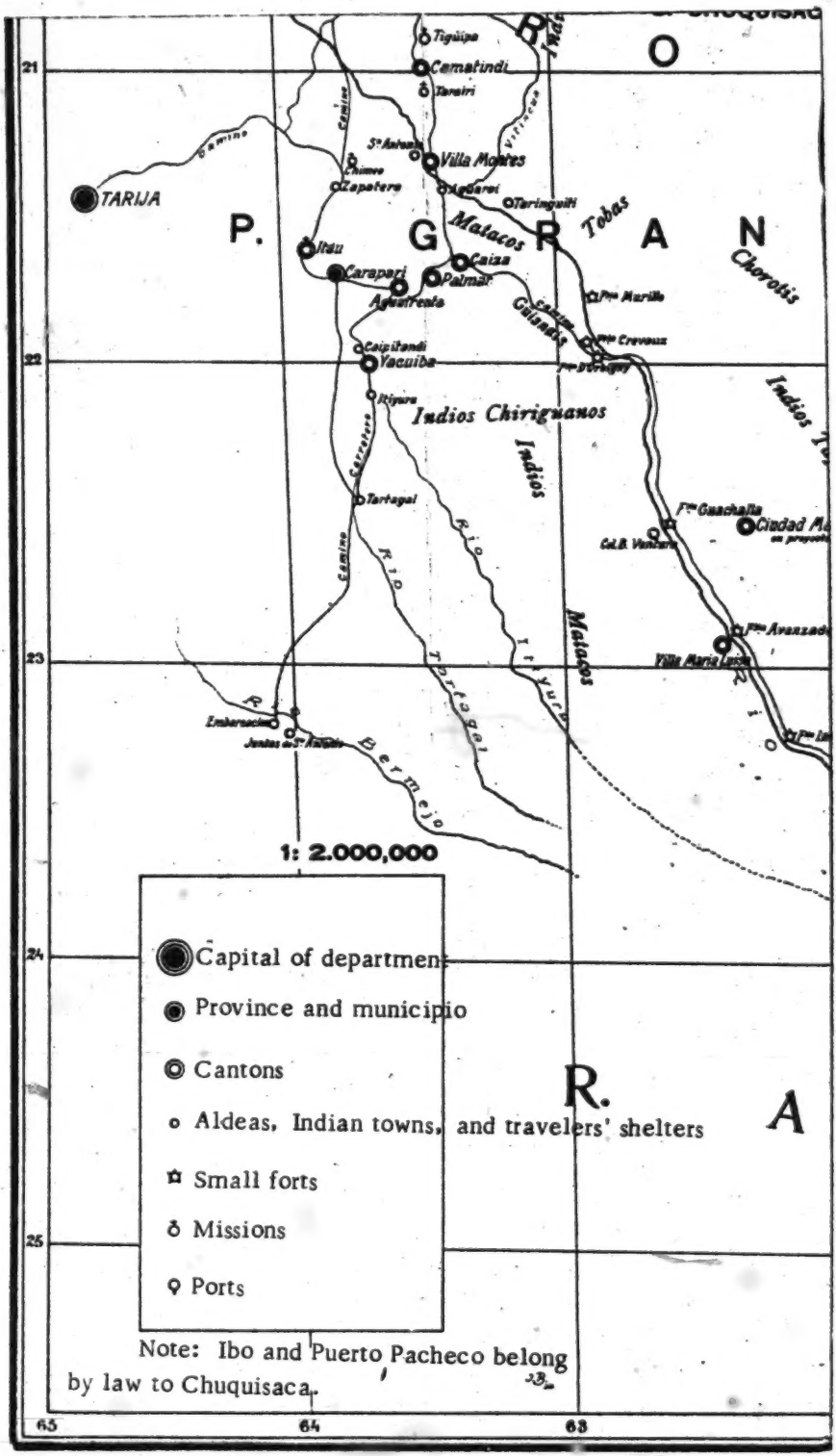
4: Nino--449 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



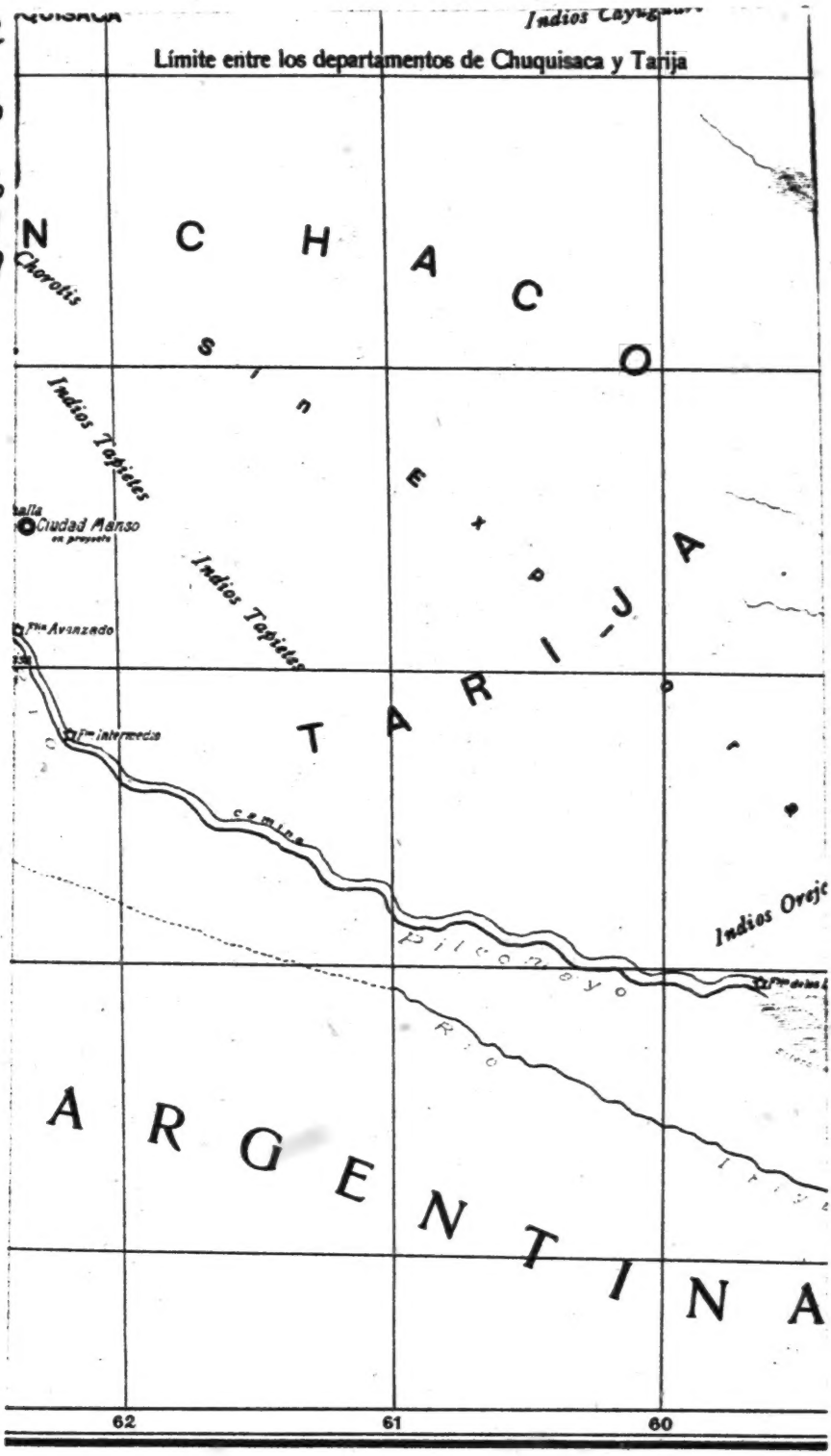
4: Nino--450 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



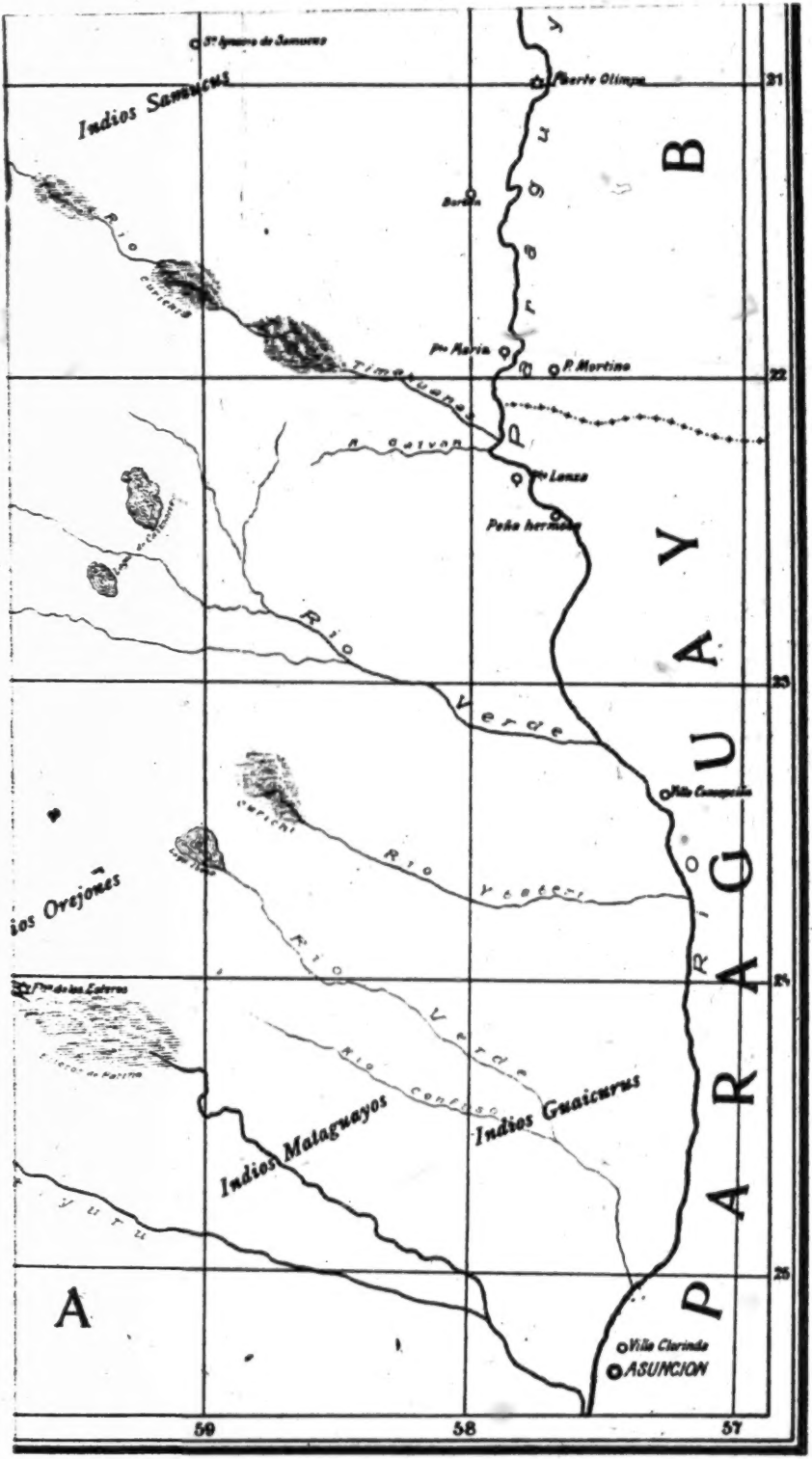
4: Nino--451 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



4: Nino--452 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



5: Nordenskiöld

102, 113

SF10 Chiriguano SF10

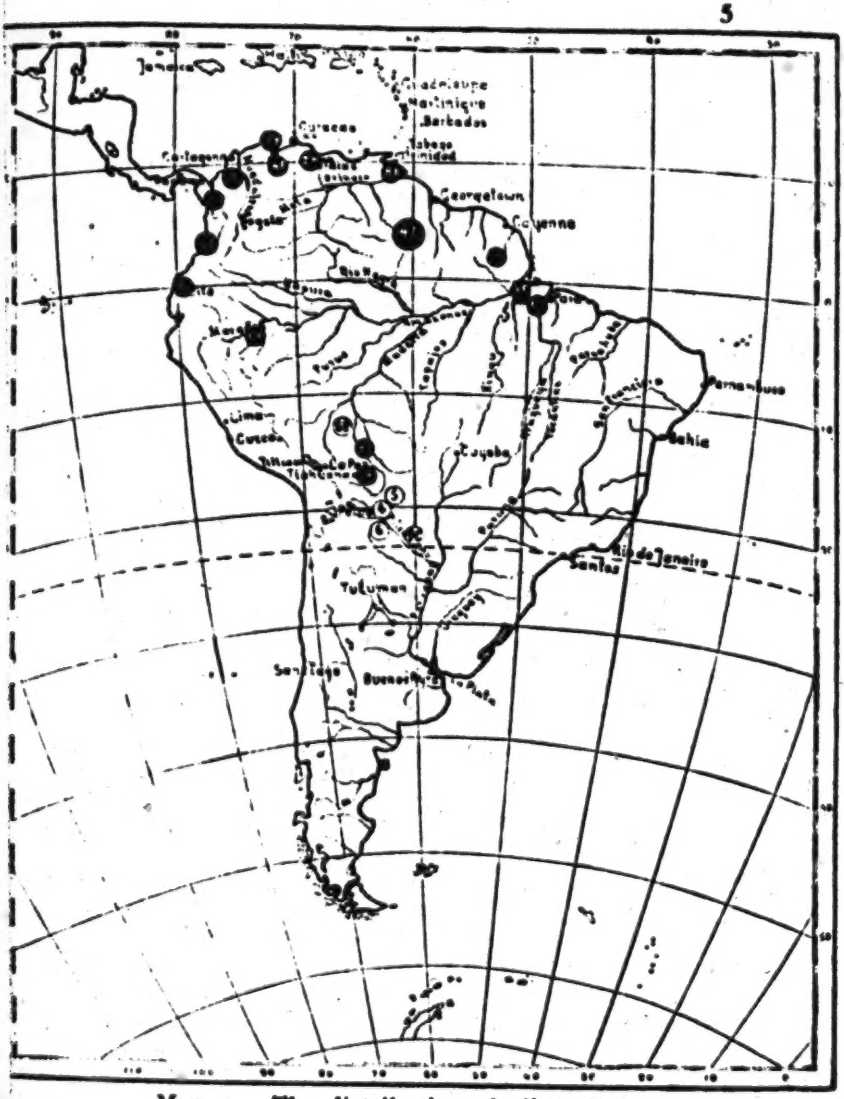
Chané SF8

/Bibliographical maps 1-6 appearing on pp. 239-244 of this source (see category 116), show the general areas of ethnographic coverage by the various authors listed in the bibliography during specific time periods. A further explanation of these maps will be found on pp. 237-238./

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

5

C
Ce
171*
102●
342
343
131
S
342
343
102



Map 1. The distribution of pile buildings.

● = Dwelling-houses.
O = Barns.

5iNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

e
ce
*171
342
343
11,4
c
ce
[417]

The notion that the pile-buildings employed as barns are here of different origin from those used as dwelling-houses, is unlikely. There is nothing in the geographical distribution to support this idea.

Outside their barns the Chiriguano and Chané have ladders consisting of logs in which steps have been hewn.

Table 1.

e
ce
*171
342
343
102
s
102
342

Pile buildings. Map. 1.

4. Chiriguano.
5. Chané.
6. Mataco-Vejos. Have evidently copied the Chané barns.
18. Quichua.
25. Mojo, MARBAN P. 132. Cooking-shed.
39. Goijiro, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064. (after ERNST); Parauhano, JAHN.
47. Indians Roraima: Wapisiana, Arecuna, Macusi, Patamona. PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064; THULIN.
62. Chacobo.
68. Omagua. »Hicieron los indios dentro de sus mismas casas unos tablados de madera, que ellos llaman Iuzas y encima de ellos estuvimos tres meses, que fueron los de Abril, Mayo y Junio con más de seis palmos de agua debajo.
Entraban y salian las canoas dentro de las casas, y de noche quedaban de bajo de los tablados.» LAUREANO DE LA CRUZ P. 88; [MARONI] Vol. XXX, P. 197.
01. Indians on the west coast of Columbia. PIZARRO P. 204; CIEZA DE LEON (1) P. 95; OVIEDO T. 3. P. 8; ANDAGOYA P. 76; ROBLEDO P. 277.
3 F. Barbacóa, RIVET (4) AND VERNEAU P. 39.
4 F. Indians on and near Lake Maracaibo. NAVARRETE T. III. P. 8; »A quatro dias llegaron à un pueblo de güerigue-

ris, que esta armado sobre madera en el agua en unas ciénegas del mismo rio». OVIEDO T. 2, P. 293. (See also P. 294 and P. 300); TOLOSA P. 229.

5 F. Indians at the mouth of the Amazon. «A cabo de seis dias de navegacion tomaron una isla en un puerto y ensenada que el rio hacia en ella, y como tres tiros de arcabuz, por este puerto y ensenada arriba, dieron con unas casas fuertes, armadas sobre gruesos y recios estantes que tenian hincados en el proprio cabo desta ensenada de rio o estero que alli se hacia ..... sobre estos estantes o pilares estaban unas salas de tablas de palmas bravas ...» ORTIGUERA P. 372.

6 F. Indians near Para. «lesquels demeuroient dans les IOURAS qui sont des maisons faictes à la forme des Ponts aux Changes et de sainct Michel de Paris, assises sur le haut de gros arbres plantees en l'eau.» EVREUX P. 28. The civilised Indians in the same region still live in pile-buildings. KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) T. 1, P. 3; LANGE, Several illustrations.

7 p. Oyampi, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064. (after COUDREAU); Palicours, FAUQUE P. 359.

8 X. Warrau, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064; RALEGH P. 50; LEVEL P. 60.

9 C. Mataco-Guisnay. (I saw one single barn on piles among these Indians).

1 R. Indians, Darien. OVIEDO T. 2, P. 455.

2 R. Caquetios, FEDERMANN P. 191.

Not on the map Galibi, French Guiana. LOMBARD P. 298.

• Indians Cayambe, Ecuador. FRIEDERICI (5). P. 99 (After MONTESINO and others.)

Pile buildings are among the culture-elements where it is sometimes difficult to decide whether they are Indian or not. In the rubber forests of Bolivia, Peru and Brazil, at favourable spots, are many barracks built on piles. THE-

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

is a culture-element so coveted as in a few years to have spread from the Whites in Peru to the interior of the country. When the distribution of the platform bed is closely studied, it will be found that it is evidently a very old culture-element which remains in places where the hammock has not penetrated or has been found unpractical. In the land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians it is often too cold to sleep in hammocks. A platform bed is therefore preferred by them, especially when they have clothes to put under and over them. Hammocks are few and are mostly used to recline upon during the day. I have endeavoured on the map to show the geographical distribution of the platform bed. The summary does not, however, pretend to be complete. Its aim is mainly to draw attention to a culture-element which has often been overlooked, and which gives me the impression of being older than the hammock by which it has been relegated to certain tracts, particularly on the eastern slopes of the Andes, where it is rather cold to sleep in hammocks, and rather uncomfortable to sleep on the ground, as is the custom up on the high fells or farther to the south.

C
Ce
352
177
c
ce
352
171*
513
102
S
102
352

Table 2.

The platform bed (Catre). Map. 2.

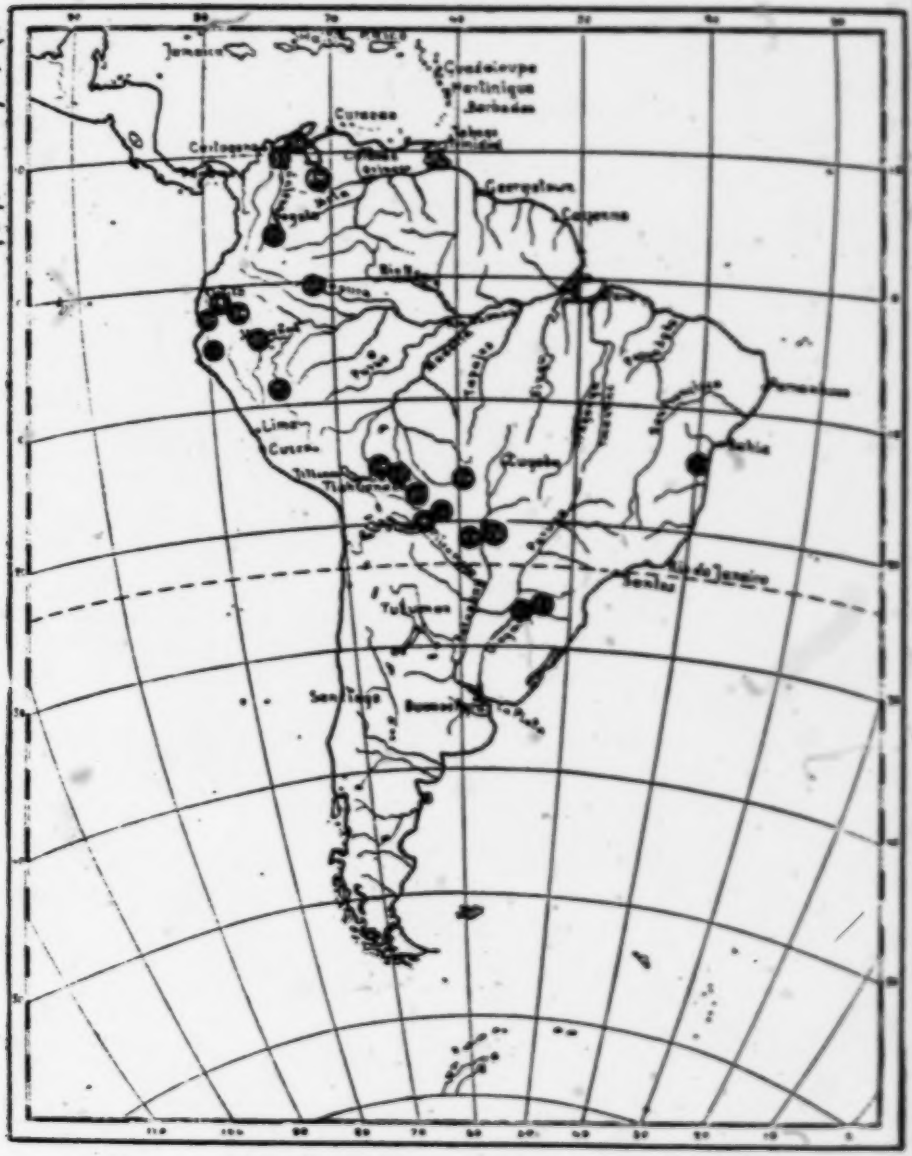
Ce
352
171*
102
S
102
352

4. Chiriguano.
5. Chané. Fig. 2.
18. Quichua, Riobamba, Rivet (2) P. 60.
21. Cainguá, Ambrosetti (7) P. 697.
22. Yuracáre.
23. Churápa.
24. Chimane.
29. Caingang, Ambrosetti (1) P. 325. Is considered to be post - Columbian.
34. Jivaro, Rivet (1) P. 40.
35. Chimila, Bolinder (4) P. 52.
36. Ijca, » (4) P. 48. Only the medicinemen.

[Text continues on P.12]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
102
352
*171
S
102
352



Map. 2. The distribution of the platform bed (Catre

Schwabenbibliothek E-6,2(1906-1908, 1912) 1920
SF22 Chiriguano SF22
Chaco SF2
South American Indians 53

C
ce
352
171
102
9
102
352

61. The Apapóris Indians, Wheppen P. 47.
71. Sipibo, Steinen (5) P. 75.
94. Chiquitos, *Litterae Societatis Jesu* 1594—1595. P. 754. Burgos P. 343. The men have hammocks, the women platform beds. This implies that fixed bedsteads here are more original than hammocks.
95. Chibcha, Oviedo T. 2. P. 407.
IV. Guaná (Arawaks), Azara (1) T. 2, P. 89.
3 H. Indians on the coast of Ecuador, Benzoni P. 245.
4 H. Camacans, Martius (1) P. 345.
6 V. Guaná, Comidges P. 178.
7 V. Indians of Chiquimayo, Palomino P. XLIX. He made his journey in 1549.
8 M. Indians (Chamas), Sierra de Merida. Salas P. 262.
9 P. Xevero, Chantre y Herrera P. 143. Maines, Saavedra P. CXLIV. «duermen en barbacoas ó cabizas con toldos.»

Ee
352
171
283

In the regions I visited it was only the Sirionó, Huanyam and Huari who had hammocks of palm-fibre or bast. The other tribes who employ this form of bed have hammocks of cotton. The Chané hammocks are of cotton or caraguata[7]. The Chiriguano have hammocks of cotton, occasionally of wool. In Thurn and K. v. d. Steinen had already pointed out that, while cotton hammocks appear to be a Carib culture-element, the palm-fibre hammock is of Arawak origin. Pater Schmidt then thoroughly investigated the distribution of hammocks of various materials, confirming the theories of In Thurn and K. v. d. Steinen and showing, moreover, that the Guarani peoples, as a rule, have cotton hammocks.

---

[7]) In net-technique.

[8]) Anonn de la Compañía de Jesus. P. CIV The author speaks of two kind of hammocks from these Indians. Probably one of them were of Caraguatá. I am not quiet sure if he speaks of the Chané or the Chiriguano or of both «hacen unos grandes palos y de ellos cuelgan sus hamacas, que son unas mantas grandes ó tejidos de algodon ó hechas de red.»

Schwabenkiffel 2-6,1 (1904-1906, 1913) 1914
8710 Chiriguano 8710
Chaco 879
South American Indians 53

Map 3. Distribution of the hammock.

Hammock used as a bed.

● = of cotton, □ = of palmfibre or bast, ■ = warp of cotton, weft of bast,
■ = warp of palmfibre, weft of cotton, ■ = either of cotton, palmfibre or bast

▲ = Hammock used as a litter.

Schwabenschiffer 2-4,7 (1969-1969, 1973) 1981
SF10 Chirigaxa SF10
Chase SF9
South American Indians 53

Map 4. The distribution of the hunting net.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C Ce ed poles *that are used both as fish spears and to punt their*
226 *rafts along.*
411 It is not unlikely at all that it is the multi-pointed pole
*171 which has suggested the fish spear. These poles are multi-pointed in order that they may be used in swamps, to punt their canoes along. It was natural that the Indians should try with these poles to have a thrust at any fish they might see. Then, if they migrated to a district where many-pointed poles were no longer needed, these poles lived on as fishspears.

C As I have already mentioned the Chiriguano shoot fish
226 with a bow and arrow. For this purpose they sometimes,
411 though not always, use many-pointed arrows. I have seen two different types which are depicted here (fig. 15). One has two wooden points, the other which was used at Rio Parapiti for shooting small fish, has many points of cactus spikes. Two or three-pointed arrows used for shooting fish are spread in South America chiefly in the water region of the Amazon, as indicated on map 5 and table 4.

Ce I have not visited any Chané who live where they are
226 able to use this method of fishing. Among the arrows in
411 my collection there are no multipointed ones that came from them.

As seen from map 5 and table 4, the many-pointed fish-arrow seems to be a cultural element that came to the Chiriguano from the north part of S. America, most likely from Mojos. I have seen the harpoon arrow neither among the Chiriguano nor the Chané.

Table 4.

C *The following tribes use multi-pointed fishing-arrows. Map 5.*
Ce
102 4. Chiriguano, Fig. 15. Two or many points.
226 31. Trio, GOEJE (1) Pl. V. Fig. 9. Three-pointed.
411 33. Campa, THERESE V. BAYERN (2) Vol. 2, Pl. 1,7
*171 Four-pointed.
S
102
226

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce 41. Pauserna, Two-pointed.
102 43. Huanyam, Three-pointed.
226 47 a. Patamona, THULIN G. M. Three-pointed.
411 48. Indians Northwestern Brazil, KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) T. 2. P. 230. Two-pointed.
*171
S Not on the map Schakaja—Rio Orinoco. RATZEL Vol. 1. Pl. 24. Three-pointed.
102
226 55. Indians, coast of Guiana. STEDMAN T. 2, P. 109; BARRERE P. 169; QUANDT. Fig. 6. Three to five pointed.
63. Yamiaca, Four-pointed. For bird-shooting. Probably also used for fishing.
64. Huari, Two or three-pointed. Nambicuara, ROQUETTE-PINTO (2) P. 184. Two, three and four-pointed.
70. Piro, Upper Rio Purus. KOCH-GRÜNBERG, Communicated by letter.
V3. Caripou, MOCQUET Fig. CC. Three-pointed.
6X. Tambopata-Guarayo. Three-pointed.
2M. Wapisiana. FARABEE Fig. 13. Three-pointed.

C I have not seen these Indians fish with poison. At the
Ce Upper Rio Pilcomayo, however, I heard in 1913 that the
226 Chiriguano know how to poison the water with a certain kind of bark as a means of catching fish. A great number of plants are used by S. American Indians for this purpose, particularly in the basin of the Amazon.[1]) On the map and table, I have endeavoured in some measure to elucidate the distribution of this fishing-method. Curiously enough KARL V. D. STEINEN did not see this method of fishing among the Indians tribes at the upper Rio Xingú.[2]) I have neither seen it myself nor heard of it among the Indians in El Gran Chaco. Nor does MAX SCHMIDT mention fishing with poison from the Guató.

---

[1]) See further KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) T. 2.
[2]) (3) P. 235.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
226
411
*171
S
102
226

Map. 5. The distribution of the multi-pointed fishing arrow.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

Table 5.

Fishing with poison. Map 6.

C
ce
226
*171
102
S
102
226

4. Chiriguano.
10. Araucanians, MOLINA P. 188; GUEVARA (1) P. 90.
13. Karajá, KRAUSE P. 250.
15. Kayapó, KRAUSE P. 386.
18. Quichua, COBO T. 4. P. 227.
21. Cañguá, AMBROSETTI (7) P. 728.
23. Churápa.
24. Chimáne.
25. Mojo, EDER P. 303—304.
30. Guyaqui, AMBROSETTI (7) P. 728.
31. Roukouyennes, CREVAUX. P. 287, 289.
33. Campa, GRANDIDIER P. 142.
34. Jivaro, RIVET (1) P. 57.
37. Motilon, BOLINDER (2) P. 36.
38. Tupi, VASCONCELLOS P. LXXVIII.
40. Guarayú, In the missions.
45. Botocud-Indians, WIED P. 31.
47. Patamona, THULIN; Wapisiana, FARABEE P. 59.
48. Indians northwestern Brazil, KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) T. 2. P. 48. with literature.
49. Araona, ARMENTIA (2) P. 141.
51. Siriono, HERZOG P. 79.
55. Indians Coast of Guiana, BIET P. 358; STEDMAN T. 2. P. 119.
58. Cavina, Tumupasa, cultivate plants for their poison.
61. Indians Rio Yapurá and Rio Iça, WHIFFEN P. 113.
62. Chacobo.
74. Tamanaco, GILIJ. P. 325.
77. Tapirapé, KRAUSE P. 407.
79. Guinau and Yekuaná, Phot. KOCH-GRÜNBERG.
90. Chipaya and Curuahé, SNETHLAGE P. 77.
94. Chiquitos, FERNANDEZ P. 46.
99. Cumanagoto, CAULIN, P. 90.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

6 P. Aguaruna, QUINTANILLA P. 79; HABICH P. 172. C
IX. Colorado, RIVET (3) P. 57. Ce
IC. Paez, URICOECHEA (2) P. 77. 226
7 F. Half civilized Indians, Lower Tapajos, BATES P. 200. 171 *
4 L. Caxinauá, ABREU P. 36. 102
7 S. Arawaks, IM THURN P. 234. S
8 S. Indians Orinoco, GUMILLA T. 1, P. 322. 102
9 S. Maynas, CHANTRE Y HERRERA P. 106; SAABEDRA P. CXLVII. 226
1 T. Leco, WEDDEL P. 448.
2 T. Indians at Schapaja, near Moyobamba, HERNDON P. 165.
3 T. Acoqua, Oyapoc, Guiana, FAUQUE P. 318.
4 T. Indians Rio Ucayali, CASTELNAU Vol. 4. P. 446—447.
X 7. Indians Rio Amazonas, ACUÑA P. 71.
I Indians Paraguay, DOBRIZHOFFER T. 1, P. 344.
104. " Rio Casanare, RIVERO P. 8[1]).
105. " Rio Negro, RIBEIRO DE SAMPAYO. P. 21[1]).

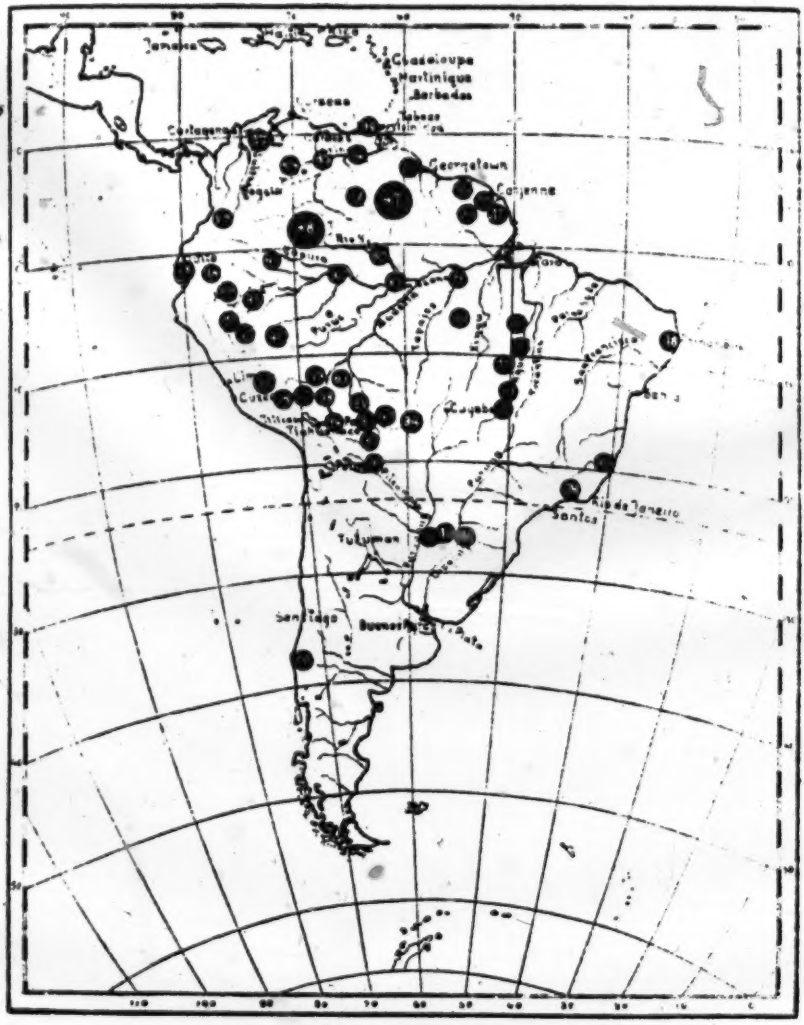
The Chiriguano and the Chané fish with dip-nets both in the Rio Parapiti and in the Rio Pilcomayo. Those used in the Rio Parapiti are small and the meshes fine, as only small fish occur there. They seem to be dwarfed specimens of the big nets used in the Rio Pilcomayo. I know too little about the distribution of different types of nets in S. America to try to show their geographical distribution. Dip-nets like those used by the Chiriguano and Chané I have only seen among the Choroti, Ashluslay, Mataco, Toba and Tapiete. C Ce 226 C Ce [171]* C

On the Upper Rio Pilcomayo the Chiriguano build great dams of stone in which they catch fish when the fish are making their way up the river. Such damming contrivances are also mentioned by CORNEJO[2]) from the Chiriguano C 226

[1]) After FRIEDERICI. Communicated by letters.
[2]). P. 66.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
102
226
171
5
102
226



Map. 6. The distribution of fishing with poison

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
291
*171
S
102
291

Map. 7. The distribution of the Tipoy.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 5.3

Ce
Ce
352
854
482
*171

put down and they feared the snakes. The Guarayú have bearing-bands which are made in the very same technique as most hammocks. Such bearing-bands were also used by the Carios[1]) in Southern Brazil.

Table 8.

The distribution of the lipoy. Map. 7.

Ce
Ce
291
*171
● 102
S
102
291

2. Ashluslay, G. M. Woven without seam. Wool.
4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 8. Woven without seam. Wool or Cotton.
5. Chané, R. M. P. 130. Woven without seam. Wool or Cotton.
6. Mataco, R. M. M. 166. Woven without seam. Wool.
20. Paressi, MAX SCHMIDT (4) P. 217. Woven without seam. Cotton.
25. Mojo, CASTILLO P. 324.
38. Carios, STADEN.
40. Guarayú (Guarayos).
41. Guarayú (Pauserna), G. M. Woven without seam, cotton
45. Gorocotoque, SCHMIDEL (1) P. 264.
51. Siriono. Made in hammock technique.
94. Chiquito, BURGOS P. 341.
98. Ararandeuára. (Tembé). I have gathered from LANGE's photographs that Ararandeuára-girls wear quite short Tipoy in ordinary hammock technique; BARBOSA-RODRIGUES (2) P. 42.
I. Guarani, Paraguay. AZARA (2). P. 416.
5 P. Xarayes, NÚNEZ CABEZA DE VACA. T. 1, P. 300.
X 4. Payaguá. AZARA (2) P. 360.
I F. Indians near Lake Maracaibo. OVIEDO Vol. 2, P. 285. »Tomaron unas indias vestidas unas sayas texidas sin costura, que les tomaba desde la cabeza hasta los pies, e unos capillos como de frayles«.

[1]) STADEN (2) Fig. P. 153.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
South American Indians 53

Table 9.

The distribution of stained teeth. Map 8.

C
302
*171
102
S
102
302

4. Chiriguano, VIEDMA P. 181. Men and woman.
4L. Caxinaua, CAPISTRANO DE ABREU P. 459.
5L. Indians north of Peru, POEPPIG Vol. 2, P. 253. Men.
34. Jivaro, HERMESSEN P. 440, Men.
36. Ijca, BOLINDER (4) P. 114. Men.
39. Goijiro, WAITZ Vol. 3, P. 373.
46. Conibo, RAIMONDI P. 667. See also CASTELNAU Vol. 4, P. 568.
61. WHIFFEN P. 88. »Among the Orahone, and also among some of the Iça and Yapurá Indians, the women cover their teeth and their finger-nails with a black pigment. The paint is never allowed to work off entirely, fresh designs being superimposed before the original has quite disappeared.»
70. Piro, RAIMONDI P. 667. The Piro is also called »Chontaquiro». Chonta = black wood, quiro = tooth.
71. Sipibo, Setebo, RAIMONDI P. 667; SMYTH and LOWE P. 211 write about the Indians in Sarayacu: »but their custom of staining their teeth dark blue, with a plant they call mucumucu, produces a very disgusting effect on their countenance.» The Indians in Sarayacu were Panos, Setebos, Conibos, Shipebos and Sencis.
99. CUMANOGOTO, GOMARA P. 405; BENZONI P. 4, 9. »They make a certain mixture to preserve the teeth, with oyster shells of the sort that produce pearls, burning them with the leaves of the *laxi*, and then adding a little water, so that the mixture looks like the whitest lime; and this they spread over the teeth, which become black as charcoal».

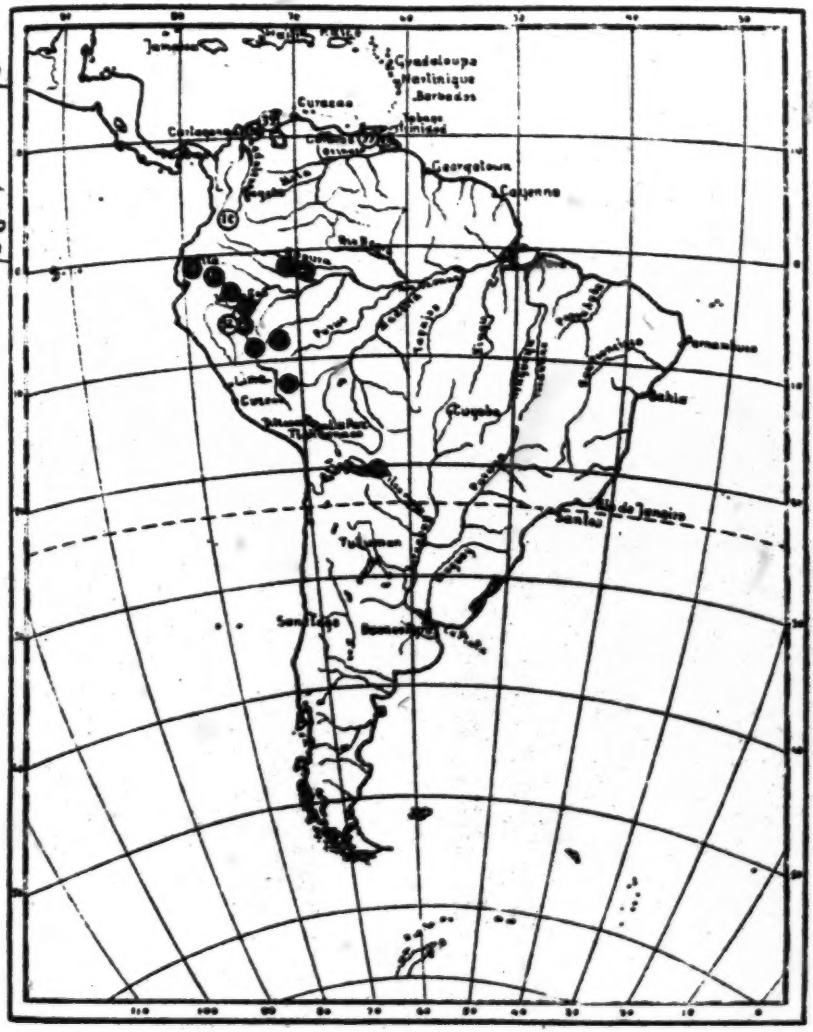
LAS CASAS V. 63, P. 436. »Vieron ellos tambien, y yo despues que acostumbran los hombres traer en la boca cierta hierba todo el dia mascando, la que, teniendo los dientes blanquisimos comunmente, se

[text continues on p. 88]

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

South American Indians 53

C
●102
302
*171
S
102
276
302



Map. 8. The distribution of stained teeth.

● = Intentional staining of the teeth. ○ = Teeth stained black by chewing coca and lime.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
South American Indians 33

C
302
*171
102
S
102
302
[88/]

les ponen una costra en ellos más negra que la más negra azabaja que puede ser;» Las Casas speaks of the expedition of PER ALONSO NIÑO Y CHRISTÓBAL GUERRA 1499.

MARTYR P. 368. »Between the ages of ten to twelve years when puberty declares itself, they chew, all day long, leaves of trees, as thick as a nut, taking no other food nor drink. With this substance they blacken their teeth till they are the colour of a dead coal. They contemptuously call the Spaniards women and children, because the latter like to have white teeth; or likewise wild animals, because they let their hair and beards grow. Their teeth last a lifetime and they are ignorant of the aches which sometimes oblige us to have our molars removed. Their teeth never decay». (The Eighth Decade)

RUIZ BLANCO P. 58, medicine-men. »dos calabacillas en una traen una yerba tostada que llaman a y o, que mascan y es buena para la dentadura, y en otra una calecilla con que ponen los dientes negros.»

SIMON (1) P. 316.

1 c. Paez, MANUEL RODRIGUEZ P. 25. »Mascan continuamente, aquella su yerva diabolica, la *coca*, de que tienen negros como una pez los dientes» . . . . . .

6 P. Aguaruno, MURO P. 199.

4 S. Miraña, MARTIUS (1) Vol. I, P. 536. Men

9 S. Maynas, CHANTRE Y HERRERA P. 63. »Firme la dentadura y por todo igual, cuando no la dañan con el mascar continuo hierbas de zumo negro; es sumamente blanca y la conservan hasta la vejez. Tienen, algunas naciones, por adorno y por moda tenir los dientes y labios de color negro, y á este fin, mascan hierbas y tallos cuyo zumo mezclado con ceniza que meten en la boca, hace, con el beneficio de la saliva, un negro que dura por muchos dias. Mas, no contentos con una tintura, dan á lo menos cada dos dias este barniz

5:Nordenskiöld E-5μ (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
South American Indians 53

C 302 171* 102 S 102 302

á dientes y labios para conservarlos así más lustrosos. Causa grima el ver cómo refriegan los labios con lo más áspero de la hoja del maiz para quitar el tinte antiguo hasta desollarlos, y echar sangre para que de esta manera asiente mejor el nuevo, y brille más por fresco y reciente.»

IX. Colorado, RIVET (3) P. 188.

(70.) Manobamba (Yanaximes), BALBOA Chap. 8; SARMIENTO P. 96. »Conquisto TOPA INGA y sus capitanes desta vez cuatro grandes naciones. La primera fué la de los indios llamados Opataries y la otra llamado Manosuyo y la tercera se dice de los Manaries o Yanaximes que quiere decir los de las bocas negras.» Yana = black, simi = mouth. Near Cuzco, not marked on the map. Possibly identical with Piro (70).

C 302 276 171*

BOLINDER, who has observed that the Ijca's teeth are stained black by their chewing coca and lime,[1]) has advanced the opinion that the staining of teeth among the Cumanogoto may not have been purposely done, but caused by the lime that was chewed with coca. I believe that BOLINDER may be right in this supposition. As early a writer as RUIZ BLANCO[2]), who lived in many years in Cumaná, considered that the lime chewed with coca was the cause of blackened teeth.

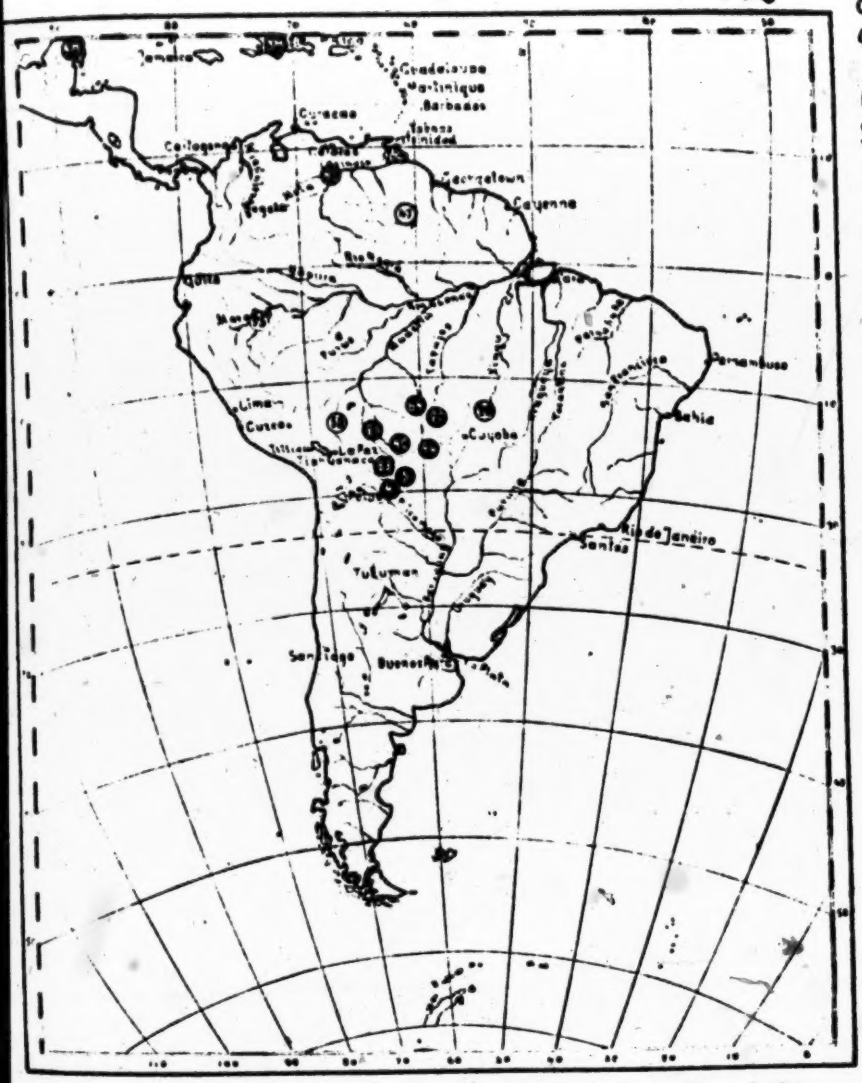
In N. Peru[3]), where lime is chewed with coca, the Indians have black teeth. In the rest of Peru, where coca is chewed with the ashes of quinua-haulm and other plants, the Indians' teeth do not get black from coca chewing. This corroborates the assumption of BOLINDER that the teeth of the Cumanogoto were blackened by the lime they chew-

[1]) (4) P. 122.

[2]) P. 52.

[3]) »Without doubt the lime destroys the teeth and consequently the Peruvian »coqueros» have disgustingly black and carious rows of teeth.» PORPPIG Vol. 2, P. 253.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53
103
C
Ce
102
526
171*
S
102
171
526



Map. 9. The distribution of games with india-rubber balls.

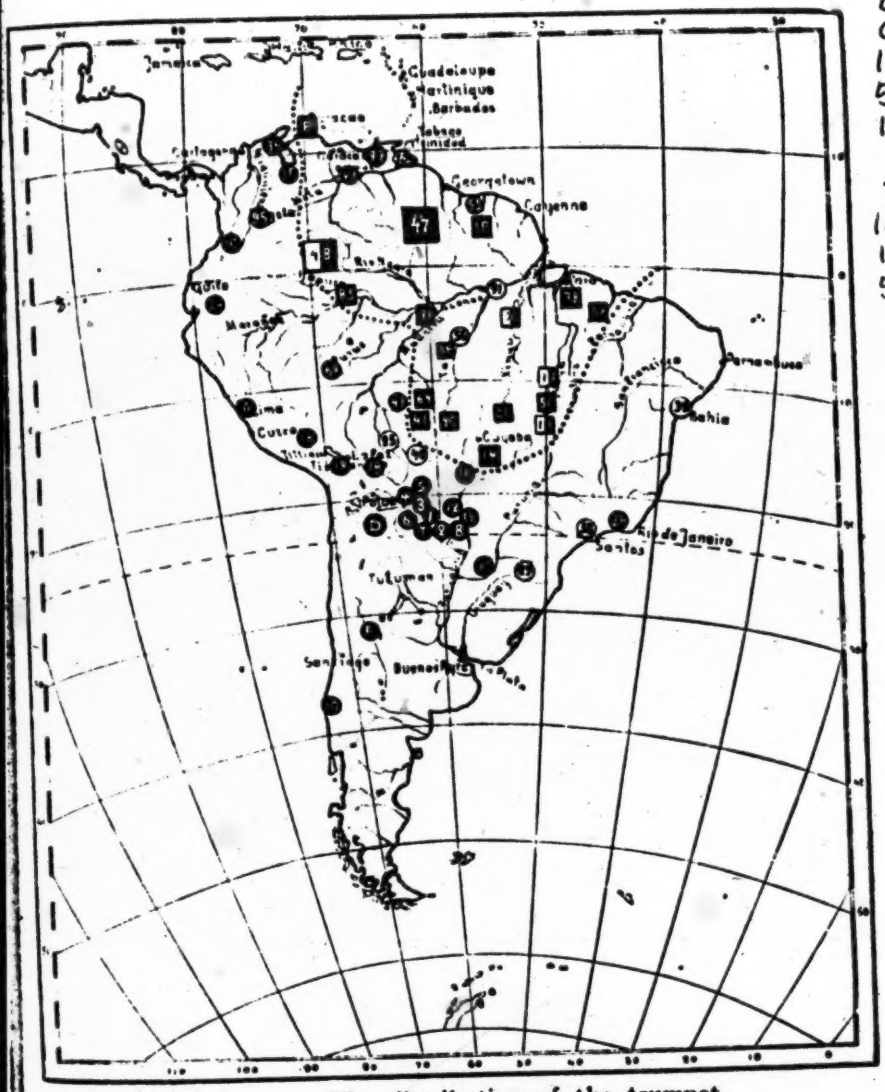
● = players not being allowed to touch the ball with their hands, but having to catch and butt it with their heads, shoulders, hips or feet. O = rules of the game unknown.

4 = Chiriguano; 5 = Chané; 20 = Paressi-Kabisi; 23 = Churápa; 25 = Mojo; 28 = Auetö; 40 = Itatines (Guarayú); 47 = Indians, British Guiana; 58 = Cavina; 64 = Huari; 88 = Otomaco; 94 = Chiquitos; 3M = Indians, Haiti; 4M = Indians, Yucatan; 98 Maynas.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
534
171*

S
102
171
534



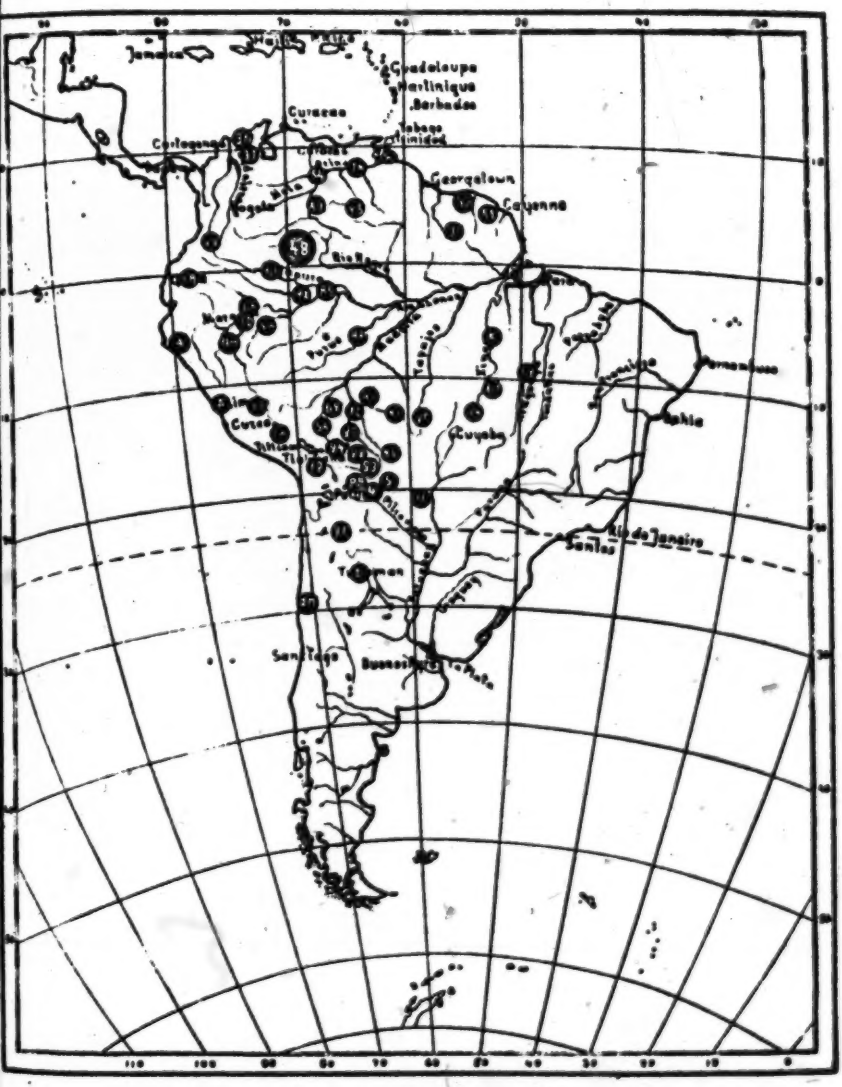
Map. 10. The distribution of the trumpet.

● = End-blown trumpets. ■ = Side-blown trumpets. ..... = S. and W. distribution of side-blown trumpets. ◨ = Both end-blown and side-blown trumpets occur. ○ = Trumpets occur or have occurred but I do not know whether they were end-blown or side-blown.

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
534
171*

S
102
171
534



Map. 11. The distribution of the pan-pipe.

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
534
171*
[102]
S
102
171
534

gation of VON HORNBORSTEL points to the panpipe being an Andine culture-element — at least in N. W. Brazil.

Table 13. Map. 10.

End-blown trumpet.[1])

1. Choroti.
2. Ashluslay.
3. Tapiete.
4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 511, E. 573. (without mouthpiece).
5. Chané, R. M. P. 106. (with mouthpiece).
6. Mataco.
7. Toba.
8. Lengua, HAWTREY P. 293.
10. Araucanians, GUEVARA (1) P. 170.
12. Mbayá, SÁNCHEZ-LABRADOR Vol. 2, P. 4.
13. Karajá, KRAUSE P. 316.
16. Guató, MAX SCHMIDT (3) P. 309.
18. Quichua. »Quepa es una suerte de trompetilla que hazen de un calabazo largo.» »Tocan asimismo caracoles.» COBO, T. 4, P. 229.
19. Aymara.
30. Guayaqui, KUNIKE Fig. 8.
34. Jivaro, RIVET (1) P. 53.
36. Ijca, BOLINDER (4) P. 269. Köggaba, BRETTES P. 452.
38. Tupinambá, LERY Plate P. 240.
43. Huanyam, G. M. 15. 1. 590.
48. Indians Northwestern-Brazil. KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) P. Vol. 1, Fig. 116 and 196.
55. Caribs, Surinam, ENCYCLOPÆDIE P. 495. Letter from JOSSELIN DE JONG. (Museum Leiden, Serie 1817 nrs. 193 and 194.)
69. Ipurina, EHRENREICH (2) P. 71; STEERE P. 378.

[1]) I have assumed all the shell trumpets to be end-blown. Side-blown shell trumpets are, as far I know, unknown from S. America.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
534
#171
102
S
102
171
534

95. Chibcha, RESTREPO P. 106.
99. Cumanagoto, GOMARA P. 207.
A. Indians on the coast of Peru, MEAD (1).
IC. Paez, PITTIER DE FABREGA P. 324.
D. Puna de Jujuy and Quebrada del Toro, ERIC VON ROSEN (4) P. 154 and P. 205.
F. San Juan, DEBENEDETTI (4) P. 235.
X. Yuruna, M. f. V. B. (V. B. 1725).
1 F. Indians, Sierra Mene. OVIEDO T. 2, P. 282.
V 7. Saliva, GUMILLA T. I, P. 217.

Side-blown trumpets.

13. Karajá, KRAUSE P. 316.
14. Bororó, KARL VON DEN STEINEN (3) P. 496.
20. Paressi, MAX SCHMIDT (4).
28. Kamayurá. M. f. V. B. (V. B. 2940.)
41. Pauserna, G. M. 15. 1. 847.
47. Indians Roraima, G. M. 12. 1. 50.
48. Indians Northwestern—Brazil, KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) Fig. 140.
50. Šavajé, KRAUSE P. 365.
64. Huari.
85. Juri, RATZEL Vol. I, P. 464.
98. Tembé, BARBOSA RODRIGUEZ (2) P. 43.
P. Island of Aruba, Etnographical Museum in Leiden. Serie 472, Nr. 9. Kindly communicated by Dr. JOSSELIN DE JONG.
X. Yuruna, M. f. V. B. (V. B 1726, V. B. 1728 b, B. 1727).
1 P. Negroes, Surinam, R. M. Collection of Baron AXEL KLINKOWSTRÖM.
3 P. Mauhé, RATZEL Vol. 1, Plate P. 497.
5 H. Parentintin (?), Rio Tapajos. (Fig. 37 D). It is probably correct to assume that these trumpets are from the Rio Tapajos region. It is very doubtful if they are from the Parentintin, as they form part of an old collection (Dr. CASTRO'S) which seems to be rather carelessly labelled.
5 X. Canella, KISSENBERTH (1) P. 51.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

Trumpets of which little is known.

25. Mojo, CASTILLO P. 341. The horns for the trumpets the Indians brought from Sta Cruz de la Sierra. EDER P. 334. »primum cucurbitis oblongis aut rotundis constat; illas more tubarum, has inserta fistula inflant».
29. Caingang, BLEYER P. 835; D'ESCRAGNOLLE TAUNAY P. 578.
38. Tupi, Coast of Brazil. SOARES DE SOUZA P. 300. (Tupinambá), P. 312 (Tupinaê), P. 314. (Amoipira); LERY P. 234; »blasen in bosaunen von kürbissen gemacht.» STADEN.
40. Itatines, LITTERAE ANNUAE 1594—1595 P. 751.
56. Mundrucú, TOCANTINS P. 134.
91. Indians Rio Amazonas, CARVAJAL P. 64.

C
Ce
102
534
171*
S
102
171
534

Table 14.

The pan-pipe. Map. 11.

4. ? Chiriguano.
5. Chané, R. M. P. 174.
11. Chamacoco, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.
13. Karajá, EHRENREICH (2) P. 24.
18. Quichua, COBO Vol. 4, P. 229.
Museum Copenhagen (H 1057), Quito.
19. Aymara.
20. Paressi, MAX SCHMIDT (4) P. 240.
22. Yuracáre, NORDENSKIÖLD (9) Fig. 57.
23. Churápa, R. M. Tj. 33.
24. Chimáne, G. M. 15. 1. 1001.
25. Mojo, EDER P. 332, Fig. 8.
28. Indians upper Rio Xingú, K. V. D. STEINEN (3) P. 327.
31. Ojana, Trio, GOEJE (1) Pl. VII, 13.
33. Campa, ORDINAIRE P. 281.
36. Ijca, Köggaba, BOLINDER (4) P. 263.
37. Motilon, » » P. 270.
40. Guarayú (Guarayos), R. M. G. 47.

Schwabenkiller 1-4,9(1908-1908, 1812) 1801
8710 Chirigaino 8710 ●
Class 578
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
534
●102
*171
S
102
171
534

41. Panerna, G. M. 15. 1. 848.
43. Huanyam, G. M. 15. 1. 595.
48. Indians Northwestern Brazil, Koch-Grünberg (2). Pater Schmidt P. 1060.
54. Guahibo, R. M. H. M. K. II. 7.
55. Caribs, French Guiana, Barrère P. 132.
58. Cavina, G. M. 15. 1. 1464.
61. Indians Rio Yapurá, Wheppen P. 210, Pl. XLIX
62. Chocobo, R. M. Ch. 73.
67. Seyá, K. v. d. Steinen (3) P. 327.
68. Omagua. Pater Schmidt P. 1060.
74. Tamanaco, Gilij Vol. 2, P. 275.
85. Juri, Ratzel Vol. 1, P. 464.
A. Found on the coast of Peru. Mead (1).
3C. Itonama, G. M. 15. 1. 1270.
3D. Cocama, Pater Schmidt P. 1060.
E. Diaguita, Ambrosetti (6) Segunda parte, P. 469. Earthen vessel representing a figure with a pan-flute in the hands found at Amaicha, Valle Calchaqui, Provincia de Tucuman. Ambrosetti (1) T. 19, P. 221.
2F. Indians Susques, Boman P. 464. Imported from Bolivia.
9H. Indians at Sarayacu, Smyth and Lowe P. 214.
8P. Pazmari, Steere P. 387.
V5. Maquiritare. Pater Schmidt P. 1060.
V8. Peba. " " "
V9. From Timana, Regel. Pl. 24, Fig. 19.
X. Yuruna, K. v. d. Steinen (2) P. 259.
X3. Piaroa, R. M. H. M. K. I. 72.
9X. Passe, Pater Schmidt P. 1060.
an Found at Serena, Chile. Medina (1) Fig. 79.
pp Found at Iruya, Argentine. Eric von Rosen (4) P. 381.

[illegible] 1-4-2[illegible]-1906, 1913, 1920
[illegible] Chicagoan [illegible]
Class [illegible]
South American Indians 53

C
102
532
C
C4
102
532
*171

136

Notes on the map

Pacoui (?). According to MAX SCHMIDT the Pacoui most likely do not use the dancing mask. (4) P. 198.

23. Chonipa, R. M. Tj. 76.
25. Mojo, EDER P. 337.
27. Ona, COOPER P. 156.
28. Indians Rio Negro, KARL v. d. STEINEN (3)
36. Ijca, BOLLAUGHER (4) P. 258.
48. Many tribes in North-western Brazil, KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2).
50. Savajé, KRAUSE P. 367.
50.? MONDRUCU, URLE (1) Vol. 2, Tal. 26.
65. Bauré, R. M. C—R. 5.
85. Juri, MARTIUS (4) T. 3, P. 1027.
86. Valona, CASTELNAU, Vol. 3, P. 21.
94. Chiquito, HERRICO P. 21.
95. Chiloño, RUFINO P. 68.
A. Peruvian coast, Ancon and other places. (Burial masks). RAUSELLO P. 141.
C. Puna de Atacama, BOMAN P. 746.
E. Mask of stone, found at Catamarca, OTTER (3) v BRUCH P. 57, Fig. 31.
1 B. Tiwana, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.
1 E. Ceyahuha, R. M. F. 4.
9 L. Ranivo, ARVELO (Communicated by Dr. Koch-Grünberg).
1 M. Indians Darien, OVIEDO Vol. 2, P. 414. MARTYR Vol. 1, P. 219. Second Decade. Burial masks of gold.
3 M. Chamas, Cuicas, Timotes etc. Sierra de Merida, SALAS P. 32.
9 X. Pané, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.
V 8. Peba, PORPINO P. 164.
X 3. Vaghan, COOPER P. 156.
bg. Pinagua, URLE (6) P. 16. Burial masks.
bh. Ecuador, Golden mask. JOYCE. Pl. IV.
bi. Quimbaya, Golden mask. JOYCE. Pl. IV.

Notes on the map

San Matéo at the Oroya-railway, masks of the facial part of human skulls.

* Chanchamayo, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.

Schmidt-Schröder E-8,4 (1906-1908, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chirigano SF10
Chano SF8
South American Indians 53

C
CE
102
415
171*
S
102
415

Map 13. The distribution of vessels with string-holes.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
415
171
5
102
415

Table 16,

Vessel with string-holes. Map. 13.

2. Ashluslay, R. M. A. 1587.
4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 987.
12. Caduvei, BOGGIANI (2) P. 41. Fig. 13.
M. Mojos, R. M. T. 577.
A. Coast of Peru. Ica. In private collection.
N. Upper Rio Parana, MAYNTZHUSEN P. 466.
O. Delta de Parana, TORRES (2) P. 87.
Ä. Caipipendi, R. M. K. 93.
a. i. Manizales, UHLE (1) Vol. 1, Pl. 2, Fig. 10.
a j. Los raudales Rio Orinoco, MARCANO Pl. XXIX.
a k. Saipina, G. M. 15. 2. 7. Fuerte Samaipata, R. M.
a m. Taltal, Chile, EVANS (1) P. 22.
c. Marajo, NETTO P. 354, 355.
e. Sara, NORDENSKIÖLD (10) Fig. 30.
p. San Blas, OUTES (4) P. 264.

Ce
415
532

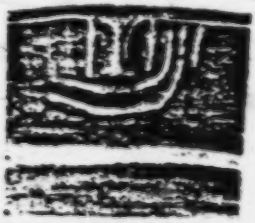


Fig. 39. Human face painted on the border of a vessel from the Chané. Rio Parapiti. R. M.

C
Ce
415
171

Among the many types of earthen vessel used by the Chiriguano and Chané here are several which are highly reminiscent of types we are acquainted with from the Mountain civilization, e. g. double pitchers. (Fig. 41,8) They do not occur in N. E. Bolivia. DEBENEDETTI[1]) has pointed out the similarity between the pottery which he

[1]) (2).

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Matacco SF7
South American Indians 53
135
C
Ce
532
171*

dance masks from the Chané. Where the latter learnt their use it is at present impossible to say.

The map 12 and table 15 show us the distribution of the mask in S. America.

The places at which burial masks have been found are indicated in the map by squares. In making out this list I have followed PATER SCHMIDT, to whose statements I am able to make a few additions. The fact of the Ona and Yahgan Indians having masks seems to prove that their use is very ancient in S. America. At a ceremony of exorcism among the Mataco I saw some men with pieces of cloth hanging over their faces. I take this to be the most primitive kind of mask.

C
Ce
102
532
171*
M
582
789

Table 15 showing the Distribution in S. America. (map 12) of dancing masks and other masks.

S
102
532
C
Ce
102
532
171*

3. Tapiete, R. M. L. 216.
4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 601.
5. Chané.
8. Lengua, GRUBB Plate P. 180.
10. Araucanians, GUEVARA (1) Fig. 5; PATER SCHMIDT P. 1057.
11. Chamacoco, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.
13. Karajá, KRAUSE P. 331.
18. Quichua, ACOSTA T. 2, P. 225; SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA P. 68 (Burial masks); COBO V. 4, P. 102. »Y cada atambor tocaban cuatro indios principales vestidos de muy particular librea con camisetas coloradas hasta los pies con rapacejos blancos y colorados; encima se ponían unas pieles de leones desollados enteros y las cabezas vacías en las cuales les tenían puestas unas patenas, zarcillos en las orejas, y en lugar de sus dientes naturales, otros del mismo tamaño y forma.«
19. Aymara. Mestizos, Bolivia. Quite common during the carnival.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
102
131
532
M1*
S
102
532

Map 12. The distribution of masks.

● = dancing masks. ■ = burial masks and other masks.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
286
171*

warped so that the completed work may form a ring or not according as it is desired.

Table 18.

»Arawak» loom. Map. 15.

C
Ce
102
286
171*
S
102
286

2. Ashluslay, Photo in my collection. G. M.
4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 1037.
5. Chané, R. M. P. 344.
6. Mataco, R. M. M. 1230.
8. Lengua, GRUBB P. 67.
20. Paressi, MAX SCHMIDT (4) P. 214.
21. Cainguá, AMBROSETTI (7) P. 711.
22. Yuracáre, R. M. Y. 598.
31. Emerillon. GOEJE (1). Pl. XVI.
36. Ijca, BOLINDER (4) P. 149.
37. Motilon, BOLINDER (4) P. 149.
41. Pauserna, G. M. 15. 1. 806.
48. Indians Northwestern Brazil. KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) Bd (2) P. 211.
62. Chacobo, R. M. Ch. 178.
65. Baure, R. M. C—B. 33.
IV. Tereno, MAX SCHMIDT (4) P. 214.[1])
1 C. Paez, PITTIER DE FABREGA Pl. VI.
2 M. Wapisiana, FARABEE Pl. VII.

C
Ce
286
171*

The loom only occurring among the Chiriguano is a band-loom which is depicted here, This loom is much more akin to the usual Peruvian loom and must be regarded as a western culture-element. (See fig. 55,4.) East of the Andes the Peruvian loom is unknown except among the Mataco.[2])

Appertaining to the loom outfit of the Chiriguano and Chané are weaving-implements of bone and wood (fig. 56).

[1]) Caduvel, BOGGIANI (2) P. 107. Warp set up as in the loom fig. 55. 1.

[2]) See Part 1. Fig. 62.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
286
171*
S
102
286

Map. 15. The distribution of the »Arawak» loom.

● = Warp set up as shown in fig. 55.3.
■ = » » » » » » » 55.2.
● = It is not exactly known how the warp is set up.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians 53

Notes on the Bibliographical maps.

S
C
Ce
113
114
128
102

To this bibliography several maps have been added which ought to prove useful from many points of view. *The maps indicate the territories concerning which the authors quoted in parts 1 and 2 made their investigations.*

The first map shows the literature from 1498—1600, the second from 1600—1700, the third from 1700—1800, the fourth from 1800—1900 and the fifth from 1900—1920. We find a separate map of the archæological literature. Several important works are unfortunately missing which I have not been able to study. It is difficult and expensive work to collect the literature on the S. American Indians. Not the least difficult of access are certain works printed in S. America during the 19th century. For my ethno-geographical studies I have of course read a number of books without finding anything to quote from them and consequently they are not mentioned here. I desired especially to show the merits and demerits of the maps of the distribution of the cultural elements here published. The maps of the authors' names show us the districts from which I have no material at all and those from which I only have the material of older authors, or only of modern writers.

Some authors have not travelled in the territories they have written about, but have drawn from the works of several other authors. The most remarkable existant work of this kind is COOPER's excellent work on all that has been written about the Indian tribes in southernmost S. America. If there were many such compilations, it would not be difficult to draw up maps of the distribution of the various cultural elements.

From the map that indicates about which districts the archeological treatises are written, we can see, even though

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,V(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

S
C
Ce
113
114
128
102

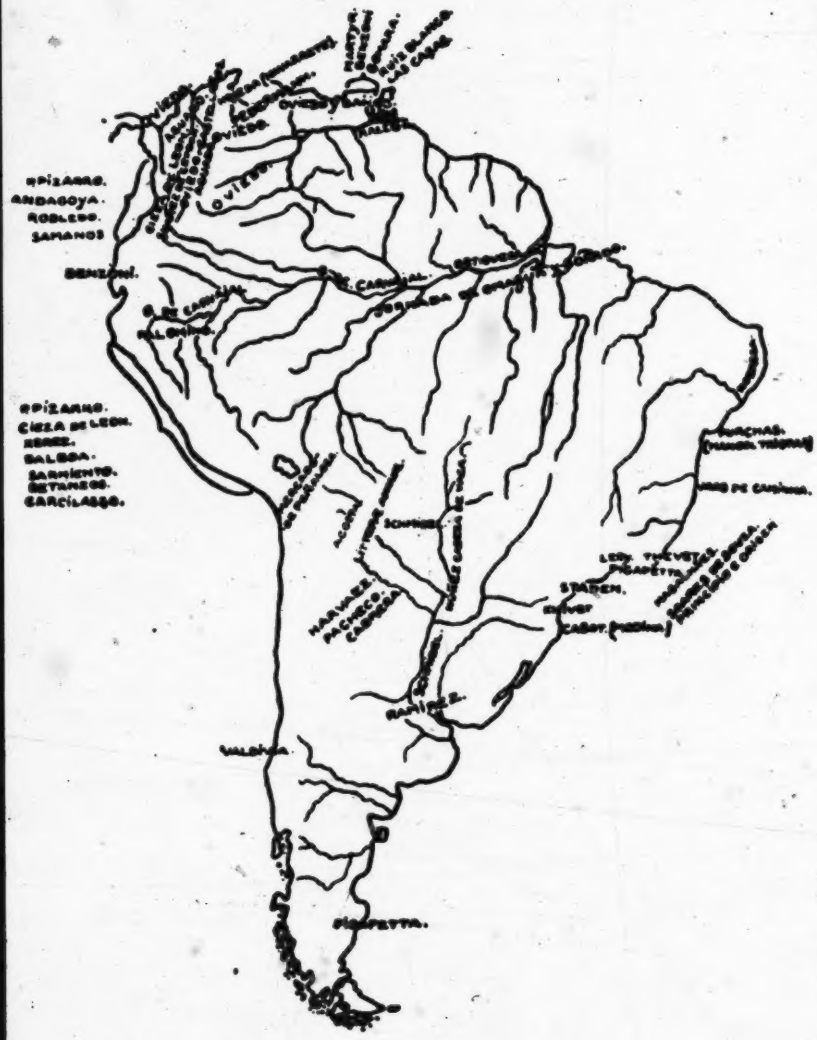
some names are missing, what immense territories in S. America are still entirely unexplored archeologically.

The bibliography includes some authors whose names will not be found in the maps, i. e. FRIEDERICI and PATER SCHMIDT, great as their services to the ethnography of S. America have been. This is because they have written comprehensive works dealing with the ethnography of the whole continent, and not with any particular part of it.

When I have quoted from several works by the same author, these are numbered 1, 2, 3, etc. in the bibliography. The same work has the same number in the First and Second Parts of my own book.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,H (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indian S3

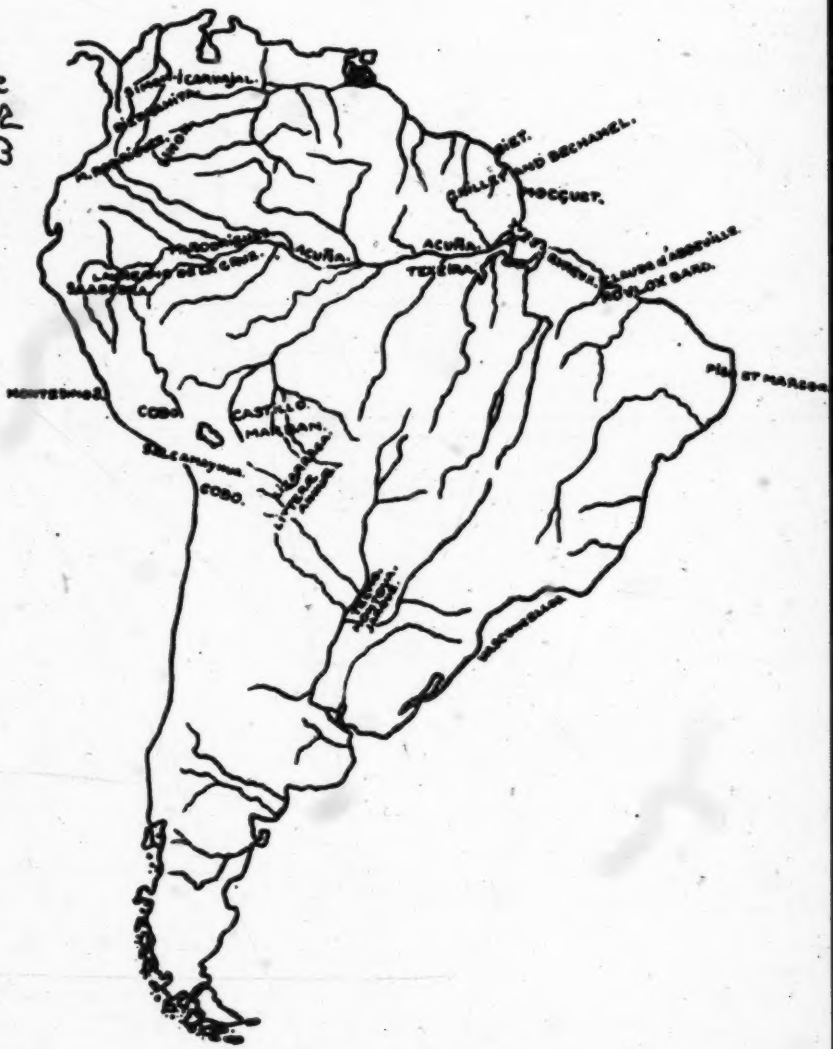
S
C
Ce
102
113



Bibliographical map I. 1498—1600.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,½(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

S
C
Ce
1D2
113



Bibliographical map 2. 1600—1700.

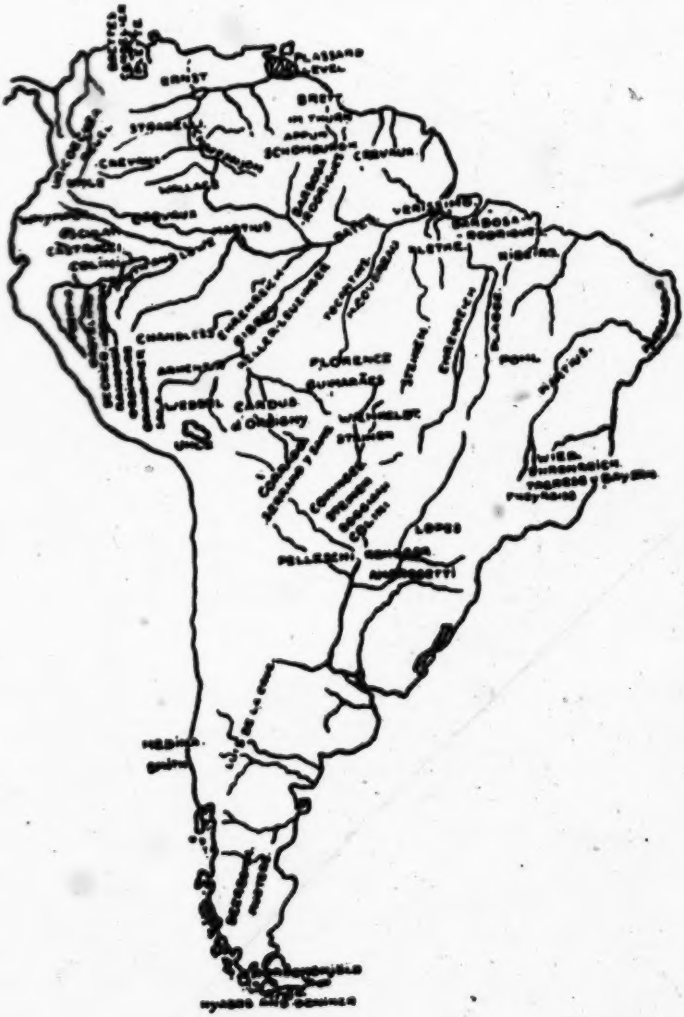
S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

S
C
Ce
102
113

Bibliographical map 3. 1700—1800.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chirigüano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians 53

S
C
Ce
102
113



Bibliographical map 4. 1800—1900.

54Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

S
C
Ce
102
113

Bibliographical map 5. 1900—1920.

Bibliotheekbijlad E-6/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chaco SP8
South American Indians 53

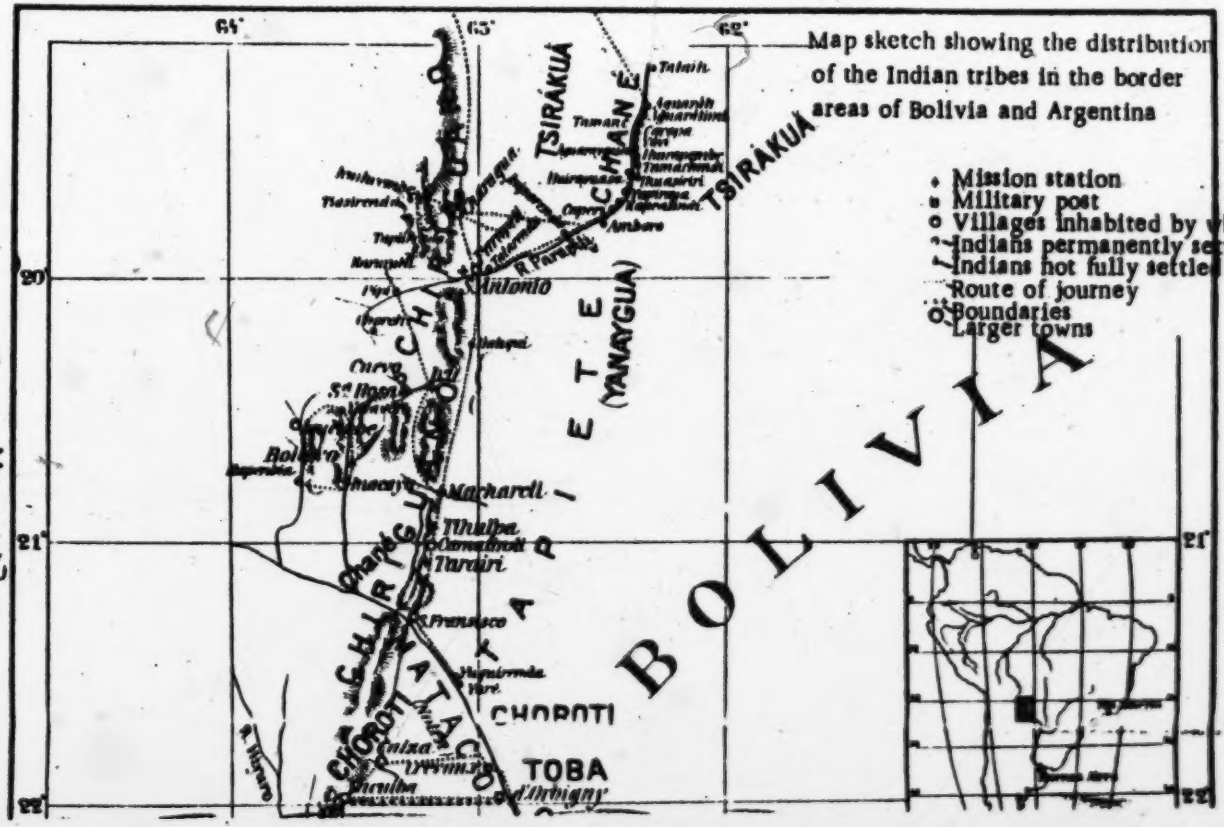
SC
Ce
102
113
172

Bibliographical map 6. Archæological literature.

C
Ce
102
103
131
133
361
M
Ci
102
131
133

6: Nordenskiöld--156 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF/0

Mataco IT 7
Choroti SK6
Chane SF1



[End Map (A)]

C: Nordenskiöld--157 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chirigüano SF10
Mataco SF7
Choroti SF6
Chaqe SF8

/295/ Preface

114 12 In the chapters to follow, I propose to publish part of the results obtained in the course of the expedition that I undertook in the Bolivian and Argentinian Chaco in my capacity as director of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Tucumán.

114 [101] This expedition took place from February to June, 1929. Its itinerary was the following: Having left Tucumán, I went by railroad to La Quiaca where I stayed for several days, making observations on the more or less half-breed natives of the region. From La Quiaca I went to Tarija, where I remained longer than I might have wished because of the suspicions my trip raised at the time of the Paraguayan-Bolivian conflict.

114 101 ●103 After a 15-day stop I left Tarija to reach the Chiriguano tolderías of the upper Pilcomayo. I crossed the village of Santa Ana, then the Alta del Cóndor, the Narvaez River, the post of San Diego, passed five kilometers from San Luis (Entre-Ríos) to stop at the Cuesta de San Simon, where I found the first Chiriguano. Once having crossed the Cuesta de San Simón I quickly reached the Salado River, then the Chiriguano villages of Timboy (Saladito). It was there that I made my best acquisitions of [126] pottery and where I collected the oldest objects. The inhabitants [178] of these rancherías, who live relatively far from the highway from Argentina to Santa Cruz, have preserved the traditions and culture of their ancestors better than their racial brothers have. From Saladito I reached the village of Itasiri and then Salado Grande, [361] in order /296/ to reach the Pilcomayo at the confluence with the Salado. There, the Chiriguano villages are large and numerous. The most interesting are those of Ñawirenda, Ibopeytí, and Yumbía.

After stopping for some time in this place, I continued my trip toward Huacaya and the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo.

In one day I went from Boicovo to Cuevo, going by way of the mission of Santa Rosa.

[197] [198] From Cuevo on I was in the mission of Ivu, which is without doubt the one where the old Chiriguano customs have undergone the fewest modifications.

/296 cont./

114 101 103 From Cuevo I left for the northwest toward the Parapiti River region. I crossed this river near Pipi. After stopping in that village, I followed an Indian path which led me to Caruruti, to the home of my good friend Captain Kamapadyú. I spent a week with him and left him only to explore the whole Caipipendí valley, visiting all the Indian villages one after another. At Caipipendí itself I made fruitful excavations and collected interesting myths.

The limit of my trip toward the north was the little city of Charagua.

I devoted the last part of my trip to more or less long stays in the Franciscan missions of Tarairí, Tigüipa, Macharetí, and Ivo.

Before going back to Argentina I made an excursion into the Igüembé valley as far as the village of Masavi.

114 127 The last two weeks of my expedition were devoted to the study of the Chané Indians who live near Aguaray in the Salta Chaco (Argentine Republic).

Previously I had been obliged, for various reasons, to stop at Oran for a month. I took advantage of this to make collections among the Ashluslay Indians who come there for the sugar-cane harvest.

In this volume I shall publish only the results of my expedition which bring new facts and details to light. Therefore the chapters I devote to the Chiriguano must not be considered an exhaustive study of their culture, but simply as a contribution. Chiriguano culture has been the subject of four important works, two of which are by ethnographers of great authority (1). /297/

1. Nordenskiöld (2, 5, and 10) and Rosen (1) /the underlined numbers following an author's name refer to the boldface numbers in the bibliography/. Campana's monograph on the Chiriguano, which I shall often have occasion to cite, is only a recompilation and reorganization of the manuscript notes left by the Italian missionary, the Reverend Father Doroteo Giannechini. This work is excellent in many respects. As for the book of the Reverend

4: Nino

101
102
● 103
131
133
361
797

SF10 Chiriguano SF10

p. 447	p. 448	p. 449
p. 450	p. 451	p. 452

Chart of Positions of End Map, (pp. 447-452).
/facing End Map/

/91 cont./

Cuevo

361 175 [103] The town of Cuevo is located on the left bank of the torrent or stream of the same name. Before the war of the year 1875, and even later, it was known by the Chiriguano who lived there as Ñumbicte, which means "halfway field," and in fact it occupies a beautiful level place located almost midway between the ranges to the west and those to the east.

Almost all of the first white inhabitants were from the department of Santa Cruz, and it is an undeniable fact that Colonel Víctor Antezana moved to the region of Cuevo-Ibo with some militiamen from Lagunillas and built a fortress where the public cemetery of Cuevo is today, and another one where the church of San Buenaventura of the mission of Yvu has been built, both works which are owed to the constancy and activity of the Franciscan missionaries of the Villa Imperial. The fortresses are later than 1875.

[797] [648] Subsequently, the town was formed under the protection of the missionaries themselves and around the Cross of the Savior; it was completely burned by the Indians in the uprising of Curuyuqui in 1892, but the inhabitants of Cuevo who did not perish, with the assistance of the flourishing mission of Santa Rosa, built anew and in better condition the new town, which continues to progress today.

175 648 [361] In the war of the year 1875 all the Chiriguano of Cuevo-Ibo and Huacaya, together with the treacherous Toba and guided by the great cacique Corone, who lost his life in the torrent of Baecua opposite the town of Igüembe, rose up as one man to overwhelm all the whites in the region.

/92/ In this critical situation the intrepid subprefect of the province of Acero, D. Antonio Menduiña, with the militiamen from Monteagudo, San Juan del Piray, Huacareta, and Ingre, flew to the region of Igüembe and with these people overwhelmed the innumerable and ferocious host, reducing it at once to impotence by the slaughter of Caipipendi.

/95 cont./

000 These disputes are prejudicial up to a certain point, inasmuch as they impede the free colonization of the Bolivian Chaco, which would not be the case if everything were peaceful in those remote regions.

Once the friendly settlements were made and the spirits of the settlers were calmed, the region would be colonized more, which would increase the number of inhabitants. If this were the case, it is my opinion that in a short time the Government of Bolivia could establish a new department in the Gran Chaco. The Chaco is open to commerce and to civilization throughout its area, many towns exist there, and, in them, commercial establishments; one can pass through the region without any danger, and the Chiriguano race receives the traveler with demonstrations of affection and subjection. /The remainder of p. 95 and the first sentence on p. 96 are omitted in the translation. Page 96 continues as follows./

Cayuguari

175 648 [103] Cayuguari is the name given to the country inhabited by an Indian of the same name who fled from Machareti with others in the year 1856 or 1857; they settled along the lake of Cumbarurenta, four leagues to the southeast of Yrentagüe, and subsequently withdrew 20 leagues farther to the east, because in the company of Toba, Tapiete, and other tribes they had committed innumerable cattle thefts, for which they were constantly hunted by the settlers of Carandaiti, where a picket detailed from Aguairenta is stationed today.

The flight of the Cayuguari Indian to Cumbarurenta first, and today to 52 leagues from Carandaiti, was not due to the death of Captain Taruncunti, murdered by the Macharitefios /persons from Machareti/ Barapiche, Arasuque, and Yepoina, residents of Avay, but to their disposition and outrages committed against their relative, Mandepónai.

/106 cont./

Yacuiba

[131] [167] Because of an error in the demarcation of the boundaries with the Republic of Argentina, the town of Yacuiba is located to the south of the boundary stone, while it should be to the north, and the latter, the boundary stone, should be located precisely in Itiyuru, the limit of the Chiriguano race, which has occupied Bolivian territory since its immigration.

[103] Yacuiba, or Yacuigua, as the Chiriguano pronounce it, means: lake of the wild turkey. It is a rich region throughout; its territory is level, the streets which are being built are as straight as a line of this name, the land fertile. There are grown there the arveja or pea, the garbanzo, and other cereals, which plants are irrigated with water which is relatively abundant.

The town, which also fell in the earthquake of 1899, is being rebuilt according to modern methods, and its progress is rapid. It now has a first-class hotel, where the traveler and the countryman are served with all culture and exactness, department stores, where every article is found, and permanent buildings, houses of great size, and a customs building all of zinc from the walls to the roof.

The little city, in addition, is quite picturesque because of the many orange groves which continually embellish it with their green foliage and yellow fruit, /107/ which indicates the fertility of the territory and the abundance of water.

The little city is located in the territory of Tarija; consequently it was founded through Bolivian efforts. It is the seat of the subprefecture of the Gran Chaco, and today it is a cosmopolitan town, whether because of the many foreigners who have settled there or because of the many others who are continually passing through, not to mention the importance given it by the continual arrival of vehicles and that which it will receive from the proximity of the railway.

/332 cont./

Music of the Mbapa Páure /omitted in the original source/
Chiriguano carnival 361
Music of the Alleluia /omitted in the original source/
Bows, arrows, etc. 368
Group of Choroti Indians 384
Choroti Indian houses 392
Girls' school of the San Pascual Mission 401
Schoolgirls at work (San Francisco del Parapiti) 410
Interior of the San Pascual Church 418
Group of Mataco Indians 422
Group of Toba Indians 430

/The corrections in the list on p. 333 have been made in the text of the translation. Page 333 continues with the following note concerning the end map./

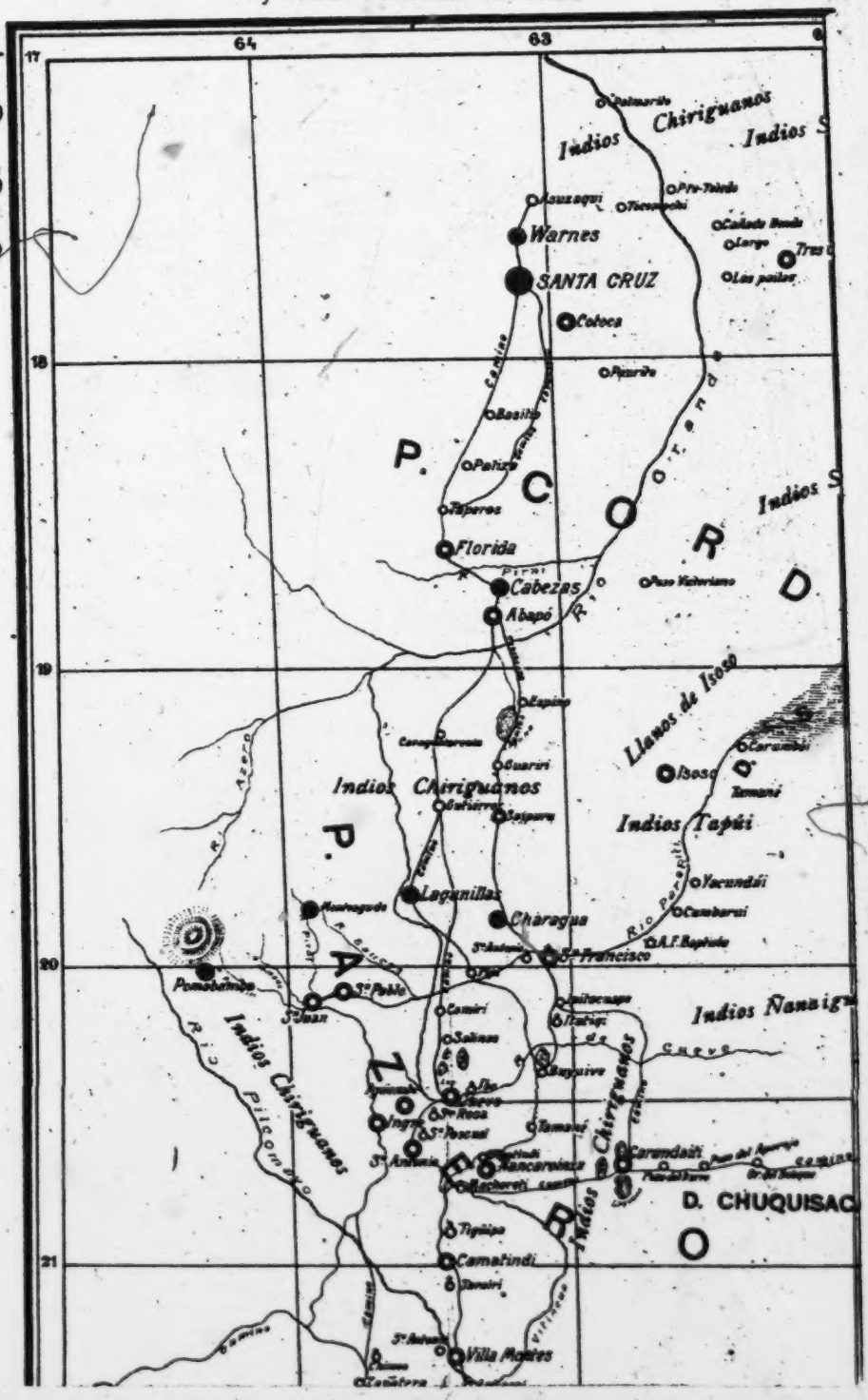
101 Note: The map which is found at the end of the work con-
102 tains the following errors: (1) the juntas of San Antonio should
103 be of San Francisco; (2) the line which comes out of Cuevo
131 toward the Azero River is not a river, but a dividing line between
133 Santa Cruz and Sucre; (3) the missions of the Parapiti occupy
361 the left bank of said river; (4) Ibo occupies the right bank of the
797 Cuevo River; (5) the projected city of Manso should be near the bank of the Pilcomayo River.

4: Nino--447 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Map of the Gran Chaco

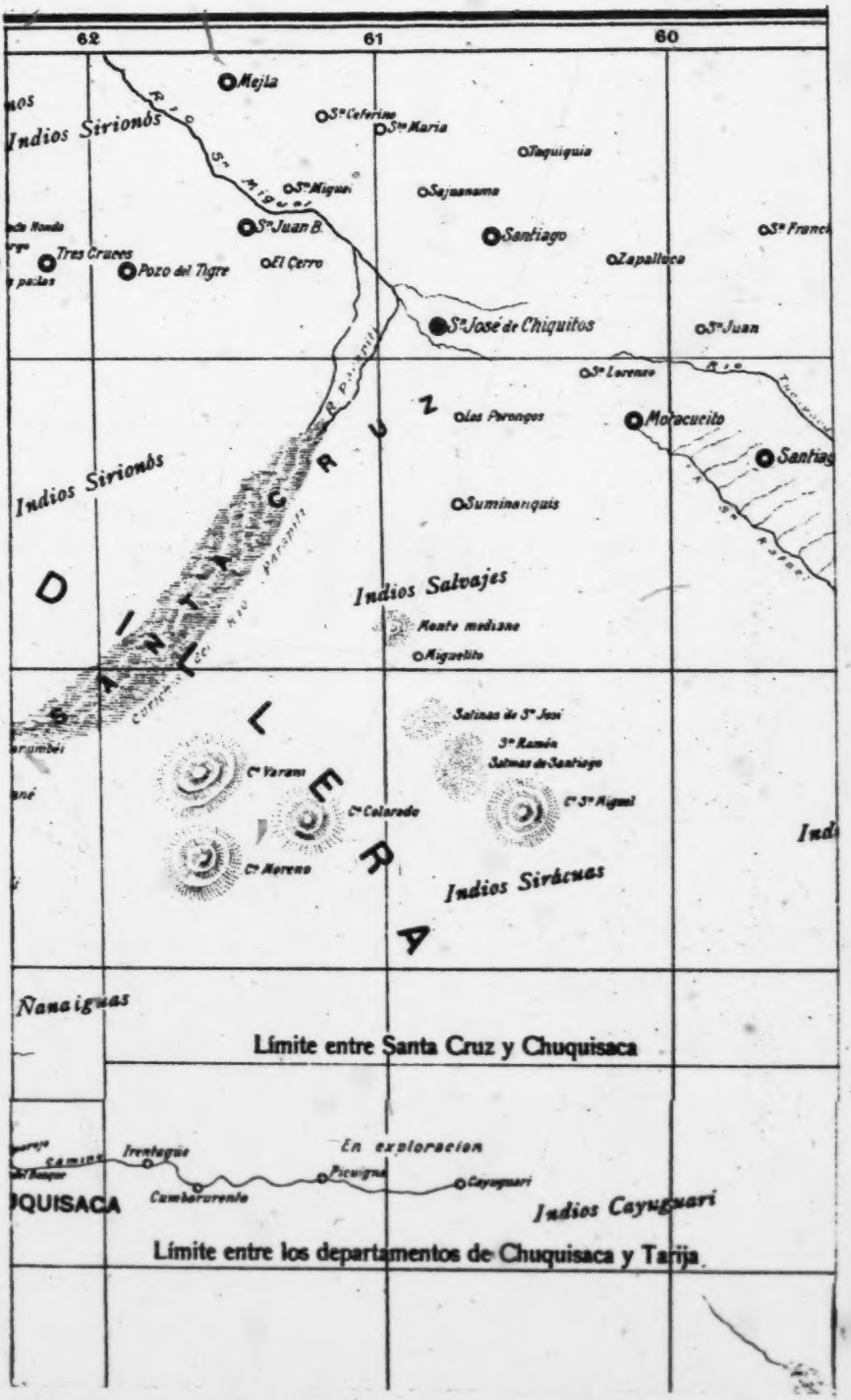
by Father Bernardino de Nino

102
101
103
131
133
361
799



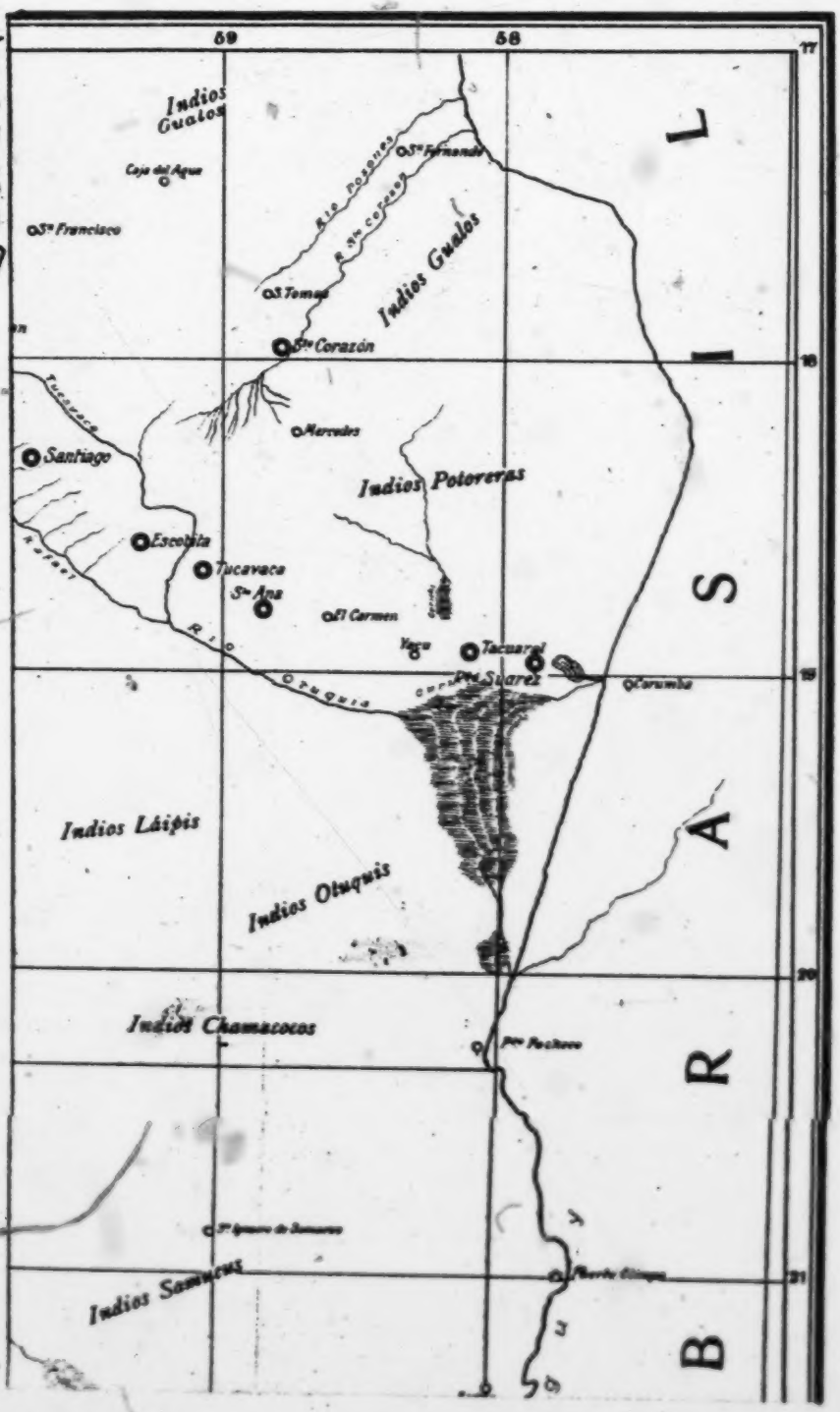
4: Nino--448 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



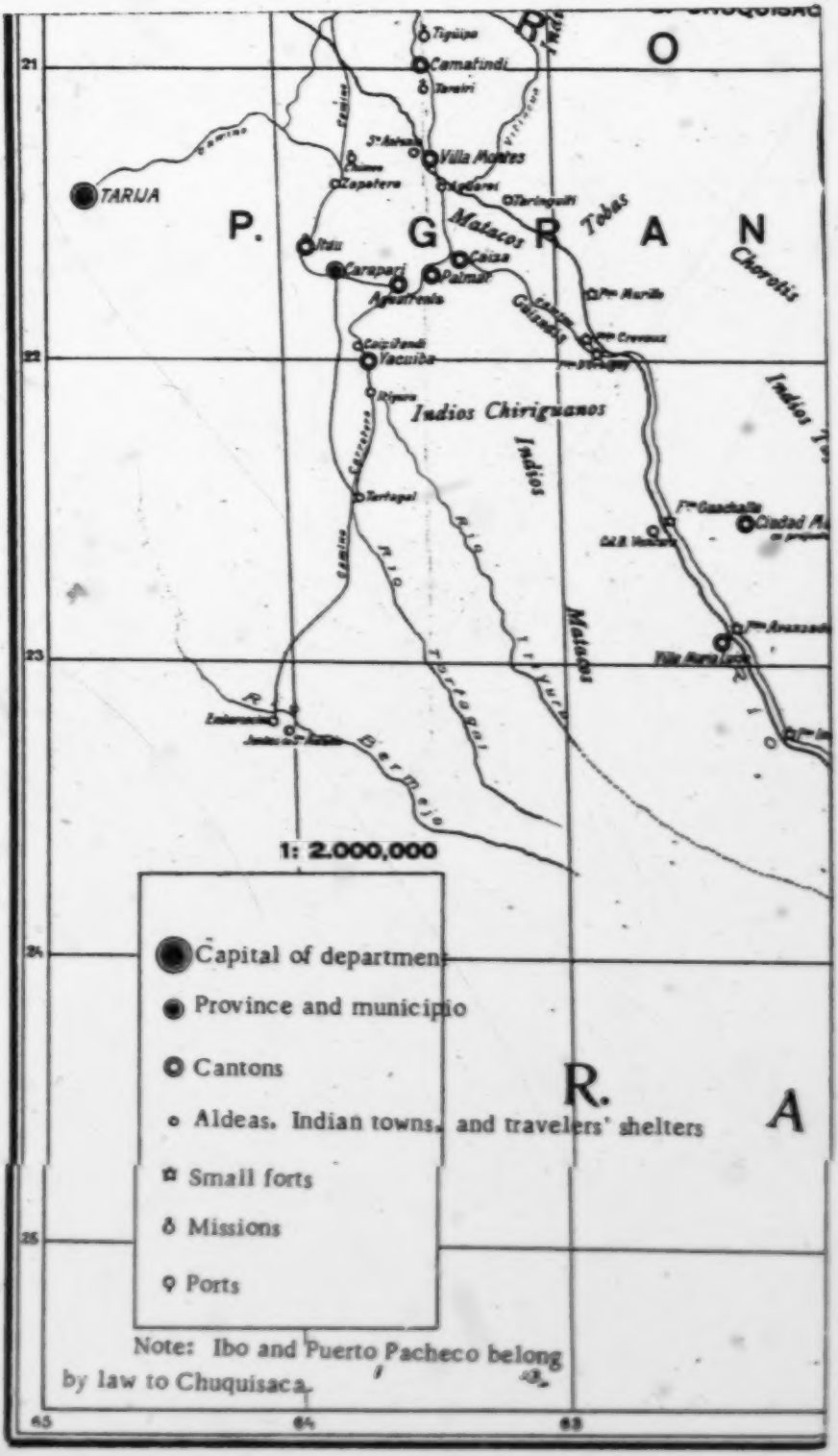
4: Nino--449 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
● 103
131
133
361
797



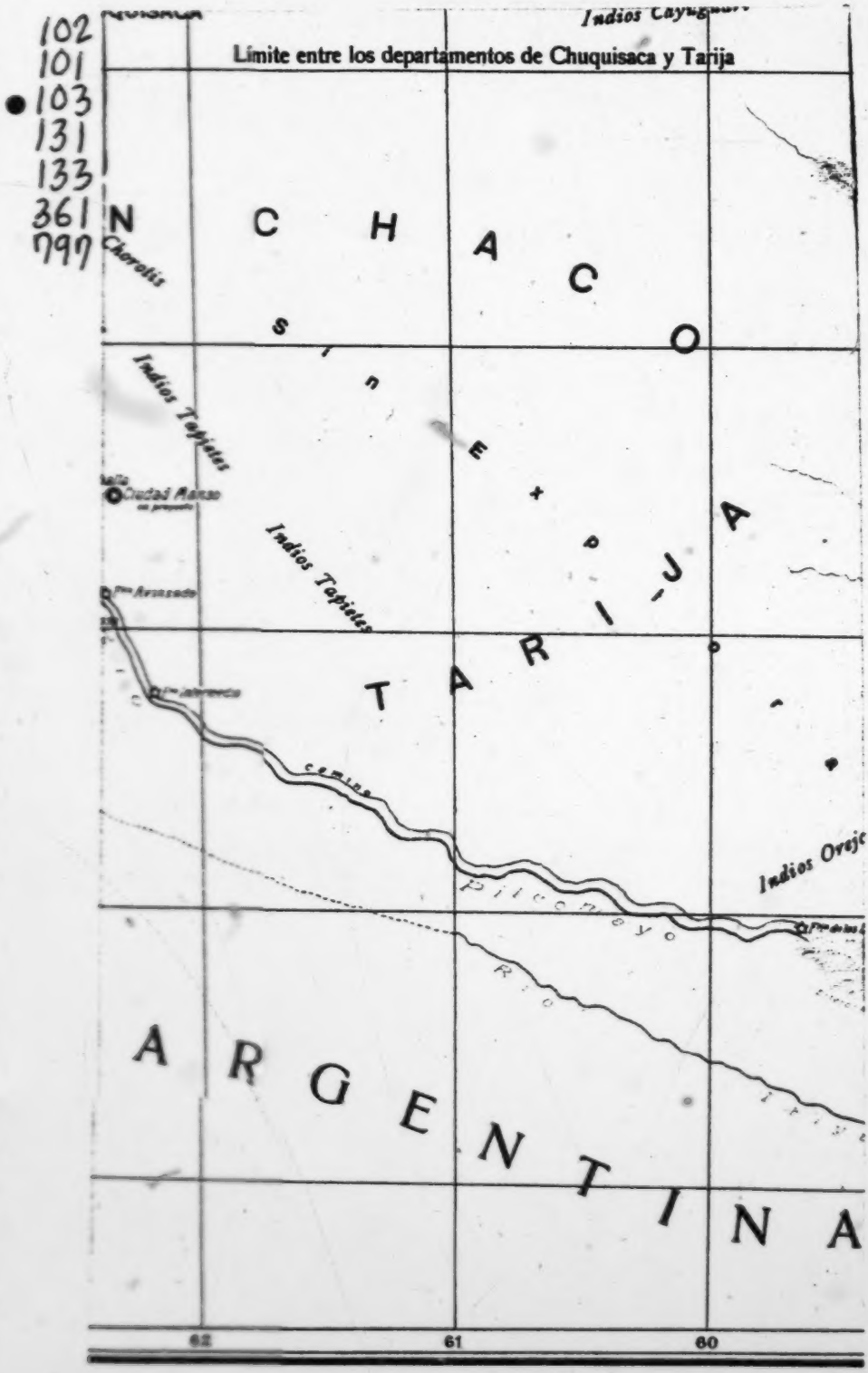
4: Nino--450 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



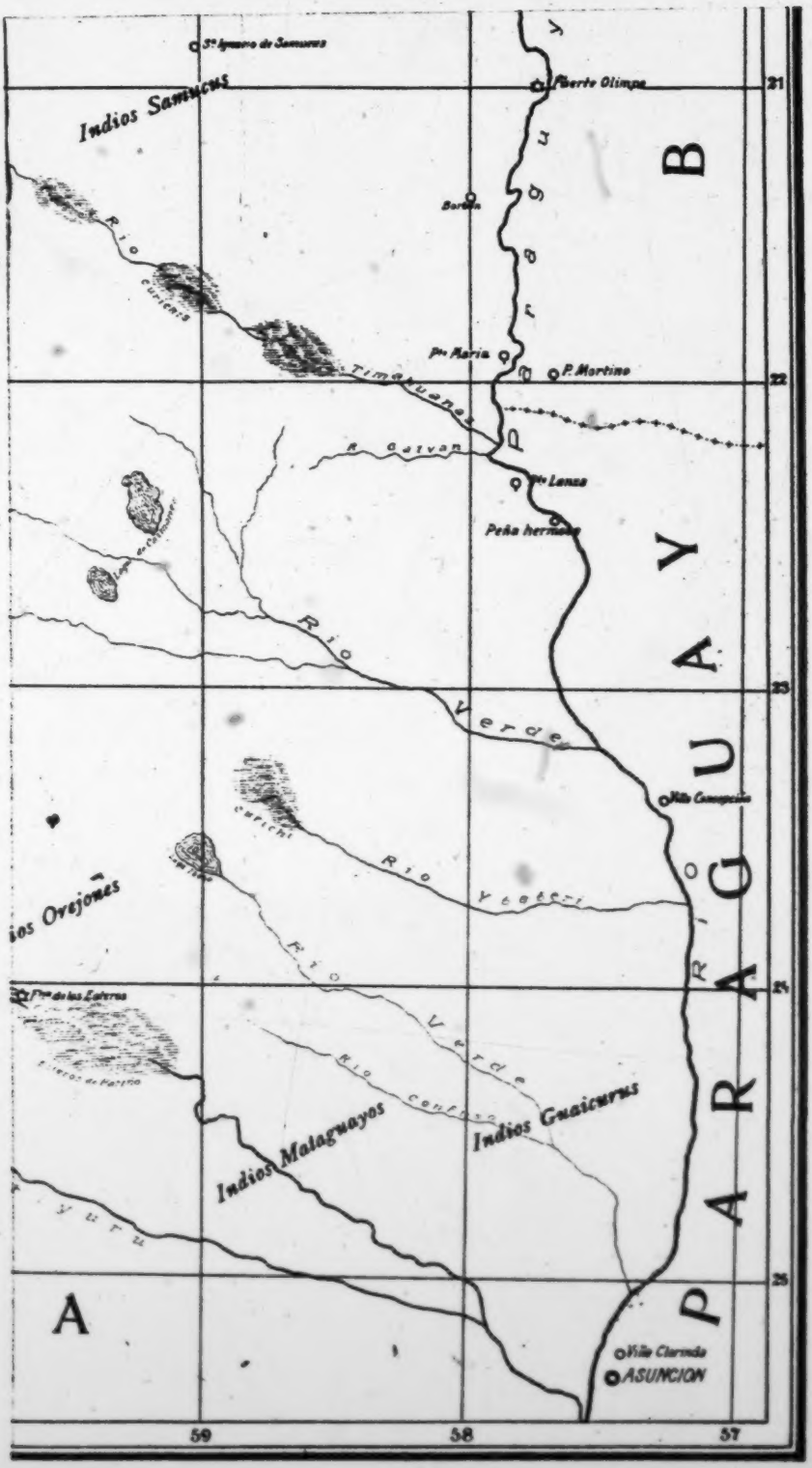
Note: Ibo and Puerto Pacheco belong by law to Chuquisaca.

4: Nino--451 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10



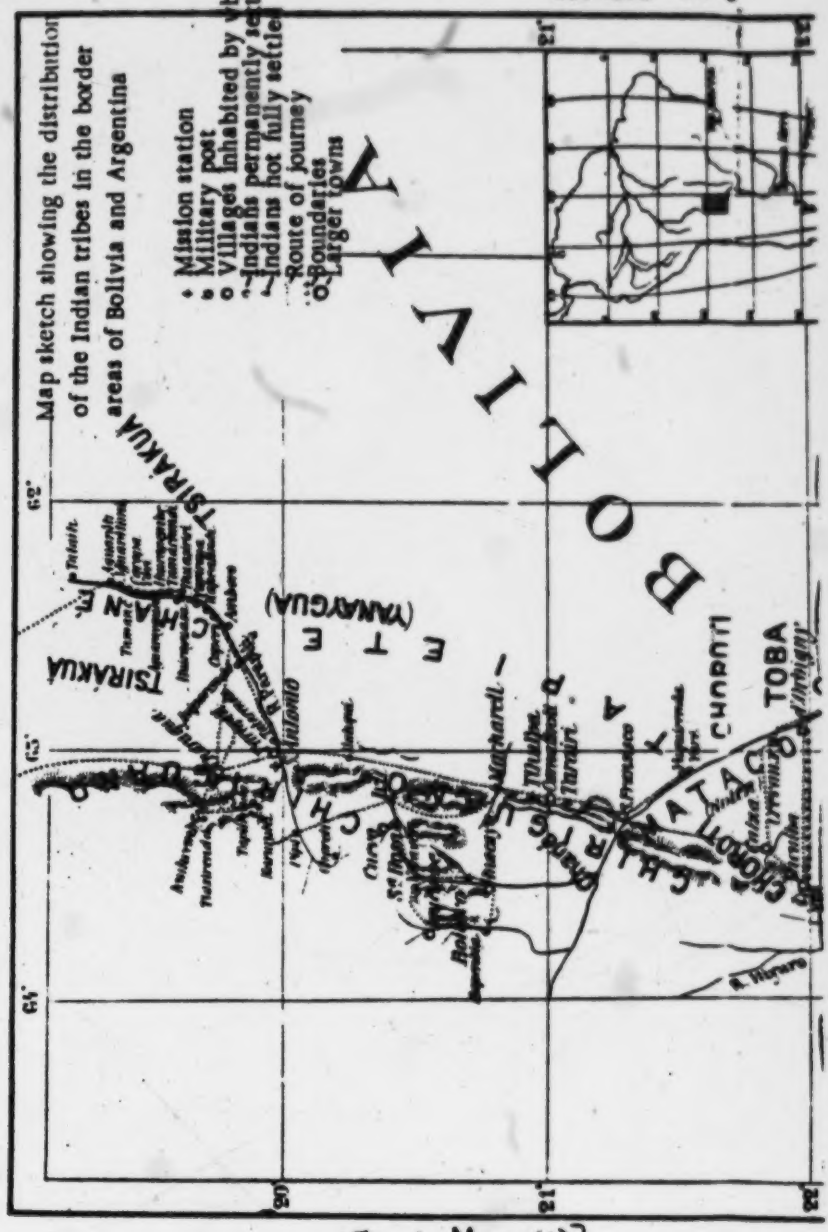
4: Nino--452 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
●103
131
133
361
797



6: Nordenskiöld--156 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Mataco SF7
Choroti SK6
Chane SF8

C
Ce
102
103
131
133
361
M
Cl
102
131
133


Map sketch showing the distribution of the Indian tribes in the border areas of Bolivia and Argentina
Mission station
Military post
Villages inhabited by whites
Indians permanently settled
Indians not fully settled
Route of journey
Boundaries
Larger towns
BOLIVIA
TSIRAKUA
CHAN
TSIRAKUA
ETE
(MANAGUA)
CHAQUE
CHOROTI
CHUPUPI
TOBA
Antonio
Nacharell
Tartar
Tarija
Tiraqua
Chaqueo
Rio Pilcomayo
Rio Bermejo
Rio Vitiqueo
Rio Tarija
Rio Tiraqua
Rio Nacharell
Rio Tartar
Rio Tarija

C: Nordenskiöld--157 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF7 Matacos SF7 Chorotis SF6 Chaco SF1

631 /83 cont./
[643] of Condorillo, we do not have any evidence as to whether this whole parcialidad was under the chieftainship of a great cacique. We only know that the town of Saigpuru was one of the most important and that it was the most feared by its enemies and that its inhabitants were defeated in the year 1779 by Don Tomás Leso (314).

[175] [927] [632]

314. Moreno II, p. 244.

631 632 643 103 According to the reports written by the Governor of Santa Cruz, Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, the Province of "Yvytupue," that is, the region governed by the great cacique Vitupuera, was made up of five large subdivisions. As can be assumed from the report cited, these subdivisions were in part made up of one town and in part of several towns and were, with the exception of one, governed by several caciques. Thus there is mentioned in the first place the subdivision "Taquirán and Caracará," probably meaning the towns which bear these names. As the caciques of this first subdivision, three are mentioned; thus the number of caciques does not correspond to the number of towns. Thus, we are not here dealing with a community which was established exclusively on a territorial basis. /84/ For the second subdivision three names are mentioned, Aguapea, Naipea, and Traibi. Thus it was probably made up of three towns. In this subdivision the number of towns, three, corresponds to the number of caciques. The third subdivision is called Tamboré. Thus it can be presumed that it consisted of but one town, and there is also mentioned but one cacique. The fourth subdivision is called Tendy, and three caciques of it are mentioned. It is stated that one of these caciques, called Abequé, was the son of the cacique Tendy, thus of that cacique who gave his name to that subdivision. Of the fifth subdivision, Ayaguá or Cayaguá, as many as four caciques are mentioned (315).

315. Moreno II, pp. 123 and 124.

Böttenskiöld E-4,9(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chirigano SF10
Chem SF8

000
C
CE
127
[104]

Stockholm, through Prof. C. V. Hartman, Dr. G. Lindblom, and last but not least by its skilled attendant A. Törnblom. The objects described here which belong to the Riksmuseum in Stockholm, are marked R. M. with the number of their inventory, those belonging to the Museum at Gothenburg are marked G. M.

In the last named museum there are, inter alia, collections made by Lieutenant O. Liljewalch and Mr. Otto Thulin. The latter has supplied me with a number of valuable oral particulars which are reproduced in the following.

I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Lars Wählin, Head Librarian of the Stadsbibliotek at Gothenburg, for procuring rare books for me to consult and for translations of Latin quotations. As the works of Italian authors occasionally caused me some trouble, since I cannot read Italian fluently, Consul-General E. Corvea was good enough to help me when in difficulties.

The illustrations to this volume are chiefly due to Mr. A. Hjelm and Miss A. Danielsson. Some of the stereotype-plates were kindly lent me by Mr. K. O. Bonnier, the publisher of my popular works. Most of the illustrations, however, were made by the Opla Company of this town from pictures not previously published.

The translation into English of my Swedish manuscript was carried out by two translators and revised by Dr. G. E. Fahlen.

St Schmidt--233 E-5 (1905) 1908 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Mojo SF15

/90 cont./

The Language

C
Ce
197

I have already mentioned above that the Chané originally spoke a language different from that of the Chiriguano, but that during the long period of their captivity they adopted the latter's language. A cacique of the Chané of the Parapití, named Betiayo, told Nordenskiöld that some of the Chané still knew a few words of their original language and that today it had the nature of a secret language. Thus there are still often employed invectives of the original Chané language, such as "kattimiáyri," which the Indians translated as equivalent to "son of a whore." Songs in the original language can also be found for example, "siparakinánoye, siparakinánoye, siparakinánoye, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya," which they cannot translate, however. Nordenskiöld, with much effort and patience, was able to take down six words of the original Chané language in the town of Huirapembe on the Parapití, where a few Chané Indians who still knew their original language were said to be living. From the comparison of these six words with the corresponding words of the Mojo language, a great similarity was apparent: thus there can be no doubt /91/ but that the Chané originally belonged to the Aruaco /Arawak/ linguistic group (386).

Ce
198
Ce
195
Ce
533
197
Ce
114
197
Ce
[194]

386. Nord. 1. p. 157.

M
C
104
197

Translation	Original Chané	Mojo (387)
Water	ûne	une
Maize	sapáro	saponi
Fire	yuca	yuca
Dog	tamúco	·tamuca
Good	ítipi	itito
Mouse	cóvo	coso

Ce
M
[113]

387. According to Father Pedro Marban, Arte de la lengua Moxa con su vocabulario y cathecismo /Art of the Mojo Language with its Vocabulary and Catechism/. Republished by Julio Platzmann, facsimile edition, Leipzig, 1894.

Gr Schmidt--234 E-9 (1935) 1936 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaw SF8
Izozo

Ce
Ce
104

/9: cont./

Vocabularies of the Chiriguano of Machareti and of the Izozó of the Parapití River

Notes on the Alphabet of the Vocabularies

In publishing below the Chiriguano and Izozó vocabularies which I took down in Machareti (Chiriguano) and Toledo (Izozó), I use the same alphabet as in my previous publication on the vocabulary of the Guayyú language in this same journal (Vol. III, No. 8).

Vowels

a: e: i: o: u. : long vowels.
ä: ë: ï: ö: ü. : short vowels.
ã: ẽ: ĩ: õ: ũ. : nasal vowels.
ɨ : guttural vowel (as in Guaraní and agua).
ö = ö in German (as in: Bär = bear).
ü = ü in German (as in: Übel = bad).
ai: au: oi are diphthongs.
au = au in German (as in: Auge = eye).
oi = eu in German (as in: Teufel = devil).
aĩ is a nasal diphthong.

The apostrophe after a vowel (a'i: a'u: o'i) indicates that it does not form a diphthong with the following vowel.

Consonants

The consonants used in the Chiriguano and Izozó vocabularies are the following:

b: d: (f is not used); g = g in German (as in Garten = garden); h is always aspirated as in Guaraní; j = j in Spanish (as in jabón); k: (l is not used) m: n: p: r: s = c in Spanish before i (as in cielo); t: v = w in German (as in Wagen = cart); y = y in New York, is exclusively used as a consonant; z = z in French; ch corresponds to the ch in Spanish; th = j in French, as in je = I).

The accented syllable of the vowels is indicated by means of the acute accent. /The word list, pp. 92-111, and the bibliography, pp. 111-115, are omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

Ce /331 cont./

178 439 323 [177] The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C G 177 178 342 596 Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

E 177 178 266

C 17 Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C 105 175 The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

C [167] They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

C /331 cont./

105 175 [167] [173] This migration had as its motive power the attraction which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

ce [197] [199] At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

C [648] [563] [619] The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives. The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

C [199] From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

CE [199] [197] [198] On their part the Chané adopted the language of their conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a secret language.

C 175 131

Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolís and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Mataguayo and the Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

C [101] C [361]

/426 cont./

531 171 Sign of unknown significance. On the Machareti yambui (Plate LII, 2) was painted a crescent-shaped sign having in its concave part two dashes perhaps representing feet. The subject is doubtless a stylized bird, a presumption all the more plausible because another vessel from the same locality and made by the same hand is decorated with animal figures (dogs and toads) (Plate LII, 1).

This mysterious sign is very similar to the one found on a puco from Tolomosa in the Tarija department (Rosen, 2, Fig. 175, p. 112) and on some dishes from La Paya. These designs are also more or less stylized pictures of a bird. (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate X, Fig. 22, and Ambrosetti, 6, Figs. 35-40, pp. 56-61.)

Zoomorphic representations. Animal figures are rare in Chiriguano pottery, but their occurrence only brings out the better the similarities of this art to that of the neighboring Andean regions. The rows of yaku (pavo del monte) on the yambuí from the Aguaray are the counterpart of the nandus on the Diaguite funerary urns and the La Paya birds. The dog on the vessel in the plate appears nearly identical with the bottom of a puco from Molino del Puesto, Catamarca. (Bruch, 2, Fig. 70, p. 72.)

531 171 105 The comparisons we have made could doubtless be extended and many another relationship noted between the modern pottery of the Chiriguano and that of the populations which have today disappeared from the Bolivian altiplano and northwestern Argentina. To continue such an investigation would be superfluous, for there is no one acquainted with the art which formerly flourished in the Andean and Chiriguano regions who would hesitate to establish a relationship between the two and would not have the second derive from the first.

As one might logically expect, these similarities become more numerous and more striking in proportion as one leaves the south and advances toward the north into the Andean zone which runs parallel to the habitat of the Chiriguano and Chané. When eastern [192] Bolivia is methodically explored, models of the vessels which the ancestors of the Chiriguano admired and copied will be found.

[See p. 231 -- Anslyst]

C /426 cont./
531 Lacking them, the study we have pursued brings us the estab-
171 lishment of a very important fact. The existence on the upper
192 Pilcomayo of a pottery /427/ closely related to that of the
105

Ce
531
415

Fig. 83. Chané vessel. Prov.: Tuyuntí (Aguaray, Salta Chaco). On the belly: series of yakú (pavo del monte) in blackish brown on white background. (1/3 nat. size.)

C
531 Quebrada de Humahuaca is an indication which proves in a sure
171 way that the art of the former inhabitants of these regions was
192 identical to that of their neighbors, and perhaps racial brothers,
105 of the Bolivian altiplano.

Apropos of the Chiriguano, I believe it is wrong to speak of
S Andean or Inca culture. The first of these terms is too vague and
121 the second partially false. In this chapter I have tried to demon-
531 strate that Chiriguano pottery exhibits close affinities with that
171 of the civilizations which, by their numerous points of similarity,
105 seem to have undergone a Chincha or Atacama influence and
which Preceded Inca Culture.

000 /427 cont./
C 531 171 105 which preceded Inca culture. If one compares the present-day pottery of the Chiriguano with that of the Quicha /Quechua/ of Cuzco, certain analogies will appear, but they will be neither abundant nor conclusive enough to establish a direct filiation. Aryballuses are missing or rare, ornithomorphic dishes seldom found, etc.; on the contrary, we have seen how multiple and close the ties are between this pottery and that of the Chincha-Atacama period. Chiriguano pottery, in relation to that of Cuzco, is in a situation analogous to that of northwestern Argentina: on an Andean but original base, influences from Cuzco have been superposed. This Inca action on the Chicha is attested to even today by /428/ the presence among the Chiriguano of footed vessels of the purest Inca type and apodal ones of the same origin. Arising from the same influence, one may add certain decorative motifs, with which I have already dealt.

A [531] [171] [415] Arawak and Amazonian tradition is scarcely represented, except by footed bowls (compoteras), vessels with a ribbed belly, those with a body in the shape of a truncated cone and a subspherical belly, and perhaps by some motifs (T-shaped figures, Plate XXXVIII, 1).

The conclusion of this chapter will be: there exists today and for some years to come a civilization which, closely related to that of the Chicha, continues an art earlier than that of the Inca but influenced by them. May this fact make archeologists cautious!

Chapter VII

Calabashes

C 531 462 [323] The second art in which the Chiriguano excel is pyrography and engraving on calabashes. When pottery-making was an essentially feminine activity, pyrography was the province of the men. Nordenskiöld (9, pp. 233-236) thinks, completely wrongly it seems to me, that pyrography is of Andean origin. He advances in support of this opinion the advantages that knowledge of metal offers to this art. Nevertheless, the populations of the

C 114 531 171 174

000

5:Nordenskiöld E-5)4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Table 20.

Culture element that the Chiriguano and Chane presumably derived from the Whites.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

C
Ce
105
177
462
511

	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings.	Distribution independent of natural surroundings.	Of great importance in the struggle for existence.
Modern hut	+	+	+	—	+
Chair	+	+	/	+	—
Wooden boxes	+	—	/	+	—
Sugar-cane	+	+	—	—	—
Water-melon	+	+	+	—	—
Reeds for arrow-shafts (Arundo donax)	+	+	—	—	+
Pellet-bow	+	+	/	+	—
Cattle	+	+	+	—	+
Sheep	+	+	—	—	+
Horses	+	+	+	—	—
Poultry-keeping	+	+	+	—	+
Riding whip stock	+	+	/	+	—
Saddle	+	+	/	+	—
Tinder when striking fire with flint and steel	+	+	/	+	—
Clothes of tanned skin	+	—	—	—	—
Leather-girdle with pocket	+	+	/	—	—
Hairband with tassels	+	+	/	+	—
Strawhats	—	+	/	—	—
Women with pierced ears	+	+	/	+	—
»Boivéra«	+	+	/	+	—
Taba-game	—	+	/	+	—
Dice	+	+	/	+	—
»Rifle »(plaything)	+	+	/	+	—
Musical bow	—	+	/	+	—
Flutes with six carefully fitted holes	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets of cow-horn	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets with mouth-piece of reed	—	+	/	+	—
Vessels with lips in rims	+	+	/	+	—
Brasier	+	+	/	+	—
Tanning	+	+	/	+	—
Staff	+	+	/	+	—

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8

Culture element that the Chiriguano and *Chané presumably derived from the Whites.*
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence
/ Question not answered.

Manufacture calls for technical skill.	Man's work.	Woman's work.	Used by men.	Used by women.	Used only by children.	Still frequently used.	Luxury.
+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	—	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
+	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—

c
ce
105●
177
462
511

Schmidt E-8,K(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

Table 21.

Cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané presumably obtained from the Cultivate Zone to the west.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

C
Ce
177
462
511
105

	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favored by natural surroundings	Distribution independent of natural surroundings	Of great importance in the struggle for existence
Wooden hook on which to hang their belongings	—	+	/	—	—
Spade (Wooden)	—	—	/	—	—
Bird-net	—	—	—	—	—
Wooden bowl	—	+	/	—	—
Wooden spoon	—	—	/	—	—
Coca	—	—	—	—	—
Poncho-shirt	—	—	—	—	—
Sandal	—	—	+	—	—
Woven girdle	—	—	—	—	—
Frontlet	—	—	/	—	—
Wooden comb	—	—	—	—	—
Fiscer	—	—	—	—	—
Tapa	—	—	/	—	—
Necklaces of green stones	—	—	/	/	—
Headdress worn by Chiriguano Women on festive occasions	+	—	/	—	—
Vessels which are intended to be carried by a string running round the vessel	—	—	/		—
Chunquanti-game	—	—	/		—
Chorotela- "	—	—	/		—
Quelta- "	+	—	/		—
Long wooden whistle	—	—	/	—	—
Rattle " "	—	—	/	+	—
Drum	—	—	/	—	—
Vessels provided with ears or handles	—	—	/		—
Double pitchers	—	—	/	—	—
Water-pitchers	—	—	/	—	—
Pitchers with a bulging neck	—	—	/	—	—
Calabashes with lids	—	—	—	—	—
Calabashes with burnt in ornamentation	—	—	—		—
Peruvian loom	—	—	/	—	—
Bundle of bone	—	—	/	—	—
Property marks	—	—	/	—	—
Yambagua the parent of ostrich feathers	—	—	/	/	—

Cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chaná presumably obtained from the culture zone in the west.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

Manufacture cells for technical skill	Men's work	Women's work	Used by men	Used by women	Used only by children	Still frequent by men	Luxury
—	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	—	—
+	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	+	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	+	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
+	+

S:Nordenskiöld E-8/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Table 22.

Northern and Eastern Elements that occur among the Chiriguano and Chane.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings.	Distribution independent of natural surroundings.	Of great importance in the struggle for existence.
Maize-barns on piles	+	+	—	—	+
Hammock used as a bed ..	+	+	—	—	—
Boat	+	+	/	+	—
Handlers	+	+	—	—	—
Urns	+	+	—	—	—
Bird arrows	+	+	/	+	—
" " (special type fig. 6 E.)	+	+	/	+	—
Snare fixed onto a long rod	—	+	/	+	—
Fish-spear	+	—	—	—	—
Multi-pointed fishing-arrows	+	—	—	—	—
Fishing with poison	+	—	—	—	—
Wooden mortar	—	+	/	—	+
Round-finger. »Urupe«	+	+	—	—	+
Great pot-spades of wood ..	—	+	/	+	+
Fire fans of plaited palm leaves	+	+	—	—	—
»Tipoy«	+	+	+	—	+
Rubber balls	+	+	—	—	—
Sandal-game	—	+	/	—	—
Pangipi	?	+	/	—	—
Game with maize-leaf balls	—	—	/	—	—
Vessels ornamented with finger-impressions	+	+	/	+	—
Sandal-spindle	+	+	/	+	+
Baskets made of a single palm-leaf	+	+	—	—	—
Baskets with overlapping lids	+	+	/	+	—
»Sarawak« loom	+	+	/	+	+

S:Nordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
105
177
462
511

Northern and Eastern Elements that occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

Manufacture calls for technical skill.	Man's work.	Woman's work.	Used by men.	Used by women.	Used only by children.	Still frequently used.	Luxury.
+	+	?	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—
+	/	/	+	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	—	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	+	?	+	?	—	—	—
—	?	?	?	?	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—
—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—
+	—	—	—	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+
—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+
—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+
+	+	—	—	—	—	—	+
+	+	+	—	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	/	/	—	—	—
+	+	—	/	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—

1: Métraux, Alfred. Études sur la Civilisation des Indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/. Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Vol. 1, pp. 295-493. Tucumán: Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, 1929-1930.

93 plates; 141 text figures.

Yale: Argentina Nk10 +T79e v.1. /HRAF Mk 386 p.; 93 plates; 141 text figures; 1 map./

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by J. Winchell.

/The Chiriguano, a Guarani-speaking tribe inhabiting the eastern slopes of the Bolivian Andes, are descendants of the Guarani invaders migrating in successive waves from Paraguay across the Chaco to the Andean area, and in so doing absorbing and assimilating cultural traits of other tribes. The Chiriguano have undergone much deculturation and detribalization from Western and missionary contact. They have a primary subsistence economy of forest slash and burn horticulture, with some secondary hunting and herding. They also have a patrilineal kinship system and a political structure of tribal chiefs. Their institutions on the whole conform to the South American tropical forest tribal pattern. This monograph, written by a French ethnographer, is a descriptive and historical analysis of Chiriguano technology and material culture. Métraux attempts to reconstruct the origins, derivations and cross-cultural relationships of the Chiriguano tribe and its technology by the appraisal of archeological and other distributional evidence from pottery, weaving, and basketry forms and styles among the

1: Métraux, Alfred.

Chiriguano and other tribes. Although Métraux is rather selective in his treatment of material culture, he does discuss and illustrate the following topics in some detail: food resources, food preparation or cooking; fire use; tool use and manufacture; pottery, basketry, weaving, calabashes (their art styles and designs, regional variation, materials, uses, techniques of manufacture); types of masks; furniture; toys and games; and medical treatment and remedies. This report does not deal with settlement patterns, housing or dwellings, clothing, ornamentation, transportation devices, weaponry, or other objects of material culture. Since the historical identity of the Chiriguano has never been definitely clarified by ethnologists, historical data in this source which has been subheaded for SM4 Guarani may also apply to the Chiriguano especially if, as the author contends, they are descendants of these migratory Guarani groups. The researcher is therefore directed to look in category 116, pp. 1-30 for historical information which may or may not be pertinent to both files. This source has been subheaded for other groups as well, when information on their technology and material culture has been noted by the author in reference to the Chiriguano data. The bibliography (pp. 600-608 of the foreign text) is omitted in the translation. The lists of figures and plates which follow the table of contents in the translation were made up from the captions and are not part of the original text. Although the foreign text indicates that the article was to be continued, no more was published./

Field date: 1929
Analyst: Gilbert Winer

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1967-1968

2: Métraux, Alfred. Tribes of the Eastern Slopes of the Bolivian Andes. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 143, Vol. 3, pp. 465-485. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1948.

bibliography: 4 and plates.

HRAF copy.

/This source is limited to a discussion of the Chiriguano (and the closely related Chané) as one of the five groups listed by the author as occupying the eastern slopes of the Bolivian Andes. Data on the remaining four groups--the Tunacare, the Musetene and Chimano, the Leco and the Tacana--have not been processed for this file. In addition to a general culture history of the Guarani with some specific references to the Chiriguano, the author presents additional but limited information on archaeology, subsistence activities (farming, collecting, hunting and fishing), domesticated animals, food preparation, villages and houses, dress and ornament, transportation, carrying devices, manufacture (pottery, spinning and weaving, netting, basketry, painting and incising of gourds, fire making, and weapons), social and political organization, the life cycle (postnatal care and puberty), warfare and cannibalism, esthetic and recreational activities, religion and shamanism, and mythology and folklore. This source provides excellent background information for a more intensive study of the Chiriguano./

Field dates: 1929
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965-1967

4: Nino, Bernardino de. Etnografía Chiriguano /Chiriguano Ethnography/. La Paz: Tipografía Comercial de Ismael Argote, 1912.

Pp. xxiv, 333; 48 plates including frontispiece: 1 end map: index. /HRAF MSs 1-452; 48 plates: 1 end map/.

Library of Congress F3319.N7. DLC card no.: 16-10019.

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Sydney Muirden.

(This survey monograph on the culture of the Guarani-speaking Chiriguano tribe of eastern Bolivia was written by a Franciscan missionary, and represents his findings from experiences and observations as a missionary in the Chiriguano territory. Regrettably, the quality of his descriptions and analyses is very uneven, deriving from his extreme moralistic outlook toward primitive society. Symptomatic of this theological examination and evaluation of many Chiriguano cultural patterns and social institutions is a disparagement or deprecation of any sociocultural behavior deviating noticeably from Western Judeo-Christian standards or ideals. This fault is most evident from his discussion of Chiriguano religion, ceremonial, ideology, kinship and social organization, and sexual behavior areas that can conflict most sharply with his official religious doctrines. At points it is not easy to determine whether the author imputes the existence of institutions to Chiriguano merely to 'demonstrate' their spiritual bankruptcy. Fiction and fact thereby become indistinguishable. But if the reader can dismiss or ignore many of the author's religious injunctions against the Chiriguano he will find a fair amount of useful and valuable qualitative data on the following -- the political system and the

4: Nino, Bernardino de.

nature of power and authority, settlement patterns and house construction, family organization and socialization, warfare, secular ceremonies, technology and material culture. Furthermore, in some detail, he describes the geography of the area, Chiriguano ethnobotany and ethnozoology, the uses made of plants and animals, and concepts of disease, therapy, and death. (Yet his description of economic processes: systems of production and exchange is rather superficial and fragmentary.) The author mainly fails to relate what sound evidence he has to any theoretical framework. Neither a diffusionist, ethnohistorical, or structural-functional context integrates his data. His descriptions, at least in this sense, are scientifically neutral and factually objective. What might have been a major contribution, considering the author's own competence as a missionary, could have been some analysis of how aboriginal Chiriguano differ socially and culturally from those subject to mission acculturation and modification. Yet he does discuss some of the native resistances and acceptances to religious proselytizing and secular change undertaken by the missions. Many of the author's comments and views that were found in the original source but are extraneous to the Chiriguano have been deleted from this translation. The sections or pages omitted are indicated in the table of contents of the translation.]

Field dates: 1893-1911
Analyst: Gilbert Winer

Evaluation: Missionary-3
Processed in 1967

S: Nordenskiöld, Erland. The Changes in the Material Culture of Two Indian Tribes Under the Influence of New Surroundings. Comparative Ethnographical Studies, 2. Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1920.

Pp. xvi, 245; preface; 16 distributional maps; 58 figures; 22 tables; bibliography; 6 bibliographical end maps.

Yale: C71.18.2. DLC: F2230.N82 Vol. 2. DLC card no.:24-2589.

/This source, based on the collections made by the author in the field (during a period of four to five months in 1908, 1909 and 1913), and on his study of material in museums and on previously published works, attempts to make an ethno-geographical analysis of the material culture of two closely related Indian tribes, the Guarani-speaking Chiriguano and the Arawakan speaking Chané, both of whom live in the southernmost part of Bolivia and northernmost Argentina. As may be seen from the table of contents practically all aspects of material culture and associated behavior patterns (e.g., property marks and symbols of authority) are well covered and in addition the author attempts to show which of these culture elements are native to the Chiriguano and Chané, which have been obtained from the "Whites" and the "Mountain civilization to the west" and various other external sources, and what each of these acculturative elements have contributed to the common stock. In the presentation of his data the

Sc Nordenskiöld, Erland.

author shows by means of maps the distribution of various culture elements throughout the entire South American area.

A unique feature of this source is the series of six bibliographical maps following the bibliography at the end of this source. These maps show the general area of ethnographical study covered by the various authors listed in the bibliography during specific time period.

Part 1 of this series, frequently referred to has not been processed for this file, but may be found in its entirety in the SK6 Chaco1 file, source number 2, category 18. /

Field date: 1908-1909, 1913
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed: 1965-1967

6: Nordenskiöld, Erland. Indianerleben: El Gran Chaco (Südamerika) /Indian Life: the Gran Chaco (South America)/. Translated from the Swedish into German by Carl Auerbach. Leipzig: Albert Bonnier, 1912.

Pp. viii, 343; 20 plates; 142 text figures; index; end map. /HRAF MSr pp. iii, 157/.

Yale: C71 70. DLC: F3319.N83. DLC card no.: 18-18335 rev.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schütze.

Only pp. i-viii, 148-303 and 331-343 have been processed for the Chiriguano file.

/This is a generalized account of the ethnography of the Chane and Chiriguano Indians living in the area enclosed by the rivers Itiyuro, Pilcomayo and Parapiti in southern Bolivia with whom the author visited during the period 1908-1909. Most of the data contained deals primarily with material culture, with little if any information on social structure or organization. Pertinent data on the Chane have been subheaded on the pages where they appear. After a brief introduction to the geography of the area, the author discusses the various aspects of the native's adaptation to the geographical environment--knowledge of directions, distance, etc.--and his knowledge of his own culture history. The source is then divided into several chapters dealing with such aspects of ethnography as daily routine, division of labor, subsistence economy, foods and food preparation, games, clothing, personal cleanliness, the life cycle events, stylistics in language related to "ugly words", homosexuality, suicide, modesty, chiefs, sanctions for various offenses, drinking bouts and the making of alcoholic beverages, arts and industries, folktales, the effects of mission life on the Chane and

6: Nordenskiöld, Erland.

Chiriguano, and relations with the whites (on rubber plantations and in military service). The author used several Chane and Chiriguano informants, most of whom were men of high status in their respective communities, either village or "great" chiefs. One informant who was not a chief, but upon whom Nordenskiöld nevertheless heavily relied for the information contained in this source was a Chane by the name of Batiayu./

Field dates 1908-1909
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1987

Ro[illegible], Eric von. The Chiriguano. In, Ethnographical Research Work During the Swedish Chaco-Co[illegible]-Expedition 1901-1902, by Count Eric von Rosen. Stockholm: Sold by C. E. Fritze Ltd., [illegible] to the Court, 1924.

Pp. xxii, 284 /only pp. 187-225, and 269-275 (the bibliography) have been processed for this file/; prefaces: 1 map; 283 figures (including 33 black and white plates and 1 color plate); bibliography.

Table CTI 067g. DLC: F2676.R8. DLC card no.: UCL 81-12333.

/The material presented in this source gives a succinct account of Chiriguano material culture as recorded by the author, a member of the Swedish Chaco-Cordillera-Expedition, during a brief visit to the Chiriguano while the expedition was on a journey from Tarija to the Gran Chaco. Data cover the identification of the people, anthropometry, dwellings and granaries, household furnishings, weapons, clothing, toilet, ornaments, agriculture, hunting and fishing, pottery making, alcoholic beverages, musical instruments, marriage, death and burial. There is also some incidental information in this source on the Chané, a tribe closely related culturally to the Chiriguano./

Field dates: 1901-1902
Analyst: John Scierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965-1968

B: Schmidt, Max. Los Chiriguano e Isoseño [The Chiriguano and Isoso]. Revista de la Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 1-115. Asunción: Imprenta y Librería La Mundial, 1930.

Tales: Paraguay AS3p 0330 4. [HRAF MSs pp. 1-334; 30 plates.]

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Sydney Melvins.

[This ethnographic monograph on the Chiriguano offers a comprehensive but not exhaustive coverage of culture and society. While there is in-depth description and analysis of Chiriguano technology and material culture, the discussion of their sociopolitical structure, religious organization, processes of ecological adaptation, and economic system is very brief. The author is a German ethnologist and expresses the viewpoint of the German-Austrian ethnohistorical and diffusionist theoretical movement. Schmidt examines and evaluates data on materials, mode of construction, and style variations of the following: transport types, house forms, ceramics, basketry, weaving, implements and weaponry, stone and wood technology, leather use, cooking, diet, clothing and ornament, etc., according to the nature of the origins, derivations, and cross-cultural relationships of the material culture inventory. The sections on material culture derive mainly from his own research in the field, those on religion, history and sociopolitical organization from both primary and secondary sources. Considerable comparative material on the Chaco and the Isoso (a division of the Chaco) are also included. It should be noted that in the

St Schmidt, Max.

section on the cultural history and foreign relations of the Chitigueno, pp. 13-30, the author believes that the Chitigueno are actually the same Guaraní he had been discussing previously, with simply a change in name: therefore, cultural data have been combined for both files since a clear-cut distinction has not been made between them. The vocabulary for the Chitigueno of Isiboroti and the lower of the Paraguay River, pp. 89-111, is omitted in the translation, as is the list of sources on the Chitigueno and Chaco and their history, pp. 111-115. [These sections are provided in the foreign text.]

Field date 1950
Analyst: Gilbert Wiser

Evaluation Bibliography-0
Processed in 1957-1961

113, 143

Chiriguano SF10
Choroti SK6
Mataco SI7
Tehuelche SH5
Caraja SP9
Tucano SQ19
Guarani SM4
Timbira SO8
Araucanians SG4
Paez SC15
Canari SD4
Jivaro SD9
Aymara SF5
Ona SH4
Yahgan SH6

/For information on genic locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see: 4: Hill et al., 8818 Warao, Category 116, pp. 107-114./

/320 cont./

C 175 342

interesting: "they make a very big dormitory and, within it, as many small rooms as there are residents, and so small that they do not have room for more persons, and it is enough for them, because they do not have furniture, nor do they have wearing apparel and hence they go about naked." /Translated from the Spanish./ These facts agree on every point with those of the Relaciones geográficas, etc. (Vol. II, Plate CIV) and of Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 259) on the same subject. The Guarani, just like the Tupinamba and other Tupi tribes, lived in maloca, gigantic halls capable of containing more than 150 persons and which often in themselves formed the village. The existence of this type of dwelling among the Chiriguano in the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes new proof for the recent character of their migration. In the 18th century we find them already in possession of the small rectangular house which they still have now and where one single family lives. (See Métraux, 2, p. 51.)

C [114] [113]

C [171]

C [174] [167]

C 114 127 175

novelist Garcilaso which might allow one to suppose that he really knew who the Chiriguano were. As for this conquest by the Inca, it would have been barely an attempt at conquest... Garcilaso confuses the Chiriguano with all the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes whom he had vaguely heard mentioned. Let us note that he is the only one to attribute this expedition to the Inca Yupanki, while the other chroniclers, better informed, are satisfied to say that the Inca Yupanki made an expedition against the Antis, probably around Cuzco. Unfortunately the vogue this pleasant writer enjoyed at a time when the history of America was still in limbo bluffs some modern critics into believing him, and they go so far as to prefer one of his unwarranted affirmations to the serious /321/ and precise evidence of chroniclers who get their information at first hand and from reliable sources.

C 114 127 175 648 [101]

/339 cont./
consumption was limited (1).

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.

We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the Indians of the Caruruti region in Caipipendi valley. From the end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6).[1]

This temporary migration of the whole population of a village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

[1] [Fig 6 appears on p. 69-- Analyst]

/446/

171
285

Table for Map 1

Distribution of the basketry technique called "wicker work"

Numbers on the map	Tribes	Authors	Remarks
1	Chiriguano and Chané		
2	Diaguite	Museo de Tucumán No. 305	Some impressions on the base of a vessel enabled me to discover the existence of this technique in this geographical area.
3	Araucan of Chile	Latcham, p. XXXV (1)	
4	Araucan of Argentina	National Museum of Buenos Aires (Palavecino Collection).	
5	Yurakare	Nordenskiöld, 11, Fig. 30, p. 128.	
6	Atsawaka, Tambopata-Guarayú	Nordenskiöld, 11, p. 198.	
7	Palikur	Nimuendajú, Fig. 23, p. 49.	
8	Siusí and Kauá of the Aiary River	Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 142 a-d, p. 221.	
9	Patamona, Makusi, Arekuna	Roth, p. 140, Pl. 105 B and C.	
10	Arawak	Roth, Pl. 104 B.	

[113]

1. Latcham, R. E., "Ethnology of the Araucanos," in The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 34, London, 1904, cited from Nordenskiöld, 10, p. 171.

/480 cont./
75 Fig. 16) was present at an analogous treatment also practiced
/481/ by a medicine woman on a child at Yumbia, not far
from the Salado. She rubbed him and blew on his body (1).

[113]
[192]

1. In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc. (p. 72), we find the word hunga translated "to rub, to massage" and the sentence Šiyari Šerungarunga tein, iróí á šẽ with the following meaning: "My grandmother rubbed me enough, but I did not get well." The medicine women, add the authors of the dictionary, use the word hunga to express the act of rubbing with the hand any painful part of the body, especially the chest, without any remedy other than the saliva they spit on their hand. These women attribute a special virtue to saliva.

[827]

755
756 The sick boy's father told me that, once suffering from prolonged headaches, he had had recourse to a sorceress, an old woman with woolly hair, who was called the Samba. She sucked the place where the ache was localized and drew out worms from it. The half-breed got well, of course.

757
[825] In the toldería of Ñawirenda, where there was a child ill with fever, his mother had made him eat crushed garrapatas (ticks). The unfortunate child's lips were purple from it.

756
755
[121] I shall devote a special st[illegible] to Chiriguano medicine men in a future volume of this Review. Meanwhile I shall limit myself to describing, according to the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano (pp. 166-167), the way in which these powerful personages customarily proceed when they are called to the bedside of a sick person. I am forced to have recourse to the observations made by another for lack of having been able to be present myself at the spectacle which Father Giannechini evokes with as much accuracy as vivacity. The great Chiriguano paye are now all in the Ivoka where they take

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

typical *Inca* designs. At Caipipendi (pl. 41, *top, right*), near Charagua, he found a *Chiriguano* cemetery consisting of large, corrugated urns, identical to modern *Chiriguano* chicha jars, covered with smaller jars. Near the surface was found a vessel with incised decoration which has no resemblance to any modern *Chiriguano* ware. The same site yielded a small pot with thin incisions and two suspension holes. 172

SOURCES

Short descriptions of the *Chiriguano* appear in the early literature. Garcilaso de la Vega's picture of *Chiriguano* culture is on the whole quite inaccurate, but for a few details. Díaz de Guzmán (1914), Barco Centenera (1836, 1912), and Lizárraga (1909) speak briefly of *Chiriguano* culture, but the earliest firsthand account of it is Father Chomé's letter (1819 b). Tamajuncosa's report (1910) about the state of the missions at the end of the 18th century is also an interesting document. Weddel (1853), who visited the *Chiriguano* in the middle of the last century, published a few notes about their culture. The best sources are the reports and books written by the Franciscan missionaries, Cardús (1886), Corrado (1884), and especially Campana (1902). Nino's (1912) much-quoted book is based in great part on Campana's monograph. 113 114

Nordenskiöld dedicates several chapters of his "Indianerleben" (1912) and of "Forschungen and Abenteuer" (1924 a) to the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*. His data are accurate though somewhat superficial. Great stress is placed on the economic life and the material culture, but social organization and religion receive only cursory attention. However, the collection of *Chané* and *Chiriguano* myths is fairly large and of great interest. Nordenskiöld made a comparative analysis of *Chiriguano* material culture in one of the volumes of his ethnographical series (Nordenskiöld, 1920). More minute details about *Chiriguano* artifacts may be found in Eric von Rosen's (1924) luxurious publication based on a collection he made among these Indians at the beginning of the century.

Several aspects of *Chiriguano* history and material culture were studied in some detail by the writer (Métraux, 1930 b), who also published new *Chiriguano* myths (1931 a) and two sociological essays (Métraux, 1931 b and 1935).

Several monographs deal with *Chiriguano* pottery, which is today one of the best in South America. (Outes, 1909; Nordenskiöld, 1920; Métraux, 1930 b; Paulotti, 1942.) Recently, Max Schmidt (1938) again published and described *Chiriguano* artifacts and techniques.

Knowledge of *Chiriguano* religious and social life is meager and is limited mainly to Campana's monograph (1902) and to observations made by Nordenskiöld (1912) and the present author (1930 b) at a time when aboriginal *Chiriguano* culture was already decadent. The Paraguayan-Bolivian war accelerated its breakdown and little of it now survives.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The migrations, wars, and the religious conversion of the *Chiriguano* have been the subjects of many historical monographs. The most important of these are by Corrado (1884), Serrano y Sanz (1898), Dominguez (1918), Gandia (1929 a, and b), Métraux (1930 b), Coni (1925), Moreno (1929), and Finot (1939). The Jesuit missionary work among the *Chiriguano* has been described by Lozano (1941) and Muriel (1918).

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

As today *Chiriguano* and *Chané* share in the same culture, the following data may apply to both tribes.

Farming.—The *Chané*, conquered by the *Chiriguano*, were proficient farmers who, though practicing a tropical type of agriculture, were probably acquainted with many of the methods of cultivation of the Andean area. The *Chiriguano* adopted their traditions. The new habitat of the *Chiriguano* did not offer the same resources for hunting and fishing as had their homeland. Therefore, these Indians depend on farming to a larger extent than any other *Tupi-Guaraní tribe*. The basis of their livelihood is maize, of which they have 11 varieties, all related to those of Paraguay. Then follow in order of importance: Pumpkins, beans (11 varieties), sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, peanuts, and some Barbary figs (*Opuntia* sp). Sweet potatoes were grown on a large scale by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

These Indians also raise cotton, tobacco, urucú, and, in the Parapeti region, reeds for arrow shafts (*Arundo donax*). Plants of the Old World adopted by the *Chiriguano* include melons, watermelons, oranges, sugarcane, and sorghum.

Chiriguano men clear the fields and surround them with a tall fence as a protection against the inroads of wild or domesticated animals, a task which is considered to be particularly strenuous. They also till the soil, but at harvest time they are assisted by the women and children. The latter, armed with slings, drive away the parakeets and other birds which prey on the crops. Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 183) observed that among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro region, large maize fields were tended by men while pumpkins and beans were raised by the women.

Collecting wild food.—When their crops fail, the *Chiriguano* subsist on the same species of pods and fruits as those collected by the Chaco Indians: Algarrobo, tusca, mistol, caraguatá, and other plant foods.

Hunting.—Hunting is a very secondary economic activity, at least in modern times. Peccaries, which are the main game animal, are hunted with specially trained dogs and killed with bows and arrows or with clubs. Rheas, which are abundant in the Chaco plains, are caught with bolas. Pigeons are captured with clap nets. Special arrows with two points are used for hunting yacu birds (*Penelope* sp.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alcaya, 1906; Barco Centenera, 1836, 1912; Campana, 1902; Cabeza de Vaca (see Hernández, Pedro, 1852); Cardús, 1886; Cattunar (see Romano and Cattunar, 1916); Chomé, 1819 a, 1819 b; Coni, 1925; Corrado, 1884; Díaz de Guzmán, 1914; Domínguez, 1918; Finot, 1939; Gandía, 1929 a, 1929 b, 1935 a; Garcilaso de la Vega, 1918-20; Giannechini, 1896; Hernández, Pedro, 1852; Kersten, 1905; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924; Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, 1780-83 (1819, vol. 5); Lizárraga, 1909; Lozano, 1941; Mather, 1922 a; Mosna, 1917; Métraux, 1930 b, 1931 a, 1931 b, 1935; Moreno, 2nd ed., 1929; Muriel, 1918; Nino, 1912; Nordenskiöld, 1912, 1915 a, 1920, 1923, 1924 a; Outes, 1909; Paulotti, 1942; Romano and Cattunar, 1916; Rosen, 1924; Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1905; Schmidt, 1938; Serrano y Sanz, 1898; Tamajuncosa, 1910; Weddell, 1853.

THE YURACARE, MOSETENE, AND CHIMANE

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Culturally, the *Yuracare*, *Mosetene*, and *Chimane* are closely related (map 1, *No. 3;* map 2). The *Leco* probably belonged to the same cultural area, but information on them is scanty and, therefore, it is presented in a special chapter.

The *Yuracare* (*Conix, Cuchis, Enetes*) territory was defined by D'Orbigny (1839, 1:354–355) as the large zone of Tropical Forest at the foot of the Andes, extending from Santa Cruz in the east to Cochabamba in the west (lat. 16°–17° S., long. 63°–66° W.). In more recent times, *Yuracare* settlements were scattered along the Mamorecillo, Chimoré, Chaparé, Securé, and San Mateo Rivers and their tributaries.

The *Yuracare* were divided into two mutually hostile groups: The *Soloto*, or eastern *Yuracare*, and the *Manziño* to the west, on the slopes of the Andes. The *Oromo*, though exterminated by the *Manziño*, seem to have belonged to the latter nation. The *Soloto* of the Mission of San Carlos were called *Moge* by the inhabitants of Santa Cruz.

The contacts of the *Yuracare* with the Whites go far back in time. On several occasions in the 17th c[illegible], they raided the Spanish settlements near Mizque and Cochabam[illegible]. The first missionary to visit them was Father Francisco Marcos who, in 1776, founded the Mission of Asunción de Maria Santissima on the Paracti River, between the Coni and Chaparé Rivers. This mission was soon abandoned but was restored for a few years in 1784. The Mission of San José on the Coni River was established in 1795 by Father Tomas Anaya, but was deserted by the Indians in 1805, after it had been shifted to the Mamoré River. The Mission of San Francisco, founded on the Mamoré River in 1793, was also soon abandoned. At the beginning of the 19th century, Father Lacueva tried to restore the Mission of Asunción, but it was in ruins when D'Orbigny passed through it in 1831.

The *Yuracare* language is still regarded as unrelated to any other group.

4: Nino--150 M3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/109 cont./

797
126

with that of Tarija because the inhabitants of the missions of both colegios were of the same Chiriguano race.

/110/ The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 148/ is one of the said photographs; it shows a group of Chiriguano women with their festive clothing and adornments, who are ready to attend a public gathering for drinking; it was made in the Boicovo Mission and taken with the others to the exposition. The group of Indian day laborers is reserved for the chapter which deals with work and chores; both groups show the physical constitution of the race, about which Señor del Campano, after the exposition was over, wrote his book; perhaps this gentleman also had seen the four Chiriguano who were brought from the Tarija missions (1).

[113]

1. Notzie intorno ai Ciriguani /Information on the Chiriguano/. Florence, 1902. This is the most complete work that exists in Italy, in view of which I decided to write the present one here where the Chiriguano live.

Physique

14

After having studied the territory that a tribe occupies and consigned to paper what is most characteristic, and, next, having discovered appropriately by means of traditional and historical data or well-founded suppositions the origin and derivation of the tribe, the first thing that is exhibited to the ethnographer and to any observer is the physical body; its proportions, whether large, small, or average, soon strike the eye, the later, the observer, considers mentally what the former, the physical ethnographer, sees, and begins his narration and then goes on to the character.

/111 cont./

144 114 who conquered Mexico and Peru (1).

[113]

1. Guillermo Robertson. Historia de América desde el descubrimiento hasta antes de la Independencia /History of America from the Discovery to before Independence/. Travelers exaggerate their stories in order to attract more attention.

144 [191] [142] There are extensive areas where mixture of the two races was frequent, but it must be pointed out that in these areas the children of such have ceased to be Chiriguano, both because of the Spanish language, which they now speak perfectly, and the color, which is completely different; it is no longer parchment, as Father Corrado states, but a skin which is up to a certain point fine and velvetlike, so that for this class of persons who descend from white and Chiriguano the appropriate name is mestizo and not Chiriguano, and consequently the physical characteristics of the race have not changed. In these same areas families which have kept pure Chiriguano blood are not rare, and these families, or the individuals which make them up, have the same characteristics as other Chiriguano, without any noteworthy difference (2).

2. From the left bank of the Parapiti River northward this radical change is taking place, making the race disappear.

On the contrary, in the great Chiriguano centers, such as all the missions and a few other areas outside of them, the physique of the native has not changed at all. As a rule their stature does not reach one meter and 70 centimeters in men, and rare are the women who reach 1.60; the hair is black, glossy, and coarse, and very vigorous in

141 142

181 /114/ the same as everywhere else, so that certain travelers who say Indians are very bad would be wrong, as would those who call them very good. A celebrated explorer said not long ago that he found more goodness in an Indian than in a white man and that it is enough to notice only with average attention the faces of the two to be sure of the relative morality of both; as a missionary I neither can nor should consign to these pages my judgment in this regard (1).

1. The same explorer approves of the resolute attitude of the Curuyuqui uprising, taking the point of view that they were fighting for their independence and for the recovery of their territory.

186 648 Before the conquest so gently carried out by the Catholic missionaries took place, it was extremely dangerous to enter their territory, even just in passing, and not too long ago it was difficult to pass through the Cuevo-Ibo countryside, where the Franciscan missionaries of Potosí founded their missions, as they had founded those of Tarija in other regions. There was reason for the danger to exist.

The Indian now knew the white man by his deeds; he called him and still does call him caray, that is, astute, greedy, oppressor, and owner of what belongs to other people; if then he looked with misgiving upon the caray and up to a certain point did not wish to have relations with him, it is because this extremely bad image had been formed, from which arose the idea of not wanting to have a bad neighbor in his territory, and he blocked his way in order that he might not come to like the fertility of the area. He was wise to the fact that after exploration comes reconnaissance, and from this rises the desire to possess, which sooner or later is put into execution, as has been the case (2).

[113]

2. Giannecchini. Expedición al Alto Paraguay, año 1883.

/114 cont./

648 721 Once the conquest had been completed through the work of the missionaries and through colonization by the inhabitants of several departments, the Chiriguano had to submit to the rights of the stronger; on several occasions he tried to raise his head by means of general uprisings, such as the one of 1875 and the one of 1892 in Curuyuqui de Cuevo-Ibo, but they succumbed because of the difference in arms and because the whites were well situated (3).

[113]

3. Martarelli. Addition to the Historia de Misiones del Colegio de Potosí, which deals with the Curuyuqui war and the beginnings of the founding of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission.

648 178 /115/ A new uprising seems unlikely today because they are few and because the territory is populated by whites who have taken over the territory by right of conquest and through purchase made before the Supreme Government, but the Indians have not resigned themselves to permanent servitude, having once been lords of their house and land; their pride has been put down by superior forces, and most of them endure their fate with resignation.

To be sure, it is a fact that the Chiriguano of today is not the Chiriguano of other times; he is not the one who fought so tenaciously against the soldier of the Inca army, against the Spaniard, and against the Bolivian soldier himself. This change has taken place, I shall say once more, through the loss of territory and his independence, and in repeated struggles of extraordinary tenacity, which only resulted in aggravating a bad situation, and in the loss of their most beloved people and of their lands. For better or for worse they have had to submit to the laws of the Government of the Republic, which still exercises supreme authority over them, in the missions, where it is embodied in the conversores, in the provinces in the person of the subprefects, and in the cantons in that of the corregidors, who generally make use of the cacique or the alcalde to

S: Nordenskiöld

102, 113

SF10 Chirigueno SF10
Chané SF8

/Bibliographical maps 1-6 appearing on pp. 239-244 of this source (see category 116), show the general areas of ethnographic coverage by the various authors listed in the bibliography during specific time periods. A further explanation of these maps will be found on pp. 237-238./

Nordenskiöld E-Sy(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

Bibliography.

C
Ce
113

D'ABBEUILLE (See CLAUDE D'ABBEUILLE.)

ABREU, C., DE. rã-txa hu-ni-ku-ĩ. Grammatica, textos e vocabulario Caxinauás. Rio de Janeiro 1914.

ACOSTA, JOSEPH, DE. Historia natural y moral de las Indias. Madrid 1894. (Publicada en Sevilla 1590).

ACUÑA, CRISTOVAL, DE. A new discovery of the great river of the Amazons. (Expeditions into the valley of the Amazons. Translated and edited by Clements R. Markham. Hakluyt Society 1859). (First Ed. Madrid 1641).

(1) AGUADO, PEDRO, DE. Historia de Santa Marta y nuevo reino de Granada. Madrid 1916—1917. (Written about 1575).

(2) — Historia de Venezuela. Madrid 1918—1919.

(1) AMBROSETTI, J. B. Los indios Kaingángues. (Revista del Jardin Zoológico. T. 2. Buenos Aires 1894).

(2) — Notas de arqueología Calchaqui. (Boletin del Instituto Geográfico Argentino. T. 17—20. Buenos Aires 1896—1899).

(5) — Exploraciones arqueológicas en la Pampa Grande. (Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. T. 6. Buenos Aires 1906).

(6) — Exploraciones arqueológicas en la ciudad prehistórica de »La Paya». (Facultad de Filosofia y Letras. Publicaciones de la Sección Antropológica. N:o 3. 2:a Parte. Buenos Aires 1908).

(7) — Los indios Cainguá. (Boletin del Instituto Geográfico Argentino. T. 15. Buenos Aires 1895.)

(8) — Algunas alfaferias Calchaquies. (Revista Museo de la Plata. T. 3. La Plata 1892.)

AMEGHINO, FLORENTINO. La antigüedad del hombre en el Plata. Paris y Buenos Aires 1880—1881.

Schmelzenkästl E-8,7 (1908-1909, 1912) 1909
1710 Chirigano 1710
Chano 1710

C
Ce
113

ANDAGOYA, PASCUAL, DE. The narrative of. London 1865. (Hakluyt Society. N:o 34.)

ANNUA DE LA COMPAÑIA DE JESÚS. — Tucuman — Perú — 1596. (Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Perú. T. 2. Madrid 1885).

ANNUÆ LITTERÆ SOCIETATIS IESU. Anni 1605. Duaci 1618.

(2) (ARMENTIA, NICOLAS.) Descripción del Territorio de las Misiones Franciscanas de Apolobamba. La Paz 1905.

(1) AZARA, FELIX, DE. Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale. Paris 1809.

(2) — Geografía física y esférica de las provincias del Paraguay, y misiones Guaranies. (Anales del Museo Nacional de Montevideo. Sección Histórico — Filosófica. T. I. Montevideo 1904). (Written 1790, edited by Rodolfo R. Schuller).

BAESSLER, ARTHUR. Altperuanische Metallgeräte. Berlin 1906.

BALBOA, MIGUEL CAVELLO. Histoire du Pérou. Paris 1840. (Ternaux-Compans, relations etc. Serie II:4.) (Written 1576—1586).

BANDELIER, ADOLF F. The islands of Titicaca and Koati. New York 1910.

BARBOSA RODRIGUES, JOÃO. Relatorio sobre o Rio Capim. Rio de Janeiro 1875.

BARRERE, PIERRE. Nouvelle relation de la France equinoxiale. Paris 1743.

BATES, HENRY WALTER. The naturalist on the river Amazons. London 1910. (Popular edition.)

BECHAMEL (See Grillet.)

BENZONI, GIROLAMO. History of the New World. (Hakluyt Society N:o 21.) London 1857. (First edition Venice 1565).

BERTHON, PAUL. Étude sur le précolombien du Bas-Pérou. (Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques. Paris 1910.)

Schmelzkiste 1-4,5(1909-1916, 1918) 1920
8711 Chirigunos 8711
Chaco 871

C
Ce
113

BETANZOS, JUAN, DE. Suma y narracion de los Incas. (Biblioteca Hispano-ultramarina. T. 5. Madrid 1880.) (Written 1551.).

BIET, ANTOINE. Voyage de la France equinoxiale en l'isle de Cayenne. Paris 1664.

BLEYER. Die wilden Waldindianer Santa Catharinas: die «Schokleng». (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Bd. 36. Berlin 1904).

(1) BOGGIANI, GUIDO. I Caduveì. Roma 1895.

(2) BOLINDER, GUSTAF. Einiges über die Motilon-Indianer der Sierra de Perijá. (Kolumbien, Südamerika). (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Jahrg. 49. Berlin 1917).

(4) — Ijca-indianernas kultur. Alingsås 1918.

BOMAN, ERIC. Antiquités de la région andine de la République Argentine et du Désert d'Atacama. Paris 1908.

(2) BOOT, THEODOR, DR. An exploration of the Sierra de Perijá. Venezuela. (Geographical Review. New York 1918).

BRETT, W. H. The Indian tribes of Guiana. London 1868.

BRETTES, J. DE. Chez les Indiens du Nord de la Colombie. (Le Tour du Monde. Paris 1898).

(1) BRUCH, CARLOS. (See OTTER 5.)

BUCHWALD, OTTO, VON. Tolas ecuatorianas. (Physis. T. 3. Buenos Aires 1917.)

BURGOS, FRANCISCO. État des missions ..... Chiquites. (Lettres édifiantes T. 8. Paris 1781.)

(1) CAMPANA, DOMENICO, DEL. Notizie intorno ai Chiriguani. (Archivio per l'antropologia e la etnologia. Vol. 32. Firenze 1902).

CANDELIER, H. Rio Hacha et les Indiens Guajires. Paris 1893.

CARVAJAL, GASPAR, DE. Descubrimiento del Rio de las Amazonas. Sevilla 1894. (Edition José Toribio Medina). (Written 1541—1542).

CASAS, BARTOLOMÉ, DE LAS. Historia de las Indias. (Documentos inéditos para la historia de España. T. 62—66. Madrid 1875—76).

Schmelzwissenschaftl. 8-0,4 (1869-1898, 1912) 1900
BF31 Chiriguano BF31
Class BF8

C
Ca
117

CARVELLANOS, JUAN, DE. Elegias de Varones Ilustres de Indias. Madrid 1850. (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles. T. 4.) (First Ed. Madrid 1589.)

CASTELNAU, FRANCIS, DE. Expédition, dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud. Histoire du Voyage T. 1—6. Paris 1850—1857.

CASTILLO, JOSEPH, DE. Relacion de la provincia de Mojos. (Documentos para la historia geográfica de la República de Bolivia. T. I. La Paz 1906). (Edited by M. V. Ballivian). (Written about 1675.)

CASTELNUOVO, GIUSEPPE FRANCESCO. Viaggio da Lima ad alcune tribù barbare del Perù. Genova 1854.

CASTRO, ANTONIO. Historia corographica natural y evangelica de la nueva Andalucia, provincias de Cumaná, Guyana y vertientes del Rio Orinoco. Madrid 1779.

CHANTRE Y HERRERA, P. JOSE. Historia de las misiones de la compañia de Jesus en el Marañon español. (1637—1767). Madrid 1901.

CHERVIN, ARTHUR. Anthropologie Bolivienne. T. 1. Paris 1908.

CHOMÉ, IGNACE. Lettre du Père Ignace Chomé. (Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. Nouvelle édition. T. 8. Paris 1781.)

CHURCH, GEORGE. Aborigines of South America. London 1912.

(1) CIEZA DE LEON, PEDRO DE. The travels of ..... 1532—50. London 1864. (Hakluyt Society. Vol. 33.)

(2) — Segunda parte de la crónica del Perú. (Biblioteca hispano-ultramarina. T. 5. Madrid 1880.)

CLAUDE, D'ABBEVILLE. Histoire de la mission des Peres Capucin en l'Isle de Maragnan. Paris 1614.

COBO, BERNABE. Historia del nuevo mundo. T. 4. Sevilla 1893. (Sociedad de bibliófilos andaluces).

(1) COLINI, G. A. Gli Indiani dell' alto Amazzoni. (Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana. Vol. 22. Roma 1885).

Schwabacher 8-4-3(300-1000, 1019, 1020
8719 Chiriguano 8719
Chaco 8719

C
C.C.
(1)

Graj, C. van. Gegevens over Land en Volk van Suriname. (Bijdr. t. d. Taal-, Land-en Volkenk. v. Ned. Indië, 's-Gravenhage 1913.)

Chaqueños. (See Cocinda.)

Chaquos, Juan, de. Obras evangélicas. Buenos Aires 1892.

Chavez, Jose, M. Analytical and critical bibliography of the Tribes of Tierra del Fuego and adjacent territory. Smithsonian Institution. (Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 63. Washington 1917.)

Chawyn. (See Fernandez Chawyn.)

Chiquos, Alejandro, M. y Chiquitanos, Antonio. El Colegio Franciscano de Tarija y sus misiones. Quaracchi 1884.

Chuta Ryma, Brat de. Vocabulos indígenas o extraños introducidos en uso vulgar. (Revista Trimensual. T. 45. Rio de Janeiro 1884.)

Chubbar, C. Voyage à la Mayenne. Paris 1905.

Chubut, J. Voyage dans l'Amérique du Sud. Paris 1887.

Cieza, Lorenzo, de la. Nuevo descubrimiento del Rio de Marañon (1653). Madrid 1900.

Field, William, Henry. Marka Lahota . . . . (Third annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology. Washington 1884.)

(2) Debenedetti, Salv. Exploración arqueológica en los cementerios prehistóricos de la isla de Tilcara. (Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Publicaciones de la Sección Antropológica. No 6. Buenos Aires 1910).

4) — Investigaciones arqueológicas en los valles pre-andinos de la provincia de San Juan. (De la Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. T. 32 and T. 34. Buenos Aires 1917).

(2) Deniker, J. Les races et les peuples de la terre. Paris 1900.

Dieck, Ferdinand. Des ornements de la lèvre inférieure (Le Magasin pittoresque. Paris 1892.)

Dobrizhoffer, Martin. An account of the Abipones. London 1822. (First Ed. in Latin Vienna 1784).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

EDER, FRANC. XAV. Descriptio provinciæ Moxitarum in regno Peruano, Quam e scriptis posthumis Franc. Xav. Eder e Soc. Jesu annis XV. sacri apud eosdem Curionis digessit, expolivit & adnotatiunculis illustrativ Abb. & Consil. Reg. MAKO. Budæ. 1791.

(2) EHRENREICH, PAUL. Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens. (Veröffentlichungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde. Bd. 2. Berlin 1891).

(4) — Reise auf dem Rio Doce. (Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft. Berlin 1885.)

(5) — Die Ethnographie Südamerikas im Beginn des XX. Jahrhunderts. (Archiv für Anthropologie 1904.)

ENCYCLOPÆDIE van Nederlandsch West-Indië. 's Gravenhage and Leiden. 1914—1917.

ERNST, (A.) De l'emploi de la coca dans les pays septentrionaux de l'Amérique du Sud. (Congrès international des Américanistes 1888. Berlin 1890).

D'ESCRAGNOLLE, TAUNAY ALFREDO. Os' indios Kaingángs: (Revista do Museu Paulista. T. 10. São Paulo 1918).

(1) EVANS, OSWALD H. Notes on the Stone Age in Northern Chile, with special reference to Taltal. (Man. 1906.)

(2) — On Pottery fragments found at Taltal, Northern Chile. (Man. 1907).

D'EVREUX. (See YVES D'EVREUX).

FARABEE, WILLIAM, CURTIS. The Central Arawaks. Philadelphia 1918.

FAUQUE, Lettre du Pere Fauque. Lettres édifiantes. T. 7. Paris 1781.

FEDERMANN, NICOLAS. Belle et agréable narration du premier Voyage. Paris 1837. (Voyages, relations etc. publie par H. Ternaux.) (First edition. Haguenau 1557).

FERNANDEZ CORNEJO, ADRIAN. Descubrimiento de un nuevo camino desde el valle de Centa hasta la villa de Tarija (Coleccion Angelis. T. 4. Buenos-Aires 1901—02. Segunda edicion.) (Written 1791).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5/(1908-1909, 1913) 192
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

FERNANDEZ, JUAN PATRICIO. Relacion historial de las misiones de los Indios, que llaman Chiquitos. Madrid 1726.

FERRIS, H. B. The Indians of Cuzco and the Apurimac. (Reprinted from the Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association. Vol. 3. Lancaster 1916).

FESTA, E. Nel Darien e nell'Ecuador. Torino 1909.

FIGUEROA. Relacion de los misiones de la Compañia de Jesús en et pais de los Mainas. (Collecc'ón de libros Y documentos referentes á la historia de América. T. I. Madrid 1904.)

FLORENCE, HERCULES. Esboço da Viagem. (Revista trimensal. T. 38. Rio de Janeiro 1875.)

FREYREISS, G. W. Bidrag till kännedomen om Brasiliens urbefolkning. (Edited by C. A. M. Lindman). Ymer. Stockholm 1900. (Written 1815).

(1) FRIEDERICI, GEORG. Skalpieren und ähnliche Kriegsgebräuche in Amerika. Braunschweig 1906.

(5) — Die Schiffahrt der Indianer. Stuttgart 1907.

FRÖDIN, OTTO and NORDENSKIÖLD, ERLAND. Über Zwirnen und Spinnen bei den Indianern Südamerikas. (Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhetsamhälles Handlingar. Göteborg 1918).

GALLARDO, CARLOS R. Los Onas. Buenos Aires 1910.

GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA. Commentarios reales, que tratan del origen de los yncas. Lisboa 1609.

GIBBON, LARDNER. Exploration of the valley of the Amazon. Washington 1854.

GIGLIOLI, ENRICO H. Maschere fatte colla parte facciale di crani umani. (Archivio per l'Antropologia, la Etnologia etc. Vol. 17. Firenze 1887.)

GILIJ, FILIPPO SALVADORE. Saggio di storia americana. T. 1—4. Roma 1780—1784.

(1) GOEJE, C. H., DE. Bijdrage tot de Ethnographie der Surinaamsche Indianen. (Supplement zu »Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie.» Bd. 17. Leiden 1906).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,ψ (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

(2) — Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Surinam. (Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. Bd. 19. Leiden 1908).

GOELDI, EMILIO A. Excavações archeologicas em 1895. Executadas pelo Museu Paraense no littoral da Guyana Braziliera entre Oyapock e Amazonas. (Memorias do Museu Paraense de Historia Natural e Ethnographia. Pará 1900).

GOMARA, FRANCISCO LOPEZ, DE. Historia general de las Indias. Madrid 1877. (Biblioteca de autores españoles. T. 22. (First edition Caragoça 1552—1553).

GRANDIDIER, ERNEST. Voyage dans l'Amérique du Sud. Paris 1861.

GRILLET, JEAN et BECHAMEL, FRANÇOIS. Journal du voyage....l'an 1674 in Relation de la riviere des Amazone traduite par GOMBERVILLE. T. 2. Paris 1782.

GRUBB, BARBROOKE W. An unknown people in an unknown land. London 1911.

(1) GUEVARA, TOMÁS. Psicolojia del Pueblo Araucano. Santiago de Chile 1908.

GUMILLA, JOSEPH. El Orinoco ilustrado, y defendido, historia natural, civil, y geographica de este gran rio. Madrid 1745. (Segunda impression).

HABICH. (See Larrabure i Correa.)

HÆBLER, RUTH. Die geflochtenen Hängematten der Naturvölker Südamerikas. (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. 51. Jahrgang. Berlin 1919.)

HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIANS. Washington 1907—1910.

HAWTREY, SEYMOUR H. C. The Lengua Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco. (The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol 31. London 1901).

HERNDON, W. M. LEWIS. Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon. Washington 1854.

HERMESSEN, J. L. A Journey on the Rio Zamora, Ecuador. (The Geographical Review. New York 1917.)

StNordenskiöld E-5,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

HERRERA, ANTONIO DE. Historia General. Madrid 1730.

HERZOG, TH. Vom Urwald zu den Gletschern der Kordillere. Stuttgart 1913.

HORNBORSTEL. (See KOCH-GRÜNBERG 2).

(1) IHERING, HERMANN, VON. A civilisação prehistorica do Brazil meridional. (Revista do Museu Paulista, Vol. I. São Paulo 1895).

(4) — The Anthropology of the State of S. Paulo, Brazil. São Paulo 1906.

JAHN, A. Parauhanos und Guajiros und die Pfahlbauten am See von Maracaibo. (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. 46. Jahrgang. Berlin 1914).

JARQUE, FRANCISCO. Ruiz Montoya en Indias. (Colección de libros raros y curiosos. T. 16—19. Madrid 1900). (First edition Zaragoza 1662).

JORNADA DE OMAGUA Y DORADO. (Nueva biblioteca de autor s españoles. T. 15. Madrid 1909).

JOSSELIN DE JONG, J. P. B., DE. The Præcolumbian and early postcolumbian aboriginal population of Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire. (Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. Bd. 24. Leiden 1918).

JOYCE, THOMAS A. South American Archæology. London 1912.

(2) — Mexican Archæology. New York and London 1914.

KARSTEN, RAFAEL. Studies in South American Anthropology. I. Helsingfors 1920.

KATE, H. TEN. (See Encyclopædie van Nederlandsch West-Indië.)

KELLER-LEUZINGER, FRANZ. Vom Amazonas und Madeira. Stuttgart 1874.

KERSTEN, LUDWIG. Die Indianerstämme des Gran Chaco bis zum Ausgange des 18. Jahrhunderts. (Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. Bd. 17 Leiden 1904).

(1) KISSENBERTH, WILHELM. Bei den Canella-Indianern in Zentral-Maranhão (Brasilien). (Bæssler-Archiv. Bd. 2. Leipzig and Berlin 1911).

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

KNIVET, ANTONIE. The admirable adventures and strange fortunes of Master Antonie Knivet, which went with Master THOMAS CANDISH in his second voyage to the South Sea 1591. (PURCHAS. London 1625).

(2) KOCH-GRÜNBERG, THEODOR. Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern. Berlin 1909—1910.

(3) — Indianerkinder. (Kosmos 1914).

(4) — Vom Roroima zum Orinoco. Erster Band. Berlin 1917.

(7) — Indianischer Handel. (Kosmos 1916).

KRAUSE, FRITZ. In den Wildnissen Brasiliens. Leipzig 1911.

KUNERT. Rio grandenser Alterthümer. (Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte 1890. Berlin 1890).

KUNIKE, (HUGO). Ethnographisches und Archäologisches aus der Guayaqui-Region. (Amtliche Berichte aus den königlichen Kunstsammlungen. Jahrg. 32. Berlin 1911).

(4) LAFONE QUEVEDO, SAMUEL. Catálogo descriptivo é ilustrado de las huacas de Chañar-Yaco. (Revista del Museo de la Plata. T. 3. La Plata 1892).

LANGE, ALGOT. The lower Amazon. New York and London 1914.

LARRABURE I CORREA, CARLOS. Coleccion de documentos oficiales referentes á Loreto. Lima 1905.

LASCH, RICHARD. Die verstümmlung der Zähne in America. (Sonderabdruck aus Band 31 der »Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien.» Wien 1901).

(1) LATCHAM, R. E. Ethnology of the Araucanos. (The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. 34. London 1904).

LEHMANN, JOHANNES. Die Pfahlbauten der Gegenwart. (Sonderabdruck aus Band 34 der »Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien».) Wien 1904.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5V(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

(1) LEHMANN-NITSCHE, ROBERT. Catálogo de las antigüedades de la Provincia de Jujuy, conservadas en el Museo de La Plata. (Revista del Museo de La Plata. T. XI. La Plata 1902).

(2) — Estudios Antropologicas sobre los Chiriguanos, Chorotes, Matacos y Tobas. (Anales del Museo de La Plata T. I. Segunda Serie. Buenos Aires 1908).

(4) — Botones labiales y discos auriculares de piedra. (De la Revista del Museo de La Plata, T. 23.)

LERY, JEAN, DE. Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre de Bresil. Quatrième Edition. [Genéve] 1600.

L(EVEL), A(NDRES) E. Informe sobre . . . alto Orinoco, central y bajo Orinoco. Caracas 1850.

LITTERÆ ANNVÆ, SOCIETATIS IESV ANNI 1589. Romae 1591.

LITTERÆ ANNVÆ, SOCIETATIS IESU. Duorum annorum 1594—1595. Neapoli 1604.

LIZÁRRAGA, REGINALDO, DE. Descripcion breve de toda la tierra del Perú, Tucumán, Rio de la Plata y Chile. Madrid 1909. (Nueva Biblioteca de Aútores Españoles. T. 15.) (Written 1605.)

LOMBARD. Lettre du P. Lombard sur la mission de Kourou. Mission de Cayenne. Paris 1857.

LOWE (See SMYTH).

LOZANO, PEDRO. Descripcion chorográphica del terreno, rios, arboles y animales de las dilatadissimas provincias del gran Chaco, Gualamba: y de los ritos y costrumbes de las innumerables naciones bárbaras é infieles que le habitan. Cordoba 1733.

LUSCHAN, F., VON. Alterthümer von Benin. Berlin 1919.

MAGALHÃES, PERO, DE. Tratado da terra do Brazil. (Colleção de noticias para a historia e geografia das nações ultramarinas. T. 4. Lisboa 1826). (First edition 1576).

MARBÁN, PEDRO. Relacion de la Provincia de la Virgen del Pilar de Mojos. (Boletin de la Sociedad Geográfica de La Paz Bolivia 1898). (Written 1676).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

MARCANO, G. Ethnographie précolombienne du Venezuela. (Mémoires de la Societé d'Anthropologie de Paris. T. 4. Paris 1889—1890).

MARKHAM, CLEMENTS. The Incas of Peru. London 1910.

[MARONI]. Noticias auténticas del famoso Rio Marañón. (Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de Madrid. T. 26—33. Madrid 1889—1892). (Written about 1738).

(1) MARTIUS, CARL FRIEDRICH. Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas zumal Brasiliens. I. Ethnographie. Leipzig 1867.

(2) .... See v. SPIX.

MARTYR d'ANGHERA, PETER. De orbe novo. Translated from the Latin ... by Francis Augustus Mac Nutt. New York and London 1912.

(2) MASON, OTIS TUFTON. Aboriginal American Basketry. (Report of the U. S. National Museum. Washington 1904.)

MAYNTZHUSEN, F. C. Ueber vorkolumbianische Siedelungen und Urnenfriedhöfe der Guarani am Alto Paraná (Actas del 17° Congreso Internacional de Americanístas. Buenos Aires 1912.)

(1) MEAD, CHARLES W. The musical instruments of the Incas. (Supplement to American Museum Journal. Vol. 3. New York 1903).

MEANS, PHILIP AINSWORTH. A note on the Guarani invasions of the Inca Empire. (The Geographical Review. New York 1917).

(1) MEDINA, JOSE TORIBIO. Los aborijenes de Chile. Santiago 1882.

(2) — El Veneciano Sebastian Caboto al servicio de España. T. 1—2. Santiago de Chile 1908.

(1) MEYER, HERMANN. Bows and arrows in Central Brazil. (From the Smithsonian Report 1896. Washington 1898).

(2) — Muschelhügel (Sambaki) und Urnenfeld bei Laguna. (Brasilien). (Globus. Bd. 69. Braunschweig 1896).

5tNordenskiöld E-5/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
d13

MOCQUET, JEAN. Voyages en Afrique, Asie, Indes Orientales & occidentales faits par . . . Rouen 1645. (First Ed. Paris 1616).

MOLINA, GIOVANNI IGNAZIO. Saggio sulla storia civile del Chile. Bologna 1787.

MONTESINOS, FERNANDO. Memorias antiguas historiales y politicas del Perú. Madrid 1882 (Coleccion de libros españoles raros ó curiosos. T. 16). (Written 1642).

MURO (In LARRABURE i CORREA.)

NAVARRETE, MARTIN FERNANDEZ, DE. Coleccion de los viages. T. 3. Madrid 1829.

NEHRING, CARL. Indianische Graburnen (Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft. Berlin 1879).

(1) NETTO, LADISLAU. Investigações sobre a Archeologia Brazileira. (Archivos do Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Vol. 6. Rio de Janeiro 1885.)

NEVEU-LEMAIRE, M. Los lagos de los altiplanos de la América del Sud. (Traduccion Española) La Paz 1909.

NINO, BERNARDINO, DE. Etnografía Chiriguana. La Paz 1912.

NOBREGA, MANOEL, DA. Informação das terras do Brazil mandada pelo Padre Nobrega. (Revista Trimensal. T. 6. Rio de Janeiro 1844.) (Written about 1550).

(2) NORDENSKIÖLD, ERLAND. Beiträge zur Kenntnis einiger Indianerstämme des Rio Madre de Dios-Gebietes (Ymer. Årg. 25. Stockholm 1905).

(3) — Arkeologiska undersökningar i Perus och Bolivias gränstrakter 1904—1905. (Kungl. Svenska Vetenskapsakademiens Handlingar. Bd. 42. Uppsala and Stockholm 1906).

(3b) — Südamerikanische Rauchpfeifen. (Globus Bd. 93. Braunschweig 1908).

(6) — Spiele und Spielsachen im Gran Chaco und im Nordamerika. (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Jahrg. 42. Berlin 1910).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

(7) — Sind die Tapiete ein guaranisierter Chacostamm? (Globus. Bd. 98. Braunschweig 1910).

(8a) — Indianlif i El Gran Chaco (Syd-Amerika). Stockholm 1910.

(8b) — Indianerleben. Leipzig 1912.

(9) — Indianer och hvita i nordöstra Bolivia. Stockholm 1911.

(10) — Urnengräber und Mounds im bolivianischen Flachlande. (Baessler-Archiv. Bd. 3. Leipzig und Berlin 1913).

(11) — Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika. Stockholm 1915.

(12) — Incallacta, eine befestigte und von Inca Tupac Yupanqui angelegte Stadt. Ymer. Årg. 35. Stockholm 1915.

(13) — The Guarani invasion of the Inca Empire in the sixteenth century: An historical Indian migration. (The Geographical Review. Vol. 4. New York 1917).

(15) — See Frödin.

(16) — Spieltische aus Peru und Ecuador. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Jahrg. 50. Berlin 1918.

(17) — Om Indianernas Anvendelse af Gummi i Sydamerika. (Geografisk Tidskrift. Kobenhavn 1917).

Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar. Relación de los naufragios y comentarios. Madrid 1906. (Colección de libros y documentos refentes á la historia de América. T. 5—6). (First edition Valladolid 1555).

(2) d'Orbigny, Alcide. Voyage. Partie Historique. Paris 1839.

Ordinaire, Olivier. Les sauvages du Perou. (Revue d'Ethnographie. T. 6. Paris 1887).

Ortiguera, Toribio, de. Jornada del Rio Marañón. (Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles. T. 15. Madrid 1909). (Written about 1585).

Osculati, G. Esplorazione delle regioni equatoriali. Milano 1854.

5:Nordenskiöld E-S/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
Ce
113

OVIEDO y BAÑOS, JOSE, DE. Historia de Venezuela. Madrid 1885. (First edition Madrid 1723).

OVIEDO Y VALDÉS, GONZALO FERNANDEZ, DE. Historia general y natural de las Indias. Madrid 1851—55.

(4) OUTES, FELIX F. Arqueología de San Blas. (Anales del Museo Nacional de Buenos Aires. T. 16. Buenos Aires 1907).

(5) — y BRUCH, CARLOS. Los aborígenes de la república Argentina. Buenos Aires 1910.

(7) — La Cerámica Chiriguana. (Revista del Museo de la Plata. Buenos Aires 1909).

(8) — Observaciones á dos estudios del Señor Eric Boman. (Anales de la Sociedad Científica Argentina. T. 60. Buenos Aires 1905).

(2) OYARZUN, AURELIANO. Los Kjoekkenmoeddinger o conchales de las costas de Melipilla i Casablanca. Santiago de Chile 1910.

PALOMINO, DIEGO. Relacion de las provincias que hay en la conquista del Chuquimayo que yo el Capitan Diego Palomino tengo por Su Magestad y por el muy Ilustre Señor Pedro Gasca, presidente de la Audiencia Real destos reynos del Perú por su Magestad. (Relaciones geográficas de Indias T. 4. Madrid 1897). (Palomino made his journey in 1549).

PASTELLS PABLO. Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay. T. 2. Madrid 1915.

PAULA SOUZA, GERALDO H., DE. Notas sobre uma visita a acampamentos de indios Caingangs. (Revista do Museu Paulista. T. 10. São Paulo 1918).

PIGAFETTA, ANTONIO. Primer viaje alrededor del mundo. (Traducción del italiano por D. Manuel Walls y Merino). (Boletin de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid. T. 38. Madrid 1896).

PITTIER DE FÁBREGA, HENRY. Ethnographic and linguistic notes on the Paez Indians of tierra adentro, Cauca, Colombia. (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association. Vol. I. Lancaster 1907).

S:Nordenskiöld E-S,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

PIZARRO, PEDRO. Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú. (Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España. T. 5. Madrid 1844).

PLASSARD, LOUIS. Les guaraunos et le delta de l'Orenoque. (Bulletin de la Societé de Géographie. T. 15. Paris 1868).

POEPPIG, EDUARD. Reise in Chile, Peru und auf dem Amazonenstrome. Leipzig 1835—1836.

POSNANSKY, ARTHUR. Das Treppenzeichen. Berlin 1913.

PREUSS, THEODOR. Die Begräbnisarten der Amerikaner und Nordostasiaten. Königsberg 1894.

PRINCIPIO E ORIGEM dos Indios do Brazil. (Revista Trimensal. T. 57. Rio de Janeiro 1894).

PURCHAS his pilgrimes. London 1625. A treatise of Brazil written by a Portugall. (MANOEL TRISTA?)

QUANDT, C. Nachricht von Suriname und seinen Einwohnern. Görlitz 1807.

QUINTANILLA, JUAN N. VARGAS. (In Carlos Larrabure i Correa).

RAIMONDI, A. Apuntes sobre la provincia litoral de Loreto. (In D. Mateo Paz Soldan. Geografia del Perú. Paris 1862).

RALEGH. The discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana. London 1848. (Hakluyt Soc.)

RAMIREZ, LUIZ. Carta, de . . . do Rio da Plata, a 10 de Julho de 1528. (Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico do Brazil. T. 15. 2 Edicão. Rio de Janeiro 1888). (See also MEDINA (2).).

RATZEL, FRIEDRICH. Völkerkunde. Bd. I. Leipzig und Wien 1894.

REGEL, FRITZ. Kolumbien. Berlin 1899.

REISS, W. und STÜBEL. A. Das Todtenfeld von Ancon in Perú. Berlin 1880—1887.

RENGGER, J. R. Reise nach Paraguay. (Herausgegeben von A. Rengger). Aarau 1835.

RESTREPO, VICENTE. Los Chibchas. Bogota 1895

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
CE
113

RESTREPO TIRADO. ERNESTO. Los Quimbayas. Bogota 1912.

(1) RIVET, P. Les Indiens Jíbaros. (L'Anthropologie. T. 18—19. Paris 1907—1908).

(2) — Etude sur les indiens de la région de Riobamba. (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. Nouvelle série. T. I. Paris 1903).

(3) — Les indiens Colorados. (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. Nouvelle série. T. 2. Paris 1905).

(4) — et VERNEAU, R. Ethnographie ancienne de l'Équateur. (Mission du service géographique de l'armée pour la mesure d'un arc de méridien équatorial en Amérique du Sud. T. 6. Paris 1912).

(ROBLEDO, JORGE). Relacion del viaje del capitan Jorge Robledo a las provincias de Ancerma y Quimbaya 1540. (Colleccion de documentos inéditos etc. T. 2. Madrid 1864).

RODRIGUEZ, MANUEL. El Marañon y Amazonas. Madrid 1684.

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE. Through the Brazilian Wilderness. London 1914.

(2) ROQUETTE-PINTO, E. Rondonia. (Archivos do Museu Nacional. Bd. 20. Rio de Janeiro 1917).

(1) ROSEN, ERIC, VON. The Chorotes Indians in the Bolivian Chaco. Stockholm 1904.

(2) — Archæological researches on the frontier of Argentina and Bolivia in 1901—1902. Stockholm 1904.

(3) — Är den sydamerikanska kulbågen en efterbildning av den indiska kullångbågen? Ymer 1919.

(4) — En förgången värld. Stockholm 1919.

ROTEIRO DA VIAGEM da cidade do Pará' etc. (Collecção de noticias . . . das nacões ultramarinas. T. 6. Lisboa 1856). (Witten about 1775.)

(3) ROTH, WALTER. Some Technological Notes from the Pomeroon District. (The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute Vol. 40. London 1910).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,V(1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

Ruiz Blanco, Matias. Conversión en Piritú. (Colección de libros raros curiosos que tratan de América. T. 7. Madrid 1892. (First Edition, Madrid 1590).

Ruiz de Montoya, Antonio. Conquista espiritual. Bilbao 1892. (First edition Madrid 1639).

Saabedra, Cristóbal, de. Suerte y calidades de los indios y modo de vivir que tienen; frutos y sustentos que da la tierra de los Maynas, que está reducida al servicio Real. Lima 1620. (Relaciones geográficas de indias. T. 4. Madrid 1897).

S:t Cricq, M., de. Voyage du Pérou au Brésil par les fleuves Ucayali et Amazone. (Bulletin de la Societé de Géographie. Paris 1853).

Salas, Julio, C. Etnología é Historia de Tierra Firme. Madrid (1908).

Salcamayhua, Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui. Relacion de antigüedades desde Reyno del Pirú. (Tres relaciones de antigüedades peruanas. Madrid 1879). (Written about 1613).

Sánchez Labrador, José. El Paraguay católico. Buenos Aires, 1910. (Written 1770).

Sarmiento de Gamboa, Pedro. Geschichte des Inkareiches. (Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Neue Folge. Bd. 4. Berlin 1906). (Herausgegeben von Richard Pietschmann).

Saville, Marshall, H. Contributions to South American Archeology. Vol. 1—2. New York 1907, 1910.

(1) Schmidel, Ulrich. Viaje al Rio de La Plata (1534—1554). (Notas bibliográficas y biográficas por Bartolomé Mitre. Prólogo, tradución y anotaciones por Samuel A. Lafone Quevedo. Biblioteca de la Junta de historia y numismática americana. T. I. Buenos Aires 1903).

(2) — Reise nach Süd-Amerika in den Jahren 1534 bis 1554. (Published by Valentin Langmantel.) Tübingen 1889

8:Nordamerikaind E-Sy(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

SCHMIDT, MAX. Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien. Berlin 1905.

(4) — Die Paressi-Kabiši. (Baessler-Archiv. Bd. 4. Leipzig und Berlin 1914).

(7) — Über altperuanische Ornamentik. (Archiv für Anthropologie. Bd. 7. Braunschweig 1908).

SCHMIDT, P. W. Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Südamerika. Sonderabdruck aus der Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin 1913.

SCHOMBURGK, RICHARD. Reisen in Britisch-Guiana. Leipzig 1847—1848.

SEGURA, PEDRO DE. (See SERRANO y SANZ).

SEPP, A. Unterschiedliche Brief. (In Stöcklein. Der Neue Welt-Bott. Augsburg u. Grätz. 1728—1736)

SERRANO y SANZ, MANUEL. Los indios chiriguanaes. (Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos. T. 2. Madrid 1898).

(1) SIMON, PEDRO. Primera parte de las noticias historiales de las conquistas de tierra firme en las Indias occidentales. Parte I. Madrid 1627.

(2) — Noticias historiales de las conquistas de Tierra firme. Bogota 1882—1892.

SMYTH, W. and LOWE, F. Narrative of a journey from Lima to Para. London 1836.

SNETHLAGE, EMILIA. A travessia entre o Xingú e. o. Tapajoz. (Boletim do Museu Goeldi. Vol. 7. Pará-Brazil 1913).

SOARES DE SOUZA, GABRIEL. Tratado descriptivo do Brazil en 1587. (Revista trimensal. T. 14. Rio de Janeiro 1879).

SPINDEN, HERBERT J. New data on the archæology of Venezuela. (Proceedings of the Nacional Academy of Sciences. Vol. 2. June 1916).

SPIX, J. B. v. und MARTIUS, K. F. PH. v. Reise nach Brasilien. München 1823—1831.

(1) STADEN, HANS. Warhafftig Historia vnnd beschreibung einer Landtschafft der Wilden, Nacketen, Grimmigen

S:Nordenskiöld E-5/4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chase SF8

C
Ce
113

Menschfresser Leuthen, in der Newen welt Amerika gelegen. Franckfurdt am Mayn [1557].

(2) — Suas Viagens etc. São Paulo 1900.

STEDMAN, J. G. Voyage a Surinam. (Traduit de l'Anglais, Paris. An 7 de la República.)

STEERE, JOSEPH BEAL. Narrative of a visit to Indian tribes of the Purus River, Brazil. (From the Report of the United States National Museum for 1901. Washington 1903).

(STEGELMANN, FELIX.) Die Indianer des Rio Envira. (Globus. Bd. 83. Braunschweig 1903).

(2) STEINEN, K. VON DEN. Durch Central-Brasilien. Leipzig 1886.

(3) — Unter den Naturvölkern Central-Brasiliens. Berlin 1894.

(5) — Diccionario Sipibo. Berlin 1904.

(6) — Ausgrabungen am Valenciasee. (Globus. Bd. 86. Braunschweig 1904).

STRADELLI, E. Nell' Alto Orenoco. (Estratto dal Bollettino della Societá Geografica Italiana. Roma 1888).

STÜBEL. (Siehe REISS).

SUAREZ DE CEPEDA, JUAN. Relacion de los indios Colimas 1581. (Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueologia. Tomo 4. Mexico 1913).

TECHO, N. DEL. Historia Provinciæ Paraguariæ Societatis Jesu, etc., 1673 translation in Vol. 4 of Churchill's »A Collection of Voyages and Travels», London, 1732.

TESCHAUER, P. C. Die Caingang oder Coroados-Indianer in Brasilianischen Staate Rio Grande do Sul. (Anthropos. Bd. 9. St. Gabriel-Mödling bei Wien 1914).

(1) THERESE, PRINZESSIN VON BAYERN. Meine Reise in den brasilianischen Tropen. Berlin 1897.

(2) — Reisestudien aus dem westlichen Südamerika. Berlin 1908.

(TEXEIRA). Viaje del Capitán Pedro Texeira aguas arriba del Rio de las Amazonas. 1637—1638. (Bol. Soc. Geograf. T. 9, 13, 26. Madrid 1880, 1882 and 1889).

Schwerdemann [illegible]-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

THEVET, ANDRÉ. Les singularités de la France antarctique Paris 1878. (First edition Paris 1558).

THURN, EVERARD F. IM. Among the Indians of Guiana. London 1883.

TOCANTINS, ANTONIO MANOEL GONÇALVES. Estudos sobre a tribu «Mundurucú». (Revista trimensal. T. 40. Rio de Janeiro 1877).

TOLOSA, JUAN PEREZ. DE. Cartas. (In OVIEDO y BAÑOS.) (Written 1546—1548).

(2) TORRES, LUIS MARIA. Los primitivos habitantes del delta del Paraná. (Universidad Nacional de La Plata. Biblioteca centenaria. T. 4. Buenos Aires 1911).

TRISTA, MANOEL. (See Purchas).

(1) UHLE, MAX. Kultur und Industrie südamerikanischer Völker. Berlin 1889—1890.

(3) — Las relaciones prehistóricas entre el Peru y la Argentina. (Actas del 17 Congreso international de americanistas. Buenos Aires 1912).

(4) — Zur Chronologie der alten Culturen von Ica. (Journal de la Societé des Américanistes de Paris. Nouvelle série. T. 10. Paris 1913).

(4b) — Die Muschelhügel von Ancon, Peru. (International congress of Americanists. London 1912).

(5) — Los indios atacameños (Revista chilena de historia y geografía. T. 5. Santiago de Chile 1913).

(6) — Los aborígenes de Arica. (Impresión separada de las Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile. Santiago de Chile 1917).

(9) — Ausgewählte Stücke des K. Museums für Völkerkunde zur Archäologie Americas. (Veröffentlichungen ... Museum für Völkerkunde. Bd. 1. Berlin 1889).

(10) — La Arqueología de Arica y Tacna. (Boletin de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de estudios históricos Americanos. V. 3. Quito 1919).

ULLRICH, C. O. Die Tapes. (Internationaler Amerikanisten Kongress 1904. Stuttgart 1905).

SiNordenskiöld E-S,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

URICOECHEA, EZEQUIEL. Vocabulario Paez-Castellano. (Collection linguistique americaine. T. 2. Paris 1877).

VAAS DE CAMINHA, PEDRO. Carta de... (Collecçao de noticias para a historia e geografia das nações ultramarinas. T. 4. Lisboa 1826). (Written 1500).

VASCONCELLOS, SIMÃO, DE. Chronica da companhia de Jesu do estado do Brasil. Lisboa 1865. (First edition Lisboa 1663).

VERISSIMO, JOSÉ. As populações indigenas e mestiças da Amazonia. (Revista trimensal. T. 50. Rio de Janeiro 1887).

VERNEAU. (See RIVET).

VIEDMA, FRANCISCO, DE. Descripcion de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. (Coleccion Angelis T. 3. Buenos Aires 1836). (Written 1793).

VOGT, P. FR. Die Indianer des obern Paraná. (Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Bd. 34. Wien 1904).

WÆHNELDT, RODOLFO. Exploração da provincia de Mato Grosso. (Revista trimensal. T. 27. Rio de Janeiro 1864).

WAITZ, TH. Anthropologie der Naturvölker. T. III. Leipzig 1862.

WALLACE, ALFRED RUSSEL. Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro. London 1889.

WEDDEL, H. A. Voyage dans le Nord de la Bolivia. Paris and London 1853.

WHIFFEN, THOMAS. The north-west Amazons. London. 1915.

WISSLER, CLARK. The American Indian. New York 1917.

WIED-NEUWIED, MAXIMILIAN. Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817. Frankfurt a. M., 1820—1821.

WIENER, CHARLES. Pérou et Bolivie. Paris 1880.

Schwedenschiffe E-Ef(1900-1908, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chirigoano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
Ce
113

XEREZ, FRANCISCO, DE. Conquista del Perú. Madrid 1891. (Coleccion de libros que tratan de America raros ó curiosos. T. I). (First edition Sevilla 1534).

YVES, D'EVREUX. Voyage dans le nord du Bresil, fait durant les années 1613 et 1614. Leipzig & Paris 1864. Edited by M. Ferdinand Denis.

Bibliotheekstelle E-4/V(1900-1909, 1913) 1909
8710 Chirguano 8711 ●
Chang 879
South American Indians 57

Notes on the Bibliographical maps.

S
C
Ca.
113●
117
128
108

To this bibliography several maps have been added which ought to prove useful from many points of view. *The maps indicate the territories concerning which the authors quoted in parts 1 and 2 made their investigations.*

The first map shows the literature from 1498—1600, the second from 1600—1700, the third from 1700—1800, the fourth from 1800—1900 and the fifth from 1900—1920. We find a separate map of the archaeological literature. Several important works are unfortunately missing which I have not been able to study. It is difficult and expensive work to collect the literature on the S. American Indians. Not the least difficult of access are certain works printed in S. America during the 19th century. For my ethno-geographical studies I have of course read a number of books without finding anything to quote from them and consequently they are not mentioned here. I desired especially to show the merits and demerits of the maps of the distribution of the cultural elements here published. The maps of the authors' names show us the districts from which I have no material at all and those from which I only have the material of older authors, or only of modern writers.

Some authors have not travelled in the territories they have written about, but have drawn from the works of several other authors. The most remarkable existent work of this kind is Cooper's excellent work on all that has been written about the Indian tribes in southernmost S. America. If there were many such compilations, it would not be difficult to draw up maps of the distribution of the various cultural elements.

From the map that indicates about which districts the archaeological treatises are written, we can see, even though

UCSB LIBRARY

some names are missing, what immense territories in S. America are still entirely unexplored archeologically.

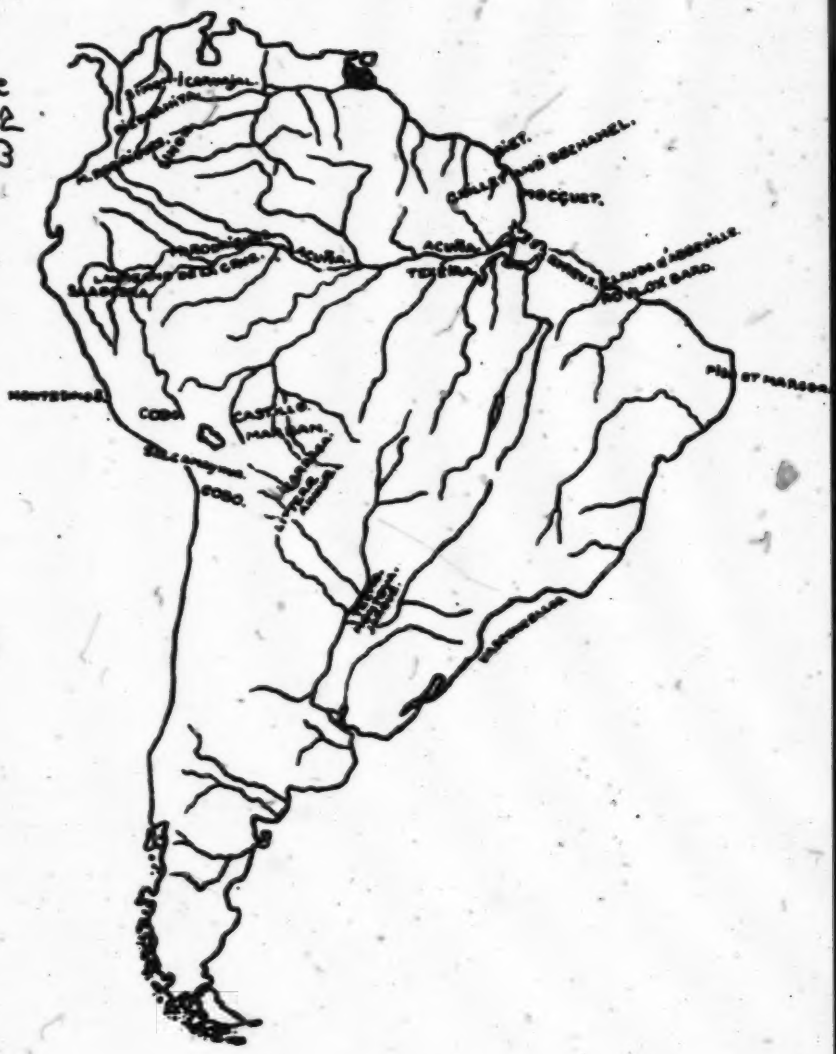
The bibliography includes some authors whose names will not be found in the maps, i. e. Fernowarr and Fermo Sessarrt, great as their services to the ethnography of S. America have been. This is because they have written comprehensive works dealing with the ethnography of the whole continent, and not with any particular part of it.

Where I have quoted from several works by the same author, these are numbered a, b, c, etc. in the bibliography. The same work has the same number in the First and Second Parts of my own book.

S
C
Ce
102
113

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians 53

S
C
Ce
1D2
113



Bibliographical map 2. 1600—1700.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

S
C
Ce
102
113

Bibliographical map 3. 1700—1800.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,¥(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians 53

S
C
CR
102
113

Bibliographical map 4. 1800—1900.

SNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

S
C
Ce
102
113

Bibliographical map 5. 1900—1920.

SeNordenskiöld E-8,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chirigsano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians 53

S
C
Ce
102
113
172

Bibliographical map 6. Archæological literature.

/161 cont./

In the wilderness of the Chaco there still lives a Chiriguano 173 chief, Cayuhuari, in whose village no white man has been. 361 It is said to lie on a big lake. Large herds of horses and cows graze there, and the maize granaries are always full. The Indians are rich there, because no whites are there. At least so it is said.

Cayuhuari, who has lived in the Chaco since the uprising 563 in 1890, has an abducted white woman as a daughter-in-law. It is said that, with the Toba, he visited the sugar factories of northern Argentina. He had his daughter-in-law with him. The owners of the factory offered to rescue her from the Indians. "I do not want to leave them," she said. "With them I have my children." This answer honors her.

The manners and customs of the Chiriguano Indians have 114 been described by several authors (4), mostly missionaries, /162/ 797

> 4. We find most of the literature cited by Domenico del Campana: "Notizie," etc., loc. cit. /"Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani (Notes on the Chiriguano)," Arch. per L'Anthr. e la Etn. Firenze, 1902. Page 61./ [113]

so that we know more about them than about the Choroti and the Ashluslay.

A part of what I have reported about these Indians is not new, though seen in a new light. Nevertheless, various things, especially concerning religion, differ from the descriptions of the various missionaries. What I have gathered here is from the Chané, and the missionaries know the Chiriguano best.

What I do not like in the various descriptions of the Indians by the missionaries is that they seem to be striving to paint their shortcomings in colors that are all too faint, so that their own "civilizing work" may seem as important as possible. The missionaries seem to me to be unable to describe the religion of the Indians objectively.

/167 cont./

is a village called Tapiirenda. The valley is now inhabited exclusively by Chiriguano, and none of them remembers that, as the name of the place indicates, Tapii (Chané) lived there. Ce 103 C 361

The place names of the Indians of higher standing are retained by the whites, even if they have become the masters of the country. Thus, almost all the places inhabited by them in Chiriguano territory have Guarani names, such as Charagua (name of the cliffs peculiarly carved out by the water), Carandaiti (where palms grow). The place names of the lower tribes, on the other hand, are not kept by the whites. Thus, no white knows the Mataco or Choroti names of the various places on the Rio Pilcomayo. The settlements of the whites are named after saints, Bolivian statesman, and explorers. If a tribe, for example, the Choroti, becomes extinct, there is nothing left of its language in the place names. Investigators of place names should not overlook this. St 103

Through association with the whites, the geographical knowledge of the Indians has been extended considerably. They go farther and farther away to seek work, and they see countries which they had never heard of before. S 177 823

The Indian as Historian

If we wanted to write the history of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we could not go back very far in time. It is only in the last decades that we see them mentioned more specifically in the literature. On the other hand, we already know about the Chiriguano, from their battles with the great ruler, Inca Yupanqui, from the period before the discovery of America. Garcilasso de la Vega (1) reports on his attempts C 175 648

1. Garcilasso de la Vega: The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas. Vol. I-II. Hakluyt Society. London, 1869 and 1871. C [113]

/173 cont./

Under the influence of the whites, however, the Chané and Chiriguano are gradually changing their huts, and many Indians are already building huts that are identical with theirs.

No hut here has its original Indian form. The genuine Chiriguano huts (the original Chané huts are not known) were very large; up to 100 persons lived in one house, and the entire /174/ village consisted of only a few large huts (1). These

1. Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. -- Tucuman y Perú -- 1596. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Madrid, 1885. Vol. II. Page CIV.

evidently correspond to the large family houses well known in Brazil, which I saw in Bolivia only among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe from Lago Rojo-Aguado.

Even in Viedma's (2) time, at the end of the eighteenth

2. Viedma: loc. cit.

century, /Fig. 83 appears here/ however, they seem to have given up the original type of house and built smaller huts.

In many villages there belongs to each hut one or more maize granaries (Fig. 84a), in which maize, gourds, etc. are /175/ stored. These granaries are built on piles and are perhaps a reminder of the time when the Chiriguano and Chané lived in swampy regions. To each granary there belongs, as a rule, a ladder (Fig. 84b). Sometimes the granaries and the dwellings are built together into one house. /Fig. 84a appears here./ I saw such huts in the vicinity of Machareti and at Yatavéri, not far from Ivu. Not infrequently the granaries stand in the fields, far from the dwellings.

These villages are neat and clean. Huts and market place are swept daily and the refuse is burned.

The space in the huts is not too cramped. /176/ In each house, as a rule, there lives only one family, which, aside from the rest of the family members, sometimes consists of the husbands

/190 cont./

C
Ce
524
[177]

Games

Sometimes one sees the men playing. The most common game is now taba, which is played with the ankle bone of a cow and which these Indians learned in the sugar factories. Dice games, too, are not uncommon there. The rules for these seem to be their own, or rather seem to be copied from the whites.

"Daro," as the Chiriguano call the dice game after the Spanish, is played by two persons with /191/ dice made by them themselves. In Tihuĩpa I noted down the following rules for this game (Fig. 93).

All other combinations are = 0. The first one to have ten strokes wins. The strokes are marked on the floor.

As for their own games of chance, they have two. The first is the same as the one we became acquainted with on page 73 /untranslated/ in connection with the Choroti and Ashluslay. The Chiriguano call this game "chũcarãy," the Chané "chunquãnti" (1).

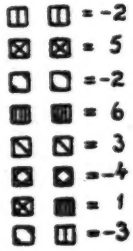


Fig. 93. Rule for the game of "daro." Chiriguano. Tihuĩpa.

C
Ce
[113]

1. Cf. Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethn., 1910, Nos. 3 and 4.

The other game known to the Chiriguano and Chané I did not see among any other Indians. They call it tsũcareta and play it with a pile of little sticks which are convex on one side and flat or concave on the other (Fig. 95).

First a stick (mãma) is placed in such a way that it points to the one who is supposed to throw (Fig. 96). Let us assume that it is placed so that the convex side is up. If two or more sticks fall on one another crosswise with the convex side up and without being touched on the upper side by a stick with the flat side up, they go to the thrower. If the mãma had been placed so that the flat side was up, only those which formed a cross with the flat side up would have counted.

/206/

Chapter Twelve

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

From the Womb to the Grave

C Ce 843 Ce [123] Ee 844 Ee 846 Ce [171] Ce 846 262 Ce [825] c 846 262 Ee 171 846

The Chané and Chiriguano women work hard even during pregnancy, until they are to give birth. In Vocapoy's village there was a pregnant woman to whom I gave a pigeon that I shot. Vocapoy thereupon told me in great excitement that a pregnant woman must not eat pigeons. When a Chané or Chiriguano child comes into the world, it undoubtedly does not cause its mother much pain. These women are healthy and give birth easily, as do all Indian women who lead a healthy life and have never worn tight-fitting clothing. They also do not lie in childbed; instead, that must be done by the papa of the little one. Here, too, we come across this strange custom, the "couvade," which is known from so many Indian tribes. The husband is supposed to lie down for several days and observe a diet. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti he is permitted to eat only cooked maize and maize soup during the first few days, and later sweet potatoes as well. For several days he may not eat meat. For example, if he eats the meat of a goat, he will die, bleating as it does. The Chiriguano Indian Taco told me that he got his fat stomach because he did not observe this important custom. "I should have lain for five days and stayed on a diet," he said.

The custom of the couvade, as is well known, is very widespread in South America. Among the tribes with whom I am familiar it definitely occurs, aside from the /207/ Chiriguano and Chané, among the Choroti, Gûarayû, and Chacobo. K. v.d. Steinen (1), who describes this custom in detail from the Rio Xingu,

C Ce [N3]

1. Karl v. d. Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/. Berlin, 1894.

Ce 551 /208 cont./

untranslatable. Not infrequently a nickname is added to this name. Thus, for example, the Chané chief Boyra (Boy-snake) was called yúruhuasu, which means big-mouth. Indeed, old Boyra was a talker who had a great weakness for everything that was a bit indecent.

Ee 862 163 Ee 847 Ee 163

Mothers nurse for an unusually long time, and it is several years, as a rule, before they have another child. Perhaps the woman also aborts the fruit of her womb occasionally, like the Choroti woman, so that the family will not become too burdened.

In the mission station in Ivu I tried to gather statistics about the number of surviving children in 127 Chiriguano marriages and found that in ten marriages there were no children, in 27 one, in 35 two, in 29 three, in 13 four, in 9 five, and in 4 six. These figures, however, are quite uncertain. Nevertheless they show that here, as among many other Indian tribes, there is a sort of two-children system.

C 847 114 C [113]

Corrado (2) maintains with certainty that infanticide occurs among the Chiriguano. It is done in desperate cases among us, too, and therefore the example cited by Corrado means nothing. The question is: does /209/ infanticide and abortion occur as an institution accepted by the tribe, as among the Choroti? /Fig. 110 appears here./

2. Corrado: El Colegio Franciscano De Traija y sus misiones. Quaracci, 1884. Pages 526-527.

C 847

C Ce 868 857

The Chané and Chiriguano children, as has been mentioned, are brought up in freedom. They spend their childhood playing. Gradually the child begins to help its parents in small matters, for example, in carrying water and wood, tying up /210/ the domestic animals, fishing, etc. The girls learn spinning, weaving, making clay vessels, brewing maize beer, etc. from their mothers. They learn everything by imitation. The boys pursue small birds around the village and in this way learn the use of weapons. The children accompany their parents to fish and to till. The boy

/210 cont./

When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short, and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again. Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize and meal. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."

In a Chané village, Aguaráti, I saw a girl who was sitting in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet, which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and closet had disappeared.

P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has bitten the girl.

1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is marriageable.

/211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this. A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.

For one day the father may not consume anything, so that the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians do not like prattlers.

When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig. 79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta.

/211 cont./

C 301/178 [304] e [578] c [186] Ee 301/177 C 301/314

Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

C [113]

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

Ee 583 584

If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

Ee 584 178

The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

Ee 585

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

Ee 591

Ee 834 171

/221 cont./

K. v. d. Steinen (1) and Koch-Grünberg (2) have pointed

1. K. v. d. Steinen: op. cit., p. 25.

C Ce [113]

2. Koch-Grünberg: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 133 /Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern (Two Years among the Indians), Berlin, 1909/.

out that even the women among the Indians on the Xingu and Rio Negro speak of sexual parts quite openly, as of something natural. The same is true among the Indians with whom I became acquainted. When I inquired about words touching on the most intimate things, even the women, indeed, the young girls, answered in the most natural manner.

Ee [124]

C Ce 195 834 838

There are words, however, which are prohibited. Such words among the Choroti are "ametché," which is an abusive word, "ictivähi," which designates homosexual intercourse, "huéle," which means onanism, and "tévi" among the Chané /222/ and Chiriguano, which has the same meaning as ictivähi. Here, too, the unnatural in sexual life is so shameful that it is not proper to speak of it.

C 834 838

There are also Indians who never want to speak about such things. This was true, for example, of a Chiriguano whom I had with me on my first trip on the Rio Parapiti. He even pretended that he had never heard such things mentioned. When I asked him about homosexuality among his countrymen, he feigned stupidity and said more or less: "Is that what the whites do?"

C [124]

Ce 538 831 [551]

Among the Indians, as among ourselves, there are nevertheless some who take pleasure in telling obscene stories. Such a one was the old Chané Bóyra, he who had the abusive name yúruhuasu, big-mouth. The more disagreeable the things he related, the more old Bóyra enjoyed himself. Sometimes he told such things that even my friend Batirayu, who used to interpret, was quite embarrassed. The old Chiriguano Yambási was also one who could tell all kinds of obscene stories.

Ce [115] C [538] [831]

Ee 838 171 c Ce [113]

/224 cont./

According to Westermarck (2), homosexuality is very

2. Westermarck: Ursprung und Entwickelung der Moralbegriffe /Origin and Development of Ideas of Morality/. Vol. II. Leipzig, 1909.

widespread among the Indians of America. The conception that this is a disgrace is by no means as marked everywhere as it is among the Indians mentioned here.

C Ce 839 171 c Ce 833 171 [839]

/225/ Among the Chané and Chiriguano I did not hear anything about onanism. Among the Choroti, on the other hand, it is said to be practiced by the men who are ignored by the women at a dance.

Perversions in the relationship between men and women, which were common in ancient Peru, do not seem to occur here. The primitive mammal position in coitus is said to be common among the Chaco tribes.

M 832 824 Ea 825 773 839

Mataco gave me a root which they used as an aphrodisiac.

The relationship between human beings and animals is so intimately intertwined in the legends of the Indians that one cannot always determine whether they mean the one or the other. The legends that describe love affairs between human beings and animals are not descriptions of bestiality, which seems to be unknown among these Indians.

Ee 834 171 Ee [126]

The sense of modesty has developed very differently among these peoples. It seems to me to depend very much on the mode of dress. None of these Indian men or women of whom I have spoken here regards it as improper, insofar as they have not been completely corrupted or civilized, to expose the upper part of the body. The Chiriguano and Chané women are much more ashamed than the Choroti and Ashluslay when they expose the sexual parts. The latter were very reluctant to undress completely in order to be photographed. I did not even dare propose such a thing to the former.

C /243 cont./
171 (Fig. 130) is typically Peruvian in form, as is the silver hair re-
291 mover, of which, however, I have no specimen. The festive
[534] costume of the man (Fig. 81) also seems to me to have a Peruvian
[413] cut. It is possible, however, that the influence of Peru did not
177 manifest itself among the Chiriguano until after the conquest of
the plateau by the Spanish.

e Boman (1) has proved that the Chiriguano, or more cor-
131
172
e
[113]

1. Boman: Antiquités de la Région Andine. Vols. 1-2. Paris, 1908.

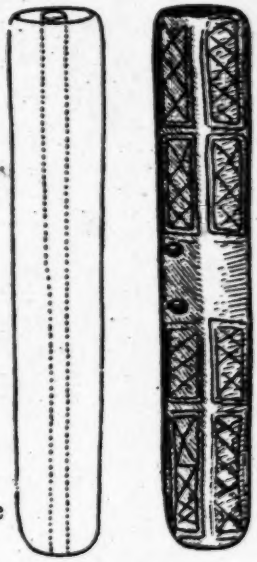


Fig. 120. Serére pipe. Chiriguano. 1/4.

rectly the Gûarani tribe to which these Indians belong, formerly extended much farther south than they do now. He found there the grave urns so characteristic of them.

C The material culture of the Chané
Ce Indians does not, in general, differ very
171 much from the culture of the Chiriguano.
Ce The Chané, on the other hand, who are
[323] more isolated on the Rio Parapiti, have a completely independent pottery which we
C do not find again among the
[534] Chiriguano. If we compare the
534 remaining products of Chané
C and Chiriguano industry, we do
[184] not find any greater differences than we find in the various Chiriguano villages themselves.

C For example, if one collects clay vessels in the Iguembe
323 valley and in the Caipipendi valley, both of which valleys are
184 occupied by Chiriguano, one inevitably finds that the pottery, though strongly related in ornamentation and form, nevertheless /244/ also varies locally. I have already spoken of the individual variations (p. 85).

Ee /255 cont./
539
[113]

2. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guyana. London, 1883, op. cit., p. 375.

Ee [171] Ehrenreich says that such an anthropomorphic conception of the sun, as here in the first legend, is unusual in South America.

Ce Visits in Aguararenta (the Village of the Foxes).

539 775 Batirayu told me the following about the beliefs of the Chané Indians with regard to life in the world beyond and in the realm of the dead. Aguararenta (aguara = fox, tenta = village) is a village where the dead, ãna, live. It lies in the east. At night the dead there have human form; during the day they go about as foxes, rats, and other animals, or they go into a tree trunk. Every night there are great drinking bouts in Aguararenta. All the Chané, children, women, and men, go there. Bewitchers (ipáyepótchi) and murderers also go to this village. No one is punished in the Chané realm of the dead.

Ce [787] The living have also visited Aguararenta and have told what they saw there. I shall give a couple of these stories here. They give us a good insight into the Indians' conceptions about the realm beyond.

The Girl Who Followed Her Husband to Aguararenta.

Ce [115] Told by a Chané Indian in Aguarati (white fox) on the Rio Parapiti.

A girl wanted to marry a man, but he died. She had been very fond of him. In the morning, /256/ on the day after his death, while it was still dark, she was standing in front of the house of her parents and was pounding in the mortar. Then somebody came and seized the pestle.

"Who are you?" she asked.

"It is I," he said. It was her dead husband. "Do you want to come along?"

Ee 539 171

/277 cont./

Part of this legend reminds one very much of a legend from the Yuracáre Indians given by D'Orbigny (1). There "Tiri," who,

Ee [113]

1. D'Orbigny. Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale /Journey in South America/. Vol. 3, 1. Paris, 1834, p. 212.

in order to avenge his mother, kills all the felines except the jaguar with the four eyes, who takes refuge with the moon, corresponds to Tatutunpa. In former times the Chiriguano and Chané were undoubtedly in touch with the Yuracáre Indians. When the whites conquered the land around Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the Chiriguano moved south and the Yuracáre to the north. On my last journey I also visited the Yuracáre Indians, whom I shall describe later in another book.

Ee 174 179

Ce 539

The Man Who Married the Daughter of the Thunder God, Chiqueritunpa.

Ce [115]

Told by the Chané Chief Bóyra.

In olden times there were once three poor men who had no relatives. They were very hungry. Two of them went forth to look for something to eat. First they came into a large forest through which went a path. /278/ After three days they came to a great plain. In the middle of the plain there was a house. They walked around the house, but found no entrance. Finally, however, a woman came out; it was Chiquéritunpa's sister. She bade them come in. "We are dirty," they said and did not want to go in. She brought maize beer to one of them. He drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. She brought the other one maize beer. He, too, drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. "Go now and bathe," she said, "and wash your heads." She gave them the root of the "yúag" (1).

Ce [139]

1. = mistol /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./.

/292 cont./

539 came to the edge of the village and played his most beautiful airs, but the girl did not want to go with me who had such a little hut.

When the Tick, Yaéu, Ran a Race with the Ostrich, Tíndo.

The tick and the ostrich wanted to put on a race to see who could run better. When they started running, the tick hopped on the ostrich and dug itself into the corner of its eye.

When the ostrich had run a short distance, it glanced sideways to see whether the tick was coming along. Since it was in the corner of its eye, it saw it at one side.

/293/ The ostrich hurried on. When it had run a stretch, it again glanced to one side and saw that the tick was still at its side.

The ostrich ran with might and main. When it was quite close to the goal, the tick hopped out of the corner of its eye and arrived there first.

The tick had won the race.

539 These little animal stories have a very widespread dis-
171 tribution. Thus, we find the story of the turtle and the jaguar almost unchanged in Santarem, at the confluence of the Rio Tapajo and the Amazon River (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Fredr. Hartt: Tortoise Myths. Rio de Janeiro, 1875.

Similar stories about foot races are also known from the coast of Brazil (1) /see footnote 1 above/. These last are found among us too, as is well known.

It has been proved (2), as was mentioned, that certain

2. Ehrenreich: loc. cit.

legends from North America and Asia have traveled as far as

C

698
466

/300 cont./
Bolivia, where they were sold as labourers. Under the guard of armed men, they were brought down the Río Itaquaí by way of Quatro-Ojos.

I shall have a better opportunity, however, to discuss the relations of the Indians to the rubber industry in the book in which I shall report on the studies which I made in the rubber regions themselves and among the Indians living near them (1).

E(13)

1. Appeared in Swedish under the title Indianer och hvita i nordliaste Bolivia, Stockholm, 1911.

I shall therefore not go into this question in greater detail here.

E.
648
466
465

Compulsory Service for the Whites

The Chiriguano and Chaná who work as servants in their own country for the immigrant white race are extraordinarily poorly paid. This is especially true in the remote regions where the higher prices for labor in the Argentine sugar factories, as the result of competition, have not been able to exert an wages. The Chaná on the Río Paraguí, for example, are seldom paid more than 10 centavos (not quite 10 pfennigs) per day with board. The women earn about half as much. The Indians are paid their wages partly in spirits and sugar, partly in cloth and tools. The cloth is so poor that a shirt made from such material does not last much longer than the time required to earn it. As a result of this system, the Chaná and Chiriguano, like their fellow-citizens in the rubber regions in northwestern Bolivia, sink into debt slavery.

/301/ It is to be hoped that the large projects initiated by the engineer Hermann in San Ignacio on the Río Piraiseyo will improve the Indian wage situation generally. If he will pay better than others, all the Indians will come to him, and the other employers will have to increase their wages.

[1 वा]

CHAPTER VII.

The Chiriguano (I).

Ethnographical research among the Chiriguano. The Chiriguano country. The tribal name. Physical appearance. Dwellings. Fire-hearth. Granaries. Theories as to the origin of the practice of erecting buildings on piles. Peoples. Household furniture. Dress. Modes of dressing the hair. Face-painting. Ornaments. 8-00

During our journey from Tarija to Gran Chaco we came into touch with the Chiriguano Indians, and on the march, as well as during our stay in the Chaco-Andean border region, I was successful in getting together a small but valuable ethnographical collection from these Indians. It is in connection with the publishing of the most important type specimens of this collection that I consider it suitable to give a brief description of the Chiriguano mode of living. Only in one or two cases, where I have arrived at results diverging from those of other students, have I found it necessary to enter into fuller details. 114

Mention of the Chiriguano tribe has, already in the 15th and 16th centuries, been made by a number of writers, and it is especially in Franciscan mission literature, earlier as well as later, that much valuable information may be found as regards this tribe.[1] Among the literature on the Chiriguano that had been produced prior to our journey, it may be that the books written by Corradi[2] and Serrano[3] are those that best repay perusal, and of works subsequently published, those by del Campana[4], Lehmann-Nitsche[5], Outes[6], Nino[7] and Nordenskiöld[8] are especially valuable. 113 114

[1] A very full list of works dealing with the Chiriguano is to be found in Nordenskiöld (11) and (18).
[2] Corradi (1).
[3] Serrano y Sanz (2).
[4] del Campana (3).
[5] Lehmann-Nitsche (5).
[6] Outes (6).
[7] Nino (8).
[8] Nordenskiöld (11), (16), (18) and (24).

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

[p. 269]

List of the literary sources referred to in this book. 113

(1) *DE ACOSTA, J.* HISTORIA NATURAL Y MORAL DE LAS INDIAS. SEVILLA 1590. REPRINTED IN MADRID 1894.

(1) *D'ALVIELLA, G.* LA MIGRATION DES SYMBOLES. PARIS 1891.

(1) *D'ANGHIERA* OR *ANGLERIUS.* SEE PETRUS MARTYR.

(1) *ANKERMANN, B.* DIE AFRIKANISCHEN MUSIKINSTRUMENTE. ETHNOLOG. NOTIZBLATT; VOL. 2. BERLIN 1901.

(1) *BOGGIANI, G.* COMPENDIO DE ETNOGRAFIA PARAGUAYA. ASUNCION 1900.

(1) *BOLINDER, G.* IJCA-INDIANERNAS KULTUR. ALINGSAS 1918.

(2) — BUSINTANA-INDIANERNAS MUSIKBAGE. YMER; 1917. STOCKHOLM.

(1) *BOMAN, E.* ENTERRATORIO PREHISTORICO EN ARROYO DEL MEDIO. HISTORIA; VOL. 1. BUENOS AIRES 1903.

(2) — HALLAZGO ARQUEOLOGICO A 6,100 METRES DE ALTURA. HISTORIA; VOL. 1. BUENOS AIRES 1903.

(3) — CEMENTERIO INDIGENA EN VILUCO (MENDOZA) POSTERIOR A LA CONQUISTA. ANALES DEL MUSEO NACIONAL DE HISTORIA NATURAL DE BUENOS AIRES; VOL. 30. BUENOS AIRES 1920.

(4) — ANTIQUITES DE LA REGION ANDINE DE LA REPUBLIQUE ARGENTINE ET DU DESERT D'ATACAMA. MISSION SCIENTIFIQUE G. DE CREQUI MONTFORT ET E. SENECHAL DE LA GRANGE. PARIS 1908.

(1) *BUSCHAN, G.* ILLUSTRIERTE VOLKERKUNDE. STUTTGART 1910.

(1) *BOVING-PETERSEN, J. O.* AND *DREYER, W.* DJURVARLDEN. TRANSLATION. STOCKHOLM 1902—1904.

(1) *DEL CAMPANA, D.* NOTIZIE INTORNO AI CHIRIGUANI. ARCHIVO PER L'ANTROPOLOGIA E LA ETNOLOGIA; VOL. 32. FLORENCE 1902.

(1) *CHERVIN, A.* ANTHROPOLOGIE BOLIVIENNE. MISSION SCIENTIFIQUE G. DE CREQUI MONTFORT ET E. SENECHAL DE LA GRANGE. PARIS 1908.

(1) *COMAJUNCOSA, A.* SEE *CORRADO, A. M.* AND *COMAJUNCOSA, A.*

(1) *CORRADO, A. M.* AND *COMAJUNCOSA, A.* EL COLEGIO FRANCISCANO DE TARIJA Y SUS MISIONES. QUARACCHI 1884.

(1) *CREVAUX, J.* VOYAGES DANS L'AMERIQUE DE SUD. PARIS 1883.

(1) *DONALDSON, T.* MOQUI PUEBLO INDIANS OF ARIZONA AND PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO. EXTRA CENSUS BULLETIN. ELEVENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES. WASHINGTON 1893.

(1) *DREYER, W.* SEE *BOVING-PETERSEN, J. O.* AND *DREYER, W.*

●113

(1) *DUCCI, P. F. Z.* LOS TOBAS DE TACCAGALE. BUENOS AIRES 1904.
(1) *VON DUBEN, G.* OM LAPPLAND OCH LAPPARNE, FÖRETRADESVIS DE SVENSKE. STOCKHOLM 1873.
(1) *ENGEL, C.* MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. LONDON 1908.
(1) *FONTANA, L. J.* EL GRAN CHACO. BUENOS AIRES 1881.
(1) *FRIC, V.* EINE PILCOMAYO-REISE IN DEN CHACO CENTRAL. GLOBUS; VOL. 89. BRAUNSCHWEIG 1906.
(1) *FRIES, R. E.* ZUR KENNTNIS DER ALPINEN FLORA IM NÖRDLICHEN ARGENTINIEN. NOVA ACTA REGIÆ SOCIETATIS SCIENTIARUM UPSALENSIS; SER. 4, VOL. 1. UPPSALA 1905.
(2) — ZUR KENNTNIS DER PHANEROGAMENFLORA DER GRENZGEBIETE ZWISCHEN BOLIVIA UND ARGENTINIEN, 1—4. KUNGL. VET. AKAD:S ARKIV FÖR BOTANIK; VOLS. 5—8. STOCKHOLM 1906—1908.
(3) — MYXOMYCETEN VON ARGENTINIEN UND BOLIVIA. IBIDEM; VOL. 1. STOCKHOLM 1903.
(4) — BEITRÄGE ZUR KENNTNIS DER ORNITHOPHILIE IN DER SÜDAMERIKANISCHEN FLORA. IBIDEM; VOL. 1. STOCKHOLM 1903.
(5) — EINE LEGUMINOSE MIT TRIMORPHEN BLÜTEN UND FRÜCHTEN. IBIDEM; VOL. 3. STOCKHOLM 1904.
(6) — ÜBER EINIGE GASTEROMYCETEN AUS BOLIVIA UND ARGENTINIEN. IBIDEM; VOL. 8. STOCKHOLM 1909.
(7) — MORPHOLOGISCH-ANATOMISCHE NOTIZEN ÜBER ZWEI SÜDAMERIKANISCHE LIANEN. BOTANISKA STUDIER TILLÄGNADE F. R. KJELLMAN. UPPSALA 1906.
(8) — EN FASCIERAD PELAR-KAKTE. SVENSK BOTANISK TIDSKRIFT; VOL. 4. STOCKHOLM 1911.
(1) *FROBENIUS, L.* VÖLKERKUNDE IN CHARAKTERBILDERN. HANNOVER 1902.
(1) *FRYKLUND, D.* AFRIKANSKA MUSIKINSTRUMENT I SUNDSVALLS LÄROVERKS ETNOGRAFISKA SAMLINGAR. SUNDSVALL 1915.
(1) *FRODIN, O.* AND *NORDENSKIÖLD, E.* ÜBER ZWIRNEN UND SPINNEN BEI DEN INDIANERN SÜDAMERIKAS. GÖTEBORG 1918.
(1) *GRUBB, W. B.* AN UNKNOWN PEOPLE IN AN UNKNOWN LAND. LONDON 1911.
(1) *GRONBECH, V.* PRIMITIV RELIGION. POPULÄRA ETNOLOGISKA SKRIFTER UTGIVNA UNDER REDAKTION AV PROFESSOR C. V. HARTMAN; 12. STOCKHOLM 1915.
(1) *HAMY, E. T.* GALERIE AMERICAINE DU MUSEE D'ETHNOGRAPHIE DU TROCADERO, CHOIX DE PIECES ARCHEOLOGIQUES ET ETHNOGRAPHIQUES; PART 2. PARIS 1897.
(2) — DECADES AMERICAINES. REVUE D'ETHNOGRAPHIE. 1885.
(1) *HAWTREY, S. H. C.* THE LENGUA INDIANS OF THE PARAGUAYAN CHACO. THE JOURNAL OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND; VOL. 31. LONDON 1901.
(1) *HERODOTOS.* HERODOTOS' HISTORIA. TRANSLATED BY CLAES LINDSKOG. STOCKHOLM 1920.
(1) *HERRMANN, W.* DIE ETHNOGRAPHISCHEN ERGEBNISSE DER DEUTSCHEN PILCOMAYOEXPEDITION. ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ETHNOLOGIE; EDITION 40. BERLIN 1908.
(1) *HILDEBRAND, H.* AND *VON PFLUGK-HARTTUNG, J.* VÄRLDSHISTORIA. STOCKHOLM 1912.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

113

(1) *HOLMES, W. H.* ABORIGINAL POTTERY OF THE EASTERN UNITED STATES. TWENTIETH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY. WASHINGTON 1903.
(1) *HOMEROS.* HOMEROS' ILIAD. FRAN GREKISKAN AV ERLAND LAGERLOF, STOCKHOLM 1912.
(1) *HUNT, J. R.* EL CHOROTI O YOFUAHA. REVISTA DEL MUSEO DE LA PLATA; VOL. 23. LIVERPOOL 1915.
(1) *JIJON Y CAAMANO, J.* CONTRIBUCION AL CONOCIMIENTO DE LOS ABORIGINES DE LA PROVINCIA DE IMBABURA EN LA REPUBLICA DEL ECUADOR. ESTUDIOS DE PREHISTORIA AMERICANA; II. MADRID.
(1) *JOYCE, T. A.* SOUTH AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGY. LONDON 1912.
(1) *KARSTEN, R.* INDIAN DANCES IN THE GRAN CHACO (S. AMERICA). HELSINGFORS 1915.
(2) — NAGOT OM GRAN CHACO, DESS NATUR OCH FOLK. TERRA 1915. HELSINGFORS 1915.
(3) — DER URSPRUNG DER INDIANISCHEN VERZIERUNG IN SUDAMERIKA. ZEITSCHRIFT FUR ETHNOLOGIE; 1916. BERLIN.
(4) — STUDIES IN SOUTH AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGY. I. ÖVERSIKT AV FINSKA VETENSKAPS-SOCIETETENS FORHANDLINGAR; VOL. 62. HELSINGFORS 1920.
(5) — BEITRAGE ZUR SITTENGESCHICHTE DER SUDAMERIKANISCHEN INDIANER. DREI ABHANDLUNGEN. ACTA ACADEMIÆ ABOENSIS; HUMANIORA i: 4. ABO 1920.
(1) *KATE, TEN, H.* SEE (1): *TEN KATE, H.*
(1) *KERSTEN, L.* DIE INDIANERSTAMME DES GRAN CHACO BIS ZUM AUSGANGE DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS. INTERNATIONALES ARCHIV FUR ETHNOGRAPHIE; VOL. 17. LEIDEN 1904.
(1) *KLEIN, E.* STENALDERSLIV. STOCKHOLM 1920.
(1) *KOCH (GRUNBERG), T.* DIE LENGUAS-INDIANER IN PARAGUAY. GLOBUS; VOL. 78. BRAUNSCHWEIG 1900.
(2) — DIE GUAIKURU-GRUPPE. MITTHEILUNGEN DER ANTHROPOLOGISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT IN WIEN; VOL. 33. WIEN 1903.
(3) — ZWEI JAHRE UNTER DEN INDIANERN. BERLIN 1909.
(1) *KRICKEBERG, W.* AMERIKA. ILLUSTRIERTE VOLKERKUNDE (UTGIVEN AV GEORG BUSCHAN), P. 29 ET SEQ. STUTTGART 1910.
(1) *LANGE, G.* MAP OF RIVER PILCOMAYO FROM PARALLEL 22° S. TO THE RIVER PARAGUAY. 1906. PLACE OF PUBL. NOT GIVEN.
(1) *LEHMANN-NITSCHE, R.* ESTUDIOS ANTROPOLOGICAS SOBRE LOS CHIRIGUANOS, CHOROTES, MATACOS, Y TOBAS. ANALES DEL MUSEO DE LA PLATA; VOL. 1. BUENOS AIRES 1908.
(2) — VOCABULARIO CHOROTE O SOLOTE. REVISTA DEL MUSEO DE LA PLATA; VOL. 17. BUENOS AIRES 1910.
(3) — ETUDES ANTHROPOLOGIQUES SUR LES INDIENS TAKSHIK (GROUPE GUAICURU) DU CHACO ARGENTIN. IBIDEM; VOL. 11. LA PLATA 1904.
(4) — CATALOGO DE LAS ANTIGUEDADES DE LA PROVINCIA DE JUJUY, CONSERVADAS EN EL MUSEO DE LA PLATA. IBIDEM; VOL. 11. LA PLATA 1902.
(1) *LINDMAN, C. A. M.* NAGRA BILDER FRAN DEN SYDAMERIKANSKA VILDMARKEN EL GRAN CHACO. YMER; 1899. STOCKHOLM.
(2) — DEN STORA VILDMARKEN EL GRAN CHACO. GLEERUPSKA BIBLIOTEKET; AVD. 2, GEOGRAFIEN 3. LUND 1911—1913.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

(1) *DE LIZARRAGA, R.* DESCRIPCION BREVE DE TODA LA TIERRA DEL PERU, TUCUMAN, RIO DE LA PLATA Y CHILE. NUEVA BIBLIOTECA DE AUTORES ESPANOLES; VOL. 15. MADRID 1909. WRITTEN 1605.

(1) *LONGMAN, C. J.* AND *WALROND, H.* ARCHERY. THE BADMINTON LIBRARY. LONDON 1894.

(1) *LOZANO, P.* DESCRIPCION CHOROGRAPHICA DEL TERRENO, RIOS, ARBOLES Y ANIMALES DE LAS DILATADISIMAS PROVINCIAS DEL GRAN CHACO GUALAMBA: Y DE LOS RITOS Y COSTUMBRES DE LAS INNUMERABLES NACIONES BARBARAS E INFIELES QUE LE HABITAN. CORDOBA 1733.

(1) *VON LUSCHAN, F.* AFRIKA. ILLUSTRIERTE VÖLKERKUNDE UTGIVEN AV G. BUSCHAN; P. 357 ET SEQ. STUTTGART 1910.

(1) *LONNBERG, E.* ON A COLLECTION OF BIRDS FROM NORTH-WESTERN ARGENTINA AND THE BOLIVIAN CHACO. THE IBIS; 1903. LONDON.

(2) — ON A COLLECTION OF SNAKES FROM NORTH-WESTERN ARGENTINE AND BOLIVIA CONTAINING NEW SPECIES. ANNALS AND MAGAZINE OF NATURAL HISTORY; SER. 7, VOL. 10, 1902. LONDON.

(1) *MC GUIRE.* PIPES AND SMOKING CUSTOMS OF THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES. REPORT SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. WASHINGTON 1899. (AFTER ERL. NORDENSKIOLD).

(1) *DE MATIENZO, J.* MEMORIA DEL LICENCIADO MATIENZO AL EXCELENTISSIMO SENOR DON FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO VISORREY DEL TAN CERCA DEL ASIENTO DE LA PROVINCIA DE LOS CHARCAS, SOBRE EL LABRAR DE LAS MINAS. COLLECCION DE DOCUMENTES INEDITOS; VOL. 24. MADRID 1875.

(1) *MEAD, C. W.* THE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE INCAS. SUPPLEMENT TO AMERICAN MUSEUM JOURNAL; VOL. 3, 1903. NEW YORK.

(1) *MONTELIUS, O.* BONING, GRAV OCH TEMPEL. ANTIKVARISK TIDSKRIFT FOR SVERIGE; PART 21, NO. 1. STOCKHOLM 1915.

(1) *MOORE, C. B.* SOME ABORIGINAL SITES ON GREEN RIVER, KENTUCKY. CERTAIN ABORIGINAL SITES ON LOWER OHIO RIVER. ADDITIONAL INVESTIGATION ON MISSISSIPPI RIVER. JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA; VOL. 16. PHILADELPHIA 1916.

(2) — ANTIQUITIES OF THE ST. FRANCIS, WHITE, AND BLACK RIVERS, ARKANSAS. PART I, II. IBIDEM; VOL. 14. PHILADELPHIA 1910.

(3) — ABORIGINAL SITES ON TENNESSEE RIVER. IBIDEM; VOL. 16. PHILADELPHIA 1915.

(1) *NEUMANN, K. J.* DE HELLENISTISKA STATERNA OCH ROMERSKA REPUBLIKEN. TRANSLATED BY A. JACOBSSON. VÄRLDSHISTORIA PUBLISHED BY H. HILDEBRAND OCH J. VON PFLUGK-HARTTUNG; VOL. 1, P. 333 ET SEQ. STOCKHOLM 1912.

(1) *DE NINO, B.* ETNOGRAFIA CHIRIGUANA. LA PAZ 1912.

(1) *NORDENSKIOLD, E.* RESA I GRÄNSTRAKTERNA MELLAN BOLIVIA OCH ARGENTINA. YMER; 1902. STOCKHOLM.

(2) — FRAN HÖGFJALL OCH URSKOGAR. STAMNINGSBILDER FRAN ANDERNA OCH CHACO. STOCKHOLM 1903.

(3) — TRAVELS ON THE BOUNDARIES OF BOLIVIA AND ARGENTINA. THE GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL; 1903. LONDON.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

(4) *NORDENSKIÖLD, E.* PRACOLUMBISCHE SALZGEWINNUNG IN PUNA DE JUJUY. ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ETHNOLOGIE; 1902. BERLIN. 113

(5) — ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS ON THE SUMMIT OF THE NEVADO DEL CHANI. NATURE; 1902. LONDON.

(6) — EINIGES ÜBER DAS GEBIET, WO SICH CHACO UND ANDEN BEGEGNEN. GLOBUS; VOL. 84. BRAUNSCHWEIG 1903.

(7) — ÜBER DIE SÄUGETIERFOSSILIEN DES TARIJATALS, SÜDAMERIKA. I. MASTODON ANDIUM CUV. KUNGL. SVENSKA VETENSKAPS-AKADEMIENS HANDLINGAR; VOL. 37. STOCKHOLM 1903.

(8) — ÜBER DIE SÄUGETIERFOSSILIEN IM TARIJATAL, SÜDAMERIKA. BULL OF THE GEOL. INSTIT. OF UPPSALA; 1902. UPPSALA.

(9) — SOBRE LOS MAMIFEROS FOSILES DEL VALLE DE TARIJA. ANALES DE LA SOCIEDAD CIENTIFICA ARGENTINA; VOL. 55. BUENOS AIRES 1903.

(10) — PRÄCOLUMBISCHE WOHN- UND BEGRÄBNISPLÄTZE AN DER SÜDWESTGRENSE VON CHACO. KUNGL. SVENSKA VETENSKAPS-AKADEMIENS HANDLINGAR; VOL. 36. STOCKHOLM 1903.

(11) — VERGLEICHENDE ETHNOGRAPHISCHE FORSCHUNGEN. 1. EINE GEOGRAPHISCHE UND ETHNOGRAPHISCHE ANALYSE DER MATERIELLEN KULTUR ZWEIER INDIANERSTÄMME IN EL GRAN CHACO. GÖTEBORG 1918.

(12) — COMPARATIVE ETHNOGRAPHICAL STUDIES. 2. THE CHANGES IN THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF TWO INDIAN TRIBES UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF NEW SURROUNDINGS. GÖTEBORG 1920.

(13) — INDIANLIF I EL GRAN CHACO. STOCKHOLM 1910.

(14) — FORSKNINGAR OCH AVENTYR I SYDAMERIKA. STOCKHOLM 1915.

(15) — THE GUARANI INVASION OF THE INCA EMPIRE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: AN HISTORICAL INDIAN MIGRATION. THE GEOGRAPHICAL REVIEW; VOL. 4. NEW YORK 1917.

(16) — SYDAMERIKA. KAMPEN OM GULD OCH SILVER 1498—1600. GÖTEBORG 1919.

(17) — SYDAMERIKAS INDIANER. DE SYDAMERIKANSKA INDIANERNAS KULTURHISTORIA. STOCKHOLM 1912.

(18) — SPIELE UND SPIELSACHEN IM GRAN CHACO UND IN NORD-AMERIKA. ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ETHNOLOGIE; 1910. BERLIN.

(19) — EINIGE BEITRÄGE ZUR KENNTNIS DER SÜDAMERIKANISCHEN TONGEFÄSSE UND IHRER HERSTELLUNG. KUNGL. SVENSKA VETENSKAPS-AKADEMIENS HANDLINGAR; VOL. 41. STOCKHOLM 1906.

(20) — VON CHOROTIINDIANERINNEN IN TON MODELLIERTE TIER- UND MENSCHENFIGUREN. YMER; 1910. STOCKHOLM.

(21) — SÜDAMERIKANISCHE RAUCHPFEIFEN. GLOBUS; VOL. 93. BRAUNSCHWEIG 1908.

(22) — SPIELTISCHE AUS PERU UND ECUADOR. ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ETHNOLOGIE; 1918. BERLIN.

(23) — INDIANER OCH VITA. STOCKHOLM 1911.

SEE ALSO: *FRÖDIN, O.* AND *NORDENSKIÖLD, E.*

(1) *NUMELIN, R.* ORSAKERNA TILL FOLKVANDRINGARNA PÅ LÄGRE KULTURSTADIER. EN SOCIOLOGISK STUDIE. HELSINGFORS 1918.

(1) *OLAUS MAGNUS GOTHUS.* HISTORIA DE GENTIBUS SEPTENTRIONALIBUS ETC. ROM 1555.

(1 A) — HISTORIA OM DE NORDISKA FOLKEN. UPPSALA AND STOCKHOLM 1909—.

113

(1) *OUTES, F. F.* LA CERAMICA CHIRIGUANA. REVISTA DEL MUSEO DE LA PLATA. BUENOS AIRES 1909.

(1) *OUTES, F. F.* AND *BRUCH, C.* LOS ABORIGENES DE LA REPUBLICA ARGENTINA. MANUAL ADAPTADO A LOS PROGRAMAS DE LAS ESCUELAS PRIMARIAS, COLEGIOS NACIONALES Y ESCUELAS NORMALES. BUENOS AIRES 1910.

(1) *PENA, E.* ETNOGRAFIA DEL CHACO. MANUSCRITO DEL CAPITAN DE FRAGATA D. JUAN FRANCISCO AGUIRRE. (1793.) BOLETIN DEL INSTITUTO GEOGRAFICO ARGENTINO; VOL. 19. BUENOS AIRES 1898.

(1) *PETRUS MARTYR (PIETRO D'ANGHIERA* ALSO CALLED *ANGLERIUS*). DE REBUS OCEANIS ET DE ORBI NOVO DECADES OCTO. PUBL. 1516—1530. ALSO PUBL. UNDER THE TITLE: NOVUS ORBIS REGIONUM AC INSULARUM VETERIBUS INCOGNITARUM. BASEL 1532.

(1) *VON PFLUGK-HARTTUNG, J.* SEE *HILDEBRAND, H.* AND *VON PFLUGK-HARTTUNG, J.*

(1) *VON ROSEN, E.* EN FORGANGEN VÄRLD. FORSKNINGAR OCH ÄVENTYR BLAND ANDERNAS HÖGFJÄLL. STOCKHOLM 1919.

(2) — ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCHES ON THE FRONTIER OF ARGENTINA AND BOLIVIA IN 1901—02. STOCKHOLM 1904. (REPRINTED IN ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION; 1904. WASHINGTON CITY.)

(3) — THE CHOROTI INDIANS IN THE BOLIVIAN CHACO. STOCKHOLM 1904. (REPRINTED IN INTERNATIONALEN AMERIKANISTEN-KONGRESS VIERZEHNTE TAGUNG. STUTTGART 1906.)

(4) — TRÄSKFOLKET. SVENSKA RHODESIA-KONGO-EXPEDITIONENS ETNOGRAFISKA FORSKNINGSRESULTAT. STOCKHOLM 1916.

(5) — AR DEN SYDAMERIKANSKA KULBÅGEN EN EFTERBILDNING AV DEN INDISKA KULLANGBÅGEN. YMER; 1919. STOCKHOLM.

(6) — REVIEW OF: "ERLAND NORDENSKIÖLD, EINE GEOGRAPHISCHE UND ETNOGRAPHISCHE ANALYSE DER MATERIELLEN KULTUR ZWEIER INDIANERSTÄMME IN EL GRAN CHACO. GÖTEBORG 1918." YMER; 1919. STOCKHOLM.

(7) — FRÅN KAP TILL ALEXANDRIA. RESEMINNEN FRÅN SVENSKA RHODESIA-KONGO-EXPEDITIONEN. STOCKHOLM. FIRST EDIT. 1912, SECOND ED. 1913, THIRD ED. 1919.

(8) — EN MÄRKLIG VISSELPIPTYP. YMER; 1921. STOCKHOLM.

(9) — REVIEW OF: "GUSTAF BOLINDER, DET TROPISKA SNÖFJÄLLETS INDIANER. STOCKHOLM 1916." SVENSKA DAGBLADET; 1916, 17 DECEMBER. STOCKHOLM.

(10) — BLAND INDIANER. FORSKNINGAR OCH ÄVENTYR I GRAN CHACO. STOCKHOLM 1921.

(1) *SCHMIDEL VON STRAUBING, U.* REISE IN DER NEUEN WELT. AN TAG GEBEN VON ENGELBERT HEGAUR. WAHRHAFTIGE HISTORIE EINER WUNDERBAREN SCHIFFAHRT, WELCHE ULRICH SCHMIDEL VON STRAUBING VON 1534 BIS 1554 IN AMERICA ODER NEUEWELT BEI BRASILIA ODER RIO DELLA PLATA GETAN. MÜNCHEN (YEAR OF PUBLICATION NOT GIVEN).

(1) *SCHMIDT, P.* KULTURKREISE UND KULTURSCHICHTEN IN SÜDAMERIKA. ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ETHNOLOGIE; 1913. BERLIN.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

(1) *SEFVE, I.* UBER EINEN SCELIDOTHERIUM-SCHADEL AUS TARIJA, BOLIVIA. KUNGL. SVENSKA VETENSKAPSAKADEMIENS HANDLINGAR; VOL. 53. STOCKHOLM 1915. 113

(2) — DIE FOSSILEN PFERDE SUDAMERIKAS. KUNGL. SVENSKA VETENSKAPSAKADEMIENS HANDLINGAR; VOL. 48. UPPSALA AND STOCKHOLM 1912.

(1) *SELER, G. E.* ARKEOLOGIENS PROBLEM. VETENSKAPEN OM MANNISKAN; PART 1, NO. 2. POPULARA ETNOLOGISKA SKRIFTER UTGIVNA UNDER REDAKTION AV PROFESSOR C. V. HARTMAN; 3. STOCKHOLM 1911.

(1) *SERRANO Y SANZ, M.* LOS INDIOS CHIRIGUANOS. REVISTA DE ARCHIVOS, BIBLIOTECAS Y MUSEOS; VOL. 2. MADRID 1898.

(1) *SEYMOUR.* SEE *HAWTREY, S. H. C.*

(1) *SOLBERG, O.* BEITRAGE ZUR VORGESCHICHTE DER OST-ESKIMO. VIDENSKABSSELSKABETS SKRIFTER. II. HIST.-FILOS. KLASSE; 1907, NO. 2. KRISTIANIA 1907.

(1) *VON DEN STEINEN, K.* DIE SCHAMAKOKO-INDIANER. GLOBUS; VOL. 67. BRAUNSCHWEIG 1895.

(2) — UNTER DEN NATURVOLKERN CENTRAL-BRASILIENS. BERLIN 1894.

(1) *STOLPE, H.* UTVECKLINGS-FORETEELSER I NATURFOLKENS ORNAMENTIK. POPULARA ETNOLOGISKA SKRIFTER UTGIVNA UNDER REDAKTION AV PROFESSOR C. V. HARTMAN; 1. STOCKHOLM 1911.

(1) *STORM, O.* EL RIO PILCOMAYO Y EL CHACO BOREAL. BUENOS AIRES 1892.

(1) *TENKATE, H.* MATERIAUX POUR SERVIR A L'ANTHROPOLOGIE DES INDIENS DE LA REPUBLIQUE ARGENTINE. REVISTA DEL MUSEO DE LA PLATA; VOL. 12. LA PLATA 1904.

(1) *THOUAR, A.* EXPLORATIONS DANS L'AMERIQUE DE SUD. PARIS 1891.

(1) *VON TSCHUDI, J. J.* REISEN DURCH SUDAMERIKA. LEIPZIG 1868.

(1) *WALROND, H.* THE BOW. FORMS CHAPTER 17 I: *LONGMAN, C. J.* AND *WALROND, H.* ARCHERY. THE BADMINTON LIBRARY. LONDON 1894.

(1) *ZSCHILLE UND FORRER.* DIE PFERDETRENSE IN IHRER FORMENENTWICKLUNG. BERLIN 1893.

/3 cont./

Ce 101 or Tapyi /Tapii/, it was not possible from what they said to ascertain with which of the tribes known to ethnology they C [101] can be identified. The Chiriguano call themselves "Mbya." If the Izozó were a part of them, they would have called them- Ce 101 17 selves by this name. No doubt they are Chané and that part of the latter which once had their homes in the Izozó River region, taking the name of this river for their own. Their culture, as demonstrated by the objects I collected among them, confirms this opinion. There are some differences between the objects collected among the Izozó and the Chiriguano in Machareti, either with regard to the decorations of the baked clay vessels or with regard to the making of the nets. But in principle it is not possible to decide whether these differences C 171 might not be only local differences. In general the culture of 172 the Chiriguano was diffused in this way throughout the tribes 128 successively subjugated by them, which is why it is proper to 648 deal below with the aspects of the culture of the Chiriguano of Machareti together with that of the Izozó.

C Ce 101 17

Influences on the Culture of the Chiriguano and Izozó, Taken from Historical Data

C Ce [197] At the present time the Chiriguano and Chané form a cultural entity which can be designated as the culture of the Chiriguano, because the Guaraní language of the Chiriguano came to be the common language of the whole group. The Izozó also belong to this ethnic entity. Thus it is necessary to consider this entity /4/ as being formed of completely different tribes. It is also necessary to conceive of their culture as the product of the fusion of very heterogeneous cultural elements. Nordenskiöld deals with this question in one of his books (1)

C Ce [113]

1. Erland Nordenskiöld: The changes in the material culture of two Indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative Ethnological Studies, 2. Göteborg, 1920. Cited in the following: Nord. 2.

Chane, SF8
Guarani SM4

C
Ce
Gi
175
648
567

/7 cont./
they definitively lost their independence, being left subject to the whites (17). /8/ From this time also the Chané freed

17. Moreno II, pp. 253 and 254.

themselves from the oppression of their old masters, forming their own separate towns in the midst of their former masters (18).

18. Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883. In Moreno II, p. 254.

In addition, the final insurrection of the Chiriguano in the year 1890 was put down by the Bolivians; and for that reason the situation of the Chané was not modified, and so it is that the explorer Erland v. Nordenskiöld found them still under the same conditions (19).

Ce
Gi
[113]

19. Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco (Südamerika /Indian Life. The Gran Chaco (South America)/. Leipzig, 1912, pp. 148 ff. Cited in what follows: Nord 1.

Gi
C
175
648

Having described above the history of Chiriguano relations with the ancient Peruvians and the other Indian tribes, we have yet to deal also with their relations with the whites, that is, with the Spaniards or Bolivians, who little by little occupied their territory. We must stress in the first place the fact that the first whites who came to their territory and to the adjacent llanos were not any novelty to them, since even before their emigration the Chiriguano had met these people in their native land between the upper Paraná River and the Paraguay. Because of the initial attitude of the Guaraní on meeting the conquistadors, it is evident that both parties had the same aim, that of getting rich from the wealth of the rich lands of the west, of which they had heard. In order to attain

G1
C
175
648

/10 cont./ through the influence of the missions and through both violent and peaceful means of the Spaniards and, later, by the Bolivians, conterminous with the Chiriguano, little by little most of the Chiriguano came over to their side, so that the power of the Chiriguano tribe, in another time so strong and invincible, was weakened (40). Thus it happened that in

C.
Gi
[113]

40. José Cardúz: Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia /The Franciscan Missions among the Infidels of Bolivia/. Barcelona, 1886. From Moreno II, pp. 248 and 249.

1875 the inhabitants of the neighboring provinces were able to give a final blow to the last segments of independent Chiriguano, subjugating them completely and obliging the defeated factions who refused to submit to disperse into other lands, some of them taking refuge in the Chaco among the Toba and Tapieté (40) /see footnote 40 above/. Nevertheless, this was not the final fight between the Chiriguano and the whites, as Cardúz supposed in 1885. A part of the Chiriguano in 1890 attempted one last rebellion against the Bolivians. About 5,000 Indians gathered on the Boynove plain near Curuyuqui, fought for a whole day against the Bolivians, who were assisted by some thousand Indians of the same tribe. At nightfall the heated battle had not yet been decided, but in the /11/ night the Indians lost their spirit in the face of the superiority of modern arms and left their trenches (41). Also,

41. Nord. 1, p. 168.

after this defeat one of the caciques, named Cayahari, preferred to take flight rather than surrender to the Bolivians. They say that he settled in the area of a large lake far from the whites (42).

42. Nord. 1, p. 161.

/11 cont./

C. Gi 175 178 167

The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C 178 [126]

The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gh 177 174 C

As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

[113]

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

/12 cont./

C Chiriguano and Chané no longer exist. "The physiognomy
C of the latter was completely identical to that of the former" (45).
144
[177]

45. Moreno II, p. 254.

C In addition to anthropological measurements made on
114 four Chiriguano by Ten Kate (46), Robert Lehmann-Nitsche
141
C
[113]

46. Ten Kate. Herm.: "Matériaux pour servir à l'antropologie des indiens de la République Argentine /Materials for use for the anthropology of the Indians of the Argentine Republic/." Revista del Museo de la Plata. Vol. 12. La Plata. 1904.

in 1906 had the opportunity at the San Pedro de Jujui sugar mill to take the anthropological measurements of 40 Chiriguano men and ten women, who had come from Bolivia to work at that mill. Entitled "Estudios antropológicos sobre los Chiriguanos, /Pl. III-IV appear here/ /13/ Chorotes, Matacos, y Tobas (Chaco Occidental)" (47), Lehmann-Nitsche has

C
[113]

47. Anales del Museo de La Plata, Vol. I, No. 2, (Second Series). Buenos Aires, 1908.

published the results of these measurements, together with measurements of other Indians, and added to that publication in the first 12 plates Chiriguano types photographed by Carlos Bruch. In addition to the somatic measurements, determination of skin color, eye color, and hair color and form have
C been published by Lehmann-Nitsche. Thirty-six of the 40
166 Chiriguano men stated where they had lived, and from this we know that these people had come from various regions of
C Chiriguano territory to the San Pedro sugar mill. There were
[167] some who had come from the northern regions, and one had come from the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Others had come from the south of Chiriguano territory, for example, from the town of Carapati, located considerably to the south of the Pilcomayo River. There are named 13 Chiriguano

[Text Continues on P. 30]

/13 cont./

166 towns from which one man had come from each one. From Charagua, Parapití, and Carapati two had come from each one, four from Ingre, five from Santa Rosa, and eight from Machareti. Unfortunately, the native soil of the Chiriguano women was not stated, and it is only said that they came from Bolivia.

141 The average height of the Chiriguano men measured by Lehmann-Nitsche is 163.4 cm., and the height of the Chiriguano women measured is 151.7 cm. This average height of the women measured is not a little less. The average height of the eight men from Machareti was only 161.8 cm., and that of the two men from Parapití only 158.1 cm. But the average height of the four men from Ingre was 169.15 cm. The tallest of the Chiriguano men measured, who had a height of 178.6 cm., had come from Ingre, and the shortest, with a height of 153.5 cm., from Machareti. The smallest woman (between 35 and 40 years old) was only 143.0 cm., and the tallest, 158.0 cm. These numbers show us that the height of different Chiriguano individuals is quite variable. Among the Chiriguano measured by Lehmann-Nitsche, the number of those who came from the same region is too small to be able to make exact deductions about the differences in height of the Chiriguano of the various regions in order to be able to clearly demonstrate the somatic influence of mixture with other tribes.

14 The photographs of Chiriguano types published by Lehmann-Nitsche show great variations among the different features and bodies, which corresponds to the fact that the present-day Chiriguano are the product of a mixture of various ethnic elements.

113 114 142 Good photographs of the Chiriguano of the southern part of their territory can be found in the publication of von Rosen, Ethnographical Research Work during the Swedish Chaco-Cordillera Expedition, 1901-1902 (48). Erland von Nordenskiöld

48. Stockholm. 1924.

113 /13 cont./
114 has published Chiriguano and Chané types (49).
142

49. Erland Nordenskiöld: Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerica /Inquiry and Adventure in South America/. Stockholm, 1915. Ills. 14-16; 20 and 31. Nord. I. Figs. 75, 76, 79, 87, 106, 110, 111, 112, 116, 132, and Pl. 18-2 /the second figure of this number in the twenties is illegible/.

The Territory of the Chiriguano

C
131 Concerning the location and extent of the territory of the Chiriguano at the time of their independence, that is, from the beginning of the 16th century to the second half of the 19th century, we have Moreno's detailed studies in two places in his work already cited many times above, the titles of which are: "Las tierras de los Chiriguanos /The lands of
C [101] the Chiriguano/" (50). According to Moreno (51), the

50. Moreno II, pp. 79-126 and pp. 235-254.

51. Moreno II, p. 236.

Chiriguano--Chiriguano /14/ of the Cordillera in contrast to the Itatines-Guarayus and the Piritaguaris also often called Chiriguano in the literature -- from the time of the Conquest until they lost their independence inhabited the same territory, that is, the western spurs of the Andes from south of the Pilcomayo up to the lands which extend on both sides of the
Ce Guapay. The Chané, who formerly had a large well-populated
13 territory, "although they formed several partial migrations,
[648] remained in great number subject to the conquering Guaraní within the region which these latter had converted into their impregnable abode" (52). In 1883 Father Alejandro Corrado

52. Moreno II, p. 249.

/14 cont./

131 without our having any information on their stopping place. Some Chorote live in the territory of the Chiriguano, near Yacuiba, and also, without counting the missions, the whole territory has been penetrated by whites and mestizos.

[563] [797]

131 174 According to these data given by Nordenskiöld, the territory of the Chiriguano, after their definitive subjection by the whites and up to the present time, has remained the same as that which they had at the time of their independence, except, it would seem, that they have come down more into the valleys and do not now live, as was stated in the 16th century documents, on top of the inaccessible mountains, which, as natural fortresses, offered them a secure refuge during their expeditions.

Towns and Houses

361 177 The arrangement of the towns and the form of the houses of the Chiriguano are not at the present time the primordial ones, and they have probably passed through two different transformations, one after the other, first under the influence of the architecture of Inca culture and later the architecture of the whites. /15/ According to the Annua de la Compañia de Jesús Tucumán and Peru, of the year 1596, the Chiriguano towns were composed of only a few houses that were large enough to house as many as 100 persons. In his "Descripción breve de toda la tierra del Perú, Tucuman, Río de la Plata y Chile /A Brief Description of all the Land of Peru, Tucumán, Río de la Plata, and Chile/," Father Lizarraga (56) describes the Chiriguano

36 34 62 [113]

56. Madrid, 1909. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 15. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

towns in the following way: "The largest of the towns is one of five houses: the common number is three; but they are very long, more than 150 paces, with a two-sloped roof with posts in the middle, upon which the framework is constructed, and one kin group /parentela/ lives between one post and the next one."

/15 cont./

880 next one." Garcilaso de la Vega (57) describes the large houses
342

57. Vol. II, p. 281. According to Métraux I, p. 331.

of the Chiriguano in the same way: they build a very large dormitory, and inside as many alcoves as there are residents, and so small that there is no room for anything but persons. Through detailed descriptions and sketches, we are familiar with the construction of the towns of the ancient Guaraní of the Tupinambas on the eastern coast of Brazil (58). Four or

361 342 171 712

[113]

58. According to De Bry. Métraux, A.: La civilisation matérielle des tribus Tupí-Guarani /The Material Culture of the Tupi-Guarani Tribes/. Paris, 1928.

five long, rectangular houses were built a short distance from one another around a quadrangular or pentagonal plaza, and the whole town was fortified by a defensive wall. We also know that the ancient towns of the Chiriguano had such defensive constructions through information from the year 1618, when Ruiz Diaz de Guzman found such a fortification of a Chiriguano town near the Pilcomayo River, which consisted of "two concentric walls of stone and of wood" (59). According

361 712

361 342 171

59. Moreno II, p. 252.

to Serrano (60), the Guaraní towns of the ancient Province of

[113]

60. Antonio Serrano: Etnografía de la antigua provincia del Uruguay /Etnography of the Ancient Province of Uruguay/, Paraná, 1936, p. 125 /the second number of this figure is questionable, being barely discernible in the original text/.

Uruguay consisted of only four to eight large rectangular houses.

/15 cont./

342 171 "In 1627 the Jesuits found near Yapeyú a Guaraní aldea with four houses in which some 100 Indians lived. They found identical dwellings in San Ignacio and nearby regions. These houses were quadrangular and extremely long, often in excess of 50 meters."

361 177 178 Even during the time of their independence the Chiriguano had departed from the primordial construction of their towns, which had served in the first place for defense, since at the end of the 18th century Viedma describes their houses as "a few small ranchos made of cane" (61).

● [113] 61. Viedma, Francisco de: Descripción de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra /Description of the Province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra/. Colección Angelis, Vol. 3, Buenos Aires, 1836, written 1793, p. 181. Cited by Nordenskiöld.

000 Photographs of Chiriguano Towns (tenta) and Houses (o)

I.C. 353. Chiriguano town, Machareti (Fig. 1).
I.C. 355. Scene in the town of Machareti (Fig. 17).
I.C. 356. Chiriguano in front of their house in Machareti (Fig. 14).
I.C. 357. Chiriguano storehouse in Machareti (Fig. 16).
I.C. 358. Chiriguano boys in front of their rancho in Machareti (Fig. 15).

361 [197] [363] [177] The Chiriguano town of Machareti was built in its present form by Franciscan missionaries, with wide, parallel, and right-angled streets, following the common form of old Spanish colonies, since their construction is not a product of the indigenous Chiriguano culture. But in parts, the houses and [343] primarily the maize storehouses built on posts, correspond to the houses of other Chiriguano towns, on which we have information from Erland Nordenskiöld and Eric v. Rosen (62).

62. Nord. 1, pp. 173, 176. Nord. 2, pp. 1-3. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 191 and 192, Figs. 188-192.

343 /17 cont./ Not could it be that they adopted this from
[177] the whites, because in those regions they have never used houses built on posts. Neither do we have any indications
[176] that the ancient Peruvians had such houses. It is very unlikely that the Chiriguano settled in their new territory might have invented the construction of such houses, because the nature of their territory did not render such a form of construction necessary. In South America we find houses built on posts
343 171 almost solely in regions exposed to floods. Thus we mainly find them in the coastal regions of the northern part of the South American continent, and they appear to the south of the Amazon River only in a relatively narrow zone in the center of the continent including Chiriguano territory. According to Marban in 1676 (71), the Mojo had houses built on posts and

• [113]

71. Marban, Pedro: "Relatión de la Provincia de la Virgen del Pilar de Mojos /Report on the Province of the Virgen del Pilar de Mojos/," Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de La Paz, Bolivia, 1898, p. 132. According to Nordenskiöld.

doubtless such house constructions were quite useful in those marshy and often flooded regions. In addition Nordenskiöld during his travels (72) found one of these houses serving as a

72. Nord. 2, p. 3.

storehouse among the Chacobo, who live north of the Mojo not very far away. Some of the Quichua /Quechua/ houses located between the Chaparé River and the Cochabamba River had been built on posts, but Nordenskiöld himself does not consider this architecture to have been primordial among them. Of the Chaco tribes who have storehouses built on posts Nordenskiöld mentions the Matako /Mataco/. I found such storehouses in the Matako town near Linares, but many of them also in the Churupí installations in Esteros. Nordenskiöld in his publications on the Churupí, whom he calls the Ashluslay, does not

C 343 171 /17 cont./
mention the existence of such storehouses among these Indians, and thus we must suppose that the Chorupí adopted this style of house construction only recently and probably from the Matako, with whom they have many contacts. /18/ To complete the data on the spread of houses built on posts, I shall also mention my observations on my expeditions of 1901 and 1910 to the Guató (73). Inside many houses, under the roof

C 343 171

G8 343 (352) (114)

73. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien /Indian Studies in Central Brazil/, Berlin, 1904, p. 178.

C 68 (113)

and using long horizontal poles, these Indians build a platform which serves for storing various things. In this special arrangement of the Guató in building their houses, we find the rudiment of the true houses built on posts, and this is motivated by the great floods to which they were exposed even when they had been built in places higher than the marshy lands.

G0 (182)

We should not consider houses built on posts as a product of the primordial culture of the Chaco tribes. It leaves us the only center of its propagation the zone in the interior of the South American continent which we have mentioned, the center of the ancient culture of the Arauco /Araweki/ of these regions, the territory of the Moje. The Chané, who were later subjugated by the Chiriguano and incorporated into their community, also belonged to this Arauco culture. We must thus surmise that houses built on posts, like those we still find today among the Chiriguano and some of the Chané, first originated in the Chané culture and later passed to the Chiriguano when the cultures of these two tribes were fused into a single one.

C 343 174 171

No doubt the special construction of these storehouses has a different purpose today among the Chiriguano and the Chané than it had in the beginning. According to Nordenskiöld, the Chané of the lower Paraguay River, which is a typically marshy region, do not have such houses, while they are common among the Chiriguano and also among the former who live on solid ground not exposed to floods. Their purpose

C C8 343 (182)

020

/10 cont./

As Figure 18, a and b, shows, these wooden dishes have two handles on the rim.

As an eating utensil the Chiriguano and Chaná today use metal spoons which are acquired from the whites. But they also use wooden spoons (66).

66. Nord. 3, p. 50. Nordenskiöld, Bilanda Vergleichende ethnographische Forschungen 1. Eine Geographische und ethnographische Analyse der materiellen Kultur zweier Indianerstämme in el Gran Chaco /Comparative Ethnographic Investigations 1. A Geographic and Ethnographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Indian Tribes in the Gran Chaco/, Göteborg, 1918, p. 90. (Cited in what follows: Nord. 3.) Métraux 1, pp. 384, 376-378, and Figs. 43 and 45.

/70/ Wooden Spoons (Jarabe) of the Chiriguano

I. A. 510. (Gift of Della Merle F. de Cesari.) Length 36 cm.
I. A. 498. (Max Schmidt trip.) Length 45.5 cm. (Fig. 70).
I. A. 499. (" " ") Length 38 cm. (Fig. 71).

As Figures 70 and 72 show, there are variations in the shape of these wooden spoons. The shape of spoon I. A. 498 is almost exactly like the Chaná spoon shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (66), while the shape of spoon I. A. 499 is very

66. Nord. 3, p. 50. Fig. 36 f.

similar to the spoons found in the ancient burials of the Peruvian highland, their front part and handle forming a rather straight line.

Chané SF8
Izozo

C
362
17
[113]

/20 cont./

Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/. Berlin. 1896, p. 286.

Peruvians (100). Nordenskiöld and Métraux show such

C
[113]

100. Max Schmidt Kunst und Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/. Berlin. 1929, p. 436.

Chiriguano benches in drawings (101).

101. Nord. 1. Fig. 85. Métraux 1. pp. 471 and 472 and Fig. 129.

Painting and Deformations of the Body

C
Ca
291
302
192

As the use of clothing has increased among the Chiriguano and Chané, the custom of painting or tattooing the body has naturally lost importance and the remnants of such customs are too few to be able to say what they were in the past. Nor do we have data on this. I often saw Chiriguano and Izozó women and girls paint themselves with urucú, making colored spots on their faces. According to Nordenskiöld, men and women sometimes paint their faces, as well as their bodies, with red paint (102). Nordenskiöld also found tattooing on

C
Ca
302

C
302

102. Nord. 1. p. 302.

the arms of some women and one Chiriguano man (103). The

103. Nord 1. p. 302. Nord. 2. p. 82. Fig. 37.

custom of dyeing the teeth with dark blue was found by

Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

C /23 cont./
302 Viedma among the Chiriguano men (104), and Nordenskiöld

C
[113]

104. Viedma: Descripción de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Colección Angelis, Vol. 3. Buenos Aires, 1936. Written 1793. Page 181. According to Nordenskiöld.

found it among the women in the valley of Caipipendi (105).

105. Nord. 2, p. 85.

The latter used for that the leaves of a plant that they call "tajú" (tayú = lapacho).

Ce 301 304 174 Gi 301 172

With respect to body deformations we can suppose that it was once a common custom among the Chané and Chiriguano to wear a "tembetá" in the pierced lower lip. Of the Guaraní of ancient times it has been stated that the men had this tembetá, and the custom is confirmed by prehistoric finds (106).

106. Cf. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 122.

C Ce 301 174

The form, material, and dimensions of these tembetá were varied and varied regionally. What was the shape of the tembetá that the Guaraní had when at the beginning of the 16th century they emigrated to the spurs of the Cordillera? We do not know. Neither do we know whether or not the Chané had the tembetá when they were enslaved by the Chiriguano. We can assume that the metal tembetás of the Chiriguano and the Chané in their present form have their origin in the period after their contacts with the ancient Peruvians, /24/ since they did not know the technique of working metal and even today most of their tembetás are made by nearby mestizos or whites, who make them to their taste. According to Chomé's (107)

C Ce [177] [325]

C 301 C [113]

107. "Lettre du père Ignace Chomé." Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. New edition, Vol. 8, Paris, 1781, p. 326. According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 73.

C
Ce
412
301
302
178

/29 cont./

Because of this change the implement for plucking hair, consisting of small tweezers, formerly very common, has naturally lost a great part of its importance today, and similarly, in its transformed state as a chest ornament, it is rarer. I found such tweezers among the Mataco and the Churupí. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such tweezers or the corresponding chest ornament, called "boivera" also by the Chiriguano. Nordenskiöld describes these tweezers in detail (131),

131. Nord. 2, pp. 81 and 82.

and he adds that the Chiriguano also use small sticks of cane to pluck out hair.

C
412
301
171

The form of these tweezers made of metal corresponds to that of the tweezers known through finds made in the burials of the ancient Peruvians. Today these tweezers are normally made of any piece of tin plate or sheet iron, which, when provided with a cord, they use for chest ornaments, besides their original purpose. This custom of using tweezers as a chest ornament was very common among the ancient Peruvians. Among the latter's necklaces there are many that, apart from other things, consist of silver tweezers. It was customary among the ancient Peruvians that these enlarged tweezers, unsuitable for their original purpose, be transformed into a pure and distinctive ornament. The Museum of Ethnography in Berlin has such ornaments in the form of depilatory tweezers, made of copper, silver, or gold, in great number, one example of which is 52 centimeters in length (132). Therefore I suppose

C
301
[174]

C
[113]

132. Cf. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru, Berlin, 1929, pp. 83, 369, 397, and 399.

we must deduce that the Chiriguano custom of using as a chest ornament a silver ornament in the form of one of those tweezers is due to ancient Peruvian influence. There are several specimens of the "boiveras," now rare and doubtless most of the time carefully kept from the view of the whites, in

/29 cont./

301 [439] European museums. These are not made by the Chiriguano themselves, but by their mestizo neighbors and sold to the Indians. The external form is still that of tweezers, much enlarged. But the boivera of today, discounting its size, also cannot be used for plucking hair because the two parts /30/ of its lower edge have been soldered. The fact that the decoration of the surface is not still primordial is explained by the fact that the Chiriguano are not the makers of these ornaments.

291 Clothing and Adornment

From the 16th century we have the brief description of the Chiriguano by Bishop Lizarraga (133) where, among other

[113] 133. Lizarraga: "Descripción et población de las Indias /Description and population of the Indies/." In Moreno II, p. 101.

things, it is said: "They go about naked or at the most sometimes have a short shirt /camisatilla/ down to the navel." We can assume that this statement by the Bishop as of that time refers only to the Chiriguano men, because it is likely that by the time of their immigration the Chiriguano women were wearing a garment which covered their genital organs, as we know the Guaraní women of the ancient Province of Uruguay did (134). It is likely that this garment had the same form as

174 291 [191]

134. Serrano, op. cit., pp. 123 and 124.

the "tipoy," which is a garment in the form of a poncho without sewing and which even today is very common among Chiriguano and Chané women, as well as among various other Indian tribes of South America.

/35 cont./

526 Nordenskiöld did not see the Chiriguano of the Sierra play the game in which the ball is hit with the head, but he did hear it said that formerly they had played this game, called "bondi" by them, and that, like the Chané, they had
526 171 used solid rubber balls (153). In my work published in this

153. Nord. 2, p. 104.

journal (154), I have already mentioned that, according to the

[113] 154. Revista de la Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay, Vol. III, No. 6, pp. 116 and 117.

Litterae Annuae of 1589 (155), the game with a ball hit with

155. Page 434. According to Nordenskiöld.

the head was also played by the Itatines-Guarayús and undoubtedly with a hollow rubber ball, because it is described there as being very light. In 1791 Eder (156) mentions this game

[113] 156. Eder, Franc. Xav.: Descriptio provinciae Moxitarum /Description of the province of the Mojo/, 1791, p. 41. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

with a ball hit with the head for the Moxos /Mojo/, who not only used white, hollow rubber balls, but also used dark, solid ones. Several authors, older ones, and more recent ones, for example, Fernandez and de Orbigny, mention this game among the Chiquito (157). Nordenskiöld on his travels saw it

157. Nord. 2, p. 104.

played in addition to the Chané, by the Huari (158).

158. Nord. 2, p. 104.

8: Schmidt--110 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
415
114

/48 cont./ Eric V. Rosen has also shown numerous Chiriguano vessels in drawings in his work already cited (219).

219. V. Rosen. Figs. 218-225.

Métraux describes and shows by drawings a great number of Chiriguano baked clay vessels (220).

220. Métraux 1, pp. 370-374; pp. 382-428; Plates 16-19 and 24-60.

A publication by Felix F. Outes deals particularly with Chiriguano ceramics (221).

C
[113]

221. Felix F. Outes: La ceramica Chiriguana /Chiriguano Ceramics/." From the Revista del Museo de la Plata, Vol. XVI (second series, Vol. III), Buenos Aires, 1909, pp. 121-136.

C
Ce
126
415

Because formerly in the museum of the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay we had only four baked clay vessels and a piece of a handle from the Chiriguano, which Doña Maria F. de Casati collected among them and presented to the museum, I had a special interest in filling this gap. With some effort I managed to acquire from the Izozó in Toledo 41 Chiriguano vessels, and from the Chiriguano in Machareti, 55 of them, and with rather more effort I managed to bring them back whole and with their designs in good condition through the long trip to Asunción.

These baked clay vessels collected by me also show great variation in their form and ornamentation. But these diverse variations can be reduced to several groups, according to the purpose for which they were intended.

C
Ce
415

The Chiriguano and Chané baked clay vessels may serve very different ends:

1. To cook foods and liquids.
2. To fry /fritar, literally "to frit"/ foods.
3. To steam maize meal.
4. To carry and keep water.

/54 cont./

C
Ce
283
323

point out here a difference between the baked clay whorls of the Izozó and those of the Chiriguano with regard to their manufacture. The whorls of the latter are made of pieces of clay from any broken vessel, by filing them round and perforating them in the center, while the whorls of the Izozó consist of a small disk with different variations in form, also perforated in the center, but made of baked clay especially for that purpose.

C
Ce
323

Concerning the pottery technique of the Chiriguano and the Chané, we are well instructed by the data given by Nordenskiöld, S. Linné, Métraux (236), and Campana (237).

C
Ce
[113]

236. Nord. 1, pp. 244 and 245. S. Linné: The Technique of South American Ceramics, Göteborg, 1925. Métraux 1, pp. 382-388.

C
[113]

237. Campana (Doménico del), "Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani /Information concerning the Chiriguano/," Archiv per l'antroopologia e la etnologia, Florence, Vol. 32 (1902), p. 382.

C
Ce
323
114

Especially noteworthy among these is the description of the manufacture of baked clay vessels by the Chané on the Itiyuru River, which Nordenskiöld studied in its entire procedure. In the book written by Linné, entitled The Technique of South American Ceramics, we find, in addition to the systematic arrangement of the observations made by Nordenskiöld among the Chiriguano and Chané, important data on the results of chemical analyses and microscopic observations which Linné made on the vessels of these Indians. According to this information, the procedure for manufacturing these vessels is the following:

C
Ce
323

The first condition for the manufacture of baked clay vessels is the availability of suitable clay which has sufficient plasticity so that the vessel can be modeled and fired without being broken. Only a clay with special qualities can meet

C
Ce
323

/54 cont./

these two requirements. Generally it is necessary to correct the defects of the available clay, fixing it by the addition of other substances. Thus the Chiriguano and Chané add to the clay pieces of crushed baked clay. The Chiriguano women in Tarapayu like to use as such an additive, which they call "takupe," pieces of baked clay of ancient origin which they find in great number in their territory and which substance also contains, according to microscopic investigation, pieces of baked clay added to the clay (238).

C
Ce
[113]

238. S. Linné, op. cit., p. 36, Fig. 2, and p. 70. Nordenskiöld, Erland: Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika /Research and Adventure in South America/, Stockholm, 1915, p. 34. Nord. 1, p. 284.

From the quality of the substance of a baked clay vessel of the Chané of the Parapití which is in the Göteborg museum, it turns out that these Indians also add sand to the clay, in addition to pieces of crushed baked clay (239). By microscopic

C
114
323

239. S. Linné, op. cit., p. 33.

analyses of sections of vessels, Linné was able to demonstrate /55/ that pieces of baked clay were added to the clay of the Chiriguano. As a result of these analyses, he points out the following: "Microscopic section analysis of Chiriguano ceramics have shown the materials to contain, besides small quartz grains and larger grains of other minerals, particles of the same colour as the ground-mass, but with distinct outlines. These are due to ground potsherds. There are also some very dark particles, as well as lighter ones, and they, too, are potsherds. The variation as to colour is due to the vessels often in the firing, becoming quite differently coloured in their outer and inner layers" /cited in English/ (240).

240. S. Linné, op. cit., pp. 37 and 68.

Ce 126 283 323

/59 cont./

I.A. 711.	Spindle (Izozó).	Lgth.	36.2 cm.	Clay whorl,	dia.	4.3 cm.
(Fig. 90g)						
I.A. 712.	"	"	"	33.5 cm.	"	"	"	4.2 cm.
I.A. 713.	"	"	"	43.5 cm.	"	"	"	4.2 cm.
(Fig. 90h)						
I.A. 714.	"	"	"	46 cm.	"	"	"	4 cm.
I.A. 715.	"	"	"	43.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.8 cm.
I.A. 716.	"	"	"	41 cm.	"	"	"	3.8 cm.
(Fig. 85c)						
I.A. 717.	"	"	"	42.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.5 cm.
I.A. 718.	"	"	"	36 cm.	"	"	"	3.3 cm.
I.A. 719.	"	"	"	36.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.7 cm.
I.A. 720.	"	"	"	41.2 cm.	"	"	"	4.4 cm.
(Fig. 90f)						
I.A. 721.	"	"	"	34.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.7 cm.
(Fig. 90d)						
I.A. 722.	"	"	"	38.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.3 cm.
(Fig. 90e)						
I.A. 723.	"	"	"	40.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.5 cm.
I.A. 724.	"	"	"	51 cm.	"	"	"	4 cm.
(Figs. 85a and 90a)						

C Ce 283 171

The spindles that I obtained from the Chiriguano and Izozó are the type of spindle, very common among the Indians of South America, that Nordenskiöld calls "Bakairí type" in contrast to the "Bororo type," this nomenclature being based on the first description of these two types of spindles by Carl von den Steinen, who found them among the Bakairí /Bacairi/ on the one hand and among the Bororó on the other (258). In contrast with the

C Ce [113]

258. Carl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, Berlin, 1894, pp. 238 and 488. Nord. 2, p. 196. Otto Frödin and Erland Nordenskiöld, Zwirnen und Spinnen bei Indianern Südamerikas /Twining and

C
Ce
283
17
[113]

/59 cont./

Spinning among South American Indians/,
Göteborg, 1910.

"Bororo type," the "Bacairí type" of spindle is held in a vertical position when used for spinning and has a small enlargement in the form of a knob at the upper end of the stick. In spinning, the prepared thread winds around the upper piece of the stick. The material of the Chiriguano and Izozó whorls is baked clay (that of the Chiriguano, pieces of broken baked clay vessels, filed), wood, or, rarely, among the Chiriguano, stone.

Ce
[32]

C
Ce
283

From the measurements mentioned above, it seems that the Chiriguano whorls usually have a rather larger diameter than the spindle whorls of the Izozó. The longest stick in the collection (from the Izozó) measures 54.5 cm.; the shortest (from the Chiriguano), 25.5 cm.

As I have already mentioned, all the sticks of the Chiriguano and Izozó spindles are fitted at the upper end with an enlargement in the form of a knob. Most of the spindle sticks in addition have an enlargement in the lower part, directly under the place where the whorl is put, so as to prevent the whorl from coming down the stick when the spindle is in a vertical position. Many spindles have a wrapping of cotton or raw wool directly under the whorl in order to make the whorl secure.

The form of the whorls shows many variations. I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano whorls are generally larger than those of the Izozó. They are also more uniform. The two sides of the baked clay of the Chiriguano are simply flat and smooth, which results from their origin as pieces of broken baked clay vessels to which the Chiriguano give the form of a disk by filing them and which they perforate in the center. The stone whorls of the Chiriguano /60/ and most of the wooden whorls also show the same form. But among the latter there are also some (cf. Fig. 87 /see p. 147/) which are similar to the more complicated forms of the Izozó whorls, although they differ from the latter in their greater size.

Ce
283
[171]

Among the Izozó whorls only two have two flat sides like the Chiriguano whorls. The other Izozó whorls, not only those of baked clay but also the wooden ones, show great variation in

/61 cont./

000 GO 285 171 824 GO 285 [824]

of other tribes. For example, the Guató Indians make mats similar to the mat collected among the Chiriguano, as well as baskets similar to one type of basket from the Izozó, from the large pinnate leaves of the acurí palm (Cocos schizophylla Mart.). The stem or stems of these, from which go the leaflets that form the plaiting, form the upper edge of the mat or baskets. With regard to the caranday palm, it is necessary to detach the leaflets from the stem in order to place them in the position necessary for plaiting them with one another. Therefore the upper edge is formed like a braid to which the leaves are attached in order to be able to proceed to plait from this rudiment. The lower edge is also formed like a braid, which joins the free ends of the strips and terminates in two ends, one at each /62/ side, which project beyond the side edges of the mat. The mat is plaited in such a way that one strip passes two of the other group each time. The decoration is made up of simple stripes parallel to the upper edge of the mat.

C Ce 285 531

The small flat baskets of the Chiriguano and Izozó are, in general, similar in form and dimensions. These are plaited with strips of cane and, at their outer edge, have a wooden hoop. Like the mat which has been mentioned, they are plaited in such a way that one strip of one group always passes two strips of the other group, and therefore the surface shows the same ornamentation, which consists of parallel stripes and is typical of all objects plaited in this way. In this ornamentation of the flat baskets there is one difference in that on some of them the entire surface is always filled with parallel lines, all going in the same direction (cf. Fig. 546 /see p. 157/), while the decoration of most of these small baskets consists of concentric squares (cf. Fig. 92 a and b /see p. 157/) formed by the combination of four surface units, two of which show parallel lines in the direction vertical to that of the parallel lines of the other two units. With regard to the details of the formation of such decoration by the technique itself, I refer to my publications regarding this matter (262).

C Ce ● [113]

262. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien /Indian Studies in Central

C /62 cont./
Ce
285
531
● [113]

Brazil/, Berlin, 1905, pp. 330 ff.; and Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas/ The Technical Bases for the Ornamentation of the Natives of South America/.

C
285
[126]

The three sieves that I obtained from the Chiriguano correspond to the flat baskets described above with respect to their exterior form and to the rudiment of the plaiting. They differ from the latter only in that their strips are a certain distance apart and in that one strip of one group always passes only one of the other group, with the result that the ornamentation of the surface consisting of parallel lines which is shown in the little baskets is not produced. These sieves are also provided with handles like the flat baskets of the Chiriguano. A sketch of a Chané sieve shown by Nordenskiöld shows that these Indians also use such sieves (263). Flat baskets and sieves analogous to

Ce
[285]

263. Nord. 1, Fig. 124.

those mentioned are described by Métraux and shown by him in drawings (264).

264. Métraux I, pp. 457-460, Plates 83, 84.

C
285
291
294
[177]

The technique of the Chiriguano hat (I. A. 554) is not original, but no doubt was received from the whites and perhaps was directly taught to the Indians in the missions. For us the technique of this hat is without interest, except for the fact that this technique is also applied by the Izozó to the making of a type of basket, a specimen of which is shown in Figure 98b /see p. 158/. The manufacture of the hat begins at the center, and the strips, the beginning of which is plaited, are augmented by the addition of other strips. See Figure 99 /see p. 158/. The style of plaiting is like that of all the other objects of this kind among the Chiriguano and Chané, so that one strip of one group always passes two strips of the other group.

Ce
[285]

Ce
[285]

C
285
177 /62 cont./

The technique of the small bag I. A. 512, which has a cover and corresponds in form to a modern cigar case, is of no interest to us, because this is a product of modern manufacture.

C
Ce
285
178 Baskets I. A. 551 (of the Chiriguano) and I. A. 677 (of the Izozó) are of special interest because they represent the product of a new era in which the primordial devices of the technique have been forgotten and therefore they have lost the typical forms of the products of those techniques. The making of this

C
285
171 type of basket, which is widespread among the Indian tribes of South America, begins with the making of the bottom and ends at the upper edge of the basket where the free ends of the strips are /63/ fastened. If we compare the structure of the bottom of these Chiriguano baskets with the structure of corresponding baskets of other tribes of South American Indians, such as with the structure of the baskets of the Bacairí on the tributaries of the Xingú River (Mato Grosso, Brazil) or of the tribes of the Rio Negro, our attention is drawn to the great difference with

C
285 respect to the conformity of the work. In my above-mentioned publications (265) I have described this kind of basket in more

C
[113]

265. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien, loc. cit.; and Die technischen Veraussetzungen, pp. 157 and 158.

detail, and I have demonstrated that the special design which appears in two variations on the bottom of most of the baskets of this kind that are not yet degenerate is consistent with the technique, because only a bottom decorated in this way can be a proper beginning in order to form the walls of the basket. Moreover, there is the difficulty that for the fabrication of the four walls of one of these baskets one needs twice as many strips as the number of the free ends which come out of the plaited square or rectangle which forms the bottom of the basket.

C
Ce
285 Therefore, the Indians who still know exactly how to plait these baskets plait in the beginning a flat rectangular piece twice as large as the projected bottom of the basket. Then the four edges of this rectangle are folded upward, in this

/78 cont./

C 273 removed from the pot, chewed up and well mixed with saliva, is then mixed back in with the rest. Then it is strained and ferments in large open pots, at moderate heat. By means of C [412] [237] large wooden spatulas or mammals' shoulder blades fitted with wooden handles, the mash is stirred in the pot. We find a more detailed description of this process in the publication by Métraux (287).

287. Métraux I, pp. 365-369.

C Ce 251

The Preservation of Foodstuffs

Concerning the method of preserving foodstuffs, we know that the Chiriguano and Chané dry fish for future use, when fish are abundant (288). According to Niño (289), formerly meat

288. Nord. 1, p. 189.

C [113]

289. Niño, F. Bernardino de: Etnografía Chiriguana, La Paz, 1912, pp. 249 and 250. According to Métraux.

from hunting was preserved for the great fiestas by drying it in the sun, without using salt. Even today, when a bovine animal is slaughtered, part of the meat is preserved by drying it in the sun (290).

290. Métraux I, p. 356.

C Ce 501

Transport

The Chiriguano and Chané, in contrast to the Itatines-Guarayús, do not have boats (291). Concerning means of

291. Nord. 1, p. 186.

C /80 cont./
534 edge, puts forward against Nordenskiöld's deductions his opinion
174 that the ancient Peruvian objects of this form might originally
177 have been flutes and that they might have been used only ex-
ceptionally, in the event of necessity or only secondarily, as
C balance beams. Among the objects of this kind in the ancient
[114] Peruvian collection of the museum in Berlin so many specimens
C clearly show that they are balance beams that I cannot say that
[177] I agree with this opinion by V. Rosen (301). We must agree

C
[113]

301. Cf. Max Schmidt, Kunst und Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/, p. 99, fig. p. 544, N. 8-10.

with V. Nordenskiöld's opinion that these wooden objects used by the ancient Peruvians as balance beams may have been accepted by the Chiriguano, not as balance beams, because the Chiriguano did not have the need to weigh anything, but as flutes. We must mention that with this kind of flute, open at both ends, two different sounds can be produced, depending upon whether the lower hole is left open or is closed with the finger.

The two Chiriguano flutes made of cane have six holes for varying the sound and one hole, at one side, for the mouth.
C Cf. Figure 39a /see Fig. 34a, p. 89/. Nordenskiöld, who shows
Ce such a flute in a drawing (302), is of the opinion that the
534
177
171

302. Nord. 2, Fig. 36 A.

Chiriguano and Chané received this kind of flute from the mestizos or whites, because such flutes provided with a hole at one side for the mouth do not exist among the other Indians of South America or among the ancient Peruvians.

726 /88 cont./
712 King was (354). Their towns, described in the preceding, were

354. Moreno II, p. 87.

175 fortified by blockades, in addition to their natural position. Ruiz
212 Diaz de Guzman on his expedition against the Chiriguano found
248 a town near the Pilcomayo which was fortified by two concentric blockades of stone and wood (355). We find interesting data

355. Moreno II, p. 252.

about the fortifications that the Chiriguano made during their wars in the "Relación y breve noticia de lo sucedido en la guerra de Chiriguanos que se ha hecho este año de 1729 por orden /89/ del señor Virrey y Real Audiencia de Chuquisaca por el Padre Bartholomé de Mora /Report and brief note on what happened in the Chiriguano war that took place in this year of 1729 by order of the Lord Viceroy and Royal Audiencia of Chuquisaca by Father Bartolomé de Mora/" (356). These fortifications are described

• [113]

356. Unpublished /inedito/ manuscript published /publicado/ by Professor A. Posnansky with an introduction and notes by Dr. A. Métraux. (Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad de Tucuman, Vol. II, No. I, p. 126.)

in the following way: "Continuing on their way (the Spaniards and Chiquitos), now by the light of day, at about a league they found blocking the way a very strong and well placed trench with very heavy stakes stuck in the ground, which, hewn like planks, had loopholes through which they shot arrows. Here considerable resistance was met, because the trench was very well fortified and the Indians who defended it were numerous." In another place it says: "They went on, all now being together, and they arrived at the place where the enemies had fortified themselves.... The fort was a ravine cut like a wall, which had

/90 cont./
000 preceding. I must also cite A. Métraux's publication, "Les
792 Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguano e dans l'Amérique de Sud
[113] /Men-Gods among the Chiriguano and in South America/" (363),

363. In the Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, No. 1, Tucumán, 1931.

in which he deals with the cases, repeated several times, in which some individuals among the Chiriguano appear as Messiahs and, acquiring many proselytes, gave the mission administrations much to do.

796
[126]

Plaited Objects Used in Religious Celebrations, from the Collection

I.A. 1439. (Chiriguano) Length 70 cm. (Fig. 43b.)
I.A. 1440. " " 37 cm. (Fig. 43a.)

[171] Plaited objects like those mentioned above are also very com-
mon among the Paraguayans and made in the same way. This
796 custom of making such plaited figures and having them blessed,
797 as the Chiriguano also do, is connected with the Catholic ritual,
177 and the Chiriguano no doubt received it from the missionaries along with the other rites of the Catholic religion (364).

364. See the opposite opinion of Métraux I, p. 462.

532 The masks that the Chiriguano make to carry during the Carnival
[527] fiestas are also modern objects. Some such Chiriguano masks are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and Métraux (365).

365. Nord. 1, Fig. 119. Métraux I, Plate 86 and Fig. 121.

/295/ Preface

114 121 In the chapters to follow, I propose to publish part of the results obtained in the course of the expedition that I undertook in the Bolivian and Argentinian Chaco in my capacity as director of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Tucumán.

114 [101] This expedition took place from February to June, 1929. Its itinerary was the following: Having left Tucumán, I went by railroad to La Quiaca where I stayed for several days, making observations on the more or less half-breed natives of the region. From La Quiaca I went to Tarija, where I remained longer than I might have wished because of the suspicions my trip raised at the time of the Paraguayan-Bolivian conflict.

114 101 103 After a 15-day stop I left Tarija to reach the Chiriguano tolderías of the upper Pilcomayo. I crossed the village of Santa Ana, then the Alta del Cóndor, the Narvaez River, the post of San Diego, passed five kilometers from San Luis (Entre-Ríos) to stop at the Cuesta de San Simon, where I found the first Chiriguano. Once having crossed the Cuesta de San Simón I quickly reached the Salado River, then the Chiriguano villages of Timboy (Saladito). [126] It was there that I made my best acquisitions of pottery and where I collected the oldest objects. The inhabitants [178] of these rancherías, who live relatively far from the highway from Argentina to Santa Cruz, have preserved the traditions and culture of their ancestors better than their racial brothers have. From Saladito I reached the village of Itasiti and then Salado Grande, [361] in order /296/ to reach the Pilcomayo at the confluence with the Salado. There, the Chiriguano villages are large and numerous. The most interesting are those of Ñawirenda, Ibopeytí, and Yumbía.

After stopping for some time in this place, I continued my trip toward Huacaya and the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo.

In one day I went from Boicovo to Cuevo, going by way of the mission of Santa Rosa.

[199] [178] From Cuevo on I was in the mission of Ivu, which is without doubt the one where the old Chiriguano customs have undergone the fewest modifications.

/296 cont./

114 101 105 From Cuevo I left for the northwest toward the Paraguay River region. I crossed this river near Pipi. After stopping in that village, I followed an Indian path which led me to Caraguatá, to the home of my good friend Captain Kamapadyó. I spent a week with him and left him only to explore the whole Caipipendí valley, visiting all the Indian villages one after another. At Caipipendí itself I made fruitful excavations and collected interesting myths.

The limit of my trip toward the north was the little city of Charagua.

I devoted the last part of my trip to more or less long stays in the Franciscan missions of Tarairí, Tigüipa, Macharetí, and Ivo.

Before going back to Argentina I made an excursion into the Igüembé valley as far as the village of Mauri.

115 102 The last two weeks of my expedition were devoted to the study of the Chané Indians who live near Aguaray in the Salta Chaco (Argentine Republic).

Previously I had been obliged, for various reasons, to stay at Oran for a month. I took advantage of this to make collections among the Ashluslay Indians who come there for the sugar-cane harvest.

In this volume I shall publish only the results of my expedition which bring new facts and details to light. Therefore the chapters I devote to the Chiriguano must not be considered as exhaustive study of their culture, but simply as a contribution. Chiriguano culture has been the subject of four important works, two of which are by ethnographers of great authority (1). /297/

1. Nordenskiöld (6, 7, and 10) and Rouse (1) /the underlined numbers following an author's name refer to the boldface numbers in the bibliography/. Campana's monograph on the Chiriguano, which I shall often have occasion to cite, is only a recompilation and reorganization of the manuscript notes left by the Italian missionary, the Reverend Father Dominic Giannichini. This work is excellent in many respects. As for the book of the Reverend

/TXT cont./

Father Bernardino de Nino. It is only a translation of Campana's article, filled out with copious borrowings from Cowdrey's work. Nevertheless the Reverend Father Bernardino de Nino added many very interesting details to the texts that he reproduces, which make consultation of his *Etnografía chiriguana* indispensable.

My aim was to complete the work of my predecessors and to get together for the Museum of Tucumán a collection which would be truly representative of the last of the cultures which formerly flourished within the limits of the old *gobernación* of Tucumán. My Chiriguano collections, along with those collected by Nordenskiöld, are, I believe, the most complete ones from this region that exist in the world. They bear witness, I hope, to the richness of this area from an ethnographic point of view, a richness which has been left unexploited and which will disappear in a few years.

May these pages demonstrate that every culture is a whole complex, so varied, that no ethnographer can study all its details in the course of a single trip. It is not useless to go back where others have preceded you, for, whatever their merits may have been, the material cannot be exhausted in one time.

There remains the paying of a debt of gratitude by thanking Doctor J. B. Terán and Doctor J. Heller, who, as rector and vice-rector of the University of Tucumán, gave me the means to bring about this trip. The new rector of the University, Doctor J. Prebisch, granted me the sizable funds which publication of the results of this expedition required and supported constantly the *Museo d'Etnologia* of my Institute. I am eager to make known to him here how grateful I am.

I wish to express my thanks again to all those who helped me in the course of my trips first and foremost the Franciscan missionaries who gave me generous hospitality and helped me as much as possible; my debt is particularly great to the Reverend Father Jocundo Ferrari, thanks to whom I was able to carry out without damage the transportation of my collections from the upper Pilcomayo to Cuevas; to Father Angiuoni who received me so frequently in his Ivo mission. Neither do I wish to forget Fathers

/[illegible] cont./

Luis Martelli, Dionisio Polverini, Juan Nicolai, and Honorato Cattani, who backed me up on various occasions. The Reverend Father Enrique Biagini did me a service for which I was very grateful by committing me to the care of all the missionaries of the Chaco.

The prefect of Tarija, Colonel Núñez del Prado, facilitated my trip /[illegible]/ by giving me a safe-conduct which was particularly useful to me in dealing with the authorities of eastern Bolivia. This man, courteous and intelligent, has just died on the battlefield. I wish to salute his memory with gratitude.

My companions Messrs. Bury helped me during my whole trip and rendered invaluable services which I remember gratefully, as well as the important aid given me by Messrs. Attié of Tarija.

I received cordial hospitality from Mr. Bonardi of Nancarwinza and from Mr. Vicente Costantini, whom I thank here.

Mr. Alberto Tonejón of Ibopeyti showed himself to be a host full of intelligence, and his intervention on my behalf with the Indians was very useful to me.

I should show myself ungrateful and unjust if I did not here express all I owe to the Indians themselves, whose reception, once the first mistrust was dissipated, was always so cordial, so generous. Here I should like to cite the name of my old friend, Captain Kamapadyú, of Caruruí, who was a courteous and kind friend to me and who made my stay in the Caipipendí valley so pleasant. Some day may I come back to my Chiriguano friends with mules loaded with knives, cloth, and beads, and thus fulfill the wishes they expressed so often to me.

C G 175 484 /313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

C G 175 169 484 [162] I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

C G 114 175 169 484 174 Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

C G 175 169 648 484

C G 175 721 726 I [726] [701]

/314 cont./

for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

C 114 175 721 726 I [712]

C G 114 175 167

E G 175 167 721 726

1. Gandia (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that Garcia's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

Ce [648] [567]

A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

/315 cont./

C G 175 648 Ce 175 648 567

/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race; asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him, and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

C G 175 129 114 167

This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guarani all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

/315 cont./

G
114
127
175
167

/fn. 1 cont./ still present in everyone's memory. Even if we accept Garcilaso's version and make that event go back to the reign of Tupac Inca Yupanki, it is still no less certain that it could only have taken place in the last decades of the 15th century. It is indeed at this time, according to Balboa, that the emperor Tupac Inca Yupanki would have reigned. (See Nordenskiöld, 6). In this case the first Guarani migration would have preceded García's trip by about 50 years. Why then does Gandía, who himself gives us this figure, consider it more probable that this invasion took place more than a century before the Conquest? When I personally submitted to Mr. Gandía the reservations I had on the subject of the date he was assigning to the establishment of the Guarani at the foot of the Andes, he answered that he had taken as a basis for this evaluation a passage from Lozano (Descripción chrorográfica...) and Mendiburn (Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú...). According to the latter the Inca Yupanki would have died in 1453. I shall reply to this objection by stating that the evidence of Lozano, who was satisfied to copy Garcilaso, has no value; and as for Mendiburn's calculation, I do not grant him any credence.

One single fact remains certain in this controversy: The Guarani had begun their migratory movement toward Peru some years before García's adventurous trip.

G
175
167
[114]

/316/ establishing. Neither was Alejo García's expedition the determining cause of the great migration of which Díaz de Guzmán (p. 29) speaks thus:

"Following these events (García's trip) the Indians of the Province of Paraguay met together with their caciques and

/319 cont./

000 there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of
E the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he
G added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but
175 doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked
167 whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He
[721] answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much
water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs,
lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was
E asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes
G he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the
[721] villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques,
/320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small
vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they
were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some
silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them
when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them.
Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it
said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this
silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war
upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had
carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

G Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent
E character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of
175 Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-
648 281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to
[167] this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken
the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose
of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians.
The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding
on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law,
burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of
trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention
• E4 of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the
132
175

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II,
p. 281) gives us of the large house of the
Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

E
175
342

/320 cont./

C 175 342

interesting: "they make a very big dormitory and, within it, as many small rooms as there are residents, and so small that they do not have room for more persons, and it is enough for them, because they do not have furniture, nor do they have wearing apparel and hence they go about naked." /Translated from the Spanish./ These facts agree on every point with those of the Relaciones geográficas, etc. (Vol. II, Plate CIV) and of Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 259) on the same subject. The Guarani, just like the Tupinamba and other Tupi tribes, lived in maloca, gigantic halls capable of containing more than 150 persons and which often in themselves formed the village. The existence of this type of dwelling among the Chiriguano in the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes new proof for the recent character of their migration. In the 18th century we find them already in possession of the small rectangular house which they still have now and where one single family lives. (See Métraux, 2, p. 51.)

C [114] [113]

C [171]

C [174] [167]

C 114 127 175

novelist Garcilaso which might allow one to suppose that he really knew who the Chiriguano were. As for this conquest by the Inca, it would have been barely an attempt at conquest... Garcilaso confuses the Chiriguano with all the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes whom he had vaguely heard mentioned. Let us note that he is the only one to attribute this expedition to the Inca Yupanki, while the other chroniclers, better informed, are satisfied to say that the Inca Yupanki made an expedition against the Antis, probably around Cuzco. Unfortunately the vogue this pleasant writer enjoyed at a time when the history of America was still in limbo bluffs some modern critics into believing him, and they go so far as to prefer one of his unwarranted affirmations to the serious /321/ and precise evidence of chroniclers who get their information at first hand and from reliable sources.

C 114 127 175 648 [101]

175 /332 cont./ Permanent
[31] villages were there under the command of hereditary caciques.
[361] The middle course of the Parapití formed their boundary to
[621] the east. In the 18th century the Chiriguano constituted the most important and remarkable nation of the western Chaco.
161 The statistics concerning them vary a great deal: the figures, given with their usual exaggerations, vary between 41,000 and
[114] 15,000 warriors. The Chané are included in this number, which completely removes all value from these statistics." (Kersten, pp. 68-69.)

131 Today the boundaries of the Chiriguano have stayed
[178] about the same. But even though they inhabit a territory whose extent has varied little, their situation has none the less
[162] undergone great changes. Several thousand half-breeds from Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Chuquisaca have settled inside this area that we have defined. A Chiriguano frontier no longer exists, but only remains of villages and small groups which still mark
161 the former extent of the tribe. On the other hand, the num-
131 ber of Chiriguano has diminished terribly and is diminishing each day, so that a few years from now the true habitat /333/ of the Chiriguano will be contained between the Parapiti and the Pilcomayo and will be reduced to the former Franciscan missions and to several valleys of the Precordillera, such as those of Caipipendí and Igüembé (1).

114
174
131

1. Some historians not well informed about the ethnic geography of South America have claimed that in the 16th century the Chiriguano lived well beyond the boundaries I have indicated. One of them (Dr. Fulgencio Moreno) went so far in this direction that he attributes to the Chiriguano the possession of a large part of northwestern Argentina and pushes this fancy to the point of locating them almost as far as in the province of Córdoba. Mr. Coni in an excellent monograph, documents in hand, has done good justice to these bold allegations and has demonstrated that these hypotheses were without foundation.

/333 cont./

C
G
172
131
[114]

The archeological arguments of those who believe in a vast extension of the Guarani into Argentina rest on the occurrence of burials of adults in urns in the provinces of Salta and Jujuy. Recently I conducted excavations in several pre-Hispanic cemeteries of this region (Candelaria department, Salta prov.), and I was able to satisfy myself that the peoples who left us these great necropolises had nothing in common with the Chiriguano from a cultural and anthropological point of view. The funerary urns I brought to light are entirely different from those of the ancient Guarani, and the funerary furnishings include no piece which could be attributed either closely or distantly to the Guarani.

T-G
[764]

Burials of adults in urns is not in any way characteristic of the culture of the Tupi-Guarani Indians, and, I might say, even the opposite. Already in 1905 Outes (1) in a very well-documented monograph had proved that the cemeteries of Rosario de Lerma and San Pedro de Jujuy, which Boman (1) considered as Guarani, in no way constituted proofs of a Guarani migration into northwestern Argentina. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 184-189) and myself (Métraux, 2, pp. 271-276) have resumed study of this question, and our results entirely confirm those of Outes (1). Therefore, as much from the historic as from the ethnographic point of view, boundaries other than the ones I have indicated could not be assigned to the ancient Chiriguano.

/333 cont./

Chapter II

Agriculture

241 The Chiriguano, like the Guarani and the Chané, their ancestors, are excellent farmers, and the working of the soil represents their principal occupation and their great concern.
243 For them corn is of prime importance; it constitutes the basis
[273] of their diet, for it enters into the preparation of most of their dishes and in addition gives them their preferred drink, chicha or kãwi.

[132] The sandy lands of the western Chaco and its climate,
[134] hot and dry a great part of the year, but also rainy during the summer months, seem to be particularly suitable for this grain. I have never seen such beautiful fields of corn anywhere. The ears are large, well filled out /334/ with kernels, and extremely tasty. The Bolivian half-breeds and settlers who are coming in greater and greater numbers to take the place of the Indians devote themselves like them to the growing of corn, which, with cattle-raising, is their main resource.

● 114 My trip to the Chaco, which took place from the month
243 of February to the month of June, did not give me a chance to
[101] be present at the sowing which is done at the beginning of the rainy season. For many details I shall therefore be forced to
[127] refer to Corrado (pp. 42 and 48), Campana (pp. 96-98), Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 181-184, and 10, pp. 23-24), to Nino (pp. 237-241), and Rosen (1, p. 205).

241 When a Chiriguano wishes to cultivate a new piece of
243 ground for himself and his family, he scours the environs of his village looking for a spot which may suit him and which is, in addition, easily irrigable. This condition is generally fulfilled by the lands at the foot of a hill or rising ground. The rain water which pours down there assures them of fertility.

/339 cont./
276 consumption was limited (1).
756
[824]
[113]

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

[249]

When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.

[755]

We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

[789]

243 At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the
221 Indians of the Cururutí region in Caipipendí valley. From the
[114] end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6).[1]

[351]

243 This temporary migration of the whole population of a
221 village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather
123 difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

[421]

[1] [Fig 6 appears on p. 69-- Analyst]

/356 cont./

252 no preparation other than constant stirring in order not to be burned. This food takes the place of bread for the Chiriguano, who like to munch these crunchy and appetizing kernels. They provide themselves with it when they go on a trip.

Atipíi pounded in a mortar and passed through a sieve gives atši, a brownish flour which has an excellent taste. Atši is also prepared differently: kernels of corn are reduced to a flour which is roasted in a terra-cotta roaster or in a wide potsherd. According to Nino (p. 246), the name atikúi would be given to the kernels of roasted corn made into flour after being put through a sieve and ground until pulverized. The same missionary reserves the term atši for roasted flour obtained from the residue left by kernels which have been treated in the following way: after letting them soak in water all night, they are poured into a sieve the next morning. When the water has drained off, they are pounded in a mortar. This flour is now sifted, then roasted; cooked in water, it is the dish the Chiriguano call muintí or huinti. Atši then would be made with the residue from the muinti flour, which is ground again, then roasted like it, but first mixed with salt or pimento. I [122] have often eaten roasted corn flour which the Indians told me was atši, but I could never tell that it was seasoned. The Chiriguano give the name abatikure to the corn bran.

This is how muintimimo is prepared: kernels of corn are /Plate XIII appears here/ /357/ put to soak all night. The next morning they are ground and sifted in an urumpé (sieve with very fine mesh). The flour is poured into a muitero [415] (Plate XIII, 1 and 2). This utensil is a terra-cotta basin whose bottom is pierced with holes like a skimmer (1). The flour is

[191] [114]

1. Linné (2, Map 1, p. 23) has given us the distribution of vessels with perforated bottoms throughout America. The enumeration he makes of them is very complete; yet it lacks mention of La Rioja in the Argentine Republic where Boman (5, p. 17) discovered fragments of vessels whose bases were entirely perforated like a sieve.

[Text Continues on P. 104]

/362 cont./

262 The Chiriguano call kumanara a leguminous plant, wild,
[252] which resembles the yuca and which can serve as food after being boiled. They resort to it only when pressed by hunger. The word designating this plant has a strange resemblance to
[192] the name of the batata in the Quichua dialects of Ecuador and northern Peru (Rivet, 3, pp. 583-590). It is perhaps a question of a Quichua word introduced into the Chiriguano language to designate a plant of which they did not have the equivalent in their original homeland. The case is nevertheless rare, and one can wonder if it is not a simple coincidence.

[222] Neither do the Chiriguano look down on honey, although they
[171] do not seek it with the passion of their cousins, the Kainguá. What I tasted among them was contained in thin honeycombs having the consistency of cardboard. It had a pleasant taste.

222 Any Indian who goes in search of honey (ei) must not make
784 his intention known to anyone and, if he is asked where he is going, he must answer: "To look for wood." If you do not take
[176] these precautions, the protecting spirit of the honey is warned of your plan and hides the honeycombs he guards (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 86).

222 The missionary Corrado (p. 43) assures us that grass-
114 hoppers, cicadas, the larvae of bees are that many delicious
[252] dishes for the Chiriguano. He adds that these insects are roasted. Nino (p. 247) reproduces the statements of his predecessor and completes the list of strange foods by adding /363/ ants, lizards, leaves of the cucurbitaceae, melted tallow, etc. Personally I
[171] have never seen the Chiriguano touch these dishes strange to our palates, but I am all the more inclined to believe these two missionaries that the tastes they indicate are actually those of the Indians in other regions.

262 Already in the 16th century the Chiriguano passed as snake
252 lovers, even of poisonous species. They cut off the head and tail, skinned them, and roasted pieces of them on live coals. They used to eat them with pimento. No doubt the Spaniards con-
[178] fused snakes with iguanas, which even today the Chiriguano justly like (Lizárraga, Vol. I, p. 260).

/366 cont./

273 126 It is not so easy as one thinks to observe in detail the preparation of kāwi, and I am still at a loss to describe the stages in their exact sequence. This difficulty is due to the fact that kāwi is prepared over several days (generally three or four), and it is /Plate XV appears here/ /367/ difficult to be on the spot all the time so as not to miss any detail. Besides, as different families do not begin to prepare kāwi at the same time, confusion results; and it is hard to know at what point of the operation one finds oneself. Apparently I am not the only one to have come up against this obstacle, for it is enough to read the various descriptions devoted to this important occupation to become aware that they are far from agreeing.

[147]

273 462 At the moment when the water is at the boiling point in the big vats, the burning pieces of wood and the live coals are scattered, and the corn flour is poured in, being stirred vigorously so that it will not form lumps. While this operation is performed, other women have pounded fine a certain quantity of corn, sifted it, winnowed it to rid it of any impurity, then roasted it in a large potsherd. As this flour is taken off the fire, the women chew part of it and spit this into a calabash. This paste impregnated with saliva is called temišu. According to Nino (p. 248), the Indian women mix the temišu with the corn broth which is cooking in the vats and with which they fill a pot. The woman who busies herself with this mixture (umopirai) allows it to fall back in from a certain height "to give it sweetness."

[412]

Fig. 32. Sticks for stirring the kāwi while it is cooking. No. 1 comes from Tigūipa; No. 2 from Ivu; Nos. 3 and 4 from Salidit (upper Pilcomayo). (nat. size.)

/369 cont./

273
824

De Molles, y de murta bien obrado,
Seguro que bebian casi arroba,
Que media á cada cual le estaba dado."
/The wine of maize and of algarroba,
Of Molles, and of myrtle well worked,
It is certain that they drank almost
an arroba,
The measure which was given to each
one./

273
574
576
[123]
[114]

Kāwi is too respected a drink to be drunk in any old way. Etiquette requires one to comply with certain rules if the honor of participating in a drinking bout is done you. I sometimes had a chance to be invited to these festivities, and on such an occasion I was able to make the following observations which I am setting down just as I noted them in my field notebook: The men are seated in a circle on chairs or benches. The women squat behind them, on skins spread out on the ground. The kāwi is brought in vessels shaped like bulls, and one of them is put down at the feet of the "captain." The girl who has brought it fills a small calabash and offers it to the "captain," who empties it. Next he serves me and gives the vessel back to her. He does the same with my neighbor, then with several of the guests. Then he hands the calabash to his wife and goes to sit down. The latter serves the rest of the men present.

[554]

A second vessel, brimming over with kāwi, is put this time before another Indian who perhaps is held in some esteem. He drinks first, then busies himself with his companions. Two large calabashes are then given over to the women, and from that moment on, the distribution no longer seems to follow any order. Men and women drink and serve their neighbors without obeying any rule of decorum other than not to forget other people. They acquit themselves perfectly in this duty of politeness, and nobody is neglected, not even the very small children, who take alarming quantities of kāwi.

/378 cont./

412 The specimen I am publishing here was still giving good
114 service to its owner, who gave it to me with regret and only
171 for a large sum of money. The presence of the eared ax among
178 the modern Chiriguano invalidates the allegation of Nordenskiöld (14, p. 120), who places it among the cultural elements which have completely disappeared in South America. It survived
[181] thanks to the prodigious conservatism of the Indians. I am convinced that several of the objects whose disappearance is attested to by Nordenskiöld will perhaps be found in some tribe now living, when we have more abundant ethnographic material from South America than we now have at our disposal.

412 Another very interesting peculiarity of this ax is the bent
171 shape of the handle, to which the blade is securely fastened with leather thongs. The distribution of the bent-handled ax has been traced by Linné (2, p. 202). Few tribes of South America have continued to use it up to our day. They are: the Colorado of Ecuador, the Tukano /Tucano/, Tariana, and other tribes of the /Plates XXII and XXIII appear here/ /379/ Caiary-Uaupés, the Tehuelche, and the modern Quichua /Quechua/. Among the Indians of the Caiary-Uaupés the tool lost all practical value and finally became a simple dance accessory (Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. I, Fig. 225, p. 350). /Fig. 51 appears here./

The bent ax has been found archeologically in Peru (Chuquitanta; Marquez Valley near Lima) and in Casabindo in La Puna de Jujuy (Argentine Republic). The specimens from Peru are designated as being hoes, which is possible. However, I shall call attention to the fact that the Chiriguano specimen from Caipipendí is exclusively a carpenter's instrument, which the Indians use for cutting the pieces of wood from which they make their furniture or weapons. /Fig. 52 appears here./

Figure 51 shows how modern axes of the simple neolithic ax type can be hafted exactly like their stone prototypes. The similarity of this ax to the stone ones used up to today by the Guayaki extends to the somewhat arched shape of the handle and to its slightly swollen upper end (La Hitte, Plate IV, 9).

/380 cont./

296 177 171 spread among the Chiriguano recently for it has not yet spread throughout the territory they inhabit. The Chiriguano who live far removed from the half-breed or Indian populations of the Cordillera are not "coqueros," and only rarely does one meet among them some old man who accepts a quid of coca.

296 171 302 114 Ivu is the last point toward the east and north where I could distribute my supply of coca to advantage. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 85-91) sought to demonstrate that the custom of blackening the teeth went along cheek by jowl with that of chewing coca and derived from it. As a matter of fact, this habit has a very marked western distribution and follows the zone of coca cultivation.

296 [824] The Chiriguano mix each quid of coca with the ashes reaped from a tree (ulala) whose scientific name I do not know. These ashes (tanimbo), which corresponds to the llicta of the Quichua, are contained in a small leather bag.

296 439 804 Coca is a luxury commodity which the Quichua Indians or half-breeds come to sell to the Chiriguano. To avoid all argument and all fraud on the part of unscrupulous sellers, the Chiriguano have recourse to balances of their own making. They fabricate them with /381/ two calabashes cut in half to serve as scales (Figs. 54 and 55). The balance with scales was in [199] use in pre-Hispanic times /Fig. 54 appears here/ in the ancient Inca Empire (see Nordenskiöld, 16) and so I believed at first that among the Chiriguano it represented a survival of /Fig. 55 appears here/ the Andean influence, whose importance we shall see further on. Among the Chiriguano, however, this object is designated by the Spanish name /382/ mbalanza, which seems to indicate that they borrowed it from the half-breeds. The latter and the Quichua use them in their commercial transactions, but especially for weighing the precious coca. Perhaps it was the same in prehispanic times. There is nothing to prove that only metals were weighed, as has been supposed with respect to these ancient scales.

296 177 For weights the Chiriguano use old Bolivian silver coins and express measures according to the old Spanish system. By a tacit convention a coin worth two modern sous is the equivalent of one ounce.

/382 cont./

804 The Chiriguano measure the cloth which Syrian peddlers
439 come to offer them with varas, that is, a stick about 80 centi-
[177] meters long, the length of the ancient Spanish vara. This instrument has been borrowed from the Bolivian half-breeds.

Chapter VI

121 ## Art among the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

To Professor Félix F. Outes.

The artistic sense of the Chiriguano is manifested in pottery decoration, pyrography, and wood carving.

We shall study these three activities one after the other.

Pottery Technique

114 The Chiriguano pottery technique has been studied briefly
323 by Campana (p. 54), following Father Giannechini's notes, and by Outes (3, pp. 122-123), who adds some details communicated to him by the naturalist Holmberg to the ones he took from Campana's work. Nordenskiöld (1 and 10, pp. 142-147) completed on many points Campana's brief survey, so that I myself shall have few new things to note.

317 The clay used by Chiriguano potters comes from beds
323 well known to the Indians, where they go from time to time to lay in fresh supplies. It is enough to see old vessels full of earth around a hut to know that a woman lives there still
[439] practicing the ancestral industry. Where adequate clay is lacking, pottery is imported. Thus in the Tigüipa mission all the vessels in use were made in Macharetí.

323 In order to be used the clay must be degreased with powder /383/ coming from potsherds. Fragments of old vessels are ground in a mortar until, after being put through a sieve, they give a fine powder which is kneaded for a rather

/387 cont./

C 323 386 The name tarawirisi is also given by the Chiriguano to objects resembling loaves of bread kneaded by hand which are composed of a resinous material mixed with wax. According to the explanations given me by the Indians themselves, this

C 417 415

Fig. 86. Forked tree-trunk serving as a shelf for putting vessels on. (After a Bench by the author.)

C 323 386 substance is taken from a mimosa. After being sprinkled with boiling water, it is kneaded and dried in the sun. Its color is yellow or red, but after firing it becomes black.

I could not learn whether this black glaze was applied over a layer of black paint or spread directly on the walls of the vessel. In every case the designs made by this process are much less regular than the ones drawn with a brush.

C [126] C 5 126 323 386 My collections of pottery, which consist of nearly 300 pieces, do not contain any glazed specimen. Nordenskiöld (p. 144) assures us that the Chiriguano and the Chané of the Parapití coat their yambui with a sort of gum called tarawiri, a word which, except for one syllable, is the same as the one designating the resinous substance we have just been considering.

/400 cont./

415 191 192 12. The ornithomorphic vessel of Figure 13 seems to have come from the hands of the ancient potters of the Isla de Tilcara who, several centuries ago, used to make analogous pieces, without a doubt servilely imitated by the Chané and the ancestors of the Chiriguano (see Debenedetti, 3, Figs. 139-141, p. 191). Boman (2, Vol. II, p. 786, Fig. 190) also publishes a bird-shaped vessel, perhaps of the *pava del monte* (*Penelope obscura*, Vieill.?), found not far from the present-day village of Humahuaca and which, in addition to its general appearance, has in common with our specimen

415 531

Fig. 13. Ornithomorphic vessel. Chiriguano. Metals: pink and green. Prov.: Tarairí. (1/3 nat. size.)

415 191 192 from Tarairí designs painted on the sides which represent the wings and tail.

The Chiriguano Indians of the Caipipendí valley and the Ivo mission still like to serve chicha in vessels to which they give the appearance of a bird (FIGURE 7-Fig. 8 [illegible]-shaped vessels have been discovered in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 6, p. 97, Fig. 14, and Otilio Bregante, Fig. 132, p. 147). Perhaps these are the prototypes of the present-day Chiriguano specimens. Why suppose that these receptacles had solely ritual usage, as Mr. Debenedetti thinks, when we see the modern Chiriguano make an entirely similar use of them?

415 [illegible] (193) (192) (191) (114)

[See p. 190--Ms.1957]

C
53
415
[illegible]
[illegible]
C
415

/.10 cont./

by me in humble cabins whose owners were certainly not [illegible], but poor devils who had the luck to have a mother or grandmother who was an expert potter. If the criterion of Dr. Debenedetti were admissible, the crude pottery and the fancy vessels which can be bought in every Chiriquí or Chiriquano village would be products of two different civilizations. In reality the fancy pottery is used on feast days for drinking chicha; and the other, more humble in appearance, is adapted to daily needs.

PA
415
531

Fig. 86. Dish from Tilcara and decorated with red volutes triangles on a white background. (1/5 nat. size [illegible].)

PA
531
[illegible]

Besides, the volute triangle is more frequent on the [illegible] Tilcara (Debenedetti, [illegible]). In addition to the triangles cited, [illegible] others must be added (Debenedetti, [illegible], Fig. 56, p. 366; Fig. 36, p. 432; Fig. 40, p. 704; Fig. 46, p. 802; Fig. 165, p. 719; Fig. 165, pp. 719-[illegible]). A vessel from Alfarcito in the same Quebrada bears a triangle with volute on the inside rim of the neck (Debenedetti, [illegible], Fig. 15, p. 79).

/427 cont./

which preceded Inca culture. If one compares the present-day pottery of the Chiriguano with that of the Quicha /Quechua/ of Cuzco, certain analogies will appear, but they will be neither abundant nor conclusive enough to establish a direct filiation. Aryballoes are missing or rare, ornithomorphic dishes seldom found, etc.; on the contrary, we have seen how multiple and close the ties are between this pottery and that of the Chincha-Atacama period. Chiriguano pottery, in relation to that of Cusco, is in a situation analogous to that of northwestern Argentina: on an Andean but original base, influences from Cusco have been superposed. This Inca action on the Chicha is attested to even today by /428/ the presence among the Chiriguano of footed vessels of the purest Inca type and apodal ones of the same origin. Arising from the same influence, one may add certain decorative motifs, with which I have already dealt.

Arawak and Amazonian tradition is scarcely represented, except by footed bowls (compoteras), vessels with a ribbed belly, those with a body in the shape of a truncated cone and a subspherical belly, and perhaps by some motifs (T-shaped figures, Plate XXXVIII, 1).

The conclusion of this chapter will be: there exists today and for some years to come a civilization which, closely related to that of the Chicha, continues an art earlier than that of the Inca but influenced by them. May this fact make archeologists cautious!

Chapter VII

Calabashes

The second art in which the Chiriguano excel is pyrography and engraving on calabashes. When pottery-making was an essentially feminine activity, pyrography was the province of the men. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 233-236) thinks, completely wrongly it seems to me, that pyrography is of Andean origin. He advances in support of this opinion the advantages that knowledge of metal offers to this art. Nevertheless, the populations of the

/429 cont./

531 171 On almost all the calabashes in my collection pyrographed designs alternate with incised motifs. Perhaps it is the same with the calabashes of the Andean region. Judging from the ex-
• [114] cellent photographs which Boman (2, Vol. II, Plate LXXVI) gives us of them, and from /430/ the specimen from the Calchaqui valley which I am publishing here, this scholar erroneously considers them as having been entirely pyrographed. When a Chiriguano incises a design with a knife on a calabash, he is always careful to fill the engraved lines with ashes to make them stand out. At first sight this process may be confused with true pyrography.

415 531

a b

Fig. 85. a and b. Engraved calabash. Only the rim has been lightly pyrographed. On one side (a) is seen a feline animal (jaguar or puma), on the other (b) a fox (?) and a bird. Prov.: Masaví (Igüembé Valley). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

531 A single glance at Plates LXI-LXXI allows one to realize that pyrography and engraving on calabashes do not obey such rigid stylistic rules as pottery. These calabashes differ very much, and there are scarcely any motifs that seem to be preferred to others. To what is this diversity due? I believe it artificial; and I am convinced that formerly this art followed precise norms, in a word, that in times past there was a true style of pyrography and engraving on wood. How would one explain otherwise that precisely the most beautiful pieces in my collection are at the same time the oldest and the most similar to the Andean prototypes (Plate LXI, 1 and 2; LXII, 1 and 2; LXIV, 2; LXVIII, 2 and 3, etc.)? Let us not forget that

291

Fig. 96. Knitted wool cap (ankaitu). Prov.: Nawirenda. This headdress is a unique piece and it may not be Chiriguaro. (1/3 nat. size.)

[114]

/444 cont./

285 (1, Fig. 134, p. 122) obtained from some Chorotí who were
[114] camping near Tatarenda. I share the opinion of this explorer, who considers this object as of Chiriguano origin.

In spite of its simple and archaic character, basketry in
[171] wicker work is rare in South America. According to Nordenskiöld (10, p. 171, and 11, p. 198), it is found among the Araucan, Yurakare, Atsawaka, Tambopata Guarayú (Chama), Yamiaka, and the Indians of Guiana, in particular those of the Roroima region.

/468 cont./

412 171 At La Paya, Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 254, p. 484) discovered combs cut out of a small wooden board and some composite combs. Instead of simply recording the coexistence of two different types of combs /Plate LXXXVII appears here/ /469/ in the same place, a very natural phenomenon by reason of the heterogeneous character of the culture of La Paya. Ambrosetti puts forth the strange hypothesis that these combs served for carding wool, without taking the trouble to inquire whether this instrument was known in pre-Columbian times.

303 322 462 412 The making of combs, like all wood carving, is an essentially masculine job.

412 174 The table on Plate LXXXVII indicates my idea of the morphological evolution of the different forms of combs which I have collected.

Chapter XII

Furniture

352 [114] Since the diverse cultural elements which constitute the furniture of the Chiriguano have been completely studied by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 8-22), I shall limit myself to mentioning them here, insisting only on several details. /Fig. 124 appears here./ /See p. 338./

[342] Let us enter a Chiriguano hut. The door we open is a kind of screen of reeds or a cowhide hardened in the sun. Daylight penetrates the interior through this opening. The only important [513] piece of furniture is a wooden cot (Fig. 125), a kind of bedstead generally occupied by two persons between whom one or two children come /470/ to slip in somehow or other. Nor do the Chiriguano hesitate to sleep on the ground on an oxhide, which they spread out in front of their house. On the upper Pilcomayo, in nearly all the huts one can /Fig. 125 appears here/ /See p. 339./ see one or two hammocks which serve either as seats during the day [286] or as cradles for small children. Their technique, that of the [177] double thread (Doppelfadentechnik), continues an old Guarani

[Text Continues on P. 338]

/484/

412 However, these awls are too abundant in each village for their use to be only sacred. It is probable that the Chiriguano use them as a simple tool for solely secular purposes.

[172] At Tilcara, Debenedetti (2, Fig. 176, p. 232) discovered specimens made of deerhorn identical with our Chiriguano examples.

824 757 8. I have in my collection seeds whose virtues are multiplet they are an excellent remedy for skin eruptions, ulcers, and toothaches.

9. For stomach-ache the Chiriguano recommend the absorption of particles of wood (mboipinda).

232 [824] 10. Certain seeds (of a graminaceous plant?) when crushed give a paste or powder with which they treat animals whose sores are attacked by worms.

11. When cows' hooves tend to work loose, they bathe them with fragments of limestone (itakwi).

757 237 12. Fat extracted from a cow's foot is an effective ointment for cases of rheumatism.

13. The beak of the toucan is said to enjoy great medicinal properties. They grate it and drink in water the powder which comes from it (Campana, 111).

Stitches in the side and dysentery are treated with a piece of armadillo shell burned, ground, and dissolved in water, which the patient drinks.

757 [114] In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (passim) and Nino's book (pp. 288-290) is found many a very interesting piece of information on the pharmacopoeia of the Chiriguano. I shall summarize them in order to complete my own observations.

757 164 1. The oil which floats on kiwi, when it is done, is a good remedy for headaches.

2. Salt, ground and drunk mixed with the urine of a small child, quiets stomach pains.

[824] 3. Rheumatism is doctored by applying on the ailing part a branch of ulala (Tankawina) from which the thorns have been removed and which has been heated.

/488 cont./

757 The explorer Eric von Rosen tried to demonstrate that
114 some objects found in northwestern Argentina are clyster tubes or nozzles. Nordenskiöld is also of this opinion. As for me, I am all the more tempted to adopt this hypothesis because I could not otherwise explain the presence of this instrument
757 among the Chiriguano. No Tupi tribe, as a matter of fact,
171 with the exception of the Omagua on the upper Amazon,
174 seems to have resorted to enemas in case of illness; at least not one of the numerous travelers who gave their attention to these Indians mentions the operation among them. There is no doubt that the Chiriguano borrowed this curative method and the corresponding instrument from the nearby Andean peoples. We know that the Quichua /Quechua/ gave each other enemas, as is proved by the discovery of a leather syringe in a pre-Hispanic grave of the Ollachea Valley in eastern Peru (Nordenskiöld, 14, Fig. 74, p. 188). (To be continued.)

000 /The bibliography, pp. 488-493, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text. The following "Table of Contents" appears at the end of this volume of the Revista, along with the tables of contents for the other articles in the volume. The lists of plates and figures which follow the table of contents in the translation were made up from the captions and are not part of the original text./

/598/ Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians

by Alfred Métraux

	page
Preface	1
I. Material Culture	5
Introduction	5
Historical outline of the formation of the Chiriguano nation	6
Agriculture	63
Cooking and food	80
Food resources	80
Fish	93
Cooking	97

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

typical *Inca* designs. At Caipipendi (pl. 41, *top, right*), near Charagua, he found a *Chiriguano* cemetery consisting of large, corrugated urns, identical to modern *Chiriguano* chicha jars, covered with smaller jars. Near the surface was found a vessel with incised decoration which has no resemblance to any modern *Chiriguano* ware. The same site yielded a small pot with thin incisions and two suspension holes. 172

SOURCES

Short descriptions of the *Chiriguano* appear in the early literature. Garcilaso de la Vega's picture of *Chiriguano* culture is on the whole quite inaccurate, but for a few details. Díaz de Guzmán (1914), Barco Centenera (1836, 1912), and Lizárraga (1909) speak briefly of *Chiriguano* culture, but the earliest firsthand account of it is Father Choné's letter (1819 b). Tamajuncosa's report (1910) about the state of the missions at the end of the 18th century is also an interesting document. Weddel (1853), who visited the *Chiriguano* in the middle of the last century, published a few notes about their culture. The best sources are the reports and books written by the Franciscan missionaries, Cardús (1886), Corrado (1884), and especially Campana (1902). Nino's (1912) much-quoted book is based in great part on Campana's monograph. 113 114

Nordenskiöld dedicates several chapters of his "Indianerleben" (1912) and of "Forschungen and Abenteuer" (1924 a) to the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*. His data are accurate though somewhat superficial. Great stress is placed on the economic life and the material culture, but social organization and religion receive only cursory attention. However, the collection of *Chané* and *Chiriguano* myths is fairly large and of great interest. Nordenskiöld made a comparative analysis of *Chiriguano* material culture in one of the volumes of his ethnographical series (Nordenskiöld, 1920). More minute details about *Chiriguano* artifacts may be found in Eric von Rosen's (1924) luxurious publication based on a collection he made among these Indians at the beginning of the century.

Several aspects of *Chiriguano* history and material culture were studied in some detail by the writer (Métraux, 1930 b), who also published new *Chiriguano* myths (1931 a) and two sociological essays (Métraux, 1931 b and 1935).

Several monographs deal with *Chiriguano* pottery, which is today one of the best in South America. (Outes, 1909; Nordenskiöld, 1920; Métraux, 1930 b; Paulotti, 1942.) Recently, Max Schmidt (1938) again published and described *Chiriguano* artifacts and techniques.

Knowledge of *Chiriguano* religious and social life is meager and is limited mainly to Campana's monograph (1902) and to observations made by Nordenskiöld (1912) and the present author (1930 b) at a time when aboriginal *Chiriguano* culture was already decadent. The Paraguayan-Bolivian war accelerated its breakdown and little of it now survives.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The migrations, wars, and the religious conversion of the *Chiriguano* have been the subjects of many historical monographs. The most important of these are by Corrado (1884), Serrano y Sanz (1898), Dominguez (1918), Gandía (1929 a, and b), Métraux (1930 b), Coni (1925), Moreno (1929), and Finot (1939). The Jesuit missionary work among the *Chiriguano* has been described by Lozano (1941) and Muriel (1918).

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

As today *Chiriguano* and *Chané* share in the same culture, the following data may apply to both tribes.

Farming.—The *Chané*, conquered by the *Chiriguano*, were proficient farmers who, though practicing a tropical type of agriculture, were probably acquainted with many of the methods of cultivation of the Andean area. The *Chiriguano* adopted their traditions. The new habitat of the *Chiriguano* did not offer the same resources for hunting and fishing as had their homeland. Therefore, these Indians depend on farming to a larger extent than any other *Tupi-Guarani tribe*. The basis of their livelihood is maize, of which they have 11 varieties, all related to those of Paraguay. Then follow in order of importance: Pumpkins, beans (11 varieties), sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, peanuts, and some Barbary figs (*Opuntia* sp). Sweet potatoes were grown on a large scale by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

These Indians also raise cotton, tobacco, urucú, and, in the Parapeti region, reeds for arrow shafts (*Arundo donax*). Plants of the Old World adopted by the *Chiriguano* include melons, watermelons, oranges, sugarcane, and sorghum.

Chiriguano men clear the fields and surround them with a tall fence as a protection against the inroads of wild or domesticated animals, a task which is considered to be particularly strenuous. They also till the soil, but at harvest time they are assisted by the women and children. The latter, armed with slings, drive away the parakeets and other birds which prey on the crops. Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 183) observed that among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro region, large maize fields were tended by men while pumpkins and beans were raised by the women.

Collecting wild food.—When their crops fail, the *Chiriguano* subsist on the same species of pods and fruits as those collected by the Chaco Indians: Algarrobo, tunca, mistol, caraguatá, and other plant foods.

Hunting.—Hunting is a very secondary economic activity, at least in modern times. Peccaries, which are the main game animal, are hunted with specially trained dogs and killed with bows and arrows or with clubs. Rheas, which are abundant in the Chaco plains, are caught with bolas. Pigeons are captured with clap nets. Special arrows with two points are used for hunting yacu birds (*Penelope* sp.).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguaxe-tampa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/xii cont./

arms of the Delegation and the forts. which they know how to burn frequently: the Tapiete continually threaten the farthest outposts and all their personnel. because the cannon and bayonet are powerless to civilize and to implant in the iron breast and crude heart of the savage /xiii/ humanitarian ideas. philanthropical ideas. because the cannon destroys. it does not civilize.

121 [119] I shall not concern myself with these tribes in the course of my pages: a book could be written about all of them. studying their origin. their customs. their relations with the other tribes and even with the whites. their relations with invisible or imaginary beings. their language and their deeds. but I renounce this arduous task and concentrate upon the Chiriguano race. which was conquered by the missionaries of Tarija long before South American Independence and later by the fellows of the Colegio de Potosí from the year 1870 through a region closed to trade and civilization.

The first thing I shall do in the course of these lines is to set down a description of the Chiriguano region. after which will follow: the origin of the tribe or race. language. statistics. physical and moral character. religion. political organization. the people. customs. imposition of the tembeta /lip plug/ on the males. fasting on the maidens. sicknesses. wars. usage. gatherings. and. finally. death and mourning. I shall try to make this little work pleasant and for that reason I shall allow myself to insert an occasional fable which was formerly held to be a fact and which even today is taken as such in certain regions.

Word to the Reader

•114 This little work. which some will call not only useless but also a waste of effort is now born. but perhaps others who like to study races will find it useful for Ethnography. despite the fact that it is inadequate to give a perfect idea of the race among which I have lived since the year 1888.

Before beginning this third work I have tried to acquire some knowledge. I am not the first to write about these Indians: I have been preceded by D'Orbigny. Pelleschi. /xiv/ Manegazza.

/xiv cont./

114 the Franciscans Conrado, Cardús, Martarelli, Giannecchini, and Señor del Campano, etc. But in Bolivia no complete work is known. notes or pages by authors definitely worthy of every respect and very competent hardly exist, nor have explorers witnessed all that they have written about, from which have come errors which would certainly have been avoided if the reports had not been made so hastily.

121 124 With all possible calm, patience, and unlimited time, I have set out to talk with the oldest and most knowledgeable Indians, who have explained some points to me, corrected certain others, and made me add still more; but I have already said that with my writing I do not pretend even to equal the luster of those who have preceded me. I shall only give more extension to the ideas which have been set forth by others, ideas which in the majority have been confirmed by the Indians to whom I have addressed myself.

Finally, I must state that since the Chiriguano are in contact with the mission Indians, and these, both old and new, exist in considerable number, I shall add by way of conclusion, after having finished what I have proposed to do, a chapter concerning the heathen Chiriguanos, the neophytes, or new Christians, and the method that the Missionaries use to reduce them religiously and civilly, and the effort required to maintain them in the Catholic faith.

121 128 Everyone will understand that, in order to avoid confusion, this small work will be divided into chapters, and the chapters into sections, for greater clarity and so as not to tire the reader. Certain terms that I must print here by necessity will be written in the Chiriguano language with their corresponding explanation, so that each one may understand the impact of the language. I could also formulate some general propositions with the corresponding Spanish, but the nature of this somewhat voluminous book does not permit it, nor is it necessary, because /xv/ there are various small handbooks which have been printed in this Republic of Bolivia.

/xv cont./

121 Lovers of Ethnography are asked to overlook as much as they can the faults that they will find; rather I pray that they will only note the facts which I set down with all candor and exuberance. With the remarks that precede I am going to begin.

San Buenaventura de Ivo, May 20, 1911.

Father Bernardino de Nino, Missionary, O. F. M.

/Page xvi is omitted in the translation./

/xvii/ Foreword

•114 Je prends mon bien partout
où je le trouve.

The Reverend Father de Nino, Franciscan Missionary of the Colegio de Propaganda Fide of Potosí, has honored me by charging me with the presentation to the public of the book which today sees the light, the preparation of which we have already announced in several numbers of the Boletín of the Repartición Nacional under our administration.

A very special reason compelled us to accept such a pleasant task: it provides for us, and for the scientific interest of the country, valuable collaborative material which is brought us by the learned Missionary whose intimate knowledge of the Chiriguano Indians, among whom he has lived as a catechist for many years, is indisputable.

There likewise weighed heavily upon our mind another powerful reason for welcoming the Etnografía Chiriguana with deserved applause: we had in mind the fact that in 1914, by an arrangement arrived at in London at the close of the sessions of the XVIII International Congress of Americanists it was decided that the meeting of the XIX was to be in Washington and this City of La Paz, as was done with the XVII, which held its sessions in commemoration of the Argentinian Centennial of 1810 in Buenos Aires, finishing in Mexico City.

We had to prepare ourselves for the session which was to be /xviii/ held in Bolivia, and this suggested to us the idea that the worthy work of the Reverend Father de Nino might be dedicated

/xviii cont./

●114 in the nature of a homage, which its author has done, to the XIX International Congress of Americanists.

It is generally believed that knowledge of the flora, fauna, geology, and export products are quite enough to carry out the work of colonization. Technicians and engineers can be sent in to go over a region in every respect and thus sketch an exact picture of its sources of wealth; meanwhile the human element, that essential element, will just as many times have been overlooked.

The opinion that we propound will be the same one that will be formed by the Americanist reader who reads with the careful study it deserves the missionary's important book with which we are concerned. Undoubtedly the catechist's living there, with daily observation of the neophytes of his reduction, permitted penetrating more intimately into the nature or soul of the beings in his charge. Anyone who reads the very numerous details and facts observed and set down in the present book, we do not doubt, will say that we are right. Can an exploring naturalist, a geographer, observe all that the Reverend Father de Nino relates to us? We believe that the wise perspicacity of a D'Orbigny could not very well see into a face hidden from him.

So it was when the same eminent explorer whose name we have just cited, in his studies of Moxos and Chiquitos, always had recourse to the printed and manuscript sources that the Fathers of the Society of Jesus had left us until their banishment in 1767.

What has most interested us in dealing with the modern Americanist science is the subject dealt with by the author: Chiriguano Ethnography, which is to say, the study of the primary material with regard to their language, practices, customs, traditions, beliefs, etc.

Very serious propositions have been adduced on questions which, among uncivilized races, are frequently hidden,/sic/ are an arcanum. Mr. Tarde has said quite correctly: "That which is unseen among primitive people, as among ourselves, is often more essential to take into consideration than what is seen. Thus, what is normally not seen among them, because

/xix cont./

114 it is an impenetrable secret, is what is related to their internal relations, what is going on in the depths of their hearts." Thus, in support of our judgment of the book by the Reverend Father Bernardino de Nino, we have the opinion of the Reverend Father Proberger, who says that "all the missionaries of the Congregation of Cardinal Lavigerie, who preach the Gospel in the region of the Great African Lakes, unanimously state that only after a stay of many years in the midst of those groups of Negroes is it possible to penetrate the mentality and, above all, the psychology of those uncivilized tribes. It seems, thus, that the expansion of civilization to new countries is not possible without the prior study of such peoples, that is, without ethnography."

This science dates from yesterday, being, in its form and in its field of concentration, legitimately called an American science, whose centers of study are the societies such as the "Smithsonian Institution," and others of the American Union. Our Hemisphere is a fertile field for investigation, in which remain remnants of primitive peoples, like the Chiriguano branch with which Father de Nino deals.

To the intelligent contributions which we have previously received from other illustrious Franciscans, the Reverend Fathers Rafael Sanz, Nicolás Armentia, and Fernando de M. Sanjinés, whose works on history, geography, explorations of our rivers, linguistic ethnography, etc., we have published, there is added today the valuable work which we are presenting to the public and which will certainly be appreciated to a high degree by the members of the Congress of 1910.

Now all that is left for us to do, as we have done for the Missionaries Sanz and Armentia, is to set down, although briefly, /xx/ some biographical information about the Reverend Father Bernardino de Nino.

This wise observer of everything concerning the Indians of the reductions which have been in his charge was born August 7th, 1865, in Abrazos Aquilanos. He took his elementary education in his native country, Palacio Peligno. From there he went on to pursue advanced studies and other

/xx cont./

subjects in the Episcopal Seminary of Sucre, where he received the four minor orders initiating him for the priesthood. He entered the Franciscan Order, putting on the habit of a novice in 1886. In 1891 he was ordained a priest and then embarked for our country.

It was in 1893 that he was assigned to the reductions of Chiriguano Indians.

In 1901 he was elected Prefect of Missions, and when the period of six years had elapsed, during which he opened the Missions of the Parapiti Grande, he was elected Vice-Prefect in the year 1907.

The fruit of what he had observed in his career as a catechist began to be known in 1905, with the publication of New Chiriguano /Chiriguano Infant/, to be used in the teaching in the schools of Neuquyrou.

Next, in 1908, he undertook a greater task, writing the continuation of the "Historia de las Missiones de Paraí."

From 1909 to 1911 he wrote the Ethnografía Chiriguana, which is now being published.

In 1911 he made an inspection of the Missions of Tarija, during which he wrote "Ensayo histórico de las Missiones de Paraí" /Historical Essayes of the Paraí Missions/, by order of the Most Reverend Father Commissioner and Delegate General, Father Wolfgango Priewasser, in order that this document might be published in the Archivo Franciscano, which is in the process of being published.

In 1911 he was elected Delegate of the Commissioner in Bolivia for Missions, Convents, and Schools, a post which he held for nine months.

At present, since May, 1915, we have counted /xxx/ on his assistance, entrusting him with editing "Guía del Chaco," which he has studied for such a long time and which is unfamiliar to the general public and deserves to be known.

The aforementioned "Guide," presented by us to the Minister of War and Colonization, will be published very shortly, in accord with the authorization which we have requested.

/cont./

114 This will not be the last thing which we may receive as a contribution from the Missionary Fathers, inasmuch as we expect another addition which we have requested of them: the arts and vocabularies of the native languages of Bolivia which are still spoken by the tribes reduced by the Colegios de Propaganda Fide. Such matters are very fundamental and of primary importance to Americanist investigation, and already, with the support of the distinguished Director of the Museum of La Plata, we have made known the languages of the Yaracaré, Lecos, Tacana, and Cavineño, more of the same are being needed.

We shall leave it to the public to make a judgment on the work which we are presenting to it, not doubting that there is much to learn in it if we wish to know about the life and manner of being of the Indians who dwells in the remote regions of the Republic, on our frontiers with the neighboring States.

La Paz, December 1, 1912.

Manuel Vicente Ballivián /Illustrations appear here./

824 /16 cont./
139
[114]

I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it through experience and careful reading: when describing certain plants, I shall also make note of the use made of the bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall, straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood borer does not damage it: it is much used here in the construction of upper roofs, especially for the braches or trusses on which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less value: it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows, but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the face free of blemishes: here it is known by the name "tundoy."

[342]
[492]
[296]
[515]

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. monliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which reason drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it. It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatano," fire that smells: the wood is yellow.

[372]

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of trees of this class here and there: it is the most abundant tree, the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does not eat it: the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites: the latter call it ubil and the former "Cangas."

[342]
[281]

ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters. Its leaves are dark green: it produces abundant fruit in a sort of pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces

295
277
224

[302]
[302]
[439]

/44 cont./

*136 "Cavadiuno" and which others want to be the nimrono; it is
*825 certain that this small creature, which gets into dwellings, does not go after man, but if it is disturbed and cannot get away, it bites.

The sight of alacranes /a kind of scorpion/, scorpions, and centipedes, which are called "Apesus" in Chiriguano, causes horror; they are not abundant, but they are found in every
• [114] section. Their bite does not seem to be fatal, but one which stung me in the armpit through my woolen underwear did not let me sleep for a whole night, in spite of the ammonia which I took and put on the barely perceptible wound.

*136 Vinchucas /a natural bug like the bedbug/, cockroaches, and a moth which eats paper are loathsome, especially the first two, which are numerous in inhabited places, stink, and dirty all the clothes and the whitewashed walls of buildings. The way to kill them is to destroy the proboscis or long beak, and then they cannot live. They are quite running. In the dark they will first approach a person who is in bed, give him a prick, and then retire to see if he moves or is awake. If the person gives no sign of life, they approach and suck the blood until they are satied. Nevertheless, the small ones are the most bothersome and can cause fever or sickness. They multiply naturally, depositing their eggs anywhere, and the young hatch by themselves. At first the eggs are white, and when the young are about to come out, they become red. Cockroaches abound in certain living quarters where they find food. They even eat the eyebrows and eyelashes of people who are asleep; they lay their eggs in the walls. If these are white-washed, they pull off the whiting and cover their little nests with it. /sic/ out of which can come up to 50 little ones, which ones start to run. The moth only bothers books and papers and is a nuisance for people who have them. Its color is silvery, and I do not know the principle of its multiplication. The vinchucas are black, the cockroaches the color of coffee, and
*[825] none of the three is poisonous. In Chiriguano the vinchuca is called "Tinthoro," or "long nose."

/110 cont./

some explorers and travelers, after having happily concluded their investigative labors, have set down in their reports that the Chiriguano Indians have changed greatly in physique since the whites or Creoles entered their territory, but nothing could be less exact than this. Clandestine unions between Christian men and Chiriguano women have been quite rare, and even rarer are legitimate unions through Catholic marriage, from which generally comes propagation and change in races (7).

> 5. In 30 years of missionary life I have blessed but four marriages between Christian white men and Chiriguano neophytes.

If Señor del Campana states that for a period of 46 years the Chiriguano have maintained themselves without change, on the basis of photographs taken in the year 1880, which were placed at his disposal by Professor Mantegazza, and those which the missionaries of Pimal and Tarija sent in 1890 to the Turin Exposition, among /111/ which was a skull collected by the author of this work in the fields of Carayupa and sold by Señor Guanechiri to the Florence museum, what can be said by some missionaries who have grown old and who are growing old among these Indians and who know the race in old men and in young boys, in old women and in decrepit, before and after the white Christians were introduced to number?

In my judgment the said change does not exist, because an occasional isolated case, an occasional family, where the mixture of the two races has taken place, cannot be adduced as proof that the physique of the race has varied greatly. Travelers and explorers pass through a region rapidly; they can devote little time to the study of a race, and consequently their written reports, worthy of all respect, are somewhat exaggerated, as were those of the Spaniards

/111 cont./
who conquered Mexico and Peru (1).

1. Guillermo Robertson. Historia de América desde el descubrimiento hasta antes de la Independencia /History of America from the Discovery to before Independence/. Travelers exaggerate their stories in order to attract more attention.

There are extensive areas where mixture of the two races was frequent, but it must be pointed out that in these areas the children of such have ceased to be Chiriguano, both because of the Spanish language, which they now speak perfectly, and the color, which is completely different: it is no longer parchment, as Father Cardo states, but a skin which is up to a certain point fine and velvetlike, so that for this class of persons who descend from white and Chiriguano the appropriate name is mestizo and not Chiriguano, and consequently the physical characteristics of the race have not changed. In these same areas families which have kept pure Chiriguano blood are not rare, and these families, or the individuals which make them up, have the same characteristics as other Chiriguanos, without any noteworthy difference (1).

1. From the left bank of the Parapiti River northward this radical change is taking place, making the race disappear.

On the contrary, in the great Chiriguano centers, such as all the missions and a few other areas outside of them, the physique of the native has not changed at all. As a rule their stature does not reach one meter and 70 centimeters in men, and rare are the women who reach 1.60; the hair is black, glossy, and coarse, and very vigorous in

/121 cont./

Love for the Home

574
152

When someone has been away from his town for a long time and returns, he is received with much love. He enters his house without saying a word, and if he arrives at night, to the question of "Who is it?" he merely answers "Checo," "It's me," and then those in the house begin to cry or give shrieks of joy which may last for five minutes, and soon they give him something to eat and the
• [114] questions and answers begin. I witnessed this without being seen one night in Parapiti at the San Antonio Mission.

152
591
169
186

It is not rare that once in a while a smaller or greater proportion of Indians temporarily leave their town, either because of scarcity or in order to avoid the anger or ill will of the cacique. They then go away with considerable unhappiness, and they go into exile like Hagar /122/ with her son Ishmael when they were ordered out by the patriarch Abraham. They cry as they leave, they cry along the way, they cry upon arriving in the land that receives them, where, in spite of the good reception which has been prepared for them by other people, they do not find peace, and they always sigh for their home.

When they decide that in their former dwelling place things may have changed, or that the cacique who is responsible for their misfortune and exile may have disappeared from among the living, they return (1). In Yvu, where

> 1. The Indian Cayuguari, because of a crime committed in Macharetti, fled with a group of Indian friends and relatives, settled quite far away to the northeast of Caranda'iti, and, as the cacique whom he offended is still alive and as furthermore Cayuguari began a life of cattle rustling, he never returned to his town.

the war of Curuyuqui (1892) occurred when the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, all those Indians who had taken part in the uprising were wandering about in

/130 cont./

776 What I am going to set down here will cast some light on this subject and will enlighten the intelligence of the studious man for its investigation.

124 776 From conversations with the true Chiriguanos it is impossible to form any idea of the supreme being that they accept. I say true Chiriguanos, by which I mean those who have had almost no contact with missionaries or whites. Today it is difficult to find one of these. Yet despite this, if one should ask the old people who live far from the missions, "Who made all that we see?" they answer, "Quia ndipó?" Who can it be? "Who created us?" They answer: "Ti! Ndicuaá á?" What do you mean? Do you not know? And they give a purely material explanation, as happened on an exploration and trip that I made several years ago in the company of other missionaries south of the canton or town of Huacaya, where I talked with an old cacique who had taken part in the war of 1875 against Igüembe and who, after the pacification, preferred to live outside the mission and planned to die there, because he is convinced that Indians who live in missions die earlier, just as, according to him, all of his companions from Boicovo have already died, which is not true, because they still are alive there, as old as he is (1).

790 179 829 114

> 1. The Indians have had and will continue to have the false and erroneous idea that baptism makes those who receive it die, because it is administered to men and women who are in immediate danger of death, and hence those who are old do not wish to be baptized when they are enjoying good health.

192 In the Chiriguano language we find the word Tunpa, which means "superior being" or "marvelous being." When for the first time they saw a large clock with its "tick, tock" and the pendulum making the hands move and giving energy to the hammer to strike the hours with its little bell or wire string, when they saw for the first time the photographic camera which reproduced the image of one or more of them, the clock and camera were Tunpa for the Chiriguano. They applied this word to both things.

/132 cont./

793 purpose, thought up another supreme effort, making fall from the heavens torrential rains, Iporu (2), in order to destroy the Chiriguano

[192]

2. I means water, and its pronunciation is gutteral and nasal; poru means to lend oneself /prestarse/; thus, Iporu is explained literallyt he lent himself to water /se prestó agua/.

race completely inundating all men in the waters.

He would have succeeded in destroying all the Chiriguano, but they in extremity and perhaps by advice from the true God, Tunpaete, found a large gourd, Choguao, put in it two small human beings, children of the same mother, male and female, cuimbae, cuña, and they let the little vessel float on the surface of the water.

The rain continued to fall in all its force. The waters rose over the surface of the land, rising to great heights, and drowned all the Chiriguano except the children in the Choguao, or large gourd, who were saved from the catastrophe. Later it ceased raining, and the waters dried up again, leaving a thoroughly filthy mud. The children came out of their receptacle, without which they would have died of cold and hunger.

It can be easily understood that the fish and their kind did not perish in the waters of the Iporu, and thus for a long time these had to be the food of the two human beings, but how to cook them, when even fire had disappeared? Before this happened, there was another compassionate being who did not permit the total loss of this good element. This being or second cause was the Cururu, toad (3).

[192]

3. The word Cururu should not be confused with Curu, which means mange. From Curu comes Cururuyuqui, salt which cures mange. The pacifiers of the war of 1892 wrote incorrectly Cururuyuqui.

[114]

/153 cont./

756
278

and does not know how to do it goes to the sorceresses, pays them, and obtains it.

This seems to be a fable which in itself does not merit any importance, as indeed it is not given any by Father Giannecchini, who does not deny it in his writings, as Señor del Campano states. Poison exists among the Chiriguano. They do not extract it from chamico, which is a species of datura, nor do they extract it from other plants or herbs. The sorcerers reveal nothing; the young people do not know about it, and the few old people who are alive only tell what has been said above. Be that as it may, this is a belief of the tribe, and as such I have told it.

Lunar Eclipse

82.1 One night while waiting for a lunar eclipse, I found myself in conversation with the cacique Anduari of the mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu, and I was reminded of something which I remembered regarding this phenomenon which was about to occur on the moon. Chiriguano towns are true bells during an eclipse, because of the shouts, cries, whistles, and every warlike instrument which they use to make noise. When I came to the missions, /154/ the war of Curuyuqui had just happened, and when I heard so much and such an extraordinary hubbub on the night of an eclipse, I believed that it was a new uprising, as was also believed by the inhabitants of Cuevo, who came out armed to find out the cause of so much noise (1).

[114]
[648]

301
533
114

1. The Italian professor Mantegazza states that the Chiriguano, in order to whistle loudly, take out the tembeta or button which they have in their lower lip. This is incorrect and denied by all; what the renowned anthropologist refers to must be a special case, since they cannot even drink without the button.

/155 cont./

993 S21 As the Chiriguano had predicted, the jaguar very soon began to put into practice in the heights of the moon its natural inclination to kill and eat defenseless beings. Its peaceful, compassionate, and defenseless liberator lost itself marvelously to its voracity, and the tiger attacked it, but the moon came crying to the inhabitants of the earth, to the Chiriguano, calling them to its defense, if they did not wish to remain eternally in the dark (1).

1. If the eclipse is total, they believe that the jaguar has swallowed the moon whole; if it is partial, this is because it did not have time to swallow it.

The Indians, despite the bad deed that the moon had done against them, and more for their convenience than out of compassion, came out of their towns en masse, some with drums others with whistles, and others with the horns of cows and bulls; they frightened off the Yagua rapih, yellow jaguar, who out of fear of the Chiriguano, remembering what had happened to it, desisted from its intention, and since then, every time a lunar eclipse occurs, they do the same thing. The fabulous belief passes from the old to the young, from grandfathers to grandsons.

● 114 S21 On a bright moonlit night the missionary was sleeping peacefully in the Ivo mission, and the moon was obscured by a total eclipse. This was during the month of June in 1909. The missionary did not know the language, and I was absent. The [191] children, who spoke a little Spanish, in their desire for the missionary to see the phenomenon of the eclipse, awakened him with a great uproar, shouting to him: Jaguar is eating moon (2).

2. They say nothing of the eclipse, total or partial, of the sun, doubtless because it occurs very rarely; the old people have but an obscure idea of this phenomenon.

/156 cont./

361 or five Chiriguano tribes at that distance. The only large town that I found on my travels is Mombirai, which is joined to Chuvari guazu on the left bank of the Paraguay. I know Cuirimandi, where I often slept; the Indians are many, but they live in different places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (7).

[114] [62]

797 619 361

2. The beautiful Sara Ibna Miaim was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place given them by the missionary. In Tumbá there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique

622

Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /155/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple: when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the governor to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

[231] [243]

1. In each tribe there is but one cacique; many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

[262] [273]

At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep or rest in their houses, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

/187 cont./

301 buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions.
302 The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicuana
[199] /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feast
in the presence of his companions (1).

[199]
[114]
[121]

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbía had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter
294 is woven by them themselves with palm leaves. Carandai;
285 they bring them from the places where they are abundant, Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they trick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect
292 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older
554 Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (?).

291 2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap,
302 the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of
304 long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in
178 few places now, and the straw hat is being

/196 cont./

301 Indian youth who cannot sport a bead necklace make them out of shell, Yetita, which is abundant throughout the region.

[321] /197/ The pieces are flat and round like a small button. They make a hole in the middle and string them one by one, making a knot in the string in order to separate them. Since the shells are white, a necklace on a Chiriguano's black neck is like a fly in milk (1).

[562] 1. The shell necklace is worn solely by men. I checked carefully and saw that they alone wear it. I have several of them that I found in a grave which was uncovered by the rain.

301 562 For men there is another necklace of beads, Ndamicha; a string of these with a large one in the middle, Ndamicha ichi, mother of the beads, is valuable. The ndamicha even comes mounted in the hole of the tembeta, which then is valuable and is called Ndamicha-tembeta, tembeta with bead.

• 114 301 562 It seems that the explorer and expeditionist Tonar is not completely correct when he says that these necklaces are made of coralline, malachite, etc. The Indians do not tell where they come from. Perhaps with careful analysis it could be learned what type of material they contain and which animal produces them naturally, such as the coralline. What is beyond doubt is that today's explorers do not give them the value that they would have if they were true pearls. The former value of beads among the Indians themselves was, as I have said, conventional. The same gentleman is not entirely correct when he states that the Chiriguano women wore shell necklaces. Perhaps they were used by the Tapiì women, where he stayed for a long time in his efforts to see Olympus from Inazo.

301 562 Women's necklaces are abundant and are of different forms and colors. Some are round and black, Mboinu, companion of beads, others red and curly, Mboichanchi, curly beads, and others long and black, Sebadilla. There is also no lack of women who in addition to the above-mentioned ornaments place around their necks a string of silver coins, all of the same size.

/214/

753 had asked for her as his wife, a proposal which had not been
754 accepted: but it must be noted that the Indians attribute every death to sorcery.

765 The loss of this child was greatly mourned by relatives
[964] and others, and her parents, who loved her very much, burned all of the clothes and things that she had, in addition to having buried with her the best and abundant clothing which her father had just brought her from the Argentine Republic. The girl had three donkeys which had been given to her by her father. They sold them in order not to see them any more, in order not to be reminded of their late daughter each moment and immediately weep.

855 I have related this event so that my readers may know
765 that the Chiriguano love their children whether male or female, so that they may see the grief they feel, and so that they may know that in case of hydrophobia the medicine which I administered to the girls Ana and Delina is a good remedy: after the last fever they are now completely well (1).

• 114

1. If some new missionary or other reader may not know of it, let them now know that ammonia drunk as drops in water and placed on snake bites and bites of other poisonous animals or insects is very efficacious. In ignorance of having been bitten by a spider, I suffered the consequences for seven months and got well as soon as I applied ammonia to it. For another bite I used ink very efficaciously: it is enough to paint the bitten part with it.

Deformed Children

845 It is not easy to ascertain why the Chiriguano kill their
849 children who are born deformed. Some writers have stated
732 that they do it so that all will be valiant warriors, but this reason is not satisfactory because deformed women are not found either, and certainly women are not good for war.

/[illegible]/

304 [illegible] 881 same operation, because he never takes one alone. There must always be two, four, six, eight, or ten (?).

[801] 2. In a town of 30 or 40 families there was usually never any lack of boys of the same age. The number of the boys to be pierced should never be an odd number: superstition and nothing else.

304 [illegible] 881 The boys appear for the operation on the designated day, led by their fathers and mothers. Meanwhile, other curious persons gather there, men, women, boys, and girls, to see [985] [114] and /[illegible]/ attend this solemn act, which, as I have learned, is not preceded by any day of fastings; thus what certain writers have said in this regard is wrong, as is the rest that refers to the person who does the operation, for whom the qualification of being an [illegible], moreover, is not required for the imposition of the tembeta.

Before beginning the operation the surgeon authoritatively addresses those who are to be men, telling them to be valiant and strong in their pain, without letting their moans be heard or crying, because these are not the signs of a brave man, of a man who wears the tembeta, which is the sign of virility, of [195] a man who must be able to face the dangers of war. Finally, he orders them that it is time to give up the [illegible], [illegible] in their answers, and in its place he orders them to replace it with [illegible].

When this brief and eloquent discourse is over, the first boy stretches out on the ground or on a cot, and in order to give himself courage he says in a vibrant voice, Che ravi tayicutuca, may I be the first to be pierced, words which are greeted by the gathering with jubilation and at the same time with wonder, since they already know the pain that he is going to suffer (1).

[195] [193] 1. The Chiriguano Indian also uses the imperative to order himself, that is to say, his verbs still have the first person of the imperative mood, which indicates considerable arrogance.

/300 cont./

[304] [297] [304] Then the one doing the operation looks among his implements for the string with which he takes the exact measurements so that the hole will be in the middle and above the [304] [313] [301] [114] [301] [301] [301

Ro Mission M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/The text/

If the missionary goes into the forest and goes among the heathens in the name of Christ, he teaches them to love him and to know him, and, like his divine Master, he is compassionate toward the afflicted and toward those who are suffering. Like him, he does not close his ear to one who asks for charity, but divides what he has with the hungry, dresses the naked, and, when he has nothing else, at least has soothing words to console the sad. This is the life of the missionary, which, by great effort and much perspiration, is gradually transforming the places and the hearts of the inhabitants of this region, into which civilization has come through him. Oh, how the Supreme Government and the inhabitants of Bolivia should appreciate him, both of them, because of his work of moral and political civilization! But even should men not recognize this, his eternal reward will be greater (2). /Illustration appears here./

1. The work of the missionaries is greatly appreciated in Europe. Some governments exempt them from military service and give them free passage on ships and railways. This is even done by the anti-christ of Catholicism. The missionary of San Buenaventura de Ivu /the author/ has been exempted from military service by the Italian Government.

4: Nino--423 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF16
Chane SF8
TM?C

C 121 122 /313 cont./

If the Supreme Government and the friends who have helped me in this first edition continue to provide me with their considerable support, I plan to return to the region, to make better studies, to get certain data about the other tribes, to get views and panoramas with photographic cameras, and then bring out a second, more polished edition.

C 131 [114] Since, however, through my nomination as a Corresponding Member of the Geographical Society of this city of La Paz, I am making studies appropriate to this science, I shall set down in these pages the approximate geographical degree occupied by the known tribes which populate the extensive zone of the Bolivian Chaco.

The Chiriguano Indians are numerous from 18° 50' to 22° latitude south of the Paris meridian and from 65° to 66° 50' west longitude. However, small groups can be found at 17° 20' latitude and other groups at 22° 25' toward the south of present-day Yacuiba (?).

> 2. I follow the Paris meridian in placing the tribes because in the body of the work I have used the same to indicate the location of the Cayuguari Indians.

C 121 /314/ The reader who has accompanied me as far as these lines will have quite a clear idea of the Chiriguano Indians, their language, customs, and beliefs, and consequently I have nothing to add with regard to them, because this would be a repetition of what I have said. I shall say something about the others, so that Bolivians and foreigners may know the Indians with whom they are to deal.

Tapúi or Isoseños

Ce 161 131 The Tapúi Indians are as many as 2,000 between children and adults; they occupy both banks of the Parapiti River at 19° and 19° 50' latitude and 62° 20' to 65° longitude from the Paris meridian.

Introduction.

In Part I of this work I sought by a new method to analyse the material culture of two Indian tribes the Chorotí and Ashluslay. In the introduction to the aforesaid work I explained the method employed. In Part II I have sought by the same method to make an ethno-geographical analysis of the civilisation of two other Indian tribes. These are the Chiriguano and Chané, who dwell in the southeastmost part of Bolivia and northernmost Argentina. The Chiriguano are Guarani Indians, while the Chané are Guaycuruan Arawaks[1]). They thus belong to two of the most important tribal groups in all America. Their civilisation is already well known, thanks to the missionaries who have worked and still work among them. Their works are referred to in the bibliography. The most important are those by Cordado and Nino. Dez. Campana wrote a monograph on the Chiriguano based on information supplied by missionaries. We also find mention of the Chiriguano in many older works. The information they give on of their manners and customs is unfortunately scanty. It is, indeed, only in Lozano, Cardiel, Viedma, Lozano and one or two of the Lettras anuas that we find any useful matter.

Serrano y Sanz wrote an excellent work on the post-Columbian history of the Chiriguano. Otten has written about their pottery. Lehmann-Nitsche has dealt with their physical anthropology. Works on their languages have been published by several missionaries. I visited these

[1]) Vide Stromberg (8).

C
1194

Indians in the years 1908, 1909 and 1913, and spent in all 2 to 3 months studying them. In my book «Indianliv» I gave a popular account of them as I got to know them during the Hemmorch expedition in 1908 and 1909. In my last book of travel «Vandringar och äventyr i Sydamerika» there is some information about the Chiriguano. I have brought home to Sweden from the Chiriguano and Chané about 1500 articles which are now in the Etnografiska Museum of Stockholm and in the Gothenburg Museum. In the Geographical Review I wrote a short article on the migrations of the Chiriguano Indians.

C
CC
1227

C
CC
12
194

A close study of the Chiriguano and Chané civilisation by the ethno-geographical method affords points of special interest, since their mode of life is rather well known, and we are able to trace their history back to the beginning of the 16th century. I have also collected archaeological material from their region. At first I was minded to give an account of this, too, in the present work. I decided, however, that it would be better here only to mention individual finds by the way, and to leave the archaeological material for another publication in which I shall be able also to publish certain archaeological finds made in other parts of Bolivia. This for purely practical reasons.

C
CC
121

I will here endeavour to make clear how the Guarani-speaking Chiriguano's and the Guaranised Chané' civilisations are compound, what culture-elements they have got from the Whites and from the Mountain civilisation in the west, what each brought to the common stock and what they possibly obtained from other quarters.

In this analysis of Chiriguano and Chané manners and customs, I do not intend properly to examine the question as to whence these Indians came to their present abodes. Broadly speaking we know that already. Respecting the Chiriguano migrations there are historical documents extant which evidently show that it was not until the beginning of the 16th century that these Indians conquered

C
175
6-02
1-17

the tracts they now occupy.[1] They drove out or subjugated the original population, which consisted chiefly of Chaco Indians. They made slaves of a great number of them and acquired a great number of women.

The Chaco are, as was mentioned, Arawaks and all indications point to their having come from the north or north-east, where they have large numbers of kindred. It will be found that the present investigation confirms this. A matter of particular interest in this connection is to see how have two peoples belonging to the most important groups of tribes in all America made adaptations to their mode of life when they had emigrated to places with strange natural conditions. Again, it is worthy of note how their civilization was transformed and the influence of the Incan age civilization in the west and eastwards under the influence of the White. Further we shall see what they have, under their new conditions, been able to preserve of their original civilization. We shall gain insight into the way in which the civilization of two Indian tribes was transformed under the influence of other peoples and new natural conditions.

As in Part I, I deal chiefly with the material side of Chaco Indians' life. Or rather, everything in their life which

1. [illegible]

2. Strange, having his opinion on Cabeza and Ayrumana, he assumed that the Chiriguano invaded the Inca Indies earlier than the beginning of the 16th century. But even if his assumption is correct, Chaco Indians had to an destructive then. This is evident from the accounts of the invasion in the 16th century, when the Chiriguano appeared, what was everywhere an original story. Yet do we know whether by Chiriguano the Inca did not mean barbaric tribes of the Chaco in general, and not any particular tribe. In these parts Chiriguano probably corresponded to the signification that Chaco had in the district of Cuzco, where it meant all sorts of barbaric Indian tribes east of the Andes. The Chiriguano that Cabeza de Vaca and Ayrumana speak of need by no means have been Tupinambá Indians. I have already pointed out (Characteristics 13) that Cabeza's description of the Chiriguano is absolutely irreconcilable.

the earth-plastering of huts is here an original Indian
idea. I have attempted to indicate on a map the distri-
butions of huts with earth-plastered walls, but I refrain
from publishing it because, in the majority of cases, I can-
not ascertain whether the Indians learned from the Whites
to plaster their huts. Huts with earth-plastered walls
are found among the Indians around Rosario in Gui-
ana[1] and among the Ipurí in Colombia. The Indians at
Urquiñí used to have such huts, and Orbigny[2] mentions them
from the Chiquito etc. Earth-plastered mortise huts are
also common in the Kurgan valley in Siberia.

The Chaná on the Río Uruguay, but not those on the
Río Paraná, and the Chiriguano have outer-huts on piles.[3]
Occasionally the huts and dwelling-house are combined in
such wise that the people live on the ground-floor and store
their maize on the first above. During my travels I have
only once found on piles among the Bitaco-Colmay (one
only), Matacos Vejos, and the Chorotis (one only). Some
Guaicurú huts between the Río Chaqueo and Cochabamba
are built on piles. I scarcely think these are original, how-
ever.

Jimenez Lemoyne has written a treatise on pile-
buildings all over the world. He mentions there their oc-
currence among several tribes in northern S. America, which
are shown on the map below. The village on piles from
La Plata mentioned by Lemoyne after Hervas is, of
course, not Indian; nor are the huts from the Argentine

[1] Im Thurn.
[2] Orbigny (a), P. 99.
[3] Guasco P. 159. Cardenas, P. 308.
[4] Orbigny (a) P. 99.
[5] Clearly Lehmann (P. 109) speaks of the main-huts of the Chiriguano: «Los dormitorios en el hablo, «ano fuera, los equidos [illegible] que [illegible] de [illegible] (pieza o un cuarto [illegible] de [illegible] de [illegible], [illegible] de [illegible] de [illegible]).»

Fuegan in which the corn is stored to protect it from bears.

The above-mentioned village and bears I have, therefore, left out of my map. FRITZ SCHMIDT[1]) mentions pile-buildings from other tribes too.

FRITZSCHE[2]) has also collected numerous statements relating to the occurrence of pile-dwellings in S. America from the works of older writers.

The table and map, which follow show the distribution of pile-buildings in S. America according to LEMANN, FRITZSCHE and FRITZ SCHMIDT, together with some additions and corrections.

On the accompanying map I have merely indicated those which were certainly to be of Indian origin. Those mentioned at the end of the 15th century, as well as those from the 16th are no undoubtedly. I am convinced that the pile-buildings of the Chaná and Chiriguano are genuinely Indian, as nowhere in this region do the Whites possess such bears. Their geographical distribution leads us to presume their genuinely Indian origin, as also that they are a culture-element which came to these Indians from the swamps of Mojos, and that they here are an Arawak culture-element too. The use of pile-buildings on hard ground is quite comprehensible to me, as they offer great advantages, whether used for bears or dwelling-houses. The idea must have come, however, from some marshy tract or from a sea-coast where the inhabitants were dependent on ebb and flood tides. In the cases where a people employ pile-buildings on hard ground which is not liable to floods, it is due, as a rule, to conservative ideas — the mode of building to which they were accustomed in their former dwelling-places has become indispensable.

---

1) P. [illegible].
2) (a) P. [illegible]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5, (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

e
ce
*171
342
343
114
c
ce
[417]

The notion that the pile-buildings employed as barns are here of different origin from those used as dwelling-houses, is unlikely. There is nothing in the geographical distribution to support this idea.

Outside their barns the Chiriguano and Chané have ladders consisting of logs in which steps have been hewn.

Table 1.

Pile buildings. Map. 1.

e
ce
*171
342
343
102
s
102
342

4. Chiriguano.
5. Chané.
6. Mataco-Vejos. Have evidently copied the Chané barns.
18. Quichua.
25. Mojo, MARBAN P. 132. Cooking-shed.
39. Goijiro, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064. (after ERNST); Parauhano, JAHN.
47. Indians Roraima: Wapisiana, Arecuna, Macusi, Patamona. PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064; THULIN.
62. Chacobo.
68. Omagua. »Hicieron los indios dentro de sus mismas casas unos tablados de madera, que ellos llaman Iuzas y encima de ellos estuvimos tres meses, que fueron los de Abril, Mayo y Junio con más de seis palmos de agua debajo.
Entraban y salian las canoas dentro de las casas, y de noche quedaban de bajo de los tablados.» LAUREANO DE LA CRUZ P. 8; [MARONI] Vol. XXX, P. 197.
01. Indians on the west coast of Columbia. PIZARRO P. 204; CIEZA DE LEON (1) P. 95; OVIEDO T. 3. P. 8; ANDAGOYA P. 76; ROBLEDO P. 277.
3 F. Barbacóa, RIVET (4) AND VERNEAU P. 39.
4 F. Indians on and near Lake Maracaibo. NAVARRETE T. III. P. 8; »A quatro dias llegaron à un pueblo de güerigue-

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
244

water-melons, melons, figs, tuna[1]), oranges, cotton, millet, and reeds for arrow-shafts.

Ce
247
[245]
C
Ce
[244]
C
Ce
[177]
[262]

Bananas are not cultivated. Among the Chané at the Rio Parapiti the sweet-potato is the most important cultivated plant. Of the plants mentioned, the sugar-cane, the melon, the watermelon, the fig, the orange and the millet are not American. All those cultivated plants which have been introduced by Europeans are of slight importance to the Indians. I have never seen mandioca cultivated, but I have heard that it is to be met with in the fields of these Indians. As a staple food of the people it is of no importance here.

C
Ce
412
177

Iron spades bought from the Whites are the tools employed nowadays. Very occasionally one still sees wooden spades. In Part I I have published a map of the geographical distribution of the spade.

The spade in S. America is evidently a western element of culture, i. e. the idea of fitting on a more or less broad blade to the lower part of the digging-stick is plainly derived from the western area of civilization.

Whence the Chiriguano got the idea of the shapely handles I do not know. They are too shapely for the art to have been derived from the Whites. They have obviously a long evolution behind them, and it is very probable that they had their origin in the Mountain area of civilization.

Hoes with iron blades occur. The Indians have got them from the Whites. I have not seen any primitive hoes, although we are here on the border of the area of distribution of the genuine American hoe[2]).

The Chiriguano and Chané use a small implement for removing the corn from the corn-cobs which I have described in Part I. P. 32.

---

[1]) Opuntia.

C
Ce
[114]

[2]) It is incorrect to affirm, as Wissler does, (P. 25) that the hoe was unknown in S. America. Incas had hoes and they are found still among the Quichua.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
418
114
177
171

In a weighty article E. von Rosen (3) has criticised my opinion that the pellet-bow was possibly brought from India to S. America by Portuguese sailors in post-Columbian times. He is quite correct in the statement that the thick part in the middle of the bow is not for strength-

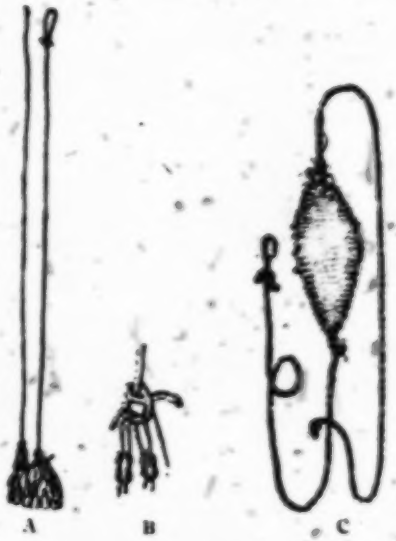


Fig. 7. Slings.

A Chané, Rio Parapitl. 1/12. R. M. P. 293.
B Detail of A. 1/2.
C Chiriguano. 1/3. R. M. E. 168.

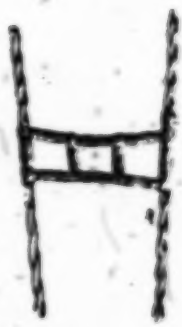


Fig. 8. Detail of pellet-bow. Rest for the pellet. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 591 1/2

ening but is merely for better grip. This holds concerning both the Asiatic pellet-bows and some of the American. This contrivance is practical but not indispensable. It is certainly not little toy-bows alone that have not got it. It is quite wanting on the pellet-bows of the Choroti, Ashluslay, Tapiete, Mataco and Yuracáre. Presuming that the pellet-bow in S. America is of Asiatic origin, it is evident that the Indians who first learnt the use of the pellet-bow

StNordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee 411 177 171* 114

from the Portuguese have kept its Asiatic shape, while the tribes that received it later have made pellet-bows more like their usual bows.

Von Rosen puts forward the supposition that the S. American pellet-bow may be an imitation of the European crossbow. This is supported by the fact that the pellet-rests on some S. American pellet-bows (fig. 8) and the pellet-rests on some European crossbows are very similar. This similarity is extremely noteworthy. Still, I deem it unlikely that Indians should have hit on the use of pellet-bows because they had seen Portuguese crossbows — especially as I am not aware that the Portuguese in S. America used bullets for their crossbows. In any case the pellet-bow in S. America would be a post-Columbian culture-element.

C [192]

It is quite true that some Indians, e. g. the Choroti and Ashluslay have their own words for pellet-bow. But it is a common thing for some Indian tribes to have coined words to denote objects introduced by Europeans. On the other hand, it never happens that the Indians that still speak their own language lack native words for objects which are plainly pre-Columbian with them. It is therefore of primary importance for the settlement of the question as to whether the pellet-bow was introduced in post-Columbian times to note the fact that several tribes lack native words for the pellet-bow, calling it »bodoque».[1])

C Ee 177 411 171*

The Chané call it »boroque». I am not acquainted with any Chiriguano name for it. A circumstance that speaks in favour of the pellet-bow being a post-Columbian culture-element is the fact that these bows are unknown in Peru, in Central America, and in Mexico, that is to say, in the cultural zones proper. There are not many of the elaborate culture-elements in S. America that have been unknown to

[1]) From the Portuguese.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
441
177
*171

the most civilized tribes and only known to the tribes east of the Andes. This applies especially to those cultural elements that are of little or no importance in the struggle for existence. The pellet-bow is the only weapon of any importance which, as far as is known, was unknown in all the seats of higher civilization in America. If the pellet-bow is an original American invention, it must have been invented by a comparatively uncivilized tribe.

C
Ce
441
*171

The pellet-bow is nowhere in S. America of any great importance as a hunting weapon. The heavy hand of necessity has never spurred the Indians into making an invention of this kind.

C
Ce
441
*171
114

FRIEDERICI has pointed out to me in a letter that in MARTYR »De orbe novo» there is a statement about bows from the coast of Venezuela used by boys for shooting with pellets of clay or wax. This is plainly the same statement as GOMARA's that I quoted in Part I. MARTYR's statement is in the Eighth Decade, where he complains, that his memory was beginning to fail him. I believe there must be some misapprehension on MARTYR's part, and that the pellets in question were arrows with thickened heads of wax or wood. MARTYR cannot refer to pellets thrown by hand, as he plainly speaks of bows. It is not likely that wax pellets were used for clay pellet-bows, but, on the other hand, it is not at all unusual that arrows used in play should have thickened wax heads. Arrows of this kind have been brought from the Ijca in Colombia by BOLINDER. The pellet-bow is mentioned neither by missionaries nor by any modern authors as occurring in Venezuela or any other part of northern S. America. It is extremely unlikely that this desirable toy weapon should have existed there at the beginning of the 15th century and then entirely vanished. Such an isolated occurrence would be most peculiar and unusual.

C
Ce
441
*[171]

The clubs (fig.9) that I have seen among the Chiriguano and Chané have not always clearly defined heads like those of the Chorote and Ashluslay.

5:Nordenskiöld E-S (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
223
*171
C
Ce
223
224
*171
114

my travels. Though rather an extensive collection, it is quite insufficient for comparative researches.

The bird-nets used for hunting, occasionally found among (4) the Chiriguano, are of great interest (fig. 13 and map 4). I have not seen hunting nets elsewhere. Bird-nets are mentioned by several writers from the Alakaluf. These Indians and the Chonos were also acquainted with seal-nets. The statements in literature about these nets are to be found in COOPER'S[1]) excellent work. CREVAUX speaks of hunting nets from (4S) the Miraña[2]). UHLE[3]) mentions finds of the kind in Atacama. JOYCE[4]) speaks of nets that were used for hunting deer and birds on the coast of Peru. He depicts a very interesting earthenware vessel found at Trujillo representing a deer-hunt in which the huntsmen used the throwing stick and the hunting net. COBO[5]) speaks of bird-nets from the Inca. PALOMINO[6]) mentions nets used for deer-hunting from Chuquimayo in northern Peru. Hunting-nets are also mentioned by ORTIGUERA[7]) and by the author of Jornada de Omagua y Dorado[8]) from the Aruaquinos on the Amazon. From what OVIEDO Y VALDES[9]) says, the Indians also used hunting nets on the Rio Orinoco. GOMARA[10]) mentions nets from Cumaná in which ant-eaters were caught.

---

[1]) P. 190.

[2]) After DENIKER (2) P. 640. »Quoique vivant sur les bords de rivières poissoneuses, ils ne pêchent point et se bornent à chasser comme les anciens Quichua à l'aide de filets tendus entre les arbres, dans lesquels ils poussent, à force de cris et de gestes, les bêtes effarouchées.»

[3]) (5) P. 100.

[4]) (1) P. 124.

[5]) T. 4, P. 225.

[6]) P. XLVIII.

[7]) P. 370.

[8]) P. 448.

[9]) T. 2, P. 221. »Toman codorniçes y conexos y tórtolas en mucha cantidad con laços y redes: assi tambien zorras y raposos, como muchos puercos salvajes de los que llaman *vaquiras*.»

[10]) P. 206.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

SUAREZ DE CEPEDA[1]) in his most interesting treatise on the Colima-Indians in Columbia, tells us that they tried to catch comets, which they imagined to be birds, with nets which they placed in their fields. This seems to prove that these Indians knew the use of bird nets. CASTELLANOS[2]) states that the Indians in the valley of the Patia (in southern Columbia) tried to catch the Spaniards' horses with nets. Most all of these authors who speak of the hunting net belong to the sixteenth century. This should give those who are doing work like mine some food for reflection. It proves how perfectly indispensable this old literature is as a means of learning the ethnology of the S. American Indians. *How imperfect a map of this kind would have been without the old literature!* One may ask why hunting nets are so scarce now. This is apparently owing to the fact that in most places where hunting nets have been in use the Indians have lost their original civilization. The above authors not having given us a detailed description of the nets, we do not know if they resemble those used by the Chiriguano. We are not even always told what was caught in these hunting nets.

The deer-nets used on the Peruvian coast were of course considerably larger than the nets used here. Their shape also was quite different. The Chiriguano nets are clap-nets and are used in the following way. The net is spread on the ground at a spot where there are plenty of pigeons. The pigeons are decoyed with maize to settle between the two halves of the net. A string runs from the net to a fowler

---

[1]) P. 317. »Los rrayos que se estienden y esparcen de la cola ó cabeça de la cometa dizen que son plumas y pelos del paxaro que yendo bolando las vá despidiendo para fin de las cosas que viene á acabar: y para mitigar y rregalar la yra de la furia atajando por algun buen medio ..... y en sus labranças arman unas rredes de hilo muy de proposito estas dizen que son para enrredar y caçar en ellas la pobre cometa.»

[2]) P. 457.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

V.

Fishing tackle.

C
Ce
226

Three methods of fishing are known to the Chirignano and Chané with, moreover, a northerly distribution. These methods are the use of the fish-spear or fishgig, the use of many pointed arrows, and fishing with poison.

C
Ce
*171
114
226
411

I have not seen the fishspear among the Chiriguano. ERIC VON ROSEN[1]), however, depicts one from this tribe which is preserved in the Riksmuseum in Stockholm. Something like it from these Indians is mentioned by ACOSTA[2]).

The Guarayú[3]) spear eels with two single-pointed spears of »chonta». According to EDER[4]) the Mojo used fish-spears with three points. They did their spearing by torchlight and fixed the torches in the prow of their canoes. According to FREIREISS[5]) the Coroados had double-pointed fish-spears. KOCH-GRÜNBERG[6]) mentions triple-pointed fish-gigs from the Huhúteni and other Indians in northwestern Brazil. The Indians in the northwest of Brazil also fish by torchlight. The Indians at Lago Titicaca[7]) use triple-point-

C
Ce
226
*171
411

[1]) (1) Pl. XIV.

[2]) T. I, P. 236 »Otro género de pesca vi, á que me llevó el Virey Don Francisco de Toledo; verdad es, que no era en mar, sino en un rio, que llaman el Rio Grande, en la Provincia de los Charcas, donde unos Chiriguanas se zabullian debajo del agua, y nadando con admirable presteza seguian los peces y con unas fiscas, ó harpones que llevaban en la mano derecha, nadando solo con la izquierda herian el pescado, y asi atrevesado lo sacaban arriba, que cierto parecian ellos ser mas peces, que hombres de la tierra.»

[3]) NORDENSKIÖLD (9) P. 177.

[4]) P. 301.

[5]) P. 271.

[6]) (2) T. 2, P. 34, Fig. 9. See also WHIFFEN P. 113.

[7]) NEVEU-LEMAIRE P. 73.

SrNordenskiöld E-5,6(1908-1909, 1913) 1950
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane

VII.

Tools.

C 412 [1114]

With the exception of bone awls the Chiriguano Indians of to-day have no genuinely Indian tools. Bone awls which I have already dealt with in part I very rarely occur among the Chiriguano. I omitted to mention this in the German edition of Part I.

VIII.

Fire-making.

C 372

Once only have I seen a Chiriguano Indian making fire by wood friction. He had forgotten his matches. Flint-and-steel are also seldom seen among these Indians now-a-days. In my collection there is a cotton-plaiting, in a wooden pocket from the Chiriguano. The Indians use such for tinder when striking fire with flint and steel. The idea of this was of course obtained from the Whites.

C [1177]

Schmidt-Schiffd E-Br (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

and from the Ashluslay, Guarayú-Pauserna, Siriono, Guarayú (mission) Gorocotoques, Mojo, Carios-Tupinambá, Quichua, Parexi-Kabiši, Chiquitos, Guarani in Paraguay, Xarayes, Guayaná and Payaguá, Occasionally they occur among the Mataco as well. BARBOSA RODRIGUES mentions the tipoy from the Tembé. Judging by LANGE's photographs the Ararandeuara girls seem to wear small tipoys in ordinary hammock technique.

C Ce 171* 291

Those from the Quichua do not, however, correspond to others whose style we know, for the former used to be open on one side and only seem to have been sewn up under the influence of European ideas of modesty. Consequently I was rash in concluding that the tipoy was an original feature of western civilization, as I did in the first part of this book. Most likely it is of quite a different origin.

C Ce [114]

When the Chirignano and Chané women used the tipoy as a garment, they did not, as we shall see below, get the idea from the mountains or from the Whites. It is, however, certain that the Whites and at an earlier date the Mountain-culture Indians may have influenced them to make the tipoy longer and more »seemly». Contact with other people wearing clothes has made it fashionable to be clothed.

My attempts to investigate the distribution of the tipoy in northern S. America has caused me a lot of trouble. Descriptions of Indian apparel by early authors are, unfortunately, not as detailed as might be desired. OVIEDO mentions a woman's dress »saya» from the region of Lake Maracaibo, woven without seam »sin costura», which may have been a tipoy.

C Ce 291 114 171*

In a narrative of PEDRO TEXEIRA's journey up the Amazon[1]) we read that almost every tribe goes naked, the men completely, the women above the waist, covering the rest

[1]) T. XIII, P. 437.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
291
114
*171

of the body with a garment resembling a »pampanilla». This may mean the tipoy, but also something else[1]).

As MAX SCHMIDT[2]) has pointed out, the Paressi make their tipoys and their bearing-bands (to carry the children) in exactly the same way. The bearing-bands used by these Indians are identical with the tipoys in both shape and material. They differ from the latter only in being somewhat longer in proportion to their width. STADEN[3]) speaks of the »typpoy» as a garment. In an anonymous early description, also from the coast of Brazil, printed in PURCHAS[4]), the bearing-band is called »tupiya». The same word is thus used by the Guarani-speaking Indians on the coast of Brazil both for the bearing-band and the female dress. In some parts the same article has, indeed, been used both as a bearing-band for children and a woman's garment. According to BARBOSA RODRIGUES[5]) it would seem to be so among the Tembé Indians. The bearing-band does not occur among the Chiriguano and Chané; they carry the child cradled in the tipoy.

C
Ce
291
854
*171
482

C
Ce
291
482
*171

I do not consider it too bold to assume that the tipoy and the bearing-band have the same origin, and that the one has suggested the other. In all likelihood, the bearing-

[1]) It is obvious from the following quotation from OVIEDO (T. 2, P. 271), where he tells of the female apparel of the Bubores living near Lake Maracaibo that the »Pampanilla» also might mean a small piece of cloth covering the genitals. »y las mugeres una pampanilla ó pedaço de algodon texido tan ancho como un palmo colgando delante de sus vergüenças».

[2]) (4) P. 218.

[3]) T. 2, P. 3. »/derselbigen wilden weiber machen dinger von baumwollen garn/ wie ein Sack vnden unnd oben offen/ die ziehen sie an/ und heyssen auff ire sprache Typpoy».

[4]) P. 1391.

[5]) (2) P. 42. »As mulheres . . . . . usam uma facha larga de algodão tecido branca ou tinta de urucu, passada a tiracollo sobre o hombre direito, que pendendo sobre o corpo, encobre-lhes a parte vergonhosa e serve para nella trazerem constantemente filhos. Dão a esta facha o nome de *tupóy*»

StNordenskiöld E-S 4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
291

Both men and women among the Chiriguano and Chané have sandals which, however, they seldom wear. In Part I of this work I have given an account of the geographical distribution of sandals in S. America. Obviously sandals are a cultural element which the Chiriguano and Chané have got from the area of civilisation in the west.

C
Ce
[177]

A pair of sandals with fastenings differing from the usual kind are depicted here. A sandal with very similar binding but of another shape is described and depicted by ERIC VON ROSEN[1]) in his recent, splendid work.

Ee
[114]

The Chiriguano and Chané wear girdles which as a rule are woven, though they are sometimes made of leather. As I pointed out in Part I, the woven girdle belongs to the western cultural elements and the leather belts to the southern. The leather girdles worn by the Chiriguano and Chané are provided with pockets and sometimes ornamented with coins, and are consequently imitations of the gorgeous cincture worn by the Argentine gauchos. NINO[2]) is of the same opinion, and he points out that they are called »bosa» (from the Spanish word »bolsa»[3]) owing to their being provided with a pocket.

C
Ce
291
177

As already mentioned in Part I the woven »head-band» or frontlet also belongs to the dress of the Chiriguano and Chané-men. The frontlet is certainly a western culture-element.

Ee

Chiriguano and Chané shirts and ceremonial tipoys are of native make and are often dyed blue with indigo. The frontlets are blue or red. Chiriguano and Chané women wear a kind of hair-band with tassels which they most likely learned to make in the missions.

[386]
[292]
[177]
[177]

[1]) (4) Fig. 84, P. 127.

[2]) P. 191.

[3]) »Bolsa» is »bosa» in the Chriguano languages as these Indians do not pronounce l.

Schoedenskiöld E-5,6(1908-1909, 1913) 1930
SF10 Chiriguano SF12
Chané SF8

C
Ce
301

The back is somewhat concave enabling it to rest conveniently on the chin-bone. The front is round and flat and does not project beyond the lip. The metal is hollowed at the front and filled with wax, in which are fastened green or blue stones or glass beads of the same colours. In a grave at Caipipendi I found a tembeta of wood of the shape here described, in which a round piece of green glazed earthenware is inserted. For every-day use both the Chiriguano and Chané sometimes have lip-buttons of wood which are shaped like flat wooden cylinders. The Chané usually have smaller lip-buttons than the Chiriguano. Cardus[1]) mentions lip-buttons of resin among the latter Indians from the 18th century.

Ce
[195]

C
Ce
301
171

I make no attempt here to show on the map the distribution of lip-boring in S. America.[2]) As was mentioned, it is very considerable. The idea of inserting stones or beads fastened with wax in the tembeta is almost confined to the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
Ce
177
114

It might almost be suspected that they got this idea from the Whites, who now have an extensive manufacture of metal tembetas in order to sell to the Indians. This is not the case, however, for SCHMIDEL writes of the Karkhokhies (Gorocotoques)[3]) who dwelt in N. W. Chaco: — »Pero sus mujeres tienen un canutillo asegurado à los labios en el que meten ellas una piedra verde ó gris«. Of what material this »canutillo« was, we are not informed. In Chili[4]) a tembeta of stone has been found with a cavity in which possibly another stone or the like had been set.

C
Ce
301
171
175

The metal tembeta is here probably, though not neces-

[1]) P. 331

[2]) (This) because few of the old writers have given any detailed description of lip-buttons.

[3]) (1) P. 264. (2) P. 94. »Ihre weiber aber haben ein kleins röhrlein gemacht in denn lepzen, darein sie ein grienen oder grabenn christallen stein stechenn.«

[4]) MEDINA (1) Fig. 77. From Freirina.

XIV.

Stained Teeth.

It was already related by VIEDMA[1]) that the Chiriguano stain their teeth. I have seen Chiriguano women in the Caipipendi valley stain their teeth a blackish blue with the leaves of a plant called «tajú». LASCH has made a study of the custom of staining the teeth among S. American Indians. He speaks of this custom from Cumaná, quoting GOMARA, according to which author the women stained their teeth at the death of their husbands.[2]) He further mentions that this custom prevails among the Miraña,[3]) the Piro,[4]) the Goajiro[5]) and the Arawaks[6]) in Guiana. To this I can, as shown by the map and table below, make several additions. 302 171 [Ks]

[1]) P. 181.

[2]) I have looked through all available editions of GOMARA in order to find this statement, but in vain. What I have been able to find about stained teeth in GOMARA P. 205—206 I give here. [104]

«Préciance de tener muy negros los dientes, y Ramas mujer al que los tiene blancos, como en Cariaua . . . . Hacen negros los dientes con zumo ó polvo de hojas de árbol, que llaman ahí los cuales . . . . . a los quince años, cuando comiençan á levantar la cresta toman estas yerbas en la boca, y traenlas hasta ennegrecer los dientes como el carbon; dura despues la negrura toda la vida.»

[3]) From MARTIUS.

[4]) » RAIMONDI.

[5]) » WAPPÄUS.

[6]) » MARTIUS (1). He writes. T. 1, P. 691, «Schwärzung der Zähne, die GOMARA, Cap. 73, von den alten Cumaneern angiebt soll hier auch vorgekommen sein.» This statement seems so vague, that I have not indicated it on the map. As far as I know it is not confirmed by other authors writing on the same Indians.

C
Ce
323
415
[531]

The Chiriguano, as well as the Chané at Rio Itiyuro, have elaborate pottery of richly varied shapes and often beautifully ornamented. The Chané at Rio Parapiti have plainer pottery. The development of the ceramic art in the various tribes I got to know has differed greatly. The Chima and the Tambopata-Guarayo who are pretty certainly identical with them, are the only Indians I visited who have no earthenware vessels. The pottery of some tribes is a work of art, while others only make the most necessary household utensils. This is not necessarily connected with the tribe's state of civilization generally. Thus in several respects the Yuracáre stand as high as the Chiriguano but the former have very poor pottery; the latter highly developed pottery. If such peoples were studied archaeologically, the former would yield hardly any remains while the latter would yield many beautiful specimens. Wrong conclusions might then be easily drawn as to the stage of civilization of the two tribes.

C
Ce
171
415
323

Below will be found indicated how many different types of earthen vessels are found among the tribes I visited. It will be seen that the Chiriguano and Chané (Rio Itiyuro) have by far the largest number of shapes of earthen vessels.[1]) This is simply due to their having experienced such

C
Ce
[114]
[126]

[1]) On entering a Chiriguano or a Chané hut, one sees a lot of earthen vessels of which the majority are unpainted. All the vessels of various shape and ornamentation which I have collected are from several hundred Chiriguano and Chané huts. It is a selection out of many thousand vessels which I have made and it shows how pottery varies within the tribes. In most Indian huts there will be found but a small number of different types. Unless we bear in mind that the collection is a selection, it leaves the impression that the pottery of these Indians is of much more varied shape than is really the case. What I remark here of my collection of pottery holds good of nearly all collections in ethnographical museums. When we see a cupboard full of various articles from an Indian tribe, we must not think that all these things are used by every family in the tribe. It is properly a collection of all the different objects used by a large number of individuals.

SNordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
323
177
Ce
[184]

Chané at Rio Itiyuro. This may be owing to their poverty.[1]) Maize-beer does not flow so abundantly there as it does among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro. The finely painted vessels are intended for festivals, and it is especially on those occasions that one sees double pitchers and other types reminiscent of mountain-culture pottery. The Chané at Rio Parapiti dwell rather remotely, at a considerable distance from the culture-area in the west. Their calabashes, too, are more plainly ornamented than those of the Chiriguano and the other Chané. This may be due partly to poverty and partly to their isolated habitation.

---

[1]) I regret that I did not study the question of the supply in different places of good clay suitable, for earthenware. Where the clay has to be brought from afar, it is unlikely that the pottery will be highly developed.

C
Ce
[119]

Nordenskiöld E-4,N(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chang SF1
South American Indians 53

Notes on the Bibliographical maps.

S
C
Ce
113
114
128
102

To this bibliography several maps have been added which ought to prove useful from many points of view. *The maps indicate the territories concerning which the authors quoted in parts 1 and 2 made their investigations.*

The first map shows the literature from 1498—1600, the second from 1600—1700, the third from 1700—1800, the fourth from 1800—1900 and the fifth from 1900—1920. We find a separate map of the archæological literature. Several important works are unfortunately missing which I have not been able to study. It is difficult and expensive work to collect the literature on the S. American Indians. Not the least difficult of access are certain works printed in S. America during the 19th century. For my ethno-geographical studies I have of course read a number of books without finding anything to quote from them and consequently they are not mentioned here. I desired especially to show the merits and demerits of the maps of the distribution of the cultural elements here published. The maps of the authors' names show us the districts from which I have no material at all and those from which I only have the material of older authors, or only of modern writers.

Some authors have not travelled in the territories they have written about, but have drawn from the works of several other authors. The most remarkable existant work of this kind is COOPER's excellent work on all that has been written about the Indian tribes in southernmost S. America. If there were many such compilations, it would not be difficult to draw up maps of the distribution of the various cultural elements.

From the map that indicates about which districts the archeological treatises are written, we can see, even though

Schwabenstiftung E-4,4(1909-1909, 1912) 1910
SF10 Chirigunos SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians 53

S
C
Ce
113
114
128
102

some names are missing, what immense territories in S. America are still entirely unexplored archeologically.

The bibliography includes some authors whose names will not be found in the maps, i. e. FRITZSCHE and PATER SCHMIDT, great as their services to the ethnography of S. America have been. This is because they have written comprehensive works dealing with the ethnography of the whole continent, and not with any particular part of it.

When I have quoted from several works by the same author, these are numbered 1, 2, 3, etc. in the bibliography. The same work has the same number in the First and Second Parts of my own book.

6: Nordenskiöld--3 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Tapiete SK13
Chane SF9

Cc
123
648

/130/ Unfortunately, I do not know whether Vocapey undertook the long journey to the village of the great chief, but, as a result of the surveying, I won the confidence of the Indians.

Cc
142
302
291

Fig. 75. Chané Indian.
Rio Itiyuro.

Cc
123
648
C
114
999
T
114
101

When I left the Chorotí and the Ashluslay at the end of July, 1908, I proceeded by way of Tacuiba to San Francisco on the /131/ Rio Pilcomayo. San Francisco was a mission station which the Franciscans had had among the Chiriguano, but which (Fig. 76 appears here) has now been abandoned. Not far from it live the Tapiete Indians, among whom I spent a week in August, 1908.

/132 cont./

earings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other 123
fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout. 439

There are always two villages in these mission stations, 437
one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt 361
more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more 797
fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent.

Near Macharetí there is a large basin-shaped valley through 133
which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected [135]
mountain, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco. The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The woodland, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monotonous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the drought seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge 137
swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the 241
woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds. 731
136

From Macharetí we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting 114
Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Río Parapití.

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauces, from the 133
/133/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Río Parapití also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is lost in the swamps, in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand. If the Río Parapití parades on the maps, as the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its part. The woodlands along the Río Parapití consist mostly of 137
bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti.

/153 cont./

In the dry season the wind heaps large dunes along the banks of the river. After it has left the mountains, it does not receive a tributary. The Rio Parapiti is very wide, but never deep. During the driest period its bed is transformed into a sand desert where the wind plays with the fine river sand. When it storms, the sand is swept across the bottom of the river. If one wishes to cross it on such days, one may perhaps not get his feet wet, but he must shield his eyes. C 133 132

The Rio Parapiti is rich in fish, but the fish are tiny. The banks are quite fertile, but inasmuch as they are flooded during the rainy season, the harvests are easily lost. Often in the dry season everything is wasted by the scorching droughts. The locusts, too, hawk about in these regions and leave behind in their own unappetizing bodies a poor substitute for what they have destroyed. C 13

On the Rio Parapiti, high up in the mountains, live the Quichua Indians, then come the Chiriguano, beyond them, near the river, the Tapiete, also called Yanaygua, then the Chané, and finally, in the unknown wilderness, the Tsirakua Indians. C 101

My first visit on the Rio Parapiti was paid to Father Carmelo, who had a small mission station there among the Chiriguano. I became very fond of this monk; /154/ he had such confidence-inspiring friendliness. He is one of the missionaries who are needed here, people who desire and are able to sacrifice themselves for others, who show an equally great friendship toward all. C 114 797

I now continued along the Rio Parapiti to Isiporenda on the north bank of the river. The Tapiete live opposite Isiporendo. I shall later describe a visit that I made to them. C 114 T [31]

At Isiporenda I met the first Chané, or, as they are called here, Tapuy. I then visited most of their villages. I made the acquaintance especially of some of their storytellers, of whom Batirayu, the nephew of the last great chief, Aringui, became my good friend. Ce 114 [101] [538] [123]

From the lower Rio Parapiti I proceeded by way of Charagua, a village inhabited almost exclusively by whites, to the Caipipendi valley, where I stayed with the Chiriguano chief Taruiri. C 114

/154 cont./

One might be surprised that a person would want to live in this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter their valuables for maize.

For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians.

The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy season it probably rains there too.

From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a /155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Batirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio

/157 cont./ One old woman who was supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by ethnographers either, the promise of the old woman was not very friendly. Ce 124 197 123 Ce

The Chané use their old language for many expressions that are abusive, for example, karitimisóyti, which they translate as son of a w---e. An invitation to coitus is called pocóne. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for example, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, which they did not know how to translate. 195 197 Ce [533] C

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief Taruiri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Taruiri I also visited another chief, Yumbay, an old worthy who was always embracing me and saying: "I am Yumbay." /Fig. 77 appears here./ "Yes, the great, mighty Yumbay," I chimed in, which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered. 114 126 C [123]

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the mission at Ivu. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region, Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spreading into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in Ivu died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged frightfully among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix. Around this the other swine would get drunk and /159/ continue to drink obligos (1) until they were finally lying on the table. C 797 164 [114] [133] [312] C [964] C [273]

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the latter must drink up. C [576]

/159 cont./
In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within 114
a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. [64]
Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities. [65] [273]

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but 797
rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that 756
it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally
had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive
away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either.

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the 114

415
531

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the
wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay.
1/6.

Igüembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 114
It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and [133]
down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful
landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well- [137]
protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation
luxuriant.

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The 123
old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt 157
that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but 178
should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His 643
village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine ~~000~~
things.

/159 cont./

things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among 323
the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78).

From Maringay I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station 361
of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, 797
it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the [114]
grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of [342]
Mimosaceae, cacti, small algorrobas, and other fine-leaved [137]
trees. This woodland is seldom so dense than one cannot easily
get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa, 132

415
531

Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, 132
however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth.
Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the [731]
Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger.

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and 133
across the great plain of Boyuovis, over the country that was 648
the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuqui, they
fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the
right to rob all weaker peoples.

After my excursion to Maringay I left the land of the 114
Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already
described in this book, to the Choroti and Ashluslay.

/161 cont./

In the wilderness of the Chaco there still lives a Chiriguano chief, Cayuhuari, in whose village no white man has been. It is said to lie on a big lake. Large herds of horses and cows graze there, and the maize granaries are always full. The Indians are rich there, because no whites are there. At least so it is said. 173 361

Cayuhuari, who has lived in the Chaco since the uprising in 1890, has an abducted white woman as a daughter-in-law. It is said that, with the Toba, he visited the sugar factories of northern Argentina. He had his daughter-in-law with him. The owners of the factory offered to rescue her from the Indians. "I do not want to leave them," she said. "With them I have my children." This answer honors her. 563

The manners and customs of the Chiriguano Indians have been described by several authors (4), mostly missionaries, /162/ 797 114

4. We find most of the literature cited by Domenico del Campana: "Notizie," etc., loc. cit. /"Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani (Notes on the Chiriguano)," Arch. per L'Anthr. e la Etn. Firenze, 1902. Page 61./ [113]

so that we know more about them than about the Choroti and the Ashluslay.

A part of what I have reported about these Indians is not new, though seen in a new light. Nevertheless, various things, especially concerning religion, differ from the descriptions of the various missionaries. What I have gathered here is from the Chané, and the missionaries know the Chiriguano best.

What I do not like in the various descriptions of the Indians by the missionaries is that they seem to be striving to paint their shortcomings in colors that are all too faint, so that their own "civilizing work" may seem as important as possible. The missionaries seem to me to be unable to describe the religion of the Indians objectively.

6: Nordenskiöld--15 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
S-Am. Indians 53

/162 cont./

C 1140 797

When I read how the missionaries describe their own conquest of the land of the Chiriguano Indians, it does not please me to hear only about the courage of the former and the brutality of the latter. I do not deny that the missionaries were brave, but I admire more the love of freedom and the courage of the Chiriguano Indians. If it became too difficult for the monks, soldiers almost always came to their aid. The Indians yielded to the missionaries not only as a result of the "religion of love," but as a result of bullet and lead. The path to the one soul-saving church was not infrequently soaked with blood.

/163/

Chapter Ten

From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Indians as Geographers

S 823

Is there a single habitable place on the South American continent which has not been discovered by the Indians?

I venture to answer "no" to this question. We find Indians on the highest peaks of the Andes, there are Indians in the dry scrub forests of the northern Chaco, Indians rove about in the deep virgin forests of eastern Bolivia, the inhospitable islands around Tierra del Fuego are inhabited by Indians, in former times many Indians lived on the pampas of Argentina.

What a vast period of time these people required to discover every brook, every pool, every cliff, every grove on the South American continent. For four hundred years the white man with all his resources has sought to explore South America, and yet much more than one usually believes is still unexplored. He is acquainted with all the large rivers and trade routes in the interior of South America, but there are still vast regions that the foot of a white man has never trod. The Indians know every cranny, or at least have known it.

/171 cont./ 000 C 648

on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians. The Ashluslay also maintain, as my interpreter told me, that /172/ the Toba chief Taycolique, during his invasion of their territory in 1909, had several Chiriguano with him. Ce

Batirayu said that in former times the Chané brought home the heads of their slain enemies and set them up on the plazas of the villages during festivals. 727

Ce 415 531

Fig. 82. Clay vessel of the Chané. 1/4.
Rio Parapiti.

/173/ Chapter Eleven

From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Everyday Life in the Chané and Chiriguano Huts

Ee 361 184 114

As a rule, I felt very comfortable in the huts of the Chané and Chiriguano. The life in these villages is exactly the same. If one describes one village, he has described almost all of them.

Ee 364 [162]

Like all the other Indians whom I visited south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, these Indians live in villages. Some of these villages are quite large and inhabited by several hundred persons. Often many villages lie close together. The huts, as a rule, lie around a market place on which sweetsop trees are occasionally planted for shelter in the rainy season. The market places serve as playgrounds and meeting places. The huts, in contrast to the round Choroti and Ashluslay huts, are square, and their doors, facing the village, are set in the gable. They are made of cane or wooden slats, with roofs of grass. Not infrequently they are plastered with earth.

Ee [137]

Ee 342

/208 cont./

Ce 551 untranslatable. Not infrequently a nickname is added to this name. Thus, for example, the Chané chief Boyra (Boy-snake) was called yúruhuasu, which means big-mouth. Indeed, old Boyra was a talker who had a great weakness for everything that was a bit indecent.

Ee 862 163 Ee 847 Mothers nurse for an unusually long time, and it is several years, as a rule, before they have another child. Perhaps the woman also aborts the fruit of her womb occasionally, like the Choroti woman, so that the family will not become too burdened.

E 163 In the mission station in Ivu I tried to gather statistics about the number of surviving children in 127 Chiriguano marriages and found that in ten marriages there were no children, in 27 one, in 35 two, in 29 three, in 13 four, in 9 five, and in 4 six. These figures, however, are quite uncertain. Nevertheless they show that here, as among many other Indian tribes, there is a sort of two-children system.

C 847 ●114 C [113] Corrado (2) maintains with certainty that infanticide occurs

2. Corrado: El Colegio Franciscano De Traija y sus misiones. Quaracci, 1884. Pages 526-527.

among the Chiriguano. It is done in desperate cases among us, too, and therefore the example cited by Corrado means nothing. C 847 The question is: does /209/ infanticide and abortion occur as an institution accepted by the tribe, as among the Choroti? /Fig. 110 appears here./

E Ee 868 857 The Chané and Chiriguano children, as has been mentioned, are brought up in freedom. They spend their childhood playing. Gradually the child begins to help its parents in small matters, for example, in carrying water and wood, tying up /210/ the domestic animals, fishing, etc. The girls learn spinning, weaving, making clay vessels, brewing maize beer, etc. from their mothers. They learn everything by imitation. The boys pursue small birds around the village and in this way learn the use of weapons. The children accompany their parents to fish and to till. The boy

C 165 /215 cont./
President Belzu in Sucre. The latter governed between 1848-1855; thus, 100-year-old Maringay is obviously not more than about 80. An 80-year-old Indian is therefore the oldest of his tribe.
C 145 Among the Indians one almost always sees /Fig. 112 appears here/ that the one who has grown-up grandchildren is very frail and senile and stands at the brink of the grave. Indian men and women mature very rapidly, but also age quickly. At 50 the Indian is an
[114] old man, at 70 a so-called centenarian. Im Thurn (1) likewise

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 190.

believes that the Indians do not grow old. /216/ He thinks that they seldom reach an age older than 40 or 50.

C 142 Maringay's hair was slightly gray. There are some Indian men and women whose hair is almost whitish yellow, but they are rare (Fig. 112). I never saw a bald Indian. When they are older, [145] [164] their faces are deeply furrowed. Not infrequently they become blind in old age, less often deaf.

Ee 142 515 Among the Choroti and Ashluslay the appearance of old people is often frightening; they are dirty, emaciated, and bleary-eyed. This is not the case among the Chané and Chiriguano. These Indians know how to grow old in beauty, and even the old people keep themselves nice and clean.

Ee 756 If the Chané or Chiriguano Indian becomes seriously ill, the medicine man is sent for, as among other Indians.

The Chiriguano and Chané distinguish between two kinds of medicine men, whom they call "ipáye" or "ipáyepótchi." The Ee [754] former are good and lift the spell; the latter are able to lift the spell and to bewitch.

C 756 797 I once jokingly asked a Chiriguano whether Father Bernardino in Ivu was an "ipáye" or an "ipáyepótchi." The Indian answered dutifully, an "ipáye." The position of the missionary among the Indians is that of medicine man; he assumes their power and their influence.

C Ee 756 177 In the preceding I said that the whites in the vicinity of Ivu sent for an Indian medicine man to drive away smallpox.

c /293 cont./
539 South America. Since, however, this is not the proper place
171 for comparative studies with regard to the legends collected by me, I have contented myself with only presenting the material.

c 539 As we have seen, we learn to understand some of the religious conceptions of the Indians from the legends. They are also interesting from the viewpoint that a whole assortment of little features from the life of the Indians is reproduced. They give us a glimpse into their imaginative life.

c 539 Only the content of the legends collected by me, not
114 the form, is usable as research material. I hope that the
126 native South American ethnographers in particular will add to the collection made by me and also write down the legends in the original languages. In order to be able to do this, however, a complete /294/ mastery of them will be necessary. The best method would be to let the Indians tell these legends into a phonograph.

c
Ce
824 The Indians and Natural Phenomena.

Ce
[773] In one of the Chané legends the story is told of how
c Yahuéte, the two-headed jaguar, was on the point of de-
Ce vouring the moon. Maringay called Yahuéte "Yahuaróhui."
[776] These Indians explain eclipses of the sun and moon by saying
Ce that the sun and moon are attacked by Yahuéte. The Choroti,
[171] too, as has been mentioned, speak of a predatory animal that
[776] attacks the sun and the moon.

If one wanders with an Indian through forest and meadow on a starlit night, the starry sky is his compass and his watch. He will point to Orion or some other constellation and show how much farther it will move before one arrives.

Ce
824 He does not give names to many constellations, but he knows them all. The Chané call the part of the Milky Way nearest the Southern Cross "yándurape," that is, ostrich-way; the Southern Cross, along with a few adjacent stars, is

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

[P. 187]

CHAPTER VII.

The Chiriguano (I).

Ethnographical research among the Chiriguano. The Chiriguano country. The tribal name. Physical qualities. Dwellings. Pile-built granaries. Theories as to the origin of the practice of erecting buildings on piles. Fireplaces. Household furniture. Dress. Modes of dressing the hair. Face-painting. Ornaments.

During our journey from Tarija to Gran Chaco we came into touch with the Chiriguano Indians, and on the march, as well as during our stay in the Chaco-Andean border region, I was successful in getting together a small but valuable ethnographical collection from these Indians. It is in connection with the publishing of the most important type specimens of this collection that I consider it suitable to give a brief description of the Chiriguano mode of living. Only in one or two cases, where I have arrived at results diverging from those of other students, have I found it necessary to enter into fuller details.

Mention of the Chiriguano tribe has, already in the 15th and 16th centuries, been made by a number of writers, and it is especially in Franciscan mission literature, earlier as well as later, that much valuable information may be found as regards this tribe.[1] Among the literature on the Chiriguano that had been produced prior to our journey, it may be that the books written by Corrado[2] and Serrano[3] are those that best repay perusal, and of works subsequently published, those by del Campana[4], Lehmann-Nitsche[5], Outes[6], Nino[7] and Nordenskiöld[8] are especially valuable.

[1] A very full list of works dealing with the Chiriguano is to be found in Nordenskiöld (11) and (12).
[2] Corrado (1).
[3] Serrano y Sanz (1).
[4] del Campana (1).
[5] Lehmann Nitsche (1).
[6] Outes (1).
[7] Nino (1).
[8] Nordenskiöld (11), (12), (13) and (14).

[P. 190 is blank]

142 To me, the Chiriguano seemed to be of better physique than both the Puna and the Chaco Indians, and their cast of features, as a rule, to be less rough-hewn than those of the above-mentioned tribes. Herma ten [141] Kate has taken anthropological measurements of four Chiriguano men, [127] whose average height was determined at 160.1 cm.[1] Lehmann-Nitsche, who has made anthropological observations of 50 Chiriguano (40 men and 10 women), is my authority for the data I have grouped together in the subjoined table.[2]

The Chiriguano; some physical data.

Sex	Average height, cm	Shape of skull	Colour of skin, Luschan's scale	Colour of hair, Fischer's scale	Iris, by Martin's scale
Men.....	163.4	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 22	Majority 4	Majority 3—4
Women.....	151.7	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 18	Majority 4	Majority 3—4

142 The Chiriguano complexion is, accordingly, brown with a tint of yellow; the iris is dark brown, the hair black, coarse and lank. The growth of hair on face and body is very scanty.

361 The Chiriguano are not a nomadic people, but live in permanent villages, some of which are the abode of only a few families, whilst others contain [114] several hundreds of inhabitants. At Ibitibi I was studying a Chiriguano village that, according to the Indians, was inhabited by about 300 people. This village was situated on a plain surrounded by wooded mountains (fig. 188). The huts formed a large circle, with the chief's hut in the centre. In the open space between the chief's hut and the rest, there were growing some close-foliaged trees (probably of the Bignoniaceæ [574] family), affording much-needed shade. In earlier literature it is stated that the Chiriguano used to build a hut for strangers in the middle of the [609] village plaza.[3] In many of the Chiriguano villages I visited, the huts were scattered about without any perceivable order.

342 The huts are rectangular and with ridged roofs. (Figs. 188—192.) The walls either consist of perpendicular sticks, of tree-branches or reeds,

[1] Ten Kate (1), p. 26.
[2] Lehmann-Nitsche (1).
[3] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 2.

174 342 or a district threatened with flooding through rainfall or the flowing in [114] of the oceanic tide. In my opinion, however, this has usually not been the case.

342 343 According to my thinking, it is the fear of predatory animals that has given rise to the pile-construction idea. Those granaries built on pole-825 supports, that are so commonly met with in widely different countries, 174 have, we know, as a rule been constructed for the express purpose of furnishing protection against noxious animals, such as lesser carnivora, [171] rodents and insects. As an example, the »njalla» of the Lapps is built

361 342 343

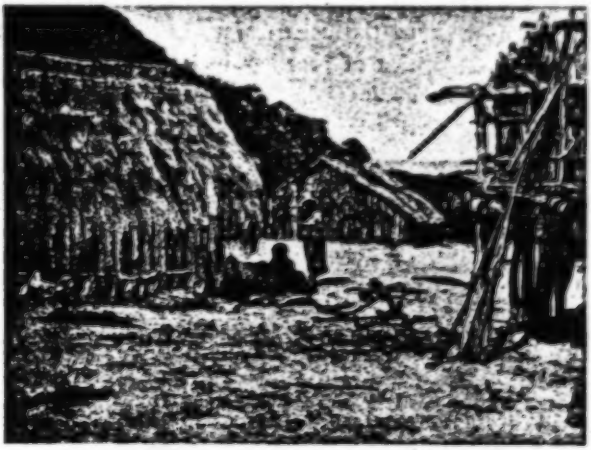


Fig. 192. Part of a Chiriguano village. To the right a pile-barn. Ibitibi. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

342 as a protection against wolverines[1], and many of the native tribes of 343 Africa erect their food depositories, or grain bins, on pole-supports to 825 make them safe against mice and white ants.[2] Both the Balenge people, 171 who inhabit a fairly arid country, and the Babisa, who live on the edge 174 of the Bangweolo swamp, build their corn bins on piles.[3] As the Babisa often build their huts on a platform of beaten clay[4] (not piles, it will be noted) as a protection against the annual heavy floodings of the rainy season, this will naturally give rise to the supposition that the Babisa

[1] von Duben (1), p. 35.
[2] von Rosen (4), pp. 411—412.
[3] von Rosen (4), pp. 332, 349 (fig. A), and 411—412.
[4] von Rosen (4), p. 319 and plate 67 (figs. C and D), also plate 68, fig. D.

[P. 196 is blank]

experiment carried out at Rockelstad in the summer of 1919[1], the »stone-age men» soon found themselves compelled to build a »lave» so that the goats should not damage such foodstuffs and implements as had to be kept outside the hut.[2] 342 343 825 171

It is my belief that the »lave» has also supplied the idea of building dwelling-houses on pole-supports. Wherever people in a certain stage of civilization have found themselves settled on solid ground, they have had need of raised food-platforms, partly for keeping their foodstuffs safe from damage on the part of domestic as well as noxious animals, partly for the purpose of drying, smoking or roasting the food (see pp. 38, 47 and 48). If such a people, living on the edge of a lake or a swamp, had wished — for defensive purposes or some other reason — to build their dwelling-huts or other buildings in the water, then, if the bottom of the lake afforded good holding for piles, such buildings would have been constructed in the same way as the food-platforms or pole-supported granaries previously employed on firm ground (compare fig. 28 with fig. 115). Where the people in question has been lacking in sufficient skill to construct large pile-buildings in the water, or if the lake bottom was unsuited to this mode of construction, then huts were built on rafts or quagmire islands, after the manner of the swamp dwellers of Alvastra and Bangweolo.[3] 174

The furnishing of the Chiriguano huts is exceedingly plain. The fire-place, which forms a very necessary heating centre at night during the cold season, consists of a few stones serving as supports for the cooking pots. There is no hole in the roof for letting out the smoke, which has to find its way out through the doorway or through fissures in the walls. As a rule, the food is generally cooked on a fire outside the hut (fig. 189). 354 [252]

Bedsteads of the type seen in fig. 190 are to be found in nearly every hut. These bed frames are made of laths or reeds, and are covered with skins. Nordenskiöld states as his opinion that the idea of these bedsteads has not been borrowed from the civilization of the whites.[4] In the analytical treatise he has written upon this question he adduces conclusive arguments for his opinion, as it seems to me. In Central Africa, one finds bedsteads that are very similar to the Indian ones,[5] and that certainly have not 352 114 [171]

[1] Klein, pp. 88—89.
[2] Klein (1).
[3] For lake- and marsh dwelling-places in different parts of the world, see Montelius (1).
[4] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 8—12.
[5] von Rosen (4), p. 403.

352 [114] been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks [171] made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. [513] Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of 353 considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly 415 array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize [531] beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

[352] [291] [302] [411] [415] [237] [824] 354

Fig. 194. Man and young woman. Chiriguano. San Luis, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this im- 356 possible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

291 The Chiriguano m . nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of [177] European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 163 and fig. 85 (12), pp. 15 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 59.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

411
[714]
[114]
[524]
[126]
[171]

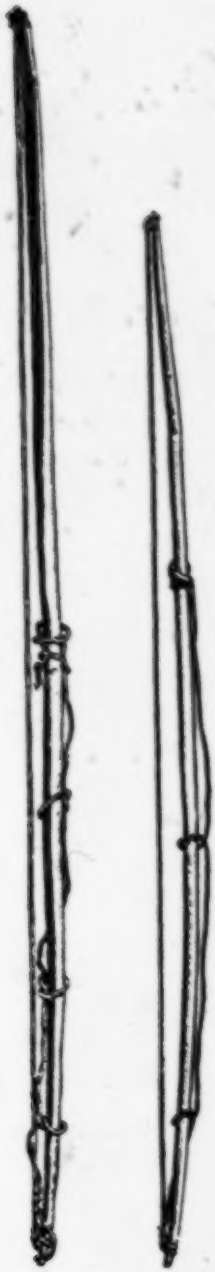


Fig. 201. Riksm. 03. 3. 850. For section, see fig. 203. Fig. 202. Riksm. 03. 3. 851. For section, see fig. 204.
Longbows. Chiriguano. Bolivia. About 1/1.

On the left wrist they wore a small piece of wood as a protection against the blow of the bowstring.[1]

Curiously enough, the present-day Chiriguano type of bow does not seem to have been exhaustively described by anyone; not even in Schmidt's account of South American bow types,[2] otherwise so exact, is there any mention of the Chiriguano bow. The reason for this may very likely be found in the circumstance that these weapons are said to be of rare occurrence nowadays, and that such few specimens as are still being made, are mostly used as toys and on that account typologically degenerated. Twenty years ago, when I travelled through a part of the Chiriguano country, the bow was, however, not so rarely seen as a hunting weapon as now, and I collected the seven specimens now reposing in the ethnographical section of the Riksmuseum at Stockholm. Beside these, there are two Chiriguano bows brought home by Baron Nordenskiöld, one of which is a toy bow. Two other toy bows that have been brought to Sweden by Nordenskiöld belong to the Gothenburg Museum. This forms the material from which I have compiled the following description of the Chiriguano type of bow.

By their string-fastening arrangement the Chiriguano bows differ from the Chaco-Andean bow types, which latter as a rule have no neck-shaped bow-end projections for the string. On the other hand, all Chiriguano bows that I have studied, even the toy bows, have neck-shaped ends for fastening the string, a circumstance indicating that the Chiriguano bow is no acquisition from Chaco-

[1] de Lizarraga (1), p. 328. From Ed. Nordenskiöld.
[2] Schmidt (1), pp. 1027—1034.

411
[226] two barbed prongs made of some hard wood (figs. 213 and 214). The arrow in fig. 210, which has only one prong, is used both in hunting and
[824] for fish-shooting. The Chiriguano also use fish arrows pointed with a number of cactus spines.[1]

The fish spear has in later times become a very scarce implement with the Chiriguano. The only specimen obtained, as far as I know, is the one brought home by me, and now belonging to the Rikamuseum in Stockholm (figs. 215 and 216). Erland Nordenskiöld, who has compiled
[114] a map of the distribution of the fish spear in South America, has been kind enough to inform me that the only mention he has come across in the literature, concerning its occurrence among the Chiriguano, is to be found in the account of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's unsuccessful expedition against these Indians.[2]

The fish spear I came upon among the Chiriguano in the neighbourhood of San Luis, has a 260 cm long shaft, made of some light kind of wood, very free from knots,[3] at one end of which two barbed wooden prongs are lashed on by means of a thin leather thong. The full lengths of the prongs are, respectively, 32.1 and 31.5 cm, and they project 20.0 cm from the shaft. One of the points has, however, been of a somewhat greater length, but has got blunted off. Both points have seven barbs on their outer sides. To ensure a perfectly firm fastening of the prongs, the fore end of the shaft has been wrapped with a piece of cloth, and over this the prongs have been lashed on.

323
I have already enumerated the various kinds of Chiriguano household
[462] furniture. Among them, clay vessels hold a very important place. The Chiriguano are clever potters. It is only the women, though, who work at this industry.

In fig. 217 we see a potter's workshop, with a number of finished and unfinished pieces of earthenware. At the hut entrance is sitting a woman, who, with a piece of stick, is giving a finish to a large pot, which has been built up of rolls of clay, and is still unburnt.

[126] In figs. 218—225 I have reproduced some typical Chiriguano clay vessels that I collected at Aguayrenda. These vessels are particularly well made. The peculiar rim warts seen on the hanging vessel in fig. 225,

---

[1] Nordenskiöld (II), fig. 15 a.
[2] Acosta (I), Part I, Chap. XV.
[3] Unfortunately, during its transportation home, the handle was, unknown to me, cut into two parts.

[P 216 is blank]

323 counterparts of which are found on many ancient Peruvian clay vessels, have been more fully described by me in »En frågagen värld».[1] The cord, by which this vessel was suspended passed round the edge, and then upwards, between the points of the rim warts. At each wart a hole has been pierced through the rim of the vessel, but these perforations are so very small that they cannot very well have been used for fixing any string by which to hang up the vessel.

Besides the clay pots here reproduced — often graceful of shape and beautifully painted — there are also plain, unpainted clay vessels for cooking and other kitchen purposes. Chiriguano ceramics are of an exceedingly great variety as to form, and many of the shapes are identical with those of clay vessels found in ancient Indian graves and in the ground of ancient dwelling-sites in those regions of the Andes that border on the present Chiriguano country.

824 Next to clay vessels, bottles and bowls made of calabash may be said
415 to predominate among the household furniture of the Chiriguano. The bowls are often provided with pokerwork ornament (fig. 216).

273 On festivals — and also usually, though not always — the Chiriguano drink an intoxicating liquor (»chicha», in Chiriguano: »cangui»), which they prepare from maize. In
[415] large wooden mortars the maize is
[531] pounded to flour, which is poured into large clay vessels filled with water. This mixture is made to boil, and when it has cooled down, lumps of chewed maize dough are put into it to produce fermentation. These masticated mouthfuls of maize are usually allowed to dry in the sun, before use, and are then frequently spread on a
[114] bedstead (fig. 190). This method of preparing maize beer naturally

Fig. 216. A jug for boiling maize beer. Earthenware. Bolivia, pink and mauve engobed. The vase present horizontal pattern with ornaments in dark brown (marked in black) and red (marked in dots lines). Chiriguano. Aguayrenda, Bolivia. (Ts. Edman, op. p. 67)

[1] see Roren (I), p. 322 et seq.

273
(114) sentiment one as particularly disgusting, and therefore, after I had got to know how the brew was made, I could never again bring myself to drink this beverage, which in itself is rather palatable. As I have already mentioned, an intoxicating liquor is also made from the fruit of the algarrobo tree. The beer made by the Chiriguano is very highly prized by them. But, on the other hand, it does not appear that tobacco is used

276

415
531

Fig. xvi. A jug for sacred beer. ⅓. Rikum. sp. 3. Rrp.

Fig. xvii. A sacred beer decanter. ⅓. Rikum. sp. 3. Rrp.

Fig. xviii. A sacred beer bowl. ⅓. Rikum. sp. 3. Rrp.

Fig. xix. A sacred beer bowl with four holes through the rim, in which strings can be fixed. ⅓. Rikum. (No catalogue number.)

Painted earthenware vessels. The ground-colour of the vessels in figs. xvi and xix is yellowish-white; of those in figs. xvii and xviii, a brownish-yellow. The ornamentation is in dark brown (from crushed quite black) and red (marked with fine lines). The inner sides and bottoms of the vessels are engraved.

Chiriguano. Agua-grande, Bolivia.

534
171

using whistles of this type.[1] Nordenskiöld has advanced a theory as to the origin of the Sorice whistle, which is highly interesting. On the ground of the similarity of construction that this type of whistle has to a balance beam shown in fig. 119, with its cords for weights and load still in preservation, found in Peru, Nordenskiöld is of the opinion that the Sorice whistle is probably the beam of a balance, but that its original use has been forgotten.[2] By blowing, in play, into one end of such a balance beam, a tone was produced. This way of whistle-blowing gradually became widespread and popular, and, eventually, whistles were manufactured that were of a construction similar to that of the balance beams of the ancients. More and more the balances ceased to be used as such, and finally it was altogether forgotten that the whistle had been made as a copy of the balance beam.

534
171
174
114

On my first acquaintance with this theory of the Sorice whistle having originated from the balance beam, it seemed to me so well grounded that I accepted it.[3] But afterwards I quite changed my opinion in this question, for reasons set out below. The ancient Peruvian balance referred to by Nordenskiöld is undoubtedly of a very unpractical construction. Like the Sorice whistle, the balance beam is *bored through from end to end*, and provided with *two holes, close together, for its suspension*. Even if in rough and primitive weighing there may occasionally be a certain advantage (a saving of time) in using a balance that is not too sensitive, suspending a balance from two

Fig. 119. Scale, with a wooden beam. Probably an imperfection from a whistle of Sorice type, which forms the bar of the balance. Ground find from Peru. ½. Illustration from E. Nordenskiöld.

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), p. 183.
[2] Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 183—186.
[3] von Rosen (8), pp. [illegible].

534
171
174
114

points of support, in the way shown in fig. 229, is unsuitable, as it would enable the holder of the balance to influence, with an imperceptible movement of his hand, the balancing of the beam. Another point which strikes me as peculiar, is, that the string by which weights and objects for weighing are suspended, should be made to pass through a hole that runs the whole length of the longitudinal axis of the beam. A perforation of such a length obviously represents a good deal of labour, which, moreover, in the case of a balance beam, would be quite unnecessary. Surely the simpler plan would have been to fix a string through a small hole at each end of the beam.

Fig. 230. Ancient Peruvian wooden whistle(?). 1/4. From Nordenskiöld. One end of the tube has been stopped up, possibly on account of the whistle having been found too hard-blown with both ends open. All other known Old Peruvian objects of this type have *both ends open.*

The above were my reasons for beginning to form the opinion that the Old Peruvian balance, fig. 229, had been rigged up to do duty as a makeshift. A proper balance not being at hand, a tubular whistle, fig. 230, was pressed into service. In this way the ancient Peruvian balance, fig. 229, would — if my theory is correct — simply prove to be *a whistle that had been provisionally fixed up as a weighing instrument.*

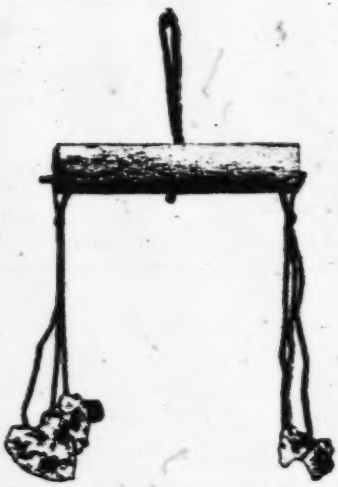


Fig. 231. Old Peruvian scale. From Hamy.

It is not impossible that this way of hastily improvising a balance — rather a dull one, admittedly, but usable for *rough weighing* — was not infrequently employed. When I acquainted Nordenskiöld with my theory as to the constructional purpose of the balance reproduced in fig. 229, he had the great kindness to send me all reproductions of Old Peruvian balances that were in his possession. Three of these retain the cord by which the beam was suspended (the poising cord), and *in these three, this cord is fixed through a hole in the centre of the beam,* fig. 231. Two of the balances are provided with cords on which to hang the weights and the objects to be weighed. *These cords are not taken through the full length of the balance beam, but attached to it by means of holes bored*

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

/1/ Introduction

C
114 Knowing only the native tribes of Mato Grosso (Brazil) personally through my previous scientific travels, I accepted with much pleasure the proposal of the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay to visit the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco, and as the idea was fully supported by the Comando del Chaco, I render thanks to the Sociedad Cientifico del Paraguay for its support, to the Jefe of the Comando del Chaco Paraguayo, the section leaders, and all the others who co-operated in my expedition. I particularly thank His Most Reverend Excellency, the Archbishop of Asunción, Don Juan Sinforiano Bogarin, for the presentations which he made in my behalf before the Oblates of Immaculate Mary, whose mission is located close to the fort Esteros near the Pilcomayo River.

C
Ce
114
Ce
[131] I set out from Asunción on August 7, 1935, and, passing the fort López de Filippis (Paraguayan Chaco), on August 15 I arrived at the fort of Toledo, where I found a great number of Izozó Indians, who had left their homes in the Parapití Valley because they had been provisionally relocated to the area of Toledo and of the fort "15 de Agosto" /15th of August/.

Ce
114
122
648
C
114 In addition to my ethnological studies and preparations for the coming journey, I attended to the commission of the Paraguayan Red Cross to deliver clothing, goods, and wool among the Izozó Indians, who at the time were in great need. Provided by the Chaco Command at the fort of López de Filippis with two trucks, drivers and helpers, and the necessary provisions, I continued my journey on August 26, heading toward the Pilcomayo River. Beyond Corrales we met the first Indians: they were the Churupí /Chulupi/. In Moreno too, which we reached in the afternoon, almost at nightfall, there were some Churupí who had moved from Muños to this place.

C
A
114
[361]

C
114
A
114
797
A
[126] On August 27 I arrived at the mission of the Oblates of Immaculate Mary near the fort of Esteros, where these fathers received me in the most friendly manner and provided their most extensive assistance to my studies of the Churupí Indians who were domiciled in or near the mission. They gave me a large ethnological collection of objects of the Churupí Indians, which they presented to the Museo de Historia y Etnographia of The Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay.

Ashluslay SK5
Mataco SI7
Choroti SK6
Tapiete SK13

/1 cont./

000 the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay. Having also visited
C the Churupí Indians at the mission near Lake Escalante, about
A 25 kilometers from the mission at Esteros, I continued my
M 114 journey on September 5 as far as Linares, where I found a num-
M ber of Mataco Indians, who in part lived in a town some seven
[361] kilometers from Linares and in part had come from the other side of the Pilcomayo River to Linares.

C /2/ On September 9 I left Linares and on the next day
A 114 arrived in Guachalla, from where I visited the Churupí camp
A /tolderia/ about seven kilometers away.
[361] On September 11 I left Guachalla for the fort of Cururenda,
C where I had the occasion to see the Chorote /Choroti/ Indians,
CI 114 who were living in a camp some three kilometers from
CI Cururenda, as well as some Toba and Mataco, who came
[361] from the other side of the Pilcomayo to Cururenda.

C On September 15 I continued my journey as far as Oruro,
T 114 in the environs of which I visited the Tapieté. My escort,
T Lieutenant Cabello, who knew these Indians well, took me to
[361] their two camps, one of which is 15 and the other 32 kilometers from Oruro.

C On September 19 I left Oruro, and passing through
114 Capirendá and Carandayty, in the company of Lieutenant
Díego Corvalan, I arrived in Machareti, where I remained
from September 21-25. Since Machareti is a Chiriguano
town, I had a good chance at this place and at the end of my
journey, to observe this interesting Indian tribe.

Beginning my return on September 25, I passed in succession through Capirendá, Carandayty, López de Filippis, and
C Puerto Casado, arriving in Asunción on October 8.

[122] Thanks to the great help of the military authorities, it was possible for me to pass through large areas of the Paraguayan Chaco during the relatively short time of two months, to get acquainted with a large number of native tribes of the Chaco, to take photographs of these tribes, and to make up vocabularies
000 of their different languages. Outside of the Toba, whom I met

C 114 /2 cont./ outside of the Toba, whom I met only in passing, I got to know on this journey the Chiriguano and the Izozó, who, like the former, speak a dialect of the Guaraní language; the Tapieté, Churupí, Mataco, and Chorote. All of these Indian tribes are not unknown in ethnological literature. On Chiriguano history we are oriented through old documents from even the first years of the Spanish conquest, and we owe to the Franciscan missionaries, who have taught among them for a long time, quite important ethnological publications. The Churupí have been studied minutely under the name Ashluslay by Erland Nordenskiöld, and the Oblates of Immaculate Mary in Esteros and Lake Escalante are striving intensively to make ethnological investigations. I have proposed to deal with all of these tribes systematically. This survey will be made on the basis of the results of my journey, and I begin in this first publication with the Chiriguano and Izozó.

C Ce [197] C 175 114 797 A 114 101 C 121

General Information

C Ce 114 361

As I said in the introduction to this work, I first met the Chiriguano in Machareti and the Izozó in the area around the fort of Toledo and in the fort "15 de Agosto," several kilometers from the former two.

C 361 [632] [797]

Figure 1[1] presents a view of Machareti, a Chiriguano town created in its present form by the Franciscan mission. When the Paraguayan army retook Machareti, it had already been abandoned by the Padres, and now a Chiriguano, in the role of commissioner /comisario/, is the chief of the town, there also being a few caciques. The houses, more or less in the form of modern ranchos (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 /see p.40 /), are on both sides of wide streets which run parallel and at right angles, as in most of the towns of the former Spanish colonies. When I was present in Machareti, there was great need /3/ among these Indians because of the severe drought which had ruined their plantings, which were some distance from the town. At the side of the ranchos are often found deposits which were structures of native houses built on sticks. Although

C [342] [363] C [731] C [342] 000

[1] [See P. 8 -- Analyst]

/12 cont./

C 144 [177]

Chiriguano and Chané no longer exist. "The physiognomy of the latter was completely identical to that of the former" (45).

45. Moreno II, p. 254.

C 114 141 C [113]

In addition to anthropological measurements made on four Chiriguano by Ten Kate (46), Robert Lehmann-Nitsche

46. Ten Kate. Herm.: "Matériaux pour servir à l'antropologie des indiens de la République Argentine /Materials for use for the anthropology of the Indians of the Argentine Republic/." Revista del Museo de la Plata. Vol. 12. La Plata. 1904.

in 1906 had the opportunity at the San Pedro de Jujui sugar mill to take the anthropological measurements of 40 Chiriguano men and ten women, who had come from Bolivia to work at that mill. Entitled "Estudios antropológicos sobre los Chiriguanos, /Pl. III-IV appear here/ /13/ Chorotes, Matacos, y Tobas (Chaco Occidental)" (47), Lehmann-Nitsche has

C [113]

47. Anales del Museo de La Plata, Vol. I, No. 2, (Second Series). Buenos Aires, 1908.

published the results of these measurements, together with measurements of other Indians, and added to that publication in the first 12 plates Chiriguano types photographed by Carlos Bruch. In addition to the somatic measurements, determination of skin color, eye color, and hair color and form have been published by Lehmann-Nitsche. Thirty-six of the 40 Chiriguano men stated where they had lived, and from this we know that these people had come from various regions of Chiriguano territory to the San Pedro sugar mill. There were some who had come from the northern regions, and one had come from the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Others had come from the south of Chiriguano territory, for example, from the town of Carapati, located considerably to the south of the Pilcomayo River. There are named 13 Chiriguano

C 166

C [167]

[Text Continues on P. 30]

/13 cont./

166 towns from which one man had come from each one. From Charagua, Parapití, and Carapati two had come from each one, four from Ingre, five from Santa Rosa, and eight from Machareti. Unfortunately, the native soil of the Chiriguano women was not stated, and it is only said that they came from Bolivia.

141 The average height of the Chiriguano men measured by Lehmann-Nitsche is 163.4 cm., and the height of the Chiriguano women measured is 151.7 cm. This average height of the women measured is not a little less. The average height of the eight men from Machareti was only 161.8 cm., and that of the two men from Parapití only 158.1 cm. But the average height of the four men from Ingre was 169.15 cm. The tallest of the Chiriguano men measured, who had a height of 178.6 cm., had come from Ingre, and the shortest, with a height of 153.5 cm., from Machareti. The smallest woman (between 35 and 40 years old) was only 143.0 cm., and the tallest, 158.0 cm. These numbers show us that the height of different Chiriguano individuals is quite variable. Among the Chiriguano measured by Lehmann-Nitsche, the number of those who came from the same region is too small to be able to make exact deductions about the differences in height of the Chiriguano of the various regions in order to be able to clearly demonstrate the somatic influence of mixture with other tribes.

14 The photographs of Chiriguano types published by Lehmann-Nitsche show great variations among the different features and bodies, which corresponds to the fact that the present-day Chiriguano are the product of a mixture of various ethnic elements.

113 114 142 Good photographs of the Chiriguano of the southern part of their territory can be found in the publication of von Rosen, Ethnographical Research Work during the Swedish Chaco-Cordillera Expedition, 1901-1902 (48). Erland von Nordenskiöld

48. Stockholm. 1924.

113 /13 cont./
114 has published Chiriguano and Chané types (49).
142

49. Erland Nordenskiöld: Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerica /Inquiry and Adventure in South America/. Stockholm, 1915. Ills. 14-16; 20 and 31. Nord. I. Figs. 75, 76, 79, 87, 106, 110, 111, 112, 116, 132, and Pl. 18-2 /the second figure of this number in the twenties is illegible/.

The Territory of the Chiriguano

C 131 Concerning the location and extent of the territory of the Chiriguano at the time of their independence, that is, from the beginning of the 16th century to the second half of the 19th century, we have Moreno's detailed studies in two places in his work already cited many times above, the titles of which are: "Las tierras de los Chiriguanos /The lands of C [101] the Chiriguano/" (50). According to Moreno (51), the

50. Moreno II, pp. 79-126 and pp. 235-254.

51. Moreno II, p. 236.

Chiriguano--Chiriguano /14/ of the Cordillera in contrast to the Itatines-Guarayus and the Piritaguaris also often called Chiriguano in the literature -- from the time of the Conquest until they lost their independence inhabited the same territory, that is, the western spurs of the Andes from south of the Pilcomayo up to the lands which extend on both sides of the Ce 13 Guapay. The Chané, who formerly had a large well-populated [648] territory, "although they formed several partial migrations, remained in great number subject to the conquering Guaraní within the region which these latter had converted into their impregnable abode" (52). In 1883 Father Alejandro Corrado

52. Moreno II, p. 249.

/14 cont./

Ce 131 still writes that the Chané were found scattered among the Chiriguano located among the last spurs of the Andes (53).

53. Moreno II, p. 254.

C 131 [114] Even after losing their independence, the Chiriguano inhabited more or less the same territory. Having known personally only Machareti out of the territory of the Chiriguano, I here refer to the data of Erland Nordenskiöld, who came to know them in the years 1908, 1909, and 1913 and personally traveled through most of this territory, spending up to four to five months altogether in the study of the Chiriguano and the Chané (54).

54. Nord. 2, p. XII.

According to Nordenskiöld (55), the territory of the

55. Nord. 2, pp. XIV and XV. Cf. Métraux I, pp. 332 and 333.

Chiriguano extends from the region near Santa Cruz de la Sierra in the north to near the Bermejo River in the south. Now the Rio Grande can almost be taken as the northern limit of their territory. This is the land located between the boundary C Ce 131 of the Andes and the great plain of the Chaco, in the valleys of which the Chiriguano, and in part the Chané live. It can be said that this territory is inhabited wherever there is the necessary water, although it may be no more than enough for and their domestic animals to drink. The Chiriguano inhabit that territory contiguously, while the Chané today live in territories separated from one another. Thus some of them are on the Itiyuro River in Argentina, some are in Caipipendi, some on the lower Parapití River, and others near Itaú, south of the Pilcomayo River. Outside of the territory of the Chiriguano C 131 which has thus been circumscribed, a few Chiriguano now live [167] in the Santa Rosa Valley north of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and a few fled to the Chaco after the last broken revolt in 1890, without our having any information on their stopping place.

/32 cont./

C
Ce
291

The cacique's wife and the eldest daughter shown in Figure 12 wear the upper part of the tipoy over one shoulder. The oldest woman shown in Figure 14 wears the tipoy in the old fashion, securing it with pins or cactus thorns above the two shoulders (139),

139. Cf. v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 201.

so that two openings remain, through which the two arms can pass. Photographs shown by Nordenskiöld (140) and v. Rosen

140. Nord. 1, Fig. 106.

show that there are still other variations in the way of wearing the tipoy.

Ce
291
126

I obtained from the Izozó three of their tipoys, two of which were woven of cotton and one of wool.

Tipoys in the Collection

I. A. 820.	Izozó	Of cotton.	Length	1.26 m. (Fig. 113.)
I. A. 832.	"	Of wool.	"	1.61 m.
I. A. 838.	"	Of cotton.	"	1.37 m.

C
Ce
291

/33/ One special feature of these tipoys of the Chané-Izozó and also of the Chiriguano in comparison with all the tipoys that we know from other tribes is their great size, and we can doubt that these tipoys were so large in past times.

Ce
[114]

The indication by Viedma (144) that the Chiriguano women

144. Viedma, op. cit., p. 134. According to Nordenskiöld.

wore only a piece of cloth around their hips implies the opposite answer. I shall concern myself with the manufacture and the decoration in the chapters on the technique of weaving and art.

C 301 [126] /33 cont./

Ring (moãkaregua) in the Collection

I.A. 1321. (Chiriguano.) Gift of Father Ayala Solis. Diam. 2cm.

Finally I shall mention here a ring obtained by Father Ayala Solis from the Chiriguano and donated by him to the Museo de Historia y Etnografía del Paraguay. The ring was made of metal from a cartridge shell.

Ce 291 The cacique of the Izozó shown in Figure 12 wears sandals (Chir.: mbipása. Izozó: pãapá). Generally the men and women go around barefoot. But both sexes use sandals if they are to walk on stony or thorny ground (146).

146. Nord. 1, p. 203. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 207.

C 291 17 The region of distribution of the sandal in South America leads us to assume that the Chiriguano did not first receive this item from the whites, but earlier, and that it came from the culture of the ancient Peruvians (147).

147. Cf. Nord. 2, p. 69.

Treatment of Illnesses and Burial

Ce 743 Ce [114] C [114] C Ce 756 171 In the Indian settlement in Toledo there was arranged a small hospital in which the sick Izozó were receiving medical treatment. For that reason I did not have the chance to make investigations among them about the native treatment of the illnesses of these Indians. Nor did I have the chance to make such investigations in Machareti. Therefore, I refer to the investigations /34/ Nordenskiöld and Métraux made on this subject (148), and I wish only to

148. Nord. 1, pp. 216 and 217. Métraux 1, pp. 480-488.

mention here that among the Chiriguano and Chané, as among

/38 cont./

Because the ancient Peruvians raised various breeds of dogs, we can assume that the Chiriguano received the dog as a domestic animal from the ancient Peruvians. We can assume the same with regard to the duck, which was also raised by the ancient Peruvians. Therefore I do not include the duck among the domestic animals that these Indians received from the whites, as Nordenskiöld does. We do not know whether the Chiriguano in times past might have raised the llama. From the fact that guanacos exist in the territory located between the Parapití and the Rio Grande, we can deduce that the raising of that other species of Euchenia might have been possible in that country.

The Chiriguano very early received such European domestic animals as the horse, the ass, the cow, sheep, goats, hogs, and chickens, which they captured in great quantities in their continual raids on the Spanish settlers. In 16th century documents there are repeated complaints about the extensive stealing of livestock by these Indians. Today the Chiriguano and Chané do not have many horses, and they have never had the /39/ pronounced character of a nation of horsemen. The true weapons of war were formerly a long bow and arrows which were also long, which cannot be used by a mounted horseman, in addition to which their homes were formerly in the hills in regions which the Spaniards could not enter on horseback. In certain parts of their territory the raising of cattle has some importance (181). More general is the raising of sheep, pigs,

181. See Métraux I, p. 340.

and chickens. Today one sometimes also finds among them guinea hens and turkeys (182).

182. Nord. 1, p. 137.

8: Schmidt--109 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
372
415
239

/45 cont./

A small nest of a species of wasp serves as a container for the lighted end of the wick. The fire is produced by striking a flint with a piece of a modern metal file.

Ce
372
773

In a Chané legend recorded by Nordenskiöld (216), it

216. Nord. 1, p. 252.

turns out that the Chané formerly produced fire by rubbing one little stick upon another. According to this legend, two boys and a girl received fire from an old man, who is the sun. The bird Huapi advised them to take good care of the fire. Should it once go out, they would have to make new fire with the "tata," which is the /46/ implement for making fire by rubbing two sticks together. The cacique of the Izozó, when I asked him about this implement, also knew it well and called it by its name in Guaraní. Nordenskiöld once saw a Chiriguano who had no matches with him make a fire with such an implement (217).

Ce
372

C
372

217. Nord. 1, p. 50. Cf. Métraux 1, p. 354.

Ceramics

C
Ce
445
114

The great development of ceramics among the Chiriguano and Chané, the very great variety of forms of their diverse vessels and their ornamentation have long excited the interest of ethnologists. Nordenskiöld, who gives the number of variations in the forms of the vessels of these Indians as more than 50, has published a great many of them in outline and also presents the ornamentation of many of them in sketches (218). Eric v. Rosen has also shown numerous

218. Nord. 1, Figs. 77; 78; 82; 92; 113; 117; 121, and Plate 19. Nord. 2, Figs. 38-48.

C
415
114

/46 cont./ Eric V. Rosen has also shown numerous Chiriguano vessels in drawings in his work already cited (219).

219. V. Rosen. Figs. 218-225.

Métraux describes and shows by drawings a great number of Chiriguano baked clay vessels (220).

220. Métraux 1, pp. 370-374; pp. 382-428; Plates 16-19 and 24-60.

A publication by Felix F. Outes deals particularly with Chiriguano ceramics (221).

C
[113]

221. Felix F. Outes: La ceramica Chiriguana /Chiriguano Ceramics/." From the Revista del Museo de la Plata, Vol. XVI (second series, Vol. III), Buenos Aires, 1909, pp. 121-136.

C
Ce
126
415

Because formerly in the museum of the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay we had only four baked clay vessels and a piece of a handle from the Chiriguano, which Doña Maria F. de Casati collected among them and presented to the museum, I had a special interest in filling this gap. With some effort I managed to acquire from the Izozó in Toledo 41 Chiriguano vessels, and from the Chiriguano in Machareti, 55 of them, and with rather more effort I managed to bring them back whole and with their designs in good condition through the long trip to Asunción.

These baked clay vessels collected by me also show great variation in their form and ornamentation. But these diverse variations can be reduced to several groups, according to the purpose for which they were intended.

C
Ce
415

The Chiriguano and Chané baked clay vessels may serve very different ends:

1. To cook foods and liquids.
2. To fry /fritar, literally "to frit"/ foods.
3. To steam maize meal.
4. To carry and keep water.

/54 cont./

C
Ce
283
323

point out here a difference between the baked clay whorls of the Izozó and those of the Chiriguano with regard to their manufacture. The whorls of the latter are made of pieces of clay from any broken vessel, by filing them round and perforating them in the center, while the whorls of the Izozó consist of a small disk with different variations in form, also perforated in the center, but made of baked clay especially for that purpose.

C
Ce
323

Concerning the pottery technique of the Chiriguano and the Chané, we are well instructed by the data given by Nordenskiöld, S. Linné, Métraux (236), and Campana (237).

C
Ce
[113]

236. Nord. 1, pp. 244 and 245. S. Linné: The Technique of South American Ceramics, Göteborg, 1925. Métraux 1, pp. 382-388.

C
[113]

237. Campana (Doménico del), "Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani /Information concerning the Chiriguano/," Archiv per l'antroopologia e la etnologia, Florence, Vol. 32 (1902), p. 382.

C
Ce
323
114

Especially noteworthy among these is the description of the manufacture of baked clay vessels by the Chané on the Itiyuru River, which Nordenskiöld studied in its entire procedure. In the book written by Linné, entitled The Technique of South American Ceramics, we find, in addition to the systematic arrangement of the observations made by Nordenskiöld among the Chiriguano and Chané, important data on the results of chemical analyses and microscopic observations which Linné made on the vessels of these Indians. According to this information, the procedure for manufacturing these vessels is the following:

C
Ce
323

The first condition for the manufacture of baked clay vessels is the availability of suitable clay which has sufficient plasticity so that the vessel can be modeled and fired without being broken. Only a clay with special qualities can meet

/54 cont./

C
Ce
323

these two requirements. Generally it is necessary to correct the defects of the available clay, fixing it by the addition of other substances. Thus the Chiriguano and Chané add to the clay pieces of crushed baked clay. The Chiriguano women in Tarapayu like to use as such an additive, which they call "takupe," pieces of baked clay of ancient origin which they find in great number in their territory and which substance also contains, according to microscopic investigation, pieces of baked clay added to the clay (238).

C
Ce
[113]

238. S. Linné, op. cit., p. 36, Fig. 2, and p. 70. Nordenskiöld, Erland: Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika /Research and Adventure in South America/, Stockholm, 1915, p. 34. Nord. 1, p. 284.

From the quality of the substance of a baked clay vessel of the Chané of the Parapití which is in the Göteborg museum, it turns out that these Indians also add sand to the clay, in addition to pieces of crushed baked clay (239). By microscopic

C
114
323

239. S. Linné, op. cit., p. 33.

analyses of sections of vessels, Linné was able to demonstrate /55/ that pieces of baked clay were added to the clay of the Chiriguano. As a result of these analyses, he points out the following: "Microscopic section analysis of Chiriguano ceramics have shown the materials to contain, besides small quartz grains and larger grains of other minerals, particles of the same colour as the ground-mass, but with distinct outlines. These are due to ground potsherds. There are also some very dark particles, as well as lighter ones, and they, too, are potsherds. The variation as to colour is due to the vessels often in the firing, becoming quite differently coloured in their outer and inner layers" /cited in English/ (240).

240. S. Linné, op. cit., pp. 37 and 68.

/75 cont./

286
415
482
[126]

Nets in the Collection That Are Made with Loops and without the Use of Knots

I. A. 555-566. Net for carrying loads (Chirig.). Lgth. 0.93 m. 1.80 m.
I. A. 567. " " " " " " 1.15 m. (Figs. 134 and 143.)
I. A. 568. " " " " " " 1.20 m. (Fig. 144.)

286
284
415
482

From the Chiriguano I obtained several nets for carrying burdens, which are made without using knots, by connecting the thread in the fashion illustrated by Figures 143 and 144 and which is common among many tribes of the Chaco, as happens among the Tapieté, Matako /Mataco/, Toba, Chorote /Choroti/, and Churupí /Chulupi/.

The great number of nets that I acquired from the Izozó are made with knots without exception, and we must therefore assume that these Indians are not familiar with or do not use the technique of making nets with simple loops and without applying knots, and that this technique, called "Schlingtechnik" in German, is used only by the Chiriguano or a part of them. Nordenskiöld does not mention this technique among the Chiriguano, and in the synoptic outline in which the several techniques of making nets are illustrated the Chiriguano are not mentioned in Column 5 among the Indian tribes which use the technique of making nets without applying knots. Of the burden-carrying nets made of caraguata thread that I acquired from the Chiriguano, ten are made without knots being applied, by the technique called "Schlingtechnik," and only seven by applying knots by the technique called "Knotentechnik." We can therefore assume that this part of the Chiriguano at least uses the technique of making nets without applying knots, although this opinion is contrary to that of Nordenskiöld, who says (278) that

286
284
114
177

278. Nord. 2, p. 116.

all of the nets made by this technique found among the Chiriguano and the Chané were acquired from the Chaco Indians.

C /80 cont./
534 edge, puts forward against Nordenskiöld's deductions his opinion
174 that the ancient Peruvian objects of this form might originally
171 have been flutes and that they might have been used only ex-
ceptionally, in the event of necessity or only secondarily, as
C balance beams. Among the objects of this kind in the ancient
[114] Peruvian collection of the museum in Berlin so many specimens
C clearly show that they are balance beams that I cannot say that
[179] I agree with this opinion by V. Rosen (301). We must agree

C [113]

301. Cf. Max Schmidt, Kunst ünd Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/, p. 99, fig. p. 544, N. 8-10.

with V. Nordenskiöld's opinion that these wooden objects used by the ancient Peruvians as balance beams may have been accepted by the Chiriguano, not as balance beams, because the Chiriguano did not have the need to weigh anything, but as flutes. We must mention that with this kind of flute, open at both ends, two different sounds can be produced, depending upon whether the lower hole is left open or is closed with the finger.

The two Chiriguano flutes made of cane have six holes for varying the sound and one hole, at one side, for the mouth. Cf. Figure 39a /see Fig. 34a, p. 89/. Nordenskiöld, who shows
C such a flute in a drawing (302), is of the opinion that the
C
534
177
171

302. Nord. 2, Fig. 36 A.

Chiriguano and Chané received this kind of flute from the mestizos or whites, because such flutes provided with a hole at one side for the mouth do not exist among the other Indians of South America or among the ancient Peruvians.

/88 cont./

Ee 531

Figure 33b, which corresponds, as does also the form of this flute, completely to ancient Peruvian models. Also, the surface of the Chiriguano cane flute L.A. 494 (cf. Fig. 34a /see p. 88/) shows some incisings.

One of the tattooed decorations is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld, who found it on a woman's arm (310).

310. Nord. 1, Fig. 108.

Social Conditions among the Chiriguano and Chané

Ee 114

With regard to the social conditions among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izoné, I am unable to add to the few data which we know on this subject because the situations in which I found myself when with these Indians were not appropriate for such investigations.

Ee 115 122 125

/89/ Among the Izoné whom I found in Toledo there were some who were designated as cacique. To one of these, who spoke Spanish perfectly, I owe the vocabulary of the Izoné language which I wrote down. I met the Chiriguano only in

Ee 114 197 622

Macharetí, where they had lived for a long time under the supervision of the missionaries and, at the time of my trip, under the chieftainship of one of their own fellows who exercised the functions of a commissioner /comisario/. Two other Chiriguano Indians whom I met in Macharetí were identified as caciques.

Ee 129

In order to complete my statements about the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izoné, I must make a resumé of what we know from the literature regarding the social conditions of those Indians, referring to Moreno's statements, which are based on old documents, as well as those of v. Nordenskiöld, which are based upon his own investigations.

Ee 170 642 643

Naturally, many of the old Chiriguano and Chané social institutions have been lost since they lost their independence from the whites. Also, the power of the great caciques has diminished appreciably since they have been dependent on the whites. When Nordenskiöld

/340 cont./

Property is a sacred thing among the Chiriguano, and the nearest relatives cannot dispose of their belongings without their formal consent.

At the time of my stay in Caruruti. I once asked my old friend "Captain" Karnapadyú to take me to his field. He was very

Fig. 7 Mill for grinding sugar cane at the Ivu mission. (Photo. A. M.)

towhed by /Plate VI appears here/ /341/ the interest that my wish implied and in an instant showed himself ready to do the honors.

His field was about 700 meters from the village on top of one of the cliffs which border the "quebrada" /ravine/ of Caruruti. Access to it was by a steep path across fallen rocks. The entrance to the field was closed by a hedge composed of tree trunks and thorny shrubs which we climbed over with the help of an Indian-style ladder, that is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps.

[Text continues on p. 94]

/341 cont./

241 115 ladder, that is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps. Captain Karnapadyú's chacra /cultivated clearing/ was about 200 meters by 70 meters in size. At the edge stood a small wooden hut covered with straw.

The "Captain" began by showing me some manioc plants and had me cross a large square sown exclusively with beans and gourds /citronilles/. The corn fields came next. They were divided in two by a second hedge formed of trunks and thorns. Squash /courges/ grew between the rows of corn. After the maïzal /field of corn/ followed a second expanse covered with beans, squash, and melons, which Karnapadyú told me belonged to his daughter. Here and there rose several stalks of sorghum. A new cornfield was opposite the

241 532 322 237

Fig. 8. Mask (tovaraanga) carved out of a calabash and provided with hair and eyebrows of horsehair. It was hung up in a planted field where it was serving as a scarecrow. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/5 nat. size.)

241 115 [322] [415] [824] first, and another cabin rose at its edge. In both of these properties the only plants cultivated for their manufacturing value were the cucurbitaceous ones from which the Indians make their cups and bottles.

Next, on the opposite cliff, I visited the chacra of another Indian of the same village. A steeper and more difficult road than the first led to it. The plantation was lower down a hill on which a little hut was perched. These fields were almost solely covered with corn among whose stalks grew squash. As before, the maïzales were preceded by plantings of beans and squash.

/345 cont./

241 The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields.
●115 "Captain" Karnapadyú made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations, without sparing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I answered that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

243 The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for
593 her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of
583 it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano
606

[585]

1. Corrado (p. 155) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacras nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whose laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

433
224 I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano vil-
178 lages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game. It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo,
[251] chuña /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Nino, pp. 249-258).

/462 cont./

Chapter X

Masks

532 The handsome masks, whose description I shall give
796 further on, are worn during the carnival festivities. Difficulties
[122] with the Bolivian authorities kept me from arriving in the Chiriguano villages at the time when they were taking place. When I finally found myself among my Chiriguano friends, they had emptied the last vats of kāwi and were /463/ in their
[126] normal state. Thanks to the closeness of the feast I was able
[241] to collect the masks published here; ordinarily they are destroyed or used in the fields as scarecrows.

115 My host, Mr. Alberto Torrejon, who lives at Ibopeytí on the upper Pilcomayo in an Indian village, gave me some very interesting details about the ceremonies and merrymaking in which he had just participated. I transcribe them as given.

796 At my approach of any festival, the carnival, for exam-
775 ple, the first act consists in causing the souls of the dead to flee.
789 If this precaution is not taken, the widows and relatives of the deceased will have to abstain from taking part. For the purpose of purifying the air, a drum is beaten, and the whole family /Fig. 120 appears here/ which has lost a member weeps and shouts. When the spirits have cleared out, the drum, in a joyful rhythm, gives the signal for merrymaking.

796 The festival is opened by a man and a woman who, with a stick decorated with flowers in hand, advance toward the middle of the square, followed by all the inhabitants in a long chain. When they have arrived at the middle of the area extending between the huts, the couple plants this sign, thus giving the signal for the festival.

[535] The chain breaks up and small groups form to dance in a ring. Their dance consists in advancing and retreating in triple time to the sound of flutes and drums.

/476 cont./

123 Drawings. On Plates XCI-XCIII, one can see gathered to-
126 gether a certain number of drawings executed for my sake by
532 Chiriguano Indians. In order to obtain them I first approached several old men, who refused with an outraged air as if I were
123 asking them to do a thing beneath their dignity. A small boy
126 of 12, Consito, two young men, Asensio and José Miguel, and
115
532

524

Fig. 136. Indian executing the mobile string figure called "culo de caballo /horse's rear end/.

123
126
115 a girl, Iwawasei, showed themselves willing to cover the pages
532 of my album with all kinds of sketches.

Consito did not have to be begged: I was proposing to him a game not only pleasant but fruitful, and he had soon filled two pages (Plate XCI, 1, 2, 4, 9; Plate XCII, 2, 4; Plate
115 XCIII, 1, 3, 10). Asensio, my faithful friend, also gave me
123 complete satisfaction. He was a curious individual, and I keep
126 a particularly vivid and congenial memory of him. He was 25 to 30 years old and was conspicuous because of his extraordinary
[322] activity and ingenuity. At any moment of the day he could be seen busy cutting or carving a piece of wood which then

[See pp. 355-357-- Analyst]

/476 cont./

115 123 126 [322] [463] became an ingeniously conceived tool or still oftener a musical instrument. Asensio used to make violins which on first sight appeared to have come from a European factory. It goes without saying that he was the recognized carpenter of the village and the great provider of household articles. When Asensio had understood the purpose which had brought me to his home, he transformed his hut into a workshop for ethnographic objects; and I owe it to his enterprising spirit that I was able to collect many a piece, today no longer in use, which he reconstructed for me.

At the time when I was in his village, Asensio had received big orders for flutes for the coming Easter festival, [532] and I had a good time watching him work. Once an instrument was finished, he would embellish it with engraved animals.

115 126 532 The material on which Asensio (see Plate XCI /see p.355/, 5, 7,, and Plate XCII /see p.356 /, 3, 6) incised his figures exerted an indirect influence on the pencil drawings he drew in my notebook. They stand out by their angular character, but also by their clearness.

José Miguel (see Plate XCI, 8; Plate XCII, 1, 5, 7, 9; Plate XCIII /see p. 357 /, 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12), whom Ascensio's example had encouraged, asked me to give him the notebook and pencil, and he made me a whole series of drawings which, although rather light and uncertain, sometimes are not lacking [177] in a certain movement. José Miguel had traveled to Argentina: the train and the automobile (which he drew from memory) attest well to his admiration for the /477/ marvels of "Progress" (Plate XCII, 7, 8). Thank God his modernism had not made him forget his mythology, and he was able to draw for me a mythical episode which is to be seen on Plate XCIII, 12, A, B, C: the blue jaguar (yaguarowi, personification of the spots on the moon) is preparing to devour the moon and the sun.

123 126 532 When I had finished with the men, I wanted to have several feminine drawings, imagining that the women would lend themselves willingly to this game since they are the recognized artists of the tribe. All, unanimously and to my great surprise, refused to do it, shouting in the middle of gales of laughter: Aikuaá "I Can't do iT, I don'T Know how."

/477 cont./

000 laughter: Aikuaá "I can't do it, I don't know how." Only one,
123 a girl, Iwawasei, allowed herself to be persuaded by the promise
126 of a spool of thread. Her awkwardness was not feigned, as I
115 was able to see from the beginning, seeing the embarrassed air
532 with which she took the pencil. Once ready to draw, inspiration was suddenly lacking. She stopped short until I had pointed out a vessel to her to copy. Since her confusion only grew greater, she asked Consito, the small boy who made my first drawings, to help her. He drew the vessel on Plate XCIII, 10, which she began conscientiously to reproduce in series. I protested, and then she made me a horse and on this horse's back a man and a child, then a woman (Plate XCI, 3 and XCIII, 7). I am not very sure that all the drawings she told me she had made were hers, for when my attention was diverted by a visit, she had Consito secretly help her.

532 The drawings the Chiriguano executed for my sake recall not
171 only those of our children but approximate appreciably those which have been collected in various regions of South America, notably among the tribes of the Negro River (Koch-Grünberg, 1); the Taulipang and the Makuši (Koch-Grünberg, 3, Plates 28-32, pp. 128-161); the Indians of the upper Xingú (Steinen, 2, Plates III-IV), (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 245-247, pp. 396-398); the Choroti and the Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 2, Figs. 63-66, pp. 130-132); the Kaingua (Ambrosetti, 2, Plates I-III, pp. 674-682), etc.

There could be no question of making a comparative study of these drawings, so uniform is their style. The only details which are worth being brought together are those denoting similar psychological characteristics and yet these common traits are not characteristic of a primitive mentality. I should scarcely have to point out the fact that in drawing a woman, a Kaingua Indian proceeded exactly as did two of my Chiriguano artists (Plate XCI, 3 and 7): he began by representing the woman naked, then dressed her.

/128 cont./

121 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not show Him homage in some way.

771 124 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find out with special care, constancy, and assiduousness what religion they profess and what type of worship they render to their divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

[115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion, and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt true, however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

776 775

[805] [171] [192]

1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the months by moons, and they have other very similar customs. It is very notable that they also have some Hebrew words.

577 771 /129/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is, natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts, since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

/135 cont./

000 Revelation teaches us that legions of angels were lost because of an error or the grave sin of pride and passed into the category /136/ of the condemned or demons. Faith, reason, and common sense teach us that perverse men who die in their perversity are separated from good ones, as evil-doers are separated in this world by being imprisoned in jails. Divine justice demands punishment for the perverse, who, like condemned persons, pass into the category of lost spirits and as semblance of the demons, God allowing this, and they can appear to those of us who live here in the world to detain us along the way of sin or to warn us about it.

776 787 Under this concept it is not repugnant even to common sense to admit the probability that the Chiriguano do see the Aña, demon or evil spirit. Sacred history speaks of visions and apparitions; profane histories cannot combat them, but rather they relate innumerable facts of demoniac apparitions which have appeared by means of spiritualism. It is not strange that such a thing should happen among the Chiriguano. Doubtless it is incredible that it should be so frequent. They say that they see the demons at every moment of the night, whenever there is no fire or light, but this is a puerile worry, and due to fear and fright in some and to ignorance in others (1).

[372] [789] 1. In all the houses of the true Chiriguano there is always a fire burning at night for the principal end of keeping away the evil spirit or Aña.

773

Beliefs Relative to the Creation

• [115] Before going on I am going to relate what was told to me by the cacique Anduari of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission, who, in order to increase his income, is a sorcerer or witch doctor for the Indians and some whites in a wide area. According to the account that follows, the human race, or the Chiriguano, was destroyed twice. The first time and its restoration have already been seen. The second occurred in the following way (2).

[585] [777] 2. Anduari gave his account in the presence of his

/154 cont./

773 821 [115]

I asked Anduari the cause of such an uproar, and he told me the following story. The jaguar had sworn to destroy the Chiriguano, as had also the Aguara-Tunpa. The Tunpa, who knows everything and always compassionate toward them, told this to his relatives, who are in the sky and who are called Güirayohasa, the constellation of the Pleiades. These relatives then informed those who were in danger, and they took the precaution of hiding themselves.

Nevertheless, two of the most valiant Chiriguano, in order not to be in continual fear, prepared to put an end to the jaguars. They went out into the countryside, made themselves two long swords of soto wood, and thus armed, they found out where the jaguars drank water. They hid, watching for the arrival of their enemies in order to slay their leader.

They did not have to wait long; when all of them came by and when the leader put his head down to drink from the spring of crystalline water, one of the Chiriguano delivered a great blow on his head with the sword, separating it from the body; with the utmost facility the rest of them fled in several directions, and the head, jumping, disappeared from their presence.

It was pursued by both warriors, but the head prayed to the moon, which it encountered on its way, and the moon took pity and hid it in its breast, and when the warriors arrived and inquired about the jaguar's head, the moon answered in all calmness that it knew nothing and had seen nothing. Naturally they had no faith in its words, and they went away from there, saying to it that one day the tiger would be seen and everyone would know who it was (2).

2. When the chief of the jaguars disappeared, the latter were finished and there was calm, the Indians being able to go out once more without fear to their tasks in the fields.

When the young men were far away, the moon rejoined the jaguar's head to its body, and it lived, but it no longer wished to live on earth /155/ for fear of its enemies, preferring to remain with its liberator, reviver, and benefactor, but later it made its ferocity known.

Ce 539 /271 cont./

been poisoned, and he died. Aguaratunpa found him dead. He said he wanted to bring him to life again. Aguaratunpa took a plant, "ihuahuasu." With this he beat him. He leaped over him, first directly over his body, then from head to tail.

The brother came to life again and said: "I slept a long time." -- "You did not sleep, you were dead," said Aguaratunpa. The latter sent his brother to heaven (2). When it thunders,

2. Ara = vault of heaven, universe.

Aguaratunpa's brother is going for a walk.

C 539 [115] About the Son of Tatutunpa and How He Rescued His Mother.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási on the Rio Grande.

In a house there was a girl, Inómu, who had never had a husband. In front of the house there was a great drinking bout. Aguaratunpa, Tatutunpa, and Dyori were there. The parents of the girl took her along and set her on the ground where people were busy drinking maize beer. Aguaratunpa thought that Inómu was very pretty. Tatutunpa thought so too. "I shall make the girl pregnant," he said and started to dig. Aguaratunpa stood in front. Tatutunpa dug himself into the earth and up under the girl (3).

3. Modified.

When Tatutunpa was finished, he crawled out again and told Aguaratunpa what he had done.

"I want to try too," said Aguaratunpa and crawled into the passageway. He had not gone far when he got stuck. Tatutunpa seized him by the tail and pulled him out.

/286 cont./

539
[115]

The Man Who Burned Up Añatunpa.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási on the Rio Grande.

When people gathered honey, Añatunpa (1) would find

1. It is not said here which añatunpa is meant.

them and devour them.

Once there was a man who gathered honey. Then Añatunpa came and asked what he was going. "I am gathering honey," said the man. "Continue," said Añatunpa. When the man had gathered enough, he killed him and tossed him to Dyóri, who devoured him and even licked up the blood. Añatunpa killed many people in this fashion.

A man had gone out to gather honey. The /287/ toucan (1)

1. Rhamphastus.

said to him: "If Añatunpa comes, ask him to carry you to his house and kill you there."

While the man was gathering honey, Añatunpa came. "What do you want?" asked the man.

"I want to eat you up," said Añatunpa.

"Do not do that here, but carry me to your house instead and eat me there," said the man. Añatunpa now took the man on his neck and carried him to his house.

"Break off branches and build a fire on Añatunpa's neck," said the toucan. When Añatunpa went through the thick /Fig. 130 appears here/ brush, the man broke off twigs and branches and carefully lighted a fire on Añatunpa's neck.

"If you come to a low branch, cling to it!" said the toucan to the man. This he did. Soon Añatunpa noticed that there was burning on his neck and he started to run. The fire grew. His hair caught fire, and soon Añatunpa burned up completely and died.

/287 cont./

The Man Who Killed Añatunpa.

539 [115] Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási on the Rio Grande.

Añatunpa devoured all the human beings that he could catch. A man came along who was carrying wood to Añatunpa's cave. "Come, let's play!" said Añatunpa.

/288/ "What kind of a game?" said the man.

"You shall give me a blow on the forehead with an ax, and if I do not die, I shall hit you," said Añatunpa.

Añatunpa stood up straight, offered his forehead to the man, and the latter hit him directly in the middle of it. Since Añatunpa's forehead was as hard as iron, this did not affect him. Añatunpa now gave the man a blow on the forehead, killed him, and tossed

291 177 531 301

Fig. 130. Silver pin for fastening the tiru. The form Indian, the ornamentation Spanish. Chiriguano. Parapiti, 1/3.

539 him to Dyóri, who devoured him.

On another occasion another man came to Añatunpa's cave. Añatunpa proposed the same game to him. Then a fly, "Mbéru," called to him not to hit him on the forehead, but in the nape of the neck. When Añatunpa, with eyes closed, stood up to receive the blow, the man went behind him, struck him in the nape of the neck, and Añatunpa fell down dead. Dyóri asked him how he was able to kill Añatunpa. The man told him what Mbéru had said.

"Very good," said Dyóri.

Ce
539

/290 cont./

in the nostrils. The fox sneezed, wiped his nose, and said: "Can the mosquitoes not leave me in peace just when I am dreaming about the jaguar's wife and daughters with whom I slept!"

/291/ Now the jaguar tickled him a little more strongly, and the fox woke up. The jaguar prepared to seize him.

The fox hunched himself up, and when the jaguar hesitated before seizing him, he jumped to the ground with one bound and started running as fast as he could. The jaguar ran after him. Finally the fox grew tired, however, and the jaguar caught him and swallowed him. The fox came to life again in the stomach of the jaguar. The latter threw him up. The jaguar devoured the fox again, but again the latter came to life in his stomach and was thrown up again. Once more the jaguar devoured the fox, who again came to life, etc.

C
[301]
[531]

Fig.131. Silver chest-ornament. Chiriguano, Caipipendi. Worn by men.

Ce
[171]

This legend is widespread. In somewhat different form I heard it told in Carmen in Mojos.

C
539
[115]

When the Turtle "Carumbe" Killed the Jaguar.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási.

Once there was a great drinking bout. Aguaratunpa, Carumbe, and "Taturapua" (the ball armadillo) were there. The little son of the turtle was crying. When they asked him why he was crying, he said he wanted to have the claws of the jaguar to play with. The wife of the turtle told her husband he should fetch the claws of the jaguar so that the little one could play with them.

/291 cont./

539 The turtle set out and came to a "samuo" trunk with large, sharp thorns. He stool there and waited for the jaguar. In the distance he could hear his howling. The jaguar came closer, still howling, and found the turtle at the foot of the tree.

"What are you doing here?" said the jaguar.

"I am playing," said the turtle.

"What are you playing?" said the jaguar.

"I climb up the samuo and then I roll down," said the turtle.

"Let me see," said the jaguar, who had a desire to devour the turtle.

/292/ The latter climbed the trunk up to the crown and rolled down without injuring itself. This amused the jaguar, and the turtle had to climb up again. Once more it rolled down without injuring itself. The jaguar wanted to try it too. He climbed up and rolled down, but tore open his entrails on the thorns and died.

The turtle took home the claws of the jaguar as playthings for his little son.

The Love Story of the Hummingbird.

•[115] Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási.

There were two girls who heard Chinu (hummingbird) play the flute. He played so beautifully that one of the girls said: "I want him as my husband." She went to the hummingbird and slept with him.

"Let us go into my house," said the hummingbird. When they got there, it was so small that there was no room for the girl. She therefore went back to her village.

In the evening the hummingbird came to the edge of the village and played the flute, in order to lure her. The girl listened and said: "It is the hummingbird who is playing." But she did not go back to him. Every evening the hummingbird

1: Métraux E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians
[Études sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano]

Alfred Métraux

Tucumán: 1930

Revista del Instituto de Etnología
de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán
Vol. 1, Part 3, pp. 295-493, 598

Translated from the French by Jean Winchell

Human Relations Area Files

1967

[Title page]

/295/ Preface

114 In the chapters to follow, I propose to publish part of the
12 results obtained in the course of the expedition that I undertook in the Bolivian and Argentinian Chaco in my capacity as director of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Tucumán.

114 This expedition took place from February to June, 1929.
[101] Its itinerary was the following: Having left Tucumán, I went by railroad to La Quiaca where I stayed for several days, making observations on the more or less half-breed natives of the region. From La Quiaca I went to Tarija, where I remained longer than I might have wished because of the suspicions my trip raised at the time of the Paraguayan-Bolivian conflict.

114 After a 15-day stop I left Tarija to reach the Chiriguano
101 tolderías of the upper Pilcomayo. I crossed the village of Santa
103 Ana, then the Abra del Cóndor, the Narvaez River, the post of San Diego, passed five kilometers from San Luis (Entre-Ríos) to stop at the Cuesta de San Simon, where I found the first Chiriguano. Once having crossed the Cuesta de San Simón I quickly reached the Salado River, then the Chiriguano villages of Timboy
[126] (Saladito). It was there that I made my best acquisitions of pottery and where I collected the oldest objects. The inhabitants
[178] of these rancherías, who live relatively far from the highway from Argentina to Santa Cruz, have preserved the traditions and culture of their ancestors better than their racial brothers have. From Saladito I reached the village of Itasiti and then Salado Grande,
[361] in order /296/ to reach the Pilcomayo at the confluence with the Salado. There, the Chiriguano villages are large and numerous. The most interesting are those of Ñawirenda, Ibopeytí, and Yumbía.

After stopping for some time in this place, I continued my trip toward Huacaya and the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo.

In one day I went from Boicovo to Cuevo, going by way of the mission of Santa Rosa.

[197] From Cuevo on I was in the mission of Ivu, which is without
[178] doubt the one where the old Chiriguano customs have undergone the fewest modifications.

/296 cont./

114 101 103 From Cuevo I left for the northwest toward the Parapiti River region. I crossed this river near Pipi. After stopping in that village, I followed an Indian path which led me to Cururuí, to the home of my good friend Captain Karnapadyú. I spent a week with him and left him only to explore the whole Caipipendí valley, visiting all the Indian villages one after another. At Caipipendí itself I made fruitful excavations and collected interesting myths.

The limit of my trip toward the north was the little city of Charagua.

I devoted the last part of my trip to more or less long stays in the Franciscan missions of Tarairí, Tigüipa, Machareti, and Ivu.

Before going back to Argentina I made an excursion into the Igüembé valley as far as the village of Masavi.

114 124 The last two weeks of my expedition were devoted to the study of the Chané Indians who live near Aguaray in the Salta Chaco (Argentine Republic).

Previously I had been obliged, for various reasons, to stop at Oran for a month. I took advantage of this to make collections among the Ashluslay Indians who come there for the sugarcane harvest.

In this volume I shall publish only the results of my expedition which bring new facts and details to light. Therefore the chapters I devote to the Chiriguano must not be considered an exhaustive study of their culture, but simply as a contribution. Chiriguano culture has been the subject of four important works, two of which are by ethnographers of great authority (1). /297/

1. Nordenskiöld (2, 5, and 10) and Rosen (1) /the underlined numbers following an author's name refer to the boldface numbers in the bibliography/. Campana's monograph on the Chiriguano, which I shall often have occasion to cite, is only a recompilation and reorganization of the manuscript notes left by the Italian missionary, the Reverend Father Doroteo Giannechini. This work is excellent in many respects. As for the book of the Reverend

/291 cont./

121 114 Father Bernardino de Nino. It is only a translation of Campana's article, filled out with copious borrowings from Corrado's work. Nevertheless the Reverend Father Bernardino de Nino added many very interesting details to the texts that he reproduces, which make consultation of his Etnografía chiriguana indispensable.

121 126 My aim was to complete the work of my predecessors and to get together for the Museum of Tucumán a collection which would be truly representative of the last of the cultures which formerly flourished within the limits of the old gobernación of Tucumán. My Chiriguano collections, along with those collected by Nordenskiöld, are, I believe, the most complete ones from this region that exist in the world. They bear witness, I hope, to the richness of this area from an ethnographic point of view, a richness which has been left unexploited and which will disappear in a few years.

121 May these pages demonstrate that every culture is a whole complex, so varied, that no ethnographer can study all its details in the course of a single trip. It is not useless to go back where others have preceded you, for, whatever their merits may have been, the material cannot be exhausted in one time.

122 There remains the paying of a debt of gratitude by thanking Doctor J. B. Terán and Doctor J. Heller, who, as rector and vice-rector of the University of Tucumán, gave me the means to bring about this trip. The new rector of the University, Doctor J. Prebisch, granted me the sizable funds which publication of the results of this expedition required and supported constantly the Revue d'Ethnologie of my Institute. I am eager to make known to him here how grateful I am.

114 122 I wish to express my thanks again to all those who helped me in the course of my trip: first and foremost the Franciscan missionaries who gave me generous hospitality and helped me as much as possible; my debt is particularly great to the Reverend Father Jocundo Ferrari, thanks to whom I was able to carry out without damage the transportation of my collections from the upper Pilcomayo to Cuevo; to Father Angrisani who received me so frequently in his Ivu mission. Neither do I wish to forget Fathers

/707 cont./

Luis Marinelli, Dionisio Polvorini, Juan Nicolai, and Donovano Cattinari, who backed me up on various occasions. The Reverend Father Enrique Ragini did me a service for which I was very grateful by committing me to the care of all the missionaries of the Chaco.

The prefect of Tarija, Colonel Nuñez del Prado, facilitated my trip /708/ by giving me a safe-conduct which was particularly useful to me in dealing with the authorities of eastern Bolivia. This man, courteous and intelligent, has just died on the battlefield. I wish to salute his memory with gratitude.

My companions Means. Barry helped me during my whole trip and rendered invaluable services which I remember gratefully, as well as the important aid given me by Means. Anzé of Tarija.

I received cordial hospitality from Mr. Benardi of Ñancarvinza and from Mr. Vicente Constantini, whom I thank here.

Mr. Alberto Tarvajón of Ibopeyti showed himself to be a host full of intelligence, and his intervention on my behalf with the Indians was very useful to me.

I should show myself ungrateful and unjust if I did not here express all I owe to the Indians themselves, whose reception, once the first mistrust was dissipated, was always so cordial, so generous. Here I should like to cite the name of my old friend, Captain Kamapadyó, of Caruruñé, who was a courteous and kind friend to me and who made my stay in the Caipipendí valley so pleasant. Some day may I come back to my Chiriguano friends with mules loaded with knives, cloth, and beads, and thus fulfill the wishes they expressed so often to me.

/299/

First Part

Material Culture

To Eva who was my traveling companion.

Introduction

121 For anyone who wants to verify experimentally, if I may say so, the value of the methods which are being adopted in modern ethnography, for anyone who wishes to judge the factors which condition the formation and evolution of civilizations, there is no better field than the study of the Chiriguano Indians.

We know where they came from, the period when they formed a new nation, the populations with which they mingled or were in contact, the influences they underwent and their duration, and finally we are acquainted with the vicissitudes of their history: in a word, we can be present at the formation and development of this people from their origin to their present decline, an experience unique in South America, rare perhaps elsewhere, and in any case rich in instruction.

Adaptation to the environment, borrowing of new cultural elements, abandonment of traditions and techniques, somatic and linguistic changes, so many problems that the Chiriguano civilization poses and that the historical documents and the collections permit solving or at least clarifying.

122 123 Chiriguano culture is composed of elements of different origins, borrowed from tribes which had only a little in common with one another. It involves an old Guarani substratum, transformed and entirely renewed by the contribution of the Arawak culture of the Chané, which itself had been enriched and modified by the influence of the Andean populations of present-day southern Bolivia. A common environment and long proximity allowed many a technique and industry of the primitive Indians of the Chaco to be adopted and assimilated by the Chiriguano. The importance of this third component is minimal.

/299 cont./

177 An analysis of Chiriguano culture (see Nordenskiöld, 10,
178 pp. 196-213) makes manifest the heterogeneity which the history of the tribe caused to be suspected a priori. The pottery, basketry, weapons, and furniture almost constantly present disparate characteristics in which are expressed this play of influences, this intermixture of races and ideas of which the present-day culture of the Chiriguano is the product.

/300/ The ethnographer feels all the more at ease in his analysis when at every step history confirms or invalidates the findings to which his comparative work leads him. Thus he walks on firm ground, and the results he has acquired in this particular domain will justify his method when he uses it to solve problems whose data are less complete.

181 The Chiriguano, in more than one respect, deserve to hold a preponderant place in the ethnography of South America. They have played an important role in the history of Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina; their civilization has been brilliant and has maintained itself intact almost until our time; besides, they are remarkably endowed from the point of view of character and intelligence. To these qualifications they add that of having built up their civilization, so to say, before our very eyes and of offering to science a field where it moves with some sureness.

In order to understand the point of view I have tried to put forward in this introduction, it is indispensable to know, in its main lines, the early history of these Indians.

Chapter I

000 Historical Outline of the Formation of the Chiriguano Nation

/Eight lines of poetry in Spanish, from Barco Centenera, La Argentina, pp. 185-186, are omitted in the translation./

121 My intention is not to recount the history of the Chiriguano
175 from the 16th century to today insofar as we can know it from official documents and chronicles. This work has been done and generally well done (Corrado; Kersten, pp. 66-69; Serrano y Sanz; Nordenskiöld, 7 and 8, pp. 45-58; Gandía, 2, pp. 25-56 and id., 3, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía, etc.).

/300 cont./

C 174 121 and id., 1, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.). I shall limit myself to tracing here, in their main lines, the characteristics of the great Guarani migration which ended in the formation of the Chiriguano tribe.

C 101 174 [199] The Chiriguano Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family. A branch separated from the great Guarani nation or, more exactly, a swarm separated from the whole group of tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil called Guarani, they came to establish themselves at the foot of the Andes at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century after crossing the Chaco plains.

G 174 167 439 [197] /301/ The causes of this great movement, which swept along so many thousands of Guarani toward the frontiers of the Inca Empire, are explained by the singular attraction which metal objects, clothes, in a word everything that can make life easier and more beautiful, exerted and continue to exert on the Indians. The Guarani of Paraguay and the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had known for a long time about Peru and its riches. From there they used to receive bronze instruments and ornaments of silver and sometimes also of gold (1). At the same time as these objects,

1. On the trade relations between the peoples of the Andes and the tribes of the Chaco, Paraguay, and Brazil, cf. Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 255-259.

confused descriptions reached them of these mountain peoples, so strange, who lived in stone huts, had "deer with long hair" at their service, and who decorated their persons with brilliant jewels. G [487] Bronze axes, necklaces, bracelets, breastplates, diadems, and goblets of silver reached them by a trade route whose exact position is unknown, but which probably used to pass through the northern Chaco. Ce 175 437 439 The Chané /Chane/ who lived in direct contact with the populations of the Inca Empire and traded with them, played the role of brokers, and with them as middlemen these tools and ornaments reached Paraguay, passing from hand to hand (2).

2. Hernández, p. 322: "They were asked of what race are those who have the silver and the

/301 cont./

175 435 439 /fn. 2 cont./ gold and how they contracted for it and it came into their possession; they said that the payzunoes, who were a three-days' journey from their land, gave it to their men in exchange for bows and arrows and slaves which they took from other races, and that the payzunoes get it from the chaneses and chimenoes and carcaraes and candirees, who are other Indian peoples who have it in great quantity, and that the Indians contract for it, as was said." /Translated from the Spanish./

175 101 Before going into the regions of the "true metal," the Spanish conquistadors made numerous inquiries in order to become acquainted with the tribes among whom they might find the coveted riches. Thanks to this precaution, we have several lists of the native tribes of eastern Bolivia who lived in contact with the Andean peoples. The most complete of these ethnographic nomenclatures is the one that the valuable Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala gives us /the following quotations are translated from the Spanish/: "He said that on the left-hand side, which is to the west, there are many races found among the sierras and about which he has information; they are called; turubones, and ayguas, and chanes, and tucoas and ceucoçes, and turucoçes guaracis, and xaraes, and that above them, on the same side, there are some of his race of carioe"; (pp. 339-340).

"Asked if he knew or had heard said what race has the said metal, he said that he knew only that the races of the goacamas, and turubones, and xacosy, and garpidic, and huetari, and oadris, and oape, and suacheaguy, and oetary, and asua, and naga, ahuagu, and chanes, and sy, and sycosy, and decoxy, have some sheets, and these races are from the one side of the river and from the other, but that those who

/301 cont./

101
175

/fn. 2 cont./ have more are the ayguas; asked if he had seen it, he said that, yes, he had seen their many sheets, but that they are their enemies and sometimes go to war against them; asked who gives them the said metal, he said that he had heard it said that a race which is called vntig from the interior country and who get it, from hand to hand, from the payçunos; asked who makes the doublets /rropetas/ that the said principal wore to appear, which were of cotton, he said that they and all the other Indians named above make them for their clothing; asked if the said ayguas are on banks of the river and on what side, he said on the left-hand side, thus, the west one; asked what food they have, he said maize and mandioca and mandubys and some fish, and other things that they plant; asked if he knew or had heard what Indians are the true masters /señores/ of the metal, if the payxunos or others, he said that he did not know and he had heard that the one who has it is the said ayguas" (pp. 341-342).

"He named among those who were near the river other races from the left side, that is, where the sun sets, called chane, and quiguaracoxi, and chemechalcosy, and maçuacuri, and xaquidy; asked who these chanes are, he said they were like them and spoke caryo" (p. 342).

"Asked if he knew which races are the true masters of the metal, he said that he knew only that he had heard it said that they are the chanes, and payçunos, and carcaras, and they are the ones who have the white metal" (pp. 344-345).

"Asked what races are the masters of the metal, he said that many races have metal, especially the payçunos and guariguari, and çorocotoqui, and cherotono, and turopecoçi, and pane, and

/301 cont./

101 175

/fn. 2 cont./ tipeono, and maracaono, and corocotoçe, and xamaracoçe, and çemeono and carcaras, but that the true ones who take out the metal are the canires and chemaos" (p. 348).

"Asked if he knew what Indians have the said metal, he said that he knew only that he had heard it said that the Indians that they call chibivno and payçuno, and chamoroono, and guaycuno, and carcara, and corotocoty, and maya, and cocey chane, and that the entire route is populated and that the slaves who absented themselves when those of ytatyn killed the chanes have already returned to their old seats" (pp. 351-352).

Curiously, a century later in the regions in question, except for the Chiriguano and the Chané, we find none of the tribal names mentioned in the 16th century by the Guarani interpreters. Would these innumerable tribes have disappeared? [178] That does not seem very likely, for up to our times this region has not undergone change from an ethnic point of view. The solution of this problem is given to us by this same Relación (p. 350). These names of nations only designate Chané subtribes, as the Chané chief questioned by Irala (id., p. 351) explains very well: "the said cheroçe said that they took three days to his country and he knew the route very well because he had been raised there and up to now had not heard news from his country, but now he knew that he wanted to go there with the said captain and that, if he desired, he would go then, and that his race is many, and, even though they are chanes, all are called by a name for each part, and for this reason they are called çeritocoçe, and from the last houses of his race to the çorocotoquys they take three or four days, and

Ce 101 175

/301 cont./

/fn. 2 cont./ from the çorocotoquys to the payçunos two, and near them are the çurumanos and ximeonos, and from there they take a four or five days' journey to the carcaras who are the masters of the metal, and together with them are the camires who similarly are the masters of the metal." Naturally the "maya" concerned in some of these lists are the Mbayá /Mbaya/ of the Guaikurú /Guaicuru/ family.

G 174 177 648 169

/302/ This infiltration of objects probably lasted a very long time before the Guarani had the idea of going themselves to get them at their source. Notions about the Inca Empire, at first vague and uncertain, must have become more precise little by little and must have increased their desire to know with their own eyes the fabulous men and countries which produced so many beautiful and strange things. We must imagine the attitude of the Guarani Indians toward the populations subject to the Inca as being /303/ in every way similar to that of their descendants, the Chiriguano, and the present-day small tribes of the Chaco with respect to the white men. There are still tribes who have never seen them, but who already possess iron objects whose importance in the struggle for life they appreciate fully. I have in my collections two Tsirakua burins whose points are of iron, and yet these Indians have never seen a white man and probably have scarcely heard of them. If there is a chance to be able to approach without danger half-breed or creole villages, they will do it. Thus it is that we have each year a temporary migration of thousands of Indians toward the ingenios (sugar mills) of Argentina. Among the numerous tribes which make their way toward the sugar-cane plantations, there are perhaps many who had never had any direct contact with the white men to whom they are going in order to seek an easing of their lives and an improvement in their material conditions. By leaving for the Chaco and the Andes, the Guarani thus obey the same aspirations as these poor Tšawanko (Chiriguano) whom one meets in autumn on the highways which lead to Argentina.

Z [126 412 177]

G 177 221 464 169

C [167]

/303 cont./

on the highways which lead to Argentina. If the Guarani invasion was brutal, it is because they felt powerful enough to try to take possession of the coveted riches by force. Not long ago the Chiriguano did not hesitate to attack the farms of the creoles if they profited by it or if a wrong had been done to them.

We must remember also that the Guarani were warlike; used to overcoming neighboring tribes, they did not draw back at the prospect of distant expeditions and besides were endowed with a spirit of adventure, which has caused them to be called the "Phoenicians of South America." At the beginning of the 16th century the Guarani were in the full swing of expansion; the crossing of the Chaco was not going to stop them.

The first Guarani who crossed the Chaco and came home again richly clothed, adorned with metal ornaments, doubtless aroused the same attitude which is felt toward any modern Chiriguano who comes back to his village after six months' stay in Argentina. One should see them then, dressed from head to foot, booted and spurred and prancing about proudly on a more or less emaciated horse. Question them about their recollections: with pride they will tell you about their love affairs, will allude to their bloody brawls, and will express their admiration for all the surprising things they have seen. They will talk to you especially about their gains, for they left in order to have knives, axes, heads of cattle. It is those assets which have given them "face" and improved their existence, and the acquisition is clothed in all the charms of adventure and a trip to the land of wonders (1).

1. On the attraction that Peru exerted on the Guarani Indians and on the trips the latter made toward the Cordillera, see the texts cited by Gandia (2, p. 32, notes 1 and 2). This is why the Guarani insisted very strongly that Irala lead them to the land of the Indian "masters of the metal."

In a letter from Martín González (1556) quoted by Gandia, it is said that at Asunción "there are many Indians who have gone, come

/303 cont./

177 181 167 there two or three times with their children and wives, through here in front of this city, by a river which would be two leagues from here, which goes to the city of the Plata, and near the river the Indians from here are settled and more throughout the cordillera, and they say that they are not a hundred leagues from here.

"Also these carios have gone there to the sierras and come by another river, which is up to forty leagues from here, this lower Paraguay, which is called the Ypití; and thus likewise carios villages are there in the sierras, near this said river, which goes, according to what those who come from Peru say, to near the city of the Plata." /Translated from the Spanish./

167 177 797 /304/ The migration of the Guarani toward the west goes on today in a not very apparent form but with a certain regularity. It is probable that the secularization of the Franciscan missions, which will bring in its wake the impoverishment of the Indians and will render their fate more miserable in their present homeland, will have the result of accelerating this exodus.

174 167 Were there no other motives than the desire to pillage or trade which might formerly have led the Guarani to the land of metal?

Apparently not. But every ethnic phenomenon is complex in its causes and effects, and trying to explain it by one single factor is an attempt always superficial and subject to caution. The work of the historian, like that of the ethnographer, is to separate all the elements which have combined to produce the facts which traditions and chronicles record.

[721] Granted that the Guarani migration had as its direct cause the taste for pillage, the singular attraction which Peru exerted on the Indians of the forests; but was there not also some obscure belief, some mystic aspiration which might have played its role in this great collective adventure? Along with the definite ambition to conquer was there not mixed the memory of some old myth which might have contributed to launching this movement? I think so.

Tupi-Guarani SL6
Tupinamba S09

T-G /304 cont./
773 All the Tupi-Guarani tribes, the northern as well as the
[184] southern ones, knew in the 16th century and still know a myth about a "Land without affliction," where men live always young and immortal, where everything grows without effort, where game falls by itself under the hunter's arrow, in a word, a kind of earthly Paradise where the great civilizing God has withdrawn after effecting his "transformations" in this world below and giving
T-G manioc to men. The dead will join him if they are buried according
[775] to the proper rites and if they have won out over all the ordeals which await them on the road to the Beyond. The salient feature of the "Land without affliction" is that it can be reached without necessarily going through the door of death: pious and bold men can go to live there on condition that they take the right road, are worthy of it, and know the rites. Powerful magicians have always had access to it, /Plate I appears here/ /305/ and their example has given rise to the hope that entire tribes would be able to reach it also if they were led by medicine men perfectly in-
T-G formed about the location of this earthly Paradise. From the 16th
175 century on we can follow tribes in their quest for this promised
167 land and see them undertake vast migrations to get there: some
773 took place toward the east, that is, toward the ocean; others toward the west in the direction of Peru (1).

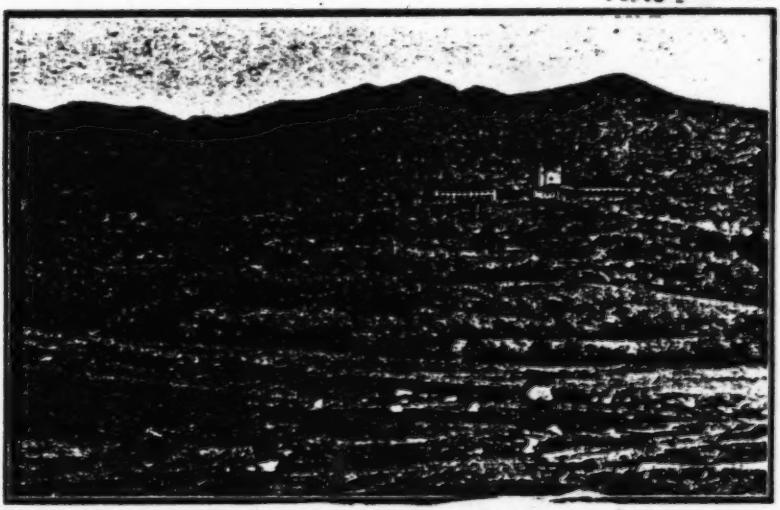
1. On the Tupi-Guarani migrations in search of the "Land without affliction," see Métraux, 1, pp. 6-22. I have analyzed the myths about the "Land-without-affliction" and studied the mystical movements these beliefs instigated in a chapter of my book on the religion of the Tupinamba (see Métraux, 3, pp. 201-224).

Ta Let us cite as a reminder the migration of the Tupinamba,
175 who in 1539 went up the Amazon to arrive in about 1549 in
167 Chachapoyas province in Peru; the two migrations which had as their scene of action northern Brazil, in 1570 (?) and 1609, and whose religious nature is undeniable; finally, always for the coast of Brazil, the wanderings of these Tupinamba, who, having

[Text Continues on P. 16]

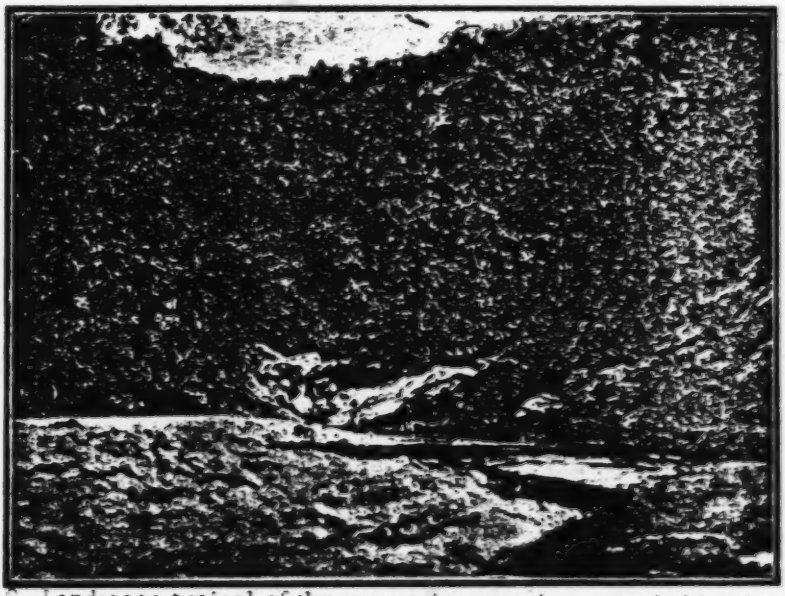
Plate I

133
797



1. Panoramic view of the Franciscan mission of San Pascual de Boicovo (Huacaya Valley). (Photo. by the Reverend Father Honorato Catinari)

133



2. Landscape typical of the mountainous region occupied by the Chiriguano. View taken in a gorge in the neighborhood of the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo (Photo. by Reverend Father Honorato Catinari)

[127]

Tupinamba S09
Guarani SM4
Tupi SN7

Ta /305 cont./
175 left in about 1600, arrived ten years later on the middle course
167 of the Amazon on the island of the Tupinambarana after staying at the sources of the Madeira not far from the Andes. The last
G in date of these ethnic movements of mystical origin is the one
175 which led the Apapokúva-Guarani /Apapocuva/ from the frontier
167 of Paraguay to the coast of Brazil and which lasted more than a century, from 1810 to 1912.

Ti The vague knowledge that the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had
175 about the marvels of the Inca Empire explains the trek toward
167 the west of some of these migrations. Having arrived at the sea-coast and seeing that it was impossible to reach the "Land without affliction" in this direction, it is possible that the Tupi began to look for it in the other direction, as did several groups of the Apapokúva-Guarani not long ago. The prestige of the Inca civilization doubtless must have influenced their decision, and in many cases they certainly tended to merge it with that mythical land where they wanted so ardently to go.

Ti If I risk this hypothesis, it is because of the impossibility of
[174] explaining otherwise this rush toward Peru which took place in the 16th century among certain Tupi tribes of the coast of Brazil.
Ta Such a point of view is not too bold, for otherwise how could one
174 justify the eagerness displayed by the Tupinamba to reach Peru
175 after going up the Amazon in the effort they made in 1539 to
167 enter the "land of immortality and eternal rest"? How can one
773 explain why the Tupinamba came a century later to settle temporarily on the upper Madeira near the Andes, when they too were pursuing the chimera of the "Land without affliction" (2)?

2. When I was concerned with this migration (see Métraux, 1, pp. 22-24), I had believed, on the strength of Acuña, that the cause had been the desire to escape the tyranny of the Portuguese. Nevertheless I was not surprised to learn later while reading Heriarte's book (pp. 41-42) that these Tupinamba had undertaken this long exodus to seek the "Land without afflication." The passage in question is of the greatest interest and must be

Tupinamba 509
Guarani SM4

/305 cont./

Tg 174 175 167 773

quoted in its entirety: /see the foreign text for the passage quoted in Portuguese/.

Something had to /306/ push them toward the west and determine the choice of their itinerary; the mirage which was attracting them was the one which was to cost the lives of so many Spaniards later on. It is a matter of the "great tidings" of this mysterious country abounding in riches, located beyond the forests toward the setting sun, and which the Tupinamba certainly likened and then merged with the "Land without affliction" about which the old myths told.

G 773 173 175 127

In the same period an analogous tendency to identify the country of the Inca with the one where the culture hero lived can be noted among the Guarani of Paraguay.

There is a very interesting, but seldom cited text which shows very well how the Guarani pictured the Inca Empire at the beginning of the 16th century. By comparing it to what we know of the myths of these same Indians, we shall be able to draw many a curious parallel, and I hope by this means to demonstrate that the Guarani believed they saw in the Inca their culture hero, Candire.

The document in question is found in the Relaciones geográficas de Indias (Vol. II, pp. LXXXIII-LXXXVII), where it comes under the following title: Relación general que se tomó en pública forma y se envió autorizada al virrey en la provincia de los Xarayes, que es en 17 grados sobre el rio Paraguay, 250 (leguas) de la Asumpcion, donde habia llegado el general Nuflo de Chaves con 150 hombres, con órden é intento de poblar en ella, y despues, por la relación que tomó paso adelante /General account which was put in published form and, authorized, was sent to the viceroy in the province of the Xaraye, which, at 17 degrees, is above the Paraguay River, 250 (leagues) from Asunción, where General Nuflo /Nufrio/ de Chaves arrived with 150 men, with orders and intent to colonize in it, and afterwards, by the account that he took further measures/.

/306 cont./

773 193 175 [648] The Spanish, addressing the Uratuvere, who formed a small Guarani colony in the region of the Xaray /Xaraye/, declared to them that they had come to bring them iron, to chastize the bad ones and to reward the good ones. To that the latter answered "that they were very pleased since they had very much wanted to see us in their lands, and that through us they would learn the days and God would not be offended with them and would give them more fruits on the land, and that their chief, Candire, had so wished it." /Translated from the Spanish./ The account continues in these words: "He had asked them where he was and why they called him Candire. He said that he was dead, and as for the reason for the name, he said that in times past his father was called Caya, who united the other neighboring peoples and entered among the Ortugueses /Pl. II appears here/ /307/ and among the Ontes, until he arrived at the towns of Paicocoro, the chief cacique, and the towns of Paiçuri, and he asked for the Candire who is master of the true metal and of all good things." /Translated from the Spanish./ At first sight one sees in this passage an obvious contradiction which can only be explained by the difficulties the Spaniards had in understanding their interlocutor: Candire on the one hand, is represented as a powerful Guarani chief who led them in a migration, and, on the other, he is a personage, "master of the true metal and all good things," in the quest of whom this same Candire left! Let us look further and try to disentangle this confusion. The country where Candire lives is depicted as having "deer with long hair" from which clothes are woven; gold and silver are found there, as well as a yellow metal which smells bad and with which tools are made (copper and bronze). Several lines farther on the Guarani informant declares that in the Sierra de Acharagua there exists a river from which yellow metal is taken: "Asking what Araraguagua (sic) is, they said that it is a very large sierra that continued far, and that one part was delimited by a very large lake, and that in the other part was a very large population of people who had only one chief, who was lord of all, who was called Candire; and that in the latter's presence all joined to

[Text Continues on P. 20]

1. Old Chiriguano of Yumbía (Upper Pilcomayo). Note the enormous labret and the head band.

142
301
302

2. Karnapadyú, "captain" of the Cururutí region near the middle course of the Parapití River. (Photo. A.M.)

142
291
554
302
643

/307 cont./
sing with instruments of true metal, in the form of big reeds, which made a good sound (these are the Guarani rhythm sticks); and they had others they played with the mouth. He had shown him a trumpet; they said that that chief, Candire, took his father's name, because in that land he killed many candires, who killed all the other people who had left with his father." /Translated from the Spanish./

The country of the Candires is the one where God put all the good things of this world; gold abounds there, one finds there fortresses defended by ditches. The Candire warriors are clothed, their battle-axes are of metal and their shields of gold and silver. In the interior is found white and yellow metal, etc. The land of the great Candire is located, geographically, beyond the Guapay River; to go there one crosses the land of the Timbu, of the Baure (Mbaure) who receive golden objects from the Candires. Near the land of the Candire live the Chiriguano and other Candires, Guarani and, moreover, relatives of the Uratuvere, who gave this information to Nufrio de Chaves.

It is obvious that the land of the Candires is none other than Peru (1). In the great Candire we have no trouble recognizing

1. In the commentaries of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 288 and 322), it is likewise a matter of the Candires as a people whom we can also identify with some Inca tribe.

the Inca. But why this merging of Candire and a Guarani chief /308/ and then the idealizing of this personage? Finally, what is this migration in search of the great Candire? The key to the problem is furnished us by another text from a slightly later period (1589) which concerns the Guarani of Itati, emigrants into the province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, that is, among the ancestors of the present-day Guarayú /Guarayu/ and Pauserna. It is a matter of a Jesuit Annua littera (see Métraux, 5, p. 924), in which much is said about these Indians, designated by the name of Itatines because of their country of origin. The anonymous

G 773 /308 cont./
173 Jesuit, author of this letter, tells us that Candire is their god.
175 Actually, even today, Candir has a place among the culture
GU gods or great gods of the Guarayú. In a fragment of Guarayú
[776] mythology published by Cardús (p. 76) Candir appears at the
[773] beginning of the world in the company of Mbiracucha (Viracocha), Zaguaguayu, Abaangui, and Tamoi. The creation of the Negroes is attributed to Candir.

G There is nothing extraordinary in seeing the Inca decked out
177 with the name of a Guarani god or culture hero. Confusion must
773 have been produced there analogous to that provoked nearly everywhere in South America by the arrival of the white men. As we know, the latter have almost always been merged with the culture heroes. In the same way that the Tupinamba and Guarani saw in the first Spanish or Portuguese the descendants of the culture god or hero, it is possible that the ancient Guarani pictured Peru as the mysterious region to which the Great Ancestor had withdrawn; and in the sovereign of that empire they doubtless believed they recognized the culture hero himself, Candire.

G All those who know the Indians of tropical America from
167 having seen them will have no difficulty in picturing these mi-
174 grations of the Guarani toward the Andes.

G When an enterprising chief with his "soldiers" succeeded
[721] in crossing the Chaco and making some fruitful raid among the Chané, nothing else was needed for the news to spread from mouth to mouth upon their return and arouse everywhere the de-
G sire to imitate him and the hope of similar gains. In each
174 village the affair was discussed, the chiefs talked in the even-
167 ing around the fire or at the time of the great collective drink-
721 ing bouts, and the young men dreamed of obtaining, in their
[177] turn, silver ornaments, bronze axes, and the long woolen shirts in which those who had come back from the land of the Candir dressed. Here and there people decided to leave in the good season to try their luck. The inhabitants of several villages took counsel together to set the date of departure and they prepared for it slowly. The women busied themselves with the provisions, roasted corn and made flour of it or grated manioc which they transformed into cassava bread. Others prepared corn beer for the feast which would precede the departure.

/309/

174
167
721

Contingents from several neighboring villages combined, probably in order to face together the perils of the road (1).

1. In the course of the survey he conducted on the Paraguay River by order of Governor Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Martínez Irala had the chance to question some Guarani near Puerto de los Reyes, one of whom gave him the following information, which throws light on the manner in which these migrations took place: "asked if there are some houses of his race ahead of them, he said that, yes, there were five or six principals; asked if they go for the metal to the sierra where they extract it, he said that they are not accustomed to go there because they are few and have enemies nearby, but those of the last houses go sometimes and he went there once; asked how much time it takes from here to where the metal is, he said that it takes five moons; asked with whom he went for the said metal, he said that in the past many principals from paguay and Indians from the port that they call ytatyn came, and, passing through a land called ytapua, which is a four-day trip from the last houses of his race, those of the said house going in search of said metal, they met on the way and went together and came to a house of Indian slaves, enemies of theirs, and that from there they returned with all their men and also some of those from ytatyn, and the others went on, and I have heard it said that they took the said five moons to get to where the said metal was ..." /translated from the Spanish/ (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 349-350).

/309 cont./

174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
169 gained in cohesion and number. In no case must one see in
721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pilleging expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into
721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
169 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
[411] the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
[482] were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit: palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
[825] ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
169 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one:
721 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
174 the base: they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
271 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at
824
[139]

1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

/310 cont./

Sometimes too they stayed several months in a spot which appeared fertile in order to sow manioc and corn, waiting for it to grow before continuing the march. García, in the course of his long expedition, had left five of his men with a tribe so that they could provide for the feeding of his band on his return (7).

7. Relación de Domingo Martínez de Irala, p. 340: "asked how many days it seems to him that they might count on to get here by the route of the said García, he said that he does not know, but that it seems to him that he would know the land and that the route is very wide and big; asked if there were food on that route he said yes, and that much of the food that they have is manioca, and corn, and gourds, and mandioca, and that said García left five of his slaves along the route with a certain race, in order that they might have food for him when he returned;" /translated from the Spanish/.

The going was slow, for it was necessary to clear a path in the thicket; and this job, difficult for white men armed with machetes, must have been even more so for the Indians in pre-Hispanic times. With their stone axes, their clubs, and fire, if there was no danger in lighting one, they opened up a path which the rear guard and other expeditions followed. Besides, the Guarani, accustomed from childhood to life in the great woods, certainly had that astonishing lithness which allows their descendants to slip into the thickest copses, avoiding branches and thorns (3).

3. Hernández, p. 300: "He said (a Guarani is speaking) that he went over that route a long time ago, and when those of his race would pass through, they went along opening the route and cutting trees and clearing the land, which was very brambly, and that it seems to him that

/310 cont./

those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Gustkuri, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guarani, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats did not take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guarani and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guarani before or during the Spanish conquest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.

/311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guarani Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity ... they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

G /311 cont./
175 Elsewhere (Hernández, p. 241): "The Spanish, taking
484 with them as guides some Indians and several individuals who said
648 they knew the way, walked for thirty days across deserts
[262] where they suffered very much from hunger and thirst, to such
G a degree that some Indians died ... they returned eating wild
[271] thistles all the way. For something to drink they extracted
the juice from these thistles and other weeds."

G "Aracare ... ordered them (the Guarani who were ac-
[721] companying a Spanish expedition into the Chaco) to set fire
to the prairies they were crossing, which was the equivalent
of warning the enemy Indians whose territory they were going
through to come and bar their way and kill them. They did that
against the custom and discipline observed by those who make
expeditions in this country and against the practice of the Indians
themselves." (Hernández, p. 228.)

A Guarani from Puerto de los Reyes, who had taken part
in an expedition to look for metal, reported to Irala "that he
had heard it said that they took five moons before reaching
the place where the metal was, and he added that the ones
from Itatin who lived more than a hundred leagues lower
asserted that they took no more than three months and claimed
that they made this trip in five months since they had to pass
so close to the spot where their homes were. He said that what
he was claiming was the truth, but that the duration of this
trip was due to the fact that they often stayed to eat in regions
which appeared fertile and that during the time he was with them
they stayed in one place three months and that this was why
it took them so long." (Relación de Domingo Martinez de
Irala, p. 350.)

G Against the frequency of these warlike expeditions of the
175 Guarani, there /312/ will be raised the objection of the
167 insurmountable obstacles the Chaco presents, the unprecedented
721 difficulties the Europeans had in trying to cross it, the bloody
C sacrifices all the expeditions risking it must have made. I
167 shall reply by reporting the account of a contemporary migra-
tion made to me by my old friend and host, "Captain" Taruirí
of Caipipendí. Some years ago, old Taruirí, having learned

167 [464] /312 cont./Some years ago, old Taruiri, having learned from some Chiriguano that Brazilians were "cariñosos," that is, generous, had the idea of going to their country to find work, for which he hoped to be well paid. He banded together with 45 other Chiriguano before whom he held out the glittering fortune which awaited them in the country to the east. With this adventurous spirit and boldness which characterize the Guarani, they did not hesitate to take off toward the unknown. They first passed through Chané territory and followed the course of the Parapiti to the desert. There they rushed boldly into these unexplored regions, dried-up expanses, which separate the Izozoc from Chiquitos. They were all armed with bows and arrows to defend themselves from a possible attack by the Tsirakua, the tracks of whose squared-off sandals they often [271] [824] saw in the sand. No water, of course, but only sipóy roots, which permitted them to stand the thirst. After 12 days of walking, this band arrived at Chiquitos, then from there reached the Paraguay River and Corumbá. Taruirí was not a little surprised to find brothers there, "that is," he explained to me, "people who spoke my language, badly it is true, but who nevertheless made themselves understood." When I inquired discreetly as to the success of his business over there, Taruirí answered, shaking his head and in a tone shot through with sadness and disillusionment: "All that was only a lie," todo era engaño.

Taruirí does not know and will never know that by doing this he accomplished an exploit that would be the pride and glory of an explorer. For him, it was a question of a simple trip, scarcely longer and more arduous than the one he undertook in the past to go to Argentina.

173 539 648 484 Does anyone want other modern examples of their spirit of adventure and of that ease with which the Guarani move about? I transcribe as such the curious tale told to me by the Indian Cipriano from the Ivu mission, who, confused as he may be, refers to definitely authentic facts:

C 173 539 648 484 C [643]

/312 cont./

In olden days numerous Paraguayans emerged into our territory near the Izozoc and they went to fight on the side of the Guarayú and Santa Cruz. From there they went on to Cochabamba. They gave battle over there, then went to Oruro. Their colonel was killed. They scattered in every direction. One of them came to Macharetí where the "Capitan grande," Mandepona, was. The latter told Cipriano, who was then a young man: "Let us go to Paraguay." Mandepona had given this Paraguayan ten "soldiers." Cipriano did not want to go with them. The ten went down the Pilcomayo and arrived at a village near Paraguay. /Plate III appears here./ /313/ A soldier richly decked out with silver, with a horse whose harness was of the same metal, came to meet them to examine them. The Paraguayan they were escorting went to speak with this soldier, but the others did not hear what they were saying. While these two were talking, they saw the Toba arrive with a piece of cloth between their legs and their chests and arms painted with charcoal. The Toba asked them where they were coming from and where they were going. The Chiriguano answered: "To visit you." The Toba refused to allow them to continue on their way, although they were only one league from Paraguay. As an excuse they told them that they were in the act of making war. The Paraguayan rode behind the soldier, and the ten Chiriguano returned to Macharetí.

The first part of this story seems to be a modern adaptation of Alejo García's adventure. I do not know what event could have given rise to this legend, which, had it been true, would have been very much to the taste of the Paraguayan government. As for the trip of the ten Chiriguano from Macharetí, it has the appearance of being wholly authentic.

C 175 648

The crossing of the Chaco is a less difficult undertaking for Indians than for white men. Formerly these trips from the Andes to Paraguay must have been facilitated by a greater density of the native population. It is enough to recall the relatively easy trip of Juan de Ayolas going from Paraguay to the country of the Chané and coming back without having to cope with any particular obstacles. The exploration of Alvar Núnez

[Text continues on P. 30]

Plate III

1. Mandepona, the most illustrious Chiriguano chief of the past century. His authority extended not only over the village of Macharetí, where he lived, but over vast expanses of the Chaco. (Photo. by the R. P. Honorato Catinari.)

2. Type of Chiriguano Indian from the Igüembé Valley. (Photo. A. M.)

CG /313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núñez
175 Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de
484 Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

CG I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de
175 Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied
167 as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors
484 of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani
[162] territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

CG Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things
114 in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time
175 nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several
167 decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries.
484 Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the
174 Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the

CG Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion.
175 The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route
167 Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not
648 succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco.
484 These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

C G /314 cont./
175 167 Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

C G Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the pre-
175 167 721 726 I 726 ceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the
C G [727] Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

I [712] Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

C G The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the
175 721 726 same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

I 726 701 C G [291] [266]

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land,

/314 cont./

C
G
175
721
726
I
726
701

they caused great destruction, robberies, and deaths.

"This news went to Guayna Capac in Quito, who received it with great sorrow and immediately sent a captain of his, named Yasca, to Cuzco to form an army, and with it he was to go to wage war on the Chiriguanaes. The captain left for Cuzco, taking with him the guacas /huacas/, Catiquilla of Caxamarca and Guamachuco and Curichaculla of the Chachapoyas and the guaca Tomayrica and Chinchaycoaha with many of the guacas' own men. And he arrived in Cuzco where he was very well received by the governors named Apo Hilaquita and Auqui Topa Inga, and, forming his army, he left Cuzco for the Charcas. And on the way he took many troops from Collao, with which he came to the Chiriguanaes and waged cruel war and took some of them prisoner, whom he sent as specimens to Guayna Capac in Quito, so that he might see the strangeness of that people. And Captain Yasca rebuilt the fortresses which were there, and, putting in them the necessary garrison, he returned to Cuzco, where he dismissed the troops, and each one went back to his land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Santa Cruz Pachacuti, p. 304: "And at this time (of the Inca Huayna-capac) there came the news that the Cheriguanaes had come forth to take the lands of the ynga, which news upset the ynga, and so he sent the most experienced captains for the conquest of the Chiriguanaes, with 20,000 Chinchaysuyo men." /Translated from the Spanish./

/314 cont./

E
G
175
721
726
I
726
701

Balboa, p. 105: "But this fiesta was interrupted by the news from Cusco that the Chiriguanes, a cruel and brave people, had killed the garrisons of the frontiers and leveled the whole country as far as Chuquisaca and its surroundings. Guayna-Cápac was disturbed by this news, disguised his grief as much as he could, and called to command his army a man full of bravery and intrepidity, named Yasca, whom he ordered to punish this aggression. Yasca departed from Tumibamba at the head of the best of the ingas soldiers; moreover, he had orders to recruit from Caxamarca on all the men that he found, in order to wage the war which he was going to undertake; and in order to arouse their valor he ordered each nation to bring with it the great Guaca of its country, which is an idol besides, and to which they very frequently come. He arrived at Cusco with a large army made up of different nations; through all parts the governors welcomed him with affection and gave him great honors. Provided with everything that he might need and his army augmented with the best men from Collao, he continued on his way with the utmost speed in pursuit of the Chirihuanas; many battles were joined, without any victory declared by either of the two armies. Nevertheless Yasca took some prisoners, whom he sent to Quito. He repaired the damage that the enemies had done in the country, and he left a new garrison in the fortresses and on the frontiers; afterward he returned to Cusco, where the governors rewarded the soldiers who had distinguished themselves and permitted them to return to their countries, taking their Guacas, or idols." /Translated from the Spanish./

I
[702]
[778]

Cieza de Leon, p. 228: "(Guayna Capac) sent captains with troops of war to the Chiriguanaes; but things did not go well for them,

C G 175 721 726 I [726] [701]

/314 cont./

for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

C G 114 175 721 726 I [712] C G 114 175 167 C G 175 167 721 726

1. Gandia (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that Garcia's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

Ce [648] [567]

A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

142
554
643
177

1. Santos Airedyú, the last "capitan grande" of the still independent Chiriguano Indians. Airedyú is completely assimilated to civilization and lives like a rich Bolivian farmer. He is a man of great character. (Photo. A.M.)

142
291
797

2. Group of Chiriguano in a Franciscan mission. (Photo. by the R. P. Honorato Catinari.)

/315 cont./

E
E
167
175
721
726
Ce
648
567

/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

E
175
648
Ce
175
648
567

The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

/315 cont./

C G 175 648 Ce 175 648 567

/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race; asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him, and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

C G 175 127 114 167

This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guaraní all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

/315 cont./

G 114 127 175 167

/fn. 1 cont./ still present in everyone's memory. Even if we accept Garcilaso's version and make that event go back to the reign of Tupac Inca Yupanki, it is still no less certain that it could only have taken place in the last decades of the 15th century. It is indeed at this time, according to Balboa, that the emperor Tupac Inca Yupanki would have reigned. (See Nordenskiöld, 6). In this case the first Guarani migration would have preceded García's trip by about 50 years. Why then does Gandía, who himself gives us this figure, consider it more probable that this invasion took place more than a century before the Conquest? When I personally submitted to Mr. Gandía the reservations I had on the subject of the date he was assigning to the establishment of the Guarani at the foot of the Andes, he answered that he had taken as a basis for this evaluation a passage from Lozano (Descripción chrorográfica...) and Mendiburn (Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú...). According to the latter the Inca Yupanki would have died in 1453. I shall reply to this objection by stating that the evidence of Lozano, who was satisfied to copy Garcilaso, has no value; and as for Mendiburn's calculation, I do not grant him any credence.

One single fact remains certain in this controversy: The Guarani had begun their *migratory movement toward Peru some years* before García's adventurous trip.

G 175 167 [114]

/316/ establishing. Neither was Alejo García's expedition the determining cause of the great migration of which Díaz de Guzmán (p. 29) speaks thus

"Following these events (García's trip) the Indians of the Province of Paraguay met together with their caciques and

/316 cont./

G decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where
175 Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians
167 of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The
Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the
G course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the
131 Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the
175 borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived
167 in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay
River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of
Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on
the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones
who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues
from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la
Sierra."

G In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca
(Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migra-
175 tion which does not appear to have any relation to that of
167 García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage
648 in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this
great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent
a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer,
with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians
who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood.
The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani
were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the
Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian,
married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a
long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race,
had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/
knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to
accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before
the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani,
originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River:
that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy
G of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the
[721] villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his
[726] father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 41]

1: Métraux--40 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF:0

142
291
302
481
516

Fig. 1. Old Indian from the Santa Rosa Mission (Photo. by the Reverend Father Honorato Cotinari).

C
G /319/
175 They took from them the gold and silver plaques and orna-
167 ments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages
727 they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many
726 Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people
C had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a
175 long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the
167 people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting
484 trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was
467 covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

/319 cont./

there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs, lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques, /320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them. Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians. The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law, burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II, p. 281) gives us of the large house of the Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

/320 cont./

C 195 342

interesting: "they make a very big dormitory and, within it, as many small rooms as there are residents, and so small that they do not have room for more persons, and it is enough for them, because they do not have furniture, nor do they have wearing apparel and hence they go about naked." /Translated from the Spanish./ These facts agree on every point with those of the Relaciones geográficas, etc. (Vol. II, Plate CIV) and of Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 250) on the same subject. The Guarani, just like the Tupinamba and other Tupi tribes, lived in maloca, gigantic halls capable of containing more than 150 persons and which often in themselves formed the village. The existence of this type of dwelling among the Chiriguano in the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes new proof for the recent character of their migration. In the 18th century we find them already in possession of the small rectangular house which they still have now and where one single family lives. (See Métraux, ?, p. 51.)

C [114] [113]

C [171]

C [174] [167]

C [illegible] 195

C [illegible] [101]

novelist Garcilaso which might allow one to suppose that he really knew who the Chiriguano were. As for this cliquent by the Inca, it would have been barely an attempt at conquest... Garcilaso confuses the Chiriguano with all the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes whom he had vaguely heard mentioned. Let us note that he is the only one to attribute this expedition to the Inca Tupanki, while the other chroniclers, better informed, are satisfied to say that the Inca Tupanki made an expedition against the Antis, probably around Cuzco. Unfortunately the vogue this pleasant writer enjoyed at a time when the history of America was still in limbo bluffs some modern critics into believing him, and they go so far as to prefer one of his unwarranted affirmations to the serious /321/ and precise evidence of chroniclers who get their information at first hand and from reliable sources.

/22: cont./

In 1550 during the expedition made by Domingo Martínez de Irala from Paraguay to the slopes of the Andes, 150 Guarani Indians out of those he had with him as auxiliary troops mutinied when they learned that they were in the vicinity of Chiriguano Indians "who are of the same nation." They deserted in order to go and join them. In 1540 the same thing had already happened (Díaz de Guzmán, p. 142).

The Guayayú and the Pauserna are brothers of the Chiriguano and, like them, came from Paraguay at a recent date to settle in eastern Bolivia. Nordenskiöld (7), without giving any proof, correlates their migration with that of the Chiriguano and fixes its date at the beginning of the 16th century. The Guayayú would have been none other than the descendants of those Guarani who, having left northern Paraguay, would have gone obliquely toward the northwest in their trek toward the setting sun. I myself shared this opinion for a long time, until my attention was attracted by an episode in the history of the conquest which obliged me to recognize my error, at the same time permitting me to solve the problem of the origin of the Guayayú.

The Itatin, known nowadays by the names Guayayú and Pauserna, actually came from Itatin province in Paraguay (1):

> 1. The former province of Itatí in Paraguay extended to the south of the Apa River, formerly the Corrientes River.

but it is not a question of a migration in the usually understood sense, and their establishment in eastern Bolivia was later than that of the Chiriguano.

Nuñez de Chaves, going from Santa Cruz de la Sierra to Asunción in 1562, stopped among the Itatin and plotted with the chiefs of this tribe to transplant the Indians of this region beyond Paraguay. The project was carried out the following year when the Governor of Paraguay, Vergara, and Nuñez de Chaves organized the famous exodus toward Peru. While passing through the country of the Itatin, Nuñez de Chaves raised

Guarayu SF11
Guarani SM4

G4 175 163 648

/321 cont./

2,000 to 3,000 Indians "who left their fatherland to go to settle in foreign territory... When these Indians arrived at a place 30 leagues from Santa Cruz de la Sierra, they settled there and called it Itatin, thus alluding to their native province. They stayed there and immediately began to sow." (Díaz de Guzmán, p. 207)

Some years later these same Itatin assassinated Nufrio de Chaves, who had come to their villages to accompany Felipe de Carceres and the Bishop of Asunción, Francisco Pedro de la Torre, who was going back to Paraguay. It is strange that these Indians killed the man who had made them change their fatherland and found a new nation between Xaray /322/ and Santa Cruz. Some say that this murder had revenge as its motive; others, the violence of Nufrio de Chaves, who addressed severe admonitions to the caciques. However that may be, the Spanish avenged the death of this conquistador by massacring guilty and innocent with their usual ferocity when a weaker people was concerned. On the return trip, Carceres and his band had to fight the Itatin of Paraguay, who harassed him and often put them in a difficult situation. (See Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 207-215; Groussac, pp. 294-314 and Gandía, 2, pp. 134-140.)

G 169 131

It was the Spanish then who transplanted the Itatin to Bolivia. It is not impossible that several Guarani groups were already established in the country, having come either from Paraguay or from regions occupied by the Chiriguano.

G4 131

The recent date of the settlement of the Itatin between the San Miguel River and the Blanco River explains a passage from an Annua littera (see Métraux, 5, p. 918) of 1589 where allusion is made to the pain of a woman who dies without avenging herself for the slap she had received from a Spaniard 20 years before in Paraguay. That takes us back more or less to the year of Nufrio de Chaves' trip to Peru, thus to 1564. If the Itatin followed the Spaniards willingly, it is because the previous migrations of the Guarani had familiarized them with these regions and made them consider such an expedition as an easy and normal thing. By accompanying the Spaniards they were imitating their neighbors and going near their relatives.

G4
175
642

/322 cont./

Thus, it is in 1564 that the Guarayú nation was formed.

G
175
648
167

In emigrating to the foot of the Andes, the Guarani had to win their present territory from populations who, like them, had formerly come from the basin of the great rivers of tropical America.

Ce
[101]

In spite of the similarity of their original habitats, the Indians dispossessed by the Guarani were superior to them in civilization. The Chiriguano even today scornfully style them tapii, that is, "enemies," but they call themselves Chané, and it is by this name that they appear in history from the first half of the 16th century.

Ce
101
241
323
197

The Chané, hard-working farmers and past masters in the art of pottery, belong to the great Arawak linguistic family.

A
181
174

The role of the Arawak in the development of civilization in South America has been considerable. Unfortunately, lacking any work of synthesis (1), it is still difficult to

A
[114]

1. Max Schmidt's thesis (1) on the Arawak contains some interesting facts. It should be redone because its documentation is completely insufficient. Max Schmidt took almost no notice of the old literature.

appreciate the true value of /323/ the civilizing work they accomplished in swarming over a great part of the continent. It is possible, if not certain, that they were propagators of cultural elements borrowed from the peoples of Central America rather than original creators. Nevertheless, wherever they settled they formed centers of civilization whose radiance is undeniable. In the whole region east of the Andes where ceramics of fine quality flourished or still flourish, one can suspect the existence or influence of an Arawak tribe. Is proof wanted? On the banks of the Amazon, from the mouth to the tributaries of its upper course, one finds at each step remains of a pottery with great richness of ornamentation and varied forms; wherever the spade has brought these remains to light, history attests to the presence, present or past, of an

A
181
172

A /323 cont./
181 Arawak tribe. The culture revealed by the excavations in the
192 Mounds of eastern Bolivia (Mojos) is clearly Arawak; and it would be unjust to forget that the Taino of Cuba and the Antilles were also relatives of our Chané, whose name is less illustrious. To this list are joined almost all the archeological remains of Guiana, the modern ceramics of this same region, those of the upper Amazon and of the upper Xingú, all three of which have as artisans or as inspirers the Arawak Indians. There is nothing impossible in the idea that the curious zoomorphic appliques of the lower Paraná may be as many remains of an ancient Arawak or "Arawakized" population (see Métraux, 4, pp. 181-183).

A According to a hypothesis developed by Max Schmidt (1),
174 the migration of the tribes of Arawak speech probably never
433 had the violent and rapid character of that of the Tupi, for
169 example. The Arawak would have advanced slowly in pro-
241 portion to their economic needs. Hoe farmers, they constantly
311 had to have new lands to cultivate. By ceaselessly clearing fields which they abandoned once they were worn out, they ended up by covering that vast geographic area which goes from Guiana to the Bolivian Andes.

A In each region the passing through or the settling of the
169 Arawak was a blessing. The Arawak brought with them if not
174 agriculture at least the knowledge of new edible plants, weaving,
648 and, as we have said, ceramics of superior type. Unfortunately
A for them, the Arawak, Indians who were generally not bellicose,
[181] were in many a place made subject to crude but more warlike populations. In the Antilles it was the Karib /Carib/ who subjugated or drove them back; in the Guianas, again the Karib; the Guaikurú /Guaícuru/ in the northern Chaco; and finally, at the foot of the Andes, the Chiriguano.

Ce The Chané belong to the Moxo-Mbaure branch of the
197 Arawak family. They separated from the other tribes of this
174 subgroup at an unknown date, and, abandoning the basin of
167 the Mamoré and the Guaporé, they /324/ slipped along the Andes as far as the northern Chaco, stopping only south of the
ooo Pilcomayo. The extreme limit reached by this migratory wave

Ce 167 361 /324 cont./ The extreme limit reached by the migratory wave is marked by the Chané villages of the Itiyuro River and by those of the Aguaray (Salta Province, Argentine Republic). Describing an immense arc of a circle above the northern Chaco, part of the emigrant tribes streamed out toward Paraguay and Brazil.

Ce Ga 101 105 "The Arawak Indians of the Chaco, whom linguists have recognized as closely related to the other Indians of this family, are known in the 18th century by the name of Chané and Guaná. The appellation Guaná has been reserved for the ensemble of the eastern Arawak groups and that of Chané for the western tribes. Like the Chiriguano, they make a very clear contrast with the other small tribes of the Chaco, and this antithesis is so strong that at first sight they look like an element that was implanted there. They are sedentary and pacific; and insofar as they have not been forced to abandon their ancestral customs, they live in villages solidly defended by palisades and devote themselves to the intensive cultivation of the soil. They know how to spin cotton and, like all the Arawak peoples, are remarkable potters. They do not practice infanticide and are not polygamous. The Jesuits hold them in high esteem, for they do not have idols.

Ce Ga 648 [131] "The two Arawak tribes of the Chaco, the Chané in the west and the Guaná in the east, used to live, the first in the interior of Chiriguano territory and the others in the domain of the Mbayá. They were both subject to these Indians and they depended on them entirely. This state of subjection varied according to the place. The condition of the Chané with relation to the Chiriguano was that of slaves to masters, of prisoners to conquerors. Among the Mbayá, the relations between the Guaná and their neighbors did not have so clear-cut, so brutal a nature.

Ga [621] "The Guaná appear sometimes as vassals and protégés of the Mbayá, sometimes as their allies. They are grouped into little closed communities, nearly independent. The bellicose Mbayá had the custom of taking a wife preferably from among their Arawak or Chamakoko subjects, and this explains the fact that the Mbayá wives and children spoke a different language from that of their husbands or fathers. Schmidel already

/324 cont./

Ce 6a 648 cites a people of the Zchennte (Chané) in whom by reason of their geographic situation we must see the Chané-Guaná: 'They are vassals and subjects of the Mayaiess (Mbayá) as with us the peasants are subject to their lords.' We also have no trouble in recognizing the Chané in the Queanaes (Guaná) whom Alcide d'Orbigny mentions, according to an old account, as having been subjugated by their neighbors the Chiriguano and obliged by them to cultivate their fields. In the 18th century the Chané, as prisoners of war of the Chiriguano, had been quartered /Plate V appears here/ /325/ like slaves in villages called Chané after them. When Lozano declares that the Chiriguano call their slaves Chané, an ethnic value must be given to this phrase. The state of subjection of the Chané in relation to the Chiriguano is explained in the linguistic sphere by the name which the first used to give to the second: cheya, 'my master,' the Chané used to say when addressing the Chiriguano, and the latter called the Chané tapii, 'my slave.'

Ce 175 648 567 727

"The little we know about the Chané who live in the lost regions of the northern Chaco is connected exclusively with the activity of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries of the Collège de Tarija. The first evangelized the Chané in the 17th century at the same time as the Chiriguano; and in 1714 they formed with them a doctrina /Christianized Indian village/ in the vicinity of Santa Cruz. It was called San Juan de los Porongos and in 1767 was under the authority of a parish priest. It was only with great difficulty that the Chané could be assembled, in 1767 and 1789, into the two missions of Asero and Iti. We learn from a report by Father Pedro Bartolomé addressed to Francisco Aguirre that the Pilipili mission in 1789 was made up of Chané Indians whose racial brothers were living mingled with the Chiriguano on the borders of Chuquisaca and Santa Cruz. Viedma, who visited the missions in 1786, found in the villages of the Parapití Chiriguano and Chané who were living together, united under the authority of the Franciscan missionaries. The activity of the missionaries among the Chané naturally was to have as a consequence a rupture of the bonds

Ce 175 799 C [799] C Ce 175 162 797 C Ce 175 648 797

[Text continues on p. 51]

142
292
301
302

Plate V

2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the village of Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo). She has put on her festival clothes and sports her most beautiful necklaces. (On her chest, necklace of silver coins.) (Photo. A. M.)

142
291
292
301
765

1. Iwawaci. Chiriguano Indian girl from the region of Cururuí (near the middle course of the Parapití River). Her hair is cut short as a sign of mourning for the death of an aunt. (Photo. A. M.)

1: Métraux--50 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF:0 Chiriguano SF:0

C
Ce
175
648
[797]

/325 cont./

of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguano: as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 16th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 15th century.

C
175
72
167
Ce
175
648

The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had done with his companions and several women. He was able to escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

C
[266]
Ce
[113]

C
G
175
72
567
Ce
175
648

In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later: "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

/326 cont./

C G 175 567 72 Ce 175 648

go in search of metal? The aforesaid Indian answered: "They do not understand that I am only telling them that they can go to the country of the Chané in nine days." While they were speaking with this Indian, the aforesaid Cheroçe, chief of the Chané, was conversing with a woman of his tribe who as a girl had been kidnapped by these Indians whose chief had taken her as his wife. She said that it was correct that from the last houses of the aforesaid Guarani only four days were required to go as far as Ytapua and that from there, according to what Cheroçe claimed, one could go to his country in three days. He knew the way very well, for he had been brought up over there, but up to the present he had had no news of his country. (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

These facts prove that well before García's adventure the Guarani raided the Chané territory and were already beginning to make slaves of its inhabitants.

C G 175 567 72

"When Guarani bands arrived on the slopes of the Andes, each one tried to occupy as strong a position as possible on the most craggy points. From there they began to make pitiless war on the natives of the region, treating them with such cruelty that they spared nobody and made their fodder of the unfortunates they captured. They made themselves so fearsome that numerous villages submitted to them without violence. With the slaves they took to serve them and with all the women by whom they had children they populated these frontiers, each one choosing the region which seemed best to him. These Indians are the ones we call Chiriguana in Peru today; they originate from the Guarani. They never went out from this country, either because of the great hardships and risks of the road or in order to keep in their power this land which they found consonant with their nature and taste. It is indeed very fertile, with large and marvelous valleys which are warm rather than cold; and it is crossed by deep rivers coming from the neighboring province of Charcas. In possession of this land, they made numerous /327/ warlike expeditions in it, ruining the plains to the north, the south, and the east. They killed more than 100,000 Indians. In the beginning they used to eat them in the feasts and drinking bouts which they celebrated, but

C G [266] [439]

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Misque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

/327 cont./

brutal people butcher them. The Chané are so subject to the Chiriguana that it is enough for them to see a Chiriguana to sit down without resisting, allowing the Chiriguana to do what they like with them. The Chiriguana take them along like flocks of sheep. They eat the ones they want and use the others for work in their houses and fields. If they want to eat one, they only tell him to go and wash in the river and he does it without talking back. He comes back naked: the Chiriguana command their children to take bows and arrows, and the poor Chané tries /328/ to escape the arrows without, however, daring to flee from the spot until he dies riddled with arrows, to the great joy of all who look at him. They cut him in pieces and eat him either grilled or roasted, with corn and much ají /peppers/. For war they use Chané who they think are brave and robust. They treat them according to their barbaric customs and put them in front of themselves: if they do not fight well, they kill them with arrow shots from behind." (Lizarraga, Vol. I, pp. 259-260.)

Last year, going from Cuevo to Igüembé, I had taken a Chiriguano guide who spoke Spanish fairly well and who had lived among the Chané in childhood. He told me in his own way about these wars of former days. His involved narrative recalls that of the Spanish monk. Later I sojourned for some time among the Chané who in their turn alluded to their fights with the Chiriguano and to the cannibalistic customs of the latter. "The Tapuí are not the Ava. In times past they used to fight against the Ava." The Ava used to take the women and keep them in captivity. They used to marry the captives. From the sons of the Ava issued the Tapuí, they are sons of the women they carried away. The Chané are sons of the captives. When the Chané talk together, it is with words that one does not understand. Formerly the Karai (Whites) used to fight the Ava around Cochabamba. The Karai pursued them to the lower part and left them in Paraguay. The Paraguayans are sons of the ancient Ava. In olden days the Ava used to eat the Tapuí when they made war against them. "The Ava used to eat us," the Chané would say, "and that is why we detest them."

/328 cont./

The Chané confirmed to me the sayings of my informant and assured me that the Chiriguano used to eat them in times past (1).

1. Matienzo (pp. 166-167) expresses himself on the subject of the Chiriguano and the Chané in almost the same words as Lizárraga: "In the land there is a province of the Charcas and close to the city there are some immigrant Indians who are said to be chiriguanaes, warlike people, very cruel, indomitable, and they eat human flesh, live in the cordilleras, have no occupation other than fighting and killing and eating Indians and using them as slaves; they go out at night to plunder on the plains which are near the cordilleras, where some Indians subject to their sovereignty live, and they seize them by the thousand and two thousands and eat them and have others to fatten for eating, and others to serve as slaves; these Indians, out of fear of the chiriguanaes, fled from their land, which had some very beautiful and fertile valleys, thirty and forty leagues from the city of the Plata, and went to some plains and deserts which were customarily deserted because of the lack of water; they live entirely on yucas and cariooms, are more than eighty thousand, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. The deserts under discussion here and where the Chané took refuge are none other than those of the lower Pilcopití where numerous Chané now live, in spite of the poverty of this arid region.

It is not at all surprising that the Chiriguano have kept alive the memory of their struggles with the Chané. These ended only in the last years of the 18th century. In 1745 we see the

Ce /328 cont./
175
148
Ce
[1921]

Chané of Santa Cruz province coming to ask for aid and protection from the Chiriguano who were tracking them down; in 1798 the Chané of the Itiyuro were still making incursions against the Chiriguano of the region of Itáu and destroyed that mission almost completely. (See Corrado, pp. 98 and 225; Tamajuncosa, p. 211.)

Ce /329/ The Chané tribe did not succumb to these hecatombs
648 or to slavery. It was able to maintain itself on two points of
178 its former territory: on the Itiyuro and the Parapití. Several
131 villages whose density is rather great still exist there. The
Ce Chané of the Itiyuro still number about 1,500. They all live
[162] in Argentine territory in the province of Salta. I do not have
[101] any statistics for the Chané population of the lower Parapití, but I know these Indians are still numerous there.

Ce Today the Chané are not distinguishable from the
191 Chiriguano by their material culture or their language. They
[101] speak Guarani, but use certain locutions and certain words which
C the Chiriguano say they do not understand and which are perhaps
[197] so many vestiges of their ancient Arawak speech. They have
Ce kept the latter as a secret language. Nordenskiöld (2, p. 157)
[198] was able to collect a short vocabulary of it among the Chané of the Parapití. As was supposed a priori, it is certainly an Arawak dialect closely related to Moxo-Mbaure.

Ce The modern Chané are no longer slaves, but their early
648 condition is still manifested in their relations with their former
186 masters. The Chiriguano always regard them with a certain
C scorn and a protective air, to which the Chané respond with
[186] open animosity. A Chiriguano would feel offended to be called
C Chané, and a Chané Chiriguano. The name by which the
[101] Chiriguano designate the Chané is always Tapii.

Ce Even if historic traditions or ethnic facts were not in agree-
192 ment to prove the existence in the western Chaco of an Arawak
167 population, archeology alone would suffice to teach it to us. At Tarupayu, Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 40-41) brought to light pottery

/329 cont./

C 172 167 [177] clearly Arawak by its technique and many a detail of its structure. It dates from an epoch when the Chané, newly come to the foot of the Andes, had not yet undergone the Andean influence of the populations of the Bolivian south (Chicha, Atacama, etc.).

C 181 171 When they arrived among the Chané, the Guarani had a civilization nearly identical with that of their racial brothers, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, whose ethnography is so familiar to us, thanks to the old French and Portuguese chronicles. They differed little from their present-day cousins, the Kaingué /Caingua/ of Brazil and Paraguay, who are independent but impoverished Guarani.

C 177 181 Upon contact with the superior Chané civilization, the Guarani adopted it as it was, introducing, however, some cultural elements of Paraguayan origin. From this fusion of the two nations was /330/ formed a center of acculturation which we can designate as Chané-Chiriguano civilization.

C 177 It is through the medium of the Chané that so many aspects of Andean civilization still characterize Chiriguano culture. For how could we otherwise explain so strong an effect of Andean civilization on the Chiriguano at the time when that civilization was failing and disappearing, at least partially?

C 177 178 The Chané, on the other hand, established for centuries near the Chicha and other Indians of the south of mountainous Bolivia, have, thanks to their trade relations, submitted to the attractions of the Andean civilization which has infiltrated among them, as among the other tribes of the Chaco, in the form of toilet objects, jewels, artistic motifs, games, words, and vices. It is these multiple contributions which give the Chané culture this Andean appearance which strikes every ethnographer used to the peoples of Brazil. But, having come from the great forests of the Amazon basin, these "Quichuaized /Quechuaized/" Arawak have faithfully kept until today furniture and utensils which betray this origin and tie them directly to their faraway relatives of the Guianas. The Chané civilization was and still is a mixed civilization formed of elements from different sources and often of opposing nature.

/330 cont./

C 177 The Chiriguano adopted this civilization of a superior type with all the more ease by reason of the numerous affinities it offered with their own. The whole Amazonian and Guianan side of the Chané civilization was composed of industries, techniques, and practices with which the Chiriguano, having come from the tropical regions of America, from a country of great forests and rivers, were already acquainted in part. Thus, for example, the Guarani, upon arriving among the Chané, found again the hammocks, grain sieves, mortars, baskets, and weapons to which they were accustomed.

C 177 The contribution of the Chané consisted of the very cultural elements they had received from the Andean peoples, that is, clothing (camisetas, headband, etc.), the liking for silver ornaments, some artistic motifs, certain pottery forms, etc., things which were scarcely beginning to filter into [323] Paraguay. The influence of the Chané was decisive in the sphere of pottery.

C 177 The civilizing action of the Chané upon the Chiriguano had as agent the Chané women whom the Chiriguano captured and married. The Guarani had certainly taken along with them only a small number of girls. They themselves were few in number at the beginning, 4,000 according to Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260). In uniting with the Chané women whom they carried [161] off by the thousands, they renewed with their blood all the feminine aspects of their industry. It is the women, for example, who make /321/ the pottery: a man would not be able to engage in it without losing prestige. So we see the pottery of the Guarani undergo important modifications and change completely. Today pottery is their glory: and of their ancient ceramics they have kept only the humble pots or the brewing vats for chicha. In spite of their decline the Chané have maintained their traditional superiority in this art, and they continue to produce vessels which, if they are not comparable to those of the past, are often very beautiful.

Chané SF8
Guarani SM4

/301 cont./

The pernicious and corrupting influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or *malocca*, that is, in gigantic huts dwelling several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

This three pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a union of recent formations whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Bibliography

The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

/331 cont./

This migration had as its motive power the attraction which the moral riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives.

The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

On their part the Chané adopted the language of their conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a secret language.

Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Mataguayo and the Tobo. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chorlaca, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

/332 cont./ Permanent?

villages were there under the command of hereditary caciques. The middle course of the Parapití formed their boundary to the east. In the 18th century the Chiriguano constituted the most important and remarkable nation of the western Choco. The statistics concerning them vary a great deal: the figures, given with their usual exaggerations, vary between 41,000 and 15,000 warriors. The Chané are included in this number, which completely removes all value from these statistics." (Kersten, pp. 68-69.)

Today the boundaries of the Chiriguano have stayed about the same. But even though they inhabit a territory whose extent has varied little, their situation has none the less undergone great changes. Several thousand half-breeds from Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Chuquisaca have settled inside this area that we have defined. A Chiriguano frontier no longer exists, but only remains of villages and small groups which still mark the former extent of the tribe. On the other hand, the number of Chiriguano has diminished terribly and is diminishing each day, so that a few years from now the true habitat /333/ of the Chiriguano will be contained between the Parapití and the Pilcomayo and will be reduced to the former Franciscan missions and to several valleys of the Precordillera, such as those of Caipipendí and Igüembé (1).

1. Some historians not well informed about the ethnic geography of South America have claimed that in the 16th century the Chiriguano lived well beyond the boundaries I have indicated. One of them (Dr. Fulgencio Moreno) went so far in this direction that he attributes to the Chiriguano the possession of a large part of northwestern Argentina and pushes this fancy to the point of locating them almost as far as in the province of Córdoba. Mr. Coni in an excellent monograph, documents in hand, has done good justice to these bold allegations and has demonstrated that these hypotheses were without foundation.

Guarani 5814
Tupi Guarani 3146

/322 cont./

The archeological arguments of those who believe in a vast extension of the Guarani into Argentina rest on the occurrence of burials of adults in urns in the provinces of Salta and Jujuy. Recently I conducted excavations in several pre-Hispanic cemeteries of this region (Candelaria department, Salta prov.), and I was able to satisfy myself that the peoples who left us these great necropolises had nothing in common with the Chiriguano from a cultural and anthropological point of view. The funerary urns I brought to light are entirely different from those of the ancient Guarani, and the funerary furnishings include no pieces which could be attributed either directly or distantly to the Guarani.

Burials of adults in urns is not in any way characteristic of the culture of the Tupi-Guarani Indians, and, I might say, even the opposite. Already in 1905 Outes (1) in a very well-documented monograph had proved that the cemeteries of Rosario de Lerma and San Pedro de Jujuy, which Boman (1) considered as Guarani, in no way constituted proofs of a Guarani migration into northwestern Argentina. Nordenskiöld (15, pp. 196-199) and myself (Mémoire, 5, pp. 271-278) have renewed study of this question, and our results entirely confirm those of Outes (1). Therefore, as much from the historic as from the ethnographic point of view, boundaries other than the ones I have indicated could not be assigned to the ancient Chiriguano.

/225 cont./

Chapter II

Agriculture

241 The Chiriguano, like the Guarani and the Chané, their ancestors, are excellent farmers, and the working of the soil represents their principal occupation and their great concern.
243 For them corn is of prime importance; it constitutes the basis
[273] of their diet, for it enters into the preparation of most of their dishes and in addition gives them their preferred drink, chicha or bibi.

[132] The sandy lands of the western Chaco and its climate,
[134] hot and dry a great part of the year, but also rainy during the summer months, seem to be particularly suitable for this grain. I have never seen such beautiful fields of corn anywhere. The ears are large, well filled out /236/ with kernels, and extremely tasty. The Bolivian half-breeds and settlers who are coming in greater and greater numbers to take the place of the Indians devote themselves like them to the growing of corn, which, with cattle-raising, is their main resource.

114 My trip to the Chaco, which took place from the month
243 of February to the month of June, did not give me a chance to
[201] be present at the sowing which is done at the beginning of the rainy season. For many details I shall therefore be forced to
[229] refer to Conzelo (pp. 47 and 48), Campana (pp. 88-90), Stendenskiöld (2, pp. 101-104, and 11, pp. 75-76), to Nino (pp. 227-241), and Rosen (1, p. 315).

241 When a Chiriguano wishes to cultivate a new piece of
243 ground for himself and his family, he scours the environs of his village looking for a spot which may suit him and which is, in addition, easily irrigable. This condition is generally fulfilled by the lands at the foot of a hill or rising ground. The rain water which pours down there assures them of fertility.

/334 cont./

241/ Before taking possession of a new plot of land the
242 Chiriguano is always careful to make sure that there is no trace
243 of previous cultivation. Otherwise the former owner or his
(242) descendants would have the right to lodge a complaint against him to the chief of the village.

(226) The Chiriguano makes known his new property right by planting any edible plant before the rainy season, for example, the large squash (gindaio-winy) which spreads everywhere and is not smothered by the underbrush. He can equally well insure possession of the chosen terrain by knocking down the underbrush all around and making big gashes in the trees (1).

(191) 1. Compare this manner of insuring property rights with the method observed by the Cashinawa /Cashinawa/ in the same circumstances: "I saw (an Indian is speaking) rising ground which is suitable for a planting. I am going to make a planting for this summer. I broke many branches on this hill to mark this excellent place. No one can make his clearing on this hill. This hill is excellent; do not go there to make your planting." (Abreu, p. 69.)

241 In the middle of the dry season, say, in August, the
243 Indian, with a long stick diary on both sides, fells the underbrush which encumbers his future field and sets fire to it. This operation has the further advantage of fertilizing the soil, thanks to the bed of ashes, which is a rather good fertilizer.

The cultivated fields are usually cleaned up after the harvest.
(234) The domestic animals, who feed there with little expense, are first let out there, and then the fields are let alone.

(221) Sowing takes place in the month of November when the first
(221) rainstorms have refreshed the soil. This time is announced by the appearance of the Pleiades (iñu) above the horizon early in the morning.

/334 cont./

241 The Chiriguano who is getting ready to sow takes care
243 to hoe his field and to rid it of all weeds. For this he uses
/335/ a shovel, which I shall describe, in part from Campana
243 (p. 98), not having seen this instrument whole.

241 The shovels (sipe of the Chiriguano, even not so long
242 ago, were entirely of wood, preferably wood of the urundei
(824) (Astronium urundeuva F. Allemao) or of the palm siripa. Although narrower and longer, they resembled those of our bakers. The edges were straight, almost parallel, and only the cutting edge was slightly rounded at the sides. Toward the top they ended in a point, a
(824) kind of embryonic handle, which was lengthened by a stick to which it was attached with ties made of chuqui (Nilotica farnesiana), of lianas, or toborolli fibers. The two shovels examined by Campana measured 70 centimeters in length and 15 in width; one of them, however, was less wide at the top than at the bottom by several centimeters (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Shovel (sipe) made of wood, without its handle, formerly in use among the Chiriguano (from Campana, Pl. VIII, Fig. 1).

If the Chiriguano have abandoned the ancient wooden shovel, they have nevertheless faithfully kept the long handle to which it was attached and which permitted them to work the soil without having to bend over. A remark of psychological order becomes necessary in this regard. The Chiriguano
[139] could well have acquired in the Syrians' stores, where they are available, shovels already provided with handles and ready to use. If they felt the need to modify the handle and to give it the traditional form, it is because it did not correspond to the movements and position of the body and hands which an age-old tradition had ingrained.

In each human group all manual labor requires certain set gestures to which, to a certain extent, the tools are adapted. This explains the variations these exhibit from country to country and even from tribe to tribe. With regard to this, Professor

241
412
243
[464]

Mauss used to cite to us the following example: during the great war the French soldiers did not much like using English shovels different from their own, and vice versa. The Chiriguano I have seen laboring on military roads in Bolivia handle our shovels exactly like any European laborer; but back home, when it is a question of working a field, they return immediately to the ancestral gestures and are constrained to adapt the form of their instruments to them.

The handle fits into a handgrip carved out of a small block of wood and set in with the greatest care. The latter generally takes the shape of a crescent on which the hand rests comfortably. The handgrips with an elegant curve, which gave an aesthetic character to the ancient spades, have become very rare. In the course of /336/ my trip I was able to acquire only two shovel handles which were provided with them. One comes from Ibopeytí (Fig. 3) and the other was made for me by an old Indian of the Ivu mission. The workmanship of this latter specimen is careless, but it reproduces fairly faithfully the ancient models (Fig. 4).

[126]

241
412
172
243

The use of the shovel among the Chiriguano probably dates back only three or four centuries. This instrument was unknown in ancient Paraguay where our Indians came from. The borrowing which could be presumed a priori has been confirmed by the discovery in the Quebrada de Humahuaca of wooden shovel, similar in every detail to the ones I

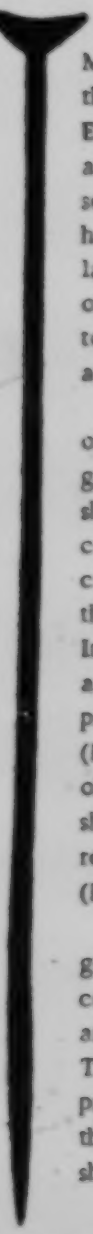


Fig. 3. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/11 nat. size.)

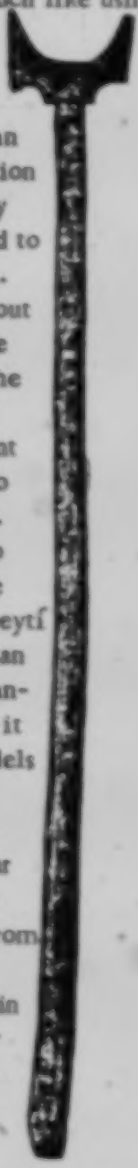


Fig. 4. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ivu. (1/8 nat. size.)

/336 cont./

241 have described here. These finds were made in the ruins of
412 the Alfarcito and of the Pukará de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 4,
172 Fig. 17 and p. 32) and at the Huerta in the same Quebrada de
243 Humahuaca. Numerous wooden shovels have been dug up at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Figs. 236-237, pp. 457-458), and Ambrosetti supposes with justification that they were hafted like those of the modern Chiriguano. Debenedetti (1, p. 35) obtained a specimen of this instrument at Kipón in Salta province.

[191] This type of shovel is particularly well represented in the archeological material of the Chilean coast. Numerous specimens have been found in Calama, Chiuchiu, and Pica in Tarapaca province (Boman, 2, Vol. II, pp. 731-732 and Plate LXVIII a; and Uhle, 3, pp. 15-16 and Plate I).

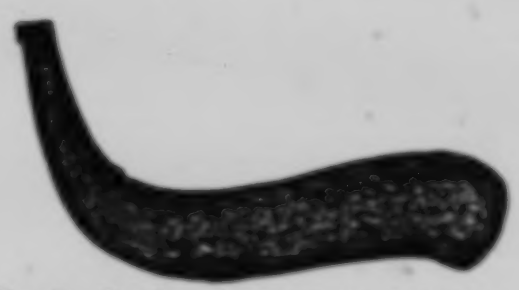
[191] The half-breeds and Indians of the Bolivian altiplano still work the earth today with a spade which in no way differs from that of their ancestors; moreover, it shows great similarity /337/ to the wooden shovel of the ancient Chiriguano (Chervin, p. 216, Fig. 120).

241 Nordenskiöld (9, pp. 30-32), studying the distribution
412 of this cultural element, established that it was peculiar to
171 the Andean zone and the adjoining regions. The Chiriguano
243 shovel nonetheless has a characteristic feature for which we should look in vain on all the specimens found inside the boundaries of the Inca Empire: this is the crescent-shaped handgrip. It corresponds quite precisely to the crutches terminating the oars in use among the tribes of Brazil, Paraguay, and the Guianas and on which the paddler puts his hand flat.

241 The Chiriguano formerly lived in a region rich in rivers and
412 streams, and they probably made use of paddles of this type to
174 go up or down them. Once settled at the foot of the Andes,
243 the resemblance between their former /Fig. 5 appears here/ oars and the shovels they saw in the hands of the Chané or the Chicha must have struck them; and they naturally sought to adapt to the new instruments this detail of structure whose convenience paddling had shown them. Such a hypothesis is not too adventuresome, for do we not have in the Chaco some shovels which have exactly the appearance of oars? (On this subject see the Ashluslay shovel published by Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 30, Fig. 1.)

/337 cont./

243 Once their fields are free of weeds, the Chiriguano call
[476] together relatives and friends. On the date agreed upon, all
[534] go to the fields early in the morning, after waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by blowing into cow horns, which for them take the place of horns (in Chiriguano: waka-ranti) (Fig. 5), each trying to outdo the other. In olden days the
[622] village chief used to take part in the sowing and watched to make sure that all helped one another.



[534]
[321]

Fig. 5. Cow horn (waka-ranti) which the Chiriguano use for a horn. The end is carved into a mouthpiece. Prov.: Ibopeyti. (1/5 nat. size.)

Sowing is done in a very simple way. If the ground is soft, the Indian sticks his shovel vertically into the soil, after giving two or three thrusts in order to push it in as far as possible. He enlarges the slit by pushing his shovel forward without drawing it out and slips two or three kernels of corn into the opening. Without changing position he makes two or three similar holes on his right and left, takes a step forward and begins again. The plants thus grow in a certain alignment /338/ which is far from perfect. Since several work at
[461] a time, the job is done quickly. At noon, or about two o'clock
[273] in the afternoon at the latest, they have finished their task and go back to the village where the chicha or kiwi, which the owner of the field has had prepared for his helpers, awaits them

/336 cont./

243 476 178 The sad state of decline in which the Chiriguano are at present has put an end to collective work, and it is only rarely that sowing is done in common. Each one must provide for his needs without any assistance other than that of his near relatives.

342

Fig. [illegible]. Chiriguano hut (ñoñ), temporarily abandoned by its inhabitants, who have gone to work in the fields. Caipipendí. (Photo. A. M.)

241 The Chiriguano cultivate the following plants:
Corn (avati): 11 varieties;
Beans (kumanda): 11 varieties;
Squash (andai and grindaka-wasu): 5 varieties;
Sweet potatoes (yeti): 6 varieties;
Yucca or sweet manioc (mandio) (Manihot utilissima Pohl);
Groundnuts (manduvi);
Pimento /peppers/ (ají) (Capsicum), very rarely cultivated;

/320 cont./

241 Sorghum (triko) (Sorghum sacchariferum) (1):

[242] 1. Sorghum is cultivated only on a very small scale. It is a delicacy that the Chiriguano reserve for children, who suck its stalk.

/330/ Sugar cane:
Melons:
Watermelons (sandia):
Prickly pear (cain) (Opuntia spec.):
Fig trees:
Orange trees (in the missions).

[199] The Chiriguano cultivate only on a very small scale the plants which, like sorghum, sugar cane, fig trees, and orange trees, have been introduced by the Europeans. Of these only melons enjoy general favor.

248 They always devote some parts of their fields to the cultivation of plants of value only for their arts and manufactures. These are cotton plants (mandiyú), cucurbitaceous plants (ká) which grow on the ground next to their squash and furnish the containers they need, reeds (ureká), which scarcely exists except in the northern part of their habitat, and finally a species of reed (Arundo donax) with which they make the shafts of their arrows.

249 They also plant tobacco (pétí), but I have never seen any in their fields. According to Nordenskiöld (15, p. 75), its cultivation is insignificant and rare. The Chiriguano are not [276] great smokers, and the numerous packs of cigarettes I took [123] along for them found only a few devotees. Among the Toba, Matako /Matacco/, or Chaco /Chaco/ my stocks would have been exhausted in the wink of an eye, for these Indians love tobacco more than anything in the world.

276 The use of tobacco among the ancient Chiriguano, as among 277 their ancestors in Paraguay or Brazil, was reserved for the 278 medicine men for their magical operations. Their use made [178] of it a plant endowed with "mystical" virtues, and its

/339 cont./
276 consumption was limited (1).
256
[824]
[113]

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians
[249] and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.
[755] When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.
[789] We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

243 At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the
22 Indians of the Cururuti region in Caipipendi valley. From the
[114] end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The
[351] house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6).[1]

243 This temporary migration of the whole population of a
22 village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather
123 difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had
[421] remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

[1] [Fig 6 appears on p. 69.--Analyst]

/340 cont./

421 Property is a sacred thing among the Chiriguano, and the nearest relatives cannot dispose of their belongings without their formal consent.

241 115 123 At the time of my stay in Caruruti. I once asked my old friend "Captain" Karnapadyü to take me to his field. He was very

249 407 997 142 291

Fig. 7. Mill for grinding sugar cane at the Ivu mission. (Photo. A. M.)

241 115 [123] touched by /Plate VI appears here/ /341/ the interest that my wife implied and in an instant showed himself ready to do the honors.

His field was about 700 meters from the village on top of one of the cliffs which border the "quebrada" /ravine/ of Caruruti. Access to it was by a steep path across fallen rocks. The entrance [351] [417] to the field was closed by a hedge composed of tree trunks and thorny shrubs which we climbed over with the help of an Indian-style ladder, That is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps.

[Text continues on p. 94]

1: Métraux--73 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate VI

142
301
302

[143] 1. Young Chiriguano, daughter of the "capitan grande" Kamatiwa; her cheeks are painted with balaraqa powder.

142
291
302

2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the Caruruti region, considered a beauty by the Indians. (Photo. A. M.)

/341 cont./

241 115 ladder, that is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps. Captain Kamapadyö's chacra /cultivated clearing/ was about 700 meters by 70 meters in size. At the edge stood a small wooden hut covered with straw.

The "Captain" began by showing me some native plants and had me cross a large square sown exclusively with beans and gourds /cirouilles/. The corn fields came next. They were divided in two by a second hedge formed of trunks and thorns. Squash /courges/ grew between the rows of corn. After the maïkal /field of corn/ followed a second expanse covered with beans, squash, and melons, which Kamapadyö told me belonged to his daughter. Here and there rose several stalks of sorghum. A new corn-field was opposite the

Fig. 6. Mask (tovaranga) carved out of a calabash and provided with hair and eyebrows of horsehair. It was hung up in a planted field where it was serving as a scarecrow. From Cerurati. (1/3 nat. size.)

241 530 [illegible] 239

241 115 [322] [415] [824] first, and another cabin rose at its edge. In both of these properties the only plants cultivated for their manufacturing value were the cucurbitaceous ones from which the Indians make their cups and bottles.

Next, on the opposite cliff, I visited the chacra of another Indian of the same village. A steeper and more difficult road than the first led to it. The plantation was lower down a hill on which a little hut was perched. These fields were almost solely covered with corn among whose stalks grew squash. As before, the maïkales were preceded by plantings of beans and squash.

/341 cont./

Parrots are veritable plagues for agriculture in the Chaco and cause great damage. In order to fight their voracious bands the Chiriguano make scarecrows by attaching to the tip of flexible pojos the masks they wear during the carnival festivities and which they have no use for afterward (Fig. 9). It is the need to be constantly /342/ on the watch to repulse the intrusion of these formidable bands of plunderers which obliges the Indians to come and live in their fields as soon as the corn ripens. The children and young people have the task of frightening off by their shouts these insatiable marauders. As soon as they see or hear a flock of parrots, they emit a long modulation which, it seems, has the effect of scaring them. If the parrots come too near or perch on the fields, the Indians make them flee by bombarding them with stones with their slings. They have two kinds of them. Wherever the Chiriguano are in direct contact with the Quichua /Quechua/, these slings are of wool (Plate VII, 1 and 7); elsewhere, especially in the Caipipendí valley, they are of vegetable fibers and made according to the net technique (Plate VII, 7). We doubt the Chiriguano borrowed this weapon from the Andean population. To be convinced of this it suffices to compare the slings of the Indians and half-breeds of the department of Tarija with that of the Chiriguano (Ibem, 1, Fig. 387, p. 381).

Another means of scattering the birds is to stretch a string above the fields. I do not know the effect that this measure can have on them.

The fields of the Chiriguano Indians are always surrounded by a high, thick hedge which protects them from animals, wandering cows and horses, which could get in and play havoc with them. Grasshoppers sometimes do them much harm. In the Caipipendí valley I saw a field in which they were swarming and which seemed to have been abandoned for this reason (1).

1. When grasshoppers are particularly numerous, the Chiriguano dig ditches which they make them go into and in which they bury them. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 83.)

/343 cont./

[illegible] Women accompany their husbands to the fields. They spend the day there spinning, sewing, grilling ears of corn, or [illegible] [illegible]ing manioc. In the evening, if they return to the village, the wife comes back bent under the weight of her allapoka, or carrying-net, full of ears of corn. Sometimes the men help them. [illegible] Those who have donkeys and horses use them as beasts of burden.

[illegible] Transport of corn is done generally with the help of the carrying-net, but makeshifts let them do without it in case of necessity. The ears of corn are held together in bundles by means of leaves which encompass them and are suspended from a flexible switch bent in the shape of a figure eight. When the two loops are balanced, one can raise them by grasping them by the middle.

251 In the village the ears are either stored in granaries on poles, to which steps cut in a tree trunk (Fig. 9) lead, or kept in the hut where a special corner has been made into a compartment. A tree trunk [illegible]ipped with a natural fork may serve /Plate VII appears here/ /343/ as a storage place for corn. The ears, tied into bundles, are piled between the two branches of the fork (Fig. 10).

[illegible] Formerly, before their dreadful decline began, the Chiriguano had recourse to magical ceremonies to hasten the ripening of corn and to avoid drought or too great an abundance of rain. /Fig. 9 appears here./

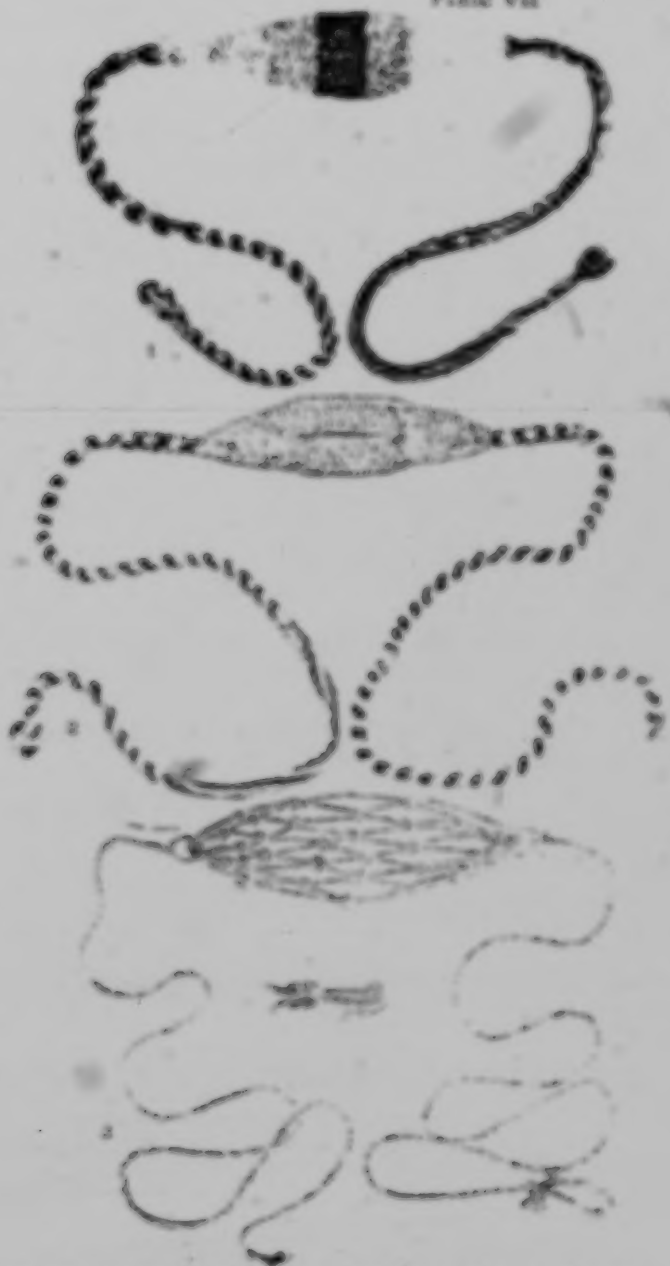
When the sun threatened to burn the harvest, they had one or several medicine men come who were charged with bringing the recalcitrant clouds. Provided with a cigar, they went around the fields blowing the smoke in every direction (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 167). The symbolism of this rite of homeopathic magic is clear: the smoke represents the clouds which the ipaye is to gather.

[illegible] The game of mboto represents the survival of a magical ceremony having to do with the growth of corn and its maturing.

[Text Continues on p. 78]

Plate VII

411



1. Sling (tamomboka) of yellow, purple, white, and green wool. Prov.: Cuevo. (1/4 nat. size.) 2. Sling of brown, green, and white wool. Prov.: Ivu. (1/5 nat. size) 3. Sling of vegetable fibers (wembé bark). Prov.: Carurutí. (1/4 nat. size.)

/364/

526 In the Chiriguano missions or in the villages of the Cai-
178 piyendí valley one finds on the large village plaza /Fig. 10
243 appears here/ an abundance of onion-like objects made of leaves
789 of corn folded together (Fig. 11). Children throw them to each other with the flat of the hand and try to catch them again before they fall to the ground. A hurried traveler would see in this

343
251

Fig. 9. Cornerib on piles (avatóp). Ivu. (Phot. A. M.)

526 game only an Indian form of our court tennis or a rudimentary
178 tennis. Actually, this is certainly the present significance of
243 this amusement. In olden days the meaning was not the same.
789 as I learned in the Macharetí mission. Only a few years ago mboto was played only at the time when the corn was beginning to ripen. The children formed a circle and threw this kind of shuttlecock to one another. If by chance one of them let it fall through inadvertance or awkwardness, he left the place

/2 [illegible]/

526 179 945 789 immediately, chased by his comrades who pulled his hair energetically. The awkward player who threw the ball in such a way that his partner could not catch it was in the same category as the one who let it fall. As a condition, however, that his opposite number had not made the gesture of catching it. Once the corn was ripe, they stopped playing ball.

526 191 The game of *mbondi* has a wide distribution in South America, but it is limited to the populations of the Amazonian basin and the Guianas. Doubtless the Chiriguano introduced it into the Chaco [illegible]. [illegible]

[illegible] Fig. 10. Forked tree on which the Chiriguano pile corn inside their huts. This device may have given rise to the cornrolls on piles.

526 789 243 This game without any direct definition from a magical rite whose object was to produce the beneficial course of the sun and to oblige it to shine without interruption in order the corn ripen. The straw dumbbell represents the sun. The period when this game is played and the meaning the Chiriguano attach to it make any hypothesis a very likely one. Preuss demonstrated that in all of Central America and even in North America the /245/ balls came into use out of a magical operation intended to influence the sun.

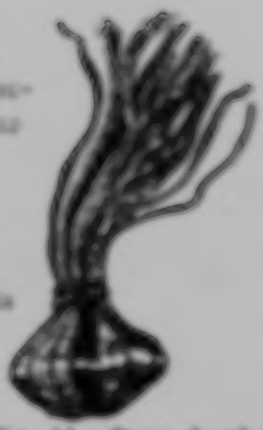


Fig. 11. Straw dumbbell (*mbondi*), accessory for the game of the same name. Prov.: Caraguatá (1/3 nat. size.)

/mi casa./

The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields. "Capitán" Kawagadi made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations without showing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I assured that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano

1. Cardús (p. 150) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacra nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whom laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano villages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game. It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo, chuña /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Nino, pp. 249-250).

/[illegible]/

Outside these official expeditions they doubtless used to hunt for pleasure or simply to interrupt the monotony of their [illegible].

Quadrupeds were killed with arrows with lanceolate tips, originally of wood, later of iron (Plates VIII and IX, 7); small game, with arrows tipped with a barbed wooden rod (Plate IX, 3-5). Birds were taken in traps or felled with a special arrow having a splayed ferrule (Plates X-XI).

Anyone who has seen the little dogs of the Chiriguano Indians, with elongated /[illegible]/ muzzle, pointed ears, short hair, and arched tail will ask with surprise how animals so miserable, stupid, and snappish could have been trained to render service to man. Nevertheless, such seems to have been the case. For hunting the peccary, for example, the Indians employ the dogs, who track them and /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ force them to hide in their dens, from which they are smoked out and killed with blows of a stick when they try to run away. At least this is how the inhabitants of the village of Salinito (upper Pilcomayo) told me they had killed a peccary which they showed me at the time I was there.

For the modern Chiriguano, hunting has lost its reason for existing as an activity having an economic character, except perhaps /Plates VIII, IX, X, and XI appear here/ /[illegible]/ /Fig. 14 appears here/ for those of this nation who live in the region of the upper Pilcomayo. At least this is the impression I had after examining their huts: the bedsteads or wooden cots were often covered with peccary skins and the old deerhorn awls (Fig. 17) numerous enough to be able to be exchanged for a rifle. The relative abundance of these objects proves that among these Indians hunting has not been relegated /Fig. 15 appears here/ to the rank of a simple sport and that it keeps, at least in part, its past importance. The contrast is striking if one then goes into the zone of the Chaco: no minimum there, more peccary skins, more perforators made of deerhorn, more ostrich feathers. In the villages of the upper Pilcomayo there is no cabin, poor as it may be, in which a bow and a bundle of arrows are not slipped

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 89]

Chane SF8

C 412 239

C [304]

Fig. 17. Deerbone awl [illegible]. Formerly the Chiriguano used them to pierce the lower lip of their children. Prov.: Saladito. (1/7 nat. size.)

Ce 411

Ce [284]

Fig. 18. Bow of the Chané Indians. -- Outside surface semicircular; inside surface flat. The bow is reinforced with casings of deerskin (?). Prov.: Tuyuntí (Salta Prov., Argentine Rep.). (1/7 nat. size.)

Arrows for war or hunting large game (hui iya). Chiriguano. The tip is an iron blade, except for No. 4 which ends in a slender piece of wood. Nos. 1, 3, and 4 come from Ivu; No. 2 from Tigüipa, and No. 5 from Pipi. (1, 2, 5 are 1/2 nat. size; 3 and 4, 1/3 nat. size.)

(Caption on following page.)

/Caption for Plate IX on preceding page./

411

1. Arrow for hunting the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/. Chiriguano. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/4 nat. size ± .)

2. Arrow tipped with an iron rod wedged into the shaft with the aid of a wooden peg, perforated, and tied with a small cord. Reinforced with wembé bark. Prov.: Tintapaw. (1/2 nat. size ± .)

3-5. Arrows with barbed points. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/3 nat. size ± .) Note: Arrow No. 5, as an exception, has three feathers.

1: Métraux--86 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate X

411
284

Arrows with splayed ferrule for felling birds or small mammals (songo). No. 1 comes from Ivu, No. 2 from Tintapaw, No. 3 from Tiwiraití (upper Pilcomayo), and No. 4 from Caipipendí. (1/2 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--87 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XI

411
284

Arrows with splayed ferrule for felling birds or small mammals (songo). Nos. 1 and 3 come from Ivu, Nos. 2 and 4 from Caipipendí. (1/3 nat. size.)

411
284

223
231

Fig. 14. Hunting arrow. Chiriguano. The point is formed by an iron rod to which a nail has been fastened to form a barb. This point is held in the shaft by means of a wooden peg Prov.: Nawirenda. (1/4 nat. size.)

Fig. 15. Upper tip of a lorero (long wand with a noose at the end, with which the Chiriguano catch wild parrots they have attracted by means of tame ones). Prov.: Ivu. (1/3 nat. size.)

/347 cont./

433 between the roof beams. Once out of this region the ethnog-
224 rapher will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire
184 these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him.
[411] they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an old man or crudely made specimens without any value other than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some sare lover of hunting.

224 The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendí
411 are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using
184 it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were intended, from what they told me, for killing the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.). They are long reeds armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate IX, 1). One must not conclude that the yakú, abundant as they may be, rep-
[433] resent an appreciable food resource. Besides, hunting is scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for
[126] fun. The Indian who gave up to me the handsomest lot of
[425] these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained to me, /348/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them without his consent.

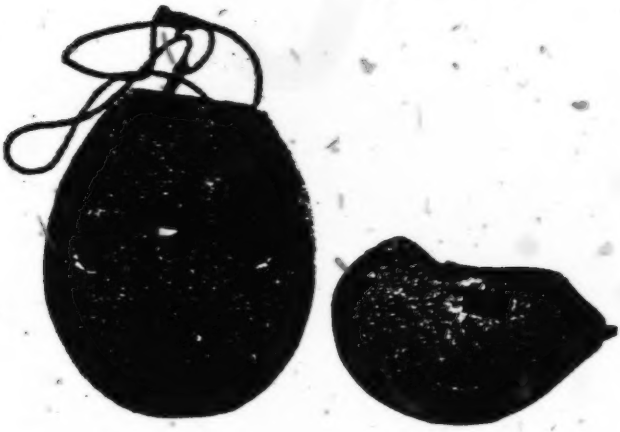
857 Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shoot-
868 ing with a bow than ours. One can see them run around the
224 village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows (Plate XII, 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach. Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16 appears here./

223 Some Indians of the Caipipendí valley sold me large
[126] bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts. That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are certainly not numerous in this region; in a month's stay I
287 did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17
439 appears here/ feather dusters, which the Chiriguano sell in the

[Text continues on p. 91]

231
223

Fig. 16. Perch with troughs for tame parrots which the Chiriguano use for catching wild ones. Prov.: Ñawirenda. (1/10 nat. size.)



231
415
825

Fig. 17. Perforated calabashes in which the Chiriguano put chicks to protect them from birds of prey. Prov.: a, Caruruti; b, Ibopeyti. (1/4 nat. size.)

/348 cont./

287 439 [484] [435] half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

224 178 231 433 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago, those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 435 [464] [465] The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

471 231 [435]

[262] [178] 1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

556

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[text continues on p. 93]

411
284

Plate XII

Arrows with splayed ferrule for felling birds or small mammals (songo). Nos. 1 and 3 come from Ivu. Nos. 2 and 4 from Caipipendí. (1/2 nat.

/349 cont./

556 tendency to estimate the value of objects in cows. For example,
[435] a loom with a nearly finished poncho was offered to me "for
[437] a cow," and the owner of the loom could not understand that
it was difficult for me to convert the exchange into money.

262 Charqui, or meat dried in the sun, most often replaces
[251] fresh meat in the menus of our Indians. It is not a question
of preference, but of necessity. Charqui is cheap and is
bought in any estancia.

Fishing

221 When I went through the Chiriguano villages of the upper
226 Pilcomayo and the Parapiti, the rivers were in flood, the corn was
ripening in the fields, and no Indian wanted to let the parrots
eat his corn in order to go to catch fish at the risk of getting him-
self carried off by the current. If I had come back to these
same villages in July or August, the scene would have been
completely different. The rivers would have been only thin
trickles of water, and in every direction I should have per-
ceived men /350/ and women busy fishing. The fishing season
would have been at its height.

[178] The Chiriguano, having come from a country rich in
watercourses, have in this respect preserved the traditions of
their ancestors of the Paraná or the Paraguay.

226 Some, equipped with large landing nets (Fig. 18), form
barriers against the current and advance, gathering the fish as if
[227] with a spoon. Then they grab them and attach them to their
[482] belts, after /Fig. 18 appears here/ threading them on a cord
by means of a wooden needle (Fig. 19). Others lie in wait for
a fish in the water and, as it goes by, impale it with an arrow
equipped with several points (Fig. 20) or simply with two long,
barbed wooden rods. Some, with the help of stone barriers,
try to make the fish converge toward the opening of a wicker
trap (1). Sometimes a group of individuals turn aside a

1. Compare Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260): "in summer (the Chiriguano) divert a stretch of the river; they leave the fish in the drained

/350 cont./

C 226

arm of the river; in waist-deep water they enter it with their bows and arrows and shoot them there, and any that escape the arrow the women go after with nets into which they fall. /Translated from the Spanish./

C 227

C [283]

Fig. 18. Landing net of cotton thread (puisa). Chiriguano. Prov.: Ibopeyti. (1/19 nat. size.)

C 226 C [227] watercourse, leaving the fish dry, and catch them by hand or with a sieve (?). Iron fishhooks are equally popular: the

Ce 226

2. Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 184-185) describes a curi[illegible]ay of catching fish which is in use amon[illegible]e Chané of the Itiyuro River. They set branches in the water, which give shade and attract the fish. They also put there a calabash with some scraps of corn. The fish enter the calabash, whose neck is narrow. When several fish have gone in, the women close the orifice of the calabash with the hand and pull it up to the surface.

/351/
226 /Figs. 19-22 appear here/ /352/ Chiriguano attach them to the
[229] end of long cords. A spear with one or two points serves to
harpoon the enormous surubú which pass within their reach
[481] (Fig. 21). It goes without saying that the Chiriguano are
marvelous swimmers.
262 The Chiriguano like fish (1). If they live far from the
439

226
195
229
481

1. The skill of the Chiriguano at fishing had already attracted the attention of the ancient chroniclers. Acosta (Vol. I, p. 236) reports that he had a chance to see them handle the spear, a specimen of which is reproduced here in Figure 21. "Some Chiriguanas plunged under the water and, swimming with admirable speed, followed the fish, and with some fish spears, or harpoons, which they carried in the right hand, swimming only with the left, they struck the fish; and, spearing it thus, they came up, so that they certainly seemed to be more fish than men of the land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Rosen (1, Fig. 215, p. 213) represents a Chiriguano holding one of these two-pointed spears in his hand.

262 Pilcomayo and cannot get any directly, they buy it from the
439 Toba or the Matako, who are good fishermen and in addition
have the advantage of living on the very banks of the lower
Pilcomayo.

In the dry season one can see near Pilcomayo a continual
[482] coming and going of Chiriguano, bent under the weight of their
nets full of ears of corn that they are going to barter for fresh
[484] or dried fish. They would not hesitate, it appears, to travel
150 kilometers to feast on it (Nino, p. 251).

227
[482]
[284]
252

Fig. 19. Wooden needle (timosa) with which the Chiriguano thread the fish they have caught in order to be able to carry them more conveniently around the waist. Prov.: Tintapaw. (1/3 nat. size.)

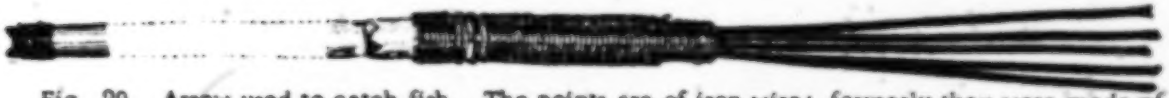


Fig. 20. Arrow used to catch fish. The points are of iron wire: formerly they were made of cactus spines. Prov.: Pípi. (1/2 nat. size.)

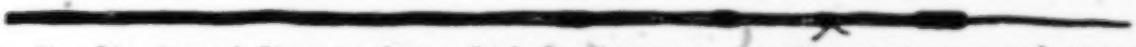


Fig. 21. Spear 4.70 meters long, which the Chiriguano use to harpoon large surubú when the latter swim within their reach. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/33 nat. size.)

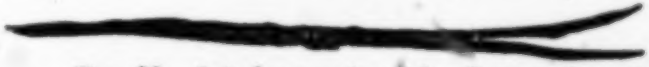


Fig. 22. Spit for roasting fish. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/7 nat. size.)

/352 cont./

C 252 The fish begins by being opened and cleaned and only then is it boiled or roasted. In this last case it is inserted between the two branches of a switch split for three quarters of its length (Fig. 22). So that the latter does not open completely, the lower part is fastened securely with bands of bark, and so that the fish does not fall out once it is inserted in the interstice, the upper part. Among their ancestors, the Guarani, G [252] such a spit would have been superfluous, because to grill the product of their fishing or hunting they used to construct C [251] [262] buccans. Our Chiriguano also eat fish dried in the sun and enjoy it in this form combined with some corn dish.

/353/

Chapter IV

Cooking

Fire

C 372 177 The modern Chiriguano more and more use matches of Bolivian make, but their poor quality has contributed to maintaining the popularity of the tinderbox. That of the Chiriguano, borrowed recently from the white men, is composed of a flint and a piece of iron with which they make sparks fly, which fall on a little wild cotton (the one which the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) produces). This tow (tata rimbiuna) is kept in a small receptacle made from the end of a cow horn or an armadillo tail. /Figs. 23 and 24 appear here./ It is hermetically sealed by a wooden disk, which a small cord passing inside the capsule and coming out through a hole at the tip of the horn or tail allows to be put back in place with a single motion. This ingenious contrivance is not, however, of Indian invention; I saw it adapted to the tinderboxes of the creoles in the Argentine Republic. Some C [415] [281] Chiriguano make cloth wicks which at first sight would seem to have been produced in one of our factories. The tinderbox with its accessories is carefully kept in small bags of deerskin, wildcat, iguana, etc. (Figs. 23 and 24).

332 cont./

372 [171] In former times the Chiriguano made fire exactly like all the Indians of South America, by rubbing two sticks one against /354/ each other. One of my friends from Cururú reconstructed one of these devices for me in the hope of surprising me and getting a good price for it. He took two sticks of tata iwira, or fire wood (1), cut one of them lengthwise

(824) 1. According to Father D. Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 91), the Chiriguano might use, for obtaining fire by rotation, sticks made from the wood of a red liana whose

415 281 372 ←

415 281 →

Fig. 23. Small deerskin bag in which a Chiriguano used to carry a tinderbox and its accessories. Prov.: Pipi. (1/3 nat. size.)

Fig. 24. Puma paw (yagua-pintaipo) made into a bag. Prov.: Saladito. (1/4 nat. size.)

372 [824] flower has five yellow petals with a red spot on one of them. The Chiriguano name for this plant is isipo-pinta.

and provided one of its sides with two cups along which he contrived a perpendicular groove. These two little furrows were intended to conduct the glowing sawdust onto the tinder placed on the ground. /Fig. 25 appears here./ The other stick was slightly sharpened to allow it to go into the cups. Since this

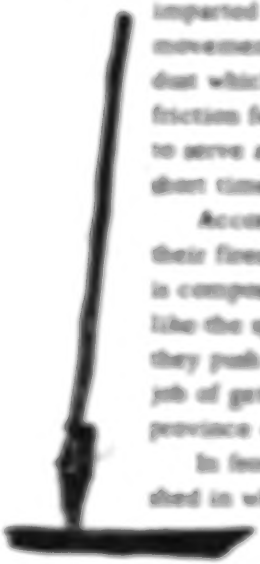
/354 cont./

372 small stick was too short to be handled with ease, he fastened it securely to another stick by means of vegetable fibers (ombaia) (Fig. 25). This done, he sat down on the ground, pressing the soles of his feet on the small cupped stick, and imparted with the palms of the hands a rotating movement to the other stick. The glowing sawdust which was detached by the effect of the friction fell on dried dung placed near the gadget to serve as tinder, which, at the end of a rather short time, began to catch fire.

354 According to the season, the Chiriguano light their fires inside the hut or outside. The hearth is composed of long branches which they lay out like the spokes of a wheel. As the ends burn, they push them closer to the central fire. The job of getting the dead wood falls within the province of the men (Fig. 26).

[462] [313]

343 In front of the huts they often erect a little shed in which the women do the cooking. The



[372] Fig. 25. Ancient apparatus for making fire, reconstructed by a modern Chiriguano. Prov.: Caraparí. (1/6 nat. size.)

roof of this shelter serves as a shelf for putting provisions and utensils on.

Preparation of Food

262 The modern Chiriguano do not seem to observe any food prohibitions, at least in daily life, for the custom of fasting, for women at the time of puberty and for men upon the birth of a child, is not yet lost. In olden days certain animals /355/ were taboo (1). The men of a few villages thus reserved for themselves

[789] [825]

[775]

1. In order not to kill one of their dead relatives transformed into a fox, the Chiriguano

/355 cont./

142
291
351
372

Fig. 26. Chiriguano woman lighting a fire. Upper Pilcomayo. (Photo. A. M.)

262
[175] do not hunt nor eat this animal (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 3).

[176] Medicine men cannot under any circumstances eat pimento. If a man refuses to taste this condiment, one can be sure he is a magician (id., p. 184).

[165] Grilled corn is strictly forbidden for persons in mourning, whose tears would dry up if they ate this dish.

[825] the exclusive right to eat deer meat, which thus instilled in them
[187] the agility and suppleness of this animal. Women could eat, without

262 /355 cont./ Women could eat, without
[542] harm, parrot, a heavy and stupid bird. In their misogyny the Chiriguano doubtless figured that that would not change their nature in any way. (Campana, p. 92.)

252 Cooking is not a secondary activity: it is an important form /Fig. 26 appears here/ of the material culture and an excellent index for judging the cultural level of a human group. The art of preparing dishes reveals as well as any tool the faculties of invention and taste. In South America one can very well classify the tribes according to the more or less great variety of their dishes and the care they take in preparing them. This hierarchy would certainly correspond to that of the cultural elements.

[171] In the Chaco, Chiriguano cooking stands in contrast by its variety, its /356/ taste, and its cleanness to that of the more primitive tribes like the Toba or the Matako.

Before passing on to the study of the utensils used by the Chiriguano housewives, it is fitting to describe their menus.

When the Chiriguano kill a cow, goat, or sheep, the meat is boiled in water, roasted on a spit, or dried in the sun (charqui). They are especially partial to the head of the animal they kill, and they eat it boiled after skinning it. The pieces of meat are cleaned carefully before being cooked; and the tripe, for example, which is a delicacy, is taken out beforehand.

Corn is prepared in various ways. If the ears are tender and green, they are boiled in water or grilled over the fire or under the ashes.

When the corn is still in this state, the women prepare simbikuai or humitas (in Spanish). They bite with an appetite into the still tender ears, chew the kernels for a long time, and spit them into a calabash. This white mash saturated with saliva is wrapped in corn leaves and put under the ashes.

[415] The Chiriguano give the name of atipũ to kernels of corn roasted in a special bowl called tapuipe (Plate XIII, 3) or in large potsherds, which tend more and more to replace the primitive utensil appropriate for this use. The atipũ requires

/356 cont./

252 no preparation other than constant stirring to order not to be burned. This food takes the place of bread for the Chiriguano, who like to munch these crunchy and appetizing kernels. They provide themselves with it when they go on a trip.

Atipú pounded in a mortar and passed through a sieve gives atí, a brownish flour which has an excellent taste. Atí is also prepared differently: kernels of corn are reduced to a flour which is roasted in a terra-cotta roaster or in a wide potsherd. According to Nino (p. 246), the name atikiri would be given to the kernels of roasted corn made into flour after being put through a sieve and ground until pulverized. The same missionary reserves the term atí for roasted flour obtained from the residue left by kernels which have been treated in the following way: after letting them soak in water all night, they are poured into a sieve the next morning. When the water has drained off, they are pounded in a mortar. This flour is now sifted, then roasted: cooked in water, it is the dish the Chiriguano call muiní or huiní. Atí then would be made with the residue from the muiní flour, which is ground again, then roasted like it, but first mixed with salt or pimento. I
[122] have often eaten roasted corn flour which the Indians told me was atí, but I could never tell that it was seasoned. The Chiriguano give the name abatikuse to the corn bran.

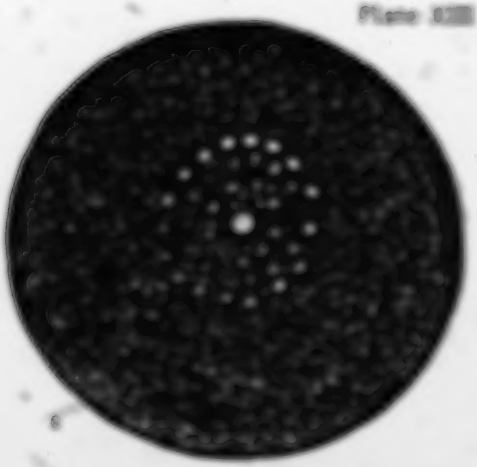
This is how muintimimo is prepared: kernels of corn are /Plate XIII appears here/ /357/ put to soak all night. The next morning they are ground and sifted in an urungé (sieve with very fine mesh). The flour is poured into a muitero
[115] (Plate XIII, 1 and 2). This utensil is a terra-cotta basin whose bottom is pierced with holes like a skimmer (1). The flour is

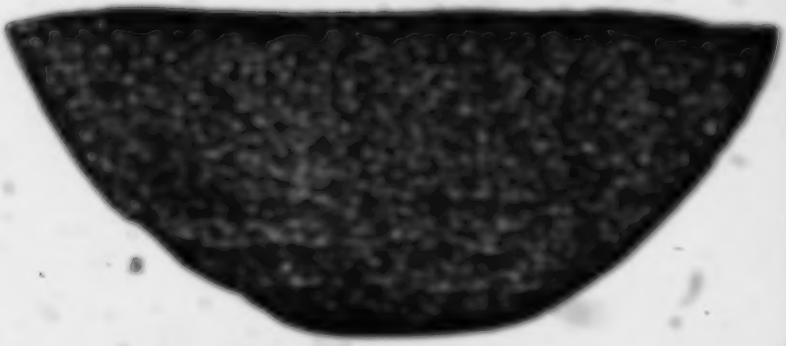
[191]
[114]

1. Lizné (L. Map 1, p. 22) has given us the distribution of vessels with perforated bottoms throughout America. The enumeration he makes of them is very complete: yet it lacks mention of La Rioja in the Argentine Republic where Boman (L. p. 17) discovered fragments of vessels whose bases were entirely perforated like a sieve.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 104]

Plate XIII





1 and 2 Basin with perforated bottom for preparing [illegible] flour cooked in steam. Prop.: Iron. (1/4 nat. size.) -- 3. Basin for winnowing corn kernels or flour (Kanjiqie). Prop.: Bolaiiro. (1/4 nat. size.).

/207 cont./

252 covered with the bran. The *mutiero* is then placed on the opening of a pot full of water and the whole put on the fire. The rising steam goes through the holes of the *mutiero* and cooks the corn while saturating it with moisture. So that the steam will not escape at the sides, the line of contact between the edges of the *mutiero* and the neck of the vessel is smeared with clay.

I have given the recipe for this dish according to Nino (p. 266), for I have never been present at its preparation. The Chiriguano themselves must have forgotten it: I do not remember having seen more than two *mutiero* during my whole trip: one at Tumbá's and the other at Ivo. Since it is im-
[276] possible to prepare *mutiericinos* without this basin, one must suppose that the Chiriguano of the decline have forgotten even the taste of one of the most original dishes of their cuisine.

At Ivo the Chiriguano had me taste *kiwi-rai* (little *kiwi*), a kind of gruel made with kernels of corn softened by a more or less long soaking in water, then pounded and rid of the bran. This gruel is cooked in water and eaten cold. It is
[277] sometimes left to ferment for several days and from that has doubtless come its name of "little corn beer."

The Indians make flat corn cakes (*mayape*) (1), which are

> 1. The corn fritters that I saw roasted in a frying pan at Piji were doubtless *mayape* cakes. Unfortunately, I was not able to learn their name.

mentioned in the myths I have collected, but which I myself have never had a chance to taste. *Avatindi*, or white corn, is softened in water, pounded, then kneaded with salt and pimento and the dough shaped into flat cakes which are cooked under the ashes. When they are supposed to be done, they are pulled out from beneath the glowing embers and washed with water, and they finally have a kind of bread with a pleasant taste.

/357 cont./

252 A rudimentary way of preparing corn, but also little valued, consists of boiling the kernels in water for a long time until they have become soft (atiruru) (3).

262
881
765
846

3. Atiruru is a dish whose consumption is intimately associated with the observance of magico-religious prohibitions. It is the only permissible nourishment for girls when they have their first menstrual periods, for people in mourning, and for women for a period of ten days after giving birth (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 14).

252 /358/ The Chiriguano make a broth with corn-flour (api)
262 and meat, which is not bad.

They do not use haphazardly the 11 varieties of corn which they cultivate. Each, according to its properties, is intended for the preparation of a definite dish. Yellow corn (avati-hendi-vaé or avati-iyu-vaé) serves for making chicha or corn beer; white corn (avati-ndi) is roasted, as is avati-kanana. The corn called katšintši, or crinkled corn, is generally roasted, as are avati-tšore and avati-saimpini (gray corn), which are intended to be roasted and made into flour.

262 Avati-rai, or small corn, is planted only in times of scarcity when the harvest has been bad. Of small stature, it yields only one ear of reduced size, but has the advantage of growing fast (Nino, pp. 241-242).

A Chiriguano's meal in normal times is not made up exclusively of corn, even if this grain figures in all his menus. The popularity which corn has is also shared by beans, or kumanda. The Chiriguano cultivate 11 varieties of them also.

The Chiriguano eat beans either dry or fresh. In the
[252] latter case they are cooked in the pod in water or under ashes.
[263] Beans boiled in the pod are seasoned with pimento. Then one has the dish called sopiriwa.

/358 cont./

252 In order to shell dry beans, the women make a big pile of them which they put on a hide; then, sitting down beside it, they hammer them with a stick as if with a flail. The seeds are loosened, and to separate them from the pod they take handfuls which they winnow (Fig. 27). They carry out this operation several times until not a single seed is left sticking to the pods. Next they collect them into a pile with a small broom and rid them of all impurities by shaking them in a sieve. The shelled beans are kept in vessels.

At Caruruti every morning I was offered a dish of beans cooked in the following way: a handful of beans, with a little water, was put on the fire in an improvised frying pan formed out of a large potsherd. In an instant the water was evaporating and the beans beginning to smoke; this was the moment to take them off and serve them.

The underground oven, which among other American tribes is used almost exclusively for cooking meat, has been adapted by the Chiriguano to a more humble use: in a hole which they make in the ground and which they have first heated, they bury fresh beans and leave them until they are done (Nino, p. 243).

262 After beans in order of importance come squash or gourds
252 (andai ankú, and ginda). The Indians boil them or roast them
[263] under ashes. In the first case they season them with pimento or salt to make gindaka-mikira, or squash fat. The /359/ seeds are also roasted and eaten with corn flour, atipíi, or beans.

The Indians of the Caipipendí valley sometimes, but rarely, ate sweet manioc tubers. They boiled them in water or roasted them under ashes.

Sweet potatoes or camote (in Chiriguano: yeti) are roasted or boiled. They were served to me only two or three times.

/Fig. 27 appears here./

263 The Chiriguano like condiments and season all their vegetables with them; in the bean pot they put pimento, which with them occurs in the form of extremely strong small oval fruits, green and red. I have also seen ground red pimento. In the villages where the Indians use crystallized salt, they break it into small

/359 cont./

263 pieces which are put near the fire to make them melt little by little. The cooks dip them from time to time into the soup, then take them out. If the salt is taken from salt marshes or from water by evaporation, /360/ they mold it into large balls which are scooped out as needed (Fig. 28).

252
291
516

Fig. 27. Young Chiriguano woman winnowing beans. Caruruti. (Photo. A. M.)

317 The major part of the salt exploited in Chiriguano coun-
263 try comes from a mine situated in the San Simon region, between San Luis (Entre Rios) and the Salado River, in the depart-
[484] ment of Tarija. The Indians flock there from all directions
[492] with droves of donkeys which set out again loaded with big blocks of crystallized salt afterward cut into small pieces.

C 263 317 /360 cont./

The Indians of Ibopeytí, although living in the neighborhood of the San Simon salt mine, consume it in the form of the big balls which I have just mentioned. Pulverized, it is a salt which reminds one of our table salt but coarser. The inhabitants of this village assured me that they used to find it near the Pilcomayo. That is very possible, for the rivers which flow in the region are very salty as their names indicate (Río Salado, Saladito, etc.). These rivers, which frequently overflow and often change their beds, must form here and there real salt marshes. The Chiriguano of Ivu and Macharetí collect the water from a salt spring, boil it, and by successive coolings obtain salt which they mold into balls (Campana, p. 89).

Fig. 28. Salt molded in a ball, ready to be consumed or exported. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/2 nat. size±.)

C 263 The Chiriguano are parsimonious with their salt. I did not see them salt anything but dried beans; and when the latter are cooked in the pod, they are served that way without condiments, the same as corn or squash.

C 264 When a Chiriguano woman offers you a dish of beans or meat, she always puts some corn flour beside you. It is not easy to eat it according to the rules; the Indians take great pinches of it between their fingers and throw them into their mouths with marvelous dexterity. Upon seeing them so adroit, I thought of their ancestors from Brazil, the ancient Tupinamba and Guaraní, who excited the hilarious admiration of the first navigators: "But however that may be, our Tououpinambaoults, men and women as well as children, being accustomed from childhood to eating it (manioc flour) completely dry instead of bread, are so used to and trained for that, that taking it with

T 175 264

T /360 cont./
175 their four fingers from the earthen dish or other vessel in
264 which they keep it, even though they throw it from rather far away, nevertheless they put it so accurately into their mouths that they do not drop a single bit. So that some of us Frenchmen, wishing to imitate them, thought we would eat it in that fashion, and not being at all trained for that like them, instead of throwing it in our mouths, we discharged it on our cheeks and floured our whole face; /361/ consequently unless those principally who wore beards would have wanted to be accoutered as players of farces, we were constrained to take it with spoons" (Léry, Vol. I, pp. 143-144).

T This comparison permitted me to suppose that roasted
262 corn flour has simply replaced the "farinha" of the Brazilians.
252 As we know, the pulp of manioc tubers, after being carefully
264 squeezed in the tipiti, or trough, was roasted on a terra-cotta slab and changed into dry flour, with which the Tupinamba accompanied all their meals. The Chiriguano think the same
C 262 way about atši: they say that corn flour, in order to be eaten,
264 must have an accompaniment, an intina. To my way of think-
176 ing, atši and muínti are two substitutes for manioc flour that the Chiriguano invented or adapted after emigrating into a
C land where bitter manioc was unknown. Neither the other tribes
[171] of the Chaco nor the Quichua eat corn in this form, and, to my knowledge at least, there is no doubt that the Chiriguano introduced these two dishes into the country, without counting a goodly number of the ones which have been enumerated.

C The only fruits that the Chiriguano consume on a large
262 scale are the prickly pear or tuna (Opuntia), which are seen
C in all their villages. They also plant some fig and orange
[245] trees when they are under mission influence. They are also
[197] great lovers of melons, of sandias (watermelons), and when they have eaten one of these which has pleased them particularly, they keep the seed. They love sugar cane with a passion. Sorghum is especially meant for the children, for whom these graminaceae are a veritable sweetmeat. They suck the juice, which is as sweet as that of sugar cane.

/361 cont./

262 252 Among the foods that nature gives them spontaneously can be counted the caraguatá, whose mealy roots, roasted on embers or under ashes, remind one a little of manioc tubers.

The pods of a mimosaceae (?), which remind one of large beans and for this reason are called iwira-kumanda, were pointed out to me as being edible. I have found this information confirmed in an article by Campana (p. 97), who adds that these fruits have a bitter taste which they lose only after several repeated cookings.

To this list must be added the fruits of the algarroba, mistol, tusca, bitter algarroba, ulala, higuerilla, etc. Chañar fruit can also help them to stand famine. Since they are sweet, they can be eaten raw, cooked, or in the form of bread after being pounded in a mortar.

In Father D. Giannechini's Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., one finds enumerated a large number of plants which grow wild and which the Chiriguano eat by necessity or to vary their menus. These are:

/362/ The roots of the kaaratiro, red and stringy outside but white inside. They are edible and even pleasant tasting after being cooked in three waters (p. 18).

The watery tubers, of the size of a small onion, which the Chiriguano call iwía and of which the children are very fond. One belief has it that the spirit inhabiting this plant hides it from those who look for it if they do not observe silence or if they point at it (p. 80).

The fruit of the shrub iwira-rorai (p. 82).

The tubers of a kind of wild yuca which they call, like the cultivated species, mandío or mandionsi. This is a bitter plant, prickly and poisonous. To eat this root they cut it in pieces and cook it in several waters to make it lose its sharpness and its poison (p. 99).

A kind of wild potato known by the name mangara which the Chiriguano dig up and eat in times of scarcity. This tuber is edible only after being boiled in several waters (p. 100).

The herb monki would be equally edible (p. 133).

A certain liana (supúa) whose leaves can be eaten if other food is lacking (p. 193).

/362 cont./

262 The Chiriguano call kumanara a leguminous plant, wild,
[252] which resembles the yuca and which can serve as food after being boiled. They resort to it only when pressed by hunger. The word designating this plant has a strange resemblance to
[192] the name of the batata in the Quichua dialects of Ecuador and northern Peru (Rivet, 3, pp. 583-590). It is perhaps a question of a Quichua word introduced into the Chiriguano language to designate a plant of which they did not have the equivalent in their original homeland. The case is nevertheless rare, and one can wonder if it is not a simple coincidence.

[222] Neither do the Chiriguano look down on honey, although they
[171] do not seek it with the passion of their cousins, the Kainguá. What I tasted among them was contained in thin honeycombs having the consistency of cardboard. It had a pleasant taste.

222 Any Indian who goes in search of honey (ei) must not make
784 his intention known to anyone and, if he is asked where he is going, he must answer: "To look for wood." If you do not take
[176] these precautions, the protecting spirit of the honey is warned of your plan and hides the honeycombs he guards (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 86).

222 The missionary Corrado (p. 43) assures us that grass-
114 hoppers, cicadas, the larvae of bees are that many delicious
[252] dishes for the Chiriguano. He adds that these insects are roasted. Nino (p. 247) reproduces the statements of his predecessor and completes the list of strange foods by adding /363/ ants, lizards, leaves of the cucurbitaceae, melted tallow, etc. Personally I
[171] have never seen the Chiriguano touch these dishes strange to our palates, but I am all the more inclined to believe these two missionaries that the tastes they indicate are actually those of the Indians in other regions.

262 Already in the 16th century the Chiriguano passed as snake
252 lovers, even of poisonous species. They cut off the head and tail, skinned them, and roasted pieces of them on live coals. They used to eat them with pimento. No doubt the Spaniards con-
[178] fused snakes with iguanas, which even today the Chiriguano justly like (Lizárraga, Vol. I, p. 260).

/363 cont./

234 To end up, one could still cite among Chiriguano food
262 the cheese they make in some villages. Each time they butcher they take care to keep the abomasus in order to make
[177] milk separate. Chiriguano cheeses are of the same quality as those of the half-breeds, who for once have taught something
[272] to our Indians. I shall add that I have never seen a Chiriguano drink milk.

312 The problem of water does not come up for the Chiriguano
133 as for the other Indians of the Chaco. Numerous rivers cross their territory, and several of them are large enough not to dry up even in the middle of the dry season. These watercourses form innumerable quebradas, gorges or valleys, which give its characteristic aspect to the country inhabited by our Indians.
[361] Sometimes villages are built near springs or small lakes, like the Ivu mission, which is provided with plenty of water.

312 When I crossed the Caipipendí valley, the river which occupies the bottom was nearly dry. The Indians had scooped out small wells about one meter in depth in the sand of its bed. They had surrounded them with slabs of stone to prevent any caving in and to preserve the water which accumulated in them from the heat of the sun. In this same valley, in a village situated on top of a hill, the Indians had dug a cistern four to five meters in diameter in which rain water had collected.

271 The Chiriguano have found a way to purify the muddy
312 water they often have to drink. They crush caraguatá leaves
824 between two stones, then steep them in the water, and all its impurities settle as a result of the action of the juice of this plant.

264 The Chiriguano do not eat at set times. They make a rather substantial breakfast very early in the morning and again take some food toward the middle of the day. In the evening
[562] about six o'clock they make a kind of dinner. Since the men are served first, then the women and children, it follows that the meals drag out in length. At any moment of the day one
[415] can see someone eating. The food /364/ is presented to each one in a calabash or terra-cotta bowl which each holds on his knees. They pick up the pieces with their fingers but imbibe liquids with a wooden spoon (Figs. 42 and 43). After eating, they wash their hands. I have seen some rinse out their mouths.

/364 cont./

Fermented Beverages

293 Anyone who has traveled among the Chiriguano or the Chané has learned to prize corn beer, or kāwi. Few moments in the course of my expedition have left me more pleasant memories than the ones when, tired by a long stage, I would sit down in front of a hut and receive from the hands of the wife of the "captain" a calabash full of this liquid, slightly sharp and a little granular, which quenches thirst and allays hunger. The day when the Chiriguano stop making kāwi will be a sign that they have disappeared from the face of the earth, and perhaps this delicious drink will survive them as a creole speciality in which good nationalists will take pride.

[122] [123]

Father Corrado (p. 43) once heard from the mouth of a Chiriguano an admirable definition of the role of kāwi in the life of an Indian: "It is our father and our mother," said he. Indeed, it is the father of joy, the sign of plenty, the companion of the most beautiful moments of existence as well as the most tragic ones. It has within it a mysterious and mystic force which penetrates the individual, exalts him, and protects him against supernatural dangers. All festivals are reduced, in their essential part, to the consumption of kāwi; no collective enterprise is conceivable without their first drinking it from full jars (1). From birth to death, all that affects the

293 726

1. Even in the 16th century the Chiriguano, like the ancient Tupinamba, did not undertake any expedition of war without having celebrated a caouin or a vin /wine/, to express ourselves like the old French chroniclers; /a passage of poetry in Spanish from Barco Centenera, p. 262, is omitted in the translation/.

When the Chiriguano of Parapití and Caipipendí rose up in 1799, before the revolt they held great drinking festivals, during the course of which they decided on the plan of operations (Corrado, p. 254).

/364 cont./

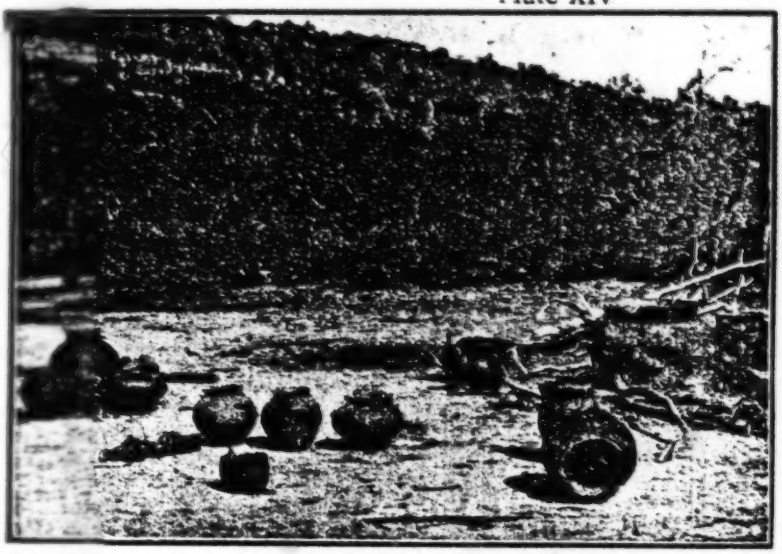
273 life of the individual or the community is associated with this beverage. The divine principle which kãwi has in it does not take away its secular character; and, while one gets drunk on it during the festivals, nothing prevents washing down meals with it at the time when the corn ripens. As a sign of [574] hospitality every stranger is invited to empty a calabash full [576] of it; and the compliments he addresses to the wife of his host fill his heart with pride.

527 The Indians always appreciated the liking I showed 273 /Plate XIV appears here/ /365/ for kãwi, and my old friend [123] Karnapadyú did not fail to recall the big vats full to the brim to persuade one to return to celebrate Easter with them, or, if you like, the corn harvest, since these two dates coincide more or less. Such promises /Fig. 29 appears here/ could not remain without effect, and Karnapadyú was not at all surprised to see me arrive shortly before the festival.

The greatest animation prevailed in the village of Cururutí, formerly so calm. Men came and went, bending under enormous loads of wood. All the urns were lined up in front of the huts and buried to a third of their height (Plate XIV, 1). 527 For a long time big piles of corn had already been heaped up 273 in the village, which all, big and small, men and women, 243 /Fig. 30 appears here/ were actively engaged in husking. [412] Some used their fingers, others knives or a pointed stick. Not [413] one had thought of the so practical instrument used by their ancestors: a small wooden peg with a leather loop to put two fingers through. It is curious to note that such a simple object fell into disuse; an old man still sold me a specimen made of iron but a close copy, so to speak, of the wooden prototype, of which it reproduced the smallest details (Fig. 29).

273 Now the hardest work begins: the grinding of the kernels. Day and night the dry noise of the pestles crushing the corn [461] resounds in the village. Often, to get the chore over more quickly, three women group around the same mortar and with surprising speed raise and pound their pestle without a single [415] error in rhythm interrupting their laborious work. Once ground, the corn is sifted in an urumpesa or large-meshed sieve (Fig. 31). The rather coarse flour is poured into large urns filled with water.

Plate XIV



1. Vessels assembled in front of a hut and serving for the preparation of kāwi (chicha). Carurutí. (Photo. A. M.)

2. Women and children taking kàwi. The women are squatting on the ground on skins, while the men are seated on benches or chairs. Samirenda. (Photo. A. M.)

413
243

Fig. 29. Iron peg with leather handle used for husking ears of corn. Chiriguano. Prov.: Saladito. (1/2 nat. size.)

412
824

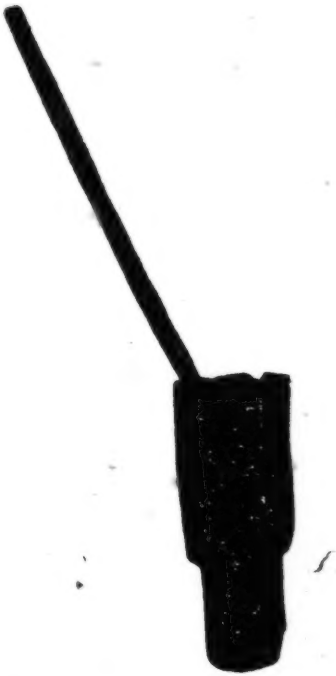


Fig. 30. Chiriguano mortar (anguá) made of urundey wood (Astronium urundeuva Fr. Allemao), with its pestle. The lower, recessed part is buried in the ground. Prov.: Ivu. (1/15 nat. size.)

/365 cont./

273 The preparation of chicha is not play; it is necessary not only /366/ to grind an enormous quantity of corn, but again to go
484 ceaselessly to get water, often at a great distance. At Cururutí
482 the nearest potable water was at the bottom of a ravine of particu-
273 larly difficult access. The women were constantly going there with an îru (Plate XVII, 1), which they carried on their backs in a net (añapoka) held on the forehead by a strap. They would fill

462
516
273
291
415
412

Fig. 31. Woman sifting corn which she has just ground in the mortar beside her. This flour is to be roasted, then chewed to serve as ferment for kãwi. Cururutí. (Photo. A. M.)

484 the jug and, loading it with difficulty, would go back up the
482 steep slope doubled over under the weight. So as not to lose any
273 time, these hard-working creatures would take along a calabash full of ground corn which they continually chewed.

273 The ground corn is cooked in water and constantly stirred
412 with flat sticks whose edges used to be cut out with a certain
[178] artistic care in olden days (Fig. 32). Today a kind of oar (Fig.
[237] 33) or the scapula of an ox (Fig. 34) fastened to a long handle
[531] replaces the ancient utensils in which was manifested so well the Chiriguano tendency to decorate even the most humble objects.

[For plate XVII, See Category 116, P. 127-- Analyst]

/366 cont./

273 126 It is not so easy as one thinks to observe in detail the preparation of kāwi, and I am still at a loss to describe the stages in their exact sequence. This difficulty is due to the fact that kāwi is prepared over several days (generally three or four), and it is /Plate XV appears here/ /367/ difficult to be on the spot all the time so as not to miss any detail. Besides, as different families do not begin to prepare kāwi at the same time, confusion results; and it is hard to know at what point of the operation [114] one finds oneself. Apparently I am not the only one to have come up against this obstacle, for it is enough to read the various descriptions devoted to this important occupation to become aware that they are far from agreeing.

273 462 At the moment when the water is at the boiling point in the big vats, the burning pieces of wood and the live coals are scattered, and the corn flour is poured in, being stirred vigorously so that it will not form lumps. While this operation is performed, other women have pounded fine a certain quantity of corn, sifted it, winnowed it to rid it of any impurity, then roasted it in a large potsherd. As this flour is taken off the fire, the women chew part of it and spit this into a calabash. This paste impregnated with saliva is called temišu. According to Nino (p. 248), the Indian women mix the temišu with the corn broth which is cooking in the vats and with which they fill a pot. The woman who busies herself with this mixture (umopirai) allows it to fall back in from a certain height "to give it sweetness."

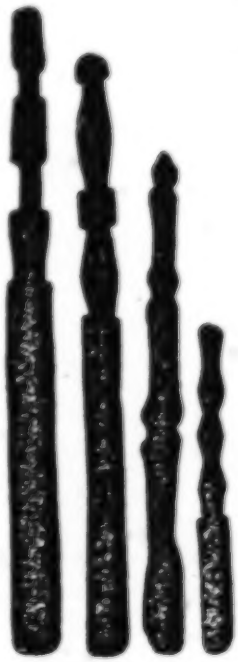
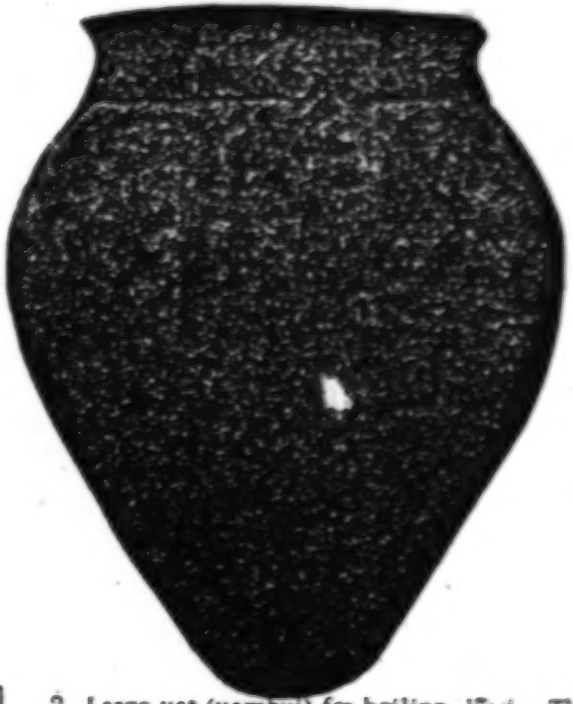


Fig. 32. Sticks for stirring the kāwi while it is cooking. No. 1 comes from Tigūipa; No. 2 from Ivu; Nos. 3 and 4 from Saladillo (upper Pilcomayo). (/ nat. size.)

415
293

Plate XV

1. Large vessel (yambui) in which the Chiriguano make corn beer ferment. Prov.: Ivu. (1/5 nat. size.)



[764] 2. Large vat (yambui) for boiling kãwi. The Chiriguano bury their dead in similar urns. Prov.: Ivu. (1/7 nat. size.)

/367 cont./

273
412

The umopirai is added to the kāwi, which from this moment on is subjected to intense cooking. A large, bright fire is lighted around the vat containing it and burns day and night; the women go to stir it from time to time to keep it from sticking.

At night the village of Caruruti has a strange look: over the open square in front of the huts high flames rise, against which are outlined in black the silhouettes of the women who, busy and hard-working, do not take time to sleep. The next morning the fire is allowed to go out and the kāwi to cool. It is then decanted into vessels of smaller dimensions, and all the women, including little girls, assemble to take handfuls of the marc and chew it, one trying to outdo the other. These balls, sticky with saliva, are spit back into the vessel. A rather large amount of cold water is added to the kāwi, and right afterward comes the bottling, if I may so express myself. The kāwi is strained through a very fine-meshed sieve. The marc, or tiripi, /368/ is thrown away or used again. The beer, or pale wine, is distributed into vessels which are carefully closed with a calabash or bowl, and this liquid is left to ferment for two or three days. So that it may be completely protected from the air, the line of contact between the vessel and its cover is smeared with clay.

Fig. 33. Oar for stirring kāwi during cooking. Prov.: Pípi. (1/9 nat. size.)

Fig. 34. Shovel ending in an ox scapula which the Chiriguano use for stirring kāwi. Prov.: Pípi. (1/10 nat. size.)

273
412

[239]

C 273 /368 cont./

A certain variety of kāwi is prepared by boiling it again after passing it through the sieve and "bottling" it only after letting it cool a second time.

Kāwi is generally covered with a thick oily layer which the Indians are far from scorning. The mistress of the house takes the precaution of pouring a certain quantity of it into the vessels which do not have any.

In their descriptions of the preparation of kāwi, Giannecchini and Nordenskiöld say nothing about the temisu, the umopirai, and, in general, a good many of the stages the corn goes through before being converted into beer. This silence is probably due to the very complexity of this operation, more than one detail of which certainly escaped them. The preparation of kāwi is a tiring occupation which requires great effort. The Indians display a veritable science in its manufacture. It is easier to distill alcohol, and, in any case, this is a task demanding less physical activity. Perhaps centuries of groping were needed for arriving at determining the time of cooking, the proportions of roasted and chewed flour, the quality of the grain, etc. All that is the result of minute observations, many trials, and also much reflection. These considerations are intended to justify the remark made at the beginning of this chapter: a simple cooking recipe often tells as much about the civilization of a people as a perfected tool.

C 273 824 [171] ce [273] [824] [114]

/369/ The fruits of the mistol, chañar, or algarroba can give a chicha that the Chaco Indians like very much, but which the Chiriguano scorn. They have recourse to it only in case of scarcity. The Chané of the Izozoc, whom I could not visit, have the specialty of kāwi from batatas. The Chiriguano also know how to make use of this tuber to prepare a fermented drink, but they judge it to be of inferior quality and declare that one must be a poor devil to take any. (Nordenskiöld, 2, p. 236) (1).

1. Barco Centenera (p. 315) already mentions the different types of chicha prepared by the Chiriguano: "El vino de maiz y de algarroba,

293
824

/369 cont./

De Molles, y de murta bien obrado,
Seguro que bebian casi sirobe,
Que media á cada cual le estaba dado."
/The wine of maize and of algarrobe,
Of Molles, and of myrtle well worked,
It is certain that they drank almost
an arrobe,
The measure which was given to each
one./

293
574
596
[123]
[114]

Kiwi is too respected a drink to be drunk in any old way. Etiquette requires one to comply with certain rules if the honor of participating in a drinking bout is done you. I sometimes had a chance to be invited to these festivities, and on such an occasion I was able to make the following observations which I am setting down just as I noted them in my field notebook. The men are seated in a circle on chairs or benches. The women squat behind them, on skins spread out on the ground. The kiwi is brought in vessels shaped like bulls, and one of them is put down at the feet of the "captain." The girl who has brought it fills a small calabash and offers it to the "captain," who empties it. Next he serves me and gives the vessel back to her. He does the same with my neighbor, then with several of the guests. Then he hands the calabash to his wife and goes to sit down. The latter serves the rest of the men present.

[554]

A second vessel, brimming over with kiwi, is put this time before another Indian who perhaps is held in some esteem. He drinks first, then busies himself with his companions. Two large calabashes are then given over to the women, and from that moment on, the distribution no longer seems to follow any order. Men and women drink and serve their neighbors without obeying any rule of decorum other than not to forget other people. They acquit themselves perfectly in this duty of politeness, and nobody is neglected, not even the very small children, who take alarming quantities of kiwi.

/375 cont./

293 At Saipirenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the
374 first one served is always the "captain." As before, the
376 vessel full of kiwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first
[564] burrper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The
letter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it
on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they
always come back to the first person who received each one
and he finishes it. The men move from their places several
times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not
forget themselves and drink according to the same /376/
[533] ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of
flutes and violins.

When the supply of kiwi is exhausted in a village, they
get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere
to revel.

[789] Formerly the preparation of kiwi was accompanied by
[198] magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of
[302] daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the
women do not even take this precaution any more. However,
between Cururuí and Caipipendí, I could still see several women
stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an
expression dear to Jean de Léry.

415 Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano
village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds
inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/
gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels
one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are
preparing corn beer.

Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a com-
[192] pletely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The
[195] latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements,
while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

/[illegible] cont./ 69

It is distinguished especially by finger impressions, which decorate the neck of nearly all the common pots.

While watching the Chiriguano potters work, I realized that the finger impressions which so often decorate their vessels result automatically from the process of fabrication. At the moment when the potter forms the neck of the vessel, she has to press the roll constituting this part between her thumb and index finger and so longer with the flat of the hand as she has done up until then. The vessel is generally too narrow in this zone to allow putting in the whole hand. The result of this is a whole series of finger impressions which vaguely give the effect of ornamentation. Now the potter rolls them out in order to remake them more symmetrically. Thus this motif which adorns most of /Plates XVI and XVII appear here/ [illegible] the vessels in common use among the Chiriguano is obtained, so to

Fig. 35. Small vessel (cazuela) decorated with fingernail impressions. The lines of contact between the three rolls of clay of which it is composed are still visible. Prov.: Caraguatá. (1/3 nat. size.)

[illegible] mechanically. From the neck these decorations have been extended to the rest of the vessel for an aesthetic purpose, but their occurrence on the upper part influenced the rest.

Plate XVI

/Caption on following page./

/Caption for Pl. XVI on preceding page./

415
531

1. Cooking pot (yapepó). On the neck: fingernail impressions. Prov.: Ivu. (1/3 nat. size)

2. Vessel (yapepó) with twisted handles and decorated with incised triangles. Prov.: Saladito. (1/3 nat. size.)

3. Cooking pot (yapepó) decorated with fingernail impressions. Prov.: Ivu. (1/4 nat. size.)

4. Cooking pot (yapepó) decorated on the neck with fingernail impressions. Prov.: Ivu. (1/3 nat. size.)

415
531

Plate XVII

1. Vessel (îru) in which the Chiriguano draw water for household use. This specimen comes from the Chané village of Tuyuntí, near the Aguaray (Salta Chaco, Argentine Republic). The neck is decorated with fingernail impressions. (1/4 nat. size.)

2. Vessel (yambui) decorated with a series of cups /godets/ on the base of the neck. Prov.: Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (1/4 nat. size.)

C
415
531

/371 cont./

The ordinary pots used to cook the food are, as a general rule, decorated all around the neck with several rows of finger or finger-nail impressions. The most typical example is the vessel of Plate XVI, 3 /see p. 125/ which typologically can be ranked with the big urns for cooking corn beer, many of which have more or less the same shape.

Ordinarily pots meant to go on the fire are provided with handles (Plate XVI, 2 and 4 and Fig. 36).

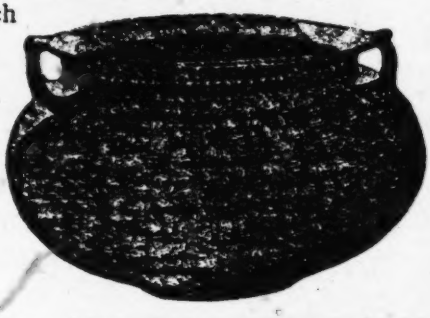


Fig. 36. Vessel (yapepó) with twisted handles and decorated with two series of small depressions imprinted on the neck. Prov.: Yumbía. (1/3 nat. size.)

T
415

Fig. 37. Toba vessel in the shape of a flattened gourd. Serves for carrying water while traveling. Prov.: Macherotí. (1/3 nat. size.)

/371 cont./

415 Certain vessels (Fig. 35) have the exterior surface entirely
531 covered with these depressions obtained by pressure of the thumbnail. The Indians call this decoration tatupire, that is "armadillo carapace," /Fig. 37 appears here/ a completely justifiable comparison.

One can consider as an evolution of the process of ornamentation by finger impressions the angles or chevrons which decorate the outside surface of the vessel of Figure 2, Plate XVI /see p. 125/, which have been incised in the soft clay with a pointed instrument. This type of ornamentation can be reduced to its simplest expression; thus on the neck of the vessel of Plate XVII, 2 /see p. 127/ it is limited to a row of little cavities made with a pointed stick. The small vessel of Figure 36 /see p. 128/ with a belly flattened from top to bottom belongs, from the decorative point of view, in the same category.

415 On another vessel (Plate XVI, 1) the small nipples which
531 project /372/ all around the belly constitute a summary
171 decoration which completes that of the neck formed by fingernail impressions. Pots of this type are found among the Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 65, p. 218).

This decoration is exceptional in South America. Jijon y Caamaño (p. 6) considers it characteristic of the northern part of Ecuador. He points out its distribution in Central America and in the Mound region in the United States.

[126] The ìru of Plate XVIII, Fig. 2 /see p. 131 / has the exact shape of a calabash; this resemblance was intentional, for the Indian woman who sold it to me presented it at the same time as the calabash which /Fig. 38 appears here/ had doubtless served as a model. Vessels which are almost replicas of this specimen have been found at Jachal and Calingasta in San Juan province in Argentina (Ambrosetti, 1, Plate VII, and Debenedetti, 3, Fig. 41, p. 69).

415 The Chiriguano call the vessels in which the women
[462] draw the water they need for their households by the Quichua name ìru. The ìru are characterized not only by their more
415 or less globular shape and the narrowness of the neck on top,
323 but also by the quality of the paste from which they were

C /372 cont./
323 modeled. The latter is extremely fine, of very good quality,
[415] and, when fired, forms a compact, hard, and resistant mass. This clay is inherently not very porous; to render it still more impermeable the Chiriguano potters give the vessel a long polishing while it is still unfired but nevertheless very dry. This is applied on the exterior walls of the receptacle and gives them a brilliant and metallic appearance which at first sight would be taken for a glaze. This operation has the effect of making the vessel almost impermeable and thus of avoiding the evaporation which takes place more or less rapidly in most Chiriguano receptacles. The narrowness of the neck at the top of these vessels serves a similar purpose.

C
415
→

The îru can be of any size: there are very large ones like the Chané specimen of Plate XVII, 1 /see p. 127/ and other very small ones (Plate XVIII, 4 /see p. 131/) which little girls use to help their mothers and /Plate XVIII appears here/ /373/ become initiated into housework. Vessels 1 and 3

A
[415]
←

Fig. 38. Ashluslay vessel.
Prov.: Estero Patiño.
(1/3 nat. size.)

of Plate XVIII represent rather rare close forms, which derive from the primitive type but which have been perfected. The handles with which these îru are provided allow them to be carried on a trip in place of gourds.

C
[172]

Prototypes of the Chiriguano îru have been furnished us by Debenedetti's excavations (2, Fig. 119, p. 171) on the Isla de Tilcara.

1: Métraux--131 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415

Plate XVIII

1

2

3

4

Water pots (iru). Chiriguano. The exterior surface of iru Nos. 1, 3, and 4 has been polished to the point of appearing glazed. The iru No. 2 has been modeled in the shape of a calabash. No. 1 comes from Ivu, No. 2 from Carurutí, No. 3 from Yumbía, and No. 4 from Macharetí. (1 and 2 = 1/4; Nos. 3 and 4 = 1/3 nat. size.)

C
Ce
415
171
177

/373 cont./

Typologically, we must put the vessels of the primitive tribes of the Chaco in the category of the iru. Like the Chiriguano or their forerunners the Chané, the Matako, Toba, Choroti, and Ashluslay copied Andean models, which they adapted to their needs. It is appropriate to note that the seminomadic tribes of the Chaco must have fashioned their vessels in such a way as to be able to take them along with

T
415
531

Fig. 39. Toba vessel with bands in relief imitating the suspension cords with which vessels of this type are generally provided. Prov.: Macharetí. (1/4 nat. size ±.)

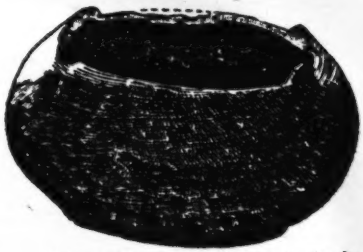
C
Ce
415
171
177

them on their peregrinations, while the Chané and Chiriguano, sedentary nations, did not feel the need to modify the primitive form and kept the Andean prototype without bringing variations to it. For comparison I am reproducing here two vessels from the Chaco: one (Fig. 37) comes from the Toba section of Macharetí, and the other (Fig. 38) from an Ashluslay tribe traveling in northern Argentina.

T 415 531

/373 cont./

The handsome vessel of Figure 39 comes from the Machareti mission. It is /374/ the work of potters of the Toba tribe. Three details make it worthy of a place apart: the very wide, flat base; its almost quadrangular horizontal section, a very rare characteristic in Indian pottery; and, moreover,



C 415

Fig. 40. Small bowl (ñaè) with 4 nipples. Chiriguano. Prov.: Caipipendí. (2/5 nat. size.)

T 415 531

the two bands which run along the neck, imitating in terra cotta the suspension cords with which Toba vessels are usually provided.

T [482] T [178]

This vessel is a good example of the influence the way of life can have on the art and technique of a tribe. The ancient vessels of the Toba were, as I have just said, always furnished with a suspension cord to make it possible to carry them when traveling. Today the Toba are sedentary and this cord, having become useless, has been transformed into an embellishment.

C 415

Fig. 41. Small miniature bowl with cord for hanging. Chiriguano. Prov.: Ñawirenda. (1/2 nat. size.)

Bowls

Bowls are not plentiful among the Chiriguano, among whom calabashes replace them to advantage. The ones I have been able to collect, and which were not painted, are made of a clay which, after firing, gives the appearance of being wood. The base is flat and the rather high sides flare out, except in the specimens of Plate XIX, 3, and Figure 40, where they are convex. The latter puco is

/374 cont./

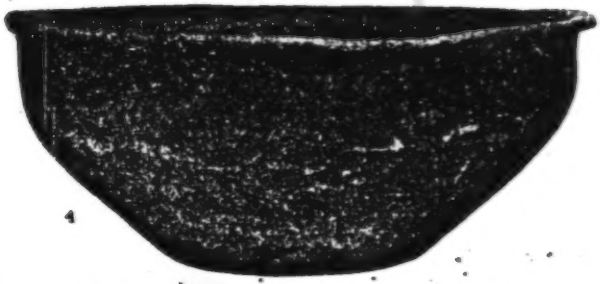
415 surmounted by two nipples, remains of stylized ears. These protuberances can be perforated and allow a suspension cord to pass through, which permits hooking the bowl to a beam of the hut (Fig. 41).

Spoons

412 Spoons are very common among the Chiriguano. Their
171 form connects them closely to those which have been made
172 known to us by the excavations carried out on the Bolivian altiplano and in northwestern Argentina. It is among the ancient populations of this region that we must seek the origin of this cultural element (on this subject see Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 91-92), of which the Chiriguano have faithfully kept the primitive aspect and even certain peculiarities such as the indentations of the handle which /Plates XIX-XXI appear here/ /375/ are seen on one of our specimens and on one discovered in the Puna de Jujuy (Pucara de Rinconada) by Boman (2, Vol. II, Plate LIX, Fig. 142).

412 Beside these spoons, whose use spread under the influence
237 of the civilized peoples of the west, the Chiriguano kept the
824 most rudimentary forms of this utensil: the valves of a fresh-water mollusk (anodonta) (in Chiriguano: inta) are often used by them to eat liquid dishes; the shell of the fruit of a bignoniacea (?) opened lengthwise also appears in the north of the Chiriguano territory as the survival of a time when spoons were still unknown to them (Fig. 44).

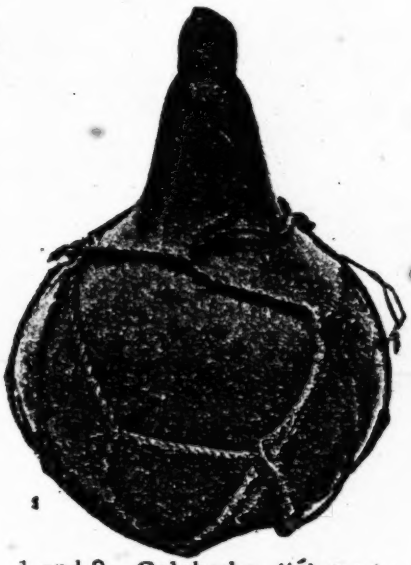
412 Some small calabashes, ovoid or round, with a jutting peduncle, can, after being cut through the middle, replace
[171] wooden spoons to advantage (Fig. 45). It was in this natural form that the spoon spread in tropical America where Andean influence did not make itself felt. The Chiriguano do not disdain using these half-calabashes to dip into the bean pot or the meat broth. Calabashes like the one of Figure 46 /see p. 139/ take the place of ladles.



Bowls (naè). Chiriguano. Bowl No. 1 was found in a funerary urn from Caipipendí. It was originally painted red. Nos. 2 and 4 come from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); No. 3 from Carurutí. (No. 1 = 1/3; Nos. 2, 4 = 1/3; No. 3 = 2/5 nat. size.)

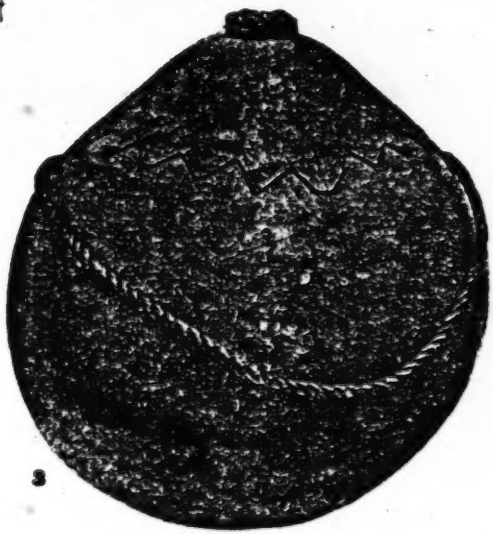
415
286
824

Plate XX



1 and 2. Calabashes (iá) put in a net in order to be transported or hung in the hut. Prov.: Saladito and Ivu. (1/3 nat. size.)

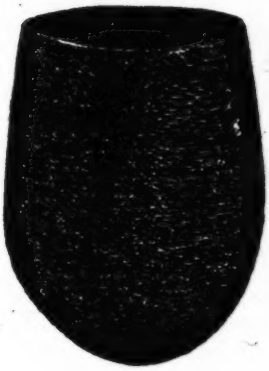
415
824



3. Calabash with lid cut out in star shape. Prov.: Saladito. (1/3 nat. size.) 4. Calabash with automatic closing. Prov.: Ivu. (About 2/5 nat. size.)

415
284

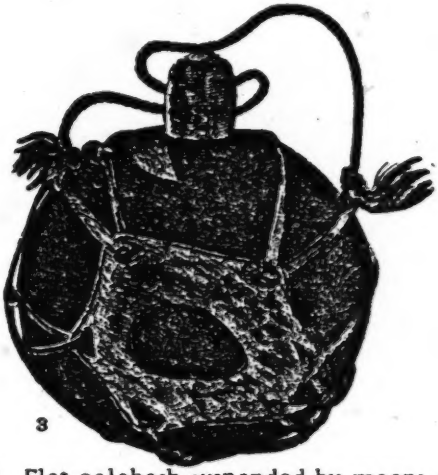
Plate XXI



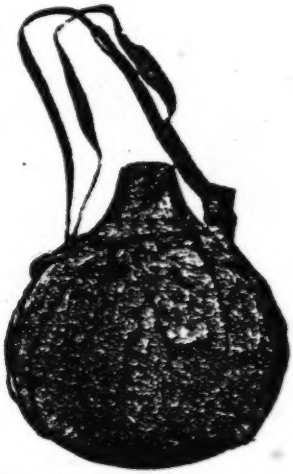
1

2

1. Calabash used as a mug. Prov.: Ñawirenda. (1/2 nat. size.)
2. Calabash with star-shaped lid and automatic closing. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/2 nat. size.)



3



3. Flat calabash suspended by means of lether thongs. Prov.: Tarairi. (2/5 nat. size.)
4. Calabash enclosed in strips of wembé bark. Prov.: Saladito. (1/3 nat. size.)

/375 cont./

Calabashes

415 In each Chiriguano village calabashes are as abundant as pottery (see Fig. 47 /see p. 139 /). The huts are full of them. They are of every shape and size, from the spoons we spoke of to the big basins in which the kāwi is distributed on feast days.

[286] The calabashes which are ovoid or gourd-shaped are generally enveloped in a kind of rudimentary net of vegetable fibers or leather thongs, which allows them to be carried in the hand or hung (1). In them is put either water, or grain

415
286
171

1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 97) has given the list of the South American tribes who put their calabashes inside a net to carry or hang them. This contrivance is widespread on the continent and its distribution is certainly greater than that indicated by Nordenskiöld, but travelers generally take only slight interest in such details, which are nevertheless important. The Kaingúa of Paraguay encompass their calabashes with wembé bark just like the Chiriguano (see Ambrosetti, 2, p. 716).

415 and seed, or roasted flour, or finally roucou or kalasapa powder saved for feast days (Plate XX, 1 and 2; Plate XXI, 3 and 4).

[322] Some calabashes are provided with a lid which the Indians make by cutting a calotte with star-shaped edges in the still green fruit, and this then forms a hermetic closing. The lid is fastened on by means of a small cord which, when pulled, suffices to close the calabash /376/ (Plate XX, 4 and Plate XXI, 2). Gourds whose opening is small in diameter receive a fragment of a shelled ear of corn as a stopper. /Figs. 42-47 appear here./

[121] Painted, pyrographed, or incised calabashes will be the object of a special study.

412
322
824

Figs. 42-43. Wooden spoons (karuha or iwira-karu). No. 42 comes from Caruruti and 43 from Nawirenda. (1/4 nat. size.)

Fig. 44. A bignoniaceous or an asclepiadaceous fruit whose shell cut in half is utilized by the Chiriguano as a cup or spoon. Prov.: Caipipendí. (2/5 nat. size.)

Fig. 45. Calabash cut in half to serve as a spoon. Prov.: Macharetí. (1/4 nat. size.)

286
824
→

Fig. 46. Ladle carved out of a calabash. Prov.: Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). (1/7 nat. size.)

412
322
824
←

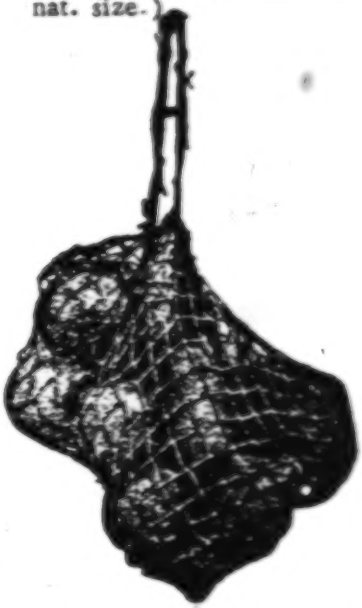


Fig. 47. Reserve calabashes hanging in a net inside a Chiriguano hut. Ibopeytí.

/377/

Wooden Bowls and Basins

C 415 171 439 The Chiriguano also use wooden bowls (Fig. 49). I do not know whether they make them themselves or receive them from the half-breeds of the /Fig. 48 appears here/ San Luis region. In this latter case the Chiriguano of the San Luis (Entre-Rios) region would be the only ones to make them. In Tarija /Figs. 49-50 appear here./ where these bowls are much sought after by the half-breeds, they were indicated to me as coming from that zone. The rare wooden bowls which /378/ I saw at Caipipendí had been bought by the Chiriguano in the course of their trips. The same origin must be attributed to the wooden troughs found among the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua half-breeds of Tarija department. These basins are used for washing food and also as bathtubs. Ci 415 177 The Choroti have wooden dishes (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 20, p. 88) which have a shape very similar to that of the trough reproduced here (Fig. 50) and which doubtless were introduced among them either by the ancient Quichua or by the half-breeds. A 415 171 Among the Araucan of Argentina wooden basins are found, which are similar in every detail to those of the Indians and half-breeds of Bolivia and the specimen pictured here.

Chapter V

Tools of the Chiriguano

C 412 178 [179] The work tools the Chiriguano use nowadays are almost all of European manufacture. Here and there the ancient forms were kept when stone or bone were replaced by iron. Witness the adze of Plate XXII /see p.143 / which constitutes a curious survival of the eared or T-shaped ax certainly adopted by the Chiriguano after their migration and their establishment at the foot of the Andes. T-G [412] [184] This type of ax is unknown to me from any other Tupi-Guarani tribe and is rare in the area occupied by the different nations belonging to this linguistic family (see Rivet, 1, pp. 149-155).

1: Métraux--141 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Modern Quechua SE24

C
415

Fig. 48. Calabash hung by means of a transverse stick. Prov.: Ivu. (1/3 nat. size.)

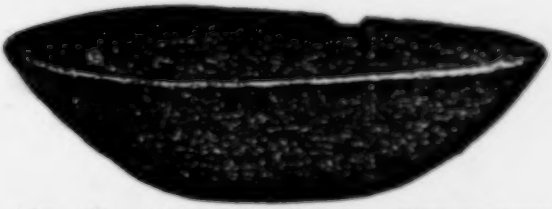


Fig. 49. Wooden bowl (sua). Prov.: Carurutí. (1/3 nat. size.)

Q
C
415
171

Fig. 50. Wooden basin in use among the Quichua Indians and half-breeds of the department of Tarija (Bolivia) and sometimes also among the Chiriguano.

/378 cont./

412 The specimen I am publishing here was still giving good
114 service to its owner, who gave it to me with regret and only
171 for a large sum of money. The presence of the eared ax among
178 the modern Chiriguano invalidates the allegation of Nordenskiöld (14, p. 120), who places it among the cultural elements which have completely disappeared in South America. It survived
[181] thanks to the prodigious conservatism of the Indians. I am convinced that several of the objects whose disappearance is attested to by Nordenskiöld will perhaps be found in some tribe now living, when we have more abundant ethnographic material from South America than we now have at our disposal.

412 Another very interesting peculiarity of this ax is the bent
171 shape of the handle, to which the blade is securely fastened with leather thongs. The distribution of the bent-handled ax has been traced by Lissé (2, p. 202). Few tribes of South America have continued to use it up to our day. They are the Colorado of Ecuador, the Tukanó /Tucano/, Tarianá, and other tribes of the /Plates XXII and XXIII appear here/ /379/ Caiary-Uaupés, the Tehuelche, and the modern Quichua /Quechua/. Among the Indians of the Caiary-Uaupés the tool lost all practical value and finally became a simple dance accessory (Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. I, Fig. 225, p. 330). /Fig. 51 appears here./

The bent ax has been found archeologically in Peru (Chuquitanta: Marquez Valley near Lima) and in Casabindo in La Puna de Jujuy (Argentine Republic). The specimens from Peru are designated as being hoes, which is possible. However, I shall call attention to the fact that the Chiriguano specimen from Caipipendí is exclusively a carpenter's instrument, which the Indians use for cutting the pieces of wood from which they make their furniture or weapons. /Fig. 52 appears here./

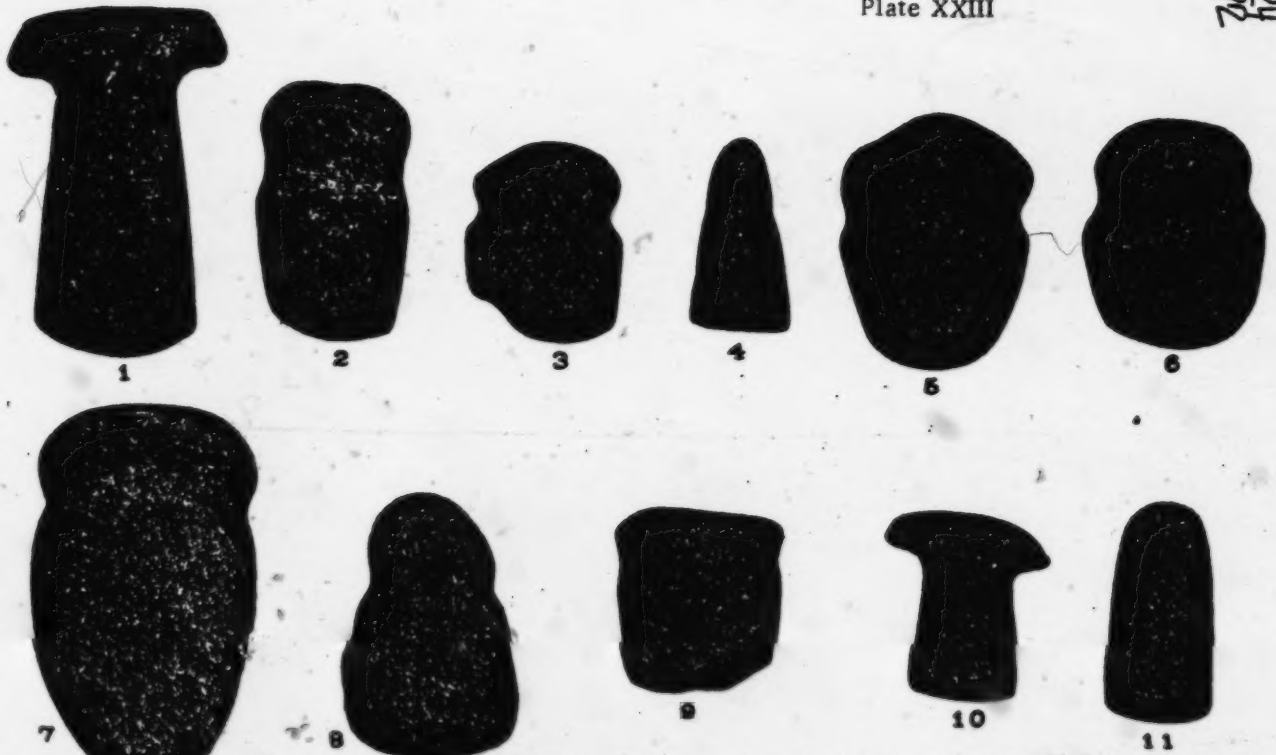
Figure 51 shows how modern axes of the simple neolithic ax type can be hafted exactly like their stone prototypes. The similarity of this ax to the stone ones used up to today by the Guayaki extends to the somewhat arched shape of the handle and to its slightly swollen upper end (La Hitte, Plate IV, 9).

Plate XXIII

...iron blade has the form of the T-shaped axes of ancient Peru. From ...
...(1/3 nat. size.)

HRAF 1962

Plate XXIII



Stone axes of the ancient Chiriguano. The first of the eared axes, Nos. 1 and 10, comes from Ibopeyti, the second from Ivu. The axes with a complete groove (Nos. 2, 3, 5-9) were collected in the Caipipendí Valley, with the exception of ax No. 4, which was acquired in Ivu. The simple neolithic ax, No. 11, comes from Caipipendí. (1/3 nat. size ± .)

/379 cont./

412 171 Still hafted in this way are the stone axes of the Indians of the upper Xingu (Steinen, 2, p. 197) and the Kaingang /Caingang/ of southern Brazil (Nordenskiöld, 15, Fig. 16, p. 38) and the iron cutting tools of the Matako-Vejos (Nordenskiöld, 15, Fig. 29, p. 44) and the Yamana (?) of Tierra del Fuego (id., 14, Fig. 45, p. 86) which replaced the ancient stone celts.

172 412 Plate XXIII /see p. 144/ reproduces a series of stone axes coming from the region of Caipipendí, Ivu, and Ibopeytí. The Caipipendí axes are all provided with a groove. Of the two axes with heels one was found at Ibopeytí and the other at Ivu.

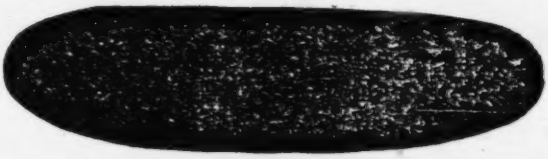


Fig. 52. Stone roller used as a grinder on a flat stone. Archeological piece found at Ivu. (1/4 nat. size.)

Fig. 51. Iron ax of the type called simple neolithic ax, provided with a handle like the ancient stone axes. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/8 nat. size ±.)

/380/

303
415
325

Fig. 53. Mold for making tin labrets (tembetayapua). Prov.: Yumbía. (1/3 nat. size.)

301
303
415
325

Mold for Tembetas

The tembeta, or labrets, of the Chiriguano are of tin. They make them themselves with the aid of the mold pictured here (Fig. 53). It is a calabash into which the fins of the labret have been hollowed out, while the thicker central part of the ornament corresponds to the end of a stick going through the calabash. The cavity produced in the central part of the labret is then filled with wax into which glass or turquoise beads are incrusted. These come from ancient burial-places and are sold to the Chiriguano by the half-breeds of Tarija.

[531]
[439]

Balances

296
177
171

The Chiriguano of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé valley prize coca quite as much as the Quichua of the altiplano. Besides, it is from them that they got this vice. The fact is known and does not need to be demonstrated. This custom

/380 cont./

276 177 171 spread among the Chiriguano recently for it has not yet spread throughout the territory they inhabit. The Chiriguano who live far removed from the half-breed or Indian populations of the Cordillera are not "coqueros," and only rarely does one meet among them some old man who accepts a quid of coca.

276 171 302 114 Ivu is the last point toward the east and north where I could distribute my supply of coca to advantage. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 85-91) sought to demonstrate that the custom of blackening the teeth went along cheek by jowl with that of chewing coca and derived from it. As a matter of fact, this habit has a very marked western distribution and follows the zone of coca cultivation.

276 [824] The Chiriguano mix each quid of coca with the ashes reaped from a tree (ulala) whose scientific name I do not know. These ashes (tanimbo), which corresponds to the llicta of the Quichua, are contained in a small leather bag.

276 439 804 Coca is a luxury commodity which the Quichua Indians or half-breeds come to sell to the Chiriguano. To avoid all argument and all fraud on the part of unscrupulous sellers, the Chiriguano have recourse to balances of their own making. They fabricate them with /381/ two calabashes cut in half to serve as scales (Figs. 54 and 55). The balance with scales was in [177] use in pre-Hispanic times /Fig. 54 appears here/ in the ancient Inca Empire (see Nordenskiöld, 16) and so I believed at first that among the Chiriguano it represented a survival of /Fig. 55 appears here/ the Andean influence, whose importance we shall see further on. Among the Chiriguano, however, this object is designated by the Spanish name /382/ mbalanza, which seems to indicate that they borrowed it from the half-breeds. The latter and the Quichua use them in their commercial transactions, but especially for weighing the precious coca. Perhaps it was the same in prehistoric times. There is nothing to prove that only metals were weighed, as has been supposed with respect to these ancient scales.

804 177 For weights the Chiriguano use old Bolivian silver coins and express measures according to the old Spanish system. By a tacit convention a coin worth two modern sous is the equivalent of one ounce.

1: Métraux--148 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Modern Quechua SE24
Q
804
405

Fig. 54. Balance with scales in use among the Quichua half-breeds of the Tarija region. Prov.: Narvaez River. (1/5 nat. size.)

C
804
405

Fig. 55. Balance (mbalanza) in use among the Chiriguano for weighing coca. Prov.: Saladito (upper Pilcomayo).

/382 cont./

804 439 [177] The Chiriguano measure the cloth which Syrian peddlers come to offer them with varas, that is, a stick about 80 centimeters long, the length of the ancient Spanish vara. This instrument has been borrowed from the Bolivian half-breeds.

Chapter VI

121

Art among the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

To Professor Félix F. Outes.

The artistic sense of the Chiriguano is manifested in pottery decoration, pyrography, and wood carving.

We shall study these three activities one after the other.

Pottery Technique

114 323 The Chiriguano pottery technique has been studied briefly by Campana (p. 54), following Father Giannechini's notes, and by Outes (3, pp. 122-123), who adds some details communicated to him by the naturalist Holmberg to the ones he took from Campana's work. Nordenskiöld (1 and 10, pp. 142-147) completed on many points Campana's brief survey, so that I myself shall have few new things to note.

317 323 The clay used by Chiriguano potters comes from beds well known to the Indians, where they go from time to time to lay in fresh supplies. It is enough to see old vessels full of earth around a hut to know that a woman lives there still practicing the ancestral industry. Where adequate clay is [439] lacking, pottery is imported. Thus in the Tigüipa mission all the vessels in use were made in Machareti.

323 In order to be used the clay must be degreased with powder /383/ coming from potsherds. Fragments of old vessels are ground in a mortar until, after being put through a sieve, they give a fine powder which is kneaded for a rather

/383 cont./

323 long time with the clay. This paste must have all the impurities removed, which is done in the course of the kneading (Fig. 56).

323
342
291
516
351

Fig. 56. Fabrication of a vessel: the clay, after being mixed with pulverized potsherds, is kneaded. (Photographs taken by the author at Masaví in the Igüembé Valley.)

323 When the potter has obtained an elastic and sticky paste, she molds the base of a vessel, which she puts either on a piece of cloth or a small board. The foundation of the future receptacle looks like a disk raised on its periphery. A

/383 cont./

323 Chiriguano woman will never be seen making one single vessel at a time: since before continuing she must wait until each one of the parts making up the piece of pottery is dry, she occupies this interval by beginning another vessel, which will dry while she works on the first one again.

415
531

Figs. 57-58. Vessels (yapepó). The rolls of clay of which they are composed are still apparent and constitute a rudimentary ornamentation. No. 57 comes from Carurutí, No. 58 from Yacuiba. (1/4 nat. size.)

323 /384/ When she judges that the bottom has taken on some firmness, she rolls between her hands a roll to which she tries to give a regular diameter. Then she applies it on the base, forming a perfect circle. She cuts off the part which extends beyond the junction point. Next she flattens the roll with her hand, the compression being made from inside to outside, with the back of the left hand and the right palm. When the whole periphery has thus been raised, she evens off the edge, filling all the depressions with pieces
[824] of wet earth. Then she smooths the outside of the vessel with a
[412] stripped ear of corn and a splinter of bamboo. These two instruments are placed beside her and frequently dipped in water so that the earth
[237] does not stick to them. The inside surfaces are polished with the valve of a shell (anodonta) (Plate XXIV, 2). The raw clay, once it is shaped, is supple and resistant like leather. Vessels can be

C /384 cont./
323 made only in the sunshine. One day when rain threatened to fall, the women hurried to grab the vessel they were in the act of making and to carry it into the hut. It was swinging on all sides during this moving, but did not break at all.

From base to neck the vessel is constructed in the same fashion, the number of rolls superposed varying with the size of the vessel but never being very large. The handles are added last. Some are twisted and have been obtained in the following manner: a long, thin roll is bent in two and rolled on itself.

When finished, the vessel is put to dry. After it has hardened, the potter rubs it on the inside with a shining, polished stone (tankua or ita-nkua) (Plate XXIV, 3-4) until the surface is rendered shiny as /Plate XXIV appears here/ /385/ if glazed. The purpose of this operation is to avoid porosity of the inner wall of the vessel, which without that would be too permeable. The exterior of ordinary vessels is left as is. Vessels that are to be painted are apparently also polished on the outside. The polishing of the vessel is done over several days and slowly. The potter does it with great care (see Fig. 66).

C [237] [413] If the vessel is to be painted, the color is applied with a brush made of agouti hair or feathers held together in a tuft with wax (Plate XXIV, 1).

C Ce 386 The coloring materials used by the Chiriguano and Chané are of mineral and vegetable origin. The first are taken from rocks, of which I have had samples examined petrographically and chemically.

Chemical analysis gave the following results: the yellow samples contain clay (aluminum silicate and calcium carbonate) and iron in the form of hydrated oxide; the reds are of the same composition but contain less hydrated iron oxide and more iron oxide. In a specimen of yellow-brown ocher the iron oxide is abundant. In another, hard and compact, of a red-violet tint, the iron is almost entirely in the state of anhydrous oxide.

The yellow, red, and dark-yellow ochers, when heated in a test tube, change color and become dark red, with the exception of the violet specimen which remains invariable.

[Text Continues on P. 154]

Plate XXIV

323
237
[413]

323
412

323
237

Accessories of a Chiriguano potter. -- 1. Brush made of feathers held together with wax. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (Nat. size.) -- 2. Valve of a fresh-water mollusk (inta), used to smooth the inside surface of the vessels. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/2 nat. size.) -- 3 and 4. Stones used for polishing the exterior and interior surfaces of vessels before firing (intankua). These two stones were found inside a funerary urn in Cararutí. (2/3 nat. size.) -- 5. Excrescence formed by an insect on the branches of trees of resinous species, which the Chiriguano utilize for tracing out black and shiny figures on their vessels (tarawirisi). Prov.: Ibopytí. (½ nat. size.)

/385 cont./

C
Ce
386

Two gray minerals are silicates of aluminum and calcium with traces of iron. They are almost pure clays.

A jet-black mineral is a calcareous manganese-bearing complex (manganese dioxide in the form of oxide crossed by veins of calcite).

Petrographically, these samples are some yellow ochers very compact (manganese-bearing, quartzose) or somewhat sandy, some very sandy red ochers, and finally slightly sandy clays.

The ochers all give a red color, pyrolusite (?) furnishes black, and the pure clays the yellowish white on which red and black motifs stand out (1).

> 1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 145): "The colours used by the Chiriguano and the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro are black, red, brown and white. The white is caolin, the red, brown and black are obtained by pulverizing schists of these colours." /cited in English./

C
323

Colors of mineral origin are applied on the walls of the dried and polished vessel before firing.

C
323
237

Most of the vessels from the upper Pilcomayo are distinctive because of motifs of a glossy, solid black which the Indians obtain by rubbing, shortly after firing, with a resinous excrescence looking like a white muff, which a kind of cochineal (?) forms around /386/ mimosa branches (in Chiriguano: iskayanti) and in which she deposits eggs (Plate XXIV, 5).

According to Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 200), who was the first to note the use of this material, it was a question of the viscous saliva of an ant (?) which sticks to the trees. The /Fig. 59 appears here/ Chiriguano potters would use it to paint their vessels after mixing it with roucou. In reality, this information is inexact. The resinous muff is not made of saliva but a kind of manna or lac. It is rubbed directly against the sides of the vessel to produce the solid, glossy black of certain motifs.

/386 cont./

323 The paintings on some vessels produce a particularly successful /387/ effect, thanks to the alternation of brilliant,

323
342
351
516
415
291

Fig. 59. Fabrication of a vessel: the inside surface is polished after being flattened with the hand.

323 solid red with black of the same nature. The first of these colors
[386] is taken from the famous roucou, whose oily paste is mixed with resin, kneaded into a loaf, and melted on the hot walls of the vessel.

/387 cont./

C 323 386 The name tarawirisi is also given by the Chiriguano to objects resembling loaves of bread kneaded by hand which are composed of a resinous material mixed with wax. According to the explanations given me by the Indians themselves, this

C 417 415

Fig. 60. Forked tree-trunk serving as a shelf for putting vessels on. (After a sketch by the author.)

C 323 386 substance is taken from a mimosa. After being sprinkled with boiling water, it is kneaded and dried in the sun. Its color is yellow or red, but after firing it becomes black.

I could not learn whether this black glaze was applied over a layer of black paint or spread directly on the walls of the vessel. In every case the designs made by this process are much less regular than the ones drawn with a brush.

C [126] My collections of pottery, which consist of nearly 200 pieces, do not contain any glazed specimen. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 144) assures us that the Chiriguano and the Chané of the Parapití coat their yambui with a sort of gum called tarawisi, a word which, except for one syllable, is the same as the one designating the resinous substance we have just been considering.

C 114 323 386

C
Ce
386
323
171

/387 cont./

This makes me think that glazing implies a technical process analogous to the one in use on the upper Pilcomayo.

Ce
C.I
323

The Chaco Indians draw crude decorations on their vessels with palo santo resin, which they apply after firing. According to Nordenskiöld (id. supra), the Chané of the Itiyuro probably use the same method to decorate some of their vessels with black designs.

C
323

After being painted, the vessel is put in the shade to dry for several days. It is only when the sides have acquired a certain hardness that the firing process is begun. The vessels are then taken to a spot where there is plenty of dead wood. A large quantity is collected, with which the vessels are covered from bottom to top. Generally, long pieces of bark are selected, which burn brightly.

They set fire to this pyramid of wood and, with a long pole, the /388/ potter watches to see that no brand burns directly against the walls, which would bring on a "shot of fire." When she ascertains that a vessel gives a metallic sound on being touched, she scatters the firebrands with her pole and, by rolling it, makes it go out of the fire.

It may happen that in the course of the firing a vessel may suffer some cracking. This is remedied by taking a little moist earth mixed with dung and applying it on the split while the vase is still hot. The fissure closes, but remains noticeable.

Classification of Chiriguano Pottery

C
415

The figures which illustrate this text, the plates published by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 155-162), and the diagram of Outes (3) give a better idea of the more common forms of this pottery than any description. However, a few remarks are called for.

C
[184]

Vessels with a subglobular belly surmounted by a low, wide neck flaring at the top constitute, without doubt, the most widespread type. (Plates XXXV-LVII.)

/388 cont./

415 184 The footed bowl or "compote" (Fig. 72) comes from the Caipipendí valley, the same as the vessel with ribbed belly of Plate XXVI, 2. These are the only specimens of this type that I found in the whole Chiriguano country.

415 184 532 Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic vessels are rare. Scarcely anywhere but in the Caipipendí valley is corn beer ordinarily served you in vessels shaped like a bull. Besides, their workmanship is careless. The admirable anthropomorphic vessel of Plate XXVI, 1 is an exceptional piece.

415 Twinned vessels (Plate XXVII, 3) and those which a constriction separates into two bodies (Figs. 74, 75, and Plate XXVII, 1) are very rare.

415 531 The motifs painted on Chiriguano vessels most often are of a purely geometric nature.

There are few exceptions to this rule. As an example of them, I shall give the large yambuí of Plate LII, 1, on the belly of which have been painted more or less stylized dogs, chickens, and toads; the yambuí of Figure 83, whose principal decoration is composed of a series of yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/, Penelope spec.); and finally several vessels in my collections, which I did not want to publish because of their completely Europeanized form. On one of them silhouettes of nandus are distinguishable (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 222) and on another have been drawn a man and woman whose hands are united by a red line (symbol of marriage, of love?).

I remember having seen on a jar in the Caipipendí valley /389/ nandus drawn with particular skill. I would gladly have bought that piece if it had been possible to arrange its transportation.

[178] The vessel of Figure 83,[1] gives an excellent idea of what Chiriguano potters could do in the "realistic" genre if a long /Fig. 61 appears here/ tradition did not oblige them to limit themselves to the representation of geometric motifs.

[1] [See P. 249, Category 116 - - Analyst]

/389 cont./

415 531 The plant kingdom hardly inspires Chiriguano artists. The vessel of Plate LII, Fig. 3, is the only one whose decoration is clearly phytomorphic; and again in this case I am not sure that

323 516 342 291 415

Fig. 61. Fabrication of a vessel: the exterior surface is smoothed with a chip of bamboo after being flattened with the hand.

415 531 a European model did not serve as an intermediary between nature and the picture the potter portrayed.

[126] [179] /390/ Among the 200 vessels I collected in Chiriguano country there is not one that includes a figuration of the human face, with the exception of the one to which I have alluded, whose form betrays the desire to satisfy the stupid puerility of THE TOURISTS.

/390 cont./

COD the tourists. In this respect Nordenskiöld (10, Fig. 28, p. 137)
Ce was more fortunate than I: among the Chané of the Parapití
415 he was able to acquire a pot on which one distinguishes a nose
531 in relief and the organs of the face painted in a conventional
199 fashion, but in which the Andean influence is clearly re-
532 flected.

Each region, often even each village, has its special
C style, and this varies again according to the fancy or skill
531 of each potter. The differences are often sufficiently accentuated
415 to permit an ethnographer with some experience to recognize
184 the provenance of each piece at first glance.

From the point of view of decorative style, the Chiriguano country is divided into three zones, whose characteristics are the following:

On the upper Pilcomayo the fundamental element of decoration is the spiral in the form of a couchant S which is combined with the volute of another color taking off from the apex of a triangle (see, for example: Plate XXXV: XXXVI, 1: XXXVII, 2; Plates XLVII-L, etc. /see pp. 211 ff. and pp. 226 ff./

This motif is arranged in parallel zones framed by geometric figures (festooned lines, alternate triangles, barbed strokes, etc. (see, for example: Plate XXXVII, 1 /see p. 213/: Plate XXXIX, 2, /see p. 215 /: Plate XL, 2 /see p. 216 /: Plate XLIV, 2 /see p. 220 /. Rare are the pieces of this zone whose principal decoration does not consist of variously combined spirals. The style of the pottery I collected in the Igllembé valley differs only a little from that of the upper Pilcomayo: we find the same principal elements without, however, the spiral playing a predominant role (Plate XXXIX, 1: Plate XLI: Plate XLII, 2: XLVIII, 4: Plate LI, 1-3: LIV, 2).

C The pottery made by the Chiriguano of the Ivu,
531 Macharetí, and Tarairí missions and by the Chané of the
415 Itiyuro reveals a special predilection for linear motifs stand-
184 ing out in black against a yellowish background. These are
Ce ascending and descending lines which run around the belly of
531 the vessel forming large triangles, and something of a kind,
415 which, in turn, end in Greek frets or spirals. The triangle

/300 cont./
surrounded by a volute is a motif which appears often in this region. Triangles with a solid surface combine to form either denticulate bands or somewhat hourglass-shaped figures whose effect is pleasing to the eye (Plate XXXIX. 1; Plate XL. 7; Plate XLI; Plate XLII. 1; Plate XLIII. 1; Plate LII; Plate LIV. 1 and 3-4; LVII. 3-4; LV. 1 and 3, etc.).

Between the Chané vessels (Plate XXXVII. 1; Plate LIII. 1-3) and the Chiriguano ones in the mission there are some differences which have less to do with the choice of motifs than with the manner in which they are treated. The Chané women have a purer taste and they evince greater suveness /301/ of hand than the Chiriguano potters. One senses clearly that the latter are only their pupils.

It is difficult for me to say what decorative style might have been in vogue in former times in the Caipipendí valley (Plate LVII. 7; Plate LX. 4; and Fig. 7). Painted vessels have become rare there, and the few examples I saw or acquired were in very bad condition. As elsewhere, they were covered with geometric figures: broken lines, triangles, /Fig. 63 appears here/ festooned bands, etc. The individuality of Caipipendí pottery shows itself more in the form of some vessels than in their decoration.

Since I could not visit the Chané of the lower Pacajní, I have no idea of the characteristics of their pottery. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 144), who was more favored than I, declares that their pottery presents only a few traces of Andean influence, and he explains this fact by their isolation and poverty.

If now, instead of style, that is, the combination of motifs, we consider the latter in themselves, /302/ a feeling of unity will succeed our feeling of diversity. The same identical designs are repeated over the whole of Chiriguano territory, and only their relative frequency in a given area and the importance attributed to them to the exclusion of the others create these distinctions of style which I have tried /Fig. 63 appears here/ to define. Nevertheless, there are some decorative elements which are limited to a certain region: the spiral is

/161 cont./

peculiar to the villages of the upper Pikoroayo and the Igikondi valley. The decoration made up of broken and asymmetric lines does not go beyond the zone of the Franciscan missions and the Dayaro region.

Fig. 65. Fabrication of a large vase: the roll of clay is rolled between the palms of the hands. (Photographs taken by the author at Masavć, Igikondi Valley.)

/392 cont./

323
415
291
516
142
302

Fig. 63. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is ready to be superposed on the preceding one.

/393/

Decline of the Art of Pottery among the Chiriguano

323 Of all the Chiriguano industries the most threatened one
178 is doubtless ceramics. The Chiriguano can claim the glory of
415 having been until recently the last Indians of South America
/Fig. 64 appears here/ to have a pottery which deserved to be
included in the number of beautiful manifestations of this art,
so brilliantly represented in certain regions of the continent.
Today things have changed a great deal. Villages in which
one can still find women capable of decorating vessels with
the mastery of former days have become rare and are limited
415 to a restricted area. /394/ It was in the tolderías of the Timboy,
126 the Great Salado and the Little Salado, in the region of Yumbía
178 and in the Igüembé valley (upper Pilcomayo, departments of
Tarija and Chuquisaca) that I was able to collect the finest
specimens in my collection. Elsewhere it was exceptional
/Fig. 65 appears here/ /see p. 166/ to be lucky enough to lay
my hands on a fine piece; and, if I did have this luck several
times, it was almost always a question of an old vessel pre-
[797] served as if by a miracle. The Franciscan missions which
formerly gave Nordenskiöld and Holmberg such fine specimens
799 contributed less toward enriching my collections. Nothing ex-
323 presses the sad state of decline of the Chiriguano better than
415 what I /395/ could observe in the Macharetí mission. After
178 going through nearly all the huts of this large village, which in
[162] normal times has close to 2,000 inhabitants, I could scarcely
acquire five or six yambuí having some artistic value. There
[463] were no longer more than three or four women who still knew
how to hold a brush and they had to /Fig. 66 appears here/ /see
p. 167/ provide for almost the whole village. In a few years
the ancient painted pottery will exist only in memory in the
large village where the famous "Captain" Mandepona lived.

323 This decline has several causes. The first is the state of
415 profound demoralization in which the Chiriguano are found, the
178 total disorganization of their social life, and the increasing
177 influence of the white men, followed by its corruptive effects:
finally, the introduction of manufactured products, first and
foremost gasoline cans.

/396/

000 first and foremost gasoline cans. Artistic ceramics have become the
323 appanage of a few old women who are not founding a school and who
178
463
887
531

323
415
142
302

Fig. 64. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is placed on the preceding one and flattened between the thumb and
[531] the other fingers of the potter. Finger impressions result from this, forming a crude design.

323 will carry the secret of their art to the grave. Already today,
178 obliged to satisfy a large demand, they endlessly repeat the same
463 motifs and have a vexing tendency to draw them hastily and
887 without any care at all. These designs are becoming awkward,
531 crude, and are taking on a primitive appearance which is far from corresponding to the taste and culture of the Chiriguano.

/396 cont./

291
323
415
531

Fig. 65. Fabrication of a large vat: the potter impresses her thumbnail into the still soft clay to obtain a regular design.

463
323
178
439
[126]
[123]

In some villages there are no more potters. The inhabitants of the toldería of Ibopeytí, for example, have to import the painted vessels they need to celebrate festivals. When I wanted to acquire them, it was generally objected that they had been bought and often at a very high price. "You go away and leave us without vessels," they often used to say to me as a half-joking, half-sad good-by after my raids.

/396 cont./

323 178 Without wishing to pass as a prophet, I think I can assign five years of life to the artistic pottery of the Chiriguano. Already it is becoming difficult to make collections of it, at least collections having aesthetic value.

323 415 531

Fig. 66. Fabrication of a large vat: when dry, the clay is polished with a well-polished stone. The purpose of this operation is to avoid all porosity in the surface of the vessel.

415 198 184 323 The state of decline and regression in which Chiriguano pottery is found explains perhaps the decided differences often existing in the pottery of the various regions inhabited by the Chiriguano. Artists being few, it is not surprising that their output varies little and that, because of this, the vessels of one village are all very much alike.

1: Métraux--168 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Omaguaca SI9

C
323
415
198
184

/396 cont./

In former times when artists were not lacking, the number of motifs used within each group must have been larger, and in this variety was doubtless found many an element which today seems to have disappeared, only to be met in another zone. It is probable that an ethnographer who might have made a collection among the Chiriguano a century ago would have established a classification other than the one I have tried to outline here.

C
Ce
415
17

Comparative Study of the Basic Elements of the Painted Pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

1. The Problem of the Chincha Atacama Civilization

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians shows such strong affinities with that of the ancient Andean populations from the point of view of form as well as decoration that their relationship cannot be doubted.

These analogies are especially striking among certain pieces /397/ of pottery dug up in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and the ones still made by Chiriguano or Chané women. With an interval of four centuries the resemblance between the pottery of these two regions is still so pronounced that it had attracted the attention of Mr. Debenedetti (2, pp. 134, 149, note 1, and 156), even though he apparently had for his whole basis of comparison only a few rare pieces of very simple Chiriguano pottery collected in the Chaco and of such uncertain provenance that one of them was attributed to the Choroti. The latter in reality, have pottery of an entirely different type, although also influenced by the Andean civilization.

O
C
Ce
[648]
[439]

The affinities of Chiriguano pottery with certain pottery of the Quebrada de Humahuaca have been scientifically established by Nordenskiöld (10, p. 143). This scholar explains these surprising similarities very naturally by the influence the Indians of the Humahuaca region had on their immediate neighbors, the Chané or Chiriguano, and by the trade relations these peoples maintained.

C
Ce
415
17
648
0
[648]

/397 cont./ these peoples maintained. These relations between Chiriguano and Humahuaca Indians are historically attested to. At the time of the uprisings which took place during the period of the Spanish conquest, Humahuaca and Chiriguano united to resist the common enemy (see Boman, 2, Vol. I, p. 77).

The yambuí and yapepo, of which I made a good collection in the upper Pilcomayo region, provide new evidence, even more conclusive, of this striking parallelism which appears between the pottery of the modern Chiriguano and the prehistoric populations of northern Argentina. To allow a direct influence of the Humahuaca Indians on the ancestors of the present-day Chiriguano living on the upper course of the Pilcomayo in the departments of Tarija and Chuquisaca would be a point of view difficult to defend. The radiance of the culture of the Quebrada de Humahuaca could have affected only the southern Chiriguano and the Chané of the Itiyuro. As for the hypothesis which would make of the Chiriguano the precursors of this culture, it is so absurd, so contrary to all good sense, that we cannot envisage it here. At the spot where the Pilcomayo gets ready to leave the valley that it digs across the Andean spurs to spread out in the Chaco plain, the Chiriguano had Chicha Indians as immediate neighbors whose territory extended to the north of the Quebrada de Humahuaca in the south of present-day Bolivia. It was they who transmitted the special forms of their pottery and its principal decorative elements to the Chané, who in turn left them to their successors and conquerors, the Chiriguano. Perhaps the Chané have not everywhere been the inevitable intermediaries between the two cultures; in many cases, Chicha groups must have communicated directly to the Guarani invaders the principal products of their industrial techniques and of their arts.

C
175
721
727
648
Ce
648
C
17

/398/ We know from 16th and 17th century documents that the Chiriguano constantly made forays into Chicha territory, that they raided their villages, made them pay tribute, and carried away groups of these Indians into slavery, as they did with the Chané. These direct contacts between the Chiriguano and their western neighbors must have contributed greatly to the spread of Andean civilization among them, and

/398 cont./

17 this explains why the Chiriguano culture of the upper Pilcomayo presents such close affinities with that of the Chicha, the Humahuaca, and the Atacama (1).

175
648
[101]
[177]

1. On the western borders of their territory the Chiriguano were in constant touch with the Chicha, whose territory they devastated and whom they obliged to pay tribute to them.

Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 282): "the quality of the valley (of Tarija) being known, and the importance of its being populated, in order to check in that direction the Chiriguanas, who had done no little harm to the Chichas there, and they even paid them tribute, named as corregidor, etc...." /translated from the Spanish/.

Lizárraga (Vol. II, p. 117): "he went to Mosquera and returned, and with more than thirty natives, twenty of them Chiriguanas, and the rest indios Chaneses /Chane Indians/ in service, and among them two more illustrious Chiriguanas, one called Marucare and the other par excellence Inga Condorillo, and another Indian of Chicha nation, whom they confined with those Chiriguanas ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

Archivo de Indias (74-4-1, cited by Coni, p. 19): "and in about a month they reached another nation of indios called chiriguanaes, who thus neighbor this city a dozen leagues from potosí, and they carry off a pueblo of indios chichas who are called chupas." /translated from the Spanish/

Coni (p. 21): "In a letter from the licenciado Matienzo he tells us that the Chiriguanaes continued to raze the plains of Manso and, in addition, made frequent onslaughts on the Charcas, where they

/398 cont./

175 648 [266] [443]

acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even 'had public meat markets for human flesh.' " /Translated from the Spanish./

175 177 648 [567] [126]

Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII, 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

437 439

Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

121 172

Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text continues on p. 173]

1: Métraux--172 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XXV

415
532
172

Anthropomorphic vessel found on the banks of the Pilcomayo near the Chiriguano village of Ibopeytí, attesting to the existence in this region of a civilized population before the Chiriguano. The vessel has a red glaze and the ears of the personage are pierced. (1/2 nat. size.)

O 172 171 415 /399 cont./ It is already evident that the pottery of the Humahuaca region shows identical characteristics from the north of Jujuy to the vicinity of La Quiaca. To me the local variations seem absolutely negligible. Boman (2, Vol. I, p. 77) was already expressing himself in the following manner on the relations between these two A [172 171] regions: "If one wishes to compare the objects dug up in the Humahuaca region with the pre-Hispanic remains of other regions, they would be most like those of the Chichas." At

C 172 531 534

Fig. 67. Panpipe made of olive-hued stone, found on the upper Pilcomayo near the Chiriguano village of Ibopeytí at the same time as the vessel on Plate XXV. (1/2 nat. size.)

C 172 171 415 Tolomosa in Bolivia, in the department of Tarija, AT the von Rosen mission (2, Fig. 175, p. 112) found an ornithomorphic dish, an exact replica of the famous puco of this type discovered at La Paya in the Calchaqui Valley.

A 172 171 18 The Humahuaca-Chicha culture does not form an isolated bloc. It is more or less closely related to those whose remains have been studied in the northwest of Argentina in Diaguite territory, on the Puna de Atacama and de Jujuy, in the Atacama Desert, in the north of Chile and the extreme south of Peru. In the geographic area thus defined, it surely seems as though there was formerly a center of acculturation whose existence was pointed out only a few years ago.

/400/

A 172 Boman (2, Vol. II, pp. 767-778) is the first to have defined the specific characteristics of the most important of these cultures from the historical point of view, that of the Atacama. By comparing the objects his own excavations or those of his colleagues brought to light in Calama, in Chiuchiu in the Atacama Desert, and in various localities of the Puna de Jujuy, he could demonstrate the homogeneity of these finds. He rightly attributed all these remains to one single people, the Atacama, whose habitat probably embraced, besides the regions I have just enumerated, the Puna de Atacama and part of the Calchaqui Valley as far as La Paya.

C 172 531

C [178] Fig. 68. Fragments of incised pottery found at Caipipendí. Present-day Chiriguano never decorate their pottery with engraved lines. (2/3 nat. size.)

A P.A. 114 172 However, there is one aspect of the problem to which Boman gave too limited a solution. In seeking to determine the frontiers of the ancient peoples of the north and northwest of Argentina, in my opinion he stressed too much the divergences which the remains of their culture present and not enough the traits they have in common. Still, the points of contact are too numerous and too specific to be attributable simply to a great Peruvian civilization from which these civilizations emanated.

Atacama SG5
Prehistoric Chile SG3

C
A
17

/400 cont./

It cannot be denied that there exist, between the civilization of Atacama and those of the provinces of north and northwest Argentina, of southern Bolivia, and of the coast of Chile, variants important enough to justify the subdivision of this culture zone into separate regions corresponding perhaps to the extent of tribes speaking different languages. But along with these local variations, how many similarities! How many analogies in technical materials and artistic forms! Farther on when I deal with fundamental elements of Chiriguano art from a comparative point of view, I shall have occasion to dwell on some of these resemblances and to give many an example.

The credit for bringing out the elements common to all these civilizations and seeking to explain them belongs to Uhle (1, 3, 4).

P.C
A
172

/401/ Already in 1913, on the subject of tablets from Chiuchiu, this scholar (Uhle, 1, p. 457) declared "that there had not been only one Atacama civilization, but several belonging to different periods." Several years later, after some systematic excavations he made in Pisagua, Arica, and Tacna, he tackled the "Atacameño" problem as a whole and proposed a plausible solution for it. Since knowledge of the results acquired by Uhle is important for understanding what follows, I believe it necessary to give as complete a résumé of them as possible.

Near Tacna, Uhle (4, p. 2) collected remains of several superimposed cultures, which he classifies in the following manner:

1. Period of primordial man (objects of paleolithic type);

2. Period of the Arica aborigines (first centuries of our era). The remains of this period belong to a very primitive population of fishermen;

3. Period contemporary with the Chavin ruins, which goes from about the year 400 to 600 A.D.;

4. Tiahuanaco period and continuation of the epigonal style, from about the year 600 to the year 900;

5. Period of the indigenous civilization of Atacama, from the year 900 to about 1100;

Atacama 565
Prehistoric Chile 563

A P.C. 172 /401 cont./

6. Chincha-Atacama period, from 1100 to about 1350;
7. Inca period, from about 1350 to the Spanish conquest.

A P.C. 114 172 Of course, Uhle's chronology must be accepted with reservations, and at first sight this division appears to be much too subtle. Besides, the duration of each period seems much too short to me. I also doubt very much that Uhle has really given us proof of the existence of a culture contemporary with the Chavin ruins.

A P.C. 172 Whatever may be the gaps in this chronology and its undeniable weaknesses, it seems nevertheless certain that there existed in Tacna and probably in Arica too a civilization clearly related to that of the region of the Atacama Desert (1) and of the Andean territories we have enumerated.

A P.C. 171 172

1. Montell (1, p. 41): "With the Arica culture the Calama-Chiuchiu area has many traits in common, unmistakably pointing to these districts being very closely connected, as has also been convincingly shown by Uhle. One quite obvious point of agreement exists in the before mentioned broadshouldered shirts, a type one hardly is able to suppose to have arisen independently in areas so adjacent as these. The technique called 'coiled basketry' is, we know, common to both. The pottery types present, generally speaking, much similarity. In regard to ornamentation one may point to the occurences [sic] of pyrograved spirals in calabashes, and to the ornament here called 'wing-shaped'." /Cited in English./

A P.C. [291]

A P.C. [285] [415] [531]

A P.C. 121 174 172 114 In a strong position from the obvious analogies existing among the objects /402/ found in this geographic area, Uhle established a theory which, even if it is too bold in certain aspects, must nevertheless in its exactness contain a great deal of truth.

A 172 174 131 167 /402 cont./

The Atacama Indians, whose original territory would have been the vicinity of the Atacama and Arizaro salt marshes and a portion of the coastal zone near Tocopilla, including the lower course of the Loa River, emigrated at an unknown date from the south to the north. They occupied the

C 172 415

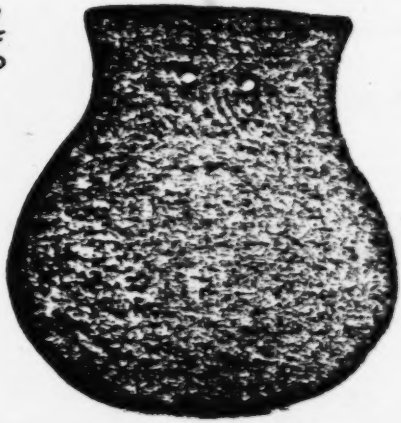


Fig. 69. Pot decorated with incised lines and provided with two holes for hanging. This object was unearthed at Caipipendí. (2/3 nat. size.)

A 172 174 131 167 provinces of Chicha and Lipez, the region between the great salt marshes of western Bolivia and the western Cordillera, and spread across the whole province of Carangas and the districts west of the Desaguadero. They would also have taken possession of a large part of the Titicaca and the northern plains. Their culture would have spread to the south of modern Peru as far as the latitude of Ica and as far as Ayacucho in the A [177] mountains. Upon this ancient ethnic and cultural stratum influences from the north made themselves felt (Uhle, 3, p. 13).

A
172
174
P.C.
172

/402 cont./

Still according to Uhle (4, p. 38), in the period following the epigonal period, the inhabitants of Chincha and Ica created a culture of a regional character offering close analogies with certain vessels from Tacna, which we shall have to consider. The Chincha Indians were conquerors whose warlike enterprises are often mentioned in the ancient chronicles. According to Montesinos, they made expeditions as far as into Chiriguano country. Before Uhle's discoveries at Tacna and Arica, the limit of the Chincha's area of influence ended at Arequipa. The Tacna pottery which Uhle attributes to the Chincha-Atacama period permits us to extend the civilizing activity of this people to the south.

The ancient civilization of the Atacama enriched by a Chincha contribution would have given birth to a new type of culture to which Uhle gives the name Chincha-Atacama. It would have reached maturity between about 1100 and 1350 A.D.

"The sphere of influence of the Chincha-Atacama civilization reached part of the coast (Pisagua, Taltal), the southern coast, in the east the Atacama region proper from Calama to the province of Jujuy. Its influence extended abroad as far as into Araucan country. In the east its reflections are found /Plate XXVI appears here/ /403/ on numerous remains in the basin of the Titicaca and of Tiahuanaco, and to the north one can follow its advance as far as Cuzco.

"By it are explained the different types of ornamentation in use among the Inca. Chincha-Atacama influence thus embraced a vast region of which part (south coast, Atacama territory proper, the western Bolivian altiplano, conquests directed toward the Cuzco) was passed through by the Chincha-Atacama in person." (Uhle, 4, p. 39.)

A
P.C.
17
531

Further on Uhle (4, p. 42) adds: "Previously we could not explain the presence of the volutes, jagged triangles, diamonds, snakes, and many other similar motifs in the decoration of the engraved calabashes of Calama, on the vessels brought to light in Jujuy province, and on those of the Pelike type from the Pucará de Tilcara, as well as on the textile now made by the Araucan. Today everything is explained by the extent and influence in distant regions of the Chincha-Atacama civilization."

1: Métraux--179 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Plate XXVI

Ce
415
532

1. Anthropomorphic vessel, Chané. It is covered with a layer of white paint. Prov.: Tuyuntí (near the Aguaray). (1/3 nat. size.)

C
415
531

2. Vessel with ribbed belly, brown in color. Chiriguano Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/2 nat. size.)

/403 cont./

A P.C 17 531

Latcham (p. 5) says that for a long time he has also had the impression that Chincha culture had played a very important role in the development of the prehistoric art of the north and center of Chile, especially in the Diaguito-Chilean region, that is, the provinces of Atacama and Coquimbo, and that these influences had extended as far as Cachapoal in the south.

After the publication of Uhle's work, Latcham (p. 20) not only accepted his conclusions but even demonstrated the extension of Chincha culture as far as Caldera. Like Uhle, Latcham (p. 20) is of the opinion "that an examination of Diaguito-Argentine pottery would furnish proof that the traces of Chincha and Chincha-Atacama influences are very common in the art of northwestern Argentina, where all the designs reproduced (by Latcham) are found again alone or in combinations with other local motifs. These influences made themselves felt as far as the southeast and even the northeast of Bolivia, as can be ascertained by consulting the works dealing with the antiquities of these regions. In the modern pottery of the Chiriguano many of these same elements persist, as one can realize by leafing through the work of Outes, 3."

C [415] [531] [199]

C 415 199 121

In the pages which follow I shall seek to demonstrate that Chiriguano pottery presents characteristics obliging us to rank it among those which seem to have undergone the influence of the Chincha-Atacama civilization.

A P.C 17 114 121 [648]

Even if the hypothesis of the existence of a Chincha-Atacama civilization must be rejected some day, it is not any less certain that at a given moment the prehistoric tribes of the region of Atacama, of the northern coast of Chile, of the south of Peru and Bolivia, and of the north and northwest of Argentina were united by close relations, which /404/ explain the numerous points of contact of their cultures. Uhle's theory has on its side the advantage of accounting for these analogies whatever may be the reservations we might be able to formulate concerning the date this scholar attributes to the Chincha-Atacama civilization. Concerning the importance and the extent he gives it.

/404 cont./

concerning the importance and the extent he gives it. To the Chincha-Atacama sphere of influence belongs, precisely, the culture of the Andean Chincha and Humahuaca peoples whom the Chiriguano and their Arawak predecessors had as neighbors for centuries.

2. Analysis of the Influences Exerted on the Fancy Pottery of the Chané and the Chiriguano

The criterion of form. -- The influences which have made themselves felt on Chané and Chiriguano pottery are manifested in both form and decoration. In the pages to follow I propose to note the most striking affinities between Chiriguano and Chané vessels and those of the neighboring regions, and also to determine the importance of Guarani or other survivals which we meet here and there.

1. Vessels with a subglobular belly, short neck, flared lips, flattened base, constitute the most common type of fancy pottery (Plates XXXV-XL, XLVII-LIII, etc.). Pottery of this category lacks well-characterized counterparts in the Andean zone. On the contrary, they resemble the jars for kaliri still used by the Indians of Guiana and the Amazon (Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 151, p. 227).

One of the yambuí (Plate XLVIII, 3)[1] of this type has as handles on each side of the neck two little miniature vessels of the same form as itself. In what is perhaps only the fancy of a native artist appears nevertheless a concept peculiar to the Andean peoples and one in harmony with their style.

2. The yapepo (Plate XLV, 1 and 2; LIX and LX)[2] are subglobular vessels with a low neck, provided with a handle which extends from the rim to the belly: they can be considered as yambuí in miniature. This category of vessels has its equivalent in several points of the adjoining Andean zone. Thus in Calama (Atacama Desert) and in Cagua (Yura canton, Porco province) pots have been found which seem to be, from the point of view of form, replicas of Chiriguano yapepo. (Créqui de Montfort, Plate VII, Fig. 8, and Plate VIII, Fig. 11.)

[1] [See p. 227--Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 221, 244 and 245 respectively. Analyst]

QA 415 192
C 415 191

/404 cont./

The cemeteries of the Isla de Titicaca have given numerous specimens of this type (Debenedetti, 3, Fig. 98, p. 153; Fig. 101, p. 154; Fig. 104, p. 157; Fig. 106, p. 158; Figs. 109-111, p. 167; Figs. 113-114, pp. 165-166), of which a specimen has also been found in the Allaricito in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, Fig. 15, p. 29). /Plate XXVII appears here./

C 415 191

/405/ Vessels whose appearance is obviously similar to that of our yapapo were formerly used in Chile (Latcham, Fig. 17, p. 11).

QA 415 591 192
C 415 591 198

a b

Fig. 70. The ira (a), drawn from Debenedetti, was found on the Isla de Titicaca. Vessel b is modern. It comes from the Chiriguano village of Tumbio. It attests to the fidelity with which the Chiriguano have kept to our day the ancient types of Andean pottery. (1/6 nat. size.)

C 415 191

3. The large yambui of Plate LV, 2,[2] is not a common type in South America. Zijen y Caamaño (p. 34, Fig. 15) cites only one specimen, coming from Inbatuna in Brazil, which was known to him outside of Chiriguano country.

4. The two yambui of Plates XLI, 1,[3] and LV, 1,[3] both come from the Ivu mission. Their form is unusual in Chiriguano country, but very interesting by reason of the analogy it offers with that of vessels dug up in Catamarca province in Capinchango (Debenedetti, 5, Figs. 9 and 10, pp. 23-24) and that of funerary urns from La Rioja discovered and published by Boman (5, Fig. 43, p. 34).

2 [See p. 299. Analyst]
3 [See pp. 317 and 237 respectively--Analyst]

915
S31

Plate XXXIV

Chiriguano vessels (1/3 size). Figs. 1 and 2, Iroz; 3, Machareti; 4, Cuyupendi. Colors: 1 and 3, black on white; 2 and 4, red on white. (Dia. 1 = 1/8; 2-4 = 1/3 nat. size.)

C 415 191 BA [415] [192]

/400 cont./

5. The iru of Fig. 70 b goes back into the class of the vessels known as pseudo-apods, as some Argentinian archeologists call them. As their name indicates, they are closely related, from the morphological point of view, to the vessels known as apods or more simply aryballuses, which constitute in northwestern Argentina so many concrete proofs of Inca influence. Among the Chiriguano and Chané this type of pottery is exceptional, and the specimen of Fig. 70 b is a unique piece whose interest is considerably increased by the extraordinary resemblance it bears to a vessel discovered in the cemeteries of the Isla de Tilcara (Fig. 70 a). These two iru have so many similarities between them that one could easily believe them to have come from the hands of the same artist. In the regions near the habitat of the Chiriguano numerous vessels of this type have been dug up. Ottilia Bregante (p. 287) /406/ enumerates for the specimens found in Jujuy province the following localities: Saruga, Tarasta, Pucará de Tilcara, Isla de Tilcara, and Cochinoca, for the Puna de Atacama, Antofogasta de la Sierra. In La Paya in Salta province these aryballuses or aryballoid vessels are very numerous, and one of them published by Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 42, p. 67) has on the upper part of the belly a row of triangles with volutes, which we find again on our specimen from the upper Pilcomayo.

C [415] [191] BA [415] [192]

C 415 191

Vessels of this kind are, as we have said, characteristic of the Inca civilization. Similar jugs already appear in Tacna during the Chincha or Chincha-Atacama period (Uhle, 6, Plate XVII, Fig. 4; Plate XIX, Fig. 1 and 1 a; Plate XX, Figs. 1 and 2). /Fig. 71 appears here./

C [191]

This type is so little diffused in Chiriguano country that one could not invoke its occasional presence to attest to the strong Inca influence of civilization on these Indians.

6. The miniature vessel of Figure 71 is also a unique piece. If its distribution on the eastern slope of the Andes were not so sporadic, it would constitute an eloquent proof of the persistence of Inca tradition in Chiriguano pottery. Actually, as Linné (1, p. 161) demonstrated with the aid of

C [191]

C /406 cont./
415 a map, these footed vessels "bakershaped" /quoted in English/
171 mark out the whole extent of the Inca Empire from Ecuador to Chile and Argentina. This is the first time, however, that their presence has been noted among the Chiriguano and outside the borders proper of the Inca Empire.

C 7. As Nordenskiöld (10, Fig. 48, p. 162) established,
[177] the twinned Chiriguano vessels (Plate XXVII, 3)[2] also denote an Andean influence. As for that, it suffices to compare them with the ones from the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 144, p. 196).

C
415
531

Fig. 71. Miniature footed vessel. Prov.: Cuevo. (2/5 nat. size.)

C 8. As for the vessels consisting of triple connected bodies
415 (Plate XXVII, 4), Jijon y Caamaño (p. 26) believes them to
171 be of Central American origin. "Their center of dispersion," he says, "must be located in a southern region of Central America, from where, perhaps through the medium of the Arawak, they arrived in the Chaco and Peru." This hypothesis is tempting.

9. The Central American origin of the footed bowl or "compote" (Fig. 72)[2] could not be doubted. Jijon y Caamaño
C (pp. 31-51), Rivet (2, pp. 8-9), and Linné (2, Map 6, p. 107)
A 415 have amply demonstrated it. On the subject of one of the
171 varieties of this type, Jijon y Caamaño (p. 34) makes the

[2] [See p. 183 -- Analyst]
[2] [See p. 187 -- Analyst]

C A /406 cont./
415 following observation: "The dispersion and evolution of a type
.171 of pottery whose /407/ origin must be assigned to the peoples near the Isthmus of Panama can be due only to the Arawak, who spread it among the nations living beyond the Andes, in regions as southerly as the Chaco and the territory of Misiones (1).

1. Ambrosetti (2, p. 714) as a matter of fact represents Kainguá vessels with a circular foot. I doubt very much that these pots reproduce a primitive type. They are badly fired, badly modeled, asymmetric, and the foot, which is fastened to the vessel when the latter is finished, is easily detached from it.

These vessels are perhaps crude imitations of European pottery.

A
171 In South America the Arawak have been the propagators of Central-American culture among the primitive tribes located east of the Andes."

C A 10. The distribution of vessels with a ribbed belly, of
415 171 which I acquired a marvelous specimen in the Caipipendí
C valley (Plate XXVI, 2),[2] is almost the same as that of the
[126] "compotes," and we can, as with the latter, rank them with the pottery which shows a Central-American origin /Fig. 72 appears here/ and whose dispersion was the work of the Arawak (Jijon y Caamaño, p. 5, Fig. 1 D).

C 11. The vessel of Plate XXVII, 2[2] is composed of two
415 superimposed domes: one in the shape of a truncated cone,
171 the other rounded. It comes from Ivu and is the only specimen
C of this form that I encountered in the course of my trip. An
[172] identical vessel was dug up on the upper Paraná by Ambrosetti (3, plate between pp. 256-257, Fig. 5). Similar receptacles are still in use by the Yuruná /Yuruna/ Indians of the lower
C Xingú (Steinen, 1, plate between pp. 266-267). The presence
415 of vessels of this type among the ancient Guarani authorizes us
171 to suppose that our specimen from Ivu represents /408/ the
172 survival of an ancient form of Guarani pottery which the Chiriguano have not abandoned.

[2] [See p. 179--Analyst]
[2] [See p. 183--Analyst]

/408 cont./

000 Chiriguano have not abandoned. It is not out of the question,
CE however, that the Chané did not contribute toward preserving
415 this type,[1] if it was really they who made it known to the popu-
171 lations of tropical America east of the Andes. Jijon y Caamaño
C [415] (pp. 11-13) studied its distribution in the two Americas and
[171] placed its center of diffusion in Central America. In Diaguite
000

C
415
531

Fig. 72. Footed bowl or "compote." Black and red motifs on cream background. Prov.: Carurutí. (1/3 nat. size.)

C
415 In Diaguite
171 country we find pottery of a more or less similar aspect, but
D which must nevertheless be eliminated from this category.
415 It is indeed provided either with a tongue-shaped appendage or
531 with an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figuration (Ambrosetti, 6, pp. 372-380).

1 [i.e. The type depicted in Plate XXVII, 2, p. 183 -- Analyst]

/408 cont./

415 171 172 12. The ornithomorphic vessel of Figure 73 seems to have come from the hands of the ancient potters of the Isla de Tilcara who, several centuries ago, used to make analogous pieces, without a doubt servilely imitated by the Chané and the ancestors of the Chiriguano (see Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 139-141, p. 191). Boman (2, Vol. II, p. 786, Fig. 193) also publishes a bird-shaped vessel, perhaps of the pavo del monte (Penelope obscura, Vieill.?), found not far from the present-day village of Humahuaca and which, in addition to its general appearance, has in common with our specimen

415 531

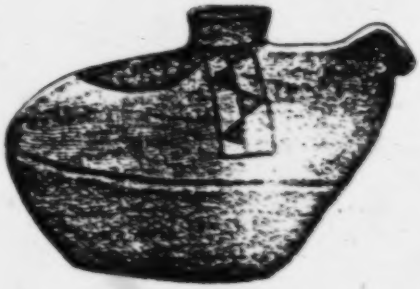


Fig. 73. Ornithomorphic vessel. Chiriguano. Motifs: pink and green. Prov.: Tarairí. (1/3 nat. size.)

415 171 172 from Tarairí designs painted on the sides which represent the wings and tail.

415 532 [273] [172] [171] [114] The Chiriguano Indians of the Caipipendí valley and the Ivu mission still like to serve chicha in vessels to which they give the appearance of a bull (Plate XXVIII, 7-9).[7] Llama-shaped vessels have been discovered in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 27, Fig. 14, and Odilia Bregante, Fig. 132, p. 147). Perhaps these are the prototypes of the present-day Chiriguano specimens. Why suppose that these receptacles had solely ritual usage, as Mr. Debenedetti thinks, when one sees the modern Chiriguano make an entirely secular use of them?

7 [See p. 190--Analyst]

P.C.
Ce
415
171
532

/408 cont./

13. The marvelous vessel of Plate XXVI, 1[2] is entirely of Andean inspiration. The idea of giving the shape of a human head to the neck of the yuro was not foreign to the ancient populations of the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Boman, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 190 and Plate LXXXII, Fig. f; and Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 136, p. 186). Up to the present time this region has not provided any vessel of this type which, by its beauty and the sureness of the modeling, /Plate XXVIII appears here/ /409/ was comparable to our specimen from the Itiyuro. The woman who fashioned it was a worthy artist.

C
[415]

Fig. 74. Vessel painted red. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/4 nat. size.)

P.E
Ce
415
171
532

In Ecuador, vessels with a globular belly surmounted by a human head are frequent, but few specimens from this region can compete with this Chané masterpiece.

C
415
171
172

14. The vessels of Figures 74 and 75 and Plate XXVII, 1,[2] are characterized by a narrowing which separates them into two superimposed globular bodies of more or less similar diameter. In the valley of the Loa River a vessel of similar type was found which presents the most surprising identity with the one of Figure 74. Montell (1, Fig. 34 e, p. 28), who publishes it, makes the following remarks about it.

[Text continues on P. 191]

[531]

Fig. 75. Vessel decorated with red and black motifs. Prov.: Caipipendi. (2/5 nat. size.)

1 [See p. 179 -- Analyst]
2 [See p. 183 -- Analyst]

415
531
532

Miniature Chiriguano vessels (toys and amusing objects). Prov.: 1, Ibopeytí; 2 and 5, Yumbía; 3, Tintapaw; 4, Tarairí; 7-9, Carurutí. Colors: red brown and black on white background, except Nos. 4 and 7, red brown on white. (Nos. 1 and 4 = 1/2; 2, 3, 5-9 = 1/3 nat. size ±.)

1: Métraux--190 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/409 cont./

415 "This particular form is not unique. It is found in the
191 northern cultures of the coast of Peru and its area of dispersion
192 stretches as far as Pachacamac and Ancon, including Lambayeque, Cajamarca, and Trujillo. East of the Andes, this type exists among the Chiriguano, the Ashluslay, and the Lengua. Specimens of it have been dug up by Debenedetti in Tilcara and in the Quebrada de Humahuaca. The find of the Loa River contributes to forming a link of this distribution uniting the /Fig. 75 appears here/ /see p. 189/ eastern zone with that of the Peruvian culture whence this type surely emanates.

Pots of this type show a striking resemblance to the signal trumpets of Guiana. Objects of this kind have been described by many authors and depicted by Gumilla and Roth. If one disregards the mouth and the base, one cannot distinguish these vessels from the terra-cotta trumpets. It is probable that this instrument was discovered independently in Guiana. In any case it is still too early to present theories on the possible connections between the two types, without preliminary research having been done to justify such comparisons."

To the distribution indicated by Montell must be added Molino del Puesto and Caspinchango in Catamarca province (Bruch, 2, Fig. 42, p. 54, and Debenedetti, 5, Fig. 14, p. 27).

415 15. Jugs with a globular belly or one in the shape of a
191 truncated cone, with a short and narrow cylindrical neck from which often begins a small handle attaching at the other end /410/ to the belly of the receptacle (Plate LVI, 1, 2, and 4; Plate LVIII, etc.), make up a very common type in all of the Chiriguano region which is in the hands of the missions. Up to the present the neighboring territories have not produced prehistoric vessels which could have served as models for the Chiriguano or the Chané at the time when Andean influence made itself felt on them. The only jug belonging to this type, outside Chiriguano country, is one found in Chile in Valdivia, which Medina (Fig. 184) reproduces in his great work on the antiquities
[See pp. 238 and 240 respectively-- Analyst]

C /410 cont./
415 of this country (1).
171

P.A. [415]

1. Vessels of this type also show great similarity to the Araucan ones which were discovered in the Argentinian territory of the Neuquén. (San Martin, pp. 10-15, pp. 131 and 132.)

C
415
531

Fig. 76. Cup decorated with black checkerwork on cream background. Prov.: Igüembé Valley. (1/3 nat. size.)

C
415
171

16. The little cup of Figure 76 is the only one of this shape I was able to collect. Like the vessels examined thus far, it constitutes by its aspect and decoration an Andean survival. Many cups have been discovered in northwestern Argentina. Some of these specimens have been found on the Isla de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 149, p. 206) and at Casabindo in the Puna de Jujuy (Lehmann-Nitsche, Pl. IV, 5 D).

P.A. [172] [415]

17. Bowls have such a wide distribution in South America that their presence among the Chiriguano would not by itself be a sufficient argument to demonstrate the Andean origin of their culture. However, among these Indians, the numerous specimens of this category of receptacles found in each village show such similarities with the puco of the adjoining Andean regions that we are obliged to consider them as borrowed forms.

C [177]

C /410 cont./

415 Thus, for example, the puco of Plate XIX, 2 and 4[1A] are
171 nearly identical with certain dishes coming from La Poma, Salta province. (Dillenius, Fig. 7, p. 13.)

The Chiriguano puco (Fig. XIX, 3) could easily be mixed with a specimen from La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 185, p. 368), which, like it, has two nipples on each side of the rim.

C [531] The small bowl of Figure 77 carries on the rim two heads of a mammal stylized to the point that one can identify it as a llama or a puma, as one wishes. The two appendages in relief are perforated to allow a suspension cord to pass through. One would never finish enumerating all the receptacles of the Andean region which are decorated with the same motif. I shall limit myself to citing, in the countries adjoining the habitat of the Chiriguano, /Plate XXIX appears here/ /411/ P.A. [172] [415] several analogous finds. Thus, a dish of this type was dug up at Casabindo, on the Puna de Jujuy (Ambrosetti, 4, Fig. 49 b, p. 39, Vol. LIV) and at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 181, p. 364).

C 415 531 Several bowls (Plate XXIX, 1 and 6) of my collections are provided /Fig. 77 appears here/ with small nipples on the sides, whose use is, at first sight, enigmatic. As Rosen (2, p. 109, Figs. 167-188) has demonstrated, they are appendages which permit passing a small cord around the dish and hanging it. On some Chiriguano specimens these protuberances are perforated and a string passed through. By this means, /Fig. 78 appears here/ the bowl is suspended from the roof beams. P.C. [415] Several from the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 60-63, pp. 111-112) also show these protuberances, whose use must have been the same as among the present-day Chiriguano. These nipples are doubtless handles or ears which, having lost all practical usefulness, were reduced /412/ to the state of simple ornamental motifs and not, as was believed, of still embryonic handles.

[1A] [See p. 135--Analyst]

Plate XXIX

Painted Chiriguano bowls (nae). Prov.: 1, 4, and 7, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2, Yumbía; 3 and 5, Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo); 6, Ivu. Colors: black and red on white background. (Nos. 1-5 = 1/4; 6 = 1/3; 7 = 1/2 about nat. size ± .)

415
531

1: Métraux--195 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Peruvian Prehistory SE4

C
415
531

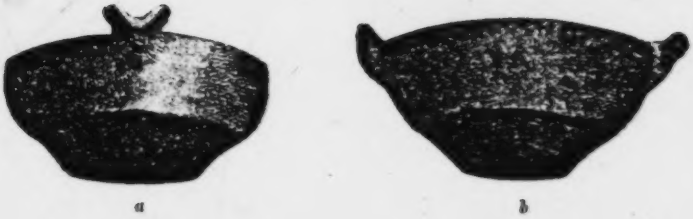


Fig. 77. Small bowl with zoomorphic ear and hole for hanging. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/3 nat. size.)

C
415
531
←
P.P.
415
→

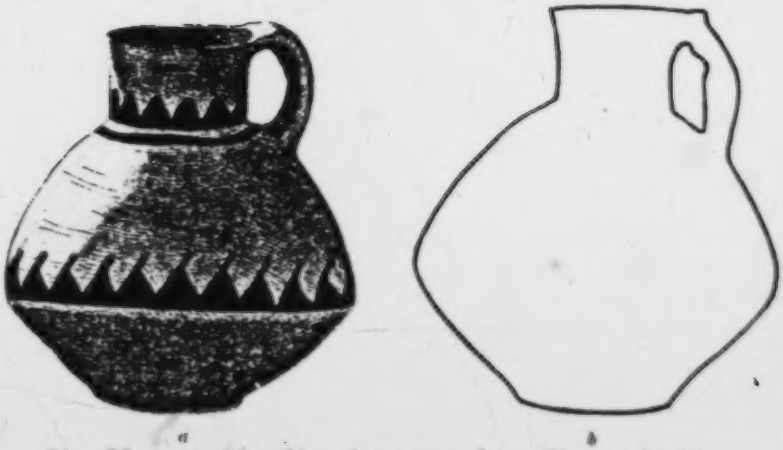


Fig. 78. a and b. Vessel a comes from Cuevo; b gives the profile of a vessel found at Tacna and attributed by Uhle to the Inca period.

C /412 cont./
415
171
pp
415

18. To put an end to these comparisons, I shall call attention to two vessels (Fig. 78 a and b), one acquired in Ivu in the Chaco and the other in Tacna, and dating from the Inca period (Uhle, 4, Plate XXVIII, 2). A simple glance at the two figures permits the establishment of their perfect identity.

C
Ce
415
171

In short, from these comparisons and the ones we made on the subject of pottery in common use, we can draw the following conclusions: Chiriguano and Chané pottery is, from the morphological point of view, closely related to that of the ancient populations of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina and therefore offers numerous points of contact with the Chincha-Atacama civilizations. It still keeps traces of strong Inca influences (footed vessel (baker-shaped /in English/), aryballoid jars, ornithomorphic and anthropomorphic vessels, bowls, etc.). The ancient Arawak ethnic substratum is manifested in this sphere by the survival of several special types of pottery (vessels in the form of beakers or bowls (compoteras), vessels with a ribbed belly, vessels with three connecting bodies, etc.).

C
Ce
[179]

A
[415]

C
Ce
G
415

The pottery in everyday use is clearly of Guarani inspiration and in its general features has remained identical to those of the ancient Guarani of Bolivia.

C
531
184

Comparative Study of the Principal Decorative Motifs of Chiriguano Pottery and That of the Neighboring Andean Peoples

The triangle with volute. In the region of the upper Pilcomayo the fundamental motif of pottery decoration is the triangle whose apex is prolonged in a volute or spiral (Plates XXXII-XXXIII, 136-199). This decorative element is repeated to repletion on all the vessels I collected from the village of Saladito to the valley of Igüembé. Elsewhere it becomes less frequent and takes on a more rudimentary form, which can be considered as further developed or degenerated.

[See pp. 200-201 -- Analyst]

/412 cont./

531 184 Even on the upper Pilcomayo this design occurs in many variations according to the place or the artists: on certain pieces the volute which prolongs the triangle is clearly drawn (Plate XXXV, 1; XXXVII, 2; XXXVIII,[3] 2; etc.); on others it is no more than a hook more or less closed (Plate XXXII, 137-151). This last case is more usual. Finally, the hook itself is drawn with so little care that it is transformed into the simple arc of a circle, then into a straight line prolonging one of the sides of the triangle (Fig. 78 a).

Some vessels, generally outside the upper Pilcomayo region, /Plates XXX-XXXIV appear here/ /413/ present the same motif, but instead of the hook or the spiral the potter has painted a fret element (Plate XLI, 2, and XLIII, 1; LIV, 1 and 4),[2] more or less well executed. Thus one can follow the evolution of the spiral to the fret by going from one point to another of Chiriguano territory.

Most often these triangles with a volute are arranged in two rows and face each other alternately. When such an arrangement occurs, the potter always takes care to draw, along the line forming the volute, a parallel line of a different color, which, after following the inflections of the volute, goes to join that of the facing triangle. The figure (Plate XXXIII,[3] 178-194) thus obtained is a double volute in the form of a couchant S. It is particularly characteristic of the pottery of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igembé valley. This double volute perhaps can be treated as an independent decorative element, witness the yambui of Plate XXXVI, 2, and LI, 3.

531 Sometimes, but rarely, the triangle with a double volute is replaced by an angle whose sides, by being drawn out, form a continuous line which unites these motifs to each other (Plate XXXVI, 1; XLVII, 3; LIII, 3).[4]

[191] The origin of this motif is lost in the night of time. It appears already very stylized on the vessels of the Tiahuanaco period, coming from Tiahuanaco itself (Posnansky, Plate III, Figs. E and F) and from the Mizque valley (Nordenskiöld, 5, p. 90, Fig. 40).

[2 [See pp 211, 213 and 214 respectively -- Analyst]
3 [See pp. 217, 219 and 231 respectively -- Analyst]
1 [See p 201 -- Analyst]
4 [See pp 217, 226 and 232 respectively -- Analyst]

1: Métraux--198 F-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Plate XXX

C
Ce
531

Principal decorative motifs of Chiriguano and Chané pottery.

I: Métraux--199 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Plate XXXI

C
Ce
531

Principal decorative motifs of Chiriguano and Chané pottery.

1: Méxeux--200 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Clave SF8

Plate XXXII

C
C
53

Principal decorative motifs of Chiriguano and Chané pottery.

Principal decorative motifs of Chimipuerto and Chavín pottery

Principal decorative motifs of Chiriguano and Chané pottery

A 531 192 G 531 191

/413 cont./

It is also met on most of the vessels from Tacna and Taltal, belonging to the period known as Chincha-Atacama (Uhle, 4, Plate XIX, Figs. 1 and 2; Plate XX, Figs. 1 and 2; Plate XXI, Fig. 2; Plate XXII, Fig. 4; Plate XXIII, Fig. 1; Plate XXIV, Fig. 2; and Guevara, Vol. I, plate between pp. 42 and 43 and between pp. 48 and 49).

These analogies with Chiriguano pottery become still more striking if one considers the details and arrangement of this motif. On a vessel from Tacna (Uhle, 4, Plate XX, 1) the volute takes off from two lines forming an angle, as on the yambuí of Plate XI, 1, published here. On the vessel from Tacna (Uhle, 4, Plate XXI, Fig. 2) the triangles with a volute face one another, and the inflections of the spiral are accompanied by a parallel line in another color. An anthropomorphic vessel found at Tacna (Uhle, 4, Plate XXII, Fig. 1) is also decorated with hooked triangles which face each other alternately.

As for the frets of Uhle's Chincha-Atacama vessel (4, Plate XXII, Fig. 4), they are doubtless volutes which the potter's fancy modified.

One can as well consider as a derivation of the voluted triangle the hooks which, on several Tacna and Taltal vessels and on a Calama calabash, form vertical and horizontal rows (Uhle, 4, Plate XX, Fig. 1; Plate XXI, Fig. 2; Plate XXIII, Fig. 3; XXIV, /414/ Fig. 3, etc.; Guevara, Vol. I, plate between pp. 46-47 and 48-49; and Oyarzun, Fig. 11). With the Chiriguano the voluted triangle underwent an analogous process of simplification, but this evolution took place only in very rare cases and on pieces whose decoration was drawn with a certain negligence (Plate XXXII, $\frac{1}{A}$ 138-140).

A 531 192

The textile fabrics from Arica discovered by Skottsberg (Figs. 41-42), which are kept today in the Göteborg Museum, exhibit the voluted triangle, among other motifs. Judging by their style, these specimens undoubtedly belong to Uhle's Chincha-Atacama period.

$\frac{1}{A}$ [See p. 200 -- Analyst]

Atacama SG5
Yunca SE21
Chimu

A /414 cont./

531 According to Uhle (4, p. 38), the volute and the triangle
171 with spiral which combines with its opposite number appear on
172 the cloth of the Chincha and Ica region and also suggest certain motifs of Chimu art.

The voluted triangle is one of the motifs tattooed on the hand of an Ancon mummy with which Montell (2, pp. 148-151) dealt in detail.

Y On a large number of Chimu vessels with stirrup handles,
415 belonging to the "lecythi" category, the decoration consists
531 of a series of voluted triangles.

Y Judging by the plates in Baessler's atlas (Plates I-VI),
531 the spiral is most often combined with a triangle, one of whose sides is in steps or zigzags. Baessler sees in these different
Y figures stylizations of octopus arms. I do not think so. This
[114] motif, whose distribution is so wide, cannot be derived from
[113] the representation of an animal whose role is secondary in Chimu mythology and in which interest is purely local in every case.

A In the coastal zone of the Pacific where Chincha-Atacama
531 influence manifested itself, the triangle with spiral is as fre-
171 quent on pyrographed calabashes as on pottery. This design
172 was pyrographed on calabashes found at Arica by Skottsberg (Göteborgs-museum, No. 19.1.5), in the valley of the Loa River (Montell, 1, Fig. 40, p. 35), and at Calama, where on several specimens the volute was replaced by a fret which prolongs the classic triangle (see Boman, 2, Vol. II, Plates LXXV-LXXVI, Figs. 176-177, and Oyarzun, Figs. 4-9, 15, and 18). The specimens from Calama are remarkable for the variety and boldness of the decoration and are, without any doubt, the most beautiful specimens of the pyrographic art in South America (1).

1. Boman (2, Vol. II, p. 746) states that certain decorations pyrographed on the calabashes found at Calama, such as, for example, the one composed of couchant S's, are found again on engraved calabashes from

Atacama SG5
Prehistoric Chile SG3
Bolivian Prehistory SF4
Prehistoric Argentina SI3

A
531
171
172

/414 cont./

Arica. One of the latter is reproduced in the work of Stübel and Reiss, which was not available to me (Stübel, A., Reiss, W., Koppel, B., and Uhle, M., Kultur und Industrie südamerikanischer Völker /Culture and Industry of South American Peoples/. Berlin, 1889, Vol. I, Plate 25, Fig. 19).

PC
531

The same design is represented on the bottom of a Chilean puco from Cenchalí, on the sides of a vessel from Rivadavia, and on an ornithomorphic bowl /415/ from Freirina, Chile (see Latcham, Fig. 47, p. 19; Fig. 53, p. 21; Medina, Fig. 165). If, as I am inclined to believe, the fret or fret element surmounting the triangles with one stepped side derives from the simple triangle with volute, the distribution of this motif would be still wider. In Chile it has been painted: on vessels from Rauten, San Francisco, San Felipe; on an urn from Chellepin; on a puco from Paipote, Tongoy, and Valdivia (Latcham, Fig. 17, p. 11; Fig. 26, p. 12; Fig. 74, p. 32; Fig. 55, p. 22; Fig. 59, p. 28; Medina, Figs. 166 and 171).

BP
531

At Tolomosa in Tarija department in Bolivia, the excavations dug by the Swedish mission produced, among other pieces, a dish whose rim bears intertwined voluted triangles painted in black. This specimen is the exact replica of puco of the same shape found at La Paya, which I shall mention further on (Rosen, 2, Fig. 175, p. 112).

PA
[415
531]

P.A.
531

The ancient inhabitants of the Puna de Jujuy liked to pyrograph on /Fig. 79 appears here/ their calabashes borders composed of voluted triangles arranged in two rows and facing one another alternately (Ambrosetti, 4, Figs. 65-67, pp. 66-67; Fig. 68, p. 68, Vol. LIV). At Morohuasi, Rosen (2, Fig. 117, p. 71) discovered a receptacle of the same kind with analogous ornamentation.

The voluted triangle is a classical element, so to speak, in the decoration of the vessels found at the Pucará de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, p. 88, note 1. See also Bregante, Fig. 177, p. 170; Fig. 223, p. 189; Fig. 229, p. 191; Fig. 230, p. 191; Fig. 242, p. 198).

PA 531 114

/415 cont./

On the other hand, the excavations carried out on the Isla de Tilcara have produced only a few specimens of pottery whose ornamentation was curvilinear. Debenedetti (2, p. 88) considers the latter, for reasons which I cannot accept, as foreign to the locality. Nevertheless, he has reproduced in his book the decoration of two dishes which is made up of facing triangles with volutes (Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 53 and 54, pp. 88-89) (Fig. 79); and he notes the same design on two other dishes which he does not reproduce. In the same publication (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 113, p. 165; Fig. 114, p. 166; Fig. 115, p. 166) are represented three vessels similar to the Chiriguano yapepo and also decorated with hooked triangles.

C 415 531 171

/416/ The most interesting piece in this respect is the

C 415 171 531

P.A 415 531

Fig. 79. a, bowl from the Isla de Tilcara, whose rim is decorated with facing voluted triangles; b, border of a dish decorated with voluted triangles (Isla Tilcara) (from Debenedetti).

C 415 171 531

yuro of Figure 70 b, reproduced from a drawing given by Debenedetti (2, Fig. 124, p. 175). We have already seen that its form is identical with that of a Chiriguano iru I bought on the upper Pilcomayo. The same is true for the general elements of its decoration.

PA 531

The voluted triangle is found on three other pieces from the Isla de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 160, p. 217; Figs. 161 and 163, p. 217), which Debenedetti (2, p. 218) classes among the pottery imported to the Isla de Tilcara and utilized by curacas /chiefs/. Our yambuí from the upper Pilcomayo, which from the artistic point of view are very superior to the specimens described by Debenedetti, have often been bought

C 415 531 171 126

C /416 cont./
53 by me in humble cabins whose owners were certainly not
415 curacas, but poor devils who had the luck to have a mother
12 or grandmother who was an expert potter. If the criterion of
[126] Mr. Debenedetti were admissible, the crude pottery and the
[114] fancy vessels which can be bought in every Chané or
C Chiriguano village would be products of two different civiliza-
415 tions. In reality the fancy pottery is used on feast days for drinking chicha; and the other, more humble in appearance, is adapted to daily needs.

P.A
415
531

Fig. 80. Dish from Tilcara and decorated with red voluted triangles on a white background. (1/6 nat. size ±.)

P.A
531
[114]

Besides, the voluted triangle is more frequent on the Isla de Tilcara than Debenedetti wishes us to think. In addition to the examples cited, seven others must be added (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 24, p. 59; Fig. 30, p. 63; Fig. 40, p. 70; Fig. 48, p. 80; Fig. 165, p. 219; Fig. 165, pp. 219-220). A vessel from Alfarcito in the same Quebrada bears a triangle with volute on the inside rim of the neck (Debenedetti, 5, Fig. 15, p. 29).

Prehistoric Argentina SI 3
Atacama S65
Diaguita S66

PA 531

/416 cont./

Several vessels from Yavi to the north of Jujuy also have as the principal decorative motif the triangle with volute (Bregante, Fig. 71, p. 82; Fig. 72, p. 83; Fig. 226, p. 190).

A large number of vessels found at La Paya (Calchaqui Valley, Salta province) bear series of triangles with spirals which combine and face one another in the style of the upper Pilcomayo. Pottery of this region exhibiting this motif has been illustrated by Ambrosetti (6, Figs. 36 and 37, p. 59; Figs. 38-39, p. 60; Figs. 41-43, pp. 61-62; Figs. 50-52, pp. 70-73; Fig. 128, p. 287; Fig. 131, p. 291; Fig. 138, p. 297; Figs. 173-175, pp. 346 and 349-350; /417/ Fig. 218, p. 405) and by Boman (2, Vol. I, Plate X, Fig. 22; Plate XI, Figs. 23-24; Plate XII, Fig. 25; Plate XIII, Fig. b).

PA AD 531 171

After describing these pieces, Boman (2, Vol. I, p. 238) adds rightly that "pottery of this style occupies first place at La Paya, which is curious because the decoration does not belong at all to the Diaguite region. Actually, La Paya, on the border of the Pulares, an Atacama tribe, has the characteristics of the culture of the Diaguite /Diaguita/ and Atacama Indian (Boman, 3, p. 540, and 4, p. 2). Doubtless the pieces we have listed above must be attributed to the latter or to their influence.

PA 531 171

The distribution of the volutted triangle in northwestern Argentina has been studied very briefly by Odilia Bregante (pp. 189-193) /there are no quotation marks to indicate the end of the following quotation/: "The triangle with spiral is very common in northwestern Argentina from the most northerly regions up to the Calchaqui valley. In the north it is isolated; in the south it is combined with motifs which express a high degree of evolution. Sometimes it appears in bands of consecutive triangles whose appendages are separated. However, more frequently these appendages are found interlaced two by two. In localities as distant as Yavi to the north of Jujuy and Amaicha in Tucuman province we can state that the motif is always the same, but that in each place it acquires characteristics peculiar to the region.

PA 531 171 /417 cont./

On some pieces the voluted triangle is associated with the triangle with rectilinear prolongation. In certain regions of the north the voluted triangle has been found with a singular complement: a series of more or less parallel lines which take off from the volute of the triangle. This triangle with spiral and lines appears, outside our territory, on a specimen from Quillagua (Chile). No example of this curious decoration has ever been found in the numerous excavations carried out in the zone which extends to the south of Jujuy. No doubt it is peculiar to the cultures of the north.

D 531 The triangle with spiral reaches its highest degree of evolution and elegance when it has a stepped pattern on one of its sides. This figure predominates in the Calchaqui zone. It is seen on urns and puco, where it constitutes one of the most interesting geometric motifs. It enters into the formation of admirable borders decorating the dishes of the Calchaqui valleys with extreme frequency.

PA 531 171 At Tinti in the Salta country, in a zone where almost no remains of the Calchaqui culture exist, and even farther away at Tastil north of La Poma, Boman found pottery decorated exclusively with triangles with volutes and stepped, whose appendages interlace two by two.

The distribution of the triangle with volute is the following: Jujuy, Salta, Tucuman, and Catamarca.

/418/ "In the province of Salta it has been found at La Paya, Kipon, Angastace, and Luracatao.

"At Tucuman it appears on pottery excavated in Amaicha and Tafí. Specimens with this decoration come from different points of Catamarca province: Fuerte Quemado, Molino del Puesto, Pabellón, Andalhuala, Santa María, Loma Rica, Cusayaco, La Toma, Costa de los Reyes, La Cienega, and Belen."

This list must be lengthened. Other points in Argentine territory have furnished vessels or dishes bearing this famous motif. Thus, in the archeological material from Tastil, Quebrada del Toro, published by Boman (2, Vol. I, Plate XXXI, Fig. 83, and Plate XXXII, Fig. 84), there is a calabash cut in half and decorated with pyrographed spirals

PA /418 cont./
531 taking off from a blackened triangle. A painted vessel from
171 the same locality has the same motif on its belly, but there the spiral has changed into a fret.

So that the distribution of the triangle with spiral may be complete, we must add: Caspinchango in Catamarca province (Debenedetti, 5, Figs. 10-12, pp. 24-25, and Fig. 14, p. 27); San Blas de los Sauces y Los Mazas in La Rioja province (Boman, 5, Plate VI, Fig. E; Plate VII, Fig. F; Plate XX, Figs. a and b, and Fig. 11, p. 65); Antofogasta de la Sierra (Ambrosetti, 5, Plate I, Figs. 31 and 32); Chañar Yaco (Catamarca) (Lafone Quevedo, 1, Fig. 47, p. 39); and finally Barreal in San Juan province (Kühn, p. 21).

D The recent excavations of Messrs. Emile and Duncan
P.A Wagner in the province of Santiago del Estero permitted them
531 to discover the remains of a population whose culture was
171 closely related to that of the valleys of the Diaguite region. It is undoubtedly a matter of a tribe of the Kakan language, established on the plain crossed by the Salado River. There too we find our triangle with volute, judging by the plates on which Mr. Duncan Warner has tried to reconstitute the pieces of pottery whose fragments he found. Here again we note the transition of the volute to the fret.

D Over and above these additions, some observations must
P.A be made concerning the passage from Odilia Bregante. The
531 triangle whose apex is prolonged in a curved or straight line
[178] can be considered as a degeneration of the voluted triangle, as has already been said above (see Lafone Quevedo, 2, Plate IX, b).

D I have called attention several times to the transition
531 of the volute into fretwork or element of it. This progressive
178 mutation of one motif into another took place in Diaguite
E country exactly as among the Chiriguano. Urns of the Santa
[531] Maria type exhibit, among other common decorations, a
[178] triangle, with steps or not, which terminates in fretwork. Now on several specimens this fret element is a volute or a /Plates XXXV-XLVI appear here/ /419/ more or less closed

1: Métraux--211 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XXXV

415
531

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from Tintapau; No. 2 from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--212 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XXXVI

415
531

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from Ibopyti; No. 2 from Tintapew (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

415
531

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from the Iguazú Valley; No. 2 from Saladillo (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

Métraux--214 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
C
Ca.
415
531

Plate XXXVIII

1

2

Chané and Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from the Aguaray (Salta Chaco); No. 2 from Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--215 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Plate XXXIX

415
531

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from Macharetí; No. 2 from the Igõembé Valley. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--216 E-5 (1929) 1330 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
531

Plate XL

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from Salinas; No. 2 from the Igüembé Valley. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

1 Métraux 217 E-5 (1928) 1930 SF10 Chirigano SF19

415
531

1

2

Chirigano vessels. Nos. 1 and 2 come from Ica.
(About 1/3 nat. size.)

415
531

Plate XLII

Changuaco vessels. No. 1 coming from Iquique. No. 2 from Tarapaca (upper Pica-period). (Reduced 1/3 nat. size.)

Is Mehrens—219 6-5 (1951) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XXII

415
S31

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 coming from Macharetí; No. 2 from Kirawaro (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

:: Métraux--220 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
531

Plate XLIV

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); No. 2 from the Iguazú Valley. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

415
531

Plate XLV

1

2

3

Chirigano pottery. No. 1 and 2 are from Tintayoc; No. 3 from Cajamarca. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

415
581

1

2

3

Chiriquanan pottery.—Nos. 1 and 2 from Isla Saladillo; No. 3 from Tucubita (upper Pixvanaya). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

D 531 198

/cont./

book (1). I strongly doubt that the triangle with volute and the

1. See, for example, Bruch (C, Fig. 57, p. 57; Fig. 68, p. 71; Fig. 70, p. 74; Fig. 65, p. 65; Fig. 86, p. 89; Fig. 120, p. 122) and Lafone Quevedo (C, Fig. 61, p. 106).

triangle with feet have a separate origin. The second doubtless derives from the first.

PA 531

At Tiahuanaco on the Bolivia plain the motif Odilia Bregante speaks of is a triangle one of whose sides is stepped and which terminates in a foot which in turn interlaces with the one taking off from the following triangle (see Benson, 3, Plate XIV, Fig. 36. I cannot understand what arguments Odilia Bregante relies on in order to assert that no vestige of Diaguita culture exists in this place. The contrary seems to be true.

D 531 194

PA 531 191

To sum up, the triangle with volute has a nearly uninterrupted distribution from the north coast of Peru to San Juan province in Argentina, and as far as central Chile. To the east it extends as far as the Pilcomayo and the Quebrada de Humahuaca.

The importance of this decoration increases in proportion as one moves from south to north. In Calchaqui country it is of secondary importance and constitutes an accessory motif; at La Paya it gains in preponderance and this asserts itself in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and on the Pacific Coast. In Chiriguano territory on the upper Pilcomayo it triumphs.

C 531

By itself this motif would constitute a meager proof of the existence of related cultures over the whole extent of this geographical area; but combined with other elements it acquires a very special significance.

C 531 191

The triangle with volute seems to have developed independently in the Guianas. At least I doubt very much that its occurrence in that region is due to a western influence. The motif adorns manioc graters coming from the Paranoma tribe (Nordenskiöld, 16, Fig. 19 c, p. 52) and several Wayãpono /Wayãpinang/ and Tonlipang calabashes (Koch-Grünberg, 3, Vol. III, Plate XIX, Figs. 1-3).

C /419 cont./

531 171 The S-shaped double volute (Plates XXXII-XXXIII.[1] 163-164, 167-197). I have already had occasion to insist on the fact that the S-shaped double volute was a motif closely associated with the voluted triangle. In certain cases, and, moreover, rare ones, this decorative element appears detached (see Plate XXVI, 2).[2]

PP [531] The double volute has been painted on several vessels from Tacna (Uhle, 4, Plate XXIII, Fig. 1; Plate XXIV, Figs. 2 and 3; and Goevara, plate between pp. 46-47). There it is once even framed by a line which follows its contour exactly as on some Chiriguano vessels (Plate XXXII, 162-163).

PQ 531 On vessels found at Calama and doubtless coming from Cagua (Yura, Porco province, Bolivia) and even in the region of Cagua /420/ (Créqui de Monfort, Plate VII, Fig. 8, and Plate VIII, Fig. 11) an S-shaped decoration is seen which could be brought nearer to our double volute if its style were different. The ends of the curve are slightly pointed, and a dot is inscribed in each hook.

PC 531 Chilean potters have sometimes made use of the double volute to decorate their vessels, but a limited use (Latcham, Fig. 38, p. 16; Fig. 58, p. 25; Fig. 59, p. 26). This motif PC [524] is also carved in a block /Fig. 81 appears here/ of stone from the Chilean province of Antofagasta, between Santa Fe del Toro and Quillagua (Plagemann, Plate III). In the Quebrada de PA 531 Humahuaca the double volute embellishes the outside surface of the yuro from the Isla de Tilcara reproduced by Debenedetti (7, Fig. 124, p. 178).

At La Paya the motif is represented on the bottom of two ornithomorphic puco (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 131, and Boman, 2, Vol. 1, Plate XV, Fig. 29).

D 531 [415] [464] A design in the shape of an S, but made up of a more or less wide band adorns the base or the belly of a large number of funerary urns of the Diaguite region and the bowls which closed them. This decoration /Plates XLVII-LIV appear here/ /see pp. 226-235/ /421/ is not to be confused with the one which has occupied us up to now because it is nothing but a

[1] [See pp. 200-201--Analyst]
[2] [See p. 179--Analyst]

D /421 cont./
531 very exaggerated stylization of the famous snake with a bipartite head so characteristic of the art of this region. However, a puco
PA from Molino del Puesto, Catamarca province, exhibits a border,
531 painted in black on a red background, which is composed of triangles with volutes and couchant S's (Bruch, 2, Fig. 43 a, p. 56).

C
415
531

Fig. 81. Large painted ^ru. Prov.: Saladillo (upper Pilcomayo). Colors: white on red. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

C
531 Spirals (Plate XXXII, 165, and Fig. 81). The decoration of certain vessels from the upper Pilcomayo and the Santa Rosa mission (Nordenskiöld, 14, Fig. 70, p. 58) consists of a large spiral making many turns and covering almost the whole exterior surface of the receptacle. Just as in certain cases the volute was transformed into fretwork, this spiral gave birth to the motif seen on the vessel of Plate LV, 3,[1] which is composed of a series of concentric rectangles.

[1] [See P. 237--Analyst]

Chiriguano vessel: (yambuí). Prov.: 1 and 4, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2 and 3, Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). Color.: 1, black and white motifs on red background; 2-4, red and black motifs on white background. (Nos. 1, 3, and 4 = 1/4; 2 = 1/2 nat. size.)

416
561

H: Métraux--226 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

HIS
531

Plate XLVIII

Chiriguano vessels (yambui). Prov.: 1 and 2. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 3. Ibopeyti; 4. Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). Colors: red and black motifs on white background. (Nos. 1, 2, and 4 = 1/3; 3 = 1/4 nat. size ±.)

H. Métraux—SBE 8-6 (1929) 1950 BAE Chiriguano 6916

1: Métraux--228 E-5 (1929) 1950 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
521

Plate XLIX

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí). Prov.: 1 and 4, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2 and 3, Yumbía (upper Pilcomayo). Color: 1-3, red and black motifs on creamy-white background; 4, white design on reddish background. (Nos. 1, 2, and 4 = 1/6; 3 = 1/5 nat. size ☥.)

Plate I.

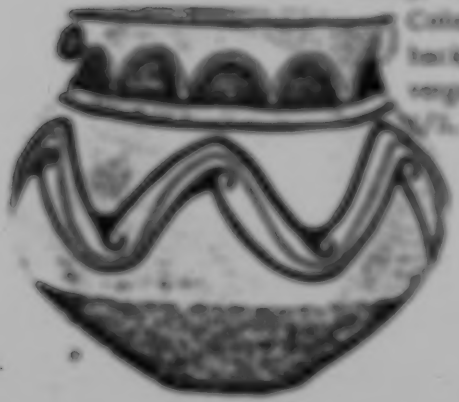
Chiriguano vessels (yambuí). Prov.: Yumbía (upper Pilcomayo). Colors: black and red motifs on white background. (Nos. 1, 3, and 4 = 1/11; 2 = 1/4 nat. size Σ.)

415
531

Plate 12

Chiriguano remedio (yambi). Nos.: 1, 2, and 3, Igbombé Valley; 4, Saladito (Tumbá). Colors: black and red motifs on white background. Nos. 1 and 2 = 1/4; 3 = 1/10; 4 = 1/3 nat. size (=).

...hirguano vough (yambul). Pres.: 1 and 2, Macharati; 3 and 4, Tarazi. Colors: black and red motifs on cream background. (Nos. 1 = 1/5; 2 = 1/6; 3 and 4 = 1/5 nat. size.)



Turquoise and Chaco remains (combined). Nos. 1 1-3, Aguaray (Salta Chaco, Chaco tribe); 4, Tumapew (upper Pilcomayo). Colors: red and black on white background; on No. 4 the black verges on brown. (Nos. 1, 3-4 = 1/1, 2 = 1/8 nat. size.)

Plate LIV

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí).
Prov.: 1, Tarairí; 2, Igüembé Valley; 3-4, Macharetí. Colors: red and black motifs on cream background. (About 1/5 nat. size.)

/421 cont./

C 531 171 The spiral or an independent decorative element has a much less wide distribution than when it is combined with the triangle it ornaments. In the geographical area which interests us it is known only on some pieces from the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 3, Figs. 41 and 42, pp. 72-73; Bregante, Figs. 176 and 178, pp. 170-171), on a calebash from Colama (Oyarzun, Fig. 10), from the Puna de Jujuy and from the valley of Tucumán (Ambrosetti, 4, Fig. 76, p. 66, and Fig. 68, p. 72, Vol. LIV), on a pacu from Pabellón in the Santa Maria valley, Catamarca province (Outes, 1, p. 18, Fig. 18).

C 531 Angles, triangles, and zigzag lines (Plate XXX, 1-46, Plate XXXI, Figs. 71-106, 127). Nearly all the yambuí and yapepo which form my collections are decorated on the interior rim, at the base of the neck, or on the upper part of the belly with interlaced angles, with series of triangles painted on the surface, which form denticulate bands. This decorative theme, simple and a bit monotonous, varies from one specimen to the other, according to whether the field of the triangles is sprinkled or surrounded with dots, whether the spaces are joined by angles or arcs of a circle, or, finally, whether or not these triangles are bordered by a broken line which they face.

C [164] Triangles and zigzag lines only rarely constitute the fundamental decoration of vessels. On the upper Pilcomayo, the yambuí of Plate LIII, 4, is the only one exclusively decorated with triangular dots and parallel zigzag lines. Some pieces from Ivu and Caipipendí are characterized by the same simplicity.

C 531 171 At Tacna and Taltal the series of triangular dots constituted a motif particularly dear to the populations of the Chincha-Atacama period (Uhle, 6, Plate XVII, Fig. 4; Plate XVIII, Figs. 1, 2, and 4; Plate XIX; Fig. 1 a; Plate XXII, Fig. 4; Plate XXIII, Figs. 3 and 4 and Figs. 21 and 22, pp. 40-41).

C 531 172

C 531 171 /421 cont./

In Chile, on the pieces influenced by Chincha art, PC 531 there is the same abundance (Latcham, Fig. 28, p. 14; Fig. 53, p. 21; Fig. 59, p. 26; Medina, Fig. 206).

PA 531 171 /422/ In the whole northwest of Argentina, borders composed of triangles painted, striped, or reticulated are extremely frequent and do not form a type characterized clearly enough for anyone to try to give the distribution in detail. The latter extends from the Quebrada de Humahuaca to the Yocavil valley (Bregante, p. 182).

C P.A. B.P. 531 171 One of the varieties of this motif, however, is worth examining closely, for it permits establishing a striking parallel between present-day Chiriguano pottery and that of northwestern Argentina and southern Bolivia. It consists of a denticulate band or series of triangular dots and one or several zigzag lines which run parallel to these triangles. This decoration figures in my collections on the specimens of Plate XLI, 1, and Plate LX, 4. The archeological replica of this ornamentation is furnished by a vessel from Tolomosa (Tarija department, Bolivia), from Pabellon (Santa Maria, Catamarca), from Chañar Yaco (Catamarca) (see Rosen, 2, Fig. 166, p. 109; Outes, 2, p. 11, Fig. 8; Lafone Quevedo, 1, Fig. 5 e and f; Huaca E., p. 42). The excavations of the Messrs. Wagner at Llacta Maucta (Santiago del Estero province) yielded fragments of a dish whose patterns belong in this category.

A 531 172 The triangles which stand out against a background sprinkled with dots (Plate XLVIII, 1) and which form a band on the yambuí of Plate XXXV, 2, have their prehistoric equivalent at Taltal on a vessel of the Chincha-Atacama period (Uhle, 4, Fig. 21, p. 40).

P.A 531 171 Series of triangles arranged horizontally are very often associated with the decoration of apodal or aryballoid vessels, which have been discovered in northwestern Argentina in such large numbers (see, for example, Boman, 2, Vol. I, p. 297) and, in general, over the whole extent of the Inca Empire.

/422 cont./

531
171

Festooned bands (Plates XXXI-XXXII,[1] 129-131). The series of triangles with which we have been occupied are often replaced by festooned bands (see, for example, Plate XLIX, 3; L, 1; and LIII, 3).[2] The transition from one of these motifs to the other is, so to speak, imperceptible; it is sufficient for the triangles to be slightly rounded for them to take on the appearance of a band of festoons. In northwestern Argentina the same transformation has taken place several times. A good example of it is the vessels from the Jachal (Bregante, pp. 179-181).

Isosceles triangles joined at the apex (Plate XXXI, 116-122). Two isosceles triangles joined at the apex form a design schematically representing an hourglass. This motif is rather common on Chiriguano pottery. In neighboring regions it is less frequent and seems to be peculiar to the pottery of Inca origin. Nordenskiöld (14, Fig. 69 a, p. 157) has already pointed out the close resemblance of this figure as it appears on several Chiriguano vessels with the one which decorates the ornithomorphic dishes /Plates LV-LVIII appear here/ /423/ of Cuzco. The analogy extends to the perpendicular lines which separate each one of the facing triangles from the following ones. This decoration is typically Inca. The ancestors of the Chiriguano copied this motif on several Inca specimens exactly like the ancient inhabitants of Tilcara, La Paya, and Catamarca who drew them: some, on a vessel with a lateral handle (Bregante, Fig. 320, p. 268), others, on a cup (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XII, Fig. 26, and Plate XIV, Fig. f), and the last on an apodal vessel (Outes, 2, Plate III, Fig. 5). Outside of the "aryballuses," or purely Peruvian type vessels, the "hourglass" is a motif of rather rare use. It was painted on a vessel from Fuerte Quemado published by Ameghino (Vol. I, Plate X, Fig. 333) and on a vessel from Punta de Balasto (Lafone Quevedo, 2, Plate VII, Fig. a). Other examples could be cited, but I have neither the intention nor the means of being complete.

1 [See pp. 199-200--Analyst]
2 [See pp. 228, 229 and 232 respectively--Analyst]

415
531

Plate LV

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí). Prov.: 1 and 3, Ivu; 2, Saladito (upper Pilcamayo). Colors: 1 and 2, red and black motifs on cream background; 3, red motifs on white background. (Nos. 1 = 1/7; 2 = 1/6; 3= 1/7 nat. size ±.)

415
531

Plate LVI

Chiriguano vessels (yapepó and yambuí). Prov.: 1 and 3, Macharetí; 2 and 4, Ivu. Color: red and black motifs on cream background. (1/4 nat. size.)

415
531

Plate LVII

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí and yapepó). Prov.: 1, Igüembé Valley; 2, Carurutí; 3 and 4, Ivu. Colors: black and red motifs on cream-white background.
(Nos. 1 = 1/7; 2-4 = 1/5 nat. size ±.)

1115
531

Plate LVIII

Chiriguano vessels (yapepó).
Prov.: 1-3, Macharetí; 4, Ivu.
Colors: red and black motifs on cream background. (Nos. 1 and 2 = 1/4; 3 = 1/6; 4 = 1/4 nat. size ±.)

Prehistoric Argentina SI 3

C 521 191

This decorative element is no stranger to Chilean pottery either (Latcham, Fig. 42, p. 18, and Fig. 45, p. 19; Medina, Figs. 180, 202, 206, etc.). It figures also on the base of an Araucan vessel found in the territory of the Neuquen (San Martin, Plate 15, Fig. III).

Tooth-shaped triangular designs enclosing diamond shapes between them have been pyrographed on a calabash from Calama whose ornamentation matches that of our Chiriguano vessels.

Concentric diamond shapes (Plate XXX, 52-56). The series of concentric diamond shapes drawn on a goodly number of vessels in my collections had already been painted on the pottery of the Chincha-Atacama period at Tacna and Taltal (Uhle, 4, Plate XX, Fig. 2; Plate XXI, Fig. 2; and Guevara, plate between pp. 42-43) and pyrographed on the Calama calabashes (Oyarzun, Fig. 6).

PA [531]

This design is classic, so to speak, on the aryballuses from Argentina (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XVIII, Fig. 43, and Outes, 2, Plate III, Fig. 2).

PA 531

Reticulated design (Plate XXX, 59-64). Several vessels in my collection have a reticulated band on the belly or neck. On the vessel of Plate LIV, 2, the triangles have this detail. On the subject of this motif, Odilia Bregante (p. 167) expresses herself as follows: "Reticulated decoration is found in the middle of the Yocavil valley beside pieces which bear the symbol of the triangle with spiral and the stepped element and even in modern cemeteries like that of Chañar Yaco (see, for example, Lafone Quevedo, 1, Plate VII, Fig. a). But it is in the northern regions, in Salta and Jujuy, that the greatest number of specimens of this reticulation are found and where it enters into the composition of characteristic embellishments. On the Isla de Tilcara, in the Pucará de Tilcara, and in other localities, the archeological material which includes this design forms the most interesting type of pottery and is abundant enough to be classified."

PA /423 cont./

531 Some vessels from the Isla de Tilcara and the Pucará de
C Tilcara, /424/ as a matter of fact, have a reticulated band on the
531 rim, like our Chiriguano vessels. (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 45, p. 79,
171 and Bregante, Fig. 164, p. 166.)

PC In Chile we encounter bands, triangles, diamond shapes,
531 reticulated rectangles, and there again the unity of these different cultures in whatever has to do with pottery asserts itself. (Latcham, Figs. 25-28, P. 14, and Bregante, Figs. 232, P. 192.)

PA
C
531
171
415

Fig. 82. Vessel b comes from the Chiriguano village of Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). It offers an extraordinary resemblance to vessel a from Tilcara. (1/2 nat. size.)

000 Figs. 25-28, p. 14, and Bregante, Fig. 232, p. 192.)

C Checkerwork (Fig. 76). A cup I acquired in the Igüembé val-
531 ley is decorated in a brown and white checkered design. This is the
171 only example I know in Chiriguano country. In northwestern
PA Argentina this motif has a very wide distribution: it extends from the
[531] Quebrada de Humahuaca to San Juan province (Bregante, p. 196).
[171] It was common in Chile (Latcham, Fig. 7, p. 7; Fig. 41, p. 18;
PC Fig. 55, p. 22, etc.). In the post-Columbian period it was still
[531] in use among the Araucan of southern Mendoza (Métraux, 6, Fig. 12, p. 50).

Atacama SG5
Prehistoric Argentina SE3
Chané SF8
Diaguita SG6

/424 cont./

C
CE
531
171

Crenels, broken lines; Z-shaped lines (Plate XXXII, 154-155 and XXXIII, 200-206). While trying to define in the preceding pages the decorative style characteristic of the Chané of the Itiyuro and the Chiriguano of the region of the Franciscan missions, I mentioned single or multiple lines which, running around the belly of the vessel, form triangles, crenels, and Z's with elongated or linked strokes. At first sight these apparently capricious motifs seem to escape all comparison and one would almost be tempted to believe them autochthonous or constituting reminiscences of Guianan art. Nevertheless, their counterpart is found in the archeology of northwestern Argentina and, as expected, in that of the Quebrada de Humahuaca.

PA
[531]

CE
531
171
PA
531
SA
[114]

Debenedetti (2, Fig. 75, p. 132, and Fig. 78, p. 135) reproduces a goblet found on the Isla de Tilcara, which has on its lower part a band /Plates LIX and LX appear here/ /425/ composed of three parallel lines broken at right angles. Mr. Debenedetti rightly compares this decoration with that of Chané vessels, of which he shows an example he attributes erroneously to the Choroti. The same remark may be made about some engraved vessels from the Arroyo del Medio, which in some respects are similar to our Chiriguano vessels (Boman, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 207, III, p. 843).

C
171
531
D
[531]
PA
[531]

Much more striking yet is the resemblance between the Chiriguano yambui of this type and two vessels from the Diaguite region, one found at Molino del Puesto (Fuerte Quemado, Catamarca), and the other at Hualfin (Catamarca), both of which have been published by Bruch (2, p. 87, Fig. 88, and id., 2, Fig. 11, p. 8, and Fig. 27, p. 13). A puco from Llacta Mauca, province of Santiago del Estero, offers a similar design, to judge from a sketch by Mr. Duncan Wagner. There can be no doubt as to the Andean origin of this type of decoration.

A
[531]
[172]

Z-shaped motifs stand out again on a vessel from Tacna of the Chincha-Atacama period (Uhle, 4, Plate XXI, Fig. 1) and from San Felipe, Chile (Medina, Fig. 68).

Plate LIX

/Caption for above: plate on p. 246./

45
531

Plate LX

/Caption for above plate on p. 546./

: Méraux--Sas E-S (1979) 1980 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/Captions for Plates LIX and LX, pp. 544 and 545./

415
531

LIX Miniature Chiriguano vessels (yapepawi) (serve as containers). Prov.: 1, 3, and 4, Tumbía; 2 and 6, Ibopeytí; 5, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). Colors: red and black motifs on white background; 5, red background. (Nos. 1-3 = 1/2 approximately; 4 = 2/5; 5 = 2/5; 6 = about 1/2 nat. size.)

LX Miniature Chiriguano vessels (yapepawi). Prov.: 1, Ibopeytí; 2, Tiwinaiti (upper Pilcomayo); 3, Tintapaw; 4, Caipipendí; 5, Tumbia; 6, Tintapaw. Colors: red and black motifs on cream background, with the exception of No. 2, decorated with black motifs on reddish background. (Nos. 1 = 1/3; 2-6 = about 2/5 nat. size.)

C 531 1971

/473 cont./

The large triangles which run around the belly of the *ica* and *yanibú* from the mission region strongly resemble an analogous motif which covers the outside surface of vessels made by the Neuquen Araucan (See Martin, Plate XV, Fig. 7).

Eyebrow-shaped design (Plate XLIX, 4). A vessel from Saladillo (upper Pilcomayo) has as its only decorative motif a strange decoration in the shape of a stylized eyebrow which stands out in white against a red background and is situated on the neck. This design is made up of two parallel lines separated by dots. In the presence of this curious motif one cannot help thinking immediately of the human faces painted on the funerary urns of the Diaguita region. The facial organs are overhung by a gigantic superciliary arch which, starting from the tip of the nose, descends to the height of the ears. The manner in which this part of the head is drawn recalls strongly the figure we are concerned with here.

D [415] [531] [964]

Cross. The vessel of Plate LX, 7, is decorated on the belly with a series of crosses inscribed in diamonds. This sign constitutes a decorative motif of which the present-day Chiriguano make exceptional use. Like the majority of the motifs painted on their vases, this one has no particular significance. A calabash from the same region is also decorated with pyrographed hollow crosses (see Plate LXI, 1 /see p. 202/). We know the frequency of this ornamentation, symbolic or not, on the funerary urns of the Diaguite country, principally of the Santa Maria region (Catamarca), a frequency such that it warranted a book by Quiroga, some of the illustrations of which are interesting.

D [415] [531] [964]

The cross appears also on a Tafiel vessel of the Chiriba-Atacama period (Guevara, plate between pp. 46-47 and 50-51), on a calabash from Calama /476/ (Oyarzun, Fig. 10), on another from the Puna de Jujuy (Ambrosetti, 4, Fig. 70, p. 68, Vgl. LIV), and on a box from Mortuari (Boman, 2, Fig. 75, Plate XXVII), etc.

Representation of the human face. The human face is not reproduced on any of the vessels I collected. Nordenskiöld (cf. Fig. 56, p. 137) shows and describes a pot on whose rim a face was represented: the nose was in relief and the other organs painted on it. The similarity of this motif and the one decorating some pieces from the Andean region does not tend to be emphasized.

C [532]

[See P 922--A-61917]

/old text./

Sign of unknown significance. On the Markland vessel (Plate LII, 1) was painted a crescent-shaped sign having in its concave part two dashes perhaps representing feet. The subject is doubtless a stylized bird, a presumption all the more plausible because another vessel from the same locality and made by the same hand is decorated with animal figures (dogs and toads) (Plate LII, 1).

This mysterious sign is very similar to the one found on a pace from Tolomosa in the Tarija department (Boman, 3, Fig. 110, p. 117) and on some dishes from La Paya. These designs are also more or less stylized pictures of a bird. (Boman, 3, Vol. 1, Plate X, Fig. 78, and Ambrosetti, 6, Figs. 35-41, 70, 80-81.)

Zoomorphic representations. Animal figures are rare in Chiriquano pottery, but their occurrence only brings out the better the similarities of this art to that of the neighboring Andean region. The rows of yaks (pero del monte) on the vessel from the Aguarey are the counterpart of the toads on the Diaguita funerary urns and the La Paya birds. The dog on the vessel in the plate represents nearly identical with the bottom of a pace from Molino del Puente, Catamarca. (Bregh, 3, Fig. 70, p. 70.)

The comparisons we have made could doubtless be extended and many another relationship noted between the modern pottery of the Chiriquano and that of the populations which have today disappeared from the Bolivian altiplano and northwestern Argentina. To continue such an investigation would be superfluous, for there is no one acquainted with the art which formerly flourished in the Andean and Chiriquano regions who would hesitate to establish a relationship between the two and would not have the second derive from the first.

As one might logically expect, these similarities become more numerous and more striking in proportion as one leaves the south and advances toward the north into the Andean zone which runs parallel to the habitat of the Chiriquano and Chané. When [illegible] is methodically explored, models of the vessels which the [illegible] of the Chiriquano admired and copied will be found.

[See p. 231 -- Analog?]

Looking there, the study we have pursued brings us the establishment of a very important fact. The existence on the upper Pilcomayo of a pottery [illegible] closely related to that of the

Fig. 88. Chané vessel. Prov.: Toyomí (Aguaray, Salta Chaco). On the bulge: series of yaha (grave del monte) in blackish brown on white background. (1/3 nat. size.)

Cordeiro de Mamathuaca is an indication which proves in a sure way that the art of the lowlands inhabitants of these regions was identical to that of their neighbors, and perhaps racial brothers, of the Bolivian altiplano.

Apropos of the Chiriguano, I believe it is wrong to speak of Andean or Inca culture. The first of these terms is too vague and the second partially false. In this chapter I have tried to demonstrate that Chiriguano pottery exhibits close affinities with that of the civilizations which, by their numerous points of similarity, seem to have undergone a Chincha or Atacama influence and which preceded Inca culture.

000 /427 cont./
C 531 171 105 which preceded Inca culture. If one compares the present-day pottery of the Chiriguano with that of the Quicha /Quechua/ of Cuzco, certain analogies will appear, but they will be neither abundant nor conclusive enough to establish a direct filiation. Aryballuses are missing or rare, ornithomorphic dishes seldom found, etc.; on the contrary, we have seen how multiple and close the ties are between this pottery and that of the Chincha-Atacama period. Chiriguano pottery, in relation to that of Cuzco, is in a situation analogous to that of northwestern Argentina: on an Andean but original base, influences from Cuzco have been superposed. This Inca action on the Chicha is attested to even today by /428/ the presence among the Chiriguano of footed vessels of the purest Inca type and apodal ones of the same origin. Arising from the same influence, one may add certain decorative motifs, with which I have already dealt.

A [531] [171] [415] Arawak and Amazonian tradition is scarcely represented, except by footed bowls (compoteras), vessels with a ribbed belly, those with a body in the shape of a truncated cone and a subspherical belly, and perhaps by some motifs (T-shaped figures, Plate XXXVIII, 1).

The conclusion of this chapter will be: there exists today and for some years to come a civilization which, closely related to that of the Chicha, continues an art earlier than that of the Inca but influenced by them. May this fact make archeologists cautious!

Chapter VII

Calabashes

C 531 462 [323] The second art in which the Chiriguano excel is pyrography and engraving on calabashes. When pottery-making was an essentially feminine activity, pyrography was the province of the men. Nordenskiöld (9, pp. 233-236) thinks, completely wrongly it seems to me, that pyrography is of Andean origin. He advances in support of this opinion the advantages that knowledge of metal offers to this art. Nevertheless, the populations of the

C 114 531 171 174

000

1: Métraux--251 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guiana SR1
Guato SP15

C
Ga
GO
531
171

/428 cont./ Nevertheless, the populations of the upper Xingú where Andean influence certainly was never felt have pyrographed calabashes, as do the Guató /Guato/ of the upper Paraguay. Pyrography is equally in use among the Indians of Guiana, on whom any influence by Inca civilization is very problematical. The distribution of pyrography in itself demonstrates that there is no need at all of possessing metal objects in order to practice this technique.

C
531
171

If one compares the motifs which decorate the calabashes I collected in the Chaco with those exhibited by the pyrographed calabashes found in northwestern Argentina, one is struck by the similarity of their style and the numerous analogies of detail they have in common. Thus, the Maltese cross which decorates a calabash from Jujuy (Ambrosetti, 4, p. 68, Fig. 70, Vol. LIV) is found again identically on the calabashes of Plates LXI, 1; LXII, 1; and the volutes of a maté from Tastil (Boman, 2, Vol. 1, Fig. 84 a) have their counterpart in the hooks incised on the specimen of Plate LXI, 2. On the fragment of a calabash discovered in the same region (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XXXII, Fig. 84) and on another specimen from La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 288, p. 524), we have the prototype of the checkerwork which so often embellishes /Plates LXI-LXXI appear here/ /429/ Chiriguano calabashes (Plate LXI, 1 a, and Plate LXIV, 2). The reticulated bands which frame the decoration of one of the Calama calabashes (Boman, 2, Vol. II, Plate LXXV, Fig. 176 b) are frequently incised on those of the Chiriguano (Plate LXVI, 1 and 4; Plate LXIX, 3, etc., for example), just like the rows of triangles on a blackened field which appear on some calabashes from the Puna de Jujuy (Ambrosetti, 4, Figs. 61-63, pp. 65-66; Figs. 70-71, pp. 58-69, Vol. LIV) and on the fragment from La Paya already mentioned. The zigzag line which stands out in white on the reticulated background of one of the Calama calabashes

[TEXT Continues on p. 265]

I: Metraux 252 E-5 (1929) 1936 SF10 Chinguano SF10

Plate LXI

415
531

1a

1b

2

/See p.263 for caption./

S
531
415

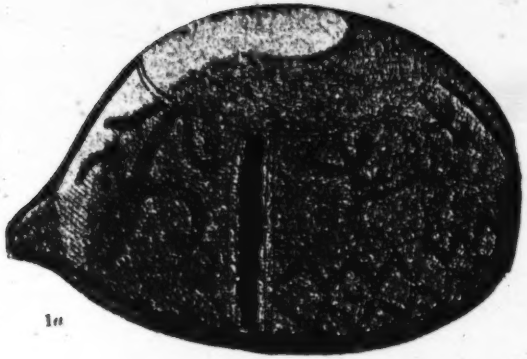
P
531
415

/See p. 263 for caption./

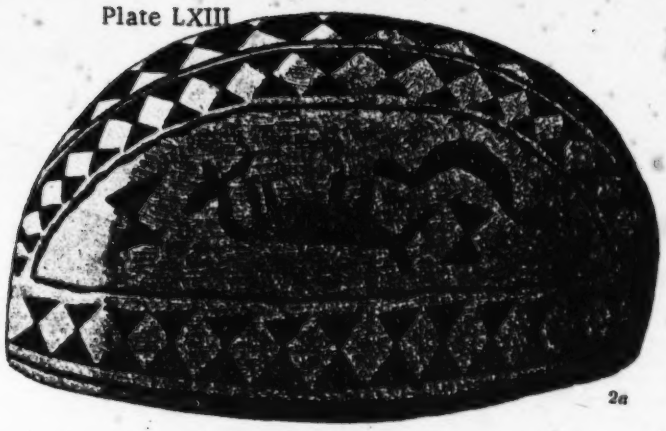
1: Mètraux--253 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Diaguita SG6

415
531

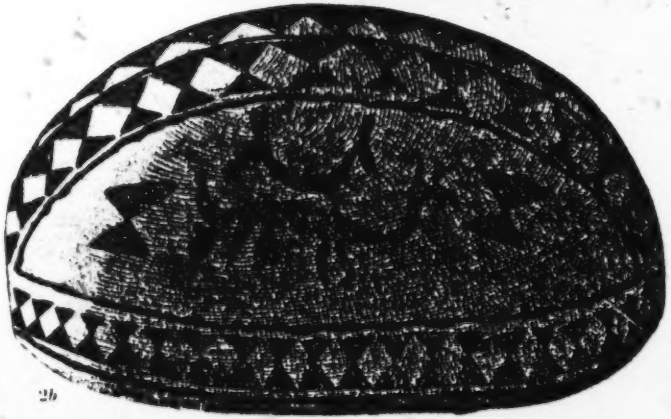
Plate LXIII



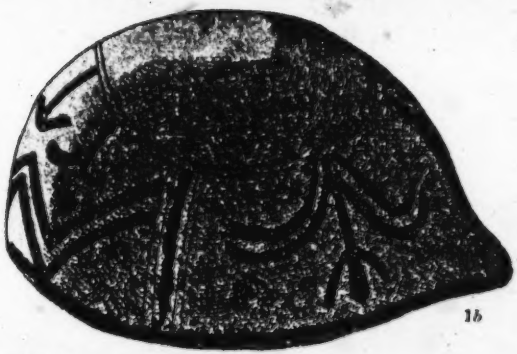
1a



2a



2b



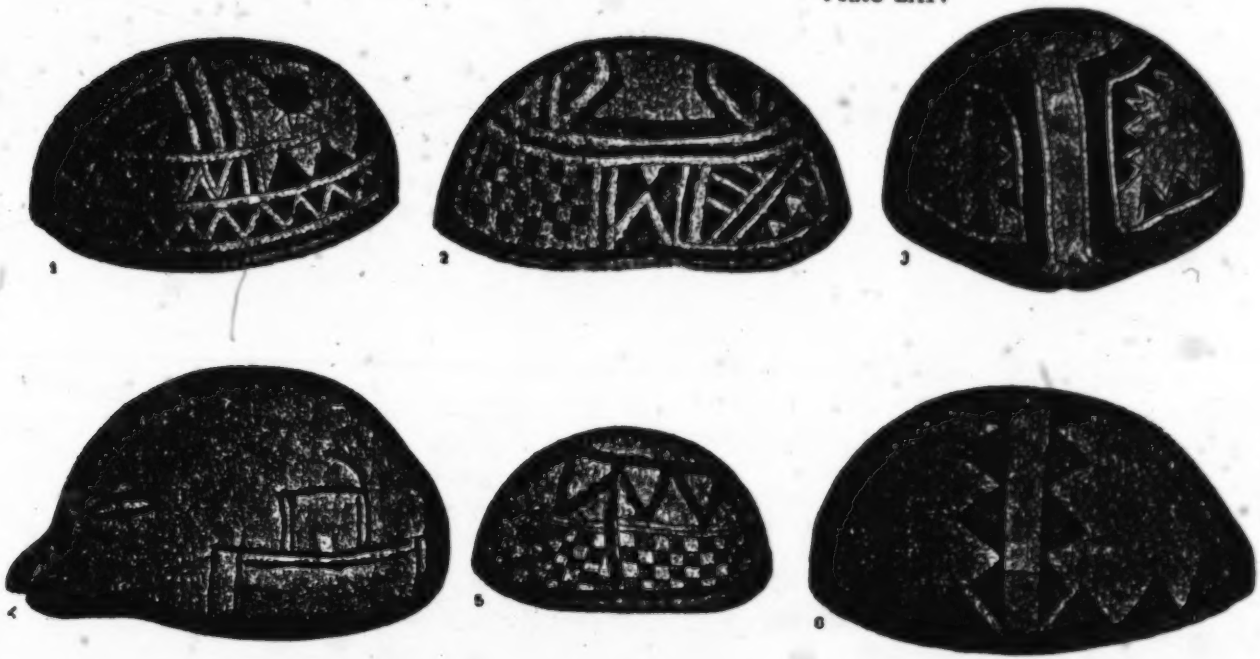
1b

/See p. 263 for caption./

415
531

[422]

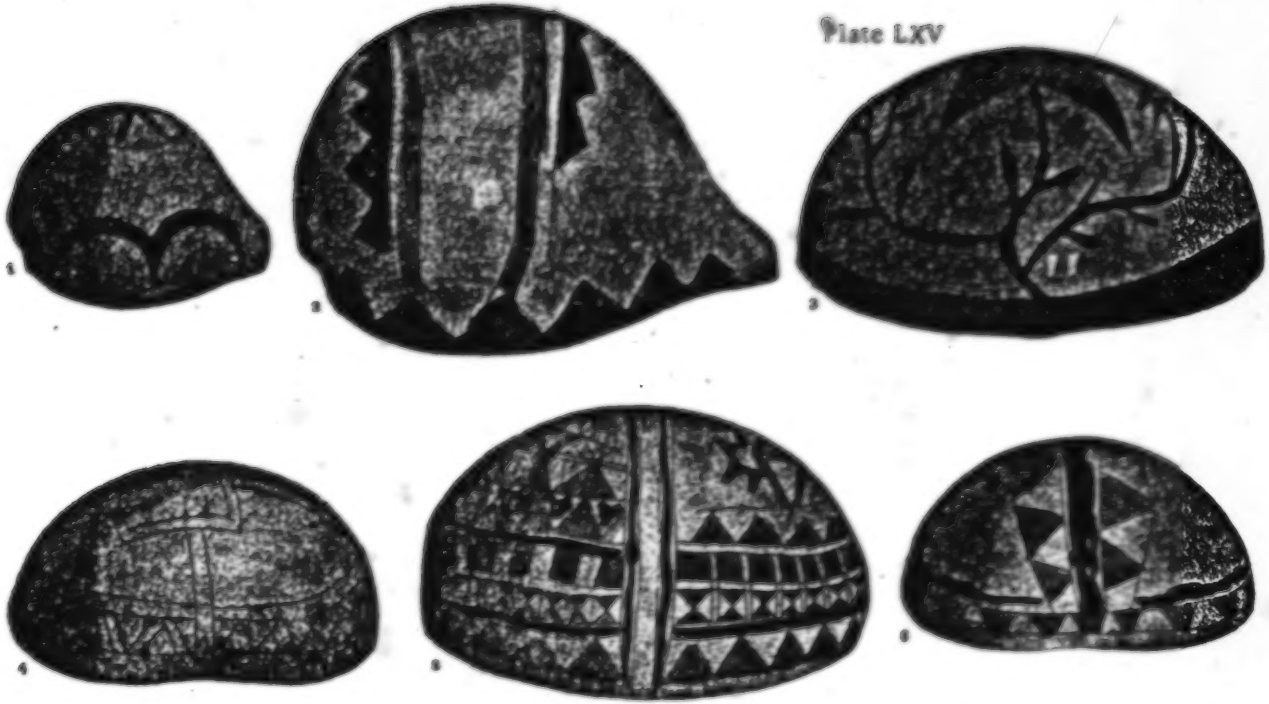
Plate LXIV



/See p. 263 for caption./

HIS
531

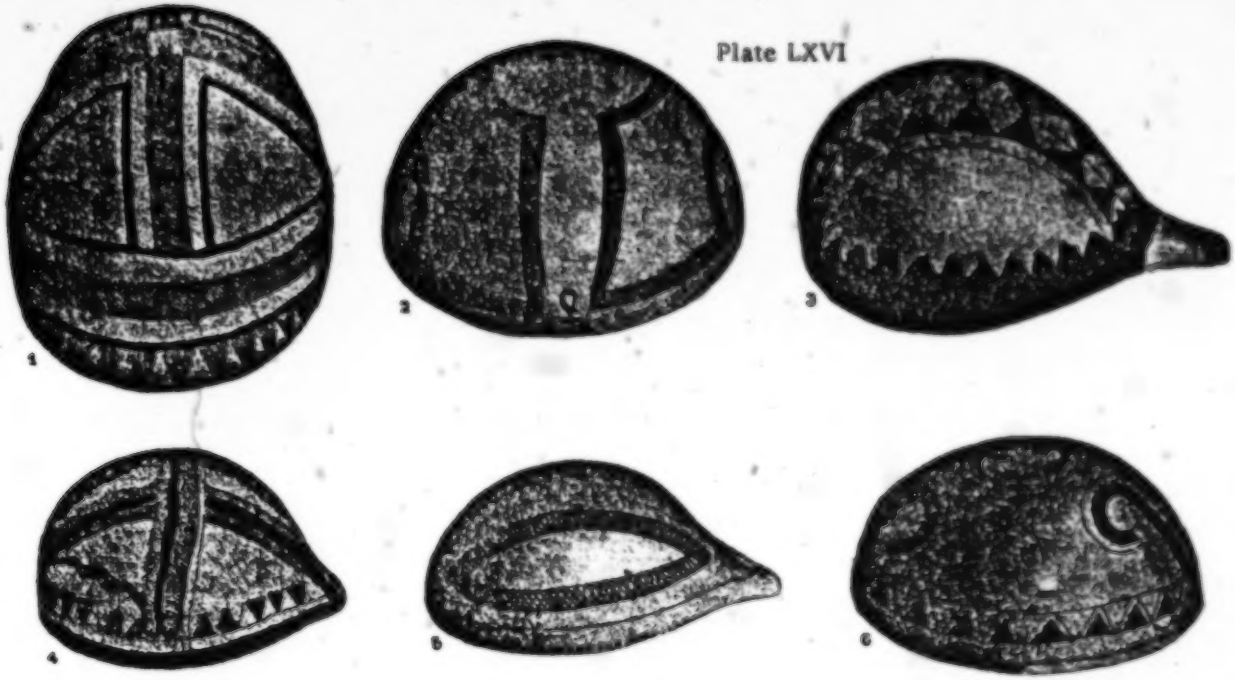
Plate LXV



/See p. 263 for caption./

415
531

Plate LXVI



/See p. 263 for caption./

415
531

Plate LXVII

/See p. 264 for caption./

1551
475

Plate LXVIII

/See p.204 for caption./

/See p. 316 for caption./

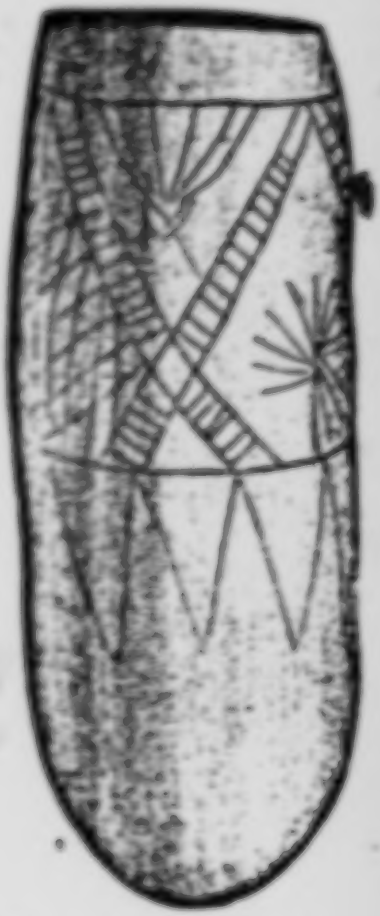
415
531

Plate LXX

/See p.[illegible] for caption./

416
531

Plate LXXI



/See p. 7[illegible] for caption./

1: Métraux--263 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Diaguita SG6

/Captions for Plates LXI-LXXI, pp. 252-262./

C
415
531

LXI Pyrographed and incised calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1a and b, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2, Ivu. (Nos. 1 = 1/3 nat. size; 2 = 1/2.5 nat. size.)

D
[415]
[531]

LXII Engraved and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano and Diaguite. Prov.: 1 a and b, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2 a and b, Isirié (upper Pilcomayo); 3 a and b, calabash found in a funerary chamber (boveda) of the ancient Diaguite in "La Quebrada" (Valle del Cajón, Catamarca Province). This calabash was beside an adult skeleton. (Nos. 1 a = 1/2; 2 a and 3 a = 2/3 nat. size±.)

LXIII Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano. Nos. 1 (a and b) and 2 (a and b) come from the Macharetí mission. Engraved motifs: 1, human personage and birds; 2 a, dog (?); 2 b, llama. (1/2 nat. size±.)

C
[422]

LXIV Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1, Masaví (Igüembé Valley); 2, Achua (upper Pilcomayo); 3, Carurutí; 4, Macharetí; 5, Tiwiraití; 6, Caipipendí. Remark: Note the mark of ownership on Calabash 4. (Nos. 1 and 3 = 1/2; 2 and 4-6, 1/3 nat. size±.)

LXV Incised, pyrographed, and painted calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1, Tígüipa; 2 and 6, Macharetí; 3, Ivu; 4, Saladito; 5, Tiwiraití (upper Pilcomayo). Remark: Calabash No. 3 is painted with roucou. (About 1/2 nat. size.)

LXVI Incised, pyrographed, and painted calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1, Santa Rosa; 2, Mangarati; 3 and 6, Caipipendí; 4, Masaví; 5, Carurutí. Remark: All the lower part of 3 is painted with roucou. (1/2 nat. size.)

415
531 /Captions for Plates LXI-LXXI, pp. 252-262 cont./

LXVII Incised, pyrographed, and painted calabashes. Prov.: 1, Caratindi (Igüembé); 2 and 6, Macharetí; 3, Tiwiraiti; 4, Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo); 5, Caipipendí. Remarks: On No. 3, more or less deformed numbers. Calabash No. 4 is painted, pyrographed, and incised. (Nos. 1-5 and 5 /sic/ = 1/2; 4-5 /sic/ = 1/5 approximate nat. size.)

LXVIII Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Prov.: 1, Ñawirenda; 2 a and b, Caratindi (Igüembé Valley); 3 a and b, Yumbía; 4, Ibopeytí. Remark: On No. 3 a and b a very stylized bird has been represented. (Nos. 1-3 = 1/2; 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

LXIX Pyrographed and incised calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1 and 3, Caipipendí; 2 and 4, Macharetí; 5, Tiwiraiti (upper Pilcomayo); 6, Ñawirenda (upper Pilcomayo). Remarks: Calabash No. 1 is decorated with a series of engraved numbers going from 1 to 10; Calabash No. 6 with motifs clearly European in inspiration. (Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 6 = 1/2; 2 and 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

[801]
[199]

LXX Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1 and 4, Tarairi; 2, Macharetí; 3, Caipipendí. (Nos. 1 and 2 = 1/3; 3 = 1/2; 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

LXXI Painted, incised, and pyrographed calabashes. Prov.: 1, Ivu; 2, Igüembé; 3 and 4, Caipipendí. (Nos. 1-3 = 1/2; 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

C /429 cont./
531 (Boman, 2, Vol. II, Plate LXXV, Fig. 186 c) reappears nearly
171 identical on the pretty calabash of Plate LXII, 2.

C I can give no better argument in favor of the close analogy
D between the calabashes of the Andean region and those of the
531 modern Chiriguano than by publishing the calabash of Plate LXII,
171 3 a and b, found in Diaguite territory in Catamarca province ("La Quebrada," Valle del Cajón). Its decoration is composed of incised and finely reticulated bands on a blackened background. The hooks which leave from the circle

Fig. 84. Incised and pyrographed calabash. Prov.: Caratindi (Igüembé Valley). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

engraved on the top of the calabash and the sides of the latter strangely recall analogous motifs we have seen on Chiriguano specimens.

C The spiral, which seems to have been a motif especially
531 dear to the pyrographers of northwestern Argentina and the Atacama
171 Desert, does not occur on any of the specimens in my collections, if one does not want to consider as rudiments of spirals or as degenerated spirals the hooks we see on some Chiriguano calabashes (Plate LXI, 2). It is interesting to ascertain that the spiral and the voluted triangle of Andean calabashes are typologically closely related to analogous motifs which the Chiriguano women of the upper Pilcomayo paint on their vessels. If these designs have been better preserved in pottery than in pyrography, it is doubtless due to the fact that the first art has remained closer to its origins. The
C women, who have the monopoly of it, are more conservative
[323] than the men, who decorate the calabashes.
[462]

/429 cont./

531 171 On almost all the calabashes in my collection, pyrographed designs alternate with incised motifs. Perhaps it is the same with the calabashes of the Andean region. Judging from the ex-
[114] cellent photographs which Boman (2, Vol. II, Plate LXXVI) gives us of them, and from /430/ the specimen from the Calchaquí valley which I am publishing here, this scholar erroneously considers them as having been entirely pyrographed. When a Chiriguano incises a design with a knife on a calabash, he is always careful to fill the engraved lines with ashes to make them stand out. At first sight this process may be confused with true pyrography.

415 531

a b

Fig. 85. a and b. Engraved calabash. Only the rim has been lightly pyrographed. On one side (a) is seen a feline animal (jaguar or puma), on the other (b) a fox (?) and a bird. Prov.: Masaví (Igüembé Valley). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

531 A single glance at Plates LXI-LXXI allows one to realize that pyrography and engraving on calabashes do not obey such rigid stylistic rules as pottery. These calabashes differ very much, and there are scarcely any motifs that seem to be preferred to others. To what is this diversity due? I believe it artificial; and I am convinced that formerly this art followed precise norms, in a word, that in times past there was a true style of pyrography and engraving on wood. How would one explain otherwise that precisely the most beautiful pieces in my collection are at the same time the oldest and the most similar to the Andean prototypes (Plate LXI, 1 and 2; LXII, 1 and 2; LXIV, 2; LXVIII, 2 and 3, etc.)? Let us not forget that

177 /430 cont./ Let us not forget that
531 pyrography is a masculine activity and that men are more
[462] open than women to every innovation. Moreover, for the
[167] most part they have gone to Argentina, and from there, with a new turn of mind, they brought back models and inspirations foreign to their ancient tradition. This European influence is patent in many cases; thus, the calabash of Plate LXVII, 3, and the one of Plate LXIX, 1, are decorated with Arabic numbers. The calabashes of Plates LXIV, 1, LXV, 1 and 5, and LXIX, 5, are decorated with stylized flowers or stars which are not Indian at all. The influence of the white men and their bad taste is evident in the motifs painted in roucou which decorate the calabash of Plate LXV, 3.

531 Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic representations are commoner on calabashes than on pottery. A rough drawing of a man greatly schematized /43[illegible] is represented on the calabash of Plate LXIII, 1 a and b. On the calabash of Plate LXIII, 2 a, dogs have been engraved and birds on those of Plates LXIII, 1, LXVIII, 3 a and b, LXIX, 2, and LXXI, 3. A llama was represented in very expressive fashion on calabash No. 2 b on Plate LXIII; and on the calabash of Fig. 85 a and b one recognizes a horse and a feline animal, a puma or jaguar. Three fish and a bird appear on the specimen of Plate LXVII, 2.

531 The Indians of the Ivu mission and the ones from
322 the Caipipendí valley paint their calabashes with roucou.
386 This color is very difficult to rub off and does not spread beyond the periphery of the colored designs. /Fig. 86 appears here. To obtain this result, the Chiriguano begin

C /431 cont./
531 by taking off the epidermis which covers it, except at the places
322 which are to remain uncolored. Then they smear its exterior
386 surface with roucou and scrape the tegument where they have saved it. The figures then stand out in red against a yellowish background. An analogous process is in use among the Pauserna (Nordenskiöld 5, p. 344). The motifs decorating most of the

C
Ce
415
531

Fig. 86. a, b, and c. Miniature calabashes, "liqueur glasses" and children's toys. Chiriguano and Chané. Prov.: a, Tuyunti, near Aguaray (Salta Chaco); b, Ñawirenda (upper Pilcomayo); c, id. (About 1/2 nat. size.)

C
531 The motifs decorating most of the
177 painted calabashes I collected in Ivu are unfortunately very much influenced by European models, and beside very pretty designs one finds others of the most distressing banality.

/431 cont./

Chapter VIII

Weaving

286 Weaving is a very widespread industry among the Chiriguano.
[177] Unfortunately, at the present time its products are commonplace and, since they have been using aniline dyes (1), often very ugly.

386
824

1. The Chiriguano used to extract blue dye from a plant they call kaa-howi, that is to say, "blue grass." They also used to grow it. In order to color their tiru (large sleeveless bag slipped on over the tipoy, of the same shape but less ample), they dipped them into a decoction of this grass. Sometimes also they used to add coloring woods, such as palo soto or quebracho, to this bouillon. The leaves of a tree which easily reaches a height of eight to ten meters, the iwira kaa-howi, also furnish a blue dye, but for that they must be young and the tree must be in bloom.

With piari, black resin which exudes from the trunk of the algarroba (Prosopis), Chiriguano women blacken the tiru which they had dyed blue. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc., pp. 16-17 and 173.)

286
[291]
[177]
Most of their ponchos are copied from those of the Bolivian half-breeds.

/432/ The type of loom prevalent among the Chiriguano is the one which has been given the name Arawak loom. Plate LXXII 2/1 gives an idea of it. Two forked sticks are set in the ground. They support two /Fig. 87 appears here/ parallel crossbars, one of which, the lower one, is a pestle of hard and heavy wood. The warp threads are rolled around them, but at each circuit turn back on themselves after going over a /433/ small cord stretched parallel to the ground. Once the cloth is finished, this string is removed, and in an instant the piece of cloth, which until then formed an endless band, opens up (Fig. 91). 2/1

2/1 [See p. 294--Analyst]
2/1 [See p. 295--Analyst]

/433 cont./

283
291
516
142

Fig. 87. Chiriguano woman getting ready to spin. Cururutí. (Photo. A. M.)

286 The reed of our European looms is replaced here by an /Fig. 88 appears here/ interlacing of threads which grasp one thread of the warp, then the other, alternately.

286 413 The woof is passed through with the help of a shuttle whose motion back and forth is facilitated by a weaver's sword (iwirapé) which separates the warp threads. This latter instrument is used to tighten the cloth each time the woof has passed through. A [237] mammalian metatarsal bone sharpened to a point (Fig. 92) or a small pointed or spindle-shaped stick (Figs. 93 and 94) permits

/433 cont./

283
859
291
516
342

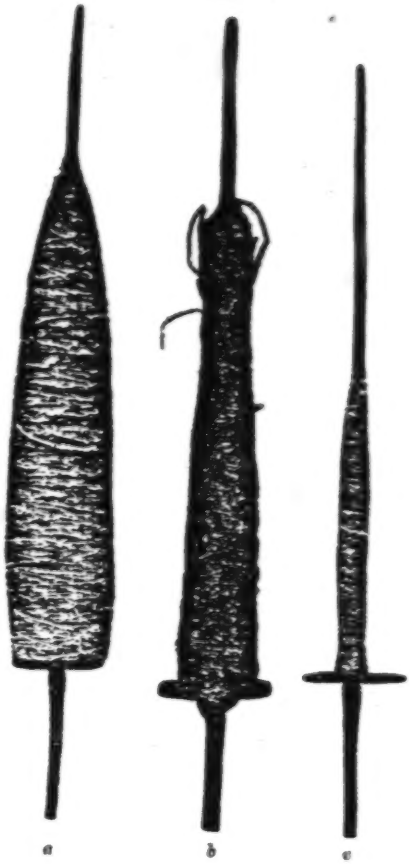
Fig. 88. Chiriguano girls spinning. Masaví (Igüembé Valley). (Photo. A. M.)

286
413

moving the front /434/ warp threads back each time they have been crossed with the help of the reed. The woman who has just passed the woof through grasps this dagger firmly and with a sharp blow raises the threads of the warp after pulling on the reed. Difficult jobs, probably the execution of some /Fig. 89 appears here/ complicated figures, are accomplished with a wooden needle, which unfortunately I never saw used.

/434 cont./

283
413



[171]
[184]

Fig. 89. a, b, c. Chiriguano spindles of the bakaïri /Bacairi/ type. Prov.: a, Tasiti; b, Tintapaw; c, Tasiti (upper Pilcomayo). These spindles are provided with a groove in the upper part which allows the thread to be fastened. The whorls of a and b are of terra cotta, that of c of wood. (1/4 nat. size.)

/434 cont./

286 171 The Chiriguano have their loom in common with many tribes of tropical America, and they doubtless were already acquainted with it in Paraguay, at least in a more rudimentary form. In some Chiriguano villages looms of the Inca or Quichua /Quechua/ type, that is to say, horizontal ones, can be seen. The warp is then fastened to a small cord along a piece of wood and the cloth is rolled around as it is produced.

286 294 Headbands and belts are woven with looms of a type similar to the one just described. The warp threads are fastened to a loop of cotton attached to a hut post. As the fabric is made it is rolled around two small sticks or two ears of corn attached to the lower end of the warp (for this type of loom, see Nordenskiöld, 10, Fig. 4, p. 175).

291 30 I am reproducing in Fig. 95 a tsumbi headband. These ornaments have now become very rare, and only a few old men still wear them. Our specimen is dyed with natural colors.

291 [178] Every Indian woman who lives outside the influence of the missions still wears the tipoy, that is, a kind of long sheath which they fasten on the shoulder nowadays with a safety pin and formerly [286] /Plate LXXII appears here/ /435/ with a thorn. In olden times these tipoy were woven by the Indian women on looms of the Arawak type. They were of cotton and dyed blue-black. /Fig. [439] 90 appears here./ Today it is almost impossible to find a woman whose tipoy is not made of chamalote, a kind of cheap cotton cloth which the Syrians and half-breeds sell at a high price to our Indians. In the Caipipendí valley /Fig. 91 appears here/ I met two old women who still kept the tipoy of olden times. They would not [126] give it up to me for any price. At Carurutí, an old fellow desirous of striking a good bargain sold me his wife's at a very /436/ high price in order to buy brandy for himself. It was very necessary to celebrate Easter fittingly.

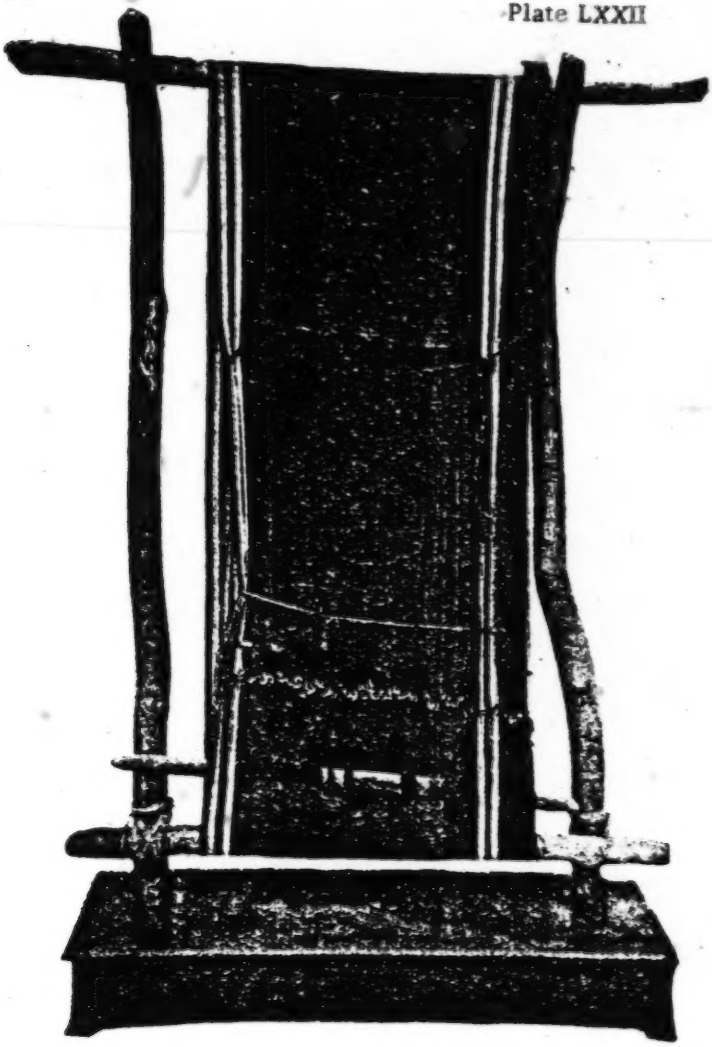
[178] The shirts (tiru-kumbaè) which the men formerly sported exist no more except in the memory of the old men.

[See p. 278--Analyst]

1: Métraux--274 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

286

Plate LXXII



Chiriguano loom of the type called "Arawak." Prov.: Ivu.
(1/14 nat. size.)

353
283
413

Fig. 90. Drawing indicating how the spindles are arranged inside a Chiriguano hut. They are threaded into the holes made along a bamboo which is hung against the walls of the habitation. (1/9 nat. size.)

286

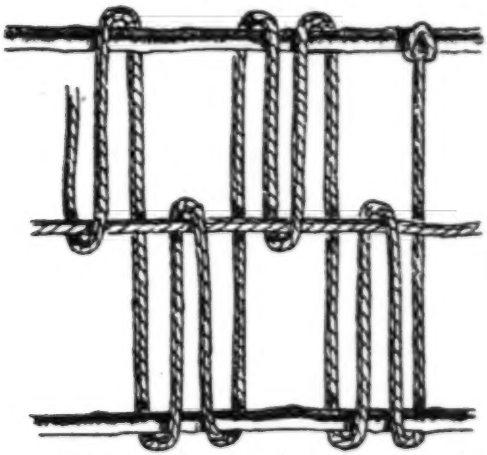


Fig. 91. Diagram indicating how the warp threads are arranged on a Chiriguano loom of the "Arawak type" (from Nordenskiöld).

C /436 cont./
286
531
177
000

Modern Chiriguano fabrics show almost no originality. They are generally plain, and, if they present some linear motifs, these are servilely copied from models coming from the Andean region. The Quichua /Quechua/ fabrics, prototypes of those of

C
286
413

C
[237]
←

Fig. 92. Metatarsal bone of a mammal, carved in the shape of a dagger, which the Chiriguano women utilize to cross and then tighten the warp threads. Prov.: Ivu. (1/2 nat. size.)

Figs. 93-94. Awls (kiruna) for crossing and then tightening the warp threads. Prov.: Salado Grande. (2/5 nat. size.)

M.Q.
286
531

The Quichua /Quechua/ fabrics, prototypes of those of the Chiriguano, are nevertheless of better quality and greater richness of ornamentation. In addition to purely geometric designs they are often decorated with small figures representing animals or human beings.

Tupi-Guarani SL6
Tupinamba SC9
Guarani SMC
Chané SF8

/436 cont./

880 animals or human beings. There is nothing like that among the
G Chiriguano. The simplicity /437/ of their fabrics forms a striking
286 contrast with the richness and variety of the decoration of their
531 pottery. Their inferiority in this respect is far from corresponding
191 to the skillfulness which is their worst in all their activities. It is
G enough to see the admirable pieces of work executed by little
286 Chiriguano girls in the missions to realize what they would have
179 been capable of if historic traditions had not held them away
857 from this art. Their distant Tupi-Guarani ancestors were
FG acquainted with only rudimentary forms of weaving, and it can
286 be asserted that /Fig. 95 appears here/ this industry remained
174 foreign to all the Tupi tribes which did not undergo the influence
T of a nation more civilized than they. The Tupinamba of the
286 Brazilian coast apparently practiced only the double-thread
174 technique (Doppelfadentechnick) by means of which they used
G to make their hammocks. The ancient chroniclers note the use
286 of the tipoy among the ancient Guarani of Paraguay, which is an
[175] indication of the existence of weaving among that subdivision
[291] of the Tupi family. Their present-day descendants, the Kaingua
/Caingua/, could pass for good weavers to judge by the fineness
G of the several fabrics which have been collected among them.
[291] These are for the most part wide belts which they pass between
their legs and knot around their loins. In reality, weaving is in
its beginnings among them. /438/ as is shown by their loom. It
is only a simple frame around which the warp threads are coiled.
The woof is passed through, thread after thread, as in darning.

No doubt it was the Chané who taught the Chiriguano to weave,
E and as they had probably not reached a /Fig. 96 appears here/
286 very high level in this art, they could only transmit to their
177 successors and suzerains, the Chiriguan, a still little-developed
technique, which the latter have scarcely improved on.

/439 cont./

323 The contrast between a highly evolved pottery and a still
292 rudimentary art of weaving is characteristic of the Indians
296 of the tropical and subtropical regions of South America, at
191 least for those who can pass for being relatively civilized,
such as the Arawak and the Karib /Carib/.

291
301

Fig. 95. Headband (tumbi). Prov.: Tumbía. (1/5 nat. size.)

291

Fig. 96. Knitted wool cap (enkairu). Prov.: Ñawirenda. This headdress is a unique piece and it may not be Chiriguano. (1/3 nat. size.)

[114]

Ix Métraux--280 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF11
Chaco SF5
Guarayo SF11

/430/

Chapter IX

Basketry and Its Techniques

1. General Considerations

Basketry is far from being as abundantly represented among the Chiriguano and the Chaco as among the Indian tribes of the Amazon basin or the Guianas. The secondary role it plays in their industry is due to the nature of the soil where they live and the climate they enjoy. Palm trees with pinnate leaves are lacking, to my knowledge at least, over the whole extent of their territory: as for the ones whose leaves open like fans, if they are numerous in certain places, their occurrence is far from being uniform. The palms which the Chiriguano Indians call karandaí (Copernicia australis) form veritable groves here and there, whereas over vast regions they are lacking or appear only sparsely. I saw a considerable number of them between San Luis and the Saladito River, and I have crossed some large palm groves between Tacuiba and Villamontes, on the Pilcomayo, and south of the Parapití River, going from Cuevo to Pipí. I noted, moreover, that the distribution of the karandaí coincided with that of a certain type of basketry (twilled work /named in English/), for which the Indians use these leaves.

Fig. 97. Back basket used by the Guaraní Indians for transporting heavy loads (from Nordenskiöld).

Nordenskiöld (10, p. 169) recounts an anecdote which illustrates well the influence the environment exerts on this industry. At the time of one of his trips into the Chaco, the scholar was accompanied by several Guaraní Indians, who followed him as far as Chiriguano country. The Guaraní customarily load their baggage and the products of their fields into back baskets of a special type (see Fig. 97) which have a wide distribution in tropical America, from the Guianas to Paraguay (Nordenskiöld 13, p. 191 and MAP 21).

/4.29 cont./

p. 171 and Map 71). Their baskets being of bad shape, the Guarayú wanted to make some new ones and were very annoyed not to find in the region into which they had come the palm trees with pinnate leaves which they were in the habit of using for this purpose. Now, Guarayú and Chiriguano are brothers in race and language and emigrated at the same period from Paraguay to settle in the vicinity of the Andes. When leaving their country of origin, both were acquainted with this type of basket used by their ancestors, the Guarani, the Tupinambá of the Brazilian coast, /441/ and still favored among their first cousins from Paraguay, the Kaingué (Métraux, 3, p. 208). The disappearance of this cultural element among the Chiriguano is due solely to the lack of appropriate raw materials.

In order to make up for the absence of back baskets, indispensable to a farming people /Fig. 99 appears here/ the Chiriguano borrowed from their neighbors in the Chaco, either the Matacco or the Chorotí, the carrying nets (in Chiriguano *aliquiña*) whose use is so widespread among the latter and is so characteristic of their civilization. Carrying nets today are in general use among the Chiriguano, and in every village each family has at /Fig. 99 appears here/ least one (Figs. 99 and 98). In spite of this wide diffusion, the Chiriguano *aliquiña* betrays its origin by its form and technique (see Figs. 100 and 101 /see pp. 202 -203/), which are both found in the tribes we have just enumerated (Nordenskiöld, 3, p. 206, Technique I). Although considerably more advanced on the way to civilization than the semi-nomadic tribes of the Chaco, the Chiriguano do not by any means equal them /441/ in the art of making nets. The *aliquiña* I collected cannot be compared with the deep bags which the Matacco or the Chorotí, for example, make for the same purpose. In the village of Mariavení, where Tsika live with Chiriguano, it is the former who furnish the latter with the /Fig. 101 appears here/ carrying nets they need (see Fig. 99 /see p. 202/) (1).

1. Nordenskiöld (11, p. 163, Fig. 49 A) gives the detail of the technique of a Chiriguano carrying net. This technique is not found on any

[over (cont. note) on p. 185]

le bélouse--DOT 8-6 (1970) 1990 NFH Chirigueno 6710

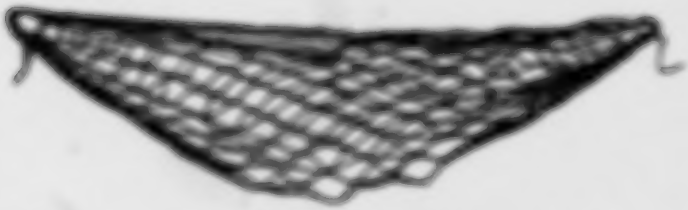


Fig. 98. Carrying net (ofayeka) of the Chirigueno Indians. It is held on the forehead by a strap which is not drawn in the photograph. Corunaĉ. (About 1/10 nat. size.)

Fig. 99. Tuba carrying net used by the Chirigueno Indians of the Nicaraveŭ mission. (About 1/10 nat. size.)

/941 cont./

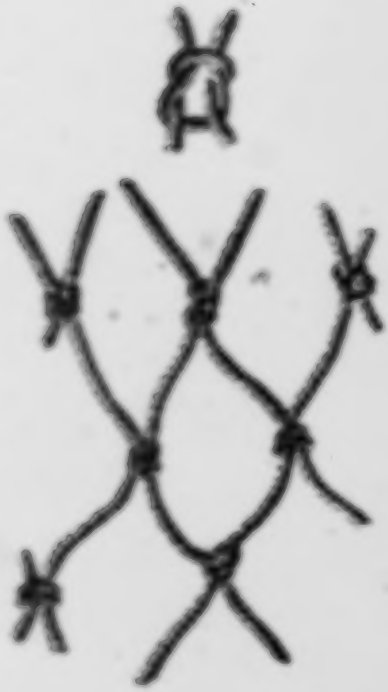


Fig. 100. Technique of the net of Fig. 98 (Technique I, according to Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 304).

/No. 1 cont./ of the *ellapoke* I brought back from the Chaco. I suppose it is a question of a carrying net which the Chiriguano might have bought from Chaveri, who, with the *Ashluslay* and the Matako, seem to be the only ones to use this technique. The technique we show in Fig. 101 is known to the Ashluslay, the Chaveri, and the Tapiete. Nordenskiöld (9, p. 304) does not mention it among the Toba, where it nevertheless exists, as the *ellapoke* of Fig. 99 testifies.

/441 cont./

174 Everything thus leaves us to suppose that, in the early period of
177 their settling on the western confines of the Bolivian Chaco, the
286 Chiriguano procured by barter the carrying nets intended to re-
482 place the back baskets they had used until then. It was only later
[439] that they learned to make them themselves, adopting only the simplest and easiest of techniques besides. Thanks to this example we can catch alive the causes which have motivated the adoption of a new cultural element after the disappearance of another which rendered the same services. For that, two factors have come into play, the physical environment and the ethnic one. There was adaptation and borrowing at the same time. This fact also proves that a relatively civilized people never hesitates to appropriate the inventions of more barbaric tribes when they find some advantage in it.

285 The present poverty of the basketwork industry among the
17 Chiriguano does not imply that it is insignificant and worthless. Perhaps before the decline of this nation it was more widely represented in each village. I was able to observe that the disappearance of basketwork /442/ went along with the influence of the white men. But, for the reasons I have given above, I do not believe that at any time there could have been found among the Chiriguano that abundance of objects made of basketwork which travelers noted among the Indians of Guiana or the Amazon basin. Formerly, when the ancestors of the Chiriguano were still living in Paraguay and Brazil, they possessed basketwork identical with that of the tribes inhabiting the regions I have alluded to. Proof of it is furnished by the survival among the modern Chiriguano of various types of baskets, fire fans, and sieves, of which we find /Fig. 101 appears here/ the exact equivalent only in Guiana and the Amazon basin. As we shall ascertain in the course of this study, the identity between these two ethnic areas is perfect from this point of view. The only difficulty is to know whether in this case it is a matter of the remains of an industry peculiar to the Chané Indians of Arawak origin, whose influence upon the Chiriguano was considerable, or whether this basketwork only continues that of the ancient Guarani emigrants. In my opinion
ooo the question does not need to be asked. The basketwork of the

C /442 cont./ The basketwork of the
285 ancient Guarani or Tupinamba did not differ essentially in tech-
171 nique, form, or processes of ornamentation from the basketwork
174 of the north of southern America (Métraux, 2, pp. 249-255). It must have offered more than one point of similarity with that of the Chané, and we must consider the modern basketwork of the Chiriguano the heir of the basketwork common to these two /443/ nations. Let us notice in passing that the basketwork of the populations of tropical America has a certain unity. Nevertheless,

C
286

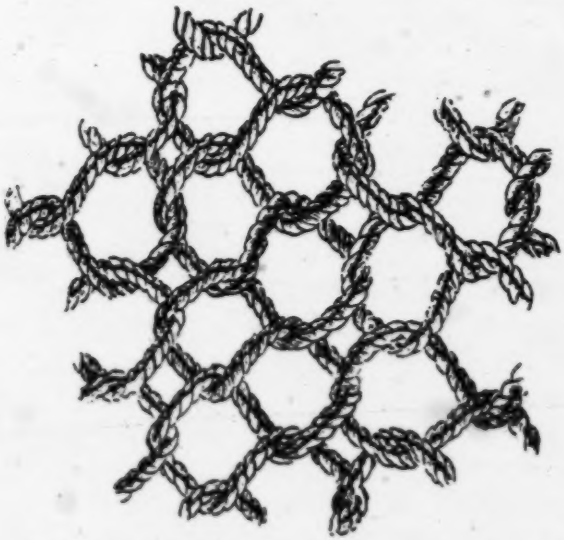


Fig. 101. Technique of the net of Fig. 99 (Technique V, according to Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208).

C it was in the Guianas that it reached perfection.
285 After their great migration to the foot of the Andes, the
171 Chiriguano seem to have adopted basketwork of a new technique,
174 which doubtless was unknown to their ancestors and racial brothers in Paraguay and Brazil. This technique is characteristic of all the baskets I am putting under the heading of wicker work
Ce /named in English/ in the following pages. As we shall see,
[285] this technique also exists in the Guianas, and it is possible that
[171] it was brought into the Bolivian Chaco by the Arawak nation
[174] of the Chané. The center of dispersion of the Arawak must be

Ce 101 174 /443 cont./ the center of dispersion of the Arawak must be placed to the north of the Amazon, and before the Chiriguano invasion the Arawak tribe of the Chané was established over the whole extent of the territory now occupied by the former.

C 285 171 Beside this technique another exists, known to the Chiriguano since time immemorial and well before their great migration. The English-language ethnographers give it the name of twilled work. No other type of basketwork is so widespread. This technique is preponderant in all of tropical America from the Antilles to Paraguay and in the south stops at the Chaco. The Chiriguano are the only Indians of the Chaco among whom twilled work is in current use. This type of basketry used to exist on the coast of ancient Peru, but its importance there was not great and it appears only in work baskets.

C 285 184 Basketry in wicker work and that in twined work do not have an identical distribution among the Chiriguano. Baskets of the first kind are numerous in the villages of the upper Pilcomayo (Saladito, Salado Grande and Chico, Ibopeytí, and Yumbia) and go as far as the Ivu mission. They stop, or are rare, in the rest of the Chiriguano country, notably in the Caipipendí valley, where baskets of the second type (twilled work) predominate almost exclusively. These are widespread there, and the beauty of their workmanship, the embellishments with which they are provided, put them well above the basketwork of any other zone and even above that of tribes living in regions richer in palm trees.

C [126] In the huts of the upper Pilcomayo I collected several baskets in twilled work, but they were rare there and often incomplete and torn. I had the impression that they had arrived there by way of commercial exchanges. In any case, the Indians no longer plait baskets of this type, and it is possible that their disappearance has given value to the specimens of them which remain. That would explain the absence of any new specimen and the preservation of ancient baskets almost beyond usefulness. Be that as it may, at present the true center of basketry in twilled work is the Caipipendí valley, and that of the basketry of /444/ wicker work, the region of the upper Pilcomayo. Since the living conditions of the

C [178] Chiriguano in the missions north and south of the Pilcomayo have undergone deep modifications, I do not know what the respective

/444 cont./

285 distribution of these two techniques must have been in former times.
184 We shall find this difficulty every time we consider the diffusion of a cultural element peculiar to these Indians.

285 Wicker work basketry has undergone strong European influence.
177 The agents have been the half-breeds of the department of Tarija, who live in constant contact with the Chiriguano. This foreign influence on the baskets belonging to this technique is manifested by modifications of the original forms and improvements of details, such as horseshoe handles.

285 Among the Chiriguano I did not find a single basket woven
171 with the technique called "in spirals" (coiled basketry /named in English/), although in olden times it was in use among the Andean populations who used to and still do live in contact with the Chiriguano. Basketwork "in spirals" has continued on the altiplano, as the basket of Fig. 103, which I bought in La Quiaca, proves.

Basketry in "Wicker Work"

285 Mason (p. 228) designates under the name of wicker basketry a type obtained with the following technique: a rigid framework composed of thick, solid elements is intercrossed by thinner, more flexible elements. In the course of this work I shall call warp the rigid elements of the framework, and the ones crossing them, woof. The woof passes alternately over and under each element of the warp. This technique is well known to us: it is that of our wicker baskets, trunks, and back baskets (see Fig. 105 /see p.295 /).

Because of its very simplicity we have a right to suppose that this technique is old. It is only a variety of checker work /named in English/, the most elementary of all the techniques. By checker work we understand the process which consists of interlacing flexible bands so as to obtain a checkerboard design. The only piece of basketry made with this technique that I know of in the region we are concerned with is a basket that Eric von Rosen

/444 cont./

285 (1, Fig. 134, p. 122) obtained from some Choroti who were
[114] camping near Tatarenda. I share the opinion of this explorer, who considers this object as of Chiriguano origin.

In spite of its simple and archaic character, basketry in
[171] wicker work is rare in South America. According to Nordenskiöld (10, p. 171, and 11, p. 198), it is found among the Araucan, Yurakare, Atsawaka, Tambopata Guarayú (Chama), Yamiaka, and the Indians of Guiana, in particular those of the Roroima region.

/445/

102
171
285

Map 1, showing the distribution of the technique called wicker work

/446/

171
285

Table for Map 1

Distribution of the basketry technique called "wicker work"

Numbers on the map	Tribes	Authors	Remarks
1	Chiriguano and Chané		
2	Diaguite	Museo de Tucumán No. 305	Some impressions on the base of a vessel enabled me to discover the existence of this technique in this geographical area.
3	Araucan of Chile	Latcham, p. XXXV (1)	
4	Araucan of Argentina	National Museum of Buenos Aires (Palavecino Collection).	
5	Yurakare	Nordenskiöld, 11, Fig. 30, p. 128.	
6	Atsawaka, Tambopata-Guarayú	Nordenskiöld, 11, p. 198.	
7	Palikur	Nimuendajú, Fig. 23, p. 49.	
8	Siusí and Kauá of the Aiary River	Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 142 a-d, p. 221.	
9	Patamona, Makusi, Arekuna	Roth, p. 140, Pl. 105 B and C.	
10	Arawak	Roth, Pl. 104 B.	

[113]

1. Latcham, R. E., "Ethnology of the Araucanos," in The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 34, London, 1904, cited from Nordenskiöld, 10, p. 171.

/446 cont./

285 171 This information needs to be completed. The technique called wicker work was apparently known to the ancient Diaguite. A vessel from one of the Andean valleys in Tucuman province bears imprinted on its base impressions left by a tray or basket in wicker work, upon which the potter had placed this receptacle when the clay was still soft (Fig. 102). This discovery did not surprise me: already, and for a long time, I had supposed that this manner of plaiting baskets was not foreign to the peoples of the Andes. How otherwise could one explain the occurrence of wicker work among the half-breeds and Indians of Tarija department, the Araucan and Chiriguano Indians of the upper Pilcomayo?

Guiana forms a second area of dispersion of this technique without, however, its being very common there. The small bags in which the Patamona put the cotton with which they provide the arrows of their /447/ blowguns before blowing them are in wicker work, the same as the pegalls with the so-called "armadillo" motifs of the Arawak, Patamona, and Makuši /Macusi/. The baskets in the form of carafes or bottles of the Siusí /Siusi/ and Kauá /Caua/ of the Aiary River are also good examples of this technique. (On the modalities and distribution of this technique, see Roth, p. 140 and Plates 104, 105, and 106, and pp. 329-331.)

The distribution of this technique is wider in North America. It is known to the Indians of eastern Canada and abounds in /Fig. 102 appears here/ southern Mexico and in Central America. It appears scattered here and there on the Pacific Coast and in the interior basin.

Most of the fish weirs, the enclosures for stopping game during hunting drives, and the coarse baskets serving for the transport of numerous objects are made in this technique.

285 323 If one examines the baskets of this type among the Chiriguano, one will doubtless be struck by the fact that several of them assume the form of pottery pieces. This resemblance is further accentuated by the fact that some (see Plate LXXV, 2 /see p. 299/) are provided with lateral handles in imitation of vessels. The interplay between these two industries is evident.

/448/

285 171 172 The horseshoe handles which surmount some of these baskets (Plate LXXV, 1 and 3) seem to me to come from imitation of European or half-breed basketwork. Among the half-breeds of the eastern slopes of the Andes I found baskets which had exact replicas among the Chiriguano (see, for example, Fig. 108 /see p. 302 /) and attested eloquently to the borrowing of the latter.

285 171

Fig. 102. Base of a vessel from the mountainous region of Tucumán Province, and bearing the impressions of a tray or basket in wicker work, on which it rested during its manufacture.

Besides, the Chiriguano give the Spanish name of canastos to baskets of European form /Fig. 103 appears here./

Among the baskets in wicker work there are some (Plate LXXV, 4) which in form and technique are singularly reminiscent of the baskets of Brazilian Guiana which Koch-Grünberg (2, Vol. II, p. 221, Fig. 242 a, b, c) compares to carafes. (Cf. also Roth, Plate 104, Fig. C.)

[See p. 299--Analyst]

/448 cont./

Description of baskets in "wicker work"

285

Figure 104. Length, 20 centimeters; width, 14 centimeters; height, 14.5 centimeters. Provenance: Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo region).

This little basket was made by the technique called wicker work, that is, the woody stems constituting it were intermingled in such a way that the elements of the woof pass alternately above and below those of the warp. There are ten of the latter: four go in the transverse direction and six in the longitudinal. They are crossed over and held by the stalks of the woof. Plate LXXIII gives a very exact idea of the technique I have just tried to define.

[415] →

Fig. 103. Small basket in spiral basketry (coiled basketry). Bought at La Quiaca. (2/3 nat. size.)

The fibrous stalks which constituted the warp and went far beyong the rim of the basket were bent back in an arc and fastened into the fabric. They were slipped into it beside another element of the warp after /449/ crossing the neighboring element (see Fig. 105 /see p.295 /). Because of this, the little sides of the basket seen in Figs. 104 and 105 seem to be formed by a warp of which each element is double. The rim is regular and strong.

The basket is provided with a suspension cord of vegetable fibers. I do not know the scientific or common name of the plant from which the stalks used in the plaiting of this basket were taken. They are flat, regular, and rectangular in cross-section.

/449 cont./

285 Nordenskiöld (10, Fig. 53 B) published a basket of analogous shape and identical technique.

Plate LXXIV, Figure 1. ? Height, 16 centimeters; maximum diameter, 14 centimeters. Provenance: Saladito (upper Pilcomayo).

The warp is composed of 12 elements crossing one another at the base in the shape of a quadrilateral, that is, in groups of three (see Plate LXXVI, 1 /see p.300 /). The woof, like the warp,

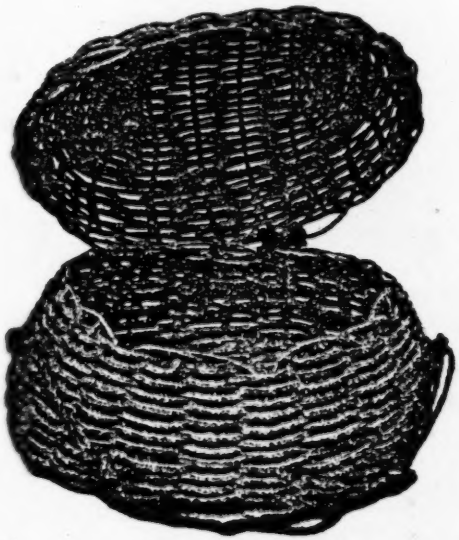


Fig. 104. Basket in wicker work with cover. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/3.5 nat. size.)

is made of fibrous, flat, thin strips. The ends of the warp which passed beyond the rim have been folded back and slipped into the fabric.

Plate LXXIV, Figure 2. Height, 16 centimeters; maximum diameter, 18 centimeters. Provenance: Ivu.

The technique of this basket is identical with that of the preceding specimen. Only the raw material is different. The tigellas composing it are very thin and lend themselves less well to regularity of the /450/ fabric. For this reason the elements of

[See p. 298-- Analysr]

/450 cont./

285 the warp are double. It is composed of 32 tigellas arranged in pairs, which, in reality, gives 16 elements. They cross at the base, forming an octagon somewhat like Plate LXXVI, 2.

Plate LXXIV, Figure 3. Height, 13.5 centimeters; diameter, 11 centimeters. Provenance: Ivu.

The framework of this basket is made of uneven, coarse stalks. The base is composed of fine, close-woven tigellas. Some stalks of the warp have been split, then spread to form two distinct

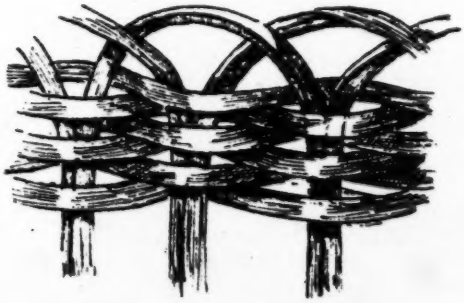


Fig. 105. Detail of the technique of the rim of the basket of Figure 104.

elements (see Fig. 106 /see p.301 /).

Plate LXXIV, Figure 4. Height, 13.5 centimeters; diameter, 11 centimeters. Provenance: Tintapaw (Alto Pilcomayo).

This basket is identical with the one we have just described, except that the rough and brittle stalks make a thick, coarse fabric.

Plate LXXV, Figure 1.[1] Height, 19 centimeters; diameter, 18 centimeters. Provenance: Timboy (region of the Saladito River).

This basket differs from the preceding ones only by the shape of the horseshoe handle surmounting it. This is composed of twisted fibers exactly as in our household baskets. There are 12 warp elements, arranged in groups of three, radiating from the base and forming a quadrangular figure as in Plate LXXVI, 1.[2] Some stalks of the woof have been dyed pink.

[1] [See P.299 -- Analyst]
[2] [See P. 300 -- Analyst]

/450 cont./

285 Plate LXXV, Figure 2. Height, 16 centimeters; maximum diameter, 17.5 centimeters. Provenance: Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo).

This basket deserves a place apart by virtue of its general shape, the handles it has, and the care with which it was plaited.

The handles with which it is provided are formed by an element of the woof which, after making the round of the warp, takes off from it to pass three times, perpendicularly, under the framework of the basket. /Plates LXXIII-LXXVI appear here./

/451/ The handle thus obtained is reinforced by a supplementary tigella which laces among the elements just as the woof does (see Fig. 107 /see p.301 /). Plate /Fig. 106 appears here/ LXXVI, 2, shows us the fashion in which the basket-maker proceeded in order to group the warp elements, which are 15 in number.

Plate LXXV, Figure 3. /Fig. 107 appears here./ Height, 16 centimeters; maximum diameter, 15 centimeters. Provenance: Ñawirenda (mouth of the Salado River).

The framework is composed of flat, brittle stalks always going in groups of two. The added handle is made of twisted fibers. [177] The general form of this basket betrays European influence.

Plate LXXV, Figure 4. Height, 15 centimeters; diameter, 12 centimeters. Provenance: Ñawirenda (mouth of the Salado River).

The warp is formed of flat, thin elements wider than those of the woof. The handles /452/ are added on. They are formed by a stalk coiled on itself and passing three times under the woof elements. One stalk interlaces there exactly as the woof interlaces with the warp. /Fig. 108 appears here./

Plate LXXVII, Figure 1.[7/1] Height, 8 centimeters; diameter, 16 centimeters. Provenance: Ibopeytí (upper Pilcomayo). /Fig. 109 appears here./

This little, slightly rounded basket is remarkable for its rigidity and strength. The technique is still the same as we have examined thus far. The warp is composed of 15 elements arranged at the base exactly as on Plate LXXVI, 1.

Plate LXXVII, Figure 2. Height, 9 centimeters; width, 11 centimeters. Provenance: Tintapaw (mouth of the Salado River, upper Pilcomayo).

7/1 [See p. 304 -- Analyst]

1: Métraux--297 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

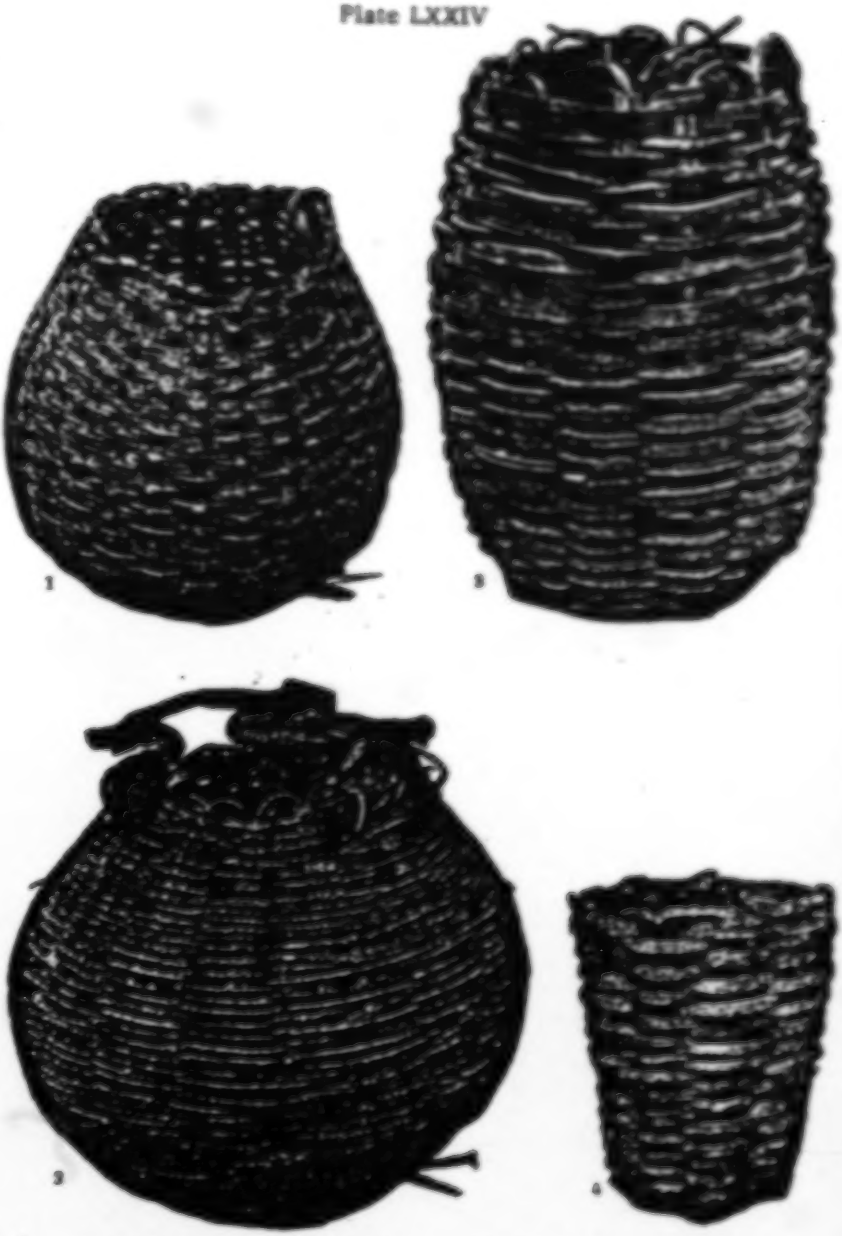
285
415

Plate LXXIII

Base of the basket of Fig. 104, indicating the detail of its technique.

Plate LXXIV

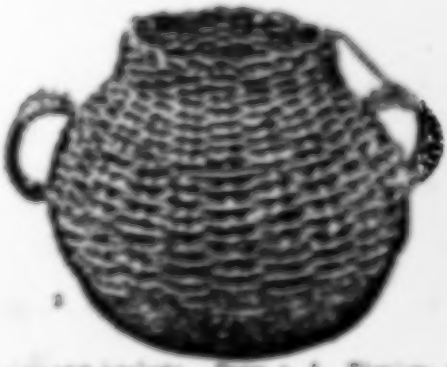
285
415



Chiriguano baskets in wicker work. Prov.: 1. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2 and 3, Ivu; 4, Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

285
415

Plate LXXV



Chiriguano baskets. From: 1. Timboy (upper Pilcomayo); 2. Ibopeyti; 3. [illegible] (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

285
415

1. Base of the basket of Plate LXXIV, 1.

2. Base of the basket of Plate LXXV, 2.

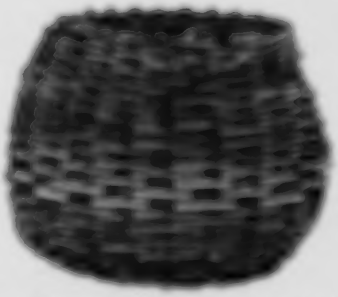
285
415

Fig. 196. Detail of the technique of the bottom of of the basket of Plate LXXV, 3.

Fig. 197. Detail of the handle of the basket of Plate LXXV, 7.

285
445

Fig. 101. Basket in wicker work in imitation of those of the half-breeds. Diam. 1 inch. (About 1/4 nat. size.)



[524]

Fig. 102. Miniature basket (child's toy). (Nat. size.)

/Oil case./

285 This small basket is closely related to the preceding one in its technique. The warp is made of four fibrous bands which cross in octagons and are then divided into three /Plate LXXVII appears here/ /Oil/ or two diverging elements which form the warp (see Fig. 108 /see p. 361/).

Figure 108. Height, 12 centimeters; maximum diameter, 18 centimeters. Permanent Inc.

[291] There is no doubt that this basket is a pure and simple imitation of European ware. I have seen baskets identical from the point of view of form and technique among the half-breeds of the department of Tarija.

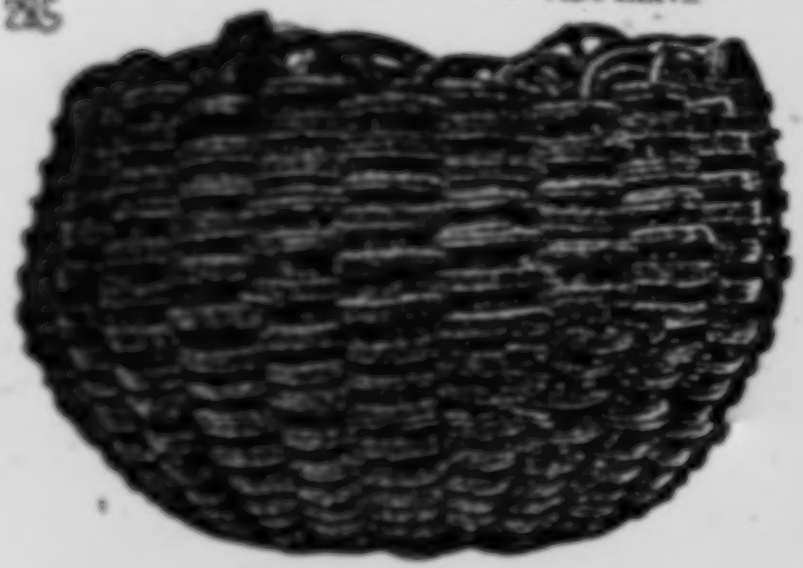
5. Basketry in "Twilled Work"

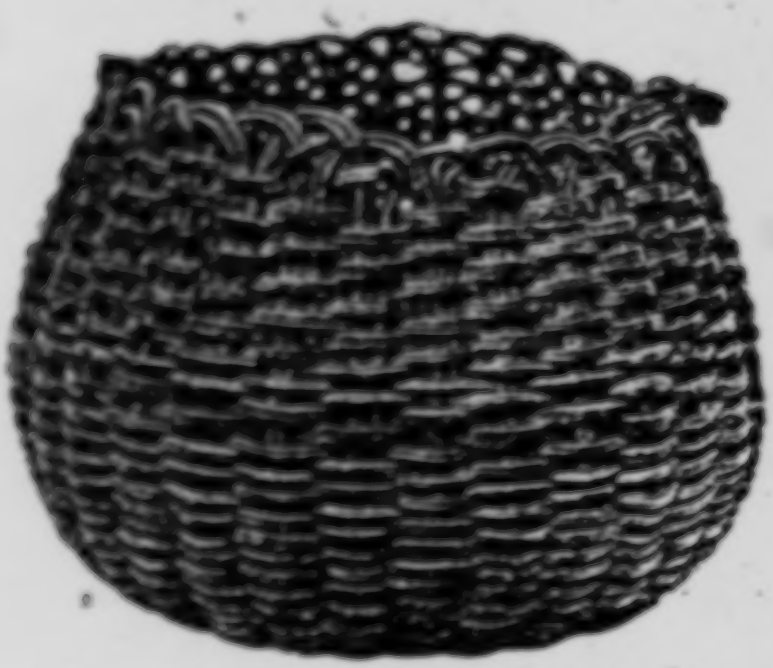
The term twilled work designates the basketry technique in which the weft elements pass over two or several elements of the warp so as to produce with the connection of the fabric diagonal motifs and an infinity of others all based on the changes of rhythm in the number of the warp elements which have been skipped over (Mason, p. 78).

286 In the pages where I dealt with wicker work I have already had occasion to note the affinities which not only the technique but even the form of Chiriguano baskets offer with those from Guiana. The analogy is still more striking with twilled baskets. We have among the Chiriguano the exact counterpart of the famous telescope baskets or pegall of Guiana. These are rectangular baskets in two parts, one fitting into the other and sliding horizontally (Plates LXXVII, LXXX, and Figs. 110 and 111). Nordenskiöld (11, p. 178) has given us a map indicating the distribution of baskets provided with a cover into which they fit more or less completely. These "telescope" baskets are particularly abundant north of the Amazon. I suspect that the famous bananas of the Tupinambá, in which the latter put their feathers, must have belonged to this type. Among the Tupi-Guarani, the only ones where this type of closure has been noted are the Guayakí, Pawaxa, Mbaká /Mbaá/, and Oyampi (Métraux, 5, p. 311).

[See pp. 301-304 reversed only -- Revised]

Ir Mémoires--906 E-5 (1918) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10





Chiriguano baskets in wicker work. Prov.: 1. Zbepeytí (upper Pilcomayo); 2. Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). (4/5 nat. size.)

/453 cont./

285 [531] [171] Another point of contact between the basketry of the Chiriguano and that of the Indians of the east and north of South America is the occurrence of baskets in twilled work in which elements of two colors are combined, following a changing rhythm, to produce geometric figures. The basket of Plate LXXVIII, with the frets standing out in black on the sides, is representative of this form of art, which, in the Guianas, shone with a lively brilliance.

Baskets of the pegall or "telescope" type are divided into two categories according to the principle of their plaiting. To make one kind (Plate LXXIX, and Fig. 111), the basket-maker began by crossing the warp elements with one another in such a way that they radiate from a single center. Then he interlaced according to a binary rhythm the tigellas which /454/ left the common center like so many rays. Baskets of the second category have been plaited by intermingling the elements of the warp and woof at right angles so as to make the bottom without any precise point from which the elements come away (Plate LXXX, 2). The photographs (Plates LXXIX and LXXX, 2) show what I mean better than any description.

[824] The stalks which serve for the fabrication of baskets in twilled work are taken from the leaves of the karandaí palm (Copernicia cerifera Mart. or Copernicia australis). The leaves are cut into fine strips and softened by immersion.

Sieves and fire fans belong in the basketry called twilled, but I shall deal with them in a separate chapter.

Description of baskets in "twilled work"

Plate LXXVIII, Figures 1 and 2. Height, 7 centimeters; diameter, 17.5 centimeters. Provenance: Caipipendí.

This basket belongs to the category of those called "telescopes" or /Fig. 110 appears here/ pegall of Guiana. Plate LXXIX which shows us the detail of its upper surface also indicates its technique with sufficient clarity so that no diagram is necessary. The warp is composed of 32 flexible elements radiating from a common center. They begin by interlacing for two rounds; then,

[See P. 308 -- Analyst]

/454 cont./

285 the basket-maker having introduced black-colored strips into the fabric, these in turn go to cross /Plates LXXVIII-LXXX appear here/ /455/ the first and permit obtaining the figures seen in Plate LXXVIII, 1 and 2.

Figure 110. Height, 14 centimeters; diameter, 35 centimeters. Provenance: Caipipendí. /Fig. 111 appears here./

This large basket is exactly like the preceding one from a technical and decorative point of view. Unfortunately, the dark strips are scarcely distinguishable from the others, whether their color has been rubbed off or whether they have always been thus. The detail of one of the sides is represented on Plate LXXXI, 1. /Fig. 112 appears here./

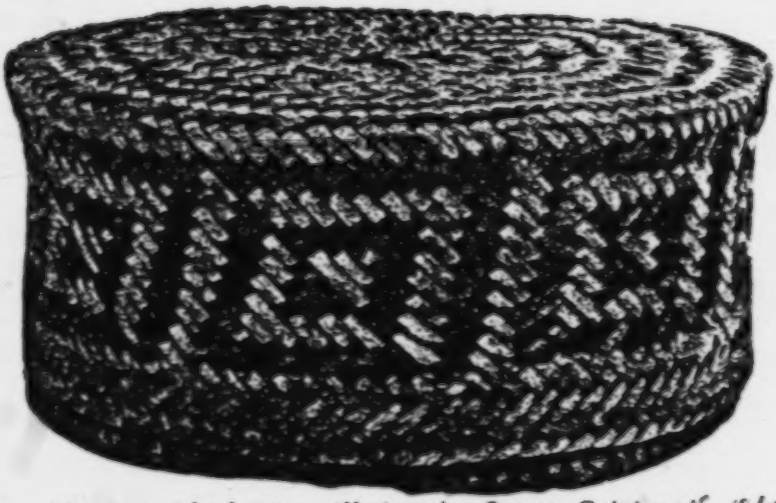
Fig. 110. Circular basket in twilled work. Prov.: Caipipendí. (About 1/3.5 nat. size.)

Figure 111. Height, 9 centimeters; width, 12 centimeters. Provenance: Caruruti.

This basket goes in the same category as those we have just examined, except that it does not show any motif originating from an interlacing of dark and light stalks.

285
531

Plate LXXVIII



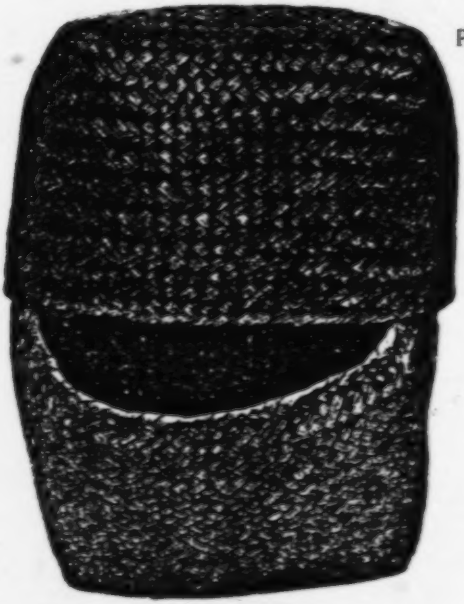
Chiriguano basket in twilled work. Prov.: Caipipendí. (2/3 nat. size.)

285

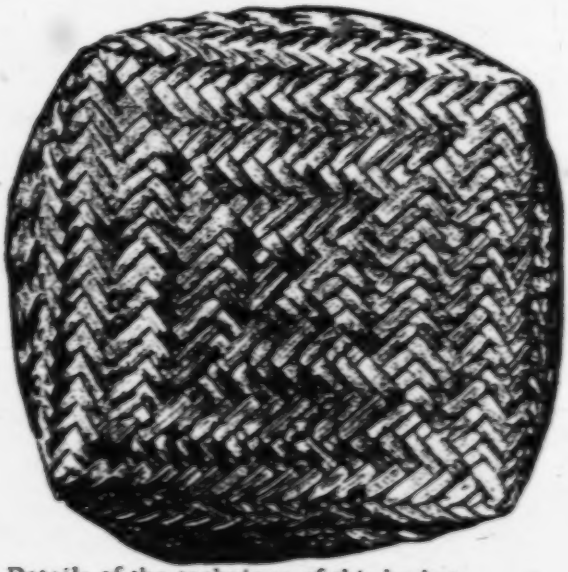
Plate LXXIX

Bottom of the basket of Plate LXXVIII.

Plate LXXX



1. Basket of the telescope type in twilled work.
Prov.: Caipipendí.



2. Details of the technique of this basket.

285

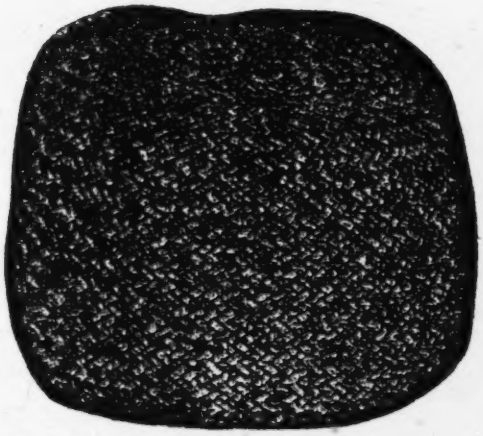


Fig. 111. Circular basket of the "telescope" type in twilled work. Prov.: Caipipendí. (About 1/2 nat. size.)

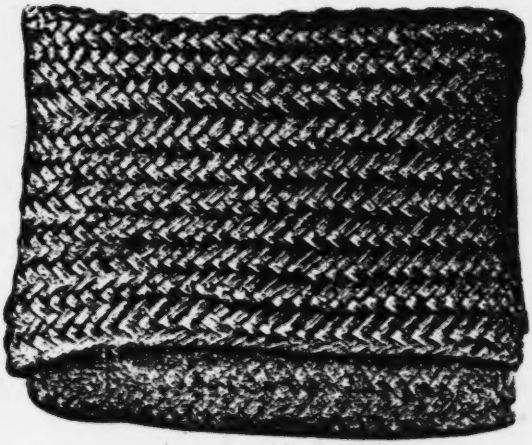
285
291

Fig. 112. Hat in twilled work. Prov.: Carurutí. (About 1/5 nat. size.)

/456/

285 Plate LXXX, Figures 1 and 2. Height, 8 centimeters; width, 12 centimeters. Provenance: Carurutí.

The fine strips of palm leaves which make up this basket are wider and more brittle than the ones constituting the preceding one of identical shape but different technique. The fibers, instead of radiating from a single center, simply cross, following the rhythm which Figure 2 of the same plate permits examining.



[296]

Fig. 114. Chiriguano cigarette case in twilled work. Prov.: Carurutí. (2/3 nat. size.)

Fig. 113. Hat of the type of Figure 112 in the process of being made. (About 1/6 nat. size.)

[291]
[294]

Figure 112. Height, 10 centimeters; diameter, 36 centimeters. Provenance: Carurutí.

This hat is made exactly according to the technique of the baskets of Plate LXXVIII and Figs. 110 and 111.

/456 cont./

285 A half-finished hat (Fig. 113) which I was able to acquire
294 at Carurutí shows well the process of fabrication. The basket-maker begins by making the crown of the hat, interlacing 36 tigellas and shortly afterward adding other supplementary stalks whose ends are seen protruding. When the hat is finished, all those projecting beyond the fabric are cut off. The rhythm of the crossing elements is twofold.

285 Figure 114. Length, 10 centimeters; width, 8 centi-
276 meters. Provenance: Carurutí.

This cigarette case faithfully imitates the ones the Chiriguano have seen in the hands of half-breeds or creoles. Nevertheless, its technique is interesting, for it is purely indigenous. The /Plate LXXXI appears here/ /457/ tigellas of karandaí leaves cross in a twofold rhythm.

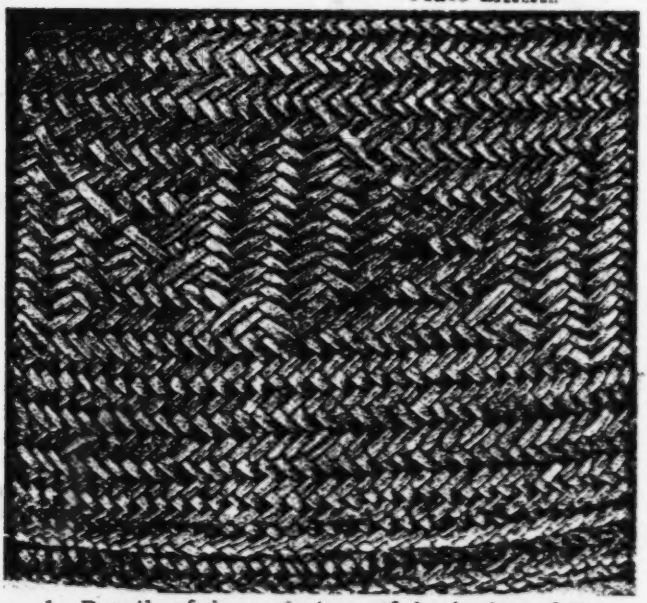
The Chiriguano are not great smokers and it is rare to find cigarettes among them, so that these cases seem to me to be made for amusement rather than for their practical utility.

Sieves

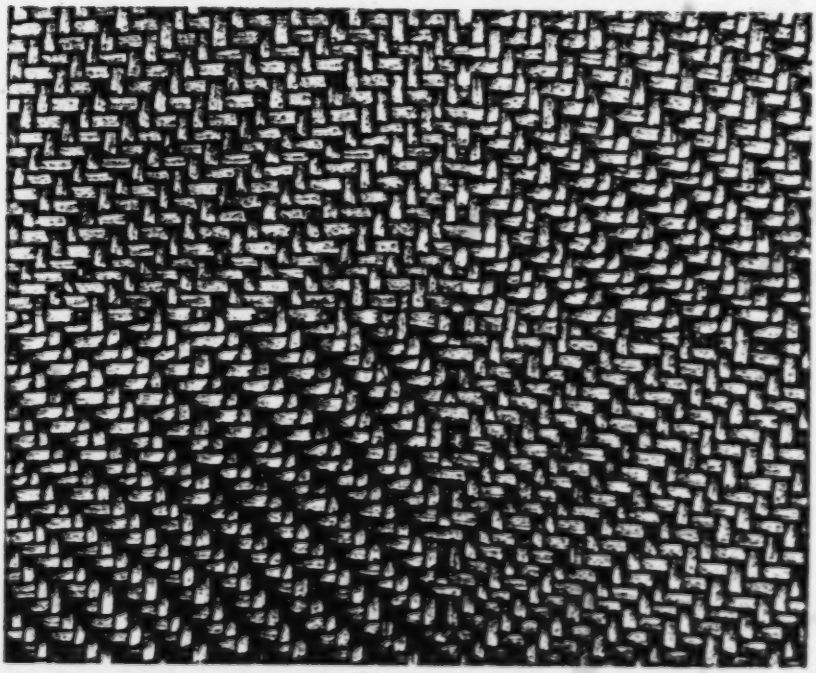
415 There is no Chiriguano housewife who does not have at
252 her disposal at least two sieves. The importance of this kitchen utensil corresponds to the considerable role of corn
[262] flour in their food. Of the 12 different dishes that the Chiriguano prepare from this grain, there are six or seven in which it appears in the form of flour. Kāwi itself is made with corn pounded in a mortar and then passed through a sieve. Sieves serve also for cleaning beans and ridding them of the stones and dust accompanying them. Finally, sieves are used for straining kāwi after cooking and for separating the liquid, which is to ferment, from the marc or temiču. They can also be used as simple baskets, and I have seen some holding cotton seeds.

Plate LXXXI

285



1. Details of the technique of the basket of Figure 110.



2. Details of the technique of the sieve of Plate LXXXII.

/457 cont./

C 415 285 Sieves are of two kinds. The first category includes those whose meshes are close together and composed of fine strips of karandaí leaves intercrossing in a binary rhythm. Sieves of this type belong in the basketwork called twilled. The Chiriguano give them the name of urumpé and use them in preference to the others, whose usage is limited.

The second category includes sieves with wide meshes. The strips forming them cross in checkerwork, that is, the woof passes alternately under, then over, an element of the warp. The Chiriguano designate sieves of this type by the name of urumpesa, and they use them for sifting ground corn when they wish to obtain a coarse flour.

C G 415 285 171 Some of these sieves are real works of art, but they cannot be compared with the magnificent specimens from Guiana, on which the alternation of the black and white elements produce geometric figures of the handsomest effect. It is probable that formerly the Chiriguano had identical sieves, as can be supposed from the one on Plate LXXXII, which is composed of a warp and a woof whose gray and white elements are arranged in such a way as to form dark and light bands on which concentric squares stand out.

C 415 171 The sieve is widespread in all of tropical America, where it is used not only for corn flour but also for that which the natives make from bitter manioc. It is unknown to the primitive populations of the Chaco, who have not even felt the need to borrow it from the Chiriguano or Chané. The populations of the Inca Empire /458/ did not know its use. The urumpé is a utensil common to nearly all the Tupi-Guarani tribes; it has been described or noted among the Tupinamba, the Guarani, the Kainguá /Caingua/, the Guarayú, the Pauserna, the Apiaká /Apiaca/, and the Parintintin. The Chiriguano must therefore have taken C [174] along with them when they emigrated from Paraguay, which does not exclude the fact that they may also have found it in use among the Chané.

/458 cont./

285 I was present at the making of a sieve at Caruruti in the
[824] Caipipendí valley. Here is what I noted about it: "The raw material is furnished by the leaves of the karandaí palm (Copernicia australis), which is cut into fine strips. The plaiting is done very simply: they form a square by crossing at right angles the elements of the woof and warp, following the rhythm of 1 (one element over, the other under, etc.) In order to slip in the woof elements, it suffices to raise each time all the strips

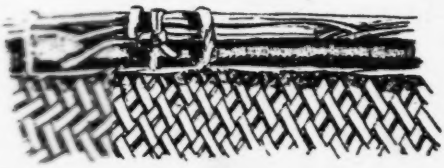


Fig. 115. Detail of the rim of the sieve of Plate LXXXIV, 2.

of the warp which have already been crossed by the woof. When the sieve is plaited, they choose a straight, flexible branch and carefully split it in two. Each of the two halves is bent into a circle so that one of the hoops can fit into the other. The unplaited elements of the warp and woof are inserted between the two hoops (see Fig. 115), then securely tied. Since the hoops have a diameter a little smaller than the width of the woven square, the result is that when it is fastened into the circle, it bulges out. All the ends which stick out are cut off."

285 The string used to attach the sieve to the hoops is made in the
283 following manner: "The bark of a tree (embira) is taken off in wide, long strips, in turn divided into finer lengths. They take two of these lengths, moisten them with saliva, and roll them on the right calf, each one separately, then the two together. When the cord must be of a certain length, they have to add new pieces. These plices must be made without changing the diameter of the cord and without any gaps. For that they are always careful

/458 cont./

285 to roll together two strands of unequal length. When one of them
283 has been rolled to the end, another is added. Any possibility of breaking is thus avoided. The movement of the hand is downward when they form a strand, and upward and downward when they roll the strands together to make the cord. The cord, at first fine, grows thicker, but slowly."

285 Plate LXXXII. Diameter: 43 centimeters. Provenance: Igüembé valley.

/Plate LXXXII appears here./

/459/ This urumpé is a remarkable specimen from every point of view. The elements composing it cross according to a binary rhythm, that is, each

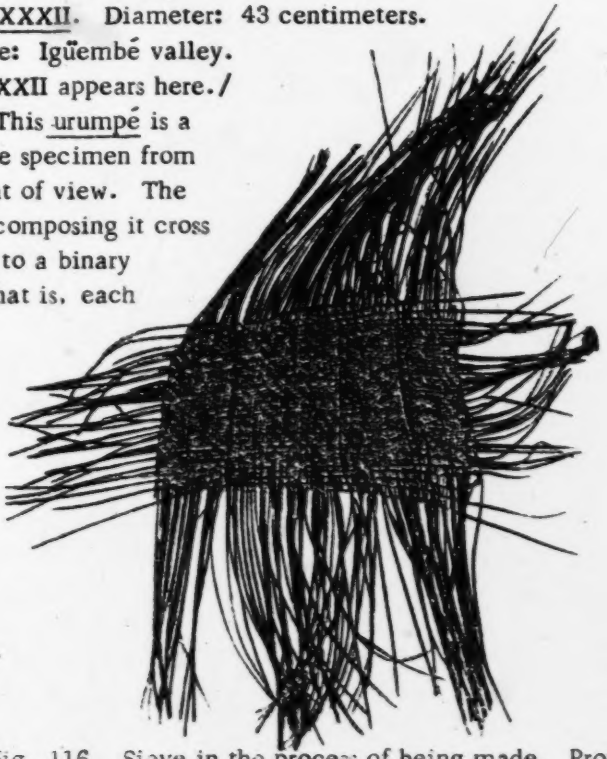


Fig. 116. Sieve in the process of being made. Prov.: Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/4 nat. size.)

element of the woof passes under or over two elements of the warp. Darker stalks alternate by sections with lighter ones and form gray and light-colored bands which run parallel and cross at right angles.

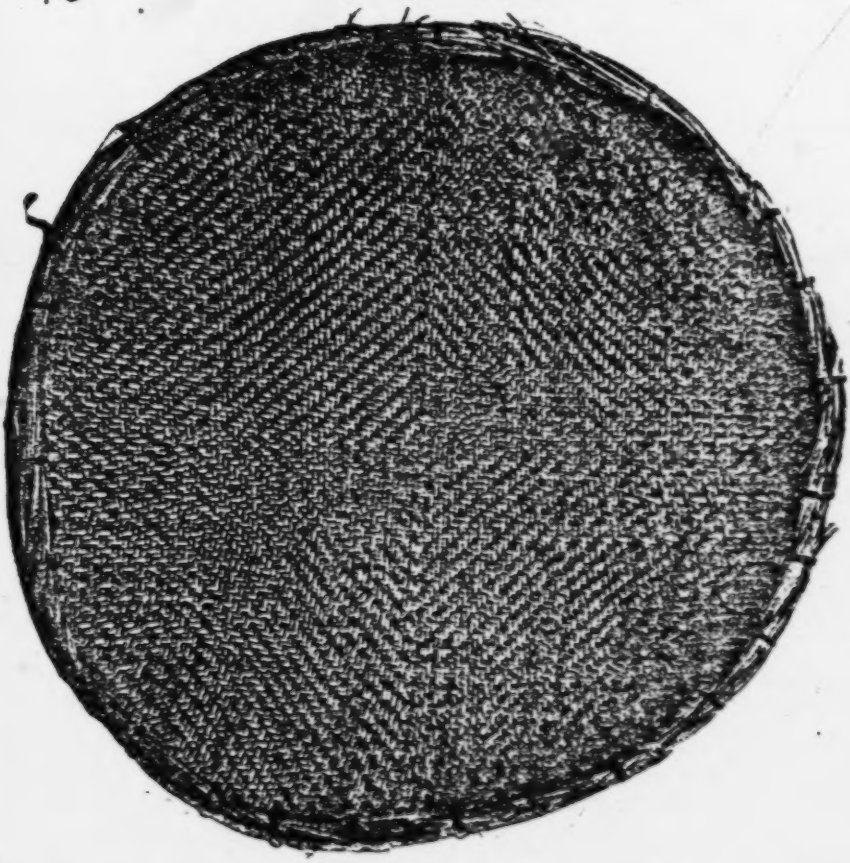
It will be noticed that, having arrived at the vertical diameter, the elements of the woof, which until then had obeyed a binary rhythm, change it abruptly. The first time, the stalk crosses over; the second, it passes under three elements of the warp;

[TEXT Continues on P. 318]

1: Métraux--317 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

285
415

Plate LXXXII



Sieve (urumpé). Prov.: Igũembé Valley. (1/3.5 nat. size.)

/459 cont./

285 the third, it again passes under one single element, then again three elements are crossed over, then only one, to recommence passing under three elements, then again under one. This new rhythm continues along the whole length of the vertical and horizontal diameter and permits the formation of the sides with concentric squares (see Plate LXXXI, 2 /see p. 313/).

/460/ Plate LXXXIII, Figure 1.[1] Diameter: 43 centimeters. Provenance: Ivu.

The technique and decorative process are exactly the same as for the preceding specimen, with the exception, however, of the alternation of the dark and light fibrous bands.

Plate LXXXIII, Figure 2. Diameter: 33 centimeters. Provenance: San Luis region.

This urumpé is made according to the same principle as the other sieves, but it does not involve the change of rhythm along the two diameters. Consequently, it does not appear to be embellished with any geometric motif. The warp and woof elements always cross in pairs.

Plate LXXXIV, Figure 1.[2] Diameter: 42 centimeters. Provenance: Saladito.

The urumpesa are distinguished from the urumpé not only by the greater width of the fibrous strips composing the fabric but also by the technique of this fabric. The woof elements cross regularly those of the warp, passing now under, now over, but each time they cross only one single element. This technique is the one Mason calls checker work.

The intervals between the elements are also larger and facilitate the passage of big kernels of corn.

Plate LXXXIV, Figure 2. Diameter: 40 centimeters. Provenance: Saladito.

The principle of the technique is the same as for the preceding sieve, with the one exception that the warp and woof elements are very wide.

[1] [See P. 320--Analyst]
[2] [See P. 321--Analyst]

/460 cont./

Fans or Fire-blowers

C 372 184 [171] Great was my surprise when upon arriving in the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo region I found fire fans identical with those of the Indians of Brazil and the Guianas. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 56) barely mentions them and insists on their rarity. The fact is explained by the absence of this cultural element in all the rest of the zone inhabited by the Chiriguano. In most of the villages they use old hats or fragments of baskets to fan the fire.

C 372 285 Plate LXXXV. Length, 28.5 centimeters; width, 31 centimeters. Provenance: Saladito.

The making of these fans is rather simple. The leaves composing them cross in a rhythm of two. On the edge the stalks have been bent back and, passing again across the fabric, are interlaced to form a pucker on each side. The free ends /Plates LXXXIII-LXXXV appear here/ /461/ have been plaited on top and one part passed into a split stick forming the handle (Fig. 117).

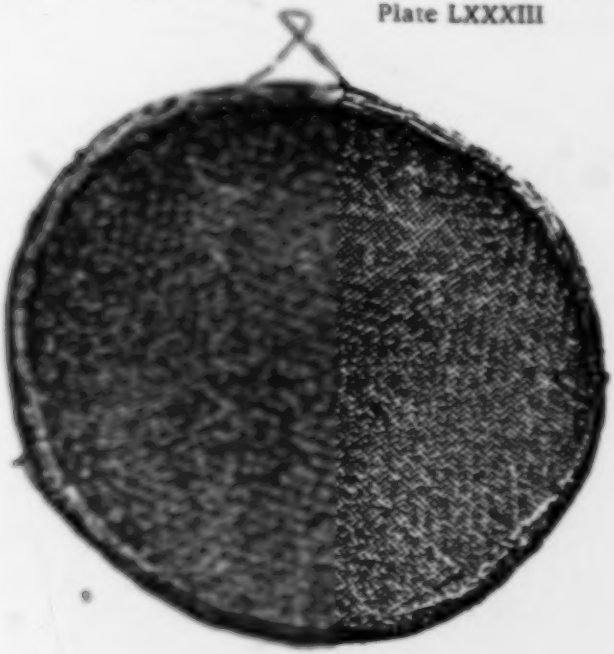
C [171] An important remark must be made on the subject of these fans. They /Fig. 117 appears here/ differ little from the fans made of a single pinnate palm leaf, such as are found in Brazil and Paraguay. C [824] The Chiriguano, having no palm trees of this species in their new homeland, had to /Fig. 118 appears here/ adopt the palmate leaves of the karandaí. They replaced the petiole, which forms the handle, with the split stick to which I have alluded. (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 106 and 107, pp. 219-220.)

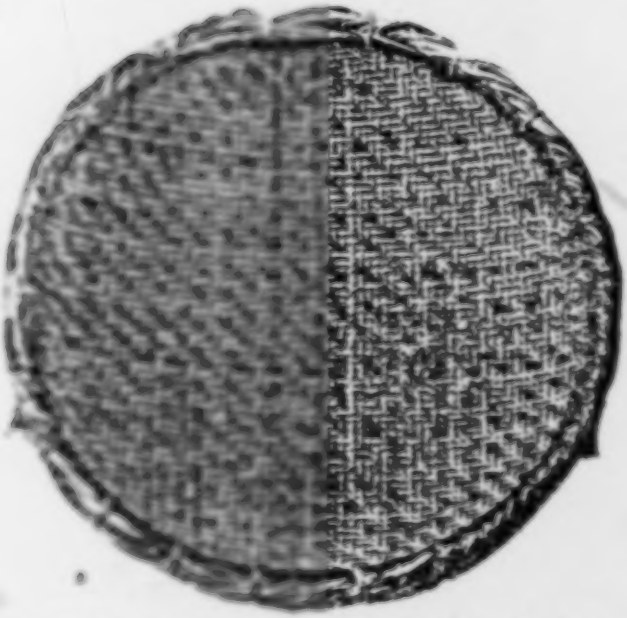
C 285 353 797 [824] /462/ "Flowers"

On feast days the Chiriguano of the Franciscan missions decorate the church with artificial "flowers" which they make from leaves of karandaí palms. These decorations are of ancient origin and derive directly from the straw amusements /jeux/ still made by the Indians in various /Fig. 119 appears here/ regions of America, notably in the Guianas. G 285 353 The natives of the latter region often hang them in their houses where they perhaps

[See p. 322 -- Analyst]
[Text continues on p. 324]

285
415



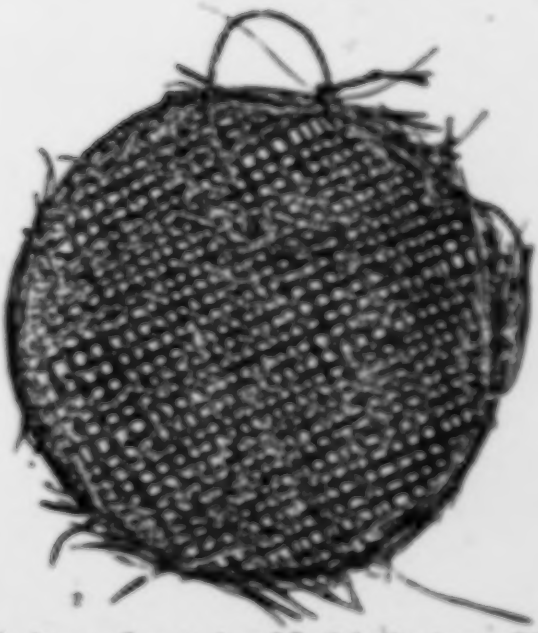


Chiriguano sieves (ñamb). Prov.: 1, Ivu; 2, San Lui (Tarija department). (Scale, No. 1, 1/5; 2, 1/4 approximate nat. size.)

285
415

Plate LXXXIV

1



2

Large-mesh sieve. Prov.: 1 and 2. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo).
(About 1/5 nat. size.)

Fan or fire-blower of plated palm leaves. From : Saladero (upper Pikomayo). (1/3 nat. size.)

Goldman 581

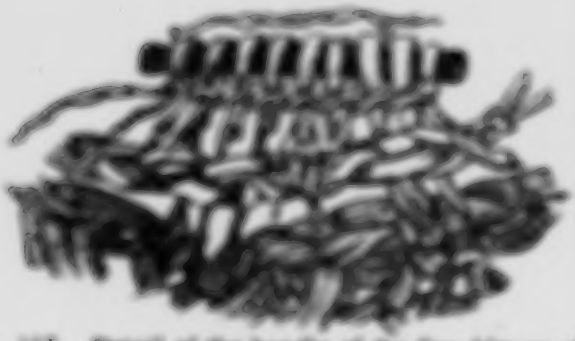


Fig. 117. Detail of the handle of the fan-blower of Plate LXXXV.

Fig. 118. "Flower," ornament made of plaited palm leaves, which the Chiriguano have blessed and with which they decorate their huts. The technique of this object is very ancient and is found also in Guiana. (1/4 nat. size.)

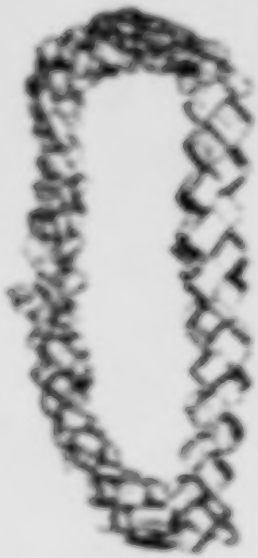
1: Salmon--224 E-5 (1927) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guiana SR1
Chorotti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

Gr 285 353

/447 cont /

serve as amulets, and, in any case, as ornaments. (Roth, pp. 497-499, Figs. 241-244 and p. 270; Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, p. 244.) In the same way the Chiriguano Indians decorate their huts with these figures, which they take care to have blessed. Exactly as in Europe they keep palm branches as lucky charms. Rosen (1, p. 61, Fig. 51) publishes a similar straw amusement which he found among the Chorotí and which was pointed out to him as an ornament worn on the forehead. This explorer suspects the exactitude of this information and supposes that a ritual object is concerned. In reality, it is only a "flower," which the Chorotí described by Rosen probably received or bought in some Chiriguano mission. It is enough to compare the figure of it that he gives us and ours in order to be convinced of this.

C 285 301



A 285 301

Fig. 119. Wreath of plaited palm leaves (amusement or ornament?). Ashluslay. Prov.: Estero Patiño. (1/4 nat. size.)

A C 285 191

Figures made of palm leaves are not, however, unknown to the other Indians of the Chaco. The Ashluslay sold me a diadem braided according to this principle (Fig. 119) and Rosen (1, Fig. 44, p. 46) reproduces an identical head-ornament which he bought from a Chorotí tribe.

/462 cont./

Chapter X

Masks

532 The handsome masks, whose description I shall give
796 further on, are worn during the carnival festivities. Difficulties
[122] with the Bolivian authorities kept me from arriving in the Chiriguano villages at the time when they were taking place. When I finally found myself among my Chiriguano friends, they had emptied the last vats of kāwi and were /463/ in their
[126] normal state. Thanks to the closeness of the feast I was able
[241] to collect the masks published here; ordinarily they are destroyed or used in the fields as scarecrows.

115 My host, Mr. Alberto Torrejon, who lives at Ibopeytí on the upper Pilcomayo in an Indian village, gave me some very interesting details about the ceremonies and merrymaking in which he had just participated. I transcribe them as given.

796 At my approach of any festival, the carnival, for exam-
775 ple, the first act consists in causing the souls of the dead to flee.
789 If this precaution is not taken, the widows and relatives of the deceased will have to abstain from taking part. For the purpose of purifying the air, a drum is beaten, and the whole family /Fig. 120 appears here/ which has lost a member weeps and shouts. When the spirits have cleared out, the drum, in a joyful rhythm, gives the signal for merrymaking.

796 The festival is opened by a man and a woman who, with a stick decorated with flowers in hand, advance toward the middle of the square, followed by all the inhabitants in a long chain. When they have arrived at the middle of the area extending between the huts, the couple plants this sign, thus giving the signal for the festival.

[535] The chain breaks up and small groups form to dance in a ring. Their dance consists in advancing and retreating in triple time to the sound of flutes and drums.

/463 cont./

796 The attraction of the carnival consists of the enormous
273 consumption of kāwi and alcohol which takes place then. Men
578 and women drink, one trying to outdo the other; and, under the influence of drink, old angers and secret hates are awakened and the most excited provoke each other and come to blows.

796
532

Fig. 120. Chiriguano Indians wearing masks. (Photo. by the R. P. H. Catinari.)

796
273 /464/ The "captain" must then call them to order and separate
578 the combatants.

Some people increase the tumult by blowing into their
796 sénéné (long whistles).
534

Sexual passions become aroused, and the men begin to
796 whirl around the women, whom they entreat, a calabash of
832 kāwi in the hand, while reciting to them in a singsong tone
786 pieces of verse of this type:
539

Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no	For me
Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no.	For me.

/464 cont./

796	Eyu sekuama	Come and kiss me
832	Semireko mi	My little wife
786	Diyuru emesie	Give me thy mouth
539	Tuisa dipota	I love thee much
	Se songo pe	With my heart
	Ime deresa ikavi	Thou hast pretty eyes
	Ime diyuro misiray	Thou hast a little mouth
	Tuisa dipota	I love thee much
	Pairamo ayporu deve.	For that I am going to ask for thee.

796 During this time young or old men with their faces
532 covered by a mask (afiawasu) run here and there, force the peo-
522 ple to dance by blows of a stick, play tricks on them, and address jokes to them.

796 The feast lasts as long as there is kiwi or alcohol. At
[273] the moment when it is on the point of ending, a final ceremony takes place. The rite of going out is similar to the rite of entering: the couple who planted the flowery stick tear it from the ground and go out of the village, followed by the afiawasu and all those who took part in the festival. The procession advances to a certain distance from the village to the sound of the flutes and drums. They throw away the masks and throw stones while shouting. The carnival is finished and everyone goes home.
[585] Some take along their new wife, for it is at this moment that most marriages are celebrated.

796 The carnival festivity such as I have just described in-
177 volves only a few elements borrowed from the half-breeds or
178 creoles, outside of the coincidence of dates. This is an ancient
[241] feast of a purely agricultural character, which the Chiriguano have acquired the habit of celebrating at the same time as the Bolivian carnival. Besides, the Indians of Ibopeyti are pagans.

796 The masked men are supposed to represent the spirits of the
241 dead, as their name indicates (afia: spirit; wasu: great). As in
171 the festivals of the Guianas and Central America, they come in numbers /Plate LXXXVI appears here/ /465/ to insure for their

[Text continues on p. 329]

532

1: Métraux--328 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

1

2

Chiriguano masks (tovaraanga). Prov.: 1, Cuevo; 2, Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). (3/5 nat. size.)

C /465 cont./
796 descendants or relatives the fertility of the fields and the
241 abundance of the future harvest. These masked festivals have
[171] their counterpart in the famous ceremonies of the populations of
C the Negro River, the details of which Koch-Grünberg has made
[177] known to us. Besides, it is probable that the Chiriguano
borrowed these ceremonies, and especially the masks, from the
A Chané. It is the racial brothers of the Chané, the Arawak of
796 the Negro River, who celebrate these festivals with the most
241 splendor. The Chané of the Parapití still accord to these ancient
Ce rites more importance than the Chiriguano, and their masks
796 crowned with immense tufts of feathers are, it appears, more
241 sumptuous than those of their old Guarani enemies.
532

In the missions the carnival has lost its purely pagan
C significance and has become contaminated with usages which
796 the Chiriguano have borrowed from the half-breeds. Nino
[797] (pp. 267-270) gives a good description of them, of which I
[177] shall summarize the principal features.

C The festival is directed by a personage wearing an old-
[532] man mask. He stops at each corner of the square, recommending peace and harmony to all.

Then they give themselves over to different games: masked personages scatter bean pods or corn bran upon the dancers.

Young men, masked but almost entirely naked, daub
C themselves with mud and try to soil all those who have new
[177] garments. These two customs can have only a Bolivian origin.

Individuals who are also masked mime a combat between
C a jaguar and a bull which is finally put to death by a fanciful
796 butcher. Then they pass on to the pleasures of the dance. "The
535 dancers form a large circle by joining hands and dance thus
[536] three times. Three times also they squat down, and three more times they pass under the extended arms of a couple of the same circle, and finally the same number of times they press against one another, forming a big mass, their faces turned toward the outside and their hands folded. They remain in this position until another couple dances around them. These do not hold each other by the hand. The man chases the woman and tries to grab her. She avoids him and goes to hide in the middle of the others."

/465 cont./

796 Toward the end of the festivity, the men improvise a seat by crossing sticks. They have a child sit on it and form a bulwark for him with bamboos. The others come and rain a hail of blows on him, without hurting him, however. Then they have him get down and begin this ceremony over again three times in different places.

On the second lap, the masked individuals go from house to house and receive from each person the strangest objects: bean pods, watermelon rinds. On the third lap, young and old begin to weep.

To finish up, they go in a procession to throw away the masks and all wash their faces and hands.

/466/ Description of the Masks

Plate LXXVI

532 1. Mask of toroboki wood (light, soft wood). The face is painted white and framed by a black ribbon fastened with small wooden pegs. The eyebrows, mouth, and the parallel lines which cross the bridge /Fig. 121 appears here/ of the nose have been painted in black. The edges of the nose are emphasized with two green lines. On each cheek, two concentric circles, one black and the other green with a black dot in the center. On each side, a hole through which passes a cord serving to hold the mask over the face.

Small cavities along the periphery seem to indicate that at the time of the festival feathers were stuck along the edge of the mask exactly as on the following specimen.

2. This mask is the one which, in my collection, is in the best condition. The face, whitened with a substance similar to lime, is bordered with feathers stuck into the wood. The eyebrows are painted in black, as is the upper lip. The mouth is represented by a slit. The facial painting on both the cheeks and the forehead is green, except for the center dot, which in each disk is brown.

/466 cont./

532 The mask of Figure 121 comes from Tabacal near Oran, where it was acquired by Mr. Palavecino from Chiriguano

Fig. 121. Chiriguano mask from Tabacal (near Oran). Museo Nacional de Buenos Aires (Palavecino Collection). (1/3 nat. size.)

Indians settled in the region. Its dimensions are considerable. It measures 52 centimeters in length by 16 centimeters in width. It is painted white and the face is framed by a fringe of feathers. *I do not know the significance of the large ears which surmount it.*

1: Métraux--352 E-5 (1928) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Tupinamba S07

/466 cont./

Chapter XI

Combs

C 302 G T [302] C [177]

Formerly, at the time when they carried out the conquest of their present territory, the Chiriguano wore a tonsure after the fashion of their relatives in Paraguay and the coast of Brazil, the Guarani and Tupinamba, who shaved the whole anterior part of the skull with a bamboo chip /467/ (see Métraux, 2, pp. 181-185) (1). Later, probably under the influence of the

1. Annuae litterae, page 407: "Cultus eorum singularis valde, coronis in modum nostrorum Sacerdotum utuntur, reliqui vero capilli ad ulnam circiter dimidiam pendent a tergo; corpora utplurimum variis depingunt coloribus."

(Their appearance [to the Chiriguano] is truly singular. They make use of a tonsure similar to that of our priests, and others let their hair hang down their backs to the length of an aune and a half. They dye their bodies with various colors.)

Chané or the Quichua /Quechua/, the Chiriguano abandoned the tonsure and let their hair grow, letting it fall over the nape of the neck and the back. They were content to cut it on the forehead from one temple to the other.

C 302 178

This hair style, still common in the last century, is tending to disappear in turn. The only ones who have remained faithful to it are a few old men and the inhabitants of several villages lost in the valleys of the upper Pilcomayo.

C [291] [648]

The Chiriguano who continue to observe the old style knot their long hair around their heads and hide it under a hat or a kind of turban when they go to work among the white men, for fear of being ridiculed.

/467 cont./

302 The women never cut their hair according to the custom of the other Indian women of the Chaco, so they have heads of long and remarkably soft hair. They gather their hair together [301] on the nape of the neck by means of a red or blue ribbon, which they knot on the forehead after passing it around the head (see Plate VI, 1 and 2 /see p. 73/).

302 Chiriguano women are extremely meticulous about their
515 hair and wash it nearly every day. For soap they use flitira seeds.
824
412
388

Fig. 122. Chiriguano stone mortar for crushing flitira seeds. Prov.: Ivo. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

which they crush in a little mortar (Fig. 122) especially intended for that use. The flitira seeds, rich in saponin, lather easily.

302 For me it was always a pleasant spectacle in the morning to see the women come back from the river with their hair twisted on the front of the head and fastened into a conical chignon. They would let it dry, then would begin to comb it slowly until it was soft and shining.

412 Two types of comb coexist among the Chiriguano. On the
303 upper Pilcomayo in the Igllembé valley and in Ivu, they are carved
184 out of a small board, and often the flat part which serves as the handle is cut out /468/ with art. In the Caipipendí valley and among the Chané, besides combs of the preceding type there are others composed of fine splinters of wood wedged between two splinters of bamboo and held in place by a clever plaiting of cotton thread forming a design.

/468 cont./

000 forming a design. Combs of this category generally have a double
412 row of teeth but sometimes one row is entirely covered by the
171 plaiting and is transformed into a handle (Nordenskiöld, 2, Fig.
[303] 109, p. 204. These two kinds of comb are also found in the Andean zone; but whereas the first is limited to this geographical area and especially to northwestern Argentina, the second, which includes all varieties of composite combs, has a vast distribution

[531]

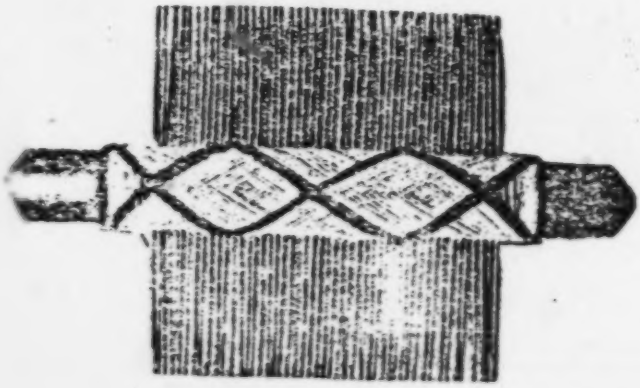


Fig. 123. Composite comb made of fine splinters of bamboo. Chiriguano. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/5 nat. size.)

over all South America, in the Inca Empire as well as in Brazil. The Chiriguano doubtless used them well before they settled in their present location. It is not the same with the comb of carved wood, which they borrowed from the Chicha or the Humahuaca. With regard to two combs in my collections, one (Plate LXXXVII, 14) has a handle carved in the shape of a dog, and the other, a deer (Plate LXXXVII, 15). They strongly resemble a comb found in the Quebrada de Humahuaca, which is also surmounted by the silhouette of a quadruped (Debenedetti, 2, p. 247, Fig. 186). At Kipon in the Calchaquí Valley Debenedetti (1, p. 27, Fig. 16) discovered a comb whose upper part represents a human head, in which our author thinks he sees an idol with a sad expression (!?). The half-breed women of that valley have kept up to our times the ancient indigenous combs of algarroba wood.

/468 cont./

412 171 At La Paya, Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 254, p. 484) discovered combs cut out of a small wooden board and some composite combs. Instead of simply recording the coexistence of two different types of combs /Plate LXXXVII appears here/ /469/ in the same place, a very natural phenomenon by reason of the heterogeneous character of the culture of La Paya, Ambrosetti puts forth the strange hypothesis that these combs served for carding wool, without taking the trouble to inquire whether this instrument was known in pre-Columbian times.

303 322 467 412 The making of combs, like all wood carving, is an essentially masculine job.

412 174 The table on Plate LXXXVII indicates my idea of the morphological evolution of the different forms of combs which I have collected.

Chapter XII

Furniture

352 [114] Since the diverse cultural elements which constitute the furniture of the Chiriguano have been completely studied by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 8-22), I shall limit myself to mentioning them here, insisting only on several details. /Fig. 124 appears here./ /See p. 338./

[342] Let us enter a Chiriguano hut. The door we open is a kind of screen of reeds or a cowhide hardened in the sun. Daylight penetrates the interior through this opening. The only important [513] piece of furniture is a wooden cot (Fig. 125), a kind of bedstead generally occupied by two persons between whom one or two children come /470/ to slip in somehow or other. Nor do the Chiriguano hesitate to sleep on the ground on an oxhide, which they spread out in front of their house. On the upper Pilcomayo, in nearly all the huts one can /Fig. 125 appears here/ /See p. 339./ see one or two hammocks which serve either as seats during the day [286] or as cradles for small children. Their technique, that of the [177] double thread (Doppelfadentechnik), continues an old Guarani

[Text Continues on P. 338]

Plate LXXXVII /left side/

412
194

Table indicating the way in which the evolution of the different types of comb might have come about. Prov.: 1 and 2, Yumbía; 3, Isirié (upper Pilcomayo); 4 and 5, Ñawirenda; 6, Igüembé; 7, Caipipendí; 8, Igüembé; 9, Ivu; 10 and 11, Tiwiraití; 12 (after Nordenskiöld); 13, Yumbía; 14, Igüembé; 15, Ñawirenda; 16 and 17, Cururutí; 18, Ñawirenda; 19 and 20, Ibopeytí; 21, Saladito. /Combs 9-15 are shown on the next page./

/Right side of Plate LXXXVII/

412
174

/See the caption on the left side of the plate on the preceding page./

/470 cont./

352 and Arawak tradition. Some hammocks, not many, are crudely
[256] woven. The threads which /Fig. 196 appears here/ compose
[197] them are of wool: formerly they were doubtless of cotton (Plate XXXVIII).

352 It is a delicate business to persuade a Chiriguano mother to
354 sell you the hammock of her nursling. She fears that an /Plate
754 LXXXVIII appears here/ /471/ evil-intentioned person will profit by the fact that the fabric is impregnated with urine, in order to indulge in magical practices which would make the new-born child die.

342
351

Fig. 194. Chiriguano hut. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (Photo. A. M.)

353 Along the walls are lined up vessels of all dimensions
[415] which /Figs. 197 and 198 appear here/ are kept there for the drinking feasts: some contain seed, others serve as linen cupboards or provision bags. On the walls, generally in the four
[352] corners, hang reed screens or loops made of palm leaves /Fig. 199 appears here/ which take the place of shelves (Figs. 198 and 199).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 342]

352

Fig. 175. Wooden cot (sic). Chiriguano Indian bed. From: Ivo. (About 1/5 nat. size /sic/.)

[284]

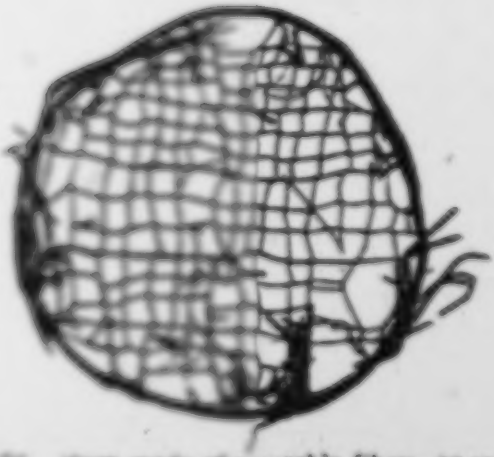


Fig. 176. Bag made of vegetable fibers, to serve as a chair. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

Plate LXXXVIII

Chuiguano hammocks of wool. [illegible] Tintajaw (upp-) Pirumayu.
Note: Hammock No. [illegible] wpm.

Fig. 171. Sketch indicating the construction of the bumps of the type of the net in Figure 170.

Fig. 170. Deer lure dried in the sun to serve as a lure for hunting. From: Solodkin. (About 1/5 nat. size.)

Fig. 172. Double-rounded bench. From: Shepeyń. (About 1/7 nat. size.)

/475 cont./

353 and 177). Everything in the world can be found there: small
vessels, baskets, boxes, packages carefully wrapped in cloth,
in short, a thousand little objects which the Chiriguano women
regard as their treasure. From the roof hang hooks from which
are suspended household effects or supplies. These hooks are
generally of wood, but there are some also which are formed
by a deer foot bent back and dried in the sun (Fig. 120).

Every chink in the walls is transformed into a hiding-place
where the women put their scissors, the men their knives or
combs. /475/ Bows and arrows are slipped between the struts
of the roof.

In some huts whose walls are plastered with earth, the
Indians arrange niches in the shape of swallows' nests, which
serve as rudimentary cupboards. Might there be in that a
distant remembrance of the niches as characteristic of Inca
houses? It is possible.

352 The inhabitants of each hut sit on the cots or on /Figs.
516 120-122 appear here/ chairs with backs very well copied from
(199) those of the creoles. The women generally squat on the ground.
(198) On the upper Pilcomayo, one still finds benches with two seats
(Fig. 170), a cultural element which the Chiriguano inherited
from their ancestors of the Amazon basin.

356 The fire for cooking is lighted in the middle of the hut.
(354) Chiriguano dwellings are clean. I have never caught fleas or
other vermin there as I have in the ranches of creoles or half-
breeds. The women sweep their huts at least once a day. One
is rarely disturbed there by mice (Fig. 173).

Ii Mémoan--343 E-5 (1929) 1800 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
237

Fig. 130. Armadillo shell (tatu-pire) in which Chiriguano women keep objects for needlework, small pieces of cloth, etc. Prov.: Saladito. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

412
824

Fig. 131. Bull's testicle (toro-upía) which the Chiriguano hang up in their huts as a small container. Prov.: Saladito. (About 1/7 nat. size.)

415
237

Fig. 132. Broom made of karandaí leaves (tupisa). Prov.: Yumbía (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/4 nat. size.)

/473/

Chapter XIII

Toys and Games

524 [126] All the toys which Chiriguano parents make for their children or the latter put together themselves are represented in my collections. Nevertheless, I consider it useless to give a description of them, for Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 193-200) has been greatly /Fig. 133 appears here/ concerned with this and has reproduced all of them. Simply as a curiosity I sketch a doll clothed in the traditional tipoy and the hair of which is intertwined with a ribbon in the Chiriguano manner (Fig. 133). A little bag (Fig. 134) contains a whole assortment of tipoy in miniature. Minuscule vessels and baskets (Fig. 109) have been made for the use of little girls, who, in playing, thus learn little by little to become excellent housewives. [868]

String figures. I have never seen children make string figures (cat-craddle /cat's cradle/), but I know they are acquainted with them. At Caruruti an Indian amused himself by executing a whole series for me, some of which were sewn by the Indians themselves onto the leaves of my notebook. According to the figure they wanted to produce, they used both hands or helped with the mouth and feet (Figs. 135 and 136). The "full moon" (Plate XXXIX, 3) /Fig. 134 appears here/ was made by my Indian who, having sat down, used feet and hands.

524 121 String figures have extraordinary interest from the point of view of comparative ethnography. If they prove themselves identical in two different regions, they can testify to trade or migrations, like certain games which pass from one region to the other without modifying their character or modalities. Games are the most stable of all cultural elements since they are independent of the environment, race, or way of life, at least in general. It is urgent to collect in South America /474/ the greatest possible number of string figures in order to be able to study their distribution. For this continent we know only a very small number, but this, insignificant as it may be, already allows us to establish some very curious facts.

[Text continues on p. 346]

1: Métraux--345 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

524

Fig. 133. Chiriguano doll (woman with her tipoy). Prov.: Caipipendí. (2/5 nat. size.)

Fig 134. Miniature clothes bag, full of little tipoy. Chiriguano. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/2 nat. size.)

/474 cont./

000 already allows us to establish some very curious facts. Thus, among
524 the string figures I have brought together, three are exactly like
171 figures from various tribes of the upper Negro River and the Guianas.
The first is the one the Chiriguano call "full moon" (yasiwasu)
(Plate LXXXIX, 3) and we find it again among the Siusí of the
Aiary River under the name of "tapir intestines" (Koch-Grünberg, 2,

291
524

Fig. 135. Indian executing the string figure called "make designs" (mboi-kwatía). Caruruti. (Photo. A.M.)

524 Vol. I, Fig. 69 c, p. 123), among the Tukano /Tucano/ designated
171 as being a "tapir with its four feet," and among the Betoya simply
as "a tapir" (id., Vol. I, p. 253, and Vol. II, Fig. 73, p. 131).

Our "star" (yasi-tata) (Plate LXXXIX. 1) is interpreted as a "spider" by the Siusí (id., Vol. I, Fig. 69 g, p. 123) and the Kobeua (id., Fig. 73, p. 131), but the Wapiana /Wapishana/ see a "star" in this figure, exactly like the Chiriguano (cf. Roth, Fig. 267, p. 513).

/474 cont./

524 171 The "snake designs" (mboi kwatía) (Plate XC, Fig. 3) have their equivalents among the Akawoi, Arawak, Wapiana, and Patamona (Roth, Fig. 289, Fig. 526), but represent, according to these Indians: "four fish walking" (sic). In his book on the Indians of the Chaco, /Plates LXXXIX and XC appear here/ /475/ Nordenskiöld (2, Fig. 25, p. 71) gives the photograph of a Choroti child who has just executed a cat-craddle identical with our "snake design." It is regrettable that Nordenskiöld has not given its meaning.

524 The string figure on Plate XC, 2 represents the mark borne by the woolen blankets (jergón) the creoles put under their saddles. There is no doubt that the indigenous meaning of this figure has been forgotten and replaced by a new appellation. This is probably what has happened also to the cat-craddle (Fig. 136) named culo de caballo /horse's rear end/. /Fig. 136 appears here./ /See p. 350./

String figures can be subdivided into two categories, the first including all those which form a stable figure like a design, and the second those which represent an object, animal, or organ by synthesizing its characteristic movement.

Thus the string figures on Plates LXXXIX-XC belong to the first class, but the one which the Indian on Figure 136 is in the act of executing belongs to the second. The latter cat-craddle consists in opening or closing a small circle of string which is supposed to represent the contractions of a horse's anus.

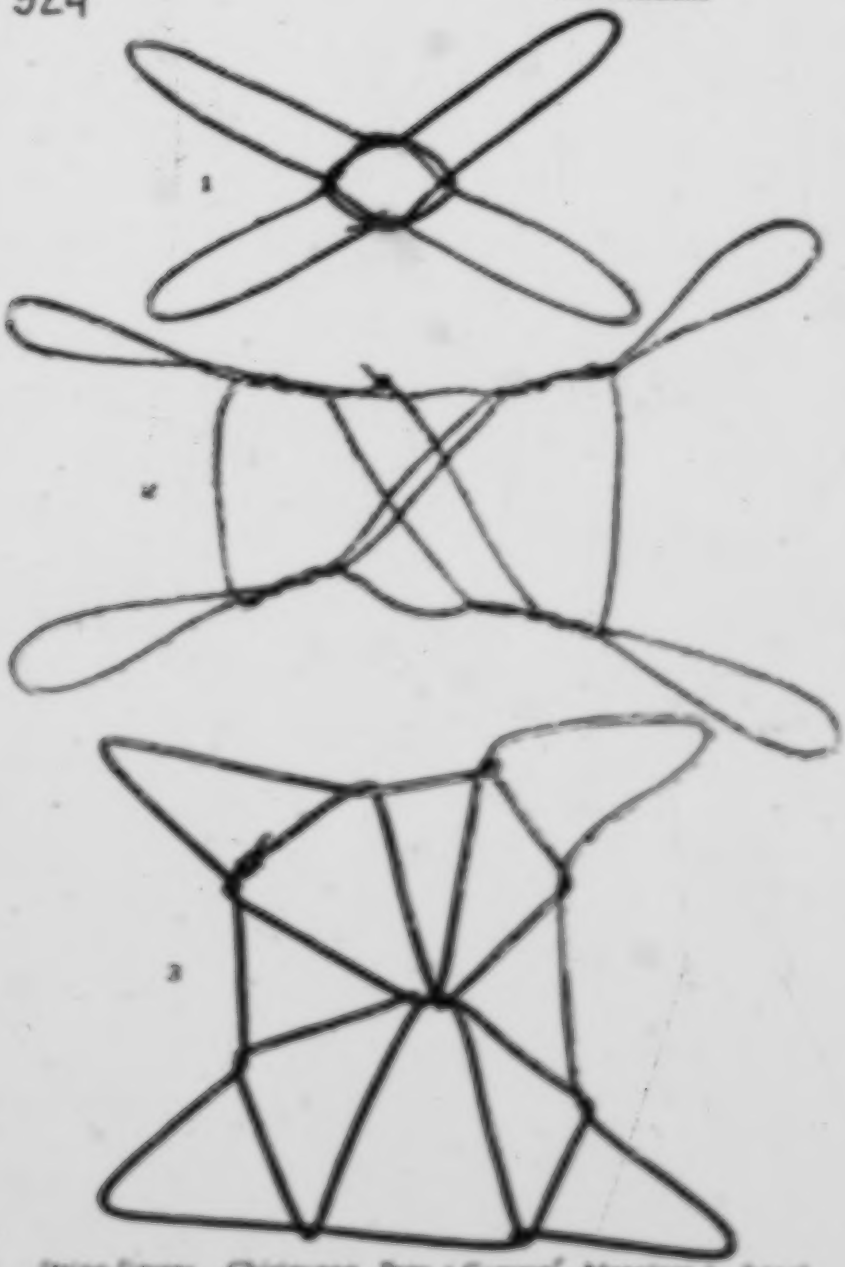
524 171 Among the Siusí there are also mobile string figures which symbolize an animal by imitating its typical movements (the "caterpillar," for example) exactly as among the Chiriguano.

524 171 177 The resemblances between the Chiriguano string figures and those of the /476/ Guianan tribes could be explained by Arawak influence, and we could suppose that the Chané kept the figures common to the whole family. String figures travel very rapidly and only their meaning changes. Therefore it is possible that the Chiriguano were acquainted with them before being in contact with the Arawak.

[See p. 349--Analyst]

524

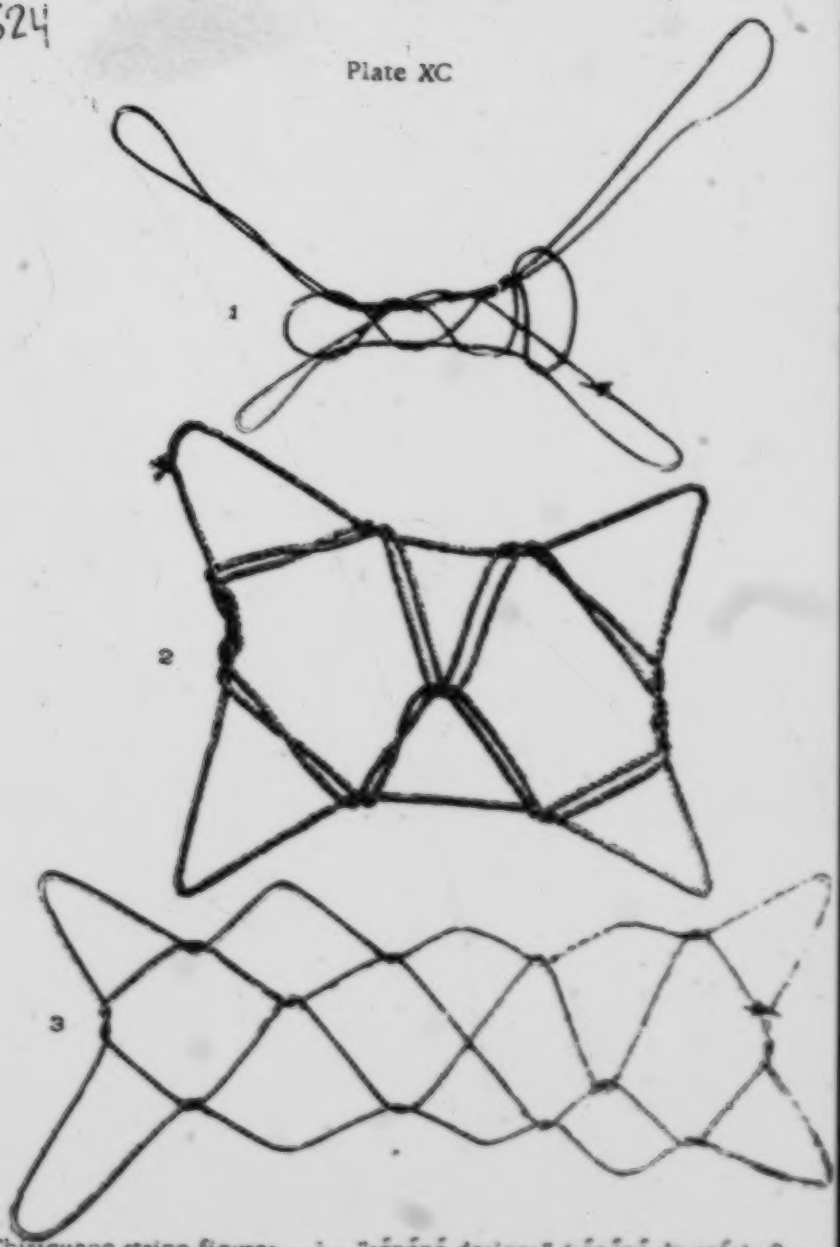
Plate LXXXIX



String figures. Chiriguano. Prov.: Caraparí. Meaning: 1. "star" (yasi-tata); 2. "ñéñé (Chiriguano whistle with engraved designs) design" (ñéñé-iwatía); 3. "full moon" (yasi-waru).

524

Plate XC



Chiriguano string figures. 1, "sénéné designs" (sénéné-kwatía); 2, "horse-blanket (jergón) mark" (karuna-kwatía); 3, "snake designs" (mboi-kwatía).

/476 cont./

123 Drawings. On Plates XCI-XCIII one can see gathered to-
126 gether a certain number of drawings executed for my sake by
532 Chiriguano Indians. In order to obtain them I first approached
several old men, who refused with an outraged air as if I were
123 asking them to do a thing beneath their dignity. A small boy
126 of 12, Consito, two young men, Asensio and José Miguel, and
115
532

524

Fig. 136. Indian executing the mobile string figure called "culo de caballo /horse's rear end/.

123
126
115 a girl, Iwawasei, showed themselves willing to cover the pages
532 of my album with all kinds of sketches.

Consito did not have to be begged: I was proposing to him a game not only pleasant but fruitful, and he had soon filled two pages (Plate XCI, 1, 2, 4, 9; Plate XCII, 2, 4; Plate
115 XCIII, 1, 3, 10). Asensio, my faithful friend, also gave me
123 complete satisfaction. He was a curious individual, and I keep
126 a particularly vivid and congenial memory of him. He was 25 to 30 years old and was conspicuous because of his extraordinary
[322] activity and ingenuity. At any moment of the day he could be seen busy cutting or carving a piece of wood which then

[See pp. 355-359-- Analyst]

/476 cont./

115 123 126 322 463 became an ingeniously conceived tool or still oftener a musical instrument. Asensio used to make violins which on first sight appeared to have come from a European factory. It goes without saying that he was the recognized carpenter of the village and the great provider of household articles. When Asensio had understood the purpose which had brought me to his home, he transformed his hut into a workshop for ethnographic objects; and I owe it to his enterprising spirit that I was able to collect many a piece, today no longer in use, which he reconstructed for me.

At the time when I was in his village, Asensio had received big orders for flutes for the coming Easter festival, [532] and I had a good time watching him work. Once an instrument was finished, he would embellish it with engraved animals.

115 126 532 The material on which Asensio (see Plate XCI /see p.355/, 5, 7., and Plate XCII /see p.356 /, 3, 6) incised his figures exerted an indirect influence on the pencil drawings he drew in my notebook. They stand out by their angular character, but also by their cleanness.

José Miguel (see Plate XCI, 8; Plate XCII, 1, 5, 7, 9; Plate XCIII /see p. 357 /, 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12), whom Asensio's example had encouraged, asked me to give him the notebook and pencil, and he made me a whole series of drawings which, although rather light and uncertain, sometimes are not lacking in a certain movement. [177] José Miguel had traveled to Argentina: the train and the automobile (which he drew from memory) attest well to his admiration for the /477/ marvels of "Progress" (Plate XCII, 7, 8). Thank God his modernism had not made him forget his mythology, and he was able to draw for me a mythical episode which is to be seen on Plate XCIII, 12, A, B, C: the blue jaguar (yaguarowi, personification of the spots on the moon) is preparing to devour the moon and the sun.

123 126 532 When I had finished with the men, I wanted to have several feminine drawings, imagining that the women would lend themselves willingly to this game since they are the recognized artists of the tribe. All, unanimously and to my great surprise, refused to do it, shouting in the middle of gales of laughter: A,kuaá "I can't do it, I don't know how."

/477 cont./

000 laughter: Aikuaá "I can't do it. I don't know how." Only one,
123 a girl, Iwawaei, allowed herself to be persuaded by the promise
126 of a spool of thread. Her awkwardness was not feigned, as I
115 was able to see from the beginning, seeing the embarrassed air
532 with which she took the pencil. Once ready to draw, inspiration was suddenly lacking. She stopped short until I had pointed out a vessel to her to copy. Since her confusion only grew greater, she asked Conito, the small boy who made my first drawings, to help her. He drew the vessel on Plate XCIII. 10, which she began conscientiously to reproduce in series. I protested, and then she made me a horse and on this horse's back a man and a child, then a woman (Plate XCI. 3 and XCIII. 7). I am not very sure that all the drawings she told me she had made were hers, for when my attention was diverted by a visit, she had Conito secretly help her.

532 The drawings the Chiriguano executed for my sake recall not
171 only those of our children but approximate appreciably those which have been collected in various regions of South America, notably among the tribes of the Negro River (Koch-Grünberg, 1): the Tauripang and the Makú (Koch-Grünberg, 2, Plates 28-32, pp. 120-161): the Indians of the upper Xingú (Steinen, 2, Plates III-IV), (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 245-247, pp. 396-398): the Chorotí and the Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 2, Figs. 63-66, pp. 130-132): the Kaingué (Ambrosetti, 2, Plates I-III, pp. 674-682), etc.

There could be no question of making a comparative study of these drawings, so uniform is their style. The only details which are worth being brought together are those denoting similar psychological characteristics and yet these common traits are not characteristic of a primitive mentality. I should scarcely have to point out the fact that in drawing a woman, a Kaingué Indian proceeded exactly as did two of my Chiriguano artists (Plate XCI. 3 and 7): he began by representing the woman naked, then dressed her.

/477 cont./

532 The Chiriguano are too civilized for one to be able to hope to surprise interesting features in their artistic productions; some of our conventional representations appear in their /478/ drawings (see Figs. 12 B. C. on Plate XCIII /see p. 307/ showing the moon and sun).

In my opinion, the scientific value of such drawings is little and attest to only one things the difficulties the Indians experience in reproducing natural objects with means unfamiliar to them. On this subject I shall quote a very sensible remark of Boas (p. 65): "When one gives a pencil and paper to a primitive and asks him to draw an object from nature, one is obliging him to use instruments which are unfamiliar to him and imposing on him an unfamiliar technique. He must set aside his usual work methods and solve new problems. The result therefore cannot be a work of art--except under exceptional conditions. This is exactly what takes place for a child; the amateur artist must face a task for which he lacks technical preparation, and the difficulties which embarrass the child are precisely those which embarrass the primitive, whence the apparent resemblance between children's drawings and those of primitives."

The Chiriguano are doubtless as well endowed for drawing as Europeans. On one of the walls of the Macharetí mission I saw frescoes drawn with charcoal by an Indian, which proved real talent in their maker.

Plate XCI

Figure 1. Hut (hut). The forked sticks on which the trusses of the roof rest, although invisible, have been carefully indicated by Cimaito, maker of this drawing.

Figure 2. Woman (buffo), front view. She wears a dress. She has four fingers on each hand and her ears are disproportionately large (Cimaito).

/476 cont./

532 Figure 3. Woman (kuña) drawn by Iwawasei. At the beginning she was content to make an enormous head surmounting a stunted body and long thin legs. Upon my remark that the [534] woman was naked, Iwawasei, out of modesty, dressed her by surrounding her legs with a kind of oval which she scribbled in black. She ended her drawing with the hair when I showed my surprise at the woman's baldness.

Figure 4. Dog (yeimbá) drawn by Consito. The body is in profile and the head seen straight on. The front legs end in two claws, the hind ones in two balls.

Figure 5. Iguana drawn by Asensio. He had a predilection for this animal, which he engraved on his flutes, and he hurried to reproduce it on my notebook, keeping the slightly angular style of his incised drawings. /Plates XCI-XCIII appear here./

/477/ Figure 6. Masculine individual (aña) drawn by José Miguel. On one hand, four fingers; on the other, five.

Figure 7. Woman (kuña) drawn by Asensio. The artist [534] began by drawing her naked, and it was only afterward that he had the idea of clothing her, drawing her dress as if seen in cross section.

Figure 8. Chiriguano shooting with a bow. He grasps the wood of the bow with his right hand and the cord with the left according to the Chiriguano custom (drawing by José Miguel).

Figure 9. The author of these lines as seen by Consito. His wide-brimmed hat is transformed into an American sailor's cap; and his glasses, which evidently impressed the Indians, are indicated head on, although the author is drawn in profile with his head thrown back. The blackened parts represent his suit.

Plate XCII

Figure 1. Uru, hen (José Miguel).

Figure 2. Ñandu (nandu), drawn by Consito, who has given it the regulation number of toes on one foot, but has forgotten one on the other.

[text continues on p. 358]

Plate XCI

532

Chiriguano drawings. Caruti. Meanings: 1, hut; 2 and 3, women; 4, dog; 5, iguana; 6, man; 7, woman; 8 Indian shooting with a bow; 9, the author.

Plate XCII

532

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

9

8

Chiriguano drawings. Cururú. Meanings: 1, hen; 2 and 3, rendu; 4, pig; 5, a little boy and the author; 6, iguana; 7, auto; 8, train; 9, woman.

Plate XCIII

532

Chiriquí drawings. General. Meanings: 1. calabashes; 2. [illegible]; 3. cacao; 4. cow; 5. duck; 6. dog; 7. bow and shield; 8. armadillo; 9. dog; 10 vessel; 11. gaucaro; A. colonial jaguar; B. moon; C. sun.

/479 cont./

532. Figure 3. This needs with angular lines characterizes the style of Aumaio, used to drawing on a material as unyielding as bamboo.

Figure 4. This drawing is supposed to give the picture of a pig (Sus), whose tail, however, would be more appropriate for a fox and the face for a man (Cimarro).

Figure 5. A boy (zambiay) and the zorino, recognizable by his hat and the heels of his boots (José Miguel).

Figure 6. Tagua (jaguar), drawn by Aumaio, who here again has reproduced a figure in doubtless was in the habit of engraving on his flutes. The jaguar, which is seen in profile, naturally has only two legs.

Figures 7 and 8. These two drawings, one representing a car and the other a train, are owed to José Miguel, who
[64] moved to Argentina. They constitute a good example of the sense of observation and memory of the Chiriguano. The car has three wheels, that is, the front one have been represented in profile, but as if they were viewed head on.

Figure 9. Women walking, drawn by José Miguel.

Plate BC30

Figure 1. Calchaches attached to their oxen (Cimarro).
Figure 2. Parent (ancuri) (José Miguel).
Figure 3. Cow on calf (ancu) (Cimarro).
Figure 4. Cow (ancu) (José Miguel).

/480/

Figure 5. Duck (ipa) (José Miguel).
Figure 6. Deer (ancu) (José Miguel).
Figure 7. Horse, and over it, a man and a child. In reality these are two distinct drawings which the artist, young Ivanoski, put together inadvertently.
Figure 8. Armadillo (Ñipa) (José Miguel).
Figure 9. Dog (ancuchi) (José Miguel).
Figure 10. Vessel (yanchi) decorated with related triangles (Cimarro).

530 /not see/

Figure 11. Guamore (José Miguel).

[321] Figure 12. (A) blue jaguar who lives in the sky (perhaps in form of the spots on the moon) getting ready to eat the moon (B) and the sun (C), thus bringing on an eclipse.

Chapter XIV

The Treatment of Illnesses

Sorcerers and Remedies

956 [415] Sorcerers. Medicine men have become so rare among the Chiriguano that I could not get to know a one during my whole trip. Only on the upper Pilcomayo did they allude in front of me to a talented *pajé* who lived in a nearby village.

Although great sorcerers endowed with supernatural powers and surrounded with great prestige no longer exist, there still must be in each village a man or woman capable of curing certain illnesses and of pronouncing incantations.

A scene I witnessed at Timboy (Salado River, upper Pilcomayo) demonstrates well that the profession of sorcerer, less important though it may be, has nevertheless not disappeared. I was living in the home of a Bolivian half-breed whose child's body was covered with purulent pimples. His parents began by appealing to my medical knowledge, but I declared myself incompetent to treat his case or any other. They then called an old Indian woman, who appeared one morning with a plant in her hand, a kind of wild pumpkin which the half-breeds call *sandía del monte*. This plant, crushed and mixed with hot water, is used for external washing. They stretched the child out on the ground and commanded him to hold himself motionless. The old woman sat down near him and began to mutter inaudible incantations which she interrupted only to spit often on the limbs of the little patient. Then she would take up her recitation again, at the same time spreading the saliva over his body from head to foot. Nordenskiöld (L, p. 44,

956 [419] 95

/680 cont./

75 Fig. 10) was present at an analogous treatment also practiced /681/ by a medicine woman on a child at Tumbia, not far from the Salado. She rubbed him and blew on his body (1).

[113] [192]

1. In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc. (p. 72), we find the word hunga translated "to rub, to massage" and the sentence Nyari Yerungerunga nin, ivó ifa with the following meaning: "My grandmother rubbed me enough, but I did not get well." The medicine woman, add the authors of the dictionary, use the word hunga to express the act of rubbing with the hand any painful part of the body, especially the chest, without any remedy other than the saliva they put on their hand. These women attribute a special virtue to saliva.

[827]

75 The sick boy's father told me that, once suffering from prolonged headaches, he had had recourse to a sorceress, an old woman with woolly hair, who was called the handa. She sucked the place where the ache was localized and drew out worms from it. The half-breed got well, of course.

75 [825] In the soldery of Ñaurenda, where there was a child ill with fever, his mother had made him eat crushed garapata (ticks). The unfortunate child's lips were purple from it.

75 [821] I shall devote a special study to Chiriguano medicine men in a future volume of this Review. Meanwhile I shall limit myself to describing, according to the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano (pp. 186-187), the way in which these powerful personages customarily proceed when they are called to the bedside of a sick person. I am forced to have recourse to the observations made by another for lack of having been able to be present myself at the spectacle which Father Giannechini evokes with as much accuracy as vivacity. The great Chiriguano pays an,now all in the hutia where they take

/49 cont./

955 952 956 care of the dead and no more will any ethnographer have the privilege of being present at their funerals.

"When an Indian is gravely ill, his relatives hasten to call a medicine man whose first duty is to hold an inquest on the origins of the illness. He asks his patient whether the symptoms of his infirmity did not coincide with a festival, whether he does not have a particular enemy, or whether his wife or children have not had a quarrel with one of their neighbors. When the sorcerer has received an answer to all these questions, he begins to make grimaces, to toss his head, to put on an afflicted air, and ends up by exclaiming in an emphatic tone the result of his diagnostic: Ilmo, yuwi ki! ayuwi ntayali ymin kanunga ndeyi! 'My friend, this is serious, sorcerer has perhaps poisoned you.' Yahela ta. 'We shall see.'

"Then he asks for tobacco, fills his pipe, and smokes. When he has finished, he immediately begins again and continues to smoke.... He becomes sad, loses the power of speech, throws convulsive looks in every direction, makes gestures as if he were trying to put phantoms to flight, faints, agonizes.... Poor sorcerer, he seems dead.... No, the sorcerer lives... yes, he lives and he is recovering consciousness. /50/ 'Yes,' he says to the sick person, 'I know the author of your illness, he who through hate or in a spirit of revenge is trying to take you away from your children, to throw your wife and relatives into mourning and grief. It is so-and-so.... I have seen him, I have had to struggle with him and I am almost dead. Have confidence, I have conquered him. You will not die.'

956 "Then the sorcerer demands his honoraria, which consists of ponchos, cows, horses, etc., which the sick man's relatives dare not refuse him for fear of being in turn victims of his magic power. Entire families have been seen ruined in order to pay for the violence of the sorcerer.

"If the sick man dies, the sorcerer has no trouble finding an /Fig. 137 appears here/ excuse, but sometimes he has to give back part of the goods he has received in payment."

/MS 100/

Judging from this text, the Chiriguano sorcerer, like his Tupinamba or Siberian colleague, put himself into a state of trance so that his spirit, free from corporeal bonds, could go to engage in battle with the soul of the evil-intentioned individual who is responsible against his patient.

The *hupia*, that is, the magical force, is indispensable to one who claims to be a good sorcerer. At least this is the meaning I give to the word translated in the *Devocario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano* etc. (p. 73) but "remedy, medicine," but of which it is said that possession is indispensable to every medicine man. This word refined to any noun whatever expresses the faculty, the power, the facility to make or obtain the thing signified by the noun. Thus a dog trained to hunt deer is *wasu-ugia* (*wasu* deer), a warrior is *tuwaiu-ugia* (*tuwaiu* enemy), etc.

(193)

Fig. 137. Calabash containing snake fat. From: Saladin. (About 1/7 nat. size.)

Remedies. 1. Snake fat (*ybobiha*) is efficacious against leprosy. The Indians keep it in a small calabash sealed with wax (Fig. 137).

2. A little cotton impregnated with cacao oil (*yaoi*) and rubbed on the skin is an excellent liniment for rheumatism.

3. A similar virtue is attributed to chicken fat (Fig. 138). In everyday life they resort to chicken fat or cacao oil to anoint the body, which they then rub with cocoa paste. Women generally have their

Fig. 138. Section of bamboo containing chicken fat. From: Cappendi. (1/7 nat. size.)

/left cont./

[301] teeth and legs oiled in this way, which gives them a very strange reddish and shiny hue. This custom, which was already noted /left/ in the sixteenth century among the Tupinambá of the Brazilian coast, is tending to fall into disuse.

[301] [302] [303] Roucou in paste form is kept in a small cow-hoof bag (Fig. 139). /Fig. 139 appears here/ as is *halauga*, a substance composed of a mixture of roucou and pounded *arrua* seeds, which gives a violet color.

[297] [297] 4. Jaguar fat (*yaguarica*) cures any "leprosy" (*kaxeli*) if one rubs oneself with it after bathing in.

[302] 5. Iguana fat makes cramps go away and heals wounds. Its use is external.

6. The dried penis of a fox makes toothaches and earaches go away. For that it suffices to touch the ailing part with the end /Fig. 140 appears here/ of this member. The Indians consider it very malodorous and touch it only with repugnance. [305] To avoid this inconvenience they provide it with a handle and shut it up in a bamboo case (Fig. 141).

7. Deerhorn heated and /Fig. 141 appears here/ applied against the neck will cure a stiff neck. The medical use of deer (*ayuu*) horns explains the frequent presence of the horns of this animal in the archeological strata of the neighboring Andean regions. Some have thus been found in the ruins of the Allaricos, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 6, p. 71), at Tilcara (Debenedetti, 9, p. 102), at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 116, p. 457), and at Tastil (Boman, 7, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, Fig. 79 f).

[297] [298] [299] [300] Horns adhering to a fragment of the skull and whose use could only have been magical or medical must be distinguished from the ones which the Indians work into awls. These instruments still have a ritual use and are reserved for piercing the lower lip of children when they are old enough to wear the labret. At least this is what Compana (p. 89) informs us. Besides, the Indians all have confirmed this detail to me. [291] Formerly, the Tupinambá of Brazil practiced this operation with an awl of the same nature (see Métraux, 3, p. 100).

Iz Méraux--564 E-6 (1939) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

824
302
415
386

Fig. 139. Small bag made of corn husks, containing roucou paste. Prov.: Salado grande (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

Fig. 140. Calabash containing roucou seeds. Prov.: Caipipendí. (About 1/5 nat. size.)

415
237
959

Fig. 141. Case containing a fox penis (aguara-kankuy). Prov.: Ibopeytí. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

/484/

412 However, these awls are too abundant in each village for their use to be only sacred. It is probable that the Chiriguano use them as a simple tool for solely secular purposes.

[174] At Tilcara, Debenedetti (2, Fig. 176, p. 232) discovered specimens made of deerhorn identical with our Chiriguano examples.

824 757 8. I have in my collections seeds whose virtues are multiple: they are an excellent remedy for skin eruptions, ulcers, and toothaches.

9. For stomach-ache the Chiriguano recommend the absorption of particles of wood (mboipinda).

232 [824] 10. Certain seeds (of a graminaceous plant?) when crushed give a paste or powder with which they treat animals whose sores are attacked by worms.

11. When cows' hooves tend to work loose, they bathe them with fragments of limestone (itakwi).

757 237 12. Fat extracted from a cow's foot is an effective ointment for cases of rheumatism.

13. The beak of the toucan is said to enjoy great medicinal properties. They grate it and drink in water the powder which comes from it (Cámpana, 111).

Stitches in the side and dysentery are treated with a piece of armadillo shell burned, ground, and dissolved in water, which the patient drinks.

757 [114] In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (passim) and Nino's book (pp. 288-290) is found many a very interesting piece of information on the pharmacopoeia of the Chiriguano. I shall summarize them in order to complete my own observations.

757 164 1. The oil which floats on kiwi, when it is done, is a good remedy for headaches.

2. Salt, ground and drunk mixed with the urine of a small child, quiets stomach pains.

[824] 3. Rheumatism is doctored by applying on the ailing part a branch of ulala (ñankawina) from which the thorns have been removed and which has been heated.

[164] /484 cont./
[757]
[824] 4. To stop dysentery, one must drink a decoction made of corn and watermelon seeds ground together.

[237] 5. Stitches in the side are treated by drinking a fragment of armadillo shell ground up and by rubbing the ailing place with a portion of this same calabash heated.

6. Tumors and swellings of the throat or knee are made to disappear by applying on the sore region the leaves of a shrub called urukuna, heated in a pot. Another herb (yundurimbiu) has the same virtue.

/485/ Urukuna leaves put in compresses on the skull dissipate headaches, protect one from congestion, and cure erysipelas. The leaves of yandipa (hediondilla) have all the virtues of urukuna.

7. Hemorrhages are stopped by means of latex or the roasted leaf of the liana supuapempe.

8. Kaa-upaya is an efficacious herb in cases of stomach ailments; and soto root cures pains in the feet (rheumatism?).

9. Guaya is a liana which cures any swelling in the side.

[753] [821] 10. Goiter, rare among the Indians, is attributed by them to the sun. They treat it with tutía, a yellow fruit which reminds one of an apple, or by putting around the neck compresses of the blood of the gallinazo, carancho, or bandurria, kinds of vultures.

11. Ophthalmia or conjunctivitis is doctored with drops extracted from the bark of the algarrobillo or with the glue taken from the bud of the membiría plant. The leaves of yandi-wope are excellent for cases of ophthalmia.

12. A variety of caraguatá makes diarrhea stop.

13. The flower káa-ro (bitter herb) cures skin eruptions and is as good for malaria.

14. The herb inái (tooth of water) is a remedy against whooping cough, which can also be treated with an infusion made of boiled or roasted wasps and drunk warm.

15. Tingi bark attached around the belly is excellent for fighting dropsy, as are the leaves of the aturu (palo de india), a tree reminiscent of laurel, or the herb kaa-paye, taken as an infusion.

164 /485 cont./
757 16. Gonorrhea is treated with the boiled root of the
824 mistol and tapir fat.

17. Earaches pass away if drops of chicken, beetle, and
[237] cicada fat are poured into the auditory canal.

18. The root of chirimoya del monte (aratibu) is a good antidote if one feels poisoned.

752 19. Snake bites lose their seriousness if one applies some
824 of the herb ururu, guaje, tobacco, or nicotine on the wound.

The sap of the liana isipo-poro-mboyi, although poisonous, nonetheless constitutes an excellent antidote for the same cases.

752 20. By putting melted wax on the wound, you do not risk
237 dying when a mad dog has bitten you.

21. Wounds produced by a sharp instrument heal if burned chicken feathers are spread on them.

757 22. It suffices for a woman to drink the powder of a shell in water to put her fallen uterus back in place.

/486/

757 23. The red leaves of the aflankamisa, iwira-ro (quebracho
824 cacha) bark, the woody plant toba-pitle, taken as infusions, are as many remedies for fever.

[752] 24. Compresses of kaa-ruruntirái make abscesses burst.

25. In case of constipation it is good to drink the latex of the kaa-si (cardencha, lechetrezna).

752 26. After any serious fall one must drink water in which
757 one has made an infusion of a part of vervain (kaimberai)
824 pounded beforehand. The consequences of the shock will not be felt if one applies on the sore regions poultices made with this same plant carefully ground.

27. Recommended for spreading on sprains are cara guatá leaves or a thick glue obtained by boiling the bark of iwira-pitiyu-wasu. This substance is equally good for fractures.

757 28. The Chiriguano chew the bark of iwira-pitiyu-wasu to make
824 their violent toothaches stop and to make their teeth more solid.

29. A cataract is doctored in the following way: One boils kuruwa leaves and bathes the patient's head with this infusion.
[237] Then one takes the gall from the dorado fish with pincers or

/486 cont./

757 824 237 some similar object and rub the sick person's eyes with it until the cataract comes off.

30. The tannin contained in kurupai bark is a disinfectant which hastens the healing of wounds.

757 824 31. The leaves of kurupairi (small sibil), squeezed and put into compresses on a tumor, act in a lenitive way.

757 824 304 32. The plant wambero (kind of purslane) is a laxative. It has a scarlet flower which girls dry and pulverize to be able to color their cheeks red.

33. Iwowi bark, pounded and roasted, is a good remedy for any pain affecting the limbs. The sap taken from the pips of this tree hastens the healing of wounds.

[752] 34. Powdered inai seeds make teeth fall out.

35. The root of the iniro-poro-mbowi, ground and kneaded with salt and tallow, is an emollient which is spread on tumors.

36. When they feel pains in the limbs, the Chiriguano apply on the ailing part a poultice made of ica-wasu roots, crushed and roasted.

37. The seeds of the yandi-wasu, taken in doses of two or three, are a good emetic.

38. The sarai is a tree reminiscent of our walnut tree. Its inner bark yields a powder which is spread on skin eruptions.

39. A climbing plant called kaa-rowa is supposed to have medicinal properties. /487/ It is taken in the form of an infusion, or poultices are made with it after it is pounded.

40. Another climbing plant, the kaa-tai (hacha de chivato) is a very active caustic which can produce burns if the compresses made with its flowers, leaves, and twigs ground together and mixed with water are kept on too long. If the hands are rubbed with this plant, they become numb.

41. The roots of the shrub mbaipina, well cooked, yield a broth which combats atrophy.

757 825 42. A species of bug (tambeyia) is used in the native pharmacopoeia as a caustic.

757 271 43. The Chiriguano have great faith in the virtue of hot water. Every sick Indian has beside him a small vessel the size of an egg, full of hot water. Those who are attending him

/497 cont./

wet their finger and moisten his lips (Campana, p. 113). The patient must also drink this water.

Chiriguano medicine in the 18th century. A manuscript of the 18th century, written by Father Manuel Mingo and kept in the Library of the Collège de Tarija, contains information of the greatest interest on the way in which the Chiriguano used to doctor themselves when they were still independent. Here is the translation of the passage in question:

"The manner in which they doctor themselves in case of sickness is curious. Sometimes, when they feel sick, they go immediately to bathe inside their house in jars or a wooden basin. Sometimes they have several herbs applied, which they go to get in the fields or thickets. Sometimes also they allow an enema or clyster to be administered to them. This instrument (according to what I could see at Tariquea) is also very curious. It comes down to a small calabash or hollow gourd with a round opening on top and a small hole at the bottom. In the lower part one fastens or puts a hollow nozzle or a small hollow reed corresponding to the nozzle. One pours through the top (that is, through the large round opening arranged in the swollen part of the calabash) a broth of urine with salt. After that, the one who is acting as nurse or orderly blows hard through the upper part or from the top by pressing his lips to the opening or window of the calabash, and the force of the breath makes the liquid pass into the patient's intestines." (Fol. 107-108).

Neuenswiffel (14, pp. 194-195), who in a recent book went full length into the matter of the various instruments utilized by the American Indians for giving enemas, distinguishes two types: those which are provided with a rubber or leather bulb or a bladder, and those which amount to a simple tube. The one described for us with such a wealth of details by our missionary belongs to the second type, although /498/ exhibiting some similarities with the first. It can be considered as intermediate between the two.

/488 cont./

757 114 The explorer Eric von Rosen tried to demonstrate that some objects found in northwestern Argentina are clyster tubes or nozzles. Nordenskiöld is also of this opinion. As for me, I am all the more tempted to adopt this hypothesis because I could not otherwise explain the presence of this instrument among the Chiriguano. No Tupi tribe, as a matter of fact, with the exception of the Omagua on the upper Amazon, seems to have resorted to enemas in case of illness; at least not one of the numerous travelers who gave their attention to these Indians mentions the operation among them. There is no doubt that the Chiriguano borrowed this curative method and the corresponding instrument from the nearby Andean peoples. We know that the Quichua /Quechua/ gave each other enemas, as is proved by the discovery of a leather syringe in a pre-Hispanic grave of the Ollachea Valley in eastern Peru (Nordenskiöld, 14, Fig. 74, p. 188). (To be continued.)

757 171 174

000 /The bibliography, pp. 488-493, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text. The following "Table of Contents" appears at the end of this volume of the Revista, along with the tables of contents for the other articles in the volume. The lists of plates and figures which follow the table of contents in the translation were made up from the captions and are not part of the original text./

/598/ Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians

by Alfred Métraux

	page
Preface	1
I. Material Culture	5
Introduction	5
Historical outline of the formation of the Chiriguano nation	6
Agriculture	63
Cooking and food	80
Food resources	80
Fish	93
Cooking	97

1: Métraux--371 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/599 cont./

	Page
Fire	97
Preparation of food	99
Fermented beverages	113
Notes on the cooking utensils used among the Chiriguano	123
Tools of the Chiriguano	140
Mold for tembetas	146
Balances	146
Art among the Chiriguano and Chané Indians	149
Pottery technique	149
Classification of Chiriguano pottery	157
Decline of the art of pottery among the Chiriguano	164
Comparative study of the basic elements of the painted pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians	168
Comparative study of the principal decorative motifs of Chiriguano pottery and that of the neighboring Andean peoples	196
Calabashes	250
Weaving	269
Basketry and its techniques	280
1. General considerations	280
2. Basketry in wicker work	287
3. Basketry in twilled work	303
Masks	325
Description of the masks	330
Combs	332
Furniture	335
Toys and games	344
The treatment of illnesses	359
Sorcerers and remedies	359

Ii Mémoire--272 E-5 (1959) 1990 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

List of Plates

page

Plate I. 15

1. Panoramic view of the Franciscan mission of San Pascual de Bolcovo (Huacaya Valley).
2. Landscape typical of the mountainous region occupied by the Chiriguano.

Plate II. 19

1. Old Chiriguano of Yumbía (Upper Pilcomayo).
2. Karnapadyí, "captain" of the Cururuí region near the middle course of the Parapití River.

Plate III. 29

1. Mandepona, the most illustrious Chiriguano chief of the past century.
2. Type of Chiriguano Indian from the Igüembé Valley.

Plate IV. 35

1. Santos Airedyí, the last "capitan grande" of the still independent Chiriguano Indians.
2. Group of Chiriguano in a Franciscan mission.

Plate V. 50

1. Iwawaei, Chiriguano Indian girl from the region of Cururuí (near the middle course of the Parapití River).
2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the village of Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo).

Plate VI. 73

1. Young Chiriguano, daughter of the "capitan grande" Karnapadyí.
2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the Cururuí region.

page

Plate VII. 77

1. Sling of yellow, purple, white, and green wool.
2. Sling of brown, green, and white wool.
3. Sling of vegetable fibers.

Plate VIII. Arrows for war or for hunting large game. Chiriguano. 83

Plate IX. 86

1. Arrow for hunting the yaki. Chiriguano.
2. Arrow tipped with an iron rod wedged into the shaft with the aid of a wooden peg, perforated, and tied with a small cord.
3-5. Arrows with barbed points.

Plate X. Arrows with splayed ferrule for killing birds or small mammals. 86

Plate XI. Arrows with splayed ferrule for killing birds or small mammals. 87

Plate XII. Arrows with splayed ferrule for killing birds or small mammals. 92

Plate XIII. 103

1 and 2. Basin with perforated bottom for preparing maizizimma. Flour cooked in steam.
3. Basin for roasting corn kernels or flour.

Plate XIV. 115

1. Vessels assembled in front of a hut for the preparation of kiwi (chicha).
2. Women and children taking kiwi.

page

Plate XV. 110

1. Large vessel (wambu) in which the Chirigwane make corn beer ferment
2. Large vat (wambu) for boiling bilwi. The Chirigwane bury their dead in similar urns.

Plate XVI. 115

1. Cooking pot (wawa).
2. Vessel (wawa) with twisted handles and decorated with incised triangles
3. Cooking pot (wawa) decorated with fingernail impressions.
4. Cooking pot (wawa) decorated on the neck with fingernail impressions.

Plate XVII. 117

1. Vessel in which the Chirigwane draw water for household use.
2. Vessel (wambu) decorated with a series of cups on the base of the neck.

Plate XVIII. Water pots (). Chirigwane. 121

Plate XIX. Bowls (wai). Chirigwane. 125

Plate XX. 130

1 and 2. Calabashes () put in a net in order to be transported or hung in the hut.
3. Calabash with lid cut out in star shape.
4. Calabash with automatic closing.

Plate XXI. 137

1. Calabash used as a mug.
2. Calabash with star-shaped lid and automatic closing.
3. Flat calabash suspended by means of leather thongs.
4. Calabash enclosed in strips of wambi bark.

Metraux--375 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Page

Plate LXII. Adze whose iron blade has the form of the T-shaped axes of ancient Peru. 143

Plate LXIII. Stone axes of the ancient Chiriguano. 144

Plate LXIV. Accessories of a Chiriguano potter 153

Plate LXV. Anthropomorphic vessel found on the banks of the Pilcomayo near the Chiriguano village of Ibopeyti, attesting to the existence in this region of a civilized population before the Chiriguano. 172

Plate LXVI. 179
1. Anthropomorphic vessel. Chané.
2. Vessel with ribbed belly, brown in color. Chiriguano.

Plate LXVII. Chiriguano vessels (yapupo). 183

Plate LXVIII. Miniature Chiriguano vessels (toys and amusing objects). 190

Plate LXIX. Painted Chiriguano bowls (flaé). 194

Plate LX. Principal decorative motifs of Chiriguano and Chané pottery. 198

Plate LXI. Principal decorative motifs of Chiriguano and Chané pottery. 199

Plate LXII. Principal decorative motifs of Chiriguano and Chané pottery. 200

Plate LXXIII. Principal decorative motifs of Chiriguano and Chané pottery. 201

1: Métraux--976 B-5 (1929) 1800 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

		page
Plate XXXIV.	Principal decorative motifs of Chiriguano and Chané pottery.	210

Plates XXXV-XLVI are in color.

Plate XXXV.	Chiriguano vessels.	211
Plate XXXVI.	Chiriguano vessels.	212
Plate XXXVII.	Chiriguano vessels.	213
Plate XXXVIII.	Chané and Chiriguano vessels.	214
Plate XXXIX.	Chiriguano vessels.	215
Plate XL.	Chiriguano vessels.	216
Plate XLI.	Chiriguano vessels.	217
Plate XLII.	Chiriguano vessels.	218
Plate XLIII.	Chiriguano vessels.	219
Plate XLIV.	Chiriguano vessels.	220
Plate XLV.	Chiriguano pottery.	221
Plate XLVI.	Chiriguano pottery.	222
Plate XLVII.	Chiriguano vessels (yambuí).	226
Plate XLVIII.	Chiriguano vessels (yambuí).	227
Plate XLIX.	Chiriguano vessels (yambuí).	228

		page
Plate L.	Chiriguano vessels (yambu).	229
Plate LI.	Chiriguano vessels (yambu).	230
Plate LII.	Chiriguano vessels (yambu).	231
Plate LIII.	Chiriguano and Chaná vessels (yambu).	232
Plate LIV.	Chiriguano vessels (yambu)	233
Plate LV.	Chiriguano vessels (yambu).	234
Plate LVI.	Chiriguano vessels (yapepó and yambu).	236
Plate LVII.	Chiriguano vessels (yambu and yapepó).	239
Plate LVIII.	Chiriguano vessels (yapepó).	240
Plate LIX.	Miniature Chiriguano vessels (yapepoa) (serve as containers).	244
Plate LX.	Miniature Chiriguano vessels (yapepoa).	245
Plate LXI.	Pyrographed and incised calabashes. Chiriguano.	252
Plate LXII.	Engraved and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano and Diaguita.	253
Plate LXIII.	Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano.	254
Plate LXIV.	Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano.	255

		page
Plate LXV.	Incised, pyrographed, and painted calabashes. Chiriguano.	356
Plate LXVI.	Incised, pyrographed, and painted calabashes. Chiriguano.	357
Plate LXVII.	Incised, pyrographed, and painted calabashes.	358
Plate LXVIII.	Incised and pyrographed calabashes.	359
Plate LXIX.	Pyrographed and incised calabashes. Chiriguano.	360
Plate LXX.	Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano.	361
Plate LXXI.	Painted, incised, and pyrographed calabashes.	362
Plate LXXII.	Chiriguano loom of the type called "Arawak."	364
Plate LXXIII.	Base of the basket of Fig. 104 indicating the detail of its technique.	367
Plate LXXIV.	Chiriguano baskets in wicker work.	368
Plate LXXV.	Chiriguano baskets.	369
Plate LXXVI.	1. Base of the basket of Plate LXXIV, 1. 2. Base of the basket of Plate LXXV, 2.	370
Plate LXXVII.	Chiriguano baskets in wicker work.	374
Plate LXXVIII.	Chiriguano basket in twilled work.	377

page

Plate LXXIX. Bowls of the basket of Plate LXXVIII. [illegible]

Plate LXXX. [illegible]

1. Basket of the telescope type in twilled work.
2. Details of the technique of the basket.

Plate LXXXI. [illegible]

1. Details of the technique of the basket of Figure 12A.
2. Details of the technique of the sieve of Plate LXXXII.

Plate LXXXII. Sieve [illegible]. [illegible]

Plate LXXXIII. Chirigwa sieve [illegible]. [illegible]

Plate LXXXIV. Large-mesh sieve. [illegible]

Plate LXXXV. Fan or fire-blower of plaited palm leaves. [illegible]

Plate LXXXVI. Chirigwa mats [illegible]. [illegible]

Plate LXXXVII. Table indicating the way in which the evolution of the different types of mesh might have come about. 336-337

Plate LXXXVIII. Chirigwa baskets of wood. 340

Plate LXXXIX. Bring figures. Chirigwa. 342

Plate XC. Chirigwa string figure. 344

Plate XCI. Chirigwa drawing. 346

Plate XCII. Chirigwa drawing. 348

Plate [illegible]. Chiriguano drawings. page 207

List of Figures

Fig.

1. Old Indian from the Santa Rosa Mission 60
2. Wooden shovel. 63
3. Shovel handle. 66
4. Shovel handle 66
5. Cow horn ([illegible]) used as a horn. 68
6. Chiriguano hut. 69
7. Sugar-cane mill. 72
8. Stack. 74
9. Cassavas on poles. 78
10. Twined vine on which the Chiriguano pole cows smoke their hats. 79
11. Straw dustbrush. 79
12. Stockade pail. 82
13. Bow of the Chaná Indians. 82
14. Hunting arrow. Chiriguano. 88
15. Upper tip of a [illegible] for catching wild parrots. 88
16. Perch with tongue for the tamed parrots used for catching wild ones. 90
17. Perforated calabashes in which the Chiriguanos put chicks to protect them from birds of prey. 90
18. Sewing set of cotton thread. Chiriguano. 94
19. Wooden needle (chuos) for threading fish to carry them more conveniently. 96
20. Arrow used to catch fish. 96
21. Spear for harpooning large surubú. 96
22. Spit for roasting fish. 96
23. Small deerskin bag for carrying a tinder-box and its accessories. 95

Fig.		page
24.	Puma paw made into a bag.	99
25.	Ancient apparatus for making fire, reconstructed by a modern Chiriguano.	99
26.	Chiriguano woman lighting a fire.	100
27.	Young Chiriguano woman winnowing beans.	107
28.	Salt molded in a ball, ready to be consumed or exported.	108
29.	Iron peg with leather handle, for husking ears of corn. Chiriguano.	116
30.	Chiriguano mortar and pestle.	116
31.	Woman sifting corn.	117
32.	Sticks for stirring kîwi during its cooking.	118
33.	Oar for stirring kîwi during cooking.	120
34.	Shovel ending in an ox scapula, used for stirring kîwi.	120
35.	Small vessel (yapopoti) decorated with fingernail impressions.	124
36.	Vessel (yapepô) with twisted handles and decorated with two series of small cups engraved on the neck.	128
37.	Toba vessel in the shape of a flattened gourd. Serves for carrying water while traveling.	128
38.	Ashiulay vessel.	130
39.	Toba vessel with bands in relief imitating the suspension cords with which vessels of this type are generally provided.	132
40.	Small bowl (ñaê) with 4 nipples. Chiriguano.	133
41.	Small miniature bowl with cord for hanging. Chiriguano.	133
42-43.	Wooden spoons (karuba or iwira-karu).	139
44.	A bignoniaceous or an asclepiadaceous fruit whose shell cut in half is utilized by the Chiriguano as a cup or spoon.	139

Fig.		Page
45.	Calebash cut in half to serve as a spoon.	139
46.	Ladle carved out of a calebash.	139
47.	Reserve calebashes hanging in a net inside a Chiriguano hut.	139
48.	Calebash hung by means of a transverse stick.	141
49.	Wooden bowl (*ma*).	141
50.	Wooden basin sometimes used among the Chiriguano.	141
51.	Iron ax of the type called simple neolithic ax, hafted like the ancient stone axes.	143
52.	Stone roller used as a grinder on a flat stone. Archaeological piece.	145
53.	Mold for making tin labrets.	146
54.	Balance with scales in use among the Chiriba half-breeds of the Tarija region.	149
55.	Balance (*mbalanza*) in use among the Chiriguano for weighing coca.	148
56.	Fabrication of a vessel.	150
57-58.	Vessels (*yapepo*).	151
59.	Fabrication of a vessel.	155
60.	Forked tree-trunk serving as a shelf for vessels.	156
61.	Fabrication of a vessel.	159
62.	Fabrication of a large vat.	162
63.	Fabrication of a large vat.	163
64.	Fabrication of a large vat.	165
65.	Fabrication of a large vat.	166
66.	Fabrication of a large vat.	167
67.	Panpipe.	173
68.	Fragments of incised pottery found at Calipendí.	174
69.	Pot decorated with incised lines and provided with two holes for hanging.	177

Fig.		page
70.	The îru (a), drawn after Debenedetti, was found on the Isla de Tilcara. Vessel b is modern.	182
71.	Miniature footed vessel.	185
72.	Footed bowl or "compote."	187
73.	Ornithomorphic vessel. Chiriguano.	188
74.	Vessel painted red.	189
75.	Vessel decorated with red and black motifs.	189
76.	Cup decorated with black checkerwork on cream background.	192
77.	Small bowl with zoomorphic ear and hole for hanging.	195
78.	a and b. Vessel a comes from Cuevo; b gives the profile of a vessel found at Tacna.	195
79.	a, bowl from the Isla de Tilcara, b, border of a dish (Isla Tilcara).	206
80.	Dish from Tilcara.	207
81.	Large painted îru.	225
82.	Vessel b from the Chiriguano village of Tintapaw exhibits an extraordinary resemblance to vessel a from Tilcara.	242
83.	Chané vessel.	249
84.	Incised and pyrographed calabash.	265
85	a and b. Engraved calabash.	266
86	a, b, and c. Miniature calabashes, "liqueur glasses" and children's toys. Chiriguano and Chané.	268
87.	Chiriguano woman getting ready to spin.	270
88.	Chiriguano girls spinning.	271
89	a, b, c. Chiriguano spindles of the bakaiti /Bacairi/ type.	272
90.	Drawing indicating how spindles are arranged inside a Chiriguano hut.	275

1: Métraux--384 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Fig.		page
91.	Diagram indicating how the warp threads are arranged on a Chiriguano loom of the "Arawak type."	275
92.	Metatarsal bone of a mammal, carved in the shape of a dagger and used to cross and tighten the warp threads.	276
93-94.	Awls (kiruna) for crossing and tightening the warp threads.	276
95.	Headband (tsumbi).	278
96.	Knitted wool cap (ankairu).	279
97.	Back basket used by the Guarayú Indians.	280
98.	Carrying net (añapoka) of the Chiriguano Indians.	282
99.	Toba carrying net used by the Chiriguano Indians of the Machareti mission.	282
100.	Technique of the net of Figure 98.	283
101.	Technique of the net of Figure 99.	285
102.	Base of a vessel bearing the impressions of wickerwork.	292
103.	Small basket in spiral basketry (coiled basketry).	293
104.	Wickerwork basket with cover.	294
105.	Detail of the technique of the rim of the basket of Figure 104.	295
106.	Detail of the technique of the bottom of the basket of Plate LXXIV, 3.	301
107.	Detail of the handle of the basket of Plate LXXV, 2.	301
108.	Wickerwork basket imitating those of the half-breeds.	302
109.	Miniature basket (child's toy).	302
110.	Circular twilled-work basket.	306
111.	Circular basket of the "telescope" type in twilled work.	310
112.	Twilled-work hat.	310

1: Métraux--385 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Fig.		page
113.	Hat in the process of being made.	311
114.	Chiriguano twilled-work cigarette case.	311
115.	Detail of the rim of the sieve of Plate LXXXIV, 2.	315
116.	Sieve in the process of being made.	316
117.	Detail of the handle of the fire-blower of Plate LXXXV.	323
118.	"Flower," ornament made of plaited palm leaves.	323
119.	Wreath of plaited palm leaves (amusement or ornament?). Ashluslay.	324
120.	Chiriguano Indians wearing masks.	326
121.	Chiriguano mask from Tabacal (near Oran).	331
122.	Chiriguano stone mortar for crushing fiitira seeds.	333
123.	Composite comb made of fine splinters of bamboo. Chiriguano.	334
124.	Chiriguano hut.	338
125.	Wooden cot of the Chiriguano Indians.	339
126.	Hoop of vegetable fibers, to serve as a shelf.	339
127.	Sketch indicating the technique of the hoop of Figure 126.	341
128.	Deer foot dried in the sun to serve as a hook for hanging.	341
129.	Double-runnered bench.	341
130.	Armadillo shell (tatu-pire) in which Chiriguano women keep objects for needlework, small pieces of cloth, etc.	343
131.	Bull's testicle (toro-upía) which the Chiriguano hang up in their huts as a small container.	343
132.	Broom made of karandaí leaves (tupisa).	343
133.	Chiriguano doll (woman with her tipoy).	345

1: Métraux--386 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Fig.		page
134.	Miniature clothes-bag, full of little tipoy. Chiriguano.	345
135.	Indian executing the string figure called "snake designs" (mboi-kwaña).	346
136.	Indian executing the mobile string figure called "culo de caballo" /..cse's rear end/.	350
137.	Calabash containing snake fat.	362
138.	Section of bamboo containing chicken fat.	362
139.	Small bag made of corn husks, containing roucou paste.	364
140.	Calabash containing roucou seeds.	364
141.	Case containing a fox penis (aguara-kankuy).	364

Map

Map 1. The distribution of wickerwork. 289

1:Métraux SF10 Chiriguano

UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL DE TUCUMÁN
MUSEO DE HISTORIA NATURAL

REVISTA

DEL

INSTITUTO DE ETNOLOGÍA

DE LA UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL DE TUCUMÁN

DIRIGIDA POR EL

Dr A. METRAUX

TOMO I

TUCUMÁN
UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL DE TUCUMÁN
1929

[Title Page]

1:Métraux SF10 Chiriguano

[P 295]
[PP. 1-294 not Processed]

ÉTUDES SUR LA CIVILISATION DES INDIENS CHIRIGUANO

PAR ALFRED MÉTRAUX
Directeur de l'Institut d'Ethnologie de l'Université de Tucumán

---

PRÉFACE

Dans les chapitres qui vont suivre, je me propose de publier une partie des résultats obtenus au cours de la mission que j'ai entreprise dans le Chaco bolivien et argentin, en qualité de directeur de l'Institut d'Ethnologie de l'Université de Tucuman.

Cette expédition eut lieu de février à juin 1929. L'itinéraire en a été le suivant : parti de Tucuman, je me dirigeai par chemin de fer à La Quiaca où je restai quelques jours, faisant des observations sur les indigènes plus ou moins métissés de la région. De La Quiaca je me rendis à Tarija où je séjournai plus longtemps que je ne l'aurais voulu en raison des suspicions que mon voyage provoqua au moment du conflit paraguayo-bolivien.

Après un arrêt de quinze jours, je quittai Tarija pour gagner les *tolderías* chiriguano du haut Pilcomayo. Je traversai le village de Santa Ana, puis la Abra del Cóndor, le río Narvaez, le poste de San Diego, passai à 5 kilomètres de San Luis (Entre-Ríos) pour m'arrêter à la Cuesta de San Simón où je trouvai les premiers Chiriguano. Une fois la Cuesta de San Simón franchie, j'atteignis rapidement le río Salado, puis les villages chiriguano de Timboy (Saladito). C'est là que je fis mes meilleures acquisitions de poteries et où je recueillis le plus d'objets anciens. Les habitants de ces *rancherías* qui vivent relativement loin de la grande route de l'Argentine à Santa Cruz, ont conservé mieux que leurs frères de race les traditions et la culture de leurs ancêtres. De Saladito, je gagnai le village de Itasiri, puis de Salado Grande pour

atteindre le Pilcomayo au confluent du Salado. Là, les villages chiriguano sont grands et nombreux. Les plus intéressants sont ceux de Nawirenda, d'Ilupeyti et de Yumbia.

Après m'être arrêté quelque temps en cet endroit, je continuai mon voyage vers Huacaya et la mission de San Pascual de Boicovo.

En un jour je me rendis de Boicovo à Cuevo en passant par la mission de Santa Rosa.

De Cuevo, je fus à la mission de Ivu qui est, sans doute, celle où les anciennes coutumes chiriguano ont subi le moins de modifications.

De Cuevo, je partis au nord ouest vers la région du rio Parapiti. Je passai cette rivière près de Pipi. Après m'être arrêté dans ce village, je suivis un sentier indien qui me conduisit jusqu'à Cururuti, chez mon bon ami le capitaine *Karuapadyá*. Je restai chez lui une semaine et ne le quittai que pour parcourir toute la vallée de Caipipendi, visitant tous les villages indiens les uns après les autres. A Caipipendi même je fis des fouilles fructueuses et recueillis des mythes intéressants.

Le terme de mon voyage vers le nord fut la petite ville de Charagua.

Je consacrai la dernière partie de mon voyage à des séjours plus ou moins longs dans les missions franciscaines de Tarairi, Tigüipa, Macharetí et Ivu.

Avant de regagner l'Argentine, je fis une excursion dans la vallée d'Igüembé jusqu'au village de Masavi.

Les deux dernières semaines de mon expédition furent déllées à l'étude des indiens Chané qui vivent près d'Aguaray dans le Chaco salteño (République Argentine).

Précédemment j'avais dû, pour des raisons diverses, m'arrêter à Oran un mois que je mis à profit pour faire des collections parmi les indiens Ashluslay qui y viennent pour la récolte de la canne à sucre.

Je ne publierai, dans ce volume, les résultats de mon expédition que pour autant qu'ils apportent des faits et des détails nouveaux. Il ne faut donc pas considérer les chapitres que je consacre aux Chiriguano comme une étude exhaustive de leur civilisation, mais simplement comme une *contribution*. La culture des Chiriguano a fait l'objet de quatre travaux importants dont deux sont dûs à des ethnographes de grande autorité (1).

(1) Nordenskiöld (**2**, **5** et **10**) et Rosen (1). La monographie de Campana sur les Chiriguano, que j'aurai souvent l'occasion de citer, n'est qu'une recompilation et une mise au point des notes manuscrites laissées par le missionnaire italien, le R. P.

Mon but a été de compléter l'œuvre de mes devanciers et de réunir pour le Musée de Tucuman une collection qui fût vraiment représentative de la dernière des cultures qui jadis ont fleuri dans les limites de l'ancienne *gobernacion* de Tucuman. Mes collections chiriguano sont, avec celles recueillies par Nordenskiöld, les plus complètes, je crois, qui existent au monde de cette région. Elles témoigneront, je l'espère, de la richesse de cette contrée au point de vue ethnographique, richesse que l'on a laissée inexploitée et qui disparaîtra dans quelques années.

Puissent ces pages démontrer que toute culture est un tout si complexe, si varié, que nul ethnographe n'en peut étudier tous les détails au cours d'un seul voyage. Ce n'est pas faire œuvre vaine que de retourner là où d'autres vous ont précédé car, quels qu'aient été leurs mérites, la matière ne peut être épuisée en une fois.

Il me reste à remplir un devoir de reconnaissance en remerciant le docteur J. B. Terán et le docteur J. Heller qui, en qualité de recteur et de vice-recteur de l'Université de Tucuman, m'ont donné les moyens de réaliser ce voyage. Le nouveau recteur de l'Université, le docteur J. Prebisch, m'a accordé les crédits élevés qu'exigeait la publication des résultats de cette expédition et a soutenu constamment la *Revue d'Ethnologie* de mon Institut. Je tiens à lui manifester ici tout le gré que je lui en sais.

Je veux encore exprimer ma gratitude à tous ceux qui m'ont aidé au cours de mon voyage : en tout premier lieu aux missionnaires franciscains qui m'ont accordé une généreuse hospitalité et m'ont aidé dans la mesure du possible ; ma dette est particulièrement grande envers le R. P. Jucundo Ferrari, grâce à qui j'ai pu effectuer sans dégâts le transport de mes collections du haut Pilcomayo à Cuevo ; au P. Angrisani qui m'a reçu si fréquemment dans sa mission de Ivu. Je ne veux pas non plus oublier les Pères Luis Mattioli, [illegible] Polvorini, Juan Nicolai et Honorato Catimari, qui m'ont secondé en diverses occasions. Le R. P. Enrique Biagini m'a rendu un service auquel j'ai été très sensible en me recommandant à tous les missionnaires du Chaco.

Le préfet de Tarija, le colonel Nuñez del Prado, a facilité mon voyage

Dorotea Giannechini. Ce travail est à bien des égards excellent. Quant au livre du R. P. Bernardino de Nino, ce n'est qu'une traduction de l'article de Campana, complétée par de copieux emprunts à l'ouvrage de Corrado. Cependant le R. P. Bernardino de Nino a ajouté aux textes qu'il reproduit maints détails fort intéressants qui rendent indispensable la consultation de son *Etnografía chiriguana*.

en me donnant un sauf-conduit qui m'a été particulièrement utile auprès des autorités de la Bolivie orientale. Cet homme, courtois et intelligent, vient de trouver la mort sur le champ de bataille. Je tiens à saluer sa mémoire avec gratitude.

Mes compatriotes MM. Burry m'ont assisté au cours de tout mon voyage et m'ont rendu des services inappréciables dont je garde un souvenir reconnaissant ainsi que de l'aide précieuse que m'ont prêtée MM. Attié, de Tarija.

J'ai reçu une cordiale hospitalité de M. Bonardi, de Sancarwinza, et de M. Vicente Constantini, que je remercie ici.

M. Alberto Torrejón, d'Ibopeyti, s'est montré envers moi un hôte plein d'intelligence et son intervention en ma faveur auprès des indiens m'a été fort utile.

Ce serait me montrer ingrat et injuste si je ne manifestais ici tout ce dont je suis redevable aux indiens eux-mêmes, dont l'accueil, les premières défiances dissipées, a été toujours si cordial, si généreux. Je voudrais citer ici le nom de mon vieil ami le capitaine *Karnapadyú*, de Carurati, qui a été pour moi un ami courtois et bienveillant et qui m'a rendu si agréable mon séjour dans la vallée de Caipipendí. Puissé je un jour revenir chez mes amis Chiriguano avec des mules chargées de couteaux, de tissus et de perles et remplir ainsi les vœux qu'ils m'exprimèrent si souvent.

1:Métraux SF10 Chiriguano

[P·299]

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

La civilisation matérielle

A Eva qui fut mon compagnon de voyage.

INTRODUCTION

Pour qui veut vérifier expérimentalement, si je puis dire, la valeur des méthodes qui se font jour dans l'ethnographie moderne, pour qui veut juger des facteurs qui conditionnent la formation et l'évolution des civilisations, il n'est pas de meilleur terrain que l'étude des indiens Chiriguano.

Nous savons d'où ils sont venus, l'époque à laquelle ils se sont constitués en une nouvelle nation, les populations avec lesquelles ils se sont mêlés ou ont été en contact, les influences qu'ils ont subies et leur durée, et enfin nous connaissons les vicissitudes de leur histoire; nous pouvons, en un mot, assister à la formation et au développement de ce peuple depuis son origine jusqu'à sa décadence actuelle; expérience unique en Amérique du Sud, rare peut-être ailleurs et, en tous les cas, riche d'enseignements.

Adaptation au milieu, emprunt d'éléments culturels nouveaux, abandon de traditions et de techniques, transformations somatiques et linguistiques, autant de problèmes que pose la civilisation chiriguano et que les documents historiques et les collections permettent de résoudre ou du moins d'éclaircir.

La civilisation chiriguano est composée d'éléments d'origines différentes, empruntés à des tribus qui n'avaient entre elles que peu de points communs. Elle comporte un vieux fond guarani, transformé et entièrement renouvelé par l'apport de la culture arawak des Chané, qui elle-même avait été enrichie et modifiée par l'influence des populations andines du sud de la Bolivie actuelle. La communauté de milieu et un long voisinage ont permis à maintes techniques et industries des indiens primitifs du Chaco, d'être adoptées et assimilées par les Chiriguano. L'importance de ce troisième composant est minime.

L'analyse de la civilisation des Chiriguano (v. Nordenskiöld, **10**, pp. 196-213) rend manifeste cette hétérogénéité que l'histoire de la tribu laissait soupçonner *a priori*. La céramique, la vannerie, les armes, le mobilier, présentent, presque constamment, des caractères disparates où s'expriment ce jeu d'influences, ce mélange de races et d'idées dont la culture actuelle des Chiriguano est le produit.

L'ethnographe se sent d'autant plus à l'aise dans son analyse qu'à chaque pas l'histoire confirme ou infirme les constatations auxquelles le conduit son travail comparatif. Il marche donc en terrain sûr et les résultats qu'il aura acquis dans ce domaine particulier justifieront sa méthode lorsqu'il l'emploiera pour résoudre des problèmes dont les données seront moins complètes.

Les Chiriguano méritent, à plus d'un titre, de tenir une place prépondérante dans l'ethnographie de l'Amérique du Sud. Ils ont joué un rôle important dans l'histoire de la Bolivie, du Paraguay et de l'Argentine : leur civilisation a été brillante et s'est maintenue intacte presque jusqu'à notre époque ; ils sont, en outre, remarquablement doués au point de vue du caractère et de l'intelligence. A ces titres, ils ajoutent celui d'avoir constitué leur civilisation, pour ainsi dire, devant nos yeux et d'offrir à la science un terrain où elle se meut avec quelque sûreté.

Pour comprendre le point de vue que j'ai essayé d'exposer dans cette introduction, il est indispensable de connaître dans ses grandes lignes l'histoire primitive de ces indiens.

CHAPITRE I

Aperçu historique sur la formation de la nation chiriguano

Poblando y conquistando los alrededores
Del Pico inaccesibles cordilleras,
A cuyo pie su tierra subyugado
El rio Pilcomayo y sus riberas.
Mas entre de la sierra los capitales,
A gentes muy valientes y guerreras
Y en el rio Guadiello y Yesso
Y en el grande y famoso Grapal.

(Blas COSAMAMA, *La Argentina*, pp. 16-18.)

Mon intention n'est pas de raconter l'histoire des Chiriguano, du XVIe siècle à nos jours, telle que nous pouvons la connaître par les documents officiels et les chroniques. Cette œuvre a été faite et, généralement bien faite (Corrado; Kersten, pp. 66-69; Serrano y Sanz; Nordenskiöld, **7** et **8**, pp. 45-58; Gandia, **2**, pp. 25-56 et id., **1**, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.). Je me bornerai à retracer ici, dans leurs grandes lignes, les caractères de la grande migration guarani qui a abouti à la formation de la tribu des Chiriguano.

Les indiens Chiriguano appartiennent à la famille linguistique tupi-guarani. Rameau détaché de la grande nation guarani ou, plus exactement, essaim séparé de l'ensemble des tribus dites guarani du Paraguay et du Brésil méridional, ils sont venus s'établir au pied des Andes à la fin du XVe et au début du XVIe siècle, après avoir traversé les plaines du Chaco.

Les causes de ce grand mouvement, qui a entraîné tant de milliers de Guarani vers les frontières de l'empire incaïque, s'expliquent par la singulière attirance que les objets en métal, les vêtements, en un mot tout ce qui peut rendre la vie plus facile et plus belle, ont exercée et continuent à exercer sur les indiens. Le Pérou et ses richesses étaient, depuis longtemps, connus des Guarani du Paraguay et des Tupi de la côte du Brésil. Ils en recevaient des instruments en bronze et des ornements en argent et, parfois aussi, en or (1). En même temps que ces objets, leur parvenaient des descriptions confuses de ces peuples des montagnes, si étrangers, qui vivaient dans des hottes de pierre, avaient à leur service des « cerfs à long poil » et qui dévoraient leur personne de jeunes brillants. Haches en bronze, colliers, bracelets, plaques pectorales, diadèmes et gobelets en argent leur arrivaient par une voie commerciale dont le tracé exact est inconnu, mais qui passait probablement par le Chaco bolivien. Les Chané qui vivaient en contact direct avec les populations de l'empire incaïque et trafiquaient avec elles, jouaient le rôle de courtiers et, par leur intermédiaire, ces outils et ces ornements gagnaient le Paraguay, en passant de mains en mains (2).

(1) Sur les relations commerciales entre les peuples des Andes et les tribus du Chaco, du Paraguay et du Brésil (*cf.* Nordenskiöld, 8, pp. 225-226).

(2) Hernández, p. 322 : « Fueron preguntados qué generaciones son de los que han la plata y el oro, y cómo lo contratan y vienen a su poder; dijeron que los payaguas, que están tres jornadas de su tierra, le dan a los suyos a trueco de arcos y flechas y cuchillos que hacen de otras generaciones, y que los payaguas lo han de los chanaes y chiquitos y cocoanes y candiros, que son otras gentes de los indios, que lo tienen en mucha cantidad, y que los indios lo contratan, como dicho es. »

Avant de pénétrer dans les régions du « vrai métal », les conquistadors espagnols firent de nombreuses enquêtes pour connaître les tribus chez lesquelles ils pourraient trouver les richesses convoitées. Grâce à cette préoccupation, nous avons plusieurs listes des tribus indigènes de la Bolivie orientale qui vivaient en contact avec les peuples andins. La plus complète de ces nomenclatures ethnographiques est celle que nous donne la préviraue *Relación de Domingo Martínez de Irala* : « dixo que la vanda de la mano yzquierda que es del norte que ay muchas generaciones entre las sierras que parecian y de lo qual tiene noticia, se llaman : turubanos, y ayguas, y chanos, y tocuas y conaqua, y turucuyo guarucia, y xaxua, y que aun arriba dicha, en la misma vanda, ay de su generacion de carios » ; (pp. 339-340).

« Preguntado ey sabe o a oydo decir que generacion tiene el dicho metal, dixo que sabe mas de que las generaciones de los guaranas, y turubanos, y xacuy, y garyolic, y hactari, y cadria, y cape, y coachaguy, y ortery, y aona, y uaga, chuaga, y chanos, e ey, e ayuay, y dexay, tienen algunas planchas y quentas generaciones estan de la vanda del rrio y de la otra, pero que los que mas tienen son los ayguas; preguntado ey lo ha visto, dixo que ey que les ha visto muchas planchas pero que son sus enemigos y van algunas veces a la guerra a ellos; preguntado que quien les da el dicho metal, dixo que ha oydo decir que una generacion que se llama xutig, de la tierra adentro y quellos lo han de mano en mano de los payguas; preguntado que quien hace las rrueptas que trexo el dicho principal a presentar, que heran de algo-

Cette infiltration d'objets a probablement duré fort longtemps avant que les Guaraní aient eu l'idée d'aller eux-mêmes les chercher à leur source. Les notions sur l'empire incaïque, d'abord vagues et incertaines, ont dû se préciser peu à peu et accroître leur désir de connaître de plus en plus les hommes et les pays fabuleux qui produisaient tant de choses belles et étranges. Il faut sans exagérer l'attitude des indiens Guaraní vis-à-vis des populations sujettes à l'Inca, comme en

dos, dice que los hacen afiladas y todos los otros yndios que antes dichos, para en hacer; preguntado si los dichos yndios usan o utilizan del oro y a que usan, dice que a la vuelta de la mano izquierda, que la del hombro; preguntado que usaban para, dice que para y tomaduras, y sonajeras, y alguna prenda, y otras cosas que ayudaban: preguntado si sabe o a oydo que yndios son los oriundos verdaderos del metal, si los peruanos o otros, dice que no sabe o oyydo que tiene dicho, lo ha oydo o los dichos yndios» (pp. 311-312).

« El sandor preguntado para del reyno otras generaciones de la vuelta de la mano izquierda que donde se pone el sol que se llama chaco, y quiquaterati, y chamachabang, y manchaterati, y tapaiti; preguntado quien lo ha estado chamo, dice quien lo ha estado como ellos y que hablaban varios» (p. 312).

« Preguntado si sabe que generaciones son los oriundos verdaderos del metal, dice que no sabe mas de que ha oydo decir que son los chamos, y payaynos, y cuarcos, y quechos son los que tienen el metal [illegible] » (pp. 312-313).

« Preguntado que generaciones son los oriundos del metal, dice que muchas generaciones tienen metal, en especial los payaynos y guaraguati, y yamandagui, y chacaiaos, y tamagoyaqui, y pano, y tigoyaos, y matarauos, y mahamboyo, y tamaraqui, y quaraos y curacos, pero que los verdaderos que tienen el metal son los mentiros o los chamos» (p. 316).

« Preguntado si sabe que yndios tienen el dicho metal, dice que no sabe mas de que ha oydo decir que los yndios que llaman chiriaos o payaynos, o chamaimaos, y guaraoos, y curacos, y mahamoyo, y mapa, y cuey chaco, y que todo el comun es poblado e que los cacicos que se dicen aparentados quando los de guaya mentiros o los chamos, que ya hacen barbas o son aparentes viejos» (pp. 313-314).

Chaco cuarcos, ou siècle plus tard, dans les régions occupées aujourd'hui par les Chiriguano et les Chaná, existent des noms des tribus mentionnées au XVIe siècle par les interprètes guaraní. Ces innombrables tribus auraient elles disparu? Cela semble peu probable, car jusqu'à notre époque cette région n'a pas subi de remaniements au point de vue ethnique. La solution de ce problème nous est donnée par cette notice Bolivienne (p. 326). Ces noms de nations ne désignent que des sous-tribus chamaimaos, comme l'explique fort bien le chef chaná interrogé par Sala (Id., p. 326) :

« Dice el dicho chamaymo que tardaron a ir tierra tres dias y que salia muy bien el camino porque se iria criado alli y que hasta agora no habia salido nunca de su tierra, pero que sabia que salia quel quaria ya con el dicho capitan alli y que es quaraoos que se iria largo a que en generacion es mucho e arrayan sus chamos, todos se llaman cada cual de su nombre e que por ser se llaman ellos primeraos, y que de las postreras cosas de su generacion a los yamandagyos tardan tres o quatro dias, y que de los yamandagyos a los payaynos dos, e que juntos ellos vienen los yamandaos y zinzanos y que de alli tardan quatro o cinco jornadas a los cacicos que son los oriundos del metal, e junto con ellos vienen los cacicos que acompañan con los oriundos del metal. » Naturellement les « mapa », dont il est question dans quelques-uns de ces textes, sont les Mapá de la famille Guaikurú.

toute petite semblable à celle de leurs descendants, les Chiriguano, et des peuplades actuelles du Chaco par rapport aux blancs. Il est encore des tribus qui ne les ont jamais vus, mais qui déjà sont en possession d'objets en fer dont, ils apprécient toute l'importance dans la lutte pour la vie. Je possède dans mes collections deux haches des Tsirakua dont la pointe est en fer, et cependant ces Indiens n'ont jamais aperçu un blanc, et c'est à peine s'ils en ont entendu parler. Qu'une occasion se présente de pouvoir s'approcher sans danger des villages métis ou créoles, ils le feront. C'est ainsi que nous avons chaque année une migration temporaire de milliers d'Indiens vers les *Ingenios* (fabriques de sucre) de l'Argentine. Parmi les nombreuses tribus qui s'achemainent vers les plantations de canne à sucre, il en est peut-être beaucoup qui n'avaient jamais eu de contact direct avec les hommes blancs chez lesquels ils vont chercher en allégeant à leur vie et une amélioration de leurs conditions matérielles. En partant vers le Chaco et les Andes, les Guarani obéissaient donc aux mêmes aspirations que ces pauvres *Tsirakuo* (Chiriguano) que l'on croise en automne sur les routes qui conduisent à l'Argentine. Si l'invasion des Guarani fut brutale, c'est qu'ils se sentirent assez puissants pour tenter de s'emparer par la force des richesses convoitées. Il n'y a pas longtemps encore, les Chiriguano n'hésitaient pas à attaquer les fermes des créoles s'ils y trouvaient profit ou si une injure leur avait été faite.

Il faut se rappeler aussi que les Guarani étaient belliqueux; habitués à triompher des peuplades voisines, ils ne reculaient pas devant de lointaines expéditions et étaient doués en outre d'un esprit d'aventure qui les a fait appeler les « Phéniciens de l'Amérique du Sud. » Au début du XVIe siècle, les Guarani étaient en pleine force d'expansion; la traversée du Chaco n'était pas pour les arrêter.

Les premiers Guarani qui traversèrent le Chaco et revinrent chez eux, richement vêtus, parés d'ornements en métal, suscitèrent sans doute la même considération qui s'attache à tout Chiriguano moderne qui rentre dans son village après six mois de séjour en Argentine. Il faut les voir alors, habillés de pied en cap, bottés et éperonnés et caracolant fièrement sur un cheval plus ou moins étique. Interrogez-les sur leurs souvenirs : avec orgueil ils vous racontent leurs bonnes fortunes, feront allusion à leurs riches ceinturons et vous diront leur admiration pour toutes les choses surprenantes qu'ils auront vues. C'est surtout de leurs gains qu'ils vous entretiendront, car c'est pour avoir des couteaux, des haches, des têtes de bétail qu'ils sont partis. Ce sont ces biens-là qui leur ont donné la considération et amélioré leur existence et l'exposition s'en revêt de tous les charmes de l'aventure et d'un voyage au pays des merveilles (1).

(1) Pour l'intérêt que le Pérou ouvrait sur les Indiens Guarani et sur les voyages que ceux-ci faisaient vers la Cordillère, v. les textes cités par Gandia (2, p. 32, note

La migration des Guarani vers l'ouest se poursuit aujourd'hui sous une forme peu apparente, mais avec une certaine régularité. Il est probable que la sécularisation des missions franciscaines, qui entraînera le dépouillement des indiens et rendra leur sort plus misérable dans leur patrie actuelle, aura pour conséquence d'accélérer cet exode.

N'y a-t-il pas eu d'autres motifs que le désir de piller ou de commercer qui ait entraîné jadis les Guarani vers la terre du métal?

Apparemment non. Mais tout phénomène ethnique est complexe dans ses causes et dans ses effets, et vouloir l'expliquer en raison d'un seul facteur est une tentative toujours superficielle et sujette à caution. L'œuvre de l'historien, comme celle de l'ethnographe, est de dégager tous les éléments qui se sont combinés pour aboutir aux faits que les traditions et les chroniques enregistrent.

Que la migration des Guarani ait eu pour cause directe le goût du pillage, la singulière attirance que le Pérou exerçait sur les indiens des forêts, soit; mais, n'y a-t-il pas eu aussi quelque obscure croyance, quelque aspiration mystique qui aient joué leur rôle dans cette grande aventure collective? A l'ambition précise de conquérir, ne s'est-il pas mêlé le souvenir de quelque vieux mythe qui aurait contribué à déclencher ce mouvement? Je crois que oui. »

Toutes les tribus tupi guarani, celles du nord comme celles du sud, connaissaient au XVIe siècle et connaissent encore un mythe où il est question d'une « Terre-sans-mal », où les hommes vivent toujours jeunes et immortels, où tout pousse sans effort où le gibier tombe de lui-même sous la flèche du chasseur, en un mot, une sorte de Paradis terrestre où s'est retiré le grand Dieu civilisateur, après avoir effectué ses « transformations » dans ce bas monde et avoir donné le manioc aux hommes. Les morts vont le rejoindre s'ils ont été enterrés selon les rites et s'ils ont triomphé de toutes les épreuves qui les attendent sur le chemin de l'Au-delà. La particularité saillante de la « Terre-sans-mal » est de pouvoir être atteinte sans qu'il faille passer par la porte de la mort : des hommes hardis et pieux peuvent aller y habiter à condition de prendre la bonne route, d'en être dignes et de connaître les rites. De tout temps, des magi-

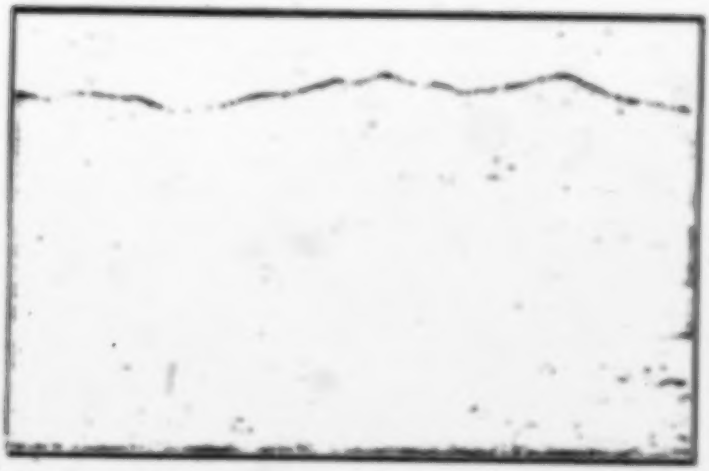
1 et 2). C'est ainsi que les Guarani insistèrent beaucoup auprès de Irala pour qu'il les emmenât chez les indiens « seigneurs du métal ».

Dans une lettre de Martin Gonzalez (1556) citée par Gandia, il est dit qu'à l'Assomption « ay muchos yndios que an ydo, venido dos o tres veces allá con sus hijos y mugeres, por aqui de frente desta ciudad, por un rio que estará dos leguas de aqui que va a dar a la villa de la Plata, y junto a este rio estan los yndios de aqui poblados y más por toda la cordillera, y a lo que dicen no están de aqui cien leguas ».

Tambien an ydo estos carios allá a las sierras y venidos por otro rio, quesió de aqui hasta quarenta leguas este Paraguay abajo, que se dice el Ypiti; y asi mesmo están allá en las sierras pobladas carios, junto a este dicho rio, que va a dar, según dicen los que vinieron del Perú, cerca de la villa de la Plata. »

A. Métraux, *La civilisation des indiens Chiriguano* PLANCHE I

[facing p. 304]



1. Vue panoramique de la mission franciscaine de San Pascual de Bolsoro (Vallée de Huacaya) (Photo. du R. P. Hoeanzio Cattanéo)

2. Paysage typique de la région montagneuse occupée par les Chiriguano. Vue prise dans une grande ancienne de la mission de San Pascual de Bolsoro (Photo. du R. P. Hoeanzio Cattanéo)

cielle poissante y est en cause, et leur exemple à fait naître l'impulsion que des tribus entières pouvaient y percevoir elles aussi, si elles étaient conduites par des hommes médecins parfaitement informés de la situation de ce l'inédit terrestre. Dès le XIVe siècle, nous pouvons suivre des tribus à la quête de cette terre de promission et les voir entreprendre de vastes migrations pour y parvenir : les unes vont vers l'est, c'est-à-dire, vers l'Orient; les autres vers l'ouest, dans la direction du Pérou (1).

Citons pour mémoire la migration des Tupinambs qui en 1539 remontèrent l'Amazone pour arriver en 1549 environ dans la province de Charkapuyas au Pérou, les deux migrations qui eurent pour théâtre le nord du Brésil, en 1570 (?) et 1609 et dont le caractère religieux est indéniable; enfin, toujours pour le côté du Brésil, les pérégrinations de ces Tupinambs qui, partis en 1608 environ, arrivèrent dix ans après sur le cours moyen de l'Amazone dans l'île des Tupinambaranas, après avoir séjourné aux abords de Madeira, non loin des Andes. Le dernier en date de ces mouvements ethniques d'origine mythique est celui qui entraîna les Apapokéva-Guaraní de la frontière du Paraguay à la côte du Brésil et qui dura plus d'un siècle, de 1810 à 1912.

La vague ensablement que les Tupi de la côte du Brésil avaient des parvenus de l'empire inconnu, explique la marche vers l'ouest de certaines de ces migrations. Parvenus sur le bord de la mer et se voyant dans l'impossibilité de gagner du ce côté la « Terre sans mal », il est possible que les Tupi se soient mis à en rechercher dans l'autre sens, comme l'ont fait, il y a peu de temps encore, quelques groupes des Apapokéva-Guaraní. Le prestige de la civilisation inconnue a dû, sans doute, influer sur leur décision et, en bien des cas, ils ont en certainement tendance à l'assimiler à cette terre mythique où ils désiraient si ardemment pénétrer.

Si je risque cette hypothèse, c'est dans l'impossibilité d'expliquer autrement cette ruée vers le Pérou qui s'est produite au XIVe siècle chez certaines tribus tupi de la côte du Brésil. Un tel point de vue n'est pas trop audacieux, car, sinon, comment pourrait-on justifier l'ardeur déployée par les Tupinambs pour atteindre le Pérou après avoir remonté l'Amazone, dans la tentative qu'ils firent en 1539 pour pénétrer dans la « terre de l'immortalité et du repos éternel » ? Comment s'expliquer que les Tupinambs, un siècle plus tard, aient voulu s'établir temporairement sur le haut Madeira, près des Andes, alors qu'ils pourraient eux aussi la chimère de la « Terre sans mal » ? (2). Quelque chose devait

(1) Sur les migrations des Tupi-Guaraní à la recherche de la « Terre sans mal », voir Métraux, I, pp. 6-22. J'ai analysé les mythes de la « Terre sans mal » et étudié les mouvements mystiques que ces croyances ont suscités, dans un chapitre de mon livre sur la religion des Tupinambs (v. Métraux, I, pp. 180-224).

(2) Lorsque je me suis occupé de cette migration (v. Métraux, I, pp. 22-24), j'avais cru, sur la foi d'Anchieta, que le cacique en avait été le chef d'origine à la tyrannie

les pousser vers l'ouest et déterminer le choix de leur itinéraire : le message qui les attirait, était celui qui, plus tard, enflamma la vie à tant d'Espagnols. C'est de la « grande nouvelle » qu'il s'agit, du au pays mystérieux, abondant en richesses, situé au delà des limites vers le soleil et que les Tupinambas sont certainement supposés, puis assimilés à cette « Terre sans mal » dont parlaient les vieux mythes.

A la même époque ou peut-être, chez les Guarani du Paraguay, vint tendance analogue à identifier le pays de l'Ouest avec celui où vivait le Héros civilisateur.

Il est un texte fort intéressant et peu connu, qui montre fort bien comment les Guarani se représentaient l'empire Incaïque, au début du XVIe siècle. En le comparant à ce que nous savons des mythes de ces mêmes Indiens, nous serons à même de faire ensuite rapprochements divers et fournir par ce moyen d'amusantes que les Guarani ont cru voir en l'Inca leur Héros civilisateur, l'andire.

Le document en question se trouve dans les *Relaciones geográficas de Indias* (t. II, p. [illegible]) où il figure sous le titre suivant : *Relación geográfica al tenor en pública forma y se está notificado al virrey en la provincia de los Longuaqua en el grados sobre el río Paraguay, 140 (leguas) de la Asunción, donde había llegado el general Ryfo de Chaves con 200 hombres, con órden é intento de poblar en ella, y después, por la relación que [illegible] pasó adelante.*

Les Espagnols, s'aventurant sur l'Uruguay qui constituait une partie mêmes grossi dans la région des Xarayes, leur déclarèrent qu'ils étaient venus leur apporter du fer, abattre les pachamamas et réconforter les bons. A cela, ces derniers répondirent « que ne bougeaient mondes, parce ancêtres habitaient que non devaient rien en sortir, et que mêmes mondes, ensuite, entendaient les dieux et ne se engagèrent. Dieu vous allez et les dieux mêmes frères en la terre, et que en principal Andire est le habita demande ». L'information continue en ces termes : « Parlez propriétaire que dit entaba et que qui le Ronchan Andire. Dépêchez que ces mêmes, et que en ennemis à la mêmes dit mêmes, dépêchez que en les temples pouvaient se Ronchan en parler Cuge, et vous jusqu'à la dernière gentes mêmes et vaincu en les Chiriguanos

des Portugais. Je ne les représente pas comme d'ingénuités, en faisant plus tard le [illegible] d'Hortatio (pp. 10-12), que ces Tupinambas avaient entrepris un long voyage pour aller à la recherche de la « Terre sans mal ». Le passage en question est du plus haut intérêt et doit être cité en entier : « Il principio dicono Indian Tupinambaranas nome fu da natione d'esso dio. Dicono que, un anno de 1549, antiqui avec antepassados do Brasil, em tres tempos, em busca da Paraiso terrestre (como de barbares) empenhado e empedindo tocou, e que buscando considerado sentir tempo chegaram a queste aldeia, que infinitam abundante, e ricos de Indios naturaes; e que em boa e ultimam et conquistamos os seus naturaes, quasi infinidos, e com o tempo se casaram com nos mesmos, e se aparentaram; mas nem deixam de conhecer os naturaes a superioridade que os Tupinambaranas tem sobre, »

1. Vieux Chiriguano de Yumbia (Haut Pilcomayo). Remarquer l'énorme labret et le bandeau frontal

2. *Karaupadyi*, «capitaine» de la région de Carreti, près du cours moyen du rio Parapiti. (Photo. A. M.)

1:Métraux

SF 10 Chiriguano

[facing p. 306]

y en los *Ontes*, hasta llegar á los pueblos de *Paicocoro*, cacique principal y a los pueblos de *Paiçuri*, en demanda de el *Candire*, que es señor del metal verdadero y de todas las cosas buenas ». A première vue, on voit dans ce passage une contradiction qui saute aux yeux et qui ne peut s'expliquer que par les difficultés que les Espagnols éprouvaient à comprendre leur interlocuteur : *Candire* est, d'une part, représenté comme un puissant chef guarani qui les a conduits dans une migration, et de l'autre c'est un personnage « seigneur du vrai métal et de toutes les bonnes choses » en quête duquel ce même *Candire* est parti ! Voyons plus loin et efforçons-nous de démêler cette confusion. Le pays où habite *Candire* nous est dépeint comme possédant des « cerfs à longs poils » avec lesquels on tisse des vêtements ; on y trouve de l'or et de l'argent, ainsi qu'un métal jaune qui sent mauvais et avec lequel on fait des outils (le cuivre et le bronze). Quelques lignes plus loin, l'informateur guarani déclare que dans la Sierra de Acharagua, il existe une rivière dont on tire du métal jaune : « Preguntando qué es Araraguagua (sic) dijeron que es una sierra muy grande que duraba mucho, y que por la una parte alindaba con la una laguna muy grande, y que de la otra parte era una población muy grande de gente que no tenía más de un principal, que era señor de todos que se llamaba el *Candire* ; y que delante de éste se juntaban todos á cantar con los instrumentos de metal verdadero, a manera de cañas gordas, las cuales hacían un buen sonido (ce sont les bâtons de rythme guarani) ; y tenían otras que tocaban con la boca. Fuéle mostrado una trompeta ; dijeron que de aquel principal *Candire* tomó el nombre su padre, porque en aquella tierra mató muchos de los *candires*, los cuales mataron toda la demás gente que con su padre había salido ».

Le pays des *Candires* est celui où Dieu a mis tous le biens de ce monde, l'or y abonde, on y trouve des forteresses défendues par des fosses. Les guerriers *Candires* sont vêtus, leurs haches sont en métal et leurs boucliers en or et en argent. Dans l'intérieur on trouve du métal blanc et jaune, etc. La terre du grand *Candire*, géographiquement, est située au-delà du río Guapay ; pour s'y rendre on traverse la terre des *Timbu*, des *Baure* (Mbaure) qui reçoivent des objets en or des *Candires*. Près de la terre du *Candire* vivent les Chiriguano et d'autres *Candires*, des Guarani ceux-là et, en outre, parents des *Uratucere*, qui donnèrent ces informations à Nufrio de Chaves.

Il saute aux yeux que la terre des *Candires* n'est autre que le Pérou (1). Dans le grand *Candire* nous n'avons aucune peine à reconnaître l'Inca. Mais, pourquoi cette assimilation entre *Candire* et un chef gua-

(1) Dans les Commentaires d'Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 288 et 322) il est également question des *Candires*, comme d'un peuple que nous pouvons aussi identifier avec quelque tribu incasique.

rani, et ensuite l'idéalisation de ce personnage ? Enfin, quelle est cette migration à la recherche du grand *Candire ?* La clef du problème nous est fournie par un autre texte d'une époque légèrement postérieure (1589) qui concerne les Guarani d'Itati, émigrés dans la province de Santa Cruz de la Sierra, c'est-à-dire chez les ancêtres des Guarayú et des Pauserna actuels. Il s'agit d'une *Annua littera* des Jésuites (v. Métraux, 5, p. 924) où il est beaucoup question de ces Indiens désignés sous le nom d'*Itatines* à cause de leur pays d'origine. *Candire,* nous dit le Jésuite anonyme, auteur de cette lettre, est leur dieu. En effet *Candir* compte, aujourd'hui encore, parmi les dieux civilisateurs ou grands dieux des Guarayú. Dans un fragment de mythologie guarayú, publié par Cardús (p. 76), *Candir* apparaît au début du monde en compagnie de *Mbiracucha (Viracocha),* de *Zugugnagn,* d'*Abaangui* et du *Tamoi.* On attribue à *Candir* la création des nègres.

Il n'y a rien d'extraordinaire à voir l'Inca affublé du nom d'un Dieu ou Héros civilisateur guarani. Il a dû se produire là une confusion analogue à celle qui a été provoquée un peu partout en Amérique du Sud par l'arrivée des blancs. Comme l'on sait, ceux-ci ont été, presque toujours, assimilés aux Héros civilisateurs. De même que les Tupinamba et les Guarani ont vu dans les premiers Espagnols ou Portugais, les descendants du Dieu ou Héros civilisateur, il est possible que les anciens Guarani se soient représenté le Pérou comme la contrée mystérieuse où le Grand Ancêtre s'était retiré; et, dans le souverain de cet empire, ils ont sans doute cru reconnaître le Héros civilisateur lui-même, soit le *Candire.*

Tous ceux qui connaissent, pour les avoir vus, les indiens de l'Amérique tropicale, n'auront aucune peine à se représenter ce que furent ces migrations des Guarani vers les Andes.

Qu'un chef entreprenant ait réussi avec ses « soldats » à traverser le Chaco et à faire quelque fructueuse razzia chez les Chané, il n'en fallait pas plus pour qu'au retour la nouvelle se transmît de bouche en bouche et suscitât partout le désir de l'imiter et l'espoir de gains analogues. Dans chaque village l'affaire était discutée, les chefs parlaient le soir autour du feu ou lors des grandes beuveries collectives, et les jeunes gens rêvaient d'obtenir, à leur tour, des ornements d'argent, des haches de bronze, de longues chemises en laine dont se vêtaient ceux qui étaient revenus de la terre du *Candir.* Çà et là, on se décidait à partir à la bonne saison pour tenter sa chance. Les habitants de plusieurs villages se concertaient pour fixer la date du départ et l'on s'y préparait lentement. Les femmes s'occupaient des provisions, grillaient du maïs, en faisaient de la farine ou râpaient le manioc qu'elles transformaient en cassave. D'autres élaboraient de la bière de maïs en vue de la fête qui précéderait le départ.

Les contingents de plusieurs villages voisins se réunissaient, probablement pour affronter ensemble les périls de la route (1). S'ils étaient soumis à l'autorité d'un chef puissant, l'expédition gagnait en cohésion et en nombre. En aucun cas il ne faut voir en ces migrations un mouvement national, effectué selon un plan préétabli et entraînant simultanément l'ensemble des tribus guarani. Ces indiens, comme tous ceux de l'Amérique tropicale, n'ont jamais eu une conscience bien nette de leur unité et, même devant un danger commun, il ne leur est jamais venu à l'idée que la similitude de langue et de civilisation pût créer entre eux un lien de solidarité. A plus forte raison, cet individualisme du groupe ou de la tribu devait-il se manifester avec une acuité particulière lorsqu'il s'agissait d'une simple expédition de pillage.

Les colonnes de guerriers guarani qui s'enfonçaient dans la brousse du Chaco, ne comprenaient sans doute que peu de femmes. Les hommes avançaient marchant à la file indienne, arcs et flèches à la main, tandis que derrière suivaient quelques jeunes filles avec, sur le dos, une hotte pleine de provisions. Celles-ci venaient-elles à manquer, on chassait en cours de route, on pêchait dans les rivières, telles que le Pilcomayo, si l'on en suivait le cours. A défaut de gibier ou de poisson, on récoltait des fruits : les choux palmistes, les gousses de l'*algarrobo*, les fruits des *chañares* étaient là qui fournissaient un aliment substanciel, mais encore fallait-il choisir pour voyager la saison où ils étaient mûrs. On suivait des yeux le vol des abeilles pour trouver du miel et l'on ne dédaignait pas certains insectes ou leurs larves. Le problème de l'eau était le seul grave : on le résolvait en recueillant celle que contenaient à leur base les feuilles des *caraguatá* ; on suçait la racine de certains tubercules (les

(1) Au cours de la reconnaissance qu'il effectua sur le rio Paraguay par ordre du gouverneur Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Martínez Irala eut l'occasion d'interroger, près du Puerto de los Reyes, des Guarani dont l'un lui donna les renseignements suivants qui éclairent bien la manière dont avaient lieu ces migrations : « preguntado sy ay algunas casas de su generaçión delante dellos, dixo que sy que ay çinco o seys principales ; preguntado sy han por el metal a la sierra donde se lo sacan, dixo quellos no acostumbran yr alla por que son pocos y tienen enemigos cerca, pero que los de las casas postreras van algunas vezes y quel ha ydo una vez alla ; preguntado que tanto tiempo tardan de aqui a donde ay el metal, dixo que tardan çinco lunas ; preguntado que con quien fue por el dicho metal, dixo que en tiempo pasado vinieron del paguay muncho prinçipales e yndios del puerto que llaman de ytatyn, y pasando por una tierra que se llama ytapua, que es quatro jornadas de las postreras casas desta su generaçión, yendo los de dicha casa en busca del dicho metal, se encontraron en el camino e se fueron juntos o dieron en una casa de yndios esclavos henemigos suyos, y que desde ally se bolvio con todos los suyos y tambien algunos de los de ytatyn, y los otros pasaron adelante y que oyo dezir que tardaban las dichas çinco lunas a donde estava el dicho metal... » (*Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala*, pp. 349-350).

sipóy (1) du Chaco boréal) et l'on s'abreuvait aux petites mares rencontrées sur la route.

Parfois aussi on faisait un séjour de plusieurs mois en un endroit qui paraissait fertile pour y semer du manioc et du maïs dont on attendait la croissance avant de continuer la marche. García, au cours de son raid, avait laissé cinq de ses gens dans une tribu pour qu'ils pussent pourvoir à l'alimentation de sa troupe à son retour (2).

La marche était lente, car il fallait se frayer un chemin dans le fourré; et ce travail, difficile pour les blancs armés de coupe-lianes, devait l'être encore plus pour les indiens, à l'époque préhispanique. Avec leurs haches de pierre, leurs massues, le feu, s'il n'y avait pas danger à l'allumer, ils ouvraient un sentier que suivaient l'arrière-garde et les autres expéditions. D'ailleurs les Guarani, habitués dès l'enfance à la vie dans les grands bois, avaient certainement cette étonnante souplesse qui permet à leurs descendants de se glisser dans les plus épais taillis, en évitant branches et épines (3).

De temps en temps c'étaient des escarmouches avec des indiens Guaikurú, Samuko ou Matako, mais pour les Guarani, qui depuis longtemps étaient habitués à lutter contre les indiens sauvages du Chaco, ces combats ne les prenaient pas au dépourvu. On se contentait d'attirer le moins possible l'attention en évitant de mettre le feu à la brousse ou simplement de faire trop de fumée.

Aucun des détails que je viens de donner n'est le fruit de ma fantaisie. Pour décrire ces migrations, il m'a suffi d'évoquer à mes yeux les scènes dont j'ai été témoin chez les descendants de ces anciens Guarani et de glâner quelques faits dans les chroniques ou les documents où nous sont contées les traversées du Chaco faites par les Guarani avant ou pendant la conquête espagnole. En veut-on quelques exemples? Je les prends dans les Commentaires d'Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca et dans la *Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.*

(1) C'est une bignoniacée ou une bégoniacée (?) Cette plante se présente sous l'aspect d'une liane dont le bulbe est plein d'eau fraîche. (*Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano*, p. 192).

(2) *Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala*, p. 318 : « preguntado que en cuantos dias le pareçe que podrian contar, dar por aqui en el camino del dicho garçia, dixo que no sabe, pero que le pareçe que conoçera la tierra e quel camino, es muy ancho y grande ; preguntado si avia que comer por aquel camino, dixo que sy y mucho de la comida quellos tienen, ques mandioca, y mayz, y calavaças, y manduuis, y quel dicho garçia dexo cinco esclavos suyos en el camino en cierta generaçion, para que le hiziesen de comer para quando el viniese ; ».

(3) Hernández, p. 300 : « Dijo (c'est un Guarani qui parle) que había mucho tiempo que anduvo por el camino, y cuando los de su generación pasaron, que iban abriendo camino y cortando árboles y desmontando la tierra, que estaba muy fragosa y que ya aquellos caminos le paresce que serán tornados a cerrar del monte y yerba... ».

Il s'agit de l'*entrada* que le gouverneur Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca fit dans le Chaco à la recherche d'un chemin vers le pays des Chané. « Les indiens Guarani que le gouverneur emmenait avec lui, se nourrissaient de ce que le Gouverneur leur faisait donner sur les provisions de réserve et du miel qu'ils tiraient des arbres. Ils se procuraient aussi quelque gibier en tuant des pécaris, des tapirs et des cerfs qui semblaient être abondants en cette terre; cependant, comme la troupe qui venait avec lui était nombreuse, ils faisaient du bruit et mettaient les animaux sauvages en fuite, ce qui rendait la chasse peu fructueuse. Espagnols et indiens mangeaient aussi les fruits des arbres sauvages dont il y avait grande quantité... ils tiraient profit également des fruits des palmiers qui abondaient dans cette région. Ils n'en mangent pas les dattes dont ils se contentent de briser le noyau. L'intérieur est rond et comme une amande douce. Les indiens en font une farine qui est un aliment excellent; ils consommaient aussi les choux palmistes qui sont forts bons. » (Hernández, p. 303.)

Ailleurs (Hernández, p. 241): « Les Espagnols, emmenant avec eux comme guides des indiens et quelques individus qui disaient savoir le chemin, marchèrent trente jours à travers des déserts où ils souffrirent beaucoup de la faim et de la soif, à tel point même, que quelques indiens en moururent... ils s'en retournèrent mangeant pendant tout le chemin des chardons sauvages. Pour boire ils extrayaient le suc de ces chardons et d'autres herbes ».

« *Araeare*... leur ordonna (aux Guarani qui accompagnaient une expédition espagnole dans le Chaco) de mettre le feu aux prairies qu'ils traversaient, ce qui équivalait à avertir les indiens ennemis, dont on parcourait le territoire, de venir leur barrer le passage et les tuer. Ils faisaient cela contre la coutume et la discipline qu'observent ceux qui font des expéditions dans ce pays et contre l'habitude des indiens eux-mêmes. » (Hernández, p. 228.)

Un Guarani de Puerto de los Reyes, qui avait pris part à une expédition partie en quête du métal, rapporta à Irala « qu'il avait entendu dire que l'on tardait cinq lunes avant d'arriver là où se trouvait le métal et il ajouta que ceux d'Itatin qui vivaient plus de cent lieues plus bas assuraient qu'ils ne prenaient pas plus de trois mois et prétendaient qu'ils faisaient ce voyage en cinq mois puisqu'ils devaient passer si près de l'endroit où étaient leurs maisons. Il dit que ce qu'il avançait là était la vérité, mais que la durée de ce voyage était dûe au fait qu'ils restaient souvent à manger dans les régions qui leur paraissaient fertiles et que du temps où il fut avec eux ils restèrent en place trois mois et que c'était pourquoi ils tardèrent autant ». (*Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala*, p. 350.)

Contre la fréquence de ces expéditions guerrières des Guarani, on

m'objectera les insurmontables obstacles que présente le Chaco, les difficultés inouïes que les Européens ont éprouvées à vouloir le traverser, les sacrifices sanglants qu'ont dû faire toutes les expéditions qui s'y sont risquées. Je répondrai en rapportant le récit d'une migration contemporaine que me fit mon vieil ami et hôte, le « capitaine » *Taruiri* de Caipipendi. Il y a quelques années le vieux *Taruiri* ayant appris de quelques Chiriguano que les Brésiliens étaient « cariñosos », c'est à dire, généreux, eut l'idée de se rendre chez eux pour y trouver du travail qu'il espérait voir bien rémunéré. Il s'entendit avec 45 autres Chiriguano auxquels il fit miroiter la fortune qui les attendait dans le pays de l'est. Avec cet esprit aventureux et cette hardiesse qui caractérisent les Guarani, ils n'hésitèrent pas à se mettre en route vers l'inconnu. Ils passèrent d'abord par le territoire des Chané et suivirent le cours du Parapiti jusqu'au désert. Là ils se lancèrent audacieusement dans ces régions inexplorées, étendues desséchées, qui séparent l'Izozoc de Chiquitos. Ils étaient tous armés d'arcs et de flèches pour se défendre d'une attaque possible des Tsirakua dont ils virent souvent dans le sable les traces de leurs sandales carrées. Bien entendu, point d'eau mais seulement des racines de *sipóy* qui leur permirent de supporter la soif. Après 12 jours de marche cette troupe arriva à Chiquitos, puis de là gagna le río Paraguay et Corumbá. *Taruiri* ne fut pas peu étonné d'y trouver des frères « c'est-à-dire, m'expliqua-t-il, des gens qui parlaient ma langue, mal il est vrai, mais qui se faisaient néanmoins comprendre ». Quand je m'informai discrètement du succès de ses affaires là-bas, *Taruiri* me répondit, en hochant la tête et avec un ton où perçaient la tristesse et la désillusion: « Tout cela n'était que mensonge », *todo era engaño.*

Taruiri ignore, et ignorera toujours, qu'il a accompli là un exploit qui ferait l'orgueil et la gloire d'un explorateur. Pour lui, il s'agissait d'un simple voyage, à peine plus long et plus pénible, que celui qu'il entreprenait autrefois pour aller en Argentine.

Veut-on d'autres exemples modernes de leur esprit d'aventure et de cette facilité avec laquelle les Guarani se déplacent ? Je transcris tel quel le curieux récit que me fit l'indien Cipriano, de la mission d'Ivu, qui tout embrouillé qu'il soit, a trait à des faits certainement authentiques :

« Autrefois, de nombreux Paraguayens débouchèrent dans notre territoire du côté de l'Izozoc et ils s'en furent combattre du côté des Guarayú et de Santa-Cruz. De là ils passèrent à Cochabamba. Ils ont livré bataille là-bas, puis sont allés à Oruro. Leur colonel fut tué. Ils s'éparpillèrent de tous côtés. L'un d'eux vint à Macharetí où se trouvait le « Capitan grande », *Mandepona.* « Celui-ci dit à Cipriano qui était alors jeune homme : « Allons au Paraguay ». *Mandepona* avait donné à ce Paraguayen 10 « soldats ». Cipriano ne voulut pas les accompagner. Les dix descendirent le Pilcomayo et arrivèrent à un village près du Paraguay.

1. *Mandepou*, le plus illustre chef Chiriguano du siècle passé. Son autorité s'étendait non seulement sur le village de Macharetti où il résidait, mais sur de vastes étendues du Chaco. (Photo. du R. P. Honorato Catinari.)

2. Type d'Indien Chiriguano de la vallée d'Igüembé. (Photo. A. M.)

1:Métraux
SF10 Chiriguano
[Fuchs p. 312]

Un soldat, richement orné d'argent, avec un cheval dont les harnais étaient du même métal vint au-devant d'eux pour les examiner. Le Paraguayen qu'ils escortaient s'en fut parler à ce soldat, mais les autres n'entendirent pas ce qu'ils disaient. Pendant que ces deux conversaient, ils virent arriver les Toba avec une pièce d'étoffe entre les jambes et la poitrine et les bras peints avec du charbon. Les Toba leur demandèrent d'où ils venaient et où ils allaient. Les Chiriguano répondirent : « Vous faire visite ». Les Toba se refusèrent à les laisser continuer leur route, quoiqu'ils fussent à une lieue seulement du Paraguay. Comme excuse, ils leur dirent qu'ils étaient en train de faire la guerre. Le Paraguayen monta en croupe du soldat et les dix Chiriguano retournèrent à Macharetí. »

La première partie decette histoire semble une adaptation moderne de l'aventure d'Alejo García. J'ignore quel événement a pu donner lieu à cette légende qui, si dle eût été réalité, eût fort été du goût du Gouvernement paraguayen. Quant au voyage des dix Chiriguano de Macharetí, il a tout à fait l'apparence d'être authentique.

La traversée du Chaco n'est pas pour les indiens une entreprise aussi malaisée que pour les blancs. Jadis ces voyages des Andes au Paraguay ont dû être facilités par une plus grande densité de la population indigène. Il suffit de rappeler le voyage relativement facile de Juan de Ayolas allant du Paraguay au pays des Chané, et en revenant sans avoir eu à vaincre d'obstacles particuliers. L'exploration d'Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, continuée par son lieutenant Francisco de Ribera, est un second exemple qui montre bien que les randonnées des Guarani ne constituaient pas des faits exceptionnels et d'une réalisation dangereuse à l'extrême.

Arrivés à une certaine distance des contreforts andins, les Guarani pénétraient sur le territoire des indiens Chané.

C'est à une de ces nombreuses entreprises guerrières des Guarani que l'aventurier portugais Alejo García participa avec quelques autres camarades.

Je suis persuadé que les 2000 (selon Díaz de Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani que cet aventurier accompagna jusqu'au Pérou ne formaient qu'*une seule* des nombreuses bandes de guerriers de cette nation qui, chaque année, de tous les points du territoire des Guarani, franchissaient le río Paraguay, puis les déserts du Chaco.

Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, qui rapporte cet évènement, voit les choses sous un jour un peu simpliste. Une migration ne se fait pas en une fois, ni en une année. Celle des Guarani a duré, peut-être, plusieurs décades, sans toutefois qu'il faille parler de siècles. Vingt ou trente ans ont dû suffire pour que pût se constituer, entre le haut Pilcomayo et le rio Guapay, le noyau de la nation chiriguano. La pénétration des Guarani dans

le Chaco s'opérait d'une façon assez chaotique et incohérente. A chaque instant les conquistadors rencontrent sur leur route des groupes guarani qui, por une raison ou une autre, n'ont pu parvenir à rejoindre leurs frères établis au-delà du Chaco. Ces Guarani, qui jalonnaient les routes suivies par les envahisseurs, ont été des guides précieux pour les aventuriers espagnols et ce sont eux qui les ont conduits au Pérou. Pendant de longues années il a existé, entre le Paraguay et le versant oriental des Andes boliviennes, des communications ininterrompues et un va-et-vient incessant.

Faire l'étude critique de l'histoire d'Alejo García serait suivre des sentiers déjà tracés et sortir, en outre, du cadre de l'ethnographie. Cet épisode de la conquête, si étroitement mêlé à un phénomène ethnique, apparait aujourd'hui comme un événement capital dont le retentissement sur le développement des Provinces du Río de la Plata a été considérable.

L'expédition d'Alejo García se distingue des précédentes par son envergure. Non contents de razzier les Chané, les indiens Guarani qui formèrent cette colonne, eurent l'audace de s'attaquer aux forteresses incasiques du Cuzco-Toro et, après les avoir prises d'assaut, de pénétrer en pillards dans les provinces soumises à l'autorité de l'empereur péruvien. Les envahisseurs passèrent la frontière entre Mizque et Tomina et s'avancèrent vers l'intérieur sur une distance de 40 lieues. Près des villages de Presto et Tarabuco, non loin de Chuquisaca, ils furent arrêtés par les indiens Charcas, selon Díaz de Guzmán, par des troupes levées dans le Kontisuyu, suivant les chroniques péruviennes. Les Guarani se retirèrent en bon ordre, sans abandonner le butin conquis.

A la suite de cette invasion, qui eut lieu sous son règne, Huayna Capac fit restaurer les forts détruits et y mit de fortes garnisons.

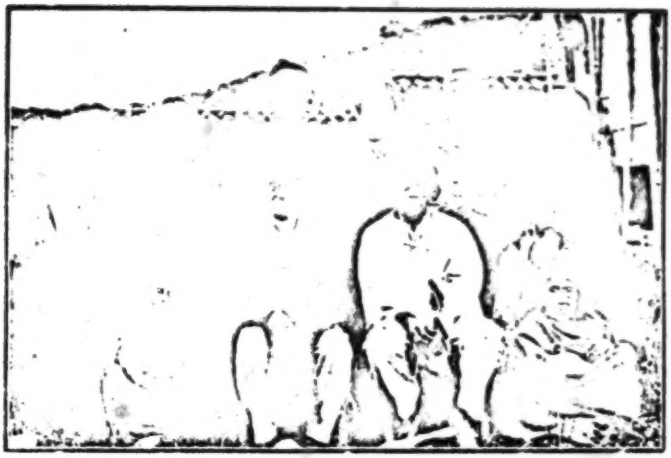
L'invasion des Guarani dans le Tahuantinsuyu est rapportée à la fois par les chroniqueurs du Paraguay et par ceux du Pérou (1). Ils s'accor-

(1) Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110 : « Mientras Guayna Capa estaba ocupado en esta guerra de los Cayambis, los Chiriguanas, ques una nación de montaña, desnudos y que comen carne humana y della tienen pública carnicería, se juntaron, y saliendo de la aspereza de los montes, entraron en la tierra de los Charcas, questaba conquistada por los ingas del Piru. Y dieron en la fortaleza de Cuzcotuyo, adonde el inga tenía grande guarnición de fronteros contra los Chiriguanaes. Y como salieron de repente, entraron la fortaleza y matáronlos á todos y hicieron en los de la tierra gran estrago, robos y muertes.

« Fué esta nueva á Guayna Capac al Quito, y dello recibió grande pesadumbre y luego despachó un su capitan llamado Yasca, para que viniese al Cuzco á hacer gente, y con ella fuese á hacerles guerra á los Chiriguanaes. El cual capitán partió para el Cuzco trayendo consigo las guacas Catiquilla de Caxamarca y Guamachuco y Curichaculla de los Chachapoyas y la guaca Tomayrica y Chinchayrocha con muchas gentes suyas de las guacas. Y llegó al Cuzco, adonde fué muy bien recebido de los gobernadores

[facing P. 314]

1. *Santos Airedyi*, le dernier « capitan grande » des indiens Chiriguano encore indépendants. *Airedyi*, est complètement assimilé à la civilisation et vit comme un riche fermier bolivien. C'est un homme de grand caractère. (Photo. A. M.)



2. Groupe de Chiriguano dans une mission franciscaine. (Photo. du R. P. Honorato Catinari)

dent sur le fait essentiel et sur la date approximative de l'événement. Cette coïncidence entre des traditions dont la source est si différente, et qui ont été recueillies indépendamment les unes des autres, dans des régions aussi éloignées, ne laisse subsister aucun doute sur le caractère purement historique de cette invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) put, au cours de son dernier voyage dans le Chaco (1913-1914) étudier les ruines des fortins de Cuzco-Toro (aujourd'hui Incahuasi), qui se dressent toujours à l'orée du pays chiriguano. Par leur style, ils appartiennent à la période incasique. Nordenskiöld (7) et moi-même avions cru que l'expédition de García était la première en date que les Guarani eussent dirigée vers le Pérou. En réalité d'autres exodes de Guarani l'ont précédée de quelques années, comme Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) est parvenu à

llamados Apo Hilaquita y Auqui Topa Inga, y hecha su gente, partió del Cuzco para los Chareas. Y de camino sacó del Collao mucha gente, con la cual llegó á los Chiriguanaes y les hizo cruel guerra y prendió dellos algunos, que embió por muestra á Guayna Cupac á Quito, para que viese la extrañeza de aquella gente. Y el capitán Yasca reedificó las fortalezas, que por allí había, y poniendo en ellas la guarnición necesaria, se tornó al Cuzco, adonde despidió la gente, y cada uno se fué á su tierra. »

Santa Cruz Pachacuti, p. 304 : « Y en este tiempo (del Inca Huayna-capac) llega la nueva que como los Cherigunaes abian salido á tomar tierras del yuga, de la qual nueba se aflexi el yuga, y assi lo despacha capitanes mas experimentados para la conquista de los Chiriguanaes, con veynte mill hombres Chinchaysuyos. »

Balboa, p. 105 : « Pero esta fiesta fué interrumpida por la noticia llegada del Cusco, de que los Chiriguanes, pueblo valiente y cruel habían dado muerte a las guarniciones de las fronteras y arrasado todo el país hasta Chuquisaca y sus alrededores. Guayna-Cápac se desconcertó con esta nueva, disimuló su pena tanto como pudo y llamó para el mando de su ejército a un hombre lleno de valor e intrépidas llamado Yasca, al que encargó castigar esta agresión. Yasca partió de Tumibamba a la cabeza de lo más escogido de los soldados incas ; además, tenía orden de reclutar desde Caxamarca a todas las gentes que encontrara para hacer la guerra que iba a emprender ; y para animar su valor, ordenó a cada nación el llevar consigo la gran Guaca de su país, que es ídolo más, y al cual acuden muy a menudo. Llegó al Cusco con un numeroso ejército compuesto de diversas naciones ; por todas partes los gobernadores le acogían con cariño, y le hicieron grandes honores. Provisto de todo lo que podía necesitar y aumentado su ejercito con los mejores hombres del Collao, continuó su camino con más rapidez en persecución de los Chirihuanas ; se libraron muchos combates sin que se declarase la victoria por ninguno de los dos ejércitos. Sin embargo, Yasca hizo algunos prisioneros, que envió a Quito. Reparó los daños que los enemigos habían hecho en el país, y dejó una nueva guarnición en las fortalezas y en las fronteras ; después regresó al Cusco, donde los gobernadores recompensaron a los soldados que se habían distinguido y les permitieron regresar a sus países, llevandose sus Guacas o ídolos. »

Cieza de Leon, p. 228 : « (Guayna Capac) envió capitanes con gente de guerra á los Chiriguanaes ; mas no les fue bien, porque volvieron huyendo. »

(1) Gandía (2, p. 30, note 1) cite divers passages tirés de documents anciens et dignes de foi qui semblent indiquer que l'expédition de García avait été précédée d'autres migrations antérieures qui, parties du Paraguay, avaient abouti à l'établis-

l'établir. Ce n'est pas non plus le raid d'Alejo Garcia qui fut la cause déterminante de la grande migration dont Diez de Gozmán (p. 29) parle en ces termes :

« A la suite de cet événement (voyage de Garcia) les Indiens de la Province du Paraguay se réunirent avec leurs caciques et décidèrent de faire une expédition et de retourner dans la région où Alejo Garcia s'était rendu. Quand ils eurent convoqué beaucoup d'Indiens de cette province, ils se mirent en marche par bandes et tribus. Les Indiens d'en-bas, qui sont ceux du Paraná, suivirent le cours du rio Araguay qui est, comme je l'ai dit, le Pilcomayo. Ce sont ces Indiens qui, actuellement, vivent sur les limites du Corregimiento de Tarija : les Indiens qui vivaient dans la région d'Asunción suivirent sur la droite du rio Paraguay, du côté de Caiguazú. Les Indiens de Jerusalem et de Caragaipera qui habitaient plus haut sur le fleuve, le quittèrent près de San Fernando. Ces dernières sont ceux qui aujourd'hui sont établis sur le rio

ment de groupes guarani au-delà du Chaco. C'est ainsi que les Tarapecuí rencontrèrent à Francisco Ribera que, dans les temps anciens, avant Garcia, les Guarani étaient venus les dépouiller et les massacrer.

Une *Relación anónima* de 1545 (pp. 310-311), rapporte en ces termes les propos des quelques indiens Chané qui furent interrogés par Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, lors de son expédition sur le haut Paraguay : « entre esta junta que hallo estan ciertos yndios que son de la tierra adentro dellos de la junta del chane que se vino a nosotros y otros de cabo su tierra, en que se conforman lo que ellos dizen con lo que este que esta con nosotros dice, y dizen aver sido cristiano que se vino desde la yslla de santa catalina en demanda de oro y plata y dizen quente los rio de sus generaçion oyeron que los traian por cristiano, y dezian el cristiano garçia, etc. », Ce passage semble indiquer que Garcia et ses compagnons trouvèrent déjà des Guarani établis au pied des Andes et que ceux-ci avaient déjà réduit des groupes chané en servitude.

Le plus significatif de ces textes est celui que nous trouvons dans la *Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala*, pp. 316-317. Irala se trouvait à Puerto de los Reyes, sur le rio Paraguay, quand « entre en el vergantyn donde el estaba un principal con otros tres yndios que hablavan la lengua guarani ni mas ni menos que los mismos guaranis, el qual dicho principal dizo que se llama tibetaçe y un yndio de los que con el venian que hera pequeño de cuerpo, que dizo que se llamaua xaguani y los guaranys le llamavan moranna, syn le preguntar nada, dizo quel avia bivido y avia sydo esclavo de gracia, que los yndios le llamaban maratya y le nombró por los dos nombres; el y el dicho principal y toda su casa no hera del dicho puerto y quellos heran los que se nombravan chanes; preguntado por los dichos linguas que hera la causa por que se llamaban chanes, dizo que heran de la generaçion de los chanes questavan la tierra adentro y que se llaman çeitbeçi e que ayy se nombravan en los dichos chanes cada pueblo su nombre, aunque toda hera una generaçion; preguntado que como hablaban guarany y donde conoçio al dicho garçia, dizo que la causa por que hablaba guarany hera que en tiempos pasados, cuando garçia vinieze del brasil a los dichos guaranys, se hizo una grand junta de los dichos guaranys en el puerto que llaman de yatiye, para ir a buscar el metal y que pasando por su tierra dellos de norte, dieron en sus casas y mataron muchos de los vaçes e prendieron a sus mugeres e hijos y a ellos y los trayeron al dicho puerto

Guapay, à 20 lieues de la ville de San Lorenzo, gouvernement de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. »

Dans les Commentaires d'Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, p. 299-301), il est question d'une autre migration qui ne paraît pas avoir de rapport avec celle du Garcia qui lui est de quelques années postérieure. Je citerai ce passage en entier, car il illustre bien certaines péripéties de ce grand mouvement ethnique : Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca avait ravagé un détachement espagnol chez les indiens Xarayes pour tâcher de s'aboucher, par leur intermédiaire, avec un groupe d'indiens Guarani, frais depuis peu dans leur voisinage. Les émissaires échouèrent dans leur tentative, car Xaray et Guarani étaient ennemis irréconciliables. En guise de consolation, le cacique des Xaray les avait mis en rapport avec un indien Guarani, marié avec une femme xaray et qui vivait depuis longtemps parmi eux. « Cet indien, qui appartenait à la race guarani, avait été dans les villages de l'intérieur des terres et de guerre, y quando ellos en el dicho puerto por embarcos de los dichos guaranys, pues por allí el dicho garçia, con el qual el y otros dos hermanos fueron en busca del dicho metal con los dichos guaranys ; preguntado qp fue y anduvo con el dicho Garçia hasta que volvyo, dixo que qp ; preguntado hasta donde llego el dicho garçia y de donde vino el metal que traxo, dixo que llego hasta la generaçion que llaman payyaxan, y que los chanes y los dichos payyaxan le dieron el dicho metal y que desde ally se bolvyo por que supo que una generaçion que se llama çorocotoquis hazian grand junta contra el dicho garçia y los que con el fueron y que dixo que se bolvian por tener sus triqueçiones para volver con ellos por el dicho metal... ».

Ces témoignages, et quelques autres indices, donnent raison à Gandia, qui dans cette étude a fait preuve non seulement d'une vaste érudition, mais aussi d'une grande acuité. Il est un point cependant sur lequel je ne suis pas d'accord avec lui. Les documents qui font allusion à la migration des Guarani en parlent tous comme d'un événement récent dont les détails étaient encore présents à toutes les mémoires. Même si nous acceptons la version de Garcilaso et faisons remonter cet événement au règne de Tupac Inca Yupanki, il n'en reste pas moins certain qu'il n'a pu se produire que dans les dernières décades du 15e siècle. C'est en effet à cette époque qu'occupait régnait, selon Sulton, l'empereur Tupac Inca Yupanki. (V. Nordenskiöld, 6). La première migration des Guarani serait, en ce cas, antérieure d'une cinquantaine d'années au raid de Garcia. Pourquoi alors Gandia qui nous donne lui même ce chiffre, tient-il pour plus vraisemblable que cette invasion se soit produite plus d'un siècle avant la conquête ? Ayant exposé personnellement à Mr. Gandia les réserves que je faisais au sujet de la date qu'il assignait à l'établissement des Guarani au pied des Andes, il me répondit qu'il avait pris pour base de cette évaluation un passage de Lozano (*Descripcion chorographica ...*) et Mendibura (*Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú ...*). Selon ce dernier l'Inca Yupanki serait mort en 1453. Je répondrai à cette objection en constatant que le témoignage de Lozano, qui s'est contenté de copier Garcilaso, n'a aucun valeur et quant au calcul de Mendibura, je ne lui accorde aucun crédit.

De cette controverse on avait fait cette enquête : Les Guarani avaient commencé leur mouvement migratoire vers le Pérou quelques années avant l'aventureux voyage de Garcia.

connaissait les chemins qui y conduisaient. » Le Guarani fut invité à suivre le détachement espagnol et, interrogé devant le Gouverneur par des interprètes, il déclara « qu'il était Guarani, originaire d'Itati,

Fig. 1. — Vieil Indien de la réunion de Santa Rosa (Photo. du R. P. Hernando Cattunar)

sur le rio Paraguay, que dans sa jeunesse les siens convoquèrent et firent une grande levée d'indiens de toute la terre et se dirigèrent vers la terre et les villages de l'intérieur. Lui même y était allé avec son père et ses parents pour faire la guerre aux indigènes de cette contrée.

Ils leur prirent les plaques et ornements qu'ils avaient en or et en argent. Arrivés aux premiers villages, ils commencèrent aussitôt à faire la guerre aux habitants et à tuer beaucoup d'indiens. Beaucoup de villages furent détruits et les habitants se retirèrent vers l'intérieur. Ensuite, toutes les tribus de cette terre se réunirent et marchèrent contre les siens, les mirent en déroute et en firent un grand carnage. Les autres s'enfuirent de divers côtés et les indiens ennemis les suivirent, leur barrèrent le passage et les massacrèrent tous. Deux cents, à peine, purent échapper de tous ceux qui étaient partis et qui étaient si nombreux que les champs en étaient couverts. Parmi ceux qui se sauvèrent, se trouvait lui-même. La plus grande partie des rescapés restèrent dans la brousse par où ils avaient passé et s'y établirent, car ils n'avaient pas osé revenir sur leurs pas de peur que les Guaranéyo, Guato et autres tribus ne les extermainassent. Lui même n'avait pas voulu demeurer avec eux et il partit avec ceux qui décidèrent de continuer leur marche. En cours de route, ils furent aperçus par des indiens qui les assaillirent de nuit et les tuèrent tous. Il s'était caché dans l'épaisseur du fourré et, se glissant dans la brousse, il était arrivé dans le pays des Xaray qui l'avaient pris et adopté pendant longtemps. Enfin, comme les sympathies étaient réciproques, ils lui donnèrent pour épouse une femme de la tribu. On lui demanda s'il avait souvenir du chemin que lui et les siens avaient suivi pour aller dans l'intérieur. Il répondit qu'il y avait longtemps qu'il avait pris cette route et qu'alors les gens de sa tribu se frayaient un passage en coupant les arbres et nettoyant la brousse dont cette terre était couverte. Il supposait que, depuis ce temps, les ronces et les herbes avaient dû envahir le chemin. Il n'y était plus jamais allé, si n'avait été le revoir. Il lui semblait, cependant, que, s'il se mettait à la suivre, il pourrait continuer et que ce chemin commençait près d'une montagne arrondie que l'on pouvait apercevoir du Puerto de los Reyes. On l'interrogea aussi sur le nombre de jours nécessaires pour gagner le premier de ces villages. Il dit que, selon ses souvenirs, on pourrait y arriver en cinq jours et qu'on trouverait là de grands approvisionnements, car ces indiens sont d'excellents agriculteurs. Ceux de sa tribu, ajouta-t-il, au cours de la guerre qu'ils avaient eue avec ces populations, détruisirent et dépeuplèrent de nombreux villages, mais sans doute les avaient-ils déjà reconstruits. On lui demanda si sur la route il y avait de grandes rivières et des sources. Il répondit qu'il vit des rivières, mais qu'elles n'étaient pas d'un grand débit, toutefois qu'il y en avait d'autres très profondes, des sources, des lagunes, du gibier, cerfs et tapirs, des fruits et du miel. On lui demanda si au temps où les siens firent la guerre à ces tribus, il en avait vu qui avaient de l'argent et du l'or. Il dit que, dans les villages qu'ils pillèrent, il y avait beaucoup de plaques d'argent et d'or,

des labrets, des ornements d'oreille, des bracelets, des tresses, des hachas, de petits vases et que tout cela leur fit sujet quand ils furent mis en déroute. Ceux qui s'échappèrent purent emporter quelques plaques d'argent, des perles, des labrets, mais les Guaranyo les leur volèrent quand ils voulurent passer sur leur territoire et qu'ils les tuèrent. Ceux qui s'établirent dans la Yuruma, ou avaient un peu et il avait semble dire qu'à l'heure actuelle c'était les Xamy qui possédaient cet argent. Il déclare avoir vu les Xamy, quand ils font la guerre contre les Indiens, mettre des plaques d'argent qu'ils avaient emportées et pillées dans les terres de l'intérieur ».

Que vaut contre ce faisceau de preuves qui attestent la caractère récent de la migration guarani, la vague affirmation de Gustellum de la Vega (t. II, p. 179-181) qu'on veut lui opposer ? L'Inca Yupanki aurait, selon cet aimable conteur, entreprise la conquête du pays chiriguano dans le vaste dessein de les soustraire à la bonne religion naturelle des Péruviens. Les Chiriguano auraient été de véritables monstres, ne respectant de chair humaine, n'usant ni lamas, vivant sans foi ni loi, enterrant les os de leurs morts dans des cavernes ou dans la cours des arbres. Bref en tout, sauf l'anthropophagie et la mention de la mulas (1), il n'est dans le tableau du romancier Gustellum rien qui puisse permettre de supposer qu'il ait su juste ce qu'étaient les Chiriguano. Quant à cette conquête de l'Inca, on serait tout juste au sens de conquête... Gustellum confond les Chiriguano avec toutes les tribus du versant oriental des Andes dont il a vaguement entendu parler. Remarquons qu'il est le seul à attribuer à l'Inca Yupanki cette expédition, tandis que les autres chroniqueurs, mieux informés, se contentent de dire que l'Inca Yupanki fit une expédition contre les Antis, probablement du côté de l'Inca. Malheureusement, la vague doctrine jusqu'à ce jour centrale à une époque où l'histoire de l'Amérique était encore dans les limbes, en impose toujours à quelques critiques modernes qui vont jusqu'à préférer une de ces affirmations gratuites aux témoignages sérieux

(1) La description que Gustellum (t. II, p. 181) nous donne de la grande coutume des Chiriguano est parfaitement exacte et fort intéressante : « Ils ont les galeries grandissent, y mettent toutes sportsaliga coutume aux les vaches, y les peuples qui ne mêlent sale de les personnes, y les toute pleyer ou tiens ajouer, et trays de vente que mulas ou cuerno ». Un ethnographe moderne trouvera en bien petite même avec des détails propriétés, etc. (t. II, pl. CIV et de Lizárraga, t. I, p. 220) sur le même sujet. Les Guarani, tout comme les Tupinambá et d'autres tribus tupi, logeaient dans des maisons gigantesques bâties, capables de contenir plus de 100 personnes et qui servaient à eux seuls formaient le village. L'existence du ce type d'habitation chez les Chiriguano au XVI et XVII siècle constitue une nouvelle preuve du caractère récent de leur migration. Au XVIII siècle nous les trouvons déjà en possession de la petite maison individuelle qu'ils ont conservé de nos jours et où habite une seule famille. (Cf. Métraux, [illegible], p. 16).

et puiste du chronique qui conserve leurs informations de première main et de seconde mire.

En 1538, au cours de l'expédition que Domingo Martinez de Irala fit du Paraguay vers le versant des Andes, 100 indiens Guarani, de ceux qu'il avait avec lui comme troupes auxiliaires, se mutinèrent lorsqu'ils apprirent qu'ils se trouvaient dans le territoire d'indiens Chiriguano « qui sont de la même nation ». Ils désertèrent pour aller se joindre à eux. En 1548, le même fait s'était déjà produit (Díaz de Guzmán, p. 143).

Les Guarayó et les Pauserna sont frères des Chiriguano et, comme eux, venus du Paraguay à une date réservée pour s'établir dans la Bolivie orientale. Tarbuschkiñi (?), sans d'ailleurs en donner la preuve, met leur migration en corrélation avec celle des Chiriguano et en fixe la date au début du XVIe siècle. Les Guarayó n'arrivèrent dès entre que les descendants de ces Guarani qui, partis du Paraguay septentrional, remontèrent obliquement vers le nord-ouest, dans leur marche vers le nord-est. J'ai moi-même longuement partagé cette opinion, jusqu'au moment où mes attributions fut utilisée par ses cylindre de l'intérieur de la conquête qui m'obligea à reconsidérer mes erreurs, tout en me permettant de résoudre le problème de l'origine des Guarayó.

Les Itatin, comme antérieurement nous le sons de Guarayó et de Pauserna, sont effectivement venus de la province d'Itatin au Paraguay (1); mais il ne s'agit pas d'une migration en masse où en l'entend habituellement, et leur établissement dans la Bolivie orientale est postérieur à celui des Chiriguano.

Yaffrio de Charrua, qui conduisit en 1582 de Santa Cruz de la Sierra à l'Asunción, s'arrêta chez les Itatin et s'entendit avec les chefs de cette tribu pour transplanter les indiens de cette région au-delà du Paraguay. Ce projet fut exécuté l'année suivante quand le gouverneur du Paraguay, Vergara, et Yaffrio de Charrua organisèrent un fameux exode vers le Pérou. En passant par le pays des Itatin, Yaffrio de Charrua leva [illegible] à [illegible] indiens « qui quittèrent leur patrie pour aller se fixer en territoire étranger... Lorsque ces indiens arrivèrent à un endroit distant de 30 lieues de Santa Cruz de la Sierra, ils s'établirent et l'appelèrent Itatin, faisant ainsi allusion à la province dont ils étaient sortis. Ils cultivaient là et se mirent assurément à vivre ». (Díaz de Guzmán, p. 197.)

Quelques années plus tard, vers même Itatin commémorant Yaffrio de Charrua, qui était venu dans leur village accompagné d'Felipe de Caravajal et l'évêque d'Asunción, Francisco Ortiz de la Torre, qui résidaient au Paraguay. Il est étrange que ces indiens aient tué l'homme qui leur avait fait changer de patrie et fonder une nouvelle nation entre Xauxy

(1) L'existence guarayó d'Itatin au Paraguay s'étendait au nord-ouest du fleuve, environ [illegible] Guaraníes.

et Santa Cruz. Les uns disent que ce massacre est la vengeance peut-être [illegible]; d'autres, le violence de Nuñez de Chaves qui nécessa de sévères [illegible] avec eux.

Quoi qu'il en soit, les Espagnols tirèrent vengeance de la mort de ce conquistador, en massacrant coupables et innocents avec leur [illegible] habituelle, lorsqu'il s'agit d'un peuple plus faible. Cavarca et sa troupe eurent à combattre, sur le chemin du retour, les Itatin du Paraguay qui le harcelèrent et les mirent aucent dans une situation difficile. (Voir Diaz de Guzmán, pp. 205-215; Gonzaga, pp. 294-314 et Gandia, 2, pp. 124-129.)

Ce sont donc les Espagnols qui ont triomphé des Itatin en Bolivie. Il n'est pas impossible que quelques groupes guarani fussent déjà établis dans le pays, venus soit du Paraguay, soit des régions occupées par les Chiriguano.

La date exacte de l'établissement des Itatin entre le rio San Miguel et le rio Blanco explique ce passage d'une *Lettre* (v. Métraux, 5, p. 214) de 1589 où il est fait allusion à la douleur d'une femme qui mourut sans s'être vengée du meurtre qu'elle avait vu d'un Espagnol vingt ans auparavant au Paraguay. Cela nous reporte, plus ou moins, à l'année du voyage de Nuñez de Chaves au Pérou, soit en 1564. Si les Itatin ont suivi sans difficulté les Espagnols, c'est que les migrations antérieures des Guarani les avaient familiarisés avec des contrées et leur faisaient considérer une telle expédition comme chose facile et normale. En accompagnant les Espagnols, ils imitaient leurs voisins et ne coûtaient guère de leurs parents.

C'est donc en 1564 que se forma la nation guaraní.

En émigrant au pied des Andes, les Guarani durent conquérir leur territoire autant sur des populations qui, comme eux, étaient venues jadis du bassin des grands fleuves de l'Amérique tropicale.

En dépit de la similitude de leurs habitats primitifs, les indiens dépossédés par les Guarani leur étaient supérieurs par la civilisation. Les Chiriguano, aujourd'hui encore, les qualifient dédaigneusement de *tapii*, c'est-à-dire d'« esclaves », mais eux-mêmes s'appellent Chané et c'est sous ce nom qu'ils apparaissent dans l'histoire dès la première moitié du XVIe siècle.

Les Chané, agriculteurs laborieux, parmis maîtres dans l'art de la céramique, font partie de la grande famille linguistique arawak.

Le rôle des Arawak dans le développement de la civilisation en Amérique du Sud a été considérable. Malheureusement, tout travail de synthèse (1) faisant défaut, il est encore difficile d'apprécier à sa juste valeur

(1) La thèse de Max Schmidt (5) sur les Arawak contient quelques faits intéressants. Elle demanderait à être refaite sur de documentations est tout à fait insuffisante. Max Schmidt n'a trouvé presque aucun compte de l'analogie linguistique.

l'œuvre civilisatrice qu'ils ont réalisée en essaimant sur une grande partie du continent. Il est possible, sinon certain, qu'ils ont été les propagateurs d'éléments culturels empruntés aux peuples de l'Amérique centrale, plutôt que des créateurs originaux. Néanmoins, partout où ils se sont établis, ils ont constitué des centres de civilisation dont le rayonnement est indéniable. Dans toute la région à l'orient des Andes, où a fleuri ou fleurit encore une céramique de belle qualité, on est en droit de soupçonner l'existence ou l'influence d'une tribu arawak. En veut-on la preuve? Sur les rives de l'Amazone, de l'embouchure aux affluents de son cours supérieur, on trouve à chaque pas les vestiges d'une poterie d'une grande richesse d'ornementation et de formes variées : partout où la pelle a mis ces restes à jour, l'histoire atteste la présence actuelle ou passée d'une tribu arawak. La culture révélée par les fouilles effectuées dans les Mounds de la Bolivie orientale (Mojos) est nettement arawak, et il serait injuste d'oublier que les Taino de Cuba et des Antilles furent aussi des parents de nos Chané dont le nom est moins illustre. A cette liste, s'ajoutent presque tous les vestiges archéologiques de la Guyane, la céramique moderne de cette même région, celle du haut Amazone et du haut Xingú qui toutes trois ont pour artisans ou pour inspirateurs des indiens Arawak. Il n'y a rien d'impossible à ce que les curieuses appliques zoomorphes du bas Paraná soient autant de restes d'une ancienne population arawak ou « arawakisée » (v. Métraux, 4, pp. 181-183).

Selon une hypothèse développée par Max Schmidt, (1), la migration des tribus de parler arawak n'aurait jamais eu le caractère violent et rapide de celle des Tupi, par exemple. Les Arawak se seraient avancés lentement, au fur et à mesure de leurs besoins économiques. Agriculteurs à la houe, il leur fallait constamment de nouveaux terrains de culture, et c'est en défrichant sans arrêt des champs qu'ils abandonnaient une fois épuisés, qu'ils ont fini par couvrir cette vaste aire géographique qui va de la Guyane aux Andes boliviennes.

Dans chaque contrée, le passage ou l'établissement des Arawak fut un bienfait. Les Arawak apportèrent avec eux, sinon l'agriculture, du moins la connaissance de nouvelles plantes comestibles, le tissage et, comme nous l'avons dit, une céramique de type supérieur. Malheureusement pour eux, les Arawak, indiens généralement peu belliqueux, ont été en maints endroits assujettis à des populations frustes mais plus guerrières. Dans les Antilles, ce sont les Karib qui les ont asservis ou refoulés; dans les Guyanes, encore les Karib; les Guaikurú dans le Chaco boréal et, enfin, au pied des Andes, les Chiriguano.

Les Chané appartiennent à la branche moxo-mbaure de la famille arawak. Ils se séparèrent des autres tribus de ce sous-groupe à une date inconnue et, abandonnant le bassin du Mamoré et du Guaporé, ils se

glissèrent le long des Andes jusqu'au Chaco boréal, ne s'arrêtant qu'au sud du Pilcomayo. La limite extrême, atteinte par cette vague migratoire est marquée par les villages chané du río Itiyuro et par ceux de l'Aguaray (Province de Salta, Rép. Argentine). Décrivant un immense arc de cercle au-dessus du Chaco boréal, une partie des tribus émigrées s'écoula vers le Paraguay et le Brésil.

« Les indiens arawak du Chaco, que les linguistes ont reconnus comme étroitement apparentés aux autres indiens de cette famille, sont connus au XVIIIe siècle sous le nom de Chané et de Guaná. L'appellation de Guaná a été réservée à l'ensemble des groupes arawak de l'est et celle de Chané aux tribus de l'ouest. Comme les Chiriguano, ils font un contraste très net avec les autres peuplades du Chaco et cette antithèse est si forte qu'ils apparaissent à première vue comme un élément qui s'y est implanté : ils sont sédentaires et pacifiques et, pour autant qu'ils n'ont pas été contraints d'abandonner leurs coutumes ancestrales, ils vivent dans des villages solidement défendus par des palissades et se livrent à la culture intensive du sol. Ils savent filer le coton et, comme tous les peuples arawak, ce sont des potiers remarquables. Ils ne pratiquent pas l'infanticide et ne sont pas polygames. Les Jésuites les avaient en haute estime, car ils ne possédaient pas d'idoles.

Les deux tribus arawak du Chaco, les Chané à l'ouest et le Guaná à l'est, vivaient, les premiers à l'intérieur du territoire chiriguano et les autres, sur le domaine des Mbayá. Ils étaient, les uns et les autres, soumis à ces indiens et ils en dépendaient entièrement. Cet état de sujétion variait suivant le lieu. La condition des Chané, par rapport aux Chiriguano, était celle d'esclaves à maîtres, de prisonniers à vainqueurs. Chez les Mbayá, les rapports entre les Guaná et leurs voisins n'avaient pas un caractère aussi tranché, aussi brutal.

Les Guaná apparaissent, tantôt comme les vassaux et les protégés des Mbayá, tantôt comme leurs alliés, et ils sont groupés en petites communautés fermées, presque indépendantes. Les belliqueux Mbayá avaient coutume de prendre femme, de préférence, chez leurs sujets arawak ou chamakoko et ainsi se trouve expliqué le fait que les femmes et les enfants mbayá parlaient un langage différent de celui de leurs maris ou de leurs pères. Schmidel cite déjà un peuple des Zchennte (Chané) en qui, en raison de leur situation géographique, nous devons voir les Chané-Guaná : « Ils sont vassaux et sujets des Mayaiess (Mbayá) comme chez nous les paysans sont soumis à leurs seigneurs ». Nous n'avons également pas de peine à reconnaître les Chané dans les *Queasaes* (Guaná) qu'Alcide d'Orbigny mentionne d'après une ancienne relation, comme ayant été soumis par leurs voisins les Chiriguano et obligés par eux à cultiver leurs champs. Au XVIIIe siècle les Chané, en qualité de prisonniers de guerre des Chiriguano, avaient été cantonnés

1. *Iwawasi*, jeune indienne Chiriguano de la région de Caruruti (près du cours moyen du rio Parapiti). Elle a les cheveux coupés en signe de deuil pour la mort d'une tante. (Photo. A. M.)

2. Jeune indienne Chiriguano du village d'Ibopeyti (haut Pilcomayo). Elle a revêtu ses habits de fête et arboré ses plus beaux colliers. (Sur la poitrine collier en pièces d'argent). (Photo. A. M.)

1:Métraux
SF10 Chiriguano
[facing p.324]

comme esclaves dans des villages appelés d'après eux *Chané*. Lorsque Lozano déclare que les Chiriguano appellent leurs esclaves *Chané*, il faut donner une valeur ethnique à cette phrase. L'état de sujétion dans lequel les Chané se trouvent par rapport aux Chiriguano s'exprime dans le domaine linguistique par le nom que les premiers donnaient aux seconds : *cheya* « mon maître », disaient les Chané s'adressant aux Chiriguano et ceux-ci traitaient les Chané de *tapii*, « mon esclave ».

Le peu que nous sachions des Chané qui vivent dans les régions perdues du Chaco boréal a trait exclusivement à l'activité des Missionnaires jésuites et franciscains du Collège de Tarija. Les premiers évangélisèrent les Chané au XVIIe siècle, en même temps que les Chiriguano; et en 1714, ils formèrent avec eux une « doctrina », dans le voisinage de Santa-Cruz. Elle s'appelait San Juan de los Porongos et en 1767 se trouvait sous l'autorité d'un curé. Ce n'est qu'à grand'peine que des Chané purent être assemblés, en 1767 et 1789, dans les deux missions d'Asero et d'Iti. Nous apprenons, par un rapport du Père Pedro Bartolomé adressé à Francisco Aguirre, que la Mission de Filipili se composait, en 1789, d'indiens Chané, dont les frères de race vivaient mêlés aux Chiriguano sur les frontières de Chuquisaca et de Santa-Cruz. Viedma, qui visita les missions en 1788, trouva dans les villages du Parapiti, des Chiriguano et des Chané qui habitaient ensemble, réunis sous l'autorité des missionnaires franciscains. L'activité des missionnaires parmi les Chané devait naturellement avoir pour conséquence une rupture des liens de sujétion qui les attachaient aux Chiriguano : de fait, au XVIIIe siècle, de grandes transformations sociales se produisirent et, petit à petit, ils s'efforcèrent de se libérer de leur servitude. »

Il y a peu de choses à ajouter à cet exposé de Kersten (pp. 69-71) si clair et si exact. Je voudrais cependant le compléter en citant quelques textes du XVIe siècle qui éclairent le drame dont les Chané furent les victimes depuis la fin du XVe siècle.

La guerre d'extermination que les Guaraní firent aux Chané, date de leurs premières migrations vers le pays du métal. C'est ainsi que le Chané qui, comme nous l'avons vu, raconta à Irala le grand exode des Guarani d'Itatí avant l'expédition de García, fut emmené par ceux-ci comme esclave sur les rives du Paraguay. Les Guarani, en passant par son pays de nuit, avaient attaqué les maisons des siens et pris femmes et enfants comme captifs. Plus tard, ce Chané fit partie de l'expédition de García. A la mort de ce dernier, les Guarani s'apprêtèrent à le tuer pour le dévorer comme ils l'avaient fait avec ses compagnons et quelques femmes. Lui put s'échapper et se réfugier chez les Guaxarapo (*Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala*, pp. 347-348).

Dans le récit qu'un Guarani fit au même Irala de l'expédition à laquelle il avait pris part pour aller au pays du métal, il lui parle des

Chané exactement comme le feront un siècle plus tard les Chiriguano « ils tombèrent, dit-il, sur les maisons d'Indiens esclaves et ennemis ». Ce terme d' « esclaves » appliqué aux Chané caractérise bien les rapports que les Chiriguano eurent avec eux jusqu'à il n'y a pas longtemps encore *(Relación de Domingo Martínez de Irala,* p. 330). Au milieu de l'entretien, un Chané interpela notre Guarani pour lui demander s'il avait été présent lorsque les gens d'Itatí détruisirent sa tribu. Comme le Guarani s'informait qui il était, il répondit : « Je suis les chef des esclaves dont tu parles et, fait prisonnier à l'époque que tu dis, je vécus avec ces Guarani jusqu'au moment ou je m'absentai et vins ici. La terre dont tu parles est la mienne. Pourquoi ne dis-tu pas la vérité aux Chrétiens qui ne demandent rien d'autre que l'indication du chemin pour aller en quête du métal ? Le dit indien répondit : « Ils ne comprennent pas que je ne fais que leur dire qu'ils peuvent se rendre au pays des Chané en neuf jours ». Pendant qu'ils parlaient avec cet indien, le dit *Cheroçe,* chef des Chané, s'entretenait avec une femme de sa tribu qui, jeune fille, avait été enlevée par ces indiens dont le chef l'avait prise pour femme. Elle dit qu'il était exact que des dernières maisons des dits Guarani on ne tardait que quatre jours jusqu'à Ytapua et que de là, à ce que prétendait *Cheroçe,* on pouvait se rendre en son pays en trois jours. Lui connaissait fort bien le chemin car il s'était élevé là-bas, mais jusqu'à présent il n'avait pas eu de nouvelles de son pays. *(Relación de Domingo Martínez de Irala,* p. 350.)

Ces faits prouvent que bien avant l'aventure de García les Guarani razziaient le territoire des Chané et commençaient déjà à faire de ses habitants des esclaves.

« Lorsque les bandes guarani arrivèrent sur les versants des Andes, chacune chercha à occuper une position aussi forte que possible sur les points les plus escarpés et de là ils commencèrent à faire une guerre impitoyable aux naturels de la région, les traitant avec une cruauté telle qu'ils ne gracieraient personne et faisaient leur pâture des malheureux qu'ils capturaient. Ils se rendirent si redoutables, que de nombreux villages se soumirent à eux sans violence. Avec les esclaves qu'ils prirent pour en être servis, et avec toutes les femmes dont ils eurent des enfants, ils peuplèrent ces frontières, chacun choisissant la contrée qui lui parut la meilleure. Ces indiens sont ceux qu'aujourd'hui nous appelons au Pérou Chiriguana et qui procèdent des Guarani. Ils ne sortirent jamais de ce pays, soit à cause des grandes difficultés de la route et de ses risques, soit afin de conserver en leur pouvoir cette terre qu'ils trouvèrent conforme à leur nature et à leur goût. Elle est, en effet, très fertile, avec de grandes et merveilleuses vallées qui sont plutôt chaudes que froides et elle est traversée de rivières profondes qui viennent de la province voisine de Charcas. En possession de cette terre, ils y firent de nom-

breuses expéditions guerrières, ruinant les plaines au nord, au sud et à l'est. Ils tuèrent plus de 100.000 indiens. Au début, ils les mangeaient dans les fêtes et les beuveries qu'ils célébraient, mais depuis quelques années, ils ne le font plus et les vendent aux Espagnols contre la pacotille que ceux-ci leur donnent en échange. Ils jugent, en effet, plus profitable de les vendre contre des objets dont ils ont besoin que de les manger. Leur cupidité est telle, qu'il n'est pas d'année où ils ne sortent faire la guerre dans les plaines, à grand' peine et au risque de leur vie, uniquement pour se procurer des prisonniers. Il y a, parmi ces indiens, quelques individus qui sont si riches, qu'en plus de vêtements de drap et de soie, ils ont encore de la vaisselle d'argent, service qui coûte jusqu'à 500 marcs. Sans compter un grand nombre de chevaux sellés et frénés, avec de bons harnais et toutes sortes d'armes, qu'ils doivent aux vols et aux rapines qu'ils font au cours de ces guerres injustes et pernicieuses. On n'a pu, jusqu'à présent brider leur cruauté, ni remédier à ce désordre et à l'insolence de ces gens. Ils ont commis beaucoup de délits et manqué au respect de la Puissance royale, prenant les armes contre Francisco de Toledo qui fut viceroi de ce royaume. Ils ont, en outre, tué et volé les Espagnols et leur ont infligé des outrages de toutes sortes, dépeuplant les villages, tuant et pillant les champs et les fermes des vassaux de Sa Majesté qui résident sur ces frontières de Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina et Mizque, et le gouvernement de Santa-Cruz de la Sierra. » (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

« Les Chiriguana *(sic)* vivent près de ces vallées (Tomina et Lagunilla) dans des montagnes chaudes et couvertes d'arbres où les chevaux peuvent à peine marcher. Ils ne sont pas originaires de ce pays, mais ce sont des étrangers venus du Río de la Plata. La langue est la même et n'en diffère en aucune façon... Les indiens auxquels ils sont le plus hostiles habitent une province derrière ces montagnes, terre très plane, qui manque d'eau et qu'on appelle Llano de Manso ou la province des Chané. Ces Chané sont gens inoffensifs, mais de bonnes dispositions, d'aspect plus sympathique et d'un meilleur naturel que les Chiriguana. Ceux-ci en ont mangé plus de 60.000 et je ne crois pas beaucoup dire, car ces plaines étaient très peuplées. A présent, il n'y a que peu d'indiens et comme ils n'ont personne pour les défendre, ces gens brutaux en font boucherie. Les Chané sont si soumis aux Chiriguana, qu'il leur suffit d'apercevoir un Chiriguana pour s'asseoir, sans résister, laissant le Chiriguana disposer d'eux à son plaisir. Les Chiriguana les emmènent comme des moutons en troupeaux, ils mangent ceux dont ils ont envie et, des autres, ils s'en servent pour le service de leurs maisons et de leurs champs. S'ils veulent en manger un, ils se contentent de lui dire d'aller se laver à la rivière et il le fait sans répliquer. Il revient nu et les Chiriguana ordonnent à leurs enfants de prendre arcs et flèches et le pauvre Chané s'effor-

ce d'échapper aux flèches, sans oser cependant s'enfuir de la place jusqu'à ce qu'il meure criblé de flèches, à la grande joie de tous ceux qui le regardent. Ils le coupent en morceaux et le mangent, soit grillé soit rôti, avec du maïs et beaucoup d'aji. Ils se servent, pour la guerre, des Chané qu'ils croient vaillants et robustes. Ils les traitent selon leurs coutumes barbares et les mettent devant eux; s'ils ne combattent pas bien, ils les tuent à coups de flèches par derrière. » (Lizarraga, t. I, pp. 259-260.)

L'année dernière, me rendant de Cuevo à Igitembé, j'avais pris un guide chiriguano qui parlait assez bien l'espagnol et qui, dans son enfance, avait vécu chez les Chané. Il me raconta à sa façon ces guerres du temps jadis. Son récit embrouillé rappelle celui du moine espagnol. Plus tard je séjournai quelque temps chez les Chané qui, à leur tour, me firent allusion à leurs combats contre les Chiriguano et aux coutumes anthropophagiques de ces derniers. « Les *Tapui* ne sont pas les *Ara*. Autrefois ils se battaient contre les *Ara*. » Les *Ara* prenaient les femmes et les gardaient en captivité. Ils se mariaient avec les captives. Des fils des *Ara* sont issus les *Tapui*, ils sont fils des femmes qu'ils ont enlevées. Les Chané sont fils des captives. Quand les Chané parlent entre eux, il est des paroles qu'on ne comprend pas. Autrefois les *Karai* (Blancs) se battaient contre les *Ara* du côté de Cochabamba. Les *Karai* les ont poursuivis jusqu'en bas et ils les ont laissés au Paraguay. Les Paraguayens sont fils des anciens *Ara*. Jadis les *Ara* mangeaient les *Tapui* lorsqu'ils faisaient la guerre contre eux. « Les *Ara* nous mangeaient », disaient les Chané, « et c'est pour cela que nous les détestons. »

Les Chané m'ont confirmé les dires de mon informateur et m'ont assuré que les Chiriguano les mangeaient autrefois (1).

(1) Matienzo (pp. 166-167) s'exprime au sujet des Chiriguano et des Chané presque dans les mêmes termes que Lizárraga : « En la tierra ay provincia de los Charcas y junto a la ciudad ay unos Indios advenedizos que se dizen chiriguanaes, gente de guerra, muy cruel, Indomitos y comen carne humana, habitan en las cordilleras, no tienen otro officio sino pelear y matar y comer Indios y servirse de ellos como esclavos, salen de noche a hazer saltos en los llanos que esta junto a las cordilleras, adonde habitan uno Indios sujetos a su magestad, hazen presas En ellos de mill y dos mill, y de ellos comen y tienen otros a engordar para comer, y de otros se sirven por esclavos; estos Indios de miedo de los chiriguanaes huyeron de su tierra, que heran unos muy buenos y fertiles valles, a treynta y quarenta leguas de la ciudad de la Plata y se fueron a unos llanos y arenales que solian estar desiertos faltos de agua, biven de sumo de yucas y cardones, son mas de ochenta mill, etc. ». Les déserts, dont il est question ici et où les Chané se sont réfugiés ne sont autres que ceux du bas Parapiti où vivent actuellement de nombreux Chané en dépit de la pauvreté de cette région aride.

Il n'y rien d'étonnant à ce que les Chiriguano aient conservé vivant le souvenir de leurs luttes avec les Chané. Celles-ci n'ont pris fin que dans les dernières années du XVIIIe siècle. En 1745, nous voyons les Chané de la province de Santa-Cruz venir demander aide et protection contre les Chiriguano qui les traquaient; en 1798, les

La tribu des Chané ne succomba pas à ces hécatombes et à la servitude. Elle put se maintenir sur deux points de son ancien territoire : sur l'Itiyuro et le Parapití. Là existent encore plusieurs villages dont la densité est assez forte. Les Chané de l'Itiyuro sont encore 1500 environ, ils vivent tous sur le territoire argentin, dans le province de Salta. Je ne possède aucune statistique pour la population chané du bas Parapití, mais je suis que ces indiens y sont encore nombreux.

Aujourd'hui les Chané ne se distinguent des Chiriguano, ni par leur civilisation matérielle ni par leur langue. Ils parlent le guarani, mais emploient certaines locutions et certains mots que les Chiriguano disent ne pas comprendre et qui sont peut-être autant de vestiges de leur ancien parler arawak. Ils ont conservé celui-ci comme langue secrète. Nordenskiöld (**2**, p. 157) put en recueillir un court vocabulaire chez les Chané du Parapití. Il s'agit bien, comme on le supposait *a priori*, d'un dialecte arawak étroitement apparenté au moxo-mbaure.

Les Chané modernes ne sont plus esclaves, mais leur condition primitive se manifeste encore dans leurs rapports avec leurs anciens maîtres. Les Chiriguano les regardent toujours avec un certain mépris et un air protecteur auquel les Chané répondent par une animosité non dissimulée. Un Chiriguano se sentirait offensé d'être appelé Chané, et un Chané Chiriguano. Le nom dont les Chiriguano désignent les Chané est toujours celui de *Tapii*.

Même si les traditions historiques ou si les faits ethniques ne s'accordaient pour prouver l'existence dans le Chaco occidental d'une population arawak, l'archéologie à elle seule suffirait à nous l'apprendre. A Tarupayu, Nordenskiöld (**5**, pp. 40-41) a mis à jour une céramique nettement arawak, par sa technique et maints détails de sa structure. Elle date d'une époque où les Chané, nouveaux venus au pied des Andes, n'avaient pas encore subi l'influence andine des populations du sud bolivien (Chicha, Atacama, etc.).

Les Guarani, lorsqu'ils arrivèrent chez les Chané, possédaient une civilisation à peu de choses près identique à celle de leurs frères de race, les Tupinamba de la côte du Brésil, dont l'ethnographie nous est si familière grâce aux vieilles chroniques françaises et portugaises. Ils différaient peu de leurs cousins actuels, les Kainguá du Brésil et du Paraguay qui sont des Guarani indépendants mais appauvris.

Au contact de la civilisation supérieure des Chané, les Guarani l'ont adoptée, telle quelle, introduisant cependant quelques éléments culturels d'origine paraguayenne. De cette fusion entre ces deux nations, s'est

Chané de l'Itiyuro faisaient encore des incursions contre les Chiriguano de la région d'Itáu et détruisirent presque complètement cette mission. (V. Corrado, pp. 98 et 225; Tamajuncosa, p. 211.)

formé un centre d'acculturation que nous pouvons désigner sous le nom de civilisation chané-chiriguano.

C'est par l'intermédiaire des Chané que tant d'aspects de la civilisation andine caractérisent encore la culture des Chiriguano. Car comment aurions-nous pu expliquer autrement une si forte action de la civilisation andine sur les Chiriguano, à l'époque où cette civilisation sombrait et disparaissait, partiellement du moins ?

Les Chané, par contre, installés depuis des siècles auprès des Chicha et autres indiens du sud de la Bolivie montagneuse, ont, grâce à leurs relations commerciales, subi l'attraction de la civilisation andine qui s'est infiltrée chez eux, comme chez les autres tribus du Chaco, sous forme d'objets de toilette, de joyaux, de motifs artistiques, de jeux, de mots et de vices. Ce sont ces multiples apports qui donnent à la culture chané cette apparence andine qui frappe tout ethnographe habitué aux peuples du Brésil. Mais, venus des grandes forêts du bassin amazonien, ces Arawak « quichuaisés » ont conservé fidèlement, jusqu'à nos jours, des meubles et des ustensiles qui trahissent cette origine et les rattachent directement à leurs lointains parents des Guyanes. La civilisation chané était, et est encore, une civilisation mixte, formée d'éléments de provenance différente et souvent d'un caractère opposé.

Les Chiriguano ont adopté, avec d'autant plus de facilité, cette civilisation d'un type supérieur en raison des nombreuses affinités qu'elle offrait avec la leur. Tout le côté amazonien et guyanais de la civilisation chané se composait d'industries, de techniques et d'habitudes que les Chiriguano venus des régions tropicales de l'Amérique, d'un pays de grandes forêts et de grandes rivières, connaissaient déjà en partie. C'est ainsi, par exemple, que les Guarani, en arrivant chez les Chané, retrouvèrent les hamacs, les cribles, les mortiers, les paniers, les armes auxquels eux-mêmes étaient habitués.

La contribution des Chané consistait précisément en éléments culturels qu'ils avaient reçus des peuples andins, soit : le vêtement *(camisetas,* bandeau frontal, etc.), le goût des ornements d'argent, quelques motif artistiques, certaines formes de céramique, etc., autant de choses qui commençaient à peine à s'infiltrer au Paraguay. Là où l'influence des Chané fut décisive, c'est dans le domaine de la céramique.

L'action civilisatrice des Chané sur les Chiriguano a eu pour agent les femmes chané que les Chiriguano capturèrent et épousèrent. Les Guarani n'avaient certainement emmené qu'un petit nombre de jeunes filles avec eux. Eux-mêmes étaient peu nombreux au début, 4.000 selon Lizarraga (t. I, p. 260). En s'unissant avec les femmes chané qu'ils enlevèrent par milliers, ils renouvelèrent avec leur sang, tous les aspects féminins de leur industrie. Ce sont les femmes, par exemple, qui fabri-

quent la céramique et un homme ne saurait s'en occuper sans déchoir. Aussi voyons-nous la céramique des Guarani subir de profondes modifications et changer du tout au tout. Aujourd'hui la poterie fait leur gloire, et de leur ancienne céramique ils n'ont conservé que les humbles marmites ou les cuves à *chicha*. Les Chané, malgré leur déchéance, ont maintenu leur supériorité traditionnelle dans cet art et ils continuent à produire des vases qui, s'ils ne sont pas comparables à ceux du passé, sont souvent fort beaux.

L'influence pernicieuse et corruptrice des blancs, qui fait tant de ravages chez les pauvres Chané, a épargné du moins leur industrie potière. Ils fabriquent encore des quantités considérables de vases qu'ils vendent aux autres indiens et aux blancs. En habiles commerçants, ils se sont pliés au goût de leurs nouveaux clients et les motifs dont ils ornent les pièces qu'ils exportent sont aussi hideux et criards que ceux qui agrémentent les tissus ou les paniers métis ou créoles.

Nous pouvons d'ailleurs saisir historiquement certaines phases de la transformation de la culture des Guarani lorsqu'ils se sont mêlés aux Chané. Les anciens Guarani vivaient dans la grande maison ou *maloca*, c'est-à-dire, dans des huttes gigantesques abritant plusieurs familles. Emigrés au pied des Andes, ils conservèrent jusqu'en plein XVIIe siècle un type d'habitation qui correspondait à une organisation sociale particulière (la grande famille maternelle et indivise). Au XVIIIe siècle, nous les voyons habiter dans des huttes semblables à celles qu'ils ont aujourd'hui encore, et qui sont destinées à loger une famille seulement. On peut assister, de même, à la disparition de l'anthropophagie qui au XVIIIe siècle n'est plus qu'un souvenir chez les Chiriguano. Certaines traces en ont survécu jusqu'à nos jours.

Ces pages justifient donc les assertions de la préface. Avec les Chiriguano nous avons affaire à une nation de formation récente dont la civilisation est un composé d'éléments guarani, arawak et surtout andins. L'aire géographique habitée par les Chiriguano peut être mise au nombre des diverses zones d'acculturation que compte l'Amérique. Point de jonction de trois cultures, elle en a réalisé la fusion.

RÉSUMÉ

Les Chiriguano appartiennent à la famille linguistique tupi-guarani.

Ils ont émigré du Paraguay au pied des Andes, dans le dernier quart du XVe siècle et dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle.

Cette migration a eu pour mobile l'attrait qu'exerçaient sur les Guarani les richesses en métal de l'empire incasique, et peut-être aussi certains facteurs mystiques (le mythe de la « Terre sans-mal »).

1:Métraux SF10 Chiriguano

La fameuse expédition de Garcia n'est, probablement, qu'un épisode de cette grande migration.

Au pied des Andes, les Guarani trouvèrent une population de parler arawak : les Chané, dont la civilisation avait fortement subi l'influence des tribus du sud bolivien soumises à l'Inca.

Les Guarani exterminèrent une partie des Chané, réduisirent les autres en esclavage et prirent des femmes chané pour épouses.

La nation chiriguano est issue de ce mélange ethnique.

Au point de vue culturel, les Chané ont exercé une influence décisive sur les Chiriguano et c'est par leur intermédiaire qu'aujourd'hui certains aspects de la civilisation incasique sont continués par les Chiriguano.

De leur côté, les Chané adoptèrent la langue de leurs vainqueurs, conservant longtemps leur parler arawak comme langue secrète.

Situation des Chiriguano au XVIIIe siècle et de nos jours

Au XVIIIe siècle le territoire des Chiriguano peut se définir de la sorte : « Selon Jolis et Hervas, leur domaine s'étendait de Tarija à l'est sur une longueur de 50 lieues (250 km.) et du nord au sud, sur 100 lieues (500 km.). Leurs frontières étaient les suivantes : au nord ils atteignaient le 17° de lat. sud et s'avançaient jusqu'aux missions jésuitiques de Chiquitos. Au sud, ils arrivaient au 22° de lat. sud. Dans la région de Salinas, d'Itáu et du haut Pilcomayo, ils avaient pour voisins les Matakos, Matagnayo et les Toba. Vers l'ouest, ils avaient des établissements jusqu'à Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna et Valle Grande. On trouvait là de solides villages sous le commandement de caciques héréditaires. Le Parapiti formait, en son cours moyen, leur limite vers l'est. Au XVIIIe siècle les Chiriguano constituaient la nation la plus importante et la plus remarquable du Chaco occidental. Les statistiques varient beaucoup en ce qui les concerne : les chiffres, donnés avec leurs habituelles exagérations, oscillent entre 41.000 guerriers et 15.000. Dans ce nombre sont compris les Chané, ce qui achève d'enlever toute valeur à ces statistiques ». (Kersten, pp. 68-69.)

Aujourd'hui les limites des Chiriguano sont restées à peu près les mêmes. Mais, s'ils habitent un territoire dont l'étendue a peu varié, leur situation n'en a pas moins subi de profonds changements. A l'intérieur de cette aire que nous avons définie, se sont établis plusieurs milliers de métis, venus de Tarija, de Santa Cruz et de Chuquisaca. Il n'existe plus de frontière chiriguano, mais uniquement des restes de villages et de petits groupes qui marquent encore l'ancienne extension de la tribu. D'autre part, le nombre des Chiriguano a terriblement diminué et diminue chaque jour, si bien que, d'ici quelques années, le véritable habitat

des Chiriguano sera compris entre le Parapiti et le Pilcomayo et se réduira aux anciennes missions franciscaines et à quelques vallées de la Précordillère, comme celles de Caipipendí et d'Igüembé (1).

CHAPITRE II

L'agriculture

Les Chiriguano sont, comme les Guarani et les Chaná, leurs ancêtres, d'excellents agriculteurs et le travail du sol représente leur principale occupation et leur grand souci. Le maïs a pour eux une importance capitale; il constitue le fond de leur alimentation, car il entre dans la préparation de la plupart de leurs plats et leur donne, en outre, leur boisson préférée, la *chicha* ou *kawi*.

Les terrains sablonneux du Chaco occidental et son climat, chaud et sec une grande partie de l'année, mais aussi pluvieux pendant les mois d'été, semblent particulièrement convenir à cette céréale. Nulle part je n'ai vu d'aussi beaux champs de maïs. Les épis sont grands, bien four-

(1) Quelques historiens peu au courant de la géographie ethnique de l'Amérique du Sud ont prétendu qu'au XVIe siècle les Chiriguano vivaient bien au-delà des frontières que j'ai indiquées. L'un deux (le Dr. Fulgencio Moreno) est allé dans ce sens si loin qu'il attribue aux Chiriguano la possession d'une grande partie du nord-ouest de l'Argentine et pousse la fantaisie au point de les situer presque jusque dans la province de Córdoba. Mr. Coni dans une excellente monographie a fait, documents en main, bonne justice de ces téméraires allégations et a démontré que ces hypothèses étaient dénuées de tout fondement.

Les arguments archéologiques de ceux qui croient à une vaste extension des Guarani en Argentine reposent sur l'occurence dans la province de Salta et de Jujuy d'enterrements d'adultes en urnes. Dernièrement j'ai effectué des fouilles dans plusieurs cimetières préhispaniques de cette région (département de la Candelaria, prov. de Salta) et j'ai pu me convaincre que les peuples qui nous ont laissé ces grandes nécropoles, n'avaient au point de vue culturel et anthropologique aucun point commun avec les Chiriguano. Les urnes funéraires que j'ai mises à jour sont entièrement différentes de celles des anciens Guarani et le mobilier funéraire ne comporte aucune pièce qui puisse être attribuée ni de près ni de loin aux Guarani.

L'enterrements d'adultes en urnes n'est en aucune façon caractéristique de la culture des Indiens tupi-guarani et je dirai même au contraire. En 1905 déjà Outes (1) dans une monographie fort bien documentée avait prouvé que les cimitières de Rosario de Lerma et de San Pedro de Jujuy que Boman (1) considérait comme guarani ne constituaient en aucune facon des preuves d'une migration guarani dans le nord-ouest de l'Argentine. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 184-189) et moi-même (Métraux, 2, pp. 271-276), avons repris l'étude de cette question et nos résultats confirment entièrement ceux de Outes (1). Donc tant au point de vue historique qu'ethnographique l'on ne saurait donner aux anciens Chiriguano d'autres limites que celles que j'ai signalées.

nis en grains et extrêmement savoureux. Les métis boliviens et les colons, qui viennent de plus en plus nombreux prendre la place des indiens, s'adonnent comme eux à la culture du maïs qui, avec l'elevage, est leur principale ressource.

Mon voyage au Chaco, qui a eu lieu du mois de février au mois de juin, ne m'a pas donné l'occasion d'assister aux semailles qui se font au début de la saison pluvieuse. Pour maints détails, je me verrai donc forcé de recourir à Corrado (pp. 42 et 48), Campana (pp. 96-98), Nordenskiöld (**2**, pp. 181-184 et **10**, pp. 23-24), à Nino (pp. 237-241) et Rosen (**1**, p. 205).

Lorsqu'un Chiriguano veut cultiver une nouvelle étendue de terrain pour lui et sa famille, il parcourt les environs de son village à la recherche d'un emplacement qui puisse lui convenir et qui soit, en plus, facilement irrigable. Cette condition est généralement remplie par les terrains qui se trouvent au pied d'une colline ou d'une éminence. Les eaux de pluie, qui viennent s'y déverser, leur assurent la fertilité.

Avant de prendre possession d'un nouveau lopin de terre, le Chiriguano a toujours soin de constater s'il est vierge de tout vestige de culture antérieure, sinon l'ancien propriétaire ou ses descendants auraient le droit de porter plainte au chef du village.

Le Chiriguano manifeste son nouveau droit de propriété en plantant, avant la saison des pluies, n'importe quelle plante comestible, par exemple, les grandes courges *(gindako-waxu)* qui se répandent partout et ne sont pas étouffées par la broussaille. Il peut également s'assurer la possession du terrain choisi, en abattant des arbustes tout autour et en pratiquant de grandes entailles dans les arbres (1).

Au milieu de la saison sèche, soit en août, l'indien détruit avec un long bâton, tranchant des deux côtés, la broussaille qui encombre son futur champ et y met le feu. Cette opération a, en plus, l'avantage de fertiliser le sol grâce à la couche de cendre qui est un assez bon engrais.

Les champs cultivés sont d'ordinaire nettoyés après la récolte. On y lâche d'abord les animaux domestiques qui s'y alimentent à peu de frais, puis on y met le feu.

Les semailles ont lieu au mois de novembre lorsque les premières rafales de pluie ont amolli le sol. Cette époque est annoncée par l'apparition des Pléïades *(itiu)* au-dessus de l'horizon, le matin de bonne heure.

Le Chiriguano qui s'apprête à semer, a soin de sarcler son champ et de le débarrasser de toutes les mauvaises herbes. A cet effet, il se sert

(1) Comparer cette manière d'assurer ses droits de propriété avec la méthode observée par les Caxinawa dans les même cas : « J'ai vu (c'est un indien qui parle) une éminence qui se prête à faire une plantation. Je vais faire une plantation pour cet été. J'ai rompu beaucoup de branches sur cette colline pour marquer cet excellent endroit. Personne ne peut faire ses abattis sur cette colline. Cette colline est excellente, n'allez pas y faire votre plantation. » (Abreu, p. 69.)

d'une pelle dont je donnerai la description, en partie d'après Campana (p. 98), faute d'avoir vu cet instrument complet.

Les pelles *(sipe)* des Chiriguano étaient, il n'y a pas longtemps encore, entièrement en bois, de préférence en bois d'*urundei (Astronium urundeuva F. Allemao)* ou de palmier *sirípa*. Elles ressemblaient, quoique plus étroites et plus longues, à celles de nos boulangers. Les bords en étaient droits, presque parallèles, et seul le tranchant était légèrement arrondi sur les côtés. Vers le haut, elles se terminaient par une pointe, sorte de manche embryonnaire qui était prolongé par un bâton auquel il était attaché avec des liens faits en *charqui (Nilotica farnesiana)*, en lianes ou en fibres de *toborcii*. Les deux pelles examinées par Campana, mesuraient 70 cm. de longueur et 15 cm. de largeur, l'une d'elle, cependant, était moins large en haut qu'en bas de quelques centimètres (fig. 2).

Fig. 2. — Pelle (sipe) en bois, sans son manche en usage autrefois chez les Chiriguano (d'après Campana, pl. VIII, fig. 1).

Si les Chiriguano ont abandonné l'ancienne pelle de bois, ils ont cependant fidèlement conservé le long manche auquel elles étaient fixées et qui leur permet de travailler la terre sans avoir à se baisser. Une remarque d'ordre psychologique s'impose à ce propos. Les Chiriguano auraient bien pu acquérir dans les magasins des Syriens où ils se fournissent, des pelles déjà emmanchées et prêtes à être employées. S'ils ont senti le besoin de modifier le manche et de lui donner la forme traditionnelle, c'est qu'il ne correspondait pas aux mouvements et à la position du corps et des mains qu'une tradition séculaire avait fixés.

Dans chaque groupe humain, tout travail manuel exige certains gestes déterminés auxquels, dans une certaine mesure, s'adaptent les outils. Ainsi s'expliquent les variations que ceux-ci présentent de pays à pays et même de tribus à tribus. Le professeur Mauss avait coutume de nous citer, à ce propos, l'exemple suivant : pendant la grande guerre, les soldats français n'aimaient guère se servir des pelles anglaises différentes des leurs et vice-versa. Les Chiriguano que j'ai vu peiner sur les routes militaires de la Bolivie, manient nos pelles exactement comme n'importe quel terrassier européen, mais rentrés chez eux, lorsqu'il s'agit de labourer un champ, ils retournent immédiatement aux gestes ancestraux et sont contraints d'y adapter la forme de leurs instruments.

Le manche vient s'emboîter dans une poignée, sculptée dans un petit bloc de bois et rapporté avec le plus grand soin. Celui-ci affecte, généralement, la forme d'un croissant sur lequel la main s'appuye commodément. Les poignées à courbure élégante qui donnaient un caractère esthétique aux anciennes bêches sont devennes fort rares. Au cours de

Fig. 3. — Manche de pelle. Proc. : Ibopeyti. (1/4 de la gr. nat.)

mon voyage, je n'ai pu acquérir que deux manches de pelle qui en fassent pourvus. L'un provient d'Ibopeyti (fig. 3) et l'autre a été exécuté à mon intention par un vieil indien de la Mission d'Ivu. La facture de ce dernier spécimen est peu soignée, mais reproduit assez fidèlement les anciens modèles (fig. 4).

L'usage de la pelle chez les Chiriguano ne date, vraisemblablement, que de trois ou quatre siècles. Cet instrument était inconnu dans l'ancien Paraguay d'où nos indiens sont venus. L'emprunt que l'on pouvait supposer a *priori*, a été confirmé par la découverte dans la Quebrada de Humahuaca de pelles en bois en tous points semblables à celles que j'ai décrites ici. Ces trouvailles ont été faites dans les ruines de l'Alfarcito et du Pukará de Tilcara (Debenedetti, **4**, fig. 17 et p. 32) et à la Huerta dans la même Quebrada de Humahuaca. De nombreuses pelles en bois ont été exhumées à La Paya (Ambrosetti, **5**, fig. 236-237, pp. 457-458), et c'est à juste titre qu'Ambrosetti suppose qu'elles ont été emmanchées comme celles des Chirignano modernes. Debenedetti (**1**, p. 35) a obtenu un spécimen de cet instrument à Kipón, dans la province de Salta.

Ce type de pelle est particulièrement bien représenté dans le matériel archéologique de la côte du Chili. On en a rencontré de nombreux exemplaires à Calama, à Chiuchiu et à Pica, dans la province de Tarapaca (Boman, **2**, t. II, pp. 731-732 et pl. LXVIII*a* et Uhle, **3**, pp. 15-16 et pl. I).

Les métis et les indiens du haut plateau bolivien travaillent aujourd'hui encore la terre avec une bêche qui ne diffère en rien de celle de leurs ancêtres; en outre elle présente une grande

Fig. 4. — Manche de pelle. Proc. : Ivu. (1/4 de la gr. nat.)

analogie avec la pelle en bois des anciens Chiriguano (Chervin, p. 216, fig. 120).

Nordenskiöld (9, pp. 30-32) en étudiant la distribution de cet élément culturel, a établi qu'il était propre à la zone andine et aux régions limitrophes. La pelle chiriguano n'en a pas moins une particularité que nous chercherions en vain sur tous les exemplaires trouvés à l'intérieur des limites de l'empire incasique : c'est la poignée en forme de croissant. Elle correspond assez exactement aux béquilles qui terminent les rames en usage chez les tribus du Brésil, du Paraguay et des Guyanes et sur lesquelles le pagayeur pose sa main à plat.

Les Chiriguano ont vécu jadis dans une contrée riche en fleuves et en rivières et probablement ils s'aidaient pour les remonter ou les descendre de pagaies de ce type. Une fois établis au pied des Andes, la ressemblance entre leurs anciennes rames et les pelles qu'ils virent aux mains des Chané ou des Chicha dut les frapper et ils ont naturellement cherché à adapter aux nouveaux instruments ce détail de structure dont le pagayage leur avait montré la commodité. Une telle hypothèse n'a rien de trop aventureux, car n'avons-nous pas dans le Chaco des pelles qui ont exactement l'apparence de rames? (V. à ce sujet la pelle des Ashluslay publiée par Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 30, fig. 1.)

Fig. 5. — Corne de vache (*ocho-ouati*) dont les Chiriguano se servent en guise de cor. L'extrémité est taillée en forme d'embouchure. Pour. : Dupuyt. (1/4 de la gr. nat.)

Une fois leur champ libre de mauvaises herbes, les Chiriguano convoquent parents et amis. A la date convenue, tous se rendent aux champs de bon matin après s'être réveillés mutuellement avec des cris, des sifflements et en soufflant à qui mieux mieux dans des cornes de vaches qui leur tiennent lieu de cors (en chiriguano : *ocho-ouati)* (fig. 5). Le chef du village participait autrefois aux semailles et veillait à ce que tous s'aidassent mutuellement.

Les semailles se font d'une manière fort simple. Si le terrain est mou, l'Indien fiche sa pelle verticalement dans le sol après avoir donné deux ou trois coups pour l'enfoncer le plus possible. Il élargit la fente en poussant sa pelle en avant sans la retirer et glisse dans l'entrebâillement deux ou trois grains de maïs. Sans changer de place, il pratique à sa droite et à sa gauche deux ou trois trous analogues, fait un pas en avant et recommence. Les plantes poussent ainsi dans un certain aligne-

ment qui est bon, cependant, d'être parfait. Comme ils sont plusieurs à travailler simultanément, la besogne se fait vite. A midi, ou au plus tard vers deux heures de l'après-midi, ils ont fini leur tâche et s'en retournent au village où les attend la chicha au *ñeri* que le propriétaire du champ a fait préparer pour eux aides.

Le triste état de décadence où se trouvent actuellement les Chiriguano a mis fin au travail collectif et ce n'est plus qu'exceptionnellement que

Fig. 8. — Petite chiriguano abandonnée provisoirement par son habitante qui vient [illegible] travailler dans leur champ (Cuyapaipe). (Photo. A. M.)

les semailles se font en commun. Chacun doit pourvoir à ses besoins sans autre assistance que celle de ses proches parents.

Les Chiriguano cultivent les plantes suivantes :

Le maïs *(ereti)* : 11 variétés;

Les haricots *(kwanda)* : 11 variétés;

Les courges *(ondai et gindube ovoo)* : 3 variétés;

Les patates douces *(pri)* : 6 variétés;

La yuca ou manioc doux *(mandio)* (*Manihot utilissima*, Pohl);

Les arachides *(mandori)*;

Le piment *(kii)* (*Capsicum*), trois variétés cultivés;

Le maghu *(kiile)* (*Morphea cuculliformis*) (1);

(1) Le maghu n'est utilisé que dans une petite région. C'est sur Bianchini que les Chiriguano dressent des enfants qui en savent la tige.

— 309 —

Le coton à coque ;
Les maïsos ;
Les cocons d'ver (*mandioc*) ;
Les figues de barbarie (*sacta*) (*Opuntia spec.*) ;
Les figues ;
Les oranges (dans les missions).

Les Chiriguano ne cultivent que sur une très faible échelle les plantes qui, comme le sorgho, le coton à coque, les figues et les oranges, ont été introduites par les Européens. Parmi celles-ci les maïsos seuls jouissent d'une faveur générale.

Ils connaissent toujours quelques parcelles de terre chaque à la culture de plantes ayant une valeur purement industrielle. Ce sont : les calabasiers (*mendipi*), les cucurbitacées (*id*) qui poussent sur le sol à côté de leurs congénères et leur fournissent les récipients dont ils ont besoin, le roseau (*arwéé*) que l'on ne trouve guère que dans la partie septentrionale de leur habitat et enfin une espèce de tournesol (*Arendo donax*) avec lequel ils font les hampes de leurs flèches.

Ils plantent aussi le tabac (*pitl*), mais je n'en ai jamais vu dans leurs champs. Selon Zwebrokhlid (**12**, p. 23), cette culture serait intelligibile et exceptionnelle. Les Chiriguano ne sont pas de grands fumeurs et les nombreux paquets de cigarettes que j'avais emportés à leur intention ne rencontrèrent que peu d'amateurs. Chez les Tobas, les Matacos ou les Chorotis, leurs stocks eussent été épuisés en un clin d'œil, car ces Indiens aiment le tabac plus que tout au monde.

L'usage du tabac chez les ancêtres Chiriguano, comme chez leurs ancêtres du Paraguay ou du Brésil, était réservé aux hommes-médecins pour leurs opérations magiques. Son emploi en faisait une plante divine de nature « mystique » et dont la consommation était limitée (1).

J'ai visité, à l'époque de la récolte, les terrains cultivés par les Indiens de la région de Carapari, dans la vallée du Caipipendi. Dès la fin de février jusqu'au mois d'avril, les Indiens passent constamment la journée chez eux. La plupart du temps ils vont s'établir dans leurs champs, quittant le village dès que le maïs commence à mûrir pour n'y retourner qu'à la

(1) La P. Giannecchini (Dictionnaire Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 189-190) nous donne à ce sujet des détails fort intéressants. Jadis, nous dit-il, le tabac était réservé aux magiciens et aux médecins et il semblait que notre enjoué'ini et son usage est plus répandu. Il n'est cultivé que sur une très faible échelle. Les Chiriguano n'ont pas la patience de le laisser mûrir et le font sécher sur le feu pour prévenir la moisissure.

Lorsqu'ils éprouvent appétits sexuels d'un malade, les hommes-médecins se mettent en état de transe en fumant tant et plus. Par ce moyen ils désorientent l'esprit du mal et lui livrent bataille.

Nous verrons plus loin (p. 312) le rôle du tabac dans les cérémonies magiques destinées à faire tomber la pluie.

fin de la récolte. La maison des chamis est pourvue de toute intimité désagréable par des haies d'roseau qu'ils élèvent tout autour en devant la porte seulement. Celle-ci peut être aussi fermée par un cadre en chaîne qu'ils devorent mettre elle et suspendre solidement (fig. 4).

Cette migration temporaire de toute la population d'un village aux champs, a rendu un trait de collectivisme partiel assez difficile. Il n'est

Fig. 1. — [illegible]

souvent arrivé de ne trouver dans des villages à peu près vides. Les rares indiens qui y étaient restés, se refusaient absolument, et avec raison, à me vendre les objets qui m'intéressaient, s'ils appartenaient à un absent. La propriété est chose sacrée chez les Chiriguano, et les personnes les plus proches ne peuvent disposer des biens dont leur [illegible] seul leur [illegible].

Lors de mon séjour à Carapari, je priai une fois mon ami [illegible], le « capitaine » Karaiguaipi de me conduire à mes champs. Il fut très sensible à

[facing P. 340]

A. Métraux, *La civilisation des indiens Chiriguano* PLANCHE VI

1. Jeune Chiriguano, fils du « capitan grande » Kerumpéjéi. Son jeune oncle prisonnier de la guerre du Salinas

2. Indienne Chiriguano de la région de Camiri, empaillée par les Indiens remis sur bouch. (Photo. J. M.)

l'intérêt que mon désir impliquait, et en un instant se montra prêt à m'en faire les honneurs.

Son champ se trouvait à 700 mètres environ du village sur le haut d'une des falaises qui bordent la « quebrada » de Carurutí. On y avait accès par un sentier abrupt à travers un éboulis. L'entrée du champ était fermée par une haie composée de troncs d'arbres et d'arbustes épineux que nous enjambâmes à l'aide d'une échelle dans le style indien, c'est-à-dire d'une grosse branche avec de profondes entailles en guise de marches. La *chacra* du capitaine *Karnapadyú* avait une extension de 200 mètres environ sur 70 mètres. A l'orée se dressait une petite hutte en bois couverte de paille.

Le « Capitaine » commença par me montrer quelques plants de manioc et me fit passer au travers d'un grand carré exclusivement semé de haricots et de citronilles. Les champs de *maïs leur faisaient suite*. Ils étaient partagés en deux par une seconde haie formée de troncs et d'épines. Entre les rangées de maïs poussaient des courges. Au *maïzal* succédait une seconde étendue couverte de haricots, de courges, de melons que *Karnapadyú* me dit appartenir à sa fille. Çà et là se dressaient quelques tiges de sorgho. Un nouveau champ de maïs faisait face au premier et sur sa lisière s'élevait une autre cabane. Dans l'une et l'autre de ces propriétés, les seules plantes qui fussent cultivées pour leur valeur industrielle étaient les cucurbitacées dont ces indiens font leurs tasses et leurs bouteilles.

Fig. 8. — Masque (*Iceremanga*) taillé dans une calebasse et pourvu de cheveux et de sourcils en crin. Il était accroché dans une plantation où il servait d'épouvantail. Prov. Carurutí. (1/4 de la gr. nat.)

Je visitai ensuite, sur la falaise d'en face, la *chacra* d'un autre indien du même village. Un chemin plus raide et plus difficile que le premier y conduisait. La plantation se trouvait, en contre-bas d'une colline sur laquelle était perchée une petite hutte. Ces champs étaient presque uniquement couverts de maïs entre les tiges desquels poussaient des courges. Comme précédemment, les *maïzales* étaient précédés de plantations de haricots et de courges.

Les perroquets sont de véritables plaies pour l'agriculture dans le Chaco et causent de grands dommages. Pour lutter contre leurs bandes voraces, les Chiriguano font des épouvantails en attachant à l'extrémité de perches flexibles les masques qu'ils portent pendant les fêtes du Carnaval et qu'ils dédaignent ensuite (fig. 8). C'est la nécessité d'être cons-

tamment aux agnets pour repousser l'intrusion de ces redoutables bandes de pillards qui oblige les indiens à venir s'établir sur leurs champs dès que le maïs mûrit. Les enfants et les jeunes gens ont mission d'effrayer, par leurs cris, ces insatiables marauderurs. Sitôt qu'ils voient ou entendent une volée de perroquets, ils émettent une longue modulation qui, paraît-il, a la vertu de les effrayer. Si les perroquets approchent trop ou se posent sur les plantations, les indiens les font fuir en les criblant de pierres avec leur frondes. Ils en ont de deux sortes. Partout où les Chiriguano sont en contact direct avec les Quichua, ces frondes sont en laine (pl. VII, 1 et 2); ailleurs, en particulier dans la vallée de Caipipendi, elles sont en fibres végétales et faites suivant la technique du filet (pl. VII, 3). Il ne fait aucun doute que les Chiriguano ont emprunté cette arme aux populations andines. Pour s'en convaincre, il suffit de comparer la fronde des indiens et des métis du département de Tarija avec celle des Chiriguano (Rosen, 1, fig. 267, p. 261).

Un autre moyen d'écarter les oiseaux est de tendre un fil au-dessus des champs. J'ignore l'effet que ce dispositif peut avoir sur eux.

Les champs des indiens Chiriguano sont toujours entourés d'une haie haute et épaisse qui les protège des animaux, vaches et chevaux errants, qui pourraient s'y introduire et les saccager. Les sauterelles leur font, parfois, beaucoup de mal. J'ai vu dans la vallée de Caipipendi un champ où elles fourmillaient et qui semblait avoir été abandonné pour cette raison (1).

Les femmes accompagnent leurs maris aux champs. Elles y passent la journée à filer, à coudre, à griller des épis de maïs ou à rôtir du manioc. Le soir, s'ils rentrent au village, la femme revient pliée sous le poids de son *ñapoka* ou filet à porter, plein d'épis de maïs. Les hommes les aident parfois. Ceux qui ont des ânes et des chevaux les emploient comme bêtes de somme.

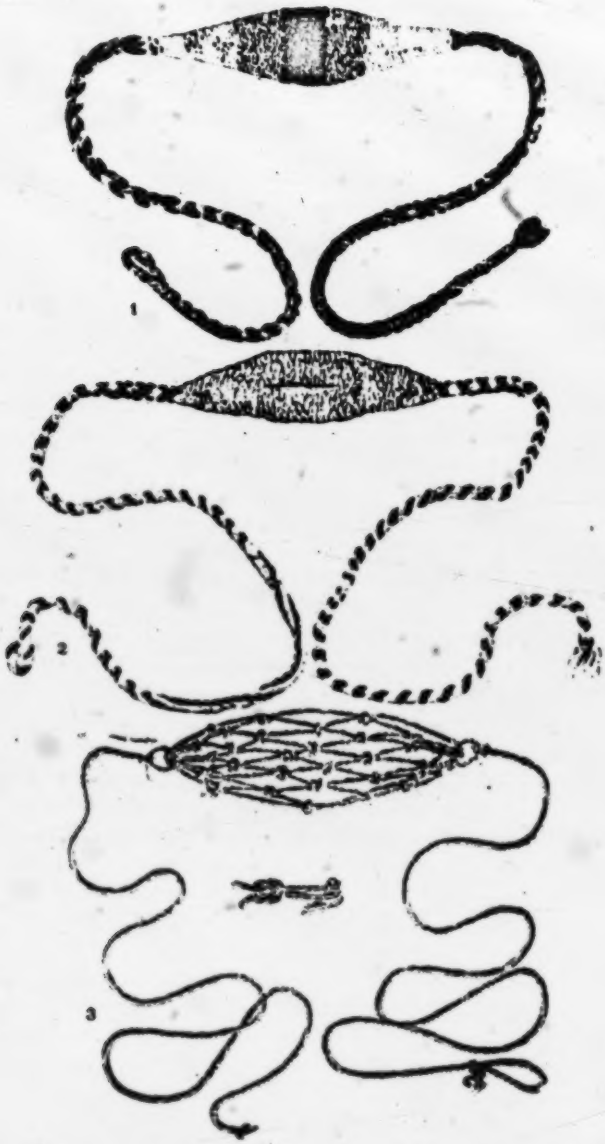
Le transport du maïs se fait, généralement, à l'aide du filet à porter, mais des moyens de fortune leur permettent en cas de nécessité de s'en passer. Les épis de maïs sont réunis en paquets au moyen des feuilles qui les entourent et suspendus à une bagnette flexible, pliée en forme de 8. Lorsque les deux arceaux sont équilibrés on peut les soulever en les prenant par le milieu.

Au village, les épis sont soit emmagasinés dans les greniers sur pilotis auxquels conduisent des escaliers taillés dans un tronc d'arbre (fig. 9), soit gardés dans la hutte où un coin spécial a été aménagé en compartiment. Un tronc d'arbre, surmonté d'une fourche naturelle, peut servir

(1) Lorsque les sauterelles sont particulièrement nombreuses, les Chiriguano creusent des fosses dans lesquelles ils les font entrer et où ils les ensevelissent. (*Diccionario Chiriguano-Español*, etc., p. 83.)

[facing P.342]

A. MÉTRAUX, *La civilisation des indiens Chiriguano* PLANCHE VII



1. Fronde (tamembolo) en laine, jaune, violette, blanche et verte. Prov. : Cuevo (1/, gr. nat.); 2. Fronde en laine, brune, verte et blanche. Prov. : Ivu. (1/, gr. nat.); 3. Fronde en fibres végétales (écorce de *wembé*). Prov. : Cururuti. (1/, gr. nat.)

de dépôt à maïs. Les épis, liés par paquets, sont entassés entre les deux branches de la fourche (fig. 10).

Jadis, avant que ne commençât leur effroyable décadence, les Chiriguano avaient recours à des cérémonies magiques pour hâter la maturité du maïs et éviter la sécheresse ou une trop grande abondance de pluies.

Fig. 8. — Grenier à maïs sur pilotis (*asatiá*). Ivu. (Photo. A. M.)

Lorsque le soleil menaçait de brûler les récoltes, on faisait venir un ou plusieurs hommes-médecine qui étaient chargés d'amener les nuages récalcitrants. Munis d'un cigare, ils faisaient le tour des champs soufflant la fumée dans tous les sens (*Diccionario Chiriguano-Español*, etc., p. 167). Le symbolisme de ce rite de magie homéopathique est transparent : la fumée représente les nuages que l'*ipaye* doit réunir.

Le jeu du *mboté* constitue la survivance d'une cérémonie magique en relation avec la croissance du maïs et sa maturité.

Dans les missions des Chiriguano, ou dans les villages de la vallée de Caipipendi, on rencontre à foison, sur la grande place du village, des sortes d'oignons, faits en feuilles de maïs pliées ensemble (fig. 11). Les enfants se les lancent avec le plat de la main et cherchent à les rattraper avant qu'ils ne tombent à terre. Un voyageur pressé ne verrait dans ce jeu qu'une forme indienne de notre jeu de paume ou un tennis rudimentaire. En fait, telle est bien la signification actuelle de ce divertissement. Autrefois il n'en était pas de même, comme je l'appris dans la mission de Macharetí. Il y a quelques années encore, on ne jouait au *mboté* qu'à l'époque où le maïs commençait à mûrir. Les enfants formaient un cercle et se jetaient mutuellement cette sorte de volant. Si, par hasard, l'un d'eux le laissait tomber par inadvertance ou maladresse, il quittait aussitôt les lieux, poursuivi par ses camarades qui lui tiraient énergiquement les cheveux. Le joueur maladroit qui lançait la balle de telle façon que son partenaire ne pouvait la saisir, était assimilé à celui qui la laissait choir, à condition toutefois que son vis-à-vis n'eût pas fait le geste de la rattraper. Une fois le maïs mûr, on cessait de jouer au *mboté*.

Fig. 10. — Arbre fourchu sur lequel les Chiriguano entassent le maïs à l'intérieur de leurs huttes. Ce dispositif peut avoir donné naissance aux greniers sur pilotis.

Le jeu du *mboté* a une vaste distribution en Amérique du Sud, mais celle-ci est limitée aux populations du bassin amazonien et des Guyanes. Les Chiriguano l'ont sans doute introduit dans le Chaco (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 168).

Ce jeu dérive, sans aucun doute, d'un rite magique dont le but était de favoriser le cours bienfaisant du soleil et de l'obliger à luire sans interruption pour faire mûrir le maïs. Le volant de paille représente le soleil. L'époque à laquelle ce jeu se pratique et la signification que les Chiriguano y attachent viennent donner une forte présomption à mon hypothèse. Preuss a démontré que dans toute l'Amérique centrale et même dans l'Amérique du Nord, le

Fig. 11. — Volant en paille (*mboté*) accessoire du jeu du même nom. Prov. : Carurutí (1/1 de la gr. nat.).

1:Métraux SF10 Chiriguano

jeu de paume était issu d'une opération magique destinée à influencer le soleil.

Les Chiriguano sont orgueilleux de l'étendue de leurs champs. Le «capitaine» *Karuapadyá* me fit parcourir le sien en entier, insistant sur son extension et sur l'abondance de ses produits. Un autre Chiriguano après m'avoir emmené au travers de toutes ses plantations, sans me faire grâce d'un lopin de terre, me dit en me reconduisant, d'un air à la fois orgueilleux et interrogateur: «Guapo yo». Je lui répondis qu'effectivement il était très «guapo». Il en parut flatté et heureux.

Le père défriche le champ de sa fille, qui représente pour celle-ci une espèce de dot. Le gendre doit ensuite s'en occuper, faire les semailles et la récolte (1). Mon guide, Cipriano, se plaignait amèrement de son gendre dont la paresse l'avait obligé à récolter lui-même le maïs de sa fille.

CHAPITRE III

La cuisine et l'alimentation

LES RESSOURCES ALIMENTAIRES

Ce n'est que fort rarement que j'ai mangé de la viande dans les villages chiriguano et je n'ai jamais eu l'occasion de goûter à un morceau de gibier. Ce n'est pas que celui-ci ait disparu de la région, exterminé par l'homme, mais les Chiriguano ne se donnent plus la peine de le poursuivre. Jadis ils étaient, comme presque tous les indiens de l'Amérique tropicale, des chasseurs passionnés. Lorsqu'ils attendaient des hôtes pour une fête de boisson, les hommes partaient dans la brousse et pendant quinze à vingt jours faisaient ample provision de chair de pécari, de cerf, de nandou, de pigeon, de tatou, de *chuña* et même de perroquet. Pour qu'elle se conservât, ils la faisaient sécher au soleil, sans sel (Nino, pp. 249-258).

En dehors de ces expéditions officielles, ils chassaient sans doute pour leur plaisir ou simplement pour interrompre la monotonie de leur menu.

Les quadrupèdes étaient tués avec des flèches à pointe lancéolée, primitivement en bois aujourd'hui en fer (pl. VIII et IX, 2); le menu gibier avec des flèches terminées par une tige de bois barbelée (pl. IX, 3-5). Les oiseaux étaient pris au piège ou assommés avec une flèche spéciale à embout évasé (pl. X-XI).

Quiconque a vu les petits chiens des Indiens Chiriguano, à museau

(1) Corrado (p. 155) assure que les jeunes mariés vivent aux dépens de leurs parents et qu'ils ne cultivent pas de *chacras* ni ne construisent de maison avant d'avoir un enfant.

allongé, à oreilles pointues, à poil ras et à queue arquée se demandera avec étonnement, comment des animaux aussi misérables, stupides et rageurs ont pu être dressés de façon à rendre des services à l'homme. Cependant, tel semble avoir été le cas. Pour chasser le pécari, par exemple, les Indiens emploient les chiens qui les traquent et les

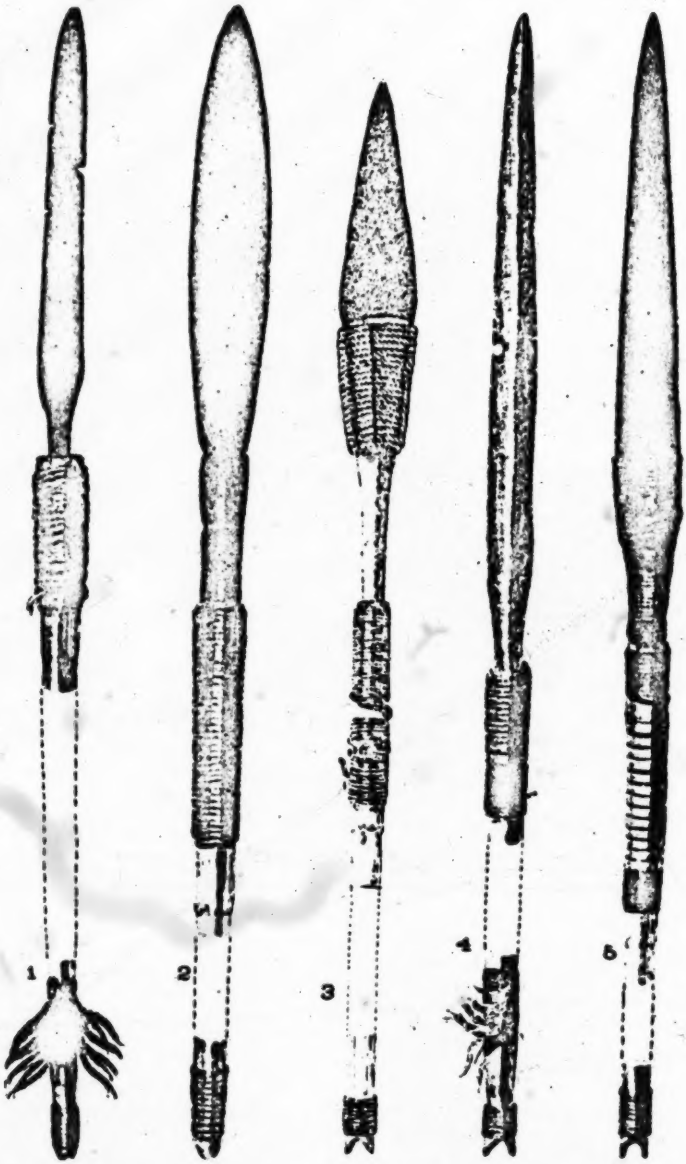
Fig. 12. — Poinçon en corne de cerf (*ozupirasa*). Jadis les Chiriguano s'en servaient pour perforer la lèvre inférieure de leurs enfants. Prov. : Saladito. (1/1, gr. nat.)

forcent à se cacher dans leur repaire où on les enfume et assomme à coups de bâton lorsqu'ils cherchent à s'enfuir. C'est du moins de cette manière que les habitants du village de Saladito (haut Pilcomayo) me dirent avoir tué un pécari qu'ils me montrèrent au moment où je passai chez eux.

La chasse, chez les Chiriguano modernes, a perdu sa raison d'être en tant qu'activité ayant un caractère économique, excepté, peut-

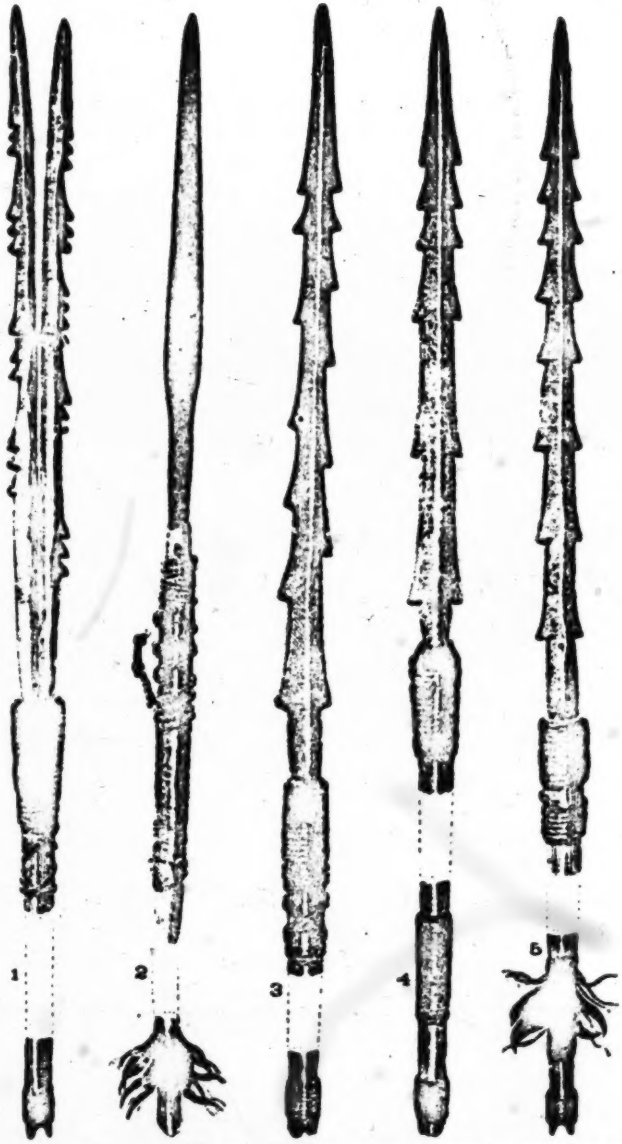
Fig. 13. — Arc des Indiens Chané. Face extérieure semicirculaire; face intérieure plane. L'arc est renforcé avec des manchons en peau de cerf (?) Prov. : *Tapuati* (Prov. de Salta, Rép. Argentine). (1/1, gr. nat.).

[facing P. 346, A]



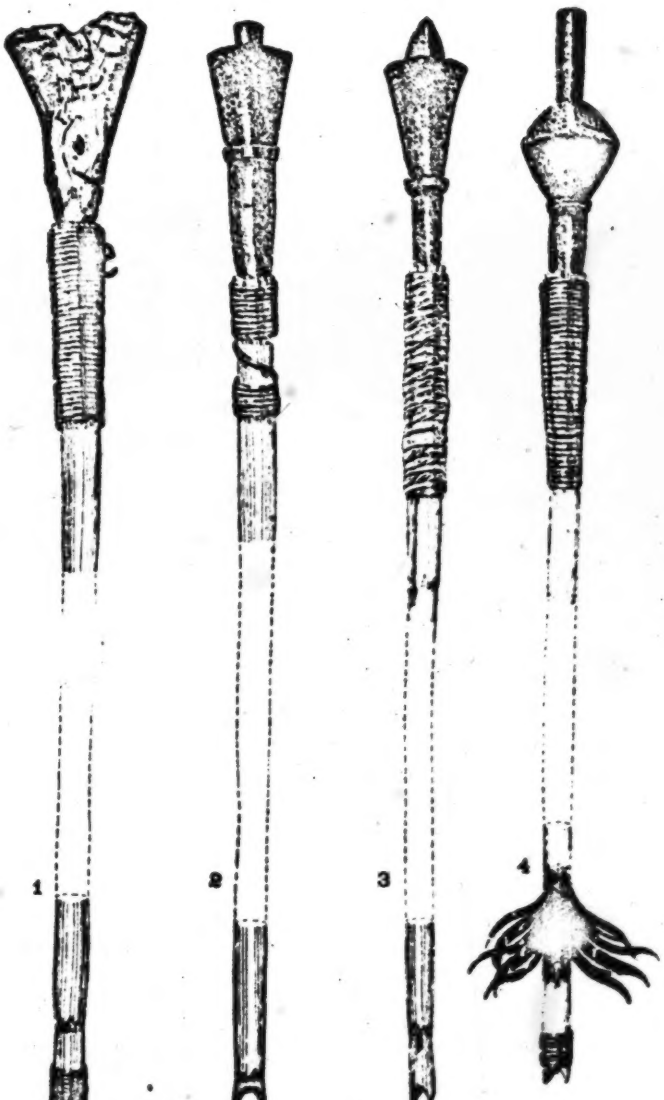
Flèches pour la guerre ou la chasse au gros gibier (*Asi ïya*). Chiriguano. La pointe est une lame de fer, excepté pour le n° 4 qui se termine par une pièce de bois effilée. Les n°s 1, 3 et 4 proviennent de Ivu; Le n° 2 de Tigüipa et le n° 5 de Pipi. (1, 2, 5 sont à $^1/_3$ de la gr. nat.; 3 et 4 à $^1/_4$ de la gr. nat.)

[Facing p.346, B]



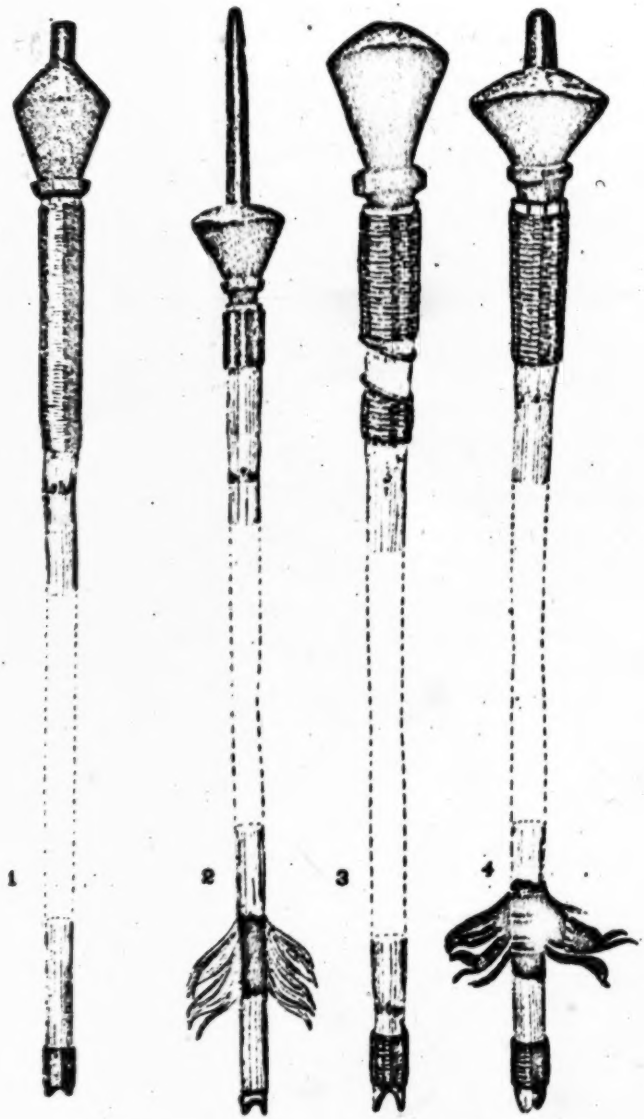
1. Flèche pour la chasse au paloma (*paso del monte*). Chiriguano. Prov. : Caipipendi (¹/₇ gr. nat. ±). — 2. Flèche terminée par une tige de fer calée dans la hampe à l'aide d'une cheville de bois perforée et liée avec une cordelette. Renforcée avec de l'écorce de *sembé*. Prov. : Tintapaw (¹/₇ gr. nat. ±). — 3-5. Flèche à pointe barbelée. Prov. : Caipipendi (¹/₇ gr. nat. ±). Remarque, la flèche n° 5 a, par exception, *trois plumes d'empenne*.

[facing P. 346, C]



Flèches à embout évasé pour assommer les oiseaux ou de petits mammifères (*songa*). Le n° 1 provient de Ivu, le n° 2 de Tintapaw, le n° 3 de Tiwiraiti (haut Pilcomayo) et le n° 4 de Caipipendi. (1/3 de la gr. nat.)

[facing P. 346, D]



Flèches à embout évasé pour assommer les oiseaux ou de petits mammifères (singes).
Les nos 1 et 3 proviennent d'Ivu, les nos 2 et 4 de Calpipendi. (1/1 gr. nat.)

être, pour ceux de cette nation qui vivent dans la région du haut-Pilcomayo. C'est, du moins, l'impression que j'ai eue après avoir examiné leurs huttes : les châlits ou cadres de bois étaient souvent recouverts de peaux de pécari, et les anciens poinçons en corne de cerf (fig. 12) assez nombreux pour pouvoir être échangés contre une bagatelle. L'abondance relative de ces objets prouve que la chasse, chez ces indiens, n'a pas été reléguée au rang d'un simple sport et qu'elle conserve, du moins en partie, son importance passée. Le contraste est saisissant si ensuite l'on se rend dans la zone des missions franciscaines : là, plus de peaux de pécari, plus de perforateurs en corne de cerf, plus de plumes d'autruche. Dans les villages du haut Pilcomayo, il n'est cabane, si pauvre soit-elle, où entre les poutres de la toiture ne soient glissés un arc et un paquet de flèches. Une fois hors de cette région, l'ethnographe aura toutes les peines du monde à acquérir ces armes pour ses collections. Si elles lui sont offertes ce seront, soit quelques souvenirs du temps jadis conservés par un vieillard, soit des exemplaires grossièrement faits sans autre valeur que celle d'un jouet ou d'un accessoire de sport pour quelque rare amateur de chasse.

Fig. 15. — Extrémité supérieure d'un *lorero* (longue baguette terminée par un lac, avec laquelle les Chiriguano attrapent les perroquets sauvages qu'ils ont attirés au moyen d'individus apprivoisés). Prov. : Ivu. (1/, gr. nat.).

Fig. 14. — Flèche de chasse. Chiriguano. La pointe est formée par une tige de fer contre laquelle un clou a été fixé en guise de barbelure. Cette pointe est maintenue dans la hampe grâce à une cheville de bois. Prov. : Sawirenda. (1/, gr. nat.)

Les indiens de la vallée semi-indépendante de Caipipendi sont encore, dans quelques villages, capables de tailler un arc et de s'en servir. Les flèches, que je leur achetai en assez grande quantité, appartenaient presque toutes à un seul type et étaient destinées, à ce qu'ils me dirent, à tuer les *yakú (paro del monte)* (*Penelope* sp.). Ce sont de longs roseaux armés de deux tiges barbelées en bois (pl. IX, 1). Il ne faut pas en conclure que les *yakú*, si abondants soient-ils, représentent une ressource alimentaire appréciable. La chasse, d'ailleurs, n'en est guère pratiquée que par les jeunes gens qui en font un divertissement. L'indien qui me céda le plus beau lot de ces flèches, en éprouva quelque remords; car, m'expliqua-t-il,

elles étaient à son petit garçon qui ne manquerait pas de pleurer lorsqu'il constaterait que son père les avait vendues sans son assentiment.

Les enfants chiriguano sont encore plus fervents que les nôtres au tir à l'arc. On peut les voir courir autour du village s'essayant à abattre, avec de petites flèches en miniature (pl. XII, 2 et 4), les oiseaux qui se posent à leur portée. Contrairement à ce qui avait lieu jadis, une fois adultes, ils ne bénéficieront pas de l'adresse qu'ils auront ainsi acquise.

Fig. 16. — Perchoir avec anneau pour perroquets apprivoisés dont les Chiriguano se servent pour attraper les individus sauvages. Prov. : Xawirenda. (1/4 gr. nat.)

Quelques indiens de la vallée de Caipipendi m'ont vendu de gros bouquets de plumes de nandou. Je n'ai pu savoir s'ils les avaient prises sur des bêtes tuées dans la région ou s'ils avaient été les chasser à l'est, plus près des grands déserts. Cela n'aurait rien d'invraisemblable, car les nandous ne sont certainement pas nombreux dans cette contrée ; en un mois de séjour je n'en vis aucun. Ces plumes servent à confectionner

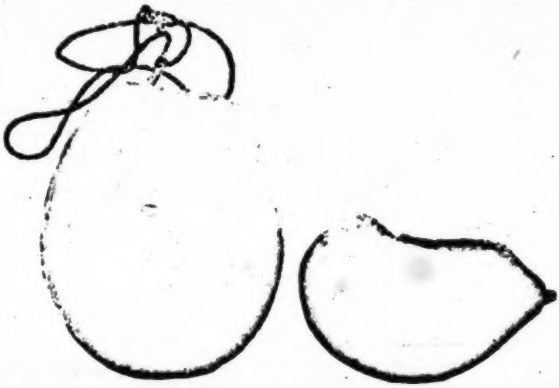
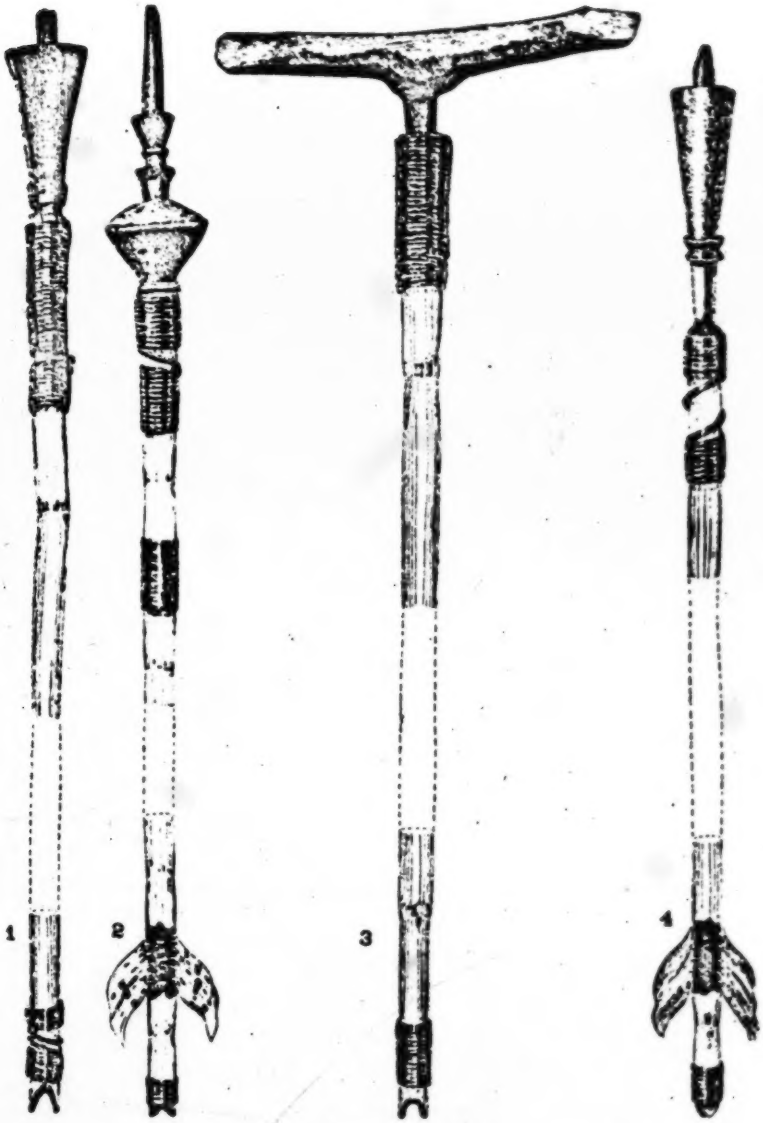


Fig. 17. — Calebasses perforées dans lesquelles les Chiriguano mettent les poussins pour les préserver des oiseaux de proie. Prov. : a, Caruruti ; b, Itanjuti. (1/4 gr. nat.)

des plumeaux que les Chiriguano vendent dans les villages des métis. Pour les maigres profits que leur procure ce commerce, ils entreprennent de longs voyages et vont même jusqu'à Sucre, où chaque plumeau leur est payé de 2 à 3 pesos.

La chasse a perdu son importance du jour où les Chiriguano ont commencé à avoir du bétail. Il y a une vingtaine d'années déjà, ceux qui

[facing P. 348]



Flèches à embout évasé pour assommer des oiseaux ou de petits mammifères (*tempo*)
Les n°s 1 et 3 proviennent d'Ivu, les n°s 2 et 4 de Caipipendi. (1/1 gr. nat.)

possédaient quelques moutons, chèvres, vaches ou même quelques poulets, ne se donnaient pas la peine de suivre dans la brousse leurs camarades en quête de gibier. A quoi bon se fatiguer à courir derrière des pécaris pendant de longues journées et risquer de se faire éventrer ou de revenir bredouille, si tout en restant chez soi on peut régaler ses hôtes avec quelque rôti de viande ou un bouillon de poulet?

Le prix du bétail a beaucoup baissé ces dernières années et les indiens n'ont plus besoin d'aller aux fabriques de sucre de l'Argentine pour en revenir avec une vache ou deux en récompense de quatre à cinq mois de dur labeur. Les chèvres, les moutons et les porcs sont estimés de 2 à 4 pesos pièce et encore s'agit-il souvent de « prix pour étrangers ». Une vache s'achète couramment de 25 à 30 pesos et un indien économe a le moyen d'en acquérir plusieurs au cours de sa vie. Petit à petit, dans chaque village se sont formés de modestes troupeaux que les indiens soignent comme des trésors. Ils en sont fort ménagers, comme d'ailleurs tous les peuples primitifs qui pratiquent l'élevage. Ils ne tuent presque jamais leur vache et ils ne sacrifient que rarement une chèvre ou un mouton à leur gourmandise (1). En se montrant aussi économes, ils n'obéissent à aucune superstition, mais craignent, simplement, de diminuer leur capital. La richesse d'un indien se jauge au nombre de ses vaches et, dans leur jargon espagnol, « vacudo » est synonyme de riche (2). Il existe, chez certains d'entre eux, une tendance à estimer la valeur des objets en vaches. Ainsi un métier à tisser, avec un poncho presque fini, me fut offert « pour une vache » et la propriétaire du métier ne put comprendre qu'il m'était difficile de réaliser le troc.

Le *charqui*, ou viande séchée au soleil, remplace le plus souvent la viande fraiche dans les menus de nos indiens. Il ne s'agit pas de préférence, mais d'une nécessité. Le *charqui* est bon marché et s'achète dans toute *estancia*.

LA PÊCHE

A l'époque où je traversai les villages chiriguano du haut Pilcomayo et du Parapití, les rivières étaient en crue, le maïs mûrissait dans les champs et aucun Indien ne se souciait de laisser les perroquets lui manger ses épis, pour aller attraper des poissons au risque de se faire emporter par le courant. Si j'étais revenu dans ces mêmes villages en juillet ou en août, le spectacle eût été tout autre. Les rivières n'auraient plus été que de maigres filets d'eau et de tous côtés j'aurais aperçu des hom-

(1) Jadis ils éprouvaient pour la viande de porc une répugnance invincible qui se dissipe de nos jours (Nino, p. 252).

(2) Un indien de *Saurirada* avait jusqu'à 40 têtes de bétail.

mes et des femmes occupés à pêcher. La saison du poisson aurait battu son plein.

Les Chiriguano, venus d'un pays riche en cours d'eau, ont conservé à cet égard les traditions de leurs ancêtres du Paraná ou du Paraguay.

Les uns armés de grandes épuisettes (fig. 18) forment des barrages contre le courant et avancent en cueillant les poissons comme à la cuiller. Ils les empoignent ensuite et les attachent à la ceinture après les

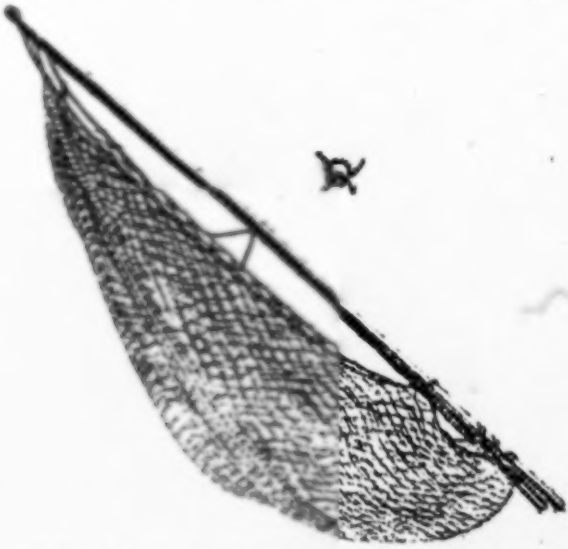


Fig. 18. — Épuisette en fils de coton (pêche). Chiriguano. Prov. : Ibopeyti (Coll. gr. ind.)

avoir enfilés sur une corde au moyen d'une aiguille de bois (fig. 19). Il en est d'autres qui épient le poisson dans l'eau et lui décochent au passage une flèche armée de plusieurs pointes (fig. 20) ou simplement de deux longues tiges de bois barbelées. Quelques-uns, à l'aide de barrages de pierres, tâchent de faire converger les poissons vers l'ouverture d'une nasse en osier (1). Parfois un groupe d'individus détournent un cours d'eau, mettent les poissons à sec et les attrapent avec la main ou au moyen d'un crible (2). Les hameçons en fer sont également en honneur : les

(1) Comparer Lizárraga (t. I, p. 260) : « al verano echan (les Chiriguanos) un pedazo del río por otra parte; quedan los peces en el brazo del río desaguado; en agua hasta la cinta, entran en ella con sus arcos y flechas, allí los flechan, y el que se escapa de la flecha, los mujeres van detrás con unas redes en que caen. »

(2) Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 181-182) décrit une curieuse façon d'attraper les poissons qui est en usage chez les Chaná du rio Itiyuro. On plante dans l'eau des branches

Fig. 19. — Aiguille en bois (tiwoo) avec laquelle les Chiriguano enfilent les poissons qu'ils ont attrapés pour pouvoir les porter plus commodément autour de la ceinture. Pour. : Tintapew. (1/1, gr. nat.)

Fig. 20. — Flèche servant à attraper les poissons. Les pointes sont en fil de fer; jadis elles étaient en épines de cactus. Pour. : Pipé. (1/1, gr. nat.)

Fig. 21. — Épieu long de 4.70 mètres dont les Chiriguano se servent pour transpercer les grands serpents, lorsque ceux-ci saignent à leur partie. Pour. : Dupuyté. (1/10, gr. nat.)

Fig. 22. — Hache pour tuer des poissons. Pour. : Dupuyté. (1/1, gran. nat.)

Chiriguano les Ramé à l'extrémité du longues cordes. Une lance à une ou deux pointes leur sert à harponner les dauphins qui passent à leur portée (fig. 11). Inutile de dire que les Chiriguano sont de merveilleux nageurs.

Les Chiriguano sont friands de poissons (1). Il'ne viennent loin du Pilcomayo et ne peuvent s'en procurer directement, ils l'achètent aux Toba ou aux Matako qui sont d'habiles pêcheurs et mis, en plus, l'avantage d'habiter sur les deux mêmes du lac Pilcomayo.

A la même saison, on observe près du Pilcomayo un campement temporaire de Chiriguano, placé sous le petite de lauro Ilatu pleine d'épis de maïs, qu'ils vont toujour cuisire des poissons frais ou séché. Ils n'hésitaient pas, parmi (1), à faire 120 kilomètres pour s'en régaler (Ilau, p. 224).

Le poisson consommé par eux secondé ou cuit et assaisonné seulement (1 est bouilli ou cuit). Ils ce dernier cas, on l'accompagne entre les deux lèvres d'une baguette fendue sur les trois quarts de sa longueur (fig. 12). Pour que celle-ci ne s'ouvre pas complètement, on fixe solidement la partie inférieure avec des liens en écorce, et pour que le poisson ne tombe pas sous feu intensité dans l'intervalle, la partie supérieure. Chez leurs ancêtres les Guaycuri, une telle brochette était suspendue, sur, pour griller le gaudoit du leur pêche ou du leur chasse, du consommation des [illegible]. Les Chiriguano mangent aussi du poisson séché ou salé, et l'apprêtent sous cette forme combiné avec quelque plat de maïs.

qui descend de l'amont et attirent les poissons. Ils y placent aussi une nébélème avec un peu de farine de maïs. Les poissons entrent dans la nébélème dans le gaudet où ils restent. Lorsque plusieurs poissons y sont pénétrés, les femmes frappent avec le manche l'entrée de la nébélème et la retirent à la rivière.

(1) L'habitat des Chiriguano à la pêche avait déjà attiré l'attention des anciens chroniqueurs. Arsdale (1, 2, p. 250) rapporte qu'il vit l'occasion de les voir manier l'épée dont un spécimen est reproduit ici à la figure 10. « Une Chiriguano se mettait d'abord dit agna, y ondoyait une admirable pendant magnifiée les pieds, y restait [illegible], a frappant que Ilatu[illegible] en la même direction, ordinairement vers la hauteur du bottom et prendre; y est étonnant le nombre [illegible], que [illegible] ont mon pouvoir, que [illegible] de la [illegible] ».

Ilatu (1), fig. 111, p. 224. Il prétendait un Chiriguano venant à la mère ou de que [illegible] à deux pointes.

— [illegible] —

CHAPITRE IV

La mâche

LE FER

Les Chirigueno modernes ne savent bien plus en plus des alternative de la règle hallstatienne, dont la nouvelle qualité a nécessitant nécessité à maintenir le tréfond en bronze. Celui des Chirigueno, comparativement rétrocédant aux Ilkoro, se compose d'un silex et d'un morceau de fer avec [illegible] qui [illegible] sur les gens les [illegible] [illegible] qui gouvernent les frères du gale bernaka (*Eberlein rangiqui*). Cette drogue (*bela vindiuna*) est contenue dans un petit récipient fait avec l'extrémité d'une corne de vache ou d'une queue de la-

Fig. 10. — Pointe en grès du sud dans laquel on [illegible] gardait du tréfond [illegible]
Dess. : Chel (?), gr. nat.

Fig. 11. — Pointe de grès [illegible]
Dess. : Nesaiko (?), gr. nat.

ma. Il est hermétiquement fermé par une machôlle en bois, qu'une ouvertotto pénètre par l'intérieur de la nouvelle et sortant par en haut, enlaçgé à la pointe de la corne ou de la queue, permet de nouveau à un plomb d'un seul coup. Cet ingénieux *Bagaskiff* s'est que, cependant, d'invention récente : je l'ai vu adopter aux Ishigotto des environs dans la Bégoldique Argentine. Quelques Chirigueno fabriquent des aiguilles en étoile qui, à première vue, ressemblaient entière d'une de nos aiguillettes. Le tréfond et son ouverture est soigneusement garni dans de petites aiguilles en peau du serf, de chat sauvage, d'iguane, etc. (figs. 10 et 11).

Jadis les Chirigueno fixaient de fer exactement comme tous les Indiens de l'Amérique du Sud, en fixant dans lagoutton l'une extrémité

l'autre. Un de nos amis de Caraguatá me remettait un de ces appareils dans l'espoir de m'étonner et d'en tirer un bon prix. Il prit deux baguettes en bois tendre ou bois de fer (1), coupa l'une d'elles dans le sens longitudinal et pratiqua l'une de ses faces de deux gorges le long desquels il ménagea une rainure perpendiculaire. Ces deux petits sillons étaient destinés à conduire la sciure incandescente sur l'amadou placé par terre.

Fig. 21. — Instrument employé à faire du feu en frottant par un Chiriguano moderne. Pour [illegible] cf., p. [illegible]

L'autre baguette fut légèrement effilée pour lui permettre de pénétrer dans les gorges. Comme ce bâtonnet était trop court pour être manié avec commodité, il le fixa solidement à un autre bâton au moyen de fibres végétales (*tacuiro*) (fig. 22). Cela fait, il s'assit par terre, appuyant la plante des pieds sur le bâtonnet à gorges, et imprima avec la plus [illegible] main un mouvement de rotation à l'autre baguette. La sciure incandescente qui se détachait par l'effet de la friction, tombait sur du coton sèché placé auprès de l'appareil en guise d'amadou et qui, au bout d'un temps assez court, commençait à prendre feu.

Suivant la saison, les Chiriguano allumaient leurs feux dans la hutte ou dehors. Le foyer se composait de longues branches qu'ils disposaient comme les rayons d'une roue. Au fur et à mesure que leur extrémité brûlait, ils les rapprochaient du feu central. Le soin de chercher le bois mort est du ressort des hommes (fig. 26).

Devant les huttes, ils élèvent souvent un petit hangar dans lequel les femmes font la cuisine. Le toit de cet abri sert d'étagère pour y déposer provisions et ustensiles.

PRÉPARATION DES ALIMENTS

Les Chiriguano modernes ne semblent pas observer d'interdits alimentaires, du moins dans la vie journalière, sur la coutume de jeûner, pour les femmes à l'époque de la puberté et pour les hommes à la naissance d'un enfant, ne s'est pas encore perdue. Autrefois, certains ani-

(1) Selon le P. D. Giannecchini (*Diccionario Chiriguano-Español*, etc., p. 91), les Chiriguano employaient pour obtenir du feu par rotation des baguettes faites du bois d'une liane rouge dont la fleur porte 5 pétales jaunes avec une tache rouge sur l'un d'eux. Le nom chiriguano de cette plante est *ingo pinta*.

maux étaient tabous (1). Les hommes de quelques villages se réservaient ainsi le droit exclusif de manger de la chair de cerf qui leur transfusait ainsi l'agilité et la souplesse de cet animal. Les femmes pouvaient manger, sans inconvénient, du perroquet, oiseau lourd et stupide. Dans leur misogynie, les Chiriguano estimaient sans doute que cela ne changerait en rien leur naturel. (Campana, p. 92.)

La cuisine n'est pas une activité secondaire, elle est une forme impor-

Fig. 28. — Femme chiriguano allumant du feu. Haut Pilcomayo. (Photo. A. M.)

tante de la civilisation matérielle et un excellent indice pour juger du niveau culturel d'un groupe humain. L'art de préparer les plats décèle aussi bien que n'importe quel engin, les facultés d'invention et le goût. En Amérique du Sud, on peut fort bien classer les tribus suivant la plus ou moindre grande variété de leurs plats et le soin qu'elles apportent à leur confection. Cette hiérarchie correspondrait, certainement, à celle des éléments culturels.

Dans le Chaco, la cuisine des Chiriguano s'oppose par sa variété, sa

(1) Pour ne pas tuer un de leurs parents morts transformé en renard, les Chiriguano ne chassent ni ne mangent cet animal (*Diccionario Chiriguano-Español*, etc., p. 3).

Les hommes-médecine ne peuvent en aucun cas manger du piment. Si un homme refuse de goûter à ce condiment, l'on peut être sûr que c'est un magicien (*Id.*, p. 184).

Le maïs grillé est strictement prohibé aux personnes en deuil dont les larmes tariraient si elles mangeaient de ce plat.

saveur et sa propreté à celle des tribus plus primitives, comme les Tobu ou les Matako.

Avant de passer à l'étude des ustensiles qu'emploient les ménagères chiriguano, il convient de décrire leurs menus.

Lorsque les Chiriguano abattent une vache, une chèvre ou un mouton, la viande en est bouillie dans de l'eau, rôtie à la broche ou séchée au soleil *(charqui)*. Ils sont particulièrement friands de la tête des animaux qu'ils tuent et ils la mangent bouillie après l'avoir écorchée. Les morceaux de viande sont nettoyés avec soin avant d'être cuits; et les tripes, par exemple, qui sont un plat de choix, sont vidées au préalable.

Le maïs est préparé de diverses manières. Si les épis sont tendres et verts, ils sont bouillis dans de l'eau ou grillés sur le feu ou sous la cendre.

C'est lorsque le maïs est encore en cet état que les femmes préparent les *simbikuai* ou *kumitas* (en espagnol). Elles mordent à belles dents dans les épis encore tendres, en mâchent les graines longtemps et les crachent dans une calebasse. Cette bouillie blanche, imbibée de salive est enveloppée dans des feuilles de maïs et mises sous la cendre.

Les Chiriguano donnent le nom d'*atipii* aux grains de maïs rôtis dans un plat spécial appelé *tapuipe* (pl. XIII, 3) ou à l'intérieur de grands tessons qui de plus en plus tendent à remplacer l'ustensile primitif approprié à cet usage. L'*atipii* ne demande d'autre préparation que d'être constamment remué pour ne pas être carbonisé. Ce mets tient lieu de pain aux Chiriguano qui aiment à grignoter ces grains croquants et appétissants. Ils en font provision lorsqu'ils partent en voyage.

L'*atipii* pilé dans un mortier et passé au crible donne l'*atii*, farine brunâtre qui a un goût excellent. L'*atii* est aussi préparé différemment : les grains de maïs sont réduits en une farine qui est grillée dans la rôtissoire en terre cuite ou dans un large tesson. Selon Nino (p. 246), on donnerait le nom d'*atikii* aux grains de maïs grillés, puis transformés en farine, après avoir été passés au crible et moulus jusqu'à en être pulvérisés. Le même missionnaire réserve le terme *atii* pour la farine grillée, qui est obtenue avec le résidu laissé par les grains que l'on a traités de la façon suivante : après les avoir laissés une nuit entière tremper dans l'eau, on les verse, le matin suivant, dans un crible. Lorsque l'eau s'est égouttée on les pile dans un mortier. Cette farine est alors tamisée, puis grillée : cuite dans de l'eau, elle constitue le plat que les Chiriguano appellent *muinti* ou *kuinti*. L'*atii* serait donc fait avec le résidu de la farine *muinti* qui est moulue à nouveau, puis grillé comme elle, mais mélangé au préalable avec du sel ou du piment. J'ai souvent mangé de la farine de maïs grillée que les indiens me désignaient comme étant de l'*atii*, mais jamais je n'ai pu constater qu'elle fût assaisonnée. Les Chiriguano donnent le nom d'*abatikure* au son du maïs.

Voici comment se prépare le *muintimimo* : les grains de maïs sont

[facing P. 356]

A. MÉTRAUX, *La civilisation des indiens Chiriguano* PLANCHE XIII

1

2

3

1 et 2. Bassine à fond perforé pour préparer le *masintsimo*, farine cuite à la vapeur. Prov. : Ivrs. (1/, gr. nat.). — 3. Bassine pour griller des graines ou de la farine de maïs (*tapuipi*). Prov. : Saindita. (1/, de la gr. nat.).

mis à tremper toute une nuit. Le matin suivant ils sont moulus et tamisés dans l'*urumpé* (crible aux mailles très fines). La farine est versée dans le *muitero* (pl. XIII, 1 et 2). Cet ustensile est une bassine en terre cuite dont le fond est percé de trous comme une écumoire (1). La farine est recouverte avec le son du maïs. Le *muitero* est placé ensuite sur la bouche d'une marmite pleine d'eau et le tout mis sur le feu. La vapeur qui s'élève pénètre par les trous du *muitero*, cuit le maïs tout en l'imbibant d'humidité. Pour que le vapeur ne s'échappe pas sur les côtés, on enduit d'argile la ligne de contact entre les bords du *muitero* et le col du vase.

J'ai donné la recette de ce plat d'après Nino (p. 246) car je n'ai jamais assisté à sa préparation. Les Chiriguano eux-mêmes doivent l'avoir oubliée : je ne me souviens pas d'avoir vu au cours de tout mon voyage, plus de deux *muitero* : l'un à Yumbía et l'autre à Ivu. Comme il est impossible de préparer le *muintimimo* sans cette bassine, il faut supposer que les Chiriguano de la décadence ont oublié jusqu'au goût d'un des mets les plus originaux de leur cuisine.

A Ivu, les Chiriguano m'ont fait goûter au *kāwi-rai* (petit *kāwi*), sorte de bouillie, faite avec les grains de maïs amollis par un plus ou moins long séjour dans l'eau, puis pilés et débarrassés du son. Cette bouillie est cuite dans de l'eau et mangée froide. On la laisse parfois fermenter pendant quelques jours et c'est de là que lui est venu, sans doute, son nom de « petite bière de maïs ».

Les indiens font des galettes de maïs *(mupape)* (2), dont il est question dans les mythes que j'ai recueillis, mais dont je n'ai jamais eu moi-même l'occasion de goûter. L'*avatindi*, ou maïs blanc, est amolli dans l'eau, pilé, puis pétri avec du sel et du piment et la pâte modelée en galettes que l'on fait cuire sous la cendre. Lorsqu'elles sont censées être à point, on les retire de dessous les braises, on les lave avec de l'eau et l'on a pour finir une sorte de pain de saveur agréable.

Une façon rudimentaire de préparer le maïs, mais peu appréciée aussi, consiste à en faire bouillir les graines longuement dans de l'eau jusqu'à ce qu'elles soient devenues molles *(atiruru)* (3).

(1) Lizné (2, carte 1, p. 23) nous a donné la distribution des vases à fond perforé dans toute l'Amérique. L'énumération qu'il en fait est fort complète, mais il y manque toutefois l'indication de La Rioja dans la République Argentine où Boman (5, p. 17) a découvert des fragments de vases dont la base était entièrement perforée comme un crible.

(2) Les beignets de maïs que j'ai vu rôtir sur la poêle, à Pipi, étaient sans doute des galettes *mupape*. Malheureusement je n'ai pu en connaître le nom.

(3) L'*atiruru* est un mets dont la consommation est intimement associée à l'observance d'interdits magico-religieux. C'est le seul aliment permis aux jeunes filles lorsqu'elles ont leurs premières règles, aux gens en deuil et aux accouchées pendant une période de dix jours *(Diccionario Chiriguano-Español*, etc. p. 14).

Avec de la farine de maïs *(api)* et de la viande, les Chiriguano font un bouillon qui n'est pas mauvais.

Ils n'emploient pas au hasard les onze variétés de maïs qu'ils cultivent. Chacune, selon sa qualité, est destinée à la préparation d'un plat déterminé. Le maïs jaune *(arati-kendi-raé* ou *arati-iyu-raé)* sert à faire la *chicha* ou bière de maïs; le maïs blanc *(arati-ndi)* est grillé ainsi que l'*arati-kanana*. Le maïs dit *katäintäi* ou maïs crépu, est généralement grillé ainsi que l'*arati-tiore* et l'*arati-saimpini* (maïs gris) que l'on destine à être rôti et transformé en farine.

L'*arati-rai* ou petit maïs n'est planté qu'en cas de disette, lorsque la récolte a été mauvaise. De petite taille, il ne donne qu'un épis de dimension réduite, mais a l'avantage de pousser vite (Nino, pp. 241-242).

Le repas d'un Chiriguano, en temps normal, ne se compose pas exclusivement de maïs, même si cette céréale figure à tous ses menus. La faveur dont le maïs est l'objet, est partagée par les haricots ou *kumanda*. Les Chiriguano en cultivent aussi onze variétés.

Les Chiriguano mangent les haricots soit secs, soit frais. En ce dernier cas il sont cuits avec leur gousse dans de l'eau ou sous la cendre. Les haricots bouillis avec leur gousse sont assaisonnés avec du piment. On a alors le plat appelé *sopirira*.

Pour débarrasser les haricots secs de leur gousse, les femmes en font un grand tas qu'elles posent sur une peau; puis, s'asseyant à côté, les martèlent avec un bâton comme avec un fléau. Les graines se détachent et pour les séparer de la gousse, elles en prennent des poignées qu'elles éventent (fig. 27). Elles recommencent l'opération à plusieurs reprises jusqu'à ce qu'il ne reste plus une seule graine adhérente aux gousses. Ensuite elles les rassemblent en tas avec un petit balais et les débarrassent de toute impureté en les faisant sauter dans un crible. Les haricots, une fois écossés, sont gardés dans des vases.

A Caruruti, chaque matin on m'offrait un plat de haricots qui était cuit de la façon suivante : une poignée de haricots, avec un peu d'eau, était placée sur le feu dans une poêle improvisée formée par un grand tesson. Au bout d'un instant, l'eau s'évaporait et les haricots commençaient à fumer; c'était le moment de les retirer et de les servir.

Le four souterrain, qui chez d'autres peuplades de l'Amérique est employé presque exclusivement pour cuire la viande, a été adapté par les Chiriguano à un usage plus humble : dans un trou qu'ils font dans la terre et qu'ils ont chauffé au préalable, ils enterrent les haricots frais et les laissent jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient à point (Nino, p. 243).

Après les haricots viennent, par rang d'importance, les courges ou citrouilles *(andai aukú*, et *ginda)*. Les indiens les font bouillir ou les rôtissent sous la cendre. Dans le premier cas, ils les assaisonnent avec du piment ou du sel pour faire le *gindaka-mikira* ou graisse de courge. Les

graines sont également grillées et mangées avec de la farine de maïs, de l'*atipii* ou des haricots.

Les indiens de la vallée de Caipipendi mangeaient quelquefois, mais rarement, des tubercules de manioc doux. Ils les faisaient bouillir dans de l'eau ou les grillaient sous la cendre.

Les patates douces ou *camote* (en chiriguano : *yeti)* sont rôties ou bouillies. Elles ne m'ont été servies que deux ou trois fois.

Fig. 27. — Jeune femme Chiriguano éventant des haricots Cururuti. (Photo. A. M.)

Les Chiriguano aiment les condiments et en assaisonnent tous leurs légumes : dans la marmite aux haricots, ils mettent du piment qui se présente chez eux sous la forme de petits fruits ovales verts et rouges extrêmement forts. J'ai également vu du piment rouge moulu. Dans les villages où les indiens emploient du sel cristallisé, ils le cassent en petits morceaux que l'on place près du feu pour les faire fondre petit à petit. Les cuisinières les trempent de temps en temps dans la soupe, puis les sortent. Si le sel est tiré des marais salants ou de l'eau par évapora-

tion, on le pétrit en grosses boules que l'on creuse au fur et à mesure de ses besoins (fig. 28).

La majeure partie du sel exploité en pays chiriguano provient d'une mine située dans la région de San Simon, entre San Luis (Entre Rios) et le río Salado, dans le département de Tarija. Les indiens accourent là de tous côtés avec des troupes d'ânes qui repartent chargés de gros blocs de sel cristallisé débités ensuite en petits morceaux.

Les indiens d'Ibopeytí, quoique vivant dans le voisinage de la mine de sel de San Simon, le consomment sous la forme des grosses boules dont je viens de parler. Pulvérisé, c'est un sel qui rappelle notre sel de table mais plus grossier. Les habitants de ce village m'ont assuré qu'ils le trouvaient près du Pilcomayo. Cela est fort possible, car les rivières qui coulent dans la contrée sont fort salées, comme leur nom l'indique (Río Salado, Saladito, etc.). Ces rivières, qui débordent fréquemment et changent souvent de lit, doivent constituer çà et là de véritables marais salants. Les Chiriguano d'Ivu et de Macharetí recueillent l'eau d'une source salée, la font bouillir, et par des refroidissements successifs obtiennent du sel qu'ils pétrissent en boules (Campana, p. 89).

Fig. 28. — Sel pétri en boule prêt à être consommé ou exporté. Prov. : Ibópeyti. (', gr. nat. ±.)

Les Chiriguano sont parcimonieux de leur sel. Je ne les ai vu saler que les haricots secs et lorsque ceux-ci sont cuits avec leur gousse, ils sont servis tels quels, sans condiments, de même que le maïs ou les courges.

Lorsqu'une femme chiriguano vous offre un plat de haricots ou de viande, elle met toujours à côté de vous de la farine de maïs. Il n'est pas facile de la manger selon les règles; les indiens eux, en prennent de fortes pincées entre les doigts et les lancent avec une merveilleuse adresse dans la bouche. A les voir si adroits, je pensais à leurs ancêtres du Brésil, les anciens Tupinamba et Guarani, qui excitaient l'admiration hilare des premiers navigateurs : « Mais quoy que c'en soit, nos *Tononpinambaoults*, tant hommes, femmes qu'enfans, estans dès leur ieunesse accoustumés de la (la farine de manioc) manger toute seiche au lieu de pain, sont tellement duits & façonnez à cela que, la prenant avec leurs quatre doigts dans la vaisselle de terre ou autre vaisseau où ils la tiennent, encores qu'ils la iettent d'assez loin, ils rencontrent neantmoins si droit dans leurs bouches qu'ils n'en espanchent pas un seul brin. Que si entre nous François, les voulans imiter, la pensions manger de cette facon, n'estans point comme eux stylez à cela, au lieu de la ietter dans la bouche, nous l'espanchions sur les iones & nous enfarinions tout le visage :

partant, sinon que ceux principalement qui portoyent barbe eussent voulu estre accoustrez en ioueurs de farces, nous estions contraints de la prendre avec des cuilliers » (Léry, t. I, pp. 143-144).

Ce rapprochement m'a permis de supposer que la farine de maïs grillé a simplement remplacé la « farinha » des Brésiliens. Comme on sait, la pulpe des tubercules de manioc, après avoir été soigneusement pressée dans le *tipiti* ou couleuvre, était grillée sur une plaque en terre cuite et transformée en farine sèche dont les Tupinamba accompagnaient tous leurs repas. Les Chiriguano pensent de même au sujet de l'*atŭi* : ils disent que la farine de maïs doit, pour être consommée, avoir un compagnon, un *istina*. A mon sens l'*atŭi* et le *muinti* sont deux substituts de la farine de manioc que les Chiriguano ont inventés ou adaptés après avoir émigré sur une terre où le manioc amer était inconnu. Ni les autres tribus du Chaco, ni les Quichua, ne mangent le maïs sous cette forme et il ne fait pas de doute que les Chiriguano, à ma connaissance du moins, ont introduit ces deux plats dans le pays, sans compter bon nombre de ceux qui ont été énumérés.

Les seuls fruits que les Chiriguano consomment sur une grande échelle, sont les figues de Barbarie ou *tuna (Opuntia)* que l'on voit dans tous leurs villages. Ils plantent aussi quelques figuiers et des orangers lorsqu'ils sont sous l'influence des missions. Ils sont aussi grands amateurs de melons, de *sandias* (melons d'eau) et lorsqu'ils en ont mangé une qui leur a plu particulièrement, ils en gardent la semence. Ils aiment à la passion la canne à sucre. Le sorgho est spécialement destiné aux enfants, pour qui ces graminées sont une véritable gourmandise. Ils en sucent le suc qui est aussi doux que celui de la canne à sucre.

Parmi les aliments que la nature leur donne spontanément, on peut compter les *caraguatá* dont les racines farineuses, rôties sur les braises ou sous la cendre, rappellent un peu les tubercules de manioc.

Les gousses d'une mimosacée (!) qui rappellent de gros haricots et qui pour cette raison sont appelés *iwira-kumanda* m'ont été désignées comme étant comestibles. J'ai trouvé ces indications confirmées dans l'article de Campana (p. 97) qui ajoute que ces fruits ont une saveur amère qu'ils ne perdent qu'après plusieurs cuissons répétées.

A cette liste il faut ajouter, les fruits de l'*algarrobo*, du *mistol*, de la *tusca*, de l'*algarrobo* aigre, de l'*ulala*, de l'*higuerilla*, etc. Les fruits du *chañar* peuvent aussi leur aider à supporter la famine. Comme ils sont doux, on peut les manger crus, cuits ou sous forme de pains après les avoir pilés dans un mortier.

Dans le *Diccionario Chiriguano-Español*, etc., du P. D. Giannechini on trouve énumérées un grand nombre de plantes qui poussent à l'état sauvage et que les Chiriguano consomment par nécessité ou pour varier leurs menus. Ce sont :

Les racines du *kaaratiro*, rouges et flandreuses extérieurement, mais blanches à l'intérieur. Elles sont comestibles et même d'une saveur agréable après avoir été cuites dans trois eaux (p. 18).

Les tubercules aqueux, de la grosseur d'un petit oignon, que les Chiriguano appellent *iwía* et dont les enfants sont fort friands. Une croyance veut que l'esprit qui habite cette plante la dissimule à ceux qui la cherchent si ceux ci n'observent pas le silence ou la montrent du doigt (p. 80).

Les fruits de l'arbuste *iwira-rorai* (p. 82).

Les tubercules d'une sorte de *yuca* sauvage qu'ils appellent comme l'espèce cultivée *mandio* ou *mandionui*. C'est une plante amère, piquante et vénéneuse. Pour manger cette racine, on la coupe en morceaux et on la cuit dans plusieurs eaux pour lui faire perdre son âcreté et son poison (p. 99).

Une sorte de pomme de terre sauvage connue sous le nom de *mangara* que les Chiriguano déterrent et mangent en temps de disette. Ce tubercule n'est comestible qu'après avoir été bouilli dans plusieurs eaux (p. 100).

L'herbe *monki* serait également comestible (p. 133).

Une certaine liane *(supúa)* dont les feuilles peuvent être mangées à défaut d'autre aliment (p. 193).

Les Chiriguano appellent *kumanara* une plante légumineuse, sauvage, qui ressemble à la *yuca* et qui après avoir été bouillie peut servir d'aliment. On n'y a recours que pressé par la faim. Le mot qui désigne cette plante a une étrange ressemblance avec le nom de la patate dans les dialectes quichua de l'Équateur et du nord du Pérou (Rivet, 3, pp. 583-590). Il s'agit peut-être d'un mot quichua qui s'est introduit dans la langue des Chiriguano pour désigner une plante dont ils n'avaient pas l'équivalent dans leur patrie d'origine. Le cas est cependant rare et l'on peut se demander s'il n'y a pas là une simple coïncidence.

Les Chiriguano ne dédaignent pas non plus le miel, quoiqu'ils ne le cherchent pas avec la passion de leurs cousins les Kainguá. Celui que j'ai goûté chez eux, était contenu dans des rayons minces et cartonneux. Il avait une saveur agréable.

Tout indien qui va en quête de miel *(ei)* ne doit faire part de son intention à personne et, si on lui demande où il va, il doit répondre : « Chercher du bois ». Si l'on ne prend pas ces précautions, l'esprit protecteur du miel est averti de votre dessein et cache les rayons dont il a la garde *(Diccionario Chiriguano-Español*, etc., p. 86).

Le missionnaire Corrado (p. 43) assure que les sauterelles, les cigales, les larves des abeilles sont autant de mets délicieux pour le Chiriguano. Il ajoute que ces insectes sont grillés. Nino (p. 247) reproduit les dires de son prédecesseur et complète la liste d'aliments étranges en y ajou-

tant les fourmis, les lézards, les feuilles de cucurbitacées, le suif fondu, etc. Personnellement je n'ai jamais vu les Chiriguano toucher à ces mets singuliers pour nos palais, mais je suis d'autant plus disposé à croire ces deux missionnaires que les goûts qu'ils indiquent sont bien ceux des indiens en d'autres régions.

Au XVIe siècle déjà les Chiriguano passaient pour être amateurs de serpents, même d'espèces venimeuses. Ils leur coupaient la tête et la queue, les écorchaient et en faisaient rôtir les morceaux sur la braise. Ils les mangeaient avec du piment. Sans doute les Espagnols ont confondu les serpents avec les iguanes dont aujourd'hui encore les Chiriguano sont friands à juste titre (Lizárraga, t. I, p. 260).

Pour terminer, on pourrait encore citer, parmi les aliments des Chiriguano, le fromage qu'ils fabriquent dans quelques villages. Ils ont soin, chaque fois qu'ils font boucherie, de garder la caillette pour faire trancher le lait. Les fromages des Chiriguano sont de même qualité que ceux des métis, qui pour une fois ont appris quelque chose à nos indiens. J'ajouterai que je n'ai jamais vu un Chiriguano boire du lait.

Le problème de l'eau ne se pose pas pour les Chiriguano comme pour les autres indiens du Chaco. De nombreuses rivières traversent leur territoire et plusieurs d'entre elles sont assez importantes pour ne pas tarir même au milieu de la saison sèche. Ces cours d'eau forment d'innombrables *quebradas*, gorges ou vallées, qui donnent son aspect caractéristique au pays habité par nos indiens. Parfois des villages sont construits auprès de sources ou de petits lacs comme la mission d'Ivu qui est abondamment pourvue d'eau.

A l'époque où je traversai la vallée de Caipipendí, la rivière qui en occupe le fond était presque à sec. Les indiens avaient creusé dans le sable de son lit de petits puits d'un mètre de profondeur environ qu'ils avaient entourés de dalles pour empêcher tout éboulement et préserver l'eau qui s'y accumulait, de la chaleur du soleil. Dans cette même vallée, dans un village situé au sommet d'une colline, les indiens avaient creusé une citerne de quatre à cinq mètres de diamètre où s'étaient concentrées les eaux des pluies.

Les Chiriguano ont trouvé un moyen pour clarifier l'eau bourbeuse qu'ils sont souvent obligés de boire. Ils écrasent entre deux pierres des feuilles de *caraguatá*, puis les font macérer dans l'eau dont toutes les impuretés se déposent sous l'action du suc de cette plante.

Les Chiriguano ne mangent pas à heures fixes. Le matin très tôt, ils font un petit déjeuner assez copieux, et vers le milieu de la journée prennent encore quelque aliment. Le soir, vers six heures, ils font une sorte de dîner. Comme les hommes sont servis d'abord, puis ensuite les femmes et les enfants, il s'ensuit que les repas traînent en longueur. A tout instant de la journée l'on peut voir l'un ou l'autre manger. Les aliments

sont présentés à chacun dans une calebasse ou une écuelle en terre cuite que chacun tient sur ses genoux. Ils attrapent les morceaux avec les doigts mais puisent les liquides avec une cuiller en bois (fig. 42 et 43). Après avoir mangé, ils se lavent les mains. J'en ai vu se rincer la bouche.

LES BOISSONS FERMENTÉES

Quiconque a voyagé chez les Chiriguano ou les Chané, a appris à apprécier la bière de maïs ou *kāwi*. Peu de moments au cours de mon expédition m'ont laissé de souvenirs plus agréables que ceux où, fatigué par une longue étape, je m'asseyais devant une hutte et recevais des mains de la femme du « capitaine », une calebasse pleine de ce liquide, légèrement piquant et un peu granuleux, qui apaise la soif et calme la faim. Le jour où les Chiriguano cesseront de faire du *kāwi*, ce sera signe qu'ils auront disparu de la face de la terre, et peut-être cette délicieuse boisson leur survivra-t-elle comme une spécialité créole dont les bons nationalistes tireront orgueil.

Le Père Corrado (p. 43) entendit une fois de la bouche d'un Chiriguano une admirable définition du rôle du *kāwi* dans la vie d'un indien : « Il est notre père et notre mère », lui dit-il. Effectivement, il est le père de la joie, le signe de l'abondance, le compagnon des plus beaux moments de l'existence comme des plus tragiques. Il a en lui une force mystérieuse et mystique qui pénètre l'individu, l'exalte et le protège contre les dangers surnaturels. Toutes les fêtes se réduisent, dans leur part essentielle, à la consommation du *kāwi ;* aucune entreprise collective n'est concevable sans qu'au préalable des jarres pleines en aient été bues (1). De la naissance à la mort, tout ce qui affecte la vie de l'individu ou de la communauté est associé à ce breuvage. Le principe divin que le *kāwi* a en lui ne lui enlève pas son caractère profane, et si dans les fêtes on s'en énivre, rien n'empêche d'en arroser les repas à l'époque où le maïs mûrit. Tout étranger est convié, en signe d'hospitalité, à en vider une calebasse pleine ; et les compliments qu'il adresse à la femme de son hôte, lui remplissent le cœur d'orgueil.

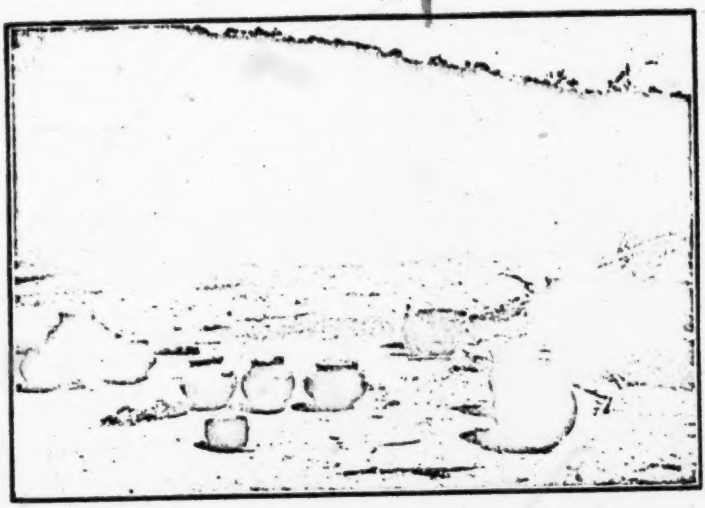
Les indiens m'ont toujours été reconnaissants du goût que je montrais

(1) Au XVIe siècle déjà les Chiriguano, comme les anciens Tupinamba, n'entreprenaient aucune expédition guerrière sans avoir célébré un *caouin* ou un *rin* pour nous exprimer comme les vieux chroniqueurs français : « Bebiendo de la chicha y del brevage, / Que había para ello el aparejo, / Celebrado con grita y con corage / De todos fué el acuerdo y el consejo / » (Barco Centenera, p. 262).

Quand les Chiriguano de Parapití et de Caipipendí se soulevèrent en 1799, ils célébrèrent avant la révolte de grandes fêtes de boisson au cours desquelles ils décidèrent du plan des opérations (Corrado, p. 254).

1:Metraux SF10 Chiriguano

[facing P. 364]



1. Vases rassemblés devant une hutte et servant à la préparation du *kduri (chicha)* Carurati. (Photo. A. M.)

2. Femmes et enfants prenant du *kduri*. Les femmes sont accroupies par terre sur des peaux, alors que les hommes sont assis sur des bancs ou des chaises. Salinda. (Photo. A. M.)

pour le *kâwi*, et mon vieil ami *Karnapadyú* ne manqua pas d'évoquer les grandes cuves pleines jusqu'au bord pour me décider à revenir parmi eux fêter Pâques ou, si l'on veut, la récolte du maïs, puisque ces deux dates coïncident plus ou moins. De telles promesses ne pouvaient rester sans effet, et *Karnapadyú* ne fut nullement surpris de me voir arriver peu avant la fête.

La plus grande animation régnait dans le village de Caruruti, autrefois si calme. Les hommes allaient et venaient, pliant sous d'énormes charges de bois. Toutes les urnes étaient alignées devant les huttes et enterrées au tiers de leur hauteur (pl. XIV, 1). Depuis longtemps déjà s'entassaient dans le village de grandes piles de maïs que tous, petits et grands, hommes et femmes étaient activement occupés à égrener. Les uns se servaient de leurs doigts, d'autres de couteaux ou d'une baguette pointue. Aucun n'avait songé à l'instrument si pratique utilisé par leurs ancêtres : un petit poinçon en bois avec une œillère en cuir pour y passer deux doigts. Il est curieux de constater qu'un objet aussi simple soit tombé en désuétude; un vieillard m'en vendit encore un spécimen en fer, mais calqué, pour ainsi dire, sur le prototype en bois dont il reproduisait les moindres détails (fig. 29).

Fig. 29. — Poinçon en fer avec une poignée en cuir servant à égrener les épis de maïs. Chiriguano. Prov. : Saladito. (1/1 gr. nat.)

Fig. 30. — Mortier chiriguano (*angué*) en bois d'*urundey* (*Astronium urundeuva Fr. Allemao*) avec son pilon. La partie inférieure en retrait est enterrée dans le sol. Prov. : Ivu. (1/5 gr. nat.)

C'est alors que commence le travail le plus pénible : la mouture des grains. Jour et nuit retentit dans le village le bruit sec des pilons écrasant le maïs. Souvent, pour que la besogne se fasse plus vite, trois femmes se groupent autour du même mortier et avec une surprenante rapidité élèvent et abattent leur pilon sans qu'une seule erreur de rythme n'interrompe leur pénible travail. Le maïs, une fois moulu, est tamisé dans l'*urumpeau*, soit le crible à larges mailles (fig. 31). La farine, un peu grossière, est versée dans les grandes urnes qui ont été remplies d'eau.

La préparation de la *chicha* n'est pas un jeu; il faut, non seulement

moudre une quantité énorme de maïs, mais encore aller sans cesse chercher de l'eau et souvent à une grande distance. A Cururuti, l'eau potable la plus voisine se trouvait au fond d'un ravin d'accès particulièrement difficile. A chaque instant les femmes s'y rendaient avec un *iru* (pl. XVII, 1) qu'elles transportaient sur le dos dans un filet *(uñapoka)* retenu sur le front par une courroie. Elles remplissaient la cruche et, la chargeant péniblement, remontaient la pente abrupte pliées en deux sous le poids. Pour ne pas perdre de temps, ces laborieuses créatures

Fig. 31. — Femme passant au crible du maïs qu'elle vient de moudre dans le mortier à côté d'elle. Cette farine est destinée à être cuite, puis mâchée pour servir de ferment au *kāwi*. Cururuti. (Photo. A. M.)

emportaient une calebasse pleine de maïs moulu qu'elles ne cessaient de mâcher.

Le maïs moulu est cuit dans l'eau et constamment remué avec des bâtons plats dont les bords étaient jadis découpés avec un certain souci artistique (fig. 32). Aujourd'hui une sorte de rame (fig. 33) ou une omoplate de bœuf (fig. 34) fixée à un long manche remplacent les ustensiles anciens où se manifestait si bien la tendance du Chiriguano à agrémenter même les objets les plus humbles.

Il n'est pas si facile qu'on le croit d'observer dans ses détails la préparation du *kāwi*, et je suis encore embarrassé pour en décrire les phases dans leur succession exacte. Cet inconvénient est dû au fait que le *kāwi* s'élabore en plusieurs jours (généralement trois ou quatre) et qu'il est

[facing P·366]

1. Grand vase (pandoi) dans lequel les Chiriguano font fermenter la bière de maïs. Pour. : Ivo. (1/4 gr. nat.)

2. Grande cuve (pandoi) pour faire bouillir la bière. Les Chiriguano enterrent leurs morts dans des urnes semblables. Pour. : Ivo. (1/4 gr. nat.)

alors malaisé de rester perpétuellement sur place pour ne manquer aucun détail. D'autre part, comme les différentes familles ne commencent pas simultanément à préparer le *kéri*, il en résulte une confusion, et l'on peut difficilement savoir à quel moment de l'opération l'on se trouve. Apparemment, je ne suis pas le seul à m'être heurté à cet obstacle, car il suffit de lire les diverses descriptions consacrées à cette importante occupation pour s'apercevoir qu'elles sont loin de concorder.

Au moment où l'eau est sur le point de bouillir dans les grandes cuves, on en écarte les morceaux de bois enflammés et les brûleurs et on y verse la farine de maïs que l'on brasse vigoureusement pour qu'elle ne forme pas de grumeaux. Pendant que s'effectue cette opération, d'autres femmes ont pilé sous une certaine quantité de maïs, l'ont tamisée, éventée pour la débarrasser de toute impureté, puis l'ont vidée dans un grand tronc. Au fur et à mesure que cette farine est retirée du feu, on en mâche une partie que les femmes crachent dans une calebasse. Cette pâte imbibée de salive s'appelle *tsaïée*. Selon Nino (p. 248), les indiennes mêlent la *tsaïée* à la bouillie de maïs qui cuit dans les cuves et dont elles remplissent un pot. La femme qui s'occupe de ce mélange (*ensepirai*) le laisse retomber d'une certaine hauteur pour lui « donner de la douceur ».

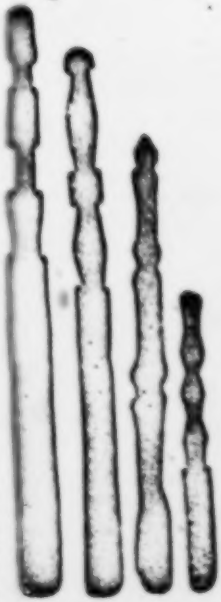


Fig. 22. — Bâtons pour remuer le *kéri* pendant sa cuisson. Le n° 1 provient de Tigüipa, le n° 2 d'Ivo, les n°s 3 et 4 de Saladillo (haut Pilcomayo). (1/1, gr. nat.)

L'*ensepirai* est additionné au *kéri* qui, à partir de ce moment, est sucré à une intense coloration. On allume autour de la cuve qui le contient un grand brasier qui brûle jour et nuit : les femmes veillent le brasier du temps à autre pour l'empêcher de s'éteindre.

La nuit, le village de Caranti a un étrange aspect : sur la place, devant les huttes, s'élèvent de hautes flambées sur lesquelles se profilent en noir les silhouettes des femmes qui, affairées et laborieuses, ne pensent pas le temps de dormir. Le lendemain matin, on laisse le feu s'éteindre et le *kéri* se refroidir. Il est alors transvasé dans des vases de moindres dimensions et toutes les femmes, y compris les fillettes, s'ensemblent pour prendre des poignées de maïs et les mastiquer à qui mieux mieux. Ces boules gluantes de salive sont recrachées dans le vase. Une assez grande quantité d'eau froide est ajoutée au *kéri* et celui-ci est passé à l'enchevêtrillage, si je puis m'exprimer ainsi. Le *kéri* est tamisé dans un crible aux mailles très fines. Le marc ou *siripi*

est jeté ou employé à nouveau, la bière, ou chicet, est distillée dans des vases que l'on ferme soigneusement avec une calebasse ou une écuelle renversée et on laisse ce liquide fermenter pendant deux ou trois jours. Pour qu'il soit complètement à l'abri de l'air, la ligne de contact entre le vase et son couvercle est enduite de terre glaise.

Fig. 32. — Vase pour conserver le *bôri* pendant la cuisson. Pour. : Pipé. (1/4 gr. nat.)

Une certaine variété de *bôri* se prépare en le faisant bouillir à nouveau après l'avoir passé au crible et en ne l'« embouteillant » qu'après l'avoir laissé refroidir une seconde fois.

Le *bôri* est généralement recouvert d'une épaisse couche huileuse que les indiens sont loin de dédaigner. Les maîtresses de maison prennent la précaution d'en verser une certaine quantité dans les vases qui n'en contiennent pas.

Giannecchini et Nordenskiöld se taisent, dans leur description de la préparation du *bôri*, sur le *tamiis*, l'*amapirai* et, en général, sur bon nombre de phases que le maïs traverse avant de se convertir en bière. Ce silence est dû, probablement, à la complication même de cette opération dont plus d'un détail leur a certainement échappé. L'élaboration du *bôri* est une occupation fatigante qui exige de grands efforts. C'est une science véritable que les indiens déploient dans sa fabrication. Il est plus facile de distiller de l'alcool et, en tous les cas, c'est une tâche qui demande moins d'activité physique. Il a fallu, peut-être, des siècles de tâtonnements pour arriver à déterminer le temps de la cuisson, les dosages de la farine grillée et mâchée, la qualité du grain, etc. Tout cela est le produit d'observations minutieuses, de quantités d'essais et aussi de réflexions. Ces considérations sont destinées à justifier la remarque faite au début de ce chapitre : une simple recette de cuisine en dit souvent tout aussi long sur la civilisation d'un peuple qu'un engin perfectionné.

Fig. 33. — Pelle fabriquée par une indienne de bœuf dont les Chiriguano se servent pour remuer le *bôri*. Pour. : Pipé. (1/4 gr. nat.)

Les fruits du *mistol*, du *chañar* ou de l'algarrobo peuvent donner une chicha dont les indiens du Chaco se montrent grands amateurs, mais que les Chiriguano dédaignent. Ils n'y ont recours qu'en cas de disette. Les Chané de l'Isanso, que je n'ai pu visiter, auraient la spécialité du *kéri* de patates. Les Chiriguano savent aussi tirer profit de ce tubercule pour en élaborer une boisson fermentée, mais ils le jugent de qualité inférieure et déclarent qu'il faut être un pauvre diable pour en prendre. (Nordenskiöld, **2**, p. 236) (1).

Le *kéri* est une boisson trop respectable pour qu'on puisse en boire n'importe comment. L'étiquette exige que l'on se plie à certaines règles, si l'honneur vous est fait de participer à son breuvage. J'ai eu l'occasion d'être quelquefois invité à ces réjouissances et j'ai pu faire, à cette occasion, les observations suivantes que je transcris telles que je les ai notées dans mon carnet de route : Les hommes sont seuls ou assis sur des chaises ou des bancs. Les femmes sont accompagnées d'enfants, sur des peaux étendues par terre. On apporte le *kéri* dans des vases en forme de tonneau et l'un d'eux est déposé au pied du « capitaine ». La jeune fille qui l'a apporté, remplit une petite calebasse et la tend au « capitaine » qui la vide. Ensuite il en sert et lui tend le vase. Il fait de même avec mes voisins, puis avec plusieurs des invités. Il tend ensuite la calebasse à sa femme et va s'asseoir. Celle-ci sert le reste de l'assistance masculine.

Un second vase, différent du *kéri*, est placé entre fois devant un autre indien qui jouit peut-être de quelque considération. Il boit le premier, puis s'occupe de ses compagnons. Deux grandes calebasses sont alors remises aux femmes et dès ce moment la distribution ne semble plus suivre aucun ordre. Hommes et femmes boivent et servent leurs voisins sans obéir à d'autre règle de bienséance que de ne pas oublier autrui. Ils s'acquittent parfaitement du ou devoir de politesse et personne n'est négligé, pas même les tout petits qui ingurgitent des quantités inquiétantes de *kéri*.

A Saint-Ivanda, le jour de l'Isanso, j'ai pu constater que le premier servi est toujours le « capitaine ». Comme précédemment, le vase plein de *kéri* est déposé à ses pieds. Il boit la première rasade, puis tend au tasse ou au calebasse à son voisin. Celui-ci vend la calebasse vide ou la remplit et la fait passer à son tour. Quelques calebasses sont mises en circulation, mais revienent toujours au premier qui l'a reçue et qui l'achève. Les hommes se dérangent à plusieurs reprises pour aller servir les femmes, qui elles, de leur côté, ne s'oublient pas et boivent suivant les mê-

(1) Baron Gondesarre (p. 313) mentionne déjà les différentes sortes de chicha distinguées par les Chiriguano : « Il vous dira sorti y de algarrobo, / De Mistol, y de sorte bien abundo, / Segunda que habiane sacó arrobas, / Que resulta é cada sacó la cantidad dicha. »

mais rien que les hommes. La boucherie se fait en une dizaine et dure [illegible].

Lorsque les pourlaines du bétail sont épuisées dans un village, on se met en lite indienne et, marque en tête, l'on va [illegible] ailleurs.

Jadis la préparation du bétail s'accompagnait de rites magiques. Aujourd'hui il n'en est resté que la coupure de ses barbaillés la face et les jambes en rouge. Dans certains villages, les femmes ne pressent plus même cette précaution. Cependant, entre l'amorcé et l'épigrandi, j'ai pu rencontrer trois quelques femmes ainsi tatouées et qui ressemblaient de « beaux diables », pour employer une expression chère à Jean de Lery.

DIVERS ASPECTS DES CONTENANTS DE CUIRS DE TRAIS CHEZ LES CHIRIGANOS

Rien ne frappe autant le voyageur qui arrive dans un village chirigano que l'abondance des pièces de poterie qu'il rencontre à l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur des huttes. La figure 1 de la planche XIV donne une idée du nombre des vases que l'on peut voir sur un bâtis auprès à l'époque où les Indiens préparent la bière de maïs.

Fig. 11. — Deux vases [illegible]

La céramique d'usage est même si, chez les Chirigano, on trouve autre variétés que celle des jarres d'apparat. Alors que cette dernière est nettement d'origine andine, avec quelques rares éléments amazoniens, la première a gardé un caractère général très marqué. Elle se caractérise surtout par les impressions digitales qui ornent le col de presque toutes les marmites ordinaires.

En regardant travailler les potières chirigano, je me suis rendu compte que les impressions digitales qui ornent si souvent leurs vases, résultent automatiquement du processus de la fabrication. En ramenant vers la potière forme le col du vase, elle est obligée de prendre le bourrelet qui constituera cette partie entre le pouce et l'index et non plus avec le plat de la main comme elle l'a fait jusqu'alors. Le vase est généralement trop étroit en cette zone pour permettre d'y introduire la main entière. Il en résulte toute une série d'impressions digitales qui font rapidement l'effet d'un ornement. Actuellement la potière les efface pour les remplacer par des vagues, avec plus de symétrie. A cela près, on montrait qu'avec le plupart des

[Facing P 390, A]

A. Minaret, Ex-mihrab du Sidna Chirigaoua Planche XVI

[facing P. 390, B]

A. Métraux, La civilisation des Indiens Chiriguano Planche XVII

1. Vase (?) dans lequel les Chiriguano puisent l'eau pour la mélange. Cet exemplaire provient du village-chaud de Tapiyuti, près de l'Aguaray (Charata-Salta, Rép. Argentine). La ref est sur d'exposition supérieure. (?), gr. nat.)

2. Vase (gourde) décoré d'une série de guirlandes sur la base du col. Pays : Bolivie (Santa-Cruz-Camiri). (?), gr. nat.)

vases d'usage commun chez les Chiriguano est obtenu, pour ainsi dire, mécaniquement. Du col, ces ornements se sont étendus au reste du vase dans un but esthétique, mais leur occurence sur la partie supérieure a prévalu.

Les marmites ordinaires servant à cuire les aliments sont, en règle générale, ornées tout autour du col de plusieurs rangées d'impressions digitales, ou onguiculaires. L'exemple le plus typique est le vase de la planche XVI, 3 qui, typologiquement, peut être rangé à côté des grandes urnes pour cuire la bière de maïs dont beaucoup ont, plus ou moins, la même forme.

Fig. 36. — Vase (*pupepé*) avec anses en tresse et orné de deux séries de petits galets gravés sur le col. Prov. : Yamiés (1/, gr. nat.)

Ordinairement, les marmites destinées à aller sur le feu sont pourvues d'anses (pl. XVI, 2 et 4 et fig. 36).

Certains vases (fig. 35) ont leur surface extérieure entièrement converte de ces dépressions obtenues par pression de l'ongle du pouce. Les Indiens appellent cette décoration *tatupire*, c'est à dire « carapace de tatou », comparaison tout a fait justifiée.

Fig. 37. — Vase tube en forme de gourde aplatie. Sert à transporter de l'eau en voyage. Prov. : Macheretí (1/, gr. nat.)

On peut considérer comme une évolution du procédé d'ornementation par impressions digitales, les angles ou chevrons qui agrémentent la surface extérieure du vase de la figure 2 de la planche XVI et qui ont été incisés dans l'argile molle avec un instrûment pointu. Ce type d'ornementation peut se réduire à sa plus simple expression; ainsi sur le col du vase de la planche XVII, 2, il se limite à une rangée de petites cavités faites avec une baguette acérée. Le petit vase de la figure 36 à panse aplatie de haut en bas entre, au point de vue décoratif, dans la même catégorie.

Sur un autre vase (pl. XVI, 1) les petits mamelons qui se détachent

tout autour de la panse constituent un décor sommaire qui complète celui du col formé d'impressions ongiculaires. Des pots de ce type se retrouvent chez les Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 9, fig. 65, p. 218).

Cette décoration est exceptionnelle en Amérique du Sud. Jijon y Caamaño (p. 6) la considère comme caractéristique pour le Nord de l'Équateur. Il en signale la distribution en Amérique centrale et dans la région des Mounds, aux États-Unis.

Le *iru* de la figure 2 de la planche XVIII a exactement la forme d'une calebasse; cette ressemblance était intentionnelle, car l'Indienne qui me le vendit, me le présenta en même temps que la calebasse qui lui avait, sans doute, servi de modèle. Des vases, qui sont presque des répliques de cet exemplaire, ont été trouvés à Jachal et à Calingasta, dans la province de San Juan, en Argentine (Ambrosetti, 1, pl. VII, et Debenedetti, 3, fig. 41, p. 69).

Fig. 38. — Vase ashluslay. Proc. : Estero Patiño. (1/1, gr. nat.)

Les Chiriguano appellent du nom quichua de *iru* les vases dans lesquels les femmes vont puiser l'eau dont elles ont besoin pour leur ménage. Les *iru* se caractérisent, non seulement par leur forme plus ou moins globuleuse, et par l'étroitesse du goulot qui les surmonte, mais aussi par la qualité de la pâte avec laquelle ils ont été modelés. Celle-ci est extrêmement fine, de fort bonne qualité et, une fois cuite, elle forme une masse compacte, dure et résistante. Cette argile est par elle même peu poreuse; pour la rendre plus imperméable encore, les potières chiguano soumettent le vase encore cru, mais cependant bien sec, à un long polissage qui s'exerce sur les parois extérieures du récipient et leur donne une apparence métallique et brillante qu'au premier abord on prendrait pour une engobe. Cette opération a pour effet de rendre le vase presque imperméable et d'éviter ainsi l'évaporation qui se produit avec plus ou moins de rapidité dans la plupart des récipients chiriguano. L'étroitesse du goulot dont ces vases sont surmontés, répond à une préoccupation analogue.

Les *iru* peuvent être de toutes les tailles : il en est de fort grands comme l'exemplaire cité de la planche XVII, 1 et d'autres très petits (pl. XVIII, 4) dont les fillettes se servent pour aider leur mère et

[facing P. 372]

1

2

3

4

Pots à eau (Ivo). Chiriguano. La surface extérieure des ivo n° 1, 3 et 4 à fini polie ou point d'un peintre glacée. Le ivo n° 2 à fini modelé en forme de calebasse. Le n° 1 provient d'Ivo, le n° 2 de Cuevoti, le n° 3 de Tumbia et le n° 4 de Macharetti. (1, et 2 = 1/4, : n° 3 et 4 = 1/6 de la gr. nat.)

s'initier aux travaux du ménage. Les vases 1 et 3 de la planche XVIII représentent des formes adhérentes, peu fréquentes, qui dérivent du type primitif, mais qui ont été perfectionnées. Les anses dont ces *iru* sont munis, permettent de les transporter en voyage en guise de gourdes.

Les prototypes des *iru* chiriguano nous ont été fournis par les fouilles de Debenedetti (2, fig. 119, p. 171) dans la Isla de Tilcara.

Nous devons ranger typologiquement les vases des tribus primitives du Chaco dans la catégorie des *iru*. Comme les Chiriguano ou leurs

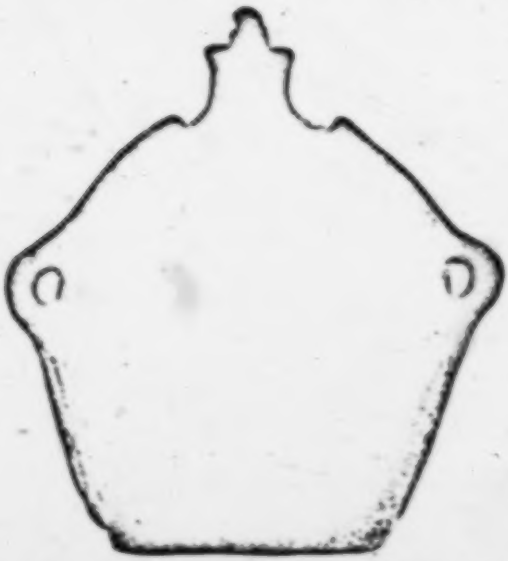


Fig. 38. — Vase tolo avec bandes en relief imitant les cordes de compression dont les vases de ce type sont généralement pourvus. Prov. : Machareti. (1/1, gr. nat. ±.)

précurseurs les Chané, les Mataco, Tolo, Choroti et Ashluslay ont copié des modèles andins qu'ils ont adaptés à leurs nécessités. Il convient de remarquer que les peuplades semi-nomades du Chaco ont dû façonner leurs vases de façon à pouvoir les emporter avec eux au cours de leurs pérégrinations, tandis que les Chané et les Chiriguano, nations sédentaires, n'ont pas senti le besoin d'en modifier la forme primitive et ont conservé, sans y apporter de variations, le prototype andin. A titre de comparaison je reproduis ici deux vases du Chaco : l'un (fig. 37) provient du quartier tolo de Machareti et l'autre (fig. 38) d'une tribu ashluslay en voyage dans le nord de l'Argentine.

Le beau vase de la figure 39 provient de la mission de Machareti. Il est

l'œuvre de potières de la tribu des Toba. Trois détails lui valent une place à part : la base fort large et plate ; sa section horizontale presque quadrangulaire, ce qui constitue une particularité fort rare dans la céramique indienne ; et, en outre, les deux bandes qui courent le long du col imitant, en terre cuite, les cordes de suspension dont les vases toba sont généralement pourvus.

Fig. 60. — Petite écuelle (dat) avec 4 mamelons. Chiriguano. Prov. : Caipipendi. (1/3, gr. nat.)

Ce vase est un bon exemple de l'influence que le genre de vie peut exercer sur l'art et la technique d'une tribu. Les anciens vases des Toba étaient, comme je viens de le dire, toujours munis d'une corde de suspension pour pouvoir être transportés en voyage. Aujourd'hui les Toba sont sédentaires et cette corde, devenue inutile s'est transformée en ornement.

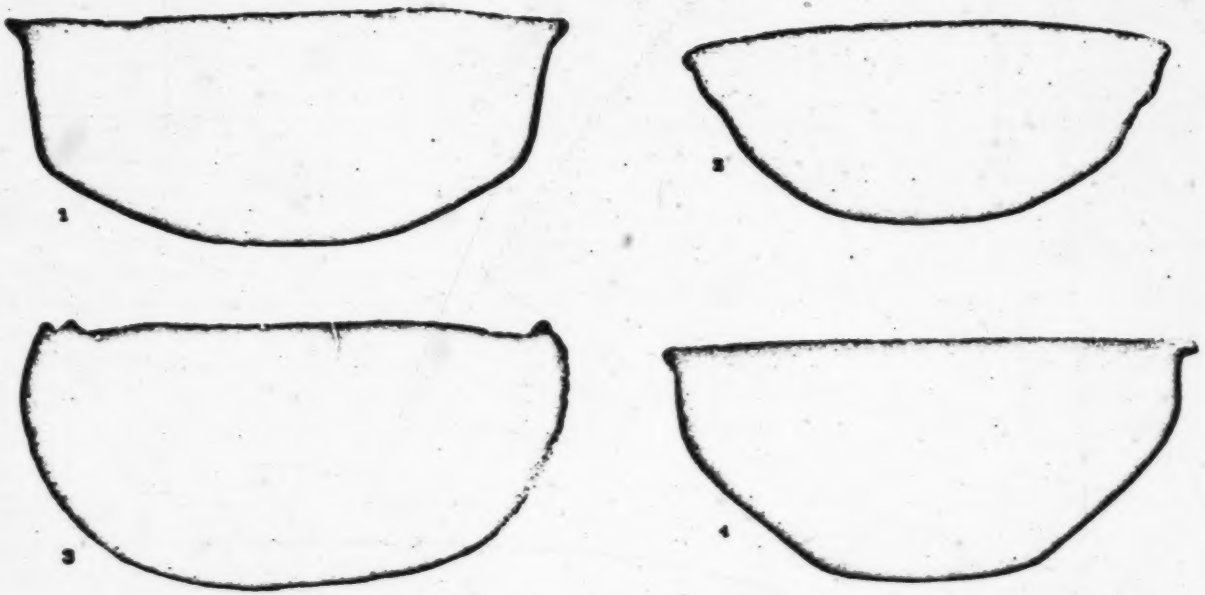
Écuelles

Les écuelles n'abondent pas chez les Chiriguano où les calebasses les remplacent avec avantage. Celles que j'ai pu recueillir, et qui n'étaient pas peintes, sont faites en une argile qui, après la cuisson, leur donne l'apparence d'être en bois. La base est plate et les bords, assez hauts, s'écartent vers l'extérieur sauf sur les exemplaires de la planche XIX, 3 et de la figure 49 où ils sont bombés. Ce dernier *paco* est surmonté de deux mamelons, restes d'oreilles stylisées. Ces proéminences peuvent être perforées et donner passage à une corde de suspension qui permet d'accrocher l'écuelle à une poutre de la hutte (fig. 41).

Fig. 61. — Petite écuelle en miniature avec corde de suspension. Chiriguano. Prov. Santa Cruz. (1/3, gr. nat.)

Les cuillers

Les cuillers sont très communes chez les Chiriguano. Leur forme les apparente *étroitement à celles que les Sioux exécutées sur le haut plateau bolivien et dans le nord-ouest de l'Argentine nous ont fait connaître. C'est chez les anciennes populations de cette région qu'il faut rechercher l'origine de cet élément culturel* (v. à ce sujet, Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 91-92) dont les Chiriguano ont fidèlement conservé l'aspect primitif et même certaines particularités telles que les découpures du manche que



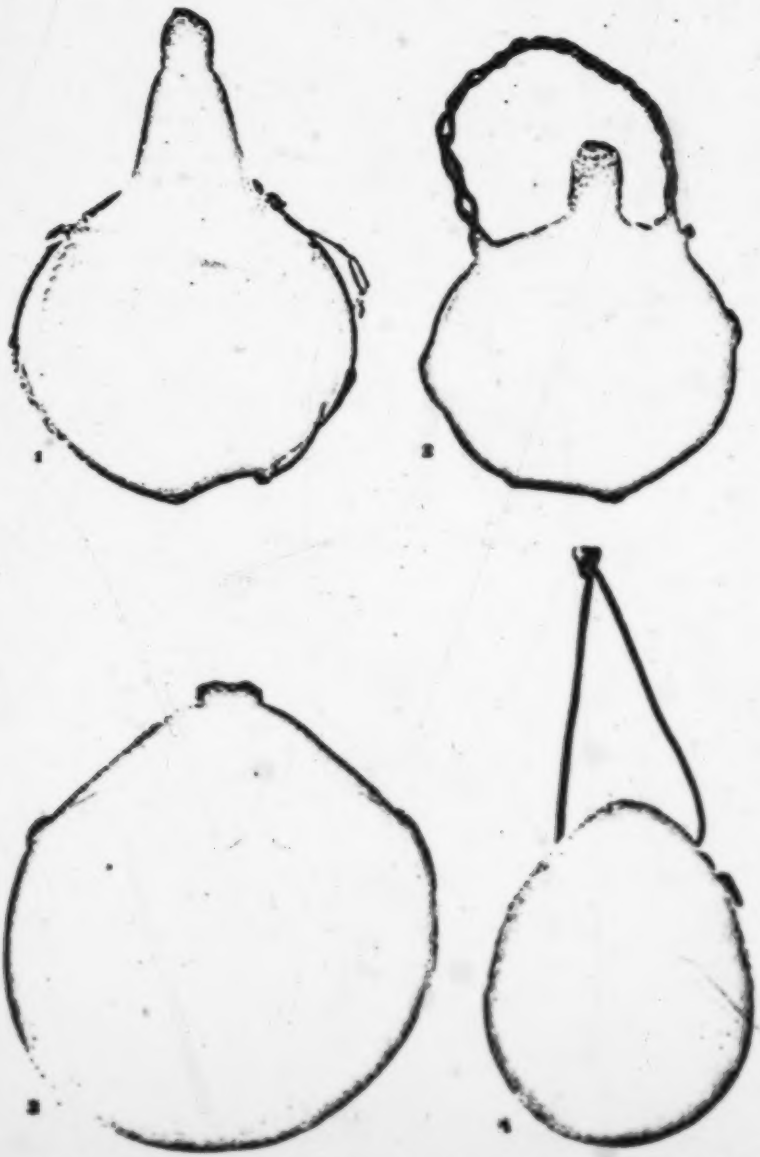
Ecuelles (*bol*). Chiriguano. L'écuelle n° 1 a été trouvée dans une urne funéraire de Caipipendi. Elle était primitivement peinte en rouge. Les n°s 2 et 4 proviennent de Saladito (haut Pilcomayo); le n° 3 de Carurati. (n° 1 = $^{2}/_{3}$; n°s 2, 4 = $^{1}/_{4}$; n° 3 = $^{1}/_{5}$ de la gr. nat.)

[facing p. 374, A]

1:Métraux SF10 Chiriguano

[facing P. 394, B]

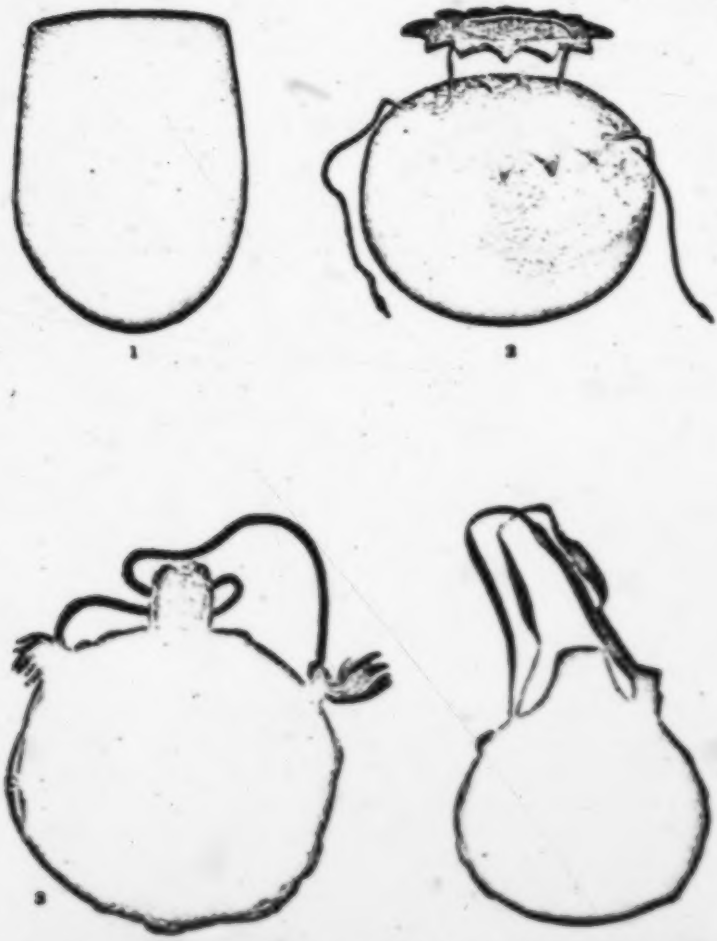
A. Métraux, *La civilisation des indiens Chiriguano* Planche XX



1 et 2. calebasses (id) percées deux ou five pour pouvoir être transportées en suspension dans le bastin. (Prov. : Saladito et Ivo. (1/, gr. nat.). 3. Calebasse avec couvercle découpé en étoile. Prov. : Saladito. (1/, gr. nat.). 4. Calebasse avec fermeture automatique. Prov. : Ivo. (1/, environ de la gr. nat.)

[facing P. 374, C]

A. Métraux, *La civilisation des indiens Chiriguano* Planche XXI



1. Calebasse employée comme gourde. Prov.: Zeverenda. (1/3 gr. nat.). 2. Calebasse à ouverture réduite et fermeture automatique. Prov.: Carareti. (1/3 gr. nat.). 3. Calebasse gaînée suspendue au moyen de lanières de cuir. Prov.: Tamiri. (1/3 gr. nat.). 4. Calebasse entourée de lanières d'écorce de cerdat. Prov.: Saladitas. (1/3 gr. nat.)

l'on voit sur un de nos spécimens et sur un exemplaire découvert dans la Puna de Jujuy (Pucara de Rinconada) par Boman (2, t. II, pl. LIX, fig. 142).

A côté de ces cuillers dont l'usage s'est répandu sous l'influence des peuples civilisés de l'ouest, les Chirignano ont conservé les formes les plus rudimentaires de cet ustensile : les valves d'un mollusque d'eau douce *(anodonta)* (en chirignano : *iata)* sont souvent utilisées par eux pour manger des plats liquides ; la coque du fruit d'une bignoniacée (?) ouverte dans toute sa longueur apparaît également dans le nord du territoire chirignano, comme la survivance d'une époque où les cuillers leur étaient encore inconnues (fig. 44).

Certaines petites calebasses, ovoïdes ou rondes, avec un pédoncule saillant, peuvent, une fois coupées par le milieu, remplacer avantageusement les cuillers en bois (fig. 45). C'est sous cette forme naturelle que la cuiller est répandue dans l'Amérique tropicale, là où l'influence andine ne s'est pas fait sentir. Les Chirignano ne dédaignent pas d'employer ces demi-calebasses pour puiser dans la marmite aux haricots ou dans le bouillon de viande. Des calebasses, comme celle de la figure 46, leur tiennent lieu de louches.

Calebasses

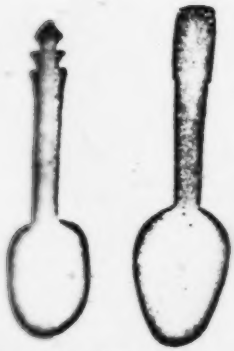
Dans chaque village chirignano, les calebasses sont aussi abondantes que les poteries (v. fig. 47). Les huttes en regorgent. Il y en a de toutes les formes et de toutes les grandeurs, depuis les cuillers dont nous avons parlé, jusqu'aux grosses bassines dans lesquelles le *kéri* se distribue les jours de fête.

Les calebasses ovoïdes, ou en formes de gourdes, sont généralement enveloppées d'une sorte de filet rudimentaire en fibres végétales ou en lanières de cuir qui permet de les transporter à la main ou de les suspendre (1). On y met, soit de l'eau, soit des graines et des semences, soit de la farine grillée, soit enfin du rocou ou de la poudre de *kalaspe* que l'on garde en réserve pour les jours de fête (pl. XX, 1 et 2, pl. XXI, 3 et 4).

Certaines calebasses sont pourvues d'un couvercle que les Indiens obtiennent en découpant dans le fruit encore vert une calotte aux bords étroits, et qui constitue comme une écoutoire hermétique. Le couvercle est fixé à l'aide d'une cordelette qu'il suffit de tirer pour clore la calebasse

(1) Nordenskiöld (18, p. 97) a donné la liste des tribus de l'Amérique du Sud qui mettent leurs calebasses à l'intérieur d'un filet pour les transporter ou les suspendre. Ce dispositif est largement répandu dans le continent et sa distribution est certainement plus grande que celle indiquée par Nordenskiöld, mais les voyageurs ne prêtent généralement qu'un faible intérêt à ces détails qui ont cependant de l'importance. Les Guaqués du Paraguay entourent leurs calebasses d'écorce de ceibé exactement comme les Chirignano (v. Ambrosetti, 2, p. 710).

(pl. XX, 4 et pl. XXI, 2). Les gourdes dont l'ouverture est d'un faible diamètre, reçoivent en guise de bouchon un fragment d'épis de maïs égrené.



Figs. 43-43. — Cuillers en bois (*ka-cuka-mirira-kara*). Le n° 42 provient de Caruruti et le 43 de Sa-[illegible] (1/1, gr. nat.)

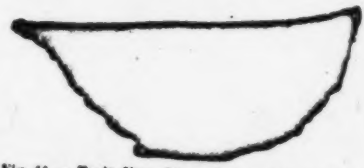


Fig. 44. — Fruit d'une bignoniacée ou d'une asclépiadacée dont la coque coupée par le milieu est utilisée par les Chiriguano en guise de tasse ou de cuiller. Prov. : Calpipendi (2/3 gr. nat.)

Fig. 45. — Calebasse coupée par le milieu servant de cuiller. Prov. : Macharetti. (1/1 gr. nat.)

Fig. 46. — Louche-cuiller dans une calebasse. Prov. : Tinguipaz (haut Pilcomayo). (1/1 gr. nat.)

Fig. 47. — Calebasses de réserve suspendues dans un filet à l'intérieur d'une hutte chiriguano. Ibopeyti.

Les calebasses peintes, pyrogravées ou incisées, feront l'objet d'une étude spéciale.

Écuelles et bassines en bois

Les Chiriguano emploient aussi des écuelles en bois (fig. 49). J'ignore s'ils les fabriquent eux-mêmes ou s'ils les reçoivent des métis de la

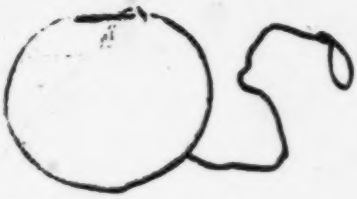


Fig. 48. — Calebasse suspendue au moyen d'une baguette transversale. Prov. : Ivu. (1/4 gr. nat.)

région de San Luis. Dans ce dernier cas, les Chiriguano de la région de San Luis (Entre-Rios) seraient les seuls à les confectionner. A Ta-

Fig. 49. — Ecuelle en bois (ana). Prov. : Camiriti. (1/4 gr. nat.)

Fig. 50. — Bassin en bois en usage chez les Indiens et métis Quichua du Département de Tarija (Bolivie) et parfois aussi chez les Chiriguano

rija, où ces écuelles sont très recherchées par les métis, elles m'ont été indiquées comme venant de cette zone. Les rares écuelles de bois que

j'ai vues à Caipipendi, avaient été achetées par les Chiriguano au cours de leurs voyages. La même origine doit être attribuée aux auges en bois que l'on trouve chez les Chiriguano qui vivent près des métis Quichua du département de Tarija. Ces bassins servent à laver les aliments et sont employés également comme baignoires. Les Choroti ont des plats en bois (Nordenskiöld, 9, fig. 20, p. 88) qui ont une forme très semblable à celle de l'auge reproduite ici (fig. 50) et qui, sans doute, ont été introduits chez eux, soit par les anciens Quichua soit par les métis. Chez les Araucan de l'Argentine, on trouve des bassins de bois qui sont en tous points semblables à ceux des Indiens et métis de la Bolivie et de l'exemplaire figuré ici.

CHAPITRE V

Outils des Chiriguano

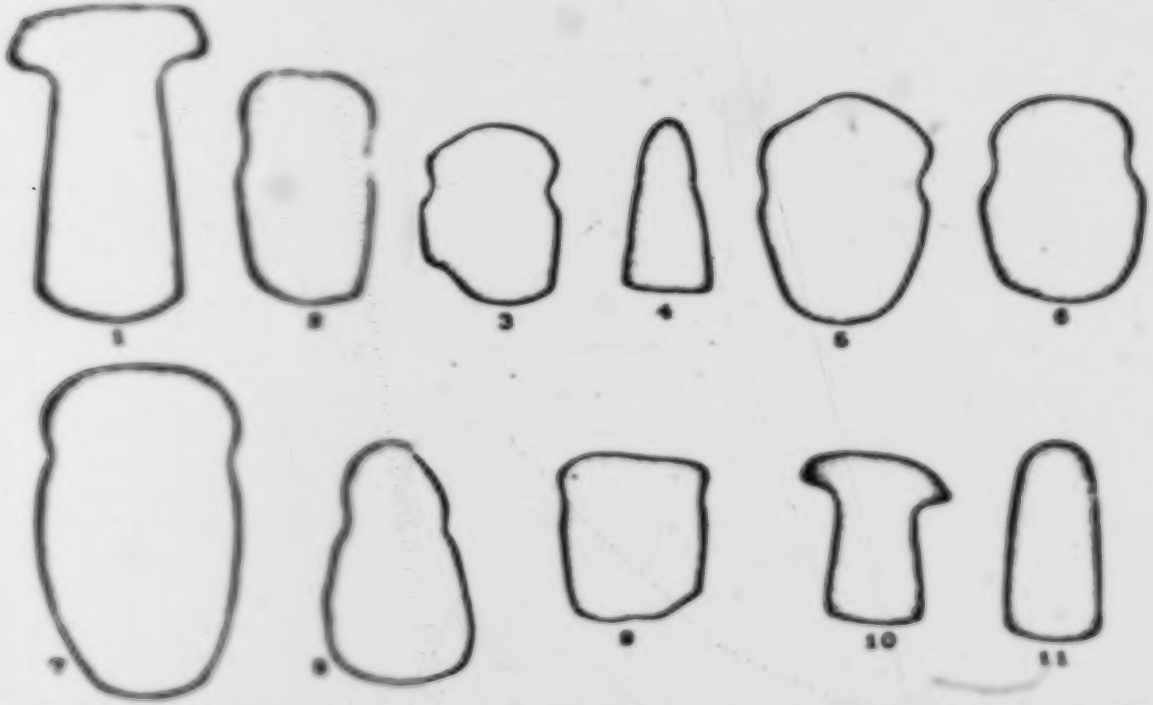
Les instruments de travail dont se servent actuellement les Chiriguano sont, presque tous, de facture européenne. Çà et là, les anciennes formes se sont conservées, alors que la pierre ou l'os ont été remplacés par le fer. Témoin l'herminette de la planche XXII qui constitue une curieuse survivance de la hache à oreilles ou hache en forme de T que les Chiriguano ont sûrement adoptée après leur migration et leur établissement au pied des Andes. Ce type de hache m'est inconnu de tout autre tribu tupi-guarani et est peu fréquent dans l'aire occupée par les différentes nations appartenant à cette famille linguistique (v. Rivet, 1, pp. 149-155).

L'exemplaire que je publie ici rendait encore de grands services à son propriétaire qui ne me le céda qu'à regret et contre une forte somme d'argent. La présence de la hache à oreilles chez les Chiriguano modernes vient infirmer l'allégation de Nordenskiöld (14, p. 120) qui la met au nombre des éléments culturels ayant complètement disparu en Amérique du Sud. Elle a survécu grâce au prodigieux conservatisme des Indiens. Je suis persuadé que plusieurs des objets dont Nordenskiöld constate la disparition se retrouveront peut-être dans quelque tribu actuellement vivante, lorsque nous aurons de l'Amérique du Sud un matériel ethnographique plus abondant que celui dont nous disposons.

Une autre particularité fort intéressante de cette hache est la forme coudée du manche contre lequel le taillant est solidement fixé avec des lanières de cuir. La répartition de la hache à manche coudé a été tracée par Linné (2, p. 202). Les tribus de l'Amérique du Sud qui en ont maintenu l'usage jusqu'à nos jours ne sont pas très nombreuses. Ce sont : les Colorado de l'Equateur, les Tukano, les Tariana et les autres tribus de

Hermchette dont la lame en fer a la forme des haches en T du Tocuiche Preco. Peru. (Collection Ch. gr. nat.)

1:Métraux 8710 Chirigunoo
[facing P 375, A]



Haches en pierre des indiens Chiriguano. Les haches à rainure n° 1 et 10 proviennent, la première d'Huapayti, la seconde d'Iva. Les haches à gorge complète n° 2, 3, 5 ont été recueillies dans la vallée de Guapay, à l'exception de la hache n° 4 qui a été acquise à Iva. La hache simple archéologique n° 11 provient de Guapayti. (Cf. pl. XXV, 1.)

1: Métraux

[Figure p 378, A]

ST 10 Chiriguano

Colony Cuepia, les Tebenkiks et les Quichos modernes. Chez les Indiens de Colony Cuepia, cet outil a perdu toute valeur pratique et a fini par se convertir en simple ustensile de danse (Kuch-Gréhlowy, **2**, t. I, fig. 223, p. 336).

La hache double a été trouvée archéologiquement au Pérou (Uhagulasta; vallée Marañon, près de Lima) et à Cumbinde dans la Pampa de Jujuy (République Argentine). Les ethnologues du Pérou sont désignés comme étant des hommes, ce qui est possible. Je tenai cependant remarquer que le spécimen chiriguano de Guiguanti est exclusivement un instrument de charpenterie dont les Indiens se servent pour tailler les pièces de bois dont ils font leurs meubles ou leurs armes.

Fig. 31. — Hache en pierre (angle) trouvée [illegible] sur [illegible] (Pérou archéologique [illegible] à Pérou, t. I, pp. [illegible])

Fig. 32. — Hache en fer du Chaco [illegible] (Collection archéologique [illegible] Chaco [illegible] Chiquanos, t. I, pp. [illegible])

La figure 31 montre évidemment des haches modernes, du type de la hache simple américaine, peut-être [illegible] prototypes en pierre. La similitude de cette hache avec celles de pierre utilisées jusqu'à nos jours par les Guaycuri, s'étend jusqu'à la forme en pro [illegible] de manche et à son extrémité [illegible] (Métraux, pl. [illegible], 3).

C'est de cette manière que sont encore [illegible] les haches en pierre des Indiens du haut Xingu (Meyers, **2**, p. 197) et des Kaingang du Brésil méridional (Nordenskiöld, **18**, fig. 14, p. 39) et les [illegible] en fer des Matako-Vejos (Nordenskiöld, **18**, fig. 19, p. 44) et des Tamoto (?) de la Pampa du Sud (id., **18**, fig. 45, p. 88) qui ont remplacé les anciennes celles de pierre.

La planche XXIII représente une série de haches en pierre provenant de la région de Guiguanti, d'Ivo et d'Itapuyti. Les haches de Guiguanti sont toutes pourvues d'une gorge. Les deux haches à talon sont des trouvées, l'une à Itapuyti et l'autre à Ivo.

[illegible]

Les modèles des tableaux des Chirigueno sont en chaîne. On les fabriquait avec [illegible] à l'aide du moule figuré ici (fig. 10). C'est une cuillère dont la partie [illegible] les allonges du tableau sont [illegible], alors que la partie centrale et [illegible] du cul-ornement correspondant à l'extrémité d'un tableau qui [illegible] la cuillère. La cavité que présente la partie centrale du tableau est [illegible] remplie avec de la cire dans laquelle on incrusta des perles de verre ou de turquoise provenant d'anciens [illegible], que les métis de Tocija vendent aux Chirigueno.

Fig. 10. — Moule avec lame des tableaux en [illegible] (Amérique). Pour : Chirigueno. [illegible] de [illegible]

Matériaux

Les Chirigueno du haut Dibumayo et de la vallée d'Iglesiaki appartiennent à une tribu [illegible] que les Ijiriches du haut plateau. C'est d'eux, d'ailleurs, qu'ils tiennent ce rites. Le fait est connu et n'a pas besoin d'être démontré. Cette constance d'aut répandue chez les Chirigueno à une chaîne vivante, car elle ne s'est pas encore étendue sur toute le territoire qu'ils habitent. Les Chirigueno qui vivent éloignés des propriétaires [illegible] en bulleuses de la Cordillère, ne sont pas « conquérants », et ce n'est qu'incorporé[illegible] que l'on rencontre chez eux quelques rites qui manque aux éléments de rites.

Ceci est le dernier point, vers l'est et vers le nord, où l'on distingue [illegible] pour [illegible] des provinces de rites. Nordenskiöld (18, pp. 93-95) a démontré à démontrer que le centre de ce matériel les droits affaits du pays avec celle du chiquer le rites et ses dérivés. Cette habitude a, en effet, une [illegible] fortes marquée et suit le cours de la culture de la rites.

Les Chirigueno mettent chaque chiquée de rites avec la moelle [illegible] d'un arbre (*iriche*) dont le nom scientifique n'est [illegible]. Cette moelle (*iriche*), qui correspond à la *Hoste* des Ijiriches, est [illegible] dans un petit sachet de rites.

La rites est non [illegible] de leur que des Indiens Ijiriches ou des métis [illegible] vendus aux Chirigueno. D'une [illegible] bonne [illegible] et bonne [illegible] de la part de [illegible] pas [illegible], les Chirigueno sont [illegible] à des Indiens de leur [illegible]. Ils les échangent à l'aide du

de deux extrémités suspendus par la section et formant «fléau de balance» (fig. 1/1 et 1/2). La balance à plateaux était en usage à l'époque préhis-

Fig. 1/1. — Balance à plateaux en usage dans les ports [illegible] de la région de Tanga
(Dess. : de Maniac, [illegible], gr. nat.)

panique dans l'ancien empire babylonien (v. Zwiedineck[illegible], [illegible]) avant et je crois d'abord qu'elle existait chez, les Chirigouas, une variétaure de

Fig. 1/2. — Balance [illegible] en usage dans les Chirigouas pour peser la [illegible]
(Dess. : [illegible] dans [illegible])

l'balance [illegible] dont [illegible] plus tôt l'importation. Cependant, chez les Chirigouas, cet objet est désigné sous le nom [illegible]

de ubéleuze, ce qui semble indiquer qu'ils l'ont empruntés aux métis. Ceux-ci et les Quichua s'en servent dans leurs transactions commerciales, mais l'emploient surtout pour peser la poudre aux. Peut-être en était-il de même aux temps préhistoriques. Rien ne prouve que seuls les métaux fussent pesés, comme on l'a supposé au sujet de ces anciennes balances.

Les Chiriguano usent, en guise de poids, d'anciennes monnaies boliviennes en argent et exprimant les monnaies suivant l'ancien système espagnol. Par une convention tacite, une pièce de deux sous modernes a la valeur d'une aune.

Les Chiriguano mesurent les étoffes que les colporteurs syriens viennent leur offrir avec des varas, c'est-à-dire une baguette dont la longueur est de 86 centimètres environ, soit celle de l'ancienne vara espagnole. Cet instrument a été emprunté aux métis boliviens.

CHAPITRE VI

L'art chez les Indiens Chiriguano et Chané

A Mr. le Professeur Otto F. Ortiz.

Le sens artistique chez les Chiriguano se manifeste dans la décoration de la céramique, dans la pyrogravure et dans la sculpture sur bois. Nous étudierons ces trois activités l'une après l'autre.

TECHNIQUE DE LA CÉRAMIQUE

La technique de la céramique chiriguano a été étudiée sommairement par Campana (p. 54) d'après les notes du P. Giannecchini ; par Outes (3, pp. 122-123) qui ajoute quelques détails qui lui ont été communiqués par le naturaliste Holmberg, à ceux qu'il a tirés de l'œuvre de Campana. Nordenskiöld (1 et 18, pp. 142-147) a complété, sur bien des points, le bref aperçu de Campana, si bien que pour mon propre compte j'aurai peu de choses nouvelles à signaler.

L'argile dont se servent les potières chiriguano, provient de gisements bien connus des Indiens où ils vont se ravitailler de temps en temps. Il suffit de voir autour d'une botte de vieux vases pleins de terre pour savoir que là vit une femme pratiquant encore l'industrie ancestrale. Là où manque une argile adéquate, la céramique est importée. Ainsi, dans le village de Tigüipa, tous les vases qui y sont en usage ont été faits à Machareti.

L'argile, pour être employée, doit être dégraissée avec de la poudre

provenant de tessons. Des fragments d'anciens vases sont broyés dans un mortier jusqu'à ce que, passés au crible, ils donnent une poudre fine qui est pétrie avec l'argile pendant un temps assez long. Cette pâte doit être débarrassée de toute impureté, ce qui s'opère au cours du pétrissage (fig. 56).

Lorsque la potière a obtenu une pâte élastique et collante, elle mo-

Fig. 56. — Fabrication d'un vase : l'argile, après avoir été mêlée à des tessons pulvérisés, est pétrie. (Photographie prise par l'auteur à Mosovi, dans la Vallée d'Igbembé)

dèle la base d'un vase qu'elle pose, soit sur un morceau d'étoffe soit sur une planchette. Le fondement du futur récipient se présente sous l'aspect d'une rondelle exhaussée sur son pourtour. Jamais l'on ne verra une femme chiriguano faire un seul vase à la fois : comme elle doit attendre, avant de continuer, que chacune des parties qui constituent la pièce de poterie soit sèche, elle occupe cet intervalle en commençant un autre vase qui sèchera pendant qu'elle reprendra le premier.

Lorsqu'elle juge que le fond a pris quelque consistance, elle roule entre ses mains un boudin auquel elle s'efforce de donner un diamètre régulier, puis elle l'applique sur la base formant un cercle parfait. Elle coupe la partie du boudin qui dépasse au point de jonction. Ensuite, elle aplatit le boudin avec la main, la compression se faisant de l'intérieur à l'extérieur, avec le dos de la main gauche et la paume de la main droite. Lorsque tout le pourtour a été ainsi exhaussé, elle en régularise le bord, comblant toutes les dépressions avec des morceaux de terre mouillée, puis elle lisse extérieurement le vase avec un épis de maïs égrené et un éclat de bambou. Ces deux instruments sont placés à côté d'elle et fréquemment trempés dans l'eau pour que la terre ne s'y atta-

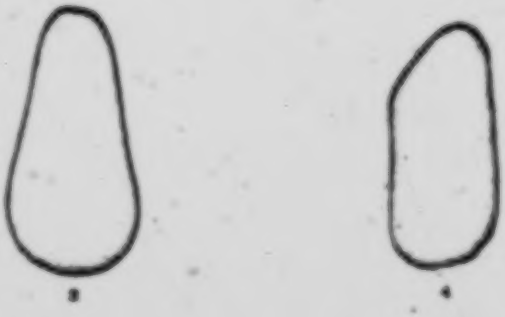
Figs. 37-38. — Vases (poyipo). Les boudins d'argile dont ils se composent sont encore apparents et constituent un ornement rudimentaire. Le n° 37 provient de Cuevani, le n° 38 de Varutia. (1/4, gr. nat.)

cher pas. Les parois intérieures sont polies avec une valve de coquille *(anadonta)* (pl. XXIV, 2). L'argile crue, une fois modelée, est souple et résistante comme du cuir. Les vases ne peuvent se faire qu'au soleil. Un jour que la pluie menaçait de tomber, les femmes s'empressèrent de s'emparer d'un vase qu'elles étaient en train de faire et de le transporter dans la hutte. Il oscillait, pendant ce déménagement, de tous côtés, mais ne se rompit point.

De la base au col, le vase est construit de la même façon, le nombre des boudins superposés variant avec la grandeur du vase, mais n'étant jamais très élevé. Les anses sont ajoutées après coup; certaines sont en torsades et ont été obtenues de la manière suivante : un boudin long et mince est plié en deux et roulé sur lui-même.

Une fois fini, le vase est mis à sécher. Lorsqu'il s'est durci, la potière le frotte à l'intérieur avec une pierre luisante et polie *(tondua ou ita-ulua)* (pl. XXIV, 3-4) jusqu'à en rendre la surface brillante et comme

[facing P. 384]



Accessoires d'une petite chiriguano. — 1. Valve d'un moulinque d'une dame (Sala) servant à lisser la sûreté intérieure des vases. Pour. : Dorpyth (?), gr. nat.). — 2. Fusaux fait de lattes de plumes rémiges avec de la cire. Pour. : Dorpyth (gr. nat.). — 3 et 4. Pierres servant à polir la surface extérieure et intérieure des vases avant la cuisson (cuite-cire). Ces deux pierres ont été trouvées à l'intérieur d'une urne funéraire à Caraverti (?), gr. nat.). — 5. Barrelamaux formée par un bouchon sur les bouchons d'épines d'ananas sauvage et que les Chiriguano utilisent pour tracer des figures noires et brunâtres sur leurs vases (barrotrin). Pour. : Dorpyth (?), gr. nat.)

glacée. Cette opération a pour but d'éviter la porosité des parois du vase, qui sans cela seraient trop perméables. Dans les vases ordinaires, l'extérieur est laissé tel quel. Les vases destinés à être peints sont, à ce qu'il semble, également glacés extérieurement. Le polissage du vase se fait en plusieurs jours et lentement. La potière y apporte un grand soin (v. fig. 66).

Si le vase doit être peint, la couleur est appliquée avec un pinceau fait en poils d'agouti ou en plumes réunis en touffe avec de la cire (pl. XXIV, 1).

Les matières colorantes employées par les Chiriguano et les Chané sont d'origine minérale et végétale. Les premières sont tirées de roches dont j'ai fait examiner les échantillons au point de vue pétrographique et chimique.

L'analyse chimique a donné les résultats suivants : les échantillons de couleur jaune contiennent de l'argile (silicate d'alumine et carbonate de chaux) et du fer sous forme d'oxyde hydraté ; les rouges sont de même composition, mais présentent moins d'oxyde hydraté de fer et plus d'oxyde de fer. Dans un spécimen d'ocre jaune brun, l'oxyde de fer abonde ; et dans un autre, dur et compact, d'une teinte rouge violet, le fer est presque entièrement à l'état d'oxide anhydre.

Les ocres jaunes, rouges et jaune sombre chauffées dans une éprouvette, changent de teinte et deviennent rouge sombre, à l'exception du spécimen violet qui reste inaltérable.

Deux minéraux gris sont des silicates d'alumine et de chaux avec des traces de fer. Ce sont des argiles presque pures.

Un minéral d'un noir de jais est un complexe calcaire manganésifère (bioxyde de manganèse sous forme d'oxyde traversé de filons de calcite).

Pétrographiquement, ces échantillons sont des ocres jaunes très compactes (manganésifères quartzeux) ou quelque peu sableuses, des ocres rouges très sableuses, et enfin des argiles un peu sableuses.

Les ocres donnent toutes une couleur rouge, le pyrolusite (?) fournit le noir et les argiles pures le blanc jaunâtre sur lequel se détachent les motifs rouges et noirs (1).

Les couleurs d'origine minérale sont appliquées avant la cuisson sur les parois du vase séché et poli.

La plupart des vases du haut Pilcomayo se distinguent par des motifs d'un noir luisant et compact, que les indiens obtiennent en les frottant peu après la cuisson avec l'excroissance résineuse, ayant l'aspect d'un manchon blanc, qu'une sorte de cochenille (?) forme autour des bran-

(1) Nordenskiöld (**3**, p. 143) : « The colours used by the Chiriguano and the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro are black, red, brown and white. The white is earths, the red, brown and black are obtained by pulverising whitish of these colours. »

chez des mimosacées (en chiriguano : *ikopati*) et dans lequel elle dépose des œufs (pl. XXIV, 5).

Selon le P. Giannechini (*Diccionario Chiriguano Español*, etc., p. 200), qui a été le premier à signaler l'emploi de cette matière, il s'agirait de la salive glutineuse d'une fourmi (?) qui se colle aux arbres. Les potières

Fig. 36. — Fabrication d'un vase : la surface horizontale est finie après avoir été aplatie avec la main.

chiriguanas s'en servaient pour peindre leurs vases après l'avoir mêlée à du rocou. En réalité, ces indications sont inexactes. Le mucilage mimosacé n'est pas de la salive, mais une sorte de manne ou de laque. Il est directement fixé contre les parois du vase pour produire le noir compact et luisant de certains motifs.

Les peintures de certains vases produisent un effet particulièrement

heureux, grâce à l'alternance d'un rouge brillant et dense avec un noir de même nature. La première de ces teintes est tirée du fameux roucou dont la pâte graisseuse est mêlée à de la résine, pétrie en forme de pain et fondue sur les parois brûlantes du vase.

Le nom de *tarawirisi* est également donné par les Chiriguano à des sortes de pains pétris à la main et qui se composent d'une matière résineuse mélangée à de la cire. Selon les explications qui me furent données par les indiens eux-mêmes, cette substance serait tirée d'une mimosacée qui, après avoir été arrosée d'eau bouillante, est pétrie et séchée au soleil. La couleur en est jaune ou rouge, mais après la cuisson elle devient noire.

Fig. 80. — Tronc d'arbre fourchu servant d'étagère pour placer des vases. (D'après un croquis de l'auteur.)

Je n'ai pu savoir si ce vernis noir était appliqué sur une couche de peinture noire ou s'il était étalé directement sur les paroi du vase. En tous les cas, les dessins produits par ce procédé sont beaucoup moins réguliers que ceux qui sont tracés au pinceau.

Mes collections de céramique, qui comportent près de 200 pièces, ne contiennent aucun spécimen verni. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 144) assure que les Chiriguano et les Chané du Parapitî enduisent leurs *gandui* avec une sorte de gomme appelée *tarawirisi*, mot qui, à une syllabe près, est le même qui désigne la substance résineuse dont il vient d'être question. Ceci me fait croire que, par vernissage, il faut entendre un procédé technique analogue à celui qui est en usage sur le haut Pilcomayo.

Les Indiens du Chaco tracent des ornements grossiers sur leurs vases avec de la résine de *palo santo* qu'ils appliquent après la cuisson. Selon Nordenskiöld (id. supra) les Chané de l'Itiyuro emploieraient le même moyen pour orner de dessins noirs certains de leurs vases.

Le vase une fois peint est mis à sécher pendant plusieurs jours à l'ombre. Ce n'est que lorsque les parois ont acquis une certaine dureté, que l'on procède à la cuisson. Les vases sont alors transportés en un endroit où il y a abondance de bois mort. On en ramasse une grande quantité dont on recouvre les vases de bas en haut. Généralement on choisit de longs fragments d'écorce qui brûlent avec une belle flamme.

On met le feu à cette pyramide de bois et, avec une longue perche, la

potière veille à ce qu'aucun tison ne brûle directement contre les parois, ce qui provoquerait un « coup de feu ». Lorsqu'elle constate qu'un vase rend un son métallique au toucher, elle écarte les brandons avec sa perche et en le roulant le fait sortir du feu.

Il peut arriver qu'au cours de la cuisson le vase subisse quelque craquelure. On y remédie en prenant un peu de terre humide mêlée à du crottin, et en l'appliquant sur la fente alors que le vase est encore brûlant. La fissure se ferme, mais reste apparente.

CLASSIFICATION DE LA CÉRAMIQUE CHIRIGUANO

Les figures qui illustrent ce texte, les planches publiées par Nordenskiöld (**10**, pp. 155-162) et les schémas de Outes (**3**), donnent une meilleure idée des formes plus courantes de cette céramique que toute description. Quelques remarques s'imposent cependant.

Les vases à panse subglobulaire surmontés d'un col bas et large, évasé du haut ,constituent, sans aucun doute, le type le plus répandu. (Pl. XXXV-LVII.)

Le bol à pied ou « compotier » (fig. 72) provient de la vallée de Caipipendi, de même que le vase à panse côtelée de la planche XXVI, 2. Ce sont les seuls spécimens de ce type que j'ai trouvés dans l'ensemble du pays chiriguano.

Les vases anthropomorphes ou zoomorphes sont rares. Ce n'est guère que dans la vallée de Caipipendi que la bière du maïs vous est ordinairement servie dans des vases modelés en forme de taureau. Leur facture en est, d'ailleurs, peu soignée. L'admirable vase anthropomorphe de la planche XXVI, 1 est une pièce exceptionnelle.

Les vases jumelés (pl. XXVII, 3) et ceux qu'un étranglement sépare en deux corps (fig. 74, 75 et pl. XXVII, 1) sont fort rares.

Les motifs peints sur les vases chiriguano ont, le plus souvent, un caractère purement géométrique.

Les exceptions à cette règle sont peu nombreuses. Comme exemple j'en donnerai le grand *gambai* de la planche LII, 1, sur la panse duquel ont été peints des chiens, des poules et des crapauds plus ou moins stylisés, le *gambai* de la figure 83 dont le décor principal se compose d'une série de *pakú (paca del monte, Peschge spec.)* et enfin quelques vases de mes collections que je n'ai pas voulu publier en raison de leur forme complètement européanisée. Sur l'un d'eux on distingue des silhouettes de mandons (pl. XXXIV, fig. 222) et sur un autre ont été figurés un homme et une femme dont les mains sont unies par une ligne rouge (symbole de mariage, d'amour ?).

Je me souviens avoir vu sur une jarre, dans la vallée de Caipipendi,

des nandous dessinés avec une particulière habileté. J'aurais volontiers acheté cette pièce s'il m'eût été possible d'en réaliser le transport.

Le vase de la figure 83 donne une excellente idée de ce que les potières chiriguano pourraient faire dans le genre « réaliste » si une lon-

Fig. 83. — Fabrication d'un vase : la surface extérieure est lissée avec un tribet de tamalous après avoir été enduite avec la suie

gue tradition ne les obligeait à ne borner à la représentation de motifs géométriques.

Le règne végétal n'inspire guère les artistes chiriguano. Le vase de la planche LII, figure 3, est le seul dont le décor soit nettement phytomorphe et encore ou ce cas je ne suis pas sûr qu'un modèle européen n'ait pas servi d'intermédiaire entre la nature et l'image que la potière a tracée.

Parmi les 200 vases que j'ai recueillis en pays chiriguano, il n'en est aucun qui comporte une figuration de la face humaine, à l'exception de celui auquel j'ai fait allusion et dont la forme trahit le désir de satisfaire la puérilité bête des touristes. A cet égard, Nordenskiöld (18, fig. 28, p. 137) a été plus heureux que moi : chez les Chané du Paraguay il a pu faire l'acquisition d'un pot sur lequel on distingue un nez en relief et les organes du visage peints d'une façon conventionnelle, mais où se reflète nettement l'influence andine.

Chaque région, souvent même chaque village, a son style particulier, et celui-ci varie encore suivant la fantaisie ou l'habileté de chaque potière. Ces différences sont souvent suffisamment accentuées pour permettre à un ethnographe quelque peu exercé de reconnaître la provenance de chaque pièce au premier coup d'œil.

Au point de vue du style décoratif, le pays chiriguano se divise en trois zones dont les caractéristiques sont les suivantes :

Sur le haut Pilcomayo, l'élément fondamental de la décoration est la spirale en forme de S couché qui se combine avec la volute d'une autre teinte se détachant du sommet d'un triangle (v. par ex., pl. XXXV; XXXVI, 1; XXXVII, 2; pl. XLVII-L, etc.).

Ce motif est disposé par zones parallèles; encadrées de figures géométriques (figures fractionnées, triangles alternés, traits hachurés, etc.) (v. par exemple : pl. XXXVII, 1; pl. XXXIX, 2; pl. XL, 2; pl. XLIV, 2). Rares sont les pièces de cette zone dont le décor principal ne comporte pas en spirales décroissant continûment. Le style de la céramique que j'ai recueillie dans la vallée d'Igiendei ne diffère que peu de celui du haut Pilcomayo : nous en retrouvons les principaux éléments, sous toutefois que la spirale y joue un rôle prédominant (pl. XXXIX, 1; pl. XLI; pl. XLII, 2; XLVIII, 1; pl. LI, 1-3; LIV, 2).

La poterie fabriquée par les Chiriguano des missions d'Ivo, de Macharetti et de Tarairi et par les Chané de l'Itiguaro, devenue une spécialité pour les outils féminins, se détachant en noir sur fond jaunâtre. Ce sont des figures anthropomorphes et zoomorphes qui occupent sur la panse du vase formant du grande triangles, des motifs de croisures qui, à leur tour, se terminent par des groupes en des spirales. Le triangle surmonté d'une volute est un motif qui apparaît souvent dans cette région. Les triangles à la surface pleine se combinent pour former, soit des bandes dentelées, soit des motifs de figures en forme de sablier dont l'effet est agréable à l'œil (pl. XXXIX, 1; pl. XL, 2; pl. XLI; pl. XLII, 1; pl. XLIII, 1; pl. LII; pl. LIV, 1 et 3-6; LVII, 3-6; LV, 1 et 3, etc.).

Entre les vases des Chané (pl. XXXVIII, 1; pl. LIII, 1-3) et ceux des Chiriguano en minimum, il est quelques différences qui tiennent moins au choix des motifs qu'à la manière dont ils sont traités. Les formes chané sont en général plus pures et elles font preuve d'une plus grande sécuri-

de main que les potières chiriguano. On sent bien que ces dernières ne sont que leurs élèves.

Il m'est difficile de dire ce qu'a pu être le style décoratif en vogue autrefois dans la vallée de Caipipendi (pl. LVII, 2; pl. LX, 4 et fig. 72). Les vases peints y sont devenus rares, et les quelques exemplaires que j'ai vus ou que j'ai acquis, étaient en fort mauvais état. Comme ailleurs, ils étaient couverts de figures géométriques : lignes brisées, triangles,

Fig. 41. — Décoration d'une grande cruche : le tracé d'angle est resté sous la peinture des mains. (Photographie prise par l'auteur à Macharetí, vallée d'Iguazuzú.)

bandes festonnées, etc. L'individualité de la céramique de Caipipendi s'exprime plus dans la forme de certains vases que dans leur décor.

Comme je n'ai pu visiter les Chaná du bas Paraguay, je n'ai aucune idée des caractères de leur poterie. Tembenchild (38, p. 144) qui a été plus favorisé que moi, déclare que leur céramique ne présente que peu de traces de l'influence araucane, et il explique ce fait par leur [illegible] et leur pauvreté.

Si a présent on fait du style, c'est-à-dire de la combinaison des motifs, dans [illegible] ce sentiment de diversité que

nous avons éprouvé succèdera celui de l'unité. Les mêmes dessins se répètent identiques sur l'ensemble du territoire chiriguano, et seule leur relative fréquence en une aire donnée, et l'importance qui leur est attribuée à l'exclusion des autres, crée ces distinctions de style que j'ai es-

Fig. 65 — Fabrication d'une grande corde : le bambou d'angle est gardé à côté exprimant les parcelles.

sayé de définir. Il est, cependant, quelques éléments décoratifs qui sont limités à une certaine région : la spirale est propre aux villages du haut Pilcomayo et de la vallée d'Igüembé. Le décor constitué par des lignes brisées et asymétriques ne dépasse pas la zone des missions franciscaines et la région de l'Itiyuro.

DÉCADENCE DE L'ART DE LA CÉRAMIQUE CHEZ LES CHIRIGUANO

De toutes les industries chiriguano la plus menacée est, sans doute, la céramique. Les Chiriguano peuvent revendiquer la gloire d'avoir été, jusqu'à une époque récente, les derniers indiens de l'Amérique du Sud

Fig. 101. — Fabrication d'une grande cuve : le boudin d'argile est placé sur le pourtour et aplati entre le pouce et les autres doigts de la potière. Il en résulte des bourrelets digitaux formant un dessin grossier.

à avoir une poterie qui méritait d'être mise au nombre des belles manifestations de cet art, si brillamment répandu dans certaines régions de ce continent. Aujourd'hui les choses ont bien changé. Les villages où l'on peut encore trouver des femmes capables de dresser des vases avec la maîtrise d'autrefois, sont devenus rares et se limitent à une aire res-

triste. C'est dans les *toldérias* du Tinkey, du Salado grande et du Salado chico, dans la région de Tumbia et dans la vallée d'Igiombé (haut-Pilcomayo, départements de Tarija et de Chiquisaca) que j'ai pu récolter les plus beaux exemplaires de ma collection. Ailleurs, c'est par exception

Fig. 66. — Fabrication d'une grande vase : le potier imprime à coups de rame dans l'argile encore molle pour obtenir un dessin régulier.

qu'il m'a été donné de mettre la main sur une belle pièce ; et, si à plusieurs reprises j'ai eu cette chance, il s'agissait presque toujours d'un vase entier conservé comme par miracle. Les missionnaires franciscaines, qui jadis ont donné à Nuestra-Señora et à Hohenberg de si beaux spécimens, ont contribué pour une modeste part à enrichir mes collections. Bien n'égalait même ce beau-mobilier était de décoration chez l'Indigène que ce que j'ai

pu constater dans la mission de Machareti. Après avoir parcouru presque toutes les huttes de ce grand village qui en temps normal compte près de 2.000 habitants, c'est à peine si j'ai pu y acquérir cinq ou six paniers ayant quelque valeur artistique. Les femmes qui savaient encore tresser ces paniers n'étaient plus que trois ou quatre et elles avaient à

Fig. 46. — [illegible]

pourvoir presque tout le village. Dans quelques années, l'artisanat ménagère privée n'existera plus qu'à l'état de souvenir dans le grand village où résidait le fameux « capitaine » Kondiguaso.

Cette désharmonie « phénomène complexe, dont la première est l'état de profonde désorganisation dans lequel se trouvent les Chiriguanos, la désorganisation totale du leur vie sociale et l'influence grandissante des blancs, [illegible] de nos efforts [illegible], enfin, l'introduction des produits manu-

[illegible] et, en tant qu'ensemble fixe, des bâtons d'[illegible]. La céramique [illegible] Chiriguano est devenue. L'apanage de quelques vieilles femmes qui ne font pas école et qui empêchent, dans la tradition le secret de leur art. Au [illegible] d'hui, déjà, obligées de subvenir à une grande demande, elles négligent à l'infini les mêmes motifs et font une fabrique toujours à les traces à la hâte sans [illegible]. Ceux-ci deviennent grossiers, grossiers et prennent une apparence primitive qui est loin de correspondre au goût et à la culture des Chiriguanos.

Dans certains villages il n'y a plus de potiers. Les habitants de la [illegible] d'Ingapirci, par exemple, sont obligés d'importer les vases [illegible] dont ils ont besoin pour utiliser les [illegible]. Lorsque je rendais les [illegible], on m'objectait généralement qu'ils avaient été achetés et [illegible] leur chez. « Tu peux et tu [illegible] [illegible], mais [illegible] [illegible], ou grâce d'[illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Dans [illegible] pauvre pour [illegible], la [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] de vie à la poterie artistique des Chiriguanos. Déjà il devient difficile d'en faire des collections, du moins des collections ayant une valeur [illegible].

L'état de décadence et de régression où se trouve la poterie chiriguano, explique peut-être les différences [illegible] existant [illegible] entre la céramique des diverses régions habitées par les Chiriguanos. Les artistes étant peu nombreuses, vivs de [illegible] que leur production soit peu variée, et que de ce fait les vases d'un village présentent entre eux d'étroites analogies.

Enfin, lorsque les artistes se [illegible], le [illegible] des motifs [illegible] en [illegible] de changer. [illegible] devrait être plus grand et dans cette variété se [illegible], sans doute, [illegible] qui aujourd'hui sont [illegible] pour ne se [illegible] que dans une [illegible]. Il est probable qu'un ethnographe qui eût fait une collection chez les Chiriguanos il y a un siècle, en aurait établi une autre classification que celle que j'ai [illegible] à [illegible] ici.

[illegible] DES ÉLÉMENTS [illegible] DE LA [illegible] QUE L'ON [illegible]

1. *La problème de la civilisation [illegible]*

La céramique des Indiens Chiriguanos est l'image [illegible], avec celle des [illegible] populations [illegible], tant au point de vue de la forme que de la décoration, de ses grandes affinités, que leur [illegible] ne peut être [illegible] ici.

[illegible]

de poterie ordinaire dans la Quebrada de Humahuaca et celles que fabriquent encore les femmes chiriguanes en classe. A quatre siècles d'intervalle, la ressemblance entre la céramique de ces deux régions est [illegible] si prononcée, qu'elle avait amené l'archéologue de Mr. Debenedetti (2, pp. 114, 149 sqq.; et 150) qui soupçonnait s'agit, pour tout dégrant de comparaisons, à ce qu'il semble, que quelques rares pièces de poterie chiriguano fait simples, recueillies dans le Chaco et de provenance si incertaine que l'une d'elle était attribuée aux Chawti. Ces derniers ont, en réalité, une céramique d'un type nettement différent, quoique influencé aussi par la civilisation andine.

Les affinités de la céramique chiriguano avec certaines poteries de la Quebrada de Humahuaca, ont été établies scientifiquement par Nordenskiöld (8, p. 143). Un nouvel exemple fait actuellement ces similitudes comparatives par l'informant que les indiens de la région d'Humahuaca ont encore une forte relation immédiate avec l'ouest en Chiriguano, et par les relations commerciales que ces peuples entretenaient. Ces rapports entre Chiriguano et Indiens Humahuaca sont attestés historiquement. Lors des mouvements qui avaient lieu à l'époque de la conquête espagnole, Humahuaca et Chiriguano s'unissent pour résister à l'adversaire commun (v. Nordenskiöld, 8, t. 2, p. 77).

Leur parenté et propagé, dont j'ai fait ample collection dans la région du haut Pilcomayo, apparaît de diverses manières, plus conformantes encore, de ces possibilités frappant qui se manifeste entre l'art de la céramique chez les Chiriguano modernes et chez les populations préhistoriques du nord de l'Argentine. Actuellement ces différences diverses des indiens Humahuaca sur les ancêtres des Chiriguano actuels vivant sur le cours supérieur du Pilcomayo, dans le département de Tarija et de Chuquisaca, [illegible] un point du vue différemment détaillé. Le rayonnement de la culture de la Quebrada de Humahuaca n'a pu s'exercer que sur les Chiriguano du nord et les Chaco de l'Argentine. Quant à l'hypothèse qui ferait des Chiriguano les prisonniers du nord-ouest, elle est si absurde, si contraire à tout bon sens, qu'on ne peut l'envisager ici. A l'endroit où le Pilcomayo s'apprête à quitter la vallée qu'il creuse à travers les contreforts andins pour se répandre dans la plaine du Chaco, les Chiriguano avaient pour voisins immédiats des indiens Chiriba, dont le territoire s'étendait au nord de la Quebrada de Humahuaca, dans le sud de la Bolivie actuelle. Un nom nous qui ont transmis les formes particulières de leur céramique et que principaux éléments décoratifs aux Chaco qui, à leur tour, les ont légués à leurs successeurs et voisinages les Chiriguano. Sur l'hiver n'est pas été peut-être partout les intermédiaires obligés entre les deux cultures, en leur lieu-ou, des groupes chiriba ont dû nous [illegible] directement aux [illegible] les principaux produits de leurs industries industrielles et de leur arts.

Nous savons par les documents du XVIe et du XVIIe siècle que les Chiriguano faisaient constamment des incursions en territoire chiriba, qu'ils razziaient leurs villages, les obligeaient à payer tribut et commerciaient des groupes de ces indiens en esclavage, comme ils le faisaient avec les Chané. Ces contacts directs entre les Chiriguano et leurs voisins de l'ouest ont dû contribuer pour une large mesure à répandre la civilisation andine parmi eux et c'est ce qui explique que la culture chiriguano du haut Pilcomayo présente des affinités si étroites avec celle des Chiriba, des Hernhuaca et des Atacama (1).

Des femmes chiriba ont sûrement partagé le sort des femmes chané réduites en esclavage par les belliqueux Chiriguano et, comme elles, elles ont apporté à leurs maîtres les secrets de leur civilisation. Sur le haut Pilcomayo, j'ai acquis un vase (pl. XXV), une flûte de Pan (fig. 67) et une hache en forme de T (pl. XXIII, 1), trouvés sous bois du village d'Ibopeyti, en plein pays chiriguano. Ces objets révèlent, soit l'existence en cet endroit d'une ancienne population andine, chiriba ou autre, que les Chiriguano auraient asservie ou massacrée, soit des échanges commerciaux actifs. A défaut de ces témoignages concrets, l'action des tribus andines voisines serait vite mise en évidence par le style mixte de la céramique de cette région qui, plus que celui de tout autre point de territoire chiriguano, conserve une tradition propre aux peuples du sud de la Bolivie.

Aujourd'hui encore les Chiriguano reçoivent des métis descendants des Chiriba, des objets en argent qui faisaient probablement l'objet d'un trafic ancestral, et des perles de turquoise qui avaient si détourné dans les

(1) Par les frontières occidentales de leur territoire les Chiriguano étaient en rapport constant avec les Chiriba dont ils détournaient le tribut et qu'ils obligeaient à leur payer tribut.

Lozano (t. I, p. 202) : « subida la soldad del valle de Tarija, y la importancia de sus pobladas, para el Inca por aquella parte de los Chiriguanos, que por allí hacían su paso dado a los Chiriba, y con los pagaban tributo, sembrar por entrejilar, etc... ».

Lozano (t. II, p. 117) : « Del Mayamba y valles, y con él más de treinta estancias, Chiriguanos como veían, y los dando de servicio indios Chanaes y vaqueros dos Chiriguanos más principales, el uno Tocado Harasaya y el otro por sobrenombre Yaga Guaberito, y otro Indio de nación Chiriba, que mudaron sus vidas Chiriguanos... ».

Archivo de Indios (Ms.), cité par Cani, p. 95) : « y de los que a esta parte se llegaba otra nación de indios que se llama chiriguanos que son mismos que comunican a esta ciudad a dos leguas de potosí y se llaman en parte de indios chiribas que se llaman chiguanos ».

Cani (p. 95) : « En carta del Secretario Ruiseco que dice que los Chiriguanos vienen cuidando los llanos de Tarija y, además, haciendo Encomiendas cristianas a los Chuanos, donde se desempeñaban como diestros y soldados de la tierra hasta volver bien a los indios Chiribas. No contentaron con esto, se los comían y hasta a muchos sacerdotes públicos de varias personas ».

[facing p. 398]

A. Bénard, Le vestiaire du lutteur Chérigueux Illustration XXV

Vue anthropomorphe relevée sur les hanches du Chérigueux, après du village, [illegible] d'Ebenard, [illegible] de l'ordinaire au cette signée d'un [illegible] [illegible] Chérigueux. Le [illegible] au regards du visage et les [illegible] du protoxiqu sont [illegible] (1, pl. [illegible])

[illegible] de trois sandales. Les Chirigueno, de leur côté, vont vêtus [illegible] et ont [illegible] quantité des pièces d'autruche et des pièces de vannerie.

Le sud de la Bolivie est, en partie de vue anthropologique, fort mal connu. Les traités peu nombreux qui y sont [illegible], attestent que la culture propre à la vallée d'Urumbamba s'y [illegible] sous modification apparentée. L'homogénéité de la civilisation qui a fleuri dans cette vaste région, apparaîtra même [illegible] jour où l'on se sera décidé à entreprendre l'étude systématique de cet immense territoire qui comprend tout le haut plateau au nord de la frontière argentine et les vallées que forment les contreforts des Andes, à l'est du Chaco. Il est déjà évident que le mirage de la région d'Urumbamba présente des caractères

Fig. 41. — Pièce de bois en plante [illegible] trouvée sur la rive [illegible], près du village [illegible] d'Inapuyo, au même usage que la rive de la plante [illegible] (1/1, gr. nat.)

[illegible] du nord de Bajoy aux environs de La Quiaca. Les variétés locales ne semblent absolument originelles. Dennis (B. v. I, p. 77) déjà s'inquiétait de la façon suivante sur les rapports entre ces deux régions : « Si l'on veut comparer les objets extraits dans la région de Urumbamba avec les débris préhistoriques d'autres régions, on serait de ceux des Chiriguanos qu'ils se rapprochent le plus ». A Tolomosa, en Bolivie, dans le département de Tarija, le missionnaire Dennis (B, fig. 173, p. 112) a trouvé un plat anthropomorphe, stéatopyge exacte des femmes peintes de ce type découvertes à La Paya, dans la vallée Calchaquí.

La culture homolomaro-chiriguano ne forme pas un bloc isolé. Elle est plus ou moins étroitement apparentée avec celles dont les vestiges ont été [illegible] dans le nord-ouest de l'Argentine, en territoire diaguite, sur la Paya de Atacama et de Bajoy, dans le désert d'Atacama, dans le nord du Chili et l'extrême sud du Pérou. Il semble bien que, dans l'aire géographique ainsi définie, il ait existé jadis un centre d'acculturation dont l'existence a été signalée. Il n'y a que quelques années.

Bennett (**2**, t. II, pp. 102-124) est le premier à avoir décrit les caractères spécifiques de la plus importante de ces cultures, au point de vue linguistique, celle des Atacamas. En comparant les objets que ces peuples fabriquent, ou celles de ses collègues, usuels à Jujuy à Calama, à Chiuchiu dans le désert d'Atacama et dans diverses localités de la Puna de Jujuy, il put démontrer l'homogénéité de ces travailles. Il attribua, avec raison, bien ces cultes à un seul peuple, les Atacamas, dont l'habitat serait englobé, entre les régions que je viens d'énumérer, la Puna de Atacama et une partie de la vallée Calchaquí jusqu'à La Paya.

Il est, cependant, au sujet du problème auquel Bennett a donné une solution trop limitée. En cherchant à déterminer les frontières des anciens peuples du nord et du nord-ouest de l'Argentine, il a, à mon avis, trop insisté sur les divergences qu'offrent les vestiges de leur

Fig. 40. — Fragments de poterie lustrée trouvés à Copiapó. Les Chirigunos utilisaient de grands pots lustrés semblables à ceux de Copiapó. (, gr. nat.)

culture et pas assez sur les traits qu'ils ont en commun. Ces points de contact sont, cependant, trop nombreux et trop particuliers pour pouvoir être attribués simplement à une grande civilisation préexistante dont ces civilisations descendraient.

On ne peut nier qu'il existe, entre la civilisation d'Atacama et celles des peuples du nord et du nord-ouest de l'Argentine, du sud de la Bolivie et de la côte du Chili, des variantes assez importantes pour justifier la subdivision de cette zone culturelle en régions distinctes, correspondant peut-être à l'existence de tribus parlant des langues différentes. Mais à côté de ces variations locales, que de similitudes! Que d'analogies dans le matériel technique et dans les formes artistiques! J'aurai plus loin l'occasion d'insister sur quelques-unes de ces ressemblances et d'en donner encore quelques-unes lorsque je traiterai, au point de vue comparatif, des éléments fondamentaux de l'art chirigunos.

C'est à Uhle (**1**, **3**, **4**) que revient le mérite d'avoir mis en lumière les éléments communs à toutes ces civilisations et d'avoir cherché à les expliquer.

Déjà en 1913, ce savant (Uhle, 1, p. 497), à propos de tablettes provenant de Chinchin, déclarait « qu'il n'y avait pas eu une seule civilisation atacama, mais plusieurs appartenant à diverses époques ». Quelques années plus tard, à la suite des fouilles systématiques qu'il fit à Pisagua, Arica et Tacna, il aborda le problème « atacameño » dans son ensemble et en proposa une solution plausible. Comme la connaissance des résultats acquis par Uhle importe à l'intelligence de ce qui va suivre, je crois nécessaire d'en donner un résumé aussi complet que possible.

Près de Tacna, Uhle (4, p. 2) recueillit les vestiges de plusieurs cultures superposées qu'il classe de la façon suivante :

1° Période de l'homme primordial (objets du type paléolithique);

2° Période des aborigènes d'Arica (premiers siècles de notre ère). Les vestiges de cette époque appartiennent à une population de pêcheurs fort primitive;

3° Période contemporaine des ruines de Chavin qui va de l'an 400 environ à l'an 600 de notre ère;

4° Période de Tiahuanaco et la suite du style épigonal, de l'an 600 environ à l'an 900;

5° Période de la civilisation d'Atacama indigène, de l'an 900 à 1100 environ;

6° Période chincha-atacama, de 1100 à 1350 environ;

7° Période inconique, de l'an 1350 environ à la conquête espagnole.

Bien entendu, la chronologie de Uhle doit être acceptée sous bénéfice d'inventaire et, à première vue, cette division apparaît comme beaucoup trop subtile. La durée de chaque période me semble d'ailleurs être beaucoup trop courte. Je doute fort, également, qu'Uhle nous ait réellement donné la preuve de l'existence d'une culture contemporaine des ruines de Chavin.

Quelles que soient les lacunes de cette chronologie et ses faiblesses inévitables, il semble néanmoins certain qu'il a existé à Tacna, et probablement à Arica aussi, une civilisation nettement apparentée à celle de la région du désert d'Atacama (1) et des territoires andins que nous avons énumérés. Fort des analogies évidentes existant entre les objets

(1) Bennett (3, p. 41) « With the Arica culture the Calama-Chinchin area has many traits in common, considerably pointing to these districts being very closely connected, as has also been convincingly shown by Uhle. One quite obvious point of agreement exists in the before mentioned broadshouldered shirts, a type one hardly is able to suppose to have arisen independently in areas so adjacent as these. The technique called « coiled basketry » is, we know, common to both. The pottery types present, generally speaking, much similarity. In regard to ornamentation one may point to the occurrence of pyrograved spirals in calebashes, and to the ornament here called « wing-shaped. »

trouvés dans cette aire géographique, Uhle établit une théorie qui, si elle est par certains aspects trop audacieuse, doit néanmoins dans sa rigueur contenir une grande part de vérité.

Les indiens Atacama, dont le territoire primitif aurait été les environs des salines d'Atacama et d'Arizaro et une portion de la zone côtière près de Tocopilla, comprenant le cours inférieur du rio Loa, émigrèrent, à une date inconnue, du sud au nord. Ils occupèrent les provinces de Chicha et de Lipez, la région entre les grandes salines de l'ouest de la Bolivie et la Cordillère occidentale et s'étendirent à travers toute la province de Carangas et les districts à l'ouest du Desaguadero. Ils auraient également pris possession d'une grande partie du Titicaca et des plaines du nord. Leur culture se serait répandue au sud du Pérou moderne jusqu'à la latitude d'Ica, et jusqu'à Ayacucho dans la montagne. Sur cet ancien strate ethnique et culturel se firent sentir des influences venues du nord (Uhle, 3, p. 13).

Fig. 89. — Pot décoré de lignes incisées et percé de deux trous de suspension. C'est objet a été trouvé à Carpipendi. (1/1, gr. nat.)

Toujours selon Uhle (4, p. 38), dans l'époque qui suivit la période épigonale les habitants de Chincha et de Ica auraient créé une culture de caractère régional qui offre d'étroites analogies avec certains vases de Tacna dont nous aurons à nous occuper. Les indiens Chincha étaient des conquérants dont les entreprises guerrières sont souvent mentionnées dans les anciennes chroniques. Selon Montesinos, ils auraient fait des expéditions jusqu'en pays chiriguano. Avant les découvertes de Uhle, à Tacna et Arica, la limite de l'aire d'influence des Chincha s'arrêtait à Arequipa. La céramique de Tacna que Uhle attribue à la période des Chincha Atacama permet d'étendre vers le sud l'activité civilisatrice de ce peuple.

L'antique civilisation des Atacama enrichie par un apport chincha, aurait donné naissance à un nouveau type de culture auquel Uhle donne le nom de Chincha Atacama et qui aurait atteint sa maturité entre 1100 et 1350 environ de notre ère.

« La sphère d'influence de la civilisation chincha-atacama atteignit une partie de la côte (Pisagua, Taltal), du côté du sud, à l'est la région proprement atacama de Calama jusqu'à la province de Jujuy. Son action s'étendit au loin jusqu'en pays araucan. A l'est on en retrouve les reflets

[facing p. 402]

1. Vase anthropomorphe. Chaco. Il est recouvert d'une couche de peinture blanche. Pour. : Tayaoti (près de l'Aguaray) (1/4 gr. nat.)

2. Vase à panse aplatie, de couleur brune. Chiriguano. Pour. : Caipipendi. (1/4 gr. nat.)

sur de nombreux vestiges du bassin du Titicaca et de Tiahuanaco, et vers le nord on peut suivre son avance jusqu'au Cuzco.

« C'est par elle que s'expliquent les différents types d'ornements en usage chez les Incas. L'influence chincha-atacama embrassait donc une vaste région dont une partie (côte du sud, territoire atacama proprement dit, ouest du haut-plateau bolivien, conquêtes dirigées vers le Cuzco) fut parcourue par les Chincha-Atacama en personne. » (Uhle, 4, p. 39.)

Plus loin Uhle (4, p. 42) ajoute : « Auparavant, on ne s'expliquait pas la présence des volutes, des triangles dentelés, des losanges, des serpents, et de beaucoup d'autres motifs semblables dans la décoration des calebasses gravées de Calama, sur les vases mis à jour dans la province de Jujuy et sur ceux du type Pelko du Pucará de Tilcara, ainsi que sur les tissus actuellement confectionnés par les Araucans. Aujourd'hui tout s'explique par l'extension et l'action, dans des régions lointaines, de la civilisation chincha-atacama. »

Latcham (p. 5) dit également avoir eu depuis longtemps l'impression que la culture chincha avait joué un rôle très important dans le développement de l'art préhistorique du nord et du centre du Chili, spécialement dans la région diaguito-chilienne, soit les provinces d'Atacama et de Coquimbo et que ces influences s'étaient étendues jusqu'à Cachapoal au sud.

Après la parution du travail de Uhle, Latcham (p. 20) n'a pas seulement accepté ses conclusions, mais a encore démontré l'extension de la culture chincha jusqu'à Cabbera. Comme Uhle, Latcham (p. 20) est d'avis « qu'un examen de la céramique diaguito-argentine démontrait la preuve que les traces d'influences chincha et chincha-atacama sont fort communes dans l'art du nord-ouest de l'Argentine où tous les détails reproduits (par Latcham) se retrouvent seuls ou en combinaisons avec d'autres motifs locaux. Ces influences se firent sentir jusqu'au sud-est et même jusqu'au nord-est de la Bolivie, comme on peut le constater en consultant les travaux qui traitent des antiquités de ces régions. Dans la céramique actuelle des Chiriguano, beaucoup de ces mêmes éléments persistent, comme on peut s'en rendre compte en feuilletant le travail de Outes, 2 ».

Dans les pages qui vont suivre, je chercherai à démontrer que la céramique chiriguano présente des caractères qui nous obligent à la ranger au nombre de celles qui semblent avoir subi l'influence de la civilisation chincha-atacama.

Même si l'hypothèse de l'existence d'une civilisation chincha-atacama devait être rejetée un jour, il n'en est pas moins certain qu'à un moment donné les tribus préhistoriques de la région d'Atacama, de la côte septentrionale du Chili, du sud du Pérou et de la Bolivie, du nord et du nord-ouest de l'Argentine, ont été unies par des relations étroites qui

expliquent les nombreux points de contact de leur culture. La théorie de Uhle a pour elle l'avantage de rendre compte de ces analogies quelles que soient les réserves que nous puissions formuler sur la date que ce savant attribue à la civilisation chincha-atacama, sur l'importance et l'extension qu'il lui prête. A la zone d'influence chincha-atacama appartient, provisoirement, la culture des peuples andins Chibcha et Huancavaca que les Chiriguano et leurs prédécesseurs auraient connue pendant des siècles pour voisins.

2. *Analyse des influences qui se sont exercées sur la céramique de Isla des Chané et des Chiriguano*

Le critère de la forme. — Les influences qui se sont fait sentir sur la céramique des Chané et des Chiriguano, se manifestent à la fois dans la forme et la décoration. Dans les pages qui vont suivre, je me propose de signaler les affinités les plus frappantes que les vases chiriguano et chané offrent avec ceux des régions voisines, et déterminer également l'importance des survivances gaunoi ou autres que nous rencontrons çà et là.

1. Les vases à panse subglobuleuse, à col court et bords évasés, à base aplatie, constituent le type le plus commun de la céramique de Isla (pl. XXXV XL, XLVII-LIII, etc.). Les poteries de cette catégorie n'ont pas de pendants bien caractérisés dans la zone andine. Elles ressemblent par contre aux jarres à haïri que les Indiens de la Guyane et de l'Amazone employaient encore (Koch Grünberg, **2**, t. II, fig. 151, p. 227).

Un des pendants (pl. XLVIII, 3) de ce type porte en guise d'anses, une chenille entre du col, deux petits vases en miniature de même forme que lui-même. Dans ce qui n'est peut-être que la fantaisie d'une artiste indigène, se trahit nécessairement une conception propre aux peuples andins et qui s'accorde avec leur style.

2. Les pegapa (pl. XLV, 1 et 2; LIX et LX) sont des vases subglobuleux à col bas, muni d'une anse qui du rebord aboutit à la panse; ils peuvent être considérés comme des pendants en miniature. Cette catégorie de vases a son équivalent en plusieurs points de la zone andine limitrophe. Ainsi, à Colima (Mexet d'Ataxomo) et à Cagua (vallée de Tum, province de Pasto), ont été trouvées des poteries qui semblent être, au point de vue de la forme, des replques des pegapa chiriguano. (Rivet de Montlaur, pl. VII, fig. 9 et pl. VIII, fig. 11.)

Les environs de la Isla de Titicaca ont donné de nombreux spécimens de ce type (Debenedetti, **2**, fig. 98, p. 152; fig. 101, p. 154; fig. 104, p. 157; fig. 105, p. 158; figs. 109-111, p. 162; figs. 113-114, pp. 165-166; dont un exemplaire a été trouvé aussi à l'Altarito, dans la Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, **4**, fig. 15, p. 29).

[facing p. 404]

Vases chiriguano (céramique). Dim.: 1 et 3, 24 cm; 2, 17 cm; 4, 13 cm. Musée de l'Homme, Paris. Terre cuite. Vases 1 et 2, noir sur fond blanc; vase 3, noir sur fond rouge. (Dim. en ½ grandeur nat.)

Au Chili, des vases dont l'aspect se rapproche sensiblement de celui de nos *paypo* ont été jadis en usage (Latcham, fig. 17, p. 11).

3. Le grand *yambui* de la pl. LV, 3 n'est pas un type courant en Amérique du Sud. Jijon y Caamaño (p. 24, fig. 15) n'en cite qu'un exemplaire, provenant d'Imbabura, en Equateur, qui lui fut connu en dehors du pays chiriguano.

4. Les deux *yambui* des pls. XLI, 1, et LV, 1 proviennent l'un et l'autre de la mission d'Ivu. La forme en est insolite en pays chiriguano, mais fort intéressante en raison de l'analogie qu'elle offre avec celle de vases exhumés dans la province de Catamarca, à Caspinchango (Debenedetti,

a b

Fig. 70. — Le *iru* ou figuré d'après Debenedetti a été trouvé à la Isla de Tilcara, le vase *b* est moderne. Il provient du village chiriguano de Yoshin. Il témoigne de la fidélité avec laquelle les Chiriguano ont maintenu jusqu'à nos jours les anciens types de céramique andine. (C., gr. nat.)

5, fig. 9 et 10, p. 23-24) et celle d'urnes funéraires de la Rioja découvertes et publiées par Boman (5, fig. 4b, p. 24).

5. Le *iru* de la fig. 70b rentre dans la classe des vases dits pseudo-aqueducs comme les appellent quelques archéologues argentins. Comme leur nom l'indique, ils sont étroitement apparentés, au point de vue morphologique, aux vases dits aqueducs ou plus simplement aryballes, qui constituent dans le nord-ouest de l'Argentine autant de témoignages concrets de l'influence incasique. Chez les Chiriguano et les Chané, ce type de poterie est exceptionnel et le spécimen de la fig. 70b, est une pièce unique, dont l'intérêt est considérablement accru par l'extraordinaire ressemblance qu'il présente avec un vase découvert dans les cimetières de la Isla de Tilcara (fig. 70*a*). Ces deux *iru* ont entre eux tant d'analogies qu'on pourrait facilement les croire sortis des mains de la même artiste. Dans les régions voisines de l'habitat des Chiriguano, de nombreux vases de ce type ont été exhumés. Odilia Bregante (p. 287)

énumère pour les spécimens trouvés dans la province de Jujuy les localités suivantes : Saruga, Tarauta, Puerto de Tilcara, Isla de Tilcara, et Cochinoca, pour la Puna de Atacama, Antofagasta de la Sierra. A La Paya, dans la province de Salta, ces urylaïles ou vases urylaïloïdes sont fort nombreux et l'un d'eux publié par Ambrosetti (**1**, fig. 42, p. 62) porte sur le haut de la panse une rangée de triangles à volutes que nous retrouvons sur notre exemplaire du haut Pilcomayo.

Les vases de cette catégorie sont, comme nous l'avons dit, caractéristiques pour la civilisation incaïque. De pareilles cruches apparaissent déjà à Tacna pendant la période chincha ou chincha-atacama (Uhle, **4**, pl. XVII, fig. 4; pl. XIX, fig. 1 et 1a; pl. XX, fig. 1 et 2).

Fig. 71. — Vase à pied en miniature (Pass. : Chaco, C., pl. ...)

Ce type est si peu répandu en pays chiriguano, qu'on ne saurait invoquer sa présence occasionnelle pour attester la forte influence incaïque de la civilisation sur ces indiens.

6. Le vase en miniature de la figure 71 est également une pièce unique. Si sa répartition sur le versant oriental des Andes n'était pas aussi sporadique, il constituerait une preuve éloquente de la persistance de la tradition incaïque dans la poterie chiriguano. Effectivement, comme Lizot (**1**, p. 161) l'a démontré à l'aide d'une carte, ces vases à pied, « kakrehaped » jalonnent toute l'étendue de l'empire incaïque de l'Équateur au Chili et à l'Argentine. C'est la première fois, cependant, que leur présence a été signalée chez les Chiriguano et en dehors des frontières, proprement dites de l'empire des Incas.

7. Comme Nordenskiöld (**18**, fig. 48, p. 162) l'a établi, les vases jumelés (pl. XXVII, 3) des Chiriguano diffèrent eux aussi sur bien des points. Il suffit pour cela de les comparer à ceux de la Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, **2**, fig. 144, p. 196).

8. Quant aux vases à triple corps communiquants (pl. XXVII, 4), Jijon y Caamaño (p. 26) les croit d'origine centro-américaine. « Leur centre de dispersion, dit il, doit être situé en une région du sud de l'Amérique centrale, d'où, peut être par l'intermédiaire des Arawak, ils arrivèrent au Chaco et au Pérou ». Cette hypothèse est sédduisante.

9. L'origine centro-américaine du bol à pied ou « compotier » (fig. 72) ne saurait être mise en doute. Jijon y Caamaño (pp. 31-51), Rivet (**2**, pp. 8-9) et Lizot (**2**, carte 6, p. 182) l'ont amplement démontré. Au sujet d'une des variétés de ce type, Jijon y Caamaño (p. 34) fait l'observation suivante : « La dispersion et l'évolution d'un type de poterie dont

l'origine doit être placée chez les peuples voisins de l'Isthme de Panama, ne peut être due qu'aux Arawak qui l'ont répandue chez les nations vivant au delà des Andes, dans des régions aussi australes que le Chaco et le territoire de Misiones (1). Les Arawak ont été en Amérique du Sud les propagateurs de la culture centro-américaine parmi les tribus primitives situées à l'est des Andes.

10. La distribution des vases à pieds ombilic, dont j'ai acquis dans la vallée de Calipamali un merveilleux exemplaire (pl. XXVI, 2), est presque la même que celle des « coupelles » et nous permet, comme ceux-ci, les ranger parmi les poteries qui auraient une origine cen-

Fig. 11. — Vase à pied en « coupelle ». Motifs noirs et rouges sur fond crème. (Dim. : Cornetti, C., pp. 207.)

tro-américaine et dont la dispersion a été l'œuvre des Arawak (Dijon y Cuenca, p. 5, fig. 1 10).

11. Le vase de la planche XXVII, 2, se compose de deux calottes superposées : l'une hémisphérique, l'autre arrondie. Il provient d'Ica et est le seul spécimen de cette forme que j'aie rencontré au cours de mes voyages. Un vase identique a été exhumé sur le haut Paraná par Ambrosetti (2, pl. entre pp. 236 237, fig. 3). Des récipients semblables sont vendus en usage chez les Indiens Yuruna du haut Xingú (Steinen, I, pl. entre pp. 286 287). La présence de vases de ce type chez les anciens Guaranis nous autorise à supposer que notre exemplaire d'Ica représ-

(1) Ambrosetti (2, p. 714) figure en effet des vases hémisphériques munis d'un pied ombilic. Je doute fort que ces poteries représentent un type primitif. Elles sont soit unies, soit modelées, asymétriques, et le pied, qui est fait au vase lorsque celui-ci est tourné, s'en détache facilement.

Ces vases sont peut-être de grossières imitations de poteries européennes.

[illegible] la survivance d'une ancienne forme de la poterie graveuse, que les Chiriguano n'ont pas abandonnée. Il n'est aujourd'hui pas exclu que les Chané n'aient pas contribué à maintenir ce type, si ce sont bien eux qui l'ont fait connaître aux populations de l'Amérique tropicale à l'orient des Andes. *Zipa y Cuamaba* (pp. 11-13) en a étudié la distribution dans les deux Amériques et en a placé le centre de diffusion en Amérique centrale. Ils pays diagnitis, nous trouvons des poteries d'un aspect plus ou moins analogue, mais qui doivent vraisemblablement être classées de cette catégorie. Elles sont, en effet, pourvues, soit d'un appendice en forme de langue, soit d'une figuration anthropomorphe ou zoomorphe (Anchorena, **1**, pp. 372-380).

12. Le vase anthropomorphe de la figure 23 semble être sorti des mains des ancêtres potiers de la Isla de Tilcara qui, il y a plusieurs siècles, fabriquaient des pièces analogues, certainement inédites, sans doute, pour les Chané et les ancêtres des Chiriguano (v. Debenedetti, **2**, fig. 139-141, p. 192). Bennett (**2**, t. II, p. 186, fig. 183) publie lui aussi un vase en forme d'oiseau, peut-être du pays del [illegible] (*Pseudogyps albicans*, Vieill.) trouvé à peu de distance du village actuel de Humahuaca et qui, en plus de l'aspect général, a en commun avec notre exemplaire de Tumbri des décorations peintes sur les côtés qui représentent les ailes et la queue.

Fig. 23. — Vase anthropomorphe. Chiriguano (Bolivie). [illegible] Diam. : [illegible] (F. [illegible])

Les indiens Chiriguano de la Bolivie de Cuipipendi et de la mission d'Ivo se plaisent encore à servir la chicha dans des vases antiques ils donnent l'apparence d'un tamoin (pl. XXVIII, 7-9). Dans la Quebrada de Humahuaca, ont été découverts des vases en forme de lama (Debenedetti, **4**, p. 27, fig. 11 et Oblitas Bugueño, fig. 132, p. 147). Ils sont peut-être les prototypes des ceramiques chiriguano actuels. Pourquoi supposer que ces récipients aient eu uniquement un usage rituel, comme le fait M. Debenedetti, quand on voit les Chiriguano modernes en faire un emploi extrêmement profane ?

13. Le merveilleux vase de la planche XXVI, 1 est extrêmement d'inspiration andine. L'idée de donner au goulot des pots la forme d'une tête humaine, n'était pas étrangère aux anciennes populations de la Quebrada de Humahuaca (Bennett, **2**, t. II, fig. 190 et pl. LXXXII, fig. 7 et Debenedetti, **2**, fig. 136, p. 185). Cette région n'a, jusqu'à présent, donné aucun vase de ce type qui, par sa beauté et la sûreté du modelé

[facing P. 408]

[illegible], fait comparable à celle équivoque de l'Orinoque. La Guyane qui l'a [illegible] était une artiste de vases.

En Équateur, les vases à panse globuleuse surmontée d'une tête humaine sont fréquentes; mais peu d'exemplaires de cette région peuvent rivaliser avec ce chef d'œuvre chasé.

Fig. [illegible] — Vase-gourde en terre cuite. Pérou. (Tschudi [illegible], pl. [illegible])

14. Les vases des figures 74 et 75 et de la planche XXVII, 1, se caractérisent par un étranglement qui les sépare en deux corps globuleux superposés d'un diamètre plus ou moins considérable. Dans la vallée du rio Loa, on a trouvé un vase d'un type analogue et qui présente avec celui de la figure 74 la plus surprenante ressemblance. Montell (I, fig. 34 c, p. 29) qui le publie, fait à son sujet les remarques suivantes.

« Cette forme particulière n'est pas unique. Elle se rencontre dans les cultures supérieures de la côte du Pérou et son aire de dispersion s'étend jusqu'à Pachacamac et Ancon, comprenant Lambayeque, Chimorro et Trujillo. A l'est des Andes, ce type existe chez les Chiriguanos, les Ashluslay et les Lengua. Des spécimens en ont été exhumés par Debenedetti à Tilcara et dans la Quebrada de Humahuaca. La trouvaille de rio Loa constitue à former un chaînon de cette distribution unissant la zone de l'est à celle de la culture péruvienne dans ce type comme à coup sûr.

Fig. [illegible] — Vase-[illegible] de [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Pérou. (Tschudi [illegible], pl. [illegible])

Les potiches de ce type offrent une ressemblance frappante avec les trompettes à signaux de la Guyane. Des objets de cette sorte ont été décrits par maints auteurs et représentés par Gumilla et Roth. Si l'on fait abstraction de l'embouchure et de la base, on ne peut distinguer ces vases des trompettes en terre cuite. Il est probable que cet instrument a été découvert indépendamment en Guyane. En tous les cas, il est encore trop tôt pour rattacher théorie sur les connexions possibles de ces deux types, sans que des recherches préalables aient été faites pour justifier de telles rapprochements ».

A la distribution indiquée par Montell, il faut ajouter Molino del Puente et Cinquinhango dans la province de Cutamarca (Brown, 2, fig. 42, p. 24 et Debenedetti, 5, fig. 14, p. 27).

15. Les vases à panse globuleuse ou tronconique, à col cylindrique court et étroit d'où part souvent une petite anse qui vient s'attacher

sur le versant du Sangayal (pl. LVII, 1 [lire 4; pl. LVIII, etc.]), exactement ce type fut rencontré dans toute la région chiriguano qui est aux mains des sauvages. Les territoires voisins n'ont pas donné, jusqu'à présent, des vases préhistoriques qui aient pu servir de modèles aux Chiriguanos ou aux Ybaro à l'époque où ils ont occupé cet'ava l'habitant actuel. La seule trouvaille qui appartienne à ce type, en dehors du pays chiriguano, est ce vase trouvé au Chili, à Valdivia, que Medina (fig. 104) reproduit dans son grand ouvrage sur les antiquités de ce pays (1).

16. La petite tasse de la figure 16 est la seule de cette forme que j'aie pu recueillir. Comme les vases précédents jusqu'ici, elle consiste, par son aspect et sa dimension, une curiosité unique. Toutefois ce sont les vases qui ont été découverts dans le soubassement de l'Argentine. Quelques spécimens en ont été trouvés à la Isla de Tilcara (Debenedetti, B, fig. 148, p. 200) et à Andalgalá dans la Pampa de Ayapy (Lehmann Nitsche, pl. IV, 3 bis).

Fig. 16. — Vase [illegible] [illegible] (Pérou : Vallée d'Ica [illegible]).

17. Les ovoïdes ont une distribution si vaste en Amérique du sud que leur présence chez les Chiriguanos ne saurait pas à elle seule en argumenter suffisamment pour démontrer l'origine andine de leur culture. Cependant, chez ces indiens, les soubassements spéciaux de cette catégorie de vases prouvent que l'on trouve dans chaque village, offrant de telles similitudes avec les pays des régions andines limitrophes qu'on est obligé de les considérer comme des foyers d'émigrant.

Ainsi, par exemple, les pays de la planche XIX, 7 et 8 sont presque identiques à certaines pièces provenant de la Puna, province de Salta (Millrosen, fig. 7, pl. [illegible]).

Le pays chiriguano (figure XIX, 3) se rapprocherait, à peu de chose près, avec un spécimen de La Puya (Lehmann, 6, fig. 161, p. [illegible]) qui, comme lui, présente deux mamelons sur chaque côté du renflement.

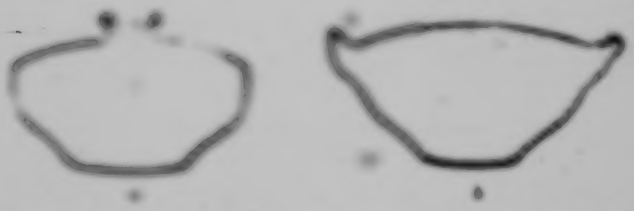
La petite coupelle de la figure 17, posée sur le bord d'un bloc d'un monolithe, n'a lieu en point qu'on puisse l'identifier à rapprocher à un lieu ou à un peuple. Les deux appendices en relief sont perdus pour laisser passer une corde de suspension. On n'en trouvait pas d'exemples dans les territoires de la région andine qui sont situés du côté sud. Je ne l'entrevoit à rien, dans les pays limitrophes de l'habitat des Chiriguanos,

(1) Les vases de ce type offrent également une grande similitude avec ceux des Atacamas qui ont été découverts dans le territoire argentin de Tucuyaco. (Pico Matos, pp. 10-11, p. 131 et 132.)

Kleinfunde gestern Kleingefässe (Kat.). Maßstab 1:1. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5: Napfform Kante Kleingefässe. 6: Kantenform, 7, 8, 9, 10: Kleingefässe Kante Kleingefässe. [illegible]
[illegible]

quelques [illegible] analogues. Ailleurs, un plat du ce type a été exhumé à Vasadinda, sur la Pente-de-Jugay (Ambrosiaki), 4, fig. 494, p. 28, t. LIV) et à Les Pagos (Ambrosiaki), 5, fig. 165, p. 102).

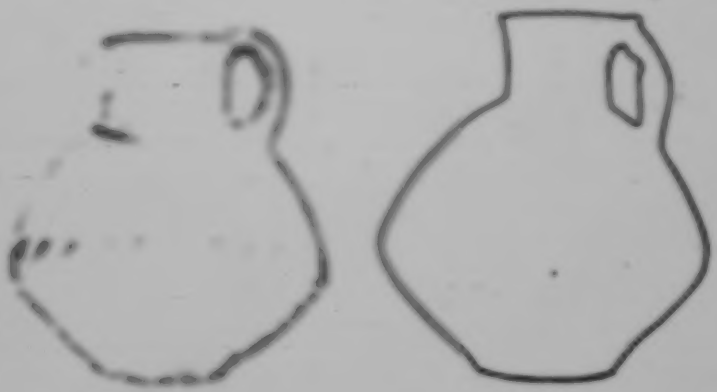
Quelques-unes [illegible] pl. XXIX, 1 et 4) de nos collections sont pour-



a b

Fig. 71. — Plats à [illegible] de Chirignano. Pente. — Chirignano (1), pl. [illegible]

vues sur le côté de petits mamelons dont l'usage est, à première vue, énigmatique. Ils sont, comme Xanto (5, p. 109, fig. 167-168) l'a démontré, des appendices qui permettent de passer une corbelette autour du plat et de la suspendre. Sur quelques exemplaires chirignano, ces prémamelons sont perforés et une ficelle passée au travers. Par ce moyen,



a b

Fig. [illegible] — [illegible] de la vase de provenance de Chirignano. [illegible] le profil d'un vase trouvé à Xanto et [illegible] par Xanto [illegible] de la période hittite

l'anse-fil est comparable aux pastèques du tell. Quelques poteries de la Qorbanda du Hamadanara (Dabarnikiti), 2, fig. 60-63, pp. 111-112) présentent elles aussi des prémamelons dont l'usage devait être le même que celui des Chirignano antérieurs. Ces mamelons sont sans doute des anses ou des oreilles qui, ayant perdu toute utilité pratique, ont été réduites

à l'état de simples motifs ornementaux et non, comme ce l'est ailleurs, des signes vraiment cosmographiques.

10. Pour terminer nos comparaisons, je mets en regard deux vases (fig. 78 *a* et *b*) l'un acquis à Iza, dans le Chaco, et l'autre trouvé à Torna, et datant de la période incaïque (Uhle, 6, pl. XXVIII, 2). Un simple coup d'œil sur les deux figures permet de constater leur parfaite identité.

En résumé, de nos comparaisons et de celles que nous avons faites au sujet de la céramique d'usage commun, nous pouvons tirer les conclusions suivantes : la céramique chiriguano est étrangère, au point de vue encyclopédique, exclusivement appropriée à celle des nations peuplant du sud de la Bolivie et du nord de l'Argentine et celles, par conséquent, de nombreux points de contact avec les civilisations sédentaires andines. Elle comporte encore la trace de formes indigènes locales (vase à pied étalé-évasé), jarres-urnes, bulbiformes, vases anthropomorphes et anthropomorphes, cruches, etc.). L'ancien substrat ethnique avait se maintenir dans ce domaine par la survivance de quelques types de poterie particulières, vases en forme de coupes ou de bols (*compotiers*), vases à pieds étalés, vases à trois corps communicants, etc.).

La céramique d'usage commun est nettement d'importation guarani et c'est maintenant, dans ses traits généraux, identique à celles des nations guaranis de la Bolivie.

CÉRAMIQUE CHIRIGUANO
DÉCOR POLYCHROME À MOTIFS GÉOMÉTRIQUES DU LA CÉRAMIQUE À CHIRIGUANO À DÉCOR POLYCHROME À MOTIFS GÉOMÉTRIQUES

Le triangle à volute. — Dans la région du haut Pilcomayo, le motif fondamental de la décoration de la céramique est le triangle dont le sommet se prolonge en une volute ou en une spirale (pl. XXXII-XXXIII, 136-199). C'est vraiment décorativ est répété à satiété sur tous les vases que j'ai recueillis à partir du village de Balaiito jusqu'à la vallée d'Igüembé. Ailleurs il devient moins fréquent et affecte une forme plus rudimentaire que l'on peut considérer comme plus évoluée ou dégénérée.

Même sur le haut Pilcomayo, ce dessin offre, suivant les lieux ou les artistes, diverses variantes : sur certaines pièces la volute qui prolonge le triangle est nettement dessinée (pl. XXXV, 1; XXXVII, 2; XXXVIII, 2; etc.); sur d'autres ce n'est plus qu'un crochet plus ou moins fermé (pl. XXXII, 137-151). Ce dernier cas est le plus courant. Enfin, le crochet lui-même est tracé avec si peu de soin qu'il se transforme en simple arc de cercle, puis en ligne droite qui prolonge un des côtés du triangle (fig. 78 *a*).

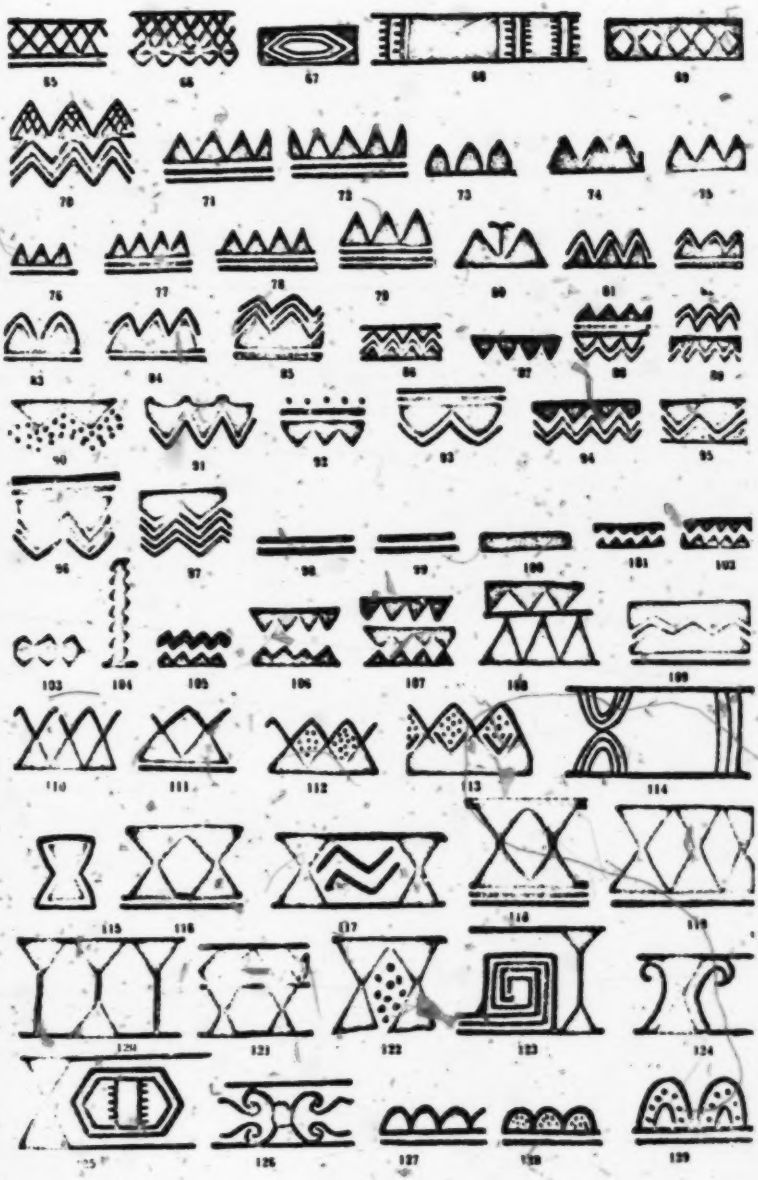
Quelques vases, généralement en dehors de la région du haut Pilco

[Facing P 412, A]

Principaux motifs décoratifs de la céramique chiriguano et chané

[facing P. 412, B]

A. Métraux, *La civilisation des indiens Chiriguano* Planche XXXI



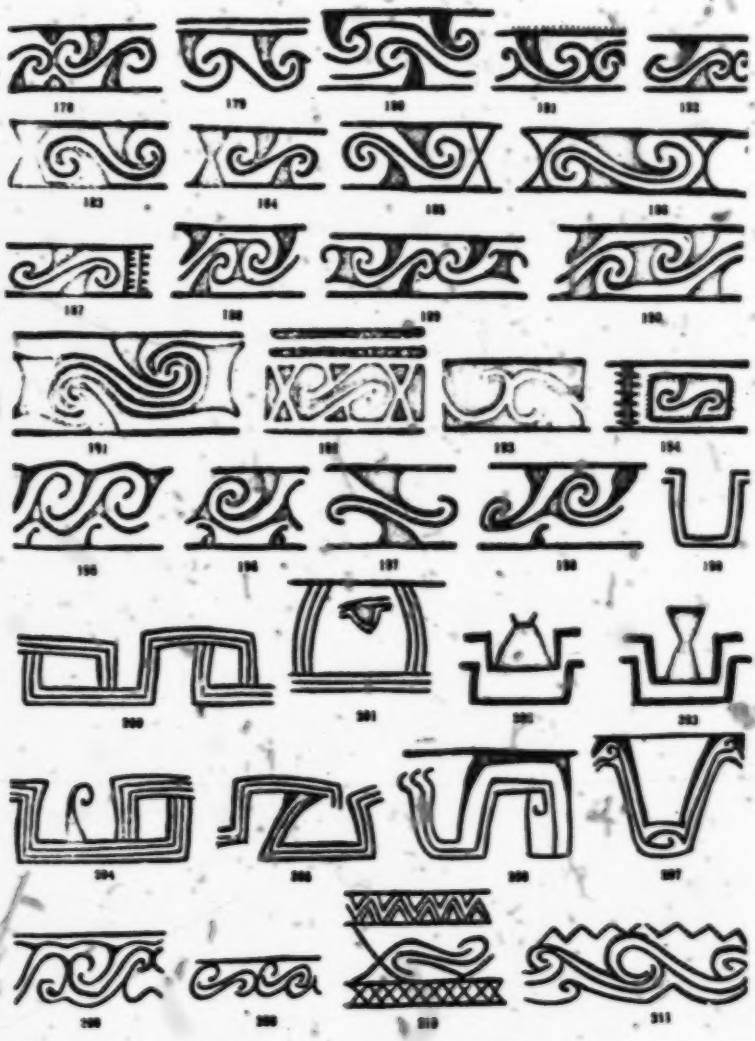
Principaux motifs décoratifs de la céramique chiriguano et chané

[Facing P. 412, C]

A. MÉTRAUX, *La civilisation des indiens Chiriguano* PLANCHE XXXII

Principaux motifs décoratifs de la céramique chiriguano et chané

[facing p. 412, D]



Principaux motifs décoratifs de la céramique chiriguano et chané

[facing P. 412, E]

Principaux motifs décoratifs de la céramique chiriguano et chané

mayo, présentent le même motif, mais au lieu du crochet ou de la spirale, la potière a peint un élément de grecque (pl. XLI, 2 et XLIII, 1; LIV, 1 et 4) plus ou moins réussi. On peut donc suivre l'évolution de la spirale à la grecque en se transportant d'un point à l'autre du territoire chiriguano.

Le plus souvent ces triangles à volute sont disposés sur deux rangs et se font alternativement face. Lorsqu'une telle disposition intervient, la potière a toujours soin de tracer, le long de la ligne qui forme la volute, un trait parallèle de couleur différente qui, après avoir accompagné les inflexions d'une volute, va rejoindre celle du triangle opposé. La figure (pl. XXXIII, 178-194) ainsi obtenue est une double volute en forme de 8 couché. Elle est particulièrement caractéristique pour la céramique du haut Pilcomayo et de la vallée d'Igüembé. Cette double volute peut être traitée comme un élément décoratif indépendant, témoins les *yambui* de la planche XXXVI, 2 et LI, 3.

Parfois, mais rarement, le triangle à double volute est remplacé par un angle dont les côtés, en se prolongeant, forment une ligne continue qui unit ces motifs les uns aux autres (pl. XXXVI, 1; XLVII, 3; LIII, 3).

L'origine de ce motif se perd dans la nuit des temps. Il apparaît déjà fort stylisé sur des vases de l'époque de Tiahuanaco, provenant de Tiahuanaco même (Posnansky, pl. III, fig. E et F) et de la vallée de Mizque (Nordenskiöld, **5**, p. 95, fig. 40).

On le rencontre aussi sur la plupart des vases de Tacna et de Taltal, appartenant à la période dite chincha-atacama (Uhle, **4**, pl. XIX, fig. 1 et 2; pl. XX, fig. 1 et 2; pl. XXI, fig. 2; pl. XXII, fig. 4; pl. XXIII, fig. 1; pl. XXIV, fig. 2; et Guevara, t. I, pl. entre pp. 42 et 43 et entre pp. 48 et 49).

Ces analogies avec la poterie chiriguano deviennent plus frappantes encore si l'on considère les détails et l'agencement de ce motif. Sur un vase de Tacna (Uhle, **4**, pl. XX, 1), la volute se détache de deux lignes formant un angle comme sur le *yambui* de la planche XL, 1, publié ici. Les triangles à volute du vase de Tacna (Uhle, **4**, pl. XXI, fig. 2) se font face et les inflexions de la spirale sont accompagnées par une ligne parallèle d'une autre couleur. Un vase anthropomorphe trouvé à Tacna (Uhle, **4**, pl. XXIII, fig. 1) est décoré lui aussi de triangles à crochet qui s'opposent alternativement.

Quant aux grecques du vase chincha-atacama de Uhle (**4**, pl. XXII, fig. 4), ce sont sans doute des volutes que la fantaisie de la potière a modifiées.

On peut également considérer comme une dérivation du triangle à volute les crochets qui, sur plusieurs vases de Tacna et de Taltal et sur une calebasse de Calama, forment des rangées verticales et horizontales (Uhle, **4**, pl. XX, fig. 1; pl. XXII, fig. 2; pl. XXIII, fig. 3; XXIV,

fig. 3, etc.; Guevara, t. I, pl. entre pp. 46-47 et 48-49, et Oyarzun, fig. 11). Le triangle à volute a subi, chez les Chiriguano, un processus de simplification analogue, mais cette évolution ne s'est produite qu'en des cas fort rares et sur des pièces dont le décor a été tracé avec une certaine négligence (pl. XXXII, 138-140).

Les tissus d'Arica découverts par Skottsberg (fig. 41-42), et qui sont aujourd'hui conservés au Musée de Göteborg, présentent, entre autres motifs, le triangle à volute. Ces exemplaires, à en juger par leur style, appartiennent sans doute à la période chincha-atacama de Uhle.

Selon Uhle (4, p. 38), la volute et le triangle à spirale qui se combine avec son vis-à-vis sont figurés sur des étoffes de la région de Chincha et de Ica et rappellent aussi certains motifs de l'art Chimu.

Le triangle à volute est un des motifs tatoués sur la main d'une momie d'Ancon dont Montell (2, pp. 148-151) s'est occupé en détail.

Sur un grand nombre de vases du Chimu, à anse en étrier et appartenant à la catégorie des « lécythes », la décoration consiste en une série de triangles à volute.

A en juger par les planches de l'atlas de Baessler (pl. I-VI), la spirale est le plus souvent combinée avec un triangle dont un des côtés est en échelons ou en zig-zag. Baessler voit dans ces différentes figures des stylisations des bras de la poulpe. Je ne le crois pas. Ce motif dont la distribution est si vaste, ne peut être dérivé de la représentation d'un animal dont le rôle est secondaire dans la mythologie du Chimu et dont, en tous les cas, l'intérêt est purement local.

Le triangle à spirale est, dans la zone côtière du Pacifique, où s'est manifestée l'influence chincha-atacama, aussi fréquent sur les calebasses pyrogravées que sur la poterie. Ce dessin a été pyrogravé sur des calebasses trouvées à Arica par Skottsberg (Göteborgs-museum, n° 19.1.5), dans la vallée du rio Loa (Montell, fig. 40, p. 35) et à Calama où, sur quelques exemplaires, la volute a été substituée par une grecque qui prolonge le triangle classique (v. Boman, 2, t. II, pl. LXXV-LXXVI, fig. 176-177, et Oyarzun, fig. 4-9, 15 et 18). Les spécimens provenant de Calama sont remarquables par la variété et la hardiesse du décor et sont, sans aucun doute, les échantillons les plus beaux de l'art de la pyrogravure en Amérique du Sud.

Le même dessin est représenté sur le fond d'un *poncho* chilien de Conchali, sur les flancs d'un vase de Rivadavia et sur une écuelle ornitho-

(1) Boman (2, t. II, p. 746) assure que certains ornements pyrogravés sur les calebasses trouvées à Calama, comme, par exemple, celui qui se compose de 8 couchés, se retrouvent sur des calebasses gravées, provenant d'Arica, et dont une est reproduite dans l'œuvre de Stübel et Reiss à laquelle je n'ai pu avoir accès (Stübel, A.; Reiss, W.; Koppel, B., et Uhle, M., *Kultur und Industrie südamerikanischer Völker*. Berlin, 1889, t. I, pl. 25, fig. 19).

morphe de Freirina, Chili (v. Latcham, fig. 47, p. 19; fig. 53, p. 21; Medina, fig. 165). Si, comme je tends à le croire, la grecque ou l'élément de grecque qui surmonte les triangles dont un des côtés est en gradins, dérive du triangle simple à volute, la distribution de ce motif serait encore plus vaste. Au Chili il a été peint : sur des vases provenant de Ranten, San Francisco, San Felipe ; sur une urne de Chellepin; sur un *puco* de Paipote, de Tongoy et de Valdivia (Latcham, fig. 17, p. 11; fig. 26, p. 12; fig. 74, p. 32; fig. 55, p. 22; fig. 59, p. 26; Medina, fig. 166 et 171).

A Tolomosa, dans le département de Tarija, en Bolivie, les fouilles effectuées par la mission suédoise donnèrent, entre autres pièces, un plat dont le bord porte peint en noir des triangles à volute, enlacés. Ce spécimen est la réplique exacte de *puco*, de même forme, trouvés à La Paya et que je mentionnerai plus loin (Rosen, **2**, fig. 175, p. 112).

Les anciens habitants de la Puna de Jujuy aimaient à pyrograver sur

Fig. 79. — a, Écuelle de la Isla de Tilcara dont le bord est orné de triangles à volute opposés ; b, bordure d'un plat orné de triangles à volute (Isla Tilcara) (*D'après Debenedetti*).

leurs calebasses des bordures composées de triangles à volutes, disposés sur deux rangs et se faisant alternativement face (Ambrosetti, **4**, fig. 65-67, p. 66-67 ; fig. 68, p. 68, t. LIV). A Morohuasi, Rosen (**2**, fig. 117, p. 71) découvrit un récipient de même nature avec un ornement analogue.

Le triangle à volute est un élément, pour ainsi dire, classique dans la décoration des vases trouvés au Pucará de Tilcara (Debenedetti, **2**, p. 88, note 1. V. aussi Bregante, fig. 177, p. 170; fig. 223, p. 189; fig. 229, p. 191 ; fig. 230, p. 191 ; fig. 242, p. 198).

Les fouilles effectuées dans la Isla de Tilcara n'ont, par contre, donné que peu d'exemplaires de poterie dont l'ornementation fût curviligne. Debenedetti (**2**, p. 88) considère celle-ci, pour des motifs que je ne puis admettre, comme étrangère à la localité. Il fait figurer néanmoins dans son livre, le décor de deux plats qui est constitué par des triangles à volute opposés (Debenedetti, **2**, fig. 53 et 54, pp. 88-89) (fig. 79) et il signale le même dessin sur deux autres plats qu'il omet de reproduire. Dans la même publication (Debenedetti, **2**, fig. 113, p. 165 ; fig. 114, p. 166 ; fig. 115, p. 166) sont représentés trois vases, semblables aux *yapepo* chiriguano et également décorés de triangles à crochet.

La pièce la plus intéressante à cet égard est le *yuro* de la figure 70 *b* reproduit d'après un dessin de Debenedetti (**2**, fig. 124, p. 175). Nous avons déjà vu que sa forme est identique à celle d'un *ira* chiriguano que j'ai acheté sur le haut Pilcomayo. Il en est de même pour les éléments généraux de sa décoration.

Le triangle à volute se retrouve sur trois autres pièces de la Isla de Tilcara (Debenedetti, **2**, fig. 160, p. 217; fig. 161 et 163, p. 217) que Debenedetti (**2**, p. 218) classe parmi les poteries importées à la Isla de Tilcara et utilisées par des *curacas*. Nos *yambui* du haut Pilcomayo, qui au point de vue artistique sont très supérieurs aux exemplaires décrits par Debenedetti, ont souvent été achetés par moi dans d'humbles cabanes dont les propriétaires n'étaient certes pas des *curacas* mais de pauvres diables qui avaient la chance d'avoir une mère ou une grand'mère habile potière. Si le critère de Mr. Debenedetti était admissible, les poteries grossières et les vases de luxe que l'on peut acheter dans chaque village chané ou chiriguano seraient les produits de deux civilisations différentes. En réalité l'on se sert de la céramique de luxe les jours de fête pour boire la *chicha*; et l'autre, d'aspect plus humble, est adaptée aux besoins journaliers.

Fig. 60. — Plat provenant de Tilcara et orné de triangles à volute rouges sur fond blanc. (Cr. gr. nat. $\frac{1}{2}$).

Le triangle à volute est, d'ailleurs, plus fréquent à la Isla de Tilcara que Debenedetti ne veut le laisser entendre. En plus des exemples cités, il faut en ajouter sept autres (Debenedetti, **2**, fig. 21, p. 59; fig. 30, p. 63; fig. 40, p. 70; fig. 48, p. 80; fig. 165, p. 219; fig. 165, pp. 219-220). Un vase provenant d'Alfarcito, dans la même Quebrada, porte sur le rebord intérieur du col, un triangle à volute (Debenedetti, **4**, fig. 15, p. 29).

Quelques vases provenant de Yavi, au nord de Jujuy, offrent eux aussi comme principal motif décoratif le triangle à volute (Bregante, fig. 71, p. 82; fig. 72, p. 83; fig. 226, p. 190).

Un grand nombre de vases trouvés à La Paya (Vallée Calchaqui, province de Salta) portent des séries de triangles à spirale qui se combinent et s'opposent suivant le style du haut Pilcomayo. Des poteries de cette région présentant ce motif ont été figurées par Ambrosetti (**6**, fig. 36 et 37, p. 59; fig. 38-39, p. 60; fig. 41-43, pp. 61-62; fig. 50-52, pp. 70-73; fig. 128, p. 287; fig. 131, p. 291; fig. 138, p. 297; fig. 173-175, pp. 346 et 349-

350; fig. 218, p. 405) et par Boman (2, t. I, pl. X, fig. 22; pl. XI, fig. 23-24; pl. XII, fig. 25; pl. XIII, fig. 4).

Boman (2, t. I, p. 236), après avoir décrit ces pièces, ajoute avec raison que « la poterie de ce style occupe la première place à La Paya, ce qui est curieux, parce que le décor n'appartient pas du tout à la région diaguite. Effectivement, La Paya à la frontière des Palacos, tribu atacama, participe de la culture des indiens Diaguite et Atacama (Boman, 3, p. 510 et 4, p. 2). C'est sans doute à ces derniers, ou à leur influence, que doivent être attribuées les pièces dont nous avons donné la liste plus haut.

La distribution du triangle à volute dans le nord-ouest de l'Argentine a été étudiée très sommairement par Odilia Bregante (pp. 189-193) : « Le triangle à spirale est très courant dans le nord-ouest de l'Argentine, des régions les plus septentrionales jusqu'à la vallée Calchaqui. Dans le nord il est isolé, au sud il se combine avec des motifs qui expriment un haut degré d'évolution. Parfois il se présente en bandes de triangles consécutifs dont les appendices sont séparés. Cependant on rencontre plus fréquemment ces appendices enlacés deux par deux. Dans des localités aussi distantes que Yavi au nord de Jujuy et Amaicha dans la Province de Tucuman, nous pouvons constater que le motif est toujours le même, mais que dans chaque endroit il acquiert des caractères propres à la région.

Sur quelques pièces, le triangle à volute est associé au triangle avec prolongation rectiligne. Dans certaines régions du nord, on a trouvé le triangle à volute avec un singulier complément : c'est une série de lignes, plus ou moins parallèles, qui se détachent de la volute du triangle. Ce triangle à spirale et à raies apparaît, en dehors de notre territoire, sur un exemplaire de Quillagua (Chili). Dans les nombreuses fouilles effectuées dans la zone qui s'étend au sud de Jujuy, on n'a jamais trouvé d'exemple de cette curieuse décoration. Elle est, sans doute, propre aux cultures du nord.

Le triangle à spirale atteint son plus haut degré d'évolution et d'élégance, quand sur un de ses côtés il présente [illegible]ssin en gradin. Cette figure prédomine dans la zone calchaqui. O[illegible]t sur des urnes et des *paco* où elle constitue un motif géométrique des plus intéressants. Elle entre dans la formation des bordures admirables dont sont ornés, avec une extrême fréquence, les plats des vallées Calchaqui.

A Tinti, dans le pays de Salta, dans une zone où n'existent presque pas de vestiges de la culture calchaqui, et même plus loin, à Tastil au nord de la Poma, Boman trouva des poteries décorées exclusivement de triangles à volute et échelonnés, dont les appendices s'enlacent deux par deux.

La distribution du triangle à volute est la suivante : Jujuy, Salta, Tucuman et Catamarca.

« Dans la province de Salta, on l'a rencontré : à la Paya, à Kipon, à Angastaco et à Luracatao.

« A Tucuman il apparaît sur des poteries exhumées à Amaicha et à Tafi. Des spécimens de cette décoration proviennent des différents points de la province de Catamarca : Fuerte Quemado, Molino del Puesto, Pabellon, Andalhuala, Santa Maria, Loma Rica, Gusayaco, La Toma, Costa de los Reyes, La Cienega et Belen. »

Cette liste doit être allongée. D'autres points du territoire argentin ont fourni des vases ou des plats portant ce fameux motif. Ainsi, dans le matériel archéologique de Tastil, Quebrada del Toro, publié par Boman (**2**, t. I, pl. XXXI, fig. 83 et pl. XXXII, fig. 84) figure une calebasse coupée par la moitié et ornée de spirales pyrogravées se détachant d'un triangle noirci. Un vase peint, de la même localité, porte sur sa panse le même motif, mais là la spirale s'est nouée en grecque.

Pour que la distribution du triangle à spirale soit complète il faut ajouter : Caspinchango, dans la province de Catamarca (Debenedetti, **5**, fig. 10-12, pp. 24-25 et fig. 14, p. 27); San Blas de los Sauces y Los Manos, dans la province de La Rioja (Boman, **5**, pl. VI, fig. E; pl. VII, fig. F; pl. XX, fig. *a* et *b* et fig. 11, p. 65). Antofogasta de la Sierra (Ambrosetti, **5**, pl. I, fig. 31 et 32); Chañar Yaco (Catamarca) (Lafone Quevedo, **1**, fig. 17, p. 39); et enfin Barreal, dans la province de San Juan (Kühn, p. 21).

Les récentes fouilles de MM. Emile et Duncan Wagner dans la province de Santiago del Estero, leur ont permis de découvrir les restes d'une population dont la culture était étroitement apparentée à celle des vallées de la région diaguite. Il s'agit, sans doute, d'une tribu de langue kakan, établie dans la plaine traversée par le rio Salado. Là aussi nous retrouvons notre triangle à volute, à en juger par les planches où M. Duncan Wagner a tenté de reconstituer les pièces de poterie dont il a trouvé les fragments. Ici encore nous constatons le passage de la volute à la grecque.

En plus de ces adjonctions, quelques observations doivent être faites au passage d'Odilia Bregante. Le triangle dont le sommet se prolonge en un trait courbe ou droit, peut être considéré comme une dégénérescence du triangle à volute, comme il a déjà été dit plus haut (v. Lafone Quevedo, **2**, pl. IX, *b*).

J'ai, à plusieurs reprises, attiré l'attention sur le passage de la volute en grecque ou élément de grecque. Cette mutation progressive d'un motif en un autre, s'est produite en pays diaguite exactement comme chez les Chiriguano. Les urnes du type Santa Maria présentent, entre autres ornements habituels, un triangle, à gradins ou non, qui se termine en grecque. Or, sur plusieurs spécimens cet élément de grecque est une volute ou un

[facing P. 418, A]

Vases chiriguano. Le n° 1 provient de Tintapaw ; le n° 2 de Saladito (haut Pilcomayo)
(Environ 1/4 gr. nat.)

[facing P. 418, B]

1

2

Vases chiriguanos. Le n° 1 provient d'Ibapyti; le n° 2 de Tiatapaw (haut Pilcomayo)
(Environ $^{1}/_{5}$ gr. nat.)

[facing P 418, C]

1

2

Vases chiriguanos. Le n° 1 provient de la Vallée d'Igbamba; le n° 2 de Saladillo (haut Pilcomayo). (Environ ½, gr. nat.)

[Facing p. 418, D]

A. Métraux, *La civilisation des indiens Chiriguano* Planche XXXVIII

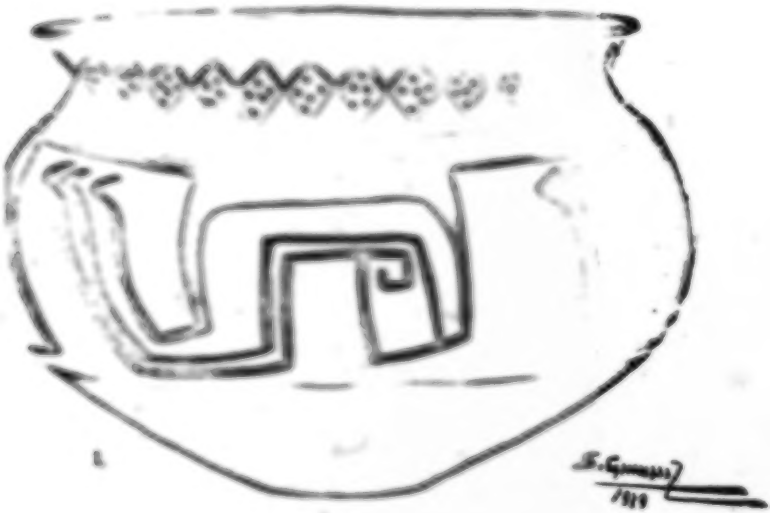
1

2

Vases chaco et chiriguano. Ici et 1 provient de l'Argentine (Chaco salteño); le et 2 d'Bapyjó dans l'Hernando, district [illegible], gr. [illegible]

Fal'ns P 418, E]

A. Métraux, La civilisation des Indiens Chiriguano Planche XXXIX



1

2

Vases chiriguanos. La n° 1 provient de Mathurá, la n° 2 de la Vallée d'Igbaraká
(Bernice P. Bishop Mus.)

[Facing P 418, F]

1

2

Vases chiriguanos. Le n° 1 provient de Saladillo; le n° 2 de la Vallée d'Iguazuki
(Environ $^1/_5$, gr. nat.)

[facing p. 418, G]

A. Métraux, La civilisation des Indiens Chiriguano

Planche XLI

1

2

Vases chiriguano. Les n° 1 et 2 proviennent d'Ivo. (Dessins Y. gr. nat.)

[facing p. 418, H]

A. Métraux, La civilisation des indiens Chiriguano Planche XXII

1

2

Vases chiriguano. Le n° 1 gravé d'Ivo, le n° 2 de Saladillo (Sud Bolivie)
(Hachures ↘, gr. noir)

[Facing P. 418, I]

A. Métraux, La civilisation des Indiens Chiriguano Planches XXXII

Vases chiriguano. En haut à gauche du Chaco, en haut à droite Salado, bas Pilcomayo (Bolivie), gr. nat.

[facing p. 418, J]

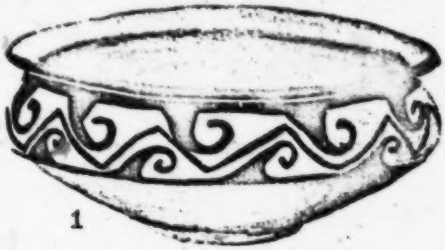
A. Métraux, La civilisation des Indiens Chiriguano Planche XXIII

Vases chiriguano, fin du 1 [illegible] de Gaboto dans l'Orangito, le 4 [illegible] de la Vallée d'Iguazú (Mission 1, p. [illegible])

[facing P. 418, K]

Poteries chiriguano. Les nos 1 et 2 proviennent de Tintapaw; le no 3 de Cururuti. (Environ 1/4 gr. nat.)

[facing p. 418, L]



1

2

3

Poteries chiriguanis. Les nos 1 et 3 proviennent de Saladito; le no 2 de Yumida (haut Pilcomayo). (Environ 1/, gr. nat.)

crochet plus ou moins fermé (1). Je doute fort que le triangle à volute et le triangle avec grecque aient une origine distincte. Le second dérive, sans doute, du premier.

A Tinti, dans la plaine de Salta, le motif dont parle Odilia Bregante est un triangle dont un des côtés est en gradins et qui se termine par une grecque qui, à son tour, s'enlace avec celle qui se détache du triangle suivant (v. Boman, 3, pl. XIV, fig. *b*). Je ne puis comprendre sur quels arguments Odilia Bregante se fonde pour affirmer qu'en cet endroit il n'existe aucun vestige de la culture diaguite. Le contraire semble être vrai.

En résumé, le triangle à volute a une distribution presque ininterrompue de la côte nord du Pérou à la province de San Juan, en Argentine, et jusqu'au Chili central. A l'est, il s'étend jusqu'au Pilcomayo et la Quebrada de Humahuaca.

L'importance de cet ornement va en augmentant à mesure que l'on se déplace du sud au nord. En pays calchaqui, il est au second plan et constitue un motif accessoire; à La Paya il gagne en prépondérance et celle-ci s'affirme dans la Quebrada de Humahuaca et sur la côte du Pacifique. En territoire chiriguano, sur le haut Pilcomayo, il triomphe.

A lui seul, ce motif constituerait une maigre preuve de l'existence de cultures apparentées sur toute l'étendue de cette aire géographique; mais combiné avec d'autres éléments, il acquiert une signification toute particulière.

Le triangle à volute semble s'être développé indépendamment dans les Guyanes, du moins je doute fort que son occurence dans cette région soit due à une influence occidentale. Ce motif orne des râpes à manioc provenant de la tribu des Patamona (Nordenskiöld, 14, fig. 19*c*, p. 53) et quelques calebasses wapisiana et taulipang (Koch-Grünberg, 3, t. III, pl. XIX, fig. 1-3).

La double volute en forme de S (pl. XXXII-XXXIII, 163-164, 167-197). — J'ai déjà eu l'occasion d'insister sur le fait que la double volute en forme de S était un motif étroitement associé au triangle à volute. En certains cas, d'ailleurs rares, cet élément décoratif apparait isolé (v. pl. XXXVI, 2).

La double volute a été peinte sur quelques vases de Tacna (Uhle, 4, pl. XXIII, fig. 1; pl. XXIV, fig. 2 et fig. 3; et Guevara, pl. entre pp. 46-47). Elle y est même une fois encadrée d'une ligne qui suit son contour exactement comme sur quelques vases chiriguano (pl. XXXII, 162-163).

Sur des vases trouvés à Calama et provenant sans doute de Cagua (Yura, province de Porco, Bolivie) et dans la région même de Cagua

(1) V. par ex. Bruch (2, fig. 32, p. 37; fig. 66, p. 71; fig. 70, p. 74; fig. 85, p. 85; fig. 90, p. 89; fig. 130, p. 152) et Lafone-Quevedo (2, fig. 60, p. 384).

(Créqui de Monfort, pl. VII, fig. 8 et pl. VIII, fig. 11) on voit un ornement en forme de S qui pourrait être rapproché de notre double volute si le style n'en était différent. Les extrémités de la courbure sont légèrement appointies et dans chaque crochet est inscrit un point.

Les potières chiliennes ont fait quelquefois usage de la double volute pour décorer leurs vases, mais un usage restreint (Latcham, fig. 38, p. 16; fig. 58, p. 25; fig. 59, p. 26). Ce motif est gravé aussi sur un bloc

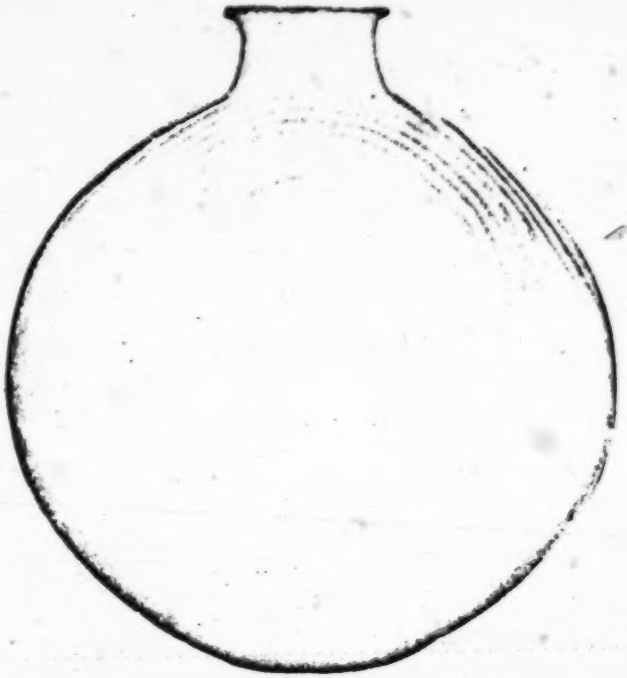


Fig. 81. — Grand *ira* peint. Prov. : Saladito (haut Pilcomayo). Couleurs : blanc sur rouge (1/4 environ de la gr. nat.)

de pierre de la province chilienne de Autofagasta, entre Santa Fe del Toro et Quillagua (Plagemann, pl. III). Dans la Quebrada de Humahuaca, la double volute agrémente la surface extérieure du *yuro* de la Isla de Tilcara reproduit par Debenedetti (2, fig. 124, p. 175).

A La Paya, ce motif est figuré sur le fond de deux *puco* ornithomorphes (Ambrosetti, 6, fig. 131 et Boman, 2, t. I, pl. XV, fig. 29).

Un dessin en forme de S, mais constitué par une bande plus ou moins large, orne la base ou la panse d'un grand nombre d'urnes funéraires de la région diaguite et les écuelles qui les fermaient. Cet orne-

Vases chiriguano (yambo). Prov. : 1 et 4, Saladillo (haut Pilcomayo); 2 et 3, Tintapaw (haut Pilcomayo). Couleurs : 1, motifs noirs et blancs sur fond rouge 2-4, motifs rouges et noirs sur fond blanc. (N° 1, 3 et 4 = 1/1 ; 2 = 1/2 gr. nat. ±)

[facing p. 420, A]
1:Métraux
SF 10 Chiriguano

Vases chiriguano (yembe). Prov. : 1 et 2, Saladito (haut Pilcomayo); 3, Ibopyti; 4, Tintapaw (haut Pilcomayo). Couleurs : motifs rouges et noirs sur fond blanc. (N° 1, 2 et 4 = $^{2}/_{3}$; 3, = $^{1}/_{4}$ gr. nat. ±)

[facing p. 420, B]

I: Métraux

SF 10 Chiriguano

Vases chiriguano (céramique). Prov. : 1 et 4, Saladillo (haut Pilcomayo); 2 et 3, Tunalito (haut Pilcomayo). Couleurs : 1-3, motifs rouges et noirs sur fond blanc crème; 4, dessin blanc sur fond rougeâtre. (N° 1, 2 et 4 = 1/3; 3 = 1/4, gr. nat. ±)

[facing p. 420, c]

I. Métraux SP 10 Chiriguano

Vases chiriguano (yambui) : Prov. : Yumbia (haut Pilcomayo). Couleurs : motifs noirs et rouges sur fond blanc. (N° 1, 3 et 4 = 1/4 ; 2 = 1/6 gr. nat. ±)

[facing p. 420, D]

1: Métraux

SF 10 Chiriguano

Vases chiriguano (*pembui*). Prov. : 1, 2 et 3, Vallée d'Igüembé; 4, Saladito (Yumbéo). Couleurs : motifs noirs et rouges sur fond blanc (N° 1 et 2 = ⅓; 3 = ⅔; 4 = ⅓, gr. nat. ±)

[facing p. 420, E]

I. Métraux

SF 10 Chiriguano

Vases chiriguano (céramique). Prov. : 1 et 2, Machareti; 3 et 4, Tarairí. Couleurs : ocre noir et rouge sur fond crème
(Ø: 1 = 1/3; 2 = 1/3; 3 et 4 = 1/4, gr. nat. 1)

[Facing p. 420, F]

Vases chiriguano et chané (peuples). Pour. : 1-3, Aguaray (Chaco Salteño, tribu des Chané); 4, Tuiuque (haut Pilcomayo). Couleurs : rouge et noir sur fond blanc; sur le 4 le noir tire sur le brun. (Ø= 1, 2-4 = ⅓, 5 = ⅕, gr. nat. 2)

[Facing p. 430, G]

I. Métraux 5710 Chiriguano

Vases chiriguano (grandeur : Nos. 1, 2, Sucre; 3, Vallée d'Igamiri; 4, Mariano Cabrera; seuls vases 1 et 4 sont en terre cuite [illegible])

[Fading P 420, H]

ment se dit que dire sculpteur avec subst qui nous a occupés jusqu'ici, car il n'est autre qu'une stylisation très poussée du fameux serpent à tête bipartite et cornichétique pour l'art de cette région. Cependant un peu provenant de Molino del Puente, province de Cotacaxa, présente une bordure petite en suite sur tout usage qui se compose de triangles à volute et de 9 quadrels. (Bruch, 2, fig. 41 a, p. 38).

Spirales (pl. XXXII, 163 et fig. 61). — Le décor de certaines vases du haut Pilcomayo et de la mission de Santa Rosa (Tordesillas, 14, fig. 78, p. 58) consiste en une grande spirale faisant de nombreux tours et qui occupe presque toute la surface extérieure du récipient. De même que la volute d'est, en certains cas, transformée en groupe, cette spirale a donné naissance au motif que l'on voit sur le vase de la planche LV, 3 et qui se compose d'une série de rectangles concentriques.

La spirale, comme élément décoratif indépendant, a une distribution beaucoup moins vaste que lorsqu'elle est combinée avec le triangle qu'elle surmonte. Dans l'aire géographique qui nous intéresse, elle n'est connue que sur quelques pièces de la Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 2, fig. 41 et 42, pp. 72-73; Brogante, fig. 170 et 178, pp. 170-171), sur une céramique de Calama (Oyarzun, fig. 10), de la Puna de Jujuy et de la vallée de Tucumán (Ambrosetti, 4, fig. 76, p. 68 et fig. 68, p. 72, t. LIV), sur un gant de Pelelíllos, dans la vallée de Santa María, province de Catamarca. (Outes, 1, p. 18, fig. 13).

Angles, triangles et lignes en zig-zag (pl. XXX, 1-48, pl. XXXI, figs. 75-108, 127). — Presque tous les goulots et pipes qui forment nos collections sont ornés sur le bord intérieur, à la base du col ou sur le haut de la panse, d'angles colorés, de séries de triangles à sommet pointu qui forment des bandes dentelées. Ce thème décoratif, simple et quelque peu monotone, varie d'un exemplaire à l'autre selon que le champ des triangles est orné ou entouré de points, que les sommets sont reliés par des angles ou des arcs de cercle ou, enfin, que ces triangles sont bordés ou non par une ligne brisée à laquelle ils font face.

Triangles et lignes en zig-zag ne constituent que rarement la décoration fondamentale des vases. Sur le haut Pilcomayo, le goulot de la planche LIII, 4, est le seul qui soit exclusivement orné de petites triangulaires et de lignes en zig-zag parallèles. Quelques pièces provenant d'Iruya et de Calipindi participent de la même simplicité.

A Tucma et à Tolloi, les séries de petites triangulaires ont constitué un motif particulièrement cher aux populations de la période chiriguanienne (Uhle, 4, pl. XVII, fig. 4; pl. XVIII, fig. 1, 2 et 4; pl. XIX, fig. 1 et; pl. XXII, fig. 4; pl. XXIII, fig. 3 et 4 et fig. 21 et 22, pp. 40-41).

Au Chili, sur les pièces influencées par l'art chiriguano, même abondance. (Latcham, fig. 38, p. 14; fig. 35, p. 27; fig. 58, p. 38; Medina, fig. 288).

Dans tout le nord-ouest de l'Argentine, les bordures composées de triangles peints, rayés ou réticulés, sont extrêmement fréquentes et ne forment pas un type assez nettement caractérisé pour qu'on cherche à en détailler la répartition. Celle-ci s'étend de la Quebrada de Humahuaca à la vallée de Yocavil (Bregante, p. 182).

Il est cependant une des variétés de ce motif qui mérite d'être examinée de près, car elle permet d'établir un parallélisme frappant entre la céramique chiriguano actuelle et celle du nord-ouest de l'Argentine et du sud de la Bolivie. Elle consiste en une bande dentelée ou série de pointes triangulaires et en une ou plusieurs lignes en zig-zag qui courent parallèlement à ces triangles. Ce décor figure dans mes collections sur les exemplaires de la planche XLI, 1 et planche LX, 4. La réplique archéologique de cet ornement est fournie par un vase de Tolomosa (département de Tarija, Bolivie), de Pabellon (Santa Maria, Catamarca), de Chañar Yaco (Catamarca) (v. Rosen, **2**, fig. 166, p. 169; Outes, **2**, p. 11, fig. 8; Lafone Quevedo, **1**, fig. 5 *e* et *f*; Huaca E., p. 42). Les fouilles des MM. Wagner à Llacta Mancta (province de Santiago del Estero) ont donné les fragments d'un plat dont les dessins rentrent dans cette catégorie.

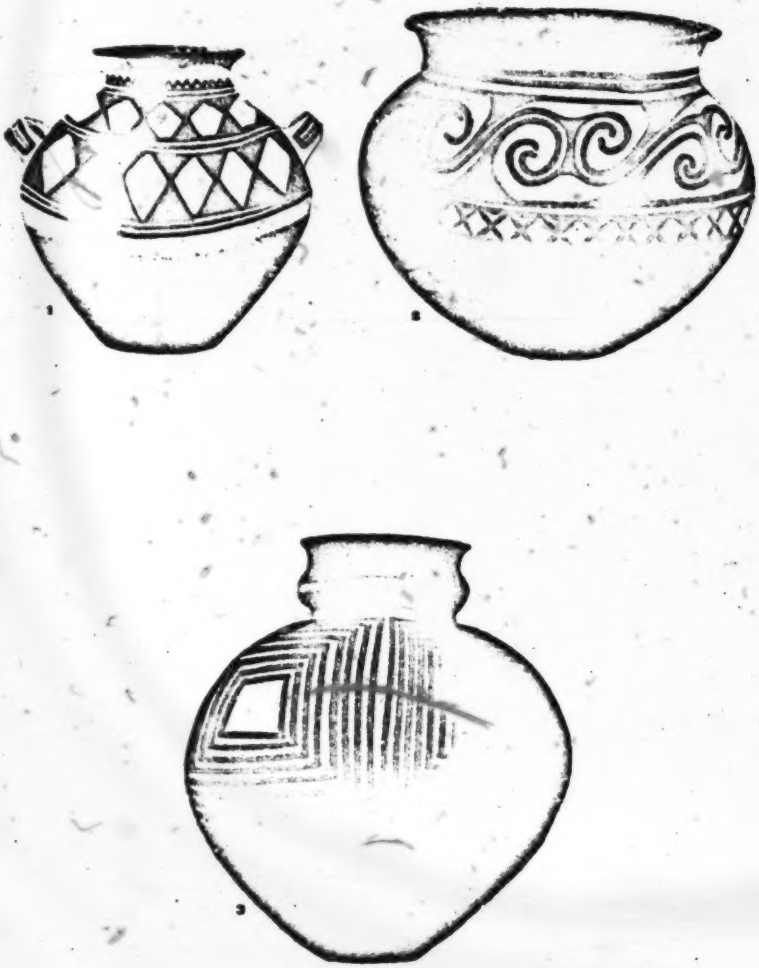
Les triangles qui se détachent sur un fond semé de points (pl. XLVIII, 1) et qui forment une bande sur le *yambuí* de la planche XXXV, 2 ont leur équivalent préhistorique à Taltal sur un vase de la période chincha-atacama (Uhle, **4**, fig. 21, p. 40).

Les séries de triangles disposés horizontalement, sont très souvent associées à la décoration des vases apodes ou aryballes dont un si grand nombre ont été découverts dans le nord ouest de l'Argentine (v. par exemple, Boman, **2**, t. I, p. 297) et, en général, sur toute l'étendue de l'empire incasique.

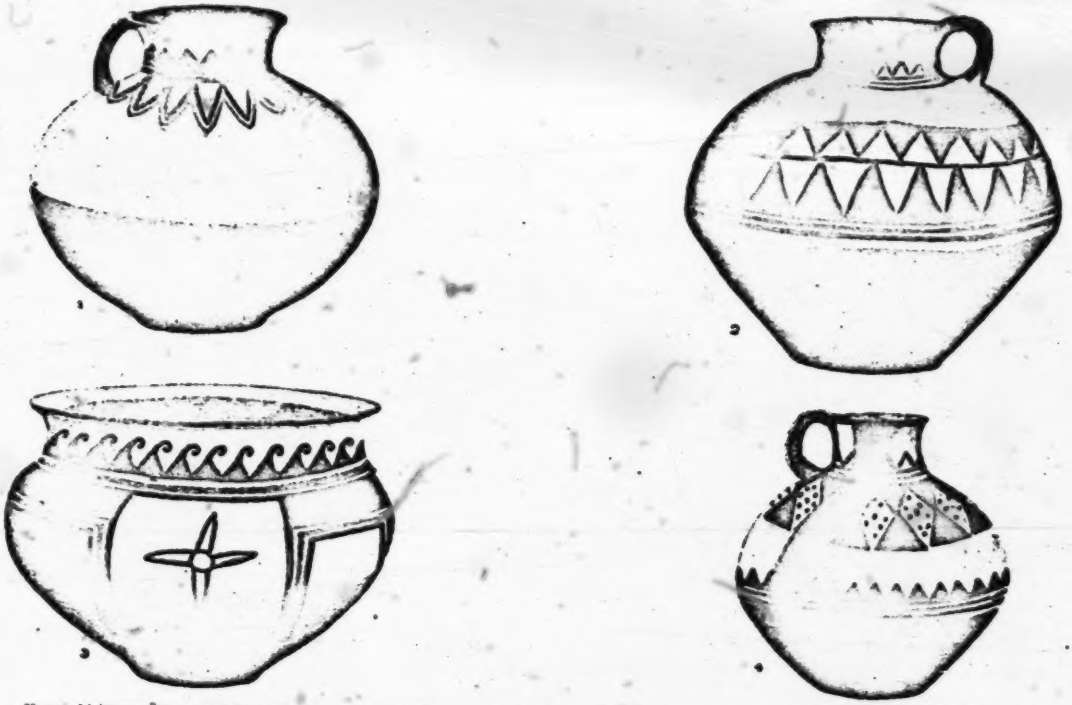
Bandes festonnées (pl. XXXI-XXXII, 129-131). — Les séries de triangles, dont nous nous sommes occupés, sont souvent remplacées par des bandes festonnées (v. par ex. pl. XLIX, 3; L, 1 et LIII, 3). Le passage d'un de ces motifs à l'autre est, pour ainsi dire, imperceptible : il suffit que les triangles soient légèrement arrondis pour qu'ils prennent l'apparence d'une bande de festons. Dans le nord-ouest de l'Argentine, la même transformation s'est opérée à plusieurs reprises, et un bon exemple en sont les vases du Jachal (Bregante, pp. 179-181).

Triangles isocèles unis par le sommet (pl. XXXI, 116-122). — Deux triangles isocèles unis par le sommet, forment un dessin représentant schématiquement un sablier. Ce motif est assez courant sur la poterie chiriguano. Dans les régions voisines, il est moins fréquent et semble être particulier aux poteries d'origine incasique. Nordenskiöld (**14**, fig. 69 *a*, p. 157) a déjà signalé l'étroite ressemblance de cette figure, telle qu'elle apparaît sur quelques vases chiriguano, avec celle qui orne les plats or-

[facing p. 422, A]



Vases chiriguano (*yambui*). Prov. : 1 et 3, Ivu ; 2, Saladito (haut Pilcomayo). Couleurs : 1 et 2, motifs rouges et noirs sur fond crème ; 3, motifs rouges sur fond blanc. (N° 1 = 1/1 ; 2 = 1/4 ; 3 = 1/1 gr. nat. ±)

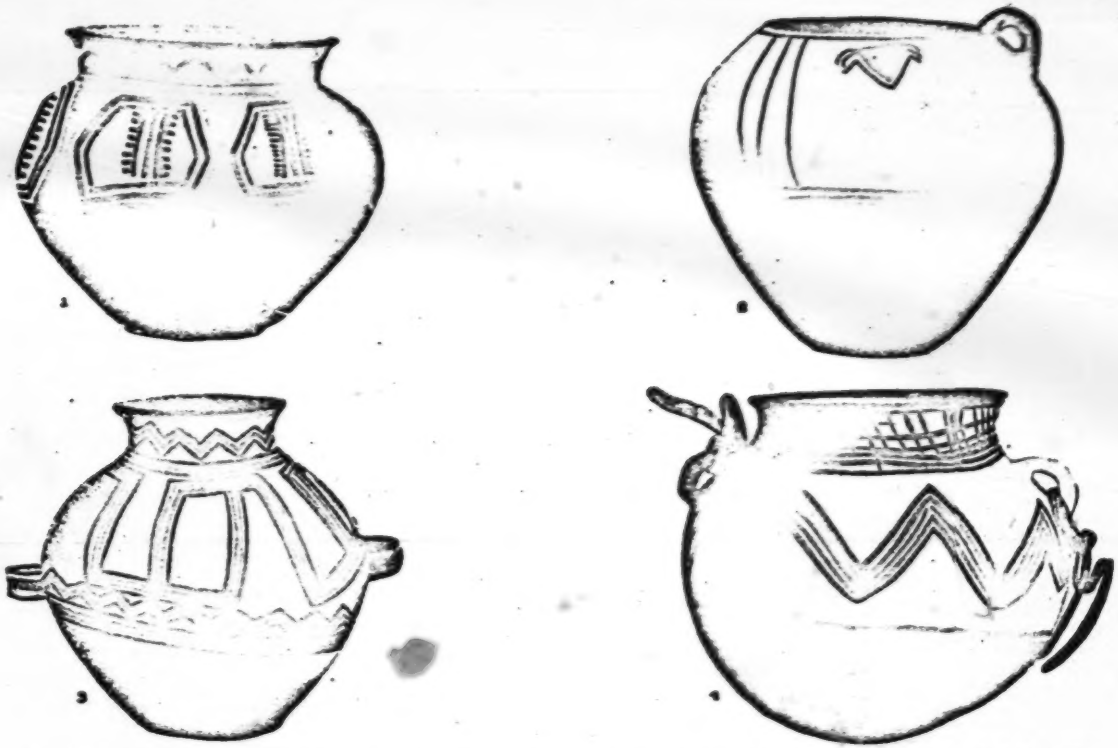


Vases chiriguano (*yapepó* et *yanabui*). Prov. : 1 et 3, Macharetí ; 2 et 4, Ivu. Couleurs : motifs rouges et noirs sur fond crème. (1/4 gr. nat.)

1:Métraux

SF10 Chiriguano

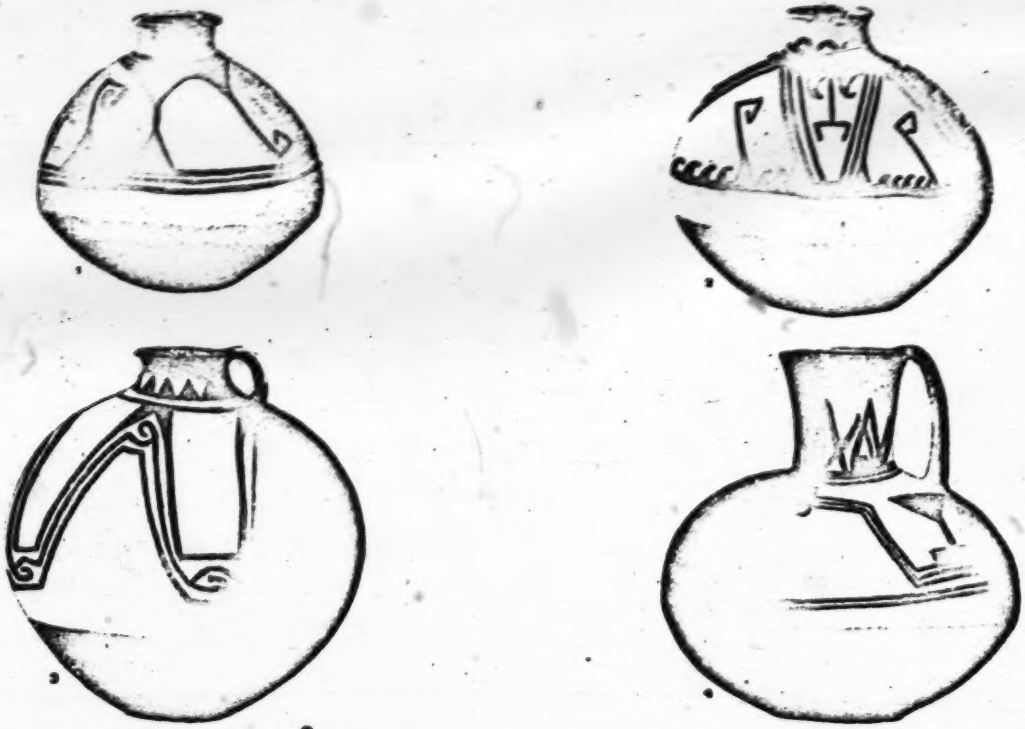
[facing p. 422, B]



Vases chiriguano (*pambol* et *papapó*). Prov. : 1, Vallée d'Igüembé ; 2, Cururuti ; 3 et 4, Ivu. Couleurs : motifs noirs et rouges sur fond blanc crème (X= 1 = 1/1 ; 2·4 = 1/4 gr. nat. ±)

[facing p. 422, c]

1:Métraux SF10 Chiriguano



Vases chiriguano (*yapepó*). Prov. : 1-3, Macharetí; 4, Ivu. Couleurs : motifs rouges et noirs sur fond crème. (N° 1 et 2 = 1/4; 3 = 1/6; 4 = 1/8 gr. nat. ±)

[facing P. 422, D]

I:Métraux SF10 Chiriguano

1:Métraux SF10 Chiriguano

nithomorphes du Cuzco. L'analogie s'étend aux lignes perpendiculaires qui séparent des suivants chacun des triangles affrontés. Cette décoration est typiquement incasique. Les ancêtres des Chiriguano ont copié ce motif sur quelques exemplaires incasiques, exactement comme les anciens habitants de Tilcara, de La Paya et de Catamarca qui les ont tracés : les uns, sur un vase à anse latérale (Bregante, fig. 320, p. 268), les autres, sur une tasse (Boman, **2**, t. I, pl. XII, fig. 26 et pl. XIV, fig. *f*), et les derniers sur un vase apode (Outes, **2**, pl. III, fig. 5). En dehors des « aryballes », ou des vases de type purement péruvien, le « sablier » est un motif d'emploi plutôt rare. Il a été peint sur un vase de Fuerte Quemado publié par Ameghino (t. I, pl. X, fig. 333) et sur un vase de Punta de Balasto (Lafone Quevedo, **2**, pl. VII, fig. *a*). D'autres exemples pourraient être cités, mais je n'ai pas l'intention ni les moyens d'être complet.

Cet élément décoratif n'est pas étranger non plus à la poterie chilienne (Latcham, fig. 42, p. 18 et fig. 45, p. 19 ; Medina, fig. 180, 202, 206, etc.). Il figure également sur la base d'un vase araucan trouvé dans le territoire du Neuquen. (San Martin, pl. 15, fig. 111).

Des dessins triangulaires en forme de dents, enserrant entre eux des losanges, ont été pyrogravés sur une calebasse de Calama dont l'ornementation constitue un pendant de celle de nos vases chiriguano.

Losanges concentriques (pl. XXX, 52-56). — Les séries de losanges concentriques, qui sont tracées sur bon nombre de vases de mes collections, avaient déjà été peintes sur les poteries de la période chincha atacama à Tacna et à Taltal (Uhle, **4**, pl. XX, fig. 2 ; pl. XXI, fig. 2 et Guevara, pl. entre pp. 42 43) et gravées au feu sur les calebasses de Calama (Oyarzun, fig. 6).

Ce dessin est, pour ainsi dire, classique sur les aryballes de l'Argentine (Boman, **2**, t. I, pl. XVIII, fig. 43 et Outes, **2**, pl. III, fig. 2).

L'appareil réticulé (pl. XXX, 59-64). — Plusieurs vases de ma collection portent sur la panse ou sur le col une bande réticulée. Sur le vase de la planche LIV, 2, ce sont des triangles qui offrent cette particularité. Au sujet de ce motif, Odilia Bregante (p. 162) s'exprime de la façon suivante : « La décoration réticulée se retrouve en pleine vallée de Yocavil, à côté de pièces qui portent le symbole du triangle à spirale et l'élément en gradins et même dans des cimetières modernes comme celui de Chañar Yaco (v. par exemple, Lafone Quevedo, **1**, pl. VII, fig. *a*). Mais c'est dans les régions du nord, à Salta et à Jujuy que ce réticulé se rencontre en plus grand nombre d'exemplaires et où il entre dans la composition d'ornements caractéristiques. A la Isla de Tilcara, au Pucará de Tilcara et dans d'autres localités, le matériel archéologique qui comporte cet appareil forme le type de céramique le plus intéressant et assez abondant pour être classé. »

Certains vases de la Isla de Tilcara et du Pucará de Tilcara ont, en

effet, comme nos vases chiriguano, une bande réticulée sur le bord. (Debenedetti, 2, fig. 45, p. 79 et Bregante, fig. 164, p. 166.)

Au Chili nous rencontrons des bandes, des triangles, des losanges, des rectangles réticulés et là encore s'affirme l'unité de ces différentes cultures en ce qui a trait à la céramique. (Latcham, fig. 25-28, p. 14 et Bregante, fig. 232, p. 192.)

Échiquier (fig. 76). — Une tasse que j'ai acquise dans la vallée d'Igüembé est décorée d'un dessin en échiquier brun et blanc. C'est le seul exemple que j'en connaisse en pays chiriguano. Dans le nord-ouest de l'Argentine, ce motif a une dispersion très vaste : il s'étend de la Quebrada de Humahuaca à la province de San Juan (Bregante, p. 196).

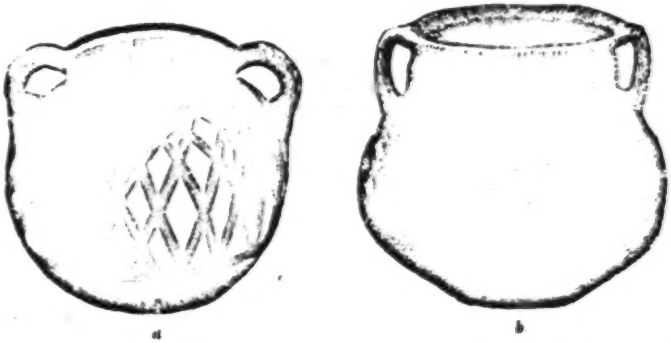
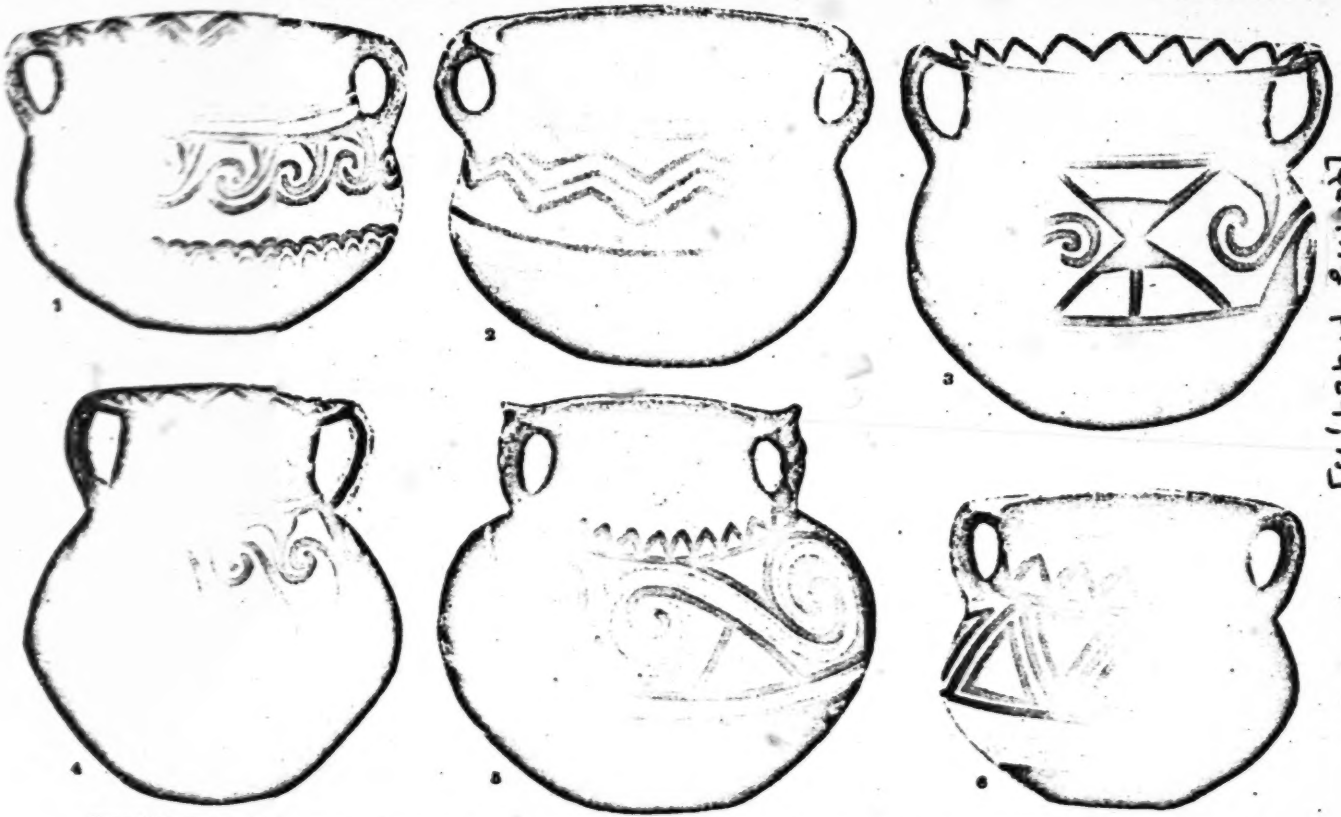


Fig. 82. — Le vase *b* provient du village chiriguano de Tintapaw (haut Pilcomayo). Il présente une extraordinaire ressemblance avec le vase *a* du Tilcara. (1/2 gr. nat.)

Il était courant au Chili (Latcham, fig. 7, p. 7; fig. 41, p. 18; fig. 55, p. 22, etc.). A l'époque postcolombienne il était encore en usage chez les Araucan du sud de Mendoza (Métraux, 6, fig. 12, p. 50).

Créneaux, lignes brisées, lignes en forme de Z (pl. XXXII, 154-155 et XXXIII, 200-206). — En essayant de définir, dans les pages précédentes, le style décoratif propre aux Chané de l'Itiyuro et aux Chiriguano de la région des missions franciscaines, j'ai mentionné ces lignes simples ou multiples qui, courant sur la panse du vase, forment des triangles, des crénaux et des Z à barres allongées ou unies. Au premier abord ces motifs, apparemment capricieux, semblent échapper à toute comparaison et l'on serait presque tenté de les croire autochtones ou constituant des réminiscences de l'art guyanais. On trouve, cependant, leur pendant dans l'archéologie du nord-ouest de l'Argentine et, comme prévu, dans celle de la Quebrada de Humahuaca.

Debenedetti (2, fig. 75, p. 132, et fig. 78, p. 135) reproduit un gobelet trouvé à la Isla de Tilcara qui, sur sa partie inférieure, porte une bande



Vases chiriguano en miniature (*yapepeni*) (servent de boîtes). Prov. : 1, 3 et 4, Yumbia ; 2 et 6, Ibopeyti ; 5, Saladito (haut Pilcomayo). Couleurs : motifs rouges et noirs sur fond blanc ; 5, fond rouge. (N° 1-3 = $^1/_3$ environ ; 4 = $^2/_3$; 5 = $^2/_3$; 6 = environ $^1/_3$ gr. nat.)

[facing p. 424, A]

1: Métraux

SF10 Chiriguano

Vases chiriguano en miniature (*yapyporo*) Prov. : 1, Ibopeyti; 2, Tiwiraiti (haut Pilcomayo); 3, Tintapaw; 4, Caipipendi; 5, Yambia; 6, Tintapaw. Couleurs : motifs rouges et noirs sur fond crème, à l'exception du n° 3, orné de motifs noirs sur fond rougeâtre. (N° 1 — 1/1; 2-6 — environ 3/4 gr. nat.)

[facing p. 424, B]

1:Métraux

SF10 Chiriguano

composée de trois lignes parallèles qui se brisent à angles droits. C'est à juste titre que Mr. Debenedetti compare cette décoration à celle des vases chané dont il figure un exemplaire qu'il attribue erronément aux Choroti. La même remarque peut être faite au sujet de certains vases gravés de l'Arroyo del Medio qui, à certains égards, se rapprochent de nos vases chiriguano (Boman, 2, t. II, fig. 207, III, p. 843).

Beaucoup plus frappante encore est la ressemblance entre les *yambuí* chiriguano de ce type et deux vases de la région diaguite, trouvé : l'un à Molino del Puesto (Fuerte Quemado, Catamarca), et l'autre à Hualfin (Catamarca), et qui tous deux ont été publiés par Bruch (2, p. 87, fig. 88 et Id., 2, fig. 11, p. 8 et fig. 27, p. 13). Un *puco* de Llacta Manca, province de Santiago del Estero, offre un dessin similaire à en juger par un croquis de Mr. Duncan Wagner. L'origine andine de ce type de décoration ne saurait faire de doute.

Des motifs en forme de Z se distinguent encore sur un vase de Tacna de la période chincha-atacama (Uhle, 4, pl. XXI, fig. 1) et de San Felipe, Chili (Medina, fig. 68).

Les grands triangles qui courent sur la panse des *iru* et des *yambuí*, de la région des missions, ressemblent fort à un motif analogue qui couvre la surface extérieure de vases fabriqués par les Araucan du Neuquen (San Martin, pl. XV, fig. 3).

Dessin en forme de sourcil (pl. XLIX, 4). — Un vase de Saladillo (Pilcomayo) a pour seul et unique motif décoratif un étrange ornement en forme de sourcil stylisé qui se détache en blanc sur fond rouge et est situé sur le col. Ce dessin est constitué par deux lignes parallèles séparées par des points. En présence de ce curieux motif, on ne peut s'empêcher de penser immédiatement aux faces humaines peintes sur les urnes funéraires, de la région diaguite. Les organes du visage sont surplombés par une gigantesque arcade sourcillère qui, partant de la pointe du nez, descend à la hauteur des oreilles. La manière dont est tracée cette partie de la tête rappelle beaucoup la figure qui nous occupe ici.

Croix. — Le vase de la planche LX, 2, est orné sur la panse d'une série de croix inscrites dans des losanges. Ce signe constitue un élément décoratif dont les Chiriguano actuels font un emploi exceptionnel. Comme la plupart des motifs peints sur leurs vases, celui-ci n'a aucune signification précise. Une calebasse de la même région est décorée également de croix de Malte pyrogravées (v. pl. LXI, 1). On connaît la fréquence de cet ornement, symbolique ou non, sur les urnes funéraires du pays diaguite, principalement de la région de Santa Maria (Catamarca); fréquence telle qu'elle a motivé un livre de Quiroga dont quelques illustrations sont intéressantes.

La croix figure aussi sur un vase de Taltal de la période chincha-atacama (Guevara, pl. entre pp. 46-47 et 50-51), sur une calebasse de Cala-

ma (Oyarzun, fig. 16), sur une autre de la Puna de Jujuy (Ambrosetti, 4, fig. 70, p. 68, t. LIV) et sur une boîte de Morhuasi (Boman, 2, fig. 75, pl. XXVII), etc.

Figuration de la face humaine. — La face humaine n'est reproduite sur aucun des vases que j'ai recueillis. Nordenskiöld (10, fig. 28, p. 137) figure et décrit une poterie sur le rebord de laquelle était représenté un visage : le nez y était en relief et les autres organes peints. La similitude de ce motif avec celui qui orne certaines pièces de la région andine n'a pas besoin d'être soulignée.

Signe de signification inconnue. — Sur le *pambuí* de Macharetí (pl. LII, 2) a été peint un signe en forme de croissant, pourvu dans sa partie concave de deux traits figurant, peut-être, des pattes. Il s'agit, sans doute, d'un oiseau stylisé, présomption d'autant plus plausible qu'un autre vase de la même localité, et sorti de la même main, est décoré de figures d'animaux (chiens et crapauds) (pl. LII, 1).

Ce signe mystérieux a beaucoup d'analogie avec celui que l'on trouve sur un *puco* de Tolomosa, dans le département de Tarija (Rosen, 2, fig. 175, p. 112) et sur des plats de La Paya et qui, eux aussi, sont des stylisations plus ou moins poussées de l'image d'un oiseau. (Boman, 2, t. I, pl. X, fig. 22 et Ambrosetti, 6, fig. 33-40, pp. 56-61.)

Représentations zoomorphes. — Les figures d'animaux sont rares dans la poterie chiriguano, mais leur occurrence n'en accuse que mieux les similitudes de cet art avec celui des régions andines voisines. Les rangées de *paks* (*puco del monte*) sur le *pambuí* de l'Aguaray, forment le pendant des nandous des urnes funéraires diaguite et des oiseaux de La Paya. Le chien du vase de la planche apparaît presque identique au fond d'un *puco* de Molino del Puesto, Catamarca. (Bruch, 2, fig. 70, p. 72.)

Les comparaisons que nous avons faites pourraient, sans doute, être étendues, et maints autres rapprochements signalés entre la céramique moderne des Chiriguano et celle des populations aujourd'hui disparues du haut-plateau bolivien et du nord ouest de l'Argentine. Continuer une telle recherche serait superflu, car il n'est personne qui, connaissant l'art qui a jadis fleuri dans la région andine et celui des Chiriguano, hésiterait à établir un rapport entre les deux et ne fît dériver le second du premier.

Comme on pouvait logiquement s'y attendre, ces similitudes deviennent plus nombreuses et plus frappantes à mesure que, parti du sud, on s'avance vers le nord, dans la zone andine qui court parallèlement à l'habitat des Chiriguano et des Chaná. Le jour où la Bolivie orientale aura été explorée méthodiquement, on trouvera les modèles des vases que les ancêtres des Chiriguano ont admirés et copiés. A leur défaut, l'étude que nous avons poursuivie nous apporte la constatation d'un fait fort important. L'existence sur le haut Pilcomayo d'une céramique étroi-

tement apparentée à celle de la Quebrada de Humahuaca est un indice qui prouve, d'une façon certaine, que l'art propre aux anciens habitants de ces contrées était identique à celui de leurs voisins, et peut être frères de race, du haut plateau bolivien.

Je crois que c'est un tort de parler, à propos des Chiriguano, de culture andine ou incasique. Le premier de ces termes est trop vague et le second partiellement faux. Dans ce chapitre j'ai cherché à démontrer que la céramique chiriguano offre d'étroites affinités avec celle des civi-

Fig. 83. — Vase chané. Prov. : Tajnati (Aguaray, Chaco Salteño). Sur la panse : série de pubú (pasa del monte) en brun noir sur fond blanc. (1/, gr. nat.)

lisations qui, par leurs nombreux points de contact, semblent avoir subi une influence chincha ou atacama et qui ont précédé la culture des Inca. Si l'on compare la céramique actuelle des Chiriguano avec celle des Quicha du Cuzco, certaines analogies apparaîtront, mais elles ne seront ni assez abondantes, ni assez concluantes, pour établir une filiation directe. Les aryballes manquent ou sont rares, les plats ornithomorphes peu fréquents, etc.; par contre, nous avons vu combien multiples et étroits sont les liens de cette céramique avec celle de la période chincha-atacama. La céramique chiriguano se trouve, par rapport à celle du Cuzco, dans une situation analogue à celle du nord-ouest de l'Argentine : sur un fond andin, mais original, se sont superposées des influences venues du Cuzco. Cette action des Inca sur les Chicha est attestée aujourd'hui encore par

1:Métraux SF10 Chiriguano

la présence, chez les Chiriguano, de vases à pied du pôle par type iranaique et des vases ayoles de même origine. Relevant de la même influence, on peut ajouter certains motifs décoratifs dont je me suis déjà occupé.

La tradition arawak et amazonienne n'est guère représentée que par les bols à pied *(compoteras)*, les vases à panse cilaïée, ceux à corps tronconique et panse subsphérique, et peut-être par certains motifs (figurés en forme de T, pl. XXXVIII, 1).

La conclusion de ce chapitre sera : il existe aujourd'hui, pour quelques années encore, une civilisation qui, étroitement apparentée à celle des Chicha, continue un art antérieur à celui des Inca, mais influencé par eux. Puissa ce fait rendre les archéologues prudents.

CHAPITRE VII

Les calebasses

Le second art où les Chiriguano excellent est celui de la pyrogravure et de la gravure sur calebasses. Alors que la poterie était une activité essentiellement féminine, la pyrogravure était du ressort des hommes. Nordenskiöld (**3**, pp. 233-236) croit, tout à fait à tort me semble-t-il, que la pyrogravure est d'origine andine. Il avance à l'appui de cette opinion les avantages que la connaissance du métal offre à cet art. Cependant, les populations du haut Xingú, où l'influence andine ne s'est certainement jamais fait sentir, ont des calebasses pyrogravées, de même que les Guaté du haut Paraguay. La pyrogravure est également en usage chez les Indiens de la Guyane, chez qui une action de la civilisation inranique est fort problématique. La distribution de la pyrogravure démontre, à elle seule, qu'il n'est point besoin de posséder des objets en métal pour pouvoir pratiquer cette technique.

Si l'on compare les motifs qui ornent les calebasses que j'ai recueillies dans le Chaco avec ceux que présentent les calebasses pyrogravées trouvées dans le nord-ouest de l'Argentine, on est frappé de la similitude de leur style et des nombreuses analogies de détails qu'ils ont en commun. C'est ainsi que la croix de Malte qui orne une calebasse de Jujuy (Ambrosetti, **4**, p. 66, fig. 70, t. LIV) se retrouve identique sur les calebasses des planches LXI, 1 ; LXII, 1, et que les volutes d'un motif de Tastil (Boman, **2**, t. I, fig. 84 *c*) ont leur pendant dans les crochets incisés sur le spécimen de la planche LXI, 2. Sur le fragment d'une calebasse découverte dans la même région (Boman, **2**, t. I, pl. XXXII, fig. 64) et sur un autre exemplaire de La Paya (Ambrosetti, **4**, fig. 288, p. 324), nous avons le prototype de l'échiquier qui agrémente si souvent

[facing P. 428, A]

A. Métraux, La civilisation des Indiens Chiriguano Planche LXI

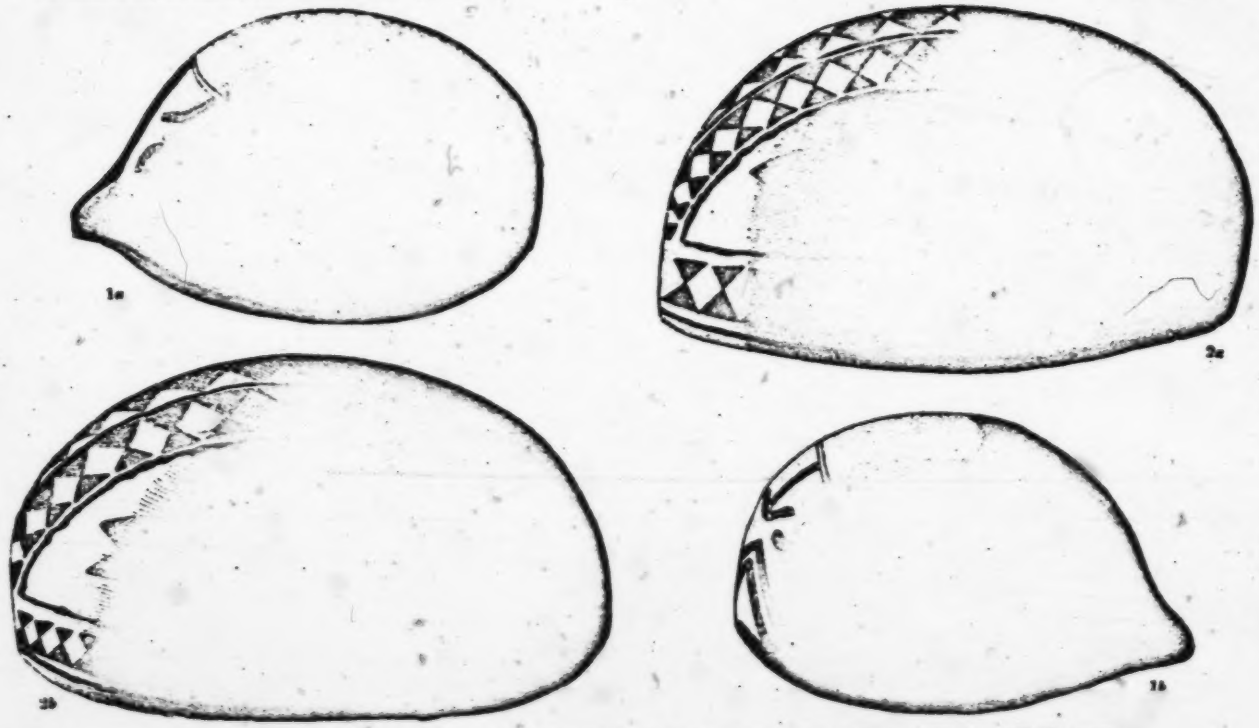
Calebasses peintes et gravées (Chiriguano, Chaco : 1a et b, Bolivie (haut Pilcomayo); 2, Chaco (Dim. 1 a = ½, gr. nat.; 2 a = ½, de la gr. nat.)

[Facing p. 428, B]

Figure 123

A. Métraux, Le cérémonie du bâton Chiriguano

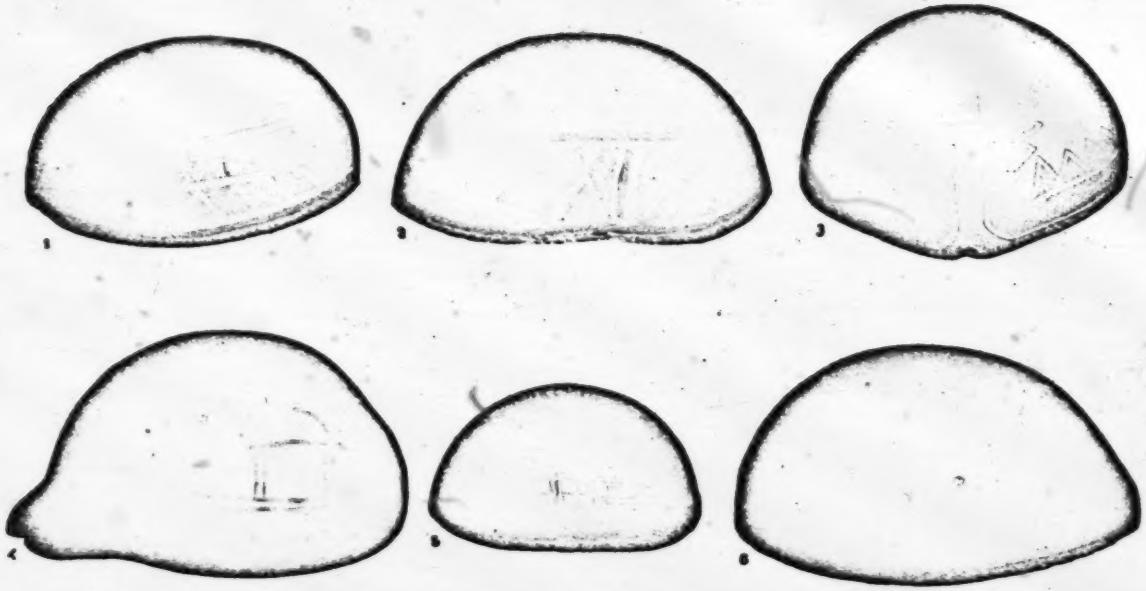
Figure 124. Chiriguano. Angle du bâton. Cercle du bâton. Cercle du bâton. Cerc



Calebasses incisées et pyrogravées. Chiriguano. Les nos 1 (a et b) et 2 (a et b) proviennent de la mission de Macharetí. Motifs gravés : 1, personnage humain et oiseaux ; 2a, chien (?) ; 2b, lama. (1/1, gr. nat. ±)

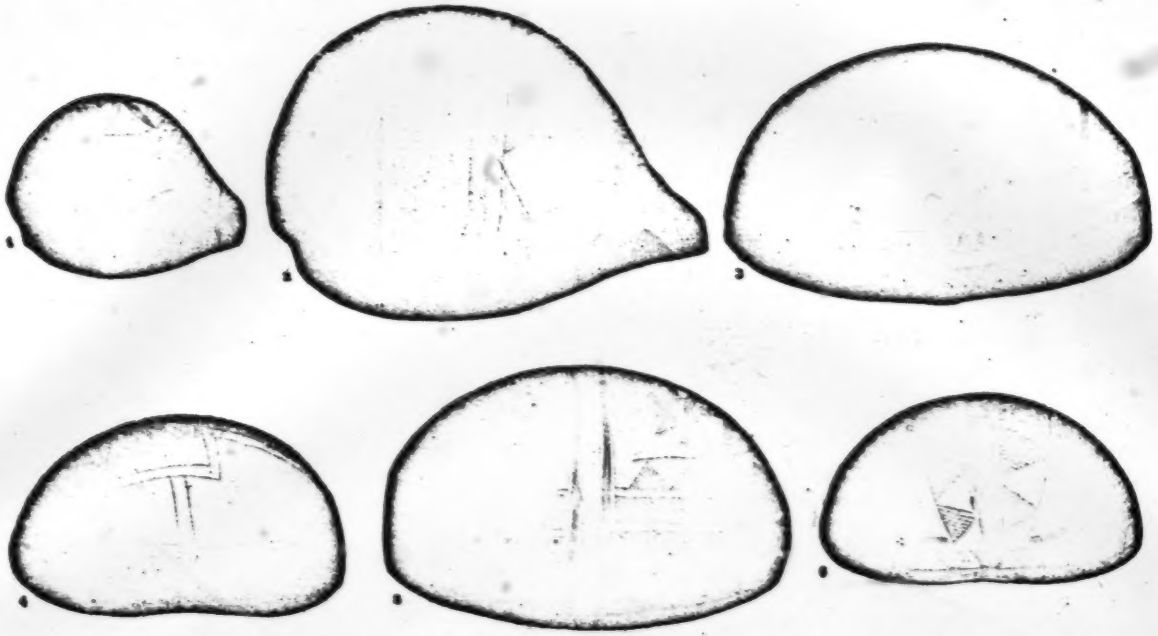
[Facing p. 428, C]

1:Métraux SF10 Chiriguano



Calebasses incisées et pyrogravées. Chiriguano. Prov. : 1, Masavi (vallée d'Igüembé); 2, Achua (haut Pilcomayo); 3, Caruruti; 4, Macharetti; 5, Tiwiraiti; 6, Calpipendi
Remarque : noter la marque de propriété sur la calebasse 4. (N° 1 et 3 = $^1/_3$; 2 et 4-6, $^1/_4$ gr. nat. ±)

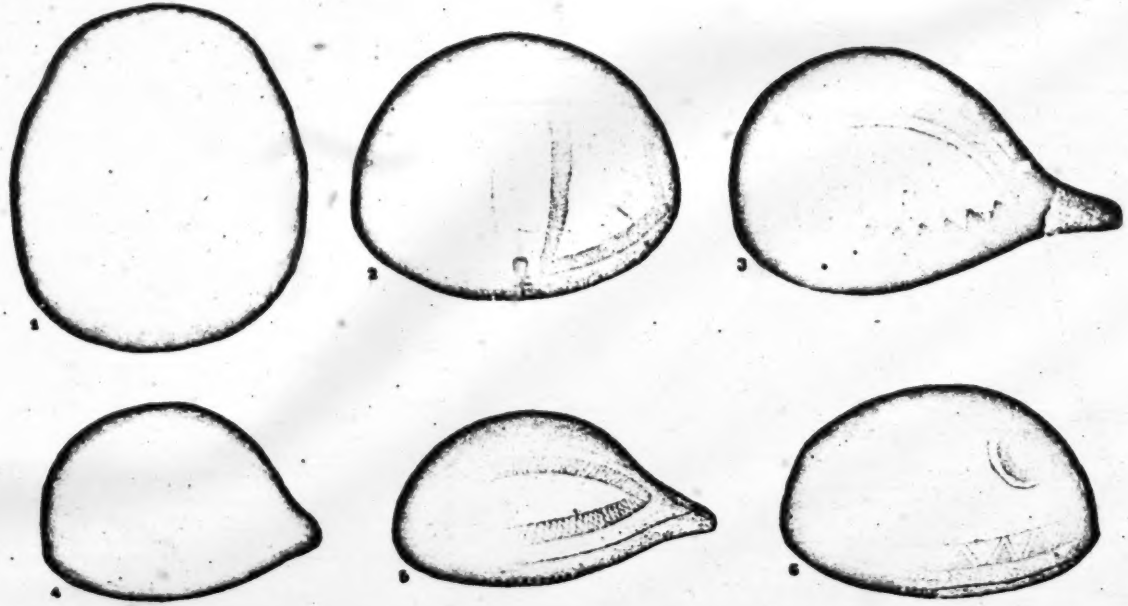
1:Métraux
SF10 Chiriguano
[facing p. 428, DJ



Calebasses incisées, pyrogravées et peintes. Chiriguano Prov. : 1, Tigüipa ; 2 et 6, Macharetí ; 3, Ivu ; 4, Saladito ; 5, Tiwiruiti (haut Pilcomayo)
Remarque : la calebasse n° 3, est peinte au rouge. (1/2 environ de la gr. nat.)

1/2

[facing p. 428, E]
I: Métraux
SF 10 Chiriguano

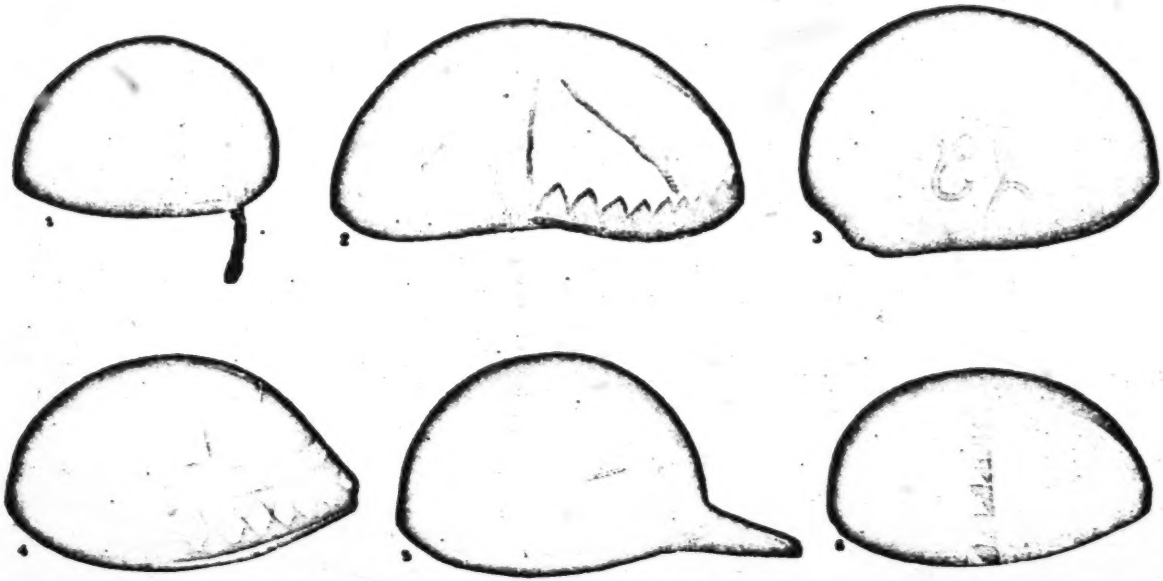


Calebasses incisées, pyrogravées et peintes : Chiriguano. Prov. : 1, Santa Rosa; 2, Mangaruti; 3 et 6, Caipipendi; 4, Masavi; 5, Cururuti
Remarque : toute la partie inférieure du 3 est peinte au roucou. (1/3 environ de la gr. nat.)

1:Métraux

SF10 Chiriguano

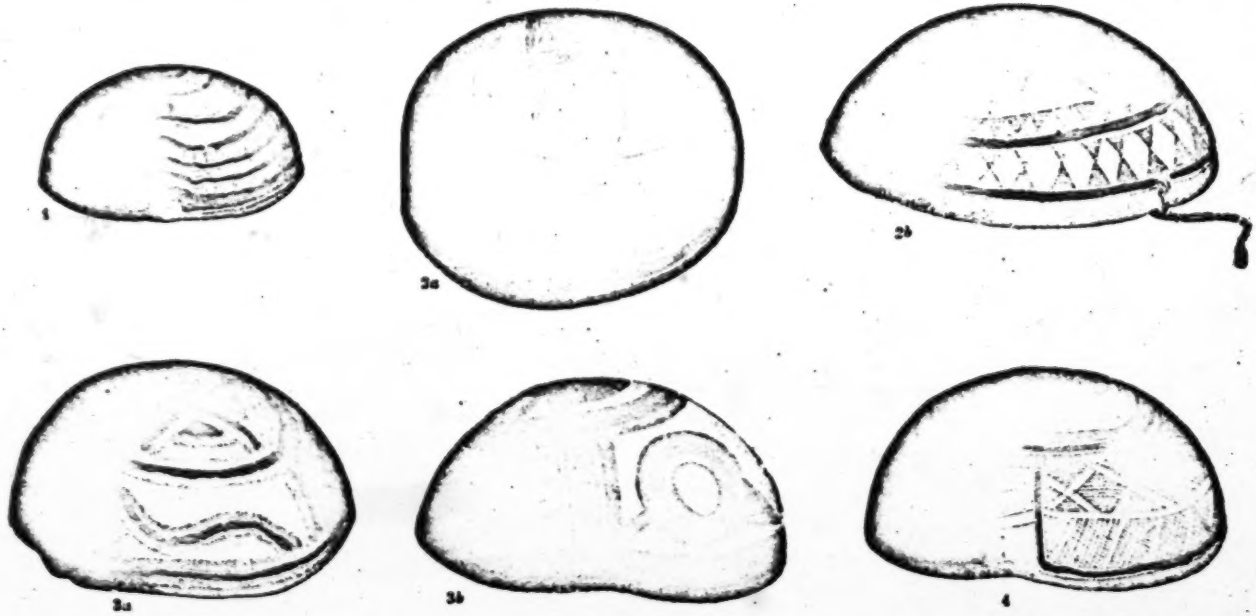
[Facing P. 428, F]



Calebasses incisées, pyrogravées et peintes. Prov. : 1, Carutindi (Igüembé) ; 2 et 6, Macharetí ; 3, Tiwiraiti ; 4, Tiutapaw (haut Pilcomayo) ; 5, Caipipendi. Remarques : sur le n° 3, chiffres plus ou moins déformés. La calebasse n° 4 est peinte, pyrogravée et incisée. (X = 1-3 (1.5) = 1/2, (1-5) = 1/5 environ gr. nat.)

[facing p. 428, G]

1:Métraux SF10 Chiriguano

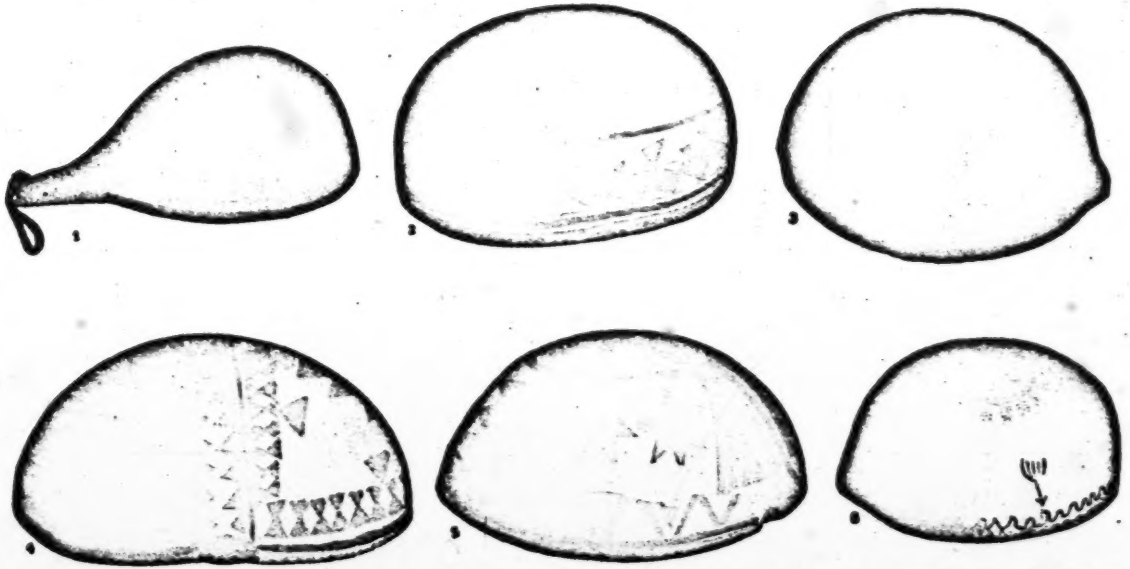


Calebasses incisées et pyrogravées. Prov. : 1, Nawirenda ; 2a et b, Carutindi (Vallée d'Igüembé) ; 3a et b, Yumbia ; 4, Ibopeyti. Remarque : sur le n° 3a et b a été représenté un oiseau fortement stylisé. (N° 1-3 = $^1/_3$; 4 = $^1/_4$ environ de la gr. nat.)

[facing p. 428, H]

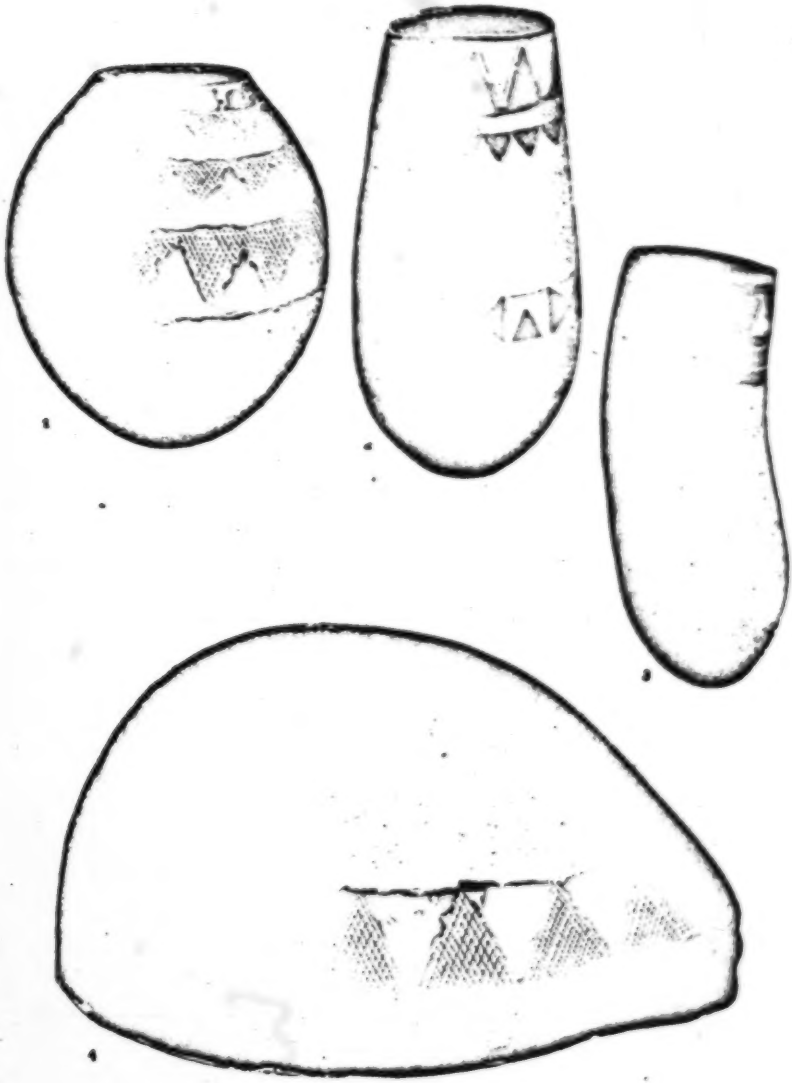
1:Métraux SF10 Chiriguano

[facing P.428, I]



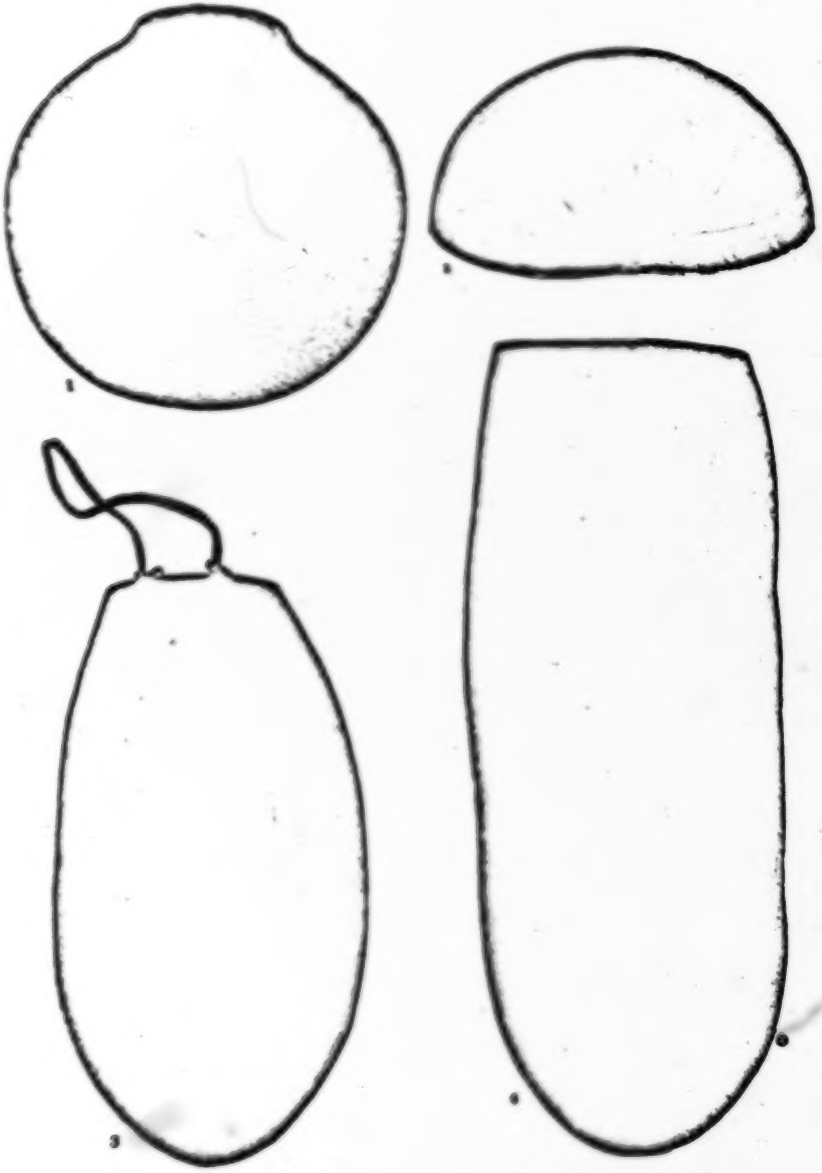
Calebasses pyrogravées et incisées. Chiriguano. Prov. : 1 et 3, Calpipendi ; 2 et 4, Macharetti ; 5, Tiwiniti (haut Pilcomayo) ; 6, Kawirenda (haut Pilcomayo). Remarques : la calebasse n° 1 est ornée d'une série de chiffres gravés allant de 1 à 10 ; la calebasse n° 6 de motifs nettement européens d'inspiration. (N° 1, 3, 5 et 6 = 1/3 ; 2 et 4 = 1/4 environ de la gr. nat.)

[facing P. 428, J]



Céramiques incisées et pyrogravées. Chiriguano. Prov. : 1 et 4. Tarairi ; 2. Macharetti ; 3. Calpépondi (X= 1 et 2 = 1/, ; 3 = 1/, ; 4 = 1/, environ de la gr. nat.)

[Facing P. 428, K]



Calebasses peintes, incisées et pyrogravées. Pour. : 1, Ivu ; 2, Igbirabé ; 3 et 4, Calpipendi
(E= 1-3 = 1/3 ; 4 = 1/4 environ de la gr. nat.)

les calebasses chiriguano (pl. LXI, 1 *a*, et pl. LXIV, 2). Les bandes réticulées qui encadrent le décor d'une des calebasses de Calama (Boman, 2, t. II, pl. LXXV, fig. 176 *b*) sont fréquemment incisées sur celles des Chiriguano (pl. LXVI, 1 et 4; pl. LXIX, 3, etc., par exemple) de même que les rangées de triangles à champ noirci qui figurent sur quelques calebasses de la Puna de Jujuy (Ambrosetti, 4, fig. 61-63, pp. 65-66; fig. 70-71, pp. 58-69, t. LIV) et sur le fragment de La Paya déjà mentionné. La ligne zigzaguée qui se détache en blanc sur l'appareil réticulé d'une des calebasses de Calama (Boman, 2, t. II, pl. LXXV, fig. 186 *c*) réapparaît presque identique sur la jolie calebasse de la planche LXII, 2.

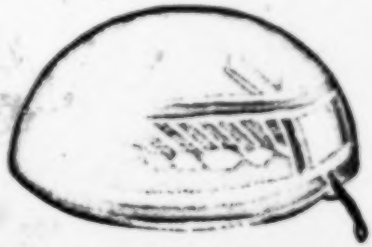


Fig. 84. — Calebasse incisée et pyrogravée. Prov. : Caratindi (Vallée d'Iglesias). (1/1, environ de la gr. nat.)

Je ne puis donner meilleur argument en faveur de l'étroite analogie qu'offrent entre elles les calebasses de la région andine et celles des Chiriguano modernes, qu'en publiant la calebasse de la planche LXII, 3 *a* et *b*, trouvée en territoire diaguite dans la province de Catamarca (« La Quebrada », Valle del Cajón). Son décor se compose de bandes incisées et finement réticulées sur un fond noirci. Les crochets qui partent du cercle gravé sur le haut de la calebasse et des bords de celle-ci, rappellent étrangement les motifs analogues que nous avons vus sur les exemplaires chiriguano.

La spirale, qui semble avoir été un motif particulièrement cher aux pyrograveurs du nord-ouest de l'Argentine et du désert d'Atacama ne figure sur aucun des spécimens de mes collections, si l'on ne veut pas considérer comme des rudiments de spirales ou des spirales dégénérées, les crochets que nous voyons sur quelques calebasses chiriguano (pl. LXI, 2). Il est intéressant de constater que la spirale et le triangle à volute des calebasses andines sont typologiquement étroitement apparentés aux motifs analogues que les femmes chiriguano du haut Pilcomayo peignent sur leurs vases. Si ces dessins se sont mieux conservés dans la céramique que dans la pyrogravure, cela tient, sans doute, à ce que ce premier art est resté plus proche de ses origines. Les femmes, qui en ont le monopole, sont plus conservatrices que les hommes qui décorent les calebasses.

Sur presque toutes les calebasses de ma collection, les dessins pyrogravés alternent avec des motifs incisés. Il en est peut être de même pour les calebasses de la région andine. A en juger par les excellentes photographies que Boman (2, t. II, pl. LXXVI) nous en donne, et par

l'exemplaire de la vallée calchaquí que je publie ici, c'est à tort que on savant les considère comme ayant été entièrement pyrogravées. Lorsqu'un Chiriguano incise au couteau un dessin sur une calebasse, il a toujours soin de remplir les traits gravés avec de la cendre pour les faire ressortir. Ce procédé, à première vue, peut se confondre avec la pyrogravure proprement dite.

Un simple coup d'œil sur les planche LXI-LXXI permet de se rendre compte que la pyrogravure et la gravure sur calebasses n'obéissent pas à des règles stylistiques aussi rigides que la poterie. Ces calebasses diffèrent fortement les unes des autres et c'est à peine si quelques motifs semblent être préférés à d'autres. A quoi tient cette diversité? Je la crois artificielle et je suis persuadé que jadis cet art obéissait à des normes précises, en un mot qu'il y avait autrefois un véritable style de la pyro-

a b

Fig. 10a et b. — Calebasse gravée. Le bord seul en a été légèrement pyrogravé. Sur un côté on voit un être digne en pensée, sur l'autre de : un cerceau (?) et un oiseau. Prov. : Mazart (Vallée d'Iglesuela). (¼, environ de la gr. nat.)

gravure et de la gravure sur bois. Comment expliquerait-on autrement que ce sont précisément les plus belles pièces de ma collection qui soient en même temps les plus anciennes et les plus semblables aux prototypes andins (pl. LXI, 1 et 2; LXII, 1 et 2; LXIV, 2; LXVIII, 2 et 3, etc.). N'oublions pas que la pyrogravure est une activité masculine et que les hommes sont plus accessibles que les femmes à toutes les innovations. En outre, ceux-ci sont allés, pour la plupart, en Argentine et ils en ont rapporté avec une nouvelle mentalité, des modèles et des inspirations étrangères à leur ancienne tradition. Cette influence européenne est puissante en bien des cas : c'est ainsi que la calebasse de la planche LXVII, 3 et celle de la planche LXIX, 1 est ornée de chiffres arabes. Les calebasses de la planche LXIV, 1, LXV, 1 et 5, LXIX, 5 sont décorées de fleurs ou d'étoiles stylisées qui n'ont rien d'indien. L'action des blancs et de leur mauvais goût est évidente dans les motifs peints au ronon qui agrémentent la calebasse de la planche LXV, 3.

Les représentations anthropomorphes ou zoomorphes sont plus courantes sur les calebasses que sur la poterie. Un bonhomme fortement sché-

matériel est figuré sur la calebasse de la planche LXIII, 1 a et b, sur la calebasse de la planche LXIII, 2 a est été gravée des chiens, sur celles des planches LXIII, 1; LXVIII, 3 a et b; LXIX, 2; LXXI, 3, des oiseaux. Un lama a été représenté d'une façon fort expressive sur la calebasse représentée 2 b de la planche LXIII et sur la calebasse de la figure 3 b et b on reconnaît un cheval et un bœuf, paissant en jaguar. Trois poissons et un oiseau apparaissent sur l'exemplaire de la planche LXVII, 2.

Les indiens de la mission d'Ivo, et ceux de la vallée de Caipipendi, peignent leurs calebasses en rouge. Cette couleur ne s'efface que fort difficilement et ne s'étend pas en dehors du pourtour des dessins colo-

a b c

Fig. 1000. 1 et 2. — Calebasses en miniature. a vues à l'horizontale et b vues d'en haut. Chiriguano de l'Isoso. Photo. — 3. Tapanaki, porte de l'épaule droite (Kaiabi). 4. Tucumanda (Kaiabi) (Métraux, c. 32. 1). (Archives de la gr. mis.)

lorée. Pour obtenir ce résultat, les Chiriguano commencent par enlever l'épiderme qui la recouvre, sauf aux endroits qui doivent rester sans coloration. Ensuite ils enduisent la surface extérieure de rouge et graissent le trigonocarpe là où ils l'ont conservé. Les figures se détachent alors en rouge sur fond jaunâtre. Un procédé analogue est en usage chez les Tupinamba (Nordenskiöld, 5, p. 244). Les motifs qui ornent la plupart des calebasses peintes que j'ai recueillies à Ivo sont, malheureusement, fortement influencés par des modèles européens et, à côté de très jolis dessins, on en trouve d'autres de la plus détestable banalité.

CHAPITRE VIII

Le Tissage

Le tissage est une industrie très répandue chez les Chiriguano; malheureusement, à l'époque actuelle, ses produits sont quelconques et, depuis qu'ils emploient les couleurs à l'aniline (1), souvent fort laides. La plupart de leurs ponchos sont copiés de ceux des métis boliviens.

(1) Les Chiriguano extraient la couleur bleue d'une plante qu'ils appellent *tarabuni*, c'est-à-dire « herbe bleue ». Ils en peuvent également la cultiver. Pour colorer leurs fils ils ajoutent une sorte cendre mêlé sur le tipoy, de cette façon, mais cette recette simple, elles les transportent dans une décoction de cette herbe. Parfois ceux

— [illegible] —

Le type du métier à tisser qui prédomine chez les Chirigueno, est celui qui a reçu le nom de métier à tisser vertical. Le phonème LLLLLL en donne une idée. Deux fourches sont plantées en terre. Elle environnent deux

Fig. 41. — Femme Chirigueno [illegible] à tisser. (Photo. G. M.)

[illegible] parallèles dont l'une, celle d'en haut, est une moitié de mortier en bois dur et lourd. Une fibre de la chaîne [illegible] d'une, [illegible] à chaque bout environnant une [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] à ce bastillon des fils [illegible] que le gaît [illegible] le gaît [illegible]. Les fourches d'un métier qui atteint facilement 4 à 10 mètres, l'Ierne [illegible], [illegible] également des [illegible] blanc, mais pour cela il faut qu'elles soient [illegible] et que l'ajoure soit en [illegible].

Avec le gaît, [illegible] qui [illegible] du tissu de l'algarrobo (*Prosopis*), les femmes Chirigueno [illegible] les fils qu'elles [illegible] [illegible] en blanc. (*Dictionnaire Chirigueno-Espagnol y Espagnol-Chirigueno*, etc., pp. [illegible] à [illegible]).

[illegible] parallèlement au sol. Une fois le tissu fini, cette feuille est retirée et d'un coup le pinceau d'étoffe, qui formait jusque là une bande sans fin, s'ouvre (fig. 91).

Le peigne du mon suitiere à tisser européens est remplacé ici par un

Fig. 90. — Jeune filles Chirigano tissant. Musée. (Cliché de Spinnelis. Photo. A. M.)

[illegible] du fils qui seulement alternativement un fil de la chaîne puis l'autre.

Le tissage est garanti à l'aide d'une navette dont le va-et-vient est facilité par un autre du tissement (*[illegible]*) qui écarte les fils de la chaîne. Ce dernier instrument est employé pour serrer le tissu chaque fois que la trame a passé. Un entrecroisée de manchon taillé en pointe (fig. 92) ou en bâtonnet pointu en fonctions (fig. 93 et 94) permet de déplacer les

fils de la chaîne d'avant en arrière une fois qu'ils ont été croisés à l'aide du peigne. La femme qui vient de passer la trame saisit à pleine main ce poignard et d'un coup sec soulève les fils de la chaîne après avoir tiré sur le peigne. Les travaux difficiles, probablement l'exécution de quelques figures compliquées, se font avec une aiguille en bois, dont malheureusement je n'ai pas vu l'emploi.

Fig. 69 a, b, c. — Fuseaux chiriguano du type *ba-ñiri*. Prov. : a, Tasiti; b, Tintapaw ; c, Tasiti (haut Pilcomayo). Ces fuseaux sont pourvus à leur partie supérieure d'une rainure qui permet de fixer le fil. La fusaiole de a et b est en terre cuite, celle de c en bois. (1/1, gr. nat.)

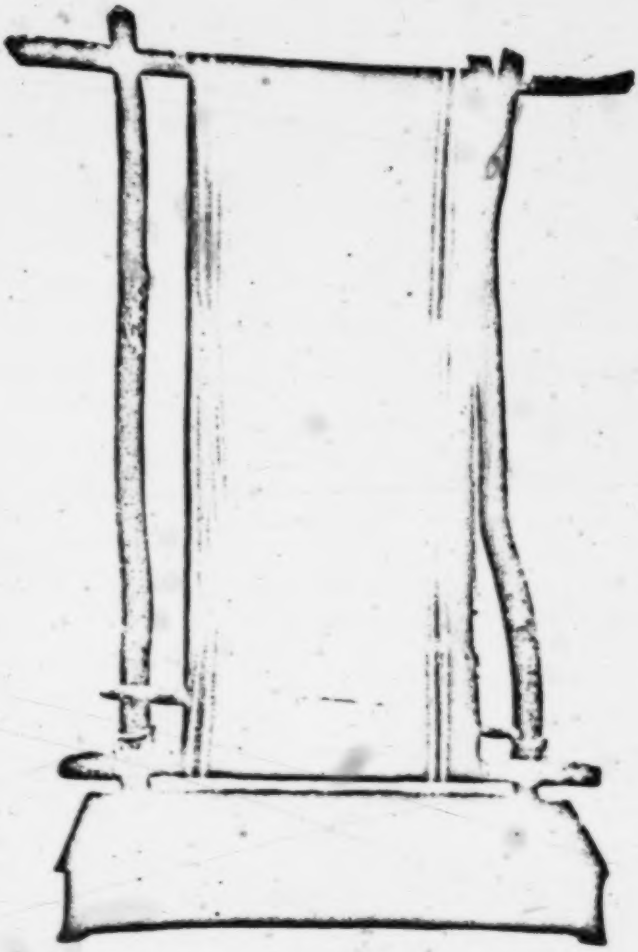
Les Chiriguano ont leur métier à tisser en commun avec nombre de tribus de l'Amérique tropicale et ils l'ont, sans doute, connu au Paraguay déjà, du moins sous une forme plus rudimentaire. On peut voir dans quelques villages chiriguano des métiers à tisser du type incasique ou quichua, c'est-à-dire, horizontaux. La chaîne est alors fixée à une cordelette le long d'une pièce de bois et le tissu est enroulé à mesure qu'il avance.

Les bandeaux frontaux et les ceintures sont tissés avec des métiers d'un type analogue à celui qui vient d'être décrit. Les fils de la chaîne sont fixés à une boucle en coton qui est attachée à un pilier de la hutte. Au fur et à mesure que le tissu se fait, on l'enroule autour de deux bâtonnets ou de deux épis de maïs qui sont attachés à l'extrémité inférieure de la chaîne (pour ce type de métier à tisser, voir Nordenskiöld, **10**, fig. 4, p. 175).

Je reproduis à la figure 95 un bandeau frontal *tiambi*. Aujourd'hui ces ornements sont devenus fort rares et seuls quelques vieillards les portent encore. Notre exemplaire est teint avec des couleurs naturelles.

Toutes les indiennes qui vivent hors de l'influence des missions portent encore le *tipoy*, c'est-à-dire, une sorte de long fourreau qu'elles attachent sur l'épaule à l'aide d'une épingle de nourrice actuellement et jadis

[facing p. 434]



Métier à tisser chiriguano, du type dit « arawak ». Prov. : Ivu. (1/14 gr. nat.)

d'une épine. Autrefois ces *tipoy* étaient tissés par les indiennes sur des métiers du type aruwak. Ils étaient en coton et teints en bleu noir. Il

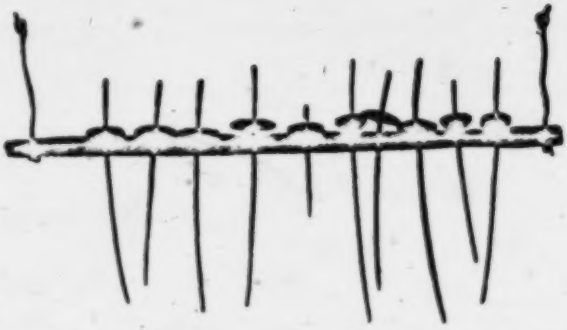


Fig. 90. — Dessin indiquant comment les fuseaux sont arrangés à l'intérieur d'une hutte chiriguano. Ils sont enfilés dans les trous ménagés le long d'un bambou qui est suspendu contre les parois de l'habitation. (1/4 gr. nat.)

est presque impossible de nos jours de trouver une femme dont le *tipoy* ne soit pas en *chamalote*, sorte de cotonnade bon marché que les Syriens et les métis vendent à haut prix à nos Indiens. Dans la vallée de Caipi-

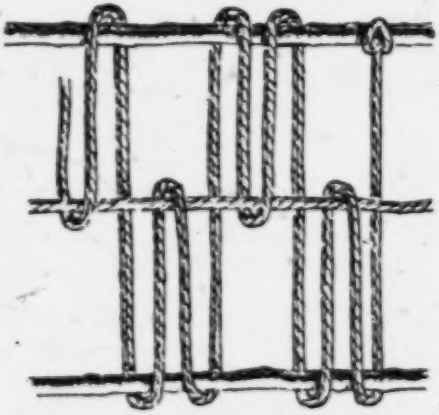


Fig. 91. — Schéma indiquant comment sont disposés les fils de la chaîne sur un métier chiriguano du « type aruwak » (*d'après Nordenskiöld*).

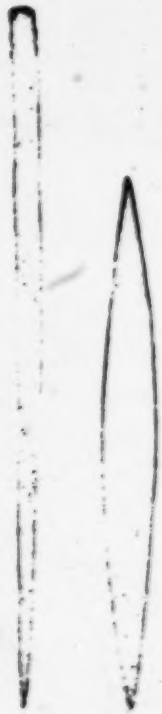
pendi, j'ai rencontré deux vieilles qui conservaient encore le *tipoy* des anciens temps. Elles ne voulurent me le céder à aucun prix. A Caruruti, un vieux bonhomme, désireux de faire une bonne affaire, me vendit fort

cher celui de sa femme pour s'acheter de l'eau-de-vie. Il fallait bien fêter dignement Pâques.

Les chemises *(tiru-kumbaé)* que les hommes arboraient jadis, n'existent plus que dans le souvenir des vieillards.

Les tissus actuels des Chiriguano n'offrent presque aucune originalité.

Fig. 92. — Métatarsien de mammifère taillé en forme de poignard que les femmes Chiriguano utilisent pour crouser et serrer ensuite les fils de la chaîne. Prov. : Ivu. (1/2 gr. nat.)



Figs. 93-94. — Poinçons (*tirsuni*) pour crouser et serrer ensuite les fils de la chaîne. Prov. : Salado grande. (1/2 gr. nat.)

Ils sont généralement unis et s'ils présentent quelques motifs linéaires, ceux-ci sont servilement copiés sur des modèles provenant de la région andine. Les tissus quichua, prototypes de ceux des Chiriguano, n'en sont pas moins d'une meilleure qualité et d'une plus grande richesse d'ornementation. Outre les dessins purement géométriques, ils sont fréquemment agrémentés de petites figures représentant des animaux ou des bonshommes. Rien de semblable chez les Chiriguano. La simplicité

de leurs tissus forme un contraste frappant avec la richesse et la variété de la décoration de leur céramique. Leur infériorité à cet égard est loin de correspondre à l'habileté qui leur est habituelle dans toutes leurs activités. Il suffit de voir les travaux admirables que les fillettes chiriguano exécutent dans les missions pour se rendre compte de ce dont elles auraient été capables si des traditions historiques ne les avaient pas tenues à l'écart de cet art. Leurs lointains ancêtres Tupi-Guarani ne connaissaient que des formes rudimentaires du tissage et l'on peut affirmer que

Fig. 85. — Bandeau frontal (tembé). Prov. : Yuruiba (1/2 gr. nat.)

cette industrie est restée étrangère à toutes les tribus tupi qui n'ont pas subi l'influence d'une nation plus civilisée qu'eux. Les Tupinamba de la côte du Brésil ne pratiquaient, à ce qu'il semble, que la technique du double fil *(Doppelfadentechnick)* au moyen de laquelle ils fabriquaient leurs hamacs. Les anciens chroniqueurs signalent l'usage du *tipoy* parmi les anciens Guarani du Paraguay, ce qui est un indice de l'existence du tissage chez cette fraction de la famille tupi. Leurs descendants actuels, les Kainguá, pourraient passer pour d'habiles tisserands à en juger par la finesse des quelques tissus qui ont été recueillis chez eux. Ce sont pour la plupart de larges ceintures qu'ils passent entre leurs jambes et nouent autour des reins. En réalité le tissage en est chez eux à ses dé-

buts comme en fait foi leur métier à tisser. Celui-ci n'est qu'un simple cadre autour duquel sont enroulés les fils de la chaîne. La trame est passée fil après fil comme pour le ravaudage.

Ce sont sans doute les Chané qui ont appris aux Chiriguano à tisser et comme probablement ils n'avaient pas atteint dans cet art un niveau

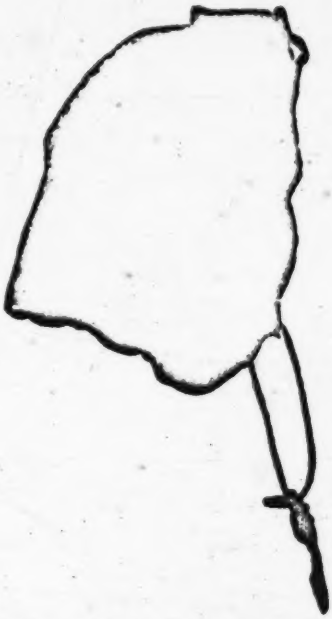


Fig. 98. — Bonnet en laine tricoté (*sakuiru*). Prov. : Xawirenda. Cette coiffure est une pièce unique et il est possible qu'elle ne soit pas chiriguano. (1/, gr. nat.)

très élevé, ils n'ont pu transmettre à leurs successeurs et suzerains, les Chiriguano, qu'une technique encore peu développée que ceux-ci n'ont guère améliorée.

Ce contraste entre une céramique très évoluée et un art du tissage encore rudimentaire est caractéristique pour les Indiens des régions tropicales et subtropicales de l'Amérique du Sud, du moins pour ceux qui peuvent passer pour relativement civilisés, comme les Arawak et les Karib.

CHAPITRE IX

La vannerie et ses techniques

1. CONSIDÉRATIONS GÉNÉRALES

La vannerie est loin d'être aussi abondamment représentée chez les Chiriguano et les Chané que chez les tribus indiennes du bassin de l'Amazone ou des Guyanes. Le rôle secondaire que celle-ci joue dans leur industrie est dû à la nature du sol sur lequel ils vivent et au climat dont ils jouissent. Les palmiers à feuilles pennées manquent, à ma connaissance du moins, sur toute l'étendue de leur territoire; quant à ceux dont les feuilles s'ouvrent en éventails, s'ils sont nombreux en certains endroits, leur répartition est loin d'être uniforme. Les palmiers que les indiens Chiriguano appellent *karandaí (Copernicia australis)* forment, par places, de véritables bosquets, alors que sur de vastes régions ils font défaut ou n'apparaissent que clairsemés. J'en ai vu un nombre considérable entre San Luis et le río Saladito et j'ai traversé quelques grandes palmeraies entre Yacuiba et Villamontes, sur le Pilcomayo, et au sud du río Parapití, allant de Cuevo à Pipi. J'ai constaté, en outre, que la répartition du *karandaí* coïncidait avec celle d'un certain type de vannerie *(twilled work)* pour lequel les indiens emploient ces feuilles.

Fig. 97. — Hotte employée par les indiens Guarayú pour transporter de lourdes charges. *(D'après Nordenskiöld.)*

Nordenskiöld (**10**, p. 169) conte une anecdote qui illustre bien l'influence que le milieu exerce sur cette industrie. Ce savant était accompagné, lors d'un de ses voyages dans le Chaco, de quelques indiens Guarayú qui le suivirent jusqu'en pays chiriguano. Les Guarayú ont coutume de charger leurs bagages et les produits de leurs champs dans des hottes d'un type spécial (voir fig. 97) qui ont une vaste distribution dans l'Amérique tropicale, des Guyanes au Paraguay (Nordenskiöld, **11**, p. 171 et carte 21). Leurs hottes étant en mauvais état, les Guarayú voulurent en faire de nouvelles et furent fort ennuyés de ne pas trouver dans la région où ils étaient parvenus, les palmiers à feuilles pennées dont ils avaient coutume de se servir à cet effet. Or, Guarayú et Chiriguano sont frères de race et de langue et ont émigré à la même époque du Paraguay pour s'établir dans le voisinage des Andes. En quittant leur pays d'origine, les uns comme les autres connaissaient ce type de hottes qui était utilisé par leurs ancêtres les Guarani, les Tupinamba de la côte du Bré-

sil, et est encore en honneur chez leurs cousins germains du Paraguay, les Kaingua (Métraux, **2**, p. 206). La disparition de cet élément culturel chez les Chiriguano est dû, uniquement, au manque de matières premières appropriées.

Pour suppléer à l'absence de hottes, indispensables à un peuple d'a-

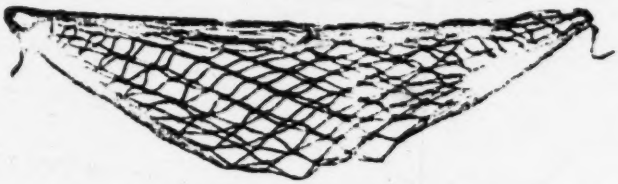


Fig. 98. — Filet à porter (*aoapoka*) des indiens Chiriguano. Il est maintenu sur le front par une courroie qui ne figure pas sur la photographie. (Carnutt). (1/5 environ de la gr. nat.)

griculteurs, les Chiriguano ont emprunté à leurs voisins du Chaco, soit aux Mataco, soit aux Choroti, les filets à porter (en chiriguano : *añapoka)* dont l'emploi est si répandu chez ces derniers et est si caractéristique de leur civilisation. Les filets à porter sont aujourd'hui d'usage général chez les Chiriguano et, dans tout village, chaque famille en a au

Fig. 99. — Filet à porter *toba* employé par les indiens Chiriguano de la mission de Macharetí (1/5 environ de la gr. nat.)

moins un (fig. 98 et 99). En dépit de cette vaste diffusion, l'*añapoka* des Chiriguano trahit son origine par sa forme et sa technique (voir fig. 100 et 101) qui, l'une et l'autre, se retrouvent chez les peuplades que nous venons d'énumérer (Nordenskiöld, **9**, p. 298, technique I). Les Chiriguano, bien que considérablement plus avancés dans la voie de la civilisation que les peuplades semi-nomades du Chaco, ne les égalent en aucune

façon dans l'art de faire des filets. Les *añapoka*, que j'ai recueillies, ne peuvent se comparer aux profondes sacoches que les Matako ou les Choroti, par exemple, confectionnent dans le même but. Dans le village de Machareti, où des Toba vivent avec des Chiriguano, ce sont ceux-là qui fournissent à ces derniers les filets à porter dont ils ont besoin (voir fig. 99) (1).

Tout laisse donc supposer que, dans les premiers temps de leur installation sur les confins occidentaux du Chaco bolivien, les Chiriguano se procuraient par échanges les filets à porter destinés à remplacer les hottes qu'ils avaient utilisées jusqu'alors. Ce n'est que par la suite qu'ils ont appris à les faire eux-mêmes, n'adoptant d'ailleurs que la plus simple des techniques et la plus facile. Nous pouvons, grace à cet exemple, saisir sur le vif les causes qui ont motivé l'adoption d'un nouvel élément culturel après la disparition d'un autre qui rendait les mêmes services. Pour cela, deux facteurs sont entrés en jeu, le milieu physique et le milieu ethnique. Il y a eu, à la fois, adaptation et emprunt. Ce fait prouve aussi qu'un peuple relativement civilisé n'hésite jamais à s'approprier les inventions de tribus plus barbares quand il y trouve son profit.

Fig. 100. — Technique du filet de la figure 98 (Technique I selon Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 209)

La pauvreté actuelle de l'industrie de la vannerie chez les Chiriguano n'implique pas qu'elle soit insignifiante et dénuée de valeur. Peut-être, avant la décadence de cette nation, était-elle plus largement représentée dans chaque village. J'ai pu observer que la disparition de la vannerie

(1) Nordenskiöld (10, p. 163, fig. 49 A) donne le détail de la technique d'un filet à porter chiriguano. Cette technique ne se retrouve sur aucune des *añapoka* que j'ai rapportées du Chaco. Je suppose qu'il s'agit d'un filet à porter que les Chiriguano auront acheté à des Choroti qui, avec les Ashluslay et les Matako, semblent être les seuls à faire usage de cette technique. La technique que nous indiquons à la figure 101, est connue des Ashluslay, des Choroti et des Tapiete. Nordenskiöld (9, p. 208) ne la mentionne pas chez les Toba où elle existe néanmoins comme en témoigne l'*añapoka* de la figure 99.

allait de pair avec l'influence des blancs. Mais, pour les raisons que j'ai données plus haut, je ne crois pas qu'en aucun moment on ait pu trouver chez les Chiriguano cette abondance d'objets en vannerie que les voyageurs signalent chez les indiens de la Guyane ou du bassin de l'Amazone. Jadis, alors que les ancêtres des Chiriguano vivaient encore au Paraguay et au Brésil, ils possédaient une vannerie identique à celle des tribus habitant les régions auxquelles j'ai fait allusion. La preuve en est fournie par la survivance chez les Chiriguano actuels de types de paniers, de corbeilles, d'éventails à feu et de cribles, dont nous ne retrou-

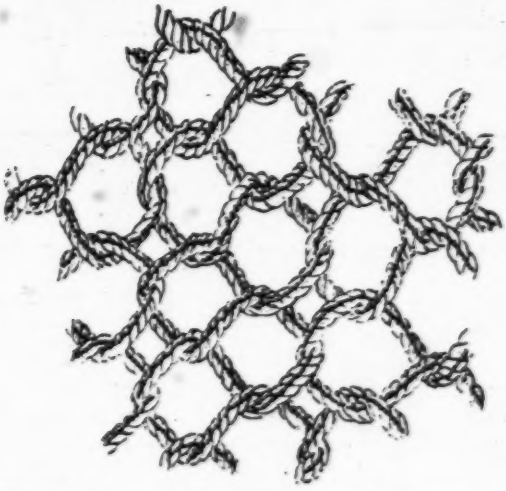


Fig. 101. — Technique du filet de la figure 99. (Technique V selon Nordenskiöld, 8, p. 20e)

vons l'équivalent exact que dans la Guyane ou le bassin de l'Amazone. Comme nous le constaterons au cours de cette étude, l'identité entre ces deux aires ethniques est, à ce point de vue, parfaite. La seule difficulté est de savoir s'il s'agit, dans ce cas, des restes d'une industrie propre aux indiens Chané d'origine arawak et dont l'influence sur les Chiriguano a été considérable, ou si cette vannerie ne fait que continuer celle des anciens Guarani émigrés. A mon sens, le problème n'a pas besoin d'être posé. La vannerie des anciens Guarani ou des Tupinamba ne différait essentiellement, ni par sa technique ni par sa forme, ni par ses procédés d'ornementation de la vannerie du nord de l'Amérique méridionale (Métraux, 2, pp. 249-255). Elle devait offrir plus d'un point de contact avec celle des Chané et nous devons considérer la vannerie moderne des Chiriguano comme l'héritière de la vannerie commune à ces deux

nations. Remarquons, en passant, que la vannerie des populations de l'Amérique tropicale offre une certaine unité. C'est cependant dans les Guyanes qu'elle a atteint sa perfection.

Après leur grande migration au pied des Andes, les Chiriguano semblent avoir adopté une vannerie d'une technique nouvelle qui, sans doute, était ignorée de leurs ancêtres et frères de race du Paraguay et du Brésil. A cette technique appartiennent tous les paniers que dans les pages suivantes je range sous la rubrique de *wicker work*. Comme nous le verrons, cette technique existe aussi dans les Guyanes et il est possible qu'elle ait été apportée dans le Chaco bolivien par la nation arawak des Chané. Le centre de dispersion des Arawak doit être placé au nord de l'Amazone et avant l'invasion des Chiriguano, la tribu arawak des Chané était établie sur toute l'étendue du territoire que les premiers occupent actuellement.

A côté de cette technique il en existe une autre, connue des Chiriguano depuis des temps immémoriaux et bien avant leur grande migration; les ethnographes de langue anglaise, lui donnent le nom de *twilled work*. Aucun autre type de vannerie ne possède une telle extension. Cette technique domine dans toute l'Amérique tropicale, des Antilles au Paraguay, et vers le sud s'arrête au Chaco. Les Chiriguano sont les seuls indiens du Chaco où le *twilled work* soit d'un usage courant. Ce type de vannerie existait sur la côte du Pérou ancien, mais son importance n'y était pas grande et il n'apparait que sur des corbeilles à ouvrage.

La vannerie en *wicker work* et celle en *twined work* n'ont pas, chez les Chiriguano, une répartition identique. Les paniers du premier type abondent dans les villages du haut Pilcomayo (Saladito, Salado Grande et Chico, Ibopeyti et Yumbia) et vont jusqu'à la mission d'Ivu. Ils cessent, ou se font rares, dans le reste du pays chiriguano, notamment dans la vallée de Caipipendi où dominent, presque exclusivement, les paniers du second type *(twilled work)*. Ils y ont là une vaste diffusion et la beauté de leur facture, les ornements dont ils sont pourvus, les mettent bien au-dessus de la vannerie de n'importe quelle autre zone, et même de celle de tribus vivant dans des contrées plus riches en palmiers.

J'ai recueilli, dans les huttes du haut Pilcomayo quelques paniers en *twilled work*, mais ils y étaient rares, souvent incomplets et déchirés. J'ai eu l'impression qu'ils étaient parvenus là par voie d'échanges commerciaux. En tous les cas, les indiens ne tressent plus de paniers de ce type et il est possible que leur disparition ait donné de la valeur aux échantillons qui en restent. Cela expliquerait l'absence de tout exemplaire neuf et la conservation d'anciens paniers presque hors d'usage. Quoiqu'il en soit, à l'heure actuelle, le véritable centre de la vannerie en *twilled work* est la vallée de Caipipendi, et celui de la vannerie de

wicker work, la région du haut Pilcomayo. Comme dans les missions au nord et au sud du Pilcomayo, les conditions de vie des Chiriguano ont subi de profondes modifications, j'ignore quelle a dû être jadis la distribution respective de ces deux techniques. Nous trouverons cette difficulté chaque fois que nous aurons à nous occuper de la diffusion d'un élément culturel propre à ces indiens.

La vannerie en *wicker work* a subi fortement l'influence européenne. Les agents en ont été les métis du département de Tarija qui vivent en contact permanent avec les Chiriguano. Cette action étrangère sur les paniers appartenant à cette technique, se manifeste par des modifications des formes originales et des améliorations de détails, telles que les anses en fer à cheval.

Je n'ai trouvé chez les Chiriguano aucun panier tressé suivant la technique dite « en spirales » *(coiled basketry)*, bien qu'elle ait été autrefois en usage chez les populations andines qui vivaient et vivent en contact avec les Chiriguano. La vannerie « en spirales » s'est maintenue sur le haut plateau, comme l'atteste le panier de la figure 103 que j'ai acheté à La Quiaca.

2. VANNERIE EN « WICKER WORK »

Mason (p. 228) désigne sous le nom de *wicker basketry* un type de vannerie obtenu suivant la technique suivante : une armature rigide composée d'éléments épais et solides, est entrecroisée par des éléments plus minces et flexibles. Au cours de ce travail, j'appellerai *chaîne* les éléments rigides de l'armature, et ceux qui les croisent *trame*. La trame passe alternativement sur et sous chaque élément de la chaîne. Cette technique nous est bien connue : c'est celle de nos corbeilles, malles, paniers et hottes en osier (voir fig. 105).

En raison de sa simplicité même, on est en droit de supposer que cette technique est ancienne. Elle n'est qu'une variété du *checker work*, la plus élémentaire de toutes les techniques. Par *checker work*, on entend le procédé qui consiste à entrelacer des bandes flexibles de façon à obtenir un dessin en échiquier. La seule pièce de vannerie faite suivant cette technique, que je connaisse dans la région dont nous nous occupons, est un panier qu'Eric von Rosen (**1**, fig. 134, p. 122) a obtenu des Choroti qui campaient près de Tatarenda. Je partage l'opinion de cet explorateur qui considère cet objet comme étant d'origine chiriguano.

En dépit de son caractère simple et archaïque, la vannerie en *wicker work* est rare en Amérique du Sud. Selon Nordenskiöld (**10**, p. 171, et **11**, p. 198) on la trouve chez les Araucan, les Yurakare, les Atsawaka, les Tambopata Guarayú (Chama), les Yamiaka et chez les indiens de la Guyane, en particulier chez ceux de la région du Roroima.

Carte 1, indiquant la distribution de la technique dite wieber werk

1:Métraux SF10 Chirigu[illegible]o

TABLE DE LA CARTE 1

Distribution de la technique de vannerie dite « wicker work »

Numéros de la carte	Tribus	Auteurs	Remarques
1	*Chiriguano et Chané*		
2	*Diaguite*	Museo de Tucumán n° 305	Des empreintes sur le fond d'un vase m'ont permis de découvrir l'existence de cette technique dans cette aire géographique.
3	*Araucan* du Chili	Latcham, p. XXXV (1)	
4	*Araucan* de l'Argentine	Musée national de Buenos-Aires (collection Palavecino).	
5	*Yurakare*	Nordenskiöld, 11, fig. 30 p. 128	
6	*Atsawake, Tambopata-Guarayú*	Nordenskiöld, 11, p. 198	
7	*Palikur*	Nimuendajú, fig. 23, p. 49	
8	*Siusi* et *Kaná* du rio Ainry	Koch-Grünberg, 2, t. II, fig. 142*a-d*, p. 221	
9	*Patamona, Makusi, Arrkuna*	Roth, p. 140, pl. 105 B et C	
10	*Arawak*	Roth, pl. 104 B	

Ces indications demandent à être complétées. La technique dite *wicker work* était connue, à ce qu'il semble, des anciens Diaguite. Un vase provenant d'une des vallées andines de la province de Tucuman, porte gravées sur sa base les empreintes laissées par une claie ou panier en *wicker work* sur lequel la potière avait placé ce récipient lorsque l'argile en était encore molle (fig. 102). Cette découverte ne m'a pas surpris : depuis longtemps déjà j'avais supposé que cette façon de tresser les corbeilles n'était pas étrangère aux peuples des Andes. Comment aurait-on pu expliquer autrement l'occurence du *wicker work* chez les métis et les indiens du département de Turija, les Araucan et les indiens Chiriguano du haut Pilcomayo?

La Guyane forme une seconde aire de dispersion de cette technique, sans qu'elle y soit cependant très commune. Les sachets dans lesquels les Patamona mettent le coton dont ils pourvoient les flèches de leurs

(1) LATCHAM, R. E., *Ethnology of the Araucanos*, in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 31, London, 1904 cité d'après Nordenskiöld, 10, p. 171.

sarbacanes avant de les souffler sont en *wicker work*, de même que les *pegalls* avec les motifs dits « armadillo » des Arawak, Patamona et Makuši. Les paniers en forme de carafes ou de bouteilles des Siusí et des Kauá du rio Aiary constituent également de bons échantillons de cette technique. (Sur les modalités et la distribution de cette technique, v. Roth, p. 140 et pl. 104, 105 et 106 et pp. 329-331.)

En Amérique du Nord, la distribution de cette technique est plus vaste. Elle est connue des indiens du Canada oriental et abonde dans le

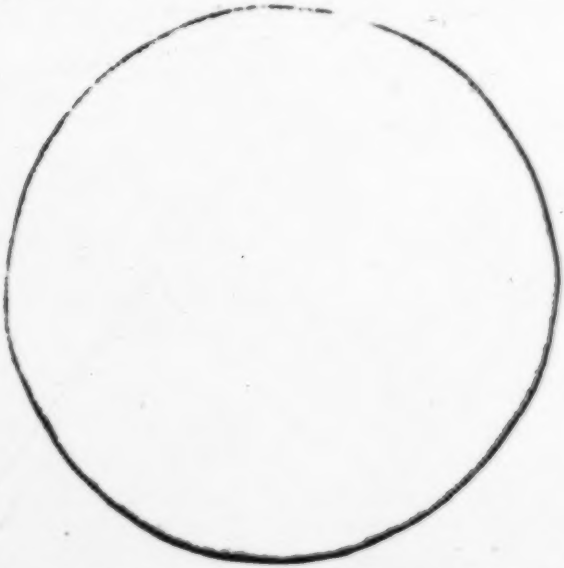


Fig. 182. — Base d'un vase provenant de la région montagneuse de la Province de Tucumán et portant les empreintes d'une claie ou d'un panier en wicker work sur lequel il reposait pendant sa fabrication.

sud du Mexique et dans l'Amérique centrale. Elle apparaît clairsemée, de ci de là, sur la côte du Pacifique et dans le bassin intérieur.

C'est dans cette technique que sont faites la plupart des nasses à poissons, les enclos pour arrêter le gibier dans les battues et les paniers grossiers servant au transport de nombreux objets.

Si l'on examine les paniers de ce type chez les Chiriguano, on sera sans doute frappé de constater que plusieurs d'entre eux affectent la forme de pièces de céramiques. Cette ressemblance est encore accentuée du fait que quelques-uns (voir pl. LXXV, 2) sont munis d'anses latérales à l'instar de vases. L'interférence entre ces deux industries est évidente.

Les anses en fer à cheval qui surmontent certains de ces paniers (pl. LXXV, 1 et 3) me semblent provenir de l'imitation de vanneries européennes ou métisses. J'ai trouvé, chez les métis des versants orientaux des Andes, des paniers qui avaient leurs répliques exactes chez les Chiriguano (voir, par exemple, figure 108) et attestaient éloquemment l'emprunt de ces derniers. D'ailleurs, ceux-ci donnent aux paniers de forme européenne le nom espagnol de *canasto*.

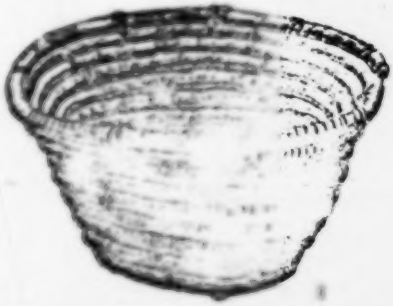


Fig. 108. — Petit panier en vannerie en spirale (coiled basketry). Achetés à la Quiaca. (1/1, gr. nat.)

Parmi les paniers en *wicker work*, il en est quelques-uns (pl. LXXV, 4) qui rappellent singulièrement par la forme et la technique, ces paniers de la Guyane brésilienne que Koch-Grünberg (2, t. II, p. 221, fig. 242 *a*, *b*, *c*) compare à des carafes. (Cf. aussi Roth, pl. 104, fig. C.)

Description de paniers en « wicker work »

Figure 104. Longueur: 20 centimètres; largeur: 14 centimètres; hauteur: 14,5 centimètres. Provenance: Ibopeyti (région du haut Pilcomayo).

Cette petite corbeille a été faite suivant la technique dite *wicker work*, c'est-à-dire, que les tiges ligneuses qui la constituent ont été entremêlées de telle façon, que les éléments de la trame passent alternativement au-dessus et au-dessous de ceux de la chaîne. Ceux-ci sont au nombre de dix: quatre se dirigent dans le sens transversal et six dans le sens longitudinal. Ils sont *enjambés* et maintenus par les tiges de la trame. La planche LXXIII donne une idée très exacte de la technique que je viens d'essayer de définir.

Les tiges fibreuses qui constituaient la chaîne et dépassaient de beaucoup les bords du panier, ont été replicées en arc et assujetties dans le tissu. Elles y ont été glissées à côté d'un autre élément de la chaîne après

avoir enjambé l'élément voisin (voir fig. 105). Les petits côtés du panier que l'on voit sur les figures 104 et 105, semblent de ce fait être formés par une chaîne dont chaque élément serait double. La bordure est régulière et solide.

Le panier est muni d'une corde de suspension en fibres végétales. J'ignore le nom scientifique et vulgaire de la plante dont ont été tirées les tiges ayant servi au tressage de cette corbeille. Celles-ci sont plates, régulières et de section rectangulaire.

Nordenskiöld (10, fig. 53 B) a publié un panier de forme analogue et d'une technique identique.

Fig. 104. — Panier en sisal vert avec couvercle
Prov. : Ilopeyti. (1/2, gr. nat.)

Planche LXXIV, figure 1. Hauteur : 16 centimètres ; diamètre maximum : 14 centimètres. Provenance : Saladito (haut Pilcomayo).

La chaîne se compose de douze éléments se croisant à la base en forme de quadrilatère, c'est-à-dire, par groupes de trois (voir pl. LXXVI, 1). La trame, comme la chaîne, est faite de lanières fibreuses, plates et minces. Les extrémités de la chaîne qui dépassaient le bord ont été repliées et glissées dans le tissu.

Planche LXXIV, figure 2. Hauteur : 16 centimètres ; diamètre maximum : 18 centimètres. Provenance : Ivu.

La technique de ce panier est identique à celle de l'exemplaire précédent. La matière première en est seule différente. Les tigelles qui le composent sont très minces et se prêtent moins bien à la régularité du

tissu. C'est pour cette raison que les éléments de la chaîne sont doubles. Celle-ci se compose de 32 tigelles disposées par paires, ce qui, en réalité, donne 16 éléments. Ils se croisent à la base en forme d'octogone à peu près comme sur la planche LXXVI, 2.

Planche LXXIV, figure 3. Hauteur : 13,5 centimètres; diamètre : 11 centimètres. Provenance : Ivo.

L'armature de ce panier est faite de tiges inégales et grossières. La base se compose de four tigelles arrêtées. Certaines tiges de la chaîne ont été fendues, puis écartées pour former deux éléments distincts (voir fig. 106).

Planche LXXIV, figure 4. Hauteur : 13,5 centimètres; diamètre : 11 centimètres. Provenance : Tintapaw (Alto Pilcomayo).

Ce panier est identique à celui que nous venons de décrire à cela près

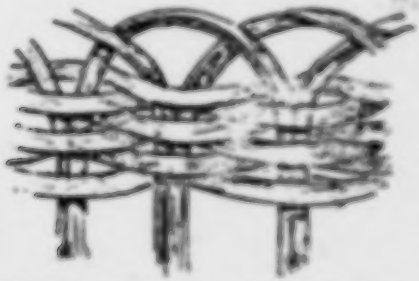


Fig. 106. — Détails de la technique du fond du panier de la figure 104.

que les tiges, rugueuses et cassantes, constituent un tissu épais et grossier.

Planche LXXV, figure 1. Hauteur : 19 centimètres; diamètre : 19 centimètres. Provenance : Tinlay (région du rio Saladillo).

Ce panier se distingue des précédents uniquement par la forme de l'anse en fer à cheval qui le surmonte. Celle-ci se compose de fibres tordues, exactement comme dans nos paniers de mélange. Les éléments de la chaîne sont au nombre de 12, disposés par groupes de 3, irradiant de la base et formant une figure quadrangulaire comme sur la planche LXXVI, 1. Quelques tiges de la trame ont été teintes en rouge.

Planche LXXV, figure 2. Hauteur : 16 centimètres; diamètre maximum : 17,5 centimètres. Provenance : Hoqeyti (haut Pilcomayo).

Ce panier mérite une place à part en raison de sa forme générale, des anses dont il est pourvu et du soin avec lequel il a été tressé.

Les anses dont il est pourvu sont constituées par un élément de la trame qui, après avoir fait le tour de la chaîne, s'en détache pour passer à trois reprises, perpendiculairement, sous l'armature du panier.

[facing P. 450, A]

A. Métraux, La civilisation des Indiens Chiriguano Planches LXXIII

Dessin du pourtour de la figure 100 indiquant le détail de sa construction

[Locing P 450, B]

A. Métraux, Ein Artfetisch der Indianer Chiriguano

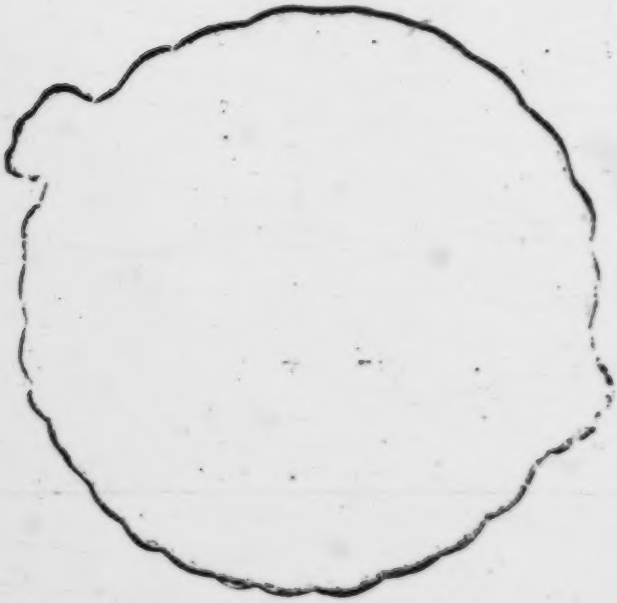
[facing p. 460, C]

A. Métraux, La civilisation des indiens Chiriguano Planche LXIV

Cuenco chiriguano. Fig. 1. Vistas desde Ellenberg. 2. Segun J. 3. Reconstruido desde Ellenberg (1/1, carrera de la gr. [illegible])

[facing P. 450, D]

1. Base du panier de la planche LXXIV, 1



2. Base du panier de la planche LXXV, 2

L'anse ainsi obtenue est renforcée par une tigelle supplémentaire qui entrelace les éléments, tout comme le fait la trame (voir fig. 107). La plan-

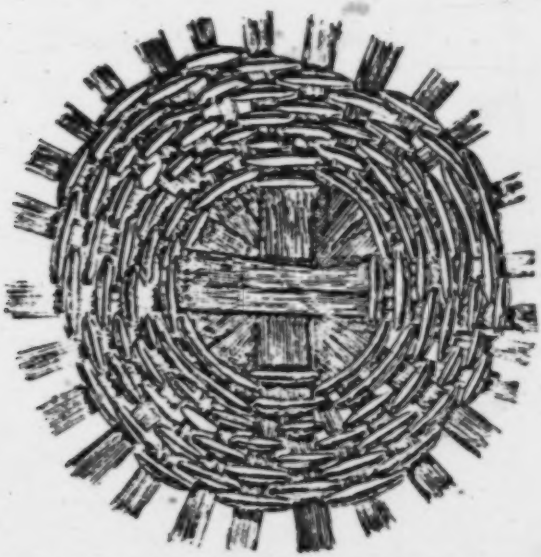


Fig. 106. — Détails de la technique fond du panier de la planche LXXIV, figure 3

che LXXVI, 2, nous montre la façon dont le vannier s'y est pris pour grouper les éléments de la chaine qui sont au nombre de 15.

Planche LXXV, figure 3. Hauteur : 16 centimètres; diamètre maximum : 15 centimètres. Provenance : Nawirenda (embouchure du rio Salado).

L'armature se compose de tiges plates et cassantes allant toujours par groupes de deux. L'anse rapportée est faite de fibres tordues. La forme générale de ce panier trahit une influence européenne.

Planche LXXV, figure 4. Hauteur : 15 centimètres; diamètre : 12 centimètres. Provenance : Nawirenda (embouchure du rio Salado).

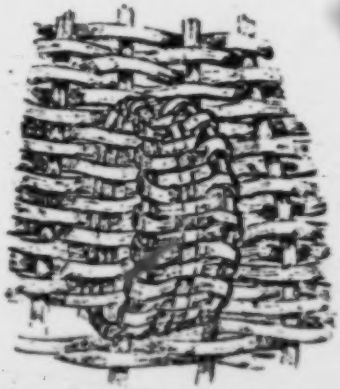


Fig. 107. — Détails de l'anse du panier de la planche LXXV, figure 2

La chaine est constituée par des éléments plats et minces plus larges que ceux de la trame. Les anses

sont rapportées. Elles sont formées par une tige enroulée sur elle-même et passant par trois fois sous les éléments de la trame. Une tige s'y entrelace exactement comme la trame s'entrelace à la chaîne.

Fig. 108. — Panier en sisère vert huilé de roux des métis. Prov. : Iva. (1/4 environ de la gr. nat.)

Planche LXXVII, figure 1. Hauteur : 8 centimètres; diamètre : 16 centimètres. Provenance : Ibopeyti (haut Pilcomayo).

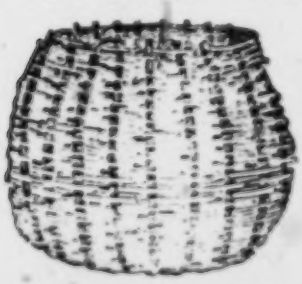


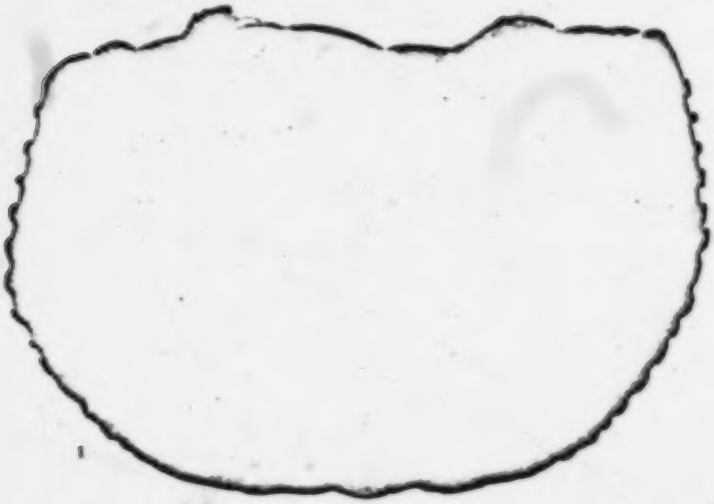
Fig. 109. — Panier en miniature (jouet d'enfant) (1/1, gr. nat.)

Cette petite corbeille légèrement arrondie est remarquable par sa rigidité et sa solidité. La technique est toujours la même que nous avons examinée jusqu'ici. La chaîne se compose de 15 éléments disposés à la base exactement comme sur la planche LXXVI, 1.

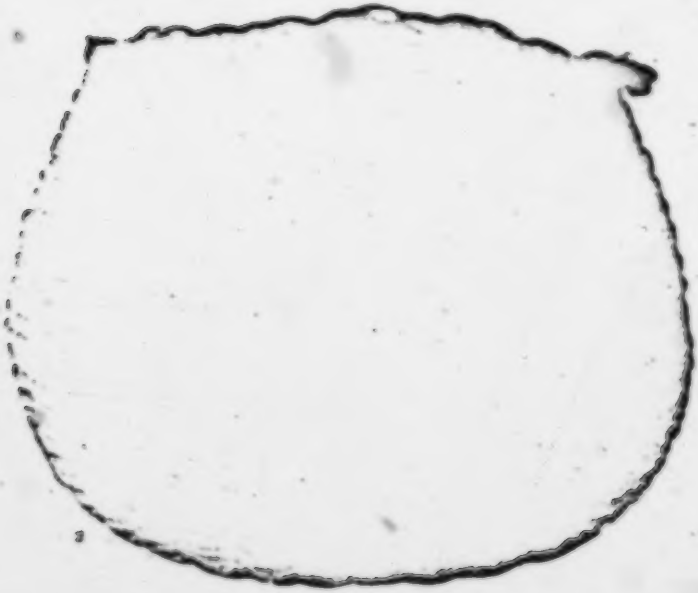
Planche LXXVII, figure 2. Hauteur : 9 centimètres; largeur : 11 centimètres. Provenance : Tintapaw (embouchure du rio Salado, haut Pilcomayo).

Ce petit panier s'apparente étroitement au précédent par sa technique. La chaîne est faite de quatre bandes fibreuses qui se croisent en octogones et sont ensuite partagées en trois

[facing P. 452]



1



2

Pintura chiriguana en wáder, ocré. Prov. : 1. Tiapyá (haut Pilcomayo) ; 2. Tiaipaw (haut Pilcomayo). (1/5 gr. nat.)

1/5

ou en deux éléments divergents qui constituent la chaîne (voir fig. 106).

Figure 108. Hauteur : 12 centimètres ; diamètre maximum : 28 centimètres. Provenance : Ivu.

Il ne fait aucun doute que ce panier est une imitation pure et simple des paniers européens. Chez les métis du département de Tarija, j'en ai vu d'identiques, au point de vue de la forme et de la technique.

3. VANNERIE EN « TWILLED WORK »

Le terme de *twilled work* désigne la technique de la vannerie dans laquelle les éléments de la trame passent au-dessus de deux ou plusieurs éléments de la chaîne, de façon à produire avec la contexture du tissu des motifs en diagonales et une infinité d'autres motifs ayant tous pour base les changements de rythmes dans le nombre des éléments de la chaîne qui ont été enjambés (Mason, p. 224).

Dans les pages où j'ai traité du *wicker work*, j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de signaler les affinités qu'offrent, non seulement la technique, mais encore la forme des paniers chiriguano avec ceux de la Guyane. L'analogie est encore plus frappante avec les paniers en *twilled*. Nous avons chez les Chiriguano le pendant exact des fameux paniers télescopes ou *pegall* de la Guyane. Ce sont des paniers rectangulaires en deux parties, rentrant l'une dans l'autre et fermant hermétiquement (pls. LXXVIII, LXXX et figs. 110 et 111). Nordenskiöld (**10**, p. 173) nous a donné une carte indiquant la distribution des paniers munis d'un couvercle dans lequel ils s'emboîtent plus ou moins complètement. Ces paniers « télescopes » sont particulièrement abondants au nord de l'Amazone. Je soupçonne que les fameux *karamesa* des Tupinamba, où ceux-ci serraient leurs plumes, devaient appartenir à ce type. Parmi les Tupi-Guarani, les Guarayú, les Pauserna, les Mauhé, les Oyampi sont les seuls chez qui ce type de fermeture ait été signalé (Métraux, **2**, p. 253).

Un autre point de contact entre la vannerie des Chiriguano et celle des indiens de l'est et du nord de l'Amérique du Sud est l'occurence, chez les uns comme chez les autres, de paniers en *twilled work*, où sont combinés des éléments de deux couleurs, suivant un rythme changeant, pour produire des figures géométriques. Le panier de la planche LXXVIII, avec les grecques qui se détachent en noir sur les côtés, est représentatif de cette forme d'art, qui, dans les Guyanes, a brillé d'un vif éclat.

Les paniers du type *pegall* ou « télescopes » se répartissent en deux catégories suivant le principe de leur tressage. Pour faire les uns (pl. LXXIX et fig. 111), le vannier a commencé par entrecroiser les éléments de la chaîne de façon à ce qu'ils irradient d'un centre unique. Ensuite il a entrecroisé suivant un rythme binaire les tigelles qui se

détachaient, comme autant de rayons, du centre commun. Les paniers de la seconde catégorie ont été tressés en entremêlant les éléments de la chaine et de la trame à angles droits, de façon à obtenir le fond du panier sans qu'il y ait eu de point précis d'où les éléments se détachassent (pl. LXXX, 2). D'ailleurs les photographies (pl. LXXIX et LXXX, 2) rendent mieux que toute description ce que j'entends.

Les tiges qui servent à la fabrication des paniers en *twilled work* sont tirées des feuilles du palmier *karandaí (Copernicia cerifera* Mart. ou *Copernicia australis).* Les feuilles découpées en fines lanières sont assouplies par immersion.

Il faut ranger, dans la vannerie dite *twilled,* les cribles et les éventails à feu, dont je traiterai cependant dans un chapitre particulier.

Description des paniers en « twilled work »

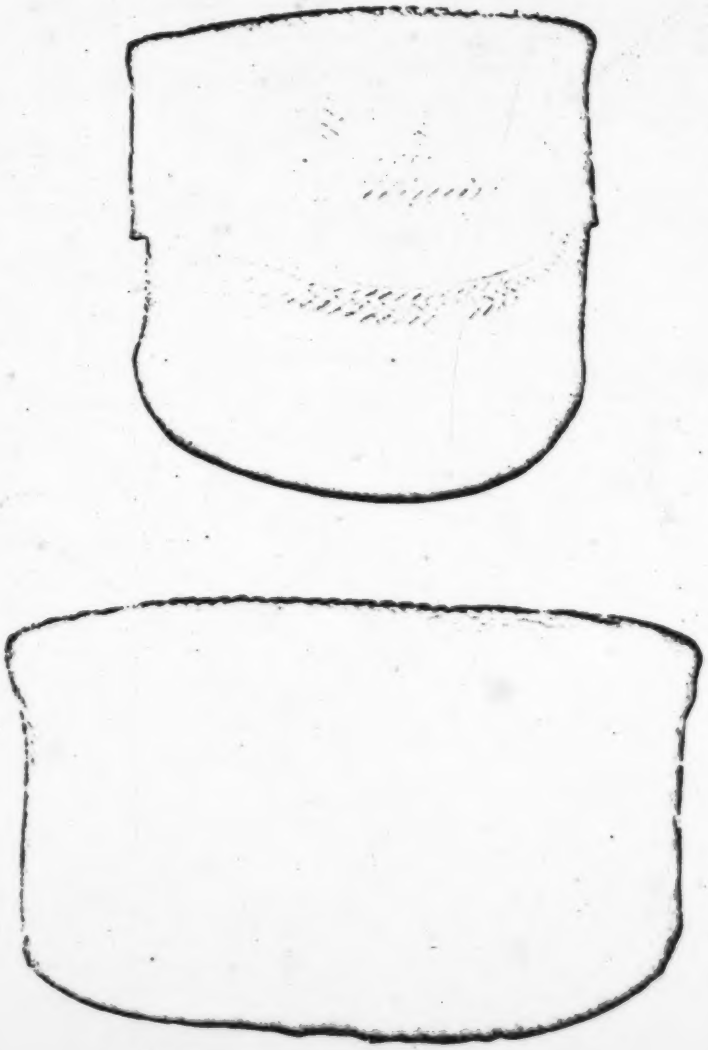
Planche LXXVIII, figures 1 et 2. Hauteur : 7 centimètres; diamètre : 17.5 centimètres. Provenance : Caipipendí.

Ce panier appartient à la catégorie de ceux dits « télescopes » ou

Fig. 110. — Panier circulaire en *twilled work.* Prov. : Caipipendi. (1/4, environ de la gr. nat.)

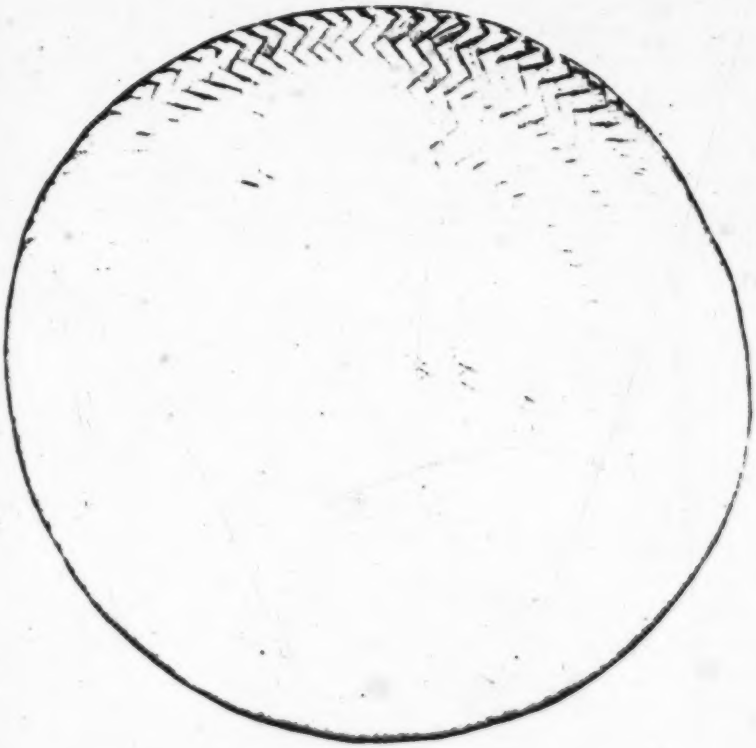
pegall de la Guyane. La planche LXXIX qui nous montre le détail de sa face supérieure, en indique aussi la technique avec une clarté suffisante pour qu'aucun schéma ne soit nécessaire. La chaine se compose de 32 éléments flexibles irradiants d'un centre commun. Ils commencent par s'entrecroiser pendant deux tours, puis le vannier ayant introduit dans le tissu des lanieres de couleur noire, celles-ci à leur tour vont se croiser

[facing P. 454, A]



Panier chiriguano en tressé work. Prov. : Calpipendi. (1/, gr. nat.)

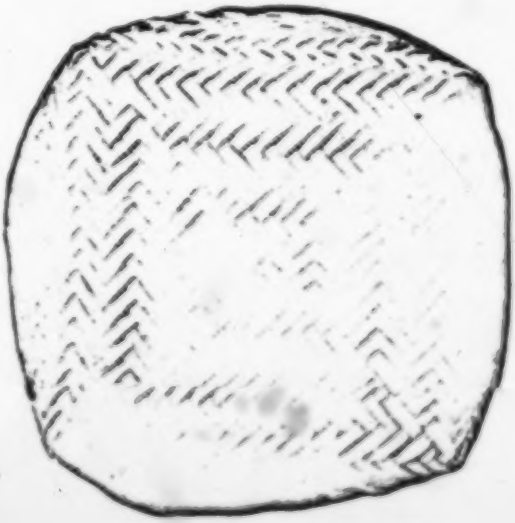
[facing P 454, B]



Fond du panier de la planche LXXVIII

[facing P. 454, C]

1. Panier du type téhuape en *treillis ouvert*. Prov. : Caipipendi



2. Détails de la technique de ce panier

avec les premières et permettent d'obtenir les figures que l'on voit sur la planche LXXVIII, 1 et 2.

Figure 110. Hauteur : 14 centimètres; diamètre : 35 centimètres. Provenance : Calpipendi.

Fig. 111. — Panier circulaire du type « tikampo » en feuillet sec[illegible]
Prov. : Calpipendi. (1/1, environ de la gr. nat.)

Ce grand panier est, au point de vue technique et décoratif, exactement semblable au précédent. Malheureusement, les lanières sombres se distinguent à peine des autres, soit que leur couleur se soit effacée, soit qu'elles aient été toujours ainsi. Le détail d'un des côtés est représenté sur la planche LXXXI, 1.

Fig. 112. — Chapeau en feuillet sec[illegible] (Prov. : [illegible])
(1/1, environ de la gr. nat.)

Figure 111. Hauteur : 9 centimètres; largeur : 12 centimètres. Provenance : Carurati.

Ce panier rentre dans la même catégorie que ceux que nous venons d'examiner, sauf qu'il ne présente aucun motif provenant d'un entrecroisement de tiges sombres et claires.

Planche LXXX, figure 1 et 2. Hauteur : 8 centimètres; largeur : 12 centimètres. Provenance : Caruruti.

Les fines lanières de feuilles de palmes qui composent ce panier sont plus larges et plus cassantes que celles qui constituent le précédent, de forme identique mais de technique différente. Les fibres, au lieu de s'irradier d'un seul centre, se croisent simplement suivant le rythme que la figure 2 de la même planche permet d'examiner.

Figure 112. Hauteur : 10 centimètres; diamètre : 36 centimètres. Provenance : Caruruti.

Ce chapeau est fait exactement suivant la technique des paniers de la planche LXXVIII et figures 110 et 111.

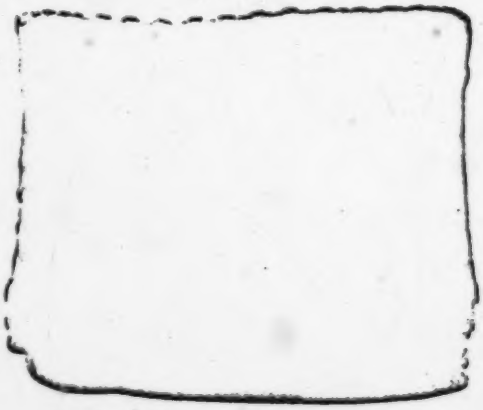


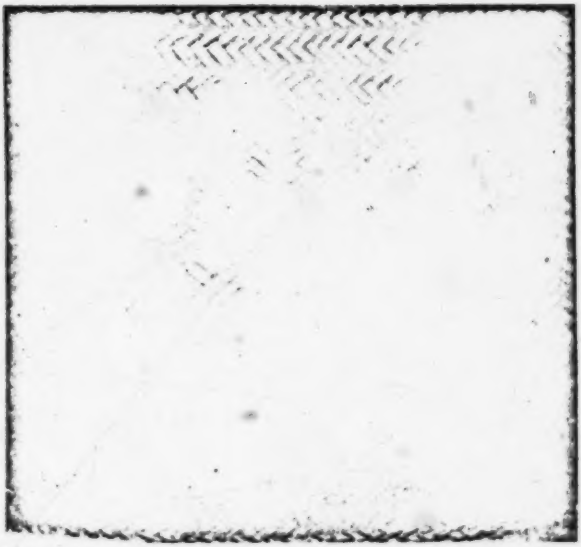
Fig. 114. — Porte-cigarettes chiriguano en *twilled-work*. Prov. : Caruruti. (1/1 gr. nat.)

Un chapeau à moitié fini (fig. 113), que j'ai pu acquérir à Caruruti, montre bien le processus de la fabrication. Le vannier commence par faire le sommet du chapeau entrecroisant 36 tigelles et ajoutant, peu après, d'autres tiges supplémentaires dont on voit dépasser les extrémités. Le chapeau fini, on coupe toutes celles qui affleurent du tissu. Le rythme des éléments qui se croisent est de deux.

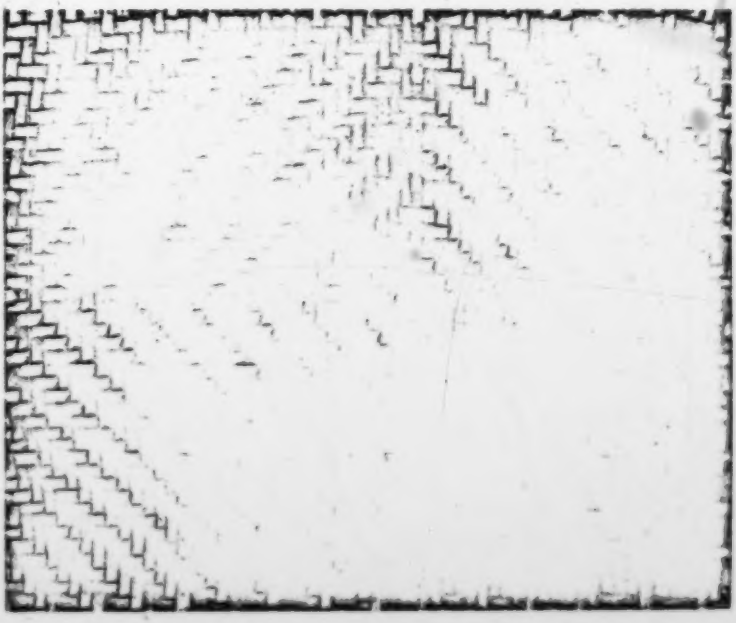
Figure 114. Longueur : 10 centimètres; largeur : 8 centimètres. Provenance : Caruruti.

Ce porte-cigarettes est fidèlement imité de ceux que les Chiriguano ont vus aux mains des métis ou des créoles. La technique en est cependant intéressante, car elle est purement indigène. Les

[facing p. 456]



1. Détails de la technique du panier de la figure 110.



2. Détails de la technique du crible de la planche LXXXII

tigelles en feuilles de *karandaí* se croisent suivant un rythme de deux.

Les Chiriguano ne sont pas de grands fumeurs et il est rare de trouver parmi eux des cigarettes, aussi ces étuis me semblent-ils plutôt être faits en guise d'amusement que pour leur utilité pratique.

Cribles

Il n'est pas une ménagère chiriguano qui n'ait à sa disposition au moins deux cribles. L'importance de cet ustensile de cuisine correspond au rôle considérable que la farine de maïs joue dans leur alimentation. Des douze plats différents que les Chiriguano préparent de cette céréale, il en est six ou sept où elle apparaît sous forme de farine. Le *kūwi* lui-même, se fait avec du maïs pilé dans un mortier et passé ensuite au crible. Les cribles servent également à nettoyer les haricots et à les débarrasser des pierres et de la poussière qui les accompagnent. Enfin, ces tamis sont employés pour passer le *kūwi* après la cuisson et séparer le liquide qui doit fermenter, du marc ou *temiśu*. Le rôle de simples paniers peut aussi leur échoir et j'en ai vu qui contenaient des graines de coton.

Les cribles sont de deux sortes. La première catégorie comprend ceux dont les mailles sont serrées et composées de fines lanières de feuilles de *karandaí*, s'entrecroisant suivant un rythme binaire. Les cribles de ce type rentrent dans la vannerie dite *twilled*. Les Chiriguano leur donnent le nom d'*urumpé* et les emploient de préférence aux autres dont l'usage est restreint.

La seconde catégorie comprend les tamis dont les mailles sont larges. Les lanières qui les forment se croisent en « échiquier », c'est-à-dire, que la trame passe alternativement au-dessous, puis au-dessus d'un élément de la chaîne. Les Chiriguano désignent les cribles de ce type sous le nom d'*urumpesa* et ils s'en servent pour passer le maïs moulu lorsqu'ils veulent obtenir une farine grossière.

Certains de ces cribles sont de véritables œuvres d'art, mais ne peuvent se comparer aux magnifiques exemplaires de la Guyane, où l'alternance des éléments noirs et blancs produisent des figures géométriques du plus bel effet. Il est probable que jadis les Chiriguano avaient des cribles identiques, comme on peut le supposer d'après le crible de la planche LXXXII qui se compose d'une chaîne et d'une trame dont les éléments gris et blancs sont disposés de manière à former des bandes sombres et claires, sur lesquels se détachent des carrés concentriques.

Le crible a une vaste diffusion dans toute l'Amérique tropicale où il sert, non seulement pour la farine de maïs, mais encore pour celle que les indigènes tirent du manioc amer. Il est inconnu des populations primitives du Chaco qui n'ont pas même senti le besoin de l'emprunter aux Chiriguano ou aux Chané. Les populations de l'empire de l'Inca

en ignoraient l'usage. L'*urumpé* est un ustensile commun à presque toutes les tribus tupi-guarani : il a été décrit ou signalé chez les Tupinamba, les Guarani, les Kaingná, les Guarayú, les Pauserna, les Apinká et les Parintintin. Il est donc certain que les Chiriguano l'ont emporté avec eux lorsqu'ils ont émigré du Paraguay, ce qui n'exclut pas qu'ils l'aient trouvé aussi en usage chez les Chané.

J'ai assisté, dans la vallée de Caipipendi, à Carurutí, à la fabrication d'un crible. Voilà ce que j'ai noté à ce sujet : « La matière première est fournie par les feuilles du palmier *karandai* (*Copernicia australis*), que l'on découpe en fines lanières. Le tressage se fait fort simplement : on forme un carré en croisant à angle droit les éléments de la trame et de la chaine, suivant le rythme de 1 (un élément dessus, l'autre dessous, etc.). Pour glisser les éléments de la trame, il suffit de relever chaque fois toutes les lanières de la chaine qui ont été précédemment enjambées par la trame. Une fois le tamis tressé, on choisit une branche flexible et droite que l'on fend en deux soigneusement. On arque en cercle chacune de ces deux moitiés, de façon à ce que l'un des cerceaux puisse entrer dans l'autre. Les éléments de la chaine et de la trame non tressés, sont insérés entre les deux arceaux (voir fig. 115) puis solidement ficelés. Les arceaux ayant un diamètre un peu plus faible que la largeur du carré en vannerie, il en résulte qu'une fois inscrit dans le cercle, il se bombe. Tous les bouts qui dépassent sont coupés.

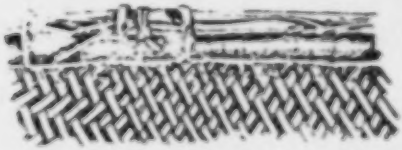


Fig. 115. — Détails du bord du crible de la planche LXXXIV, 2

La ficelle qui sert à attacher le crible aux cerceaux est faite de la façon suivante : « L'écorce d'un arbre *(cambira)* est enlevée en larges et longues lanières, à leur tour divisées en longes plus fines. On prend deux de ces longes, on les humecte de salive et on les roule sur le mollet droit, chacune séparément, puis les deux ensemble. Lorsque la corde doit être d'une certaine longueur, on est obligé d'ajouter de nouvelles longes. Ces raccords doivent se faire sans que le diamètre de la cordelette se change et sans qu'il y ait de solutions de continuité. Pour cela on a toujours soin d'enrouler ensemble deux tronçons d'inégale longueur. Lorsqu'un d'eux a été enroulé jusqu'au bout, un autre tronçon est ajouté. Toute possibilité de rupture est ainsi évitée. Le mouvement de la main est de haut en bas lorsqu'on forme un tronçon, et de bas en haut et de haut en bas lorsqu'on roule les tronçons ensemble pour faire la corde. La corde d'abord tire un grossissant à mesure, mais brièvement ».

Planche LXXXII. Diamètre : 43 centimètres. Provenance : vallée d'Igüembé.

[facing P. 458]

Cédule monogyne. Dess. : Vallée d'Igbamba (G., gr. nat.)

Cet *urupé* est un exemplaire remarquable à tous les points de vue. Les éléments qui le composent se croisent selon un rythme binaire, c'est-à-dire, que chaque élément de la trame passe sous un sur deux éléments de la chaîne. Des tiges plus sombres alternent par sections avec des tiges plus claires et constituent des bandes grises et claires qui courent parallèlement et se croisent à angles droits.

On remarquera que, arrivés au diamètre vertical, les éléments de la

Fig. 138. — Détail du tissu du [illegible] (Chiriguano). [illegible]
(1/1, [illegible])

trame qui avaient *alors* jusqu'alors à un rythme binaire, le changent brusquement. La première fois la tige enjambe, la seconde elle passe sous trois éléments de la chaîne, la troisième elle repasse sous un seul élément, puis de nouveau ce sont trois éléments enjambés, puis seulement un, pour recommencer à passer sous trois éléments, puis de nouveau sous un élément. Ce nouveau rythme se continue tout le long du diamètre vertical et horizontal et permet de former les cinq des carrés concentriques (voir pl. LXXXII, 2).

[facing p. 460, A]

Cribles (*tamaqui*) chiriguano. Pour : 1, Dro; 2, San Lois (Bolivie, n° 1, ½; 2, ½, vertus de la gr. nat.)

8/9 = 1/4

[Facing P. 460, B]

A. Métraux, La civilisation des Indiens Chiriguano Planche LXXXIV

Calices à large orifice. Pots : 1 et 2, Mission Saint François (?), environs de la p. [illegible]

[Facing p. 460, C]

A. Wilson, la collection de Julius Ringer

Russell co collection co Julius Ringer Jr., Santa Ana Richmond, Co. of Wm.

Russell SS29

Planche LXXXIII, figure 1. Diamètre : 43 centimètres. Provenance : Iva.

La technique et les premières décorations sont exactement les mêmes que pour l'exemplaire précédent, à l'exception, toutefois, de l'alternance des lanières étroites sombres et claires.

Planche LXXXIII, figure 2. Diamètre : 33 centimètres. Provenance : région du San Luis.

Cet *urupé* est fait suivant le même principe que les autres cribles, mais on compte pas le changement de rythme le long des deux diamètres. Par conséquent, il n'apparaît agrémenté d'aucun motif géométrique. Les éléments de la chaîne et de la trame se croisent toujours par paire.

Planche LXXXIV, figure 1. Diamètre : 42 centimètres. Provenance : Saladito.

Les *urupes* se distinguent des *urupé*, non seulement par la plus grande largeur des lanières étroites qui en composent le tissu, mais aussi par la technique de ce tissu. Les éléments de la trame croisent régulièrement ceux de la tissure, passant tantôt dessous tantôt dessus, mais n'enjambant chaque fois qu'un seul élément. Cette technique est celle que Haeen appelle *chodar ouré*.

Les intervalles entre les éléments sont aussi plus grands et facilitent le passage des gros grains du maïs.

Planche LXXXIV, figure 2. Diamètre : 40 centimètres. Provenance : Saladito.

Le principe de la technique est le même que pour le crible précédent, à cela près que les éléments de la chaîne et de la trame sont très larges.

Éventails en mosaïques

Grande a été ma surprise lorsqu'arrivant dans les villages des Chiriguano de la région du haut Pilcomayo, j'ai trouvé chez eux des éventails à fins identiques à ceux des tribus du Brésil et du Uaçaïdes. Ressemblance (12, p. 16) ne fait à peine que les mentionner et insiste sur leur rareté. Le fait s'explique par l'absence de cet élément culturel dans tout le reste de la zone habitée par les Chiriguano. Dans la plupart des villages, ils se servent, pour activer le feu, de vieux chapeaux ou de fragments de cuirasses.

Planche LXXXV. Longueur : 28,5 centimètres ; largeur : 31 centimètres. Provenance : Saladito.

La confection de ces éventails est assez simple. Les feuilles qui les composent se croisent suivant un rythme de deux. Sur le bord, les tiges sont *dédoublées* et passent de nouveau à travers le tissu sont entrecroisées de façon à former, sur chaque face, une perle. Les extrémités libres

ont été tressées sur le haut, et une partie passée dans une baguette fendue formant la poignée (fig. 117).

Au sujet de ces éventails, une remarque importante s'impose. Ils

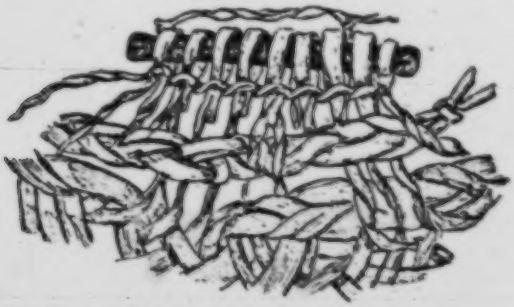


Fig. 117. — Détails de la poignée du seulle feu de la planche LXXXV

diffèrent peu des éventails faits avec une seule feuille de palmier, pennée, tels qu'on les trouve au Brésil et au Paraguay. Les Chiriguano, n'ayant pas dans leur nouvelle patrie de palmiers de cette espèce, ont dû

Fig. 118. — « Fleur », ornement en feuilles de palmier tressées que les Chiriguano font bénir et dont ils ornent leurs huttes. La technique de cet objet est fort ancienne et se retrouve en Guyane. (1/1, gr. nat.)

adopter les feuilles palmées des *karandaï*. Ils ont remplacé le pétiole qui forme le manche par la baguette fendue à laquelle j'ai fait allusion. (Max Schmidt, 2, fig. 106 et 107, pp. 219-220.)

« *Fleurs* »

Les Chiriguano des missions franciscaines décorent, les jours de fête, l'église avec des « fleurs » artificielles qu'ils fabriquent en feuilles de palmier *karandai*. Ces ornements sont d'origine ancienne et dérivent directement des jeux de paille que les indiens font encore en diverses régions de l'Amérique, notamment dans les Guyanes. Les indigènes de cette dernière région les suspendent souvent dans leurs maisons où ils font peut-être office d'amulettes et, en tous les cas, d'ornements. (Roth, pp. 497-499, fig. 241-244 et p. 270; Koch Grünberg, 2, t. II, p. 244). De même les indiens Chiriguano décorent leurs huttes avec ces figures qu'ils ont soin de faire bénir. Ils gardent comme porte-bonheurs, exactement comme en Europe les branches de buis bénites. Rosen (1, p. 61, fig. 51) publie un jeu de paille semblable qu'il a trouvé chez les Choroti et qui lui fut indiqué comme un ornement porté sur le front. Cet explorateur met en doute l'exactitude de ce renseignement, et suppose qu'il s'agit d'un objet rituel. En réalité, ce n'est qu'une « fleur » que les Choroti, décrits par Rosen, auront reçu ou acheté dans quelque mission chiriguano. Il suffit de comparer la figure qu'il nous en donne et la nôtre pour s'en rendre compte.

Fig. 119. — Couronne en paille tressée (jeu ou ornement ?). Ashluslay. Prov. : Rodero (Salta). (1/4 gr. nat.)

Les figures en feuilles de palmes ne sont pas, cependant, inconnues des autres indiens du Chaco. Les Ashluslay m'ont vendu un diadème tressé suivant ce principe (fig. 119) et Rosen (1, fig. 44, p. 48) reproduit un ornement de tête identique qu'il a acheté à une tribu choroti.

CHAPITRE X

Les masques

Les beaux masques, dont je donnerai plus loin la description, sont portés au cours des fêtes de Carnaval. Des difficultés avec les autorités boliviennes m'empêchèrent d'arriver dans les villages chiriguano au moment où celles-ci avaient lieu. Lorsqu'enfin je me trouvai parmi mes amis chiriguano, ils avaient vidé les dernières cuves de *kheri* et se trou-

valent dans leur état normal. Grâce à la proximité de la fête, je pus recueillir les masques publiés ici ; d'ordinaire ils sont détruits ou employés dans les champs comme épouvantails.

Mon hôte, M. Alberto Torrejon, qui vit à Ibopeyti sur le haut Pilcomayo, dans un village indien, me donna quelques détails fort intéressants sur les cérémonies et les réjouissances auxquelles il venait de participer. Je les transcris tels quels.

A l'approche de toute fête, du Carnaval par exemple, le premier acte consiste à faire fuir les âmes des morts. Si l'on ne prend cette précaution, les veuves et les parents des personnes décédées devront s'en abstenir. Dans le but de purifier l'air, on bat du tambour et toute la famille

Fig. 120. — Indiens Chiriguano portant des masques. (Photo. de R. P. H. Cattanéo)

qui a perdu l'un des siens, pleure et crie. Lorsque les esprits ont déguerpi, le tambour donne, sur un rythme joyeux, le signal des réjouissances.

La fête est ouverte par un homme et une femme qui, tenant à la main un bâton orné de fleurs, s'avancent vers le milieu de la place suivis de tous les habitants en longue chaîne. Arrivé au milieu du terrain qui s'étend entre les huttes, le couple plante cette enseigne donnant ainsi le signal de la fête.

La chaîne se disloque et de petits groupes se forment qui dansent en rond. Leur danse consiste à avancer et reculer en trois temps au son de flûtes et de tambours.

L'attrait du carnaval consiste dans l'énorme consommation de *bâri* et d'alcool qui se fait alors. Hommes et femmes boivent à qui mieux mieux ; et, sous l'influence de la boisson, les vieilles colères, les haines secrètes se réveillent, et les plus échauffés se provoquent et en viennent aux mains,

Le «capitaine» doit alors les rappeler à l'ordre et séparer les combattants.

D'aucuns augmentent le tumulte en siffant dans leurs *sisiwi* (longs sifflets).

Les passions sexuelles s'exaspèrent et les hommes commencent à tournoyer autour des femmes qu'ils sollicitent, une calebasse de *bari* à la main, en leur récitant, sur un ton de mélopée, des pièces de vers du type de ceux ci :

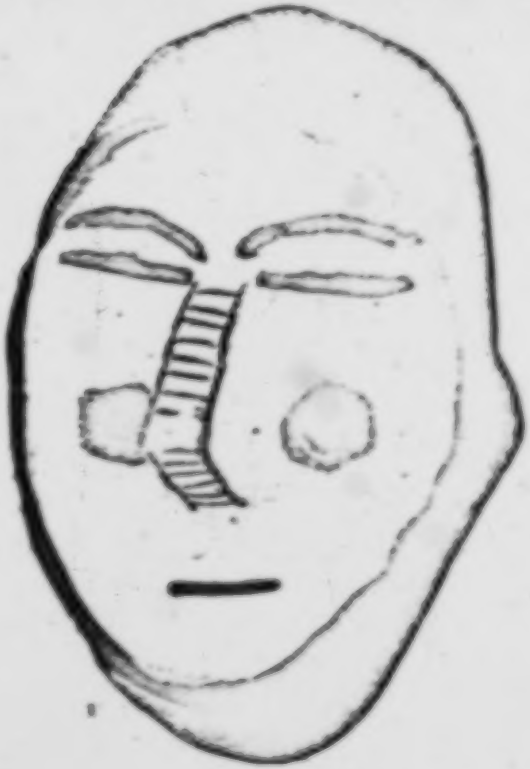
Epeke, peke meipere	Ris harmonieusement
Ñere ne	Pour moi
Epeke, peke meipere	Ris harmonieusement
Ñere ne.	Pour moi.
Eya ikwema	Viens m'embrasser
Ikwirike mi	Ma petite femme
Ikipara eweie	Donne moi ta bouche
Teiña dipete	Je t'aime beaucoup
Ike ñenge pe	Avec mon cœur
Ime dereua ikari	Tu as de jolis yeux
Ime dipara misirey	Tu as une petite bouche
Teiña dipete	Je t'aime beaucoup
Paiceme eppere dere.	Pour cela je vais te demander.

Pendant ce temps, des jeunes gens ou des vieillards, le visage couvert d'un masque (*ñéeruna*), courent de ci de là, forçent les gens à danser à coups de bâton, leur font des niches et leur adressent des plaisanteries.

La fête dure tant qu'il y a du *bari* ou de l'alcool. Au moment où elle est sur le point de se terminer, une cérémonie finale a lieu. Le rite de sortie est analogue au rite d'entrée : le couple qui a planté le bâton fleuri l'arrache du sol et sort du village suivi des *ñéeruna* et de tous ceux qui ont participé à la fête. Le cortège s'avance, au son des flûtes et des tambours, jusqu'à une certaine distance du village. On jette les masques, on lance des pierres en poussant des cris. Le carnaval est fini et chacun rentre chez soi. Quelques uns emmènent leur nouvelle femme, car c'est à ce moment que se célèbrent le plus de mariages.

La fête de carnaval, telle que je viens de la décrire, ne comporte que peu d'éléments empruntés aux métis ou aux créoles, en dehors de la coïncidence de dates. C'est une ancienne fête d'un caractère purement agricole, que les Chiriguano ont pris l'habitude de célébrer en même temps que le carnaval bolivien. Les indiens d'Ituqueyti sont d'ailleurs païens.

Les hommes masqués sont censés représenter les esprits des morts, comme leur nom l'indique (*ñée* : esprit; *runa* : grand). Comme dans les fêtes des Guyanes et de l'Amérique centrale, ils viennent nombreux



1:Métraux SF10 Chiriguano

[Facing P. 464]

Visages : 1 (Hypogée d'Iro-mangi). Pour : 1. Cierra ; 2. Visages dans l'hypogée. (... cm. 500.)

pour assurer à leurs descendants ou parents la fertilité des champs et l'abondance de la future récolte. Ces fêtes masquées ont leur pendant dans les fameuses cérémonies des populations du rio Negro dont Koch-Grünberg nous a fait connaître les détails. D'ailleurs, il est probable que les Chiriguano ont emprunté ces cérémonies, et surtout les masques, aux Chané. Ce sont, précisement, les frères de race des Chané, les Arawak du rio Negro, qui célèbrent ces fêtes avec le plus d'éclat. Les Chané du Parapiti donnent encore à ces antiques rites plus d'importance que les Chiriguano, et leurs masques couronnés d'immenses panaches de plumes sont, paraît-il, plus somptueux que ceux de leurs vieux ennemis guarani.

Dans les missions, le carnaval a perdu sa signification purement païenne et s'est contaminé d'usages que les Chiriguano ont empruntés aux métis. Nino (pp. 267-270) en a donné une bonne description dont je résumerai les principaux traits.

La fête est dirigée par un personnage portant un masque de vieillard. Il s'arrête à chaque angle de la place, recommandant à tous paix et harmonie.

On se livre alors à différents jeux : des personnages masqués répandent sur les danseurs des cosses de haricots ou du son de maïs.

Des jeunes gens masqués, mais presque entièrement nus, se barbouillent de boue et cherchent à salir tous ceux qui ont des vêtements neufs. Ces deux coutumes ne peuvent avoir qu'une origine bolivienne.

Des individus également masqués mènent un combat entre un tigre et un taureau qui, finalement, est mis à mort par un boucher de fantaisie. Ensuite on passe aux plaisirs de la danse. « Les danseurs forment un grand cercle en se prenant des deux mains et dansent ainsi par trois fois. Par trois fois aussi ils s'accroupissent, et encore par trois fois ils passent sous les bras tendus d'un couple du même cercle et enfin le même nombre de fois ils se serrent les uns contre les autres formant un grand tas, le visage tourné vers l'extérieur et les mains croisées. Ils restent dans cette position jusqu'à ce qu'un autre couple danse autour d'eux. Ceux-ci ne se tiennent pas par la main. L'homme poursuit la femme et cherche à la saisir. Elle l'évite et va se cacher au milieu des autres. »

Vers la fin de la fête, les hommes improvisent une chaise à porteur en croisant des bâtons. Ils y font asseoir un enfant et, avec des bambous lui forment un rempart. Les autres viennent faire pleuvoir sur lui une grêle de coups, sans toutefois le blesser. Ensuite, ils le font descendre et recommencent trois fois cette cérémonie en divers endroits.

Au second tour, les individus masqués vont de maisons en maisons et reçoivent de chacun les objets les plus hétéroclites : des cosses de haricots, des pelures de melons d'eau; et, au troisième tour, jeunes et vieux se mettent à pleurer.

Pour finir, on va en procession jeter les masques et tous se lavent le visage et les mains.

DESCRIPTION DES MASQUES

Planche LXXVI

1. Masque en bois de *tarabuki* (bois léger et tendre). La face est peinte en blanc et encadrée d'un ruban noir fixé avec de petites chevilles de bois. Les sourcils, la bouche et les raies parallèles qui traversent le dos du nez, ont été peints en noir. Les bords de celui-ci sont soulignés de deux traits verts. Sur chaque joue deux cercles concentriques, l'un noir et l'autre vert avec un point central noir. Sur chaque côté, un trou par lequel passe un cordon servant à maintenir le masque sur le visage.

Fig. 121. — Masque chiriguano provenant de Tolomal (prov. d'Otuzi). Musée National de Buenos Aires, d'histoire Paléontologie. (1/4 gr. nat.)

De petites cavités sur le pourtour semblent indiquer qu'au moment de la fête des plumes étaient fixées sur le bord du masque, exactement comme sur l'exemplaire suivant.

2. Ce masque est celui qui, dans ma collection, est en meilleur état. La face blanchie avec une substance semblable à de la chaux est bordée de plumes enfoncées dans le bois. Les sourcils sont peints en noir ainsi que la lèvre supérieure. La bouche est représentée par une fente. Les peintures faciales sur les deux joues et le front sont vertes, sauf le point central, qui dans chaque disque est brun.

Le masque de la figure 121 provient de Tolomal, prov. d'Otuzi où il a été acquis par M. Palavecino chez des indiens Chiriguano établis dans la région. Ses dimensions sont considérables. Il mesure 32 centimètres de longueur sur 16 centimètres de largeur. Il est peint en blanc et le visage est encadré d'une frange de plumes. J'ignore la signification des grandes oreilles qui le surmontent.

CHAPITRE XI

Les peignes

Jadis, au temps où ils accomplissaient la conquête de leur territoire actuel, les Chiriguano portaient une tonsure à l'instar de leurs parents du Paraguay et de la côte du Brésil, les Guarani et les Tupinambas, qui se rasaient avec un éclat de bambou toute la partie antérieure du crâne

(v. Métraux, 2, p. 181-185) (1). Plus tard, probablement sous l'influence des Chané ou des Quichua, les Chiriguano abandonnèrent la tonsure et laissèrent croître leurs cheveux qu'ils faisaient flotter sur la nuque et le dos. Ils se contentaient de les tailler sur le front d'une tempe à l'autre.

Cette coiffure, usuelle encore au siècle passé, tend à disparaître à son tour. Seuls lui sont restés fidèles quelques vieillards et les habitants de plusieurs villages perdus dans les vallées du haut l'Ilomayo.

Les Chiriguano qui continuent à observer l'ancienne mode, nouent leurs longs cheveux autour de la tête et les dissimulent sous un chapeau ou une sorte de turban lorsqu'ils vont travailler chez les blancs par crainte d'être tournés en dérision.

Les femmes ne coupent jamais leurs cheveux suivant l'habitude des autres indiennes du Chaco, aussi ont-elles de longues chevelures remarquablement soupes. Elles rassemblent leurs cheveux sur la nuque au moyen d'un ruban rouge ou bleu qu'elles nouent sur le front après lui avoir fait faire le tour de la tête (v. pl. VI, 1 et 2).

Fig. 122. — Mortier chiriguano en pierre pour broyer les graines du fétiche. Pour. : Dim. (?), environ de la gr. nat.

Les femmes chiriguano sont extrêmement soigneuses de leur chevelure et la lavent presque tous les jours. Elles emploient en guise de savon des graines du fétiche qu'elles écrasent dans un petit mortier (fig. 122) spécialement destiné à cet usage. Les graines du fétiche, qui sont riches en saponine, moussent facilement.

C'était toujours pour moi un spectacle plaisant le matin que de voir les femmes revenir de la rivière avec leurs cheveux tordus sur le devant de la tête et serrés en un chignon conique. Elles les laissaient sécher puis se mettaient à les peigner lentement jusqu'à ce qu'ils fussent soupes et lisses.

Deux types de peignes coexistent chez les Chiriguano. Sur le haut l'Ilomayo, dans la vallée d'Igbeubé et à Ivo, ils sont taillés dans une planchette, et souvent la partie plane qui sert de poignée est découpée

(1) *Annexe littérat*, page 487 : « Cette coutume singulière valait, comme la tonsure contemporaine [Sarambiéhoin chaoiéro], [illegible] [illegible] pendant a longtemps ; coupes stylistiques variés dépeignent coiffures ».

(Leur apparence [des Chiriguano] est vraiment singulière. Ils usent d'une tonsure semblable à celle du sou [illegible] et d'autres laissent pendre leurs cheveux sur le dos jusqu'à une longueur d'une aune et demie. Ils se teignent le corps de couleurs différentes).

avec art. Dans la vallée de Calpipouli et chez les Chané, à côté des peignes du type précédent il en est d'autres composés de fines aiguilles de bois coincées entre deux éclats de bambou et maintenues en place par un habile tressage de fils de coton formant un dessin. Les peignes de cette catégorie présentent, généralement, une double rangée de dents, mais parfois l'une d'elle est entièrement recouverte par le tressage et se transforme en peigne (Nordenskiöld, 2, fig. 109, p. 204). Ces deux types de peignes se retrouvent dans la zone andine; mais, alors que le premier est limité à cette aire géographique, et spécialement au nord-ouest de l'Argentine, le second, qui comprend toutes les variétés de peignes composés, a une vaste distribution dans toute l'Amérique du sud, dans l'empire incaique comme au Brésil. Les Chiriguano s'en servaient, sans doute,

Fig. 155. — Peigne composite fait de fine lattes de bambou. Chiriguano. (Métraux, 1), pl. [illegible]

bien avant de s'être établis dans leur territoire actuel. Il n'en est pas de même du peigne de bois sculpté qu'ils ont emprunté aux Chiriguano ou aux Homolomco. Dans une collection figurent deux peignes, dont l'un (pl. LXXXVII, 14) a une poignée taillée en forme de chien, et l'autre du cervidé (pl. LXXXVII, 15). Ils ressemblent fort à un peigne trouvé dans la Quebrada de Humahuaca et qui, lui aussi, est orné de la silhouette d'un quadrupède (Debenedetti, 2, p. 267, fig. 146). A Kipon, dans la Vallée Calchaquí, Debenedetti (2, p. 27, fig. 16) a découvert un peigne dont la partie supérieure représente une tête humaine dans laquelle notre auteur veut voir une idole à l'expression douloureuse (?). Les ruines de cette vallée ont conservé, jusqu'à notre époque, les seuls peignes indigènes en bois d'algarrobo.

A la Paya, Ambrosetti (3, fig. 224, p. 444) a découvert des peignes décorés dans une fabrique de bois et des peignes composites. Au lieu de constater simplement la coexistence de deux types de peignes différents,

[Facing P. 468, A1]

A. Métraux, Les ossuaires des indiens Chiriguano

[illegible] 1 et 2. [illegible] des différents types de peignes. Dess. [illegible] 1 et 2.
10 et 11. Tiwanaku. 12 [illegible]. 13. Tiwanaku. 14. Iquique. 15. Tarapacá.

[facing P. 468, Az]

[illegible]

en un même endroit, phénomène fort naturel en raison du caractère hétérogène de la culture de La Paya, Ambrosetti émet l'étrange hypothèse que ces peigne servaient à carder la laine sans prendre la peine de s'enquérir si cet instrument était connu à l'époque précolombienne.

La fabrication des peignes, comme tout ce qui est sculpture sur bois, est un travail essentiellement masculin.

Le tableau de la planche LXXXVII indique comment s'est fait, selon moi, l'évolution morphologique des différentes formes de peignes que j'ai recueillis.

CHAPITRE XII

Mobilier

Comme les divers éléments culturels qui constituent le mobilier des Chiriguano ont été complètement étudiés par Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 8-22), je me bornerai à les questionner ici, insistant seulement sur quelques points de détail.

Fig. 124. — Porte chiriguano. Intérieur. (Sous l'Hommeyre) (Photo. A. M.)

l'intérieur dans une hutte des Chiriguano. La porte que nous savons est une sorte de claie de roseaux ou une peau de vache durcie au soleil. Le jour pénètre à l'intérieur par cette ouverture. Le seul meuble important est le cadre de bois (fig. 125), sorte de châlit occupé généralement par deux personnes entre lesquelles ou en dessous enfants viennent se

faciliter tant bien que mal. Les Chiriguano n'hésitent pas non plus à coucher par terre sur une peau de lama qu'ils étendent devant leur maison. Sur le haut Pilcomayo, dans presque toutes les habitations on peut

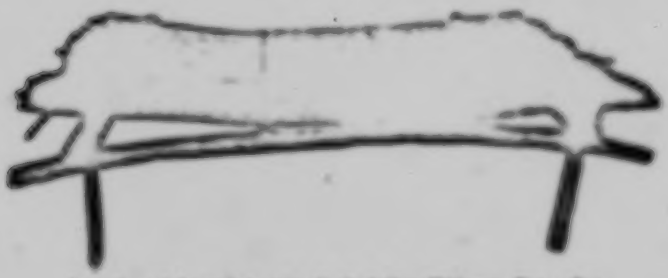


Fig. [illegible]. — Cadre en bois [illegible] des deux indiens Chiriguano. Haut : [illegible] (1/[illegible] environ de la gr. nat.)

voir ou on avait hamacs qui servent soit de sièges pendant la journée soit de berceaux pour petits enfants. Leur technique, celle du double filet (*[illegible]*), continue une vieille tradition guarani et arawak. Quelques hamacs, peu nombreux, sont grossièrement tissés. Les fils qui

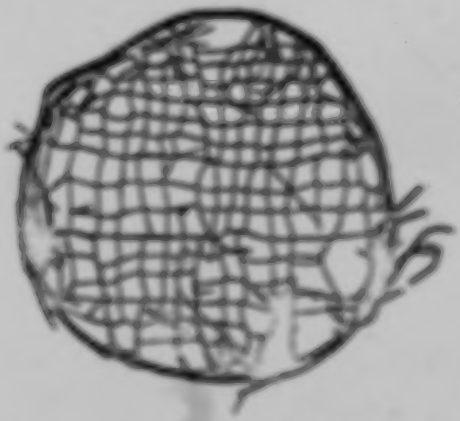


Fig. [illegible]. — [illegible] environ de la gr. nat. [illegible]

les composent sont en laine; parfois ils étaient aussi faits de coton (pl. XXXVIII).

C'est une affaire délicate que de permettre à une mère chiriguano que de nous vendre le hamac de son nourrisson. Elle craint qu'une personne

(facing P. 490)

A. Wheeler, la collection de radios Chlorigènes

Rouen 1918-19

Rouen, hôpitaux de Rouen, Quai de Dunkerque, Salle de Chirurgie des Blessés, 1er étage, 2e lit

malintentionnée ne profite de ce que le tissu est imprégné d'urine pour se livrer à des pratiques magiques qui feraient périr le nouveau né.

Le long des parois sont alignés des vases de toutes dimensions qui

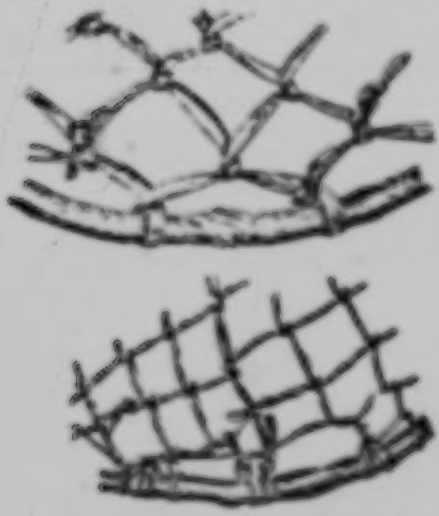


Fig. 125. — Dessin indiquant la technique des corbeilles du type du relief de la figure 126

Fig. 126. — Partie du mur arrière du relief et ses vases du modèle des corbeilles. Pour : Schultz. (?), corbeille de forge (suite)

sont là en réserve pour les fêtes de boisson; les uns contiennent des semences, d'autres servent d'ornières à linge ou de sac à provisions. Ces sacs, généralement aux quatre angles, pendent des chaînes de vasques ou des nervures en feuilles de palmier qui tiennent lieu d'étagères (figs. 126 et 127). On y trouve tout ce monde : des petits vases, des paniers, des boîtes, des paquets soigneusement enveloppés d'étoffe, enfin, mille petits objets que les femmes chiriguano considèrent comme leur trésor. Du toit pendent des crochets auxquels sont suspendus des effets ou des provisions. Ces crochets sont généralement en bois, mais il en est aussi qui sont formés par une patte de cerf repliée et séchée au soleil (fig. 128).

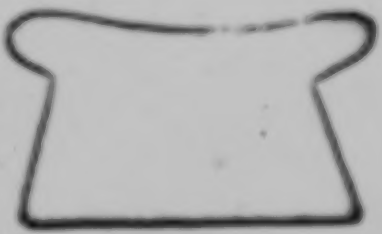


Fig. 128. — Sac à double poche. Pour : Chapacó (?), corbeau de la gr. suiv.

Tout intervalle, dans les parois, se transforme en niche où les femmes mettent leurs vêtements, les hommes leurs ustensiles ou leurs pei-

gnes. Les uns et les autres sont glissés entre les tranches de la tablette.

Deux variétés locales dont les parois sont antipies de bois, les Indiens entouragent des sticks en forme de stèle d'hémicycle qui leur donnent leur d'armoires radiomorphes. Y avait-il là une hésitation entre des sticks qui sont si homéotéliques pour les nativités humaines? Cela est possible.

Les habitants de chaque hutte s'entourent sur les rochers, en mer dans

Fig. 120. — Chiriguano de Kaiowa (Bolivie) [illegible] Les Chiriguano [illegible] Dans [illegible] (Cl. [illegible] de la gr. [illegible])

Fig. 121. — Crânes de Kaiowa [illegible] que les Chiriguano [illegible] Dans leur hutte où [illegible] Dans. — Collection [illegible] (Cl. [illegible] de la gr. [illegible])

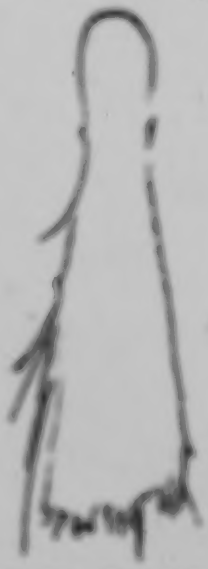


Fig. 122. — Stèle en bois [illegible] Dans. — Collection [illegible] (Cl. [illegible] de la gr. [illegible])

[illegible] à dessiner leur [illegible] intérieur du [illegible] des [illegible]. Les [illegible] s'entouraient généralement par [illegible]. Sur la lance l'Ouanapy, [illegible] [illegible] des lances à deux pointes (fig. 120), [illegible] [illegible] que les Chiriguano [illegible] de leurs ancêtres du temps de l'Amazone.

Le feu pour la veillée est allumé au milieu de la hutte. Les [illegible] des Chiriguano sont propres. Je n'y ai jamais aperçu de [illegible] ni d'[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] dans les crânes des [illegible] ou des [illegible]. Les femmes balayent leur hutte au moins une fois par jour. [illegible] y est [illegible] [illegible] par les [illegible] (fig. 122).

CHAPITRE XIII

Jouets et jeux

Tous les jouets que les parents chérigueno font pour leurs enfants, ou que ceux-ci confectionnent eux-mêmes, sont importants dans une collection. J'estime cependant inutile d'en donner la description, car Bardendzéhi (B, pp. 181-189) s'en est beaucoup occupé et les a reproduits tous. A simple titre de curiosité, je figure une poupée réduite du traditionnel *Ugeg* en bois. Les cheveux sont matérialisés d'un ruban à la manière chérigueno (fig. 131). Un petit sac (fig. 132) contient tout un assortiment de *Ugeg* en miniature. Les vases et poulies miniaturisés (fig. 133) ont été faits à l'image du petites filles qui en jouent, apprennent ainsi petit à petit à devenir d'excellentes ménagères.

Fig. 131. — Poupée chérigueno dénommée *ugeg* (bois). Photo : Gouguenheim (?), gr. nat.

Jeux de feuilles. — Je n'ai jamais vu d'enfants faire des jeux de feuilles (*ant ewéddi*), mais je sais qu'ils les connaissent. A Cheroutti, un Indien s'amuse à m'en exécuter toute une série, dont quelques-uns ont été amenés par les Indiens vers mienne sur les feuilles de mon calepin. Suivant la figure qu'ils veulent produire, ils se servirent des deux mains ou n'utilisent de la bouche et des pieds (figs. 134 et 135). La « grande tente » (pl. XXXIX, 3), a été faite par mon Indien qui, n'étant assis, n'eut servi des pieds et des mains.

Fig. 132. — Sac à usage en miniature, gonflé de petites *ugeg*. Chérigueno. Photo : Gouguenheim (?), gr. nat.

Les jeux de feuilles proprement ou point du vue de l'ethnographie comparée ou intérêt extraordinaire. S'ils n'existent identiques dans deux régions différentes, ils permettent témoignent d'indiscutables ou de migrations à l'instar du cerfolain jeux qui passent d'une contrée à l'autre sans modifier leurs caractères ou leurs modalités. Les jeux sont de tous les éléments culturels les plus stables puisqu'ils sont indépendants du milieu, du lieu et du genre de vie, du moins en général. Il serait urgent de rassembler un dictionnaire

du fleuve, le plus grand nombre possible de jeux de ficelles pour pouvoir en étudier la distribution. Nous n'en connaissons pour ce continent qu'un très petit nombre, mais celui-ci, si insignifiant soit-il, permet déjà de faire des constatations fort intéressantes. C'est ainsi que parmi les jeux de ficelles que j'ai obtenus, il en est trois exactement semblables chez des tribus du haut rio Negro et des Guyanes. Le premier est celui que les Chiriguano appellent « grande lune » (*guaiowa*) (pl. LXXXIX, 1) et que nous retrouvons chez les Bororó du rio Jékery sous le nom d'« intes-

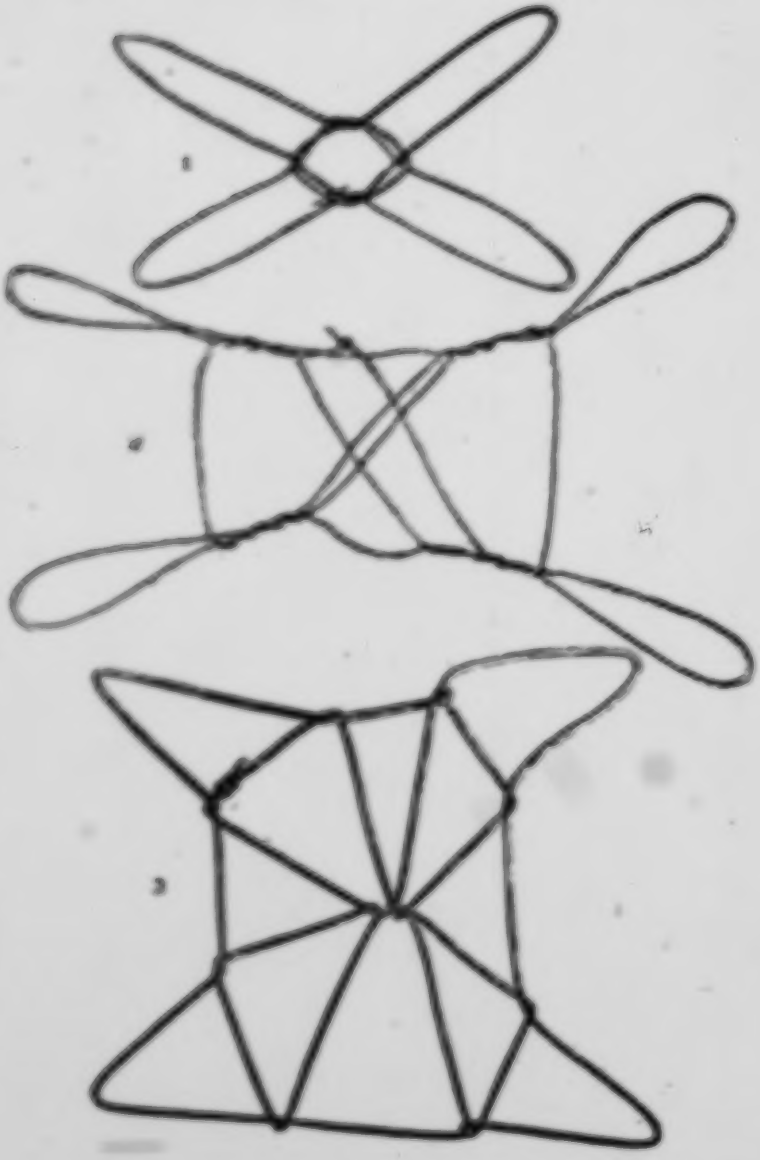
Fig. 145. — Indien [illegible] le jeu de ficelles appelé « chemin du serpent » [illegible] Tucunaca. (Photo. [illegible])

tins de tapir » (Koch-Grünberg, **2**, t. I, fig. 69c, p. 123), chez les Tukano, dialectal comme disent ces « tapir avec ses quatre pattes » et chez les Bororó simplement comme « un tapir » (Id., t. I, p. 252 et t. II, fig. 14, p. 121).

Notre « étoile » (*guai-tata*) (pl. LXXXIX, 1) est interprétée comme une « araignée » par les Bororó (Id., t. I, fig. 69g, p. 123) et les Kaduveo (Id., fig. 74, p. 131), mais les Wapishana voient en cette figure une « étoile » exactement comme les Chiriguano (cf. Roth, fig. 207, p. 312).

Les « dessins du serpent » (*ñaiai ñoetin*) (pl. XC, fig. 2) ont leurs équivalents chez les Akawoi, les Arawak, les Wapishana et les Patamona (Roth, fig. 208, fig. 209), mais représentant selon ces Indiens : « 4 poissons marchant » (*ñiñ*). Dans aucun livre sur les Indiens du Chaco, Ter

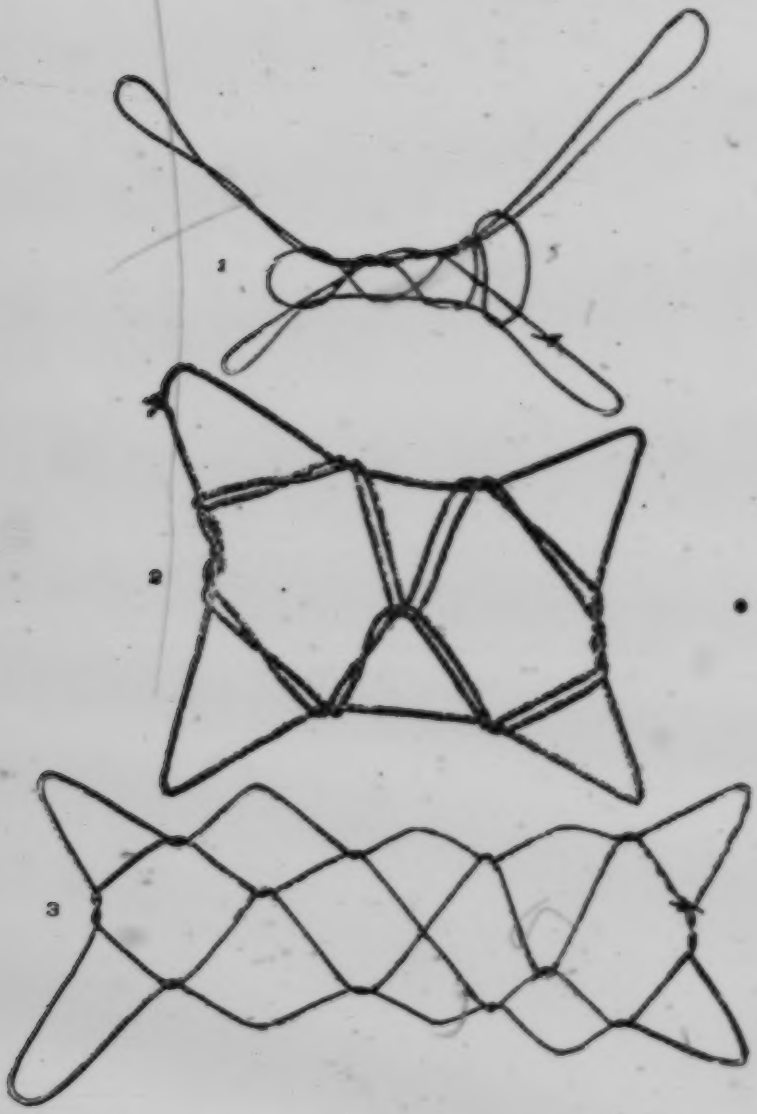
[facing p. 494, A]



Jeux de ficelle Chiriguano. Pour l'Ouest. Signification : 1. «Maïs» (pied-mère), 2. «Jeunes de chaînes salées chiriguano avec deux gouttes» (chaînes-jumelles), 3. «grande Tour» (pied-mère)

[facing P. 474, B]

A. Métraux, *La civilisation des indiens Chiriguano* Planche XII



Jeux de ficelles chiriguano. 1. « dessins de *ñiñui* » (*ñiñui-kwatia*) ; 2. « marque de couverture de cheval (*jerpón*) » (*karuna-kwatia*) ; 3. « dessin du serpent » (*mboi-kwatia*)

denskiöld (2, fig. 23, p. 71) donne la photographie d'un enfant Choroti qui vient d'exécuter un *cat-cradle* identique à notre « dessin du serpent ». Il est regrettable que Nordenskiöld n'en ait pas donné la signification.

Le jeu de ficelle de la planche XC, 2, représente la marque que portent les couvertures de laine *(jerpón)* que les créoles mettent sous leurs selles. Il ne fait aucun doute que la signification indigène de cette figure a été oubliée et remplacée par une nouvelle appelation. C'est probablement ce qui s'est produit aussi pour le *cat-cradle* (fig. 136) dénommé : *culo de caballo*.

Fig. 136. — Indien exécutant le jeu de ficelles mobile appelé « culo de caballo »

Les jeux de ficelles peuvent se subdiviser en deux catégories. La première comprenant tous ceux qui forment une figure stable à l'instar d'un dessin et la seconde ceux qui représentent un objet, un animal ou un organe en synthétisant son mouvement caractéristique.

Ainsi les jeux de ficelles des planches LXXXIX-XC appartiennent à la première des classes, mais celui que l'Indien de la figure 136 est en train d'exécuter à la seconde. Ce dernier *cat-cradle* consiste à ouvrir ou à fermer un petit cercle de ficelle qui est censé de représenter les contractions de l'anus d'un cheval.

Chez les Siusi, il existe aussi des jeux de ficelles mobiles qui symbolisent un animal en imitant ses mouvements typiques (la « chenille » par exemple) exactement comme chez les Chiriguano.

Les ressemblances entre les jeux de ficelles des Chiriguano et ceux des

tribus guyanaises pourraient s'expliquer par une influence arawak et nous pourrions supposer que les Chané ont conservé les jeux communs à toute la famille. Les jeux de ficelles voyagent très rapidement et seule leur signification change. Il est donc possible que les Chiriguano les aient connus avant d'avoir été en contact avec les Arawak.

Dessins. — Sur les planches XCI-XCIII on peut voir réunis un certain nombre de dessins qui ont été exécutés à mon intention par des Indiens Chiriguano. Pour les obtenir, je me suis d'abord adressé à quelques vieux qui refusèrent d'un air outré comme si je leur demandais de faire une chose qui fût au dessous de leur dignité. Un garçonnet d'une douzaine d'années, *Cosito*, deux jeunes gens *Aerasio* et *José Miguel* et une jeune fille *Iraruari*, se montrèrent disposés à couvrir d'esquisses de toutes sortes les pages de mon album.

Cosito ne se fit pas prier : je lui proposais là un jeu non seulement plaisant mais fructueux et il eut tôt fait de remplir deux pages (pl. XCI, 1, 2, 4, 9 ; pl. XCII, 2, 4 ; pl. XCIII, 1, 3, 10). *Aerasio*, mon frère ami, me donna aussi entière satisfaction. C'était un curieux personnage qu'*Aerasio* et je garde de lui un souvenir particulièrement vif et sympathique. Il avait de 25 à 30 ans et se distinguait par une activité et une ingéniosité extraordinaires. A n'importe quel moment de la journée, on pouvait le voir occupé à tailler ou à sculpter une pièce de bois qui devenait ensuite un outil ingénieusement conçu ou plus souvent encore un instrument de musique. *Aerasio* taillait des violons qui à première vue paraissaient être sortis d'une fabrique européenne. Inutile de dire qu'il était le menuisier attitré du village et le grand pourvoyeur d'articles de ménage. Quand *Aerasio* eut compris le but qui m'avait conduit chez lui, il transforma sa hutte en atelier d'objets ethnographiques et je dois à son esprit d'entreprise d'avoir pu recueillir maintes pièces, aujourd'hui hors d'usage, qu'il reconstitua à mon intention.

A l'époque où je me trouvais dans son village, *Aerasio* avait reçu de grandes commandes de flûtes pour la prochaine fête de l'équeo et je m'amusais à le regarder travailler. Une fois son instrument fini, il avait coutume de l'enjoliver d'animaux gravés.

La matière sur laquelle *Aerasio* (v. pl. XCI, 5, 7 et pl. XCII, 3, 6) incrustait ses figures n'a pas été sans exercer une influence indirecte sur les dessins au crayon qu'il traça sur mon calepin. Ceux ci se distinguent par leurs caractères anguleux, mais aussi par leur netteté.

José Miguel (v. pl. XCI, 8 ; pl. XCII, 1, 5, 7, 9 ; pl. XCIII, 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12), que l'exemple d'Aerasio avait encouragé, me demanda de lui céder cahier et crayon et il me fit toute une série de dessins qui, quoique assez flous et hésitants, ne manquent pas parfois d'un certain mouvement. *José Miguel* avait voyagé en Argentine : le train et l'automobile (qu'il dessina de mémoire) attestent bien son admiration pour les ser-

vrière du « Progrès » (pl. XCII, 7, 8). Grâce à Dieu, son modernisme ne lui avait pas fait oublier sa mythologie et il eut me dessiner un épisode mythique que l'on voit sur la planche XCIII, 12, A, B, C : le jaguar bleu (*yapacuri*, personification des tâches de la lune) s'apprête à dévorer la lune et le soleil.

Quand j'eus terminé avec les hommes, je voulus avoir quelques dessins féminins, m'imaginant que les femmes se prêteraient volontiers à ce jeu puisqu'elles sont les artistes attitrées de la tribu. Toutes, unanimement et à ma grande surprise, s'y refusèrent en criant au milieu de fumées de rire : *Aiknó* « Je ne suis pas capable, je ne suis pas ». Une seule, une jeune fille *Iwaraní* se laissa persuader par la promesse d'une lubine de fil. Sa maladresse n'était pas feinte comme je pus m'en rendre compte dès le début en voyant l'air embarrassé dont elle prit le crayon. Une fois prête à dessiner, l'inspiration lui manqua brusquement, elle resta à court jusqu'à ce que je lui aie indiqué un vase à copier. Comme sa confusion ne faisait que croître elle demanda à Cosme, le petit garçon qui me fit mes premiers dessins, de l'aider. Celui-ci dessina le vase de la planche XCIII, 10, qu'elle se mit consciencieusement à reproduire en série. Je protestai et elle me fit ensuite un cheval et sur le dos du cheval, un homme et un enfant, puis une femme (pl. XCI, 3 et XCIII, 7). Je ne sais pas très où que tous les dessins qu'elle me dit avoir faits, soient d'elle, car mon attention ayant été distraite par une visite, elle se fit aider en cachette par Cosme.

Les dessins que les Chiriguano extrairent à mon intention rappellent non seulement ceux de nos enfants, mais se rapprochent sensiblement de ceux qui ont été recueillis en diverses régions de l'Amérique du Sud, notamment chez les tribus du rio Negro (Koch-Grünberg, 1); les Tonlipang et les Mehuit (Koch-Grünberg, 3, pl. 26-32, pp. 128-161); les Indiens du haut Xingú (Steinen, 2, pl. III-IV), (Max Schmidt, 2, fig. 245-247, pp. 396-398); les Choroti et les Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 2, fig. 65-66, pp. 130-132); les Kaingná (Ambrosetti, 2, pl. I-III, pp. 674-692), etc.

Il ne saurait être question de faire une étude comparée de ces dessins tant leur style est uniforme. Les seuls détails qui méritaient d'être rapprochés sont ceux qui révèlent des particularités psychologiques semblables et encore ces traits communs ne sont ils pas caractéristiques d'une mentalité primitive. C'est à peine si j'aurais à signaler le fait qu'un Indien Kaingná pour dessiner une femme, a pensé exactement comme deux de mes artistes chiriguano (pl. XCI, 3 et 7) : il a commencé par représenter la femme nue, puis ensuite l'a habillée.

Les Chiriguano sont trop civilisés pour qu'on puisse espérer découvrir dans leurs productions artistiques des traits intéressants ; certaines de nos représentations conventionnelles se manifestent dans leurs

dessins (v. les figures 12 B, C de la planche XCIII figurant la lune et le soleil).

A mon avis, la valeur scientifique de tels dessins est faible et ne témoigne que d'une chose : les difficultés qu'éprouvent les Indiens à reproduire avec des moyens qui leur sont peu familiers des objets naturels. Je citerai à ce sujet une remarque fort judicieuse de Boas (p. 62) : « Lorsqu'on donne un crayon et du papier à un primitif et lui demandant de dessiner un objet d'après nature, on l'oblige à se servir d'instruments qui lui sont peu familiers et on lui impose une technique qui lui est inconnue. Il doit faire abstraction de ses méthodes de travail habituelles et résoudre de nouveaux problèmes. Le résultat ne peut donc être une œuvre d'art — sauf dans des conditions exceptionnelles. C'est exactement ce qui a lieu pour l'enfant ; l'artiste amateur doit affronter une tâche pour laquelle il lui manque une préparation technique et les difficultés qui embarrassent l'enfant sont précisément celles qui embarrassent le primitif, d'où la ressemblance apparente entre les dessins d'enfants et ceux des primitifs ».

Il ne fait aucun doute que les Chiriguano ne soient aussi bien doués pour le dessin que les Bororoïens. Sur un des murs de la mission de Machareti, j'ai vu des fresques tracées au charbon par un Indien qui prouvaient un réel talent chez leur auteur.

Planche XCI

Figure 1. Hutte (*ba*). Les tresses sur lesquelles reposent les traverses de la toiture, quoique invisibles, ont été soigneusement indiquées par Cesalio, auteur de ce dessin.

Figure 2. Femme (*kuba*) vue de face. Elle porte une robe. Elle a quatre doigts à chaque main et les oreilles sont démesurément grandes (Cesalio).

Figure 3. Femme (*kuba*) dessinée par *Iovanni*. Au début elle se contenta de faire une tête dessus surmontant un corps rabougri et de longues jambes fines. Sur un remarque que cette femme était nue, *Iovanni*, par pudeur l'habilla en entourant ses jambes d'une sorte d'ovale qu'elle gribouilla en noir. Elle termina son dessin par les cheveux lorsque je lui manifestai mon étonnement pour la nudité de cette femme.

Figure 4. Chien (*grinki*) dessiné par Cesalio. Le corps est de profil et la tête de face. Les pattes antérieures se terminent par deux griffes, celles de derrière par deux boules.

Figure 5. Iguane dessiné par *Aarmin*. Celui-ci avait une préférence pour cet animal qu'il gravait sur ses flèches et il s'empressa de le reproduire sur mon calepin en gardant le style un peu anguleux de ses dessins rupestres.

facing P 498, A]

Dessins chiriguano. Caverns. Significations : 1, butte ; 2 et 3, femmes ; 4, chèvre ; 5, iguane ; 6, homme ; 7, femme ; 8, Indien tirant à l'arc ; 9, l'ancêtre

[facing p 478, B]

A. Métraux, La civilisation des indiens Chiriguano PLANCHE XCII

Dessins chiriguano. Carvetti. Significations : 1, poule ; 2 et 3, autruches ; 4, puma ; 5, un guerrier et l'autour ; 6, iguane ; 7, mule ; 8, train ; 9, femme

[facing P 478, C]

A. Métraux, *La civilisation des indiens Chiriguano* Planche XXIII

Dessins chiriguano. Carouchi. Significations : 1. calebasses ; 2. perroquet ; 3. maïs ; 4. tapir ; 5. ouacari ; 6. cerf ; 7. cheval et dames aux fleurs et enfant ; 8. fourmilier ; 9. chien ; 10. vase ; 11. gamara ; 12. A : jaguar mimée ; B : lune ; C : soleil.

Figure 6. Personnage masculin (*ñáy*) dessiné par *José Miguel*. Sur une main quatre doigts, sur l'autre cinq.

Figure 7. Femme (*kolo*) dessinée par *Aswain*. L'artiste commença par la figurer nue et ne n'est qu'ensuite qu'il eut l'idée de l'habiller, dessinant sa robe comme si elle était vue en coupe.

Figure 8. Chiriguano tissant à l'arc. Il saisit le bois de l'arc avec la main droite et la corde avec la gauche suivant l'habitude chiriguano (dessin de *José Miguel*).

Figure 9. L'auteur de cette figure vu par Cesalto. Son chapeau à large aile se trouve transformé en calotte de marin américain et ses lunettes, qui frappaient évidemment les Indiens, sont indiquées du fait qu'ils l'auteur soit point de profil, la tête renversée en arrière. Les parties noircies représentent son costume.

Planche XCII

Figure 1. Ura, poule (*José Miguel*).

Figure 2. Ñandu (*nandou*), dessiné par Cesalto qui sur une partie lui a donné le nombre réglementaire de doigts, mais en a oublié un sur l'autre.

Figure 3. Ce nandou aux traits angéliques contrastant le nombre d'*Aswain* habitué à dessiner sur une matière aussi ingrate que le bambou.

Figure 4. Ce dessin est aussi douteux l'image d'un ambou (*kwiñ*) dont la queue suspendant contrairement plutôt à un renard et la face à un lemur (Cesalto).

Figure 5. Un garçon (*mañáy*) et l'auteur reconnaissable à son chapeau et aux talons de ses bottes (*José Miguel*).

Figure 6. Tigre (*jaguar*), dessiné par *Aswain* qui lui ensuite a reproduit une figure qu'il avait sans doute l'habitude de graver sur ses ditos. Le tigre qui est vu de profil n'a naturellement que deux pattes.

Figures 7 et 8. Ces deux dessins représentant l'un une ente et l'autre un train sont dûs à *José Miguel* qui a voyagé en Argentine. Ils constituent un bon exemple de son d'observation et de la minutie des Chiriguano. L'ente a trois roues, c'est-à-dire que celles de devant ont été représentées de profil, mais comme si elles étaient vues de face.

Figure 9. Femme marchant dessinée par *José Miguel*.

Planche XCIII

Figure 1. Calebasses attachées à leur tige (Cesalto).

Figure 2. Perroquet (*ytyaru*) (*José Miguel*).

Figure 3. Maïs sur tige (*ocoti*) (Cesalto).

Figure 4. Vache (*vaka*) (*José Miguel*).

— 688 —

Figure 5. Gamelé (gau) (*Aud. Bigot*).

Figure 6. Cerf (roue) (*Aud. Bigot*).

Figure 7. Cheval et dessus en bamboo et en enfant. On réalise 6 d'après des deux dessins distincts que l'artiste, la jeune *Zoumaré*, a rapprochés par mégarde.

Figure 8. Poissoniller (*Bigot*) (*Aud. Bigot*).

Figure 9. Chien (grande) (*Aud. Bigot*).

Figure 10. Tour (grande) avec de triangles à volutes (*Gamelé*).

Figure 11. Gouvernante (*Aud. Bigot*).

Figure 12. (A) : jaguar blanc qui vit dans le ciel (personnification des taches de la lune) s'apprêtant à manger la lune (B) et le soleil (C), personnages aimés en enfigan.

CHAPITRE XIV

Le traitement des maladies

Médecins et sorciers

Magiciens. — Les Guaranis-Méthodistes sont devenus si rares chez les Chiriguanos, que du tout mon voyage je n'ai pas eu admirative occasion. Ce n'est que sur le haut Pilcomayo où j'ai fait allusion devant moi à un *pajé* de talent qui vivait dans un village du voisinage.

S'il n'existe plus de grands magiciens doués du pouvoir surnaturel et célébrés d'un grand prestige, dans chaque village il doit y avoir encore un homme ou une femme capable de guérir certaines maladies et de pratiquer des incantations.

Une vieille dont je fus témoin en Tiabuy (où Saladé, haut Pilcomayo), démontre bien que la profession de magicien, si diminuée soit-elle, n'a pas reprendant disparu. Je logeais chez un métis bolivien dont l'enfant avait le corps couvert de boutons purulents. Des parents commencèrent par s'adresser à un sérieux médicale, mais je me déclarai incompétent pour traiter un cas si sévère entre. Ils apportèrent alors une vieille Indienne qui apporta ou matin une plante à la main, sorte de citronnelle sylvestre que les métis appellent *anadis del monte*. Cette plante pilée et mêlée à de l'eau chaude sert à des lavages extérieurs. On étendit l'enfant par terre et on lui ordonna de ne tenir immobile. La vieille s'assit auprès de lui et se mit à murmurer des incantations imperceptibles qu'elle n'interrompait que pour cracher sur les membres du petit patient. Elle reprenait ensuite sa récitation, tout en étendant la salive sur le corps, de la tête aux pieds. Nordenskiöld (**5**, p. 44, fig. 16) assiste à Yumbia, non loin du Saladé, à un traitement analogue pratiqué

[illegible] par une femme médecine sur un enfant. Elle le frictionnait et soufflait sur son corps (1).

Le père du jeune malade me raconta que, souffrant une fois de maux de tête prolongés, il avait eu recours à une magicienne, vieille femme aux cheveux crépus, qu'on appelait la *Sambo*. Elle mâcha la place où était localisé le mal et en tira des vers. Le métis guérit, bien entendu.

Dans la bidonville de Yuvizenda, où il y avait un enfant malade de la fièvre, sa mère lui avait fait manger des *parrapatos* (tiques) pilées. Le malheureux en avait les lèvres violettes.

Je consacrerai une brève médecine chiriguano une étude spéciale dans un prochain volume de cette Revue. En attendant je me bornerai à citerai d'après le *Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano* (pp. 166-167) la manière dont procédaient habituellement ces puissants personnages quand ils étaient appelés au chevet d'un malade. Je suis fondé d'avoir recours aux observations faites par un autre fonctionnaire d'avoir pu assister moi-même au spectacle que le P. Giannechini évoque avec autant d'exactitude que de vivacité. Les grands *papa* chiriguano sont généralement tous dans l'*Iroda* où ils soignent des morts et aucun ethnographe n'aura plus le privilège d'assister à leurs *paperia*.

« Lorsqu'un Indien est gravement malade, ses parents s'empressent d'appeler un homme médecine dont le premier soin est de faire une enquête sur les origines du mal. Il demande à son client si les symptômes de son infirmité n'ont pas coïncidé avec une fête, s'il n'a pas d'ennemi particulier ou si un frère ou ses enfants ne se sont pas pris de querelle avec un de leurs voisins. Lorsque le magicien a reçu une réponse à toutes ces questions, il se met à faire des grimaces, à hocher la tête, à prendre un air absorbé et finit par énoncer sur un ton emphatique le résultat de son diagnostic : *Ahoa, pardi ôa! aramôi ubegaôi ambi kiaanaga ubere!* « Mon ami, c'est sérieux, quelqu'un t'a peut-être empoisonné ». Il hésite un « Nous allons voir »

« Il demande alors du tabac, bourre sa pipe et fume. Lorsqu'il a terminé, il commence aussitôt et continue à fumer... Il devient triste, perd la parole, jette partout les regards convulsifs, fait des gestes comme s'il voulait écarter des fantômes en fuite, s'évanouit, agonise... Pauvre magicien, il semble mort... Non l'imposteur vit... oui il vit et il revient

(1) Dans le *Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano*, etc. (p. 72), nous trouvons le mot *kaapi* traduit par « frotter, masser » et la phrase : *ôipari ôeranga-ranga ôiu, ôeôi é ôeôi ôiu*, le sens suivant : « Ma grand'mère m'a soulagé [illegible] mais je n'ai pas guéri. » Les guérisseuses, ajoutent les auteurs du dictionnaire, emploient le mot *kaapi* pour exprimer l'action de frotter avec la main toute partie douloureuse du corps, spécialement la poitrine sans autre remède que la salive qu'elles crachent sur la main. Ces femmes attribuent à la salive une vertu spéciale.

à lui. « Oui, dit-il au malade, je connais l'auteur de ton mal, celui qui par haine ou par esprit de vengeance, cherche à t'enlever à ton enfant, à jeter ta femme et tes parents dans le deuil et la douleur. C'est un tel... je l'ai vu, j'ai dû lutter contre lui et je crois pouvoir mort. Ale ombone, je l'ai vaincu : tu ne mourras pas. »

« Le magicien demande alors aux hommes qui considèrent ce poulet, ou vertus, ou chevaux, etc., que les parents du malade n'avent lui refuser de peur d'être à leur tour victimes de ce poisonnée magique. On a vu des familles entières se ruiner pour payer les dépenses des magiciens.

Si le malade meurt, le sorcier n'est pas en peine pour trouver une excuse, mais parfois il doit rendre une partie des biens qu'il a reçus en paiement. »

Fig. 137. — Calebasse contenant de la graisse de serpent. Pour : Sakaïtin. (1/4, environ de la gr. nat.)

A en juger par ce texte, le magicien chiriguano, comme son collègue tupinamba ou sélérien, se mettait en état de transe pour que son esprit, libre des liens du corps, pût aller livrer bataille contre l'âme de l'individu malintentionné qui s'acharne contre son client.

L'*ipia*, c'est-à-dire la force magique, est indispensable à qui prétend être un bon sorcier. C'est du moins le sens que je donne à ce mot traduit dans le *Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano*, etc. (p. 72), par : « remède, antidote », mais dont il est dit que la possession est indispensable à tout homme médecine. Ce mot utilisé à un sens quelconque exprime la faculté, le pouvoir, la facilité de faire ou d'obtenir la chose signifiée par le nom. Ainsi un chien dressé à chasser le cerf est *cuasi-ipia* (*cuasi* : cerf), un guerrier est *tarabio-ipia* (*tarabio* : ennemi), etc.

Remèdes. — 1. La graisse de serpent (*sakaïtin*) est efficace contre la lèpre. Les Indiens la conservent dans une petite calebasse fermée avec de la cire (fig. 137).

2. Un peu de coton imbibé d'huile de ricin (*pandi*) et frictionné sur la peau est un onguent excellent contre le rhumatisme.

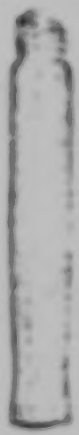


Fig. 138. — Flacon de bambou contenant de la graisse de poule. Pour : Chiriguano. (1/4 gr. nat.)

3. Une vertu analogue est attribuée à la graisse de poule (fig. 138). Dans la vie journalière on a recours à la graisse de poule ou à l'huile de ricin pour s'oindre le corps, que l'on frotte ensuite avec de la pâte de roucou. Les femmes ont généralement la face et les jambes huilées de cette façon, ce qui leur donne un teint rougeâtre et luisant des plus étranges. Cette coutume, qui est déjà si-

guère au XVIe siècle chez les Tupinambas de la côte du Brésil, tend à tomber en désuétude.

Le coronu, sorte de pâte, est contenu dans un petit sachet en feuille de maïs (fig. 139), ainsi que la kalaupa, substance composée d'un mélange de coronu et de graines pilées d'urucu, qui donne une couleur violette.

Fig. 139. — Sachet en feuille de maïs contenant de la pâte du coronu. (Paro. : Métraux photographe. 1/1, environ de la gr. nat.)

4. La graisse de jaguar (*pepopiri*) guérit toute « ligne » (*kowetè*) si l'on s'en frotte après l'avoir chauffée.

5. La graisse d'iguane fait pousser les cheveux et cicatrise les blessures. L'usage en est externe.

6. Le pétale séché du coronu fait pousser les ongles des doigts et les cours d'oreille. Il suffit pour cela de toucher la partie malade avec l'extrémité de ce matériel. Les Indiens le tiennent pour fort embêtant et ne le touchent qu'avec répugnance. Pour éviter cet inconvénient ils le pourvoient d'un manche et l'enferment dans un étui de bambou (fig. 141).

Fig. 140. — Corne de cerf contenant des graines de coronu. (Paro. : Métraux photographe. 1/1, environ de la gr. nat.)

7. Les cornes de cerf chaudes, et appliquées contre le cou, font passer le torticolis. L'usage médical des cornes de cerf (*ronu*) explique la présence fréquente des bois de cet animal dans les gisements archéologiques des régions andines voisines. C'est ainsi qu'on en a trouvé dans les ruines de l'Allerüto, dans la Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, **4**, p. 21), à Tilcara (Debenedetti, **2** p. 232), à La Paya (Ambrosetti, **6**, fig. 255, p. 633), à Tastil (Boman, **2**, t. I, pl. XXIX, fig. 78 *f*).

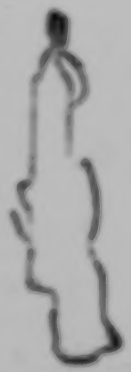


Fig. 141. — Étui contenant un pétale de coronu séché. (Paro. : Métraux photographe. 1/1, environ de la gr. nat.)

Il faut soigneusement distinguer les cornes mentionnées à un fragment du crâne et dont l'usage n'a pu être que magique ou médical, de celles que les Indiens travaillent en forme de poinçons. Ces instruments sont encore en emploi rituel et sont réservés pour la perforation de la lèvre inférieure des enfants, lorsqu'ils sont en âge de porter le labret. C'est du moins ce que nous apprend Cunqueno (p. 66). Les Indiens, d'ailleurs, m'ont tous confirmé ce détail. Jadis, les Tupinambas du Brésil pratiquaient cette opération avec un poinçon de même nature (v. Métraux **3**, p. 105).

Cependant, ces sécaus sont trop abondantes dans chaque village pour que leur utilisation fût seulement sporée. Il est probable que les Chirigunos n'ont servant comme d'un simple outil pour des fins uniquement pratiques.

A Tilcara, Debenedetti (2, fig. 170, p. 222), a découvert des spécimens en usage de cuif identiques à nos exemplaires chirigunos.

8. *Je* pensée dans mes collections des graines dont les vertus sont quelqu'un: elles sont en remède excellent contre les douleurs intestinales, les vésicules et les maux de dents.

9. Contre les maux d'estomac, les Chirigunos recommandent l'absorption de particules de lacs (*adelgiada*).

10. L'intuiteur gruisse (d'une grenouille?) dessinée dessous sur pâte ou sur pendre avec laquelle on soigne les animaux dont les plaies sont nettoyées par les vers.

11. Lorsque le sabot des vaches tend à se dénoller, on les lave avec des fragments de roche calcaire (*Dolor*).

12. La graisse extraite de la patte d'une vache est en usagent efficace pour les cas de rhumatismes.

13. Le lou du tonnerre pense pour jouir de grandes propriétés médicinales. On le cuit et on boit la pendre qui s'en détache dans de l'eau (*Lempeno*, 111).

Les points de côté et les fics du ventre se traitent avec un morceau de carapace de tatou bébé, mouillé et dissout dans de l'eau que le patient boit.

Dans le *Dictionnaire Chirigunos-Espagnol y Espagnol-Chirigunos*, etc. (*passim*) et le livre de Nino (pp. 200-208), on trouve maints renseignements fort intéressants sur la pharmacopée des Chirigunos. Je les résumerai pour compléter mes propres observations.

1. L'huile qui flotte sur le *Mori*, une fois chaleur, est un bon remède pour les maux de tête.

2. Le sel mouillé et bu, mêlé à de l'urine de petit enfant, calme les douleurs stomacales.

3. Le rhumatisme se soigne en appliquant sur la partie malade une bouche de *ciela (dondoriou)* dont on a enlevé les épines et que l'on fait chauffer.

4. Pour soulager la *dysenterie*, il faut boire une décoction composée de maïs et de graines de melon d'eau mouilles ensemble.

5. Les points de côté se traitent en buvant un fragment de carapace de tatou pilé et en frictionnant la partie malade avec une portion de cette même substance chauffée.

6. On fait disparaître les tumeurs et les enflures de la gorge en en gonflant en appliquant sur la région enflammée les feuilles d'un arbuste appelé *ordoro* chauffées dans une marmite. Une autre herbe (*pendriendoy*) a la même vertu.

Les feuilles d'arnébaua, mises en macération sur le cœur, diminuent les maux de tête, préservent de la congestion et guérissent de l'hémiplégie. Les feuilles du gandjan (*Sedimadilla*) participent de toutes les vertus de l'arnébaua.

7. Les bétacringhas sont artichts en nagrus du lotus ou de la feuille grillée de la liane engangangu.

8. La dan-ngugu est une herbe efficace en cas de maladie d'estomac et la racine dite sotu guérit les douleurs du pieds (rhumatisme ?).

9. La gangu est une liane qui guérit toute enflure de tête.

10. Le gaïtra, mare chez les Kaïtaua, est utilisé par eux en salad. On le cuisine avec la verte, fruit jaune qui rappelle une prune, ou ne doit jamais saisir du sirô des sangsues du sang de gallinaus, de mamelle ou de bandaïrtia, mêlée de lymphes.

11. Les ophtalmies ou conjonctivites sont soignées avec des gouttes extraites du l'inaua d'algarrobille ou avec la gôte (lait du lamina de la phantômarbrtia. Les feuilles du gandi-ungu sont excellentes pour les cas d'ophtalmie.

12. Une variété du mangaurtil fait passer la diffilia.

13. La Bore bée ou (*Barbe ancien*) guérit les dangérous entamba et est aussi bonne pour la malaria.

14. L'herbe (*nati ghoni, d'ouai*) est un remède contre la coqueluche qu'on peut soigner aussi avec une infusion faite du gadjan bouillie en mêlée et bon vinée.

15. L'inaua de kagi attendrie autour du vomre ou stérile excellente pour hâter montre l'hydrophtie du mêmes que les feuilles de l'aduva (*gada de ladaj*), arbre rappelant le laurier, ou l'herbe ken-pugu, prise en le Orniua.

16. La gouverbide se traite avec la racine bouillie du mémel et la graines de kapik.

17. Les mores d'aurtite passent, si l'on verse dans le sandale auditif des gouttes de graines du pesto, de mamelle et de ripale.

18. La racine de chirigaqu del mamie (*arrêtée*), est un bon antidote si l'on se sent empoisonné.

19. Les morsures du serpent perdent de leur gravité si l'on applique sur la plaie de l'herbe mamie, du pesjo, du tabac ou de la mémélée.

La mire de la laine *nipu-pary-mingi*, quelque vénéneuse, n'est cependant pas moins un excellent antidote pour les mêmes cas.

20. En mettant sur la blessure de la cire fondue, on ne craint pas de périr lorsqu'un chien enragé vous a mordu.

21. Les plaies produites par un instrument tranchant se cicatrisent si on étend dessus des plumes de poule brûlées.

22. Il suffit à une femme de faire dans de l'eau la poudre d'une coquille pour remettre en place un matrice descendue.

[illegible]. Les feuilles vertes de l'abbittiaire, l'écorce d'arbre-ro (*gambrache [illegible]*), la plante figurée [illegible], [illegible] en infusion, sont autant de remèdes contre la fièvre.

[illegible]. Des compresses de feu [illegible] font crever les abcès.

[illegible]. En cas de constipation, il est bon de boire le latex du *ken-ai (ne[illegible], [illegible])*.

[illegible]. Après toute chute grave, il faut boire de l'eau dans laquelle on a fait infuser une sorte de [illegible] (*[illegible]-ei*), préalablement pilée. Les [illegible] ne se font pas [illegible] si l'on applique sur les régions endolories, des cataplasmes faits avec cette même plante soigneusement [illegible].

[illegible]. Un [illegible] d'[illegible] sur les douleurs des feuilles de [illegible] en vue [illegible] que l'on obtient en faisant bouillir l'écorce d'arbre *pitiga* [illegible]. L'autre [illegible] est également bonne pour les fractures.

[illegible]. Les Chirignanos utilisent l'écorce d'arbre *pitiga* [illegible] pour faire [illegible] toute sorte de dents et pour rendre leurs dents plus solides.

[illegible]. La [illegible] en usages de la façon suivante : on fait bouillir les feuilles de [illegible] et on lave avec cette infusion la tête du patient. Ensuite on prend avec des pinces en [illegible] un [illegible] le fiel du poisson [illegible] et on en frotte les yeux du malade jusqu'à ce que la cataracte tombe.

[illegible]. Le tanin contenu dans l'écorce du *kurupil* est un désinfectant qui [illegible] la cicatrisation des plaies.

[illegible]. Les feuilles du *kurupil-i* (petit *[illegible]*) prendre et mises en compresses sur une tumeur agissent d'une façon [illegible] définitive.

[illegible]. La plante [illegible] (sorte de pourpier), est un laxatif. Elle donne une [illegible] que les jeunes filles font sécher et pulvériser pour [illegible] les joues en rouge.

[illegible]. L'écorce d'[illegible], pilée et grillée, est un bon remède contre toute douleur affectant les membres. Les [illegible] tirés des épines de cet arbre [illegible] la cicatrisation des blessures.

[illegible]. Les [illegible] de l'ail pulvérisé [illegible] font tomber les dents.

[illegible]. La racine de l'*aigo-para-ainga* [illegible] moulue et pétrie avec du sel et du [illegible] est un [illegible] que l'on [illegible] sur les tumeurs.

[illegible]. Lorsqu'ils [illegible] des [illegible] aux membres, les Chirignanos appliquent sur la partie malade, un cataplasme fait de racines d'[illegible], [illegible] et grillées.

[illegible]. Les [illegible] du [illegible] sont [illegible] par doses de deux ou de trois [illegible] en bon [illegible].

[illegible]. Le [illegible] est un arbre rappelant notre noyer. Son écorce intérieure [illegible] que l'on [illegible] sur les éruptions cutanées.

[illegible]. Une plante grimpante appelée *[illegible]-ruru* passe pour avoir des pro-

prêtée médicales. On le prend sous forme d'infusion ou on en fait des cataplasmes après l'avoir pilée.

40. Une autre plante grimpante, le *tua-tui (herbe de chiente)* est un anodique fort actif qui peut provoquer des lésions si l'on garde trop longtemps les compresses que l'on fait avec ses fleurs, ses feuilles et ses brindilles mentions ensemble et mêlées avec de l'eau. Si l'on se frotte les mains avec cette plante on les rend insensibles.

41. Les racines de l'arbusto *ubajipina* bien entre dessous en bouillon qui combat l'atrophie.

42. Une espèce de pensée *(wanlapin)* s'emploie dans la pharmacopée indigène comme anodique.

43. Les Chiriguano ont une grande confiance dans la vertu de l'eau chaude. Tout Indien malade a à côté de lui un petit vase, grand comme un œuf, plein d'eau chaude. Ceux qui l'assistent humectent leur doigt et trempent aux lèvres (Campana, p. 110). Le patient doit aussi boire dette eau.

La médecine chiriguano au XVIIIe siècle. — Un manuscrit du XVIIIe siècle, écrit par le P. Manuel Mingo, et conservé à la Bibliothèque du Collège de Tarija, contient des renseignements de plus haut intérêt sur la manière dont les Chiriguano se soignaient à l'époque où ils étaient encore indépendants. Voici la traduction du passage en question :

« La manière dont ils se soignent où ces de maladie est curieuse. Parfois, lorsqu'ils se sentent malades, ils vont aussitôt se baigner à l'intérieur de leur maison dans des jarres ou dans une baignoire en bois. Parfois ils se font appliquer quelques herbes qu'ils vont chercher dans les champs en fourrés, parfois aussi ils se laissent administrer un lavement ou clystère. Cet instrument (d'après ce que j'ai pu voir à Tariquea) est aussi fort curieux. Il se réduit à une petite calebasse ou courge creuse, avec en haut une ouverture circulaire et en bas un petit trou. Dans la partie inférieure on fixe ou on met une canule creuse ou un petit roseau creux correspondant à la canule. On verse par le haut (c'est-à-dire par l'ouverture ronde et grande, ménagée dans la partie renflée de la calebasse) un bouillon d'urine avec du sel. Après quoi, celui qui fait office d'infirmier ou d'infirmière, souffle fortement par la partie supérieure ou du haut en appuyant ses lèvres sur l'ouverture ou fenêtre de la calebasse et la force du souffle fait passer le liquide dans les intestins du patient ». (Fol. 107-108).

Nordenskiöld (14, pp. 184-185), qui dans un livre récent s'est occupé tout au long des divers instruments utilisés par les Indiens de l'Amérique pour effectuer les lavements, en distingue deux types : ceux qui sont pourvus d'une poire en caoutchouc, en cuir ou d'une vessie, et ceux qui se réduisent à un simple tube. Celui qui nous est décrit avec un tel luxe de détails par notre missionnaire, se rattache au second type, tout en

présentant quelques analogies avec le pressoir. Il peut être considéré comme un intermédiaire entre les deux.

L'explorateur Sitz von Essen, a cherché à démontrer que certaines objets trouvés dans le nord-ouest de l'Argentine sont des tubes ou canules de clystères. Nordenskiöld se range aussi à cet avis. Pour mon compte, je crois d'autant plus tenté d'adopter cette hypothèse que je ne pourrais autrement expliquer la présence de cet instrument chez les Chiriguano. Aucune tribu tupi, en effet, à l'exception des Guaraqui du haut Amazone, ne semble avoir eu connu aux lavements en cas de maladie, du moins aucun des voyageurs qui se sont occupés de ces Indiens ne mentionne cette opération chez eux. Il est aussi douteux que les Chiriguano aient emprunté aux peuples andins voisins cette méthode curative et l'instrument correspondant ; mais autant que les Quichua s'adjoint [illegible] des lavements, comme en fait foi la découverte d'une seringue en cuir dans une tombe préinquique de la vallée d'Ullachou dans le Pérou oriental. (Nordenskiöld, 14, fig. 74, p. 106.)

(*A suivre.*)

INDEX BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE

ARDOY (J. CUSTODIO DE), *[illegible] A Cuyos dos Cuzcuzuelo de río Dorado, afluente de Bera (Prefettura de Tarcuaná)*. Rio de Janeiro, 1914.

ACOSTA (P. JOSEPH DE), *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. Madrid, 1894. (Réimpression de l'édition de 1590.)

ARDOUIN (JEAN B.), *Description de objetos arqueológicos depositados en el Museo provincial de Entre Ríos*, in *Revista del Museo de La Plata*, t. III, 1893, pp. 43-79.

(2) *Los indios Coingué del Alto Paraná (Misiones)*, in *Boletín del Instituto geográfico argentino*. Buenos Aires, t. XV, 1894, pp. 661-712.

(3) *Los sepulcros prehistóricos del Alto Paraná (Misiones)*, in *Boletín del Instituto geográfico argentino*. Buenos Aires, t. XVI, 1895, pp. 227-252.

(4) *Datos arqueológicos sobre la provincia de Jujuy*, in *Anales de la Sociedad científica argentina*, t. LII, pp. 161-170 ; t. LIII, pp. 61-66 ; t. LIV, pp. 39-43. Buenos Aires, 1901-1902.

(5) *Apuntes sobre la arqueología de la Puna de Atacama*, in *Revista del Museo de La Plata*, t. XII (1re partie), La Plata, 1904, pp. 1-30.

(6) *Exploraciones arqueológicas en la ciudad prehistórica de o La Paya o (Valle Calchaquí, provincia de Salta)*. Facultad de filosofía y letras. Publicaciones de la Sección Antropológica, n° 2. Buenos Aires, 1907.

ARGERICH (FLORENTINO), *La antigüedad del hombre en el Plata*. Buenos Aires, 1889, 2 vol.

Acta Litterae Societatis Iesu Anni MDCC ad Patres et Fratres eiusdem Societatis. Duaci, MDCCXVIII.

BASTIAN (ADOLPH), *Hyperamerica Kunst. Beiträge zur Archaeologie des Inca-Reiches*, Leipzig, t. I, 1902-1903.

1:Métraux SF10 Chiriguano

BALBOA (R. P. MIGUEL CABELLO), *Historia del Perú bajo la dominación de los Incas*. Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú, t. II (2ª serie). Lima, 1920.

BANCO CENTENERA (D. MARTÍN DEL), *La Argentina*. Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de las Provincias del Río de la Plata, editada por Pedro de Angelis. Buenos Aires, t. II (2ª edición), 1910, pp. 173-322, plus un index de XXIII pages.

BOAS (FRANZ), *Primitive Art*. Instituttet for sammenligneude kulturforskning. Oslo, 1927.

BOMAN (ERIC), *Migrations précolombiennes dans le Nord-ouest de l'Argentine*, in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, nouvelle série, t. II, nº 1, 1905, pp. 91-108.

(2) *Antiquités de la région andine de la République Argentine et du désert d'Atacama*. (Mission scientifique G. de Créqui Montfort et E. Sénéchal de la Grange). Paris, 1908.

(3) *Las ruinas de Tinti en el valle de Lerma (Provincia de Salta)*, in *Anales del Museo Nacional de Historia Natural de Buenos Aires*, t. XXVIII, 1916, pp. 521-540.

(4) *Los ensayos para establecer una cronología prehispánica en la región diaguita (República Argentina)*, in *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia*. Quito, vol. VI, nºs 15-17, 1923, pp. 1-31.

(5) *Estudios arqueológicos riojanos*. Primera parte : *Los cementerios de párvulos del norte de La Rioja*, in *Anales del Museo Nacional de Historia Natural de Buenos Aires*, t. XXXV, 1927, pp. 1-79.

BERGANTE (OBILIA), *Ensayo de clasificación de la cerámica del noroeste argentino*. Buenos Aires, 1926.

BRUCH (CARLOS), *Descripción de algunos sepulcros calchaquíes*, in *Revista del Museo de La Plata*, t. XI, 1902, pp. 11-27.

(2) *Exploraciones arqueológicas en las provincias de Tucumán y Catamarca*, in *Revista del Museo de La Plata*. Buenos Aires, t. XIX, 1ª parte (2ª serie, t. VI), 1913.

CAMPANA (DOMÉNICO DEL), *Notizie intorno ai Cirignani*, in *Archivio per l'antropologia e la etnologia*. Florence, t. XXXII, 1902, pp. 17-139.

CARDÚS (R. P. FR. JOSÉ), *Las misiones franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia. Descripción del estado de ellas en 1883 y 1884, etc.* Barcelone, 1886.

CHERVIN (DR. ARTHUR), *Anthropologie bolivienne*. Tome premier : *Ethnologie, Démographie, Photographie métrique* (Mission scientifique G. de Créqui Montfort et E. Sénéchal de La Grange). Paris, 1908.

CHURCH (GEORGE EARL), *Aborigines of South America*. London, 1912.

CIEZA DE LEON (PEDRO DE), *Segunda parte de la crónica del Perú, que trata del Señorío de los Incas Yupanqui y de sus grandes hechos y gobernación* (publiée par Marcos Jiménez de la Espada). Bibliotecа hispano-ultramarina. Madrid, t. V, 1880.

CONI (EMILIO A.), *Los Guaraníes y el antiguo Tucumán*, in *Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, 2ª serie, sección II, t. II, p. 17 et suiv., mars-mai 1925. (Tirage à part nº 27).

CORRADO (FR. ALEJANDRO M.), *El colegio franciscano y sus misiones. Noticias históricas recogidas por dos misioneros del mismo colegio*. Quaracchi (cerca de Florencia), 1884.

CRÉQUI-MONTFORT (COMTE G. DE), *Fouilles dans la nécropole préhispaniques de Calama. Les anciens Atacamas*, in *Internationaler Amerikanisten-Kongress. Vierzehnte Tagung*. Stuttgart, 1904. Zweite Hälfte. Stuttgart, 1906, pp. 550-565.

DEBENEDETTI (SALVADOR), *Excursión arqueológica a las ruinas de Kipón (Valle Cal-*

chaqui, Provincia de Salta). Facultad de filosofía y letras. Publicaciones de la Sección Antropológica, nº 4. Buenos Aires, 1908.

(2) *Exploración arqueológica en los cementerios prehistóricos de la Isla de Tilcara (Quebrada de Humahuaca, Prov. de Jujuy).* Facultad de filosofía y letras. Publicaciones de la Sección Antropológica, nº 6. Buenos Aires, 1910.

(3) *Investigaciones arqueológicas en los valles precandidos de la Provincia de San Juan.* Facultad de filosofía y letras. Publicaciones de la Sección Antropológica, nº 15. Buenos Aires, 1917.

(4) *Las ruinas prehispánicas de El Alfarcito (Departamento de Tilcara, Provincia de Jujuy),* in *Revista de la Academia Nacional de Ciencias de Córdoba.* Buenos Aires, t. XXIII, 1918, pp. 287-318.

(5) *La influencia hispánica en los yacimientos arqueológicos de Caspinchango (Provincia de Catamarca),* in *Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires,* t. XLVI, 1921, pp. 745-788. (Publicaciones de la Sección Antropológica, nº 20.)

DIAZ DE GUZMÁN (RUY), *La Argentina. Historia de las Provincias del Río de la Plata,* in *Anales de la Biblioteca.* Buenos Aires, t. X, 1914, pp. 1-216. (Édition critique de P. Groussac.)

Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano compilado teniendo a la vista diversos manuscritos de antiguos Misioneros del Apostólico Colegio de Santa María de los Angeles de Tarija y particularmente el Diccionario Chiriguano etimológico del R. P. Doroteo Giannecchini por los Padres SANTIAGO ROMANO Y HERMANN CATTUNAR, *alumnos del mismo Colegio.* Tarija (Bolivia), 1916.

DILLENIUS (J. A.), *Observaciones arqueológicas sobre alfarería funeraria de la « Puna »,* in *Revista de la Universidad.* Buenos Aires, t. XI, 1909, pp. 67 et 133. (Publicaciones de la Sección Antropológica, nº 5.)

GANDÍA (ENRIQUE DE), *Historia crítica de los mitos de la conquista americana.* Madrid, 1929.

(2) *Historia del Gran Chaco.* Madrid, 1929.

GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, *Los comentarios reales de los Incas.* Colección de historiadores clásicos del Perú, t. I-IV. Lima, 1919.

GROUSSAC (PAUL), *Mendoza y Garay. Las dos fundaciones de Buenos Aires 1536-1580.* Buenos Aires, 1916.

GUEVARA (TOMÁS), *Historia de Chile. Chile prehispano.* Santiago de Chile, 1929.

HERIARTE (MAURICIO DE), *Descripção do Estado do Maranhão, Pará, Corupá e rio das Amazonas.* Vienne d'Autriche, 1874.

HERNÁNDEZ (PEDRO), *Comentarios de Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca* dans ALVAR NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA, *Naufragios y comentarios.* Madrid (edición Calpe), 1922, pp. 150-368.

HITTE (CHARLES DE LA), *Notes ethnographiques sur les Indiens Guayaquis,* in *Annales del Museo de La Plata.* Anthropologie II. La Plata, 1897.

JIJON Y CAAMAÑO (J.), *Nueva contribución al conocimiento de los aborígenes de la provincia de Imbabura de la República del Ecuador,* in *Boletín de la Sociedad ecuatoriana de estudios históricos americanos.* Quito, vol. IV, nº 10, 1920, pp. 1-120.

KERSTEN (DR. LUDWIG), *Die Indianerstämme des Gran Chaco bis zum Ausgange des 18 Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Ethnographie Südamerikas,* in *Internationales Archiv fur Ethnographie,* Leyde, t. XVII, 1905.

KOCH-GRÜNBERG (THEODOR), *Anfänge der Kunst im Urwald.* Berlin, 1905.

(2) *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern.* Berlin, 1909-1910.

(3) *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco.* Stuttgart, t. III. *Ethnographie,* 1923.

KING (J. ANTONIO), *Veinticuatro años en la República Argentina.* Traducción y nota de Juan Heller. Buenos Aires, 1924. Colección « La cultura argentina. »

1:Métraux SF10 Chiriguano

KÜHN (FRANZ), *Estudios sobre petroglifos de la región diaguita*, in *Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, t. XXV, 1914, pp. 385 et suiv. (Tirage à part.)

LAFONE QUEVEDO (SAMUEL A.), *Catálogo descriptivo e ilustrado de las Huacas de Chañar-Yaco (Provincia de Catamarca)*, in *Revista del Museo de La Plata*, t. III, 1892, pp. 33-63.

(2) *Tipos de alfarería en la región diaguito-calchaquí*, in *Revista del Museo de La Plata*. Buenos Aires, t. XV (2ª serie, t. II), 1908, pp. 295-396.

LATCHAM (Dr. E. RICARDO), *Las influencias chinchas en la alfarería indígena de Chile y la Argentina*, in *Anales de la Sociedad científica argentina*, Buenos Aires, t. CIV, 1928, pp. 159 et suiv.

LEHMANN-NITSCHE (ROBERT), *Catálogo de las antigüedades de la provincia de Jujuy conservadas en el Museo de La Plata*, in *Revista del Museo de La Plata*, t. XI, 1902, pp. 73-120.

LÉRY (JEAN DE), *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil*. (Nouvelle édition avec une introduction et des notes par Paul Gaffarel). Paris, 1880.

LINNÉ (SIGVALD), *The Technique of South American Ceramics*, in *Göteborgs kungl. vetenskaps- och vitterhets-samhälles handlingar*. Fjärde följden, Band 29, nº 5. Göteborg, 1925.

(2) *Darien in the Past*, in *Göteborgs kungl. vetenskaps- och vitterhets-samhälles handlingar*. Femte följden, ser. A, Band 1, nº 3. Göteborg, 1929.

LIZÁRRAGA (Fr. REGINALDO DE), *Descripción colonial*. Biblioteca argentina, t. XIII et XIV. Buenos Aires, 1916.

MASON (OTIS TUFTON), *Aboriginal American Basketry : Studies in a Textile Art without Machinery*, in *Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum, under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution for Year ending June 30, 1902*. Washington, 1904, pp. 185-548.

MATIENZO (LICENCIADO DON JUAN), *Gobierno del Perú*. Facultad de filosofía y letras. Sección de historia. Buenos Aires, 1910.

MEDINA (JOSÉ TORIBIO), *Los aborígenes de Chile*. Santiago de Chile, 1882.

MÉTRAUX (ALFRED), *Migrations historiques des Tupi-guarani*, in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, nouvelle série, t. XIX, 1927, pp. 1-45.

(2) *La civilisation matérielle des tribus tupi-guarani*. Paris, 1928.

(3) *La religion des Tupinamba et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus tupi-guarani*, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes-Études (Sciences religieuses)*, t. XLV. Paris, 1928.

(4) *Contribution à l'étude de l'archéologie du cours supérieur de l'Amazone*, in *Revista del Museo de La Plata*. Buenos Aires, t. XXXII, 1930, pp. 145-185.

(5) *Un ancien document peu connu sur les Guaraysi de la Bolivie orientale*, in *Anthropos*. Mödling, près de Vienne, t. XXIV, 1929, pp. 913-912.

(6) *Contribution à l'ethnographie et à l'archéologie de la province de Mendoza (Rép. Argentine)*, in *Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán*. Buenos Aires, t. I, entrega 1ª, 1929. pp. 5-74.

MONTELL (GUNTA), *An archaeological Collection from the Rio Loa Valley, Atacama*. Oslo etnografiske Museums Skrifter Bind, 5, Hefte 1, Oslo, 1926, pp. 1-45.

(2) *Dress and ornaments in ancient Peru. Archaeological and historical studies*. Göteborg, 1929.

MUJIA (Dr. RICARDO), *Bolivia-Paraguay*, 2 vol. (Cité d'après Gandia.)

NIMUENDAJÚ (CURT), *Die Palikur-Indianer und ihre Nachbarn*, in *Göteborgs kungl. vetenskaps- och vitterhets-samhälles handlingar*. Fjärde följden, Band 31, nº 2. Göteborg, 1926.

NINO (F. BERNARDINO DE), *Etnografía chiriguana*. La Paz (Bolivia), 1912.

NORDENSKIÖLD (ERLAND), *Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Südamerikanischen Tonpfeifen und ihrer Herstellung*, in *Kungl. Svenska Vetenskapsakademiens Handlingar*. Band 41. Uppsala et Stockholm, 1906.

(2) *Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco (Südamerika)*. Leipzig, 1912.

(3) *Indianer och Hvita i nordöstra Bolivia*. Stockholm, 1911.

(4) *Urnengräber und Mounds im bolivianischen Flachlande*, in *Bastler-Archiv*. Leipzig et Berlin, t. III, 1913.

(5) *Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika*. Stockholm, 1915.

(6) *Incallacta, eine befestigte und von Inka Tupac Yupanqui angelegte Stadt*, in *Ymer*. Årgångg 1915. Stockholm, 1915.

(7) *The Guarani Invasion of the Inca Empire in the Sixteenth Century: An Historical Indian Migration*, in *The Geographical Review*. New-York, t. IV, 1917.

(8) *Sydamerika. Kampen om guld och silver 1498-1600. (De Geografiska Upptäckternas historia. Sydamerika)*. Uppsala, 1919.

(9) *Eine geographische und ethnographische Analyse der materiellen Kultur zweier Indianerstämme in el Gran Chaco (Südamerika). Vergleichende ethnographische Forschungen*. 1. Göteborg, 1918.

(10) *The changes in the material culture of two Indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative ethnographical studies*. 2. Göteborg, 1920.

(11) *The ethnography of South-America seen from Mojos in Bolivia. Comparative ethnographical studies*. 3. Göteborg, 1924.

(12) *Des flèches à trois plumes d'empennage en Amérique du Sud*, in *Journal de la Société des américanistes de Paris*, nouvelle série, t. XVI, 1924, pp. 185-196.

(13) *En jamförelse mellan indiankulturen i södra Sydamerika och i Nordamerika*, in *Ymer*. Årgångg 1928. Stockholm, 1928.

(14) *Modifications in indian culture through inventions and loans. Comparative ethnographical studies*. 8. Göteborg, 1930.

(15) *Sydamerikas Indianer*. Stockholm, 1912.

(16) *Le balancier à fardeaux et la balance en Amérique*. Documents. Paris, t. I, n° 4, 1929, pp. 177-182.

OUTES (FÉLIX F.), *Observaciones a dos estudios del señor Eric Boman sobre paleoetnología del noroeste argentino*, in *Anales de la Sociedad científica argentina*. Buenos Aires, t. LX, 1905, pp. 145-167.

(2) *Alfarerías del noroeste argentino*, in *Anales del Museo de La Plata*. Buenos Aires, t. I (2ª serie), 1907, pp. 5-52.

(3) *La cerámica chiriguana*, in *Revista del Museo de La Plata*. Buenos Aires, t. XVI (2ª serie, t. III), 1909, pp. 121-136.

OYARZUN (AURELIANO), *Las calabazas pirograbadas de Calama*, in *Revista chilena de historia y geografía*. Santiago de Chile, t. LXII, 1929, pp. 82-104.

PLAGEMANN (A.), *Ueber die chilenischen « Pintados »*. *Beitrag zur Katalogisierung und vergleichenden Untersuchung der südamerikanischen Piktographien*, in *Internationaler Amerikanisten-Kongress*. Vierzehnte Tagung. Stuttgart, 1906. Ergänzungsband.

POSNANSKY (ARTHUR), *El signo escalonado en las ideografías americanas con especial referencia a Tiahuanaco*, in *International Congress of Americanists. Proceedings of the XVIII session*, Londres, part. II, 1912, pp. 280-292.

PREUSS (K. TH.), *Der Ursprung der Religion und Kunst*. Globus, t. LXXXVII, 1904-1905.

Relación anónima sobre los sucesos ocurridos en el Río de la Plata. Comprende desde la muerte de Juan de Ayolas, 1537, hasta la prisión de Cabeza de Vaca. Asunción 9

marzo 1545, in *Anales de la Biblioteca*. Buenos Aires, t. VIII, 1912, pp. 305-314.

Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala acerca de los descubrimientos que iba haciendo cuando fué navegando Paraguay arriba por orden del gobernador Cabeza de Vaca, desde el 18 de diciembre de 1542, in *Anales de la Biblioteca*. Buenos Aires, t. VIII, 1912, pp. 339-352.

Relaciones geográficas de Indias (publiées par le « Ministerio de Fomento » et rédigées par Marcos Jiménez de la Espada). Madrid, 4 vol., t. I, 1881 ; t. II. 1885 ; t. III-IV, 1897.

RIVET (PAUL) et VERNEAU (R.), *Ethnographie ancienne de l'Équateur*. Paris, 1912.

RIVET (PAUL), (2) *Les éléments constitutifs des civilisations du Nord-Ouest et de l'Ouest Sudaméricain*, in *Congrès International des Américanistes. Compte-rendu de la XXIe session*. Deuxième partie tenue à Göteborg en 1924. Göteborg, 1925, pp. 1-20.

(3) *Relations commerciales précolombiennes entre l'Océanie et l'Amérique*. Publication d'hommage au P. W. Schmidt. Vienne, 1928, pp. 583-609.

ROSEN (ERIC VON), *Ethnographical Research Work during the swedish Chaco-Cordillera-Expedition 1901-1902*. Stockholm, 1924.

(2) *Popular account of archaeological Research during the swedish Cordillera-Expedition 1901-1902*. Stockholm, 1924.

ROTH (WALTER), *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians*, in *38th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. Washington, 1924.

SAN MARTIN (FÉLIX), *Neuquén*. Buenos Aires, 1919 (?).

SANTA CRUZ PACHACUTI, voir : *Tres relaciones de antigüedades peruanas*.

SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA (PEDRO), *Geschichte des Inkareiches*, in *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse*. Neue Folge Band, VI, n° 4, Berlin, 1906.

SERRANO Y SANZ (MANUEL), *Los indios chiriguanaes*, in *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, t. II. Madrid, 1898. (Cité d'après Nordenskiöld.)

SKOTTSBERG (KARL), *Notes on the old Indian necropolis of Arica*, in *Meddelande fran Geografiska Förening i Göteborg*, t. III, 1924, pp. 27-78.

SCHMIDT (MAX), *Die Aruaken. Studien zur Ethnologie und Soziologie*. Leipzig, 1917.

(2) *Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien*. Berlin, 1905.

STEINEN (KARL VON DEN), *Durch Central-Brasilien*, Leipzig, 1886.

(2) *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-brasiliens*. Berlin, 1894.

TAMAJUNCOSA (FRAY ANTONIO), *Descripción de las Misiones al cargo del Colegio de Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles, de la Villa de Tarija*. Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de las Provincias del Río de la Plata, publicada por Pedro de Angelis. Buenos Aires, t. IV, 1910, pp. 187-223.

Tres relaciones de antigüedades peruanas. (Publiées par Marcos Jiménez de la Espada). Madrid, 1879.

UHLE (MAX), *Tabletas de madera de Chiu-Chiu*, in *Revista chilena de historia y geografía*, Santiago de Chile, año III, t. VIII, n° 12, 1913, pp. 454-458.

(2) *Los aborígenes de Arica*, in *Publicaciones del Museo de etnografía y antropología*. Santiago de Chile, t. I, 1917, pp. 151-176.

(3) *Fundamentos étnicos de la región de Arica y Tacna*, in *Boletín de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Estudios Americanos*. Quito, vol. II, n° 4, enero y febrero de 1919, pp. 1-37.

(4) *La arqueología de Arica y Tacna*, in *Boletín de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Estudios Históricos Americanos*, vol. III, n° 7 et 8, julio y octubre de 1919, pp. 1-48, pl. XXVII.

[PP. 494-597 not processed]

Études sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano, par Alfred Métraux

Préface 295
I. *La civilisation matérielle* 299
Introduction 299
Aperçu historique sur la formation de la nation chiriguano 300
L'agriculture 333
La cuisine et l'alimentation 345
Les ressources alimentaires 345
La pêche 349
La cuisine 353
Le feu 353
Préparation des aliments 354
Les boissons fermentées 364
Notes sur les ustensiles de cuisine en usage chez les Chiriguano 370
Outils des Chiriguano 378
Moule pour tembetas 380
Balances 380
L'art chez les indiens Chiriguano et Chané 382
Technique de la céramique 382
Classification de la céramique Chiriguano 388
Décadence de l'art de la céramique chez les Chiriguano 393
Etude comparative des éléments constitutifs de la céramique peinte des indiens Chiriguano et Chané 396
Etudes comparée des principaux motifs décoratifs de la céramique Chiriguano et de celle des peuples andins voisins 412
Les calebasses 428
Le tissage 431
La vannerie et ses techniques 439
1. Considérations générales 439
2. Vannerie en *wicker work* 444
3. Vannerie en *twilled work* 453
Les masques 462
Description des masques 466
Les peignes 466
Mobilier 469
Jouets et jeux 473
Le traitement des maladies 480
Magiciens et remèdes 480

[p. 599 not processed]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 143

HANDBOOK OF SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 3

THE TROPICAL FOREST TRIBES

Prepared in Cooperation With the United States Department of State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1948

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office,
Washington 25, D. C.

[Title Page]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

TRIBES OF THE EASTERN SLOPES OF THE BOLIVIAN ANDES

By Alfred Métraux

INTRODUCTION

Five tribes live along the slopes of the Bolivian Cordillera from the Argentine border to Perú: The *Chiriguano*, the *Yuracare*, the *Mosetene* and *Chimane*, the *Leco*, and the *Tacana*. The *Chiriguano* belong to the *Tupi-Guarani* group; the *Yuracare*, *Leco*, and *Tacana* represent still isolated linguistic families. The *Mosetene* and *Chimane* form a single linguistic group. 101

CHIRIGUANO AND CHANE

HISTORY

The *Chiriguano* (*Avá Chaháuanco*) (map 1, *No. 3*; map 2; map 8, *No. 5*) are the descendants of the *Guaraní* who in historic times migrated from Paraguay and crossed the plains of the Chaco in successive waves to settle along the foothills of the Andes from the upper Pilcomayo River to the upper Rio Grande (Guapay River). (Lat. 18°–23° S., long. 63°–64° W.) Seven migrations are alluded to in historical documents. 175 167 101

The first migration (1471 or 1476), reported by Garcilaso de la Vega, took place during the last year of the reign of Inca Yupanqui. Another, between 1513 and 1518, can be surmised from the testimony of a *Guaraní* Indian who spoke to Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca. A *Chané* Indian captured by the *Guaraní* and brought to Itati told Domingo de Irala in 1542 of a third migration, between 1519 and 1523, which probably came after the 1513–18 invasion and certainly before that in which Alejo García took part. The *Guaraní* migration described by Diego Felipe de Alcaya, curate of Mataca, may perhaps be this third one, though many details are certainly fanciful. According to Gandía (1935 a, p. 24), this was the migratory shift which took the *Guaraní* from the region of Itati to the Province of Santa Cruz and which contributed to the formation of the *Guarayú-Pauserna* tribe.

The fourth *Guaraní* invasion, about which we have the most complete information, occurred between 1521 and 1526. It is famous because a few White men, shipwrecked sailors of the Solís armada, accompanied the invading Indians. One of them, Alejo García, seems to have played a conspicuous part in this migration, although Díaz de Guzmán's (1914, 9:26–30) statement that García was the organizer of the raid may be doubted. With a strong force of *Guaraní* he crossed the Chaco, probably at lat. 13° S., and invaded the borderlands of the *Inca* Empire. The raiders advanced as far as Presto to the northeast and Tarabuco to the southeast of Sucre. Fearing a victorious return of the *Charcas* (*Chicha*), the invaders retreated, carrying their booty. On reaching Paraguay, with *Chané* and *Tarapecosi* (*Chiquito*), Alejo

1 a [Maps 1, 2, 8 not processed for this file]

2 Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

175 169 Garcia was killed by the *Guaraní*. The historical character of Alejo García's expedition is amply proved by several passages in documents of the Conquest of Paraguay, mainly in the "Comentaries" of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, Pedro, 1852, pp. 379-580). The success of this raid prompted many more *Guaraní* to migrate westward. Those from the Río Paraná followed the Pilcomayo River. Those from the region of Asunción entered the Chaco north of that city. The Indians of Jerugainba and Caraysapera, that is to say of the country of Itatí, entered the Chaco near San Fernando (lat. 20° S.). According to Díaz de Guzmán, these Indians were the ancestors of the *Guarayú* or *Itatines*, who lived 90 miles (30 leagues) from Santa Cruz.

In a letter written by Martin González from Asunción in 1556, there is the following passage which confirms the continuous migration of the *Guaraní* toward the Andes: "These Indians [the *Guaraní*] go and come back from the lands of Perú. As they have no roads and avoid their enemies, they reconnoiter the land ahead of them, settle long enough to sow crops and harvest their food, and go on. So went those who for long had been settled in the Peruvian sierras and those who go today to meet the Christians.

"In Asunción are many Indians who with their wives and children have gone there two or three times from opposite that city, along a river [the Pilcomayo] that flows 2 leagues from here and comes from the city of La Plata. The Indians from Paraguay have settled by that river and along the Cordillera, over a space of 100 leagues. Some *Cario* [*Guaraní*] have gone to the mountains along another river, 42 leagues down the Paraguay River, which is called the Ypití [Bermejo River]. *Cario* are established in the mountains near the Ypití River, which also leads, according to what those who came from Perú say, to the city of La Plata." (Quoted by Gandía, 1935 a, p. 37.)

Several thousand *Guaraní*, serving as auxiliaries and porters, accompanied Domingo de Irala and Nuño de Chaves on their expeditions from Paraguay to the foothills of the Andes. It is historically attested that the 2,000 or 3,000 *Guaraní* of Itatí who followed Nuño de Chaves in 1564 were in part the ancestors of the modern *Guarayú-Pauserna*.

The *Guaraní* not only invaded and conquered the foothills of the Andes from the upper Bermejo River to Santa Cruz de la Sierra, but certain groups went even farther to the north and settled near the border of the *Mojo* and *Baurí* country. The *Pitaguari* (*Piritaguari*) were a *Guaraní* group established in the Sierras de Chiquitos, north of the first Santa Cruz. There were also *Chiriguano* around the town of San Francisco Alfaro in the Province of Chiquitos, near the Jesuit mission of San Xavier.

The *Guaraní* invasions, which started as plundering raids along the *Inca* frontier, were prompted by the desire to obtain gold and silver ornaments and copper tools from the *Carangas* (*Charcas, Chicha*) and from the *Chané* of the foothills, who were amply provided with these metals. Probably metal objects first reached the *Guaraní* of Paraguay through the *Chané*, whose villages were scattered across the Chaco from the Andes to the upper Paraguay River. Although the prospect of rich loot was certainly the predominant cause of their invasions, the old *Guaraní* dream of a land of immortality and abundance, the abode of the Great Ancestor, also may have played some part in determining their migrations.

175 648 The *Guaraní* finally became such a threat to the *Quechua* towns of the Province of Charcas that an *Inca* Emperor, probably Huayna Capac, built fortresses at Samaypata (Sawaypata), Saigpuru, and Guanacopampa to halt their inroads. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1906, p. 105) speaks of Huayna Capac's wars against the *Chiriguano*, of the *Chiriguano's* capture of the fortress of Cuzcotuyo (probably Incahuasi), and their defeat by Huayna Capac's general, Yasca. The ruins of these

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Inca fortresses were visited by Nordenskiöld (1915 a, 1924 a), who described them under the names of Incallacta and Incahuasi. They bear witness to the accuracy of the various traditions concerning the *Guaraní* invasions, recorded by the chroniclers of Perú and of the Rio de la Plata. C 175 648

Along the Andes, the *Chiriguano* found a peaceful *Arawakan* population, the *Chané*, a branch of the *Chané* or *Guana* tribe, which occupied the northern part of the Chaco along the Paraguay River. The western *Chané*, after centuries of close contact with the Andean cultures, had been deeply influenced by them. They dressed like their neighbors, the Andean *Chicha*, produced a pottery which resembled that of Southern Bolivia and of the valley of Humahuaca, wore metal ornaments, and used metal tools. The *Chané* fell easy prey to the *Guaraní*, who slaughtered and ate many of them and reduced the remaining population to a condition of serfdom. The *Guaraní* invaders, having brought few of their own women, however, took *Chané* wives. The fusion of these two tribes produced a civilization in which Andean, *Guaraní*, and some *Arawak* features were intimately blended. The *Chané* did not entirely lose their identity, however, for along the Parapetí River, in the Caipipendi Valley, on the Itiyuro River, and in the Province of Salta (Argentine), *Chané* villages survived under their own chiefs. But even these have adopted the *Guaraní* language and today cannot be distinguished from their conquerors. The *Chiriguano*, nevertheless, consider the *Chané* somewhat inferior, while the latter remember the forays and cannibalistic habits of their former masters. The *Chané* language, probably extinct now, was spoken by a few persons as late as 1908. C C 648 175 C C [191] C [266] C [186] C [197]

The number of *Chané* is said to have greatly exceeded that of the *Guaraní* invaders. They extended from the Rio Grande (Guapay River) to the Argentine along the foothills of the Andes. At the beginning of the 17th century, according to Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, in the region of Machareti, 400 *Chiriguano* ruled over 5,000 *Chané*; in Charagua, 350 *Chiriguano* owned 4,000 *Chané* serfs; and on the Guapay River, 200 *Chiriguano* kept 1,000 *Chané* in subjection. C C 175 648 162

The first White settlement in the land of the *Chiriguano* was the ephemeral town of Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded in 1564 on the upper Parapetí (Cordorillo) River by Manso and destroyed a short time later by the *Chiriguano*. In 1571 the *Chiriguano* attacked the *Chicha* and the natives of the Provinces of Condorillo and Barranca. To punish them for their "arrogance," the Viceroy of Perú, Francisco de Toledo, led an expedition against them. The Indians avoided battle and harassed the troops of the Viceroy until he was obliged to retreat in shameful defeat (1574). San Lorenzo de la Frontera, which became the modern Santa Cruz de la Sierra, was founded primarily to keep the *Chiriguano* at bay. C 175 648

The first attempt to convert the *Chiriguano* to Christianity was made in 1609, when two Franciscans, Augustín Sabio and Francisco Gonzalez, built a church in the valley of Salinas, but the reduction was soon abandoned because of Indian opposition. The Jesuit fathers founded a college in Tarija in 1690 and undertook the spiritual conquest of the *Chiriguano*. In 1691, Father Arce founded a mission in the valley of Tariquea, which lasted only 3 years; another mission, established on the Guapay River by Fathers Zea and Centeno, met the same fate. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Dominicans founded three missions in the valley of Chiquiacá, Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Miguel, and Santa Rosa, while the Augustins formed the Mission of Santa Clara in the valley of Salinas. In 1715, the Jesuits reestablished their ancient mission of Tariquea. In 1727, all the missions in the *Chiriguano* country were destroyed by the rebellion of the chief, Aruma, and his followers, who feared being taken into slavery. The revolt was crushed by an armed expedition sent from Santa Cruz and composed of Spaniards, "tame" *Chiriguano*, and *Chiquito* auxiliary troops. The *Chiriguano* had been aroused against the missions by the fear of being taken into slavery. C 175 797 648

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purísima Concepción de Pilipilí. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Río Grande): Ahapo, Mazabi, Cabezas, Piray, Igmiri, Tacurú, Iti, Parapetí, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuaremboti, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1799. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapetí River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Macharetí, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapetí. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapetí River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Acero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izoro, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were baptized and 3,187 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

ARCHEOLOGY

Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapetí River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupayu. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

typical *Inca* designs. At Caipipendi (pl. 41, *top, right*), near Charagua, he found a *Chiriguano* cemetery consisting of large, corrugated urns, identical to modern *Chiriguano* chicha jars, covered with smaller jars. Near the surface was found a vessel with incised decoration which has no resemblance to any modern *Chiriguano* ware. The same site yielded a small pot with thin incisions and two suspension holes. 172

SOURCES

Short descriptions of the *Chiriguano* appear in the early literature. Garcilaso de la Vega's picture of *Chiriguano* culture is on the whole quite inaccurate, but for a few details. Díaz de Guzmán (1914), Barco Centenera (1836, 1912), and Lizárraga (1909) speak briefly of *Chiriguano* culture, but the earliest firsthand account of it is Father Chomé's letter (1819 b). Tamajuncosa's report (1910) about the state of the missions at the end of the 18th century is also an interesting document. Weddel (1853), who visited the *Chiriguano* in the middle of the last century, published a few notes about their culture. The best sources are the reports and books written by the Franciscan missionaries, Cardús (1886), Corrado (1884), and especially Campana (1902). Nino's (1912) much-quoted book is based in great part on Campana's monograph. 113 114

Nordenskiöld dedicates several chapters of his "Indianerleben" (1912) and of "Forschungen and Abenteuer" (1924 a) to the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*. His data are accurate though somewhat superficial. Great stress is placed on the economic life and the material culture, but social organization and religion receive only cursory attention. However, the collection of *Chané* and *Chiriguano* myths is fairly large and of great interest. Nordenskiöld made a comparative analysis of *Chiriguano* material culture in one of the volumes of his ethnographical series (Nordenskiöld, 1920). More minute details about *Chiriguano* artifacts may be found in Eric von Rosen's (1924) luxurious publication based on a collection he made among these Indians at the beginning of the century.

Several aspects of *Chiriguano* history and material culture were studied in some detail by the writer (Métraux, 1930 b), who also published new *Chiriguano* myths (1931 a) and two sociological essays (Métraux, 1931 b and 1935).

Several monographs deal with *Chiriguano* pottery, which is today one of the best in South America. (Outes, 1909; Nordenskiöld, 1920; Métraux, 1930 b; Paulotti, 1942.) Recently, Max Schmidt (1938) again published and described *Chiriguano* artifacts and techniques.

Knowledge of *Chiriguano* religious and social life is meager and is limited mainly to Campana's monograph (1902) and to observations made by Nordenskiöld (1912) and the present author (1930 b) at a time when aboriginal *Chiriguano* culture was already decadent. The Paraguayan-Bolivian war accelerated its breakdown and little of it now survives.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

The migrations, wars, and the religious conversion of the *Chiriguano* have been the subjects of many historical monographs. The most important of these are by Corrado (1884), Serrano y Sanz (1898), Domínguez (1918), Gandía (1929 a, and b), Métraux (1930 b), Cimi (1925), Moreno (1929), and Finot (1939). The Jesuit missionary work among the *Chiriguano* has been described by Lozano (1941) and Muriel (1918).

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

As today *Chiriguano* and *Chané* share in the same culture, the following data may apply to both tribes.

Farming.—The *Chané*, conquered by the *Chiriguano*, were proficient farmers who, though practicing a tropical type of agriculture, were probably acquainted with many of the methods of cultivation of the Andean area. The *Chiriguano* adopted their traditions. The new habitat of the *Chiriguano* did not offer the same resources for hunting and fishing as had their homeland. Therefore, these Indians depend on farming to a larger extent than any other *Tupi-Guaraní* tribe. The basis of their livelihood is maize, of which they have 11 varieties, all related to those of Paraguay. Then follow in order of importance: Pumpkins, beans (11 varieties), sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, peanuts, and some Barbary figs (*Opuntia* sp.). Sweet potatoes were grown on a large scale by the *Chané* of the Parapetí River.

These Indians also raise cotton, tobacco, urucú, and, in the Parapetí region, reeds for arrow shafts (*Arundo donax*). Plants of the Old World adopted by the *Chiriguano* include melons, watermelons, oranges, sugarcane, and sorghum.

Chiriguano men clear the fields and surround them with a tall fence as a protection against the inroads of wild or domesticated animals, a task which is considered to be particularly strenuous. They also till the soil, but at harvest time they are assisted by the women and children. The latter, armed with slings, drive away the parakeets and other birds which prey on the crops. Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 183) observed that among the *Chané* of the Isiyuro region, large maize fields were tended by men while pumpkins and beans were raised by the women.

Collecting wild food.—When their crops fail, the *Chiriguano* subsist on the same species of pods and fruits as those collected by the Chaco Indians: Algarrobo, tuna, mistol, caraguatá, and other plant foods.

Hunting.—Hunting is a very secondary economic activity, at least in modern times. Peccaries, which are the main game animal, are hunted with specially trained dogs and killed with bows and arrows or with clubs. Rheas, which are abundant in the Chaco plains, are caught with bolas. Pigeons are captured with clap nets. Special arrows with two points are used for hunting yacu birds (*Penelope* sp.).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fishing.—Fishing is worth while only for those *Chiriguano* and *Chané* who live along the upper Pilcomayo or Bermejo Rivers and, to lesser extent, for the *Chané* of the Parapetí and Itiyuro Rivers. Methods of fishing vary somewhat with the regions. Along the Pilcomayo River, fish are caught with iron hooks, with dipnets, similar to those of the Chaco Indians, with the bow and arrow, and with long two-pronged spears. Fishing baskets are used in combination with stone dams (fig. 57). C Ce 226 Ce [171]

C 226

FIGURE 57.—*Chiriguano* fish dam in the Pilcomayo River. *A* is entrance; *B* are pockets where fish are caught. (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1920, fig. 14.)

Among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro, fishing is done almost exclusively by women and children. They use hooks, but more often they capture fish in small ponds which they cut from the main stream by means of weirs. They also catch small fish in narrow-necked gourds into which they place chicha dregs as a bait. The *Chané* of the Parapetí scoop fish with nets or shoot them with arrows tipped with a bundle of cactus thorns (Nordenskiöld, 1912, pp. 184–185). Ce 226 [462]

Domesticated animals.—Modern *Chiriguano* raise sheep, cattle, horses, and chickens. Their dogs are so completely mongrel that their European or Indian origin cannot be ascertained. The *Chiriguano* were probably acquainted with chickens when they arrived in their present territory, for they use a *Guaraní* term for them. Pets are not numerous in their villages; most of them are parrots which were captured by means of a noose attached to the end of a long pole. In order to approach the wild birds, the Indians use tame parrots and decoys. C 231 C [223]

Cooking.—Maize is prepared in a great many ways. The grains are eaten on the cob, roasted in special pans, boiled in water, or ground into flour, which is served with every meal. One method of preparing maize flour is to steam it in a perforated bowl. C 252

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

252 415 412 264 *Chiriguano* mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the habracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. [319 263] Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 592 **Dwellings.**—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Linárrage, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

361 178 [343] [712] The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 177 **Clothing.**—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano women still dress in tipoys, a long, sacklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, *right*). Some tipoys (tiru) are so long that they need to be folded. 291

Anciently, *Chiriguano* men shaved their foreheads, as did the *Guarani* of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband. 302 412

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a tasseled fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

Body painting.—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass. 302 178

Ornaments.—The distinctive ornament of the *Chiriguano*, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 59, *e*). Originally, labrets were made of rosin, as were those of the *Guarani* of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip. 301 178

Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean woven frontlets studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 59, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the *Chiriguano* in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads. 301 177 [439]

Miscellaneous.—The *Chiriguano* have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout *Chiriguano* territory. 515 824

Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers. 302

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The rivers in *Chiriguano* territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River. 501

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaná SF8

e
482
159
c
Ce
531
323

Carrying devices.—In contrast to other Guaraní, the Chiriguano do not have basketry knapsacks; women use large carrying nets with a tumpline. Babies are carried in a woven sling, straddling their mother's hip.

Figure 38.—Chiriguano and Chaná pottery decorations. (After Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 32.)

Chaco SF-8

REFERENCES

Pottery.—Chiriguano pottery is, for the beauty of its painted decoration and the variety of its forms, outstanding in modern South America. The mixed origin of Chiriguano culture is reflected in the two types of earthenware vessels. The plain pots for cooking and the large jars for chicha, which did not differ from similar vessels of the Paraguayan Guarani, were ornamented with fingernail impressions (pl. 41, bottom, right).

C 373 531

C [171]

Ec 301 Ec 411 Ec 412

Ec 534 531 301

Ec 381 531

Ca 524

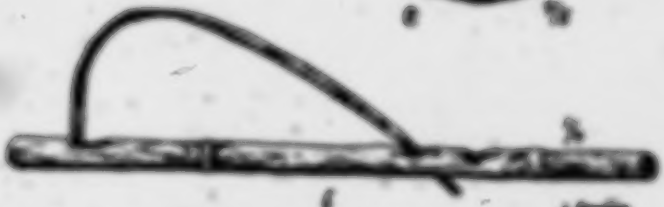


PLATE 38.—Chiriguano and Chané manufactures. a, Silver pincers used as brass ornaments; b, bird arrow point; c, handle to wooden spade; d, wooden whistle used as ornament; e, tin labret with mosaic inlay; f, Chané pan-dancer. (a, d, e, Redrawn from Roma, 1904; b, c, f, from Nordenskiöld, 1910, figs. 28, 12, 3, 24.)

2.Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Omaguaca SI 9

C 323 172 77 531
C 415 531
C 415 531

The de luxe vases and dishes, typologically related to vessels in the archeological pottery of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina, were decorated with distinctly Andean patterns (figs. 36, 60). The most common vessel is the *yuchal*, a subglobular vase with ears, in which chicha was served. The motifs are mainly geometrical and most of them

FIGURE 60.—Chiriguano pottery. Specimens at top, right, a Huancharo archeological specimen included for comparison. (Approximately 1/7 actual size.) (Redrawn from Métraux, 1929 b, fig. 70, pls. 21, 22, 44.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

are based on a triangle surmounted by a scroll, which is multiplied in countless variations. C 323 [531]

Women potters (pl. 41, *top, left,* and *bottom, left*) tempered the clay with crushed potsherds and built up their vases by coiling. They painted them with several kinds of ocher and with black obtained from rosin. [C 462 386]

Spinning and weaving.—Among the *Chiriguano,* wool is more commonly used than cotton for textiles, but *Chané* fabrics are generally of cotton. The fibers are spun with a drop spindle weighted with a clay whorl (pl. 42, *center*). Although garments are in part Andean in shape, the loom remains of the vertical type. Formerly, indigo was the favorite native dye; today aniline dyes have entirely replaced it. The ornamentation of the fabrics is limited to a few stripes. C C 286 283 171 386 [531]

Netting.—Fishing nets and carrying nets are made by means of a wooden gage in a reef-knot technique. C 285

Basketry.—Fans, round baskets with overlapping lids, and sieves are twilled with palm leaves in the best Guiana fashion, but wickerwork basketry is very common. No large baskets for carrying or storing food are made.

Gourds.—The painted, incised, or fire-engraved (fig. 61) gourds (*Lagenaria siceraria*) used as cups are, after pottery, the best expressions of *Chiriguano* art. The motifs are mainly geometrical, with occasional realistic representations. C 415 531

FIGURE 61.—*Chané* calabashes. *Left:* Specimen with lid (approximately ¼ actual size). *Right:* Pyrograved specimen (approximately ⅓ actual size). (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1920, fig. 50 and Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 62.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 372

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

C 411

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

C [223] Ce [226] [411] [824] Ce 411 824

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

C 411 [171] [178]

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Ce [411] Ce [524]

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

C 621 613 596 594

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

C 622 [643]

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

C 623 756 357 565 622

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1819 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "tà." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

851 171 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

583 171 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family. 591

595 622 556 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and 764 dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate. 765 The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

000 c 726 c [727]

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

c 727 266 c 567 727

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

c 534 177 cc 534

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

c 535

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

c 273 628 527

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

c 276

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

c 273 462

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

plicated affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large jars. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

Gambling.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the suka game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.[8] Another favorite dice game is called chukareta: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous taba game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

Games.—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapeti River, like so many Guiana tribes, played a ball game with rubber balls which they butted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

Chiriguano women had a game (itarapoa) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tunpa, or Iandapoha ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaratunpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guaraní*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ana," the souls of the dead.

[8] The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 337).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaue SF 8

C
Ce
773

"tree-of-life," or "mother-of-all-trees," which was placed by Tunpa on the earth and then disappeared, leaving all food plants as its offspring.

A flood, which once covered the world, was caused by the curse of a young woman who was insulted by her mother-in-law. In another version of this myth, the flood resulted from a storm brought about by a man with wings (Thunderbird). A boy and a girl were placed in a jar with all kinds of seeds and, when the waters subsided, they planted these seeds and repeopled the world.

There are two versions of the myth of the origin of fire. In one, fire was stolen from Sun by the children who escaped the flood; in the other, fire, which was the property of the Vultures, was stolen by a Toad who, pretending to be cold, came near the fire and stole some embers.

The leading characters of *Chiriguano-Chané* folklore are Armadillo (Tatu) and Fox (Aguara), whose names, when mentioned in the various stories, are always followed by the adjective, "tunpa" (sacred). Armadillo is a wise and powerful character, always well disposed toward mankind. Aguara-tunpa (Fox) is a trickster, though in many cases he also plays the part of a culture hero. For instance, Fox steals algarroba seeds from Viscacha (*Lagostomus maximus*), he captures Vulture and forces him to yield the original rubber ball as his ransom. Tatu-tunpa and Aguara-tunpa have several adventures together. On one occasion Aguara-tunpa changes Tatu-tunpa into a repulsive man in order to marry the pretty daughter of a chief while his companion gets the ugly one. Tatu-tunpa shows his greater power by magically tilling a huge field which is instantaneously covered with all kinds of foods. Aguara-tunpa is then unmasked.

Aguara-tunpa kills Tatu-tunpa and puts on his skin, in order to deceive the latter's wife. Again he is unmasked and punished.

C
773
171

The old *Tupi-Guaraní* myth of the Twins was also recorded among the *Chiriguano* (Métraux, 1930 b). A girl is magically impregnated by Tatu-tunpa. She is expelled from her village and wanders in search of the father of the Twins who she bears in her womb and who speak to her. The Twins show her the path to their father's house, but, becoming angry at her, they mislead her to the house of the Jaguars, who kill her. The Twins are brought up by their grandmother. Later they hear about the murder of their mother from a yacu bird. They take revenge on the Jaguars by attempting to drown them when they cross a river by making it wider and wider. Finally, the Twins climb up a chain of arrows to the sky, where they become Sun and Moon.

The *Chiriguano* also have a version of the old *Mayan* and Andean myth of the rebellion of manufactured objects against their masters.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alcaya, 1906; Barco Centenera, 1836, 1912; Campana, 1902; Cabeza de Vaca (see Hernández, Pedro, 1852); Cardús, 1886; Cattunar (see Romano and Cattunar, 1916); Chomé, 1819 a, 1819 b; Coni, 1925; Corrado, 1884; Díaz de Guzmán, 1914; Domínguez, 1918; Finot, 1939; Gandía, 1929 a, 1929 b, 1935 a; Garcilaso de la Vega, 1918–20; Giannechini, 1896; Hernández, Pedro, 1852; Kersten, 1905; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924; Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, 1780–83 (1819, vol. 5); Lizárraga, 1909; Lozano, 1941; Mather, 1922 a; Means, 1917; Métraux, 1930 b, 1931 a, 1931 b, 1935; Moreno, 2nd ed., 1929; Muriel, 1918; Nino, 1912; Nordenskiöld, 1912, 1915 a, 1920, 1923, 1924 a; Ontes, 1909; Paulotti, 1942; Romano and Cattunar, 1916; Rosen, 1924; Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1906; Schmidt, 1938; Serrano y Sanz, 1898; Tamajuncosa, 1910; Weddel, 1853.

THE YURACARE, MOSETENE, AND CHIMANE

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Culturally, the *Yuracare, Mosetene,* and *Chimane* are closely related (map 1, *No. 3;* map 2). The *Leco* probably belonged to the same cultural area, but information on them is scanty and, therefore, it is presented in a special chapter.

The *Yuracare* (*Conis, Cuchis, Enetes*) territory was defined by D'Orbigny (1839, 1:354–355) as the large zone of Tropical Forest at the foot of the Andes, extending from Santa Cruz in the east to Cochabamba in the west (lat. 16°–17° S., long. 63°–66° W.). In more recent times, *Yuracare* settlements were scattered along the Mamorecillo, Chimoré, Chaparé, Securé, and San Mateo Rivers and their tributaries.

The *Yuracare* were divided into two mutually hostile groups: The *Soloto,* or eastern *Yuracare,* and the *Mansiño* to the west, on the slopes of the Andes. The *Oromo,* though exterminated by the *Mansiño,* seem to have belonged to the latter nation. The *Soloto* of the Mission of San Carlos were called *Mage* by the inhabitants of Santa Cruz.

The contacts of the *Yuracare* with the Whites go far back in time. On several occasions in the 17th century, they raided the Spanish settlements near Mizque and Cochabamba. The first missionary to visit them was Father Francisco Marcos who, in 1776, founded the Mission of Asunción de Maria Santissima on the Paracti River, between the Coni and Chaparé Rivers. This mission was soon abandoned but was restored for a few years in 1784. The Mission of San José on the Coni River was established in 1795 by Father Tomas Anaya, but was deserted by the Indians in 1805, after it had been shifted to the Mamoré River. The Mission of San Francisco, founded on the Mamoré River in 1793, was also soon abandoned. At the beginning of the 19th century, Father Lacueva tried to restore the Mission of Asunción, but it was in ruins when D'Orbigny passed through it in 1831.

The *Yuracare* language is still regarded as unrelated to any other group.

291
323
516

769
415

323
516
291

PLATE 41.—**Chiriguano pottery and urn burials.** *Top, left:* and *bottom:* Pottery making. *Top, right:* Urn burials at Caipipendi, Chaco, Bolivia. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[End Plate 2]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

291
854

283
516
291

343

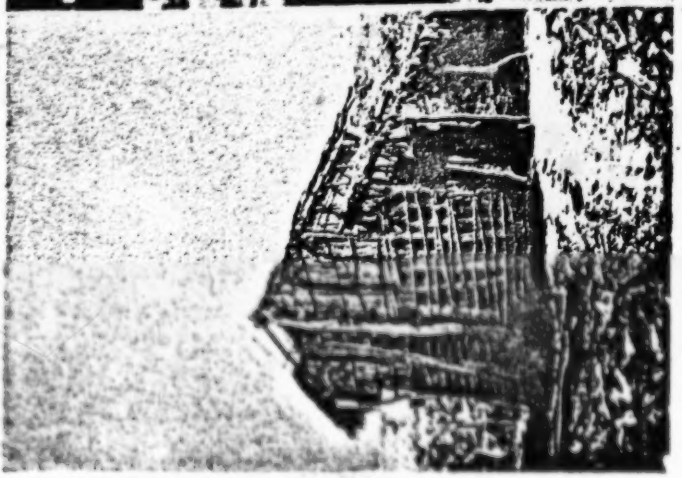


PLATE 42.—Chiriguano Indians. *Left:* Granary on piles. *Center:* Woman spinning. *Right:* Woman and child. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[End Plate 2]

[End Plate 3]

Plate 43.—Chiriguano artifacts. Three engraved wooden serere whistles and lip plugs of metal with inlays. (Scale, 30 cm.) (Courtesy Museo Etnográfico de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Buenos Aires.)

534
531
301

532

PLATE 44.—Wooden masks of the Chiriguano and the ashéjuna. *Top:* Chiriguano masks made of a single piece of wood. (The scale is 30 cm. long.) *Bottom:* Painted wooden masks, probably Chiriguano in origin. (Courtesy Museo Etnográfico de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Buenos Aires.)

[End plate 4]

175
648
167
721
726

/Since Métraux believes that the Chiriguano are actually descendants of the Guarani, early culture history of the Chiriguano, in regard to their migrations and relations with other groups with whom they came in contact, will be found in category 116, pp. 1-30. Much of the material in these pages has been subheaded for Guarani SM4 but if the author's contention is correct then the data contained therein may equally apply to the historical Chiriguano./

101
102
103
131
132
561
797

p. 447	p. 448	p. 449
p. 450	p. 451	p. 452

Chart of Positions of End Map. (pp. 447-452).
/Facing End Map/

113, 102

Chane SF8
Choroti SK7
Mataco SI7
Chaco Indians SK4
Toba SI12
Tapiete SK13
Siriono SF21

/For the map showing the location and distribution of these tribal groupings, see 4: Nino, SF10 Chiriguano, category 116, pp. 447-452./

136
825

/For a listing of the various types of native fauna in the Chiriguano area and their cultural recognition and use by the people, see category 116, pp. 50-93./

4: Nino M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

000

Chiriguano Ethnography
[Etnografía Chiriguana]

Bernardino de Nino

La Paz: 1912
Tipografía Comercial de Ismael Argote

Translated from the Spanish by Sydney Muirden

Human Relations Area Files

1967

[Title page]

/i/

Homage that the author presents to the XIX International Congress of Americanists, which is to meet in this city of La Paz in the year 1914. /Page ii is blank. Page iii is omitted in the translation./

/iv/ Author's Acknowledgement to the Supreme Government of Bolivia

Gratitude is a virtue by means of which the blessings received on this earth are acknowledged; it is natural and supernatural; the former is based in nature and the latter in a divine principle through which a grateful person becomes worthy of even eternal blessings.

The ingrate becomes an abomination before humanity and before God; thus does he show us the bitterness that Jesus, the man-God, felt when He received the affront of Judas, who had received so many blessings from his Divine Master.

Does the world ever lack persons who in times of tribulation, troubles, and unhappiness will come to others for consolation, declaring themselves to be friends and later, their ends gained, will turn against same, gossiping about their benefactors and accusing them of what is not so, because their perverse eye makes them see white black and black white? There is no lack of these, and the history of the Nations provides us with innumerable examples of this.

Religion cannot do anything but reprove ingratitude and approve the opposite virtue, from which it is necessary to deduce that the Christian, who professes the true one, ought to show his gratitude to those who do him a favor.

/22 I began this work, which will soon be printed, with the expectation of being assisted in its publication by the present Mandatary Most Excellent President of Bolivia, the Eminent Doctor don Eliodoro Villazón, who encouraged me to do it by letter in 1909. And my expectations have been fulfilled.

/iv cont./

122 In fact, at the beginning of this year 1912 I had occasion to address myself to the Most Excellent President, to the Ministers of Instruction, Finance, and Colonization, Messrs. M. B. Mariaca /v/, Carlos Torrico, and Julio La-Faye, with the assistance of the Chancellor of the University of Potosí, Dr. don Nestor D. Morales; and the Supreme Government, which so highly esteems scientific works, has decided to have my work printed at its expense in the print shops of La Paz.

This eminently patriotic and national act greatly honors the Most Excellent President and his illustrious Cabinet, and places a great debt of gratitude on the author of Etnografá Chiriguana, which was completed in the same region that it describes.

By means of these few lines, then, the undersigned shows his deep gratitude to the Supreme Government of Bolivia for the consideration with which he has been honored, the publication of his work having been accepted in the manner set forth in the communication which I reproduce literally, as follows: "Ministry of War and Colonization -- Bolivia -- Department of Colonization -- Nov. 410 -- La Paz, February 23, 1912. -- To Reverend Father Bernardino de Nino. -- Potosí. Sir: In reply to your kind letter of January 11, together with which you have been so kind as to send me a copy of the proposal brought before the Supreme Government, for the publication of a work prepared by you on the eastern region of the Republic and the ethnography of the races who people it, I am obliged to inform you that the lack of funds available in the National Budget for such purposes prevents us from accepting the first part of the proposal you suggest, the second being more feasible, in accordance with which the Government can recommend the publication of your work in the War Administration of this city, which has the necessary means; in which case you will have the right to the 500 copies which you request, with the intellectual rights to the work being reserved.

/v cont./

122 "Your proposal thus having been accepted in one of the proposed forms, I trust that you will be so kind as to send /vi/ the respective original copies to this Ministry with such instructions and documentation as may be necessary for the purpose already indicated.

"With this in mind I greet you and repeat that I am your obedient and humble servant. —For the Minister, José Lavadenz, Deputy Secretary of Colonization."

Although in the preceding original letter only the Minister of War is represented, other official communications which I have in hand show that the Most Excellent President and his Cabinet took an active interest in the publication of my work, for which reason my gratitude for this extraordinary favor is addressed especially to the Most Excellent Señor Villazón first of all and then to the Honorable Ministers.

Potosí, March 15, 1912.

Father Barnardino de Nino.

Note. -- For justifiable reasons, instead of having the publication of the present work done in the War Administration, it is being done in another location, for which the Supreme Government looked favorably upon my petition that they help me with the amount of 2,000 bolivianos, which I have already received, with myself being obliged to deliver to the Minister of War 250 copies of the work when the publication is completed. /Page vii is omitted in the translation. Page viii is blank./

/ix/

Introduction

History is a remembrance of the past, counsel for the present, and a warning for the future; it gives us rules for avoiding misfortunes, it permits the present generations to avoid surprises and those yet to come to know of past events.

The peoples without history, without a public consciousness, do not merit the honor of glory or of universal respect. The history of peoples is twofold, political and religious. The first may be considered and judged on origin, their customs, the clothing that they adopted, their relationship with others, wars and hunts, public and private rejoicings, going from this world to the other; and the second, on the relationship which is maintained with invisible beings, spirits, or marvelous beings, the Divinity or Supreme Being, their pious practices, the external worship that they render to God, recognizing His power and goodness; all of which gives rise to Ethnography itself. /The last paragraph of p. ix, pp. x-xi, and the first paragraph of p. xii are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. xii follows./

If this /vices and excesses/ happens in civilized nations, what can be expected among the peoples and tribes of barbarians, among the peoples and tribes of savages? There are such almost everywhere in the world where true civilization has not penetrated, but let us not go too far astray, let us confine ourselves to the land of Columbus and select from among all the nations of the New World our own beloved Bolivia, where we have spent the best time of life...youth.

What is there in this beautiful land of the Great Bolivar? Endless country, torrential rivers, and endless forests, where innumerable tribes swarm. If we fix our eyes on the north, we find natives, if on the south, barbarians, if on the west, savages; but let us concentrate our gaze on the northeast and on the east, and our memory will become confused without being able to enumerate them: the ferocious Sirionós continually waylay the poor traveler who goes to Guarayos or to Corumbá on business, or who returns with his drove loaded with merchandise; they endanger the roads by land as well as by water; the Toba and Mataco fight over the two banks of the Pilcomayo, despite the

/xii cont./

arms of the Delegation and the forts, which they know how to burn frequently; the Tapiete continually threaten the farthest outposts and all their personnel, because the cannon and bayonet are powerless to civilize and to implant in the iron breast and crude heart of the savage /xiii/ humanitarian ideas, philanthropical ideas, because the cannon destroys, it does not civilize.

121 [197] I shall not concern myself with these tribes in the course of my pages; a book could be written about all of them, studying their origin, their customs, their relations with the other tribes and even with the whites, their relations with invisible or imaginary beings, their language and their deeds, but I renounce this arduous task and concentrate upon the Chiriguano race, which was conquered by the missionaries of Tarija long before South American Independence and later by the fellows of the Colegio de Potosí from the year 1870 through a region closed to trade and civilization.

The first thing I shall do in the course of these lines is to set down a description of the Chiriguano region, after which will follow: the origin of the tribe or race, language, statistics, physical and moral character, religion, political organization, the people, customs, imposition of the tembeta /lip plug/ on the males, fasting on the maidens, sicknesses, wars, songs, gatherings, and, finally, death and mourning. I shall try to make this little work pleasant and for that reason I shall allow myself to insert an occasional fable which was formerly held to be a fact and which even today is taken as such in certain regions.

Word to the Reader

114 This little work, which some will call not only useless but also a waste of effort is now born, but perhaps others who like to study races will find it useful for Ethnography, despite the fact that it is inadequate to give a perfect idea of the race among which I have lived since the year 1893.

Before beginning this third work I have tried to acquire some knowledge. I am not the first to write about these Indians; I have been preceded by D'Orbigny, Pelleschi, /xiv/ Mantegazza,

/xiv cont./

114 the Franciscans Conrado, Cardús, Martarelli, Giannecchini, and Señor del Campano, etc. But in Bolivia no complete work is known, notes or pages by authors definitely worthy of every respect and very competent hardly exist, nor have explorers witnessed all that they have written about, from which have come errors which would certainly have been avoided if the reports had not been made so hastily.

121 [124] With all possible calm, patience, and unlimited time, I have set out to talk with the oldest and most knowledgeable Indians, who have explained some points to me, corrected certain others, and made me add still more; but I have already said that with my writing I do not pretend even to equal the luster of those who have preceded me. I shall only give more extension to the ideas which have been set forth by others, ideas which in the majority have been confirmed by the Indians to whom I have addressed myself.

Finally, I must state that since the Chiriguano are in contact with the mission Indians, and these, both old and new, exist in considerable number, I shall add by way of conclusion, after having finished what I have proposed to do, a chapter concerning the heathen Chiriguanos, the neophytes, or new Christians, and the method that the Missionaries use to reduce them religiously and civilly, and the effort required to maintain them in the Catholic faith.

121 128 Everyone will understand that, in order to avoid confusion, this small work will be divided into chapters, and the chapters into sections, for greater clarity and so as not to tire the reader. Certain terms that I must print here by necessity will be written in the Chiriguano language with their corresponding explanation, so that each one may understand the impact of the language. I could also formulate some general propositions with the corresponding Spanish, but the nature of this somewhat voluminous book does not permit it, nor is it necessary, because /xv/ there are various small handbooks which have been printed in this Republic of Bolivia.

/xv cont./

121 Lovers of Ethnography are asked to overlook as much as they can the faults that they will find; rather I pray that they will only note the facts which I set down with all candor and exuberance. With the remarks that precede I am going to begin.

San Buenaventura de Ivo, May 20, 1911.

Father Bernardino de Nino, Missionary, O. F. M.

/Page xvi is omitted in the translation./

/xvii/ Foreword

114 Je prends mon bien partout
où je le trouve.

The Reverend Father de Nino, Franciscan Missionary of the Colegio de Propaganda Fide of Potosí, has honored me by charging me with the presentation to the public of the book which today sees the light, the preparation of which we have already announced in several numbers of the Boletín of the Repartición Nacional under our administration.

A very special reason compelled us to accept such a pleasant task: it provides for us, and for the scientific interest of the country, valuable collaborative material which is brought us by the learned Missionary whose intimate knowledge of the Chiriguano Indians, among whom he has lived as a catechist for many years, is indisputable.

There likewise weighed heavily upon our mind another powerful reason for welcoming the Etnografía Chiriguana with deserved applause: we had in mind the fact that in 1914, by an arrangement arrived at in London at the close of the sessions of the XVIII International Congress of Americanists it was decided that the meeting of the XIX was to be in Washington and this City of La Paz, as was done with the XVII, which held its sessions in commemoration of the Argentinian Centennial of 1810 in Buenos Aires, finishing in Mexico City.

We had to prepare ourselves for the session which was to be /xviii/ held in Bolivia, and this suggested to us the idea that the worthy work of the Reverend Father de Nino might be dedicated

/xviii cont./

114 in the nature of a homage, which its author has done, to the XIX International Congress of Americanists.

It is generally believed that knowledge of the flora, fauna, geology, and export products are quite enough to carry out the work of colonization. Technicians and engineers can be sent in to go over a region in every respect and thus sketch an exact picture of its sources of wealth; meanwhile the human element, that essential element, will just as many times have been overlooked.

The opinion that we propound will be the same one that will be formed by the Americanist reader who reads with the careful study it deserves the missionary's important book with which we are concerned. Undoubtedly the catechist's living there, with daily observation of the neophytes of his reduction, permitted penetrating more intimately into the nature or soul of the beings in his charge. Anyone who reads the very numerous details and facts observed and set down in the present book, we do not doubt, will say that we are right. Can an exploring naturalist, a geographer, observe all that the Reverend Father de Nino relates to us? We believe that the wise perspicacity of a D'Orbigny could not very well see into a face hidden from him.

So it was when the same eminent explorer whose name we have just cited, in his studies of Mójos and Chiquitos, always had recourse to the printed and manuscript sources that the Fathers of the Society of Jesus had left us until their banishment in 1767.

What has most interested us in dealing with the modern Americanist science is the subject dealt with by the author: Chiriguano Ethnography, which is to say, the study of the primary material with regard to their language, practices, customs, traditions, beliefs, etc.

Very serious propositions have been adduced on questions which, among uncivilized races, are frequently hidden. /xix/ are an arcanum. Mr. Tarde has said quite correctly: "That which is unseen among primitive people, as among ourselves, is often more essential to take into consideration than what is seen. Thus, what is normally not seen among them, because

/xix cont./

114 it is an impenetrable secret, is what is related to their internal relations, what is going on in the depths of their hearts." Thus, in support of our judgment of the book by the Reverend Father Bernardino de Nino, we have the opinion of the Reverend Father Froberger, who says that "all the missionaries of the Congregation of Cardinal Lavigerie, who preach the Gospel in the region of the Great African Lakes, unanimously state that only after a stay of many years in the midst of those groups of Negroes is it possible to penetrate the mentality and, above all, the psychology of those uncivilized tribes. It seems, thus, that the expansion of civilization to new countries is not possible without the prior study of such peoples, that is, without ethnography."

This science dates from yesterday, being, in its form and in its field of concentration, legitimately called an American science, whose centers of study are the Societies such as the "Smithsonian Institution," and others of the American Union. Our Hemisphere is a fertile field for investigation, in which remain remnants of primitive peoples, like the Chiriguano branch with which Father de Nino deals.

To the intelligent contributions which we have previously received from other illustrious Franciscans, the Reverend Fathers Rafael Sans, Nicolás Armentia, and Fernando de M. Sanjinés, whose works on history, geography, exploration of our rivers, linguistic ethnography, etc., we have published, there is added today the valuable work which we are presenting to the public and which will certainly be appreciated to a high degree by the members of the Congress of 1914.

Now all that is left for us to do, as we have done for the Missionaries Sans and Armentia, is to set down, although briefly, /xx/ some biographical information about the Reverend Father Bernardino de Nino.

This wise observer of everything concerning the Indians of the reductions which have been in his charge was born August 29, 1868, in Abruzos Aquilanos. He took his elementary education in his native country, Prátola Peligna. From there he went on to pursue advanced studies and other

114 /xx cont./
subjects in the Episcopal Seminary of Sulmona, where he received the four minor orders initiating him for the priesthood. He entered the Franciscan Order, putting on the habit of a novice in 1886. In 1891 he was ordained a priest and then embarked for our country.

It was in 1893 that he was assigned to the reductions of Chiriguano Indians.

In 1901 he was elected Prefect of Missions, and when the period of six years had elapsed, during which he opened the Missions of the Parapiti Grande, he was elected Vice-Prefect in the year 1907.

The fruit of what he had observed in his career as a catechist began to be known in 1905, with the publication of Nene Chiriguano /Chiriguano Infant/, to be used in the teaching in the schools of Neophytes.

Next, in 1908, he undertook a greater task, writing the continuation of the "Historia de las Misiones de Potosí."

From 1909 to 1911 he wrote the Ethnografía Chiriguana, which is now being published.

In 1911 he made an inspection of the Missions of Tarija, during which he wrote "Rasgos historicos de las Misiones de Potosí" /Historical Features of the Potosí Missions/, by order of the Most Reverend Father Commissioner and Delegate General, Father Wolfgango Priewasser, in order that this document might be published in the Archivo Franciscano, which is in the process of being published.

In 1911 he was elected Delegate of the Commissioner in Bolivia for Missions, Convents, and Schools, a post which he held for nine months.

At present, since May, 1912, we have counted /xxii/ on his assistance, entrusting him with editing "Guía del Chaco," which he has studied for such a long time and which is unfamiliar to our general public and deserves to be known.

The aforementioned "Guide," presented by us to the Minister of War and Colonization, will be published very shortly, in accord with the authorization which we have requested.

/xxii cont./

114

This will not be the last thing which we may receive as a contribution from the Missionary Fathers, inasmuch as we expect another addition which we have requested of them: the arts and vocabularies of the native languages of Bolivia which are still spoken by the tribes reduced by the Colegios de Propaganda Fide. Such matters are very fundamental and of primary importance to Americanist investigation, and already, with the support of the distinguished Director of the Museum of La Plata, we have made known the languages of the Tunscaré, Leco, Tacana, and Cavineño, more of the same sort being needed.

We shall leave it to the public to make a judgment on the work which we are presenting to it, not doubting that there is much to learn in it if we wish to know about the life and manner of being of the Indian who dwells in the remote regions of the Republic, on our frontiers with the neighboring States.

La Paz, December 1, 1912.

Manuel Vicente Ballivián /Illustration appears here./

Digitized by Google

(Plate facing p. 1)

Group of Indian men and women working at different jobs.

Ac Nino--13 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 1910 Chiriguano 1910

/1/

Chapter One

Description

Introduction

121

When an historian or an ethnographer proposes to write the history or ethnography of a tribe or race, he must naturally begin with a description of the region occupied by the human beings who are for a greater or lesser time to occupy the writer's mind. The general description of the region is almost as necessary as the origin of the tribe, but during the course of the undertaking, whether it be large or small, it does not prevent the one who is burdened with the work from letting his preoccupied fantasies go from time to time andcarrier hither and yon lilies and fragrant roses, whenever an unexpected opportunity to sketch a delightful panorama, like the one which unfolds before the traveler on the peak of Huacaveta Hill and the one from Iteata Hill descending toward Cuevo, might present itself to him.

In my little work "La continuación de la Historia de Misiones del Colegio de Potosí," I said that in order to bring forth a chapter like the present one, one needed time, elucidation, an abundance of material, and tranquility of spirit, things or properties hard to find together in an obscure missionary like the one who is writing.

/2/ Could my readers perhaps believe that my situation could have changed in so short a time? If they do believe this, it is due to the goodness of their hearts, since the situation of he who writes, instead of improving, seems to have become aggravated. Nonetheless, unpretentiously, I am going to concern myself with a description of the Chiriguano region, only because by its nature the work requires it. In my previous one I never foresaw that I should write this third one, which will cost me a little work and time, because, I repeat, in order to write, tranquility is needed, and the Indians, with their continual grievances, do not allow this for a missionary, which leads to the diversity in style, smooth to harsh, lucid to obscure.

/3 cont./

121 elegant or labored, natural or stilted, which can be observed in one book by a single author. But the fact is that I can only write it here, since only the Indians are able to smooth out the difficulties which naturally will arise in the course of these pages.

I am familiar with almost the entire region inhabited by the Chiriguano, with the exception of a few small areas, but this is of little importance, as much because they are not of historical importance as because I have obtained data about them which show them to be like the rest. It would even be easy to make a map of the region, but I am embarrassed to say that I am not competent to do this.

General View

133 The region which the Chiriguano Indians occupy today is composed of many little valleys /cañadas/ which run from north to south; they are separated by mountain ridges which vary in size, height, precipitous slopes, deep gorges, and incalculable depths. Its length is quite considerable, while its breadth is not over 180 kilometers. The mountains rise to 3,000 meters and more above sea level, but at that altitude there is no longer any vestige of forest, while at 1,200 meters the woods are exuberant.

In the midst of the valleys low hills cross in every direction, and there are some which from a distance look like larger hills or on their way to becoming such; others are completely isolated and quite small, but they attract the attention of the traveler because of their conical shape, like the traditional "Tunapuqui", located at the beginning of the pampas of Tru. There is no hill which does not make room upon its breast for a multitude of trees of every size and description, like a grove, and /b/ another multitude of vines like the bejuco and low-lying plants of the cactus family, which the Indian uses by eating their fruit, whose combined acidness and sweetness would make them please and be preferred by the most aristocratic lady of the city of Paris.

(142)

/3 cont./

133 The Indian makes full use of the valleys, laying out his
132 field with its own fence; his cow also grazes there, with her
311 calf running and playing across the level ground, and the wild animals live everywhere there, the dauntless foxes, the inoffensive armadillos, and the timid little deer /corzuelas/, while the monkeys seek the woods and the brambly, craggy ground of the hills to entertain themselves in raucous clamor, and the condors love to soar through the air to an extraordinary height, even considering that they launch themselves from the peaks of the highest hills.

133 While the ridges run from north to south, the course of the rivers is quite capricious: they run to the north, regress southward, direct themselves eastward, advance intrepidly westward, but the dominant course of them all as far as the pampas of the Gran Chaco is from west to east, overcoming every difficulty set in their way by the ridges, from which they leap with an extraordinary din, such as at the "Pirapo" (cataract of the fishes) or the waterfalls of the Pilcomayo and Parapiti rivers.

In the land of the Chiriguano, torrents and streams abound; more numerous are the rivulets which quickly lose their waters because within a few kilometers they run into endless sandy areas. If the hidden water should fail to appear occasionally in the ravines, which are small arroyos in origin, life here would be all but impossible, since places like Yvu, which without having a river or anything similar, possesses abundant and excel-
312 lent water, are numbered. The springs which appear in the beds
(157) of the torrents are of the greatest benefit in those places where there are no lakes or ponds, for the Indian, because of his laziness, is not capable of building artificial lakes for his water
(158) supply. In Ratiqui, for instance, not long ago there was a group of some 150 Chiriguano families; they could have made a lake in order to have such a necessity, but neither did they do it nor will they on their own initiative, and they go five kilometers to get it or at least there is the Chiriguano woman with her jug waiting for the forming of the drops which exude from the western slope, from which comes the name "Ratiqui," the stone that drips.

/3 cont./

133 The lakes are natural, but not permanent; they are
[135] many and large; in some the water is very good, but from
[132] others not even the cattle /4/ drink, because it contains so
much saltpeter. They all receive water from the sky, which
sometimes falls with great force and fills them at a single
time. White Christians are now making artificial lakes,
especially in the Gran Chaco and in the vicinity of Caipipendi.
271 When water is completely lacking, the Indian scratches the
824 ground, looking for the root of the "sipoy," samolo, which is
as large as a watermelon; he cuts it at the top, squeezes the
pulp with his hand, it turns to water, and he drinks; thus the need
is met, but when this drink is taken for a long period, it gives
rise to sickness.

311 The land lends itself to farming and to cattle raising,
312 but both industries diminish in those years when the beneficial
433 action of the rains is scarce. Then the crops are lost, and the
132 cattle die from lack of food and from the great amounts of
water that they drink from the rivers and lakes on whose banks
they stay through lack of energy; nonetheless this rarely happens throughout the region, which, because of embracing a
wide area, in one place or another receives showers which renew nature.

Extent and Area

131 The Chiriguano tribe or race was extremely numerous and
[161] thus once took in an extraordinarily large area; traces of these
[464] Indians are found in the vicinity of Tarija, and they may be
found beyond Santa Cruz, where even today Chiriguano men and
women are in larger part those in domestic service with the
genteel families. Toward the capital of the Republic the
Indians still remember that their grandparents used to live in
Tacopaya and even beyond, in Talisco, included in the same
district. Then they extended toward the Bermejo River and,
finally, eastward to within a few leagues of Carandaiti, where the
arid zone, inhabited by the Toba and other savages, begins.

/4 cont./

131 Thus formerly the Chiriguano territory in the north was contiguous with the province of Sara, in the south and southwest with Argentina and the city of Tarija, in the west with Tarabuco country, and in the east with the colony of Carandaiti. According to its former boundaries, it then included an area of 200 leagues from north to south and southwest, and more than 90 leagues west to east.

131 16 [648] Today this extensive territory has been much reduced because of emigration, caused in part by the whites, under whose dominion most of them will not resign themselves to staying; the plagues which decimate the race have a powerful influence on its further reduction, and very soon /5/ barely the 131 name will remain. Today to the north it scarcely reaches Abapó, to the south, Itiyuru de Yacuiba, to the west, Monteagudo, and to the east, Carandaiti, some hundred leagues from north to south and about 40 from west to east.

131 648 [433] Formerly it embraced several degrees of latitude and three and a half of longitude; as they lost a considerable part of this area, so will they end up by losing it all, for despite their being heirs to the country which God had given them, as one of them was saying to me not long ago, they do not know how to farm it and improve their agriculture; they prefer to go far away and work for others rather than to own land at home. This very day only a few leagues remain in the hands of the Indians, Caipipendi in the province of Cordillera, Gutierrez Canton, and all the territory occupied by the missions, but both are likely to pass into foreign hands, because in fact the Indian is incapable of making the land that he does possess bear fruit; then the few survivors in the territory will be servants in their own house, as are so many others in lands that were once their own.

311 134 [132] The land is very unstable, at least that now occupied; it lacks stone and gravel, and since in their season the rains are torrential, they easily open cracks which in a few years become wide, deep ravines. Contributing a great deal to this are the cattle, which, because of their weight, stir up the land with their hoofs more than other livestock; for this reason

/5 cont./

311 in certain valleys that are narrow or not too wide there is
134 scarcely room for fields, because so many little ravines have been formed. Such is the valley of Huacaya Canton; if there lived in it today the multitude of Indians which formerly were there, it would be hard to find, because of the woods and the ravines, sufficient land in the tiny level places for all the fields of maize, French beans, and gourds which they value much for food and gifts; only for other elements would a little valley be very desirable, were it not all owned.

Hills or Mountains

133 Chiriguano territory, because it is very extensive, as has already been seen, is quite varied; from Talisco to Monteagudo and from Tarija to the salt flats of O'Connor Province in the city of Entreríos it is very mountainous and few are the places which extend far enough to form a level place of a few leagues. Although there are /6/ no very high hills, between the two hills which limit the valleys there is an infinity of low hills of all sizes in height, width, and length.

The pampas begin imperceptibly from Monteagudo in the west and from Aguairenta, where the Gran Chaco begins; said pampas from Monteagudo little by little grow larger or again become small as the ridges permit, until they reach the last cordillera, which is found to the east of the Mission of San Buenaventura de Yvu, at a distance of one league, behind which begin the immense plains of the Gran Chaco, where the horizon becomes lost.

The principal mountains are: Padilla, called through antonomasia "The Hill," because its configuration is the same one that is called "Curi" toward San Juan del Pirai (1).

1. The hill is different from the Curi, because the former is more an enormous rock which ends in the ranges of Limon.

At this point the road across the hill is very rough and long, but if it is rather long toward Padilla, it is, by contrast, as

/6 cont./

133 comfortable to go down as to go up, if an occasional short
[241] section be excepted. The hill of Padilla attracts the attention of
[361] all; there grow and ripen well both potatoes and maize, and the hill is sprinkled on both sides with houses of all sizes. From January to May the fields give it a quite picturesque and pleasing appearance as it rises some 2,340 meters above sea level, for which reason no doubt it is unforested with the trees which are found nearby growing exuberantly on the plain toward Monteagudo along the rivulet called Limón.

Next come the hills called Huacangui, Bartolo, and Cazaderos, the first two found on the right bank and the latter on the left bank of the Acero River, which touches the slopes of the last named; the three have no peculiarity, only that they are tree covered, rather high, and the road through
[136] them is very bad. Cazaderos Hill abounds in jaguars, and it is the same hill which must be crossed or climbed in order to go from San Juan del Piray to San Pablo de Huacareta; before one climbs this hill near San Juan, there is another small one called Ñañoloma, which attracts the attention of all because it is very narrow, low, and straight; it is a straight line which rises in the middle of the valley and continues without ending to the southeast; the Piray and Parapiti rivers wash the base of Ñañolama.

/7/ Monteagudo has a somewhat irregular plain, but it is not interrupted by hills until three leagues away, that is, at the Parapiti River in Matara, where there is another hill renowned only because it is a road and an extremely bad one. The Parapiti River bathes it at its base, and along the river itself the way is very boldly opened through the hard rock, forming a waterfall there; this same hill must be climbed to leave Ingre Canton, as well as Igüembe, where the passage is also quite rough.

133 From Matara to Ivu there are hills and rises of little im-
173 portance, if one makes an exception of the hills of Itiranti,
648 Saararenta, and Incahuasi, which last separates the province of Acero from that of Cordillera; on Incahuasi there are an infinite number of ruins of fortresses and houses, which, according to what they say and the name Incahuasi, "Inca's House," was an encampment of Quechua Indians; when, at the orders

/7 cont./

133 [173] [648] of one of their emperors, they tried to conquer all the Chiriguano, but they had to halt at the top of said hill without daring to go down to the pampas of Caraparicito, where they were awaited by all the Indians, allied with the Toba.

Cuevo, like all of the cantons of the frontier, is shut in by two ridges, that of Saararenta to the west and that of Aguaragüe to the east, the latter being the last one which is found; it is quite high, measuring 1,500 meters, and with it end the cordilleras in the east, giving way to the plains of the Bolivian Chaco.

From the peak of Aguaragüe the view is most delightful; to the right can be seen the picturesque panorama of Cuevo Canton with its hills, lakes, fields, forests, and stream, which, with its sand, looks like an immense ribbon of homespun twisting through the entire region, and to the left extend the immense plains, lost to view in the distance. From this peak can be seen the lakes and fields of Carandaiti, until the horizon is lost in the pampas inhabited by the savages.

The above-named ranges of the former and present territory of the Chiriguano continue to the north and south to Santa Cruz and Tarija and Argentina, assuming different names in each place, but they are ramifications of the renowned Andes. I have crossed the last one, Aguaragüe, to Santa Cruz, and it passes north of that city, as well as on the southwest toward Tarija and O'Connor Province, ending in Tartagal in the Argentine Republic.

/8/ Rivers and Lakes

It can easily be understood that this immense area and extent of land, crossed from north to south by so many mountains of all heights and dimensions and by a great number of hills in every direction, would be furrowed with rivers, torrents, streams, brooks, and abundant springs, while in the Gran Chaco all of these disappear and natural and artificial lakes and ponds begin to appear.

/8 cont./

133 The rivers which bathe the Chiriguano region are four; the Pilcomayo, the Parapiti, the Grande or Guapay River, and the Acero. / The Pilcomayo begins in the northwest of Potosí Department and crosses Chiriguano country in the southeast. Its water, sweet and clear up to the southern part of [135] Igüembe Canton, is somewhat salty in Huacaya and Villamontes, because to the southeast of Ibopeiti it receives as a tributary the Salado River with its rather abundant waters; these waters are quite salty, because they pass through the salt flats of O'Connor Province. Its bed is wide and shallow, but its flow is very abundant from December to April, because this is the rainy season. If in Villamontes the Germans or others open the great canal proposed by the Supreme Government, the navigation of this river up to the estuaries /esteros/ of the P. Patiño, even in small boats, will be made nearly impossible, because there will not be enough water for it.

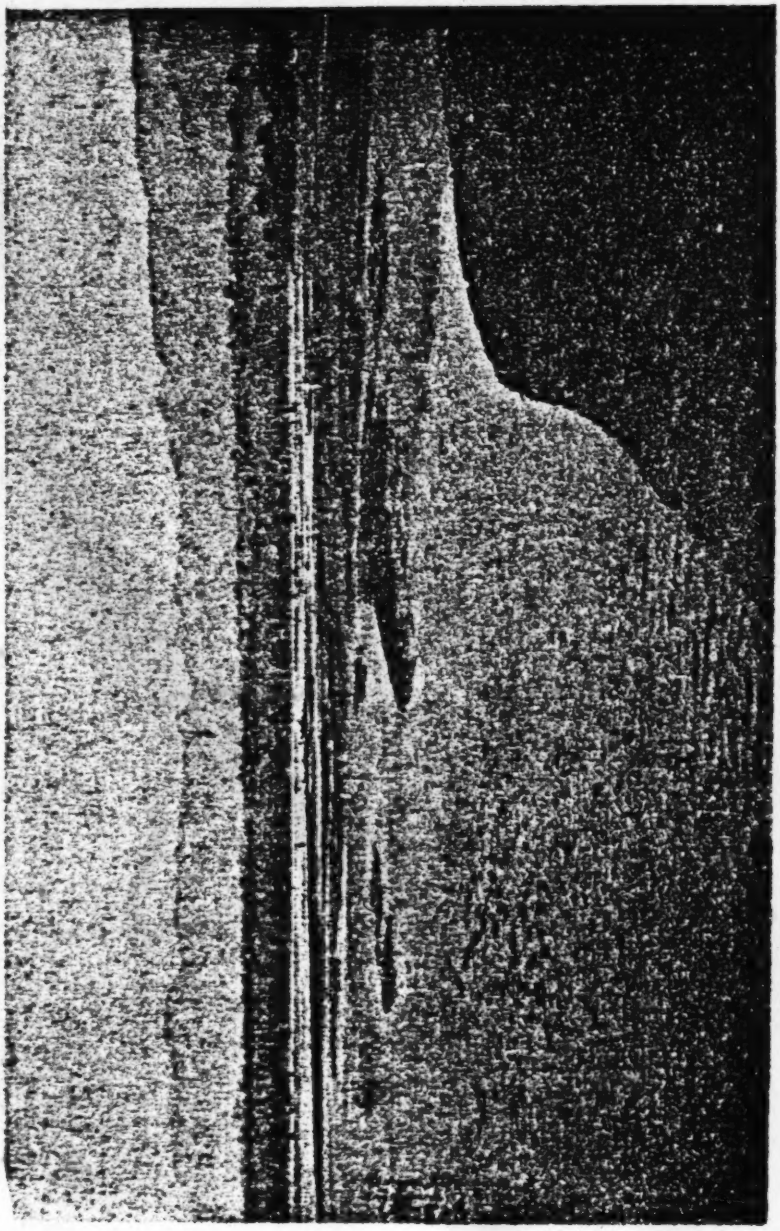
136 In the Pilcomayo fish are abundant: bagre, shad /sábalo/, and dorado; some of the latter are very large, up to a meter and a half in length. The first freshets of the rainy season wash up and kill many fish, leaving them stretched out on the ground on both banks or piling them up like stones or firewood. Then 226 the Chiriguano Indians, the Toba, and Mataco fill their houses, and dogs and crows come there by the thousands and stuff themselves, while the air is full of unbearable miasmas.

[221] The most satisfactory and safest season for fishing is from the May cold until the end of July and in certain years up to [251] the middle of August; then all the Indians are fishermen; they fish for themselves and for trading; they open the fish though [438] the middle vertically and dry it in the sun. If nobody goes [435] there to barter, they go off to sell it at 20 centavos apiece, but generally during the fishing season the tribes far from the rivers go to the banks of same, taking maize or parched meal and bringing back abundant fish. /Illustration appears here./

4: Nino--22 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/facing p. 9/

133



Parapiti River

/9/

157 The banks of the Pilcomayo are difficult for the opening
181 of canals because they are quite high, but it must also be
185 admitted that the Indians do not concern themselves with
[133] progress, are not ambitious like the whites who have settled on its banks; the latter also, because of being few, poor, and of limited means, almost all prefer to get rich with little work and little outlay of money, for which reason they devote themselves to raising cattle and hogs, which thrive without much care or expense.

133 The Parapiti is the second river named; it contains less water than the first and in Pomabamba, where it begins, it is very insignificant, but ten leagues farther, or after it has crossed Curi Ridge, it already begins to be respectable, and in front of the town of San Juan del Piray it appears as a ferocious beast ready to do battle with a weaker adversary, like the Armado River, whose waters it stops or makes recede, just as a lackey halts in the presence and at the sight of his master.

This river runs from west to east with few digressions as far as Mariqui in Parapiti Canton, whence it goes north and from its beginning it crosses the central part of Chiriguano country. In San Juan del Piray the river is some 12 leagues from the Pilcomayo; both rivers could easily be joined to make them one, for which there was once a project, but it would cause much harm to agriculture, especially in Cordillera Province, and the Pilcomayo would have the slight advantage of an increase in flow which would perhaps make it navigable from Villamontes to the Esteros.

In San Juan del Piray the Parapiti River receives as tributaries the Armado and the Piray rivers, and beyond San Pablo de Huacareta the waters of the river of Sauces and several others join it. Thus the Parapiti is a river of some consideration, and its bed is very dangerous at nearly every crossing because of the absolute lack of stone, especially from the Missions of San Antonio and San Francisco to Isoso Canton.

/9 cont./

133 At this point the river disappears completely from the
[312] month of June to December or January, forcing the farmers
[231] to make great excavations in its bed in order to be able to water their livestock; they have to go down to five meters in certain places. The course of the now dry river is easily seen, because in the season of great floods it leaves on the bank all the trash which it drags along and in its bed all the sand; the waters reappear to form the San Miguel River in the province of Velasco.

133 /10/ The benefit that agriculture and cattle raising draws
312 from the Parapiti is indisputable; without it the existence of Parapiti and Isoso cantons would be almost impossible. All the wealth of both areas would disappear, there would be no livestock, sugar plantations, or rice fields as there are now on both banks, which lend themselves marvelously to the opening of canals and irrigating the sugar-cane fields which abound there. Nevertheless, the extraordinary floods of certain years do much damage, making plantations and their equipment disappear almost completely.

136 This river contains few fish; there are only bagre and shad and others of little value; the big dorados do not exist and there are only a few small ones in its tributary, the Piray River, but strangely they do not enter the Parapiti; at the confluence they go back. Below the San Francisco Mission the fish disappear, because the water diminishes until it almost all disappears near Mariqui.

241 In Isoso maize is planted in the month of June in order to
311 harvest the crop before the beginning of the big floods which
312 inundate it all, and during the rainy season they are content to sow frijoles, gourds, melons, and watermelon far from the riverbed, but fruit is not always produced, since the region is rather arid. The waters of this river are quite sweet, and this must be one reason why agriculture is very vigorous on its banks, as any traveler can see.

/10 cont./

133 The Guapay or Grande River is the third river that I mentioned. in Cordillera it is called Abapó and Guapay, or the Valiente River by the Chiriguano; it begins in Cochabamba Department , waters Arque Province, and crosses the northern part of the Chiriguano region, washing a part of Cordillera Province. It passes through Santa Cruz and mixes its waters with those of the Mamoré; its sweet and clear waters contain a great abundance of fish.

The banks of this river in Cordillera Province easily allow the opening of canals to make the adjacent lands fertile. There on the left bank, especially in Abapó and Cabezas, it seems that the river is inviting man to make use of its waters by irrigating great stretches of land. What wealth the Republic would have were a foreign colony to be established on the banks of this river! But as long as there is no method of transportation by the construction of railroads, all progress is impossible; it is impossible to think of colonies, /11/ because the immigrant neither comes on foot nor is he accustomed to eating only parched or stewed maize or squash with beans.

The Acero River is a tributary of the above. Its source is beyond Supachuy, and some four or five leagues from the town it is already a torrent; its waters operate many mill wheels, are clear and fresh, abound in fish, shad, bagre, dorado, and many others. The bed of the Acero is full of rocks, doubtless because it runs through rather rugged hills and hillocks; only in the rainy season is it dangerous to cross it, because then it is full of water and turbulent; at other times it can be crossed without the least concern.

In addition to these four main rivers there is another multitude of brooks and streams which contain abundant water, so long as they do not run far from the hills or do not fail to run between rocky slopes, but as soon as they arrive at sandy ground they are lost, and then, just in order to drink, it is necessary to make more or less deep excavations. In Acero Province in Tiencha Canton there is the rivulet called Taperilla which comes from far away and converts that district into a delight and makes it very productive; great plantations of all kinds of plants and productive crops could be made there.

/11 cont./

133 From Igüembre Canton natural and artificial lakes begin to appear, the first ones end in Cuevo Canton and the later ones begin to appear from Buyuive, vice-Canton of Ñancaroinza, and continue through Caipipendi, Carandaiti, and Parapiti, on the right bank. Some of them may well dry up during the year, but if the rains are plentiful they will easily last until the new rainy season. The lakes are a great benefit in the arid zones, and without them there would be no life, since there is none where they are lacking; it is precisely through the lack of water that it is difficult to cross the plains of the Gran Chaco to get to Paraguay more quickly. A railroad from Santa Cruz to Isoso and from the east to Oriente in a straight line would avoid all difficulty; it would be 100 leagues through level, only slightly irregular terrain.

Climate

132 821 Without taking into consideration an occasional isolated exception, in the entire area or in most of it we can state as a general principle, through experience, that in the vast region inhabited by the Chiriguano race there are only two seasons of the year, called summer and /12/ winter, despite which they distinguish by name four seasons, "Aracu, Roi, Maentiha, Ipiroha," hot, cold, planting, and harvest, or summer, winter, spring, and fall.

132 The two seasons of which I speak are very marked: the summer by the abundance of rain, and the winter by drought. The first rains begin in the month of November or sometimes at the end of October, increase gradually and are frequent in the month of January, scarce in February, irregular in March, and generally stop in the month of April, or after Easter. The rains are preceded and accompanied by lightning and thunder, which fill one with fear, especially when there is added to them violent wind, and they end leaving in the air an incomparable freshness; rarely does rain fall calmly as in other parts of the world.

The rain is nearly always brought by the south wind, rarely by the others, and never or almost never by the north wind. In the area now inhabited by the Chiriguano snow is almost never seen; on rare occasions it falls in the highest

/12 cont./

132 mountains, where it melts away in the first hours of sunlight. On June and July nights a small quantity of water will freeze, but this does not happen every year.

The temperature is quite variable everywhere, and is even irregular throughout the former area, both because of the elevation of some places and because of atmospheric accidents. The lowest temperature is 5, the highest 34, and the average 18. The hottest months are November, December, and January, and the coldest May,June, and July; nevertheless there is frost even in the months of August, September, and October, which are very oppressive because of the lack of rains to cool the atmosphere. Although the heat may be very intense in the months of November, December, and January, it is tempered by the beneficent action of the rains, which fall frequently and abundantly, but if, as happens, they cease for a relatively long period, the heat is nearly unbearable by day and insufferable at night, with sweat running off the body like a bath, which does not allow one even to think of sleeping, except in the mornings, which are always somewhat cool.

The above-noted temperature is regularly observed in the center of the area; it varies to the north, west, and southwest. In Santa Cruz the thermometer registers higher temperatures, in Padilla and Tarija lower; there are days when a thermometer placed in the sun registered 60°, and despite this it does not cause frequent sunstrokes among these Indians who wear nothing on the head for protection while they work in the fields.

/13/ In the cold months, only when the north wind dominates can very pleasant and remarkably clear days be enjoyed, but the south wind upsets it all, covering the sky with clouds and beginning the drizzle and the cold which saddens the heart, producing sickness, because the changes are very sudden, even in the rainy season. The south wind in the summer can easily bring about the loss of crops in a few days. What could be the cause of this? I have said that the rains almost always come with the south wind, but it happens that instead of rain hail will fall over much of the area; then the

/13 cont./

132 atmosphere immediately cools down and there begins a cold wind whose chill is increased as it passes through the region of hail, and since the maize stalks are still tender they are easily stricken. The hail that falls is big, the earth is churned up, and it kills birds, sheep, goats, and other animals, if they are unable to hide in the bushes or under thick trees, but this does not happen often nor every year.

[133] Earthquakes are most rare; I felt them twice during my stay in the region, in 1899 and 1909, but the wind is sometimes so strong that it seems to make the earth tremble; there is no doubt but that it tears up trees and strips them, ruins buildings, and dismantles tiled roofs. Foreigners in this [145] so hot and changeable climate soon age and turn gray, but the natives who are used to it from childhood, despite the vices of drinking and others to which they surrender, enjoy a relatively long and healthy life.

It can readily be understood from what has been said that here the seasons of the year follow a different order from that which is seen in the Old World. Despite the fact, then, that there are no more than two seasons, we always can and ought to consider the four, in order to follow the general rule of the universe which divides the year into four parts. Summer begins December 21, fall March 21, winter June 21, and spring September 21, but all of these come ahead of time, as anyone who has lived here can testify.

Fertility

133 The Aguaragüe range, which is found to the east and one
182 league from the Mission of San Buenaventura de Yvu, is the
311 last one in Chiriguano territory. Small towns and families of
312 these Indians are scattered here and there are still found east
361 of the said range some 15 leagues away, but beyond that /14/ there are none because the area is arid and dry, "igũ utini vae," as they say, and the Chiriguano accustomed to planting maize, beans, and gourds cannot live where there is a scarcity of rain for his crops and water for his daily bath.

/14 cont./

311 The closer the traveler gets to the Gran Chaco, the less
312 water and the less fertility he finds; the very fields of Yvu
241 are patent proof, for crops are rarely abundant there. When the rains are torrential in other sections, they are sparse in Yvu; the farther to the west one travels from Aguaragüe, the more fertile is the land, because the hills and hillocks are more frequent and higher, water more abundant, and consequently the land more moist, which is necessary for agricultural production.

The fields are suitable for raising cows and horses, for the multiplication of sheep and pigs; the year when it fails to rain, however, there is lack of food for the livestock, as well as lack of water, the suffering is great, and numbers die near the waters which are found at some distance from the spots where there is feed, such as the slopes of the hills and the tops of the hillocks, abounding in tree leaves.

137 The countryside is clothed with grasses in the summer, but the region begins to turn beautiful in the spring and even earlier. The vigorous woods, dry and leafless during the cold months, begin to dress in verdant foliage at the beginning of the month of September, and in a few days nature is rejuvenated. Then it is very lovely to contemplate from some slight rise a broad pampa where there are carob trees, groves of catalpas or lapachos, the first green, the second red, and the third yellow and purple.

241 The territory is productive only in the rainy season, be-
182 cause the Chiriguano in general will not take the trouble to put
[132] in a good irrigation ditch when he can; he waits for it all from
[433] the high heavens. Miracles could have been worked on the banks of the rivers in times past; today it is difficult because they are very few and, like their grandparents, are satisfied with maize, a little sugar cane, and other delicacies, like sweet potatoes or batatas, mandioca, and peanuts.

241 Large-scale planting begins at the end of November or the
[221] beginning of December, after the country has been watered by two or three abundant rains. The maize grows very high and, when there is no lack of water, produces two or three ears on each stalk. The frijoles produce three crops. The sugar cane

/14 cont./

241 grows up to two meters and even more. the mandioca /15/ produces one arroba per plant. and the sweet potato even more because a single plant can spread and extend eight or ten meters. being productive in every root put in the ground, just so it is suitably covered with earth there.

311 The fertility of the region which I describe cannot be doubted. but the inhabitants do not cultivate it. If in this area there were persons who liked to work. the land would produce more; for this is of no use to mestizo people either. since he who was a peon in Sucre or Tarija wants to be a gentleman here because he is not a Chiriguano, as a result of which the very banks of the rivers. those shores of the Parapiti and Río Grande which appear to be beckoning the farmer. remain almost uncultivated. Ticucha Canton is another area where a colony of foreigners would work miracles, planting vineyards and fruit trees and so many other products that could be developed there; the same could be said of so many other sites.

[245] It seems that the grape does not grow in certain places. but this is because it has not been tried. Not long ago the missionary padre of San Antonio del Parapiti planted some 200 vine stocks. Who would believe it? Within six months some plants yielded quite ripe fruit. and the plants developed in an extraordinary fashion. In nearly all the missions there is cultivation of the vineyard.and in Charagua it is on a large scale through the work of foreigners; therefore what is needed are thinking men and good farmers in order to make these beautiful lands productive. especially along the river banks. where sugar-cane plantations. banana plantations, coffee fields. vineyards. and so many other things that are productive here could be established.

433 241 From the foot of Padilla Hill the forest is very vigorous and continues so to the east until it ends at Aguaragüe. Fig trees yield with little cultivation. the nopal with none at all since it flourishes on hillocks and hills and. such an agreeable and refreshing fruit. is the principal occupant. Chirimoyas, oranges. lemons. and guavas also grow. as well as onions and

/15 cont./

433 241 sweet potatoes; cotton grows everywhere, tomatoes and garlic mature the year round, and in the gardens lettuce, cabbage, cauliflower, and peppers create the beauty of a spot, without taking into account the gastronomic advantages. Even the peach trees would yield fine fruits, but they suffer much from the black butterflies, which damage them before they ripen.

Without work the land will produce only briars and brambles, and /16/ as long as there are only Chiriguano and [157] cattle ranches here, progress will be slight and the population [181] sparse, because the Indian has no ambition, and life is rela- [185] tively inexpensive; the whites prosper by taking good care of their livestock, and no greater fertility can be obtained from the land because the holdings of a few families are very extensive and do not facilitate the residence of numerous renters, who do not always give good results nor do all come or ask to rent for farming alone. All of them want to get rich easily and quickly, and the best way is to raise stock, the result of which is that great areas of briars and brambles exist.

Flora

13 In the course of this hasty description I have noted that in Chiriguano country atmospheric changes are very sudden, but it has been noted that the region is quite fertile when it is watered by the rains or by irrigation ditches, because small rivers are plentiful, particularly in the mountainous region, and an occasional river of some size bathes the adjacent territories with its abundant waters.

There are many hills, pampas, and valleys, and for this reason every kind of climate may be found in this territory. [137] There are in fact oppressive heat, intense cold, and a temperate climate, thus making it possible to find land for every product from the lowly gourd to the savory chirimoya, from the ubiquitous maize to wheat, rice, and barley, from the mulberry /mora/, which grows spontaneously, to the rich grape, whose bunches reach weights of three and four libras.

824 /16 cont./
139
[144]

I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it through experience and careful reading: when describing certain plants, I shall also make note of the use made of the bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall, straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood borer does not damage it; it is much used here in the construction of upper roofs, especially for the beaches or trusses on which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its
[342] wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less
[492] value; it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows, but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to
[296] make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears
[515] and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the face free of blemishes; here it is known by the name "Simbey."

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. moniliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which room drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it.
[372] It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatane," fire that smells; the wood is yellow.

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of trees of this class here and there; it is the most abundant tree,
[342] the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does
[281] not eat it; the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites; the latter call it sebil and the former "Curupau."

245 ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in
137 fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters,
824 its leaves are dark green; it produces abundant fruit in a sort of pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds, which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They
[302] serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces
[303]
[439]

/17 cont./

and feet with them, as will be seen; for this last purpose it is prepared beforehand, many pods being boiled in an olla, and pastes of every size are made from the decoction, depending on the value that they wish them to have; it is traded by Chiriguanos and whites.

The Rosa oxellana, or /Urucu," as the Indians call it, is a plant of high value for the Chiriguano; he will travel far to obtain a small amount in the towns or places where it is prepared.

ALGARROBO. -- The place where this extraordinarily large tree abounds is in the pampas; thus in the plain of "Cuyuqui" of Yro Mission, Iomo, Pacapiri, and the Gran Chaco it is found forming forests. It is very bulky and has long branches which in some touch the ground; its trunk is thick and not always erect, the wood is excellent, similar to oak in spite of being dark, and it is much used for making tuns, door and window casings, and even for barrels. In Chiriguano this tree is called /10/ "Iyoqui," and the "Iyoqui" pod is long, compressed, and yellow; when it is ripe, it is sweet and much sought after by livestock and by the Chiriguanos; it is their food and drink in times of scarcity as well as other times, and the mead that they make is extremely intoxicating. On the back of the Pilcomayo even the whites eat this pod; the Toba, Chorote, Mataco, and others hold their orgies when the algarrobo ripens.

ALGARROBO CHICO. -- This is a smaller tree than the previous one, even its fruit is smaller, speckled in color, and sweeter than the true algarrobo, but not as abundant as the first. As the pods are small and the seeds within abundant, it is not highly thought of among the Chiriguanos; they only eat it out of necessity or as a tidbit; the wood is not valued very highly because undoubtedly there are others that are better. In Chiriguano it is called "Iyoqui iai."

ALGARROBO AGRIO. -- This is also small, and it is called "nino" because the flavor of the pods really is sour. In times of scarcity it is also food for the Chiriguanos; the pods are small, and the tree has its congenial sites. The Chiriguano Indians call it "Iyoqueyi."

/10 cont./

137 [321] ALGARROBO NEGRO. -- Among the Indians this is called "Iyapuna," and the whites call it tuna: it multiplies and grows very fast. Sometimes 20 or 30 newly sprouted plants can be counted around a single cake of cow dung, which indicates that the cattle eat it in abundance, and where it does not already exist they sow it with their bowels. It grows to a height of some three meters and is very thorny, which makes it difficult to travel through places where it is abundant; when there is no other food it is one of the Chiriguano's resources.

[322] ALGARROBILLA. -- The wood of this plant, which the Chiriguano call "Iglinayapiro," is black and very good for cabinetmakers: it is a species of ebony and is strong. Implements of war and those for fiestas of the tribes are made of this wood; its trunk is twisted, and it rarely has a single trunk; the flowers are yellow and the berries much sought after, by guan, but it makes them sleep.

ALGODONERO /cottonwood/. -- This is a leafy tree with many branches; it grows to a height of two meters, has yellow flowers and a white boll when it is ripe, which is then picked, dried in the sun, the material pulled away from the seeds and cleaned. The "mandiyo" cotton is very useful; hammocks, ponchos, coldbloop, and sacks are made with it; it would even be easy to manufacture macana, but this is not done because what comes from outside is very cheap and /10/ [197] showier, even though it is not as strong as the other. Its leaves used as a poultice are antianeurotic, and its seeds in the form of a pomade work against herpes and skin eruptions; oil for lighting can be extracted from the seeds.

ANONA. -- The anona is a bush which grows to barely one meter; it has congenial places, the pampas, which have soil mixed with sand. In the said pampas it thrives in abundance, but it is even found in other places. The ripe fruit is red and like the pineapple in shape, but the pulp and seeds are like the chirimoya, as is the flavor of the pulp. Before it ripens, even the skin is very similar to that of the chirimoya. The Chiriguano call it "Anoyo."

ASPIDOSPERMO BLANCO. -- This tree is of great size and it is abundant almost everywhere; the wood is white and good

/19 cont./

139 in dry places: when dampness penetrates it, it is destroyed in a
824 few years, as experience has shown. The bark that is found
[159] under the first layer is split, washed in tepid water, and left
to steep overnight: it cures intermittent fever. The Argentinians
call it cacha, the whites quebracho, and the Chiriguano "Iguiraro."

AZUFAIPO /jujube tree/. -- This is abundant hereabouts
[262] and is a tree of medium size. Its wood is not valued very
highly, but the fruit, the size of a grape seed and of a dark
coffee color, is a great resource in times of scarcity for the
poor Chiriguano. It ripens in January and February and is liked
even by cattle and by sheep and pigs. The whites call it
mistol and the Chiriguano "Yuá."

245 BANANA TREE. -- Cultivated in orchards and well fenced-
in fields, it forms a grove, and each plant yields or produces
a cluster, very large on some of them. When the ripe cluster
is removed, the plant that produced it must be cut in order
that the others may produce their own. There are several
[262] varieties, large and small, the latter very sweet and eaten
as fruit, and the former only when boiled and roasted; the
whites call them plátano, and the Chiriguano "Pacoba."

139 BIGONIA ACUOSA. -- This is a tiny little bush one vara
824 in height, which under the ground has a large root like a
[871] watermelon and even larger; it contains much pulp which,
when squeezed, yields potable water and is used for it in times
of scarcity. The Chiriguano call it "Sipot."

[342] CATALPA. -- This is a large tree and fairly strong. Its
wood is used in the construction of houses. The color of the
/20/ wood is dark, but when it is newly cut it is somewhat
[515] green. Its flowers are purple, and the Chiriguano chew them
to whiten their teeth; they are bitter and because of this
the tree is called "Tayi," or bitter, in Chiriguano, the whites
call it lapacho.

CEIBA. -- A large tree with deformed trunk, and furnished
with sharp points, broad leaves, and large, white flowers which
produce a material similar to cotton without fibers, for which
reason it is smoother and shinier; it is used for mattresses
[342] and pillows and candle wicks. The wood is spongy and not at
[415] all hard; from it are made troughs to hold water from year
to year and in this way they are not soon damaged. Its ashes

[137] /20 cont./ ITS ashes
[824] are good for the manufacture of soap, the bark is an emetic.
[388] The whites call it toborochi and the Chiriguano "Samuú."
[757] There are several varieties and all of them are utilized to some degree or other.

[322] CEIBO. -- This tree is smaller than the former, but its
[415] wood is much superior, very fibrous, and rather light in weight, being used to make troughs which are very durable since they neither split nor are eaten by wood borers. It is very pretty when
[262] it blooms; the flowers are fiery red and good for salads. The Chiriguano call it "Suinandi."

DRAGO /dragon tree/. -- A tall tree, straight and quite thick; the wood is strong and useful. If an incision is made
[757] in the tree, a very red resin comes out; its bark is the best for making the teeth hard and for curing scurvy. The gum called "dragon's blood" is extracted from this tree. The whites call it tipa and the Chiriguano "Güirapitiyu guasu."

ENEA /cattail/. -- An aquatic plant which abounds in certain ponds and pools formed by the water of rivers which flow away from the main stream; the Indians use it for roofing their houses, muleteers for packsaddles, and others for mats in the dwellings, on which they also have their bedding for sleeping. This is the totora or matara of the whites and the "Caipempe" of the Chiriguano.

[262] ESTORAQUE /storax/. -- This is a very large tree of the forest; it has whitish flowers and yellow fruit the size of a fig, which is edible and a favorite of parrots and monkeys; the Chiriguano eat it as a fruit and call it "Aguai."

GARGATEA or CARICA MAMAYA. -- This tree is not very abundant nor is it found in every section. It is of normal size, with a straight trunk and smooth bark softer than the fig tree; the wood is soft and is of no use at all, being similar to that
[262] of the ceiba, or toborochi. Its leaves are like those of the fig
[252] tree, and the fruit is of the /21/ same size and form, but yellow; it is edible and good when boiled or roasted, if eaten raw, it hurts the mouth. In Chiriguano it is called "Caincantina."

/21 cont./

137 GUAYABO /guava/. -- This fruit-bearing tree is found
824 wild and cultivated; it is of medium size, and the fruit, when
[245] ripe, is yellow on the outside and purple on the inside, and its bittersweet flavor is very pleasant and laxative. The green fruit and the roots are astringent; the Chiriguano know it by the same name. The wood has no use at all, and even if it
[262] did, the Indians would not use it because it produces edible fruit. They regret it when any of these trees and others, like the algarrobo, are destroyed.

GÜEMBE. -- This plant thrives on the trunks of high trees, where it puts its root, and others which penetrate the ground
[492] hang down from there. The roots and lianas are dark in color; very strong and durable halters are made from its bark; it is not found everywhere. One encounters it from the left bank of the Parapiti River; its fruit is similar to that of maize, for which reason it is called maize of the air, and it is edible.

HIGUERA AMERICANA /Amerigan fig/. -- This is the
[262] guapoy of the Chiriguano and the bibosi of the populace; although the fruit is rather sour, it is edible. Bats like it, and it
[757] is annoying to have this tree near the dwellings; it has a milky juice like the common fig tree, which, applied to wounds, heals them. In addition to the above fig tree, there is the
[245] common one which flourishes with very little care, in the towns,
[439] especially the Mission ones, it is widely cultivated by the
[431] natives and its fruit is used by them for gifts and trade with the whites.

244 MANDIOCA. -- This plant is called "Mandio" or "Mandiporopi" by the Chiriguano Indians. A little book written by a Jesuit missionary of the old Paraguay missions relates that this plant was left to those Indians by Saint Thomas the Apostle who, according to their tradition, came here to preach the doctrine of the Redeemer. Mandioca is
[252] an excellent food and very digestible; it is eaten boiled,
[262] roasted, and fried in lard. It is a plant cultivated by whites and by Indians.

/21 cont./

137 824 MARA or CAOBA /mahogany/. -- This tree is found in all sections. It is a strong wood, but the white part at the sides is subject to decay. It is rather heavy and hard and is [342] [352] only used for door and window casings and even for tables. The leaves are permanent, but not too good for shade. If the [757] leaves are touched with some force in order to pick them, they cause a skin eruption which disappears only when treated with bees' honey; I cured myself this way twice.

137 /22/ MELOCOTÓN /peach tree/. -- This tree, native to Persia, is quite productive in this region, but its fruit, severely attacked by the black butterfly, does not reach maturity because it always has worms. The apple tree grows in high places and where the atmosphere is not so hot, but both of these are orchard trees, not native ones, having been imported by the whites, who cultivate them, which can also be said of the quince tree.

137 824 MOLLE. -- This tree is not found in the central part of the region and thus is not native here, being obtained only by cultivation. The whites and the Missionaries have introduced it into the towns with good results. It is found in abundance in [757] the district under the jurisdiction of Padilla; it has permanent [273] leaves, which are medicinal, as is the resin which comes from the trunk; a cooling beverage, pleasant and similar to wine, except that its odor is somewhat disagreeable, is made from [757] the seeds. The eucalyptus is another tree which thrives regularly here, but it has also been imported; its leaves, also permanent, are very good medicine for the endemic fevers; its trunk is an excellent wood. Neither tree has a name in Chiriguano, from which it can be deduced that they have been imported, like the grape vine, the common fig tree, the peach, quince, etc.

MORA OR MORERA /mulberry/. -- This tree is found wild from the left bank of the Parapiti River in Cordillera Province. It rises to a height of some 15 meters, is bulky with a very leafy top, and the fruit is smaller than that of the cultivated mulberry; the wood is solid and compact like that of the soto and has even better qualities; it is used for machines for milling sugar cane, plantations of which are common from the banks of the Parapiti River, where sugar of the highest quality

/22 cont./

137 824 is manufactured. On the slopes of the hills is also found the blackberry /zarzamora/, whose fruit is so pleasant to the palate, but whose thorn, which is like a cat's claw, is quite dangerous and barbed. The mulberry in Chiriguano is called "Tatayigua."

245 NARANJO /orange/. -- Neither the orange nor the lemon are native to the Chiriguano region, but they flourish greatly and grow to some height. Where it is easy to open irrigation ditches and possible to irrigate orange and lemon trees, they produce large, juicy fruit, the former being very sweet and the sourness of the latter being mild. The citron tree flourishes and is a plant imported here; its fruits are as big as gourds. The Chiriguano cultivate the orange tree here and there, but the whites cultivate it on a large scale; I know of some /23/ rather large orange groves, and they exist in nearly all the missions.

137 824 NOGAL. -- This tree of extraordinary height is only found wild; the leaves are very small and somewhat like those of the true nogal; the fruit is edible, but its shell is hard to crack. [258] The flavor and characteristics are the same as those of walnuts, so that oil, which is used instead of that from the olive, can be extracted from them. The wood is rather dark and good [322] for carpentry and cabinetwork, but it is inferior to that of the true nogal, which is found in the cultivated state where there [386] is sufficient moisture; a dark coffee-colored dye is prepared from the leaves, the bark of the trunk, or the roots, for dyeing wool, for staining other woods, and for printing ink.

NOPAL. -- This is the fruit-bearing plant which is most abundant in the region and which is found everywhere without any cultivation, for which reason it is most highly regarded by the Chiriguano, who is naturally lazy. But since it is sought [245] by the cattle, it is beginning to disappear or, more exactly, it is not found very much in the woods and clearings, but the Indian still cultivates it because it flourishes easily without need of irrigation and multiplies without the need of planting other shoots. It is convenient for the laziness of the Indian; the yellow flowers come out around each spathe and the fruit matures there as well; it is full of small seeds and sweet pulp, pleasant and refreshing. Some trees are covered with long

/23 cont./ Some trees[1] are covered with long
137 sharp points and others are not, only having an occasional im-
824 perceptible sharp point; the fruit of both is pleasant and serves
[439] for gifts and trade for the Indian, who sells it to the whites,
[431] the ones who, rushing to get rich more quickly and easily, are
[648] little concerned about the nopal and the fig tree. In Chiriguano it is called "Saini."

PALM or PALMER. -- The palm tree has congenial places, where immense forests are formed and sometimes grow all around a lake like a great garland; it is a very tall and smooth tree without a single branch. Its leaves are in the form of a
[435] fan and are used to make hats and for sieves, which are sold
[342] for 30 or 40 centavos apiece. The wood is good for joists in houses, and it is also split into shingles for roofs and is quite durable, if the precaution is taken of cutting them after the full moon. In Chiriguano it is called "Carandai," and the place which they occupy, "Carandaiti," palm grove.

PALMA CHRISTI. -- A not very durable plant, it grows to a height of four meters, has a soft, hollow trunk, large leaves, /24/ and flowers in the form of a bunch of grapes. The seeds are found inside little burrs, like chestnuts; said burrs in some plants open by themselves in the warmth of the sun, while others must be opened or carefully broken with a little hammer or a stone. The name indicates that it is a beautiful plant, but this beauty is in the broad, abundant petiolate leaves. There are several types with reference to
[757] size and quality of seeds; I know five kinds. Castor oil is
[302] extracted from this plant or from its seeds for use as medicine; we use it in the missions to fuel the lamp of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Chiriguanos mix it with "Achiote" seeds and put the resulting cosmetic on their faces and on their calves down to the feet. In Chiriguano the plant is called "Causiro," and the oil, "Yandi." Even the leaves of the
[757] palma Christi are medicinal, some being hot and others cool; thus when headache is a result of overexposure to the sun, the leaves of the white spurge are applied; if, on the other hand, it is the result of high humidity, the leaves of the red spurge are applied. The seeds of the dark purple spurge are very small, but contain more oil than others.

[1] [i.e., Nopal trees, -Analysi]

/24 cont./

245 PAPAYO. -- This tree is neither native like the palma Christi, nor is it found wild like the latter. It is grown in orchards or in well-fenced fields, grows very fast, and produces fruit one year after being planted. Its trunk is straight, soft, and hollow; some have two or three branches and rise up to four meters high. The fruit is refreshing, yellow, with a smooth skin, of the size and shape of a small melon, even the flavor being somewhat similar, but it is more digestible. Many fruits are bunched around the trunk and are also found here and there at each leaf, but always attached to the trunk. The plants which produce the fruit are the good ones, and they call them "females." There are others which they call "males," but their fruits are useless and are not attached to the trunk, but rather hang from it like streamers. It is useless to pick them. To have a good papayo tree they assert that, in transplanting one, it is necessary to take the precaution of always putting or burying two plants in each hole, one of which will always be a female, and the one which turns out to be male will be pulled out. I do not know if this is true, but I did it this way in January of this year. The fruit contains many seeds which, [757] when ground and drunk in an emulsion, are good for getting rid of worms. The fruit and the tree have a resinous milk. [252] Therefore, in order for the fruit to be good and digestible, it is better to cut off the ends and make about five or six vertical cuts so that this resin may come out; by the next day /illustration appears here/ /25/ it is already very pleasant. It is nevertheless best to take the precaution of letting them begin to ripen on the plant itself; in this condition, uncut, they will last up to six days without going bad; then they can easily be transported great distances.

137 824 [252] [262] PASSION FLOWER. -- This is a climber which is found on fences, clothing them in the rainy season with abundant foliage, as does the "supua," whose fruit is edible and good roasted or boiled, as is the leaf. The fruit of the passion flower is of the size of an apple and just as smooth, the skin is thin and the inside is found to be covered with a white, stringy membrane. When this is broken, the seeds of the fruit come

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 43]

4: Nino--42 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

245

A Papaya Plant

/25 cont./

137 824 forth bittersweet and very good. These are ash-colored and pearly and very highly regarded by Chiriguano and whites. The blossom of the passion flower is purple, forming a garland like a crown of thorns; it has its calyx, five petals and three pistils, for which reason it is called passion flower, and it is certainly worthy of admiration. The Indians call it "Murucuya."

PIÑON. -- A euphorbiaceous plant, this little tree exists [177] in a cultivated state and was introduced into this Chiriguano region by the white Christians. It grows in orchards and elsewhere, and its maximum height is three meters. Its small [757] trunk is slender and top heavy, and its fruit consists of black seeds which are not edible but which, when ground and diluted in water, make a powerful purgative and therefore must be used with great care, because they can cause death.

137 SAUCE /willow/. -- It grows and develops on the banks and in the bed of torrents, as well as on the shores of streams, which shows that it seeks damp places, but from these places the force of a flood often uproots it. The common willow has [342] no special qualities; only its branches are useful in the building of houses because they are flexible, fibrous, and not heavy; little use is made of the trunk. It is a tall, large tree with very tiny leaves. In addition to the common willow there is also the weeping willow, whose branches touch the ground; it is neither native nor found wild; some whites plant it to beautify their interior patios. In Chiriguano the common willow is called "Igüirapucu."

SAÚCO /elder/. -- It is not found everywhere, only being found along streams with little water which are in the wood. It grows to four meters in height, its trunk is slender and soft, its branches have a pith which is easily extracted, and its white flowers in the shape of a parasol are sudorific. The whites do a good deal of searching for this flower /26/ for their illnesses. Even the leaves are medicinal; when drunk in a decoction they are a good purge. What a pity that it is found in such limited areas!

/26 cont./

137 SOTO. -- This gigantic tree is found everywhere from
824 the province of Tomina, but there are places where it is more abundant. In the spring, when the budding begins, its leaves are red, and later they turn green. In the autumn its fruit, which the parrots like, are red and are in bunches like cherries. Seen from a distance by a European, he thinks they are cherries. The wood of the soto is strong and does not rot; in dampness or in water it is better than iron, since it does not deteriorate.
[342] It is very widely used in the construction of houses, especially when they are of frame construction. A great deal of tannin, which the Europeans use in tanneries, is extracted from the soto. It is called palo cuchi by the whites here and "Urundei" by the Chiriguano.

249 TOBACCO. -- An annual plant which flourishes everywhere, but only the whites cultivate it on a large scale, especially in Sapirangui and Chiquiacá, whose products have some fame. Even an occasional Indian cultivates it for his own use and to give to his friends. There is another similar plant, and, when he lacks real tobacco, the Indian deceives himself with its leaves. The true tobacco is called "peenti" in Chiriguano, and the other "huacapeenti," which, literally explained, means
276 "cow tobacco." In Bolivia there is considerable consumption of tobacco wrapped in paper or maize husks; rarely does one see cigars of pure tobacco, like the Havanas and others; the Chiriguano smokes a lot and acquires the habit at a tender age.
[857] Children of four years of age have already begun to smoke;
[562] women also smoke.

137 TACUARA. -- In the past when there were no cattle, the
824 tacuara, or hollow cane, was very abundant; vestiges still remain of some immense canebrakes, but the plant has been re-
[435] duced almost to the cultivated one, with the result that what was previously found in the forest at the disposal of the first occupant is found today in the possession of private parties, and anyone who is planning to build a dwelling must pay for hollow cane at the rate of 80 centavos per hundred, and the worst of it is that it is not found everywhere. This lack is made up for by small rods from trees, but these are neither as light nor always

/26 cont./

137 as straight as cane. Beyond Santa Cruz there are still groves;
824 in addition there are groves of another cane called "Bambú," which is the best known, and in Chiriguano it is called
[417] "Tacuarembo." It rises to a height of about 15 meters and is used for making /27/ ladders and scaffolding in construction
249 because it is light and strong. The shoots are tender and contain a sugary substance highly regarded by the Indians; it is not sought much today, because there are abundant plantings of sugar cane, which is of great utility for the production of sugar and alcohol. This last thrives with great ease and little work. Planting is done in two ways, making furrows and burying it or planting cuttings. The former is the better method where the
137 freshets of the rivers do not penetrate. On the slopes and tops
824 of hills which contain water there is another sort of slender cane, very strong and heavy, which is not hollow like the other classes and is called caña brava by the whites, and
[285] "Tacuarembo" by the Chiriguano. They use it for weavers'
[513] reeds and for sleeping cots.

TAMARIND. -- This beautiful and useful tree is not native, but it thrives with enough care and grows to a respectable height; the fruit that it produces is abundant, consisting of abundant pods more or less the size of chick-pea pods; the pulp is blackish and pleasant to the taste, but it is bad for
[157] the teeth. It is astringent and is administered as medicine for intestinal inflammations, especially to children. It is also
[272] a good tonic drink on excessively hot days; it is prepared with sugar, water, and a little of its pulp. The tree is rather sensitive to cold, and the flowers wilt easily with the south wind. For this reason the whites plant it in their patios, which are surrounded by the living quarters.

TARINGUI. -- The name of this tree is Chiriguano. The taringui is found in some regions, but not in others. It is of the cactus variety, rises up to six meters, its branchage is abundant and close, which gives a fine shade against the blazing rays of the sun. Its branches or leaves are striated and armed with spines; the fruit is tiny, but sweet and otherwise pleasant, and much liked by foxes, who only get it when it falls from the tree. The ulala or opuntia is smaller than the taringui, its leaves have the same form, the color is ash-gray and they are less a abundant, or, more properly, few. The fruit is a smooth berry

/27 cont./

137 which is purple when mature and opens into three sections
824 when ripe. It has an insipid sweetness, but one which both
[262] whites and Chiriguano like. The color is a bright purple, it is abundant, and in certain years of scarcity it is a resource for human life in the months of February and March. In Chiriguano it is called "Ñacagüina." The carapari is another cactus, taller than the preceding ones, which also has its congenial land. /28/ since it is not found everywhere. It is admirable for its tall, striated leaves or branches, ash-gray and armed with spines; its fruit is very pleasant and also sought
[342] by foxes. The trunk is soft like that of all cacti; nevertheless
[759] doors are made of this wood and are durable enough. The pulp of the trunk is used medicinally to cure liver ailments, etc. They say that it is even good for goiter. There is another species of cactus which grows to some 20 or 25 centimeters; it is round and thick, striated and armed with spines. In Chiriguano it is called "Zipepe." The children, as we shall
[524] see, make wheels by cutting off its spines, and, making it roll, they use it as targets for their arrows. Finally, there is another which is trailing and long, covering the ground where it grows and making the place impenetrable. This has and
[262] produces a very delicious fruit which is called "Tapiacaru" in Chiriguano.

TILANDSIA. -- This plant is known to the Chiriguano
[342] by the name of "Caraguata guasu." Its special place is the
[283] hills, and among them it has some more congenial to it; it
[492] grows well enough, and its leaves are extraordinarily broad and long and ash-gray in color; in the middle there is a thick stalk which rises quite high and is good wood for house rafters; from the crushed leaves they make cord and from these are made first-rate halters for tying up animals in the rainy season.
[286] The Toba and even the Chiriguano make a kind of net which
[171] they call chipa or "añapoca," which is very useful, inasmuch
[482] as the women can carry any weight in a bag of that kind; from
[227] the same they make nets so as to be able to fish in the rivers, and these are pieces of work which would attract attention in any part of the Old World.

/28 cont./

139 There is another small caraguata which invades wide areas
824 of land, preventing any animal from entering there, because it has spines on the bottoms of the leaves. In times of scarcity
[262] its root is food for the poor Chiriguano; the root contains a little starch which has the taste of mandioca, but it requires
[283] great effort to pull it up. The leaf of this tilandsia is also good for making cord.

Finally, there is a third one which flourishes abundantly in trees and on the rocks of the hills, but which has no peculiar properties; it is large because of its leaves, which measure up to one meter in length. The plant is thick, the leaf fleshy, and it is used to decorate the streets with arches during processions. The aloe is similar to the second type of tilandsia, but aloe leaves are wide and thick, full of juice, while those of the tilandsia are slender, arched, and dry. The aloe is not abundant; only an occasional shrub or plant is found.

244 /29/ TOMATO. -- This plant which produces fruits so pleasant and useful to the culinary art flourishes exuberantly in these lands; the fruit from each plant is abundant and is produced the year round when some care is taken to protect the plant from the cold or from the light frosts which customarily
[237] fall in June and July. To do this it suffices to pile up dry cow dung in two or three places in the tomato patch and set them
[177] afire. True tomato plants are also found in the woods, but it is presumed that some bird must have carried the seed to such places; the tomato is a plant which has been brought into the Chiriguano country, as is the case with the onion, the sweet potato, and the cabbage.

222 In the woods there is a kind of tomato in the wild state, which is somewhat similar in appearance and taste, but which is quite different from the true one; it is picked green and allowed to ripen in a room on top of a piece of wood; in a
[244] few days it turns red, which is a sign that it is ripe. The chili pepper also produces abundantly and with little care; it is a plant which lasts up to three years if care is taken to prune it, and the second and third years the fruits are very hot. Another kind of small, round chili pepper abounds in the woods and bears spontaneously; it is called arivivi by the whites and "quii rai" by the Chiriguano. It is hot, and some cure sickness,

222 /29 cont./ It is hot, and some cure sickness,
[957] or inflammation of the eyes, with it. Nevertheless, one should not confuse this little plant with another similar one whose fruits lack flavor and which is called by the Chiriguano "Aguara quii," which is to say, literally, chili pepper, of the fox. The best way not to confuse it is to taste the fruit; it is found everywhere.

243 TRIGO /wheat/. -- The Eternal Creator of all things in his bounty and mercy arranged that this small plant, necessary in every aspect, should yield its fruit in every region inhabited by man; thus, in spite of the excessive heat, it is harvested here in abundance, and the farmer is not robbed of his hopes if he takes care to irrigate the field opportunely. Barley also flourishes in irrigated lands, but the cultivation of both has been abandoned for reasons already expounded in these pages and also because birds greatly bother both crops, as also happens in the rice paddies, which will be found empty if they are left to the discretion of our flying friends.

[824] There also thrives together with maize, or in other places,
[412] the wheat called Guinea, or sweet sorghum, which the Chiriguano call "Tricu" and which is indigenous; it is sweet, matures with maize, and they suck it, as well as the panicled sorghum, which is a kind of sorghum /30/ without sweetness and used for making brooms for sweeping. The seed of both plants is liked by birds.

137 VID /grapevine/. -- Farther on I have said that this plant
824 pre-eminently required for the Sacrifice, like wheat, thrives quite vigorously in this region. I add here that in the woods
[262] there is a tree with small leaves and unimportant wood, which rises up to some eight meters above the ground and whose fruit is the size of an olive, has a dark coffee color and a flavor like that of the grape, matures in the month of February, is edible, and is called "Ivaviyu" in Chiriguano. Also in the wild state is the native grape with its twining trunk. Its fruits are like a bunch of grapes; they are white and some even black, and they are good for the manufacture of brandy.

/30 cont./

137 824 276 YERBA DEL DIABLO. -- This is the datura which is so abundant in the countryside and fields and which is a real plague. It rises to one meter in height, has branches, broad leaves, white flowers, and fruit armed with spines which, when dry, are enough to draw blood. The leaves and seeds make one lose one's memory. In this respect I remember one incident when an Indian woman absent-mindedly or out of ignorance covered an olla of hot food with datura leaves; half an hour later she ate it and it gave her a bad headache and a short spell of vertigo. Her little granddaughter, a schoolgirl about six years old, ate some also, and she suffered a complete loss of memory and all her actions were those of a demented person, a state which lasted some 24 hours. It seems that the Chiriguano [757] do not know that this plant and its seeds and leaves are poisonous; the latter, dried, are medicinal, alleviate the effects of asthma, and are prescribed for asthmatic Indians. Christians know it by the name of chamico, and the Indians by that of "caazi," that is, painful herb.

137 824 SAPALLO /squash/. -- There are eleven species of this creeping plant, which I shall discuss in another chapter, only adding that watermelon and melon also grow here, as well as the cucumber and the beet. The "curugua" and the "curuguami" [262] of the Chiriguano are plants which are similar to the sapallo, but they climb trees and produce there an oblong, sweet, and fragrant fruit; when one enters a house, it is immediately evident if there are curugua fruits there; they are edible both green and ripe, but they are preferable in the ripe state.

I shall forgo describing many trees and plants whose [342] medicinal virtues are known; I shall take up others when dealing with medicines; however, before I forget it, I shall note here at the end of the flora that a region where /31/ there are damp places abounds in secular cedars, whose wood is used in carpentry for doors, windows, tables, etc. So that it may not be subject to rot, it is necessary to get mature plants whose color is light red; the whitish one is attacked by the wood borer; the odor of the wood is narcotic, and this property keeps away insects; its odor is similar to that of the cedar of Lebanon, and for this reason the conquistadors gave the name of cedar to this tree which the Chiriguano call "Igüirane," or stinking stick.

/31 cont./

Fauna

Quadrupeds

#136 #825 In this section I shall concern myself with a description of the quadrupeds, as the title indicates, and then, in the following sections, with other living beings. When dealing with them, I do not intend to make a complete list, so as not to make this little work too long; I shall therefore limit myself to a description of some of them.

AGOUTI-HUTIA. -- It seems that this quadruped rodent is peculiar to South America, but it is certain that it is found in the Chiriguano region, where they call it "Acuti." River banks and large permanent lakes are its most favored locale. [224] When pursued by hunters and dogs, it plunges in and swims under the water, fooling both by coming out on the opposite bank, where it quickly disappears into the woods. Its burrows have several entrances and exits, which are covered with leaves, while only one is left open; it has five toes on its feet; if some dangerous animal enters its burrow by the open door or entrance, it flees through any one of the others which are lightly covered.

Two other classes of agouti, live in the hills, woods, and pampas in this region and are very similar to the true one, but they have neither the same instincts nor the five toes on their feet; they have cloven hooves like lambs and get into planted fields, eat gourds and corn, and even feed on the husks of ulalas and other cacti; they are regarded as the archetype of thieves by the Chiriguano; thus, one compares a man or a woman who is light-fingered with the agouti, saying: "Mbuimonda acuti," thief like an agouti.

ANTA OR DANTA. -- This is the American tapir, unknown in other regions; it is the size of a year-old calf, does not have a hoof, but toes on all four feet, lives in the woods in a totally wild state, /32/ and it is ferocious, becoming enraged if it finds itself pursued. Otherwise it does not attack and feeds on grass and leaves; its meat is flavorful and plentiful. Its hide is tough and for this reason the jaguar is hardly able to slaughter it; it runs slowly, but tramples over everything.

/32 cont./

*136 bending or breaking every bush in its path. It is also a swimmer.
*825 Saddlemakers make from its hide headstalls and reins which
[281] are durable and hence highly valued. When the tapir is very small, it has a pelt like a fawn with yellow stripes and is easily domesticated. It is abundant near rivers and is very rare on the plains; few are found in the province of Acero. In the region of Cuevo and in others there are none at all, doubtless because these places are being settled by another type of man, that is to say, by whites, who can destroy them easily with the use of gunpowder. The Chiriguano like its
[262] meat very much, and they call this animal "Borevi."

ARDILLA /squirrel/. -- A climbing quadruped which looks for its food in the trees which it climbs and goes down very quickly. There are two classes of these, one large and red in color and the other smaller and dark, but both are very graceful, with a rather long tail almost as large as the body as far as the neck and covered with rather long and very soft hair. When they sleep, they cover themselves up and protect themselves from the cold, the dew, and even from the rain with this tail, which they keep horizontally along the length of the body in order to climb and descend more nimbly. They
[262] have very little meat, which is full of gristle, and, despite
[224] the fact that they are quite edible, the Indians hunt them very
[859] little; only the children hunt them for diversion and for practice in the use of the bow.

ARMADILLO. -- This animal, called "Tatu" by the Indians, is abundant. There are six types, which are: "Tatu," the generic name, or the true armadillo; "Taturapúa," balled armadillo; "Tatu rabuco," armadillo with hairs; "Tatu guasu," large armadillo; "Tatu acuti," a species of viscacha; "Anguya tuti," a species of large rat, but also with scales in common
[262] with the armadillo. For the Indians the flesh of all of them
[224] is edible, and the Indians of Yvu and Ikatiqui continually go out hunting them. In dry places, like the pampas of the Gran Chaco, armadillos are more numerous; there they make their burrows under the ground in great lengths, making it dangerous to go on horseback through such places because the animals can sink in easily and at a gallop can break their legs, if they are not unlucky enough to crack their heads open. /Illustration appears here./

[Text continues on p. 53]

4: Nimo--62 M-3 (1888-1911) 1912 BPI0 Philippines
Tapiete Skin
142
291

Group of Tapiete Indians

/22/

#136 #825 The large armadillo is slightly less than one vara long: its burrow corresponds to its size and even more, and not infrequently the wild boar or peccary, when chased by hunters and dogs, finds a safe refuge in these holes. The meat of the large armadillo is not so good for civilized people, but that of the others is: I have eaten it many times. The fat softens the tendons and gristle in it. Armadillos feed on worms.

[241] Nevertheless, the true armadillo is harmful to the maize fields when they are newly planted, because it searches out and eats the seeds: it is also very harmful in maize patches, of which it scarcely leaves a slender shoot: when it gets into the

[226] maize, it does not allow any to ripen. The Indians know well where the armadillo abounds: as soon as they finish planting the maize, on nights with a moon or without it, they go there and, helped by hunting dogs, kill them.

COBAYO /guinea pig/. -- This little animal is innocuous and plentiful everywhere. Its places are the fences, where it

[162] hides with ease. It is similar to large rats without a tail:

[237] its meat is very tasty, and bags in which smokers store tobacco, tinder, and flint are made from its skin. When it sees a hunter

[224] or believes that danger is near, it hastens to hide in the thickness of the fences, but when the hunter hides, it is not long in coming out again in search of food, morning and evening, and then it is easy to kill with arrow or dongan. The Chiriguano call it "Apeera." There is another sort of multi-colored guinea pig

[231] of the same size as the previous one, but this one is domesticated. The color of the true guinea pig is light brown.

CONEJO /rabbit/. A quadruped in the wild state, native to America. It is the size of a large cat. Its color is a shaded

[224] white, and here there are none of any other color, but there

[242] are in other parts of South America: its meat is delicious, and the Indians like it and hunt it: its form is the same as that of the domestic rabbit, and in the Chiriguano language it is called "Tapiti."

/30 cont./

#136 CORSO /deer/. -- This is found everywhere and is called
#825 "Huaso" by the Chiriguano and borina by the whites: there are even white ones. the females without horns and the males with them: another type is called "huasacara." Both feed off
[231] grass. and the little ones are pleasing with their hide dappled with light spots: they are easily domesticated while they are still nursing: for food. when they are domesticated. goat's or sheep's milk can be used. The huasacara is very similar to the deer: both male and female have branched antlers when old. but /36/ their meat is not so good. They travel in herds.
[226] Hunters pursue both types because they have a lot of meat. for
[227] which reason they are called "huaso," which means "large." They hunt them with considerable work and with the help of dogs trained for the purpose. or. if they are hidden. they imitate their bleating or cracking sound. and when they come within bowshot. they do not miss in killing them. The
[230] Chiriguano tan the skin of these animals and make a jacket
[231] from it. which I shall discuss in its place. but today this do have Chiriguano garment is disappearing. nor do they tan leather any more: today they use these skins for their beds: it is nonetheless a perfect material for footwear because of its natural softness and smoothness.

#136 GAMO /fallow deer/. -- It seems that this class of animal is from the mountainous and temperate regions: it is not found beyond Monteagudo. nor do the Indians here know it. but it used to be found and still is found in their former territory of Padilla. Tomina. Tarvita. etc. This is the fallow deer. the size of a goat. with cloven hoof. ash-gray in color. and quite a swift runner: it is horto-meat. quite edible. and goes in herds.

GUANACO. -- This is a kind of camel. from which it differs in size and because it does not have a hump. They are found in abundance at the top of the high hills of Pomé and other cold mountains: it thus seems that the hills and the cold must be congenial places and the only ones in which they can prosper. Nevertheless immense herds of this quadruped can be found in the pampas of the Gran Chaco. where the heat is oppressive and where there is nearly always a scarcity of water: it is easily domesticated and in this state is a real llama.

/34 cont./

#136 #825 GATO /cat/. -- There are domestic ones, which are called "Minta," and there are wild ones, which are of two kinds. One is called "Baracaya" and is very harmful to [224] chickens: at night it approaches dwellings in the country and even in towns, and it beheads any chickens it can; its meat is delicious and pleasant, and the Indians hunt it. The second species is called "Eira," or "Yaguarundi," depending on the locale; it is a species of small jaguar, slightly smaller than a fox; it has light spots on its pelt, and it runs and climbs trees very rapidly. It is not dangerous nor does it approach [224] houses in towns. The Chiriguano hunt it only for the pelt, which they sell at any price.

#136 #825 224 JABALI /wild boar/. -- Nothing suits the jabalí better than forests and the slopes of hills where it is difficult to penetrate. Therefore they multiply in the forests and form immense herds; the beast is /35/ ferocious. It is a rare occasion when one finds this type of quadruped, so similar to the [262] domestic pig, in a solitary state. The Indians call it "Taitetu," and they like its delicious and pleasant meat, but they almost never go out alone to hunt it, because it is a fearsome animal and charges impetuously, and only with the aid of dogs do they manage to kill some, and then the rest flee, but woe to the hunter who finds himself alone! The way to save oneself is to climb a tree which has a good trunk and better roots; otherwise in their rage and with so many of them they will tear it to pieces. If the hunter took the precaution of not abandoning his bow and arrows, he can easily kill all the jabalí he wants from that somewhat safe and sure place. When this animal chases the hunter, the dog will stop the chase and remain at some distance, because, without his master to defend him, he becomes cowardly at the sight of the immense tusks which sound like a hammer on an anvil.

#136 #825 LEÓN /lion/. -- This is not the majestic beast of Africa, nor could it here be the king of the beasts. It is the puma, and the Indians call it "Yaguapinta," or red jaguar, and in fact it is quite similar to the jaguar in its features, so much so that there is often a cross between the two animals, resulting in a neuter animal which is more ferocious and rapacious

/35 cont./

*136 *825 than either. I have seen the pelt of one of these crossbreed animals which did incalculable damage among the cattle and horses of San Pascual Mission. The lion here is of the size of a large red dog and will not attack unless pursued, and wounded; it does damage to the flocks, making depredations until they are all gone, and it climbs trees when it finds itself pursued. The Indians kill it with arrows, and a good dog can chase it away from the flock that it is guarding. The lion has short hair and a long tail, a large head, and large paws like those of the jaguar, but it does not have a mane like the African lion. Its meat is pleasant when put in brine for a few hours; the hide has no intrinsic value, for which reason they only hunt it as a harmful animal. The aforesaid hide, however, is [157] medicinal; when applied on aches of the spine or hips, it cures or alleviates them.

MOFETA /skunk/. -- This little animal is very pretty in appearance and abounds in certain spots; it gets into hen houses to eat the eggs and, if it can, the chicks as well. The Indian sees nothing whatever attractive about the animal; rather he runs from it, because, in order to defend itself, it throws an extremely malodorous liquid, for which reason all animals flee from it, including the jaguar, and even more logically so does man; it can be smelled at a great distance, and should that liquid touch the clothing of some hapless person, the stench lasts for several days. /36/ Such defense is only used when it sees itself pursued; otherwise it is neither large nor dangerous, and in Chiriguano it is called "Amiane," or stinking animal.

MONKEY. -- The common monkey is called "Machi" in Chiriguano. It is found throughout the region, but it abounds from the left bank of the Río Grande or Abapó River, where especially in the morning it makes a great deal of noise with its whistles or some similar noise. They go in great numbers and prefer to clamber about on the rocks, where there is an abundance of tilandsia, which in these pages occupies the third place, the pith of which they eat. They do much harm in the maize fields. When the Indians go to their field at the time of choclo, or green ears of maize, before returning to town they

/36 cont./

*136 pick eight or ten ears, remove almost all the husk, leaving a
*825 few leaves on each ear and tying them together like a saddle-bag, put them over the shoulder in such a way that they hang down the back and chest, and go on their way. Meanwhile the monkeys have observed it all, come down, perform the same operation, and go back up the trees, or to the rocks, happy and content, to eat the fruit of their accomplishments.

There are four classes of monkeys: black, white, yellow, and red. There is also an orangutan that the Indians call "Caraya," hence the place called Carayagua, cave of caraya or orangutan. Monkey meat is good, but the Chiriguano do not hunt it; they do kill them because they are harmful, and they catch the young alive for pets. The abilities of the monkey are already known.

OSO /bear/. -- There exists in this region the true bear, which the Indians call "Yaguapope" and the whites, jucumari. It has long hair which comes down from its head, covering its face so much that, in order to see well, it raises it with its hands. It is fearsome when irritated; it throws stones and strips branches from trees and uses them as a club; the jaguar can do nothing with this animal, and should it measure its strength and ability against it, it is unlikely that it would get
[224] out alive. It has excellent meat, and the Indians hunt it,
[262] but woe is he who dares to do so alone and whose arrow misses and wounds it slightly, since it will quickly charge and smother its enemy!

PECCARY. -- The peccary, called "Tayasu" by the Chiriguano, is similar to the wild boar /jabalí/; this animal is more fearsome than its fellow-creature and has the same instincts. Both quadrupeds feed off roots, mistol, chañar, algarroba, and such other fruits as there are in the forest; the hides of these animals are easily tanned, but the Indians scarcely even use them for their beds. The jaguar is the constant companion of the female peccary who have young, /37/ because when it can, it quite calmly and patiently catches one, but if it is not careful and the little animal grunts loudly enough to be heard, the mother and the males come to its defense, and if the jaguar values its life, prudence will advise it to climb a strong tree.

/37 cont./

000 to climb a strong tree. The young[1] are quickly domesticated
*136 and more than the domestic pig: they will not go away from
231 the person who was kind to them when they were little. One of these piglets was domesticated by the apprentice musicians of the Parapiti, was with them day and night without bothering them, and when they came out of the music hall to practice marches through the town, the peccary would go along in front of them, making a thousand faces and hopping about to the sound of the instruments.

*136 PORCUPINE. -- This small animal is not numerous, but
*825 it is found. It gets into chicken coops, which are generally located in trees. According to what I have heard, it is not harmful and merely likes the company of the hens at night, but the latter are afraid of it, as they are of any strange animal. Its skin is entirely covered with long, flexible quills, and when it sees itself pursued, it humps up and throws the said quills with so much force that they injure any part of the body. It
[224] is sometimes hunted because of the chickens, but not for eating. The Chiriguano call it "Cuñi." If a dog bites it, it gets its mouth full of quills which cause pain.

TAMANDUA /anteater/. -- This is an innocuous wild animal which is easily domesticated. It has a very long, narrow snout, which it introduces into ant hills, and it takes its delicious lunch with its tongue, to which an infinity of ants stick. In the domesticated state it even feeds on milk, but it is painful to watch it sip this liquid drop by drop with its exceedingly slender tongue. Apparently males are unknown in this species of animal, and it seems that all of them belong to the female sex. It is very probable, however, that all the individuals of this species are members of both sexes, despite the fact that only the female sex is apparent in them.

The anteater, or tamandua, is inoffensive and does not
[224] bother the fields; rather it destroys ants. The Indian hunts it
[262] in order to eat it, because for him almost all meat is good, since he says that he is poor and thus avails himself of anything, even poisoned animals and those that have died of hydrophobia.

[1] [i.e., of the peccary. —Analyst]

/37 cont./

*136 Tamandua meat is rather strong; it smells of ants, and they
*875 use its hide for their beds. This, that is, the leather, is
[237] medicinal when applied to the hips when they ache; it cures
[757] quite rapidly. It is called "Tami."

*136 TIGRE /jaguar/. -- Here we have the animal which is the king of the forests in the Chiriguano region /38/ and elsewhere. A fearsome animal because of its strength, speed, and cunning, fearsome because of its fangs and claws, fearsome, in fine, because it will resolutely attack every animal when it is hungry or is pursued and wounded. This king of the forest walks, runs, and leaps, climbs trees, scales cliffs, or crosses rivers, as circumstances dictate, for its own preservation. Wild and domestic animals, small and large, birds and reptiles, and the very fish flee and hide from the sight of this ferocious beast; man himself is often left the victim of its claws and fangs, and one experience is sufficient for it to continue attacking man. If the jaguar starts on calves, generally these are its daily diet; if it tries the meat of the ass, this will be its lunch, its supper, and its everything. Only with the bull, when it pits its strength against this powerful animal, does it always get the worst of it.

When the jaguar takes possession of a region and begins to fell cattle, horses, or burros, it is necessary to kill it or drive it away by pursuit, because it is so bold that it will fearlessly enter corrals near houses and kill the calves that it wants, being content with sucking their blood, but should it not have time for so much, it will pick up the first one and carry it off a short distance and calmly have its way. It seems that this animal knows the dominion it holds over the rest, including man himself. Should one meet it on any road, it does not flee, but calmly continues on its way, and then prudence dictates that the man stop, not be afraid, and speak loudly, and then the animal will go off into the woods; I have had this experience and others the same, but should one not behave in this way and is without weapons and good dogs, he exposes himself to being its victim.

The Indians call it "Yagua," and it is the jaguar of Spanish-speaking people; similar to the panther, it is not the

/38 cont./

*136 true tiger of Africa; nevertheless it seems that both are equal in ferocity, but not in size and beauty; I have also seen the [224] African one. In spite of this the hide of the tiger, or jaguar, is most highly regarded here; there are cattle owners who will [435] give the killer of a jaguar quite a valuable fat cow. The ordinary price is from 30 to 40 duros.

224 The Indians kill the jaguar with arrows and with the help of good dogs, called tigreros; the white Christians have different methods, with bullets, strychnine, and traps. To kill by gunshot, one seeks fresh tracks and shows it to the best dog, who immediately sets off /39/ in pursuit, and the other dogs and the hunters follow the tigrero. If the jaguar climbs some tree, the tigrero dog will not go on until he discovers it; then he will begin to howl like one who is asking for help; the rest of the dogs arrive, the hunters arrive, and, seeing the animal up in the tree, they kill it with one or two shots; if it does not die then, once it is on the ground they finish killing it between hunters and dogs.

But the matter does not always end so easily; there are jaguars which tire out men and dogs by climbing up and down trees, running and stopping to face and kill some careless dog with a blow of his claws, and hiding in thickets where it is dangerous to approach and difficult to shoot at it accurately, and finally by scaling cliffs which are inaccessible to other animals. Thus the day often ends without anything achieved and with the jaguar fiercer than ever; it will stay away from that area for a few days, however, both in order to rest and so that it may avoid another unpleasant and dangerous encounter.

The second method of killing jaguars is with strychnine; the effects of this most powerful poison are well known. To accomplish this end the whites try to find out first where the animal has fresh meat, and there they put poison in the piece that it likes best, taking care not to handle the prey and to erase their tracks. But it is to be noted that some jaguars kill, eat a little bit, and leave the rest; for that reason it is not always certain that the jaguar will be killed by the use of poison. In addition, inasmuch as it has a very strong sense of smell, it is unlikely that it will return to the poisoned meat

/39 cont./

if it senses any danger; fear makes it very circumspect when it has done damage.

There is a third method of killing a jaguar, with traps. When it takes possession of a place, one must select a spot and a narrow path where it must necessarily pass without being able to go off to the side. Generally a path leading to a slain animal is sought; then at one side of the path a rifle is tied with the barrel pointed at the path. Somewhat ahead of the rifle there is put across the path a taut bejuco which the jaguar will push against to open the way, and at the rifle end a string of bejuco is run to the trigger, or, better, to the hammer, to which it is tied; with the rifle covered with leaves, the jaguar will not pay any attention to the bejuco, because it is accustomed to passing under it. When the beast arrives, unsuspecting, it pushes against the bejuco or cord, which in turn makes the hammer fall, the weapon discharges, and the beast falls mortally wounded, because the bullet enters it at the scapula or /40/ axilla. The bejuco must be placed at the height of the beast's chest; only thus is it infallible; the dogs themselves fall into this trap.

224 Finally, although it is rare, the jaguar can be killed with a dagger. One who has the courage for this does it with all serenity. Once the place where the beast has begun to be harmful is known, he will go in search of it with a poncho, a strong dagger, and a tigrero dog. This last is only necessary to find the place and stop the animal; as soon as this happens, the hunter wraps the poncho around his left arm, tucks in his sleeves and trouser legs, and resolutely approaches with dagger in hand. The jaguar then attacks at once, but the hunter lets it pass to one side, letting the same thing occur on the second and third charges so that it will tire a * [85] little. When it charges for the fourth or fifth time, he meets him head on, sticking his protected arm into the animal's mouth, and with his right hand, armed with the dagger, stabs it to the heart; the only thing that one needs is calm, valor, and dexterity, and anyone who does not have these qualities should not expose himself to the danger of death, nor should he even hunt the jaguar in the company of others, since this

/40 cont./

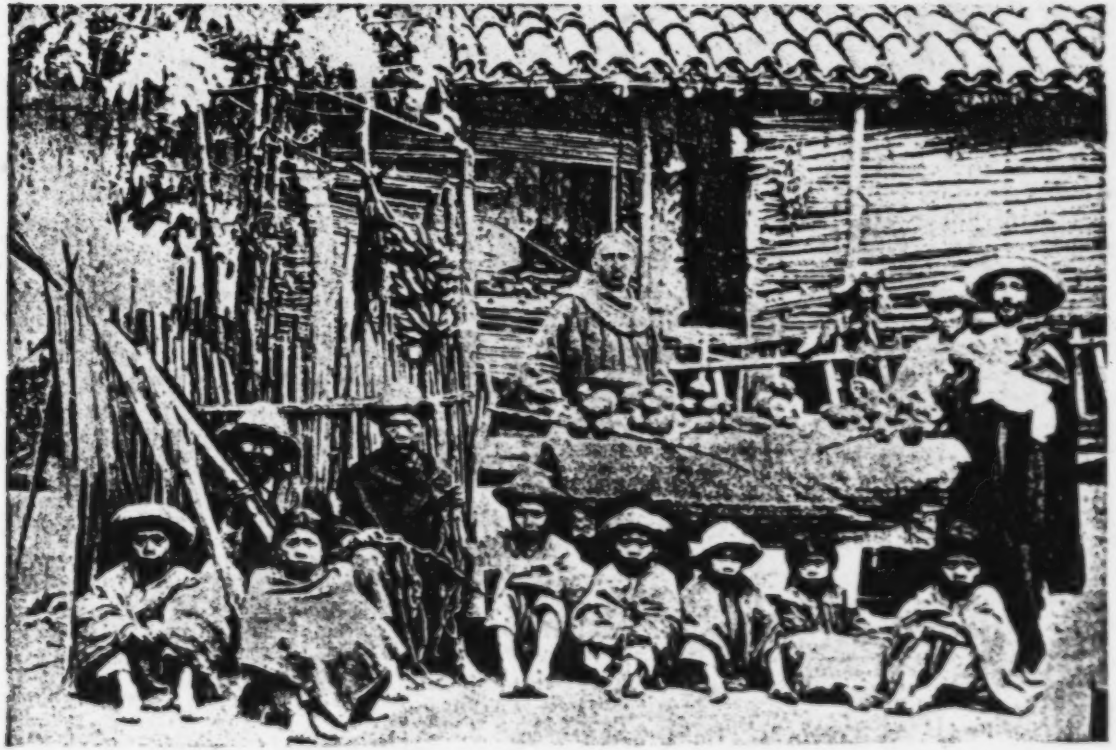
224 animal is capable of distinguishing between the brave and
*[825] the cowardly, and the latter is the first to be attacked and consequently to be badly injured.

*825 Jaguar skin, as I have already said, has intrinsic value;
[554] it is used in saddleries for the bottom padding of saddles and
[281] for saddlebags; it is a luxury for persons of rank. The ani-
[757] mal has a quantity of fat, and this is a good remedy for
[439] rheumatism, aching bones, and other ailments; the Indians take it and sell it in the interior of the Republic and trade it for used clothing. It is to be noted, however, that they do falsify it, as they also falsify snake grease, because it can be understood that the killing of this ferocious animal is not a
[466] frequent thing. Rarely does the Chiriguano hunt the jaguar, and he is not always inclined to help the white man, but the latter forces his peons to do so, and they gather the fat and
[262] sell or present it to their friends or relatives. Jaguar meat is good food, although, to be sure, it smells wild, as does the skin, but this meat, if placed in salt water or brine overnight, loses its bad smell; they assert that this meat is like that of a cow.

*136 The male jaguar is quite large. I measured one, and it was two meters long from the tail, one meter high, and it weighed seven arrobas. The female is smaller; I measured one that had just been killed; from the tail it measured one meter and ten centimeters, was 75 centimeters high, and weighed four and a half arrobas. The female gives birth
[231] every three years, and the newborn cubs are always a pair, one male and one female; the mother is most dangerous when she has young /illustration appears here/ /41/ and defends them at any cost, but hunters first kill the mother and then try to catch the cubs alive; they almost always succeed and take them home to domesticate them, but this is an impossible job because they are jaguars forever; I have seen two of these cubs well chained but very bad. In general, cubs when taken away from their mother die in a few days either through lack of adequate food, which is milk, or also out of desperation upon finding themselves in the midst of beings foreign to their nature.

4: Nino--63 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

790
142
291



Agricultural Industry of the Missions

/41 cont./

*136 ZORRO /fox/. -- This quadruped is not scarce here among the Chiriguano; it thus seems that it adapts to every climate. It is so intrepid that at night it will go about the towns without betraying its presence to the dogs, but if they do smell it, they pursue it immediately and even kill it, although they may suffer for it, because the dog of the Chiriguano Indian and the fox are equally skinny, but among several of them they achieve their purpose and kill it.

This dauntless beast leaves nothing; it makes its meal off whatever it encounters; it causes considerable damage in the cane fields from the time when the plants begin to become sweet and even pulls up recently planted shoots from their furrows or holes. It slashes watermelons and melons without allowing them to ripen, and as a result of this the farmer often does not taste these gifts. It also does damage in maize fields, but this is an abundant crop and the harm is not felt so much; when it can obtain chickens, it does not fail to provide itself with a good lunch or supper, and to this end it approaches towns and houses in the country by day as well.

There are several classes and sizes of them, but they are smaller, like every animal, than those of the other hemisphere. It is difficult to chase them out of the cane fields, the damage to which will only be reduced by reducing the number of foxes, and this can only be achieved by the use of strychnine or some other poison, which, mixed with small bits of meat, is placed on the various trails that they have opened, causing damage to the sugar-cane plants.

*136 *825 176 178 [161] We shall see in the course of these pages that the Chiriguano used to venerate it as a divinity with the name of "Aguara-Tunpa," or Fox-God, to whom they attributed more power because he was capable of destroying the works of the true tunpa. Today, when the region has been invaded and populated by so many whites and foreigners and the Chiriguano have been reduced to a handful scattered here and there, those who believe in such humbug are few.

/41 cont./

*136 The Chiriguano hunts and kills the fox as a mischievous
*825 and harmful animal, but he does not eat its meat because
[224] it is very strong and lean; /42/ he does eat it occasionally,
[262] when he finds it to be fat, airing it so that it may lose its bad
odor; it is a common food of the Toba Indians. The children
[857] entertain themselves with this poor animal, catching it alive
and making it fight with the dogs, who kill it slowly.

*136 I here bring to an end this brief resumé of the principal
quadrupeds by size, ferocity, and special characteristics.
I have omitted the description of many because they are found
in other regions, and others because they do not offer anything
unusual for consideration. Rats are plentiful and in some years
invade the towns. There is no lack of female foxes /raposas/,
[231] which are easily domesticated; the ferret is rarely seen and is
very nervous and harmless, but it has the peculiarity of hunting
all the insects in a house.

Reptiles, Amphibians, Fish, and Insects

It is not necesary for me to dwell particularly and extensively on the types of living things indicated at the beginning of this section, because they are found in every region of the world; I shall describe the singular peculiarities of the known ones and the nature of some which are peculiar to this place and to South America.

Almost all the snakes here are poisonous because the place
*[825] is very hot, but the most poisonous is the rattlesnake; it
[231] operates rapidly with its fang, and only with immediate
cauterization can the patient free himself of its death-dealing
effects, while the boa, which is thick and long, is harmless,
so much so that some domesticate it and put it into their
cane fields so that it will scare off every harmful beast, even
the fox which, as we have seen, is the animal which does the
most damage to the sugar cane.

/42 cont./

*136 We can count among the amphibians the "Boicururu," or snake toad, which is nothing but the water tarantula, but it is very poisonous here; it is found near lakes in the swamps. Frogs are found in small numbers in the center of the region; [262] they abound where there is water on the banks of rivers; only the Toba and other barbarians eat them; the Chiriguano do not. There is an infinity of "Cururu" toads in terms of size, color, and song, one being distinguished among all of them, the one that the whites call "Rococo" and that is heard continually and loudly at a distance of one kilometer at night in rainy weather and where there is water.

*136 *825 [757] [164] The toad is medicinal; one or two large ones are gently caught alive and, one after the other, applied /43/ to parts of the body affected by erysipelas, which is cured very efficaceously, with the animal being left dead, doubtless because with its cold belly it absorbs all the heat which the sick person has in the said painful parts; more than once I have seen erysipelas cured in this way. In rainy weather there are so many of them that it is impossible to sleep near the place where they gather to sing their discordant tattoo; at the end of a heavy shower is when the noise of the toads is most unbearable.

*136 Fish abound in the large rivers, where there are shad, bagre, and dorado; the latter reach a length of two meters, as I have seen, and are very palatable and drip blood like cow's meat. Then in the same rivers, streams, and permanent lakes, there is an infinity of small "pira" fish, which are good to the taste, and finally there is no lack of eels, "Chorinchi," 43 or the useful leeches, "Evoipe." Indians who live on the banks of rivers of great volume trade in fish; to be sure, they plant fields, but generally they do not harvest because of the lack of rain, but obtain maize in exchange for fish; dried shad tastes like cod and is worth 10 and 20 centavos.

*136 Insects are innumerable, but not as abundant and varied in their form, size, and color as they are in the region of the Beni, the Mojo, and others; they are a hundred times more numerous than all the quadrupeds and birds together; there are bothersome ones, like mosquitoes and zancudos /long-beaked mosquito/, and there are poisonous ones, which, however, rarely cause death.

/43 cont./

*136 There are wasps, and they are of several classes, but the yellow or red ones are the most vicious; there are bees in the trees, in the roofs, in the walls, and in the ground, and all of them make hives in order to make honey and wax, but the best honey is that of the bees called señoritas. Both things, that is, honey and wax, are known as beneficial by the Indians, but they devote themselves to this very little, because they consider it the work of lowly and poor people, and the Chiriguano does not like to consider himself such. Wax is seldom gathered, even in times of scarcity, nor does the neophyte or new Christian work at earning his living by looking for beeswax.

222 237 [461] 237 464

A spider bite almost always produces bad consequences, which can be avoided by the use of ammonia; this is another plentiful insect. In the rainy season they extend their webs from one tree to another, obstructing the road, no matter how wide it may be, and frequently travelers who are out at night or who get up early are bothered by these webs, which stick to their faces and clothing, /44/ just as the spiders themselves, which are so loathsome, not infrequently catch hold. The bite of those that live in the forest, they state, is not poisonous.

*136 *825 [959]

All spiders are called "Yanduti" in Chiriguano, and the web, "Yanduti nupa," or spider's bed; from the web of the forest spiders the children make nets for catching birds or for their games. When wet they are quite elastic. The true tarantula, which the whites call apasanca and the Indians "Yanduti huasu," is quite ugly because of its fuzz, eight legs, and two arms. The natives state that it is poisonous, but its bite is not fatal. They almost never come out by twos, but upon killing one and wanting to know if it has a companion, it is enough to burn the dead one in order to cause the live one to come out the moment it smells the odor. The apasancas, or tarantulas, come out when it is about to rain and do not make a good impression. The natural enemy of spiders, including the tarantula, is another flying insect the size of an acorn, which the people of Santa Cruz call

[859]

/44 cont./

*136 "Cavadifunto" and which others assert to be the ninanina; it is
*825 certain that this small creature, which gets into dwellings, does not go after man, but if it is disturbed and cannot get away, it bites.

The sight of alacranes /a kind of scorpion/, scorpions, and centipedes, which are called "Apeusa" in Chiriguano, causes horror; they are not abundant, but they are found in every
[114] section. Their bite does not seem to be fatal, but one which stung me in the armpit through my woolen underwear did not let me sleep for a whole night, in spite of the ammonia which I took and put on the barely perceptible wound.

*136 Vinchucas /a nocturnal bug like the bedbug/, cockroaches, and a moth which eats paper are loathsome, especially the first two, which are numerous in inhabited places, stink, and dirty all the clothes and the whitewashed walls of buildings. The way to kill them is to destroy the proboscis or long beak, and then they cannot live. They are quite cunning. In the dark they will first approach a person who is in bed, give him a prick, and then retire to see if he moves or is awake. If the person gives no sign of life, they approach and suck the blood until they are sated. Nevertheless, the small ones are the most bothersome and can cause fever or sickness. They multiply naturally, depositing their eggs anywhere, and the young hatch by themselves. At first the eggs are white, and when the young are about to come out, they become red. Cockroaches abound in certain living quarters where they find food. They even eat the eyebrows and eyelashes of people who are asleep; they lay their eggs in the walls. If these are whitewashed, they pull off the whiting and cover their little nests with it. /45/ out of which can come up to 50 little ones, which soon start to run. The moth only bothers books and papers and is a nuisance for people who have these. Its color is silvery, and I do not know the principle of its multiplication. The vinchucas are black, the cockroaches the color of coffee, and
*[825] none of the three is poisonous. In Chiriguano the vinchuca is called "Timbucu," or "long nose."

/45 cont./

#136 #825 245 Ants are a constant plague for the fields of maize which they destroy completely when they germinate: they are also a plague for gardens and grapevines, which in certain years wasps and black butterflies also greatly damage: they damage the grape when it is ripening. The latter can only be killed and destroyed by placing honey in bowls, where they die during the night by the thousands. The former are destroyed only by burning, thus destroying the bunches of grapes in which they have lodged. In Chiriguano ants are called "Tasi," and the black butterfly is called "Covocovo."

#136 #825 Locusts and worms do not constitute a constant plague. The former come in certain years, and the latter appear when, in November, there are many white butterflies which place their eggs in the grass. Worms generally travel by night, in the early morning, and in the afternoon, and flying locust from ten o'clock until four or five in the afternoon: wherever its larva goes, the fields are left as though they had been swept. The larva does not retreat, nor does it deviate from its course: it goes eastward and toward the hills, crossing pampas and climbing mountains. If one stops them on their way, they are able to remain for a month in the same spot. Their number can only be reduced by killing them in the ditches: nevertheless, when the maize plants are about 60 centimeters high, the larvae pass under them without doing great damage, and in this case it is best to let them pass and hurry them slightly. With daily struggle one can manage to defend a field against the larvae, even though they may be countless but to defend it against the worm is impossible.

#136 #(825) The locust is white and red: the latter is called "Tucupiona," the former "Tucuxi," in Chiriguano. The white one appears *at the end of October or at the beginning of November*, and its passage through a region is not rapid: it will remain for days and weeks flying from south to north and vice versa, until it has deposited its eggs, which are put in the ground by the female, assisted by the male. They consist of a little cylinder about three centimeters long which contains up to a hundred eggs. Once the tube is put in the ground, the hole is closed with a yellow humor which comes out of the

/45 cont./

*136 month, and then it goes to another place to repeat the operation. The eggs remain in the ground one month /46/ so that the larvae may hatch: these take three months to reach the state when they can fly. Red locusts have no fixed direction, but fly and stop in the hills and rarely come down to the pampas. Only if the pampas are very extensive will they spend the night there, but always in trees or thickets. Then [164] the Chiriguano gets up very early and puts in provisions for many days, and dysentery immediately appears in the town, carrying many to the grave.

Nigues are abundant where there are pigs and dogs, which they bother constantly. The nigua is a small flea in form and color, but not in its effects. It gets into the skin, causing a slight smarting. It is easy to get it out if its presence is soon noticed, but if it manages to establish its dwelling there and to make a nest, which consists of a small ball of skin, it is difficult to get it out. The nigua causes swelling and discomfort and makes walking impossible when it establishes its domain in one's feet. So that this may not happen, one first raises the skin around the ball with a needle, trying to get it out whole: ashes, especially cigar ashes, are deposited in the cavity which remains, and all danger of becoming immobilized for several days then disappears.

The guasaco is similar to the inuse, but larger, and there are some of every size. In Chiriguano they are called *125 "Guasaco." These insects are also slightly buried in the ground, and they can easily bite one who goes barefoot or in sandals. They are abundant from Yvu to far beyond Santa [164] Cruz de la Sierra. Their bite is not poisonous, but some of them do cause pimples or swellings all over the body, and in others the swelling is in the most immediately affected parts. The first of these effects was caused in a companion of mine, and he was later cured with five drops of ammonia in water: I had the second effect. It was during a trip, and since I had no ammonia, I cured myself of the swelling, which bothered me all day, with tender plantain leaves and melted grease, which an old woman in Guarini put on me. I spent the night there and woke up with no symptoms and no pain. The Indians chew tobacco and cure themselves easily.

/46 cont./

*136 In the rainy season there is an abundance of glowworms,
*825 "Chocopi," beetles, "Ene," and cicadas, "Naquina." The first are very luminous and eat both large and small algarrobas. With two or three glowworms under a glass, one can read perfectly, and children light their way with them at night. The second-named announce the change of season, because at that time many of them come out around the light or fire, and the third-named, with their strong and vigorous whistle, sound like the signal for the arrival or departure of a train, or like a whistle /47/ when the workers are to begin or end their work. There are five kinds of these: "Ndi, Raquina guasu, nancanance, gote, chipitiriru."

*136 Flies, which are not seen in other places, at least in abundance, are here in excess when it is the hot and rainy season. They become very bothersome at the change of the season, invading the kitchen, pantry, and meat markets. Even the cantharis is found, from the powder of which are manufactured the so-called "flies of Milan." Horseflies, "mbutu," are annoying and abundant in the months of February and March, and there is another class of large flies which molest all injured livestock; it deposits its eggs in the wounds, and they turn into loathsome worms, which make the poor animals walk, run, and drag themselves across the ground, and hide themselves as though they were mad. They even deposit the same eggs in the wounds of careless or sleeping men. I have seen and treated several in the nostrils, ears, and even in the throat. If they are not treated in time, death can result, as frequently occurs to the young of livestock.

The moth which damages woolen clothing is found here in abundance, and such clothing should not be left neglected for a long time. Wool is free of this moth only when closed up in cotton covers, and the little animal is chased out of chests and trunks by means of smoking tobacco. Maize and other cereals are molested by another moth called gorgojo, which does not leave maize good for another year, but if it is kept in new storage places with maize husks, is not stirred up and is kept in places with some ventilation, it is not damaged for two years and even longer.

/47 cont./

#136 Crickets abound in the fields and dwellings: they do little damage in the former and a great deal in the latter. Not even silk escapes their tiny mouths, but rather this seems to be the type of clothing or adornment which they most prefer. Sometimes they get into the chests of drawers in the sacristies and do irreparable damage, ruining the best sacred vestments.

4 [125] Another insect, which apparently has three names during its life cycle, to wit, polvorín /powder/ at first, colorada /red/ later, and garrapata /tick/ when big, is present in great numbers in the fields, meadows, and woods. It is dangerous in all three stages: it produces a smarting sensation, and if the affected person scratches himself, there then appear lesions which are only cured with difficulty and over a long period of time. Once I had them for three months, in spite of the medicine which I applied to them three times a day. The garrapata is easy to remove at first by pulling it off and trying to see to it that the head does not remain in the skin, but if it is well attached /48/ the affected part is anointed with grease or oil where the tick is attached, and it will come loose of its own accord; otherwise the pain and the trouble last for several months.

There are lizards of every size and color; the smallest ones are inoffensive, although they cause some fear, but they are the most useful because, like toads, they hunt insects in dwellings. In the woods there is a kind of lizard one meter long. It runs very fast; when it sees that it is being hunted and is cornered, it defends itself by biting, but it is not poisonous. [149] It lives in certain places and is hunted by the Indians, who eat it and assert that its flesh is tasty. In the large rivers there is the cayman, a species of crocodile, which is also found in the lakes with permanent water, but rarely. This is a very fearsome and dangerous amphibian, which is difficult to kill because it has very tough scales, but above all because the one shooting is almost at the same level as the animal; the bullet is fired horizontally, and it is natural that it should bounce away. Does this not perhaps also occur when children throw stones across the water? The cayman lives for months on end submerged in the water, and even submerged in the

/48 cont./

¶136 mud when the lakes dry up. In the water it is not so fearsome as it is near the shores, where it can easily kill any careless animal or person. The female cayman lays rather large and oblong eggs and covers them with dry leaves near the shores of rivers and lakes, but does not sent upon them, caring for them from the water and defending them from aggressors. The young come out of the shell with the heat of the sun, and then the mother leads them to the water, caring for them for a more or less long period. The cayman eats any living and dead thing, but the dead ones make up its ordinary food. It attacks living things when it can, but always from the front; from all that they say about this repugnant amphibian, there seems to be a great deal of exaggeration. Consequently, the little that I have written about it must suffice. It is called

¶(125) "Tacaxe" in Chirigusno.

Finally, in certain places there is an overabundance of a type of insect very similar to ants. They are white with red

¶(125) heads. Some call them white ants and others land lice, and the Chirigusno, "Cupii." It is evident, nonetheless, that they do not have the instincts of the ant. This insect, which is loathsome even to see, is harmful to buildings and to somewhat soft cedar wood and even to hollow canes; they eat the pith of these two materials, leaving barely a thin outer shell without the slightest damage on the outside. It thus can happen that an owner believes that the roof of his house is in excellent condition, and, when he least expects it, it can fall on him, with the danger of his finding his grave in his own /49/ house or room. The confessionals of some of the churches in our reductions have been left completely destroyed. Where this class of insects exists, there is also a number of toads, and behind them come vipers and snakes, looking for a delicious lunch, even though they may be in a confessional, as happened to me in a certain place.

At times this insect takes over the walls of a building or church, forming there its little cylinders similar to tree branches, which are made of earth taken out of these walls. Others take over the foundations and continually extract earth.

/49 cont./

#13 The best remedy in both cases, in order not to damage either one or the other very much, is to leave them in peace and not take away from them the earth that they build with or extract; otherwise, the more one takes away from them the more they extract, often leaving the foundations and walls completely hollow. They say that foundations can be freed of this easily by burning gunpowder there or setting fire to petroleum. From year to year, or perhaps more often, these lice grow wings and fly away, not to return, but the larvae remain in the place.

To close this section I shall say something about three other types of insects, so that my readers may see that there is nothing lacking in the Chiriguano region. I am going to name them, with the leave of any delicate girl or genteel lad who by chance may read these lines. They are the flea, the louse, and the bedbug. The first are only abundant in the cold season, from May to August, when the south wind is strongest; the second are peculiar to dirty people, who kill them by prettily eating them for fun; the last nest in the beds, and the best way of getting rid of them for a long time is to place the infested bed for one or two days in the water of a stream where the current is strong or in a lake.

Birds

#13 If in the region which I am describing, tame and wild quadrupeds are abundant in town and forest, if there are innumerable insects which annoy man day and night, causing swellings, tumors, and even worse injuries, such as the occasional loss of an eye, if there is no lack of poisonous animals, such as the cattlesnake, if there are delicious and enormous duraznos which are gifts to its consumers' stomachs, there is also an infinity of birds of every size, shape, and degree of beauty, which cross through the air, making the cool mornings joyful with their harmonious songs, fluttering above the buildings and resting happily thereon; they play about in the /50/ air, purifying it and providing the Chiriguano, as well as one who is not, exquisite food with their flesh, despite the fact that some of

/50 cont./

#136 [262] them. if they do not destroy the entire field, do make the work of the harvest somewhat lighter. I shall deal briefly with some of them.

#136 #825 AGUILA /eagle/. -- The one that is known in this region is not the true or the real eagle: it is similar to it in form, but not in size. There are two types, one black and red and the other ash-gray. It always lives in the country, does not approach towns or country houses, and lives on dead vipers, locusts, crickets, little birds, lizards, and insects; it is not harmful to man or to his belongings, nor does he hunt it, with the result that it lives as it pleases. It is called "Gilirapinta" in Chiriguano.

AVESTRUZ /ostrich/. -- The region of the ostriches, which the Chiriguano call "Yandu," begins from Yvu. I have seen them here in the wild state, in Santa Rosa and Igllembee in the domesticated state. Nevertheless, if their region begins in Yvu, where they are abundant, it is in the Gran Chaco, there in the pampas of Carandaiti, where I have seen them as big as a lamb with a ribbon of black around the neck and chest. I have seen them in flocks of 10, 15, and 20, and some of them so tame and so near the road that it was very easy to kill them with a single shot from a shotgun, which, of course, attracted my attention, since on other occasions I have seen them alone, and they ran away like the wind when they heard only a human voice. When I asked for the explanation of this different attitude when they are alone and when they are together, my Chiriguano and other companions of his told me that they only gather together in the months of July and August for the propagation of the species, the same as they gather in fewer numbers in October or November, which indicates that they lay their eggs during two periods not very far apart.

The female ostrich is smaller than the male, her feathers are less colorful, and she does not have a collar like his either. She lays some 20 or 25 eggs in the month of September, which are the equivalent of 240 of those of a hen in weight and substance. Other eggs, in lesser number, are laid in the month of December, but not always, nor by all the females, but only the youngest. I measured and weighed one of these eggs; it

/50 cont./

*136 was 15 centimeters long and 28 and five millimeters in
*825 circumference; its weight was one libra and a half, equivalent to 12 chicken eggs that I also weighed. With one of these eggs a family of four or five Chiriguano can eat well.
[262] They get these eggs both in times of scarcity and other times as well.

*136 The nests are found in September and December, and the male /illustration appears here/ /51/ is the one who sits on them, especially when two females deposit their 40 or 50 eggs in the same nest. While the male is getting thin on the nest giving necessary warmth to the eggs, they go off looking for another male to frolic again as they please in some
*[825] distant pampa. My Indian and all of those whom I asked about this matter state that it is the custom of all ostriches not to hatch one to three eggs that they lay; the female at the time when she lays them scratches about, prepares the place where the nest is to be, breaks up the earth with her beak, and covers the two or three reserve eggs with it. When the young begin to come out of the shell, the male breaks the spare eggs, and this attracts flies and other insects on which the newborn feed. How admirable is the Providence of God which has endowed every living being with a special instinct in order to fight for his own preservation!

The ostrich feeds on everything it finds, especially insects, field crops, and grasses; it cleans and refreshes its body with sand or earth which it picks up with its broad beak, runs very rapidly with the assistance of its wings, but never flies, because its wings are small and delicate and its body heavy. To catch or hunt it, dexterity is needed more than valor, because in its mad dashing it always swerves and dodges, especially when danger is near. If its flight were in a straight line and did not have the sudden and quick dodges, a good horse and a pretty good dog would soon catch up with it. This semiflying animal would be the king of birds if it flew. In the domestic state it can be harmful to careless people; it swallows everything it finds, even keys and money, and in a field of beans it will finish them off without letting them ripen. It will destroy everything in a garden. When captured alive in a wild state, it will attack and defend itself with painful pecks.

237
293

Picture of the Yandugua or Parasol

/51 cont./

*136 *825 [262] [237] [293] [157]

Its meat is excellent, and I have eaten it on numerous occasions. The Indians go to hunt the ostrich to prepare for their bacchanalias; they trade their feathers or keep them, and with five of them make the "Yandugua," a kind of parasol of which I shall speak in its place. The fat is a most efficaceous remedy for the side, rheumatism, and ailments of the hips in men and animals, for coldness of the members, and for removing thorns by anointing with it the part opposite the place where the thorn has penetrated.

BANDURRIA. -- This is a bird which the Indians call "Toté" because this is the sound of its song. It has a long beak, long red legs, red and ash-colored feathers, /52/ and a long neck. It feeds on little worms and insects and is generally found in open fields and banks of rivers and lakes. The meat is like that of guinea fowl, but very tough, although if the outer skin is taken off before boiling or roasting it, it can be cooked easily.

The bandurria resembles the crane somewhat, but it is stationary, abounds everywhere, and is not solitary, but neither do they gather together much. A flock is composed at the most of some 12 or 15, and frequently one finds a single pair. If one of these is caught, its companion will fly away immediately, but will come back two or three times to find out what has happened. In this way it is easy for the hunter to kill both. The bandurria has a highly developed instinct, and when the hunter approaches, it quickly flies. When there are many, they fly like cranes, with one out in front to break the air. They do not fly very high and generally sleep in a hole in the rocks, where it is easy to hunt them after sunset.

BUHO /owl/. -- This is a large nocturnal bird like a condor and whitish in color; there are two kinds, the second is smaller and black, ash-gray with a white collar; the Chiriguano call the first one "Yancuruntu," because when it sings it seems to articulate this word. The female of the Yancuruntu answers "Yaparapiti," which in Spanish means "matemos" /let us kill/, from which the whites are inclined to jump to conclusions and start rumors that the Chiriguano are thinking about an

/52 cont./

*136 uprising, should this pair of owls start to sing on occasion in
*825 a town or near the house of some whites. The second is called "Surumucucu," because its cry sounds like this. Neither of the two is harmful. They are plentiful where there are trees; the first eats bats, toads, and mice, for which reason it is not attractive to the Chiriguano, but it is a very
[223] pretty bird, and its feathers are like the finest velvet. The
[262] second is good food for the Indians, who hunt it on bright moonlit nights.

CARDINAL. -- A little bird the size of a swallow, with a red crest, ash-gray feathers, and a white breast. The region of the cardinals begins in Parapiti Grande; occasionally a pair of them appear in some part of Yvu, and there are also some in the countryside of Carandaiti. I have seen them in both places, as I have also seen flocks of 15 to 20 in Parapiti. It has no peculiarity other than its crest and its song at certain
[439] times of the day. The Chiriguano Indians of Parapiti and some Tapii of Inoso try to catch this little bird alive and take it to the interior of the Republic, to Sucre or Potosí, to sell or trade it /53/ for used clothing; in this sense it is a small, lucrative business.

*136 CARPINTERO or PICAMADEROS /woodpecker/. -- This
*[825] is a black bird with a fiery red crest, and it is called "Arapatuare" in Chiriguano. When it flies away in fright, it makes a loud noise with its wings, is fast, and flies in a straight line. It is the continual desire of this little creature the size of a rondón to clamber tirelessly about dry and hollow trees, beating on them with its hard beak in order to make come out and to eat the insects that they contain. Sometimes the traveler, upon hearing these noises in the woods, believes that someone is cutting firewood and doing carpentry, or is inclined to believe, from the prolonged rattling of a hollow, dry tree being struck by the woodpecker, that it is about to fall, if he does not know that it is being pecked by this little bird. Both of these things have happened to me on occasion.
[223] The Chiriguano does not waste time hunting the woodpecker, because it is a semisolitary bird, and scarcely three or four
[859] are found together in one place. Only the children hunt them for fun and in order to learn to be accurate in the handling of bow and arrow.

/53 cont./

*136 CONDOR. -- The condor is the king of the birds here and is called "Guapi" by the Indians. It lives in the highest places in the high hills and comes down to the pampas when it sees or smells the carcass of some decaying animal. It wheels continually through the air at a high altitude, forming great circles in its continual flight, doing this doubtless in order to discover its food by sight or smell, since with this method of flying it not only has the four winds in its face, but also other breezes which may carry the odor of carcasses. It is a proven fact, whatever may be said, that as soon as the putrefaction of a dead animal begins, condors and crows will quickly gather there.

Only where there is carrion will a large number gather, and only then also can the traveler contemplate at a short distance their size, the blackness of their wings and feathers, the whiteness of their breast, and their beautiful collar. There on the height of Ipaguazu hill, on the way to Igüembe, I had the satisfaction of watching for a few minutes some 20 or 30 of these kings of the air, which were the size of calves. How beautiful and how immense! The entire body is white, with the exception of the wings; when the first feathers, which are somewhat rough, are pulled out, there is an extremely fine and soft plumage under them. The skin can be removed whole with this plumage on it, and with ten or less one can make a regular blanket of an extraordinary whiteness and perhaps of a value which could be compared to that of the fur of the chinchilla.

/54/ By what has been said it can be understood that the condor is one of the largest of the birds that exist here; its presence is advantageous for the purification of the air, considering that its food is the carcasses of cattle and other animals, in addition to the fact that its skin is useful, as is the fat, which is an excellent medicine for rheumatism and arthritis. Nevertheless, there are favorite places where they gather in numbers and are a real plague for the livestock; they blind newborn calves separated from the mother which is grazing at a distance, and then they disembowel them. If the calves

/54 cont./

*136 are somewhat grown, the condors have another procedure when the former are far from their mothers; two or three condors together push them toward some precipice, beating them with their wings, and, as they cannot escape, they run from side to side at the edge of the precipice and easily slip and fall into it, where, if they are not killed, they are left unable to run, either because they may have injured their legs or because the place they fell into is too narrow. The birds that did this then come down, as do others that see it, and they strike the animal repeatedly with their cruel wings and beaks and make an excellent lunch or supper of it, returning the next day to finish and to look for other careless calves.

[223] Nobody hunts condors, because they have no charm for either the Indians or the whites; the latter, of course, must defend their cattle when the condor is harmful, the same as is done with the jaguar. It is difficult to kill the latter because of its boldness and ferocity, and it is just as difficult to kill the former, because it will take flight at once, since it knows instinctively when it has done some notable harm. Nevertheless, as the number of cattle is great everywhere, the damage that these two creatures do is not great since it is not done to a single owner.

*136 CHUÑA /South American crane/. -- Some say that this
*825 semiflying bird is the "snake hunter," that is, the bird which
[262] hunts and feeds on vipers and snakes, but it seems that they are not correct, since the Chiriguano who constantly hunt it to eat its meat insist that its food is not snakes, but other small animals, such as beetles, locusts, crickets, and other insects, from which it can be deduced that the others are in error. The Indians from the right bank of the Parapití southward call this bird "Sariama," and from the left northward the Indians and whites call it "Socorí," as it is called in Guarayos.

*136 The chuña has long red legs, ash-gray feathers, and a crest; it runs across the pampas and low hills a great deal and also flies sometimes, especially when it is pursued. It sings in the morning /55/ and in the evening. They are in every section, but not abundantly; they generally go in the company

/55 cont./

*136 of a mate, and at the most there are three of them. Both sing at the same time. The female begins, and then the male continues, the song thus being prolonged for some four or five minutes. It is a very strange song or cry. They say *[825] that these birds announce the approach of wind or rain, and, if it is cloudy, they foretell the approach of clear or cloud- [223] less weather. Hunters who do not have the help of good dogs can only capture this bird with difficulty, because it runs and flies when hard pressed.

GARZA /heron/. -- This is a rather large, but light bird. It has a thick and somewhat long beak, flies little, and its locale is the lakes, ponds, and banks of rivers, where it finds its food. There are two kinds, one completely white, very *[825] white, for which reason the Chiriguano call it "Guiranti," or white bird, and the other is ash-gray and stays in the same places. [223] The Chiriguano do not hunt them, because they have very little meat.

GALLINAZO /buzzard/. -- This is a black bird,and repugnant to the sight, especially because of its bald head and neck; it feeds on the carcasses of dead animals, even a human body, nor does it refuse the chance to rip out the entrails and kill calves, lambs, and newborn suckling pigs, which it finds asleep and at a distance from their mothers. In the first instance it constitutes an excellent purifier of the air by making all the miasmas which come from the carrion disappear, because when there is any they finish it off in a few hours, for when it is abundant many of them gather. The buzzards discover dead animals and cattle killed by the jaguar; there are usually some turkey buzzards over the cattle and sheep corrals, where, despite the cleaning that they do, they sooner or later cause some damage.

[223] The Indian rarely hunts the buzzard, because its meat is [262] tough and strong-smelling. He does, however, kill it oc- *825 casionally as a remedy. The warm blood of this animal is 757 of some use in curing his double chin /papada/, or that of his daughter, who may be ashamed of such a protuberance. For this purpose the blood is placed on a strip of linen and tied around the throat. They state that it does have some effect, but this must have to do with incipient double-chins of a few ounces.

/55cont./

*825 757 and not those veterans of several arrobas like gourds in the form of saddlebags, which are seen in abundance around Pozuelos, Piray, San Juan, and Pomabamba.

*136 *825 There is another large bird with the same instincts as the buzzard, called carcancho by the whites and "Caracara" by the Indians. It does not, however, kill calves; it does hunt and kill little lambs, suckling pigs, and chickens, disregarding with boldness and dissimulation the brood hen. /56/ This shameless, fearless bird is abundant everywhere and is capable of getting into kitchens and sticking its beak into the ollas; but its favorite spot is the corral, where it scratches about, looks for things, and eats, and like the most natural thing in the world it will pull out the entrails of a sleeping lamb or at the least blind it in one eye. The rascal gets into the nests of smaller birds and steals eggs or kills the young to eat them. All in all, it is a sad and ugly neighbor, with the result that all are its enemies, and some birds chase it out of their nests. Such is the practice of the bird that the Chiriguano call "Guirapipasa"; another called "Suiriri" gets on the shoulders of the carcancho and pecks it until it runs long distances.

[757] The Indians assert that carcancho fat is an efficacious remedy for the vision, and that they used it before modern medicines, which turned out to be more efficaceous and [262] active, were introduced. They eat its meat if it is fat. The [237] feathers of the carcancho and the buzzard are very strong, and [411] they put them on the ends of their arrows, so that they will not turn aside when they are shot and consequently will hit the mark better.

*136 [132] GOLONDRINA /swallow/. -- The heat is altogether too much at certain times of the year, with the thermometer in the shade up to 32° and in the sun up to 60°, but let it not be believed that this state of heat is the normal thing. There are months of the year, and in these months there are weeks and days, in which it is difficult to endure the cold, which is most intense in June and parts or all of July. As a result of this, the swallow, even here, is a pilgrim, emigrating at the end of April and returning at the beginning of October. There are some entirely black, and there are some with white breasts. The

/56 cont./

*136 latter nest in flat country or in the hollows of cliffs, and the former under the roofs of houses. Both are numerous, as are the rondones, which only come out when it stops raining.

GAVILAN /hawk/. -- This dangerous bird is numerous, and no other bird hunts it because it flies very fast. For *[825] this reason the Chiriguano say that it is the king or president of the birds and call it "Gõiraqué": it does a great deal of damage in the towns, finishing off the chickens, because the former are generally quite free of grasses and fences, and the houses are found nicely lined up around the plaza.

In the houses located in the outskirts, which are surrounded by thickets or fences, the hawk does little or no harm, because the chickens can then hide. Many whites say that planting /illustration appears here/ /57/ a piece of wood about three meters high near the house and placing an olla or other pot on top of it will banish this bird of prey, from which not even the parrot is free.

LECHUZA /small owl/. -- A nocturnal bird that lives in the woods and even takes possession of buildings in which there are bats, which it destroys completely. It is not harmful, but rather is useful, because it even destroys mice. It is the size of a turkey, but has very pretty plumes: some or most of them are like velvet and quite strong, almost equal * [825] to those of the buho. I know only one class of lechuza, which the Indians call "Suinda." It is of no value whatsoever and flies about in its complete freedom: rarely does it approach towns because they do not provide any shelter for such creatures. The only shelter they can find is in churches, where there is stonework.

LOROS /parrots/. -- This region seems to be the land of parrots. There are a great number of them, of different characteristics, sizes, and colors, with long or short tails, blue, green, varicolored, white or whitish, good at learning to talk and to mimic man and animals, or completely useless for this. When the maize begins to ripen and until it is ready for harvest, the flocks of parrots are a real plague: if the farmer is the least bit careless, he cannot count on a crop. The whites, in order to defend their rather larger fields,

[Text continues on p. 86]

4: Nino--85 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

133
139

Small grove of palmettos in front of the house of Mons Isham. -- Galinas.

/57 cont./

*136 saddle their horses as if they were going out to hunt wild beasts.

*136 *825 Other Christians and Chiriguano also defend their fields from parrots in a different way. They kill two or three dogs, or, lacking these, goats or old sheep, put them in the tops of trees a certain distance apart in the fields, and the parrots will not even come close to them. Let my readers not believe, however, that parrots are afraid of corpses, as some or most people believe around here; what they are running away from are the buzzards, who flutter about their meal or who sit in the said trees, attracted by the bait, for which reason one must take the precaution of placing the bait where the buzzards cannot reach it with their beaks or where it is not easy for them to roost. Thus some become tired and others arrive, the maize ripens, dries, and the parrots will go on their way or go to eat the seed of the soto, which is also abundant at farming time. Nevertheless, most people prefer to have their children in the fields to shout continuously to scare off the parrots or to shoot arrows and throw stones at them. [262] Even the adult Chiriguano engage in this work, because the meat of the parrot is very delicious, in spite of the fact that some are very tough, and they prefer it to any other bird, [223] wild or domesticated. /58/ In order to catch talking parrots alive, they tie up a tame one, and they capture with traps the companions who approach the prisoner.

*136 HORNERO. -- This little bird is called "Tiantía" in Chiriguano. It is red in color and is the size of the gorrión /a Spanish bird some 12 centimeters long from head to tail/. It is tame and not easily frightened, doubtless because nobody chases it. It is called hornero /baker/ because of the structure of its nest. What an admirable thing that so small a bird should make with its beak a true oven in miniature! When it has just rained, the little mason then begins to make its house, but if the rain is late, it flies to the shores of rivers, rapids, or lakes and gathers the necessary material. It is not satisfied with an old house; it wants a new one every year. For this reason certain trees or their branches are full of these ovens.

/58 cont./

#136 For the location of its oven, the little bird selects large secular trees, such as algarobos, quebrachos, and tolas, but the latter are the ones it prefers. It tries to make sure that the branches are strong and free of small branches. The oven is relatively large. On one side it leaves a high, narrow opening, extending the walls inward up to a certain point, so that when it is windy the rain will not penetrate its nest, which it places behind said wall. Thus its eggs and its young are completely sheltered. The wall of the opening is in the form of a spiral, which takes two turns and a bit more. The mud of the whole house is mixed with the excrement of a horse or burro, and the bed, or true nest, is made out of clean, loose wool.

In these ovens there is a second round, narrow opening to the right of the first, about five centimeters high, perhaps in order to escape from some danger, but it is easier to conjecture that this little window comes into play when some strange animal, for example, the mouse, takes possession of the first turn of the spiral, where the mouse himself will make a third opening to get out on that side. I conjecture this because the ovens which I am describing are not all alike; there are some with one, with two, and with three openings. Other birds, called tarachis, nest in the abandoned ovens and often dislodge the owner from its still new house.

MACAGUA. -- An animal or bird which is very common, but which is not numerous. Indians and whites call it by the name which precedes these lines, which makes one suppose that it does not exist in other places or is not known by this name. Its song is monotonous and long in the mornings and evenings, made up of a monosyllabic "guá guá guá," and it goes on in this fashion for hours and hours until it is tired. This bird is the size of a large dove, /59/ with whitish feathers on the breast and ash-gray ones above. I am of the opinion that this is the true snake-killer, because it catches snakes alive to eat; the latter are very afraid of it and flee upon seeing or hearing it. The Chiriguano does not eat its meat, with the result that it flies and sings as it pleases.

[262]

4: Nino--96 M-3 (1820-1911) 1912 SF19 Ching-ano SF10

/59 cont./

136 MATICO. -- This is a very pretty little bird with three colors: yellow, red, and black. The first color predominates. It is easily tamed, but its song is not varied. It is amusing to put it in front of a mirror, especially if it is a male. It will ruffle up, sing vigorously, and charge at its reflected figure, believing it to be its competitor. As far as the right bank of the Paraptiti River, beyond the last ridge of the Andes, which is called Aguaraqhi, not a single one is seen. They begin to be seen on the left bank precisely at the San Francisco Mission. The San Antonio del Paraptiti Mission, located on the same bank, is scarcely 5,490 meters away from the San Francisco one, and nevertheless nobody sees a matico around it. Either it cannot find adequate food there, or the cold of the mornings may be felt more because the mountains are very close. The Chiriguano and Tapiti catch the matico alive and take it far away to sell it.

[223] [439]

MIRLO /blackbird/. -- This type of bird is not numerous in the region nor is it found everywhere. It likes to stay where there are streams of water so that it can sing to its satisfaction. It is shiny black and somewhat large. It sings strongly and very well after the sun rises and before this heavenly body sets. The clear, loud song of this bird, which can be heard at a great distance, is a delight to the traveler. The whites call it chivango.

MURCIELAGO /bat/. -- Bats are abundant in the hot season and are very repugnant; they establish their domain in certain buildings with a straw roof or in a similar place, dirtying everything with their droppings and causing true loathing. Churches which have paneled ceilings and which have no screens or gratings in their windows are full of these repugnant animals, and wherever they dwell there is little cleanness. At night they bite every kind of animal and even a sleeping man. There are two types of them, one small and the other large.

/10 cont./

§ 825 773 The Chiriguano Indian has a confused idea about the end of the world, which he calls "ara iyapi," a temporal term. At that time, he says, "andira guasu," a large bat, will appear, will eat us up, and everything will come to an end. The larbusa and the bubu are enemies of the bat, and they kill it not just for the sake of killing, but because it is delicious food for them.

§ 136 § 825 PALOMA /dove/. -- There are four types, to wit: tuncuro /wild pigeon/, mucutiu, ukikiau, and cirutau /turtledove/, whose respective names in /10/ Chiriguano are "piraso, piraiú, piraú, yerati." The large ones go in flocks which obscure the sun in the season and after the maize harvest in May, June, July, and August. The middle-sized ones are called mucutiu, because their regular abode is in the thickets; they too are numerous and perhaps more delicious than the first. They are as sociable as the tuncuro, and they fly in very large flocks. The ukikiau, which are very small, are much more abundant and delicious; they approach houses and even come into the patios. They look for trees with full tops to sleep in. The last-named, as I have already said, are a kind of turtledove and go in pairs. Their song is very sad.

223 To catch the tuncuro the Indian climbs a tree where they roost in numbers and sets and ties one which he has caught alive; he makes a kind of oven with straw, open underneath, and hides there. He carries arrows and waits for the tuncuro to come to visit their companion, and, if they do not see the enemy who is hidden there, they are wounded and many fall, until the Indian runs out of arrows. The same thing is done on the ground where they come down to drink.

They kill the mucutiu and ukikiau at night. Both children and adults go about with torches of fire, the latter blinds them, they fall, and they kill them with clubs. In May and June in certain pampas and low hills, a spectator may think he is witnessing the strategy which Hannibal used against Fabius Maximus, when, in order to make his way through the narrow pass of Casilino Valley near the Volturno

/92 cont./

223 fire. He tied inflammable material to the horns of 2,000 oxen, lighted it, and drove the oxen up to the heights, thus managing to get through and gain a victory over the Roman army, which, believing the oxen to be enemies running in every direction, abandoned the narrow pass to defend other positions and was defeated the next day. In the above-
[121] mentioned stimbis young men and children sleep little at
[122] night in order to go hunting for doves and to have a delicious meal the next day with their families, since the slaughter of doves and other little birds which are unfortunate enough to sleep near them is great.

¶ 136 PATO /duck/. -- Where there are lakes or ponds there are innumerable ducks of many sizes and colors; some are so large that they seem to be geese. There are black, white, pink, and brown ones; the last are fat and delicious. The
[121] Chiriguano eats the meat of the duck, but he does not pursue
[123] it, because he finds this so difficult. When he can, he hunts
[122] it, but more because this web-footed bird puts or deposits its eggs on the shores of a lake, on top of the grass or hidden among the reeds which grow near lakes; these are /61/ avidly sought by young and old, men and women, because the water is not deep in these places. The duck is called "Ipe" in Chiriguano which is, literally in the water, since lake is called "Ipa," or wide or extended water.

PAVO /turkey/. -- They have their favorite places and do not go far from them; they will be found there exactly at sunrise and before nightfall. They reveal themselves when a hunter or anyone else approaches, because they immediately begin to cackle and to fly from tree to tree in fear, which causes a disagreeable noise. The turkeys are as big as a large chicken, with quite a long tail and black feathers.
¶ [125] There are two kinds: the larger one is called "Yacu" and is found in abundance from the right bank of the stream Cuevo; the others are called chacras by the whites, "Anancua" in Chiriguano. These are numerous from the left bank of the Pilcomayo River to the province of Lagunillas.

/13 cont./

*134 [231] Both types are very delicious, but the charata is best. Charatas are easily domesticated when small. The male is very ferocious in the domesticated state, attacks everybody, even the people of the house. The charatas make a great racket before sunrise with their strong and repugnant cackling. Cuevo is some 20 leagues from Parapiti and a little more than two from the Yvu Mission; a charata is neither seen nor heard in the former region or in its vicinity, but an occasional pair of them is found in the latter, and as one goes north from this mission toward Parapiti, the number of these birds increases.

4 [325] PELICAN. -- This bird is called "Tangá" in Chiriguano, because when it sings it seems to be saying, "Tangá, Tingui, Tangá." River banks and lake shores are its locale. There it finds its food. It feeds on newly born toads, which have a little tail, and it also eats small fish. It sleeps in trees and flies perfectly in spite of its size. It flies at a great height, and along its way it sings every so often, and the Indians say that when the pelican sings rain is near. This bird is not numerous; they always go by twos and sometimes threes. [326] Their meat is good to the Chiriguano.

PERDIZ /partridge/. -- This type of bird is not lacking either in the Chiriguano area. Partridges are of three types, each larger than the other. They live in the pampas, in the woods, and in the hills. In the llanos the true partridge is called "Inambu," the second, which has a preference for the hills, is called "Guáico," and it whistles like muleteers who are driving asses. The third, which is the codornis /quail/, is called /??/ "Inambu ondi." There is a fourth large partridge, which is like the first, but red in color, and for this reason is called "Inambu pinta," but the guáico is the [323] largest of them all. The Indians hunt all of them with the help of dogs trained for this purpose.

PICAFLOR /hummingbird/. -- Many of these birds are seen, but it seems that there is only one species here. These are the smallest ones, and in Chiriguano the picaflor is called "Chiria." It can hang its nest on any little branch of a tree and also in the straw or hollow cane of the reeds. It is only

§ 136 /92 cont./ [illegible]
(859) hunted by children, for whom every little bird is a joy and a pleasure.

There is also a species of *oropéndola* /oyole/, which makes a very funny nest, conical like a gloves, with the wide part open toward the top; it hangs it from tree branches by means of long, slender threads. Sometimes there are many nests in a single tree. Neither vipers nor another large bird can do any damage in such a shelter.

TORDO /thrush/. -- Thrushes are innumerable everywhere from Monteagudo eastward. They fly in flocks. The males are completely black, blacker than writing ink, and the females a kind of tan. They cause incalculable damage in newly planted fields, scratching up and eating the seeds very dexterously. At the time of sprouting they pull up the tender plant of maize, wheat, barley, and rice; consequently they are a true plague, and the moment the farmer is careless, he will harvest only wind for his labor. Their flesh is good, but the Indians only hunt them because of the damage they do. The thrush, like no other bird, takes singular pleasure in following the cattle grazing tranquilly in the field, and some readers will be able to understand the object and purpose of this singularity.

§ (825) This type of thrush, called "Chorrochío" in Chiriguano, sings little and has less grace in its song. But there is another class of thrush which is quite amusing. It is found about nine or ten leagues south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra; it is also black, and the female is black as well. It is frequently domesticated and sings with variety and strength. This little animal is a precious thing and an enchanting one. Nevertheless, in the domestic state every small thing which it finds it comically carries off with its beak and hides; it could well be pounds sterling or quinces. It loses its master and shows strangers, ruffling itself up and pecking furiously.

§ 139 A thrush of this second species is worth something more
(835) than five bolivianos or duros in Santa Cruz, and in Salta or
(191) Tucumán it is worth up to 20 centavos. There are Indians in Paraguay and others who /92/ trade in thrushes. They catch

/22 cont./

439 191 tion in the area around the place called Sucito, and they take them in cages to the Argentine Republic.

K 136 TOUCAN. -- A very unusual bird because of its long beak, which is almost as long as its body. This beak is yellow, red, and black, but very light; otherwise, since it is so large, it would be difficult to hold up. One who for the [925] first time sees a toucan, called "Tuca" in Chiriguano, thinks that it is carrying an ear of maize in its beak. Toucans go in large flocks and have their favorite places; I know only [197] one variety of them. It is said that the beak, when ground up [925] and taken in water, stops the flow of blood. It seems that the toucan only lives in hot climates. If it is taken to other places, it dies.

URRACA /magpie/. -- This flying creature is rather large and abundant. There are several species of them. [231] differentiated by their plumage. It is easily domesticated, and it is useful in the houses, because it kills all of the bugs or insects which multiply in them, but its size is no larger than that of the toucan. It is as restless and noisy in the houses as it is in the woods.

121 I have put an end to this brief description of the land inhabited by the Chiriguano and what is contained therein. All will understand that I did not attempt to discover and describe minutely each and every one of the plants, each and every one of the quadrupeds, amphibians, and insects, each and every one of the birds, but only those which seemed to me to be of the most importance. If it seems to my readers to be too much, or too little, they will be so kind as to excuse my failing; meanwhile, I am going to begin the real ethnography, which will be somewhat long so that it may be clearer and more pleasant. /(a)/ /Illustration appears here./

The San Antonio Mill in Parapiti.

6 NBR-M M-3 (1880-1911) 1912 8710 Chirigaxa 8710

/65/

Chapter Two

000

Origin, Language, Statistics

Introduction

There are many men, even among those who are considered wise, who on the great question of the origin of man pay homage to certain theories which sane reason, good logic, and well-understood science reject as absurd.

The ultimate absurdity in this series of disquisitions is the delirium of Darwin, who would have man, a rational being, originally descend from another being that was irrational, that is, the monkey. /The remainder of p. 65 and the first four paragraphs of p. 66 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 66 follows./

What can properly be called history develops in peoples to the extent that they have advanced along the path of civilization.

Savage tribes cannot have a history in the strict sense of the word, because they lack civilization and the adequate means for obtaining it, principally writing. The latter is doubtless the great lever which has raised peoples from their prostration and ignorance.

173 [174] It is certain that the Chiriguano do not have a written history, but they do not lack certain traditions, more or less fabulous, with respect to their origin.

/67/ And as for matters dealing with that history which we could call modern, they do have knowledge of relatively recent epochs, the truth of which cannot be doubted, inasmuch as these historical facts are related to the conquest of these regions by the Spaniards, as will be seen in the following section.

/67 cont./

Origin

212 The Chiriguano tribe has no written language, for which reason it is difficult to determine exactly its origin, the place from which it came, and the time the immigration [529] took place. They admire our modern paper, which they call "Tunpapire," skin of God, and they say that we are fortunate because by means of this we are able to make our thoughts and wishes known to friends and relatives at great distances. What then would they say if they had the faintest idea of the telegraph and the telephone and so many other modern inventions, such as that of flying through the air, in this twentieth century, which quite justly might be called: century of the globes?

773 They recount that "Aguara Tunpa," Fox-God, tried to destroy the work of the true God by killing all men. To achieve this end he made use of the "Iguasu," big water; he then opened the gates or shores of the seas and flooded the whole land; the waters of the earth's surface called those of the sky "Iporu," flood, and thus the human race perished. But before there took place the total destruction of the Chiriguano, to whom humanity was confined, a woman took her two children, a male and a female, put them in a "Choguáo," big gourd, left them to the mercy of the waters, and, when these went down, they found themselves in Paraguay, where they again multiplied (1).

1. The two children, after disembarking, did not perish from the cold, because the "Cururu," toad, took pity on them, bringing them fire in his mouth, for which reason the true Chiriguano never hunts this inoffensive animal.

173 I have said that they do not have writing, but, on the other hand, they do have a kind of oral tradition, "Miani," [551] which is transmitted from father to son. This tradition is also wrapped in a veil of confusion, however, because they

/67 cont./

173 never name dead persons, with the result that the principal
[551] events are not known because the names of those great persons who took part in them are not known. The present ones know nothing about the many wars which were waged against the Quechua before the Conquest, after the enthronement of the Inca Yupanqui (1400), and /68/ against the Spaniards during the time of the colonization, the oldest people know little more, and we only know somewhat more through the Spanish historians and missionaries of the various religious orders of Paraguay and Bolivia.

173 Through their oral tradition they assert that their origin
167 was in Paraguay, that they multiplied there, and that when
648 the New World was discovered, because they had killed one of the Portuguese captains, they feared the revenge of his companions and fled en masse along the shores of the Pilcomayo River until they arrived in the region which they occupy today, displacing other natives who were in possession of these places (1).

1. This must refer to the flight of the 4,000 Carious who joined up with the Chiriguano here.

173 Nevertheless the oldest and most notable because of their
648 authority in this place give the impression that they originally came from Brazil. They say that in ancient times they had a formidable war with the whites who came from far-off lands; conquered by them because of the inequality in arms and their expertness in the art of war, they were pursued until they entered the plains of the Gran Chaco, which they crossed, coming into Paraguay. During the campaign they defended them-
726 selves and built fortifications at several points, of which I
712 know four: one is in Gutierrez, two in Cuevo Canton, and the fourth in Cunyuqui, which belongs to the San Buenaventura de Yvu Mission, where the uprising and defeat of the Chiriguano in the year 1892 took place (2).

2. I recently explored this last. It is one meter deep and one wide, and goes from the stream of Cuevo from northwest to northeast.

/68 cont./

126 712 covering an area of about 2,000 meters: it ends in a hill surrounded by the same foundations. It had its lookout and a small plaza and dominated the whole area.

172 712 These fortifications have stone foundations, are made artfully, and are very large: consequently it is not credible that they might have been built by Indians who were even less civilized than the present ones. I believe, rather, that it was the work of the conquistadors, who, following the example of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro, built them for protection from the Chiriguano arrow: the extent of these walls and the height of the lookouts do not suggest anything 173 else. The old men add that when they were pursued some 648 of them hid in the mountains out of fear or because they were tired and that these then populated the region (3).

3. This must refer to what Father Cardús says about the time when the Cruceños /people of Santa Cruz/ settled at the place which today is occupied by the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

174 /69/ From what has been expounded it can be deduced that the Chiriguano race is most probably of Paraguayan origin: the inhabitants of that region also say this to those who annually go to work in the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and to the Indians who in past years went to Corumbá from Yvu, Caipipendi, and Parapiti. For example, they told them that they knew of the existence of a place named Yvu and of another called Parapiti, frequented by their grandparents who had formerly visited their relatives, the Chiriguano. In addition there is a tradition that in a not too distant time many families settled thereabouts traveled from time to time to visit their relatives who lived on the banks of the Paraguay River.

/19 cont./

174 199 In support of the aforesaid is the language, which differs little from Guaraní, spoken in the Republic of Paraguay, in various parts of Brazil, and even in Corrientes, and language is an irrefutable argument for one or more nations, but inasmuch as this language is very reduced in the latter places, and it was general in the former (Paraguay) until a rather recent period, it might well be concluded that the Chiriguano originated in Paraguay.

648 999 This Nation is attempting in our times to enlarge or extend its domain into the territories occupied by the Chiriguano, especially as far as degree 22, where almost all of the missions are located, including those of Parapiti Grande, which are located at 19°50' latitude south of the meridian of Paris. Bolivian diplomacy has powerful arguments to uphold its rights, with the support of the missions, principally those of Parapiti, whose first founding goes back to the eighteenth century. The Franciscan Father Narciso Llamedo built there a moral and a physical edifice, whose vestiges can still be seen today, by authority of the Most Illustrious Archbishop of Chuquisaca and supported by the Royal Audiencia of Charcas. Neither the Chiriguano language nor the invasion of this race gives any right to Paraguay, because all authors and explorers are in agreement that this race did not exist here before the thirteenth century. In the fifteenth century the Chiriguano were visited by the Inca Tupanqui with a large force of men from Cuzco. Later, in the sixteenth century, the resident viceroy of Lima vainly attempted to humiliate the pride of this race, and finally everyone sees that the Bolivian Nation has exercised full authority here since before and after the war of Independence, and that the missions have progressed and are progressing in the shadow of the Bolivian flag, which has always waved in these remote lands.

174 Someone might observe and says Why, when the Chiriguano /20/ emigrated from Paraguay, did they not settle on the banks of the Pilcomayo and on the immense pampas of the Gran Chaco? At first glance this question constitutes a grave embarrassment to one who does not know the race, but it is easy to answer it satisfactorily. All barbarous tribes remain in

/70 cont./

174 idleness and laziness and in indolence and are content with what nature provides for them to live on and subsist; this is the practice of the savages to the north of Santa Cruz, thus the Toba, Mataco, Choriti, and others who do not bother with planting and are content with only hunting, fishing, roots, and wild fruits, which, when they begin to turn yellow, are greeted by the Toba and Mataco with the "Pimpin," a kind of small drum, so that they may majure faster and better.

174 241 311 But the Chiriguano, in spite of being indolent, a recent émigré, like his neighbors, is not so much so as the other tribes, since he joined the Carious. In addition to liking to fish and hunt, he does not fail to make his plantings of maize on a large scale, where he uses his energies in order to profit from his sweat later by converting it into "Atipú," parched maize, "Atiruru," mote or boiled maize, "Aticú," meal, "Muyape," bread, "Cangú," or chicha, etc., dishes that the Toba and others know only in the house or larder of the Chiriguano. In order to obtain this class of foodstuffs, the banks of the Pilcomayo were not sufficient for a very large tribe; in addition, the other tribes which were hidden in the woods along that stretch must have devastated their fields, or their owners must have been in a continual state of uneasiness. Neither could they have obtained it on the pampas of the Gran Chaco, because the cooling action of the rains is scarce there, and, moreover, the soil in many places is like an immense sieve because of the holes made by the quiriquinchos /armadillos/, balled armadillos, and others of the species, which nest there and have built their subterranean towns (1).

1. The Toba began to plant maize and beans when they came under the control of the Franciscan fathers at the San Francisco dey Pilcomayo Mission, now Villamontes; today they plant very little.

/70 cont./

174 241 311 Consequently it was very natural that the race which was emigrating from Paraguay should seek out for its needs better lands which would permit it to make good use of its natural inclination to cultivate "Abati," maize, "Gilindaca," gourds, and "Cumanda," beans, because from the names that they give to all of these vegetables, it can be deduced that they did not get to know them after the discovery of America, but long before; and the same is true for the domestic animals, "Yaimba," dog, "Uru," /71/ chicken, "Minta," cat. What is certain is that the Chiriguano race has been distinguished and is distinguished from the others which still remain in the savage state, and the Toba, as well as the Mataco and the Choroti, regard the Chiriguano as nobles and masters, and they serve them in exchange for maize and other things, and there has never been a natural marriage involving a Chiriguano man or woman with the tribes named (1).

174 248 563

1. The Toba are more intelligent and more easily reduced than the Mataco; the latter were also exposed to the missionaries of San Antonio del Pilcomayo, located on its right bank.

The Toba have generally assisted their masters in wars and have lived for long periods among them, especially in the time of good and abundant crops. They did this before the missionaries opened Cuevo and Ivo to trade with the founding of the Santa Rosa and San Buenaventura missions, and they still do in the Franciscan missions of Machareti, Tigüipa, and Tariari, because they are near these tribes.

174 167 The places that the Chiriguano selected for their residence after the migration were the mountainous one and the one visited by frequent rains, necessary so as not to lose the fruit of their labor, and in fact we do not see this race settled in places away from the mountain range, nor in impenetrable forest, good only for those tribes in a state of

/71 cont./

174 167 complete savagery (?).

2. Cayuguari, with some 30 Chiriguano, went to the desert to live among the savages to the east of Carandaiti.

174 175 167 In addition to Chiriguano tradition and the fable of the Aguara-Tunpa, from which we understand that the race with which I am dealing originated in Paraguay, there are ecclesiastical and secular authors who support my opinion. Among the first stand out the Franciscan missionaries Cardín and Martarelli, and the most eminent among them is the Most Reverend Father Corrado, who in his history of the school and missions of Tarija asserts that the most probable opinion is that the Chiriguano came from Paraguay, despite the fact that the Guaraní language is scattered through many parts of Brazil and some parts of the Argentine Republic, since, as we have just finished saying, language is a powerful argument in learning about the origin of a tribe, and it has already been said that Guaraní is generally spoken in Paraguay, so much so that it would not be an error to say /72/ that the Guaraní have gone to Brazil and to Argentina from the same Nation (1).

1. In the chapter "Religion and Beliefs" I shall discuss the fable of Aguara Tunpa more fully.

175 Among the secular authors we have the famous d'Orbigny. According to him, before the discovery of America by the immortal Genoese, the Chiriguano occupied the last ramifications of the Bolivian Andes, lived completely naked, were 080 cannibals, and were of Guaraní origin (?). The Inca Yupanqui

[567 266]

2. The Indians of Parapiti told me that the Tapii natives were their slaves, and that in the uprisings of the latter they ate their ringleaders and others.

175 /19 cont./ The Inca Yupanqui
245 promoted many wars against the Chiriguano with the intention
[175] of conquering them for the Inca civilization, but his efforts were in vain because his army was always conquered by the ferocity of the Chiriguano, who also had in his favor the fact that this was his own land and as a result he knew it well enough to be able to play tricks on the Inca militia with ease.

It seems that the Incas in their insistence on civilizing the Chiriguano brought their armies to the frontier of Cordillera Province. In fact there exists along the top of the range which divides this province from that of Acero and from Sapirangui Canton a fortress of great size, all of it made out of well-set stones, called "Incahuasi," "house of the Inca," and given this name to the whole range, whose elevation to the south was set up by the law of interdepartmental demarcation as the boundary between Santa Cruz and Chuquisaca, when in the year 1896, the law of settlement was negotiated.

[192] Inca-huasi is a compound word of the Quichua /Quechua/ language: the Chiriguano language does not even have a word which resembles it: it is thus very probable that that fort was built by the Quechua and that, inasmuch as the forces were personally directed by the Inca, he should have ordered houses to be built along the whole top of the range, as can still be seen today (3).

> 3. The road from Carapariciito to Montenegulo through Incahuasi is not an old one. Don Octavio Padilla had it opened. -

194
195
169 It is also a verified historical fact that after the discovery of Brazil and other regions of South America, 4,000 Indians fled from Paraguay, because in the many wars which they had waged against the Portuguese, they had killed the leader. Fearing general destruction, they came into Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo River: in the Gran Chaco they found the region near the cordilleras occupied and inhabited by the ferocious Chiriguano, /illustration appears here/ /73/ but since they could easily make themselves

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 105]

4c Nino--104 M-3 (1600-1911) 1912 BP10 Chaigneau
Tapiete 5413

142
241
302

Man of the Tapiete race on the Pilcomayo River between Guachalla and Estero de Pacifio.

174 /173 cont./
175 [illegible] because they spoke the same language with slight
167 differences, they joined them, and from that moment the number of the Chiriguano was increased (1).

1. These 4,000 Indians were not of the Guaraní race; they had gone to settle in Paraguay and had learned that language imperfectly; they were called Carios and had killed Captain García.

The 4,000 Indians who fled from Paraguay because of the continual relations that they had had with the Portuguese had, at the time when they formed an alliance with the Chiriguano, a slight tincture of superficial civilization, just as in Mexico the Indians of Tlascala had learned it from Hernán Cortes and other Spaniards. As a result of this trace of civilization they had begun to use some clothing to cover, in principle, the most delicate part of the body; they had stopped eating the flesh of their enemies and prisoners and were more humanitarian in their dealings.

Having established their abode and formed a single
166 tribe with the Chiriguano, they introduced their kind and
191 humanitarian customs among their ferocious friends, who softened slightly their haughtiness and pride, imitated their allies in the manner of dress, and began to abandon the barbarous custom of cannibalism, because of which they are distinguished today, and even for a long time before, from the Toba, Mataco, Tapiete, and Sirionó (2).

199 2. The Tapiete speak the Chiriguano language with a certain difference, and the Sirionó, it is believed, were ancient Chiriguano, because their language is somewhat similar.

175 The Chiriguano, thus united, continued to multiply
161 much more and to extend their dominions into the different departments of the Audiencia, the possession of which they now had in lesser degree. Before a century had passed after the

195 648 [31] [161] /73 cont./ Before a century had passed after the discovery of this New World, they were numerous in the area near and beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The founders of this departmental city had quite a fight in the year 1575 in order to humble their pride, disperse them, and take charge of the territory: the Chiriguano lived in the areas around Padilla and Tomina, which were founded precisely to contain their advances, since they seemed determined to invade the territory of Chuquisaca itself, whose Audiencia ordered the creation of both settlements so that they might serve as a bulwark and impede successive new advances, new attacks, and devastations.

The city of Tarija with its territory owes its founding to Don Luis de la Fuente, who was ordered there by the Viceroy, Don Francisco de /74/ Toledo, by decree of January 22, 1574. On that date, Don Luis with his army entered the valley of Tarija in order to put down the audacity of the Chiriguano, who were advancing with their arms into the places conquered by the Spaniards. Don Luis and his soldiers were greatly surprised when they found the said valley full of a great quantity of wild cattle, which was to be a powerful aid to his troops (1).

1. It is believed that the wild cattle found belonged to a certain Zárate, who had been forced to leave his ranch by the Chiriguano, who had doubtless made him their victim.

[727] Before the Spaniards arrived and invaded the country of the Chiriguano, they were the torment of the surrounding tribes, the members of which they shot with arrows, or killed, and took captive, subjecting them to the cruelest slavery. But once the whites arrived, they had to have it out with enemies superior to themselves; fearing that some day they would have to pay for the casualties which they had exacted from those whom they had conquered and whose fertile territory they had taken over, they did not act like the Quechua, who surrendered when they might well have

[i.e., the Chiriguano. -Analyst]

/74 cont./

175 648

wiped out the few soldiers whom Francisco Pizarro led into Cajamarca, overpowering Emperor Atahualpa by killing 5,000 Indians.

The Chiriguano, better advised than the Quechua and their emperor, formed great armies to combat the invaders, and these were defeated many times by the terrible host; on other occasions they destroyed their fields in order to make them perish from need, and other times they made captives of the women, after having killed the men and other younger males.

175 777

The unequal struggle lasted for centuries, and finally they were conquered little by little by the missionaries. The latter, with only the Cross and preaching, obtained greater victories, because whereas the whites presented themselves to the barbarians with superiority of arms, sowing devastation and making the rivers run with blood, the missionaries presented themselves with humility, sowing the divine seed, and conquered them with the word of the Gospel.

The barbarians recognized the difference between them, and while in the beginning they destroyed the first missions, killing a missionary priest (7), when they understood more

> 2. The Chiriguano Indians of Ingre Valley set fire to the mission of the Jesuit fathers and plucked from the altar Father Lizardi, who was killed by 17 arrows in the mission plaza, dressed in his sacramental vestments.

perfectly that the priest proposed the conquest of their souls /75/ and the defense of their country, they delivered themselves completely into the hands of the missionary, not in order to be educated as Christians, but in order not to lose their independence. Only through the agency of the missionaries is the vast country which includes a distance of more than 260 leagues from north to south and more than 60 from east to west entirely open today to trade and civilization. The Jesuits were slowly replaced by the Franciscans, who

/ [illegible] /

175 177 hundred native missions, and today what is not in the hands of the respective diocesan authority is all in the power of the latter group, who have irrigated this soil with the sweat of their labors in common (1).

1. The Jesuit Father Pons made efforts to found missions in the events between the Pilcomayo and Paraguay, with whom Indians he began to speak, but he was unable to do anything. This was done in the first half of the seventeenth century.

174 169 There is no doubt about the Paraguayan origin of the Chiriguano nation, as there is none about that of the Guaraya, whose language is the brother of the former's, despite the fact that they do not understand each other well, owing to the great variations which both have undergone. Paraguay is southeast of Bolivia and the region occupied by the Chiriguano tribe northwest of the former, with the Gran Chaco being the extensive region which separates the two republics of Paraguay and Bolivia. The domicile of the Chiriguano in the Gran Chaco is another circumstance which weighs heavily in indicating the Paraguayan origin of the tribe.

All that remains is to know the route which the Chiriguano followed in their migration to Bolivia; it might have been done in a straight line, crossing the Gran Chaco, which distance from the last cordillera west of Paraguay and Chaupua to Paraguay is scarcely 100 leagues, but this route offers the insuperable obstacle of lacking the most important element for life, water. This has clearly been demonstrated by the calamities suffered by the various expeditions organized by the Bolivian government for the purpose of opening a straight road to Paraguay by setting out from Inmo (2).

2. The explorer Francés Thouar, after having gone over the route opened by the Arana, had to retreat because of lack of water and in a rash slip became lost and, with several others, nearly perished from hunger and thirst.

/73 cont./

[196] [67] They could have emigrated from their land of residence and followed the course of the Paraguay River on its right bank, arriving at Curumbá, and then across the salt flats of Los Janá, coming to the places which they occupy today. but the stretch is longer, the water to be found is scarce, and over great stretches there is no trace of anything which /75/ might verify their emigration over this route. if indeed they would not have been attacked en route by the numerous enemy thereabouts.

[135] [34] It is necessary to conclude that they followed the banks of the Pilcomayo River: this rapid course starts in the interior of the Bolivian Republic, crosses through the entire Chiriguano region, and empties into the Paraguay: its banks from near Azurduy up to Villa Moreno is a straight line of more than 50 leagues, all populated by Indians who are clearly Chiriguanos. From Villa Moreno to Gualacha near the Estero del Padre Pacífico there are Chorotí and Tapiete, who, with slight differences, speak the Chiriguano language: this stretch has plenty of water, fish, and fruit and is denser than the above-mentioned one. Dr. Campos followed the banks of this river in order to arrive in Paraguay: Colonel Rivas, the Frenchman Cerveau, and the Spaniard Saavedra followed the Pilcomayo River on their expeditions: they failed not through a lack of food or water, but some because they felt sure of the goodness of the Indians, and others because they had a very small force with them. All of these circumstances clearly show that the Chiriguano must have come into Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo: the tribes along the way could not have offered them much difficulty, because their number was extraordinary: hardship on the travel rations was so insignificant that it allowed them to fight with vigor and bravery, and finally their attitude was peaceful (1).

1. Colonel Rivas and the Frenchman Cerveau were killed by the Toba, and Saavedra by other Indians.

/70 cont./

When experience showed them that they could settle in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen. The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every type of cereals; maize matures exuberantly, and the crops have splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hoeks and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's new [illegible], in order to support his poor family miserably. In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /71/ along some streams; plantings of this type are called *[illegible]*, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

By what has already been related it can easily be understood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guanayo language, and it can be noted as a fact that both the Guanayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

/77 cont./

199 "Conumi," Ind. do not have an accent
194 on the i in Chiriguano, but they do in
171 Guaraní.

199 In past centuries the race, and therefore the language, em-
198 braced a great deal of territory, but today it is greatly
361 reduced, and I can state without danger of error that it is
162 still numerous in Caipipendi, Pipi, Chuquti, Tacuta, Aratico,
and in the Pozuí and Tarija missions; but in the former
places it is scattered among many little towns, while in the
latter it makes up respectable towns of 500, 1,000, and
2,000 souls (2).

2. Chuquti Guasu is located on the left bank of the Parapiti in Cordillera Province; it almost forms a single town with Membirai, and between the two of them they have about 110 families.

199 Purity of language is now no longer found in any town
198 or in the missions, in the first because of living among
199 whites and continually emigrating to the Argentine Repub-
997 lic, and in the second, the missions, for a third reason,
instruction in Spanish, which the missionaries give the boys
and girls in the schools; thus, if the race is not finished first,
as is feared, because of the continual epidemics and
vagrancy, the language will soon be lost, and then the few
books that exist will only serve as an historical monument
for posterity, which will be able to recognize the merit and
labor of the missionaries who spread among them, the
Chiriguano, and poured out sweat with the sole purpose of
civilizing them in a Christian way (3).

3. There are a grammar, a Spanish-Chiriguano dictionary, a catechism with its translation, Father Corrado's masterpiece, a small Chiriguano-Spanish "Nene" /"Infant"; the work referred to is Nino's Nene Chiriguano/, and many unpublished sermons.

/118/

Statistics

161 The tribe is in complete decadence and in a few more
162 years will be entirely lost. At the beginning of the nine-
(81) teenth century, that is, before the war of South American Independence, in the Tarija missions alone there were more than 25,000 souls, and nevertheless that number did not include any of the numerous towns existing between the two large Pasapiti and Pilcomayo rivers or the Indians of Caipipendi, Chuvei, Pipi, and others located south of Laguillas. At that time, I can state that the Chiriguano numbered more than 200,000, inasmuch as, according to the statistics of Father Lozano, the adult men fit for war, without counting women and children, numbered from 25,000 to 35,000.

169 Although Father Lozano was referring to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the difference must have been slight, because at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not felt as there is today the emigration to the Argentine Republic, which began when the territory was opened to trade with the founding of towns of white Christians, which there are now in great number, up to the founding of large provinces with the names of Acero, Cordillera, and Gran Chaco, nor was there so much immorality as prevails today (1).

1. New laws have been made which make recruitment for Argentina impossible, and Dr. don Justo Padilla, the present national delegate from the Gran Chaco, at the present time does not allow the law to be merely written; he lets nobody through.

165 Epidemics, vagrancy, and emigration more than any-
161 thing, in addition to scarcity of provisions, are destroying this race, which is greatly needed and will be needed later for agriculture and cattle-raising in the provinces which have
080 been mentioned. Today there is already a need for farmers.

464 797 /78 cont./ Today there is already a need for farmers, and everybody is coming to the missions looking for day laborers, muleteers, and herders, cheese-makers, house-builders, etc., etc. How will it be later? (2) The immi-

> 2. H. Montero's project, approved by the Commission in the year 1910, may well be approved by Congress, but it seems impossible to me that the caciques will report the Indians who try to go to Argentina. To charge missionary padres to send 25 per cent of the people to the intendancies, where they will receive a daily pay which is lower than what they are paid in their own town, is to drive away the missionary who cannot comply with this obligation every month because the Indians will resist it or run away.

gration of useful people, not idle people, is necessary, but not in order to destroy the missionary centers, /79/ as is proposed, because this would soon end up by destroying the tribe, but colonizing what is unpopulated. What did the government achieve by the absence of missionaries in Villa Montes? That the Indians will now not work for anyone, and only do so when they are good and ready. All the authority of a delegation was not sufficient to get a few days' work out of its population, and for this reason the previous work was at the point of being completely destroyed; weeds had taken over in the vineyards and gardens which had been so fruitful and so well maintained in the time of the earlier missionaries.

178 464 [161] Now almost all of the great Chiriguano centers have disappeared, and barely the names of the great caciques of some faction or other remain; in all of the cantons the disappearance of the labor force causes astonishment, and [797] [162] service is scarcely to be obtained for fuel. Even the missions are undergoing this decline; in Acero Province there must be some 5,000 souls, in Cordillera some 8,000, in the

/79 cont./

178 Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija
464 missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which
[197] makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big
[162] and small, old and young. But of this number there are scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work, and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through
[131] their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from
[465] north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

648 There is a great struggle under way between the Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase
[167] his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior, yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave, he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[464] 1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former
797 times and the very missions which antedate South American
361 independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and others are on the point of disappearing.

/80 cont./

797 Because of the intervention of political authority, the present missionaries will fall heir to the same fate, if the law of the department is not changed, because, it seems, they have dropped to the category of agencies of said authority and of all the Christians who are continually coming here in search of hands; and H. Montero's proposal will not only aggravate the situation, but it will leave these regions without workers for agriculture and cattle-raising. It is certain that labor makes man more moral, but it must be confessed that the Indian is lazy and opposed to working for the whites, whom he considers the usurpers of his lands. They will voluntarily go to work where they are treated with humanity, but where they are allotted the worst food and hard labor, they go with repugnance, despite the suggestions of the missionaries.

46 648 797

The caciques who respect and follow the missionary's orders become tired of continually seeking laborers for the whites, because they are aware of the unwillingness to obey; the result is that sometimes both Indians and caciques hide in the country, and when they get tired of this, they go away from the mission for a long time, leaving their families in misery. The missionaries struggle to gather the dispersed ones together again, but it often happens that the efforts of several months are lost in one night or in a few days, and in spite of the laws that exist in Bolivia, nobody has concerned himself with Chiriguano emigration. Reasons for the disappearance of masons, carpenters, shoemakers, and musicians are not lacking at the present time, since the most important thing is to get apparently luxurious clothing from head to feet, which cannot be obtained here very easily, either because they spend the money on other trifles or because there are no companies which provide all facilities to the laborer (1).

46

1. Today the whites who mistreat the Chiriguano are few. When a day's pay was fixed at 40 centavos, there was some difficulty, which has now disappeared; the Indian is now earning

/80 cont./

46 well in his own home; he only lacks the facility to procure what the Argentines give him and then he will resign himself to not emigrating.

797 As I have said above, nowadays the principal centers of the tribe have been reduced to the missions. For this reason I judge it appropriate to speak briefly of each of these which exists at the present time, so that the reader /illustration appears here/ /81/ can form some idea, however vague, of the efforts of the Franciscan missionaries, who are the only persons who today spend years and even their whole lives in the midst of privations and infirmities, experiencing solitude and enduring a sad and woeful life, in order to instruct and reduce some Indians who have little appreciation of religious and civil instruction.

The First Missionaries among the Chiriguano and a Precious Discovery

000 The primary end which the seraphic St. Francis of Assisi proposed with the founding of the Order of Minors was the reformation of the customs in the nations of the world and the teaching of the true Religion to the infidels of the Universe. /The remainder of p. 81 and the first paragraph of p. 82 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 82 follows./

797 But let us return to the primary object of this section.
175 We have at hand the Crónica de la Provincia de San Antonio de los Charcas, written by the Franciscan Father Diego de Mendoza, O. F. M., in 1665. In his first book, Chapters 13 and 14, may be read in summary what immediately follows.

The first civilized man who entered the region of the Chiriguano to the east of Tarija was Father Simón de San Payo, a priest-cleric, son of Portuguese people, a native of Brazil, and, as such, informed about the language of

[text continues on p. 118]

Woman of the Tapui race. Parapiti River, Isoso.

/82 cont./

797
175

these Indians; he was there for four years. But the arrival of this priest neither can nor should be considered in the sense of missionary, because his motives for going there were very different from the religious instruction of the Chiriguano, with whom he lived in a fashion not at all correct, for which reason the Viceroy Marqués de Monte Claros made him leave.

Nevertheless, the Viceroy, as a good Catholic, was burning with the ardent desire to have the many Chiriguano souls enlightened by the light of the Gospel, and, in order to bring this about, he decided to send to the region the illustrious Sons of Loyola. These, with the fervor which characterizes them, accepted the offer with much pleasure, with the condition that the ill-fated Father Simón de San Payo, who had behaved so badly the first time, should not return there.

But the Indians urgently asked for this cleric, and furthermore none of the Fathers and Brothers of the Company knew the language of the Indians whom they were to catechize. Finally, since the Jesuit Fathers had set the exclusion of that bad priest as a sine qua non condition, the Viceroy stopped insisting in their presence.

Had he perhaps also desisted from carrying on his project of civilizing the Chiriguano? No. He made proposals in the name of His Majesty before the Superior of the Convent of San Francisco de Chuquisaca, and, once the matter was known by the community, 17 religious spontaneously volunteered for such holy work.

From among these volunteers two were selected by royal decree, to wit, Father Agustín Sabio and Father Francisco Gonzalez, with the promise that more religious would be sent as necessity required.

Nonetheless, the Chiriguano Indians insisted that /83/ the Licenciado Simón de San Payo be allowed to come back, because, according to what was found out later from statements by the cacique, this misguided man had made many and various promises to the unfortunate savages.

/83 cont./

797
175

A new hearing was held before the Audiencia; there was opposition against the return of the said priest, but the opposite opinion prevailed, and consequently it was ordered that the missionaries who were dispatched for the civilization of the Chiriguano should take the Licenciado with them, as was done to their great regret and to that of the Franciscan community.

On November 2 of 1609 the three charged with this duty left Chuquisaca, passed through Potosí, where they baptized the first three Chiriguano, passed through Tarija, and arrived at their town, located near the Salinas Valley, on December 22 of the same year.

This first arrival did not correspond to the most noble purposes of our missionaries, both because of the intrigues of the Licenciado and because of the inconstancy and avarice of the barbarians, which we know perfectly well. Even today, despite being completely reduced in the several missions, they reveal the same inconstancy and avarice, which indicates that they have always been the same, not inclined toward the mysteries and practices of our holy Religion.

Nevertheless, the seed left in the field of Salinas by the first missionaries of San Francisco de Chuquisaca did not fall upon completely sterile ground, and it slowly began to yield its fruit, since in later years others entered the same region.

What is surprisingly impressive about this is that there was found in the area of Salinas a large and heavy cross that had been placed in a cave located in the depths of the forest.

This cross rested on three pyramids of medium-sized stones, was made out of a thick piece of quinaquina wood, 15 feet long and two-thirds of a foot in diameter, retained its natural bark, and had in same three spikes of the same wood with their octagonal heads placed in the arms and foot of the said cross; twelve men were needed to move it to the town of La Torre.

/83 cont./

799 175 The cross was found by an Indian who had followed a deer which took refuge in the same cave; it was later moved to Tarija and placed in the church of San Francisco.

[173] None of the Indians could give any certain explanation for this precious relic; nevertheless, tradition from father to son, to grandson, to great-grandson and great-great-grandson, etc., among those Chiriguano states that /84/ in very remote times a man "of considerable height, white of face, with a long beard, with extensive hair, who wore long clothing almost to his feet, with a tunic and square cape or blanket," had walked about with that piece of wood, preaching to them that God had come to the world and that He had died upon another piece of wood like that one, and, seeing that they did not wish to believe him or accept his doctrine, he had withdrawn into that cave, where he stayed for a long time; he had gone away later and left the piece of wood there.

When the Fathers of the Company of Jesus founded missions in Paraguay among the Guaraní, they found a tradition that the Apostle Santo Tomé or Santo Tomás /Saint Thomas/ had been among them, had taught them the religion of Christ, had predicted that this religion would be lost among them, and that in distant times others dressed almost like him and with a cross in their hands would announce the same doctrine to them. The Indians were convinced that the prophecy had come true with the arrival of the Jesuit Fathers.

We know through Christian chronicles and histories that God performs miracles by means of the relics of the saints and the things that have belonged to them or have been used by them. We can consequently lend credence to the coming of an Apostle, or of St. Thomas, first because of the Gospel, "Euntes in mundum universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae," and, second, because of the tradition among the Guaraní Indians, the Chiriguano, and those of Carabuco in the province of Omasuyos, department of La Paz, where another cross was found, and, thirdly, because of the miracles performed by means of it.

/84 cont./

797
175

We have said that the strength of 12 men was needed to move the cross found among the Chiriguano from the cave to the town of La Torre. Nevertheless, on the occasion of a fire which destroyed the church and a metal chalice, one soldier went into the temple to save the cross from the fire, and he alone took it from among the flames, which scarcely left any signs of the fire on the Holy Wood.

In a quarrel which occurred among some soldiers Francisco del Cerro was gravely injured by a deadly stab wound; neither doctors nor surgeons were present, and meanwhile this soldier was bleeding and was in danger of dying.

In those days they were very faithful, and since they fervently venerated the cross which they had found in the cave, they removed a small part of the Holy Wood, reduced it to powder, /85/ the wounded man drank it in some water, the blood ceased to flow, and within four days he was completely well, without need of any other medicine.

From these and other extraordinary deeds performed by the Holy Wood, we can deduce, still depending on the tradition of the Paraguay Indians, that it was quite probable that one of the Apostles of Christ came to preach the faith in this part of the world and even probable that this Apostle might have been St. Thomas, because the description given by the Guaraní and Chiriguano Indians corresponds to that of the same Apostle told to us in the ecclesiastical histories.

Missions of the Colegio de Potosí (1)

[361]

1. The department of Potosí does not have any Chiriguano Indians, and thus the Franciscans of that Colegio /school/ could not have catechized them by establishing missions, but by previous agreement with the missionaries of Sucre and permission of the government and diocesan authority, they came into possession of their territory.

/85 cont./

797 San Antonio del Parapiti Grande. -- This mission was founded on April 25 of 1903, in spite of the violent struggle against it made by the whites of the region through the press and even by actions, when on August 30 of this same year a stubborn corregidor at the head of 25 or 30 armed militiamen, almost all of them taken by force, tried to dislodge the missionary, who remained firm, without, however, putting up the slightest resistance or making any actual defense against such an attack. This settlement has continued to advance and to make material progress. It numbers 1,479 souls; the town is located on an immense plain, and the buildings -- the mission -- on a small hill; the elevation of the town above sea level is 580 meters -- meridian from Paris, 19° 58' south latitude, 60° 32' 45" west longitude (2).

2. This mission, founded by Father Francisco del Pilar, was organized by Father Narciso Llamedo; destroyed by the patriots, it was again founded in the year 1871 and abandoned in 1880 because of persecutions. It has been reorganized.

080 Here is how I described its panorama in the year 1908: It is an enchanting location, and anyone who comes here for the first time is ecstatic; he first sees the beaches and the Parapiti River, whose capricious course is admirable and whose waters are the plaything of the south and north winds, which make it change its direction whenever it suits their fancy. This immense beach, with the waters usually in the middle, looks like certain regional maps of the world, where /86/ centers of population have been engraved in the middle and immense deserts at the sides, and the painting grows when it is observed from the mission house among the branches of the leafy woods on the left edge.

/86 cont./

000 Next, the ecstatic visitor admires in the distance an immense savanna, that incalculable bluish-green carpet which seems to have been rolled out flat; it extends for leagues and leagues, giving a perfect impression of the sea; secular and gigantic trees, the algarrobas and quebrachos, which stand out, besides the other lesser trees which are present in abundance and which look like the waves of the stormy Pacific when they are agitated by the winds. Finally, the picture is made more interesting by the clear and cloudless mornings, as they almost always are, which offer a picturesque and otherwise enchanting perspective and panorama.

The smiling aurora is accompanied by the beneficent zephyr produced by the nearness of the river, which, with its gentle breezes, refreshes very early the heated atmosphere, and an abundant dew is sprinkled like diminutive pearls upon the leaves. Then there appear in the distance among the branches and the foliage the first luminous red clouds which announce the nearness of the great star, king of the universe, who seems to be rising unwillingly from his fluffy bed, finally letting his majesty be seen above the horizon. As he continues on his course, he becomes larger, and behind the woods is displayed that globe of fire, it being possible to look at it without its ardent rays damaging the vision of one who looks at it (1).

1. "Continuación de la Historia de las Misiones de Postosí," by Father Bernardino de Nino, p. 32.

797 2. San Francisco Solano del Parapiti Grande. -- This second mission of the great Parapiti was united with the aforementioned one up to October of the year 1908, and its residents depended on the same conversor /literally "converter"/ in both material and spiritual matters, especially in cases of grave illness. Since the first of November of that year two missionaries have resided there to do everything possible to advance spiritual matters; this date then may be regarded as the real and true date of its founding.

/87 cont./

797 and since it is a work of God, it is hoped that it will progress despite the lack of effort and the little willingness on the part of Indians in following the example of their neighbors.

Little by little, they will come to understand the spiritual good which is intended for them. /87/, because boys and girls are now being gathered together for instruction and, God grant, their number will increase with time! At the beginning the missionary lived in an ancient building left from the year 1871, and the tiny church is also ancient, but a new house has been built with a sala and two cells for dormitories. This new establishment is at present composed of some 300 souls, but it may grow, because there are many Indians in the forest and outside of the mission.

Its climate is satisfactory; its panorama offers little to see, because the town and the mission house are standing on a plain. It could be dominant only on a height, but, on the other hand, its location is convenient because of having the water of the river quite near, and it would not require much work to bring it close to it by means of a wide ditch. The town is at a height of 545 meters above sea level, 5,490 meters in distance from San Antonio, and the geographical difference is minimal (1).

1. Before Independence it was united with the previously mentioned one; in 1871 it was separated off, as it is at present.

2. San Buenaventura de Yvu. -- It is about 18 leagues from the above and was founded on May 3, 1893, after the end of the Curuyuqui war, in which the Indians were completely defeated at the end of January, 1892. At the present time it has 119 families and a population of 652 souls, while at the end of the last century its inhabitants exceeded a thousand. Near the mission house, at approximately 100 meters more or less, there is a hill with a surface of about half a league, which has small springs of rich and crystalline water, from which comes the name "Yvu," "water's eye" /hojo de agua/;

/87 cont./

797 the climate is very healthy, but the lack of food is continual, and they must often eat the roots of the serpentine arum, or mangara, bitter and poisonous before it is cooked (?).

> 7. Flora Crucella of R. Peña. The fire makes it lose the poisonous part, but not all of the bitterness.

The buildings are constructed on a level site located on a small rise. The panorama which runs from north to northeast is [133] extensive and pleasant; there in the distance can be seen the hills of Taremacua and the cordillera of Ururigua, through which Nature opened a gateway to give passage to the waters of the Parapiti River, which fearlessly and with great boldness hurls itself from a great height, forming by its imposing waterfall a lake of white foam, like a boll of wild cotton, and then following its rapid course through San Antonio, Mariqui, Cumbarúi, and Isiso, /88/ where it is completely lost. Still farther beyond, to [137] the north and northwest, in the midst of a thick forest of quebrachos, [133] thickets, and secular algarrobas, are seen the tops of the ranges of Salinas and Timboirenta and something of Incahuasi, and at a short distance from the town is seen a round hill called "Tunpa repoti," the Chiriguano history and meaning of which I am not ignorant, and in front of the mission house, at the distance of half a league, are the pampas of Curuyuqui located among algarrobas and other trees; up to here the panorama of Yvu is similar to that of green Umbria of the kingdom of Italy. The [137] picture is dismal to the west and south, because the heart is oppressed by a consideration of the sands of the desert, however, much the springs of the west suggest the ancient and capricious fountains of the temples of Arcadia. Nevertheless, in the rainy season the hills and the plains garb themselves with fresh grass and wild flowers, lending to the nearby horizon a pleasant and varied appearance. The town is located at 770 meters above sea level, and at 20° 44' 35" south latitude, and 65° 50' 7" longitude west of the meridian of Paris, according to what is recorded in the

/83 cont./

797 "Historia de las Misiones" (1).

1. The whites call this place "Ibo," giving rise to the Cuevo-Ibo question debated so much in the legislative chambers. The jurisdiction of Cuevo today extends from the Iventa range to that of Aguaragüe from west to east and in the north continues to the Parapiti River; Caimatindi and Tacuaranti ought to belong to Nancarointa, just as Itatiqui, Ipitacuapi, and Caimbeti, as far as the Parapiti River, should belong to the Carandaiti canton.

4. Santa Rosa de Cuevo. -- This mission was founded in the year 1887. Fifteen kilometers separate it from the previous one by an entirely level road, and today it has a population of 1,238 inhabitants, while at the time of its founding or a few years later its population reached 2,115, as is stated in the Historia of Father Angélico Martarelli (2).

[648] 2. During the Chiriguano uprising of 1892 the mission was the saving refuge of all the inhabitants of the Cuevo canton, and during the campaign it was made the headquarters. Colonel Frías, Colonel Chavarría, and General Gonzalez, with their respective troops, and many other militiamen, with their leaders, were there.

Its buildings, located on a very prominent hill, have the appearance of a fortress from whatever direction they are observed; when they are considered in terms of their solidity, beauty, and topographic level, it is difficult to find others like them in these parts. Its panorama is delightful; /illustration appears here/ /89/ it is surrounded by fields and hills very beautiful to the eye and pleasing to the heart, just as its inhabitants who breathe that perfumed air are pleasing. In the distance the hills of Aguaragüe to the east, those of Iventa and

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 128]

4: Nino--127 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
346
133

View of the Santa Rosa Mission

/8. cont./

799 Saararenta to the west and southwest, and those of Salinas to the north make its location harmonious. Its land is extremely fertile when it is irrigated by abundant rains, and in its fields there is no lack of water needed for the livestock, despite the scarcity and saltiness of the little that comes down by way of the stream of Irenta, from which the missionaries and settlers supply themselves and drink.

With the opening of this mission, there then disappeared the fear which had previously held sway among the travelers who had passed through these regions with distrust, because the numerous Chiriguano, together with the Toba, inspired terror in times not long past, so much so that, in order to found the missions of Parapiti Grande, Father Francisco Solano in the year 1870 had to make a wide swing by way of the Tarija missions and lengthen his voyage by more than 35 leagues. Today this is the route of the traders to Santa Cruz and Tarija; in this sense, too, the Republic has greatly benefited; it is one more town, quite advanced in every sense, in which the official language is making rapid progress. Its elevation above sea level is 855 meters (1).

1. It is located at 20° 38' latitude south of the meridian of Paris and 65° 42' west longitude.

5. San Pascual de Boicovo. -- This mission of Boicovo (butterfly serpent) was founded in the year 1875, 12 years before that of Santa Rosa, from which it is separated by the cordillera of Saararenta by a distance of 45 kilometers to the southwest, being at a height of 765 meters above sea level. It has a population of 300 or more souls, while at the beginning it had 1,210, according to the history of the missions. There are few infidels, and few also are those who do not speak the Spanish language; among the Christians, rare is the neophyte who does not know how to express himself in it and infants drink it with their milk. Oh, the prodigy of the Catholic religion! This is not seen where missionaries do not reside.

/89 cont./

777 The mission building is located on quite a high hill; it has a beautiful church, too large for the few settlers; the town has very little ventilation, for which reason contagious diseases do great damage. The smallpox of 1880 carried off more than 300 souls, that of 1894, 100, and that of 1895, 45, because the majority had been saved in the /90/ previous years, and yet the black vomit, or yellow fever, carried off 50 victims. The site occupied by the mission has no panorama because of the ranges to the east and west that are a few meters away. It is a mousehole, embellished with the mission building, houses constructed with some skill, and abundant fruit trees; it has little land of any value for agriculture and livestock, because it is completely wooded, but more than enough for the few settlers (1).

1. This mission was founded as the result of a bloody war which its settlers, together with the Toba and Chiriguano of Cuevo and Tvu, waged against the whites of Iglembe in the year 1874 to 1875.

7. Iglembe, Huacaya, Ingre, and Cuevo. -- In addition to the missions already described, the towns whose names head up this small section were founded by the Franciscan missionaries of the Colegio de Pomé. Their beginnings date from the years 1870, 1875, 1881, and 1887, respectively, and they continue to be cared for by the missionaries of Pomé, except for Ingre, ceded to those of the Colegio de Sucre in the year 1904.

Their settlers are all of the white race, having come from the departments of Tarija, Santa Cruz, Sucre, and Cochabamba. At the beginning they assisted the missionaries in the conquest of the souls and civilization of the Chiriguano, there being particularly distinguished in this regard the inhabitants of Huacaya and Iglembe, from which came the missionaries for the Christianization of the Indians of Boicovo,

/90 cont./

999 Cuevo, Iro, and Paraguí. Today these regions are populated by whites, and this evidently proves that the Cross of the Redeemer, planted by the missionary and watered by his sweat, is more powerful than the cannon of the kings, which could not make the Chiriguano surrender prior to South American independence (7).

> 7. The whites who assisted the missionaries in Boicovo and in Paraguí received from the Supreme Government an allotment of land half a league square.

7. San José de Humbía. -- The territory of the mission to be founded is located on the left bank of the Pilcomayo River at 22° latitude and 64° 50' longitude west of the meridian of Paris. 18 leagues from San Pascual de Boicovo and from Iglesiba, in whose canton it is located. Anyone who might like to know the particulars of the events concerning the founding of this mission should read my little work, "La continuación de la Historia," etc., p. 104.

/91/ The site is beautiful, located on the basin of a great river with an abundance of fish of all colors and sizes; five small towns must be joined in order to found the mission, which could be done, were times different, because the Indians are like the other Chiriguano. The missionaries of Potosí did everything necessary for the founding of the mission up to taking possession of the land and getting approval of the titles, which were handed over to the diocesan of Sucre, together with the chaplaincy of N. S. del Rosario del Inqui /Our Lady of the Rosary of Inqui/ (1).

> 1. The missionaries of Sucre were prepared to found the mission at the end of the year 1905, when the Supreme Court decided that the opposition of Lozza should be handled in the ordinary tribunals; thus it has remained.

/91 cont./

Cuevo

36
195
[183]

The town of Cuevo is located on the left bank of the tucuar or stream of the same name. Before the war of the year 1875, and even later, it was known by the Chiriguano who lived there as Ñambiriu, which means "halfway field," and in fact it occupies a beautiful level place located almost midway between the ranges to the west and those to the east.

Almost all of the first white inhabitants were from the department of Santa Cruz, and it is an undeniable fact that Colonel Víctor Aninsana moved to the region of Cuevo-Ibo with some militiamen from Lagunillas and built a fortress where the public cemetery of Cuevo is today, and another one where the church of San Buenaventura of the mission of Tvo has been built, both works which are owed to the constancy and activity of the Franciscan missionaries of the Villa Imperial. The fortresses are later than 1875.

[111]
[148]

Subsequently, the town was formed under the protection of the missionaries themselves and around the Cross of the factory; it was completely burned by the Indians in the uprising of Cuayuqui in 1892, but the inhabitants of Cuevo who did not perish, with the assistance of the flourishing mission of Santa Rosa, built anew and in better condition the new town, which continues to progress today.

195
[34]

In the war of the year 1875 all the Chiriguano of Cuevo-Ibo and Huacaya, together with the treacherous Toba and guided by the great cacique Cuema, who lost his life in the tucuar of Ñacua opposite the town of Iglesiabe, rose up as one man to overwhelm all the whites in the region.

/92/ In this critical situation the intrepid subprefect of the province of Acero, D. Antonio Mendiola, with the militiamen from Monteagudo, San Juan del Piray, Huacareta, and Ingre, flew to the region of Iglesiabe and with these people overwhelmed the innumerable and ferocious host, reducing it at once to impotence by the slaughter of Caipipendi.

/92 cont./

361 648 Cuevo had belonged by law from long before Independence, and still belonged by right of conquest after the defeat of the barbarians, to the department of Chuquisaca, but the Representación Cruceña /representatives from Santa Cruz/ has constantly demanded the region of Cuevo-Ibo as an integral part of the territory of Santa Cruz.

The current legislature has ended this much-discussed matter on the basis of the law of 1898. Cuevo consequently now belongs to the department of Santa Cruz, because that law fixes as the interdepartmental boundary the left bank of its stream, which is about 150 or 200 meters from the town.

[797] Even the Representación Tarijeña /from Tarija/ has been consulted in this matter and has fixed its boundaries at the right bank of the stream of Camatindi; this was based on the same law and on the fact that the territory was settled by Christians from Tarija and was won over by the Franciscan missionaries from the Colegio of the same city since before 1875. Tarija still retains the region of Caipipendi, which belonged to the Huacaya canton.

When the interdepartmental arrangement is finally made, Sucre will lose a zone of 12 to 14 leagues from Cuevo to the right bank of the Parapiti River, and another eight leagues or so from the right bank of the Camatindi stream, not counting the incalculable zone lost toward the east. Here is the law promulgated: /the remainder of p. 92, p. 93, and six lines, including a footnote, on p. 94 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 94 follows./

Ibo or Ivu Canton

631 648 Once the interdepartmental problem is solved in a friendly fashion, according to the bill approved in the Chamber of Deputies in this year of 1912 and promulgated as the law of the nation, the department of Sucre is prepared to elevate to the rank of canton the region of Ibo or Ivu, the capital of which might be the San Buenaventura Mission, located at this very place.

/94 cont./

631 648 If this were the case, the boundaries of the new canton should be the following, according to the agreement made by the Representación Chuquisaqueña /from Chuquisaca/: on the south the left bank of the stream Vitiacua, on the north the parallel of the stream of Cuevo, on the east the range of Aguaragüe up to said parallel, on the west the ranges of Saararenta and Irenta, and on the southwest the stream of Chimbe.

[797] [162] Within this delimitation are included several Chiriguano towns, the most populous being the missions of Santa Rosa, with more than 1,200 inhabitants, and that of San Buenaventura de Ivu with 652 souls.

White families are few, but not less than 40, which could give a total of at least 160 souls. It might be that with time this small population will grow in the new canton, as that of Cuevo grew.

797 177 463 648 Years are needed for the Chiriguano Indian to be able to take over the political government of a town, in spite of the fact that in the relatively new missions there are musicians, carpenters, woodworkers, masons, saddlers, shoemakers, tailors, and young men who know how to write well and to read better, but it is one thing to know an art or a trade and quite another one to have to administer justice.

/95/ The experience of many years of missionary life and what I have seen in the missions abandoned since the war of Independence justifies my opinion that many years are needed for the Chiriguano Indians to be able to fill certain public offices such as that of corregidor and parish alcalde.

A Project

000 The eastern zone, which today belongs to the three departments of Santa Cruz, Tarija, and Sucre, is somewhat threatened by foreign countries, but it might be that the Bolivian Republic could make friendly settlements with the neighboring nations.

/95 cont./

000 These disputes are prejudicial up to a certain point, inasmuch as they impede the free colonization of the Bolivian Chaco, which would not be the case if everything were peaceful in those remote regions.

Once the friendly settlements were made and the spirits of the settlers were calmed, the region would be colonized more, which would increase the number of inhabitants. If this were the case, it is my opinion that in a short time the Government of Bolivia could establish a new department in the Gran Chaco. The Chaco is open to commerce and to civilization throughout its area, many towns exist there, and, in them, commercial establishments; one can pass through the region without any danger, and the Chiriguano race receives the traveler with demonstrations of affection and subjection. /The remainder of p. 95 and the first sentence on p. 96 are omitted in the translation. Page 96 continues as follows./

Cayuguari

175 648 [103] Cayuguari is the name given to the country inhabited by an Indian of the same name who fled from Macharetí with others in the year 1856 or 1857; they settled along the lake of Cumbarurenta, four leagues to the southeast of Yrentagüe, and subsequently withdrew 20 leagues farther to the east, because in the company of Toba, Tapiete, and other tribes they had committed innumerable cattle thefts, for which they were constantly hunted by the settlers of Carandaiti, where a picket detailed from Aguairenta is stationed today.

The flight of the Cayuguari Indian to Cumbarurenta first, and today to 52 leagues from Carandaiti, was not due to the death of Captain Taruncunti, murdered by the Macharitefios /persons from Macharetí/ Barapiche, Arasuque, and Yepoina, residents of Avay, but to their disposition and outrages committed against their relative, Mandepónai.

/96 cont./

175 648 The expedition entrusted by the Supreme Government to an Englishman, which was to enter the Cayuguari region through Picuigua (water for dovelings), can be said to have failed, because the two attempts which it made were without result and it had to return in order not to perish because of the absolute lack of water.

Picuigua is some 12 leagues distant from Cayuguari. Picuigua is a dry lake, but, with drilling, sufficient water can be obtained for the garrison of the fort which is to be established, should it turn out that the news of the existence of a permanent lake in Cayuguari, where there are some 50 families, is false. /The last paragraph of p. 96, p. 97, and the first three paragraphs of p. 98 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 98 follows./

Itatiqui

361 [131] The town of Chiriguano infidels with which I head these few lines is located 11 leagues from the Franciscan Mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu and seven leagues from the missions of the Parapiti Grande, at 19° 43' 13" latitude south of the meridian of Paris, and at 60° 29' 42" west longitude.

797 361 The Colegio de Misiones Franciscanas de Potosí is trying to establish in this place a Misión Conversora which would depend on the Fathers established on the banks of the Parapiti River. The idea is eminently civilizing and progressive, because this place is located along the highway which, coming out of Yacuiba, passes /99/ through Charagua and ends in the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

In the journey from the little town of Buyuive to the Parapiti Grande, there is no other town which might be able to provide services for the travelers and the vehicles which traverse it every day without being able now to count upon any assistance in their difficult crossing.

797 The Indian of Itatiqui is too poor and lazy; it is necessary to get him moving and watch over him so that he may become useful and progress; in his territory there is no water, nor are there artificial lakes so that he and his livestock

/99 cont./

797 might drink, but these latter could easily be obtained with well-constructed dams; but someone to direct him and make him work is lacking.

With the founding of a Misión Conversora the Indian would have the guarantees which at present he does not possess; he would live in his town, which was reorganized not long ago, with the prospect of being protected by the missionary; he would establish his artificial lakes, and the traveler would have a place in which to rest and to sleep, in guest houses, without any danger either to his property or to his physical health.

648 The Supreme Government has been more concerned with this advancement in the region of the Gran Chaco. It issued its decree for a measure of the lands of three leagues more or less in extent which they had possessed ab immemorabili, but when steps were taken to lay out the lines, it turned out that another private party had set boundaries, leaving for the Indians the town and a small parcel of uncultivated lands, and the latter quite limited. Because of the measures taken by this private party, the Indians have lost all of the cultivated land of Igüitiyapi, near which the said private party has undertaken the considerable enterprise of establishing an artificial lake in the place called Caapirenta, pointing out that the measure against the Indians was performed in the same year, 1911, a few months before the order of the Supreme Government in favor of the natives was put into effect.

800 In order that the good intentions of the nation and of the missionaries of Potosí might not come to naught, the Supreme Government should give an impartial person the commission to set himself up in the place, to seek data on the Indians and other well-intentioned people, and subsequently to give a conscientious report so that just decisions might be made. /The last paragraph on p. 99 and the first four paragraphs on p. 100 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 100 follows./

/100 cont./

Missions of the Colegio de Tarija (2)

2. At present the Colegio de Tarija has only the missions located in the province of Azero, because Chimeo and Itau seem to be towns of whites rather than Indians.

To describe the glories of this apostolic Colegio of Franciscans is to attempt the impossible in this small work, the purpose of which is not a description of the works of the missionaries, as I observed in the introduction, but rather to tell of the origin and customs of the Chiriguano tribe.

/101/ Tarija might be called the land of missionaries, before and after Independence; it is sufficient to travel casually through that department, and it will become apparent that a church here, a parish house there, and yonder a mission building, all are due to the constancy, patience, self-denial, suffering, and anguish of the Tarija missionary; there are the churches of San Roque, Caraparí, Sella, and Tupiza, which are of yesterday.

Let us penetrate into Azero and Cordillera. What memories they evoke, although some are destroyed and others are falling into decay! Oh how majestically does the image of Brother Francisco del Pilar rise up, he to whose heroic patience are owed all of the missions prior to Independence! Abapó! What an imperishable memory! The church and the mission house are still there, and I have even seen a part of the schools, now almost destroyed; yes, these memories made me pour out tears! They were memories of my brothers, persecuted then and harassed today by men who do not know their merits and by an authority which calls itself the protector of missionaries. Oh no! We might call it by another name, but we shall not pronounce it, but continue forward, for missionaries know how to pardon, as followers of Christ, and even should they be somewhat dismayed by so many unpleasant events, they continue at their tasks, erecting new buildings and repairing the old deteriorated ones.

/101 cont./

361 797 1. Machareti. -- Father Jerónimo de la Peña was the first to enter Machareti, but, before he could begin any work, death intervened, and only after a century, that is, in the year 1869, could the Cross of Redemption be raised, around which began to gather the settlers dispersed by the war and the death of Captain Taruncunti, not very friendly to the missionaries.

[162] Before the mission had been founded for ten years, it numbered more than 3,000 souls, but today it is much smaller, [167] its inhabitants reaching 1,500. Emigration to the Republic [464] of Argentina is a real plague for this area, because the principal recruiters of Indians for work outside of Bolivian territory are there, and it is useless to cite laws, because there are clever interpreters; meanwhile all wail for workers.

361 [133] Machareti has a delightful and picturesque panorama; to the north and to the east the human eye cannot take in the immensity of the plains or the exuberance of the woods and the variety and caprice of the hills. The town is located on a great plain, but is now quite reduced; its buildings, atop a high hill which dominates everything; it has a beautiful church with painting and /102/ gildings, a mission house of two stories, two great halls, with their respective patios, for instruction, and a third one for the music school, and also other buildings for shops (1).

361 797 131 1. When the Machareti mission was founded, it cut off the retreat of the bellicose Huacayeños, who were coming into the Gran Chaco by the Chorro road, some 15 leagues from Huacaya and some 12 from Ivu; its altitude above sea level is 771 meters and it is located at 20° 49' 58" south latitude and 63° 3' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/102 cont./

797 2. Tigüipa. -- This mission, dedicated to the universal Patron of the Church, the Patriarch St. Joseph, began its existence on May 20, 1872, the day when, for the first time, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated, and there was planted in its territory the Tree of Redemption; it is some 12 kilometers from Machareti, with quite a rough road.

361 797 [162] At present it has a population of 800 souls. The town, made up of both infidels and neophytes, is quite neat; the buildings are not very well arranged, and the ones which merit consideration are: its tall and beautiful church, broad and well-proportioned, with its magnificent choir, gilded altars, and well-turned railings; in addition, the beautiful mechanism of double trusses which support the roof. Its house is new, of a single story, and was begun in the month of August or July in the year 1910 and dedicated in March of this year; the other buildings neither follow any arrangement nor are of any worth, and lend to the whole a rather sad appearance, but once the renovation of both towns has been completed, the planned arrangement of the buildings for instruction and workshops will be made.

[133] Its panorama has nothing in particular: to the west, the last range of the Andes, to the north and south, some rather high hills rise at a short distance and obstruct the view for the curious observer, who, frustrated in his desire to see and observe, finds a slight relief to the east, where the horizon opens out and gladdens the heart; it seems to be the older sister of the San Pascuál de Boicovo Mission. The climate is in general healthy, in spite of the fact that the mission is located in a hollow, but the water, or the location of the place, dulls the understanding of its residents, according to what all the travelers note (2). /Illustration appears here./

[563] [464] [131] 2. In the years of abundance several nomadic tribes come to this mission and remain there serving the Chiriguano in exchange for food. Its elevation above sea level is 715 meters, and it is located at 20° 27' 18" south latitude and 62° 14' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

[text continues on p. 141]

4: Nino--140 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797

Music of the Tarairí Mission

4: Nino--141 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/103/

997 3. Tarairi. -- While the immortal Pope Pius IX was declaring the immaculate conception of Most Holy Mary, the Patroness of the Seraphic Order, a dogma of the faith, the religious of the same family belonging to the Colegio de Tarija, by ways unknown to human understanding, were founding the Misión de la Purísima de Tarairi, which was the first one on the left bank of the Pilcomayo and, of course, was very dangerous, being among Indians who did not wish to hear about either religion or morality, not to mention the dangers from the other Indians of the region, the Toba and Mataco. It is about five leagues from Tigüipa and three from Camatindi, a town of white Christians; the road is fair, but there are some ups and downs.

The buildings of this mission are colossal; it seems that everything, from the church to the workshops, was done magnificently; the former is high and wide, the roof has double trusses like the one in Tigüipa, one man being the director of both, its altars are carved, and the image of the Patroness is precious. The buildings are uniform, which indicates that the construction followed a plan; for this reason there is nothing superfluous or anything which is not in direct communication; this building is so convenient that the Padre Conversor can direct from his window the processing of the sugar, raw and milled, and even the manufacture of tiles and bricks and the respective kilns.

The town is large and is divided into two; the one of the infidels is located toward the south on one hand, and the one of the neophytes in front of the mission building. They are neatly lined up, as in every mission, and all have straw roofs. The population is made up of some 1,200 inhabitants, who leave much to be desired, perhaps because of the proximity of Villa-Montes, are quite insubordinate and will quickly refer any matter, however trifling it might be, to the Delegación del Gran Chaco, which, unfortunately, at least in past times, gave too much credence to the lies

/103 cont./
799 of the Indians (1).

[721] 1. This mission, because it was the first one north of the Pilcomayo, was the target of the Chiriguano and Toba, who repeatedly tried to destroy it; its elevation above sea level is 662 meters, and it is located at 21° 8' 27" south latitude and 62° 17' 4" west of the meridian of Greenwich.

4. Aguairenta. -- This mission was founded in the year 1849, and at the present time it is the oldest, because for a long time now Chimeo and the town of Itau have been elevated in rank to true Doctrinas /a curacy, also an Indian village newly consecrated to the Christian religion/. Three caciques of three parties joined together for the founding of Aguairenta, since each one wanted the missionary in his town. The distance which separates the Aguairenta mission from the one /104/ of Tarairi is more than 22 leagues by way of a quite level and wide road.

According to what has been described with some exaggeration and for not very good motives, Aguairenta is the queen of the plains, the muse of poets, and the contemplation of the wise men; it is certain that its panorama is quite delightful, as are its meadows, full of fragrance because of the many orange groves. It has abundant water, which makes the land fertile, but it is not found at any great distance.

[563] [191] [177] The settlers have been reduced to a few and are mixed with the whites; almost all speak the Spanish language well, and the customs and style of dress are like those of the mestizo settlers, in spite of the fact that an occasional one may be seen dressed in the old way (1).

1. By a decree of January 4, 1911, Aguairenta has been declared a headquarters for troops, who have had possession of the place since the end of 1910. Nevertheless the Government

/104 cont./

797

has left the mission house and the garden for the use and comfort of the Father-Chaplain. It is located at 778 meters above sea level and at 21° 46' 10" south latitude and 62° 48' 35" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

5. San Francisco and San Antonio. -- In the missions called San Antonio and San Francisco del Pilcomayo the Supreme Government decided to found a city under the name of Villa-Montes; but after it was handed over by the missionaries in the year 1906, instead of progressing, those flourishing settlements have retrogressed. The vineyards and gardens have deteriorated. The buildings are falling into ruin, and morality fell precipitously and is progressively worse there. The schools for boys and girls have been reduced to very few students, and for these few the national treasury distributes 160 bolivianos per month, while to the chaplain who has to live there it pays no more than 240 bolivianos per year.

[871]

Everything that belonged to the two missions, such as implements, carpentry, buildings, sugar mills, cattle, horses, etc., was handed over with an inventory to the national delegate, Dr. Don Leocadio Trigo, and the missionaries, without being able to use even a cell which might serve as lodging for the night for the Father Chaplain, had no other recourse but to shake even the dust from their sandals.

[162]

The approximate population of Chiriguano natives in the above towns is 4,500 souls (2).

2. The Supreme Government rented the mission building to the German company, which has made little progress. It is located at 460 meters above sea level and at 21° 16' 15" south latitude and at 62° 20' 2" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/105/

997 Itau, Chimeo. -- Itau has been in existence for more than a century, and Chimeo more than half a century. In the first reside two missionaries, one of whom attends to spiritual matters for the parish of Chimeo, which has been reduced to almost nothing. Indians and Christians live in the area, the latter being more numerous than the former. Itau and Chimeo were missions and officially still are, because the diocesan authority could not accept them due to a lack of clergy, but in fact they are no longer missions. Itau has many white settlers, and in Chimeo the missionary is not even in residence, which indicates that a permanent stay there would be little less than useless, because of the lack of settlers.

7. Yacuiba, Caiza, Carapari, and Camatindi. -- The towns with whose names we have headed these few lines all belong to the white race and are populated centers, especially the first one, where the political authority of the province of the Gran Chaco resides, in addition to which the customs office is also there, because the town is the one nearest to the boundary with the Republic of Argentina. All of them are helped in spiritual matters by the missionaries of Tarija and in some they have a permanent residence.

997 361 8. Carandaiti. -- This recently formed town merits a few exclusive lines. It is some eight leagues from the Machareti mission by a somewhat rough road, deserted and lacking in water. It can be regarded as the largest canton of the province of Azero, inasmuch as its very extensive territory goes to the right bank of the Parapiti River, as long as the interdepartmental question of Cuevo-Ibo is not settled.

The town of Carandaiti owes its founding to the parishes of the canton of Igüembe, Huacaya, and Ingre. After the war of 1875, the Indians of Huacaya were pacified with the founding of the Boicovo mission and the military fort of Huacaya. In a few years several of them left this place, and, with the inducement of receiving in recompense one league of land, they explored Carandaiti and settled in that place. They were attacked by the tribes repeatedly, suffered a few

/105 cont./

797 361 setbacks, and endured the bitterness of having some captured by the savages, but the establishment of the town is now an accomplished fact. It has a pretty church, consecrated at the end of July, 1908, and the only thing lacking is a priest in residence to attend to them spiritually with great care, because Machareti is quite far for this widespread parish (1).

1. The Christians who explored the territory of Carandaiti received the land promised; there is no potable water other than that of the ponds, which are in danger of being emptied. The preservation of this town should receive the attention of the Government of Bolivia for the sake of commerce, the cattle industry, transportation, and the prospect of new explorations to the east.

128 127 /106/ With the brief summary which I have made with reference to the missionaries among the Chiriguano and to the towns of whites built in the same region, presided over by the Franciscans of Tarija and Potosí, I bring an end to this second chapter, in which several opinions regarding the origin and point of departure of the Chiriguano for the region which they occupied, and with slight differences occupy at present, have been expressed.

There is no invention in it; by means of patient verification from different persons at different times, by consulting numerous authors, who, by study, reference, or in passing, have left something in writing, I have come to learn certain facts which, if they are believed here, are also believed in other places, and I have concluded that not all of it could be a fable, and as I have heard them told, so do I present them to my readers. This is the chapter which has concerned me most, and I do not know if the time, vigils, and the sleep of which my eyes have been deprived have been well employed; be that as it may, the public now has it.

4: Nino--146 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/106 cont./

Yacuiba

Because of an error in the demarcation of the boundaries with the Republic of Argentina, the town of Yacuiba is located to the south of the boundary stone, while it should be to the north, and the latter, the boundary stone, should be located precisely in Itiyuro, the limit of the Chiriguano race, which has occupied Bolivian territory since its immigration.

Yacuiba, or Yacuigua, as the Chiriguano pronounce it, meant lake of the wild turkey. It is a rich region throughout; its territory is level, the streets which are being built are as straight as a line of this name, the land fertile. There are grown there the arveja or pea, the garbanzo, and other cereals, which plants are irrigated with water which is relatively abundant.

The town, which also fell in the earthquake of 1899, is being rebuilt according to modern methods, and its progress is rapid. It now has a first-class hotel, where the traveler and the countryman are served with all culture and exactness, department stores, where every article is found, and permanent buildings, houses of great size, and a customs building all of zinc from the walls to the roof.

The little city, in addition, is quite picturesque because of the many orange groves which continually embellish it with their green foliage and yellow fruit, /107/ which indicates the fertility of the territory and the abundance of water.

The little city is located in the territory of Tarija; consequently it was founded through Bolivian efforts. It is the seat of the subprefecture of the Gran Chaco, and today it is a cosmopolitan town, whether because of the many foreigners who have settled there or because of the many others who are continually passing through, not to mention the importance given it by the continual arrival of vehicles and that which it will receive from the proximity of the railway.

/107 cont./

It would be difficult to build a new town, with the same conditions, in Caipitanti, one league to the northwest of the present one, where there is less water. This place, located to the northwest of the present one and at some distance from the vehicular road, would be very suitable for a stay of the Tarija squadron, because it has an extensive plain in front of it, while Aguairenta is encircled by the forest.

Nor would it be easy to locate it in El Palmar, four leagues or more to the north, because the water is obtained by digging, the terrain is sandy, almost in its entirety, and, consequently, not very suitable for agriculture and big buildings.

If the present city passes into the hands of the Argentines, it is likely that it will disappear, just as all the enchantment which it has at present may disappear. The neighboring nation would do nothing but cause incalculable harm to its residents, who would abandon their orchards, gardens, and houses, on which they have expended quantities of money.

It is not possible that the inhabitants of Yacuiba would stay there, were the Bolivian Government to build another town in Caipitanti or in El Palmar, because what attracts them is commerce, and this must necessarily be at the place where the customhouse is established, to which the continuous vehicles come loaded with merchandise and deposit their loads which the muleteers carry to Santa Cruz.

The customhouse thus being taken away, there will also be taken away the traffic, without which the town will be dead and necessarily disappear, because the foreigners themselves would prefer to go to the new Yacuiba, where some will find everything needed to live, and others, everything needed for resting for a few days. /The last paragraph on p. 107 and p. 108 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 109./

:Nino--148 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
301
302
516

Group of Chiriguano Women

-: Nino--149 M-2 (1903-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/106/

Chapter Three

Characteristics of the Chiriguano

Introduction

At the end of the nineteenth century, and specifically in the year 1897, the whole Catholic world was invited in advance to attend the great exhibition of sacred art which took place in Turin, beautiful and grand Italian city of the Piedmont. The Pontiff of Rome made his voice heard and the Catholics of the five parts of the terrestrial world made preparations to participate in the literary, scientific, manufacturing industry, and other competitions.

The missions could not fail to take part in this contest of competency: they could not close their ears to the voice of the Supreme Hierarch of the world: with the fervor of the first Christians, with the humility of neophytes, directed by missionaries of all of the Catholic orders and congregations, they prepared an extraordinary contest. In Turin were seen the rarities and products of the missions of China, Africa, Palestine, North America, the colony of Eritrea, Oceania, Patagonia, South America, etc.

Although Bolivia occupies a quite modest place on maps of the world and is slowly being organized to rise to a very great height, it exhibited its products in the said world exposition and was even represented by its tribes. They sent there everything that could be sent from the missions of Guarayos, the missions of Tarija, and those of Pomé. It was then that an Italian photographer, employed in Tarija, went through its missions and those of Pomé, taking pictures of views, panoramas, groups of Chiriguano, families, churches, missionaries, etc. (1).

792
126

1. The order to take part came from the Curia Generalicia of Rome and the Most Reverend Father Commissioner in Bolivia Expressed that the Colegio of Pomé be united

/109 cont./

with that of Tarija because the inhabitants of the missions of both colegios were of the same Chiriguano race.

/110/ The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 149/ is one of the said photographs. It shows a group of Chiriguano women with their festive clothing and adornments, who are ready to attend a public gathering for drinking: it was made in the Beccero Mission and taken with the others to the exposition. The group of Indian day laborers is reserved for the chapter which deals with work and chores: both groups show the physical constitution of the race, about which Señor del Campana, after the exposition was over, wrote his book; perhaps this gentleman also had seen the four Chiriguano who were brought from the Tarija missions (1).

1. Nozione intorno ai Cirigiani /Information on the Chiriguano/. Florence, 1902. This is the most complete work that exists in Italy, in view of which I decided to write the present one here where the Chiriguano live.

Physique

After having studied the territory that a tribe occupies and consigned to paper what is most characteristic, and, next, having discovered appropriately by means of traditional and historical data or well-founded suppositions the origin and derivation of the tribe, the first thing that is exhibited to the ethnographer and to any observer is the physical body: its proportions, whether large, small, or average, soon strike the eye, the latter, the observer, considers mentally what the former, the physical ethnographer, sees, and begins his narration and then goes on to the character.

/110 cont./

Some explorers and travelers, after having happily concluded their investigative labors, have set down in their reports that the Chiriguano Indians have changed greatly in physique since the whites or Creoles entered their territory, but nothing could be less exact than this. Clandestine unions between Christian men and Chiriguano women have been quite rare, and even rarer are legitimate unions through Catholic marriage, from which generally comes propagation and change in races (?).

> 2. In 30 years of missionary life I have blessed but four marriages between Christian white men and Chiriguano neophytes.

If Sefior del Campano states that for a period of 40 years the Chiriguano have maintained themselves without change, on the basis of photographs taken in the year 1860, which were placed at his disposal by Professor Mantegazza, and those which the missionaries of Potosí and Tarija sent in 1898 to the Turin Exposition, among /111/ which was a skull collected by the author of this work in the fields of Cuoyuqui and sold by Father Giannecchini to the Florence museum, what can be said by some missionaries who have grown old and who are growing old among these Indians and who know the race in old men and in young boys, in old women and in damsels, before and after the white Christians were introduced in number?

In my judgment the said change does not exist, because an occasional isolated case, an occasional family, where the mixture of the two races has taken place, cannot be adduced as proof that the physique of the race has varied greatly. Travelers and explorers pass through a region rapidly: they can devote little time to the study of a race, and consequently their written reports, worthy of all respect, are somewhat exaggerated, as were those of the Spaniards

/111 cont./

144 114 who conquered Mexico and Peru (1).

[113]

1. Guillermo Robertson. Historia de América desde el descubrimiento hasta antes de la Independencia /History of America from the Discovery to before Independence/. Travelers exaggerate their stories in order to attract more attention.

144 [191] [142] There are extensive areas where mixture of the two races was frequent, but it must be pointed out that in these areas the children of such have ceased to be Chiriguano, both because of the Spanish language, which they now speak perfectly, and the color, which is completely different; it is no longer parchment, as Father Corrado states, but a skin which is up to a certain point fine and velvetlike, so that for this class of persons who descend from white and Chiriguano the appropriate name is mestizo and not Chiriguano, and consequently the physical characteristics of the race have not changed. In these same areas families which have kept pure Chiriguano blood are not rare, and these families, or the individuals which make them up, have the same characteristics as other Chiriguano, without any noteworthy difference (2).

2. From the left bank of the Parapiti River northward this radical change is taking place, making the race disappear.

On the contrary, in the great Chiriguano centers, such as all the missions and a few other areas outside of them, the physique of the native has not changed at all. As a rule their stature does not reach one meter and 70 centimeters in men, and rare are the women who reach 1.60; the hair is black, glossy, and coarse, and very vigorous in

141 142

/111 cont./

141 both men and women, and fair hair indicates either an
142 oddity or a clandestine affair. The forehead is rather small, as are also the languid, downcast eyes; the face is round, the nose flat, the mouth wide, the denture white as ivory, the chin short, and the lips rather thick. /112/ The
142 men do not wear beards, and anyone would believe that they
302 are beardless, but the main reason why they do not have one is that they pull out the hairs as they grow, and for this they have some tin tweezers with which they make all the hair disappear, and they do well, because otherwise, in view of their slovenliness, with long beards they would really be orangutans (1).

[186] 1. The Toba call the Chiriguano tigre face because of his round face, and the latter gets back at them by calling them horse face because of their long faces. In the missions the neophytes wear mustache and goatee.

141 They have a chest thrust forward, rather heavy
[291] shoulders and arms, normal-sized hands, and not very big feet, in spite of the fact that they grow as they will since they always go barefoot, especially the women, and not
147 all of them wear sandals /ojotas/. When they are enjoy-
[853] ing good health, they are very robust, and the women without the slightest bother will nurse two babes at their
[609] breasts. Whenever some white Christian woman is not able to nurse, she usually seeks out a Chiriguano woman to wet-nurse her child; this, in addition to being very advantageous because of the goodness of the blood, is also quite eco-
855 nomical. But it is true that most Indian women do not
[609] wish to take care of children other than their own; most
[466] of the time they agree to it with reluctance, or by force, this last occurring when the Indians are subject to a master.

/112 cont./

142 The Chiriguano at the time of birth has a color which is difficult to define, but, and let nobody laugh at this, his color is that of newborn mice, and as he grows the color changes until it is that of sunburnt parchment. The causes [147] of this change are the tropical heat, the sudden winds and changes, and the burning sun, to the action of which they expose themselves with untoward pleasure, with no bother and without fear, even should they be but tender infants.

441 147 From this it can easily be deduced that the Indian does not fear the canicular sun, or heat either; he works on the hottest days without shirt, trousers, or anything which re- [291] sembles these; he stretches out full length, very content, [516] receiving on his back the rays of the firey sun, and nothing daunts him. But when the north wind changes to the south and consequently the cold begins and the frost comes, he is very cowardly, and it is hard to make him work well and happily; in such cases it is easier to suspend the work for a few days, not to pay the laborers anything at all, and not to get uselessly angry; but this can only be done when the suspension does not have any bad effects (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. It is not only the Chiriguano Indian who hates the cold, but also the other races of America, such as, for example, the Quichua /Quechua/, according to what the historian Robertson says.

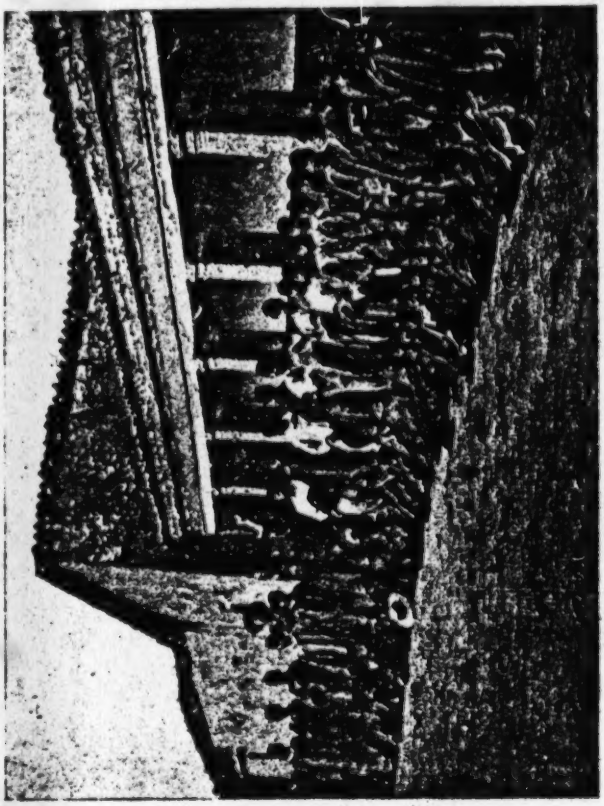
165 /113/ Life Span

The Chiriguano normally lives a good many years; he is little affected by heat, cold, and the inconstancy of the climate, nor by drunkenness and self-indulgence, to which capital vices he abandons himself from a tender age. Some [145] reach and pass 100 years, judging their longevity by their hair, since their hair does not turn white except at a very

[Text Continues on P. 156]

4: Nino--155 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
87



Children of St. Buenaventura School in Ivo

/113 cont./

165 [145] advanced age, and I have seen Indians with the head completely white, and others with a white the color of smoke or something smoked. In the performance of my ministry I have met and baptized many centenarians at the time of their death, and in the towns through which I have passed I have met several who fought in the Caraparí war and who witnessed the War of Independence.

273 276 [178] But today the Chiriguano has degenerated greatly; in somewhat distant times they did not know about either liquor or coca, and today both are general, and because of liquor and coca, the use of which they much abuse, they ruin their health and shorten their existence. Much youth disappears with the abuse of these substances, and as a general rule in the missions the best disappear, those who know some art or have some fortune; all that they earn, after buying their clothing (although not always), they invest in liquor and coca, and [165] [648] thus shorten their lives. I have seen towns where out of 40 or 50 young men of the same age there are scarcely two or three alive who will reach 50; it can thus be seen that the drunkenness produced by chicha is not so pernicious as that of liquor or alcohol, for which any tax imposed on them by the Supreme Government is never too much, and would that such a tax were higher, more general, and that it was not felt to be enough [142] [147] simply to write it out. In spite of this dissipated life, it is very rare that one encounters a bald Indian, which indicates great robustness (1).

1. I have known many large and small Chiriguano towns; I have only found three semibald persons.

Morality

181 At present the Chiriguano Indian differs slightly or not at all morally from the common mass of men. I mean that not all are good nor are all perverse; there are good ones and bad ones

181 /114/ the same as everywhere else, so that certain travelers who say Indians are very bad would be wrong, as would those who call them very good. A celebrated explorer said not long ago that he found more goodness in an Indian than in a white man and that it is enough to notice only with average attention the faces of the two to be sure of the relative morality of both; as a missionary I neither can nor should consign to these pages my judgment in this regard (1).

1. The same explorer approves of the resolute attitude of the Curuyuqui uprising, taking the point of view that they were fighting for their independence and for the recovery of their territory.

186 648 Before the conquest so gently carried out by the Catholic missionaries took place, it was extremely dangerous to enter their territory, even just in passing, and not too long ago it was difficult to pass through the Cuevo-Ibo countryside, where the Franciscan missionaries of Potosí founded their missions, as they had founded those of Tarija in other regions. There was reason for the danger to exist.

The Indian now knew the white man by his deeds; he called him and still does call him caray, that is, astute, greedy, oppressor, and owner of what belongs to other people; if then he looked with misgiving upon the caray and up to a certain point did not wish to have relations with him, it is because this extremely bad image had been formed, from which arose the idea of not wanting to have a bad neighbor in his territory, and he blocked his way in order that he might not come to like the fertility of the area. He was wise to the fact that after exploration comes reconnaissance, and from this rises the desire to possess, which sooner or later is put into execution, as has been the case (2).

[113] 2. Giannecchini. Expedición al Alto Paraguay, año 1883.

/114 cont./

648 721 Once the conquest had been completed through the work of the missionaries and through colonization by the inhabitants of several departments, the Chiriguano had to submit to the rights of the stronger; on several occasions he tried to raise his head by means of general uprisings, such as the one of 1875 and the one of 1892 in Curuyuqui de Cuevo-Ibo, but they succumbed because of the difference in arms and because the whites were well situated (3).

[113] 3. Martarelli. Addition to the Historia de Misiones del Colegio de Potosí, which deals with the Curuyuqui war and the beginnings of the founding of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission.

648 178 /115/ A new uprising seems unlikely today because they are few and because the territory is populated by whites who have taken over the territory by right of conquest and through purchase made before the Supreme Government, but the Indians have not resigned themselves to permanent servitude, having once been lords of their house and land; their pride has been put down by superior forces, and most of them endure their fate with resignation.

To be sure, it is a fact that the Chiriguano of today is not the Chiriguano of other times; he is not the one who fought so tenaciously against the soldier of the Inca army, against the Spaniard, and against the Bolivian soldier himself. This change has taken place, I shall say once more, through the loss of territory and his independence, and in repeated struggles of extraordinary tenacity, which only resulted in aggravating a bad situation, and in the loss of their most beloved people and of their lands. For better or for worse they have had to submit to the laws of the Government of the Republic, which still exercises supreme authority over them, in the missions, where it is embodied in the conversores, in the provinces in the person of the subprefects, and in the cantons in that of the corregidors, who generally make use of the cacique or the alcalde to

648 /115 cont./
178 obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

157 Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, incon-
181 stancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even
[847] suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They
[762] only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome
[461] by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family.
[186] But if near the carai /sic; see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

[533] They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of
[273] their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and
[178] cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not com-
[674] mon formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

[648]
[685]
[754]

1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge great secrecy so that the authorities will not make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/116 cont./

797
829
177

Difficulties in Reducing Them

If among other tribes missionaries have been able to found missions without considering the material advantages for the Indian, among the Chiriguano this has not been the case. I can say that almost all of them have been founded when the Indian was undergoing some calamity or persecution by his neighbors; Santa Rosa, Ivu, Parapiti, etc. were founded in this way. The Indian does not consider his spiritual well-being; when he admits the missionary into his land, he is thinking of the material advantages. By the same token if in other missions young and old are baptized without distinction, among these people this is not what happens. To baptize an adult Indian who is enjoying good health would be like asking for pears from an elm; he only requests this sacrament when he sees that there is no longer any hope of life, and in the first years of a mission even this is difficult and a great many of them reject it categorically. I could enumerate cases which have happened to me. There are persons who want to be condemned simply because they have heard from the lips of missionaries that those who do not receive baptism are not saved, and, inasmuch as nobody received it before the founding of the mission, they want to descend to the place of punishment in order to see their loved ones again. Oh sad and lamentable ignorance, from which some do not wish to emerge (2)!

2. In Yvu there was less difficulty because of the proximity of Santa Rosa, and in Parapiti there was none because of the repeated foundings in that place.

In case of calamity or persecution, the missionary is quickly sought by the caciques, who do not rest until they have gained their ends. One modern proof of this is offered to us in the case of the cacique of the village of Pipi, who

/116 cont./

797 829 177 not long ago continually appeared at the Yvu mission to take me to found a mission in his town and thus to free it from persecution by a neighbor, according to what he said. For this he promised everything, goodness, docility, adherence, free work, and all the rest; religion and baptism only were reserved for children, as in other towns. While the Indian is well off and not bothered by anyone in his lazy life with its frequent drinking, it is not easy to get good things out of him.

797 829 871 177 /117/ Even for the education of a child it is necessary to bribe the Indian with material things. He does not resist handing over his children, but he wants them to be given clothing. No matter how much they may have, he brings them to school completely naked or with a shirt all ragged and torn, so that the missionary will immediately dress them, and let it be noted that he does not ask this as a favor. Up to a certain point he seems to demand it, saying, "Ropa emeé chupé," give him clothing. If the missionary asks something as a favor, he must pay them back in material things; should he forget, they ask for them.

829 797 177 It has already been seen that the Tarairi mission was founded in the year 1854, this being the first founding to take place on the left bank of the Pilcomayo River, being due to the zeal of Father José Giannelli. It was near Easter, and the missionary let it be known to various caciques that at that time there would be a commemoration of the death of God and that they should also come, with their pains and afflictions, to demonstrate their adherence to the truths and dogmas of the Catholic faith. He knew through experience that the Chiriguano have a special tenderness for the dead. In fact, a great number of them gathered there to hear the word of the missionary father, who thought that he had conquered them all, seeing them so attentive and silent and seeing them crying and full of compunction. But Easter came, the day of joy, and those who had come to cry about the death of Jesus came once more before the missionary, asking for new

/117 cont./

829 clothing in payment for the service. Let the reader imagine
797 how the poor father, who had nothing, felt when he heard
177 such a petition (1)!

1. Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Vices and Their Consequences

883 It seems to be and is an unfortunate truth that in this
842 tribe, once so numerous, there is no lack of coquettish girls, who, if they restrained themselves from flirting any more, would not be so bad. The unfortunate thing is that these poor girls, in order to enjoy mundane pleasures and drink to the depths the dregs of corruption, or also in order not to have the nuisance of nursing children and training
[756] them, have recourse to a very simple thing. They consult
[278] the old women who bear the name of sorcerers, and these
[885] show them the remedy, which consists of a drink that they extract from certain plants or herbs which almost all the Chiriguano women and Indian sorcerers know wonderfully well.

883 /118/ These unfortunate girls, usually orphans, once the
786 period of puberty is over, drink this venomous beverage,
[881] suffer a great deal, if indeed they do not die, and are
[842] sterilized, and they then give themselves up to orgies at the time of general drinking, which is the most terrible thing that you can imagine, because at them morality is offended by words and very licentious stories, by raucous laughter and giggling by men and women, by their glances, and finally by their acts, although these take place at a
797 suitable distance from the said gathering.

/118 cont./

797 These facts cannot be denied, because they are based
[786] on the experience of centuries. Unfortunately, they do
[883] occur, and it is very difficult to uproot them. There is no lack of repentance or lack of punishment, admonitions, and fears, but civilizing action is not enough for this, nor even often the Gospel, because: animalis homo non percipit quae Dei sunt. We can say that the action of the missionary is one of yesterday among the Chiriguano. The Christians or neophytes have changed much in relation to the infidels throughout the region, but a great deal more is still lacking for them to come to understand the strength of Religion and civilization, since, naturally, abandoned humanity gives free rein to passions and it is indeed difficult to contain it afterwards in a short time (1).

1. The infidels of the missions complain about the neophytes, but they do not understand that times have changed, and the
[674] race as well. Murders are committed in other places, but this does not happen in the missions.

847 Sister to the sterility which the coquettish girls manage to procure is abortion. There is no woman who does not know the thousand ways for procuring this, always provided that they have not obtained or resorted to remedies for
847 sterilizing themselves at puberty. In general it is those girls
586 who have been betrayed by their lovers or abandoned by
836 those who have sworn fidelity to them throughout their
848 lives who come to this excess of killing innocent babies. For this reason they not only hate the perpetrator, but also his fruit in their bellies, and thus they make an effort to get rid of the innocent one by plucking it dead from their breast.

/118 cont./

847 But if they do not achieve this purpose, they do not hesitate to commit another greater crime, that of strangling
[692] the newborn or burying it alive. In spite of the fact that these cases are not very frequent, neither are they very rare, and they are easily discovered by relatives or neighbors, who denounce them to the town authority, who cannot remedy the matter either, because should he take measures, /119/ they scarcely listen to reason or to the advice that they hear, which they listen to as one listens to the rain fall.

000 Let it thus be understood once and for all that the Chiriguano, like every savage race, need first of all instruction, and later firmness, because without the first they will always be ignorant, and without the second they will scorn the instruction they have received. The Hebrew people, accustomed to religion from the beginning of the world, received admonitions, advice, and laws from Moses, with whom God communicated directly. When the people prevaricated, it was God himself who imposed upon them the punishment which suited their guilt. Sacred history is full of such acts (1).

1. With the law of encroachment, there was committed the error of carrying off prisoner an old missionary. Other such acts will follow this, and when the Chiriguano see that not even the padre is freed from jail, they will lose all fear, and they will henceforth always be criminals. The Indian does not listen to advice; rather he listens to what hurts him.

Suicide

Love is natural to humanity. There must always be an object which is loved. The scholar loves his books, the mechanic his tools, the astronomer his telescope, the mathemetician his theodolite, the philosopher his principles,

/119 cont./

500 the wives of Christ their infinite goodness, and the priests the sciences and their Author. Each one in his branch turns his affection to the object which pleases him most. Even Indians have this privilege, because they are men who come from the same tree, whose trunk is in Adam and Eve (2).

773 2. They say that the first forebears of the Chiriguano race are different from the progenitors of Christians and missionaries, because we are of a different color, wealth, intelligence, and worth. They add that their first father's name was Araparigua.

839 684 593 As a consequence of the foregoing, the Chiriguano has no object which he loves other than his fellow man, because idleness and ignorance do not make him aspire to other things. A man and a woman love each other reciprocally, but as they also inherit the original sin, they are subject to its many consequences. Thus it happens that cases where a man betrays his wife, or she him, are not rare. What is the result of this? If it is the woman who was unfaithful to the conjugal bonds, the man will remedy it by providing her with goodly number of whacks with a stick and separating from her definitively, and if it should be the man, which is generally what happens, it is not so easy for the woman to do anything /120/ about it. Instead she usually sees herself more and more oppressed. The husband makes a martyr of her. Well-founded jealousy begins to destroy her. She can do nothing against her rival. She has no religion which will help her resign herself to her fate. She makes every effort to avenge herself in some way, but it is difficult, she thinks in this extreme case that she achieves all she can do by taking her life. To do this, she finds a rope, puts it around her neck, ties it to any small tree or such thing, casts loose her body, and, since no one sees her, in a few minutes she ceases to exist (1).

839 684 593 762

1. A woman of some 25 years of age

/120 cont./

762
[837]
[884]
[593]

committed suicide in her own home early one Sunday morning at a height of one meter. She did it by kneeling down.

Suicide is not rare even among men, and there were several during my stay among the Chiriguano. The men, if they are young, commit it in order not to suffer the reproach of their parents for something bad they have done. If they are older than their wives, it is because they have no other way to remedy the woman's infidelity, because there are cases in which a man dominated by his wife and somewhat timid in nature does not dare in such circumstances to throw the bad one out of his house, and thus he believes that he can fix everything by taking his life. These unpleasant happenings and accidents happen in the fields or in the woods.

175
721
628

Boxing and Dueling

In ancient times this race was very numerous and constantly in a state of war against its common enemies, but there were other wars in which one town rose up against another for trivial reasons. In the middle of the nineteenth century there was a bloody war between the towns of Yvu and Caraguatarenta against those of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo because of oppression which the cacique Gilracoti had tried to practice (2).

2. This regional war occurred before Chimeo Mission was founded. Gilracoti deceived the authorities of Cordillera, who were quartering people in the vicinity and around Parapiti in order to repress the audacity of Yaveau, whom they believed to be the head of the revolution.

/120 cont./

578 Out of these general wars were derived other private ones, which civilized people called affairs of honor-dueling. This does not happen in private, as occurs among civilized people, who go off to a determined place with
578 their respective seconds. All is public, in the presence
541 of many people who come to drink. It is /121/ the caciques who incite their soldiers to match their strength and to avenge with crime an affront or an unfounded jealousy. When this happens, with or without a reason, the fighters place themselves in the midst of a whole crowd of spectators in the presence of the caciques, who urge them on with a word of command, while the poor angry men hit each other cruel blows.

578 Boxing is ancient, because formerly knives were not
[412 known and, if they had them, they only used them in
178] their work in the fields. Now the picture has changed;
167 the young are succeeding the old, and these young people
464] continually go to work in the Argentine Republic. There they learn how to drink pure liquor, to handle the knife with which they are armed for their work, and to defend themselves. One small word is enough: it is enough if one says yainano, let us fight, the word of challenge, and knives are unsheathed, and then blood flows. Fortunately, they usually are content with inflicting wounds which rarely bring death because they do not deliver the blow with the point of the weapon but with the edge.

167 This mania for going off to the Argentine Republic has
464 them in continual movement, and, unfortunately, many of them remain for years, to return finally bringing almost nothing with them, and if one asks them, they answer very
167 rudely, "I drank it all." Last year's law has made recruit-
464 ment impossible. Several Indians went off, but they could
648 not get through Villa-Montes and returned (1).

1. If the authorities in Villa-Montes and Yacuiba continue to capture the Indians who are trying to escape, the law will not be in vain this time.

/121 cont./

Love for the Home

574 152 When someone has been away from his town for a long time and returns, he is received with much love. He enters his house without saying a word, and if he arrives at night, to the question of "Who is it?" he merely answers "Checo," it's me, and then those in the house begin to cry or give shrieks of joy which may last for five minutes, and soon they give him something to eat and the [114] questions and answers begin. I witnessed this without being seen one night in Paraspiti at the San Antonio Mission.

152 591 169 186 It is not rare that once in a while a smaller or greater proportion of Indians temporarily leave their town, either because of scarcity or in order to avoid the anger or ill will of the cacique. They then go away with considerable unhappiness, and they go into exile like Hagar /122/ with her son Ishmael when they were ordered out by the patriarch Abraham. They cry as they leave, they cry along the way, they cry upon arriving in the land that receives them, where, in spite of the good reception which has been prepared for them by other people, they do not find peace, and they always sigh for their home.

When they decide that in their former dwelling place things may have changed, or that the cacique who is responsible for their misfortune and exile may have disappeared from among the living, they return (1). In Yvu, where

> 1. The Indian Cayuguari, because of a crime committed in Machareti, fled with a group of Indian friends and relatives, settled quite far away to the northeast of Carandaiti, and, as the cacique whom he offended is still alive and as furthermore Cayuguari began a life of cattle rustling, he never returned to his town.

the war of Curuyuqui (1892) occurred when the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, all those Indians who had taken part in the uprising were wandering about in

/122 cont./

152 other towns, and they returned almost en masse, and the first
591 thing they did when they once again trod the soil of their home-
169 land was to cry. I witnessed the arrival of a cacique with
186 his large family. Men and women came loaded with their household goods and children. They arrived in poor condition, covered with dust and sweat (it was at the end of December), tired and sad, and when they saw their fellow countrymen and relatives happy and content under the paternal rule of the Catholic missionary, they put their burdens down on the ground, in the houses of others, and then there broke out the tears and the wails, thus arousing the consternation of all the inhabitants and the missionary (1).

1. Father Cuenado relates an analogous case in his Historia de las Misiones de Tarija.

Poor unfortunates! In spite of the vices which dominate their corrupt nature, there is something noble in the Chiriguano race. Their fondness for their native place, for their home, is great. They will make any sacrifice to return and prefer to die of hunger and thirst. They will never abandon their town and their home, unless constrained by necessity, fear, or persecution.

Along the road from Tvo to Parapiti there is a town called Itatiqui, where not even drinking water can be found in the vicinity. Want is eternal there: the crops are miserable there: and they either beg for water or steal it from the lakes which are more than five kilometers from the town. Some six years ago there were about 150 families there, persecuted by some whites to whom they did not wish to be subjected. I tried to take them away to form a part of San Antonio Mission, but it was impossible to move them from the place.

They prefer to suffer hunger, thirst, vexations, and persecu-
790 tions there, but they do not abandon the place. They would re-
829 main there very happily /123/ if a small mission were built for
199 them, as they desire, which is somewhat difficult, considering the special circumstances of the place, since the civil and

/120 cont./

797 829 199 religious education of the boys and girls would not make much progress because their parents are in continual movement. Some effort at least has been made to help them by means of the property rights which they have in the territory. About three leagues long by half a league wide, and the plan was then to build them some small chapel, but I believe that these efforts will be left in the filing cabinet for centuries to come (1).

1. Today, instead of missions, they are building forts for the purpose of colonization. Doubtless the epoch of a new method of colonization has arrived, but nobody is ignorant of the fact that this costs the Republic millions, while the cost of a mission is relatively nothing, and the advantages and progress incomparable. What advances are there in Corrasco, in Guachalla, and other places? What buildings are there of note and stability? None. In a single hour the Tuba or any other savage may destroy them by fire. Don Fernando Guachalla, the president-elect, said it well when he said that the best and cheapest method of colonizing is that of founding missions.

175 511 [132] [NC] Before the Paraguiti missions were organized, these Indians suffered considerable misery, because the place was quite dry in the rainy season, and they had no means of planting along the banks of the river, since the few lands there were in the hands of the whites. Father Giannecchini passed through there in 1887 as an expeditionary to Paraguay, and when he saw them so poor and so reduced in number, he exhorted them to move to some mission, but they answered that it was not easy to leave the place where they had been born and had grown old.

4z Nino--171 M-3 (1889-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/123 cont./

Aptitudes

461 157 It cannot be denied that laziness is innate in the Chiriguano Indian, but, when compared with the Toba, Mataco, and other tribes, I assert that they do a great deal or even too much. They need a guide, they need to be watched over, but when this is not lacking, they are hard working. The whites 464 in the regions inhabited by these Indians do not know of any other laborers. All the towns of Cordillera, Azero, and Gran Chaco have been built with the energies of the Chiriguano. With these same laborers are sustained the agriculture and cattle raising of these provinces, and even by means of them are the national roads of these regions kept clean and open, as well as those from one canton to another, the one from Tacuiba to Santa Cruz and the one from Taperilla. The Chiriguano laborers began and are continuing the work on the Azero bridge, /124/ and many of them are still working on the Bermejo River close to where it arrives at Tacuiba (1).

1. A private enterprise composed of Don Braulio Zapata, corregidor of Carandaiti, the subprefect, Don Ramón Menduiña, and other well-known and rich men of the same town is organizing an expedition to the fields of Cayuguari to found a fort there and to conquer the territory. The subprefect plans to open a cart road, with the help of the Chiriguano cacique, Mandepónai, and his soldiers.

999 The paternal rule of the missionaries has managed to make the Chiriguano much more docile: it has succeeded in building towns and large centers of population around the Cross; there is not one of the towns of those who live in complete ignorance of Religion that can be compared with them. The Missionaries have succeeded in building magnificent churches, great teaching establishments, comfortable and airy houses, workshops for arts and crafts. They have managed to implant the teaching of

/124 cont./

797 Religion, that of reading and writing, and even the art of musical chords, which is only seen in the great centers of the world (2).

[533] 2. In the Potosí missions there are four music bands, and in those of Tarija, two.

The history of the Tarija missions is glorious in all of its pages. The reader can consult, whenever he wishes, the one of the Colegio of Potosí in its two epochs as well. This will cast a brilliant light upon the matter, and the traveler can say nothing to contradict it when, ecstatically, he contemplates the grandiose, strong, and well-planned edifice of the Santa Rosa Mission, that of the elevated Machareti Mission, that of the old or semisecular Tarairi Mission, and the one which, as though by enchantment and with order, is being built in the mission of San Antonio del Parapiti Grande.

797 All of this shows that the Chiriguano, in spite of his
157 indolence, is docile, and with gentleness and a little strictness
177 at the same time he will do whatever the white and the missionary wish him to do. It finally demonstrates that, though he does have his vices and defects, certain human virtues are not lacking. It shows that it is necessary to educate his nature by teaching, with civilization, as the carpenter with his plane smooths a piece of wood if he wants to make the job elegant, or a blacksmith with his file smooths the rough iron until he has made a key, a lock, or any other object.

/125/ Philanthropy

577 To end this third chapter and then pass on to deal with
829 Chiriguano religion, I am going to say in passing that they are very compassionate with the unfortunate. If one of them suffers the harshness of imprisonment, they all make every effort to ask that he be freed and will even sacrifice whatever they may
[936] have to obtain it. If someone is sick, he is visited by many; if one is left an orphan, all are his fathers, mothers, grandparents, and brothers and sisters, or at least they are his uncles and aunts or brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

/125 cont./

736 [578] Thus, being an orphan is unknown among these Indians, and the worst insult that can be given to a Chiriguano is to call him Tinei, orphan, or paravete, poor. The family which takes charge of an orphan who was left without a father or mother or close relatives, treats him better than its own children. To the latter it shows strictness and obliges them to do certain chores of minor importance, but to the orphan never. He works because he wants to, and he sees that gratitude to his new parents demands it of him. He remains in the house in which he is a guest until the age of puberty, and then, with no thanks whatever, he disappears and goes to live in other towns, where he may settle down temporarily or forever, depending upon how well he may be received there (1).

576

1. Chiriguano boys never thank anyone for anything, but when they take leave they say *Ayema, I am leaving. Old people and* adults utter an occasional word of thanks.

574 609 With transients or travelers, whether they be Indians or whites, they use proper manners. If there is chicha in the house, it is the first thing that they offer him when he has taken a seat, and then they prepare for him whatever food is available. There are travelers who remain in a Chiriguano house for weeks and months, and never does the Indian get tired of him. He serves him just as he served him on the first day, and when he leaves he even makes him promise to come back to visit. Oh, how the barbarians who are called savages shame the conduct of so many men who call themselves civilized, and, greater dishonor, Catholic Christians! They treat inhumanely their fellowmen, comparing them with quadrupeds. They cheat the helpless, are bad examples for the unfortunate, making them pay dearly in times of want for even a handful of maize, while the Indian, when he has it, will give it away, or charge very little for it, and makes no request for payment should the white come to his house to ask for water or for chicha, which is never lacking in times of abundance (2).

2. I have seen maize sold on the scales at

/125 cont./

574
609

20 centavos the libra, and 25 as well. In the Chaco this is too expensive.

/126/

600

Chapter Four

Religion, Divinities, and Beliefs of the Chiriguano

/The introduction to this chapter, "An Illustrious Franciscan," pp. 126-127, is omitted in the translation./

/128/

Religion

/2/

It is beyond any doubt that all peoples profess some religion. This fact is proved by the testimony of all missionaries and confirmed by innumerable travelers of various nationalities and who profess different creeds.

But to the extent that religion implies external demonstrations of veneration, the variety of ways of worship is so great that it may well be stated that every people has its special way, proper and peculiar to it, in which it honors its divinities.

The most advanced peoples display in their respective demonstrations of worship all possible splendor. They have magnificent temples, priests, and a ceremonial which, if it is not always in conformity with the dictates of common sense, does tend, nevertheless, by its nature and form, to awaken in man a sense of veneration and respect for a superior being, represented by something which strikes the senses.

From this point of view it would not be too bold to state that the external worship of peoples in general is in direct proportion to their level of civilization and culture.

This explains why among savage people there can scarcely be discovered a single sign, a ceremony, which might be a sign of external demonstrations of worship. But in reality it does

/128 cont./

121 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not show Him homage in some way.

771 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find
124 out with special care, constancy, and assiduousness what religion they profess and what type of worship they render to their divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

[115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion, and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate
776 one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt true,
775 however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

[805] 1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the
[171] months by moons, and they have other very
[192] similar customs. It is very notable that they also have some Hebrew words.

577 /129/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is,
771 natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts, since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

/129 cont./

196 This same thing is not true with respect to the external
18 demonstrations of worship. The Chiriguano, like every savage
171 people, have no temples, priests, or ceremonial to regulate manifestations of worship. Does this also demonstrate that they completely lack external demonstrations of veneration of a god? It is not easy to give a categorical answer regarding this, because
[186] if it is the truth, as now seems to be the case, for I have not been able to discover any fact which shows the existence of that worship, this could be explained if we take into account the fact that the savage, because of his condition of isolation in the midst of the forest, is distrustful; he looks at the white man with suspicion. This is more than sufficient reason for him to hide his religious acts from the view of the latter.

Nobody could deny us the exactness and solid foundation of this observation, since it is a fact that civilized men, even among themselves, are ashamed to practice religious acts for human reasons, from whence comes the fact that they neither fulfill the duties of their religion nor come to the churches, and, what is worse, they make a show of a religious indifference which is very far from what in fact they feel.

Let us agree then that the Chiriguano does profess some religion, like all other peoples of the world.

This conclusion will be corroborated by what we are going to see in the following sections.

Divinities

776 That the Chiriguano have some divinities is undeniable, but it is very difficult to determine what character they have and to what category they belong according to the concepts of these savages. This is the reason why it is impossible to determine with certainty whether or not they /130/ profess polytheism or monotheism, when one considers the diversity of excellence, power, and pre-eminence which they attribute to their divinities.

/130 cont./

776 What I am going to set down here will cast some light on this subject and will enlighten the intelligence of the studious man for its investigation.

124 776 From conversations with the true Chiriguanos it is impossible to form any idea of the supreme being that they accept. I say true Chiriguanos, by which I mean those who have had almost no contact with missionaries or whites. Today it is difficult to find one of these. Yet despite this, if one should ask the old people who live far from the missions, "Who made all that we see?" they answer, "Quia ndipó?" Who can it be? "Who created us?" They answer: "Ti! Ndicuaá á?" What do you mean? Do you not know? And they give a purely material explanation, as happened on an exploration and trip that I made several years ago in the company of other missionaries south of the canton or town of Huacaya, where I talked with an old cacique who had taken part in the war of 1875 against Igüembe and who, after the pacification, preferred to live outside the mission and planned to die there, because he is convinced that Indians who live in missions die earlier, just as, according to him, all of his companions from Boicovo have already died, which is not true, because they still are alive there, as old as he is (1).

790 177 829 [114]

1. The Indians have had and will continue to have the false and erroneous idea that baptism makes those who receive it die, because it is administered to men and women who are in immediate danger of death, and hence those who are old do not wish to be baptized when they are enjoying good health.

192 In the Chiriguano language we find the word Tunpa, which means "superior being" or "marvelous being." When for the first time they saw a large clock with its "tick, tock" and the pendulum making the hands move and giving energy to the hammer to strike the hours with its little bell or wire string, when they saw for the first time the photographic camera which reproduced the image of one or more of them, the clock and camera were Tunpa for the Chiriguano. They applied this word to both things,

/130 cont./

192 and it is the one that they apply to anything that causes them wonder or admiration over something new.

776 192 [197] It is the missionary and the Christians who have made it understood to the Indian that Tunpa means God, the maker of all things visible and invisible. Father Corrado, one of the most illustrious Franciscan missionaries, who thoroughly understood the Chiriguano language, in which he wrote a brief but profound catechism, says clearly in a note on its first page that it cannot be stated /131/ that the word Tunpa means God, and he only puts it in his catechism because all the writers who have dealt with the Chiriguano race give the word Tunpa the meaning of God.

This Tunpa of which the Chiriguano cannot give a clear idea and which the missionaries and Christians explain as meaning the true God, Tunpaete vae (1), is for the Indian the source

[193] 1. The particle "Ete" in this language expresses the superlative degree. It is put after a noun, pronoun, adjective, or verb.

of all that is good, a living and material being, in contrast to another divinity. He makes it rain, he makes the algarrobas, maize, gourds, and everything edible ripen, he wards off sickness and all calamities, in spite of which all these kindnesses are still attributed to the sorcerers, men of flesh and blood like anyone else, who consequently have the name Tunpaete, for which reason I said that, for the Indian, Tunpa is a living physical being. If the missionary, as Columbus did, could announce in advance an eclipse or the appearance of a comet, for the Indian he is a Tunpa (2).

2. Several times I have announced beforehand eclipses of the moon. Last year, long before it became visible, I announced to the Indians the appearance of Halley's comet. This was sufficient for me to be called Tunpaete.

/131 cont./

776 Besides the Tunpa, the old people accepted and still accept in certain places another divinity more powerful than the one described. This second divinity is the astute and intrepid fox, called in their language Aguara-Tunpa, fox god. According to them, he is almost always in a struggle with the first one, and they state as a dogma of faith that he does everything possible to destroy the work of the true God, sometimes showing himself to be a friend of the human race, limited to the Chiriguano, and at other times its enemy.

A Fabulous Belief about the Flood

773 I am going to tell a fable which confirms the second property of the Aguara-Tunpa, because it also gives an idea of the universal flood, argued about so much today, concerning which so many opinions have been forthcoming, some of them admissible and others poorly thought out. Here it is:

It is told that in very remote times the Aguara-Tunpa declared himself at war with the true God, creator of the Chiriguano race. The reason for this enmity is not known, but it seems that he did it because of a contradictory scheme or spirit. In order to spite /132/ the true God, the Aguara-Tunpa set fire to all the fields and pastures at the middle or beginning of autumn, and, together with the plants and trees, all the animals which served as food for the Chiriguano died, so that the latter, who had not begun the sowing of maize and other cereals, as they do now, found themselves close to perishing (1).

1. In a not too distant period, before spring began they burned the fields in honor of Aguara-Tunpa.

In this extremity they came to the banks of the rivers and lined their banks to seek in the waters what they could not find on the land, which was still smoking from the terrible fire, and then Aguara-Tunpa, who was close of being frustrated in his

/132 cont./

773 purpose, thought up another supreme effort, making fall from the heavens torrential rains, Iporu (2), in order to destroy the Chiriguano

[192]

2. I means water, and its pronunciation is gutteral and nasal; poru means to lend oneself /prestarse/; thus, Iporu is explained literally: he lent himself to water /se prestó agua/.

race completely inundating all men in the waters.

He would have succeeded in destroying all the Chiriguano, but they in extremity and perhaps by advice from the true God, Tunpaete, found a large gourd, Choguao, put in it two small human beings, children of the same mother, male and female, cuimbae, cuña, and they let the little vessel float on the surface of the water.

The rain continued to fall in all its force. The waters rose over the surface of the land, rising to great heights, and drowned all the Chiriguano except the children in the Choguao, or large gourd, who were saved from the catastrophe. Later it ceased raining, and the waters dried up again, leaving a thoroughly filthy mud. The children came out of their receptacle, without which they would have died of cold and hunger.

It can be easily understood that the fish and their kind did not perish in the waters of the Iporu, and thus for a long time these had to be the food of the two human beings, but how to cook them, when even fire had disappeared? Before this happened, there was another compassionate being who did not permit the total loss of this good element. This being or second cause was the Cururu, toad (3).

[192]

3. The word Cururu should not be confused with Curu, which means mange. From Curu comes Curuyuqui, salt which cures mange. The pacifiers of the war of 1892 wrote incorrectly Cururuyuqui.

[114]

/133/

773 The Cururu then, before the total flood, went into the ground, carrying burning embers in his mouth, and there, by blowing on them, he did not let them go out. When he found out that the liquid element had disappeared from the face of the earth, he once again took into his mouth the embers of fire, came out into the open air, sought out the two children, delivered the fire to them, and thus they were able to cook the fish which they were patiently extracting from the fresh water, and thus they were able to give warmth to their shivering members (1).

[538] [825]

1. When children bother a toad, it will puff itself up to remind them that by blowing it did not let the fire go out, reminding them that they owe it gratitude. This is what the very old people tell the children.

The two children grew older until they were old enough to propagate, which in fact they did until the Chiriguano had again multiplied, all of whom, according to them, descended from those two beings.

This story, as I said, clearly manifests, with very slight differences, the idea of the universal flood, of Noah's ark, and of the human race which was saved in it. At the same time it demonstrates the ill will of Aguara-Tunpa against God and His creatures, and the new multiplication of the race on the banks of a river.

776 173 792 The primary divinities, one completely good and the other good and bad, depending on his will, are only two, but tradition and relatively contemporary history teach us that in different times and in various regions some daring Indian who was fond of laziness and other people's property, with a degree of loquacity and extraordinary promises, managed to gather around him in his new house, which he had deliberately built outside the town, a multitude of Indians from near and far and claimed to be Tunpa, an extraordinary and marvelous being. Others, including a certain woman of great daring, have claimed to be Tunpa ichi, "mother of God," which had little effect, and on other occasions,

/133 cont./

776 finally, the caciques, tired of being oppressed in certain areas by
173 certain bad Christians, have called some unfortunate, but alert
792 and bright boy Tunpa, in order to gather Indians from other areas to hear a flesh and blood God and fight with courage in the holy war (2).

000

2. The Mexicans, at the time they were conquered by Hernán Cortes, had temples and idols, with priests serving them. When they beat on the holy drum, the fury of the warriors was kindled. In one battle Cortes lost 60 Spaniards, who were burned before the idols.

776 In this last case the illustrious Missionary Father Angélico
173 /134/ Martarelli, in his appendix to the history of the missions
792 says in substance the following: "The boy whom the caciques
791 chose to deceive the rest assumed the name of Tunpa so that his oracles would be believed and respected with great reverence. He was shut up in a hut and from there, through his counselors (one of whom is still alive and very attached to the missionary), gave answers to those who asked, Indian or white. These must respect his advice with all humility, and they were damned if they declared themselves unbelievers, while those who were good joined the ranks behind his flag.

Beliefs in the Spirits

152 It is not unusual for someone who is passing through Chiriguano towns to hear, either near or far, a man or a woman, or some-
[775] times many people, crying, especially at night. In this last case it causes sadness and who knows what terror for white hearers or for missionaries, because these wails sound like those of condemned
775 souls, and it seems as if they are crying about their misfortunes and the loss of eternal blessings.

/134 cont./

775 If one asks the Indians about this point, they answer that a woman has seen in her dreams the shade of her departed husband, or he that of his departed wife, and both, those of their children, relatives, or grandparents, for all of whom they have an excessive fondness, and it can be deduced from this that in the Chiriguano race there is a confused belief in the immortality of the soul, since, with regard to the body, they themselves can see that everything turns to dust and earth.

775 776 192 Some explorers and travelers have set down in writing that they call the soul Añia; the Indians also confirm these accounts, but they do not give the name Añia indiscriminately to all souls, but only to those which had a very bad death, such as suicide, and those who took a long time to die. But in no case would a mother call her child's soul Añia, nor would relatives use this term for their departed, because Añia means demon or evil spirit (1).

[123] 1. At times I have been called to pray near a person gravely ill, so that he might die sooner and thus be free of that spirit, which, according to them, is bad, but I made it understood to them that I would neither pray as they wished nor was the sick person evil because of taking a long time to die.

The true enemy of the Tunpa is the Añia, demon, but /135/ this latter word only means demon through use, just as iã by the same use means soul. The Indians today give both terms the meaning that I attribute to them, and I still lean on the authority of Father Corrado, who in his catechism defines Añia as demon, Anãrenta, place of demons, Añia inuna, the demon's companion, 775 yaneãgũe, our soul, iãgũe, their soul. The Indians have great 776 fear of a demon and souls possessed by demons; they say that they frequently see them at night, and when they have to walk in the shadows, they carry a burning firebrand (1).

[192] 1. Añia means phantom in Chiriguano; iã means shade, cuarasi iã pe, in the shade. Missionaries should make them understand the true meaning.

/135 cont./

775 776 because the Indians know that the evil spirit is a phantom, and the soul of the dead a shade; chemembi iã ahecha, I saw the shade of my son, says the mother.

776 784 [123] One night while the smallpox epidemic was going on, they called me, being the Conversor of the Santa Rosa Mission, to catechize a poor and miserable old woman who was some two and a half kilometers from the town. Among those who accompanied me there was one whom I well remember, who is still alive and whose name I shall not forget, who carried a burning firebrand, which was not necessary for me because the night was quite bright. When he was asked the reason for such a thing, he answered: Añia añuguae vaena, to chase away the demons. They all do this especially when they are alone, which is rare, because the Chiriguano only rarely goes out at night because of his fear of evil spirits.

776 174 171 From this it can be deduced with considerable probability that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay. There were in that region, in past centuries, the missionaries of the Company of Jesus, who are famous for their apostolic work and for the suffering which they experienced in the reduction of the region. Because of the sorcerers some of them even suffered martyrdom.

I had the opportunity to read a brief history, which I have mentioned above, written by Father Antonio of this same company, and I learned that the Guaraní believe in sorcerers and saw the Añia, demon, at all times and places. It destroyed the wheatfields and other plantings, did damage in their houses and burned them. Even the Guaraní called the bad spirit Añia which the said missionary applies to the demon (2).

2. A work written in the Guaraní missions of Paraguay.

/135 cont./

000 Revelation teaches us that legions of angels were lost because of an error or the grave sin of pride and passed into the category /136/ of the condemned or demons. Faith, reason, and common sense teach us that perverse men who die in their perversity are separated from good ones, as evil-doers are separated in this world by being imprisoned in jails. Divine justice demands punishment for the perverse, who, like condemned persons, pass into the category of lost spirits and as semblance of the demons, God allowing this, and they can appear to those of us who live here in the world to detain us along the way of sin or to warn us about it.

776 787 Under this concept it is not repugnant even to common sense to admit the probability that the Chiriguano do see the Aña, demon or evil spirit. Sacred history speaks of visions and apparitions; profane histories cannot combat them, but rather they relate innumerable facts of demoniac apparitions which have appeared by means of spiritualism. It is not strange that such a thing should happen among the Chiriguano. Doubtless it is incredible that it should be so frequent. They say that they see the demons at every moment of the night, whenever there is no fire or light, but this is a puerile worry, and due to fear and fright in some and to ignorance in others (1).

[372] [789] 1. In all the houses of the true Chiriguano there is always a fire burning at night for the principal end of keeping away the evil spirit or Aña.

773 Beliefs Relative to the Creation

[115] Before going on I am going to relate what was told to me by the cacique Anduari of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission, who, in order to increase his income, is a sorcerer or witch doctor for the Indians and some whites in a wide area. According to the account that follows, the human race, or the Chiriguano, was destroyed twice. The first time and its restoration have already been seen. The second occurred in the following way (2).

[585] [777] 2. Anduari gave his account in the presence of his

773
[585]
[177]

/136 cont./

wife and his Christian daughter, whose name is Candelaria Asúmbai, married according to the Catholic marriage ceremony.

Anduari then says that the first Chiriguano man, named Araparigua, without others knowing it, was saved from the universal flood, because, as a creature who had come directly from the hands of God and consequently was very beloved, he was taken up to the sky before the earth was flooded. /Illustration appears here./ /137/ When the Chiriguano had multiplied anew, he came down again to enjoy as before the pleasures of Bacchus and Venus, but very soon he made himself abhorred by all the people because of his haughtiness and his abuse of the property and women of others. Hence he was at the point of perishing, murdered by his own vassals, but Tunpa came to his aid, took him away again, and put him in his company. There Araparigua swore vengeance and asked Tunpa to destroy the whole race. God, knowing that his privileged creature no longer had any close relatives, such as a wife, mother, father, and children, acceded to his desires, and the Chiriguano were destroyed for a second time (1).

[595]

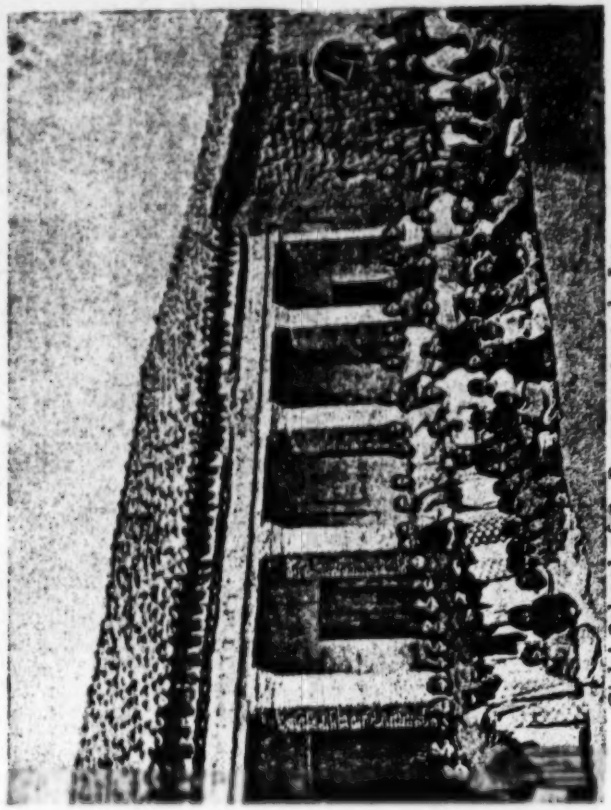
1. The caciques follow the example of Araparigua, having several wives and abusing others,to the great sorrow of their parents and of the damsels themselves. It is completely false that the women of this race who fall to the cacique consider it an honor, as is stated by Dr. Leocadio Trigo. I do not know if this happens with those of other races, but he writes in general of all of the races of the Chaco.

But the Tunpa did not wish to be without privileged creatures for a long time, and he came down to earth again. He made a human body from clay with all the members corresponding to the masculine sex. Then he made another with all the members of the female body. He gave life to both, they lived, and he left them in their nakedness, leaving them in possession of a beautiful place.

[text continues on p. 188]

4: Nino--187 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
871



Girls' School of S. Buenaventura de Ivo

/137 cont./

973 In this beautiful and picturesque place there were fruit trees of all kinds, the fruits that they produced were beautiful to see and agreeable to the palate. Before leaving them the Tunpa gave them free use of all the fruit produced by the trees, prohibiting them from touching and eating the fruit of only one.

826 973 After a few days the man, passing under the prohibited tree and seeing the beauty of its fruit, said, "Why would God not want us to eat such beautiful fruit? There would not be anything bad in my simply tasting them, and furthermore he cannot see me." So he took one and put it in his mouth to eat, but at the same time that he was doing this he turned his head, and the fruit, instead of going down to his stomach, stuck in his throat, thus forming the haseuranti, or what is commonly called the Adam's apple (2).

> 2. The woman never touched the forbidden fruit, and the proof is that there is nothing in her throat; there is no haseuranti or Adam's apple: this is what the Indian himself says.

973 According to the account the woman did not eat the forbidden fruit, but in spite of this she felt the effects of the disobedience of her husband or companion, since, like him, she was ashamed of being /138/ naked and she felt the stirrings of concupiscence, which previously neither she nor the man had felt, and as a consequence of which they were united matrimonially, only after having broken the divine precept.

The Tunpa was not long in appearing, and before him they were both ashamed to see themselves naked, and they covered their nakedness by sitting huddled up on the ground. The Tunpa, who knew everything, called them to him gently, forgiving their sin, and gave them each proper clothing, and bade them farewell, allowing them to multiply.

The Indian, as anyone can understand, sees this as the reorganization of the Chiriguano race, but we can all see in this story the creation of man, his primordial innocence, his life in paradise, the prohibition which God imposed on him,

/138 cont./

993 the disobedience that was his sin, and the confusion which the guilt caused in him, with its consequent reprehension (1).

> 1. This story lacks the promise of a Savior, a most important fact, to be sure, but it should be kept in mind that this is a centuries-old tradition. The Indian is ignorant and only sees material things.

It can clearly be seen that this account, with only a slight difference, follows the story told by Moses in the first chapters of the Bible and adds even more to the proof that the inhabitants of the Americas came from and are descendants of the first man, a fact which so many enemies of Religion make efforts to deny. It also proves the unity of our race or species against Darwin, who would have it descend through evolution until it is related to the orangutan (2).

> 2. Hernán Cortes visited the Emperor Moctezuma during his first visit to Mexico. The latter assured him that they descended from other very ancient men, similar to the Spaniards, whom they called brothers.

It is easy to see that the Chiriguano tradition just related has been altered slightly, and that they attribute the reconstruction of the race to it, which, according to the Bible, is in fact the creation or formation of the first man. Centuries have passed since the universal flood and even more since the creation of the first man. The Chiriguano race is ignorant, has no books, no writing. It is descended from the Guaraní, who always lived apart from civilization. It could never be subjugated by the Incas, and thus it is not strange that the said tradition regarding creation might have changed until it is believed to be a second creation. Instead it is strange that /139/ up to now it has been preserved so clearly and with so few differences. I confess that when I first heard it I could not but be surprised and amazed, and I present it for the consideration of my readers just as I heard it.

[212]
[174]

/139 cont./

Belief in the Future Life

[115] This belief has suffered many more alterations than the previous one: nevertheless it reveals that even under the rude and ignorant nature of the poor Indian and the unfortunate Chiriguano there is in force the idea of the great philosopher, *non omnis moriar*, which so many materialists would have end with material life, doubtless in order to drown apparently the remorse of the gnawing worm which from time to time appears and unintentionally reminds us of the perversities which have been perpetrated (1).

[117] 1. It is difficult for the Chiriguano to understand spiritual matters, for which reason his ideas concerning the future life are purely material. Without revelation this dogma of faith is not understood.

When the soul of a Chiriguano leaves the body, it does not die. All, without realizing it or even suspecting it, have this idea of the immortality of the soul. Mourning and sentiments of grief, burial, and things that they put in the coffin when someone dies, with which I shall deal later, are related to this. Should someone ask them about this, they would answer, "Mahano" How will it be? I don't know. In spite of this ignorance, in order to express their thoughts regarding the soul and its immortality, they admit that there are three places for souls: Tuparenta, Ibora, and Cocaigli, Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell.

[123] [191] I am going to deal with the three, rectifying what concerns Ibora, which belief I was acquainted with from the beginning of residence among the race and an account of which can be found in my little Nino, which was printed in the year 1905 to help Chiriguano children learn the Spanish or Castilian language.

The Tuparenta is literally the place of God, or his dwelling place, as the aiarenta is the dwelling place of the devil. I have already noted the fact that Tunga is the source of good, of all virtue, of everything good: Tocoaci. With this idea that he has of God, the Chiriguano naturally concludes that God only

/139 cont./

775 admits to His company good, virtuous people who are free of all evil, Mbia hecocavi vaé, cuña hecocavi vaé, a man or woman of good habits. /140/ excluding the wicked, murderers, and suicides, who become Aña, demons, or souls of the bad ones (1).

[192]

1. Tenta means town and place: joined to another noun the T changes into R, which is why one says Tunparenta, Añarenta, Irenta, etc., or God's place, devil's place, and water place.

In order that the Chiriguano may go to the Tunparenta, even for the sole purpose of visiting his relatives, he must subject himself to four difficult tests, which, without help, directions, or advice, would be insuperable, from which can be seen the necessity for the sacrifice subjecting oneself to the arrangements of the Tunpa and of following the wise teachings of a sagacious guide, for if a traveler needs one to pass through a mountainous or desert region, exposed to innumerable dangers, how much more logical is it that the man should also have one when dealing with knowledge by means of sacred books on the road to eternal life? From this the reader can deduce how much in error are the followers of Luther, Calvin, etc., who attempt to investigate the true meaning of the Bible only by the dictates of their conscience, and doing without the infallible mastery of the Church established by Christ in the person of St. Peter and his legitimate successors!

An old Chiriguano had lost his wife whom he loved with all his heart, for which reason his grief and pain were incalculable. As a result his life was in danger and he was about to die. At this a compassionate soul appeared to him and said: "Why are you crying so much? Why are you in such pain? No doubt you don't know the fate which has befallen your wife! Know that she is enjoying herself, that she is in a place of delight where all is pleasure and there is no suffering, where one drinks every day and there is always a fiesta, where there is no poverty, or cold, or heat, or sickness. Let us go so that you can see and stop crying. But I warn you that before going, like all, you too must pass the four tests, which you will overcome easily in my company."

/140 cont./

975 The afflicted Indian, desiring to see his mourned wife again, quickly dressed himself in his best clothes, adorned his person, painted his face with Urucu, Bixa orellana, put around his neck the Itogüi, necklaces, picked up his lance, and went off, following the strange and mysterious guide (2).

2. It is natural for fallen humanity to clean up and dress up in order to present itself decently before a respectable public or before venerated persons. Christians ought to practice this when they go to church to hear or receive the divine mysteries and sacraments.

/141/ They made the first day's journey without incident and prepared their first night's lodging on a green and beautiful plain, where grew perfumed flowers and gigantic trees, which, with their leafy tops provided shelter for an infinity of birds. There they slept very peacefully without having their sleep disturbed by the wild animals of the nearby woods, and the next day, early in the morning, they set out again, and when the wide plain ended, the guide said to the Indian: "Get ready because we are now near the first test." And in fact he could see it. It was an enormous fire which rose almost to the clouds and then quickly came down again. Every time it rose up, it formed an arch, which allowed one to take a quick step. When he was warned by the guide that he should drive his horse forward at a gallop at the instant that the great flame rose up, they did it and passed through without incident (1).

1. Before beginning his trip the Chiriguano, on the mysterious guide's order, stole without permission two horses belonging to others and saddles for the comfort of both.

Before arriving at the end of the second day's journey they found themselves facing another danger. This was a wide well of boiling water which completely blocked the way, as did the first and later things. The well was easy to get over by a great

/141 cont./

775 jump on the part of the horse, but the boiling water kept rising to a great height and then would come down again with great force. The passage, however, was managed by the travelers quite happily, and they got far enough away from the place so that the noise did not disturb their rest and their sleep that night.

On the next day, before sunrise, they again began their trip toward the Tunparenta. The clear dawn and the fresh morning breezes announced a beautiful day; the little birds of the woods with their sweet and gentle songs brightened those lonely places. The jaguar in the distance showed his displeasure because the silence of those woods had been disturbed by alien living beings, and other beasts of the forest fled in fear, while the star of the day appeared with its shining face, casting beams through the thick woods which covered the region.

Now the sun was shining in the firmament as on the other days. They had now covered one third of the way when the third test appeared. This consisted of two enormous boulders in continuous movement, opening and closing continually with a terrible noise like thunder. /142/ With the guide showing the way, and the Indian passed through without difficulty, and very soon they arrived at the fourth test. This was made up of some huge scissors with the points down, which would have cut any careless person in half without any possibility of escape, but the travelers passed without difficulty, and after this they found themselves in front of the Tunparenta.

This was an immense pampa, carpeted with flowers and grasses of every color and full of happy people who drank continually the favorite liquor of the Chiriguano. The Indian there saw his wife and his daughter, richly dressed, resplendent like the moon, and he asked them to return in his company, but they did not consent. The Indian returned alone, promising to behave well in order to be able to join them soon (1).

1. The first of the spouses to die waits in the Tunparenta for the survivor in order to be reunited again. Bachelors must wait until spinsters die, in order to contract matrimony in heaven, where they do not experience the jealousies and debauchery of their companions.

/142 cont./

775 The Iboca which I have mentioned is in a certain way similar to the purgatory of the Catholics, and in some ways similar to limbo, since the Indians state that souls which go there are in utter darkness, which is the same thing as not seeing God, and this alone constitutes great suffering. Other corporal and moral punishments do not exist there, but the darkness is perpetual (2).

2. In Iboca, located southeast of Igüembe Canton, souls can be heard at night in continuous joy and bacchanalia with songs and dances. By day all is sepulchral silence, so they all say.

The Cuarasigüi, literally, under the sun, is for the Chiriguano the true hell, where is felt the true eternal fire which is represented by the sun, in the immediate vicinity of which it is impossible to remain, as the natural sciences, cosmology, demonstrate. According to the Chiriguano, those Indians who take the life of another, those who take other people's property, those who commit suicide, and those who commit sins contra naturam go to Curasigüi.

773 According to a famous explorer and ethnologist who not long ago passed through the region from Guachalla to the boundary which divides Bolivia from Peru in the northwest, there exists among the Chiriguano the idea or belief in the Tower of Babel, where the confusion of languages took place. According to that reference formerly there was but one language spoken, and, according to them, this was Quichua /Quechua/. The idea of creation, of the flood, of the confusion of languages, the method of counting the months by moons and the seasons by what they signify, /143/ and various Chiriguano words similar to Hebrew are powerful arguments to demonstrate the unity of the human race against the rationalists who are trying to show that there were men destroyed by the flood in America (1).

[192] [197]

1. The Chiriguano words ava, hae, húú, and mahanu?, man, he, black, and what is it?, are similar to the Hebrew av, ael, húm, and mahanu?, man or father, he, black, and what is that?

/143 cont./

Prayers

771 Certainly the fact that this race does not have external manifestations of worship greatly attracts the attention of men of science and missionaries. The Chiriguano is born and grows like a little lamb is born and grows. They do not know where they come from, and all of their actions are reduced to pure nature. The Chiriguano never raises his mind or his heart up-
[821] ward. He discusses the firmament; he counts the stars and even separates them into groups as though by astronomical principles; he admires the grandiosity of the sun and of the moon, he understands the beneficence of the nourishing world, but the totality remains mute and silent before the works of nature or
[782] of creation. Visible things do not lead the intelligence of the Chiriguano to the knowledge of the Cause of such effects, and inasmuch as he has a rather vague idea of God, he does not offer worship to Him or to anything which resembles Him.

782 It is consequently useless to look for idols in this country, just as it is extremely useless to inquire about temples or hermitages for religious gatherings. Prayers, however much they may be investigated, are very abridged, if there are any, and are not worth being called such, because they are rather a kind of boasting by the one uttering them, in order that all may see that he is eloquent in speaking. This is what they do in the general gatherings when they drink for many days and eat in the
[539] plaza. Enthusiasm comes in the heat of drinking, and, on seeing an immense multitude, someone will raise his voice, saying more or less the following: Çheru Tunpa, icaviño taicó, pucu emeé cheve cherecovena, cherimbiuna emoñimoña cheve, tacherori catu taicó, anu tamano. My God, make me be well off, give me a long life, make my food be produced, give me happiness, do not allow me to die (2).

[761] 2. The only thing that the Chiriguano wants is to live forever, but he sees that it is impossible and contents himself with expressing his vehement desire, but he does not believe that death comes to him naturally.

/143 cont./

000 The sun is a beneficent star; it gives us light, warms us in winter, causes food to grow for men and animals, /144/ it is a creation which God has put in the world so that, as a second cause it will maintain the universe and all things in it, this being the principal virtue granted to it by the Maker of all things.

821 782 The Chiriguano understands the virtue of the sun to the extent that it strikes his corporal senses, and thus it was with difficulty in ancient times that he elevated his spirit to the contemplation of another invisible Being superior to the star of the day, from which it came about, according to some writers, that the Chiriguano would address some prayer to this king of the sky, like some tribe, and timidly and courteously uncover the head upon meeting an intrepid fox.

But however much I asked about this subject, no one gave me any information about such a prayer. The only thing they said that the old people did was to call the sun father and ask it not to hide its face. Today, when the country is invaded by whites and [799] even by people from the Old World, today when there is no Chiriguano place that has not been trod by the foot of the missionary, founding missions here, passing through there, and in another place exploring the will of the Indians, all has changed and those who do not know of the existence of the true God are few. There are few Indians who do not know that the sun is a work of God and therefore incapable of receiving outward demonstrations of veneration, when they do not even render it to God (1).

1. It is very probable that formerly the ancients were happy when the sun came out, as anyone would be happy, and that they would have a special fondness for it, whence comes the argument by some that they address prayers to it, but it is natural for man to be happy when the sun appears.

/144 cont./

Genii

776 171 Where ignorance dominates, superstition is the result, I imagine, since all the tribes adjacent to the Chiriguano must believe in the existence of genii or owners of certain places who, not to offend anybody, are even accepted by some members of the white race, especially when dealing with buried treasures. This is not the least strange, since before the arrival of Christ all humanity, except for the Hebrews, believed in this, and even today in those places where the light of the Gospel has not penetrated a belief in genii prevails, even among enlightened people, because only the Gospel dissipates /illustration appears here/ /145/ the mists from the soul and destroys error, consequences of the fall of the first man.

778 776 In Chiriguano the tutelar genii of a place are called Iya, owner in the literal sense. If the Chiriguano pass by places where there is some genie, they find it difficult to approach, and if one asks them where there might be some limestone or gypsum, they will not tell for fear of the Iya, who would take revenge by killing the Chiriguano who caused the place watched over by the genie to be discovered. If something useful must be taken from such a place, they do it with the permission of the Iya (1).

[278] [317] [231]

1. The presence of the Iya in places where petroleum is found is undeniable for the Chiriguano. They will take what is absolutely necessary of this liquid to cure the sores of their horses, cows, etc.

135 When the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, the missionary made every effort to try to find gypsum and limestone, but no Indian was willing to tell where it was abundant. Nevertheless, by chance, while the foundations of the church were being built, it was discovered that many of the stones being used were of hydraulic lime, an abundant vein of which was found about 300 meters from the church itself on top of a hill. Gypsum up to today has not been found in the areas thereabouts for the same reason, but there are signs of its presence. In

797

The Santa Rosa Mission Band

135 /145 cont./
Caraparirenta there is an occasional stone of this, which has been brought there by water.

In Huacaya Canton, along the shores of the Pilcomayo on the lower slopes of the hills of Oriente, it is asserted that there must be mines or deposits of gold. A stream brings little nuggets to [648] certain places. Almost all the whites there say that the Indians pick up these nuggets, sell some of them, and work others into rings or earrings for their wives, but up to now, however hard the whites have tried to discover the place, they have never found an Indian who would take them (2).

776
778

2. They say that in the woods on the peak of a small hill there are two bells hanging from a tree and in another place a building with two

/145 cont./

776 778 small apartments, owned by the Iya, a child who leaves footprints when it walks. They believe these things as though they were real.

312 778 823 776 Among the many springs that are plentiful in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission there are several with hot, sulphurous water. None of the old people will go near these springs, and the only ones who do it are boys and girls who, because they have embraced the Catholic religion perhaps and because the teaching of the /146/ missionary makes them understand that only God need be feared, have no fear of these inoffensive things. Nevertheless, [761] when some schoolgirl dies, the old people say that such a thing has happened because of the lack of care shown by them when they approached and bathed in these springs owned by the Iya.

778 776 The aforesaid shows that the old Chiriguano is very superstitious, and because of his love of life he respects the places where the imaginary genii can be found. If such places were [761] [753] discovered and disturbed through someone's error, he either would soon die or he would lead an unfortunate life full of long sicknesses ending in death, and for this reason it is impossible for a true Chiriguano to reveal the places which, according to his affirmations, are possessed by genii (1).

1. At the end of the year 1899 a gentleman from Sucre began work in the petroleum site of Mandiyuti in Cuevo. Unfortunately, he died of acute bronchitis, but the Indians attributed his death to the anger of the Iya.

Sorcerers

754 756 Another consequence of ignorance is a belief in sorcerers. This belief, however, is much more general. The working man accepts it, as does the moderately enlightened. The man who is in a completely savage state accepts it, as well as the one who is beginning to become civilized. It is accepted in America, as in old Europe, extensive Asia, deserted Africa, and newest Oceania. Nevertheless, the word "sorcerer" does not have the

/146 cont./

754 same meaning everywhere. In Europe the ignorant masses call
756 sorcerer or witch the man or woman who has made a formal pact with the devil; among the Chiriguano and whites of the Gran Chaco it is the man or woman who succeeds in curing illness or who is in possession of other prestigious abilities (2).

752 2. I know an Indian who treats snake poisoning
756 without using any medicine. He blows upon and rubs the bitten part, and it gets well with no
[825] other remedy. He catches snakes, holds them against his breast, puts them in his pockets, in his hat, and they do not bite him. I cannot explain this phenomenon.

773 But who was the father of sorcerers among the Chiriguano?
825 Guarerai, Indian, Iñeé iya vae, eloquent one, told the following
776 story: In a very remote epoch there was a general drought which
756 continued with the imminent danger of all the sown fields being
754 lost. When the cause had been discovered by the king of the birds, Güiraqué, the kite, organized a commission to the lord of rain, called Choncho, so that he might /147/ make it rain. But as the latter paid no attention to the king's embassy, he came personally to find out why and to punish his disobedience if he found him guilty. But the choncho answered that it was not up to him, but up to another bird called chena, whom King Milano confronted, and as he wavered when he denied it or tried to free himself of blame, suspicion was aroused that he was the author of so much evil, and as the evil-doer he was immediately run through by King Milano's lance.

787 This is a fable, but it is certain that the choncho is respected
825 and feared. If this small bird sings in an angry tone, it is a sign to the Chiriguano that evil will come to him, and then he commends himself to it and says: aguye ndepochi, cheru mi, tome taicó cavi; do not be angry, may everything go well with me. If it sings happily, the Chiriguano will be well received by his relatives and friends, and if the choncho says, To, To, it is a sign that wherever he goes he will find a lot of chicha, for which reason they never do any harm to this little bird.

754
756 /147 cont./
731
[825
[176] According to the story of Guarerai, the choncho is the father of good sorcerers, especially those who make it rain, and the chena is the father of bad sorcerers, or those who hold back the rain. In any public calamity in certain places, all the Indians will gather around the Ipaye, or sorcerer, so that the calamity may cease. If this continues despite the sorcerer's promise and he is unable to blame anyone else for his impotence, as the choncho did, he is killed with blows and burned without pity, but if he can blame it on another chena, the latter will suffer the capital punishment, and his protests of innocence or ignorance will be of no avail. Such is the fury of the mob when they are exalted by the harangues of the good Ipaye!

825 Before passing on from these feared and respected birds, I
787 shall say in passing that at night a whitish bird that they call
763 Tetê walks and flies about. When they see it, it is a sure sign to the Indians that in some house the women are about to cut their hair as a sign of mourning, that is, that someone in the town will die. As for the small owl /lechuza/, Suinda, the beliefs of the Chiriguano are the same as those of the common people of Europe and America, the differences among them being slight (1).

765

1. As will be seen, mourning among the Chiriguano women consists of cutting their hair and wearing the dirtiest rag on their heads. Mourning is always complete, that is, they observe strict mourning for any dead person.

756 /148/ Good sorcerers, represented by the choncho, are very
754 compassionate, and they do everything possible so that the race may enjoy good health, fortune, good crops, without experiencing hunger or epidemics, while bad sorcerers bring every evil to the poor Chiriguano. They hold back rain and order epidemics, as well as hunger and death. Bad sorcerers are called Mbaecuá.

754 The Chiriguano does not die because it is so decreed, because
761 it is a condition of human nature; he does not die as a result of sin of the first man. He dies because bad sorcerers exist; without

/148 cont./

754 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where
761 God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something
753 the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[761] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

756 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others
622 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a
623 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has
643 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of
571 the lower caciques; they discuss the appropriate measures to
131 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The
755 first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very
756 great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make
554 him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there
131 is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /149/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

/149 cont./

755 embassy to the sorcerer is the cacique, and his
756 companions limit themselves to saying Añete,
554 that is how it is, just as the altar boy or sacristan
731 says amen.

756 Of course, his arrival is awaited anxiously. All surround
554 him in order to welcome him and give him demonstrations of
574 affection. There is no family which will not bring him whatever
731 it can so that he may cure well. Cooked chickens, boiled eggs,
[178] live lambs, and plenty of chicha are all presents for the great rascal. All of this is still done for any sorcerer.

755 After a short rest, a good meal, and better refreshments,
756 the sorcerer opens his ceremonial with numerous questions in
731 order to try to discover who brought the epidemic to the town, in case it has come in already. If so, he continues in this way and his exorcisms are daily, general for the town, and special for each sick person, as I shall say farther on.

But if the sickness has not come in, he gathers together all of the principal men, they make cigars of tobacco wrapped in maize husks, gather in a circle, light the cigars, and blow smoke in every direction, the sorcerer observing which way the smoke is going. When the location is more or less known, they all go there, club in hand. The sorcerer makes a small excavation and takes from it the charm which he has put there beforehand without being seen; it consists of old, dirty rags mixed with hairs and small bones. Then he burns all that in the presence of the company, strikes the ground with his club and feet, being imitated by all (2).

2. It is not uncommon that the sorcerers themselves take the clothing of persons with smallpox from one town to another in order that the contagion may spread and that they may have some pretext for profit and a life full of gifts.

/149 cont./

755 This done, they return to the town with an air of triumph
756 and pass through all of it, raining blows with their clubs on the
731 corners of the plaza and the houses of the most notable persons, and, the performance ended, he directs his discourse to those who surround him and the others who have come out of their houses. He tells them that they must not be afraid and that they should have confidence in him, for the illness over which he is the master has been dispelled.

He then takes a rest from his labors for several days, takes his leave of the cacique and the principal men, blessed by the frightened inhabitants, and returns to his town. Anyone can understand that, if there is no epidemic, it is a coincidence which will give considerable renown to the rascally impostor, and, if there is one, the blame falls on the townspeople or on some other /150/ bad sorcerer. Then he returns and becomes the healer for all of them. In smallpox epidemics the sorcerer is always one who has had it and who as a sad sign thereof has his face and his nose covered with pox.

755 In the first months after I arrived at the Santa Rosa Mission,
756 an epidemic began to break out; without my realizing what was
731 happening, exorcisms against the smallpox were being carried
164 out by the sorcerer Biringa, but as this disease had thoroughly invaded the town by the end of the year, he returned and paid well for his deceits; his threats that he would make the 255 male students of the school perish were of no avail since both they and the female students became sick, but only one of the boys and seven of the girls died (1).

1. The girls of the Santa Rosa school numbered 235 in the year of the smallpox; those who were dangerously sick received the viaticum before they were taken to the lazaretto. Those about to die even received Extreme Unction in the lazaretto. In January of 1904 there were more than 500 persons in the latter.

/150 cont./

756 Even for rain the sorcerers perform their incantations with
789 their maize-husk cigar, making a turn in the planted fields,
731 but if the drought is general, the incantations are public per-
821 formed in the town in front of the house of the principal cacique.
[197] One of these was performed in the early days of the above-mentioned mission. The missionary had admonished them to stop it, but when they answered insolently, he formed or organized a commission with shotguns and old rifles. The three or four sorcerers fled, but one of them fell into the hands of the commission, was punished for his insolence, and in a few minutes a torrential shower refreshed the entire territory of the mission.

756 In concrete cases, when the sorcerer is required by a
755 particular family, he establishes himself in the house of the sick man; he asks him a thousand questions regarding the sickness, the houses that he has frequented, the friends with whom he has drunk, the companions with whom he has played, and the things that he has earned. Then he lights his maize-husk cigar and smokes, blowing the smoke over the body of the patient, especially the affected part.

Then, depending on the greater or lesser seriousness of the illness, depending on the nature of the disease, whether it requires blows or joltings, which is the most likely, he delivers them so atrociously that they are likely to end the patient's life, and if not he is content with rubbing the affected part hard /151/ and sucking it with his mouth, extracting from the patient's body the worms which the rascal has hidden in his mouth (1).

[164] 1. In many cases worms can be found in the bodies of these Indians between the flesh and the skin. I myself, with the use of fenelina, have made worms as big as chickpeas come out of their bodies, without their having had any wound at all.

/151 cont./

755 Men sorcerers use in their cures, in addition to the cigar, the
756 tupicho. But what the tupicho consists of is difficult to determine. There are sorcerers who use for it a little round stone with some designs on it; according to what I saw in the San Pascual Mission, others use a long bone likewise bearing designs, and, as I saw in Caipipendi and other places, others make do with words alone. The value of the tupicho is not known, but the Indians have much fear of it. I could tell stories about this.

Sorceress Curers

756 There is no doubt about the existence of female curers and sorcereresses, who, like the men, are feared in the tribe, because it is easier for them to administer some slow or violent poison in drinks. They are designated by the name Cuña ipaye, sorceress (2).

> 2. I know several women who are curers and sorceresses at the same time; at least they are considered as such by the Indians of the tribe.

Generally these women are the daughters of sorcerers, but this does not prevent others from being one also. They cure sick men or women with wild herbs, tree bark, and roots which they dig out of the ground. They are in this case true curers, as are certain women among the whites.

756 There are others, and plenty of them; it can be said that
844 every old mother is one for her young daughters. They serve
759 as midwives; they help their daughters and other women in their deliveries. Some of them are so skilled that they are accepted by the women whom the Indians call ladies. During the time when I was living among the Chiriguano, I saw only three die in childbirth.

756 The only thing which is deplorable among these curers is the
278 use of Mbayachi, a poison that they administer with much dissimula-
682 tion, mixing it with chicha and giving it to persons whom they hate, immediately washing or hiding the gourd, glass, or cup in which they administered it to the patient.

/151 cont./

756 278 682 Mbayachi works quite slowly because in general /152/ the sorceress who administers it is careful to infuse in the drink a small quantity so as to avoid its being discovered by the relatives, but if the hated person has none, or the ones he has are very distant in degree or are of little worth, she gives him a strong dose which dispatches him to eternity in a few hours.

The patient who has had the misfortune to drink the poison begins to feel the effect at once: stomach pains, retching, and other known effects. The poison is consumed little by little, and he remains in this state for two or three years, leading a most painful existence, which is shared by the members of the family in their sadness, as they experience all of the burden of the long illness.

Mbayachi is nothing but a poison, and inasmuch as it can be administered among civilized peoples, there is no reason whatsoever to deny that savages can administer it, since they do not fear human or divine laws, take vengeance as a holy thing, and are only with great difficulty discovered (1).

[627] [628] 1. The Indian is not content until he has taken revenge on his enemy: when he achieves it, he says: ayepi ma hese. I have avenged myself on him.

Way to Obtain the Poison

756 278 The way to provide oneself with poison is as follows, according to what Guareral says: The sorceress goes out into the country without telling anyone her purpose. She takes with her a receptacle which generally consists of a little clay jar perforated in the upper part. She goes into the dense woods or forest, where nobody can discover her, covers up her ears and nostrils with cotton and her hands with rags, and undresses completely, so that nothing may disturb her in her work.

/152 cont./

756 Then she[1] waits for some viper to come into sight, and, if
278 it is long in coming, she makes it appear by imitating its hiss.
825 When she sees it, she does not run away or become frightened, but instead, with all the calm in the world, she kills it with a stick, or better with a piece of hollow cane, hangs it from a low bush, and then, from the head down, pours over it chicha oil, which mixes with the venom secreted by the viper. She applies the little jar to the tip of the tail and collects the first venom (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. She cuts off the tip of the tail so that the poison is not left inside the body of the snake. The oil serves to agglomerate the poison and to facilitate the draining.

/153/ If it turns out to be very little, she calls another viper, imitating its hiss, and sometimes as many as five of them come, and she does with them what she did with the first one, until she has obtained enough. She works at this for four or five days; she goes very early and returns late, and when the operation is over, she buries the dead snakes, erases her tracks, gets dressed again, hiding the little jar in her breast, and returns to town as fresh as can be, carrying on her shoulders, and hung from her head a sling full of stems or tree roots, or, if they are in season, algarrobas or some other fruit; the latter are preferred.

756 Venom thus prepared is very pernicious, and in order to
278 administer it in a small dose, it suffices to dampen in it the end of a straw and wash it in the gourd of chicha which the enemy is invited to take. Sorceresses prepare the best chicha, which is called Copiriru, recooked chicha, and, since the Chiriguano is a glutton, he easily falls into the trap, under the pretext of a reconciliation. The method used by the sorceresses to obtain the venom has been discovered because on occasion they have broken the ties of friendship with some intimate friend or kinship with some sister, who knew the secret (1).

1. Sorceresses who possess venom are known; one who wishes to take revenge on an enemy

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 210]

[1 i.e., the sorceress. Analyst]

Mission House of San Antonio del Parapiti

ex Mapp—200 M-3 (1922-1911) 1913 SPIO Copyright 1910

7969

4c Nino--210 M-9 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/150 cont./

756
278

and does not know how to do it goes to the sorcerers, pays them, and obtains it.

This seems to be a fable which in itself does not merit any importance, as indeed it is not given any by Father Giannecchini, who does not deny it in his writings, as Señor del Campano states. Poison exists among the Chiriguano. They do not extract it from chamico, which is a species of datura, nor do they extract it from other plants or herbs. The sorcerers reveal nothing; the young people do not know about it, and the few old people who are alive only tell what has been said above. Be that as it may, this is a belief of the tribe, and as such I have told it.

Lunar Eclipse

821

One night while waiting for a lunar eclipse, I found myself in conversation with the cacique Andueri of the mission of San Buenaventura de Iro, and I was reminded of something which I remembered regarding this phenomenon which was about to occur on the moon. Chiriguano towns are true hells during an eclipse, because of the shouts, cries, whistles, and every warlike instrument which they use to make noise. When I came to the missions, /154/ the war of Curuyuqui had just happened, and when I heard so much and such an extraordinary hubbub on the night of an eclipse, I believed that it was a new uprising, as was also believed by the inhabitants of Cuevo, who came out armed to find out the cause of so much noise (1).

[114]
[478]

301
533
114

1. The Italian professor Mantegazza states that the Chiriguano, in order to whistle loudly, take out the tembeta or bonon which they have in their lower lip. This is incorrect and denied by all; what the renowned anthropologist refers to must be a special case, since they cannot even drink without the bonon.

/154 cont./

993 [21] [115]

I asked Anduari the cause of such an uproar, and he told me the following story. The jaguar had sworn to destroy the Chiriguano, as had also the Aguara-Tunpa. The Tunpa, who knows everything and always compassionate toward them, told this to his relatives, who are in the sky and who are called Gilrayokasa, the constellation of the Pleiades. These relatives then informed those who were in danger, and they took the precaution of hiding themselves.

Nevertheless, two of the most valiant Chiriguano, in order not to be in continual fear, prepared to put an end to the jaguars. They went out into the countryside, made themselves two long swords of soto wood, and thus armed, they found out where the jaguars drank water. They hid, watching for the arrival of their enemies in order to slay their leader.

They did not have to wait long: when all of them came by and when the leader put his head down to drink from the spring of crystalline water, one of the Chiriguano delivered a great blow on his head with the sword, separating it from the body; with the utmost facility the rest of them fled in several directions, and the head, jumping, disappeared from their presence.

It was pursued by both warriors, but the head prayed to the moon, which it encountered on its way, and the moon took pity and hid it in its breast, and when the warriors arrived and inquired about the jaguar's head, the moon answered in all calmness that it knew nothing and had seen nothing. Naturally they had no faith in its words, and they went away from there, saying to it that one day the tiger would be seen and everyone would know who it was (7).

> 7. When the chief of the jaguars disappeared, the latter were finished and there was calm, the Indians being able to go out once more without fear to their tasks in the fields.

When the young men were far away, the moon rejoined the jaguar's head to its body, and it lived, but it no longer wished to live on earth /155/ for fear of its enemies, preferring to remain with its liberator, reviver, and benefactor, but later it made its ferocity known.

/155 cont./

793 As the Chiriguano had predicted, the jaguar very soon began to put into practice in the heights of the moon its natural inclination to kill and eat defenseless beings. Its peaceful, compassionate, and defenseless liberator lent itself marvelously to its voracity, and the tiger attacked it, but the moon came crying to the inhabitants of the earth, to the Chiriguano, calling them to its defense, if they did not wish to remain eternally in the dark (1).

> 1. If the eclipse is total, they believe that the jaguar has swallowed the moon whole; if it is partial, this is because it did not have time to swallow it.

The Indians, despite the bad deed that the moon had done against them, and more for their convenience than out of compassion, came out of their towns en masse, some with shouts others with whistling, and others with the horns of cows and bulls; they frightened off the Yagua rogũi, yellow jaguar, who out of fear of the Chiriguano, remembering what had happened to it, desisted from its intention, and since then, every time a lunar eclipse occurs, they do the same thing. The fabulous belief passes from the old to the young, from grandfathers to grandsons.

114 On a bright moonlit night the missionary was sleeping peacefully in the Ivu mission, and the moon was obscured by a total eclipse. This was during the month of June in 1909. The missionary did not know the language, and I was absent. The [191] children, who spoke a little Spanish, in their desire for the missionary to see the phenomenon of the eclipse, awakened him with a great uproar, shouting to him: Jaguar is eating moon (2).

> 2. They say nothing of the eclipse, total or partial, of the sun, doubtless because it occurs very rarely; the old people have but an obscure idea of this phenomenon.

4: Nino--213 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/155 cont./

771 I shall end this fourth chapter by repeating that the Chiriguano in his religion, divinities, and beliefs confuses in extraordinary fashion beings who are good and bad, real and imaginary, as well as fabulous beliefs which conform in substance to certain Biblical tales. The Indian eats, drinks, and [156] [182] sleeps, and he lives like any four-legged animal; he thinks only of the sorcerer, consulting him in his emergencies of illness or want and other calamities, believing that he has the power to alleviate it, there not being any prayer properly speaking.

/156/

000

Chapter Five

Political Organization and Authorities

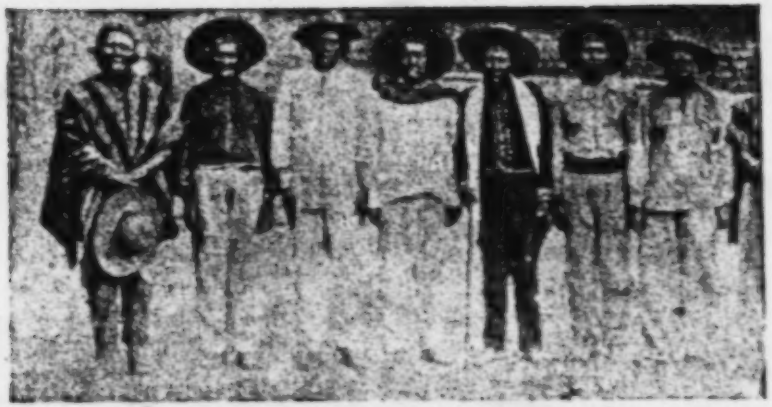
Introduction

The French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century set the foundations for the present anarchy with the dethroning and decapitation of the unfortunate and virtuous rulers Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. /The remainder of p. 156 and the first two paragraphs of p. 157 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 157. The remainder of p. 157 follows./

Let it thus be understood that in this Catholic nation /Bolivia/ only the Catholic religion can contain the fury of the human beast. Let the religious orders and the Colegios de Propaganda Fide be promoted, as in the bordering nations, let firm support be given to the Catholics, as in Germany, and there will neither be the explosion of anarchist bombs nor will the heads of the rulers roll through the streets and squares, nor will the corpses of the great lie stiff, victims of the revolver or the sword of shadowy men.

4: Nino--214 M-3 (1883-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

792
622
291



Group of Caciques from the Ivo Mission

/157 cont./

Principle of Authority

600 The principle of authority is innate in humankind and to attempt to destroy it is madness. Ever since man came into the world, the principle of authority has existed, as can clearly be read in /158/ Genesis: Sub viri potestate eris et ipse dominabitur tui; thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee.

As it is innate in humankind, through guilt more than through necessity in the beginning, the said principle has always been in effect everywhere. There is no nation, no matter how barbarous, which does not recognize this principle as a necessity, and to attempt to destroy it, as the anarchists wish to do, is to wish for the impossible. The Tubicha, great one or authority, say the old Indians, emanates from God himself, and that is why it begins with the same letter. The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 214/ shows several caciques of the San Buenaventura Mission; only the one in the frock coat and cane (Anduari) did not take part in the uprising at Curuyuqui (1).

[551] 1. The Indians in the illustration are; Asicayu, Asucari, Periquiyu, and Guarerai to the right of the cacique Anduari; Chipa and Patiri, or Patricio, at the left.

648 The entire region has today been explored and is under the power of the whites, who first entered with the permission of the owner (ab immemorabili), and after having taken possession, they have made themselves owners, buying lands as
619 property of the nation. Some might believe that the Chiriguano
361 liked to live in great centers, when it is known that formerly
[622] they were very numerous, but one who passes through the territory
[643] will soon understand that each tribe is at most made up of some 40 families and that in each tribe there is a cacique who is dependent upon another greater one, whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great of the great. In one league of territory or even less, an explorer, or passer-by, or sojourner can still find four or five Chiriguano Tribes at short distances.

/158 cont./

000 or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances. The only large town
361 that I found on my travels is Membirai, which is joined to
[114] Choreti guasu on the left bank of the Parapiti. I know Caipipendi,
[62] where I often slept; the Indians are many, but they live in different places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (2).

797
619
361

2. The beautiful Santa Rosa Mission was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place shown them by the missionary. In Yumbía there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique

622

Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /159/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple; when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the sorcerer to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

[631]
[643]

1. In each tribe there is but one cacique; many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

[262]
[273]

At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep or rest in their homes, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

622 /159 cont./
may be general rejoicing with the drinking of the pretasted
[262] Cangũi, chicha, squash and beans to eat together with Aticúi,
[273] meal, and Atipíi, parched corn. In his prolonged discourse
he recommends union in labor so that it may soon be finished,
since the field of the cacique is planted first and then those of
the rest, with all of them helping one another. When I came to
the missions, the soldiers of the cacique Gũiraesa still did it in
this way. I shall speak of this cacique and his family in another
chapter.

622 The cacique also arbitrates the arguments which frequently
692 arise in the planting season, since even among these people
there reigns covetousness of the property of others, should it be
good and free of brush; he settles family disputes, admonishing
the parents and also their children. If a theft occurs, it is also he
who makes claims before the cacique of the neighboring tribe,
but if this should occur within his own, he will summarily administer justice. His sentence is absolute and in general not
subject to appeal (2).

[797] 2. There are several caciques in the missions,
because they are made up of several tribes.
The missionary governs them all, with the result
that the authority of the caciques is almost
nominal.

721 It frequently happens that, as a result of some affront done
to some woman of a tribe, a bloody war begins, which assumes
the characteristics of a regional one. This happened during the
[643] 1850's in the Cuevo region. The cacique Gũiracoti tried without
[837] success to have relations with the wife of Yaveau, cacique of the
right bank of the stream of Cuevo. In revenge the offended man
disposed of a head of cattle belonging to /160/ Gũiracoti;
hostilities were then declared and each cacique prepared for war.

/160 cont./

721 648 Güiracoti was inferior to Yaveau in number of soldiers and in personal valor, but with his lies he obtained the assistance of the Indians of Yuti, Choreti, and Parapiti Grande, and even of the whites who had entered the Cordillera country and were living in Lagunillas (1).

1. Güiracoti led the whites to believe that Yaveau was intending to rebel against them; hence he was able to get the regional cacique of the Parapiti, called Chituri, to come with him.

726 727 [648] The large number of the enemy sowed panic in the camp of Yaveau, who, along with many others, had joined up the Toba. The first battle was lost, and he had to hide with his people on the slopes and hill of Irentà, but, once recovered from the defeat which he had suffered through the superiority in numbers and differences in arms and in races, he soon went in search of the enemy, inflicting numerous casualties among them, and Güiracoti had to leave his tribe, retiring to the left bank of the Parapiti River, in order not to fall into his rival's hands and be run through by his powerful arrow and have the misfortune of having his head separated from his body, which on the point of a spear, would have been exposed to the ridicule of large and small in the enemy camp.

622 574 It is natural for men passing through a strange town to go to the political authority for their needs, as happens in the missions. Many people when they pass through Indian towns, naturally go to the cacique's house; the latter receives those whom he considers greater with the kindness and courtesy that distinguish the Indians of the Chiriguano race: for this reason some explorers have believed that it is the duty of the cacique to receive and provide hospitality for transients and strangers, but I can state that they are mistaken.

/160 cont./

574 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accomodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

574 178 [431] [273] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he asks nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretasted liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 527 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. 622 224 During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quiriquinchos, /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

293 824 191 2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

[Text Continues on p. 221]

4: Nino--220 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
871

Girls' School of San Antonio del Parapiti

/161 cont./

273
824
171

and the Mataco; thus the fruit of the chañar, mistol, and algarroba are used in the manufacture of chicha.

Subalterns

621
623

The cacique of a tribe is not alone in political, judicial, and administrative administration. In order to have a more correct administration, he, as sole and supreme authority, selects counselors and assistants, whom he seeks from among the most competent persons of the tribe. The primary advisors are whatever sorcerers there may be; these men are thus feared and hence respected by the people, who make use of them in sickness and calamity, both public and private.

621
624
554

Next in rank as counselors come other men to whom they give the name Igũira iya, owner of the stick or baton, according to the signification of the word and which corresponds in Spanish to hombre de mando ó autoridad /man in command or authority/. Thus they are the alcaldes, to whom the cacique hands over part of his authority with absolute subordination, so that through complaints, ineptitude, or other causes, the alcaldes are summarily dismissed and then others appointed. In each tribe there is a single alcalde who does everything, because the cacique, in his town, is better than an emperor, not having to lift a straw and spending his time in prolonged idleness.

/162/ The alcaldes in the tribes take charge of the rest of the settlers; in a search for peons they hear the sarcasms and recriminations of their fellows, and many times they definitely disobey them, even going so far as to insult them with: Mburubicha pa nde? Perhaps you are a cacique?" (1)

1. In the missions with many tribes there are as many caciques and alcaldes as there are tribes composing them. In this regard the custom of the Indians has been respected for a better and more honest administration.

/162 cont./

Abuse of Authority

622
661
643

The Indians who today live under the paternal rule of the missionaries state that formerly caciques committed thousands of abuses; speaking of caciques still alive, they said that they abused everything that belonged to the poor and defenseless Indians, made use of maidens and women of others took possession of horses, cows, sheep, goats, and rags or clothing of their subordinates under any pretext, and in certain cases, as absolute mandatory, life was not safe either.

682

In verification of the last, I am going to relate the following: Before the reorganization of the missions of San Antonio and San Francisco del Parapiti Grande, an Indian strangled his own son and half buried him in the sand near the bank with the aim that any sizable rise would soon carry him off, but before this could happen the deed was discovered, not by betrayal by his wife, whom he had threatened to kill, but by the wheeling about of vultures which were beginning to strip the already decomposing flesh (2).

[643]

2. The murderer of his own son belonged to the upper town and was hanged in public in the lower town where the regional cacique, who was the authority of the presumed Parapiti Canton, resided.

692
643
682
[648]

When the regional cacique had been advised, inquiries were undertaken in order to speak to the evil-doer, and it was not difficult to find him because he was a well-known Indian. Taken into custody and brought before the authority, he confessed his crime. In order to prevent another greater crime the canton authority attempted to intervene, but the regional cacique made it clear to him that justice would be administered in an exemplary fashion by him and that the corregidor, whose subalterns were the whites, should not involve himself in the matter at all.

/163/

643 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the
682 cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following
692 his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with another piece of wood set between them. He called together all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was
[671] immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his region, so that the life of the defenseless and the good may be respected and that he may be feared (1).

622 1. When a sorcerer does not manage to ac-
643 complish what he has promised, because he
756 perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's
686 prerogative to order the death sentence and
692 burning.

Separation from Command

622
631 The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the
643 abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared them free from such obedience, naming another more humane person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it. This has become easier today by agreement with the political
649 authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that
466 when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named
464 by the political authority, he is sure to be subject to all the
622 demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the
643 latter, who do not like the yoke or the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

/163 cont./

643 649 464 466 A fact that confirms what has been said happened in the Caipipendi region. The regional cacique Tengua was succeeded by his son Cariti, who, because of the grave errors that he made or was supposed to have made, was dismissed, and the native Tarúire, who apparently at least had very good qualities, was named in his place. This latter, selected by the whites with the consent or nomination of the Indians, had to return the favor of his benefactors who had elevated him and consequently to respond to all the demands and requests for peons, and one time the poor Indians had to go to Santa Cruz as a guarantee for the /164/ unhappy Indians who feared that, under the pretext of jobs in the city, they would be taken to the Beni (1).

[566]

1. In El Beni men are sold for 1,000 Bs. and women at a lesser price. Baron D. Erland Nordenskiold gave a lecture in London proving that slavery exists in Bolivia and Peru.

This concern of Tarúire and suspicion of the Indians originated in a publicly known event which took place in the year 1905, when a party of Indians sold to the rubber plantations were taken from there; rumors of this event spread rapidly through all the newspapers of the Republic, which expressed disapproval of it, and at that time I saw whole groups of families who, with all of their possessions, emigrated to other lands.

643 641 554 The result of this is that today many Indians obey Tarúire, not out of love or loyalty, but out of fear of the harsh punishment which the political authorities would immediately impose on them; and the cacique is now beginning to tire of this task which is so odious for him, for he wants to be tranquil in his home and to enjoy peace. He has repeatedly said this to me and he would be satisfied if they would renominate Cariti, for whom the Indians hold proper respect.

/164 cont./

622 643 648 566 46

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large number of Indians, like Tarúire, derives great benefits from his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income is regular, because generally the carar who makes a request for peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future: interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62 595

It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did not have issue. It being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques: even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

[590]

3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques: some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 [555] [556]

/165/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661]

1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

/165 cont./

622
661

may be considered the scourge of the tribe, and, as an absolute ruler, he takes from the belongings of his soldiers whatever he wants for himself and for the guests who visit him.

622
562

Very rarely does a woman take command and control of the tribe; this can happen if the cacique who dies leaves only women as heirs, but only with great difficulty does the Chiriguano allow himself to be ruled by a woman; the other tribes would laugh at them and would treat them like women; Salic law is in force among the Chiriguano (?).

2. Nevertheless, there are cases when the law of the Salians has been suspended among the Chiriguano. The woman Iguandúsai governed in Ivu, Parapoti in Aquío, and a certain Arabúsai is mentioned by del Campano.

643

The Regional Cacique

In addition to the cacique, whom the people of a tribe distinguish with the name of Mburubicha, great one, there is another, higher authority whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great one of the great ones, or cacique of the caciques. The great cacique resides in a larger tribe and leads it directly like the other caciques, having alcaldes and counselors.

643
622

The great cacique intervenes and is consulted with regard to the succession of the subaltern caciques; for this reason the sons of the latter always accompany their fathers on the visits they make and try to get the great cacique to like them, in order to succeed their fathers in power, but if the tribe does not want him and furthermore his faults are so notorious and serious as to eliminate him from the honor, the regional cacique very tactfully makes him understand this, adding that by reforming his life he could be chosen again on a day not far off.

/165 cont./

643 [921] In the case of a regional war against another region, the great cacique calls a parliament and consults all the caciques, /166/ counselors, and sorcerers in order to arrange matters perfectly and avoid surprises. When the war has broken out, as he is the most important man, he takes charge of the battles, even leading them personally to a successful conclusion, and, should a defeat be suffered, he does not cringe in defeat, but prepares anew, encourages his soldiers to fight more vigorously to take revenge, and is unlikely to suffer another defeat. This is what happened in the regional war of the great cacique Gilracoti against Yaveau, in which, the latter having been defeated by the former, as I have already related, he retired to the slopes of Irenta and from there marched on his enemies, causing numerous casualties and obtaining a complete victory (1).

643 701 929

[648] 1. In the Curuyuqui War there was a cacique named Chaparilla and another named Tunja, but, as this war was against the whites, Tunja took charge of the military operations.

643 631 Chituri, a regional cacique, was succeeded by his son, the late Azari, in the entire region of the Parapiti Grande, Itatiqui, Tacuaranti, and Ururigua. Yaveau was obeyed by all the Indians of Itiyuro, Curuyuqui, Ivu, Igllpinta, and those of Santa Rosa, living on the right bank of the Cuevo River; subject to Gilracoti were all those living on the left bank of the same river as far as the right bank of the Parapiti; the subjects of the late Tongua were the Indians of the left bank of the same Parapiti up to Gutierrez; the subjects of Machiropo were, as was told me in the same year 1901, all the Indians of Ingre Canton, Iglembe, and Huacaya from the right bank of the Parapiti to the left bank of the Pilcomayo, which includes an area of 24 leagues from north to south and 15 east to west, and when an effort was made to found a mission in Tumbía, on the left bank of the Pilcomayo, Iglembe Canton, he insisted to me that we should not bother them any more because neither he nor the

/106 cont./

643 631 Indians wanted it (?).

> 2. The regional cacique Tengua died in 1900, Machiropa in 1905, and the others who have been named in the middle of the nineteenth century, except Chiruí. Beringai of Igllombe is considered a regional cacique without being one: he is the oldest known Indian, at least among the caciques.

Today only one of the former regional caciques is still living. This is Mandepónai, who must be about 84 years old, a very robust and obese Indian with a constitution of iron. His authority extends throughout the Gran Chaco. He is respected and obeyed up to a certain point by the Toba, Mataco, and Chorotí, and other known tecoi: he is very well received in the other regions through which he passes, and his authority is not contradicted elsewhere, but is not respected either, /107/ because at the present time the Chiriguano element too has almost radically changed its political system: today it is the political authority which rules, and the cacique is a humble servant of any carai who comes to him asking for peons.

643 707 716 718 667 662 The Macharetí Mission exists through his efforts, and he has always been faithful to the missionaries. In the Caraguatí War, the Tunpa tried to get Mandepónai to use his influence to make the Toba and Chiriguano of his region revolt, as Tengua did, but the great cacique was not to be moved: instead he and his people went over to the side of the Santa Rosa Mission and the white Christians who had taken refuge in it.

At that time some whites, perhaps because of their hate for the missionaries of Macharetí, tried to implicate Mandepónai as an accomplice of the Tunpa, but this calumny was belied by his praiseworthy procedure. He gave warning of the day on which the rebels were to burn the mission, went personally with his soldiers to Santa Rosa on January 27, before the final battle, and there confronted Tengua, accusing him of treason to the whites. His loyalty to the missionaries is to his glory.

/167 cont./

and when he addresses his people he does not fail to remind them that if they enjoy peace they owe it to him, for he consented to the founding of their missions; more or less the same thing is said by other caciques or their successors, through whose influence the missions have been founded (1).

1. When the slander against Mandepinat was believed, the delegate Chavarría went to Macharení with all his forces to punish the cacique, but nothing came of it because it all turned out to be false.

/168/

Chapter Six

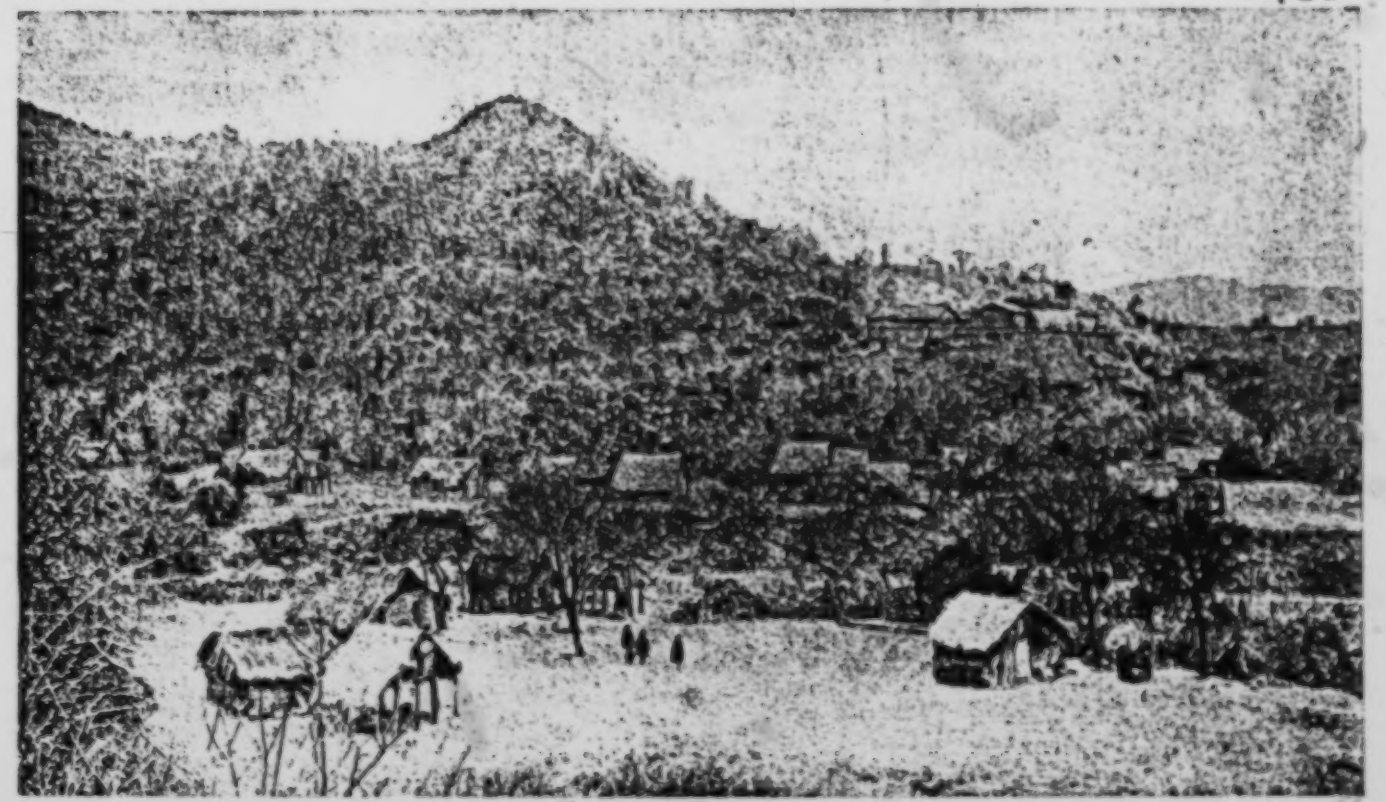
Towns, Houses, and Work

Introduction

The glacial period and horrible icy places with their new flora and fauna in the dawn of the Quaternary era, a mysterious period for certain modern unbelievers, holds no mystery whatsoever for true believers, who see in it, or in its sudden appearance, a punishment for the disobedience of the first man. Adam sins, and the land, until then so beautiful and fecund, is covered with snows and ice, with brambles and briars; before his sin, no shelter was needed, but, as a result of rebellion against the Creator, he was laden with needs. /The remainder of the introduction on pp. 168-169 is omitted. The following illustration appears opposite p. 169. The remainder of p. 169 follows./

4: Nino--230 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

133
342
361



Chiriguano Town

/169 cont./

Towns

It is thus stated in the Holy Scriptures that man from the beginning began to build towns, and all the descendants of the first inhabitants of the earth have followed their example. I believe that my readers have learned that the Chiriguano are different from the other natives who surround them; they consider the Toba and the Mataco to be very inferior, so inferior that they scorn and despise the ornaments and varied feathers that the latter use.

The Chiriguano also, as descendants of the first men, love society and like to live in company, in more or less large towns, in well-formed towns, with houses around a plaza, in contrast to other tribes which, in spite of being sociable, form towns as quickly as they disappear, according to need. Thus it happens that wherever they know that there is food, the Toba and the other nomadic races go there; if they are helping a missionary, they abandon him when the algarrobas, the chañar, and the mistol are ripe (2).

2. Polygamy in the world began with Lamec. From Ada, his first wife, he took Fael who lived in cabins; it seems that the nomadic tribes of America are descendants of his.

I have witnessed both cases, the first in the Tigüipa Mission, where on the right bank of its little river three tribes had gathered in 1905, making their miserable round huts with a few stakes, with branches covered with grass, in which men and women, old and young, and dogs covered with mange lived together. I witnessed the second in the mission of San Antonio del Pilcomayo in 1900 when, the algarrobas already being ripe, some 68 Mataco families disappeared, running off into the woods to seek a life of gifts and surrender themselves to drink and dishonesty, turning their backs on the religion which some of them had embraced.

/169 cont./

In both cases the ranchos which had been formed were left destroyed, despite the fact that the latter, because they had been built under the direction of the missionary, were quite comfortable, new, and /170/ well covered with red straw /paja colorada/, which is the best for the construction of ranchos.

731 361 The Chiriguano Indian does not do this. He also on occasion suffers from a scarcity of supplies, because the land on which he lives produces harvests only when there is no lack of rain. In times of scarcity he bars the door of his house [574] with poles or thorns, temporarily leaves his town, and goes off to distant lands in search of food, gets it, and brings it to his home, but he does not emigrate en masse, nor does he build temporary huts in a foreign place or town, and if he has any relatives in the places where there is abundant food, he seeks them out and is welcomed and well treated by them. He remains there for weeks and even months, until his fellows are tired of him, and then he takes his leave, taking the little food that is offered to him as something precious, and in fact it is in times of hunger.

361 [62] [592] Chiriguano towns are small, consisting of a few houses, most of them not exceeding 20 or 30 houses; these are large and in each one there are up to three families, but close relatives, such as father and married son and married daughter; they form a square and are so situated as to enclose the little plaza. They are not pretty, but they are clean; they are not large, but neither are they as small as those of some towns of the whites. These Chiriguano towns are poor; it is hard to [342] find in them houses with tiles, but they are comfortable, with the roofs, as will be said, having the necessary slope so that they do not readily admit drips (1).

[354]

1. In the upper part of the house they make a long, continuous opening to allow the smoke to escape; it is made in such a way that it does not allow water to come in during the rainy season.

/170 cont./

Modern Houses

342 17 [464] [648]

A Chiriguano house offers nothing special in appearance, but even those of the mestizos who have settled in their country are of the same form and not rarely worse, because naturally since the mestizo is not very fond of physical labor, because he is not an Indian, it is necessary for him to call on the energy of the latter, and the native is not always inclined to lend him this or that service, from which it follows that their houses are inferior (2). /Illustration appears here./

> 2. I am speaking here of the houses that the mestizos or whites build in the countryside where they live; in the towns their houses are normal; they almost all have tile roofs, and there are also some which are white-washed.

342 [192] [184]

/171/ House in the Chiriguano language is called Ho, which is different from what they call Tapi, but. The latter are common in large towns and belong to the lazy people, wanderers, and even the poor. It must thus be understood that the construction of a Chiriguano house is a work of no small importance and care, if one considers that the Chiriguano is poor, so poor that he only has available an ax, a shovel, and a knife, and not always these. Because of the importance that I give to this construction, many who do not know these regions could believe that the houses are very fine, but there is nothing fine about them. None of them is beyond the rank of cabins.

342 335 496

I believe that it is indispensable to describe the way of constructing them and the elements available to the Chiriguano in order to carry this out. If the Indian has some luck in sheep, he pays some of his companions with sheep so that they will help him gather the principal timber, and should this wealth be lacking, he begins to cut and strip bark in the woods by himself, selecting timber of good quality, straight and resistant to the action of water. The principal pieces are generally six posts

[NOT CONTINUED ON P. 235]

4: Nino--234 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

342
352
353
516

Partial View of Modern Chiriguano House

/171 cont./

342 335 [476] [574] which form the skeleton of the house, but where the forest is not tall and the trees slender, nine are needed.

Once the timber has been transported with the help of his companions and relatives and they have been treated with food and chicha, the day for setting up the house is set. The center posts are first placed, with the two holes being dug quite deep; next comes the placement of the four or six lateral ones, which are much shorter so that rain will not stay on the roof and there will not be continual and copious dripping. I measured several relatively new houses, and their pitch from the ground to the ridgepole is about 42 o/o in some and in others 38, it being possible to conclude that the average is 40 (1).

1. Chiriguano houses are rectangular with only one room, which, if it is very long, has in the middle another post which holds up the ridgepole so that it may not bend or break.

[178] This proportion is maintained today by the houses in Chiriguano towns, and it cannot be otherwise, because the roof is entirely of straw and the rain would stay on it if it did not have sufficient slope. Some who by mistake build them without this proportion realize at the time of the first torrential rains, and even more in the once, that follow, the mistake that they have made, but in vain, because /172/ it is very difficult for the Indian to correct his lack of foresight.

Once the skeleton of the house has been set up vertically, the rest is simpler to do, except for the placement of the ridgepole and the side beams; the latter can be cut in half to make it easier to move them, in addition to making finding them easier. The placement of these beams is followed by that of the rafters and the reinforcing pieces of wood to strengthen the walls. The rafters are tied with bejuco or with spiny ceiba bark, [824] which is called Samuu by the Indians and Toborochi by the whites.

/172 cont./

342 824 The hardest part is finished with the previous operation: a short rest is taken, and then the owner of the new building must obtain enough hollow cane, engaging for this purpose Indians who have horses. But if the cane is very far away and has owners to boot, he gathers long sticks of astringent acacia or sebil and puts them horizontally every 15 centimeters on top of the rafters with the same above-mentioned lianas. Some [283] people, to tie the cane or sticks, use thin cords made from cowhide, but this, in addition to being more expensive, is less durable than bejuco (1).

[137] [178] [423]

1. Before the whites settled in Chiriguano country, hollow cane was abundant and had no owners; at the present time it cannot be found, and, if there is any, it is in private hands and must be bought.

Generally, before the walls are begun the house is covered with capíi, red straw, or, should this not be available, with capiáncua, straw for harnesses of beasts of burden, which is of inferior quality and very soon frays to pieces with the rain, sun, and strong winds, while the capíi may last for more than ten years.

[476] If it can be obtained by staying for a few days in a place where it is plentiful, he pulls it up there and reduces it to rather large handfuls; the gathering is done in several days, engaging Indians who own horses. When the material is in the town, he rests for a few days or weeks; he informs or invites those who wish to take part, in particular those who are closest to him by kinship or friendship. These then go about tying the capíi be- [354] tween two horizontal canes toward the side of the roots, forming long, narrow lines, and when they are so placed, they attach them horizontally, beginning at the bottom and working /173/ upward or toward the ridgepole, where they leave a large vent to let out the eternal smoke of their inextinguishable fires (1).

1. Now the red straw is disappearing almost completely: the destruction of this necessary

/173 cont./

342 824 element and that of the hollow cane are due to the abundance of cattle, which destroy even the straw for harnesses.

342 574 [476] [131] When the placement of the roof has been completed, they all come down and gather in the hut of the friend, who, as a reward or payment for the service rendered, offers them a cup of chicha, and they drink this amidst jokes and crudities, at times very heavy, especially should maidens or women of 30 years or older who do not keep quiet pass by. But as the people know each other well and are friends, the greatest harmony reigns, and, when everything is finished, they take leave of the owner, thanking him for his gifts, and he shows them his gratitude for the services which they have rendered (2).

2. The workers only ask for chicha in recompense, but if the owner has beans or gourds cooked for them in a stew with considerable stimulant in the form of chili pepper, arivivi, it is a feast or carnival for all.

342 312 [22] The rest of the work is done with less haste and at a more opportune time. In fact, most wait until the rainy season to do it, for then water is abundant, and this to be sure deserves the approbation of all because it is more economical and easier. Thus, taking into consideration the laziness of the Indian man [44] and the tasks which the Chiriguano woman has, it would be expensive and quite tiresome to bring the water on their shoulders from great distances, which is avoided during the rainy season. [356] Then during each shower not only is the construction of the walls of the new houses done, but also the repair of those which have come apart during the year, and it is very amusing to see from a distance the women around the houses with their sleeves rolled up or with the tipoy down to the waist, making holes in the wet ground with shovel or hoe, pouring a little water in, kneading the earth, forming large balls of it, and putting it between the canes which are already attached.

/173 cont./

342 The canes, or sticks, are attached in the same way as in the roof, with the difference that for the walls they are put in double order, outside and inside, so that they can serve as a support for the dampened earth, which in the end is like a large bag, long and tall, around the house. This other work [462] is done by the Indian men, engaged beforehand by the promise of chicha: next they too dig in the wet soil /174/ dampened by the rain or by water, and help the women in the operation of forming the walls.

With such simplicity, the four walls are raised in a single day, everything being completed: at the present time almost all houses have a gallery where the men and women always sit to enjoy the cool of the mornings and the evenings in friendly gatherings, a gallery which is even used for sleeping on excessively hot nights, especially when inside there is an abundance of vinchucas and other insects (1).

381 472 1. In Parapiti a school for 150 girls was built and finished in 12 hours: nothing had been prepared for this building: it was planned the day before and done at once by all the inhabitants.

342 With the erection of the gallery, the house is completely finished, and the Indian content and satisfied. In present-day buildings care is taken to place the door, or entry, at one end of the house which corresponds to the gallery, and many have two, one in front of the other, in order to have a way to the patio which they make with a fence of thorns for greater comfort.

342 The doors are of cane, which they tie together like mats, 18 but vertically, with cotha bark or with cowhide thongs, which [522] are more durable indoors. If an Indian can get a cowhide, [524] he makes a door of Guayaqa wood, or, as the whites call it, zacharosa, or another soft wood, which he puts in a hole left in the construction: he makes another frame with its hinges made of the same wood, nails the hide, and fastens it in this

/174 cont./

342 281 second frame, taking care that it is not very tight so that when it dries it will not warp. He attaches this hide from behind with thongs of the same material, and the result for them is a door de luxe, which could be envied even by some whites, who, in spite of the fact that they have hides, either cannot find anyone to work them for such a door, or who out of avarice and in order not to spend a few coins do not concern themselves with such a comfort (2).

342 322 2. Some of them make very crude doors with two pieces of thorny ceiba wood, which they work perfectly with a knife. No Chiriguano puts a window in his house.

Ancient Houses

342 177 178 Some of my readers perhaps may have believed that the house and its mode of construction just described go back to the origin of the race. /175/ This belief would be an error, because they must understand that the above-mentioned is the result of progress. The method of building houses like the present ones is relatively new; they learned it from the whites, especially from the inhabitants of the Santa Cruz area, where the houses all have galleries, this being noted even in the capital of the department, although they may be of much more importance and may be disappearing in the new buildings. But 184 in Muenagatio, Lagunilla, Charagua, and centers where the Chiriguano have their holdings, houses have gallaries.

There, in addition to giving the houses a better appearance, in addition to the indisputable utility, are a very great reinforcement and protection for the walls of the house, not allowing the torrential rains to wear away or demolish the plastering that 342 171 they do in all the houses. It is true that many houses of the whites in their towns are of adobe, but when the timber is of superior quality it is almost preferable, because this material LEAVES SPACE BETTER AND IS MORE COMPACT.

000 /175 cont./
remains joined better and is more compact (1).

797 1. When a mission is founded, the first building is the mission house made in the usual way. But in the Potosí missions they are all of timber, and any traveler would marvel at their height and strength.

342 178 The ancient Chiriguano houses were of different form, and they were not alike in size or beauty in the towns. Some were distinguished by their roundness and conical form, and others because they were small and low. The latter had no importance at all and could scarcely even be called huts, in spite of the fact that, to the poor Chiriguano, dominated by his laziness, the smallness of a dwelling does not detract from its importance.

342 171 I am going to deal at some length with the way the houses of conical form were built, because they indicate skill on the part of the builder or because they make one's imagination take wing and fly to China, Africa, and Japan, where similar forms are found and thus make us ever more convinced of the unity of the human race.

As explorers, travelers, histories, and well thought out books say and as is also observed in the pictures of illustrated geographies, it is evident that in China, Japan, Africa, New Zealand, and in the east of Australia not a few of the inhabitants /176/ have houses in conical form.

This form seems to be the original one of the human race, and it is very probable that man has used it in the five parts of the world, since it is even found among the Chiriguano.

342 335 In fact, in order to construct a comfortable house before the Conquest, the clever Chiriguano used the following method. He first obtained a single post of some four or five meters and planted it at a depth of approximately one meter (1).

[476] [574] 1. For any small job for which the Indian must trouble his friends, he would get nothing without offering them a drink. Not even money is so esteemed and appreciated as chicha by the Chiriguano.

/176 cont./

342
335 The post thus set up served as a central point for the new house; next he traced a more or less round circle without having any recourse whatsoever to the rules of theoretical geometry, being ignorant of its existence; nevertheless, his reason helped him enough. Having traced the circle and having secured ahead of time enough forked poles /horquillas/ some two meters high, he put them in holes some 50 or 60 centimeters deep around the circumference, leaving the entrance facing the plaza.

Once these poles have been well fixed in the ground around the center pole, the Indian, with the help of his companions and relatives, prepares rafters, straw, bejuco or ceiba bark, hollow cane or small sticks. He then begins, after an appropriate period of rest, to put in place first the rafters, tying them to each other, the center post serving as a prop, and then he ties them to the poles around the circumference, one to each pole, until he finishes. Before beginning, the precaution is taken of singeing the bejuco. The rest is done as has been described in the modern houses, but when the placing of the roof and the walls around are finished, the center post, which would only be an obstruction for the fire which is constantly burning in the center of the house, is removed (2).

[824] 2. Singed bejuco does not rot, regardless of the season in which it has been pulled up. It is resistant and is not attacked by the wood borer. Those who use it so much have experience.

[821] Everyone knows that conical houses are very solid, when care is taken to select good wood and /illustration appears here/ /177/ to cut it during the waning moon. If the rafters have the fork downward, conical houses are much more solid (1).

[554] 1. A house in conical form among the ancient Chiriguano indicated great ability on the part of the builder and status on the part of its owner; for this reason they were owned only by caciques, rich persons, and other important persons.

4: Nino--342 M-3 (1898-1911) 1219 SF10 Chirignano SF10

342

/177 cont./

Fire

374
372

In conical houses as well as in those of rectangular form, ancient as well as modern, a fire burned, and still burns, night and day: it is never extinguished, but should this happen, the way to relight it is to borrow it from the neighbors. If all the inhabitants of a tribe have temporarily emigrated to a place which is not far away, as happens at the time of general planting, at the end of the harvest, and upon returning to town, they come back bringing their fire with them, as I have seen on repeated occasions. But as today civilization has penetrated and the match has become common, even the Chiriguano will save up one medio, or ten centavos, to buy such a useful combustible, which they use very sparingly, because in their hands this is now a luxury and lends them an air when in a gathering of companions they can bring out and show their box of matches while lighting a maize-husk cigar.

372 177 178

(435) (276)

372

When a fire happens to go out in a place where it is difficult to get it from distant houses, the Chiriguano is not too worried. The man is almost never without a flint, tinder, and a piece of steel: these implements are used to obtain new fire. The tinder is prepared by them from a ball of wild cotton or the flower of the samuu, which they reduce into a skein of thread and put into a cow's horn, which they clear at the wider end, fitting to it a wooden stopper that they keep down with a small wire or agave string: inside the tinder box it extends to the other end, where they make a small hole in order to be able to pull the wire or string and keep the top on tight.

The Indian who does not have all this apparatus does not worry much either. If his fire happens to go out, he makes a small conical hole in a piece of well-dried wood, in which he violently spins a small cylindrical stick, also dry, which does not take long to get hot and then to give off sparks of fire, to which he then applies the tinder, which consists of the dry pith either of the agave or of the /178/ maguey, which when it has taken fire will light any other combustible material (1).

(275)

1. When the road handed over fire to the two

/179 cont./

372 [779] children who had been saved from the Iporu, deluge of waters, he also taught them the way never to lose it, by rubbing pieces of wood together forcefully.

[384] 372 The Chiriguano is quite a hunter, and no wild animal or bird escapes from his eye and hand. On these hunting trips he often needs fire. If he is very far from town and prepares to sleep alone in the forest or in open country, he lights his fire in the way just described, in order to have its company, to keep away the jaguar and the demon, and to light his cigar and prepare his meal.

Work

Cleanliness

356 [362] Many will perhaps come to the conclusion that Chiriguano houses, poorly built and worse maintained because of the continual fire which gives off smoke and ash, are very dirty, without cleanliness or neatness, but nothing is more incorrect. The Indian despite his savagery is clean, and especially for cleanness he pulls out his facial and body hair, bathes daily, and combs his hair often, getting rid of the little animals which might be in his thick hair. The Cofia, or Chiriguano woman, constantly thinks of the cleanliness of her house, gallery, and the ground in front, up to four meters in length and width (?).

[515] [362]

[362] 1. All can see that some Chiriguanos, out of laziness, live in their own very old and dilapidated houses, open to the sun, wind, rain, and dust; in others that have a new roof, walls are lacking, thus exposing them to getting pneumonia, but there is no lack of cleanliness on any of them.

/178 cont./

353 [356] Chiriguano towns attract the attention of all travelers and explorers because of the cleanliness which reigns in their houses, which, despite having a notable quantity of furnishings, are well kept up through the assiduous work of the mistress of the house. [415] [352] Jars with wide mouths are in the corners; those with narrow mouths, in which the chicha must ferment, lean vertically against the walls; the plates and spoons are on small triangular tables of hollow cane in the corners; small ollas are placed inside the empty large pots, and these in times of abundance, and even in times of scarcity, are full, some with shelled maize, others with beans and gourd seeds, and others with wool and cotton for making ponchos, blankets, or outer garments.

[824] [251] /179/ Above, at an appropriate height, they hang a mat of hollow cane or little sticks well tied together well with Ivi, or ceiba, and there they put other trifles or small things, when they do not have anything else to put there, such as cheeses and charqui, or dried meat. The mat is usually hung on one side of the house on one of the rafters by means of thongs of cowhide or other material. They are placed there so as not to be in the way of those who must pass beneath (1).

[824]

1. The Ivi is a species of ceiba, samuu, but it does not have points like the latter. There is another called Cuari or Teyipiruru, which is very straight, has very strong fibers, and is only cut at the branches in order to pull off the bark. A fourth type of ceiba is called Ivirs guasu: it is large and smooth. Each type has its congenial place, like every tree.

Finally, in the corners of the house or where it is most convenient, up high, they put one or more cords, which form an angle from one wall to the other, and there each member of the family puts his own clothing and the men hang the harness of their beasts of burden. Today the Chiriguano who are not lazy are not so poor, and when one enters a house one is amazed by all the abundance of furnishings so well arranged.

/170 cont./

512 With such an arrangement, it is not difficult for the
356 Chiriguano woman, after having taken her bath, made her toilette, and put up her hair, to sweep her house in a few minutes, sweep the rest, put back in its place everything that has been used, to put the beds to the walls, put the coverings on the cords in the corners, and again prepare what is needed for cooking (2).

> 2. The ancient Chiriguano woman did it this way, because she got up very early: today, as she is beginning to be lazy, after having done everything, she goes to the spring, bathes, combs her hair, and carries water.

Cots and Beds

513 No matter how poor a Chiriguano may be, he seeks comfort for sleeping and does not sleep on the ground when he is at home, both in order to avoid sickness and to be free of poisonous animals which abound, such as the snake, the scorpion, and the tarantula, which strike horror just to look at them. Furthermore, they do not sleep on the ground in order to be free of the bite of other insects, such as the vinchuca and the guatacro in certain areas, but despite this their cots are /180/ full of other little coffee-colored bugs, known in every corner inhabited by man.

350 In order to avoid any such accident, one obtains the
322 tafiraguengi, cot, by making it oneself. Cots are of hollow cane, little sticks, or split maguey sticks, which they call conguata guazu. In order to make them, they first make a rectangular frame: in this four holes are made 40 centimeters in from the ends, into which four sticks are introduced vertically: these are the feet. Above are tied canes or sticks which are high at the top and bottom and deep in the middle, and this is the cot. At bedtime they are covered with placing at the head some rag or piece of wood.

/100 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it: most of
[513] them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they
[178] [237] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and to have cots like the whites use: the open part of the latter is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred: in the Iru Itiatim almost all make them of this material.

524 [97] 516 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either: when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on the ground: nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit
352 [333] down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of
[574] wood and called Apica. There are some with two places and up to four with their respective dividers: there are some for
[412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter
[433] [434] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like those of the whites: they make the latter for their own use
[124] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel.
352 Some people also have /101/ hammocks, Quiba ó ipei, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/191 cont./

524 gallery two cords, tying at the ends a piece of cowhide 80 centimeters long by 30 in width, hanging about 60 centimeters above the ground. This is called Sabiuca, swing, and here the little boys and girls swing and rock.

562 Women sit on the ground in their houses and observe the
584 same custom when they go visiting. The man waits until he
576 is told where he should sit and always receives the best seat.
516 The woman does not wait: she knows her place: she arrives, does not greet anyone, leaves her bundle in a corner, if she has one, and then squats down in such a way that from near or far many women squatting like this look like so many cacomades /camacuta/ ready to go off.

Matéo

462 In the furnishings of Chiriguano houses a preferred place
241 is occupied by the matéo, made of gourds divided vertically
415 through the middle. This is man's work: he plants them and
322 cultivates them in his field, and when they are mature they are brought to the house where they are allowed to dry in the shade and also in the sun. Some three months are needed for this or even more, depending on the season. Nevertheless, they are watched throughout to see whether a fingernail will penetrate the skin. When the fingernail will not penetrate, the gourds are ripe. Then they remove the first skin, split them, extract and completely remove the pulp, keep the seeds for the new planting, and, when they are clean, they let them dry for a few days.

462 They are put in a separate place, and a second operation
415 begins. With his Chiriguano patience, with a knife or other
531 instrument, the Indian begins to engrave whatever figures occur to him, such as tree branches, circles with grains of sand, squares, figures of jaguars, dogs, lizards, dogs, chickens,

/181 cont./

462 bulls, deer, etc. If all this carving were woman's work, it
415 would have but one name, Sacuarama, but since it is man's
531 work, each figure has the name of the quadruped, biped, or reptile that it represents (2).

(825) 2. Thus they say Machuru haangaño, figure of a lizard, Yaimba haangaño, figure of a dog. Even the men call the figure of a jaguar or a dove: Sacuarama.

/182/ With this second task the work can be considered finished. Days or weeks are employed depending on the greater or lesser quantities of the mates. They now color all the
[386] etched figures with ground charcoal and paint the empty spaces
[239] with Urucú, achiote, making them firm with the Taragüirisi, which is abundant everywhere, then singeing them in the flame of the fire so that the pictures will never lose their shine and luster or the painting of carbon and urucú come off (1).

237
323
825

1. The Taragüirisi is a species of ant which is common in cold weather. Its length is not over half a centimeter and its thickness three. It moves about the small branches of certain small trees, where it leaves its speckled whitish excrement. All potters provide themselves with an abundance of this material.

Pottery

323
[462] I shall now go on to consider women's work, limiting
317 myself to the most important, such as clay vessels and textiles.
[484] For the former the Chiriguano woman provides herself beforehand with the best clay, which she knows very well and even brings from long distances, if it is not found in the territory of the tribe. Naturally the potter not only wishes to avoid the loss of her labor, but also, insofar as she can, she wishes to

/182 cont./

323 avoid the loss of her reputation as a worker or master of an art which provides her with money and subsistence, despite the low price of the vessels (2).

[648]
[317]

2. There exist some Christians who in their area prohibit the unfortunate Chiriguano women from removing clay from some good veins. For this and so many other reasons, as has been observed by the illustrious Father Pierini, the savage sees in the white, not a brother, but an enemy.

Before going on to the manufacture of the vessel, jar, or plate, the potter provides herself with a potsherd or several of these, depending on the size of the work which she wishes to do; if she cannot find it in the corners of her house because there are no broken pots, she borrows one from her neighbors, and if they do not have any or do not wish to do her the favor, she breaks one of the inferior and smaller ones. In the missions or wherever there are ovens to fire tiles and bricks, the potters can do without a potsherd; they find pieces of well-fired bricks or tiles around the ovens, and with this the primary material is complete.

/183/ Then she submerges an appropriate quantity of clay in water, as much as may be needed for the piece she plans, and she leaves it there until it is completely softened and can be kneaded better than wax. Meanwhile she reduces to the finest powder the potsherd, brick, or tile which she has managed to get, sifts it in the finest sieve, Unupe, that she possesses; next she kneads the softened clay, making sure that it does not harden too much, puts in it all the sifted powder, and mixes it so that it forms a perfect union with the clay, and leaves the lump thus prepared until the next day.

The potter, after having cleaned her house and her person as well, and having fed her children, sits down near the receptacle which contains the raw material, extracts an amount of clay, and begins to knead it, shaping it into the

/183 cont./

323 form of a sausage or thick meatball eight or ten centimeters in diameter, and with this first effort begins the piece in the cleanest and flattest space (1).

> 1. The lump for the piece is kneaded on a sheepskin or goatskin, on top of a potsherd, or on a piece of wood.

415 If a piece is of small dimensions, she finishes it rapidly.
323 Plates, for example, are made very fast, and they can make up to ten in one day; the vessel for keeping water can be made in half a day, but the ones they call Yambui, a large vessel with a narrow mouth, and Ñae, one with a wide mouth, or cántaro, as they say around here, neither can nor should be finished in one day, both because they are large and because it is necessary to work with care and skill (2).

323

> 2. The base of every piece is made out of a portion of clay which they flatten out like a tortilla, on which they make a small rim turned upward, and to this they keep joining the clay in the manner described. The burnishing, which they do with a maize cob, seems very insignificant, but is more than necessary. Without this operation the cántaro would not hold water, much less would it hold chicha.

One who hurried in the manufacture of large pots would never finish them, because the soft clay would always fall down; for this reason the procedure is a slow one. When the base and somewhat more has been made, they suspend the work for a while, so that it may dry through the action of the wind or breezes; in the meantime she continues to polish it, first with a maize cob, Atíguo, and later with a special shell, Inta, and finally with a special stone about three centimeters in

/183 cont./
323 size, which they /184/ call Itaisi, with which the polishing of the pieces is completed (1).

1. The operations which they also perform with the shell and with the stone are for the purpose of giving fineness to the vessels and of closing any chinks.

[824] When they leave the piece which has been begun, they cover it with leaves of the Causíro, palma Christi, and at the time when they begin it again they dampen the edges with a small rag. This rag serves also for dampening the piece before polishing it with any of the above-mentioned tools. When it is finished and before it has been exposed to the air very long, they polish it with the Itaisi, and, when it is quite dry they fire it if it is not to have pictures on it.

531 Every painted piece of pottery is called Sacuarama. The
[192] paintings are white, black, and red. The white is called Toyanti, the black Itau, and the red Itaurucu. They grind
[237] up the three colors separately, dissolve them in water, and apply them with a slender feather from a chicken or other bird. The figures are varied; those of trees, animals, and men are rare; they are lines, unintelligible groupings. Without knowing it themselves, they follow a general system, and some of them make fine pieces, especially for storing water.

323 In order to fire them they select a still day, and a big
[843] piece is carried to the forest, because there is plenty of firewood there and also to avoid having pregnant women coming close to watch, because their presence, according to what they
[237] say, would make the vessel break. They pile firewood around it and light it, taking care that the fire does not go out before it is burning well; sometimes instead of firewood they also use dry cow-manure, and it seems that this is very good for even-
[237] ness of the baking. If the pot has paintings, they let it cool a little when they take it out of the fire and then quickly pass over the pictured the excrement of the Taragüirisi, which melts with

/194 cont./

323 the force of the heat and remains over the paintings like a
[239] binder, without which they would disappear the first time it was used. The Taraglirisi remains on the vessels like a light coat of rubber and the white of the Tovanti becomes opaque (?).

2. When a pot is slightly damaged, they heat it in the fire and on the inside and outside apply the Taraglirisi, and it is as good as before.

/185/ Textiles

286 Another important occupation of the Chiriguano woman
462 is weaving the Asoya for her husband, brother, or son, and the
[294] Cutama for herself. For this she prepares the wool or cotton, spins it opposite the way the mestizo and European women spin, and then bleaches it and finally dyes it.

286 In order to weave, they set up two tall, slender forked sticks in the house, with two sticks across, one above and one below, and arrange or place the threads vertically, and then sit on the ground and begin to run the woof through, thread by thread, which they hit with a pointed stick of ueto wood called Ruca. This, to be sure, is time consuming, if the threads are fine, but, on the other hand, the work is very durable.

291 Ponchos, Asoya, are of two types, one of wool and one
286 of cotton; the first are common from the right bank of the
231 Parapiti River southward and the second from the left bank
249 northward, because in the first region sheep are plentiful, and
[184] in the second, cotton fields. Formerly, before the whites intro-
[177] duced cattle into the region, cotton was cultivated everywhere, and from its product the men were dressed for ceremonies in their Tiru and the women in the Mando, which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

/189 cont./

291 The Cutama, which I have mentioned, has been replaced
296 by the Tipoi of the same form as the former, but made of
(198) chintz, blue drill, linen, merino wool, or cordoroy; they also weave covers for their beds, but these are without colors, and an occasional man has a crude loom, like those they use in Europe with a comb, manufactured by themselves (1).

291

1. The Mondu is attached to both shoulders by means of two large silver pins which correspond to the luxury of the garment; on ordinary days they pin the Tipoi with large thorns, but these have been replaced by needles, pins, and metal clasps.

462 Other tasks of the women are carrying water, maize, and field produce for the kitchen and making chicha and algarroba mead, which we shall discuss below, putting an end to this chapter for now.

/190/

Chapter Seven

Chiriguano Clothing and Adornments

Introduction

/The first paragraph on p. 186 is omitted in the translation. Page 186 continues as follows./

Clothing, which should remind us of the fall of our first parents, their misfortunes, their sufferings, hardships, and their death, our hardships, misfortunes, and death as a consequence of that disobedience, is today used as an object of extraordinary luxury. All of humanity has converted clothing into an object of vanity, and there is no nation, no tribe, however abject it might be or might consider itself, which has not abused or is not abusing clothing and adornments. /The last paragraph on p. 186 and the first paragraph on p. 187 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 187. The remainder of page 187 follows./

4: Nino--255 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
302
516
622
352
411

Cacique Güiraesa with His Family

/187 cont./

000 What did Adam obtain through his sin? Confusion and being thrown out of Paradise in order to be subjected to all the
[186] miseries of life. We have all inherited the pride of the first Adam, and this capital sin causes us to commit errors and more errors, causes the principle of humility to be lost, and causes the favored one to look with disdain on one who is inferior; only religion can remedy these evils, but Catholicism has not penetrated everywhere, and among the Chiriguano, formerly savages in every sense of the word, it is relatively new, for which reason the pride with which they deprecate their inferiors, looking at them disdainfully, is not altogether uprooted; they do not make use of their clothing and adornments, and they strive to appear equal to the whites, whom they consider superior (?).

> 2. The simplicity of dress of the American Catholic women when they go to church is worthy of all praise. Would that they always dressed in this way and that the fashion of hats had never appeared! In Europe they are so large that they bother the spectator in large gatherings, and in the daily services they interfere with the view of the holy ceremonies, and, consequently, they attend without piety.

302

Clothing

The Chiriguano wears his hair long and barely ever cuts the hair near the forehead, either for adornment or so that it may not interfere with his vision, because he does not tie it
301 up like the women and the Quechua Indians. He wraps it
302 around his head and ties it with a band that his wife, mother,
[286] or sister weaves for him. This band is called Yapicuana; it is 1.25 or 1.50 meters long and 5 centimeters more or less in
[177] width. It is of cotton or wool and comes in various colors, but at the present time most of them, where civilization has not sufficiently penetrated, use one of red baize, which they

/187 cont./

301 buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions.
302 The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicuana
[199] /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feast:
in the presence of his companions (1).

[199]
[114]
[121]

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbía had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter
294 is woven by them themselves with palm leaves. Carandaiti
285 they bring them from the places where they are abundant, Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect
292 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older
554 Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (?).

291
302
304
178

2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap, the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in few places now, and the straw hat is being

/188 cont./

291 302 304 198

replaced by the cloth one, although it costs a great deal; the customs of yesteryear are now disappearing, and those of today, or of the whites, are penetrating rapidly.

302 412 [831]

For the Chiriguano virility consists of a vigorous head of hair; nevertheless, although he prizes hair on his head, he never allows any other hair on his body, except that of the eyelashes and eyebrows, which he forms into arches. He pulls out the rest of the hair on his face and body with his Tendirabá pika, or tweezers. These consist of some little pieces of tin or a piece of cane slit down the middle, and sometimes a knife. With great patience and bit by bit he pulls out or cuts off all the hair that appears on his chin, thus looking like another woman. Others who are called /illustration appears here/ /189/ rich pull out their hair with thin pieces of silver, which they call Mbeivora (1).

302

1. During my stay in the territory I saw only one Indian who had a thick beard, but because of this uncleanliness he was considered disgusting. When the hairs grew, he cut them with scissors. Today the young men are beginning to wear mustaches and goatees, and many shave with razors.

[198]

291 [191]

The ancient Chiriguano clothing was very simple and too immoral, as is still seen among those Indians where the civilization of the Cross has not penetrated, such as the Chacobo north of Santa Cruz and others in the Bolivian Chaco. Boys go about naked until the age of ten or twelve, and girls up to seven, at which age they are content to cover the most delicate part of the body because of a trace of modesty which exists among them. Even grown men make use of this most simple garment when they are in the country busy at work or when they are returning to town loaded with firewood or food.

[Text continues on P 260]

4: Blow--DSP M-2 (1820-1911) 1913 SP10 Chaiguano SP10

Chaiguano saddle or seat, sagum, bag, belt

/109 cont./

291 Clothing in the fashion of Adam is still seen everywhere. In the towns the men, and almost everywhere the women, are at least dressed from the waist to below the knee, because for work or for coolness the Cutama or tipoy, which can cover them up to the shoulders, is allowed to fall to the waist, the rest being left visible.

292 **Gala Dress**

For the ancient Chiriguano, the Ambícuai, doublet, was fine and festive clothing. This single name includes the Guaraji cangao, hat, the Ambícuai, sagum or frock coat, and the Guaraji timbiao, breeches. Because the doublet is an object of luxury, they do not all wear it, its use being limited to the grandees or caciques, to rich men, and to sorcerers. It is made entirely of tanned skins, which are those of the wild boar, peccary, or pygmy deer. They are tanned with the bark of the Curupau, the astringent acacia or sevil, which contains a great deal of tannin.

Skillful men are needed to make a complete doublet like the one made in the Santa Rosa Mision by the Indian Cachupari, which, when taken to the Turin exposition, was acquired by the Florence Museum, along with the skull that I acquired in Caruyuqui and other objects, such as the Yandugua, a kind of parasol of ostrich feathers, etc., objects which the missionaries of Potosí sent along with the missionaries of Tarija (2).

2. The missionary who was charged with taking all the things to the exposition and leading the Chiriguano of both sexes, as the program directed, was the late Franciscan Father Doroteo Giannecchini.

/190/

291 The crown of the hat is made of four oval parts, as is
294 the brim which surrounds it, sewed with fine cords of the same material, and the edge of the brim is turned upward. The hat has a band of the same material sewed to both sides at the temples to hold it to the throat; a knot or a ring on the band can be used to tighten it.

292 The Ambícuai, which lends its name to the whole outfit,
281 is a perfect camock, but its form is entirely Chiriguano, for it does not hinder the movement of the arms. Its cut is not straight, and both parts are made fast at the chest with two leather straps, which are run through the holes on the opposite side. The camock in back ends in two points, where there is a kind of ornamentation of the same leather, which consists of short, fine strips, like a tassel. The sleeves are wide, as is the whole garment, and are attached to the shoulder, being open at the armpit so as not to impede the movement of the arms, either in hunting or in war, where the grandees also
[126] wear it. In fact, in the photograph taken in Santa Rosa to be sent to the exposition, a hunter and a warrior dressed in this
529 doublet appear outside the circle. In the middle there is a
554 Chiriguano woman with her crown and adornments as queen
562 of the fiesta, who offers chicha to all who are enjoying themselves (1).

1. The queen is the one who serves the dancers as mistress and patroness of the fiesta. This
[128] photograph or figure will not be reproduced in the chapter dealing with fiestas because I could not obtain it.

292 The Timbiao, breeches, is also of leather and is made
[281] of four pieces, wider from the waist to the sacrum and narrower from the thigh to the bottom. It is quite wide and comes to the ankle. It is rougher than the rest, but more valued, and they will give anything to have even a single pair. This garment is tied at the waist with a belt or with two strings which are sewed across the entire width of the garment itself.

/190 cont./

292 The Chiriguano, when he is dressed in these skins, considers himself a grandee, and he is one before his companions and the caciques themselves. But from the beginning, even before it is even worn, such clothing gives off a very disagreeable odor, like that of the piles of dung. Let the reader imagine what it must be like when it has been used for some time. It can easily be understood that the Chiriguano, when [296] wearing the doublet, has nothing else on his body, and that all of the sweat, etc. sticks to it, and it should be noted that the outfit is never washed, which adds to the smell.

[222] [297] /191/ The cacique Nambi of Ivo made his visits to the P.P.C.C. of Santa Rosa Mission to ask for a mission in his town, dressing himself in his old and filthy doublet before making the visit. He embraced the missionaries and talked quite close to them, the result being almost unbearable (1).

1. The outfit is completed by a pair of boots called Timainu, which literally meant companion of the shin bone. These are necessary [224] for hunters so that they will not hurt their legs when they are pursuing wild animals.

The illustration that I put at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 255/ will make the description of the Ambócuai more easily understood. There appear in it a young man and an old man standing, a woman sitting on a chair, and a young girl sitting on the ground. The old man dressed in a doublet is the cacique Gilsaesa of Santa Rosa; the woman who is seated on the chair is his wife, the man on his right is his son Tandareca, and the girl is his Christian daughter, named Prisca.

[291] The Chiriguano who does not have a doublet is satisfied with his long poncho or with a blanket wrapped around his body down to his knees, but today it is rare that he cannot dress himself moderately well with some six varas of linen, [432] which at the most will cost him two bolivianos. Today every- [439] thing can be bought in the small retail stores (2).

2. The doublet is used today in some areas to

/191 cont./

292 make people laugh at the carnival. The
[542] same thing can be said of other antipsiras. I have placed in this chapter the method for making it, as well as the one for the hat, because it is work from which only the man benefits and both are counted among his garments.

Conclusion

463 In the course of the previous pages it has been seen that the Chiriguano is hunter, warrior, and also sorcerer. The first and second categories contain many, and the third one fewer, and this is easily understood, because a knowledge of medicinal herbs is needed and, more than this, the art of knowing how to deceive with prattling, which is not for all.

463 The three classes wear a belt with a bag which hangs from
291 it. The belt is called "Bosa," doubtless because it has a bolso
415 /bag/. In this those of the first and second category put tobacco, maize husks, and flint, tinder, and steel for making fire, and sorcerers add to these things the implements of their profession, which /192/ are the Mbaracajú, a piece of bone, the Rampón, a round stone, both of which are necessary for the curas... miraculous ones (1).

[199] 1. The Bosa does not seem to be of Chiriguano origin. Anduari doubts that it was introduced by the Argentinians or by the Tarijeños /people of Tarija/, but it seems to me that it was the former who introduced it, because it is similar to the one used by the gauchos.

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] (254) Others who are not hunters, and hunters themselves when they are not engaged in this activity, fasten the breeches at the waist with a belt that they call Caurajé; their wives weave it; it is made of wool and painted in various colors. They all have one, except some of the old men.

[illegible] (251) (252) Another of their conveniences is the Urapura, long bag in its literal translation. The Urapura seems to be the Chiriguano's own; it is of tanned wild boar or pygmy deer hide, narrow at its opening, which they close with a little cord, gathering the opening; they sew around, and through the seam they pass the cord, which is rather long so that it can hang from one shoulder and be passed to the opposite armpit like a horseman's escarcela. This bag is used as a container for carrying provisions on a trip. In it they put boiled meat, parched corn and charqui. This is done by warriors, hunters, and travelers, and, well secured, as has been explained, it is never lost.

[illegible] Finally, there is no lack of another convenience for carrying water. In order not to experience the effects of burning thirst, he has a type of gourd with a hard shell like that of the marán; he empties it, removing the pulp and seeds, making a hole in the middle, puts it in a kind of net of cords, leaving one or two larger meshes near the hole placed at the top, where the Chiriguano himself makes a small circle, fills it with water, stops it up with a maize cob, and during a trip uses it sparingly, if he has foresight, or else he may not have it when he needs it most (7).

7. The Indians who are governed by cacaqidoes in the region of the Gran Chaco traveled with their respective tacú or tatarina on their expeditions to the desert of Paraguay.

/181 cont./

Adornments

/The first paragraph of this section, pp. 189-190, is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 188, and the remainder of p. 190 follows./

181 The Chiriguano, although they occupy a very lowly place in this corner of the world, although they have little in the way of grandeur and show to display and take pride in, follow the common tendency of humanity, almost as the beast follows its instincts. Without any fear of error, if the Chiriguano were to possess great riches, he would probably invest them in his vices and in the adornment of his body.

When the Chiriguano wants to make a formal visit, he washes his body, dresses in his best clothing, and paints his face with achiote powder. The preparation of achiote seeds has been described in the preceding pages in the discussion of the fiesta /see p. 35/. There I said that in order for the Urucú to be fixed on the Indian's skin it is necessary that he first soften his face, or the part that he wants to paint or embellish, with palma Christi oil.

It has already been seen that the region is hot and that atmospheric changes are very sudden; a period of extreme heat can be followed by severe cold, and in these changes the Chiriguano's skin becomes chapped. To avoid this nuisance, men and women paint their faces and their feet with the cosmetic. They also use it during public drinking sessions, at banquets, and during the preparation of chicha in order to ward off the high heat, as well as during convalescence and after having recovered from smallpox (1).

1. Achiote powder with palma Christi oil is cool in hot weather and warm in cold weather. The neophytes in the missions no longer use it, or, if they do, it is sparingly and as a remedy.

[text continues on p. 267]

4: Nmo--266 M-3 (1880-1911) 1912 BF10 Chiriguano BF10

301
531
392
534
412

Chiriguano adornments, etc.

[See pp. 273-274 for explanation of numbers]

/190 cont./

302 Another of the cosmetics frequently used by men and women
137 is the Carasapa. This is an annual plant with broad leaves, and
824 its stem grows /196/ to the height of a meter or a little more. The color of the plant itself and of its leaves is, for about half of it, somewhere between red and purple. The flower is large and about 30 centimeters long, its color being the same as that of the plant, but much brighter. There is enough of the plant everywhere, but it is not very abundant. The flower is somewhat heavy when it has seeds, and since the stem is slender and flexible, the result is that when it cannot hold itself upright it leans over toward the ground, forming an arch, hence its name Carasapa, or arched plant (1).

[529] 1. At carnival time even the neophytes paint their faces, as do the whites. They buy face paint which the whites sell, and the infidels forsake their achiote at the carnivals.

303 When the flower and seed are in season, the coquettes do their harvesting in order to use it, and they look pretty. The Carasapa also has its preparation, without which its application would not be easy. They first grind up some white beans, sift this meal very fine, and then grind the Carasapa in a mortar with a little water, put this mixture in a cloth, squeeze over the bean meal the water which comes out, washing or coloring it, and then dry the dough in the sun, spread out on a cloth or a Cutama. The preparation is not difficult, but not all of them go to the trouble to do it, and for those who prepare it, it is a profitable item.

302 The way to use it is the same as for the achiote, but it
[531] does not have any peculiarity, and hence it is only used at fiestas and at carnival time. Maidens beautify their faces by forming two circles of carasapa on their fresh cheeks and paint their eyebrows with achiote. Formerly, when young girls wore the Atira, pompadour /copete/, at fiestas it was painted with the carasapa mixture, after having been oiled with palma Christi.

/194 cont./

302 The flower of the Guambero, purslane, has the same properties as the carasapa, but it is little used, and they content themselves with just sticking the leaves on their faces, and this only at carnival time, the result being a gay set of dancers. Finally, the Indians have a fourth cosmetic, which they call Mboiurucu, or achiote of the viper. It is red, and they assert that it is food for the viper, hence its name. They use it by rubbing it on their cheeks, which makes them a bright red.

292 [527] [178] As noted above, the ancient Chiriguano man, Ava, and the Chiriguano woman of long ago, Cuña, at solemn fiestas and on days /195/ of general rejoicing, after having adorned their faces and washed their persons, wore the tiru and the mandu, respectively (1).

[286] [462]

1. If the Indian dressed in a tiru does not have breeches, guasupi timbiao, he wraps his body from the waist down with a shorter poncho which comes to the calf. It is also of cotton, and the women weave it. It is called Tirupeé, or sheath that warms, "alias" wrap /abrigo/.

The Tiru is a kind of long poncho, from which it differs because of the two openings that it has near the wrists; the hands are put into said openings and remain free for movement, and, the tiru fastened to the wrists, nothing impedes the motion of the one wearing it. It is spun and woven by the women, and the raw material is cotton. The tiru differs in color, some are black, others dark red, and others blue. The first color is obtained with black mud, Tuñúú, mixed with the resin of the algarroba, Piari; the second, with sotillo bark, Urundeibusu; and the third, with wild indigo, Caogüi (2).

[286] 292 386 [824]

[437] [178]

2. Today this is all purchased commercially, and the indigo plant, which is abundant in certain places, is ignored. They buy the indigo and the other colors, just as they buy for their poncho and their tipoi.

/195 cont./

292 The black tiru is first dyed with sotillo bark, and then they
386 immerse it in a vessel which has well-steeped black mud and
824 algarroba resin. After some time they wash it and dry it out, leaving the permanent color. The dark red is made with only boiled sotillo bark. Finally, to dye with indigo they crush this leaf and expose it to the sun's rays, then they crush it again in the same way, after which they put it in a large earthenware vessel with water, in which the tiru is immersed and comes out a light blue, but, if they want it to be like the blue of drill, it is necessary to boil the indigo.

In order to dye everything red they also use a species of onion that they call Tunpaipi, which literally translated, means feet of God and is abundant in the fields, and another
292 one called Chapi, which is found in the hills. Everything said about the tiru is applicable to the mandu of the women, with the sole difference that this is open at both ends and is attached to the shoulders with two enormous silver needles that they call Yu guasu, big needles, which are also disappearing.

When a woman is occupied with domestic and other work,
301 she ties her hair up tightly with a band, Apicuá, /196/ of cotton
302 or wool, so that it will not inconvenience her at her tasks, but
[527] when there is a fiesta, she washes her person, washes her head,
[515] combs her heavy and shining hair, and lets it loose, flowing over her body as far down as it will go (1).

[178] 1. The young women today put up their hair like the white women, making braids through which they draw a band that they call Añopea, braided cord. The hair fastened in the old way was like a baton, since not a hair was to be seen, even horizontally, all of it being covered by the band, añopea.

/196 cont./

301 Over their tiru the men put the Mboivera, which is a small double piece of silver with its hole in the upper part, where they put a double cord of wool, on the ends of which there are [562] tassels of the same color. This ornament is for men, but there are also women who wear them, but smaller ones. If one in- [177] quires about the origin of the mboivera, no Chiriguano can tell you today, but it is almost certain that they received it from the Spaniards, with whom they had relations almost from the time of the discovery, as can be deduced from the history of Tarija, whose first settlers had to fight vigorously to take over the territory which they then occupied. It is enough to see a mboivera in order to conclude that it is not of Chiriguano origin. The work which goes into almost all of them indicates that it is the work of civilized people, since decorations by the engraver's burin can be seen on it (2).

43
301

2. A Mboivera, a Tempeta /sic/ with a ndamicha, four necklaces, and a ndamicha ichi formerly were exchanged for a horse, a cow, ten sheep, or 15 goats, but it should be noted that these pieces of property were worth little. A cow was worth five or six pesos, and the same could be said of the rest. Conscientious travelers today pay up to four bolivianos for a tembeta, because it is a museum piece.

301
435
756

Both men and women adorn their necks with beads /perlas/, Itogũi; necklaces, Risi, are not of beads like those of civilized people, but in spite of this the itogũi has a conventional value among the Chiriguano. For four itogũi necklaces they sold the best that they had, and sick persons gave them to the sorcerer in order that he would cure them, and today, when it is almost impossible to obtain a necklace, it is not rare for a sick person who owns one to make a gift of it to the doctor, even though it may be his passport to eternity, because everyone understands that after the sick person has been treated by a sorcerer in the most barberous manner, if he does not recover it is clear he will die.

/196 cont./

301 Indian youths who cannot sport a bead necklace make them out of shell, Yatita, which is abundant throughout the region.
[321] /197/ The pieces are flat and round like a small button. They make a hole in the middle and string them one by one, making a knot in the string in order to separate them. Since the shells are white, a necklace on a Chiriguano's black neck is like a fly in milk (1).

[562] 1. The shell necklace is worn solely by men. I checked carefully and saw that they alone wear it. I have several of them that I found in a grave which was uncovered by the rain.

301 562 For men there is another necklace of beads, Ndamicha; a string of these with a large one in the middle, Ndamicha ichi, mother of the beads, is valuable. The ndamicha even comes mounted in the hole of the tembeta, which then is valuable and is called Ndamicha-rembeta, tembeta with bead.

114 301 562 It seems that the explorer and expeditionist Touar is not completely correct when he says that these necklaces are made of coralline, malachite, etc. The Indians do not tell where they come from. Perhaps with careful analysis it could be learned what type of material they contain and which animal produces them naturally, such as the coralline. What is beyond doubt is that today's explorers do not give them the value that they would have if they were true pearls. The former value of beads among the Indians themselves was, as I have said, conventional. The same gentleman is not entirely correct when he states that the Chiriguano women wore shell necklaces. Perhaps they were used by the Tapíí women, where he stayed for a long time in his efforts to see Olympus from Izozo.

301 562 Women's necklaces are abundant and are of different forms and colors. Some are round and black, Mboinu, companion of beads, others red and curly, Mboichanchi, curly beads, and others long and black, Sebadilla. There is also no lack of women who in addition to the above-mentioned ornaments place around their necks a string of silver coins, all of the same size.

/197 cont./

301 562 [437] These are of ten-centavo or five-centavo pieces, but they try to have them all alike. From what has been said it can be seen that the necklaces that the women wear are modern, brought by traders, especially peddlers (2).

2. Today neither medios nor reales of pure silver are found, but the Chiriguano Indian women make their necklaces with medios and reales of nickel. These are satisfactory, but the former were better.

301 184 Modern necklaces are common and also worn by the neophytes, but they do not wear bracelets, which are suitable only for the infidels. They make a long string of small blue beads and wrap it around /198/ their wrists, taking care to be sure that each turn is tight and close to the previous one, and so on with the rest which follow.

291 301 186 177 The Chiriguano, because he is proud, does not lower himself to wearing the adornments of neighboring tribes which are inferior to him, but he does easily adapt himself to wearing the clothing and adornments of races which are superior to him. He does not lower himself to wearing bird feathers, to scarring his face and arms, to wearing wooden earrings, like the Toba and others, but he imitates and attempts to surpass his superiors, the whites, by dressing himself like them, the men wearing the fine hat and the women wearing the wool and silk manta, the young men the footwear and boot, and the maidens foreign earrings. Hence, tiny little girls at the moment they are born have the ear lobe pierced, so that in time, even before they begin to walk, the mother can put a pair of earrings on them, while none of the old women whom I know wears earrings in her ears. This is a sure sign that they never wore ornaments in them, and thus, if the modern Chiriguano women wear them, it is because they have seen women and maidens who came from civilized centers or were born there.

/198 cont./

301 I am going to end this chapter by mentioning a fancy ornament which has completely disappeared. It is a woman's ornament and is called Aguá, crown, and whoever wore it was called Cuña aguá vaé, crowned woman. The duty of this woman at the public drinking bouts and solemnities was to direct the women's dance, to direct the singing, and to give drinks to the singers and dancers with her own hands. The aguá was a varicolored band up to three meters long, which was put around the head, crossed at the back of the neck, and held on by thorns, needles, or big silver pins, and both ends terminated in tassels of various colors. It was a very striking ornament (1).

[562] [554] [527]

[126] 1. In order to send a complete aguá to the Turin exposition I had to have it made in the girls' school in Santa Rosa. I could not get one in the town; there were none even at that time.

ooo Here is poor humanity without any exact idea of religion and worship, they are zealous and hard-working for the body, but have no concern at all for the soul. Only Christ can restore humankind, and tear away the veil which was obscuring its intelligence, and only the priest and Catholic missionary can teach him the sound doctrine of /199/ immortality and other dogmas, so that with this knowledge he may first seek the kingdom of God and receive the rest besides (1).

1. Quaerite primum regnum Dei et haec omnia adiicentur vobis.

372 Explanation of the Preceding Illustration [1]

1. Sticks for getting fire.
534 2. Bull's horn for use as a musical instrument.
3. Tail of a quiriquincho /armadillo/ for use as a musical instrument.
412 4. Tweezers for pulling out the hair from the face and other parts.

[1 [i.e., on p. 266.- Analyst]

/199 cont./

301 5. "Mboivera," or pieces of silver for adornment.
6, 7, 8. Metal tembetas.
9. A hollow-cane tembeta.
10. "Yapicuana," or band for the hair.
11. "Aguá," or long band for adornment of the queen in drinking festivals.
412 12. Wooden comb.
534 13. Porongo for playing as a musical instrument.
14, 15. "Senene," or Chiriguano flutes.
16. "Igüiramimbi" for playing as a musical instrument.
17. Stone ax.

/200/

Chapter Eight

The Chiriguano Family

Introduction

000 The theory of the founder of the transformist school, in which he attempts to demonstrate and establish the origin of the human race by means of evolution, is completely absurd. /The remainder of the introduction, pp. 200-202, is omitted in the translation. Page 202 continues as follows./

The Family

Genesis tells us of the origin of the human race, and outside of this book all is confusion; faith teaches us that God created the first man in His image and likeness, and later gave him a companion, taking her from his rib, from which it is deduced that the family began in the world, or in historical times, from the beginning of humanity (2).

792 793 871

2. Readers already know the story which Anduari told me regarding the creation of

/202 cont./

797 the second Chiriguano man and the second
793 Chiriguano woman; I have even made use of
871 this to condemn the vice of polygamy in my monthly instructions to the infidels.

000 /The last paragraph on p. 202 and the first paragraph on p. 203 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 203 follows./

621 It is very natural that the Chiriguano race should form a
59 family. Each tribe, or people, is an association of families.
603 They are made up of fathers and children, but many times they have at their head a grandfather and grandmother who are much respected but who never give any orders or manage things; instead they serve their children willingly as servants, the grandfather in bringing in firewood, planting, and weeding, and the grandmother in everything that a woman can do.

831 There does not seem to be any other race like the
867 Chiriguano in Bolivia, which like none other gives free rein to the passions, especially lewd ones. A maiden who commits a bad act is the pride of her mother, who is content with saying that now her daughter is a woman and ready for it. If a young man does similar things and his father finds out about it, he will ponder the act of his son and say, Cuimbae co, he is a man. This expression is heard frequently (1).

[797] 1. When the missionary attempts to reprehend or
[861] punish the sin of some Chiriguano boy, the father, the grandfather, or the cacique petitions for him, and the best words to lessen the punishment or to say that he deserves no punishment are: Cuimbae ma co, he is now a man.

181 Excessive corruption is the result, and, if the Toba race is distinguished by its inclination toward thievery, the Chiriguano are distinguished by their inclination toward lechery, as old and wise missionaries of the stature of Father Corrado and
000 Father Giannecchini can testify. Let the reader consider that the

1997 /203 cont./ Let the reader consider that the work of the missionary, who strives for and dedicates himself to the reduction of the Indian, would not amount to much if he could make light of immorality, a sin which God anciently punished with two floods, one of water and one of fire, thus manifesting His just indignation with these words: Non permanebit spiritus meus in homine, quia caro est.

595 With these inclinations not at all restrained, but instead fomented with the five physical senses and all the faculties of the soul, it is not strange that there should exist among the Chiriguano a tendency to very frequent bigamy and polygamy as a luxury or a sign of greatness. /204/ If not all have many wives, it is either because it is not easy to support them or because they are not easily found, because every woman would like to be the only mistress in her house (1).

> 1. In the house of a polygamist or bigamist, the one who gives orders and is in charge as mistress and manager is the oldest, as long as she anticipates her husband's thinking; since, as she knows his irremediable incontinence, in order not to lose her authority in the house, she advises a second and third marriage, etc., and then the master of all of these women imposes the respect due the oldest woman.

[643] Almost all regional caciques are polygamists, and they have a woman in almost every town of their dependency, without counting the eight or twelve that they have in the town where they live. Caciques can do this because they have
595 authority, although they [illegible]ot give them anything. Formerly
178 polygamy was much m[illegible] extensive. It is not so now because
[1997] the race has been much reduced, and there has penetrated everywhere, if not the missionary, the Christian, who at times is a reproach for the lasciviousness of the carnal Ava.

/204 cont./

643 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves
648 are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live
797 as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

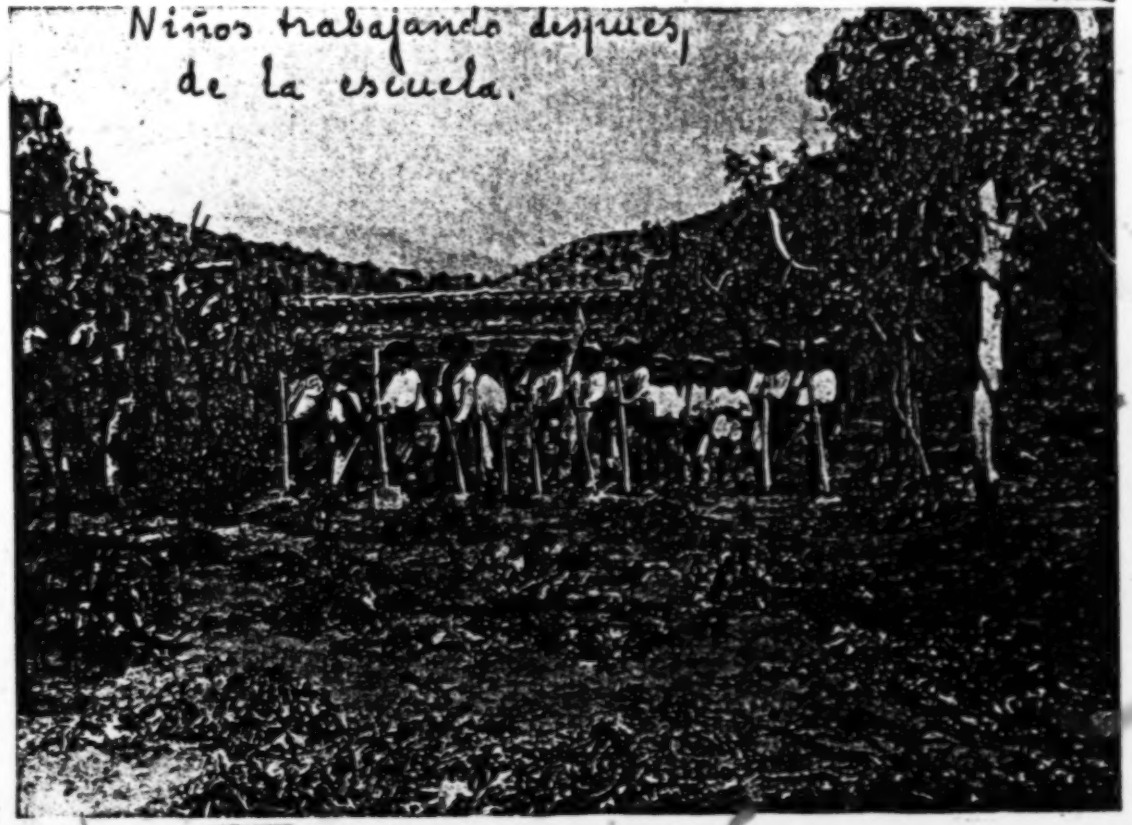
595 The important men assert that to possess many wives is
594 necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality
829 to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because
643 the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they
622 do not become such in their youth, when they are like humming-
[582] birds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] 1. Formerly, women were abundant because of
[169] wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

797
464
891



Education of neophytes through work

4: Nino--278 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/205 cont./

587 595 When the mother of a family is widowed at a mature age, after a year of widowhood, if she was a dutiful wife, she can easily remarry; it is much easier if she has a daughter, even if she is small. The Chiriguano man marries the mother with the hope of being able to marry the stepdaughter when she reaches a suitable age. If at the time of marrying a widow the stepdaughter is already an adult, it is difficult to achieve this end, because young girls abhor this type of union, in spite of the fact that their mother, in order not to be repudiated, often serves as a go-between for the wicked desires of her husband (2).

[593] [762] 2. The stepdaughter, when she sees the impossibility of freeing herself from the evil intentions of her stepfather, will often run away to another tribe, and, if she cannot manage this, will take her life by suicide.

582 In spite of being so inclined to lechery without regard for kinship, even in a direct line, it is worth considering the respect that the Chiriguano professes for consanguinity, regardless of the degree considered. It is unlikely that a man will marry a cousin in the fourth degree, and he tries to respect [593] even more distant degrees. With much more reason the father respects his daughters as holy things, it being completely false what somebody wrote about this, having heard of the case where one Chiriguano or several had lived with their daughters when the mother had died. It could happen that in the future they might marry their cousins, since they see that their superiors do this, but how many of those who are here will be alive a few years from now?

/205 cont./

584

Method of Contracting a Marriage

The Indian has many ways to conclude a naturally
[581] legitimate marriage. He must in the first place have good qualities as a hunter and worker. When he has selected the one who is to be the pearl of his eye and has enough courage to ask her parents for her personally, he makes his visits at night to the family /206/ of his intended. These visits are silent until
[583] the old people ask him the reason for his coming. The young man at first is confused in his answers, but if he observes by the kindness of the questions that there is a thread of hope, he returns and from time to time makes gifts of maize, cheese, and fruits of his labors, such as gourds, beans, and birds hunted by him.

If the young man's manner pleases the old people, they do everything possible to get their daughter to consent, but often the suitor loses everything, either because the old people do not like him or because she abhors him. This last case happens particularly when the suitor is somewhat older (1).

[581]
[579]

1. Among the Chiriguano nothing is appreciated but the manliness of a man and his goodness: looks, wealth, and the nobility of the house are of no value whatsoever.

When the young man is pusillanimous, a third person is used, as is done in every country. The third party also presents himself at night to smoke his cigar and explain the reason for his visit from the first night on, and naturally everything
584 cannot be arranged on the first night. He must come back
583 repeatedly, and meanwhile there must be no lack of gifts for the future parents-in-law. The suitor customarily also brings bits of firewood collected every morning at dawn, which the older people put into the room, whether the marriage is concluded or not (2).

584

2. Each day the person charged with making arrangements for the marriage, or the third

/206 cont./

584 party, gives the young suitor an account of what has happened, encouraging him to have hope.

[583] When the old people want it and the daughter is pleased by the young man's manners, the matter is promptly concluded, and the husband enters the wife's house without saying a word for three or four nights, without letting himself be seen in it during the day. On the fourth or fifth day both of them present themselves to the public, sitting at the threshold of the door. Then the bachelor companions of the newly married man come to him and ask him a thousand questions, congratulating him on his luck. The young woman hears all this with much embarrassment, but this is the first and last time. She will not experience this again.

[593] From what has been said it can be deduced that it is not the young woman who seeks out a man to marry, but he; and in the presence of her relatives, friends, or strangers, she will never manifest in any way her love for her husband,

[583] however much she may truly love him. This reciprocal love often causes a maiden, because her parents are opposed to the union, to run away /207/ to live with her husband in another tribe for a long time, in the house of her relatives, and return with the marriage already contracted in fact.

585 The Chiriguano are not accustomed to having celebrations in connection with their marriages. Only after the marriage has been consummated does the mother of the newly married man, during the absence of her son in his wife's house, make chicha fermout. On the fifth or sixth day she calls them, has them in the house the whole day, makes them drink a little, prepares a small lunch for them with much affection for her daughter-in-law, gives both of them very sound advice, and sends them off as night approaches (1).

591
583 1. It is the law of the Chiriguano that the husband must live in the house of his father-in-law as soon as marriage is contracted;

/207 cont./

591
583

otherwise they will not give up their daughters. The measure is a very good one; this often keeps a man from abusing his authority because of his respect for the old ones and for fear of being thrown out.

300

Life and Tasks during Marriage

The life of man is a continuous struggle, said St. Job, Militia est vita hominis super terram, but life in marriage is a double struggle; one who passes from the estate of bachelorhood into that of marriage sees it as soon as the honeymoon is over. The missionary dedicated to the conversion of infidels, like the parish priest in the administration of a parish, can readily testify as to whether the suffering of his married parishioners is or is not greater than that of his unmarried parishioners.

585

A new life then begins for the Chiriguano newlyweds. As soon as the intimate meal in the husband's house is over, they go out in public freely, go out into the countryside, get supplies of maize, firewood, and water, make the drink ferment, and, when this is ready, invite their relatives and friends and enjoy themselves for a day, without becoming disorderly. Even the neophytes do this on the day of marriage, because they have seen that that is what the white Christians do (2).

[606]

2. This party is held in the house of the parents-in-law, for which reason both of the old people help efficiently, the one in bringing in firewood and the other, the mother, helping her young daughter in everything, including serving the drinkers.

/207 cont./

462 The woman among the Chiriguano is a true slave, and
562 the man her master. His work for the family is limited to planting and weeding, as well as fetching the necessary fire-
[517] wood. In addition, /208/ as a diversion and pastime, he takes his bow and arrow, goes out into the countryside and hunts, or fishes in a nearby river, spending the rest of his time talking with his friends, recounting exploits, telling stories, Miani, playing cards and throwing dice, even going so far as to bet the tipoy or cutama of his wife.

She, on the contrary, is the work horse of the house. She
[482] carries the maize with her Allapoca, a kind of net, goes to
[515] the spring and carries on her shoulders and over long distances some 50 libras of water, prepares food, makes chicha, cleans her house, spins, weaves ponchos, makes ollas, cares for her children, raises animals such as pigs, chickens, sheep, and goats, makes cheese if she has cows, and, as if all this were not enough, in the afternoon she sits down next to her lazy husband, releases his healthy hair, and as a distraction goes looking through that labyrinth for the insects which nest there,
[262] without feeling any disgust. I am not talking about killing them, but about doing away with some with her teeth and making a snack out of others, a very simple thing for these women.

562 Everything is permitted for the man. He can play upon
593 words and make lascivious jokes with other women, but this is not permitted for the wife, nor can she even cast a sidelong glance, which would be enough to cause her to be maltreated and divorced. How many things there are in nature! It is painful to see a mother with her four or five little ones abandoned to suffer hunger and despair, while the rascal of a husband with no just cause at all goes happily off with another, giving her the little that he earns and then getting rid of her at the first chance (1).

593
586 1. When the man turns out to be too lazy, it is the woman who leaves him, going off with another, and the children go with her, because

593 586 /208 cont./

love can accomplish much, and they really love their children, without making much outward show of this.

Finally, the man, whenever he wishes, can dismiss his wife with great ease. He does it with contempt, in biting words, calling her Culla pochi, bad woman, Culla imuquere, lost woman, good only for lighting the fire. No one could endure such scorn for an hour, and she understands that the rascal has won the love of another, younger woman.

515 When a mother goes to the spring or river, she takes her son or daughter with her, bathes herself and also her child, and then grinds up some grains of Netira, a kind of potash, leaving her hair and that of her daughter clean and shiny. The bath is daily, but the washing of the hair with Netira is not.

/209/ Pregnancy and Birth

843 When a woman finds herself pregnant, she does not give up her customary chores, but goes to the field as usual and fetches from there heavy loads of maize and other things. 482 They use for this, as I have already noted, a kind of close-285 woven net which the Toba make with the bark of the caraguata [171] or maguey. Those made by the Chiriguano are like the wooden fruit-baskets /chipas/. They are open on top, where they have an easily untied cord, in the middle of which there is a wide band for holding the weight with the forehead (1).

482

1. The Chiriguano woman lets all the weight of the load she is carrying rest on her spinal column, etc., holding it with her forehead. If the water is some distance away, she does the same; if not, she carries the vessel vertically on her left shoulder, or on her head, where she places a pad of rags.

/209 cont./

843 Near the time of giving birth, she carries less weight,
262 prepares what is necessary, which consists of some cloth pads
415 and her new little olla in which to cook the maize which she
[753] must eat boiled. If the olla were old or used, the newborn would be subject to mal caduco, or epilepsy, and if a woman who has just given birth were to eat parched maize, her breasts would dry up and would not give milk for feeding the child.

844 At the time of giving birth the only person left in the house is the midwife: the others, even the husband, go out, but he returns as soon as the birth has taken place, in order to lend some help to his wife and the midwife, who alone cannot attend to the newborn child and its mother, who fights with her very life against the pains, for which she is consoled at the sight of the fruit of her womb, which for a moment makes her forget her present suffering.

They at once cover with sand every trace of the event, wrap up with bands, cloths, or other things the body of the woman who has just given birth, and lay her on the ground face down, making her rest on a bed which has little or no resemblance to such, but as every Chiriguano woman is strong, she puts up with this as though she were in a featherbed.

184 Throughout the whole world birth is a very dangerous thing,
846 and it is even here. The Chiriguano women also need considerable rest. When some old women were asked about the matter, they stated that childbirth formerly lasted almost two weeks, and they marvel that the neophytes get up so quickly, returning to their customary labors within eight days: they attribute this robustness to the lack of strict fasting in the years of puberty.

846 /210/ It is consequently an error to state that puerperae go to the lake or river to bathe from the second or third day, much less on the same day as the birth. Natural reason would not allow the latter. There might have been some extraordinary case in which some woman walked immediately after giving
[178] birth, but it would not cease to be an extraordinary case. The neophytes are abandoning the custom of their grandmothers and

/210 cont./

846 178 slowly accepting that of the whites. They do not come out of the house until they are completely well, and they only do it on a Sunday morning. They then wear a new dress for the first time and present themselves at the door of the church to receive the post partum blessing (1).

> 1. I saw an extraordinary case, from which no illness resulted. They have been accustomed to the post partum blessing by the virtuous old mistresses, and they continue this.

846 35 302 Soon, in a week or two, the woman is completely well, and she is allowed to go out to bathe and paint her face with urucu, returning gradually to her usual tasks. Childbirth is 846 847 785 regarded by the Chiriguano as a time of fasting, in which some authors say that all the members of the family participate, but this is not true; only the husband shares this obligation, and he does it for two or three days (2).

> 2. They say that it is necessary for the baby's father to fast so that it may not die nor any harm come to it when it grows up.

797 785 846 178 The missionaries try to eradicate from the neophytes the superstition that is represented by the husband's fasting, but when their mothers see that their grandchildren are dying, they reprehend in their children the abandonment of the customs of yesteryear. I knew an old woman who was very attached to these customs and who tried in every way to force her son to fast, in view of the fact that the newborn babies died every time her daughter-in-law gave birth.

/210 cont./

Infant Care

854 [352] For the newborn child to rest in, they have a kind of net which they hang at one end of the lodging. Its mother places it there when it sleeps, and she covers it with a piece of cloth so that the flies will not bother it. Some wool or cotton hammocks are crudely made /211/ by them, and these are called Ini ó quiha, the last term of which literally means quietness.

The mother almost never leaves her newborn child, and to go to the spring or to the river she takes advantage of the time when it is asleep, leaving it in the care of some person, even a little one. She cannot yet carry it in the folds of her clothing, because the child's tender limbs cannot bear such a position. Only when they have become somewhat stronger does the mother walk from one end of the town to the other, to the field, to the spring, without leaving her child at home, like weasels or like the kangaroos of Australia, who do not leave their young in the caves when they go out, making leaps like a jerboa.

147 854 The sun in the Chiriguano region is very hot and yet children exposed to its action do not feel its effects very much, if at all. They receive its rays perpendicularly, from in front, from all sides, and square on their faces, and it is as though they were in the shade. The only effect that it has on them is the copper color of the race, because experience has shown that this color is acquired (1).

142 1. The color of the newborn babies is rather strange; they look like mice. Many newborn babies are completely white, but not like Europeans; the difference between the former and the latter can be seen immediately.

/211 cont./

853 262 There is no special food or more abundant food for mothers after childbirth. She who gives her breasts to her little one eats little and extremely poorly. Her ordinary food is parched maize, parched maize meal, bread made of the same, herbs, beans, gourds, other things of this nature, and rarely a little purchased beef, other meat from animals that died from sickness, lack of pasture, or snake bite, and, finally, game or chicken. In spite of this extremely bad food, milk is abundant in her breasts; the children are almost always hanging from them and sucking and never seem to dry them up, which indicates that they are excellent nursers.

648 464 853 Mestizo or white mothers who sometimes have little or no breast milk because of sickness or some accident make contracts with Chiriguano mothers, pay them well, and treat them better, but it seems that continued good and satisfactory nursing harms them, /212/ it also being prejudicial to the breast as well as to both newborn babies, the weaker child succumbing first (1).

1. Naturally the Chiriguano women refuse to be wet nurses for white children, because they abhor them. When through experience they learn of the sad consequences, communicated by others, they resist even more and only do it when force or the right of the stronger prevails.

845 Twins

[163] [165] Multiple births are rare, and those of two children are frequent. In the former case the newborn babies die very soon, and in the latter case one almost always lives, and many times 736 603 both live. When twins survive or through the death of the mother a newborn child is left an orphan, it is very easy for the grandmother to care for one twin or the orphaned child. [853] [824] Although the old woman may have reached or passed 60, she

/212 cont./

736 very easily manages to make the milk come down. She
603 grinds watermelon seed or sarsaparilla root, Isipocagua, and
824 washes herself repeatedly, squeezing herself over or above her
853 breasts, and makes the famished child suck continuously for several days, and in a short time she achieves the desired result. Sometimes even young women lose their milk. They then look for the root and juice of the sámolo, or cipoi, wash the breasts with this juice, and succeed in nursing their children again (2).

2. In the confirmation administered by the Bishop in October, 1909, in Ivu Mission, an old woman of some 60 years of age presented her granddaughter, whom she had nursed. She is still alive, and so is the twin granddaughter, although not very strong.

Joy and Grief

855 For the Chiriguano race their joy at the birth of a male child is the same as at that of a female child, because if the former helps his father in field chores and in hunting and fishing, the latter helps her mother in household chores, and the father as much as the grandfather very much like to eat meal which has been ground by the hands /213/ of their daughter
765 or granddaughter. If either one dies, the grief that the old
855 people feel is very heavy. I witnessed many times a mother's agonies of grief over the death of her son and the profound feeling of the father over the irreparable loss of his idolized daughter.

797 What I am going to relate will better convince my
758 readers. In the month of July in the year 1909, a rabid dog
164 at the girls' school of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission bit Cecilia Yąguándai slightly and Ana Yarandui and Delina Aragúndai more severely. The two latter, younger than the

/213 cont./

797 first, came to me to be treated for their wounds, to which I
758 applied cotton soaked with ammonia, of which I also made
164 them drink five drops. The two went through a high fever for four days, but they are alive. Cecilia did not consider her bite very important and did not come to me; I did not know that she had been bitten. She did not have a high fever either, because in fact scarcely any blood came out, according to what her companions say.

The month of January came, just six months after June, and the little girls who had been treated with ammonia again had the same degree of fever and recovered. The other girl began to be afraid of water and to be laughed at by her companions for this fear, so much so that she was the object of foolish tricks. She went down to the town, she wanted to drink water, was unable to, and she told her parents. At once she said that she had pain in her wrist, in her little breast, and in her shoulder, and nothing could be done to treat her; the sickness got worse and she received the last rites. The night before she died she tried to run out of the house; she howled without rest and tried to hit and bite her mother. In all, she had true hydrophobia, which carried her to the grave in three days (1).

1. The child Cecilia was bitten by the rabid dog right on her wrist, which is where the first pain began six months later. When I blessed her with holy water, she was afraid and shrank away.

Until she was buried, I did not know what had happened in the month of July, but when I saw such a similarity to rabies, I inquired and it turned out to be this which had
753 caused her death. Her parents, since they could not be
754 persuaded that the bite could produce an effect after so long a time, attributed her violent death to sorcery, stating that this must have been done by a young man who a few days earlier

/214/

753 had asked for her as his wife, a proposal which had not been
754 accepted; but it must be noted that the Indians attribute every death to sorcery.

765 The loss of this child was greatly mourned by relatives
[764] and others, and her parents, who loved her very much, burned all of the clothes and things that she had, in addition to having buried with her the best and abundant clothing which her father had just brought her from the Argentine Republic. The girl had three donkeys which had been given to her by her father. They sold them in order not to see them any more, in order not to be reminded of their late daughter each moment and immediately weep.

855 I have related this event so that my readers may know
765 that the Chiriguano love their children whether male or female, so that they may see the grief they feel, and so that they may know that in case of hydrophobia the medicine which I administered to the girls Ana and Delina is a good remedy; after the last fever they are now completely well (1).

114

1. If some new missionary or other readers may not know of it, let them now know that ammonia drunk as drops in water and placed on snake bites and bites of other poisonous animals or insects is very efficacious. In ignorance of having been bitten by a spider, I suffered the consequences for seven months and got well as soon as I applied ammonia to it. For another bite I used ink very efficaciously; it is enough to paint the bitten part with it.

845 Deformed Children

847 It is not easy to ascertain why the Chiriguano kill their
732 children who are born deformed. Some writers have stated that they do it so that all will be valiant warriors, but this reason is not satisfactory because deformed women are not found either, and certainly women are not good for war.

/214 cont./

845 I judge that they take away the lives of these unfortunates,
847 not to do them harm, but to do a highly philanthropic act for
732 them, since they would have even greater suffering were they to be left blind, crippled, lame, one-handed, mute, and deaf for the rest of their lives (2).

[191]
[934]

2. Similar philanthropic acts are still practiced among the Toba and other tribes; so that they will not suffer much and long, they also bury sick persons alive.

732 Today one sees an occasional deformed person, and these isolated cases are either due to parents not brave enough to kill /215/ their children or perhaps they can be attributed to illnesses contracted at an advanced age. As a conclusion to
181 the present chapter, let it be noted that some have written things about which they know nothing, making the Chiriguano out to be ferocious wild animals without compassion, but a particular fact cannot be used to draw general conclusions. True explorers state, as I do, that in general the Chiriguano is humanitarian; he loves his relatives in life and in death, and they are astounded by the conduct of the whites, who upon the death of their relatives slaughter cattle, drink brandy, and play as if it were a fiesta (1).

000

1. The conduct of certain civilized persons should not be reproved by the world. Even in the most civilized nations there are benefit dances. They drink, dance, and do other things, while the poor or the sick suffer. The Catholic takes out his money and gives it away in secret, without ever bragging about it; this is the true way to help humanity.

/216/

Chapter Nine

881

Children, Puberty, the Tembeta (1)

1. This will deal with the puberty of the girls and the imposition of the tembeta for boys, which is carried out a little before their puberty, so that when this does appear they will have the mark of manhood.

Introduction

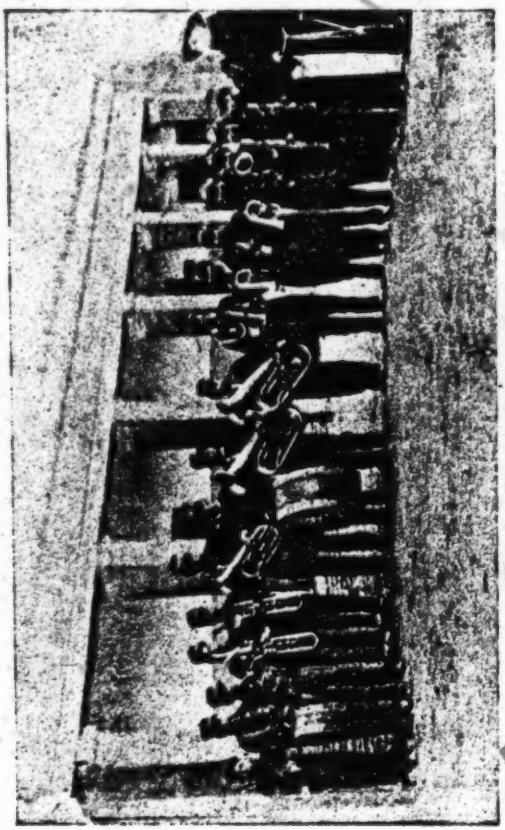
797 533 [126] At the beginning of this chapter /see p. 294/ my readers will see a small band of young, luxuriously uniformed musicians with a Franciscan missionary at their side. These are the musicians of San Buenaventura de Ivu, whose photograph was taken on the pastoral visit made by the renowned and wise Delegate General M. R. P. Wolfgango Privaser, illustrious and glorious in the seraphic religion, on the 23rd day of September, 1908. His secretary, the intelligent Father Angel Domáica, was the one who was charged with taking this group and the others in the Potosí and Tarija missions.

[648] All the musicians are Chiriguano boys whose fathers were in the 1892 uprising in the fields of Curuyuqui, half a league away from what is today the mission building, which at that time did not exist. They are the sons of fathers who all wear the tembeta and of mothers who in their puberty underwent the strict tests which I shall relate in this chapter.

175 648 Their fathers declared war to the death, not on the Cross, but on the white, be he Christian or not, because he saw in him a tyrant and hangman, and he wished to cast off the yoke by destroying the one whom he considered its maker. But it is certain that the Indian in his hate and rancor, which he has consistently maintained /illustration appears here/ /217/ against the caray /white man/, did not know how to make a categorical distinction, because not all have bad hearts. If there are some bad ones, real executioners of humanity, there are also very good and compassionate ones, from whom they received and still receive favors.

4: Nino--294 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
533



The S. Buenaventura de Ivo Band

/217 cont./

175 648 [797] The parents of these youths would not have thrown themselves into a disastrous war if the Supreme Government had quickly decreed the founding of the mission which they desired, as can be read in the history of the Colegio de Potosí; in it is clearly seen what the Ivu people did to try to have the presence of a missionary father, because political authority always showed itself to be humanitarian with the unfortunate Indians.

It has now been 19 years since that bloodletting, and still the pampas of Curuyuqui are sown with human bones; one can still see traces of their fortifications, where they fought like lions, with such unequal weapons; the memory of that horrible and destructive occurrence is still retained (1).

1. Some 500 men and women died in the war, but almost all were outsiders; the others, who knew the place, saved themselves by taking flight and hiding. They do not like to have anyone talk to them about this uprising.

797 87 [648] [175] As a consequence of the war the decree to found the mission came, and just a few days after the defeat the measuring and laying out of the necessary land was done. Today fathers and sons live tranquilly; some of them have gone on to a better or to a worse life, many have experienced the paternal government of the missionary, which they do not tire of praising. The sons have learned the religion and practice it. They have learned the alphabet and read books. They have learned religious singing, and several of them know and play the music which has been taught to them by 797 the missionaries. It is truly surprising to see the changes which have been brought about in such a short time in such bellicose Indians! This is the virtue of the Cross! Others could have done nothing, as nothing had been done or will be

/217 cont./

797 done wherever there are no missionaries (2).

2. In every sense civilization brought by the missionary is preferable. Colonization of the sort which they are trying to implant today is very costly, brings little material progress and no moral progress. I refer to the latter more than to the former.

Education of the Children

000 In man, love and tenderness for his children is natural; just as the birds, the animals, and the very beasts of the forest love /218/ and take care of their young, this same inclination, with much greater reason, is found in the rational creature made in the image and appearance of God. /The remainder of this paragraph and the next two paragraphs on p. 218 are omitted in the translation. The last paragraph on p. 218 follows./

The true love of fathers for their children is only found in the Catholic Religion; this can be proved by many examples of incredulous persons who, despite their incredulity, taught the catechism to their children. Outside of Catholicism, /219/ the potential of the soul is not cultivated, a pure materialism is taught, and how can anyone who does not profess any religion at all educate his children? What education will he be able to give if, in addition to this, he is ignorant? His tenderness or love will scarcely have any effect, never a moral one.

855 This is the tenderness of the Chiriguano. They love their children truly; all of the work of the Chiriguano is only aimed toward the corporal well-being of the child; he gets his daily food for him, thinks about his clothing, sweats in order to shelter him and defend him from the inclemency of the seasons, from the fury of the winds, and from the impetuosity of the rain, but he does not concern himself with his morality.

/219 cont./

855 The child grows up in his sight with all the imperfections of little lambs or kids, because that is also the way in which he, the father, grew up.

855 462 When children of either sex are still in swaddling clothes, they receive the care of the mother, the grandmother, or other women who may be very closely related. It is unusual for a man to take care of newborn children, both because this is natural in all the countries of the world and because it would offend his dignity. But when the child begins to open his eyes well and to have some understanding of external things, he takes it in his arms with all the love that the child in its innocence inspires.

But the one who normally cares for the children of both sexes until the age of six or seven years is the mother. She washes them, bathes them, puts them to sleep, nurses them, takes them from one place to another, carrying them in the folds of her clothes. The father only helps at this task when the mother cannot attend to it because she has others, or because she is busy making chicha, preparing food, etc. (1).

1. If there is no mother because of death or for some other reason, the man finds himself in a difficult situation with regard to his children and quickly seeks out a female relative.

868 School of Arms and Strategy

At the age of seven years and even sooner, the father takes special charge of his male child, with the girls remaining in the charge of the mother; he makes for his son a bow and arrows suitable for his age and strength and begins to train him, teaching him to use them and the way to aim and shoot (2).

2. The father takes his son to the woods, where he begins to hunt little birds, and, if he manages to get some, he takes them

/219 cont./

868 to his mother with satisfaction and then tells his companions about it.

/220/ There are also men who teach boys the way to be quick in fights and even the way to dodge enemy arrows, as well as bullets. The man who teaches this is called Puruncanise, or man who scratches. He is the terror of the boys in the town where he lives. The method he uses is to run after the boys, and woe to the one who out of weakness or carelessness lets himself be caught! In the hands of the puruncanise he suffers the martyrdom of being scratched all over his body with long fingernails, which he lets grow on purpose, in addition to the blame he gets for letting himself be caught by an old man. In a second race it is not likely that the boy being taught will let himself be caught (1).

868 554 463

868 856 239

1. Those who are older have the calf of the leg scratched with the tooth of the Acuti /agouti/ by another of the art. A lot of blood comes out of this, and upon recovering, they say that they are very good at running and can resist fatigue much more than those who did not allow themselves to be scratched.

882 When all the boys of the tribe have received practical lessons from such a neighbor, they indeed may be ready for war, because skill consists in knowing how to shoot in order to injure and also how to dodge the enemy arrow. The Indians who know such strategy are called Queremba by their companions.

[554]

721 726 797 In the last war of Curuyuqui, the Indians attacked the Santa Rosa Mission while Colonel don Tomás Frías was there. He chose as a target an Indian Queremba who seemed to be the chief of the company and lost some eight or ten bullets without having the pleasure of felling him. Almost all the Indians learn this way of fighting; hence their combats do not last long. That of Curuyuqui lasted eight hours because they were sheltered in trenches.

/220 cont./

859 868 The boys have different ways of learning how to be accurate in shooting arrows and to be good hunters and brave warriors. In the field or in the woods they amuse themselves usefully, ambushing and taking as a target little birds and even grasshoppers when there are any, and when they go back home they give proof of their manliness by sticking the arrow into the mortar in which their mother customarily grinds maize.

859 868 526 [411] [824] When the boys gather together in the town, they learn the use of the arrow, shooting it at a wooden wheel which one of them makes roll as fast as he can. This wheel is made of a type of round cactus which grows a cuarta or a little more and is called Zipepe. The boys, armed with arrows, line up, and the best one will succeed in driving his into the soft material of the zipepe. /221/ The zipepe is at the same time a school for target shooting and a game; of the latter they have 524 others which I shall name in passing. They have the Pinono, top. This is different from that of the towns of the Republic. It is a small gourd with a hole in the middle in the upper part. When they spin it, the air produces a prolonged sound like that of little calves who are lowing very gently, and from this comes its name, Pinono.

Another game for young and old is pelota, which has a definite season. This is when there is fresh maize, or the cold is beginning to be felt. They call it Topo, and it is done with the husk of fresh maize; thus, when the fresh maize season ends, the game of pelota also ends, and they amuse themselves with many other games that they have (1).

000

1. These will not be listed because this is not the subject of this chapter, and in addition it would be very tiring for the reader.

/221 cont./

Private Life

593 888 The father and mother take great pains for the material or corporal well-being of their children, both male and female, and they in turn have affection for their parents. Nevertheless there is no lack of creatures with very bad inclinations, who forget their parents' goodness, forget the labors undertaken by the latter in caring for them in their tender years, and abandon them in their old age in the midst of their suffering and privations.

593 861 867 273 The father and mother almost never address harsh words to their children; much less do they correct them with corporal punishment. The children attend the public drinking sessions in the company of their parents, and how strange it can seem to see father and son sometimes drunk together in the streets or in the plaza of the town! They see their fathers in other people's fields, taking advantage of the first fruits, and then the son does what he has seen. He hears his mother telling stories not at all clean, he sees acts not at all moral, he witnesses altercations in the house, hears his mother's jealousy, sees his father's bad deeds, and he thus will naturally follow the same path when he arrives at an age of competence and even before.

855 603 581 If the woman is very young when she is married, as often happens, it is the grandparents who take care of the grandchildren so that the young daughter may have more time to enjoy herself, since in the beginning /222/ marriage is nothing but fun for the young people (1).

855 593 606 1. Young girls help their mothers in the care of their own children and in the preparation of chicha, knowing that the drunken husband will first hit her, or even his parents-in-law if they try to protect her.

/222 cont./

553
551
603

The Giving of the Name and Puberty

The giving of the name is done when the boy or little girl begins to understand and articulate words, so that by repetition it may be impressed on their memory and they may know what their name is. Generally, grandmothers in the case of girls and grandfathers in the case of boys have the privilege of giving the name, and they do this by noting some physical peculiarity of the little boys and girls, such as Tesapona, pretty eyes, Saanti, white eyes, Cuñanti, white woman. But sometimes no peculiarity is noted, and they baptize them with the name of parts of the body of animals, such as Yaguacupe, jaguar spine, Tatunai, armadillo tooth, Yaguaracu, jaguar fever. Generally, women's names end in Iru, that is, vessel or receptacle. Thus, for the Chiriguano a woman is something born and destined to serve him as he thinks best (2).

2. Only Catholicism, brought by the Redeemer and preached by the apostles, reinstates woman; where it has not penetrated, she remains a slave, as in Africa and in other places on the globe.

881

For children of both sexes a critical period approaches, the period of puberty, which in many is precocious and which normally occurs at the age of 11 or 12. The life or death of the Chiriguano, his future well-being or misfortunes, depend on this critical period. If all the prescriptions engraved on the minds of the family fathers are observed by those who reach that age, all the rest of their lives will be a delight, and, if not, every kind of calamity will overcome them.

When the maiden shows the first symptoms of puberty, Yimundía, her parents make her rest for a few days until what many out of modesty call sickness, Mbaerasi, goes away. Then she is put in a hammock or something similar, and, lying down on it like a body without a soul, she is

/223/

881 raised to the ceiling. They leave her there for a period of
[785] four days in strict fasting and, of course, without her opening her mouth to speak to anybody, not even to ask for necessary things, because if she should talk or ask for anything, misfortune would appear at once.

At the end of this first test, which the maiden has scarcely felt, they lower her on the fifth day, wash her head with potash of Ñetira, and shave off the adolescent girl's hair. Meanwhile in a corner of the house far from the door, they have prepared a wall like a corner piece, made out of slender sticks a meter and 50 centimeters high more or less.
[785] Wrapped in her tipoi or clean clothing, the unfortunate girl goes there, into her pen, and begins her strict fast, which they call Yicuacu, or hiding (1).

1. This rigorous way of life does not seem at all strange to the maidens, because before it comes their mothers have prepared them for it, and they believe in everything with blind faith.

The girl remains in her enclosure for a week without doing anything, with face to the wall in order not to see or talk to
[262] anybody. Her usual fare is boiled maize, Atiruru. Sometimes she also eats meat if there is any, but in very small quantities. She neither tastes nor desires other foods. Were she to eat parched maize, she would not be good at feeding her children when she has them, because her breasts would be
[271] dry all her life. Her usual beverage should be natural clear
[273] water. Were she to drink chicha, she would be barren, be-
[842] cause it contains alcohol and acridness, which would stop the effects of conception during her marriage.

881 When the week is over, the fasting continues, but less
868 harshly; her parents have obtained cotton or wool, have
867 prepared the spindle and wheel, with the little potsherd in
283 which they put a few ashes or sand so that the spindle will turn more easily. The mother hands over all this to her daughter, who begins to work and learns that she has been born for work.

/223 cont./

881 868 867 283 The young girl receives her mother's injunctions without uttering a word, without making any comment, respects the advice and admonishments in the same silence and more than that of a mute, because she hears and keeps quiet without making any movement at all, without raising her eyes or moving her head. She begins her work as soon as her mother withdraws: she combs the wool or cotton with her fingers, cleans it of /224/ whatever dirt it may contain, and begins to spin, a duty learned from early childhood (1).

[785]

1. The maiden who fasts can only work in the place where she is enclosed; therefore she cannot help her mother even to clean the house.

881 868 867 286 When her mother sees that she has enough to make some small article, she directs the weaving, and the first thing that is made is the Hapicuana for her father and then another for her mother, with which they are very happy, and even their friends congratulate them on the work of the daughter, for whom they, of course, profess sympathy and respect as a sacred person, because she is in the period of fasting or hiding, since both things are done when these maidens reach puberty (2).

2. The same word, Yicuacu, is used for the fasts ordered by the Church for neophytes. There is no other word in the language.

881 885 During the first month or first moon, Yasi, the seclusion or hiding is the most rigorous, because the symptoms of puberty should manifest themselves two times in order that they may be considered true ones, that is to say, the Chiriguano do not believe that a woman is ready for marriage until after it has been ascertained that her menstruation is regular. This, which for women is their relief and their health, is called Hugüi in adults, but for pubescent girls the first as well as the second is called, as I have already said, Yimundía.

/224 cont./

881 885 After this neither the fasting nor the hiding or seclusion are so rigorous, and occasionally the maiden, who is now a woman, comes out of her pen into public life, returns to domestic chores, and begins to attend the drinking sessions in order to be seen and to catch the attention of the young men. An occasional one will do this, but the majority, taking their parents' advice, persist and continue fasting until their hair grows out again, even to the shoulders, and others persist for a year without coming out into the light, with the result that many of them become quite pale like alabaster, and, like people with light blue eyes, when they come out into the light they see very little. But with the whiteness of their skin, their smooth and shiny hair, and their blue eyes, with their ornaments of necklaces and bracelets, and the achiote cosmetics which they charmingly have had put on their cheeks and brows by their older companions, they inspire the admiration of all the people who have congregated (3). /Illustration appears here./

> 3. The reader will easily understand that to come out of seclusion is like a wife who comes out of her house to move into that of her husband; for this reason one comes out highly adorned.

881 867 /225/ During the fasting and seclusion, the maiden does not go out by day; her going out is done at night, not for diversion, but only for what is absolutely necessary, and this is generally done very early, before daybreak, so that she may get used to not being lazy, so that she may know that she ought to be very diligent, to avoid being deceived by sleep, because the one who is to be her companion for life is accustomed to eating early, before going to the field or the forest. For this reason a woman must be an early riser in order to prepare what is necessary for herself, for her husband, and for her children, who also ask for food soon after awakening.

[text continues on p. 306]

4: Nino--305 M-3 (1888-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

777
133

Panorama of the S. Pascual Mission

/225 cont./

881 When she goes out at night, her mother accompanies her,
867 but before this is done she receives a thousand pieces of ad-
593 vice and admonishment to walk slowly and very carefully, not to step on things that might injure her, such as excrement and other things that her enemies or evil spirits have scattered around the house, especially by the door and along the path which she must follow. The maiden listens and keeps quiet, absorbs everything, and does everything as well as or better than a Carthusian novice, because her mother has already filled her head with so many superstitions and has frightened her with too many dangers.

The father rarely concerns himself with his daughter during the fasting period; he only sees to it that she does not lack food and work. He rarely talks to her, but he loves her like
[574] his own eyes and soul. Other persons cannot address her, nor do her parents permit many and prolonged visits during that period; in addition everyone also knows that that house is now sacred and abstains as much as possible from frequenting it (1).

1. When an attempt was made to reorganize the S. Antonio Mission of Parapiti, the daughter of a prestigious Indian was keeping a strict fast. It was said of her that she could die, it was so strict. Hardly anyone could see her, and the poor girl in fact did die a short time later.

885 When the seclusion period decided on by her parents ends,
195 the girl puts away her clothing of what we might call penitence, washes her face, combs her hair, now grown out, adorns her cheeks with the help of her friends, adorns her neck and throat with necklaces of beads, reales, or medios of silver, puts bracelets on her wrists, rings on her fingers, puts on her tipoi of drill or chintz, in various colors, and goes out in public in order that thus decked out she will arouse admiration and some young man may fall in love with her and ask for her to be his wife when it seems appropriate to him, because now she is no longer a child, but a woman who can carry out

/225 cont./

885 195 her duties /226/ serve her companion in whatever he may wish, and henceforth in her answers she ceases to use the ú ú which children use and adopts the é é suitable for women.

885 571 The young woman, in spite of being scarcely 13 years old when she comes out into public life, and despite a slight embarrassment which she feels when first presented to society as a woman ready and suitable for marriage, little by little begins to lose this misgiving, very natural in girls, and acquires frankness in answering quite clearly persons who may question her, whoever it may be, always staying within the limits of morality. What is immoral will cause astonishment in her and perhaps embarrassment at the beginning, but she soon becomes accustomed to it, because she hears it in the house, she hears it at the drinking bouts, during the gatherings and parties. From hearing a lot of this, it begins to cause pleasure in her, which brings on a continual and loud laughter, since day or night the women laugh long and loud. This is usually a sure sign that in a gathering or party there is some gallant present who is giving free rein to his tongue (1).

1. Missionaries who know the language of the Indians and who find themselves at the beginning in a new mission may be astonished by the frankness with which boys and girls of 12 or 13 years answer them.

[827] The men state that their wives are better at enduring hunger and thirst. They attribute this to the strict fasting which they undergo at puberty, but the women say that the neophytes are stronger than they, because they go out sooner after giving birth.

881 178 In none of the missions do the maidens follow the custom of their mothers at the time of puberty. When the first signs appear, the only thing conceded to them is some three days leave for rest, and so that her mother may tell her, as should be done in analogous circumstances, to hide what must be hidden. When this short leave ends, they return to school as before, and continue their work without any inconvenience (2).

2. Many of these maidens, out of modesty,

/226 cont./

881 178 do not advise anyone of their puberty, even their mothers, and the consequences are sad in no few cases. They do not tell anyone because the older girls make fun of them.

163 582 A single thing is noted in the missions, and it is that the neophytes, when they get to the age of about 35, stop having children. Perhaps this is because they marry very young, at about 16 to 20 at the latest. If it is true that the Chiriguano 581 women of old were ready for marriage /227/ as soon as they came out of their hiding or fasting, the union which they contracted was certainly neither continuous nor for life with the same person. One or two months with one, then a rest until giving birth, afterwards again joining the same man, or perhaps she would seek out another if the first had become bored 797 with her or she with him. But this does not happen in the 581 missions; those who contract marriage do it for life, because it is a Catholic union and, as such, indissoluble, just as the natural marriage of the infidels would be, but the Chiriguano does not understand this, since in principle he wishes to be a hummingbird, coming to rest on many flowers and not stopping at any of them until he reaches a certain age.

881 785 184 In the districts where the fasting lasted for a year, such as in Cuevo, before the town of San Juan Bautista and the Santa Rosa Mission were founded, after the first rigorous month the maidens were made to eat meat and beans also, and they were even allowed to drink a little mild chicha, so that they would not become too weak or die. If the chicha had turned sour, it would be prejudicial for later married life, producing the effects of which I have already spoken.

881 178 177 Finally, to conclude such a delicate subject, let it be noted that at the present time the custom of such a rigorous fast for the female sex is observed in very few places; today the region is inhabited by the white race, which is making them understand that all this is superstition, because of the example of their daughters, who, in spite of the fact that they have done nothing of what has been said, live in perfect

/227 cont./
881 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently,
178 and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection
177 of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where
226 there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the
462 little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Parirenta.

881 /228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and
[195] not a boy, the time to give up the ú ú of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man
[304] ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother,
[301] and other relatives make him understand that for this it is necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of
[885] the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip,
[554] Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

[192] 1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ita, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

/228 cont./

301 [304] The Tembeta usually is a small round piece of tin with two little ears or hooks on the sides which serve to hold it in the pierced lip. The circle of the tembeta is hollow up to near the surface of the hooks; a little wax is put in it, and the ornaments, such as coralline or little light-blue stones of little value, are set in the wax. What is somewhat valuable is the Itogüi, a small green stone in one piece which fills the entire hole of the tembeta. I have one of these, and its stone is fixed in place with a little prong of the same tin. The tembetas are also of hollow cane and of wood, but never of stone, as some writers have stated (2).

2. Though tembeta literally means lip stone, this does not come from its being made of stone; the literal meaning comes from itogüí, which is a stone. The itogüí is also set in those of wood.

178 301 The tembeta, already described, is relatively new. Before Christians and missionaries came into their country the tembetas were of wood, and they were of the same form as the tin ones, with all the ornamentation, but most people used a piece of hollow cane, especially when they were working. [304] This is a little piece of cane cut at a node, which is thinner in the hole in order to be held in the pierced lip. In these there is neither ornament nor wax, because they are for the poor, and for the rich only when they are working.

301 [435] The Itogüi had considerable value among the Indians, being worth a horse, a cow, a burro, etc., but, as I have already said, it was a relative value, since in Tarija, from where they brought them, their value was two bolivianos. From this it can be concluded that the itogüi is not found in [171] Chiriguano country. It owes its origin to the Incas or Quichuas /Quechua/, /229/ but it is the Chiriguano who work the tembetas, in which they set the itogüi, or green stone.

/229 cont./

881 For the piercing of the lip, a full moon is necessary, so
304 that the open wound will not have bad results, will gradually
[821] get larger, and will not form a swelling. The boys who are ready for the tembeta must not be younger than seven years of age or older than 12. In the first case they would not be able to stand the pain, and in the second the piercing would be difficult because the lip would have hardened.

Thus, when the moon is at its maximum and the boy is of the proper age, he little by little becomes prepared for the operation. The mother and father prepare him with loving words, stimulating his vanity so that he may afterward be esteemed and loved by the girls. Then they make him understand the need for piercing his lip, so that everyone will know
[186] that he belongs to the noble Chiriguano race and is worthy of
[885] being a member of it; finally, they make him understand that only when he has the tembeta will the grandees of the nation respect him and treat him kindly (1).

[869] 1. Christian mothers, to encourage their
[171] sons to endure suffering and even martyrdom itself, show them Heaven, an invisible dwelling place. The savage infidels encourage their children with earthly promises, such as the love of women; qui de terra est; de terra loquitur; this is the effect of ignorance.

The boy hears the nice things that his parents say to him as a deaf man hears music. What he considers more and what occupies all his concern is the pain that the opening of his lip is going to cause him. Nevertheless, he cannot hide or run away; he must submit to the operation in spite of his fear
304 of it. In fact, before the full moon the father goes with his
881 son to the house of the surgeon and tells him the reason for his
759 visit, asking him to make his boy into a man. The surgeon-doctor makes an appointment for the next day or another one, and in the meantime he looks for a second boy to undergo the

/229 cont./

304 759 881 same operation, because he never takes one alone. There must always be two, four, six, eight, or ten (2).

[801] 2. In a town of 30 or 40 families there was usually never any lack of boys of the same age. The number of the boys to be pierced should never be an odd number; superstition and nothing else.

304 881 The boys appear for the operation on the designated day, led by their fathers and mothers. Meanwhile, other curious [785] persons gather there, men, women, boys, and girls, to see [114] and /230/ attend this solemn act, which, as I have learned, is not preceded by any day of fasting; thus what certain writers have said in this regard is wrong, as is the rest that refers to the person who does the operation, for whom the qualification of being an Ipaye, sorcerer, is not required for the imposition of the tembeta.

Before beginning the operation the surgeon authoritatively addresses those who are to be men, telling them to be valiant and strong in their pain, without letting their moans be heard or crying, because these are not the signs of a brave man, of a man who wears the tembeta, which is the sign of virility, of a man who must be able to face the dangers of war. Finally, [195] he orders them that it is time to give up the ú, ú in their answers, and in its place he orders them to replace it with Ta.

When this brief and eloquent discourse is over, the first boy stretches out on the ground or on a cot, and in order to give himself courage he says in a vibrant voice, Che rani tayicutuca, may I be the first to be pierced, words which are greeted by the gathering with jubilation and at the same time with wonder, since they already know the pain that he is going to suffer (1).

[195] [193] 1. The Chiriguano Indian also uses the imperative to order himself, that is to say, his verbs still have the first person of the imperative mood, which indicates considerable arrogance.

/230 cont./

304 Then the one doing the operation looks among his imple-
881 ments for the string with which he takes the exact measure-
[804] ments so that the hole will be in the middle and above the
304 chin. Then he prepares the Guasupirasa, which literally means:
413 piercer of the cured skin of pygmy deer. Certain writers have
881 believed that the guasupirasa is a pygmy-deer horn on the
[114] basis of the name guasu, with which the name of the article begins, but it is a mistake. The guasupirasa is a round piece of iron of the size of a costalera needle, which they call Yargüi in Quichua /Quechua/ (2).

> 2. If it were a slender deer-horn, it would be liable to break, and if it were slightly sharpened the hole would be very large and it would be difficult to hold the first tembeta, which should be small. There would be many other problems, which are avoided with the slender and strong iron.

304 As I have said, he takes the appropriate measurements
881 with a string; he puts his hand on his guasupirasa, and upon seeing this the mother is frightened and weeps in silence, and the other people shrink back. Finally, utilizing the services of another practitioner, he has him press very strongly with the index fingers of both hands at the edges of the temples, at the point where the ears are attached, and when he is sure /231/ that the boy keenly feels the pain that the assistant's fingers cause in his ears he quickly and deftly inserts the well-sharpened iron, and the hole is made with considerable skill, the Guasupirasa passing up to the tip of the nose.

He at once puts a hollow little tube of tin on the iron and lowers it little by little in order to pull it out of the pierced lip, where instead there remains in place the little tube, which sticks out a little on both sides of the lip. In
[301] Chiriguano this tube is called Tembetandi, or white tembeta.

/231 cont./

881 304 [828] In general, with the method of pressing strongly on the patient's temples, the one performing the operation manages it so that the patient feels little or nothing of the pain of the piercing, according to what they say, and it is probable, because one sharp pain diminishes or makes another one feel less strong. But it is also certain that the boy, seeing himself before so many spectators and girls, makes every effort not to cry out or weep, because the Indians do not deny that many somewhat cowardly ones do shout and even cry a little (1).

1. Some boys, very fearful, when their fathers begin to talk to them about the tembeta and the need to have the hole made, run off to another tribe in the presence of their relatives, but the latter persuade them, and they return to their town.

I have asked more than one Indian and all agree in asserting that not a drop of blood comes from the hole. The day on which the imposition of the tembeta is done is a day of strict fasting, and they do not even let them drink a little chicha; other foods cannot be chewed by them for several days either. On some, somewhat careless ones, there is a swelling, and on others not. The swelling of the lip is avoided, according to them, by heating the leaves of the bush Urucuna in the flame or embers of the fire and applying them continually around the hole. The cicatrization of the lip may take a month, during which time the little Chiriguano stays at home, letting himself be seen in the streets and in the plaza once in a while (2).

[785] [784] [757] [824] 881

[759] 2. For a Chiriguano it is a great honor to put the tembeta in place on the boys, so that he asks nothing for this honorable operation; but the boy's parents make some small gift, which he receives with satisfaction.

/231 cont./

304 881 [824] Meanwhile the one who performed the operation now gives final admonishments to the boy, and he, following all of these instructions and those of his father, keeps the little tube in continual motion so that it will not stick to the flesh, and on the days that follow he begins to put around it little twigs /232/ from the bush called Yacurimbíu, food of the turkeys. When it has healed, he will cut a larger stick from the same bush and put it in alone, removing the tembetandi, and continue enlarging the hole this way little by little until he can put in a tembeta of hollow cane, which also goes on taking on larger dimensions until it seems big enough. Then he buys a de luxe tembeta and he puts it in, never to remove it again, either day or night, since it would be a great embarrassment for a Chiriguano to appear in public without his tembeta (1).

1. If the Chiriguano were to be without his tembeta while asleep, saliva would run out, because the hole is rather large in most of them.

301 The hollow-cane tembetas are made by every Chiriguano, while those of wood and tin are made by craftsmen. In spite [326] of there not being any blacksmiths or tinsmiths among them [439] and as neither tin or lead nor anything similar is available, [177] the result is that the material for making them is brought from other parts, being bought from the whites, with whom they have maintained relations since the beginning of Tarija, out of which region the Chiriguano were expelled.

The Tembeta in Other Tribes

301 171 The use of the tembeta may be another argument for the unity of the human race; indubitably the Chiriguano use it as a tradition passed on from father to son, and thus successively up to our times. The tembeta is found in use by savage tribes almost throughout the world; in Africa the Noers /Nuer/ and

/232 cont./

301 171 Berry women put pieces of glass and bits of ivory in their lips, respectively; among the Mittoo /Mittu/ and the Lobbatk, men and women wear in the lower lip tembeta that are conical in shape, and in addition the women even wear hoops in the upper lip (2).

2. In many tribes of the world, the tembeta is a mark of modesty, and women who wear it do not show themselves in public without having it in the lip.

In other regions the women are coquettes, only wearing in their upper lip a wood or ivory hoop, which the Sciulus do. Finally, even the Cormá /Korma/, investigated not long ago by the Italian Bottego, wear in their lip wide wooden hoops which increase the wideness of the lip itself.

In North America the tembeta is used by preference by the /233/ women; it serves them as an ornament, and they put around it as many little pieces of wood as they have years of age. The tembetas of the Tapíi of Isoso are small, and those of the Choroti and the Tapiete are of wood or of cane; no doubt up until today it was difficult for them to get the metal to make a de luxe one (1).

101

1. The Tapiete are, or were, Chiriguano Indians. They stayed near the inlets, where there is flat land with hills and streams, in order to be able to do their planting.

301 773 776 According to what is known through faith, clothing was given to humanity as punishment for its disobedience, a punishment which has been converted into the luxury of frequent and extravagant fashions, so also among the Chiriguano does there exist the fabulous belief that the tembeta, which today they consider to be a distinctive mark of the race and a sign of virility, strength, and valor, was nothing other than a bitter and well-deserved punishment which a marvelous and very

/233 cont./

301 powerful being inflicted upon them because of the weakness
773 and laziness that distinguish them, corresponding to the
776 opinion the reader may have formed in the course of these lines. They attribute its origin to the Tunpa, source of all goodness, and to the Aguara-Tunpa, whom they regard as the source of all evil, as has been seen. Under this concept, the one who punished them was not the former but the Aguara-Tunpa. I shall end this ninth chapter by telling a fable in which the belief in the punishments that humanity may deserve from a superior being will be seen.

A Legendary Tale

539 The Indians say that formerly there was no distinction
173 between men; all were of the same color and spoke the same language. It has already been said in previous pages that the Chiriguano of certain regions believe that the original language was Quichua /Quechua/. What caused the diversity
539 of color and the diversity of language? Here is the legend (2).

> 2. If one asks a Chiriguano about the origin of all men, he answers that they are different from us; they have been made ugly, miserable, poor, and ignorant.

Two men of old were short of food and had wretched clothing; they were reduced to extreme suffering and were on the point of dying. The Aguara-Tunpa, in spite of /234/ his evil inclination and his abhorrence of humanity, in spite of his few philanthropic instincts, was moved to compassion for the unfortunate men and went to them and said, "I wish to help you and put an end to your miseries, to your misfortunes and needs, because I can do it; in spite of the fact that you consider my enemy your good friend and me your enemy, I wish to do you a favor so that you may see that when I want to be I am more powerful than your friend, who does not know how to succor you in your present calamities.

/234 cont./

539 "Do you see those weapons in the corner there like useless objects? With them you can put an end to your misadventures if you know how to make use of them, as I shall tell you. Each of you select the ones which seem to be the best." They were arrows, bows, guns, and swords. The cleverer one looked first, and having observed that the guns were of heavy iron, as were the lances and swords, he selected the lighter ones, that is, the arrows and bows.

What was left for his companion to take? They were the only bows and arrows. Perhaps to his own regret and without having much choice, he resigned himself to what remained and took over the guns, lances, and swords. He worked all night to clean them of the rust which had spread over them, but when the sun rose everything was done and he had the satisfaction of seeing his weapons shine like new.

"With these arms," said the Aguara-Tunpa," you will be hunters and must seek your livelihood, and with the same you will defend yourselves from danger, from predatory animals and from your enemies," and, turning to the one with bows and arrows, he added, "You will always be poorer than your companion because you had the indiscretion to decide in favor of the one of little use, because you have chosen the one of little value. The one with the guns will always be superior to you in everything, in intelligence, boldness, fortune, valor, and wealth; his food will always be better than yours, and consequently his clothing, and you will enjoy what is in his house only by serving him and helping him in his labors; from this moment on he will be superior to you, like another marvelous being; you will be taken into his house like a companion in distress and he will sometimes take pity on you because of the blessing which he has received today (1).

[186] 1. They really believe what is told up to this point in the legend, that is, that they are inferior to the whites, but as a punishment, but by destiny; true fatalists.

/234 cont./

539 "I further wish," the Aguara-Tunpa continued, "that you may never /235/ forget the day on which your bad luck made you inferior to your companion; take also this button which will distinguish you from the descendants of the one who is your superior." He made a hole in his lower lip and put the tembeta on him; and that was the beginning of the difference between the white race, or caray, and the Chiriguano, who believe that they owe their misfortune to the Aguara-Tunga (1).

1. Today few Indians believe in such a legend. They consider the fox to be a four-footed animal and the rascal that he is, and the young people listen to storytelling just because they like to hear it.

800 Here we have humanity left to its free will, without being enlightened by the true religion; they believe in a patchwork of lies and superstitions; they respect or are frightened by a wild animal, giving it the name of a marvelous being able to do good or evil to them; tremble in the presence of a dauntless fox, who is a thief without intelligence or speech, and disfigure the faces of their children, making the goodness, strength, prestige, and nobility of the individual consist of a piece of tin, wood, or hollow cane; they subject their tender and delicate damsels to rigorous fasting, to imprisonment for months and even a year, because of a false belief in sorcery, in supposed sicknesses and spells, ruining their health and even risking their lives (2).

799
801
177

2. Almost all the present-day Chiriguano have a slight smattering of the true religion; for this reason they no longer concern themselves with their old customs of fasting, hiding, putting on the tembeta, and long hair.

4: Nino--320 M-3 (1896-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/236/

Chapter Ten

000

Agriculture, Animals, Food

Introduction

The Holy Bible, when it gives us the account or tells us the story of the fall of the first man, makes it clear to us that God, after having made known to him the fault committed, announced to him that he had incurred the punishment of having to seek out and provide himself with food through manual labor and the sweat of his brow.

Actually the land, which up to that time had spontaneously produced in abundance everything that man could have desired, became full of weeds, brambles, and thorns when cursed by God as a consequence of Adam's sin. /The remainder of p. 236 is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 237./

/237/ Why are there so many weeds and thorns in the forests of America? Because it is little cultivated, uncultivated, because one element is missing, the laborer is missing, and God said that, without labor: Tribulos et spinas germinabit tibi. Let us leave to one side the unexplored territory and confine our consideration to the entire Chiriguano region, which is inhabited today by whites and blacks, or Indians.

The white man wishes to put in practice what, according to the story, was predicted by the Aguara-Tunpa when he made them choose the weapons. The white man wishes to be served and to ride upon his showy and spirited horse, to wear his firearm in his belt or his dagger in his boot and, like a great lord, force the Chiriguano to serve him in exchange for food or money, and thus, for agriculture, the arm of the white is almost a dead one. There are whites who call themselves agriculturalists or farmers because they have many Chiriguano peons whom they order and direct to work in the field for their own interest and profit.

648
464
466

4: Nino--321 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
302
516
412

Group of Indian Workers

/237 cont./

648 It can be said with all certainty that the only laborer in
464 the four provinces of Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor, and Gran
466 Chaco is the Chiriguano, who is found even beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he also works, taken there by the authorities or by the owners of the lands, which they bought in ancient times for a trifle (1).

[425]

1. If one is to credit what the Indians say, in some places land was acquired by barefaced trickery /leva raida/ at the time of Ferdinand VII; in other places, for three or four arrobas of cheese, and in the last ones, for a cow, a poncho, a few varas of cloth, or a few bottles of liquor given to the cacique.

178 Today the Chiriguano, very abject, in many places suffers
[169] in resignation what, according to the story, he did not want yesterday; in other places he is migrating the better part of the time, that is to say, when his presence is necessary for the general planting, to which of necessity the old people must devote themselves if they want to live without dying of hunger and in order to be able to welcome the migrants when they return for a few days to show off their new clothing, their work from other regions, to sell it immediately for very little, to slaughter some cattle of their own or of their elders, and to go back at once without even saying good-by.

Property Rights

648 The object of the present chapter is to describe the
[241] method of cultivating the land when the Indians lived alone in the country, before the whites had moved in among them; now they scarcely give them /238/ room to do their planting
177 as best they can. Nonetheless, since they keep them con-
648 tinually occupied, food and clothing are never lacking to anybody in a Christian's house, where the Indian gets them

/238 cont./

177 648 for himself, for his children, and for his wife (1).

1. Perhaps without intending to do so, the whites have done and are doing a work of charity for the Indian, that of moralizing him somewhat through work, during which he neither gets drunk nor thinks of trifles, etc. Only in some places a little moderation is needed in order not to discourage him.

241 773 776 It was also the Aguara-Tunpa who taught the Chiriguano the cultivation of land, since, seeing that he had not been able to remedy his misery and needs by handing over the bows and arrows, he once again visited his poor hut, and seeing him thin and emaciated, he gave him all kinds of seed so that he might make them bear fruit, teaching him the method of burying them and advising him also of the way and the time for pulling out the weeds with a weeder, because he would have seemed bad before his enemy and before the Indian himself if he had not completed his philanthropical work, after criticizing so much the true friend of Chiriguano humanity (2).

2. The Aguara-Tunpa, Fox God, did not tell him that the seeds could be eaten right away, because in that way they would have been lost immediately. After they had germinated, he advised that when they were ripe, he could have food for himself and for his family.

423 Every Chiriguano has a small plot of cultivated land, sufficient for himself and for his family. Nobody had previously entered the area in which the Indians live, so that nobody disputed their property rights, as they should not be disputed today, because they are the owners ab immemorabili, and no individual could have sold what belonged to the community.

/238 cont./

423 To acquire possession of a small plot of land, the
311 Chiriguano selects beforehand the part that he likes best in the region, which he judges to be wet enough because it is on the slopes of ridges or hills or because water collects there in the rainy season. Naturally, the site which he intends to cultivate must have no signs of previous cultivation, because if there were any the owner or his descendants, even though at some distance, would immediately place a claim before the competent authority, the cacique.

423 If the plot has not been tilled, he can be sure of not being
[241] disturbed, and before the rainy season ends he plants on it anything /239/ which will be visible, such as the Gilindacaguasu, a large gourd which spreads a great deal, invades everything, and is not easily strangled by weeds. Another way to acquire property is to break all the bushes around the site, or, finally, to make cuts with his ax on the largest trees.

No one can lay claim to a place that belongs to the community of the Indians, where anyone has worked, and the one
241 who made the prior signs is regarded as the owner. The rainy season passes, the cold comes and dries up the grass and the leaves of the trees; before August ends, the Indian sets fire to the whole new plot, which consumes the grass and the brambles and makes useless the larger trees. All the ashes
[461] that are left are fertilizer for the land, and the fire has destroyed all the seeds of the weeds and brush, so that the first planting which is done on the new plot is almost free of weeds, which saves labor for the lazy Chiriguano (1).

1. The old Indians still do some work in order not to have many weeds in their fields, but the modern ones are little concerned about it now in many areas. Moreover, the cattle do not leave any time, invading everything and eating up the pasturage in a short time. It is very sensible to prohibit the burning of the fields after the harvest.

/239 cont./

Old Method of Farming

241 In planting the fields which are already old, they use the same method of applying fire to the weeds and stubble that are left after the harvest: this method is even coming to be practiced by the whites and the mestizos. As far as fertilizing the land, the Chiriguano does not worry about it, because the lands are virgin and the Indian hardly plants maize on a large scale, and, if it rains regularly until the grain has become hard, the crop is abundant and the farmer has enough to eat and an abundance of chicha to drink, which is what he wants.

412 Formerly the ava had nothing but a wooden shovel and a stone ax, which is hard to find today. He obtained his livelihood with these insignificant tools: the ax served him for cutting trees and bushes and the spade for pulling up all the grass and brush. The spade was like those used by bakers for putting bread in the oven; it was of soto wood and was attached to a rather long handle with bejuco vines or strips of tobowichi bark: the handle was always long, because the Indian /240/ neither knew nor does he now know how to bend his back at his farm chores: these spades were also made from the shoulder blade of cattle, horses, or asses (1).

[324] [239]

000

1. Baron don Erland Nordenskiold, in addition to the pots from various regions of Bolivia, sent to the Swedish museum pots made by the Chiriguano, wooden spades, and stone axes.

241 Planting was usually done in the month of November, after the ground had received at least two rains. Then the Indian would first destroy with his spade the small amount of grass that had come up, and then he would notify his friends and relatives so that they might help him to plant on the day indicated. The cacique took part in the general planting, ordering that those under him should help one another: thus, early on the said day, at daybreak, they would

[242] [476] [534]

/340 cont./

241 [476] [534] go to the plot, waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by means of the Huacananti, cow's horn.

The method of planting is very simple. When the land is soft, the planter makes a small hole with his spade, using two or three blows, then pushes the spade forward, throws in two or three grains of seed and covers them. Then, without moving he makes another hole to the right, horizontal to the first, and a third to the left, performing the same operation as in the first, after which he takes a step and continues as before until he finishes. With many working, the planting of a plot is soon finished.

241 361 512 The Indian does not work beyond midday, and he tries to finish the job before leaving it in order not to return: therefore that the work sometimes lasts until two in the afternoon. Then the owner and his companions stop, return to the town, where they are awaited with plenty of food and chicha, which the former has ordered prepared, if the previous harvests were abundant (2).

[293] [262] 2. In any case, if there were a lack of chicha, because of previous scarcity, and mead made from algarrobas, the housewife should still wait for the planters with food mixed with some meat and plenty of chili peppers.

241 476 They formerly continued in this fashion until the planting of a tribe was completed: one day on one's own plot and another on that of a companion, and even the cacique did the same; today this is difficult to manage, because now they are not so close. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity, if someone prepares chicha for those who may wish to help him in planting or weeding, they leave or refuse money for a few matés or /341/ glasses of this much desired liquor. Even the whites get peons more easily this way.

/241 cont./

Modern Farming and Seeds

241 177 [407] Today planting with the spade is disappearing, and if this tool is necessary for weeding, an iron one has been substituted. The plow has become general, as have the yoke and oxen, and in the missions even boys of 12 break in oxen two and a half years old. They first do the planting for the mission, then for themselves and their fathers, and finally they help those who have no sons; the missionary provides them with young oxen, plowshares, and even halters when they are very poor.

The neophytes in most of the Potosí missions have learned to perfection this new method of farming, and they are so advanced that they are competitive with and even superior to [868] many mestizo farmers. The older ones teach the younger [407] ones, fathers teach their sons, and the latter as well as the former manufacture plow and yoke out of selected wood with [231] all the perfection that these implements require. It is satisfying to see upon a farm 40 or 50 yokes of oxen, directed and driven by young men and boys who yesterday were like 46 their grandparents! The whites themselves do their planting on a large scale, aided by these Chiriguano, who receive in exchange double daily wages (1).

> 1. A peon plowman is not obliged to bring oxen; it is the white who waits for him with the yoke hitched. If a peon brings his own, he earns up to triple daily wages, because they are worth exactly three strong peons, the two oxen and the man who drives them. Thus it is not much to pay him triple.

243 262 Today it seems to me that there must not be another country where the different types of maize thrive better. This is the principal element, the daily food, not only of the Chiriguano tribe, but of all those who inhabit most of Bolivia. Here in particular, when there is no harvest, its lack is greatly felt by whites and blacks, that is to say, by mestizos and by Chiriguano.

/241 cont./

There are 11 varieties of maize planted by the Indians and their neighbors of the white race, the mestizos of Tarija and Santa Cruz. The maize used most for Chiriguano food is called Abati hendi vaé, or abati iyu vaé, shining or yellow maize; the kernel of this variety is actually a glowing yellow in color and /242/ from it they make parched meal and meal for the manufacture of chicha. The second variety which is used quite a lot is the Abatindi, or white maize; this is used for parched maize and also for parched meal; likewise used for this is the Abati canana, whose kernels are similar in color and form to the teeth or seeds of the pomegranate. Next the Abati hesanca vaé, or light maize, is quite highly esteemed (1).

1. The Abati hesanca vaé is known by the Tarija farmers under the name of pisangalla maize; others call it pearly or sugar maize, because it is the color of pearls and is sweeter than that of the other types.

[273] The Indians even plant the Abatiúú, or black maize, but it is not greatly esteemed, and when they make chicha from this maize its color is that of chocolate in milk. If the previous harvest was scarce or almost nil, the Indians at the first rains and others in damp places, which through antonommasia they call Mocuinti, plant the Abatinai, small maize. The plant does not rise more than one meter above the ground, its ear is one jeme /measure from thumb tip to forefinger tip when extended more or less, and its fruit ripens very quickly. They plant little of this in order not to lose the seed. Almost the same as this is the one they call Muruchu, shiny small one. It is the same color as the first variety, but it is not abundant; its ear has eight short rows.

/242 cont./

The seventh type has no peculiarity. It is called Cachinchi, which in the language means curly, and it actually is; the kernel is rather small at the end, but not at the beginning, and in the middle it is very soft; it contains considerable saccharine, and they use it for parched maize. They also have the Abati guayeta, then the Abati chore, which they use for parched meal, and finally they have the Saimpini, gray, very good for parched maize because of its softness (2).

[177] 2. It appears that formerly these Indians did not have the Abati guayeta. It is very probable that it was introduced after the Conquest, or as soon as they had any relations with the whites.

262 Maize is a very common food for the Chiriguano Indian, and he eats it in different ways, but in times of plenty one tires of eating the same thing, like the Hebrews, who in the desert had become tired of eating manna. They remedy this difficulty with the Intina, side dishes /companage.

The first, Abati tina, is the Cumanda, French bean /alubia/; there are also 11 types of French beans, or [263] cumanda. All are eaten with salt or without /243/ it, with maize meal, with parched maize, or without them. Here they are; Cumanda háigũe, bean with a yellow kernel; Cumanda sacuayu, which literally means bean with yellow eye; Cumanda úú, black bean; Cumanda gũiraya, which literally means bean owner of the trees, because it is a climber; Cumandandi, white bean; Cumanda pucu, long bean with red kernel; Cumanda mi, small bean. This one is not small because of its grain, but because of the plant, and it is the one that the whites call yellow poroto; Cumandansi, sour bean; Cumanda guasu, large bean, it is because the plant is very thick. There is another called Gũira rupía because it resembles birds' eggs, and, finally, there is Saimpino, which is similar to the gray egg-colored maize (1).

244 1. The Cumanda guasu, or large bean, is the

/243 cont./

244 one preferred by the Chiriguano, and he has good reason, as it is quite edible, the least damaging to health, in addition to being the seed which is most resistant to drought. It is very abundant, and as many as four harvests can be taken from it.

262 The Chiriguano plants whatever type of beans /judías/
252 he has or can obtain from his neighbors or companions when
[244] he runs short, because only in the case of maize, which he prefers to eat parched and not boiled, does he plant several varieties. All beans /alubia/ are good to the Indian because of the use that he makes of them, which is to boil them and eat them, to roast them under hot ashes with their pods, or, by making a hole in the ground, to heat it and burying the pods there so that they will cook.

244 If the Chiriguano frequently lacks beans to mix with the maize, it is unlikely that he will be without gourds, which grow with little cultivation and which are so resistant to drought; it is also extremely easy for him to plant this food, so much so that women and children devote themselves to it, because not many plants are needed in a plot for an abundant harvest.

244 Twelve classes of gourds are known, but only five are
262 edible; the other seven are used for matés. The edible ones
[415] are the following; Andai, Güindaca guasu, Güindaca mi, Güindaca mi guasu, yiquisigua; the latter has an edible interior and the exterior is useful for domestic purposes, to keep
249 any object in its hard shell. The gourds that serve for matés are Iá, true maté; Iá pua, round maté; Iámpe, flattened maté; /244/ Iá guasu, large maté; Iá-rai, small maté, Iá pucú, long maté, and Iá pani, twisted maté (1).

1. The Indian does not include in the number of gourds the one the two children used to free themselves from the deluge of water because it was a miraculous one.

/244 cont./

252 262 Gourds are eaten boiled, roasted, and in broth; the seed is enjoyed when roasted with maize meal, parched maize, or beans. They also eat them as broth, which they call Güindaca mi quira, or grease of the gourd, to which they add chili pepper and salt, just as they do with beans cooked in ollas with the whole pod, which they call Sopirigua.

241 If the Chiriguano manages to plant a little maize beans /poroto/, and gourds, he is content and stops planting other, less important seeds. Few plant Yeti, sweet potato, Mandiporopi, mandioca, Tacuaneé, sugar cane, and Monduvi, peanut. They all plant watermelons and other melons; many plant figs and tunas, or nopal, and few cultivate orange trees, because this Indian has little patience for waiting on the ingratitude of certain plants which require much care and are very slow in yielding fruit (2).

[192] [177] 2. Names for watermelon /sandía/ and melon /melón/ do not exist in the Chiriguano language, which indicates that these fruits were introduced by the whites, from whom the Indians got them.

222 245 262 The nopal is very abundant in this area, rising to some three or four meters; its fruit is very exquisite, as everyone knows. Its cultivation is nil; it is enough to pluck off a branch of the main plant and bury it halfway, and its sweet fruit will ripen from the second year on. It is the plant that the Chiriguano value most.

245 Even the fig tree, which also needs little care, is cultivated. They call it Iva, as well as calling the nopal Saini, and both plants seem to be native, because they grow in hot places, and the name indicates that they have always had them. The fig tree requires more cultivation than the nopal, but this is relatively insignificant; they pull off a branch, plant it during the rainy season, and let it grow fully without pulling off any shoots (3).

439 3. Whites who live among the Indians are

/244 cont./

439 occupied in other, more lucrative trades; they rarely plant fig trees and nopal, and this benefits the Chiriguano, who sells both fruits, receiving money, meat, or charqui from the white man.

241 When any of this planting is done, all the desire of the Chiriguano is that it yield; he fervently beseeches the favor of heaven, /245/ or the sorcerers, masters or the rain, that there may not be a lack of the necessary moisture, and he, with his own hands, sees to it that the planting is quite free of all weeds.

262
252 Use of the Ripe Produce

If the weather is favorable and the Indian has taken care of the planting, the reward of his little bit of sweat will not make him wait long. In exactly three months, or even before, he can already begin to savor Abatíqui, tender maize, which the mestizos call choclo. The first of these ears are eaten roasted and almost never boiled, because they say that prepared in the latter fashion they are tasteless. They go on to say that roasted choclo must be cooked only a little in order not to lose its ability to fatten, and if it is roasted under ashes with the whole husk, it is almost as sweet as sugar. How well, dear reader, do my Indians know what is good for the body, and how they know the way to get fat and what is most pleasing to the palate! They are good gourmets despite their poverty! It seems that they belong to the abdominals described by Father Saj.

When the choclo is somewhat more mature, they eat it with more pleasure, and then they also very nicely prepare Simbícuai, humitas/small cakes made of tender maize and sugar/. The method is very simple: instead of a knife or spoon to pull off the kernels, the young Chiriguano girl or old woman, pretty or ugly, with good teeth or bad ones, uses these instead of a mortar and pestle to grind it; it is done with the teeth very

/245 cont./

252
262

clean, and, of course, in view of the chewing the choclo turns out well seasoned with the clean, white saliva of the old or young women. Then they wrap up the chewed matter in green husks, tie it up, put it under the ashes, and, when it is cooked, they eat it as if it were a very delicate victual, and let it be noted that if the Chiriguano humita were not made thus, it would turn out tasteless for lack of sauce and salt, which things they make up for by means of the abovementioned procedure (1).

1. The whites here and elsewhere make humitas, grinding up choclo in a mortar and mixing in cheese, curds, meat, and other ingredients; but the Indian follows his old way without adding anything other than saliva to it.

The season of fresh maize lasts some three months, because the Chiriguano, accustomed to heavy food, eats it as fresh even when it is very ripe. When the choclo season ends, the woman gathers a few ears of abatindi or /246/ saimpino, husks them, sits down near the fire, where she has put her potsherd or clay vessel, and she tosses the maize there to parch, stirring it with a little stick or with the cob of the maize itself, being careful not to overcook it, so that it may not lose its substance. They eat very little boiled maize, Atiruro, and even the parched corn, Atipíi, must be accompanied by its Intina, side dish, which should be something unusual (1).

1. For their side dishes they make use of beans, gourds, meat, fish, empanizado, large Isaú ants, cicadas, lizards, worms, melted tallow, honey, gourd leaves, wild herbs such as the Mandió, and locusts, whose appearance sometimes makes him happy because now he has it for his roasted maize.

/246 cont./

252
262

It is not likely that in times of abundance the Indian will resign himself to always eating maize in the same fashion, both because he becomes tired of it and because there are also old people who are toothless and cannot eat parched maize very well. To avoid both things, the Chiriguano mind has found various ways to prepare maize dishes, in addition to those already noted. He savors with satisfaction Aticúi, meal; to make it, the Indian woman, after having been huddled for a long time near the fire, takes her pestle, tosses a quantity of parched maize into the mortar and grinds; then she sifts the ground maize in a fine palm sieve and grinds it all up again, so that the aticúi, which the whites call pito, may be palatable enough.

As easily as she prepares aticúi, she also makes Muinti, which is the seventh way of eating maize. For this she puts a small number of kernels in water and lets them soak overnight; in the morning she takes them out and puts them in a sieve so that all the water may run off. She then proceeds to grind them little by little and once finished, sifts it and parches it as she did the meal. From the remains from grinding the muinti, called Abaticure, named arrocillo by the whites, she prepares Achi. To make it, she grinds the arrocillo again, puts salt and chili pepper in the meal, and parches it.

The ninth way of using maize is a little more complicated. It is frequent, but not usual. It is called Muintimimo. To make it, kernels are steeped and ground early in the morning and then sifted in a fine sieve; next one prepares a plate which has small holes for the purpose, and the ground meal, which is covered with bran, is put on it; finally, the plate is put on an olla of boiling water, its edges sealed with /247/ a paste of ashes so that the steam may not escape, and then it is left to cook by steaming (1).

1. To see if it is ready, she taps on the bran with her fingers, and, if it sounds like cooked bread, it is a sign that it is time to remove it from the olla, throw away the bran, eat what is wanted, and save the rest.

/247 cont./

252 Infrequently the Indian drinks a broth of ground maize,
262 Hapi; when he does not have meat, he uses beans and gourds for his broth. If he does not have these either, he prefers Cagüí rai, which he prepares by soaking and grinding the maize, removing the bran, and cooking it. They also chew it sometimes, let it ferment, and eat it when it is ready; anyone who sees this last food could not help but be disgusted, but for them it is a very excellent dish.

The twelfth and last way of eating maize is Muyape,
[263] bread. The preparation is the same as that of the Hebrews when they eat unleavened bread, but the Chiriguano put salt and chili pepper in it; after it is kneaded, they cover it with ashes and fire and let it cook well; when it is done, they take it out, wash it with water until the ashes which have stuck to it are gone, and, well washed, it has the color of bread, which invites both big and small to savor it; it is what the Indian likes best, and the women make it frequently in times of plenty. Its odor and taste are very pleasant, especially when just made.

273

Cangüí — Chicha

All the ability of a wife consists of knowing how to make chicha well, the delicious cangüí of the Chiriguano, who is capable of walking a hundred kilometers or more to drink it, when invited with all the rules of native diplomacy. Cangüí is his coffee, his soup, his wine, his food, his drink, his everything. In a certain way it is his God, and I am sure that many would renounce heaven for chicha, because they know almost nothing of what heaven is, and, on the other hand, they know that chicha is a sweet thing which gladdens the heart and leads to conversation and singing; therefore, every Chiriguano woman must take special care from even before puberty to learn well the method of preparing it. Here it is (2).

[177]

2. The method of making the chicha which the whites call arrope is somewhat different, but the Chiriguano Indians do not use it and learned of it only recently.

/248/

273 She prepares and grinds an amount of maize corresponding to the number of vessels she wishes to fill and then sifts it in a special sieve which has large holes, Unupesa; from this first job there is always left a kind of sifting, or arrocillo, that they call Abaticure, which, after being soaked and sifted, is again ground, after which they roast it a little on potsherds, chew it, and keep it in a vessel for a period of four to six hours. This is called Timisúú, chewed thing.

Meanwhile water has been collected, and the pot has been put on the fire and is near the boiling point; before it boils, the lighted firewood is taken away to stop its action; she throws into the pot the dry meal which she ground first and mixes it with the hot water, keeping it from becoming lumpy. Then she removes a small quantity of this mixture and puts it in a small vessel, into which she puts all the Timisúú, which mixture they call Umopirai. Having done all this, she stirs continually with a maté, bringing the liquid up to a certain height and letting it fall back into the vessel so that it will acquire the necessary sweetness. When the mixture has become quite sweet, she pours it all into the ollas which are on the fire, brings them to a boil, stirring it all continually for a period of 24 hours (1).

1. If the liquid were not made to fall from a certain height into the vessel, it would not be sweet at all. The spatula with which she stirs the liquid day and night is called Mbaepivaraca.

[412]

At the end of 24 hours, it is fully cooked; she removes the fire and takes out the thick liquid, putting it in other pots with a wide mouth. The women, both big and small, then sit down and begin to chew until the end (this operation may last some two hours). Then different ones pour water into it, strain all the ingredient in a very fine sieve, Cangũi mbogua, and, once finished, bottle the clarified liquid in other pots with narrow mouths. The lid for these vessels is a small jar or a gourd, and, to seal it hermetically, they plaster it with a

/248 cont./

273 mortar of clay, and thus the fermentation works without interference and in a few days. When the fermentation is over, they carefully remove the clay and the lid, and the Cangüi appears, covered with a good dose of oil, a sure sign that the chicha has been made perfectly (2).

2. When the weather is hot, the fermentation of the chicha works in three days, but in cold weather six or seven are needed.

Before beginning to drink it, the housewife collects and removes the oil /illustration appears here/ /249/ and fills the cups for the drinkers; she pours a few drops of this oil into each one. If this precaution were not taken, all of the oil would pour into a single cup, and the woman who had made the chicha would be deprived of the praises of all the hangers-on. When the Chiriguano woman wants the chicha to be better, when she wants Copiriru, or or recooked chicha, after she has strained it, as has been said, she brings it to a boil again and, when it is cold, bottles it.

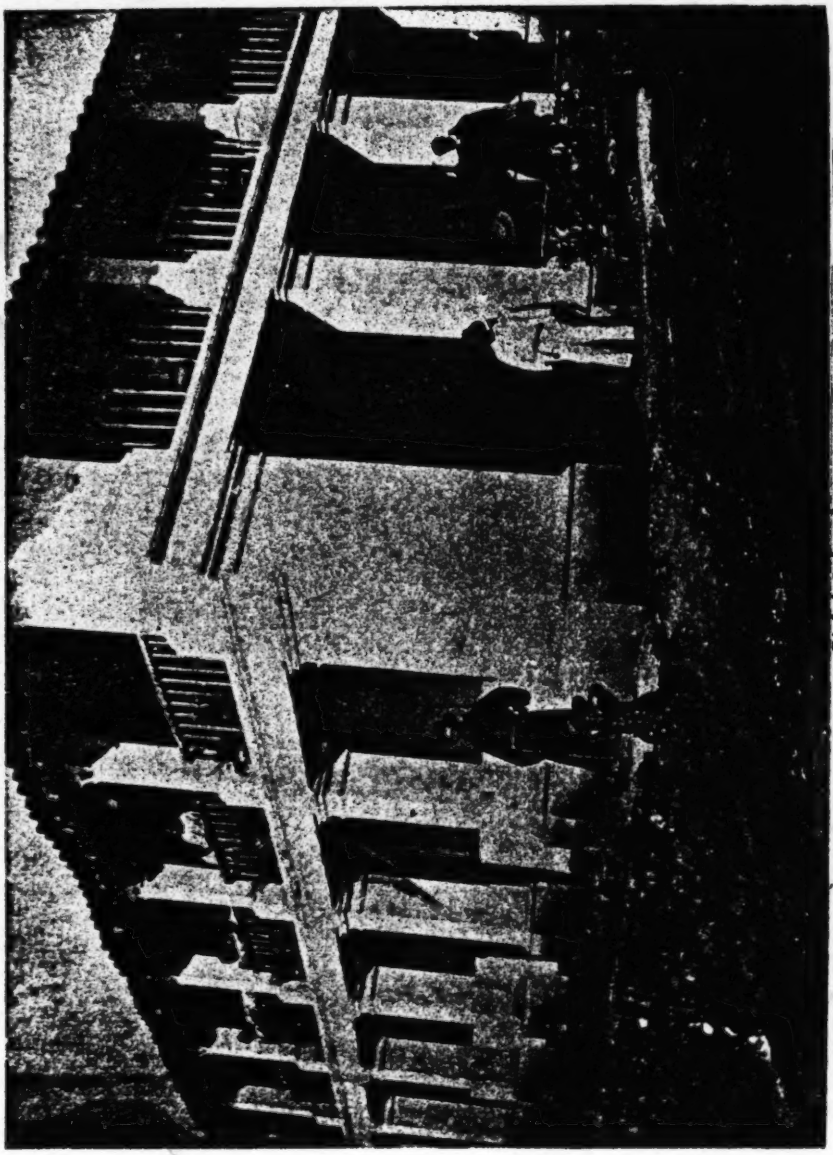
[302] Note that Chiriguano women who are getting ready to prepare chicha first anoint their faces and calves with palma Christi oil and over this put achiote paint and then begin the job. They say that with this cosmetic, they feel the heat of the fire less, but, be that as it may, it is certain that to see those women so painted in a house with a big fire and lots of smoke is the same as seeing the furies of hell; the resemblance is not remote.

In another chapter it will be seen that a lot of chicha is made for the fiestas celebrated after the harvest, but it should be noted here that food is prepared for this general drinking and the grand hotel is open to all in the plaza, where townsmen and outsiders, men and women, gather into separate groups, because the European civilization of the mixed schools, mixed dances, mixed parties, mixed baths, etc., etc., which are true sewers of prostitution, has not arrived here (1).

[527] [576] 1. In fact, at the public gatherings the men drink at a decent distance away from the women; their conversations are crude, but do not exceed the limits, because the woman is in the company of her husband.

4: Nino--338 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797



Girls' School

/249 cont./

Hunters

224 So that there may be plenty of food at the public drinking, the men, as soon as they have finished the job of bringing in firewood, take their bows and arrows, and horses if they have any, and go hunting. The places are suitable for the purpose: some hunt Taitetu, wild boars; others pursue the Yandu, ostrich; many go in search of Picasuguasu, large pigeons, Yeruti, turtledoves, Picúi, little doves. They also hunt: Guasu, /250/ pygmy deer; Sariama, chuñas /cranes/; Ayuru, parrots; and Tatu, quiriquinchos /armadillos/ (1).

[262] 1. The armadillos are of several types; the meat of the Taturapúa, balled armadillo, is not good, because it feeds on carcasses; the meat of the rest is better than that of the pig /chancho/; it is not harmful like that of the latter.

[251] The hunters take some 15 or 20 days to return, but as they take game, they cut it open, clean it, and dry it in the sun, so that it will not spoil, because they do not carry salt, since they do not have it, for making jerky or charqui.

224 231 Almost all the Chiriguano are hunters, and the infinite number of dogs that they keep in their houses have the ability to pursue the wild boar, the quiriquincho /armadillo/, the ostrich, the chuña /crane/, or the pygmy deer. These dogs are almost like Old World wolves, with pointed ears and a curled tail; they are so skinny they look like harps, so bad with mestizos and whites that it seems that they have learned to hate them as their owners do, and they are so attached to the latter that they never leave their side. They go with them everywhere; it is not unusual to see an Indian who is going to the field followed or preceded by eight or ten dogs, who are falling down from being so thin, and yet, should they flush a pygmy deer or a chuña, they will not let it get away. To walk alone at night through a Chiriguano town is to expose oneself to being eaten alive by these hungry tigers who all gather when the first one barks.

/250 cont./

224 184 Although all the Indians are hunters, not all can or go to hunt; some stay in town to help the women put the jars /cántaros/ in the plaza, and others do not go because they have other food [231] available for their friends. Some of them have goats and sheep, [574] others even chickens and cows; these take pride in being able to offer their friends in the public plaza chicken soup, or one of lamb or kid, or a succulent roast of veal, since there is no doubt that anyone would prefer fresh meat to charqui or dried meat of wild animals.

Animals

231 From the little that has been said with reference to animals it can be deduced that the Chiriguano have some, and they are the horse, ass, mule, cow, sheep, goat, chicken, and dog; all of them have Spanish names, /251/ except the chicken, Uru, and the dog, Yáimba. It is possible that these last are native, that is, that the Chiriguano have always had them, since they have their own name in the language; but if one reflects a little some doubt rises in the mind. The chicken, so it seems to me, is called Uru by the Chiriguano because it has some resemblance to the turkey buzzard, which they call Urugũi and which is a species of crow. The dog is called Yáimba in Chiriguano, no doubt because he [177] is very faithful to his master, Ya, which really means owner-master, and Imba, beast, so that the dog turns out to be a special beast which, more than others, loves its owner or master, and I say this because other tribes who are neighbors of the Chiriguano and are in a complete state of savagery do not have the dog, from which it can be deduced that they acquired it when the Spaniards entered their country (1).

1. For my opinion to be complete and closer to the truth, the word Imba should have an h; nevertheless, I do not give this as more than an opinion. The literal meaning of the word Yáimba would be: beast of the owner.

/251 cont./

Other Comestibles

226 184 After this digression I return with an account of comestibles in order to end the chapter now. The Indian finds in everything goodness and sweetness for his molars. He is very eager for fish, [437] but not all the tribes have it nearby; when they learn that there is fish in abundance on the banks of the big rivers, they travel as far as 150 kilometers to barter; they take maize or meal and trade it for fish. Those who live on the river banks are valiant fishermen, with no distinction by sex; they fish with hooks, staying in the water for hours, but they know with great sensitivity when the fish has taken the bait into its stomach; others fish with nets, which they have in every size, as I have seen on the Parapiti River, as well as on the Pilcomayo, near the Pirapo toward the west (2).

[438] [435] [431] 2. The Indians who bring fish back to their tribes do business, selling them at 10 and 20 centavos each; they also eat them and present them to friends and relatives.

226 Others make large baskets of hollow cane, open at a single point, put them in the river, and the fish go in without being able to get out; these baskets are called Pari. Along the rivers I even saw two lines of rocks sticking out of the water and ending /252/ in an angle, where the water forms a small waterfall. There, at the angle, they put a big net or other apparatus and catch many fish. They call this apparatus Itapare; even the carcancho /a bird/ will place itself at the angle and have a breakfast of fresh fish.

Finally, at waterfalls eight or ten meters high, they place close by a big net which gets all the smaller or medium-sized fish, since the big ones go up and down easily, while the former fall into the net; in the places where the fish are small, they divert the course of the stream and thus manage to catch all those which are left without their element.

/252 cont./

262 As very savory food there are also cicadas, ants, lizards, locusts, and some green worms which cause disgust just to name them. If a head of cattle dies and putrefaction has begun, the Chiriguano finds it excellent; give it to him and it is a grand gift, and that day is a carnival for him; he does not try to find out whether the animal died from the poison of a viper or rattlesnake or from rabies (1).

262
252

1. When Indians bring home the meat of dead cattle well into a state of putrefaction, they boil it in ollas and throw away the liquid, and in this way it loses much of its bad smell.

262 I do not know whether it is through superstition or because they
178 are descendants of the Jews that this tribe formerly did not eat the flesh of the pig; although they like and hunt the wild boar or the peccary, they did not touch the domestic pig, but today almost all of them, with the exception of some women, eat it.

261 The Chiriguano suffers in times of hunger or scarcity of food,
262 but he looks for food in the earth; this is very harmful food, which produces various ailments, such as consumption and
[252] dysentery. He looks for the potato of the serpentine arum, ex-
[164] tracts it, and, making a hole, heats it, throws the potatoes there, and covers it with ashes and embers, leaving them overnight; on the following day he and his family eat, but it gives them a bad stomach-ache, which makes them throw themselves down with their bellies to the ground until the pain abates; the same potato, raw, is efficaceous for killing worms in the galls of animals.

[222] Another food in times of scarcity is the Caraguata; this
[252] is a kind of aloe with leaves without the oily liquid; the edible part is the roots, which have a flavor like mandioca; it is considerable work to pull them out of the ground, where they are firmly attached, and the mealy substance is /253/ little enough; to eat it, it is roasted in the coals or under the ashes. When it is the time for fruits and want threatens, the Chiriguano

/253 cont./

261 feed themselves with: algarroba pods, Hibope; chañar /a legume/.
262 Cumbaru; mistol /a fruit/, Yua; tusca, Hibopene; sour algarrobos, Hibope tayi; nopal fruits, Saini; or from the fig, Iva; the higuerilla /little fig/, Caicantina, the thistle /cardo/, Tapiacaru, and the ulala /a kind of cactus/, Ñancagüina (1).

[137]
[132]

1. The fruits mentioned and many others are plentiful in the whole area, but in the Ivu region they are more plentiful; the years have now greatly changed; it does not rain as regularly as in times past and the crops are somewhat certain only at the foot of the mountain ranges.

181 Indubitably the Chiriguano, although superior to other nomadic tribes that surround them or border them, are very unfortunate and poor, but, on the other hand, their life is peaceful, they bother no one, and they do not wish to be bothered. When the Chiriguano Indian has food, he is the happiest being on earth; his savage bliss can today be envied by all the rulers and great of the world who live without knowing whether or not they will wake up on the morrow, in view of being surrounded by so many anarchistic dangers, so many bombs and dynamite that the obscure sects make explode, so many excesses that occur and are reported in the newspapers, and so many deaths that are taking place. Oh, this kind of savagery has not penetrated among these savages! That is why they sleep peacefully without fear, in the town, in the countryside, and in the forest, and they are happier than others; those who seek bliss on this earth may well envy these Indians.

4: Nino--.344 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/254/

Chapter Eleven

Fiestas: Songs. Carnival

Introduction

300 /The remainder of p. 254 and the first paragraph on p. 255 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 255. The remainder of p. 255 follows./

What were the occupations of men in Rome and other cities before embracing Christianity? What are the occupations of peoples in countries where anarchism is reigning as a consequence of the laic school? The history of ancient peoples tells us, and the modern as well. What did the Roman Empire do, when after so hard a struggle to broaden its dominions, it reached its apogee? It spent its time in fiestas which were true orgies, hair-raising days during which human blood ran like water. What is done in the kingdoms of the Old and New Worlds where the Christian is a modernist? They spend their time in theaters, where their souls are prostituted: they drink in inns and winehops until they descend lower than the category of an irrational animal: they spend their time in the bull ring, taking pleasure in the struggle of three ferocious animals (1).

> 1. In modern instruction, they have suppressed the idea of God, which is acquired by means of the catechism or similar work: from this suppression comes anarchism, which does not respect legitimately constituted authority. In certain games three beasts are observed: the bull with his brute strength, the bullfighter with his skill, and the spectator with his bestiality.

If civilization is thus to be understood, it is better that the savages not know it or hear about European or American civilization, with the latter taking the lead: it is better that they have their fiestas according to their customs, for, when all things are considered, it is necessary to choose the lesser of two evils: I maintain that the fiestas of the savages, for example, of the Chiriguano, are less scandalous than those of certain regions.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P 346]

4: Nino--345 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797

Facade of a Girls' School

/255 cont./

those of certain peoples who, without going further, are close to those who know nothing about civilization, whose morals, compared with those of these unfortunates, are far lower because of their refinement (2).

2. Some moderns would have civilization consist of purely material education without attending to the yearnings of the heart; for them it is all the same whether man dresses or goes naked.

527 In the course of this chapter my readers will learn that I can be little mistaken in what I stated above, and they will also learn that even the Chiriguano have fiestas, which they call Arete, which /256/ are celebrated neither for saints, emperors, nor kings, nor are they celebrated in a disorderly fashion, nor do they allow themselves to be disemboweled by a bull, as sometimes happens to mestizos or Spaniards; much less are they celebrated for open abandonment to luxury; they are celebrated only in order to drink and stuff oneself, and to enjoy the fruit of the labor involved in the planting of the maize, to have a few days of general rejoicing, to drink, in sum, like good brothers (1).

[526] 1. In the general drinking a certain immorality in their words is to be lamented, and they sometimes test their strength and valor with pugilism.

Before the Fiesta

241 231 177 Before the white race entered the region, cattle were almost unknown and the few that the Indians had were tame, nor had they taken to their hearts the desire for maize as they do now; thus the Chiriguano easily did his planting and weeding in less than a month, leaving the rest to God, but I speak badly, to the good sorcerer, the sun, and the rain. Today if he does not put a fence around his planting, the cattle of the Christians and the Indians very soon reach the crop, and a little carelessness is

/256 cont./

241 enough for this. Although there are good fences, there are better
231 and braver bulls or calves, who with their horns are capable of
177 opening iron gates, opening the way to all their females, whom they then call with much affection with their prolonged bellows (2).

2. The harmful cattle even become ferocious; if a man alone tries to chase them out of the field without the help of good dogs, he will be charged.

241 The harvest marks for the Chiriguano the time of the year
22 that he calls Mbaepiro, which literally means a dry thing or things, and everyone will understand that this corresponds to autumn, in which season the trees and every bush take off their beauty and raiment. Men and women then are busy carrying in
[343] what the land has produced for them; the maize crop is kept in the plot itself, in a kind of house of sticks called Abatío, maize house, and the woman little by little, as needed, brings it to the town for the daily meal and for the preparation of chicha (3).

3. If the harvest of gourds is not abundant, they put them on the maize in the same shed, if they do not build another; the bean crop is brought immediately to the tribe or town.

527 /257/ After this the Chiriguano spends his time in idleness, drinking here today, there tomorrow, visiting with some, playing with others, enjoying, in sum, with almost no work, a better life than the greatest ruler in the world. The harvest is cut be-
[221] tween May and June, and after it the libations in honor of the belly god begin. As the desire to drink is extraordinary, before having the general libation, the families, one by one, begin to make a small quantity of chicha to be drunk among a few friends and relatives.

/257 cont./

527 622 It falls to the cacique to give the order for the general drinking, and this is not long in coming. Twenty or thirty days before it takes place, he puts a large vessel in front of his house; this is the signal. Then in the evening, or when he judges best, he addresses a long discourse to his subjects, exhorting them to prepare what is necessary for the Arete; he stresses in this discourse that maize is a thing for drinking, once it has been obtained through the kindness of the sorcerer, lord of the rains. He adds that it is very proper not to lose the ancient custom of drinking and having a great feast to show friendship and courtesy to neighbors who live in other tribes. He underlines in his discourse the need to prepare good chicha and plenty of it and to prepare much wild game, so that those who are to participate as guests can enjoy these things and other, domestic foods to their full satisfaction, and that this may be a great honor for the townspeople.

I do not believe that anyone doubts the completely satisfactory effect that the cacique's discourse has on the mind of the Chiriguano, who wants nothing more than to drink, sing, and dance; thus, after the said speech, great joy appears on all faces, and all sigh in expectation of the arrival of the happy day when they can gather as good friends (1).

622 461 1. The caciques are very happy in their speeches for fiestas, but when it comes to work, they are not so much so. Humanity is not naturally inclined toward work. When a crop was very abundant, it was unlikely that they would plant the next year, and they would be content with very little.

527 On the next day activity has already begun, and the first thing is to go to the field or plot to provide themselves with sufficient maize so that there may be no lack of chicha. The women then begin to grind night and day, while the men bring in firewood; then, when /258/ there is enough firewood, they go off in considerable numbers to hunt in order to have meat and be able to invite their friends.

/258 cont./

527
574
576

When the cacique sees that all has started well, he prepares to go to the neighboring towns to ask their inhabitants to honor him with their presence on the day set, seeing to it that the first invitation is to the cacique or the sorcerer in honor of whom the feast and drinking are being prepared. The one who does the inviting is called Purumuncau vaé, he who gives to drink, and the one invited is called Ucau vaé, or he who partakes. When the one who is doing the inviting has arrived at the house of the one who is to be invited, he explains to him the object of his visit, begging him at the same time to condescend to accept, he and all his people, an acceptance which he and his will consider a great honor (1).

1. In order to further influence the decision of the one invited, the inviter, on his diplomatic visit, refers to the old custom of general libations, which it is essential to keep alive at any cost.

The one invited does not have to be told twice; he accepts at once, noting that he should have been the first to set this good example, but that circumstances and a great deal of work have not permitted him to do so, but it should not be left undone for this reason, and then he will have the honor of accepting with all his people. After this act of Chiriguano diplomacy and etiquette which they have not yet abandoned, the inviter takes his leave, satisfied with his trip, with the good reception, the acceptance, and, above all, for having gained the lead on his friend, who with his people, once the fiestas are over, will say this publicly with the following words: oremana ma pevi, we have been shamed by you, and enecatu ruyepi ne, but we shall take revenge, meaning: we shall not delay in inviting you to our town so that we may enjoy ourselves there too (2).

[721]

2. If the one invited were not to accept for himself and his people, it would be a very grave affront which undoubtedly would start a war.

/258 cont./

The Fiesta

527 The evening before the arete finds everything cleaned up and ready in the town; they have everything put outside, at a convenient distance from each house, in front of same, the vessels full of chicha already fermented, and another in the house which will be fermented in a little while so that it may not turn sour or run short. I never had the curiosity to count the vessels in these general drinking bouts, which are not very frequent; I only know that each family fills three large pitchers /259/ and from them can be deduced the quantity, or number of cannons ready there for firing and heroic defense in the battle with their owners and other hangers-on. I was at a fiesta in a town of some 350 families, and it lasted for more than a week.

301 527 [302] The people invited also get ready and begin to draw near the place of the arete, but first they have adorned their bodies. The coquettes round off their pompadours, paint their little faces, and wear their best clothing, as all do, adorning their necks with necklaces, their arms with bracelets, their breasts with the Boivera, and their whole persons with the Mandu or the Tiru. There is no lack of women who adorn their heads with the Aguá, a crown that they make of leaves, or of tin cans, adorned with painted wool or cotton with tassels down to the knees; in sum, they dress up in their best (1).

527 574 1. Nobody enters the town where the fiesta is being prepared; on the night before all sleep a short distance away.

The arrival of the outsiders is on the morning of the day itself. Before this takes place, the inhabitants have already arisen in order to hold the reception. Those invited, after getting up, again clean up their persons and their adornments; the chief, ucau vaé, mounts a horse, which is also done by the other riders, and they begin to gallop like a troop of madmen, whistling and shouting as loudly as they can; those who are on foot follow, running in the same way; next come the young women, also

/259 cont./

527 running, and at the end the mature women and the old women
574 more calmly (2).

2. The first men and women enter the town where they have been invited, making an uproar like a thousand demons, in which they are joined by the startled dogs.

527 All the men and women gather in front of the house of the
574 cacique, purumuncau vaé, who bids them all welcome, thanks
273 them for the honor that they are doing him, and there then takes place a quite ridiculous scene, which is greatly celebrated by the Indians. The host cacique has placed in front of his house a large vessel full of chicha, which sticks out of the ground at least a meter high. Well then, before the libation begins, they all jump from one side of the vessel to the other. This jump is called Ucaugüiñampo in some places, and in others, Uyapirae. As I have said, all of them jump, men and women, and especially the unmarried young men and women; some do it without any trouble, and others, particularly some of the girls, stumble because of their laughter and their tight clothing, fall to the ground, and this contretempts/260/ causes much hilarity. While this is going on, the older women and men arrive, and the fiesta begins.

527 There is nothing special in the beginning; it is only note-
273 worthy that as the beverage has been prepared in honor of a particular person, he is served first and continually; he must accept some from all the men and women, for otherwise he would be impolite, and thus in a short time the guest's belly is like a swollen bomb and soon his face begins to look repulsive, just as all those of the retinue are not long in having the same appearance (1).

1. During the extraordinary drinking sessions, rare is the family that prepares Copiruru, or recooked chicha, because it is very intoxicating and disturbs the animation of the guests and townspeople.

/260 cont./

527 273 [554] [562] The drinking continues for several hours, half in silence with a moderate and placid gathering, with the important men seated on benches or seats and some of their inferiors standing and others sitting on the ground, all of them separated from the women, and these latter, as I have already observed elsewhere, look like so many mortars. When the gathering is well attended, the sight is very pleasant, because anyone who has never seen it will be astonished by the variety of costumes and by the ornaments and cosmetics with which they adorn their faces and feet, and I have in fact seen some travelers stay for quite some time to contemplate this simple custom of those who are called the savages of Bolivia (2).

2. What a pity that there is no photograph of such gatherings! The one taken in Santa Rosa is scarcely a simulacre, since at that time there was not even any chicha for those who formed the wheel or gathering for the dance to drink.

The Dance and Songs

527 533 126 By the time they are quite full, they begin the dancing and singing of the Ayarise. I do not give the Spanish words here, for the real meaning is not known; I could explain them with conjectures and by analogy with other, similar ones, as was done by Father Giannecchini, whose words the Italian del Campano transcribes in his book, but they themselves do not know the meaning. The notes of the Ayarise are written and printed here so that any band that so desires may have a pleasant piece for some capital plaza: risum teneatis amici. The band music was set down by a maestro of the Potosí missions in the year 1903 and touched up this year by the missionary Franciscan Father Domingo F. Regini.

/261/

The Music for the Ayarise

527
535 The signal for the dancing and singing is given by the host,
533 who first makes a short speech to the maestro, who is carrying
[293] in his hands a Yandugua, a kind of parasol or umbrella made of ostrich feathers fastened around a long, straight piece of hollow cane. All the feathers have their natural curve outward (1).

[293]
[126] 1. The Yandugua in the Florence museum was purchased in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission by the Reverend Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi, tireless missionary of Potosí.

See the picture on page 77.

527
535 After the speech that the maestro and dancers listen to as if it were a Good Friday sermon in church, the singing and the dance begin. The maestro keeps time with his yandugua, the men dance by moving their feet from the knee, striking the ground without moving from the place they occupy, and the women behind the men with a maté in hand, full of chicha or not. The women take one step backward and another forward, and, not staying in the same place, they walk in time around the men with the formality and exactness of priestesses and hold hands with the other hand, two by two.

527
533 The larger the number of dancers, the more noise they make; there is no staying near them, because the men sing too loud. At a distance, to a person who is used to these songs, they seem relatively pleasant, but at night when one hears them for the first time and does not know what they contain, a thousand things will pass through the mind. Here are the verses of the Ayarise:

[539] Ayarise, rise -- Mborisese, sese -- Rosa yainde -- Imbaragüe -- Yuma chúrere -- Yuma chuépa -- Soro poco -- Eh! Eh! -- Saisá -- saisá -- Cururu hetesimi pinte -- Hevi sunzu -- Iparanta tapiti -- Cha machá imbarayu -- Imbará, boteriyu -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. It is perhaps appropriate and my readers may like

/261 cont./

527 533 539 to know the approximate meaning of the Ayarise, and so I put it in this note: "Let us sing, companions -- let us keep on singing -- with our women -- and orphans -- we are all here -- singing and dancing -- I know and I like this song -- The toad and the green frog stop -- and the rabbit makes an effort -- I am tired -- I stop and go off. Eh! Eh!

529 535 533 The Chiriguano can sing all day with these few verses, as in fact they do, but with rests. In order to finish the song all together and rest and drink for a long while, the men make a great stamp on the ground with one foot in time /262/ and a shout out of time, and everything stops with a special resounding and prolonged laughter of the women dancers.

Without leaving the circle of the singing and dancing, the lord of the fiesta has the dancers served abundant drink, which they partake of to their satisfaction in order to begin the Ayarise again as they were doing before, always at the command of the Purumuncau vaé and under the direction of the maestro, who does not put down his Yandugua (1).

[293] 1. There is one maestro of the ayarise, and he always has his yandugua, but this does not prohibit others from having one; there may be as many as ten in one dance, and they serve as parasols when the heat is very oppressive. The Indian Guarerai of Ivu had six and he lent them out during the solemn fiestas of the town.

527 The dancing and singing of the ayarise continues in this fashion until nine or ten in the morning; then the banquet is prepared in the public plaza, where they choose the cleanest place. There men and women sit down in separate places, and at once they bring from the houses the food, which has been prepared upon plates, where there is broth mixed with meat well seasoned with salt and chili peppers. Meanwhile two enthusiasts of the town

/262 cont./

527 are gathering together all the people, shouting like madmen and making known their great joy. The lord of the fiesta has arranged beforehand that the morning reception should take place in one location and the afternoon affair in another, and in this way not only is there time to prepare, but there is also food every day for the outsiders and for those who are not outsiders.

In the afternoon, at four o'clock more or less, they eat again with more enthusiasm than before, because their happiness is greater and then, it will be understood, ex abundantia musti os loquitur. But great friendship and harmony prevail; then they sing a little more, one by one, and when the sun sets there is a general rest (2).

2. From the afternoon oration until two in the morning there is complete silence; at that hour the song begins anew, with dancing and drinking. Today, since the voice of the cacique is little heeded, there is no schedule.

[622]
[178]

535
184
173

Mbapa páure

This dance is similar to a quadrille; couples execute it by making turns through the streets of the town, both day and night. According to what the Indians of Ivu say, the Mbapa páure is not general for the Chiriguano race, but peculiar to certain regions, and it is not more than a hundred years old. They even say that it had its origin /263/ at the foot of the Itácua mountain range in Cordillera Province and then spread there up to Menbirái and Choreti Guasu.

When the war of the cacique Yaveáu took place, the Indians of Güiracoti, living on the left bank of the stream of Cuevo, fled to the left bank of the Parapiti River, where they stayed and learned this new dance and song. Thus, when they returned to their lands, when Yaveáu, through having avenged himself excessively, had pardoned and forgotten the affront he had received, they brought back the novelty and began to introduce it into their towns.

/263 cont./

535 Someone went to teach it in the towns located behind the
184 hill of Aguaragüe, and the towns located on the right bank of
173 the Cuevo River intended to introduce it, but, seeing the dismal consequences that resulted from it, they have abstained to this day, so that it is a fact that the Mbapa páure is now limited to the small towns of Caraguatarenta, Ñagua, and Caraguatagüe, and it is certain that it is neither heard nor seen in the large towns of Santa Rosa and Ivu, which are a few kilometers away (1).

[837]

1. In the towns where the Mbapa páure is sung, there are upset marriages, because the dance is between a man and woman holding hands, which does not happen in the Ayarise; therefore, or to avoid said upsets, many caciques do not allow it to be introduced into their area of jurisdiction.

The Music of the Mbapa páure

627
533 This is another piece of music which has been scored for a
535 band by the Reverend Father Domingo F. Regini; it is much
[184] simpler than the ayarise, but the song and dance attract a great deal of attention, because they are not known in all the Chiriguano towns. It is a kind of carnival which lasts for a long time, but when the said time is over, nobody again remembers the Mbapa páure until a year has passed. Here are the words of
[539] the song: Tavia, Tavia -- Erecosiye mbapa páure -- Tirisoti, tirisoti -- Ancua chopi -- Chopi nano saraviyé -- Eh! Eh! Uetepeso, güeremeso -- Yagua tairari, yagua tairari -- Yurumbopi -- Yémanta -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. Explanation: Let us sing the mbapa paure, like the blackbird sings, let us sing until we are left with our mouths twisted and we are tired, even though it give us a pain in the chest, let us challenge even the jaguar, and let our mouths stretch. Eh! Eh!

/263 cont./

527 273 The fiesta of the Ayarise is an annual one, and it is always understood that the Indians have drink; thus in the general fiestas it does not end in one day; /264/ it lasts a long time until the chicha bottled in the vessels outside comes to an end; when this is finished, they repair to the large pitchers indoors, which are in reserve, like the reserve corps in a war. After eight or ten 527 574 days the fiesta can be considered at an end, and then the ucau vaé with all his soldiers takes leave of the purumuncau vaé with thousands of thanks, congratulating him for the order which has been maintained, the joy which has reigned, and the abundance of food and drink prepared. On finishing the praises, the guest in turn invites his friend and all the people for a similar affair in his tribe, with the month and day immediately being set.

527 273 Thus does the Chiriguano fiesta end, leaving everyone content and satisfied. But it is repugnant to see them drink without resting; the surroundings of these places look as though they were flooded by rain, their bodies give off an unpleasant odor, their faces seem swollen, their eyes out of their sockets, their lips with the tembeta sag like a baby lamb's, and just to approach one of them or the place where they are drinking is the same as approaching a sewer, such is the fetidness! But the Chiriguano is very content and glories in the piglike state in which he finds himself, saying, Asagũipo, I am drunk, and when he is getting over his drunkenness, he confirms what a good state he was in. Poor beast! (1)

[178] 1. Formerly, the intoxication of the Chiriguano was almost never complete; today, with the use of liquor, he frequently loses consciousness. Would that this harmful drink could be eliminated! The mission Indians no longer glory in their drunkenness; they say that they have been drunk, but not as an honorable act.

[797] [177]

/264 cont./

But unfortunately worse beasts than the Chiriguano are found, and some are the civilized persons who profess the doctrine of Epicurus; these, not content with getting drunk and eating more than a beast, throw up in order to stuff themselves again, and furthermore, in their dances and parties, they make a diabolical mixture of both sexes. Indeed, it seems that civilization walks on all fours and is giving way to savagery, and it is to be preferred that there should not penetrate among the savages a certain modern civilization which perverts these simple ones, whose customs are natural and they do not perform their acts with the refinement of the civilized.

Without going very far, let us enter a large aldea, which I do not wish to name; let us look for a barrio that has a name; let us enter one of the many chicha places there; what a spectacle! Chairs overturned, women stretched out full length, without even knowing the state they are in; /265/ men in frock coats lie on benches, if not on the ground, with their clothing unbuttoned, choco /crowned/ hat under the tables, frock coats tossed down like rags, handled canes thrown in a corner pellmell, kerchiefs here, mantas there, boots on the floor, wine containers mixed with glasses; in sum, complete disorder, the effects of drunkenness from drinking, the product of material civilization, of lay teaching, schooling without God.

One does not see in the Arete of the Chiriguano as much filthiness and scandal, as much disorder and abjection, as are seen in the taverns of certain countries, where one does not drink under the pretext of a fiesta; one drinks for the sake of drinking, as one kills for the sake of killing; no, the Chiriguano is very far from doing this. If it is being introduced to a degree, it is the effect of the contact which the barbarian has begun to have with civilized man.

Profound modern thinkers have recognized this truth, despite their having remained for a short time among these and other Indians in a completely savage state; however, let us set aside this account which is painful to the spirit and once more take up our story.

/265 cont./

52
517 They spend the rest of the year in diversions, playing cards and shooting dice, hunting doves and wild animals, going fishing, or fishing where the large rivers are, organizing private drinking parties, today in one barrio, tomorrow in another, today in Mengano's house, tomorrow in Fulano's, the day after tomorrow in Sempronio's, until planting time returns once more.

The Indian concerns himself very little about his house, which sometimes is at the point of falling in on him; his house is better ventilated than a sieve, it rains more inside than out, he sleeps there almost like a toad, he sleeps on the damp ground or above it on a miserable cot, placed over the mud or the water, and his sleep is like that of the dormouse (1).

[164]

1. This way of life in the dampness in their houses or outside of them is the cause of many skin diseases, fevers, and tumors.

Hospitality

574
576 The Chiriguano is very hospitable and it would be hard to find any other race which is his equal in this; he receives and serves everyone in his house, both whites and those of familiar condition, for example, the Toba, and, with greater reason, those of his own race. They visit from one town to another, and at the first meeting or at first sight they say immediately, /266/ depending upon the age of the person seen: Ndempuama pa tuti? good day, uncle, if it is in the morning; Ndecaaruma pa? good afternoon; or Ndepintuma pa? good evening. Literally, these three salutations have another meaning. The first means "Have you reached this day, have you arisen healthy and vigorous?" The second, "Have you reached the afternoon?" And the third, "Have you reached the evening?" He who receives the greeting answers, Ampuama, checaaruma, or chepintuma, respectively.

/266 cont./

574 576 [194] The second t of the word tuti is pronounced double (1).

1. In other places the salutation is different. They say Catapiri or Aguyeti, good things, prosperity. But the other seems to me to be more in conformity with the universal salutation, as is done everywhere.

If the visitor is a person he knows, the host then says, Nde pa co? Is it thee? And the other answers, Checo, it is I, and then goes on to say Imeño pa nei? Are you living? Imeño aí, I am living. And he enters the house of his uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law, or whoever it may be, since it seems that the Chiriguano has relatives everywhere, and he would have them all over the world, if there were Chiriguano all over the world.

574 576 622 Often it is the cacique who receives strangers, if these come looking for him, as naturally happens, but any Indian at whose house he may come will at once say to him with all courtesy, Eyú, come in, if he is on foot, and Egüeyi, come down, if he is mounted. At once he presents him with the best seat that he has and begins the conversation; meanwhile the lady of the house puts at his disposal a large jar of chicha with the respective maté or tumbler, and, aided by her daughters, she prepares the best meal. The captain, or cacique, of Tiasía prepared for me a 123 [622] maté of boiled corn with salt, arivivi, or very hot chili peppers, and hard-boiled eggs chopped into small pieces.

I noted the great cleanness of the food and the utensils, and then, as I have already said elsewhere, I had a long talk with the Indian, who was quite loquacious and frank, about various religious matters, and in conclusion he made me understand that he would not go to the Boicovo Mission or to the others, because prayer and baptism cause death; that my companions and I had made it not rain that night in order that we might not get wet, and that it is not God who created man, and, when asked who it was, he answered naturally and with astonishment, Ndicuaá á pa? Don't you know? (2) /Illustration appears here./

797 771

2. In the other place I did not set down everything

[Text Continues on P.362]

4: Nino--361 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

282
527
541

Chiriguano carnival, "The Fight of the Bull with the Jaguar."

/266 cont./

797
771

that the cacique had said with reference to their idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

574
576

/267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leaving the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu ndereé, I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma, I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tunpa reño eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

541
177

If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Lagunillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing. The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano [184] fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbapa páure, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe, in addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

[648]

1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Igllembe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Azero.

/367 cont./

[54] [177] [648] Don Antonio Menduiña, who had requested aid: he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers from Azero.

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of [178] Arete, fiesta, through antonomasia, and all the old fiestas are [461] gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that [292] this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguano works almost all year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him: for it is he gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy clothing for himself and his wife and children: and on these days all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put on /368/ during the other days of the year, neither for the Ayarise nor for the Mbaya peure.

In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between [532] blacks and whites: the men well dressed, and even the infidel women with garb adorned with gauze, fancy hats, and multicolored ribbon: the children cover their faces with masks which they have made beforehand by carving tobocochi wood: young men prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others, such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the dancers and Agiteros /maskers/, for whom everything is allowed because it is carnival.

[54] [535] [529] By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one drinks and has fun, they make merry on the compadre and comadre days, and on Quinquagesima Saturday, all day, the maskers and dancers practice the dances that they call Atico. [532] On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival, dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually mounted on a burro: the one who is thus disguised directs the fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

1. The principal man so disguised has subalterns.

/368 cont./

541
586

who also give their long or short speeches. If asked, the masked men say that their town or region is Matamoroche.

If there is no partner, the women dance among themselves, but as soon as a man appears, she dances with him, holding hands, and many couples dance quite close together; their style of dancing is to raise first one foot and then the other to the rhythm of the music. The zapateo /tapping with the foot/, as they call this dance, lasts until the Sunday or Saturday of Temptation without rest, and on the next day, which is the last, the game begins. At ten o'clock several young men in masks and/or, leaving covered what is purely masculine, robed themselves completely with mud, furtively approach the group of dancers, and then charge in every direction, squeezing among the better dressed and thus creating confusion among all. This game is called the game of the pigs, and they imitate them very well (2).

541

2. Before, this game the disguised men pour over the dancers bean pods and maize siftings left from the preparation of the chicha; this is in order that there may be plenty in the following year.

/369/ The games in the afternoon are quite varied; once the game of the pigs is finished, or even before, two little blacks come out with maize-husk cigars in the mouth and a rope in the hand, leading a person in the disguise of a bull, who is defended and protected by a furiously dressed woman, who holds up a flag hanging from a hollow-cane pole; the little blacks are the bull's masters and they even lead dogs, and when the bull is under the flag, he is not bothered much.

At the same time, as though he had come out of the forest, another person appears disguised as a jaguar, and he begins to fight with the bulls; if the bull begins to get the worst of it, the masked men who play the role of dogs rush to his defense and hound the jaguar, as three on horseback also do. Once

/269 cont./

541 in a while the jaguar catches some little dog and makes it cry out, and sometimes it unseats some rider. After a longer or shorter time, the bull or jaguar dies in the battle; generally the former survives, because they kill the latter among them all, between the dogs and cowboys. Then people in disguise who are playing the role of butchers appear, buy the bull from the little blacks with stone or bone money, and butcher it.

535 541 Immediately the dancers form a large circle, holding on to each other with both hands, and they dance this way three times; a number of women huddle over and three others pass under the extended arms of one couple of the circle itself, and a number of others join together, forming a big mass with faces outward, with hands linked together and crossed, remaining this way until another couple dances around them without holding hands, but rather with the man trying not to be caught by the woman, and, if this happens, he then hides amidst the others until his companion has gone by, coming out again to dance until he has gone three times around, taking the same precautions each time as on the first (1).

> 1. The circle is made up of all the couples who have come to participate in the fiesta; it is made up of a man and a woman with both arms extended and with the hands held; the circle takes up a lot of space, according to the number of couples.

Finally, with the whole circle dancing, they make three circuits in the town, dancing, hands joined, at the corners of the plaza and in front of the houses where they had danced on the previous days. /270/ All of the masked persons join in the first circuit; they form their circle and the head man makes his speech, then the older ones form a seat with their canes crossed, make a little boy sit there, raise him up some two meters, form with crossed canes a shield around his head, and all the rest pour on him a prolonged shower of blows with the hollow cane, without hurting him, and then they let him down. They do this three

/270 cont./

535
541
times in different locations (1).

[292]
[562]
[177]

1. At the carnival, during the three days, there are women who dress like men and men who dress like women, but both cover their faces well so as not to be recognized; this was also taught them by the white man.

[152] On the second circuit all the Agüeros, the masked ones, a mestizo term, ask from house to house for provisions, and they accept everything, even bean pods and watermelon rinds, and on the third circuit, which is the farewell, there begins the wailing of big and small masked persons, laden with provisions and scraps; these weepers really make the old people and others cry, because some of them are thinking of their departed ones who are not present at this festivity which is ending, and others perhaps because they think they will not get to see another carnival. I questioned an old man who was really crying, and he gave me the preceding answer. When the last circuit ends with the drums muffled as a sign of sorrow, all of them, riders, dancers, and agüeros, go out of the town and go to a place where they throw away the masks and immediately go to the river, or a spring, to wash their hands and faces a little (2).

535
541
177

2. All of the foregoing games in Ivu were taught them by the same white man whom I have mentioned, and in the beginning he taught them by demonstration, causing astonishment, particularly in the women and the old persons; many of the said games are immoral, especially the circles and the massed group.

796
177

Easter

Forty days later the Chiriguano has another fiesta, that of the Pascua de Resurrección /Easter/, which was introduced by the whites; the old Indians call it nice because it is quiet, as they call the carnival very noisy.

/270 cont./

796 call the carnival very noisy. There is nothing special about it and it lasts three days; /271/ some play the violin, and men and women sing the Alleluja. Couples hold hands as they walk through the streets. If both are women, they walk with their [533] arms about each other's neck. They sing through the streets [554] and in the houses and in front of them; in this latter case it is [539] a sign of esteem for a family. The words are few: Osi ma Pascua, alleluja, Easter has come, alleluia, Ucuera yema Yandeya, alleluja, Our Master came back to life, alleluia (1).

1. The song of Alleluia begins as follows: Santísima Trinidad /Most Holy Trinity/, osi ma pascua Aleluya; aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, etc. Ucuera yema—Yandeya, Jesucristo; aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, [194] etc. The s of Osi is pronounced as though it were double.

000 /272/

Chapter Twelve

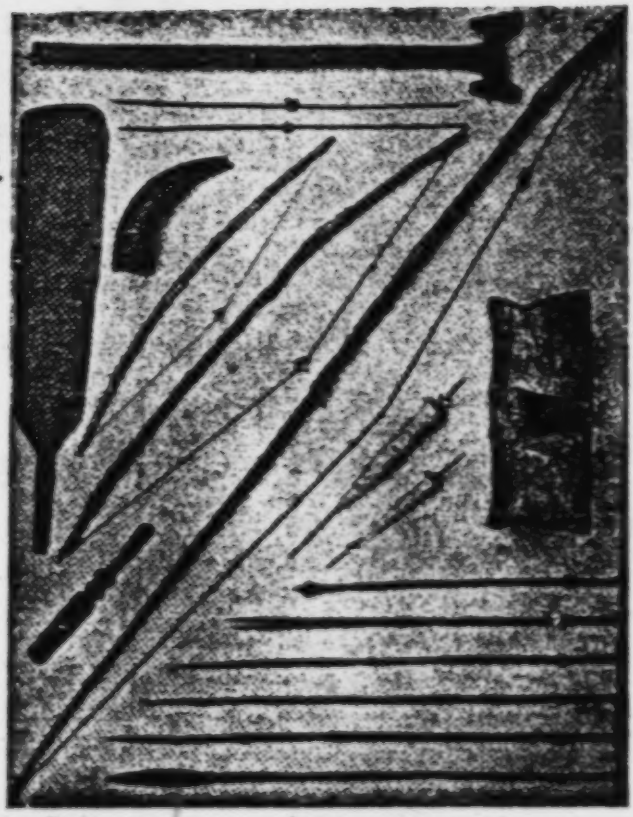
Offensive and Defensive War

Introduction

There is no people or nation in the world which has not experienced the horrors of a war more or less bloody, more or less prolonged, and more or less disastrous. Troy burns, and Aeneas, the founder of the Roman Empire, takes advantage of the confusion, avails himself of the very darkness as his shield, and saves himself. /The remainder of p. 272 and the first paragraph on p. 273 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 273. The remainder of p. 273 follows./

4: Nino--368 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

412
411
534
283
352



Bows, arrows, etc. /see p.382 for additional explanation/.

/273 cont./

175 History tells us that the Chiriguano were not the first in-
727 habitants of the region that they now occupy. Other savages
728 had lived here, who handed over the territory by reason or right of the stronger. Subjugated by the number and valor of the invaders, some of them emigrated to perish, and others remained as vassals in their own land and little by little came to an end, leaving the Chiriguano masters of their land.

175 In time the Incas tried to conquer this extensive territory,
648 leaving behind innumerable marks of their tenacity, but they
[101] had to abandon this noble thought, contenting themselves with calling them with great contempt: Chiriguanos or Chirihuanos,
175 cold excrement. But however warlike or invincible a people
648 or nation shows itself to be or is, its hour to succumb arrives.
797 What was not achieved by the Incas or by the arms of the Spaniard here has been brought about by the patience of the missionary and the tenacity of the whites of Santa Cruz and
648 Tarija. Today the dread Chiriguano is subdued and bows his
797 haughty head. He has been reduced to nothing, and one who does not live in the missions is the vassal of the white man, who has dominated him completely. It is the disposition of Providence, which subdues the proud and decrees that they experience, although much more gently, what they made the
[181] invaded ones experience. It seems that in the last war of Curuyuqui, the Chiriguano learned his inferiority, but it cannot be denied that this race has been one of the most warlike that has existed here (2).

175
648
727
266

2. The Incas tried to conquer the Chiriguano in order to moderate their customs. The Chiriguano treated the Tapíi with great cruelty; according to what has been told by the natives of Parapiti, they fattened them in order to eat them later.

/273 cont./

721 I am not going to consider the Chiriguano at war with the Incas or with the Spaniards or with the whites who occupy the region. I am going to consider him at war with his own kind, or with the inhabitants of /274/ other towns which border his. Sensitive to the extreme, the Indian will fight on any pretext, however minor it may be considered, such as the abduction of a woman, her attempted violation, cattle stealing, or any other offense; they are enough to make the pride of the native scheme for vengeance and carry it out without any loss of time.

721 173 643 [727] Among the Indians of Ivu there is still kept alive the memory of the four or five wars which the regional cacique Yaveáu of Cuevo and its vicinity waged against Yuti, where among the women killed was the wife of the Indian Cairama, who still lives in the Santa Rosa Mission; against Choreti, where, while retreating, he killed several whites; against Itau and Carapari, from where he brought a small cannon as booty; and against Parapiti, where he was defeated, leaving some 200 victims on the battlefield on the left bank of the river. It has already been seen in the preceding pages that the cause which brought about this prolonged and bloody war was the attempt of the cacique Gíiracoti with regard to Yaveáu's wife, which he avenged to excess (1).

1. The cacique Yaveáu waged a war of extermination against all the towns noted, because they all fought on Gíiracoti's side, but he could do nothing against Chituri, the cacique of Parapiti.

721 411 My readers, having thus understood that the Chiriguano is very warlike, must be convinced of another truth, that is, that they are prepared to take up arms on any occasion, from which it can be deduced also that it is a fact that in every house they had available as many bows as there were persons fit for war, in addition to having ready as many dozens of arrows, because it was a law that in war each warrior had to carry at least a dozen.

/274 cont./

Offensive War and Weapons

643 When a tribe was preparing to attack another, if it foresaw
701 that it would last longer than usual, and the cacique judged that
705 more preparations were required, in his position as supreme chief or captain general he would commission subalterns called Queremba, experts, to inspect all the armament available, and if the report of these chiefs was not satisfactory, a general order was given to make up and repair all the deficiencies as quickly as possible.

411 The bows and arrows were made in the public plaza or out-
824 side each house; the wood which was to serve for bows was different from that for arrows. War bows measured /275/ a meter
[283] and a half more or less, and to shoot one they used a twisted cord made of pygmy-deer hide, which was both light and strong. The wood that they use even today for hunting bows is called Igũirapitiragua.

The arrows are made of different kinds of wood, but the most common are Ovei, guayancansillo /a kind of guaicum/, Yaguasíi, tola, and Igũirane, smelly wood. This last is very poisonous, and the tribe that uses it must be a very bad enemy of his opponent, because whoever is wounded with these arrows will recover only with difficulty, and the wound is a continual suppuration of illness, which slowly consumes him, almost without any hope of his being able to be helped and to enjoy life once more with his companions.

Every arrow ends in a point, and on both sides it has its edges the opposite way so that when it enters the flesh it is difficult to remove, and one who does not know how to remove it can produce a greater wound than the one the arrow made when it entered.
[233] The arrow is inserted into a little piece of hollow cane, one
[239] meter long, where it is securely attached with string made of toborochi bark, and the string is covered with a little bit of wax (1).

1. At the end of the cane, with the same string and wax, many attach a feather of a falcon or of a carcancho, not for decoration, but so that the shot may be more accurate. The feathers of these birds are more resistant than others.

/275 cont./

411 [492] Warriors on horseback, in addition to having bows and arrows, use the lance; it is a piece of a knife or of iron tied to the tip of a stick; note that each warrior, according to what they say, cannot carry more than a dozen arrows, because they are heavy. 534 726 In order to inspire terror and fright in the attack they make on the enemy town, they use the Igüiramimbi, a wooden musical instrument, the Senene, and the Huacananti, or cow's horn (2).

> 2. The first is round, and it is very hard to pierce it, and the second is long. Both are of good wood, and they engrave figures and signs on them. They hang them from the neck by means of a cord. The wood is like ebony.

722 While some of them are preparing the bows and arrows, the braver men do not remain idle, nor do the women; the latter prepare the necessary provisions and even the chicha to celebrate the triumph, if they win it, and the former encourage the more cowardly ones, showing their ability as queremba in the streets and the plaza, animating them all, making them understand that triumph depends on them and that it is necessary to triumph at all costs if they do not wish to be subjected to the harsh condition of the conquered, thus losing everything, wife, children, home, and property.

726 704 /276/ When all the weapons are ready, those of the cavalry saddle their horses, putting the arrows on the right side, so that they can easily get them in case of urgency, because it is characteristic of the cavalry to yell insults at the enemy and to sow confusion on the battlefield with shouts and the noise of the igüiramimbi, huacananti, and porongos. Then, all of them, [292] foot soldiers, horsemen, and queremba, don their garb, some the [714] jacket /coleto/, others armor of garabatá, and they put on the [411] back of the left hand a strap of pygmy-deer hide, so that they [302] will not hurt themselves when they shoot the bow, and, finally, they all color their faces and arms with ground charcoal dampened in water. Let the reader consider if this army of demons would not frighten even the dead!

/276 cont./

March and Inspection

726 Finally they take leave of their families, telling them to be very careful not to go far from the town. The cacique gives his [727] instructions to the men who stay behind on guard; the women once more tell their husbands to fight like brave men and to bring back the heads of their enemies in order to drink chicha from their skulls, and then, in perfect order, the march of the army toward 701 the place of combat begins. They say that the cacique does not 643 carry arms and that his presence only serves for giving orders that they promptly execute without losing any time (1).

1. If the cacique were seen to be attacked or surrounded by the enemy, his soldiers, especially the cavalry, would come quickly and boldly to his defense.

726 The combat is never begun by day or late at night, but in the early morning. For this reason, before the soldiers depart, they calculate the distance and the time that it may take to cover it. In order not to be seen or heard, they go through the woods, if there are any, and try to arrive at night at a certain distance from the enemy town. They make their camp at a distance of four or five cuadras and wait for the dawn, in order to be able to enjoy their triumph, the pillaging and other ensuing things, by the light of day, or to be able to beat an orderly retreat in case of defeat (2).

2. Nobody in the town discovers the proximity of the enemy, because the Indians do not go out of their town after midnight, and the invading horsemen with their horses stay at a suitable distance so that the horses will not give them away with their neighing.

/277/

726 But before the combat begins one or two of the bravest men go out of the camp at the cacique's order to reconnoiter the field [825] or enemy town. The scouts enter the enemy town with every precaution, imitating, on the one hand, the noise of the fox, on the other the call of the Yancuruntu, owl, and, finally, that of the Surumucucu. If no one discovers the presence of these scouts, the combat when it comes is terrible, but, if they are discovered, the alarm signal is given, and the fight begins at once, into which the ones invaded throw themselves with their naked bodies, and they may easily come out victorious, throwing back the enemy in their formidable charge (1).

1. From this the whites deduce and believe that the Indians are preparing for war against them when they hear the Yancuruntu, owl, in their houses in the country.

The scouts, if they are not discovered, leave the town with much caution, return without delay to the camp, and report to the cacique the state of the enemy, and all listen with great interest to this account. The cacique thanks the scouts for their valor, intrepidity, and daring and once more charges all to be careful and brave in the coming attack. Then he orders silence, and they all rest without sleeping, each group talking in very low voices so that nobody will sense their presence.

726 714 292 Before the hour of combat comes, the cacique and the queremba order the preparations; the riders saddle their horses and come up to the infantry soldiers, who tighten their bows and put on their wrist the deerhide guard, fasten their aprons or girdles at the waist to cover the most delicate part of the body, some of them put on the armor, Ayo, made of tree bark, others the Tim, lifted to the waist, and all of them put on ostrich feathers, chicken feathers, or maize husks around their faces so that they can recognize one another in the heat of battle, not wound one another, and assist one another in case one or more of them is surrounded by the enemy.

/277 cont./

Combat and Pillaging

726 Finally, the infantrymen get in the center, the horsemen on both sides, and the queremba in front, because they must always be the first to be wounded. Matters thus arranged, facing /278/
[704] the enemy, still in bed, the invading army moves forward at a trot, and when it has come as far as some 100 meters from the town, the infantrymen and horsemen set out at full speed, they pound the horns, porongos, senene, and igũiramimbi, all the soldiers raise an infernal shout and sow confusion in the little town. The inhabitants, losing no time, take up arms and come out to fight with courage. The women, children, and dogs add to the confusion and run in terror to hide if they can. Mean-
726 while the combat is terrible and bloody on every side, the in-
727 vaders fight with tenacity for victory, and those invaded, for their own defense, for that of their wives, children, and property. They fall, some run through by an arrow, others opened by a lance, those seriously wounded and dragged by their long hair, these trampled by the horses of the cavalrymen, who charge the unfortunate ones without pity or mercy (1).

[621] 1. Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of 40 or 50 families, and therefore the combat could not last for many hours, since those invaded were in addition taken by surprise.

In a few minutes the little plaza and the streets are full of dead and wounded. Some of the cavalrymen detain the fleeing children and women and prevent the flight of the defenders, who--a few of them--have been trying to give up the unequal fight. The fight is over before the sun appears. If the number of defenders is quite low, the invading cacique stops the battle and orders the killing of the few survivors, without concerning himself with those who have already fled.

/278 cont./

726 727 Then they enter the houses, pillage anything of value they find, break al the clay vessels, pour out all the chicha, without taking any forfear that it may be poisoned, and, finally, before the eyes of th women and children prisoners, set fire to the town, which burns until it is reduced to ashes.

[203] As soonas victory has been declared by the invaders, the cacique order that one of the horsemen take the happy news to their town, sothat the women can rejoice and finish the fermentation of the chcha. Meanwhile, when the pillaging is over and the houses reduce to ashes, they divide among all of them the women, girls, and chidren, and take them triumphantly back to the town. Some lancers opped from their victims some heads of the men - killed in the ombat, which will serve as trophies of war.

/279/ After the Victory

727 524 857 The victors are received with extraordinary joy, and then all glances are firs fixed on the heads that are on the tips of their lances; they isult them and jeer them with much cruelty, hang them from some tree in the town or in the plaza, and there they stay as toys for the ittle boys, who set up games using them as targets to learn the use of the arrow and be good shots, and when they have become tred of seeing them there, they take them down, tie them to strings, and drag them through the streets, attracting everybody's attntion with their shouting and games. They are thus very inhumane, and their parents watch with pleasure what their children ae doing (1).

1. Ater or during the war of Curuyuqui, they brought to the town the head of the Indian Chahico, and they did more or less what I have said, with slight differences.

/279 cont./

727 Those who are older, men and women, surround the poor prisoners and insult them until they are tired, recriminate against them for the war, to which their husbands may have given rise, mock once more the memory of the dead men who did not know how to defend their town, calling them men of no courage, good only for women's work, good only for making chicha, and when they are tired of talking, the festivities begin with drinking, dancing, and singing, with which they celebrate their splendid victory.

The prisoners remain silent, do not raise their heads, do not say a word, and even refuse to eat food if it is offered them. They cannot oppose the brutal acts of their conquerers, who would put an end to their lives if they attempted to do such a thing.
797 The last war of Curuyuqui is still living proof of what has been
727 said, but happily many unfortunate women had help in their misery because of the presence of the missionary (2).

> 2. When the defenseless damsels understood the intention of their masters, they ran away, making a joke of the vigilance of those brutes, entered the school as a last refuge, and learned religion.

727 During the days of celebration and afterward, they start
[525] playing their dice game, and they wager the prisoners, who are no good to them, among whom are the mature women, boys and children under seven, and an occasional girl whose new owner does
[437] not need her. When they are tired of them, they barter them or
[438] sell them for nothing, for a sheep, a goat, /280/ a hat. The sale or barter is not done in the town of the conquerers, but in others farther away. Thus it happens that many innocent boys and girls may find there relatives who would pay even more than what is asked for them.

/280 cont./

72

Defensive Warfare

But the invading army is not always victorious, as in the case just related. Sometimes it gets the worst of things, and then the complete reverse happens. Those who were left in town weep when they get the news; the defeated men return, and they all weep about the defeat they have suffered, and many for the death of their loved ones. Without losing any time they prepare for defense, because they know perfectly well that the ones invaded will quickly take revenge for the injury received, appearing before them as invaders.

Then there are many and similar precautions for both armies. The town which awaits the vengeance arranges for all those unfit for combat to get to safety with their few belongings at a certain distance from the town and, if at all possible, in a secret place. They position sentries day and night, and any noise, any cloud of dust, any sign is immediately reported to the cacique and to the queremba (1).

1. They put sentries on all the high places. This is what both armies did in the year 1892, the one from Curuyuqui in Ivu and those being besieged around the Santa Rosa Mission.

When a town is prepared for defense, the combat in the area is atrocious, and, if the number of combatants is equal, the invaders get the worst of it. Without surrendering, they abandon the field after a few hours and beat a retreat until all danger has disappeared, and they return to their homes neither defeated nor triumphant.

722
782

While the men fight or go to battle, the women raise their supplications to the sun, throw sand or ashes into the air in the direction of the enemy, and in a very sad tone of voice, letting fall sincere tears which would move anyone, they say in a high voice, Tiamini, cheru cuarasi, tuguáicho pochi, tiamini, tiaminiete, tumano pochi, may they be defeated, my father the sun, the perfidious enemies, may they be defeated, very badly defeated, may the evil ones die.

/280 cont./

000 defeated, may the evil ones die. While the war lasts, it is the
722 rule that women and their daughters must not sit in a squatting
284 position, but with their legs stretched /281/ out in front, so that
516 their fathers and husbands who are in battle will not feel any
828 tiredness (1).

722
533
535
177

1. The Italian del Campano, relying on the writings of Father Giannecchini, a missionary of the Colegio de Tarija, writes in his work that, before the fighting began and during it, women and maidens come out to the plaza and in a loud voice sing and dance the Aré aré. This song and dance must have originated among the Toba, who at that time were numerous in the Gran Chaco region, because in the Ivu region and other regions they scarcely know the name of the Aré aré, and not all share in that knowledge, as has been proved, for in no combat which has occurred to the north, south, and west of Ivu has the Aré, aré been danced and sung.

726 During the Curuyuqui war the Santa Rosa mission was in-
727 vaded by the rebels, who, in spite of their number and strength, were unable to enter the town which they intended to burn. Then and afterward the missionaries witnessed painful scenes of women who, crying their hearts out, raised their voices and threw ashes to obscure the enemies' vision. Bitter memories of that massacre are still retained, at which some of them laugh today, but they cried then. Whenever I hear the sad stories, my eyes overflow with tears (2).

726

[648]

2. The Curuyuqui rebels first attacked the town of Cuevo, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in Santa Rosa the night before. In a few days they attacked the mission, from which it can be concluded that their hate was against the whites, and concomitantly against the Indians who were

/281 cont./

726 648 helping them in the town and against the missionary who had brought them.

Peace

727 728 Every time a war between Chiriguanos ends, those who got the worst of it are the first to resume friendly relations. They do it little by little, and the women are most useful for this, the same ones who, with their tongues, contributed not inconsiderably to promoting hostilities. The conquerers readily accept the overtures of peace and immediately resume visits again, during which, if the conversation touches on the last war, the conquered avoid it, that is, they excuse the deceit suffered through some trick, but from time to time they must silently endure the reproaches of one or another bold woman, who are not lacking in the towns (3).

3. A certain young girl, a student in the Santa Rosa Mission, reproached the captain at Ivu, who was asking for a mission in his town after having tried to kill the missionary. But I have already said that this war was directly against the whites.

701 723 643 [704] When a war is regional because several tribes take part in it under the command of a single cacique, as happened in Yaveau's war /282/ against Güiracoti, both regions try to have an equal number of foot soldiers, cavalry, and queremba; otherwise it would be very hard for the weaker side to enter the combat. Güiracoti came to battle aided by the whites and men from Parapiti, but, when he saw that he had fewer people, he fled from Yaveáu, who pursued him with all his men (1).

1. The cacique Yaveáu in his first defeat recovered and suitably prepared for a general and decisive charge on the slopes of the range of Irenta, located one league from the Santa Rosa Mission.

/282 cont./

729 When a regional campaign has ended, the caciques involved,
728 with the intervention of others who did not take part in the struggle,
643 try to re-establish peace, because although the Chiriguano is rather warlike and proud, he is also just as peaceful and desirous of living quietly in his home. Hence it is quite easy for peace to be accepted by both parties, and it is sealed with a general fiesta, first in the town of the defeated cacique and then in that of the victorious cacique. All the great and important people of both regions and of the regions which have taken part in the friendly arrangements come together at these fiestas, and even then they do not turn to talk of the stormy time, except to anathematize the one who, according to them, was to blame for so much anguish; little importance is given to the words of the women (2).

[648]

2. As the Curuyuqui war was against the whites and since the latter triumphed and pursued them to the death, there could not be any party afterward, but in time friendly relations were renewed between the Indians of Ivu and Santa Rosa, and to this day they continue in perfect harmony, because they live with the help of the missionary whom the Ivu people had asked for previously.

Then each regional cacique enjoins his men not to disturb public peace again, and these in turn make speeches to their subalterns at night about the advantages of peace, and both caciques shake hands, promising to decide matters in a friendly fashion in any future disagreement which might arise between the two regions, but sometimes the opposite happens, because the victor finds it hard to yield, considers himself superior, and does not know that negotiations are preferable.

729 Finally, each one returns to his town satisfied, the repair
728 of the destroyed houses is ordered immediately; the time of general planting comes, and they all report to work peacefully in order to have abundance once again and with their hopes based on being able to enjoy in time the fruit of the little sweat that falls, to their own advantage and that of their family.

4: Nino--382 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/283/ ./

Explanation of the Preceding Illustration /see p. 368/

412
411
534
283
352

1. Wooden spade for work.
2. Spade handle.
3. Bull's horn for blowing.
4. Implement for stirring food.
5, 6. Chiriguano spindles.
7. Chair or seat with two spaces for children.
8. A bow for adults.
9. Arrow with iron point.
10, 11, 12. Arrows with wooden point.
13. Bow for young people.
14. Arrow with two points for hunting and fishing.
15. "Songo," or arrow with rounded point for hunting small birds.
16. Bow for boys.
17, 18. Arrows for boys.

/284/

Chapter Thirteen

Illnesses, Remedies, Death, and Mourning

Introduction

One moment of reflection suffices for a man to understand that there is no true happiness on earth; he who can glory in being happy in this world finds many sorrows: unsatisfied desires, unexecuted orders, unfinished projects. The careless execution of injunctions constitutes thorns for the heart of the man who could call himself blessed. He would like everything to go along as he desires, and when this does not happen he suffers, and if he does not express his suffering he suffers much more (1).

1. It is a great relief for a man to be able to communicate his sufferings to a sincere friend, but it is difficult to find such, because he who has a friend has a treasure, and the treasure is a rare thing.

/384 cont./

000 The philosopher Foción said that he who has the fewest desires to satisfy is the happiest man on earth. This is a truth based on experience, but it is not true happiness: it is part of it, because complete happiness is not attained here.

The true Chiriguano dressed in the old way and his wife with her tipoy must have been the happiest beings on earth, but as they are children of the first man, they also inherited affliction, pain, and death. These three things are almost always the consequence of illness, and they come from the intemperate life that I have described, just as they also come from the drinking and eating.

515 751 The Chiriguano takes no care of his person, although he loves life, which he would like to be eternal, however much he may walk dragging himself along. His foodstuffs are not at all [262] hygienic; he eats /illustration appears here/ /385/ often and with [252] too much greed rotten meat, vegetables, and maize itself, which [271] he parches but never cooks completely. The water he drinks is not [273] always clear or free of microbes and small worms that are visible; the very chicha that is manufactured with such elaborate effort and care is drunk still sour, and, finally, shelter is unimportant. In periods of great heat he lies on the ground, taking on his back the burning rays of the sun; he protects himself little in the abrupt changes of temperature, and if he gets wet in the rain or has taken a voluntary bath of cold water or water heated by the sun, he lets his clothes dry on his body; from these come the illnesses that I shall presently enumerate, illnesses that he suffers from, which make him unhappy and then carry him to the grave.

753 821 The rainbow that God gave to Noah as a sign that He would not flood humanity again with the waters of a new deluge is a sad sign for the Chiriguano. If this so natural phenomenon appears in a town and begins in front of or over a house, when it disappears it does not end or turn to nothing but hides itself in the belly of one of the residents, who in time will get sick and die of dropsy, from which it follows that this illness, which is rare among them, is caused by the rainbow (1).

1. Another natural phenomenon is the whirlwind.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 385]

4c Nino--304 M-3 (1905-1911) 1912 BP10 Chirigano
Chevoti 5K6

291
51C
301

Group of Chicken Eaters

/285 cont./

753 821 which rises continually to the sky in these interminable plains, taking behind it all of the trash that it finds along its way. It is called Cuumino, and, according to them, it causes pains in the feet, knees, and bones. When a whirlwind begins in a town, they try to cut it with a knife.

Illnesses and Remedies

164 The most common illnesses among the Chiriguano are the intermittent fevers that are endemic, tuberculosis or consumption, eye disease, convulsive coughing, diarrhea, dysentery, mange or itch, and tumors accompanied by a kind of leprosy that covers a large part of the body. The intermittent fevers appear at the time of the first rains and continue until the time of the fruits and fresh maize. These fevers are not fatal, but one who is attacked 757 by them has a rather afflicted life. Their remedies are vegetal; they boil quebracho or algarroba bark, and they drink this water, but it does not always have a salutary effect. /286/ If a small dose of quinine is administered during the intermittent fevers, they immediately get well (1).

1. They get well with a small dosage, perhaps because their bodies are not accustomed to the remedies of the apothecary. Another efficacious remedy for the intermittent fevers is bitter coffee or coffee with a little sugar.

164 The itch, tumors, and leprosy do not cause death. 262 Chiriguano food is almost always saltless. They are not careful 263 in selecting it, and stinking meat does not disgust them. Their 951 water is not always clear; they bathe at any hour and, after bathing, 515 do not dry their bodies. If it rains, they let the wet clothing dry on their person. From this and other causes come the many skin

164 /286 cont./ From this and other causes come the many skin
757 diseases which do not let them sleep. The itch is cured with saltpeter found in the dry stream beds. They call it Curuyuqui, or salt for curing the itch, but this remedy does not always produce its effect. The itch principally attacks those of few years, and
[237] nursing infants catch it from their mothers. Lepers are cured very efficaciously by means of hot cow dung, and it is enough to apply it two or three times for a cure within three days without any further remedy, but they do not resign themselves easily to using this repugnant but efficacious remedy.

164 Smallpox and measles are epidemics which appear from time to time; for this reason I do not put them in the list of endemic diseases like the former ones. The Chiriguano runs from smallpox as a person with hydrophobia does from water, since through experience he knows that anyone who gets it has a hard time being saved from a horrible death. When it enters a town, it sows fear and desolation. Sick people resign themselves to death, and the healthy ones flee in terror to other tribes. It seems that it is not easy to attack smallpox directly, and up to now only vaccination has better effects (2).

797
164

2. When smallpox breaks out, the missionaries go wherever their ministry is needed, like doctors and priests. Up to now none of them has caught it, perhaps because they are vaccinated or because they have different blood.

In 1909 the town of Cuevo, which is about eight kilometers from Yvu, was decimated by smallpox. I vaccinated all the people of Yvu and those who were not residents there. But the vaccine did not take in all of them, as occasionally happens. Nevertheless, few got sick and only two died. The remedy that I administered after the initial fever had begun was rather strong wine vinegar. The sickness ran its course only in those who had not drunk the /287/ vinegar or who had not been able to retain it in the stomach. I administered one cup every six hours three times, and it was enough for this terrible illness, which would cause so many deaths in Cuevo, to pass almost unperceived in the San Buenaventura Mission (1).

1. More people became sick and died in the

/287 cont./

797 164 Santa Rosa Mission, but the use of the vinegar, which I began to administer later, made the mortality stop.

Measles usually attacks children, as does diarrhea, and because they are very delicate it is difficult to treat them, for which reason almost all of them succumb. Lemon and vinegar are efficacious remedies for both illnesses; in many cases I have administered camomile with good results. Diarrhea in infants comes from a scarcity of food, for then the mothers eat very hot things, such as the fruit or potato of serpentine arum, algarrobas, and other wild plants, as a result of which the infants drink the very hot milk, which damages their bellies and produces inflammation (2).

164 261

[757] 2. There exists near or around the lakes a herbaceous plant called pazote, and by the Indians and whites páico. A tisane made from this herb is efficacious against smallpox and measles.

Dysentery occurs in older people, and an occasional case of it shows up even in children. The cause of this illness is the very poor diet in times of want, when they eat wild roots and fruits. Here there is a very effective remedy, which the whites call meloncillo and the Indians Ñurantimbucu. This is a thorny bush with long thorns, from which its name comes. At the time when it buds, or in the springtime, its thorns are slightly purple, and its roots are the remedy. They are boiled and the patient is given this water to drink for a week. The eye sickness attacks all, big and small, without distinction and is so bad that some lose their sight completely or are left with only one eye. In the missions this is treated with white lead or lead acetate, and it suffices to apply it two or three times to bring about a complete cure.

164 757 [797]

164 The convulsive cough, or whooping cough, is another illness which attacks children up to ten years old, causing many deaths. It shows up in the cold months and even in the rainy season, sometimes attacking grown-ups, among whom it does not cause death. There is in the hills a yellow flower which around here is called

[757]

/287 cont./

164 757 vira-vira. The tisane made from these flowers has salutary effects, but it is not strong enough to bring about a radical cure, /288/ especially if the precaution of wrapping the child up after the potion is drunk is not taken (1).

1. Most effective for whooping cough is the use of petroleum. The child is anointed from his forehead to his belly and made to drink a few drops. In 1910 almost all of those whom I treated with petroleum got well.

164 Consumption, or tuberculosis, attacks men and women and appears in both sexes as a stomach-ache. This pain can be considered the beginning of the sickness, which usually appears after the age of 40, but in certain places it carries to the grave persons who have not yet reached the age of 20.

In the Santa Rosa mission this disease alone, in less than ten years, caused the death of more than 70 schoolgirls; at that time this mortality was attributed to the bad water there, but as it is found in other places where the water is excellent there must be another cause. For young people or adolescents it could not be the continual fires, because there are none in the schools.

164 754 755 The Chiriguano has no remedy for tuberculosis, and one who gets it is resigned to death, because whether or not he attributes everything to sorcery, he believes in it and in the poison in this case; hence the sick person goes for help to the sorcerer, who to get rid of the illness, without succeeding, uses atrocious and even immoral means when dealing with women (2).

[797] 2. The missionary buys remedies from the apothecary to treat the Indians. These remedies are almost always repugnant. If the sick person does not drink it in the presence of the missionary, he will pour it out; he has more faith in the sorcerer.

/288 cont./

Other Illnesses and Remedies

759 According to the illnesses that exist, there are doctors and medicines among the Chiriguano. The former have not gone through any university other than experience, learning from the latter to prepare medicines, not only from plants and herbs, but also from minerals and even from the excrement of animals. The doctors receive the praise of individuals who know less than they and are differentiated even by name from the evil sorcerers, who are called Mbaecuá, while the former are called Ipaye, and the medicines or drugs are called Moa.

757 The oil that is necessarily a side product of the preparation of chicha is very good for curing headaches. Salt, ground and mixed with the urine of infants, is drunk and is a good anodyne for stomach-aches. Dampness and cold produce a tightening of the nerves, which causes atrocious pain in more /289/ than one person. To cure this disorder they pull up a branch of ulala /a cactus/, Nancagüina, strip off the spines, parch it, and, when it is good and hot, apply it to the affected parts and get well. They use something else to cure dysentery. They burn yellow maize, grind it with watermelon seed, and have those attacked by the disease drink it (1).

1. The meloncillo /little melon/ is a remedy which the whites told me about. It is more effective, but the Chiriguano have no faith in it or do not use it out of weakness.

When a sick person suffers a pain in his side, he asks for a halled-armadillo shell, grinds it up, and drinks it. At the same time what is left is heated at the fire and applied to the pain, and it stops as if by magic. If measles comes out on the lips, the sorcerer or doctor applies a tick which has been taken off some dog's flesh, and thus it disappears. Sometimes tumors or a swelling in the throat and in the knees appear, and these are made to disappear through the application of the herb called Urucuna. It is heated at the fire in a small olla and applied. Another herb, called Yandurimbíu, is also good for this. They

[64]

757 /289 cont./
also get sick with vomiting of blood or a hemorrhage (2).

2. A hemorrhage is treated by drinking every hour a mixture of equal parts of water, wine vinegar, and bee's honey. They soon get better with this remedy.

The Casupaya is used for a stomach-ache, and root boiled soto root cures the pains produced in the feet by hot and wet ground. Guaya is a species of bejuco which is plentiful in Ivu. It is heated, applied to a swelling in the side, and cures it. Guaya root is eaten by the Indians, but if dogs eat the excrement of the Indian or the tuber itself, they die in a few minutes, which also happens to foxes. Among the Indians goiter /papero/ is not so frequent, although it exists in certain places. They say that it comes to those who sleep in the sun. They cure themselves of it with Tutía, which is a yellow fruit similar to a small apple which abounds in the pampas. Eye sickness is treated with algarrobillo bark, which they grind and then put drops of the liquid into the eye. The small caraguata cures diarrhea (3).

3. Incipient goiter is also cured by tying around the throat on a rag the blood of the turkey buzzard, carcancho, or bandurria. The mineral water of Ivu contains the germs of goiter.

The Cáairo is an herb one meter high. There are two types, one of which has red flowers and is used to decorate altars, and the Indians use the herb and flowers to treat the itch. It is a more /290/ effective remedy than saltpeter since it breaks out again with the latter. The kind that has yellow flowers is most abundant in Ivu and is used to treat the intermittent fever. Cáairo means bitter herb. To treat leprosy, which I have mentioned, they also use snake fat and Inái, which literally means tooth of the water. It is a little plant which grows up out of the water and is quite small. To treat whooping cough they also use an empty yellow-wasp nest, which they burn or boil in water, and, strained once, they give the lukewarm water to the sick people to drink.

/290 cont./

757 The Tingui is a large tree; with its bark tied to the belly, they cure incipient dropsy, which in their language is called Ipunga. Boiled mistol root and tapir fat cures gonorrhea. With chicken, beetle, and cicada fat they cure earaches. Only a few
752 drops need be put in. For poisoning they use wild chirimoyo root, Araticu; for snake bite the herb called urururu, calabash, tobacco, and its nicotine. For wounds produced by a rabid dog, they use melted wax applied to the wound. If the wound was produced by a weapon in a fight, it is treated by applying burned chicken feathers to it. Finally, if in women the uterus becomes displaced, it is put back in its place by giving the patient ground shell drunk in water.

600 These and many others are medicines that the Chiriguano use; I shall not make a list of the others because during my investigations I have come to realize that this is tied up with superstition, with which the witch doctors inoculate the sick (1).

1. It is not surprising that the Indians believe in the sorcerers, because even the whites let themselves be deceived by these impostors, who exist even among Christians.

Death and Funerals

963 When a Chiriguano is fatally sick, all his nearest relatives begin to gather, and, as the illness progresses, the distant relatives, friends, and neighbors frequently pay visits, while those nearby never leave the house where death will soon reign. If the sick person is a married man, the woman is continually at the head of his bed, holding him up on her knees, stroking his vigorous hair, and caressing his face, while furtive and silent tears slide /illustration appears here/ /291/ copiously down her cheeks, almost all of which come to rest on the dying man's shoulders or chest, providing him with a palliative for his pains, because he understands the misery which his wife is feeling and the way that she and his children, if he has any, will miss him (1).

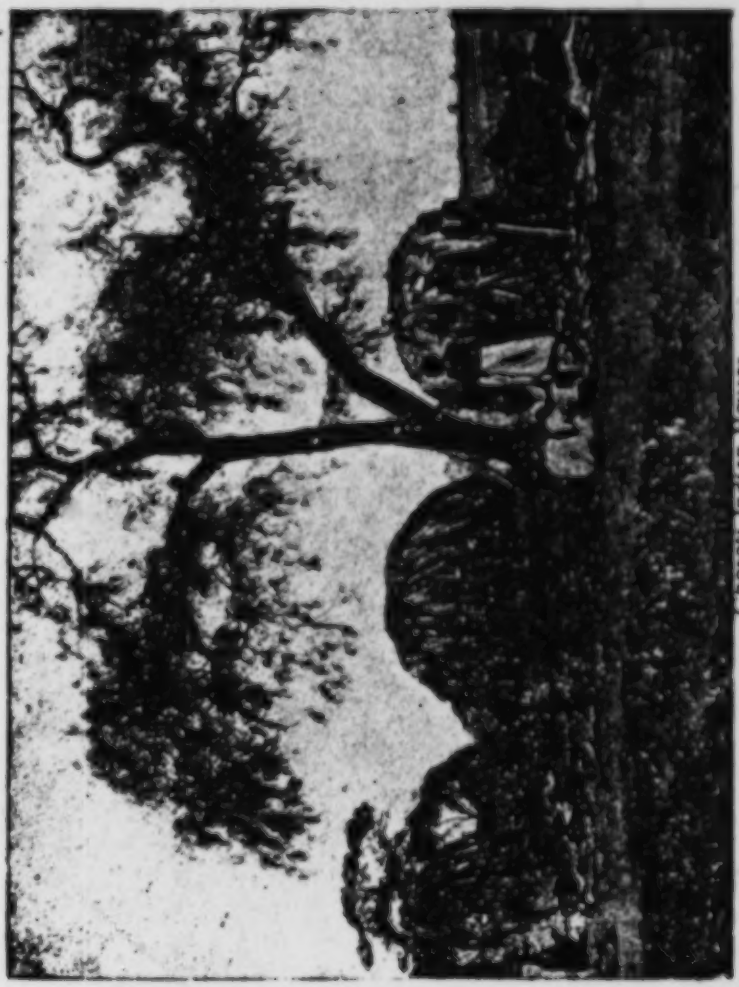
1. When the woman is past 40, she sheds real

[Text continues on P. 393]

4: Nino--392 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano

Chorotí SK6

342
351
361



Chorotí Indian Houses

/291 cont./

763 tears, because the Indian had taken her as his wife until death, and with his death she loses everything. She will now be poor.

When the death pangs approach, the sick person enjoins them to cry as much as possible, admonitions which are made before he loses the use of speech. The said admonition is not addressed to the one who in a short time is going to be left a widow, but to the relatives and friends, because the widow already knows that she must bewail the absence of the one who was her companion (2).

[578 627] 2. If the dying man believes that he has been poisoned, before he loses the use of speech he charges his nearest relatives to take vengeance after the days of mourning, if the supposed enemy is known.

The death pangs come, the death rattle begins, his face pales, his nose thins, his lips and tongue become dry, his eyes turn glassy, his eyelids and eyelashes are paralyzed; the dying man begins to grab at his blankets or anything else with his hands, he looks from side to side and seems to be insensible of the objects that surround him. He is about to fade away. Then the persons around him understand how close the fatal moment is. At the impossibility of helping the one who is struggling, who is about to be inert, they begin to utter the wails which are the precursors of death.

They do not have to wait long: the dying man gives a last breath and begins to expire, until his mouth is wide open, which is observed by the widow, who gives a cry, the sign that her 764 husband has now died. Then the funeral formally begins: they dress the deceased in his best clothes, comb him very carefully, paint his face and feet with palm-Christi oil and achiote, double up the knees, put his crossed hands there, and tie him up thus, so that on the day of burial he will easily go into the clay pot that they have prepared beforehand, where they will put him when it is time to be buried.

/291 cont./

764 Now the funeral begins, which consists of crying as hard as possible, men and women, and shedding real or false tears. While they are crying they also dig the grave, /292/ which at most is two meters deep. The weeping lasts all night without rest and is accompanied by strict fasting, because so long as the deceased is visible, it would be a dishonor to take food. If there are young children in the house, they are taken by the neighbors or by some relative who takes care of them with all humanity through everything, since the unfortunate ones, when they see so much confusion, act stupid and go after the first person who shows them any tenderness. To wet their mouths and in order to cry unceasingly, those who attend the funeral, drink a little new chicha, if there is any; otherwise they are content with a little water (1).

[824]

1. Those who cannot shed tears because they do not mourn the death of the deceased put chili pepper in their eyes, and with this, which they call a medicine, the tears fall copiously.

On the next day, when the grave has already been dug, they first put the deceased in the vessel, Yambúi. They also put in a small jar of chicha, a little parched meal, a flintstone, a steel, tinder, fresh maize husk, and tobacco, a live parrot or chicken, a bow and arrow, and other things which belonged to the deceased, and they close it with another jar, and if the dead person is a nursing infant, they put in its sepulcher a small jar of the mother's milk. All these things are necessary for the journey to the other life and clearly indicate that the Chiriguano have an idea, although a material one, of the immortality of the soul.

[795]

764 995 Now enclosed in the funeral urn, they lower it into the hole by means of ropes, and meanwhile the cries redouble, until it disappears below the ground. The body is placed with the face toward the east, because they all want the deceased to attain glory, the paradise which is shown by the light of the sun. Placed thus, the deceased or his soul will not always be going about in search of happiness; he will run toward the sun as iron or steel goes toward a magnet.

/292 cont./

Mourning

765 The interment over, they cry all that day, until the sun sets and night comes; then everyone goes home, only the closest [785] relatives staying to weep. Fasting, already mentioned, lasts for [302] three days, and on the first day after the burial all the women relatives cut off their hair and lay it on the grave. While cutting it off they look toward the east. The hair stays on the grave for some time, and later they take it off, and, if they burn it, it is [826] not on the grave, but away. They prefer not to burn it, however, because they would feel heat /293/ on their heads. If they notice or sense some noise coming from the hole, they heat a stone, put it on top, and the noise stops (1).

764 765

1. If the deceased is a cacique, they all weep until dawn, and afterward they meet every night for about a week.

765 They also put on the grave the tembeta, the bag, and the weapons which belonged to the deceased, such as his lance or some kind of saber, bows and arrows, so that he will not go looking for them, and when for any reason they leave the house alone, they put over the hole the pestle of the mortar, and, if this is done, the deceased will not move from his place. The souls of [775] those who have died in a bad way, for example, suicides, walk about continually, find no rest, go shouting at set hours, and are, according to what they believe, demons or their companions.

The dead person's nearest relatives sincerely grieve over the disappearance of the deceased, as the tears and sorrow shown on their faces prove. If, instead of a man, it is a woman who disappears from among the living, the widower feels the same grief; if the dead woman leaves small children, the picture that the house presents is truly heart-rending, the house where the morning sun will not find present the mother who so tenderly cared for her little ones (2).

2. The children demand to go back and they

/293 cont./

765 are allowed to when the burial is over; an aunt accompanies them, especially a maternal one if they have one, and stays in the house for a while, if she does not have children of her own.

They look for her in vain, silent and confused, and not even the tenderness of an aunt, who must swallow her own tears in silence, can distract them from their thoughts. When she hears the motherless ones looking for and asking for the one who was the author of their days, she answers the poor creatures with emotion, and even with force, that she will soon return, either from a nearby town or from the field, and meanwhile tears run down her cheeks, giving the lie to her pretended serenity. But the innocent little ones do not understand and continue with their questions, looking at the aunt dismayed and even frightened. What a sad picture!

768 587 When it is a woman who leaves her husband a widower with children, naturally in a short time he must find another wife who will serve as mother to the motherless children and take care of the house, because a man cannot attend to the things which are the domain of a woman. For a short time he can get his close relatives to attend to such things, but they soon get tired or return to the duties of their own home. Then the widower must look for another woman privately and without hurting the feelings /294/ of the neighbors, who naturally understand the distress of the widower who, if he has a mother or an unmarried sister, does not take such a step and tries to abstain from a second marriage as long as he can, but in every case before the year ends he will have found a new companion to brighten his days and make his life pleasanter (1).

768 587 593 602 855

1. The widower tries to marry a sister of the deceased or a close relative, so that she will have affection for the motherless children. When a new wife is tyrannical or is thrown out, either some other relatives of the deceased or of the widower himself take care of the children; the Chiriguano feel deeply the suffering of bereaved children.

/294 cont./

765 589 If it is a woman who is widowed, it is the law of the race that she must observe mourning for a period of one year, without it being permitted to shorten this period for any pretext whatsoever. After having wept for her departed husband for a whole [302] day and after the burial is over, as has been said, she cuts off her hair and deposits it on the grave, where it remains for a long 589 time, which I have not established exactly. This is the best 765 offering that a widow can make to her late husband, and whether 577 or not she loved him, it is a law which she must observe; otherwise she would incur the scorn of the people of the town, who 302 would wonder at her conduct, she would lose her reputation, and the relatives of the deceased would resent it very much; they would take the children whom she loves so much away from her, and it would be hard for her to remarry.

765 As a sign of mourning, a loving widow, as well as one who 589 is not, finds the dirtiest and most ragged piece of cloth that she [292] has in the house and puts it on her head; she wears this during the entire period of her widowhood. One who arrives in a Chiriguano town for the first time will wonder about this piece of apparel and ask about its significance, because there is always some woman who is wearing mourning for her husband, her son, or her brother, if it is not for her father or mother. Finally, the widow is condemned to cry day and night for one long year, and one who does not cry as she should incurs the wrath of the relatives of the dead man. When I was a missionary in Santa Rosa, the cacique Yaritui died of nothing less than malignant smallpox. The widow cried for him so much and so loudly at the beginning that very soon she became hoarse. Nonetheless, the relatives complained of her actions, accusing her of little love (2).

2. The weeping during mourning is done by the woman four times a day, at sunrise, noon, sunset, and at some time around midnight. At this last hour it is very sad.

/295/

If while asleep they sometimes dream of the dead one, very soon the widow, or whoever the dreamer is, gets up and makes a commotion, which lasts for several minutes. Also, when one

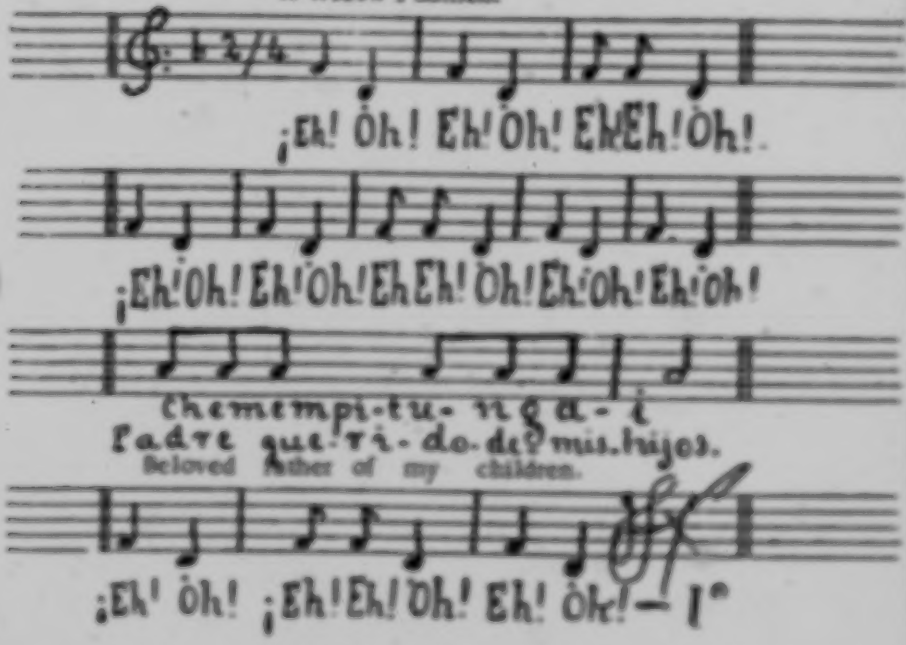
/296 cont./

765 589 of the relatives comes from afar to the house of the departed, he does not greet anyone, but asks where the grave is, goes there, and, crouching down with his face toward the wall, cries for several minutes, and, when this is over, he then greets the living and the conversation begins in subdue tones.

589 765 539 [197] The song, as well as the way of weeping for the dead, is the same in all the tribes, but there are some small differences, as happens in the language itself.

Duelo de una viuda

A Widow's Lament



1. If the deceased is a grandchild, she says: Chinamaimo ngai! Beloved grandchild! And if it is a son or daughter: Chemempi mi ngai! Beloved son or daughter!

/296 cont./

765 589 When the year of mourning ends, the widow continues her silence until one of the relatives of the deceased visits her with all respect as a person worthy of veneration, because she has wept much and with grief for the dead: he tells her that this is now enough, that she can go out and again appear at the public drinkings, since this visit takes place two or three days before some general drinking affair. The widow makes them ask her many times and once more reflects on the virtues /296/ and greatness of the husband she has lost through death: she curses the bad sorcerers and poisons, finally consenting to stop mourning, leave the house, and take part in the coming fiesta (1).

1. During the year of mourning the widows are continually cloistered in their homes, coming out only when they have to: they go to the spring for water and to the field for food.

[302] [301] [292] During the year the hair has grown out at least some 30 centimeters: she then removes the rag from her head, combs her hair carefully, puts the well-known cosmetic on her face and feet, adorns her neck and arms with necklaces and bracelets, dresses in her best tipoy, and goes out with some woman friend. In this first appearance she does not take part in the dancing or singing, so that all may know that she still feels the absence of her husband, and all respect her silence. Only afterwards does her public life begin anew, like the sun, that is, she sings and dances as before.

581 581 589 A few weeks later, if someone should ask her to be his wife, she will probably consent, if she is still young and has small children, because the reader can imagine the suffering of a widow, who must seek food for herself and her little ones. Oh, how often have silent tears run down my face on seeing the tears of widows and fatherless children who, for lack of food, not knowing whom to ask for aid, have come to the missionary or to one superior to them to ask for help! How could one deny it? Only a heart of bronze could have done so.

797 936

/TM cont./

000 If the missionary goes into the forest and goes among the barbarians in the name of Christ, he teaches them to love him and to know him, and, like his divine Master, he is compassionate toward the afflicted and toward those who are suffering. Like Him, he does not close his ear to one who asks for charity, but divides what he has with the hungry, dresses the naked, and, when he has nothing else, at least has soothing words to console the sad. This is the life of the missionary, which, by great effort and much perspiration, is gradually transforming the places and the hearts of the inhabitants of this region, into which civilization has come through him. Oh, how the Supreme Government and the inhabitants of Bolivia should appreciate him, both of them, because of his work of moral and political civilization! But even should men not recognize this, his eternal reward will be greater (?). /Illustration appears here./

114
997

2. The work of the missionaries is greatly appreciated in Europe. Some governments exempt them from military service and give them free passage on ships and railways. This is even done by the countries of Catholicism. The missionary of San Buenaventura de Ivu /the author/ has been exempted from military service by the Italian Government.

61 Miss--101 M-S (1905-1911) 1912 6F10 Chirigwam 6F10

PAT
837
142
291

Girls' School of San Pascual Mission

4: Nino--402 M-2 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/197/

Chapter Fourteen

Infidels and Neophytes of the Missions

Introduction

The continual revolts of the Chiriguano against the white race clearly demonstrate their aversion toward the Christian element, which they consider to be the effective cause of their misfortunes and of the almost total loss of their territory, of which not too long ago they considered themselves the legitimate owners and absolute rulers. It is as clear as the midday sun that the Christian, with the patience and constancy of an anchorite and in many circumstances risking his life, has gradually taken over the extensive region. Today there is no corner where an occasional Christian family is not living. In many places the Chiriguano tribe has completely disappeared, whether through epidemics or through loss of freedom; in some places a rather considerable nucleus exists under the control of a master, either because of the territory which it cultivates or because of a debt which has been contracted (1).

1. The caciques of the Caraypati war, in their ignorance, thought that they could recover the lost territory and, in revenge, take over most of the Republic.

The Indians located in the area to the left of the Pilcomayo River took only one thing into consideration when they resolutely refused to have a conversion mission founded: they only considered that behind the missionary would come those whom they considered invaders; they only understood that white Christians would gather behind or around the Cross, which Father Giannelli planned with considerable daring in the middle of the nineteenth century. But why is it that the Indians of Tarairí /198/ are still owners of their land? Because of the missionary, whom one faction, in its ignorance, wanted to leave when the destruction of the flourishing missions of San Francisco and San Antonio began, where six years ago building a new London was attempted, with almost

/200 cont./

797
695

nothing yet begun, but rather with a most evident deterioration of the building and the gardens which the Franciscans of Tarija left behind so well arranged and so flourishing (1).

1. When the Tarairí Mission was established through the persuasive words of the missionary, it was attacked by neighboring tribes and by the warlike Huaiyoñis, who were located some 100 kilometers away. The Chiriguano missions were founded where there was no nucleus of whites.

The people of Tarairí were the first to see a Franciscan father in their territory, and they are the last to understand the material advantages that the mission brings to them. The people of Tigüipa, Macharetí, Boinayo, Cuevo, and Ivo, and, finally, those of the two Parapití missions, called San Antonio and San Francisco, came to realize that only the missionary could present their territorial rights before the Supreme Government and assist them in countering the ill will of some whites who, because they were too tyrannical, brought about the Curuyuqui uprising, in which the Indian was completely humiliated when he believed he would exterminate all the whites (2).

2. Through the suggestion of the missionary, the Indians of Itatiqui were assisted in their small territory by the Prefecture of Santa Cruz, before which proceedings for purchase were in process. Today they have been helped by the Supreme Government, which has proclaimed an edict for measuring and setting boundaries, but they have scarcely half a league left to them, despite having possessed from time immemorial three and a half leagues.

926
181

It has been seen in the course of these pages that the Indian is formidable at the beginning of battle, but if victory does not come soon, he turns cowardly and flees.

926
648
181

/298 cont./

soon, he turns cowardly and flees. The eight-hour battle at Curuyuqui, considering that the weapons were so unequal, can be regarded as a prodigious feat, because once the Chiriguano were so far from their towns, they had to resign themselves to winning or dying before falling prisoner.

797
197

Infidels

The adult Indian has no appreciation of religion, whatever it may be. To be sure, first his ignorance and then, more than anything, his pride and laziness contributed to this, because he turns his back on anyone who tries to instruct him. Some of them come to the monthly instruction, but almost all are like those described by the royal Psalmist in that they have eyes but do not see, ears but do not hear, /299/ and a tongue but do not speak, do not sing praises, and do not worship their Creator (1).

1. It seems that the demon of luxury has them blind, deaf, and mute with regard to religion and worship and keeps them away from the Spirit of God.

It is not likely that the Chiriguano will ask for the founding of a mission, because he does not want anyone to disturb his peace and tranquility in his own land. He considers the mission an unbearable yoke for himself and for his children. It is almost useless, it is almost a waste of time, to speak to the Indian about the supernatural, to make him yield and accept the mission. He does not understand or wish to understand why animalis homo non percipit ea quae Dei sunt. Only when he sees himself persecuted with regard to his person, his family, and his property, only in order not to fall completely into slavery, only to free himself from the harassments which he receives from his fellow man, does he then ask for a mission with much insistence, until he obtains the end desired. This is also one of the ways that God uses to secure the redemption and salvation of an endless number of souls (2).

2. There are a number of Chiriguano families

/299 cont./

797
177

in Pipi; to free themselves from such vexations, they have been asking for a mission. There are still more of them in Caipipendi; I have spoken with them repeatedly, because they have their own land, but they are still not inclined to ask for the founding of a mission, and the reason for this is clear, they are not greatly persecuted.

Even in this case the adult proposes the bases of the agreement; he asks for freedom to follow his barbarous customs, without being obliged to receive baptism and consequently to enter the church to hear Mass and to do other things proper to Catholic worship, because his hair and the tembeta are out of place in God's house, and they feel extreme embarrassment on seeing themselves mixed in among children, young people, and whites. The advantage that religion presents is the education of the youth and the baptism of the infants, who in great quantities fly straight to heaven, because there are many who die, regenerated by holy baptism.

Provided that he does not speak to them about religion or about receiving baptism, the missionary can do what he wishes with the adult Indian. It is enough if he only shows a little foresight from the beginning regarding the way in which they must live in the mission. One who freely and spontaneously gave his name obeys in every respect, provided that effort and care are taken to suppress any disorder or disobedience immediately.

[464]
[466]

If he is needed for personal labor, it is not likely that he will refuse, at least in the first years, even though he be paid no wages /300/ nor given anything, since he understands that the missionary orders the construction of a building, not for speculation, but for the moral and civil progress of his children. If the missionary ordains, as is the case, that during the night they cease singing, they will comply, in spite of the fact that at times it is necessary to remind them with some sharpness, noting here that words alone are of little value.

/300 cont./

797 177 In sum, the adult Indian infidel, when carefully watched over, is quite submissive in complying with the orders of the missionary father, and even when drunk he is gentle and humble. Although it is quite true that he wishes to know nothing of religion as long as he lives, in order not to learn to pray and to comply with what religion demands, nevertheless today almost all ask for or receive baptism at the time of death. The difficulties which formerly occurred with respect to the sick who were in danger of death, which would be interminable in the telling, have now almost completely disappeared. (1)

1. It is more difficult to baptize old women, for it is they who advise a sick person to refuse to accept baptism, while others coax him to accept for material gain. In such cases it is very necessary to know their language.

[595] If an Indian or a cacique had two or more wives when a mission was founded, bit by bit the missionary can make him give them up until he has but one. This requires some effort, but through persuasion and threats the desired end can be obtained, because this is one of the conditions which the minister of God sets when he is asked by the Indians to establish a mission. This is what I did in San Antonio del Parapiti, and they accepted all the conditions very willingly.

761 797 177 The adult Chiriguano is not baptized while he enjoys good health; he only does it at the time of dying and when he is almost sure that he cannot live any longer. In the past it was even difficult to baptize infants, because they were convinced that baptism is the cause of death, for in their ignorance they did not understand that those who receive baptism in a serious illness died because of the gravity of the disease.

The missionary, because of his long experience, easily recognizes who is in danger of dying, and it is unlikely that he will err, because the serious illnesses of the Chiriguano are known diseases, such as dropsy, smallpox, dysentery, and consumption, to name the principal ones. He thus baptizes precisely those who cannot live, because it would be very

761 /301/
797 difficult afterward to make them comply with what religion re-
177 quires. The result of this is that the Indian believes without founda-
tion that baptism causes death (1).

797
762
177

1. Some of them experience so much sadness with being adult Christians that they try to take their own lives; this happens when they are half out of their minds with some dangerous illness.

797
177 When a baptized person whose life is in danger survives, it is not likely that he will comply with what religion requires, and only at the missionary's insistence is the matter finally resolved, but he enters the church secretly, seeking the corners or the sacristy, so that no one will see him, and, when there is a change of missionaries, he takes advantage of the ignorance of the one who is new to the mission so as not to attend religious ceremonies. Then what kind of Christians are these? In church they are like idiots, being almost unable to learn prayers, either because it is difficult or because they are unwilling to learn them. In church they are little different from brutes; in their houses they behave like the infidels among whom they live; they play, sing, and drink the same as the rest of them (2).

2. We should not be too astonished by the behavior of the Indian who has survived after being baptized while gravely ill, because the poor souls had never seen a church in their lives nor did they know anything about the obligations of praying to and worshiping a Supreme Being, about whom, in their unbelief, they had no exact idea and barely a remote one.

In a mission already old, all this does not happen. There are Indians with tembeta and long hair, there are old women with their tipoy who go to Mass and comply with the other obligations of the Catholic Church, but almost all are mute, that is to say, they do not utter a single word of prayer. Some will say, and I too say, that with time the opposite will be the case, but

/301 cont./

797 177 this time has hardly come, because the infidel in the Chiriguano missions does not leave followers, since his children have almost all been baptized. They are getting old and dying without being replaced.

797 763 177 Some of them are baptized in order to make the missionary happy and in order that the family will not suffer any blame, but several times it has happened that as a dying person who had no thought of being made a Christian breathed his last or gave almost no sign of life, the relatives hastily called. Finally, others [764] accept and profess being Christians so that the missionary will permit or tolerate the burial of the body in their own home, and this is the first thing that the sick person asks for after being catechized, for which reason many difficulties are encountered. When it is hinted to the sick person /302/ that he must repent, he either denies completely that he is guilty before God or he does not abhor his past actions. All of these difficulties occur at the beginning of a mission; everything changes with the passage of time, and there is scarcely any which is not in the end easily overcome (1).

797 177

1. When a mission is founded, it is ordered that the missionary be told about sick people so that he can comply with the charity of Christ, to make them know the truth, the reward or punishment which awaits them in eternity. For just this reason he reprimands those who hide the sick. When the latter explicitly refuse to be baptized, and the missionary does not manage to convince them of the error, he leaves them. Such cases have occurred.

273 For the Indian infidel, drunkenness is a very honorable act, an action which indicates greatness, friendship, and benevolence, and he glories in it, saying clearly and with great satisfaction, Asagtipo ma, I have got drunk. They say it to anybody and appear before anybody in this state. Nevertheless, [799] when corrected and admonished by the missionary, if they do not hide it when he is inspecting the town, at least they avoid appearing at the mission house.

4: Mno--409 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
46
177

/302 cont./

With regard to material things, the Indian in the missions has more freedom than the others outside. He does not lift a hand without being paid. He works in the construction of buildings, such as house, church, rooms for the teaching of letters, music, arts and crafts, he builds fences, and, despite the fact that all of this is for their benefit and that of their children, they are paid for it. They only have the task of planting and weeding, but in the end the missionary provides them with yokes of oxen, plowshares, and even harness, and the produce is theirs to keep or is used to buy merchandise. Thus they do nothing gratis (2).

2. The merchandise brought by the missionaries from Tarija and other places is distributed gratis to the students and sold at warehouse cost to the older ones.

They are completely free to work in their fields or for the whites, but they must tell the missionary or the cacique. Nevertheless, they do not always comply with this. If, however, someone needs them for work and they do not feel like it, they answer rather that the missionary will not let them or that they must talk with him first, but it is enough for him to intervene and request it, and the Indian will come up with all sorts of objections, and if the missionary starts to listen to them all, soon nobody will obey him. He must show himself to be firm and that he knows how to distinguish true necessities or reasons from deceptions and traps, so that he will not be fooled. In the Chiriguano missions it is almost impossible to get 50 per cent of their labor, as the mission rules require. /illustration appears here/ /303/ believing perhaps that missionaries make them work for nothing, or are making a profit out of them (1).

1. The 50 per cent is not obtained in any mission. Only in Parapiti do the men work half a day per week, but this is a custom imposed by the priests before the founding of the mission, because they had no funds whatever. The missionaries take advantage of this custom for plantings and buildings which are for them themselves.

4: Nino--410 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chirlguano SF10

797
SF1

The School of San Francisco Solano, Working in the Shade of the Hurdle or Shelter

/303 cont./

362 What the Chiriguano thinks least about is his house: it is
356 very hard to find one who makes a comfortable one. If he does
797 begin to build one, he is a long time finishing it, if indeed he ever does, and if it falls into ruins, he bothers little about repairs: when it rains, the house fills up with water and becomes a mud-hole, but he and the family are there sleeping and snoring like dormice. To make them renovate their villages, it is almost always necessary to threaten them and promise punishment and at times apply it, so that what happened in the fable of the toads will not occur.

461 The Indian is always ready to drink: if for this it is neces-
293 sary to pile up firewood and carry it from great distances, no one shirks: everyone shakes off his natural laziness with great enthusiasm. Both men and women then become quite active for ten days or two weeks, in order then to drink for six days or more, during which their faces become repugnant, both because of the cosmetics with which they think they beautify themselves and because of their state of half or total drunkenness. Then they talk of many things, and then finally some of them remember about collecting from others, and quarrels arise from this, and to stop these and also to put an end to the idleness the missionary must firmly intervene. If the Indians had a good crop of maize and the drinking bout were prohibited entirely or in part they would organize them in the fields where they plant, and then worse things would happen.

797 Chicha by itself does not cause much damage in their stomachs,
293 and they easily bear up for several days without more than a half-inebriation: the bad thing now is a scandalously widespread abuse of alcohol, which very soon intoxicates them until they are senseless and do not even know that they are alive. The missionary is vigilant in his enforcement of the rules, but it seems that they are members of a secret sect, and they tell him only when it is all over, or when they wish to avenge some grievance.

/303 cont./

Neophytes

799 177 The infidels' children, or neophytes, grow up like their parents or even worse, being different from them in having a purely /304/ materialistic civilization; on the missionary's part special care is taken in their education; their parents hand them over, or, more accurately, the missionary takes them, from the age of seven, and they surrender them without the least resistance, but if they can hide them, they make no excuses and let them grow up in the forest (1).

1. Nobody should be surprised if they leave something to be desired and try to hide their children, because it should be taken into consideration that it was and is a pleasure for the infidel to see his son grow up to be like him.

799 871 177 When they have entered the school, the children learn from the first letters up to writing, if they can; the more intelligent even learn music, and the most able learn masonry, tailoring, carpentry, shoemaking, and tanning. The school is daily, morning and afternoon, and all of them attend from the age mentioned until they are grown up or married, which generally occurs at the age of 18 or 20. The children are absent from school only by permission, but there is never any lack of those who, when they can, mock the vigilance of the teacher, as even happens in the great centers.

The children have time to spare in which to learn reading, writing, and all that they ought to believe and practice in order to demonstrate their religious beliefs through good works. They are not ignorant of what our Holy Mother Church demands; they see the good examples of fervent Christians as well as the evils of others, and, since humanity is more inclined toward evil than toward good, the tender plants, not well grounded in the practices of Religion, can easily adhere to what is contrary to divine law

/304 cont./

799
871
199

and our Holy Mother Church (7).

2. The children know how to pray much better in the missions than in other centers, because in every mission there are two teaching establishments, one for boys and one for girls.

The youth grow up under the punctilious care of the missionary, who, by example and word, imbues their hearts with every goodness and love of holy and moral things, and moreover he makes them avoid, insofar as possible, all contact with the old people, managing it so that they see nothing, especially at night, not allowing them to sleep in their houses, except in case of illness and mourning, but it is not easy to avoid it altogether, because three times a day the children go down to the town to eat in their homes, and at fiesta time they are given a holiday, /305/ which they use in hunting birds or in bringing in firewood and foodstuffs (1).

1. The girls receive a more polished education under the uninterrupted vigilance and care of preceptresses, who teach them, in addition to theoretical-practical religion, all the chores of their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold: the vestments and chasubles for use in the solemnities are the work of these girls.

799
199
293

What is most ruinous to young neophytes are certain whites of the neighboring cantons, whose profession it is to sell liquor and coca, which they secretly bring into the missions at times of celebration, during which even those of the race enter into the same trade, because they have seen that it is a very lucrative business.

167
593
598

In addition many of them emigrate temporarily to the establishments of the Argentine Republic, where, with the excuse that they are going to earn a great deal with a little work, they lead too free a life, drink liquor like water, and become accustomed to drunkenness: then the first thing that they buy is an outsize

/305 cont/

knife: they learn to use it like the gauchos, get into fights, are injured, and even get killed, and, when they return to the mission, they only bring a little black clothing for themselves, a trifle or nothing for their wives, to whom they deliver a sovereign beating on the first chance they get, with reason or without, and then, at the first drinking bout they molest peaceful people, disturb public order, and always or nearly always it becomes necessary to bewail the spilling of blood. Let there be added to all of this the fact that the virus of irreligion is beginning to be inoculated hereabouts, and inasmuch as they are not well grounded in the dogmas of the Catholic faith, the result is that those who do not behave like infidels or indifferent persons are Protestants on the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and Catholics in the mission.

There is no doubt; moral, religious, and civil progress in the course of time; it is not the work of 40 or 50 years, as some believe. How long does it take to implant social reform among civilized people? How long did it take the Church to become established in the Roman Empire? Truth fought against error for more than 300 years; she was persecuted, shut up in the catacombs, and bathed in the blood of millions of martyrs of the Catholic faith, but in the end she triumphed and raised herself, radiant, above the ruins of error which had reigned for so many centuries.

No effort to implant social reform is made in the missions; what is being done is to build, to uproot the Indian from the jungle, to make him come out of barbarism, and to begin to teach him to be a man, to consider himself nobler than the brute; an effort is being made to remove from him the superstition /306/ in which he was born, so that he may believe in the maxims of the true faith. What sacrifice then must it not cost the missionary, who spends the best years, or even all the years, of his life in order to realize this grandiose project without earthly recompense, but rather with the marked scorn of those who should appreciate his highly civilized work (1).

1. The Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi has been in the Potosí Missions since the year 1872; almost all the missions have been founded by him;

/306 cont./

799

no son of Bolivia can glory in having worked as this man has for the nation which did not see his birth. If others work, they are well paid, but not the missionaries.

It has already been noted above that the children, in addition to writing, are taught music, arts, and crafts; thus, what Campos says, that the missionary is trying to make an anchorite out of the Chiriguano, is not true. It would be more than enough for the missionary if his neophytes simply practiced the Religion like faithful Christians and, like the inhabitants of the Republic, obeyed the laws of the Nation. For this reason, after having learned what they ought to do and practice and what has been said above, they help their parents with the work in the field; others lend their services to the whites by day, week, or month (2).

2. It would be possible here to list a pleiad of the missionaries of Tarija who have sacrificed themselves civilizing the Chiriguano; instead of thanking them, Campos' ire was raised against them. As a National Delegate, he should have done the former; in other regions the missionaries would have been decorated.

The poor missionary buried here far from the centers of civilization strains to make his town flourish, even materially; he teaches them everything he knows when time permits, tries to have them instructed in the rest outside of the missions, in the capitals. The lovely buildings, the grandiose churches, the well-organized orchestras are the work of neophytes under the immediate direction of the missionary, but what deceptions! When he least expects it, the musicians disappear one after another, the blacksmiths and other skilled workmen take flight, some temporarily and others remain in a foreign and distant land for long years, deserting wives and children. The material suffering which is experienced in the missions is bearable, but the moral suffering is not so much so; nevertheless there is resignation throughout, because God allows it to be thus, and this is

/306 cont./

797 continually shown (3).

3. A rest is almost imperative after a long stay in the missions, in order to refresh the spirit, because a bow which is always bent breaks, says the Evangelist St. John.

/307/ There is no traveler who does not marvel upon considering the progress of the missions, upon considering the beautiful works of the Indians, when they think that years ago there were impenetrable jungles and bare hills on the site now occupied by the grandiose temple and buildings. As was said by an enlightened Englishman, Protestant in religion, of course, the Catholic missions among the Chiriguano are like oases in the desert, and to see them at a distance stirs who knows what in the heart; even I do not know what I experience when on some journey I again approach and see them in the distance.

The Method

The method established since the beginning of the first founding of the missions cannot be improved upon, in that it looks toward moral and civil progress and has yielded practical results, especially in some missions where, despite the fact that they have been in existence only few years, almost all speak the national language moderately well. Is this not a near prodigy, achieved with a race whose language has no analogy with

000 civilized languages? /The remainder of p. 307 and the first paragraph on p. 308 are omitted. The remainder of p. 308 follows./

167 464 [797] Following the method which has been implanted, the missions progress and would progress further if the Chiriguano were not so changeable. Neither in their towns nor in the neighboring cantons is there any lack of work for them; but rather it is day laborers who are not to be found; they prefer to go far away where they may earn less than here, spending their small gains on things that are useless and harmful to them (1).

[511] 1. There are neophytes who stay on the haciendas

/309 cont./

167
464
511

of the Argentine Republic for eight or ten years: they drink it all up and when they want to come back they scarcely bring back more than a knife and a small black garment /hemina/, which costs little.

If one asks the reason for this procedure, so strange for them themselves, they answer that in their town they could never save up ten or 15 bolivianos, because they spend them immediately on trifles for themselves and their families, while in the Argentine Republic they keep their money in the master's house and, when they come back, buy clothing and even animals, tools, saddles, and other items. There is some truth in this, but just as it is not completely true that here their money does not last, neither is it completely true that they bring clothing and other things from Argentina. Those who are a little careful and who are not lazy dress very well here, while the vice-ridden in Argentina let themselves be overcome by laziness and return as naked as they were before: they arrive, spend or waste, if they have anything, and finally go off to live as they please (2).

101
167

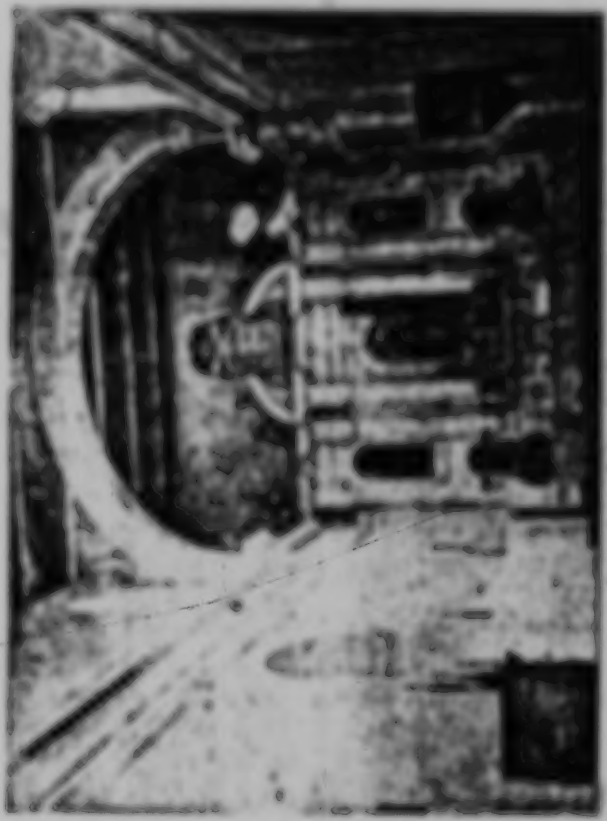
2. The Chiriguano Indians call the gauchos, or natives of Argentina, criollos /Creoles/: they apply the same name to those of their own race who settle there for many years.

799
89
191
177

The method of instruction as it is applied yields prodigious results in the girls, who, in addition to learning their letters and worship, learn in the schools the tasks proper to their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold: certain mission schools for girls, for example, the one at San Antonio del Parapiti and the one at San José de Tigüipa arouse real admiration in visitors, both because of /illustration appears here/ /309/ the handiwork which is done in them and, in the former, because of the Spanish language, which from first to last they all speak with considerable perfection, since from the beginning the language of their parents has been absolutely prohibited for them in the school, even among themselves.

Gr Mono—410 M-5 (1000-1011) 1010 SP10 Chicagoana SP15

799



Interior of Old St. Pierre's Church

/309 cont./

799 87 868 191 177 Should this method be followed, in a few years nobody would know that the mission Chiriguano belong to the race, because little by little the parents would teach their children the Spanish language, as I have already seen them do in the San Pascual de Boicovo Mission, and, if the morality still leaves something to be desired, later perhaps by means of preaching, the advice of the missionary, and the example of those who are good, all will be corrected. Semen est verbum Dei; it does not fall upon completely sterile ground (1).

799 177 1. The San Pascual de Boicovo Mission is so advanced in every respect that application has been made for it to be promoted to the rank of parish. In language, clothing, and behavior they differ little from the whites.

799 291 177 Almost from the beginning the schoolgirls were forbidden the use of the tipoy, being forced to dress in the same way as the women residents of the nearby towns; today they are very accustomed to the said clothing and do not change it for any reason in the world in the missions; only those girls who run away and even practically denounce their religion dress in the tipoy again, like the infidels, in order not to be recognized. By means of the teaching of the Catholic religion, the learning of the national language, and the change in clothing, the transformation is continually taking place, until little by little the distinction between the races will disappear, by means of the union of their tastes.

What the missionaries have done for the clothing of the girls, they are also doing for that of the boys, trying to make it decent. For both boys and girls, so long as they reside in the schools, the missionary of each mission provides their clothing, having it brought from some departmental capital and distributing it free of charge twice and even three times a year, or when he sees the needs of each student. In this way, after they are married, they themselves work in order to continue dressing in the same fashion or better than when they were in school, since some also wear socks /botines/ and shoes, and there are a number of women who

/309 cont./

797 29 177

in addition to the ordinary clothing, use a waist /corpiño/, hat, socks, and small rug /alfombrita/ in church (2). /Page 310 and

[184] [192]

2. The place where they dress most elegantly is in the missions of the Parapiti Grande, especially the women, who even have saddles for traveling and for riding about on horseback.

the first paragraph on p. 311 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 311 follows./

Conclusion

797 In conclusion, let it be noted for a final time that the Bolivian nation and people have opened to commerce and industry the broad region described in the first chapter of this work. This is due to the Franciscan missionaries, whose labor dates from the year 1609; they faced all the dangers; they risked their lives in the forests, in the torrential rivers, on the summits of the hills, they suffered thirst, hunger, fatigue, cold and heat, they endured with resignation the calumny and persecution of the people without conscience who never failed to make them the target of their filthy mouths and tongues.

[448] The work has been accomplished; previously nobody went among the Chiriguano without the risk of falling victim; today the entire region is one with more or less large towns, there are provincial capitals, cantons and vice-cantons; the merchant passes through the Chiriguano towns, sleeps, very highly esteemed, in their houses, and the whites themselves, scattered throughout the region, have every guarantee of safety. This is a real prodigy owing to the Religion of Jesus Christ, preached by the missionaries; it is one more proof of the fact that the Cross is constructive.

[177] /312/ It is evident that the native element is disappearing because of the causes previously enumerated during the course of these lines (1).

1. If the present missions remain and new ones are founded in the centers that are left today,

/312 cont./

000

the race can endure for a longer time. The same is true, if, instead of forts, the Government, at less expense, were to found missions in the places which are being explored at the present time; useful hands would be obtained for commerce and for agriculture, without the destruction of the poor humanity.

I finish by giving thanks to the Divine Providence which has brought about here the civilization of the race, utilizing for this purpose its simple and humble subjects, such as the sons of Francis of Assisi, who came to this New World immediately after it was discovered.

To those readers who have followed me benevolently and to those who have charitably criticized my poor writing, I give my sincere thanks and at the same time pray that they will deign to pardon such errors as they might find. Laus Deo.

End of the Work

/Illustration appears here./

/313/ Appendix

121
126

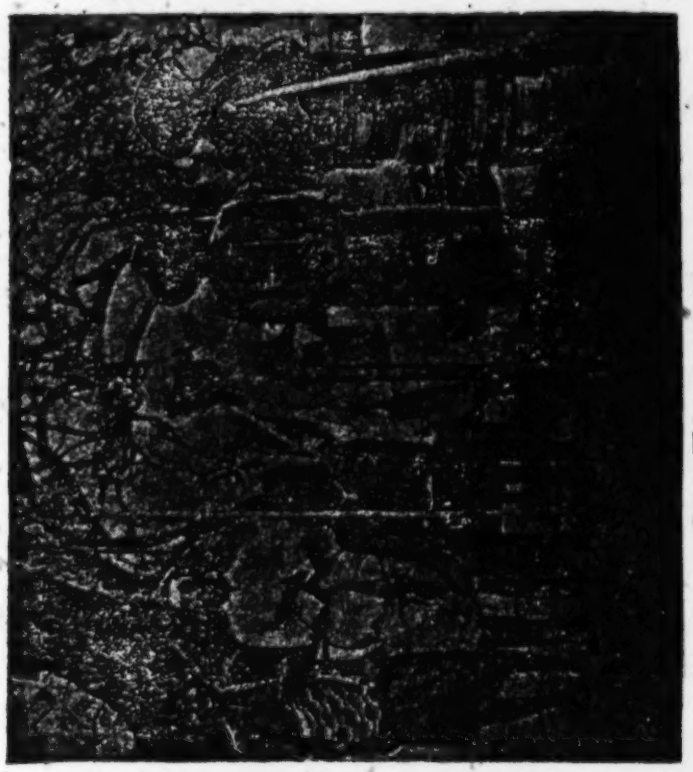
The time and place do not now permit me to draw a map of the entire region that I have described in the first chapter of this ethnography; nor do they permit me to write clearly about the other tribes which populate the eastern part of the Bolivian Chaco, which has recently been explored (1).

1. I believed that a map was indispensable for the "Guide to the Chaco." I drew it recently, and it is soon to be published at the expense of the Supreme Government. I may perhaps get an extra run of 1,000 copies for the present work.

4: Nino--422 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano

Mataco SI 7

291



Group of Mataco Indians

C /313 cont./
121
122 If the Supreme Government and the friends who have helped me in this first edition continue to provide me with their considerable support, I plan to return to the region, to make better studies, to get certain data about the other tribes, to get views and panoramas with photographic cameras, and then bring out a second, more polished edition.

C
131 Since, however, through my nomination as a Corresponding
[114] Member of the Geographical Society of this city of La Paz, I am making studies appropriate to this science, I shall set down in these pages the approximate geographical degree occupied by the known tribes which populate the extensive zone of the Bolivian Chaco.

The Chiriguano Indians are numerous from 18° 50' to 22° latitude south of the Paris meridian and from 65° to 66° 50' west longitude. However, small groups can be found at 17° 30' latitude and other groups at 22° 35' toward the south of present-day Yacuiba (2).

2. I follow the Paris meridian in placing the tribes because in the body of the work I have used the same to indicate the location of the Cayuguari Indians.

C /314/ The reader who has accompanied me as far as these
121 lines will have quite a clear idea of the Chiriguano Indians, their language, customs, and beliefs, and consequently I have nothing to add with regard to them, because this would be a repetition of what I have said. I shall say something about the others, so that Bolivians and foreigners may know the Indians with whom they are to deal.

Tapúi or Isoseños

Ce
161 The Tapúi Indians are as many as 2,000 between children
131 and adults; they occupy both banks of the Parapiti River at 19° and 19° 50' latitude and 62° 30' to 65° longitude from the Paris meridian.

Chane SF8
Tapui
Zamuco SK14

C Ce /314 cont./

567 They were the slaves of the Chiriguano and formerly lived
Ce in the immediate area of the region presently occupied by the
195 city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, from where they had to emigrate
648 upon the arrival of the Spaniards who founded said city.
167
131 These Indians speak the Chiriguano language with slight
differences in pronunciation, and they have some peculiar words,
C Ce but they understand one another perfectly.
197 They are completely pacified and go continually to the
Ce haciendas of the Argentine Republic; almost all of them know
464 the Spanish language, especially the men; they dress decently
167 and help the industrialists who have settled there and who are
191 the owners of the land.

Ce In olden times the Isoseños or Tapúi were very poor and
177 lazy, but today their condition has improved because white
648 Christians from Santa Cruz have settled among them, to whom
464 they lend important services in cattle raising and agriculture,
133 but the latter is very limited because in the best season the
principal region of Isoso is flooded by the continual overflowing
of the Parapiti River.

Sirácuas or Empelotos

Z
101 These human beings are called Sirácuas because they
342 open deep holes in the ground in the form of caves with a wooden
291 spatula and rest therein; they are called Empelotos because
both the men and the women go about naked.

Z Rarely do they let themselves be seen and only by chance;
101 they are few, there may be as many as 1,500; the language
161 they speak is unknown, and so they are in a completely savage
197 state.

Z /315/. Their residence is the thickest part of the woods and
131 at a short distance from Isoso between 19° to 20° latitude and
65° 50' to 64° 10' longitude.

Zamuco SK14
Tapiete SK13
Yanaiguas

/315 cont./

Z 648 721 Nothing is known about the origin of these wretched Indians because they run away from civilized people; nor do they allow the latter to occupy the region that they inhabit, because they kill treacherously by night or even by day, if they are superior in number.

Z 221 Perhaps in some distant day they can be reduced with the colonization of the territory, because it is supposed that they follow the dry course of the Parapiti River in order to be able to live, at least in winter, when the water in the lakes dries up.

Yanaíguas or Ñanaíguas

T 174 197 It is not true that the Ñanaíguas are Chiriguano in origin, for if this were so they would all speak something of the language. Those who understand it are rare, and those who speak it very rare; the latter have learned it from their dealings, not only with the Chiriguano, but also with certain whites to whom they have begun to lend their services.

T [464] T 131 Their territory is located between the Parapiti River and the stream of Cuevo, from 20° to 20° 32' latitude and from 65° to 65° 40' longitude.

T 181 177 648 They are not numerous, but are quite inoffensive and peaceful, for which reason it is easy to reduce them, and I do not believe the day is far off. In the region of these and other Indians, there are explorations going on today which will necessarily result in intercourse and subsequent civilization, given the peacefulness of the natives.

C 101 186 T 101 The Chiriguano have given [illegible] said name to these Indians. They call them Yanaíguas because they are dwellers in the forest, and this is a term of contempt, because, according to the Chiriguano, only wild animals live in the forest.

T 177 464 648 As I have said, these Indians are not like the previous ones, who run away from civilized people; they are already working with the whites, although not more than half a day, like the Toba and Mataco, and without the tenacity of the latter. They are often seen on the right bank of the Parapiti in little

Tapiete SF13
Yanaigues
Bolivian Indians SF3
Cayuguari

T
177
464
648

/315 cont./

bands of 15 or 20 looking for water, and they do not run away on seeing some passer-by (1).

1. The region in which they have begun to lend their services to white farmers is on the right bank of the Parapiti halfway between Isoso and Parapiti cantons.

/316/ Cayuguari Indians

000

The region inhabited by these Indians is now being explored. The idea, which I can call a colossally good one which will benefit the Nation, originated with the subprefect of the Azero, Don Ramón Menduiña, who inherited the patriotic spirit of his late father, Don Antonio.

BI.
648
464

This gentleman aroused the enthusiasm of the inhabitants of the town of Carandaiti, and they responded to the desires of the subprefect with the opening of 22 leagues of road, in the construction of which were involved Indians provided by the Padre Conversor of the Machareti Mission in May and June of 1911 (1).

BI.
648
643
[921]

1. Recently the Supreme Government put forward as captain of the tribes of Irentagüe the nomination of the Indian Abacatu, who in years past caused much damage to the settlers of Carandaiti in company with the Cayaguari Indians; today he lends his service to the expedition in the region, which is located east of Carandaiti, but I hereby state that this region, like Carandaiti, belongs to the province of the Azero and not to that of the Gran Chaco, as has been erroneously stated in the nomination of the said native captain.

/316 cont./

000 Neyertheless the expedition has been entrusted today to Lieutenant Colonel Ovando, who has got as far as Lake Picuígua, but information as to the main thing is lacking, that is, a hamlet of Cayuguari Indians, where there is a lake with permanent waters, on whose shores could be located a fort with a strong garrison.

BI 131 114 The road from Carandaiti to the central region of Cayuguari is traced in the body of this work; the geographic degree that it occupies is more or less indicated on General don José Manuel Pando's map, as well as the nature and character of the Indians, and so it is not necessary to repeat it in these lines.

BI 648 721 181 It is appropriate that explorers should go and present themselves in a peaceful manner to these warlike Indians, and also that they go prepared for any attack, because these Indians have the bravery of the Chiriguano and the perfidy of the Toba.

000 The founding of a conversion mission is more important in this region than in other places, in order to form a population nucleus and to reduce with gentleness these dwellers of the forest.

Ta 131 The tribe of Toba Indians is rather numerous; it inhabits the left bank of the Pilcomayo River from 21° 34' latitude to the southeast and at 65° 39' longitude.

/317/ Tobas

The tribe of Toba Indians is adjacent on the west to the Chiriguano race, to which it is completely related. These Indians lend considerable service to white Christians and consequently to the few inhabitants of Villa Montes; rarely do they cross to the right bank of the river, which belongs to the Matacos or Noctenes, as has been said in another place.

Ta 302 [147] The Toba Indian is very robust, and the woman the same; both wear their hair short and paint the entire body, especially when they are marching off to war. Some of the men and almost all the women paint their faces down to the throat in an indelible manner.

/317 cont./

304 With a thorn, tough straw, or a needle, they scratch their skin, making various designs on it, and then spread ashes, ground charcoal, or the juice of some special roots over same and let it dry for several days, until it has penetrated well below the surface of the epidermis; then they take their bath, wash their faces, the spots disappear and the designs remain in a [171] stable fashion. In this regard they imitate the Turks, with whom they certainly are not acquainted.

301 304 Another distinctive mark of the Toba race is their pierced ears, in which they place two pieces of wood to serve as earrings. These pieces are so heavy and so thick that in time they spread and stretch the ear lobe until it touches the shoulders, for which reason those who wear the said earrings are much more repugnant.

301 304 177 178 But as they now have a great deal of contact with whites, they are abandoning this distinctive trait, as well as the first-mentioned one, just as the Chiriguano tembeta is also disappearing. The tribes that have remained isolated from intercourse with the whites and the Chiriguano, however, for the most part continue both distinctive traits, and the men go about almost completely naked.

181 In not too distant times the Toba was very ferocious, but today he has somewhat modified his ferocity; nevertheless his haughtiness and treachery are still part of his very being, and it is never advisable to trust this hardy inhabitant of the forest.

648 The white man who deals with him must always be prepared, treat him as an inferior, combine gentleness with moderate firmness, pay for his labor without being too liberal, and not resort to violent methods when at midday he casts aside the implement with which he has been performing his task.

721 648 /318/ Colonel Rivas and the explorer Creveaux perished on their expeditions because they were too trusting. The latter, too kind, committed the error of disembarking in a Toba camp, his people left their weapons in the boats, and in the attack that the Indians made only one was saved to carry the fatal news to a suitable place.

Ta 593 152 684 834 /318 cont./

The Toba is jealous of his wife and she of her husband; neither of them allows any slips of this sort; should such a thing happen, revenge is certain; the boy or girl may easily die poisoned; as far as girls are concerned, they are rather free before marriage.

Ta 581 584 But should the latter be inclined to contract matrimony, the young Toba must merit her hand; it is necessary that he be an able hunter, a valiant warrior, and he loses many nights' sleep playing the "pimpin" in front of the girl's house. If her parents form a good opinion of the suitor, they promptly hand her over to him without further preliminaries; otherwise he can resign himself to seeking another girl.

Ta 584

Ta 721 648 Toba attacks on the houses of whites are frequent, and they steal whatever they can, killing the older men and taking captive the women, boys, and maidens, not so much for their own use as to profit from ransom.

Ta [492] [262] But in general these attacks are for stealing cattle, horses, and mules, the first to eat and the latter for riding, since the Toba is a great horseman and he has need of other people's mounts for his wars and attacks.

Ta 492 They do not use saddles or bridles, and they guide the horses with slaps of the hand; if they are pursued, they run like the wind, on the animal's back, on the side, or even with their bodies under the steed's belly to avoid a sure shot. In horsemanship they are superior to all the other tribes, including the Chiriguano tribe, which they nonetheless respect.

Ta 732 734 They kill their defective children, and, as a philanthropical act, those who are sick with prolonged illnesses and the old who are fatally ill are buried alive so that they may not suffer so much (1). /Illustration appears here./

A 732 764

1. This is not strange if one considers that the Aimarães /Aymara/ of the altiplano strangle the dying for hygienic reasons, so that they will not smell bad when they move them to the public cemetery which is very far away.

4: Nino--430 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano
Toba SI 12

291
516

Group of Toba Indians

/319/

Matacos or Noctenes

M 131 648 This tribe is also very numerous; it lives on the right bank of the Pilcomayo River, occupying the part opposite the zone occupied by the Toba, with whom they maintain friendly relations which are disturbed from time to time, especially at the time when the algarrobas and other fruits ripen.

M 797 177 A group of these Indians in times past formed a part of the San Antonio del Pilcomayo Mission, where today the Chaco Delegation is located, occupying the mission buildings. But because they are as fickle, or perhaps more so, than the Toba, Religion and the State could make little progress with such Indians.

M 131 197 648 T 186 These Indians are very numerous and in small groups extend as far as the shores of the Bermejo; their language is totally different from that of the other tribes and they hardly mix, although they maintain friendly relations with the Toba, to whom they are considered to be inferior.

M 181 578 273 Their physiognomy is overly languid; sadness can be read in their faces, and they are very miserable; nevertheless they are ferocious in war, in jealousy, or in a state of drunkenness; they injure and kill one another. Out of these considerations the women refrain from drinking to the state of inebriation in order to prevent their husbands' disorders and to hide the weapons in the event of the outbreaks which frequently occur (1).

M 273 [171] M [243]

1. In the drinking bouts they are the same as the Toba; they make a mead from the fruits of the algarroba, which is almost as intoxicating as brandy; they also make mead from other wild fruits; they do not make chicha because they hardly plant maize.

M 181 721 648 They are more peaceful Indians than the Toba, are not very warlike, and do not attack the houses of the whites but profit when they can from the latter's cattle, especially should a famine break out due to a lack of wild fruits.

/319 cont./

433 They do not work, plant, or do anything similar; they
229 are but mediocre fishermen and barely hunters. To live they
241 lay up great stocks of chañar, algarrobas, and mistol fruits, and with some gourd seeds placed under the earth they have extraordinary harvests if the year is moderately rainy.

786 They organize their orgies when the algarrobas, chañar,
578 and mistol are in season, and then the quarrels and murders occur
682 among the men; these crimes go unpunished by the authorities, for there are none. But if the one who has perished had relatives they will take revenge.

342 /320/ They do not bother to build houses or such things.
513 They make a kind of oven; for it they bend some branches of small trees, fix them to the ground, cover these branches with straw or grass, and they sleep underneath in a pile in the company of their dogs.

164 This is the reason for the excessive mange which kills
515 them and makes them look so disgusting, since they are not at all partisans of the daily bath, as the Chiriguano are, and when they do bathe, they roll about in the river sand or in the ashes of their oven-houses.

584 They do not seek the consent of their parents for marriage
585 nor do they have ceremonies. Do two young persons, a man and a woman, love each other? They leave the common settlement, go to the woods, stay a few weeks, and then return, now married, to live with their in-laws or to make another oven like the one of their elders.

586 Young people divorce each other easily, but they are
152 more constant than the Chiriguano in married life. Nonetheless,
837 the women are very jealous and do not readily consent to their
593 husbands' being with other women; for this reason they keep them content with the work of bringing them much fruit from the forest and caressing them.

302 Men and women cut their hair; some of them stain their
301 faces and pierce their ear lobs, in which they put a piece of wood, like the Toba, but this is not a distinctive mark of the race.

Mataco SI7
Choroti SK6

M /320 cont./

791 They have a vague idea of superior beings, whom they fear
796 without worshiping them: the cleverest one becomes the sorcerer
756 and exploits the poverty of his companions, especially today when
648 they are earning money from the whites, to whom they lend im-
464 portant services.

M They frequently move from the region that they occupy to
169 the Argentine Republic: they work, dress, learn some Spanish
177 and a slight smattering of civilization, and return to their lands to live as before.

Choroti

Ci The zone located southeast of Toba territory is occupied
131 by the Choroti Indians, who have their own language. They
199 occupy the geographic degree 22° 30' latitude and 64° 10' longitude, on the left bank of the Pilcomayo River.

Ci They are quite numerous and peaceful, and they are not
181 treacherous like their neighbors, the Toba. Nevertheless, they
648 inspire respect in all the neighboring tribes; if a mission were to be established at said degree, the conquest of all the Bolivian territory /321/ up to 24° would be accomplished without the need of so many small forts, which are such a great expense to the Nation and which do not create centers of trade and civilization.

Ci Father Gianelli in years past visited the Choroti Indians,
799 was received with displays of affection and appreciation, and
199 found among them good inclinations toward becoming civilized, but at that time the harvest was too much for so few evangelical workers.

Ci The Choroti are not so lazy and savage as the other tribes;
181 they devote themselves to the cultivation of a few seeds and to
241 the raising of cattle, although on a small scale. They are also
231 hunters, however, and when they occupy the banks of the
224 Pilcomayo, they take advantage of the fruits the river brings them, especially in the great floods.

Choroti SK6
Mataco SI7
Güisnais

Ci /321 cont./
301 Doubtless through being very close to the Toba, they
302 pierce their ear lobes, in which they put pieces of wood, and
171 they also stain their faces.

Ci In the expeditions to the Paraguay they have never shown
648 themselves to be hostile to the whites and soldiers; rather they
[464] have lent important services and it was they who saved the life of Señor Touvar and his companions when they became separated from the expedition. Therefore the reduction of these Indians to civilized life would be very profitable.

Güisnáis

M These Indians occupy the western bank of the Pilcomayo
131 facing the Choroti Indians and southwest of the region occupied
101 by the Mataco. The geographic degree of their territory, with a very slight difference, is the same as that of the Choroti, since they are separated from the latter only by the river bed.

M They are a division of the Mataco; they speak the latter's
101 language with very little difference; their customs are nearly
181 identical and their number quite small. They are of a peaceful
241 nature like the Choroti, and like them, they plant gourds and
231 other vegetables. They also devote themselves to the raising of
197 domestic animals, such as cows, horses, sheep, goats, and chickens.

M Even the Güisnáis frequently come out for jobs in the
167 Argentine Republic, from where they also bring back weapons,
177 in order to use them particularly in the woods, killing birds, wild
464 boars, deer, and other quadrupeds.
224 They have more religious ideas than other tribes, and it

M seems that their great-grandparents might have belonged to
174 some former Argentine mission, because, more than others, they
171 recognize a true divinity. /322/ Nonetheless in their great
776 ignorance they confuse ideas, and in great fear they recognize in
[756] sorcerers a power that they do not have.

/322 cont./

648
464
466

The tribes described here are friends and allies of the Chiriguano, and, when the latter have an abundant crop of maize, the former draw near to the towns of their friends; according to tribes, they build their ovens, where they hide, along the bank of some rivulet or some stream.

They remain there, help the Chiriguano in the harvest, perform menial services for him by carrying wood, cleaning house, and doing other domestic chores, and in exchange they get a little maize for themselves and their family. When they go back into the forest, they take several libras or arrobas of maize, depending on the harvests that the Chiriguano may have had.

In the Tarija missions this happens quite frequently, because they are nearer to their territory. The caciques of the savages then present themselves to the Chiriguano cacique to announce their arrival and the presence of their tribe and the latter in turn brings him before the P. /padre/ Conversor to obtain the necessary permission.

In these circumstances none of the tribes is lazy, because they understand that in order to eat it is necessary to work, under penalty of being immediately thrown out of the foreign territory where he has found so much abundance. Neither are they permitted many months stay, because they are capable of staying until they use up all the maize and leave the Chiriguano's cupboard bare.

Several times I saw these tribes in a state of temporary emigration, and it was pitiful to see such poverty, forlorness, filthiness, ignorance, and want. Long rows of ovens could be seen in communication with one another, full of men, women, children, and dogs, and living there worse off than dirty animals in filth.

4: Nino--436 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano
Tapiete SK13

/322 cont./

Tapiete (1)

797 1. With the persuasive word of the Catholic
101 missionary they could serve as an intermediary element between the Toba and Tapiete /sic/, to whom they are adjacent on the west and southeast, respectively.

648 These natives have caused several casualties among the soldiers of the Bolivian forts and lately also among the Argentinian, which indicates that one should not have much trust in them, especially when it is foreseen that they are plotting some revenge.

131 The Tapiete tribe is more numerous than its neighbors, the Choroti; it occupies the same left bank of the Pilcomayo River /323/ from 22° 55' latitude until it enters the territory claimed by the Republic of Paraguay and from 63° 10' eastward.

174 They have been settled there since time immemorial, when the Chiriguano emigrated from Paraguay; as a result, then, they were Chiriguano in origin; this is shown by their language, their inclination to work, their fondness for planting, their customs, and the place they chose.

291 Because they are so isolated from the civilized centers, they have acquired savage customs and at the present time use very simple clothing, scarcely covering the most delicate part of the body, and formerly they did not do this, at least the men.

199 The language that they speak is Chiriguano, but there are
648 differences in words and pronunciation because of the intercourse that they have had with the Toba, Mataco, and Choroti, with whom, however, they do not mix and even have hostilities on so few occasions.

648 These Indians have several times destroyed Bolivian forts and killed soldiers, but the aim that they had and will have is to flee from the white man, whom they judge to be an invader; I believe that a Conversion Mission would yield good results among them, since they do not hate the white man systematically.

4: Nino--437 M-3 (1910-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Tupiete SA13

T
433
648
169

/323 cont./

They devote themselves to planting, hunting, fishing, and raising livestock: they rarely go en masse to Chiriguano towns and even more rarely to those of the whites, to which they do little damage.

Miscellany

C
824
757

In the section "Flora" in Etnografía Chiriguana /Chiriguano Ethnography/ I described the passion flower of the Chaco region of Bolivia, which is called granadilla de monte /wild passion flower/ there. Its roots are medicinal and those with pretension of being doctors there employ them to cure tapewpem.

There is a small tree called "Naranti mbocu," long thorn, by the Chiriguano, and melocotillo /small melon/ by the whites of Santa Cruz. It grows three or four meters high at most: when it blooms, its tips are aliquite light purple: its roots are put on to boil for a period of one and a half hours, and the clarified water is an effective remedy for treating dysentery.

C
122

The Franciscan school /colegio/ at Pitoní, the Reverend Father Prefect of Missions, and the Padres Conversores of the same school deferred to my suggestion that they /324/ help me in publishing the Etnografía Chiriguana, for which I thank each and every one of them from the bottom of my heart.

I extend in these pages the same thanks to a group of gentlemen from the city of Sucre, who, encouraged by Doctor Don Tomás Arana, assisted in the publication with a subscription of ten bolivianos per copy.

Finally, special thanks have been earned by two young ladies from the city of Sucre and another from the city of Oruro, who, through special deference to the author, have favored him with extraordinary alms, without imposing upon him any obligation whatsoever.

4t Niho--436 M-3 (1880-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/324 cont./

127
128

Some of the lithographs for Etnografía Chiriguana have been reproduced from the Anthropologie Bolivienne of Doctor Arthur Chervin, as well as others from the work of Señor del Campano, and the rest from photographs which I was able to get from some amateur photographers among the Franciscans.

Some of those of the first-named author and all of those of the second were reproduced from the album which is kept in the Pocoí missions and in the Franciscan Colegio de Tarija.

If the author of the Etnografía had had the necessary time available and had been able to rely upon a collaborator, it would have been easy, most easy, to have reproduced with photographic apparatus important scenes, beautiful landscapes, enchanting panoramas, high and thick palm groves, immense beaches on great rivers, and other innumerable beauties which exist in the region. In a second edition all this could be done, if the Supreme Government would make available the necessary funds so that a scientific tour might be made through the entire region in the company of a photographer.

/325/ Table of Contents Page

Homage	1
Approbation of the work /omitted in the translation/	
Author's acknowledgement to the Supreme Government of Bolivia	1
Dedication /omitted in the translation/	
Introduction	4
Word to the reader	5
Foreword by Don Manuel V. Ballivián	7

4: Nino--439 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/325 cont./

Chapter One
Description

Introduction 13
General view 14
Extent and area 16
Hills and mountains 18
Rivers and lakes 20
Climate 26
Fertility 28
Flora 31
Fauna 50
Quadrupeds 50
Reptiles, amphibians, fish, and insects 65
Birds 74

Chapter Two
Origin, Language, Statistics

Introduction /translated in part/ 95
Origin 96
Language 110
/326/
Statistics 112
The first missionaries among the Chiriguano and a precious discovery /translated in part/ 116
Missions of the Colegio de Potosí 121
Cuevo /translated in part/ 131
Ibo Canton 132
A project /translated in part/ 133
Cayuguari /translated in part/ 134
Itatiqui /translated in part/ 135
Missions of the Colegio de Tarija 137
Yacuiba /translated in part/ 146

4: Nino--440 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/326 cont./

Chapter Three

Characteristics of the Chiriguano

Introduction 149
Physique 150
Life span 154
Morality 156
Difficulties in reducing them 160
Vices and their consequences 162
Suicide 164
Boxing and dueling 166
Love for the home 168
Aptitudes 171
Philanthropy 172

Chapter Four

Religion, Divinities, and Beliefs

Introduction--An illustrious Franciscan /omitted in the translation/
Religion 174
Divinities 176
Fabulous beliefs about the Flood 179
Beliefs in the spirits 182
Beliefs relative to creation 185
Belief in the future life 190
Prayers 195
/327/
Genii 197
Sorcerers 199
Sorceress curers 206
Way to obtain the poison 207
Lunar eclipse 210

4:Nino--441 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/327 cont./

Chapter Five

Political Organization and Authorities

Introduction /translated in part/	213
Principle of authority	215
Attributes of the cacique	216
Subalterns	221
Abuse of authority	222
Separation from command	223
Regional cacique	226

Chapter Six

Towns, Houses, and Work

Introduction /translated in part/	229
Towns	231
Modern houses	233
Ancient houses	239
Fire	243
Work--Cleanliness	244
Cots and seats	246
Matés	248
Pottery	249
Textiles	253

Chapter Seven

Chiriguano Clothing and Adornments

Introduction /translated in part/	254
Clothing	256
Gala dress	260
Conveniences	263
Adornments /translated in part/	265
Explanation of the preceding illustration	273

4: Nino--442 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chapter Eight

The Chiriguano Family

Introduction /translated in part/ 274
Family /translated in part/ 274
Method of contracting a marriage 280
Life and tasks during marriage 282
Pregnancy and birth 284
Infant care 287
Twins 288
Joy and grief 289
Deformed children 291

Chapter Nine

Children, Puberty, the Tembeta

Introduction 293
Education of children /translated in part/ 296
School of arms and strategy 297
Private life 300
The giving of the name and puberty 301
Imposition of the tembeta 309
The tembeta in other tribes 315
A legendary tale 317

Chapter Ten

Agriculture, Animals, Food

Introduction /translated in part/ 320
Property rights 322
Old method of farming 325
Modern farming and seeds 327
Use of the ripe produce 332
Cangũi, chicha 335
Hunters 339
Animals 340
Other comestibles 341

/328 cont./

Chapter Eleven

Fiestas, Songs, the Carnival

Introduction /translated in part/ 344
Before the fiesta 346
The fiesta 350
/329/
Dance and song 352
Music of the Ayarise 353
Mbapa páure 355
Music of the Mbapa páure 356
Hospitality 359
Carnival 362
Easter 366
Music of the Alleluia and song 367

Chapter Twelve

Offensive and Defensive War

Introduction /translated in part/ 367
Offensive war and weapons 371
March and inspection 373
Combat and pillaging 375
After the victory 376
Defensive warfare 378
Peace 380
Explanation of the preceding illustration 382

Chapter Thirteen

Illnesses, Remedies, Death, and Mourning

Introduction 382
Illnesses and Remedies 385
Other Illnesses and Remedies 389
Death and Funerals 391
Mourning 395
The Mourning of a Widow 397

4: Nino--444 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/329 cont./

Chapter Fourteen

Infidels and Neophytes of the Missions

Introduction 402
Infidels 404
Neophytes 412
Method /translated in part/ 416
Conclusion 420

/330/ Appendix

Tapúi or Isoseños 423
Sirácuas or Empelotos 424
Yanaíguas or Ñanaíguas 425
Cayuguari Indians 426
Tobas 427
Matacos or Noctenes 431
Chorotis 433
Güisnáis 434
Tapietes 436
Miscellany 437

/331/ List of Illustrations

Portrait of the Most Excellent Doctor don Eliodoro Villazón /omitted in the translation/
Image of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception /omitted in the translation/
Portrait of don Julio La-Faye, Ex-Minister and Brigadier General /omitted in the translation/
Group of Chiriguano men and women at work (Igüembe) 12
View of the Parapiti River from the San Antonio Mission 22
Papaya tree with its fruits 42
Group of Tapietes, Indians of the Chaco, who live on the Esteros del P. Patiños 52

/331 cont./

Group of children and vegetable wealth 63
Picture of the Yandúgua 77
View of a palm grove in Salinas de Cuevo 85
Sugar Mill at San Antonio Parapiti Mission 94
Tapiete man 104
Tapiete woman 117
View of the Santa Rosa Mission 127
Violin band of Tarairi 140
Group of Chiriguano women in gala dress, from the San Pascual Mission 148
Boys' school of the Ivu Mission 155
Archbishop Pifferi, Missionaries, and Priests /omitted in the translation/
Girls' school of the Ivu Mission 187
Musical Band of the Santa Rosa Mission 198
View of the Mission of San Antonio del Parapiti 209
Group of caciques of the Ivu Mission 214
Girls' school of the Parapiti (San Antonio) Mission 220
Chiriguano town 230
/332/
Modern Chiriguano house 234
Ancient Chiriguano house 242
Cacique Güiraésa with his family 255
Chiriguana gala dress and saddle 259
Chiriguano adornments 266
Education of neophytes through work /not listed in the original source/ 278
Musical Band of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission 294
View of the Mission of San Pascual de Boicovo 305
Group of Chiriguano Indians with their work tools (from the San Pascual Mission) 321
Exterior of the children's school of the Mission of San Pascual de Boicovo 338
Interior of the girls' school of the Mission of San Pascual de Boicovo 345
Music of the Ayarise /omitted in the original source/

/332 cont./

000 Music of the Mbapa Páure /omitted in the original source/

Chiriguano carnival	361
Music of the Alleluia /omitted in the original source/	
Bows, arrows, etc.	368
Group of Choroti Indians	384
Choroti Indian houses	392
Girls' school of the San Pascual Mission	401
Schoolgirls at work (San Francisco del Parapiti)	410
Interior of the San Pascual Church	418
Group of Mataco Indians	422
Group of Toba Indians	430

/The corrections in the list on p. 333 have been made in the text of the translation. Page 333 continues with the following note concerning the end map./

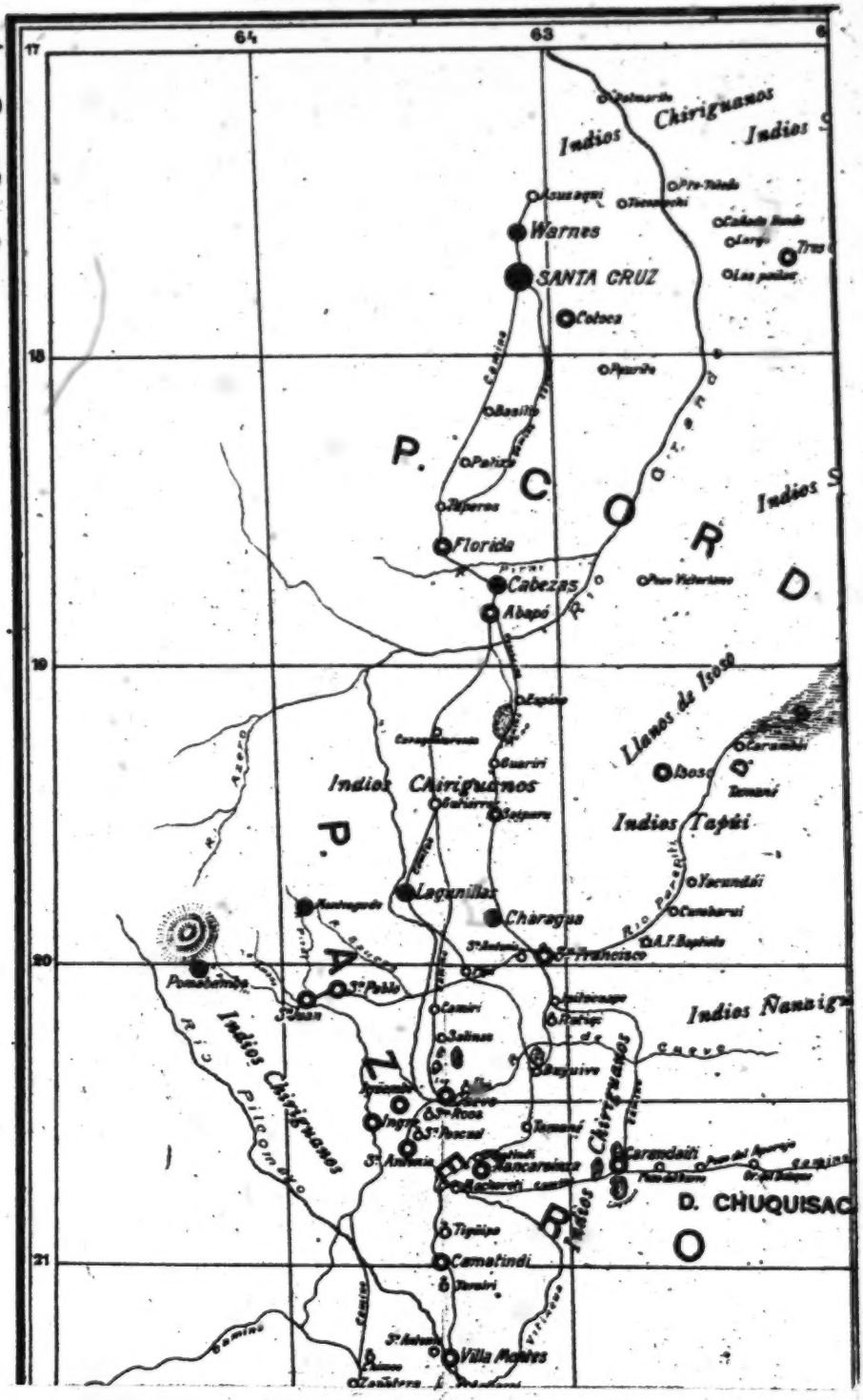
101 Note: The map which is found at the end of the work con-
102 tains the following errors: (1) the juntas of San Antonio should
103 be of San Francisco; (2) the line which comes out of Cuevo
131 toward the Azero River is not a river, but a dividing line between
133 Santa Cruz and Sucre; (3) the missions of the Parapiti occupy
361 the left bank of said river; (4) Ino occupies the right bank of the
797 Cuevo River; (5) the projected city of Manso should be near the bank of the Pilcomayo River.

4: Nino--447 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Map of the Gran Chaco

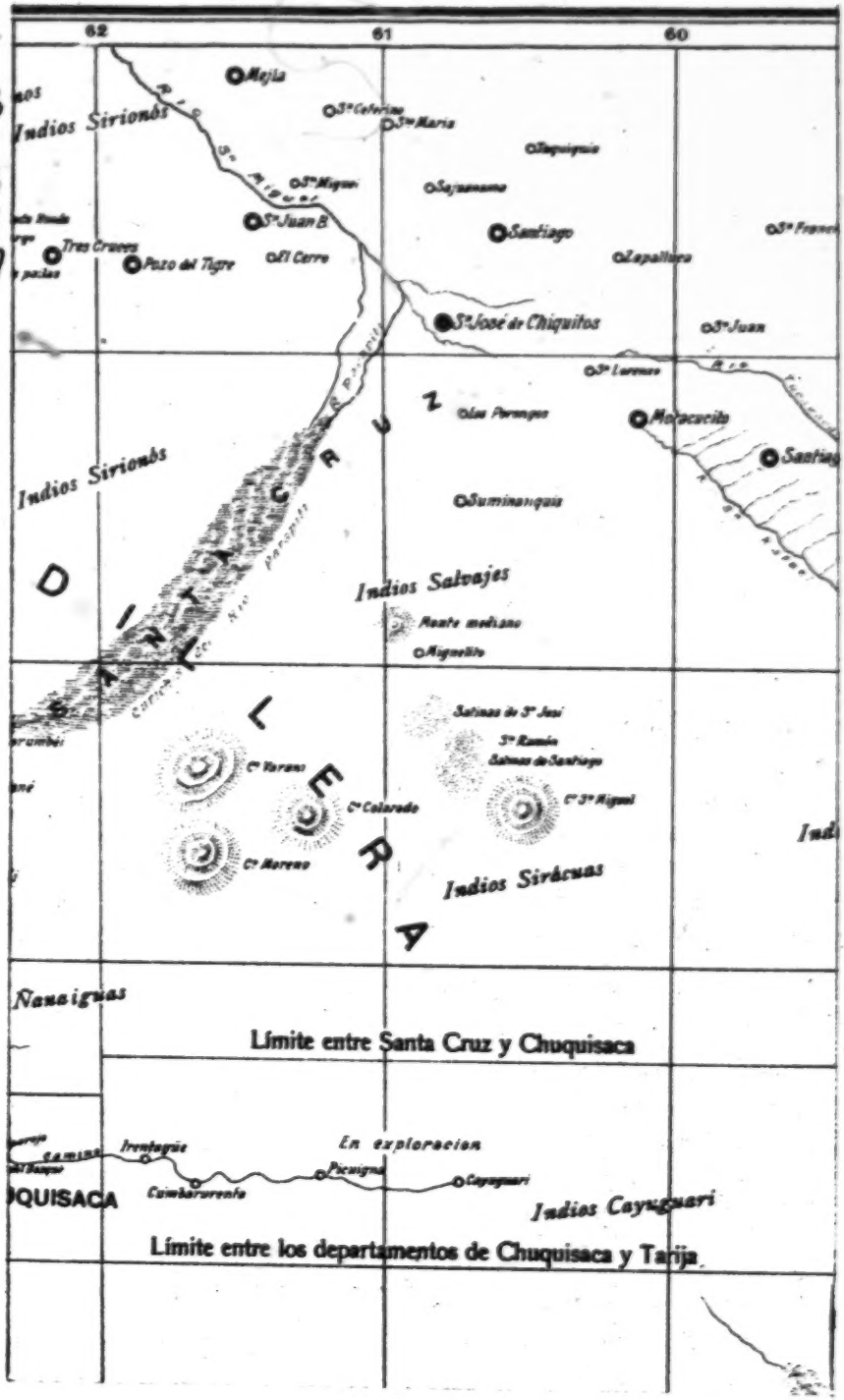
by Father Bernardino de Nino

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



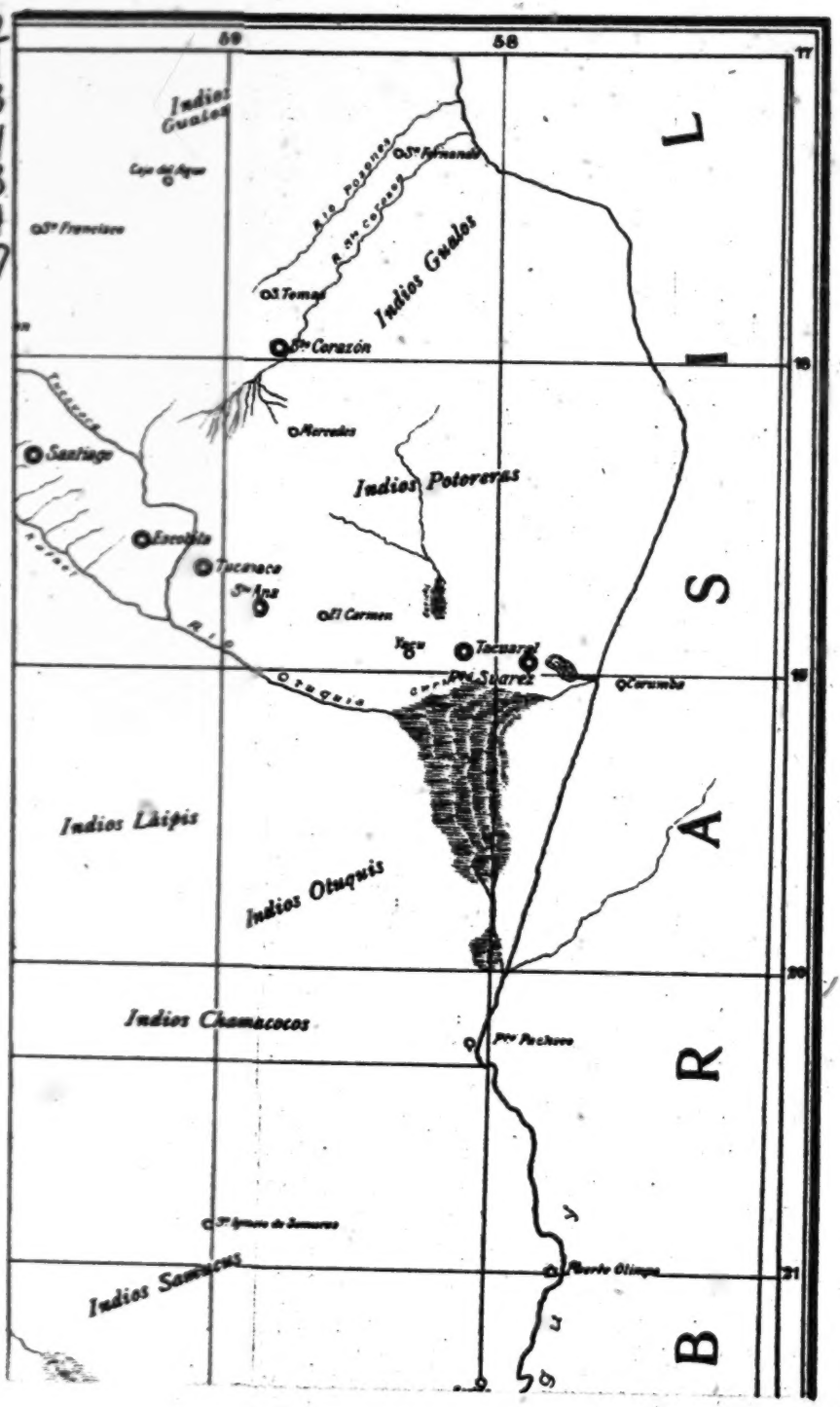
4: Nino--448 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



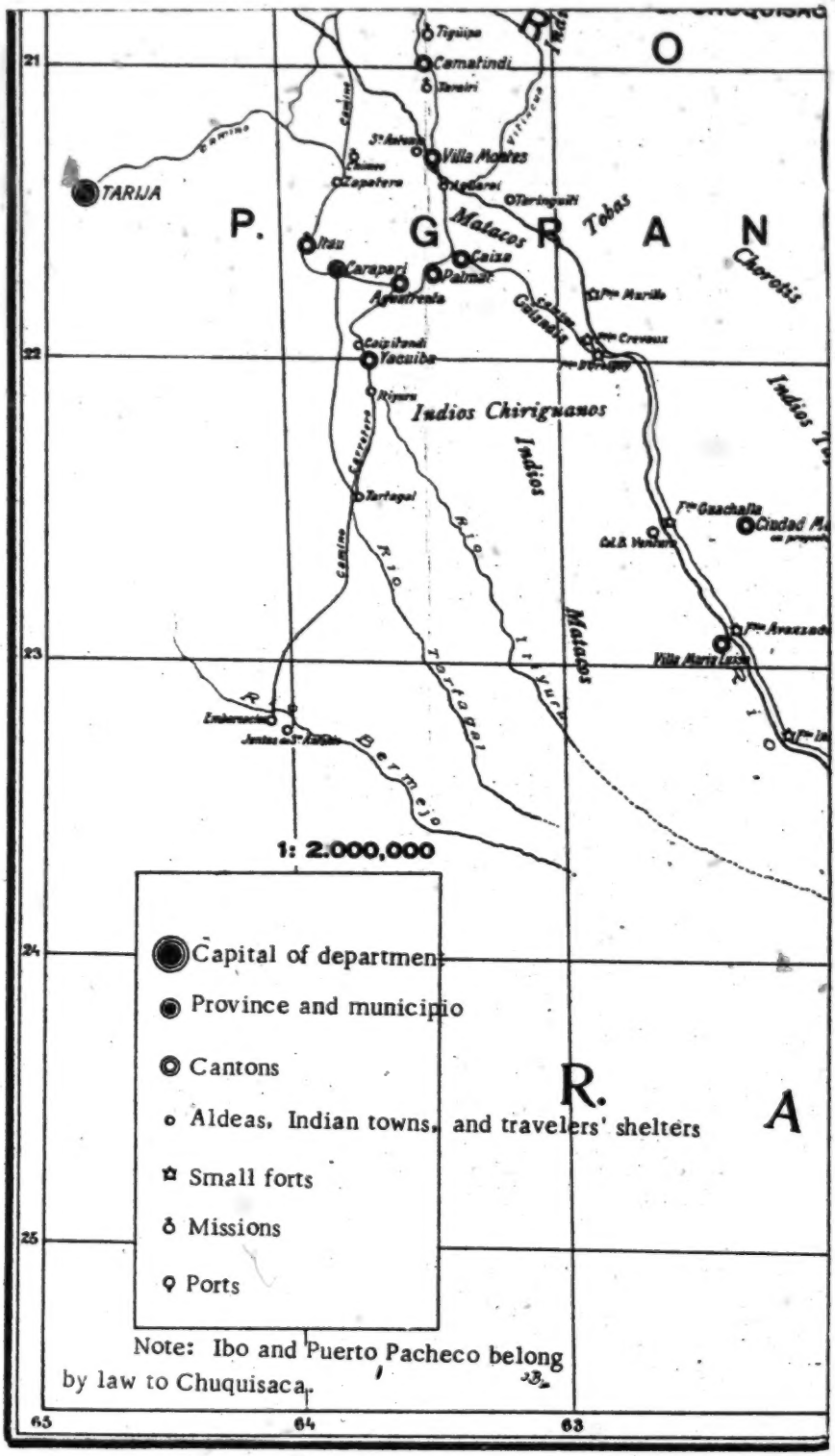
4: Nino--449 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



4: Nino-450 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

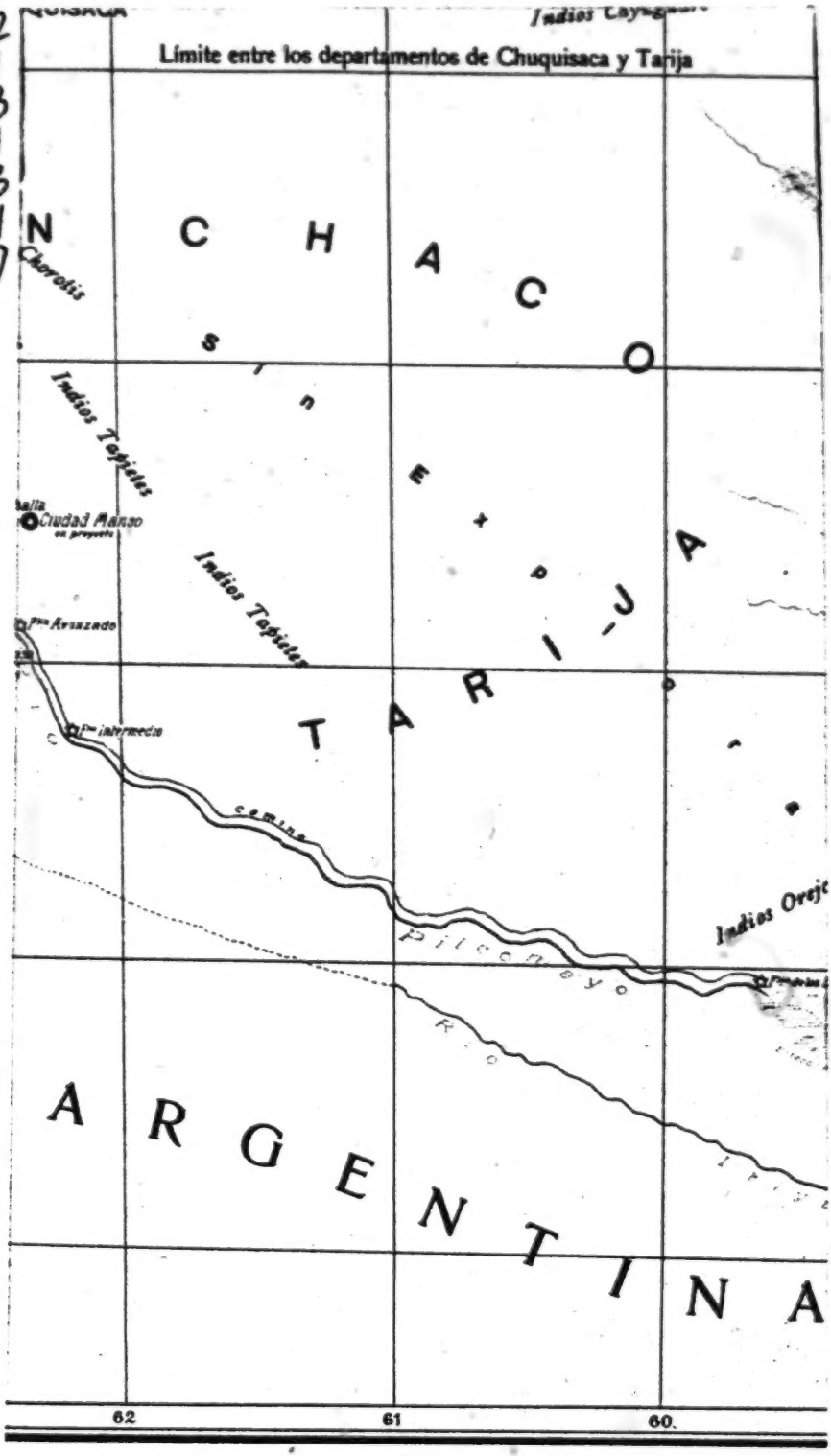
102
101
103
131
133
361
797



Note: Ibo and Puerto Pacheco belong by law to Chuquisaca.

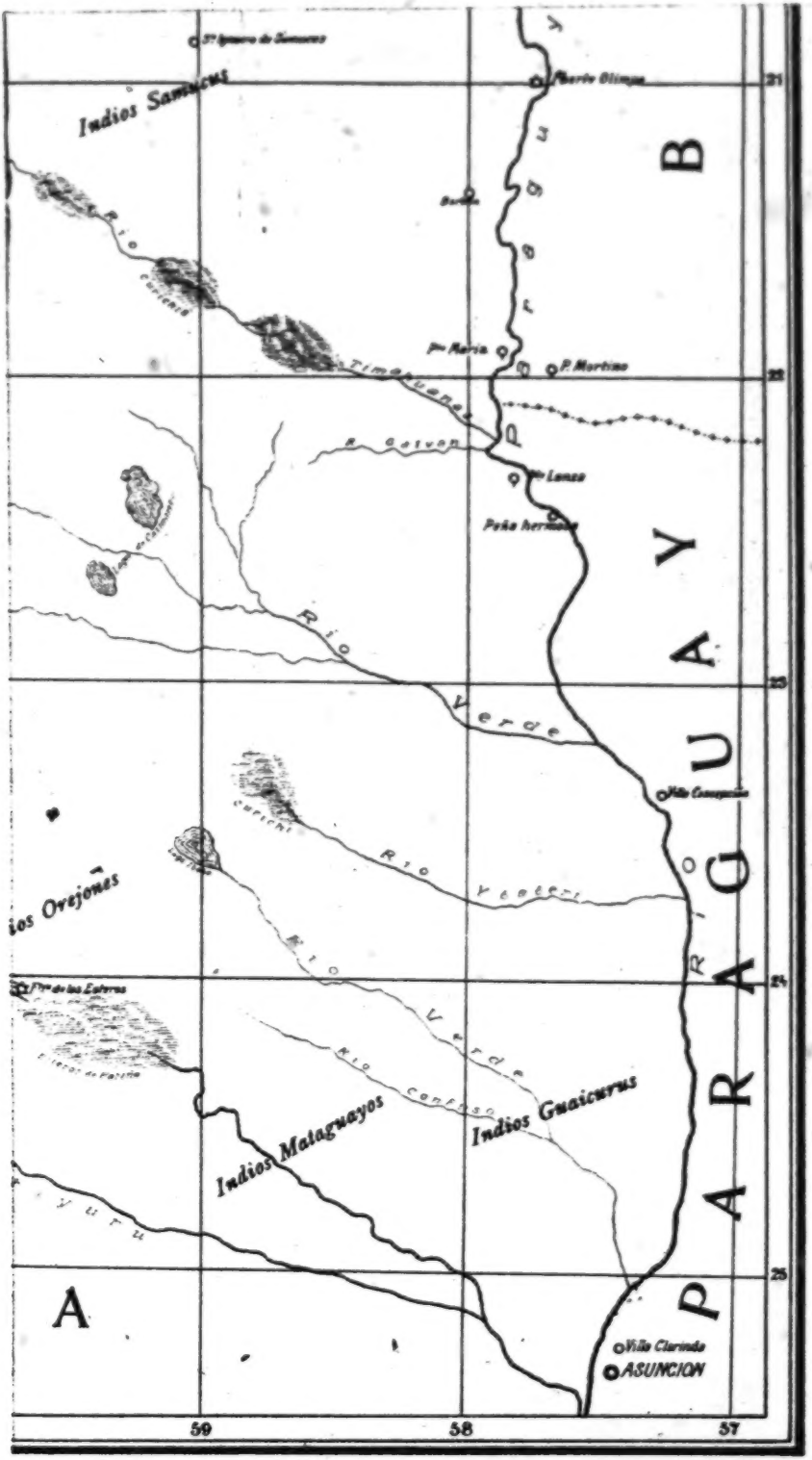
4: Nino--451 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



4: Nino--452 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



4: Nino SF 10 Chiriguano

[Introductory, P. i]

ETNOGRAFÍA CHIRIGUANA

POR EL

P. Fr. Bernardino de Nino

Misionero Franciscano

Y

Socio Correspondal de la Sociedad Geográfica de La Paz

OBRA NACIONAL

[Title Page]

LA PAZ - Bolivia

TIPOGRAFÍA COMERCIAL DE ISMAEL ARGOTE — CALLE CHIRINOS 51 Y 53

1912

[Introductory P. ii is blank, and not reproduced]

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

[Introductory, P. iii]

Obispado de Nuestra Señora de La Paz.—17 de Diciembre de 1912.

En mérito de lo expuesto por el R. P. Fr. Bernardino de Nino, autor del libro «Etnografía Chiriguana» autorizámosle en debida forma para la impresión en esta ciudad y circulación del mencionado trabajo.

El Obispo.

A. Costas,
Secretario.

Abdón Soliz R.

[Introductory P. iv is blank and not reproduced]

Doctor don Eliodoro Villazón, Presidente de Bolivia

[Frontispiece, facing introductory p. iv]

4: Nino SF10 Chirigusno

[p. i]

HOMENAJE

QUE

PRESENTA EL AUTOR

AL

XIX CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL

DE

AMERICANISTAS

QUE

Se reunirá en esta ciudad de La Paz el año

1914

[p. ii is blank]

[p. iii]

Aprobación de la Orden

Delegatio Generalis O. F. M. pro Bolivia et Argentina.—Bonis Aeris, 9 Apr. 1912.

Virtute praerogativae permittimus favorabili sententia datam PP. Conventus à Nobis ad hoc institutorum, et manuscriptum Rdi. P. Bernardini de Nino cui titulus «Etnografía de la raza Chiriguana» in lucem edatur, materia de qua ut ut revendo servatis.

Fr. Wolfgangus Freiwamer,
Ord. et Gen. Min.

Aprobación del Ordinario

Vicaría Capitular de la Arquidiócesis de La Plata.—Sucre, Mayo 12 de 1912.

Imprímase.

Víctor Abaroa,
Vicario Capitular de la Arquidiócesis de La Plata.

Clodomiro Echazarreta,
Secretario.

— IV —

Agradecimiento del Autor al Supremo Gobierno de Bolivia

La gratitud es una virtud, mediante la cual se agradecen los beneficios que se reciben en esta tierra; es natural y sobrenatural, aquella se funda en la naturaleza y esta en un principio divino por el cual la persona grata se hace merecedora de los bienes eternos allá.

La persona ingrata se hace abominable ante la humanidad y ante Dios, así nos lo demuestra la amargura que experimentó Judas, hombre-Dios al recibir la afrenta de Judas que tantos beneficios había recibido de su Divino Maestro.

¿Faltan acaso en el mundo personas que en tiempo de tribulación, pesares y desventuras acudan por consuelos á otros, declarándoseles amigos y luego, obtenido el fin, se les vuelven contrarios, murmurando de sus bienhechores y acusándolos de lo que no es, porque su ojo perverso les hace ver negro al blanco y blanco al negro? No faltan, y la historia de las Naciones nos proporciona de ello innumerables ejemplos.

La religión no puede menos de reprobar la ingratitud y aprobar la virtud contraria, de donde es necesario deducir que el cristiano que profesa la verdadera, debe manifestar su gratitud á los que le hacen un beneficio.

Esta obra que pronto será impresa, la principié con la esperanza de ser auxiliado en su publicación por el actual Mandatario Excmo. señor Presidente de Bolivia el Eminente Dr. don Eliodoro Villazón, que me animó á ello mediante carta de 1908. Y mis esperanzas han tenido su cumplimiento.

Efectivamente á principios de este 1912 me dirigí oportunamente al Excmo. señor Presidente, á los Ministros de Instrucción, Hacienda y Colonización señores M. R. Ma-

riaca, Carlos Torrico y Julio La-Faye, con intervención del señor Cancelario de la Universidad de Potosí señor Dr. don Nestor D. Morales y el Supremo Gobierno que tanto aprecia las obras científicas ha determinado hacer imprimir mi escrito por su propia cuenta en las oficinas tipográficas de La Paz.

Este acto eminentemente patriótico y nacional honra grandemente al Excmo. señor Presidente y á su ilustrado gabinete y compromete grandemente la gratitud del autor de la «Etnografía Chiriguana,» concluída con mucho trabajo en la misma región que describe.

Por medio de estas pocas líneas pues el suscrito agradece profundamente al Supremo Gobierno de Bolivia la deferencia con que ha sido honrado, habiendo aceptado la publicación de su obra en la manera que se determina en el oficio que literalmente reproduzco á continuación:

«Ministerio de Guerra y Colonización—Bolivia—De-
« partamento de Colonización—Nº 410—La Paz, 23 de Fe-
« brero de 1912.—Al R. P. Bernardino de Nino.—Potosí.
« Señor: En respuesta á su atento oficio de 11 de Enero
« último, junto con el cual se ha servido U. enviarme copia
« de la propuesta elevada ante el Supremo Gobierno, para
« la edición de una obra confeccionada por U. sobre la re-
« gión oriental de la República y la Etnografía de las razas
« que la pueblan, tengo á bien manifestarle que la falta de
« fondos disponibles en el Presupuesto Nacional de esta ges-
« tión impide aceptar el primer extremo de su indicada pro-
« puesta, siendo más factible el segundo, en atención á que
« el Gobierno puede encargar la publicación de su trabajo
« en la Intendencia de Guerra de esta Ciudad, que cuenta
« con los medios precisos; en cuyo caso tendrá U. derecho á
« los 500 ejemplares que solicita, conservando justamente la
« propiedad intelectual de la obra.

«Estando pues aceptada su proposición en una de las
« formas indicadas, espero que se servirá U. enviar los ori-

« ginales respectivos á este Ministerio con las aclaraciones y « documentación necesaria para el objeto ya indicado.

«Con este motivo saludo á U. y me repito su atento y « seguro servidor.—Por el señor Ministro, José Lavadenz, « Sub-Secretario de Colonización.»

A pesar de que en el oficio original anterior figura tan sólo el Ministro de la Guerra, otras comunicaciones oficiales que se hallan en mi poder, demuestran que el Excmo. señor Presidente y su Gabinete, tuvieron empeño en la publicación de mi escrito, por cuyo motivo mi agradecimiento por este favor extraordinario lo dirijo de una manera especial, primero al Excmo. señor Villazón y luego á los señores Ministros.

Potosí, Marzo 15 de 1912.

Fr. Bernardino de Nino.

NOTA.—Por razones justificables en vez de hacerse la edición de la presente obra en la Intendencia de Guerra, se hace en otra particular, para lo cual, el Supremo Gobierno fué deferente á mi petición de ayudarme con la suma de dos mil bolivianos que ya recibí, comprometiéndome á entregar al señor Ministro de la Guerra doscientos cincuenta ejemplares de la misma al terminar la edición.

[facing p. vii]

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

[p. vii]

ESTA PEQUEÑA LABOR

SOBRE ETNOGRAFIA DE INDIOS CHIRIGUANOS

ES OFRECIDA

Con toda reverencia, humilde confianza y tierna devoción

Á

MARIA INMACULADA

Madre del Redentor

DE

« INDIAS Y FRAILES MENORES »

PATRONA SINGULAR

Por su Autor

[p. viii is blank]

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

INTRODUCCION

La historia es un recuerdo de lo pasado, un consejo para la actualidad y un aviso para lo venidero; ella nos da reglas para precaver los infortunios, hace que las generaciones presentes eviten las sorpresas y los venideros conozcan los acontecimientos pasados.

Los pueblos sin historia, sin sentimiento público, no merecen el honor de la gloria, ni del respeto universal. La historia de los pueblos es doble, política y religiosa, la primera puede considerarse y fundarse en el origen, en sus costumbres, en el traje que adoptaron, en su relación con los demás, en las guerras y cacerías, en los regocijos públicos y privados, en el trance de este mundo al otro y la segunda en la relación que guarda con los seres invisibles, genios ó seres maravillosos, Divinidad ó Ser Supremo, en sus prácticas piadosas, en el culto exterior que tributan á Dios reconociendo su poder y bondad; todo lo cual da origen á la Etnografía propiamente dicha.

Las épocas posteriores al diluvio, cuyos horrores describe el inspirado caudillo del pueblo hebreo en el Génesis, se presentan á la posteridad cubiertas de un intenso velo, efecto del pecado del primer hombre, cuyos descendientes confundidos en la Torre de Babel, que la soberbia humana levantára en las llanuras del Senmár, fueron adquiriendo costumbres depravadas, errores profundos, acerca de su ori-

gen sublime y divino, prácticas nada conformes á los principios de moral no sólo, si que también repugnantes y contrarias á la existencia del género humano, las que se hallan todavía vigentes en aquellos lugares del vasto imperio Chino y otros pueblos y tribus, donde no ha penetrado aún la verdadera Religión, la luz del Evangelio de Cristo Redentor, que más rápido que el rayo, desde el Gólgota se difundió maravillosamente por las cinco partes del mundo hasta penetrar y resplandecer en la Oceanía y las Américas, descubiertas por el inmortal Genovés Cristobal Colón.

Testigos de estas intensas tinieblas son la Caldea, la India y la Persia, el Egipto, la Grecia, la China, el Japón y tantos otros pueblos que por no admitir un solo Dios, cayeron en el error de ofrecer incienso á muchas divinidades, hasta adorar al Dios desconocido «Ignoto Deo» como en Grecia.

Roma, hoy capital del mundo católico, que llama continuamente á sus puertas á los grandes y pequeños de un mundo íntegro, divinizó por una serie de siglos al hombre, á las piedras, á los metales y bosques, quemó incienso á la prostitución, deificó á sus emperadores y erigió templos al vicio, á la mentira, al error, á la la lascivia y cuando el Pescador de Galilea asoma á sus puertas y predica una moral enteramente nueva, las calles de la ciudad eterna se inundan de sangre, el anfiteatro presencia la muerte atroz de millones de víctimas, de innumerables mártires que firmes en la fé de Cristo y en la moral evangélica, ponían gozosos su blanco cuello bajo la cúchilla del verdugo, ó hacían despedazar su inocente cuerpo con una bestia feroz.

El pueblo Ebreo, pueblo escogido por Dios para conservar la verdedera Religión y la verdadera idea de la Divinidad, pueblo elegido donde debía nacer el Redentor del género humano caído con el pecado del hombre primero, se arrastró y prosternó quemando incienso ante un becerro relumbrante de finísimo oro y habría caído en la ignorancia

más completa, como se encenegaba continuamente en los vicios más deformes, según vemos en la historia sagrada, si la omnipotencia divina y su misericordia no hubiesen velado por él proporcionando avisos por conducto de sus patriarcas, profetas y sumos sacerdotes, castigos ejemplares que éstos aplicaban y temores de las penas eternas que explicaban con los libros santos en los templos los levitas.

Cuando Cristo triunfó de la muerte en la cima del monte Calvario, un pueblo nuevo fervoroso que bebió la Doctrina inmaculada de los labios del mismo Redentor y de sus apóstoles, el pueblo cristiano en suma reemplazó al pueblo judaico repudiado por Dios por la soberbia de no reconocer al Divino Ungido, por el crimen horroroso de haber sacrificado al Divino Libertador después de haber dado innumerables pruebas de su divinidad, resucitando muertos, aderezando cojos y tullidos, haciendo caminar paralíticos, ver ciegos, oir sordos, hablar mudos y operando grandes curaciones de enfermos incurables con sólo el poder de su voluntad divina, ó de su dulce palabra.

Sin embargo, el pueblo cristiano que bebe la sangre y come la carne del Cordero Inmaculado en el Sacramento del amor, en la Mesa de los Angeles, aún este pueblo cuando olvida la ley divina, se entrega á los excesos de la crápula y quema incienso no á un becerro de oro, sino á los vicios inmundos, comete excesos inauditos, de los que se avergonzarían los mismos bárbaros por no decir los mismos salvajes de los bosques de América y Hotentotes de Africa.

El sitio de la Comuna de París en 1871, descrito brillantemente por el Gran Tribuno boliviano Dr. don Mariano Baptista, nos da una perfecta y horripilante idea de lo que es capaz el hombre aun cristiano, cuando llega á negar al Cristo, á su Evangelio. El socialismo había arrancado la imágen del Redentor de todas las escuelas, había proscrito la oración, había gritado: La Marsellesa; no hay más oración que la Marsellesa. A todos lados de París era incen

dio, porque el petróleo había sido esparcido con profusión las mechas incendiarias colocadas en los interiores y los barriles de pólvora amontanados en los sótanos. Y, ¿quiénes preparaban la catástrofe? Infelices jóvenes seducidas por sus madres, á quienes la revolución había arrancado la idea religiosa. Desmelenadas como arpías concurrían á los Clubs para poner pronto en ejecución las resoluciones tomadas, arrancando el principio religioso del corazón, quitada la idea del trabajo que moraliza las turbas y sustituido el socialismo juntamente con el anarquismo, los hombres aún más civilizados retroceden, se embrutecen y cometen excesos.

Si esto sucede en las naciones civilizadas, ¿qué debe esperarse en los pueblos y tribus de los bárbaros, en los pueblos y tribus de los salvajes? Los hay en casi todo el mundo donde no penetró la verdadera civilización, mas no vayamos lejos, concretémonos á la tierra de Colón y escojamos de entre todas las naciones del nuevo mundo á nuestra querida Bolivia, donde hemos pasado el mejor tiempo de la vida..... la juventud.

¿Qué hay en este hermoso suelo del Grande Bolivar? Territorios interminables, ríos caudalosos y bosques interminables, donde pululan innumerables tribus. Si fijamos nuestra vista al Norte, encontramos indígenas, si al Sur, bárbaros, si al Poniente, salvajes; mas concentremos nuestra mirada al Noreste y al Este y nuestra memoria se confundirá sin poderlos enumerar: los feroces Sirionós acechan continuamente al pobre viajero que va á Guarayos ó á Corumbá con sus negocios, ó que regresa con su recua cargada de mercaderías, hacen peligrosos los caminos por tierra, como por agua; los tobas y los matacos se disputan ambas orillas del Pilcomayo á pesar de las armas de la Delegación y fortines que saben incendiar á menudo; los tapietes amenazan continuamente los últimos baluartes y á todo su personal, porque el cañón y la bayoneta son impotentes para civilizar é infundir en el pecho de hierro y en el corazón rudo del salvaje ideas

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

humanitarias, ideas filantrópicas, porque el cañón destruye, no civiliza.

No me ocuparé de estas tribus en el decurso de mis páginas, de todas ellas se puede componer un libro estudiando su origen, sus costumbres, su relación con las demás tribus y aun con los blancos, su relación con los seres invisibles ó imaginarios, su idioma y sus hazañas, mas renuncio á esta ardua tarea y me concreto á la raza chiriguana, la que ha sido conquistada por los misioneros de Tarija, desde mucho antes de la Independencia Sud-Americana y luego por los iguales del Colegio de Potosí desde el año 1870 por una comarca cerrada al comercio y civilización.

Lo primero que haré en el decurso de estas líneas, es poner la descripción de la región chiriguana, luego seguirán: el origen de la tribu ó raza, el idioma, la estadística, el carácter físico y moral, la religión, la ordenación política, el pueblo, las costumbres, la imposición de la tembeta en los varones, el ayuno en las doncellas, las enfermedades, las guerras, los cantos, las reuniones y por último la muerte y el luto. Procuraré que esta obrita sea algo amena y para ello me permitiré insertar una que otra fábula que antiguamente era tenida como cierta y como tal la acatan aún hoy en ciertas regiones.

ADVERTENCIA

Sale á luz este pequeño trabajo que algunos pueden llamar no sólo inútil, sino también mal empleado, pero talvez otros que tienen el gusto de estudiar las razas, lo hallarán provechoso para la Etnografía, á pesar de que ella es insuficiente para dar una idea perfecta de la raza, entre la cual vivo desde el año 1893.

Antes de dar principio á este tercer trabajo he procurado adquirir erudición. No soy el primero en escribir de estos indios, me han precedido el D'Orbigny, el Pelleschi, el Man-

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

tegazza, los Franciscanos Conrado, Cardus, Martarelli, Giannecchini y el señor del Campano, etc. Pero en Bolivia no se conoce una obra completa, apenas existen apuntes ó páginas de autores dignos por cierto de todo respeto y muy competentes y los exploradores tampoco han presenciado todo lo que han escrito, de donde han provenido errores que habrían ciertamente evitado si las relaciones no las hubiesen hecho como de tránsito.

Con toda la calma posible, paciencia y tiempo ilimitado me he colocado al habla con los indios más ancianos y de buenos conocimientos, los cuales me han explicado algunos puntos, otros los han hecho corregir y los últimos me han hecho añadir; pero ya he dicho que con mi escrito no pretendo ni siquiera igualar la ilustración de los que me han precedido, sólo daré más extensión á las ideas emitidas por otros, ideas que han sido confirmadas en su mayoría por los indios á quienes me he dirigido.

Advierto finalmente que como los chiriguanos están en contacto con los indios de las Misiones y éstas antiguas y modernas son en número considerable; después de haber terminado lo que me he propuesto, añadiré á manera de conclusión un capítulo relativo á los chiriguanos infieles, á los neófitos ó nuevos cristianos y al método que emplean los Misioneros para reducirlos religiosa y civilmente y á lo que cuesta conservarlos en la fe católica.

Cada cual habrá comprendido que para evitar confusión, esta obrita será dividida en capítulos y los capítulos en párrafos para mayor claridad y para descanso del lector. Ciertos términos que debo estampar aquí necesariamente, serán escritos en idioma chiriguano con su correspondiente explicación, para que cada uno comprenda la fuerza del lenguaje. Podría también formular algunas proposiciones usuales con su correspondiente castellano, mas ni lo admite la calidad del libro algo voluminoso, ni es necesario, porque

hay varias obritas manuales impresas en esta República de Bolivia.

Los amantes de Etnografía procuren disimular cuanto puedan las faltas que hallaren, antes bien les ruego atiendan tan sólo á las noticias que relato con toda sencillez y difusión. Con las advertencias que preceden voy á principiar.

San Buenaventura de Ivo, Mayo 20 de 1911.

Fr. Bernardino de Nino
Misionero, O. F. M.

[P. XVI is blank, and not reproduced]

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

[facing p. xvi]

General D. Julio La-Faye, Ex-Ministro de Colonias.

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

PRÓLOGO

Je prends mon bien partout où je le trouve.

El R. P. de Nino, Misionero Franciscano del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de Potosí, me ha honrado encomendándome la presentación al público del libro que hoy ve la luz y respecto al cual ya anunciamos su preparación en algunos números del «Boletín» de la Repartición Nacional que corre á nuestro cargo.

Muy especial motivo nos asistía para aceptar tan grata tarea: pues ello importa para nosotros, y para el interés científico del país, valioso material de colaboración que nos trae el sabio Misionero cuyo íntimo conocimiento de los indios chiriguanos, entre los cuales ha vivido como catequista durante largos años, es indiscutible.

Pesaba, asimismo, en nuestro ánimo otra poderosa circunstancia para recibir con merecido aplauso la «Etnografía Chiriguana»: pues teníamos en cuenta, que, en 1914, por acuerdo tomado en Lóndres, al clausurarse las sesiones del XVIII Congreso Internacional de los Americanistas, se ha fijado la reunión del XIX, en Washington y esta Ciudad de La Paz, cual ocurriera en el XVII, que celebró sus sesiones en la conmemoración del Centenario Argentino de 1810, en Buenos Aires, finalizando en la ciudad de México.

Teníamos que prepararnos para la actuación que se ce-

lebrará en Bolivia y ello nos sugirió la idea de que el meritorio trabajo del R. P. de Nino se dedicára en calidad de homenaje, cual lo ha hecho el autor, al XIX Congreso Internacional de los Americanistas.

Se crée generalmente que el conocimiento de la flora, de la fauna, de la geología, de los productos de exportación basta ámpliamente para llevar á cabo la obra de la colonización. Puede enviarse técnicos, ingenieros, que recorran una comarca en todo sentido y con ello trazar el cuadro exacto de sus fuentes de riqueza, el agente humano, empero, el elemento esencial sendas veces habrá sido omitido.

La opinión que emitimos será la que forme el lector americanista qué lea con detenido estudio, cual lo merece, el importante libro del misionero del cual nos ocupamos. A no dudarlo la convivencia del catequista, en diaria observación de los neófitos de su reducción, hace penetrar más íntimamente en la índole ó *alma* de los seres que están á su cargo. Quien lea los muy numerosos detalles y hechos observados y consignados en el presente libro, no dudamos, nos dará la razón. ¿Puede el explorador naturalista, el geógrafo observar aquello de que nos dá cuenta el R. P. de Nino? Creemos que la sabia perspicacia de un d'Orbigny, mal puede penetrar una faz que le está oculta.

Tanto es así, cuanto el mismo eminente explorador, cuyo nombre acabamos de citar, en sus estudios de Mójos y Chiquitos, siempre recurrió á las fuentes impresas y manuscritas que nos dejáran los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús, hasta su extrañamiento, en 1767.

Lo que más nos ha interesado, tratándose de la moderna *ciencia americanista*, es el asunto de que trata el autor: la *Etnografía Chiriguana*, vale decir el estudio de la materia prima, en su lengua, usos, costumbres, tradiciones, creencias, etc.

Se han aducido proposiciones muy graves sobre cuestiones que, entre las razas incultas, á menudo hállanse re-

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

cónditas, son un arcano. Mr. Tarde ha dicho con razón: «Aquello que no se ve entre la gente primitiva, como entre nosotros, es á menudo más esencial para tomarse en consideración que lo que se ve. Así, pues, lo que de ordinario no se ve entre éllos, porque ello es un arcano impenetrable, es lo que atañe á sus relaciones internas, lo que en el fondo de su corazón se pasa». Es así como en apoyo de nuestro juicio sobre el libro del Padre Bernardino de Nino asentamos, tenemos la opinión del R. P. Froberger, quien asegura «que todos los misioneros de la Congregación del Cardenal Lavigerie, que predican el Evangelio en la región de los Grandes Lagos Africanos, sin discordancia afirman que tan sólo después de una mansión de muchos años en el seno de esas agrupaciones de negros, es dado penetrar la mentalidad y, sobre todo, la psicología de esas tribus incultas. Parece, pues, que la expansión civilizadora á países nuevos, no es asequible sin el prévio estudio de tales gentes, es decir sin la etnografía».

Esta ciencia data de ayer, en su forma y en el campo de su indagación, siendo legítimamente llamada *ciencia americana*, cuyos centros de estudio son las Sociedades, cuales la «Smithsonian Institution» y otras de la Unión Americana. Nuestro Hemisferio es el campo fecundo para la investigación, en el que quedan restos de pueblos primitivos, como la rama chiriguana de la que trata el Padre de Nino.

A la inteligente colaboración que antes recibiéremos de otros ilustres franciscanos, RR. PP. Fr. Rafael Sans, Fr. Nicolás Armentia y Fernando de M. Sanjinés, cuyas obras sobre historia geográfica, exploración de nuestros ríos, etnografía lingüística, etc., dimos á la publicidad; hoy nos viene el valioso trabajo que presentamos al público y que será, seguramente, apreciado en alto grado por los congresistas de 1914.

Ahora sólo nos queda, como lo hemos hecho para los Misioneros Sans y Armentia, consignar, aunque brevemen-

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

te, algunos rasgos biográficos respecto al R. P. Fr. Bernardino de Nino.

Este sabio observador de cuanto atañe á los indios de las reducciones que corrieron á su cargo, nació el 29 de Agosto de 1868 en los Abruzos Aquilanos. Hizo sus estudios elementales en su país natal, Prátola Peligna. De ahí fué á cursar sus estudios superiores y demás materias, al Seminario Episcopal de Sulmona, donde recibió las cuatro órdenes menores iniciándose para el sacerdocio. Entró á la orden franciscana, vistiendo el hábito de novicio, en 1886. En 1891 ordenóse sacerdote y luego embarcóse para nuestro país.

Fué en 1893 que se le destinó á las reducciones de indios chiriguanos.

En 1901 fué elegido Prefecto de Misiones, y terminado el período de seis años, durante los cuales abrió las Misiones del Parapiti Grande, eligiósele Vice-Prefecto en el año 1907.

El fruto de lo que había observado en su carrera de catequista, principió á ser conocido en 1905, con la publicación del «Nene Chiriguano», destinado á la enseñanza de las escuelas de Néofitos.

Ya, en 1908, emprendió más vasta tarea, escribiendo la continuación de la «Historia de las Misiones de Potosí».

De 1909 á 1911, escribió la Etnografía Chiriguana, que ve la luz pública.

En 1911, practicó la visita de las Misiones de Tarija, y durante ella escribió las «Rasgos históricos de las Misiones de Potosí» por órden del M. R. P. Comisario y Delegado General, Fr. Wolfgango Priewasser, para que tal documento se publicára en el «Archivo Franciscano,» cual se está editando.

En 1911 fué elegido Delegado del Comisario en Bolivia para las Misiones, Conventos y Colegios, cargo que ejerció durante nueve meses.

Al presente, desde Mayo del año 1912, hemos contado

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

con su colaboración, encomendándole la redacción de una «Guía del Chaco,» que tan largo tiempo estudió y que la generalidad de nuestro público no conoce cual merece ser conocido.

Dicha Guía, presentada por nosotros al señor Ministro de Guerra y Colonización, será publicada muy en breve, mediante la autorización que hemos solicitado.

No será esto lo último que recibamos como cooperación de los Padres misioneros: pues esperamos algún contingente más, que de ellos hemos solicitado: artes y vocabularios de las lenguas indígenas de Bolivia, que aún se hablan por las tribus reducidas por los Colegios de Propaganda Fide. Tales elementos muy fundadamente son de primordial importancia para la investigación americanista, y ya, con el apoyo del distinguido Director del Museo de La Plata, hemos hecho conocer el yuracaré, leco, tacana, cavineño, faltando algo más en este orden.

Dejamos al público el formar juicio sobre la obra que le presentamos, no dudando que mucho hay que aprender en ella, si queremos darnos cuenta de la vida y manera de ser del indio que mora en las remotas regiones de la República, sobre nuestras fronteras con los Estados vecinos.

La Paz, 1º de Diciembre de 1912.

Manuel Vicente Ballivián.

[Facing P. 2]

Grupo de indios é indias habitadores, dibujados trabajo

[P. 1]

ETNOGRAFÍA CHIRIGUANA

CAPÍTULO PRIMERO

DESCRIPCION

INTRODUCCION

Cuando un historiador, ó un etnógrafo se propone hacer la Historia ó la etnografía de una tribu ó raza, naturalmente debe comenzar con la descripción de la comarca que ocupan los seres humanos que deben *embargar* por un tiempo más ó menos largo la mente del escritor. La descripción general de la región es casi tan necesaria como el origen de la tribu, ella sin embargo no posible que sea en el decurso de la obra, grande ó pequeña que ella sea, el atractivo en el trabajo desdoblegar de vez en cuando un cuadro fantasía y decorosa así y amplia lírica y como fragmentos, cuando inesperadamente se le presenta la ocasión de describir ó la ligera un delicioso panorama, como el que se presenta á la vista del viajero en la cumbre del cerro Huamanta y el igual en el cerro de Iravia para bajar á Cuevo.

En mi obrita «La continuación de la Historia de Misiones del Colegio de Pitanda dije que para dar cima á un capítulo como el presente, se necesitaba tiempo, ilustración, acopio de material y tranquilidad de espíritu, cosas á propósitos difíciles de hallarse juntas en un escritor Misionero como el que escribe.

¿Acaso creerán mis lectores que en tan poco tiempo puede haber cambiado mi situación? Si lo creen, es debido á la bondad de su corazón, que la situación del que escribe en vez de mejorar, parece haberse agravado. Sin embargo sin ninguna pretensión me voy á ocupar en la descripción de la comarca chiriguana, sólo porque lo requiere naturalmente la obra. En mi anterior nunca pretendí escribir esta tercera que me costará un poco de trabajo y tiempo, porque, repito: que para escribir se necesita sosiego y al Misionero no se lo dejan los indios con sus molestias continuadas, de donde proviene la diversidad de estilo, suave ó agrio, brillante ó oscuro, amenos ó pesado, natural ó estudiado que se observa en una misma obra de un mismo autor. Pero es un hecho que sólo aquí puedo relatarlo, pues solamente los indios son capaces de allanar las dificultades que naturalmente se encontrarán en el decurso de estas páginas.

La comarca habitada por los chiriguanos la conozco casi toda, excepción hecha de algunas zonas relucidas, pero esto poco importa, tanto porque no son de importancia histórica, cuanto porque he adquirido datos al respecto, los cuales son conformes con la parte principal. Podría formarse con fácilmente un mapa regional, pero no tengo inconveniente en decir que para ello me falta competencia.

Vista general

La región que habitan actualmente los indios chiriguanos se compone de muchas cuchillas que corren de Norte á Sur, están divididas por serranías variadas en tamaño, altura, peñas elevadísimas, despeñaderos profundos y hondanas incalculables. Su longitud es muy considerable, mientras su latitud no pasa más allá de ciento ochenta kilómetros. Las montañas se elevan sobre el nivel del mar hasta tres mil y más metros, pero á esa altura ya no hay ni vestigio de arbolada, mientras que á 1,900 metros el bosque es exhuberante.

En medio de las cuchillas las cañadas corren en todas direcciones y hay algunas que de lejos parecen cerros, ó que se confunden á serlo, otras hay completamente aisladas y de pequeñas dimensiones, pero llaman la atención del paseajero por su forma cónica, como el tradicional «*Tampopati*,» situado al principio de las pampas de Yva. No hay cañon que no dé cabida en su seno á una multitud de árboles de todo tamaño y aspecto, como el sotó, á otra mul-

titud de enredaderas como el bejuco y plantas rastreras de la familia de los cactos, de los que el indio saca su provecho comiendo la fruta, cuya dulzura y acritud juntas pudieran agradar y ser preferidas por la más aristócratica dama de la ciudad de París.

En las cañadas saca provecho el indio formando su sembradío con su respectivo vallado, allá también se alimenta su vaca con la ternera que corre y juega por la llanura y allí doquiera viven las alimañas, los impávidos zorros, los inofensivos osos hormigueros y las tímidas corzuelas, mientras los monos buscan los bosques y las breñas de los cerros para entretenerse en algazara estrepitosa y los cóndores aman cernerse por los aires á una altura extraordinaria, aunque lo practiquen desde la cima de cerros elevados.

Mientras las serranías se extienden de Norte á Sur, el curso de los ríos es bastante caprichoso, caminan al Norte, retroceden al Sur, se dirigen al naciente, avanzan con intrepidez al poniente, pero el curso dominante de todos ellos hasta las pampas del Gran Chaco es de Oeste á Este, venciendo todas las dificultades que presentan á su paso las serranías de donde se precipitan con fragor extraordinario, como en los «*Pirapo*» (salto de los peces), ó cascadas de los ríos Pilcomayo y Parapiti.

En el territorio de los chiriguanos abundan los torrentes ó quebradas; más numerosos son los riachuelos que pronto pierden sus aguas, porque á los pocos kilómetros se encuentran con arenales interminables. Si el agua escondida, dejara de aparecer de vez en cuando en el curso de las quebradas que son arroyuelos en su origen, la vida sería casi imposible aquí, pues son contados los lugares como Yvu que sin tener río, ni cosa parecida, posee abundante y excelente agua. Los manantiales aparentes en el curso de los torrentes son de grandísimo provecho en los lugares donde no hay lagos, ni lagunas, porque el indio por su pereza no es capaz de construir un lago artificial para su aguada. En Itatiqui, p. e. había no há mucho unas 150 familias de chiriguanos, podían haber formado un lago para tener un elemento tan necesario, pero ni lo hicieron, ni lo harán por propia iniciativa y van á los cinco kilómetros para conseguirla, ó cuando menos está la chiriguana con su cántaro esperando que se reunan las gotas que sudan en el cerro del poniente, de donde le viene el nombre de «Itatiqui» piedra que gotea.

Los lagos son naturales, pero no permanentes, hay muchos y grandes, en unos las aguas son muy buenas, en otros ni el ganado

la bebe por contener mucho salitre: todos ellos reciben el agua del cielo que á veces cae con mucha fuerza y los llena en una sola vez. Los cristianos blancos van formando lagos artificiales especialmente en el Gran Chaco y en las cercanías de Caipipendi. Cuando el agua falta de una manera absoluta, el indio escarba la tierra, busca la raiz del «*xipoy*,» samolo, que es grande como una sandía; la corta por encima, estruja la pulpa con su mano, se convierte en agua y bebe; con esto se remedia la necesidad, cuando empero esta bebida es prolongada, engendra enfermedades.

El terreno se presta para la labranza y para la ganadería, mas ambas industrias retroceden en aquellos años en que escasea la acción benéfica de las lluvias. Entonces se pierden las cosechas y los ganados mueren por falta de alimento y por la mucha agua que beben en los ríos ó en las lagunas, en cuyas orillas se quedan por falta de fuerzas; sin embargo esto sucede raras veces en toda la comarca que por abarcar mucha extensión recibe acá y acullá aguaceros que hacen renacer la naturaleza.

Extensión y superficie

La tribu ó raza chiriguana fué numerosísima y como tal abarcaba una extensión extraordinaria de territorio; se encuentran vestigios de estos indios en las cercanías de Tarija, se los encuentra más allá de Santa Cruz, donde aún actualmente hombres y mujeres chiriguanos en su mayoría son los que prestan servicios á las familias decentes. Hácia la capital de la República todavía recuerdan los indios que sus abuelos vivían en Tacopaya y más allá aún, en Talisco, comprensión del mismo cantón. Luego se extendían hácia el río Bermejo y finalmente hácia el naciente á las pocas leguas de Carandaiti, donde comienza ya la zona árida habitada por tobas y otros salvajes.

Antiguamente pues el territorio chiriguano lindaba al Norte con la provincia de Sara, al Sur y Suroeste con la Argentina y ciudad de Tarija, al poniente con el territorio de Tarabuco y al naciente con la colonia de Carandaiti. Abarcaba según los anteriores límites una extensión de doscientas leguas de Norte á Sur y suroeste y más de noventa leguas de poniente á naciente.

Hoy se ha reducido mucho este extenso territorio por motivo de la emigración, causada en parte por los blancos, bajo cuyo dominio la mayoría no se resigna á permanecer; las pestes que diezman la raza influyen poderosamente á reducirlo más y muy luego

apenas quedará el nombre. Hoy apenas alcanza por el Norte hasta Abapó, por el Sur hasta Itiyuru de Yacuiba, por el Oeste hasta Montegudo y por el Este hasta Carandaiti, unas cien leguas de Norte á Sur y unas 40 de poniente á naciente.

Abarcaba antiguamente algunos grados de latitud y tres y medio de longitud; conforme han perdido bastante de esta superficie, así acabarán de perderla toda, porque á pesar de ser los dueños natos del territorio que les entregara Dios, como uno de ellos me decía no há mucho, no saben cultivar y adelantar la agricultura, prefieren ir á servir lejos á otros, siendo dueños del territorio en su casa. Hoy por hoy en poder de los indios apenas quedan unas cuantas leguas denominadas Caipipendi en la provincia de Cordillera, cantón Gutierrez y todo el territorio ocupado por las Misiones, más uno y otro están expuesto á pasar á dominio ajeno, porque realmente el indio no es capaz de hacer fructificar el terreno que posee; entonces los pocos sobrevivientes en el territorio serán siervos en su propia casa, como lo son tantos otros en las tierras que fueron propias.

El terreno es muy deleznable, á lo menos el que ocupa actualmente, falta en él la piedra y el casquijo y como los aguaceros á su tiempo son torrenciales, abren fácilmente rendijas que en pocos años se convierten en hondas y anchas quebradas. Para esto contribuye mucho el ganado vacuno que por su pesadez remueve la tierra más que otro ganado con su pezuña, por esto en ciertas cañadas angostas ó de poca latitud apenas hay lugar para sembradíos, pues son muchas las quebradillas que se han formado. Así es la cañada del cantón Huacaya; si en ella viviera hoy la multitud de indios que había antiguamente, por causa del bosque y de las quebradas difícilmente hallaría en las llanuritas terreno bastante para todos los sembradíos de maíz, alubias y calabazas que tanto apetecen para su comida y regalo; sólo para otros elementos sería una cañada muy apetecida, sino estuviera toda con dueños.

Cerros ó montañas

El territorio chiriguano por ser muy extenso, como ya se ha visto, es bastante variado, desde Talisco hasta Monteagudo y desde Tarija hasta las salinas de la Provincia O'Connor en la ciudad de Entreríos es muy montañoso y pocos son los lugares que se extienden para formar una llanura de algunas leguas. Sino

hay cerros muy elevados, entre cerro y cerro que determinan las cañadas, hay una infinidad de colinas de todos tamaños por su elevación, latitud y longitud.

Las pampas principian insensiblemente desde Monteagudo por el poniente y desde Aguairénta, donde comienza el Gran Chaco; dichas pampas desde Monteagudo se agrandan poco á poco, ó se vuelven pequeñas según lo permiten las serranías hasta llegar á la última cordillera que se halla al Este de la Misión de San Buenaventura de Yvu á una legua de distancia, atrás de la cual principian las inmensas llanuras del Gran Chaco, donde ya se pierde el horizonte.

Las principales montañas son: la de Padilla, denominada por antonomasia «El cerro,» por su configuración es el mismo que hácia San Juan del Pirai llámase «*Curi*». (1) En este punto el camino por el cerro es muy fragoso y largo, más hácia Padilla si es bastante largo, en cambio es cómodo tanto para bajar, como para subir, si se exceptúa uno que otro punto de corta distancia. El cerro de Padilla llama la atención de todos, producen allí y sazonan bien tanto las patatas cuanto el maíz y de ambos lados está el cerro sembrado de casas de todas dimensiones. Desde Enero hasta Mayo los sembradíos le dan un aspecto bastante pintoresco y ameno, se eleva como 2,310 metros sobre el nivel del mar, por cuya razón sin duda no contiene arboleda que recién se encuentra exuberante en el plano hacia Monteagudo en el riachuelo denominado Limón.

Vienen en seguida los cerros denominados Huacangui, Bartolo y Cazaderos, los dos primeros se hallan á la márgen derecha y el segundo á la márgen izquierda del río Acero que besa las faldas de este último; ninguna particularidad tienen los tres, tan sólo que son poblados de árboles, son bastante elevados y el camino por los mismos es pésimo. El cerro Cazaderos abunda en tigres y es el mismo que hay que atravesar ó subir para ir de San Juan del Piray á San Pablo de Huacareta; antes de subir dicho cerro hacia San Juan, hay otro pequeño llamado Ñañoloma, llama la atención de todos por ser muy angosto, bajo y recto, es una raya que se levanta en medio de la cañada y sigue sin terminarse hácia el Sureste; el río Piray y el Parapiti bañan los pies del Ñañoloma.

(1) El cerro es distinto del Curi, porque aquél es más bien un enorme peñón que termina en las serranías de Limon.

Monteagudo tiene una llanura bastante accidentada, pero no es estorbada por cerros sino recién á las trece leguas, es decir hasta el río Parapiti en Matara, donde hay otro cerro solo renombrado por ser camino y camino pésimo. El río Parapiti lo baña en sus pies y por el mismo con mucho atrevimiento se abre paso en la dura piedra, formando allí una cascada; por este mismo cerro se sube para ir del Cantón Ingre, al igual de Igüembe, cuyo paso es también demasiado fragoso.

Desde Matara hasta Ivo siguen los cerros y colinas de poca consideración, si se exceptúan los cerros de Itiranti, Saararenta y el Incahuasi que separa la provincia del Acero de la de Cordillera; en Incahuasi hay una infinidad de restos de fortalezas y casas que según dicen y el nombre «Incahuasi», casa de Inca, lo indica, fué campamento de indios quechuas, cuando á las órdenes, de uno de sus emperadores quisieron conquistar á todos los chiriguanos, pero tuvieron que detenerse en la cumbre de dicho cerro sin atreverse ya á bajar á las pampas de Carapuricito, donde eran esperados por todos los indios, aliados con los tobas.

Cuevo, como todos los cantones de la frontera, está cerrado entre dos serranías, la de Saararenta al poniente y la de Aguaragüe al Naciente, esta es la última que se halla, es bastante elevada, mide 1,500 metros y con ella terminan las cordilleras hacia el este, para dar lugar á las llanuras del Chaco Boliviano.

En la cumbre del Aguaragüe la perspectiva es muy deliciosa; á la derecha se vé el pintoresco panorama del Cantón Cuevo con sus colinas, lagunas, pastales, bosques y quebrada que con su arena parece un inmenso listón de tocuyo que serpentea por toda la comarca y á la izquierda se extienden las interminables llanuras, perdiéndose la vista á lo lejos. Desde dicha cumbre se divisan las lagunas y campos de Carandaiti hasta perderse el horizonte por las pampas habitadas por los salvajes.

Las serranías ya nombradas del territorio antiguo y moderno de los chiriguanos siguen al Norte y al Sur hácia Santa Cruz y hácia Tarija y la Argentina, en cada lugar toman distintas denominaciones, pero son ramificaciones de los renombrados Andes. La última, el Aguaragüe, la he recorrido hasta Santa Cruz y pasa al Norte de dicha ciudad, lo mismo por el suroeste hácia Tarija y provincia O'Connor, termina en el Tartagal de la República Argentina.

Ríos y Lagunas

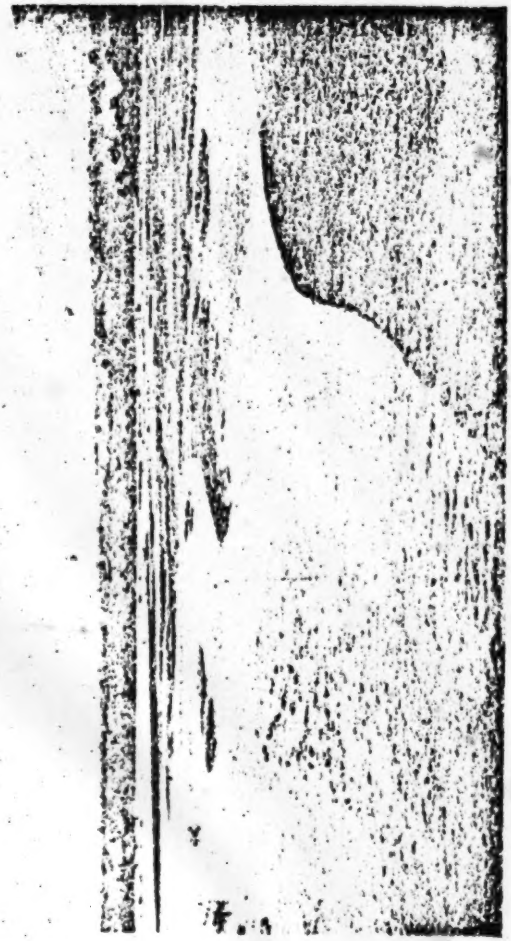
Fácilmente se comprende que esta vastísima superficie y extensión de territorio cruzada de Norte á Sur por tantas montañas de todas alturas y dimensiones y de muchísimas colinas en todas direcciones, está surcada por ríos, torrentes, quebradillas, riachuelos, manantiales abundantes, mientras en el Gran Chaco todos estos desaparecen y comienzan á verse las lagunas y lagos naturales ó artificiales.

Los ríos que bañan la región chiriguana son cuatro: el Pilcomayo, el Parapiti, el río, Grande ó Guapay y el Acero. El Pilcomayo principia al Noroeste del departamento de Potosí y atraviesa el territorio chiriguano por el Sudeste. Su agua cristalina y dulce hasta el sur del Cantón Igüembe, es algo salada en Huacaya y Villamontes, porque al Sudeste de Ibopeiti recibe como afluente al rio Salado, de aguas algo abundantes; contienen mucha sal, porque pasan por las salinas de la provincia O'Connor. Su lecho es ancho y poco profundo, pero, su agua es abundantísima desde Diciembre hasta Abril por ser estación lluviosa. Si en Villamontes abren los alemanes ú otros la gran acequia que ya proyectó el Supremo Gobierno, ya se hará casi imposible aún con lanchas la navegación de este río hasta los esteros del P. Patiño, porque no habría agua suficiente para ello

Abundan en el Pilcomayo los peces: el bagre, el sábalo y el dorado; de este último hay algunos muy grandes, de un metro y medio de longitud. Las primeras avenidas en la estación de agua arrastran y matan muchos peces, dejándolos en ambas márgenes tendidos en el suelo, ó amontonados como piedras y leñas. Entonces los indios chiriguanos, tobas y matacos llenan sus casas, perros y cuervos acuden allí por miles y se hartan, mientras el aire se llena de miasmas insoportables

La época más conveniente y segura para pescar es desde los fríos de Mayo hasta fines de Julio y en ciertos años hasta mediados de Agosto, entonces todos los indios son pescadores, pescan para si y para negociar, abren el pescado por el medio verticalmente y hacen secar al sol Si nadie va allá por cambalache, salen ellos á vender á 20 centavos cada uno; pero generalmente las tribus lejanas de los ríos cuando es tiempo de pescado, van á las orillas del mismo, llevan maíz ó harina tostada y en cambio traen pescado en abundancia.

[facing p.9]



Río Parapití

Las orillas del Pilcomayo son dificultosas para abrir acequias, porque son bastante elevadas, pero hay que confesar también que los indios no se preocupan de adelantos, no aspiran como los blancos que se han domiciliado en sus orillas; éstos también por ser pocos, pobres y de reducidos alcances, prefieren casi todos enriquecerse luego con poco trabajo y poco expendio de dinero, por esto se dedican á la cría de ganado vacuno y de cerda que prosperan sin mucho cuidado, ni gasto.

El Parapiti es el segundo río nombrado, contiene menos agua que el primero y en Pomabamba, donde principia, es muy insignificante, pero á las diez leguas, ó sea después de haber atravesado la serranía del Curi, ya comienza á ser respetable y en frente al pueblo de San Juan del Piray parece una bestia feroz que se dispone á luchar con un contrario de menores fuerzas, como es el río Armado, cuyas aguas hace retroceder ó detener, como se detiene el lacayo á la presencia y á la vista de su amo.

Este río corre de poniente á naciente con pocas irregularidades hasta Mariqui del cantón Parapiti, de aquí se dirige al Norte y desde su principio atraviesa la parte céntrica del territorio chiriguano. En San Juan del Piray el río dista del Pilcomayo unas doce leguas, fácilmente podrían unirse ambas aguas y formar uno solo, para lo cual hubo proyecto, pero causaría mucho daño á la agricultura, especialmente en la Provincia de Cordillera y el Pilcomayo apenas tendría la ventaja de aumentar sus aguas y ser talvez navegable desde Villamontes hasta los Esteros.

En San Juan del Piray el río Parapiti recibe como afluentes el río Armado y el río Piray y más allá de San Pablo de Huacareta se le unen aún las aguas del río de Sauces y varias otras. Recién pues el Parapiti es río de alguna consideración y su lecho es peligrosísimo casi en todos sus pasos por la falta casi absoluta de piedra, especialmente desde las Misiones de San Antonio y San Francisco hasta el cantón Isoso.

En este punto el río se pierde completamente desde el mes de Junio hasta Diciembre ó Enero, obligando á los industriales á practicar grandes excavaciones en su lecho para poder abrevar sus ganados que deben descender hasta los cinco metros de profundidad en ciertos sitios. Es fácil verse el curso del río ya seco, porque en tiempo de grandes avenidas va dejando en la orilla toda la basura que arrastra y en su lecho toda la arena; las aguas aparecen nuevamente para formar el río San Miguel en la Provincia de Velasco.

El provecho que saca del Parapiti la agricultura y la ganadería es indiscutible, sin él sería casi imposible la existencia del cantón Parapiti y cantón Isoso. Toda la riqueza de ambos territorios desaparecería, no habría ganados, ni establecimientos azucareros, ni arrozales como los hay actualmente en ambas orillas que se prestan á maravilla para abrir acequias y regar los cañaverales que los hay en abundancia. Sin embargo las avenidas extraordinarias de ciertos años perjudican mucho haciendo desaparecer casi completamente plantaciones y enseres para la elaboración del azucar.

Este río contiene pocos peces, no hay más que el bagre y el sábalo y otros de poca estimación; los dorados grandes no existen y sólo hay algunos pequeños en su afluente el río Piray, pero ¡cosa extraña! no penetran al Parapiti; en la confluencia retroceden. Más abajo de la Misión de San Francisco los peces desaparecen, porque el agua disminuye hasta perderse casi toda cerca de Mariqui.

En Isoso la siembra de maíz se practica por el mes de Junio para recoger la cosecha antes que principien las grandes avenidas que todo lo inundan, de modo que en tiempo de lluvia sólo se contentan con sembrar frejól, calabazas, melones y sandías á lo lejos del lecho del río, pero no siempre produce el fruto, pues la región es algo árida. Las aguas de este río son bastante dulces y debe ser una de las causas de que la agricultura es muy vigorosa en sus orillas, como puede observarlo cada viajero.

El Guapay ó río Grande es el tercer río de que hice mención, en Cordillera se llama Abapó y Guapay ó río Valiente por los chiriguanos, tiene principio en el departamento de Cochabamba, baña la provincia de Arque y atraviesa el Norte de la comarca chiriguana, bañando parte de la provincia de Cordillera. Pasa por Santa Cruz y confunde sus aguas en el Mamoré; sus aguas dulces y cristalinas contienen abundantísimos peces

Las márgenes de este río en la provincia de Cordillera permiten fácilmente la abertura de acequias para dar fertilidad á los terrenos adyacentes. Allí en la márgen izquierda, especialmente en Abapó y Cabezas parece que el río invita al hombre para que saque provecho de sus aguas, regando grandes extensiones de territorio. ¡Cuánta riqueza tendría la República con una colonia de ultramar en las márgenes de este río! Pero mientras no haya medios de transporte con la construcción de líneas férreas, es imposible todo adelanto, es imposible pensar en colonias, porque el

inmigrante ni viene á pié, ni está acostumbrado á alimentarse tan sólo de tostado, mote ó calabazas con alubias.

El río Acero es afluente del anterior. Tiene origen más allá de Supachuy y á las cuatro ó cinco leguas del pueblo es ya caudaloso, sus aguas hacen andar muchas paradas de molino, son cristalinas y dulces, abundantes en peces, sábalos, bagres, dorados y otros muchos. El lecho del Acero es muy pedregoso, sin duda porque corre por cerros y colinas bastante ásperas: sólo en tiempo de lluvias es peligroso cruzarlo, porque contiene abundante agua y es impetuoso, en otros tiempos se pasa sin cuidado alguno.

Además de estos cuatro ríos principales hay otra multitud de riachuelos y quebradas que contienen abundante agua, mientras no se alejan de los cerros ó no dejan de deslizarse entre medio de colinas pedregosas; pues conforme llegan á los arenales, ya se pierden, y entonces aún para beber, es necesario practicar excavaciones más ó menos profundas. En la provincia de Acero, cantón Tiencha existe el riachuelo Taperilla que arranca desde lejos y convierte aquella comarca en una delicia y la hacé muy productiva, pudieran allá practicarse grandes plantaciones de todas las plantas y semillas productivas.

Desde el cantón Igüembre comienza la aparición de lagunas naturales y artificiales: las primeras terminan en el cantón Cuevo y las segundas comienzan á parecer desde Buyuivo, vice-cantón Sancaroinza y siguen por Caipipendi, Carandaiti,, Parapiti, márgen derecha. Unas y otras están expuestas á secarse durante el año, pero si las lluvias son abundantes alcanzan fácilmente á la nueva estación lluviosa. Las lagunas son un grandísimo beneficio en las zonas áridas, y sin ellas no habría vida, como no la hay donde faltan; cabalmente por carencia de agua es dificultoso atravesar las llanuras del Gran Chaco para ir más pronto al Paraguay. Un ferro-carril de Santa Cruz á Isoso y de éste al Oriente, línea recta, salvaría toda dificultad; serían cien leguas por terrenos llanos algo accidentados.

Clima

Sin tener en cuenta uno que otro caso aislado en toda la comarca ó en parte de ella podemos sentar como principio, por la experiencia, que en la vasta región habitada por la raza chiriguana, no hay más que dos estaciones en el año, llamadas verano é in-

vierno, á pesar que ellos distinguen nominalmente las cuatro estaciones: «*Arucu, Roi, Macutiha, Ipiroba*», calor, frío, siembra y cosecha, ó sea: verano, invierno primavera y otoño.

Las dos estaciones de que yo hablo son muy marcadas; por la abundancia de lluvia el verano y por la sequía el invierno. Las primeras lluvias principian en el mes de Noviembre ó á fines de Octubre alguna vez, aumentan gradualmente y son frecuentes en el mes de Enero, escasas en Febrero, irregulares en Marzo y generalmente se suspenden en el mes de Abril, ó pasada la Pascua. Son precedidas las lluvias y acompañadas de relámpagos, rayos y truenos que llenan de espanto, especialmente cuando se les agrega algún viento impetuoso y terminan dejando en el aire una frescura incomparable; rara vez la lluvia cae con calma como en otras partes del mundo.

La lluvia casi siempre la trae el viento Sur, raras veces los demás vientos, nunca ó casi nunca el viento Norte. En la comarca en que actualmente habita el chiriguano casi nunca se vé la nieve, raras veces cae en las montañas más altas, que se deslíen en las primeras horas de sol. En las noches de Junio y Julio se congela alguna pequeña cantidad de agua, pero no sucede todos los años.

La temperatura es muy variable en todo lugar y es irregular aún en toda la comarca antigua, tanto por la elevación de los lugares, cuanto por los accidentes atmosféricos. La temperatura más baja es 5, la más alta 34 y la media 18. Los meses de más calor son Noviembre, Diciembre y Enero y los más fríos Mayo, Junio y Julio; sin embargo caen heladas aún en los meses de Agosto, Setiembre y Octubre que son muy sofocantes por la carencia de lluvias que refresquen la atmósfera. Aunque el calor sea muy fuerte en los meses de Noviembre, Diciembre y Enero, viene templado por la acción benéfica de las lluvias que caen con frecuencia y en abundancia, pero si, como sucede, se suspenden por alguna temporada larga, el calor es casi insoportable de día ó insufrible de noche, corriendo el sudor por el cuerpo, como baño que no deja ni conciliar el sueño sino por las mañanas que siempre son algo frescas.

La temperatura arriba indicada se observa regularmente en el centro de la comarca; al Norte, poniente y Sudoeste varía. En Santa Cruz marca más grados el termómetro, en Padilla y en Tarija menos, hay días en que puesto el termómetro al sol ha marcado 60 grados de calor y á pesar de esto no produce frecuentes insolaciones á estos indios que nada de abrigo llevan en la cabeza en sus tareas de la campiña.

En los meses de frío sólo cuando domina el viento Norte, se gozan días muy agradables y de una claridad excelente, mas el viento Sur todo lo descompone, cubre el cielo de nubes y principia la llovizna y el frío que entristece el corazón, produciendo las enfermedades, porque los cambios son muy repentinos aun en la estación de lluvias. Fácilmente el viento Sur en el verano hace perder en pocos días las cosechas, ¿de qué proviene esto? He dicho que las lluvias son traidas casi siempre por el viento Sur, pero sucede que en vez de lluvia cae granizo en una gran extensión de territorio, entonces se resfría inmediatamente la atmósfera, principia el viento que es frío, cuya frialdad se aumenta pasando por la región del granizo y, como los maizales son todavía tiernos, fácilmente se pasman. Grande es el granizo que cae, revuélvese la tierra, la hace abrir y mata pájaros, ovejas, cabras y otros animales, sino pueden esconderse entre espinos, ó debajo de árboles copudos, mas esto ni sucede con frecuencia, ni todos los años.

Los temblores son rarísimos, los he oido dos veces durante mi estadía en la región, el año 1899 y el 1909, mas el viento á veces es tan impetuoso que parece produce temblor; y no hay duda que arranca árboles y los desgaja, arruina los edificios y desmantela los tejados. Los extranjeros en este clima tan ardiente ó inconstante luego envejecen y canan, pero los naturales acostumbrados desde la niñez y, á pesar de los vicios de la bebida y otros á que se entregan, gozan de una vida relativamente sana y larga.

Se comprende con facilidad de lo dicho que aquí las estaciones del año guardan un orden distinto del que se ve en el continente antiguo. A pesar, pues, que no habría más que dos estaciones, podemos y debemos considerar siempre las cuatro para seguir la regla general del universo que divide el año en cuatro partes. El verano principia el 21 de Diciembre, el otoño el 21 de Marzo, el invierno el 21 de Junio y la primavera el 21 de Setiembre, pero todas ellas se adelantan á la época señalada, como cada cual que aquí habita, puede ser testigo.

Fertilidad

La serranía del Aguaragüe que se halla al naciente y á una legua de distancia de la Misión de San Buenaventura de Yvu, es la última en el territorio chiriguano. Pueblos reducidos y familias esparcidas acá y acullá, de estos indios, hállanse todavía al Este de dicha serranía á la distancia de unas 15 leguas, pero más allá

ya no, porque la zona es árida y seca «*igüi utini vae,*» como ellos dicen, y el chiriguano acostumbrado á sembrar maíz, alubias y calabazas no puede vivir donde falta la lluvia para su sembradío y el agua para su baño diario.

Cuanto más el viajero se vá acercando al Gran Chaco, encuentra menos agua y menos fertilidad, los mismos campos de Yvu son una prueba patente, raras son en dicho lugar las cosechas abundantes. Cuando en otros lugares las lluvias son torrenciales, en Yvu escasean, cuanto más se camina al poniente del Aguaragüe, tanto más el terreno es fértil, porque los cerros y colinas son más frecuentes y más altas, el agua es más abundante y por consiguiente el terreno con más humedad, lo que es necesario para la producción agrícola.

Los campos son á propósito para el ganado vacuno y caballar, para multiplicar ovejas y puercos; el año que deja de llover empero, carece de alimento para los ganados, como carece de agua, el sufrimiento es mucho y mueren bastantes, cerca de las aguadas que tienen á grandes distancias de los lugares donde hallan de que comer, como son las faldas de los cerros y la cima de las colinas, abundantes en hojas de árboles.

La campiña se viste de hierbas en el verano, mas principia á embellecerse la región en la primavera y antes aún. La rigurosa arboleda seca y sin hojas durante los meses de frío principia á vestirse de verde follaje en los comienzos del mes de Setiembre y en pocos días la naturaleza rejuvenece. Es muy hermoso contemplar entonces desde una pequeña altura una extensa pampa, donde haya algarrobos, sotos y catalpas ó lapachos, verdes los primeros, colorados los segundos y amarillas y moradas las terceras.

El territorio es productivo sólo en tiempo de lluvia, porque el chiriguano por lo general no se toma la molestia de practicar una buena acequia donde puede; todo lo espera de lo alto de los cielos. En las orillas de los ríos podían haber hecho maravillas en los tiempos pasados, hoy es ya difícil, porque son muy pocos y se contentan como sus abuelos del maíz, un poco de caña dulce y otras golosinas, como camote ó batata, mandioca y maní.

Las siembras en grande escala comienzan á fines de Noviembre ó á principios de Diciembre, después que el territorio haya sido regado con dos ó tres aguaceros abundantes. El maíz crece muy alto y cuando no falta la humedad produce dos y hasta tres frutos cada planta. Los frejoles producen tres cosechas. La caña dulce se eleva á la altura de dos metros y aún más, la mandioca

produce una arroba cada planta y la batata más aún, porque una sola planta puede extenderse y se extiende ocho y diez metros, siendo productiva en cada raiz que introduce en la tierra, hasta que se la cubra allí convenientemente con tierra.

No se puede dudar de la feracidad de la comarca que describo, pero los pobladores no la cultivan. Si hubiese en este territorio personas á quienes gustara el trabajo, el terreno produciría más; para esto no sirve ni la gente mestiza, pues el que fué peón en Sucre ó Tarija, aquí quiere ser señor, porque no es chiriguano, de donde proviene que las mismas orillas de los ríos, esas márgenes del Parapiti y Río Grande, que parece estén convidando al agricultor, permanecen casi incultos. El cantón Ticucha es otro territorio, donde una colonia de extranjeros haría maravillas, plantando viñas y árboles frutales y tantas otras producciones que pueden desarrollarse allí; lo mismo dígase de tantos otros parajes.

Parece que en ciertos lugares no produce la uva, pero es porque no se han hecho ensayos; no há mucho el P. Misionero de San Antonio del Parapiti plantó unas 200 cepas, ¡quién creyera! á los seis meses algunas plantas produjeron su fruto bien sazonado y las plantas se desarrollaron de un modo extraordinario. Casi en todas las misiones hay el cultivo de la viña y en Charagua la hay en grande escala por obra de extranjeros, de modo que lo que se necesita, son hombres pensadores y buenos agricultores para hacer producir estos hermosos territorios, especialmente las márgenes de los ríos, donde se pueden establecer plantíos de caña dulce, platanales, cafetales, viñas y tantos otros elementos que producen por acá.

El bosque desde el pie del Cerro de Padilla es muy vigoroso y así sigue al naciente hasta terminar al Aguaragüe. Las higueras producen con poco cultivo, el nopal sin ninguno, pues abunda en las colinas y cerros y, fruta tan agradable y refrigerante, es del primer ocupante. Producen las chirimoyas, las naranjas, limones y guayabas, la cebolla y la patata, el algodón produce en todas partes, el tomate y el ají madura en todo el año y en las huertas la lechuga, las coles, coliflores y pimientos constituyen la belleza de algún paraje sin tener en cuenta el provecho que reportan los gastrónomos. Aún los duraznos darían buenas frutas, pero son muy perseguidos por las mariposas negras que las dañan antes de que sazonen.

Sin trabajo el terreno no producirá más que abrojos y espinas

y hasta mientras habrá acá solos chiriguanos y solas vaquerías, poco será el adelanto y poca la población, porque el indio no tiene aspiración, la vida es relativamente barata; los blancos prosperan cuidando bien sus ganados y del terreno no se puede obtener más fertilidad, porque las propiedades de unas cuantas familias son muy extensas y no permiten fácilmente el domicilio de numerosos arrenderos que ni siempre dan buenos resultados, ni todos vienen ó piden arriendo para la sola labranza. Todos desean enriquecerse con facilidad y pronto y lo mejor es criar ganado, de donde resulta que existen grandes extensiones de espinas y abrojos.

Flora

En el decurso de esta somera descripción he hecho notar que en el país de los chiriguanos los cambios atmosféricos son muy repentinos, sin embargo se ha notado que la región es bastante fértil, cuando es irrigada por las lluvias ó por acequias, porque riachuelos abundan especialmente en la región montañosa y uno que otro río caudaloso baña los terrenos adyacentes con sus abundantes aguas.

Abundan colinas, pampas y cañadas y estas son circunstancias para hallar en este territorio todos los climas. Hay en efecto calor sofocante, frío intenso, clima templado, permitiendo así encontrarse tierra para todo cultivo desde la despreciable calabaza hasta la sabrosa chirimoya, desde el generalizado maíz hasta el trigo, el arroz y la cebada, desde la mora que produce espontáneamente hasta la rica uva, cuyos racimos llegan á pesar tres y cuatro libras.

Voy á hacer una breve reseña de algunos árboles y plantas que conozco sin pretender la nota de botánico, estudio que no he cursado. Sólo diré lo que he aprendido con la experiencia y la lectura con detención; al describir ciertas plantas, haré conocer también el uso que se hace de la corteza, raíz, hojas y ramas de algunas.

Acacia balsámica.—Es la quina-quina bajo cuyo nombre se conoce aquí en el territorio chiriguano, árbol elevado y recto, madera óptima para construcciones, porque no la daña la carcoma, por acá la usan mucho en la construcción de las techumbres especialmente para las llaves ó tirantes, donde deben apoyar las armaduras; es abundante en la provincia de Cordillera y aún en el Acero.

Acacia saponaria.—Este árbol es grande y su madera liviana quizá más que la del cedro, pero es menor su aprecio, es blanquecina, suple mucho para hacer puertas y ventanas, pero el empleo mayor que se hace de dicha madera es en las talabarterías para hacer bastos para aperos y sillas. Las semillas son semejantes á las orejas de mono y son buenas para lavar ropa y tener el cutis del rostro libre de manchas; aquí se le conoce con el nombre de «*timboy.*»

Acacia amarilla.—Es un árbol mediano de madera algo liviana y dura, por cuya razón de la misma se hacen gavetas ó bateas y yugos para los bueyes. Para hacer fuego no es buena, porque es hediionda cuando se quema, de donde le viene el nombre chiriguano «*Tatane*» fuego que hiede; la madera es amarilla.

Acacia astringente.—De esta clase hay muchos bosques reducidos acá y acullá, es el árbol que más abunda, la madera es buena para tirantillos, porque no la roe la carcoma, la corteza contiene mucho tanino y es el árbol que más usan para curtir pieles tanto los indios como los blancos; éstos lo llaman sebil y aquéllos «*Curupau.*»

Achiote. Bixa orellana. —Se cultiva en las chacras y huertas, crece hasta la altura de dos metros y medio, sus hojas son verde-oscuras; produce abundante fruto en una especie de cápsula, guarnecida de erizos, adentro está llena de semillas rojas encendidas y éstas son las que dan mucho aprecio al arbolillo. Sirven para dar color á la comida y con ellos se pintan el rostro y los pies los chiriguanos, como se verá; para este último fin se prepara de antemano, haciendo hervir muchas cápsulas en una olla y del cocimiento se forman pastas de todo tamaño, según el valor que se les quiere dar, se hace comercio por chiriguanos y blancos.

La bixa orellana ó «*Urucu*» como lo llaman los indios, es planta de mucho valor para el chiriguano, camina desde lejos para conseguir una pequeña cantidad en los pueblos ó lugares donde se elabora.

Algarrobo.—Donde abunda mucho este árbol de extraordinaria grandeza, es en las pampas, así en la llanura de «*Curuyuqui*» de la Misión de Yvu, Isoso, Parapiti y el Gran Chaco se le encuentra formando bosques. Es muy corpulento, tiene ramas extensas que tocan hasta el suelo en unos, su tronco es grueso y no siempre recto, la madera es excelente, parecida al roble á pesar de ser oscura, y se usa mucho para hacer toneles, marcos de puertas y ventanas y aún para barriles. El árbol en chiriguano se llama

«*Iropei*» y la vainilla «*Iropei*» es larga, comprimida y amarilla; cuando está en sazón, es dulce y muy buscada por los ganados y por los chiriguanos, es su comida y bebida en tiempo de carestía y cuando no, lo es también y la aloja que hacen, es demasiado embriagadora. En la orilla del Pilcomayo aún los blancos se alimentan de esta vainilla; los tobas, chorotis, matacos y otros arman sus orgías, cuando madura el algarrobo.

Algarroso chico.—Es árbol más pequeño que el anterior, aún su fruto es más pequeño, de color overo y más dulce que el verdadero algarrobo, pero no es tan abundante como el primero. Como las vainillas son pequeñas y las semillas abundan en ella, tiene poco aprecio entre los chiriguanos, sólo lo comen por necesidad ó por golosina, la madera tiene poco aprecio, porque hay otras mejores sin duda. En chiriguano se llama «*Irope vai.*»

Algarroso agrio.—Es también pequeño y se le denomina agrio, porque realmente así es el sabor de las vainillas. En tiempo de carestía es también alimento de los chiriguanos, las vainillas son pequeñas y el árbol tiene sus parajes de simpatía, los indios chiriguanos lo llaman «*Irope-tagi.*»

Algarroso negro.—Entre los indios se llama «*Iropeuro*» y los blancos lo llaman tusca, se multiplica y crece muy luego. Alrededor de una sola bañiga pueden contarse á veces veinte ó treinta plantas recién nacidas, lo que indica que el ganado vacuno lo come en abundancia y es el mismo ganado que con su vientre lo va sembrando donde no hay. Se eleva á la altura de unos tres metros y contiene mucha espina, lo que dificulta bastante caminar por donde abunda; cuando no hay otro alimento, es un recurso para el chiriguano.

Algarrobilla.—La madera de esta planta que los chiriguanos llaman «*Iyãirogpiro*» es negra y muy buena para ebanistas, es una especie de ébano, sólida. Los instrumentos de guerra y de fiestas de las tribus son de esta madera, su tronco es tortuoso y rara vez está un solo tronco, las flores son amarillas y las bayas son muy buscadas por las cabras, pero las hace abortar.

Algodoncillo.—Es este un arbusto frondoso y de muchas ramas, crece hasta dos metros de altura, tiene flores amarillas y un capullo blanco cuando está maduro, se recoge entonces, se seca al sol, se arranca la materia de las semillas y se limpia. El algodón «*matalique*» tiene mucho uso, con él se elaboran hamacas, ponchos, alforjas y costales, fácil sería aún elaborarse la manta, pero no se hace, porque la que viene del extranjero, es muy barata y más

vistosa á pesar de no tener la fortaleza de aquella. Sus hojas compuestas como cataplasma son antimaláricas y sus semillas en forma de pomada sirven contra las herpes y erupciones cutáneas, de las semillas puede extraerse aceite para alumbrar.

Ahora.—La ahora es un arbusto que crece apenas un metro, tiene parejas de espinas que son las peiopas, que contienen tierra mezclada con arena. En dichas peiopas prospera en abundancia, pero se la encuentra sin en otros lugares. La fruta madura es roja y por su forma como la piña, como la pulpa y las semillas son como la chirimoya, así en el sabor de la pulpa; antes de madurar esta la cortezas tiene mucha semejanza con la chirimoya; los chirigusnos la llaman «*Anoíco*.»

Algarrobo blanco.—Tiene color defoul grandes dimensiones y su presencia es abundante casi en todas partes, la madera es blanca y buena en lugares secos; si penetra la humedad, se destruye en pocos años, así se vé por la experiencia. La corteza que se halla debajo de la primera que es resquebrajada, hervida en agua tibia y puesta en maceración por una noche, cura la fiebre intermitente, los argentinos la llaman cacha, los blancos quebracho y los chirigusnos «*Iyáicoco*.»

Algarrobo.—Hay en abundancia aquí y es árbol de medianas grandezas, su madera tiene poco aprecio, pero la fruta, grande como un grano de uva de color café oscuro, es un grandísimo recurso en tiempo de escasez para el pobre chirigusno. Madura en Enero y Febrero y es apetecida sea por el grande y por los ovejas y porcinos; los blancos la llaman algarrobo y los chirigusnos «*Yaá*.»

Banano. Ahora.—Cultívalo en las huertas y en las chacras tiene valladáo, forma natural y cada planta dá á producir un racimo muy grande en algunos; al quitar el racimo maduro se debe cortar esta la planta que lo produjo, para que las demás produzcan el suyo. Las hay de varias clases grandes y chicas, éstas son muy dulces para comerlas como fruta, aquellas más hervidas y asadas, los blancos la llaman plátano y los chirigusnos «*Yacuda*.»

Higuera ahuma.—Es un arbusto pequeño de una vara de altura, bajo tiene tiene una raíz grande como sandía y más grande aún, contiene mucha pulpa que estrujada se convierte en agua potable, á la vez sagda, dando resina; los chirigusnos la llaman «*Sipai*.»

Cataipa.—Es este un árbol grande y de bastante solidez, su madera se emplea en la construcción de las casas, el color de la

madera es amarga, pero resiste cortada en algo verde; sus flores son
amarillas, y los chiriguanos las usan para blanquear su dentadura,
son agrias y por esto el árbol en chiriguano se llama «*Tapi*»
ó sea agria, los blancos lo llaman lapacho.

CEDRO.—Árbol grande con tronco diferente y arrugado de pocos,
hojas anchas y flores grandes y blancas que producen una materia
semejante al algodón sin hebras, por lo cual es más suave y
esponjoso; se emplea para colchones y almohadas y cuerdas para
velas. La madera es esponjosa y de ningún duramen, se fabrican
arcas para guardar agua perfumada y de este modo no se dañan
tanto. La corteza es buena para la elaboración del jabón, la
corteza es medicinal, los blancos la llaman tabacuchi y los chiriguanos «*Kiwando*» *los hay de varios colores y todos más ó menos se utilizan.*

CEDRO.—Este árbol es más chico que el anterior, pero su madera es
mucho más superior, y muy fibrosa y bastante liviana, se
emplea para hacer arcas y durar mucho tiempo, si se pudren y
si les cae la carcoma. Cuando florece es muy hermoso, las flores
son rojas encendidas y buenas para cordales, los chiriguanos la
llaman «*Kiwando*».

PALMA.—Árbol alto, derecho y bastante grueso, la madera es
fuerte y dura, si el árbol se le hace una incisión, manan una resina
muy roja, su corteza es óptima para endurecer la dentadura y para
curar el escorbuto. *Se extrae de este árbol la goma llamada*
sangre de drago, los blancos le llaman tipa y los chiriguanos
«*Chiriguillipa guasu*».

PALMA.—Planta arborícola que abunda en ciertas lagunas y
esteros formando por los agujeros de los ríos que salen de montes; la
emplean los indios para trabajarlos de sus casas y los arcabucos para
los fuertes y los otros para colocar en los habitaciones sobre las
cuales tienden también sus camas para dormir; es la tabla ó matera
de los blancos y el «*Chipiapa*» de los chiriguanos.

ESTOMAQUITO.—Este árbol de tamaño muy grande, tiene flores
blanquinosas y fruto del tamaño de un higo, amarillo, es comestible,
y es apetecido por los loros y monos; los chiriguanos lo nombran
mano fruto, y lo llaman «*Iguani*».

GUAYCURÚ DE CHAPO MAMOSO.—Este árbol no abunda mucho,
no se le encuentra en todas partes, tiene tamaño regular, tronco
recto y corteza lisa y más blanda que la higuera, la madera es
blanda y no tiene uso ninguno, es parecido á la de la ceiba ó tabacuchi.
Las hojas semejan á las de la higuera, el fruto es del cala-

mo tamaño y forma, pero amarillo; es comestible y bueno, hervido ó asado; si se come crudo, lastima la boca, en chiriguano se llama «Chiomatina.»

Guayabo.—Se halla este árbol frutífero en estado silvestre y cultivado, es de medianas grandezas, el fruto cuando está maduro es amarillo por afuera y morado por adentro y su sabor agridulce es muy agradable y lozano. Las frutas verdes y las raíces son astringentes, los chiriguanos lo conocen con el mismo nombre, la madera no tiene uso ninguno y si la tuviera los indios no harían uso, porque prefieren frutas comestibles; sientan, cuando se destruye cualquiera de estos árboles y otros como el algarrobo.

Gravesa.—Esta planta prospera en el tronco de los árboles altos, allí pone sus raíces y de allá se descuelgan otras que penetran en la tierra, raíces y lianas son de color oscuro; de la corteza se elaboran muy fuertes é incorruptibles cabestros, no se halla en todos los parajes. Se la encuentra donde la márgen izquierda del río Paraguay; su fruto asemeja al del maíz, por cuya razón se llama maíz de aire, y es comestible.

Higuera amarilla.—Es el guapay del chiriguano y el higuerón del vulgo, á pesar de ser el fruto bastante acre, es comestible. Los murciélagos lo aprecian, y es indudable traer este árbol cerca de las habitaciones; contiene jugo lechoso como la higuera común y aplicado á las heridas, las cicatriza. Adelante de la higuera anterior hay, la común que prospera con muy poco cuidado; en los pueblos, especialmente de los Misiones, se cultiva bastante por los naturales y su fruto les sirve para su regalo y comercio con los blancos.

Mandioca.—Esta planta se llama «Mandio ó Mandiparapi» por los indios chiriguanos. Una obrita escrita por un Misionero descalzo de las Misiones antiguas del Paraguay refiere que esta planta la dejó á aquellos indios el Apóstol Santo Tomás, que, según la tradición de los mismos, vino á esta parte á predicar la doctrina del Redentor. La mandioca es un exquisito manjar y muy digestivo, se come hervida, asada y frita en manteca de pavo. Es planta cultivada por los blancos y por los indios.

Mara ó Ceiba.—Este árbol se encuentra en todas partes, es madera sólida, mas la parte blanca que contiene á los lados es corruptible, es algo pesada y dura, sólo se usa para marcos de puertas y ventanas y sólo para mesas. La hoja es permanente, pero no tan buena para sombra, si se tocan las hojas con alguna fuerza para arrancarlas, producen una erupción cutánea que desaparece sólo con miel de abeja; así me contó don Tomás.

Melocotón.—Este árbol originario de la Persia es bastante productivo en esta región, pero su fruto por ser muy perseguido de la mariposa negra no llega á sazón, porque siempre resulta con gusanos. También produce el manzano en las alturas y donde la atmósfera no es tan caldeada, mas ambos árboles son de las huertas, no son de la región, han sido importados por los blancos y ellos los cultivan, lo mismo dígase del membrillo.

Molle.—No se halla este árbol en la parte céntrica de la comarca, de modo que aquí no produce naturalmente, sólo se obtiene cultivándolo; los blancos y los Misioneros lo han introducido en sus pueblos con buenos resultados. En la jurisdicción de Padilla se le encuentra en abundancia, tiene hojas permanentes y medicinales, lo mismo la resina que mana del tronco; de las semillas se hace una bebida refrigerante y agradable parecida al vino, sólo el olor es algo desagradable. El eucalipto es otro árbol que prospera aquí con regularidad, pero también es importado, sus hojas aún permanentes son muy medicinales contra las fiebres endémicas, su tronco es una madera excelente. Ambos árboles no tienen nombre en chiriguano, de donde se deduce que han sido importados como la viña, la higuera común, el melocotón, membrillo, etc.

Mora ó morera.—Este árbol se halla en estado silvestre desde la márgen izquierda del río Parapiti en la provincia de cordillera. Se eleva á la altura de unos quince metros, es corpulento, muy coposo y la fruta es más pequeña que la de la morera cultivada, la madera es sólida y compacta como la del soto y de mejores cualidades aún, se la emplea para máquinas de moler caña dulce, cuyos plantíos son abundantes desde las orillas del río Parapiti, donde se elabora azucar de óptima calidad. En las faldas de los cerros se halla también la zarzamora, cuya fruta es tan agradable al paladar, pero su espina, parecida á la de la uña de gato, es bastante peligrosa y punzante. La morera en chiriguano se llama «*Tatagigua*»

Naranjo.—Tampoco el naranjo, ni el limonero son naturales de la región chiriguana, sin embargo prosperan mucho y se elevan á mucha altura. Donde hay facilidad de abrir acequias y poder regar el naranjo y el limonero, producen frutos grandes y de mucho jugo, aquéllos son muy dulces y el acre de éstos es bastante suave. El cidro prospera y es planta importada aquí, sus frutos son grandes como calabazas. Los chiriguanos cultivan uno que otro naranjo, mas los blancos lo cultivan en grande escala, conoz-

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

co algunos naranjales bastante poblados y los hay en casi todas las Misiones.

Nogal.—Este árbol de extraordinaria elevación se halla sólo en estado silvestre, las hojas son pequeñitas y algo parecidas á las del verdadero nogal, el fruto es comestible, pero su cáscara no se rompe con facilidad. El sabor y las propiedades son las mismas que las de las nueces, de modo que puede extraerse de ellos el aceite que suple al de oliva. La madera es algo oscura, buena para carpintería y ebanistería, pero es inferior á la del verdadero nogal, este se halla en estado de cultivo, donde hay bastante humedad: con las hojas, la cáscara del tronco ó las raices se prepara un color café oscuro para teñir lanas, para dar color á las demás maderas y para tinta de imprenta.

Nopal.—Es planta fructífera que más abunda en la región y se halla en todo paraje sin ningún cultivo, por cuya razón es apreciadísima del chiriguano, naturalmente perezoso. Mas como es persiguida por el ganado vacuno, principia á desaparecer ó mejor dicho poco se la encuentra en el bosque y en la rasura, pero ya el indio lo cultiva, porque fácilmente prospera sin necesidad de riego y se multiplica sin necesidad de enterrar otros gajos. Es propia para la pereza del indio; las flores amarillas salen al rededor de cada pala y la fruta madura allí también, está llena de pequeñas semillas y pulpa dulce, agradable y refrigerante. Unos árboles son revestidos de puas largas y otros son desnudos, apenas tienen una que otra espina imperceptible: el fruto es agradable en ambos y sirve para regalo y comercio del indio que vende á los blancos, los que apurados para enriquecerse más pronto y con más facilidad poco se preocupan del nopal y de la higuera: en chiriguano se llama «*Saini.*».

Palma ó palmera.—La palmera tiene parajes de simpatía, donde forman bosques inmensos y á veces como una gran guirnalda crecen al rededor de un lago; es árbol muy elevado y liso sin ninguna rama, sus hojas son en forma de abanico y se utilizan para hacer sombreros y para cedazos que se venden á 30 ó á cuarenta centavos cada uno. La madera es buena para tirantes en las casas y la cavan también como hojas para la techumbre, duran bastante tiempo, si se tiene la precaución de cortarlas después del plenilunio; en chiriguano se llama «*Cucandati*» y el lugar que ocupan «*Cucandatiti*» palmar.

Palmacristi.—Planta de poca duración, crece hasta la altura de cuatro metros, tiene tronco blando y hueco, hojas grandes y

flores en forma de racimo de uva. Las semillas se hallan dentro de erizos pequeños como las castañas, dichos erizos en unas plantas se abren de por si con el calor del sol, en otras hay necesidad de abrirlos ó romperlos con cuidado, mediante un martillito ó piedra. El nombre indica que es planta hermosa, pero dicha hermosura consiste en las hojas anchas, abundantes, pecioladas; las hay de varias clases por su tamaño y bondad de semillas, conozco cinco especies. De esta planta ó de sus semillas se extrae el óleo ó aceite de ricino, empleado en la medicina; en las Misiones lo usamos para alimentar la lámpara del Santísimo Sacramento y los chiriguanos lo usan para mezclar con las semillas del «*Achiote*» y poner dicho cosmético en el rostro y pantorrillas hasta los piés La planta se llama en chiriguano «*Cusiro*» y el aceite «*Vandi.*» Aun las hojas del Palmacristi son medicinales, unas son cálidas y otras frescas, así cuando el dolor de cabeza proviene de insolación, se aplican las hojas del tártago blanco, al contrario si proviene de la mucha humedad, se aplican las hojas del tártago colorado, las semillas del tártago morado oscuro son pequeñitas, pero contienen más aceite que otras.

Papayo.—Este árbol no es originario como el palmacristi, ni tampoco se le encuentra en estado silvestre como éste, es cultivado en las huertas ó en las chacras bien valladas, crece muy pronto y produce su fruto al año de ser plantado, su tronco es recto, blando y hueco, algunos tienen dos y tres ramas y se levantan hasta cuatro metros de altura. El fruto es refrescante, amarillo con corteza lisa, del tamaño y forma de un pequeño melón, aún el sabor es algo parecido, pero más digestivo. Muchos frutos se agrupan alrededor del tronco y se hallan aún acá y allá en cada hoja, pero siempre pegados al tronco, las plantas que producen estos frutos son las buenas y las llaman hembras. Hay otras que llaman machos, pero sus frutos son inútiles, no están pegados al tronco, sino que cuelgan de él como cordeles, es inútil tenerlas. Para tener un buen papayo aseguran que en el trasplante, hay que tener la precaución de poner ó enterrar dos plantas en cada hoyo, de las cuales una siempre será hembra, y la que resultare macho se arrancará; ignoro la verdad de esto, pero así lo he practicado en Enero de este año. El fruto contiene muchas semillas que molidas y bebidas en orchata hacen arrojar las lombrices, el fruto y el árbol contiene leche resinosa. Para que, pues, el fruto sea bueno y digestivo, es bueno cortarle las extremidades y practicarle unas cinco ó seis rayas verticales para que salga dicha resina, al día siguiente

[facing p. 25]

Una planta de papaya

es ya muy agradable. Sin embargo es óptimo tener la precaución de que principien á entrar en sazón en la misma planta; en este estado y sin rayarlos duran hasta seis días sin dañarse; fácilmente pues se trasbadan á grandes distancias.

Pasionaria.—Es una enredadera que trepa por los vallados, vistiéndolos en tiempo de lluvia con su abundante follaje, lo mismo que la «*supua*» cuyo fruto es comible y agradable asado ó hervido lo mismo que la hoja. La fruta de la pasionaria es del tamaño de una manzana y lisa como ésta, la corteza es delgada y el interior se halla cubierto con una película filamentosa blanca, rota la película, aparecen los granos de la fruta, acri-dulce muy agradable, éstos son cenicientos y aperlados y muy apreciados por chiriguanos y blancos La flor de la pasionaria es morada, forma guirnalda como corona de espinas, tiene su caliz, cinco pétalos y tres clavos, por cuya razón se la llama pasionaria y es por cierto digna de admiración; los indios la llaman «*Marucuya*».

Piñon.—Planta euforbiácea, este arbolito existe en estado de cultivo y á esta región chiriguana fué introducido por los cristianos blancos, crece en las huertas y doquiera y su elevación máxima es de tres metros. Su tronco pequeño es delgado y copudo y su fruto consiste en unas semillas negras que no son comibles, molidas y diluidas en agua tienen virtud poderosa purgativa, por lo mismo hay que emplearlas con mucho cuidado, porque pueden causar la muerte

Sauce.—Crece y desarrolla el sauce en las orillas y en el lecho de los torrentes, como en las márgenes de los riachuelos, lo cual demuestra que busca lugares húmedos, pero de estos parajes muchas veces lo arranca la impetuosidad de una avenida. Nada tiene de particular el sauce común, solamente sus ramas son útiles en la construcción de las casas por flexibles, hebrosas y de poco peso, del tronco hacen poco aprecio; es árbol alto y grande con hojas muy menudas. Además del sauce común hay también el llorón, cuyas ramas tocan hasta el suelo, ni es originario, ni se le encuentra en estado silvestre; algunos blancos lo plantan para hermosura de sus patios interiores. El sauce común en chiriguano se llama «*Igüirapuca.*»

Saúco.—No se halla en todo lugar, sólo se le encuentra en los riachuelos de poca agua y que estén en el bosque, crece hasta cuatro metros de altura, su tronco es delgado y blando, sus ramas tienen médula fácil de extraerse y sus flores blancas del formado de un quitasol, son sudoríferas. Los blancos buscan mucho estas flo-

res para sus dolencias, aún las hojas son medicinales, se beben en decocción y se obtiene un buen purgante ¡Lástima que se halle en tan reducidos parajes!

Soto.—Este árbol jigantesco se halla en todas partes desde la provincia de Tomina, pero hay lugares donde más abunda; en la primavera cuando principia el broto, las hojas son coloradas y luego se vuelven verdes, en el otoño sus frutos, apetecidos por los loros, son colorados y están en forma de racimos como las cerezas; vistas de lejos por un europeo, cree éste que son cerezas. La madera del soto es sólida ó incorruptible, en la humedad ó en el agua es mejor que el hierro, pues no se deteriora, es usadísima en la construcción de las casas, especialmente cuando son de maderamen; del soto se extrae mucho tanino que emplean los europeos en las curtidurías, por los blancos es llamado aquí palo cuchi y por los chiriguanos «*Urundei.*»

Tabaco.—Planta anual que prospera bien en todas partes, pero sólo los blancos la cultivan en grande escala, especialmente en Sapirangui y Chiquiacá, cuyos productos tienen bastante fama; aun uno que otro indio hace producir para su consumo y para regalar á sus amigos; hay otra planta parecida y, en falta del verdadero tabaco, el indio se engaña á sí mismo con las hojas de aquélla; el verdadero tabaco en chiriguano se llama «*pentí*» y el segundo «*huacapentí*» que explicado literalmente dice: tabaco de vaca. En Bolivia hay mucho consumo de tabaco envuelto en papel ó chala de maíz, raros son los cigarros de puro tabaco como los habanos y otros; el chiriguano fuma mucho y toma esta costumbre desde muy tierno, niños de cuatro años principian á fumar, las mujeres también fuman.

Tacuara.—Antiguamente cuando no había ganado vacuno, la tacuara ó caña hueca era muy abundante, todavía se conservan los vestigios de algunos inmensos cañaverales, pero la planta se ha reducido apenas al cultivo, de modo que lo que antes se hallaba en el bosque á disposición del primer ocupante, hoy se halla en posesión de particulares y quien piensa hacer una habitación, debe pagar la cañahueca á razón de ochenta centavos por ciento y lo peor del caso es que no se halla en todas partes; esta falta se suple con varillas de árboles, pero ni son livianas, ni siempre derechas como la caña. Más allá de Santa Cruz hay todavía bosques; además se hallan bosques de otra caña llamada «*Bambú,*» es la mayor que se conoce y en chiriguano se llama «*Tacuarembo*» se eleva hasta la altura de unos 15 metros y se emplea para hacer

escaleras y andamios en las construcciones, porque es liviana y sólida. los retoños son tiernos, contienen una sustancia azucarada apetecida por los indios, hoy es poco buscada, porque abundan las plantaciones de caña dulce que es de gran utilidad para la elaboración del azucar y del alcohol, esta última prospera con mucha facilidad y poco trabajo; se practica la plantación de dos modos, haciendo surcos y enterrándola, ó plantándola con estaca, el primer modo es mejor donde no penetran las avenidas de los ríos. En la falda y cima de los cerros que contienen humedad, hay otra especie de caña delgada muy sólida y pesada que no es hueca como las demás clases, se llama caña brava por los blancos y por los chiriguanos «*Tacuarembo*» la utilizan para peines de telar y catres para dormir.

Tamarindo.—Este lindo y provechoso árbol no es originario, pero prospera con bastante cuidado y crece á una altura respetable, el fruto que produce es abundante, consiste en vainas abundantes del tamaño de las vainas del garbanzo más ó menos, la pulpa es negrusca, agradable al paladar, pero destempla los dientes y las muelas. Es astringente y se administra como fármaco en las inflamaciones viscerales especialmente á los párvulos, es también buena bebida, tónica en los días de excesivo calor; se prepara con azucar, agua y un poco de dicha pulpa; el árbol es bastante delicado para el frío y las flores se pasman fácilmente con el viento sur, por esto es que los blancos lo plantan en sus patios rodeados de habitaciones.

Taringui.—El nombre de este árbol es chiriguano, el taringui en unas regiones se le encuentra, en otras no, es de la especie de los cactos, se eleva hasta seis metros, su ramaje es abundante y cerrado, lo que da lugar á una sombra pareja contra los rayos abrasadores del sol, sus ramas ú hojas son estriadas y armadas de puntas, el fruto es pequeñito, pero dulce y por demás agradable, es muy apetecido por los zorros que sólo lo consiguen cuando cae del árbol. La ulala ú opuncia es inferior al taringui, sus hojas tienen la misma forma, el color es ceniciento y son menos abundantes ó mejor dicho pocas, el fruto es una baya lisa que cuando está madura, es morada y se abre en tres partes cuando está sazonada; es un dulce desabrido, pero que gusta bastante á blancos y chiriguanos; el color es morado encendido, abunda y en ciertos años de carestía es un recurso para la humanidad en los meses de Febrero y Marzo; en chiriguano se llama «*Ñacagüina.*» El caraparí es otro cacto, más alto que los anteriores, también tiene su terreno de simpa-

tía, pues no se halla en todas partes, es admirable por sus hojas ó ramas altas estriadas, cenicientas y armadas de puntas, su fruto es muy agradable y perseguido también por los zorros, el tronco es blando como todo cacto, sin embargo se hacen puertas de esta madera y duran bastante, la pulpa del tronco se utiliza en medicina para curar las enfermedades del hígado, etc; dicen que es buena aún para la papera. Hay otra especie de cacto que crece unos 20 ó 25 centímetros, es redondo y grueso, estriado y armado de espinas, en chiriguano se llama «*Zipepe*;» los niños, como veremos, forman ruedas quitándole las espinas y mientras las hacen correr, les sirve de blanco para tirar la flecha; finalmente hay otro que rastrea y es largo, se llena el suelo donde nace y ese paraje se hace impenetrable, éste tiene y produce un fruto bien rico que se llama en chiriguano «*Tapinaru*.»

Tilandsia.—Esta planta se conoce por los chiriguanos con el nombre de «*Caraguata guasu*», su paraje privilegiado son las colinas, y de entre éstas hay las de su simpatía, crece bastante y sus hojas son extraordinariamente anchas y largas de color ceniciento, en medio nace un varejón que se levanta bastante, es buena madera para costaneras de las casas; de las hojas machacadas forman cordeles y de estos se forman sogas óptimas para atar bestias en tiempo de lluvia. Los tobas y aún los chiriguanos hacen una especie de red que llaman chipa ó «*añapoca*» muy útil para que las mujeres puedan llevar en esa especie de bolsa cualquier peso, de la misma hacen redes para poder pescar en los ríos, son trabajos que llamarían la atención en cualquier parte del viejo mundo.

Existe otra *caraguata* pequeña que invade grandes extensiones de terreno impidiendo la entrada á todo animal, porque tiene espinas en sus hojas hácia abajo; en tiempo de carestía su raíz es alimento del pobre chiriguano, la raíz contiene poca harina del sabor de la mandioca, pero cuesta un triunfo arrancarla: la hoja de esta tilandsia es también buena para hacer cordeles.

Finalmente hay una tercera que prospera en abundancia en los árboles y en las peñas de los cerros, esta ninguna propiedad tiene, es grande por sus hojas que miden hasta un metro de largo, la planta es gruesa, la hoja carnosa y se usa para adornar las calles con arquerías en las procesiones; el aloé es parecido á la segunda clase de tilandsia, pero las hojas del aloé son anchas y gruesas, llenas de jugo, mientras las de la tilandsia son delgadas, arqueadas y secas, el aloé no es abundante, apenas se halla una que otra mata ó planta.

Tomate.—Esta planta que produce frutos tan agradables y provechosos para el arte culinario, prospera en estos terrenos con exhuberancia, el fruto de cada planta es abundante y los produce todo el año, cuando se tiene el cuidado de resguardar la planta del frío ó de las pequeñas heladas que suelen caer en Junio y Julio; para conseguir el efecto basta amontonar bañigas secas en dos ó tres puntos de un tomatal y encenderles fuego; plantas de tomates verdaderos se hallan también en el bosque, pero se supone que algún pájaro llevó las semillas en dicho paraje; el tomate es planta internada al territorio chiriguano, como lo es la cebolla, la patata y las berzas.

En el bosque hay una clase de tomate en estado silvestre, tiene algo de semejanza y de sabor, pero se diferencia bastante del verdadero, se coge verde y se deja madurar en una habitación encima de algún madero, á los pocos días se vuelve de un color rojó; señal que está en sazón. El ají también produce en abundancia y con poco cuidado; es planta que dura hasta tres años, teniendo el cuidado de podarla, al segundo y tercer años los frutos son muy picantes. En el bosque abunda otra clase de ají pequeño y redondo, produce espontáneamente, se llama arivivi por los blancos y «*quii ruii*» por los chiriguanos, es picante y curan algunos con él la enfermedad, ó inflamación de los ojos; sin embargo no hay que confundirla esta plantita con otra igual, cuyos frutos carecen de gusto y se llama por los chiriguanos «*Aguara quii*» que literalmente quiere decir, ají del zorro, el mejor modo de no confundirlo, es probar el fruto, se encuentra en todas partes

Tuno —El eterno Hacedor de todas las cosas en su bondad y misericordia dispuso que esta planta pequeña, necesaria bajo todo aspecto, diera su fruto en toda región habitada por el hombre, así es que aún aquí á pesar del excesivo calor, se cosecha en abundancia y no se defraudan las esperanzas del agricultor, si él tiene cuidado de regar el sembradío oportunamente. También prospera en los terrenos de regadío la cebada, pero ambos cultivos están abandonados por las razones ya expuestas en estas páginas y también porque los pájaros mucho persiguen ambos productos, como sucede en los arrozales que se hallarían vacíos, si se dejaran á discreción de los volátiles.

Prosperan además juntamente con el maíz, ó en otros parajes el trigo llamado de Guinea ó sorgo dulce que los chiriguanos llaman «*Triru*» y es originario, es dulce, madura juntamente con el maíz y lo chupan, como aún la cañota que es una especie de sorgo

sin dulce que sirve para hacer escobas para barrer, la semilla de ambas plantas es apetecida por los pájaros.

Vid.—Más adelante he dicho que esta planta necesaria para el Sacrificio por excelencia, como el trigo, prospera en esta región con bastante vigor. Aquí añado que en el bosque hay un árbol que se eleva hasta ocho metros del suelo con hojas pequeñas y madera insignificante, su fruto es del tamaño de una aceituna, de color café oscuro y de sabor parecido á la uva, madura en el mes de Febrero, es comible y se llama en chiriguano «*Iracigu*» Hay también en estado silvestre la vid originaria con tronco sarmentoso, sus frutos son como el racimo de la uva, son blancos y son aún negros y buenos para elaborar el aguardiente.

Yerba del diablo.—Es la datura que tanto abunda en los campos y en las chacras que es una verdadera plaga, se eleva á un metro de altura, es ramificada, tiene hojas anchas, flores blancas y fruto armado de puntas que secas, punzan lo suficiente para arrancar sangre, las hojas y semillas hacen perder la memoria. A propósito de esto recuerdo un hecho: una india distraidamente ó por ignorancia cubrió la olla de comida caliente con las hojas de la datura; á la media hora comió ella y le produjo fuerte dolor de cabeza y vértigo que le duró poco; comió también su nietita, alumna de escuela de unos seis años, ésta perdió completamente la memoria y todas sus acciones eran de una demente, este estado le duró unas 24 horas, parece que el chiriguano ignora que esta planta y sus semillas y hojas son venenosas; éstas secas son medicinales, alivian los efectos del asma y se receta á los indios asmáticos, los cristianos la conocen con el nombre de chamico y los indios con el de «*ozuzi*» ó sea yerba dolorosa.

Sapallo.—De esta planta rastrera hay once especies, de las cuales hablaré en otro capítulo; sólo añado que producen también aquí las sandías y los melones, lo mismo que el pepino y la zanahoria. La «*curugua*» y la «*curuguami*» de los chiriguanos son plantas parecidas al sapallo, pero trepan por los árboles y allí producen el fruto oblongo, dulce y fragancioso; al entrar á una habitación, luego se descubre si hay frutos de *curugua*, estos son comibles tanto verdes, como maduros, pero son preferibles en estado de sazón.

Dejo de hacer la descripción de muchos árboles y hierbas, cuyas virtudes para la medicina son conocidas, de otras me ocuparé cuando trate de las fármacos; sin embargo antes de olvidarme dejo consignado aquí en la terminación de la flora que la región donde

hay lugares húmedos, abunda en cedros seculares, cuya madera se emplea en carpintería para puertas, ventanas, mesas, etc. Para que sea incorruptible es preciso buscar plantas maduras cuyo color es rojo claro, el blanquecino es perseguido por la carcoma; el olor de la madera es narcótico, y esta propiedad hace ahuyentar los insectos, el olor es parecido al cedro del Líbano, por esto los conquistadores pusieron á este árbol el nombre de cedro que los chiriguanos llaman «*Iyüirane*» ó palo hediondo.

Fauna

Cuadrúpedos

En este párrafo me ocuparé de la descripción de los cuadrúpedos, como lo indica el título y luego en los siguientes párrafos de otros seres vivientes. Al ocuparme de éllos no entiendo hacer una anotación completa para no alargar demasiado esta obrita, me limito pues á la descripción de algunos.

Agutí-hutia.—Parece que este cuadrúpedo roedor sea propio de la América del Sur, mas es cierto que se halla en la región de los chiriguanos quienes lo llaman «*Aguti*» Las orillas de los ríos y las lagunas grandes permanentes forman su paradero muy querido; persiguido por los cazadores y perros, se zambulle y nada por debajo de la agua burlando á unos y otros con salir á la orilla opuesta, donde con presteza se interna al bosque. Sus cuevas tienen varias entradas y salidas cubiertas de hojas, mientras una sola queda abierta, en sus pies tiene cinco dedos; si algún bicho peligroso entra á la cueva por la puerta ó entrada abierta, huye por cualquiera de las que están cubiertas ligeramente.

En esta comarca hay otras dos clases de *aguti*, viven en los cerros, bosques y pampas y son muy parecidos al verdadero, pero ni tienen los mismos instintos, ni tampoco los cinco dedos en los pies; tienen pezuña como los corderos, penetran á los sembrados, comen calabazas y maíz, y se alimentan aé 1 de las cáscaras de ulalas y otros cactos; por los chiriguanos son considerados como el tipo de los ladrones, así á un hombre ó mujer que tenga maña de ratero ó ratera, se los compara al *aguti*, diciendo: «*Mbuimomda aguti.*» Ladrón como un agutí.

Anta ó danta.—Es el tapir americano desconocido en otros puntos, es del tamaño de un ternero de año, no tiene pezuña sino dedos en las cuatro patas, vive en el bosque en estado completamen-

te salvaje y es terrible, se enfurece por hallarse perseguido, de lo contrario no acomete, se alimenta de hierbas y hojas, su carne es sabrosa y abundante, la piel es gruesa y dificilmente por esta razón puede el tigre carnearlo, corre despacio, pero atropella por todo doblando ó rompiendo á su paso todo arbusto, es también nadador; de su piel los talabarteros hacen jáquimas y bridas, son de mucha duración y por lo mismo apreciadísimas. Cuando el tapir es pequeñito, tiene piel como la corzuela con listones amarillos y se domestica fácilmente, abunda en las cercanías de los ríos y son muy raros en las llanuras, pocos se encuentran ya en la provincia del Acero, en la región de Cuevo y otras no hay uno ya, sin duda porque estos parajes se van poblando de otra clase de hombre ó sean blancos que los destruyen fácilmente con el uso de la pólvora; los chiriguanos apetecen mucho su carne y llaman á dicha bestia «*Borevi.*»

Ardilla.—Cuadrúpedo trepador que busca su alimento en los árboles por donde sube y baja con mucha rapidez; las hay de dos clases, una de color rojo y grande y la otra oscura y más pequeña, pero ambas son muy graciosas con rabo bastante largo casi del tamaño del cuerpo hasta la nuca, y poblado de pelo algo largo muy suave; cuando duermen, se cubren y preservan del frío, del rocío y aún de la lluvia con dicho rabo que llevan horizontalmente por lo largo de su cuerpo para trepar y bajar con más ligereza Contiene muy poca carne entreverada con nervios y á pesar de ser buen comestible, poco se ocupan de darles caza los indios, solamente los niños las persiguen por diversión y para ejercitarse en el manejo del arco.

Armadillo.—Este animal llamado por los indios «*Tatu*» abunda; los hay de seis clases y son: «*Tatu*» nombre genérico, ó verdadero armadillo, «*Tatuirapúa*» armadillo boleado, «*Tatu rabucu*» armadillo con pelos, «*Tatu guasu*» armadillo grande, «*Tatu acuti*» especie de viscacha, «*Angaya tatu*» especie de rata grande, pero también con escamas comunes al armadillo. Para los indios la carne de todos ellos es comible y estos de Yvu y los de Itatiqui van en su persecución continuamente. En los lugares secos, como las pampas del Gran Chaco, abundan más los armadillos; allá debajo de la tierra forman sus cuevas en grandes extensiones, siendo peligroso caminar en cabalgadura por dichos parajes, porque las bestias se hunden fácilmente y los que andan á galope, se exponen á fracturarse las piernas y brazos, cuando se libran de romperse la crisma.

[fac. nº P. 33]

Grupo de indios Tapietes.

El armadillo grande es poco menos de una vara de longitud, su cueva es correspondiente á su tamaño y aún más y no pocas veces el jabalí ó el pecari perseguidos por los cazadores y perros, encuentran en estas cuevas un refugio seguro. La carne del armadillo grande no es tan buena para los civilizados, pero lo es la de los otros, la he comido repetidas veces; la grasa ablanda los tumores y los nervios encogidos; los armadillos se nutren de gusanos. Sin embargo el armadillo verdadero es perjudicial á los sembradíos de maíz, cuando están recién sembrados, porque busca y come la semilla, como es perjudicialísimo en los sembradíos de melónes, de los cuales apenas deja una película delgadísima; cuando se cebe en los melones, no deja sazonar uno. Los indios conocen bien el lugar donde el armadillo es abundante, tan luego que practican la siembra del maíz, en las noches de luna ó sin ella van allá y ayudados por los perros cazadores, hacen matanzas.

Cobayo.—Este animalillo es innocuo y abundante por doquiera, sus parajes son los cercos, donde se esconde con facilidad, es semejante á ratas grandes sin cola, su carne es muy sabrosa y de su piel hacen bolsas para guardar tabaco, yesca y pedernal los fumadores. Cuando ve al cazador ó cree hallarse en peligro próximo, corre pronto á guarecerse en la espesura de los cercos, mas escondiéndose el cazador, no tarda mucho en salir nuevamente en busca de alimento por las mañanas y tardes, y entonces con flecha ó escopeta es fácil matarlo, los chiriguanos lo llaman «*Apereá.*» Hay otra clase de cobayo de todos colores y del tamaño del anterior, mas éste es doméstico, el color del verdadero cobayo es pardo claro.

Conejo.—Cuadrúpedo en estado silvestre originario de América, es del tamaño de un gato grande, su color es blanco oscuro y aquí no lo hay de otro color, en otros puntos de la América del sur sí; su carne es sabrosa, los indios la apetecen y lo cazan, su forma es igual á la del conejo doméstico y en idioma chiriguano se llama «*Tapiti.*»

Ciervo.—Se encuentra en todas partes y le llaman «*Huana*» los chiriguanos, y hurina los blancos, los hay aún de color blanco sin astas las hembras y con ellas los machos, otra clase se llama «*Huanacuaa*». Ambos se nutren de hierba y pequeñitas son graciosas con su piel matizada de manchas molladas, se domestican con mucha facilidad cuando maman, les sirve de alimento, cuando se domestican, la leche de cabra ó de oveja. El *huanacuaa* es muy parecido al ciervo, macho y hembra tienen astas ramificadas de viejos, pero

su carne no es tan buena como la de aquel, andan en tropa. Los cazadores persiguen ambas clases, porque contienen mucha carne, por cuya razón le llaman «*Ainsu*» que quiere decir grande, los cazan con bastante trabajo y con el auxilio de los perros adiestrados para el efecto, ó sinó se esconden, remedan su balido ó chasquido y cuando se acercan al tiro de la flecha, no yerran en matarlos. Los chiriguanos curten la piel de estos animales y hacen coleto, del cual hablaré á su tiempo, mas hoy va desapareciendo este vestido de lujo chiriguano, ni tampoco curten; actualmente usan dichas pieles para sus camas, sin embargo es óptimo material para calzados por su suavidad y blandura natural.

Gamo.—Parece que esta clase de animales es de la región montañosa y templada, no se la encuentra desde Monteagudo, ni los indios de aquí lo conocen, pero se hallaban y se hallan todavía en su antiguo territorio de Padilla, Tomina, Tarvita, etc. Es el gamo del tamaño de una cabra, con pezuña, de color ceniciento y bastante ligero para correr, se alimenta de hierbas, es buen comestible y anda en tropa.

Guanaco.—Es una especie de camello, del cual se diferencia por su tamaño y porque no lleva joroba como aquel, En la cumbre de los altos cerros de Potosí y otros frígidos montes se hallan en abundancia, parece pues que los cerros y el frío debieran ser los parajes de simpatía y únicos para poder prosperar. Sin embargo en las pampas del Gran Chaco, donde el calor es sofocante y casi siempre escasea el agua, se encuentran tropas inmensas de este cuadrúpedo, se domestica fácilmente y en este estado es una verdadera llama.

Gato.—Los hay domésticos y se llama «Minta» y los hay silvestres y éstos son de dos clases, el uno se llama «Baracaya» muy perjudicial para las gallinas; de noche se acerca á las viviendas de campo y aún á los poblados y degüella las gallinas que puede, su carne es sabrosa y agradable y los indios lo persiguen. La segunda especie se llama «Eira ó Yaguarundi» según los lugares; es una especie de tigre pequeño poco menos que un zorro, en su piel tiene manchas moldadas y es ligerísimo para correr y trepar á los árboles, no es perjudicial, ni se acerca á las viviendas de los poblados; los chiriguanos lo cazan sólo para arrancarle la piel para vender á cualquier precio.

Jabalí.—Nada más á propósito para el jabalí que los bosques y las faldas de los cerros, donde es difícil penetrar. En los bosques pues se multiplican y forman tropas inmensas; esta bestia es

feroz, raro es el caso de encontrar en estado solitario esta clase de cuadrúpedos, tan semejante al puerco doméstico. Los indios lo llaman «*Taitetu*» y apetecen su sabrosa y agradable carne, pero casi nunca van solos á cazarlo, porque es animal temible y acomete con ímpetu, sólo con el auxilio de los perros consiguen matar algunos y entonces los demás huyen, mas ¡hay del cazador que se encuentre solo! el remedio de ponerse en salvo es subirse á un árbol que tenga buen tronco y mejores raices, de otro modo con su rabia y entre muchos despedazan la planta; si el cazador tuvo la precaución de no dejar su arco y flechas, desde ese lugar algo seguro y certero, mata fácilmente á los jabalíes que quiere. Cuando este animal persigue al cazador, deja de perseguir al perro que se mantiene á una cierta distancia, porque sin su amo que lo defienda, se acobarda á la vista de tamaños colmillos que suenan como martillo sobre yunque.

León.—No es el majestuoso de África, ni puede ser aquí el rey de los animales, es el Puma y los indios lo llaman «*Yaguapinta*» ó sea tigre colorado y realmente es bastante parecido al tigre en sus facciones, tanto que fácilmente hay cruce entre ambos animales, resultando un neutro más feroz y rapaz que los dos. He visto el pellejo de uno de estos animales cruzados que hizo un daño incalculable en la hacienda vacuna y caballar de la Misión de San Pascual. El león de aquí es del tamaño de un perro grande rojo, no acomete sin ser perseguido, y herido; perjudica en los rebaños causando estragos hasta terminarlos y trepa árboles cuando se ve perseguido. Los indios lo matan con flecha y un buen perro lo ahuyenta del rebaño que cuida. El león tiene pelo corto y rabo largo, cabeza grande, patas grandes como las del tigre, pero no tiene melena como el león africano, su carne es agradable puesta unas cuantas horas en salmuera, el pellejo no tiene valor intrínseco, por cuya razón sólo lo persiguen como animal dañino. Sin embargo dicha piel es medicinal, aplicada en los dolores de espinazo y caderas, los cura, ó mitiga.

Mofeta.—Este animalillo es muy lindo á la vista y abunda en ciertos parajes, penetra á los gallineros para comerse los huevos y si puede, los pollitos también. Para el indio no tiene atractivo alguno el animalillo; antes bien huye de él, porque para defenderse echa un líquido sumamente hediondo, por cuya razón todos los animales huyen de él, incluso el tigre, con más razón huye el hombre; se siente á mucha distancia, y si ese líquido llega á rociar la ropa de algún desprevenido, el hedor dura algunos días.

Tal defensa la usa sólo cuando se ve perseguido, por lo demás ni es grande, ni es peligroso, y en chiriguano se llama «*Amiesce*» ó sea animal hediondo.

Mono.—El mono ordinario en chiriguano se llama «*Mochi*». Se encuentra en toda la región, pero abunda desde la márgen izquierda del Río grande ó Abapó, que especialmente de mañana mete mucho ruído con sus silbidos ó cosa parecida. Andan entre muchos y prefieren trepar por las peñas, donde abunda la tilandsia que en estas páginas ocupa el tercer lugar, cuya médula comen. Son muy perjudiciales en los sembradíos de maíz; cuando los indios en tiempo de choclo ó maíz fresco van á su sembradío, antes de volverse al pueblo cogen unas ocho ó diez espigas, les quitan casi toda la chala, dejando unas hojas en cada espiga amarrándolas una con otra á modo de alforja, las echan al hombro colgadas de la espalda y pecho y siguen su camino. Mientras eso, los monos todo lo han observado, bajan, hacen la misma operación y suben nuevamente á los árboles, ó á la peña alegres y contentos á comer el fruto de su habilidad.

Hay cuatro clases de monos, negros, blancos, amarillos y rojos, también hay el orangután que los indios llaman «*Caraya*» de donde el lugar llamado *Carayayua*, cueva de Caraya ó orangután. La carne del mono es buena, pero los chiriguanos no le dan caza, los matan por perjudiciales y cogen vivas las crías para diversiones, ya se conocen las habilidades del mono.

Oso.—Hay en esta región el verdadero oso que los indios llaman «*Tuguayuyu*» y los blancos *jucumari*; tiene cabellera larga que de la cabeza baja, cubriéndole el rostro, tanto que para mirar bien, la levanta con sus manos. Es temible cuando está irritado, arroja piedras, desgaja ramas de árboles sirviéndose de ellas como garrote; el tigre nada puede con este animal, y si sabe sus fuerzas y destreza con él, difícilmente sale con vida. Tiene carne excelente y los indios le dan caza, pero ¡hay! de aquél que se atreve solo y yerra el tiro de la flecha, hiriéndole ligeramente, pues acomete con toda presteza y alcanza á su enemigo.

Pecari.—Semejante al jabalí es el pecari llamado por los chiriguanos «*Tagua*», este animal es más temible que su semejante y tiene los mismos instintos. Ambos cuadrúpedos se alimentan de raices, de mistol, chañar, algarrobas y tantos otros frutos que hay en los bosques; los cueros de estos animales se curten con facilidad, pero los indios apenas les dan el uso para sus camas. El tigre es perpetuo compañero de los pecari hembras que tienen crías,

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

porque cuando pasa, hace presa de alguna que tenía calma y paciencia, pero aun tiene presencia y grafía fuerte el animalillo en modo de ser oído, la madre y los machos acudan á la defensa; y si estima la vida, la prudencia le aconseja trepar por un robusto árbol. Las crías se domestican pronto y más que el pecarí doméstico; no se apartan de la persona que le tuvo cariño cuando fué pequeño. Una de estas crías se domesticó con los métodos aprendidos del Paraguay, día y noche estaba con ellos sin estorbarles y cuando salían del salón de música para correr carreras por el pueblo, el pecarí iba por delante haciendo mil monerías y dando bríncos al son de los instrumentos.

Pequeño ratón. — Este pequeño animal no abunda, pero se le encuentra, prueba á las gallinaceas que generalmente se hallan en los árboles. Según he oído, no es perjudicial, tan sólo gusta acompañarse de noche con las gallinas, pero éstas le tienen como á todo animal extraño. Toda su piel está cubierta de pelos flexibles y largos, cuando se ve perseguido, se encoje y erweja dichos pelos con tanta fuerza que lastima cualquier parte del cuerpo; alguna vez se le ve perseguir á las gallinas, mas no para comerlas. Los chiriguanos le llaman «*Cuti*.» Si un perro lo muerde, se le llena la boca de pelos que produce dolores.

Tamándua. — Es un animal silvestre innocuo que fácilmente se domestica, posee un hocico muy largo y angosto, lo introduce en los hormigueros y con la lengua, á la cual se pegan una infinidad de hormigas, hace su sabroso almuerzo; en el estado doméstico se alimenta sólo de leche, pero da pena verlo sorber esto líquido con su lengua delgadísima gota por gota. En esta especie de animales aparentemente no se conocen machos y todos pertenecen al parecer al género femenino. Sin embargo es muy probable que todos los individuos de la misma especie participen de ambos sexos, á pesar de que en todos ellos aparecen tan sólo el género femenino.

El oso hormiguero ó el Tamándua es inofensivo, ni se ocupa de los semoradillos, antes bien destruye los hormigas. El indio lo cuna para comerlo, porque casi todo es carne buena para él, pues dice que es pobre y con este título aprovecha de todo hasta de los animales empanzonados y muertos con hidrofobia. La carne del tamándua es algo hediondo, huele á hormigas, y del cuero usan para sus camas; éste, á ora el cuero, es medicinal, aplicado en las caderas cuando están doloridas, cura con bastante prontitud. Se llama «*Tamá*.»

Tigre. — He aquí el cuadrúpedo rey de las selvas de la comarca

chirigano y otros; animal temible por su fuerza, habilidad y rapiña, temible por sus colmillos y garras, temible su fin, porque aunque comparemos á todo bicho, cuando está hambriento ó se percatado y herido. Este rey de los bosques, cuevas, ocre y brisas, trepa por los árboles, salta las peñas ó cruza los ríos según las circunstancias lo requieran para la conservación de su propia existencia. Animales silvestres y domésticos, chicos y grandes, aves y reptiles y los mismos pueblos huyen y se escondan á la vista de esta bestia feroz; el mismo hombre queda muchas veces víctima de sus garras y colmillos y hasta una vez para seguir atacando al hombre. Si el tigre se cría en los terrenos, generalmente frecuenta su alimento diario, si probó la carne de jumento, éste será su alimento, su cruz y su todo, disminuyendo respecto al toro y si más no fuerzas con este horrendo animal, lleva siempre la peor parte.

Cuando el tigre se provisiona de una cumbre y comienza á devorar ovejas, caballos, ó bueyes, es preciso matarlo ó desterrarlo á fuerza de perseverancia, porque es tan atrevido que sin miedo penetra á los corrales, cercanos á las casas y mata los terneros que quiere, contentándose con chupar la sangre; pero sólo tiene tiempo para tanto, carga el primero y se lo lleva á una certa distancia aprovechándolo con toda calma. Parece que este animal conoce el imperio que tiene sobre todos los demás, incluso el mismo hombre; si se encuentra en cualquier ocasión, él no huye, sigue con su calma y cadencia. La prudencia aconseja que el hombre se detenga, no tenga miedo y hable fuerte y así el animal se aquieta, estudiando al hombre, así lo ha experimentado y lo han experimentado otros; sólo lo persiste así, hablándose sin armas y sin fuerzas previas, se expone al peligro de ser su víctima.

Los indios lo llaman *Tigrero* y es el jaguar de los castellanos, parecido á la pantera, de modo que no es el verdadero tigre de Africa, sin embargo parece que son iguales ambos en ferocidad, pero no en tamaño y en hermosura; al del Africa lo he visto hembrilla. A pesar de ello el cuero del tigre ó del jaguar es apreciadísimo aquí, hay dueños de ganados que regalan al matador de un tigre una vaca gorda que tiene bastante precio. El precio ordinario es de treinta ó cuarenta duros.

Los indios matan al tigre ó firiquen con el auxilio de buenas perras, llamadas tigreras; los criaderos blancos tienen diferentes nombres, son lado, con exteriores y con trampa. Para matar con lazo se hace la barrilla fuerte y se amarra al mejor perro, éste sigue

inmediatamente en persecución y los demás perros y cazadores siguen al tigrero, si el tigre trepó por algún árbol, el perro tigrero no va adelante hasta descubrirlo; entonces comienza á ladrar como quien pide auxilio, llegan los demás perros, llegan los cazadores y visto al animal encaramado al árbol, le dan la muerte con uno ó dos balazos, y sinó espera luego, una vez en el suelo lo acaban de matar entre cazadores y perros.

Mas no siempre el asunto se termina tan fácilmente, hay tigres que cansan á los hombres y á los perros en subir y bajar por los árboles, en correr y pararse para hacer frente y matar algún perrito descuidado de una zarpada, en cambiarse entre matorrales, donde es peligroso acercarse y difícil hacerle un tiro certero y por último en trepar peñas inaccesibles á otras bestias. De este modo muchas veces se termina el día sin conseguir nada de provecho quedando el jaguar más fuerte que antes; sin embargo se aleja de dicho concurso por algunos días tanto para descansar, cuanto para evitar otro encuentro desagradable y peligroso.

El segundo modo de matar al tigre es la estricnina, conocidos son los efectos de este veneno poderosísimo; para conseguir este fin los indios procuran averiguar luego donde el animal tiene carne fresca, allí colocan el veneno en la pieza que más le gusta, teniendo el cuidado de no manosear la presa y de borrar la huella de sus pies. Pero es de advertir que algunos tigres comen, comen un poco y dejan lo demás, así es que no siempre es seguro matar al tigre con veneno. Además como tiene mucho olfato, difícilmente se acerca nuevamente á la res envenenada, si advierte indicio de peligro; el temor lo hace muy circunspecto, cuando ha hecho daño.

Hay un tercer modo de matar al tigre mediante trampas; cuando se presienta de un lugar, se conoce un paraje y un camino angosto por donde necesariamente debe pasar sin que pueda hacerse á un lado. Generalmente se busca el camino que conduce á la res carneada, allí pues, á un lado del camino, amarran un rifle, cuyo cañón va dirigido al camino, algo más adelante del cañón cruzan el camino con un bejuco atirantado para que el tigre haga esfuerzo para abrirse paso, en la parte del rifle hacen partir un cordelito del bejuco al gatillo ó sea dicho al disparador, al cual lo amarran; colocando el rifle con bejuco, el tigre no se preocupa del bejuco, porque está acostumbrado á pasar por debajo. Cuando la bestia llega sin sospechar, enreda el cordel ó bejuco atirantado, éste á su vez hace caer el gatillo, el arma dispara y la bestia cae herida de muerte, porque la bala le penetró en la paletilla ó en el

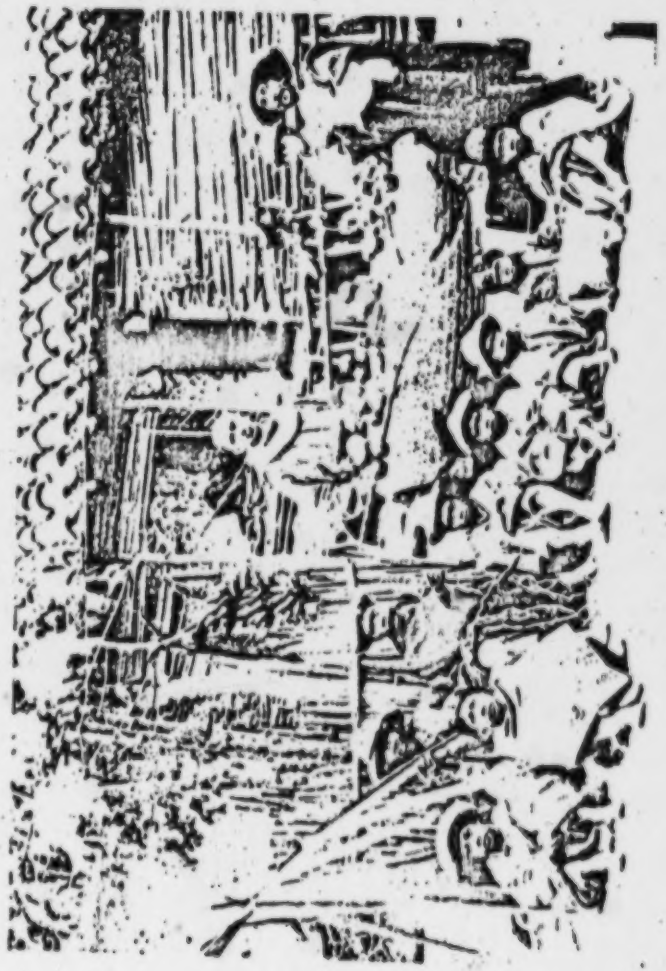
sobaco; el bejuco debe colocarse á la altura del pecho de la bestia, sólo así es infalible, los mismos perros caen en esta trampa.

Finalmente, aunque raro, se mata al tigre con puñal. El que tiene buenos hígados para ello, lo ejecuta con toda serenidad. Conocido el paraje donde ha principiado á ser perjudicial la bestia, va á su busca con un poncho, un puñal sólido y un perro tigrero, éste es necesario sólo para saber el paraje y detener al animal; tan luego como esto sucede, el cazador envuelve el poncho en el brazo izquierdo, remanga su camisa y calzones y se acerca resueltamente puñal en mano; el tigre entonces embiste prontamente, mas el cazador lo deja pasar á un lado, á la segunda y tercera embestida practica lo mismo para que se canse un poco; cuando embiste por cuarta ó quinta vez lo recibe de frente, introduce su brazo forrado en la boca del animal y con la derecha armada del puñal le parte el corazón; lo único que se necesita es serenidad, valor y destreza; quien no posee estas cualidades, no debe exponerse al peligro de morir, ni siquiera perseguir al tigre en compañía de otros; pues el animal sabe distinguir al valiente del cobarde y éste es el primero á ser embestido y por consiguiente á ser malamente lastimado.

La piel del tigre, como ya dije, tiene su valor intrínseco, es usada en talabartería para caronas de ensillados y para alforjas, es un lujo de personas de rango. El animal posee bastante grasa y ésta es remedio eficaz para el reumatismo, dolores de huesos y otras enfermedades, los indios la llevan á vender al interior de la República y la cambian por ropas usadas. Es de advertir empero que la falsifican, como falsifican la grasa de víbora, porque ya se comprende que no es frecuente la matanza de esta bestia feroz; rara vez el solo chiriguano persigue al tigre, y no siempre está dispuesto á ayudar al blanco, pero éste obliga á sus peones, quienes reunen la grasa y venden ó regalan á sus amigos ó parientes. La carne del jaguar es buen alimento, huele es cierto á salvaje lo mismo que la piel, pero dicha carne puesta una noche en agua salada ó salmuera, pierde el mal olor; aseguran que esta carne es igual á la de vaca.

El tigre macho es bastante grande, medí uno, tenía dos metros de longitud desde el rabo, un metro de altura y pesaba siete arrobas. La hembra es más pequeña, medí una ración muerta, tenía desde el rabo un metro y diez centímetros, setenta y cinco centímetros de altura y cuatro arrobas y medio de peso. La hembra pare de tres en tres años y los tigrecitos recién nacidos son siempre dos, macho y hembra, la madre cuando tiene crías es peligro-

[facing p. 41]



Industria agrícola de las Misiones

sísima, las defiende á todo trance, mas los cazadores primero matan la madre y luego procuran prender vivas á las crías; lo consiguen casi siempre y las llevan á sus casas para domesticarlas, pero es un imposible, porque es siempre tigre; he visto dos de estas crías bien encadenadas, pero malísimas. Por lo general las crías apartadas de su madre, mueren á los pocos días ó por falta de alimento adecuado como es la leche, ó también por desesperación al verse en medio de seres extraños á su naturaleza

Zorro. —Este cuadrúpedo no escasea por acá entre los chiriguanos, parece pues que se acostumbra en todos los climas, es tan impávido que de noche se pasea por los pueblos sin hacer advertir su presencia á los perros, mas si lo sienten, lo persiguen pronto y hasta lo matan aunque les cueste, porque perro de indio chiriguano y zorro van á la par en flacura, mas entre varios consiguen el intento de victimarlo.

Nada deja esta bestia impávida, de todo lo que encuentra hace su comida, causa mucho daño en los cañaverales desde que las plantas principian á tener dulce y hasta arranca las plantitas recién colocadas en los surcos ó en los hoyos. De las sandías y melones hace destrozo sin dejar que maduren y de este modo el labrador muchas veces no prueba estos regalos. En los maízales perjudica bastante también, pero éste es un elemento abundante y no se siente tanto el perjuicio; cuando puede conseguir gallinas, no se excusa de proporcionarse un buen almuerzo ó cena y con este fin se acerca á los pueblos y casas de campo también de día

Los hay de varias clases y tamaños, pero son inferiores, como todo animal á los del otro hemisferio. Difícil es ahuyentarlos de los cañaverales, de los cuales se disminuirá el daño, sólo disminuyendo los zorros y esto se consigue sólo con la estricnina ú otro tóxico que metido en pequeños trozos de carne, se colocan en los distintos caminitos que han abierto causando daño en los plantíos de caña dulce.

Veremos en el decurso de estas páginas que los chiriguanos lo veneraban como divinidad con el nombre de «*Aguara-Tunpa*» ó Zorro-Dios, á quién daban más poder desde que tenía capacidad de destruir las obras del verdadero *Tunpa*. Hoy que la región ha sido invadida y poblada por tantos blancos y extranjeros y los chiriguanos se han reducido á un puñado, esparcidos por acá y acullá, pocos son los que creen en semejante patraña.

El chiriguano persigue al zorro y le mata como animal dañino y perjudicial, pero no come su carne por ser muy hedionda y flaca,

en uno que otro caso la como, haciéndola orear para que pierda el mal olor y cuando la encuentra gorda; de los indios tobas es comida ordinaria. Los niños se divierten con este pobre animal, prendiéndolo vivo y haciéndolo luchar con los perros que lo victiman á muerte lenta.

Termino aquí esta somera reseña de los principales cuadrúpedos por su tamaño, ferocidad y caracteres particulares. He dejado la descripción de muchos por hallarse en otros lugares y, de otros por no presentar á la consideración algo de singular, ratones y ratas abundan y algunos años invaden los pueblos. No deja de haber raposas que se domestican con facilidad, al hurón se le vé pocas veces, es muy inquieto é inocuo, pero tiene la particularidad de perseguir todos los insectos de una habitación.

Reptiles, anfibios, peces é insectos

No es necesario ocuparme de una manera particular y extensa de las clases de vivientes indicados al principio de este párrafo, porque se los encuentra en todas las regiones del mundo, describiré las particularidades singulares de los conocidos y la naturaleza de algunos que son propios de aquí y de la América del Sur.

Casi todas las serpientes son venenosas acá por ser el lugar muy cálido, pero la que más es la de cascabel, opera rápidamente con su ponzoña y sólo con adustión inmediata puede el paciente librarse de sus efectos mortíferos, mientras el boa, grueso y largo, es inocuo, tanto que algunos labriegos lo domestican, lo colocan en los cañaverales para que ahuyente á todo bicho perjudicial, aún al zorro que como se ha visto, es el animal que más perjudica en la caña dulce.

Puede contarse entre los anfibios el «*Boicaracara*» ó sea la serpiente sapo que no es otra cosa que la tarántula de agua, mas es muy venenosa aquí, se la encuentra cerca de los lagos en las ciénagas. Ranas se encuentran en muy poca cantidad en el centro de la región; abundantes donde hay agua y en las orillas de los ríos, las comen solamente los tobas y otros bárbaros, los chiriguanos no. De sapos «*Cucaracas*» hay una infinidad *por su tamaño, color y canto, distinguiéndose entre todos el que llaman los blancos* «*Rocoto*» que de noche en tiempo de lluvia y, donde hay agua, continuamente se oye y fuerte á la distancia de un kilómetro

El sapo es medicinal, se prenden vivos uno ó dos de esos más grandes, con suavidad, uno tras de otro se aplican

en las partes del cuerpo infectas por la erisipela y cura con toda eficacia, quedando muerto el animal, sin duda porque con su vientre frío absorbe todo el calor que el enfermo contiene en dichas partes doloridas, más de una vez he visto curar así la erisipela. En tiempo de lluvia los hay tan en abundancia que es imposible dormir cerca de donde se reunen á dar su destemplada retreta; al terminar un fuerte aguacero es cuando la bulla de los sapos es más atroz.

Abundan los peces en los grandes ríos, donde hay sábalos, bagres y dorados; éstos últimos alcanzan hasta la longitud de dos metros, como he visto, son muy sabrosos y chorrean sangre como la carne de vaca. Luego hay en los mismos ríos, riachuelos y lagunas permanentes una infinidad de peces pequeños «*pira*» buenos al paladar y finalmente no faltan las anguilas «*Chorinchi*» ni tampoco las útiles sanguijuelas «*Ecoipe.*» Los indios que viven en las orillas de los ríos caudalosos, hacen comercio de pescado, forman, es cierto, sus sembradíos, pero generalmente no cosechan por la falta de lluvia, pero obtienen maíz en cambio de pescado, los sábalos disecados tienen el sabor del bacalao, valen 10 y 20 centavos.

Los insectos son innumerables, pero no tan abundantes y variados en sus formas, magnitud y color, como en la región del Beni, Mojos y otras, son cien veces más numerosos que todos los cuadrúpedos y volátiles juntos, los hay molestos, como los mosquitos y zancudos y los hay ponzoñosos, sin embargo, raras veces causan la muerte.

Hay avispas y son de varias clases, pero las amarillas ó rojas son más bravas: hay abejas en los árboles, en los tejados, en las paredes y en la tierra y todas forman colmenas para elaborar miel y cera, mas la miel mejor, es la de las abejas llamadas señoritas. Ambas cosas, es decir, miel y cera saben beneficiar los indios, pero á ello se dedican poco, porque lo consideran trabajo de viles y pobres y el chiriguano no quiere considerarse tal; cera se consigue apenas en tiempo de carestía, ni en este tiempo se dedica el neófito ó nuevo cristiano á ganar su pan buscando la cera

La picada de araña casi siempre produce malas consecuencias, las que pueden evitarse con el uso del amoniaco; es otro insecto numeroso, en tiempo de lluvias extienden sus telas de un árbol á otro interceptando el camino por ancho que él sea y con frecuencia los viajeros que andan de noche ó madrugan, se molestan con estas telas que se les pegan al rostro y á los vestidos, como se

prenden no pocas veces las mismas arañas que son tán asquerosas; la picada de éstas que viven en el bosque, aseguran, que no es ponzoñosa.

Toda araña en chiriguano se llama «*Yanduti*» y la tela «*Yanduti nupa* ó sea cama de la araña; de la tela de las arañas del bosque los niños hacen hondas para cazar pájaros ó para sus juegos; mojadas, son bastante elásticas. La verdadera tarántula que los blancos llaman apasanca y los indios «*Yanduti huasu*» es bien fea con su pelusa, ocho piernas y dos brazos Los naturales aseguran que es venenosa, pero su picada no es mortal, casi nunca salen entre dos, pero matando una y se quiere saber, si tiene compañera, basta quemar la muerta, para que la viva salga al momento de percibir el olor. Las apasancas ó tarántulas salen cuando está por llover y no producen buena impresión; el enemigo acérrimo de las arañas, comprendida la tarántula, es otro insecto volátil del tamaño de una bellota que los cruceños llaman «*Curadifunto*» y que otros aseguran ser la nimanina; es cierto que este animalejo que se introduce á las habitaciones, no persigue al hombre, pero si se le irrita y no puede huir, pica

Causa horror la vista de los alacranes, escorpiones y escolopendras que en chiriguano se llaman «*Apensa*» no son abundantes, mas se las encuentra en todas partes, su picada no parece fatal, pero uno que me picó en el sobaco sobre la ropa interior de lana, no me dejó dormir toda una noche á pesar del amoniaco que tomé y puse en la herida apenas perceptible.

Las vinchucas, cucarachas y una polilla que roe el papel, causa asco, especialmente las primeras que son incalculables en los lugares habitados, son hediondas y ensucian toda la ropa y las paredes blanqueadas de los edificios. El modo de matarlas es destrozarles la trompa ó pico largo y ya no vivea, tienen su astacia: en la oscuridad se acercan primero al que está en cama, le dan un dechazo, y se retiran para observar si hace movimiento y está despierta la persona; si ésta no da señales de vida, se acerca y chupa la sangre hasta hartarse, sin embargo las pequeñitas son más molestas y causan fiebre ó malestar, se multiplican naturalmente, depositan doquiera los huevos y de por si salen las crías, en principio los huevos son blancos y cerca ya de salir la cría, se vuelven rojos. Las cucarachas abundan en habitaciones determinadas, donde hallan alimento, comen aún las cejas y pestañas de las personas dormidas, colocan sus huevos en las paredes; si éstas se hallan blanqueadas, arrancan yeso y cubren con él su pequeño ni-

do, de donde salen hasta cincuenta crías que pronto echan á correr. La polilla daña solamente los libros y papeles y son molestas para los tenedores de éllos, su color es plateado ó ignoro el principio de su multiplicación, las vinchucas son negras, las cucarachas color café y ninguna de las tres es venenosa. En chiriguano la vinchuca se llama «*Timbucu*» ó sea nariz larga.

Las hormigas son una plaga constante aún para los sembradíos de maíz que destruyen por completo cuando nace, lo son también para las huertas y para las viñas, á las cuales perjudican muy mucho en ciertos años aún las avispas y mariposas negras que dañan la uva al tiempo de madurar, éstas se matan y se destruyen sólo con la miel que se coloca en artesas, donde mueren, durante la noche, á millares: aquéllas se destruyen sólo quemadas, inutilizando los racimos de que se adueñaron. Las hormigas en chiriguano se llaman «*Tasi*» y la mariposa negra se llama «*Cococoro.*»

Las langostas y los gusanos no constituyen plaga constante aquéllas tienen años determinados y éstos aparecen cuando por Noviembre hay muchas mariposas blancas que colocan el gérmen en las hierbas. Los gusanos por lo regular caminan de noche, en las madrugadas y por las tardes y la langosta voladora desde las diez hasta las cuatro ó cinco de la tarde; por donde pasa la larva de ésta, queda el sembradío como barrido, la larva no retrocede, ni se ladea, sigue la dirección del naciente y del cerro, cruzando pampas y trepando montañas; si se las detiene en su curso, son capaces de permanecer un mes en el mismo sitio, sólo se puede disminuir el número, matándolas en las zanjas. Sin embargo cuando las plantas del maíz se hallan á la altura de unos 60 centímetros, las larvas pasan por debajo sin hacer perjuicios mayores, y entonces mejor es darles paso y apurarlas moderadamente; con la lucha diaria se llega á defender un sembradío, aunque sean innumerables, pero defenderlo del gusano, es un imposible.

La langosta es blanca y colorada, ésta en chiriguano se llama «*Tucupinta.*» aquélla «*Tucunti.*» la blanca aparece á fines de Octubre ó á principios de Noviembre, su paso por una región no es rápido, permanece días y semanas volando de sur á norte y viceversa hasta depositar sus huevos, éstos son introducidos en la tierra por la hembra, ayudada por el principio activo, consisten en un cañuto de unos tres centímetros que contiene hasta cien huevos. Una vez introducido el cañuto en la tierra, cierra el agujero con un humor amarillo que hace salir de su boca, y va á otro lugar á practicar la misma operación. Los huevos permanecen en la tierra un mes

para que nazcan las larvas, éstas tardan tres meses para hallarse en estado de volar, son las langostas coloradas, no tienen dirección fija, pero vuelan y paran por los cerros y pocas veces bajan á las pampas, sólo si éstas son muy extensas, anochecen allí, más siempre arriba de los árboles ó de los matorrales, entonces el chiriguano madruga y hace provisiones para muchos días, y en seguida en el pueblo se declara la disentería que lleva muchos al sepulcro.

Las niguas son abundantes donde hay chanchos y perros, á quienes persiguen constantemente, es la nigua una pulga pequeña en la forma y en el color, pero no en los efectos, se introduce en la piel, causando un ligero escozor, es fácil sacarla tan pronto como se advierte su presencia, pero si llega á establecer su morada y forma nido, consistente en una pequeña bolsita de piel, cuesta desarraigarla. Produce la nigua hinchazón y molestia é imposibilita el andar, cuando sienta sus reales en los piés: para que esto no suceda, se levanta con aguja primero la piel al rededor de la bolsa que se procura arrancar íntegra, en el hoyo que deja, se deposita ceniza, especialmente de cigarro y desaparece todo peligro de inutilizarse por algunos días el paciente.

El guanaco es parecido al piojo, pero más grande y los hay de todo tamaño, en chiriguano se llama «Guanaco;» también estos insectos están un tanto internados en la tierra y pican fácilmente á los que van descalzos ó con ojotas, los hay en abundancia desde Yvu hasta mucho más allá de Santa Cruz de la Sierra, su mordedura no es venenosa, pero en algunos produce grano é hinchazón en todo el cuerpo y en otros hinchazón en las partes más inmediatas. A mi compañero le produjo el primer efecto y sanó luego con cinco gotas de amoniaco tomadas en agua, á mí me produjo el segundo, fué en un viaje y como me faltaba el amoniaco, sané de la hinchazón, que me molestó todo el día, con hojas tiernas de plátano y sebo derritido que me aplicó una anciana en Guariri, donde pasé la noche y desperté sin señal ninguna y sin dolor: los indios mascan el tabaco y se curan con facilidad.

En tiempo de lluvia son abundantes las luciérnagas «Chocopi» los escarabajos «[illegible]» y las cigarras «[illegible]» las primeras son muy luminosas y comen las algarrobas grandes y pequeñas: con unas dos ó tres luciérnagas debajo de un cristal se ve perfectamente y los niños se alumbran de noche, los segundos anuncian la mudanza del tiempo, porque entonces salen muchos alrededor de la luz ó del fuego, y las terceras con su silbido fuerte y robusto semejan al anuncio de la salida ó parada del tren ó al de las maqui-

narias cuando deben principiar ó dejar el trabajo los jornaleros, de éstas hay cinco clases: «*Ndi*, *Ñaguina guasu*, *nancanazou*, *gote*, *chipitiriru*.»

Las moscas que no se ven en otros parajes, á lo menos en abundancia, aquí las hay en demasía, cuando en la estación de lluvias y de calor, se hacen muy molestas en la mudanza del tiempo, invaden las cocinas, las despensas y las carnicerías. Se encuentra aún la cantárida, de cuyo polvo se fabrican las llamadas «moscas de Milán.» Los tábanos «*ambutu*» se hacen molestos y abundantes en los meses de Febrero y Marzo y hay otra clase de moscas grandes que persiguen á todo ganado lastimado, en las heridas deposita su gérmen que se resuelve en asquerosos gusanos, por las cuales las pobres bestias andan, corren, se arrastran por el suelo y se escamen como si estuvieran locas. Aún en las heridas de los hombres descuidados ó dormidos depositan el mismo gérmen; he visto y curado á varios en sus fosas nasales, en sus oídos y hasta en la garganta, sinó se cura á tiempo, produce la muerte, como sucede frecuentemente a las crías de los ganados.

La polilla que daña la ropa de lana se la halla, en abundancia y dicha ropa no se debe descuidar por mucho tiempo, la lana se libra de la polilla sólo cerrada en fundas de algodón y se ahuyenta de las petacas y baules el animalillo mediante el tabaco de fumar. El maíz y otros cereales son perseguidos por otra polilla llamada gorgojo que no deja sano el maíz para otro año, pero si se guarda en trojes nuevos con chala, no se remueve y se halla en lugares algo ventilados, no se daña por dos años y aún más.

En la campiña y en las habitaciones abundan los grillos, poco perjuicio hacen en aquélla y bastante en éstas. De su pequeña boca no escapa ni la seda, antes bien parece que es el género de vestido ó adorno que más persiguen, se posesionan alguna vez de las cómodas en las sacristías y hacen perjuicios irreparables, dañando los mejores ornamentos sagrados.

En la campiña, en las praderas y en el bosque hay un sinnúmero de otro insecto que tiene aquella propiedad. Apenas [illegible] el [illegible] que cree, á saber: polvorío en principio, colorada luego y garrapata de grande. En los tres estados es peligroso, produce escozor y si el atacado se rasca, luego aparecen las llagas que se curan con dificultad y en mucho tiempo, una vez las lleva tres meses á pesar de los fármacos que les aplicaba tres veces al día. La garrapata es fácil de desprenderse en principio, arrancándola y procurando que no quede en la piel la cabeza, pero si está bien prendida, se

unta con sebo ó aceite la parte, donde está posesionada y cae de por sí; de lo contrario dura el dolor y el fastidio algunos meses.

Hay lagartijas de todo tamaño y color, las más pequeñas, son inofensivas causan algún miedo, pero son más bien de provecho, porque persiguen á los insectos, conforme los sapos, en las habitaciones. En los bosques hay una especie de lagarto de un metro de longitud, corre muy ligero; cuando se vé perseguido y acosado, se defiende mordiendo, pero no contiene veneno, vive en parajes determinados y es perseguido por los indios que lo comen y aseguran que su carne es sabrosa. En los ríos grandes hay el caimán, especie de cocodrilo, que también se le encuentra en las lagunas de agua permanente, pero rara vez; este es anfibio, muy temible y peligroso y difícil de matar por tener escamas muy duras, pero más que taco, como el tirador está casi al mismo nivel que el animal, la bala se dirige horizontalmente y es natural que rebote ¿así no sucede acaso, cuando los niños arrojan piedras al lago? El caimán vive meses íntegros en el agua y hasta sumergido en el barro, cuando se secan las lagunas. En el agua no es tan temible como cerca de las orillas, donde fácilmente mata á todo animal ó persona descuidada. La hembra del caimán pone huevos bastante grandes y cuadriongos, los cubre con hojas secas cerca de las orillas de los ríos y lagunas, pero no los empolla, los cuida desde el agua y los defiende de los agresores. Las crías salen del cascarón con el calor del sol y entonces la madre las conduce al agua, cuidándolas por una temporada más ó menos larga. El caimán come de todo, seres vivientes y muertos, pero éstos constituyen su alimento ordinario, cuando puede, ataca á los vivos, pero siempre de frente; de todo lo que cuentan de este anfibio repugnante, hay mucho de exageración, basta por consiguiente lo poco que he escrito relativamente á él, en chiriguano se llama «*Yacare*.»

Finalmente, en ciertos parajes existe en demasía una clase de insectos muy parecidos á las hormigas, son blancos con cabeza roja, unos los llaman hormiga blanca, y otros piojo de tierra y los chiriguanos «*Cupii*.» es cierto, sin embargo, que no tiene los instintos de la hormiga. Dicho insecto que causa asco al solo verlo, es peligroso para los edificios y madera de cedro algo tierna y aún para la cañahueca; roen la médula de estos dos elementos, dejando apenas una pequeña corteza sin dañarla exteriormente en lo más mínimo. Sucede pues que un propietario cree que el techo de su casa se halla en excelentes condiciones y, cuando menos piensa, se le puede caer encima con peligro de hallar la sepultura en su pro-

pia habitación ó pieza. Los confesonarios de algunas iglesias de nuestras reducciones han quedado completamente averiados. Donde hay esta clase de insectos acuden una multitud de sapos y tras de éstos van las víboras y culebras para hallar un sabroso almuerzo, aunque estén en un confesonario, como me sucedió en cierto paraje.

A veces este insecto se posesiona de las paredes de un edificio ó de una iglesia, forma allá sus cañutos parecidos á ramitos de arboleda, es tierra que saca de dichas paredes; otras se adueña de los cimientos y extrae tierra continuamente. El mejor remedio en ambos casos para que no daño mucho ni unas, ni otros, es dejarlos en paz, no quitarles la tierra que elaboran ó extraen, de otro modo si más se les quita, más extrae, quedando huecos muchas veces cimientos y paredes. Aseguran que de los cimientos pueden desterrarse fácilmente, quemando allí pólvora ó encendiendo petróleo; de año en año ó más talvez estos piojos ponen alas y vuelan para no volver más, pero se quedan en el lugar las larvas.

Para terminar este párrafo algo diré también de otras tres clases de insectos, para que vean mis lectores que nada falta en la región chiriguana. Los voy á nombrar con perdón de alguna niña delicada ó apuesto pimpollo que por casualidad pudieran leer estas líneas. Son la pulga, el piojo y el chinche; los primeros sólo abundan en tiempo de frío desde Mayo á Agosto cuando arrecia el sur, el segundo es propio de la gente sucia y los matan comiéndoselos bonitamente por diversión, los últimos anidan en los catres y el mejor modo de destruirlos por un tiempo largo, es colocar el catre infecto por unos dos días en medio del agua en un lagar, en una corriente de agua, ó en un lago.

Aves

Si en la región que voy describiendo, abundan los cuadrúpedos mansos y feroces, del poblado y del bosque, si son innumerables los insectos que molestan al hombre de día y de noche, causándole chichones, tumores y hasta perjuicios más notables, como la pérdida cuanto menos de un ojo; sino faltan animales ponzoñosos como el cascabel, si hay sabrosos y enormes dorados que regalan el estómago de los consumidores, existe también una infinidad de aves de todo tamaño, color y belleza que cruzan por los aires, alegran con sus armoniosos cantos las frescas mañanas, revolotean por encima de los edificios descansando allá satisfechos, juegan por la

atmósfera purificándola y proporcionan al chiriguano y al que no lo es, alimento exquisito con sus carnes, á pesar de que algunos, sino les hacen perder todo el sembradío, le aligeran lo bastante los trabajos de la cosecha. De algunos de ellos me voy á ocupar brevemente.

Águila.—La que se conoce por estos parajes, no es la águila real, ó la verdadera, es semejante á ésta en la forma, pero no en el tamaño. Las hay de dos clases, una negra y roja y otra ceniciento, vive siempre en la campiña, no se acerca á los pueblos, ni á las casas de campo y se nutre de víboras muertas, de langostas, grillos, pajaritos, lagartijas ó insectos, no es perjudicial al hombre, ni á lo que le pertenece, ni éste la persigue, así que vive á sus anchas. En chiriguano se llama «*Güirapinta.*»

Avestruz.—La región de los avestruces que los chiriguanos llaman «*Yandu*» principia desde Yvu. Aquí los he visto en estado silvestre, en Santa Rosa ó Igüembre en estado doméstico. Sin embargo, si en Yvu principia su región, donde los hay en abundancia, es en el Gran Chaco, allá en las pampas de Carandaiti los he visto del tamaño de un borrego con un listón negro en el cuello y pecho, los he visto en tropas de diez, quince y veinte y algunos tan mansos y tan cerca del camino que era muy fácil matarlos de un tiro de escopeta, lo que me llamó por cierto la atención, pues otras veces los he visto solitarios y correr como viento al sólo oir la voz humana. Preguntada la razón de este procedimiento diferente de ser solitarios y sociables, mi chiriguano y otros compañeros de él me dijeron: que sólo se reunen en el mes de Julio y Agosto para la propagación de la especie, lo mismo se reunen en menor cantidad en Octubre y Noviembre, lo cual indica que depositan los huevos en dos épocas no muy lejanas una de otra.

El avestruz hembra es más pequeño que el macho, sus plumas son más desvaloridas y tampoco tiene collar como éste, deposita unos veinte ó veinticinco huevos en el mes de Setiembre, equivalentes á 240 de los de gallina por su peso y sustancia. Otros huevos en menor número los deposita en el mes de Diciembre, mas ni siempre, ni todas las hembras, sino las más jóvenes. Medí y pesé uno de estos huevos, tenía 15 centímetros de longitud por 28 y cinco milímetros de circunferencia, su peso era de una libra y media, equivalente á doce de gallina que también pesé. Con uno de estos huevos se alimenta bien una familia de cuatro ó cinco chiriguanos que los buscan en tiempo de carestía y cuando no lo es.

Se hallan nidos en Setiembre y en Diciembre y es el macho

[facing p. 51]

Figura del Yandugua o quitasol

que empolla los huevos, especialmente cuando en un mismo nido depositan dos hembras sus cuarenta ó cincuenta huevos, *ñatas*, mientras el macho se enflaquece sobre el nido para dar calor necesario á los huevos, van en busca de otro macho á triscar nuevamente á sus anchas á otra pampa lejana. Asegura mi indio y todos los que he preguntado al respecto, que es costumbre de todos los avestruces no empollar uno ó tres primeros huevos que depositan; la hembra al tiempo de depositarlos, escarba, prepara el lugar que debe ocupar el nido, con su pico desmenuza la tierra y con ella cubre los dos ó tres huevos de reserva. Cuando las crías comienzan á salir del cascarón, el macho rompe los huevos de repuesto, allí se aglomeran moscas y otros insectos, de los que se alimentan los recién nacidos ¡Cuán admirable es la Providencia de Dios que ha dotado de instinto particular á todo ser viviente para luchar por la propia conservación!

El avestruz se nutre de todo lo que encuentra, especialmente de insectos, frutos del campo y hierbas, limpia y refresca su cuerpo con arena ó tierra que recoje con su ancho pico, corre con mucha velocidad ayudado por sus alas, pero nunca vuela, porque las alas son pequeñas y suaves y su cuerpo es pesado. Para prenderlo ó cazarlo, más se necesita destreza que valentía, porque en su carrera siempre caracolea y hace quites, especialmente cuando se halla en peligro próximo; si su carrera fuera algo en línea recta y no tuviera los quites tan repentinos y bruscos, un buen caballo y un perro medianos pronto lo alcanzarían. Este semivolátil sería el rey de las aves, si volara. En estado doméstico, es bastante perjudicial para las personas descuidadas, engulle todo lo que halla, hasta llaves y dinero y en un campo de alverjas entraría con ellas sin hacerlas saltar, en una huerta todo lo destruiría; prendido vivo en estado silvestre, embiste y se defiende dando de coces que lastiman.

Su carne es un alimento excelente y la he comido repetidas veces, los indios van á la caza del avestruz para frotarse con sus grasas; de las plumas hacen comercio, ó las guardan formando con cinco de ellas el «*Tandagua*,» especie de quitasol del cual hablaré á su tiempo. La grasa es un remedio eficacísimo para el costado, reumatismo y mal de cuerpo en los hombres y animales para la frialdad de los miembros y para arrancar las espinas, untando con ella la parte opuesta donde penetró.

HAVENGUETA.—Es ave que los indios llaman «*Tatiú*» porque así canta, tiene pico largo, piernas rojas y altas, plumas rojas y cenizas

cientas y cuello largo, se nutre de gusanillos ó insectos y generalmente se halla en las praderas y orillas de ríos y lagos. La carne es como la de la gallina pintada, pero muy dura, mas si se arranca la primera película antes de hacerla hervir ó asar, se cuece con facilidad.

La bandurria es algo parecida á la grulla, mas es estacionaria, abunda en todo lugar y no es solitaria, pero tampoco se unen entre muchas, una bandada se compone á lo sumo de unas doce ó quince y es frecuente hallar una sola pareja. Si de éstas se casa una, la compañera vuela al momento y huye, pero vuelve siquiera dos ó tres veces para averiguar lo acontecido, de este modo es fácil al cazador matar ambas. La bandurria tiene mucho instinto y al acercarse el cazador pronto huye; cuando son muchas, vuelan como las grullas yendo una por delante para romper el aire, no vuelan á mucha altura, generalmente duermen en el hueco de las peñas, donde es fácil cazarlas después de la bajada del sol.

Ilama.—Es ave nocturna grande como un cóndor y de color blanquecino; los hay de dos clases, el segundo es más chico y negro, cruzándose con collar blanco; al primero los chiriguanos llaman «*Yaucurunta*,» porque cuando canta, parece que forma esta palabra, la hembra del Yaucurunta contesta «*Yapacapiti*» que en castellano quiere decir: «entemos» de donde los blancos toman pretextos y hacen correr voces que los chiriguanos piensan sublevarse, si por acaso dicha pareja de bubos acierta á cantar en un poblado ó cerca de una casa de blancos. El segundo se llama «*Yaucurunta*» porque sólo canta, ninguno de los dos es perjudicial; abundan donde hay arbolado; el primero se nutre de murciélagos, sapos y culebras, por cuyo motivo no tiene atractivo para el chiriguano, pero es ave muy linda y sus plumas son de un terciopelo finísimo; el segundo es buen alimento para los indios, quienes le dan caza en las noches de luna clara.

Caramaiti.—Avecilla del tamaño de una golondrina con su copete lacre, plumas cenicientas y pecho blanco. La región de los cardenales principia en Parapiti Grande, una que otra vez pueden verse Yeu algunas parejas y por los campos de Caramaiti hay también algunas. Los he visto en ambos lugares, como he visto que en Parapiti andan bandadas de quince y veinte. No tiene más particularidad que su copete y el canto en ciertas horas del día. Los indios chiriguanos de Parapiti y algunos Tapiú de Isoso procuran pescar viva esta avecilla y llevarla al interior de la República, á Sucre ó Potosí y venderla ó cam-

biarla por ropas usadas; bajo este concepto es un pequeño comercio lucrativo.

Carpintero ó Picamaderos.—Es ave negra con copete colorado encendido y en chiriguano se llama «*Arapatuare;*» cuando vuela por miedo, hace mucho ruido con sus alas, es rápido y vuela en línea recta. Es un afán continuo el de este animalillo del tamaño de un rondón el trepar sin descanso árboles secos y huecos, golpeándolos con su pico duro para hacer salir y comer los insectos que contiene. A veces el viajero al oir estos ruidos en el bosque, cree que alguien está cortando leña y labrando madera, ó se inclina á creer que el prolongado ronquido de un árbol seco y hueco golpeado por el picamaderos, está por caer, supuesto que ignora que recibe picotazos de esta avecilla; alguna vez me han sucedido ambas cosas. El chiriguano no pierde tiempo en cazar al carpintero, porque es semi-solitario y apenas se hallan tres ó cuatro en un paraje, sólo los niños lo persiguen por diversión y por aprender á ser certeros en el manejo del arco y flecha.

Cóndor.—El cóndor es el rey de las aves acá y es llamado por los indios «*Guapi,*» vive en las alturas de los cerros elevados y desciende á las pampas, cuando vé ó huele el cadaver de alguna bestia en putrefacción. Se cierne continuamente por los aires á mucha altura formando grandiosos círculos en su continuado vuelo, lo hace así sin duda para descubrir su alimento con la vista ó el olfato, pues con su método de volar, abarca no sólo los vientos principales, sino todos los demás aún que pudieran llevar el hedor de los cadáveres. Es un hecho comprobado, dígase lo que se quiera, que tan luego como principia la putrefacción de una bestia muerta, pronto se reunen allí cóndores y cuervos.

Solamente sobre una carroña se reunen en cantidad y sólo entonces también á una pequeña distancia el viajero puede contemplar su magnitud, lo negro de sus alas y plumas, la blancura de su pecho y su collar tan hermoso. Allá en la cumbre del cerro de Ipaguasu camino á Igñende tuve la satisfacción de mirar por pocos minutos unos veinte ó treinta de este rey de los aires ¡qué hermosos y que colosales! parecían carneros. Todo su cuerpo es blanco, menos las alas; arrancadas las primeras plumas que son algo ásperas, queda en seguida una plumilla de mucha finura y suavidad. La piel puede sacarse íntegra con dicha plumilla y con unas diez ó menos también puede formarse una regular cobija de una blancura extraordinaria y quizá de un valor que pudiera competir con la piel de chinchilla

Por lo relatado se comprende que el cóndor es una de las aves mayores que existen así; su presencia es provechosa para purificar el aire siendo así que su alimento consiste en cadáveres de ganados y otros animales, además de poderse utilizar su piel y aún la grasa que constituye un fármaco excelente para el reumatismo y la artritis. Sin embargo hay lugares de querencia, donde se reunen en cantidad y son una verdadera plaga para la hacienda vacuna, ciegan á los terneros recién nacidos y apartados de la madre, que va pastando á lo lejos y luego los destripan. Si los terneros son algo crecidos, tienen los cóndores otro procedimiento, estando aquellos lejos de su madre, entre dos ó tres cóndores los cupujan hácia algún despeñadero, los golpean con alas y como no pueden huir, corren de un lado á otro al borde del despeñadero, fácilmente ruedan y caen en él, donde sino están muertos, quedan imposibilitados para correr, ó por haberse tronado las piernas ó por ser angosto el lugar de la caida, bajan en seguida los volátiles de la hazaña y otros más que vienen y entre alazos y picotazos que se dan uno á otro, hacen un exquisito almuerzo ó cena para principiar de nuevo al día siguiente hasta terminar y buscar otros terneros descuidados.

Nadie persigue á los cóndores, porque no tiene atractivo ni para el indio, ni para el blanco, éste necesariamente debe tomar la defensa de su ganado, cuando el cóndor es dañino, lo mismo que hace con el tigre; es difícil matar á éste por su ferocidad y lo es también matar á aquél, porque vuela en seguida, pero instintivamente conoce cuando ha hecho algún perjuicio notable. Sin embargo, como el ganado vacuno es bastante en todas partes, el daño que hacen nuestros buitres no es notable, porque no es á un solo dueño.

CRÍTICA.—Nosotros somos que este ave semi-útil es el mismo carpintero ó sea el ave que persigue y se alimenta de ellaras y carpinteros, mas parece que no están en lo cierto, pues los chiriguanos que lo dan esta contestación para matar de su carne, ocurren que su alimento no consiste en ellaras, sino en otros animalejos como cucarachas, langostas, grillos y otros insectos, de donde se puede deducir lo contrario. Los indios desde la márgen derecha del Parapiti hácia el Sur lo llaman «*Sariñaca*» y desde la izquierda hácia el Norte indios y blancos lo llaman «*Sevori*,» lo mismo se llama en Guaraya.

La cholla tiene piernas largas y rojas, plumas amarillas y negras, corre mucho por pampas y lomas y vuela también algunas veces, especialmente cuando se la persigue, entra por las cañaras

y por las tardes. Las hay en todo lugar, aun no en abundancia, generalmente andan con su pareja y á lo sumo son tres, suelen cantar á la vez, principia la hembra y sigue luego el macho, prolongando así el canto por unos cuatro ó cinco minutos, en un canto ó grito muy estraño. Dicen que anuncian la proximidad del viento ó de la lluvia y si está nublado, anuncian la proximidad del tiempo despejado ó claro. Los cazadores sin el auxilio de buenos perros difícilmente cazan esta ave, por lo mismo que corre y vuela en casa apurada.

Garza.—Es ave bastante grande, pero liviana, tiene pico grueso y algo largo, vuela poco y tiene su paradero en los lagos, lagunas y orillas de los ríos, donde encuentra su alimento. Las hay de dos clases, una completamente blanca, muy blanca, por cuyo motivo los chiriguanos la llaman «*Gárcanda*» ó sea pájaro blanco, la otra es ceniciento y pera en los mismos lugares, los chiriguanos no las persiguen, porque montieren muy poca carne.

Gallinazo.—Es volátil negro y repugnante á la vista especialmente por su cuello y cabeza calva, se nutre de cadáveres ó animales muertos, aunque sea cuerpo humano, si se encuentra, cuando puede, de arrancar las tripas y cuatro tiernuras, corderos y lechones recién nacidos que halle durmiendo y hijos de sus madres; en el primer caso constituye un excelente portillador del ano hasta desaparecer todas las mismas que salen de las cavidades, porque cuando los hay, las tienen en pocas horas, pero, como abundan, se reunen en cantidad. Por los gallinazos se devoraron las crías y animales muertos ó cazados por el tigre; algunos gallinazos se atontaban en las cavidades de vacas y caballos, dando á pensar de la lengüeta que tienen, pendiente, tarde ó temprano, algún perjuicio.

Raro es que el indio persiga el gallinazo, porque su carne es dura y indigesta, sin embargo alguna vez lo mata para comerlo; se sirve de la sangre caliente de este animal para curar su pequeño ó la de su hija, que se asegurara de asegurar vacío; pero el efecto cabal dicha sangre en una tira de lienzo y la amarra alrededor de la garganta, asegurar que produce algún efecto. Mas debe contenerse de pequeñas incisiones de cuerpo y no de aquellas cicatrices de arrobas como existen en forma de alforjas que se ven en abundancia por Potrero, Piraí, San Juan y Pozoalmonte.

Con los mismos instintos del gallinazo hay otra ave grande, llamada carancho por los blancos y «Characo» por los indios, no mata sin embargo terneros, persigue al y mata cordillos, lechones y pollos, devorándolos con su imperdible y dominio á la chuza.

Este ave sin vergüenza, al cuido abierto en todas partes, es capaz de penetrar á las cocinas y meter el pico en las ollas, pero su morada diríamos son los morales, allí anida, hueva y mora; y, como la casa más natural del mundo, á su derecho cuchillo le sacan las tripas á cuando menos lo hace tuerto. El pájaro penetra á los nidos de los pájaros más pequeños y cebo hueva á sus hijos para comerlos; es por lo mismo un tirano y mal vecino, de donde provienen que todos son sus enemigos y algunos lo persiguen aleándolo del nido. Así lo practica el ave que los chiriguanos llaman «Chirapijuna,» otra llamada «Suirirí» se pasa en los huertos del naranjillo y lo pérdida hasta que se coma á largas distancias.

Aseguran los indios que la grasa del naranjillo es remedio eficaz para la vista y que la cochina antes de que se introduzcan los tiranos actuales que resultan más eficaces y activos; mucho en escasa, si está gorda. Las plumas del naranjillo y del gallinato son muy fuertes y los colocan á la extremidad de las flechas para que no se doblen cuando son arrojadas y sean por consiguiente más certeras.

Geografía. — El calor es por donde escasito en ciertas. Aparece del año, llegando el termómetro en la sombra hasta 32 grados y la fuerza del sol hasta veinte, pero no se cura que este estado de calor, sea normal. Hay nieves en el año y en los cerros hay veranos y días en los cuales con dificultad se aguanta el frío, éste es más intenso en Junio y parte á todo Julio. De aquí pretende que la gobernación sólo está en pregunta, comienza á fines de Abril y vuelve á principios de Octubre, los hay completamente secos y los hay aun pocos blancos. Estos nublados son la ocupación á en el tiempo de las gallinas y aquellos en los cuales debajo de los tejados, anidan sus abundantes, como lo son los cerdos que salen determinados, cuando deja de llover.

Ganado. — Abunda este cuadrúpedo indígena y ninguna cría sale la, pretiguar, porque vuela con mucha rapidez, por esto dicen los chiriguanos que es el rey ó presidente de las aves y lo llaman «Chiriapijú,» hace mucho perjuicio en los gallinaceos, anida con las gallinas, porque aquellas generalmente son bastante despejadas de hierbas y cercas y las cercas se encuentran bien alineadas alrededor de los planes.

En las cercas colocadas en las alturas y que están rodeadas de matorrales ó cercas, suele á pasar desaparecer el gallinato, porque las gallinas se cuandan luego; aparecen muchas blancas que planeando

4: Nino SF 10 Chirlguano

[facing p. 57]

Palmarito delante de la casa de Mans Icharo.—Salinas

un madero de unos tres metros cerca de la casa y colocando en la punta una olla ú otro cacharro, ahuyenta á este ave de rapiña, del cual, ni el loro se libra.

Lechuza.—Ave nocturna que habita en los bosques y se posesiona aún de los edificios, donde hay murciélagos que destruye completamente. No es perjudicial, antes bien es provechosa, porque destruye aún los ratones, es del grandor de una pava, pero de un plumaje muy precioso, algunas ó la mayoría son como terciopelo y bastante fuertes casi iguales á las del buho. Conozco una sola clase de lechuza que los indios llaman «*Saiude*,» no tiene aprecio alguno y vuela en su completa libertad, raras veces se acerca á las poblaciones, porque no tienen abrigo para tales bichos, sólo lo tienen los templos, donde hay artesonado

Loros.—Esta región parece la tierra de los loros, los hay pues en grandísima abundancia, de diferentes cualidades, tamaños, colores, con cola larga ó corta, azules, verdes, váriopintos, blancos ó blanquecinos, aptos para aprender á hablar y remedar al hombre y á los animales y completamente inútiles para esto. Cuando el maíz principia á madurar y hasta que esté en estado de cosecha las bandadas de loros son una verdadera plaga: por poco que el labrador se descuide, ya no cuenta con la cosecha. Los blancos para defender sus chacras algo grandes, ensillan sus caballos, como si anduvieran en persecución de bestias feroces.

Otros cristianos y chiriguanos también defienden sus sembradíos de los loros de distinto modo. Matan dos ó tres perros y en falta, cabras ú ovejas viejas, las colocan á la cima de los árboles que hay de distancia en distancia en las chacras y á estas los loros no se acercan siquiera. No vayan á creer sin embargo mis lectores que los loros se amedrentan de los cadáveres, como algunos ó la mayoría cree por acá; lo que los ahuyenta son los gallinazos que revolotean alrededor de su comida ó se asientan en dichos árboles atraídos por el cebo, por esto hay que tener la precaución de colocar el cebo donde los gallinazos no pueden alcanzar con su pico, ni les es fácil asentarse, así se cansan unos y llegan otros, el maíz madura, se seca y los loros se pasan ó van á alimentarse con la semilla del soto que también abunda en tiempo de chacras. Sin embargo los más prefieren tener en las chacras á sus hijos que gritan continuamente para espantar los loros ó les arrojan flechas y piedras. En este oficio se ocupan aún los chiriguanos grandes, porque la carne de loro es un alimento muy sabroso, á pesar de que algunos son muy duros, la prefiero á cualquier ave silvestre y doméstica. Pa-

ra prender vivos á los loros habladores, amarras á uno domesticado y mediante trampas consiguen á los compañeros que se acercan al prisionero.

HORNERO.—Esta avecilla en chiriguano se llama «*Tiantía*,» su color es rojo y su magnitud es la del gorrión, es manso y no se asusta fácilmente, sin duda porque nadie lo persigue. Se le llama hornero por la estructura de su nido, ¡es cosa admirable! pájaro tan pequeño trabaja con su pico un verdadero horno en miniatura. Cuando recién acaba de llover, principia luego el albañil á trabajar su casa, pero si la lluvia tarda, vuela á las orillas de los ríos, torrentes, lagunas y acarrea el material necesario, no se contenta de una casa vieja, cada año la quiere nueva, por esto ciertos árboles ó sus ramas están llenos de estos hornos.

Para la colocación de su horno el pajarito escoje árboles seculares y grandes como algarrobos, quebrachos y otros, mas éstos últimos son de preferencia, procura que las ramas sean sólidas y desembarazadas de ramas pequeñas. El horno es relativamente grande, á un lado deja una abertura alta y estrecha prolongando las paredes de ésta hácia adentro hasta cierto punto, para que la lluvia con viento no penetre en su nido que coloca atrás de dicha pared, así es que sus huevos y crías quedan completamente al abrigo. La pared de la abertura tiene forma de espiral de dos vueltas y un poco más, el barro de toda la casa está mezclado con excremento de caballo ó buey y la cama ó el verdadero nido es de lana limpia y rala.

En dichos hornos hay una segunda abertura redonda y angosta al lado derecho de la primera á unos cinco centímetros de altura, quizá para huir de algún peligro; pero es más fácil conjeturar que practique esta ventanilla cuando algún animal extraño, como p. ej. el ratón toma posesión de la primera vuelta del espiral, donde el mismo ratón practica una tercera abertura para salir por ella. Conjeturo así, porque los hornos que voy describiendo no son iguales, los hay de una, de dos y de tres aberturas. En los hornos abandonados palitiean otros pájaros llamados tarachis que muchas veces desalojan al dueño de su casa nueva aún.

MACANCA.—Animal ó ave muy conocida, pero que no abunda; indios y blancos la llaman con el nombre que encierra estas líneas, lo que hace suponer que no hay en otros parajes ó no la conocen por su nombre. Su canto es monótono y largo por las mañanas y tardes, forma un monosílabo: «*guá guá guá*» y sigue así horas y horas hasta fastidiar. Esta ave es del tamaño de una paloma gran-

do, con plumas blanquecinas en el pecho y cenicientas por encima. Estoy por creer que es el verdadero serpentario, porque á las víboras los prende vivas para alimentarse, éstas le tienen mucho miedo y huyen en verlo á cielo, de su carne no come el chiriguano, así que vuela y canta á su gusto y regalo.

Mayuta.—Es un pajarito muy bonito de tres colores, amarillo, rojo y negro, domina el primer color, se domestica con facilidad, pero su canto no es variado, es una diversión colocarlo al frente de un espejo, especialmente si es macho; se encrespa, canta con gana y acomete á su figura, creyéndola un competidor. Hasta la márgen derecha del río Pilcopiti dentro de la última serranía de los Andes llamada Aguaraqui no se vé uno, principian á verse en la márgen izquierda y precisamente en la Misión de San Francisco. La Misión de San Antonio del Pilcopiti grande situada en la misma márgen, apenas dista 5,400 metros de la igual de San Francisco, sin embargo en sus alrededores nadie vi un mayuta. O no hallará allí alimento adecuado, ó el frío de las mañanas será más sensible por estar muy cerca de la montaña. Los chiriguanos y Tapiti prenden vivo al mayuta y lo llevan á vender lejos.

Mimiri.—Esta clase de ave no abunda en la región, si está en todo lugar, gusta permanecer donde corren arroyuelos de agua para cantar á satisfacción, es negro claro y algo grande. Canta fuerte y con mucha gracia desde la salida del sol y antes de ocultarse este astro; alegra al viajero el canto tan claro y fuerte de este pájaro, se le oye á larga distancia. Los blancos le llaman chicuaqua.

Murciélagos.—Los murciélagos son abundantes en tiempo de calor y muy repugnantes; en ciertos edificios con techo de paja ó con paredes sólidas con redes, todo lo cruzan con sus inmundicias y causan verdadero asco. Los templos que tienen artesonado y no tienen caja ó abandonado en sus cimacuyas, se llenan de estos animalejos repugnantes y donde habitan hay gran limpieza. De noche muerden á toda clase de animales y aún al hombre durmiendo, los hay de dos clases uno chico y otro grande.

El indio chiriguano tiene idea confusa del fin del mundo que llama *ayapi* término del tiempo. En aquel entonces, dice, parecerá *mandiri yaiso*, murciélago grande, nos comerá y todo se acaba. La lechuza y el buho son compañeros del murciélago y la matan no por matar, sino porque es su alimento.

Pajaros.—Son de cuatro clases á saber: palomas, tórtolas, mentirosas, chiriguanos y tórtolas, cuyos nombres respectivos en chi-

riguano son «*picuau, picuái, picui geruti.*» Las grandes andan en bandadas que oscurecen el sol en tiempo y después de la cosecha del maíz en Mayo, Junio, Julio y Agosto. Las medianas se llaman monteñas, porque su paradero fijo son los matorrales, abundan también y son quizá más sabrosas que las primeras, son sociables como las torcaces y vuelan en bandadas muy grandes. Las ulinchas que son pequeñuelas, son mucho más abundantes y sabrosas; se acercan á las casas y penetran aún á los patios, para dormir buscan árboles copados; las últimas ya he dicho que son una especie de tortolilla y van parejas, su canto es muy triste.

Para cazar las torcaces el indio atisba el árbol donde paran en abundancia, coloca y amarra una que prendió viva; con paja forma una especie de horno abierto por abajo y allí se oculta. Lleva flechas y espera que las torcaces vayan á visitar á su compañera y como no ven al enemigo que se halla escondido, son heridas y caen muchas hasta que al indio se le terminen las flechas, lo mismo practica en el suelo á donde bajan á beber.

A las monteñas y ulinchas matan de noche, chicos y grandes andan con llamaradas de fuego, éste les oscurece la vista, caen y las matan á garrote. En Mayo y Junio en ciertas pampas y lomas cree un espectador presenciar la estratagema que usó Aníbal contra Fabio Máximo, cuando para abrirse paso en la angostura del valle de Casilino cerca del río Volturno, amarró material inflamable á las astas de dos mil bueyes, encendió é hizo dirigir á los bueyes á las alturas, consiguiendo así salida franca y victoria sobre el ejército romano, el cual creyendo ser los bueyes enemigos que corrían por todas direcciones, abandonó la angostura para defender otras posiciones y fué derrotado al día siguiente. En los meses indicados los jóvenes y niños poco duermen de noche por ir en persecución de las palomitas y tener sabroso alimento al día siguiente ellos y sus familias, pues es grande la matanza que hacen de palomas y otros pajaritos que tienen la desgracia de dormir cerca de aquéllas.

Pato. Donde hay lagos ó lagunas son innumerables los patos por su tamaño y color, unos son tan grandes que parecen gansos, los hay negros, blancos, rosados y pardos, estos últimos son gordos y sabrosos. El chiriguano come la carne del pato, pero no lo persigue por la dificultad que encuentra en ello, cuando puede lo caza, mas como esta ave palmípeda coloca ó deposita sus huevos en las orillas del lago, encima de las hierbas ó escondidos entre los matorrales que se desarrollan cerca de las lagunas, son

buscados con avidez por chicos y grandes, hombres y mujeres, porque en estos parajes el lecho de las aguas no es profundo. El pato en chiriguano se llama «*Ipe*» que literalmente quiere decir: en el agua, como laguna se llama «*Ipa*» ó sea agua ancha ó extendida.

Pava.—Tienen sus lugares de querencia y no se retiran lejos, allá se las encuentra precisamente á la salida del sol y antes de anochecer, éllas mismas se descubren al acercarse el cazador ó cualquier otro, porque luego comienzan á graznar y vuelan de árbol en árbol asustadas, con lo cual hacen un ruido desagradable. Son las pavas del tamaño de una gallina grande con cola bien larga y plumas negras; las hay de dos clases, la más grande se llama «*Yacu*» y se hallan en abundancia desde la márgen derecha de la quebrada de Cuevo; las otras llamadas charatas por los blancos, se llaman «*Amucua*» en chiriguano, éstas abundan desde la márgen izquierda del río Parapiti, provincia de Lagunillas.

Ambas clases son muy sabrosas, pero es mejor la charata. Las charatas se domestican fácilmente cuando son pequeñas, el macho es bravísimo en estado doméstico, acomete á todos, aún á las personas de casa; aturden las charatas antes de la salida del sol con su graznido tan fuerte y repugnante. Cuevo dista unas veinte leguas de Parapiti y poco más de dos de la Misión de Yrú, en la región de aquél ó en sus alrededores no se ve, ni se oye una charata, en el territorio de ésta se encuentra una que otra pareja y conforme se avanza al norte de dicha Misión hácia Parapiti, aumenta el número de tales aves.

Pelícano.—Este volátil en chiriguano se llama «*Tanga*,» porque cuando canta parece que diga «*Tangá, Tinguí, Tanga*». Las orillas de los ríos y lagunas constituyen su paradero, allá encuentra alimento, se nutre de sapos recién nacidos que tienen colita y se nutren también de pecesitos; duerme en los árboles y vuela perfectamente á pesar de su magnitud, vuela á mucha altura y por el camino que recorre, canta de distancia en distancia y dicen los indios que cuando canta el pelícano, está próxima la lluvia. Esta ave no abunda, siempre andan entre dos y á veces entre tres, su carne es buena para el chiriguano.

Perdiz.—Tampoco falta esta clase de ave en la comarca chiriguana, las perdices son de tres clases una más grande que otra, viven en las pampas, en los bosques y en los cerros. En el idioma la verdadera perdiz se llama «*Iscamba*,» la segunda que para en los cerros como su querencia especial, se llama «*Guáico*» y silba como los arrieros que arrean jumentos, la tercera que es la codorniz, se

llama «*Inamba tindi*». Existe una cuarta perdiz grande como la primera, pero de color rojo y por esto se llama «*Inamba pinta*,» mas el *guáiro* es más grande que todas; á todas éllas persiguen los indios con el auxilio de los perros adiestrados para el efecto.

Picaflor.—Se ven muchos de este volátil, mas parece que por acá hay de una sola especie, son los pequeñitos y en chiriguano el picaflor se llama «*Chiao*,» suele colgar su nido en cualquier ramita de árbol y también en alguna paja ó cañahuera de los tejados, sólo se ve perseguido por los niños, á quienes toda avecilla causa gracia y contento.

Hay también una especie de oropéndola que forma su nido muy gracioso, cónico como un globo con la parte ancha abierta hácia arriba, lo cuelga de las ramas de los árboles mediante hilos largos y delgados, á veces en un mismo árbol hay muchos nidos; ni las víboras, ni otro pájaro grande pueden perjudicar en tales abrigos.

Tordo.—Los tordos son innumerables en todas partes desde Monteagudo hácia el oriente; andan en bandadas, los machos son completamente negros más que la tinta de escribir y las hembras algo pardas. Causan perjuicios incalculables en los sembradíos recién labrados, escarban y comen la semilla con mucha destreza, al tiempo de nacer arrancan la planta tierna del maíz, trigo, cebada y arroz, es por consiguiente una verdadera plaga y, por poco que el labrador se descuide, de su labranza recogerá viento, su carne es buena, pero el indio sólo lo persigue como perjudicial. El tordo tiene el placer singular, como ninguna ave ave de seguir al ganado vacuno que pace tranquilamente en la llanura y algunos lectores pueden comprender el objeto y fin de esta singularidad.

Esta clase de tordo, llamado en chiriguano «*Tocumbia*,» canta poco y tiene menos gracia en su canto. Pero hay otra clase de tordo bastante gracioso, se le halla unas nueve ó diez leguas al Sur de la ciudad de Santa Cruz de la Sierra, es también negro, como negra es la hembra, se domestica mucho y canta variadamente y fuerte. Es una preciosidad y un encanto ese animalillo; sin embargo en estado doméstico todos los otros pequeños que halla, los levanta graciosamente con su pico y escande, bien pueden ser liras estrellas ó quietos. Quiere al amo y aborrece al extraño, se encrespa y pica fuerte.

Un tordo de esta segunda especie vale algo más de cinco bolivianos ó duros en Santa Cruz, y en Salta ó Tucumán vale hasta treinta moneda; hay indios en Paraguái y otros que hacen co-

nercio de tordos, los prenden en las inmediaciones del paraje llamado Basilio y en jaulas los llevan hasta la República Argentina.

TUCÁN.—Ave muy singular por su pico largo casi como su cuerpo, dicho pico es amarillo, rojo y negro, pero muy liviano, de lo contrario siendo tan grueso, difícilmente podría sostenerlo. Quien por primera vez ve al tucán, llamado «*Tucano*» en chiriguano, cree que lleve alguna espiga de maíz en su pico. Los tucanes andan entre muchos y tienen sus lugares privilegiados, no conozco más que una sola clase. Se asegura que el pico rasgado y tomando su agua, ataja el flujo de sangre, parece que el tucán sólo vive en climas cálidos, si le llevan á otros parajes, perece.

URRACA.—Este volátil es algo grande y alcanza, los hay de varias especies por la diferencia de las plumas. Se domestica con facilidad y en las casas es útil, porque mata todos los bichos ó insectos que pululan en ellas, pero su mansedumbre no excede á la del tucán, es inquieta y bullanguera tanto en las casas, como en el bosque.

Hay término á esta somera descripción de la tierra habitada por los chiriguanos y de lo que en ella se contiene. Todos comprenderán que no pretendí averiguar y describir minuciosamente todas y cada una de la plantas, todos y cada uno de los cuadrúpedos, anfibios ó insectos, todas y cada una de las aves, sino de aquellas que me parecieron de más importancia; si al pensar de más lectores muchas, ó pocas falta, tendrán la bondad de disponer las faltas, mientras tanto voy á dar principio á la verdadera etnografía que será algo larga para que resalte más clara y amena.

[P 64 is blank and not reproduced]

Establecimiento Azucarero
de la Misión de San Antonio
Parapiti.

La estancia de San Antonio del Paraguay

4: Nino SF 10 Chirlguano

[facing P.65]

[P.65]

CAPITULO SEGUNDO

ORIGEN, IDIOMA, ESTADÍSTICA

INTRODUCCION

No son pocos los hombres, aun entre aquellos que son considerados como sabios, que en la magna cuestión del origen del hombre, rinden homenaje á ciertas teorías que la sana razón, la buena lógica y la ciencia bien entendida rechazan de consuno.

El último absurdo en esa serie de disquisiciones es el delirio de Darwin que hace descender originariamente al hombre, ser racional, de otro ser irracional, cual es el mono. Empero, esta teoría, lejos de resolver la cuestión, la complica, como quiera que no nos dice de donde, si de quien procede el mono; con lo cual, dicho se está que la dificultad queda en pié, agravada por la deficiencia de razones que pongan de manifiesto la verdad del sistema darwinista. La teoría de la evolución nada define; y, en cuanto se refiere al hombre y á su origen, es contraria á todas luces al siguiente principio metafísico, tan exacto como evidente. *El efecto no puede esperar á la causa;* ó lo que es lo mismo—*Las perfecciones del efecto no pueden esperar las perfecciones de la causa.* Es, pues, absurdo afirmar que el hombre, ser racional, se origine de un ser irracional, de un bruto, cual es el mono.

Lo propio á un ser, y aun en su mayor escala, cuando se trata de averiguar el origen y organización de los grandes pueblos que en la historia de la humanidad ocupan un lugar prominente, ó por su civilización ó por la extensión é importancia de sus conquistas sobre los demás pueblos. Tampoco en este ramo del saber humano faltan hombres que sin el debido examen ó por falta de

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

criterio admiten hechos que por lo fabulosos é inverosímiles llevan en sí mismo el sello de la fabulosa.

En los anales de los pueblos se encuentran dos clases perfectamente deslindadas; la edad fabulosa y la edad histórica, propiamente dicha.

La primera es por su naturaleza mitológica y fantástica. Allí abundan los acontecimientos más inverosímiles, los hechos de armas más sorprendentes, personajes fabulosos, revestidos de gran poder, especie de semidioses, y una antigüedad que se remonta á millares de años. Una cosa es común á todos esos pueblos, y que el hombre estudioso debe tomar en cuenta, y es, que todos ellos reconocen, como fundadores de sus respectivas dinastías, á los dioses; circunstancia que nos dá la clave para encontrar en esas tradiciones fabulosas la verdad histórica de los Libros Sagrados, referente al origen del hombre y de los pueblos.

El *Génesis*, el libro más antiguo que se conoce, y cuya autoridad y veracidad no han podido ser desmentidas hasta ahora, nos cuenta que el primer hombre y la primera mujer fueron creados por el Supremo Hacedor de todas las cosas: que desde su cuna, á consecuencia del pecado de nuestros primeros padres, Adam y Eva, la humanidad se dividió en dos grandes bandos; el de los *hijos de Dios*, que tuvo por padre á Seth, y el de los *hijos de los hombres*, que descendían de Caín. De estos últimos dice el Sagrado Texto: *Ibi erant gigantes à saeculo, viri famosi. Estos eran los hombres de gran poder de aquellos remotísimos tiempos, y varones de gran fama* (Génes., c. 6). En cuya frase fácil es descubrir á los héroes fabulosos de la antigüedad. Si á esto se añade la historia de la torre de Babel y de la dispersión de aquel pueblo famoso, tendremos todos los grandes acontecimientos que desenvuelven el fundamento lógico de mi asserto.

La historia propiamente dicha se desarrolla en los pueblos á medida que éstos avanzan en el progreso de la civilización.

Los tribus salvajes no pueden tener historia en el rigor de la palabra, porque carecen de civilización y de los medios adecuados para adquirirla, principalmente de la escritura. Esta es indudablemente la gran palanca que ha levantado á los pueblos de su postración é ignorancia.

Cierto es que los chiriguanos no tienen historia escrita, pero no carecen de ciertas tradiciones, más ó menos fabulosas, respecto á su origen.

Y por lo que hace á la historia que podríamos llamar moderna, guardan noticias de épocas relativamente recientes, y de cuya veracidad no se puede dudar, por cuanto estas noticias históricas están relacionadas con la conquista de estas regiones por los españoles, como se verá en el párrafo siguiente.

Origen

La tribu chiriguana carece de escritura, por cuya razón es difícil averiguar á punto fijo su origen, el lugar de su procedencia y el tiempo en que se verificó la inmigración. Admiran* cuando ven el papel que llaman «*Tuapipir*,» piel de Dios y con llaman feliza, porque por su medio pudieron hacer conocer nuestros pensamientos y deseos á los amigos y parientes á grandes distancias. ¿Qué dirían pues, si tuvieran una idea cabal del telégrafo y teléfono y de tantos otros inventos modernos como la de volar por los aires de este siglo XX, que justamente puede denominarse: siglo de los globos?

Cuentan que el «*Apuaro-Tuapa*,» Dios-nuevo, quiso destruir la obra del Dios verdadero haciendo morir á todos los hombres. Para conseguir esto se sirvió del «*Apuaro*,» agua grande, abrió pues las puertas á orillas de los mares é inundó toda la tierra, las aguas de la superficie terrestre llamaron las del cielo «*Apuaro*,» diluvio y así pereció la raza humana. Más antes que se consumara la total destrucción del chiriguano, en el cual se conservaba la humanidad, una mujer tomó á dos de sus niños, hombre y mujer, los metió en un «*Ituyuta*,» cuero grande, los dejó á discreción de las aguas y cuando éstas disminuyeron, se encontraron en el Paraguay, donde volvieron á multiplicarse (1).

Dejo que carecen de escritura, pero en cambio tienen una especie de tradición oral «*Mimi*,» que transmiten de padre á hijo. Sin embargo está también recargada la tradición en el velo de la confusión, porque cuenta nuestros á sus tiempos, de donde resulta que los patriarcas verdaderamente se ignoran, porque «desconocen los nombres de aquellos grandes que estimaron en Dios. De todas guerras que han sostenido contra los que eran antes de la conquista, desde la colonización del norte Tupanqui (1648) y con-

(1) Los dos niños después del desastrosa no perecieron de sed, porque el "Cuaro" agua, se secó á compasión, transformándose en un pajarillo; de donde procede que el verdadero chiriguano entre pájaros é otros animales domésticos.

tra los españoles en tiempo del coloniaje, nada sabía [illegible], pero los más antiguos, y ellos sabían algo más que los [illegible] dueños españoles y Misioneros de las diversas Ordenes religiosas del Paraguay y de Bolivia.

Por mi [illegible] cual aseguran que en provincia en del Paraguay, aquí se habían multiplicado y el desaparecieron el nuevo mundo, que habían escapado á uno de los capitanes portugueses, trajeron la noticia de sus compañeros y bajaron en masa por los orillas del río Pilcomayo hasta llegar á la región que actualmente ocupan, desalojando, á otros indígenas que estaban poseyendo esas tierras (1).

Sin embargo los antiguos y actuales, por su antigüedad de este lugar dan á entender que en procedencia viene del Brasil. Dicen, pues, que en los tiempos antiguos existieron una guerra, formidable con los blancos que vinieron de tierras lejanas, montados por Aves, ocasionando la desigualdad de las armas y la pérdida en el combate. Fueron perseguidos hasta que penetraron en las fronteras del Gran Chaco, que atravesaron llegando al Paraguay. Durante la campaña se desbalagaron y levantaron. Entonces en varios puntos, de los que nuestros ancianos, uno está en Gualeguay, dos en el cuartel Cuarto y el cuarto en Cumbayapú, perteneciente á la Misión de San Bernardino de Tarija, donde tuvo lugar la subdivisión y dispersión de los chiriguanos el año 1892 (2).

Dicen Sotiano tienen cimientos de piedra, están hechos con arte y son muy grandes, no es creíble por consiguiente que hayan sido levantados por indios más tratados que los actuales. Cuna más bien que fué obra de los conquistadores, quienes siguiendo el ejemplo de Cortés, Cortés y Pizarro se pusieron el abrigo de Aves contra la flecha chiriguana. La existencia de dichos cimientos y la existencia de los animales no se sabe otra cosa. Agregaban también que aquellos eran gente grande, tanto se conducían en la cantidad por miedo á que recuerdo y dicen pobladores después la región (3).

---

(1) Debe relacionar á la leyenda de los que vinieron que se asemejan más con los chiriguanos.

(2) El Gobernador explicó esos sitios, como un mapa de procedencia por uno de ancianos, situado desde la quebrada de Cuevas de Sorocuyo o Sarayte, distantes una estimación de unos 4,000 metros, situada en una colina rodeada por el mismo cimiento, tiene un escalón y una pirámide y dentro todo la comarca.

(3) Debían relacionar á lo que dice el P. Cardiel, cuando los antiguos se establecieron en el lugar que hoy ocupa la ciudad de Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

[illegible]

De lo expuesto se deduce que es más probable ser la raza chiriguana de origen paraguayo, así lo han asegurado también los habitantes de aquella región á los que acostumbran á trasladar al trabajo en los ingenios de la República Argentina y á los indios que en otras parcialidades desde Yrú, Cayapandí y Paraguí van á Corumbá. Unidos pues á éstos, tuvo noticia de la existencia de un lugar llamado Yrú y de otro llamado Paraguí, fundados por sus ancestros que vivieron á sus parientes los chiriguanos. Además hay tradición que en tiempo no muy lejano muchas familias radicadas por más parientes de los que vamos á citar á sus parientes residieron en los antiguos del río Paraguay.

Sin apoyo de la autoridad clara el idioma que poco se diferencia del Guaraní, hablado en la República del Paraguay, en varias regiones del Brasil y aún en Cuyaba, y el idioma es un argumento irrefragable de una á otra nación, pero como en estos últimos lugares está dicho idioma muy cultivado y en aquél, del Paraguay, fué general hasta época no lejana, bien se puede asegurar que los chiriguanos son oriundos del Paraguay.

Esta Nación pretendió en muchos días ensanchar é extender su dominio en los territorios ocupados por los chiriguanos, especialmente hasta el grado 22, en los cuales están situados casi todos los Misiones comprendidos los del Paraguí Grande, que se hallan al grado 19' 48' de latitud Sur del meridiano de Paris. La diplomacia boliviana puede argumentar pudiera para mantener su derecho con el establecimiento de los Misiones-sólo, principalmente de los del Paraguí, cuya primera fundación se remonta al siglo XVIII. Allí el Franciscano F. Narciso Lizarralde, erigió el edificio moral y material, cuyos testigos quedan como noticia, autorizado por el Obispo Arzobispo de Chuquisaca y autorizado por la R. Audiencia de Charcas. Si el idioma chiriguano, si la tradición de esta raza le dan derecho al Paraguay, porque todos los autores y exploradores están de acuerdo en afirmar que esta raza no existía así antes del siglo XIII. En el siglo XV fueron civilizados los chiriguanos por el inca Yupanqui con numerosos ejércitos del Cuzco. Luego en el siglo XVI el Virrey residente en Lima trató en vano humillar el orgullo de esta raza y por últimos todos son que la Nación boliviana ejerce así autoridad plena desde antes y después de la guerra de la Independencia y los Misiones progresaron y progresan á la sombra de la bandera boliviana que ampara los fomento en estos lejanos tiempos.

Puede objetarse observar y decir: ¿Por qué los chiriguanos

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

emigrando del Paraguay, no se establecieron en las orillas del Pilcomayo y en los parajes inmensos del Gran Chaco? A primera vista esta pregunta constituye un serio embarazo á quien no conoce la raza, pero es fácil contestarla satisfactoriamente. Todas las tribus bárbaras permanecen en el ocio y en la indolencia y se contentan de lo que proporciona la naturaleza para vivir y subsistir, así lo practican los salvajes al Norte de Santa Cruz, así los tobas, matacos, chorotis y otros que no se preocupan de sementeras y sólo se contentan de cuta, pesca, raíces y frutas silvestres, las que, cuando escasean á consecuencia, son saludadas por los tobas y matacos con el *Tinajin*, especie de tamboril, para que maduren pronto y bien.

Mas el chiriguano á pesar de ser indolente, escaso emigrado, como sus vecinos, no lo es tanto como las demás tribus, desde que se unió con los Cariocas. Adelantado de gustarle la pesca y la caza, no deja de hacer sus sementeras de maíz en grande escala, donde emplea sus fuerzas para después aprovechar de sus cosechas consistiendo en *Mipiri* tostado, *Mirocro* maíz ó maíz hervido, *Mirocio* harina *Mapuyo* pan, *Cimpiri* chicha, etc., sucede que los tobas y otros silvícolas en la casa ó despensa del chiriguano. Para conseguir esta clase de víveres no eran cultivadores las orillas del Pilcomayo ó una tribu muy numerosa, adelantándose otra intermedia en el bosque de aquel trayecto habrían devastado sus sementeras ó los dueños habrían robado en una ocasión nuestra. Tampoco podían conseguirlo en los parajes del Gran Chaco, porque así como la división estipulante de la flecha y adelantó el maíz en nuestras partes, arranja á una inmensa crisis, efectos de los hayes de los quirigualtos, sementeras habradas y otros de la especie que existen allí y los fieras la son partidas estacionarias. (1)

Era muy natural en consecuencia que la raza emigrante del Paraguay buscara para sus necesidades tierras ó parajes que le permitieran cultivar bien su natural inclinación al cultivo del *Chiriguano* maíz, *Chiriguano* cultivo, y *Chiriguano* alcohol, porque por los nombres que dan á todas estas legumbres, se deduce que no los han conocido después del descubrimiento de América, sino nuestros autores, conforme todos los antiguos chiriguanos *Tinajin*, pesca, *Cira*,

(1) Los tobas comunicaron á *Chiriguano* maíz y alcohol desde que se sugestaron al gobierno de los Padres Franciscanos en la Misión de San Francisco del Pilcomayo, hoy Villamontes, hoy nombrados muy pocos.

gritos, o *Wiche*, o gritos. Lo cierto es que la raza chiriguana se ha distinguido y se distingue de los demás que habitan permanecen en estado salvaje, y tanto los tobas, como los matacos y chorotis consideran á los chiriguanos sabios y cuerdos, circunstancia por interés de unos y otros cuerpos, y jamás se ha verificado mezcolanza natural de chiriguanos ó chiriguanos con las tribus indicadas. (1).

Los tobas generalmente han asistido en las guerras á sus amos, han vivido por largas temporadas entre ellos, especialmente en tiempo y en época de tocuas y alzamientos comunes. Así lo practicaban antes que los Misioneros abriesen Cuyo é Ivo al comercio con la fundación de las Misiones de Santa Rosa y San Bernardino y así lo practican todavía en las Misiones Franciscanas de Macharetí, Tiptipa y Tarairí por hallarse cercanas á dichas tribus.

Los lugares que los chiriguanos escogieron para su residencia después de la emigración, fué la montañosa, como la que con vistada con fines fortuitos, necesarios para no perder el fruto de sus trabajos y evitarse de la cosa á esta raza radicada en los lugares apartados de la serranía, ni tampoco en los lugares impenetrables, buscan solamente para las tribus en estado de completo salvajismo (2).

Más que la tradición de los chiriguanos y la fábula del *Aguero Tiengo*, por los cuales se nos da á entender que la raza de que se ocupa, procede del Paraguay, hay autores extranjeros que vienen en apoyo de mi opinión. Entre los primeros descuellan los Misioneros Franciscanos Cardús y Machoretti, siendo el más reciente de ellos el M. R. P. Cárcoba, quien en su historia del Colegio y Misiones de Tarija asegura que la opinión más generalizada es, que los chiriguanos procedieron del Paraguay por más que la lengua guaraní está esparcida por muchos lugares del Brasil y algunos de la República Argentina, pero, como manifiesta de decir, la lengua es un argumento poderoso para conocer el origen de una tribu y se ha manifestado ya, que el guaraní se habla generalmente en el Paraguay, tanto que no sería sin error decir

(1) Los tobas son más inteligentes y más sufridos que los matacos; dicen también entonces sujetos á los Misioneros en San Antonio del Pilcomayo, situado á su margen derecha.

(2) Cayguari con otros ya chiriguanos se fué al desierto á vivir entre los salvajes al Río de Corumbá.

que el Brasil y á la Argentina los guaraníes hayan sido de la misma Nación (1).

Entre las autoridades explorar tomaron al alférez d'Orbigny: según éste, antes que se verificase el descubrimiento de América por el inmortal genovés, los chiriguanos ocupaban los últimos ramales de los Andes Bolivianos, eran completamente desnudos, eran antropófagos y de origen guaraní (2). El inca Tupac-qui había promovido cuatro guerras hasta los chiriguanos con el fin de conquistarlos para la civilización incaica, pero sus esfuerzos fueron inútiles, porque su ejército siempre quedó vencido por la ferocidad del chiriguano que contaba también con el lugar que ocupaba y por consiguiente bien conocido para burlarse fácilmente de los soldados de los incas.

Parece que los incas en su empeño de civilizar á los chiriguanos llegaron con sus ejércitos hasta el límite de la provincia de Cordillera. Existe en efecto en la cumbre de la serranía que la divide de la del Azero y del mismo Itapirengui una fortaleza de grandes dimensiones, toda ella de piedras bien colocadas, se la llama «Cocalomi,» «casa del inca» y da el nombre á toda la serranía, cuya elevación bárea el «ser, del puerto» como límite en la ley de demarcación interdepartamental entre Santa Cruz y Chuquisaca, cuando el año 1908 se trató de la ley de enlinderamiento.

Esta frase es gaiñeba compuesta de la terminología de la lengua quechua, el idioma chiriguano al ignorar tiene idiomas que se le parecen, es muy probable para que aquel fuerte haya sido construído por los quechuas y como los fuertes están dirigidos personalmente por el inca, éste mandaría construir como en toda la cumbre del cerro, como se ve con hoy (3).

En un lenguaje histórico averiguando también que después del descubrimiento del Brasil y desde regiones de Sud-América como así indian hacia del Paraguay, porque en tantas guerras que habían mantenido con los portugueses, llegaron á chiriguar al pelo. Trazando con descubrimiento general, se vinieron á Bolivia por la cuenca del río Pilcomayo; en el Gran Chaco hallaron la región ocupada á los cordilleras ocupada y habitada por los frontera chiriguanos

(1) En el capítulo: Religión y Creencias notarás más diferencias la filiada del Agnaro Tompa.

(2) Los indios del Paraguay son diferentes que los indígenas Tupi-Guaraní son anchuras y en las subdivisiones de tribus, comunes á sus colectivos y otros.

(3) El camino de Cotapacaisto á Mamaguada por Incaberri no es antiguo, lo hizo abrir don Gregorio Padilla.

[facing p. 93]

Hombre de la raza de los Tapuiás del río
Picunaya, entre Coachalla y Estrella de Pacífico

pero como pudieron entenderse fácilmente, porque hablaban el mismo idioma con pocas diferencias, se unieron á ellos y de este modo los chiriguanos aumentaron de número (1).

Los cuatro mil indios huidos del Paraguay, por las continuas relaciones que habían tenido con los portugueses, poseían al tiempo de hacer alianza con los chiriguanos una pequeña tintura de civilización superficial, como en Méjico los de Tlaxcala la aprendieron de Hernán Cortés y demás españoles. A consecuencia de este rango de civilización comenzaron á usar algún vestido para cubrir en principio lo más delicado del cuerpo, dejaron de devorar los cuerpos de sus contrarios y prisioneros y fueron más humanitarios en su trato.

Habiendo establecido su morada y formado una sola tribu con los chiriguanos, introdujeron sus costumbres humanitarias y benignas entre sus feroces amigos, éstos suavizaron en tanto su soberbia y altivez, imitaron á sus aliados en el modo de vestir y principiaron á dejar la bárbara costumbre de ser antropófagos por lo cual hoy y mucho antes aun se distinguen de los tobas, matacos tapietes y otomacos (2).

Los chiriguanos así unidos fueron multiplicándose mucho más y extendiendo sus dominios en los distintos departamentos de la Audiencia, cuya provincia ya tenían en mayor extensión. Antes de concluirse un siglo del descubrimiento de este nuevo mundo eran numerosísimos en los alrededores y más allá de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Los fundadores de esta ciudad departamental tuvieron que luchar bastante en el año 1573 para abatir su orgullo, dispersarlos y adueñarse del territorio; existían los chiriguanos en los alrededores de Potosí y Tomina que se fundaron precisamente para contener sus avances, pues parecían animados á invadir el mismo territorio de Chuquisaca, cuya Audiencia ordenó la creación de nuevos pueblos que sirvieran de baluarte é impedir en lo sucesivo nuevos avances, nuevos atropellos y devastaciones.

La ciudad de Tarija y su territorio debe su fundación á don Luis de la Fuente, mandado allí por el Virrey don Francisco de

(1) Estos 4,000 indios no eran de raza guarani, fueron á radicarse al Paraguay y aprendieron dicho idioma imperfectamente; se llamaban Cerion y victimaron al capitán García.

(2) Los Tapietes hablan el idioma chiriguano con alguna diferencia y los otomacos se cree que fueron antiguos chiriguanos, porque su idioma es algo parecido.

Toledo con decreto de 22 de Enero 1574. En la fecha penetraba don Luis con su ejército al valle de Tarija para reprimir la audacia de los chiriguanos que avanzaban con sus armas hasta los lugares conquistados por los españoles. Fué mucha la sorpresa de don Luis y sus soldados al encontrar en dicho valle una gran cantidad de ganado cerril, el cual constituyó un poderoso auxilio para sus tropas (1).

Antes que llegaran los españoles ó invadieran el territorio de los chiriguanos, éstos eran el flagelo de las tribus limítrofes, cuyos individuos flechaban ó victimaban, y hacían cautivos, sujetándolos á durísima esclavitud. Mas, llegados los blancos, tuvieron que verselas con enemigos superiores a éllos; recelosos de que un día pagaran las exacciones que ejercitaban con los vencidos y se apoderaran de su fértil territorio, no hicieron como los quechuas que se entregaron, cuando podían haber anonadado á los pocos militares que don Francisco Pizarro introdujo á Cajamarca, apoderándose del Emperador Atahuallpa con la matanza de cinco mil indios.

Los chiriguanos más avisados que los quechuas y su emperador, formaron desde luego grandes ejércitos para combatir á los invasores y éstos muchas veces se vieron derrotados por la terrible hueste, otras les devastaban sus sembradíos para hacerlos perecer de necesidad y otras llevaban cautivas á las mujeres después de haber victimado á los varones y otros de menor edad.

La lucha desigual duró siglos y por último fueron conquistados poco á poco por los Misioneros. Estos con la sola Cruz y la predicación reportaron mejores victorias, porque si los blancos se presentaban á los bárbaros con la soberbia de las armas, sembrando la devastación y haciendo correr ríos de sangre, los Misioneros se presentaban con la humildad, sembrando la divina semilla y los conquistaban con la palabra del Evangelio.

Los bárbaros conocieron la diferencia que había de unos á otros y si en los comienzos destruyeron las primeras Misiones, victimando al Sacerdote Misionero (2), cuando comprendieron perfectamente que el Sacerdote se proponía la conquista de sus almas

---

(1) Se cree que el ganado cerril hallado, perteneció á un tal Zárate, que fué constreñido á abandonar su estancia por los chiriguanos que indudablemente lo habrían victimado.

(2) Los indios chiriguanos del valle del Ingre incendiaron la Misión de los PP. Jesuitas, arrancaron del altar al P. Lisardi, quien fué victimado con diez y siete flechazos en la plaza de la Misión, vestido de los ornamentos sacerdotales.

y la defensa de su territorio, se entregaron completamente á disposición del Misionero no para educarse cristianamente, sinó para no perder su independencia. Sólo por medio de los Misioneros hoy el extenso territorio que abarcaba la distancia de más de 200 leguas de Norte á Sur y más de 60 de este á oeste, está todo abierto al comercio y á la civilización. A los Jesuitas fueron poco á poco sucediendo los Franciscanos, fundando Misiones distintas y hoy lo que no está entregado á la autoridad diocesana respectiva, todo se halla en poder de estos últimos, habiendo regado con sus sudores este suelo desde hacen siglos (1).

No queda ninguna duda con respecto al origen paraguayo del indígena chiriguano, como no es dudoso para el igual guarayo, cuyo idioma es hermano de aquel á pesar de no entenderse mucho por las grandes variaciones que ambos han sufrido. Se halla el Paraguay al Sudeste de Bolivia y la región ocupada por la tribu chiriguana al Noroeste de aquél, siendo el Gran Chaco la extensa región que separa ambas Repúblicas Boliviana y Paraguaya. El domicilio del chiriguano en el Gran Chaco es otra circunstancia poderosa que indica la procedencia paraguaya de la tribu.

Resta sólo conocer la ruta que siguieron los chiriguanos en su inmigración á Bolivia, podían haberla verificado en línea recta, atravesando el Gran Chaco, cuya distancia desde la última cordillera al poniente de Parapiti y Charagua hasta el Paraguay apenas alcanzará á cien leguas; mas esta ruta ofrecía el obstáculo insuperable de carecer del primer elemento para la vida, el agua. Que bien lo han demostrado con sus descalabros las varias expediciones, organizadas por el Gobierno Boliviano con el fin de abrir un camino recto al Paraguay arrancando de Isoso (2).

Podían haber emigrado de la tierra de su domicilio y seguido el curso del río Paraguay en su márgen derecha, llegar á Curumbá y luego por las salinas de San José venir á los lugares que hoy ocupan, pero el trayecto es más largo, el agua que se halla, escasa y en grandes distancias y no se encuentra vestigio que hayan

---

(1) El Jesuita P. Pons hizo tentativa de fundar Misiones en el trayecto desde el Pilcomayo hasta Parapiti, con cuyos indios se puso al habla, pero nada pudo hacer, lo verificó en la primera mitad del siglo XVII.

(2) El explorador Francés Thouar después de haber recorrido el camino abierto por los Aranas, tuvo que retroceder por falta de agua y en un rasgo de atrevimiento, se perdió y casi perece con unos cuantos, de hambre y de sed

verificado su emigración por dicha vía, á más de que habrían sido estorbados en su paso por las numerosas aldeas del tránsito.

Preciso es concluir que siguieron las orillas del río Pilcomayo; este caudaloso río arranca desde el interior de la República Boliviana, atraviesa toda la región chiriguana y desemboca en el Paraguay; sus orillas, desde cerca de Azurduy hasta Villa Montes en una extensión recta de más de 50 leguas, están pobladas de indios netamente chiriguanos. Desde Villa Montes á Gonchalla cerca de los Esteros del P. Patiño hay Chorotis y Tapietes que con pequeña diferencia hablan el idioma chiriguano, el trayecto abunda en agua, pozos y frutos y es más corto que el anterior. El Dr. Campos para llegar al Paraguay siguió las orillas de este río, el coronel Rivas, el francés Crevaux y el español Ibarreta siguieron en sus expediciones el curso del río Pilcomayo, fracasaron no por falta de víveres ó de agua, sinó unos por creerse muy seguros de la lealtad de los indios y otros por llevar muy pocos fuerza. Todas estas circunstancias demuestran claramente que los chiriguanos se internaron á Bolivia por las orillas del Pilcomayo, las tribus del tránsito no podían ofrecerles mucha dificultad, porque su número era extraordinario, el sufrimiento en las etapas era tan insignificante que les permitía combatir con vigor y denuedo y por último su actitud era pacífica (1).

Cuando la experiencia les demostró que podían cultivar en los lugares que hoy ocupan por ser las cosechas seguras, allí sentaron sus reales y defendieron el territorio invadido á todo trance, como se ha visto. La región, como se ha visto en el primer capítulo, es por cierto muy fértil; cuando es irrigada por la lluvia hace producir toda clase de cereales, el maíz madura con exuberancia y las cosechas son espléndidas con poco trabajo. Si las chacras se conservan limpias de la hierba con dos escardas y no falta la lluvia, el chiriguano puede contar todo el año alrededor de la tinaja de chicha en compañía de sus amigos.

Mas si la lluvia escasea, generalmente se pierden las cosechas y entonces el chiriguano sufre, busca raíces para su alimentación y vende todo lo que tiene hasta sus calzones ó el tipoy nuevo de su mujer para sostener miserablemente á su pobre familia. En tiempo de cuaresma el indio siembra con mucha anticipación algún trecho, donde hay humedad, como alrededor de una laguna ó á la

(1) El coronel Rivas y el francés Crevaux fueron victimados por los tobas é Ibarreta por otros indios.

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

largo de alguna quebrada; á esta clase de cimiteros se les denomina socorro y lo son en la realidad, cuando apenas se encuentra reloso; ¡oh! unas cuantas hojas verdes de calabaza en este tiempo son alimento en la boca del chiriguano. ¡Pobre indio!

Idioma

Por lo anteriormente relatado se comprende fácilmente que los chiriguanos descienden de los guaranies del Paraguay; tiene pues el idioma chiriguano mucha analogía con el guaraní, lo mismo que el idioma guaraní y puede notarse como un hecho que ambos idiomas guaraní y chiriguano guardan con el guaraní la misma relación que existe entre las lenguas castellana, francesa é italiana con respecto á la lengua latina que es madre de aquellas (1). En los siglos pasados la raza y por ende el idioma alcanzaba mucho territorio, pero hoy está muy reducido y puede afirmar sin peligro de error que se conserva tubería en Caipipendi, Figui, Charetí, Tarija Arañita y en las Misiones de Potosí y Tarija; pero en aquellos lugares se halla esparcida en numerosos pueblitos, mientras que en éstos forma pueblos respetables de quinientos, mil y dos mil almas (2).

La pureza del idioma no se halla ya en ningún pueblo, ni en los Misioneros en los primeros por vivir entre blancos y emigrar continuamente á la República Argentina y en las segundas, los Misioneros, por un tercer motivo que es la enseñanza del Castellano que los Misioneros propaginaron á los niños y niñas en las escuelas; de modo que, si la raza no se acaba antes, como se teme, por las enfermedades epidémicas y la vagancia, el idioma se perderá luego y entonces los pocos libros que existen, sólo servirán de monumento histórico para la posteridad que sabrá reconocer el sufrido y la labor de los Misioneros que experimentaron y derramaron sudores entre ellos, los chiriguanos, con el solo fin de civilizarlos cristianamente (3).

---

(1) El idioma chiriguano tiene muy pocas palabras acentuadas, en el guaraní abundan; por ejemplo "abati" maíz "Cumandí" mono, en chiriguano no llevan acento sobre la i, mas lo llevan en el guaraní.

(2) Charetí Guasu se halla situado en la margen izquierda del Parapití, Provincia de Cordillera, forma casi un mismo pueblo con Mendoirai y entre ambos contienen unas ciento diez familias.

(3) Existen una gramática, un diccionario castellano chiriguano, un catecismo con su traducción, obra maestra del P. Corrado, un pequeño "Nene" chiriguano castellano y numerosas plásticas inéditas.

Estadística

La tribu está en completa decadencia y en poco años más no quedará del todo. A principios del siglo XIX ó sea antes de la guerra de la Independencia Sudamericana en las reducciones de Tarija se contaban más de veinte y tres mil almas y sin embargo no se comprendían en dicho número ningunos de los numerosos pueblos existentes entre los dos caudalosos ríos Pilcomayo y Pilaya, como tampoco los indios de Caipipendi, Chaunó, Pipí y otros vecinos al Sur de Lagunillas. En aquel entonces, puede afirmar, que serían los chiriguanos más de doscientos mil, supuesto que según la estadística del P. Lozano, los hombres de mayor edad aptos para la guerra sin contar los mujeres y los niños, serían de veinte y cinco á treinta y cinco mil.

A pesar de que al P. Lozano se refería á los principios del siglo XVIII, poco debía ser la diferencia, porque en los comienzos del siglo XIX no se lamentaba como hoy la plaga de la emigración á la República Argentina que principió al abrirse el territorio al comercio con la fundación de pueblos de cristianos blancos, que los hay en gran número, hasta formaron estensas provincias con los nombres de Aceya, Cordillera y Gran Chaco, sin tampoco era tanta la inmoralidad que hoy reina (1).

Las epidemias, la vagancia y la emigración más que todo, además de la carencia de víveres, están destruyendo esta raza que nunca falta hace y hará más tarde á la agricultura y ganadería de las indicadas provincias. Hoy ya se lamentan los labradores y hacendados de las Misiones en busca de jornaleros, arrendadores de chacras y ganados, elaboradores de quesos, obrajeros de cueros etc., etc. ¿qué será después? (2). La emigración de gente fácil, de gente no indígena es forzosa, sino no para desarrollar los centros Misiones-

(1) Se han dictado nuevas leyes que han sido imposible el engrandecimiento para la Argentina y el Dr. don Justo Pedillo actual Delegado Nacional del Gran Chaco por hoy no permite que la ley se aplique escrita, á nadie de paso.

(2) El proyecto del H. Montero, aprobado por la comisión el año 1900, facilmente será aprobado por el Congreso, pero me parece imposible que los caciques denunciados á los indios que pretendan ir á la Argentina; suponer á los PP. Gobernadores remitir el 25 % de pobladores á las intendencias, donde existirán informe jurado del que se les paga en su pueblo, es obligatorio al Misionero que no podrá cumplir con esta obligación mensualmente, porque los indios serán revoltosos, ó huirán.

ros, como se pretende, porque en este caso más luego se acabará de destruir la tribu, sinó colonizando lo que no está poblado. ¡Qué consiguió el Gobierno con la ausencia de los Misioneros en Villa Montes! Que ya los indios no trabajan para nadie, y sólo lo hacen, cuando quieren de buena gana. Toda la autoridad de una Delegación no fué suficiente para conseguir unos cuantos jornales de sus pobladores y por esto estuvo á apunto de destruirse completamente la obra antigua; en las viñas, y huertas tan bien mantenidas y lozanas en tiempo de lo retrógados Misioneros, imperaba la maleza.

Ya los grandes centros de chiriguanos han desaparecido casi todos y apenas quedan los nombres de los grandes caciques de tales ó cuales parcialidades; en todos los cantones causa admiración la desaparición de esos brazos y apenas se consigue servicio para el combustible. Las Misiones aún van experimentando esta decadencia; en la provincia del Acero habrá unas 5.000 almas, en la de Cordillera unas 8,000, en el Chaco y Provincia O'Connor 5,000, en las Misiones de Tarija hay 4,500 y en las de Potosí 3,905, que forman un total de 26,405 entre hombres y mujeres, chicos y grandes, viejos y jóvenes. Mas, de este número, apenas habrá unos 8.000 jornaleros, ó hombres robustos, aptos para cualquier trabajo y, ¿cuál es la extensión de tierras que está en manos del chiguano por voluntad propia ó ajena? Unas ciento cuarenta leguas de Norte á Sur, más de cuarenta de Este á Oeste; si hoy es difícil el cultivo de estas tierras, mañana será imposible, si hoy es duro pagar cuarenta centavos al jornalero, mañana no se le hallará ni á ochenta centavos.

Grande es la lucha empeñada entre el chiriguano y el blanco; éste lucha para aumentar su fortuna y hacienda á todo trance y quiere dominar y domina efectivamente como más noble y poderoso al chiriguano, aquél lucha por su existencia, mas por ser débil é inferior, se rinde al poder del blanco, hasta que puede; y cuando su espíritu se halla abatido por la fuerza superior que lo domina como á esclavo, desaparece y emigra insensiblemente, adonde se le trata con más humanidad aparente y no cierta y real, pero que el indio en su ignorancia no conoce (1). De aquí procede

(1) El jornalero en la Argentina gana según referencias 25 ó 30 nacionales mensuales sin la alimentación que en tierra extraña sale cara al chiriguano; sin embargo como la ropa y los animales que vende la compañía, no son caros, los jornaleros que hacen economías y no se dedican á la bebida, regresan bien vestidos, trayendo un caballo ó un jumento, ó sinó ropa para sus hijos y mujer.

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

que los grandes pueblos antiguos y las mismas Misiones anteriores á la independencia sud-americana unos han desaparecido completamente y otros están por desaparecer.

Con la intromisión de la autoridad política las actuales Misiones correrán la misma suerte, sinó se modifica la ley del ramo, porque, parece que han descendido á la categoría de factorías, de dicha autoridad y de todos los cristianos que continuamente se aproximan en busca de brazos y el proyecto del H. Montero no sólo agravará la situación, sinó que dejará estas amarras sin jornaleros para la industria agrícola y ganadera. Es cierto que el trabajo moraliza al hombre, mas hay que confesar que el indio es perezoso y enemigo de trabajar para los blancos, á quienes considera usurpadores de sus tierras. Van voluntariamente á trabajar, donde son tratados con humanidad, pero, donde se les proporciona pésima alimentación y mucho rigor, van con repugnancia á pesar de las insinuaciones de los Misioneros.

Los caciques que respetan y acatan la orden del Misionero, se abstienen de buscar continuamente jornaleros para los blancos, porque amaron la sola voluntad de obedecer; de aquí proviene que á veces se ocultan en el campo indios y caciques, y cuando llegan á encontrarse, se retiran de la Misión por una temporada larga, dejando á sus familias en la miseria. Los Misioneros lo dan para reunir á los dispersos, pero muchas veces sucede que los sueldos de varios meses se pierden en una noche, ó en pocos días y á pesar de las leyes que existen en Bolivia, nadie se preocupó de la emigración chiriguana. Motivos para que desaparezcan albañiles, carpinteros, maestros y músicos, no faltan en la actualidad, siendo el principal hacer vestido aparentemente lujoso de pié á cabeza, lo que así no se consigue con tanta facilidad, sea porque el dinero lo gastan en otras pequeñeces, sea porque faltan compañías que proporcionen todas las facilidades al jornalero (1).

Como he dicho más arriba hoy por hoy los principales centros de la tribu se han reducido á las Misiones. Por esta razón juzgo conveniente hablar con brevedad de cada una de ellas, de cada una de las que existen en la actualidad, para que el lector se

(1) Hoy son contados los blancos que tratan mal al chiriguano. Cuando suspendí el jornal á 40 centavos, hubo alguna dificultad que ya desapareció; en su misma casa gana bien hoy el indio, sólo le falta la facilidad de conseguir lo que le proporcionan los Argentinos, para que se resigne á no comprar.

[Facing p. 81]

Mujer de la raza de los Tapuí, del río Paraguay, Isaso

forma una idea aunque vaga de los esfuerzos de los Misioneros Franciscanos que son los dignos que hoy pasan años y hasta la vida entera en medio de privaciones y enfermedades, experimentando la soledad y sufriendo una vida triste y penosa para enseñar y reducir á unos indios que poco aprecio hacen de la enseñanza religiosa y civil.

Primeros Misioneros entre los Chiriguanos y precioso hallazgo

El fin primario que se propuso el Serafico San Francisco de Asís con la fundación de la Orden de Menores, fué la reforma de las costumbres en los Naciones del mundo y la enseñanza de la Religión verdadera á los infieles del Universo.

De ambos dejó ejemplos heroicos. San Francisco pues además de haber recorrido y predicado en toda la Italia y otras Naciones del Viejo mundo, personalmente fué á la conquista del Sublime y envió otros á Marruecos para que anunciaran la Religión de Paz á los hijos de Mahoma.

Posteriormente los Franciscanos fueron enviados al vasto imperio Chino y luego á las costas del Japón, donde la Orden contaba con una phlyade de valientes pertenecientes, unos á la primera y otros á la tercera, llamada, Orden de Penitencia.

Hoy varias Ordenes y Congregaciones Religiosas se disputan el honor de haber penetrado los primeros en este nuevo mundo. De ninguna soy partidario, si diré por segunda vez, que probablemente los Franciscanos Juan Pérez y Antonio de Marchena acompañaron á Colón en su primer viaje, como que fueron los consejeros del célebre genovés y los que le pusieron poderosos auxilios morales y materiales para tan árdua empresa.

Pero ¿puede dudarse de que esta gloria, como tantas otras, pertenecen á mi Serafico P. San Francisco? Sí, porque Colón fué un fervoroso terciario franciscano y si se lanzó á lo desconocido, su principal fin fué encontrar el campo de la Religión Católica en las tierras que veía á descubrir y cuando puso pié en la isla de San Salvador, lo primero que hizo fué, plantar la Cruz de la Redención y enseñar á los naturales el modo de venerarla como signo de redentorista.

¡Qué hacen los Misioneros cuando se presentan á los bárbaros? á nombre de quién se presentan á ellos arrostrando todos los peligros imaginables? A nombre de Cristo que nos redimió por medio de la Cruz. Por consiguiente Colón fué un verdadero Misio-

[illegible] y Misioneros Franciscanos, tengo la gloria de los primeros misioneros en este nuevo mundo pertenecen sin disputa á la Orden Franciscana.

Nos volvemos al objeto principal de este párrafo. Tomemos á la vista la Crónica de la Provincia de San Antonio de los Charcas, escrita por el P. Fr. Diego de Mendoza O. F. M. en 1663. En su libro primero, Capítulo 15 y 16 se lee en resumen lo que voy á seguir.

El primer civilizado que penetró á la región de los chiriguanos al Este de Tarija, fué el Padre Nicolás de San Pedro, clérigo presbítero, hijo de Portugueses, natural del Brasil y como tal, versado de la lengua de estos indios; estuvo allá cuatro años. Mas la entrada de este Secular no pudo, ni debe considerarse entre pleitos de Misioneros, porque la llevaron allá motivos muy diferentes á la intrusión religiosa de los chiriguanos, con quienes vivió de una manera sagla correcta, por cuyo mano el Virrey Marqués de Monte Claros le hizo salir.

Sin embargo el Virrey mucho bien estilleo allá en diversos enfermedades de que todos aquos chiriguanos fueron abandonados por la luz del Evangelio y para llevarlos á la práctica, determinó enviar á la región á los Indianos Hijos del Loyola. Estos con el fervor que los caracterizó, acepteron con amplio agrado el ofrecimiento, pusieron por condición, de que no volviera allá el famoso Padre Nicolás de San Pedro que tan mal se había portado la vez primera.

Pero los indios gentiles con insistencia á dicho clérigo y además ninguno de los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía sabía el idioma de los indios, á quienes se debía evangelizar. Finalmente como los Padres Jesuitas habían puesto por condición sine qua non la exclusión de aquel mal Secular, el Virrey dejó de insistir más allá.

¿Acaso había decretado también llevar adelante su proyecto de hacer civilizar á los chiriguanos? No. Hizo insistencia á nombre de su majestad ante el Superior del Convento de San Francisco de Chuquisaca y sabido el asunto por la comunidad, cinco y siete Religiosos se presentaron espontáneamente para tan Santa Obra.

De los presentados fueron elegidos dos por Real acuerdo á saber, P. Agustín Salvio y Fr. Francisco Gonzales con la promesa de que se cambiarían más religiosos, según la necesidad lo hubiese requerido.

Sin embargo los indios chiriguanos insistieron para que fuera

nombramiento al Licenciado Sinuño de San Payo, porque según se averiguó después por las denuncias del cacique, este hombre extraviado había hecho muchas y variadas promesas á los infelices salvajes.

Se consultó nuevamente en la Audiencia, hubo oposición para el ingreso de dicho Sacerdote, pero prevaleció la opinión contraria y se ordenó en consecuencia que los Misioneros destinados á la civilización de los chiriguanos, llevaran consigo al Licenciado, como se verificó con gran sentimiento de los mismos y de la comunidad Franciscana.

El 2 de Noviembre de 1609, salieron de Chuquisaca los tres compañeros, pasaron por Potosí, donde bautizaron á los tres primeros chiriguanos, pasaron por Tarija y llegaron al pueblo de Atiri, situado cerca del valle de Salinas, el 22 de Diciembre del mismo año.

Esta primera entrada no correspondió á los fines sobrehumanos de nuestros Misioneros, tanto por las intrigas del Licenciado, como por la inconstancia y codicia de los bárbaros, á quienes conocemos perfectamente. Hoy mismo á pesar de estar completamente reducidos en todas Misiones, revelan la misma inconstancia y codicia, lo cual indica que siempre han sido los mismos, poco afectos á los misterios y prácticas de nuestra santa Religión.

Sin embargo la semilla dejada en el campo de Salinas por los primeros Misioneros de San Francisco de Chuquisaca, no cayó en terreno completamente estéril y fué dando sus frutos poco á poco, pues en los años posteriores, otros penetraron á la misma región.

Lo que admira de una manera sorprendente es: haberse hallado en la comarca de Salinas una gruesa y pesada Cruz, colocada en una cueva, situada en la espesura del bosque.

Esta Cruz descansaba sobre tres pirámides de piedras medianas, era de un grueso madero de quina-quina, de quince piés de largo y dos tercias de diámetro, conservaba su corteza natural y había en la misma tres clavos de la misma madera con sus cabezas enlazadas, colocados en los brazos y pié de dicha Cruz; para su traslado al pueblo de la Torre se necesitaron doce hombres.

La Cruz fué hallada por un indio que perseguía á un venado, el cual se refugió en la misma cueva; fué trasladada después á Tarija y colocada en la iglesia de San Francisco.

Ninguno de los indios pudo dar razón cierta de esta preciosa reliquia; sin embargo la tradición de padre á hijo, á nieto, biznieto y tataranieto, etc., entre aquellos chiriguanos, hace constar que

en tiempos muy remotos un hombre más bastante alto, blanco de rostro, de barba larga, de cabello dividido, que vestía de vestidura larga, casi hasta los pies, de túnica y capa ó manto en cuadro, sujeta con aquel madero, predicándoles que Dios había venido al mundo y que había muerto en otro madero como aquel y, viendo que no querían creerle, ni admitir su doctrina, había rezándose en aquella cueva, donde estuvo cuarto tiempo, se había ido más adelante y dejado aquel madero allí.

Cuando los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús fundaron Misiones en el Paraguay, entre los guaraníes hallaron la tradición de haber estado entre ellos el Apóstol Santo Tomé ó Santo Tomás, quien les había enseñado la religión de Cristo, les había predicho que la misma Religión se perdería de entre ellos y que en tiempos lejanos otros, vestidos casi como Él, y con cruz en las manos, les anunciarían la misma Doctrina. Los indios se convencieron haberse verificado la profecía á la llegada de los Padres Jesuitas.

Sabemos por las crónicas é historias cristianas que Dios opera milagros mediante las reliquias de los Santos, y de las cosas que los hayan pertenecido, ó hayan sido tocadas por Ellos. Podemos por consiguiente dar crédito á la venida de un Apóstol, ó de Santo Tomás, primero por aquello del Evangelio: Euntes in mundum universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae, segundo por la tradición de los indios guaraníes, chiriguanos y los de Cavinoco de la provincia de Omasuyos Departamento de La Paz, donde se halló otra Cruz y tercero por los milagros operados mediante Ella.

Hemos dicho que se necesitó la fuerza de doce hombres para arrastrar la Cruz, hallada entre los chiriguanos, desde la cueva hasta el pueblo de la Torre. Sin embargo en medio de un incendio que destruyó la iglesia y un cáliz de metal, sin saberlo penetró al templo para salvar la Cruz del incendio y sólo la sacó de entre las llamas que apenas tocaron en el Santo Madero los estragos del fuego.

En una reyerta que hubo entre soldados, Francisco del Cerro salió malamente herido de una estocada mortal: ni médicos, ni cirujanos hallábanse allí presentes y mientras tanto el militar iba desangrándose con peligro de morirse.

Los tiempos de entonces eran de fé viva y como veneraban fervorosamente la Cruz que habían encontrado en la cueva, arrancaron una partecilla del Santo Madero, la redujeron á polvo, la

hubiá en agua el hierro, cual de nuevo la mugre y á los cuatro días se halló completamente sano, sin necesidad de otra medicina.

Los datos y otros hechos portentosos, apoyados por el Santo Madero, podemos deducir, apoyados sólo en la tradición de los indios guaraníes, ser bastante probable que uno de los Apóstoles de Cristo vino á predicar la fé en este país del mundo y ser sólo probable que este Apóstol haya sido Santo Tomás, porque la descripción hecha por los indios guaraníes y chiriguanos corresponde á lo que del mismo apóstol nos dicen las Historias Eclesiásticas.

Misiones del Colegio de Potosí (1)

San Antonio del Paraiti Grande.—Fué fundada esta Misión el 22 de Abril de 1902 á pesar de la lucha encarnizada que le movieron los blancos de la región por la pérdida y odio de tierras, cuando el 22 de Agosto de ese año un tropa convergidos á la cabeza de 22 á 30 nacionales armados y llevados casi todos á la fuerza, pretendió desalojar al Misionero que se mantuvo firme sin oponer la menor resistencia y sin tomar ninguna defensa de hecho contra semejante atropello. Sigue adelante este plantel y progresa también en lo material. Cuenta de 1,479 almas; el pueblo se halla situado en una inmensa pampa y los edificios—Misión, arriba de una pequeña loma; la elevación del pueblo sobre el nivel del mar alcanza á 560 metros—Meridiano de París, 19° 28' latitud Sur, 64°, 37' 45" longitud O. (2).

He aquí como describía su paisaje el año 1908: En esta una posición encantadora y quien llega por primera vez, queda extático; se le presenta á primera vista las playas y el río Paraguay, cuyo curso caprichoso es admirable y cuyas aguas son el juguete de los vientos Sur y Norte, que le hacen cambiar como cada cual á su antojo. Esa inmensa playa con las aguas por lo regular en el medio [illegible] á vientos [illegible] del mundo, [illegible]

(1) El departamento de Potosí no posee indios chiriguanos, así que los Franciscanos de aquel Colegio no podían hacerles catequizar, estableciendo Misiones, pero previo acuerdo con los Misioneros de Sucre y las licencias del Gobierno y autoridad Diocesana, entraron en posesión de su territorio.

(2) Esta Misión principiada por Fr. Francisco del Pilar, fué organizada por P. Narciso Llamedo; destruida por los patriotas se fundó nuevamente el año 1871 y abandonada en 1880 por las persecuciones, ha sido reorganizada.

Una grandiosa corriente de población en el centro é interior dominan á los indios, y sube de punto la pujanza, observándose desde la cara Mirdia entre las cumbres de la Cordillera orientada que se halla á la margen izquierda.

Largo edificio el cuidado existente en Bolivia con buenos edificios, con inmoderadas alturas verde amalgia que parece ser circula á nivel, su extensión lugares y lugares donde una gaviota idea de la mar; dándose verdaderos y jigantescos, los algarrobos y quebrachos que desarrollan, además de otros árboles interiores que los hay en abundancia y que crecen á los orillas del horizonte Pacífico, cuando son agitados por los vientos. Finalmente el cuadro se hace más interesante por los montes despejados y claros, como lo son casi siempre, los que ofrecen una perspectiva y un panorama pintoresco y que deleita encantador.

A la mañana nuevo concepto el hombre edifica grandiosa por la proximidad del río que con sus cuatro bolsas entonces desde muy temprano la colorada amalgiera y un abundante cuadro se ciñe como diminutivamente perfil por encima de los bajos. Aparecen largo en horizonte entre rumor y follaje los primeros horizonte arrojados que anuncian la proximidad del sol, rey del universo quien parece levantarse con desagrado de su amplio lecho, dejándose ver al fin majestuoso sobre el horizonte. Mientras prosigue en su carrera, se agranda y decaía del lugar se retrata cual globo de fuego, pudiéndose contemplar, sin que sus ardientes rayos lastimen la vista de quien le mira (1).

2. Nos Fundamos Notables. Fundación Cuarta.—Esta segunda Misión del grande Paraguay estaba sólida á la anterior hasta Octubre del año 1768 y sus moradores dependientes del mismo conservar tanto en lo material, como en lo espiritual, especialmente en los años de gran calamidad. Desde el 1º de Noviembre de ese año residía allí dos Misioneros que hacen la posible para adelantarla en lo espiritual, con fin los pueblos pueden considerarse como días de fundación real y verdadera, y como un día de Dios, se espera que progresará á pesar del desalientos y de la poca colaboración por parte de los indios en seguir el ejemplo de sus vecinos.

Pues á pesar comprendiendo el bien espiritual que se les ofrecía

(1) Continuación de la Historia de las Misiones de Paraguay por Fr. Bernardino de Nino, página 31.

Tuesa, porque ya con mandatarios niños y niñas para la enseñanza y [illegible], se necesitaban una al tanque! Al principio el Misionero habitó en un antiguo edificio dejado desde el año 1871 y la pequeña Iglesia se bendijo antiguo, pero se ha erigido una nueva casa que tiene una sala y dos salas para dormitorios. Cuenta actual cuenta con nuevo plantel de unos 300 alumnos, pero puede aumentar, porque en el tanque y alrededor de la Misión hay muchos indios.

Su clima es satisfactorio, no pasamos de poco visual, porque pastoso y caro.—Misión con antiguidades en una pampa. Niño en una ahora pudiéndose dominarse, con su sombra la pastoso se alcanza por tener el agua del río bastante cerca y no contarla mucho trabajo acarrearla mediante una compañía bien mucha. El pueblo se eleva 343 metros sobre el nivel del mar, dista de San Antonio 5.000 metros y colinas en la diferencia geográfica (1).

3. San Bernardino de Tes.—Dista de los anteriores una dos y seis leguas y fué fundada el 2 de Mayo 1903 después de haber pasado la guerra de Chiriguaní, cuyos indios fueron completamente dominados á fines de Enero de 1904. Cuenta actualmente unos 110 familias y con una población de 532 almas, mientras que á fines del siglo pasado con habitantes pasaban de mil. Cerca de la casa Misión, á los cinco metros más ó menos, hay una colina de una media legua de superficie que contiene pequeños manantiales de agua cristalina y rica, de donde le viene el nombre de «Tes» bajo de agua; el clima es muy sano, pero la carencia de ríos es continuada y muchas veces tienen que alimentarse de la sala del año arrojándose á manejar, amarga y [illegible] (2).

Los edificios están construídos en una planicie, situada en una pequeña altura. El panorama que mira de Norte á Noroeste es extenso, y alegre, allí no habiéndose se presenta á la vista las sierras de Tarumarca y la cordillera de Urcuiqua, por donde la naturaleza abrió una puerta para dar paso á las aguas del río Pilcomayo que sin tocar y con abrevadero nunca se precipita desde una gran altura, formando en su impetuoso camino un lago de blanca espuma, arrojando al espejo del cielo sus rayos, siguiendo luego su curso rápido por San Antonio, Mariquí, Cuadrado, hasta

(1) Antes de la Independencia estaba unida á la anterior, en 1871 estaba dividida, según se halla actualmente.

(2) Flora Crecelia de R. Pelo. El fango le hace perder la parte resinosa, pero no todo el amargor.

[illegible] mente. Más allá tubería al Norte y Nor-
[illegible] espesa arboleda de quebrachos, ceibos y al-
[illegible] presentan las alturas de las serranías de Sali-
[illegible] Iscobuzi y á poca distancia del pue-
[illegible] una colina redonda llamada «*Tuyuc repatio* cuya
[illegible] Iguilledo no ignoro y al frente de la casa
[illegible] distancia, se hallan las pampas de Curu-
[illegible] garrotes y otros árboles; hasta aquí el pano-
[illegible] de la verde Umbría del reino de Italia. Al
[illegible] cuadro en redondillas, porque el corazón se
[illegible] ciones de las aguas del desierto por más que
[illegible] cierto dan una idea de las antiguas y empribe-
[illegible] de Arendia. Sin embargo en la estación
[illegible] y la lozana de frenta hiérba y flores
[illegible] horizonte un espeso ensano y variado
[illegible] á 770 metros sobre el nivel del mar y á los
[illegible] del Nord y 65° 30' 7" longitud O. del meri-
[illegible] que se anotó en la Historia de las Misiones (17).

5. Nuestro nuevo Cuevo.—*Fué fundada esta Misión el año* [illegible] ros la separan de la anterior por un cenó-
[illegible] cuenta hoy con una población de 1,[illegible]
[illegible] su principio á á los pocos años sus pobla-
[illegible] 15 como consta en la Historia del P. Angé-
lico Martarelli (18).

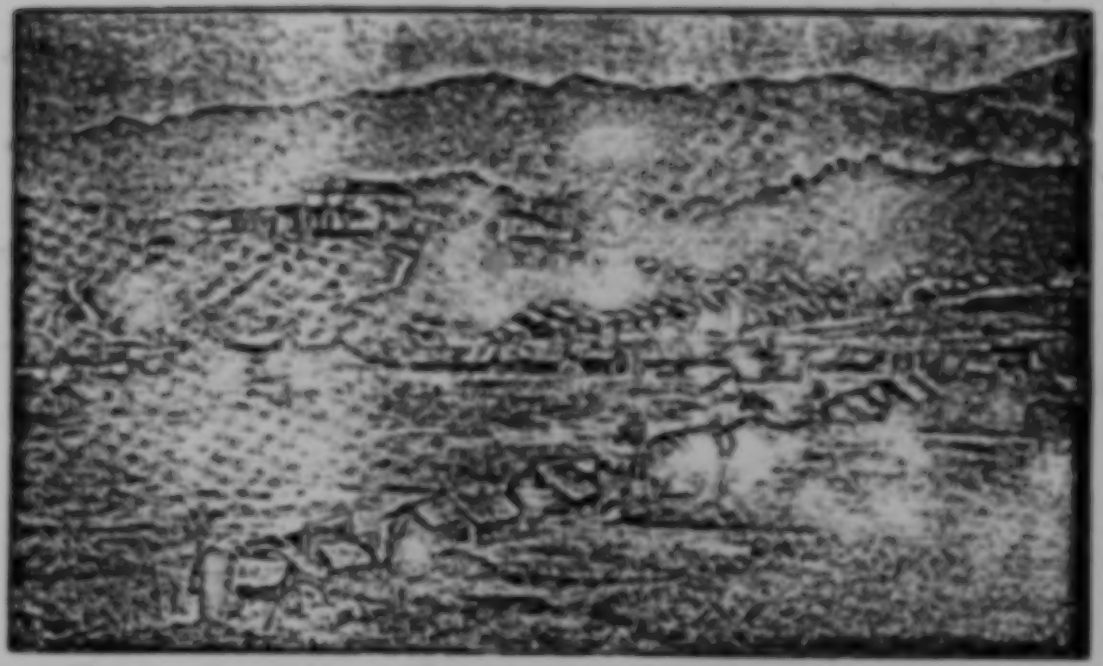
Sus edificios [illegible] dos en una colina muy dominante tienen el
[illegible] a de cualquier lado que se los observe.
[illegible] lez, levantamiento y plan topográfico, es difícil
hallar otras iguales en [illegible] estas regiones; su panorama es delicioso,

---

(16) A este lugar los Islancas llaman "Ibu" de donde la cuestión
Cuevo fue tan debatida en las cámaras legislativas. La jurisdicción
de Cuevo se extiende hasta y desde la serranía de Irenta hasta la de
Aguaragüe de Poniente á Naciente y por el Norte sigue hasta el río
Parapiti, Camiriñó y Tucuaranti debieran pertenecer á Sancaroinza,
[illegible] y Caimbeti hasta el río Parapiti, al cantón
Caimbeti.

(17) Durante la sublevación chiriguana del 1892 la Misión fué
el refugio salvador de todos los pobladores del Cantón Cuevo y du-
rante la Campaña fué declarado cuartel general. Estuvo el coronel
Peñas, el coronel Chávez y el general Gonzalez con sus tropas
[illegible] ros nacionales con sus jefes.

[facing p 89]



Vista de la Mision de Santa Rosa.

está rodeada de campos y colinas muy hermosas á la vista y alegres al corazón, como alegres son sus habitantes que respiran con aire embalsamado. A la lejos [illegible] se perciben las sierras de Aguaragüe al Noriente, las de Iruma y Sauzovata al Poniente y Norueste y las de Salinas al Norte. Sus terrenos es fertilísimo, cuando se irrigado por abundantes lluvias y en sus campos no falta el agua necesaria para los ganados, á pesar de ser escasa y salada la parte que se deslina por la quebrada de Iruma y de la cual se alimentan y beben los Misioneros y pobladores.

Con la alertura de esta Misión desapareció luego el tamaño que antes dominaba en los temporales que pasaban con crecida por estos sitios, porque los aborígenes chiriguanos unidos con los tartas infieles tenían en ellos sus lejanos, tanto que para fundar las Misiones del Pampiti Grande, el P. Francisco Solano el año 1820 tuvo que dar con vuelta inmensa por las Misiones de Tarija y alargar su viaje más de 33 leguas. Hoy en el trajinito de los comerciantes para Santa Cruz y Tarija; la República mucho adelantó en este sentido también, en un punto más, bien adelantado en todo sentido, en el cual el idioma oficial hace progresos rápidos. Su elevación sobre el nivel del mar es de 633 metros (1).

5. San Francisco de Horcotoro. — Esta Misión de Horcotoro (serpiente mariposa) fué fundada el año 1875, diez años antes que la de Santa Rosa, de la cual está dividida por la cordillera de Sauzovata con una distancia de 45 kilómetros hacia el Norueste, elevándose á 765 metros sobre el nivel del mar. Cuenta con una población de 300 y más almas, entre las cuales se computa de 1,700, según la historia de Misiones; pocos son los infieles y pocos también son los mismos que no hablan el idioma castellano, entre los cristianos entre sí. Lo curioso que no sepa expresarse en el mismo y los párvulos lo [illegible] mamado con la leche. ¡Prodigio de la religión católica! esto no se ve, donde no existen Misioneros.

El edificio-Misión se halla colocado arriba de una colina bastante alta, pero no hermoso templo, demasiado grande para los pocos pobladores, el quedó tener pequeñísima ventilación, por cuyo motivo los contagios hacen muchas estragos. La viruela del 1890 arrastró en pos de sí más de trescientas almas, la del 94, cien y la del 98, cuarenta y cinco, porque la mayoría se había salvado en las

(1) Se halla á los grados 20° 38' lat. Sur del meridiano de París y 63° 41' long. O.

años anteriores y año el número negro é indio amarillo virtud é cincuenta personas. El lugar que ocupa la Misión no tiene pastoreos alguno por causa de los vecindos del naciente y poniente que distan pocos metros. En una extensa, embellecida con el edificio Misión, como hechos con algún arte y abundantes árboles frutales, tiene pero terreno de pastoreo para la agricultura y ganadería, porque es completamente bonaso, pero salvo para los pocos pobladores (1).

6. Iguarase, Huacaya, Ivuan y Cuevo.—Además de las Misiones ya descritas, los pueblos con cuyos nombres encabezan este pequeño párrafo, fueron fundados por los Misioneros Franciscanos del Colegio de Potosí. Datan los comienzos por los años 1870, 75 91 y 92, respectivamente y siguen atendidos por los Misioneros de Potosí, mismos Ingre, cedidos á los ignados del Colegio de Sucre, el año 1904.

Sus pobladores son todos de raza blanca, venidos de los departamentos de Tarija, Santa Cruz, Sucre y Cochabamba. En un principio auxiliaron á los Misioneros en la conquista de los alma y civilización de los chiriguanos, distinguiéndose en esto los habitantes de Huacaya é Igüembe, de donde salieron los Misioneros á la cristianización de los indios de Boicovo, Cuevo, Ivu y Parapiti. Hoy dichos conuentos están poblados de blancos y esto prueba evidentemente que la Cruz del Redentor plantada por el Misionero y regada con su sudor, tiene más poder que el cuidado de los Reyes que no pudieron doblegar la frente del chiriguano antes de la independencia Sud americana (2).

7. San José de Xumia.—El territorio de esta Misión de fundación, se halla situado en la margen izquierda del río Pilcomayo á los grados 21° de latitud y 64° 30' de longitud O. del meridiano de París, dista de San Pascual de Huacaya y de Igüembe, en cuyo centro está situado, diez y seis leguas. Quien quisiera saber los pormenores de los acontecimientos para la fundación de esta Misión, lea mi obrita «La continuación de la Historia,» etc., página 164.

---

(1) Esta Misión fue fundada á raíz de una guerra sangrienta que sus pobladores unidos á los tobas y chiriguanos de Cuevo é Ivu, sostuvieron contra los blancos de Igüembe el año 1874 á 75.

(2) Los blancos que auxiliaron á los Misioneros en Boicovo y en Parapiti, recibieron del Supremo Gobierno un lote de terreno de media legua cuadrada.

El lugar es hermoso, hallándose á las márgenes de un gran río, abundante en peces de todos los colores y magnitudes; cinco pueblos pequeños debieran unirse para fundar la Misión, lo que se efectuaría, cambiando los tiempos, porque los indios son como los demás chiriguanos. Los Misioneros de Potosí hicieron todas las diligencias para la fundación de la Misión hasta posesionarse del territorio y recabar la aprobación de los títulos, éstos fueron entregados á los Misioneros de Sucre, juntamente con la capellanía de N. S. del Rosario del Ingre (1).

Cuevo

El pueblo de Cuevo se halla situado en la margen izquierda del torrente ó quebrada homónima. Antes de la guerra del año 1875 y aún posteriormente se le denominó por los chiriguanos que allí vivían, *Yumbiete* que quiere decir: medio campo y ocupa realmente una hermosa llanura, situada casi al medio entre las serranías del poniente y del naciente.

Casi todos los primeros habitantes blancos fueron del departamento de Santa Cruz y es un hecho innegable que el Coronel Víctor Antezana se trasladó á la región de Cuevo-Ibo con algunos nacionales desde Lagunillas y levantó un fortín, donde hoy existe el Cementerio público de Cuevo, y otro, donde se ha erigido el templo de San Buenaventura de la Misión de Yvu, ambas obras que se deben á la constancia y actividad de los Misioneros Franciscanos de la Villa Imperial. Los fortines son posteriores al 1875.

Posteriormente al amparo de los mismos Misioneros y alrededor de la Cruz del Salvador se formó el pueblo que fué quemado totalmente por los indios sublevados de Caruyuqui en 1892, pero los cueveños que se libraron de la muerte, amparándose en la floreciente Misión de Santa Rosa, levantaron nuevamente y en mejores condiciones el nuevo pueblo que hoy sigue progresando.

En la guerra del año 1875 todos los chiriguanos de Cuevo-Ibo y Huacaya unidos á los alevosos cobas y guiados por el gran Cacique Corone que perdió la vida en el torrente de Baccua, frente al pueblo de Igüembe, se levantaron como un solo hombre para anodadar á todos los blancos de la comarca.

(1) Los Misioneros de Sucre á fines del año 1905 se disponían á principiar la fundación de la Misión, cuando la Corte Suprema decretaba que la oposición de Lema pase á los tribunales ordinarios; así ha quedado.

En estas críticas circunstancias el intrépido Subprefecto de la provincia del Acero D. Antonio Menduiña con los nacionales de Monteagudo, San Juan del Piray, Huacareta ó Ingre voló á la región de Igüembe y con dicha gente derrotó á la innumerable y feroz hueste, reduciéndola en seguida á la impotencia con la matanza de Caipipendi.

Cuevo pertenecía por ley desde mucho antes de la Indepencia y perteneció también, desde la derrota de los bárbaros, por derecho de conquista al departamento de Chuquisaca, pero la Representación Cruceña ha reclamado constantemente la región de Cuevo-Ibo como parte integrante del territorio de Santa Cruz.

La Legislatura del presente año ha terminado este asunto tan debatido, apoyándose en la ley del año 1898. Cuevo por consiguiente pertenece ya al departamento de Santa Cruz, porque aquella ley fija como límite interdepartamental la margen izquierda de su quebrada que dista del pueblo un ciento cincuenta, ó doscientos metros.

Aún la Representación Tarijeña ha terciado en este asunto, y ha fijado sus límites en la margen derecha de la quebrada de Camatindi; se ha apoyado para ello en la misma ley y en el hecho de que el territorio está poblado por cristianos de Tarija y ha sido conquistado por los Misioneros Franciscanos del Colegio de dicha ciudad desde antes del 1875. Queda á favor de Tarija aún la región de Caipipendi que perteneció al cantón Huacaya.

Hecho el arreglo interdepartamental definitivo, Sucre pierde, desde Cuevo á la margen derecha del río Parapiti, una zona de doce á catorce leguas y desde la margen derecha de la quebrada Camatindi otra de unas ocho leguas, sin contar la zona incalculable que pierde hacia el oriente. He aquí la ley promulgada:

ELIODORO VILLAZÓN,

Presidente Constitucional de la República

Por cuanto el Congreso Nacional ha sancionado la siguiente Ley—

El Congreso Nacional,

Decreta:

Artículo 1º—La Ley de 10 de Noviembre de 1898, sobre delimitación de fronteras entre los departamentos de Chuquisaca, Santa Cruz y Tarija, queda aclarada en los siguientes términos:

La línea divisoria entre los departamentos de Chuquisaca y Santa Cruz, se trazará partiendo del punto de intersección del meridiano de Cuevo con la quebrada del mismo nombre, para seguir al Occidente hasta la cumbre de la serranía de Incahuasi en una recta sobre el paralelo correspondiente al punto de intersección indicado. Hacia el Oriente la línea divisoria seguirá el mismo paralelo del punto de intersección indicado, hasta el meridiano 64° París, según el mapa del general Pando de 1901, y de este punto, subirá por el mismo meridiano diez y seis kilómetros al Norte, para tomar de allí el paralelo que corre hasta el río Paraguay.

Artículo 2º—Corresponde al departamento de Chuquisaca el territorio comprendido al Sur de la línea así determinada, sin excepción alguna, y al de Santa Cruz, el territorio comprendido al Norte de la misma.

Artículo 3º—Si dentro de esta delimitación el pueblo de Ibo quedase al Norte de la línea divisoria, queda entendido que corresponderá en todo caso al departamento de Chuquisaca.

Artículo 4º—Queda inalterable el artículo 3º de la Ley de 10 de Noviembre de 1898, que se refiere á la delimitación entre los departamentos de Chuquisaca y Tarija.

Artículo 5º—En el Presupuesto Nacional para 1913, se consignará una partida de *cincuenta mil bolivianos* para la inmediata ejecución de esta ley.

Artículo 6º—La presente ley no altera los derechos privados existentes en los territorios objeto de ella.

Comuníquese al Poder Ejecutivo para los fines constitucionales.

Sala de Sesiones del Congreso Nacional.—La Paz, 16 de Octubre de 1912.

BENEDICTO GOYTIA.

Julio A. Gutiérrez

Moisés Amurruz,
S. S.

Juan F. Alcarado,
D. S.

Carlos Crespo,
D. S.

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

Por tanto, la promulgo para que se tenga y cumpla como ley de la República.

Palacio de Gobierno.—La Paz, á 21 de Octubre de 1912.

ELEODORO VILLAZÓN.

Claudio Pinilla,

Ministro de Gobierno y Fomento (1).

Cantón Ibo ó Ivu

Solucionada de una manera amigable la cuestión interdepartamental según el proyecto aprobado en la Cámara de Diputados de este año 1912, y promulgada como ley de la Nación, el departamento de Sucre se dispone á elevar al rango de Cantón la región de Ibo ó Ivu, cuya capital será talvez la Misión de San Buenaventura, situada en el mismo lugar.

Esto supuesto, los límites del nuevo Cantón debieran ser los siguientes, según el acuerdo que ha tomado la Representación Chuquisaqueña: por el Sud la margen izquierda de la quebrada de Vitiacua, por el Norte el paralelo de la quebrada de Cuevo, por el Este la serranía de Aguaragüe hasta tocar con el indicado paralelo, por el Oeste las serranías de Irenta y Suararenta y por el Sur Oeste la quebrada de Chimbe.

En esta delimitación están comprendidos varios pueblos chiriguanos, siendo los más poblados las Misiones de Santa Rosa con más de 1.200 habitantes y la de San Buenaventura de Ivu con 652 almas

Las familias blancas son pocas, pero no son menos de cuarenta, que pueden dar un total de 160 almas por lo menos. Puede ser que con el tiempo esta reducida población aumente en el nuevo Cantón, como aumentó la de Cuevo.

Años se necesitan para que el indio chiriguano pueda tener el gobierno político de un pueblo, á pesar de que en las Misiones, relativamente nuevas, haya músicos, carpinteros, madereros, albañiles, talabarteros, zapateros, sastres y jóvenes que saben escribir bien y leer mejor, pero es distinto saber un arte ó un oficio y distinto tener que administrar la justicia.

---

(1) Esta ley firmada por los HH. Julio Zamora, Julio H. Gutierrez, Julio Calvo, Saul Serrate, Marceliano Montero, Agripino Oropeza, René Rodriguez, Aquiles Jordán y José Gil S., fué aprobada por 53 diputados contra 8. Prevaleció la fuerza numérica contra el derecho. M Padilla y Z Orías votaron en contra.

La experiencia de muchos años de vida misionera y lo que he visto en las Misiones abandonadas desde la guerra de la Independencia, abonan mi opinión de que se necesitan muchos años para que los indios chiriguanos puedan desempeñar ciertos oficios públicos, como son: el de Corregidor y Alcalde parroquial.

Proyecto

La zona Oriental que hoy pertenece á los tres departamentos de Santa Cruz, Tarija y Sucre, está algo amenazada por países extraños, mas puede ser que la República boliviana haga sus arreglos amistosos con las Naciones vecinas.

Estas contiendas son perjudiciales hasta cierto punto, como que impiden la colonización franca del Chaco boliaviano, lo que no sucedería, si todo estuviera en paz en aquellas apartadas regiones.

Hechos los arreglos amistosos y tranquilizado el ánimo de los pobladores, más se colonizaría la región, lo cual aumentaría el número de habitantes. Esto supuesto, opino que en tiempo no lejano el Gobierno de Bolivia pudiera establecer en el Gran Chaco un nuevo Departamento. El Chaco está abierto al comercio y á la civilización en toda su extensión, existen allá nemerosos pueblos y, en estos, casas comerciales; se transita por la región sin peligro alguno y la raza chiriguana recibe al viajero con muestras de cariño y sujeción

El departamento del Gran Chaco podría tener por límites la margen derecha del Río Grande, frente á la antigua Misión de Abapó grado 18° 45 latitud S. del meridiano de Greenwich; todo el Sud y Sud Oeste de la serranía de Incahuasi hasta el río Pilcomayo desde el grado 21° 5' 30" de latitud Sud y desde el grado 63° 55' de longitud O. con todo el oriente hasta tocar el límite del Paraguay. Mapa del Min. de Gobierno de 1906.

La zona del nuevo departamento no sería tan reducida, pues tendría de Sur á Norte, cerca de setenta leguas y de Este á Oeste casi cien, desde el río Paraguay hasta la nueva Yacuiba de fundarse en Caipitanti. Si esta delimitación pareciera al pueblo boliviano algo pequeña, debe tener en cuenta que la zona, es una de las mejores que posee la Nación y por consiguiente tendría el nuevo Departamento vida propia, recuperando Bolivia la novena estrella que falta de su Escudo, desde la pérdida del departamento del Litoral. La ciudad principal pudiera establecerse donde mejor convenga, por ejemplo, en Lagunillas ó en Charagua y debiera haber

allá mil hombres de las tres armas, repartidos en los fortines fundados y de fundarse, para poder hacer frente á cualquier avance de las numerosas tribus y del extranjero. Según el censo de 1900 este nuevo departamento tendría 68,505 habitantes sin contar el aumento de unos 3 y medio por ciento cada año. De estos, 21,405 son chiriguanos, los demás mestizos ó blancos.

Cayuguari

Cayuguari se llama el país habitado por un indio del mismo nombre que fugó de Macharetí con otros por los años 1856 ó 1857; se radicó en la laguna de Cumbarurenta, cuatro leguas al Sudeste de Yrentagüe, y en seguida se retiró 20 leguas más al Este, porque en compañía de tobas, tapietes y otras tribus, cometía un sinnúmero de abigeatos, por los cuales fué constantemente perseguido por los pobladores de Carandaiti, donde hoy está radicado un piquete, destacado de Aguairenta.

La fuga del indio Cayuguari á Cumbarurenta primero y hoy á las 52 leguas de Carandaiti, se debe no á la muerte del capitán Taruncunti, asesinado por los machariteños Barapiche, Arasuque y Yepoima, residentes en Avay, sino á su índole y desacatos cometidos contra su pariente Mandepómi.

La expedición encomendada por el Supremo Gobierno á un inglés que debía penetrar á la comarca Cayuguari por Picuigua (aguada de palomitas) puede darse por fracasada, porque las dos tentativas que hizo, fueron de ningún resultado y tuvo que retroceder para no perecer á consecuencia de la falta absoluta de agua.

Picuigua dista de Cayuguari unas doce leguas. Picuigua es una laguna seca, pero con una perforadora puede obtenerse agua suficiente para la guarnición del fortín que se piensa establecer, toda vez que resulte falsa la noticia de la existencia del lago permanente en Cayuguari, donde hay unas 50 familias.

El Subprefecto del Azero don Ramón Menduiña opina que el fortín debe radicarse en la laguna de Cumbarurenta (lugar de ormosia ó chañar), si resulta con agua permanente. Es probable que las aguas de la extinguida laguna grande de Carandaiti háyanse reunido y siguen reuniéndose en Cumbarurenta. Si el fortín se establece en dicho lugar se halla á los grados 20 45' de latitud y 63 más ó menos de longitud del meridiano de París, según el mapa formado durante la administración del General Pando por Eduar-

do Idiaquez, grabado por Erchad hermanos y con dibujos de Víctor Puig, teniendo al Norte el antiguo fortín Baptista y al Sur los establecidos por la Delegación Trigo, que por estar á gran distancia uno de otro, no pueden auxiliarse mútuamente en caso de un ataque repentino.

Se dijo en las columnas de «La Capital» que el entusiasta Subprefecto Menduiña piensa penetrar á la región ocupada por Cayuguari con unos 50 pobladores de Carandaiti. Cuando en Mayo llegó á este punto, encontró al piquete, y aprovechó de su presencia para preparar la expedición. Con peones que proporcionaron los Conversores de Machareti, hizo abrir 23 leguas de camino hasta salir á los pajonales, desde donde casi nada estorba para proseguir con facilidad, y regresó á su asiento de Montesgudo.

Piensa el señor Menduiña volver á Carandaiti para penetrar ya á Cayuguari en Diciembre ó Enero próximo, es decir, cuando pueda hallarse agua en abundancia en toda la región; antes de esto hará abrir camino nuevo de Carandaiti al Pozo del Burro, que dista tres leguas. Por ignorancia se ha abierto doce leguas de camino por la Laguna Seca, Iguaminanti, estando el Pozo del Burro en línea recta de Carandaiti.

El camino que recorrerá la expedición es el siguiente: Carandaiti punto de partida, al Pozo del Burro tres leguas, al del Aparejo otras tres, al del Zampo con agua permanente siete, á la orilla del bosque cuatro, á Irentagüe (laguna seca) once, á Cumbaruenta Sudeste cuatro, á Picuigua nuevo y á Cayuguari doce, total: 52 leguas de camino.

En llegando la expedición á Cayuguari, se hallaría haber superado la mitad de la región que separa Carandaiti del fuerte Olimpo, con la perspectiva de poder avanzar y superar la incógnita de unos 125 kilómetros, porque es de suponer que los paraguayos deben haber avanzado por el Este y radicádose en los puntos habitables; además es suponible también que de Cayuguari adelante ya no se sufrirá la carencia de agua.

El tiempo dirá si la expedición que intenta el señor Menduiña llega á su término, para poder hacer apreciaciones, entonces, el Supremo Gobierno procurará á todo trance establecer donde mejor convenga una fuerte guarnición militar que pueda contrarrestar los avances de los bárbaros y las sorpresas de la vecina República, para lo cual tendrá que disponer de otros centros militares más que puedan acudir prontamente á la defensa del territorio nacional.

Hoy debe el Gobierno de la nación limitarse á fomentar y patrocinar el proyecto del patriota Menduiña y de los entusiastas carandaiteños, asignándoles tierras de explorarse, para que se radiquen allí familias bolivianas y sepan ellos mismos defender su propiedad y la de la Nación al amparo y protección de una tropa bien disciplinada.

Finalmente, no debiera la Nación olvidarse que bajo la protección del militar debiera elevarse una Cruz y un templo, recomendando el edificio moral á la abnegación del Misionero, el único que pudiera sacrificarse, porque no puedes existir centros incipientes sin la idea religiosa que refrena la inmoralidad, arraiga el derecho de propiedad, aconseja el trabajo, hace respetar lo ajeno, reprime el vicio, al que fácilmente se entrega el hombre en el desierto, y planta la virtud necesaria para todo, no sólo para la bienaventuranza eterna, si que también para vivir en armonía entre sus semejantes.

Si Bolivia se olvida del templo y de la Cruz, el fortín que funde, será como los demás, y acabará por desaparecer sin haber llegado á su ideal de establecer centro de población, donde no lo hay. Lo pasado y lo presente debe servirnos para lo venidero, y no perder tiempo y dinero sin conquistar el elemento moral: sirva pues el fortín de vanguardia para resguardar y ensanchar la obra del Misionero (1).

Itatiqui

El pueblo de infieles chiriguanos, con que encabezo estas pocas líneas, se halla situado á las once leguas de la Misión Franciscana de San Buenaventura de Ivu y á las siete de las Misiones del Parapiti Grande á los grados 19° 43' 18" de latitud S. del meridiano de París y á los 60° 29' 42" de longitud O.

El Colegio de Misiones Franciscanas de Potosí trata de establecer en este lugar una Misión Conversora que dependa de los Padres establecidos en las márgenes del río Parapiti. La idea es eminentemente civilizadora y progresista, porque el lugar se halla situado á lo largo de la carretera que, partiendo de Yacuiba, pasa

(1) Artículo que hice publicar en las columnas de "La Capital," el 16 de Septiembre de 1911.—La exploración se ha realizado, y su jefe militar ha sido el coronel Ovando, pero todavía no ha llegado al lugar denominado Cayuguari. Si prosiguen en la obra comenzada, fácilmente llegarán el año 1913, porque la laguna de Cayuguari dista poco de Piruigua.

por Charagua y termina en la ciudad de Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

En el trayecto desde el villorio de Bayuivo hasta el Parapiti Grande, no se halla otro pueblo que pueda proporcionar comodidades á los viajeros y á los carruajes que transitan á diario, sin poder hoy contar con ningún socorro en su penosa travesía.

El indio de Itatiqui es demasiado pobre y holgazán, es preciso moverlo y sacudirlo para que se utilice y progrese; en su territorio no existe agua, ni lagos artificiales para poder beber él y sus ganados, pero estos últimos pueden obtenerla fácilmente con diques bien construídos, mas falta una persona que lo dirija y lo impela al trabajo.

Con la fundación de una Misión Conversora, el indio tendría la garantía que actualmente no posee; viviría en su pueblo, que se reorganizó no há mucho, con la perspectiva de estar al amparo del Misionero; establecería sus lagos artificiales, y el viajero tendría un asiento dónde descansar y dormir, en casas hospitalarias; sin peligro de ninguna clase tanto en sus bienes, cuanto en su salud corporal.

El Supremo Gobierno se ha preocupado de este adelanto más en la región del Gran Chaco, dictó su decreto para la mensura de los terrenos en la extensión de tres leguas más ó menos que poseían *ab immemorabili*, pero, al practicarse las diligencias de alineación, resultó que otro particular había colocado sus límites, dejando para los indios el pueblo y una pequeña porción de tierras sin sembradíos, y estas muy reducidas. Con la medida tomada por este particular han perdido los indios todos los sembradíos de Igüitiyapi, cerca de los cuales dicho particular acometió la gran empresa de establecer un lago artificial en ese lugar denominado Caspirenta, advirtiendo que la mensura para los indios se practicó en el mismo año 1911, pocos meses antes de darse cumplimiento á la orden del Supremo Gobierno á favor de los naturales.

Para que las buenas intenciones de la Nación y de los Misioneros de Potosí no queden defraudadas, debiera el Supremo Gobierno encomendar á una persona imparcial la comisión de constituirse en el lugar, buscar datos de los indios y otras personas bien intencionadas, y en seguida dar un informe concienzudo para fallar en justicia.

Opino que la fundación de la Misión en Itatiqui se impone para comodidad de los viajeros y carruajes, como se impone la

fundación de otra en Picuigua hácia Isoso ó en el mismo Cayuguari y una tercera á lo largo del río Pilcomayo, cerca del fortín Gumcballi, entre los indios tapietes, que son bastante numerosos.

Sin la Cruz que forma pueblos y civiliza, se fundarán fortines en todo el Chaco, habrá derroche de dinero, pero nunca, á mi ver, habrá aumento de población, porque si de la bayoneta y de la pólvora huyen los civilizados, con más razón huirán, los pueblos salvajes.

Ciertamente hay que garantizar la vida del Misionero, colocando las nuevas Reducciones al alcance de uno á dos fortines, pero nunca en el radio de éstos, porque el Misionero, sólo con la independencia, puede desenvolver su acción benéfica y civilizadora, y el militar sólo en casos apurados debiera acudir al llamamiento del Misionero.

En caso de que estas mis opiniones surtieran efecto, el Supremo Gobierno dispondría de los fondos necesarios para las fundaciones, teniendo en cuenta la gran distancia de los centros poblados, conforme lo hace actualmente con los fortines donde la vida es bastante cara. No yerro si digo, que el progreso sería más rápido y el expendio de dinero insignificante; en cambio, la Nación vería en poco tiempo centros que se multiplicarían, como se han multiplicado desde Yacuiba á Santa Cruz de una manera sorprendente por obra de los misioneros Franciscanos (1).

Misiones del Colegio de Tarija (2)

Describir las glorias de este apostólico Colegio de Franciscanos es tentar un imposible en esta pequeña obra, cuyo fin no se dirige á la descripción de los trabajos de los Misioneros, como hice notar en la introducción, sino á narrar el origen y costumbres de la tribu chiriguana.

---

(1) La idea dominante del día es la fundación de Colonias extranjeras, lo cual es difícil, mientras falten medios de trasporte. Con la fundación de las misiones indicadas y otras que pudieran fundarse en lo sucesivo, la Nación tendría Colonias de elemento homogéneo, dispuesto á luchar y defender el territorio nacional contra cualquier invasión extranjera

(2) Hoy el Colegio de Tarija tiene solamente las Misiones ubicadas en la provincia del Azero, porque Chimeo é Itau más parecen pueblos de blancos que de indios

Tarija puede llamarse la tierra de los Misioneros antes y después de la Independencia; basta viajar medianamente por aquel Departamento y luego se viene en conocimiento que, aquí un templo, allí una casa parroquial, acullá un edificio-Misión, es debido á la constancia, paciencia, abnegación, sufrimiento y angustia del Misionero de Tarija; allí están los templos de San Roque, Carapari, Sella y Tupiza, que son de ayer.

Penetremos al Azero y Cordillera: ¡cuántos recuerdos, aunque destruídos unos y en decadencia otros! Oh! cómo se levanta majestuosa la imagen de Fr. Francisco del Pilar, á cuya heroica paciencia se deben todas las Misiones anteriores á la Independencia! Abapó! qué recuerdo empercedero! Todavía está allí el templo y la casa-Misión, y aún he visto parte de las escuelas, ya casi destruídas; sí ¡estos recuerdos me hicieron derramar lágrimas! Eran recuerdos, de mis hermanos perseguidos entonces y combatidos hoy, por los hombres que desconocen sus méritos y por una autoridad que se dice protectora de los Misioneros. ¡Ah! nó; llamémosla con otro nombre, pero no lo pronunciemos, y sigamos adelante, que los Misioneros saben perdonar como secuaces de Cristo y aunque algo desfallecidos por tantos acontecimientos desagradables, siguen en su tarea, erigiendo nuevos edificios y arreglando los antiguos deteriorados.

1. Machareti. — El P. Jerónimo de la Peña fué el primero en penetrar á Machareti, mas, antes de principiar ningún trabajo, le sobrevino la muerte y recién después de un siglo, esto es, el año 1869, pudo levantarse la cruz de la Redención, alrededor de la cual fueron reuniéndose los pobladores dispersos por la guerra y muerte del Capitán Taruncunti, poco afecto á los Misioneros.

Antes de los diez años la Misión ya fundada, contaba más de tres mil almas, pero hoy se halla bien reducida; alcanzarán sus habitantes á 1,500. La emigración á la República Argentina es una verdadera plaga para este plantel, porque aquí están los principales enganchadores de indios para trabajos afuera del territorio boliviano y es inútil citar leyes, porque hay buenos intérpretes, mientras tanto todos gimen por peones.

Machareti tiene un panorama delicioso y pintoresco; al Norte y al Oriente no puede el ojo humano abarcar la inmensidad de las llanuras, ni tampoco la exuberancia de los bosques y la variedad y capricho de los cerros. El pueblo se halla en una gran llanura, pero ya muy reducido; sus edificios, arriba de una colina alta que todo lo domina; posee un templo hermoso con pinturas y

dorados, una casa-Misión de dos pisos, dos grandes salones con sus respectivos patios para la enseñanza y un tercero para escuela de música, y además otras piezas para talleres (1).

2. Tiotipa.—Esta Misión, dedicada al Patrono universal de la Iglesia el Patriarca San José, principió su existencia desde el 20 de Mayo de 1872, día en que por primera vez se celebró el Santo Sacrificio de la Misa y se plantó en su territorio el Árbol de la Redención; dista de Machareti unos doce kilómetros, con camino bastante accidentado.

Cuenta en la actualidad con una población de 800 almas. El pueblo, tanto de infieles como de neófitos, es bastante aseado, los edificios sin mucho orden, y las piezas que merecen consideración son: su hermoso y elevado templo, ancho y proporcionado con su magnífico coro, altares dorados y baranda bien torneados; además del hermoso mecanismo de armaduras dobles que sostienen el techo. Su casa es nueva, de un solo piso, principió á erigirse en el mes de Agosto ó Julio del año 1910 y se estrenó en Marzo de este año, los demás edificios, ni guardan orden, ni son de valía y dan al conjunto un aspecto bastante triste; pero terminada la renovación de ambos pueblos, se hará el arreglo proyectado de los edificios para la enseñanza y talleres.

Su panorama nada tiene de particular, al poniente, la última serranía de los Andes, al Norte y Sur, unas colinas algo altas atajan á las pocas cuadras y cortan la visual al curioso observador, quien contraído en su deseo de ver y observar, encuentra un pequeño desahogo en el Oriente, donde el horizonte se abre y alegra el corazón; parece hermana mayor de la Misión de San Pascual de Ikoicovo. El clima es regularmente sano, á pesar de hallarse la Misión en una hoya, unas el agua, ó la posición del lugar, entorpecen el entendimiento de sus moradores, conforme notan todos los viajeros (2).

---

(1) Fundada la Misión de Machareti, se cortó la retirada á los belicosos huacayeños, que penetraban el Gran Chaco por el camino del Chorro, dista de Huacaya unas quince leguas y de Ivu unas doce, su altura sobre el nivel del mar es de 771 metros y se halla á los grados 20° 49' 58" de lat. Sur y 63° 13' 44" long. O. del meridiano de Greenwich.

(2) En los años de abundancia acuden á esta Misión varias tribus nómadas y se estacionan sirviendo á los chiriguanos por interés de la comida. Su elevación sobre el nivel del mar alcanza á 715 metros y se halla á los grados 20° 27' 18" lat. Sur y á los 62° 14' 44" O. de del meridiano Greenwich.

[facing p. 103]

Niños de la Misión de Tarairí

3. Tarairí. — Mientras el inmortal Pontífice Pío IX declaraba dogma de fé la concepción inmaculada de María Santísima, Patrona de la Orden Serática, los religiosos de la misma familia pertenecientes al Colegio de Tarija, por caminos desconocidos al entendimiento humano, fundaban la Misión de la Purísima de Tarairí, que fué la primera en la margen izquierda del Pilcomayo, y desde luego, muy arriesgada entre indios que no querían oir de religión ni de moralidad, amén de los peligros que había por parte de otros indios de las montañas, de los tobas y matacos. Dista de Tigüipa cinco leguas y de Camalotí, pueblo de cristianos blancos, tres; el camino es regular, pero hay algunas subidas y bajadas.

Los edificios de esta Misión son coloniales, parece que todo se hizo con sumo cuidado desde el templo hasta los talleres; aquél es elevado y ancho, el techo tiene armaduras dobles como el de Tigüipa, como fué el director de aquéllos, sus altares son tallados y la imagen de la Patrona es preciosa. Los edificios guardan unión, lo cual indica que la construcción se sujetó á un plan, por esto anda hay de superfluo y que no está en comunicación directa; es tan elevado este edificio, que el P. Guardián desde su ventana puede dirigir la elaboración del azúcar, chancaca y molienda y hasta la elaboración de tejas y ladrillos y las respectivas quemas.

El pueblo es grande y se divide en dos, el de los infieles se halla hacia el Sur á un lado, y el de los cristianos al frente del edificio-Misión, todos bien alineados como en toda Misión y todas tienen techo de paja. La población se compone de unos mil doscientos habitantes, quienes dejan mucho que desear, talvez por la proximidad de Villa-Montes, son bastante insubordinados y cualquier cosa, por pequeña que sea, pronto la ordenan á la Delegación del Gran Chaco, que por desgracia, á lo menos en los tiempos pasados, daba demasiado crédito á las mentiras de los indios (1).

4. Aguairenta. — Fué fundada esta Misión el año 1849 y actualmente en la más antigua porque Chiquero y el pueblo de Itau, ya desde muchos tiempos, perdieron de hecho el rango de verdaderas Doctrinas. Para la fundación de Aguairenta se unieron tres caciques de tres parcialidades, pero cada uno quería al Misionero en su pueblo. La distancia que separa la Misión de Aguairenta de la

(1) Esta Misión, por ser la primera al Norte del Pilcomayo, fué el blanco de chiriguanos y tobas que repetidas veces quisieron destruirla; se elevaba sobre el nivel del mar en de 662 metros y se halla colocada á los grados 20° 8' 23'' lat. S. y á los 62° 17' 4'' O. del meridiano de Greenwich.

de Tarairi pues de veinte y dos leguas por un camino bastante llano y ancho.

Según la han descrito con alguna exageración y fines no buenos, Aguairenta es la reina de los planos, la musa de los poetas y la contemplación de los sabios; lo cierto es que su panorama es muy delicioso, como sus vegas llenas de fragancia por los muchos naranjales, contiene abundante agua que hace el terreno fecundo, pero aquella se alcanza á mucha distancia.

Los pobladores se han reducido á pocos y están mezclados con los blancos, casi todos hablan bien el idioma castellano y las costumbres y modo de vestir es igual al de los pobladores mestizos, á pesar de verse todavía uno que otro vestido según la forma antigua (1).

5. San Francisco y San Antonio.—En las misiones denominadas San Antonio y San Francisco del Pilcomayo, el Supremo Gobierno determinó fundar una ciudad bajo la denominación de Villa-Montes; pero desde la entrega que hicieron los Misioneros el año 1906, en vez de progresar han retrocedido aquellas floreciente poblaciones. Se han deteriorado las viñas y huertas, se van arruinando los edificios y la moralidad se fué al despeñadero y allí permanece en estado progresiva. Las escuelas de niños y niñas se han reducido á muy pocos alumnos, y para estos pocos el Erario nacional eroga ciento sesenta bolivianos al mes, mientras que al capellán que debiera vivir allí no señala más que 240 bolivianos anuales.

Todo lo que pertenecía á las dos Misiones, como herramientas, carpintería, edificios, establecimientos azucareros, ganados vacuno, caballar, etc. fué entregado con inventario al Delegado Nacional doctor don Leocadio Trigo y los Misioneros, sin poder disponer ni de una celda que sirviera de dormida al P. Capellán, no tuvieron otro remedio que sacudir hasta el polvo de sus sandalias.

Los pueblos arriba indicados forman una población aproximada de indígenas chiriguanos de 1,500 almas (2).

---

(1) Por decreto de 4 de Enero de 1911, Aguairenta ha sido declarado cuartel de tropas, las que tomaron posesión del lugar desde fines del año 1910, sin embargo, el Gobierno ha dejado la casa-Misión y la huerta para uso y comodidad del P. Capellán; se halla á los 778 metros sobre el nivel del mar y á los grados 21° 46' 10" lat. Sur y á los 62° 48' 35" long. O. del meridiano de Greenwich

(2) El Supremo Gobierno arrendó el edificio misión á la compañía alemana que poco ha progresado, se halla á los 460 metros sobre el nivel del mar y á los grados 21° 16' 15" lat. S y á los 62° 20' 2" long. O. del meridiano de Greenwich.

6. Itas, Chiquiri.—Itas cuenta más de un siglo de existencia y Chiquiri más de medio siglo, en el primero residen dos Misioneros, de los cuales uno atiende en lo espiritual la feligresía de Chiquiri que se halla reducida casi á la nada, indios y cristianos viven en la campiña, éstos son más que aquellos. Itas y Chiquiri fueron Misiones y lo son todavía de derecho, porque la autoridad diocesana no puede recibirlas por falta de clero, mas de hecho ya no son Misiones, Itas está muy poblado de blancos y en Chiquiri si el Misionero reside, lo cual indica que una permanencia fija sería poco menos que inútil, porque faltan pobladores.

7. Yacuiba, Caiza, Caraparí y Camatindi—Los pueblos con cuyos nombres caracterizamos estos pocos rengloncs, pertenecen todos á la raza blanca y constituyen centros poblados, especialmente el primero donde reside la autoridad política de la provincia del Gran Chaco, además de estar allí la oficina aduanera por ser el pueblo más cercano al límite con la República Argentina. Todos ellos son asistidos en lo espiritual por los Misioneros de Tarijá y en algunos tienen residencia fija.

8. Caranda-iti. —Este pueblo de reciente formación ocupa unos renglones exclusivos. Dista de la Misión de Machareti unas ocho leguas por un camino algo accidentado, desierto y falto de agua, puede considerarse como el cantón más grande de la provincia del Azero, pues su territorio muy extenso llega hasta la margen derecha del río Pilcomayo, mientras no se defina la cuestión interdepartamental de Cuevo-Ibo.

El pueblo de Caranda-iti debe su fundación á los feligreses del cantón Igüembe, Huacaya ó Ingre. Después de la guerra de 1875, se pacificaron los indios de Huacaya con la fundación de la Misión de Boicoto y el fortín militar de Huacaya. A los pocos años salieron varios de este lugar y con el alicante de ocupar en recompensa sus leguas de terreno, exploraron Caranda-iti y se radicaron en el lugar, fueron atacados por las tribus especialmente Ava, sufrieron algunas bajas y tuvieron la ventura de ver algunos cautivos entre los salvajes, pero ya en un hecho la fundación del pueblo. Tiene su hermoso templo bendecido á fines de Julio 1908 y sólo hace falta la residencia de un sacerdote que los atienda con esmero espiritualmente, porque Machareti está bastante lejos para esta dilatada feligresía (1).

(1) Los cristianos que exploraron el territorio de Caranda-iti recibieron el terreno prometido; no tiene más agua potable Caranda-iti que la de las lagunas, expuestas á secarse. La conservación de este pueblo debe justamente llamar la atención del Gobierno de Bolivia por el comercio, industria ganadera, tránsito y perspectiva de nuevas exploraciones al Oriente.

Con la breve reseña que acabo de hacer referente á los Misioneros existentes entre los chiriguanos y á los pueblos de blancos edificados en la misma comarca, engrandecidos por los Franciscanos de Tarija y Potosí, doy término á este segundo capítulo, donde se han emitido varias opiniones acerca del origen y procedencia de los chiriguanos á la comarca que ocuparon y con corta diferencia ocupan en la actualidad.

Nada hay de inventado en ello, con la precisión averiguación á diversas personas, en épocas diversas, con la consulta de los múltiples autores, que por estudio, referencia ó de tradición han dejado algo escrito, he tenido en conocimiento de ciertos hechos que confirman los otros más, los otros en otros lugares y he comprobado que no todo debe ser falseado y confirmar los he visto relatar, los presentes á mis lectores. En el capítulo que sigo voy he presentado á ignoro si el tiempo, los vigilios y el cuidado que he quitado á mis ojos, hayan sido bien empleados; sea como se fuere, aquí he tirar el pálido.

Tarija

Por un error en la demarcación de límites con la República Argentina el pueblo de Tarija se halla al Sur del río, cuando debiera estar al Norte y Este, el río colindante precisamente en Bolivia, límite de la zona chiriguana que ha ocupado el invasor sin habitantes desde su inmigración.

Tarija ó Tarigiqui, como pronuncian los chiriguanos, quiere decir: agua de poca adversa, es una región completamente rica, en territorio en plena, los cultivos que se van formando, son ricos, como una flora de cada nombre, el tercero fértil, produce allí la uvija ó guisante, el garbanzo y otros cereales, cuyas plantas vienen invigiadas con agua que es relativamente abundante.

El pueblo que cayó también con el terremoto de 1868, va formándose sucesivamente según los días, ambiente y su perímetro es pequeño. Cuenta ya con un hotel de primera clase, donde se sirve al viajero y al paisano con toda cultura y tranquilidad; con almacenes, donde se encuentra todo artículo; con edificios notables, casas de grandes dimensiones y con un edificio colonia, todo de cinc desde los pasadizos hasta el techo.

La circulación adquirida en comercialmente proveniente por los numerosos mercaderes que la cruzaban continuamente con su crecido fo-

Sajo y frente cancillo, lo cual indica la fertilidad del territorio y la abundancia de agua.

Está situada la ciudadela en el territorio de Tarija, fué por consiguiente fundada por europeos bolivianos, en estancia de la Subprefectura del Gran Chaco y hoy es un pueblo cosmopolita, sus pueblos nuestros extranjeros están radicados allí, sus pueblos otros están continuamente de tránsito; aparte de la importancia que le da la centralizar llegada de los correajes y le dará la proximidad de la línea ferrea.

Difícilmente puede formarse un nuevo pueblo con los mismos motivaciones, en Calpimonti, con lugar al Norte del actual, donde el agua se en menor cantidad. Este lugar situado al Norte del actual y á una distancia del mismo necesario, sería muy á propósito para la estación del ferrocarril. Tarija, porque tiene al frente una extensa llanura, valiosísimo que Agua-Grande está cercanía en el bosque.

Tampoco es fácil situarlo en el Palmar, menos á dicho lugar al Norte, porque el agua se consigue por canalizaciones, al terreno es arena, casi en su totalidad y, por consiguiente, poco á propósito para la agricultura y edificios coloniales.

Si la actual ciudadela es á causa de los aguaceros, en fácil, desaparecerá, como puede desaparecer todo el momento que tiene en la actualidad. La Revista vecina no halla cada que tengan dichos inconvenientes á los pobladores que abandonarían sus huertas, jardines y casas, para las cuales experimentan cariñosos de diversa.

No es posible que los habitantes de Tarija quedasi allí, construyendo el Gobierno Boliviano otra pueblo en Calpimonti ó en el Palmar, porque el abandono en el comercio y acontecimiento dejaría estar, donde se establecerá la aduana, en la cual los correajes continuan con mercaderías y depósitos en carga que los arrieros trasladan á Santa Cruz.

Quitada para la Aduana, se quita el movimiento, sin fata el pueblo está muerto y acontecimiento desaparecerá, porque los mismos extranjeros preferirán pasar á la costa Tarijeña donde encontrarán todo lo necesario para vivir casa, y para demorarse algunos días como.

Todo lo considerará el Supremo Gobierno y el Congreso de Bolivia antes de hacerse acreditar las vías y las extensas fronteras que está llamado, cada que Villa Montes á ser el emporio del comercio y civilización, como mercaderías y relaciones pueden conti-

gen, pero la nueva Villa donde que fué dejada por los Misioneros, no ha dado un paso para el adelanto moral y material.

¿Qué que el mentor é arreglo de límites entre estas repúblicas sea convenientemente á personajes exclusivamente patrióticos y justicieros que sepan salvaguardarlos dictar la cuestión sin herir derechos ajenos? Medios tanto políticos, medios convenientes y medios acaso de naturaleza secreta el estadista nacional que sepa con esta responsabilidad de desarrollar los verdaderos límites.— *Es necesario de este artículo en «Los Propagandistas de Potosí»* (1).

---

(1) *El primer artículo referente á Yacuiba publicado por mí en "La Propaganda" de Potosí fué reproducido por el distinguido joven Dr. don Carlos Paz, redactor de "El Trabajo" en su "Revista Histórica "Bolivia y la Argentina."*

Carlos del Chaco Boliviano me hacen saber que la comisión de fronterizos Argentino Boliviano llegó á Yacuiba y pasó otro del río del Presente "Aguaragüe," colocando el límite entre estas Naciones al Norte de la Ciudadela, conforme estaba antes. Este hecho y el proyecto de fundar un nuevo pueblo en Caipipendi concurren á hacer pensar fundadamente que el asunto Yacuiba está resuelto, concluido y cedido por Bolivia á la República Argentina.

[facing P. 109]

Grupo de chiriguanas

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

[P. 109]

CAPITULO TERCERO

CARACTERES DE LOS CHIRIGUANOS

INTRODUCCION

A fines del siglo XIX y propiamente el año 1897 todo el mundo católico fué invitado con anticipación para concurrir á la grandiosa exposición de Arte Sacra que tuvo lugar en Turín, bella y grandiosa ciudad italiana en el Piamonte. Hizo oir su voz el Romano Pontífice y los católicos de las cinco partes del globo terráqueo se organizaron al concurso, literario, científico, industrial manufacturado, etc., etc.

Las Misiones no podían dejar de tomar parte en este certámen de competencia, no podían cerrar los oidos á la voz del Supremo Cerarca del mundo; con el fervor de los primeros cristianos, con la humildad de neófitos, dirigidos por los Misioneros de todas las Órdenes y Congregaciones católicas, prepararon un concurso extraordinario. Se vieron en Turín las rarezas y los productos de las Misiones de China, África, Palestina, América del Norte, Colonia Eritrea, Oceanía, Patagonia, América del Sur, etc.

Aunque Bolivia ocupe un lugar bien modesto en los mapas del mundo y se vaya organizando despacio para elevarse á grandísima altura, exhibió sus productos en dicha exposición universal y estuvo representada aún por sus tribus. Allá enviaron todo lo que podía figurar de las Misiones de Guarayos, de las Misiones de Tarija y de las de Potosí. Fué entonces que un fotógrafo italiano, contratado en Tarija, recorrió sus Misiones y las de Potosí, fotografió vistas, panoramas, grupos de chiriguanos, familias, templos, Misioneros etc. (1).

(1) La orden de concurrir vino de la Curia Generalicia de Roma y el M. R. P. Comisario en Bolivia dispuso que el Colegio de Potosí se uniera al de Tarija por ser los habitantes de las misiones de ambos colegios de la misma raza chiriguana.

La ilustración puesta al frente de este capítulo es una de dichas fotografías, representa un grupo de mujeres chiriguanas con sus vestidos y adornos festivos, están en disposición de presentarse en una reunión pública para beber, fué fotografiada en la Misión de Boicovo y llevada con los demás á la Exposición. El grupo de indios jornaleros se reserva para el capítulo que trata de trabajos y faenas, ambos grupos darán á conocer la constitución física de la raza, de la cual compuso su libro el señor del Campano, después de haber terminado la Exposición: talvez dicho señor vería aún á los cuatro chiriguanos que fueron llevados desde las Misiones de Tarija (1).

Físico

Después de haber estudiado el territorio que ocupa una tribu y consignado en el papel lo más característico, en seguida de haber averiguado convenientemente por datos tradicionales ó históricos ó suposiciones muy fundadas el origen y procedencia de la misma, lo primero que se presenta al Etnógrafo y á cualquier observador, es un cuerpo material; sus proporciones grandes, pequeñas ó justas pronto hieren el sentido de la vista: éste, el observador considera mentalmente lo que ve aquél, el Etnógrafo de lo físico comienza su narración y desciende luego al carácter.

Algunos exploradores y viajeros después de haber dado cima á sus trabajos de averiguaciones, han dejado escrito en sus relaciones que los indios chiriguanos han cambiado mucho en su físico desde que los blancos ó los criollos penetraron en su territorio, pero nada más inexacto que lo dicho. Son bien raras las uniones clandestinas de los cristianos con las chiriguanas, mucho más raras las uniones legítimas mediante el matrimonio católico, de donde procede por lo general la propagación y el cambio de razas (2).

Si el señor del Campano afirma que los chiriguanos por el espacio de 40 años se han conservado invariables, fundándose en las fotografías que puso á su disposición el Profesor Mantegazza sacadas el año 1860 y en las que los Misioneros de Potosí y Tarija mandaron el año 1898 á la Exposición de Turín, donde figuraba

(1) Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani. Firenze, 1902.—Es la obra más completa que existe en Italia, en vista de la misma me determiné á escribir la presente aquí donde viven los chiriguanos.

(2) En 20 años de vida misionera he bendecido apenas cuatro matrimonios de cristianos blancos con neófitas chiriguanas.

una calavera recogida por el suscrito en los campos de Curuyuqui y vendida por el P. Giannecchini al museo de Florencia, ¿qué deberán decir algunos Misioneros que han envejecido y van envejeciendo entre estos indios y conocen la raza en los hombres viejos y mozos, en las mujeres ancianas y doncellas, antes y después de haberse introducido con demasía los cristianos blancos?

No existe á mi juicio dicho cambio, porque uno que otro caso aislado, una que otra familia, donde se produjo la mezcla de dos sangres, no pueden aducirse como prueba para decir que lo físico de la raza ha variado mucho. Viajeros y exploradores pasan relativamente con rapidez por una región, poco tiempo pueden dedicar al estudio de una raza, por consiguiente sus relaciones escritas, dignas de todo aprecio, son un tanto exageradas, como lo eran aquéllas de los españoles que conquistaron Méjico y el Perú (1).

Hay comarcas de gran extensión donde la mezcla de las dos razas fué numerosa, mas es de advertir que en esas comarcas el fruto dejó de ser chiriguano, tanto por el idioma castellano que ya habla con perfección, cuanto por el color que es completamente distinto; ya no es su pergamino, como afirma el P. Corrado, sino un cutis hasta cierto punto fino y aterciopelado, de modo que á esta clase de personas que descienden de blancos con chiriguanos les conviene el nombre de mestizos y no chiriguanos y por consiguiente no cambió lo físico de la raza. En las mismas comarcas no son raras las familias que han conservado la sangre pura de chiriguanos, tienen éstos ó los individuos que las forman los caracteres iguales á otros chiriguanos sin ninguna discrepancia notable (2).

Al contrario en los grandes centros chiriguanos, como son casi todas las Misiones y otros contados afuera de éllas, el físico del indígena no ha cambiado absolutamente. Por lo regular su altura no llega á un metro y setenta centímetros en los hombres y raras son las mujeres que llegan á 1.60; el cabello es negro, terso y áspero, muy vigoroso tanto en los hombres, como en las mujeres y un pelo rubio indica rareza ó clandestinidad. La frente es algo pequeña, como también los ojos lánguidos y con dirección al suelo, el rostro es redondo, la nariz chata, la boca ancha, la dentadura blanca como marfil, la barba es corta y los labios algo gruesos.

(1) Guillermo Robertson. Historia de América desde el descubrimiento hasta antes de la Independencia. Los viajeros exageran sus relaciones para llamar más la atención.

(2) Desde la margen izquierda del río Parapití hacia el Norte se va verificando este cambio radical desapareciendo la raza.

Los hombres no llevan barba y cualquiera creería que son barbilampiños, mas la razón principal de no tenerla está en que se la arrancan, conforme va naciendo y para ello poseen unas pinzas de hojalata, mediante las cuales hacen desaparecer todo pelo y hacen bien, porque de otro modo por el dassaco serían con sus barbas luengas verdaderos orangutanes (1).

Tienen pecho hacia adelante, hombros y brazos bastante gruesos, manos de regular tamaño y piés no muy grandes á pesar de que crecen á su talante, pues siempre van descalzos, especialmente las mujeres y ni todos llevan ojotas. Cuando gozan de buena salud, son muy robustos y las mujeres sin ningún inconveniente físico hacen mamar dos párvulos en sus pechos. Siempre que alguna cristiana blanca carece de mamas ó leche, busca por lo regular á una chiriguana para nodriza de su párvulo, esto además de ser muy conveniente por la bondad de la sangre, es también bastante económico. Pero es cierto que las más no quieren hacerse cargo de otros niños afuera de sus hijos, las más de las veces se comprometen con dificultad, ó por fuerza, sucediendo este último cuando los indios están sujetos á un patrón.

El chiriguano al tiempo de nacer tiene un color indefinible, mas, sin que nadie suelte la risa, su color es él de los ratones recién nacidos, conforme va creciendo, va cambiando de color hasta tomar él de un pergamino soleado. Las causas de esta mudanza son los calores tropicales, los vientos y cambios repentinos y el sol abrasador, á cuya acción se exponen con demasiado agrado, sin inconveniente alguno y sin temor, aunque tiernos parvulitos.

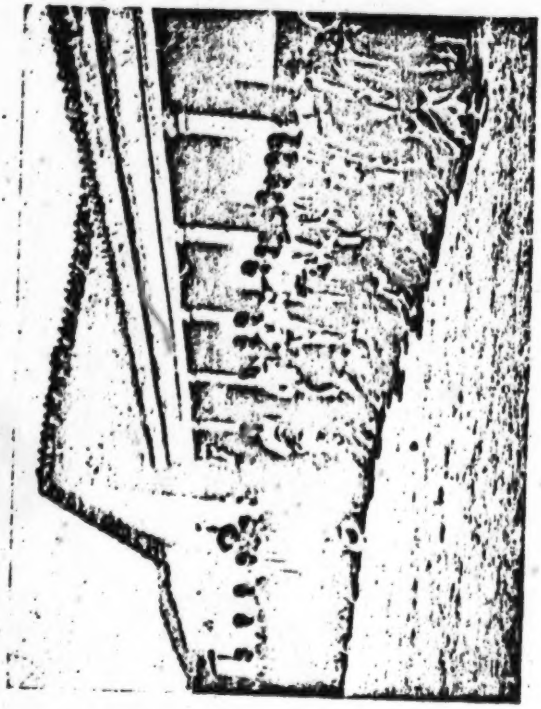
De esto se deduce fácilmente que el indio no teme al sol canicular, ni tampoco al calor; trabaja en los días calurosos sin camisa, ni pantalones, ni cosa que se le parezca, se echa de largo á largo recibiendo, muy satisfecho, en su espinazo los rayos de un sol de fuego y nada le acobarda. Pero cuando el viento norte se cambia en sur y por consiguiente arrecia el frío ó caen las heladas, es muy cobarde y es difícil hacerlo trabajar bien y con gusto; en este caso es preferible suspender el trabajo unos cuantos días, no pagar de balde á los jornaleros, ni enojarse sin provecho; mas esto puede hacerse sólo cuando la suspensión no acarrea perjuicio alguno (2).

---

(1) Los tobas llaman al chiriguano: cara de *tigre* por su rostro redondo, y éste se venga de ellos llamándolos: *cara de caballo*, por su rostro largo. En las Misiones usan bigotes y pera los neófitos.

(2) No sólo el indio chiriguano es enemigo del frío, sino aun las demás razas de América, como p. ej., los quichuas, según relata el historiador Robertson.

[facing P. 113]



Niños de escuela de S. Buenaventura de Ivo

Duración de la vida

El chiriguano por lo regular vive bastantes años, poco le perjudica el calor, el frío y la inconstancia del clima, lo mismo que la embriaguez y la lujuria, á cuyos vicios capitales se abandona desde tierna edad. Unos alcanzan y pasan los cien años, juzgando su longevidad por los cabellos; pues éstos no se vuelven blancos sino en muy avanzada edad y he visto indios con la cabeza completamente blanca y otros que de blanca tomó el color de humo, ó cosa ahumada. En el desempeño de mi ministerio he conocido y bautizado á muchos seculares al tiempo de morir y en los pueblos que he recorrido, he conocido varios que pelearon en la guerra de Caraparí y presenciaron la guerra de la Independencia.

Mas hoy el chiriguano ha degenerado mucho; en tiempo algo lejano, ni se conocían los licores, ni la coca, hoy ambos se han generalizado y por los licores y la coca, de los cuales hace mucho abuso, arruina su salud y hace más corta su existencia. Mucha juventud desaparece con el abuso de estas sustancias y por lo regular en las Misiones desaparecen los mejores, los que saben algún arte, ó tienen alguna fortuna; todo lo que ganan, después de comprar su vestido (aunque no siempre) lo invierten en los licores y coca y así abrevian la vida. He visto pueblos en donde de cuarenta ó cincuenta jóvenes de una misma edad apenas hay dos ó tres vivientes que llegarán á cincuenta años; se ve pues que la embriaguez producida por la chicha no es tan perniciosa como la del licor ó alcoholes, para los cuales nunca es demasiado grave cualquier impuesto que les imponga el Supremo Gobierno y ¡ojalá dicho impuesto fuera, más fuerte, más general y no se contentara sólo en que quede escrito! A pesar de esta vida disipada, es muy raro encontrar un indio calvo, lo cual indica mucha robustez (1).

Moral

Presentemente el indio chiriguano nada ó poco se distingue moralmente de la masa común de los hombres, quiero decir que ni todos son buenos, ni todos son perversos, los hay buenos y malos

(1) Conozco muchos pueblos grandes y pequeños de chiriguanos, sólo he hallado tres semi-calvos.

como en todas partes y lugares, de modo que han errado ciertos viajeros que los llaman indios muy malos, como erraron aquéllos que los llamaron muy buenos. Un célebre explorador decía, no ha mucho tiempo: de encontrar más bondad en un indio que en un blanco y basta fijarse con una mediana atención en el rostro de los dos para cerciorarse de la moralidad de ambos; como Misionero no puedo ni debo consignar en estas páginas mi juicio al respecto (1).

Antes que se verificara la conquista efectuada con suavidad por los Misioneros católicos, era sumamente peligroso penetrar en su territorio, aunque fuera de tránsito y no es lejana la época en que era difícil viajar por los campos de Cuevo-Ibo, donde los Misioneros Franciscanos de Potosí fundaron sus Misiones, como las habían fundado los de Tarija en otras regiones; el peligro tenía su razón de existir.

El indio ya conocía al blanco por sus hechos; lo llamaba y lo llama *caray*, que quiere decir astuto, codicioso, opresor y dueño de lo ajeno, si pues miraba con recelo al *caray* y hasta cierto punto no quería relaciones con él, es porque se había formado esta pésima idea, de donde nacía el no querer en su territorio á un mal vecino y le cerraba el paso para que no se aficionara de la fertilidad de la comarca. Estaba muy enterado que después de la exploración viene el conocimiento, de este se origina el deseo de poseer que tarde ó temprano se pone en ejecución, conforme ha sucedido (2).

Terminada la conquista mediante la obra de los Misioneros y mediante la colonización de los habitantes de varios departamentos, el chiriguano tuvo que someterse al derecho del más fuerte; en varias ocasiones quiso levantar su cerviz mediante sublevaciones generales, como la del 1875 y la del 1892 en Curuyuqui de Cuevo-Ibo, pero sucumbieron por la diferencia de las armas y por la buena disposición de los blancos (3).

---

(1) El mismo explorador aprobaba la actitud resuelta de la sublevación de Curuyuqui, bajo el punto de vista que luchaban por su independencia y reivindicación de su territorio.

(2) Giannecchini. Expedición al Alto Paraguay, año 1883.

(3) Martarelli. Adición á la Historia de Misiones del Colegio de Potosí, que trata de la guerra de Curuyuqui y principios de la fundación de la Misión de San Buenaventura de Ivu.

Hoy parece que ya no es fácil una nueva sublevación por ser pocos y por estar el territorio poblado de blancos que se han apoderado de los terrenos á título de conquista y por compra hecha ante el Supremo Gobierno, pero no se resignan los indios á permanecer servidores, habiendo sido dueños de su casa y terruño, su altivez se ve abatida por una fuerza superior y la mayoría sufre resignada su suerte.

Es por cierto un hecho que el chiriguano de hoy, no es el de otros tiempos, no es aquel que luchó con tenacidad contra el soldado del ejército del Inca, contra el español y contra el mismo soldado boliviano. Este cambio se ha verificado, diré nuevamente, por la pérdida del territorio y su independencia y en los esfuerzos repetidos con tesón extraordinario, sólo consiguieron agravar el mal, perder á los seres más queridos y sus haciendas. De á buenas ó de á malas han tenido que sujetarse á las leyes del Gobierno republicano, que ejerce su autoridad suprema aún sobre ellos, en las Misiones, dejándola limitada á los Conversores, en las provincias á los Subprefectos y en los cantones á los corregidores, que por lo general se sirven de un cacique ó alcalde para su reunión al tiempo de ordenar un trabajo de pública utilidad.

Domina entre los chiriguanos el ocio, la inconstancia, la intemperancia, el hurto, el infanticidio, el aborto y aún el suicidio que por lo general lo cometen las mujeres. Se les ve trabajar sólo por necesidad y cuando son acosados por la carestía; entonces sudan para comer, con toda humildad se presentan á la casa del cristiano y se le entregan con toda la familia. Mas si cerca del carai hallan á otro de su raza que puede favorecerlos, aunque sea con desventaja, lo hacen, porque aborrecen al que consideran autor de sus desdichas ó de su cautiverio, por esto siempre que hablan del *carai*, añaden el adjetivo *pochi* malo, perverso, tirano, pícaro, etc.

Aprenden con mucha facilidad todo lo que se les enseña, especialmente la música, para la cual parece que han nacido, pero su inconstancia todo lo arruina, no son fijos en sus ideas, ni les importa mucho cualquier pérdida, aunque sea su honor. La templanza ni por el nombre se conoce, y es gloria la embriaguez, por esto en los años de abundancia, son orgías continuadas en sus pueblos. . El hurto y el abigeato son relativamente recientes, antes no eran frecuentes y la causa serán los malos ejemplos; en ciertas comarcas el ganado de menor edad desaparece á la vista y son tan astutos que no es fácil descubrir un hecho, solamente después de

haber trascurrido algún tiempo, ó por enemistad, algo se llega á saber (1).

Dificultades para reducirlos

Si entre otras tribus los Misioneros han podido fundar Misiones sin consultar las ventajas materiales del indio, entre los chiriguanos no sucedió así. Puedo asegurar que casi todas ellas se han fundado, cuando el indio experimentaba alguna calamidad ó la persecución de los vecinos; así se fundó Santa Rosa, Ivu, Parapiti, etc. El indio no consulta su bien espiritual; cuando admite al Misionero en su tierra, quiere ver las ventajas materiales, por lo mismo, si en otras Misiones, grandes y chicos se bautizan sin distinción, entre estos no sucede lo mismo. Bautizar á un indio adulto que goza de salud completa, es lo mismo que pedir penas al olmo, sólo pide el Sacramento, cuando ve que no hay esperanza de vida y al principio de una Misión aún esto es dificultoso y muchísimos lo rechazan terminantemente. Pudiera enumerar casos que me han ocurrido; hay quien desea condenarse al sólo oir del labio de los Misioneros que los que no reciben el bautismo, no se salvan, y como antes de una fundación nadie lo recibió, desean bajar al lugar de penas, para ver nuevamente á sus deudos ¡Triste y lamentable ignorancia, de la cual unos no quieren salir! (2).

En los casos de calamidad ó persecución, el Misionero es buscado con tesón por los caciques que no descansan hasta conseguir el fin; una prueba actual la tenemos en el cacique del pueblo de Pipi que no há mucho, se presentaba continuamente á la Misión de Ivu para llevarme á fundar Misión en su pueblo y librarse así de la persecución de un vecino, según él relataba. Para ello prometía todo, bondad, docilidad, adhesión, trabajo gratuito y todo lo demás; la religión y el bautismo sólo los reservaba para los niños como en otros pueblos. Mientras el indio está bien y no es estorbado por nadie en su vida perezosa de frecuentes bebidas, no es fácil conseguir de él cosas buenas.

(1) En sus denuncias pacíficas recomiendan mucho silencio, para que la autoridad no manifieste sus nombres por temor que el denunciado se vengue con veneno ó brujerías y, no probándose el delito, la autoridad apenas puede reprender y amonestar.

(2) En Ivu hubo menos dificultad por la proximidad de Santa Rosa y en Parapiti ninguna por las repetidas fundaciones en dicho lugar.

Aún para la educación del niño es preciso halagar al indio con lo material, no se resiste á la entrega de sus hijos, pero quiere que se les dé vestido; por más que tengan, los presenta completamente desnudos, ó con una camisa hecha jirones para que el Misionero los vista pronto y, nótese que, esto no lo pide como un favor, lo pide hasta cierto punto con imperio, dice pues: «*Ropa emeé chupé,*» dale ropa; si el Misionero pide algo por favor, debe corresponderles con cosas materiales; si se olvida, se las piden.

Ya se ha visto que la Misión de Tarairi fué fundada el año 1854, la primera fundación que se practicaba en la margen izquierda del río Pilcomayo, debida al celo del P. José Giannelli. Era próxima la Pascua y el Misionero manifestó á varios caciques que en esos días haría la conmemoración de la muerte de Dios y que ellos también debían concurrir con su pena y aflicción á manifestar su adhesión á las verdades y dogmas de la fé católica, sabía por experiencia que los chiriguanos tienen por los muertos un cariño especial. Efectivamente se reunieron en gran número para escuchar la palabra del Padre Misionero, quien creyó haberlos conquistado á todos, ya en mirarlos tan atentos y silenciosos, ya en verlos llorosos y compungidos. Pero llegó la Pascua, día de alegría y los que habían concurrido á llorar la muerte de Jesucristo, se presentaron nuevamente al Misionero, pidiendo en pago del servicio un vestido nuevo. ¡Figúrese el lector, cómo quedaría el pobre Padre, que nada tenía, al oir semejante petición! (1)

Vicios y consecuencias

Parece y es una verdad digna de lástima que en esta tribu antes tan numerosa, no falten las mozas coquetas, que si se limitasen á coquetear no más, menos mal; lo desgraciado está en que estas pobres para disfrutar de los placeres mundanales y beber hasta el fondo las heces de la corrupción, ó también para no tener el fastidio de la lactancia y de la educación de la prole, acuden á una cosa muy sencilla. Consultan á las ancianas que llevan el nombre de brujas y éstas indican el remedio, consistente en una bebida que extraen de unas plantas ó hierbas, que casi todas las chiriguanas é indios brujos conocen á maravilla.

(1) Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Estas desgraciadas mozas, huérfanas por lo regular, terminado el período de la pubertad, toman el venenoso brevaje, sufren bastante, cuando no sucumben, se esterilizan y se entregan á las orgías en tiempo de las bebidas generales, que es lo más inmundo que pueda haber, porque en ellas se ofende la moral con las palabras y cuentos muy licenciosos, con la risa y carcajadas estrepitosas de hombres y mujeres, con la mirada, y por último con los hechos, aunque á conveniente distancia de dichas reuniones.

Estos hechos no se pueden negar, porque están basados en la experiencia de siglos, desgraciadamente se presencian y es muy dificultoso desarraigarlos: no faltan reconvenciones, no faltan castigos, amonestaciones y temores, pero ni alcanza la acción civilizadora, ni aún muchas veces la palabra Evangélica, porque: *animalis homo non percipit quæ Dei sunt*. Podemos decir que la acción del Misionero es de ayer entre los chiriguanos, los cristianos ó neófitos han cambiado mucho, lo mismo relativamente los infieles en toda la comarca, pero todavía falta bastante para que comprendan la fuerza de la Religión y civilización, pues naturalmente la humanidad abandonada, da rienda suelta á las pasiones y difícil es contenerla después en poco tiempo (1).

Hermana de la esterilidad que se procuran las mozas coquetas, es el aborto: no hay mujer que no conozca los mil modos para procurárselo, siempre que no consigan ó no acudan en la pubertad á los remedios para esterilizarse. Llegan al exceso de victimar a las inocentes criaturas por lo general aquellas mozas traicionadas por sus amantes ó abandonadas por aquellos que les habían jurado fidelidad por toda la vida: por esto llegan á odiar no sólo al autor, sino también al fruto de sus entrañas y así procuran deshacerse del inocente, arrojándolo muerto de su seno.

Mas si no consiguen el fin, no trepidan tampoco de cometer otro crímen mayor, el de estrangular al recién nacido, ó cuanto menos enterrarlo vivo. A pesar de que estos casos no son muy frecuentes, tampoco son muy raros y fácilmente se descubren por los parientes, ó vecinos que los denuncian á la autoridad del pueblo, quien tampoco puede poner remedio, porque si toma provi-

(1) Los miéeles de las Misiones se quejan de los neófitos, pero no comprenden que han cambiado los tiempos y la raza también; en otros lugares se cometen asesinatos, lo que no acontece en las Misiones.

deucias, apenas se extienden á razones y consejos que oyen, como quien oye llover.

Entiéndase pues de una vez para siempre que los chiriguanos como toda raza salvaje necesita primero instrucción y luego rigor, porque sin la primera serían siempre ignorantes y sin el segundo menosprociarían la instrucción recibida. El pueblo hebreo acostumbrado á la Religión desde el principio del mundo, recibía amonestaciones, consejos y mandatos de Moisés, á quien se los comunicaba directamente Dios. Cuando prevaricaba el pueblo, era el mismo Dios que le imponía el castigo correspondiente á la culpa; la historia sagrada está llena de tales hechos (1).

Suicidio

El amor es natural en la humanidad, siempre debe haber un objeto amado: el erudito ama sus libros, el mecánico sus instrumentos, el astrónomo su telescopio, el matemático su teodolito, el filósofo sus principios, las esposas de Cristo su bien infinito y los sacerdotes las ciencias y su Autor. Cada cual en su ramo inclina su afección al objeto que más le agrada; aún los indios poseen este privilegio, porque son hombres que vienen del mismo árbol, cuyo tronco está en Adán y Eva (2).

Como consecuencia de lo antedicho el chiriguano no tiene otro objeto amado que su semejante, porque el ocio y la ignorancia no le hacen aspirar á otras cosas; el hombre y la mujer se aman recíprocamente, pero como heredan también el pecado original, están sujetos á sus consecuencias que son muchas. Sucede pues que no es raro el caso de que un hombre traicione á su mujer ó ésta á aquél. ¿Qué proviene de aquí? Si es la mujer que faltó á la fé conyugal, el hombre lo remedia con proporcionarle una buena dosis de palos y separarse de élla definitivamente y si es el hombre, como acontece por lo general, no es fácil á la mujer hacer algo

(1) Con la ley del desafuero se cometió el yerro de conducir preso á un anciano Misionero; de este hecho se seguirán otros y viendo los chiriguanos que ni el Padre se libra de la cárcel, perderán todo temor y serán siempre más criminales; el indio no oye mucho el consejo, más oye lo que duele.

(2) Dicen éllos que los primeros padres de la raza chiriguana son distintos de los progenitores de los cristianos y de los Misioneros que tenemos otro color, riqueza, inteligencia y valentía; añaden que su primer padre se llamaba *Araparigua*.

de muchos casos, entre hiere se ve aprisionada más y más; el marido la martiriza, los otros familiares la desgracian, contra su rival nada puede, idea religiosa no posee para resignarse á su suerte; á todo trance quiere vengarse de cualquier modo, pero es difícil, cree en este caso extremo que todo lo consigue con quitarse la vida, acude á ello, busca su morbil, se lo pasa por el cuello, lo amarra á cualquier pequeña horquetta ó costanera, abandona su cuerpo y como cuelle la vi, en pocos minutos deja de existir (1).

No es raro el suicidio más entre los hombres y los habido algunos durante mi estadía entre los chiriguanos. Los hombres, si son mozos, lo cometen por no poder sufrir el reproche de sus padres por alguna mala acción cometida. Si son más ancianos que sus esposas, es porque no pueden de otro modo remediar la infidelidad de ellas, porque hay casos en que el hombre dominado por su mujer y de un natural algo tímido, no se atreve por tantas circunstancias á desterrar de su casa la mujerzuela, y así todo cree remediarlo con quitarse la existencia: estos accidentes y acontecimientos desagradables suceden en la campiña ó en el bosque.

Pugilato y duelo

Antiguamente esta raza era muy belicosa y constantemente estaba en guerra contra sus comunes enemigos, pero sucedía otras que un pueblo se levantaba contra otro por pequeños motivos. A mediados del siglo XIX hubo una guerra sangrienta entre los pueblos de Ivu y Cirugutaretta contra los de la margen derecha de la quebrada de Cuevo, por opresión que había pretendido hacer el cacique Güiracati (2).

De estas guerras generales se derivan otras particulares que los civilizados llaman lance de honor, duelo; esto no sucede en privado, como acontece entre los civilizados, que salen á un lugar determinado con sus respectivos padrinos; todo es público, á la presencia de mucha gente que concurrió á la bebida. Nos los cuí-

(1) Una mujer de unos 25 años se suicidó en su propia casa en la madrugada de un Domingo á la altura de un metro; lo ejecutó hincándose.

(2) Esta guerra regional sucedió antes de fundarse la Misión de Chimeo; *Güiracati* engañó á las autoridades de Cordillera, quienes acuartelaron gente de los alrededores y del Paraguay para reprimir la audacia de Yaveau, á quien creyeron jefe de revolución.

que que animan á sus soldados á cumplir sus funciones, á reparar con el crimen un desmán ó un acto infundado. Cuando esto sucede, sin ó con razones, se cruzan los combatientes en medio de toda la chusma de espectadores á la presencia de los caciques que los animan con su palabra de mando, mientras los patazos enfurecidos se dan golpes recios.

El pugilato es antiguo, porque entre sus se conocían cuchillos y si los había, los usaban tan allá en las labores de la campiña. Actualmente ha cambiado la escena, á los viejos van sucediendo los jóvenes, éstos van continuamente á los trabajos de la República Argentina, allí aprenden á beber licor puro, á manejar el cuchillo del que se arman para sus trabajos y para defenderse. Basta una pequeña palabra, basta que uno diga: *pelaosa*, pelamos, palabra de desafío, desenvainan sus cuchillos y luego corre la sangre; felizmente se contentan con leves tajos de los que rara vez sigue la muerte, porque no dan el golpe con la punta de la arma, sino con el filo.

Esta manía de ayudar á la República Argentina los tiene en continuos movimientos y por desgracia muchísimos se quedan años y vuelven al fin sin tener casi nada y si se les pregunta, contestan muy fresco: Me lo he tomado todo. La ley del año pasado ha imposibilitado el enganche, varios indios se fueron, pero no hallaron pasa en Villa-Montes, retrocedieron (1).

Amor al hogar

Cuando uno ha faltado de su pueblo alguna temporada larga y vuelve, es recibido con mucho cariño, entra á su casa sin decir palabra y si llega de noche, á la pregunta de: ¿quién es? contesta apenas: *Ch-en, yo soy* y luego los de casa comienzan á llorar, ó dar alaridos de alegría que dura unos cinco minutos y recién le presentan algo de comer y comienzan las preguntas y contestaciones, así lo presenció sin ser visto una noche en Parapiti, la Misión de San Antonio.

No es raro el caso que alguna vez una pequeña ó gran fracción de indios deba abandonar temporalmente su pueblo sea por carestía, sea para evitar la ira ó mala voluntad del cacique. Se alejan entonces con mucha pena, y sabe como salió Agar desterrada con

(1) Si las autoridades de Villa-Montes y Yacuiba siguen atajando á los indios que pretenden irse, la ley esta vez no será en balde.

su hijo Ismael por el Patriarca Abraham, lloran al salir, lloran por el camino, lloran al llegar á la tierra hospitalaria, donde á pesar del buen recibimiento que les ha preparado otra gente, no hallan paz y siempre suspiran por su hogar.

Cuando ya juzgan que en su primitiva morada, pueden las cosas haber cambiado, ó el cacique autor de sus desgracias y destierro ha desaparecido del número de los vivientes, vuelven (1). En Ivu, donde sucedió la guerra de Curayoqui (1892), al fundarse la Misión de San Buenaventura, todos aquellos indios que habían tomado parte en la sublevación, estaban errantes por otros pueblos, volvieron casi en masa y lo primero que hacían al pisar nuevamente su territorio, era llorar. Presenció la llegada de un cacique con su numerosa familia, venían hombres y mujeres cargados de sus ajuares é hijos, llegaban pobres, cubiertos de polvo y sudor (era á fines de Diciembre), extenuados y triste y viendo á sus paisanos y parientes alegres y contentos sujetos al gobierno paternal del Misionero católico, puestas en tierra, en casa ajena, sus cargas, saltaron las lágrimas y alaridos, consolándolo de este modo á todos los poblados y al Misionero (2).

¡Pobres infelices! á pesar de los vicios que dominan su naturaleza corrompida, hay algo de noble en la raza chiriguana. El cariño á su pueblo natal, á su hogar, es grande; para volver hace todo sacrificio y prefiere morir de hambre y sed; nunca abandona su pueblo y hogar, sino es constreñido por la necesidad, temor ó persecución.

Hay a lo largo del camino de Ivu á Parapiti un pueblo llamado Itatiqui, donde ni agua para beber se consigue en su crecanía. Allí la carestía es eterna, allí las cosechas son malas y el agua la mendigan ó la hurtan de las lagunas que distan del pueblo más de cinco kilómetros; hace seis años eran unas 120 familias, perseguidas por algunos blancos, á quienes no querían sujetarse. Quise llevarlas á formar parte de la Misión de San Antonio, pero no fué posible moverlas de aquel lugar.

Prefieren sufrir allí el hambre, la sed, las vejámenes, las persecuciones, pero no abandonan el lugar, quedarían muy contentas,

(1) El indio Cayuguari por un desacato cometido en Macharetí, fugó con una porción de indios amigos y parientes, se estableció al Noreste de Caraballati bastante lejos, y como el cacique á quien ofendió, vive todavía y además aquél principió una vida de abigeatos, nunca regresó á su pueblo.

(2) El P. Corrado refiere un caso análogo en su Historia de las Misiones de Tarija.

si se les pusiera una pequeña Misión, como ayudantes, lo que es algo difícil atendidas las circunstancias especiales del lugar, pues no se abrentaría mucho la educación civil y religiosa de los niños y niñas, cuyos padres y madres están en continuo movimiento. Se les prestando alguna diligencia siquiera para asegurarles el derecho de propiedad que poseen sobre el territorio, de unas tres leguas de longitud por media de latitud, y luego erigir siquiera una capillita, pero creo que las diligencias se quedaron archivadas para los siglos venideros (1).

Antes que se organizaran las Misiones del Paraguay, aquellos indios sufrían mucha miseria, porque el lugar era bastante seco en tiempo de lluvias y no disponían de nada para sembrar en las orillas del río, habiéndose los pocos que había, á disposición de los blancos. El P. Giannecchini pasó por allí el año 1887 como expedicionario al Paraguay y viéndolos tan pobres y reducidos les exhortó á pasarse á alguna Misión, pero contestaron que no era fácil abandonar el lugar donde habían nacido y habían envejecido.

Aptitudes

No se puede negar que la pereza es innata en el indio chiriguano, pero comparado con las tribus de los tobas, matacos y otros, seguro que hacen mucho é demasiado, necesitan de aguijón, necesitan vigilancia, pero no faltando esta, son trabajadores. Los blancos de las comarcas habitadas por dichos indios no conocen á otros jornaleros; con las energías del chiriguano se han erigido todos los pueblos de Cordillera, los del Azero y Gran Chaco; con las mismas se sostienen la agricultura y ganadería de las dichas provincias y año con año se mantienen limpios y abiertos los caminos nacionales de estas regiones, como son los de un cuartel á otro, el de Yacuiba á Santa Cruz y el de Tapiriña. Los jornaleros chiriguanos iniciaron y proseguieron los trabajos del puente

(1) Hoy en vez de Misiones se forman á origen forzoso para colonizar, sin duda llegó la época del nuevo método de colonización, pero nadie ignora que esto cuesta millones á la República, mientras que el costo de una Misión es relativamente nada, el provecho y adelanto incomparables." ¿Qué adelantos hay en Cremona, en Gonchalla y otros puntos? qué edificios de nota y consistencia? ninguno; en una hora los destruye con el fuego el tabú y cualquier otro salvaje. Decía bien don Fernando Gonchalla, Presidente electo: que el mejor y más barato método de colonizar, es el de fundar Misiones.

Amor y mucho trabajo nos en el Internado del Colegio Boscoso pretiano á lugar á Tarija (1).

El Gobierno general de los Misioneros ha conseguido acertado de la docilidad del chiriguano, ha conseguido formar pueblos y grandes centros alrededor de la Cruz, con los cuales los pueblos de los que viven en la ignorancia completa de la Religión, no hay nos que pueda compararse. Los Misioneros han conseguido erigir magníficos templos, grandes establecimientos de conchasa, casas cómodas y aseadas, talleres para artes y oficios, han conseguido implantar la enseñanza de la Religión, la de las letras y escritura y hasta el arte de los acordes sonidos que ellos la crean en los grandes centros del mundo (2).

La historia de los Misioneros de Tarija es gloriosa en sus páginas, puede el lector consultar, cuando quiera, la del Colegio de Potosí en sus dos épocas también; corroja brillantes las sobre el particular y el viajero no puede decir lo contrario cuando contemple el grandioso, sólido y bien ordenado edificio de la Misión de Santa Rosa, el de la Misión de Machareti, el de la antigua é nunca olvidar Misión de Tumiri y el que como por contrato y con cedro, se erigiéndose en la Misión de San Antonio del Paraguay Grande.

Todo esto demuestra que el chiriguano á pesar de su indolencia, su docilidad, y cual blandura y su tanto de rigor á la vez hace lo que el blanco y el Misionero deseen conseguir. Demuestra por último que si tiene sus vicios y defectos, no le faltan algunas virtudes bajo mano; demuestra que hay necesidad de obrar en entendimiento con la enseñanza, con la Misionería, como el carpintero con el cepillo afina una pieza de madera, si quiere hacer un trabajo elegante, ó un herrero con su lima afina su hierro hasta conseguir una llave, una cerraja ó cualquier otro objeto.

---

(1) Con respecto particular compuesta de dos Sacerdotes Jesuitas correspondiente de Concepción, el Subprefecto señor don Ramón Mendoza y otros caballeros y damas del mismo pueblo, están organizando una expedición á los campos de Cuyaguati para fundar allí un fuerte y conquistar el necesario. Parece el señor Subprefecto ahora como carnero, acompañado por el cacique chiriguano Municipal y sus soldados.

(2) En los Misiones de Potosí hay cuatro bandas de música y en las de Tarija dos.

Fisiotipia

Para terminar este breve esplendido y pasar luego á comparar de la religión de los chiriguanos voy á decir de paso, que son muy compañeros con los desgraciados. Si son de alma sobre el rigor de una salud, hacen del todo esfuerzos con algunos para librarlo y hasta no desprendes de lo que pueden para consagrarlo; si alguno enferma, no muy violento; si alguno queda huérfano, todos son sus padres, madres, abuelos y hermanos, lo mismo con tan á cuidado.

No se conoce pues orfandad entre estos indios y el peor infeliz que se pueda hacer á un chiriguano se llamarlo: *Tiari*, huérfano ó *pavendi*, pobre. La familia que toma á cargo el huérfano que quedó sin padre, ni madre, ni parientes cercanos, lo trata mejor que á sus hijos, á fuerza los convierte rigor y los obliga á ciertos trabajos de poca importancia, pero el huérfano canta, trabaja porque quiere y es que le exige la gratitud á sus nuevos padres. Permanece en la casa hospitalaria hasta la edad de la pubertad y después sin agradecimiento alguno se pierde y va á vivir á otra parte, donde se vuelve hospitalario á pero vivaqui, según la crónica que escribe (1).

Con los transeuntes ó viajeros, sean indios, sean blancos, casa de sombre propiso; si es casa hay chicha, se le primero que le presentan, cuando ya tomó asiento, y luego le preparan la comida de que pueden disponer. Hay viajeros que se hospedan en casa de un chiriguano mismo y cuando y como el indio se alcanza con él, le sirve como le sirvió el primer día y al despedirse hasta le hace presentar de regalar á visitarlo. ¿Qué ellos los bárbaros que se llaman salvajes, confundan la conducta de tantos hombres que se llaman civilizados y que muy se deslumbra, cristiano-católicos? Tratan inhumanamente á sus semejantes compañeros con los cuadrúpedos, detienden á los desvalidos, dan malos vivaqui á los infelices, hasta hacen pagar cuchillas en tiempo de necesidad hasta un pedazo de maíz, sintiendo que el indio cuando tiene, vuelve á sabor propósito y nada hace pagar, si el blanco se sirve . á no casa á pedir agua ó chicha que no le falta en tiempo de abundancia (2).

---

(1) Los chiriguanos nunca dan nada si á nadie agradecen, sólo cuando se despiden dicen: *Ayawa, ani vay*. Los ancianos y mujeres presentan algunos pedazos de agradecimiento.

(2) Me vino vender maíz un indiazo y se convierte la Obra, y á su vuelta. Fue el Chaco muy desconocido raro.

[P.126]

CAPITULO CUARTO

RELIGION, DIVINIDADES Y CREENCIAS DE LOS CHIRIGUANOS

INTRODUCCION

Un franciscano ilustre

El grupo que representa la fotografía que he colocado á la vista en este capítulo cuarto, representa á varios personajes ilustres por sus trabajos apostólicos entre los fieles é infieles de la Arquidiócesis de la Plata. Son curas y misioneros que atienden á la salud de las almas y entre ellos á un varón está colocado una alta dignidad, es el Ilmo. Monseñor P. Fr. Sebastián Francisco Pifferi, actual Primado de la Iglesia Boliviana y Arzobispo de la Arquidiócesis de Charcas, cuya sede Arzobispal está en la capital de la República Boliviana Chuquisaca, hoy Sucre.

Este dignísimo hijo de San Francisco de Asís pasó los mejores años de su juventud en la propagación de la fé entre los chiriguanos; sus primeros ensayos los hizo en la Misión de San Francisco Solano del Pilcomayo, hoy Villa Montes, en seguida pasó á regentar la de San José de Tigüipa, después fué elevado á la dignidad de Prefecto de Misiones, largo después de terminado el noviciado fué elegido Consiliario del Colegio de Tarija, en cuyo tiempo le cupo el nombramiento de Comisario general de la República Boliviana y prestó en calidad de tal la Visita Pastoral con un celo verdaderamente extraordinario, experimentando todos los climas y trabajos casi insoportables por más de seis meses sin descanso y finalmente fué elevado á la Silla Arzobispal de Charcas (1).

(1) Monseñor Pifferi primero fué consagrado Obispo Titular de Jerusá y coadjutor del Ilmo. Arzobispo Taborga, quien falleció antes que aquél llegara á Bolivia, se hallaba en Buenos Aires; después de expirar el año del fallecimiento, tomó posesión de la Arquidiócesis.

[facing p. 127]

Arzobispo Franciscano P. Francisco Piffari y compañeros

Tiene ya sus sesenta y dos años, más esto no le ha impedido de visitar personalmente su dilatada Arquidiócesis, terminándola en el breve lapso de tres años. Monseñor Pifferi no se olvidó de sus queridos chiriguanos, ni se había olvidado del idioma que habla con tanta perfección, como pude notarlo por primera vez en la Misión de San Pascual y la segunda en la de San Buenaventura de Ivu.

Vino pues á las misiones con su ilustre comitiva para ver y abrazar nuevamente á sus queridos neófitos que en todas partes le prepararon solémnes recibimientos. Su alegría y la de los antiguos caciques se manifestaba en su rostro, experimentando entre los chiriguanos y sus hermanos los Misioneros verdadera satisfacción.

Más la entrada á Villa Montes fué de lo más triste, aquellos habitantes antes asistidos por P. Pifferi y otros y hoy casi abandonados, al ver nuevamente á su P. Sebastián que en otro tiempo les enjugó las lágrimas, los asistió como verdadero Padre, los curó en sus enfermedades, los visitó enfermos, los vistió desnudos, les dió de comer hambrientos, los bautizó catecúmenos y los enseñó ignorantes un día, no pudieron resistir á la naturaleza y hombres y mujeres á la vista del Pastor, derramaron lágrimas á gritos acordándose del tiempo pasado y experimentando las tristes consecuencias actuales por el abandono en que se encuentran (1).

Antes de dar principio á este capítulo le he consagrado esta pequeña página de introducción, porque el Misionero que hoy está elevado á la dignidad de Primado de la Iglesia Boliviana, enseñó la verdadera religión á los indios que son el objeto del presente libro (2). Creo que el lector amable no hallará desagradable esta corta digresión; antes bien hasta cierto punto la encontrará amena por ser de este modo algo variada la narración, pues no sin razón se dice: *Pulchritudo in varietate* y ahora entro de lleno al objeto del presente capítulo (3).

---

(1) En Ingre le dieron alcance tres Misioneros para invitarle á visitar las Misiones de Potosí y en San Pascual le dieron alcance otros dos para invitarle á visitar las del Colegio de Tarija.

(2) Este ilustre Franciscano falleció en Sucre el 4 de Febrero 1912 á los 64 años y tres meses de edad.

(3) El Ilmo. Monseñor Pifferi á los pocos meses de terminar la Visita de su Arquidiócesis, fué á Roma á dar cuenta al Santo Padre, quién lo nombró Prelado doméstico y Asistente al Solio Pontificio.

Religión

Está fuera de toda duda que los pueblos todos profesan alguna religión.

Este hecho está comprobado por el testimonio de todos los misioneros y confirmado por innumerables viajeros de diferentes nacionalidades y que profesan diferentes credos.

Mas, en cuanto la religión implica un culto externo, la variedad de cultos es tanta, que bien se puede afirmar que cada pueblo tiene su manera especial, propia y peculiar para honrar á sus divinidades.

Los pueblos más adelantados despliegan en su respectivo culto todo el esplendor posible. Tienen templos magníficos, sacerdotes y un ceremonial que, si bien no siempre está conforme con los dictados de la sana razón, tienden, sin embargo, por su naturaleza y su forma á despertar en el hombre los sentimientos de veneración y respeto á un ser superior, representado por algo que hiera los sentidos.

Bajo este punto de vista no sería aventurado afirmar que el culto exterior de los pueblos en general, está en razón directa de su civilización y cultura.

Esto nos explica porque en los pueblos salvajes apenas se puede descubrir un signo, una ceremonia que sea indicio de un culto exterior; pero en realidad existe, aun entre los salvajes, como quiera que, así como no hay pueblo sin Dios, tampoco hay pueblo que de alguna manera no le rinda culto.

Por lo que hace á los chiriguanos he procurado averiguar con especial cuidado, constancia y asiduidad cual es la religión que profesan y qué clase de culto rinden á sus divinidades; pero todos mis esfuerzos han sido inútiles; debido sin duda al estado de ignorancia en que se encuentran, consiguiente á su vida salvaje.

He preguntado á los más ancianos de la tribu respecto á su religión, y solamente he obtenido contestaciones vagas, insuficientes de todo punto para formarse una idea, ni siquiera aproximada, de la religión que profesan. Empero es indudable que los chiriguanos tienen alguna religión, puesto que reconocen un ser superior; admiten la inmortalidad del alma, premios y castigos en la otra vida, y conservan varias tradiciones bíblicas que no tendrían explicación, si no creyeran en un Dios y quizá en el Jehová de la Sagrada Biblia, ó Dios Criador de todas las cosas (1).

---

(1) Los chiriguanos á semejanza de los hebreos cuentan los meses por lunas, y tienen otros usos muy parecidos; y es muy notable que también poseen algunas palabras hebreas.

Los chiriguanos deben tener un código de moral, es decir, la ley natural, aumentada quizá con algunos preceptos tradicionales, entre ellos, puesto que admiten premios para los buenos y castigos para los malos.

La ley en cuanto es imperativa arranca del mismo Dios; pero solamente la religión la sirve de base y ella enseña á los hombres que es un deber ineludible someterse á los preceptos del Supremo legislador so pena de incurrir en las penas, fulminadas por él.

De lo dicho se desprende, como consecuencia lógica, que los chiriguanos profesan alguna religión, aun cuando ésta no sea conocida.

No sucede lo mismo respecto al culto exterior. Los chiriguanos, como todo pueblo salvaje, carecen de templos, de sacerdotes y de un ceremonial que regule las manifestaciones del culto. ¿Arguye esto que carecen también de todo culto exterior? No es fácil dar una respuesta categórica sobre el particular: porque si bien es verdad, como dejo ya consignado, que no he podido descubrir indicio alguno que manifieste la existencia de ese culto; puede esto explicarse, si se toma en cuenta que el salvaje por sus condiciones de aislamiento en medio de los bosques es desconfiado, mira con recelo al blanco; razón más que suficiente para que oculte á las miradas de este sus actos religiosos.

Nadie podría negarnos la exactitud y sólido fundamento de esta observación, como quiera que hombres civilizados, aun entre los mismos católicos se avergüenzan de practicar los actos religiosos por respetos humanos; de donde proviene que ni cumplen con los deberes de la religión, ni se acercan á los templos; y lo que es peor, hacen alarde de una indiferencia religiosa que están muy lejos de sentir.

Convengamos, pues, en que el chiriguano profesa alguna religión como todos los demás pueblos de la tierra.

Esta conclusión será corroborada por lo que vamos á ver en los párrafos siguientes.

Divinidades

Que los chiriguanos tienen algunas divinidades es innegable; pero es muy difícil determinar qué carácter revisten éstas y á qué categoría pertenecen, según el concepto de esos salvajes. Está es la razón por la que es imposible fijar como cosa cierta, si profesan

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

el politeismo ó es monoteismo, atendida la diversidad de excelencia, poder y superioridad que atribuyen á sus divinidades.

Lo que voy á consignar derramará alguna luz sobre este asunto, y abrirá la inteligencia al hombre estudioso para sus investigaciones.

De las conversaciones con los verdaderos chiriguanos no se puede llegar á formar un conocimiento del ser supremo que admitían; llamo verdaderos chiriguanos aquellos que casi ningún contacto han tenido con los Misioneros ó con los blancos, hoy es difícil hallar uno de esos; y á pesar de ello, si se les pregunta á los ancianos que viven afuera de las Misiones, ¿quién ha hecho todo lo que vemos? contestan: *¿quiu ndipót* quién será ¿quién nos ha criado? contestan: *¡Ti! ¿Ndicuaá á?* ¡Qué tal! ¿no sabes? y dan una explicación puramente material, como aconteció en una exploración y viaje que hice hacen años en compañía de otros Misioneros hacia el Sur del cantón ó pueblo de Huacaya, donde conversé con un viejo cacique que había tomado parte en la guerra del 1875 contra Igüembo y que después de la pacificación prefirió vivir afuera de la Misión y piensa morir allí, porque está persuadido que los indios que viven en las Misiones, mueren más pronto, como ya murieron, según él, todos sus compañeros de Boicovo, lo cual no es cierto, porque viven allí viejos como él todavía (1).

En el idioma chiriguano hallamos la palabra *Tunpa*, esta palabra quiere decir ser superior ó ser maravilloso. Cuando por primera vez vieron un reloj de salón que con su *tic, tac* de la péndula hace girar las saetas, y da fuerza al martillo para indicar las horas con su campanilla ó cuerda de alambre, cuando vieron por primera vez la máquina fotográfica que reprodujo la imágen de uno ó más de ellos, el reloj y la máquina fueron para los chiriguanos, *Tunpa;* esta palabra aplicaron á ambas cosas y ésta la aplican á cualquier cosa que les causa maravilla ó novedad.

Es el Misionero y los cristianos que han hecho comprender al indio que *Tunpa* quiere decir Dios, hacedor de todas las cosas visibles é invisibles. P. Corrado, uno de los más ilustrados Misioneros Franciscanos que comprendía á fondo el idioma chiriguano, del cual compuso un compendioso y profundo catecismo, en su primera página, en la nota, dice claramente que no puede asegu-

(1) Los indios tenían y tendrán la falsa y errónea idea de que el Bautismo hacía morir á los que lo recibían, porque se administra á hombres y mujeres en peligro próximo de muerte, pues los de mayor edad no quieren bautizarse, cuando gozan de buena salud.

rar que la palabra *Tunpa* quiere decir Dios, y sólo la pone en su catecismo, porque todos los escritores que han tratado de la raza chiriguana dan á la palabra *Tunpa* el significado de Dios.

Este *Tunpa* de que el chiriguano no puede dar una idea clara y que los Misioneros y buenos cristianos explican para designar al verdadero Dios: *Tunpaete vae* (1) es para el indio el principio de todo bien, un ser viviente y material contrario de otra divinidad; él hace llover, él hace madurar las algarrobas, el maíz, las calabazas y todo comestible, él ahuyenta las enfermedades y toda calamidad, á pesar de que todas estas bondades las atribuyen aún á los brujos, hombres de carne y huesos como cualquier otro, teniendo en consecuencia el nombre de *Tunpaete*, por cuya razón dije que para el indio, *Tunpa* es un ser viviente material. Si el Misionero, conforme hizo Colón, anuncia de antemano un eclipse ó la aparición de un cometa, para el indio es un *Tunpa* (2).

Además del *Tunpa* admitían los antiguos y admiten todavía en ciertos lugares otra divinidad más poderosa que la ya anunciada. Esta segunda divinidad es el astuto é impávido zorro, llamándola en la lengua: *Aguara-Tunpa*, zorro Dios; según ellos casi siempre se hallaba en lucha con la primera y aseguran como dogma de fé que hacía lo posible para destruir la obra del verdadero Dios, alguna vez se manifestaba amiga de la raza humana limitada á los chiriguanos, otras enemiga.

Creencia fabulosa sobre el diluvio

Voy á relatar una fábula que confirma la segunda propiedad del *Aguara-Tunpa*, porque dá también una idea del diluvio universal, hoy tan combatido y sobre el cual se emiten tantas opiniones, admisibles unas, y mal ideadas otras. Hela aquí:

Se cuenta que en tiempos muy remotos el *Aguara-Tunpa* se declaró en guerra con el verdadero Dios, criador de la raza chiriguana; la razón de esta enemistad no es sabida, mas parece que lo hacía por sistema ó espíritu de contradicción. Para causar des-

(1) La partícula "Ete" expresa en este idioma el grado superlativo, se pospone á nombre, prenombre, adjetivo y verbo también.

(2) Varias veces he anunciado de antemano los eclipses de luna; el año pasado mucho antes que sea visible, anuncié á los indios la aparición del cometa Halley, bastó para llamarme: *Tunpaete*.

pecho al verdadero Dios el *Aguara-Tunpa* pegó fuego á todos los campos y pastales á mediados ó principios del otoño y juntamente con las hierbas y árboles murieron todos los animales que servían de comida á los chiriguanos, de modo que éstos que no habían principiado las siembras de maíz y otros cereales, como lo practican en la actualidad, se hallaron próximos á perecer (1).

Acudieron en este caso extremo á las orillas de los ríos y llenaron sus riberas para buscar en el agua, lo que ya no encontraban en la tierra; ésta humeaba todavía de la terrible y espantosa quemazón y entonces el *Aguara-Tunpa* que se hallaba próximo á quedar burlado en su intento, ideó otro esfuerzo supremo, hizo caer desde los cielos aguas torrenciales, *Iporu* (2) para perder completamente á la raza chiriguana, anegando á todos los hombres en las aguas.

Habría conseguido destruir á todos los chiriguanos, mas éstos en los casos extremos y talvez por consejo del verdadero Dios, *Tunpacte*, buscaron un mate grande, *Choguao*, colocaron dos seres humanos pequeños, hijos de una misma mujer, macho y hembra *cuimbac*, *cuña* y dejaron que flote la chalanita sobre la superficie de las aguas.

La lluvia siguió cayendo en toda su impetuosidad; aumentáronse las aguas sobre la superficie de la tierra, subieron á grandes alturas, anegaron á todos los chiriguanos, mas los niños del *Choguao* ó mate grande se salvaron de la catástrofe. Luego dejó de llover, se secaron nuevamente las aguas, dejando un lodo completamente hediondo, los niños salieron de su receptáculo que sino habrían muerto de frío y de hambre.

Se comprende fácilmente que los peces y sus especies no perecieron en las aguas del *Iporu*, éstos pues tuvieron que ser por una larga temporada el alimento de los dos seres humanos, mas ¿cómo cocerlos una vez que aún el fuego había desaparecido? Antes que esto sucediera, hubo otro ser compasivo que no permitió la pérdida total de este benéfico elemento, este ser ó esta causa segunda fué el *Cururu*, sapo (3).

---

(1) En época no lejana antes que principie la primavera quemaban los campos en honra de *Aguara-Tunpa*.

(2) I quiere decir agua y su pronunciación es gutural y nasal, *poru* quiere decir prestarse, así que *Iporu* se explica literalmente: se prestó agua.

(3) La palabra *Cururu* no se debe confundir con *Curu* que significa sarna; de curu viene Curuyuqui, sal que cura la sarna, mal escribieron Cururuyuqui los pacificadores de la guerra del 1892.

El *Cururu* pues antes de la inundación completa se internó en la tierra llevando brasas encendidas en su boca y allá á fuerza de soplar no las dejó apagar. Cuando supo que de la superficie de la tierra había desaparecido el elemento líquido, tomó nuevamente en su boca las brasas de fuego, salió al aire libre, buscó á los dos niños, les entregó el fuego y así pudieron asar los peces que con paciencia iban extrayendo del agua dulce y poder así calentar sus intumidos miembros (1).

Los dos hermanitos fueron creciendo en años hasta que tuvieron la edad competente para propagarse, como en efecto lo practicaron hasta multiplicarse nuevamente los chiriguanos que según ellos descienden todos de aquellos dos seres.

Este relato, como he dicho, manifiesta á las claras con pequeña diferencia la idea del diluvio universal, del arca de Noé y del género humano que se salvó en ella; al mismo tiempo indica la maldad del *Aguara-Tunpa* contra Dios y sus criaturas y la nueva multiplicación de la raza á orillas de un río.

Las divinidades primarias, una completamente buena y otra buena y mala á su antojo, no son más que dos; mas la tradición y la historia relativamente contemporánea nos enseñan que en distintas épocas y en regiones diversas, algún indio atrevido amigo del ocio y de lo ajeno con un tanto de locuacidad y promesas extraordinarias, ha conseguido reunir alrededor de su choza nueva, construida de intento afuera del pueblo, á multitud de indios cercanos y de lejos y declararse *Tunpa*, ser extraordinario y maravilloso, otras, alguna mujer embaucadora se ha declarado: *Tunpa ichi*, madre de Dios, lo cual ha tenido poca resonancia, y otras veces finalmente, los caciques, cansados de ser oprimidos en ciertas comarcas por algunos malos cristianos, han llamado *Tunpa* á algún mozo infeliz, pero listo y despejado, para reunir á los indios de otras comarcas á la voz del Dios de carne y hueso y pelear con denuedo en la guerra santa (2).

De este último caso el ilustrado Misionero P. Angélico Mar-

(1) Cuando los chicos molestan al sapo, éste se hincha para recordarles que soplando, no permitió que se apague el fuego, les recuerda que le deben gratitud, así dicen los muy ancianos á los niños.

(2) Los mejicanos al tiempo de ser conquistados por Hernán Cortés, tenían templos é ídolos, á cuyo servicio estaban los sacerdotes; cuando éstos tocaban el tambor sagrado, se encendía el furor de los guerreros; en un combate Cortés perdió sesenta españoles que fueron quemados adelante de los ídolos

tarelli en su apéndice á la historia de Misiones dice lo siguiente en sustancia: El mozo que los caciques eligieron para embaucar á los demás, asumió el nombre *Tunpa* para que sus oráculos fueran creídos y acatados con suma reverencia, se encerró en una choza y desde allá por medio de sus consejeros, (de los cuales uno vive todavía muy adicto al Misionero) daba responsos á los que le pedían, indios ó blancos; estos con toda humildad debían acatar sus consejos y eran maldecidos aquéllos que se declaraban incrédulos, mientras los buenos pasaban á las filas de su bandera.

Creencias en los espíritus

No es extraño que alguien pasando por los pueblos de los chiriguanos oiga cerca ó lejos de sí llorar un hombre ó una mujer y á veces muchos, especialmente de noche: en este último caso causa á los oyentes blancos ó Misioneros tristeza y no sé qué de pavor, porque esos alaridos semejan á los de las almas condenadas y parece que estuvieran llorando sus infortunios y la pérdida de los bienes eternos.

Si se pregunta á los indios acerca de este punto, contestan que la mujer vió en sueños la sombra de su finado marido, éste la de su finada mujer y ambos la de sus hijos, parientes ó abuelos, para los cuales tienen un cariño extralimitado, pudiéndose deducir de esto que en la raza chiriguana se cree confusamente en la inmortalidad del alma, pues que en cuanto al cuerpo ellos mismos ven, que todo se vuelve polvo y tierra.

Algunos exploradores y viajeros han dejado escrito que á las almas se les llama *Añu;* también los indios confirman dichas relaciones, pero no dan el nombre de *Añu* indistintamente á todas las almas, sino tan sólo á aquéllas que tuvieron muerte pésima, como los suicidas y los que mucho tardan en morir. Mas en ningún caso la madre llama *Añu* al alma de su hijo, ni los parientes á sus finados, porque *Añu* significa demonio ó espíritu malo (1).

El verdadero enemigo del *Tunpa* es el *Añu*, demonio, pero es-

(1) Alguna vez he sido llamado para rezar cerca de un enfermo de gravedad, para que muriera más pronto y se libraran de ese espíritu que, según ellos, era malo, pero les hacía comprender que ni rezaba según deseaban, ni el enfermo era malo por tardar en morir.

ta palabra sólo por el uso quiere decir demonio, como *iã* por el mismo uso quiere decir alma. A ambos términos dan hoy los indios el significado que le atribuyo, apoyado aún en la autoridad del P. Corrado, quien en su catecismo explica *Añã* demonio, *Añarenta* lugar de demonios, *Añã inuna* compañero del demonio; *yaneãgüe* nuestra alma, *iãgüe*, su alma. Los indios tienen mucho miedo al demonio y almas endemoniadas; aseguran verlas con frecuencia de noche y, cuando están obligados á caminar en las tinieblas, llevan un tizón de fuego encedido (1).

Una noche estando de Conversor en la Misión de Santa Rosa, mientras se desarrollaba la epidemia de la viruela, me llamaron á catequizar á una pobre y miserable anciana que distaba del pueblo unos dos kilómetros y medio; entre los que me acompañaban, había uno, que, recuerdo bien, y que vive aún y cuyo nombre no olvido, llevaba un tizón encendido que para mí no era necesario por ser la noche bastante clara; preguntado el por qué de tal cosa contestó: *Añã añãguae vatena*, para ahuyentar al demonio. Así lo practican todos, especialmente cuando van solos, lo cual es raro, porque el chiriguano con dificultad sale de noche, por el temor que tiene á los espíritus malos.

De esto puede deducirse aun con muchísima probabilidad: de ser los chiriguanos descendientes de los guaraníes del Paraguay. En aquella región estuvieron en los pasados siglos los Misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús, notorios son sus trabajos apostólicos y los sufrimientos que experimentaron en la reducción de la comarca, por parte de los brujos hasta sufrir el martirio algunos de ellos.

He tenido ocasión de leer una pequeña historia, de la cual hice mención más arriba, escrita por el P. Antonio de la misma compañía y he hallado que los guaraníes creían en los brujos y veían al *Añã*, demonio, en todo tiempo y lugar, les destruía los trigales y otros sembradíos, hacía perjuicios en sus casas y se las quemaba. Aun los guaraníes llaman *Añã* al espíritu malo, que dicho Misionero aplica al demonio (2).

La revelación nos enseña que legiones de ángeles se perdieron por una falta, ó grave pecado de soberbia y pasaron á la categoría

(1) *Añã* en chiriguano quiere decir fantasma, *iã* quiere decir sombra, *cuarasi iã pe*, en la sombra. Los Misioneros deben hacerles comprender el significado verdadero, porque saben los indios que el espíritu malo es un fantasma y el alma de sus finados una sombra, *chemembi iã ahecha*, vi la sombra de mi hijo, dice la madre.

(2) Obra escrita en las Misiones guaraníes del Paraguay.

de condenados ó demonios; la fé, la razón y el sentido común nos enseñan que los hombres perversos que mueren en su perversidad, quedan separados de los buenos, como están separados los malhechores en este mundo, encerrados en un calabozó. Exige la justicia divina un castigo para los perversos, quienes en calidad de condenados, pasan á la categoría de los espíritus perdidos y á semejanza de los demonios, permitiéndolo Dios, pueden aparecer á los que vivimos acá en el mundo para detenernos en el camino de la maldad ó para precavernos de ella.

Bajo este concepto no repugna ni al sentido común admitir la probabilidad de que los chiriguanos ven al *Aña*, demonio ó espíritu malo. La historia sagrada habla de visiones y apariciones, las historias profanas no pueden combatirlas, antes bien relatan innumerables hechos de apariciones demoniacas por medio del espiritismo; no es extraño que tal suceda entre los chiriguanos. Indudablemente es increible que sean tan frecuentes; dicen de ver al demonio á cada momento de noche, donde no hay fuego ó luz que alumbre, pero es una preocupación pueril y propia del temor y miedo en unos y de la ignorancia en otros (1).

Creencia relativa á la Creación

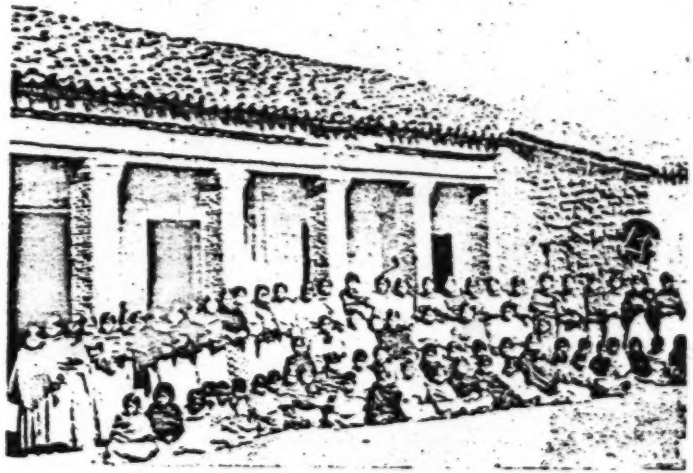
Antes de pasar adelante voy á hacer una relación de lo que me dijo el cacique Anduari de la Misión de San Buenaventura de Ivu, que para mayor abono es brujo, ó curandero de los indios y de varios blancos de una dilatada comarca. Según la relación que va en seguida, el género humano, ó los chiriguanos, fueron destruidos dos veces; ya se ha visto la primera y su restauración, la segunda se verificó del modo siguiente (2).

Dice pues Anduari que el primer hombre chiriguano, llamado *Arapariguá*, sin que sepan los demás, se salvó del diluvio universal, porque como criatura salida directamente de las manos de Dios, y por consiguiente muy querida, fué arrebatado al cielo antes que se inunde la tierra. Habiéndose nuevamente multiplica-

(1) En todas las casas de los verdaderos chiriguanos de noche arde continuamente el fuego con el fin principalísimo de ahuyentar al espíritu malo ó *Aña*.

(2) Anduari hizo su relación en presencia de su mujer y su hija cristiana llamada Candelaria Asúmbai, casada según el matrimonio católico.

[facing P. 137]



Escuela de niñas de S. Buenaventura de Ivo

do los chiriguanos, bajó para disfrutar como antes de los placeres de Baco y Venus, pero muy luego se hizo aborrecer de toda la gente por su altanería y abusos en los bienes y mujeres ajenas, por lo cual estuvo á punto de perecer asesinado por sus mismos vasallos, pero el *Tunpa* vino en su auxilio, lo arrebató nuevamente y lo tuvo en su compañía. Allá *Araparigua* juró venganza y pidió al *Tunpa* la destrucción de toda la raza; sabiendo Dios que su criatura priviligiada no tenía ya parientes cercanos, como mujer, madre, padre ó hijos, accedió á sus deseos y los chiriguanos fueron por segunda vez destruidos (1).

Mas el *Tunpa* no quiso estar por mucho tiempo sin criaturas priviligiadas, bajó otra vez á la tierra, hizo de barro un cuerpo humano con todos los miembros correspondientes al sexo masculino, luego formó otro con los miembros todos del cuerpo femenino, dió vida á ambos, vivieron y los dejó en su desnudez, dándoles en posesión un hermoso lugar.

En este hermoso y pintoresco lugar había árboles frutales de toda especie; bellos á la vista y agradables al paladar eran los frutos que producían. Antes de apartarse de ellos, el *Tunpa* les permitió que disfrutasen libremente de todos los frutos producidos por aquellos árboles, prohibiéndoles de tocar y comer los frutos de uno solo.

Pasados algunos días el varón pasando debajo del árbol prohibido y viendo la belleza de las frutas dijo: ¡por qué no querrá Dios que coma frutas tan hermosas! nada de malo habrá en que las pruebe siquiera y además actualmente no me ve. Cogió pues una y se la puso en la boca para tragarla, pero al tiempo de hacer esta operación, se volvió con la cabeza atrás y la fruta en vez de bajar al estómago, se le quedó en la garganta formando así el *Aseuranti* ó lo que se llama comunmente pomo de Adán (2).

Según la relación la mujer no comió la fruta prohibida, mas á pesar de ello experimentó los efectos de la desobediencia de su marido ó compañero, pues, como éste, se avergonzó de hallarse

(1) Los caciques siguen el ejemplo de *Araparigua* teniendo varias mujeres y abusando de otras con harto sentimiento de sus padres y de las mismas doncellas; es completamente falso que las de esta raza tocadas por el cacique, lo tengan á honor, como afirma el Dr. Leocadio Trigo; ignoro, si sucede con las de otras razas, pero él escribe en general de todas las razas del Chaco.

(2) La mujer ni siquiera tocó las frutas vedadas y la prueba está en que en su garganta no hay estorbo alguno, no hay el *Aseuranti* ó pomo de Adán, así dice el mismo indio.

desnuda y experimentó los movimientos de la concupiscencia que antes al ella, ni el varón tenían ó habían experimentado, siendo la consecuencia de que se unieron matrimonialmente sólo después de haber quebrantado el precepto divino.

El *Tuapa* no tardó en presentarse y ante él ambos tuvieron rubor de verse desnudos y cubrieron su desnudez, acurrucándose sentados en el suelo. El *Tuapa* que todo lo sabía, los reconvino blandamente, afeándoles su pecado, les dió un vestido correspondiente y se despidió de ellos, dejando que se multiplicasen.

El indio como cada cual comprende, atribuye esto á la reorganización de la raza chiriguana, pero todos podemos ver en este relato la creación del hombre, su inocencia primordial, su vida de delicias, la prohibición que le impuso Dios, la desobediencia que fué su pecado y la confusión que le causó la culpa con la consiguiente reprensión (1).

Se ve claro que esta relación con una pequeña diferencia es conforme al relato de Moisés en los primeros capítulos de la Biblia y prueba siempre más que los habitantes de las Américas vinieron y son descendientes del primer hombre, que tantos enemigos de la Religión se esfuerzan en negar, igualmente prueba la unidad de nuestra raza ó especie contra Darwin que quiere hacerla descender por evolución hasta ligarla con el Orangután (2).

Es fácil imaginar que la tradición chiriguana ya relatada se haya alterado un poco y atribuyan á la reconstrucción de la raza, lo que según la Biblia se debe entender de la creación ó formación del primer hombre; han pasado siglos desde el Diluvio universal y aún más desde la creación del primer hombre. La raza chiriguana es ignorante, no tiene libros, no tiene escritura, es descendiente de los guaraníes, vivió siempre apartada de la civilización, nunca pudo ser sojuzgada por los Incas, de modo que no es extraño que dicha tradición relativa á la creación se haya alterado hasta creerla segunda creación, antes bien es de extrañar que hasta

(1) A esta relación falta la promesa de un Salvador, cosa importantísima por cierto, pero debe tenerse en cuenta que es tradición de siglos, el indio es ignorante y sólo mira lo material.

(2) Hernán Cortés visitó en su primera entrada á Méjico al emperador Moctezuma, éste le aseguró que ellos descendían de otros hombres muy antiguos, semejantes á los españoles, á quienes llamaron hermanos.

ahora haya llegado tan clara y con tan pequeñas diferencias. Confieso que al oírla por primera vez no pude menos de sorprenderme y admirarme y conforme la he oído, así la presento á la consideración de mis lectores.

Creencia en la vida futura

Esta creencia ha sufrido muchas más alteraciones que la anterior, sin embargo revela que aún debajo de la ruda é ignorante naturaleza del pobre indio y desgraciado chiriguano está vigente la idea del gran filósofo: *non omnis moriar* que tantos materialistas quieren hacer terminar con la materia, sin duda para ahogar aparentemente los remordimientos del gusano roedor que de vez en cuando asoma y sin querer hace recordar las perversidades perpetradas (1).

Cuando el alma del chiriguano sale del cuerpo, no muere; todos sin darse cuenta, ni sospecharlo siquiera tienen esta idea sobre la inmortalidad del alma, á ello se refiere el luto y sentimientos de pesar, entierro y cosas que colocan en el ataud cuando alguien muere y de lo cual trataré más adelante. Si se les pregunta al respecto, contestan: *Mahanu* ¡cómo será!, no sé. Sin embargo de esta ignorancia, para expresar su pensamiento relativo al alma y su inmortalidad, tres son los lugares que admiten para las almas: *Tanparenta*, *Iboca*, *Cuarasigüi*, Cielo, Purgatorio, Infierno.

Me voy á ocupar de los tres rectificando lo relativo á Iboca, cuya creencia conocí desde el principio de mi residencia entre la raza y cuyo relato se halla circunstanciado en mi pequeño *Neas* impreso el año 1905 para facilitar á los niños chiriguanos el aprendizaje del idioma español ó castellano.

El *Tanparenta* es literalmente el lugar de Dios, ó sea su morada, como el *añarenta* es la morada del diablo. He notado ya que *Tanpa*, es el principio del bien, de toda virtud, de toda cosa buena: *Tecocavi*. Con esta idea que tiene de Dios, el chiriguano concluye naturalmente que Dios sólo admite en su compañía á las personas buenas, virtuosas y limpias de toda maldad: *Mbia hecocavi vaé, cuña hecocavi vaé*, hombre ó mujer de buenas costumbres, ex-

(1) El chiriguano difícilmente comprende lo que es espiritual, por esto sus ideas acerca de la vida futura son puramente materiales; sin la revelación no se comprende este dogma de fé.

cluyendo á los facineroso, matadores y suicidas que se vuelven *Aba*, demonios, ó almas de los muertos (1).

Para que el chiriguano vaya al *Tuapavonde* con tan el fin deseo de visitar á sus parientes, debe sujetarse á cuatro pruebas difíciles que sin auxilio, indicaciones y consejos, serían imposibles, de donde se colige la necesidad del sacrificio de sujetarse á las disposiciones del *Tuapé* y de seguir las sabias enseñanzas de su guía sagáz, que si el pueblo lo necesita para atravesar una región montañosa ó desierta, expuesta á peligros innumerables ¿con cuánta más razón no deberá el hombre temerlo, tratándose de saber por medio de las líneas santas, el camino de la vida eterna? De aquí puede deducir el lector ¿cuán errados andan los secuaces de Lutero, Calvino, etc. que pretenden investigar el verdadero sentido de la Biblia sólo con el dictamen de su conciencia, prescindiendo del magisterio infalible de la Iglesia, establecido por Cristo en la persona de San Pedro y sus legítimos sucesores!

Un antiguo chiriguano había perdido á su mujer á quien amaba de todo corazón, por cuya razón era inconsolable en llanto y pena, dada pues en peligro su vida y estaba próximo á perecer. En esto tan alto compasivo se le presentó y le dijo: ¿por qué llores tanto? porque tienes tanta pena? ¿quieres sin duda la suerte que ha caído á tu mujer? sepas que ella está gozando, está en un lugar de delicias, donde todo es dichas, y nada hay de sufrimiento, donde se bebe á diario y siempre es fiesta, donde no hay pobreza, ni frío, ni calor, ni enfermedades. Vamos pues que veas y dejes de llorar, esto te advierto que antes de llegar, como tales, debes aún tú pasar por cuatro pruebas que superarás fácilmente en mi compañía.

El afligido indio deseoso de ver nuevamente á su llorada esposa, se vistió prontamente de la ropa mejor que tenía, adornó su persona, pintó su rostro con el *Urucu*, bien ceñida, colocó en la garganta el *Bapéi*, collares, asió su lanza y partió en pos del estrella y misterioso conductor (2).

---

(1) *Tuara* significa patrio y lugar, unido con otro nombre cambia la *T* en *K*, por esto se dice: *Tuapavonde*, *Akaravonde*, *Ivonde* etc. ó sea lugar de Dios, lugar del diablo y lugar de agua.

(2) Es natural en la humanidad cuida de asearse y adornarse para poderse presentar decentemente ante un público respetable ó ante personajes de veneración, así deben practicarlo los cristianos cuando van al templo á oir ó celebrar los divinos misterios y sacramentos.

Hicieron la primera jornada sin incidente alguno y dispusieron su alojamiento primero en una vaina y luegoenn fincas, donde crecían perfumados flores y árboles gigantescos que con sus frondosas copas daban abrigo á una infinidad de aves. Allí durmieron muy tranquilos sin que su sueño fuese perturbado por los silbidos de la vecina floresta, y al día siguiente, bien de madrugada reanudaron nuevamente y al terminar la extensa llanura, el conductor dijo al indio: prepárate que ya estamos cerca de la primera prueba. Efectivamente la divisó, era una formidable longura que se levantaba hasta las cuatro y bajaba nuevamente con precipicios; cada vez que se levantaba, formaba un arco que permitía dar un paso precipitado. Advertido por el guía de pasar al galope forzado el caballo al tiempo de alcanzar la gran llanurada, lo efectuaron así y pasaron sólidamente sin incidente (1).

Antes de llegar al término de la segunda jornada se hallaron al frente de otro peligro, era este un ancho paso de agua hirviente que ocupaba completamente el mismo caso el primero y subsiguiente. El paso era fácil pasarlo con un caballo de un metálico, como el agua hirviente se levantaba tanto continuamente á grande altura y bajaba luego con toda fuerza, el paso empero se efectuó por los viajeros con toda felicidad y se alojaron bastante del lugar para que el ruido no les estorbara el descanso y el sueño de la noche.

Al día siguiente antes de la salida del sol emprendieron de nuevo su viaje hasta el Tempestuoso, la clara aurora y la brisa fresca matutina acariciaban en dia hermoso, las arcillas de los bosques con sus dulces y suaves trinos acariciaban aquellas soledades, el jaguar no hostigaron sentirse su desagrado por haber sido turbado el silencio de aquellos bosques por chirigaxo extraños y, otras bestias de la floresta bajas desperezaba, mientras el astro del día asomaba su brillante rostro detrás de la espesa arboleda que dominaba en la región.

Ya el sol resplandecía en el firmamento como los donde días, ya había recorrido la tercera parte del curso natural, cuando se presentó á la vista de ellos la tercera prueba. Consistía dicha en dos montañas gemelas en continuo movimiento, se abrían y cerraban continuamente con terrible estrepito. Alertonado por el

(1) Antes de emprender su viaje el chirigaxo, por orden del ministro gris, robó sin licencia algunos dos caballos ajenos y sombreros para comodidad de ambos.

gale, dice y el indio permanece sin novedad y muy largo. Seguros á la muerte prueba. Esta la formaban unos muchachos tijeras con las puntas hacia abajo que habían perdido por salud sin remedio á cualquier desconocido, pero los chiriguanos permanecen sin novedad y después de esto se hallaron al frente del *Tuquarendi*.

Era esta una inmensa pampa, repleta de flores y hierbas de todos colores y repleta de gente alegre que había continuamente al pueblado frente del chiriguano. El indio vió allí á su mujer á hija rimosamente adornadas, resplandecientes como la luna y las vegil para que no cubriesen su su compañía, sus fotos no la constituyen; solo se regresó el indio, prometiendo portarse bien para almacenarlos pronto (1).

El *Ibiro* de que hice mención, es un cierto modo semejante al purgatorio de los católicos, y con más propiedad semejante al limbo, pues suponen los indios que los almas que van allí, se hallan en tinieblas, lo cual no lo mismo que no ver á Dios y esto solo constituye un gran sufrimiento, otros castigos corporales y morales no los hay, pero las tinieblas son perpétuas (2).

El *Cuarenjiki* Unenhemoto *dilugio del sol*, es para el chiriguano el verdadero infierno donde se experimenta el verdadero fuego eterno representado por el sol, en cuyo comentar inmediatamente el imposible permanecer, como demuestran las ciencias naturales, la cosmología. Según los chiriguanos el *Cuarenjiki* van aquellos indios que quitaron la vida al prójimo, los que se apropiaron de la agena, los que se embriagaron y los que cometen pecados contra natura.

Al decir de un oficiero explorador y etnólogo, que no há mucho recorrió toda la región desde Guachalla hasta el Beni que divide Bolivia con el Perú por el Noroeste, existe entre los chiriguanos la idea ó creencia en la torre de Babel, donde se verificó la confusión de las idiomas. Según esa referencia esos era anteriormente el idioma hablado y según ellos era la quichua. La idea de la creación, del diluvio, de la confusión de las lenguas, el modo de contar los años por lunas y las estaciones por lo que sig-

---

(1) El primero de los chiriguanos que muere, espera en el *Tuquarendi*, al subsiguiente para recoger nuevamente; los enfermos esperan que nuevos otros enfermos para continuar nuevamente en el cielo, donde no experimentan los calores y abundancia de sus compañeros.

(2) En *Ibiro*, situado al Sudoeste del cuerpo Iglesiente, las almas se las ve de noche en continua alegría y bacanales con cantos y bailes, de día todo en silencio sepulcral, así lo relatan ellos.

nilmente y varias palabras chiriguanas semejantes al hebreo, son un argumento poderoso para probar la unidad de la raza humana contra los racionalistas que pretenden demostrar que en América habo hombres desarrollados por el diluvio (1).

Prosa

Verdaderamente llama vuelto la atención de los hombres de ciencia y de los Misioneros, el hecho de que esta raza no tenga un culto exterior. Nace y crece el chiriguano como nace y crecen los lucerpas; no sabes de donde proceden y todas sus ceremonias se reducen á la pura naturaleza, cuando el chiriguano eleva su mente y mirando hacia arriba, discurre sobre el firmamento, cuenta las estrellas y hasta las agrupa por grupos como por principio de astronomía, admira la grandiosidad del sol y de la luna, comprende la beneficencia del mundo criado, pero la totalidad permanece muda y silenciosa ante las obras de la naturaleza ó de la creación. Las cosas visibles no llevan la inteligencia del chiriguano al conocimiento de la Causa de tales efectos y como de Dios tiene una idea bastante vaga, no le presta culto, ni cosa que se le parezca.

Inútil es por consiguiente buscar ídolos en el territorio, como inútiliemo averiguar de templos ó cuestas para sus reuniones religiosas. Las pirguriss por cada que haya averiguado, ni las hay, son muy cobardes y lo necesitan la pena de llamarlas con tal nombre, porque son mas bien una jarrancia del que las prefiere para que vean todos que tienen fermento para beber. Así lo practican en las reuniones generales cuando beben por muchos días y cesan en la plaza; viene el entusiasmo al calor de la bebida, y al ver inmensa multitud, alguien levanta la voz diciendo, mas ó menos, lo siguiente: *Chero Tunpa, iranikio taini, pacu cuai chero chiruroco, chiriadiaua ensiliaiaka chero, tarkaroi ente taini, ava tamaca.* Mi Dios, hazme estar bien, dame larga vida, haz producir mi cosecha, dame alegría, no permitas que muera (2).

El sol es un astro benéfico, nos alumbra, nos calienta en invierno, hace producir el alimento para los animales y los hombres,

---

(1) Las palabras chiriguanas AVA, HAR, NÓO y ¿MANANU?, hombre, él, negro y ¿qué será? tienen semejanzas con las hebraicas AV, OR, NOH y ¿MANANU?, hombre padre, él, negro y ¿qué será esto?

(2) Lo único que desea el chiriguano es vivir siempre, mas ve que es imposible, se contenta con expresar su deseo vehemente, pero no cree que la muerte le venga naturalmente.

es una criatura que Dios ha puesto en el mundo, para que como causa segunda conserve el universo y todas las cosas que están en él, siendo esta la principal virtud que le otorgó el Hacedor de todas las cosas.

El chiriguano comprende la virtud del sol en lo que hiere sus sentidos corporales, así que difícilmente en la antigüedad elevaba su espíritu á la contemplación de otro Ser invisible superior al astro del día, de aquí provenía que según algunos escritores los chiriguanos dirigían alguna plegaria á este rey del cielo, como alguna tribu, tímida y cortesmente se destoca al encuentro de un zorro impávido.

Pero por más que haya averiguado sobre este punto, ninguno me ha dado razón de la tal plegaria, lo único que aseguran, hacían los antiguos, era llamar padre al sol y rogarle no ocultar su rostro. Hoy que el territorio está invadido por los blancos y hasta por gente del viejo mundo, hoy que no hay lugar chiriguano que *no haya sido pisado* por la planta del Misionero, acá fundando Misiones, allá de tránsito, acullá explorando la voluntad de los indios, todo está cambiado y pocos son aquellos que ignoren la existencia del verdadero Dios, pocos son los indios que ignoren ser el sol una obra de Dios, incapaz por consiguiente de recibir un culto exterior, cuando ni á Dios se lo tributan (1).

Genios

Donde domina la ignorancia, es consecuente la superstición; me figuro, pues, que todas las tribus limítrofes á los chiriguanos deben creer en la existencia de los genios ó dueños de ciertos parajes que sin ofender á nadie, son admitidos por algunos de la raza blanca aún, especialmente cuando se trata de tesoros enterrados. No es esto nada extraño, pues antes de la venida de Cristo toda la humanidad, menos los hebreos, creía en ello y hoy también donde no ha penetrado la luz del Evangelio, domina la creencia en los genios aún entre la gente ilustrada, porque sólo el Evangelio disi-

(1) Es muy probable que antiguamente los ancianos al salir el sol se alegraban, como se alegra cualquiera y le tendrían un cariño especial, de donde se arguye por algunos que le dirigían plegarias, pero es natural en el hombre alegrarse cuando el sol aparece.

[facing p. 145]

Música de la Misión de Santa Rosa

pa las tinieblas del alma y destruye el error, consecuencias de las caida del hombre primero.

Los genios tutelares de un lugar llámanse en chiriguano: *Iya*, dueño en sentido literal. Si los chiriguanos pasan por los lugares donde hay algún genio, difícilmente se acercan, y si se pregunta á los mismos, donde pueda haber piedra de cal ó yeso, no lo avisan por temor al *Iya*, quién tomaría venganza con la muerte del chiriguano por cuya causa se descubrió el sitio custodiado por el genio; sí de dicho paraje deben sacar algo que les es útil, lo practican con licencia del *Iya* (1).

Al fundarse la Misión de San Buenaventura el Misionero practicó todas las diligencias para poder hallar la piedra del yeso y de la cal, mas ningún indio se animó á descubrir el sitio donde esta abundaba. Sin embargo por una casualidad, mientras se colocaban los cimientos del templo, se descubrió que muchas piedras que se empleaban, eran de cal hidráulica, cuya veta abundante se halla á los 300 metros del mismo templo á la cima de una colina. La piedra de yeso hasta hoy no se ha podido hallar en las cercanías por la misma razón, pero existen vestigios que indican su presencia, en *Caraparirenta* hay una que otra piedra arrastrada por el agua.

En el cantón Huacaya, en las orillas del Pilcomayo, á las faldas de los cerros del Oriente se asegura que debe haber minas ó yacimientos de oro, un riachuelo arrastra pequeñas pepitas en ciertos lugares determinados; casi todos los blancos de allá dicen que los indios recojen esas pepitas, unos venden y otros hacen trabajar anillos ó aretes para sus mujeres, pero hasta hoy por más diligencias que hayan hecho los blancos para descubrir aquel lugar, nunca han hallado un indio que los conduzca (2).

Entre tantos manantiales que abundan en la Misión de San Buenaventura de Ivu, hay varios de agua caliente sulfurosa; á dichas aguas nadie de los ancianos se acerca y sólo lo hacen los niños y niñas que por haber abrazado la religión católica talvez y por la ense-

(1) Es indudable para el chiriguano la presencia del *Iya* en los yacimientos de petróleo, sacan lo puro necesario de dicho líquido para curar las lastimaduras de sus ganados caballar, vacuno, etc.

(2) Cuentan existir en el bosque en la cima de una pequeña colina dos campanas colgadas de un árbol y en otro paraje un edificio de dos pequeños pisos, poseído por el *Iya*, un niño que deja huellas de sus piés al andar; lo creen como realidades.

fianza del Misionero que les hace comprender que hay que temer solamente á Dios, ningún temor tienen á estas cosas inofensivas; sin embargo cuando muere alguna niña de la escuela, los ancianos afirman que tal sucede por el ningún cuidado, con que se acercan y bañan en dichos manantiales poseídos por el *Iya*.

Lo antedicho manifiesta que el chiriguano antiguo es muy supersticioso y por amor á la vida respeta los lugares donde pueden hallarse los Genios imaginarios; si estos fueran descubiertos y desalojados por culpa de alguien, éste ó moriría luego, ó arrastraría una existencia desgraciada de enfermedades prolongadas hasta terminar con la muerte y por esto es imposible que un verdadero chiriguano manifieste los lugares que, según sus afirmaciones, se hallan poseídos por los genios (1).

Brujos

Otra consecuencia de la ignorancia es la creencia en los brujos, esta creencia sin embargo es mucho más general. La admite el labriego, como el medianamente ilustrado, la admite el hombre en completo estado salvaje, como el que se encamina á penetrar á la civilización, es admitida en América, como en la vieja Europa, en la dilatada Asia, en la desierta África y en la novísima Oceanía. Sin embargo no en todas partes la palabra brujo tiene la misma significación; si en Europa el vulgo ignorante llama brujo al hombre ó mujer que hizo convenio formal con el diablo, entre los chiriguanos y blancos del Gran Chaco es el hombre ó la mujer que acierta á curar enfermedades, ó está en posesión de otros prestigios (2).

Más ¿quién fué el padre de los brujos entre los chiriguanos? *Guaveri* indio, *Ñeé iya ete*, elocuente, hizo la siguiente relación: En una época muy remota se declaró una sequía general que se prolongó con peligro inminente de perderse las sementeras; averiguada la causa por el rey de las aves: *Güiraqué*, Milano, se organizó una comisión al dueño de la lluvia llamado: *Choncho*, para que

(1) A fines del año 1899 un caballero de Sucre principió á ensayar el trabajo en el yacimiento de petróleo de *Mandiyuti* de Cuevo, desgraciadamente murió de bronquitis aguda, pero los indios atribuyeron su muerte al enojo del *Iya*.

(2) Conozco á un indio que cura la ponzoña de la víbora sin usar remedio, sopla y frota la parte picada y sana sin otro remedio, prende las víboras, se las pone en el seno, en los bolsillos, en el sombrero y no le pican; no puedo explicar este fenómeno.

hiciera llover, mas como este, caso ninguno hiciera de la embajada del Rey, vino este personalmente á saber el porque y castigar la desobediencia, si lo hallaba reo. Pero el *choncho* contestó que no dependía de él, sino de otro pájaro llamado: *chena*, con el cual se encaró el rey Milano y como titubeó en decir lo contrario ó en disculparse, hubo fundada sospecha de ser él el autor de tanto mal y como malhechor fué inmediamente traspasado por la lanza del rey Milano.

Esta es una fábula, mas es cierto que al *choncho* le tienen respeto y miedo, si este pequeño pájaro canta en tono enojado, es señal que al chiriguano le irá mal y entonces se le recomienda y dice: *ayuye ndepochi, cheru mi, tome taicó cavi;* no te enojes, que me vaya bien; si canta alegre, el chiriguano será bien recibido por los parientes y amigos y si el *choncho* dice: *To, To*, es señal que donde va, hallará mucha chicha; por lo cual no le hacen mal alguno á este pajarito.

Según la relación de Guarorai, el *choncho* resulta ser el padre de los brujos buenos, especialmente de aquellos que hacen llover y el *chena* es el padre de los brujos malos, ó sea de aquellos que atajan la lluvia. En cualquier calamidad pública en algugunos parajes se reunen todavía los indios alrededor del: *Ipaye*, brujo para que cese la calamidad, si esta sigue á pesar de la promesa del brujo y no sabe culpar á otro con habilidad su impotencia, como hizo el *choncho*, es muerto á palos y quemado sin remisión, pero si puede disculparse con otro *Chena*, éste sufre la pena capital sin que le valgan protestas de inocencia ó ignorancia, ¡tanto es el furor de la muchedumbre exaltada por las arrengas del buen *Ipaye*!

Antes de pasar adelante con los pájaros temidos y respetados, digo de paso que de noche anda y vuela un pájaro blanquecino que llaman: *Teté*; cuando lo verifica, es señal segura para los indios que en alguna casa las mujeres están próximas á cortarse el cabello en señal de luto, es decir que alguien morirá en el pueblo. En cuanto á la lechuza: *Suindu*, las creencias de los chiriguanos son las mismas que tiene el vulgo en Europa y América, siendo pequeña la diferencia entre unos y otros (1).

---

(1) Como se verá, el luto de las mujeres chiriguanas consiste en cortarse el cabello y llevar el trapo más sucio en la cabeza; el luto es siempre íntegro, es decir para cualquier finado usan luto riguroso.

Los brujos buenos representados por el *Chonchu* son muy compasivos y hacen lo posible para que la raza goce de salud, fortuna, buenas cosechas, sin experimentar hambre, ni epidemias, mientras que los brujos malos hacen á la pobre humanidad chiriguana todo mal; éllos atajan la lluvia, éllos mandan las epidemias, éllos el hambre, éllos la muerte. Los brujos malos se llaman: *Mbaecuá.*

El chiriguano pues no muere, porque así está decretado, porque es condición de la naturaleza humana, no muere á consecuencia del pecado del primer hombre; muere porque existen los brujos malos, sin estos la vida del indio sería deliciosa y eterna acá en la tierra, donde lo colocó Dios, según se ha visto al tratar de la creación.

Lo mismo dígase de las enfermedades. Si enferma de un pié, si de la cabeza, si del vientre, ú otra parte del cuerpo, la culpa no la tienen ni la naturaleza humana, ni los elementos, ni las estaciones, ni el cambio repentino de la atmósfera, tan común en la región, sino los brujos malos. Si alguien muere repentinamente, si mueren los ancianos y los jóvenes, si en la tribu se desarrolla la viruela, ú otra epidemia, la culpa es de los brujos malos siempre (1).

Los brujos unos son aptos para la lluvia y sembradíos y otros para las enfermedades. Si en los alrededores de un pueblo chiriguano comienza á propagarse algún contagio ó ya se ha manifestado en el pueblo mismo uno que otro caso, el cacique principal reune en consejo á todos los caciques subalternos, discuten las medidas que conviene poner en práctica para ahuyentar inmediatamente la enfermedad; siendo la primera la de llamar á uno de los brujos de reputación. Desde luego se forma la comisión que debe llevar la plegaria al gran charlatán y por lo regular el encargado principal es el mismo cacique, quien se hace acompañar de uno ó dos subalternos.

A la invitación del cacique que el brujo recibe como un grandísimo honor, y además oyendo las ofertas que le hacen, si consigue tener lejos, ó expulsar la epidemia, no hay zonzo que rechase, pues el brujo en pueblo ajeno es rey por todo el tiempo que permanece; de todo dispone, de hombres y de mujeres, de bienes

(1) Si alguien muere por haber bebido en casa ajena, lo atribuyen á veneno administrado por bruja, la muerte producida por caída, suicidio ó asesinato, no se atribuye al brujo.

y ropas, de comidas y de bebidas; pasa la vida mejor que un gran señor (1).

Por supuesto su llegada es esperada con ansia; todos le rodean para darle la bien venida y muestras de cariño, no hay familia que no lleve lo que pueda, para que cure bien. Gallinas ya cocinadas, huevos ya hervidos, corderos vivos, chicha en abundancia todos son presentes para el gran pícaro. Todo esto lo practican ahora con cualquier brujo aún.

Después de un pequeño descanso, bien comido y mejor refrescado, el brujo abre su ceremonial con infinitas preguntas para descubrir quien trajo la epidemia al pueblo, caso que haya penetrado ya; en este caso se queda y sus conjuros son diarios, generales á todo el pueblo y particulares á cada enfermo, como diré más abajo.

Pero si el mal no ha penetrado, reune á todos los principales, forman sus cigarros de tabaco envuelto con chala, se juntan en forma de rueda, encienden dichos cigarros y fuman á toda dirección, advirtiendo el brujo donde se dirige el humo. Conocido más ó menos el paraje, todos se dirigen allí garrote en mano; el brujo practica una pequeña excavación y extrae el maleficio que ha puesto de antemano sin ser visto, consistente en trapos viejos y sucios, mezclados con pelos y huesós pequeños. Luego quema todo eso á la presencia de los acompañantes, da golpes al suelo con el garrote y los piés siendo imitado por todos (2)

Hecho esto, con aire de triunfo regresan al pueblo y lo recorren todo garroteando las esquinas de la plaza y las casas de los más notables y terminada la función, dirige su discurso á los que le rodean y demás que salieron de sus casas; les recomienda que no teman y que tengan confianza en él, qué ya ahuyentó la enfermedad, de la cual es dueño.

En seguida descansa de sus fatigas unos cuantos días, se despide del cacique y principales, bendecido por los asustados pobladores, volviendo á su pueblo. Cada cual comprende que si la epidemia no penetra, es una casualidad que da mucho renombre al pícaro impostor, y si penetra, la culpa es de los pobladores ó de otro

(1) Quien expone al brujo el objeto de la embajada es el cacique y los compañeros se limitan á decir: *Añete*, así es, como el monacillo ó sacristán dice: *Amen*.

(2) No es raro el caso que los mismos brujos hayan llevado ropas de viruelentos á otro pueblo, para que haya contagio y tengan un pretexto de ganancia y vida regaladísima.

brujo malo. Entonces vuelve y se constituye curandero de todos; en la epidemia de la viruela, el brujo es siempre uno que ha pasado por ella y que como triste señal lleva el rostro y la nariz como una criba.

En los primeros meses de mi llegada á la Misión de Santa Rosa principió á desarrollarse una epidemia: sin darme cuenta de lo que ocurría, se practicaban por el brujo Biringa los conjuros contra la viruela, más como esta enfermedad invadió de lleno el pueblo á fines del año, volvió el mismo y pagó bien sus imposturas, no valiéndole las amenazas que hizo, de hacer perecer los 255 alumnos de escuela, pues éstos y las alumnas enfermaron todos, mas de aquéllos apenas murió uno y de éstas murieron siete (1).

Aún para la lluvia los brujos hacen sus conjuros con su cigarro de chala, dando vuelta á los terrenos sembrados, pero si la sequía es general, los conjuros son públicos en el pueblo frente á la casa del cacique principal. Uno de estos se practicó en los comienzos de la Misión indicada: el Misionero los hizo amonestar para que dejaran, mas como contestaran con insolencia, hizo ú organizó una comisión con escopetas y carabinas viejas; huyeron los tres ó cuatro brujos, pero cayó en poder de la comisión uno de ellos, recibió el castigo de su insolencia y á los pocos minutos un aguacero torrencial refrescaba todo el territorio de la Misión.

En los casos concretos, requerido el brujo por una familia particular, se constituye luego en la casa del enfermo, le hace mil preguntas relativas á la enfermedad, á las casas que ha frecuentado, á los amigos con quienes ha bebido, á los compañeros con quienes ha jugado, á las prendas que ha ganado. Después enciende su cigarro de chala y fuma derramando el humo por el cuerpo del paciente, especialmente por la parte dolorida.

Luego según la menor ó mayor gravedad del mal, según la enfermedad, si requiere golpes ó sacudidas, que es lo más probable, se los proporciona atrozmente como para terminar con la vida del paciente, y si no, se contenta con frotar fuertemente la parte

(1) Las alumnas de la escuela de Santa Rosa el año de la viruela eran 235, las de peligro antes de ser llevadas al lazareto, recibían el Viático; próximas á morir recibían aún la Extrema Unción en el lazareto; contenía éste en Enero de 1904 más de 500 personas.

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

dolorida y chuparla con su boca, extrayendo del cuerpo del paciente los gusanos que el pícaro escondió en su paladar (1).

Los hombres brujos en sus curaciones además del cigarro, usan el *Tupicho*. Pero en qué consiste el *tupicho*, difícil es averiguarlo. Hay brujos que se sirven para ello de una piedrita redonda con varios dibujos, conforme ví en la Misión de San Pascual, otros usan un hueso largo también dibujado, como ví en Caipipendi y otros se contentan con las solas palabras. Se ignora la virtud del tupicho, pero los indios le tienen mucho miedo; pudiera referir hechos al respecto.

Curanderas brujas

Es indudable la existencia de mujeres curanderas y brujas á la vez, las cuales, conforme los hombres, se hacen temer en la tribu, porque es más fácil á ellas administrar en bebidas algún veneno lento ó violento; vienen designadas con el nombre de: *Cuña ipaye*, mujer bruja (2).

Por lo regular estas mujeres son las hijas de los brujos, mas esto no prohibe que lo sean también otras, curan á los enfermos ó enfermas con hierbas del campo, con cortezas de árboles y con raíces que extraen de la tierra; son en este caso verdaderas curanderas, como las hay entre los blancos.

Hay otras y estas abundan; puede decirse que cada madre anciana lo es para sus hijas mozas, hacen el oficio de parteras, ayudan á sus hijas y á otras en sus partos, las hay tan diestras que son aceptadas aún por las mujeres que los indios llaman señoras. Durante el tiempo que vivo entre los chiriguanos, apenas habré visto á tres morir de parto.

Sólo es reprobable entre las curanderas el uso del: *Mbayachi*, veneno que administran con mucho disimulo, mezclándolo con la chicha, á las personas que odian, lavando ú ocultando inmediatamente el mate, vaso ó copa en que lo propinaron al paciente.

El *Mbayachi* opera con bastante lentitud, porque generalmen-

---

(1) En muchos casos pueden hallarse gusanos en el cuerpo de estos indios entre la carne y el cutis; yo mismo con el uso de la fenelina he hecho salir varias veces de sus cuerpos gusanos hasta del tamaño de un garbanzo, sin que hubiesen tenido herida alguna.

(2) Conozco varias mujeres que son curanderas y brujas al mismo tiempo, á lo menos como tales las consideran los indios de la tribu.

te la bruja que lo propina, cuida de infundir en la bebida poca cantidad para evitar ser descubierta por los parientes; mas si la persona odiada, careco de ellos ó los tiene en grado muy lejano, ó son de poca valía, le propina una dósis fuerte que lo despacha á la eternidad en pocas horas.

El paciente que tuvo la desdicha de beber el veneno, principia luego á sentir los efectos; dolores de estómago, arcadas y otros efectos conocidos. El veneno lo consume poco á poco y dura en este estado dos ó tres años, arrastrando una existencia penosísima, de la cual participan los de la familia con su tristeza, experimentando todo el peso de la larga enfermedad.

El *Mbayachi* no es más que un veneno y así como puede ser administrado en pueblos cultos, no hay motivo alguno de negar que puedan propinarlo los salvajes, quienes no temen las leyes humanas y divinas, toman la venganza como una cosa santa y difficilmente son descubiertos. (1)

Modo de conseguir el veneno

El modo de proporcionarse el veneno es el siguiente, conforme á lo que dice Guarerai: La mujer bruja sale al campo sin avisar á nadie el fin que lleva, va con su recipiente que por lo general consiste en un cantarito de barro horadado en la parte superior, penetra á la espesura del monte ó bosque, donde nadie pueda descubrirla, se tapa los oídos y narices con algodón, las manos con trapos, y se desnuda completamente para que nada la estorbe en su trabajo.

En seguida espera que alguna víbora salga á su vista y si tarda mucho, la hace aparecer remedando el silbido de la misma. Cuando ya la ve, no se escapa, ni se asusta, antes bien, con toda la calma del mundo, la mata con un palito y mejor con una caña hueca, la cuelga á un arbusto de pequeña altura, luego derrama sobre ella, desde la cabeza, aceite de chicha, el cual se mezcla con el veneno que derramó la víbora, aplica el cantarito á la punta de la cola y recoje el primer veneno (2).

---

(1) Hasta que el indio no toma la venganza de su enemigo, no está contento; cuando lo consiguió dice: *ayepi ma hese*; me vengué de él.

(2) Para que el veneno no se quede en el interior del cuerpo de la víbora, se le corta la punta de la cola, el aceite sirve para aglomerar la ponzoña y facilitar el escurrimiento.

[facing p. 153]

Casa de San Antonio del Parapiti

Si resulta ser muy poco, llama, imitando su silbido, á otra víbora que algunas veces acuden hasta cinco, haciendo con ellas lo que hizo con la primera, hasta conseguir lo suficiente. Emplea en este trabajo cuatro ó cinco días, va muy temprano y regresa tarde y terminada la operación, entierra las víboras muertas, borra el rastro de sus piés, se viste nuevamente, esconde el cantarito en su seno y regresa al pueblo con la mayor frescura, llevando en sus hombros, colgada de su cabeza, una chipa llena de troncos ó raíces de árboles, y si es tiempo de algarrobas, ú otra fruta, estas son las preferidas.

El veneno así preparado es muy pernicioso y para propinarlo en pequeña dosis, basta mojar en él la punta de una paja y lavarla en el mate de chicha que convidan al enemigo. Las mujeres brujas elaboran las mejores chichas, las que llaman: *Copiriru*, chicha recocida, y como el chiriguano es glotón, cae fácilmente en la trampa, so pretexto de reconciliación. El modo que emplean las brujas para conseguir el veneno se ha descubierto, porque alguna vez rompieron los vínculos de amistad con alguna amiga íntima ó el parentesco con alguna hermana, conocedoras del secreto (1).

Esto parece una fábula que por lo mismo no merece se le dé importancia, como no se la da el P. Giannecchini, sin negarla en sus escritos, como afirma el señor del Campano. El veneno existe entre los chiriguanos, no lo extraen del chamico que es una especie de datura, ni lo extraen de otras plantas ó hierbas: los brujos nada manifiestan, los jóvenes lo ignoran y los pocos viejos existentes, sólo relatan lo dicho arriba; sea como fuere, no deja de ser una creencia de la tribu y como tal la he relatado.

Eclipse de luna

En la vigilia de un eclipse de luna me hallaba conversando con el cacique Anduari de la Misión de San Buenaventura de Ivu y quiso el caso que me acordara de este fenómeno próximo á manifestarse en la luna. Los pueblos chiriguanos durante el eclipse son verdaderos infiernos por los gritos, alaridos, silbidos y todo instrumento de guerra que hacen sonar; cuando llegué á las Mi-

(1) Las mujeres brujas dueñas del veneno son conocidas; el que quiere vengarse de un enemigo y no sabe como, acude á las brujas, las paga y lo consigue.

siones, acababa de pasar la guerra de Curuyuqui y oyendo tanto y tan extraordinario alboroto en una noche de eclipse, creí en una nueva sublevación, conforme creyeron los vecinos de Cuevo; éstos se presentaron armados para averiguar la causa de tanto alboroto (1).

Preguntó á Anduari la causa de tanta bulla y me hizo la siguiente relación: El tigre había jurado destruir á los chiriguanos, conforme había hecho el *Aguara-Tunpa*. El Tunpa que todo lo sabe, siempre compasivo con aquéllos, lo manifestó á sus parientes que están en el cielo llamados: *Güirayohusa*, la constelación de las siete cabrillas; estos parientes avisaron luego á los que se hallaban en peligro y se pusieron en guardia escondiéndose.

Sin embargo dos de los chiriguanos más valientes para no estar en continuos temores, se dispusieron á dar fin con los tigres. Salieron al campo, hiciéronse dos espadas largas de madera de soto y así armados averiguaron donde bebían agua los tigres; se escondieron espiando la venida de sus enemigos para victimar al jefe.

No se dejaron esperar mucho, pasaron todos y cuando el conductor inclinó la cabeza para beber en la fuente de su cristalina agua, uno de los chiriguanos la asestó un gran golpe de espada en la cabeza separándola del tronco; con la mayor facilidad los demás huyeron en varias direcciones y la cabeza dando saltos desapareció de su presencia.

Fué perseguida por ambos guerreros, mas la cabeza rogó á la luna que encontró en la travesía y ésta muy compasiva la escondió en su seno y cuando llegaron los guerreros y preguntaron por la cabeza del tigre, contestó con todo sosiego: no saber, ni haber visto nada. Por supuesto no prestaron fé á sus palabras y se alejaron de allí, diciéndola: que un día el tigre le haría ver y saber quién era (2).

Cuando los jóvenes estuvieron lejos, la luna juntó nuevamente la cabeza del tigre al tronco y vivió, pero ya no quiso habitar

---

(1) El profesor italiano Mantegazza asegura que los chiriguanos para silbar fuerte se extraen la tembeta ó el botón que tienen en el labio inferior, esto es inexacto y negado por todos; lo que refiere el renombrado antropólogo, debe ser un caso particular, pues sin el botón ni aún pueden beber.

(2) Desaparecido el jefe de los tigres, se acabaron éstos y tuvieron sosiego, pudiendo los indios salir nuevamente sin miedo á sus tareas de la campiña.

en la tierra por miedo á sus enemigos, prefirió quedarse con su libertadora, vivificadora y bienhechora, mas luego dió á conocer su ferocidad.

Conforme habían predicho los chiriguanos, el tigre muy luego quiso poner en práctica en las alturas de la luna su natural inclinación de matar y comer seres indefensos. Su libertadora apacible, compasiva é indefensa, se prestaba á maravilla para su voracidad y emprendió con ella, mas la luna acudió con gritos á los habitantes de la tierra, á los chiriguanos, llamándolos á la defensa, sino querían quedar eternamente en tinieblas (1).

Los indios á pesar de la mala acción que les había hecho la luna, mas por su conveniencia que por compasión, salieron en masa de sus pueblos y quién con gritos, quién con silbidos y quién con astas de vacas y toros, atemorizaron al *Yagua rogüi*, tigre amarillo, quien por miedo á los chiriguanos, acordándose de lo que le pasó, desistió de su intento y desde entonces toda vez que sucede un eclipse de luna, practican lo mismo. La creencia fabulosa pasa de los viejos á los jóvenes, de los abuelos á los nietos.

En una noche de clara luna dormía tranquilamente el Misionero en la Misión de Ivu y por un eclipse total se oscureció la luna. Era el mes de Junio del año 1909, el Misionero ignoraba el idioma y yo me hallaba ausente, los niños, que poco hablaban el castellano, en su afán de que vea el fenómeno del eclipse aún el Misionero, lo despertaron alborotados diciéndole á gritos: *Tigre come luna* (2).

Concluyo este capítulo cuarto repitiendo que el chiriguano en su religión, divinidades y creencias hace una confusión extraordinaria de seres buenos y malos, reales ó imaginarios, de creencias fabulosas y conformes en la sustancia á ciertos relatos bíblicos. Come, bebe, duerme y vive el indio como cualquier cuadrúpedo, se acuerda solamente del brujo; á este consulta en sus apuros de enfermedad ó carestía y otras calamidades, creyendo que tenga poder para aliviarlo, no existiendo plegaria alguna propiamente dicha.

---

(1) Si el eclipse es total, creen que el tigre se tragó íntegra á la luna, si es parcial es porque no tuvo tiempo de tragársela.

(2) Del eclipse total ó parcial, del sol nada dicen, sin duda es porque sucede muy raras veces; los ancianos apenas tienen una idea oscura de este fenómeno.

[P.156]

CAPITULO QUINTO

ORDENACION POLÍTICA Y AUTORIDADES

INTRODUCCION

La revolución francesa á fines del siglo XVIII colocó los fundamentos de la anarquía actual con el destronamiento y decapitación de los infelices y virtuosos reinantes Luis XVI y María Antonieta. La noble nación cegada por los grandes reformadores que más tarde tuvieron en castigo la suerte de los inocentes reyes, no pretendía, ni nunca pretendió acabar con el principio de autoridad, pero desde allí se declaró abiertamente la guerra contra los tronos y el altar.

Los reyes y emperadores, las altas dignidades, los ministros de estado, los presidentes de las repúblicas y confederaciones uno en pos de otro van experimentando los horrores y cayendo víctimas de aquellos miembros de la sociedad tenebrosa que en muchas partes de Europa echó hondas raíces al amparo de los gobiernos, cuando en su niñez tan sólo se manifestaba intolerante del principio religioso.

Hoy que los crímenes se han multiplicado y se multiplican contra el principio de autoridad, se hacen los mayores esfuerzos para destruir á estos enemigos de la sociedad, de los imperantes y de la Religión. ¡Qué se pretendió en Francia y otros reinos en los siglos pasados! La destrucción de la Religión, la sola que puede contener á las masas, mediante el principio fundamental que reside en el decálogo que Moisés recibiera en el Sinaí (1).

(1) En la masonería se maduran los proyectos de destrucción y los anarquistas son los ejecutores, por esto en Italia y Alemania se vigila á las logias y á los que han dado su nombre, especialmente si pertenecen al ejército.

[facing p. 157]

Grupo de los caciques de la Misión de Ivo

Quien abrahan vienta, mesje bonpenaden; y aunque tarde van comprendiendo los grandes de Europa, de las Americas y del mundo que sólo con la Religión se puede triunfar; de donde proceda que los conservadores de Alemania é Italia que forman el partido de sus respectivas colonias, se dieron con los católicos de aquos países para sostener como el principio religioso y sobre el de autoridad. El rey de Portugal y el príncipe heredilario eran católicos en pleno día; debió el asesino de aquos, al rey liberal, al ateísmo, asesinándose ellamente á la religión de la nación. Quien apartaron un tanto y fué lentamente derrocado, proclamándose en seguida la República, de la cual no está contento el pueblo, á quien cada día el diablo, después de haberle prometido mucho para que le ayudara.

También en Bolivia se difundan ideas demasiado adversas á la Religión católica, sin tener en cuenta que tarde ó temprano vendrá sólo aquel la amparada; sino se pone mengua á la propaganda antireligiosa que las invalida la gente, el parlamento y hasta el mismo presidencial, vendrá, cuptos, la amparada. Tuberla no tiempo de reunionar, de fundar un partido católico que elija representantes católicos de senadores y de Senado y Presidente que sepa hacer respetar la religión del Estado (1).

Comprendamos pues en este católico sentido que sólo la religión católica puede contener el furor de la bestia humana. Fomentemos las órdenes religiosas y Colegios de Propaganda Fide, como en otras naciones limítrofes, dan apoyo decidido á los católicos, como en Alemania y si habrá expulsión de hombres malévolos, si valerla por culpa y pleno las cabezas de los mandatarios, si pueden yertos los cadáveres de los grandes, víctimados por el revólver, á la espada de los hombres traidores.

Principio de autoridad

El principio de autoridad se inserta en la humanidad y pretender desarraigarlo es locura. Desde que hubo hombre en el mundo, conservó el principio de autoridad, como se ha observado en el

(1) El primer Congreso Católico reunido por los Franciscanos y celebrado en Potosí el año 1910, entre las demás iniciativas, decretó la fundación de un partido católico en Bolivia para que haga respetar su credo y la Religión del Estado.

Chiriguano: *Ñuh ñiñi gatuñuhi ñiñi el que dominaba tal;* estando bajo la potestad é mando de los mandón y él lo dominará.

Como hemos visto en la humanidad, por malque, más que por necesidad no las conocemos, dichos principios se los aprendió siempre y en todo lugar. No hay cosíbio por lógicamente que sea, que no reconozca como una necesidad este principio y gobernador desconocido, como quienes los amanzanados, es quienes no imposible. El *Tubichá*, grande é autoridad, dicen los indios ancianos, nacen del número Dios, por este principio con la número letra. La *Gestacíbio*, puesta al principio esta mejíbio, representa é varios cacíquen de la Misión de San Ramón-Cordero, ello el que está con frío y hambre (Andoari), en tomó parte en la subdivisión de Cuayayal (1).

Toda la región está hoy explorada y en poder de los blancos, quienes primero penetraron con permiso de los dueños (el *Gestacíbio*) y después de haberse posesionado, en las tierras dueñas compraron las terrenos como con de la Nación. Parecía algunos creer que el chiriguano aun vive en grandes centros, al saber que antiguamente eran muy numerosos; mas quien interesa por el territorio, luego comprende que cada tribu no compone é la mano de cuatro cincuenta familias y en cada tribu hay un cacíquen que tiene dependencia de otro mayor llamado por ellos: *Tubichá cubichá*, grande de los grandes. En una legua de territorio y sólo nueve tribuchá puede un explorador, pasajero é transeunte encontrar cuatro é cinco tribus chiriguanas é pequeñas distancias. El dicho pueblo grande que los indios en sus viajes, en el de *Mandiyuí* está, el de *Chuvuti* queda en la margen izquierda del *Pilcopiti*. Cuando *Chipipondi*, donde las derecha mostrar como, los indios son numerosos, están vivos en distintos lugares, formando agrupaciones de 15-8 cuatro familias (2).

Atribuciones del cacíquen

Así como en la familia hay la autoridad del padre que la gobierna y, en su defecto, la de la madre que cuida y cuida la buena

(1) Los indios de la *Gestación* son: *Antoyo*, *Aguiari*, *Paticuyo* y *Guaraní* á la derecha del *cacíquen Andoari*; *Chipa* y *Pasiri* á Pizarro á la izquierda.

(2) La bella Misión de Santa Rosa se fundó encontrando en un solo pueblo más de diez pequeñas tribus que voluntariamente con sus caciques se trasladaron al lugar que indicó el Misionero, en Tomiti hay tres tribus pequeñas é muy pero dispersas.

crianza de los hijos, para que crezcan varoniamente y no conozcan desfalecimiento, si aparecen cualquiera entre los semejantes, así también en cada pueblo ó tribu hay un *Tekicho*, grande, á quien llamaré cacique, para que comprendan los lectores que el Grande es persona de autoridad y prestigio. Las atribuciones del cacique son múltiples; cuando una epidemia ha entrado ó está próxima á entrar á la tribu, él es quien busca al brujo para alejarla; si la tribu sufre una sequía, él acude al dueño de la lluvia, otro brujo (1).

Al tiempo de sembrar, mientras los de la tribu duermen ó descansan en sus casas, sale á la plazuela ó al frente de su casa, y guardando, arenga al pueblo, aconsejándolo á sembrar harto maíz, para que haya á su tiempo espejito general con beber el prohibido *Chuyki*, chicha, aspellos y alcohol para comer juntamente con el *Atiroli*, harina y el *Atipii*, maíz tostado. En su prolongado discurso recomienda la unión en el trabajo, para que se termine luego, para primero sembrar la chacra del cacique y en seguida las demás, ayudándose mutuamente. Cuando llegué á los Mizones, tolerá lo practicaban así los soldados del cacique Ollivo-a, cuya figura con su respectiva familia colocaré en otro capítulo.

El cacique dirime también las cuestiones que frecuentemente se suscitan en tiempo de siembras, pero sólo entre dos reinas la cuestión de apropiarse lo ajeno que se halla bien dispuesto y limpio de matorrales; maja las divisiones de familia, amonestando á las esposas y también á los hijos de éstos. Si acaso algún robo, en él también quiere entrar robando entre el cacique de la vecina tribu, más si esto acontece entre los suyos, administra luego la justicia, no sentencia en absoluto y sin aplicación por lo regular (2).

Con frecuencia acontece que por un desacato hecho á una mujer de la tribu, se origina una guerra sangrienta que toma carácter de regional; así sucedió por los años 1850 en la región de Cuevo. El cacique Gitiamati quiso, sin conseguir el fin, relacionarse con la mujer de Yarasa cacique de la margen derecha de la quebrada de Cuevo. El ofendido en venganza dispone de una red de

(1) En cada tribu así hay más que un cacique; muchos caciques dependen de un cacique regional que puede destituir á los subalternos.

(2) En los Mizones hay varios caciques, porque se compone de varias tribus, el Mizonero los gobierna á todos, así que la autoridad de los caciques, es casi nominal.

Güiracoti, se declararon luego las enemistades y cada cacique se dispuso á la guerra.

Güiracoti era inferior á Yaveau en número de soldados y valentía personal, mas con sus embustes consiguió que lo ayuden los indios de Yuti, Choroti y Parapiti Grande, y aun los blancos que habían penetrado en el territorio de Cordillera y vivían en Lagunillas (1).

Tanto número de enemigos sembró el pánico en el campo de Yaveau que se hallaba con muchos otros juntamente con los tobas. La primera batalla fué perdida y tuvo que esconderse con su gente por las faldas y cerro de Ireuta, pero repuesto de la derrota sufrida por la superioridad del número y distinción de armas y razas, persiguió al poco tiempo á sus enemigos, de los que hicieron innumerables bajas y Güiracoti tuvo que abandonar su tribu retirándose á la margen izquierda del río Parapiti para no caer en manos de su rival, ser atravesado por su poderosa flecha y tener la desdicha de que su cabeza separada del tronco, estuviera á la punta de una lanza expuesta al ludibrio de grandes y chicos del campo enemigo.

Es natural entre los hombres que transitan por un pueblo ajeno, acudir á la autoridad política en sus necesidades, como acontece en las Misiones. Mucha gente al transitar por los pueblos de los indios se dirige naturalmente á la casa del cacique, éste recibe á los que considera mayores, con la amabilidad y cortesía que distingue á los indios de la raza chiriguana, por esto han creido algunos exploradores que es propio del cacique recibir y hospedar á los transeuntes y forasteros, pero puedo asegurar que no están en lo cierto.

El chiriguano es naturalmente hospitalario y el forastero recibe acogida en cualquier choza de indio; éste se considera dichoso en recibir á personas grandes, iguales ó inferiores en su choza, que desocupa inmediatamente tratándose de las primeras, acomodándose él en la plaza ó en el corredor y le presta todos los servicios que están á su alcance. La mujer le proporciona agua y le hace la cocina y el hombre la leña, llevando al pasto aún las bestias con las cuales debe proseguir su viaje.

Si el chiriguano dispone de alguna cosa, como huevos, gallinas, etc. nada pide por ellas y se contenta, si el forastero le rega-

(1) Güiracoti hizo comprender á los blancos que Yaveau intentaba sublevarse contra ellos, por esto consiguió que viniera á Cuevo aún el cacique regional del Parapiti, llamado Chituri.

[facing p. 161]

Escuela de mujeres, de S. Antonio del Parapití

la lo que se lo antoja al tiempo de despedirse; cuando dispone de su licor prohibido, lo primero que presenta al huésped, es una copa de esta bebida. Pero hoy la situación va cambiando sus costumbres sencillas por las refinadas del civilizado que le enseñó á vender una gallina hasta el precio de un boliviano; ya no es el de antes, porque no se respetó su casa (1).

Es atribución también del cacique determinar el tiempo en que han de principiar y durar las fiestas ó tomadas públicas; estas se practican generalmente antes y después de la siembra, antes y después de la cosecha. Si la lluvia arrecia y la cosecha anterior fué muy escasa, se apura la siembra para que el maíz madure más pronto y tengan como beber en la Pascua. Durante los demás meses del año el cacique ordena las fiestas públicas, cazas generales de jabalíes, quiriquinchos, avestruces, corzos, chuñas y otros animales silvestres (2).

Subalternos

El cacique de una tribu no es sólo en la administración política, judicial y administrativa. Para una administración más correcta, él como autoridad única y suprema eligo consejeros y ayudantes, se los busca en las personas más aptas de la tribu. Los primeros consejeros son los brujos que pueda haber; son pues estos hombres temidos y por lo mismo respetados de los pobladores que se sirven de ellos en las enfermedades y calamidades tanto públicas, como privadas.

Luego vienen en calidad de consejeros otros hombres á quienes dan el nombre de: *Iyüira iya*, dueño del palo ó del bastón, según el significado de la palabra y que corresponde en castellano á hombre de mando ó autoridad. Son pues los alcaldes á quienes el cacique entrega parte de su autoridad con dependencia absoluta; de modo que, por quejas, ineptitud ú otros motivos, los alcaldes son inmediatamente destituidos y luego nombrados otros. En cada tribu hay un solo alcalde que todo lo hace, porque el cacique está en su pueblo mejor que un emperador, no mueve una paja y pasa el tiempo en un prolongado ocio.

(1) Hoy reciben con respeto y cariño á los amigos y conocidos, porque algunos huéspedes ó transeuntes han atropellado al indígena, exigiendo cosas ó personas á las cuales no tenían derecho.

(2) Cuando y donde el maíz no produce en cantidad, el chiriguano imita al toba y al matacco, así el fruto del chañar, mistól y algarrobo es empleado en la elaboración de la chicha.

Los alcaldes en las tribus se la entienden con el resto de los pobladores; en una busca de peones éllos oyen los sarcasmos y reconvenciones de sus semejantes y muchas veces les desobedecen terminantemente, llegando á insultarlos con: *¿Mburubicha pa nde?* acaso sois cacique? (1).

Abuso de autoridad

Los indios que hoy viven bajo el gobierno paternal de los Misioneros aseguran que anteriormente los caciques cometían miles de abusos: hablando de los caciques aún vivientes, éstos, decían, abusaban de todo lo que pertenecía á los pobres ó indefensos indios, disponían de las doncellas y mujeres ajenas, bajo cualquier pretexto se adueñaban de los caballos, vacas, ovejas, cabras y trapos ó ropas de sus dependientes, y en ciertos casos, como mandatario absoluto, ni la vida estaba segura.

En comprobación de lo último voy á referir lo siguiente: Antes que se reorganicen las Misiones de San Antonio y San Francisco del Parapiti Grande, un indio estranguló á su mismo hijo y lo enterró medianamente en la arena cerca de la orilla, con el fin de que se lo lleve pronto alguna creciente grande, pero antes que esto suceda, se descubrió el hecho, no por denuncia de la mujer, á quién había amenazado de muerte, sino por el revoloteo de los cuervos que principiaron á desgarrar las carnes ya en putrefacción (2).

Avisado el cacique regional, se practicaron las pesquisas para hablar al malhechor y no fué difícil encontrarlo por ser indio conocido; tomado en arresto y conducido ante la autoridad, confesó su crimen. Para evitar otro crimen mayor quiso intervenir la autoridad cantonal, pero el cacique regional le hizo comprender, que la justicia debía ser administrada de un modo ejemplar por él y que en nada debía mezclarse el corregidor, cuyos subalternos eran los blancos.

---

(1) En las Misiones de muchas tribus hay tantos caciques y alcaldes cuantas son las tribus que la componen; en este punto se ha respetado la costumbre de los indios para la mejor y más recta administración.

(2) El asesino de su hijo pertenecía al pueblo de arriba y fué ahorcado en el pueblo de abajo donde residía el cacique regional, y la autoridad del presunto cantón Parapiti.

A estas razones se rindió la autoridad política y dejó que el cacique haga del reo, lo que mejor convenía según sus costumbres bárbaras. Antes que se compliquen los asuntos, el cacique hizo plantar dos palcas medianamente altas, atravesó encima otro madero, reunió á todos los habitantes de ambos pueblos y á su presencia, en pleno día, lo condenó á la horca, y la ejecución fué hecha inmediatamente. El cacique no tiene leyes escritas, todo lo hace por tradición y, castigos como el referido, los aplica para escarmiento de otros, para alejar la maldad de su región, para hacer respetar la vida de los indefensos y buenos y hacerse temer (1).

Separación del mando

La destitución de un cacique es la cosa más llana, cuando los abusos que comete, son insoportables. En épocas anteriores á los tiempos actuales, los indios oprimidos comenzaban á retirarse de su obediencia á otros pueblos; y como, difícilmente pueden estos vivir en tierras ajenas, acababan por hacer recurso al cacique regional y éste á su vez los declaraba libres de tal obediencia, eligiendo á otro más humano de la misma tribu ó que residió algún tiempo en ella. Hoy se ha hecho más fácil por el concurso de la autoridad política de la República, mas hay el inconveniente mayor de que destituido un cacique abusivo y elejido otro por la autoridad política, debe estar sujeto á todas las exigencias de los blancos, en proporcionarles peones, y éstos, que no quieren el yugo del caray, se aburren y emigran.

Un hecho que confirma lo dicho, sucedió en la región de Caipipendi. Al cacique regional Tengua sucedió su hijo Cariti que por faltas graves cometidas ó supuestas, fué destituido y elegido en su lugar el indígena Tarúire de muy buenas cualidades á lo menos en la apariencia. Este, elejido por los blancos, con consentimiento ó á indicación de los indios, tuvo que corresponder á sus bienhechores que lo exaltaron y, en consecuencia, responder á todas las exigencias y pedidos de peones y alguna vez el pobre indio ha tenido que ir á Santa Cruz para servir de garantía á los in-

(1) Cuando un brujo no acierta á cumplir lo prometido, porque el acaso no lo ayudó, pertenece al cacique dar la orden de la sentencia de muerte y hoguera.

felices indios que, bajo pretexto de trabajos en la ciudad, temían ser conducidos al Beni (1).

Este cuidado de Tarúire y el recelo de los indios, se originó de un hecho público sucedido el año 1905, cuando llevaron de allí una partida de indígenas vendidos para los gomales; los rumores del hecho corrieron con la mayor rapidez por todos los periódicos de la República que lo reprobaron, y en aquel tiempo ví grupos enteros de familias que con todo lo que poseían, emigraban á otras tierras.

De esto provino que muchos indios obedecen hoy á Tarúire no por amor y adhesión, sino por temor de un serio castigo que les aplicaría luego la autoridad política; y el cacique ya principia á aburrirse de esta tarea tan odiosa para él que busca estar tranquilo en su casa y gozar de la paz; así me lo ha manifestado repetidas veces y quedaría satisfecho, si nombraran nuevamente á Cariti, á quien los indios guardan las debidas consideraciones.

Sin embargo, es indudable que el cacique de una gran porción de indios como Tarúire saca grandes utilidades de su cacicazgo. Si las molestias son contínuas, el lucro también es regular, porque generalmente el caray que hace un pedido de peones, siempre da su pré al cacique y á los alcaldes, y si aquel los visita en sus casas, le guardan algunas consideraciones por el interés de conseguir peones en lo sucesivo; mucho puede el interés (2).

Sería caso muy raro que un cacique chiriguano no tuviera sucesión, sabiéndose que cada uno vive con varias mujeres, privada y públicamente, en la suya y ajena tribu, y esto no es privilegio solamente de los caciques; aun los subalternos son polígamos. Muchas veces se casan con una viuda para después estar á la vez con su entenada á sabiendas de la madre, que consiente en ello por miedo, por interés de la comida ó de un miserable vestido (3).

---

(1) En el Beni los hombres se venden á Bs. mil y las mujeres á precio inferior; el Barón D. Erland Nordenskiold dió una conferencia en Londres probando que en Bolivia y Perú existe la esclavitud.

(2) Todo lo que reciben de los blancos, lo guardan para comprar licores y poco para su vestido

(3) En las Misiones se persigue el vicio de la poligamia no solo en los indios, sino aún en los caciques; precede sin embargo alguna amonestación para convencerlos y hacerles conocer la fealdad del vicio.

Al fallecimiento del cacique de la tribu, sucede luego el hijo mayor, mas si realmente muere sin sucesión, entra en el mando el pariente más cercano, y á falta de éste, algún cuñado prestigioso, si es querido por la tribu; de lo contrario se elije al que en el pueblo reune en su persona las mejores cualidades y si un indio goza de alguna fortuna en ganado vacuno, lanar y caballar, etc. éste es el elegido, quien es respetado y obedecido por los bienes que posee, de los cuales dispone para los huéspedes y para agazajar á sus subalternos aún (1).

Muy raras veces una mujer toma la dirección y mando de la tribu; esto puede suceder, si el cacique que muere, dejara herederas solamente mujeres, pero con mucha dificultad el chiriguano se deja mandar con una mujer; las otras tribus se reirían de ellos y los tratarían de mujeres; la ley sálica está en vigor entre los chiriguanos (2).

Cacique regional

Además del cacique, á quien los pobladores de una tribu distinguen con el nombre de: *Mburubicha*, grande, hay otra autoridad mayor que llaman: *Tubicha rubicha*, grande de los grandes, ó cacique de los caciques. El gran cacique reside en una tribu más numerosa y manda directamente en ella como los demás caciques, teniendo alcaldes y consejeros.

El gran cacique interviene y es consultado para la sucesión de los caciques subalternos, por esto los hijos de éstos siempre acompañan á sus padres en las visitas que practican y procuran hacerse querer del gran cacique para sucederles en el mando, pero si la tribu no lo quiere y por otra parte las faltas son muy notorias y graves para eliminarlo de los honores, el cacique regional con mucha política se lo hace comprender, añadiéndole que reformando su vida, en día no lejano podrá ser elejido de nuevo.

En caso de una guerra regional contra otra región, el gran cacique llama á parlamento y consulta á todos los caciques, conse-

(1) Cuando el cacique es enteramente pobre, puede considerarse el azote de la tribu y, como rey absoluto, toma de las cosas de sus soldados lo que quiere, para sí y para los huéspedes que lo visitan.

(2) Sin embargo hay casos en que la ley de los Salios se ha suspendido entre los chiriguanos; en Ivu gobernó la mujer *Iguandá sai*, en Aquío, *Parapoti* y del Campano refiere de una tal *Arabisai*.

jeros y brujos para disponer perfectamente las cosas y evitar sorpresas. Estallada la guerra, como es el hombre más valiente, toma la dirección de los combates hasta conducirlos á buen término y, sufriendo una derrota, no se bate en retirada, se prepara nuevamente, anima á sus soldados á combatir con más bríos para tomar la venganza y difícilmente sufre otra derrota. Así sucedió en la guerra regional del gran cacique Güiracoti contra Yaveau, en la cual, derrotado éste por aquél según he relatado, se retiró á las faldas de Irenta y desde allí marchó sobre sus enemigos, causando numerosas bajas y consiguiendo una victoria completa (1).

A Chituri, cacique regional, sucedió su hijo el finado Azari para todo el Parapiti Grande, Itatiqui, Tacuaranti, y Ururigua; á Yaveau obedecían todos los indios de Itiyuru, Curuyuqui, Ivu, Igüipinta y los de Santa Rosa, vivientes en la margen derecha del río de Cuevo; á Güiracoti estaban sujetos todos los vivientes en la margen izquierda del mismo río hasta la margen derecha del Parapiti; del finado Tengua eran súbditos los indios de la margen izquierda del mismo Parapiti hasta Gutierrez; de Machirope eran subalternos, según me aseguró él mismo el año 1901, todos los indios del cantón Ingre, Igüembe y Huacaya desde la margen derecha del Parapiti, hasta la izquierda del Pilcomayo, que abarca una extensión de 24 leguas de Norte á Sur y 15 de E. O. y cuando se trató de fundar una Misión en Yumbía, margen izquierda del Pilcomayo, cantón Igüembe, me insistió, en que no los molestásemos más, porque ni él quería, ni querían los indios (2)

Hoy apenas queda vivo un cacique regional de los antiguos, éste es Mandepónni que debe tener unos 84 años, indio muy robusto y obeso y de una salud férrea. Su autoridad se extiende en todo el Gran Chaco, es respetado y obedecido, hasta cierto punto, por los Tobas, Matacos y Chorotis y demás razas conocidas, es muy bien acogido en las demás regiones por donde pasa, y su autoridad en otras partes no es contradecida, pero tampoco acatada,

---

(1) En la guerra de Curuyuqui hubo un cacique llamado Chaparilla, y otro con el nombre de *Tunpa*, pero como la guerra era contra los blancos, el *Tunpa* tomó la dirección de las operaciones militares.

(2) El cacique regional Tengua murió el año 1900, Machirope el año 1905 y los demás nombrados, á mediados del siglo XIX, menos Chituri. Baringai de Iguembe, sin ser regional, se le tiene como tal, es el indio más viejo que se conoce, á lo menos como cacique.

porque también en la actualidad el elemento chiriguano ha cambiado casi radicalmente su régimen político; hoy es la autoridad política, la que impera, y el cacique es un humilde servidor de cuanto carny acude á él por peones.

La Misión de Machareti existe por empeño de él, y siempre ha sido fiel á los Misioneros. En la guerra de Curuyuqui quiso el *Tunpa* que Mandepónai con su influencia sublevara á los tobas y chiriguanos de su región, como hizo Tengua, pero el gran cacique no se movió, antes bien, fué con su gente á favorecer la Misión de Santa Rosa y los cristianos blancos que se habían refugiado en ella.

En aquel tiempo algunos blancos por odio quizá á los Misioneros de Machareti, quisieron envolver á Mandepónai como cómplice del Tunpa, pero esta calumnia fué desmentida con su plausible procedimiento. El avisó el día en que los sublevados debían quemar la Misión, fué personalmente con sus soldados á Santa Rosa el día 27 de Enero, antes del combate definitivo, y allí le echó en rostro á Tengua su traición á los blancos. Para él es una gloria su adhesión á los Misioneros, y cuando dirige la palabra á los suyos, no deja de hacerles recuerdo que, si gozan de paz, lo deben á él que consintió en la fundación de la Misión; así más ó menos dicen otros caciques ó sus sucesores, por cuyo influjo se han fundado las Misiones (1).

---

(1) Creído en la calumnia contra Mandepónai, el Delegado Chavarría fué con todas sus fuerzas á Machareti para castigar al cacique, mas nada sucedió, porque todo resultó falso.

[P. 168]

CAPITULO SEXTO

PUEBLOS, CASAS y TRABAJOS

INTRODUCCION

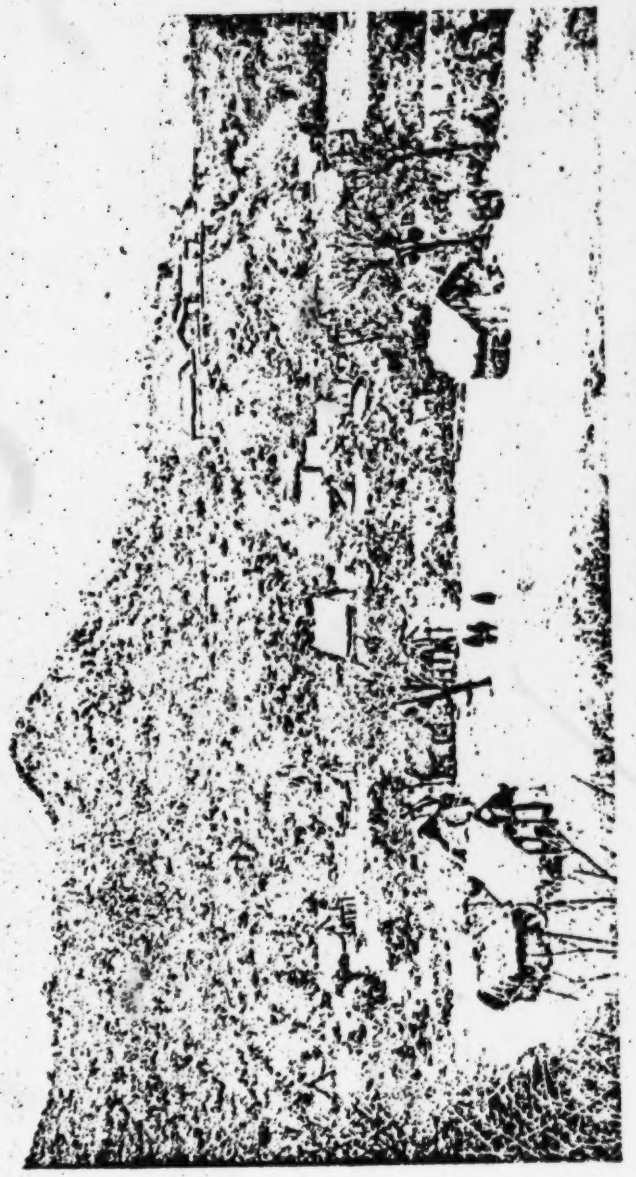
La época glacial y horribles neveras con su nueva fauna y flora en la aurora del terreno cuaternario, época misteriosa para ciertos modernos incrédulos, no encierra misterio alguno á los verdaderos creyentes, que ven en ella, ó en su aparición repentina, un castigo á la desobediencia del hombre primero. Peca Adán y la tierra tan hermosa y fecunda hasta entonces, se cubre de nieves y hielo, de abrojos y espinas; antes de su pecado, no necesita abrigo, mas conforme se rebela al Criador, se llena de necesidades. Los descubrimientos geológicos van demostrando la verdad del relato bíblico y poco falta para que los seis períodos de la creación estén conformes con la geología, falta estudiar bien los restos humanos y sus manufacturas, para que dicha ciencia diga: que ésta fué la última criatura de la sexta época genésica y confirme que no le fué anterior, como ha sucedido en cada período, desde el Laurentino (1).

La primera necesidad que tuvo la raza humana, fué el vestido para cubrir sus carnes, evitar la confusión y los fríos de la nieve y del hielo que principiaron con la pérdida del Paraiso, mas el solo vestido no era suficiente para ponerse al abrigo de las tempestades invernales.

De los hijos de Adán el primero fué Caín y el segundo Abel, éste murió á manos de aquél y no fundó ciudad alguna; aquél fundó la primera ciudad y como fué el primero en nacer, representa á los ciudadanos terrenos, como Abel representa á los ciudadanos

(1) Lecoq Lyell y otros incrédulos que hacen befa de los misterios y del Dogma, no han podido explicar la repentina aparición de la época glacial en la aurora del terreno cuaternario y se vieron obligados á escribir y pronunciar la palabra: ¡Misterio!

[facing P. 169]



Pueblo de Chiriguanos

del cielo, porque el hombre, primero nace ciudadano de la tierra y luego se hace ciudadano del cielo mediante la gracia santificante (1).

Pueblos

Consta, pues, en la sagrada escritura, que el hombre desde el principio comenzó á edificar pueblos, y todos los descendientes de los primeros habitadores de la tierra siguen su ejemplo. Creo han comprendido los lectores que los chiriguanos son distintos de los otros indígenas que los rodean; á los tobas y matacos consideran muy inferiores, tan inferiores que desdeñan y desprecian los adornos y plumajes variados que estos usan.

Los chiriguanos también, descendientes de los primeros hombres, aman la sociedad y gustan vivir en compañía, en pueblos más ó menos grandes, en pueblos bien formados, con casas alrededor de la plaza, á diferencia de otras tribus que á pesar de ser sociables, forman pueblos tan pronto, como desaparecen, según la necesidad. Así sucede que donde saben que hay comestible, allí va el toba y las otras razas nómadas, las cuales, si están al amparo de un Misionero, le abandonan, cuando sazonan las algarrobas, el chañar y el mistol (2).

Ambos casos he presenciado, el primero en la Misión de Tigüipa, donde á la orilla derecha de su riachuelo se habían reunido tres tribus el año 1905, formado sus miserables chozas redondas con pocos palitos, con manas cubiertas de hierbas, en donde vivían amontonados hombres y mujeres, viejos y jóvenes y perros cubiertos de sarna. El segundo lo presenció en la Misión de San Antonio del Pilcomayo el año 1900, cuando, maduras ya las algarrobas, desaparecieron 65 familias matacas, huyendo al bosque en busca de vida regalada y para entregarse á las bebidas y deshonestidad con menoscabo de la religión, que varios habían abrazado.

En ambos casos, los ranchos que habían sido formados, quedaron destruidos, sin embargo de que los segundos por ser hechos bajo la dirección del Misionero, eran algo cómodos, nuevos y bien

(1) Henoc fué el primer hijo de Caín, la primera ciudad que éste edificó, se llamó Henoc.

(2) Con Lamec principió la poligamia en el mundo; de Ada primera mujer tuvo á Fael quién vivió en cabañas; parece que las tribus nómadas de América aún, sean descendientes de éste.

cubiertos con paja colorada que es la mejor para la construcción de los ranchos.

El indio chiriguano no lo practica así. El también experimenta de vez en cuando la penuria de víveres, porque el terreno en que vive, hace producir las cosechas, sólo cuando no faltan las lluvias. En las carestías, valla la puerta de su casa con palos ó espinas, deja temporalmente su pueblo y va á lejanas tierras en busca de comestible, lo consigue, y lo lleva á su lugar, pero no emigra en masa, ni forma chozas del momento en paraje ó pueblo ajeno y si tiene, en los lugares donde abunda el comestible, busca á sus parientes, por los cuales es recibido y bien tratado. Permanece allí semanas y hasta meses hasta cansar á sus semejantes, y luego se despide, llevando el poco comestible que se le ofrece, como una cosa preciosa, y lo es en realidad en tiempo de hambruna.

Los pueblos chiriguanos son pequeños, se componen de pocas casas, la mayoría no pasa de veinte ó treinta casas, éstas son grandes y viven en cada una hasta tres familias, pero parientes íntimos, como padre, hijo é hija casados; forman cuadro y están situadas de tal modo que cierran la plazuela. No son hermosas, pero sí limpias, no son grandes, pero tampoco tan estrechas, como las de ciertos pueblos de blancos. Son pobres estos pueblos de los chiriguanos, difícilmente se encuentran en ellos casas con tejas, pero son cómodas, teniendo los techos como se dirá, la pendiente necesaria, que difícilmente admiten goteras (1).

Casas modernas

Nada de particular ofrece á la vista una casa de chiriguanos, pero aún las de los mestizos que se han radicado en su territorio, son de la misma forma y no pocas veces pobres, porque naturalmente como al mestizo le gusta muy poco el trabajo material, por la razón de no ser indio, le es forzoso apelar al brazo de éste, y no siempre está dispuesto el indígena á prestarle tal ó cual servicio, de donde resulta que sus casas son inferiores (2).

---

(1) En la parte superior de la casa hacen una abertura larga y continuada para dar salida al humo, está hecha de tal modo que no permite la entrada del agua en tiempo de lluvias.

(2) Trato aquí de las casas que los mestizos ó blancos erigen en la campiña, donde viven; en los pueblos sus casas son regulares, tienen casi todas techo de teja y hay algunas blanqueadas también.

[facing P. 171]

Casa chiriguana moderna, inconclusa

Casa en idioma chiriguano se llama: *Ho*, que se diferencia de la que llaman: *Tapi*, choza; estas últimas abundan en pueblos grandes y son de la gente holgazana, andariega y aún de los pobres. Debe comprenderse pues que la construcción de una casa chiriguana, no es obra de poca importancia y cuidado, si se considera que el chiriguano es pobre, tan pobre, que apenas dispone de una hacha, una pala y un cuchillo, y no siempre. Por la importancia que doy á esta construcción, muchos que no conocen estas regiones, pueden creer que las casas son muy lindas, pero nada de esto tienen, no salen del rango de cabañas.

Creo indispensable describir el modo de construirlas y el elemento que dispone el chiriguano para llevarlas á cabo. Si el indio posee alguna fortuna en ganado lanar, paga con ovejas á algunos compañeros, para que le ayuden á reunir el maderamen principal, y á falta de esta riqueza, principia sólo á cortar y descortezar en el bosque, eligiendo maderos de buena calidad, rectos y duros á la acción del agua; los principales son regularmente seis horcones que forman el esqueleto de la casa, pero donde el bosque no es elevado y los árboles delgados, se necesitan nueve.

Trasportado el maderamen con el auxilio de sus compañeros y parientes y agazajados con comida y con chicha, se determina el día para la colocación. Se colocan primero los horcones del medio, cavándose dos hoyos bastante hondos: á estos sigue la colocación de los cuatro ó seis laterales, que son mucho más cortos, para que la lluvia no se detenga en el techo y no sea una contínua y abundante gotera. He medido varias casas relativamente nuevas, y ha resultado que su altura desde el suelo hasta la cumbrera, en unas es de 42 %, y en otras de 38, pudiéndose concluir que el término medio es 40 (1).

Esta proporción guardan hoy las casas de los pueblos chiriguanos y no puede ser de otro modo, porque el techo es todo de paja y la lluvia se detendría en él, sino tuviera el suficiente declive. Algunos que por equívoco las construyen sin la anterior proporción, á las primeras lluvias torrenciales, y mucho más á las que siguen, caen en la cuenta del error cometido, pero en balde, por

(1) Las casas chiriguanas son rectangulares, de una sola pieza, la cual, si es muy larga, tiene en medio otro horcón que sostiene la cumbrera, para que no se arquee ni se rompa.

que es ya muy pesado para el indio la necesidad de su improvisada.

Colocado verticalmente el esqueleto de la casa, es casi más fácil hacer lo demás, si se exceptúan las cumbreras del caballete y laterales, cuyas últimas pueden dividirse por mitad para facilitar su traslación, además de ser muy fácil su hallazgo. A la colocación de las cumbreras sigue la de las costaneras y cuadros de refuerzo para dar fortaleza á las paredes, las costaneras se amarran con bejuco ó con cortezas de ceiba espinosa, llamada por los indios *Sacaiv* y por los blancos: Tobocuchi.

Lo más difícil está concluido con la anterior operación; tomas un poco de descanso y luego el dueño en la nueva construcción debe proveerse de suficiente caña hueca, comprometiéndolo para este fin á los indios que poseen caballos; mas si la caña está muy lejos, y tiene dudas por adelantado, cruzar varillas largas de acacia astringente ó sutil y las cañas horizontalmente de 15 en 15 centímetros por encima de las costaneras con las mismas fazas antedichas. Algunos para lizar las cañas, ó varillas, usan cordeles delgados, hechos de las pieles de ovejas, pero esto además de ser más valioso, no es tan duradero como el bejuco (1).

Generalmente, antes de dar principio á las paredes, se cubre la casa con *cupii*, paja colorada y en su defecto con *cupiiberos*, paja para aparejos de ovejas, la cual es de inferior calidad y muy largo con las lluvias, sol y vientos importunos se tiran, mientras que el *cupii* puede durar más de diez años.

Se la consigue, cultivándose cuatro días en el lugar donde abunda, allí mismo la arrancan y reducen á manojos grandecitos, el arranco se hace en varios días, comprometiendo á los indios peseadores de caballerías. Cuando el material está en el pueblo, descansa algunos días á semanas, cuidados ó cargo á los que quieren tomar parte, en seguida á los más fortunos por parentesco ó amistad; éstos van amarrando entre dos cañas horizontales el *cupii* hacia el lado de las raíces, forman bultos largos y angostos, y así disponen, los amarran horizontalmente, empezando desde abajo hacia

(1) Antes que en el territorio chiriguano se radicaran los blancos, la caña hueca era abundante y sin duda, actualmente no se encuentra, y si hay algo, está bajo cultivo y es necesario comprarla.

sirve á lavar la cantarera, donde dejan un largo cogimiento para dar salida al humo viscoso de sus fumas inapetibles (1).

Terminado de colocar el techo, bajan todos, se reunen en la casa del amigo, quien, en premio á pago del servicio prestado, les ofrece una tinaja de chicha que se la bebe entre chistes, y pullas, á veces muy pesadas, especialmente si asisten á pesar por allí doncellas ó mujeres de 30 á más años, las cuales no se quedan calladas; con mano en pecho consuela y amiga, reina la mayor armonía y terminado todo, se despiden del dueño, agradecidísimo con abrazos, y éste les demuestra su agradecimiento por los servicios que le han prestado (2).

La cosecha se practica con más amiga y en tiempo más oportuno. Efectivamente, la cosecha supone para ello el tiempo de lluvias, cuando abunda el agua, y esta por ahora carece la aprovechan de todos, por más económico y fácil. Considerada para la pesca del indio y las tierras de la mujer chirigüana, sería costoso y bastante oneroso trasladar el agua en tinajas desde largas distancias, lo cual se evita en tiempo de lluvias. Entonces en cada aguacero no sólo se practica la cosecha de las paredes de las casas nuevas, sí que también el arreglo de las que se desmoronaron durante el año y en una muy divertida donde bajan, van las mujeres alrededor de sus casas arrojando á cuo el tipoy hasta la cintura con su pala ó machete practicar hoyos en la tierra ablandada, echarle un poco de agua, amasar la tierra, formar con ella bolas grandes é introducirlas entre las cañas ya amarradas.

Las cañas ó las varillas se amarran conforme se va practicando el techo con la diferencia de que para las paredes se colocan en doble cardo, de afuera y de adentro, para que puedan servir de molde á la tierra conjada, la cual viene á quedar como en una bolsa grande, larga y alta alrededor de la casa. Este otro trabajo es practicado por los indios, compromitidos de antemano con el alcalde de la chicha; en segunda días mínimos cubren la tierra bosque-

(1) Aún la paja cubierta es desaparecimiento casi por completo; la desaparición de este accesorio elemento y el de la cada hecha, se debe á la abundancia de ganado vacuno que destruye aún la paja de aquellos.

(2) Los trabajadores sólo exigen la chicha en recompensa, aun si el dueño les hace cocinar alguna ó cualquier en cuido con bastante exclusiva de sí, arroz, es poseen ó cantarral para molos.

[illegible] por la lluvia ó por el agua y aguaba á las maderas en la operación de la formación de las paredes.

Con tal sencillez, en un solo día se levantan las cuatro paredes, quedando todo acondicionado, absolutamente así todas las cosas. Como curiosidad, diremos no existen continuamente hombres y mujeres á disfrutar del fresco de las mañanas y tardes, betelfilando ensiglidamente, mientras, que se pasan más para dormirse en las noches de excesivo calor, especialmente cuando abrieron abundan las hinchazones y otras insectos (1).

Con la sencillez del secreto, la casa está completamente acondicionada, y el indio contento y satisfecho. En las construcciones actuales se tiene cuidado de colocar la puerta, ó la entrada, á una extremidad de la casa que corresponde al oriente, y también tienen dos, una en frente de otra para tener paso al patio que forman con vallado de cañas para mayor comodidad.

Las puertas son de una que consiste como antes, pero verticalmente, con la cortina de cañas ó con cuchillas de piel de oso, conservando estas más duraderas en las puertas. Si el indio puede conseguir una piel de oso, forma un cuerpo de madera de Chogapa ó mohoyana, como llaman los blancos, ó otra madera blanda que cubre en el lugar dejado en la construcción, forma otro con un grueso de la misma madera, envuelve la piel, la clava en este agujero cuidando que no esté muy tirante, porque en cuidado lo haga tiento; conserva dicha piel por detrás con cuchillas del mismo material y así queda preciosa con puerta de lujo, que puede cerrarse hasta algunos bloques, que á pesar de poner pieles, á no matarlos quien los trabaje con puerta cualquiera, ó por la calidad de algunos cuchillas, no se provengan de tal cuchillas (2).

Casas antiguas

Algunos de más bastante habrá conocido quizá que la casa y su cuadro de construcción, ya relatado, se conservan al origen de la casa;

---

(1) En Pamplona, en el término de cinco horas, se origina y construye una casa para ese alumnos; para dicha edificio nada hubiese preparado, tal preparación del día anterior y ejecutado primero por varios los pobladores.

(2) Algunos forman puertas muy bonitas con dos piezas de madera de cuchillas espinosas que labran perfectamente con su cuchillas; ensayan chirigaos para ventana en su casa.

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

esta comercio sería un equívoco, porque deben comprender que lo antedicho, es obra del progreso. El método de formar casas, como las actuales, es relativamente nuevo, lo aprendieron de los blancos, especialmente de los habitantes del territorio cruceño, cuyas casas son tinas con corredores, estándose esto, aún en la capital del departamento, aunque sería de mucha más importancia y cayen desaparecidas con los edificios nuevos; mas en Montenegro, Lagunillas, Charagua y otros centros, donde la raza chiriguana tiene mantenido sus modos, las casas están con sus corredores.

Estos, además de dar á las casas un aspecto mejor, además de la utilidad sin discusión, son un grandísimo refuerzo y preservativo para las paredes de la casa, no permitiendo que las lluvias torrenciales desgasten ó deviten los retoques que hacen en todas las casas. Es cierto que muchas casas de blancos en sus pueblos son de adobes, pero cuando el conocerse en de calidad superior, es casi perdurable, porque queda este material más unido y compacto (1).

Las casas antiguas chiriguanas eran de distinta forma y en los pueblos las había designado en grandes y hermosas. Unas se distinguían por su redondez y forma cónica, y otras por ser pequeñas y bajas; estas últimas no tienen importancia alguna y apenas pertenecen al rango de chozas, á pesar de que para el pobre chiriguano, dominado por la pereza, la pequeñez de la vivienda, nada quita á su importancia.

No voy á ocuparme prolijamente del modo, como se construían las casas de forma cónica, sin porque indican conocimiento por parte del constructor, sin porque hacen volar el pensamiento á la China, el África, y al Japón, donde hallamos de iguales formas y nos concurren siempre más de la unidad de la raza humana.

Según hacen referencia los exploradores, los viajeros, las relaciones y libros bien meditados y hasta se observa en las viñetas de las geografías, ilustradas, se conoce que en China, Japón, África, nueva Zelandia, el Río de Australia, no pocos habitantes

(1) Al fundarse una Misión, el primer edificio es la casa Misión, hecha con toda regla; pero en las Misiones de Potosí todos son de materiales y cualquier viajero se queda admirado de su elevación y solidez.

tienen casas de forma cónica. Este método parece el originario de la raza humana, y es muy probable que lo haya usado el hombre en las cinco partes del mundo, pues se halla aún entre los chiriguanos.

Efectivamente, para construir una casa cómoda antes de la conquista, el chiriguano hábil empleaba el siguiente método; se proporcionaba primero un solo horcón de unos cuatro ó cinco metros y lo plantaba aproximadamente á un metro de profundidad (1).

El horcón plantado servía de punto céntrico de la nueva casa; en seguida trazaba un círculo más ó menos redondo sin consultar, ni mucho ni poco, las reglas de la geometría teórica, de la cual ignoraba su paradero y existencia; sin embargo, su razón lo ayudaba bastante. Trazado el círculo y dispuesto de antemano bastantes horquillas, de unos dos metros de altura, las iba colocando en hoyos de cincuenta ó sesenta centímetros de profundidad en la circunferencia, procurando dejar la entrada frente á la plaza.

Ya bien afianzadas las horquillas en el suelo alrededor del horcón, el indio con el auxilio de sus compañeros y parientes se proporciona costaneras, paja, bejuco ó corteza de ceiba, caña hueca ó varillas. Principia luego, después del descanso correspondiente, á colocar primero las costaneras, amarrándolas una con otra, sirviendo de punto de apoyo el horcón central y luego las amarra á las horquillas de la circunferencia una en cada horquilla hasta terminar: antes de principiar se tiene la precaución de chamuscar el bejuco. Lo demás se practica según lo descrito en las casas modernas; mas terminada la colocación del techo y las paredes alrededor, arranca el horcón central que no serviría mas que de estorbo al fuego que constantemente está encendido en el centro de la casa (2).

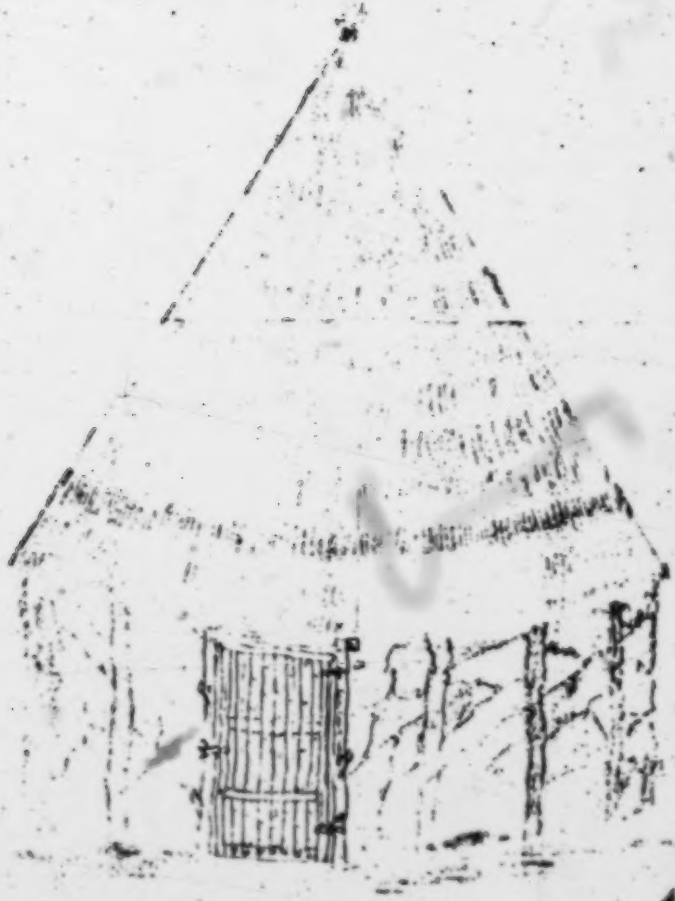
Todos comprenden que las casas de forma cónica son muy sólidas, cuando se tiene la precaución de escoger buen maderamen y

---

(1) Para cualquier pequeño trabajo, en que el indio debe molestar á sus amigos, nada conseguiría sin el recurso de la bebida; ni el dinero es tan estimado y apreciado como la chicha por el chiriguano.

(2) El bejuco chamuscado es incorruptible, en cualquier tiempo que se haya arrancado, resiste y no es roído por la carcoma; ellos que tanto lo usan, tienen experiencia.

[facing p. 177]



cortarlo en la luna menguante; si las costaneras tienen horquilla hacia abajo, las casas cónicas son mucho más sólidas (1).

Fuego

Tanto en las casas de forma cónica como en las de forma rectangular, antiguas y modernas, ardía y arde noche y día el fuego, que nunca se apaga, pero cuando esto sucede, el modo de encenderlo nuevamente, es prestárselo de los vecinos. Si todos los habitantes de una tribu han emigrado temporalmente á un lugar no lejano, como sucede en el tiempo de las siembras generales, al terminar la cosecha y al restituirse al pueblo, vuelven con su respectivo fuego, conforme he visto repetidas veces. Mas como hoy ha penetrado la civilización y el fósforo se ha generalizado, aún los chiriguanos ahorran un medio, ó diez centavos, para emplearlos en la compra de tan útil combustible, lo que usan con mucha parsimonia, porque en manos de ellos, esto ya es lujo y se dan mucho aire, cuando en una reunión de compañeros, pueden hacer ver y mostrar su caja de fósforos, encendiendo un cigarro de chala.

Cuando hoy acontece que se apague el fuego, donde es difícil conseguirlo de otras casas lejanas, el chiriguano no tiene mucho que pensar; al hombre casi nunca le falta un pedernal, yesca y un pedazo de acero; se sirve de estos utensilios para conseguir nuevo fuego. La yesca es preparada por ellos con el capullo del algodón silvestre ó flor del *samuu*, que reducen como madeja de hilo y la introducen á una asta de vaca que vacían del lado más grueso, ajustándole una tapa de madera que sujetan con un pequeño alambre, ó hilo de pita; por el interior del yesquero pasa á la extremidad, donde practican un pequeño agujero para poder cerrar y tener la tapa fija y sujeta.

El indio que no tiene todo este aparatillo, tampoco piensa mucho; si llega á apagársele el fuego, practica en un madero bien seco un pequeño agujero cónico, en el cual hace girar violentamente *un palito cilíndrico también* seco, que no tarda mucho en calentarse y luego en despedir chispas de fuego, á las cuales aplica luego la yesca que consiste en la médula seca de la agave ó

(1) Una casa de forma cónica entre los antiguos chiriguanos indicaba mucha habilidad en el constructor y lujo en el propietario, por esto la poseían sólo los caciques, ricos y pudientes.

maguey, la cual prendida, enciende cualquier otro combustible (1).

El chiriguano es muy cazador, y ningún animal silvestre, ni ave, escapa de su ojo y mano, en estas correrías muchas veces le falta el fuego. Si está muy lejos del pueblo y se dispone á dormir al sereno en el bosque ó en lo raso, prende su fuego del modo ya descrito para tener un compañero, ahuyentar al tigre, al demonio, fumar su cigarro y preparar su asado.

Trabajos

Aseo

Muchos juzgarán talvez que las casas de los chiriguanos, mal hechas y peor conservadas por el continuo fuego que despide humo y ceniza, sean muy sucias, sin aseo, sin limpieza; pero nada más erróneo. El indio, á pesar de su salvajismo, es limpio y, cabalmente por limpieza, se arranca el pelo del cuerpo y del rostro, se baña diariamente y se peina á menudo, haciendo desaparecer los animalillos que pudiera haber en su vigorosa cabellera. La *Cuña*, mujer chiriguana, piensa continuamente en el aseo de su casa, corredor y suelo frontero, hasta unos cuatro metros en toda la longitud y latitud (2).

Los pueblos chiriguanos llaman la atención de todos los viajeros y exploradores por el aseo que reina en sus casas; éstas á pesar de tener un notable ajuar, están bien dispuestas por el trabajo asíduo de la dueña de casa; los cántaros de boca ancha en los rincones, los de boca angosta, donde debe fermentar la chicha, verticalmente apoyados en las paredes, los platos y las cucharas en las rinconeras de caña hueca, las ollas pequeñas entre los vacíos de los cántaros grandes y éstos, en la abundancia y aún en la carestía, llenos unos de maíz desgranado, otros de alubias y semillas de calabazas y los últimos con lanas y algodones para trabajos de ponchos, frazadas, ó abrigos.

---

(1) Cuando el sapo entregó el fuego á los dos niños que se habían salvado del *Ipora*, diluvio de agua, les enseñó también el modo de no perderlo nunca, frotando los maderos con violencia.

(2) Todos pueden observar que algunos chiriguanos por pereza viven en casas propias muy viejas y deterioradas, donde penetra el sol, la lluvia, el viento y el polvo; á otras que tienen techo nuevo, faltan las paredes, exponiéndose á enfermar de pulmonía, pero en ninguna falta aseo.

Por encima á una altura correspondiente hacen colgar una estera de caña hueca ó palitos bien amarrados unos con otros con corteza de: *Ivi*, ceiba y allí colocan otras menudencias ó cosas pequeñas, cuando no tienen otra cosa que poner, como quesillos, quesos, charqui ó carne seca. La estera se cuelga por lo regular á un lado de la casa en una de las costaneras, mediante cordeles de piel de reses, ú otro material, se coloca allí para no estorbar á los que debieran pasar por debajo (1).

Finalmente colocan en las esquinas de la casa ó donde mejor convenga por encima una cuerda ó más, formando ángulo de una pared á otra y allí cada miembro de familia pone sus vestidos propios y los hombres los arneses de cabalgadura. Hoy los chiriguanos no holgazanes, no son tan pobres y cuando se entra á una casa, se queda admirado de todo el ajuar abundante y bien dispuesto.

Con tal disposición no es difícil á la mujer chiriguana después de haber tomado su baño, aseado su persona y amarrado su cabello, barrer su casa en pocos minutos, barrer lo demás, poner nuevamente cada cosa usada en su lugar, arrimar los catres á las paredes, poner las cobijas en las cuerdas de los rinconeras y preparar nuevamente lo necesario para cocinar (2).

Catres y asientos

El chiriguano por más pobre que sea, busca comodidad para dormir y no duerme en tierra, cuando está en casa, tanto para evitar enfermedades, cuanto para librarse de animales ponzoñosos que abundan, como son la víbora, el escorpión y la tarántula que causan horror al sólo mirarlos. Además, no duermen en tierra, para librarse de la mordedura de otros insectos, como son la vinchuca y el guanaco en regiones determinadas, sin embargo de que

(1) El *Ivi* es una especie de ceiba; *sawa*, pero no tiene puntas como éste; hay otro llamado: *Cuari* ó *Tayipiruru*, es muy derecho, tiene hebras muy fuertes y se corta sólo en las ramas para arrancar la corteza; una cuarta clase de ceiba se llama: *Iriruguam*, es grande y liso, cada clase tiene su lugar de simpatía como todo árbol.

(2) La chiriguana antigua así lo hacía, porque madrugaba mucho, hoy como va entrando la pereza, después de haberlo hecho todo, va á la fuente, se baña, peina y trae agua.

sus catres se llenan de otros animalillos color café, conocidos en todos los rincones habitados por el hombre.

Para evitar cualquier accidente se procura el: *Igüirapempi*, catre, trabajándolo él mismo. Los catres son de caña hueca, de varillas, ó de varas partidas de maguey que llaman: *caruguata guasu*. Para construirlos forma primero un marco rectángular, á este practica cuatro agujeros, 40 cm. más adentro de las extremidades, por ellos introduce otros cuatro palillos verticalmente: son los piés; por encima amarra las cañas ó varillas, que quedan altas, abajo y arriba y hondas en medio y este es el catre. Al tiempo de dormir se contentan con poner en la cabecera algún trapo ó un pedazo de madera.

La particularidad que tienen los catres chiriguanos, es que casi siempre son más cortos que las personas que deben dormir en él, la mayoría mide un metro y 60 centímetros; tendrán esta particularidad talvez, porque duermen acurrucados como los cerdos, para arrimar más la poca ropa ó cobijas que poseen. Hoy los van haciendo más largos y van poseyendo catres, como los usan los blancos; el vacío de estos últimos está cerrado de pieles de reses que amarran primero en su longitud y luego en su latitud á igual distancia, de siete ú ocho centímetros, resultando numerosos cuadritos (1).

Tampoco gusta al chiriguano sentarse en el suelo; cuando está de visita, sería una afrenta hacer sentar al hombre en tierra; sin embargo para tertuliar entre amigos se sientan, donde quieren y se alargan como los perros al sol. Para recibir á las visitas tienen asientos toscos, son de madera y los llaman: *Apica;* los hay de dos plazas y hasta de cuatro con sus respectivas divisorias, los hay para hombres y aún para niños, son de una sola pieza y los trabajan á fuerza de paciencia, excavándolos con el hacha. El árbol debe ser corpulento para que el asiento tenga una pequeña altura, y el ocupante no forme allá una figura ridícula de pulichinela ó pallazo, causando risa á los mirones. También usan bancos y sillas, como las de los blancos; de estas últimas hacen para su uso, para vender á sus compañeros y á los blancos, la madera que buscan para estos trabajos, es la zacharrosa, porque es blanda y se presta para la herramienta, de que dispone el pobre chiriguano que no siempre posee una azuela y un escoplo. Algunos tienen tam-

(1) Los catres que se forman con varillas partidas de la agave, son blandos y preferidos; en la Misión de Ivu casi todos los hacen de este material.

bién hamacas: *Quiha ó inni*, pero son tan viejas y negras por la acción del humo, que causan asco (1).

Las mujeres en su casa se sientan en tierra y la misma costumbre observan, cuando van de visita; el hombre espera que se le diga, donde debe sentarse y siempre recibe el mejor asiento. La mujer no espera, conoce su condición, llega, no saluda, deja en un rincón su atado, si lleva, y luego se acurruca de tal modo que, de lejos y de cerca, muchas mujeres así acurrucadas, se semejan á otras tantas camaretas preparadas para disparar.

Mates

En el ajuar de las casas chiriguanas ocupan un lugar de preferencia los mates, formados de calabazas partidas por el medio verticalmente; este es trabajo del hombre, él las siembra y cuida en su chaco y ya maduras, son trasportadas á la casa, donde se dejan secar á la sombra y al sol también; se necesitan para esto unos tres meses y aún más según la estación. Sin embargo, están observándolos á la larga, si penetra en su película la uña de la mano; cuando la uña no penetra, las calabazas están en sazón; entonces quitan la primera película, las parten, extraen y quitan completamente la pulpa, guardan las semillas para la nueva siembra y estando ya limpias, las dejan secar unos cuantos días.

Las coloca en lugar separado y principia una segunda operación; con su paciencia chiriguana mediante un cuchillo ú otra herramienta, el indio va grabando las figuras que se le ocurren; ramas de árboles, círculos con granitos de arena, cuadrados, figuras de tigres, de palomas, de lagartijas, perros, gallinas, toros, corzuelas, etc. Si todo este grabado fuera trabajo de mujer, tendría un solo nombre: *Sacuarama*; mas como es trabajo de hombre, cada figura tiene el nombre del animal cuadrúpedo, bípedo ó reptil que representa (2).

---

(1) Para juego de los niños cuelgan en el corredor dos cordeles, amarran en las puntas un pedazo de piel de res de 80 cems. de longitud por 30 de latitud, suspendida del suelo unos 60 cems. Llámase: *Sabiuca*, columpio, donde se mecen ó balancean los niños y niñitas de poca edad.

(2) Así dicen: *Machuru haangaño*, figura de lagarto, *Yaimba haangaño*, figura de perro. A la figura del tigre y de la paloma, aún los hombres llaman: *Sacuarama*.

Con este segundo trabajo la obra puede darse por concluida, se emplean días ó semanas según la mayor ó menor cantidad de los mates; tiñe luego con carbón molido todas las figuras caladas, pintan los vacíos con: *Urucú*, achiote, dándoles firmeza con el: *Taragüirisi*, que abunda en todas partes, chamuscándolos luego en la llama del fuego, para que las pinturas nunca pierdan su brillo y lustre, ni se desprenda la pintura de carbón y urucú (1).

Alfarería

Pasaré ahora á considerar el trabajo de las mujeres, limitándome á los de más importancia, como son las vasijas de barro y los tejidos; para aquellas se provee de antemano la chiriguana de la mejor arcilla, que conoce muy bien y trae aún de largas distancias, sino se halla en el territorio propio de la tribu. Naturalmente la alfarera no sólo quiere evitar la pérdida de su trabajo, si que también en cuanto pueda, la de reputación de obrera ó maestra de arte que le proporciona dinero y subsistencia, á pesar de la baratura del precio de las vasijas (2).

Antes de proceder á la elaboración de su tinaja, cántaro ó plato, la alfarera se proporciona un tiesto ó varios según el tamaño de la obra que quiere hacer; si no lo halla en los rincones de su casa por no tener vasijas rotas, lo pide en préstamo á sus vecinas y si éstas no tienen ó no quieren hacerle favor, rompe una de las más inferiores y pequeñas. En las Misiones, ó donde hay hornos para cocer tejas y ladrillos, las alfareras pueden prescindir de él; buscan alrededor de los hornos pedazos de ladrillos ó tejas bien quemados y con esto la materia prima queda completa.

(1) El *Taragüirisi* es una especie de hormiga que abunda en tiempo frío, su longitud no excede de medio centímetro y su grosor de tres; se pasea por las pequeñas ramas de ciertos arbolillos, donde deja su excremento blanquecino overo. Todas las alfareras se proveen en abundancia de este material.

(2) Existen algunos cristianos que en su territorio prohiben á las infelices chiriguanas el que saquen arcilla de alguna vetita buena, por esto y otras tantas razones, como observa el ilustrado P. Pierini, el salvaje ve en el blanco, no á su hermano, sino á su enemigo.

Luego sumerge en agua tanta cantidad de arcilla, cuanta se necesita para la obra proyectada y la deja allá, hasta que esté completamente ablandada y pueda amasarse mejor que la cera. Mientras tanto reduce á finísimo polvo el tiesto, ladrillo ó teja que pudo conseguir, lo cierne en el cedazo más tupido: *Unupe*, que posee, sobre en seguida la arcilla ablandada, procurando que no quede muy dura, echa en ella todo el polvo cernido, lo mezcla de modo que forme unión perfecta con la arcilla y deja la masa así preparada hasta el otro día.

La alfarera después de haber aseado su casa y su persona también, y dado de comer á sus pequeñuelos, se sienta cerca del recipiente que contiene la materia prima, extrae una porción de arcilla y principia á sobarla, la da la forma de un chorizo ó albóndiga gruesa, de ocho ó diez centímetros de diámetro, y con este primer trabajo principia la obra en el trecho más limpio y más plano (1)

Si la obra es de pequeñas dimensiones, termínala pronto; los platos, por ejemplo, los hacen muy luego y pueden elaborarse hasta diez en un día; la vasija para guardar agua puede concluirse en medio día, pero los que ellos llaman: *Yambui*, vasija grande de boca angosta y: *Ñae*, de boca ancha ó cántaro como dicen por acá, no pueden ni deben concluirse en un día, tanto por ser grandes, cuanto porque es preciso trabajar con cuidado y tino (2).

La que apurara la elaboración de las vasijas grandes, nunca las terminaría, porque la arcilla blanda se caería siempre, por esto el procedimiento es lento; hecha pues la base y algo más, suspenden un poco el trabajo, para que se seque con la acción del viento ó brisas; entre tanto va bruñiéndola primero con un marlo de maíz: *Atiigüe*, luego con una concha especial: *Iuta* y finalmente con una piedra especial de unos tres centímetros, que lla-

(1) La masa para la obra se sobe sobre una piel de oveja ó cabra, sobre un tiesto ó sobre un pedazo de madera.

(2) La base de cualquier obra se forma con una porción de arcilla que reducen como una tortilla, á la cual hacen un pequeño borde hacia arriba y á este van pegando el barro de la manera descrita, el bruñido, que dan con el marlo, parece muy insignificante, pero es más que necesario; sin esta operación el cántaro no contendría agua, menos contendría la chicha.

man: *Itaisi*, con la cual las obras quedan perfeccionadas en el bruñimiento (1).

Cuando dejan la obra comenzada, la cubren por arriba con hojas del: *Cussiro*, palma christi y al tiempo de principiarla nuevamente bañan con un trapillo los bordos. Dicho trapo les sirve aún para mojar la obra antes de bruñirla con cualquiera de los arneses antedichos; al terminarse y antes que esté muy oreada, se la bruñe con la: *Itaisi* y estando bien seca, se la quema, si no debe llevar pinturas.

Toda obra pintada de alfarería se llama: *Sacuaraua*. Las pinturas son de color blanco, negro y colorado, el blanco se llama: *Tocuati*, el negro: *Itua* y el colorado: *Itaurucu*: muelen separadamente los tres colores, los disuelven en agua y los aplican con una pluma delgada de gallina, ó de otra ave. Las figuras son variadas, raras las de árboles, animales y hombres; son líneas, grupos de griegas. Sin saberlo ellas mismas, obedecen á un orden general y algunas elaboran obras primorosas, especialmente para guardar el agua.

Para quemarlas, escojen un día en calma y la obra que es grande, es llevada al bosque, porque abunda aquí la leña y también para evitar que se acerquen á mirar las mujeres en cinta, que con su presencia, según dicen, harían romper la vasija; reunen leña alrededor de esta y la encienden, cuidando que no se apague hasta que esté bien quemada; á veces en vez de leña, usan también estiércol seco de ganado vacuno y parece que es muy bueno para la igualdad del cocimiento. Si la vasija es con pinturas, al tiempo de extraerla del fuego, la dejan enfriar un poco y luego aparadamente pasan por encima de las pinturas el excremento del *Tarogüirini*, que se derrite con la fuerza del calor y queda sobre las pinturas como una liga, sin la cual estas desaparecerían al primer uso que se hiciera. En las vasijas el *Tarogüirini* queda como una ligera capa de goma y el blanco del *Tocuati* se vuelve opaco (2).

---

(1) Las operaciones que hacen también con la concha y con la piedra, son para dar finura á las vasijas y cerrar uno que otro poro.

(2) Cuando una vasija tiene una pequeña lesión la calientan al fuego y por dentro y fuera le aplican el *Tarogüirini* y queda perfectamente como antes.

Tejidos

Otro trabajo de importancia de la mujer chiriguana es el tejido del: *Aoya* para su marido, hermano ó hijo y la: *Cutama* para sí. Para ello prepara la lana ó algodón, lo hila al contrario de lo que hilan las mestizas, y las europeas, luego lo blanquea y finalmente lo pinta.

Para tejer plantan dos horquillas delgadas y altas en casa, atraviesan dos palos arriba uno y abajo otro y urden ó disponen los hilos verticalmente y luego se sientan en tierra y van principiando á atravesar hilo por hilo la trama que golpean con un palito de madera de sol, puntiagudo que llaman: *Piuca*; esto dura por cierto mucho tiempo si los hilos son delgados, pero en cambio el trabajo es muy duradero.

Los ponchos: *Aoya*, son de dos clases, unos de lana y otros de algodón; los primero abundan desde la margen derecha del río Parapití hacia el Suey los segundos desde la margen izquierda hacia el Norte, porque en la región primera abundan los rebaños y en la segunda los pintíos de algodón. Antiguamente, antes que los blancos introdujeran ganado vacuno en la comarca, el algodón era cultivado en todas partes y de su producto se vestían en las solemnidades, los hombres con su: *Tiru* y las mujeres con el: *Mandu*, de los cuales me ocuparé en el siguiente capítulo.

La *Cutama*, de que hice mención, ha sido reemplazada con el: *Tipoi* de la misma forma que aquélla, pero de quimón, dril azul, lienzo, merino ó paño tejen también cobijas para sus camas, pero éstas son sin colores y uno que otro hombre posee un tosco telar, como los que usan en Europa con peine, trabajado por ellos mismos (1).

Otros trabajos de las mujeres son el acarreo de la agua, el del maíz y frutos del campo para la cocina y elaboración de la chicha y de la aloja de algarrobas, de lo cual hablaremos más adelante, dando por ahora término á este capítulo.

---

(1) *El Mandu* se sujeta en ambos hombros mediante dos alfileres grandes de plata que corresponde al lujo del vestido; en días ordinarios sujetaban el *Tipoi* con espinas grandes, más estas han sido reemplazadas con agujas, alfileres y broches de metal.

[P.186]

CAPITULO SEPTIMO

VESTIDOS y ADORNOS CHIRIGUANOS

INTRODUCCION

Adán y Eva para cubrir su desnudez, *consuerunt folia ficus et fecerunt sibi perizomata; Genesis cap. III ver. 7.* Cosieron unas hojas de higuera y se hicieron unos delantales. Mas Dios, después de haberlos reprendido y antes de arrojarlos del Paraiso terrenal: *Fecit Adae et uxori ejus tunicas pelliceas et induit eos: Genesis III ver. 21:* hizo á Adan y á su mujer unas túnicas de pieles y los vistió. Es sentencia común de los Expositores de la S. Escritura que las pieles fueron de animales muertos, para que nuestros primeros padres supieran que se habían hecho semejantes á las bestias con su pecado, y que como ellas debían morir, á pesar de haber sido criados semejantes á los Angeles, con todas las propiedades de los Espíritus.

El vestido que debiera hacernos acordar la caída de nuestros primeros padres, sus desgracias, sus sufrimientos, penalidades y su muerte, nuestras penalidades, desgracias y muerte como consecuencia de aquella desobediencia, se usa hoy como un objeto de lujo extraordinario. La humanidad íntegra ha convertido el vestido en objeto de vanidad y no hay nación, ni tribu por abyecta que sea ó se la considere, que no haya abusado ó no abuse del vestido y adornos.

La moda absorbe hoy casi la mitad de las riquezas del mundo, á diario cambia de vestido el bello sexo y desgraciadamente va ridiculizando su persona con mil formas extrañas de vestidos hasta

[facing p. 187]

El cacique Gómeres con su familia

ridiculizarse con el inmoral traje *harém*, rebajándose y queriendo ser igual á las pobres y abyectas musulmanas, sometidas á la esclavitud del Gran Sultán (1)

¡Qué es lo que consiguió Adán con su pecado! la confusión y el ser arrojado del Paraiso para sujetarse á todas las miserias de la vida. Todos hemos heredado la soberbia del primer Adán y este pecado capital nos hace cometer yerros y más yerros, hace que se pierda el principio de la humildad y mire, el que está en altura, con desdén al que le es inferior; sólo la *religión* puede remediar estos males, pero el catolicismo no ha penetrado en todas partes y entre los chiriguanos, en otro tiempo salvajes en toda la extensión del término, es relativamente nuevo, por cuya razón no está desarraigada todavía la soberbia con la cual desprecian á los inferiores, mirándolos con desdén, no hacen uso de sus vestidos y adornos y se esfuerzan en parecerse iguales á los blancos, á quienes consideran superiores (2).

Vestidos

El chiriguano usa cabellera larga y apenas corta aquel pelo que se halla cerca de la frente, ó por adorno, ó para que no le estorbe la vista, porque no lo amarra como las mujeres y como los indios quechuas; lo envuelve alrededor de la cabeza y lo sujeta con una cinta que la teje su mujer, madre ó hermana. Dicha cinta se llama: *Tapiguana*, mide 1.25 ó 1.30 metros de longitud por cinco centímetros más ó menos de ancho, es de algodón ó lana y las hay de varios colores, mas en la actualidad la mayoría, donde no ha penetrado bastante la civilización, lo usan de bayeta colorada, que compran en el comercio, tan activo desde la fundación de Misiones. El chiriguano con su vigorosa cabellera y su *Tapiguana*

(1) Los patrocinadores de la moda dicen que la moralidad puede de la educación; para ellos tanto vale; ir vestidos, como desnudos sin considerar que naturalmente el hombre cubre su desnudez, como sucedió al primer hombre; solo los que han perdido todo principio de moralidad ó muy acostumbrados á vivir entre la lujuria, pueden defenderlo

(2) La sencillez del traje de las católicas americanas, cuando van á la iglesia, es digno de toda alabanza; ¡ojalá que siempre vistieran así y nunca penetrara la moda de los sombreros! en Europa son tan grandes que molestan al espectador en una grande concurrencia, y en los oficios divinos impiden ver las sagradas ceremonias y, por consiguiente, que asistan sin devoción.

se adornan, anda muy coberto y hace alarde de animo como en las fiestas á la presencia de sus compañeros (1).

Para cubrir su cabeza no tienen usan sombrero, éste se tejido por ellos mismos con hojas de palmera: *Ocoendoi*, les traen de los lugares donde abunda: *Ocoendoiti*, arrancan los cogollos más blancos, los traen á sus casas, los cosertan uno por uno en una aguja larga, que hacen de la misma palma, conservándolos uno con otro, los cuelgan allí y la acción del sol los blanquea cada más. Dividen después cada hoja de tres á cuatro cogollos en hojitas no mayores de 2 ½ centímetros y principian á tejer por la coronilla, donde forman una cruz con las mismas hojitas que luego van tejiendo y conforme terminan una, añaden otra y cuando llega el trabajo á las orillas ó aleros, entonces alrededor los puntos, para que no se desdiga la obra, tiran fuerte, cortan las puntas y queda constituido un sombrero redondo.

Otros forman tiras largas de la anchura de un centímetro y las cosen una á otra con hilo de algodón y estos sombreros son además imperfectos y forrados con tela negra ó adornada, los usan los indios de mayor edad, los de importancia, los caciques y brujos (2).

Para el chiriguano la virilidad consiste en una vigorosa cabellera, sin embargo á pesar de estimar tanto el cabello, aparecen además en su cuerpo otros pelos, que los de las pestañas y cejas, cuyas últimas arrancan cuidadosamente, los demás de la cara y cuerpo los arrancan con un: *Tendiendo pelo*, pinzetas; estas consisten en unas pinzitas de hojalata ó una sola partida en medio continuamente y á veces en un cuchillo. Con toda paciencia y poco á poco arrancan ó cortan todos los pelos que aparecen en la barba, permitiéndose de este modo á otros tantos mayores. Otros que no ti-

(1) Un interesado decía, que no tenía objeto la Misión en Tomboi, porque los indios eran cristianos, estoy cierto que no está en lo cierto, porque el explotador que desea conocer las costumbres antiguas de los indios, hoy más que en otra parte, allí puede estudiarlas bien, allí aun donde están, cabello largo, sombrero y flauta, ó cosa.

(2) El apiñiñu siempre con su sombrero, el chiriguano va dejando de usar el pelo largo, ya en pocos lugares se lavada el labio para la tembeta y va reemplazando el sombrero de paja con el de paño por más que valga mucho; desaparecen ya los cascabeles de metales y paulatinamente los de bagalo ó de los blancos.

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

tales risas, armonía su pelo con unas planchitas de plata, que llaman: *Mbaiaova* (1).

El antiguo vestido chiriguano era muy sencillo y demasiado inmoral, sucediendo que se vestía entre aquellos indios, donde no ha penetrado la civilización de la Cruz, como Chacobos al norte de Santa Cruz y otros en el Chaco Boliviano. Los niños andan desnudos hasta los diez ó doce años y las niñas hasta los siete, en dicha edad se contentan con cubrir lo más delicado del cuerpo por un resto de pudor que existe entre ellas. De este vestido tan sencillo hacen uso aún los hombres de mayor edad cuando están en el campo, ocupados en su trabajo, ó cuando al pueblo cargados de leña ó comestibles, se ve vestirse en todas partes vestidos á la moda de Adán. En los pueblos los hombres y en todas partes las mujeres visten vaqueta desde la cintura hasta más abajo de las rodillas, porque por trabajo ó por forasteros la *Cotona ó tipoy* que las pueden cubrir hasta los hombros, hacen bajar hasta la cintura, quedando visible lo demás.

Vestido de gala

Vestido de bajo y de gala era para el chiriguano antiguo el: *Ambiroti*, cobertor; este solo nombre abarca el *Guaupi cangao*, sombrero, el: *Ambiroti*, manta ó lana y las: *Guaupi timbias*, calzones. Por ser el cobertor objeto de bajo, no tenían lo usaban, se reducía á las grandes ó cangaos, á las rizas y á las trajes; en todo de piedra cortadas que son de jabalí, pecarí ó cervuna, se cortan con la cortana del: *Cheraqui*, arma astrigante ó cuchillo que contiene mucho tacuas.

Hombres del acto se necesitan para hacer un cobertor completo, como el que se hizo trabajar en la Misión de Santa Rosa por el indio Cachapuri y que llevado á la exposición de Turín, fué adquirido por el mismo de Florencia, juntamente con la calavera que cangi'ra *Cheraqui* y otros objetos, como el: *Tandagua*, especie de quitasol de plumas de avestruz, etc. objetos que los Misioneros de Potosí cambiaron juntamente con los de Turín (2).

(1) Durante mi permanencia en el territorio he visto un sólo indio que tenía barbas tupidas, mas por su desaseo causaba asco; cuando le cortaban, las cortaba con tijeras; hoy los mozos principian á usar bigotes y barba y se afeitan con frecuencia con navaja.

(2) El Misionero que se encargó de llevar todos los objetos á la exposición y conducir á los chiriguanos de ambos sexos, como demuestra el programa, fué el Reverendo P. Fr. Giannecchini.

[facing p. 190]

Aperu o sila chiriguana, cara, bolsa, cinturón

La capa del sombrero se forma de cuatro partes cosidas, lo mismo las alas que la cubren, se cosen con cordillos del mismo material y los ariles de las alas están tenidas hacia arriba; el sombrero tiene una cinta del mismo material, cosida en ambos lados, correspondientes á los cinco para sujetarlo á la garganta, hay en la cinta un fondo ó anillo que sirve para apretar más.

22 *Indicaré* que de el sombrero á todo el conjunto, es una manera perfecta, pero se forma en toda propia del chiriguano, para que no le pueda estorbar el movimiento de los brazos. Su corte no es recto y se alzan muchas partes en el pecho mediante dos cintas de cuero, que se introducen en los ojales de la parte superior. La camisa en la parte de atrás, termina en dos puntas, á los cuales pueden una especie de adornos del mismo cuero, consistente en tiras delgadas y cortas, como un fleco, las mangas son anchas, como todo el conjunto, y se sujetan á la espalda, quedando abiertas el lado del sobaco para que no estorbe el movimiento de los brazos en la caza ó en la guerra, donde lo usan también los grandes. Efectivamente en la fotografía que se tomó en Nueva Rosa, para mandar á la exposición, figuran ahora del abuelo un cazador y un guerrero, vestidos con el cubrir; en medio figura una chiriguana con su corona y adornos de reina del festín, la cual alcanza la chicha á todos los que están divertidos (1).

23 *Tindiri*, calzón, es más de cuero y se forma de cuatro piezas, más ancho desde la cintura hasta el bajo muslo y más angosto desde el muslo hasta terminar, es bastante corto y llega al tobillo, es más bueno que los demás, pero, más apretado y dos cordoncillos para tener ranqui en su mismo calzón, este se sujeta á la cintura con un cinturón ó con dos cordillos que están cosidos en todo la anchura del mismo calzón.

24 chiriguano, vestido, con estas piezas, se considera un grande y lo es ante sus compañeros y los mismos antiguos. Pero desde el principio, desde antes de entonarla, consiguió tenerla después de un año para agradable, como es fil de los cuales considero el bueno que será después que lo lugar cuando algún tiempo. Se comprendería fácilmente que el chiriguano vestido con calzón, no tiene otra cosa en el cuerpo, allí se pegó todo el calzón, etc. y advierte que el arado menos se lava, lo que aumenta la bondadosa.

---

(1) La chicha es lo que sirve á los bailarines en calidad de dueños y patrona del festín, esta fotografía á figura no se produciri en el capítulo que trata de los fiestas porque no pude conseguirla.

El marqués Pandé de Era hasta sus visitas á las P. P. C. C. de la Middle de Santa Rosa para pedir la Middle en su pueblo, se creía antes de verificarlo con su cabeza viejo y ranquinoso, alrededor á los Midaneros y convencido muy cerca de ellos, resultando así inagotable (1).

La figura que pongo al principio de este capítulo será comprender mejor la descripción del *Andironi*. Figuran en ella un viejo y un jóven paredes, una mujer sentada en una silla y una doncella sentada en el suelo; el viejo, vestido con el cubrete, en el marqués Gilbrera de Santa Rosa, la que está sentada en la silla es su mujer, el hombre á su derecha es su hijo Tendrera y la doncella es su hija cristiana, llamada Prima.

El chirigueno que no puede poner su cubrete, se contenta de un pendiente largo, ó de una franela arrollada en su cuerpo que le llega hasta las rodillas, solo hay en este que un pendiente cualquiera con diamantes con unas seis varas de lienzo, que le sirve cubrida dos hábitanas; hoy todo se consigue en las casas comerciales de pequeño coste (2).

Costumbres

Se ha visto en el discurso de las páginas anteriores, que el chirigueno es cazador, guerrero y tocador bruja; conservan en la primera y segunda categoría y cubrirlo la tercera y se comprende fácilmente, porque se necesita conocimiento de hierbas medicinales y todo que sabe, el arte de saber curarse, con disabarse, lo que no es de todos.

Los tres clases parecen no cincuenta con sus bailes que consiga del número; el cincuenta es llamado *Olmar* sin duda por tener sus bailes. Ha esta pasero las de primera y segunda categoría el taburete, la *Sinda*, el pedernal, la yesca y el acero para producir el fuego y los brujas *Ahadra* á estas cuatro las cuarenta de su pendiente que,

(1) Completan el cubrete en por de hacer. Primero que traslumbrar quiere decir: compañero de las cantilas, son mensajeros á los cazadores para no lastimarse los pierdan cuando persiguen á los animales silvestres.

(2) El cubrete se ven hoy en algunas partes para hacer vivir en carnaval, lo mismo puede decirse de otras antigüedades; he colocado en este capítulo el modo de hacerle como el del sombrero, porque su trabajo, del cual aprendió el niño Gandero y vuelve á ver en el número de los cestillos.

[illegible] el *Mincopile*, pieza de bronce, el *Incapile*, piedra redonda, [illegible] para las ceremonias .... [illegible] (1).

Otras que no son manufactura *y* los [illegible], cuando se ejercen en oficio, para amarrar los [illegible] en la cintura, [illegible] Deja que llamar: Chacual, la trajo con [illegible], es de lana *y* pintada de colores varios, [illegible] la pasan, [illegible] algunas [illegible].

Otra de las [illegible] es la: *Chapuro*, [illegible] larga en su explicación literal, la *Chapuro* posee propia del chirigüano, es de cuero curtido de [illegible] ó de [illegible], engrasa en su abertura, que [illegible] con un [illegible], frunces la abertura, como alrededor y [illegible] de la [illegible] hacen poner el cuero algo largo para poderla colgar de una espalda y hacer poner el [illegible] como una [illegible] de [illegible]. La [illegible] en [illegible] como [illegible] para llevar [illegible] en una [illegible], en ella pueden [illegible], [illegible] y [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] y viajeros y [illegible] como se ha dicho, [illegible] se les [illegible].

Finalmente no le falta otra [illegible] para llevar agua; para no [illegible] las [illegible] de una [illegible], posee una [illegible] de calabazas de [illegible] como la de los [illegible]; la [illegible], [illegible] la [illegible] y [illegible], [illegible] en [illegible], la [illegible] en una [illegible] de [illegible], de [illegible] deja una ó dos [illegible] más largas como del [illegible] colocado en la [illegible], donde el [illegible] chirigüano forma un pequeño [illegible], la llena de agua, [illegible] con un [illegible] de [illegible] y durante el viaje [illegible] una [illegible], si [illegible], que puede faltarle, donde tuviese mayor necesidad (2).

Adornos

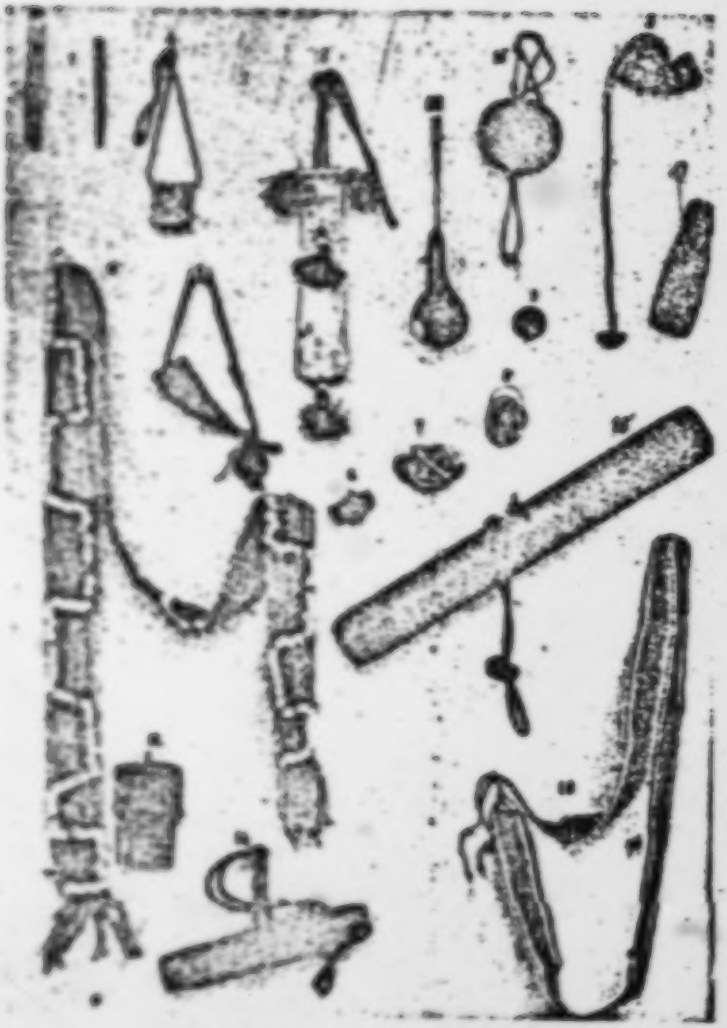
Hasta dar una rápida ojeada á la humanidad existe para ver que, [illegible] el hombre fué prodigando la bellezas [illegible] de su alma, [illegible] á adornar la fealdad de su cuerpo con vestidos de lujo *y* con [illegible], de oro, plata *y* piedras preciosas. Si [illegible] la historia de la humanidad, la Santa Biblia, el libro más antiguo del mundo, el [illegible] de la [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]

---

(1) *La Hoz* no parece de origen chirigüano, [illegible] si fué introducida por los argentinos ó por los tarijeños, pero me parece que fueron los primeros que la introdujeron, porque es semejante á la del gaucho.

(2) Los indios que están gobernados por los corregidores en la región del Gran Chaco, en sus expediciones hacia el desierto del Paraguay, acostumbran con su respectivo tari á tamaño.

[facing p. 193]



Adornos chiriguanos, etc.

gos que revelan la tendencia del hombre al adorno del cuerpo, cuidándose poco de la belleza del alma. Sólo en el pueblo hebreo se hallan varones extraordinarios y mujeres fuertes que prefieren la belleza del alma á la del cuerpo corruptible y, sólo después de la venida del Redentor, se busca en el mundo católico la humildad del traje y el desprecio de los adornos. Así lo practican las vírgenes en el claustro, las madres verdaderamente cristianas en la casa y en la sociedad, los sacerdotes y monjes que explican la Religión católica y los verdaderos cristianos, que siguen á Cristo pobre. Los demás son semejantes á gentiles y paganos gastando mucha gala, resonancia, mucho lujo y esplendor en servicios y adornos.

Los chiriguanos aunque ocupen un lugar muy ínfimo en este rincón del mundo, aunque poco posean para ostentar y hacer gala de grandeza y bonto, siguen la tendencia común de la humanidad, casi como la bestia su instinto. Sin peligro de errar, si el chiriguano poseyera grandes riquezas, las invertiría fácilmente en sus vicios y en el ornato de su cuerpo.

Cuando el chiriguano quiere hacer una visita de conveniencia, asea su cuerpo, se viste de los mejores vestidos y pinta su rostro con el polvo del achiote. La elaboración de la semilla del achiote se halla descrita en las páginas anteriores, en el tratado de la flora; aquí añado que para que el *Urucu* esté firme en el cutis del indio, es necesario que éste, suavice primero su rostro ó la parte que quiere pintar ó embellecer, con el aceite del palmachristi.

Se ha visto aún que la comarca es cálida y los cambios atmosféricos son muy repentinos; á un extremo calor, sucede un frío sensibilísimo, en estos cambios el cutis del chiriguano se raja. Para evitar este inconveniente, hombres y mujeres se pintan el rostro y los piés con cosmético; además lo usan en las bebidas públicas, en los banquetes y en la elaboración de la chicha para evitar el mucho calor, lo mismo en una convalescencia y después de haber sanado de la viruela (1).

Otro de los cosméticos más usados por hombres y mujeres es la: *Caranapa*, es una hierba anua de hojas anchas y crece su tron-

(1) El polvo del achiote juntamente con el aceite del palmachristi es fresco en el calor y cálido en el frío; las neófitas en las Misiones ya no lo usan, si lo usan, es con parsimonia y como remedio.

co hasta la altura de un metro ó poco más, el color de la misma planta y hojas tienen la parte media entre el rojo y el morado, su flor es gruesa y de la largura de unos 30 centímetros, su color es el mismo de la planta, pero mucho más encendido. La planta es suficiente en todo lugar, pero no muy abundante, la flor es algo pesada, cuando tiene semillas, y como su tronco es delgado y flexible, resulta, que no pudiéndose sostener verticalmente, se inclina hacia el suelo formando un arco, de donde le viene el nombre de: *Curusapa*, ó sea hierba arqueada (1).

Cuando la flor y la semilla están en sazón, las coquetas hacen su cosecha para usarla y, parecen hermosas. La *Curusapa* tiene también su preparación, sin la cual no sería fácil su aplicación. Muelen primero unas cuantas alubias blancas, cernen muy fina esta harina y luego muelen en un mortero la: *Curusapa* con un poco de agua, echan este molido en un lienzo, esprimen sobre la harina de alubias el agua que sale, bañan ó tiñen y hacen secar al sol la masa, extendida sobre un lienzo ó una *Cutama*. La elaboración no es difícil, pero no todos se dedican á ello y para aquellas que la elaboran, es objeto de lucro.

El modo de usarla es el mismo que el del achiote, pero no tiene particularidad alguna, por esto se usa sólo en las fiestas y en el carnaval; las doncellas hermosean su rostro, formando dos círculos de *curusapa* en sus frescas mejillas y pintan las cejas con el achiote. Antiguamente cuando las jóvenes usaban el: *Atiru*, copete, era este, en las fiestas, pintado con la mistura de la *curusapa* después de la untura del palmachristi.

La flor de la: *Guambero*, verdolaga, tiene las mismas propiedades que la *curusapa*, mas es poco usada y se contentan con pegarse en el rostro apenas las hojas y esto en el carnaval, resultando así un juguete de bailarinas. Finalmente tienen los indios un cuarto cosmético que llaman ellos: *Mboiururu*, ó sea: achiote de la víbora, es colorado y aseguran, que es comida de la víbora, de donde le viene el nombre, lo usan estrujándolo en sus mejillas, dándoles un rojo encendido.

Según se ha notado arriba, el antiguo chiriguano: *Aua* y la chiriguana de antaño: *Cuña*, en las fiestas solemnes y en los días

---

(1) En tiempo de carnaval aún las neófitas se pintan la cara, como hacen las blancas, compran misturas que venden los blancos, y los infieles dejan su achiote en los carnavales.

de regocijo general, después de haber hermoseado su rostro y aseado su persona, vestían el *tira* y el *manda*, respectivamente (1).

El *Tira* es una especie de poncho largo, del que se diferencia por las dos aberturas que tiene cerca de las muñecas, en dichas aberturas introduce las manos que quedan libres para los movimientos y, sujetado el *tira*, á las muñecas, nada estorba su anchura al que lo lleva; es hilado y tejido por las mujeres y la materia prima es el algodón. El *tira* se diferencia por el color, unos son negros, otros colorados opacos y los terceros azules; se vuelve del primer color con el barro negro: *Tuttáá*, mezclado con resina de algarrobo: *Piari*, del segundo, con cáscara de sotillo: *Urundeibuen* y del tercero, con el añil silvestre: *Cangái* (2).

El tiru negro, primero se tiñe con cáscara de sotillo y luego lo sumergen en una vasija que contiene el barro negro bien remojado y la resina del algarrobo, después de algún tiempo lo lavan y hacen secar, quedando el color permanente. El colorado opaco se hace con la sola corteza hervida del sotillo. Finalmente para teñir con el añil estrujan dicha hoja y la exponen á los rayos del sol, luego la vuelven á estrujar del mismo modo, después la ponen en una tinaja con agua, donde sumerjen el *tira* que se tiñe de un color azul claro, pero si quieren, que sea igual al del dril, es necesario hacer hervir el añil.

Para teñir todo colorado usan también una especie de cebollas que llaman: *Tunpaipi*, que quiere decir: pié de Dios, literalmente traducido; abunda en los campos, y de otra llamada: *Chapi*, que se halla en las peñas. Todo lo que se ha dicho del *tira*, es aplicable para el *manda* de las mujeres con la sola diferencia, que este es abierto en ambas extremidades y se sujeta á los hombros con dos enormes agujas de plata que llaman: *Ya gasua*, agujas grandes, las cuales también van desaparecidas.

Cuando la mujer está ocupada en los trabajos domésticos y otros, amarra fuertemente su cabello con una cinta: *Apiroá*, de

---

(1) Si el indio vestido de: *tira*, no posee un calzón: *guasapi tindáo*, envuelve su cuerpo desde la cintura con un poncho más delgado que le llega hasta las pantorrillas, es también de algodón y lo tejen las indias; llámase: *Tirapel*, ó sea ferro que calienta, "alias" ibirigu.

(2) Hoy todo se consigue en el comercio y la planta del añil que abunda en ciertos parajes, es descuidada; compran el añil y los demás colores, como compran para su poncho y su tipoi.

algodón ó lana, para que no le estorbe en sus tareas, pero cuando está de fiesta, lava su persona, lava su cabeza, prima su robusta y reluciente cabellera, y la deja suelta ondeando por su cuerpo, hasta donde alcanza (1).

Sobre su *tiru* los hombres ponen la: *Mbeiseru*, es una planchita doble de plata con su ojal en la parte superior, donde colocan un cordón doble de lana, en cuyas extremidades hay flocos del mismo color; este adorno es propio de los hombres, sin embargo hay también mujeres que las usan, pero más pequeñitas. Si se averigua el origen de la *mbeiseru*, hay ningún chiriguano da razón, pero es casi cierto, que la recibieron de los españoles, con quienes casi desde el descubrimiento tuvieron relaciones, como puede desprenderse de la historia de Tarija, cuyos primeros pobladores tuvieron que luchar con denuedo para apoderarse del territorio que ocupaban entonces. Basta ver una *mbeiseru* para caer en cuenta, que ella no es de origen chiriguano; la labor que casi todas tienen, indica, que es obra de civilizados, pero en ella se ven los adornos del huril (2).

Tanto el hombre como la mujer adorna su cuello con perlas: *Itogüi*; collares: *Rini*, no son de perlas como las de los civilizados, pero á pesar de esto el *itogüi* tiene entre los chiriguanos un valor convencional. Por cuatro collares de *itogüi* se dan dos de la mejor que poseían, y los enfermos los dan al brujo, para que los cure y actualmente que casi no se consigue una collera, no es raro, que un enfermo pretenda, la regale al médico, por más que sea su pasaporte para la eternidad, porque nada cual comprende, que después que el enfermo ha sido curado por un brujo de la manera más bárbara, sino sano, está claro que muere.

Los indios menos que no pueden lucir una collera de perlas, se las forman de cuentas: *Yatita*, que abundan en toda la región.

---

(1) Las jóvenes actuales amarran su pelo como las blancas, formando trenzas entre las cuales pasa una cinta que llaman: *Adapa*, ó trenzadera. El pelo amarrado á la antigua quedaba como un bastón, pues no se veía un pelo, ni horizontalmente, todo quedaba cubierto con la cinta: *adapa*.

(2) La: *Mbeiseru* la: *Tempete* con la *adamiche*, las 4 collares y la *adamiche ichi*, antiguamente se cambiaban con un caballo, una vaca, diez ovejas ó quince cabras, pero debe notarse que dichos bienes muebles, valían poco. Una vaca valía cinco ó seis pesos y lo mismo digase de lo demás: viajeros de conciencia hay pagan por una tembeta hasta cuatro bolivianos por ser objeto de ornato.

Los granos son chatos y redondos como un botón pequeño, hacen un agujero en el medio y los ensartan uno por uno, formando, para separarlos, un nudo en el medio; como las conchas son blancas, la collera en el cuello negro del chiriguano se ve muy, muy lindo (1).

Es también propia de los hombres otra collera de perlas: *Ndenicka*, una sarta de cuatro con una grande en el medio: *Ndenicka ichi*, nombre de las perlas, es de valor. La *ndenicka* viene engastada en todo el borde de la tembeta, la cual entonces es de valor y llámase: *Ndenicka-ondoti*, tembeta con perla.

Parece que el explorador y expedicionario Toner no está en lo cierto en asegurar, que estas colleras son de cornalina, malaquita, etc.; los indios no dan nada de donde provienen, talvez con un análisis prolijo pudiera saberse que clase de material contienen y cual es el animalillo, que las produjo naturalmente, como la cornalina. Lo que está fuera de duda, es que los exploradores de hoy, no les dan el valor que pudieran tener siendo verdaderas perlas, el valor antiguo de las perlas entre los mismos indios era como ya he dicho, convencional. No está seguramente en lo cierto el mismo autor en asegurar, que las mujeres chiriguanas usaban collares de conchas; quién las usa las mujeres: *Tapii*, donde he permanecido largo tiempo, pretendiendo ver desde lejos el fuerte Olimpo.

Las collares de las mujeres son abundantes, son de diferentes formas y colores, unas son redondas y negras: *Mbaica*, compuestas de perlas, otras coloradas y cortas: *Mbaicharoki*, perlas cortas y otras largas y negras: *Ndondilla*. No faltan tampoco mujeres que además de los adornos anteriores, ponen en su garganta una sarta de monedas de plata, todas del mismo tamaño; son de diez ó de cinco centavos, pero las hacen iguales. De lo dicho se desprende que las collares que usan las mujeres, son modernas, traídas por los conservantes especialmente holandeses (2).

Las collares modernas son comunes y usadas también por los mestizos, pero no usan las brazaletes que son propios de los indios. Forman una sarta larga de mostacilla azul y la envuelven al-

(1) La collera de concha la usan solamente los hombres; he averiguado con prolijidad y he visto que solo ellos la usan, ya pronto otros cuentos que hablé en un apartado que descubrirá la Historia.

(2) Actualmente no se hallan medios y reales de puro plata, aun los indios chiriguanos forman sus collares con medios y reales de níquel, éstos mejores, pero aquellos eran mejores.

rededor de las muñecas de sus manos, cuidando que cada vuelta esté bien ajustada y arrimada á la primera y así las demás que siguen.

El chiriguano por ser soberbio no se rebaja á usar los adornos de las tribus limítrofes que le son inferiores, pero se amolda fácilmente á usar los vestidos y adornos de razas que le son superiores. No se rebajaba á usar las plumas de aves, á grabarse el rostro y brazos, á usar zarcillos de palo, como los tobas y otros, pero imita y pretende superar á sus superiores los blancos, vistiéndose como ellos, usando el sombrero fino los hombres, la manta de lana y seda las mujeres, el calzado y la bota los jóvenes, el zarcillo extranjero las doncellas. Por esto á las tiernas parvulitas, conforme nacen, les horadan la ternilla de las orejas, para que á su tiempo y aún antes de principiar á caminar, la madre les ponga un par de pendientes, mientras que ninguna de las ancianas que conozco, lleva pendientes en sus orejas; señal segura de que nunca llevaron adornos en ellas, de modo que si las modernas chiriguanas los usan, es por haberlos visto á las señoras y doncellas que vinieron de centros civilizados, ó nacieron acá.

Voy á concluir este capítulo haciendo mención de un adorno de lujo que ha desaparecido por completo, es adorno de mujer y se llama: *Agaú*, corona, y quien la usaba, llamábase: *Cuña agaú rai*, mujer coronada; su oficio de esta en las bebidas públicas y solemnidades, era dirigir la danza de las mujeres, dirigir el canto y dar la bebida á los cantores y bailarinas con sus propias manos. El *agaú* era una faja de varios colores, larga hasta tres metros, se colocaba alrededor de la cabeza, se cruzaba en la parte posterior del cuello, afianzándose con espinas, agujas ó grandes alfileres de plata y ambas extremidades terminaban con flequitos de varios colores; era un adorno de gran domire (1).

He aquí la pobre humanidad sin idea cabal de religión y culto: para el cuerpo todos son afanes y trabajos, mas para el alma ninguna preocupación. Sólo Cristo pudo renovar al género humano y rasgar el velo que ofuscaba su inteligencia y sólo el sacerdote y Misionero católico pueden enseñarle la sana doctrina de la

(1) Para mandar una *agaú* completa á la exposición de Turin, tuve que mandarla hacer en la escuela de niñas de Santa Rosa, en el pueblo no se pudo conseguir una, no había ya entonces.

inmortalidad y otros dogmas, para que con éste conocimiento busque primero el reino de Dios y recibe lo demás por añadidura (1).

Explicación de la ilustración anterior

1. Palitos para conseguir fuego.
2. Asta de toro para tañer.
3. Cola de quiriquincho para tañer.
4. Pincetas para arrancarse el pelo del rostro y otras partes.
5. «Mboivera» ó planchas de plata para adorno.
6-7-8. Tembetas de metal.
9. Tembeta de caña hueca.
10. «Yapicuana» ó cinta para el cabello.
11. «Aguá» ó cinta larga para adorno de la reina en las bebidas de gala.
12. Peine de madera.
13. Porongo para tañer.
14-15. «Sesene» ó flautos chiriguanos.
16. «Igüiramimbi» para tañer.
17. Hacha de piedra.

---

(1) Quaerite primum regnum Dei et haec omnia adicientur vobis.

[P. 200]

CAPITULO OCTAVO

LA FAMILIA CHIRIGUANA

INTRODUCCION

Es completamente absurda la teoría del fundador de la escuela transformista, cuando pretende demostrar y establecer el origen de la raza humana por medio de la evolución. Esta teoría es admisible entre los individuos de una misma especie y entre las especies enlazadas por la intermediaria en el sentido de que, son aptas al perfeccionamiento casi substancial sin excluir la intervención de la divina Providencia que ha creado el primer ser organizado; pero no puede admitirse en el sentido de que, una especie típica inferior pueda pasar á ser especie superior, porque falta la especie intermediaria. Por ejemplo: el bisonte europeo y el americano son hoy dos especies completamente distintas, sin embargo uno y otro presentan transiciones tan imperceptibles con los restos del Il Priscus, ó bisonte de los tiempos anteriores que pueda considerarse como el tronco de aquellos.

La transformación pues es admisible sólo en las especies representativas, las cuales provienen por disposición divina de las preexistentes. Entre el hombre y el mono falta la especie representativa, el anillo de conjunción, por donde aquél no puede ser un mono perfeccionado, como enseña Darwin y todos los de su escuela, porque pertenece el hombre á un género especial de elevada categoría por sus facultades intelectuales. Si los antiguos combatieron la teoría del hombre-mono, es por ser absurda y contra-

ria no sólo á la Religión, sí que sólo á los verdaderos principios teológicos y descubrimientos geológicos (1).

La teoría antelicha se ha extendido ya por todo el mundo y hasta comienza á penetrar en la región de los chiriguanos: ¡quién lo creyera! No lo mostró á un pobre labriego una figura, donde estaba pintada una mujer desnuda que en nada se distinguía de las actuales y un hombre, que sólo se diferenciaba de los demás por tener un rabo bastante largo y el infeliz labriego ya creía en la teoría de Darwin, explicada por un discípulo muy sumiso de este hombre-mono, que se cree á lo menos nieto del ilustrado y progresista orangután ¡perdónen amigo!

Los verdaderos geólogos y zoólogos van demostrando hasta que punto, es indiscutible la doctrina transformista, explicando de un modo natural la procedencia de nuevas formas orgánicas por las especies intermediarias ó representativas y van reconociendo sólo, que la existencia de otros grupos, como los géneros naturales y el hombre por sus facultades intelectuales obedecen á un plan manifiesto de creaciones independientes (2).

La ciencia y la fé no pueden estar entre sí reñidas, porque proceden de un mismo principio, el Creador del universo. La ciencia va demostrando desde fines del siglo XVIII que todo el relato de al creación que hace Moisés en el Génesis hasta el principio de la nueva época, está conforme con los descubrimientos en las capas terrestres y en la astronomía. La ciencia que pretendía deslizar

(1) "Algunos personas sapientísimas que combatimos estas ideas por motivos religiosos y no hay nada de eso, á nuestro modo de ver, tales principios no tienen aquí nada que ver, puesto que no se oponen á que se admita, que Dios pudo haber dotado á la materia bruta de particularidades tales que se convirtiera por sí misma orgánica en mecanismo particular asombroso. Los antiguos escritores aunque muy religiosos, han admitido la generación espontánea, tesis que fué rechazada tan pronto como la verdadera ciencia quedó bien establecida. La cuestión es aquí puramente científica, combatimos esta teoría, porque carece de pruebas directas para ser establecida empírica y razonablemente". Smith. Uomi dei fos. en physique 1ª ed. pag. 594.

(2) La astronomía ha demostrado que igual cosa sucedió en los astros. El sol y las estrellas fueron probablemente materia etérea, luego pasaron al estado de nebulosas y de estas á astros ó soles; del sol se desprendió una porción de nebulosa y formó la tierra; de esta se desprendió otro anillo y formó la luna; actualmente existe uno de estos anillos para devorarse las últimas dudas, en Saturno.

de un solo golpe la relación del Libertador del pueblo hebreo como parte de ignorancia, ya reconocimiento científicamente su importancia y falta poco para el triunfo completo de la fé, falta tan solo el desvanecimiento de los vestiglos como hombres primarios, ó los primeros productos de su inteligencia.

Se ha dicho que existen objetos de la industria humana anteriores á la época de Adán y quién sabe hombres aún, cuyo último no está todavía bien esclarecido, como tampoco la primera. La teoría no ha sido condenada por la Iglesia; ésta se ha limitado á decir que los hombres actuales respiran su origen de Adán, que es el tronco de la humanidad actual. A pesar pues de ser temerario, sin embargo sin faltar á la divina religión ó revelación, puede suponerse que hayan existido hombres anteriores á Adán, pero extinguidos antes que éste sea creado directamente por Dios y aparezca en el mundo. Repito que á pesar de ser absurda y loca la opinión de una existencia prehistórica humana en el sentido mencionado, no está condenada, luego los consiguen de la fé y entre ellos, Draper, vienen en desprecio á la Iglesia católica, como si sus doctrinas y sabia enseñanza fueran diametralmente opuestas á lo que enseña la ciencia en orden á la antigüedad de la tierra, y al tiempo transcurrido desde Adán á nosotros (1).

Familia

El gitanito nos hace conocer el origen del género humano y fuera de este libro, todo es confusión; la fé nos enseña que Dios formó al primer hombre á su imágen y semejanza y muy luego dió le una compañera sacándola de su costado, de donde se deduce que la familia en el mundo, á época histórica, comenzó desde el principio de la humanidad (2).

La escritura no nos dice que sea permitido á los hombres tener muchas compañeras, con hecho de Lamech y Abrahán bígamos y

---

(1) Tomando de á la tierra que millones de años y Bochet 123 millones, puede opinarse que los años del hombre sobre la tierra sean más de ocho mil, porque las palabras gemen, gigante, etc. se indican á no poder que el engendrado cuyo desenvolvimiento sólo con el engendrador.

(2) Los lectores conocen ya la ciencia que nos comunica Andrani referente á la creación del segundo chiriguano y de la segunda chiriguana; aún de esta me nos alguna vez para alegrar el rato de la polígamia en sus interacciones sensuales á los colores.

de Salomón polígamo. Abrahán fué bígamo por ser su princesa estéril y se unió á su esclava sólo para tener sucesión, pero el Redentor prohibió rigurosamente ambas costumbres para la posteridad, poniendo nuevamente en su lugar las cosas, porque la mente de Dios fué que el hombre, no tenga más que una mujer, lo cual se desprende de la misma creación, habiendo hecho una sola pareja, origen de la gran familia humana.

Es muy natural que la raza chiriguana constituya familia; cada tribu ó pueblo es una agrupación de familias, las constituyen los padres y los hijos, pero muchas veces tienen estas por cabeza un abuelo y abuela muy respetados, pero que nada ordenan, ni disponen, antes bien sirven á sus hijos voluntariamente como criados, el primero en el acarreo de la leña, siembras y escardas, y la segunda en todo lo que pueda ocuparse una mujer.

Pueden no existir otra raza como la chiriguana en Bolivia que dé, como ninguna, rienda suelta á las pasiones, especialmente libertinas. Una doncella que comete una acción mala, es la gloria de su madre, quien está contenta con decir que ya su hija es mujer, esto para ellas si un joven hace cosas semejantes y lo sabe su padre, éste pondrá la hazaña de su hijo con decir: *Cuiñabe en*, es hombre. Tal expresión se oye á menudo (1).

De aquí proviene la desmedida corrupción y si la raza toba se distingue por su inclinación al hurto, los chiriguanos se distinguen por su inclinación á la lujuria, como pueden atestiguarlo antiguos y valientes Misioneros ó la talla del P. Corrado y Giannecchini. Considere el lector, vivirá poco el trabajo del Misionero que intente y se dedique á la reducción de un indio, que hace alarde de inmoralidad, pronto que Dios castigó ostensiblemente con dos diluvios, de agua y de fuego, manifestando su justa indignación con espantosos cataclismos: *Ex permanebit spiritus meus in homine, quia caro est.*

Con estas inclinaciones en nada refrenadas, antes bien fomentadas con los sinos excitos corporales y todas las facultades del alma, no es extraño, i existe entre los chiriguanos la tendencia á la bigamia muy frecuente y poligamia por lujo ó señal de grande-

(1) Cuando el Misionero piensa reprender ó castigar el pecado de algún mozo chiriguano, el padre, el abuelo ó el cacique suplican y los mayores palabras para amonestar ó decir, que no merece castigo con: Cuiñabe ene en, ó es hombre.

su. Si no todos tienen muchas mujeres, es, ó porque no les es fácil mantenerlas, ó porque no las hallan fácilmente, porque cada cual quisiera ser patrona única en su casa (1).

Los caciques regionales son polígamos casi todos ellos y casi en cada pueblo de su dependencia tienen una mujer, sin contar las ocho ó diez que tienen en el pueblo donde residen, los caciques pueden, porque poseen la autoridad, aunque nada les dan. Antiguamente la poligamia era mucho más extensa, no lo es en la actualidad, porque la raza se ha reducido mucho y en todas partes si no ha penetrado el Misionero, ha penetrado el cristiano que alguna vez es un reproche de la fabricidad del *Ara* carnal.

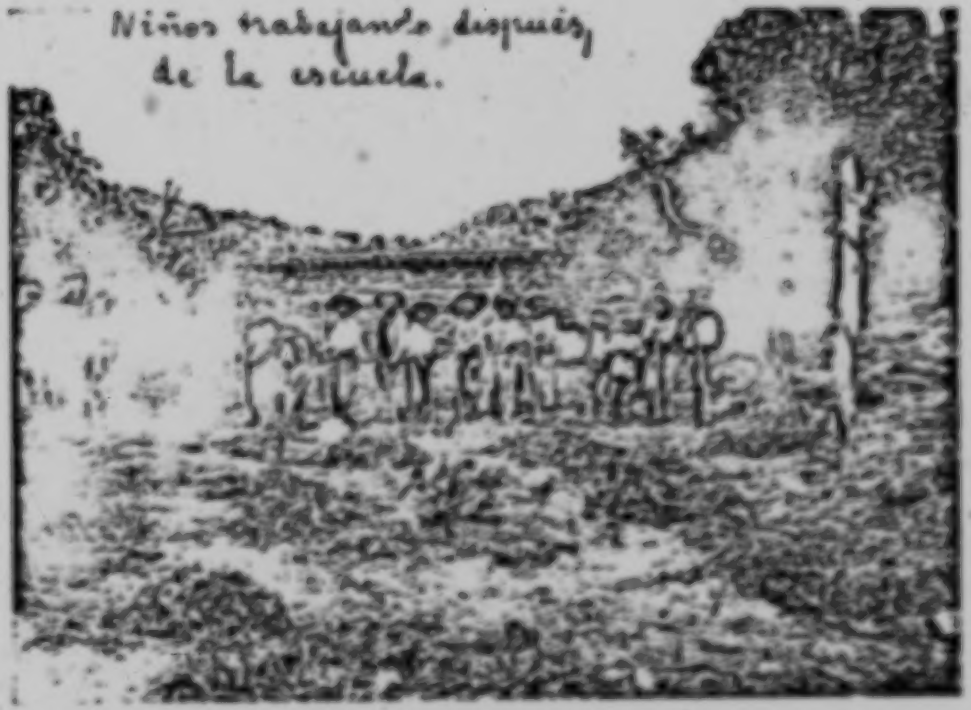
Caciques regionales actualmente son muy pocos y estos mismos son siervos sumisos de los blancos que pero les dejan vivir á su antojo, pero en lo que se refiere á moralidad, toleran que vivan, como quieran, sólo el Misionero les hace comprender que tal vida es contraria á la ley divina, pero el chiriguano muchas veces no quiere comprenderla.

Aseguran los grandes que el poseer muchas mujeres, es necesario para la elaboración de la chicha de convidarse á los huéspedes y visitantes. Esta excusa no es satisfactoria, porque el cacique en el pueblo de su residencia es como el rey absoluto y nada más fácil, que ordenar á sus dependientes ó parientes y tener continuamente la bebida apetecida, á más de que cualquiera que la traiga, mande largo al cacique que pide para sí ó sus huéspedes.

Los solteros en su generalidad son bígamos, pero no se vuelven tales desde su juventud, cuando apenas son como el pimpollo, sino á los cuarenta ó cincuenta años; esto sucede cuando la primera mujer es más antigua que él, ó se ha captado la simpatía de otra más moza que lleva á su casa tan largo, que la tiene en pacífica posesión; ordena en seguida á la vieja que la respete. Si esta se calla y consiente, queda trabajando y sirviendo á su rival por el interés de la comida; sino se calla, recibe una buena dosis de palos, es arrojada de casa y no vuelve á entrar en ella. Pero hay mujeres varoniles que no permiten la profanación de su lugar,

(1) En casa del polígamo ó bígamo, la que ordena y dispone como dueña y patrona, es la más anciana, toda vez que previene el pensamiento de su marido; pues como sabe su inconstancia irremediable, para no perder su autoridad en casa, aconseja un segundo y tercer enlace, etc., y entonces el señor de todos ellos impone el respeto debido á la más anciana.

[Facing P 205]



Educación de los niños con el trabajo

donde viven desde niños y tienen hijos de nuestra raza, entonces queda abandonada, porque el hombre se trasladó á la raza de la mujeres (1).

Cuando una madre de familia queda viuda en su edad madura, pasado el año de viudez, si tal mujer respetable, fácilmente puede casarse nuevamente; con nuestra sola nada si tiene algún hijo, siempre una pequeña. El chirigüano se casa con la madre con la esperanza de poder casarse con la criadita, cuando llegue á la edad conveniente. Si al tiempo de casarse con una viuda la criadita es de mayor edad, difícilmente consigue su intento, porque los mismos chiriguanos están ahora de acuerdo á pesar de que no vacilan para no ser engañados nuestras vecinas sirvan de alcahuetas á los tenjes durante de su noviazgo (2).

A pesar de ser tan inclinado á la bajeza sin miramientos á la edad aún en tiera tierna, no dejan de considerar el respeto que profesa el chiriguano á la consanguinidad, en cualquier grado que se la considere. Difícilmente se que un matrimonio con una prima en cuarto grado y procura conservar aun los grados más lejanos. Con nuestra sola nada el padre respeta á sus hijas como cosa suya, siendo completamente falso lo que algunos escribió al respecto, de haberse dado el caso de que un chiriguano á nuestra hija viviendo con sus hijas, ya hubiesen la mujer. En la verdadera gualeva sucedió que se casaron con sus primas, ya que con que sus respectivas la gualeva, pero gualeva sólo las que viven de aquí á pocos años?

Modo de hacer un matrimonio

Muchos autores tienen el indio para contraer un matrimonio entendiendo lo último; debe en primer lugar pasar buscar candidato de mandar y intendar. Cuando ya ha elegido á la que debe ser la prida de sus ojos y tiene bastante valor para pedirla personalmente á sus padres, hace sus visitas de mandar á la familia de la

(1) Antiguamente abundaban las mujeres por causa de las guerras, hoy abundan por la emigración de los indios á la República Argentina.

(2) La necesidad en la imposibilidad de blasonar de los indios necesitamos de su poderoso, empezando la fuga para otra misión y otra pueda conseguir otra, se quita la vida con el cuchillo.

[illegible] visitas sus tardes, hasta que los viejos le preguntan el porqué de sus ausencias. El joven en principio se contenta con sus mentirillas, pero si advierte por el cariño de los preguntones, que hay un hilo de esperanza, vuelve y hace llegar de vez en cuando regalos de caza, quesos, y frutos de su trabajo como gallinas, abejas y pájaros cantores por él.

Si el tanto del joven agrada á los viejos, hacen todo lo posible para que la hija consienta, pero muchas veces el pretendiente lo pierde todo, ó porque los viejos no quieren ó porque aquella lo aborrece; este último caso rarísimo, cuando el novio es algo anciano (1).

Cuando el joven es pudiente, se sirve de una tercera persona, como se hace en todo país, el tercero se presenta también de noche á hablar en siguiera y expone la causa de su visita desde la primera noche y por supuesto que en la primera no queda del todo convencido. Tiene que ir repetidas veces y ninguna tanto no debe faltar los regalos á los futuros suegros. El pretendiente acostumbra llevar también hasta de bota escogida cada mañana á la madrugada, que los viejos intercalaron al aparato, se conviene ó no el matrimonio (2).

Cuando los viejos quieren y á la hija agradan los modales del joven, el asunto se resuelve pronto y el esposo entra á la casa de la esposa sin decir palabra tres ó cuatro noches sin dejarse ver en ella de día. El cuarto ó quinto día revela ambos se presentan al público, sentándose en el umbral de la puerta; entonces se le acercan las compañeras solteras del recién casado y le dirigen mil preguntas bromistas por su suerte; la joven todo lo oye con sonrisa sutil, pero en el primero y último, no volverá á repetirlo.

De la dicha se desprende que no es la joven que busca al hombre para casarse, sino éste; y en provincia de sus deudas, amigos ó conocidos acaso aquella manifiesta en amar al esposo, por más que le quiera de veras. Este amor verdadero hace que muchas veces se haga la desdeñosa, porque sus padres se opusieron al ca-

---

(1) Entre los chirigüanos no se aprecia más que la valentía del hombre y su bondad; la belleza, la riqueza y la nobleza de otro caso son pruebas de ningún valor.

(2) El encargado de las gestiones matrimoniales ó el tercero cada día da cuenta de su cometido al enfermo joven, animándole á tener esperanzas.

lam, vive en otra tribu por una larga temporada en casa de sus deudos con el esposo y vuelve ya contraído de hecho el matrimonio.

En sus orígenes los chiriguanos no acostumbraban á hacer fiestas, sólo después de haber consumado el matrimonio, la madre del recién casado, mientras la ausencia de su hijo en la casa de su esposa, hace fermentar la chicha. Al quinto ó sexto día los llama, se los tiene en casa todo el día, les hace beber en punto, les prepara un pequeño almuerzo con modestísimo carácter para su amor, da á quienes muy valiosos consejos y les despacha al atardecer la noche (1).

Vida y tareas durante el matrimonio

La vida del hombre es una continua lucha, dice el sabio dicho: *Militia est vita hominis super terram*, pero la vida en el matrimonio es doble lucha; quien del estado de soltero pasa al de casado, lo ve tan largo que se acaba la buena luna. El Misionero dedicado á la conversión de los infieles, como el párroco en la administración de una parroquia, pueden dar cuenta exacta, si los sufrimientos de sus feligreses casados son ó no mayores, que los que experimentan sus feligreses solteros.

Consideremos pues para los recién casados chiriguanos una vida nueva. Tan largo que pasó la comida íntima en casa del esposo, salen con frecuencia por el pueblo, van al campo, preparan el maíz, la leña, el agua, hacen fermentar la bebida y cuando está en su punto, convidan á sus parientes y amigos y se alegran durante un día, sin sentir desfallecimiento. Así practican aún los neófitos el mismo día del matrimonio por haber visto que así lo hacen los cristianos blancos (2).

La mujer vuelve los chiriguanos es una verdadera esclava, y el hombre un señor, el trabajo de ésta para la familia se evidencia á la simple vista y recuerda, como á tener la leña necesaria. Además por

(1) En los chiriguanos que el esposo debe vivir en casa del suegro, tan largo que se contrae el matrimonio, de otro modo no entregan á sus hijas; la medida es muy acertada, así se evita muchas veces que el hombre abuse mucho de su autoridad por respeto á los suegros y por temor de ser arrojado.

(2) Este lavatorio se practicaba en casa de los suegros, por lo cual ambos varones ayudaban efectivamente el uno en el acarreo de la leña y la otra, la madre, á su nueva hija en todo lavatorio en servir á los bebedores.

divertido y pueden pasarlo en casa y fuera, en el campo y en la playa, en el mismo pueblo, pues lo dicho del tiempo con mas amigos hablando, contando bromas, cantando canciones: *Kiri-ri*, jugando al mejo y al *Ikiro*, aprendiendo hasta el *Ejeg* ó mismo de su mejor.

Visto al contrario en el campo de la casa, aparece el niño con un: *Mayoro*, especie de red, en el manantial y tras en una hondonada y á largos distancias como 50 litros de agua, prepara la comida, chisporrea la chirlas, nava no nava, lila, lajo pescados, hace ollas, cuida de sus hijos, cría chanchos, gallinas, ovejas y cabras, hace el queso, el tiene vacas, y como si todo esto fuera poco coge, por las tardes se coloca encima de su caballo montado, le monta la cabalgadura y por distancias en hacemado en aquel laberinto á los lomitos que existen sin tener el suelo, no digo de cultivar, sino de cultivarlos con los diversos usos y hacer su cosecha anual; cosa muy fácil para ellos.

Al hombre todo está permitido, puede jugar de palabras y chistes hasta con otros, pero á la mujer no está permitido, al ser casada, lo que hacíalo para ser maltratada, y divertirse. ¡Cuánto mas hay de esta naturaleza! Un gran rey abandonado á sus mujeres con sus cuatro ó cinco proporciones salir el hombre y el desgraciado, mientras el pobre sin tener motivo casualmente está trabajando con otro, participándole lo poco que gana y desgraciado de la primera mujeres (1).

Por último el hombre cuando quiere, puede desquitar á su mujer con toda facilidad; la mujeres cuando desquita en palabras maravillosas llamadas: *Cielo pocki*, mujer mala; *Cielo kongoro*, mujer perdida, horas solamente para comenzar fuego. Con tal desquite mujer aguanta con hasta y resignando, que el pobre se espera la voluntad de otra mala joven.

Cuando con madre va al manantial ó río, lleva consigo á su hija ó hija, se baña y baña con á su parvulita, usada recogida como gruesa de: *Mirio*, especie de pañuelo, cambiando su sombrero y el de su hija. Simpáto y hermoso; el hombre se distrae, mas no lo es el hermanito de la cabeza con la *Mirio*.

---

(1) Cuando el hombre resulta denominado pervertido, es la mujer, quien lo deja, pidiendo otro cero y los hijos la siguen, porque el cariño puede mucho, y recibiendo amor á sus hijos son dichos mamarros muy sonrientes.

Pruebas y alumbramiento

Hallándose la mujer en estado, no abandona sus labores de costumbre y como siempre anda al campo y lleva de allí cargas pesadas de maíz ó otra cosa. Unas para sí, como ya he indicado, otras especie de mal capisto que trabajan los indios con la cortana de la encomienda ó mayoral. Las trabajadas por los chirigüanos son como chigua, son sujetas por la parte de arriba, donde tienen un cordel normalmente, en cuya parte media se coloca una correa ancha, sostiene la mal sujetan el peso con la frente (1)

Próximo el tiempo del alumbramiento carga menor peso, dispone lo necesario que consiste en unas tenazas pedidas y un cilindro nuevo para cocer el maíz que debe comer hervido. Si la silla fuese vieja, ó cruda, el momento estaría sujeta al mal aubero ó epilepsia y si la parturiente consume maíz tostado, se vacarlas las pedidas, ó no darían lecho para alumbrar al niño.

Al tiempo del alumbramiento sólo queda en casa la parturiente, los demás salen al monte salvo, pero dan avisos inmediatamente al tener noticia del alumbramiento para prestar algún auxilio ó no espero y ó la parturiente que sola no podría atender al recién nacido y ó no conoce que haría con su misma vida por los dolores, de los que se acomete con la vista del fruto de sus entrañas que le hace olvidar por un momento los sufrimientos pasados.

Cuando es segunda con menos todo rodeo de tal tamaño. Dejan una vistas, pulsadas ó otra cosa, el cuerpo de la parturiente y la colocan sobre la arena bien abajo, la hacen descansar en una cama que nada ó poco tiene de tal, pero como todo chirigüano es forzoso, aguanta allí como en un lecho mullido.

En todo el mundo el alumbramiento es tenaz muy peligroso y aún así lo es, los chirigüanos también necesitan bastante dolores. Preguntados algunos ancianos sobre el particular, afirmaron que el parto de las antiguas duraba mal cuando quiera días y se maravillan como las actitudes se levantan las pueblos ó las mujeres días calculando ó sus horas acostumbradas, repiten ó antiguos es-

(1) Los chirigüanos hacen descansar todo el peso de la carga, que llevan, en su espina dorsal, etc. que sujeta con la frente. Si el agua está á mucha distancia, hacen lo mismo; aun, llena la tinaja no se hombro cogiendo correspondiente ó no su cabeza, donde colocan una cosa de trapo.

le sobreviene á la muerte de alguno siguiente en los años de la pubertad.

Es por consiguiente un error alemar que las parturas caigan al lago á al río á bañarse después del segundo á tercer día, nacido nacen en el mismo día del alumbramiento, este último si la madre natural lo admite. Quizá pueda darse algún caso extraordinario de que deba cambiar alguna parturia su aspirada del alumbramiento, pero no deja de ser caso extraordinario. Las mulitas van dejando la mamadera de sus abuelas y recibiendo paulatinamente la de las tías, no salen de casa hasta estar completamente sanas y ellas la vestidas el amanecer del día domingo; entonces estrenan un nuevo vestido y se presentan á la puerta de la iglesia para recibir la Bendición *post partum* (1).

Recién á los quince á veinte días, la parturia está completamente sana y se le permite salir de casa, ir á bañarse y pintarse la cara con el *urucu*, cultivado paulatinamente á los trabajos acostumbrados. El parturio es considerado por los chiriguanos como tiniaga de *ayuno*, el cual dura cuatro meses que tienen parte todos los de la familia, más esto no es cierto, ello el marido está en este debe y le prestan dos á tres días (2).

Los Bilmanos practican *Couvaigue* de los mulitas la superstición que reciben en el el *ayuno* del marido, pero cuando tan cadera ya que nuestro vos sirvan, enseñados en sus hijos el abandono de las costumbres de antaño. He conocido una anciana muy apegada á estas prácticas que de todos modos intentaba obligar á su hijo el ayuno, en vista de que ocurrían los accidentes en cada parto de la nueva.

Crianza

Para determinar del recién nacido tienen una especie de red que cuelgan en una coronadal del chiquinchiri; allí es cuando la colocan, cuando duermen, y la cubren con cualquier tela para que no le molestire las moscas. Algunas hermanas de las á algodón son bañadas

---

(1) Si es caso extraordinario, no resulta de ti siguiera extraordinario, á la bendición *post partum* han sido acostumbradas por las mismas mujeres antiguas, y así siguen.

(2) Dicen que el ayuno del padre de la criatura es necesario para que esta no muera, si le sucede dado algunos, cuando haya crecido.

[illegible] por ellas y sus familias: *Iai ó quika*, cuyo término posterior [illegible] literalmente, quietud.

La madre casi nunca deja al recién nacido y para ir á la fuente ó río, aprovecha del tiempo en que duermen, dejándolo al cuidado de alguna persona aunque pequeña; no puede llevarlo todavía en los pliegues de su vestido, porque los tiernos miembros del niño no resisten á tal posición. Sólo cuando han tomado alguna consistencia, anda la madre de un lado á otro del pueblo, al campo, á la fuente, sin dejar al hijo en casa, como las canadrejas ó como los canguros de Australia, que no dejan á sus crías en las cuevas, cuando van afuera, dando saltos como el gerbo.

El sol en la región chiriguana es abrasador y sin embargo los niños expuestos á su acción poco ó nada sienten sus efectos, reciben sus rayos perpendicularmente, de frente, de todos lados y plenamente en el centro y en lo mismo que si estuvieran en la sombra. Lo único que los protege, es el color cobrizo de la raza, porque la experiencia ha demostrado que dicho color se adquiere (1).

Para las madres después del puerperio no hay alimento especial, ni más abundante; se nutre la que da pechos á su pequeñito, cuando y pésimamente, su comida ordinaria es el tacuto, la harina tostada de maíz, el pan del mirasol, las hierbas, las aloinas, las calabazas, otras cosas de esta jaez y raras veces un poco de carne comprada de vez, otra de vaca muerta por enfermedad, falta de pastos ó empachadas por la víbora y finalmente de carne de cana ó de gallina. A pesar de esta pésima alimentación la leche abunda en sus pechos, los niños están casi siempre colgando de ellas y chupando y nunca alcanzan á terminarlos, lo cual indica que son excelentes madrinas.

Las madres mestizas ó de cara blanca que á veces tienen poco ó ningún pecho por enfermedad ó otro accidente, contratan á madres chiriguanas, las pagan bien y las tratan mejor, pero parece que una buena y óptima alimentación continuada, les perjudica,

(1) El color de los recién nacidos es bastante extraño, se parecen á [illegible]; muchos párvulos son completamente blancos, mas no como los europeos, se advierte desde luego la diferencia entre [illegible] y espíritus.

siendo también perjudicial el pecho á ambos recién nacidos, sucumbiendo primero el niño más débil (1).

Mellizos

Los partos múltiples son raros y los de dos párvulos son frecuentes, en aquéllos perecen los recién nacidos muy luego y en éstos uno vive casi siempre y en muchos sobreviven ambos. Cuando los gemelos sobreviven, ó por muerte de la madre queda el recién nacido huérfano, es muy fácil á la abuela tomar el cuidado de uno ó del párvulo huérfano. Por más que la anciana haya rayado ó pasado de los sesenta, consigue con mucha facilidad hacerse bajar la leche; muele semilla de sandía ó la raíz de zarzaparrilla: *Iripocugua*, se lava repetidas veces estrujándose sobre y por encima de los pechos, hace chupar continuamente al niño hambriento por algunos días y al cabo de poco ya obtiene el fin. A veces aún á las jóvenes se les retira la leche, buscan entonces la raíz y el agua del sámolo ó *cipoi*, se lavan los pechos con dicha agua y consiguen dar de mamar nuevamente á sus niños (2).

Gozo y pesar

Para la raza chiriguana es igual el gozo que experimenta en el nacimiento de un varón, como en el de una mujer, porque si aquél ayuda á su padre en las tareas del campo, en la caza y en la pesca, ésta ayuda á su madre en las tareas de casa, pues tanto el padre como el abuelo gusta mucho comer harina, molida por las mu-

---

(1) Naturalmente las chiriguanas se niegan á ser nodrizas de los niños blancos, porque los aborrecen Cuando saben por experiencia las tristes consecuencias, comunicadas por otras, se resisten más y sólo lo hacen, cuando prevalece la fuerza ó el derecho del más fuerte.

(2) En la confirmación administrada por su S. Iltma. en Octubre del año 1909, en la Misión de Ivu, una anciana de unos 60 años presentó á su nieta á quien hacía mamar, vive todavía ella y vive la nieta melliza, aunque no muy robusta.

nos de su hija ó nieta. Penoroso es el dolor que experimentan los viejos por la muerte de cualquiera de los dos. Repetidas veces he presenciado los arranques de dolor de la madre por la muerte de su hijo y el profundo sentimiento del padre por la irreparable pérdida de su idolatrada hija.

El hecho que voy á relatar convencerá mejor á mis lectores. En el mes de julio del año 1909 un perro hidrófobo de la escuela de niñas de la Misión de San Buenaventura de Ivu, mordió levemente á Cecilia Yaguándai y con más rabia á Ana Yarandui y Delina Aragúndai; las dos últimas, menores que la primera, vinieron ante mí para hacerme curar de las heridas, en las cuales apliqué algodón empapado con amoníaco, del cual hice beber cinco gotas. Estas últimas experimentaron una fuerte calentura de cuatro días, pero están vivas. Cecilia no consideró su mordedura de mucha gravedad, ni se presentó, ni supo haber sido mordida, tampoco tuvo calentura fuerte, porque realmente apenas le salió sangre, como refieren sus compañeras.

Llegó el mes de enero, justamente seis meses desde julio, las niñas curadas con el amoníaco vuelven á tener el mismo grado de fiebre y sanas, la otra principia á tener miedo del agua y á reirse de sus compañeras del mismo miedo, tanto que fué objeto de jugarreta; baja al pueblo, desea tomar agua, no puede y se lo avisa á sus parientes; en seguida se le declara un dolor en la muñeca, en la tetilla y espaldilla que con nada pudo curarse, apareció la enfermedad y recibió los sacramentos. La noche antes de morir quiso correrse de casa, aulló sin descanso é intentó pegar y morder á su madre; en suma tuvo una verdadera hidrofobia que la llevó al sepulcro en tres días (1).

Hasta que fué enterrada, ignoré lo sucedido en el mes de julio, mas al ver tanta semejanza con la hidrofobia, averigüé y resultó ser realmente la misma que le dió la muerte. Sus padres como no podían persuadirse que la mordedura produjera efecto después de tanto tiempo, atribuyeron la muerte violenta á maleficio asegurando que esto hizo hacer un joven, que días antes la in-

(1) La niña Cecilia fué mordida por el perro hidrófobo cabalmente en la muñeca de la mano, donde le comenzó el primer dolor á los 6 meses; cuando la rocié con agua bendita, tuvo miedo y se extremeció.

tda pedido por esposa, cuya pregunta no habia aceptado; pero es de advertir que toda muerte, los indios la atribuyen á hechizo.

La desaparicion de esta niña fué muy llorada por parientes y extraños y sus padres que muy mucho la amaban, quemaron todos los vestidos y géneros que poseia, adornado de baleria enterrado con los mejores trajes y abundantes que su padre acababa de traerle de la República Argentina. Poseia la jóven tres juguetes regalados por su padre, los tendieron para no verlos ya, para no acordarse á cada momento de la finada y llorar en seguida.

He referido este hecho, para que sepan mis lectores que los chiriguanos aman indistintamente á sus hijos hombres y mujeres, para que vean el dolor que experimentan y para que se convenzan que en el caso de hidrofobia puede ser buen remedio la medicina que administré á los niños Ana y Delfina, los cuales despues de la última fiebre, están completamente sanos (1).

Hijos deformes

No es fácil averiguar porque los chiriguanos matan á los hijos que nacen deformes; algunos escritores han asegurado que lo hacen para que todos sean valientes guerreros; pero esta razón no satisface, porque no se encuentra mujer deforme y por cierto que éstas no son aptas para la guerra. Juzgo que quitan la vida á los infelices, no para hacerles daño, sino para ejercer con ellos un acto altamente filantrópico, pues mayor sufrimiento tendrian quedando ciegos, tullidos, cojos, mancos, mudos y sordos por todo el curso de la vida (2).

No he visto que otro deforme en la actualidad y todos cuantos existen ó se deben al valor que no han tenido sus padres en vie-

(1) Si algun nuevo Misionero ó otros lectores lo ignoran, sepan que el amoniaco bebido por gotas en agua y puesto en las picaduras de víboras y otros animales ó insectos ponzoñosos, es muy eficaz. En la ignorancia de haber sido picado por una araña sufrí las consecuencias siete meses, y sané luego al aplicarle el amoniaco; para otra picada, usé la tinta de escribir con mucha eficacia, hasta pintar con ella la parte mordida.

(2) Actos filantrópicos parecidos se ejercen aún entre los tobas y otras tribus; para que no sufran mucho y largamente, entierran vivos á los enfermos.

tiene á sus hijos, ó se debe atribuir á enfermedades contraídas en edad bastante avanzada. Como consecuencia del presente capítulo añado que algunos han escrito lo que no saben, haciendo de los chiriguanos otros tantos bárbaros feroces, sin compasión, pero un hecho particular no puede traer consecuencias generales. Verdaderos exploradores afirman constantemente que el indio chiriguano por lo general es hospitalario, quiere á sus parientes en la vida y en la muerte y se admiran de la conducta de los blancos que á la muerte de sus deudos derriban rezan, beben aguardiente y juegan como si fuera una fiesta (1).

---

(1) La conducta de ciertos civilizados no debe el mundo reprobarla, pues en naciones más civilizadas hay los bailes de beneficencia; beben, bailan y hacen otras cosas, mientras los pobres ó enfermos sufren. El católico saca su dinero y lo da ocultamente sin tanta algazara, este es el verdadero modo de socorrer á la humanidad.

(P 216)

CAPITULO NOVENO

HIJOS, PUBERTAD, TEMBETA (1)

INTRODUCCION

Al frente de este capítulo sale lozana una pareja, hombre de jóvenes indios bajoamarillo uniformados con un Misionero Franciscano al lado. Son los indios de San Bernardino de Ivo, cuya fotografía se produjo en la visita pastoral que practicó el reconocido é ilustrado Delegado General M. R. P. Wolfgango Priesser, honor y gloria de la Religión Serática, el día 18 de noviembre de 1906; su secretario el inteligente P. Angel Dondero fué quien se encargó de producir este grupo y los demás en las Misiones de Potosí y Tarija.

Todos los indios son hijos de chiriguanos, cuyos padres se sublevaron el año 1892 en los campos de Cuimpuyú é sentían lugar del hoy: edificio Misión, que entonces no existía, son hijos de padres que llevan tatuajes y de madres que en su pubertad pasaron por rigurosas pruebas, conforme dirá en este capítulo nuestro.

Sus padres declararon guerra á muerte no á la Cruz, sino al blanco, fuera de sus cristianos, porque en él veía á su tirano y verdugo y quiso sacudir el yugo que dominaba al que consideraba su amo; pero es cierto que el indio era su esclavo y menear que mantenía cuan-

(1) Se tratará de la pubertad de las doncellas y de la imposición de la tembeta á los niños, lo cual se efectúa en para antes de su pubertad, para que cuando ésta se manifieste, presente el signo de la virilidad.

[facing p. 219]

Bandeja de S. Buenaventura de Ivo

tantosmente contra el cacay, no supo, ni supo hacer distinción categórica, porque no todos tienen malas entrañas. Si hay algunos malos, verdaderos verdugos de la humanidad, hay también muy buenos y compasivos, de quienes recibieron y reciben favores.

Los padres de estos jóvenes no se habrían llevado á una guerra desmoralizada, si el Supremo Gobierno hubiese decretado pronto la fundación de la Misión que ellos solicitaban, conforme pueda leerse en la historia del Colegio de Potosí; se ve en ella claramente, lo que hicieron los Ivoths para ser regentados por un padre Misionero, porque siempre, la autoridad política, se manifestó humanitaria con los infelices indios.

Pasan ya 19 años desde aquella hecatombe, y todavía las pampas de Curuyuqui, siguen sembradas de huesos humanos, todavía se ven los vestigios de sus fortificaciones, en las cuales contaban como fiesta con armas tan desiguales; todavía se conserva el recuerdo de aquel tenebroso y sombrío pavoroso (1).

Como consecuencia de la guerra, vino el decreto de fundar la Misión y, previsoramente, á los pocos días de la derrota, se practicó la compra y alinderamiento de los terrenos necesarios. Hoy viven tranquilos padres é hijos, algunos de aquellos pasaron á mejor ó peor vida, muchos experimentan el gobierno paternal del Misionero, que no se cansa de alabar; los hijos han aprendido la religión y la practican; han aprendido las letras y leen libros, han aprendido el canto religioso, y varios saben y tocan la música que les han enseñado los Misioneros ¡Es verdaderamente sorprendente el cambio verificado en tan poco tiempo, en indios tan belicosos! es la virtud de la Cruz! nada habrían hecho otros, como nada se ha hecho, si bien, donde no hay Misioneros (2).

Educación de los hijos

En el hombre es natural el amor y cariño para con sus hijos; si los aves, los animales y las mismas fieras de la floresta aman

(1) En la guerra murieron unos 500 entre hombres y mujeres, pero casi todos eran forasteros, los otros conocedores del lugar, se salvaron con la fuga y con escenderse; no gusta se les hable de dicha sublevacion.

(2) En todo sentido, la civilización del Misionero es preferible; la colonización que se quiere implantar hoy, cuesta mucho, progresa poco en lo material y nada en lo moral, á esto me refiero más que al primero.

y cuidado de sus hijos, esta misma inclinación, con mucha más razón, se halla en la misma criatura, hecha á imagen y semejanza de Dios. Ellos mismos no la hallan, porque el hombre, con su razón, ayudado de los conocimientos, procura el bienestar de sus hijos, su alimento, su vestido y su educación, corrigiendo desde la tierna edad las imperfecciones, y endereznando sus malas inclinaciones, como se endereza por el agricultor, los tiernos arbolillos que nacen torcidos.

El hombre civilizado que ha conquistado el deber de padre, el hombre que no es bestia y que por consiguiente sabe que él y todos descienden de un Padre común, Dios, cuida escrupulosamente del cuerpo y del alma de sus hijos; si para ello es necesario el castigo, lo aplica correspondiente á la edad del niño y á la gravedad de la falta. Si todos hicieran lo mismo, no se deplorarían en el mundo tantos homicidios, suicidios y otros crímenes cometidos por la juventud, como deploramos los periódicos católicos, é simplemente citamos los diarios ingleses y modernistas.

Hay niños que dejan de cometer una falta á una simple y sencilla mirada del padre, otros escuchan las palabras y les basta para no cometer el crimen el simple consejo de sus mayores, con estos no hay necesidad de rigor, porque su conciencia se inclina naturalmente y se amolda á la bondad, como se amolda la cera en manos del cerero. Mas, hay otra clase de niños que naturalmente se inclinan al mal, nada les conmueve y cuanto rehusan tras el vicio, como los mosquitos tras la miel; para estos, las buenas palabras hacen ninguna ó poca mella, y con la blandura no se corrigen. De este número es la mayoría, porque la humanidad es propensa al mal; para estos es necesario un poco de rigor, porque donde no se precisa la razón, es fácil que se vicie el tronco; se conoce la conducta que, así Dios con el pueblo hebreo, á quien castigaba en sus rebeldías, como castiga hoy inmoralmente (1).

El verdadero amor de los padres hacia sus hijos se halla vibrado en la Religión Católica, pueda esta patentizar con muchos ejemplos de moralidades que, á pesar de su inmoralidad, enseñaban el catecismo á sus hijos. Fuera del catolicismo no se cultivan los pa-

(1) La historia sagrada, refiere en sus páginas, los terribles castigos que recibían los hebreos por sus inmoralidades; para conseguir la moralidad del individuo y de la sociedad es necesario el principio religioso.

tanto del niño, no conoce un poco materialismo, y quizá no profesa religión alguna, ¿cómo puede educar á sus hijos? qué educación podrá dar, si además de esto es un ignorante? es cuanto á educar está apenas sensitivo, nada moral.

Esto es el cuidado de los chiriguanos. Amen á sus hijos de veras, todo el trabajo del chiriguano sirve ello: el bien corporal del niño, le procura el alimento suficiente, piensa para su vestido, vela para abrigarlo y defenderlo de la inclemencia de las estaciones, de la furia de los vientos, y de la importunidad de las moscas, pero no se preocupa de su moralidad; cruza el niño á su vista con todas las imperfecciones de los cuadrúpedos é insectillos, porque así también crecerá él, el padre.

Cuando los niños, de cualquier sexo, se hallan en pañales, recibe el cuidado de la madre, de la abuela ó de otra que sea muy cercana en el parentesco. El hombre difícilmente cuida de los recién nacidos, tanto porque esto es natural en todos los países del mundo, cuanto porque se rebajaría su dignidad; pero cuando el pérvolo comienza á abrir bien los ojos y tener algo de conocimiento de las cosas exteriores, lo toma en sus brazos con todo el cariño que engendra un niño en su inocencia.

Mas, quiere educar verdaderamente á los hijos de ambos sexos hasta los seis ó siete años, es la madre, ella los lava, ella los baña, los hace dormir, los hace mamar, los lleva de un lado á otro, envolviéndolos en los pliegues de su vestido. En esta tarea, el padre ayuda solícitamente, cuando la mujeré no puede atender por tener otros, ó por estar ocupada en la elaboración de la chicha, alimento de viandas, etc. (1).

Escuela de armas y astrología

A los siete años, y aún antes, el padre tiene un cuidado especial de su hijo varón, quedando las mujeres al cuidado de la madre; trabaja para su hijo el arco y las flechas, correspondientes á la edad; á las fuerzas, y comienza á adiestrarlo, enseñándole el manejo, el modo de asestar y la manera de tirar (2).

(1) Si falta la madre por fallecimiento, ó otro motivo, el hombre se halla en apuro con relación á sus hijos, y pronto busca á una parienta.

(2) El padre lleva á su hijo al bosque, donde principia á cazar pajaritos, y si consigue prender alguno, los lleva con satisfacción á su madre y luego se lo cuenta á sus compañeros.

Hay también hombres que enseñan á los niños el modo de ser ligeros en los combates, y aún el modo de esquivar las flechas enemigas, lo mismo que las balas. El hombre que esto enseña, llámase: *Paranaaiar*, ó sea hombre que rasguña, éste es el terror de los niños en el pueblo, donde reside. El modo que emplea, es correr en pos de los muchachos y ¡ay! de aquel que por flojera ó por descuido se deja alcanzar! En las manos del: *paranaaiar*, sufre el martirio de ser rasguñado en todo el cuerpo con uñas largas, que hace crecer de propósito, además de la reprensión que le da: de hacerse alcanzar por un viejo: en una segunda carrilla, no es fácil que el niño alcanzado, se deje prender (1).

Cuando todos los niños de una tribu han recibido lecciones prácticas de tal sección, ya pueden ser aptos para la guerra, porque la habilidad consiste en saber tirar para ofender y esquivar la flecha enemiga. Los indios, que saben tal estrategia, son llamados: *Guerreros*, por sus compañeros.

En la última guerra de *Curuyuqui* los indios asaltaron la Misión de Santa Rosa, mientras estaba allí el coronel don Tomás Frías, éste tomó de blanco á un indio *guerrero* que parecía jefe de una compañía, perdió unos ocho ó diez balas sin tener el gusto de derribarlo. Casi todos los indios aprenden este modo de guerrear, por esto sus combates duran poco; el de Curuyuqui duró ocho horas, porque estaban resguardados en las trincheras.

Diferentes modos tienen los niños para aprender á ser certeros en tirar las flechas, y ser buenos cazadores y valientes guerreros. En el campo, ó en el bosque, se divierten con provecho, ensayando y tomando por blanco los pajarillos y aún las langostas, cuando las hay y cuando vuelven á su casa, dan prueba de su valentía, clavando la flecha en el montera, en que su madre suele moler el maíz.

Cuando los niños se reunen en el pueblo, aprenden el manejo de la flecha, tirando á una rueda de madera que uno de ellos hace rodar con toda fuerza. Dicha rueda, se hace de una clase de cacto redondo, que crece una cuarta ó poco más, y se llama: *Zipepe;* los niños, armados de flecha, se colocan en fila y el más valiente acertará á clavar la suya en la materia blanda del *zipepe*..

---

(1) Los de mayor edad, se hacen rasgar la pantorrilla por otro del arte, con el diente del: *Acuti*; les sale bastante sangre, y en sanando, aseguran que son muy valientes para correr y resistir el cansancio, mucho más de los que no se hacen rasguñar.

El *ejeye* es simultáneamente escuela de tiro al blanco y juego, de este último tienen otros que voy á nombrar de paso. Tiene el: *Tiono*, trompo, es diferente del de los pueblos de la República, es una pequeña calabaza con un agujero en el medio, en la parte superior; cuando lo hacen girar, produce por el aire, un sonido prolongado, igual al de los terceritos que mugen con mucha sonoridad y de aquí le viene el nombre de: *Tiono*.

Otro juego propio de chicos y grandes, es la pelota, que tiene su tiempo determinado, es cuando hay mala fresca, á principio á hacerse sentir el frío. Le llaman: *Tipo* y lo hacen con chala fresca de chacra, de modo que, terminada la estación del mala fresca, terminan ya el juego de la pelota, y se distraen con otros muchos juegos que tienen (1).

Vida privada

El padre y la madre, se conocen mucho por el bienestar material é corporal de sus hijos, hombres y mujeres, y éstos corresponden al cariño de *Ama*. Sin embargo, no faltan seres de pésimas inclinaciones que olvidan la bondad de sus padres, olvidan los trabajos sufridos por éstos, en cuidarlos en su tierna edad, y los abandonan en la vejez en medio de sus sufrimientos y achaques.

Casi siempre, el padre y la madre, dirigen palabras ásperas á sus hijos, mucho menos los corrigen con castigos corporales; frecuentan los hijos las bebidas pálidas en compañía de sus padres y ¿qué extraño puede parecer que al padre ó hijo, se les vea algunos veces *ebrios* en las calles ó en la plaza del pueblo? Ven á sus padres, en campo ajeno, aprovechando de los primeros frutos, pero el hijo hace lo que vió; oye á su madre cometer mala acción, se acciones mala moralos, provocia alterados en casa, oye los ecos de su madre, ve los maldades de su padre, él, pues, sigue el mismo camino, llegado á la edad competente y sólo entre.

Si la mujer, al tiempo de casarse, es muy joven, como sucede regularmente, son los abuelos quienes cuidan de sus nietos, para que la hija joven, tenga más tiempo de divertirse, pero en princi-

(1) Los mismos no se enumeran, porque no es este el objeto del capítulo y además sería cansar mucho al lector.

gio, para los jóvenes, el matrimonio no es más que una diversión (1).

Imposición del nombre y pubertad

La imposición del nombre, se practica, cuando el niño ó la parvulita comienzan á balbucear y á articular palabras, para que, con la repetición del nombre, se les imprima en la memoria y vayan unos se los llama. Por lo general, son los abuelos para los nietos, y los abuelos para las nietas que tienen privilegio de imponer el nombre; y esto lo hacen, cuando alguna particularidad en el cuerpo de los niños y niñas, como: *Tanyuna*, ojos bellos: *Itanti*, ojos blancos: *Cohanti*, mejor blanca; pero á veces no se tiene en cuenta particularidad alguna, y los bautizan con el nombre de los animales como: *Tapacuaga*, capitano de tigre: *Tatanai*, diente de armadillo: *Tapacuaca*, cabeza de tigre. Generalmente, los nombres de las mujeres, terminan en: *Ira* que quiere decir vaija ó vaca; pues, para el chiriguano, la mujer es cualquier cosa, nacida y destinada á servirse de ella, aunque mujer le parezca (2).

Se acostumbra para los niños de ambos sexos una época crítica, la época de la pubertad, que en muchos es precoz, que, por lo regular, suele acaecer á los seis ó doce años. La vida ó la muerte de los chiriguanos, el bienestar futuro, ó las desgracias, penden de esta época crítica: si se observan, por los que llegan á esa edad todas las prescripciones, registradas en las mientes de los padres de familia, todo lo restante de la vida, será una delicia, y sino, sobrevendrán todas las calamidades.

Cuando en la doncella se manifiestan los primeros síntomas de la pubertad: *Tiwapiti*, sus padres hacen que descanse unos cuantos días, hasta que se retire la que sangra, por poder, denominar enfermedad: *Ilhacoai*. En seguida la colocan en una hamaca, ó cama parecida, y recostada en ella, como un cuerpo sin alma, la

---

(1) Las jóvenes ayudan á sus madres en la crianza de los hijos propios, y en la elaboración de la chicha sabiendo que, el marido otro, paga primero á ella y aún á sus suegros, si pretenden desecharla.

(2) Solo el catolicismo, traído por el Redentor y predicado por los apóstoles, realzó á la mujer; donde no ha penetrado, permanece esclava, como en Africa y otros puntos del globo.

levantada hasta la terminación; dejándola allí por el espacio de cuatro días en rigurosa ayuna y, por supuesto, sin que sirva la leche para beber ó comer, ni para poder tener comercio, porque, si bebiera ó probara algo, la desgracia se manifestaría en el momento.

Al terminar este primero período, que la doncella si ha sido atrevida, la bajan al quinto día, le lavan la cabeza que quema de: *Mitiro* y le ungen el cabello de la peinilla. Mientras tanto se ciñen de la cua, bajan de la pozita, han preparado una cama como cincuenta, formada de cardillos dirigidos de la altura de un metro 30 centímetros más ó menos. Encima van en tipoi ó cesito liviano, allí, ó en chiquero, entra la desgraciada y da principio ó su ayuna rigurosa, que llaman: *Tiwaro*, ó sea acostamiento (1).

Otro día permanece la doncella en su cuarto sin hacer nada, con el rostro hacia la pared, para no ver, ni beber ó comer. No consiste ordinaria en el mate lavado: *Mitiro*, alguna vez, si hay, comer también maní, pero en pequeñísima cantidad, sirve alimentos no picados, ni dulces. Si comiera bastante, no sería apta para alimentar á sus hijos en tranquilidad, porque sus pechos serían dañados por todo la vida; su bebida ordinaria, debe ser el agua natural cristalina. Si bebiera chicha, se quedaría estéril, porque contiene alcohol y acritud, lo cual hacía respondar las vísceras de la concepción, durante el embarazo.

Al terminar los seis días, el ayuno riguroso con más blandura, sus padres han conseguido algodón ó lana, han preparado el huso y la rueda para su pequeño tiempo, dando pasos en pasos de cuarta, ó también cuna, para que el huso gire más fácilmente. Todo entrega la madre á su hija para que principie á trabajar y sepa, que sentó para el trabajo.

La joven recibe los consejos de su madre sin pronunciar palabra, sin hacer observación alguna, menos los consejos y amonestaciones con el mismo silencio y más que su madre, porque oye y calla sin hacer movimiento alguno, sin levantar la vista, sin mover la cabeza. Principia su trabajo largo que se retira la madre, cuando con sus dedos de lana ó el algodón, los pasitos del gal-

(1) Los doncellas en nada estudian este rigurosa entrada de vida, porque antes de que llegaran, las han preparado sus madres, y corren en todo con la ruega.

no que *pueden* nacimiento y principio á tales, cuyo efecto aquellas desde pequeñuelas (1).

Cuando un cuchillo observa, que ya tiene la necesaria para algún trabajo de pequeña entidad, le coloca el mejor y le primero que hace, es el *Magistrum* para su padre y luego otro para su madre, de la cual fueron quedan muy contentos y hasta con enojos se congratulan con ellas por el trabajo de la hija, á quien profesan desde luego simpatía, y respeto, como persona regalada por estar en el disfrute del aymara á voluntad, pero nuchos dicen se contienen en la potestad de otro desvelos (2).

Llamase el primer tam, á la primera hora: *Tam*, el entero á mediodía, es de la más rigurosa, porque los chiquitos de la potestad, deben cumplimentar dos veces, para que sean verdaderos, es decir, que los chirigoyeno no comen que una mejor *Ingua* á su agito para el matrimonio, sino después de estar sientan de la regularidad de su nacimiento, dice, que para los mejiques, es su alivio y salud, llámase en los adultos: *Ingui*, solo, hasta el primero como el segundo, de los galvanos, se llama, como ya he dicho: *Tamafia*.

Después de esto, si el aymara, si el mediodía á entero, son tan rigurosos, con que aun con la desvelo ya mejor, sale de su chiquito á la vida pública, vuelve á los tamos desvelados y á fortunar las bebidas para ser vista y mejorar la salida de los galvanos. Una que otra así lo hace, la mayoría, por consejo de sus padres, permanece y sigue aymarada hasta que con anhelos sean mercaderes, regalos hasta los hombres, y otros aymarados no ello sin salir á la luz, de donde provienen, que nuchos salen pálidos, como el elefante, y los nuevos, cuando salen á la luz, son muy pocos. Pero con la bienvenida de su tam, son el cuidado cuidar y calentar, y con tipo nuchos, con los adornos de collares y brazaletes, y los cuadrilatos de achiote, que, con gracia le han puesto con cuadrados mayores en las mejillas y en los ojos, menos la adornaciones de todo la gente reunida. (3)

---

(1) La domestic que aymara, solo puede trabajar en el sitio, donde se halla encontrado, de modo que no aymara regresa á buscar la cosa á su madre.

(2) Para los aymara mandados por la Iglesia á los mejiques, es una la misma julaiste: Fiesta; no hay otra ceremonia en el aborto.

(3) El lector comprenderá fácilmente que el salir del cuarto, es como una regreso que sale de su casa para trasladarse á la del aymara, por esto salir muy adornada.

[facing p. 225]

Panorama de la Ribera de S. Pablo

Mientras dura el ayuno y retiro, la doncella no sale de día; sus salidas las permite en la noche, pero no es para diversiones, sino para lo poco necesario, y esto lo hace generalmente muy temprano, antes que amanezca, para que no encuentren á no ser personas, para que sepa que debe ser muy diligente, evitar ser sorprendida por el sueño, porque el que debe ser su compañero durante la vida, sorprendiéndola menos temprano, antes de ir al campo ó al bosque, por esto la mujer debe ser madrugadora, para preparar lo necesario, para él, para su marido y para sus hijos que también piden permiso antes al desperezarse.

Cuando sale de noche, no anda la acompaña, pero antes de anochecer, evitan mil consejos y recomendaciones de mantener decencia y con sumo cuidado, de no pisar cosas que puedan perjudicarle, como basura y otras cosas que los murciélagos, ó los espíritus malignos han esparcido alrededor de la casa, especialmente en la puerta y en el trayecto que debe recorrer. La doncella oye y calla y todo lo observa y ejecuta, como y mujer que es necesita consejo, porque la madre ya le fluó la costumbre de tantas supersticiones y la atemorizó con determinados peligros.

El padre pasa varios días ayuno de su hija durante el ayuno, sólo pensaría, que no le falte el alimento y el trabajo, le habla pocas veces, sin embargo la ama como á sus ojos, y ahora. Otras personas no pueden dirigirle la palabra, ni sus padres, en ese tiempo, admiten visitas y prolongadas visitas, además, todos saben también, que aquella casa, ya es sagrada, y se abstienen en la penitencia de frecuentarla (1).

Concluído el tiempo del retiro determinado por sus padres, la niña deja sus vestidos, dará de penitencia, lava su cuerpo, pinta su cabello ya crecido, adorna sus tobillos con el auxilio de sus compañeras, adorna su cuello y garganta con collares de perlas, cobre, ó medias de plata, coloca brazaletes en sus muñecas, anillos en sus dedos, viste su *tipoi* de drill ó de quimón, de varios colores, y sale al pública, para que sea admirada como admiración y algún joven se enamore de ella y la pida por esposa, cuando le parezca, porque ya no es párvula, ya es mujer que puede desempeñar su oficio, ser-

(1) Cuando se quiso reorganizar la Misión de S. Antonio del Parapiti, la hija de un prestigioso indio hacía su ayuno rigurosísimo, se le dijo que podía morir con tanto rigor; apenas se la pudo ver y la pobre murió realmente al poco tiempo.

vir al compañero que la pida y ya en sus contestaciones dejó el: *ú, ú*, propio de los párvulos y adoptó el: *é, é*, propio de las mujeres.

La joven, á pesar de tener apenas trece años, al salir á la pública vida, y á pesar de un pequeño rubor que experimenta al presentarse por primera vez en la sociedad, en calidad de mujer dispuesta y apta para el matrimonio, poco á poco va perdiendo ese recelo, muy natural en las niñas, y adquiere franqueza para contestar bastante claro á las personas que la interrogan, cualesquiera que fuese, manteniéndose siempre en los límites de la moralidad. Lo inmoral, al principio, le causará asombro y rubor talvez, pero luego se acostumbra á ello, porque lo oye en casa, lo oye en las bebidas, en las reuniones y en las tertulias. De mucho oir, empieza á causarle placer que consiente con una risa continuada y fuerte, pues, cuando de día ó de noche, las mujeres ríen mucho y fuerte, regularmente es señal segura, que en la tertulia ó reunión, hay algún galán que dá rienda suelta á su lengua (1).

Aseguran los hombres, que sus mujeres son más valientes para aguantar el hambre y la sed; atribuyen esta valentía al ayuno riguroso que hacen en el tiempo de la pubertad, pero éstas dicen que las neófitas son más valientes que éllas, porque salen mas pronto después del puerperio.

En ninguna de las Misiones las doncellas siguen la costumbre de sus madres al tiempo de la pubertad: cuando se manifiestan los primeros síntomas, lo único que se les concede, son unos tres días de licencia para descanso, y para que su madre le diga, como debe manejarse en circunstancias análogas, para ocultar lo que debe ocultarse; pasada esta corta licencia, vuelven como antes á la escuela, y siguen sus trabajos sin inconveniente alguno (2).

Una sola cosa se nota en las Misiones, que las neófitas llegadas á los 35 años, más ó menos, ya dejan de tener hijos; talvez será porque se casan muy pronto, ó sea á los 16 ó 20 años á mas tardar. Si es cierto que las antiguas chiriguanas eran aptas para el matrimo-

---

(1) Los misioneros que saben el idioma de los indios y se han hallado al principio de una Misión nueva, pueden haberse admirado de la franqueza con que contestan niños y niñas de doce á trece años.

(2) Muchas de estas doncellas, por pudor no avisan su pubertad, ni á sus madres, y las consecuencias son funestas en no pocas; no avisan porque sus compañeras mayores se burlan.

nio luego de salir de su ocultamiento ó ayuno, el enlace que contraían, no era ciertamente ni continuado, ni perpetuo con la misma persona; uno ó dos meses con uno, luego un descanso hasta el alumbramiento, después se juntaban nuevamente con el mismo, ó buscaban á otro, si el primero se aburría de élla, ó ésta de él. Más en las Misiones no sucede así; los que contraen matrimonio, es por toda la vida, porque es enlace católico, y como tal, indisoluble, como lo sería el matrimonio natural de los infieles, pero el chiriguano no lo entiende, pues en principio quiere ser picaflor, posarse en muchas y no pararse en ninguna hasta cierta edad.

En las comarcas, donde el ayuno duraba un año, como en Cuevo, antes que se funde el pueblo de San Juan Bautista y la Misión de Santa Rosa, después del primer mes riguroso, á las doncellas se les hacía comer también carne, alubias y aún se les permitía un poco de chicha tierna, para que no se debilitaran demasiado, ni sucumbieran; si la chicha fuese avinagrada, sería perjudicial para la vida matrimonial posterior, produciría los efectos de que ya hablé.

Finalmente, para concluir con este asunto tan delicado, nótese, que actualmente en muy pocos lugares se observa la costumbre de un ayuno tan riguroso para el sexo femenino; hoy la región está poblada por la raza blanca, ésta va haciendo comprender, que todo es superstición con el ejemplo de sus hijas que, á pesar de no hacer nada de lo dicho, viven perfectamente sanas, contraen el matrimonio, sirven á sus esposos con todo esmero y educan á sus hijos que nacen con toda la perfección de la naturaleza (1).

Imposición de la tembeta

La educación del niño, como se ha visto ya, es obra de ambos genitores, hasta una cierta edad es casi exclusiva de la madre, y, desde los seis ó siete años, exclusiva del padre que lo acostumbra á las tareas del campo, á la caza y aún á la pesca, donde hay ríos caudalosos. En los riachuelos la pesca se ejecuta por las mujeres, y los varones las ayudan para la desviación del agua y compostura de dos bordes en forma de una: \/, abierta para dar paso al agua, trabajo que llaman: *Pariruta*.

(1) En la comarca chiriguana, aún en la conquistada por los Misioneros de Potosí, desde el año 1870, son muchas las doncellas de raza blanca que contraen enlace por haber llegado á la edad competente.

Llega ya para el niño el tiempo de ser hombre y no muchacho, el tiempo de dejar el: *ii*, *ii* de sus contestaciones afirmativas, para adoptar el: *Ta*, propio del: *Cuimbae*, ó sea hombre apto para todo. Su padre, su abuelo, su madre y otros parientes, le hacen comprender que para ello, es necesario mostrar á sus compañeros el distintivo de la tribu, es decir, es necesario hacerse perforar el labio inferior: *Tembe*, y colocar en el horado la: *Tembeta*, que para el chiriguano es señal de su valentía (1).

La *Tembeta*, por lo regular, es una planchita redonda de estaño, con dos orejitas ó prendedores á los lados, que sirven para sostenerse en el labio perforado. El círculo de la tembeta es hueco hasta cerca de la superficie de los prendedores, en él se coloca un poco de cera, y en la cera se fijan los adornos, como coralina, ó piedritas de color azul claro que tienen poco valor; la que lo tiene un poco, es la: *Itogüi*, es una piedrita verde de una sola pieza que ocupa todo el hueco de la *tembeta*; de estas poseo una y su piedra está fija con un clavito del mismo estaño. Las tembetas son aún de caña hueca y de madera, pero nunca de piedra, como pretenden algunos escritores (2).

La *tembeta*, ya descrita, es relativamente nueva; antes que penetren los cristianos y los Misioneros en su territorio, las *tembetas* eran de madera, las cuales tienen la misma forma que las de estaño con todos los adornos, mas, la mayoría usaba una caña hueca, principalmente para trabajar. Esta es un pedacito de caña, cortada en el nudo, más delgada en el hueco para sostenerse en el labio perforado, en estas no hay adorno, ni cera, porque son de los pobres, y de los ricos, sólo cuando trabajan.

La: *Itogüi*, tenía mucho valor entre los indios, valía un caballo, una vaca, un burro, etc. pero como ya dije, era un valor relativo, pues en Tarija, de donde la traían, su valor, era de dos bolivianos. De esto se puede concluir que la: *itogüi*, no se halla en el territorio chiriguano, debe su origen á los incas ó quichuas, pero

---

(1) La *tembeta*, es término compuesto de: *tembe*, labio inferior y: *ta* ó *ita*, piedra, que, explicado literalmente, quiere decir: piedra del labio inferior, donde se coloca.

(2) Si literalmente la tembeta quiere decir piedra del labio, no proviene de ser ella de piedra; el significado literal le viene de la: *itogüi*, que es una piedra, en las de madera también está encastrada la *itogüi*.

son los chiriguanos quienes trabajan las tembetas, á las cuales encastran la: *itogüi*, ó la piedra verde.

Para la perforación del labio, se requiere la plenitud de la luna, para que la herida abierta no dé malos resultados, se ensanche gradualmente y no forme tumor. Los niños aptos para la tembeta, no deben ser menores de siete años, ni mayores de doce, en el primer caso, no aguantarían el dolor, en el segundo, sería difícil la perforación por haberse endurecido el labio.

Cuando pues la luna se halla en su punto máximo, y el niño tiene la edad competente, viene dispuesto poco á poco para la operación. La madre y el padre lo animan con palabras amorosas, estimulando su amor propio, para que sea después estimado y querido de las doncellas. Luego le hacen comprender la necesidad de perforarse el labio, para que todos sepan que pertenece á la noble raza chiriguana y digno de ser un miembro de la misma; finalmente le hacen saber que, sólo con la *tembeta* los grandes de la nación lo respetarán y agasajarán (1).

El chico oye las lindezas que relatan sus padres, como un sordo oye la música; lo que más considera y le embarga todas las facultades, es el dolor que le va á causar la abertura del labio. Sin embargo no puede ocultarse ni perderse, debe sujetarse á la operación, á pesar del miedo que le da. Efectivamente antes del plenilunio el padre pasa con su hijo á la casa del cirujano y le expone el motivo de su visita, suplicándole haga hombre á su párvulo. El médico cirujano lo emplaza para el día siguiente, ú otro, mientras tanto busca á un segundo niño para que sufra la misma operación, porque nunca se admite á uno solo, deben ser dos, cuatro, seis, ocho, ó diez (2).

Al día señalado se presentan los niños, conducidos por sus padres y madres, para la operación; mientras tanto allí se reunen otros curiosos, hombres, mujeres, niños y doncellas, para ver y

---

(1) Las madres cristianas para animar á sus hijos pequeños al sufrimiento y al mismo martirio, les mostraban el cielo, una morada invisible. Las infieles salvajes animan á sus hijos con promesas terrenales, cariño de mujeres; *qui de terra est, de terra loquitur*, efecto de la ignorancia.

(2) En un pueblo de treinta ó cuarenta familias, generalmente como eran antes, no faltaban algunos niños de la misma edad. El número de los niños de horadarse, nunca debe ser impar; superstición y nada más.

presenciar ese acto solemne, al cual, según he averiguado, no precede ningún día de ayuno, siendo por consiguiente infundado lo que dicen al respecto algunos escritores; como es infundado lo demás, referente al operador, en el cual no se requiere la calidad de: *Ipaye*, brujo, para la imposición de la tembeta.

Antes de dar principio á la operación, el cirujano dirije su palabra autoritativa á los que deben ser hombres, recomendándoles valor y fortaleza en el dolor, sin hacer oir sus quejas, ni llorar, porque éstas no son señales de hombre valiente, de hombre que lleva *tembeta*, distintivo de la virilidad, de hombre que debe arrostrar los peligros de una guerra. Por fin, les ordena que es tiempo de dejar el: *á*, *á* en sus contestaciones, y en su lugar manda reemplazarlo con el: *Ta*.

Terminado este breve y elocuente discurso, se extiende por tierra ó encima de un catre el primer niño, quien para darse valor con voz vibrante dice: *Che rani tayicutusu*; sea yo el primero á ser horadado, palabras que son acojidas por la muchedumbre con júbilo y á la vez con maravilla, pues ya comprenden el dolor que va sufrir (1).

Luego el operador busca entre sus enseres el cordel con que toma las medidas exactas, para que el horado quede en medio y arriba de la barba; en seguida prepara el: *Guasupirasa*, que literalmente quiere decir: perforador de la piel curtida de corzuela. Ciertos escritores han creido que el: *guasupirasa*, es una asta de corzuela, fundados en el nombre: guasu, con que principia el nombre del arnés, pero es un equivoco. El guasupirasa es un hierro redondo del tamaño de una aguja costalera, que en quichúa llaman: *Yarguí* (2).

Toma, como he dicho las medidas convenientes con el cordel; hecha mano de su: *guasupirasa* y al verlo, la madre se asusta y llora en silencio y la otra gente mantiene hasta el resuello. Finalmente, por medio de otro practicante, lo hace apretar muy fuerte con los índices de ambas manos en las extremidades de las sienes, en el punto donde arrancan las orejas, y cuando está cierto

(1) El indio chiriguano usa el imperativo también para mandar á sí mismo, es decir que sus verbos tienen aún la primera persona del modo imperativo, lo cual indica mucha arrogancia.

(2) Si fuera una asta de corzo adelgazada, estaría expuesta á romperse y si fuera apenas afilada, el horado sería muy grande y con dificultad se sostendría la primera *tembeta* que debe ser pequeñita, habría muchos otros inconvenientes, que se evitan con el hierro delgado y resistente.

que el niño siente fuertemente el dolor, que le causan en los oidos los dedos del ayudante, introduce con ligereza y arte el hierro bien afilado y con mucha habilidad queda practicado el horado, haciendo pasar el: *Guasupirasa* hasta la punta de la nariz.

Mete en seguida un cañutito de estaño hueco en el hierro operador y lo baja poco á poco, para sacarlo del labio horadado, donde en cambio, queda colocado el cañutito que sale afuera un tanto, en ambos lados del labio; dicho cañuto en chiriguano se llama: *Tembetandi*, ó sea: tembeta blanca.

Generalmente con el método de apretar fuerte las sienes del paciente, consigue el operante, que poco ó nada sienta el dolor del horado, según ellos aseguran y es probable, porque un dolor agudo disminuye ó poco hace sentir otro. Pero también es cierto, que el muchacho, viéndose delante de tantos espectadores y doncellas, hace todo esfuerzo para no gritar, ni llorar, porque no niegan los indios que, muchos algo cobardes, gritan y lloran siquiera un poco (1).

He preguntado á más de un indio, y todos están conformes en asegurar, que del horado no sale gota de sangre. El día en que se practica la imposición de la tembeta, es de ayuno riguroso, y apenas se le permite beber un poco de chicha; otros alimentos tampoco puede masticarlos por algunos días. En unos, algo descuidados, se produce la hinchazón, y en otros no. La hinchazón del labio se evita, según éllos, calentando á la llama ó brasas de fuego las hojas del arbusto: *Urucuna*, y aplicándolas contínuamente alrededor del horado. La cicatrización del labio puede durar un mes, durante el cual el chiriguanito se la pasa en casa, dejándose ver una que otra vez, en las calles y plaza (2).

Mientras tanto, ya el operante, dió las últimas amonestaciones al niño, y este, con todos los consejos de él y de su padre, tiene en movimiento contínuo al cañuto, para que no se pegue á la carne, y en los días siguientes, va poniendo alrededor de él pali-

---

(1) Algunos chicos, demasiado cobardes, cuando sus padres principian á hablarles de tembeta y de la necesidad de hacerse horadar, huyen á otra tribu ante sus parientes, pero éstos los persuaden y vuelven á su pueblo.

(2) Para el chiriguano es un honor grande colocar la *tembeta* á los niños, de modo que nada pide por esta operación honorífica; sin embargo, sus padres del niño, hacen algún pepueño regalo que recibe con satisfacción.

tos del arbusto llamado: *Yacurimbiu*, comida de las pavas. Cuando está ya sano, corta un palito más grande del mismo arbusto y lo coloca solo, quitando la: *tembetandi* y sigue así ensanchando poco á poco el horado hasta que pueda ponerle una *tembeta* de caña hueca que también va tomando varias dimensiones, hasta que le parezca suficiente. Entonces compra una tembeta de lujo y se la pone para no quitarla más, ni de día, ni de noche, pues sería mucha vergüenza para un chiriguano presentarse al público sin su tembeta (1).

Las *tembetas* de caña hueca, cada chiriguano las fábrica, de madera y de estaño, las fabrican los hombres del arte. A pesar de no haber entre ellos herreros, ni hojalateros, y como no se consigue ni estaño, ni plomo, ni cosa semejante, resulta que el material para trabajarlas, lo traen de otras partes, comprándolo de los blancos, con los cuales mantuvieron relaciones desde la fundación de Tarija, de cuya comarca los chiriguanos fueron arrojados.

La tembeta en otras tribus

El uso de la tembeta puede ser otro argumento de la unidad de la raza humana; indudablemente los chiriguanos la usan por tradición de padres á hijos y así sucesivamente hasta llegar á nuestros tiempos. Casi en todo el mundo se halla la *tembeta*, usada por las tribus salvajes; en Africa las mujeres de Noers y Berry colocan en sus labios vidrios y planchitas de marfil respectivamente; entre los Mittoo y los Lobbatk hombres y mujeres usan tembeta en el labio inferior, tienen forma cónica, y además las mujeres usan aros aún en el labio superior (2).

En otras regiones las mujeres son coquetas sólo llevando en su labio superior un aro de madera ó de marfil, lo cual practican los Sciulus. Finalmente, aún los Cornná, explorados, no ha muchó, por el italiano Bottego, llevan en su labio anchos aros de madera que aumentan la anchura del mismo labio.

En la América del Norte, la *tembeta* es usada con preferencia

(1) Si el chiriguano dormido, estuviera sin tembeta, se le saldría la saliva, porque el horado es bastante grande en la mayoría de ellos.

(2) En muchas tribus del mundo, la *tembeta*, es señal de pudor, y las mujeres que la usan, no se presentan al público, sino la tienen puesta en el labio.

por las mujeres, les sirve de adorno y ponen alrededor tantos pedacitos de madera, cuantos años tienen. Las *tembetas* de los Tapíi de Isoso son pequeñas y las de los Chorotis y Tapietes son de madera ó de caña: sin duda hasta hoy les habrá sido difícil conseguir el metal para formar una de lujo (1).

Conforme se sabe por la fé, que el vestido fué dado á la humanidad en castigo de su desobediencia, castigo que se ha convertido en lujo de modas frecuentes y extravagantes, así entre los chiriguanos existe la creencia fabulosa que la *tembeta* que hoy consideran como distintivo de la raza y señal de virilidad, fortaleza y valentía, no fué otra cosa, que un amargo y merecido castigo que un ser maravilloso y de mucho poder, les infligió por la flojera y pereza que los distingue, conforme el lector puede haberse formado un concepto en el discurso de estas líneas. Ellos atribuyen su origen al: *Tunpa*, principio de toda bondad y, al: *Aguara-Tunpa*, consideran como principio de todo mal, conforme se ha visto. Bajo este concepto, quien los castigó, no fué aquél, sino el: *Aguara-Tunpa*. Concluiré este capítulo noveno haciendo la relación de la fábula, en la cual se verá la creencia de los castigos que la humanidad puede merecer de un ser superior.

Cuento fabuloso

Cuentan los indios, que antiguamente no había distinción entre los hombres, todos eran del mismo color y hablaban el mismo idioma. Ya se dijo en las páginas anteriores que los chiriguanos de ciertas regiones, creen que el idioma primitivo era la quichua; ¿de dónde resultó la diversidad de color y la diversidad del lenguaje? He aquí la fábula (2).

Dos hombres antiguos experimentaban la carencia de víveres y la miseria en sus ropas; se hallaban reducidos á sufrimientos extremados y, próximos á perecer. El: *Aguara-Tunpa*, á pesar de

(1) Los Tapietes son ó fueron indios chiriguanos, se quedaron cerca de los Esteros, donde hay regular terreno con colinas y bañados, para poder practicar sus siembras.

(2) Si se pregunta á un chiriguano sobre el origen de todos los hombres, contesta que éllos son distintos de nosotros, éllos han sido hechos feos, miserables, pobres é ignorantes.

su pésima inclinación y aborrecimiento hacia la humanidad, á pesar de sus pocos instintos filantrópicos, se movió á compasión de los infelices, fué á ellos y les dijo: «Quiero remediar y poner fin á vuestras miserias, á vuestras desgracias y necesidades, porque lo puedo: á pesar de que considerás á mi contrario, vuestro buen amigo y á mí, vuestro enemigo, quiero hacerles favor, para que veáis que, cuando quiero, soy más poderoso que vuestro amigo, que no sabe cómo socorrerles en las presentes calamidades.»

¡Ved aquellas armas arrinconadas allí como trastos inútiles! con las mismas podéis poner fin á vuestras desventuras, si sabéis aprovecharlas, como os diré; cada cual escoja las que le parezcan mejor; eran flechas, arcos, escopetas y espadas. El más listo examinó primero y habiendo observado que las escopetas eran de hierro pesado, como las lanzas y espadas, optó por las más livianas, ó sea por las flechas y arcos.

¡Qué partido debía tomar el compañero! eran los únicos arcos y flechas; á pesar suyo quiná, y sin tener mucho que pensar, se resignó á las que quedaban y se posesionó de escopetas, lanzas y espadas; trabajó toda la noche para libertarlas del moho que las había invadido; pero al salir el sol, todo estaba concluido y tuvo la satisfacción de ver relumbrar como nuevas sus armas.

Con estas armas, dijo el: *Agaxeu-Tuapa*, seréis cazadores y os buscaréis la vida; con las mismas os defenderéis de los peligros, de las alimañas y de vuestros enemigos, y volviéndose al de las flechas y arcos añadió: Tú serás siempre más pobre que tu compañero, porque has tenido la ligereza de optar por lo que poco sirve, porque has escojido lo de poco valor: El de las escopetas será siempre superior á tí en todo, en inteligencia, atrevimiento, fortuna, valor y riqueza; su comida será siempre mejor que la tuya, su vestido lo consiguiente y tú disfrutarás de lo de su casa, sólo sirviéndole y ayudándole en sus trabajos, él desde este momento te será superior, como otro ser maravilloso; serás acojido en su casa, como un compañero en desgracia y procurará alguna vez tenerte compasión por el beneficio que hoy recibió (1).

Además que, prosiguió el: *Agaxeu-Tuapa*, que tú no te ol-

(1) Creen realmente en lo que se refiere á este punto de la fábula, es decir de ser éllos inferiores á los blancos, mas no por castigo, sino por destino; verdaderos fatalistas.

vidas nunca del día, en que tu mala suerte te hizo ser inferior á tu compañero, recibe también este botón que te distinguirá de los descendientes, del que te es superior. Le horadó el labio inferior y le impuso la *tembeta*; desde entonces principió la diferencia entre la raza blanca de *arey*, y los chiriguanos, que creen deber su desgracia, al: *Aguaru Tunpa* (1).

He aquí la humanidad dejada á su libre albedrío sin ser alumbrada por la verdadera religión; cree en un cúmulo de mentiras y supersticiones, respeta, ó se atemoriza de una bestia salvaje, dándole el nombre de ser maravilloso, pudiente para hacerle bien ó mal, tiembla á la presencia de un zorro impávido y ladrón sin inteligencia y sin palabra; desfigura el rostro de sus hijos, haciendo consistir la bondad, fortaleza, prestigio y nobleza del individuo en una pieza de estaño, madera ó caña hueca; sujeta á sus tiernas y delicadas doncellas á un ayuno riguroso, á un encierro de meses y hasta de año por la falsa creencia en brujerías, en supuestas enfermedades y maleficios, arruinando la salud de las mismas y exponiéndolas aún á morir (2).

---

(1) Actualmente pocos son los indios que creen en semejante fábula, al zorro consideran un animal de cuatro patas y pícaro como lo es, y los jóvenes oyen relatar sólo por gusto de oir.

(2) Casi todos los chiriguanos actuales tienen una pequeña tintura de la verdadera religión, por esto no se preocupan mucho ya de sus antiguas costumbres de ayuno, ocultamiento é imposición de tembeta y pelo largo.

[P. 236]

CAPITULO DÉCIMO

AGRICULTURA, ANIMALES, COMIDAS

INTRODUCCION

La santa Biblia, al darnos cuenta ó hacernos la relación de la caida del hombre primero, nos pone de manifiesto que Dios, después de haberlo hecho conocer la culpa cometida, le anunció, que había incurrido en la pena de buscarse y proporcionarse el alimento necesario con el trabajo manual y sudor de su frente.

Realmente, la tierra que, hasta entonces había producido espontáneamente en abundancia, todo lo que el hombre podía haber deseado, maldecida por Dios, á consecuencia del pecado de Adán, se llenó de maleza, de abrojos y espinas y no tardó la riente primavera y el abundante otoño en experimentar el sombrío estado de la época glacial; vemos y palpamos que todo se verificó á la letra según la palabra divina, que no se equivoca, ni se engaña (1).

Si queremos una prueba de esto, basta salir ahora de nuestras habitaciones, basta caminar afuera de un pueblo, recién fundado en los bosques de nuestra Nación Boliviana, unos cien ó doscientos metros, y no hallaremos arbolillo por pequeño que sea, que no ostente en sus ramas y hasta en sus hojas la maldición de Dios dada en principio, y el arbolillo que no la manifieste, es peor, porque con su espina arqueada y oculta, lastima la mano del que descuidadamente pretende arrancar una ramita ó una hoja (2).

(1) Algunos quieren explicar los efectos del enfriamiento que produjo el hielo por disecamiento de un mar de la Africa septentrional, de donde proceden hoy los vientos secos, pero como los hielos invadieron la Europa septentrional y la América del Norte, ó todo el hemisferio boreal, es dificil admitir que, tan debil causa, haya podido producir tan extensos efectos.

(2) Alguien diría que la maldición de Dios cundió de lleno en estas comarcas, pero es de fe que cundió en todas partes. Si la comarca se halla así todavía, es debido al poco cultivo.

[facing. p 237]

Grupo de indios trabajadores

¿Por qué tanta maleza y tanta espina en los bosques de América? porque poco se cultiva, no se cultiva, porque falta elemento, falta el jornalero, y Dios dijo que, sin trabajo: *Tribulos et spinas germinabit tibi.* Dejemos á parte el territorio no explorado, y concretemos nuestra consideración en toda la comarca chiriguana, la cual es habitada hoy por blancos y negros, ó sea indios.

El blanco quiere poner en práctica lo que según la fábula predijo el: *Aguara-Tunpa*, cuando les hizo escoger las armas. El blanco quiere ser servido y pasearse en su reluciente y brioso caballo, llevar su arma de fuego en la cintura ó su puñal en la bota y, como gran señor, obligar al chiriguano á que le sirva por la comida ó por su dinero, y así para la agricultura el brazo del blanco, es casi muerto. Hay blancos que se llaman agricultores ó de labranza, porque poseen muchos peones chiriguanos, los mandan y los dirigen, para que trabajen en el campo por interés y lucro propio de éllos.

Puedo decir con todo acierto, que el único jornalero de las cuatro provincias, Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor y Gran Chaco, es el chiriguano que se extiende aún más allá de Santa Cruz de la Sierra, donde también trabaja, conducido por las autoridades ó por los patrones de las tierras que compraron en época remota por una pequeñez (1).

Hoy el chiriguano, muy abatido, en muchas partes sufre resignado lo que, según la fábula, no quiso ayer; en otras va emigrando en lo mejor del tiempo, es decir cuando es necesaria su presencia para las siembras generales, á las cuales deben por fuerza dedicarse los ancianos, si quieren vivir sin morirse de hambre y para poder recibir á los mozos emigrados, cuando vuelven por pocos días á ostentar su ropa nueva, su trabajo de otras comarcas, venderla en seguida por una nada, carnear alguna res propia ó de sus viejos y volverse en seguida sin decir siquiera: Hasta la vista.

Derecho de propiedad

El objeto del presente capítulo es describir el modo de cultivar la tierra, cuando los indios vivían solos en el territorio, antes que penetrén entre éllos los blancos, quienes hoy apenas les dan

(1) Si hay que dar crédito á los indios, en algunos lugares se adquirió terrenos por una leva raida del tiempo de Fernando VII, en otros por tres ó cuatro arrobas de queso y en los últimos por una vaca, un poncho, unas varas de lienzo ó unas cuantas botellas de licor, dadas al cacique.

lugar, de que hagan sus sembradíos, como puedan. Sin embargo, como los tienen continuamente ocupados, la comida y el vestido no faltan para nada en casa del cristiano, donde el indio los consigue para sí, para sus hijos y para su mujer (1).

Fué también el *Agnoro-Tuapa*, quien enseñó al chiriguano el cultivo de las tierras, pues viendo que no había podido remediar su miseria y necesidades con la entrega de las armas y flechas, visitó nuevamente su pobre choza y viéndola fuera y extenuada, le entregó toda clase de semillas, para que las hiciera fructificar, enseñándole el modo de sembrarlas y advirtiéndole también el modo y el tiempo de arrancar la cosecha, cuidando escarda, porque habría quedado mal esto en contrario y ante el mismo indio, aun habiéndose perfeccionado su obra filantrópica, después de tanto criticar al verdadero amigo de la humanidad chiriguana (2).

Cada chiriguano posee un pequeño fundo, suficiente para sí y para su familia; en la zona en que viven los indios, cuale antiguamente había penetrado, de modo que, ninguno les disputaba el derecho de propiedad, como no se les pudiera disputar hoy, porque son dueños *ab immemorabili*; y ningún particular podía haber vendido, lo que pertenecía á la colectividad.

Para adquirir el dominio de un pequeño fundo, el chiriguano escoge de antemano en la región el paraje que más le agrade, el paraje que juzga bastante bien por hallarse á las faldas de lomerías ó cerros, ó por brotarse allí agua en la estación lluviosa. Por su puesto, el sitio que piensa cultivar, no debe tener señales de labranzas anteriores, porque si las hubiese, el dueño ó sus descendientes, aunque bastante lejanos, interpondrían inmediatamente reclamo ante la autoridad competente, el cacique.

Si el fundo es baldío, puede estar seguro de no ser molestado y, antes que termine la estación de lluvia, siembra en él cualquier

(1) Sin quererlo quizá, los blancos han hecho y hacen una obra caritativa con el indio, la de moralizarlo un poco con el trabajo, durante el cual ni se embriaga, ni piensa en bagatelas, etc. Sólo que en algunos lugares se necesita un poco de moderación, para no aburrirlo.

(2) El *Agnoro-Tuapa*, Dios Zorro, no le dijo que las semillas podían comerse desde luego, porque de otro modo los habría perdido inmediatamente, después que hubieran nacido, avió que estando en razón, podía tener alimentos para sí, y su familia.

cosa, que sea visible como la: *Gliricidia-sepium*, cubierta grande que se extiende mucho, lo invade todo y no es soluble fácilmente por la madera. También otro método de adquirir propiedad, es el de romper alrededor del sitio, todos los arbustos, ó finalmente, de hacer con su hacha, tajos en los árboles más grandes.

Nadie puede reclamar un lugar, que es de la comunidad de los indios, donde ningún trabajó, y el que hizo los señales anteriores, queda constituido dueño. Para la estación lluviosa, viene el frío que seca hierbas y hojas de árboles; antes que termine agosto, el indio pega fuego á todo el fondo-suelo que consume las hierbas y los matorrales é inutiliza los árboles de mayor magnitud. Todo lo ceniza que queda, es un abono para el terreno y el fuego destruyó toda semilla de malas hierbas y de abrojo, de modo que, la primera siembra que se practica en el nuevo fundo, casi no tiene malezas, lo cual ahorra trabajo al primeroso chiriguano (1).

Método antiguo en la labranza

También para sembrar en fondos, ya antiguos, usan el mismo método de aplicar el fuego á la madera que queda después de la cosecha, este método viene practicado más por los blancos y mestizos. En cuanto á dar fertilidad al terreno, no se preocupa el chiriguano, porque las jóvenes son vírgenes y el indio apenas hace un grande cuadro la siembra del maíz y, si llueve con regularidad, hasta que se pongo duro el grano, la cosecha es abundante y el agricultor tiene para comer y beber en abundancia la chicha, que quiere.

Antiguamente el: *ava*, no tenía más que una pala de madera y una hacha de piedra que hoy difícilmente se encuentra; con este insignificante aparato se procuraba la vida; el hacha le servía para cortar árboles y arbustos y la pala para arrancar toda hierba y malezas. La pala era semejante á las que usan los pescadores para introducir el pan en el horno, era de madera de sauce y hallábase amarrada á un palo bastante largo, mediante bejucos ó tiras de cuerina de taborochi; el mango era siempre largo, porque el indio

(1) Los indios viejos todavía hacen algo para no tener mucha maleza en la siembra y escardas, pero los nuevos poco se preocupan ya de ello en muchas partes; además el ganado, en dos tiempo, todo lo invade y convierte el punto en poco tiempo; es muy provechoso prohibir los quemazones de los sembrados después de la cosecha.

en sus trabajos agrícolas no sabía, ni sabe doblar el espinazo; dichas palas eran también de la espaldilla de reses, caballos ó asnos (1).

Las siembras regularmente se practicaban en el mes de noviembre, después que el terreno había recibido por lo menos dos aguaceros. Entonces el indio con su pala destruía primero las pocas hierbas que habían nacido y, luego, notificaba á sus amigos y parientes, para que le ayudasen á sembrar en el día señalado. En la siembra general tomaba parte el cacique, ordenando que sus dependientes se ayudasen mutuamente, de modo que en dicho día bien de madrugada se iban al fundo, despertándose unos á otros con gritos, silbidos ó también mediante el: *Hanonuati*, asta de res.

El modo de sembrar es muy sencillo: estando el terreno blando, el sembrador con su pala practica un pequeño hoyo, mediante dos ó tres golpes, luego empuja la pala hacia adelante, echa dos ó tres granos de semilla y los cubre. En seguida, sin moverse, practica otro hoyo á la derecha, horizontalmente al primero, y un tercero á la izquierda, haciendo la misma operación, que en el primero, después da un paso y sigue como antes, hasta concluir; entre muchos concluyen pronto la siembra de un fundo.

No trabaja más el indio que hasta el mediodía y procura acabar la tarea antes de dejarla, para no volver, de modo que á veces prolonga el trabajo hasta las dos de la tarde. Luego el dueño y compañeros dejan, vuelven al pueblo, donde los esperan con comida y chicha en abundancia que aquél mandó hacer, si las cosechas anteriores fueron abundantes (2).

Así seguían antiguamente hasta concluir la siembra de una tribu: un día en el fundo propio y otro en el del compañero y aún el cacique practicaba lo mismo: hoy es difícil conseguir esto, porque no son unidos ya. Sin embargo en tiempo de carestía, si alguien prepara chicha, para los que quieran ayudarle en la siembra ó escarda, dejan ó rehusan el dinero por unos cuantos mates ó

(1) El barón don Erland Nordenskiold, además de los cántaros de varias regiones de Bolivia, mandó al museo de Suecia cántaros trabajados por chiriguanos, palas de madera y hachas de piedra.

(2) En todo caso, si faltaba la chicha, por la carestía anterior y la aloja de algarrobas, necesariamente debía la mujer de casa esperar á los sembradores con comida, mezclada con algo de carne y bastante ají.

vasos del apetecido licor; hasta los blancos consiguen peones con más facilidad de este modo.

Labranza moderna y semillas

Hoy la siembra con pala va desapareciendo y, si ésta es necesaria para la escarda, ha sido sustituida con la de hierro; mucho se ha generalizado el arado, el yugo y bueyes, y en las Misiones amansan novillos de 2 ½ años, aún los niños de doce años. Practican primero la siembra para la Misión, luego para sí y sus padres y finalmente ayudan, á los que no tienen hijos; el Misionero les proporciona los novillos, las rejas y aún las sogas, donde son muy pobres.

Los neófitos de las Misiones de Potosí, en la mayor parte de días, han aprendido perfectamente este nuevo método de labranza y, son tan adelantados, que hacen competencia y superan aún á muchos labriegos mestizos. Los mayores enseñan á los menores, los padres á sus hijos y éstos como aquéllos trabajan arado y yugo de maderas escojidas con toda la perfección, que requieren estos aperos; cosa satisfacción ver en una chacra 40 ó 50 yuntas de bueyes, dirigidas y arreadas por mozos y niños, que ayer eran como sus abuelos! Los mismos blancos practican sus sembradíos en grande escala, ayudados por estos chiriguanos, recibiendo en cambio un jornal doble (1).

Hoy me parece que no debe haber otro país, donde más abundan las diferentes clases de maíz, éste es el elemento principal, la comida diaria, no sólo de la tribu chiriguana, sino de todos los que habitan la mayor parte de Bolivia. Por acá, principalmente, el año que no hay cosecha, se resiente de su falta, blancos y negros, ó sea mestizos y chiriguanos.

Once son las calidades de maíz que siembran los indios y sus vecinos de raza blanca, los mestizos tarijeños y cruceños. El maíz que tiene más uso para la comida chiriguana, se llama: *Abati hendi coi*, ó *abati igu coi*, maíz relumbrante ó amarillo; el grano de esta calidad es realmente de un color amarillo encendido y

(1) El peón yuntero no tiene obligación de llevar yunta, es el blanco que lo espera con la yunta amarrada. Si el peón lleva la suya, gana hasta el triple de jornal, porque resultan justamente tres valientes peones, dos bueyes y el hombre que los dirige; no es mucho pues pagarle el triple.

de *Ñ* hacen harina tostada y harina para la elaboración de la chicha. La segunda calidad que tiene bastante uso, es el: *Abatiadi*, ó sea maíz blanco, éste se usa para tostado y sólo para harina tostada; igual uso que éste, tiene el: *Abati ouvoni*, cuyo grano es semejante por su color y forma á los dientes ó semillas de los granadas. Largo es bastante apreciado el: *Abati hontoro oui*, ó sea maíz claro (1).

Sembraban los indios sólo el: *Abatiádi*, ó sea maíz negro, pero no es muy apreciado y cuando de este maíz hacen chicha, su color es de chocolate con leche. Si la cosecha anterior fué escasa, ó casi nula, los indios á las primeras harinas y, otros en lugares húmedos, que por antonomasia, llaman: *Marcioti*, sembraban el: *Abatiai*, maíz chico, la planta no se levanta de la tierra más de un metro, su numerosa es de un jeme más ó menos y su fruto se aprovecha muy largo; de éste sembraban poco para no perder la semilla. Casi igual á éste, es el que llaman: *Marcedo*, colombiano chico; tiene el mismo color del de la primera calidad, pero no es abundante, su numerosa cuenta de ocho rayas cortas.

La última clase pero tiene de particular; llámase: *Cachiardá*, que en idioma quiere decir cempo y lo es realmente, el grano en su terminación es bastante pequeño, más no lo es en su principio y en medio, es muy blando, contiene bastante sustancia y lo usan para tostado. Tiene además el: *Abati gorgóto*, largo pueno el: *Abati chaco*, que usan para la harina tostada y finalmente tiene el: *Naiapiai*, gris, muy excelente para tostado, por su blandura (2).

El maíz es comida muy usual para el indio chiriguano y lo usan de distintas maneras, pero en la abundancia se usan de comer la misma cosa, como los Interos, que en el desierto, se hallan cuando de comer el maíz. Revuelven á éste inmediatamente con el: *Intiua*, compango.

El primero: *Abati tiua*, es la *Cocinada*, *abrón*; también hay otras clases de abrón, ó *cocinada*; todos se comen con sal ó sin

(1) El *Abati hontoro oui*, es conocido por los criollos tarijeños con el nombre de maíz pisangalla, otros lo llaman aperlado, ó maíz azucar, porque tiene color de perla y es más dulce que el de otras clases.

(2) Parece que antiguamente estos indios no poseían el *Abati gorgóto*, es muy probable que fué introducido después de la conquista, ó tan largo que tuvieron relaciones con los blancos.

ella, con harina de maíz, con tostada ó sin ella. Hállase aquí: *Cocoande kéipio*, abejón de grano amarillo; *Cocoande ocoapa*, que literalmente quiere decir: abejón de ojo amarillo; *Cocoande ñó*, abejón negro, *Cocoande pácopa*, que literalmente quiere decir: abejón doble de las *kéiudes*, porque es trepador; *Cocoandeñó*, abejón blanco; *Cocoande pióo*, abejón largo con grano colorado; *Cocoande qui*, abejón pequeño: éste no es pájaro por su grano, sino por su planta y en la que los labradores, llaman pavito amarillo; *Cocoandeoci*, abejón agrio; *Cocoande guaso*, abejón grande; lo es por la planta que es muy grande; hay otra llamada: *Gláiro cupia*, porque es semejante á los huevos de pajarillos, y, por último, hay la: *Saiapicot*, que es igual al maíz gris ocoro (1).

El chiriguano practica la siembra de la clase de jatías que tiene, ó puede conseguir de sus vecinos ó compadres, cuando le llegan á faltar; porque sólo del maíz, que perdió ellaur tostado y no hervido, practica la siembra de varias clases. Toda lababia es buena para el indio, porque el uso que hace de ella, es hervirla y comerla, cuando debajo de la cenisa calienta con sus cuchillos, ó practicando un hoyo en la tierra, calentarla y colocar allí los cuchillos, para que se curen.

Si con frecuencia falta la ababia al chiriguano para mezclar con el maíz, difícilmente le llega á faltar la calabaza que usa con poco cuidado y, tanta fortaleza posee para la siembra; hasta también la siembra dé este mencionado con mucha facilidad, tanto que á ello se dedican los ancianos y los niños, porque no se necesitan cuidados plenos en su fondo para conservar su abundancia.

No conocen dos clases de calabazas, pero ellas están son sumidas, las otras sirven para usos. Las calabazas conocidas son dichas: *Andei*, *Gláiodaso guaso*, *Gláiodaso oci*, *Gláiodaso oci guaso*, *pipoiógua*; esta última tiene el interior que es comible, y el exterior bueno para usos domésticos, para guardar en su cámara dura cualquier objeto. Las calabazas que sirven para usos son: *Ñó*, usan cocinadas; *Ñó guaso*, usan cocinadas; *Ñóapa*, usan

(1) La *Cocoande guaso* ó abejón grande es la preferida por el chiriguano y tiene mucha razón, es bien comestible, la menos dañosa á la salud, además de ser la semilla que más resistencia tiene para la siembra, es muy abundante, pues pueden hacerse hasta cuatro cosechas.

calabazas: *Ñi guaro*, mate grande; *Ñi-vai*, mate chico; *Ñi guaro*, mate largo; *Ñi guaí*, mate torcido (1).

Las calabazas se cultivan hervidas, asadas y en caldo, la semilla es muy apetecida para comerla asada, juntamente con la harina del maíz, con tostada ó con alubias. También hay otra clase de calabaza que llaman: *Ñiñudaro ni guiro*, ó sea grano de la calabaza, le usan ají y sal, mezclarse hacen con la alubia cocinada en aceite con toda la calabaza, que llaman: *Ñapiríguo*.

Si el chiriguano estuviese sembrar un poco de maíz, porotos y calabazas, está contento y dejan de sembrar otras semillas en la siguiente cosecha. Pocos son los que siembran el: *Yiti*, camote, la: *Mandioquapi*, mandioca, la: *Tacuaí*, caña dulce, y el *Mandoví*, maní. Todos siembran las semillas y sembrar, sembrar plantas higueras y tunas, ó ocupé, y, pocos los que cultivan naranjas, porque este indio tiene para paciencia en esperar la ingratitud de ciertas plantas que requieren mucho cuidado y, son muy tardías en hacer producir su fruto (2).

El ocupé es muy abundante en esta zona, se cría hasta tres ó cuatro metros, su fruto es muy apetecido, como todos comemos, su cultivo es ninguno, basta arrancar un guío de la planta principal, enterrarlo por mitad y hace nacer un dulce fruto desde el segundo año; es la planta que más aprecia el chiriguano.

Se cultiva la higuera mas, para la cual poco cuidado se requiere también, la llaman: *Ivo*, como al ocupé llaman: *Naiví*, y ambas plantas parecen originarias, porque son propias de higuera silvestre, y el nombre indica que siempre las han poseído. Requiere la higuera más cultivo que el ocupé, pero es relativamente insignificante, arrancan un guío, la plantan durante la estación lluviosa y la dejan crecer á sus anchas sin quitarle retoño alguno (3).

Prestándola cualquiera de los siembros, todo el afán del chiriguano es, que produzca: además valorizándose el fruto del cir-

---

(1) En el número de las calabazas no cabe el indio, lo que sirve á los dos sexos para bebedor del chicha de agua, porque es calabaza maravillosa.

(2) En el idioma chiriguano no existen los nombres de sandía y melón, lo cual indica que estos frutos fueron introducidos por los blancos, de quienes los conocieron los indios.

(3) Los blancos que viven entre los indios, se ocupan de otros cultivos más lucrativos, pero plantan higueras y ocupé y caña, es provechoso para el chiriguano que vende ambos frutos, recibiendo del blanco dinero, carne o chanqui.

lo, ó de los brujos, dueños de la lluvia, para que no falte la humedad necesaria, y él, con sus manos, procura que lo sembrado esté bien limpio de toda maleza.

Empleo del fruto sazonado

Si el tiempo es favorable, y el indio ha tenido cuidado del sembradío, el premio de su poco sudor no se deja esperar mucho, á los tres meses justos, ó antes también, ya puede comenzar á saborear el: *Abatiqui*, maíz tierno, que los mestizos llaman choclo; los primeros se comen asados y casi nunca hervidos, porque dicen que de este modo son insípidos. Dicen además que, el choclo asado, debe ser poco cocido, para que no pierda la propiedad de engordar, y si se asa debajo de la ceniza con toda la chala, es dulce casi como el azúcar. ¡Qué bien saben, querido lector, mis indios lo que es bueno para el cuerpo y, cómo conocen el modo de engordar y lo que más agrada al paladar! buenos gastrónomos son á pesar de su pobreza! parece que pertenezcan á los abdominales que describe el Padre Saj.

Cuando el choclo está algo más en sazón, lo comen con más gusto, y entonces elaboran también muy bonitamente las: *Simbicuai*, humitas. El procedimiento es muy sencillo; en vez de cuchillo ó cuchara para arrancar los granos, la chiriguana joven ó vieja, hermosa ó fea, con buena ó mala dentadura, se sirve de ella y en vez de mortero y batán para moler, se sirve con toda limpieza de sus muelas, y, por supuesto, que en la masticación viene el choclo bien condimentado con la limpia y blanca saliva de las viejas ó jóvenes. Luego envuelven el mascado en chalas verdes, lo amarran, ponen debajo de la ceniza y estando cocido lo comen como una vianda muy delicada y, nótese que, si la humita chiriguana, nó se hace así, resulta desabrida por falta de salsa y sal, cosas que se remedian con el procedimiento antedicho (1).

La estación del maíz fresco dura unos tres meses, porque el chiriguano, acostumbrado á comidas pesadas, lo come en calidad de fresco, aunque esté muy sazonado. Terminada la estación del choclo, la mujer recoge unas cuantas mazorcas del: *abatindi ó sa-*

(1) Los blancos, aquí y en otras partes, hacen humitas, moliendo el choclo en un mortero, y mezclándole queso, cuajada, carne y otros ingredientes; pero el indio sigue su antiguo método sin mezclarle más que la saliva.

impino, las desgrana, se sienta cerca del fuego, donde tiene colocado su tiesto ó vasija de barro, allí echa el maíz que tuesta, meneándolo con un palillo ó con el marlo del mismo maíz, teniendo cuidado que no esté muy cocido, para que no pierda la sustancia. Muy poco comen el maíz hervido: *Atiruro*, y aún el tostado: *Atipii*, debe ir acompañado con su: *Intina*, companage que debe ser cosa no usual (1).

No es fácil que el indio en la abundancia, se resigne á comer el maíz siempre del mismo modo, tanto porque se cansa, cuanto porque hay también ancianos, á quienes faltan muelas y poco pueden comer el maíz tostado. Para evitar ambas cosas, la inteligencia chiriguana ha encontrado varios modos de preparar las viandas de maíz, además de las ya indicadas. Saborea con satisfacción el: *Aticúi*, harina; para hacerla, la india, después de haber estado acurrucada largo tiempo cerca del fuego, toma su batán, echa una cantidad de tostado en el mortero y muele, luego cierne lo molido en un cedazo tupido de palmera y vuelve á moler todo lo cernido para que el *aticúi*, que los blancos llaman pito, sea bastante sabroso.

Con la misma facilidad con que prepara el *aticúi*, hace también el: *Muinti*, que es el séptimo modo de comer el maíz. Para el efecto, mete en agua una pequeña cantidad de granos y los deja remojar una noche, á la madrugada saca y coloca en un cedazo, para que escurra toda el agua, va en seguida moliéndolos poco á poco, y una vez terminado, lo cierne y tuesta como hizo con la harina. Del resíduo del molido del *muinti* llamado: *Abaticure*, denominado arrocillo por los blancos, prepara el: *Achi;* para hacerlo, muele nuevamente el arrocillo, echa en el molido sal y ají y lo tuesta.

El modo noveno de aprovechar el maíz, es un poco más complicado, es frecuente, pero no usual; llámase: *Muintimimo*. Para hacerlo se remojan los granos y se muelen á la madrugada, luego se cierne en un cedazo fino, se prepara en seguida un plato, que tenga á propósito, pequeños agujeros, se coloca en él la harina molida, la cual viene cubierta con el afrecho; se coloca finalmente el plato sobre una olla de agua hirviente, cierra sus bordes con ar-

(1) Para su companage se sirve de las alubias, calabazas, carne, pescado, empanizado, hormigas grandes: *Isaú*, chicharras, lagartos, gusanos, sebo derretido, miel, hojas de calabazas, hierbas del monte, como el: *Mandío* y langostas, cuya aparición alguna vez lo alegra, porque tiene ya para su asado.

gamasa de ceniza, para que no salga el vapor, y deja que este lo cueza con su fuerza (1).

Con poca frecuencia el indio toma caldo de maíz molido: *Hapi*, no habiendo carne, usa para su caldo las alubias y las calabazas; si no tuviera ni éstas, prefiere el: *Cagüii rai*, que prepara con remojar y moler el maíz, separarlo el afrecho y cocerlo. También lo mascan á veces, hácenlo fermentar y comen, cuando está en su punto; cualquiera que ve esta última comida, no deja de tener asco, pero para ellos es manjar muy excelente.

El duodécimo y último modo de comer el maíz es el: *Mayape*, pan. La preparación es igual á la de los hebreos, cuando comían pan ázimo, pero los chiriguanos le ponen sal y ají; después de amasado, lo tapan con ceniza y fuego y dejan que esté bien cocido, cuando llega á su punto, lo sacan, lo lavan con agua, hasta que desaparezca la ceniza que se le pegó, y, bien lavado, tiene el color propio del pan que convida á grandes y chicos á saborearlo; es lo que más agrada al indio, y las mujeres lo trabajan con frecuencia en la abundancia, su olor y sabor es muy agradable, sobre todo recién hecho.

"Cangüi"—Chicha

Toda la habilidad de una esposa consiste en saber elaborar bien la chicha, el apetitoso *cangüi* del chiriguano, que es capaz de caminar cien y más kilómetros para beberla, donde fué convidado con todas las reglas de la diplomacia indígena. El *cangüi* es su café, su caldo, su vino, su comida, su bebida, su todo; es en cierto modo su dios, y estoy seguro, que muchos renunciarían el cielo por la chicha, porque casi nada saben de lo que es cielo, y, por el contrario, saben que la chicha, es cosa dulce que alegra el corazón, hace conversar y hace cantar, por esto, toda mujer chiriguana debe poner especial cuidado desde antes de su pubertad, en aprender bien el método de elaborarla. Helo aquí (2).

---

(1) Para ver si está en su punto, golpea con sus dedos por encima del afrecho y si suena como el pan cocido, señal que es tiempo de quitarlo de la olla, arroja el afrecho, come lo que quiere y guarda lo demás.

(2) El método de elaborar la chicha, á la que los blancos llaman de arrope, es algo distinto, mas los indios chiriguanos no la usan, y recién la conocen.

Prepara y muele la cantidad de maíz, correspondiente á las vasijas que quiere llenar, después cierne en un cedazo especial que tiene ojos grandes: *Unapeni;* de este primer trabajo siempre queda una especie de granza ó arrocillo que llaman: *Abticuve*, el cual después de remojado y cernido, es molido nuevamente, luego lo asan un poco en tiestos, lo mascan y guardan en una vasija por espacio de cuatro á seis horas, á este se le llama: *Timisúú*, cosa mascada.

Mientras tanto ha hecho acopio de agua, ha colocado el cántaro en el fuego que está próximo á hervir; antes del hervor, aparta la leña encendida para paralizar su acción, hecha en el cántaro la harina seca que molió primero, y la mezcla con el agua caliente, evitando que se coagule. En seguida saca una pequeña cantidad de esta mezcla en una vasija pequeña, en la cual introduce todo el *Timisúú*, cuya mezcla llaman: *Umapirai;* practicado todo esto, con un mate menea continuamente, elevando el líquido hasta cierto altura, y haciéndolo caer en la vasija, para que tome la dulzura correspondiente. Cuando la mezcla se ha hecho bien dulce, la echa toda á las ollas que están en el fuego, las hace hervir, meneando todo continuamente por el espacio de 24 horas (1).

A las 24 horas, ya todo está cocido, quita el fuego, saca el líquido espeso, colocándolo en otras vasijas de boca ancha. Se sientan entonces las mujeres chicas y grandes y principian á mascar hasta el fin, (esta operación puede durar unas dos horas); luego, entre varias, le echan agua, cuelan todo el ingrediente en un cedazo muy tupido: *Cungüi ubogua* y una vez terminado, envasan el líquido clarificado en otras vasijas de boca angosta. La tapa de estas vasijas es una timaja pequeña, ó una calabaza y para que esté herméticamente cerrada, la embarran con arganasa de arcilla, así la fermentación se opera sin inconveniente y en pocos días. Al concluirse la fermentación, quitan con cuidado el barro y la tapa y aparece el: *Cungüi*; cubierto con buena dosis de aceite: señal segura de estar la chicha perfectamente elaborada (2).

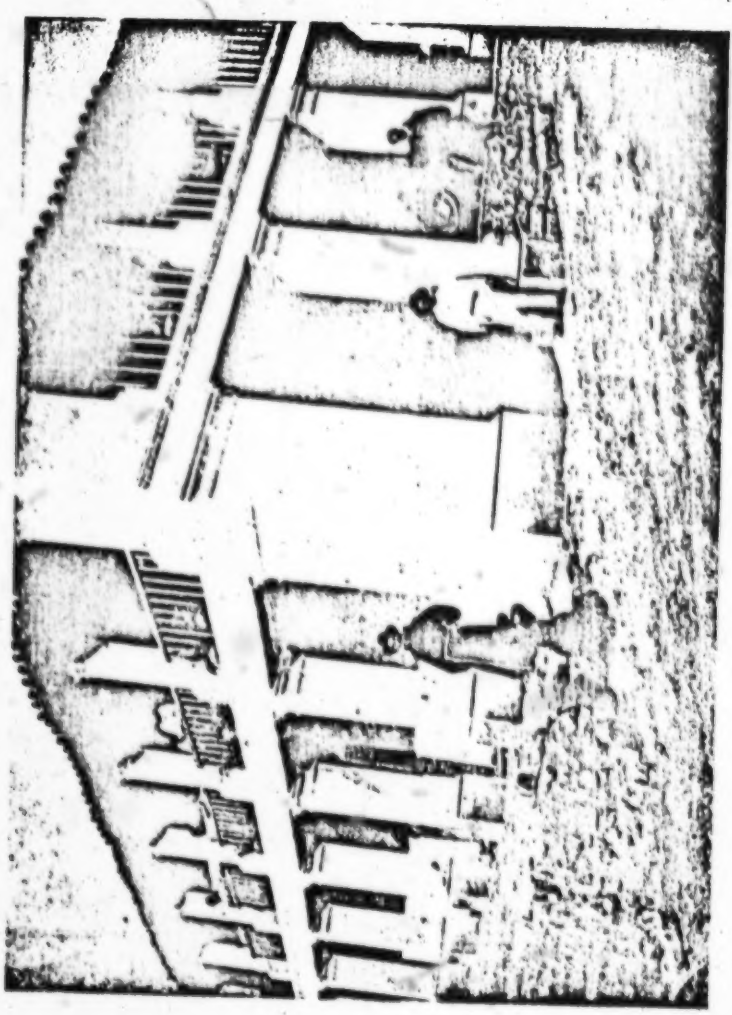
Antes de principiar la tomada, la dueña recoje y saca el acei-

---

(1) Si no se hiciera caer el líquido desde una altura determinada, en la vasija, quedaría sin dulce alguno, la espátula con que menea el líquido un día y una noche, se llama: *Mbacpiraraca.*

(2) Cuando el tiempo es caluroso, la fermentación de la chicha se opera en tres días, mas en tiempo frío, son necesarios seis ó siete.

[facing p. 249]



Escuela de muchachos

te y llena las tinajas para los bebedores; en cada una derrama unas cuantas gotas del mismo aceite. Si no tuviera este cuidado, se juntaría todo el aceite en una sola tinaja y la que elaboró la chicha, se privaría de las alabanzas de todos los moscones ó moscardones. Cuando la chiriguana quiere que la chicha sea mejor, cuando quiere la: *Copiriru*, chicha recocida, después de haberla colado, como se ha dicho, la hace hervir nuevamente y luego de estar fría, la envasa.

Nótese: que las chiriguanas que se disponen á elaborar la chicha, lo primero que practican, es untarse el rostro y pantorrillas con el aceite del palmachristi, encima ponen la pintura del achiote y dan principio al trabajo. Dicen éllas, que mediante este cosmético, sienten menos la acción del fuego, pero sea lo que fuere, es lo cierto que ver á esas mujeres, así pintadas en una casa, con fuego bastante, y humo en abundancia, es lo mismo que ver las furias del infierno; la semejanza no se aleja mucho.

En otro capítulo se verá, que la abundancia de chicha se elabora en las fiestas que se celebran después de la cosecha, mas es de notar aquí, que para estas bebidas generales, se preparan comidas y el gran hotel queda abierto á todos en la plaza, donde se reunen pueblenos y forasteros, hombres y mujeres en bandos separados, porque no ha llegado acá la civilización europea de las escuelas mixtas, bailes mixtos, refrescos mixtos, baños mixtos, etc., etc. que son verdaderas cloacas de prostitución. (1)

Cazadores

Para que en las bebidas públicas haya abundante comida, los hombres luego después de haber terminado las tareas de leña, toman su arco, flechas y caballo, si tienen, y van á cazar. Los lugares son á propósito, unos cazan: *Taitetu*, jabalíes, otros persiguen al: *Yandu*, avestruz, muchos van en busca de: *Picasuguasu*, palomas grandes, *Yeruti*, tórtolas; *Picúi*, palomitas. Cazan también: *Gua-*

(1) Realmente los hombres en las tomadas públicas beben, separados de las mujeres á conveniente distancia, sus conversaciones son crasas, mas no se traspasan los límites, porque la mujer va acompañada de su marido.

su, corzuelas; *Sariama*, chuñas; *Ayara*, loros; *Tatu*, quiriquinchos (1).

Los cazadores tardan en volver unos quince ó veinte días, mas conforme van consiguiendo caza, la parten, la limpian y hacen secar al sol, para que no se corrompa, porque no llevan sal, pues no la poseen para hacer la cecina ó el charqui.

Casi todos los chiriguanos son cazadores y la infinidad de perros que mantienen en sus casas, todos tienen su habilidad para perseguir al jabalí, al quiriquincho, al avestruz, á la chuña ó á la corzuela. Dichos perros son casi como los lobos del viejo mundo, orejas puntiagudas y cola retorcida, son tan flacos que parecen arpas, tan malos con los mestizos y blancos, que parece han aprendido á aborrecerlos, como los aborrecen sus dueños y son tan apegados á éstos, que no los dejan nunca. Van con ellos por todas partes; no es raro ver á un indio que va al campo, seguido ó precedido de ocho ó diez perros, que están cayéndose de flacos y, sinembargo, si descubren una corzuela ó una chuña, no la dejan escapar. Caminar solo de noche por un pueblo de chiriguanos, es exponerse á ser comido vivo por estos tigres hambrientos que se reunen al ladrido del primero.

A pesar de que todos los indios son cazadores, no todos pueden ó van á cazar; unos quedan en el pueblo para ayudar á las mujeres á colocar los cántaros en la plaza y otros no van, porque disponen de otros comestibles para sus amigos. Unos poseen cabras y ovejas, otros hasta gallinas y ganado vacuno, éstos se glorían en poder presentar á sus huéspedes en la plaza pública un caldo de gallina, de cordero ó de cabrito, ó un suculento asado de ternero, pues no hay duda que cualquiera prefiere la carne fresca al charqui, ó cecina de animales silvestres.

Animales

De lo poco dicho, referente á animales, se deduce que el chiriguano posee algunos y son: el caballo, el asno, el mulo, la vaca, la oveja, la cabra, la gallina, y el perro; todos se llaman como en

---

(1) Los armadillos son de varias clases; la carne del: *Tatura-púa*, armadillo boleado, no es buena, porque se alimenta hasta de cadáveres, la carne de los demás es mejor que la del chancho; no es dañosa, como la de este último.

castellano, menos la gallina: *Uru* y el perro: *Yáimba*. Puede ser que estos dos últimos sean originarios, ó sea que siempre los hayan tenido los chiriguanos por el nombre propio de la lengua; más si se reflexiona un poco, asoma á nuestra mente una duda. La gallina, según mi parecer, se llama por los chiriguanos: *Uru*, porque tiene alguna semejanza con el gallinazo que llaman: *Urugüi* y es una especie de cuervo. El perro en chiriguano llámase: *Yáimba* sin duda por ser muy fiel al amo: *Ya* pues, realmente quiere decir: dueño amo, ó *Imba*, bestia, de modo que resultaría ser el perro una bestia especial que, más que otras, ama al dueño ó amo, y digo así porque otras tribus vecinas de los chiriguanos que se hallan en completo salvajismo, no poseen un perro, de donde pudiera deducirse que lo adquirieron, cuando entraron los españoles en su territorio (1).

Otros comestibles

Después de una digresión, vuelvo con la relación á los comestibles para concluir ya el capítulo. El indio en todo halla bondad y dulzura para sus muelas. Del pescado es muy deseoso, mas no todas las tribus lo tienen cerca, éstas, cuando saben que en las orillas de los grandes ríos hay en abundancia, caminan hasta ciento cincuenta kilómetros para hacer el cambalache: llevan maíz ó harina y la cambian por pescado. Los que viven en las orillas de los ríos, son valientes pescadores, sin distinción de sexo; pescan con anzuelo, permaneciendo horas entre el agua, pero advierten con mucho tacto, cuando el pez ha hecho penetrar el cebo en su estómago; otros pescan con redes, que las hay de todo tamaño, según he visto en el curso del río Parapiti, como también en el Pilcomayo, cerca del Pirapo hacia el poniente (2).

Otros forman unas canastas grandes de caña hueca, abiertas en un solo punto, las colocan en el río y los peces entran sin poder salir, estas canastas se llaman: *Pari*; en lo largo de los ríos he visto aún dos hileras de piedras que sobresalen al agua y acaban

(1) Para que mi opinión fuera completa, y más verdadera, la palabra: *Imba*, debiera tener la *h*; sin embargo no la doy más, que como opinión. El sentido literal de la palabra: Yáimba: sería: bestia del dueño.

(2) Los indios que traen pescado á sus tribus, hacen comercio, vendiéndolos á 10 y 20 centavos cada uno, comen y regalan también á amigos y parientes.

en ángulo, donde forma el agua una pequeña cascada; allí, en el ángulo, colocan una red grande ú otros aparatos y cogen muchos peces; á este aparato llaman *ñilos*: *Itapure;* hasta el carancho se coloca en el ángulo y hace su desayuno de pescado fresco.

Finalmente, en las cascadas de ocho ó diez metros de altura, plantan muy cerca una red grande que recibe todos los peces de pequeña y mediana magnitud, pues los grandes suben y bajan con facilidad, mientras aquéllos caen en la red; en los parajes, donde los peces son pequeños, desvían el curso del riachuelo, y así consiguen prender todos los que quedan sin su elemento.

Son también, comida muy sabrosa, las chicharras, las hormigas, los lagartos, las langostas y unos gusanos verdes que, al sólo nombrarlos, causan asco. Si muere una res y ha principiado la putrefacción, el chiriguano la encuentra excelente, dársela, es un grandízimo regalo y, ese día, es para él, un carnaval, tampoco averigua, si la res murió con ponzoña de víbora ó cascabel ó con mal de rabia (1).

No sé, si por abusión, ó por ser descendientes de los julíos, esta tribu no comía antes la carne de cerdo; á pesar de apetecer y buscar la del jabalí ó del pecari, no tocaba la del puerco doméstico, pero hoy casi todos la comen, si se exceptúan algunas mujeres.

En tiempo de hambruna ó carestía de víveres, el chiriguano sufre, pero busca su comida en la tierra, es una comida muy dañosa que produce varias enfermedades, como la consunción y la disentería. Busca la patata del aro serpentino, la extrae, practicando un hoyo, lo calden, echa allí las patatas, cubre con ceniza y brasas, dejándolas una noche; al día siguiente come él y su familia, pero les produce fuertes dolores de vientre que los obliga á echarse con la barriga al suelo, hasta que se calme la dolencia, la misma patata cruda, es eficaz para matar gusanos en las maturas de las bestias.

Otro alimento, en las carestías, es la: *Caraguata*, es una especie de aloé con hojas sin líquido aceitoso, el comestible son las raíces que tienen sabor de mandioca; se trabaja mucho para arrancarlas de la tierra, donde están muy prendidas, y la sustancia ha-

(1) Cuando los indios llevan á su casa carne de reses muertas y bastante, en estado de putrefacción, la hacen hervir en ollas y botan el agua y de este modo mucho pierde de su mal olor.

rinosa es bastante poca; para comerla, se asa en las brasas ó debajo de la ceniza. Cuando es tiempo de frutas y arrecia la pobreza, se alimentan los chiriguanos con vainillas de algarrobo: *Hibope*, con chañar: *Cambaru*, con mistol: *Yuu*, con tusca: *Hibopenc*, con algarrobos agrios: *Hibope tuyi*, con frutas de nopal: *Saini*, de la higuera: *Ico*, higuerilla: *Cuicatina*, del cardo: *Tapiacaru*, y de la ulala: *Sanongüina* (1).

Indudablemete, los chiriguanos, á pesar de ser superiores á otras tribus nómadas, que los rodean ó les son límitrofes, son muy desgraciados y pobres, pero en cambio, su vida es tranquila, no molestan á nadie, ni quieren ser molestados. Cuando el indio chiriguano tiene comida, es el ser más feliz de la tierra, su felicidad salvaje, hoy pudiera ser envidiada por todos los imperantes y grandes del mundo que viven sin saber, si mañana amanecerán, en vista de tantos peligros anárquicos, de que están rodeados, de tantas bombas y dinamita que hacen explotar las sectas tenebrosas, de tantos atentados que suceden, y son relatados por los diarios, de tantas muertes que acontecen. ¡Oh! esta clase de salvajismo no ha penetrado entre estos salvajes, por esto duermen tranquilos sin temor, en el pueblo, en la campiña, en el bosque y son más felices que otros; los que buscan la felicidad en esta tierra, bien pudieran envidiar la de estos indios.

---

(1) Casi en toda la comarca abundan las frutas indicadas y otras muchas, pero en la región de Ivu las hay en más abundancia; actualmente los años están muy cambiados, no llueve con la regularidad del tiempo pasado y las cosechas son algo seguras sólo al pié de las serranías.

[P. 254]

CAPITULO ONCE

FIESTAS, CANTOS, CARNAVAL

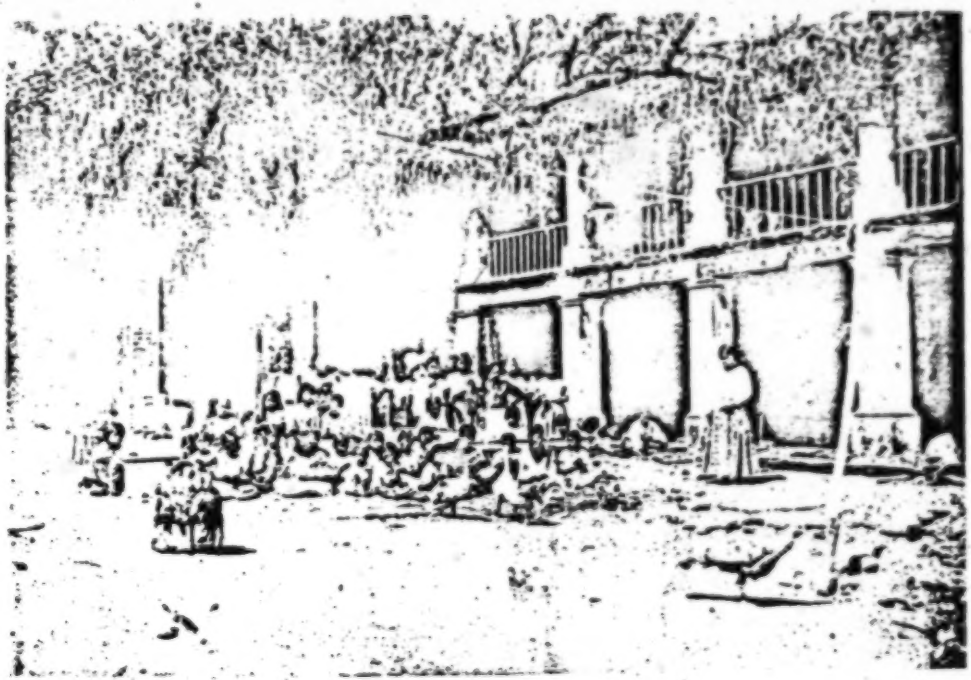
INTRODUCCION

Dios concedió al hombre el uso de la palabra mediante las articulaciones de la lengua, para rendirle con ella el justo homenaje y para expresar los pensamientos de amistad, cortesía, ciencia y progreso; concedióle la inteligencia para conocer el bien y adherirse á él, ver el mal y alejarse de él. Todo ser racional por más ignorante que sea, se diferencia característicamente del irracional por la inteligencia que admitirá graduación en el sentido de que, en unos se halla más desarrollada que en otros; que unos la cultivan más que otros, pero no puede admitirse la evolución, como la quieren los darwinistas, porque entre los brutos y el hombre no hay anillo de conjunción, nunca el bruto puede perfeccionarse hasta llegar á ser animal racional, animal inteligente. Por más que al mono le quiten el rabo ó las orejas de bruto y le pasen la navaja por todo el cuerpo para raparle el pelo que Dios le dió en lugar de vestido, falta la especie intermediaria para que de bestia pase á ser criatura inteligente, pues la inteligencia es la nota característica de la especie humana (1).

Sin embargo hay en el hombre tendencias al animal bruto, tendencias de que tanto habla Darwin: se desliza en acciones de que se avergonzaría el mismo bruto, si pudiera. Las acciones bru-

(1) En el mundo sideral hay una especie de evolución; la materia, dice Herschel, de ponderable pasó á nebulosas, de éstas, á estrellas nebulosas, luego á estrellas ó soles, etc.

[facing P. 255]



Patio de las escuelas de muchachas

tales que debieran desaparecer en los países civilizados, se cometen con más arte y finura, porque la civilización en tales regiones ya es puramente material, porque no se ha cultivado el corazón. A tal civilización es preferible el salvajismo, hasta cierto punto, que esto es natural y fácil de vencerse con la enseñanza de una sana doctrina que sólo puede darla el catolicismo.

¿Cuáles eran las ocupaciones de los hombres en Roma y otras ciudades antes de abrazar el cristianismo? cuáles son las ocupaciones de las gentes en los países, donde va reinando el anarquismo, consecuencia de la escuela laica? La historia de los pueblos antiguos nos lo dice, y la moderna también. ¿Qué hacía el imperio romano, cuando después de tanta lucha para consolidar sus dominios, llegó á su apogeo? pasaba el tiempo en fiestas que eran verdaderas orgías, días horripilantes, en los cuales corría la sangre humana, como agua. ¿Qué se hace en los reinos del viejo y nuevo mundo, donde el cristiano es modernista? se pasa el tiempo en teatros, donde se prostituyen las almas, se bebe en las fondas y bodegas hasta descender más abajo de la categoría del animal irracional, se pasa el tiempo en las plazas de toros, regocijándose en la lucha de tres animales feroces (1).

Si la civilización se entiende así, mejor es que los salvajes no la conozcan, ni sepan de civilización europea ó americana, donde aquélla va tomando la delantera; mejor que hagan sus fiestas como acostumbran, que, al fin y á la postre, de dos males hay que elegir el menor; yo sostengo que las fiestas de los salvajes, por ejemplo, de los chiriguanos, son menos escandalosas que las de ciertas regiones, las de ciertas gentes que, sin ir lejos, están cerca de los que nada saben de civilización, cuya moral, comparada con la de estos infelices, queda bien abajo por su refinamiento (2).

En el decurso de este capítulo conocerán mis lectores que poco puedo errar, en lo que afirmé anteriormente y aprenderán también, que aún los chiriguanos tienen fiestas que llaman: *Arete*, las

(1) En la enseñanza moderna, se ha suprimido la idea de Dios, que se adquiere mediante el catecismo ó libro parecido; de esta supresión proviene el anarquismo que no respeta autoridad legitimamente constituída. En ciertos juegos se observan tres bestias, el toro con su fuerza bruta, el torero con su habilidad, y los espectadores con su fiereza.

(2) Algunos modernos hacen consistir la civilización en la educación puramente material sin cuidar los anhelos del corazón; para ellos lo mismo da que el hombre vista, ó vaya desnudo.

cuales no se celebran para Santos, ni emperadores ó reyes, ni se celebran desordenadamente, ni se hacen destripar por un toro, como acaeció alguna vez á los mestizos ó á los españoles, mucho menos se celebran para entregarse abiertamente á la lujuria; se celebran tan sólo para beber y llenarse, y para disfrutar del trabajo que les costó la siembra del maíz, para tener unos días de regocijo general, beber, en suma, como buenos hermanos (1).

Antes de la fiesta

Antes que la cruz blanca penetrara á la región, era casi desconocido el ganado vacuno y el poco que poseían los indios, era manso, ni se les ha el alma á desear el maíz como ahora; así que fácilmente el chiriguano practicaba su siembra y su escarda en menos de un mes, dejando lo demás á Dios, digo mal, al brujo bueno, al sol y á la lluvia. Hoy sino pone vallado á su sembradío, muy largo alcanza la cosecha los cerdos de los cristianos y de los indios y hasta para ello un pequeño desvelo. Aunque haya buenas cercas, hay mujeres y valientes toros ó novillos, que con sus astas son cópatas de abrir portones de hierro, hacen caminos á todas sus anchas, é quienes en seguida llaman con mucho cariño, mediante sus prolongados mugidos (2).

La cosecha, marca para el chiriguano, una época del año que llama: *Mbaepica*, que literalmente se explica por cosa ó cosas secas, y cada cual comprende que corresponde al otoño, en cuya estación los árboles y todo arbusto se despojan de su belleza y vestidos. Hombres y mujeres se ocupan entonces en levantar lo que les ha producido la tierra, el producto del maíz es guardado en el mismo fondo, en una especie de cesta de palo llamado: *Ibatia*, casa de maíz y, según la necesidad, la mujer lo traslada poco á poco al patido para la comida diaria y para la elaboración de la chicha (3).

---

(1) En las bebidas generales se lamenta algo de inmoralidad en las palabras y alguna vez miden sus fuerzas y valentía con el pugilato.

(2) El ganado dócil se vuelve aún bravío; si uno solo se atreve á quererlo botar del sembradío sin auxilio de buenos perros, viene acometido.

(3) Si la cosecha de calabazas es poco abundante, las colocan encima del maíz en el mismo troje, sino hacen otro; la cosecha de alubias se traslada inmediatamente á la tribu ó pueblo.

Después de esto, el chiriguano pasa el tiempo en el ocio, bebiendo hoy acá, mañana allá, visitando á unos, jugando con otros, gozando, en suma, de su casi ningún trabajo, mejor que el más grande mandatario del mundo. La cosecha se practica entre Mayo y Junio, y después de ella, principian las libaciones en honor del dios vientre. Como el deseo de beber es extraordinario, antes de hacer la libación general, las familias aisladamente, van principiando á elaborar una pequeña cantidad de chicha para beberla entre pocos amigos y parientes.

Toca al cacique de la tribu dar la orden de la tomada general, y esta, no se deja esperar por mucho tiempo; veinte ó treinta días antes que tenga lugar, hace colocar una vasija grande al frente de su casa, he ahí la señal. Luego por la noche, ó cuando mejor lo juzga, dirige un largo discurso á sus súbditos, exhortándolos á preparar lo necesario para el: *Aréte*, hace remarcar con su discurso que el maíz es para beberlo, una vez que lo han conseguido por la bondad del brujo, dueño de la lluvia. Añade, que es muy conveniente no perder la antigua costumbre de beber y hacer una gran fiesta para manifestar la amistad y cortesía á los vecinos que habitan otras tribus. Recalca en su discurso la necesidad de elaborar buena y abundante bebida, y la de preparar mucha salvajina, para que los que deben intervenir como convidados, puedan disfrutar de estas y otros manjares domésticos á su plena satisfacción y, sea esta, grande honra para los pobladores.

No creo que alguien dude del efecto completamente satisfactorio, que produce el discurso del cacique en el cerebro del chiriguano que no desea más que beber, cantar y bailar, de modo que, después de dicha perorata, se dibuja en el semblante de todos la alegría y todos suspiran por la llegada del día feliz de poderse reunir como buenos amigos (1).

Al día siguiente ya comienza el movimiento y, lo primero, es ir al campo ó fundo para proveerse de abundante maíz, para que la chicha no llegue á faltar. Ya las mujeres empiezan á moler noche y día, mientras que los hombres traen la leña: los mismos,

(1) Los caciques son muy felices en sus peroratas para fiestas, mas cuando se trata de trabajo, no lo son tanto, al trabajo no se inclina fácilmente la humanidad; cuando una cosecha fué abundantísima, difícilmente siembran al año siguiente y sólo se contentan con muy poca cosa.

cuando la bóla es suficiente, en número considerable, van á usar para tener curar y poder convidar á sus amigos.

Cuando el cacique ve, que todo ha principiado bien, se dispone él á ir á los pueblos vecinos á rogar á sus habitantes, para que le honren con su presencia el día determinado, advirtiendo que la primera invitación es al cacique ó al brujo, *en* honor del cual se prepara la fiesta y bebida. El que va á convidar llámase: *Pacamaneco ení*, que da de beber y el convidado llámase: *Ticua ení*, ó sea: que toma. Llegado pues el invitante á la casa del que va á ser convidado, le expone el objeto de su visita, rogándole al mismo tiempo se digne aceptar él y toda su gente, cuya aceptación tendrá él con los suyos, como un grande honor (1).

El convidado no se lo hace decir dos veces, acepta desde luego, y hace notar que él debía ser el primero en dar este buen ejemplo, pero que las circunstancias y los muchos trabajos no se lo han permitido, mas no por esto se dejará de hacer, y entonces él también tendrá el honor de recibirlo con toda la gente. Terminado este acto de diplomacia y etiqueta chiriguana, que no han dejado todavía, el invitante se despide satisfecho de su viaje, del buen recibimiento, de la aceptación, y, más que todo, de haberle ganado la delantera al amigo, quien con su gente, pueblos las fiestas, le dice públicamente con estas palabras: *ocamane ení peri*, en tonces vergüenza, *ancoite cagapi ení*, pero nos vengaremos, es decir: no tardaremos en convidaros á nuestro pueblo para alegrarnos allí también (2).

Fiesta

La víspera del *aceto* todo se halla acudo y preparado en el pueblo, todos han colocado afuera, á una distancia convenientemente de cada casa, al frente de la misma, las vasijas repletas de chicha ya fermentada, y otra en casa que pueda fermentar al poco tiempo, para que ni se avinagre, ni llegue á faltar. Nunca he tenido la curiosidad de contar las vasijas en estas tomadas generales, que no son muy frecuentes, sólo sé, que cada familia llena tres cántaros y se-

(1) Para interesar más la voluntad del invitado, el invitante hace notar en su visita diplomática la antigua costumbre de las libaciones generales, que es preciso mantener viva, á todo trance.

(2) Si el invitado no aceptara su concurrencia y la de su gente, sería una afrenta muy grave que originaría indudablemente una guerra.

gún ellos puede medirse en limpio la cantidad, ó número de cabezas, que están allí listas para hacer fango y resistencia heróica en la batalla contra sus dueños y otros enemigos. Presenció una en un pueblo de unas 350 familias, y la fiesta se prolongó más más de una semana.

La gente convidada se dispone también y se va acercando al lugar del *arete*, antes, cuando, han adornado su cuerpo. Las mujeres redondean su cepeta, pintan su pelaire y visten su ropa mejor, conforme practican todos, adornando su cuello con las collares, sus brazos con brazaletes, su pecho con la *Sinicora*, y toda su persona, con el *Mondo* ó con el *Tiro*. No faltan mujeres que adornan su cabeza con el *Ayoá*, corona que hacen de hojas, ó de lata, adornada de lana ó algodón pintado con colgandijos hasta las rodillas; en suma, se adornan del mejor modo (1).

La entrada de los forasteros es á la madrugada del mismo día. Antes que esto se verifique, ya se han levantado los habitantes para hacer el recibimiento. Los invitados, después de levantados, atean nuevamente sus personas y adornos, el principal: *arete oví*, sale á caballo, lo que efectúan los demás jiaraos y principales á galope como una tropa de locos, silbando y gritando á más no poder; siguen los de á pié, corriendo del mismo modo, van luego las mujeres jóvenes, también corriendo, y por último, las madres y ancianas con más calma (2).

Todos y todas se reunen al frente de la casa del cacique *parao-arete oví*, quien da á todos la bien venida, les agradece por la honra que le dispensan, y luego se verifica una escena bien curiosa y para los indios muy celebrada. El cacique invitante tiene dispuesto en frente de su casa una vasija grande llena de chicha que sale afuera de tiempo en tiempo sin motivo. Para hacer, antes de principiar la bienvenida, todos dan un salto, pasando de un lado á otro de la vasija; este salto, en algunas partes, llaman: *Tiempiñiaraqui* y en otras: *Ypapiro*. Como he dicho, todos, hombres y mujeres, especialmente los mozos y mozas solteras, saltan; sólo lo hacen los ancianos y otros, particularmente algunos mozos, tropiezan por la risa y su cordón angosto, van al suelo, y este contra-

(1) Nadie entra al pueblo, donde está preparado la fiesta; la vispera, duermen todos á una distancia no muy lejana.

(2) Los primeros y los primeros entran al pueblo del cacique, haciendo una algazara de mil demonios, en la cual los acompañan los perros amarrados.

tiempo como mondas libertad. Mientras esto sucede, ya llegan los más atrevidos y osados, y se da principio á la danza.

Nada de particular hay en el principio, sólo es de notar que, como la bebida se ha hecho en honor de una persona particular, ésta es servida primero y continuadamente; de todos y de todas tiene que reunir, de otro modo sería un insulto, de modo que el invitado era poco tiempo pasar el vivente como un hombre insignificado y ya en nuestro principio á constituirse espagnante, como así también en mantenerse igualmente, todos los de la comisión (1).

Siguiendo bebida sucesiva silvestrina, con una sonrisa y apacible tertulia por algunas horas, los grandes, sentados en bancos ó sillas, los inferiores, parados unos y sentados otros en el suelo, separados todos de los conjuros, y estos diferentes; tanto ya unos en otro puesto, parecen tantos mentiras. Cuando la reunión es muy concurrida, la perspectiva es muy agradable, porque, quien nunca la ha visto, se admira por la variedad de vestidos, por los ornatos y comodidades con que embellecen su rostro y pies, y evidentemente las vistas que algunos viajeros se detienen bastante tiempo para contemplar esta centenaria reunión de los que se llaman salvajes de Bolivia (2).

Baile y canto

Cuando ya están bastante ergotizados, dan principio el baile y el canto del *Agrícola*. No reproducimos aquí las palabras cantadas, porque no se sabe el verdadero significado, pudiera explicarlas por exaggeradas y analogía con otras semejantes, como hizo el P. Giannovelli, cuyas palabras transcribe en su obra el italiano del Cinquemani, pero no dice sabe el significado. Las notas del *Agrícola*, son sencillas y entonadas aquí, para que la banda que quiera, tenga una pieza cómoda para una plaza de Capital: *cómo*

Las músicas para banda fué puesta por un maestro de los Misiones de Potosí el año 1908 y entonada este año por el Misionero P. Fr. Domingo F. Regini.

---

(1) En los bailes extraordinarios, es raro la familia que hace elaborar la *Cocoa*, ó chicha recordada, porque esta embriaga mucho, mientras la concurrencia de los invitados y postulados.

(2) ¿Existirá en nuestra singular fotografía de tales reuniones? Lo que se pondrá en nuestra Revista en aquellos mismos, para en aquel tiempo si chicha habrá, pero que beberán los que formaban la rueda ó la reunión del baile.

Misión del Ayurio

La actual *Ará* baile y *Ará* canto está á la orden del instante, quiero antes hacer un pequeño discurso el maestro que lleva en sus manos el: *Yendaqua*, una especie de pergamo ó quizaná, formado de plumas de avestruz, amarradas al rededor de una cuña bastante larga y dorada; todas las plumas están con la inclinación natural hacia afuera (1). Véase la figura en la página 51.

Terminado el discurso, que el maestro y doncellas escuchan como en secreto de Vivaum Santo y en un templo, se da principio al canto y al baile. Lleva el compás el maestro con su *yendaqua*, los hombres bailan marcando los pies desde la rodilla, dando golpes en el suelo sin moverse del lugar que ocupan y las mujeres otro de los hombros con un cante en la mano, llena á su de chicha. Dan las mujeres un paso atrás y otro adelante y, sin salir en el mismo lugar, continúan á compás alrededor de los hombres con una formalidad y exactitud de ademanes y pendidos de la otra mano, de dos en dos.

Cuando más grande es el número de doncellas, tanto más rico es el canto; como de *Ilhas* no hay como estar, porque cantan demasiado fuerte los hombres, pero á lo lejos, al que está acostumbrado á estos cantos, parecen relativamente agradables, sin embargo de saber al que oye por primera vez ó ignora lo que cantan, le parecen mil cosas por los ademanes. He aquí los versos del *Ayurio*:

Ayurio, eio—Mbaeiaoe, aoe—Eiaua gaiado—Iaiberagüe—Yaoe chéiaoe—Yaoe cheique—Iaoe paro—¡Eh! ¡Eh!—Saiaá aiá—Cuaoe heiaiaá pinto—Heei aoaa—Iparaoa tapiti—Cha aoaá iaiberagüe—Iaiberá, hai.eipa—¡Eh! ¡Eh! (2).

Con estos pocos versos pueden los chiriguanos cantar todo el día, como efectivamente lo hacen, pero con descanso. Para terminar todos juntos el canto y, descansar y beber un largo rato, dan los hombres con compás un gran golpe con el pié en el suelo

---

(1) El *Yendaqua* que se halla en el museo de Florencia, fué comprado en la Misión de San Buenaventura de Ivo por el R. P. Prefecto Fr. Remualdo d'Anbergi, infatigable Misionero de Pocoti.

(2) Quizá conviene y quieran los lectores saber el sentido aproximativo del: *Ayurio*; lo pongo puesto en esta nota: *Cantemos, compadezcat—siguiendo cantando—con mujeres mujeres—y bailando—estamos aquí todos—cantando y bailando—Si y me gusta este canto—El sapo y la rana verde se parecen—y el compás hace fuerza—cuando cantando—dejo y me espero* ¡Eh! Eh!

y un grito descompasado y todo se suspende con una sonora y prolongada risotada especial de las mujeres bailarinas.

Sin retirarse del círculo, donde se baila y canta, el dueño de la fiesta hace servir á los danzantes abundante bebida que éstos toman á satisfacción para principiar nuevamente el: *Ayarise* como hicieron antes, siempre á la orden del *Purumuncua ené* y bajo la dirección del maestro, que no abandona su *Yandugua* (1).

El baile y canto del *ayarise* sigue así hasta las nueve ó diez del día, luego se prepara el banquete en la pública plaza, donde escogen el lugar más limpio. Allá se sientan hombres y mujeres en lugar separado y en seguida sacan de las casas la comida, que ya tienen preparada en platos, donde hay caldo mezclado con carne bien aderezado con sal y ají. Mientras tanto, unos dos entusiastas del pueblo están reuniendo á toda la gente, gritando como desaforados y haciendo conocer su grande regocijo. El dueño de la fiesta ha dispuesto de antemano, que el convite de la mañana se verifique en un punto y por la tarde en otro y, de este modo, no sólo hay tiempo para preparar, si que también hay comida para todos los días para forasteros y los que no lo son.

Por la tarde, á las cuatro, más ó menos, vuelven á comer con más entusiasmo que antes, porque la alegría es mayor y entonces, *ex abundantia musti os loquitur*, ya se comprende; pero reina mucha amistad y concordia; luego cantan un poco más aislalamente y al ponerse el sol hay descanso general (2).

Mbapa páure

Este baile es parecido á una cuadrilla; las parejas lo ejecutan dando vueltas por las calles del pueblo, tanto de día como de noche. Según los indios de Ivu cuentan, el: *Mbapa páure*, no es general de la raza chiriguana, sino particular de algunas regiones, y su antigüedad no pasa de cien años. Dicen aún que tuvo origen

(1) El maestro del: *ayarise* es uno y posee siempre su *yandugua;* mas esto no prohibe que haya otros que lo posean; en un baile puede haber hasta diez y sirven de quitasol, cuando el calor es muy sofocante; el indio Guarerai de Ivu tenía seis y los prestaba en las fiestas solemnes del pueblo.

(2) Desde la oración de la tarde hasta las dos de la madrugada hay silencio completo, á esa hora principia nuevamente el canto, el baile y la bebida, hoy que poco obedecen la voz del cacique, no tienen horario.

al pié de la serranía de *Itácua* en la provincia de Cordillera y se extendió en aquel entonces hasta Menbirñi y Choreti Guasu.

Cuando tuvo lugar la guerra del cacique Yaveñu, los indios de Güiracoti, viviendo en la margen izquierda de la quebrada de Cuevo, fugaron á la margen izquierda del río Parapiti, donde permanecieron y aprendieron este nuevo baile y canto. Al tiempo pues de volver á sus tierras, cuando Yaveñu perdonó y olvidó la afrenta recibida, por haberse vengado en demasía, trajeron la novedad y principiaron á introducirla en sus pueblos.

Alguien fué á enseñarla en los pueblos situados atrás del cerro Aguaragüe y los pueblos, situados en la margen derecha del río de Cuevo, intentaron introducirla, pero viendo las funestas consecuencias que resultaban de ello, se abstuvieron hasta hoy, de modo que es un hecho que el *Mbapa páure* se halla reducido á los pequeños pueblos de Caraguatarenta, Ñagua y Caraguatagüe y es también cierto que no se lo oye y ve en los grandes pueblos de Santa Rosa ó Ivu que distan pocos kilómetros (1).

Música del Mbapa páure

Es otra pieza de música puesta en partitura para banda por el R. P. Domingo F. Regini; es mucho más sencilla que el *ayarise*, pero llama mucho la atención el baile y el canto, porque no se saben en todos los pueblos de chiriguanos. Es una especie de carnaval que dura un tiempo largo, pero clausurado dicho tiempo, nadie se vuelve á acordar del *Mbapa páure* hasta que pasa el año. He aquí las palabras del canto: *Tavia, Tavia—Ererosige mbapa páure—Tirisoti, tirisoti—Ancua chopi—Chopi nano saravigé—¡Eh! ¡Eh!—Uetepeso, güeremeso—Yagua tairari, yagua tairari—Yurumbopi—Yémanta—¡Eh! ¡Eh!* (2).

La fiesta del *Ayarise* es anual y se oye siempre que los indios tengan bebida; así en las fiestas generales no se termina en

(1) En los pueblos, en donde se canta el: *Mbapa páure*, hay desarreglos matrimoniales, porque el baile es entre hombre y mujer, prendidos de la mano, lo cual no sucede en el: *Ayarise*, por esto, ó por evitar dichos desarreglos, muchos caciques no permitieron se introduzca en su jurisdicción.

(2) Explicación: —Cantemos el *mbapa paure*, como canta el mirlo, cantemos hasta quedar con la boca torcida y no nos cansemos, aunque nos dé dolor de pecho, desafiemos aún al tigre, y que se nos ensanche la boca. ¡Eh! Eh!

un día, dura mucho hasta terminar la chicha envasada en las vasijas de afuera; al concluirse esta, acuden á los cántaros de adentro que están de reserva, como los cuerpos en una guerra. Después de ocho ó diez días puede darse por terminada la fiesta y entonces el *aeau eaé* con todos sus soldados se despide del: *paramuncau eaé* con miles de agradecimientos, encomiando el orden que se ha mantenido, la alegría que ha reinado y la abundancia de comida y bebida preparada. Al concluir sus encomios convida á su vez al amigo y á toda la gente para cosa semejante en su tribu determinando el mes y día desde luego.

Así termina la fiesta de los chiriguanos, quedando contentos y satisfechos. Pero es repugnante verlos beber sin descanso; las cercanías de esos parajes parecen inundadas por la lluvia, sus personas despiden humor desagradable, sus rostros quedan como hinchados, sus ojos afuera de la órbita, su labio con la tembeta, caído como el del borrego, y acercarse á uno de éstos ó donde beben, es lo mismo que acercarse á una cloaca, ¡tanta es la fetidez! Pero el chiriguano queda muy contento y se gloría del estado de cerdo en que se halla diciendo: *Asagüipo*, estoy ébrio, y cuando convalece de su embriaguez, confirma la bondad de su estado, ¡pobre bestia! (1).

Mas, se encuentran por desgracia peores bestias que los chiriguanos y son algunos civilizados que profesan la doctrina de Epicuro, éstos, no contentos con embriagarse y comer más que la bestia, arrojan para volver á hartarse, y además, en sus bailes y reuniones, hacen una mezcla diabólica de ambos sexos. Si parece que la civilización anda de cuatro patas y vá cediendo el lugar al salvajismo y, debe preferirse no penetre entre los salvajes cierta civilización moderna que pervierte á los sencillos, cuyas costumbres son naturales y no ejecutan sus acciones con el refinamiento de los civilizados.

Sin ir muy lejos, penetremos á una gran aldea que no quiero nombrar, busquemos un barrio que tiene su nombre, entremos á una de las tantas chicherías que hay allá ¡qué espectáculo! sillas revueltas, mujeres tendidas de largo á largo, sin darse cuenta de

(1) Anteriormente la embriaguez del chiriguano casi nunca era completa, hoy, con el uso del licor, pierde con frecuencia el conocimiento, ¡ojalá se eliminara esta bebida perjudicial! los indios de las Misiones no se glorían ya en su embriaguez, avisan de haberse embriagado, pero no como una acción honrosa.

su estado, hombres de lera yacen sobre bancas, sino en el suelo, con su vestido desabrochado, choco sombrero debajo de las mesas, levas botadas, como trapos, bastones de puño arrinconados en desorden, puñuelos acá, mantas allá, botines por el suelo, botas mezcladas con los cristales; en suma, un desorden completo, efectos de la embriaguez, consecuencia de la bebida, producto de la civilización material, de la enseñanza laica, de la escuela sin Dios.

Tanta porquería y escándalo, tanto desorden y abyección no se ven en el *Arete* de los chiriguanos, como se ven en las tabernas de ciertos países, donde no se bebe, por pretexto de fiesta, se bebe por beber, como se mata por matar; no, el chiriguano está muy lejos de todo esto. Si algo se va introduciendo, es efecto del roce que el bárbaro ha principiado á tener con el hombre civilizado.

Profundos pensadores modernos han reconocido esta verdad á pesar de haber permanecido poco tiempo entre éstos y otros indios en completo estado salvaje; dejemos empero esta relación que apena el espíritu y volvamos á reanudar la historia.

Lo demás del año lo pasan en diversiones, juego de naipes y dado, en cazar palomas y salvajina, en ir por pescado, ó en pescar donde hay ríos caudalosos, en organizar bebidas particulares, hoy en un barrio, mañana en otro, hoy en casa de Mengano, mañana en la de Fulano, pasado mañana en casa de Sempronio, hasta que llegue nuevamente la siembra.

De la casa, que está á veces por aplastarlo, poco se preocupa el indio, su casa está más ventilada que una criva, llueve más por dentro que por fuera, duerme allí casi como un sapo, duerme sobre la tierra húmeda, ó encima de un miserable catre, colocado sobre el barro ó sobre el agua, y su sueño es como el del lirón (1).

Hospitalidad

El chiriguano es muy hospitalario y difícilmente se hallará otra raza que lo iguale, recibe y sirve á todos en su casa, tanto á blancos, como á los de ínfima condición, por ejemplo á los tobas y, con más razón, á los de su raza. Se visitan de un pueblo á otro y en el primer encuentro, ó en la primera vista dicen inme-

(1) Este modo de vivir en la humedad en sus casas ó afuera de ellas, es causa de muchas enfermedades cutáneas, fiebres y tumores.

diatamente según la edad de la persona á quien ve: *¿Ndempuatma pa tuti?* buenos días tío, si es de mañana: *¿Ndecuaruma pa?*, buenas tardes: *¿Ndepintuma pa?*, buenas noches. El sentido literal de los tres saludos es otro, el primero quiere decir: ¿has llegado al día, te has levantado sano y vigoroso? el segundo: ¿has llegado á la tarde? y el tercero: ¿has llegado á la noche? El que recibe el saludo contesta: *Ampuatma, cheruaruma, ó chepintuma* respectivamente. La 2ª *t* de la palabra tuti se pronuncia doble (1).

Si el visitante es persona conocida, el visitado luego dice: *¿Nde pa eo?* tu sois? y el otro contesta: *Cheeo*, yo soy y luego sigue: *¿Imiño pa ne?* vives? *Imiño ai*, vivo, y entra á la casa de su tío, abuelo, cuñado ó lo que sea, pues parece que el chiriguano tiene parientes en todas partes, y los tendría en todo el mundo, si en todo el mundo hubiese chiriguanos.

Muchas veces es el cacique, quien recibe á los forasteros, si éstos lo buscan, como naturalmente sucede; pero cualquier indio á cuya casa se arrima, luego le dice con una cortesía: *Eyi*, ven, si está en pié, y: *Eyiñeyi*, baja, si está montado. En seguida le presenta el mejor asiento que posee, principia la conversación; mientras tanto la patrona de casa pone á su disposición una tinaja de chicha con el mate ó vaso respectivo y, ayudada por sus hijas, prepara la mejor comida. El capitán ó cacique de Tiasía me preparó un mate de maíz hervido con sal, arivivi ó ají muy picante y huevos bien hervidos y desmenuzados en pequeños trozos.

Noté la mucha limpieza de la vianda y enseres, y luego, como ya dije en otra parte, conversé largamente con el indio, bastante locuaz y franco, acerca de varios puntos de religión, y, en conclusión me hizo saber: que él no iría á la Misión de Boicovo, ni á otras, porque el rezo y el bautismo hacen morir; que yo y mis compañeros esa noche no habíamos hecho llover, para no mojarnos y: que no es Dios quien creó al hombre, y preguntado quien fué, contestó con naturalidad y asombro: *¿Nlicuai á pa?* no sabes? (2).

---

(1) En otros lugares el saludo es distinto, dicen: *Catupiri* ó *Aguyeti*, cosas buenas, prosperidad; pero el otro me parece más conforme al saludo universal, como se hace en todas partes.

(2) En otra parte no puse todo lo que había dicho el cacique, referente á la idea que tienen del Misionero, á quien consideran muy poderoso con los elementos de la naturaleza; las ideas de dicho indio, relativas á la creación del hombre, son muy bajas é inmorales; otros más ilustrados no lo dicen así.

[facing p. 267]

Carnaval Chiriguano

Carnaval Chiriguano "La lucha del Toro con el Tigre"

Prolongada ó corta que sea la visita, el huésped al tiempo de despedirse agradece al dueño de casa, diciendo: *Ayirobia catu ndereé*, mucho te lo agradezco y se marcha diciendo: *Aha ye ma*, me voy y el dueño de casa contesta: *Tunpa reño eguata*, camina ó ve te con Dios, pero antes se hace prometer de volverlo á visitar, cuando le parezca bien.

Carnaval

Si pregunto á los indios de Ivu, quien introdujo el carnaval entre ellos, unos contestan que fué un Sub-Prefecto de Lagunillas que vino y erigió un pequeño fuerte acá y otro en Cuevo; otros aseguran que fué un blanco que conocí y no nombro y yo concluyo que fueron ambos. Aquél les diría que el carnaval era fiesta de regocijo y éste les enseñó la manera de hacerlo, como hoy lo hacen, según iré diciendo. Si pregunto á otros indios, contestan que lo han aprendido de los blancos, de donde se deduce, que esta locura general, no es de éllos, la hacen, porque les gusta todo lo que huele á matar el tiempo, bebiendo y bailando. La misma palabra Carnaval indica que no es fiesta chiriguana, luego no se puede confundir con el: *Mbapa pánre*, que es algo parecido por su inmoralidad; es éste más antiguo y no se halla en todas las tribus, además de tener su tiempo determinado, desde los fríos recios hasta mediados del mes de Julio, más ó menos (1).

Sin ser pues de origen chiriguano, el carnaval es festejado acá muy mucho, tanto, que lleva nombre de *Arete*, fiesta por antonomasia y todas las antiguas que van desapareciendo, cédenle el lugar. Para los días que dura este resíduo del paganismo, el chiriguano trabaja casi todo el año con la pereza que le acompaña, por ello ayuda gustoso á los blancos, recibiendo en cambio dinero para comprar ropa y vestirse él, su mujer ó hijos, en cuyos días todos y todas están de gran parada, luciendo lujosos vestidos de toda forma y color, vestidos que por cierto no se atreven á poner-

(1) Los blancos de Cordillera con su jefe fundaron dichos fortines después que los sublevados que atacaron Igüembe, fueron derrotados, no concurrieron para auxiliar al Sub-Prefecto del Azero, D. Antonio Menduiña, quien había requerido ser ayudado; se batió valerosamente sólo, ayudado de sus soldados del Azero.

se durante los demás días del año, ni para el *agurise*, ni para el *Mbaya piure*.

En tales circunstancias casi no hay diferencia de blancos y negros, los hombres bien vestidos, y las mujeres aún infieles con trajes adornados con gasas, sombreros de lujo y cintas de varios colores, los niños cubren su rostro con máscaras que han trabajado de antemano, entallando la madera del toborochi, los mozos prefieren lucirse en su caballo, caminando á todo galope, y otros, como los ancianos, se divierten con mirar á los danzantes y: *Agüeros*, á los cuales todo se permite, por ser carnaval.

En calidad de preparativo á la gran fiesta, ó porque se bebe y divierte, festejan los días de compadre y comadre y el sábado de quincuagésima todo el día, las máscaras y danzantes ensayan sus bailes que llaman: *Atica*. Al día siguiente de ocho á nueve practican la entrada del carnaval, danzando al son los de tambores y flautas de caña hueca, y él que se llama dueño de la fiesta, es un disfrazado con máscara que representa á un viejo con barba blanca, montado por lo regular en un burro: el así disfrazado, dirige la fiesta, pronuncia sus discursos en cada esquina de la plaza, recomendando armonía y alegría (1).

Si no hay pareja, las mujeres bailan entre sí, pero luego se presenta un hombre, danza con este prendido de la mano, y muchas parejas danzan bastante aglomeradas; su módo de bailar, es levantar, al toque de la música, primero un pié y después otro. El zapateo, que así llaman á este baile, dura hasta el Domingo ó Sábado de Tentación sin descanso, y al día siguiente, que es el último, principian los juegos. A las diez, varios jóvenes enmascarados, se desnudan, dejando cubierto lo puro necesario, se embarran de lodo completamente, se acercan furtivamente al grupo de bailarines, y por todas direcciones atropellan, estrujándose con los mejores vestidos y poniendo, en consecuencia, la confusión entre todos; este juego se llama de los chanchos; y bien que los imitan (2).

---

(1) El principal disfrazado tiene subalternos, quienes también pronuncian sus cortos ó largos discursos; preguntados los máscaras dicen: que su pueblo ó región es Matomorocho.

(2) Antes de este juego los disfrazados derraman sobre los danzantes cáscaras de alubias y granza de maíz que salió en la elaboración de la chicha; esto es para que haya abundancia al año siguiente.

Los juegos de la tarde son muy variados; concluído, y aún antes que concluya el de los cerdos, salen dos negritos con su cigarro de chala en la boca y un cordel en la mano, llevando á un disfrazado en figura de toro, á quien sirve de defensa y protección una mujer de todo lujo vestida que sostiene una bandera colgante de una caña hueca; los negritos son dueños del toro y llevan aún perros, y cuando el toro se halla debajo de la bandera, poco es molestado.

Al mismo tiempo, como salido del bosque, se presenta otro disfrazado pintado de tigre, y principia la lucha con el toro; si éste lleva la peor parte luego, los máscaras que hacen el papel de perros, se lanzan á la defensa y lo corren, lo mismo hacen los que están montados: una que otra vez el tigre prende algún perrito y lo hace gritar, lo mismo desmonta á algún jinete. Después de un tiempo más ó menos largo, muere el toro ó el tigre en la lucha; generalmente sobrevive aquél, porque á éste lo matan entre todos, entre perros y vaqueros. Entonces se presentan los disfrazados que ejecutan el papel de matanceros, compran el toro de los negritos con moneda de piedra ó de huesos y, lo carnean.

Inmediatamente los danzantes forman un círculo grande prendiéndose de ambas manos y bailan así tres veces, otras tantas se acurrucan y otras tres pasan por debajo de los brazos extendidos de una pareja del mismo círculo y, otras tantas aún, se arriman unos á otros formando un gran montón con el rostro hacia afuera, con las manos prendidas unos de otros y cruzadas, permaneciendo así hasta que otra pareja dance alrededor sin prenderse de la mano, antes bien, procurando el hombre no hacerse alcanzar de la mujer, que si esto sucede, se esconde luego entremedio de los demás, hasta que pase la compañera, saliendo nuevamente á danzar hasta dar tres vueltas, teniendo las mismas precauciones que en la primera (1).

Por último todo el círculo danzando, da tres vueltas al pueblo, bailando, prendidos de las manos, en las esquinas de la plaza y al frente de las casas, donde se bailó en los días anteriores. En

(1) El círculo se compone de todas las parejas que concurrieron á solemnizar la fiesta, se forma de un hombre y una mujer con ambos brazos extendidos y prendidos de las manos; el círculo ocupa mucho espacio, según la multitud de las parejas.

la primera vuelta se reunen todos los enmascarados, forman su círculo y el principal pronuncia su discurso, luego los de mayor edad forman un asiento con sus bastones cruzados, hacen sentar allí un chico, lo levantan unos dos metros, forman en su cabeza un reparo con cañas cruzadas y todos los demás hacen llover sobre él una prolongada descarga de cañazos ó golpes con caña hueca sin herirle y luego lo bajan, ejecutan esto tres veces y en distintos parajes (1)

En la segunda vuelta todos los *Agüeros*, máscaras, término de los mestizos, de casa en casa piden avío y reciben cualquier cosa, aún cáscaras de alubias y sandías, y en la tercera, que es la despedida, comienza el llanto de chicos y grandes enmascarados, cargados de avío, y de harapos: estos llorones materialmente hacen llorar á los ancianos y otros, porque unos se acuerdan de sus finados que no asisten á esta alegría que pasa, y otros piensan que no han de ver talvez otro carnaval. Pregunté á un anciano, que realmente lloraba, y me dió la anterior contestación. Al terminar la última vuelta con los tambores destemplados en señal de aflicción, todos, jinetes, bailarines y agüeros, salen afuera del pueblo y llegan á un paraje, donde arrojan las máscaras, y en seguida van al río, ó al manantial, á lavarse un poco las manos y el rostro (2).

Pascua

A los cuarenta días tiene el chiriguano otra fiesta, es la de la Pascua de Resurrección que introdujeron los blancos: los indios ancianos la llaman hermosa por sér de sosiego, como al carnaval llaman de mucho ruído. Nada tiene de particular, dura tres días,

---

(1) En el carnaval, durante los tres días, hay mujeres que se visten de hombre, y hombres que se visten de mujer, pero ambos se cubren bien el rostro para no ser conocidos, también esto se lo enseñó un blanco.

(2) Todos los juegos anteriores, en Ivu, fueron enseñados por el mismo blanco, de que hice mención, y en el principio los enseñó prácticamente, causando asombro, particularmente en las mujeres y ancianos, muchos de dichos juegos son inmorales, especialmente los círculos y el grupo apiñado.

unos tocan con el violín, y hombres y mujeres cantan el: *Alleluja;* las parejas van prendidas de las manos, cuando caminan por las calles; si ambas son mujeres, caminan con los brazos en el cuello una de otra. Cantan por las calles, dentro de las casas y al frente de ellas; en este último caso es señal de estimación para una familia. Las palabras son pocas: *Osi ma Pascua, alleluja*, hego la Pascua, alleluja: *Ucuera yema Yandeya, alleluja.* Nuestro Amo resucitó, alleluja (1).

---

(1) El canto del Aleluya principia así: Santísima Trinidad, osi ma pascua Aleluya; aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, etc. Ucuera yema—Yandeya, Jesucristo; aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, etc. La s de Osi se pronuncia como si fuera doble.

[P. 272]

CAPITULO DOCE

GUERRA OFENSIVA y DEFENSIVA

INTRODUCCION

No hay pueblo ó nación en el mundo que no haya experimentado los horrores de una guerra más ó menos sangrienta, más ó menos prolongada, más ó menos desastrosa. Arde Troya, y Eneas, el iniciador del imperio romano, aprovecha la confusión, se sirve de las mismas tinieblas, como de escudo, y se salva.

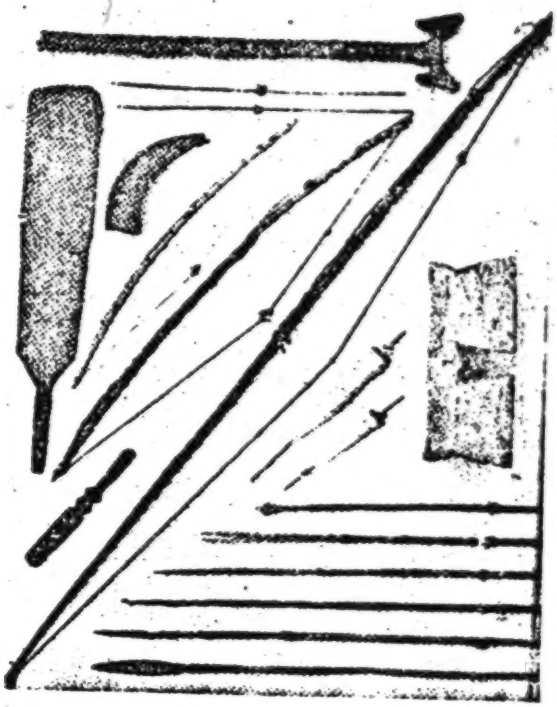
Los Israelitas conquistaron la tierra santa, mas para conseguir la posesión total de la región, fué necesario regarla con sangre humana, la que principió á derramarse á torrentes desde que asumió el mando Josué, sucesor de Moisés, para suspenderse, por un intervalo, á la muerte de David, cuando su hijo Salomón se sentó en el trono de Jerusalén. La sangre de conquistados y conquistadores dió por resultado la pacífica posesión al más sabio de los reyes, pero á su muerte se descompuso nuevamente todo (1).

El imperio romano se abrió campo en el mundo conocido, con la lanza, la catapulta y la flecha, haciendo correr como ríos la sangre de los invadidos é invasores, vino la paz octaviana, sobrevino la molicie, la pereza y la fruición del oro, acumulado allá en la nueva Babilonia y luego comenzó nuevamente la lucha. Los bárbaros educados por sus señores al manejo de las armas, se lanzaron como fieras sobre sus dominadores, y con poca resistencia dominaron temporalmente á sus señores.

---

(1) En el milagro de Josué se suspendió sólo el movimiento de rotación sobre el eje de la tierra y se anuló el efecto de la fuerza centrífuga que en el Ecuador es un poco más de 3 milímetros por segundo; no se suspendió el de translación que es muy grande: 30'4 kilómetros por segundo.

[facing p. 273]



Arcos, flechas, etc.

Por esto, hasta que los espartanos cumplieron la ley de Licurgo: de no hacer guerra dos veces á sus enemigos derrotados, fueron insuperables, mas cuando Agesisho se olvidó de ella, fueron afrentosamente derrotados por los Tebanos, capitaneados por Epaminondas en Leuctra y Mantinea, á pesar de la muerte gloriosa de este gran renombrado general, acabando en Mantinea la dominación espartana y tebana para pasar á los macedonios (1).

La historia nos dice que los chiriguanos no fueron los primeros habitantes de la región que ocupan al presente. Otros salvajes vivieron aquí, que cedieron el territorio por el derecho ó la razón del más fuerte. Sojuzgados por el número y la valentía de los invasores, unos emigraron para perecer y otros quedaron en calidad de vasallos en su misma tierra y poco á poco se acabaron, quedando los chiriguanos completamente dueños de las tierras.

Con el tiempo los incas quisieron conquistar éste extenso territorio, dejando innumerables huellas de su tesón, pero tuvieron que abandonar este noble pensamiento, contentándose con llamarlos con desprecio sumo: Chiriguanos ó Chirihuanos, estiércol frío. Pero por belicoso ó invencible que se muestre y sea un pueblo ó una nación, le llega la hora de sucumbir; lo que no consiguieron los Incas, ni las armas de los españoles acá, lo han conseguido la paciencia del Misionero y la tenacidad del blanco cruceño y tarijeño. Hoy el temido chiriguano se halla humillado é inclina su frente altanera; se ha reducido á la nada y el que no vive en las Misiones, es vasallo del blanco que lo ha dominado completamente; es disposición de la Providencia, que humilla á los soberbios y dispone que experimenten, aunque con mucha más blandura, lo que hicieron experimentar á los invadidos. Parece que en la últitima guerra de Curuyuqui, el chiriguano ha comprendido su inferioridad, pero no se puede negar, que esta raza ha sido de las más belicosas que han existido acá (2).

No voy á considerar al chiriguano en guerra con los Incas, ni con los españoles, ni con los blancos que ocupan la región; lo voy á considerar en guerra consigo mismo, ó sea con los habitantes de

(1) La dominación Tebana duró cuando su general y la macedónica principió con el grande Filipo, y terminó en la muerte de Alejandro, acaecida en temprana edad.

(2) Los incas quisieron conquistar á los chiriguanos para suavizar sus costumbres. Los chiriguanos trataron á los Tapíi con mucho rigor; según referencias de los indígenas del Parapiti, los hacían engordar para comerlos después.

otros pueblos limítrofes. Delicado hasta el exceso, el indio se dispone á la guerra por cualquier pretexto por pequeño que se lo considere; el rapto de una mujer, su pretendida violación, el hurto de ganado ó cualquiera otra ofrenda, bastan para que el orgullo del indígena ataque la venganza y la ejecute sin pérdida de tiempo.

Entre los indios de Ivu se conserva todavía vivo el recuerdo de las cuatro ó cinco guerras que el cacique regional Yaveán de Cuevo y alyscrucias llevó á Yuti, donde, entre las mujeres degolladas, figura la que fué del indio Cairama, que vive aún en la Misión de Santa Rosa; á Chureti, donde victimó en retirada á algunos blancos; á Itau y Carapari, de donde trajo, como despojo, un pequeño cañón, y á Parapiti, donde fué derrotado, dejando en el campo de batalla, á la margen izquierda del río, unas 200 víctimas. Ya se ha visto en las páginas anteriores que la causa que motivó esta prolongada y sangrienta guerra fué la pretensión del cacique Güiracoti respecto á la mujer de Yaveán, que se vengó de él con demasía (1).

Habiendo comprendido más lectores que el chiriguano es muy belicoso, estarán persuadidos de otra verdad, la de estar preparado á tomar las armas á cualquier evento, de donde se deduce otro hecho que en cada casa se disponía de tantos arcos, cuantas eran las personas, aptas para la guerra, además de disponer de tantas otras docenas de flechas; porque era ley, que en guerra, cada guerrero, debía llevar lo menos una docena.

Ofensiva y armas

Cuando una tribu se disponía á dar el asalto á otra, si preveía su duraba, más de lo acostumbrado, y el cacique juzgaba urgente más preparativos, comisionaba en su calidad de jefe supremo ó capitán general á los subalternos llamados: *Quereuba*, diestros, para que inspeccionaran todo el armamento dispuesto y si el informe de estos jefes no era satisfactorio, se daba orden general de completar y subsanar á la brevedad posible todas las faltas.

Las arcos y las flechas se elaboraban en la plaza pública, ó afuera de cada casa, la madera que debía servir para los arcos era distinta de la de las flechas, los arcos de guerra medían más ó menos

(1) El cacique Yaveán llevó la guerra de exterminio á todos los pueblos indicados, porque todos lucharon á favor de Güiracoti, más nada pudo contra Chituri, cacique del Parapiti.

un metro y medio y, para atirantarlo, usaban un cordel torcido, hecho con cuero de corzuela, liviano y fuerte; la madera que usan aún hoy para los arcos de cazadores llámase: *Iyüirapitiragua*.

Las flechas se preparan de distintas maderas, pero las más comunes son de: *Orci*, guayancansillo, *Yaguuii*, tola ó *Iyüirane*, madera hedionda; esta última es muy ponzoñosa y la tribu que la usa, debe ser muy enemiga de la contraria, porque quien queda herido con dichas flechas, difícilmente sana y la herida es una continua supuración de maleza que lo consume lentamente casi sin esperanza de poderse aliviar y gozar nuevamente con sus compañeros.

Toda flecha termina en punta y en ambos lados tiene sus tajos al revés, de modo que, cuando penetra en las carnes, es dificultoso el extraerla, y quien ignora el modo de arrancarla, produce una herida, mayor de la que hizo la flecha al penetrar. La flecha viene introducida en una cañita hueca, de un metro de altura, adonde la sujetan fuertemente con cordelillo de corteza de Toborochi y el cordel queda cubierto con una pequeña cantidad de cera (1).

Los guerreros de caballería, además de tener arco y flechas, manejan la lanza: es un pedazo de cuchillo ó de hierro, amarrado á la punta de un palo, advirtiendo, que cada guerrero, según dicen, no puede llevar más de una docena de flechas, porque pesan. Para infundir terror y espanto en el asalto que dan al pueblo enemigo, usan el: *Iyüiramimbi*, instrumento de madera, el: *Sraeme*, y el: *Huacanauti*, asta de vaca (2).

Mientras los unos preparan los arcos y flechas, los hombres más valientes no se quedan ociosos, como tampoco las mujeres; éstas preparan el avío necesario y aún la chicha para celebrar el triunfo, si lo consiguen, y aquéllos dan valor á los más cobardes, haciendo ver sus habilidades de *guerembi*, en calles y plaza, animando á todos, haciéndoles conocer que el triunfo pende de ellos y que es necesario triunfar á todo trance, sino quieren sujetarse á la dura condición de vencidos, perdiéndolo todo, mujer, hijos, hogar y haberes.

---

(1) A la extremidad de la caña, muchos, con el mismo cordel y cera, amarran una pluma de halcón ó de carcancho, no por adorno, sino para que el tiro sea más certero; las plumas de dichas aves son de mayor resistencia que otras.

(2) El primero es redondo y cuesta mucho perforarlo y el segundo es largo, ambos de buena madera y graban en ellos figuras y signos; los cuelgan del cuello mediante un lacito, la madera es como ébano.

Cuando ya las armas están todas dispuestas, los de caballería ensillan sus caballos, disponiendo al lado derecho aún las flechas, de modo que puedan con facilidad servirse de ellas en caso de apuro, porque es propio de la caballería atropellar al enemigo y sembrar en el campo la confusión con gritos, toque de los *ipáiramdahi*, *kaucanauti* y *paranqua*. Luego, todos, infantes, jinetes y *guerreros*, visten unos el coleto, otros coraza de garabatá, colocan en el cuerpo de la mano izquierda una cinta de piel de corzuela, para que no se lastimen al tirar la flecha, y, por último, todos se tiznan la cara y los brazos con carbón molido, mojado en agua; ¡considere el lector, si este ejército de demonios no espantaría aún á los muertos!

Marcha é inspección

Por fin se despiden de sus familias, recomendando tener mucho cuidado de no alejarse de la población, el cacique da sus instrucciones á los hombres que quedan de guarnición, las mujeres dicen una vez más á sus maridos, que luchen como valientes, que traigan las cabezas de los enemigos para tomar chicha en sus cascos, y luego, con todo orden principia el desfile del ejército hacia el lugar del combate. Aseguran que el cacique no lleva armas y su presencia sólo sirve para dar órdenes que ejecutan puntualmente sin pérdida de tiempo (1).

El combate nunca se traba de día, ni muy de noche, sinó á la madrugada: por esto, antes de salir los combatientes, calculan la distancia y el tiempo que pueden emplear para recorrerla. Para no ser vistos ni oídos, caminan por el bosque, si lo hay, y procuran llegar de noche á una cierta distancia del pueblo enemigo; á las cuatro ó cinco cuadras hacen su campamento y esperan la madrugada para poder gozar del triunfo, del saqueo y otras cosas consecuentes, con la luz del día, ó poder batirse en retirada y en orden en caso de derrota (2).

---

(1) Si el cacique se viere acometido ó rodeado por los enemigos, sus soldados, especialmente de caballería, acudirían pronto y con denuedo en su defensa.

(2) Nadie del pueblo descubre la cercanía del enemigo, porque los indios no salen de su pueblo después de las 24 horas y los jinetes invasores con sus caballos se quedan á una distancia conveniente, para que los caballos no hagan sospechar sorpresa con sus relinchos.

Mas, antes de que se trabe el combate, uno ó dos de los más valientes salen del campamento por orden del cacique, para que vayan á explorar el campo ó pueblo enemigo. Los exploradores, con toda precaución, penetran al pueblo enemigo, imitando al silbido del mono por un lado, el canto del: *Tocorocate*, lado, por otro, y por último el del: *Surucucuro*. Si nadie advierte la presencia de los exploradores, á su tiempo el combate es terrible; mas si ellos son descubiertos, dan la señal de alarma y pronto se principia la pelea, en la cual los invasores luchan á cuerpo desnudo y pueden fácilmente quedar victoriosos, cochamando al enemigo en su formidable empuje (1).

Los exploradores, no siendo descubiertos, alrededor con mucha cautela el pueblo, vuelven sin tardanza al campamento y dan cuenta al cacique del estado en que se halla el enemigo y todos escuchan con mucho interés la relación; el cacique agradece el valor, la intrepidez y valentía de *Ñaso* y recomienda nuevamente á todos cuidado y valor en la próxima acometida. Los guerreros silencio y todos duermen sin dormir, hablando cada grupo en voz muy baja, para que nadie advierta su presencia.

Antes que llegue la hora del combate, el cacique y los guerreros ordenan los preparativos, los jinetes ensillan sus caballos y dan alcance á los soldados de infantería, éstos sitúanse el arco y sujetan su carcaj con la piedra de piel de oso, amarran sus delantales ó cubiertas á la cintura para cubrir lo más delicado de la persona, ponense sobre la cabeza: *Aga*, banda de cortezas de árbol, sobre el: *Tiro*, arremangado hasta la cintura, y todos, ponense de *ocotoro*, de gallo ó cinta de cada alrededor de la cabeza para conocerse entre ellos en lo recio del combate, no hablan nuevamente y resuelven en caso de ser vencidos uno á cada por el enemigo.

Combate y saqueo

Finalmente se colocan los infantes al centro, los jinetes á ambos lados y los guerreros adelante, porque deben ser siempre los primeros en herir. Disparan sus flechas, saliendo de frente al

(1) De esto deducen y creen los blancos que los indios se disponen á la guerra contra ellos, cuando en su pueblo ó en su caso de campo oyen el: *Tocorocate*, lado.

[illegible] cuerpo, [illegible] en cuanto, [illegible] el ejército invasor y, llegados á cuatro tiros cortos del pueblo, cruzaban á galope infantes y jinetes, corrían los caminos, persiguen, [illegible] á [illegible], [illegible] con algunos de indios todos los combatientes y [illegible] la confusión en algarabía. Los habitantes, sin pérdida de tiempo, tomaban las armas y salían á combatir con denuedo; las mujeres, los niños y los pocos ancianos la confusión y carros desparecidos á [illegible], si pueden. Mientras tanto el combate es rudo y sanguinario de todos lados, los invasores hallan con todo por la victoria y los invadidos por la defensa propia, de sus mujeres, hijos y haberes, cuya suerte atormentan por una flecha, atravesados por una lanza, aquellos [illegible] heridos y arrastrados por su largo cabello y éstos pisoteados por los caballos de los jinetes que cargan sobre los infieles sin piedad y miserablemente (1).

En pocos minutos la plazuela y las calles se llenan de cadáveres y heridos, algunos de la caballería detienen á los fugitivos niños y mujeres é impiden la huida de los defensores, que no miércoles quisieran abandonar la lucha desigual. Antes que aparezca el astro del día, terminan el combate; si el número de los defensores es ya muy inferior, el enemigo invasor hace cesar la batalla y ordena la victimación de los pocos sobrevivientes, sin cuidarse de los que ya hayan.

Luego prestan á los casas, rompen todo lo que hallan de barro, rompen todos los cantijas de barro, derraman todo la chicha sin tomar parte por temor de algún envenenamiento, y por último, á vista de los ancianos y niños prisioneros, prenden fuego al pueblo que arde hasta reducirse á cenizas.

Tan luego que la victoria se declara por los invasores, el capitán ordena que uno de los jinetes lleve la feliz nueva al pueblo, para que se regocijen y aquellos las mujeres la fermentación de la chicha. Mientras tanto acabado el saqueo y reducidas las casas á cenizas, se reparten entre todas las mujeres, los ancianos y los niños y los llevan triunfalmente al pueblo; algunos hombres han convenido de sus víctimas algunos cabezas de los hombres, muertos en el combate, los que servirán de trofeo de guerra.

---

(1) Los pueblos chiriguanos antiguos se compusieron de cincuenta ó cincuenta familias, de modo que, el combate, no podía durar muchos horas, pues los invadidos eran además sorprendidos.

Después de la victoria

Las victorias son recibidas con extraordinario regocijo y luego todos los cráneos se fijan primero en las cabezas que van á los postes de las lanzas, las insultan y escarnecen con mucha crueldad, las cargan de algún detal que hay en el pueblo ó en la plaza, y allí permanecen para juguete de los chicos, quienes arman sus diversiones, hasta después servir de blanco para aprender el manejo de la flecha y ser buenos tiradores, y cuando no han cansado de verlas allí, las bajan, ataban con cordeles y las arrastran por las calles, llamando la atención de todos con sus gritos y juegos, sus, pues, muy inhumanos, y sus padres ven con placer, lo que hacen sus hijos (1).

Los de mayor edad, hombres y mujeres rodean á los patos prisioneros y los insultan hasta el cansancio, los reprimenan por la guerra, á la cual dieron motivo sus maridos, escarnecen sus vos más la memoria de los flechas que no supieron defender su pueblo, llamándolos hombres de ningún valor, aptos hacer para el oficio de mujer, aptos hacer para elaborar la chicha, y concluían ya de beber, principia el festín con la bebida, el baile y el canto, con el cual celebran su espléndida victoria.

Los prisioneros permanecen mudos, no levantan la cabeza, no pronuncian palabra y hasta se niegan á tomar alimento, si se lo ofrecen; sólo un pueblo negro á los acciones brutales de los vencedores que acabarían con su vida, si tal cosa intentaran. La última guerra de Curuyuqui es todavía una prueba viva de lo dicho, pero felizmente nuestros desgraciados tuvieron amparo en un desdichado con la presencia del misionero (2).

Durante los días de regocijo y después entretienen un juego de dados y apuestan á los prisioneros que para nada les sirven, en cuyo número entran las mujeres de edad, los niños y párvulos menores de siete años y con que otra cosa, que no hace falta á su casa. Cuando están cansados de ellos, hacen cualquiera, ó los venden por una cosa de nada, por una oveja, una cabra, un sem-

---

(1) Después de la guerra, ó durante la de Curuyuqui, llevaron el pueblo la cabeza del indio Chabuco y practicaron, más ó menos, lo relatado, con poca diferencia.

(2) Cuando los indefensos doncellas comprendieron la intención de sus amos, huyeron burlando la vigilancia de aquellos brutos, entraron á la escuela como último refugio, y aprendieron la Religión.

brero; la venta ó el cambalache no se efectua en el pueblo de los vencedores, sino en otros más lejanos, acontece entonces que muchos inocentes niños y niñas hallan allí á sus parientes que pagarían aún más de lo que se pide.

Defensiva

Pero no siempre el ejército invasor consigue una victoria, como la que acabo de referir, á veces lleva la peor parte y entonces sucede todo al revés; lloran al recibir la noticia los que quedaron en el pueblo, vuelven los derrotados y lloran todos por la sufrida derrota y muchos por la muerte de sus seres queridos. Sin perder tiempo se preparan á la defensa, porque saben perfectamente, que los invadidos tomarán prontamente la venganza del agravio recibido, presentándose á ellos como invasores.

Entonces las precauciones son muchas é iguales para ambos ejércitos, el pueblo que espera la venganza, dispone que todos los inhábiles para el combate se pongan en salvo con los pocos haberes á una cierta distancia de la población, y, si fuera posible, en lugar oculto; se colocan centinelas de día y de noche y cualquier ruído, cualquiera polvareda, cualquier indicio es inmediatamente denunciado al cacique y á los *gurombi* (1).

Cuando un pueblo está preparado á la defensa, el combate en las inmediaciones es atroz, y si el número de combatientes es igual, los invasores llevan la peor parte. Sin declararse vencidos, después de pocas horas abandonan el campo y se baten en retirada, hasta que desaparezca todo peligro y vuelven á sus casas, ni derrotados, ni triunfantes.

Mientras los hombres combaten ó van á la lucha, las mujeres levantan sus plegarias al sol, echan al aire arena ó ceniza en dirección del enemigo y en tono demasiado triste, derramando lágrimas sinceras que hacen conmover á cualquiera, dicen en alta voz: *Tiumini, chera cuaraxi, tuquáichó pochi, tiumini, tiumiuto, tumuno pochi*, que sean derrotados, mi padre sol, los pérfidos enemigos, que sean derrotados, derrotadísimos, que mueran los malvados. Mientras dura la guerra, es ley, que las mujeres y sus hijas no deben sentarse acurrucadas, sino con las piernas tendidas

(1) Colocan centinelas en todas las alturas; así hicieron el año 1892 ambos ejércitos, el de Curuyuqui en Ivu, y los sitiados alrededor de la Misión de Santa Rosa.

hácia adelante, para que sus padres y maridos que se hallan en campaña, no experimenten cansancio alguno (1).

Durante la guerra de Curuyuqui, la Misión de Santa Rosa fué invadida por los sublevados que, á pesar de la multitud y esfuerzos, no pudieron penetrar al pueblo que intentaron incendiar. Entonces y después presenciaron los Misioneros escenas dolorosas de mujéres que, llorando á lágrima viva, levantaban sus gritos y esparcían ceniza para ofuscar la vista de los enemigos. Recuerdos amargos se conservan todavía de aquella hecatombe, de los cuales se ríen hoy algunos, pero se lloraba entonces; siempre que oigo esas tristes relaciones, se me arrasan los ojos en lágrimas (2).

Paces

Cada vez que termina una guerra entre chiriguanos, los que llevaron la peor parte son los primeros en reanudar las relaciones amistosas; lo hacen poco á poco y sirven para ello maravillosamente las mujeres, las mismas que con su lengua contribuyeron inconsideradamente en promover las hostilidades. Los vencedores admiten fácilmente las proposiciones de paz y luego comienzan nuevamente las visitas, en las cuales, si cae la tertulia sobre la guerra última, esquivan los vencidos, ó sea; escusan el engaño sufrido por algún facineroso; pero de vez en cuando deben aguantar callados los reproches de una que otra mujer atrevida que no faltan en los pueblos (3).

Cuando la guerra es regional por intervenir en ella varias tribus, sujetas á un mismo cacique, como aconteció en la de Yaveáu

(1) El italiano del Campano, apoyado en los escritos del P. Giannecchini, Misionero del Colegio de Tarija, escribe en su obra, que antes que principie el combate y durante él, mujeres y doncellas salen á la plaza, bailan y cantan en alta voz el: *Aré, aré*. Este canto y el baile debe ser originario de los tobas que pululaban entonces en la región del Gran Chaco, porque en la región de Ivu y otras, apenas conocen el nombre del *Aré, aré*, y ni todos están en ese conocimiento, como está probado, que en ningún combate habido al Norte, Sur y Poniente de Ivu, se ha bailado y cantado el *Aré, aré*

(2) Los sublevados de Curuyuqui atacaron primero el pueblo de Cuevo, cuyos habitantes la víspera se habían guarecido en Santa Rosa; á los pocos días atacaron la Misión, de donde se concluye, que el odio era contra los blancos, y por concomitancia contra los indios que los amparaban en su pueblo y contra el Misionero que los llevó.

(3) Alguna joven, alumna de la Misión de Santa Rosa, reprochaba al capitán de Ivu que pedía Misión en su pueblo, después de haber querido victimar al Misionero; pero ya he dicho que la guerra era directamente contra los blancos.

contra Güiracoti, ambas regiones procuran tener igual número de combatientes de infantería, caballería y *guerembu*, de otro modo difícilmente la parte más débil presenta el combate; Güiracoti presentó batalla ayudado por los blancos y parapiteños, mas cuando se vió con poca gente, huyó de Yaveáu que lo perseguía con todos los suyos (1).

Terminada la campaña regional, los mismos caciques con intervención de otros que no tomaron parte en la contienda, procuran restablecer la paz, porque si el chiriguano es bastante belicoso y arrogante, otro tanto es pacífico y desea vivir tranquilo en su hogar. De modo que fácilmente se acepta la paz por ambas partes, la que viene sellada con fiesta general, primero en el pueblo del cacique derrotado, y luego en el del cacique victorioso. A estas fiestas concurren todos los grandes y notables de ambas regiones y de los que han intervenido en los arreglos amistosos y ya no se vuelve á hablar de la época borrascosa, sino para amatenatizar al que, según ellos, tuvo la culpa de tanta zozobra; á las palalabras de las mujeres se da poca importancia (2).

Luego cada cacique regional recomienda á los suyos de no perturbar nuevamente la tranquilidad pública, éstos á su vez peroran de noche á sus subalternos las ventajas de la paz y ambos caciques se dan la mano, prometiendo de arreglar amigablemente en lo sucesivo cualquiera contienda, que pudiera suscitarse entre ambas regiones, pero alguna vez sucede lo contrario, porque el victorioso difícilmente cede, se juzga superior é ignora, que vale más una transacción.

Finalmente cada cual vuelve á su pueblo satisfecho, se ordena en seguida el arreglo de las casas destruídas; llega el tiempo de las siembras generales y todos acuden al trabajo con tranquilidad para tener nuevamente abundancia y con la esperanza fundada de disfrutar á su tiempo del poco sudor derramado, con provecho propio y de la familia.

---

(1) El cacique Yaveáu en su primera derrota se repuso y se preparó convenientemente á una arremetida general y decisiva á las faldas de la serranía de Irenta, situada á la distancia de una legua de la Misión de Santa Rosa.

(2) Como la guerra de Curuyuqui fué contra los blancos y como éstos triunfantes los persiguieron á muerte, no pudo haber convite luego, pero con el tiempo se reanudaron las relaciones amistosas entre los indios de Ivu y Santa Rosa y siguen hasta hoy en perfecta armonía, porque viven al amparo del Misionero que los iveños habian pedido antes.

Explicación de la ilustración anterior

1.	Pala de madera para trabajo.
2.	Mango de la pala.
3.	Asta de toro para tañer.
4.	Arnés para menear la comida.
5-6.	Husos chiriguanos.
7.	Silla ó asiento de dos plazas para niños.
8.	Arco para adultos.
9.	Flecha con punta de hierro.
10-11-12.	Flechas con punta de madera.
13.	Arco para jóvenes.
14.	Flecha de dos puntas para cazar y pescar.
15.	«Songo» ó flecha con punta redonda para cazar aves pequeñas.
16.	Arco para niños.
17-18.	Flechas para niños.

[p.284]

CAPITULO TRECE

ENFERMEDADES, FÁRMACOS, MUERTE y LUTO

INTRODUCCION

Basta un momento de reflexión para que el hombre comprenda, que en la tierra no está su verdadera felicidad; el que puede gloriarse de ser feliz en este mundo, encuentra muchos pesares: deseos no satisfechos, órdenes no ejecutadas, proyectos no acatados; la ejecución de mandatos sin exactitud constituyen espinas para el corazón del hombre que pudiera llamarse dichoso. Quisiera que todo vaya y camine á medida de sus deseos y cuando esto no consigue, sufre y, si no expresa su sufrimiento, sufre mucho más aún (1).

Decía el filósofo Foción, que quien tiene ménos deseos que satisfacer, es el hombre más feliz de la tierra, esta es una verdad basada en la experiencia, más no es la verdadera felicidad, es parte de ella. porque la felicidad completa no se consigue acá.

El verdadero chiriguano vestido á la antigua y la mujer con su tipoy serían los más felices de la tierra, pero como son hijos del primer hombre, han heredado también ellos la aflicción, el dolor y la muerte; estas tres cosas casi siempre son consecuencia de las enfermedades y estas provienen de la vida desarreglada que ya he descrito, como provienen aún de las bebidas y comidas.

El chiriguano ningún cuidado tiene de su persona, á pesar de que ama la vida que deseara fuese eterna, por más que camine arrastrándose. Sus manjares son nada higiénicos, se alimenta

(1) Es un grande alivio para el hombre poder comunicar sus sufrimientos á un amigo sincero, mas esto es difícil se encuentre, porque quien tiene un amigo, tiene un tesoro, y el tesoro es raro.

[facing P. 285]

Grupo de indios Chorotis.

muchas veces y con demasiada gula de carnes corrompidas, las legumbres y el mismo maíz que tuesta, nunca llegan á perfecto cocimiento, el agua que bebe no siempre es clara, ni siempre exenta de microbios y pequeños gusanos que están á la vista, la misma chicha que se elabora con tanto esmero y se prepara con tanto cuidado, la beben aún agria y por último el abrigo es insignificante. En los grandes calores se echa por el suelo, recibiendo en sus espaldas los ardientes rayos del sol, en los cambios repentinos atmosféricos poco se abriga y si se moja por la lluvia ó por baño voluntario de agua fría ó calentada por el sol, deja secar su ropa en el cuerpo; de donde dimanan las enfermedades que luego enumeraré, enfermedades que siente, lo hacen infeliz y luego lo llevan al sepulcro.

El arco iris que Dios dió á Noé, como señal de no inundar nuevamente la humanidad con las aguas de un nuevo diluvio, es para el chiriguano triste presentimiento; si este fenómeno tan natural aparece en un pueblo y tiene su principio al frente ó arriba de una casa, al desaparecer, no cesó, ni se volvió á la nada, sino que se ocultó en el vientre de uno de sus habitantes, que al tiempo enferma y muere hidrópico, de donde procede que esta enfermedad para ellos rara, es efecto del arco iris (1).

Enfermedades y fármacos

Las enfermedades más comunes entre los chiriguanos son las fiebres intermitentes que son endémicas, la tísis ó consunción, la enfermedad de la vista, la tos convulsiva, la diarrea, la disentería, la roña ó sarna y los tumores acompañados con una especie de lepra que les cubre mucha parte del cuerpo. Las intermitentes se desarrollan con las primeras lluvias y siguen, hasta que termine el tiempo de las frutas y maíz fresco, estas fiebres no son mortales, pero el que es atacado, lleva una existencia bastante afligida. Sus remedios son de vegetales, hacen hervir la corteza del quebracho ó del algarrobo y beben dicha agua, pero no siempre

(1) Otro fenómeno natural es el torbellino que se levanta continuamente hasta el cielo en estas interminables llanuras, llevando tras sí toda la basura que halla en su curso, se llama: *Cusumino* y produce según ellos los dolores en los piés, rodillas, y huesos; cuando el remolino principia en un pueblo, procuran cortarlo con cuchillo.

produce efectos saludables. Si en las intermitentes se les administra una pequeña dosis de quinina, los sana al momento (1).

La sarna, los tumores y las lepras no producen la muerte; el alimento del chiriguano es casi siempre sin sal, poco cuidado tienen ellos en escogerlo, la carne hedionda no les produce asco, el agua no siempre es clara, se bañan á cualquier hora, después del baño no secan su cuerpo; si llueve, dejan que la ropa mojada, se seque en su persona; de esto y otras causas vienen tantas enfermedades cutáneas que no los dejan dormir. La sarna la curan con el salitre que hay en las quebradas secas, lo llaman: *Curuyuqui*, ó sea, sal apta para curar la sarna, pero este remedio no siempre produce su efecto; ataca la sarna principalmente á los de menor edad y los párvulos lactantes contagian á sus madres. Las lepras se curan con mucha eficacia mediante la boñiga caliente y basta aplicarla dos ó tres veces para que se caigan á los tres días sin otro remedio, pero poco se resignan á usar este remedio repugnante y eficaz.

La viruela y el sarampión son epidemias que aparecen de tiempo en tiempo, por esto no las coloco en el número de enfermedades endémicas como las primeras. El chiriguano huye de la viruela como el hidrófobo del agua, por experiencia sabe que quien es atacado, difícilmente se libra de una muerte horrorosa; cuando penetra en un pueblo, siembra el espanto y la desolación, los enfermos se resiguan ya á morir y los sanos huyen azorados á otras tribus. Parece que no es fácil atacar directamente la viruela y hasta ahora la sola vacuna produce los mejores efectos (2).

El año 1909 fué diezmado por la viruela el pueblo de Cuevo que dista de Ivu unos ocho kilómetros, vacuné á todos los pobladores de Ivu y á los que no lo eran, mas no prendió á todos la vacuna, como suele acontecer, sin embargo pocos enfermaron y murieron apenas dos. El remedio que administré luego de declararse la fiebre precursora, fué el vinagre de vino bastante fuerte; la enfermedad hizo su curso tan sólo en aquellos que no bebieron el

(1) Sanan con pequeña dosis, talvez porque su cuerpo no está acostumbrado á los remedios de botica, otro remedio eficaz para las intermitentes es el café amargo ó con un poco de azucar.

(2) Los Misioneros, cuando grasa la viruela, acuden donde es requerido su ministerio, como médicos y como sacerdotes, hasta hoy ninguno se ha contagiado, talvez por estar vacunados ó por tener otra sangre.

vinagre, ó no pudieron retenerlo en el estómago. Administré una copita cada seis horas en tres veces y fué bastante para que este terrible mal, que tantas muertes causara en Cuevo, pasase casi desapercibido en la Misión de San Buenaventura (1).

El sarampión ataca por lo regular á los niños, como la diarrea, y por ser muy tiernos es difícil curarlos, por cuya razón casi todos sucumben; el limón y el vinagre son remedios eficaces para ambos males, en muchos casos he administrado la manzanilla con buenos resultados. La diarrea en los párvulos proviene de la escasez, entonces las madres se alimentan con cosas muy cálidas, como la fruta ó patata del aro serpentino, las algarrobas y otras del monte, de donde proviene, qué los párvulos beben la leche muy cálida que les daña el vientre, y les produce inflamación (2).

La disentería es propia de los de mayor edad y se manifiesta uno que otro caso aún en los niños. La causa de esta enfermedad es la pésima alimentación en el tiempo de escasez, cuando comen raíces y frutas silvestres. Existe en el lugar un remedio muy eficaz, los blancos lo llaman meloncillo y los indios: *Aurantimbucu;* es un arbusto espinoso con puntas largas, de dónde le viene el nombre; al tiempo de brotar ó en la primavera, tiene sus puntas algo moradas y sus raíces constituyen el remedio, se las hace hervir y al enfermo se le da á beber de dicha agua por una semana. El mal de ojos ataca indistintamente á todos, grandes y chicos y es tan fuerte que varios pierden completamente la vista, ó se quedan con un solo ojo; en las misiones se cura con el albayalde ó acetato de plomo y basta aplicarlo dos ó tres veces para quedar completamente sano.

También la tos convulsiva, tos-ferina ó coqueluche es otra enfermedad que persigue á los párvulos hasta la edad de diez años, causando muchas defunciones. Se manifiesta en los meses de frío y aún en tiempo de agua, ataca alguna vez á los grandes, entre los cuales no causa defunciones. Hay en los cerros una flor amarilla que se llama por acá: *Vira-vira;* la tisana de estas flores produce saludables efectos, pero no tiene fuerza para curar radicalmente.

---

(1) En la Misión de Santa Rosa enfermaron y murieron más personas, pero el uso del vinagre que principió á administrarse después, hizo parar la mortandad

(2) Hay cerca, ó alrededor de las lagunas una hierba llamada: pazote y por los indios y blancos: *pdico*, la tisana de esta hierba es eficaz para la viruela y para el sarampión.

máximo si no se tiene la precaución de abrigar al niño después de beber la pócima (1).

La consunción ó tísis ataca á hombres y mujeres y se manifiesta en ambos sexos con dolor de estómago, este dolor puede considerarse el principio del mal que regularmente se manifiesta después de los cuarenta años, mas en ciertos lugares lleva al sepulcro á las personas que no alcanzan los veinte años.

En la Misión de Santa Rosa esta sola enfermedad en menos de diez años hizo sucumbir más de setenta doncellas de escuela, en aquel entonces esta mortandad la atribuía al agua pésima del lugar, pero como se la halla en otros parajes de agua excelente, otra debe ser la causa; para los de menor edad ó púberes no debe ser la continuidad del fuego, porque en las escuelas no lo hay.

Para la tísis el chiriguano no tiene fármaco y quien es atacado, se resigna á la muerte, porque si todo lo atribuye á maleficio, en ésta cree en él y en el veneno, por esto el enfermo se hace curar del brujo, quien para arrancar el mal, sin conseguirlo, usa maneras atroces y hasta inmorales, tratándose de mujeres (2).

Otras enfermedades y fármacos

Conforme hay enfermedades, hay médicos y medicinas entre los chiriguanos, aquéllos no han cursado otra universidad que la experiencia, aprendiendo de ésta á preparar fármacos no sólo de las plantas y hierbas, si que también de los minerales y aún de los excrementos de animales. Los médicos recibieron la laurea de individuos que saben menos que ellos, y se diferencian aún por su nombre de los brujos malos, éstos se llaman: *Mbaccuá*, aquéllos: *Ipuyc*, y las medicinas ó fármacos llámanse: *Mori*.

El aceite que necesariamente sale de la elaboración de la chicha, es muy bueno para curar el dolor de cabeza, la sal molida y mezclada á la orina de los párvulos, se bebe y es un buen calmante en los dolores de vientre. La humedad y el frío producen encogimiento en los nervios, que hacen sufrir dolores atroces á más

(1) Más eficaz en la tos-ferina es el uso del petróleo, se unta al niño desde la frente hasta el vientre, haciéndole beber algunas gotas; en 1910 sanaron casi todos los que curé con el petróleo.

(2) El Misionero compra remedios de botica para curar á los indios, dichos remedios casi siempre son repugnantes, si el enfermo no lo bebe en presencia de aquél, lo derrama luego, más fé tiene en el brujo.

de uno; para curar este desarreglo, arrancan un gajo de ulala: *Ñancagüina*, lo mondan de sus espinas, lo asan y bien caliente, lo aplican en las partes doloridas y sanan. Para curar la disentería usan otro, queman el maíz amarillo, lo muelen juntamente con la semilla de sandía y hacen beber á los atacados por la enfermedad (1).

Cuando un enfermo sufre el dolor de costado, pide la cáscara del armadillo boleado, la hace moler y bebe, al mismo tiempo lo que queda, hace calentar al fuego, lo aplica al dolor y cesa como por encanto. Si el sarampión sale en los labios, les aplica el brujo ó médico y estruja la garrapata que estuvo prendida en la carne de algún perro y así desaparece. A veces se manifiestan tumores ó hinchazón en la garganta y en las rodillas que se hacen desaparecer mediante la aplicación de la hierba llamada: *Urucuna*, se calienta al fuego en una ollita y se aplica; también es buena la otra hierba llamada: *Yandurimbiu*. Enfermam también con vómito de sangre ó hemorragia (2).

La: *Cuaupaya* sirve para el dolor de estómago y la raiz hervida del soto sana los dolores que produce en los piés la tierra caliente y húmeda. La: *Guaya* es una especie de bejuco que abunda en Ivu, se calienta, se aplica á la hinchazón del costado y sana; la raiz de la: *Guaya* se come por los indios, mas si los perros comen el excremento del indio ó la misma patata, mueren á los pocos minutos, así sucede aún á los zorros. Entre los indios no es tan frecuente el mal de papera, á pesar de haber en lugares determinados; aseguran, que les viene á los que duermen en el sol. Se curan de él con la: *Tutía*, es una fruta amarilla parecida á una pequeña manzana y abunda en las pampas. La enfermedad de ojos la curan con la corteza del algarrobillo, la muelen y hacen gotear el agua adentro del ojo; la caraguata pequeña cura la diarrea (3).

La: *Cintiro* es una hierba de un metro de altura, es de dos clases, una tiene flores coloradas, se la usa para adornar altares y los indios usan la hierba y flores para curar la sarna; es remedio más

(1) El meloncillo es remedio que me indicaron los blancos, es más eficaz, pero el chiriguano ó no le tiene fé, ó por flojera no lo usa.

(2) Se cura la hemorragia bebiendo de hora en hora una mezcla en partes iguales de agua, vinagre de vino y miel de abeja; se alivian pronto con este remedio.

(3) La papera incipiente se cura aún amarrando en un trapo alrededor de la garganta la sangre del gallinazo, carcancho ó bandurria; el agua mineral de Ivu contiene germen de papera.

eficaz que el salitre, pues que con este vuelve á brotar; la que tiene flores amarillas en Ivu es abundantísima y se la emplea para curar la intermitente; *cáuiro* quiere decir hierba amarga. Para curar las lepras de que hice mención, usan también la grasa de víbora y la: *Iuái* que literalmente quiere decir diente del agua, es una hierbita que crece arriba del agua y es pequeña; para curar la coqueluche usan también el nido vacío de las avispas amarillas, lo queman ó hacen hervir en agua y, una vez colado, dan á beber el agua tibia á los enfermos.

El: *Tingui* es un árbol grande; con su corteza amarrada al vientre se cura la hidropesía incipiente que en idioma se llama: *Ipunga.* La raíz hervida del mistol y la grasa del tapir cura la gonorrea; con la grasa de gallina, de escarabajo y chicharra se cura el dolor de oidos; basta hacer penetrar en ellos unas cuantas gotas. Para curar el envenenamiento usan la raíz del chirimoyo del monte: *Aratícu*, para la mordedura de víbora la hierba llamada: *uruuru*, guaje, el tabaco y su nicotina y para las heridas producidas por un perro hidrófobo, usan la cera derritida aplicada á la herida; si ésta fué producida con arma en una riña, se cura, aplicándole las plumas quemadas de gallina. Finalmente si en las mujeres la matriz sale de su lugar, viene reducida á sus límites, dando á la paciente la concha molida y bebida en agua.

Estos y muchos otros son los fármacos que usan los chiriguanos; de los demás no hago la enumeración, porque en mis averiguaciones he venido á conocer que va unida la superstición, que los médicos brujos inoculan á los enfermos (1).

Muerte y funeral

Cuando un chiriguano enferma de muerte, principian á reunirse todos los parientes más cercanos y conforme la enfermedad va adelante, los parientes lejanos, amigos y vecinos hacen con frecuencia sus visitas, mientras los cercanos no se apartan ya de la casa, donde muy luego reinará la muerte. Si el enfermo es un hombre casado, la mujer está contínuamente á su cabecera, lo sostiene en sus rodillas, le mece el vigoroso cabello y le hace caricias por su rostro, mientras lágrimas furtivas y silenciosas se deslizan

(1) No es extraño que los indios crean en los brujos, porque aún los blancos se dejan embaucar con estos impostores que los hay aún entre los cristianos.

[facing p. 291]

Casas de indios Chorotis.

en abundancia por las mejillas, que casi todas van á parar en las espaldas ó pecho del moribundo, de lo cual este recibe un lenitivo á sus dolores, porque comprende el pesar que experimenta su esposa y la falta que hará á élla y á sus hijos, si los tiene (1).

Al acercarse la agonía el enfermo recomienda, que lo lloren lo más que se pueda, recomendaciones que hace antes de perder el uso de la palabra. Dicha recomendación no se dirije á la que dentro de poco va á quedar viuda, se dirige á los parientes y amigos, porque la viuda sabe, que debe llorar la ausencia de aquél que fué su compañero (2).

Sobreviene la agonía, principia el estertor de la muerte, palidece sobremanera el rostro, se alelgaza la nariz, se hacen secos los labios y la lengua, se vuelven vidriosos los ojos, se paralizan los párpados y pestañas del enfermo, éste con sus manos principia á cojer de sus cobijas, no se sabe que, mira á un lado y otro y permanece insensible á los objetos que le rodean; se halla próximo á desaparecer. Luego los circunstantes comprenden la proximidad del desenlace fatal; en la imposibilidad de prestar auxilio, al que lucha, al que está por quedar yerto, principian á dar alaridos precursores de la muerte.

Esta no se deja esperar mucho ya, el agonizante da un último suspiro y principia á boquear, hasta que se queda del todo con la boca abierta, lo que observado por la viuda, da un grito que es la señal de que, ya murió su esposo. Entonces principia ya formalmente el funeral, visten al finado de la mejor ropa, lo peinan con todo esmero, le pintan el rostro y los piés con el aceite del palmachristi y achiote, le doblan las rodillas, colocan allí las manos cruzadas y así lo amarran, para que con comodidad entre el día del entierro en la vasija de barro, dispuesta de antemano, donde lo colocarán al tiempo de ser sepultado.

Ya principia el funeral que consiste en llorar lo más fuerte, que se pueda, hombres y mujeres y derramar lágrimas verdaderas ó falsas. Mientras se llora, se cava también la sepultura, que á

(1) Cuando la mujer ha pasado de los cuarenta años de edad, derrama lágrimas verdaderas, porque ya el indio la había tomado por esposa hasta morir y con la muerte de aquél, todo lo pierde; ya será pobre.

(2) Si el moribundo cree morir envenenado, antes de perder el uso de la palabra, encarga á los parientes más cercanos tomar la venganza después de los días de luto, si el supuesto enemigo es conocido.

lo sumo es de dos metros de profundidad; el llanto dura toda la noche sin descanso, lo cual va acompañado de ayuno riguroso, porque mientras el finado está visible, sería una profanación tomar alimento. Si en casa hay párvulos, son trasladados por sus vecinos, ó por algún pariente que los atienden con toda humanidad en todo, pues los infelices al ver tanta confusión quedan como lelos y van en pos del primero que les muestra cariño; para remojarse la boca, los que asisten al funeral y, para llorar sin descanso, beben un poco de chicha tierna, si hay, sino se contentan con un poco de agua (1).

Al día siguiente, cavada ya la sepultura, colocan al finado primero en la vasija: *Yumbái*, meten allí una timajita de chicha, un poco de harina tostada, un pedernal, un eslavón, la yesca, chala y tabaco, un loro vivo ó una gallina, el arco y la flecha y otras cosas que pertenecieron al finado y cierran con otra timaja, y si el muerto es un lactante, meten en su sepultura una timajita de la leche de la madre. Todas estas cosas son necesarias para el viaje á la otra vida y claramente indican que los chiriguanos tienen una idea, aunque material, de la inmortalidad del alma.

Cerrada ya la caja mortuoria, mediante cuerdas la bajan al hoyo y mientras tanto se redoblan los alaridos, hasta que desaparece debajo de la tierra; el cadáver es colocado con el rostro hacia el Naciente, porque todos desean que el finado alcance la gloria, el paraiso que se manifiesta por la claridad del sol; así colocado, el finado ó su alma, no estará andando en busca de la felicidad, correrá hacia el sol como el acero ó hierro hacia el imán.

Luto

Terminado el entierro, en ese día se llora íntegro al extinto y hasta que llega la noche, entonces cada cual vuelve á su hogar, permaneciendo á llorar sólo los parientes más cercanos. El ayuno, ya mencionado, dura tres días y en el primero, que sigue al entierro, todas las mujeres parientes se cortan la cabellera y la depositan sobre la sepultura. Al tiempo de cortársela miran al naciente, los cabellos permanecen sobre la sepultura algún tiempo y luego los quitan y si los queman, no es sobre la sepultura, sino afuera, pero prefieren no quemarlos, porque experimentarían ca-

(1) Los que no pueden derramar lágrimas por no sentir la muerte del finado, estrujan ají en sus ojos y con este, que llaman remedio, las lágrimas caen en abundancia

lor en la cabeza. Si observan ó sienten algún ruido, que sale del hoyo, calientan una piedra, la ponen encima y cesa el ruido (1).

También sobre la sepultura colocan la tembeta, la bodoq, las armas que pertenecieron al finado, como la lanza ó algún sable, arcos y flechas, para que no las vaya buscando y cuando por alguna circunstancia dejan la casa sola, colocan sobre el hoyo el batán del mortero y con esto el finado no se mueve de su lugar. Las almas de los que hacen mala muerte, como por ejemplo, los suicidas, andan continuamente, no hallan descanso, van gritando á horas determinadas y son, según creencia, demonios ó compañeros de dotor.

Los deudos más cercanos del difunto sienten sinceramente la desaparición del finado, como lo prueban las lágrimas y la pena que manifiestan en el rostro. Si en vez de un hombre es una mujer la que desaparece del número de los vivientes, el viudo siente igual pena; si la extinta deja chicos de menor edad, es verdaderamente desgarrador el cuadro que presenta la casa, donde el nuevo sol no halla á la madre que tan tiernamente cuidaba á los pequeñuelos (2).

Estos la buscan en vano mudos y azorados y no puede distraerlos de su pensamiento ni siquiera la ternura de una tía, que debe tragarse las lágrimas en silencio. Cuando oye que los huérfanos buscan y preguntan por la autora de sus días, contesta á las pobres criaturas con pena, y aún con fuerza: que pronto volverá ó de un pueblo cercano, ó de la chacra y mientras esto las lágrimas corren por sus mejillas, desmintiendo con esto su afectada serenidad; pero los inocentes no las comprenden, siguen con sus preguntas, miran á la tía aterrados y hasta se asustan. ¡Triste cuadro!

Cuando es una mujer, la que deja en viudez á su esposo con hijos, naturalmente poco tiempo puede transcurrir en procurarse otra mujer, que sirva de madre á los huérfanos y tenga cuidado de la casa, porque el hombre no puede ocuparse en cosas que son propias de la mujer. Por una corta temporada suplica á sus parientes cercanos, para que atiendan á tales cuidados, pero pronto se cansan, ó vuelven á las atenciones de la casa propia. Luego el viudo busca á otra de una manera privada y sin lastimar el senti-

(1) Si el finado es un cacique, lloran todos hasta el amanecer y después se reunen cada noche por el espacio de unos ocho días.

(2) Los niños exigen volver y se les permite pasado el entierro; los acompaña una tía, especialmente materna, si la tienen, la cual se queda en casa una temporada, sino tiene propios.

mienta de las cosas, que naturalmente comprendo los apetecen del viudo, quien, si tiene madre ó una hermana soltera, no da paso alguno y procura abstenerse de pasar á segundas nupcias, lo más que puede, pero antes que expire el año, de todos modos ya buscó otra nueva compañera que alegre sus días y haga más halagüeña la vida (1).

Si es una mujer, luego queda viuda, es ley de la raza, que debe llevar luto por el espacio de un año sin que le sea permitido por ningún pretexto acortar este tiempo. Después de haber llorado á su finado marido un día completo y después de haber peinado el cabello, conforme se ha dicho, se corta el cabello y lo deposita en la sepultura, dando permanente bastante tiempo que no vuelve determinado. Si la mujer perdida que la viuda pueda ofrecer á su finado esposo, y, le haya tenido á su cuidado, es ley que debe observar; de otro modo incurriría en el desprecio de los pobladores que estudiarlos su conducta, luego perdería su reputación, los parientes del finado se revestirían sobremanera, le quitarían los niños que mucho aman, y difícilmente se casaría nuevamente.

Una viuda cuidosa y la que no lo es también, en señal de luto hasta el trapo más sucio y roto que halla en casa y se lo coloca en la cabeza, lo lleva todo el tiempo que dura la viudez. Quien llega por primera vez á un pueblo chiriguano, estrella este atuendo y luego pregunta por su significado, porque nunca deja de faltar alguna que lleva luto por su marido, por su hijo ó por su hermano, cuando no es por su padre ó madre. Finalmente la viuda está condenada á llorar día y noche por el espacio de un largo año y quien no llora como es debido, incurre en la indignación de los deudos del extinto. Retornando de Mixiourro en Santa Rosa, murió el cacique Yaritéi, cada mañana con cirrosis maligna, la viuda lo lloró tanto y tan fuerte en principio que muy luego se volvió ciega; sin embargo los deudos no quejaron de su prematuramente, acusándola de poco cariño (2).

---

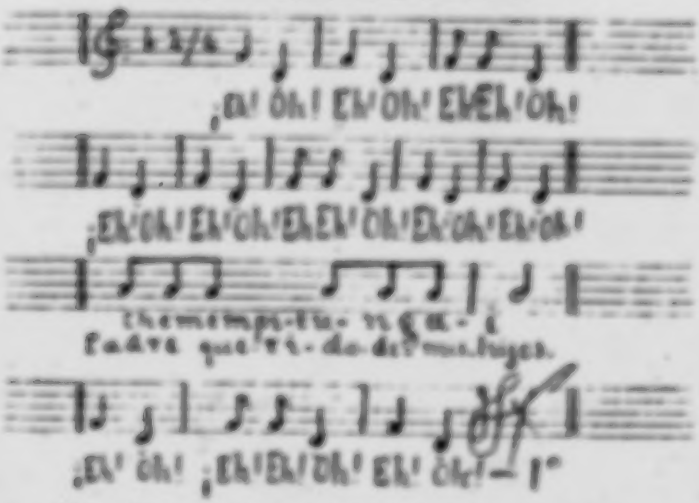
(1) El viudo procura casarse con una hermana de la finada, ó una pariente cercana, para que tenga cariño á los huérfanos; cuando una extraña es tirana, ó es arrojada, ó de los niños cuidan otras parientes de la finada, ó del mismo viudo; mucho sufren los chiriguanos el sufrimiento de los huérfanos.

(2) El llanto durante el luto se practica por la mujer cuatro veces al día; á la salida del sol, al mediodía, á la entrada del sol y á la media noche más ó menos; muy triste es en esta última hora.

Si alguna vez desvanecido marchan al entierro, muy largo la vida, ó quiere su fuerza el enfermo, su levanta y principia á dar un ala vida que dura algunos minutos. También cuando en la casa del finado llega de lejos uno de los parientes, se sabala á saludo, pregunta por la sepultura, va allí y acompañando con el cuerpo hasta la pared, llora por algunos minutos y revida que esto terminan, saluda á los vecinos y principia la bebida en voz baja.

Tocan el cuerpo, como el modo de llorar á con muertos en igual en todas las tribus, sin embargo hay algunas pequeñas diferencias, como entrada con el mismo idioma.

Duelo de una viuda



Al terminar el año de luto, la viuda permanece en su silencio, hasta que uno de los parientes del finado la visita con todo respeto como persona de conocimiento, por haber llorado mucho y, con pena, del enfermo; le dice que ya es suficiente, que puede salir y presentarse nuevamente en las bebidas públicas, pero dicha viuda la revidan dos ó tres días antes de alguna bebida general. La viuda se hace cargo mucho y pondera una vez más los visitados y

(1) Si el finado es un niño dice: ¡Chiemmmmm ayai! niñito querido! y si es un hijo ó una hija: ¡Chiempi ay ayai! hijo ó hija querida!

grandeza del marido perdido con la muerte, maldice á los brujos malos y á los venenos, convierte finalmente en dejar el luto, salir de casa y tomar parte en la fiesta próxima (1).

Durante el año ya el cabello habrá á crecer siquiera unos treinta centímetros, arroja pues el trapo de la cabeza, se peina con todo esmero, cubre el cuadrúpedo conocido en su rostro y en sus pies, adorna el cuello y los brazos con las collanas y brazaletes, se viste del mejor tipoy y sale acompañada de alguna amiga. En esta primera salida no toma parte en el baile ni en el canto, para que conozcan que todavía siente la ausencia de su esposo y todos respetan su silencio; ello en lo sucesivo continúa nuevamente la vida pública, como los demás, es decir que canta y baila como antes.

A los pocos meses si alguien la solicita nuevamente para esposa, fácilmente consiente, si tuviera ella en jóvenes y tiene hijos pequeños, porque puede el lector imaginar el sufrimiento de una viuda, obligada á ir en busca de alimento para sí y sus pequeñuelos. ¡Oh! cuántas veces lágrimas silenciosas han corrido por mi rostro al ver las iguales de viudas y huérfanos que en las carretías de víveres, no sabiendo á quien pedir socorro, acudían al Misionero ó al superior de ellos en demanda de auxilio! ¡cómo negarlo! ello en corazón de hombre podría haberlo hecho.

Si el Misionero penetra á los selvas, va á los bárbaros á nombre de Cristo, les enseña á conocerle y amarle y, cómo el divino Maestro, es compasivo con los afligidos y los que sufren. Como El, no cierra el oído, al que pide por caridad, divide lo que tiene, con el hambriento, vista al desnudo y cuando no alcanza á más, tiene palabras de unción para consolar al triste. Esta es la vida del Misionero que á costa de trabajo y sudor, va transformando los lugares y los corazones de los habitantes de esta región, donde por él penetró la civilización. ¡Oh! cómo el Supremo Gobierno y los habitantes de Bolivia debieran apreciarlo justamente por la obra de civilización moral y política! Mas si lo desconocen los hombres, mayor será el premio eterno (2)

---

(1) Las viudas durante el año de luto están continuamente recluidas en su domicilio, salen solamente cuando la necesidad las obliga, van á la fuente por agua y al campo por alimento.

(2) En Europa la obra de los Misioneros es muy apreciada, algunos gobiernos les exceptúan del servicio militar y les dan pasaje libre en los buques y ferrocarriles; esto hacen los enemigos del cristianismo. El Convento de la Misión de San Buenaventura de Roma está eximido del servicio militar por el Gobierno Italiano.

[facing p. 297]

Escuela de niñas de la Misión de San Pascual

[P. 297]

CAPITULO CATORCE

INFIELES y NEÓFITOS DE LAS MISIONES

INTRODUCCION

Las contínuas revueltas de los chiriguanos contra la raza blanca demuestran claramente la aversión de ellos hacia el elemento cristiano que consideran como la causa eficiente de sus desdichas y de la pérdida casi total del territorio, en el cual en tiempo no lejano se consideraban dueños legítimos y reyes absolutos. Está claro como el sol del mediodía, que el cristiano con la paciencia y constancia de un anacoreta y poniendo en peligro su vida en muchas circunstancias, se adueñó poco á poco de la extensa comarca; hoy no hay rincón, donde no esté viviendo una que otra familia cristiana. En muchos parajes la tribu chiriguana ha desaparecido por completo, sea por las epidemias, como por la libertad perdida, en algunas partes existe algún núcleo bastante considerable, sujeto al patrón, ó por el terruño que cultiva, ó por la deuda que contrajo (1).

Los indios colocados en la zona izquierda del río Pilcomayo una sola cosa tenían en mira al negarse resueltamente á la fundación de una Misión conversora, sólo consideraban, que tras del Misionero vendrían los que ellos consideraban invasores, sólo comprendían que detrás ó alrededor de la Cruz que con mucha intrepidez plantó el P. Giannelli á mediados del siglo XIX, se agruparían los cristianos blancos. Pero ¿por qué los indios de Tarairí

(1) Los caciques de la guerra de Curuyuqui, en su ignorancia, creyeron recuperar el territorio perdido y en revancha adueñarse de gran parte de la República.

son todavía dueños de su terruño!, por el Misionero, á quien en su ignorancia una fracción quiso alejar, cuando principió la destrucción de las florecientes Misiones de San Francisco y San Antonio, donde hace seis años se pretende erigir una nueva Londres sin principiar todavía casi nada, antes bien con notabilísimo deterioro del edificio y huertas que tan ordenadas y vigurosas dejaron los Franciscanos de Tarija (1).

Los taraireños fueron los primeros en ver en su territorio á un Padre Franciscano, y son los últimos en comprender las ventajas materiales que les reporta la Misión. Los de Tigüipa, Machareti, Boicovo, Cuevo, Ivu y últimamente los dos Parapití, llamados San Antonio y San Francisco, cayeron en la cuenta, que solamente el Misionero podría hacer valer sus derechos territoriales ante el Supremo Gobierno y ampararlos contra la mala voluntad de algunos blancos que, por demasiado tiranos, dieron lugar á la revuelta de Curuyuqui, en la cual el indio quedó completamente humillado, creyendo exterminar á todos los blancos (2).

Se ha visto en el decurso de estas páginas que el indio es formidable al principio del combate, pero si no se le declara luego la victoria, se acobarda y huye. El combate de ocho horas en Curuyuqui y con armas tan desiguales puede considerarse como un prodigio, porque puesto el chiriguano lejos de su pueblo, tuvo que resignarse á vencer ó morir antes que caer prisionero.

Infieles

El indio adulto ningún aprecio hace de la Religión, cualquiera que ella fuese; por cierto que contribuye á esto mucho, la ignorancia primero, y luego, más que todo, la soberbia y la pereza, porque rehuye del que quiere instruirlo, unos concurren á la instrucción mensual, pero casi todos son semejantes á los que describe el real Salmista: que tienen ojos para no ver, oídos para no

(1) Establecida la Misión de Tarairí, mediante la palabra persuasiva del Misionero, fué atacada por las tribus limítrofes y por los belicosos huacayeños, que se hallan á la distancia de unos cien kilómetros. Las Misiones chiriguanas se fundaron donde no había núcleo de blancos.

(2) Por insinuación del Misionero, los indios de Itatiqui fueron amparados en su pequeño territorio por la Prefectura de Santa Cruz, ante la cual se tramitaba una diligencia de compra; hoy han sido amparados por el Supremo Gobierno, quien dictó el auto de mensura y alinderamiento; pero apenas les ha dejado poco más de media legua, á pesar de poseer, desde tiempo inmemorial, tres leguas y media.

oir, y lengua para no hablar, para no cantar las alabanzas y para no adorar á su Criador (1).

No es fácil que el chirigtuano pida la fundación de una Misión Conversora, porque no quiere que nadie estorbe su paz y tranquilidad en su terruño; considera la Misión como un yugo insoportable para sí y para sus hijos. Es casi inútil, es casi perder tiempo, hablar al indio de lo sobrenatural para que doblegue su frente y acepte la Misión; ni comprende, ni quiere comprender, porque *animalis homo non percipit ea quae Dei sunt.* Sólo cuando se ve perseguido en su persona, familia y bienes, sólo para no caer totalmente en la esclavitud, sólo para librarse de los vejámenes que recibe del prójimo, pide con mucha instancia la Misión hasta conseguir el fin deseado; es también éste uno de los medios de que se sirve Dios para conseguir la redención y salvación de un sinnúmero de almas (2).

Aún en este caso, el adulto propone las bases del convenio; pide la libertad de seguir con sus costumbres de bárbaro, sin que se le obligue á recibir el bautismo, y por consiguiente á entrar al templo para oir la misa y hacer otras cosas propias del culto católico, porque su cabellera y la tembeta afearía la casa de Dios y ellos experimentarían rubor sumo al verse confundidos entre chicos, mozos y blancos. La ventaja que reporta la religión, es la educación de la juventud y el bautismo de los párvulos que, en cantidad numerosa, vuelan al cielo por ser muchos los que mueren regenerados con el santo bautismo.

Con tal que no se le hable de religión, ó de recibir el bautismo, por lo demás el Misionero puede hacer del indio adulto todo lo que quiere, hasta que sea un poco previsor en manifestar desde los principios el modo como se debe vivir en la Misión; el que libre y espontáneamente dió su nombre, obedece en todo, con tal que haya energía y cuidado de reprimir luego algún desarreglo ó alguna desobediencia.

Si es requerido por su trabajo personal, no se niega fácilmente, á lo menos en los primeros años, aunque no se le señale salario

(1) Parece que el demonio de la lujuria los tiene ciegos, sordos y mudos en lo referente á la Religión y culto y les aleja el Espíritu de Dios.

(2) En Pipi hay bastantes familias chiriguanas; para librarse de vejámanes, pedían Misión: En Caipipendi son más todavía, les hablé repitidas veces, porque poseen territorio propio, pero todavía no se animan á pedir la fundación de una Misión, la razón es clara, no son muy perseguidos.

ó no se le dé nada, pues comprende que el Misionero ordena la erección de un edificio, no por especulación, sino por el adelanto moral y civil de sus hijos. Si el Misionero establece, como lo está, que durante la noche dejen de cantar, lo cumplen, á pesar de que á veces hay necesidad de recordárselo con un poco de acritud, advirtiendo que las palabras son de poco provecho.

En suma el indio adulto infiel, cuidado con esmero, es bastante sumiso en cumplir las órdenes del P. Misionero y, aún en su crápula y embriaguez, es pacífico y humilde. Si bien es verdad, que nada quiere saber de la religión mientras viva, para no aprender el rezo y cumplir con lo que la religión manda, hoy, sin embargo, casi todos piden ó reciben el bautismo al tiempo de morir; ya han desaparecido casi por completo las dificultades que antes presentábanse con respecto á los enfermos que estaban de peligro; que de referirlas, sería interminable (1).

Si un indio ó un cacique al fundarse la Misión tenía dos ó más mujeres, poco á poco el Misionero las hace despedir, para que quede con una sola. Esto cuesta algún trabajo, pero con la persuasión y las amenazas se llega al fin deseado, porque es una de las condiciones que plantea el Ministro de Dios, cuando es requerido por los indios para establecer la Misión; así lo practiqué en en San Antonio del Parapiti y aceptaron todas las condiciones de muy buena gana.

El chiriguano adulto no se bautiza, mientras goce de una salud lozana, sólo lo hace al tiempo de morir y cuando está casi cierto de no poder vivir más. Antes era aún dificultoso poder bautizar á los párvulos, porque estaban persuadidos de ser el bautismo causa de la muerte, porque en su ignorancia no comprendían que, los que recibían el bautismo en una grave enfermedad, morían por la violencia del mal.

El Misionero, con su larga experiencia, conoce fácilmente, quién está en peligro de morir, difícilmente se equivoca, porque las enfermedades peligrosas del chiriguano son conocidas, la hidropesía, la viruela, la disentería y la consunción son las principales. Bautiza pues, precisamente á los que no pueden vivir, por-

(1). Más dificultoso es bautizar á las ancianas, éstas aconsejan al mismo enfermo á negarse á aceptar el bautismo, otras le insinúan aceptar por fines temporales; para estos casos es muy necesario saber el idioma.

que costaría mucho después, hacer que cumplan lo que manda la Religión; de ésto precisamente proviene, que el indio crea infundadamente, que el bautismo ocasiona la muerte (1).

Cuando algún bautizado, en peligro de vida, vive, no es fácil que cumpla lo que la religión ordena, y sólo á instancias del Misionero se resuelve por fin, pero entra á la iglesia ocultamente, busca los rincones ó la sacristía, para que nadie lo vea, y en el cambio de Conversores aprovecha la ignorancia del que és nuevo en la Misión, para no concurrir á las prácticas religiosas. Y luego ¿qué clase de cristianos son éstos? están en la iglesia como opas, son casi inhábiles para aprender el rezo, sea porque es difícil, sea porque no tienen voluntad de aprenderlo; en el templo poco se diferencian del bruto, en sus casas se portan como infieles, entre los cuales viven; juegan, cantan y beben ni más ni menos como uno de ellos (2).

En alguna Misión ya antigua no sucede todo esto, hay indios con tembeta y cabello largo, hay mujeres ancianas con su tipoy que van á misa y cumplen con las demás obligaciones de la Iglesia Católica, pero casi todos son mudos, es decir, que no articulan aquellos una palabra de oración. Alguien dirá, y yo también digo: que con el tiempo pudiera suceder lo contrario, pero este tiempo difícilmente ha de llegar, porque el infiel, en las Misiones chiriguanas, al morir no deja secuaces, pues sus hijos se bautizan casi todos, ellos se hacen viejos y mueren sin ser reemplazados.

Unos se bautizan para contentar al Misionero y, para que la familia no sufra alguna reprensión; pero varias veces ha sucedido que, como el moribundo no pensaba hacerse cristiano, los parientes llamaban apuradamente, cuando ya aquél había espirado ó apenas daba señales de vida; y por último otros reciben y admiten el ser cristianos, para que el Misionero les permita ó tolere que el cadáver sea enterrado en su propia casa y esto es lo primero que pide el enfermo después de ser catequizado, para lo cual se tropieza con muchas dificultades. Cuando se insinúa al enfermo el arre-

(1) Algunos experimentan tanto pesar de ser cristianos adultos, que intentan quitarse la vida; sucede cuando su voluntad es semi plena en alguna enfermedad peligrosa.

(2) No se debe extrañar mucho la conducta de los indios que sobreviven al ser bautizados por una grave enfermedad, porque los pobres nunca en su vida vieron iglesia, nunca supieron, lo que son obligaciones de rezar y adorar á un Ser Supremo del cual, en su infidelidad, no tenían idea exacta y apenas remota.

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

pentimiento, ó niega completamente el ser culpable delante de Dios, ó no aborrece sus acciones pasadas. Todas estas dificultades se presentan al principio de una Misión; con los años todo cambia, y apenas hay una que otra, que se supera fácilmente (1).

Para el indio infiel, la embriaguez es un acto muy honroso, una acción que indica grandeza, amistad y benevolencia, y se gloría de ella, diciendo claramente y muy satisfecho: *Asagüipo ma*, me he embriagado. Lo dicen á cualquiera y se presentan ante cualquiera en ese estado; sin embargo corregidos y amonestados por el Misionero, si no se ocultan, cuando éste inspecciona por el pueblo, á lo menos evitan presentarse á la casa-Misión.

Por lo que atañe á lo material, el indio en las Misiones es libre más que otros, que están afuera, no levanta una mano sin ser pagado; trabaja en la erección de edificios, como casa, iglesia, salones para la enseñanza de letras, música, artes y oficios, construye vallados, y á pesar de que todo queda á beneficio de ellos y sus hijos, se les paga. Sólo tienen la tarea de la siembra y escarda, pero al fin y á la postre el Misionero les proporciona yuntas, rejas y hasta sogas y el producto queda ó se invierte en comprar mercaderías; nada, pues, hacen de balde (2).

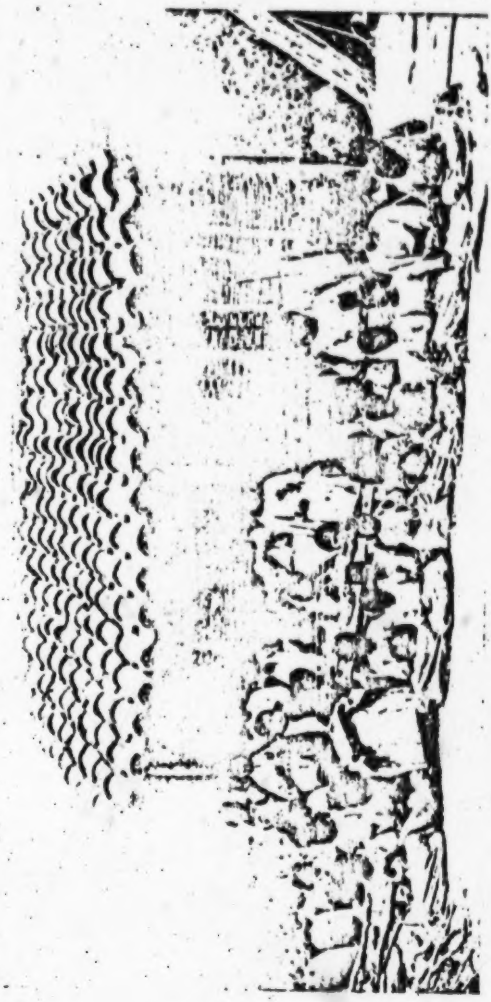
Son completamente libres de trabajar en sus sementeras ó para los blancos; pero deben dar aviso al Misionero ó al cacique; sin embargo no lo cumplen siempre, sólo si alguien los requiere para trabajos y no tienen gana, contestan: ó que el Misionero no les permite, ó que hable primero con el mismo; pero basta que éste se interponga y ruegue y, el indio pone en juego todas las dificultades; y si el Misionero principia á oirlas todas, poco á poco nadie le obedece; debe mostrarse enérgico, saber conocer y distinguir las verdaderas necesidades ó razones de los embustes y trampas para no dejarse engañar. Cobrar en las Misiones chiriguanas el 20 % de su trabajo, como dice el Reglamento de Misio-

---

(1) Al fundarse una Misión se ordena dar aviso de los enfermos, para que el Misionero pueda cumplir con la caridad de Cristo, de hacerles conocer la verdad, el premio y el castigo que se espera en la eternidad, justamente pues reprende á los que ocultan á los enfermos; cuando éstos niegan de una manera clara el ser bautizados y el Misionero no alcanza á convencerlos del error, los deja; algunos casos se han dado.

(2) Las mercaderías que los Misioneros hacen venir de Tarija y otras partes, se distribuyen gratis á los alumnos y alumnas, y se venden al costo de almacén á los de mayor edad.

[facing p. 303]



La escuela de San Francisco Solano, trabajando a la sombra del sarzo o troje

nes, creyendo talvez que los Misioneros los hacían trabajar de balde, ó les arrebataban toda la ganancia; es casi un imposible (1).

En lo que menos piensa el chiriguano es en su casa; mucha dificultad encuentra para hacer una que le sea cómoda; si la principia, la termina muy tarde y con gran dificultad, si se arruina, poco se preocupa en el arreglo; llueve, se llena de agua, se vuelve un barrial, pero él y la familia están allí durmiendo y roncando á gusto como lirones. Para que sus pueblos se renueven, casi siempre hay que amenazar y prometer rigor y aplicarlo alguna vez, para que nó suceda lo de la fábula de las ranas.

Para beber, el indio se halla siempre en buena disposición; si para ello es necesario amontonar leña y traerla de distancias considerables, nadie se acobarda, cada cual sacude la pereza natural con mucho entusiasmo. Hombres y mujeres se vuelven entonces muy activos por diez ó quince días para beber á su tiempo seis ó más, durante los cuales sus rostros se vuelven repugnantes, tanto por los cosméticos con que creen adornarse, cuanto por el estado de mediana ó completa embriaguez, en que se hallan. Luego hablan muchas cosas y, entonces, finalmente, se acuerdan de cobrarse unos á otros, de donde provienen las riñas y para cortarlas debe intervenir el Misionero con rigor y también para poner término á la holgazanería. Si el indio tuvo abundante cosecha de maíz y se prohibe en todo ó en parte la bebida, las organizan en la campiña, donde siembran, y entonces, suceden cosas peores.

La chicha por sí no produce mucho estrago en sus estómagos y fácilmente resisten muchos días sin producirles más que una mediana embriaguez; lo malo está, en que se va generalizando escandalosamente el abuso del alcohol que los embriaga muy luego y demasiado hasta quedar sin darse cuenta de nada, ni de su existencia. Vigila el Misionero para el cumplimiento del reglamento, pero parece que pertenezcan á la secta de los secretos y avisan sólo, cuando todo se concluyó, ó para cobrar algún agravio.

Neófitos

Los hijos de los infieles, ó los neófitos, crecen como sus padres y peores todavía, no distinguen de ellos por una civilización para-

(1) El 20 por ciento no se cobra en ninguna Misión; sólo en Parapiti trabajan los hombres medio día semanalmente, pero es costumbre impuesta por los señores Curas anteriores á la fundación, porque no tenían recurso alguno; los Misioneros aprovechan esta costumbre para sembradíos y edificios que son para ellos mismos

mente material; de parte del Misionero hay un esmero especial para la educación, sus padres se los entregan, ó mejor dicho, el Misionero los reclama desde la edad de siete años y los presentan sin resistencia alguna, pero si pueden ocultarlos, no se excusan, haciéndolos crecer en el bosque (1).

Cuando ya entraron á la escuela, aprenden los niños desde las primeras letras hasta la escritura, si tienen alcances; los más inteligentes aprenden aún la música y los más capaces, albañilería, sastrería, carpintería, zapatería y tahabartería. La escuela es diaria, mañana y tarde, y todos concurren á ella desde la edad indicada hasta tomar estado ó contraer matrimonio, que generalmente lo hacen á los 18 ó 20 años. Los niños se ausentan de la escuela, sólo con la licencia, pero no faltan de aquellos que, cuando pueden, burlan la vigilancia del maestro, como sucede aún en los grandes centros.

Sobrado tiempo tienen los niños para aprender lectura, escritura, todo lo que deben creer y practicar para manifestar con obras buenas sus creencias religiosas. No ignoran, lo que manda nuestra Santa Madre Iglesia, ven los buenos ejemplos de fervorosos cristianos y las maldades de otros también y, como la humanidad está más inclinada al mal, que al bien, las tiernas plantas, no bien cimentadas en las prácticas de la Religión, fácilmente se adhieren, á lo que es contrario á la ley divina y á nuestra santa madre Iglesia (2).

Crece la juventud bajo el esmerado cuidado del Misionero, quien con el ejemplo y la palabra infunde en sus corazones toda bondad y amor á las cosas santas y morales, más, hace evitar en lo posible el contacto con los ancianos, procurando que nada vean, especialmente de noche, no permitiéndoles dormir en sus casas, sino en caso de enfermedad y dolencias, pero no es fácil evitarlo todo, porque los niños tres veces al día bajan al pueblo para tomar el alimento en sus casas y los jueves y fiestas se les da asue-

(1) Nadie debe extrañar, si algo dejan que desear y procuran ocultar á sus hijos, porque debe considerarse, lo que fueron y es un placer para el infiel ver crecer á su hijo, como el mismo fué.

(2) En las Misiones los niños saben el rezo mucho mejor que en otros centros, porque en cada Misión hay dos establecimientos de enseñanza, uno para varones, otro para niñas.

to, que emplean en cazar pájaros, ó traer leña y algo de comestible (1).

Lo que más arruina á los jóvenes neófitos, son algunos blancos de los vecinos cantones, que tienen el oficio de vender licores y coca que aún introducen furtivamente á las Misiones en épocas de regocijo, durante las cuales aún los de la raza hacen el mismo oficio, porque han visto, que es un comercio de mucho lucro.

Además muchos emigran temporalmente á los establecimientos de la República Argentina, donde bajo pretexto de ganar mucho con poco trabajo, llevan una vida demasiado libre, beben el licor como agua, y se acostumbran á la embriaguez; luego lo primero que compran, es un puñal disforme, aprenden su manejo como los gáuchos, pelean, se lastiman, se matan aún y cuando regresan á la Misión, llevan apenas un poco de ropa negra para si, algo ó nada para su mujer, á quien proporcionan una paliza soberana en la primera ocasión por motivo pequeño ó sin él también y después, en la primera bebida, molestan á la gente tranquila, trastornan el orden público y siempre ó casi siempre hay que lamentar derramamiento de sangre. Agréguese á todo esto que ya comienza allí á inocularse el virus de la irreligión y como no están bien cimentados en los dogmas de la fé católica, resulta, que los que no se manejan como infieles ó indiferentes, son protestantes en las haciendas de la República Argentina, y católicos en la Misión.

No hay duda; el progreso moral, religioso y civil es obra del tiempo, no es obra de cuarenta ó cincuenta años, como algunos creen. Para implantar una reforma social entre gente civilizada, ¿cuánto cuesta? Cuánto costó para que la Iglesia se estableciera en el imperio romano? más de 300 años luchó la verdad con el error, aquélla fué perseguida, fué encerrada en las catacumbas, se bañó con la sangre de millones de mártires de la fé católica, pero al fin triunfó y se elevó radiante sobre las ruinas del error que había reinado por tantos siglos.

En las Misiones no se trata de implantar una reforma social, se trata de edificar, de arrancar al indio del bosque, de hacerlo salir de la barbarie y comenzar á enseñarle á ser hombre, á considerarse más noble que el bruto, se trata de quitarle la superstición,

(1) Las niñas reciben una educacion más esmerada bajo la no interrumpida vigilancia y cuidado de preceptoras que les enseñan, además de la religión teorico-práctica, todas las labores de su sexo, desde el hilado hasta el bordado en seda y oro; los ternos de casullas para las solemnidades son obras de dichas niñas.

en que nació, para que crea las máximas de la verdadera fé, luego, ¡cuánto sacrificio no cuesta al Misionero, que pasa los mejores años y aun la vida íntegra, para realizar este grandioso proyecto sin ninguna recompensa terrena, antes bien, con marcado desprecio de los que debieran apreciar su obra altamente civilizadora! (1).

Ya se ha notado arriba que á los niños además de escribir, se enseña la música, artes y oficios, no es verdad, pues, lo que dice Campos: que el Misionero quiere hacer del chiriguano un anacoreta. Le sobraría al Misionero, si sus neófitos practicaran la Religión, como todo fiel cristiano y como los habitantes de la República, que cumplen las leyes de la Nación. Por esto después de haber aprendido lo que deben hacer, practicar y lo dicho anteriormente, ayudan á sus padres en las tareas de la campiña, otros prestan servicios á los blancos por día, por semana ó por mes (2).

El pobre Misionero sepultado aquí y alejado de los centros de civilización, se esmera en hacer florecer aún materialmente su pueblo, enseña todo lo que sabe, cuando le alcanza el tiempo, procura hacerlos instruir en lo demás afuera de las Misiones, en las capitales. Los hermosos edificios, los grandiosos templos, las músicas bien organizadas son obra de los neófitos bajo la dirección inmediata del Misionero, pero ¡cuántos desengaños! Cuando menos lo piensa, desaparecen los músicos uno en pos de otro, se huyen los herreros y demás oficiales unos por temporada y otros se quedan en tierra extraña y lejana luengos años, abandonando mujer é hijos. Es soportable el sufrimiento material que se experimenta en las Misiones, pero no tanto el moral, sin embargo en todo hay resignación, porque Dios así lo permite, y eso se enseña continuamente (3).

---

(1) El P. Prefecto Fr. Romualdo d'Ambrogi se halla en las Misiones de Potosí desde el año 1872, casi todas las Misiones son fundadas por él; ningún hijo de Bolivia puede gloriarse de haber trabajado como él para la Nación que no lo ha visto nacer, si otros trabajan, son bien remunerados, y los Misioneros no.

(2) Aquí pudiera hacer la reseña de una pléyade de los Misioneros de Tarija que se sacrificaron para civilizar á los chiriguanos; contra ellos se ensañó la ira de Campos en vez de agradecerles, como debía haber hecho en calidad de Delegado Nacional; en otras partes habrían sido condecorados los Misioneros.

(3) Es casi necesario después de una temporada larga en las Misiones un descanso, para retemplar el espíritu, porque el arco siempre tirante, se rompe, dice el Evangelista S. Juan.

No hay viajero que no quede admirado al considerar el progreso de las Misiones, al considerar las hermosas obras de los indios, cuando piensan que años atrás eran bosques impenetrables ó colinas desnudas, el lugar que ocupan el grandioso templo y los edificios. Al decir de un ilustrado inglés, por supuesto protestante en Religión, son las Misiones católicas entre los chiriguanos, como oásis en el desierto, y verlas en lontananza, no sé que pasa en el corazón; hasta yo no sé, que experimento, cuando por razón de algún viaje, me acerco nuevamente y las veo en lontananza.

Método

El método establecido desde el principio de la primera fundación, es inmejorable, como que mira al adelanto moral y civil, y ha dado resultados prácticos, especialmente en algunas Misiones que, á pesar de los pocos años de existencia, hablan medianamente bien el idioma nacional casi todos ¡No es esto un casi prodigio, realizado con una raza, cuyo idioma ninguna analogía guarda con las lenguas cultas? no es esto extraordinario, si se los compara con los quichuas y aimaráes que hacen siglos, viven en medio de gente civilizada sin dar un paso adelante en la civilización y aprendizaje del idioma? Ignoro como ciertos hombres, elevados á la dignidad de Delegados Nacionales, sin consideración quizá y examen serio, puedan criticar el método de los Misioneros, viendo que con él han adelantado tanto y conociendo que otras razas permanecen en la apatía y dan lástima al considerar su estado de ignorancia primitiva (1).

Quizá muchos sentirán la franqueza de estas pocas líneas, pero es la pura verdad, que los quichuas y aimaráes por su ignorancia y desaseo llaman la atención de todo pasajero que venga de ultramar. De ello se echa la culpa á los curas, pero ¿qué pueden hacer los Ministros del Altar, reducidos á la miseria con la supresión de congruas y hostilizados hasta en su ministerio con el

(1) Algún Delegado Nacional por estar prevenido contra los Misioneros, criticó con acritud á los Misioneros que predican en el idioma de los indios, con esto dió á conocer una vez más su ignorancia, porque dice S. Pablo: *Si ergo nesciero virtutem vocis, ero cui loquor barbarus et qui loquitur mihi, barbarus.*

[Facing P.308]

Interior de la Iglesia de S. Pascual

desafuero, matrimonio civil, abolición de fiestas y bailes y lucinación de cementerios! No pretende hacer recaer la falta en los sacerdotes, mientras los que debieran, no establecen escuelas prácticas para ello, erogan cuantiosas sumas para delegaciones, quizá perjudiciales, sin pensar mucho en civilizar con la verdadera enseñanza, que principia en Dios, á los infelices que son los que llenan las arcas del erario público.

Según el método implantado, las Misiones progresan y progresarían más, si el chiriguano no fuera tan inconstante. Ni en sus pueblos, ni en los cantones vecinos falta trabajo para ellos, antes bien son jornaleros, los que no se encuentran: estos prefieren ir lejos, donde quizá ganan menos que acá, gastando la poca ganancia en cosas que no sirven y les son perjudiciales (1).

Si se pregunta la razón de este procedimiento, tan extraño á ellos mismos, contestan que en su pueblo no pueden nunca tener guardados diez ó quince bolivianos, porque los gastan luego en nimiedades para sí y su familia, mientras que en la República Argentina guardan su dinero en casa del amo, y al tiempo de venirse compran sus vestidos y aún animales, aperos, carruaje y otros enseres. En esto hay algo de verdad, mas, como no es completamente cierto, que aquí el dinero no les dura, tampoco es completamente cierto, que de la Argentina traen ropa y otras cosas. Los que tienen un poco de cuidado y no son perezosos, se visten muy bien aquí, como los viciosos en la Argentina se dejan dominar de la pereza y vuelven desnudos, como se fueron; llegan, venden ó gastan, si algo tienen, y se van definitivamente á vivir á sus anchas (2).

El método de enseñanza como se practica, obtiene resultados prodigiosos en las niñas que además de las letras y cuanto, aprenden en la escuela los trabajos propios de su sexo, desde el hilado hasta el bordado en seda y oro; ciertas escuelas de niñas de las Misiones, por ejemplo, la de S. Antonio del Parapití y la de S. José de Tigüipa causan verdadera admiración á los visitantes, amén por

(1) Hay neófitos que permanecen en las haciendas de la República Argentina ocho ó diez años, todo se lo beben y al querer regresar apenas traen un cuchillo y un ponchito negro que poco cuesta.

(2) Los indios chiriguanos llaman criollos á los gauchos ó naturales de la República Argentina, igual nombre dan á los de su raza, que se radican allí por muchos años.

el trabajo de mano que en ellas se ejecuta y aquella niña que el idioma castellano que desde la primera hasta la última habían con bastante perfección, porque desde el principio, no les prohibió de una manera absoluta, aun entre ellas, en la escuela, la lengua de sus padres.

Según este informe en pocos años más será que los chiriguanos de las Misiones han pertenecido á la raza, porque paso á paso las madres enseñarán á sus hijos el idioma castellano, como ya he visto que lo hacen en la Misión de San Pascual de Baicuru, y si tuviera la moralidad deje algo que desear, más después quizá mediante la predicación, los consejos del Misionero y el ejemplo de los buenos, todo se corregirá. *Semper est verbum Dei;* no cae en terreno completamente estéril (1).

Casi desde el principio se quitó á los niños de escuela el uso del tipoy, obligándoles á vestir conforme visten las mujeres de los vecinos pueblos; hoy están muy acostumbrados á dichos trajes y no lo cambian por nada del mundo en las Misiones, ello aquellas que se hayan y hasta recurgen practicamente de la M. para no ser reconocidas, visten normalmente el tipoy como las infieles. Mediante la constancia de la religión católica, el aprendizaje del idioma nacional y el cambio de vestido se opera continuamente la transformación, hasta que paso á paso desaparecerá la distinción de razas, mediante la unión de aquellas.

Lo que hicieron los Misioneros para el vestido de las niñas, hacen igualmente para el de los niños, procurando que sea decente. Para unos y para otros mientras frecuentan la escuela, el Misionero de cada Misión proporciona los géneros, habiéndolos venir de algunos capital de departamento y distribuyéndolos gratuitamente dos y hasta tres veces al año, ó cuando viene la necesidad de cada vez. De este modo, después de estar vestidos, ellos mismos trabajan para seguir vistiéndose conforme y mejor de cuando estaban en la escuela, pues unos usan también bañiera y botas, varias son las mujeres que adornan del traje ordinario, usan corpiño, sombrero, bañiera y alfombrita en la iglesia (2).

---

(1) La Misión de S. Pascual de Baicuru está tan adelantada en todo, que se van haciendo los gestiones para que sea elevada al rango de Parroquia. En el idioma, en el traje y en el trato poco se distinguen de los blancos.

(2) En las Misiones del Parapití Grande es donde visten con más lujo, especialmente las mujeres que hasta poseen sillas para viajar y montar en caballería.

Para conseguir los recursos necesarios para la enseñanza, medicinas, libros y vestidos, pensaba los hombres que los Ministerios de la Nación ó las Congregaciones se preocupan de ellos? No, aquí dan y, si siempre, á lo menos entre, á uno de los Misioneros residentes en cada Misión setenta y cinco centavos diarios y con esta cantidad hay lo precisamente, á lo menos por lo pronto, de quien á todo trance que el Misionero sea funcionario público, cuando en día Segundo á Bolivia contrae ser compromiso con la Nación y, el Misionero perpetuadores á las labranzas, no á enseñarles la Religión y se preocupa á nombre de Arcadiados, á Quien necesita como Ministrar evangelizando (1).

Si el Supremo Gobierno de Bolivia hiciera más eficaces su protección y proporcionara todo lo necesario para edificios, enseñanza y vestidos, el progreso sería más rápido, porque el Misionero dispondría de más tiempo para la enseñanza y se libraría de la detención de los indios que hablan y escriben, trabajando de convencimiento y cooperación por la razón de que, no es en la imperiosa necesidad de estudiar los medios para buscar recursos y alimentar su misión moral y materialmente.

Nada debiera importar al Misionero el régimen político administrativo por ser dominado por Dios á la conquista de los alma, mediante la palabra evangélica, como en las cuevas de la Asia y en los desiertos de la Africa. Mas como en Bolivia él es tutor nato de los indígenas en virtud del Reglamento de Misiones, advierte como el chiriguano adulto no pide la fundación de la Misión con el fuero de convertirse y hacerse cristiano, sino por libertar de la tiranía de algunos hombres diligentes, el Misionero, por esto régimen, adonde de otros como que atiende con la actividad que la encuentra, según lo demuestran los edificios, cuadras y constituye cuerpos para mantener el orden público y para que fácilmente pueda gobernar su villa á los indígenas, sino sólo á los cristianos, Jefes y ayudantes intervienen directamente en la elección secreta por votación, del que debe gobernarlos por un año ó por tiempo indeterminado (2).

---

(1) El Reglamento de 1907 fué promovido por todos los Misioneros, porque la idea que domina en él es material, nada determina respecto á la enseñanza y da amplia autoridad á los encargados de la Religión.

(2) Para comprobarlo mejor esto al régimen moral, en los Misiones de Potosí, se practica anualmente la elección del Gobernador de los indígenas por voto secreto y luego recibe su nombramiento en papel de oficio.

Se dijo que el Reglamento de Misiones del año 1901 fué casi una copia del de 1871, por esto se reformó en 1905, alegando que con aquél los indios eran llegados á ser ciudadanos, capaces de gobernarse á sí mismos; quizá esto sea cierto con relación á otras tribus, pero en cuanto á los chiriguanos de las Misiones de Tarija y Potosí, no es verídico, porque gobiernan su casa, ni más ni menos que si fueran independientes y el Reglamento actual ni les ha quitado, ni les ha añadido; siguen como antes amables y respetuosos con los Misioneros y, si se quiere, se muestran más cariñosos que antes. Si todos los pobladores de las Misiones chiriguanas fueran cristianos, todos sabrían algo del idioma nacional y podría el Supremo Gobierno recibir grandes y arreglados centros, donde entretanto á cosa cumplida, aptas sólo para la agricultura, á chacras denominadas ará y arañi. Creo no ha llegado todavía el tiempo de una entrega colectiva, porque hay muchos infieles todavía (1).

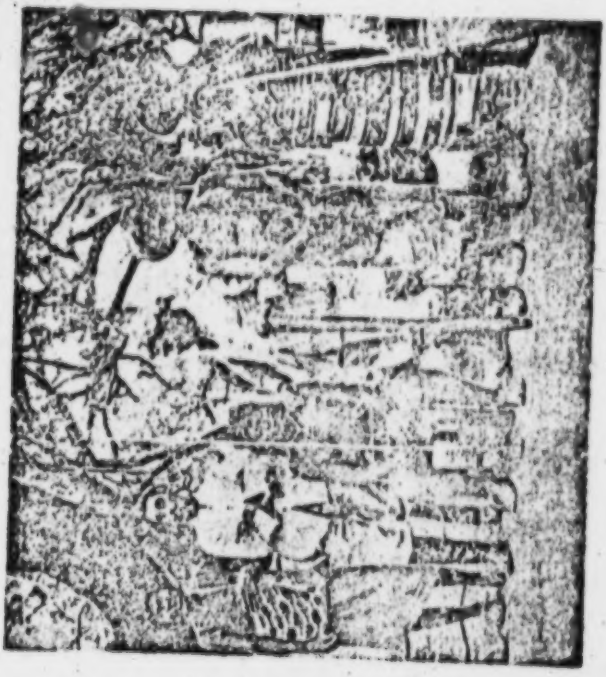
CONCLUSION

En conclusión, sólo por última vez que la Nación y los Institutos tienen abierto el comercio y á la industria la existencia comercial descrita en el primer capítulo de la obra. Esto se debe á los Misioneros Franciscanos, cuya labor data desde el año 1849; ellos afrontaron todos los peligros, ellos expusieron su vida en los bosques, en los caudalosos ríos, en la cima de los cerros. Ellos sufrieron la sed, el hambre, el cansancio, el frío y el calor, ellos soportaron con resignación la calumnia y la persecución de la gente malcontenta que nunca deja de tramar por blanco de su lucha y lengua inmunda.

La obra está realizada; entre indios penetrados entre los chiriguanos sin peligro de ser victimados, hay toda la comarca está con pueblos más ó menos grandes, hay capitales de provincias, centros y vice-centros; el comerciante transita por los pueblos chiriguanos, durmiendo en casa de ellos muy estimados y, los mismos blancos diseminados en la región, están con toda garantía. Es un verdadero prodigio debido á la Religión de Jesucristo, predicada por los Misioneros, es una prueba más de que, la Cruz edifica. Nen-

(1) A raíz del nuevo reglamento vigente se sintió una tempestad en los Misiones que hizo dudar de su existencia, los pobladores tenían entonces, y tenían mucha pena de verse nuevamente en poder de sus opresores, é alejados del suelo que los vió nacer, porque á la esclavitud no se resignan; prefieren emigrar.

[facing p. 312]



Grupo de indios Matacos.

sible es que el elemento indígena vaya desapareciendo por las causas enumeradas anteriormente en el discurso de estas líneas (1).

Termino dando gracias á la Divina Providencia que realizó acá la civilización de la raza, sirviéndose para el efecto de sujetos sencillos y humildes, como son los hijos de Francisco de Asís, que vinieron á este nuevo mundo á raíz de su descubrimiento.

A los lectores que me han seguido con su benevolencia y á los que critiquen caritativamente mi pobre escrito, doy mis sinceras gracias y ruego á la vez se dignen perdonar las faltas que hallaren. *Laus Deo.*

FIN DE LA OBRA

(1) Si permanecen las Misiones actuales, y se fundan nuevas en los centros que todavía quedan, la raza puede durar un tiempo más largo. Lo mismo, si en vez de fortines, el Gobierno con menos gasto fundara Misiones en los lugares que se van explorando en la actualidad, se obtendrían brazos útiles para el comercio y para la agricultura, sin destruir á la pobre humanidad.

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

[P. 313]

APÉNDICE

El tiempo y el lugar no me permiten en la actualidad trazar un mapa de toda la región que llevo descrita en el primer capítulo de ésta Etnografía; tampoco me permiten escribir claramente de otras tribus que pueblan el Oriente del Chaco Boliviano, que recién está explorándose (1).

Si el Supremo Gobierno y los amigos que me han favorecido en esta primera edición, siguen dispensándome su decidido apoyo, pienso volver á la región, hacer mejores estudios, proporcionarme datos ciertos relativos á las demás tribus, producir vistas y panoramas mediante máquinas fotográficas, y en seguida dar á luz una segunda edición más esmerada.

Sin embargo, como por el nombramiento de *Socio Corresponsal* de la Sociedad Geográfica de esta ciudad de La Paz, voy haciendo estudios que corresponden á esta ciencia, colocaré en estas páginas el grado geográfico aproximativo, que ocupan las tribus conocidas, que pueblan la extensa zona del Chaco Boliviano.

Los indios chiriguanos son numerosos desde el grado 18° 50' hasta el 22° de latitud S. del meridiano de París y desde el grado 65° hasta el 66° 50' de longitud O. Sin embargo se hallan pequeños grupos en el grado 17° 30' de latitud y otros grupos en el grado 22° 35' hacia el Sur de la actual Yacuiba (2).

(1) Creí indispensable un mapa para la "Guía del Chaco", lo tracé últimamente, va á editarse luego por cuenta del Supremo Gobierno; quizá consiga el tiraje de otros mil ejemplares para la presente.

(2) Sigo el Meridiano de París en la ubicación de las tribus, porque en el cuerpo de la obra me servido del mismo para indicar el paraje que ocupan los indios Cayuguari.

El lector que me ha acompañado hasta estas líneas, tiene una idea bastante clara de la raza chiriguana, de su idioma, costumbres y creencias, por consiguiente nada tengo que añadir, respecto de ellos, porque sería repetir lo dicho. De los demás diré algo, para que los bolivianos y extranjeros conozcan á los indios con quienes deberán tratar.

Tapúi ó Isoseños

Los indios Tapúi alcanzan á unos dos mil entre chicos y grandes, ocupan ambas márgenes del río Parapiti en el grado 19° y 19° 30' de latitud y en el 62° 30' á 63° de longitud del meridiano de París.

Fueron esclavos de los chiriguanos, vivieron anteriormente en las inmediaciones del territorio que ocupa hoy la ciudad de Santa Cruz de la Sierra, de donde tuvieron que emigrar á la llegada de los españoles que fundaron dicha ciudad.

Estos indios hablan el idioma chiriguano con pequeñas diferencias de pronunciación y tienen algunos términos peculiares, pero se comprenden perfectamente.

Son completamente mansos, van continuamente á las haciendas de la República Argentina, saben casi todos el idioma castellano, especialmente los varones, visten con decencia y ayudan á los industriales que se han radicado allí, y que son dueños de los terrenos.

Antiguamente los isoseños ó tapúi eran muy pobres y perezosos, mas hoy han mejorado de condición por haberse radicado entre ellos los cristianos blancos de Santa Cruz, á los cuales prestan importantes servicios en la ganadería y en la agricultura, pero esta última está muy reducida, porque en el tiempo mejor la región principal de Isoso se inunda con las continuas avenidas del río Parapiti.

Siráeuas ó Empelotos

Estos seres humanos se llaman Siráeuas, porque abren en la tierra profundidades á manera de cuevas con una espátula de madera y descansan en ellas; se llaman Empelotos, porque hombres y mujeres andan desnudos.

Rara vez se dejan ver y esto por casualidad; son pocos, pueden alcanzar á 1,500, no se conoce el idioma que hablan, de modo que están en completo estado salvaje.

Su residencia es la espesura del bosque y á poca distancia de Isoso en el grado 19° hasta el 20° de latitud, y en el 65° 50' hasta el 64° 10' de longitud.

Nada se sabe del origen de estos infelices indios, porque huyen de los civilizados; tampoco permiten que éstos ocupen la región que éllos habitan, porque matan á traición de noche y aún de día, si son superiores en número.

Quizá, en tiempos lejanos puedan reducirse con la colonización del territorio, porque es de suponer que sigan el curso seco del río Parapiti para poder vivir, á lo menos en tiempo de invierno, cuando se termina el agua de los lagos.

Yanaíguas ó Ñanaíguas

No es verdad, que los Ñanaíguas son chiriguanos de orígen, si así fuera, hablarían todos algo del idioma. Son raros los que lo entienden y rarísimos los que lo hablan, éstos lo han aprendido con el trato que tienen, tanto con los chiriguanos, cuanto con algunos blancos, á quienes han principiado á prestar sus servicios.

Su territorio está ubicado entre el río Parapiti y la quebrada de Cuevo, desde el grado 20° hasta el 20° 32' de latitud, y desde el 63° hasta el 65° 40' de longitud.

No son numerosos, pero bastante inofensivos y pacíficos, por cuya razón es fácil reducirlos y creo no está lejano el día. En la región de éstos y otros indios, se van hoy practicando algunas exploraciones, que necesariamente darán por resultado el trato y consecuente civilización, supuesta la mansedumbre de los indígenas.

Los chiriguanos han puesto dicho nombre á estos indios. Los llaman Yanaíguas por ser habitantes del bosque y, es un nombre de desprecio, porque, según el chiriguano, sólo las alimañas viven en el bosque.

Como he dicho, estos indios no son como los anteriores, que huyen de la gente civilizada, trabajan ya con los blancos, pero no más de medio día, á semejanza de los tobas y matacos, mas no con la tenacidad de éstos. Muchas veces se los ve en la margen derecha del río Parapiti en tropillas de 15 ó 20 en busca de agua, y no huyen al ver algún transeúnte (1)

(1) La región, en que han principiado á prestar sus servicios á los industriales blancos, es la margen derecha del río Parapiti á medio camino entre los cantones Isoso y Parapiti.

Indios Cayuguari

La región habitada por estos indios está en actual exploración. La idea que puedo llamar colosal por el bien, que reportará á la Nación, partió del señor Sub-Prefecto del Azero don Ramón Menduiña que heredó el espíritu patriótico de su finado padre, don Antonio.

Este señor entusiasmó á los habitantes del pueblo de Carandaiti y correspondieron á los deseos del señor Sub-Prefecto con la abertura de 22 leguas de camino, en cuyo trabajo se ocuparon los indios que proporcionó el P. Conversor de la Misión de Macharetí en mayo y junio de 1911 (1).

Sin embargo la expedición ha sido encomendada hoy al Teniente Coronel Orando que ha llegado hasta la laguna de Picuígua, pero falta conocer lo principal, ó sea el rancherío de los indios Cayuguari, donde puede estar ubicada una laguna de aguas permanentes, en cuyas márgenes pudiera establecerse un fortín con una fuerte guarnición.

El camino desde Carandaiti á la región céntrica de Cayuguari está trazado en el cuerpo de esta obra, el grado geográfico que ocupa, está más ó menos indicado según el mapa del General don José Manuel Pando y la índole y carácter de los indios también: de modo que no es necesario repetirlo en estas líneas.

Conviene que los exploradores vayan y se presenten en actitud pacífica á estos indios belicosos y vayan también prevenidos para cualquier ataque, porque estos indios poseen la valentía del chiriguano y la alevosía del toba.

En esta región, más que en otros lugares, conviene la fundación de una Misión Conversora para formar un núcleo de población y reducir con blandura á estos habitantes del bosque.

La tribu de los indios tobas es bastante numerosa, puebla la margen izquierda del río Pilcomayo desde el grado 21° 34' de latitud hacia el Sudeste y en el 65° 39' de longitud.

---

(1) Ultimamente se ha extendido por el Supremo Gobierno el nombramiento de Capitán de las tribus de Irentagüe en favor del indio Abacatu que en años pasados causó mucho daño á los colonos de Carandaiti en compañía de los indios Cayaguari; hoy presta servicio á la expedición de la Región, situada al Este de Carandaiti, mas hago constar que dicha región, como Carandaiti, pertenecen á la provincia del Azero y no á la del Gran Chaco, como erróneamente se ha puesto en el nombramiento de dicho Capitán indígena.

Tobas

La tribu de los indios tobas colinda por el O. con la raza chiriguana, con la cual está completamente relacionada. Estos indios prestan mucho servicio á los cristianos blancos y por consiguiente á los pocos habitantes de Villa Montes, raras veces pasan á la margen derecha del río, que pertenece á los matacos ó noctenes, como se ha dicho en otro lugar.

El indio toba es muy robusto, lo mismo la mujer; ambos llevan pelo corto y se pintan todo el cuerpo, especialmente cuando deben marchar á la guerra. Algunos hombres y, casi todas las mujeres, se pintan el rostro hasta la garganta de una manera indeleble.

Con una espina, paja brava, ó una aguja, rayan su cutis, forman sobre él diferentes figuras y, en seguida, pasan por encima de las mismas, ceniza, carbón molido, ó el zumo de algunas raíces especiales que dejan secar durante algunos días, hasta que haya penetrado bien debajo de las epidermis; luego toman su baño, lavan el rostro, desaparecen las manchas y quedan de una manera estable las figuras. Imitan en esto á los turcos, á quienes por cierto no conocen.

Otro distintivo de la raza toba son las orejas horadadas, donde colocan dos piezas de madera, que sirven de zarcillos. Son tan pesadas y gruesas estas piezas, que con el tiempo dilatan y alargan la ternilla, hasta hacerla tocar en los hombros, por cuya razón son mucho más repugnantes todos los que llevan dichos zarcillos.

Mas, como ya tienen mucho roce con los blancos, van dejando este distintivo, lo mismo que el primero, conforme va desapareciendo la tembeta chiriguana. Sin embargo las tribus que se hallan apartadas del trato con los blancos y chiriguanos, siguen en su mayoría con ambos distintivos y van casi completamente desnudos los hombres.

En tiempos no lejanos el toba fué muy feroz, mas hoy ha modificado un poco su ferocidad; sin embargo su altivez y alevosía siguen en el mismo ser y nunca es conveniente fiarse de este forzudo habitante del bosque.

El blanco que trate con él, debe estar siempre prevenido, tratarle como inferior, unir al rigor moderado, la blandura, remunerar su trabajo sin rayar en liberalidad y no usar de medios violentos, cuando al medio día arroja de sí la herramienta con que estuvo desempeñando su oficio.

El coronel Rivas y el explorador Crevaux perecieron en sus expediciones por la demasiada confianza. Este último demasiado bondadoso, cometió el error de desembarcar en un toldarío de tobas; su gente dejó las armas en las embarcaciones, y en la arremetida que hicieron los indios, apenas se salvó uno, para llevar la fatal noticia, donde convenía.

El toba es celoso de su mujer y ésta de su marido, ni el uno ni la otra permiten deslices en este asunto; si tal acontece, la venganza es segura, el mancebo ó la mancebe fácilmente mueren envenenados; por lo que atañe á las doncellas, son bastante libres antes de matrimoniarse.

Pero, si éstas se disponen á contraer enlace, el joven toba debe merecer su mano, necesario es que sea hábil cazador, valiente guerrero, y pierda muchas noches el sueño, tocando el «pimpin» delante de la casa de la novia. Si los padres de ésta forman buen concepto del novio, se la entregan luego sin otros preliminares, de lo contrario puede resignarse á buscar otra.

Son frecuentes los asaltos de los tobas á las casas de los blancos, donde hurtan todo lo que pueden, victimando á los hombres de mayor edad y haciendo cautivas á las mujeres, niños y doncellas, no tanto por usar de ellas, cuanto para tener lucro en el rescate.

Mas por lo general los asaltos son para hurtar ganado vacuno, caballar y mular, aquél para comer y éstos para cabalgar, pues el toba es muy jinete y tiene necesidad de lo ajeno para sus guerras y asaltos.

No usan sillas, ni bridas, y dirigen las caballerías con los golpes de sus manos; si son perseguidos, corren como el viento, van parados sobre el lomo del animal, de lado, y aun con el cuerpo debajo de la barriga para evitar algún tiro certero. En el cabalgar son superiores á todas las tribus, comprendida la tribu chiriguana á la cual sin embargo respetan.

Matan á los párvulos defectuosos y, por filantropía, á los enfermos de enfermedades prolongadas y, á los viejos que enfermos de muerte, entierran vivos, para que no sufran tanto (1).

---

(1) No es extraño si se considera que los aimarás de la Altiplanicie por ley de higiene estrangulan á los moribundos, para que no huela mal al trasladarlos al cementerio público que se halla á grandes distancias.

[facing p. 319]

Grupo de Indios Tribus.

Matacos ó Noctenes

También esta tribu es muy numerosa, vive en la margen derecha del río Pilcomayo, ocupa la parte opuesta á la zona, ocupada por los tobas, con los cuales conservan relaciones de amistad, que se alternan de vez en cuando, especialmente en el tiempo en que maduran las algarrobas y otras frutas.

Una porción de estos indios hizo parte en tiempos pasados de la Misión de San Antonio del Pilcomayo, donde hoy está radicada la Delegación del Chaco, ocupando los edificios de la Misión. Pero por ser inconstantes al igual, ó quizá más que los tobas, poco fruto pudo reportar la Religión y el Estado de tales indios.

Estos indios son muy numerosos y en pequeñas fracciones alcanzan hasta las orillas del Bermejo; su idioma es completamente distinto del de las otras tribus y difícilmente se mezclan, á pesar de mantener relaciones amistosas con los tobas, de los cuales se consideran inferiores.

Su fisonomía es demasiado lánguida, se les lee la tristeza en el rostro y son muy desgraciados; sin embargo en guerra, en celos y en estado de beodez son feroces, se hieren y se matan. Por estas consecuencias las mujeres se abstienen de beber, hasta la embriaguez, para evitar los desórdenes de sus maridos y esconder las armas en caso de alborotos que suceden con frecuencia (1).

Son indios más pacíficos que los tobas, son poco guerreros, no atropellan las casas de los blancos, pero aprovechan, cuando pueden, de los ganados de éstos, especialmente si se declara la hambruna con la carencia de frutas silvestres.

No trabajan, no siembran, ni hacen cosa semejante, sólo son medianos pescadores y casi nada cazadores. Para vivir hacen grandes provisiones de chañar, algarrobas y frutas de mistol y, con algunas semillas de calabazas, puestas debajo de la tierra, tienen cosechas extraordinarias, si el año es medianamente lluvioso.

Arman sus orgías en tiempo de las algarrobas, del chañar y del mistol y entonces suceden las riñas y asesinatos entre los varones; crímenes que se quedan sin castigo de la autoridad, que no la hay. Pero si el que pereció, tuvo parientes, éstos toman la venganza.

---

(1) En las bebidas son iguales á los tobas, elaboran la aloja de las frutas del algarrobo, la cual es embriagadora casi como el aguardiente, elaboran también aloja de otras frutas silvestres; no hacen chicha, porque casi no siembran maíz.

No se toman la molestia de formar casas ó cosa parecida. Forman una especie de hornos; para ello doblan algunas ramas de árboles pequeños, los sujetan en tierra, cubren dichas ramas con paja ó hierba y debajo duermen á montones en compañía de sus perros.

Esta es la razón de tanta sarna que los mata, y los hace parecer tan asquerosos, pues son además nada partidarios del baño diario, como los chiriguanos y, cuando lo hacen, se revuelcan por la arena del río ó por la ceniza de sus horno-casas.

Para el matrimonio no toman consentimiento de sus padres, ni tampoco tienen ceremonias. ¡Se aman dos jóvenes, hombre y mujer! se apartan del rancherío común, van al bosque, están algunas semanas y vuelven ya casados á vivir con los suegros ó á formar otro horno como el de sus mayores.

Fácilmente los jóvenes se divorcian, pero son más constantes que los chiriguanos en la vida matrimonial. Sin embargo las mujeres son muy celosas y no consienten fácilmente á sus maridos con otras; por esto los complacen bastante con el trabajo de traer mucha fruta del bosque y hacerles caricias.

Hombres y mujeres se cortan el cabello, algunas se tiznan el rostro y se horadan la ternilla de las orejas, donde colocan un pedazo de madera, como los tobas, pero no es distintivo de la raza.

Tienen una idea vaga de seres superiores, á quienes temen sin prestarles culto; el más listo se hace brujo y explota la pobreza de sus compañeros, especialmente hoy que ganan de los blancos, á quienes prestan importantes servicios.

De la región que ocupan, pasan con frecuencia á la República Argentina, trabajan, se visten, aprenden algo de castellano, una pequeña tintura de civilización y vuelven á sus tierras á vivir como antes.

Chorotis

La zona situada al Sudeste del territorio toba, es ocupada por los indios Chorotis que tienen idioma propio. Ocupan el grado geográfico 22° 30' de latitud y el 64° 10' de longitud en la margen izquierda del río Pilcomayo.

Son bastante numerosos y pacíficos y no son aleveosos, como sus vecinos los tobas. Sin embargo se hacen respetar por todas las tribus limítrofes; si se pudiera establecer en dicho grado una Misión Conversora, estaría hecha la conquista de todo el territo-

rio boliviano hasta el grado 24° sin necesidad de tantos fortines que ocasionan gastos inmensos á la Nación y no forman centros de comercio y civilización.

El P. Giannelli en años pasados visitó á los indios chorotis, fué recibido con muestras de cariño y aprecio y halló entre ellos buenas disposiciones de civilizarse, pero en aquel entonces era mucha la mies para pocos obreros evangélicos.

Los chorotis no son tan holgazanes y salvajes, como las demás tribus; se dedican al cultivo de algunas semillas y á la cría de ganados, aunque en pequeña escala. Sin embargo son también cazadores y, ocupando las orillas del Pilcomayo, aprovechan de los frutos que les lleva el río; especialmente en las grandes avenidas.

Indudablemente por estar muy cercanos á los tobas, se agujerean la tornilla de las orejas, donde colocan piezas de madera y también se tiznan el rostro.

En las expediciones al Paraguay nunca se han mostrado hostiles á los blancos y militares, antes bien han prestado importantes servicios y éstos salvaron la vida del señor Tonrar y compañeros, cuando se apartaron de la expedición. De modo que sería muy provechoso reducirlos á vida civilizada.

Guisnáis

Estos indios ocupan la margen occidental del Pilcomayo al frente de los indios chorotis y al Sudoeste de la región, ocupada por los Matacos. El grado geográfico de su territorio con pequeñísima diferencia, es el mismo del de los chorotis, pues están separados de éstos, sólo por el lecho del río.

Es una fracción de los matacos, hablan la lengua de éstos con muy poca diferencia, las costumbres son casi idénticas y su número es bastante reducido. Son de índole pacífica como los chorotis y, á semejanza de éstos, practican amuletos de calabazas y otras legumbres. También se dedican á la cría de animales domésticos, como vacas, caballos, ovejas, cabras y gallinas.

Aún los guisnáis salen con frecuencia á los trabajos de la República Argentina, de donde traen algunas armas también, para usarlas particularmente en el bosque, matando aves, jabalíes, ciervos y otros cuadrúpedos.

Tienen ideas religiosas más que otras tribus y parece que sus tatarabuelos hubieran pertenecido á alguna antigua Misión de la Argentina, porque, más que otros, reconocen una verdadera divi-

nidad. Sin embargo por la mucha ignorancia confunden las ideas y por el mucho temor reconocen en los brujos un poder que no tienen.

Las tribus que llevo descritas son amigas y aliadas de los chiriguanos y, cuando éstos, tienen abundante cosecha de maíz, aquéllas se aproximan á los pueblos de sus amigos: según las tribus, forman sus hornos, donde encontrarse, á la márgen de algún riachuelo, ó de alguna quebrada.

Se quedan allí, ayudan al chiriguano en la cosecha, le sirven para el acarreo de la leña, para la limpieza de la casa, para todo uso doméstico y en cambio aprovechan de un poco de maíz para sí y su familia. Al tiempo de retirarse al bosque se van con algunas libras ó arrobas de maíz según las cosechas que haya tenido el chiriguano.

En las Misiones de Tarija están siendo con mucha frecuencia, porque están más cercanas á su territorio. Los caciques salvajes entonces se presentan al cacique chiriguano para anunciar su llegada y la presencia de la tribu que representa y, dado á su vez, lo lleva ante el P. Convertor para obtener las licencias necesarias.

En estas circunstancias ninguna de las tribus se pierde, porque comprende que para comer es necesario trabajar, no pesa de ser alejado largo del territorio ajeno, donde halló tanta abundancia. Tampoco se permite muchos meses de estadía, porque son capaces de permanecer hasta terminar todo el maíz y dejar escarta la casa del chiriguano.

Varias veces he visto estas tribus en estado de emigración temporiera y, cuando lástima ver tanta pobreza, abandono, suciedad, ignorancia y estrechez. Pueden observarse largas hileras de hornos en comunicación una con otra, llenos de hombres, mujeres, niños y perros, y vivir allí, peor que los animales inmundos en la basura.

Tapietes (1)

La tribu de los Tapietes es más numerosa que su vecina, la de los Chorotes, ocupa la misma margen izquierda del río Pilco-

(1) Con la palabra peruanica del Ministerio Católico servirían de elemento intermediario con los indios tobas y tapietes, con los cuales colindan por el Oeste y Sudeste respectivamente.

Estos indígenas han examinado varias bajas á los soldados de los fortines bolivianos y últimamente también á los argentinos, esto indica, que no hay que ser muy confiados con ellos, especialmente cuando se prevee, que emprenden algunas venganza.

mayo desde el grado 22° 55' de latitud hasta internarse en el territorio que pretende la República del Paraguay y desde el grado 22° 10' hacia el Este.

Se radicaron allí desde tiempo inmemorial, cuando los chiriguanos emigraron del Paraguay; resulta pues, que en su origen, fueron chiriguanos; así lo demuestran el idioma, su inclinación al trabajo, su afición á la siembra, sus costumbres y el lugar que escogieron.

Por estar muy apartados de los centros civilizados, adquirieron costumbres salvajes y actualmente usan un vestido muy sencillo, cubriendo apenas lo más delicado del cuerpo, lo cual antes ni esto hacían, á lo menos los varones.

El idioma que hablan, es chiriguano, pero hay diferencia de términos y pronunciación por el trato que tienen con los tobas, matacos y chorotis, con los cuales sin embargo, no se mezclan y hasta tienen hostilidades no pocas veces.

Estos mismos han destruido varias veces los fortines bolivianos y victimado á los militares, pero al fin que tuvieron y tendrán en ahuyentar al blanco, á quien jamás tuvieron; como que una Misión Guaraunera daría buenos resultados entre ellos, para no ahuyentar al blanco por siempre.

Se dedican á la siembra, á la caza, á la pesca y á la cría de ganados; raras veces salen en caza á los pueblos de los chiriguanos y reducidos á los de los blancos, á los que poco perjudican.

MISCELANEA

En el párrafo «La Zona de la Etnografía Chiriguana» se ha hecho la descripción de la gastronomía de la región del Chaco boliviano que se limita allí: gravadillo de monte. Sus raíces son medicinales y los que se dan allí son de sublimes, las emplean para curar la tisis.

Existe un arbolillo, llamado por los chiriguanos «Yuranti» cabuyo, angina larga, y por los blancos «cuatro lados», colorado. Crece á lo menos cuatro á cuatro metros, cuando hasta, sus puntas son morados algo obscuro; sus raíces se ponen á hervir por el espacio de una hora y medio y el agua destilada es remedio eficaz para curar la diarrea.

El colegio Franciscano de Potosí, el R. P. Prefecto de Misiones y los P. P. Guaraunos del mismo colegio fueron defensores

á mi insinuación de ayudarme en la edición de la Etnografía Chiriguana: por esto agradezco de verdadero corazón á todos y á cada uno.

El mismo agradecimiento manifiesto en estas páginas á un grupo de caballeros de la ciudad de Sucre que, entusiasmados por el doctor don Tomás Arana, concurrieron á la edición con la suscripción de diez bolivianos por ejemplar.

Finalmente merecen especiales gracias dos señoritas de la ciudad de Sucre y otra de la de Oruro que por deferencia especial al autor, le favorecieron con limosnas extraordinarias, sin imponerle obligación alguna.

Los litografiados de la Etnografía Chiriguana unos han sido reproducidos de la «Anthropologie Bolivienne» del doctor Arthur Chervin, otros de la otra del señor del Campano y, los demás, de fotografías que pudo conseguir de algunos fotógrafos franciscanos, *dilettanti*.

Algunas del primer autor y todas las del segundo, fueron reproducidas del album que se conserva en las Misiones de Potosí y en el colegio Franciscano de Tarija.

Si el autor de la Etnografía hubiera dispuesto de tiempo necesario y contado con algún cooperador, le habría sido fácil, facilísimo hacer producir, por máquinas fotográficas, vistas importantísimas, paisajes hermosos, panoramas encantadores, palmares espesos y elevados, playas inmensas de ríos caudalosos y otras innumerables bellezas que existen en la región. En una segunda edición podría hacer todo esto, si el Supremo Gobierno proporcionara los fondos necesarios para que haga una gira científica por todo ello, acompañado de algún fotógrafo.

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

[P. 325]

INDICE

	Pág.
Homenaje	I
Aprobación de la obra	III
Agradecimiento del autor al Supremo Gobierno de Bolivia	IV
Dedicatoria	VII
Introducción	IX
Advertencia	XIII
Prólogo del señor don Manuel V. Ballivián	XVII

CAPÍTULO PRIMERO

Descripción

Introducción	1
Vista General	2
Extensión y superficie	4
Cerros y montañas	5
Ríos y Lagunas	9
Clima	11
Fertilidad	13
Flora	19
Fauna	31
Cuadrúpedos	31
Reptiles, anfibios, peces é insectos	43
Aves	49

CAPÍTULO SEGUNDO

Origen, idioma, antigüedad

Introducción	63
Origen	67
Idioma	77

Pág.
Resultados 78
Primeros Misioneros entre los chiriguanos y guaraníes bañados 82
Misiones del Colegio de Potosí 83
Cuevo 91
Cuatro Ibo 94
Propuesta 95
Cayaguari 96
Itatiqui 99
Misiones del Colegio de Tarija 100
Tacuiba 106

CAPÍTULO TERCERO

Carácter de los Chiriguanos

Introducción 109
Físico 110
Derecho de la vida 111
Moral 113
Dificultades para reducirlos 116
Vicios y convencionales 117
Suicidio 119
Pugilato y duelo 120
Amor al lugar 121
Apéndice 123
Filantropía 125

CAPÍTULO CUARTO

Religión, Creencias y Costumbres

Introducción — Un francisco ilustre 127
Religión 128
Divinidades 129
Creencias fabulosas sobre el diluvio 131
Creencias en los espíritus 134
Creencia relativa á la creación 136
Creencia en la vida futura 139
Fiesta 142
Gentes 144

Pág.
Brujos 146
Curanderas brujas 151
Modo de conjurar el rayo 153
Eclipse de luna 155

CAPÍTULO QUINTO

Organización política y Autoridades

Introducción 156
Principio de autoridad 157
Atribuciones del cacique 158
Subalternos 161
Abuso de autoridad 162
Separación del mando 163
Cacique regional 165

CAPÍTULO SEXTO

Pueblos, Casas y Trabajos

Introducción 168
Pueblos 169
Casas modernas 170
Casas antiguas 174
Fuego 177
Trabajo—Aseo 178
Casas y mirados 179
Maíces 181
Algodón ..... [illegible]
Tejidos 185

CAPÍTULO SÉPTIMO

Vestidos y Adornos [illegible]

Introducción 186
Vestido 187
Vestido de gala 189
Comodidades 191
Adornos 192
Explicación de la ilustración anterior 194

CAPÍTULO OCTAVO

La familia Chiriguana

Pág.

Introducción 200
Familia 202
Modo de hacer un matrimonio 206
Vida y tareas durante el matrimonio 207
Pruebas y abandonamiento 209
Crianza 210
Hellisse 212
Gozo y pesar 212
Hijos deformes 214

CAPÍTULO NOVENO

Hijos, Pubertad y Tembeta

Introducción 216
Educación de los hijos 217
Escuela de armas y estrategia 219
Vida privada 221
Imposición del nombre y pubertad 222
Imposición de la tembeta 227
La tembeta en otras tribus 232
Cuentos folclóricos 233

CAPÍTULO DÉCIMO

Agricultura, Animales, Comidas

Introducción 236
Derecho de propiedad 237
Método antiguo en la labranza 239
Labranza moderna y semillas 241
Empleo del fruto [illegible] 245
Chagüin, chicha 247
Comidas 249
Animales 250
Otras comestibles 251

CAPÍTULO ONCE

Fiestas, Cantos, Carnavas.

Introducción 254
Autor de la fiesta 256
Fiesta 258

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

Pág.

Baile y canto 260
Música del *Ayarine* 261
Mbapa piare 262
Música del *Mbapa piare* 263
Hospitalidad 265
Carnaval 267
Pascua 270
Música del Aleluya y canto 271

CAPÍTULO DOCE

Guerra, Ofensiva y Defensiva

Introducción 272
Ofensiva y armas 274
Marcha ó inspección 276
Combate y saqueo 277
Después de la victoria 279
Defensiva 280
Pacos 281
Explicación de la ilustración anterior 283

CAPÍTULO TRECE

Enfermedades, Fármacos Muerte y Luto

Introducción 284
Enfermedades y fármacos 285
Otras enfermedades y fármacos 288
Muerte y funeral 290
Luto 292
Duelo de una viuda 295

CAPÍTULO CATORCE

Infieles y neófitos de las Misiones

Introducción 297
Infieles 298
Neófitos 303
Método 307
Conclusión 311

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

APÉNDICE

	Pág.
Tapdi ó Isoseños	314
Sirécuas ó Empelotos	314
Yanaiguas ó Ñanaiguas	315
Indios Cayuguari	316
Tobas	317
Matacos ó Noctenes	319
Chorotis	320
Güisnáis	321
Tapietes	322
Miscelánea	323

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

[P. 331]

Indice de las ilustraciones

	Pág.
Retrato del Excelentísimo doctor don Eliodoro Villazón	
Imágen de N. S. de la Purísima Concepción	VI
Retrato de don Julio La-Faye, ex-Ministro y General de Brigada	XVI
Grupo de indios é indias chiriguanos en trabajo (Igüembe)	1
Vista del río Parapiti desde la Misión de San Antonio	9
Arbol papayo con sus frutos	24
Grupo de Tapietes, indios del Chaco, viven en los Esteros del P. Patiños	33
Grupo de niños y riqueza vegetal	40
Figura del Yandágua	51
Vista de un palmar en Salinas de Cuevo	56
Establecimiento azucarero en la Misión de S. Antonio Parapiti	64
Hombre Tapiete	72
Mujer Tapiete	80
Vista de la Misión de Santa Rosa	88
Música de violines de Tarairi	105
Grupo de chiriguanas con vestido de fiesta, de la Misión de San Pascual	109
Escuela de niños de la Misión de Ivu	113
El Arzobispo Pifferi, Misioneros y Curas	126
Escuela de niñas de la Misión de Ivu	136
Banda de música de la Misión de Santa Rosa	144
Vista de la Misión de San Antonio del Parapiti	152
Grupo de los caciques de la Misión de Ivu	156
Escuela de niñas de la Misión del Parapiti (San Antonio)	160
Puebló de chiriguanos	168

Pág.

Casa chiriguana moderna 170
Casa chiriguana antigua 176
Cacique Güirofea con su familia 186
Vestido de gala y apero chiriguano 189
Adornos chiriguanos 198
Banda de música de la Misión de S. Buenaventura de Ivu 216
Vista de la Misión de San Pascual de Boicovo 224
Grupo de indios chiriguanos con sus armas de trabajo (de la Misión de San Pascual) 237
Exterior de la escuela de niños de la Misión de San Pascual de Boicovo 248
Interior de la escuela de niños de la Misión de San Pascual de Boicovo 254
Máscara del Ayurise 261
Máscara del Mbapu pinro 263
Carnaval chiriguano 267
Máscara del Aleluya 270
Arcos flechas, etc. 273
Grupo de indios Chorotis 284
Casas de indios Chorotis 290
Escuela de niños de la Misión de San Pascual 297
Niños de escuela en sus trabajos (San Francisco del Parapití) 308
Interior del templo de San Pascual 309
Grupo de indios Matacos 313
Grupo de indios Tobas 319

4: Nino SF10 Chiriguano

[P. 323]

CORREGGIONES

Página		Línea	Dice	Digase
X		30	Fhero	Hefero.
XII		8	Arrancando	arrancado.
XIII		08	Ayuano	Ayuno.
XIV		1	Cirdov.	Cordóv.
2		36	Tomparepui.	Tomparepui
5		8	Que	Que.
7		8	Ivo.	Ivo
10		17	dedico.	doulie.
14		10	rigurosa	vigurosa.
01		07	Mon Iqueupi	Mondiqueupi.
66		10	tiene	tienen.
68	Nota 1°	33	400	4000
71		03	Tempo	Tempo.
97		06	30	33.
100		05	contrando	contrariado
100	Nota 1°	10	el	el.
109		36	Está	Esta
140	Nota 1°	38	Tomparenta.	Tomparenta
147		07	Arrenga.	arenga
174		8	bincheca.	vinchuca
197		10	corolina	corolina.
013		01	eo ecas	con sus
031	Nota 2°	39	pequeño	pequeño
063		5	ve te	vete.
070		6	llego	llegó.
313	Nota 1°	06	ase servido	ase lo servido

Nota.—El mapa que se halla al fin de la obra contiene los siguientes errores: 1° Los pueblos de San Antonio deben situarse de San Francisco: 2° La línea que sale de Cuevo hasta el río Acero no es ningún río, sino línea divisoria entre Santa Cruz y Sucre: 3° Los Estancias del Parapití ocupan la margen izquierda de dicho río: 4°. no ocupa la margen derecha del río de Cuevo: 5° La ciudad Mamoré proyecto debe estar cerca de la margen del río Piraymayo.

A	B	C
D	E	F

Chart of positions of end map (in foreign text)

/facing end map/

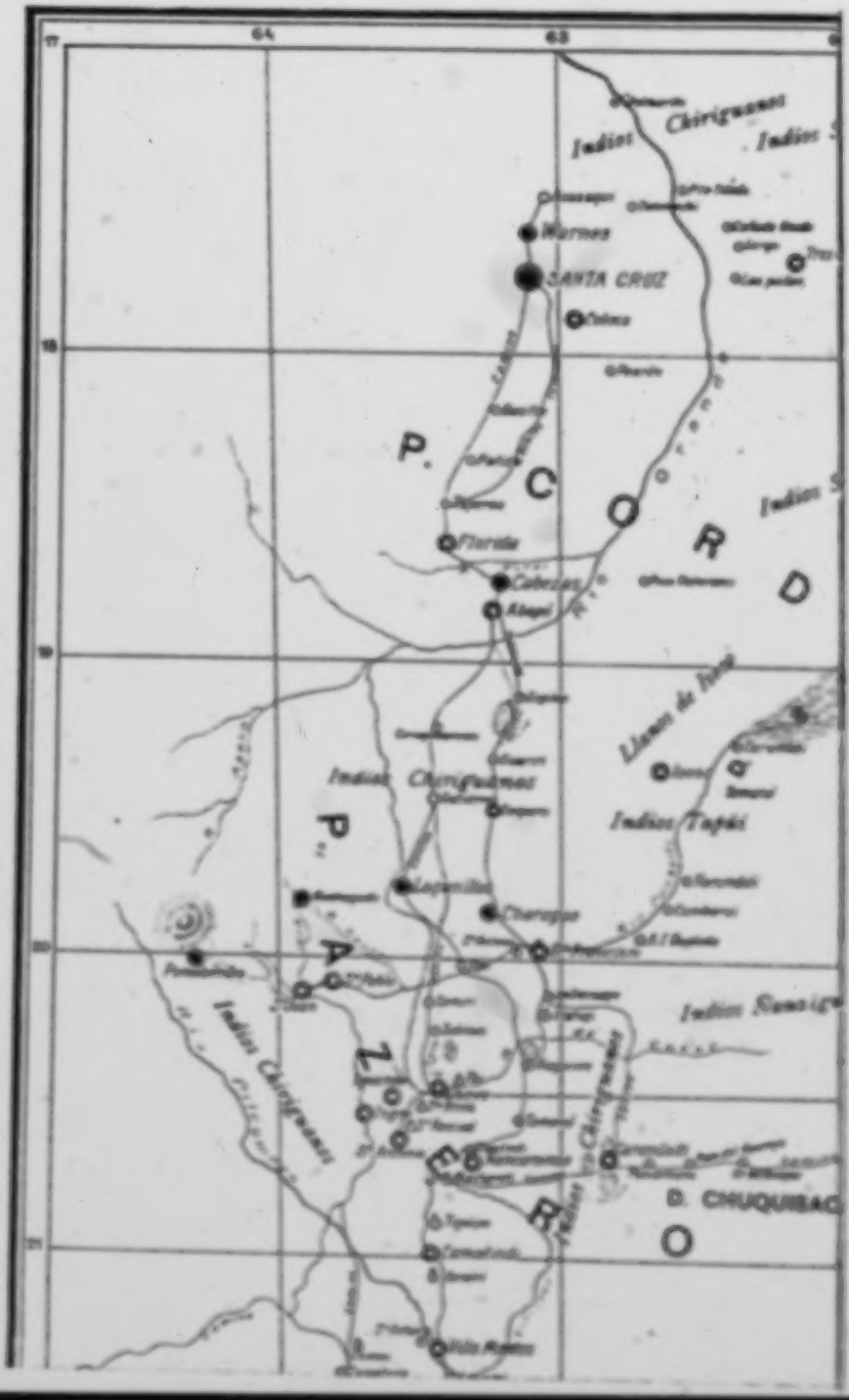
4: Nino

SF10 Chiriguano

[End map - A]

MAPA

Por



[East map - B]

A DEL GRAN C

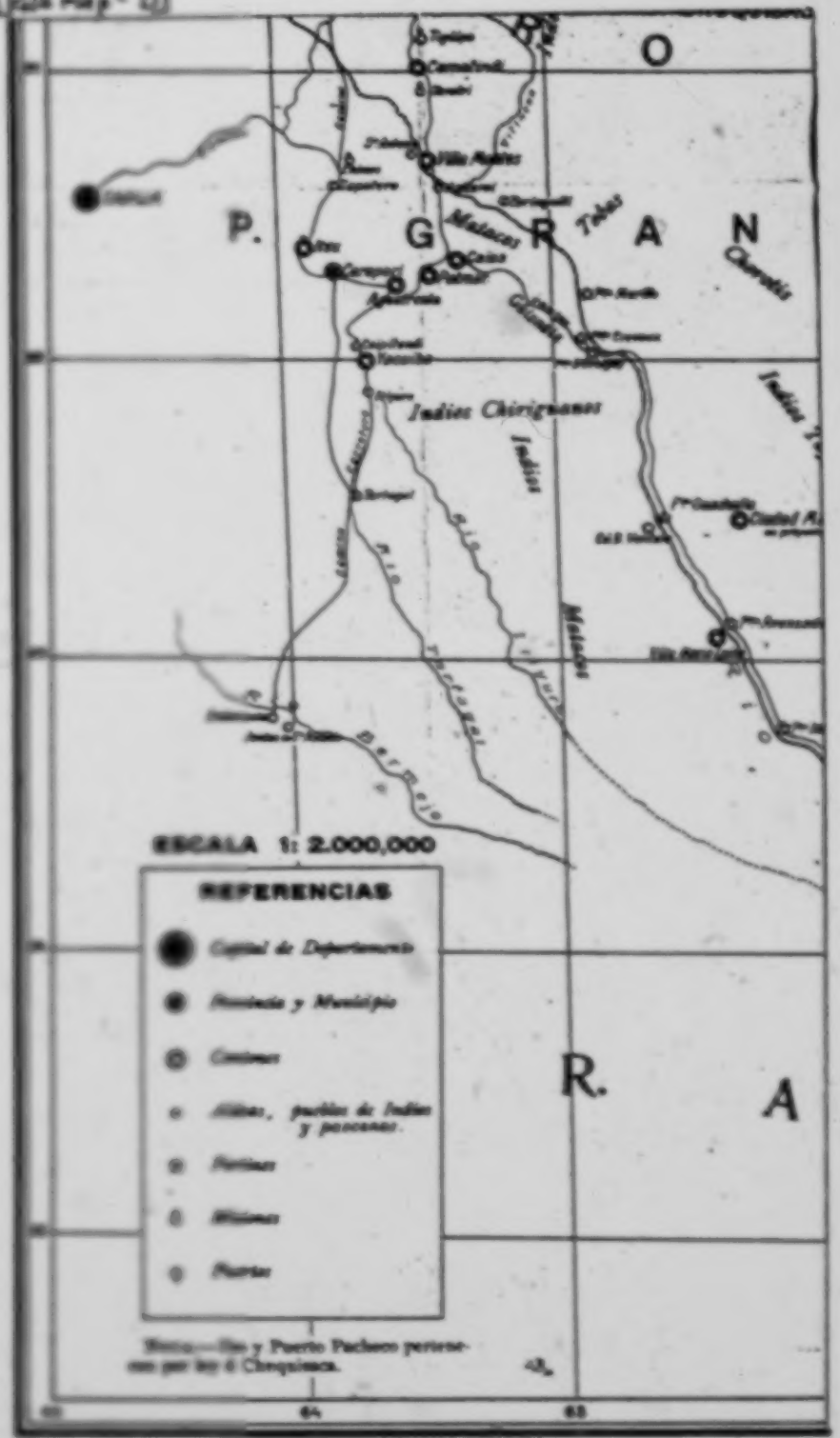
Por Fr. BERNARDINO DE NIN

[End map - C]

CHACO

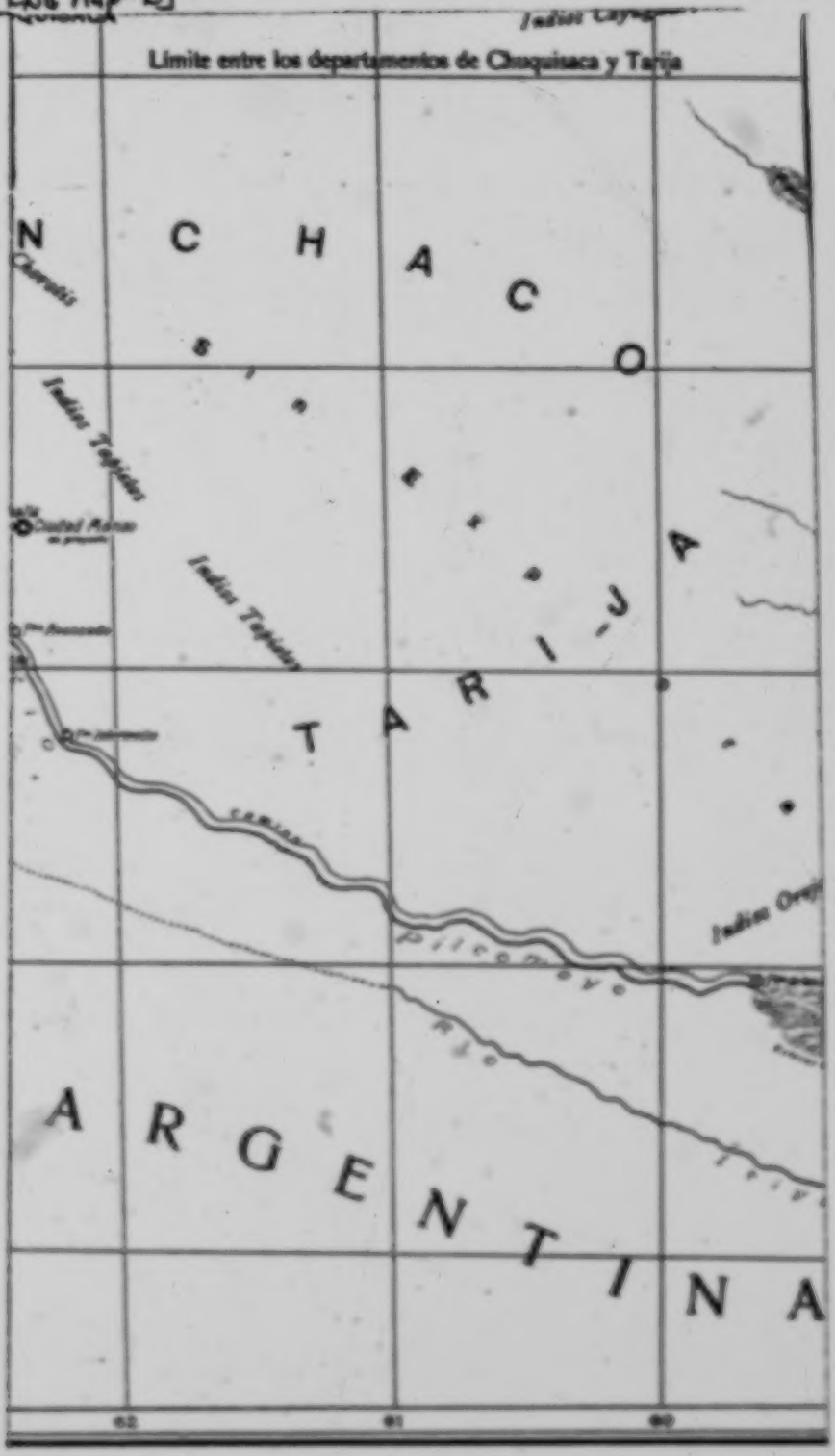
NINO

Full map - D


P.
G
R
A
N
O
R.
A
Indios Chiriguanos
Indios
Indios Tobas
Tobas
Matacos
Chorotis
Villa Montes
Caiza
Tarija
Camatindi
Yacuiba
Bermejo
Pilcomayo
Rio Grande
Rio Tarija
Rio Pilcomayo
Rio Bermejo
Rio Grande
Villa Montes
Rio Pilcomayo
ESCALA 1: 2.000,000
REFERENCIAS
Capital de Departamento
Provincia y Municipio
Cantones
Aldeas, pueblos de Indios y parcelas.
Parroquias
Misiones
Puertos
Matico—Ibio y Puerto Pacheco pertenecen por ley á Chaquisaca.
64
65

Ej. map-E

Límite entre los departamentos de Chuquisaca y Tarija



4: Nino

SF10 Chiriguano

End map - F

[illegible]

Comparative ethnographical studies.

[P. 101]
[P. 1-10 Acc. blank]

2.

THE CHANGES IN THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF TWO INDIAN TRIBES UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF NEW SURROUNDINGS

by

Erland Nordenskiöld

[Title Page]

Schwarzschild S-Q-(1898-1906, 1912) 1950
BF10 Chirignano BF10
Chain BF8

000

[P. 19]

C 71. 18
2

HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO
MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY CALCUTTA

Schwedenskiöld E-5,1 (1900-1900, 1913) 1900
SF10 Chirgwin SF11
Chem SF8

[P. V]

000

To

Consul-General

Axel Axson Johnson, Esq.

Stockholm,

with the author's gratitude and esteem

Schwedenschiffe E-6,5 (1900-1908, 1912) . 1920
SF10 Chirguano SF10
Chaco SF8

[p. vii]
[p. vi is blank]

PREFACE

As I mentioned in the preface to the First Part of this work, the expenses of publication have been defrayed by Consul-General Axel Axson Johnson, Esq., of Stockholm, to whom I have taken the liberty of dedicating this, the second part of my book, as a small token of my appreciation of the interest and kindness he has shown towards my South American researches. I also mentioned in the earlier preface that Consul-General Johnson has in every way tried to further Swedish researches in S. America, above all by granting free passages to all the Swedish explorers visiting that continent on board his comfortable and stately ships.

This work is based on collections made by me in S. America, as well as on the study of material in museums and of books (See Part I). I would remind my readers that these researches have been carried out with the support of Swedish patrons of research-work, notably Arvid Hermansen, Esq., and Mrs. Ina Smitt.

I have to thank several of my friends and colleagues for valuable communications, which I have made use of in one way or another in the present work. These are: Mr. Kaj Birket-Smith of the National Museum, Copenhagen (M. C.), Dr. G. Friederici, Dr. R. Karsten, Prof. Dr. Th. Koch-Grünberg, Director of the Ethnological Museum, Stuttgart, Dr. F. Krause, Ethnological Museum, Leipzig, Dr. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Leiden, Licentiate Sven Lunde, Prof. Dr. Max Schmidt, Ethnological Museum, Berlin, (M. J. V. B.) and Dr. Max Uhle. Every possible courtesy has been shown me by the Riksmuseum,

C
CC
22.
C
CC
126
127
C
CC
22
660

Schwedenschiffe II-4,9/1900-1906, 1910, 1931
SF33 Chilgquem SF33
Chem SF3

.110
C
C6
127
[104]

Stockholm, through Prof. C. V. Hartman, Dr. G. Lindblom, and last but not least by its skilled attendant A. Tirnblom. The objects described here which belong to the Riksmuseum on Stockholm, are marked R. M. with the number of their inventory, those belonging to the Museum at Gothenburg are marked G. M.

In the last named museum there are, inter alia, collections made by Lieutenant O. Liljenskiöld and Mr. Otto Thulin. The latter has supplied me with a number of valuable oral particulars which are reproduced in the following.

I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Lars Wählin, Head Librarian of the Stadsbiblioteket at Gothenburg, for procuring rare books for me to consult and for translations of Latin quotations. As the works of Italian authors occasionally caused me some trouble, since I cannot read Italian fluently, Consul-General E. Corvin was good enough to help me when in difficulties.

The illustrations to this volume are chiefly due to Mr. A. Hjalm and Miss A. Davidsson. Some of the stereotype-plates were kindly lent me by Mr. K. O. Bonnier, the publisher of my popular works. Most of the illustrations, however, were made by the Optia Company of this town from pictures not previously published.

The translation into English of my Swedish manuscript was carried out by two translators and revised by Dr. G. E. Fahlbom.

Schmelzschrift E-6/7 (1900-1909, 1913) 1900
SF10 Chirgwee SF10
Chase SF9

CONTENTS.

Dwellings 1
Sofa and other fittings of the hata 8
Village and village implements 23
Hunting Equipment 25
Fishing tackle 38
Domestic Animals 49
Tools 50
Fire-making 56
Vessels used in preparing and consuming food 57
Narcotics 78
Dress 80
Articles connected with the deformation of the body. «Tem-
bata» 77
Toilet-Articles, Tattooing etc. 78
Stained Teeth 83
Ornaments and Knick-knacks 90
Carrying-implements 93
Rafts 98
Canoes 99
Playthings 104
Musical Instruments 106
Dancing Masks 134
Pottery 137
Various kinds of Sambaran bamboo pottery 164
Trophies 180
Property Marks 180
Symbols of authority and dignity 182
Use-Burial 184
Kamani 196
Bibliography 214
Notes on the Bibliographical maps 237

Schwedenskiöld E-6,6(1908-1909, 1913) 1900
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

MAPS.

1. The distribution of pile buildings 5
2. The distribution of the platform bed (Catre) 11
3. Distribution of the hammock 17
4. The distribution of the hunting net 33
5. The distribution of the multi-pointed fishing arrow 41
6. The distribution of fishing with poison 45
7. The distribution of the Tipoy 67
8. The distribution of stained teeth 87
9. The distribution of games with india-rubber balls 103
10. The distribution of the trumpet 121
11. The distribution of the pan-pipe 125
12. The distribution of masks 131
13. The distribution of vessels with string-holes 141
14. The distribution of baskets with lids 173
15. The distribution of the «Arawak» loom 179
16. The distribution of urnburial 187
Bibliographical map 1. 1498—1600 239
Bibliographical map 2. 1600—1700 240
Bibliographical map 3. 1700—1800 241
Bibliographical map 4. 1800—1900 242
Bibliographical map 5. 1900—1920 243
Bibliographical map 6. Archaeological literature 244

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Introduction.

C
CC
114

In Part I of this work I sought by a new method to analyse the material culture of two Indian tribes the Choroti and Ashluslay. In the introduction to the aforesaid work I explained the method employed. In Part 2 I have sought by the same method to make an ethno-geographical analysis of the civilization of two other Indian tribes. These are the Chiriguano and Chané, who dwell in the southernmost part of Bolivia and northernmost Argentina. The Chiriguano are Guarani Indians, while the Chané are Guaranized Arawaks[1]). They thus belong to two of the most important tribal groups in all America. Their civilisation is already well known, thanks to the missionaries who have worked and still work among them. Their works are referred to in the bibliography. The most important are those by CORRADO and NINO. DEL CAMPANA wrote a monograph on the Chiriguano based on information supplied by missionaries. We also find mention of the Chiriguano in many older works. The information they give us of their manners and customs is unfortunately scanty. It is, indeed, only in LIZÁRRAGA, CHOMÉ, VIEDMA, LOZANO and one or two of the LITTERAE ANNUEA that we find any useful matter.

C
CC
[101
131
197]
C
.114

SERRANO Y SANZ wrote an excellent work on the post-Columbian history of the Chiriguano. OUTES has written about their pottery. LEHMANN-NITSCHE has dealt with their physical anthropology. Works on their languages have been published by several missionaries. I visited these

[1]) Vide NORDENSKIÖLD (8).

Schwedenskild I-5,g(1908-1909, 1913) 1909
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C
114

Indians in the years 1908, 1909 and 1913, and spent in all 4 to 5 months studying them. In my book »Indianlif» I gave a popular account of them as I got to know them during the Hermanarck expedition in 1908 and 1909. In my last book of travel »Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika» there is some information about the Chiriguano. I have brought home to Sweden from the Chiriguano and Chané about 1500 articles which are now in the Riksmuseum at Stockholm and in the Gothenburg Museum. In the Geographical Review I wrote a short article on the migrations of the Chiriguano Indians.

C
Ce
[126]

C
Ce
12
114

A close study of the Chiriguano and Chané civilization by the ethno-geographical method affords points of especial interest, since their mode of life is rather well known, and we are able to trace their history back to the beginning of the 16th century. I have also collected archaeological material from their region. At first I was minded to give an account of this, too, in the present work. I decided, however, that it would be better here only to mention individual finds by the way, and to leave the archaeological material for another publication in which I shall be able also to publish certain archaeological finds made in other parts of Bolivia. This for purely practical reasons.

C
Ce
121

I will here endeavour to make clear how the Guarani-speaking Chiriguano's and the Guaranized Chanés' civilization are composed, what culture-elements they have got from the Whites and from the Mountain civilization in the west, what each brought to the common stock and what they possibly obtained from other quarters.

In this analysis of Chiriguano and Chané manners and customs, I do not intend properly to examine the question as to whence these Indians came to their present abodes. Broadly speaking we know that already. Respecting the Chiriguano migrations there are historical documents extant which evidently show that it was not until the beginning of the 16th century that these Indians conquered

C
175
648
167

Schoolcraft E-4,4 (1856-1860, 1862) 1860
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF4

the tracts they now occupy.[7]) [8]) They drove out or subjugated the original population, which consisted chiefly of Chané Indians. They made slaves of a great number of them and ravished a great number of women.

The Chané are, as was mentioned, Arawaks and all indications point to their having come from the north or north-east, where they have large numbers of kinsfolk. It will be found that the present investigation confirms this. A matter of particular interest in this connection is to notice how two peoples belonging to the most important groups of tribes in all America made adaptations in their mode of life when they had emigrated to places with strange natural conditions. Again, it is worthy of note how their civilization was transformed and the influence of the Bronze-age civilization in the west and afterwards under the influence of the Whites. Further we shall see what they have, under their new conditions, been able to preserve of their original civilization. We shall gain insight into the way in which the civilization of two Indian tribes was transformed under the influence of other peoples and new natural conditions.

As in Part I, I deal chiefly with the «material» side of these Indians' life. Or rather, everything in their life which

[7]) NORDENSKIOLD (13).

[8]) MEANS, basing his opinion on GARCILASSO and MONTESINOS, has assumed that the Chiriguano invaded the Inca Realm earlier than the beginning of the 16th century. But even if his assumption is correct, these inroads led to no desolidation there. This is evident from the accounts of the invasion in the 16th century, when the Chiriguano supplanted, what was everywhere an original stock. Nor do we know whether by Chiriguano the Incas did not mean barbaric tribes of the Chaco in general, and not any particular tribe. In these parts Chiriguano probably corresponded to the signification that Chunchos had in the district of Cuzco, where it meant all sorts of barbaric Indian tribes east of the Andes. The Chiriguano that GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA AND MONTESINOS speak of need by no means have been Guarani Indians. I have already pointed out (NORDENSKIOLD 13) that GARCILASSO's description of the Chiriguano is absolutely irresponsible.

Schwabenstiftung E-5,5(1909-1910, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF9

can be kept in a museum or for which one may find — given favourable circumstances — archæological comparative material. Besides weapons, ornaments etc there is thus included also burial customs, tatooing, dancing-masks, etc.

The reader will find that I have endeavoured to make this part more graphic than Part I. From the maps of bibliography it will be seen regarding what regions I have had access to literature; it can also, in some measure, be seen whether the blanks on the maps are due to those particular tribes never having been closely studied.

The maps of distributions in this work are fewer in number than in Part I. This is because we find the Chiriguano and Chané, or one of these tribes, on twenty-nine maps in Part I. Part I is largely preparatory to Part II. Parts I and 2 together contain 45 maps showing the distribution of culture-elements occuring among the Chané and (or) Chiriguano.

All who are interested in the ethnography of S. America will, I venture to think, find the maps worth close study and will see that from them various deductions can be made not only respecting the Chiriguano and Chané Indians but also as to the ethnography of S. America in general. In some measure I have, indeed, endeavoured to do this myself.

The land of the Chiriguano and Chané the Indians stretches from near Sta Cruz de la Sierra to near Rio Bermejo. Southwards of Sta Cruz the territory inhabited by the Chiriguano is continuous. The Chané, on the other hand, live in several different quarters, some at the river Itiyuro in the Argentine, some at Caipipendi near the Rio Pilcomayo, some at the Lower Rio Parapiti, and others near Itau south of the Rio Pilcomayo. The neighbours of the Chiriguano and Chané are the Mataco-Vejos, Mestizos, and Whites to the south, the Matacu, Toba, Tapiete, (Yanaygua) and Tsirakua to the east, to the north Mestizos and Whites, and to the west Quichua, Mestizos, and Whites.

Some Chavuti live near Vacuiba. In nearly all of the Chiriguano territory there are Mestizos and Whites. There are also several large missionary stations in their territory. Some few Chiriguano live in the village of [illegible] Rosa to the north of [illegible] Cruz de la Sierra. Some Chiriguano who sought refuge in central Chaco after their last rebellion, live there still. They are the only tribe of Chiriguano-Indians who are quite independent of the Whites.

C 161 162 131 [illegible]

The country which is inhabited by the Chiriguano and partly by the Chané is a border land between the Andine mountains and the great plain of the Chaco. It is in the valleys between the outermost mountain ridges towards the Chaco and on the plain to the east of them that the Chiriguano and the Chané live. The land of the Chiriguano and Chané-Indians is not a real country of primeval forests. There are some great forests, but on the whole it is sparsely wooded, in places even very poorly wooded. The supply of water is the governing condition for settlement in the land of these Indians. It may be said that wherever there is access to water there the country is inhabited, at any rate as regards the region north of the Rio Grande, one of the great rivers that run through their territory. There need not be a great supply of water for the Indians to find the country inhabitable. All that is necessary is sufficient drinking-water for man and beast, as at Itatique and in the Caipipendi valley near Rio Parapiti.

C Ce 131 133 361 362

The biggest rivers running through the territory of the Chiriguano and the Chané are the Rio Grande, the Rio Parapiti and above all the Rio Pilcomayo. The Rio Grande may now almost be considered the boundary river of these tribes towards the north, and is of but little importance to them. The Rio Parapiti is a strange river. While well supplied with water in the mountains it is almost shrinks to nothing in the plains during the dry season. During the rains it is very full of water and may be dangerous to land. Fish are plentiful only in the Rio Pilcomayo, and we

C Ce 133 Ce [326]

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,5(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF19
Chane SF8

c ce 133 226 shall see that the methods of fishing differ somewhat in the different rivers. At the Rio Pilcomayo the Indians must always have found a good supply of food. As many Chiriguano live by very insignificant streams they never have the opportunity of fishing. The Chané all live in places c ce where they are able to procure fish during some part [361] of the year at least.

c ce 224 Big game is scarce in the land of the Chiriguano and Chané. Nor are these Indians keen huntsmen. One seldom sees game that has been killed by them in their huts. c ce The great flocks of fat pigeons that settle in their fields are [223] for the most part left unmolested.

c ce 241 243 As we shall see in the following the Chiriguano and Chané live mostly by tilling the ground. Owing to the comparative dryness of their land maize is cultivated more than anything else. It is the ease with which this plant can be grown here, that makes the land of the Chiriguano and Chané a good land to dwell in.

c ce 222 The fruit of the carob-tree (algarrobo) is the most important wild fruit. Probably no careful study has ever been made of the climatic conditions of the Chiriguano and c ce 132 Chané country. It is situated in the tropics, north of the tropic of Capricorn and the traveller there of course suffers more from heat than cold. In May and June especially, however, when there is a strong south wind, it is agreeable to have a well built house, warm clothes and a snug bed. The rains begin in December and leave off in April or May. ce It sometimes happens that there is little or no rain and then [244] the crops are a failure. They are often destroyed by grasshoppers.

Nordenskiöld E-5 A (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
C 343

[1]

Fig. 1. Maize-barn.
Chiriguano.

I.

Dwellings.

Like all other Indians I visited south of Sta Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, the Chiriguano and Chané live in villages. Some of these villages are rather large and inhabited by several hundred people. Frequently a number of villages are situated quite close to each other. As a rule, the huts stand around an open space which is sometimes planted with trees to give shelter. These «squares» serve as meeting-places and playgrounds. C cc 361

The huts are square. They are built of reeds or wooden laths, and thatched with grass. They are very often plastered with earth. C cc 362

There are no huts here of the original Indian shape. The real Chiriguano (Chané?) huts were very large; as many as a hundred people lived in the same house, the whole C cc [592] [361]

Schwedenkiste E-S (1904-1908, 1912) 1920
8710 Chiriguano 8710
Chaco 8710

C
Ce
342
[592]
[171]
Ce
361
342
[609]

village consisting of only a few big huts.[1]) These plainly correspond to the great family-houses known to us from Brazil, but which in Bolivia I have only seen among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe on the Lago Rojo-Aguado. Cummins[2]) gives no exact information about the huts. He says they stood in a circle around an open place. In the middle of the square there was a special hut for strangers. According to Nino[3]) the Chiriguano formerly had round houses. He gives a rather lengthy description of these, but does not tell us the source of his information. Nino describes at length how the Chiriguano now build their houses.

C
Ce
342
177

As early as the time of Viedma[4]) — end of the 18th century — they seem to have forsaken their original type of house and built themselves smaller huts. Since the dwelling-houses here retain no traces of their original shape, it is useless to make comparisons with other Indian huts. There is hardly anything in Indian culture which so quickly changes under the influence of the Whites as the houses. The acquisition of iron tools makes it possible to put up quickly properly built houses. An Indian tribe need consequently not have been long in contact with the Whites before they alter the style of their huts. This is not the case, to be sure, with all the tribes, for many, such as those in the interior of the Chaco, tenaciously preserve the primitive type of hut which, though small and inconvenient, affords greater protection from cold than the roomier dwellings of the Whites.

C
Ce
[171]

It would be of interest to find out in what measure

---

[1]) Annua de la Compañía de Jesús — Tucumán y Perú — 1926.
«El mayor de los pueblos es de cinco casas; lo común es de tres; unas son muy largas, de más de 150 pasos, á dos aguas, con estantes en el medio sobre que se arma la cumbrera, y de estante á estante vive una parentela.» Lozano P. 332.

[2]) P. 313. «Pendant ce temps-là, je n'avais pas d'autre logement que le toit de paille qui était au milieu de la place.»

[3]) P. 174.

[4]) P. 181. «Son casas son unos pequeños ranchos hechos de caña.»

the earth-plastering of huts is here an original Indian idea. I have attempted to indicate on a map the distribution of huts with earth-plastered walls, but I refrain from publishing it because, in the majority of cases, I cannot ascertain whether the Indians learned from the Whites to plaster their huts. Huts with earth-plastered walls are found among the Indians around Rosaina in Guiana[1]) and among the Ijca[2]) in Colombia. The Indians at Mojos[3]) used to have such huts, and OUTES[4]) mentions them from the Cainguá etc. Earth-plastered mortico huts are also common in the Mizque valley in Bolivia.

The Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, but not those on the Rio Parapiti, and the Chiriguano have maize-barns on piles.[5]) Occasionally the barn and dwelling-house are combined in such wise that the people live on the ground-floor and store their maize on the floor above. During my travels I have only seen barns on piles among the Matacco-Guinnay (one only), Matacco Vejos, and the Chacobo (one only). Some Quichua huts between the Rio Chapáre and Cochabamba are built on piles. I scarcely think these are original, however.

JOHANNES LEHMANN has written a treatise on pile-buildings all over the world. He mentions there their occurrence among several tribes in northern S. America, which are shown on the map below. The village on piles from La Plata mentioned by LEHMANN after HERBELI is, of course, not Indian; nor are the barns from the Argentine

[1]) TRUTZE.
[2]) BOLLERMANN (4). P. 15.
[3]) MARBAN P. 133: CASTELAU, P. 318.
[4]) OUTES y BRUCH (5) P. 65.
[5]) Already LOZANO (P. 109) speaks of the maize-barns of the Chiriguano: «No duermen en el bohio, sino fuera, las capillas seguras con unas pirsas de maiz junto al bohio (pirsa es un cercado como de diez varas de hondo, rodeado de cañas, donde se encierra el maiz)».

Ec. 343 114 171 362 Pampas in which the corn is stored to protect it from harm.

The above-mentioned village and barns I have, therefore, left out of my map. Paters Schmidt[1] mentions pile-buildings from other tribes too.

Frederici[2] has also collected numerous statements referring to the occurrence of pile-dwellings in S. America from the works of older writers.

Ec. 171 362 114 343 The table 1 and map 1 which follow show the distribution of pile-buildings in S. America according to Lehmann, Frederici and Paters Schmidt, together with some additions and corrections.

On the accompanying map I have merely indicated those which seem certainly to be of Indian origin. Those mentioned at the end of the 15th century, as well as those from the 16th are so undoubtedly. I am convinced that the pile-buildings of the Chaná and Chiriguano are genuinely Indian, as nowhere in this region do the Whites possess such barns. Their geographical distribution leads us to presume their genuinely Indian origin, as also that they are a culture-element which came to these Indians from the swamps of Mojos, and that they here are an Arawak culture-element too. The use of pile-buildings on hard ground is quite comprehensible to me, as they offer great advantages, whether used for barns or dwelling-houses. The idea must have come, however, from some marshy tract or from a sea-coast where the inhabitants were dependent on ebb and flood tides. In the cases where a people employ pile-buildings on hard ground which is not liable to floods, it is due, as a rule, to conservative ideas — the mode of building to which they were accustomed in their former dwelling-places has become indispensable.

Ec. 343 114 362 343

Ec. 343 114 362

---

[1] P. [illegible].
[2] (a) P. [illegible].

E-6 (1906-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chirigwano SF10
Chano SF6
South American Indians

Map 1. The distribution of pile buildings.

● - Dwelling-houses.
○ - Ruins.

C
CE
171
162
342
343
131
S
342
343
162

Intermediate 1-5 (1908-1909, 1912) 1801
1710 Chirignano 1710
Chané 171
South American Indians 53

c
ce
*171
342
343
114
c
ce
[417]

The notion that the pile-buildings employed as barns are here of different origin from those used as dwelling-houses, is unlikely. There is nothing in the geographical distribution to support this idea.

Outside their barns the Chirignano and Chané have ladders consisting of logs in which steps have been hewn.

Table 1.

c
ce
*171
342
343
102
5
102
342

Pile buildings. Map. 1.

4. Chirignano.
5. Chané.
6. Mataro-Vejos. Have evidently copied the Chané barns.
18. Quichua.
25. Mojo, MARBAN P. 132. Cooking-shed.
39. Goijiro, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064. (after ERNST); Pareuhano, JAHN.
47. Indians Roraima: Wapisiana, Arecuna, Macusi, Patamona. PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064; THULIN.
62. Chacobo.
68. Omagua. «Hicieron los indios dentro de sus mismas casas unos tabiados de madera, que ellos llaman Iuzas y encima de ellos estuvimos tres meses, que fueron los de Abril, Mayo y Junio con más de seis palmos de agua debajo.
Entraban y salian las canoas dentro de las casas, y de noche quedaban de bajo de los tabiados.» LAURIANO DE LA CRUZ P. 88; [MARONI] Vol. XXX, P. 197.
92. Indians on the west coast of Columbia. PIZARRO P. 204; CIEZA DE LEON (1) P. 95; OVIEDO T. 3. P. 8; ANDAGOYA P. 76; ROBLEDO P. 277.
3 F. Barbacoa, RIVET (4) AND VERNEAU P. 39.
4 F. Indians on and near Lake Maracaibo. NAVARRETE T. III. P. 8; «A quatro dias llegaron à un pueblo de gherigue-

Schwabenkiffel 8-4,1 (1860-1869, 1913) 1869
[illegible] Chirigwano [illegible]
Chaco [illegible]
South American Indians 5

rio, que esta armado sobre madera en el agua en unas cisnegas del mismo rio». OVIEDO T. 2, P. 253. (See also P. 294 and P. 300); TOLEDO P. 229.

5 F. Indians at the mouth of the Amazon. «A cabo de seis dias de navegacion tomamos una isla en un puerto y ensenada que el rio hacia en ella, y como tres tiros de arcabuz, por este puerto y ensenada arriba, dieron con unas casas fuertes, armadas sobre gruesos y recios estantes que tenian hincados en el propio cabo desta ensenada de rio o estero que alli se hacia ..... sobre estos estantes o pilares estaban unas salas de tablas de palmas bravas ...» ORTIGUERA P. 372.

6 F. Indians near Para. «Ensquels demeurent dans les IOURAS qui sont des maisons faictes à la forme des Ponts aux Changes et de sainct Michel de Paris, assises sur le haut de gros arbres plantez en l'eau.» EVREUX P. 28. The civilised Indians in the same region still live in pile-buildings. KOCH-GRÜNBERG (1) T. 1, P. 3; LANGE, Several illustrations.

7 p. Oyampi, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064. (after COUDREAU); PALIOURS, FATIGUE P. 359.

8 X. WAITUR, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064; RALEIGH P. 50; LEVEL P. 60.

9 C. Mataco-Guinnay. (I saw one single barn on piles among these Indians).

1 R. Indians, Darien. OVIEDO T. 2, P. 455.

2 R. Caquetios, FEDERMANN P. 191.

Not on the map. Galibi, French Guiana. LOMBARD P. 298.

• Indians Cayambe, Ecuador. FRIEDERICI (5). P. 99 (After MONTESINO and others.)

// Pile buildings are among the culture-elements where it is sometimes difficult to decide whether they are Indian or not. In the rubber forests of Bolivia, Peru and Brazil, at favourable spots, are many barracks built on piles. THE-

Schwedenmüller 8-4.5(1869-1898, 1912) 1899
8710 Chiriguano 8710
Class 878
South American Indians 53

S
392

ERSE or BAVARIA[7]) depicts numerous pile-buildings from the town of Guayaquil and its surroundings. On the lower Amazon the Indians and Mestizoes in general live in pile-buildings.[8])

II.

Beds and other fittings of the hut.

C
Ce
352
177

The Chiriguano and Chaco make use of platform beds as well as hammocks. The bedsteads are made of thick sticks, the underlay being covered with cane or long sticks. The most civilised Chiriguano also have bedsteads in which the underlay is made of plaited things — this having been learned from the Whites. I had always held that the platform bed was a culture-element which the Indians have obtained from the Whites. KARL V. D. STEINEN[9]) seems also to be of this opinion. This is not, however, correct, for the platform bed is a genuine Indian culture-element, which is worth closer study. Platform beds are mentioned as early as 1549 by PALOMINO[9]) from Chequimayo in N. Peru among quite uninvited Indians, and there is not the least reason to suppose that the platform bed

---

[7]) (2)

[8]) «Nos lugares elegados de beira rio, como certas povoações do Amazonas entre o Pará e Gurupá e em todo o litoral do archipelago do Marajó, ao menos na parte a O e SO d'esse archipelago, erguem as casas sobre palíçadas á maneira das cidades lacustres dos tempos prehistoricos ..... » VERISSIMO P. 276.

[9]) (3) P. 75.

[9]) P. XLIX «Duermen en barbacoas sobre unos petates de caña.»

in a culture-element so constant as to a few years to have spread from the Willow in Peru to the interior of the country. When the distribution of the platform bed is closely studied, it will be found that it is evidently a very old culture-element which remains in places where the hammock has not penetrated or has been found impractical. In the land of the Chiriguano and Chaná Indians it is often too cold to sleep in hammocks. A platform bed in therefore preferred by them, especially when they have clothes to put under and over them. Hammocks are few and are mostly used to recline upon during the day. I have endeavoured on the map to show the geographical distribution of the platform bed. The summary does not, however, pretend to be complete. Its aim is mainly to draw attention to a culture-element which has often been overlooked, and which gives one the impression of being older than the hammock by which it has been relegated to certain tracts, particularly on the eastern slopes of the Andes, where it is rather cold to sleep in hammocks, and rather uncomfortable to sleep on the ground, as is the custom up on the high falls or further to the south.

Table 2.

The platform bed (Cama). Map. 2.

4. Chiriguano.
5. Chaná. Fig. 2.
18. Quichua, Riobamba, River (2) P. 60.
21. Caingná, Amazonas (7) P. 699.
22. Yuracáre.
23. Chulápa.
24. Chimane.
29. Caingang, Amazonas (1) P. 325. Is considered to be post - Columbian
34. Jívaro, River (1) P. 40.
35. Chimila, Bolivia (4) P. 52.
36. Ijca, " (4) P. 48. Only the mediciners.

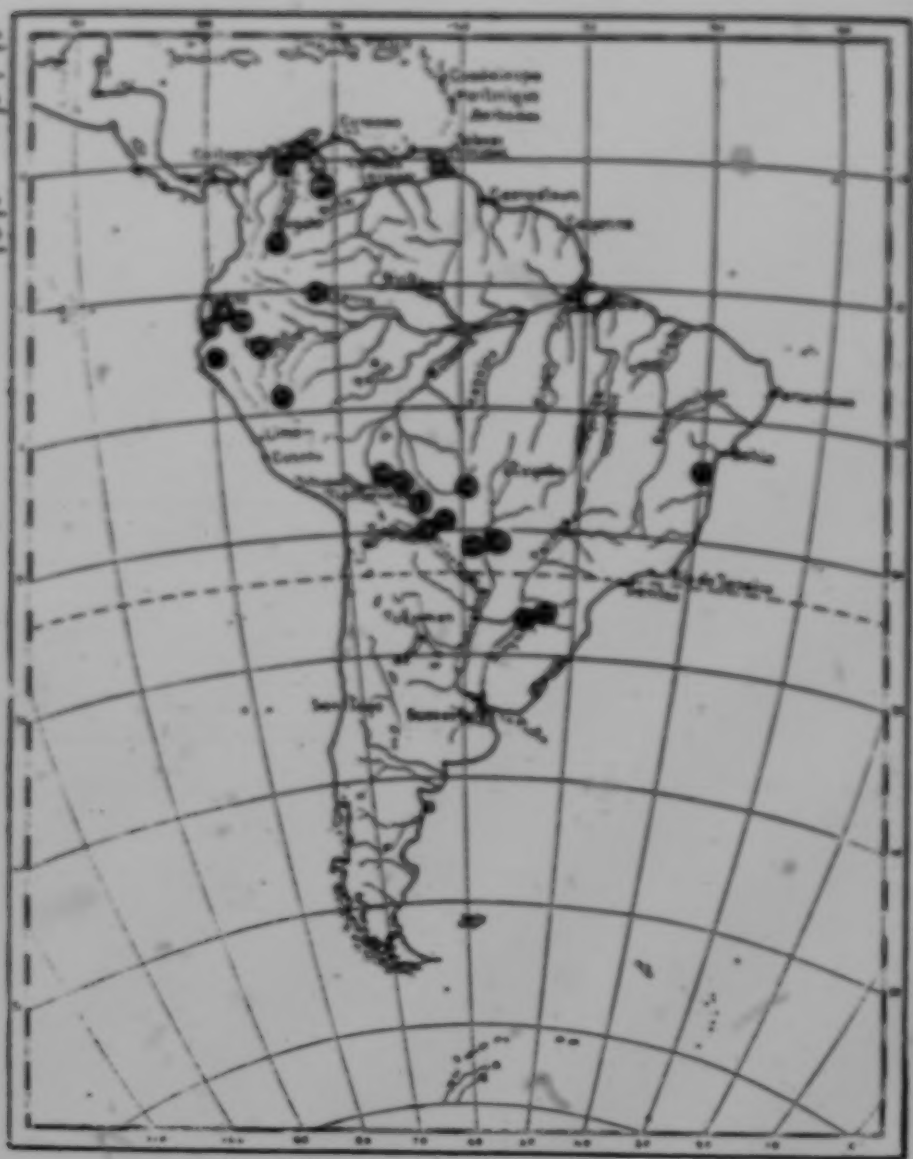
[Text continues on P.12]

[illegible]
[illegible] Chengano
Class [illegible]

Fig. 1. Chandramma with a child sitting on a scatre.
Ku. Injuru.

Phot. E. X—8.

Schriftenreihe II-8,4 (1960-1969, 1919) 1920
IF10 Chirigua IF10
Chaco IF9
South American Indians 53
II
C
Cc
102
352
*171
S
102
352



Map. 2. The distribution of the platform bed (Catre)

Schwabenschiffel E-S.(1888-1898, 1913) 1891
N°13 Chiriguano N°13
Chaco N°1
South American Indians 53

C
CE-
352
171
102
9
108
352

91. The Aymoreis Indians, WINTERS P. 47.
91. Sipibo, STEINEN (8) P. 75.
94. Chiquitos, *Litterae Societatis Jesu* 1594—1595. P. 734. BURGOS P. 343. The men have hammocks, the women platform beds. This implies that fixed bedstead here are more original than hammocks.
95. Chibcha, OVIEDO T. 2. P. 407.
IV. Guaná (Arawaks), ARARA (1) T. 2, P. 89.
3 H. Indians on the coast of Ecuador, BERREDO P. 245.
4 H. Camacans, MARTIUS (1) P. 345.
6 V. Guaná, COMBUGES P. 178.
7 V. Indians of Chuquimayo, PALOMINO P. XLIX. He made his journey in 1549.
8 M. Indians (Chamas), Sierra de Merida. SALAS P. 262.
9 F. Xeveros, CRANTRE y HERRERA P. 143. Maimas, SAAVEDRA P. CXLIV. «duermen en barbacoas ó cañizos con toldos.»

Ee
352
171
253

In the regions I visited it was only the Sirionos, Huanyam and Huari who had hammocks of palm-fibre or bast. The other tribes who employ this form of bed have hammocks of cotton. The Chané hammocks are of cotton or caraguata[7][8]. The Chiriguano have hammocks of cotton, occasionally of wool. IM THURN and K. v. D. STEINEN had already pointed out that, while cotton hammocks appear to be a Carib culture-element, the palm-fibre hammock is of Arawak origin. PATER SCHMIDT then thoroughly investigated the distribution of hammocks of various materials, confirming the theories of IM THURN and K. v. D. STEINEN and showing, moreover, that the Guarani peoples, as a rule, have cotton hammocks.

---

[7]) Da net-technique.

[8]) Annua de la Compañía de Jesus. P. CIV The author speaks of two kind of hammocks from these Indians. Probably one of them were of Caraguatá. I am not quiet sure if he speaks of the Chané or the Chiriguano or of both «hacen muy grandes palos y de ellos cuelgan sus hamacas, que son unas mantas grandes ó trajiles de algodon ó hechas de red.»

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
352
171*
283

RUTH HAEBLER, a pupil of MAX SCHMIDT, has endeavoured to shew that this is not correct. After examining a number of hammocks in German museums, she arrived at the conclusion that, in the majority of these, both palm-fibre and cotton had been used — palmfibre for the warp and cotton for the woof — and that the notion that the Arawaks have hammocks of palm-fibre only, while Caribs have only cotton hammocks, is wrong. For the rest, hammocks of mixed materials are also mentioned by PATER SCHMIDT, who thus devoted attention to this matter when he was investigating hammocks. ROTH, too, mentions from Guiana hammocks of bast with a woof of cotton. The fact really is that all the hammocks described as having a bast warp and cotton woof are from the Upper Xingú or from Guiana tracts, where there dwell Arawaks, Caribs and Tupi. If we study the appended map and table, which are based on very extensive material, we shall find that, within an immense region about the Amazon, the Indians use hammocks of palm-fibre exclusively, and that in the rest of S. America it is more especially the least civilized tribes, e. g. Siriono, Huari, Waika and others, who use bast or palm-fibre hammocks exclusively. On the coast of Brazil, the more civilized Tupi had cotton hammocks, while the less civilized tribes used palm-fibre. I would consequently account for the distribution of hammocks of different materials in the following way: — Originally the Indians in the whole of tropical S. America had hammocks of palm-fibre or bast exclusively. When the art of cultivating cotton spread from the west, many tribes began to use cotton hammocks or, in some districts, hammocks of palm-fibre with a cotton woof. Where cotton-growing remained unknown, or was inconsiderable, as among the Arawaks of N W Brazil, hammocks made entirely of palm-fibre were still used.

Which tribes spread the knowledge of cotton growing? Certainly not the Arawaks, who within large tracts

C
Ce
[249]

C
Ce
352
249
*171
283

do not even spin. It must, above all, have been the Tupi - Guarani. They are known for their manufacture of cotton hammocks. The Omagua who dwell (have dwelt?) in a tract where they and the Cocama are the only Tupi Indians, use hammocks both of palm-fibre and of cotton. All the neighbouring tribes have nothing but palm-fibre hammocks. Some Tupi at the Upper Xingú use palm-fibre hammocks with a woof of cotton. RUTH HAEBLER mentions two hammocks of bast from the Cainguá. Otherwise, the Tupi tribes use cotton hammocks, as has been pointed out by PATER SCHMIDT. The Caribs, too, have undoubtedly contributed to the spread of cotton-growing and the use of cotton hammocks, for it is very evident that in Guiana especially, they have used, and still use, cotton in their hammocks far more than the Arawaks. The distribution of cotton hammocks in S. America cannot be properly understood except in connection with the general history of the cultivation of cotton. It is highly probable that it was from the western area of civilization in S. America that the knowledge of cotton-growing spread over a

C
Ce
[174]

considerable part of the continent. It is very likely that, in post-Columbian times, the practice of growing cotton has spread to a good many tribes who formerly were ignorant of it. We must remember that cotton has been grown at such mission-stations as in Mojos on a very large scale.

C
Ce
352
249
*171

It must also be remembered that the history of the cultivation of cotton is of especial interest, because the cotton bush is one of the few cultivated plants that in pre-Columbian time were common to both the Old and New World. Consequently, it would be very interesting if we could prove that cotton was first used in S. America within the old culture areas, and there only after the Indians had reached a comparatively high state of civilization.

C
Ce
352
*171
[554]

It is not quite right to say that the hammock was not used within the culture-area of the west. It was used — not as a bed, but as a litter for persons of rank. This is

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c
ce
352
171*
[554]

corroborated by the accounts of PEDRO PIZARRO and XERES, who were eyewitnesses of the conquest of the Inca empire. In the high mountain country it is natural that hammocks should not be used as beds. In such parts they would be too cold. It is harder to make out why hammocks were not used in the coastal regions of Peru.

Evidently the hammock in S. America is so old a culture-element that it is impossible to decide whence it came to the Chané and Chiriguano. The latter certainly, and most likely the former too, used hammocks when they settled in their present territory. The technique employed in most Chané and all Chiriguano hammocks is the same as, with small variations, is mostly used wherever hammocks occur.

It is possible that some tribes about the river Amazon preferred palm-fibre hammocks to cotton ones, because the former are cooler. Possibly, too, in these regions of moist heat, hammocks of palm-fibre are less liable to rot and to be attacked by insects than those of cotton.

I here append a map (3) showing the distribution of hammocks of different material after PATER SCHMIDT, with certain additions, as will be seen from table 3.

The seat so characteristic of the Indians in great parts of S. America is a rather uncommon piece of furniture in the huts of the Chiriguano and Chané (Fig. 3). Its distribution in S. America has been investigated by PATER SCHMIDT[1]) and SAVILLE[2]) wherefore I beg to refer to their works. In my own sphere of work I saw seats among the Quichua mestizoes at Calilegua, among the Mojo, Huari, Baure and Huanyam. The seat as a culture-element has its southern boundary here. It occurred, though rarely, among the Incas, where seats seem to have been the special privilege of the chiefs[3]). Most likely it is a culture-element which the Chané

c
ce
[127]
c
ce
[622]

[1]) P. 1088.
[2]) V. 2, P. 103.
[3]) COBO Vol. 4, P. 172.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
352
* [171]
C
[177]
C
Ce
[237]

received from their kinsfolk at Mojos, or they may even have brought it with them when they migrated to their present abode. Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané commonly use chairs of the type they have learned from the whites. They are made by themselves in the missions.

I have a rush mat from the Chané. Both the Chiriguano and the Chané have skin mats. I have already spoken of such mats in Part I of this work. The skin mat is naturally a southern culture-element.

C
Ce
353
C
Ce
* [171]
[415]

The Chiriguano and Chané keep their belongings either hung from the ceiling or else on the floor. Clothes and other fragile things are often kept in large earthen vessels — a method of keeping one's belongings which I have not seen anywhere else. COBO[1]) says that the Incas kept their clothes in a similar way.

C
Ce
353
* 171

It is very common among the Chiriguano and Chané to fix wooden hooks in the roof of their huts on which to hang their belongings (fig. 4). Elsewhere I have only seen these hooks among the Churápa. In the Gothenburg Museum there is a collection by LILJEWALCH and THULIN of hooks made by Indian tribes on the Roraima. The only mention of them that I am aware of in literature on the subject is from the Araucanians.[2]) Small articles of this kind are, of course, easily overlooked, wherefore it is not at present possible to draw a map of their distribution. This is to be regretted, as the distribution of such small objects would offer points of great interest. It seems to me not unlikely that the wooden hook is an Andine culture-element. Within my sphere of work the hook does not occur among other Indians than those mentioned here.

C
Ce
353
415

Small articles are kept by the Chiriguano and Chané in cloth and leather bags, wooden boxes, baskets, armadillo scales, the scrotum of bulls, and in calabashes with or without lids.

[1]) COBO Vol. 4, P. 171.
[2]) LATCHAM (1) P. 338.

[Text continues on P. 22]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
102
283
352
*171
S
102
352

Map 3. Distribution of the hammock.

Hammock used as a bed.

● = of cotton, □ = of palmfibres or bast, ▮ = warp of cotton, woof of bast,
▬ = warp of palmfibres, woof of cotton, ■ = either of cotton, palmfibres or bast

▲ = *Hammock used as a litter.*

SoNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
South American Indians 53
[p. 18]
C
Ee
283
352
*171
S
352
102

Table 3.

The distribution of the hammock.

Map. 3.

Number on the map.	Names of the tribes		Cotton	Warp of cotton. Woof of bast	Warp of palmfibres Woof of cotton	Palmfibres or bast		
4	Chiriguano	Southern Bolivia	+	—	—	—?	Tupi	Also of Wool. R. M. E. 1936.
5	Chané	»	R. M. P. 126	—	—		Arawak	
8	Lengua	El Gran Chaco	—	—	—	+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
11	Chamacoco	»	—	—	—	+		»
20	Paressi		+	—	—	+	Arawak	RUTH HAEBLER P. 14.
21	Cainguá	Misiones	+ 1)	—	—	+	Tupi	» »
23	Churápa	Bolivia	G. M. Tj. 78	—	—	—		R. M. Tj. 72.
25	Mojo	»	+	—	—	—	Arawak	Private Collection.
28	Bakairi	Matto Grosso	+	—	+	—	Carib	RUTH HAEBLER P. 11.
»	Kustenau	»	+	—	+	—	Arawak	» »
»	Auetö	»	—	—	+	—	Tupi	» »
»	Kamayura	»	—	—	+	—	»	» »
»	Mehinakú	»	—	—	+	—	Arawak	» »
»	Trumai	»	—	—	+	—		» »
31	Ojana, Trio	Guiana	+	—	—	+	Carib	GOEJE (1) P. 21.
35	Chimila	Colombia	G.M.16.3.30	—	—	—	«	BOLINDER (4) P. 31.
36	Ijca and Köggaba	»	—	—		G.M16.3.783		»
38	Tupinambá, Tupinikin, Carios	Coast of Brazil	+	—	—	G.M.15.3.58 —	Tupi	PIGAFETTA P. 8, STADEN T. 2, P. 8, D'ABBEVILLE P. 203, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064
39	Goijiro	Colombia	—	—	—	+	Arawak	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1070.
40	Guarayú (Guarayos)	Bolivia	G. M. G. 108	—	—	—	Tupi	
41	Guarayú (Pauserna)	Matto Grosso	G.M15.1.844	—	—	—	»	
42	Caripuna	Rio Madeira	—	—	—	+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1068.
43	Huanyam	Rio Guaporé	—	G.M.15.1.601	—	G. M. 15. 1. 601		
47	Marusi	Guiana	+	+	+		Carib	THUEIN, Orally communicated. PATER SCHMIDT P 1067, FARABEE P. 24.

C
CC
283
352
141
5
192
352

»	Patamona	»	G.M. 0.18 16, 121-122	—	—		»	Thalen	
»	Arecuna	»	+		—	—	»	»	
»	Wapisiana	»	+		—	—	Arawak	Ruth Haebler P. 14.[1]	
48	Hianacoto	N. W. Brazil	—	—	—	+	Carib	»	»
	Sinai	»	—	—	—	+	Arawak	»	»
	Uaupé	»	—	—	—	+		»	»
	Baré	»	—	—	—	+	Arawak	Pater Schmidt P. 1068.	
	Kobéua	»	—	—	—	+		»	»
51	Siriono	Bolivia	—	—	—	G.M. 0. 3—5			
55	True Carib	Guiana	+	—	—	—	Carib	Mocquet, P. 116., Gillaert et Becharel, P. 163[2])	
56	Mundrucú	Rio Tapajos	+	—	—	—	Tupi	Pater Schmidt P. 1069.	
60	Apiacá	»	+	—	—	—	»	»	»
61	Ultoto, Boro, Karahone[4]) etc.	Rio Putumayo and Rio Yapurá	—	—	—	+		Pater Schmidt P. 1069; Wrippen P. 97.	
»	Chacobo	Bolivia	R.M.Ch. 180	—	—	—			
62	Yamiaca	Peru	R. M. 03. 16. 490	—	—	—			
63	Huari	Matto Grosso	—	—	—	G.M. 15. 0.10			
64	Baure	Bolivia	+	—	—	—	Arawak		
65	Omagua	Upper Amazonas	+	—	—	+	Tupi	Pater Schmidt P. 1069.	
68	Ipurina	Rio Purus	—	—	—	+	Arawak	Ruth Haebler P. 14; Also of bark. Pater Schmidt P. 1070.	
69	Angaité	El Gran Chaco	—	—	—	+		Comingues P. 144.	
73	Tapirapé	Near Rio Araguaya	+?	—	—	—	Tupi	Pater Schmidt P. 1069.	
77	Yekuaná	Rio Merevari	+	—	—	—	Carib	Ruth Haebler. P. 14.	
79	Acipoya, Curuahé	Between R. Xingú and Rio Tapajos	+	—	—	—	Tupi	Pater Schmidt P. 1069.	
90	Chiquitos	Bolivia	+	—	—	—		My own observations.	
94	Puri	Near Coast of Brazil	—	—	—	+		Pater Schmidt P. 1068.	
97	Cumanagoto	Coast of Venezuela	+	—	—	—	Carib	Pater Schmidt P. 1069 (After Ruiz Blanco), Benzoni P. 10.	
99	Tauaré	Upper Rio Purus	+	—	—	—		Pater Schmidt P. 1069.	
4A	Achagua	Venezuela	—	—	—	+	Arawak	» P. 1068.	
7A									

[1]) »Algunos pocos tienen pequeñas y estrechas hamacas de algodon que tejen, las que usan mas bien de adornos ó cunas para las criaturas que de camas.» Ambrosetti (7) P. 1017.

[2]) »Very small hammocks are made of one piece of bark tied at the ends with a rope. Parabere, P. 20.

[3]) »Tous les Hamacs . . . qui se font depuis la Riviere des Amazones jusques à Orenoc sont de cotton». See also H. ten Kate. P. 106.

[4]) Carib.

C
Ce
283
352
*171
5
102
352

Schiordemskiöld E-Ay(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
[p.20]
South American Indians 53

Table 3.

The distribution of the hammock

Map 3.

Number on map	Names of the tribes.		Cotton	Warp of cotton. Woof of bast.	Warp of palmfibres Woof of cotton.	Palmfibres or bast.		
1B	Tiruna	Upper Amazonas	—	—	—	+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1068.
5C	Ituama	Bolivia	+	—	—	—		PATER SCHMIDT; My own observations.
6E	Indians of	S:a Marta	+	—	—	—		OVIEDO T. 2, P. 354.
1H	Waranasses	Ilha Grande, South of Rio de Janeiro	—	—	—	+		KNIVET P. 1228.
1H	Indians	Rio Amazonas	—	—	—	+		(TEXEIRA) P. 445.
6H	Paraguara	Bolivia	—	—	—	+		ARMENTIA (2) P. 125.
7H	Indians	Upper Rio Opon	+	—	—	—		AGUADO (1) T. 1, P. 212.
8H	,	Northern Venezuela	+	—	—	—		SIMON (1) P. 583.
4L	Caninauá	Rio Yuruá	+	—	—	—		RUTH HARBLER P. 14, CAPISTRANO DE ABREU P. 35.
6M	Tuomona	Bolivia	+	—	—	—		RUTH HARBLER. P. 14.
7M	Guahiguas	Venezuela	+	—	—	—		AGUADO (2) T. 1. P. 242.
9M	Sebirlaná	Rio Uraricuera	—	—	+	—		KOCH-GRÜNBERG (4) T. 1. P. 172.
1N	Waika	Rio Uraricuera	—	—	—	+		KOCH-GRÜNBERG (4) P. 201.
2N	Paauchiána	Near Rio Branco	—	—	—	+	Arawak?	KOCH-GRÜNBERG (4) T. 1. P. 14.
3N	Uaiauma	Rio Yapurá	—	—	—	+	Carib	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
4N	Vanaperi	Near Rio Branco	—	—	—	+	Carib	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
5N	Indians	Rio Mapuera	—	—	—	+		O. COUDREAU P. 89.
6N	Indians	Near Cartagena	+	—	—	—		SIMON (2) T. 4. P. 26.
3P	Xarayes	Lago Xarayes	+	—	—	—		NUÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA T. 1. P. 300.
7P	Oyampi	French Guiana	+	—	—	—	Tupi	CREVAUX. P. 213;
1R	Muru	Rio Madeira	—	—	—	+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1068.
2R	Maiscari	Eastern Brazil	—	—	—	+		" "
3R	Macopityan	Southern Guiana	—	—	—	+	Carib	" " P. 1069.
1S	Wirdo	Upper Amazonas	—	—	—	+		" P. 1068

Schoolcraft Ind. E-8, f (1908-1909, 1918) 1909
SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chaco SP8

[p.21]

South American Indians 53

5S	Kariri	Eastern Brazil							PATER SCHMIDT P. 1080.
7S	Arawaks	Coast of Guiana	—	—	+	+	Arawak		» P. 1068.
									ROTH (5) P. 35. GRILLET et BECHAMEL P. 172.[7])
V3	Caripou	Vapoco, Guiana	—	—	—	+			MOCQUET P. 81.
V8	Peba	Upper Amazonas	—	—	—				PATER SCHMIDT P. 1068.
IV	Guaná (Arawak?)	Rio Paraguay	—	—	—	+	Arawak		» P. 1069.
6V	Guaná	El Gran Chaco	+	—	—	—			COMINGES P. 236.
XI	Yamamadi	Rio Purus	—	—	—	+	Arawak		RUTH HAEBLER P. 14. Also of bark. PATER SCHMIDT P. 1078.
X4	Payaguá	Rio Paraguay	—	—	—	+			PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
8X	Warrau	Delta of Orinoco	+	—	—	G. M. 12. 1. 300			PLAMBARD P. 391.
X	Vuruna	Rio Xingú	+	—	—	—	Tupi		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
47	Porokoto		+	—	—	—	Carib		» »
28	Asurinikin	Upper Xingú	+	—	—	—			» »
18	Incas[8])	Peru	?	—	—	—			PIZARRO P. 370[9]) XERES P. 89.[9])
100	Arebato	Rio Caura	+	—	—	—	Arawak		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
101	Camacan-Mongoya	Coast of Brazil	+	—	—	—			» »
Not on the map	Chama[8])	Bolivia	G. M. 15. 1. 1387	—	—	—			
»	Uaboiri		—	—	—	+			PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
102	Guayupe	Llanos de Venezuela	+	—	—	+			AGUADO (1) T. 1. P. 791.
103	Indians, Ancerma	Columbia	—	—	—	—			CIEZA DE LEON (1) P. 64. Tucarty the chiefs.
Not on the map	Yaro (Chana)	Rio Uruguay	—	—	—	—			SEPP P. 51.
8N	Zaparo	Ecuador	—	—	—	+			CASTELNUCI P. 34. KARSTEN.

[7]) «Les Arouagues les Aroates, et la pluspart des autres Nations, qui sont vers la riviere d'Orenoque font leurs lits de fil de Plte.» See also H. TEN KATE P. 106.

[8]) Among these Indians I found only one small hammock that they have got from some other tribe. The Chama sleep on the floor with blankets of bark-cloth.

[9]) PEDRO PIZARRO says speaking of the principal woman: «Traianlas en hombros, unas en andas, otras en hamacas. Hamacas son unas mantas atadas en unas cañas muy gruesas de un brazo y mas, por muy buen arte puestas, y alli iban echadas las señoras con cobertores encima.»

[9]) «Traianle muchos indios sobre los hombros en alto y tras desta venian otras dos literas y dos hamacas.»

[8]) Also many other tribes in Mainas had hammocks of palmfibres. CHANTRE Y HERRERA P. 67.

Schwedenfeld E-Sp(1908-1909, 1922) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Class SF1

C
Ce
353
415

I have not seen wooden boxes anywhere else, and scarcely think they are genuinely Indian. I shall return to the subject of baskets.

C
Ce
415
237
R 171

Except among the Chiriguano and the Chané, I have only seen the scales of the armadillo used as boxes among the Mataco, and there only as a curiosity. They are, however, known from the Guyaquí[1]), from the Indians of Roraima[2]) and from Indians in N. W. Brazil[3]). The sewn baskets of armadillo scales which are sold in the curiosity-shops of Buenos Aires probably hail from Paraguay, and it is not impossible that here, too, we have to do with an original Indian idea.

Ce
237
278
415

The fat of various animals which is used for healing is usually kept by the Chiriguano and Chané in shells, especially those of the *Strutthiolongus*.

I shall return to the subject of calabashes.

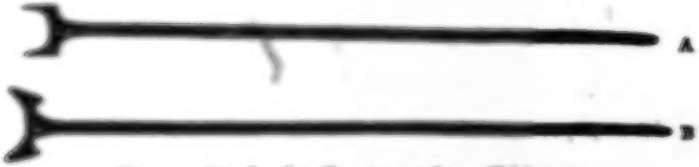
C
352

Fig. 3. Seat of wood from the Chiriguano. G. M. 15. 1. 178. 1/10

C
412

Fig. 4. Wooden hook. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 6m. 1/10

[1]) Kroeber fig. 15.
[2]) G. M.
[3]) Koch-Grünberg (1).



C 412

Fig. 5. Wooden handles to spades. Chiriguano.
1/10 A. Private collection. B. — R. W. E. 680.

III.

Tillage and tillage implements.

C Ce 241 262

Vegetable food is of great importance to the majority of Indians. This is most specially so with the Chiriguano and Chané. To the former, as well as to those of the latter tribe who dwell on the Rio Bijuro, maize is of extraordinary importance. The Chiriguano and Chané belong to WISSLER's «maize-area» or «area of intensive agriculture». WISSLER divides S. America into three great food areas: area of intensive agriculture, manioc area, and guanaco area. Another division would be more correct, viz. —

C Ce [243]

S 22

1) Area of intensive agriculture.
2) Area of manioc and fishing.
3) Area of wild seeds and fishing. El Gran Chaco.
4) Guanaco area.

There will, of course, be in addition a number of small areas with special conditions of life, as in the extreme south of S. America.

The Chiriguano grow 11 kinds of maize[1]), 11 varieties of beans[2]), 12 kinds of calabashes[3]), of which 5 are edible, sweet potatoes, manihoca, sugar-cane, maní, urucu, tobacco,

C 241

[1]) According to Hissr Pp. 241 ....

S:Nordenskiöld E-S (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 244

water-melons, melons, figs, tuna[1]), oranges, cotton, millet, and reeds for arrow-shafts.

C ce 241 [245] C ce [244] C ce [177] [262]

Bananas are not cultivated. Among the Chané at the Rio Parapiti the sweet-potato is the most important cultivated plant. Of the plants mentioned, the sugar-cane, the melon, the watermelon, the fig, the orange and the millet are not American. All those cultivated plants which have been introduced by Europeans are of slight importance to the Indians. I have never seen mandioca cultivated, but I have heard that it is to be met with in the fields of these Indians. As a staple food of the people it is of no importance here.

C ce 412 177

Iron spades bought from the Whites are the tools employed nowadays. Very occasionally one still sees wooden spades. In Part I I have published a map of the geographical distribution of the spade.

The spade in S. America is evidently a western element of culture, i. e. the idea of fitting on a more or less broad blade to the lower part of the digging-stick is plainly derived from the western area of civilization.

Whence the Chiriguano got the idea of the shapely handles I do not know. They are too shapely for the art to have been derived from the Whites. They have obviously a long evolution behind them, and it is very probable that they had their origin in the Mountain area of civilization.

Hoes with iron blades occur. The Indians have got them from the Whites. I have not seen any primitive hoes, although we are here on the border of the area of distribution of the genuine American hoe[2]).

The Chiriguano and Chané use a small implement for removing the corn from the corn-cobs which I have described in Part I. P. 32.

C ce [114]

[1]) Opuntia.

[2]) It is incorrect to affirm, as Wissler does, (P. 17) that the hoe was unknown in S. America. Incas had hoes and they are found still among the Quichua.

Schoolcraft Bd I-5,6 (1904-1909, 1912) 1920
NF10 Chiriguano NF10
Chané NF10

IV.

Hunting Equipment.

The Chiriguano and the Chané are not keen huntsmen. They are rarely seen out hunting. Their hunting-weapons are the bow and arrow, the pellet-bow, clubs, slings, and snares, all of their own manufacture. The Chiriguano have bird-nets too, and formerly they had the bola as well. The Chiriguano and the Chané have no weapons exclusively used in warfare. Formerly they had lances[1]).

The bow and arrow are going quite out of use among these Indians except for fishing and as a weapon for boys. The degenerate type of bow now seen among the Chané and Chiriguano is certainly not original. According to LIZARRAGA[2]) the Chiriguano used to have bows of a man's height. It is of great interest to learn from LIZÁRRAGA that the Chiriguano used to protect their left wrist with a small piece of wood to prevent the skin being grazed by the bow-string. Something similar occurs among the Ashluslay (see Part I. P. 42).

Their arrows are very like those used by the Choroti and Ashluslay. The arrow shafts are of the same kind of reed[3]). At the Rio Parapiti this plant, which grows abundantly beside the Rio Pilcomayo is cultivated by the Indians. On the Rio Parapiti there is a place called Ouivarenda, which means «where there is chuchio.» This plant, the *Gynarium* sp. whose seed-stalks so many Indian tribes use

[1]) Chané P. 331.

[2]) P. 328. «Andan desnudos y quando mucho qual ó qual tiene una camisetilla hasta el ombligo; . . . son grandes flecheros; sus armas son arco y flecha; el arco tan grande como el mismo que lo tira, y porque la cuerda no lastime la mano izquierda, en la muñeca encajan un trozillo de madera y allí da la cuerda».

[3]) *Arundo donax.*

[4] [Errata: this should read "See Serrano y Sanz. P. 328".
(4 errata sheet, Col. 116, P. 285 -- Analyst.]

Schwabenhöhle E-4,5(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF13 Chiriguano SF13
Chaco SF8

for arrow shafts has been completely destroyed by cattle along the Rio Paraguay. Formerly the Chané made the shafts for their arrows of schuchies.

The arrow points are made of hard wood and sometimes of iron. Arrows with several tips are used for fishing and sometimes also for shooting birds. Arrow-tips made of cactus spikes are used by some Chiriguano for fishing. Some characteristic types of arrows are depicted here (fig. 6). Some arrows are feathered to guide the flight. The feathers are fixed in the way that Métraux calls «Peruvian cemented feathering». The feathers are quite small as on Chaco arrows generally. Arrows with thickened heads (bird arrows) are very common. Some of them have the shape we see depicted here (fig. 6 E). This type does not occur among any of the other tribes I got to know during my travels, but they are common among several peoples living in the east, e. g. the Caingua, Guató, and Botoró, and in the northern part of S. America, among the Trio, Goahibo and others. They have most likely been introduced here by the Chiriguano. It is not probable that they have come from the Arawaks for, as a rule, they do not use blunt bird-arrows. In Part I I have published a map (No. 3) showing the distribution of the bird-arrow in S. America. Later on I will deal with arrows particularly used for fishing. The Chiriguano and Chané sometimes use a special kind of bast to bind round the arrow where the point is inserted in the shaft. The same kind of bast is not met with among the Chorotí and Ashluslay or among the other Chaco tribes I have got to know. It occurs, however, among the Caingua.

In part I I have already published a map showing the distribution of the sling in S. America. I have nothing to add to this which cannot be seen in the subjoined drawings (fig. 7).

The pellet-bow is rather common among the Chiriguano and also among the Chané. It is chiefly used by boys and youths. I wish here to make a few additions to what I have said about the pellet-bow in Part I.

Fig. 4. Types of arrows from the Chiriguano and Chaco. Shafts of reed, points of wood. ½.

A — Chaco. Río Bermejo. R. M. M. 6c. B — Chiriguano. R. M. E. 6ss.
C — Chaco. Río Bermejo. R. M. M. 5d. D — Chiriguano. R. M. E. 6ss.
E — Chiriguano. R. M. E. 6ss.

In a weighty article E. von Rosen (3) has criticised my opinion that the pellet-bow was possibly brought from India to S. America by Portuguese sailors in post-Columbian times. He is quite correct in the statement that the thick part in the middle of the bow is not for strength-

Fig. 3. Slings.

A. Chaco, Rio Pilcomayo. $^{1}/_{10}$ R. M. P. [illegible]

B. Detail of A. $^{1}/_{2}$

C. Chiriguano. $^{1}/_{10}$ R. M. S. [illegible]

Fig. 4. Detail of pellet-bow. Rest for the pellet. Chiriguano. R. M. S. [illegible] $^{1}/_{2}$

ening but is merely for better grip. This holds concerning both the Asiatic pellet-bows and some of the American. This contrivance is practical but not indispensable. It is certainly not little toy-bows alone that have not got it. It is quite wanting on the pellet-bows of the Chorotí, Ashluslay, Tapiete, Mataco and Vorazáes. Presuming that the pellet-bow in S. America is of Asiatic origin, it is evident that the Indians who first learnt the use of the pellet-bow

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
411
177
171*
114

from the Portuguese have kept its Asiatic shape, while the tribes that received it later have made pellet-bows more like their usual bows.

Von Rosen puts forward the supposition that the S. American pellet-bow may be an imitation of the European crossbow. This is supported by the fact that the pellet-rests on some S. American pellet-bows (fig. 8) and the pellet-rests on some European crossbows are very similar. This similarity is extremely noteworthy. Still, I deem it unlikely that Indians should have hit on the use of pellet-bows because they had seen Portuguese crossbows — especially as I am not aware that the Portuguese in S. America used bullets for their crossbows. In any case the pellet-bow in S. America would be a post-Columbian culture-element.

C
[192]

It is quite true that some Indians, e. g. the Choroti and Ashluslay have their own words for pellet-bow. But it is a common thing for some Indian tribes to have coined words to denote objects introduced by Europeans. On the other hand, it never happens that the Indians that still speak their own language lack native words for objects which are plainly pre-Columbian with them. It is therefore of primary importance for the settlement of the question as to whether the pellet-bow was introduced in post-Columbian times to note the fact that several tribes lack native words for the pellet-bow, calling it »bodoque».[1])

C
Ce
177
411
171*

The Chané call it »boroque». I am not acquainted with any Chiriguano name for it. A circumstance that speaks in favour of the pellet-bow being a post-Columbian culture-element is the fact that these bows are unknown in Peru, in Central America, and in Mexico, that is to say, in the cultural zones proper. There are not many of the elaborate culture-elements in S. America that have been unknown to

[1]) From the Portuguese.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
411
177
*171

the most civilized tribes and only known to the tribes east of the Andes. This applies especially to those cultural elements that are of little or no importance in the struggle for existence. The pellet-bow is the only weapon of any importance which, as far as is known, was unknown in all the seats of higher civilization in America. If the pellet-bow is an original American invention, it must have been invented by a comparatively uncivilized tribe.

C
Ce
411
*171

The pellet-bow is nowhere in S. America of any great importance as a hunting weapon. The heavy hand of necessity has never spurred the Indians into making an invention of this kind.

C
Ce
411
*171
114

FRIEDERICI has pointed out to me in a letter that in MARTYR »De orbe novo» there is a statement about bows from the coast of Venezuela used by boys for shooting with pellets of clay or wax. This is plainly the same statement as GOMARA's that I quoted in Part I. MARTYR's statement is in the Eighth Decade, where he complains, that his memory was beginning to fail him. I believe there must be some misapprehension on MARTYR's part, and that the pellets in question were arrows with thickened heads of wax or wood. MARTYR cannot refer to pellets thrown by hand, as he plainly speaks of bows. It is not likely that wax pellets were used for clay pellet-bows, but, on the other hand, it is not at all unusual that arrows used in play should have thickened wax heads. Arrows of this kind have been brought from the Ijca in Colombia by BOLINDER. The pellet-bow is mentioned neither by missionaries nor by any modern authors as occurring in Venezuela or any other part of northern S. America. It is extremely unlikely that this desirable toy weapon should have existed there at the beginning of the 15th century and then entirely vanished. Such an isolated occurrence would be most peculiar and unusual.

C
Ce
411
*[171]

The clubs (fig.9) that I have seen among the Chiriguano and Chané have not always clearly defined heads like those of the Cherokee and Ashluslay.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

of the Choroti and Ashluslay. As far as I know they are only used for hunting peccary. These animals are brought to bay by dogs and killed with clubs. I do not venture to say where this most primitive kind of club originated.

Ee 441 [224]

Fig. 11.

C Ee 441 223 224

Fig. 9.

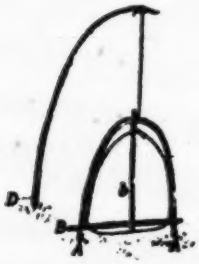


Fig. 12.

Fig. 10.

Fig. 9. Club of hard wood. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 580. 1/8.
" 10. Parrot-snare. Chané, Rio Parapiti. R. M. P. 1/11.
" 11. Parrot-snare made of a piece of twine and a feather. The specimen depicted is from the Tapiete. R. M. I. 267. 1/2.
" 12. Snare. Chané, Rio Itiyuro.

C Ee [287]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
223 At least three kinds of bird snares are used. One is a snare fixed onto a long rod (fig. 10).

It is used in the following way: A tame parrot is tied to a thick bush in which the hunter is concealed. When the wild parrots, which have been decoyed by the confined parrot, settle in the bush, they are snared by the Indian hidden there. I have seen similar rod-snares among the Chané and
C
Ce the Tapiete. According to GUMILLA[1]) snares of this kind
* [171] were used for quail-hunting on the Llanos de Casanàre, in Chìre and Tocaria, at Neyva and Vaguè and at the Rio Tercero between Buenos Aires and Tucumau.

C According to GUMILLA, HERRERA[2]) speaks of these snares
Ce being used in hunting parrots in Cuba. According to
223 MARTIUS[3]) Indian boys in Brazil used these snares. Unfor-
* 171 tunately he does not mention in what tribe or tribes he saw them. De PAULA SOUZA[4]) speaks of the same kind of snare from the Caingang, VASCONCELLOS[5]) from Indians on the Brazilian coast, and AMBROSETTI from the Cainguá[6]).

Another bird snare found among the Chané is the one depicted here (fig. 12). Snares constructed on the same or a similar principle I have seen among the Choroti. KOCH-GRÜNBERG[7]) depicts similar snares, in use among the Indians by the Rio Caiarý in northwestern Brazil, and AMBROSETTI from the Cainguá[8]). It is certain that similar snares are found among many other Indians, though they have not been studied particularly. As I have already mentioned in the first part of this book I will in time describe what I have collected in the way of snares and traps during

---

[1]) T. 2, P. 299.
[2]) Decada I, lib. 9, cap. 4.
[3]) (1) P. 669.
[4]) P. 744.
[5]) P. LXXVIIII.
[6]) (7) P. 728.
[7]) (2) Vol. I, p. 227.
[8]) (7) P. 730.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
102
223
224
171
S
102
223
224

Map 4. The distribution of the hunting net.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chano SF8

C
Ce
223
*171
C
Ce
223
224
*171
114

my travels. Though rather an extensive collection, it is quite insufficient for comparative researches.

The bird-nets used for hunting, occasionally found among (4) the Chiriguano, are of great interest (fig. 13 and map 4). I have not seen hunting nets elsewhere. Bird-nets are mentioned by several writers from the Alakaluf. These Indians and the Chonos were also acquainted with seal-nets. The statements in literature about these nets are to be found in COOPER'S[1]) excellent work. CREVAUX speaks of hunting nets from (4S) the Miraña[2]). UHLE[3]) mentions finds of the kind in Atacama. JOYCE[4]) speaks of nets that were used for hunting deer and birds on the coast of Peru. He depicts a very interesting earthenware vessel found at Trujillo representing a deer-hunt in which the huntsmen used the throwing stick and the hunting net. COBO[5]) speaks of bird-nets from the Inca. PALOMINO[6]) mentions nets used for deer-hunting from Chuquimayo in northern Peru. Hunting-nets are also mentioned by ORTIGUERA[7]) and by the author of Jornada de Omagua y Dorado[8]) from the Aruaquinos on the Amazon. From what OVIEDO Y VALDES[9]) says, the Indians also used hunting nets on the Rio Orinoco. GOMARA[10]) mentions nets from Cumaná in which ant-eaters were caught.

---

[1]) P. 190.

[2]) After DENIKER (2) P. 640. »Quoique vivant sur les bords de rivières poissoneuses, ils ne pêchent point et se bornent à chasser comme les anciens Quichua à l'aide de filets tendus entre les arbres, dans lesquels ils poussent, à force de cris et de gestes, les bêtes effarouchées.»

[3]) (5) P. 109.

[4]) (1) P. 124.

[5]) T. 4, P. 225.

[6]) P. XLVIII.

[7]) P. 370.

[8]) P. 448.

[9]) T. 2, P. 221. »Toman codorniçes y conexos y tórtolas en mucha cantidad con laços y redes: assi tambien zorras y raposos, como muchos puercos salvajes de los que llaman *vaquiras*.»

[10]) P. 206.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

SUAREZ DE CEPEDA[1]) in his most interesting treatise on the Colima-Indians in Columbia, tells us that they tried to catch comets, which they imagined to be birds, with nets which they placed in their fields. This seems to prove that these Indians knew the use of bird nets. CASTELLANOS[2]) states that the Indians in the valley of the Patia (in southern Columbia) tried to catch the Spaniards' horses with nets. Most all of these authors who speak of the hunting net belong to the sixteenth century. This should give those who are doing work like mine some food for reflection. It proves how perfectly indispensable this old literature is as a means of learning the ethnology of the S. American Indians. *How imperfect a map of this kind would have been without the old literature!* One may ask why hunting nets are so scarce now. This is apparently owing to the fact that in most places where hunting nets have been in use the Indians have lost their original civilization. The above authors not having given us a detailed description of the nets, we do not know if they resemble those used by the Chiriguano. We are not even always told what was caught in these hunting nets.

The deer-nets used on the Peruvian coast were of course considerably larger than the nets used here. Their shape also was quite different. The Chiriguano nets are clap-nets and are used in the following way. The net is spread on the ground at a spot where there are plenty of pigeons. The pigeons are decoyed with maize to settle between the two halves of the net. A string runs from the net to a fowler

---

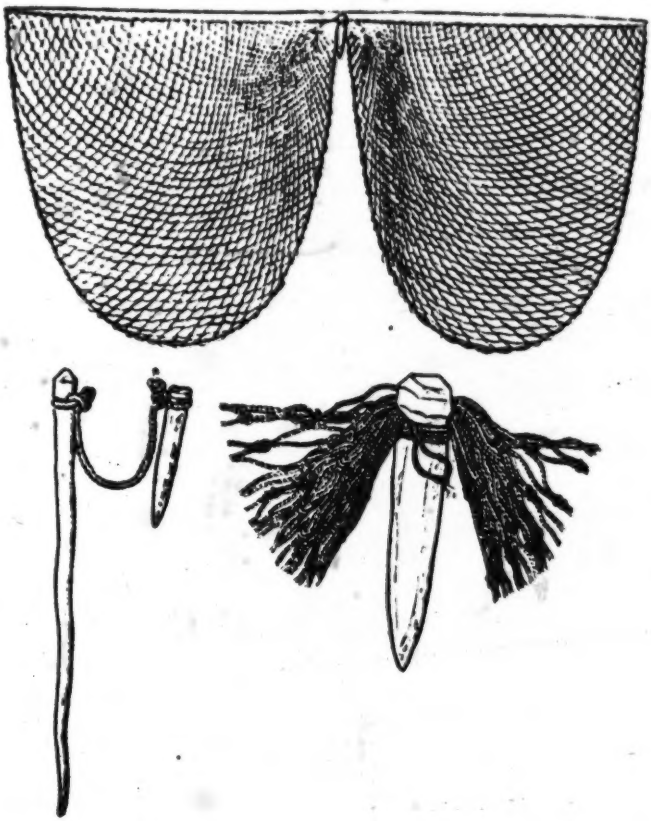
[1]) P. 517. »Los rrayos que se estienden y esparcen de la cola ó cabeça de la cometa dizen que son plumas y pelos del paxaro que yendo bolando las vá despidiendo para fin de las cosas que viene á acabar: y para mitigar y rregalar la yra de la furia atajando por algun buen medio . . . . . y en sus labranças arman unas rredes de hilo muy de proposito estas dizen que son para enrredar y caçar en ellas la pobre cometa.»

[2]) P. 457.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
223

hidden behind a bush or the like. With a pull of the string the man makes the net fall upon the maize-eating pigeons.



a b

Fig. 13. Bird-net. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. R. M. E. 606.
Breadth = 385 cm.
a = Sticks fixed at sides of bird net. 1/12. b = Middle part of bird net. 1/4.

C
ce
223
224
*171

Deer nets were stretched between poles, as is plainly seen in the picture on the vessel reproduced by JOYCE. The nets mentioned by GOMARA from Cumaná as well as those

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee 223 224 171 *

used by the Colima Indians to catch the »Comet-bird» were obviously also fixed nets.

We cannot prove that the different kinds of hunting-nets are of the same origin. Judging by the general distribution of the hunting-net in S. America, it is, however, likely that the Chiriguano learnt their use from the western culture zone. As has already been mentioned, COBO says that bird-nets occurred among the Inca.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

V.

Fishing tackle.

C
Ce
226

Three methods of fishing are known to the Chiriguano and Chané with, moreover, a northerly distribution. These methods are the use of the fish-spear or fishgig, the use of many pointed arrows, and fishing with poison.

C
Ce
*171
114
226
411

I have not seen the fishspear among the Chiriguano. ERIC VON ROSEN[1]), however, depicts one from this tribe which is preserved in the Riksmuseum in Stockholm. Something like it from these Indians is mentioned by ACOSTA[2]).

The Guarayú[3]) spear eels with two single-pointed spears of »chonta». According to EDER[4]) the Mojo used fish-spears with three points. They did their spearing by torchlight and fixed the torches in the prow of their canoes. According to FREIREISS[5]) the Coroados had double-pointed fish-spears. KOCH-GRÜNBERG[6]) mentions triple-pointed fish-gigs from the Huhúteni and other Indians in northwestern Brazil. The Indians in the northwest of Brazil also fish by torchlight. The Indians at Lago Titicaca[7]) use triple-point-

C
Ce
226
*171
411

[1]) (1) Pl. XIV.

[2]) T. I, P. 236 »Otro género de pesca vi, á que me llevó el Virey Don Francisco de Toledo; verdad es, que no era en mar, sino en un rio, que llaman el Rio Grande, en la Provincia de los Charcas, donde unos Chiriguanas se zabullian debajo del agua, y nadando con admirable presteza seguian los peces, y con unas fiscas, ó harpones que llevaban en la mano derecha, nadando solo con la izquierda herian el pescado, y así atrevesado lo sacaban arriba, que cierto parecian ellos ser mas peces, que hombres de la tierra.»

[3]) NORDENSKIÖLD (9) P. 177.

[4]) P. 301.

[5]) P. 271.

[6]) (2) T. 2, P. 34, Fig. 9. See also WHIFFEN P. 113.

[7]) NEVEU-LEMAIRE P. 75.

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,f (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce ed poles *that are used both as fish spears and to punt their*
226 *rafts along.*
411 It is not unlikely at all that it is the multi-pointed pole
*171 which has suggested the fish spear. These poles are multi-pointed in order that they may be used in swamps, to punt their canoes along. It was natural that the Indians should try with these poles to have a thrust at any fish they might see. Then, if they migrated to a district where many-pointed poles were no longer needed, these poles lived on as fishspears.

C As I have already mentioned the Chiriguano shoot fish
226 with a bow and arrow. For this purpose they sometimes,
411 though not always, use many-pointed arrows. I have seen two different types which are depicted here (fig. 15). One has two wooden points, the other which was used at Rio Parapiti for shooting small fish, has many points of cactus spikes. Two or three-pointed arrows used for shooting fish are spread in South America chiefly in the water region of the Amazon, as indicated on map 5 and table 4.

Ce I have not visited any Chané who live where they are
226 able to use this method of fishing. Among the arrows in
411 my collection there are no multipointed ones that came from them.

As seen from map 5 and table 4, the many-pointed fish-arrow seems to be a cultural element that came to the Chiriguano from the north part of S. America, most likely from Mojos. I have seen the harpoon arrow neither among the Chiriguano nor the Chané.

Table 4.

C
Ce *The following tribes use multi-pointed fishing-arrows. Map 5.*
102 4. Chiriguano, Fig. 15. Two or many points.
226 31. Trio, GOEJE (1) Pl. V. Fig. 9. Three-pointed.
411 33. Campa, THERESE V. BAYERN (2) Vol. 2, Pl. 1,7
*171 Four-pointed.
S
102
226

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
226
411
*171
S
102
226

41. Pauserna, Two-pointed.
43. Huanyam, Three-pointed.
47 a. Patamona, THULIN G. M. Three-pointed.
48. Indians Northwestern Brazil, KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) T. 2. P. 230. Two-pointed.
Not on the map Schakaja—Rio Orinoco. RATZEL Vol. 1. Pl. 24. Three-pointed.
55. Indians, coast of Guiana. STEDMAN T. 2, P. 106; BARRERE P. 169; QUANDT. Fig. 6. Three to five pointed.
63. Yamiaca, Four-pointed. For bird-shooting. Probably also used for fishing.
64. Huari, Two or three-pointed. Nambicuara, ROQUETTE-PINTO (2) P. 184. Two, three and four-pointed.
70. Piro, Upper Rio Purus. KOCH-GRÜNBERG, Communicated by letter.
V3. Caripou, MOCQUET Fig. CC. Three-pointed.
6X. Tambopata-Guarayo. Three-pointed.
2M. Wapisiana. FARABEE Fig. 13. Three-pointed.

C
Ce
226

I have not seen these Indians fish with poison. At the Upper Rio Pilcomayo, however, I heard in 1913 that the Chiriguano know how to poison the water with a certain kind of bark as a means of catching fish. A great number of plants are used by S. American Indians for this purpose, particularly in the basin of the Amazon.[1]) On the map and table, I have endeavoured in some measure to elucidate the distribution of this fishing-method. Curiously enough KARL V. D. STEINEN did not see this method of fishing among the Indians tribes at the upper Rio Xingú.[2]) I have neither seen it myself nor heard of it among the Indians in El Gran Chaco. Nor does MAX SCHMIDT mention fishing with poison from the Guató.

---

[1]) See further KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) T. 2.
[2]) (3) P. 235.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
226
411
*171
S
102
226

Map. 5. The distribution of the multi-pointed fishing arrow.

SdNordenskiöld E-S,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indian 53

Table 5.

Fishing with poison. Map 6.

C
ce

226 4. Chiriguano.
*171 10. Araucanians, MOLINA P. 188; GUEVARA (1) P. 90.
102 13. Karajá, KRAUSE P. 250.
S 15. Kayapó, KRAUSE P. 386.
102 18. Quichua, COBO T. 4. P. 227.
226 21. Cainguá, AMBROSETTI (7) P. 728.
23. Churápa.
24. Chimáne.
25. Mojo, EDER P. 303—304.
30. Guyaqui, AMBROSETTI (7) P. 728.
31. Roukouyennes, CREVAUX. P. 287, 289.
33. Campa, GRANDIDIER P. 142.
34. Jivaro, RIVET (1) P. 57.
37. Motilon, BOLINDER (2) P. 36.
38. Tupi, VASCONCELLOS P. LXXVIII.
40. Guarayú, In the missions.
45. Botocud-Indians, WIED P. 31.
47. Patamona, THULIN; Wapisiana, FARABEE P. 59.
48. Indians northwestern Brazil, KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) T. 2. P. 48. with literature.
49. Araona, ARMENTIA (2) P. 141.
51. Siriono, HERZOG P. 79.
55. Indians Coast of Guiana, BIET P. 358; STEDMAN T. 2. P. 119.
58. Cavina, Tumupasa, cultivate plants for their poison.
61. Indians Rio Yapurá and Rio Içá, WHIFFEN P. 113.
62. Chacobo.
74. Tamanaco, GILIJ. P. 325.
77. Tapirapé, KRAUSE P. 407.
79. Guinau and Yekuaná, Phot. KOCH-GRÜNBERG.
90. Chipaya and Curuahé, SNETHLAGE P. 77.
94. Chiquitos, FERNANDEZ P. 46.
99. Cumanagoto, CAULIN, P. 90.

6 P. Aguaruna, QUINTANILLA P. 79; HABICH P. 172. C
IX. Colorado, RIVET (3) P. 57. Ee 226
IC. Paez, URICOECHEA (2) P. 77. 171 *
7 F. Half civilized Indians, Lower Tapajos, BATES P. 200. 102
4 L. Caxinauá, ABREU P. 36. S
7 S. Arawaks, IM THURN P. 234. 102
8 S. Indians Orinoco, GUMILLA T. 1, P. 322. 226
9 S. Maynas, CHANTRE Y HERRERA P. 106; SAABEDRA P. CXLVII.
1 T. Leco, WEDDEL P. 448.
2 T. Indians at Schapaja, near Moyobamba, HERNDON P. 165.
3 T. Acoqua, Oyapoc, Guiana, FAUQUE P. 318.
4 T. Indians Rio U'cayali, CASTELNAU Vol. 4. P. 446—447.
X 7. Indians Rio Amazonas, ACUÑA P. 71.
1 Indians Paraguay, DOBRIZHOFFER T. 1, P. 344.
104. " Rio Casanare, RIVERO P. 8[1]).
105. " Rio Negro, RIBEIRO DE SAMPAYO. P. 21[2]).

The Chiriguano and the Chané fish with dip-nets both C Ee 226
in the Rio Parapiti and in the Rio Pilcomayo. Those used in the Rio Parapiti are small and the meshes fine, as only small fish occur there. They seem to be dwarfed specimens of the big nets used in the Rio Pilcomayo. I know too little about the distribution of different types of nets in S. America to try to show their geographical distribution. Dip-nets like those used by the Chiriguano and Chané I Ee have only seen among the Choroti, Ashluslay, Mataco, [171]* Toba and Tapiete.

On the Upper Rio Pilcomayo the Chiriguano build great C
dams of stone in which they catch fish when the fish are 226
making their way up the river. Such damming contrivances are also mentioned by CORNEJO[2]) from the Chiriguano

[1]) After FRIEDERICI. Communicated by letters.
[2]). P. 66.

C 226 who dwelt on the Upper Rio Bermejo beyond Centa. The Figure 14 shows us the construction of one of these dams. Nordenskiöld speaks of a large kind of trap, the «pari», used by the Chirignanos. I have not come across any of them in my travels. The Coingangs[1] call big traps «pari», as do also the Apiacá[2].

Ce 226 I have seen the Chané at Rio Itiyuro fishing with calabashes and also employing the method of making dams.[3] Fishing with calabashes proceeds as follows: A number of leafy boughs are stuck into the bottom of the stream to form a shadow and in front of each one of them a calabash containing some ground maize offal from the chicha brewing is placed. The fish enter the calabash, which is emptied now and then by the women. I have not seen this method of fishing in any other place.

C Ce 226 [177] The Chirignanos and Chané also fish with hooks which they now get from the Whites. They use neither floats nor sinkers.

C Ce 226 177 Among present-day Indians I have seen an original fishhook from the Tambopata-Guarayo. That the fishhook in S. America is of pre-Columbian origin is known by the numerous finds of fish-hooks on the coast of Peru and Chili made by Uhle and others. Among the Chirignano the fish-hook is certainly also a pre-Columbian cultural element. This is apparent from the fact that they, as well as the Tupí Indians on the coast of Brazil, call the fish-hook «Pinda», which word is plainly identical with the Quichua or Incan name for fish-hook, «Pinta». From this it appears that the Chirignano and Chané probably learned the use of fish-hooks from the western region of civilization.

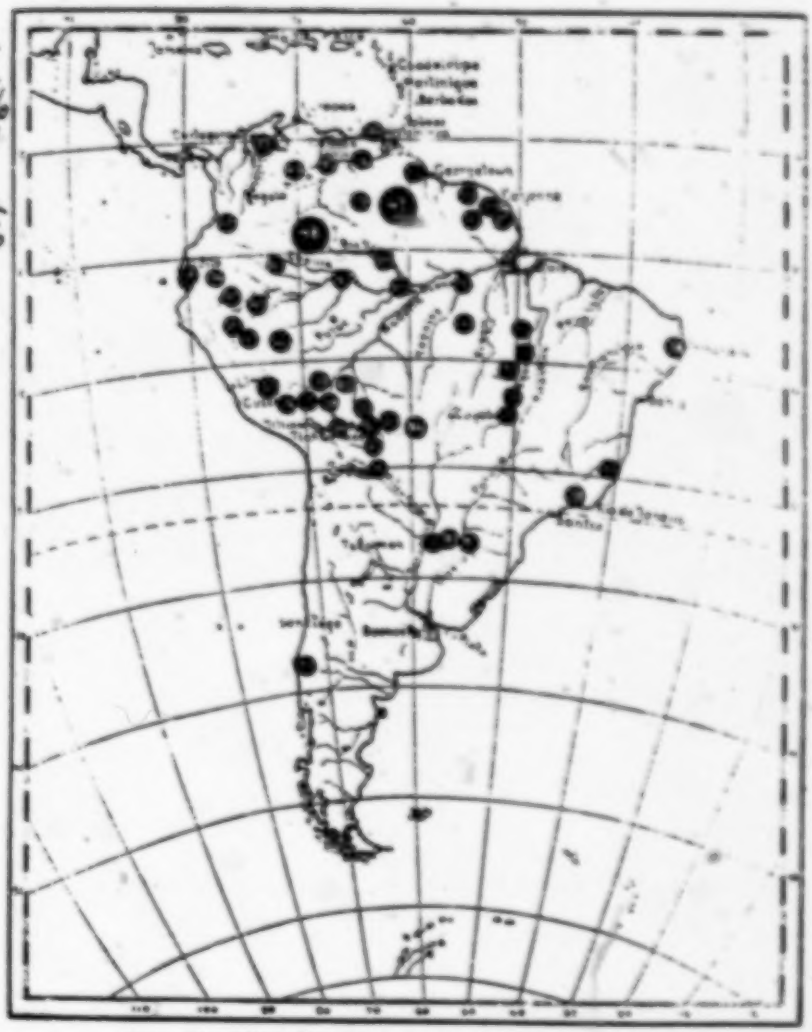
C Ce 226 177 It is also known that the first Conquistadores brought fish-hooks for barter, so it is most likely that many Indian

[text continues on p. 46]

[1] P. 252.
[2] Ambrosetti (2) P. 258.
[3] Fiorelli P. 276.
[4] See Schmelzschiffel (8a) P. 172.

ScNordenskiöld E-S,H (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF9
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
102
226
*171
5
102
226



Map. 6. The distribution of fishing with poison.

Schwedenfeld E-4; (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
Ce
221
197
C
Ce
226
#171

tribes have learnt this method of fishing from the whites. As mentioned above, I consider the fish-hook I found among the Tambequita - Guayaqui[1]) to be of original Indian type. Something similar is also mentioned by FRITZEROTA from the Mainas[2]). Fish-hooks of bone occur among the Indians at the Rio Napo. The Uitoto use hooks of wood or palm-spikes.[3]) In rivers where the piranhas (Serrosalmo) occurs, fishing with hooks of an inferior material is almost impossible, as these voracious fish bite through a hook with their sharp teeth as easily as they would a line.

Fig. 13. Dam of stone from the Upper Rio. Pilcomayo.
A — Entrance. B — Pocket where the fish are caught.

The Chiriguano on the Rio Pilcomayo use a wooden needle with a line to pull up fish that they have caught. Such needles are also known from the Choroti, Ashluslay, Toba, Mataco and Lengua.

[1]) (a) Fig. 15.
[2]) P. 208.
[3]) WHIFFEN P. 112. (See also WALLACE P. 150.)

Schmelzschiffe 2-5,4 (1900-1908, 1910) 1910
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Ayoreo SF5
Mataco SF21

In the following table I have endeavoured to show the distribution of different methods of fishing that I have seen among the Indian tribes visited by me.

Table 6.

Methods of Fishing.

	Bow and arrow	Fish spear	Net	Basket, Sieve, Sieve-basket	Poison	Line and hook	Trap	Hatch	Spearing	Poison and arrow	Bow and net
Ishiduhay	+	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
Ayoreo	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
Mataco	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cavina	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cayubaba	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chacobo	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chiona	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chané	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
Chimane	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chiriguano	+	+	+	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	+
Chamacoco	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
Churapá	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Guaraya (Mashco)	+	+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
„ Pamoreno	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	+
Huarayo	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	+
Huari	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+
Mataco	+	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
Sirkoni	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tamboguata-Guaraya	+	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	+
Tapiete	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
Toba	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
Tomiara	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+
Tonawiro	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

The Chiriguano and Chané, with the exception of those who live at the Rio Pilcomayo, give the impression of being fishermen without any water to fish in. When they are

[1]) See Part I. P. 90.
[2]) cf. different kinds.

plenty of fish in the Pilcomayo, there is a great trade in dried fish in that part of the country. The Indians tramp long distances in order to fish or get fish by barter.[1] In places where the fish are so small that they rarely exceed the length of a finger, as in Rio Bijuro, the fishing, done by women and children, still forms no small part of the diet of the people[2]. It is not surprising that the Chiriguano and Chané are eager fishermen, for no doubt both tribes come from well-watered tracts of the country where fish is abundant.

Fig. 13. Points of arrows for fishing. Chiriguano.
a – R. M. H. cat. 1/4 b – R. M. H. cat. 1/4

[1] Padre Sanzesaurino ms. Stato mayo, P. 131: «Del pescado es muy abundante, mas no todos los tribus lo toman, dicen, muchos salen que en los ríos de los grandes dan hay en abundancia, muchos hacen chuño charqueria bilipatrico para hacer el cambalache. Hacen mate é harina y la cambian por pescado.»

[2] This is where they get their very clean habits and their superstition to bath every day.

Schmelzkiste 8-9,-(1908-1909. 1913) 1909
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Class 572

VI.

Domestic Animals.

Apart from the dog, the Chiriguano and Chané keep only European domestic animals. There is now no genuinely Indian breed of dogs here. Cattle-breeding is of some importance in certain parts, especially in the Caiyipendi valley. Milking the cows is not understood. Some of these Indians keep large numbers of sheep and the women spin the wool and weave woollen stuffs. It is not known if they had wool in the pre-Columbian period, as it has not been ascertained whether these Indians kept llamas or not. Poultry are of great importance to the Chiriguano and Chané. The Indians in South-America were exceedingly quick to learn the art of poultry-keeping, thus, when CABOT touched the south coast of Brazil in 1526, he got plenty of hens from the Indians by barter.[1] The Chiriguano and Chané have but few horses. They are not nearly such good equestrians as, for instance the Toba.

I have in my collection a riding whip stock made by the Chané. DES. CAMPANA depicts a very primitive saddle from the Chiriguano. I have seen similar saddles among the Toba Indians.

When these Indians acquired the European domestic animals, the chase must have lost in importance for them. They obtained their meat in another way. The possession of cattle compelled them to enclose their tilled ground, or to have it far removed from the pastures.

---

[1] MENDES (4) T. 1. P. 458.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane

VII.

Tools.

C
412
[114]

With the exception of bone awls the Chiriguano Indians of to-day have no genuinely Indian tools. Bone awls which I have already dealt with in part I very rarely occur among the Chiriguano. I omitted to mention this in the German edition of Part I.

VIII.

Fire-making.

C
372

Once only have I seen a Chiriguano Indian making fire by wood friction. He had forgotten his matches. Flint-and-steel are also seldom seen among these Indians now-a-days. In my collection there is a cotton-plaiting, in a wooden pocket from the Chiriguano. The Indians use such for tinder when striking fire with flint and steel. The idea of this was of course obtained from the Whites.

C
[377]

SeNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Aymara SF5

C
Ce
415
171*

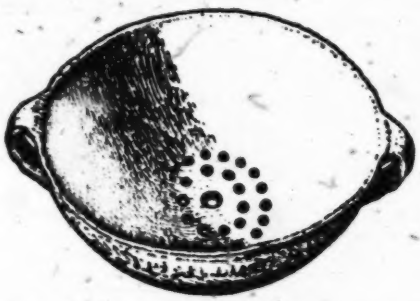


Fig. 16 a. Upper part of the steaming apparatus. The specimen given here is from the Mataco-Vejos, who learnt to use it from the Chané. R. M. M. 1022.

IX.

Utensils used in preparing and consuming food.

C
Ce
415
171*
[412]

The Chiriguano and the Chané have large wooden mortars with long wooden pestles. Hand-mills of stone or any other material are never used. The geographical distribution of the mortar has already been dealt with in the first volume (map 10). Evidently the wooden mortar has come to the Chiriguano and Chané from the east. It is a northern and eastern element of S. American culture. Among the Chiriguano one sometimes sees mortars hollowed out in stumps of trees. It is obvious that the Whites did not introduce the mortar here from the fact that it was mentioned by such early author as SCHMIDEL from the Syeberis in North Chaco.

C
Ce
252
415
171*
A
[415]

Both the Chiriguano and the Chané sift and strain through a round basket, the »urupé» (fig. 52). The following table shows us how sifting and straining is done by the tribes I have visited. Some tribes use four-sided sieves and strainers.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Aymara SE5

Ce 252 415 *171 A [415]

Table 7.

	A net-bag	Yuracáre type[2])	Square Sieve	Urupé	Through coarse cloth
Ashluslay	—	—	—	—	—
Atsahuaca	?	?	?	—	—
Aymara	—	—	—	—	+
Cavina	?	?	—	—	—
Chacobo			—	—	—
Cháma	?	?	—	—	—
Chané	+	—	—	—	—
Chimáne	—	—	+	+	—
Chiriguano	—	—	—	+	—
Choroti	+	—	—	—	—
Guarayú (mission)	—	—	—	+	—
» Pauserna	—	—	—	?	—
Huanyam	—		+	—	—
Huari	—	—	—	+[1])	—
Mataco	+	—	—	—	—
Quichua	—	—	—	—	+
Tambopata-Guarayo	?	?	—	—	—
Tapiete	+	—	—	—	—
Toba	+	—	—	—	—
Yamiaca	?	?	—	—	—
Yuracáre	—	+	—	—	—
Itonama	—	—	—	—	—
Baure	—	—	—	—	—

From the literature I know of the urupé from the Paressi[3]), the Indians of the upper Rio Xingú[4]), the In-

[1]) Not obtained.
[2]) See NORDENSKIÖLD (9) Fig. 32.
[3]) MAX SCHMIDT (4) P. 209.
[4]) MAX SCHMIDT (3) P. 350.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

dians of the Roraima district,[1]) the Indians of northwestern Brazil,[2]) the Maquiritare[3]) and the Uitoto.[4])

C
Ce
415
171*
252

Ce
252
415

Fig. 16 b. Steaming apparatus. Chané, Rio Itiyuro.

C
Ce
252
415
171*

The Urupé is obviously a northern cultural element. It is certainly not from the western culture zone. GARCILASSO[5]) says that the Inca sifted through cloth, or rather

[1]) G. M.
[2]) KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) Vol. 2, P. 217.
[3]) R. M.
[4]) WHIFFEN Pl. XXII.
[5]) GARCILASSO Libro VIII. Chap. IX.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee 252 415 *171 [412]

that they fanned the flour. They had no proper sieves. As we have seen from the table, the Chaco tribes have no basket-sieves, but use bag-nets instead.

Mandioca-graters do not occur among the Chiriguano and the Chané.

Ee 252 415 273

Of course the Chiriguano and the Chané cook their food in earthern ware. Maize-beer »Chicha», their chief food, is boiled in large vessels. It is only with great difficulty that these can be moved from one place to another[1]). Some of the Chiriguano occasionally allow the maize-beer to ferment in hollow stumps of the bottle-tree.

Ee 252 415

The steam cooking-pot shown here (fig. 16) is of very great interest. It is used by the Chané and Chiriguano in cooking a certain dish of maize, the »huintimimmo».[2])

I have seen this contrivance b[illegible]g used as shown by the illustration, but I have, unfortunately, not tasted the maize-dish that was cooked in it.

Ee 252 415 *171

In literature dealing with other parts of S. America I have only found this steam cooking pot mentioned by ULLRICH[3]) from the Rio Grande do Sul (Munizip Pelotas).

He there found pieces of »Siebtöpfen» and says that they were used on the top of a cooking-pot. ULLRICH[3]) tells us that these steam-cooking-pots were used by the

Ee [172] [437]

[1]) When fragments of very large and heavy earthenware vessels are found in archæological excavations one may, as a rule, presume that they originate from a permanently settled tribe. It may be assumed with perfect certainty that these very large vessels were made at the spot where they are found. Small earthen pots may, however, have been bartered from some other tribe. This is naturally of a certain interest if we wish to distinguish between native and imported pottery found in archæological excavations. — Some of the Chiriguano at the Rio Parapiti make only the big common clay vessels themselves and get the small, painted pots by barter from other Chiriguano Indians.

[2]) CORRADO when speaking of different dishes of maize says that *»el huintimimmo*, especie de torta muy tierna hecha con harina de maiz humedecida y blandamente dispuesta en una tortera agujereada y cocida con baho del agua caliente.» P. 42.

[3]) P. 500.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

small Indian tribes in the woods north of the Rio Camaquam at the end of the decade 1870—80. The perforated top bowl contained maize, the pot under it boiling water. C Ce 252 415

I cannot at present tell whence the Chiriguano and the Chané got this cultural element. Besides among these Indians, I have also seen steam-cooking-pots of the same kind among the Mataco-Vejos, who live close to the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro. 171*

The Chiriguano and the Chané have special bowls for roasting maize (fig. 16). I have only seen bowls of the same shape among the Mataco-Vejos. The roasting of maize is commonly practised among the majority of Indians who grow this plant, which is of such great importance to many tribes.

The Chiriguano and the Chané do not know of the babracot. They only use the wooden spit. It is often cleft, as is also the case among the Choroti and the Ashluslay. As the kinsmen of the Chané in Northern Bolivia and the kinsmen of the Chiriguano on the coast of Brazil use the babracot, the question arises: »Why is it not used here?» I suppose this is because the hunting is of no great importance, the fishing not very good, and the fish caught small or, at least, rarely of any size. C Ce 252 171* Ce [22]

Pit-ovens are unknown here. When chicha is being made, great pot-spades are used. They are either wooden (fig. 17 A) or made of the hafted shoulderblade of some large mammal. I suppose all Indians who cook their food use something to stir it with. Usually, however, only a plain stick is used. Pot spades of the kind shown here are in use among the Mataco-Vejos, who live near the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro and the Guató[1]) on the upper Rio Paraguay. It is not unlikely at all that the latter have had them from the Chané, for we know from accounts of very early discoverers, that some of the Chané settled on the upper Ce 442 252 [273] Ce [171]* Ce [175] [361]

[1]) Max Schmidt (3), P. 205.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5γ(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce
412
252
Ce
[170]
[361]

Rio Paraguay after Garcias marauding expedition, not far from the tract where the Guató now live.

A potspade of the same type from the Yulámaua along the Rio Querary is shown in an illustration by KOCH-GRÜNBERG.[1]) I have not seen the shoulderblade potspade in any other tribe.

Ce
412
252
*171

Similar spades, said to have been used for agricultural purposes, are mentioned by ST. CRICQ[2]) from the Conibo.

C
Ce
412
415
264
177

Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané for the most part eat their food with metal spoons which they have got from the Whites. They have, however, wooden spoons as well. They generally eat from earthenware bowls of their own make. They seldom have wooden bowls. I have already treated of the distribution of the wooden bowl and the wooden spoon. (Part 1 map 12 and 13.) They are features of western civilization. Calabash bowls are universally used by the Chiriguano and Chané as drinking vessels, particularly for chicha.

C
415
177

Silver bowls — »Cagua» — are occasionally seen at the Chiriguano festivals. These bowls, which are shaped like cloven calabashes, are often furnished with small ears and are made by mestizo smiths to suit the Indian taste.

C
Ce
415
[439]

There is in my collection a calabash bowl that has been turned into a ladle by means of a handle. It is from the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro. I have also procured some bowls made of the fruit of the calabash tree from the Chiriguano. The Indians get them from Sta Cruz de la Sierra, for, as far as I know, the calabash-tree is not cultivated within their own area.

C
Ce
372
137
*171

Fire-fans of plaited palm leaves are used, though they are rather uncommon. These fire-fans belong to the cultural elements which have come to the Chiriguano and the Chané from the north and east. Later on, when writing about the Indians in northeastern Bolivia, who have sev-

[1]) T. 2. P. 209.
[2]) P. 287

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee
372
137
171 *

eral different kinds of palm leaf fans, I will deal with them in detail.

At present I can refer to what Pater Schmidt[1]) has written about the geographical distribution of fire fans of pla'ted palm leafs in S. America.

C
412

A B

Fig. 17. Potspades. Chiriguano.

A from Tihüipa. 1/8. R.M. E. 505.
B from Caipipendi. 1/8. R. M E. 596.

[1]) P. 1082.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c
276

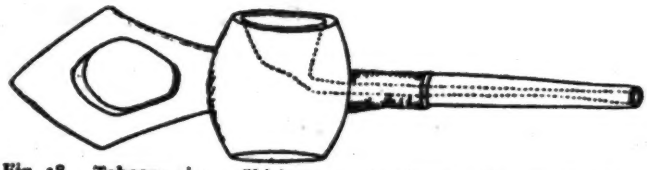


Fig. 18. Tobacco-pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2. R. M. E. 312.

X.

Narcotics.

c
ce
276

The Chiriguano and Chané are not great smokers like the Choroti and Ashluslay. They are most addicted to the cigarette, and seldom smoke a pipe. Only a few of the former who live on the territory adjoining the Quichua chew coca, which, so far as I know, they do not cultivate themselves. It is a well known fact that the habit of chewing coca is a western culture-element.

c
ce
* [171]

I have given an account in Part I of the geographical distribution of the tobacco-pipe (map 14).

The type of pipe depicted here, on which the bowl is fixed near the middle of the stem and which, by the by, is very convenient to handle, seems to me to have a south-westerly distribution in S. America.[1]) During my archaeological excavations at Caipipendi I found similar pipes of burnt clay. The front stem of these latter pipes has no hole for the finger. This hole is a little refinement which I have seen nowhere except among the Chiriguano. Quite simple pipes are also found among the Chiriguano, consisting of a bowl with a straight stem behind and no front stem. From the Chané I have one single pipe. This is evidently quite modern. In drawing Map 14 in Part I. I have not taken this pipe into account, as its origin is somewhat uncertain.

[1]) Nordenskiöld (3 b) P. 295. See also Uhle (10) P. 48. (a pipe from Taltal).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XI.

Dress.

The Chiriguano and the Chané men of the present day wear European clothes which they buy at the stores, get at the missions, or, more often still, when working at the sugar factories in northern Argentine. The native garments, the loin-cloth (chiripa) (fig. 19) and the ponchoshirt are still occasionally seen. The loin-cloth is a rectangular piece of cloth which is passed between the legs and kept in place back and front by being tucked into the belt. The geographical distribution of the loin-cloth in S. America it is almost useless to endeavour to show on the map, as in many places it would not be possible to say if it was native Indian or not. Among the tribes visited by me, with the exception of the Chiriguano and the Chané, I have only seen it among the Tapiete. I have a piece of cloth from the Tsirakua that may have been a chiripa. I found a doll in a mound in Mojos which most likely represents a man with a chiripa. That it is a very old cultural element is obvious from the fact that the curious mummies found by UHLE[1]) at Arica and belonging to the oldest culture periods there, wore the chiripa. In the museum at Gothenburg[2]) we have a mummy of the kind, found by SKOTTSBERG at Arica, which wears a chiripa. This chiripa is not woven, but is netted.

C
Ce
291
[177]

C
Ce
291
171*

The Poncho-shirt which I dealt with in detail in the first part of this book is undoubtedly a cultural element which has come to the Chiriguano and the Chané from the civilized zone in the west. (See map 16 in Part I.)

[1]) (6)
[2]) G. M.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
291
171

On very rare occasions one sees clothes of tanned skin worn by the men. As far back as CHOMÉ[3]) these skin clothes

Ce
[142]
[302]

Fig. 19. Chanéboy in «chiripa». Rio Parapiti.

C
Ce
[177]
[126]

were mentioned. I have obtained a costume of the kind consisting of a coat, breeches, and a hat. They are

[3]) P. 330.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ee
291
171*
[177]
[126]

of European cut and have most certainly come from the Whites. According to NINO[1]) they were also sometimes made by the Indians themselves. I do not think this is the case with the costume I have collected.

Ce
302
291
142

Fig. 20. Chanéwoman in Tipoy. Rio Parapiti.

Ee
291

The »tipoy» is the typical dress of the Chiriguano and Chané women. It is a sack of cotton or wool open at both ends and woven without seam. The tipoy for every day wear is of normal length. (Fig. 21) On festive oc-

000

[1]) P. 189.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,-(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee
291
857
482

Fig. 21. Chanéwoman in Tipoy that is also used as a bearing-band.

Rio Parapiti.

On festive occasions they use a very long tipoy of cotton that has to be worn double.

Ee
292

In Part I I have mentioned the tipoy, which is always a woman's garment, from the above mentioned tribes, [i.e., Chane and Chiriguano women. - Analyst]

Ee
291
171*

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,r (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

and from the Ashluslay, Guarayú-Pauserna, Siriono, Guarayú (mission) Gorocotoques, Mojo, Carios-Tupinambá, Quichua, Paressi-Kabiši, Chiquitos, Guarani in Paraguay, Xarayes, Guayaná and Payaguá, Occasionally they occur among the Mataco as well. BARBOSA RODRIGUES mentions the tipoy from the Tembé. Judging by LANGE's photographs the Ararandeuara girls seem to wear small tipoys in ordinary hammock technique.

Those from the Quichua do not, however, correspond to others whose style we know, for the former used to be open on one side and only seem to have been sewn up under the influence of European ideas of modesty. Consequently I was rash in concluding that the tipoy was an original feature of western civilization, as I did in the first part of this book. Most likely it is of quite a different origin.

When the Chiriguano and Chané women used the tipoy as a garment, they did not, as we shall see below, get the idea from the mountains or from the Whites. It is, however, certain that the Whites and at an earlier date the Mountain-culture Indians may have influenced them to make the tipoy longer and more »seemly». Contact with other people wearing clothes has made it fashionable to be clothed.

My attempts to investigate the distribution of the tipoy in northern S. America has caused me a lot of trouble. Descriptions of Indian apparel by early authors are, unfortunately, not as detailed as might be desired. OVIEDO mentions a woman's dress »saya» from the region of Lake Maracaibo, woven without seam »sin costura», which may have been a tipoy.

In a narrative of PEDRO TEXEIRA's journey up the Amazon[1]) we read that almost every tribe goes naked, the men completely, the women above the waist, covering the rest

[1]) T. XIII, P. 437.

SfNordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C
Ce
291
114
*171

of the body with a garment resembling a »pampanilla». This may mean the tipoy, but also something else[1]).

C
Ce
291
854
*171
482

As MAX SCHMIDT[2]) has pointed out, the Paressi make their tipoys and their bearing-bands (to carry the children) in exactly the same way. The bearing-bands used by these Indians are identical with the tipoys in both shape and material. They differ from the latter only in being somewhat longer in proportion to their width. STADEN[3]) speaks of the »typpoy» as a garment. In an anonymous early description, also from the coast of Brazil, printed in PURCHAS[4]), the bearing-band is called »tupiya». The same word is thus used by the Guarani-speaking Indians on the coast of Brazil both for the bearing-band and the female dress. In some parts the same article has, indeed, been used both as a bearing-band for children and a woman's garment. According to BARBOSA RODRIGUES[5]) it would seem to be so among the Tembé Indians. The bearing-band does not occur among the Chiriguano and Chané; they carry the child cradled in the tipoy.

Ce
Ce
291
482
*171

I do not consider it too bold to assume that the tipoy and the bearing-band have the same origin, and that the one has suggested the other. In all likelihood, the bearing-

[1]) It is obvious from the following quotation from OVIEDO (T. 2, P. 271), where he tells of the female apparel of the Bubores living near Lake Maracaibo that the »Pampanilla» also might mean a small piece of cloth covering the genitals. »y las mugeres una pampanilla ó pedaço de algodon texido tan ancho como un palmo colgando delante de sus vergüenças».

[2]) (4) P. 218.

[3]) T. 2, P. 3. »/dieselbigen wilden weiber machen dinger von baumwollen garn/ wie ein Sack vnden vnnd oben offen/ die ziehen sie an/ vnd heyssen auff ire spracke Typpoy».

[4]) P. 1391.

[5]) (2) P. 42. »As mulheres . . . . . usam uma facha larga de algodão tecido branca ou tinta de urucu, passada a tiracollo sobre o hombro direito, que pendendo sobre o corpo, encobre-lhes a parte vergonhosa e serve para nella trazerem constantemente filhos. Dão a esta facha o nome de *tupiy*».

Schwedenskiöld E-S/4(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
291
171*
482

band, which has a much wider distribution, is the original. For some reason it was occasionally worn as a shirt and, finally, in some places, this became the custom. Out of the short skirt resembling the bearing-band has probably developed the long tipoy now worn by the Chiriguano and

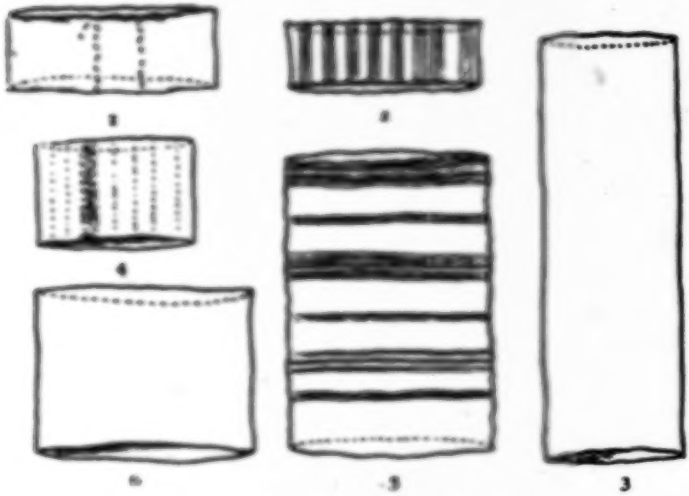


Fig. 22. Bearing-bands and «tipoys.»

1) G. M. 13. 1. 330. Bearing-band of bark-cloth. Huanyam.
2) R. M. G. 97. Bearing-band made of cotton in hammock-technique. Guarayú (mission).
3) G. M. 13. 1. 334. «Tipoy»-woven of cotton without seam. Chirignano.
4) G. M. 12. 1. 64. Bearing-band of cotton, plaited. Patamona, British Guiana.
5) R. M. P. 130. «Tipoy» woven of cotton without seam. Chané.
6) G. M. 13. 1. 849. » » » » » » Guarayú.

Chané. The shape is still the same as that of the bearing-band; only the proportion between length and breadth has been changed (fig. 22). The bearing-bands used by S. American Indians are either made of bark-cloth, plaited in the ordinary hammock-technique, or made in some other

SchNordenskiöld E-S,4(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
291
482
*171

way. The tipoys are, as a rule, woven. Tipoys manufactured in hammock-technique I know of only from the Siriono and the Ararandeuára (Tembé). These latter are also used as bearing-bands. Probably this is also the case among the uncivilized Siriono. Tipoys in this technique are probably earlier in origin than the woven ones.

Ce
Ce
752
196
291
482

The word »tipoy» has also been used with another meaning, viz., for a band used to support an injured arm.[1]) A band or sling of the kind has exactly the same shape as an Indian bearing-band. Only once can I remember having seen an Indian with his arm in a sling like this. He was a Pauserna man.

»Tipoya» can also be interpreted »a kind of hammock».[2])

C
Ce
352
854
482
*171

The question is if the hammock has not also been suggested by the bearing-band. In the first place we must remember that Indians also in different parts where the hammock is unknown, are careful not to put their babies on the ground. Thus, the Yuracáre and the Chimáne who have no hammocks, use cradles of bark-cloth in which they suspend their babies. When the Mosetene woman goes to work in the fields with her baby, she puts it into a bearing-bag which she hangs up in a tree. COMINGES[3]) mentions that he saw among the Guaná Indians, who seldom use hammocks, a child which the mother had placed in a bag slung like a hammock. So it does not seem so very unreasonable to suppose that Indian women tried to use the bearing-band in the same way when the child had to be

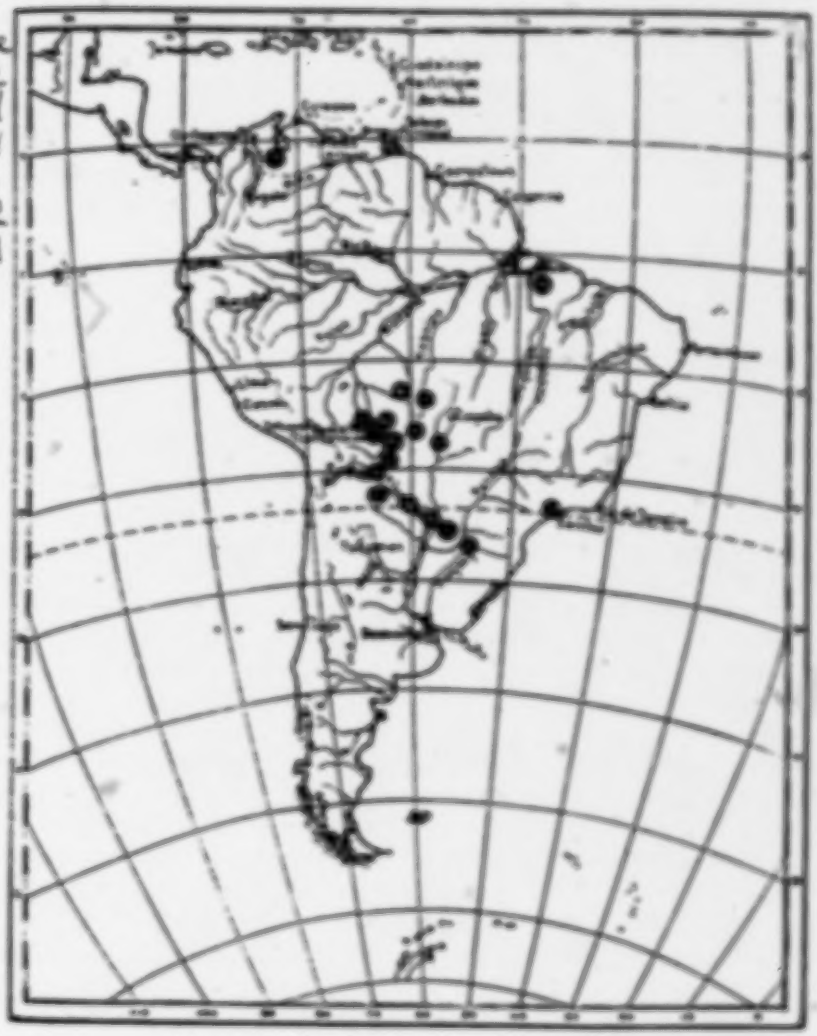
---

[1]) [2]) I here give BRAZ DA COSTA RUBIM's definition of the word TIPOIA »Do guarani tapoi, vestido de mulher. Tira larga tecida com palha de miritiseiro; grande camisa sem mangas feita do entrecasco de certas arvores de enlaçada e estupenta fibra; o lenço o tirador para descansar o braço; serpentina de rede carregada por dous homens.»

[3]) »En uno de éstos una mujer joven que parecía una criatura, pero que, acabando de dar el pecho á un niño completamente desnudo, y colocándole en una bolsa de red, que á manera de hamaca pendía de las *tarumas* del techo.» P. 192.

[text continues on p. 68]

Schwerdtmann E-9/4 (1904-1909, 1912) 1910
SF10 Chirigano SF10
Chaco SF9
South American Indians 53
67
C
Ca
102
291
171
S
102
291



Map. 7. The distribution of the Tupy.

Schwabenbibl. E-5(1895-1896, 1919) 1891
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Class SF9
Smith, Henry-Ivan Zielinski, S.S.

CC
291
.171

put down and they leaved the snakes. The Guarayó have bearing-bands which are made in the very same technique as saint hammocks. Such bearing-bands were also used by the Cariní in Southern Brazil.

Table 8.

The distribution of the tipoy. Map. 7.

CC
291
.171
102
6
192
281

1. Ashlenday, G. M. Woven without seam. Wool
4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 8. Woven without seam. Wool or Cotton.
5. Chané, R. M. P. 130. Woven without seam. Wool or Cotton.
6. Mataco, R. M. M. 166. Woven without seam. Wool.
20. Pareni, MAX SCHMIDT (4) P. 217. Woven without seam. Cotton.
23. Mojo, CARVALLO P. 324.
38. Carion, STRADEN.
40. Guarayó (Guarayos).
41. Guarayó (Paraverna), G. M. Woven without seam, cotton
43. Gorocotoque, SCHMIDT. (1) P. 164.
51. Sirionó. Made in hammock technique.
54. Chiquito, BRIGGS P. 341.
58. Arazandeuára. (Tembé). I have gathered from LANGE's photographs that Arazandeuára-girls wear quite short Tipoy in ordinary hammock technique. BARBOSA-RODRIGUES (1) P. 41.
1. Guarani, Paraguay. ARARA (2) P. 416.
5 P. Xarayes, NUÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA. T. 1, P. 300.
X 4. Payaguá. ARARA (2) P. 360.
1 F. Indians near Lake Maracaibo. OVIEDO Vol. 2, P. 285. «Tomaron unas indias vestidas unas mayas tejidas sin costura, que les tomaba desde la cabeza hasta los pies, e unos capillos como de freylesa.

5 STRADEN (2) Pg. P. 250

Both men and women among the Chiriguano and Chaná have sandals which, however, they seldom wear. In Part I of this work I have given an account of the geographical distribution of sandals in S. America. Obviously sandals are a cultural element which the Chiriguano and Chaná have got from the area of civilisation in the west.

A pair of sandals with fastenings differing from the usual kind are depicted here. A sandal with very similar binding but of another shape is described and depicted by Baron von Rosen[1]) in his recent, splendid work.

The Chiriguano and Chaná wear girdles which as a rule are woven, though they are sometimes made of leather. As I pointed out in Part I, the woven girdle belongs to the western cultural elements and the leather belts to the southern. The leather girdles worn by the Chiriguano and Chaná are provided with pockets and sometimes ornamented with cipos, and are consequently imitations of the gauchos' cinturon worn by the Argentine gauchos. Nino[2]) is of the same opinion, and he points out that they are called «bosa» (from the Spanish word «bolsa»[3]) owing to their being provided with a pocket.

As already mentioned in Part I the woven «head-band» or frontlet also belongs to the dress of the Chiriguano and Chaná-men. The frontlet is certainly a western culture-element.

Chiriguano and Chaná shirts and ceremonial tipoys are of native make and are often dyed blue with indigo. The frontlets are blue or red. Chiriguano and Chaná women wear a kind of hair-band with tassels which they must likely learned to make in the missions.

[1]) (a) Fig. 4a, P. 127.
[2]) P. 120.
[3]) «Bolsa» in «bosa» in the Chiriguano language as there indicate the nasal pronunciation ã.

Schwedenskilled E-6,(1908-1909, 1913) 1910
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce.
291
177

The Chané men at the Rio Parapiti occasionally wear straw hats plaited by themselves. They most certainly borrowed the idea from the Whites.

C
291

Fig. 13. Sandals of leather. Chiriguano. R. M. R. 65.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
302
301
142

Fig. 24. Old Chiriguano Indian with a big »Tembeta. Tihüipa, Bolivia.

XII.

Articles connected with the deformation of the body. »Tembeta«.

C
Ce
301

All Chiriguano and Chané men of the older generation and, in a few of the Chiriguano villages, the younger men and boys also wear a so-called *tembeta* or lip-button in the under-lip. The custom of boring the lips is wide-spread in S. America. DALL, DENIS, NETTO, UHLE and VERNEAU-RIVET have drawn up summary tables to which I beg to refer, at the same time making some additions based on notes I have made from the literature on the subject to which I have had access.

C
Ce
304
171 *

The tembeta of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is made, as a rule, of tin and in shape reminds one of a cap with a peak at both the front and back. (fig. 25)

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 301 The back is somewhat concave enabling it to rest conveniently on the chin-bone. The front is round and flat and does not project beyond the lip. The metal is hollowed at the front and filled with wax, in which are fastened green or blue stones or glass beads of the same colours. In a grave at Caipipendi I found a tembeta of wood of the shape here described, in which a round piece of green glazed earthenware is inserted. For every-day use both the Chiriguano and Chané sometimes have lip-buttons of wood which Ce are shaped like flat wooden cylinders. The Chané usually [175] have smaller lip-buttons than the Chiriguano. CHOMÉ[1]) mentions lip-buttons of resin among the latter Indians from the 18th century.

C Ce 301 *171 I make no attempt here to show on the map the distribution of lip-boring in S. America.[2]) As was mentioned, it is very considerable. The idea of inserting stones or beads fastened with wax in the tembeta is almost confined to the Chiriguano and Chané.

C Ce [177] [114] It might almost be suspected that they got this idea from the Whites, who now have an extensive manufacture of metal tembetas in order to sell to the Indians. This is not the case, however, for SCHMIDEL writes of the Karkhokhies (Gorocotoques)[3]) who dwelt in N. W. Chaco: — »Pero sus mujeres tienen un canutillo asegurado à los C Ce 301 labios en el que meten ellas una piedra verde ó gris«. Of what material this »canutillo« was, we are not informed. *171 In Chili[4]) a tembeta of stone has been found with a cavity 175 in which possibly another stone or the like had been set.

The metal tembeta is here probably, though not neces-

[1]) P. 331

[2]) (This) because few of the old writers have given any de ailed description of lip-buttons.

[3]) (1) P. 264. (2) P. 94. »Ihre weiber aber habenn ein kleins rörlein genacht in denn lepzen, darein sie ein grienen oder grabenn christallen stein stechenn.«

[4]) MEDINA (1) Fig. 77. From Preirina.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ea
301
171*
[175]

sarily, post-Columbian. CASTILLO[1]) mentions silver tembetas from Mojos as early as the 17th century, and in Ecuador a tembeta of gold has been found.[2]) CHOMÉ[3]) writes of the Chiriguano: »Les hommes se percent la lévre inferieure, ils y attachent un petit cylindre d'étain, ou d'argent ou de resine transparente.» It is not impossible that the Indians of this part, viz. the Chané, had lip-buttons of silver in pre-Columbian times.

The highly specialized type of tembeta which I have here likened to a cap with both front and back peak, is not now found in use in S. America elsewhere than among the Indians here dealt with and some few Tapiete who learned its use from the Chiriguano.

Similar tembetas of stone have been found at the Rio Negro in Patagonia[4]), in San Juan[5]) in Argentine, in central Chili[6]), at Tiahuanaco[7]); at Parana-Mini[8]), Minas Geraes[9]) and Pernambuco[10]). Here may also be included a tembeta of gold described by RIVET and VERNEAU from Chordeleg in Ecuador. This type of tembeta is also found in Mexico and in western N. America. This lip-button is best characterized by saying that, when inserted in the lip, it looks like a round disc.

The type of lip-button most closely resembling those described here, have a more or less spike shape when seen from the side. While the Chiriguano tembeta projects either not at all or very slightly beyond the lip, in the spike-shaped

[1]) P. 320.
[2]) RIVET (4) and VERNEAU Pl. XXIV, Fig. 10.
[3]) P. 331.
[4]) LEHMANN-NITSCHE (4).
[5]) DEBENEDETTI (4) P. 38.
[6]) MEDINA (1); UHLE (9) P. 8.
[7]) UHLE (1) Vol. 1, Pl. 19, Fig. 23 and 24.
[8]) DEBENEDETTI (4) P. 37.
[9]) NETTO Pl. 8.
[10]) » »

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
301
*171

tembeta one sees a point projecting slantwise more or less beyond the lip in a downward direction. The cross-piece which prevents the lip-button from slipping out does not broaden into a flat disc approximately following the shape of the chin. Length, shape and material may vary considerably.

C
Ce
301
287

The oldest type of lip ornament probably consisted of feathers, etc., fixed in a hole in the underlip. To keep this hole extended, it was ordinarily filled by a wooden plug or the like. This consisted, like the everyday tembeta of the Chiriguano and Chané, of a plain wooden cylinder. This shape was subsequently changed and more ornamental material substituted for the wood. Some tribes merely made the wooden plug bigger and bigger, e. g. the Suyá[1]), Botokuds[2]) and Lengua.[3]) As a rule it was, no doubt, not very hard to make the wooden plug stay in the hole. *When it was exchanged for more ornamental material such as resin, and, above all, stone, it became necessary to give the tembeta such a shape as would prevent it slipping through the hole.* The Chiriguano Indian wooden tembeta is merely cylindrical; the heavy metal tembeta is cap-shaped.

C
Ce
301
*171

The Huari tembetas of wood are likewise cylindrical. The upper part of the smoother tembeta of resin is made thicker, so that it cannot slip through the hole.

The Chiriguano and Chané evidently have a very specialized form of tembeta which would appear to be fairly late. Its distribution over the continent of America does not, however, support this view. The type is found in Mexico and N. America as well as in S. America. The question arises whether we may not, in this case, imagine a parallel evolution. Wherever the attempt has been made to make tembetas of heavier material than wood, *it has been found necessary to make them more or less T-shaped.* It is in

[1]) Karl von den Steinen (2).
[2]) Wied.
[3]) Azara (2) P. 391.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

fact, the only possible shape. It was quite natural that both in N. and S. America the tendency was to shape the tembeta in such wise that it should lie conveniently on the chin-bone.

C
Ce
301
171 *

The most highly specialized type of tembeta is found along the Rio Araguaya among the Karajá and Kayapó.[1]) There are in those parts a number of different types of lip-button, and it is natural to ask whether such a variation of tembeta types was not formerly common in other parts. In other districts where the Indians still wear tembetas there is no similar variation in type. One sees only two or three different types. Nor it is likely that type-variations of stone tembetas have been much greater than is indicated by the material hitherto collected. The distribution of stone tembetas, on the other hand, may have considerably exceeded what we know at present.

KRAUSE[1]) has pointed out how different kinds of tembetas are worn at different ages among the Karajá. The Chiriguano when merely boys wear the wooden plug. LERY[2]) says that the Tupinambá boys had bone tembetas of conical shape. When they were full-grown (attained puberty?) they received tembetas of stone which, in part at least, had a shape similar to that of the Chiriguano and Chané tembetas. Very likely the narrower, spike- shaped tembetas which DEBENEDETTI[3]) described from San Juan were for boys' wear, while those which resembled the Chiriguano and Chané tembetas were for grown-ups.

C
Ce
554
301

A writer as early as VAAS DE CAMINHA[4]) mentions various kinds of tembetas among the Indians whom CABRAL met with when he came to the coast of Brazil.

Ce
301
171 *

It is evident that the spike-shaped tembetas belong to an older era of civilization than those of capshape. The

[1]) KRAUSE P. 220.
[2]) P. 191.
[3]) (4) P. 58.
[4]) P. 180 a, 180 b, 180 d, 180 l, 180 l.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

former have in S. America a much wider distribution than the latter. When both types existed together, as was the case among the Tupinambá, the boys had to be content with spike-shaped variety, while the men had the cap-shaped. For the latter kind a specially valuable material was employed, viz. a rare kind of green stone.

In all likelihood it was from the Andine area of civilization that the cap-shaped tembeta spread to Patagonia to the Chané, Chiriguano and Tupinambá. This must have happened before the time of the Incas. At the time of the conquest the Incas had no tembetas. The discovery of tembetas of this type at Tiahuanaco supports the notion that we have here to do with a culture-element which spread south and east during the Tiahuanaco period.

Should an attempt be made to draw a diagram showing the evolution of tembeta-types, I imagine it would be pretty much as follows (fig. 27).

Out of the small cylindrical wooden plug which still occurs everywhere for the purpose of keeping the lip-button hole open, and to extend the same, three types have been specialized:

(1) The exaggeratedly large, flat, round wooden disc;
(2) The more or less spike-shaped lip-button;
(3) The flat cap-shaped tembeta.

Of these (1) is most likely the oldest, (2) next and (3) the most recent.

If the cap-shaped tembeta in this part of America comes from the Andine area of civilization, the Chiriguano have probably taken it westwards again. The Chané generally have quite small tembetas, this being the reason why they are scornfully called by the Chiriguano »uñareta» (women). It is probable that they learned the use of this ornament from the Chiriguano. Of the Chaco tribes visited by me it is only the guaranized Tapiete who have tembetas.

The Chiriguano and Chané men never pierce their ears.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5/4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
301
304
[177]

Formerly the chiefs wore ear-rings with pendants of green stones. Among these Indians the only women with pierced ears are a few of the younger ones who have learned from the Whites the custom of wearing ear-rings. These ornaments are also obtained from the Whites. Oddly enough, the barbarous custom of piercing the ear is thus here an idea obtained by the Indians from the Whites. Neither men nor women pierce the nasal septum.

C
Ce
301
171*

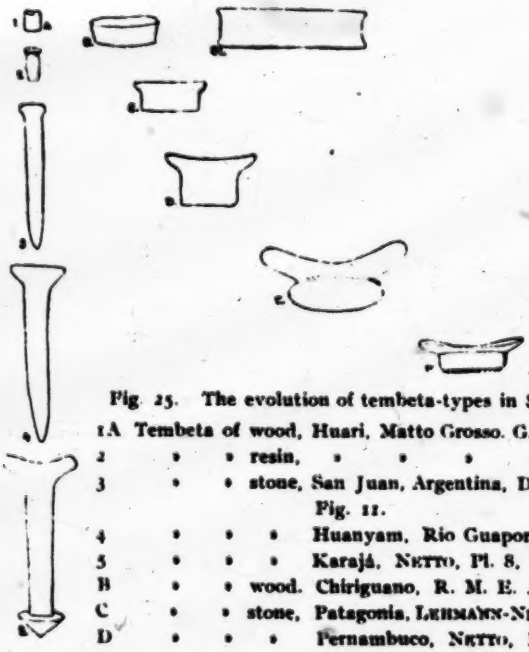


Fig. 25. The evolution of tembeta-types in S. America. 1/3.

1A Tembeta of wood, Huari, Matto Grosso. G. M. 15. 1. 334.
2 » » resin, » » » » 16. 1. 290.
3 » » stone, San Juan, Argentina, DEBENEDETTI, (4) Fig. 11.
4 » » » Huanyam, Rio Guaporé.
5 » » » Karajá, NETTO, Pl. 8, Fig. 6.
B » » wood. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 469.
C » » stone, Patagonia, LEHMANN-NITSCHE (4), P. 286.
D » » » Pernambuco, NETTO, Pl. 8, Fig. 4
E » » » Freirina, Chile, MEDINA (1), Fig. 16.
F » » metal, hollowed at the front and filled with wax in which are fastened glass beads. Chiriguano. G. M. 13. 1. 349.
B1 » » wood, Suyá, Rio Xingú. UHLE (9) Fig. 34.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XIII.

Toilet-Articles, Tattooing etc.

C
Ce
575
*171
174

The Chiriguano and the Chané are careful of their personal appearance. They are cleanly people, much cleaner than their neighbours. If these tribes had emigrated from the cold Bolivian mountains into their present territory, part of which is very poorly watered, they certainly would not bathe once, or even several times a day, as they do, but would be as dirty as the Quichua and the Aymara, who are, incredibly filthy. Their Chaco neighbours, too, the Mataco are also extremely dirty. In the parts I have explored it is only in Mojos that we find Indians as cleanly as the Chiriguano and Chané, these being the Mojo and the Baure, kindred tribes of the Chané. On the other hand the Guarani Indians in North Bolivia, the Guarayú, are less clean, even if they are among the »clean ones». The Guarani in Paraguay are, however, said to be very cleanly. The cleanliness of the Chiriguano and the Chané is a positive proof that they migrated to the territory now inhabited by them from warmer and well-watered parts, where bathing was pleasant and easily accessible. The Chiriguano and the Chané have not learnt to bathe from the Mestizos or the Whites, whose habits are anything but clean in these parts. Cleanliness is certainly not a virtue suddenly acquired by any people, but may indeed be regarded as a race-peculiarity. A map of S. American cleanliness would most certainly enlighten us on several points of interest with regard to the origin of the tribes. Now, when I read that the Mundrucú are very dirty I am sceptical of their being Guarani-Indians, and consider it much more likely that they are naturalized Guarani of a different origin. I shall not venture to give a map of S. American cleanliness

C
Ce
[128]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5, 4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Aymara SF5

here. In order to do so, it would be necessary for me to have seen much more of S. American Indians than is the case. I will, however, here try to give the tribes I know a *certificate of cleanliness*. I mark the dirtiest, the Aymara, with o and Mojo, the cleanest, with 5. At the same time I will give them a certificate of orderliness, i. e. point out to what extent they keep their huts tidy and their belongings clean and neat. These 'certificates' are also of considerable interest as a means of understanding the cultural development and relations of the tribes.

Ce 515 171 * 174 128 A [515]

I consider that a distinction should be made between the Chané who live on the Rio Itiyuro and those living on the Rio Parapiti. The former are poorer and characteristically enough less cleanly than the latter. It is of a certain interest to see that skill in arts does not always go hand in hand with tidiness and cleanliness.

Ce 515 184

The more or less high standard of Indian art, at least among present-day tribes in E. Bolivia, is dependent on whether they have been influenced to a greater or less degree by pre-Columbian civilization in western S. America.

Ce [177]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,7(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Aymara SF5

C
C2
575
356
*171
181
A
[515]

		Cleanness of body	Cleanness in and round the abode	Care of household, belongings, weapons, ornaments, clothes	Skill in art.
Ashluslay	El Gran Chaco near Rio Pilcomayo	2	0	1	3
Atsahuaca	Peru, tropical forests	3	3	3	1
Aymara	Andean Plateau, cold climate	0	0	0	5
Baure	Plains and tropical forests, Mojos, Bolivia	5	5	4	—
Cavina	Plains and tropical forests, near Rio Beni, Bolivia	3	3	3	2
Chacobo	Plains and tropical forests, Mojos, Bolivia	4	5	5	1
Chána	Tropical forests, Rio Madidi, Bolivia	2	3	3	1
Chané (Itiyuro)		5	4	3	4
" (Parapiti)		4	4	3	3
Chimáne	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	2	2	1
Chiriguano		5	4	3	4
Choroti	El Gran Chaco, near Rio Pilcomayo	2	0	1	2
Guarayú (mission)	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	3	3	—
Guarayú Pauserna	Tropical forests, Brazil	3	3	3	1
Huanyam	"	4	4	4	1
Huari	"	3	4	3	1
Mataco	El Gran Chaco	1	0	1	3
Mojo	Tropical forests and plains, Bolivia	5	5	4	—
Quichua	Andean Plateau	1	1	1	5
Tambopata-Guarayo	Tropical forests, Peru	3	3	3	1
Tapiete	El Gran Chaco	2	1	2	1
Toba	"	2	1	1	1
Yamiaca	Tropical forests, Peru	3	3	3	1
Yuracáre	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	3	3	3

C
302

There are still many of the old Chiriguano, who wear long hair. Young men and youths with long hair are only

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

seen in the villages about the upper Rio Pilcomayo. When the hair is long it is not worn hanging down the back, as is the custom with other Indians wearing long hair. It is wound round the head, »put up», and kept in place with a frontlet. I have not seen any other Indians do their hair in this way. The women also have long hair, usually parted down the middle and braided. Braiding may have been introduced in post-Columbian times, though this is uncertain, as it was also common in the culture-area of the west. C 302

The Chiriguano and Chané use combs, but no brushes. In Part I I have already dealt with different kinds of combs met with in the districts through which I have travelled. The Chiriguano only have plain wooden combs which are sometimes rather prettily carved. This type of comb is probably derived from the mountain civilization, as I have already pointed out in Part I. Ee 302 412 Ee [177]

The Chané have »stick-combs», »Stäbchenkämme» and now and again, though rarely, plain wooden ones too. These constructed combs are, as a rule, one-sided, in contradistinction to the doublesided ones of the Choroti and the Ashluslay. Thus we see that the Chané type of comb is unlike the one found in old tombs in the Puna de Jujuy, and which now occurs among the Quichua and the Aymara, the Choroti and the Ashluslay. Chiriguano and Chané combs are used exclusively for cleaning the hair and are never worn as ornaments. Ce 412 171* Ee [302 301]

The use of the pincer or tweezer as a toilet article certainly came to the Chiriguano and Chané from the civilized zone in the west. They are of metal and are used for removing hair from the body. Nowadays pincers are usually made of the metal from some old tin can, but sometimes of silver. These pincers of silver also serve as breast ornaments for the men, and are called »boivéra». They have to a great extent lost their original use, and are now simply used as ornaments. They have even sometimes been hammered together so that they can no longer be used as pincers. C Ce 302 412 [177] C Ce 301 412 177

5tNordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
301
302
412
531

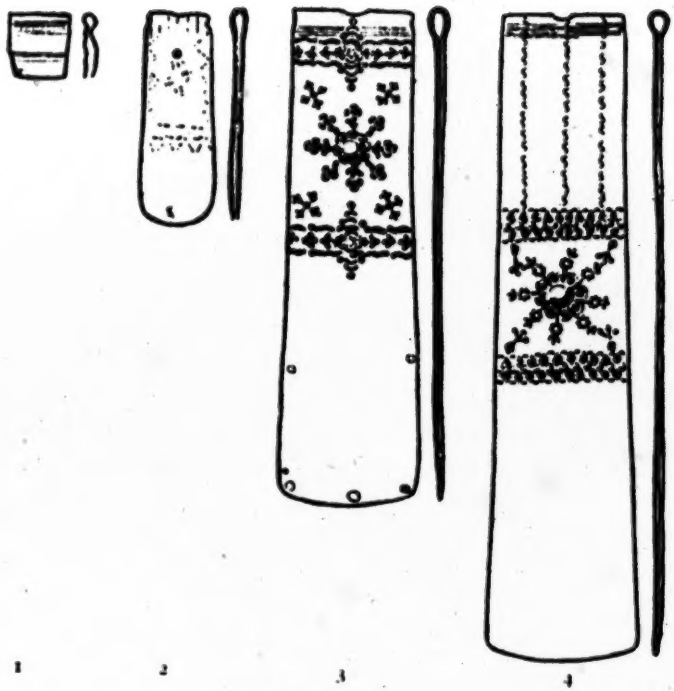


Fig. 26. 1/2.

1) Implement of tin for removing hair. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 396.
2) » » silver » » » also used as breast ornament. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 378.
3) Breast ornament of silver. » » 374
4) » » » » » » 370.

C
Ce
301
412
177
Ce
[531]

cers. They have become bigger and bigger. (fig. 26) These silver trinkets are not made any more by the Indians themselves, and it is likely that the majority of, or all the silver ornaments now found among the Indians have been made by white silversmiths.[1]) The shape is always Indian, but

[1]) NINO is also of the opinion that the »bolvéra» is not of Indian make. P. 196.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the ornamental design not always so (fig. 26). It is difficult to decide whether the idea of the pincer as a mere breast ornament is due only to the influence of non-Indian smiths or not. Most likely the pincer was turned into mere ornament by the makers, who presumably used it as an article of barter and then increased its size in order to make it more and more coveted by the Indians. At last the makers themselves may even have been quite ignorant of its original use. Consequently we cannot be wrong in considering the »boivéra» an original Indian element of culture which has been transformed under the influence of

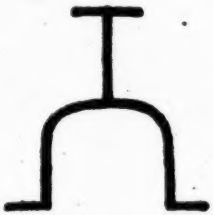


Fig. 27. Figure tattooed on the arm of a old Chiriguano Indian. ? Caipipendi. 1/1.

the Whites. There is no doubt that the pincer is a cultural element derived from the old culture zone in the west. They are, as we know, quite common in collections from that part. The Chiriguano also sometimes use a piece of split reed for removing hair.

Tattooing occurs here, but is very rarely seen. I have only seen two Chiriguano women and one old Chiriguano man with tattooing on their arms. The old man had the figure depicted here (fig. 27) tattooed on his arm. If I understood him rightly, it used in old times to be quite common for the Chiriguano-men to be tattooed in the same way. I have seen no tattooed Chané men or Chané women. I have already given an account of the distribution of tattooing in S. America in the first part of this book.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
302
* 171

Painting the face with «urucu» is rather general here. The custom of painting the face prevails or has prevailed among most tribes in S. America and the red colour of Bixa Orellana (Urucu) is greatly appreciated where it can be had.

The «Genipa» is not used. It is possible that the genipa will not grow as far south as the Chiriguano and the Chané land.

S:Nordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

XIV.

Stained Teeth.

It was already related by VIEDMA[1]) that the Chiriguano stain their teeth. I have seen Chiriguano women in the Caipipendi valley stain their teeth a blackish blue with the leaves of a plant called »tajú». LASCH has made a study of the custom of staining the teeth among S. American Indians. He speaks of this custom from Cumaná, quoting GOMARA, according to which author the women stained their teeth at the death of their husbands.[2]) He further mentions that this custom prevails among the Miraña,[3]) the Piro,[4]) the Goajiro[5]) and the Arawaks[6]) in Guiana. To this I can, as shown by the map and table below, make several additions.

302
171 *
[125]

[1]) P. 181.

[2]) I have looked through all available editions of GOMARA in order to find this statement, but in vain. What I have been able to find about stained teeth in GOMARA P. 203—206 I give here. [114]

»Préciance de tener muy negros los dientes, y llaman mujer al que los tiene blancos, como en Curiana . . . . Hacen negros los dientes con zumo ó polvo de hojas de árbol, que llaman ahi los cuales . . . . . a los quince anos, cuando comienzan á levantar la cresta toman estas yerbas en la boca, y traenlas hasta ennegrecer los dientes como el carbon; dura despues la negrura toda la vida.»

[3]) From MARTIUS.

[4]) » RAIMONDI.

[5]) » WAITZ.

[6]) » MARTIUS (1). He writes. T. 1, P. 691, »Schwärzung der Zähne, die GOMARA, Cap. 73, von den alten Cumanesen angiebt soll hier auch vorgekommen sein.» This statement seems so vague, that I have not indicated it on the map. As far as I know it is not confirmed by other authors writing on the same Indians.

Schwerdmöller I-4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
South American Indians 53

Table 9.

The distribution of stained teeth. Map 8.

C
382
#171
102
S
102
302

4. Chiriguano, VIEDMA P. 181. Men and woman.
4L. Caxinana, CAPISTRANO DE ABREU P. 459.
5L. Indians north of Peru, POEPPIG Vol. 2, P. 253. Men.
34. Jivaro, HERMENSEN P. 440, Men.
36. Ijca, BOLINDER (4) P. 114. Men.
39. Goijiro, WATTE Vol. 3, P. 373.
46. Conibo, RAIMONDI P. 667. See also CASTELNAU Vol. 4, P. 368.
61. WHIPPEN P. 88. »Among the Orahone, and also among some of the Iça and Yapuni Indians, the women cover their teeth and their finger-nails with a black pigment. The paint is never allowed to work off entirely, fresh designs being superimposed before the original has quite disappeared.»
70. Piro, RAIMONDI P. 667. The Piro is also called »Chontaquiro». Chonta = black wood, quiro = tooth.
71. Sipibo, Setebo, RAIMONDI P. 667; SMYTH and LOWE P. 211 write about the Indians in Sarayacu: »but their custom of staining their teeth dark blue, with a plant they call mucumucu, produces a very disgusting effect on their countenance.» The Indians in Sarayacu were Panos, Setebos, Conibos, Shipebos and Sencis.
99. CUMANOGOTO, GOMARA P. 405; BENZONI P. 4, 9. »They make a certain mixture to preserve the teeth, with oyster shells of the sort that produce pearls, burning them with the leaves of the *laxi*, and then adding a little water, so that the mixture looks like the whitest lime; and this they spread over the teeth, which become black as charcoal».

LAS CASAS V. 63, P. 436. »Vieron ellos tambien, y yo despues que acostumbran los hombres traer en la boca cierta hierba todo el dia mascando, la que, teniendo los dientes blanquisimos comunmente, se

[text continues on p. 88]

S:Nordenskiöld E-S,Y (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

South American Indians 53

87

C
102
302
*171
S
102
276
302

Map. 8. The distribution of stained teeth.

● = Intentional staining of the teeth. ○ = Teeth stained black by chewing coca and lime.

Schwabacher E-S (1909-1908, 1912) 1929
#19 Chirigano #19
South American Indians 53

88
C
302
*171
102
S
102
302
[881]

les ponen una costra en ellos más negra que la más negra azabaja que puede ser;» Las Casas speaks of the expedition of Per Alonso Niño y Cristóbal Guerra 1499.

Martyr P. 368. «Between the ages of ten to twelve years when puberty declares itself, they chew, all day long, leaves of trees, as thick as a nut, taking no other food nor drink. With this substance they blacken their teeth till they are the colour of a dead coal. They contemptuously call the Spaniards women and children, because the latter like to have white teeth; or likewise wild animals, because they let their hair and beards grow. Their teeth last a lifetime and they are ignorant of the aches which sometimes oblige us to have our molars removed. Their teeth never decay». (The Eighth Decade)

Ruiz Blanco P. 58, medicine-men. «Son calabocillas en una traen una yerba tostada que llaman a y o, que mascan y es buena para la dentadura, y en otra una calecilla con que ponen los dientes negros.»

Simon (1) P. 316.

1 c. Paez, Manuel Rodriguez P. 25. «Mascan continuamente, aquella su yerva diabólica, la coca, de que tienen negros como una pez los dientes» . . . . . .

6 P. Aguarumo, Muro P. 199.

4 S. Micaña, Martius (1) Vol. I, P. 536. Men

9 S. Mayuas, Chantre y Herrera P. 63. «Firme la dentadura y por todo igual, cuando no la dañan con el mascar continuo hierbas de zumo negro; es sumamente blanca y la conservan hasta la vejez. Tienen, algunas naciones, por adorno y por moda tenir los dientes y labios de color negro, y á este fin, mascan hierbas y tallos cuyo zumo mezclado con ceniza que meten en la boca, hace, con el beneficio de la saliva, un negro que dura por muchos dias. Mas, no contentos con una tintura, dan á lo menos cada dos dias este barnir

á dientes y labios para conservarlos así más bastante. Causa grima el ver cómo refriegan los labios con lo más áspero de la hoja del maíz para quitar el tinte antiguo hasta desollarlos, y echar sangre para que de esta manera asiente mejor el nuevo, y brille más por fresco y reciente.»

IX. Colorado, River (1) P. 188.

(7m.) Mamobamba (Vanasimos), Balboa Chap. 8; Sarmiento P. 96. «Conquistó Tupa Inca y sus capitanes desta vez cuatro grandes naciones. La primera fué la de los indios llamados Opatarios y la otra llamado Manamoyo y la tercera se dice de los Manarios o Vanasimos que quiere decir los de las bocas negras.» Vana — black, simi — mouth. Near Cuzco, not marked on the map. Possibly identical with Pino (7n).

Bolivar, who has observed that the Ipca's teeth are stained black by their chewing coca and lime,[1] has advanced the opinion that the staining of teeth among the Cunungoto may not have been purposely done, but caused by the lime that was chewed with coca. I believe that Bolivar may be right in this supposition. As early a writer as Rivero Blanco[2], who lived in many years in Comaná, considered that the lime chewed with coca was the cause of blackened teeth.

In N. Peru[3], where lime is chewed with coca, the Indians have black teeth. In the rest of Peru, where coca is chewed with the ashes of quinoa-hasks and other plants, the Indians' teeth do not get black from coca chewing. This corroborates the assumption of Bolivar that the teeth of the Cunungoto were blackened by the lime they chew-

---

[1] (4) P. 100.

[2] P. 50.

[3] «Without doubt the lime destroys the teeth and consequently the Peruvian «coqueros» have disgustingly black and carious rows of teeth.» Pennes Vol. 1, P. 233.

ed with coca. The teeth of the Pueo were also blackened by coca-chewing. Most likely this holds good of the Cuzco too. We ought, therefore, to distinguish between two [illegible], one where the Indians get black teeth by chewing coca-leaves with lime, and another where they purposely stain their teeth blue or black. The latter must be renewed after a time, the former, which is the result of coca-chewing with lime, lasts for life.

It is difficult to explain the geographical distribution of the custom of staining the teeth. Perhaps the unintentional staining of the teeth is the original one, and has given rise to the intentional staining. One might suppose that the Indians who saw the white, black teeth of the coca-chewers wanted to appropriate the fashion, though they were not coca-chewers themselves, and consequently they stained their teeth dark.

That coca-chewers in Cusco considered it elegant to have black teeth is obvious from what Bueno says: «They contemptuously call the Spaniards women and children» because the latter like to have white teeth.» «Women» is not exactly a title of honour among Indians.

One might imagine that staining the teeth was once fashionable within the civilized area of the Andes and that the custom has lived on in the border land after it dropped out of fashion in the place from which it originated. Staining the teeth is not a General custom, so it must have been only when the Chiriguano Indians reached their present place of abode that they learnt the custom.

It may also be assumed that the coca used to be chewed with lime all over the old civilized western area. If this is so, we ought to be able to prove it archaeologically, but, as far as I know, none of the skulls found in Peru or Bolivia have had teeth blackened and destroyed by using lime with the coca.

It is, however, a striking fact that intentional blackening of the teeth does not occur far from the Andine region

Schoolcraft E-G, 1 (1848-1849, 1852) 1850
SF10 Chirigumo SF10

of civilization. This, at any rate, appears from the quotations here given; nor is it likely that blackening of the teeth in early post-Columbian times had a much greater distribution than is here indicated. I venture to affirm this, since blackening of the teeth is one of those practices which would strike all travellers even from the time of the Conquest. Respecting such practices as have interested older writers we ought to be able to make very exact maps of their post-Columbian geographical distribution.

302
174
171*

8:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XV.

Ornaments and Knick-knacks.

C
Ce
301
177

Nowadays the Chiriguano and the Chané have but few personal adornaments. This is perhaps to a certain extent owing to their long intercourse with Whites. Feather-ornaments, pierced teeth, and such things are not seen. I have already described the »boivéra». The embellishments on these silver ornaments, especially the Swastika are, I think, not genuine Indian. In South America I know of the Swastika on pottery from the Mizque valley[1]), from Tiahuanaco[2]) and from Ica[3]) and Cajamarca[4]) in Peru. An ornament which most certainly originates from the civilized mountain region is the »topu» or breast-pin, which is peculiar to this region. An embellished one of silver is shown here (fig. 29 a). It was most likely made by a Mestiz smith. Necklaces worn by Chiriguano and Chané women are most often of glass beads, but one now and then sees ornaments of pieces of shells, turquoise and, other green and blue stones, black seeds and coral. The stones are said originally to have been found in the ground, especially in the Tarija valley.

C
Ce
[531]
*[171]

C
292
301
[177]

A very rare ornament is the head-dress depicted here (fig. 28). It was formerly worn by Chiriguano women on festive occasions. Even if it is now made of a material which the Indians have had from the Whites, it is quite

[1]) Nordenskiöld (11) Fig. 37.
[2]) Posnansky Fig. 39.
[3]) Max Schmidt (7) Fig. 34.
[4]) M. C. A. 176.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

[P.93]

292
301

Fig. 28. Head-dress for women. Made of stuff, tufts of yarn and tin. Chiriguano, Caipipendi, R. M. E. 32.

292 possible that the original idea was Indian and in that case
301 came from the civilized mountain region. The frontlet was
177 there a mark of distinction[1]).

177
301
531

a

b

Fig. 29. a. Silver pin used for fastening the »Tipoy». The shape Indian, embellishment Spanish. Chiriguano, Rio Parapiti. In Mr HERNMARCK's private collection. 1/3.
b. Breast-plate of silver »Bolvéra», Chiriguano, Caipipendi. In my private collection. 1/3.

[1]) »Algunas cuñas usan en esta circunstancia ceñir la cabeza con una especie de corona de color rojo, por detras de la cual penden varios cordones que rematan en una borla. Este adorno, de que usan solo algunas y esclusivamente en el a r e t e, no deja de darles cierta gracia.» CORRADO P. 44.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XVI.

Carrying-implements.

In Part I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano and Chané use carrying-nets, and never baskets, when carrying burdens on long journeys, when bringing home the produce of their fields, or when bearing water long distances. The method is for the band of the carrying-net to be fastened around the forehead, the burden resting on the back. If the water is near the village, they often bear the pitcher on their shoulders and, now and then, at the mission-stations, on their heads. In contradistinction to the negroes, however, the Indians are never seen carrying burdens on their heads while on journeys. C Ce 482 415

In Part I there is a map (25) showing the geographical distribution of the carrying-net. As has been proved by the excavations of UHLE[1]) at Arica, the carrying net must be a very old culture element in S. America. C Ce [171]*

Calabashes are sometimes put inside a net (fig. 30) in order that they may be carried more easily. A calabash in a net is, of course, easily hung up on a hook in the roof of the hut. C Ce [353]

Earthen vessels are sometimes hung up in the same way. These have then more or less the shape of calabashes. BOMAN[2]) depicts an earthen vessel hung up in this way from Calama.

In my collection of earthen vessels there is one from the Chiriguano, and another from the Chané, which are intended to be carried by a string running round the vessel [171]*

[1]) (10) P. 12.
[2]) Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 180.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
415
482
171

through the ears. These are reminiscent of the type of vessel employed by the Choroti and Ashluslay for carrying, and which I have traced to the Incan «aryballes». I did not mention these vessels in Part I, as they are not typical vessels of the Chiriguano and Chané. Among the numerous pitchers used for carrying I have only seen these two specimens. I know nothing of their origin, why they were made, or if they were merely acquired from one of the tribes who always use such vessels for bearing water. The latter is, however, unlikely.

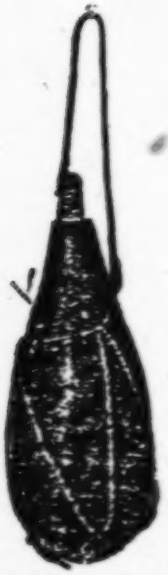


Fig. 30. Calabash in a net with an empty corn-cob as stopper.
R. M. E. 522. 1/7

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Table 10.

Calabashes put inside a net.

C
Ce

Chiriguano, R. M. E. 522. 415
Chané, R. M. P. 48. 482
Mataco, R. M. M. T. 114; R. M. M. 1101. 171*
Mbayá, Boggiani (2) P. 112, Fig. 50.
Karajá, Krause Pl. 56. 4 b. c.
Cainguá, Outes (5) and Bruch P. 96.
Indians upper Rio Xingú, Steinen (3) P. 141.[i]
Guayaqui, Kunike Fig. 6.
Ijca, Bolinder (4).
Goijiro, Therese von Bayern (2) Vol. 1, Pl. 1.
Indians Roraima, G. M. 12. 1. 476 (Basket-net.)
Indians Popayan, Uhle (1) Vol. 2, Pl. 4, 1.

i [erratum: this should read p. 241. Cf. errata sheet, p. 245. - Analyst]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XVII.

Rafts.

C
501

As far as I have seen, the Chiriguano now never use canoes or rafts. PEDRO DE SEGURA,[1]) however, mentions rafts from these Indians at the end of the sixteenth century. Nowhere else in the literature have I found any confirmation of their being used by these Indians, so I refrain from giving an account of the distribution of different kinds of rafts among the South-American Indians, and refer my readers to FRIEDERICI'S[2]) excellent work on Indian canoes and rafts. I have found rafts in common use among the Chimáne and other tribes in North Bolivia.

C
Ce
491
C
481

The Chiriguano and Chané do not build bridges. The former, at least, are known as exceedingly clever waders.

[1]) Carta de PEDRO DE SEGURA. »Corregidor de Tomina, al Virey del Peru, con relacion de la guerra de los Chiriguanaes» SERRANO Y SANZ P 524.

[2]) (5).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XVIII.

Games.

C
Ce
524
C
Ce
[177]

I have found a greater number of games among the Chiriguano and Chané than are known to any other tribes in S. America. In the first part of this book I pointed out that games of chance were known only in the west of S. America and that the »tsúka» or the »chunquanti» game is one that has come to the Indians in Chaco from the civilized area in the west. I also mentioned having found it among the Chiriguano and Chané. It is not necessary to repeat the description of the game here, as it occurs in Part I of this work.

The Chiriguano and Chané have another dice game called »chukareta» which is played with a heap of sticks. These sticks are convex on one side and flat or concave on the other. It is played in the following manner.

First you place a stick (máma) so that it points towards the person who is to throw. We assume it has been placed with the convex side up. If two or more sticks fall crossed with the convex side up and without being touched above by any stick with the flat or concave side up, they go to the throwers. If the máma had been placed with the flat or concave side up, only the sticks with the flat or concave side up would have counted. The players throw alternately and each of them places the máma as he pleases. The one wins who gets most sticks. When only four sticks are

[1]) With the exception of the chunquanti-game I here repeat the description of Chiriguano and Chané games so as to group them in one place, though I have given them before. There are already several descriptions, but as they are only in Swedish they are regarded by many explorers as non-existent.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
524

left, no máma is put out and the players decide if the convex or flat (concave) side is to count.

C
Ce
524
177

Other games of chance that are common here have most likely been borrowed from the Whites. »Taba», the well known national game of the Gauchos, is played, the astragalus of a cow being thrown, and it depends on which side of the bone turns up whether you win or lose.

The European game of dice goes by the name of »daro», here from the Spanish »dado». The Chiriguano and Chané have dice of their own make. They are made of bone or burnt clay. In Tihüipa I wrote down the rules of this

Fig. 31. Rules for the game of »daro». Chiriguano. Tihüipa.

game shown in Fig. 31. All other combinations are = 0. The first to get ten marks, has won. The marks are made on the ground. It is plain that these dice are an imitation of European dice. Those at the top of the illustration correspond to our one, the next to our five; then comes two, then six, then three and next four. They seem to have made their own rules for this game or else they are a re-hash of those of the Whites. There is no doubt that card playing has come from the Whites. The cards they use are bought in stores.

C
Ce
526

Of the games of skill occurring here I have in the first part of this book described in detail a bat and ball game (map 28) and a game with maize leaf balls (map 29).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The bat and ball game »táca» (a kind of hockey), is played by the Chiriguano boys. I have not seen this game among the Chané. We also saw in Part I that the game is played by many tribes in the Chaco and by the Araucanians. Besides playing with long, bent sticks the Chiriguano also play with a kind of racket The balls are always of wood. I have not seen rackets elsewhere. In part I we saw that the game with maize leaf balls is especially met with in the northeastern part of S. America.

C
Ce
526
C
[857]

We find a most interesting ball game among the Chané which is not known by the Choroti and Ashluslay. It is played with india-rubber balls (Map 9). All the way from the Chané in El Gran Chaco to the West Indies and Mexico the game is characterized by the players not being allowed to touch the ball with their hands but having to catch and butt it with their heads, shoulders, hips or feet. In the Journal of the Royal Danish Geographical Society I have given an account of the distribution in South America of games with india-rubber balls. I here repeat in part what I wrote there, as the Danish language is not likely to be known any better than the Swedish. I can also add something to what I wrote there.

Ce
526
171*

As the conformity of the rules of the game all the way from Mexico to the Chané is of the greatest anthropogeographical interest, I reproduce many of them here word for word as given by several authors. The game is mentioned from the Chané in Litterae Annuae of 1605. The author of this description says of these Indians that they played at ball using their heads instead of bats, and that they were quite as clever as the Spaniards were with their hands and bats.[1])

This game »tóki» is still played by the Chané at Rio Parapiti, where I have seen boys playing at ball with their heads.

Ce
526
[857]

[1]) Page 409. »Indos videlicet huius Prouinciae, pilae ludo capitibus tabellarum loco, tanta dexteritate exercerí, quanta Hispani, manibus, atque tabellis.»

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce
526

heads. The game is mentioned in one of the Chané-Indian tales, published in my book »Indianlif». From this tale we see how difficult it used to be for the Chané to get india-rubber for their balls. It had to be fetched from the north, as there are no rubber-yielding trees at Rio Parapiti.

Ce
526
539

»Aguaratunpa» (the Fox[1])-demon) had captured »Ururutti», the white Condor, who offers everything imaginable to get back his liberty.

»I will fill a house with bowls of silver »Cagua» and give it you, if you will release me,» says the white Condor.

»I have all the silver I want», Aguaratunpa answers, »and I capture you in order to kill you. But if you can get me the white india-rubber ball »toki» to play with, I will release you», says Aguaratunpa.

Ururutti now flies and fetches the white india-rubber ball. Then Aguararatunpa and the others play the game, catching and butting the ball with their heads. The white Condor, however, catches the ball and flies off with it and so Aguaratunpa sends another bird »Tavatan» to fetch the black india-rubber ball.[2])

C
Ce
526
*171

The game is mentioned from the Itatines east of Sta. Cruz de la Sierra in Litterae Annuae of 1589. The ball was made of the resin from a certain kind of tree and yet it was so light that it bounced at the slightest touch more easily than any leather ball. They did not, however, strike this ball with their hands or feet, but with their heads and, if need were, with their elbows, giving and taking it with the utmost skill. The winner was awarded a great prize.[3])

[1]) NORDENSKIÖLD. (8) P. 244.

[2]) The two india-rubber balls from the Cavina-Indians in the Gothenburg museum are of a greyish-yellow; the one from the Huari-Indians is a blackish-brown.

[3]) Page 434. »Pila est e cuiusdam resina arboris compacta, leuis tamen, et quæ minimo pulsu magis resiliat, quam folliculus quicumque: eam porro non manu impellunt, aut pede, sed capite, et, si forte, cubito, mira dantium accipientiumque dexteritate: et est magnum victori præmium.»

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

103
C
Ce
102
526
171*
S
102
171
526

Map. 9. The distribution of games with india-rubber balls.

● = players not being allowed to touch the ball with their hands, but having to catch and butt it with their heads, shoulders, hips or feet. O = rules of the game unknown.

4 = Chiriguano; 5 = Chané; 20 = Paressi-Kabisi; 23 = Churápa; 25 = Mojo; 28 = Auetö; 40 = Itatines (Guarayá); 47 = Indians, British Guiana; 58 = Cavina; 64 = Huari; 88 = Otomaco; 94 = Chiquitos; 3M = Indians, Haiti; 4M = Indians, Yucatan; 98 Maynas.

5tNordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Chiquito SF9

C
526

I have not seen the Chiriguano play this game. I have, however, heard that they used to play it and called the game »bondi». The ball, which was of solid india-rubber, might not be touched with the hands but had to be caught and struck with the head. It might not touch the ground.

Co
526

Both earlier and later authors mention games with india-rubber balls among the Chiquito Indians in south Bolivia.[1]) These Indians hit the ball with their heads. At Rio Guaporé I saw rubber-workers, who spoke Chiquito, playing this game. They were very clever at striking the ball with their heads. Even low balls that only just cleared the ground, were caught in the same way, the players throwing themselves on their faces. They danced while playing. This game is also known to the Churápa, a Chiquito-Indian tribe, near Sta. Cruz de la Sierra, who called it »taurosh».[2]) EDER speaks of games with india-rubber balls in Mojos.[3]) The ball was kicked or caught and butted with the head. The balls that were used were either solid and heavy or light and hollow.

C
Ce
526
*171

I saw the small tribe of Huari Indians[4]) near the Upper Rio Guaporé playing with hollow india-rubber balls. There also the balls had to be caught and butted with the head.

When ROOSEVELT on his celebrated journey through Matto Grosso came to the Paressi Indians, he was astonished to see them play »football with their heads», a mode

[1]) FERNANDEZ. »Juntanse muchos en la plaza con buen orden, echan al ayre una pelota, y luego, no con los manos, sino con la cabeza, la rebaten con maravillosa destreza, arrojandose aún en tierra para cogerla». D'ORBIGNY (2) Partie Historique, Tome 2. P. 394—395; NORDENSKIÖLD (8) P. 180.

[2]) NORDENSKIÖLD (9) P. 28.

[3]) P. 341.

[4]) NORDENSKIÖLD (11) P. 387. A ball that I brought home from these Indians is about 6 cm. in diameter. The rubber is unusually thick, about 6—7 mm. It is blackish brown.

8:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
526
171*

of playing that he thought was as yet undescribed.[1]) They used a light, hollow rubber ball of their own make. It was round, and about 8 inches in diameter.

Before ROOSEVELT[2]) MAX SCHMIDT[3]) speaks about this game in Matto Grosse among the Paressi-Kabiši. There they played with india-rubber balls made of the milky juice from the mangave. The ball might not be touched with the hands during the game, but had to be caught and butted with the forehead, even if it was on the ground. To make this possible a mound of sand might be made under the ball. The balls are 9—11 cm. in diameter. MAX SCHMIDT gives us a splendid photograph of some Paressi-Kabiši lads amusing themselves with this strange ball-game.

KARL VON DEN STEINEN mentions india-rubber balls among the Auetö-Indians at Rio Xingú,[4]) but without

[1]) ROOSEVELT, P. 185—86. »The game is not only native to them, but I have never heard or read of its being played by any other tribe or people.»

[2]) Page 185. »The players are divided into two sides, and stationed much as in Association football, and the ball is placed on the ground to be put in play as in football. Then a player runs forward, throws himself flat on the ground, and butts the ball towards the opposite side This first butt, when the ball is on the ground never lifts it much and it rolls and bounds towards the opponents. One or two of the latter run toward it one throws himself flat on his face and butts the ball back. Usually this but lifts it, and it flies back in a curve well up in the air; and an opposite player, rushing toward it, catches it on his head with such a swing of his brawny neck, and such precision and address that the ball bounds back through the air as a football soars after a drop-kick. If the ball flies off to one side or the other it is brought back, and again put in play. Often it will be sent to and from a dozen times, from head to head, until finally it rises with such a sweep that it passes far over the heads of the opposite players and descends behind them. Then shrill rolling cries of good-humoured triumph arise from the victors; and the game instantly begins again with fresh zest.»

[3]) SCHMIDT, MAX (4) P. 181—83.

[4]) STEINEN, (3) P. 329.

SiNordenskiöld E-5,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
526
*171

giving the rules of the game. I saw the Cavina-Indians at Rio Beni use india-rubber balls. They were hollow and the rubber was thin and there was shot inside them so that they could be used as rattles. I only saw them thrown with the hands. Indian boys in the Mainas mission[1]) at Rio Marañon also had india-rubber balls of their own making. BARRERE mentions balls of the kind from Amazonas without saying how they were used.[2]) IM THURN[3]) speaks of these balls in British Guiana.

GUMILLA[4]) tells us that the Otomaco-Indians at the Orinoco river played with balls made of a kind of juice that they called «caucho» and which bounced to a man's height at the slightest touch. The ball might only be caught and hit with the right shoulder. If it touched any other part of the body the player lost one point. In this way the balls were butted from shoulder to shoulder up to 10 or 12 times without touching the ground. It struck GUMILLA as stranger still that when the ball was rolling on the ground they could put it in play again by throwing themselves on their faces and pressing their bodies to the ground.[5])

---

[1]) [MARONI] (Junio 1889) P. 329.

[2]) BARRERE, P. 139.

[3]) P. 326.

[4]) GUMILLA. T. I, P. 190—191. «Lo singular es, assi la pelota, como el modo de jugarla: la pelota es grande, como una bola de jugar el Mayo, formado de una resina, que llaman CAUCHO, que à leve impulso rebota tan alto, como la estatura de un hombre: el saque, y rechazo ha de ser con solo el hombro derecho, y si toca la pelota en qualquiera otra parte del cuerpo pierde una raya: causa maravilla vèr ir, y venir rechazar y rebolver la pelota diez, doce y mas veces, sin dexarla tocar en el suelo. Es otra cosa de mayor admiracion, al venir una pelota arrastrando, vèr arrojarse aquel Indio contra ella con todo el cuerpo: al modo con que suelen arrojarse al agua para nadar, del mismo modo dàn con todo el cuerpo contra el suelo, y con el hombro levantan por cinco ayres otra vez la pelota.

[5]) See GILIJ T. 2, P. 269—272. GILIJ describes the game in detail. He says that the Otomacos had a place set apart for ball-games.

SiNordamkiRid E-8/4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chirigano SF10
Chane SF8

OVIEDO[1]) gives a detailed description of the game. He tells how there were special play- grounds in the Haiti villages where they played at ball. During the game

C
Ce
526
171*

1) OVIEDO. T. 1, Lib. 9, Chap. 2, P. 169.

«E las pelotas son de unos rayços de árboles é de hierras é çumos é mezcla de cosas, que toda junta esta mistura parece algo çerapez negra. Juntas estas y otras materias, cuçeñlo todo é hacen una pasta; é redondiçelo e hacen la pelota, tamaña como una de las de viento en España, é mayores é menores: la qual mistura hace una tez negra, é no se pega á las manos; é despues que está enxuta tiernase algo esponçiosa, no por que tenga agujero ni vacuo alguno, como la esponja, pero alijeresçesse, y es como loba y algo pesada.

Estas pelotas saltan mucho mas que las de viento sin comparaçion, porque de solo señalla de la mano en tierra, suben mucho mas para arriba, é dan un salto é otro é otro y muchos, disminuyendo en el saltar por el viçinan, como lo hacen las pelotas de viento é muy mejor. Mas como son maçizas, son algo pesadas; é si los dieran con la mano abierta ó con el puño çerrado, en pocos golpes abririan la mano ó la desconçertarian. Y á esta causa le dan con el hombro y con el cobdo y con la cabeça, y con la cadera lo mas continuo ó con la rodilla; y con tanta presteza y soltura, que es mucho de ver su agilidad, porque aunque vaya la pelota quasi á par del suelo, se arrojan de tal manera desde tres ó quatro passos apartados, tendidos en el ayre, y le dan con la cadera para la rechaçar. Y de qualquier lado á manera que la pelota vaya en el ayre (é no rastrando), es bien tocada; porque ellos no tienen por mala ninguna pelota (si mal jugada), porque haya dado dos, ni tres, ni muchos saltos, con tanto que al herir, le den en el ayre. No hacen chaças, sino pónense tantos á un cabo como á otro, partido el terreno ó compás del juego, y los de acellá la sueltan é sirven una vez, echándola en el ayre, esperando que le toque primero qualquiera de los contrarios; y en dándole aquel, luego salçede el que antes pasó de los unos ó de los otros, y no çessan con toda la diligençia possible á ellos, para herir la pelota. Y la contençion es que los deste cabo la hagan passar del otro punto adelante de los contrarios, é aquellos la passen de los limites ó punto destos otros; y no çessan hasta que la pelota va rastrando, que ya por no aver oydo el jugador á tiempo, ó no haçe hoto, ó está tan lenta que no la alcança, é ella se muere ó se para de por sí. Y este vençimiento se cuenta por una raya, é tornan á servir para otra los que fueron servidos en la passada, é á tantas rayas, quantas primero se aquedaron en la postura, vá el preçio que entre las partes se completa».

HERRERA describiéndose lo así en detalle. Dec. 1, Libro 3, Chap. 4.

8tNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
526
*171

the chiefs sat on beautifully carved seats or so called »duhu«. OVIEDO's description makes it quite clear that they used india-rubber balls. Trees yielding india-rubber, however, seem to be unknown in Haiti, so perhaps the Indians got them while trading with the tribes on the South American Continent.

OVIEDO says how well these balls bounced. If one is but dropped on the ground it bounces higher than a ball of feathers would, and it keeps on bouncing again and again. They played in the same way in Haiti as they did at the Orinoco, not throwing the balls with their hands but catching and striking them with their shoulders, elbows, heads, hips or knees. The balls were solid.

I have shown on map 9 the distribution of rubber balls in South-America. In most places it is, as we have seen, played in such wise that the balls are not allowed to be touched with the hands, but have to be caught and struck with some other part of the body. Judging by the distribution of the game I should not consider it unlikely that it has been spread in South America by the Arawaks. The Indians in Haiti were Arawaks, as also the Paressi-Kabiší and Chané. The Otomaco had Arawakan civilization. It is interesting to learn from the Chané tale that the balls were brought from a distance. It is possible that the same thing was done in Haiti.

As early a writer as GUMILLA states that a ball-game like the one he describes from the Otomaco-Indians, was played in Mexico. Thus he quotes P. ROXAS (Historia Cinaloá, lib. 8, cap. fol. 475.) who mentions similar games among the Acaxees-Indians in Sierra de Topia.[1]) There is

[1]) T. 1, P. 191. The publisher of EDER's work also had his attention drawn to the similarity between the ball-games in Mexico and in Mojos. (P. 344).

»Eundem frequentabant olim veteres Mexicani, et Chiriguro tenbe hodiedum exercent Tamaretnes. Insulæ S. Dominici incolæ ac ac hoc eodem ludo jam olim oblectarunt, testante Oviedo, et plum rerum va-

S:Nordenskiöld E-S,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

a striking similarity between «tlaxtli», the Mexican ball game, and the one which is played in the West Indies and South America when you take into consideration the different standard of civilization of these peoples. You cannot expect to get the same elaborate rules of a game from a tribe of low culture as from one of a much higher standard. The balls used for tlaxtli were of india-rubber. In Mexico too they played in such wise that the ball was not touched with the hand but with the hip.[7]) The same game was also played by the Maya.[8])

C
Ce
526
171*

One sometimes sees Chané and Chiriguano women playing a game like nine-pins which is called «tarapia» by the former and «tocorôre» by the latter. They played it as follows at Tibtipa. Two rows of maize grains were laid out, two grains on each other like miniature nine-pins at a distance of 4 or 5 feet. Two persons took turns in playing, trying to knock down each others maize nine-pins with a stone ball. The one who first knocked down all the other players nine-pins won the game.

C
Ce
526

At Rio Parapiti the players had three nine-pins each. There was a distance of one fathom between the ninepins of the two players. Every nine-pin consisted of an empty maize cob and the distance between them was the span of a hand. (the greater[9]). They used a ball of burnt clay, hollow, with small rattling marbles inside.

I saw a quoits-game «parama» played by the Chiriguano at Caipipendi. It is a game for two. A button or something of the kind is put on a stone as a target and the play-

C
524

rarum permistione conducunt. Quia divinat, nidumum hoc tantis nationum, tot per regionis sparsarum, in re non minimi utique momenti, conspiratio.»

[7]) Joyce (1), P. 156. «The players wore special gauntlets but the most coloured variety of the game was that in which they were not allowed the use of their hands at all, but struck the ball with their hips.»

[8]) Joyce (2) P. 301.

[9]) The maximum distance between the thumb and little finger.

C 524 ers throw round pieces of pottsherd or flat round stones at it. The button has to be knocked down and the one who has got nearest to it wins a point. The game goes on till one of the players has five or more points according to agreement.

C 524 «Sinki» is another game that I have seen Chané boys play at Rio Parapiti. It is played by two boys with miniature arrow-darts (Fig. 35). First one boy throws his dart into the ground and then the other, who tries to get as near it as possible. If he gets within the span of a hand (the greatest or nearer still to his opponent's arrow he wins a point, and a mark is made on the ground. He is the winner, who first has six marks while the other player has none. In reckoning the points only those count which one player has above the other.

«Sinisinshua» is a game that is only played by small Chané boys at Rio Parapiti. It is played by two boys with a stick apiece. (Fig. 34). One of them throws his stick so that the point strikes the ground and rebounds as far as possible. Then the other boy throws. The one who has thrown farthest gets a point. He wins who first has eight points while the other has none, that is to say, he must have eight points more than the other boy.

C 524 «Sipiyo» is a game for boys which I have seen played by the Chiriguano in Vuadsia at Rio Pilcomayo. The boys form two sides 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, 6, 7, 8. No. 4, let us say, begins by throwing a discus made of a flat cactus from which the spikes have been removed. The discus is hurled with great speed. The opposing team tries to hit it with their arrows. If this happens No. 4 has to walk out and have a shot at the discus which has been placed in a furrow with its edges facing the shooter. If he hits it he may return with his arrow. If he misses he forfeits his arrow and No. 3 succeeds him. No. 2 comes in if No. 3 misses, and No. 1 in the same way. Should he miss too, then 5, 6 etc. shoot till one of them hits the mark. The arrows

4 [1c, Fig. 33 - Ao] 5 [1c, Fig. 32 - Ao]

that have not hit the mark are out of the game. If one hits the discus thrown by No. 4, it has to be thrown by No. 3 and then in the turn of 4, 3 etc. to try and hit it. The player who loses all his arrows is out of the game. The last one who has any arrows left has won, or rather his side. The arrows used for this game are decorated in order that each player may know his own.

Thus we find two games of chance[1] and eight games of skill among the Chané and Chiriguano. Nothing like this number of games is known from any other Indians in South America. The following table shows on their distribution within the territory that I have explored.

Table 11.

	Chané	Chiriguano	Sanapaná	Ayoreo	Lengua	Mataco	Chorote	Chulupí	Toba	Vilela	Guaycurú	Total
Ichilubay	+	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Arakaeana	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Ayoreo	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Cavina	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Chacobo	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Choma	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Chané	+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	4
Chiriguano	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Chiriguano	+	—	+	+	—	+	—	+	—	—	—	5
Chorote	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Chulupí	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Guaycurú (Mbaiá)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Guaycurú (Payaguá)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Kaingang	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Kaskí	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Lengua	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Mataco	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Quichua	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Toba	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tupí-Guaraní-Guayaqui	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tupinambá	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Vilela	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Yaruráre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Total	6	1	1	3	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	15

1) In the sixteenth century.
2) See Métraux-Baldus (in)

Schmelzkartei E-4,(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
2710 Chiriguano 2710
Chaco 278

In no other tribe among whom I have travelled have I found any quite original game unknown to the Chiriguano or Chané. Very few are known from other parts of South America.

I have already said that games of chance must have come to the Chiriguano and Chané from the civilized area of the west. Games with maize-leaf balls and india-rubber balls are northern culture-elements. But and ball games are southern culture-elements. Quoits-games most likely hail from the civilized parts of the west. I found discs that may have been used for such games at Caipipendi and also in the old settlements in the San Francisco valley in the province of Jujuy in Argentine. Quoits-games are common among the Quichua. — I cannot tell where the Indians here dealt with learned to play with marbles, or to play »ipépe» and »kuirahuahua» — I have found nothing about such games in the literature. The game of »kiuki» may possibly be a northern culture element. Hand-darts like those used by the Chané are mentioned by KOCH-GRÜNBERG from southern Guiana. In BOLLINGER'S collection in the Gothenburg museum there is a hand-dart of the kind from the Chimila in Columbia.

The reason why we find such a number of games among the Chiriguano and Chané is that the latter tribe is an Arawak tribe and that they have been strongly influenced by western civilisation. They know not only the Arawak games, but several games that were of importance in the civilized parts of the west.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano
Chane SF8

524

Fig. 32. Stick for »the huirahuahua»-game. Chané, Rio Parapiti. R. M. 1/2

Fig. 33. Hand-dart of an empty maize-cob, a stick and feathers. Chané, Rio Parapiti. R. M. 1/2

[237 824]

Fig. 34. »Rifle, Chané, Rio Parapiti. R. M. E. 160. 1/6

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XIX.

Playthings.

C
Ce
524

I will now pass on to speak of the playthings of the Chiriguano and Chané children, leaving out such as are merely imitations of things used by the elders. They include dolls, buzz-discs, hoops and whips, humming-tops, »bullroarers», and »rifles».

C
Ce
524
*171

I have collected dolls from the following tribes: — Chiriguano, (clay), Chané (wax, cloth, clay), Choroti (unburnt clay, bone), Toba (ditto), Tapiete (unburnt clay,) Mataco (unburnt clay,) Yuracáre (wax), Chimáne (wood), Guarayú-Mission (wood or cloth).

Except among the Chiriguano[1]) and Chané[2]) I have only seen the humming-top among the Quichua[3]) and the Chimáne[4]). Koch-Grünberg[5]) mentions it from N. W. Brazil and from the Roraima-Indians[6]) and Krause[7]) from the Karajá. At present I deem it impossible to say whether we have here a genuinely Indian culture-element or not.

The same is true of the buzz-disc. Its distribution may be seen from the table 12 which I only publish in order to arouse interest in these apparently insignificant objects. It is necessarily very incomplete.

It is doubtful whether the »rifle» (Fig. 34) is genuinely Indian.

[1]) R. M. R. 358.
[2]) R. M. P. 64.
[3]) R. M. 05. 16. 239.
[4]) G. M. 15. 1. 937.
[5]) (1) Vol. 1. P. 121.
[6]) (1) P. 78.
[7]) Fig. 173. P. 311.

S:Nordenskiöld E-S,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
584
171*

Excepting the Chané I only know of hoops from the Huari. What I have seen of »bull-roarers» I have already mentioned in Part I. S. American Indian play-things are altogether too little known for us to draw anthropogeographical conclusions concerning their distribution.

Table 12.

Distribution of the buzz-disc.

Chiriguano, R. M. R. 463.
Chané, R. M. P. 180.
Karajá, KRAUSE P. 311, Fig. 176.
Yuracáre, R. M. Y. 65.
Indians Roraima, Macusi, Wapisiána etc. KOCH-GRÜNBERG (3) P. 80.
Cavina, G. M. 15. 1. 1453.
Itonama, G. M. 15. 1. 1266.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XX.

Musical instruments.

C
Ce
534 The Chiriguano and Chané have the following musical instruments: drums, flutes, whistles, and trumpets. Among the latter tribe I have also seen the panpipe and the musical bow. The panpipe may possibly occur among the Chiriguano too.

I have already, in Part I, dealt with the drum, the whistles, and the musical bow. The two former, I concluded, were Peruvian, the latter a post-Columbian culture-element.

C
Ce
[197] When studying Indian musical instruments we must bear in mind that, in post-Columbian times, they have learnt a good deal from Whites and negroes.

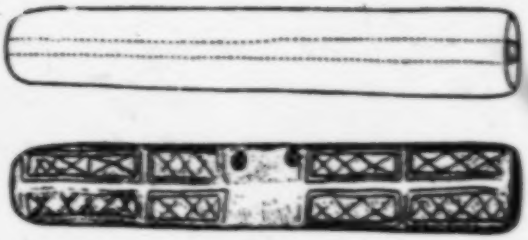
C
Ce
[197] [212] At the mission stations the Indians are always instructed by the missionaries in music. At the Bolivian mission-stations it is not unusual to come across Indians who very well understand musical notation, though unable to read or write. At the Chiriguano mission stations there are full-blown musical bands.

C
[192] A large drum is called by the Chiriguano «angúahuasi», a ordinary drum «angúa» or «angúarai». Like the Guarani Indians in Paraguay the Chiriguano call a mortar «angúa». The Mataco sometimes make drums by stretching a skin over a wooden mortar. So too, if we are to be guided by the name, the Chiriguano drums must originally have appeared.

The long wooden-whistle (fig. 35 A) is very common among the Chiriguano and Chané, and often of great size; the round wooden whistle is more rare. Both are often elaborately carved.

SvNordenskiöld E-S,4(1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
534
531

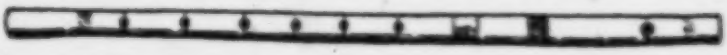


A.

B.

Fig. 35. Wooden whistles.
A. Chiriguano, G. M. 13. I. 543. $^{1}/_{6}$. B. Chiriguano, In private collection. $^{1}/_{3}$.

C
Ce
534
531



A

B

C

D

Fig. 36. A. Side-blown flute of reed. Chané, Rio Paraguay. R. M. F. 32. $^{1}/_{6}$.
B. End-blown flute of reed. Chiriguano. R. M. F. 190. $^{1}/_{6}$.
C. " " " " " " " F. 589. $^{1}/_{6}$.
D. " " " " wood, Chané, Rio Paraguay. R. M. F. 37. $^{1}/_{6}$.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
534
237

Flutes of several kinds are found among the Chiriguano and Chané, and they are here depicted. They are always made of reeds and never of bone (fig. 36).

C
Ce
534
177
*171

Some of the Chiriguano and Chané flutes are not genuinely Indian. This is evidently the case with side-blown flutes with six carefully fitted holes. The like are not found among outlying tribes, nor, what is very important, have they been found in old excavations on the coast of Peru. No such flute is found among the 26 flutes depicted by MEAD from the coast of Peru. Nor are flutes of this kind found among the Choroti and Ashluslay. All the old Peruvian flutes are blown from the end, and the holes seem to be placed very arbitrarily. I have in my collections side-blown flutes from the Yuracáre, Chimáne, Itonama, Cavina, and Tapiete as well as from the Chiriguano and Chané. They are also found among the Cainguá. Everywhere they have six holes.[1]) They are never found among absolutely outlying tribes. Endblown flutes are undoubtedly pre-Columbian. All the flutes from the Peruvian coast described by MEAD are end-blown flutes. Three of them are made of reed, one of a calabash, the others of bone. Various kinds of end-blown flutes are very widely distributed in S. America. I have such flutes from the Chiriguano, Chané, Mataco, Toba, Tapiete, Ashluslay, Choroti. Yuracáre, and Huari.

---

[1]) A flute of this kind is called by the Chané »kéna». Speaking of the Quichua musical instruments COBO says (IV. P. 228) »Quena — quena es una caña sola como flauta para cantos endechas.» The Cavina call a dance at which they play with flutes and drums »kena-kena». (NORDENSKIÖLD (11) P. 460.) CHERVIN, when mentioning the Quichua musical instruments, says that they, and especially the mestizoes, have their small flutes which they call »quena»... (P. 178). I presume that the Chané took over from the mestizoes not only the side-blown flute but also its name »quena» which the latter in their turn had obtained from the Quichua language. How the Quichua came to apply the word »quena» to a musical instrument which was originally unknown to them, I do not know.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

As I said in Part I the flutes in different parts of S. America are too little known for me to venture to express any opinion as to the source whence the Chiriguano and Chané got the end-blown flute.

C
Ce
534
171*
177

Both the Chiriguano and Chané possess trumpets made of cowhorn. From the former I also have an old trumpet made from a calabash (Fig. 37 B) which I acquired at Caipipendi. I do not know whether this was ever provided with a mouthpiece. The Chané Indians have on their cowhorns mouthpieces of reed with lips (See Fig. 50. Part I). I have not seen these mouthpieces among the Chiriguano; they blow the cowhorns from the end without a mouthpiece. Most likely the Indians learned from the Whites to use mouthpieces of the aforementioned type.

C
Ce
534
[237]

Trumpets are very wide-spread in S. America, and it is interesting to notice the distribution of trumpets blown from the side and those blown from the end. The pre-Columbian date of the latter is certain, while that of the former is very doubtful. Map 10 indicates the distribution of these two types of trumpet.

C
Ce
534
171*

Thus we see that side-blown trumpets occur especially in the basin of the Amazon,[1]) in the region where negro influence has been and is very great, and I do not think it impossible that the Indians have learnt to use such trumpets from the negroes. When negro slaves were brought to S. America, they naturally introduced many African ideas. Runaway slaves frequently sought refuge among the Indians. In Matto Grosso, for instance, it is probable that negroes had been in touch with Indians who had not yet seen Whites. From them the Indians would be able to learn a good deal.

When making a trumpet of an antelope horn or the tusk of an elephant, it is quite natural to make a hole in the

[text continues on p. 122]

[1]) From civilized Indians at Tupiza in Bolivia CHERVIN mentions side-blown trumpets which, it is quite certain, were introduced by the Whites at a late date.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Bush Negroes SR8
C
534
237
531
B
534

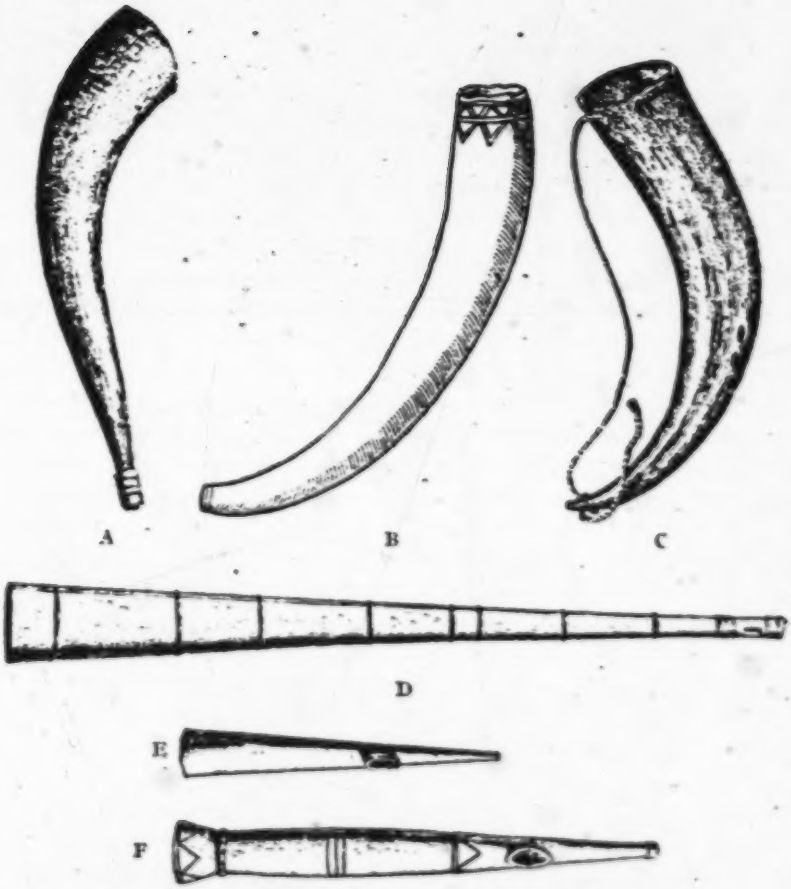


Fig. 37. A. End-blown trumpet made of cowhorn. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 97. 1/5.

B. End-blown-trumpet made from a calabash. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 511. 1/6

C. Side-blown trumpet made of cowhorn. British Guiana. Collection of LILJEWALCH—THULIN. G. M. 12. 1. 50. 1/6.

D. Side-blown trumpet made of wood. Parentintin(?), Brazil. R. M.

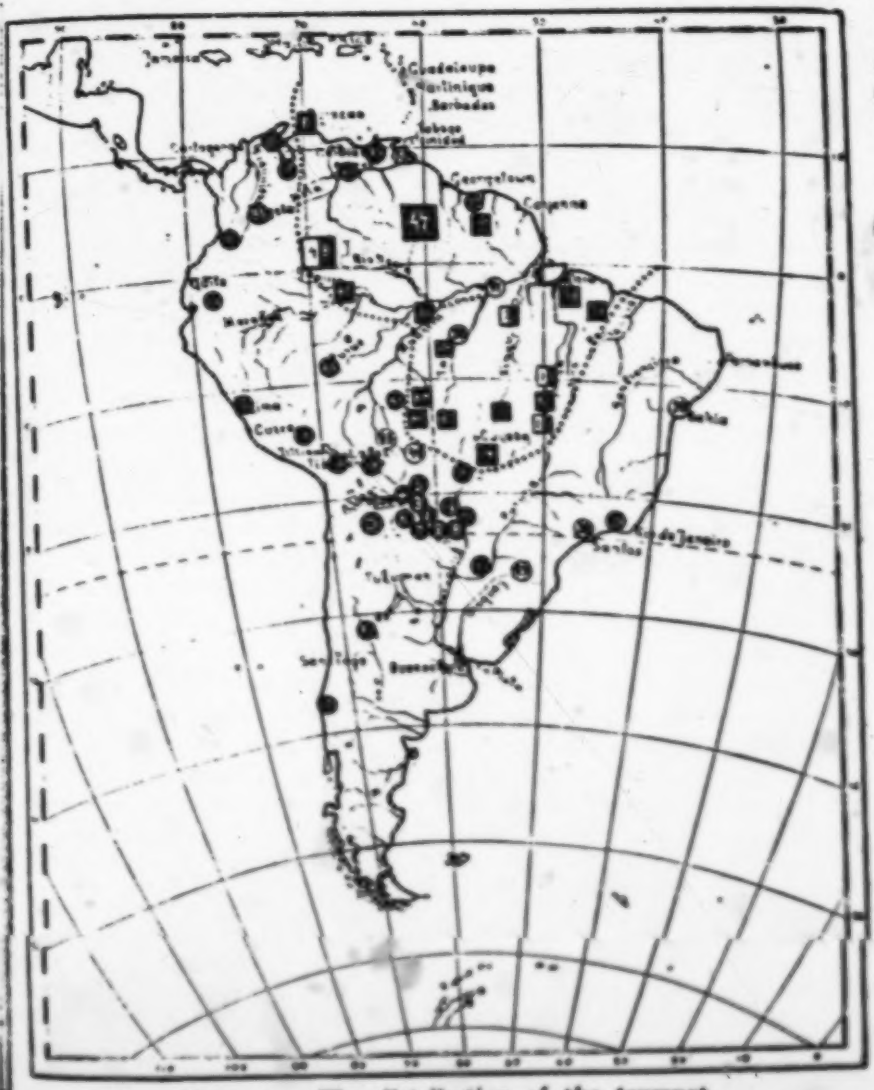
E. Side-blown trumpet made of tin-plate. Bush-negroes. Surinam. Collection of BARON KLINCKOWSTRÖM. R. M. K. 204. 1/6.

F. Side-blown trumpet made of wood. Bushnegroes. Surinam. Collection of KLINCKOWSTRÖM. R. M. K. 69. 1/6.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
534
171*

S
102
171
534



Map. 10. The distribution of the trumpet.

● = End-blown trumpets. ■ = Side-blown trumpets. ..... = S. and W. distribution of side-blown trumpets. ◨ = Both end-blown and side-blown trumpets occur. ○ = Trumpets occur or have occurred but I do not know whether they were end-blown or side-blown.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
C2
534
*171

side of the horn or tusk, as the point is not hollow; the same holds good, though to a less extent, of a cowhorn. It is therefore to be expected that the side-blown trumpet should be found in Africa and, further, that the negroes, on coming to America, should still make such trumpets, although of other materials. It is only in accord with the laws of conservatism.[1]) The Bush negroes of Surinam still have side-blown trumpets (Fig. 37 E, F) which, though of wood and tin-plate, are plainly copies of the trumpets used by their forefathers in Africa.

S
534
174

In pre-Columbian times there were in S. America no suitable horns for making trumpets. Trumpets were made of other materials, the most primitive being probably large seashells. To make a trumpet of a large shell one only needs to knock off the point. It becomes an end-blown trumpet. The pre-Columbian date of end-blown trumpets is proved by numerous finds on the coast of Peru *where, on the other hand, a side-blown trumpet has never been found.*[2])

Thus there are no archaeological proofs that the side-blown trumpet in S. America is pre-Columbian. A fact which is against the idea that sideblown trumpets were brought to S. America by negroes is their considerable distribution and above all that a trumpet-like musical

[1]) Professor von Luschan (P. 191.) says about the side-blown trumpets from Benin. »Dem Beispiele von Hornmotiv, und Sacus folgend, bezeichne ich als Querhörner solche horntörmige Blasinstrumente, die nicht an der Spitze angeblasen werden, sondern an einem seitlich angebrachten Loch. Dabei wird man zur Erklärung einer solchen uns so nahelegt, [illegible] Herstellung wohl [illegible] annehmen müssen, dass die ältesten Blasinstrumente aus Tierhörner hergestellt wurden, und dass es ganz ungleich einfacher war, etwa ein Antilopen- oder Ziegenhorn von der Seite her anzuschneiden als von der Spitze an abzutragen oder auszubohren. An der so gewonnenen Form hat man dann wohl festgehalten auch wenn man die Blasköhrer aus Elfenbein oder Holz oder gar aus Metall herstellte.«

[2]) In the literature to which I have access none such are mentioned.

SiNordenskiöld E-4,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano
South American Indians 53

534
174

instrument was found at the upper Rio Xingú which was evidently blown from the side.[1]) We must remember, however, that a period of 400 years has elapsed since the first negroes arrived here. As early as ORELLANA's time the Indians had learnt from the Whites or the negroes to make stringed musical instruments.

Another fact against the African origin of the side-blown trumpet is, perhaps, the occurrence of considerably divergent types among different tribes. This may be because the Indians had a great variety of end-blown trumpets first and afterwards made side-blown trumpets on their pattern. Granting the introduction of side-blown trumpets by negroes in S. America their wide distribution is very likely due to their having been a coveted culture-element, and a culture-element independent of the external circumstances under which the tribes live.

The non-occurrence of the side-blown trumpet within the western area of civilization speaks for its post-Columbian origin in America. As far as I know, it was also unknown within the Central American and Mexican areas of civilization. Side-blown trumpets are not mentioned from N. America.[2]) It is highly improbable that a culture-element of this kind—independent as it is of natural condi-

[1]) We may, perhaps, find an explanation of this in the following quotation from KARL V. D. STEINEN:

«In unserer Ueberraschung fanden wir auch eine eiserne Meisselspitze und bei einem Kinde ein Schnürchen blaue Perlen vor. Wir konnten nicht gewiss feststellen, auf welchen Wege sie hierher gelangt waren; ich deutete ihre Beschreibung und Antonio's unklare Angaben so, dass sie von einem Stamm des unteren Paranatinga, den der Grossvater auf einem Streifzuge besucht hätte, mitgebracht worden seien.» (2) P. 173.

[2]) It is of great theoretical interest that N. American Indians did not use the horns of the bison for trumpets, though they were very suitable. They had end-blown trumpets of large shells and of wood «We learn from historical sources that some varieties of shell, including the conch, were employed by the natives of the E., S., and S. W. for trumpets . . . Handbook Part 2, P. 540.

5tNordenskiöld E-5,7(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

S 534 174 tions — should have occurred within the Amazon basin, and not within the areas of civilization in the west and north-west, if it really were pre-Columbian.

S 174 437 534 By means of far-reaching trade connections it is certain that European and, possibly, African ideas were spread far and wide at the beginning of the Conquest period. *Within a large part of America the continuity between the tribes was at that time, still undisturbed.* When the Whites had completed the conquest of all the great highways — the navigable rivers — trade among the Indians ceased or was at least diminished. The wide extent of inter-Indian trade already appears from the fact that the Indians of the upper Amazon in the seventeenth century obtained axes and knives of iron from Guiana[1]). This proves that Indian trade was carried on over immense distances. Thanks to this trade there were also spread, of course, many purely Indian ideas. Where large tracts are occupied by Indians, trade is still very lively, as in Guiana, along the upper Orinoco and in the Chaco. Only a short time ago Indians appear to have carried on a trade in weapons between Guiana and Rio Negro.[2])

S 174 534 177 In what I have now said I do not consider that I have proved finally that the side-blown trumpet in S America is an African culture-element. I have however demonstrated that is highly possible, and that the question deserves attention.

C Ce 534 174 177 The information I give below, which is based on the literature on the subject and on Museum specimens to which *I have had access, indicates my knowledge of the occurrence* of trumpets in S. America. Thus it verifies Map 10. The end-blown trumpet may have been obtained by the Chiriguano and Chané from the western area of civilisation. In this case the original trumpets must have been of some

[text continues on p. 126]

[1]) Manuel Rodriguez Lib. 2, Cap. XI, P. 131.
[2]) Koch-Grünberg (7).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
534
171*
S
102
171
534

Map. 11. The distribution of the pan-pipe.

8(Nordenskiöld E-5,6(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
534
174
177

other material than the cowhorns introduced by the Whites, e.g. of calabashes, like the old trumpet from Caipipendi. Mouthpieces with lips were presumably, as I said, introduced by the Whites. CORNEGES[1]) relates the following little episode which is significant as showing how the Indians learn the use of musical instruments from the Whites. »Á su vista se me occurió la idea de fabricarles un clarinete, lo que hice en pocos minutos con una caña tacuara, del que se arrancaron notas muy agudas parecidos á las que produce la dulzaina; lo que alegró tanto á la concurrencia que hasta los viejos me metian cañas por los ojos para que les hiciese gaitas, en cuya operación me pasé el resto de la tarde y parte de la noche.«

C
Ce
534
*171

The panpipe is very rare here. It consists of four reeds which I have not seen bound together. In the following table and in the accompanying map 11 I have endeavoured, on the basis of the investigations of PATER SCHMIDT, some other writers, and of myself, to indicate the distribution of the panpipe in S. America. The map does not enlighten us as to whether the Chané got the panpipe from the area of civilization in the west, or if it came to them from Indians in N. E. Bolivia. The latter seems the likeliest supposition, as it only occurs within the northern part of the Chané country. It is not a culture-element from Guarani Indians. It is interesting to notice that the panpipe has by no means so great a distribution at it might have. In the Chaco there is abundance of material for panpipes, but they are unknown there. In the wealth of old literature dealing with the Indians on the coast of Brazil, I have found no hints of the panpipe. Oddly enough the panpipe is also unknown among the Indians of the Roraima region. Nor is the panpipe known to the Cainguá Indians. Very possibly the distribution of the panpipe has been considerably extended in post-Columbian times. The well-known (povesti-

[1]) P. 227

Schneidenbild E-8,4 (1908-1909. 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
534
171
[102]

gation of von HORNBOSTEL points to the panpipe being an Andine culture-element — at least in N. W. Brazil.

Table 13. Map. 10.

End-blown trumpet?)

S
102
171
534

1. Chorotí.
2. Ashluslay.
3. Tapiete.
4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 511, E. 573. (without mouthpiece).
5. Chané, R. M. P. 106. (with mouthpiece).
6. Mataco.
7. Toba.
8. Lengua, HAWTREY P. 293.
10. Araucanians, GUEVARA (1) P. 170.
12. Mbayá, SÁNCHEZ-LABRADOR Vol. 2, P. 4.
13. Karajá, KRAUSE P. 316.
16. Guató, MAX SCHMIDT (3) P. 309.
18. Quichua. «Quepa es una suerte de trompetilla que hazen de un calabaso largo.» «Tocan asimismo caracoles.» COBO, T. 4, P. 229.
19. Aymara.
30. Guayaqui, KUNIKE Fig. 8.
34. Jívaro, RIVET (1) P. 53.
36. Ijca, BOLINDER (4) P. 269. Köggaba, BRETTES P. 452.
38. Tupinambá, LERY Plate P. 240.
43. Huanyam, G. M. 15. 1. 590.
48. Indians Northwestern-Brazil. KOCH-GRÜNBERG (1) P. Vol. 1. Fig. 126 and 196.
55. Caribs, Surinam, ENCYCLOPÆDIE P. 495. Letter from JOBELIN DE JONG. (Museum Leiden, Serie 1827 nrs. 193 and 194.)
69. Ipurina, EHRENREICH (2) P. 71; STEERE P. 378.

?) I have assumed all the shell trumpets to be end-blown. Side-blown shell trumpets are, as far I know, unknown from S. America.

Schmelzschrift 2-4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chase SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
534
171
102
S
102
171
534

95. Chibcha, Restrepo P. 106.
99. Cumanagoto, Gumara P. 207.
A. Indians on the coast of Peru, Mead (1).
BC. Pues, Pittier de Fabrega P. 324.
D. Puna de Jujuy and Quebrada del Toro, Eric von Rosen (4) P. 154 and P. 205.
F. San Juan, Debenedetti (4) P. 235.
X. Vuruna. M. f. V. B. (V. B. 1725).
1 F. Indians, Sierra Mesa. Oviedo T. 2, P. 282.
V 3. Saliva, Gumilla T. I. P. 217.

Side-blown trumpets.

13. Karaja, Krause P. 316.
14. Bororó, Karl von den Steinen (3) P. 496.
20. Bororó, Max Schmidt (4).
28. Kamayurá. M. f. V. B. (V. B. 2940.)
41. Panoerna, G. M. 13. 1. 847.
47. Indians Roraima, G. M. 12. 1. 50.
48. Indians Northwestern—Brazil, Koch-Grünberg (2) Fig. 140.
50. Šavaji, Krause P. 363.
64. Huari.
85. Juri, Rafael Vol. I. P. 464.
98. Tembé, Barbosa Rodrigues (2) P. 43.
P. Island of Aruba, Etnographical Museum in Leiden. Serie 472, No. 9. Kindly communicated by Dr. Joest-van der Jong.
X. Vuruna, M. f. V. B. (V. B 1726, V. B. 1728 b, B. 1727).
1 P. Nagrum, Suriname, R. M. Collection of Baron Axel Klinkowström.
3 P. Mashé, Rafael Vol. 1, Plate P. 497.
3 H. Panoutietie(?), Rio Tapajos. (Fig. 37 D). It is probably correct to assume that these trumpets are from the Rio Tapajos region. It is very doubtful if they are from the Panoutietie, as they form part of an old collection (Dr. Carvalho) which seems to be rather carelessly labelled.
5 X. Canella, Klinkowström (2) P. 51.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,7 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
South American Instruments 53

Trumpets of which little is known.

C
Ce
102
534
171
S
102
171
534

25. Mojo, CASTILLO P. 341. The horns for the trumpets the Indians brought from Sta Cruz de la Sierra. EDER P. 334. «primum cucurbitis oblongis aut rotundis constat; illas more tubarum, has inserta fistula inflant».
29. Caingang, BLEVER P. 835; D'ESCRAGNOLLE TAUNAY P. 578.
38. Tupi, Coast of Brazil. SOARES DE SOUZA P. 300. (Tupinambá). P. 312 (Tupinaé). P. 314. (Amoipira); LERY P. 234; «blasen in bosaunen von kürbissen gemacht.» STADEN.
40. Itatines, LITTERAE ANNUAE 1594—1595 P. 751.
56. Mundrucú, TOCANTINS P. 134.
91. Indians Rio Amazonas, CARVAJAL P. 64.

Table 14.

The pan-pipe. Map. 11.

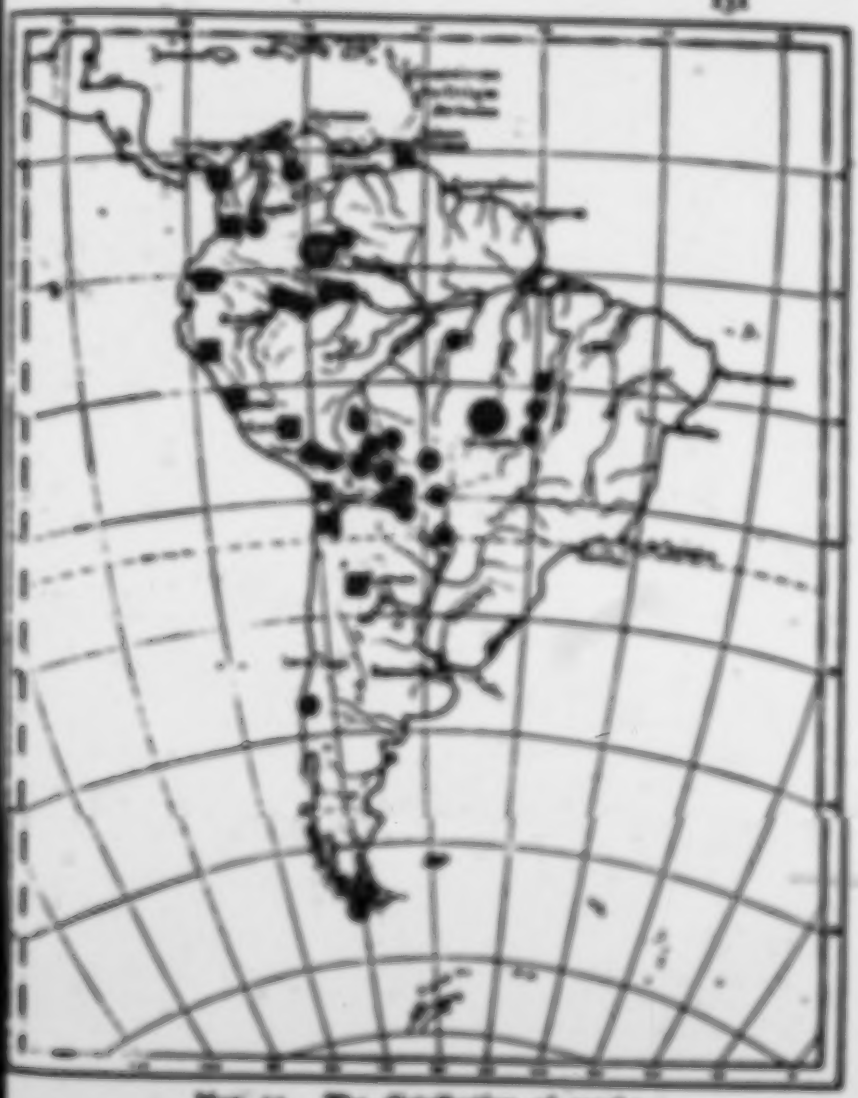
4. ? Chiriguano.
5. Chané, R. M. P. 174.
11. Chamacoco, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1160.
13. Karajá, EHRENREICH (2) P. 24.
18. Quichua, CORO Vol. 4. P. 229.
Museum Copenhagen (H 1057), Quito.
19. Aymara.
20. Pareesi, MAX SCHMIDT (4) P. 240.
22. Yuracáre, NORDENSKIÖLD (9) Fig. 57.
23. Churipa, R. M. Tj. 33.
24. Chimáne, G. M. 15. 1. 1001.
25. Mojo, EDER P. 332, Fig. 8.
28. Indians upper Rio Xingú, K. v. D. STEINEN (3) P. 327.
31. Ojana, Trio, GOEJE (1) Pl. VII, 13.
33. Campa, ORDINAIRE P. 281.
36. Ijca, Kõggaba, BOLINDER (4) P. 263.
37. Motilon, » » P. 270.
40. Guayyú (Guayyui), R. M. G. 47.

Schwabacklist E-4,5(1900-1908, 1912) 1920
8710 Chirigoano 8710
Class 578
South American Indians 5]

C
Ce
539
102
171
S
102
171
539

130

41. Panoma, G. M. 15. 1. 848.
43. Huanyam, G. M. 15. 1. 595.
48. Indians Northwestern Brazil, Koch-Grünberg (1). Pater Schmidt P. 1060.
54. Guahibo, R. M. H. M. K. II. 7.
55. Carib, French Guiana, Barrère P. 131.
58. Cavina, G. M. 15. 1. 1464.
61. Indians Rio Vaupés, Wavrin P. 210, Pl. XLIX
62. Chavedo, R. M. Ch. 75.
67. Seyá, K. v. d. Steinen (3) P. 327.
68. Omagua. Pater Schmidt P. 1060.
74. Tamanaco, Gilij Vol. 2. P. 275.
85. Juri. Ratzel Vol. 1, P. 464.
A. Found on the coast of Peru. Mead (1).
5C. Itonama, G. M. 15. 1. 1270.
5D. Cocama, Pater Schmidt P. 1060.
E. Diaguita, Ambrosetti (6) Segunda parte, P. 469. Earthen vessel representing a figure with a pan-flute in the hands found at Amaicha, Valle Calchaqui, Provincia de Tucuman. Ambrosetti (1) T. 19, P. 221.
2 F. Indians Sanipoa, Boman P. 464. Imported from Bolivia.
9H. Indians at Sarayacu, Sievers and Lowe P. 214.
8F. Pacunari, Steere P. 367.
V5. Maquiritare. Pater Schmidt P. 1060.
V8. Peba. " " "
V9. From Tiwanaku, Ratzel. Pl. 24, Fig. 19.
X. Yuruna, K. v. d. Steinen (2) P. 239.
X3. Pierna, R. M. H. M. K. I. 72.
9X. Panoa, Pater Schmidt P. 1060.
6n Found at Serena, Chile. Medina (1) Fig. 79.
7P Found at Iruya, Argentine. Eric von Rosen (4) P. 362.



Map 11. The distribution of snakes.

● – dancing snakes. ■ – burial snakes and other snakes.

XXI.

Dancing Masks.

A Chané Indian on the Rio Bityuro told me that mask dances were introduced among the Indians by the Whites. PADRE BERNARDINO OF NINO was also told by the Chiriguano that the celebration of the carnival came to them from the Whites, and he plainly considers that we here have to do with a custom which is not of Indian origin. This is certainly wrong. The fixed date of the festival came to the Indians from the Whites, but the manner of celebration is manifestly derived from an old Indian custom which corresponds to similar masquerades described from Brazil by KOCH-GRÜNBERG. This appears from NINO's own account of the celebration of the carnival.

The ceremony is at least partly a feast of fruitfulness. The mask dancers throw the husks of beans and the offal from chicha-brewing at the other dancers in order to secure a good harvest. Just as in northwestern Brazil, some at least of the Chiriguano-dancers appear disguised as animals which they imitate. NINO says that towards the end of the festival the old people weep because they will no wish the fruit, who cannot share in the pleasure. The ceremony is ended by the participators going out of the village and throwing their masks into the river or some other water-course and there washing their faces and hands. Sometimes they bore the masks, as is done in northwestern Brazil.

BAYRAYU, a most reliable old Chané Indian, assured me that when he was a boy he had seen masks on the Rio

Ce 177 527 532 535 [115]

Parapiti different from those now in use. He was of the opinion that masks were used before the Whites came to their country. On these occasions fruit-shell anklet-rattles were worn and also dance ornaments of parrot feathers. Obviously it is quite certain that masquerades are an original Indian custom here as well as in other parts of S. America, and have been celebrated at a time of year when the Whites have a festival of a somewhat similar character, externally at least. In the same way the Quichua kept their old feasts on the festival day of the Church of Rome.[1]) This is most certainly still the case among both the Aymara and the Quichua, whose masquerades on the great Roman Catholic festival days are anything but Christian in character, and would certainly form material for extremely interesting studies on the primitive religious conceptions of these Indians.

C Ce 532 171 Ce [114]

Judging by what an authority like BATRAVU says, it is doubtful if the type of mask now used, viz. faces of wood or calabash, is Indian. It must, however, be remembered that BATRAVU only speaks of what occurs among the Chané on the lower Rio Parapiti. Wooden masks, representing a human face, are however not unknown to other Indians. SERMONAI, DE LA GRANGE found a mask of this kind in a grave in the desert of Atacama.[2]) Masks of wood and stone have been found in the Diaguita territory.[3]) The Ijca have wooden masks[4]) as also the Araucanians[5]) The Indians on the Rio Xingú have wooden masks which, however, are rather different from those that occur among the Chiriguano and the Chané. The latter are more like those of the Araucanians and the Ijca. (Fig. 59). A/A

Generally speaking, dance-masks are very widely dis-

---

[1]) RAMOSCHER after ARRIAGA P. 198.
[2]) BOMAN I. 346.
[3]) OSCHER (2) v SERVIN P. 32.
[4]) BOLLAERT (4) P. 298.
[5]) GUNNARS (1) Fig. 3.

A/A [erstehen, should be Fig. 58 CE insert sheet p. 245]

8eNordenskiöld E-Sy(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
532
*171

tributed in S. America. They are only used on particular occasions, and then as a rule destroyed. It is therefore likely that such masks still exist among various tribes where they have been overlooked. Dance-masks are also mentioned in old narratives by ACOSTA and COBO. It is likely, too, that some of the »idolos» mentioned by other old authors were dance-masks.[3])

In the western culture zone many masked mummies have been found. During the Inca period it was still the custom to put masks over the faces of the dead. SARMIENTO speaks of mummies of Inca rulers wearing masks.[4]) The custom of masking the dead is not known east of the Andes.

UHLE[5]) found at Pisagua in northern Chile masks of Vicuña skin, that he believes were used by the Indian when hunting Vicuñas. At San Rosario in Llusa-Valley (Dept. Arica) he found a rock-drawing showing masked hunters shooting at 4 or 5 fleeing Vicuñas. Masks of the facial parts of human skulls have been found at S. Mateo on the Oroya railway in Peru. These are now preserved in the ethnographical museum at Rome.[6])

There is yet a fourth kind of mask. It is the one used by the Aymara and the Quichua on the heights of the Andes as a protection during a snowstorm. They are knitted of wool.

As far as I know, masks did not occur among the Tupi Indians on the Brazilian coast. Consequently I deem it probable that the Chiriguano only learnt the use of the

---

[3]) e. g. CARVAJAL P. 44. »Y en esta casa se hallaron dos ídolos tejidos de pluma» (Palma, segun el otro manuscrito.) »de diversa manera, que ponian espanto, y eran de estatura de gigante y tenian en los brazos metidos en los mollelos unas ruedas á manera de arandelas, y lo mismo tenian en las pantorillas junto á las rodillas: tenian las orejas horadadas y muy grandes, á manera de los indios del Cuzco, y mayores.»

[4]) P. 68.

[5]) Communicated by letter.

[6]) GIGLIOLI.

SzNordenskiöld E-S (1908-1909. 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Matacco SE7
South American Indians S3
135
C
Ce
532
171*

dance masks from the Chané. Where the latter learnt their use it is at present impossible to say.

The map 12 and table 15 show us the distribution of the mask in S. America.

The places at which burial masks have been found are indicated in the map by squares. In making out this list I have followed PATER SCHMIDT, to whose statements I am able to make a few additions. The fact of the Ona and Yahgan Indians having masks seems to prove that their use is very ancient in S. America. At a ceremony of exorcism among the Mataco I saw some men with pieces of cloth hanging over their faces. I take this to be the most primitive kind of mask.

C
Ce
102
532
171*
M
522
789

Table 15 showing the Distribution in S. America. (map 12) of dancing masks and other masks.

S
102
532
C
Ce
102
532
171*

3. Tapiete, R. M. L. 216.
4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 601.
5. Chané.
8. Lengua, GRUBB Plate P. 180.
10. Araucanians, GUEVARA (1) Fig. 5; PATER SCHMIDT P. 1057.
11. Chamacoco, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.
13. Karajá, KRAUSE P. 331.
18. Quichua, ACOSTA T. 2, P. 225; SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA P. 68 (Burial masks); COBO V. 4, P. 102. »Y cada atambor tocaban cuatro indios principales vestidos de muy particular librea con camisetas coloradas hasta los pies con rapacejos blancos y colorados; encima se ponían unas pieles de leones desollados enteros y las cabezas vacías en las cuales les tenían puestas unas patenas, zarcillos en las orejas, y en lugar de sus dientes naturales, otros del mismo tamaño y forma.»
19. Aymara. Mestizos, Bolivia. Quite common during the carnival.

8:Nordamerika E-S/4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Tribes 53

S
102
532
C
Ce
102
532
*171

Not on the map Paressi (?). According to MAX SCHMIDT the Paressi most likely do not use the dancing mask. (4) P. 198.

23. Churápa, R. M. Tj. 76.

25. Mojo, EDER P. 337.

27. Ona, COOPER P. 156.

28. Indians Rio Xingú, KARL V. D. STEINEN (1)

36. Ijca, BOLINDER (4) P. 258.

48. Many tribes in North-western Brazil, KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2).

50. Šavajé, KRAUSE P. 367.

56.? Mundrucú, UHLE (1) Vol. 2, Taf. 26.

65. Baure, R. M. C—B. 5.

85. Juri, MARTIUS (2) T. 3, P. 1227.

86. Yahua, CASTELNAU, Vol. 5, P. 21.

94. Chiquito, HERZOG P. 21.

95. Chibcha, RESTREPO P. 68.

A. Peruvian coast, Ancon and other places. (Burial masks). BAESSLER P. 141.

C. Puna de Atacama, BOMAN P. 746.

E. Mask of stone, found at Catamarca, OUTES (5) Y BRUCH P. 57, Fig. 31.

1 B. Ticuna, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.

1 E. Cayubaba, R. M. F. 4.

9 L. Baniva, ARVELO (Communicated by Dr. Koch-Grünberg).

1 M. Indians Darien, OVIEDO Vol. 2, P. 414; MARTYR Vol. 1, P. 219. Second Decade. Burial masks of gold.

3 M. Chamas, Cuicas, Timotes etc. Sierra de Mérida, SALAS P. 52.

9 X. Passé, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.

V 8. Peba, POEPPIG P. 164.

X 5. Yaghan, COOPER P. 156.

bg. Pisagua, UHLE (6) P. 16. Burial masks.

bh. Ecuador, Golden mask. JOYCE. Pl. IV.

bi. Quimbaya, Golden mask. JOYCE. Pl. IV.

Not on the map San Matéo at the Oroya-railway, masks of the facial part of human skulls.

• Chanchamayo, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,f (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce
273
415
531

Fig. 38. Vessel for serving maize-beer from the Chané. Rio Parapiti. R. M. P. 313. 1/4.

XXII.

Pottery.

C
Ce
323

The earthenware vessels of the Chiriguano and Chané are made in the usual way by building up layers of strips of clay[1]). Stones, mussel-shells and empty corn-cobs are used for smoothing the vessels. The last mentioned leave characteristic marks. It looks as if some comb-shaped instrument had been employed. These marks diminish the smoothness of the vessel, so that it slips out of the hand less easily. Corn-cobs are therefore more especially used in the making of cooking-pots and large utensils. Judging by the pottery which I collected on my journeys, the practice of using corn-cobs in this way would seem to be derived from the mountain civilisation. I have seen vessels marked in this way found at Ojo de Agua in the most northern part of Argentina, where they revealed the fact that the Indians that used these vessels had maize. On the other hand, they are lacking on the pottery which I found in my excavations at Caipipendi and in the whole of N. E. Bolivia. They are also lacking in Misiones in Argentina.

C
Ce
[171]

---

1) See Part I

Schwedenskiöld E-4½(1908-1909, 1912) 1910
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C
.Ce
323
415
[531]

The Chiriguano, as well as the Chané at Rio Itiyuro, have elaborate pottery of richly varied shapes and often beautifully ornamented. The Chané at Rio Parapiti have plainer pottery. The development of the ceramic art in the various tribes I got to know has differed greatly. The Chima and the Tamboputa-Guarayo who are pretty certainly identical with them, are the only Indians I visited who have no earthenware vessels. The pottery of some tribes is a work of art, while others only make the most necessary household utensils. This is not necessarily connected with the tribe's state of civilization generally. Thus in several respects the Yuracáre stand as high as the Chiriguano but the former have very poor pottery; the latter highly developed pottery. If such peoples were studied archaeologically, the former would yield hardly any remains while the latter would yield many beautiful specimens. Wrong conclusions might then be easily drawn as to the stage of civilization of the two tribes.

C
Ce
*171
415
323

Below will be found indicated how many different types of earthen vessels are found among the tribes I visited. It will be seen that the Chiriguano and Chané (Rio Itiyuro) have by far the largest number of shapes of earthen vessels.*) This is simply due to their having experienced such

C
Ce
[114]
[126]

*) On entering a Chiriguano or a Chané hut, one sees a lot of earthen vessels of which the majority are unpainted. All the vessels of various shape and ornamentation which I have collected are from several hundred Chiriguano and Chané huts. It is a selection out of many thousand vessels which I have made and it shows how pottery varies within the tribes. In most Indian huts there will be found but a small number of different types. Unless we bear in mind that the collection is a selection, it leaves the impression that the pottery of these Indians is of much more varied shape than is really the case. What I remark here of my collection of pottery holds good of nearly all collections in ethnographical museums. When we see a cupboard full of various articles from an Indian tribe, we must not think that all these things are used by every family in the tribe. It is properly a collection of all the different objects used by a large number of individuals.

S:Nordenskiöld E-S/4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
171*
323
415

strong influence from the area of civilization in the west and above all the south-west.

Over fifty types.	*Over ten types. but under fifty.*	*Over two types. but under ten.*
Chiriguano.	Chané. (Rio Parapiti)	Chacobo.
Chané. (Rio Itiyuro)	Cheroti.	Chimáne.
	Ashluslay.	Yuracáre.
	Toba.	Churápa.
	Mataco.	Pauserna.
	Tapiete.	Guarayos.
		Huari.
		Huanyam.
		Cavina.

I am unable here to give an account of all the different shapes of earthen vessels found among the Chiriguano and Chané. Some of them have been depicted by OUTES but there are many more. Those depicted here should, however, give some idea of the variations in these Indians' pottery. Some types are local and thus characteristic of certain villages; others are certainly individual. Thus I have seen different women in the same village turn out very different vessels. Some women are noted for making specially fine earthenware. They are celebrated for their pottery far outside their own village.

C
Ce
[554]

The Chiriguano and Chané use earthen vessels for boiling and roasting their food, as receptacles for food and other things, for carrying water, for the serving of food, for the burial of the dead and to whirl the spindle on when spinning. (Only the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.)

C
Ce
415
Ce
[283]

We see that a large number of the earthen vessels here are provided with ears or handles. In Part I of this work I claim to have proved that the ear is a culture-element derived from the Andine area of civilization.

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
415
*171

Occasionally one finds Chiriguano and Chané vessels provided with holes under the edge in the same manner as is usual in calabashes. Strings are then passed through these holes by which to hang the vessels up. This invention was here probably earlier than the ear. Thus, during my excavations at Caipipendi, I found a vessel with these string-holes, while handles and ears were lacking on the pottery found there. The distribution of such string-holes I have endeavoured to indicate on the map, and in the table below.

Such string-holes were known within the old western area of civilization, though they were not in general use. In S. E. S. America they seem to have been the precursors of real handles. Thus MAYNTEHUSEN[1]) writes with regard to the shape of the vessels, from the Upper Parana that they are usually without handles. In place of these there is often a boring through the rim of the vessel, or two outside plugs on opposite sides of it. These plugs were sometimes pierced to allow of a string being introduced. An enlargement of this hole in the plug, large enough for a finger to go through, appears to have developed into the ring-shaped handle which occurs quite sporadically.

The Indians probably got the idea of providing their earthen vessels with string holes from their custom of making string-holes in calabashes. This invention is here evidently older than the real handles or ears. This holds good, pretty certainly, not only for the Chiriguano district, but for large parts of S. E. S. America. It would be interesting to examine the collections of the great museums and then draw a map showing the distribution of earthenware with string-holes. The map published here is probably very incomplete. Its main purpose is to create interest in the distribution of this invention.

---

[1]) P. 466.

&Nordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1930
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

c
ce
102
415
171*
S
102
415

Map 13. The distribution of vessels with string-holes.

S:Nordenskiöld I-5,7(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
415
*171
5
102
415

Table 16.

Vessel with string-holes. Map. 13.

2. Ashluslay, R. M. A. 1587.
4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 987.
12. Caduvei, BOGGIANI (1) P. 41. Fig. 13.
M. Mojos, R. M. T. 577.
A. Coast of Peru. Ica. In private collection.
N. Upper Rio Parana, MAYNTZHUSEN P. 466.
O. Delta de Parana, TORRES (2) P. 87.
Ä. Caipipendi, R. M. K. 93.
a. i. Manizales, UHLE (1) Vol. 1, Pl. 2, Fig. 10.
a j. Los raudales Rio Orinoco, MARCANO Pl. XXIX.
a k. Saipina, G. M. 15. 2. 7. Fuerte Samaipata, R. M.
a m. Taltal, Chile, EVANS (1) P. 22.
c. Marajo, NETTO P. 354. 355.
e. Sara, NORDENSKIÖLD (10) Fig. 30.
p. San Blas, OUTES (4) P. 264.

Ce
415
532

Fig. 30. Human face painted on the border of a vessel from the Chaná. Rio Paraná. R. M.

C
Ce
415
*171

Among the many types of earthen vessel used by the Chiriguano and Chané here are several which are highly reminiscent of types we are acquainted with from the Mountain civilization, e. g. double pitchers. (Fig. 41.8) They do not occur in N. E. Bolivia. DEBENEDETTI[1]) has pointed out the similarity between the pottery which he

[1]) (1)

Schwedenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

found at Tilcara and that of the Chiriguano. I here reproduce from the work of DEBENEDETTI some types of earthenware to which we find answering types among the Chiriguano. (See fig. 48). It must be borne in mind that the Chiriguano country at Cuyambeyo approaches the Humahuaca valley.[7]) The Humahuaca and Chiriguano were allied in the first encounters with the Spaniards.[8])

C
Ce
415
171°
C
[648]

In Part I I have already pointed out the similarity between Chorotí and Ashéninka water-pitchers and the Incan *aryballos*.

The question arises whether or not all water-pitchers with a narrow neck which can be grasped by the hand are derived from the Mountain civilization. They are not found, as far as I have been able to find, in all N. E. Bolivia, nor in the whole of eastern S. America except by Indians that have been very much influenced by the Whites. The Chiriguano word for water-pitcher is *siro*, which is strongly reminiscent of the Quichua name *siuro* for the same kind of earthen vessel.

Pitchers with a bulging neck (fig. 41,1) are common among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Río Itiyuro. I am acquainted with them from my archaeological excavations at Caipipendi. They are mentioned by ARMOCHAYTE[9]) from Tucuman. The type occurs, moreover, within the western area of civilization whence it surely must have come.[9])

Handles shaped like animals or human faces do not occur on the pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané.

The Chiriguano and Chané do not make feet to their vessels as is common on the earthenware from the Mounds in Mojos.

---

[7]) Comenge P. 66.

[8]) Lozano S. 100 «Hizo los Hornaguanos guerra por extremo fuerte ..... y restauró á los Sacatrahuas, que los destituyeron, y á muchos Napaladas que cayeron en sus manos, infestando con robos, y muertes los caminos públicos, y cuidadosamente con los Chiriguanos» .....

[9]) [illegible]

[9]) Rosa and Serrano. T. 3. P. 96. Fig. 13. G. H.

C
Ca
415
9171
[252]

Only a few vessels are provided with ~~spouts~~ lips in rims which here seem to be an idea obtained by the Indians from the Whites.

Bowls with holes in the bottom which are used for steaming have already been mentioned in the foregoing. This applies also to bowls for the roasting of maize.

The Chané on the Rio Parapiti have small plates which they sometimes use in spinning. I have not seen the like elsewhere. Occasionally one sees, among the most civilized Chiriguano and Chané, fire-pans for holding hot water. (Fig. 43.a). They must have obtained the idea from the Whites.

C
Ca
[111]

C
Ca
323

The Chiriguano and Chané understand the art of painting earthenware before burning.[1]) I have already, in Part I, endeavoured to show the geographical distribution of this invention. Whether it was known to the Chané and Chiriguano before they settled in this tract cannot be decided. The pottery I found in the archaeological excavations at Caipipendi is unpainted.

C
Ca
[189]

The Chané at Rio Itiyuro sometimes paint the edge of earthen vessels after burning with resin of palo santo. This is never seen among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Parapiti. As such painting is common among several tribes in the Chaco, it is possible that the Chané at Rio Itiyuro get the idea from there. The Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro often varnish the painted vessels after burning with a kind of gum called by the Chiriguano — staragüirúi.

The Chiriguano and Chané also ornament their earthenware by finger-impressions. This method of ornamentation has an eastern extension in S. America. A map showing its distribution is published in Part I.

The ornamentation painted on earthenware is seen in the illustrations. The Chané at Rio Parapiti usually have very plain ornamentation.

C
Ca
[257]

[1]) For this purpose brushes of Aputi hair are used. (See also Wagner p. 60.

[Section corrected. See errata sheet p. 245.]

SvNordenskiöld E-S,Y (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Maps of the geographical distribution of various kinds of ornamentation can scarcely be drawn up at present with the exception of a few very characteristic specimens, e. g. the spiral. This is found on earthen vessels from the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, and from the Chiriguano, but not from the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.

C
Ce
323
E
Ce
[184]

The colours used by the Chiriguano and the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro are black, red, brown and white. The white is caolin, the red, brown and black are obtained by pulverizing schists of these colours. The Chiriguano sometimes mix Urucu with oil. Vessels are probably painted with this mixture only after burning.

C
Ce
[386]

Pottery is undoubtedly the chief art practised by the Chiriguano and Chané. We may, indeed, assert that it is the only one that is still of very great importance to these Indians. It is an interesting fact that, though these tribes have been in close contact with missionaries and other Whites for nearly 400 years, and though their country has been flooded with European goods, their pottery has been influenced very little by foreign culture. It is still genuine Indian. This holds good not only of its shape, but to an equally great extent of its ornamentation. It shows how conservative the Indian is towards anything that cannot make easier for him the struggle for life. A cultivated plant can spread in a few years over a large part of a continent, whereas one will not take the trouble to adopt a foreign ornamentation or foreign types of household furniture. This does not imply that the pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané now has the appearance that it had 400 years ago. It has changed, as the Indians themselves told me, but the change has chiefly consisted in ringing the changes on old Indian patterns. How and how much it has changed, can only be proved archaeologically. Unfortunately, I do not possess the archaeological material. What I found in the country of these Indians probably goes very much further back in time than 400 years, and has very little in common with

C
Ce
323
177
C
Ce
[181]

Schwabenkiller E-4,7(1909-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
Ce
323
177

the ceramics of the tribes here dealt with. The ceramic art we find among the Chiriguano and Chané is, as we saw, strongly influenced by the culture-zone in the west. There is a great similarity, as I said, to the pottery that has been found in the Humahuaca Valley. It is especially the finely painted pottery which, in shape and ornamentation, recalls the pottery of the culture-zone in the west. The simple cooking-pots ornamented with finger-impressions more closely resemble what is found in the old Guarani territory in Misiones. The main difference is that the pots used by the Chiriguano and Chané are provided with ears (handles), which as a rule are lacking in the pottery from Misiones. The ear, as I mentioned, is a western culture-element. I think the explanation may be, that when the Chiriguano conquered the districts they now occupy, their own women generally or always made earthenware with finger-impressed ornamentation. As we know, the immigrant Chiriguanos

C
[727]

carried off masses of women, personally from Chané for the most part, but probably also from other tribes. The women abducted from the parts bordering on the old kingdom of the Incas were no doubt skilful potters, and afterwards taught their art to their daughters. It is this that now continues in the finer pottery, especially in the vessels used at great drinking-bouts.

It is very evident, as we see, that the Chiriguano and Chané pottery has been strongly under the influence of the culture-area in the west. It would be of great interest to show how far it has also been influenced by the Arawak pottery at Mojos. This cannot, however, be conclusively proved. Not even among the Chané at Rio Parapiti can any such influence be traced. This is probably because it is so long since the Chané migrated to their present district.

Ce
[184]

It may be asked how it is that the Chané at Rio Parapiti have pottery which is plainly less influenced by the mountain civilisation than that of the Chiriguano and the

Schwedenkiste X-4,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1950
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
CE
323
177
CE
[184]

Chané at Rio Itiyuro. This may be owing to their poverty.[7] Maize-beer does not flow so abundantly there as it does among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro. The finely painted vessels are intended for festivals, and it is especially on those occasions that one sees double pitchers and other types reminiscent of mountain-culture pottery. The Chané at Rio Parapiti dwell rather remotely, at a considerable distance from the culture-area in the west. Their calabashes, too, are more plainly ornamented than those of the Chiriguano and the other Chané. This may be due partly to poverty and partly to their isolated habitation.

---

[7] I regret that I did not study the question of the supply in different places of good clay suitable for earthenware. Where the clay has to be brought from afar, it is unlikely that the pottery will be highly developed.

C
CE
[187]

148

415 Fig. 40.

1.	R. M. E.	845.	Tibétipa.	Pot.		
2.	" " "	844.	"	"		
3.	" " "	847.	"	"		
4.	" " "	839.	"	"		
5.	" " "	813.	"	Vessel for serving maize-beer.		
6.	" " "	809.	"	"	"	"	"	"
7.	" " "	870.	S. Rosa.	Bowl in which to keep salt, etc.		
8.	" " "	838.	Tibétipa.	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
9.	" " "	982.	Bayonne.	Pitcher.		
10.	" " "	908.	Batipa.	Vessel for serving maize-beer		
11.	" " "	877.	S. Rosa.	Bowl to eat out of.		
12.	" " "	855.	Tibétipa.	Vessel for keeping seed in.		
13.	" " "	814.	"	"	"	serving maize-beer.		
14.	" " "	801.	"	"	"	"	"	"
15.	" " "	872.	S. Rosa.	Bowl to eat out of.		
16.	" " "	858.	"	"	Vessel for maize-beer.		
17.	" " "	840.	Tibétipa.	Pot.		
18.	" " "	1108.	Tarcifia.	Vessel for maize-beer.		
19.	" " "	802.	Tibétipa.	Pitcher to carry water in.		
20.	" " "	940.	Batipa.	Vessel for serving maize-beer.		
21.	" " "	946.	"	"	"	"	"	"
22.	" " "	1104.	Tarcifia.	"	"	"	"	"
23.	" " "	1102.	"	"	"	"	"	"
24.	" " "	869.	S. Rosa.	Pot.		
25.	" " "	837.	Tibétipa.	Bowl used for stones cooking.		
26.	In private collections.		"	Mug.		
27.	R. M. E.	1030.	Ivo.	Vessel for maize-beer.		
28.	" " "	1033.	"	Bowl to eat out of.		
29.	" " "	988.		Pitcher.		
30.	" " "	830.	Tibétipa.	"		
31.	" " "	878.	S. Rosa.	Bowl to eat out of.		
32.	" " "	827.	Tibétipa.	Pitcher.		

149

415

Fig. [illegible] Vessels of different shapes from the Chirigwano. Only exteriors in shape are depicted. Decorations not depicted. [illegible]

Schwabenkiffel 2-4,(1909-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiripanas SF10

415 Fig. 41.

1.	R. M. E. 786.	Calpipendi.	Vessel for keeping seed in.
2.	" " " 772.	"	Pitcher made for a festival.
3.	" " " 743.	"	Waterpitcher.
4.	" " " 747.	"	Pitcher for serving maize-beer
5.	" " " 727.	"	" " " " "
6.	" " " 726.	"	" " " " "
7.	" " " 780.	"	Vessel for keeping seed in.
8.	" " " 778.	"	Vessels for festivals.
9.	In private collection	"	
10.	R. M. E. 783.	"	
11.	" " " 774.	"	
12.	" " " 775.	"	
13.	" " " 787.	"	
14.	In private collection	"	
15.	R. M. E. 770.	"	Bowl to eat out of.
16.	" " " 736.	"	Pitcher.
17.	" " " 732.	"	"
18.	" " " 746.	"	Vessel for serving maize-beer
19.	" " " 696.	"	" " maize-beer.
20.	" " " 733.	"	Pitcher.
21.	" " " 734.	"	"
22.	" " " 793.	"	Bowl to eat out of.
23.	" " " 759.	"	Vessel for keeping seed in.
24.	" " " 761.	"	Bowl to eat out of.
25.	In private collection	"	Vessel for serving maize-beer
26.	R. M. E. 794.	Tilitipa.	" " maize-beer.
27.	" " " 797.	"	" " " "
28.	In private collection.	Calpipendi.	Small bowl to eat out of.
29.	R. M. E. 768.	"	Pitcher.
30.	" " " 704.	"	"
31.	" " " 728.	"	Vessel for serving maize-beer.
32.	In private collection.	"	" " " " "

Fig. 21. Vessels of different shapes from the Chirgwin. Only variations in shape are depicted. Characteristics not depicted. $\frac{1}{10}$

152

415

Fig. 41.

1.	R.	M.	H.	106.	Pitcher for serving maize-beer.
2.	"	"	"	99.	" " " " "
3.	"	"	"	102.	" " " " "
4.	"	"	"	100.	" " " " "
5.	"	"	"	98.	" " " " "
6.	In private Collection.				Cooking-pot.
7.	R.	M.	H.	82.	"
8.	"	"	"	83.	"
9.	"	"	"	88.	"
10.	"	"	"	82.	"
11.	"	"	"	132.	Bowl.
12.	"	"	"	93.	Pot.
13.	"	"	"	148.	Bowl.
14.	"	"	"	89.	Water-pitcher.
15.	"	"	"	156.	Maize-beer pitcher, also used as water pitcher.
16.	"	"	"	157.	Water-pitcher.
17.	"	"	"	155.	Vessel for maize-beer.
18.	"	"	"	116.	Bowl.
19.	"	"	"	111.	Vessel for maize-beer.
20.	"	"	"	90.	Pot.
21.	"	"	"	112.	"
22.	"	"	"	113.	Mug.
23.	"	"	"	114.	"
24.	"	"	"	87.	Vessel for maize-beer.
25.	"	"	"	123.	Bowl.
26.	"	"	"	104.	Vessel for serving maize-beer.
27.	"	"	"	73.	" " " " "
28.	"	"	"	98.	" " " " "
29.	"	"	"	122.	Bowl.

[illegible]
[illegible] Chirripoco
Chem [illegible]
Rio [illegible]

Fig. 41. Types of earthenware vessels of the Chani, Rio Sixaola, showing the varying form of the pottery of this tribe. Only variations in shape are depicted. Ornamentation not depicted.

Schwabenhöhle I-4,1908-1909, 1912, 1920
SF10 Chirigano
Chaco SF8
Rio Zhiyuro

415 Fig. 43.

1. R. M. H. 125. Bowl to eat out of.
2. " " " 134. " " " " "
3. " " " 126. " " " " "
4. " " " 128. " " " " "
5. " " " 138. " " " " "
6. " " " 153. " " " " "
7. " " " 136. " " " " "
8. In private collection. " " " " "
9. In private collection " " " " "
10. R. M. H. 170. " " " " "
11. " " " 154. " " " " "
12. " " " 144. " " " " "
13. In private collection. Vessel for maize-beer.
14. R. M. H. 75. " " " " .
15. " " " 132. Bowl to eat out of.
16. " " " 133. " " " " "
17. " " " 130. " " " " "
18. " " " 147. " " " " "
19. " " " 72. Vessel for maize-beer.
20. " " " 71. " " " "
21. " " " 87. Brazier.
22. " " " 168. Bowl for steam-cooking.
23. In private collection. " to roast maize in.
24. R. M. H. 147. " to eat out of.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5, 4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano
Chane SF8
Rio Itiyuro

415

Fig. 43. Vessels of different shapes from the Chané, Rio Itiyuro, Argentine. Only variations in shape are depicted. Ornamentation not depicted. 1/9

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,7(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano
Chane SF8
Rio Parapiti

415 Fig. 44.

1. R. M. P. 339. Vessel for maize-beer.
2. " " " 342. Pot.
3. " " " 341. "
4. " " " 325. Vessel for serving water or maize-beer.
5. " " " 307. Vessel for maize-beer.
6. " " " 312. " " " "
7. " " " 332. Small pitcher.
8. " " " 304. Bowl to eat out of.
9. " " " 296. " " " " "
10. " " " 315. Vessel for maize-beer.
11. In private collection. " " " "
12. R. M. P. 300. Bowl to eat out of.
13. " " " 338. Pitcher.
14. " " " 329. Pot.
15. " " " 335. Pitcher.
16. " " " 303. Bowl to eat out of.
17. " " " 294. " " " " "
18. In private collection. Vessel for serving maize-beer.
19. R. M. P. 322. Mug.
20. " " " 324. "
21. " " " 323. "
22. " " " 326. Bowl.
23. " " " 320. Shallow bowl on which to wind the spindle
24. " " " 321. " " " " " " " "
25. " " " 310. Vessel for maize-beer.
26. " " " 328. Bowl in which to keep salt etc.
27. " " " 330. Pot.
28. " " " 327. Bowl.
29. " " " 334. Pitcher.

Schiordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano
Chaco SF8
Rio Parapiti

415

Fig. 44. Vessels of different shapes from the Chaco. Río Parapití. Only variations in shape are depicted. Ornamentation not depicted. 1/8

Schwedenkiste E-3 (1906-1908, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Fig. 45.

415
531

1.	1/10	R. M. E.	945.	Yatavéri.	Vessel for maize-beer.	
2.	•	• • •	1003.	Itapenhia.	•	• • •
3.	•	• • •	976.	Itapenhia.	•	• • •
4.	•	• • •	912.	Itatique.	•	• • •
5.	•	• • •	914.	•	•	• • •
6.	•	• • •	975.	Tihtique.(?)	•	• • •
7.	1/10	• • •	1025.	Yacuiba.	•	• • •
8.	1/2	• • •	860.	S. Rosa.	•	• • •
9.	•	In private collection.		Itatique.	Bowl to eat out of.	
10.	1/10	R. M. E.	1032.	Ivu.	Vessel for maize-beer.	
11.	1/2	• • •	926.	Itatique.	•	• • •
12.	1/10	• • •	1001.	Itapenhia.	•	• • •
13.	1/2	• • •	921.	Itatique.	•	• • •
14.	•	• • •	862.	S. Rosa.	•	• • •
15.	•	• • •	737.	Caipipendi.	•	• • •
16.	•	• • •	739.	•	Mug for drinking maize-beer.	
17	•	• • •	770.	•	Bowl to eat out of.	
18.	•	• • •	831.	Tihtique.	Vessel for maize-beer.	
19.	•	• • •	987.		For keeping knicknacks in.	
20.	•	• • •	787.		Vessel for maize-beer.	
21.	•	• • •	926.	Itatique.	Mug for drinking maize-beer?	
22.	•	• • •	872.	S. Rosa.	Bowl to eat out of.	
23.	•	In private collection.			Vessel for maize-beer	
24.	•	R. M. E.	728.	Caipipendi.	Vessel for serving maize-beer.	
25.	•	• • •	811.	Tihtique.	•	• • • • •
26.	•	• • •	696.	Caipipendi.	•	• • • • •
27.	•	• • •	727.	Caipipendi.	•	• • • • •
28.	•	• • •	964.	Caipipendi.	•	• • • • •
29.	•	• • •	929.	Itatique.	•	• • • • •
30.	•	• • •	919.	Itatique.	•	• • • • •
31.	•	• • •	1009.	Itapenhia.	•	• • • • •

Fig. 13. Vessels from Chiriquem.

Schwerdtfeld E-Sy(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
Ce

415
531
532

Fig. 46.

1.	1/8	R. M. H. 68.	Campo y Duran.	Vessel for maize-beer
2.	1/10	» » E. 1047.	Itapenbia.	» » » »
3.	»	» » E. 1049.	Caipipendi.	» » » »
4.	1/8	In private collection.	Campo y Duran.	» » » »
5.	1/10	R. M. H. 76.	Aquairenda.	» » » »
6.	1/8	» » H. 111.	Piquirenda.	» » » »
7.	»	» » E. 859.	S. Rosa.	» » » »
8.	1/10	In private collection.	Campo y Duran.	» » » »
9.	»	R. M. H. 155.	»	» » » »
10.		In private collection.		Water-pitcher.
11.	»	R. M. P. 329.		Pot.
12.	»	» » H. 89.	Piquirenda.	Water-pitcher.
13.	»	» » P. 337.		Vessel for maize-beer
14.	»	» » P. 313.		» » » »

ScNordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c
Ce
415
531
532

Fig. 46. Vessel from the Chiriguano and Chané.

E = Chiriguano. H = Chané, Rio Itiyuro. P = Chané, Rio Parapiti.

Nordenskiöld E-5-(1908-1909, 1912) 1910
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

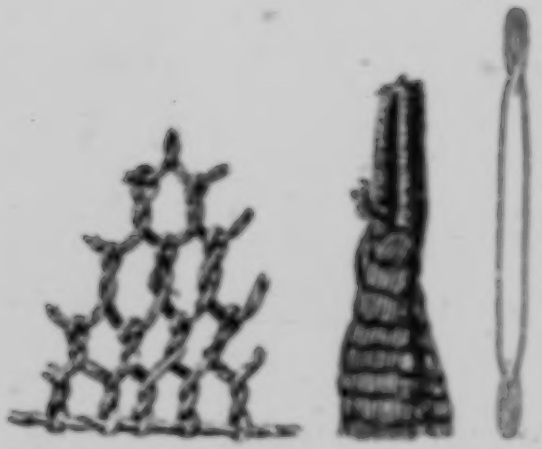
C
Ce
415
531
532

Fig. 47. Vessels from the Chiriguano and Chané.
H = Chané, Rio Itiyuro. E = Chiriguano.

1.	$^{8}/_{14}$	In private collection.	Chané, Rio Parapiti.	Vessel for maize-beer.
2.	$^{1}/_{8}$	» » »	Campo y Duran.	» » » »
3.	$^{1}/_{12}$	R. M. H. 106.	Campo y Duran.	» » » »
4.		In private collection.		» » » »
5.	»	» » »		Bowl to eat out of.
6.	»	R. M. H. 123.	Campo y Duran.	Bowl.
7.	$^{1}/_{6}$	» » E. 814.	Tihüipa.	Vessel for maize-beer.
8.	»	» » E. 942.	Itatique.	» » » »
9.	»	» » E. 960.	S. Antonio.	Vessel in which to carry maize-beer or water on expeditions.

Fig. 48. Vessels from Tilcara (1, 2, 3, 4), and Juella (5). Quebrada de Humahuaca.
After DEBENEDETTI.

C
Ce
286
482



C
256
352

Fig. 49 A. Technique in a carrying-net. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 50. 1/3
B. Technique in the hammocks Chiriguano. R. M. E. 1056. 1/3.
C. Frontlet to a carrying-net. Chané. Río Paraguay. R. M. P. 137.
D. Technique in C.

Intermediate 1-4,9(1909-1910, 1912) 1910
1910 Chiriguano 1910
Chané 1910

XXIII.

Various kinds of handicraft besides pottery.

Knitting-technique.

C
Ce
286

Respecting the occurrence of different kinds of knitting technique among the Chiriguano and Chané I have little to add beyond what was mentioned in the English edition of Part I of this work.

C
Ce
286
352
*171

The hammock-netting is the usual technique which gives the so-called barred hammocks (See Part I) which are widely distributed in all S. America north of El Gran Chaco. They are found almost universally where hammocks occur. Occasionally one sees among the Chiriguano and Chané bags knitted in the technique which in Part I I denoted by No 5. These bags are never made by themselves, but are obtained from the Mataco, Tapiete, or some other Chaco tribe. During my archaeological excavations at Iglesiabe I found a piece of pottery with impressions of knitting evidently done in this technique.

C
Ce
284
286
283

The carrying-nets and most dip-nets of the Chiriguano and Chané are made with reef-knots. The Chiriguano have also dip-nets knitted with sheet-knots. For carrying-nets and dip-nets they Chiriguano and Chané generally use ciraguatá bast. »Yuchan» is seldom used?)

Spinning.

C
Ce
283

Regarding the spinning of the Chiriguano and Chané there is little to add beyond what I mentioned in Part I.

---

*) Chaláis (Guaiqueu.

Schmidt-Schiffel E-8,V (1908-1908, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Their spindles are of the Bakairi type with a knob. (See Part. I map XII). The spindle discs are sometimes of stone. The Chané at Rio Parapiti sometimes use when spinning a small earthen plate made for the purpose, on which the spindle is whirled.

C
Ce
283

The preparing of leather.

The Chorotti and Ashluslay have no knowledge of tanning, where as the Chiriguano, Chané, Toba and Tapiete have. They use the bark of Piptadenia and other trees.

These Indians have, in all likelihood, learnt the art of tanning from the Whites who, in these tracts, are more skilled in leatherwork than in any other trade. Tanning seems to be unknown to all Indians in S. America who are either untouched or but slightly influenced by White civilisation.

C
Ce
281
177
171*

The carving and ornamentation of calabashes.

The Chiriguano Indians, as well as the Chané make very great use of calabashes. They are used as receptacles for water and maize-beer; as boxes, humming-tops, bowls and, above all, as drinking-vessels. At festivals maize-beer is handed round in elaborately ornamented calabashes.

C
Ce
415
322

Sometimes the calabashes are provided with lids. These are so made that lid and box are of the same fruit. Now and then star-shaped lids occurs. Lids with a shutting arrangement of the type shown in Fig. 30 A are characteristic of these Indians.

I published in Part I a map showing the distribution of calabashes with lids. From this map we see that these are probably a culture-element which the Indians east of the Andes received from the western area of civilization.

I scarcely think, at any rate, that the star-shaped lids can be cut out so as to fit tight on the box, save with a metal tool. It could hardly be done with a stone or bone implement.

Schwabenkiller E-4,5(1906-1908, 1913) 1801
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Class SF8

C
Ce
531
*171

The Chiriguano and Chané calabashes are ornamented with engraved, burnt-in and painted figures. The distribution of engraved ornamentation cannot, at present be as certained. As I maintained in Part I, pyrograving seems to be a culture-element of western origin. The art of painting calabashes with urucu mixed with oil is unknown to the Chouoti and Ashluslay, as also to the other Indians whom I got to know personally, with the exception of the Panserna.

C
Ce
[415]

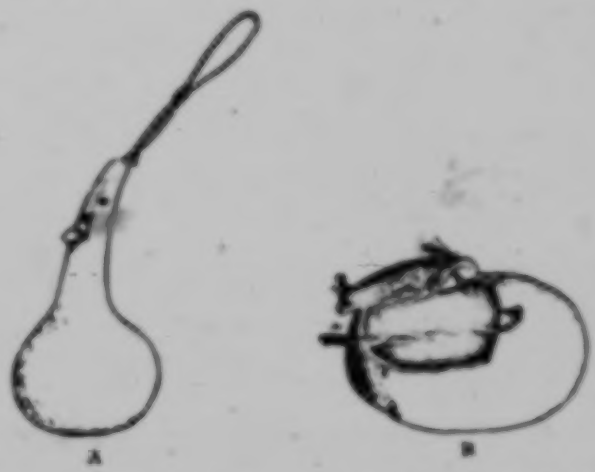


Fig. 30. A. Calabash with lid. Chané, Rio Parapiti. R. M. P. 35. 1/4
B. " " " Chiriguano. R. M. E. 508. 1/4

In the absence of sufficient comparative material from the Andine culture-area, I will not here seek to establish whence the Chiriguano and Chané got the ornamentation which adorns their calabashes, nor in what measure it has been independently elaborated by them. A calabash with engraved animal figures is reproduced here.

C
Ce
415
531
184

The Chané who dwell at Rio Parapiti have but little ornamentation on their calabashes, and that little is plain.

Schwabenkiffel E-6 (1909-1909. 1913) 1914
IF10 Chiriguano IF10
Chané IF9

C
C
915
531
189

This contrasts with the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro and is certainly owing to the poverty of the first-mentioned.

C
C
915
482

Sometimes the Chiriguano and Chané calabashes are surrounded by a net for greater convenience of carrying. I have already dealt with these in the foregoing.

C
C
915
189
[531]
[171]

The stoppers of calabash-bottles are generally pieces of empty corn-cobs. These are now and then used also as stoppers for earthen-vessels. The Choroti and Ashluslay, as a rule, make use of WAX, which material is little used by the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
915
531
532

Fig. 51. Calabash. Chiriguano. R. M. 913. 1/4.

Basket-work.

In contrast to what is the case among the Chorotti and Ashluslay, a good deal of basket-work is found among the Chiriguano and Chané, though less than among the tribes of N. E. Bolivia — this being due to the lack of suitable basket-making material.

There is unfortunately no complete work[1]) on different types of baskets and different kinds of basket-technique embracing the whole of S. America. Such a work cannot

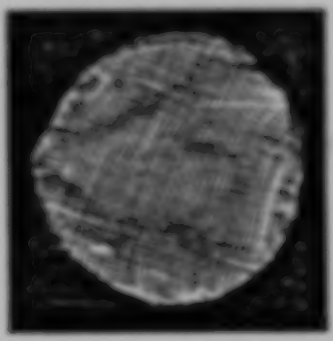


Fig. 50 Sieve. Chané, Río Pilcomayo. G. M. P. 1:1. 1/2

be accomplished without access to a number of the great museum-collections. It is not, of course, from the Chaco nor, as a rule, from the west, that the Chiriguano and Chané received their basket-types and various kinds of basket-technique, but from the north. Baskets of grass, built up spirally, which seem to be very characteristic of the western area of civilization, are not found here at all[2]) Neither the

[1]) Mason had far too little material from S. America at his disposal.

[2]) This technique, the so-called »Coiled basketry» has a much wider distribution than is indicated on Wissler's map. Very rarely one sees these baskets among the Matacco. They are very common at Arica on the coast of Chile.

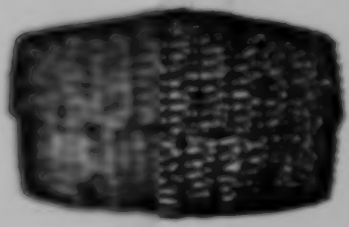
Chiriguano nor Chaná have carrying-baskets. They have carrying-nets instead.

In Part I I related how, in the year 1909, I came with some Guarayú Indians to the Chaná and Chiriguano country. As there was no palm with parapinnate leaves, they were unable to make themselves new carrying-baskets instead of their old ones which were worn out. Should their tribe, for any reason, be compelled to emigrate to the Chiriguano and Chaná country, they must alter their type of carrying-basket. It is quite possible that something similar has befallen the Chiriguano and Chaná. They did not find suitable material for basket-making and so they learnt from the original inhabitants to make and use carrying-nets. Of the carrying-nets used by neighbouring tribes, those used by the Chiriguano and Chaná most resemble those found among the Yuracáre.

In N. E. Bolivia, where palms abound, the Indians often make baskets for occasional use of a single palm-leaf. The whole basket then consists of one palm-leaf. Max Schmidt has given a minute description of such baskets. They occur among the Chaná on the lower Río Paraguáy and, more rarely, among the Chiriguano. It is, at present, impossible to define the distribution of such baskets, since the majority of explorers have paid them no attention. There is a considerable difference of make in different places. In my collections I possess such baskets from the Chimiáne, Iziáma, Cayúna, Mosetyan, Bororóro, Paumóna, Chorípa, Yuracáre, Sirióno, Guarayú and Chacobo, as well as from the Chaná and Chiriguano. It can be said that, practically speaking, they were used by all the Indians whose acquaintance I made on my travels excepting the Chuvetí, Ashluslay, Toba, Tapiete, Mataco, Quichua and Aymara.

The «Urupé» is a type of basket which I have already dealt with in the foregoing, and I beg to refer to what I said there.

A



B

C

D

Fig. 10. Baskets from the Chirigwano.

A — R. M. E. 885.
B — " " " 507.
C — " " " 174.
D — " " " 542.

Schwedenskiöld E-S/F (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

A basket-making technique sometimes seen among the Chiriguano is the one reproduced in Fig. 54. Otherwise I only know it from the Yuracáre and Atsahuaca. We are also acquainted with it from the Araucanians[1]), and from several tribes in N. W. Brazil.[2]) The THULIN-LILJEWALCH collection in the Gothenburg Museum has several baskets in this technique from Indians at Roraima in Guiana.

C
285
171*

Fig. 54. The technique of a basket plaited like R. M. E. 307. 176. 342.

The Chiriguano and Chané (at Rio Parapiti) possess baskets with overlapping lids. This type of lid seems to have a northern extension in S. America. The baskets I have seen from the western area of civilization, are from excavations on the coast of Peru. They have lids which are opened like the lid of an ordinary cigar-box. The distribution of baskets with lids may be seen from the map 14 and from the table below. Such baskets are not mentioned by MAX SCHMIDT from Guató, nor from the tribes on the upper Rio Xingú.

C
Ce
285
171*

---

[1]) LATCHAM (1) Plate XXXV.

[2]) KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) Vol. 2, Fig. 142—143.

C
Ce
285
171
S
102
285

Table 17.

Baskets with lids. Map 24.

Baskets with overlapping lids.

4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 545. (unknown).
5. Chané, R. M. P. 208. (rare).
6. Mataco, R. M. M. 434. (Only one).
13. Karajá, KRAUSE Pl. 57. Fig. 16.
23. Vorsicher, G. M. 13. 1. 841.
24. Chimiane, G. M. 15. 1. 1018.
25. Mojo.
31. Ojana, Trio, GOEIE (1) Pl. VIII. Fig. 1, 3, 8.
32. Atrahuaca, R. M. 05. 26. 444.
36. Ijca, BOLLEKEN (4)
37. Motilon, " (2)
38? Tupinamba, LERY P. 358.
40. Guayaya (Guayaqui). R. M. G. 83.
41. Panserna, G. M. 15. 1. 863.
47. Indians Roraima, G. M. 12. 1. 128.
48. Indians Northwestern Brazil. KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2). Vol. 1, Fig. 74. 174.
54. Guahiro, R. M. (H. M. K. II. 31.)
55. Caribs, Coast of Guiana, STEDMAN Vol. 2, P. 122; BARRERE P. 138.
62. Chacobo, R. M. Ch. 112.
7 P. Oyampi, CREVAUX P. 202.
7 S. Arawaks, Coast of Guiana.
8 F. Indians Bogota, UHLE (1) T. 2, Pl. 8.
9 F. Indians Andaqui, UHLE (1) T. 2, Pl. 8.
V5. Maquiritare, R. M. (H. M. K. I. 72).
5 M. Sebondoy, Pasto } UHLE (1) T. 2, Pl. 8.
3 L. Otavalo, Ecuador }
3 L. Cayambe, Ecuador. M. C. (H. 1034, H. 1035).
2 L. Yumbo, Indians Rio Napo. Museum Stuttgart (L. 1455/10 a—b).

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 H (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
285
171*
S
102
285

Map. 14. The distribution of baskets with lids.

● = Baskets with overlapping lids.

O = Baskets with lids which are opened like an ordinary cigar-box.

StNordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
285
*171
5
182
285

X 3. Piaroa Rio Ventuari, Communication by letter from Prof. KOCH-GRÜNBERG.

Baskets with lids which are opened like an ordinary cigar-box.

A. Graves on the Peruvian Coast. G. M. Very common in all collections of peruvian antiquities.

C
Ce
285
531

Some baskets from the Chiriguano have shapes which make them look like imitations of earthen vessels. (Fig. 53 C and D) Sometimes they even have an ear. Chiriguano and Chané baskets are very seldom ornamented.

Metal-work.

C
325
301

The only metal-work now occurring here is that the Chiriguano sometimes make their tembetas (lip-buttons) of tin themselves. Whether the Chiriguano and Chané, before coming into contact with the Whites, themselves performed metal-work, I cannot say.

Stone-work.

C
Ce
324

The Chiriguano and Chané do not now work stone.

Wood-work.

C
Ce
322
412
177

For their wood-work the Chiriguano and Chané now use exclusively tools obtained from the Whites.

Weaving.

C
Ce
286

Among the Chiriguano I saw two types of loom; among the Chané only one.

The loom found among the Chiriguano and Chané is characterized by the completed product forming a ring (seamless) N. B. if so desired. The warp is set up as shown in the outline drawing, (Fig. 55,3) and in the sketch of a band-loom from the Chané. (Fig. 55,1). When the ring is

[text continues on p. 176]

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
286

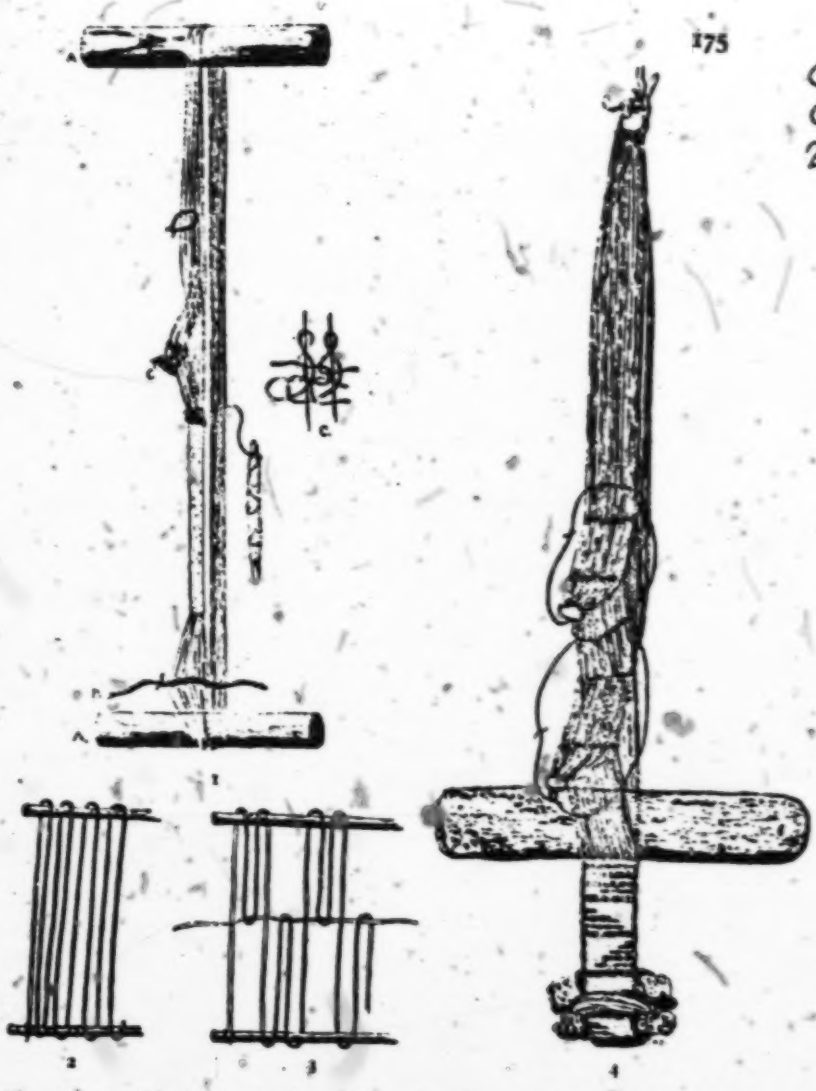


Fig. 55. 1. Sketch of a band-loom from the Chané. Rio Parapitl. R. M. P. 344. 1/6.
2. Outline drawing showing how the warp is set up in the looms from the Guarayú and many other tribes.
3. Outline drawing showing how the warp in set up in the loom fig. 55. 1.
4. Band-loom from the Chiriguano. G. M. 13. 1. 558. 1/6.

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,7(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
286

completed, it is opened by drawing out the string B, a piece of cloth being thus obtained which nowhere needs hemming. If the string B is allowed to remain and is woven into the cloth, the ring-shape is retained and it can also be used as a tipoy. (Fig. 22). This is a particularly ingenious way of setting up the warp. I have looms warped in this wise from the Chané, Chiriguano, Mataco, Yuracáre and Chacobo. In BOLINDER's collection there is a loom from the Ijca Indians on which the warp is also set up in this way. The string B is, however, replaced by a stick. There are also looms on which the warp is set up as depicted in the schematic illustration (Fig. 55.2) i. e. the completed work must be in the shape of a ring, unless the threads are cut off. I have looms warped thus from the Guarayú (Pauserna) and the Itonama Indians. Here belongs also the loom described by MAX SCHMIDT from Paressi-Kabisi, as also a loom from N. W. Brazil described by KOCH-GRÜNBERG.

C
Ce
286
*171

There are unfortunately too few descriptions of looms from the S. American Indians to render it possible to draw up satisfactory maps of the distribution of different types. The map 15 here appended is intended to show the distribution of looms on which the warp is set up in such wise that the completed work forms a ring, or can form one if it is desired. According to information kindly supplied by MAX SCHMIDT, there are no looms on which the warp is set up in such wise that the completed work is ring-shaped in the extensive collections from pre-Columbian Peru at the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin. When writing Part I of this work, I thought, like MAX SCHMIDT, that looms whose completed product is ring-shaped were an Arawak culture-element. In order to prove this, a larger material of looms is needed than has hitherto been collected. It is, however, likely that this kind of loom is now only found in northern S. America and, farther south, only east of the Andes. Looms warped so that the completed work must form a ring appear to have a more easterly distribution than those

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
286
171*

warped so that the completed work may form a ring or not according as it is desired.

Table 18.

»Arawak» loom. Map. 15.

C
Ce
102
286
171*
S
102
286

2. Ashluslay, Photo in my collection. G. M.
4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 1037.
5. Chané, R. M. P. 344.
6. Mataco, R. M. M. 1230.
8. Lengua, GRUBB P. 67.
20. Paressi, MAX SCHMIDT (4) P. 214.
21. Cainguá, AMBROSETTI (7) P. 711.
22. Yuracáre, R. M. Y. 598.
31. Emerillon. GOEJE (1), Pl. XVI.
36. Ijca, BOLINDER (4) P. 149.
37. Motilon, BOLINDER (4) P. 149.
41. Pauserna, G. M. 15. 1. 806.
48. Indians Northwestern Brazil, KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) Bd (2) P. 211.
62. Chacobo, R. M. Ch. 178.
65. Baure, R. M. C—B. 33.
IV. Tereno, MAX SCHMIDT (4) P. 214.[1])
1 C. Paez, PITTIER DE FABREGA Pl. VI.
2 M. Wapisiana, FARABEE Pl. VII.

C
Ce
286
171*

The loom only occurring among the Chiriguano is a band-loom which is depicted here, This loom is much more akin to the usual Peruvian loom and must be regarded as a western culture-element. (See fig. 55,4.) East of the Andes the Peruvian loom is unknown except among the Mataco.[2])

Appertaining to the loom outfit of the Chiriguano and Chané are weaving-implements of bone and wood (fig. 56).

[1]) Cadavel, BOGGIANI (2) P. 107. Warp set up as in the loom fig. 55, 1.

[2]) See Part 1. Fig. 62.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
286
*171

Weaving-bodkins of bone are found among the Quichua. LEHMANN-NITSCHE depicts one from Puna de Jujuy[1]) and I found one in an excavation at Ollachea,[2]) Peru. COBO[3]) mentions their use by the Incas.

C
Ce
286
531
Ce
[177]

The large fabrics woven by the Chiriguano and Chané are not adorned with figures. On the other hand, it is not rare to see ribbons with woven human figures and other ornaments (fig. 57). The Chané on the Rio Parapiti are said to have learnt these ornaments from a Quichua woman who had immigrated to these parts. The Chiriguano girls are never seen to wear the ornaments they have learnt to embroider at the mission schools. These are flowers and the like, generally European ones, which interest the Indians very little, and are too strange for their fancy. This does not prevent the work they do at the mission schools being excellently done. At the mission schools the Indian girls also sew and crochet lace. But they never make these things once they have left school.

C
797
871
531
286
177

C
Ce
286

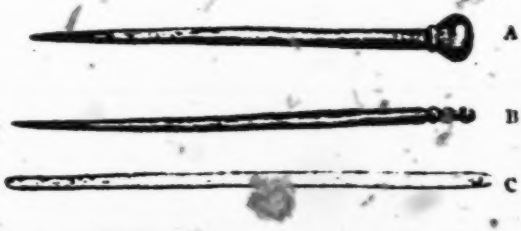


Fig. 56. Weaving-implement of wood. A and B from the Chiriguano. C from the Chané.

A = R. M. E. 48. 1/4. B = R. M. E. 146. 1/4. C = R. M. P. 21. 1/4.

---

[1]) Pl. IV. C5.

[2]) (3) Pl. 3. Fig. 12.

[3]) »Van apretando y tupiendo la tela con un hueso puntiagudo y liso» .... COBO T. 4, p. 204. COBO gives a description of the Peruvian loom. P. 203.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
286
171*
S
102
286

Map. 15. The distribution of the »Arawak» loom.

● = Warp set up as shown in fig. 55.a.
■ = » » » » » » » 55.b.
● = It is not exactly known how the warp is set up.

8:Nordenskiöld E-8,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XXIV

Trophies.

C
Ce
727
[527]

We know from several writers[1]) that the Chiriguano used to keep the heads of their beaten enemies as trophies According to what a Chané Indian named Batirayu told me, the Chané used to bring home the heads of slain enemies. At festivals these were put up on the «square» in the villages. Thanks to FRIEDERICI we have a fine work on scalping in America to which I beg to refer. It is, at present, impossible to say whence the Chiriguano and Chané obtained this custom.

1) See PASTELLS P. 30; CORRADO P. 46.

XXV.

Property Marks.

C
Ce
423
177

In part 1 (Map 34) I have already written about the geografic distribution of such marks. They belong to the cultural elements that these Indians probably got from the culture zone in the west.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano
Chané SF8
Rio Parapiti
286
531

Fig. 57. Ribbons from the Chané, Rio Parapiti. 1/9.
A = R. M. P. 162. B = R. M. P. 134. C = R. M. P. 158.

Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XXVI

Symbols of authority and dignity.

C 622 3c1 243

According to CORRADO[1]) the Chiriguano chief was distinguished by a tuft of hair on his head the »yattira» and earrings of green stones. At feasts the chief carried a pole with a bunch of ostrich feathers at the end of it, the »yandugua», and a carved stick the »iguirape». I have only seen the »yandugua». Among the Chané I have seen plain sticks that formed some kind of symbol of authority for the chiefs.

Ce 622

C Ce 554 171

I have neither seen nor heard of any symbols of authority among any other Indians than the Chané, Chiriguano, Quichua and Aymara, and also, at the missions, among the Guarayos, Mosetene and Cavina. Among the Aymara and Quichua the staff, usually silver mounted, is a symbol of authority carried by Indian officials in the villages. It is the same at the missions among the tribes mentioned and also among the Chiriguano. LOZANO[2]) states that the Spaniards at the end of the seventeenth century solemnly presented a staff to a Chiriguano chief, Cambichuri, as a symbol of authority. CREVAUX[3]) relates from his visit to the Oyampi that the chief carried a staff in his hand, for all over Guiana the staff is »le signe de commandement». KOCH-GRÜNBERG[4]) speaks of the staff as a symbol of authority for chiefs in northwest Brazil. GILIJ[5]) says that the

C [648]

[1]) P. 45.
[2]) P. 298.
[3]) P. 164.
[4]) (1) I P. 260, Fig. 142: P. 297, Fig. 175.
[5]) T. 2 P. 195.

S:Nordenskiöld E-8,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
554
171*

staff was introduced at the missionary stations as a symbol of authority for chiefs. In the same way white men had introduced the staff as a symbol of authority among the Araucanians.[1]) The half civilized Ijca[2]) use the staff as a symbol of authority for medicinemen.

According to RESTREPO[3]) the Chibcha chiefs had staffs of guayacán. MARTIUS[4]) tells us that the chief of the Tupi-Indians carried a tall staff »pocacaba». He also tells us that POMBAL in order to flatter conquered chiefs ordered Malacca canes with big knobs and tassels to be distributed among them. The Incas do not seem to have used the staff as a symbol of authority.

C
Ce
[177]

It is obvious from what I have said that the staff, as a symbol of authority, was introduced here by the Whites, while on the other hand the Chiriguano most likely got the »yandugua», from the Incas. One of the Inca symbols of authority was a parasol of ostrich-feathers. Thus BETANZOS[5]) [6]) tells us about Inca Urco, a son of Viracocha that he was borne in a litter on the shoulders of chiefs. When he went into the market-square, he sat on a golden stool and had a parasol made of ostrich-feathers dyed red.

Dr. MAX UHLE has been kind enough to inform me that he possesses a japanned wooden drinking-cup, possibly from Carabuco near Lago Titicaca. It dates from the period of conquest. On the cup is depicted an Inca with all his tokens of honour, down to the parasol.

---

[1]) GUEVARA, P. 27.
[2]) BOLINDER (4), P. 215.
[3]) P. 99.
[4]) (1), P. 64.
[5]) P. 34.
[6]) See also MARKHAM P. 202.

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XXVII.

Urn-Burial.

C
Ce
764

C
Ce
764
765
*171

The Chiriguano and Chané bury their dead in urns. The geographical distribution of interment in urns has been treated by several authors, particularly by PREUSS, BOMAX, OUTES, TORRES and PATER SCHMIDT. We can distinguish between two different methods of urn-burial in America. In one case the whole body has been stuffed into the urn, in the second the urn was only used for after-interment of the fleshless, and not unfrequently, painted bones. This secondary burial of the bones naturally requires smaller urns than those needed when the whole body is put into them. In some places children have been deposited in urns and adults in another manner.

It is natural that the conceptions on which direct or secondary urn-burial are based must be very different. The secondary burial of the bones in baskets instead of urns is of course more in conformity with this latter mortuary custom than immediate burying in urns. Secondary interment in baskets and in urns can also occur in the same cemetery. The basket is a substitute for the urn or vice versa[1]).

The essential thing in the secondary burial of the bones is their preservation which is considered most important. The direct interment in urns resembles burial in stone vaults and the like. The whole body is to be preserved, not only the bones. This should be kept in mind when we study the distribution of different kinds of urn-graves. EHRENREICH[2])

---

[1]) KARL V. D. STEINEN (3) P. 504.
[2]) (5).

Schiedenskold E-8/4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chano 328

and above all BOMAN have assumed that urn-burial of adults is a Guarani custom. The latter supports this statement by the fact that this mode of burial is supposed to be very uncommon in the western zone of civilization and that it was chiefly used by the Guarani-Tupi tribes.

As this mode of burial is characteristic of the Indians I am treating of here, I will take up the question for closer examination and endeavour to make a map of the distribution of differents modes of urn-burial in S. America. Some finds of burial-urns, lately made by UHLE, makes the origin of direct urn-burial a subject which ought to be brought up for discussion again. I will here endeavour to show that direct urn-burial is chiefly an element of western culture, which most likely spread to the Tupi-Guarani tribes at a comparatively late period.

The Tupi-Indians on the coast of Brazil had this form of burial. This was, however, not the commonest mode of interment there. Direct burial in the earth was more usual as pointed out by TORRES.[1])

LERY,[2]) YVES D'EVREUX,[3]) CLAUDE D'ABBEVILLE[4]) PERO DE MAGALHAES[5]) and NOBREGA[6]) only mention burial directly in the ground. Of these LERY is one of the greatest authors of the 16th century who has written about the Tupi-Indians on the coast of Brazil. THEVET,[7]) VASCONCELLOS,[8]) the author of *Principio e origem dos indios do Brazil*,[9])

[1]) (2) P. 400.

[2]) P. 384. »Apres que la fosse aura esté faite, mon pas longue à mesure mode, alus ronde et profonde comme un grand tonneau à tenir le vin, le corps qui aussi incontinent apres estre expiré, aura esté plié, les bras et les lambes liez à l'entour, sera ainsi enterré presques tout debout.«

[3]) P. 126.

[4]) P. 329.

[5]) P. 210.

[6]) P. 93.

[7]) P. 219.

[8]) P. LXXXIII.

[9]) P. 105.

Schwedenkiste E-4,g(1909-1910, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF4

and (MANOEL TRISTÃO[5]) mention urn-burial. The first two also speak of other methods of burial. SOARES DE SOUZA, who has given such an excellent description of the customs and habits of the Indians on the Brazilian coast describes in detail the Tupinambá-Indians' mode of burial. According to him grown up people are buried in underground vaults and only the children of the chiefs in urns. For the chiefs they apparently dug good-sized underground vaults where the remains were protected from pressure or contact with the earth.[6])

Thus the Tupí-Indians on the coast of Brazil buried their dead in dug-out vaults or in great urns. As I have already pointed out the difference between these modes of interment is not very great. In the vault, and still more so in the urn, the body was protected from the earth. It is told of the Quichua that after the Roman Catholic priests had introduced burial in the earth (without coffins) these Indians unearthed their dead in the cemeteries and took them to their own burial ground in order that the earth might not press upon them. Something similar is related by JARQUE[7]) from the Guarani-Indians in Paraguay. That urn-burial is not practised by the Mundrucú and Apiacá, who are Guarani Indians, is a known fact. The Oyampi, and the Omagua other Guarani tribes, practises secondary urn-burial.

RUIZ DE MONTOYA mentions urn-burial among the

[text continues on p. 188]

[5]) P. 1095.

[6]) P. 307. «e tem-lhe feito na mesma casa o lugar onde ele vivia, uma cova muito funda e grande, com sua entaipada por de redor, para que tenha a terra que mais cada sobre o defunto, e ursam-lhe sua rede em baixo de maneira que não toque o morto no chão; and P. 308 «E quando morre algum mayo, filho de algum principal, que não tem muita idade, metem-no em cocoras, atado as pernas com a barriga, em um pote em que ele cabe, e enterram o pote na mesma casa debaixo do chão.»

[7]) T. 3, P. 82.

Schmidt-Schaffer E-4,7 (1909-1908, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
764
765
171*
S
102
764
765

Map. 16. The distribution of urnburial in South-America.

● Primary urnburial. ○ – Secondary urnburial. ■ – Primary and secondary urnburial, or a combination of both occur. □ – Urnburial occurs. Unknown if it is primary or secondary urnburial.

SiNordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C
Ce
764
*171

Guarani in Paraguay. According to TECHO[1]) the dead were deposited in the ground. Earthenware bowls were inverted over the faces of the dead. Direct urn-burial is the typical mode of interment among the Chiriguano and Chané.

Coming to the Andine culture zone we find that urn-burial of adults has had a very wide distribution. Urn-burials of this kind have been found in the Argentine at Carmen in Valle de Lerma, in the province of Salta, at San Pedro in the province of Jujuy, at Pampa Grande and other places and on the coast of Peru at Ica, Ancon and Cañete. At Ica urn-burials seem to have been quite usual. UHLE, who made a careful examination of them assigns them to the later Ica period[2]). UHLE has also found urn-burial at Ancon from the period previous to the Inca.

Urn-burial of adults also occurs in several places on the coast of Equador. This mortuary custom has also been usual at the Rio Ucayali and at the Upper Amazon where it occurs alternately with secondary urn-burial. A combination of these two different kinds of urn-burial was practised by at least two tribes the Cocama and Passé. The dead body as a whole was first deposited in a large earthenware vessel and then when the flesh had decayed the bones were put in a smaller urn. Direct urn-burial seems to have reached some tribes near the Rio

1) «Believing the souls are buried with the bodies, cover the faces of the dead with concave dishes» P. 670 I regret not to have had the opportunity of verifying this quotation from the original Latin edition.

2) (4), P. 365. Da hingegen sind die in der späteren Ica Zeit üblichen Bestattungen in Gestalt eiförmiger Mumienbündel, die in grosse irdene Töpfe gesetzt wurden, wohl als eine Fortbildung des ursprünglichen Proto-Naura Typus zu betrachten. Erst die Inca brachten an der Küste wieder einen neuen Mumienotypus auf, den man in Gräbern der mittelperuanischen Küste vielfach findet: regellos in allerhand Tücher eingeschlagene einfach gefaltete Körper.»

In a letter to me of the 27 September 1919 UHLE writes: «Natürlich gab es Unmassen von Urnengräber im Thale von Ica (letzte Zeit, zusammenfallend mit der Incaischen.)»

Schmidemeißel E-8,4(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chirigano SF10
Chano SF8

C
CE
764
171

Branco from the Upper Amazon River. It is not known if direct or secondary urn-burial was practised in the Cauca-Valley.

In northern Argentine in the region of the Diaguita it has been quite a usual custom to bury children in prettily painted urns, whereas grown up people were buried in the earth. As I have already pointed out urn-burial of adults has not been uncommon in the Argentine. At Pampa Grande AMBROSETTI found face-urns containing skeletons of children above an urn with the skeleton of an adult. I used to incline to the belief that the last mentioned burial-urn belonged to an older cultural period than the infant burial-urns, because they were not found on the same level. This was most likely premature. Presumably all the burial-urns at this place are coeval, as AMBROSETTI[7]) assumes, in the same way as the skeleton found by BOMAN[8]) at Arroyo del Medio is presumably coeval with the infant burial-urns which he found above it.

At Pampa Grande adults have most likely been placed deeper down in the earth than the children. The same rough earthenware used for the big urns has also been employed for some of the infant burial-urns.

UHLE[9]) has endevaoured to make clear the relative ages of the cemeteries found in North Argentine and he comes to the conclusion, after having revised AMBROSETTI'S[10]) archaeological work from La Paya, that burial-urns of the Santa Maria type or of a type related to it went out of use during the Inca period or perhaps before it.

He points out that AMBROSETTI at Pampa Grande found no objects from the times of the Inca. So it is obvious that urn-burial began in a pre-Incan period both on the coast of Peru and in the Diaguita territory. *It follows from*

---

[7]) (5) P. 80.
[8]) P. 838.
[9]) (3).
[10]) (8).

-C
-C2
964
*(7)1

that I have said that it is not correct to describe urn-burial of adults as typical of the Tupi-Guarani Indians in particular. It is most likely a western cultural element which first spread eastwards to the east coast of S. America and then was carried back from east to west by the Chiriguano.

As has been already mentioned inhumation of adults in underground vaults as also in urns has been performed with the object of protecting the deceased from the weight of the earth. Interment in underground sepulchres has been extremely common throughout the whole of the western culture zone. Secondary burial of the bones in urns, baskets or some other receptacle must, as already mentioned, be based on quite a different conception. This mortuary custom as far as I know is not known from the western culture-zone.

The following table and map show the distribution of different kinds of urn-burial in S. America. On examining an urntomb it is not always easy to determine what kind of burial has been employed. Thus it has happened during my excavations that I have found urns in which the remains of the skeleton consisted of tiny fragments of bone. Some accounts of direct urn-burial of adults must probably be deemed very doubtful.

532

[illegible]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

765
764
S
*171
764
C

Table 19.

Urnburial in South America.

Number on the map.	Geographical distribution		Primary urn-burial.	Secondary urn-burial.	Only children buried in urns.	The face of the dead covered with concave dishes.	Literature
A.	Ancon; near Lima.	Peru.	×				UHLE (4 b) P. 39; BERTHON P. 58.
A.	Ica.	•	×				• (4) P. 365.
A.	Cañete.	•	×				BOMAN P. 261.
AE.	Rio Doce.	Brazil.	?				EHRENREICH (4) P. 65.
AF.	La Rioja.	Argentina.	×				AMEGHINO T. 1, P. 515.
E.	Chañar Yaco.	•	×				LAFONE QUEVEDO (4).
E.	Carmen de Lerma, Salta	•	×				BOMAN P. 255.
E.	Pampa Grande.	•	×				AMBROSETTI (5).
E.	Prov. Salta.	•	×				BOMAN P. 278.
E.	Santiago del Estero.	•	×				• P. 278.
E.	San Pedro, Jujuy.	•	×				• P. 259.
EA.	Guarayos.	Bolivia.	?	?			NORDENSKIÖLD (10).
EB.	Rio Guaporé.	Brazil.	?	?			• (11).
EC.	Ature.	Venezuela.		×			PREUSS. P. 50; GILIJ T.2, P.107
ED.	Las Pavas and Santa Rosa.	Columbia.	?				• P. 131.
EE.	Esmeralda, Manabi and Guayas.	Ecuador.					RIVET AND VERNEAU P. 126, after GONZALES SUÁREZ; BUCHWALD P. 8.
EF.	Beetween Arequipa and Puno.	Peru.	?				PREUSS P. 61.
EH.	Llo-lleo.	Central-Chile.					OVARZUN (2) P. 14.

EP.	Rio Uruguay.			×		TORRES (2) P. 402. Postcolombian. Bones painted.
ES.	Descalvado.	Matto-Grosso.		?		WARHNELDT P. 214.
.M	Mounds, Mojos.	Bolivia.		×		NORDENSKIÖLD (10).
N.	Upper Rio Paraná.		×			MAYNTZHUSEN P. 468; BOMAN P. 268.
O.	The delta of Paraná.		×			BOMAN P. 269.
R.	Valencia.	Venezuela.		×	•	MARCANO P. 10—11.
OV.	Xebero	Maynas.	×			[MARONI] P. 85.
OX.	Pauishana. Amaripa. Uajuru.	Rio Branco.	×			MARTIUS (1) P. 635.[1]
2E.	Goytaca.	Rio Parahyba.	×			BOMAN P. 273.
3D.	Cocama.	Maynas.	×	×		[MARONI] P. 85.
4.	Chiriguano.	Bolivia.	×			
5.	Chané.	Bolivia. Argentina.	×			
6.	Mataco-Vejos.	» »	×			
6L.	Indians.	Rio Branco.		×		MARTIUS (1) P. 636.
7L.	Indians near	Cartagena.		×		OVIEDO T. II. P. 449.[2]
7P.	Oyampi, Palicurs.	French Guiana.		×		BOMAN P. 272.
8L.	Roamayna.	Maynas.		×		[MARONI] P. 85.
9X.	Passé.	Amazonas.	×	×		ROTHIRO DA VIAGEM P. 50.
13.	Karajá.	Rio Araguaya.		×		KRAUSE P. 330—331.
31.	Rucuyennes, (Ojana)	Guiana.		×		CREVAUX P. 121.[3]

[1]) »Rings um den an einen Pfosten befestigten todten Körper wird in geeignetem Abstand Feuer unterhalten; zwei Indianer sind immer beschäftigt, alle Feuchtigkeit an ihm zu entfernen und rücken die Feuer, deren Rauch durch verbrannte Tabakblätter und Harze vermehrt wird, immer näher, bis eine vollkommen dürre Mumie bereitet ist, die man sofort in einer thönernen Urne begräbt.«

[2]) »é desque despiden los huessos, de la carne é quedan limpios embixanlos é meten los huessos é cabeças assi embixados en ollas é tinaxas é assi los guardan en casa o de fuera junto á la casa«. That is the oldest description of Urnburial known from S. America.

[3]) The corpse is burnt and the ashes are preserved in a jar which is afterwards buried.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South Am Indian Tribes 53
C
Ce
764
171*
S
764
765

BiNordenskiöld E-5,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians 53

Table 19.

Urnburial in South America.

Number on the map	Geographical distribution		Primary urn-burial.	Secondary urn-burial.	Only children buried in urns.	The face of the dead covered with coarse dishes.	Literature
38.	Tupinambá.	Brazil.	×		×*		THEVET P. 218; PURCHAS P. 1293.[1]); VASCONCELLOS P. LXXXIII; PRINCIPIO E ORIGEM P. 195; SOARES DE SOUZA P. 308.[2])
39.	Guajiro.	Columbia.		×			CANDELIER P. 210; BRETTES P. 436.
42.	Caripuna.	Rio Madeira.		×?			KELLER-LEUZINGER P. 104.
46.	Conibo.	Rio Ucayali.	×				ST. CRICQ P. 29.
68.	Omagua.	Maynas.		×			[MARONI] P. 85.
I.	Guarani.	Paraguay.	×				MONTOYA P. 52.
VO.	Jumana, Caiuxana.	Amazonas.	×				MARTIUS (1) 482, P. 485.
Not on the map	Quimbaya.	Columbia.		×			RESTREPO TIRADO P. 45.[3])
»	Cainguá.	Misiones.				×	RENGGER P. 133.
»	Payaguá.	Rio Paraguay.				×	» P. 140; AZARA (1) T. 2, P. 143.
»	Puna de Jujuy.	Argentina.			×		ERIC VON ROSEN (4) P. 112.
»	Catamarca and other parts of Northern Argentina.				× *		BOMAN.
bd.	Northern Venezuela		×				SPINDEN P. 327.
be.	Prov. de Malleco and Cautin.	Southern Chile.	?				GUEVARA (1) P. 275.

bf.	Manaos.	Rio Amazonas.	?			KELLER-LEUZINGER P. 26; MARTIUS (1) P. 440; KOCH-GRÜNBERG. Letter to the author.
c.	Marajo.			×		NETTO.
d.	Counany.	Brazil.		×		GOELDI.
e.	Prov. Sara, Santa Cruz.	Bolivia.	×			NORDENSKIÖLD (10).
l.	São Paulo.	Brazil.	×			IHERING (4) P. 31; NEHRING P. 309.
p.	Island of Aruba.		×	×		BOMAN P. 274; JOSSELIN DE JONG.
s.	Rio Grande do Sul.	South Brazil.	× ?	×		PREUSS P. 131; BOMAN P. 265; v. IHERING (1) P. 76.
Not on the map	Saipina.	Bolivia.			×	NORDENSKIÖLD (11).
*	San Juan.	Argentina.			×	DEBENEDETTI (4) P. 183.
ba	Sierra de Perijá.	Venezuela.	?			DE BOOY (2) P. 401.
Not on the map	Rio Yapurá.	Brazil.	?			KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) T. 2, P. 313.
*	Tarupáyu.	Bolivia.			×	NORDENSKIÖLD (11).
bc.	Xingú.	Brazil.		×		P. SCHMIDT P. 1075.

[1]) A Treatise of Brasil, written by a Portugall which had long lived there. Purchas his pilgrimes. London 1625. »After he is dead they wash him and paint him verie bravely, as they paint their enemies: and after this they cover him with Cotton Yarne that nothing is seene of him, and put a covering over his face, and sitting they put him in a great tinnage or vessell that they have under the Earth for that purpose, and doe cover it in such manner that no Earth may come to him and the vessel they cover with earth, making him a house where everie day they carrie him meat.» The author probably *Manoel Trista* — on Emfermeiro do Colegio da Baya.

[2]) The corpse is burnt and the ashes are preserved in a golden urn which is kept in a vault.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,V (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53
195
C
Ce
764
*141
S
764
765

SNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Resumé.

C
Ce
121
177

In the foregoing pages I have attempted to analyse the material culture of the Chiriguano and Chané, and have tried to show from where they have derived the cultural elements existent among them. Finally I will see to what extent conclusions can be drawn from what has been said above, as to the changes the material culture of these Indian tribes has undergone under the influence of an entirely strange culture — that of the Whites — and of a kindred culture — that of the bronze age in the west. Furthermore, we will see what the Chiriguano and Chané have kept of the culture they had before they migrated to the districts they now inhabit, in what measure they have adapted themselves to their new natural surroundings, and what they presumably have learnt from their neighbours the Choroti, Toba, Mataco and Tapiete.

C
Ce
128
177

I have shown in tabular form the cultural elements the Chiriguano and Chané received from the Whites, those they received from the Mountain culture, and those that derive from the north and the east. This third table embraces such cultural elements as the Chiriguano and Chané took with them when they migrated to their present habitat. In the tables I have mentioned, as the reader will see, in the case of each cultural element whether its distribution in the region examined is favoured by natural surroundings, whether in its distribution it is in general independent of such surroundings, whether it is of great importance in the struggle for existence, whether its manufacture calls for technical skill, whether it is man's or woman's work, whether it is used by men or women or both, or only by children, whether it may be looked upon as still frequently used or as disappearing, and whether it can be regarded as a

S:Nordenskiöld E-S,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

luxury or as a necessity. The tables thus reveal, for instance, whether these Indians have received chiefly articles of luxury from a certain source, whether what they received was mainly what women manufacture, and so forth. C Ce 128 177

Among the Chiriguano and Chané we naturally find a number of cultural elements with regard to whose origin we are quite ignorant. Without doubt many of these have a large distribution, but it is simply unknown. Others again have a distribution of such a nature that it yields us no conclusions regarding their origins. The Chiriguano and Chané have no cultural elements of any importance that are not known from one or several other Indian tribes. There are, of course, minor peculiarities in shape and ornamentation that characterize all the belongings of these Indians when compared with similar articles from other tribes, but I know of no striking invention of any description to the sole credit of these tribes C Ce 128 171*

A. *The influence of the Whites on the culture of Chiriguano and Chané*

The cultural elements the Chiriguano and Chané certainly or presumably derived from the Whites, are given in the table 20. It includes such elements as they manufacture themselves, but are indebted to the Whites for the idea; cultivated plants and domestic animals which were not introduced among them until post-Columbian times. C Ce 177

If we examine the table 20 we shall find that it embraces 31 cultural elements. It omits a few cultivated plants obtained by the Chiriguano and Chané from the Whites which are not, and never were, of any importance whatever, likewise a few domestic animals that are rarely seen. It includes three cultivated plants and four kinds of domestic animals. Of the remaining cultural elements, 17 are man's or boy's work, and only four woman's work. The majority

[text continues on p. 200]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5)(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Table 20.

Culture element that the Chiriguano and Chane presumably derived from the Whites.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

C
Ce
105
177
462
511

	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings.	Distribution independent of natural surroundings	Of great importance in the struggle for existence.
Mohern hut	+	+	+	—	+
Chair	+	+	/	+	—
Wooden benes	+	—	/	+	—
Sugar-cane	+	+	+	—	—
Water-melon	+	+	+	—	—
Reeds for arrow-shafts (Arundo donax)	+	+	—	—	+
Pellet-bow	+	+	/	+	—
Cattle	+	+	+	—	+
Sheep	+	+	—	—	+
Horses	+	+	+	—	—
Poultry-keeping	+	+	+	—	+
Riding whip stock	+	+	/	+	—
Saddle	+	+	/	+	—
Tinder when striking fire with flint and steel	+	+	/	+	—
Clothes of tamed skin	+	—	+	—	—
Leather-girdle with pocket	+	+	/	—	—
Hairband with tassels	+	+	/	+	—
Strawhats	—	+	/	—	—
Women with pierced ears	+	+	/	+	—
»Boivéra«	+	+	/	+	—
Tabe-game	+	+	/	+	—
Dice	+	+	/	+	—
»Rifle »(plaything)	+	+	/	+	—
Musical bow	—	+	/	+	—
Flutes with six carefully fitted holes	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets of cow-horn	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets with mouth-piece of reed	—	+	/	+	—
Vessels with lips in rims	+	+	/	+	—
Brazier	+	+	/	+	—
Tanning	+	+	/	+	—
Staff	+	+	/	+	—

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Culture element that the Chiriguano and
Chané presumably derived from the Whites.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence
/ Question not answered.

C
Ce
105
177
462
511

Manufacture calls for technical skill.	Man's work.	Woman's work.	Used by men.	Used by women.	Used only by children.	Still frequently used.	Luxury.
+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	—	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	—	—	—	—
/	/	/	—	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	?	?	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	—	—	+	+
+	+	+	—	+	—	—	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	/	/	+	—	—	+	+
—	/	/	—	—	—	—	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
—	?	?	+	—	—	+	+
—	+	—	—	—	+	—	+
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
+	—	+	+	+	—	—	+
+	—	+	+	+	—	—	+
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	+

5:Nordenskiöld E-8,½(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177
[191]

are chiefly used by the men. It is clear that the latter learnt more from the Whites than the women, for they came into contact with them to a far greater extent. Hence many of the men, but few of the women, learnt to speak Spanish.

C
Ce
291
177

All the Chiriguano and Chané men now clothe themselves more or less like the Whites, that is to say in shirt and trousers. Few have coats. You rarely see anyone with boots, and never anyone with stockings. Practically all the Chiriguano and Chané women still wear the tipoy. It is usually made of cloth bought from the Whites. But in some villages the women still have a predominance of home-woven tipoys. The clothes worn by the men, and which are of the same cut as those of the Whites, are not their own make, but are obtained ready-made in exchange for manual labour. The cloth for the women's tipoys, too, which they make up themselves, is as a rule earned in similar wise by the men. The Indians now obtain the implements for all these things from the Whites.

C
Ce
241
177

The agriculture of the Chiriguano and Chané has been very little affected by the Whites. As the banana cannot be cultivated here with any success, the Indians have not been able appreciably to improve their conditions of life by extensive planting of the cultivated plants introduced by the Whites. For some of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians, cattle-breeding has become of considerable importance.

Ce
177
[233]

Seventeen of the cultural elements included in the tables may be regarded as articles of luxury. These are games, musical instruments, etc.

The domestic industry of these Indians has been very little influenced in its development by the Whites, a fact on which I laid stress in speaking of their pottery, which has remained in a wonderful manner untouched by 400 years of intercourse with missionaries and others. I here repeat that even the instruction given in the mission schools in embroidery, lace-making and the like, has but very slightly affected the native domestic industry of the In-

S:Nordenskiöld E-S,V (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C
Ce
177

dians. A handicraft the Chiriguano and Chané have learnt from the Whites, is tanning.

C
Ce
177
342

The dwelling-places of these two tribes have been greatly changed under the influence of the Whites. I have noticed the same phenomenon in several other tracts. The Yamaica, a small Peruvian tribe that I visited in 1904, a few years after its discovery, had already given up the old type of hut and built huts on the pattern of the houses of the Whites. The Huanyam, a small tribe near the Rio Guaporé in Brazil, which had not long been under the influence of the Whites (or more correctly, the negroes), now builds huts on the model of the houses they see at the rubber barracks. Several similar examples could be recorded. Everywhere it is the introduction of the white man's implements, so excellent in comparison with the stone axes, that has brought about the revolution.

C
Ce
177

The negative influence of the Whites has of course been very great here. The primitive tools have disappeared, a number of implements and ornaments have become rare or have vanished, a quantity of domestic industry has become superfluous, since readymade things have been purchasable from the Whites. The Indian domestic industry is gradually disappearing, but is not transformed under the influence of the Whites.

A race like the Chiriguano or Chané, when it falls under the influence of a culture, such as the Whites', which is very strange to them, very soon, as a rule, utilizes for its own ends such elements as smooth for them the struggle for existence. We know, for instance, with what incredible rapidity the culture of the banana spread among the Indians soon after the Discovery of America, and that in many places it rapidly became one of their most important cultivated plants. And I have already mentioned that, a few years after its introduction, poultry-keeping spread far and wide among the Indians in S. Brazil.

C
Ce

In the matter of ornaments and adornments the Indian

[301]

Schmidt E-4,8(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
1710 Chiriguano 1710
Chané 1711

C
Ce
177
30
[431]
[522]

is conservative, which may partly be connected with the fact that for him, as KARSTEN has pointed out, colours and ornaments have a great magical importance. When the Chiriguano and Chané obtain by barter glass-beads for their labrets, these must be blue, like the turquoises they were wont to fasten in them.

C
Ce
177

When they come across anything in the culture of the Whites that approximates to their own conception of the ideal, the Indians have no difficulty in adapting it to their own use. We know that the dance mask is an Indian practice: it is therefore quite natural for the Indians to have embraced the carnival of the Whites with great interest and have added to it their own dances, in which they appear with masks on.

B. *The influence of the bronze age culture on that of the Chiriguano and Chané.*

C
Ce
[128]

In the table 21 I have put together the cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané have very probably obtained from the culture zone in the west. We can see at a glance that this influence has been very considerable. The positive influence has been greater even than from the Whites.

If we look into the table we shall find that the Chiriguano and Chané have especially learnt from the culture zone in the west such things as are connected in some way with festivals. Here belong the men's festal attire, several adornments worn by men and women, the feather parasol, the finer sorts of pottery, the ornamentation of calabashes with pyrograving, several musical instruments, games, etc. When we know with what interest the Indians have embraced the festivals of the Catholic Church, wherever they have had an opportunity of doing so, it can easily be understood that the tribes that were neighbours of the Incas, also imitated their festivals.

C
Ce
[747]

Schwedenkiste E-4,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The influence of the Mountain culture has extended considerably further east than the territory of the Chiriguano and Chané. In the First Part of this work I showed what a great influence this culture had on the Choroti, Ashluslay, Lengua, Mbayá, and other tribes. The Guarani-Tupí Indians in the most easterly part of S. America have even been influenced by it. The influence of the Mountain culture east of the Andes has probably been considerable not only under the Incas, but also at earlier epochs. But this is difficult to substantiate, with the paucity of distribution maps at present drawn up. I would ascribe to it certain cultural elements such as urn-burial and the shape of the labret among the Chiriguano. If this assumption is correct, these cultural elements must first have been conveyed eastward from the culture zone in the west, and then have been brought westward again by the migrations of the Chiriguano Indians. Both are here evidently original to Chiriguano and not to Chané.

C
Ce
177

The influence of the bronze age culture on tribes with a lower civilization must have been quite different from that of the Whites. And yet the culture of the more highly civilised Indians consisted of the same elements as that of the more primitive Indians. The Chané and Chiriguano have therefore not only learnt the use of a number of things from the bronze age culture, but have also learnt to make them themselves. Among these more primitive Indians domestic industry has evidently progressed under the influence of the Mountain culture, but is perishing under the influence of the Whites.

As I pointed out in Part 1, the bronze age culture in the west was a great attraction for the Indians east of the Andes. It was in order to pillage the rich districts in the west that the Chiriguano migrated to those parts at the beginning of the 16th century. It must have been in order to facilitate the establishment of intercourse with the opulent culture of the bronze age that the Arawaks (i. e., the

C
Ce
177
174

[text continues on p. 206]

Bibliotheek/Bibliotheek E-4,(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
BP10 Chiriguano BP10
Chaco BP6

Table 21.

Cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chaná (Presumably) obtained from the Caribbean Area in the West Indies.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not indicated.

C
Ce
177
462
511
105

	Chiriguano	Chaná	Distribution of Arawakan language	Distribution of Tupian language	Distribution of Carib language
Wooden hook on which to hang their belongings	+	+	/	+	—
Spade (Wooden)	+	+	/	+	—
Bird-net	+	—	+	—	—
Wooden bowl	+	+	/	+	—
Wooden spoon	+	+	/	+	—
Coca	+	—	—	—	—
Poncho-shirt	+	+	+	—	—
Sandal	+	+	+	—	—
Woven girdle	+	+	/	+	—
Frontlet	+	—	/	+	—
Wooden comb	+	—	/	+	—
Placer	+	+	/	+	—
Tapa	+	—	/	+	—
Necklaces of green stones	+	+	/	/	—
Headdress worn by Chiriguano Women on festive occasions	+	—	/	+	—
Vessels which are intended to be carried by a string running round the vessel	+	—	/	+	—
Chueguanti-game	+	+	/	+	—
Chocoreta- "	+	+	/	+	—
Quuita- "	+	—	/	+	—
Long wooden whistle	+	+	/	+	—
Round " "	+	+	/	+	—
Drum	+	+	/	+	—
Vessels provided with ears or handles	+	+	/	+	—
Double pitchers	+	—	/	+	—
Water-pitchers	+	+	/	+	—
Pitchers with a bulging mark	+	+	/	+	—
Calabashes with lids	+	+	/	+	—
Calabashes with burnt in ornamentation	+	+	/	+	—
Peruvian loom	+	—	/	+	—
Bodkin of bone	+	+	/	+	—
Property marks	+	—	/	+	—
Yandugua, the parasol of ostrich feathers	+	—	/	/	—

Cultural elements that the Chirigwa Oak Group presumably obtained from the coastal zone in the east.
+ indicates occurrence. — indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

Manufacture cells by [illegible]	Men's work	Women's work	Tool by men	Tool by women	Tool only by [illegible]	Old Chiriguano tool by	Lasso
—	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	/	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—

C
CE
177
179

Chaná) wandered south along the Andes to parts where no dense primeval forests hampered communications. This is always on the presumption that they were not forced southward by other tribes, which may possibly have been the case.

The question may naturally suggest itself, 'How was it possible for the Chiriguano, if they did not establish themselves in their present habitat until the beginning of the 16th century, to have learnt so much from the bronze age culture in the west, which began to decay a few years later?' They did not do so by direct intercourse with this culture, but learnt it from the original inhabitants of those districts, who were for a long time under the influence of that culture. The Chiriguano conquerors were presumably very few in number, compared with the original inhabitants, who most likely had long been under the influence of the bronze age culture. The conquerors adopted the culture of the original inhabitants, these the language of the conquerors.

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chaná is evidently an offshoot of the Mountain culture, their textile industry has been strongly influenced by it. The most important domestic industries of these Indians are woman's work, and it is probable that kidnapped women have here been the intermediary agents of culture. When the Chiriguano conquered the parts they now occupy, they did so, to a great extent at least, from the Chaná.[1] They then kidnapped a great number of women from these Indians. After being admitted into the tribe, the women taught their skill to their offspring. Being culturally much above their husbands, they would no doubt have a great influence on them.

C
[127]

[1] See [illegible] p.[illegible]

C. *Cultural Elements which the Chané and Chiriguano have got from the Matacos, Toba, and other tribes in the Gran Chaco.*

C
CE
177

The Chané and Chiriguano have presumably not learnt much from their neighbours the Chorotí, Toba, Mataco, and Tapiete, whose chief domestic industry is the caraguatá work, in which they have developed an astonishing skill. As we saw in Part I of this work, they have various different kinds of knitting, sewing, and plaiting. The Chiriguano and Chané, on the other hand, do very little caraguatá work, and the technique of their knitting is without much variety. I consider it likely that they learnt from the Chaco Indians the use of the bowstring made of shreds of hide, landing-nets of the type used here, the wooden needle with the line for stringing fish, the skin rug, the forked wooden spit, the use of the resin of palo santo for painting earthen vessels, and possibly the bat and ball game.

It is clear that more civilized Indians like the Chiriguano and Chané, when they come in contact with more primitive Indians, like the Mataco, Tapiete, and Chorotí, do not imitate their ornaments, clothes, etc. I have already pointed this out in Part I. We must bear in mind that the Mataco sometimes work as servants for the Chané, and the Tapiete for the Chiriguano.[1] These more cultured tribes would be more inclined to recognise the warlike Toba Indians as their likes.[2]

C
CE
357
543

[1] Among the Chiriguano (§) dice not exist among the Chané it is characteristically only a boys' game, whereas among the less civilized tribes, the Mataco, Chorotí etc., it is indulged in by grown-up men.

[2] Nordenskiöld (§).

D. *Northern and Eastern Cultural Elements that occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.*

C
Ce
M

The Chiriguano and Chané have a number of cultural elements that closely reveal their connection with their kinsmen in northern and eastern S. America. The area of their distribution stretches like a wedge from the more tropical northern Bolivia between the Andes and El Gran Chaco proper. Several of these cultural elements, moreover, have a distribution that induces us to assume that they reached the region examined with the Arawaks, i. e. the Chané. One such is, for instance, the india-rubber ball game. Several of them, such as the hammock and the seat, were familiar to both Chiriguano and Chané before they migrated to their present habitat. Those cultural elements that we may with more or less certainty assume to have been known to the Chiriguano or the Chané, or to both, at the time of their immigration, I have collocated in the table (*22*). Of course these Indians have several other cultural elements with a similar origin, though this cannot be proved from the material at our disposal.

In Table *22* there is scarcely any reference to clothing and adornments, owing to the fact that the Chiriguano and Chané have learnt much in this respect from the civilization of the bronze age and from the Whites. It is a characteristic trait for the Indian women to have clung to an older type of garment, — the tipoy.

C
Ce
M
M

Most of the cultural elements the Chané and Chiriguano have kept from the time of their migration to these parts, are useful articles, such as household furniture and fishing tackle. But some of these things are of minor importance here, since their existence is not necessitated by external conditions: they are evidently suited to other natural conditions than those that obtain in these parts.

One can conceive that several of the cultural elements included in Table *22* did not reach the Chané and Chiri-

C
Ce
M

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177

guano until they had settled in their present territory, let us say by trade or other connections with the tribes living in N. E. Bolivia. I will not assert that this is impossible, but I am of opinion that it cannot apply to most of these cultural elements. In any case it does not apply to such cultural elements as rubber balls, certain kinds of basket work of palm-leaves, and hammocks, which clearly overstepped the natural confines as a result of emigration. The rubber for the balls must be procured from the north, and suitable palm-leaves for basket-work is not to be found locally. The hammock is not the kind of bed best suited to this part of the continent.

C
Ce
177
241

Mandioca is now cultivated only as a rarity by the Chiriguano and Chané. It is highly probable that, before they settled in their present habitat, this plant was of considerable importance to them. Neither the Chiriguano nor the Chané depended so largely on maize before they came to the parts they now inhabit. Here they have an excellent soil for growing maize.

C
Ce
177
226

Fish and game are now certainly of less importance to these Indians than they used to be. I mentioned earlier that the Chiriguano and Chané now make the impression of fishermen without water to fish in. A method of fishing which is of no little importance to the kinsmen of these Indians, is fishing with poison. In these parts it is rare, but occurs, at least among the Chiriguano.

C
Ce
177
824

»Chuchio» (*Gynerium* sp.) was formerly the plant that yielded at least the material for the arrows of the Chané Indians. As it has now been uprooted, its place is taken by another growth of grass, *Arundo donax*. It was not until post-Columbian times that this reed, which is used by the Chiriguano, Chané, and all the Chaco tribes for the shafts of their arrows and for other purposes, was introduced into S. America, where now, not least in El Gran Chaco, it has an exceedingly widespread distribution. (I ought to have pointed this out in the First Part of the pre-

[text continues on p. 212]

S:Nordenskiöld E-5/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Table 22.

Northern and Eastern Elements that, occur among the Chiriguano and Chane.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

C
Ce
105
177
462
511

	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings	Distribution independent of natural surroundings.	Of great importance in the struggle for existence.
Maize-barns on piles	+	+	—	—	+
Hammock used as a bed	+	+	—	—	—
Seat	+	+	/	+	—
Mandioca	+	+	—	—	—
Urucu	+	+	—	—	—
Bird arrows	+	+	/	+	—
» » (special type fig. 6 E.)	+	+	/	+	—
Snare fixed onto a long rod	—	+	/	+	—
Fish-spear	+	—	—	—	—
Multi-pointed fishing-arrows	+	—	—	—	—
Fishing with poison	+	—	—	—	—
Wooden mortar	+	+	/	—	+
Round-Siege, »Urupe»	+	+	—	—	+
Great pot-spades of wood	+	+	/	+	+
Fire fans of plaited palm leaves	+	+	—	—	—
»Tipoy»	+	+	+	—	+
Rubber-balls	+	+	—	—	—
Souki-game	—	+	/	—	—
Panpipe	?	+	/	—	—
Game with maize-leaf balls	+	—	/	—	—
Vessels ornamented with finger-impressions	+	+	/	+	—
Bakaïri-spindle	+	+	/	+	+
Baskets made of a single palm-leaf	+	+	—	—	—
Baskets with overlapping lids	+	+	/	+	—
»Arawak» loom	+	+	/	+	+

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
105
177
462
511

Northern and Eastern Elements that occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

Manufacture calls for technical skill.	Man's work.	Woman's work.	Used by men.	Used by women.	Used only by children.	Still frequently used.	Luxury.
+	+	?	+	+	—	+	—
+	—	+	+	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	?	?	?	?	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—
+	+	+	—	+	—	—	—
—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
+	—	+	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	/	/	—	—	—
+	+	—	/	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177
824

sent work.) It follows that these Indians used other material for their arrows in pre-Columbian days. The Choroti and Ashluslay probably had wooden shafts to their arrows, as Chuchio does not, and probably never did grow in their country. Before *Arundo donax* grew in the Chaco it must have been difficult in many places to find material for flutes, etc. Even in the country of the Chiriguano and Chané there were reeds only in certain parts, so that the introduction of *Arundo donax* may have been of importance for other things than the material for arrows.

C
Ce
177
285

The difficulty of getting suitable material for basket-making has resulted in the baskets being of less importance to the Indians of the district under examination than to the Arawaks and Guarani-tribes elsewhere. Presumably the Chiriguano and Chané used to have carrying-baskets, which were supplanted by carrying-nets of Caraguatá or Yuchan.

C
Ce
174
[343]
[515]

Pile-barns are probably a reminiscence from a time when the Chané lived in swampy parts.

I have already pointed out that the great cleanliness of the Chané and Chiriguano shows that they immigrated to their present habitat from warmer, well-watered parts.

C
Ce
177

There are not many cultural elements of which we can say with absolute certainty that they were brought by the Chiriguano, and not by the Chané. Such are, however, urn-burials and »tembeta» of the kind now in use. This is not precluded by the fact that these cultural elements were originally western. Finger-mark ornamention, the wooden mortar, and certain bird-arrows, spindles of the Bakaïri type with a little knob on the top of the stick, are also cultural elements with such a distribution that we can assume that they were originally more intimately connected with the Chiriguano than with the Chané. Further comparative investigations, and access to an extensive quantity of the necessary material will doubtless enable us, from a study of the minor details in the external form of

5tNordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177

the various objects, to prove that some ideas are to be traced to the Chané, others to the Chiriguano.[1]) For the purpose of such studies, we require access to the collections of all the great museums, and probably much more material.

There are of course among the Chiriguano and Chané many cultural elements of which we cannot say whence these Indians obtained them. These are such cultural elements of which the distribution is very imperfectly known, as well as some old ones whose distribution does not reveal from where they came originally. I do not consider it worth while tabulating all these cultural elements specially. They are mentioned in the foregoing, though occasionally only *en passant*.

[1]) This calls for a number of special studies of different cultural elements, such as Frödin's, and my own on the spindle.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Bibliography.

C
Ce
113

D'ABBEUILLE (See CLAUDE D'ABBEUILLE.)

ABREU, C., DE. rã-txa hu-ni-ku-ĩ. Grammatica, textos e vocabulario Caxinauás. Rio de Janeiro 1914.

ACOSTA, JOSEPH, DE. Historia natural y moral de las Indias. Madrid 1894. (Publicada en Sevilla 1590).

ACUÑA, CRISTOVAL, DE. A new discovery of the great river of the Amazons. (Expeditions into the valley of the Amazons. Translated and edited by Clements R. Markham. Hakluyt Society 1859). (First Ed. Madrid 1641).

(1) AGUADO, PEDRO, DE. Historia de Santa Marta y nuevo reino de Granada. Madrid 1916—1917. (Written about 1575).

(2) — Historia de Venezuela. Madrid 1918—1919.

(1) AMBROSETTI, J. B. Los indios Kaingángues. (Revista del Jardin Zoológico. T. 2. Buenos Aires 1894).

(2) — Notas de arqueología Calchaqui. (Boletin del Instituto Geográfico Argentino. T. 17—20. Buenos Aires 1896—1899).

(5) — Exploraciones arqueológicas en la Pampa Grande. (Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. T. 6. Buenos Aires 1906).

(6) — Exploraciones arqueológicas en la ciudad prehistórica de »La Paya». (Facultad de Filosofia y Letras. Publicaciones de la Sección Antropológica. N:o 3. 2:a Parte. Buenos Aires 1908).

(7) — Los indios Cainguá. (Boletin del Instituto Geográfico Argentino. T. 15. Buenos Aires 1895.)

(8) — Algunas alfaferias Calchaquies. (Revista Museo de la Plata. T. 3. La Plata 1892.)

AMEGHINO, FLORENTINO. La antigüedad del hombre en el Plata. Paris y Buenos Aires 1880—1881.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5/4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

ANDAGOYA, PASCUAL, DE. The narrative of. London 1865. (Hakluyt Society. N:o 34.)

ANNUA DE LA COMPAÑIA DE JESÚS, — Tucuman — Perú — 1596. (Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Perú. T. 2. Madrid 1885).

ANNUÆ LITTERÆ SOCIETATIS IESU. Anni 1605. Duaci 1618.

(2) (ARMENTIA, NICOLAS.) Descripción del Territorio de las Misiones Franciscanas de Apolobamba. La Paz 1905.

(1) AZARA, FELIX, DE. Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale. Paris 1809.

(2) — Geografia física y esférica de las provincias del Paraguay, y misiones Guaraníes. (Anales del Museo Nacional de Montevideo. Sección Histórico — Filosófica. T. I. Montevideo 1904). (Written 1790, edited by Rodolfo R. Schuller).

BAESSLER, ARTHUR. Altperuanische Metallgeräte. Berlin 1906.

BALBOA, MIGUEL CAVELLO. Histoire du Pérou. Paris 1840. (Ternaux-Compans, relations etc. Serie II:4.) (Written 1576—1586).

BANDELIER, ADOLF F. The islands of Titicaca and Koati. New York 1910.

BARBOSA RODRIGUES, JOÃO. Relatorio sobre o Rio Capim. Rio de Janeiro 1875.

BARRERE, PIERRE. Nouvelle relation de la France equinoxiale. Paris 1743.

BATES, HENRY WALTER. The naturalist on the river Amazons. London 1910. (Popular edition.)

BECHAMEL (See Grillet.)

BENZONI, GIROLAMO. History of the New World. (Hakluyt Society N:o 21.) London 1857. (First edition Venice 1565).

BERTHON, PAUL. Étude sur le précolombien du Bas-Pérou. (Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques. Paris 1910.)

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

BETÁNZOS, JUAN, DE. Suma y narracion de los Incas. (Biblioteca Hispano-ultramarina. T. 5. Madrid 1880.) (Written 1551.).

BIET, ANTOINE. Voyage de la France equinoxinale en l'isle de Cayenne. Paris 1644.

BLEYER. Die wilden Waldindianer Santa Catharinas: die »Schokléng». (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Bd. 36. Berlin 1904).

(2) BOGGIANI, GUIDO. I Caduvei. Roma 1895.

(2) BOLINDER, GUSTAF. Einiges über die Motilon-Indianer der Sierra de Perijá. (Kolumbien, Südamerika). (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Jahrg. 49. Berlin 1917).

(4) — Ijca-indianernas kultur. Alingsås 1918.

BOMAN, ERIC. Antiquités de la région andine de la République Argentine et du Désert d'Atacama. Paris 1908.

(2) BOOY, THEODOR, DE. An exploration of the Sierra de Perijá. Venezuela. (Geographical Review. New York 1918).

BRETT, W. H. The Indian tribes of Guiana. London 1868.

BRETTES, J. DE. Chez les Indians du Nord de la Colombie. (Le Tour du Monde. Paris 1898).

(1) BRUCH, CARLOS. (See OUTES 5.)

BUCHWALD, OTTO, VON. Tolas ecuatorianas. (Physis. T. 3. Buenos Aires 1917.)

BURGOS, FRANCOIS. État des missions . . . . . Chiquites. (Lettres édifiantes T. 8. Paris 1781.)

(1) CAMPANA, DOMENICO, DEL. Notizie intorno ai Cirigua-ni. (Archivio per l'antropologia e la etnologia. Vol. 32. Firenze 1902).

CANDELIER, H. Rio Hacha et les Indiens Goajires. Paris 1893.

CARVAJAL, GASPAR, DE. Descubrimiento del Rio de las Amazonas. Sevilla 1894. (Edition José Toribio Medina). (Written 1541—1542).

CASAS, BARTOLOMÉ, DE LAS. Historia de las Indias. (Documentos inéditos para la historia de España. T. 62—66. Madrid 1875—76).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

CASTELLANOS, JUAN, DE. Elegías de Varones ilustres de Indias. Madrid 1850. (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles. T. 4.) (First Ed. Madrid 1589.)

CASTELNAU, FRANCIS, DE. Expédition, dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud. Histoire du Voyage T. 1—6. Paris 1850—1857.

CASTILLO, JOSEPH, DE. Relacion de la provincia de Mojos. (Documentos para la historia geográfica de la República de Bolivia. T. I. La Paz 1906). (Edited by M. V. Ballivian). (Written about 1675.)

CASTRUCCI, GUISEPPE EMANUELE. Viaggio da Lima ad algune tribù barbare del Perù. Genova 1854.

CAULIN, ANTONIO. Historia coro-graphica natural y evangelica de la nueva Andalucia, provincias de Cumaná, Guyana y vertientes del Rio Orinoco. Madrid 1779.

CHANTRE Y HERRERA, P. JOSE. Historia de las misiones de la compañia de Jesus en el Marañón español. (1637—1767). Madrid 1901.

CHERVIN, ARTHUR. Anthropologie Bolivienne. T. 1. Paris 1908.

CHOMÉ, IGNACE. Lettre du Père Ignace Chomé. (Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. Nouvelle édition. T. 8. Paris 1781).)

CHURCH, GEORG. Aborigenes of South America. London 1912.

(1) CIEZA DE LEON, PEDRO DE. The travels of .... 1532—50. London 1864. (Hakluyt Society. Vol. 33.)

(2) — Segunda parte de la crónica del Perú. (Biblioteca hispano-ultramarina. T. 5. Madrid 1880.)

CLAUDE, D'ABBEUILLE. Histoire de la mission des Peres Capucin en l'Isle de Maragnan. Paris 1614.

COBO, BERNABE. Historia del nuevo mundo. T. 4. Sevilla 1895. (Sociedad de bibliófilos andaluces).

(2) COLINI, G. A. Gli Indiani dell' alto Amazzoni. (Bollettino della Societá Geografica Italiana. Vol. 21. Roma 1883).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

COLL, C. VAN. Gegevens over Land en Volk van Suriname. (Bijdr. t. d. Taal-, Land-en Volkenk. v. Ned. Indië, 's-Gravenhage 1903.)

COMAJUNCOSA (See Corrado.)

COMINGES, JUAN, DE. Obras escogidas. Buenos Aires 1892.

COOPER, JOHN, M. Analytical and critical bibliography of the Tribes of Tierra del Fuego and adjacent territory. Smithsonian Institution. (Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 63. Washington 1917.)

CORNEJO. (See FERNANDEZ CORNEJO.)

CORRADO, ALEJANDRO, M. Y COMAJUNCOSA, ANTONIO. El Colegio Franciscano de Tarija y sus misiones. Quaracchi 1884.

COSTA RUBIM, BRAZ DA. Vocabulos indigenas e outros introduzidos no uzo vulgar. (Revista Trimensal. T. 45. Rio de Janeiro 1882.)

COUDREAU, O. Voyage a la Mapuerá. Paris 1903.

CREVAUX, J. Voyage dans l'Amérique du Sud. Paris 1883.

CRUZ, LAUREANO, DE LA. Nuevo descubrimiento del Rio de Marañon (1651). Madrid 1900.

DALL, WILLIAM, HEALEY. Masks, Labrets . . . . (Third annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology. Washington 1884.)

(2) DEBENEDETTI, SALV. Exploracion arqueólogica en los cementerios prehistóricos de la isla de Tilcara. (Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Publicaciones de la Sección Antropólogica N:o 6. Buenos Aires 1910).

4) — Investigaciones arqueológicas en los valles preandinos de la provincia de San Juan. (De la Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. T. 32 and T. 34. Buenos Aires 1917).

(2) DENIKER, J. Les races et les peuples de la terre. Paris 1900.

DENIS, FERDINAND. Des ornements de la lèvre inferieure (Le Magasin pittoresque. Paris 1850.)

DOBRIZHOFFER, MARTIN. An account of the Abipones. London 1822. (First Ed. in Latin Viennæ 1784).

SiNordenskiöld E-S,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

EDER, FRANC. XAV. Descriptio provinciæ Moxitarum in regno Peruano, Quam e scriptis posthumis Franc. Xav. Eder e Soc. Jesu annis XV. sacri apud eosdem Curionis digessit, expolivit & adnotativnculis illustrativ Abb. & Consil. Reg. MAKO. Budæ. 1791.

(2) EHRENREICH, PAUL. Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens. (Veröffentlichungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde. Bd. 2. Berlin 1891).

(4) — Reise auf dem Rio Doce. (Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft. Berlin 1885.)

(5) — Die Ethnographie Südamerikas im Beginn des XX. Jahrhunderts. (Archiv für Anthropologie 1904.)

ENCYCLOPÆDIE van Nederlandsch West-Indië. 's Gravenhage and Leiden. 1914—1917.

ERNST, (A.) De l'emploi de la coca dans les pays septentrionaux de l'Amérique du Sud. (Congrès international des Américanistes 1888. Berlin 1890).

D'ESCRAGNOLLE, TAUNAY ALFREDO. Os' indios Kaingángs: (Revista do Museu Paulista. T. 10. São Paulo 1918).

(1) EVANS, OSWALD H. Notes on the Stone Age in Northern Chile, with special reference to Taltal. (Man. 1906.)

(2) — On Pottery fragments found at Taltal, Northern Chile. (Man. 1907).

D'EVREUX. (See YVES D'EVREUX).

FARABEE, WILLIAM, CURTIS. The Central Arawaks. Philadelphia 1918.

FAUQUE, Lettre du Pere Fauque. Lettres édifiantes. T. 7. Paris 1781.

FEDERMANN, NICOLAS. Belle et agréable narration du premier Voyage. Paris 1837. (Voyages, relations etc. publie par H. Ternaux.) (First edition. Haguenau 1557).

FERNANDEZ CORNEJO, ADRIAN. Descubrimiento de un nuevo camino desde el valle de Centa hasta la villa de Tarija (Coleccion Angelis. T. 4. Buenos-Aires 1901—02. Segunda edicion.) (Written 1791).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

FERNANDEZ, JUAN PATRICIO. Relacion historial de las misiones de los Indios, que llaman Chiquitos. Madrid 1726.

FERRIS, H. B. The Indians of Cuzco and the Apurimac. (Reprinted from the Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association. Vol. 3. Lancaster 1916).

FESTA, E. Nel Darien e nell'Ecuador. Torino 1909.

FIGUEROA. Relacion de los misiones de la Compañia de Jesús en et pais de los Mainas. (Collecc'ón de libros Y documentos referentes á la historia de América. T. I. Madrid 1904.)

FLORENCE, HERCULES. Esboço da Viagem. (Revista trimensal. T. 38. Rio de Janeiro 1875.)

FREYREISS, G. W. Bidrag till kännedomen om Brasiliens urbefolkning. (Edited by C. A. M. Lindman). Ymer. Stockholm 1900. (Written 1815).

(1) FRIEDERICI, GEORG. Skalpieren und ähnliche Kriegsgebräuche in Amerika. Braunschweig 1906.

(5) — Die Schiffahrt der Indianer. Stuttgart 1907.

FRÖDIN, OTTO and NORDENSKIÖLD, ERLAND. Über Zwirnen und Spinnen bei den Indianern Südamerikas. (Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhetsamhälles Handlingar. Göteborg 1918).

GALLARDO, CARLOS R. Los Onas. Buenos Aires 1910.

GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA. Commentarios reales, que tratan del origen de los yncas. Lisboa 1609.

GIBBON, LARDNER. Exploration of the valley of the Amazon. Washington 1854.

GIGLIOLI, ENRICO H. Maschere fatte colla parte facciale di crani umani. (Archivio per l'Antropologia, la Etnologia etc. Vol. 17. Firenze 1887.)

GILIJ, FILIPPO SALVADORE. Saggio di storia americana. T. 1—4. Roma 1780—1784.

(1) GOEJE, C. H., DE. Bijdrage tot de Ethnographie der Surinaamsche Indianen. (Supplement zu »Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie.» Bd. 17. Leiden 1906).

8:Nordenskiöld E-8,ψ (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

(2) — Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Surinam. (Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. Bd. 19. Leiden 1908).

GOELDI, EMILIO A. Excavações archeologicas em 1895. Executadas pelo Museu Paraense no littoral da Guyana Braziliera entre Oyapock e Amazonas. (Memorias do Museu Paraense de Historia Natural e Ethnographia. Pará 1900).

GOMARA, FRANCISCO LOPEZ, DE. Historia general de las Indias. Madrid 1877. (Biblioteca de autores españoles. T. 22. (First edition Caragoça 1552—1553).

GRANDIDIER, ERNEST. Voyage dans l'Amérique du Sud. Paris 1861.

GRILLET, JEAN et BECHAMEL, FRANÇOIS. Journal du voyage....l'an 1674 in Relation de la riviere des Amazone traduite par GOMBERVILLE. T. 2. Paris 1782.

GRUBB, BARBROOKE W. An unknown people in an unknown land. London 1911.

(1) GUEVARA, TOMÁS. Psicolojia del Pueblo Araucano. Santiago de Chile 1908.

GUMILLA, JOSEPH. El Orinoco ilustrado, y defendido, historia natural, civil, y geographica de este gran rio. Madrid 1745. (Segunda impression).

HABICH. (See Larrabure i Correa.)

HÆBLER, RUTH. Die geflochtenen Hängematten der Naturvölker Südamerikas. (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. 51. Jahrgang. Berlin 1919.)

HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIANS. Washington 1907—1910.

HAWTREY, SEYMOUR H. C. The Lengua Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco. (The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol 31. London 1901).

HERNDON, W. M. LEWIS. Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon. Washington 1854.

HERMESSEN, J. L. A Journey on the Rio Zamora, Ecuador. (The Geographical Review. New York 1917.)

5:Nordenskiöld E-S,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

HERRERA, ANTONIO DE. Historia General. Madrid 1730.

HERZOG, TH. Vom Urwald zu den Gletschern der Kordillere. Stuttgart 1913.

HORNBORSTEL. (See KOCH-GRÜNBERG 2).

(1) IHERING, HERMANN, VON. A civilisação prehistorica do Brazil meridional. (Revista do Museu Paulista, Vol. I. São Paulo 1895).

(4) — The Anthropology of the State of S. Paulo, Brazil. São Paulo 1906.

JAHN, A. Parauhanos und Guajiros und die Pfahlbauten am See von Maracaibo. (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. 46. Jahrgang. Berlin 1914).

JARQUE, FRANCISCO. Ruiz Montoya en Indias. (Colección de libros raros y curiosos. T. 16—19. Madrid 1900). (First edition Zaragoza 1662).

JORNADA DE OMAGUA Y DORADO. (Nueva biblioteca de autor s españoles. T. 15. Madrid 1909).

JOSSELIN DE JONG, J. P. B., DE. The Præcolumbian and early postcolumbian aboriginal population of Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire. (Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. Bd. 24. Leiden 1918).

JOYCE, THOMAS A. South American Archæology. London 1912.

(2) — Mexican Archæology. New York and London 1914.

KARSTEN, RAFAEL. Studies in South American Anthropology. I. Helsingfors 1920.

KATE, H. TEN. (See Encyclopædie van Nederlandsch West-Indië.)

KELLER-LEUZINGER, FRANZ. Vom Amazonas und Madeira. Stuttgart 1874.

KERSTEN, LUDWIG. Die Indianerstämme des Gran Chaco bis zum Ausgange des 18. Jahrhunderts. (Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. Bd. 17 Leiden 1904).

(1) KISSENBERTH, WILHELM. Bei den Canella-Indianern in Zentral-Maranhão (Brasilien). (Baessler-Archiv. Bd. 2. Leipzig and Berlin 1911).

SiNordenskiöld E-S,4(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

KNIVET, ANTONIE. The admirable adventures and strange fortunes of Master Antonie Knivet, which went with Master THOMAS CANDISH in his second voyage to the South Sea 1591. (PURCHAS. London 1625).

(2) KOCH-GRÜNBERG, THEODOR. Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern. Berlin 1909—1910.

(3) — Indianerkinder. (Kosmos 1914).

(4) — Vom Roroima zum Orinoco. Erster Band. Berlin 1917.

(7) — Indianischer Handel. (Kosmos 1916).

KRAUSE, FRITZ. In den Wildnissen Brasiliens. Leipzig 1911.

KUNERT. Rio grandenser Alterthümer. (Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte 1890. Berlin 1890).

KUNIKE, (HUGO). Ethnographisches und Archäologisches aus der Guayaqui-Region. (Amtliche Berichte aus den königlichen Kunstsammlungen. Jahrg. 32. Berlin 1911).

(4) LAFONE QUEVEDO, SAMUEL. Catálogo descriptivo é ilustrado de las huacas de Chañar-Yaco. (Revista del Museo de la Plata. T. 3. La Plata 1892).

LANGE, ALGOT. The lower Amazon. New York and London 1914.

LARRABURE I CORREA, CARLOS. Coleccion de documentos oficiales referentes á Loreto. Lima 1905.

LASCH, RICHARD. Die verstümmlung der Zähne in America. (Sonderabdruck aus Band 31 der »Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien.» Wien 1901).

(1) LATCHAM, R. E. Ethnology of the Araucanos. (The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. 34. London 1904).

LEHMANN, JOHANNES. Die Pfahlbauten der Gegenwart. (Sonderabdruck aus Band 34 der »Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien».) Wien 1904.

Schwabenmüller 1-4,5(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
CE
173

(1) LEHMANN-NITSCHE, ROBERT. Catálogo de las antigüedades de la Provincia de Jujuy, conservadas en el Museo de La Plata. (Revista del Museo de La Plata. T. XI. La Plata 1902).

(2) — Estudios Antropológicos sobre los Chiriguanos, Chorotes, Matacos y Tobas. (Anales del Museo de La Plata T. I. Segunda Serie. Buenos Aires 1908).

(4) — Botones labiales y discos auriculares de piedra. (De la Revista del Museo de La Plata, T. 23.)

LERY, JEAN, DE. Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre de Bresil. Quatrième Edition. [Genéve] 1600.

L(EVEL), A(UGUST) E. Informe sobre . . . alto Orinoco, central y bajo Orinoco. Caracas 1850.

LITTERAE ANNVAE, SOCIETATIS IESV ANNI 1589. Romae 1591.

LITTERAE ANNVAE, SOCIETATIS IESU. Duorum annorum 1594—1595. Neapoli 1604.

LIZÁRRAGA, REGINALDO, DE. Descripcion breve de toda la tierra del Perú, Tucumán, Rio de la Plata y Chile. Madrid 1909. (Nueva Biblioteca de Aútores Españoles. T. 15.) (Written 1605.)

LOMBARD. Lettre du P. Lombard sur la mission de Kourou. Mission de Cayenne. Paris 1857.

LOWE (See SMYTH).

LOZANO, PEDRO. Descripcion chorográphica del terreno, rios, arboles y animales de las dilatadissimas provincias del gran Chaco, Gualamba: y de los ritos y costrumbes de las innumerables naciones bárbaras é infieles que le habitan. Cordoba 1733.

LUSCHAN, F., VON. Alterthümer von Benin. Berlin 1919.

MAGALHÃES, PERO, DE. Tratado da terra do Brazil. (Collecção de noticias para a historia e geografia das nações ultramarinas. T. 4. Lisboa 1826). (First edition 1576).

MARRÁN, PEDRO. Relacion de la Provincia de la Virgen del Pilar de Mojos. (Boletin de la Sociedad Geográfica de La Paz Bolivia 1898). (Written 1676).

8:Nordenskiöld E-S,V(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

MARCANO, G. Ethnographie précolombienne du Venezuela. (Mémoires de la Societé d'Anthropologie de Paris. T. 4. Paris 1889—1890).

MARKHAM, CLEMENTS. The Incas of Peru. London 1910.

[MARONI]. Noticias auténticas del famoso Rio Marañón. (Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de Madrid. T. 26—33. Madrid 1889—1892). (Written about 1738).

(1) MARTIUS, CARL FRIEDRICH. Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas zumal Brasiliens. I. Ethnographie. Leipzig 1867.

(2) .... See v. SPIX.

MARTYR d'ANGHIERA, PETER. De orbe novo. Translated from the Latin ... by Francis Augustus Mac Nutt. New York and London 1912.

(2) MASON, OTIS TUFTON. Aboriginal American Basketry. (Report of the U. S. National Museum. Washington 1904.)

MAYNTZHUSEN, F. C. Ueber vorkolumbianische Siedelungen und Urnenfriedhöfe der Guarani am Alto Paraná (Actas del 17° Congreso Internacional de Americanistas. Buenos Aires 1912.)

(1) MEAD, CHARLES W. The musical instruments of the Incas. (Supplement to American Museum Journal. Vol. 3. New York 1903).

MEANS, PHILIP AINSWORTH. A note on the Guarani invasions of the Inca Empire. (The Geographical Review. New York 1917).

(1) MEDINA, JOSE TORIBIO. Los aborijenes de Chile. Santiago 1882.

(2) — El Veneciano Sebastian Caboto al servicio de España. T. 1—2. Santiago de Chile 1908.

(1) MEYER, HERMANN. Bows and arrows in Central Brazil. (From the Smithsonian Report 1896. Washington 1898).

(2) — Muschelhügel (Sambaki) und Urnenfeld bei Laguna. (Brasilien). (Globus. Bd. 69. Braunschweig 1896).

Schwedenskiöld E-Ej(1901-1908, 1912) 1911
F10 Chiriguano F10
Chaco F9

C
Ce
113

MOCQUET, JEAN. Voyages en Afrique, Asie, Indes Orientales & occidentales faits par . . . Rouen 1645. (First Ed. Paris 1616).

MOLINA, GIOVANNI IGNAZIO. Saggio sulla storia civile del Chile. Bologna 1787.

MONTESINOS, FERNANDO. Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú. Madrid 1882 (Colección de libros españoles raros ó curiosos. T. 16). (Written 1642).

MUSO (In LARRABURE I CORREA.)

NAVARRETE, MARTIN FERNANDEZ, DE. Colección de los viages. T. 3. Madrid 1829.

NEHRING, CARL. Indianische Graburnen (Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft. Berlin 1879).

(1) NETTO, LADISLAU. Investigações sobre a Archeologia Brasileira. (Archivos do Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Vol. 6. Rio de Janeiro 1885.)

NEVEU-LEMAIRE, M. Los lagos de los altiplanos de la América del Sud. (Traduccion Española) La Paz 1909.

NINO, BERNARDINO, DE. Etnografía Chiriguana. La Paz 1912.

NOBREGA, MANUEL, DA. Informação das terras do Brazil mandada pelo Padre Nobrega. (Revista Trimensal. T. 6. Rio de Janeiro 1844.) (Written about 1550).

(2) NORDENSKIÖLD, ERLAND. Beiträge zur Kenntnis einiger Indianerstämme des Rio Madre de Dios-Gebietes (Ymer. Årg. 25. Stockholm 1905).

(3) — Arkeologiska undersökningar i Peru och Bolivias gränstrakter 1904—1905. (Kungl. Svenska Vetenskapsakademiens Handlingar. Bd. 42. Uppsala and Stockholm 1906).

(3b) — Südamerikanische Rauchpfeifen. (Globus Bd. 93. Braunschweig 1908).

(6) — Spiele und Spielsachen im Gran Chaco und im Nordamerika. (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Jahrg. 42. Berlin 1910).

Schwedenskiöld E-4,7 (1908-1909, 1913) 1921
#711 Chiriguano #712
Chaco #8

C
Ce
113

(7) — Sind die Tapiete ein gouranisierter Chacoindianer? (Globus. Bd. 98. Braunschweig 1910).
(8a) — Indianlif i El Gran Chaco (Syd-Amerika). Stockholm 1910.
(8b) — Indianerleben. Leipzig 1912.
(9) — Indianer och Inkas i nordöstra Bolivia. Stockholm 1911.
(10) — Urmenschen und Mounds im bolivianischen Flachlande. (Baessler-Archiv. Bd. 3. Leipzig und Berlin 1913).
(11) — Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika. Stockholm 1915.
(12) — Incallacta, eine befestigte und von Inca Tupac Yupanqui angelegte Stadt. Ymer. Årg. 35. Stockholm 1915.
(13) — The Guarani invasion of the Inca Empire in the sixteenth century: An historical Indian migration. (The Geographical Review. Vol. 4. New York 1917).
(15) — See Fridlin.
(16) — Spielzeuge aus Peru und Ecuador. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Jahrg. 50. Berlin 1918.
(17) — Om Indianernas Anvendelse af Ground i Sydamerika. (Geografisk Tidskrift. København 1917).
NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA, ALVAR. Relación de los naufragios y comentarios. Madrid 1906. (Colección de libros y documentos referentes á la historia de América. T. 3—4). (First edition Valladolid 1555).
(1) d'ORBIGNY, ALCIDE. Voyage. Partie Historique. Paris 1839.
ORDONEZ, OLIVIER. Les sauvages du Pérou. (Revue d'Ethnographie. T. 6. Paris 1887).
ORTIGUERA, TORIBIO, DE. Jornada del Río Marañón. (Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles. T. 15. Madrid 1909). (Written about 1585).
OSCULATI, G. Esplorazione delle regioni equatoriali. Milano 1854.

Schwabacher E-Sp[illegible]-1908, 1919, 1920
[illegible] Chiriguano [illegible]
Class [illegible]

C
C.E
113

Oviedo y Baños, José, ed. Historia de Venezuela. Madrid 1885. (First edition: Madrid 1723).

Oviedo y Valdés, Gonzalo Fernandez, ed. Historia general y natural de las Indias. Madrid 1851—55.

(a) Ottea, Felix F. Arqueología de San Blas. (Anales del Museo Nacional de Buenos Aires. T. 16. Buenos Aires 1907).

(b) — y Brüch, Carlos. Los aborígenes de la república Argentina. Buenos Aires 1910.

(c) — La Cerámica Chiriguana. (Revista del Museo de la Plata. Buenos Aires 1909).

(d) — Observaciones á dos estudios del Señor Eric Boman. (Anales de la Sociedad Científica Argentina. T. 60. Buenos Aires 1905).

(e) Ovalle, Alonso. Los Kjoekkenmoeddinger o conchales de las costas de Mejillón i Cobija. Santiago de Chile 1910.

Palomino, Diego. Relacion de las provincias que hay en la conquista del Chuquimayo que yo el Capitan Diego Palomino tengo por Su Magestad y por el muy Ilustre Señor Pedro Gasca, presidente de la Audiencia Real destos reynos del Perú por su Magestad. (Relaciones geográficas de Indias T. 4. Madrid 1897). (Palomino made his journey in 1549).

Pastells Pablo. Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay. T. 1. Madrid 1915.

Paula Souza, Geraldo H., ed. Notas sobre uma visita a acampamentos de indios Caingangs. (Revista do Museu Paulista. T. 10. São Paulo 1918).

Pigafetta, Antonio. Primer viaje alrededor del mundo. (Traducción del italiano por D. Manuel Walls y Merino). (Boletin de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid. T. 38. Madrid 1896).

Pittier de Fábrega, Henry. Ethnographic and linguistic notes on the Paez Indians of tierra adentro, Cauca, Colombia. (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association. Vol. I. Lancaster 1907).

Schmelzkiffel 8-9,/f (1908-1909. 1913) 1910
1710 Chirguano 1710
Chaco 178

C
Ce
113

PIZARRO, PEDRO. Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú. (Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España. T. 5. Madrid 1844).

PLASSARD, LOUIS. Les guaranons et le delta de l'Orenoque. (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie. T. 15. Paris 1868).

POEPPIG, EDUARD. Reise in Chile, Peru und auf dem Amazonenstrome. Leipzig 1835—1836.

POHRANDT, ARTHUR. Das Treppenzeichen. Berlin 1913.

PRECHT, THEODOR. Die Begräbnisarten der Amerikaner und Nordostasiaten. Königsberg 1894.

PRINCIPIO E ORIGEM dos Indios do Brazil. (Revista Trimensal. T. 57. Rio de Janeiro 1894).

PURCHAS his pilgrimes. London 1625. A treatise of Brazil written by a Portugall. (MANOEL TRISTA?)

QUANDT, C. Nachricht von Suriname und seinen Einwohnern. Görlitz 1807.

QUINTANILLA, JUAN N. VARGAS. (In Carlos Larrabure i Correa).

RAIMONDI, A. Apuntes sobre la provincia litoral de Loreto. (In D. Mateo Paz Soldan. Geografia del Perú. Paris 1862).

RALEIGH. The discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana. London 1848. (Hakluyt Soc.)

RAMIREZ, LUIZ. Carta, de . . . do Rio da Plata, a 10 de Julho de 1528. (Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico do Brazil. T. 15. 2 Edicão. Rio de Janeiro 1888). (See also MEDINA (2).).

RATZEL, FRIEDRICH. Völkerkunde. Bd. I. Leipzig und Wien 1894.

REGEL, FRITZ. Kolumbien. Berlin 1899.

REISS, W. und STÜBEL, A. Das Todtenfeld von Ancon in Perú. Berlin 1880—1887.

RENGGER, J. R. Reise nach Paraguay. (Herausgegeben von A. Rengger). Aarau 1835.

RESTREPO, VICENTE. Los Chibchas. Bogota 1895

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
CR
113

RESTREPO TIRADO. ERNESTO. Los Quimbayas. Bogota 1912.

(1) RIVET, P. Les Indiens Jíbaros. (L'Anthropologie. T. 18—19. Paris 1907—1908).

(2) — Etude sur les indiens de la région de Riobamba. (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. Nouvelle série. T. I. Paris 1903).

(3) — Les indiens Colorados. (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. Nouvelle série. T. 2. Paris 1905).

(4) — et VERNEAU, R. Ethnographie ancienne de l'Équateur. (Mission du service géographique de l'armée pour la mesure d'un arc de méridien équatorial en Amérique du Sud. T. 6. Paris 1912).

(ROBLEDO, JORGE). Relacion del viaje del capitan Jorge Robledo a las provincias de Ancerma y Quimbaya 1540. (Colleccion de documentos inéditos etc. T. 2. Madrid 1864).

RODRIGUEZ, MANUEL. El Marañon y Amazonas. Madrid 1684.

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE. Through the Brazilian Wilderness. London 1914.

(2) ROQUETTE-PINTO, E. Rondonia. (Archivos do Museu Nacional. Bd. 20. Rio de Janeiro 1917).

(1) ROSEN, ERIC, VON. The Chorotes Indians in the Bolivian Chaco. Stockholm 1904.

(2) — Archæological researches on the frontier of Argentina and Bolivia in 1901—1902. Stockholm 1904.

(3) — Är den sydamerikanska kulbågen en efterbildning av den indiska kullångbågen? Ymer 1919.

(4) — En förgången värld. Stockholm 1919.

ROTEIRO DA VIAGEM da cidade do Pará' etc. (Collecção de noticias . . . das nacões ultramarinas. T. 6. Lisboa 1856). (Witten about 1775.)

(3) ROTH, WALTER. Some Technological Notes from the Pomeroon District. (The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute Vol. 40. London 1910).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,Y(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
CR
113

RUIZ BLANCO, MATIAS. Conversión en Piritú. (Colección de libros raros curiosos que tratan de América. T. 7. Madrid 1892. (First Edition, Madrid 1590).

RUIZ DE MONTOYA, ANTONIO. Conquista espiritual. Bilbao 1892. (First edition Madrid 1639).

SAABEDRA, CRISTÓBAL, DE. Suerte y calidades de los indios y modo de vivir que tienen; frutos y sustentos que da la tierra de los Maynas, que está reducida al servicio Real. Lima 1620. (Relaciones geográficas de indias. T. 4. Madrid 1897).

S:T CRICQ, M., DE. Voyage du Pérou au Brésil par les fleuves Ucayali et Amazone. (Bulletin de la Societé de Géographie. Paris 1853).

SALAS, JULIO, C. Etnología é Historia de Tierra Firme. Madrid (1908).

SALCAMAYHUA, JOAN DE SANTACRUZ PACHACUTI YAMQUI. Relacion de antigüedades desde Reyno del Pirú. (Tres relaciones de antigüedades peruanas. Madrid 1879). (Written about 1613).

SÁNCHEZ LABRADOR, JOSÉ. El Paraguay católico. Buenos Aires, 1910. (Written 1770).

SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA, PEDRO. Geschichte des Inkareiches. (Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Neue Folge. Bd. 4. Berlin 1906). (Herausgegeben von Richard Pietschmann).

SAVILLE, MARSHALL, H. Contributions to South American Archeology. Vol. 1—2. New York 1907, 1910.

(1) SCHMIDEL, ULRICH. Viaje al Rio de La Plata (1534—1554). (Notas bibliográficas y biográficas por Bartolomé Mitre. Prólogo, traducción y anotaciones por Samuel A. Lafone Quevedo. Biblioteca de la Junta de historia y numismática americana. T. I. Buenos Aires 1903).

(2) — Reise nach Süd-Amerika in den Jahren 1534 bis 1554. (Published by Valentin Langmantel.) Tübingen 1889

5:Nordenskiöld E-5/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

SCHMIDT, MAX. Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien. Berlin 1905.

(4) — Die Paressi-Kabiši. (Baessler-Archiv. Bd. 4. Leipzig und Berlin 1914).

(7) — Über altperuanische Ornamentik. (Archiv für Anthropologie. Bd. 7. Braunschweig 1908).

SCHMIDT, P. W. Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Südamerika. Sonderabdruck aus der Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin 1913.

SCHOMBURGK, RICHARD. Reisen in Britisch-Guiana. Leipzig 1847—1848.

SEGURA, PEDRO DE. (See SERRANO y SANZ).

SEPP, A. Unterschiedliche Brief. (In Stöcklein. Der Neue Welt-Bott. Augsburg u. Grätz. 1728—1736)

SERRANO y SANZ, MANUEL. Los indios chiriguanaes. (Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos. T. 2. Madrid 1898).

(1) SIMON, PEDRO. Primera parte de las noticias historiales de las conquistas de tierra firme en las Indias occidentales. Parte I. Madrid 1627.

(2) — Noticias historiales de las conquistas de Tierra firme. Bogota 1882—1892.

SMYTH, W. and LOWE, F. Narrative of a journey from Lima to Para. London 1836.

SNETHLAGE, EMILIA, A travessia entre o Xingú e. o. Tapajoz. (Boletim do Museu Goeldi. Vol. 7. Pará-Brazil 1913).

SOARES DE SOUZA, GABRIEL. Tratado descriptivo do Brazil en 1587. (Revista trimensal. T. 14. Rio de Janeiro 1879).

SPINDEN, HERBERT J. New data on the archæology of Venezuela. (Proceedings of the Nacional Academy of Sciences. Vol. 2. June 1916).

SPIX, J. B. v. und MARTIUS, K. F. PH. v. Reise nach Brasilien. München 1823—1831.

(1) STADEN, HANS. Warhafftig Historia vnnd beschreibung einer Landtschafft der Wilden, Nacketen, Grimmigen

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

Menschfresser Leuthen, in der Newen welt Amerika gelegen. Franckfurdt am Mayn [1557].
(2) — Suas Viagens etc. São Paulo 1900.
STEDMAN, J. G. Voyage a Surinam. (Traduit de l'Anglais, Paris. An 7 de la República.)
STEERE, JOSEPH BEAL. Narrative of a visit to Indian tribes of the Purus River, Brazil. (From the Report of the United States National Museum for 1901. Washington 1903).
(STEGELMANN, FELIX.) Die Indianer des Rio Envira. (Globus. Bd. 83. Braunschweig 1903).
(2) STEINEN, K. VON DEN. Durch Central-Brasilien. Leipzig 1886.
(3) — Unter den Naturvölkern Central-Brasiliens. Berlin 1894.
(5) — Diccionario Sipibo. Berlin 1904.
(6) — Ausgrabungen am Valenciasee. (Globus. Bd. 86. Braunschweig 1904).
STRADELLI, E. Nell' Alto Orenoco. (Estratto dal Bollettino della Societá Geografica Italiana. Roma 1888).
STÜBEL. (Siehe REISS).
SUAREZ DE CEPEDA, JUAN. Relacion de los indios Colimas 1581. (Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueologia. Tomo 4. Mexico 1913).
TECHO, N. DEL. Historia Provinciæ Paraguariæ Societatis Jesu, etc., 1673 translation in Vol. 4 of Churchill's »A Collection of Voyages and Travels», London, 1732.
TESCHAUER, P. C. Die Caingang oder Coroados-Indianer in Brasilianischen Staate Rio Grande do Sul. (Anthropos. Bd. 9. St. Gabriel-Mödling bei Wien 1914).
(1) THERESE, PRINZESSIN VON BAYERN. Meine Reise in den brasilianischen Tropen. Berlin 1897.
(2) — Reisestudien aus dem westlichen Südamerika. Berlin 1908.
(TEXEIRA). Viaje del Capitán Pedro Texeira aguas arriba del Rio de las Amazonas. 1637—1638. (Bol. Soc. Geograf. T. 9, 13, 26. Madrid 1880, 1882 and 1889).

5:Nordenskiöld E-54(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

THEVET, ANDRÉ. Les singularités de la France antarctique Paris 1878. (First edition Paris 1558).

THURN, EVERARD F. IM. Among the Indians of Guiana. London 1883.

TOCANTINS, ANTONIO MANOEL GONÇALVES. Estudos sobre a tribu »Mundurucú». (Revista trimensal. T. 40. Rio de Janeiro 1877).

TOLOSA, JUAN PEREZ, DE. Cartas. (In OVIEDO y BAÑOS.) (Written 1546—1548).

(2) TORRES, LUIS MARIA. Los primitivos habitantes del delta del Paraná. (Universidad Nacional de La Plata. Biblioteca centenaria. T. 4. Buenos Aires 1911).

TRISTA, MANOEL. (See Purchas).

(1) UHLE, MAX. Kultur und Industrie südamerikanischer Völker. Berlin 1889—1890.

(3) — Las relaciones prehistóricas entre el Peru y la Argentina. (Actas del 17 Congreso international de americanistas. Buenos Aires 1912).

(4) — Zur Chronologie der alten Culturen von Ica. (Journal de la Societé des Américanistes de Paris. Nouvelle série. T. 10. Paris 1913).

(4b) — Die Muschelhügel von Ancon, Peru. (International congress of Americanists. London 1912).

(5) — Los indios atacameños (Revista chilena de historia y geografía. T. 5. Santiago de Chile 1913).

(6) — Los aborigenes de Arica. (Impresión separada de las Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile. Santiago de Chile 1917).

(9) — Ausgewählte Stücke des K. Museums für Völkerkunde zur Archäologie Americas. (Veröffentlichungen ... Museum für Völkerkunde. Bd. 1. Berlin 1889).

(10) — La Arqueologia de Arica y Tacna. (Boletin de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de estudios históricos Americanos. V. 3. Quito 1919).

ULLRICH, C. O. Die Tapes. (Internationaler Amerikanisten Kongress 1904. Stuttgart 1905).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

URICOECHEA, EZEQUIEL. Vocabulario Paez-Castellano. (Collection linguistique americaine. T. 2. Paris 1877).

VAAS DE CAMINHA, PEDRO. Carta de ... (Collecçao de noticias para a historia e geografia das nações ultramarinas. T. 4. Lisboa 1826). (Written 1500).

VASCONCELLOS, SIMÃO, DE. Chronica da companhia de Jesu do estado do Brasil. Lisboa 1865. (First edition Lisboa 1663).

VERISSIMO, JOSÉ. As populações indigenas e mestiças da Amazonia. (Revista trimensal. T. 50. Rio de Janeiro 1887).

VERNEAU. (See RIVET).

VIEDMA, FRANCISCO, DE. Descripcion de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. (Coleccion Angelis T. 3. Buenos Aires 1836). (Written 1793).

VOGT, P. FR. Die Indianer des obern Paraná. (Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Bd. 34. Wien 1904).

WÆHNELDT, RODOLFO. Exploração da provincia de Mato Grosso. (Revista trimensal. T. 27. Rio de Janeiro 1864).

WAITZ, TH. Anthropologie der Naturvölker. T. III. Leipzig 1862.

WALLACE, ALFRED RUSSEL. Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro. London 1889.

WEDDEL, H. A. Voyage dans le Nord de la Bolivia. Paris and London 1853.

WHIFFEN, THOMAS. The north-west Amazons. London. 1915.

WISSLER, CLARK. The American Indian. New York 1917.

WIED-NEUWIED, MAXIMILIAN. Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817. Frankfurt a. M., 1820—1821.

WIENER, CHARLES. Pérou et Bolivie. Paris 1880.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
113

XEREZ, FRANCISCO, DE. Conquista del Perú. Madrid 1891. (Coleccion de libros que tratan de America raros ó curiosos. T. I). (First edition Sevilla 1534).

YVES, D'EVREUX. Voyage dans le nord du Bresil, fait durant les années 1613 et 1614. Leipzig & Paris 1864. Edited by M. Ferdinand Denis.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians S3

Notes on the Bibliographical maps.

S
C
Ce
113
114
128
102

To this bibliography several maps have been added which ought to prove useful from many points of view. *The maps indicate the territories concerning which the authors quoted in parts 1 and 2 made their investigations.*

The first map shows the literature from 1498—1600, the second from 1600—1700, the third from 1700—1800, the fourth from 1800—1900 and the fifth from 1900—1920. We find a separate map of the archæological literature. Several important works are unfortunately missing which I have not been able to study. It is difficult and expensive work to collect the literature on the S. American Indians. Not the least difficult of access are certain works printed in S. America during the 19th century. For my ethno-geographical studies I have of course read a number of books without finding anything to quote from them and consequently they are not mentioned here. I desired especially to show the merits and demerits of the maps of the distribution of the cultural elements here published. The maps of the authors' names show us the districts from which I have no material at all and those from which I only have the material of older authors, or only of modern writers.

Some authors have not travelled in the territories they have written about, but have drawn from the works of several other authors. The most remarkable existant work of this kind is COOPER's excellent work on all that has been written about the Indian tribes in southernmost S. America. If there were many such compilations, it would not be difficult to draw up maps of the distribution of the various cultural elements.

From the map that indicates about which districts the archeological treatises are written, we can see, even though

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians 53

S
C
Ce
113
114
128
102

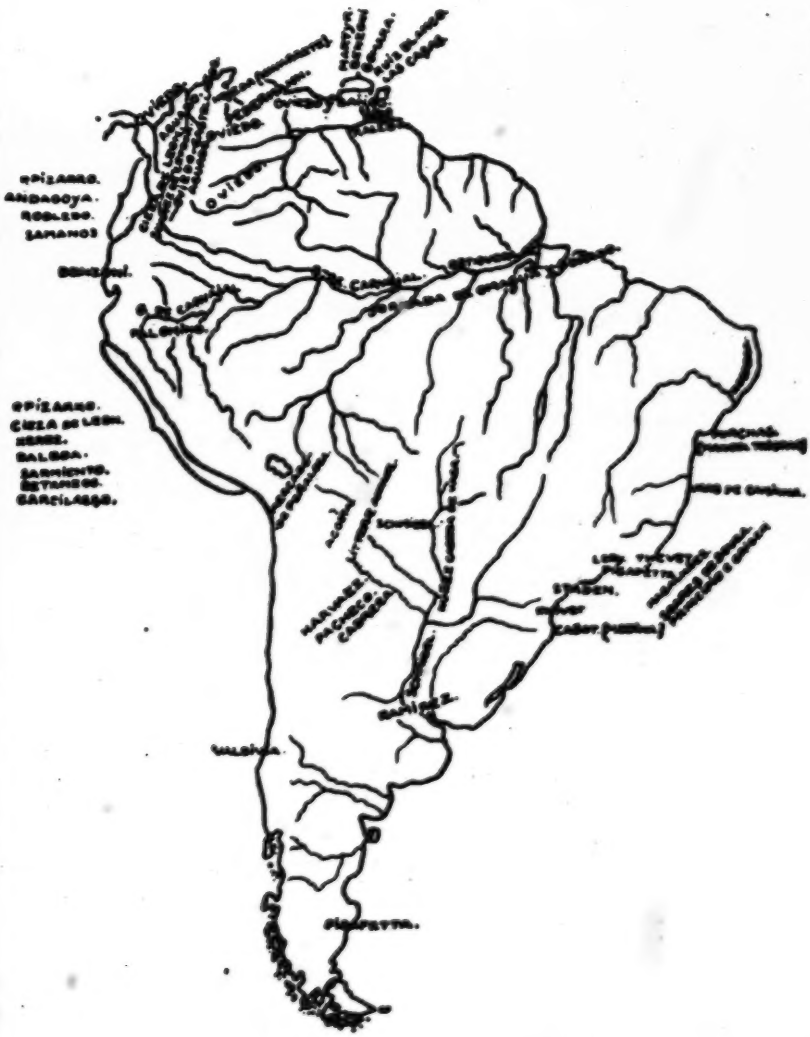
some names are missing, what immense territories in S. America are still entirely unexplored archeologically.

The bibliography includes some authors whose names will not be found in the maps, i. e. FRIEDERICI and PATER SCHMIDT, great as their services to the ethnography of S. America have been. This is because they have written comprehensive works dealing with the ethnography of the whole continent, and not with any particular part of it.

When I have quoted from several works by the same author, these are numbered 1, 2, 3, etc. in the bibliography. The same work has the same number in the First and Second Parts of my own book.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 H (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

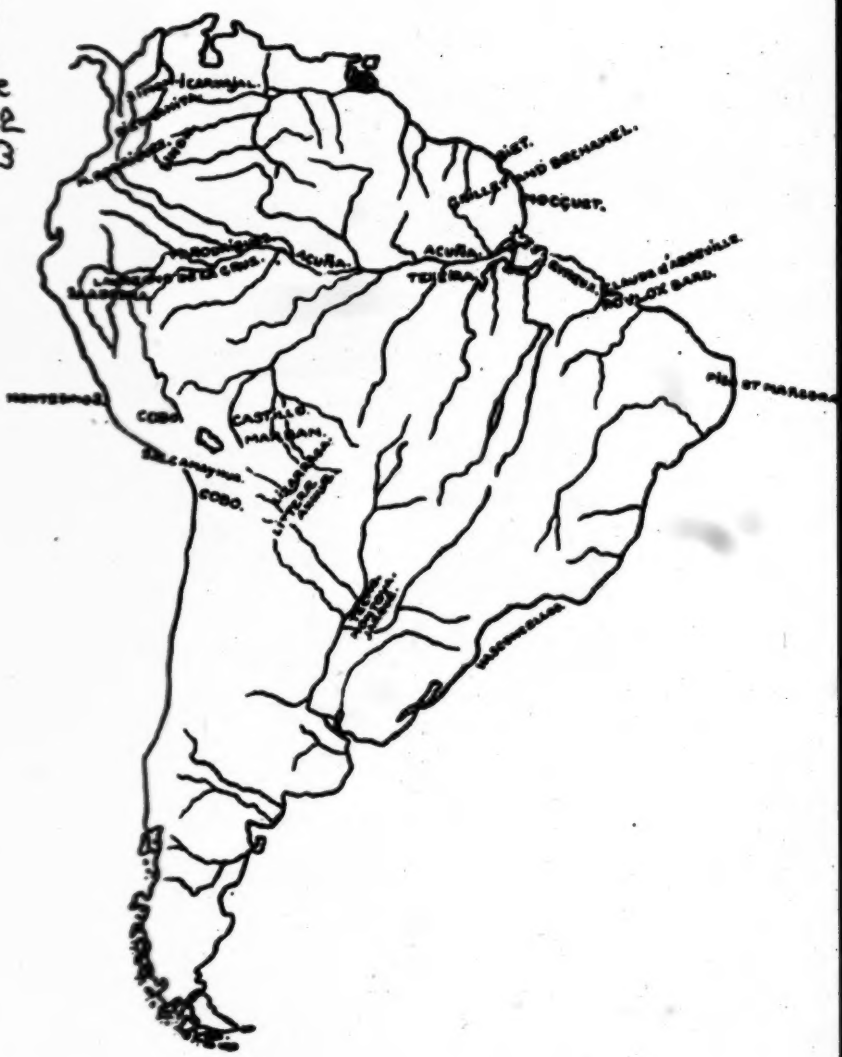
S
C
Ce
102
113



Bibliographical map I. 1498—1600.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

S
C
Ce
1DR
113



Bibliographical map 2. 1600—1700.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

S
C
Ce
102
113

Bibliographical map 3. 1700—1800.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,V(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians S3

S
C
Ce
102
113

Bibliographical map 4. 1800—1900.

5tNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

S
C
Ce
102
113

Bibliographical map 5. 1900—1920.

Interdenominational E-Sp(1900-1909, 1912) 1900
BF10 Chirigoano BF10
Chano BF0
South American Indians 53

S
C
Ce
102
113
172

Bibliographical map 6. Archæological literature.

Schwabenschiffe E-6,V(1906-1909, 1912) 1920
BF10 Chirigano BF10
Chano BF8

ODD

ERRATA.

Page 23.l. 6 from the bottom in note, read See SERRANO y SANZ P. 328 *for* P. 328.
" 97.l. 6 " " " read P. 241 *for* P. 141
" 133.l. 7 " " " " 38 *for* 39.
" 144.l. 1 " " top, read Ego in ciuas *for* spouts.
" 191. read Fig. 38. *for* Fig. 36.

171

/For information on the distribution of Chiriguano and Chané material culture throughout the Chaco area and South America as a whole, see category 116, pp. 2-22, 25-47, 51-68, 71-81, 84-92, 95-98, 101-122, 125-146, 164-179, and 182-195./

Sv

D: Niedenskiöld

1010 Chirigsano 1010
Chaud 1018

102, 113

/Bibliographical maps 1-6 appearing on pp. 239-244 of this source (see category 116), show the general areas of ethnographic coverage by the various authors listed in the bibliography during specific time periods. A further explanation of these maps will be found on pp. 237-238./

6: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Indian Life; the Gran Chaco (South America) 000
[Indianerleben; El Gran Chaco (Südamerika)]

Erland Nordenskiöld

Leipzig: 1912
Albert Bonnier

Translated from the Swedish into German by Carl Auerbach

Translated from the German by Frieda Schütze

Human Relations Area Files

1966

[Title page]

6: Nordenskiöld--i E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10

/v/

Table of Contents

Page

/The Introduction and chapters 1-8, pp. 1-147 are omitted in the translation./

/vi/

Chapter Nine:
The Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians 1

Chapter Ten:
From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians 15
Indians as geographers 15
The Indian as historian 19

Chapter Eleven:
From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians 24
Everyday life in the Chané and Chiriguano huts 24
Division of labor between the sexes 33
Table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Chané and Chiriguano 33
Branches of subsistence 35
Preparation of food 40
Games 43
The life of the Indian children 45
Everyday clothing 52
Cleanliness 56

Chapter Twelve:
On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation) 59
From the womb to the grave 59

/vi cont./

Chapter Thirteen:
On the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians 0-00
(Continuation) 72
Ugly words, homosexuality, suicide, sense of modesty, etc. 72

Chapter Fourteen:
On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians
(Continuation) 80
Chiefs and laws 80

/vii/

Chapter Fifteen:
Drinking Bout among the Chané and Chiriguano 85

Chapter Sixteen:
On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians
(Continuation) 92
Art and industry 92

Chapter Seventeen:
On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians
(Continuation) 101
Legend and religion 101
1. The destruction of the world and the theft of fire 102
2. The destruction of the world and the theft of fire 104
Visits in Aguararenta (the village of the foxes) 106
The girl who followed her husband to Aguararenta 106
Legends about spirits and animals 108
The creation of the world, how the fox-god, Agaratunpa, found the algarroba tree, and how he caught the white condor, Ururuti 111

/vii cont./

Tatutunpa's and Aguaratunpa's marriage 116
The origin of work 120
How Aguaratunpa sent his brother to the vault of heaven 121
About the son of Tatutunpa, and how he rescued his mother 122
The man who married the daughter of the thunder god, Chiqueritunpa 128
"Choihuihui's" abduction of a woman 133
How Aguaratunpa killed Tatutunpa and was then killed himself 136
The man who burned up Añatunpa 137
The man who killed Añatunpa 138
How Bisose fetched riches out of the mountain 139
The fox and the jaguar 139
When the turtle "Carumbe" killed the jaguar 141
The love story of the hummingbird 142
When the tick, Yatéu, ran a race with the ostrich, Yándu 143
The Indians and natural phenomena 144

Chapter Eighteen:
On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation) 147
The Catholic missions among the Chiriguano 147

/viii/

Fear of the rubber regions 148
Compulsory service for the whites 150

/Chapters 19-20 and the Conclusion are omitted in the translation./

/Pages 1-147 (Introduction and Chapters 1-8), Plates 1-15, and Figs. 1-73 are omitted in the translation./

/148/ Chapter Nine

The Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Just as I have tried to give a picture of the life of the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, I shall also try to describe the Chané and Chiriguano Indians and my various visits among them. These Indians are considerably more advanced than the "savages" of the Chaco. For the most part they live in a state of dependence on the whites, and their old unique culture is disappearing more and more.

The Chiriguano are now also to a very considerable extent Christians. For more than 300 years, first the Jesuits and then the Franciscans have tried, with varying results, to convert them to the one soul-saving Christian faith. Even now there are several mission stations among the Chiriguano, but none among the Chané.

In the Chané and Chiriguano we meet people with a higher culture, people who are entirely different from the Indians about whom we have read in the preceding chapters. Comparisons between the two types of culture that we come across in the Chaco are, naturally, of interest.

What will perhaps surprise the reader most is the fact that the two primitive cultures are able to exist side by side, and have doubtless done so for centuries, without fusing, indeed, without learning from each other, and this even though there are no natural boundaries here.

/148 cont./

114 133 [622] In May, 1908, as was said, I visited the Chané chief Vocapoy on the Rio Itiyuro in Argentina near the /149/ Bolivian border. This is one of the rivers that tries in vain to escape the wilderness of the Chaco. It rises in the most remote sources in the virgin forests of the Andes and disappears in the xerophytic forests of the Chaco.

123 648 Vocapoy was at odds with the whites who had usurped his land and would not accept his idea that they were merely his tenants. He asked my advice as to how he could persuade the whites to recognize the Indians' right to the land. I suggested

361

Fig. 74. Vocapoy's village on the Rio Itiyuro.

123 648 [125 823] that he appeal to the great chief of the whites, the President of the Republic, and assumed the position of land surveyor for the Indians. I roved with the Indians through their territory and drew a little sketch which Vocapoy was to take along to the President. The Indians said my sketch was not good, and they themselves drew a map of the country.

Ce 123 648

/150/ Unfortunately, I do not know whether Vocapoy undertook the long journey to the village of the great chief, but, as a result of the surveying, I won the confidence of the Indians.

Ce 142 302 291

Fig. 75. Chané Indian.
Rio Itiyuro.

Ce 123 648 C 114 797 T 114 101

When I left the Choroti and the Ashluslay at the end of July, 1908, I proceeded by way of Yacuiba to San Francisco on the /151/ Rio Pilcomayo. San Francisco was a mission station which the Franciscans had had among the Chiriguano, but which /Fig. 76 appears here/ has now been abandoned. Not far from it live the Tapiete Indians among whom I spent a week in August, 1908.

C /151 cont./
123 In Tihuĩpa I opened a regular /152/ small produce
439 store for a few days. Indian men and women, especially the latter, crowded around the shop counter. It was a

Ce
142
291

Fig. 76. Chané Indian.
Rio Parapiti.

C
123 peculiar shop. If an Indian woman came there with money
439 in order to buy something, she was politely sent away by
[439] the clerk, but if she came with an attractive old clay vessel, she became the happy owner of corals, fire-red ribbons,

/152 cont./
earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other 123
fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout. 439
There are always two villages in these mission stations, 437
one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt 361
more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more 797
fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent.

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through 133
which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected [135]
mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco. The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The wood- 137
land, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monoto- 241
nous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the droughts seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge 731
swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the 136
woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds.

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting 114
Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti.

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the 133
/153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand. If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of 137
bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti.

/153 cont./

In the dry season the wind heaps large dunes along the banks of the river. After it has left the mountains, it does not receive a tributary. The Rio Parapiti is very wide, but never deep. During the driest period its bed is transformed into a sand desert where the wind plays with the fine river sand. When it storms, the sand is swept across the bottom of the river. If one wishes to cross it on such days, one may perhaps not get his feet wet, but he must shield his eyes. C 133 132

The Rio Parapiti is rich in fish, but the fish are tiny. The banks are quite fertile, but inasmuch as they are flooded during the rainy season, the harvests are easily lost. Often in the dry season everything is wasted by the scorching droughts. The locusts, too, hawk about in these regions and leave behind in their own unappetizing bodies a poor substitute for what they have destroyed. C 13

On the Rio Parapiti, high up in the mountains, live the Quichua Indians, then come the Chiriguano, beyond them, near the river, the Tapiete, also called Yanaygua, then the Chané, and finally, in the unknown wilderness, the Tsirakua Indians. C 101

My first visit on the Rio Parapiti was paid to Father Carmelo, who had a small mission station there among the Chiriguano. I became very fond of this monk; /154/ he had such confidence-inspiring friendliness. He is one of the missionaries who are needed here, people who desire and are able to sacrifice themselves for others, who show an equally great friendship toward all. C 114 797

I now continued along the Rio Parapiti to Isiporenda on the north bank of the river. The Tapiete live opposite Isiporendo. I shall later describe a visit that I made to them. C 114 T [31]

At Isiporenda I met the first Chané, or, as they are called here, Tapuy. I then visited most of their villages. I made the acquaintance especially of some of their storytellers, of whom Batirayu, the nephew of the last great chief, Aringui, became my good friend. Ce 114 [101 538 123]

From the lower Rio Parapiti I proceeded by way of Charagua, a village inhabited almost exclusively by whites, to the Caipipendi valley, where I stayed with the Chiriguano chief Taruiri. C 114

/154 cont./

One might be surprised that a person would want to live in this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter their valuables for maize.

For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians.

The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy season it probably rains there too.

From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a /155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Batirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio

/155 cont./ C
Piray and finally unites with the Rio Mamoré. A few Chiriguano 133
live along this river, and savage Tsirakua and Siriono also [101]
rove about in the forests along it. C

Between the Rio Grande and the Rio Parapiti there is a 133
region with an extreme scarcity of water and largely covered 137
with completely impenetrable underbrush and low scrub forest 312
full of caraguata and cacti. This monotonous, dismal vegetation is interrupted here and there by hills and grassy plains. C

Besides the savage Tsirakua Indians who make these thickets 136
unsafe, one finds another curiosity here, namely the guanaco C
(Auchenia). It is altogether strange to find an animal like the [132]
guanaco, which one thinks of only in connection with the cold plateaus of the Andes or the /156/ pampas of Patagonia, often afflicted with frost, in this bush which is frequently scorched by droughts. It would be interesting to be able to determine whether this guanaco of the tropical forest is really the same as the one known from the colder regions. Intelligent whites with whom I have discussed this and who have seen both regard them, however, as the same species.

Ce
Having returned to the Rio Parapiti, I looked up Batirayu, 115
with whom I had already become intimately acquainted in 1908 and who also speaks excellent Spanish.

With no other Indians with whom I became acquainted did I become as close as with Batirayu. He understood that I was collecting the old mementos out of an interest in his tribe. Batirayu did his best to explain to me the religious conceptions of his tribe. In the evening we used to sit in his room with a cigarette, and he told about olden times, sorcerers, chiefs, Ce
and spirits. Occasionally an old chief, Bóyra, also came, and [122]
from him I heard many charming Chané legends. We would sit until far into the night and chat by a flickering light that I had with me in order to take notes. Ce

One would be very much mistaken if he were to believe that 115
the conversations with these men were merely an interesting 123
study. I felt comfortable with these fine, tactful, yes, why not, cultured human beings. It was genuinely refreshing after coming
from the often vulgar, empty whites.

/156 cont./ Ce 115

from the often vulgar, empty whites. Batirayu, however, is also an exceptional man, the makings of a great man, who is condemned to idleness.

C Ce 197 171 648 Ce 101

Batirayu is a Chané. These Indians now speak the same language as the Chiriguano, namely, Guarani. Most of their customs and usages correspond to those of the Chiriguano, by whom they were probably subjugated. According to their origin, however, they are Arowaken /Arawak/ and hence the most southerly dwellers of this group, which had, and still has, a wide distribution in South America and on the Antilles.

C Ce 128 171 771

/157/ If I describe the Chané and the Chiriguano together here, it is because their material culture is so similar. Nevertheless, I have indicated in which tribe I made this or that observation; this is especially true for the religious domain, in which the Chané, at least on the Rio Parapiti, have kept many old conceptions which are unknown to the Chiriguano.

Ce 197 554 273

Batirayu told me that a few of the Chané still knew some words of the old language of the tribe. He said that especially at the drinking bouts, when they are intoxicated, they give themselves airs by speaking the old Chané language, which otherwise has the character of a secret language.

Ce 124 197 114 M Ce C, 192 197

In the company of Batirayu I set out for the village of "Huirapembe" where the Indians who knew Chané best were supposed to be found. It was not easy to draw their secrets out of them. Actually, only the youngest ones, who knew the least, were willing to tell me something (1). One old woman who was

1.

	Chané	Chiriguano	Mojo
Water	úne	y	une
Maize	sopóro	ahuãti	seponi
Fire	yucu	tãta	yucu
Dog	tamúco	yaúmba	tamucu
Chicha (good)	liqui	cángui	itico
Rat	cóvo	angúya	cozo.

/157 cont./ One old woman who was Ce
supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after 124
she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in 197
this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by eth- 123
nographers either, the promise of the old woman was not very
friendly, Ce

The Chané use their old language for many expressions 195
that are abusive, for example, karitimisóyti, which they trans- 197
late as son of a w---e. An invitation to coitus is called Ce
pocône. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for [533]
example, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé,
tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, which they did not know how to translate. C

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief 114
Taruiri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many 126
old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Taruiri
I also visited another chief, Yumbay, an old worthy who was
always embracing me and saying: "I am Yumbay." /Fig. 77 C
appears here./ "Yes, the great, mighty Yumbay," I chimed in, [123]
which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered.

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the C
mission at Ivu. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little 797
water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be 164
dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region, [114]
Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spread- [133]
ing into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the [312]
place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a
genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in
Ivu died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged fright-
fully among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost C
served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was [764]
laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix.
Around this the other swine would get drunk and /159/ continue C
to drink obligos (1) until they were finally lying on the table. [273]

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the C
latter must drink up. [576]

/159 cont./

In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities. 114 [65] [275]

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either. 797 756

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the 114

415
531

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igüembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 114 It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant. [133] [137]

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things. 123 157 172 643 000

/159 cont./ 601

things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among 323
the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78).

From Maringay I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station 361
of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, 797
it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the [114]
grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of [342]
Mimosaceae, cacti, small algarrobas, and other fine-leaved [137]
trees. This woodland is seldom so dense than one cannot easily
get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa, 132

415
531

Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, 132
however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth.
Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the [731]
Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger.

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and 133
across the great plain of Boyuovis, over the country that was 648
the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuqui, they
fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the
right to rob all weaker peoples.

After my excursion to Maringay I left the land of the 114
Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already
described in this book, to the Chorotí and Ashluslay.

/160 cont./ Ee 13

The region settled by the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is really very extensive. It is varied in nature, from luxuriant virgin forests to extremely arid valleys and plains poor in vegetation. It is in part very mountainous, but the Chiriguano and Chané are not mountain people. They stay down in the valleys and do not climb up to the peaks and plateaus, like the Quichua Indians. Ee 136

Animal life in these regions is poor, in fact, very poor. A hunting people could never live there. Now and then a roebuck, a wild pig, a few ostriches, that is all one sees in the way of big game. Bird life, too, is very poor. /161/ Ee [133] The number of lakes is very small, and they are no larger than what we would call pools in Europe. On the Rio Parapiti one sees quite a large number of white egrets (1), famous for

1. Ardea.

Ee [262] their valuable feathers. With regard to wood fowl, only the chicken called "pavas" (2) contributes to the diet. Occasionally

2. Penelope.

one sees a large-billed "toucan" (3). Sleek pigeons, fattened

3. Rhamphastus.

on maize, often live in masses in the fields of the Indians. Ee In the Rio Pilcomayo there is a great abundance of fish; in the little rivers the fish are small and poor. The Indians who [243] live in these regions have to be farmers, and they are maize [262] farmers to the highest degree. For them maize is food, [273] drink, pleasure, everything!

I have no adventures to report from among these Indians. Everyone may travel unharmed among them. The greatest sorrow of the ethnographer is that he is unable to collect all the interesting and old things that he sees there. One cannot take everything home.

/161 cont./

In the wilderness of the Chaco there still lives a Chiriguano chief, Cayuhuari, in whose village no white man has been. It is said to lie on a big lake. Large herds of horses and cows graze there, and the maize granaries are always full. The Indians are rich there, because no whites are there. At least so it is said.

Cayuhuari, who has lived in the Chaco since the uprising in 1890, has an abducted white woman as a daughter-in-law. It is said that, with the Toba, he visited the sugar factories of northern Argentina. He had his daughter-in-law with him. The owners of the factory offered to rescue her from the Indians. "I do not want to leave them," she said. "With them I have my children." This answer honors her.

The manners and customs of the Chiriguano Indians have been described by several authors (4), mostly missionaries. /162/

4. We find most of the literature cited by Domenico del Campana: "Notizie," etc., loc. cit. /"Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani (Notes on the Chiriguano)," Arch. per L'Antr. e la Etn. Firenze, 1902. Page 61./

so that we know more about them than about the Chorotí and the Ashluslay.

A part of what I have reported about these Indians is not new, though seen in a new light. Nevertheless, various things, especially concerning religion, differ from the descriptions of the various missionaries. What I have gathered here is from the Chané, and the missionaries know the Chiriguano best.

What I do not like in the various descriptions of the Indians by the missionaries is that they seem to be striving to paint their shortcomings in colors that are all too faint, so that their own "civilizing work" may seem as important as possible. The missionaries seem to me to be unable to describe the religion of the Indians objectively.

6: Nordenskiöld--15 E-6 (1908-1909) 1911 1910 Chiriguano SF/10
S-Am. Indians 57

/162 cont./

When I read how the missionaries describe their own conquest of the land of the Chiriguano Indian, it does not please me to hear only about the courage of the former and the brutality of the latter. I do not deny that the missionaries were brave, but I admire more the love of freedom and the courage of the Chiriguano Indian. If it became too difficult for the monks, soldiers almost always came to their aid. The Indians yielded to the missionaries not only as a result of the "religion of love," but as a result of bullet and lead. The path to the one soul-saving church was not infrequently soaked with blood.

C
BA
797

/163/ Chapter Ten

From the Land of the Chaco and Chiriguano Indians

Indians as Geographers

S
913

Is there a single habitable place on the South American continent which has not been discovered by the Indians?

I venture to answer "no" to this question. We find Indians on the highest peaks of the Andes, there are Indians in the dry scrub forests of the northern Chaco, Indians roam about in the deep virgin forests of eastern Bolivia, the inhospitable islands around Tierra del Fuego are inhabited by Indians, in former times many Indians lived on the pampas of Argentina.

What a vast period of time these people required to discover every brook, every pool, every cliff, every grove on the South American continent. For four hundred years the white man with all his resources has sought to explore South America, and yet much more than one usually believes is still unexplored. He is acquainted with all the large rivers and main routes in the interior of South America, but there are still vast regions that the foot of a white man has never trod. The Indians know every country, or at least have known it.

G. Hodenhofer--16 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 5710 Chiquano
Chaco SP 8
S-Am. Indians S3

/163 cont./

The time it took to discover this continent and become adapted to the varying climate, the varying flora and fauna, has undoubtedly been very, very /164/ long. This is also proved by the hundreds of Indian languages known in South America.

The area that every Indian knows, as a rule, is not large, but he knows it in detail. As I have already mentioned, I undertook a roving expedition of about 250 kilometers in the forests with the Ashluslay Indians. This was in their own country, and they knew it perfectly. Single individuals, as a result of trade, know something about the country of friendly neighboring tribes.

I always asked the Indians what tribes they had heard of and asked them to list them. They did so willingly, but they simply did not mention those tribes which they thought I did not know about. They did not wish to extend the white man's knowledge of the country unnecessarily. This is the reason why it is often so difficult to find a guide among the Indians. Anyone who leads the white man into a village unknown to him is a miserable traitor deserving death. The Chorotí always say that there are no human beings in the interior of their country, from the Río Pilcomayo on, where there has never been any white. The Ashluslay Indians were greatly astonished when I described to them the characteristic possessions of the Tobokua Indians and told them about the Yanoygua /Tapiete/. Then the white man knew about those tribes was completely incomprehensible to them.

The knowledge of the Indians about the continent that they inhabit is not very comprehensive. No Indian south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, for example, is acquainted with those living north of this city. Strangely enough, the Río Paraguay is known to the Chaná Indians. They did not know the tribes there. A great chief lives there, they said. They asked me whether I had been sent by this chief to collect all the objects of ancient times, so that they would not be lost. It was to this great chief in Paraguay that an old storyteller was

C 829 /164 cont./
referring when he addressed a farewell speech to /165/ me, which began as follows: "Now you can tell your great chief that you saw us and our poverty..."

C 823 The sense of direction of the Indians has been discussed a great deal. The Indian undoubtedly has a very highly developed gift of observation, but his sense of direction is not so considerable. I wandered with the Guarayú Indians in eastern Bolivia for about 250 kilometers in deep, large forests which they did not know, and in which we often had to cut a path,

C 823

C 142 301 302

Fig. 79. Old Chiriguano with large lip-plug. Tihuiba.

C 823 step by step, with the bush knife. When the sun was covered with clouds, they often led me astray, as I could see by my compass. For a white man transplanted directly from city life into the wilderness, the Indian's intimate acquaintance with nature is remarkable. If one is accustomed to this life himself, he looks at the matter differently.

Chane SF8
S-Am. Indians 53

/166/

S
804
823
484

The distance from one place to another is expressed by all Indians by showing how far the sun must go before one arrives. If it is far, the Indian tells how many overnight camps one must pitch to reach there. Among us, too, of course, in different regions there are different ideas about long and short routes. What we call far in the city is often called short in the country. For the Indian, routes that seem short to the white man are, as a rule, long. The Indians of the virgin forest lack the marching ability that we find among the highland Indians.

S
Ce
103

The Indian has given a name to every hill, every plain, every glen. The Chané say that long ago, when all peoples fished on the banks of the Parapiti River, a great spirit (añatunpa) came on horseback and gave the various places names. This river is to be called Parapiti (where there is killing), this place Amboró, etc., said Añatunpa. Of the names of Chané villages, there are to be mentioned: Hŭirayŭasa (birds meet), Aguarăti (white fox), Aguarătimi (little white fox), Yŏvi (green water, Ouivarénda (where there is chuchio) (1), and so

1. Arundo saccharoides.

S
Ce
[824]
[411]

forth. The last-named plant, the flower stalk of which is used by many Indian tribes of South America as an arrow shaft, has now been destroyed by the cattle herds on the Rio Parapiti. The Chané, who formerly made their arrow shafts out of chuchio, now plant a type of reed which they use for arrow shafts, as do the other Chaco Indians. Other places are named after chiefs, such as Tamachindi, Tamané, and Corópa. They call one village Yahuanau. Formerly there was a swamp there, on whose banks small black creatures (yahuanau) were wont to sun themselves. Many Chané place names are untranslatable; I know of one that is indecent. A few Indian place names are undoubtedly very old, for they refer to plants, lakes, or swamps that no longer exist. In the /167/ Caipipendi valley on the Parapiti there

6: Nordenskiöld--19 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane SF 8
S-Am. 51
S-Am. Indians 53

/167 cont./

is a village called Tapiirenda. The valley is now inhabited exclusively by Chiriguano, and none of them remembers that, as the name of the place indicates, Tapii (Chané) lived there.

The place names of the Indians of higher standing are retained by the whites, even if they have become the masters of the country. Thus, almost all the places inhabited by them in Chiriguano territory have Guarani names, such as Charagua (name of the cliffs peculiarly carved out by the water), Carandaiti (where palms grow). The place names of the lower tribes, on the other hand, are not kept by the whites. Thus, no white knows the Mataco or Choroti names of the various places on the Rio Pilcomayo. The settlements of the whites are named after saints, Bolivian statesman, and explorers. If a tribe, for example, the Choroti, becomes extinct, there is nothing left of its language in the place names. Investigators of place names should not overlook this.

Through association with the whites, the geographical knowledge of the Indians has been extended considerably. They go farther and farther away to seek work, and they see countries which they had never heard of before.

The Indian as Historian

If we wanted to write the history of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we could not go back very far in time. It is only in the last decades that we see them mentioned more specifically in the literature. On the other hand, we already know about the Chiriguano, from their battles with the great ruler, Inca Yupanqui, from the period before the discovery of America. Garcilasso de la Vega (1) reports on his attempts

1. Garcilasso de la Vega, The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas. Vol. I-II. Hakluyt Society. London, 1869 and 1871.

/167 cont./

to conquer the land. His description of the Chiriguano as a cannibalistic race of extremely low standing /168/ surely originated in his own imagination. The tradition about these battles has been preserved in the mountain valleys.

The territory of the Chiriguano, in spite of the centuries-long valiant defense, was conquered, step by step, in the Spanish era. As recently as 1890 part of them made a last attempt at rebellion, but they were defeated, as has been mentioned, in the battle at Curuyuqui, on the plain of Boyuovis. About 5,000 Indians had gathered there and for a whole day fought the whites in an unequal battle against fire-arms. The battle had begun in the morning and it had not yet ended in the evening when it grew dark. The situation was becoming extremely unpleasant for the whites, since their ammunition was almost gone. Unfortunately, however, the morale of the Indians was broken. They abandoned their entrenchments in the quiet of the night.

Another very important chapter in the history of these Indians is the long and persistent effort of the missionaries to conquer the land of the Indians in a comparatively peaceful manner. This is treated in detail in the literature.

Here, however, I do not wish to speak of the history of these Indians as we know it through the literature, but of the Indian as historian.

If one talks to the Indians, they do not know much about their own history; their tradition does not go back very far. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me they had first lived on the upper Rio Parapiti (1), but were driven away from there by a great chief. Some remained where they are now living, others set out through the Chaco to the Rio Paraguay, which river,

1. This is confirmed by Viedma: Descripcion geografica y estadistica de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Coleccion Pedro de Angelis. Buenos Aires, 1836. Vol. III. Pages 180-181.

C 175 648
C 175 797
Ce 829
C Ce [173]
Ce 173 648 [131]
Ce [113]
Ce [167]

/168 cont./ Ce 173 648 169 [1017] c

as has been said, /169/ is not unfamiliar to the Indians. On the Rio Paraguay Arowaken /Arawak/ are also found.

The Chiriguano first lived on the lower Rio Parapiti and were driven away from there by the Chané. This is Figs. 80 and 81 appear here/ possibly "official history," for more probably the Chiriguano drove the Chané out of the fertile valleys of the upper Rio Parapiti. 173 648 131

Batirayu told me everything that he knew about the history of the Chané Indians on the Rio Parapiti. The last great /170/ chief was Batirayu's uncle, Aringui. He led many Indians of his tribe to Argentina to work. His predecessor was Yámbáe. Before him Ochoápi was invested with the position of chief. In his time the whites began to push into the country. This chief is described as an important man who sought to introduce the manners and customs of the whites among his Indians. Ochoápi is known for his extensive journeys and his persecution of sorcerers. He was said to have been in Buenos Aires. Before him Chótchori had the position of chief. In his time the whites had not yet come as far as the lower Rio Parapiti. Here the tradition comes to an end. The chiefs mentioned here were of the same family /Geschlecht/, but the rule does not pass from father to son. Ce 173 622 648 Ce [177]

I could relate a bit of history about the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, but I do not wish to be boring with too many names. There, too, tradition does not go back far, three generations, that is all. Ce 173

In the legends of these Indians, several of which I have given below, we learn nothing about the history of these peoples. No historical events seem to have been recast into legends there. They have entirely different themes.

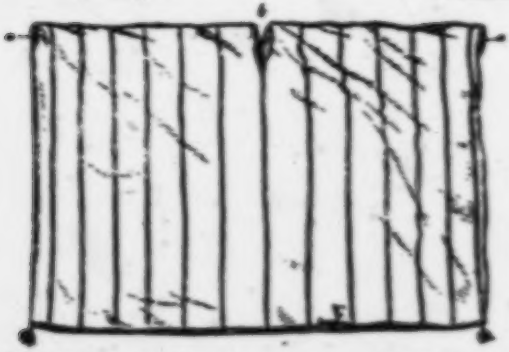
It is really quite strange that among these Indian tribes their history, the names of the chiefs, have been forgotten, whereas the legends have undoubtedly been preserved, though in altered form, from generation to generation for centuries. It is chiefly the wide geographical distribution of the legends that speaks for their great age.

6: Nordenskiöld--22 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee
276
531

A B

Fig. 80a. Pipe. "Huiramimbi." Tihuĭpa. b. Shows a in cross-section. 2/3.



Ee
292

Fig. 81. Festive attire for men. "Tirucumbai." Chané. Rio Parapiti. 1/22.

b = opening for the head. a = armholes.

/170 cont./ Ce 173

The legendary figures and their experiences stimulate the imagination, are preserved and retold. The historical personalities and events are forgotten.

If one looks in Chané and Chiriguano houses, one finds many things preserved which are now no longer in use, /171/ but which they value as mementos of earlier times and often do not want to give up. For example, one sees handsome round pipes, "huiramimbi" (Ill. 80), which have undoubtedly been handed down from generation to generation. They were formerly used in connection with expeditions of war. Old Maringay had kept all kinds of things from olden times. It gave me great pleasure to rummage about in the old man's storage places. I wanted to buy something from him, but felt embarrassed to offer him money for his mementos.

Ce 523 [276] [72] c 523 123 126

I once found a bundle of fine, old, completely smoke-blackened arrow-points stuck into the walls. "Would you not like to sell them to me?" I asked my old friend hesitatingly. "You shall have three as presents," said Maringay. After this refusal I let him keep his cherished things.

Once I rode away from Vocopay's village in order to look up an old Chané who had an attractive old costume. After some hesitation he showed it to me. He had carefully wrapped it in other material. Like an enthusiastic museum official taking out an old gem, he unwrapped it carefully. One unmistakably saw how dear it was to him. Although I offered him a very high price, he did not want to sell it.

Ce 523 123 126 c

The fact that these Indians love their old keepsakes shows that they have a certain degree of culture. This is true only of the old people, however. The young ones are no longer like that; they sell everything without hesitation. What do they care about a worn-out old festival costume if they can get a red, fluttering scarf and trousers with jacket in exchange! The triumphal march of trousers across the world has also reached these valleys and plains.

Ce 523 178 c Ce [177]

The Chiriguano and Chané no longer carry on regular war with other Indian tribes. Occasionally, however, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians.

Ce 721 c [721]

/171 cont./ 000 C 648

on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians. The Ashluslay also maintain, as my interpreter told me, that /172/ the Toba chief Taycolique, during his invasion of their territory in 1909, had several Chiriguano with him. Ce 727

Batirayu said that in former times the Chané brought home the heads of their slain enemies and set them up on the plazas of the villages during festivals. Ce 415 531

Fig. 82. Clay vessel of the Chané. 1/4.
Rio Parapiti.

/173/ Chapter Eleven

From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Everyday Life in the Chané and Chiriguano Huts

Ee 361 184 114

As a rule, I felt very comfortable in the huts of the Chané and Chiriguano. The life in these villages is exactly the same. If one describes one village, he has described almost all of them.

Ee 361 [162]

Like all the other Indians whom I visited south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, these Indians live in villages. Some of these villages are quite large and inhabited by several hundred persons. Often many villages lie close together. The huts, as a rule, lie around a market place on which sweetsop trees are occasionally planted for shelter in the rainy season. The market places serve as playgrounds and meeting places. The huts, in contrast to the round Choroti and Ashluslay huts, are square, and their doors, facing the village, are set in the gable. They are made of cane or wooden slats, with roofs of grass. Not infrequently they are plastered with earth.

Ee [137]

Ee 342

/173 cont./ C Ce

Under the influence of the whites, however, the Chané and Chiriguano are gradually changing their huts, and many Indians are already building huts that are identical with theirs. 342 177

No hut here has its original Indian form. The genuine Chiriguano huts (the original Chané huts are not known) were very large; up to 100 persons lived in one house, and the entire /174/ village consisted of only a few large huts (1). These C 342 178 361 592 171

1. Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. -- Tucuman y Perú -- 1596. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Madrid, 1885. Vol. II. Page CIV. C [113]

evidently correspond to the large family houses well known in Brazil, which I saw in Bolivia only among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe from Lago Rojo-Aguado.

Even in Viedma's (2) time, at the end of the eighteenth

2. Viedma: loc. cit.

century, /Fig. 83 appears here/ however, they seem to have given up the original type of house and built smaller huts.

In many villages there belongs to each hut one or more maize granaries (Fig. 84a), in which maize, gourds, etc. are /175/ stored. These granaries are built on piles and are perhaps a reminder of the time when the Chiriguano and Chané lived in swampy regions. To each granary there belongs, as a rule, a ladder (Fig. 84b). Sometimes the granaries and the dwellings are built together into one house. /Fig. 84a appears here./ I saw such huts in the vicinity of Machareti and at Yatavéri, not far from Ivu. Not infrequently the granaries stand in the fields, far from the dwellings. C Ce 343 Ee [361] [174] C Ce 342 343

These villages are neat and clean. Huts and market place are swept daily and the refuse is burned. C Ce 364

The space in the huts is not too cramped. /176/ In each house, as a rule, there lives only one family, which, aside from the rest of the family members, sometimes consists of the husbands Ee 592

C /176 cont./
Ce of the daughters, who, during the betrothal and at the beginning
592 of the marriage, live with the mother-in-law. In front of
C the hut is the large hearth (Ill. 83) where the maize beer,
Ce and sometimes also the food, is cooked. /Fig. 84b appears
592 here./ Inside the hut there is likewise a hearth where cooking
354 is done and where one seeks warmth on cold nights and days.

Ce
342
415
417
293

Fig. 83. Hearth for boiling maize beer. Chané village. Rio Itiyuro. To the right in the picture, large vessels in which the maize beer ferments. The house is plastered with earth.

C
Ce I have slept in these huts many a night. They are, as a
342 rule, free of vermin, which cannot be said of the dwellings
122 of all other Indians and of the houses of the whites. The sleep-
136 ing place either consists of a bed made of a species of bamboo
352 cane, or one lies /Plate 16 appears here/ /177/ on the ground
513 on a reed mat or a skin. One also sees hammocks in the huts.
ooo

C
Ce
352
171

/177 cont./one also sees hammocks in the huts but they are not common. The hammock is native to tropical South America, but it disappears toward the south and in the mountains, for there it is too cold to use it. /Figs. 85 and 86 appears here./

Ce
343
419

Fig. 84a. Maize granary. Chané. Rio Riyuro.

C
Ce
352
353
[251]

From the roof of the hut, on hooks and racks, hang clothing and provisions, medicine, and other things. Here the men also keep their bows and arrows, their drums, and similar things. Maize ears are hung by liana loops.

Ee 342 512

/177 cont./

It is very cozy in a Chané or Chiriguano hut, especially in the evening when they all creep toward the beautiful, warming fire, when tongues wag, the old ones tell stories, the mothers put their little ones to bed, the young couples sit apart and whisper.

Ce 343 335 417

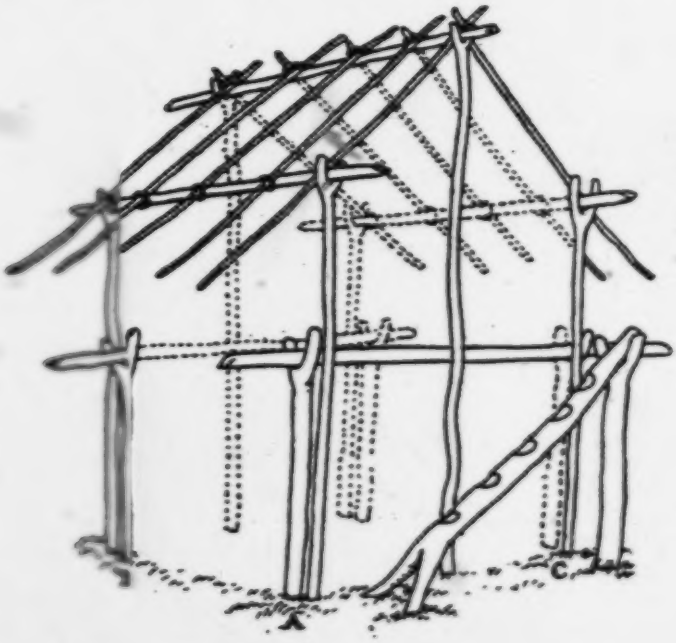


Fig. 84b. Illustration showing the construction of the granary.

6: Nordenskiöld--29 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Chaco Indians SK4

C.I.
C
Ce
824

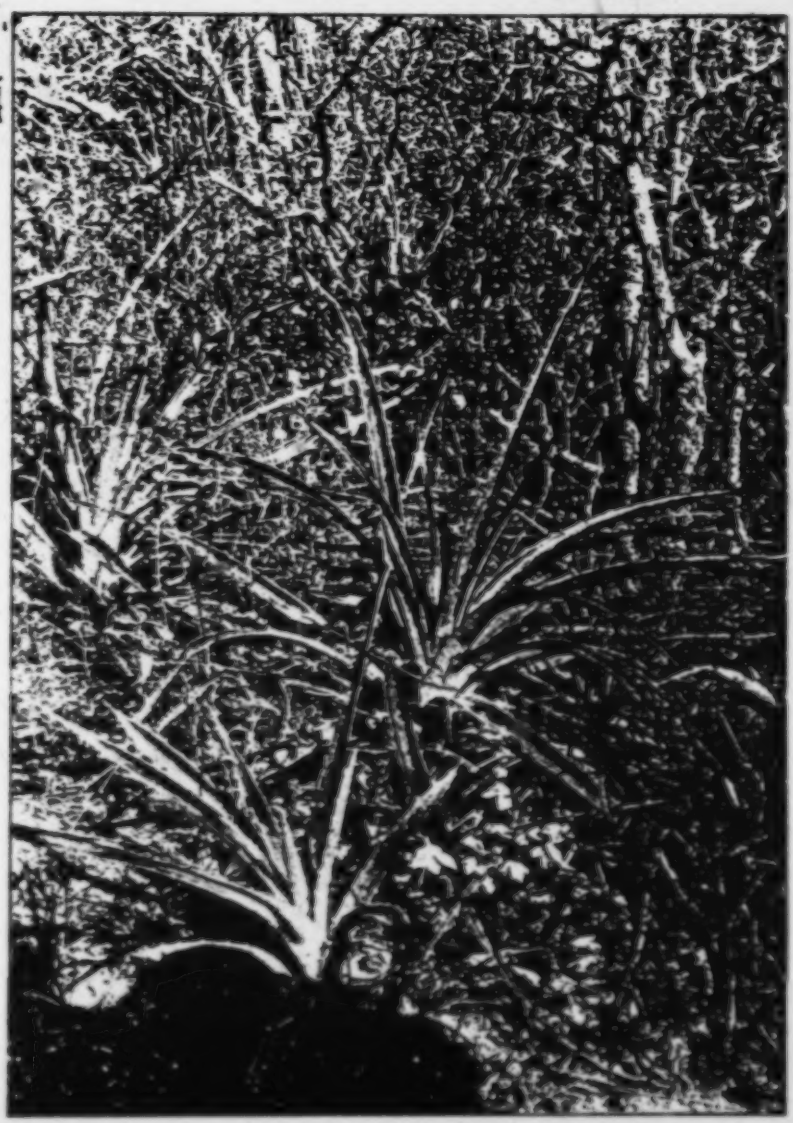


Plate 16. Caraguata. A plant used in a variety of ways by the Indians in the Chaco.

352

Fig. 85. Seat. Chiriguano. Tamiri. 1/5.

414

Fig. 86. Hook for hanging things.
Chiriguano. 1/6.

C
352
171

/178/

Now and then one sees a seat carved out of wood (Fig. 85) in a shape especially familiar from the Brazilian Indians.

Ce
415
[353]

A great many clay vessels of all dimensions are always standing along the walls of the huts. Some of them are so large that a man could crawl into them. There /179/ are pots, there are

Ce
482
291
854

Fig. 87. Chané woman. Rio Parapiti. She has a water jug in the carrying net.

C
Ce
415

roasting bowls, there are handsomely painted vessels which are brought out for the festivals, and there is the treasure pot, in which the housewife keeps all the valuables and souvenirs of the family. In it, if the home is "well-to-do," lie clothing,

Ce
[556]

/179 cont./
ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla, and many other things.

It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all night, as in a Chorotí or Ashluslay village. The young men and the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Chorotí and Ashluslay. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they

Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2.

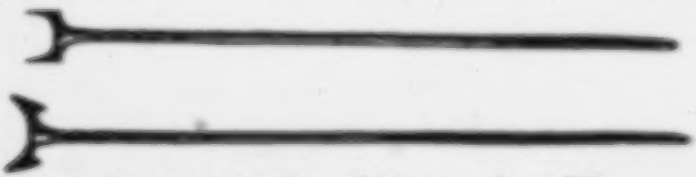


Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

are not busy brewing maize for a festival.

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, the men somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a truly refreshing bath.

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Río Itiyuro the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Río Parapití in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also

/180 cont./ Ee
the most common among the Chiriguano. Only those women who live with the whites and have adapted their manners and customs carry jugs on their heads. 512 482 [177]

Division of Labor between the Sexes

Ee

Here too, as among the Chorotí and Ashluslay Indians, each sex, as a rule, has its specific work, as we see from the following table: 462 171

Table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Chané and Chiriguano.

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Fishing . . .	+	+ (1)	Gathering wild fruits and tubers		+
Hunting . . .	+		Ceramics . . .		+
Planting, clearing . .	+		Woodworking . .	+	
hoeing . .	+	+	Knotting nets . .	+	
reaping . .	+	+	Plaiting rope . .	+	
Cooking	(2)	+	Plaiting mats . .	+	
Carrying wood . . .	+	+ (3)	Tying hammocks .		+
Carrying water . . .		+	Leather work . .	+	
Preparing intoxicating drinks		+	Making weapons .	+	

Ee

1. As a rule, the women fish in shallow water, the men in deep water. [226]

Ee

2. Sometimes take part in the preparation of the hunting booty. [252] [224]

3. Among the Chané on the Río Parapití. Ee [482]

/181/

Ee 462

	Men	Women			Men	Women
Decoration of calabashes	+			Raising animals. .	+	+
				Sewing	+	+
Building houses	+ (1)			Basketry	+	
Weaving	+ (2)	+		Day labor for the whites . . .	+	+ (3)
Spinning thread .	+					
Plaiting bands . .	+					

Ee [464]

Ce [342] [842]

1. On the Rio Parapiti the Chané women gathered the material for the roof, that is, long grass.

2. Only in the case of Maringay.

3. Not important, actually only on the Rio Parapiti.

Ee [198] If one compares this table with the one on page 94 /omitted in the translation/, one finds that heavy wood-carrying and the building of houses has been almost entirely transferred from the women to the men among the higher-standing Chané and Chiriguano. Strangely enough, certain industries, for example, the production of clay vessels, are women's work in almost every primitive Indian tribe. Similarly, the calabashes are decorated everywhere by the men, who also do all woodworking. The reason that the women too fish here is because a number of these Indians live on rivers with little water, in which only small fish live, and in catching them the courage and strength of the fisher are not put to any test.

Ee [171]

6: Nordenskiöld--35 E-5 (1909-1909) 1912 5f10 Chiriguano 5F/10
Chane 5F-8

/181 cont./

Branches of Subsistence

Fishing and hunting do not play an important role among the Chané and Chiriguano. As I have mentioned before, they are farmers, primarily maize farmers. These Indians live so exclusively on maize that for them all other food plays a subordinate role. The Indians living on the Río Parapití are an exception; they plant more sweet potatoes than maize, and these yield an excellent harvest in their country.

/182/ The following plants are grown by the Chané and Chiriguano:

Sweet potatoes.
Maize.
Squash (*Cucurbita pepo* Lin.).
Calabash fruits.
Beans of different varieties.
Cotton.
Urucú.
Tobacco.
Tuna (for example, at Tatevéri). Opuntia.
Millet.
Mandioca (rare).
Reed for arrow shafts (on the Río Parapití).

In the plantings of these Indians I saw neither ordinary potatoes nor bananas. The sweet potatoes, according to Batireyu's statements, were introduced at a late period by the whites. Tobacco-raising is insignificant. The Chané and Chiriguano are not great smokers. They mostly smoke cigarettes in maize leaves, seldom pipes (Fig. 88). Among them one need not give his pipe to a neighbor for further smoking.

It is strange how the use of tobacco differs among the Indian tribes. The Aymara and Quichua /Quechua/, who chew coca, very seldom smoke. They have no taste for it. The Chacobo and Atsahuaca, two tribes with whom I became acquainted on my travels, smoked just as little. When I offered a Chacobo a

When I offered a Chacobo a

/182 cont./ Chacobo a-

cigarette, he took only a few puffs, kept the smoke in his mouth for a few seconds, and then threw the cigarette away. Nevertheless, the Chacobo plant tobacco, but use it exclusively as a remedy. If a Chacobo gets a "bore," a fly larva, "Dermatomyia," under his skin, he covers the fly larva's entry spot with tobacco powder and is then able to squeeze out the dead larva in a few hours. The Chawni and Ashluslay are passionate smokers. /183/ For them smoking is one of the greatest enjoyments of life. These contrasts are quite strange.

The Chiriguano and the Chaná have extensive plantings which, in contrast to the clearings of the Chawni and Ashluslay in the wilderness, are well tended. In former times they used spades made of hard wood with attractive handles (Fig. 89), but these have now gone out of use and have been entirely supplanted by iron spades. Not infrequently the fields lie far from the villages, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley. This is due to the fact that water is not available throughout the year everywhere in the vicinity of the plantings.

As has been mentioned, the produce obtained is stored in granaries built on piles (Fig. 94), so that it will be at least somewhat protected from rats, moisture, etc. These granaries are seen everywhere, except among the Chaná on the Río Paraguay.

The fields are fenced in with fences built brush-shaped, which are often difficult to climb over. There is no fertilization of the fields. On the other hand, a field that has been exhausted is left to lie fallow.

The time of sowing is determined by the position of the Pleiades, "yuhu." When this passes across the horizon very early in the morning, it is sowing time. When the rainy season begins, everything must be sowed.

The men clear and sow. Everyone helps with the harvest, men, women, and children. Among the Chaná in the Izozo valley the men sowed the maize, that is, they took care of the larger plantings, whereas the women were gardeners and planted gourds, beans, etc.

/183 cont./

The Chaná and the Chinguano are not great hunters. Perhaps in former times there was more hunting. Their hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow. For hunting wild pigs they use clubs, for which hunt the beleadore /bela/, "churima," was formerly used. Snares and bird nets are also found. In former times the hunters wore /184/ a cuirasse of leather cut in imitation of a European cut, obviously copied from the Spaniards (1). This

1. Vindma already mentions this cuirasse, p. 101.

was not permitted to hang in the house. Formerly, also among the Chaná on the Río Paraná, no meat could be cooked in the house; rather, this had to be done a short distance away. Boys are, of course, eager hunters of small birds. Like the men, they sometimes use clay-projectile bows.

There are hunting dogs specially trained for hunting wild pigs. In a Chaná village on the Río Dolores I saw how all the dogs had a red cross painted on their heads, so that they would not be bitten by a mad dog running about in the vicinity. It was truly amusing to see how these heathen Chaná protected their dogs against rabies with the sign of the cross.

Gerónyo told me that Chaná men, when they go hunting, are not permitted to sleep with their wives the night before.

Fishing is carried on differently in the various rivers.

In the Río Dolores women and children almost exclusively do the fishing. There are only small fish there too. I saw three methods of fishing there. Angling, fishing with calabashes, and fishing by damming up pools. The fishhooks consist of bone needles obtained from the whites. Floats and sinkers are not used.

Fishing with calabashes is done in the following way. Several bunches of leaves, which give shade, are stuck in the bottom of the river, and in front of each of these is placed a calabash (Fig. 9) with sour, ground maize (residue from beer brewing). The fish gather in the calabashes, which are taken out from time to time by the women. The latter creep toward the calabash, quickly place a hand over the opening, lift /185/ it up, and then empty the contents into pots along the river bank.

/186 cont./ Ee 226

Another method of fishing often used in the aforementioned river is to dam up longish pools in the sand, in which fish gather. After the water is emptied out of the pools, the fish are caught. Sometimes the pool is made to terminate in a channel closed off with a scoop net /Kencher/, from which the fish cannot escape. Ee

All the fishing that I saw on the Rio Itiyuro was done during the dry season, on hot, sunny days. [132]

On the upper Rio Pilcomayo the Chiriguano fish with fishhooks obtained from the whites, with nets similar to the dip nets of the Chaneé, though smaller, and by shooting the fish with bow and arrow. The arrows used for fishing have two or more points. C 226 [199] [411]

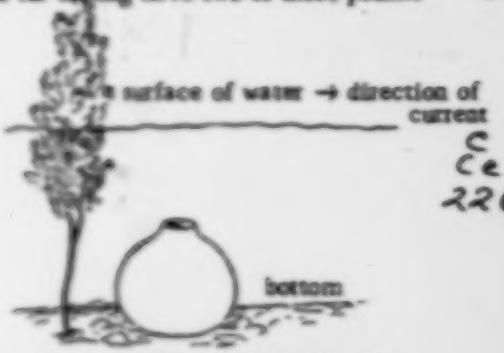


Fig. 90. Fishing with calabash. Rio Itiyuro.

C Ee 226

On the Rio Parapiti I saw Chaoé and Chiriguano fishing with a net of the type illustrated here (Fig. 91). In shooting fish, the Chiriguano there use arrows with many fine points. C [411]

In these last-named rivers the men always fish in deeper water with nets and with bow and arrow, whereas the women are content to catch small fish where the water is dammed when the river is half dry. Ee

Not infrequently the Indians undertake long journeys in order to fish. Thus, the Chaoé sometimes during the /186/ dry season visit the swamps "Madrejones" in which the Rio Parapiti disappears. 226 184 [133]

/186 cont./

It is strange that peoples who fish so much are acquainted with so little fishing gear. In my description of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we have already become familiar with this deficiency. C Ce 226

On the Rio Pilcomayo, Moberg and the author once wanted to give the Indians the benefit of our fishing experience and constructed a weir of which we were not a little proud. We set it out, firmly convinced that in the morning it would be full of fish. All we caught was wood and refuse of all sorts, and I cannot deny that the Indians ridiculed us a bit. Ce 226 123 C Ce 226

The reason for the poverty of these Indians with regard to fishing gear is not a lack of ideas, but a different one. There are, quite simply, few fishing methods suitable for these waters. Setting out a net at night is not feasible, for if a palometa fish gets into the net it immediately cuts it in two with its knife-sharp teeth. Fishing with a hook where there are such fish is also not enticing, for they bite off the hooks as easily as the lines, if these are not made of good material. In these tropical waters the fishing gear also rots more quickly than among us and thus should not be left in the water all night. C Ce 226

The Chiriguano and Chané have no vessels. On the other hand, they are extraordinary waders, and to wade in the rivers here during the rainy period is not exactly a small matter. If, however, one has the assistance of one of these Indians, one can cross if it is possible at all. C Ce 484 501

As an oddity I might mention that during my entire journey I never saw a native white or mestizo fishing. In Bolivia it is not refined to eat fresh fish. On the Rio Pilcomayo /187/ the officers of the military post almost never ate the delicious, fresh, salmon-like fish from the river, but preferred canned salmon from Alaska. Since this is very old by the time it reaches Bolivia, it tastes dreadful. Fishing with a hook is also the only method of fishing that the Indians learned from the whites. C Ce [226] [177]

As for domestic animals, the dog is the only one that the Chiriguano and Chané did not get from the whites. These dogs now seem to me to have a strong mixture of foreign blood. They always have names, for example, tirupotchi (old garment). /Fig. 91 appears here/ chapikáyu (yellow eyebrows). As a rule, Ce 231 [177] [552]

C Ce 231 /187 cont./ the Chiriguano and Chané have fewer horses, cows, donkeys, sheep, and goats than the Choroti and Ashluslay. On the other hand, they have more chickens and pigs. Sometimes one sees ducks, guinea fowl, and turkeys. In certain regions, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley, where the Indians are wealthy, they also have much livestock. The whites, unfortunately, try in every way to cheat them out of what they have. Thus, it is not uncommon for a white man or a white woman to come into a village with a few kegs of spirits and to leave it with a couple of the best cows of the Indians. The whites are richer, the Indians poorer.

C Ce [184] [556] Ee [439]

C 227

Fig. 91. Net. Chiriguano. Rio Parapiti. Ca. 1/12.

C Ce 231 171 The menagerie of tamed wild animals which one sees in the villages of the more primitive Indians is not to be found among /188/ these Indians. A parrot that talks a little Guarani, however, is not unusual in the huts.

Preparation of Food

C Ce 252 The dirt that we come across in the preparation of food and eating among the Choroti and Ashluslay is not found /Fig. 92a appears here/ among the Chané and Chiriguano. On the other hand, the dishes are terribly monotonous. They consist of maize in every possible form, cooked maize, roasted maize, maize bread baked in ashes, maize flour porridge, and /189/ steamed maize flour. The latter is prepared in an apparatus illustrated here (Fig. 92).

Ee [262]

/189 cont./

Meat is cooked with maize as a soup or roasted. Before it is placed in the pot, it is washed clean. Fish are roasted over the fire in clamps /Klammern/ or in maize leaves. The small fish which I saw prepared in this way are taken out only when they are eaten. If there are many fish, they are dried for future use.

Especially in times of famine, various /Fig. 92b appears here/ wild plants are also eaten. Salt, which is now bought from the whites, is used for food. In former times it was fetched from the rock-salt pits on the San Luis, on the way from the city of Tarija to the Chaco, or salt was made from saliferous earth, "yukin." The earth mixed with salt was placed in a bowl of water, sank to the bottom, and the salt water was used.

Fig. 92a. Steaming apparatus. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

Women and men eat separately. At home the men usually eat first and then the women and children. The Indians want to be left alone when they are eating. It is therefore extremely ill-mannered to speak to them during this important activity.

/190/ As far as I saw, they do not eat out of a common dish, but each one eats out of his bowl. After meals they rinse their mouths and wash their hands by spitting the rinse water over their fingers.

6: Nordenskiöld--42 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane SF8
C
Ce
264
C
Ce
574
Ce
[123]
Ce
415
171
Ce
262
Ce
461
462

/190 cont./

It seemed to me that true mealtimes were observed here, the first of which was in the morning, the second in the middle of the day, and the third at sundown.

If they have an abundance of food in the house, they also invite in the neighboring households. A visiting Indian is very hospitably received. He need not leave without having received maize beer or food. In the Chané villages on the Rio Parapiti the Indians always served me a bowl of sweet potatoes when I visited them.

Fig. 92b. Upper clay-vessel. The speciman illustrated here is from the Mataco-Vejos, who learned how to use it from the Chané. 1/4.

The Chané do not eat donkeys, mules, horses, dogs, foxes, vultures, or monkeys. On the other hand, puma and jaguar are regarded as edible.

Even if the women in the villages are not cooking, brewing, or tending their little ones, they are nevertheless always busy. At least one almost never sees the older ones among them without an occupation. They spin, make clay vessels, weave. I learned to appreciate these women; I admired their loving care of the children, their industry, their maintenance of the home, their skill, and their tame.

/190 cont./

Games

Ea 524 [177]

Sometimes one sees the men playing. The most common game is now tabe, which is played with the ankle bone of a cow and which these Indians learned in the sugar factories. Dice games, too, are not uncommon there. The rules for these seem to be their own, or rather seem to be copied from the whites.

"Daro," as the Chiriguano call the dice game after the Spanish, is played by two persons with /191/ dice made by them themselves. In Tiluliga I noted down the following rules for this game (Fig. 93).

All other combinations are = 0. The first one to have ten strokes wins. The strokes are marked on the floor.

As for their own games of chance, they have two. The first is the same as the one we became acquainted with on page 73 /untranslated/ in connection with the Choroti and Ashluslay. The Chiriguano call this game "chicarly," the Chané "chunquiori" (1).

Fig. 93. Rule for the game of "daro." Chiriguano. Tiluliga.

Ea [113]

1. Cf. Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethn., 1910, Nos. 3 and 4.

The other game known to the Chiriguano and Chané I did not see among any other Indians. They call it mikaeta and play it with a pile of little sticks which are convex on one side and flat or concave on the other (Fig. 95).

First a stick (mikma) is placed in such a way that it points to the one who is supposed to throw (Fig. 96). Let us assume that it is placed so that the convex side is up. If two or more sticks fall on one another crosswise with the convex side up and without being touched on the upper side by a stick with the flat side up, they go to the thrower. If the mikma had been placed so that the flat side was up, only those which formed a cross with the flat side up would have counted.

C
Ce
524

/191 cont./

The players take turns throwing, and each one places the máma to suit himself. The one who gets the most sticks wins.

If only four sticks are left, no máma is put down any more, but the players decide whether the convex or flat (concave) ones are to count.

/192/ Sometimes one sees the women playing ninepins, called

Ce
524
516

Fig. 94. Chané boys playing chunquanti on the Rio Itiyuro.

C
Ce
524

"itarapóa" by the Chiriguano in Tihuĩpa, "tocoróre" by the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.

In Tihuĩpa it was played in the following manner. Two rows of maize kernels, two with one on top of the other in each case, were set up four to five feet apart as pins. Two persons played alternately, trying to knock down the maize pins of the other with a stone ball. The first to knock down all the maize pins of the other was the winner.

/192 cont./ C Ce 524

On the Rio Pilcomayo three pins were used on each side. The distance between the pins of the opponent was three ells. Each pin consisted of a shelled ear of maize, and the distance between them was supposed to be a hand span (1). The balls Ee [804] [323]

1. Longest distance between thumb and little finger.

used are made of fired clay and are hollow, with small, rattling pellets inside (Fig. 99). /Plate 17 appears here./

C Ce 524

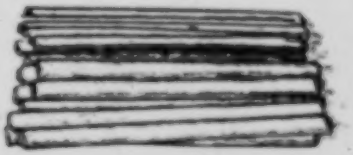


Fig. 95.
Little sticks for the tshűcareta game. 2/9.

/193/ The Life of the Indian Children C Ce 855

If one speaks of the life in the villages, one must not forget the children. The children play, but also help the adults. They are reared like the Choroti and Ashluslay children. They spend their lives in happy freedom, without thrashings and harsh words.

The Chiriguano and Chané children have a number of games and toys which one never sees the children of the whites in Bolivia use, and all of which seem to me to be genuinely Indian. Ee 524

First of all, the Indian children play the games of the adults that I have already mentioned. Of the Choroti and Ashluslay games, they are familiar with the hockey-like game of ball, which the Chiriguano call "tsca." I did not see it played among the Chané. As goals they use pits, and sometimes they hit the Ee 857 526 [171]

[text continues on p. 47] ball with rackets.

6: Nordenskiöld--46 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate 17. Palm forest not far from the Rio Pilcomayo

/193 cont./

balls with rackets. This is a boys' game here. An extraordinarily attractive and difficult game is "tóki," which I saw played by the boys of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. It is played by two, four, six, or more persons in two divisions. The balls of solid rubber are first tossed into the air by one of the players and then tossed with the head to the opponents' side from where it is sup-

Fig. 96. Máma is set out. Tshúcareta game. Tshuípa. Chiriguano

posed to be hit back again with the head. Touching the ball with the hand is forbidden. The side that has missed the ball five or ten times, according to what has been agreed upon, loses.

The game of tóki is mentioned in one of the legends of the Chané Indians. In this legend we see how difficult it was in former times for the Chané to obtain rubber for the balls: /194/ it had to be brought from afar because there is no rubber in the Chaco.

Now they get the rubber balls from Santa Cruz de la Sierra. I saw "tóki" played only by boys. In olden times it was played not only by the men, but also by the gods. It is known particularly

/194 cont./ 3 It is known particularly from the Chiquito Indians (1).

1. Erbauliche und angenehme Geschichten /Edifying and Pleasant Tales/. Vienna. 1729. Page 55.

Fig. 97. The sticks are thrown. Tshicaeta game.

D'Orbigny (2) also mentions this charming game of the Chiquito.

2. D'Orbigny: Voyage. Partie historique. Vol. 2, pages 586-588.

On the Rio Guapuré I saw Chiquitano-speaking /195/ rubber workers playing the game, and they were extraordinarily adept at hitting the ball with their heads. Lying on their stomachs, they even caught low balls, which almost touched the ground, in the same manner.

2[i.e. The game of Téki -- Analyst]

V 626 /195 cont./

Games with rubber balls seem to have become familiar to the Spaniards at a very late date. This is evident from the astonishment /Fig. 97 appears here/ with which Gumilla (1) mentions them.

V 613

1. Gumilla: El Orinoco Ilustrado, Madrid, 1745. Page 190.

C 524 S16

Fig. 98. The players look to see how the sticks have fallen.

V 626 314

He says that the balls and the manner of playing with them are remarkable. The ball is large and made from a wood sap called caucho; with a light blow it flies as high as a man is tall.

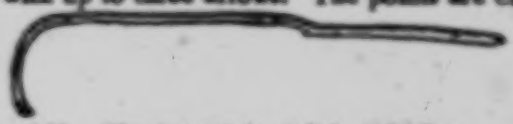
Gumilla says that the Indians on the Orinoco /196/ played with the right shoulder. If the ball hit another part of the body, the player lost a point. He admired their playing, for they threw the ball ten, twelve times and more, without its touching the ground.

/196 cont./

Another nice game is "sóuki," which the Chané boys on the Rio Parapiti played (Fig. 102). It is played by two /Fig. 98 appears here/ boys with maize-cob arrows. First one boy throws his arrow to the ground, then the other, who tries to come as close as possible Ce 524

Fig. 98.
Split ball for the uocoóre game. 1/2. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

to him. If he comes a hand span or closer to the arrow of the opponent, he wins a point, that is to say, he gets a stroke. The one who has six points first, if the other has none, wins. Each one plays with up to three arrows. The points are counted in such a way



C 526

Fig. 100. Playing stick. 1/16. Tihulpa. Chiriguano.

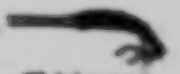


Fig. 101. Racket. 1/16. Tihulpa. Chiriguano.

that only what one has over the other one is of value. Ce 524

/197/ "Huirahuahua" is a game (Fig. 103) played only by the younger Chané boys on the Rio Parapiti. It is played by two boys with one stick apiece. One of them throws his stick so that the point strikes the ground and bounds back as far as possible. Then the second one throws. The one who has thrown farther gets a stroke on the ground. The one who first gets eight strokes while the other stands at zero wins.

C 524 /197 cont./

I saw the "parama" game played by the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley. It is played by two. A button or the like is placed on a stone as a goal, whereupon they throw small round stones made of clay shards. The button is supposed to be struck down, and the one /Figs. 100 and 101 appear here/ who comes closest to it wins a stroke. The game goes on until one of them has five or more strokes, according to agreement.

C Ce 524 The Chané and Chiriguano children also have a number of toys which are illustrated here (Figs. 104-105). One of these, "mumdu" (Fig. 104), is strange. With it /198/ a buzzing tone is produced if the threads are first twisted and then stretched.

Ce 524

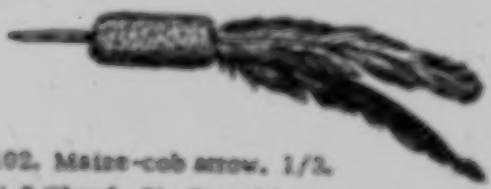


Fig. 102. Maize-cob arrow. 1/2.
"Sóuki." Chané. Rio Parapiti.

Fig. 103. Little stick for the huirahuahua game. 1/2. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

Now I have no doubt properly bored my readers with Indian games and toys. Perhaps I have dwelt too long on this subject, so little studied in South America, which interested me keenly on my journey. As among the Choroti and Ashluslay, I liked playing with the boys. This is also a way of coming closer to the Indians, of winning their confidence.

Ee [123]

Ee 85 [797 177]

Like the Choroti and Ashluslay children, the children of the Chané and Chiriguano are seldom bored; like the former, they are well-behaved and good children. It is usually very lively on the playgrounds in the villages. This is true of the heathen. The children who have fallen into the hands of the monks look melancholy and reserved; they have already been given a taste of what the children of the white men learn, training and the beginning of civilization. "You shall..." "You shall not..."

6: Nordenskiöld--92 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF 8
S-Am. Indians S3
Chaco Indians SK4

E
Ec
524
526
171

/198 cont./

The games and toys are of great interest from the anthropogeographical point of view. We do not find the majority of them outside the Chaco and the adjacent regions of South America. On the other hand, we find them in North America. Consequently I have /199/ /Ill. 104 appears here/ /200/ come to the conclusion (1)

1. See also Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie, 1910. Nos. 3 and 4.

that the games and toys are vestiges from a time when the cultural exchange between North and South America was greater than now, or, more correctly, that traces of a cultural stream coming from the north extended down as far as Argentina. A peculiar similarity also exists between the types of tobacco pipes that one finds in southern South America and in /Fig. 105 appears here/ North America. The striped pottery which I found in my excavations in eastern Bolivia, in Moxos, also points to influences from the north.

E
276
171
E
523
171
172

Everyday Clothing

E
Ee
29
177

In the villages in which the influence of the whites has not driven out the old attire, the Chaná and Chiriguano women wear a sack-shaped garment, "tiro" (Fig. 106). This, as the photographs show, may be worn in various ways. In former times the tiro does not seem to have had its present shape. Vieduna (2) says

2. Vieduna, op. cit., p. 181.

the /201/ Chiriguano women merely had a piece of fabric around their hips. Undoubtedly, under the influence of the "moral" Christians, the costume developed so that it became "more decent." /Fig. 106 appears here./

G: Nordenskiöld--53 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chirigoano SF10
Chano SF8
C
Ca
SF4

Fig. 114. Toys. Chaná and Chirigoano.

A = "pero-pero." 1/8. Chaná. Río Paraná.

B = buzzing top. 1/5. Chirigoano. Caipipendi.

C,C1 = hoop with whip. Chaná. Río Bizyon.

D = musical bow. 1/4. Chaná. Río Paraná.

Ec Ca 304

/701 cont./

As for native ornaments, one sees necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla beads and of black seeds.

Ec 304 172 [639] Ec [695]

According to their own statements, the Indians find the stone beads in the ground where there are old dwellings and graves. The mestizos in the Tarija valley, who find a great many of these beads in their fields, sell them to the Chiriguano /702/ and Chané at high prices. In former times a necklace of these beads was paid for with a horse.

Ec 514

Fig. 106. Wooden dolls. 1/1. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

Ec 302

The Chané and Chiriguano women wear the hair medium long, parted in the middle of the forehead, and sometimes tied on the nape of the neck or on the head with a band.

Ec Ca 291 177 Ca 291 171 C 302

The men now all wear European attire. At /Fig. 107 appears here/ work, however, one not infrequently sees them in only a piece of fabric protecting the sexual parts. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, cases resembling those with which we became familiar among the Choroti and Ashluslay were very common. The older men, as well as the younger ones in the Chiriguano villages on the upper Rio Pilcomayo, wear the hair long, wound around the head, and held together, as a rule, with a red or blue band. Toward the front the hair is cut off; thus they have forelocks /703/ and a lock in front of each ear. The

G: Nordenskiöld--55 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The

/203 cont./

C 302 [177]

custom of cutting the hair short, however, is becoming more prevalent, in order to be just as elegant as the whites. When they travel over stony or thorny ground, they wear sandals on their feet, like the women.

These Indians do not often paint themselves ordinarily.

Co [142 291 302]

Fig. 106. Chané women from the Río Parapití, clothed in "tiru."

Sometimes one sees a woman who has painted her face red. The whites maintain that it means she is anxious to get married, or, if married, lascivious. I do not venture to say, however, that this is true. /Fig. 108 appears here./ The women also commonly paint a red line here or there on the face, or they simply paint a flower on each cheek. The men, too, sometimes paint the face and body red. As a great rarity I saw a couple of Chiriguano women who were tattooed on the arms (Fig. 108). In the Caipipendi valley the Chiriguano women have disgusting habit of blackening their otherwise white and sound teeth. Viedma says that the Chiriguano men were in the habit of painting their teeth blue.

G: Nordenskiöld--56 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

/203 cont./

Cleanliness

C
Ca
615

The Chané and Chiriguano are very clean. As has been said, they start the day with a bath and then often bathe several times in the course of the day. This cleanliness is strange among tribes who often live in regions such as, for example, the Caipipendi valley, where a great shortage of water prevails. During the dry season they can never take a bath there, but the

C
302

Fig. 107. Facial painting. Chiriguano.
Itapembia. Red color.
A and B = men. C and D = women.

C
Ca
615

women at least wash their bodies thoroughly every morning.

C
Ca
174
515

/204/ The contrast which is evident here in the need for cleanliness on the part of the various tribes may be explained, in my opinion, by their migrations. The Chorotí, Ashluslay,

Ec 284 175 515

/284 cont./

and Mexico, who will in part down in far climate, seem to me, like the Fueginos and Patagonians, to have immigrated to the Chaco from the cold pampas to the south where walking was extremely unpleasant, whereas the Chiriguano and Chaco come from the north, out of the warm, humid, virgin forests, from the great rivers, where bathing was always pleasant and refreshing. Now, where /Fig. 109 appears here/ they live under the same climatic conditions, the former have preserved their dirt, the latter their cleanliness.

Ec 284 171 515

Im Thurn (1) reports that the Indians in Guiana bathe

1. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883.

c 304

Fig. 108.
Woman's tattooed arm. Chiriguano.
Impossible.

Ec 284 171 515

immediately after eating, without any harm to them. I often observed the same thing here.

Ec 515 824 Ec 304 412

The Chiriguano and various Chaco shampoo the head with the seeds of "quandra," which they grind. For the same purpose the Chaco on the Rio Pasaje use the bark of the mimosa /Enterolobium mimosa (Griseb.)/, "yiag." The nails, and /Tilia/ not least the toenails, are also very carefully treated. For combing they use combs carved in wood or made out of sticks of cane tied together.

6: Nordenskiöld--SE E-5 (1908-1909) 1012 5910 Chiriguano SP 10
Chane SP 8

Ec 519

/203 cont./

The Chané and Chiriguano never relieve themselves close to the hut. I never saw special privies, however, for any Indians, and not for many whites in Bolivia either.

Ec [171]

The Chané and Chiriguano are very careful with their clothing. They keep it clean and mend it if necessary. The members of each sex wash and mend their own things. The men have sewn quite as well as the women.

Ec 296

Ec 128

I have spoken here of the everyday life of these Indians. Now I shall describe the most important events in their lives, in their social life, their festivals, their industry, etc., and

Cc 412 531

Fig. 109. Combs for combing the hair, not for fanning in it.

A, from the Chané; B, C, D, from the Chiriguano.

Ec 128

finally proceed to their legends and their religion.

6: Nordenskiöld--59 E-6 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/206/

Chapter Twelve

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

From the Womb to the Grave

C Ca 843 Ca [123] Ea 899 Ca 846 Ea [171] Ca 846 262 Ca [125] C 846 262 Ea 171 846 Ea [173]

The Chané and Chiriguano women work hard even during pregnancy, until they are to give birth. In Vocapoy's village there was a pregnant woman to whom I gave a pigeon that I shot. Vocapoy thereupon told me in great excitement that a pregnant woman must not eat pigeons. When a Chané or Chiriguano child comes into the world, it undoubtedly does not cause its mother much pain. These women are healthy and give birth easily, as do all Indian women who lead a healthy life and have never worn tight-fitting clothing. They also do not lie in childbed; instead, that must be done by the papa of the little one. Here, too, we come across this strange custom, the "couvade," which is known from so many Indian tribes. The husband is supposed to lie down for several days and observe a diet. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti he is permitted to eat only cooked maize and maize soup during the first few days, and later sweet potatoes as well. For several days he may not eat meat. For example, if he eats the meat of a goat, he will die, bleating as it does. The Chiriguano Indian Taco told me that he got his fat stomach because he did not observe this important custom. "I should have lain for five days and stayed on a diet," he said.

The custom of the couvade, as it well known, is very widespread in South America. Among the tribes with whom I am familiar it definitely occurs, aside from the /207/ Chiriguano and Chané, among the Choroti, Gûarayó, and Chacobo. K. v.d. Steinen (1), who describes this custom in detail from the Rio Xingu,

1. Karl v. d. Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/. Berlin, 1894.

/207 cont./

says it is probably known to all Brazilian tribes. On the other hand, the custom of the couvade seems to be unknown to the Quichua /Quechua/ and Aymara, that is to say, to the mountain culture in Bolivia and Peru. This is one of the many contrasts between the Indians of the mountains and of the virgin forest.

The Gûarayû Indians of northeastern Bolivia told me that if a man goes hunting immediately after his wife's confinement and, for example, shoots a parrot, he might kill his child. That is, during the first days of life the soul of the child follows the father.

Illegitimate children are very rarely born among the Chané and Chiriguano. I believe, perhaps I am mistaken, that the women of these Indians are chaste before they marry. On the Rio Itiyuro, among about 500 Chané, there was only one child born to an unmarried woman. Deformed children are very rarely born. Thus, from what I saw and what Batirayu said, in the entire Parapiti Valley, among 1500-2,000 Chané, there is no one who was born blind, none cross-eyed, no idiot, and only one with deformed extremities, and four deaf mutes. I did not observe any Indians with a serious stutter.

I do not know whether among these Indians, too, deformed children are immediately killed, but this is probably the case. Nor do I know whether abortion occurs. It is certain, however, that these healthy women seldom bear children who are not well formed. Nevertheless, in the Parapiti valley, as was said, there was a boy with deformed extremities. One hip bone was too short and one arm was also crippled. This boy was treated by all with extraordinary kindness, /208/ and loud approval was expressed when I gave him a few small presents.

When the child begins to walk, it is given a name. This is not given by the father or mother, but by its grandparents. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti I wrote down a few names. If it is a boy, he is called, for example, yatéurembi (lip of the tick), huásucaca (guanaco), tátunambi (armadillo ear), yánducúpe (ostrich back), vacainyáca (cow head), aguárachivi (fox urine), derésa paravéte (your poor eyes); if it is a girl, for example, árasaypoti (guava blossom) (1). A great many of the names are

1. Psidium guayava.

Ce 551 /208 cont./

untranslatable. Not infrequently a nickname is added to this name. Thus, for example, the Chané chief Boyra (Boy-snake) was called yûruhuasu, which means big-mouth. Indeed, old Boyra was a talker who had a great weakness for everything that was a bit indecent.

Ee 862 163 Ee 849

Mothers nurse for an unusually long time, and it is several years, as a rule, before they have another child. Perhaps the woman also aborts the fruit of her womb occasionally, like the Choroti woman, so that the family will not become too burdened.

E 163

In the mission station in Ivu I tried to gather statistics about the number of surviving children in 127 Chiriguano marriages and found that in ten marriages there were no children, in 27 one, in 35 two, in 29 three, in 13 four, in 9 five, and in 4 six. These figures, however, are quite uncertain. Nevertheless they show that here, as among many other Indian tribes, there is a sort of two-children system.

C 849 114 C [113]

Corrado (2) maintains with certainty that infanticide occurs

2. Corrado: El Colegio Franciscano De Traija y sus misiones. Quaracci, 1884. Pages 526-527.

among the Chiriguano. It is done in desperate cases among us, too, and therefore the example cited by Corrado means nothing. The question is: does /209/ infanticide and abortion occur as an institution accepted by the tribe, as among the Choroti? /Fig. 110 appears here./

C 847 Ee 868 857

The Chané and Chiriguano children, as has been mentioned, are brought up in freedom. They spend their childhood playing. Gradually the child begins to help its parents in small matters, for example, in carrying water and wood, tying up /210/ the domestic animals, fishing, etc. The girls learn spinning, weaving, making clay vessels, brewing maize beer, etc. from their mothers. They learn everything by imitation. The boys pursue small birds around the village and in this way learn the use of weapons. The children accompany their parents to fish and to till. The boy

C
Ce /210 cont./

858 accompanies his father on the hunt and feels extraordinarily
857 proud and clever if he is allowed to go home with the "common" hunting booty. The children see and learn. It is fun for them to help father and mother.

Ce
142
291
302
411

Fig. 110. Chané boy. Rio Parapiti.
He has arrows with blunt tips in his hand.

Ee
855
[797] How different is the child-rearing in the missions, which is based on spying and tattling.

Ee
[736] Motherless children are taken in by relatives. Here, too, one not infrequently sees older aunts caressing the children of others.

C
Ce
881
[302]
Ea
[262]
C
881
123
C
881
C
[113]
C

/210 cont./

When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short, and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again. Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize and meal. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."

In a Chané village, Aguariti, I saw a girl who was sitting in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet, which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and closet had disappeared.

P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection

1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

[825] with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has bitten the girl.
C
Ce
881
582
Ce
852
304
[301]
Ce
[603]
Ce
[262]
[191]
Ce
301
[885]
C
[301]
[78]
Ce
[78]

When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is marriageable.

/211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this. A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.

For one day the father may not consume anything, so that the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians do not like prattlers.

When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig. 79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta.

/211 cont./

Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembetá. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembetá looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chaná, who have small tembetás, "cuñareta" (women).

Nowadays most of the tembetás are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous region. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetás made of transparent resin (1).

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

If the Chaná or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

The Chaná and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

Ee /212 cont./

581 Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

Ce 582 Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

Ee [171] This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Mataco.

Ee 595 Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

[643] Ee [586]

Ee 582 Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

C 577 177 797 831 /214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girls was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

C [837]

C 577 831 175 The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

/214 cont./

577 entirely untouched by the civilization of the whites, an opinion
831 which I shall reproduce here verbatim:
175

"Ce qui m'a fort surpris, c'est que dans la licence où ils vivent, je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'il échappat à aucun homme la moindre action indécente à l'egard des femmes, et jamais je n'ai oui sortir de leur bouche aucune parole tant soit peu déshonnête

643
291
415
142
352
516

Fig. 111. The Chiriguano chief Mandepora.

577 /What surprised me very much is that in the freedom in which
831 they live I never noticed the slightest indecent behavior on the
175 part of any man with regard to women, and never did I hear from their lips any word that was the least bit immodest/."

/214 cont./

581 This Jesuit priest describes the marriages of the Chiriguano, however, as very loose.

581 With marriage, life begins in earnest for these Indians.
273 It consists of work and drinking maize beer. I have already described their work somewhat; I shall discuss their drinking bouts below.

165 The life of the Indian men and women passes more quickly

142
291
516

Fig. 112. Old woman. Rio Itiyuro.
Her grandsons were about 18 years old and younger.

165 than that of whites. The age of the Indian is very difficult to determine when one has no definite figures to go by. Maringay told me that he was the oldest of his tribe, that none of his contemporaries was living any more. The whites said that Maringay was over 100 years old. This is exaggerated, however. As a newly married /215/ youth 16-20 years old, Maringay visited

C 165 /215 cont./
President Belzu in Sucre. The latter governed between 1848-1855; thus, 100-year-old Maringay is obviously not more than about 80. An 80-year-old Indian is therefore the oldest of his tribe.
C 145 Among the Indians one almost always sees /Fig. 112 appears here/ that the one who has grown-up grandchildren is very frail and senile and stands at the brink of the grave. Indian men and women
C mature very rapidly, but also age quickly. At 50 the Indian is an
[114] old man, at 70 a so-called centenarian. Im Thurn (1) likewise

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 190.

believes that the Indians do not grow old. /216/ He thinks that
C they seldom reach an age older than 40 or 50.
142 Maringay's hair was slightly gray. There are some Indian men and women whose hair is almost whitish yellow, but they are
C [145] rare (Fig. 112). I never saw a bald Indian. When they are older,
[144] their faces are deeply furrowed. Not infrequently they become blind in old age, less often deaf.

Ee Among the Choroti and Ashluslay the appearance of old
142 people is often frightening; they are dirty, emaciated, and
515 bleary-eyed. This is not the case among the Chané and Chiriguano. These Indians know how to grow old in beauty, and even the old people keep themselves nice and clean.

Ee If the Chané or Chiriguano Indian becomes seriously ill,
756 the medicine man is sent for, as among other Indians.

The Chiriguano and Chané distinguish between two kinds of medicine men, whom they call "ipáye" or "ipáyepótchi." The
Ee former are good and lift the spell; the latter are able to lift the
[758] spell and to bewitch.

C I once jokingly asked a Chiriguano whether Father
756 Bernardino in Ivu was an "ipáye" or an "ipáyepótchi." The Indian
797 answered dutifully, an "ipáye." The position of the missionary among the Indians is that of medicine man; he assumes their power and their influence.

Ee In the preceding I said that the whites in the vicinity of
756 Ivu sent for an Indian medicine man to drive away smallpox.
177

Ea /316 cont./
754 They also sometimes believe that they are bewitched by the
177 Indian. A colonist, Gutierrez, flagged an Indian. The latter bewitched him, so that he became ill. Inside his stomach it sounded like the croaking of a frog.

Ea The medicine men try to discover the bewitcher with smoke.
755 I did not see how this was done. The bewitcher, if he or she is
754 discovered, is killed.

000 /317/ In the following I shall speak about the connection of the medicine men with the great spirits.

Ea There seems to be no difference in the appearance and
755 the method of the medicine men among the Chaneti and
756 Ashluslay and among the Chané and Chiriguano. It is the same
FU sucking out of foreign objects that have entered the body through
Ea bewitchment. Among the lower the medicine men are more
[177] secretive than among the former. Perhaps their contact with the whites has had the effect that they themselves are beginning to doubt their art.

Ea There is a difference, however, in the common remedies.
757 The first-named Indian tribes obtain their remedies, as a rule,
[171] from the vegetable kingdom. They boil decoctions of certain
Ea plants. The Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, except
[237] for certain plants, use animal remedies. Thus, on the Rio
Ca Itiyuro, the Chané use the fat of herons for swellings, wild pig
757 fat for fever, jaguar fat for pains in the bones, and toucan beaks
237 for female hemorrhages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the fat of the ostrich for chest pains, of the iguana lizard for conjunctivitis, of the chicken for everything, and maize beer for colds. I saw fat applied exclusively for external use.

Ca The Chané Indian is remarkable with regard to aseptic
752 treatment. I saw several times how they treat wounds in accordance with a most modern method, namely, with boiled water. This is different from the whites' use of pig excrement and the fresh urine of human beings, along with salt, for the same purpose. The reason that these Indians are familiar with such a modern
Ca method is undoubtedly their great cleanliness. They are used to
[515] washing themselves constantly. They probably hit upon the idea

G. Nordenskiöld--70 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SP8

/217 cont./

of boiling the water because they wanted to kill the macroscopic animals in it. The Chané sometimes use fresh leaves to bandage wounds.

If, in spite of the medicine man's efforts, the /218/ spell cannot be lifted and the Chané or Chiriguano Indian dies, he or she is buried under the hut in a large clay vessel. Before the dying one is quite dead, or immediately after death, he is flexed so that the knees come under the chin and the arms are laid crosswise over the chest. On the Rio Parapiti there lived for many years a Chané Indian who had been flexed in this way, but who, before he was stuffed into the grave urn, was saved by a white man. The deceased, dressed, with a water calabash at his knee, is set into the vessel. The water is supposed to be taken along by the deceased when he wanders about on the mountains, the Chané chief Vocapoy told me. The vessel is buried in the hut, and another vessel is put upside down over it as a lid.

At Tatarenda, near Yacuiba, I heard that the hut is burned down after the burial. This, however, is not the usual thing. On the contrary, the hut is abandoned for a time after the burial and then moved into again later on. This is what happened, for example, in a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro, where I was shortly after a burial.

The large maize-beer vessels (Fig. 113) are used as coffins. If there is a shortage of vessels, burial often takes place in another way. In a Chané village, Copéri, on the Rio Parapiti, a child was buried in a skin under the hut shortly before my arrival.

These Indians spend their lives on the graves of their dead relatives, and often the hut is so full that a later burial in old pots becomes necessary.

"The Christian carries his dead far from his house. We Indians, who feel a great love for them, keep them in our houses." That is approximately what Vocapoy once said to me when the conversation turned to this strange method of burial.

/218 cont./

766 754 825 If a Chiriguano is killed by a jaguar, he is /219/ buried with his head downward, so that he will not go about as such an animal. This notion of a jaguar who was a human being is widespread, especially among the Quichua /Quechua/, where this

764 415

Fig. 113. Chiriguano grave.
Caipipendi.

766 754 825 strange animal, as has been mentioned, is called uturunco (cf. p. 12 /untranslated/). If a fox howls at night near the village, someone will die.

763 825

Ec /219 cont./
765
302
[587]

If her husband dies, the wife is supposed to cut her hair short. /220/ If she loved him very much, she does it twice. It is not until her hair has grown long again that she may enter into another marriage. If her father or mother dies, she cuts her hair short; if her child, her brother, or brother-in-law dies, she cuts it moderately short. Long hair means that it reaches to the shoulder. My question as to whether the men also cut their hair in mourning was answered with laughter. They content themselves with shortening only the longest. The men may not marry until about a year after the death of the wife.

C
765
301

If the woman is in mourning, she wears no ornaments. When I was with Maringoy, his daughter-in-law had lost her little child. Though all the other women in the village wore many necklaces, she did not have a single ornament. She also did not take part in any festivity.

Ea
764
177

The Indians whom the missionaries baptize do not always like having to bury their dead in a cemetery. They at least want the dead to have water with them in the grave.

One does not free oneself so easily from the old, inherited ideas, in order to exchange them for new ones. /Fl. 18 appears here./

/221/ Chapter Thirteen

000 On the Life of the Chaná and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Ugly Words, Homosexuality, Suicide, Sense of Modesty, etc.

In the language of the whites there are, as is well known, a number of words that may not be used in polite society. Persons of the same sex may mention certain parts of the body only by their baby names, whereas persons of different sex, as a rule, do not speak of them at all to one another. One word may be regarded as ugly, whereas another word for the same thing may be used at will. The reason why a word is forbidden is undoubtedly often difficult to determine.

G. Lindenmeyer--73 F-5 (1900-1909) 1911 Sold Chaigneau
Chaco SFB
142
291
302
859
357
516

Plate 18. Charé woman with child. Rio Iriyuro.

Ea 938 311

/111 cont./

G. v. d. Steinen (1) and Koch-Grünberg (2) have pointed

1. E. v. d. Steinen op. cit., p. 25.

Ea [109]

2. Koch-Grünberg op. cit., Vol. I, p. 120 /Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern (Two Years among the Indians), Berlin, 1903/.

Ea [124]

not that even the women among the Indians on the Xingu and Rio Negro speak of sexual parts quite openly, as of something natural. The same is true among the Indians with whom I became acquainted. When I inquired about words touching on the most intimate things, even the women, indeed, the young girls, answered in the most natural manner.

Ea 75 134 138

There are words, however, which are prohibited. Such words among the Chaco are "tomoichi," which is an abusive word, "uvishi," which designates homosexual intercourse, "hufir," which means anus, and "ufui" among the Chané /111/ and Chiriguano, which has the same meaning as uvishi. There, too, the unnatural in sexual life is so shameful that it is not proper to speak of it.

c 134 138

There are also Indians who never want to speak about such things. This was true, for example, of a Chiriguano whom I had with me on my first trip on the Rio Pilcomayo. He even pretended that he had never heard such things mentioned. When I asked him about homosexuality among his countrymen, he feigned stupidity and said more or less: "Is that what the whites do?"

c [128]

Ca 531 131 [531]

Among the Indians, as among ourselves, there are nevertheless some who take pleasure in telling obscene stories. Such a one was the old Chané Bíyes, he who had the abusive name yáubuanu, big-mouth. The more disagreeable the things he related, the more old Bíyes enjoyed himself. Sometimes he told such things that even my friend Beizeyu, who used to interpret, was quite embarrassed. The old Chiriguano Tombéi was also one who could tell all kinds of obscene stories.

Ca [118]

c [531] [131]

59
57

/[illegible] man./

Bilyre told how the fox-god, Aguaretunpa, and the iguana lizard, Tiyubuam, had a homosexual relationship. Bilyre's story was so extraordinarily realistic that I cannot possibly reproduce it here. He also told how the fox married a wood fowl (?), "Ilibe-Ilibe," who was also a man.

I. Passage./

Aguara (the fox) once came to the hut of the wood fowl.

"How are you, brother?" said the fox.

"Fine, come sit down, brother," said the wood fowl.

The fox sat down. The wood fowl had hung up many moles, "[illegible]," which he had caught.

"Do you want to eat moles?" said the wood fowl.

"Yes," said the fox and ate one. He then asked for another, and another, etc.

/[illegible]/ Finally he asked if he might take two along for his children. The wood fowl gave them to him. The fox, who had no children, devoured these too.

"Do you have a wife?" said the fox.

"No, I live here with my sister," said the wood fowl.

The fox then departed. When he came to a "supua" plant, he hung his penis up, took down a fruit, and put it at the place where his penis had been. The supua looks like a vulva. The fox then took his testicles out and plugged the hole. Then he came to a house where several women lived.

"Do you want to make siru (women's attire), necklace, and hair band with me for a horse?" said the fox.

"Where do you have your horse?" said the women.

"I shall come with it tomorrow," said the fox. Then he was given siru, necklace, and hair band, put all this on, and set out by a different route for the house of the wood fowl. When he arrived there, no one was at home. So he lay down in the hammock. After a while the wood fowl came home.

"Where do you come from?" said the wood fowl.

"From my father," answered the fox. The fox now cooked two moles and ate them. Then he cooked two more and ate these too. Thereupon he cooked two more and ate them.

Ce 539 [83]

/223 cont./

In the evening the fox asked the sister of the wood fowl: "Where do you want to lie?" "Here," she said.

"Then I shall lie down beside you," said the fox. A little farther away the wood fowl lay down. When the sister had fallen asleep, the fox stretched out his hand and took hold of the wood fowl. The latter came and lay down beside the fox.

"Are you married?" said the wood fowl.

/224/ "No, my mama did not want to marry me off," answered the fox.... (1)

1. Omitted as being too realistic.

The fox now slept two nights with the wood fowl and became pregnant. After a time the fox gave birth.

One day several birds came by there. "Give me a bow and arrow, I want to shoot," said the fox. "You cannot shoot, after all you are not a man," said the wood fowl.

"I am a man," said the fox; he took a bow and arrow and departed. When he came to the "supua," he took down his penis and put it on again.

Ce 838 [735] a [838] Ce [762]

I was told about a Chané Indian from Yecundai on the Rio Parapiti who was in the habit of wandering about in strange villages as a sponger. The Indians finally got tired of him, and once when he was completely drunk several Chiriguano Indians in the Caipipendi valley abused him. After this insult he betook himself to the lower Rio Parapiti. When news of what had happened to him in Caipipendi reached there, he hung himself in despair over this disgrace.

Ce 838 Ce [681] [762] [684]

Strangely enough, it is not regarded as a disgrace among these Indians to be the active one in a homosexual relationship, but the passive one is deeply despised. He is regarded as a woman. This is the reason why some inconsiderate whites punish incorrigible Indians with -- an enema. An Indian thus mollified disappears forever. It is assumed that he commits suicide. An Indian punishes his unfaithful wife by means of "tévi" and then leaves her. I saw Chané boys playing "tévi."

6: Nordenskiöld--77 E-5 (1909-1909) 1912 5710 Chiriguano

Ec 838 171c ce [173]

/224 cont./

According to Westermarck (2), homosexuality is very

2. Westermarck: Ursprung und Entwicklung der Moralbegriffe /Origin and Development of Ideas of Morality/. Vol. II. Leipzig, 1909.

widespread among the Indians of America. The conception that this is a disgrace is by no means as marked everywhere as it is among the Indians mentioned here.

Ec 838 171 c

/225/ Among the Chané and Chiriguano I did not hear anything about onanism. Among the Choroti, on the other hand, it is said to be practiced by the men who are ignored by the women at a dance.

Ec 833 171 [839]

Perversions in the relationship between men and women, which were common in ancient Peru, do not seem to occur here. The primitive mammal position in coitus is said to be common among the Chaco tribes.

M 132 124

Mataco gave me a root which they used as an aphrodisiac.

Ec 125 773 839

The relationship between human beings and animals is so intimately intertwined in the legends of the Indians that one cannot always determine whether they mean the one or the other. The legends that describe love affairs between human beings and animals are not descriptions of bestiality, which seems to be unknown among these Indians.

Ec 834 171

The sense of modesty has developed very differently among these peoples. It seems to me to depend very much on the mode of dress. None of these Indian men or women of whom I have spoken here regards it as improper, insofar as they have not been completely corrupted or civilized, to expose the upper part of the body. The Chiriguano and Chané women are much more ashamed than the Choroti and Ashluslay when they expose the sexual parts. The latter were very reluctant to undress completely in order to be photographed. I did not even dare propose such a thing to the former.

Ec [126]

C
Ce
834
171

/225 cont./

Nevertheless, if in the evening one sat beside the fire in the hut and was acquainted with the family, they seemed to be quite free and easy. The Choroti and Ashluslay men are very shameless. The men among the Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, less so. It is very common for the Chiriguano and Chané women, conversing in a group, to pass water standing up and to let the urine run down their legs, which may be regarded as less than clean. The men, on the other hand, always step aside in order to relieve themselves.

C
Ce
[514]

C
Ce
833
171
834

/226/ As has been mentioned, the sexual act among the Ashluslay often takes place in the presence of onlookers. At the Choroti /Fig. 114 appears here/ dances one had to be careful in the darkness not to stumble over the loving couples. One never sees anything like that among the Chiriguano or Chané. Since many /227/ are lying in the same hut, however, one sees even among them what one always sees if one has overnight guests. This is not the least reason why the sexual life has no secrets even for small children.

C
Ce
834
177
577

Apparently life with the whites heightens the sense of modesty. The Indian women are even embarrassed to expose their breasts. Morality declines in proportion as the sense of modesty grows.

This should be taken into consideration by all those who sew clothing for naked heathen children.

C
Ce
121

Many of my readers may perhaps feel that this chapter should not have been included in my book. Nevertheless, it seems to me proper to say something about deviations in the sexual sphere. It contributes to an understanding of the people whom I am describing here. I have, of course, not been able to speak about all the realism that came out in the conversations around the camp fire (1).

1. If our daily papers, which are meant for the public, write about all kinds of things, one need not be too prudish in a travel account.

6. Nordenskiöld--79 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano
Chane SF8

142
291
302

Fig. 114. Young Chané woman exposes the upper body in order to be photographed. Rio Parapiti.

Ee 831 Ee 838

/227 cont./

The Indians regard the natural aspect of sexual life very differently from the way we view it as a rule. We do not find among these people all the corruption which is in civilized society, but various things are to be found here already. As far as homosexuality in particular is concerned, conditions among primitive peoples, as is known, show that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than in our hypercivilization.

/228/

Chapter Fourteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Chiefs and Laws

Ee 622 613 [111] Ee 643 Ee

The chiefs have an entirely different position among the Chané and Chiriguano than among the Ashluslay and Choroti. They have considerable power. Among the chiefs there are the great chiefs, who rule over several villages, and the village chiefs, who have command over only one village or a part of one. Among the great chiefs whom I met, the noteworthy ones are the old woman Vuâyruyi, the chief over the Chané villages on the Rio Itiyuro, Taruiri, who rules over most of the Caipipendi valley, Mandepora (Fig. 111), who in former times had considerable power in and around Machareti, and Maringay in the Iguembe valley.

622 293 643 [301] [302] Ee

Nowadays the chiefs have no symbol of their office other than silver-mounted sticks. According to Corrado, they formerly wore a large tuft of hair on the head, "yattira," as well as green stones which hung at their ears. At the festivals and dances they had the right to use the "yandugua," a rod decorated with a bunch of ostrich feathers, and "iguirape," a staff carved with peculiar figures. Of these I was able to acquire only a yandugua. I did not even see the rest.

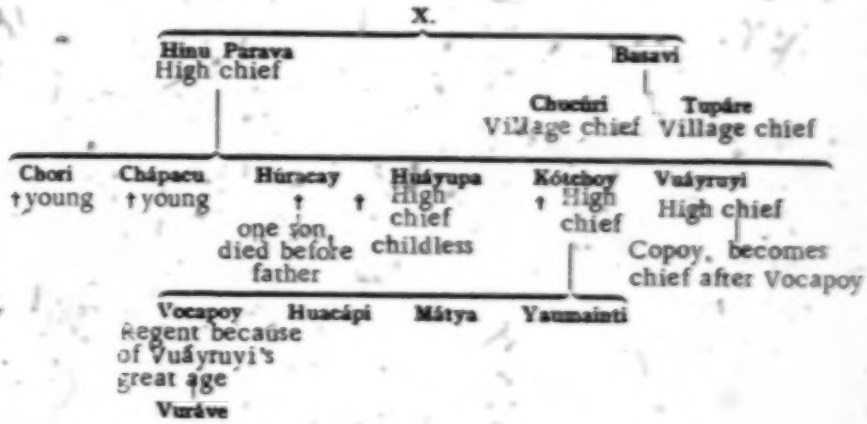
622 555 643

The office of chief seems to be hereditary as a rule. Capability and the art of using words well are required, however.

Ce /229/
622
173
643

Vocapoy gave me his family tree, which I reproduce here because it is very instructive, and I venture to believe that it may interest the reader to study an Indian family tree.

Vocapoy's Family Tree



Fe
643

Thus we find that the real chief on the Rio Itiyuro is a woman. I visited old Vuáyruyi. She received me with great dignity, lying in her hammock. Since the woman is old and weak, Vocapoy governs and tries, as best he can, to protect his people against the whites, who have completely appropriated their land. I asked Vocapoy why Vuáyruyi, as a woman, became chief. "Her father, Hinu Parawa, taught her to speak," said Vocapoy. Thus, these Indians regard it as most important to have command of the language in order to rule. These people are able to value intelligence more than strength. No one becomes chief who is not an older man. The husband of Vuáyruyi was not a chief, but only "prince consort." The village chiefs also belong to the family /Geschlechte/ of Hinu Parava.

Ce
[622]

C
643

Taruiri, too, is not the actual chief, but is substituting for a younger relative, who, as a result of his /230/ constant drunkenness, is regarded as unfit. Taruiri rules in the Caipipendi valley, where his territory is still free, but will probably soon be usurped by the whites. In Ivu there is a Chiriguano chief who is also a medicine man. This is the only example of theocracy that I found.

C
[759]

Ee 622 643 354

/230 cont./

The chiefs' families form a sort of aristocracy among the Chiriguano and Chané. Several times I heard Indians boast about their good family connections. A Chiriguano who accompanied me for some time as an interpreter was eager to impress upon me that he was related to the most famous high chiefs.

Just as the author of this book is customarily introduced as the son of Adolf Nordenskiöld, so the Indians were wont to introduce in similar fashion the sons of their "great men."

I even discovered a bit of deception in connection with the family tree. A Chané claimed direct descent from the great Hinu Parava, which, however, is said to be untrue.

If one wishes to find beautiful things from olden times among these Indians, one must first look for them in the chiefs' families. They keep the old treasures.

Ee [177]

More and more the white authorities are beginning to appoint the chiefs. Thus, in one region one can find a chief supported by the whites and a legitimate one.

Ee 622 423 122 643

The chiefs have great power, and, as far as I could see, they are always obeyed, in contrast to conditions among the Choroti and Ashluslay. They own the land (at least in certain regions), not for themselves, but for the tribe. If one needs porters in a Chané or Chiriguano village, one gets them from the chief, and no Indian will refuse to carry out the orders of the chief.

Ce 622 643

Although the chief has such great influence, /231/ he nevertheless works in the same way as the other Indians. Vocapoy himself, for example, carried home the heavy wood for cooking the maize beer, and his wife had to cook and sweep, like the other women. Following the example of the whites, however, a few of the most civilized and wealthy Indians, such as Taco, now have servants from their own tribe, but this was not done originally. On the other hand, as I have mentioned elsewhere, it is not unusual for the Mataco-Vejos and the Tapiete to work for the Chiriguano and Chané.

Ee [359] [177]

Ee 177 464

Ce 622 643 431 123

When we came home to Vocapoy's village from hunting and shared our booty with the chief /Fig. 115 appears here/, his wife accepted everything, but then went around to the houses and gave her neighbors everything that she had received.

Ce 565 556 621

/231 cont./

One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village, though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand, there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy individual Indians, but they, like Taco, live like the whites.

Ce 622 701 642 643

The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader of the fighting men.

Ce 682

Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain. A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

Ce 692 643 681 C 531 415 Ce 682

According to Batirayu, whose statements are more reliable than those of /232/ Vocapoy, the high chief of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti deals with no offenses other than murder, seduction of another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with poisoned chicha, "bád-dyási," occurred in former times among the Chané. Murderer and bewitcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the open plaza in the village.

Fig. 115. Calabash. Chiriguano. Itapenbia. 1/6.

Ce 684 Ce 685 681

Ce 177 Ce 643 622 721

The administrative authorities of the whites are now intervening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

Ce 423 622 643

According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner, even if it has lain fallow for years.

000
Ce /232 cont./
423 even if it has lain fallow for years. Thus, fallow land is also
428 inherited.

Ce Otherwise inheritance is considerably curtailed by the
422 fact that the deceased takes part of his treasures along with him
428 into the grave.

764 As among the Ashluslay and Choroti, the right of owner-
Ce ship is well developed here too, and the women own what they
424 use and make. As among the aforementioned tribes, generosity is
171 very great here too, even though, thanks to our "civilization" and to
Ce the mission, it is less conspicuous.
425

177 Chiriguano social life -- we are not familiar with the
C original Chané social life -- was much more tightly organized
174 than the social life of the Choroti and Ashluslay. The Chiriguano
648 were a conquering people who probably subjugated the Chané and fought bravely and successfully against the Inca, and also resisted the invasion of the whites for a long time. If, instead of the /233/ many chiefs, there had been but a single one, the conquest of the land of the Chiriguano would quite certainly have cost the lives of twice as many whites as now. Unfortunately, in the battles of the whites against the Indians, there were almost always a few chiefs fighting on the side of the enemy against their own tribes. In the last uprising, decided by the battle at Curuyuqui, the whites had an auxiliary force of a couple of thousand Indians, with whom they fought against the fellow-tribesmen of the latter.

C Ce Just as everything changes in the life of the Indians when
177 the whites conquer their land, so also are social relations altered. By the time Vocapoy, Maringay, Mandepora, and a few others are lying in clay vessels under the huts, the end will have come; then the Indians will have no laws other than those of the whites, no authorities other than the latter's administrators. The Chané
Ce on the Rio Parapiti, as was said, no longer have a high chief.
643 Batirayu was offered this position, but he does not wish to be the
177 servant of the whites; he is too proud for that. "It is not as it was in olden times," said Batirayu to the eccentric white man who sought understanding and the confidence of the Indians.

/234/

Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

Ee 178 527 273 538] [805]

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Ee 273 415 527 531

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

Ee 531 [527] [323] [462]

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

Ee [181]

Who can paint clay vessels as Chane SF8

c
531
[437]
Ce
531
Ee
556
531
Ce
415
412
302
142
291
252

/236 cont. /one of the wives of the Chiriguano chief Maringay can? They are famous far and wide in the valleys, and everyone tries to acquire her works through barter. I, not the least, admired her sure and discriminating art. The wife of the Chané chief Vocapoy (Pl. 19) is also no dabbler.

Where the Indians are rich, that is, have large maize harvests, the pottery is beautiful. Where they are poor and the

Fig. 116. Chané girls pound maize in a mortar. Rio Parapiti.

Ee
556
531

struggle for existence is hard, they do not have much time for artistic work. If art is to flourish in the Indian home, joy and mirth must prevail.

Ee 531 177

/236 cont./

The younger generation, I fear, will prefer German porcelain and enamelware, and with that the Chiriguano and Chané art will become part of the many fine and beautiful things that will disappear before the brutal civilization of the white man. In many villages one is already obliged to rummage around in the corners of the huts if one wishes to find vessels painted with a sure hand and natural taste. The worst thing, however, is that the whites are beginning to take pleasure in the clay vessels of the Indians. This brings about mass production. For the whites everything is good enough, it need be neither beautiful nor well done. They do not want the tasteful and simple, but the garnish and strange, "curiosidades," as the Creole says. Our museums must beware of these curiosities, for they give a mistaken idea of what is truly Indian.

Ee 273

The women brew beer for the festival. This is supposed to be made with maize (preferably yellow or white), and only the poor Chané on the Rio Parapiti must often content themselves with beer made out of sweet potatoes. If algarroba is available, beer is also brewed from this fruit. "It is good and intoxicates so nicely," say the Indians.

Ee 527 261 433

/237/ If the maize harvest is abundant, there is joy in the villages; then there is food and drink in every hut. If the maize crop has failed, there is no joy, stomachs are empty, and it is quiet on the festival plaza. If the granaries are full of maize, the Indian is proud and does not care about whites, suppression, and trouble. If the barn is empty, he is subservient and morose.

Ee 273

After the women have fetched the maize from the granaries and the men have brought wood and the women water, /Fig. 117 appears here/ the brewing commences. First the maize is pounded in large mortars. Day and night one hears the busy women pounding. The pounded maize is sifted and then mixed with water in huge clay vessels and boiled. Then a portion is taken out, chewed, and mixed well with saliva. This is then poured into the rest and, after it has been strained, must ferment in large open vessels with a little heat. The pots are stirred with large wooden spatulas

C
Ce
273
[412]
[237]

The pots are stirred with large
/237 cont./ wooden spatulas
(Fig. 118a) or with shoulderblades provided with handles (Fig. 118b). It is the pride of every woman to brew good beer, "cangui," and much beer. Indeed, they are /238/ indefatigably busy. One sees them working all day, and even at night they are busy cooking and grinding. No family may refrain from making cangui.

The use of saliva may perhaps seem unsanitary. At first I thought this too, but soon I was so hardened that the cangui prepared with saliva-yeast in Indian fashion tasted better to me

Ce
273
415

Fig. 117. Cooking maize beer. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

C
Ce
273

than that brewed by the whites in a civilized way.

Connoisseurs, not only Indians, are said to be of the same opinion as I. It is important, however, that the cangui be drunk cold; it is unpalatable lukewarm. When it has stood for a long time, it is somewhat intoxicating, but not as much so as algarroba beer.

C
Ce
273
574
576

There is a great deal of ceremony connected with cangui drinking. In front, on benches and stools (Fig. 85), sit the men, and behind them, on the ground, the women. The older ladies are given the best places. The hostess brings in the cangui in her

Ec /238 cont./
273 finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her
574 guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with
576 cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well. Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred. It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me: "You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears
e here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl
Ce he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has
[754] enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen
C in these villages.
Ce

At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to
522 light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were hand-
527 ing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to
C ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.
Ce

Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané
535 only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the
532 Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).
177
541

Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about
Ce whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy
532 said the idea for them had originally come from the whites.
177 Batirayu, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Rio
535 Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which
Ce
[796]

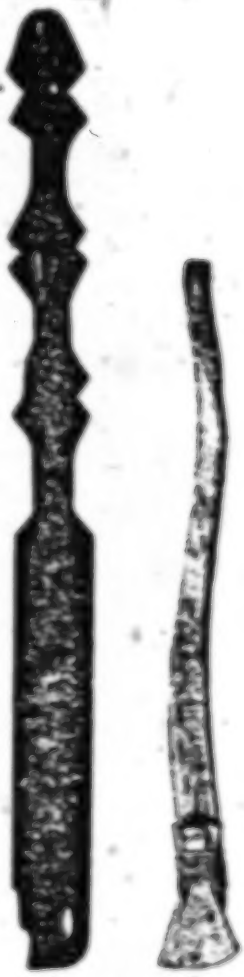
Ce /239 cont./

535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
177 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[539] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

Ee The Chiriguano and Chané
532 always destroy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "añañya."

C It is strange what a great
Ce role the carnival now plays as a
541 festival among the Indians. This
177 undoubtedly comes from the fact
[464] that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians who work for them are given a few days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already disappeared. Nevertheless one still sees women in home-woven clothing
C with necklaces of chrysocolla and
Ce turquoise. I never saw used, however,
[178] the silver diadem and the silver
C pins which belong to the festive attire.
912 One often sees the men's blue
237 costumes (Fig. 81) with silver chest ornaments preserved in the huts by the old people, but they are not used for the festivals.



A B

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ce Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
535 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
527 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
273
533

Ce
527
533
535
273

/240 cont./
and beating time with their feet. The women walked slowly up and down in time with the song, outside the circle of men.

Ee
291
177

Among the Chané and Chiriguano the attire of the white man is replacing everything old and beautiful, and of my many old friends among the chiefs of these Indians only Maringay scorns the rags of the whites.

c
ce
273
177
527

Liquor is being introduced more and more among these Indians, and the ceremonial, pleasant maize-beer festivals are turning into crude drinking bouts.

c
532
535

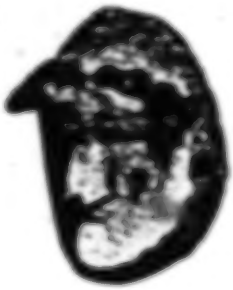


Fig. 119. Dance mask.
Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/6.

ce
578
273
177

I shall never forget a night in Vocapoy's village. The /241/ men had gone to the Christians to drink liquor. When they came back, harsh words fell and knives were displayed. The liquor would have claimed bloody sacrifices if the courageous women, with firebrands from the maize-beer boiling, had not thrown themselves between the quarreling men and, after separating them, taken them home with soothing words of flattery.

6: Nordenskiöld--92 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/242/

Chapter Sixteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Art and Industry

The Chiriguano and Chané are tribes whose art-industry is on a very high level. If one visits one of the huts of the white settlers in these regions, one will not see many products of native industry, not much of their own culture. I know of absolutely nothing that these people are capable of doing which can compare with the pottery and the weaving technique of the Indians. One thing is certain, the more "civilized" the Indians become, the less they accomplish in the way of art and industry. They do not learn much more from the whites than how to make and drink liquor. Indian art-industry is gradually disappearing here, the more the Indians come in contact with the whites, but it is not transformed. It remains largely purely Indian until its final destruction. One industry, however, is now in the hands of the whites, namely, the metal industry. The silver ornaments which, for example, the Chiriguano and Chané use are made by the smiths in the villages of the mountain regions. The half-white or Quichua /Quechua/ Indian population which we come across in the mountains west of the land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is quite skilled artistically. The weaving technique in particular is very highly developed there. The Chiriguano and Chané undoubtedly learned a great deal from the west.

Thus we find the serfre pipe[2] (Fig. 120) characteristic of the Chiriguano in collections from the coast of Peru (1); /Plate

1. Serfre also occur among the Lengua, Ashluslay, Chiriguano, Chané, Churápa, and Turacáre.

18 appears here/ /243/ the pin for fastening women's clothing

2 [A flute-like musical instrument--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 94]

6: Nordenskiöld--93 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano

Chane SF8

531
302
291
415
516

Plate 19. The wife of the Chané chief Vocapoy paints a clay vessel. Rio Itiyuro.

C 171 291 [534] [413] 177 e 131 172 e [113]

/243 cont./ (Fig. 130) is typically Peruvian in form, as is the silver hair remover, of which, however, I have no specimen. The festive costume of the man (Fig. 81) also seems to me to have a Peruvian cut. It is possible, however, that the influence of Peru did not manifest itself among the Chiriguano until after the conquest of the plateau by the Spanish.

Boman (1) has proved that the Chiriguano, or more correctly the Gûarani tribe to which these Indians belong, formerly extended much farther south than they do now. He found there the grave urns so characteristic of them.

1. Boman: Antiquités de la Région Andine. Vols. 1-2. Paris, 1908.

Fig. 120. Serére pipe. Chiriguano. 1/4.

C Ce 171 Ce [323]

The material culture of the Chané Indians does not, in general, differ very much from the culture of the Chiriguano. The Chané, on the other hand, who are more isolated on the Rio Parapiti, have a completely independent pottery which we do not find again among the Chiriguano. If we compare the remaining products of Chané and Chiriguano industry, we do not find any greater differences than we find in the various Chiriguano villages themselves.

C [534] 534 - C [184]

C 323 184

For example, if one collects clay vessels in the Iguembe valley and in the Caipipendi valley, both of which valleys are occupied by Chiriguano, one inevitably finds that the pottery, though strongly related in ornamentation and form, nevertheless /244/ also varies locally. I have already spoken of the individual variations (p. 85).

Ca /244 cont./

28 Of the various industries, pottery stands particularly high
[323] among the Chiriguano and Chané (see the illustrations). They
[53[] are also skilled weavers and decorators of calabashes. Basketry
[184] occurs, but chiefly in the northern part of their region. Feather
Ca work is no longer done at the present time. Only ropes and fish
[439] nets, and on the Rio Parapiti hammocks and carrying nets, are made with caraguata bast. The bags of this material, so characteristic of the Chaco tribes, are never made by the Chiriguano and Chané, but are occasionally acquired by trade between the tribes.

Ca 323 Among the Chané on the Rio Itiyuso I followed the making

C 415 531

Fig. 121. Clay vessel. Chiriguano. Caipipendi valley. 1/4.

Ca 323 of pots. The clay is ground and mixed with pounded, fired potsherds, so that the vessel does not fall apart during the firing.
Ca The clay vessels are built up out of rolls in customary Indian
[413] fashion. For smoothing a mussel shell or a maize cob without
[80+] kernels, as well as a narrow little bamboo stick, is used. The maize cobs make parallel, fine scratches (1). The bamboo stick

Ca [172]

1. From similar scratches on clay vessels which one finds in archaeological diggings, one can see that the makers of the clay vessels had maize. I have seen this, for

/264 cont./

323
[172]

1. (cont.)
example, on clay vessels from Ojo de Agua in Quebrada del Toro in northern Argentina.

[516]

Fig. 122. Firing clay vessels. Chand. Río Itiyuro.

[413] [404] is also used for measuring during the manufacturing process in order to obtain the proper proportions. /265/ After that the vessel is dried in the shade for a day before it is fired. As a rule, one works on only one or two vessels at the same time.

Ca 323 531 Ca [237] [413]

/265 cont./

The coarser vessels, as well as all cooking vessels, are decorated with only finger imprints and clay loops put on them. The finer vessels are subsequently painted (see Pl. 19 /see p. 93/). /266/ With a brush made of agouti hairs (1) the decorations are

1. Dasyproctа.

Ca [316]

painted in white, dark brown, and black. The white pigment is a kind of earth (kaolin); the others are made out of slate and sandstone. They paint freehand and compose the decorations from memory, not from models. Wood, maize cobs, and cow excrement are heaped around the vessel. The fuel is lighted and must burn with a vigorous fire for a quarter of an hour or, if the vessel is large, even longer (Fig. 122).

Ca 323

Ca [354] [824]

If the vessel has been painted, it is varnished with resin, "tacuiruti," which is collected from a Mimosoideae, and with resin from the palo santo (see p. 93 /untranslated; Palosanto is identified there as Bulnesia Sarmienti/). The former gives a yellowish polish; the latter looks like greenish-black glass.

Ca [789]

When a pot is made, it is baptized before it has cooled, so that water will boil rapidly in it.

C 531 323 386

In Mariguay's village individual vessels were painted with a mixture of urucú or some other color and a vegetable fat. I was unable to see how this latter was prepared.

Ea 286

The Chiriguano and Chané women are skillful weavers. The material for the Indian weaving is, as a rule, cotton and sometimes sheep wool.

Ea [439] [177]

Since large quantities of cloth are imported by the whites, native weaving is disappearing more and more. Thus, I did not see any looms among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley, and native woven goods were very rare.

Ea 286 531 [797]

As a rule, all the weaving of these Indians is without ornamentation, or else this is very simple. The girls in the missions learn from the monks how to embroider all kinds of flowers, such as roses, violets, etc. They do this superbly.

Ee
286
531
[797]

/246 cont./

Strangely enough, after they leave the sewing class, the Indian women cease to use these decorations. It would be better if the missionaries taught the Indian children /247/ decorations connected with their imaginative life. The results of their work would then be entirely different.

Ce
286
532
177

A couple of generations ago a few Chané women learned from a Quichua woman how to weave decorations which

C
286
531

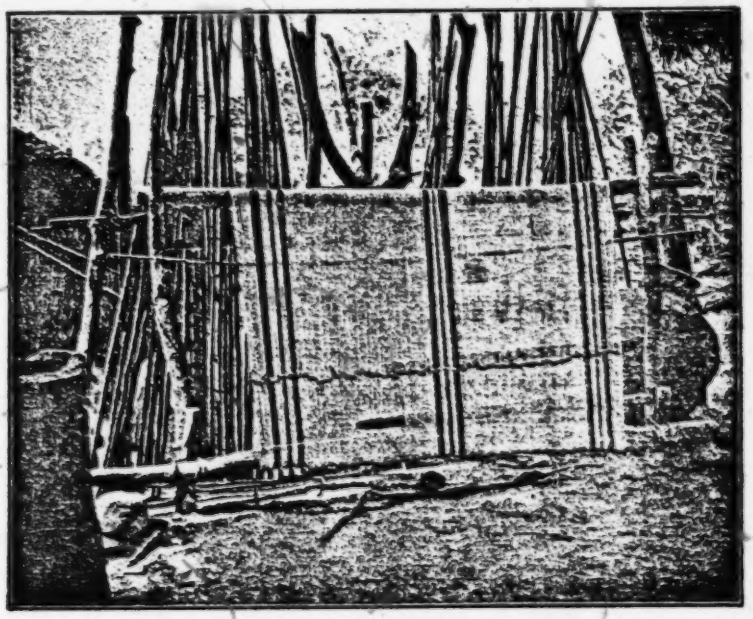


Fig. 123. Loom. Chiriguano.
Tihuīpa.

Ce
286
532
[171]

one still sees on various Chané fabrics. They were stylized animals and human beings. Plant ornamentation does not make much impression on the Indian women. Animal and human figures stimulate their imagination, and they teach them to their children.

Ee /247 cont./

531 The Chiriguano and Chané men are clever in the deco-
322 ration of calabashes (Fig. 126), carve attractive pipes (Fig.
281 120), and know how to tan leather, which they probably learned
177c from the whites.

Ee Among these Indians one does not see much in the way
532 of plastic representations of animal and human figures. The
C clay /248/ vessels sometimes have animal shapes. The
[126] Chané women on the Rio Parapiti fashioned lumpy little dolls
[437] out of wax for their children (Fig. 105). Some of the clay vessels are painted with animal figures. A vessel from the Rio

Ee 285 →

C 285 ←

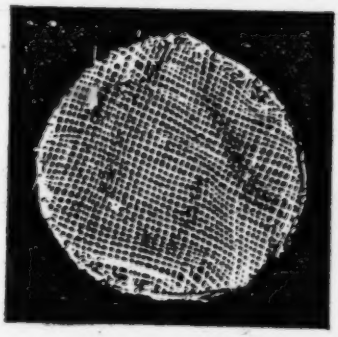


Fig. 124.
Sieve. Rio Parapiti.
1/8.

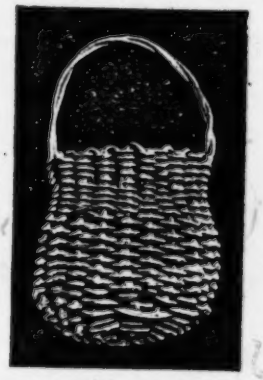


Fig. 125. Basket
Chiriguano.
Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ee
532 Itiyuro, which I acquired through barter, is adorned with tree figures. Occasionally one sees clay vessels in the shape of fruits.

Ee I saw drawings representing human beings and animals
[353] on the walls in a few Chané huts and on a few Chiriguano calabashes from the Caipipendi valley.

Ee As for basket work, the sieves are so popular among the
285 whites that through trade they are being distributed far beyond
[439] the Chiriguano and Chané region. Otherwise the Chané and Chiriguano make few baskets. We find basket work in quantities only among the Indians where the matching-leaved palms begin, and that is at Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

Ee /248 cont./
439
177

When we present a collection from the Chiriguano and Chané, we must not forget that, through trade between the tribes, they have obtained many things from the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Tapiete; otherwise we would have a mistaken conception of the
Ee great difference /249/ between the material culture of the Chaco tribes named here and the Chiriguano and Chané.
171

If we compare the material culture of the Choroti and Chané
Ee with that of the Choroti and Ashluslay likewise described here,
[285] we must remember the following. The Chiriguano and Chané produce basket work -- the
c Choroti and Ashluslay never.
Ce The former know how to paint
[323] clay vessels before firing,
Ee which is unknown to the latter.
[286] The Chiriguano and Chané never make bags out of
c
[415] →
[531]

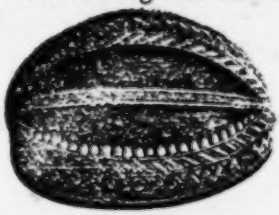


Fig. 126.
Decorated calabash bowl.
Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/5.

caraguata, etc. If, moreover, we compare all the products made by the Chané and Chiriguano with those of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we find that most of them are entirely differ-
c ent. The Chaco Indians probably learned how to make certain
[177] things, such as the serére (Fig. 120) and huiramimbi pipes (Figs. 36 /omitted in the translation/ and 80), from the Chiriguano,
Ee but this is relatively insignificant.
177

We see here how two cultures can exist side by side for hundreds of years without mingling.

Ee If we follow the Rio Pilcomayo down toward the mountains,
101 we first come across the Quichua /Quechua/ culture, then come the Chiriguano and Chané, and after that the Chaquensic /Chaco/ culture which embraces equally the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Ashluslay, as well as the Lengua and other tribes in the Paraguay Chaco. These three cultures are entirely different.

6: Nordenskiöld--101 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/250/

Chapter Seventeen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Legend and Religion

Ee 538 Once there was an old Indian who used to sit beside the fire in his hut in the evening and tell about olden days, about animals, human beings, and spirits. The young people gathered around him, listening. The old man went on and on telling stories. He told them with his mouth, eyes, hands, and feet.

One young person after another, however, soon left the circle of listeners and lay down to sleep. Finally the old man was sitting alone beside the dying fire and talking to himself about the adventures of the fox-god and the armadillo-god.

To me this old man represents the old traditions, a culture that is disappearing. The young people listen for a while, but it is soon too much for them. They have new interests. They have begun dancing the great dance which the Christians call civilization, where the dancing is usually around the golden calf.

Ee [123] I also sat there as a listener and had the legends explained to me. I believe the old people liked me because I showed such great interest in their old recollections. If I now retell them, I hope the reader will be lenient with me and my old friends, with me because I cannot tell a story as well as the old people, and with the old people because they love everything that is a bit frivolous.

/251/ The legends give us insight into the Indians' ideas of the life beyond and of the spirits. In part through them and in part through the explanations which the Indians have given me, we can understand their religion. We shall hear about the destruction of the world and the theft of fire, about the visit in the realm of the dead, and, above all, about the adventures of the spirits; we shall hear how they deceived one another and human beings, hear of their combats and their vices.

Ce /251 cont./

There is very little moral teaching in these legends. The
538 characters in them are often "tunpa," that is, they have super-
natural power, that is all.

Ce As a result of contact with the whites, the legends are not
[177] free of foreign elements. Most of them, however, are purely
Indian.

Ce
539 1. The Destruction of the World and the Theft of Fire.

Ce
[115] Told by the Chané Indian Batirayu from the Rio Parapiti.

In the old days there was once a very poor man who wandered about in the forests and had no permanent residence. When he came into the villages, he was driven away and the dogs sicked on him. When the man saw that he was not wanted in any village, he made himself a hut, "tocay" (1). All kinds of beautiful birds

Ce
[343]
[223]

1. Tocay is a hut in which a hunter hides in order to catch birds from there with a snare or arrow.

came to the hut, and most of them soon became so tame that he could catch them. The man thought: "If I go to a village with these magnificent birds, perhaps I shall be accepted." So he took the birds and went into the villages. Everybody thought the birds were beautiful, but they did not want to let him settle down anywhere. The man went back to his hut. One day Añatunpa (2) came to him in the shape of a beautiful bird. What

Ce
[776]

2. The great spirit (see p. 108).

a strange bird that is, thought the man. /252/ Añatunpa said he had come to help him and gave him a pair of wings.

"When you come to a village, you must move the wings and then it will thunder," said Añatunpa. "If they will not let you settle down in spite of this, then lift the wings."

/252 cont./

539 The man went to a village where a great drinking bout was being held. No one wanted to admit him. He moved his wings and it thundered. It was believed that it was the medicine men who were thundering, and no one paid any attention to him. Again he moved his wings and it thundered. It was still believed that the medicine men were thundering, and no one paid any attention to him. When he finally saw that he was not going to be permitted to live there, but would be driven away, he lifted his wings, which he had kept hidden. Then came a storm which swept everyone away, except two boys and a girl.

They, now alone, wanted to cook, but they had no fire. They had squash and maize, but could not roast them. Then an old man, the sun, came to them with a firebrand. He roasted a squash and ate it, but, when he went away, he took the fire with him. He did not want to give them any of it. When the old man came the next time, they decided to steal the fire from him. When he was roasting a squash at the firebrand which he had brought along, one of the boys beat it with a cudgel, so that the sparks flew. The old man quickly gathered them up. Nevertheless they found a tiny little spark under half a squash that had been lying on the ground. They now lighted a fire. Huapi (the weaver bird?) told them they should guard the fire well so that it would never go out. He also told them that if the fire went out they should make fire by friction with the "tatay" (1).

[372] 1. Fire-making implement of wooden sticks.

The younger brother now took his sister as his wife. The older one had no wife. They put a squash into a small hammock and rocked it. The squash grew into /253/ a girl who soon grew into a woman. The older brother took her as his wife. All the Chané came from these two couples.

/253 cont./

539
[115]

2. The Destruction of the World and the Theft of Fire.

Told by the Chané chief Vocapoya.

A young man went into the forest, and in a pool he saw the image of a beautiful girl whom he followed. He stayed with her for a while, for a month, and his mother already believed he was dead and cut off her hair. She thought he had been bitten by a snake or the like. One day, however, the son came home and said that he had found a pretty girl whom he had married. Then the mother told him to fetch her and brewed a great quantity of maize beer, in order to celebrate her arrival.

The young man came with his wife, and she was pretty and well-dressed. During the festival she changed and became very ugly. Her sister-in-law made a remark about this, and she became angry and left her and went back to where she had come from, saying she would have her revenge. She said, however, that first a boy and a girl should be set in a large clay vessel. A brother and a sister, together with seeds of maize, squash, and beans, were set in a clay vessel, and the jar was tightly covered. When this had been done, it began to rain dreadfully, and the houses and everything were covered with water. The jar, however, floated on top. All the human beings and animals drowned in the rising water. For a long time the clay vessel floated about, and the boy and the girl were already beginning to grow up. Then the water fell, but when they wanted to climb out, the ground was still marshy, and they had to wait until it was dry.

When they came out of the clay vessel they sowed maize, squash, and beans with the seed they had with them. These ripened in half a month. They had no fire. At some /254/ distance they saw fire. It was "Tosté" (1), a marsh bird, who cries

1. Another Chané told me that the frog had stolen fire from the black vulture.

along the river banks, who had fire. When they came closer to the fire, however, it disappeared.

Ce /254 cont./
539 The frog promised to steal fire for them. He hopped to Tosté's campfire and, trembling with cold, sat down beside it in order to warm himself. From time to time he raked the coals closer to himself, as though to warm himself better, and, when no one was looking, he stuffed a little firebrand into his mouth and hopped away.

Having come back to the boy and the girl, he made a fire, and since then the Chané Indians have had fire. The sister and the brother, who had now grown up, married, and she became pregnant. They built themselves a hut. The girl had children. When these children grew up, they married one another. From their children came all the Chané. The chiefs are descended from the children of the oldest boy.

It may seem strange that I found two entirely different legends that deal with the same subject among the same people. This is to be explained by the fact that the Chané are a dispersed tribe which no longer has its own, independent culture.

Ce [177] The first version is probably their own, whereas they have borrowed the other from the Chiriguano. Domenico del Campana (2)

2. Domenico del Campana: op. cit., p. 22.

Ce mentions that the latter have a river legend in which two children are saved in a clay vessel in a similar way.

539 The Choroti and the Mataco say that the world was destroyed
[171] by fire, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti that it was destroyed by
Ce storm, and the Chiriguano and Chané on the Rio Itiyuro that it
[184] was destroyed by water.

The first-mentioned live in regions where there were great /255/ pampas fires, on the Rio Parapiti there are often violent storms, and the Chiriguano probably came from regions where great floods are common.

It is certain that these legends of world destruction are intimately connected with the character of the country in which they originated, as Ehrenreich (1), Im Thurn (2), and others have shown.

1. Ehrenreich: op. cit., pp. 30-31.

Ee /255 cont./
539
[113]

2. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guyana. London, 1883, op. cit., p. 375.

Ee
[171]

Ehrenreich says that such an anthropomorphic conception of the sun, as here in the first legend, is unusual in South America.

Ce

Visits in Aguararenta (the Village of the Foxes)

539
775

Batirayu told me the following about the beliefs of the Chané Indians with regard to life in the world beyond and in the realm of the dead. Aguararenta (aguara = fox, tenta = village) is a village where the dead, ãna, live. It lies in the east. At night the dead there have human form; during the day they go about as foxes, rats, and other animals, or they go into a tree trunk. Every night there are great drinking bouts in Aguararenta. All the Chané, children, women, and men, go there. Bewitchers (ipáyepótchi) and murderers also go to this village. No one is punished in the Chané realm of the dead.

Ce
[787]

The living have also visited Aguararenta and have told what they saw there. I shall give a couple of these stories here. They give us a good insight into the Indians' conceptions about the realm beyond.

The Girl Who Followed Her Husband to Aguararenta.

Ce
[115]

Told by a Chané Indian in Aguaraei (white fox) on the Rio Parapiti.

A girl wanted to marry a man, but he died. She had been very fond of him. In the morning, /256/ on the day after his death, while it was still dark, she was standing in front of the house of her parents and was pounding in the mortar. Then somebody came and seized the pestle.

"Who are you?" she asked.

"It is I," he said. It was her dead husband. "Do you want to come along?"

/256 cont./

539
775

"Yes," she said, for she loved him very much.

He now set out in the direction of the rising sun. His face was covered, so that no one would see it. She walked behind him. They walked through the forest, they walked over the pampas and again through the forest. During the day he slept and at night he was awake.

When the father found that his daughter was missing, he went to look for her. He followed her footprints. In front of these were the footprints of a fox. "Añá took my daughter," said the father. Finally he found her dead by the wayside. He brought her to life again, however, and took her home. When they crossed the pampas, they saw a fox roaming about. The next day she died. Her father wept. Then the white condor, "Ururuti," came and said he should not mourn. Ururuti took him on his back and flew with him to Aguararenta.

In Aguararenta people slept during the day and were awake at night. When the father got there, they were drinking maize beer. Ururuti took him to the house of his son-in-law. He spoke to his daughter, but she did not answer him. She did not look like a human being. Again he spoke to her, but he received no answer. He then went to Ururuti, who took him home. Neither he nor his wife mourned their dead daughter.

On the following day the father died.

Version 2. Told by Batirayu. There was a woman whose husband had died. During the night he came to her in the shape of a man and slept with her. He begged her to come with him to his village, Aguararenta. She followed him. When they were not far from the village, they heard singing /257/ and dancing. She went with her husband to the market place, where a great drinking bout was taking place. There she saw many dead people whom she knew. The dead, however, were afraid of her and stayed far away from her. She stayed there until it was morning. Then all the huts disappeared, and she found herself on a plain full of fox tracks. Her husband turned into a rat (angúya). She stayed there all day, sitting on the trunk of an algarroba. When it became dark, the people came again and a big drinking bout took place there.

Ce /257 cont./
539 In the morning the dead said: "chéahata húirasécuera (I shall go
775 around as a tree trunk), chéahata augúyara (I shall go around as a rat), chéahata kárakárara (I shall go around as a vulture), chéahata águarára (I shall go around as a fox), chéahata ándirára (I shall go around as a bat)," etc. She returned home. Her husband said he would come to get her. After three days she was dead. She had followed her husband to Aguararenta.

C 787 The Chiriguano chief Maringay told me of a man who had
775 fallen asleep by the wayside. During the night his dead wife came to him, and he slept with her. When he awoke, she was gone. He regarded as real what he had experienced in his sleep. Among
C Ce 787 the Chané and Chiriguano the belief in a future life is based on
775 dreams, as among other Indians. In a dream they meet a dead person, in a dream they visit the realm of the dead. It is incorrect, however, to say that the Indians believe in a life after death. He knows that there is such, for living persons have seen the dead, have made love with them, have drunk maize beer with them, have seen them change into foxes, rats, tree trunks, etc.

Legends about Spirits and Animals.

Ce 775 "The dead are añá," said Batirayu. Among these there are a number who are tunpa (best translated as "great") and have superhuman powers.

The greatest among the añatunpas is Yamándutunpa. /258/ Others among the great ones are Mariutunpa and Tipaytunpa. Ce Chiquéritunpa, who appears in a few of the legends given here, [787] is the one who produces thunder. Chiquéritunpa howls at night when there is going to be war. These añatunpa intervene in the lives Ce of human beings; the sorcerers in particular are connected with 775 them. Thus, Batirayu told how the añatunpa came at night to 787 Tsuhuandico, a great sorcerer now deceased, and drank maize 756 beer with him. They told him when it would rain, when someone would fall ill, whether there would be a crop failure, etc. Batirayu also said that Angúya, a kinsman of Aringui, the last great chief,

/258 cont./

756 used to offer the añatunpa tobacco when they were with Tsuhuandico.
[787] The añatunpa drank only very little maize beer. When they came,
[775] one did not see them, but heard what sounded like the clang of spurs.

These sorcerers have tremendous power; they can bewitch,
[754] for sickness and death are based on bewitchment. Among the
[761] Chané, Tambápui is the greatest sorcerer. He is the grandson of Tsuhuandico and the son of Yapandáy, who likewise was a great "ipáye."

539 Yamándutunpa, Mariutunpa, and Tipaytunpa never appear in
776 the legends. The greatest role is played there by Aguaratunpa
[775] (the fox-god) and Tatutunpa (the armadillo-god). Aguaratunpa has tembeta (see p. 63). They have human passions, and the story of the fox-god in particular is a description of all kinds of artifices and crimes. The armadillo-god is somewhat better and also has a higher standing.

776 Vocapoy told me that he had known an old man who saw a tunpa in the mountains. He was a handbreadth tall and well-dressed. Water ran from his body.

775 Batirayu believed stubbornly and firmly in the existence of the aña and añatunpa, in their connection with the sorcerers, and in their power. He was firmly convinced that Aguararenta exists.
776 /Pl. 20 appears here./ /259/ He was skeptical about the truth of the
539 legends concerning the adventures and experiences of Aguaratunpa and Tatutunpa, which I shall give below.

[771] In the religion of these Indians, therefore, there is first of all a grain of truth in which they believe. To this are added adventures and deeds of the spirits, which they relate at the campfires and which at least the more intelligent ones, the thinkers among them, regard as legends.

I shall give these legends below.

776 The idea of a great, almighty god is foreign to the Chané.
777 At present, of course, they all know something, directly or indirectly, about Christianity, as a result of which the idea of a great god is beginning to come in. Vocapoy, who was no Christian, once told me that the Chané believed in a great god, Tunpa.

6: Nordenskiöld--110 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano
Chane SF8

538
142
291
302

Plate 20. Storyteller.
Chané. Rio Parapiti.

/259 cont./

776 Batirayu said he does not believe in a god such as the
177 Christians describe. He was surprised that the Christians oppressed the poor and committed so many bad deeds, since they taught that sinners were punished in hell. "How can one know what it is like in heaven, since no one who was there has come back to earth," said Batirayu.

"And so they say we shall be given wings," he said and laughed scornfully.

776 According to the missionaries, the Chané believe in a
114 supreme being (1), Tunpahétte-vae, the real god. The name alone
797

1. Cf. Domenico del Campana: op. cit., p. 39.

sounds suspicious. I am very skeptical about the assumption that this is original. When I talked to the missionaries about the religion of the Indians, I was astonished at their ignorance. They scorn the ideas of the Indians and do not regard it as worth the trouble to become more familiar with them. They never succeed in freeing themselves from the Catholic idea that the Indians, who, like us, are descended from Adam and Eve and to whom Saint /260/ Thomas preached, do not know anything about their "original faith."

776 Two of the tunpa who appear here in the legends have animal
539 names, Aguaratunpa (fox-god) and Tatutunpa (armadillo-god). We find in the legends an intimate connection between human beings and animals.

[825] Batirayu said: "All animals were human beings."

539 The Creation of the World, How the Fox-God, Aguaratunpa, Found the Algarroba Tree and How he Caught the White Condor, Ururuti.

[115] Told by two Chané Indians on the Rio Parapiti.

It is said that in the beginning there was a tunpa. He made the earth with the sky and all the stars, the sun, and the moon. It is said that this earth did not bear anything, that it was completely

/260 cont./

539 barren. Then Tunpa, in order to feed the poor, put all kinds of fruits into it, such as the caraguata and the mangira. It is said that there was an algarroba there, the mother of all trees. On this tree there were all kinds of fruits. This tree multiplied throughout the world. Thereupon Tunpa came, took the mother tree with him, and left the thoom here. It is said that Tunpa created our forefathers and also the forefathers of the whites. To the Ava (1) and Chané Tunpa gave a wooden spade and a long

1. Ava = Chiriguano.

carved stick called "carimpa," arrow and bow, a sheep, a goat, a hen, and a dog, so that they would breed all these animals and so that they would subsist with these tools. To the whites he gave guns, a horse, a mare, and a cow and all kinds of iron tools, so that they would work with these (2).

[171]

2. This is undoubtedly a modern addition to the legend. We find the same thing in a Mataco legend given here.

It is said that the little viscacha (3), "Tacumbo- /261/ cumba,"

3. Lagostomus.

watches over these trees which remained from the mother tree. She watched over these trees very well; she did not permit a single seed to be carried away. She had tasted the blossoms, but found them bitter until they yielded fruit. When they were ripe, she sowed the seeds. When these had again ripened, she sowed them again. In the following year they had all yielded ripe fruit.

Aguaratunpa came to the house of Tacumbocumba. The latter was an old woman. She offered Aguaratunpa some of these fruits which she had watched over, and he found them very good. He asked what they were called. She replied that these fruits are called "mä."

/261 cont./

539 When she offered him the fruits, she sat down next to Aguaratunpa, so that he would not take along a single seed kernel. Aguaratunpa hid one of the smallest seeds in a hollow tooth. When he had finished eating, the old woman handed him water to rinse out his mouth, so that not a single seed would remain behind. She examined Aguaratunpa's mouth with her fingers, but could not find a single kernel. Aguaratunpa again asked the woman what the tree was called and took his leave. Saying the name of the tree, he went on his way. Not far from there Aguaratunpa fell, forgot the name of the tree, and went back to the old woman to ask. Thereupon he set out on his way. Again he fell, again he forgot the name, and again he went back to the old woman to ask. Then she said: "You took some seed along," and so she examined his mouth once more, but could not find anything. Then Aguaratunpa went on until he came to an open plain. There he sowed the algarroba seed that he had with him. Then he roamed about widely. After a few years he came back and found a large algarroba plant already. Again he roamed about widely. When he came back, the algarroba was in bloom. He took a blossom and chewed it. It was bitter. Again Aguaratunpa roamed the earth. When he came back to his algarroba, he found it full of ripe fruit. He picked up one /262/ that had dropped on the ground, and he tasted it. It was sweet and good. He now looked for someone who would guard the tree for him. First he asked a beetle, "Nyśkira," but it did not want to. Then he asked "Hüiran," a small black bird, but it did not want to either. Then he asked another beetle, "Tikitikiru" (1), and it promised him that it would

1. Probably a Cerambycide.

guard the tree. "If someone comes who wants to steal your algarroba fruit, I shall sing: "Tikitikiru, tikitikiru, ko mä séramátata, tiki, tiki," it said. Aguaratunpa had not gone far when he heard: "Tikitikiru, tikitikiru, ko mä séramátata, tiki, tiki." Aguaratunpa hastened back. "The flea (Tuśta), the tick (Yaśu), and the leaf-cutting ant (Isśu) were here, and they stole

/262 cont./

539 fruit from your algarroba," said Tikitikiru. The tick had a large carrying net with him for carrying the fruit, and the leaf-cutting ant climbed up the tree to bite it off. Aguaratunpa hurried after them. First he caught up with the ant. He stepped on its middle. That is why all ants are so narrow around the waist. Then he picked up the tick and stepped directly on it, so that it became quite flat. Finally he took the flea and stepped on it, but he slipped so that he crushed it sideways. That is why all fleas are small and pinched together. Tikitikiru now left the algarroba to Aguaratunpa to guard himself. He hung up his hammock and lay down to rest. On a branch he saw one more fruit which the thieves had left behind. Aguaratunpa now called the wind, which shook the branch on which the algarroba fruit was hanging, so that it fell down. The fruit fell directly into Aguaratunpa's eye. The fox-god was now dead.

Soon all the vultures came to pick at Aguaratunpa. They sent the hummingbird "Chinu," in order to fetch their great chief, the white condor, Ururuti, so that he would eat of Aguaratunpa.

/263/ "Watch out, he is not dead, he is only playing dead in order to catch our great chief," said one of the vultures, "Kara-kara."

"Certainly he is dead," said the fly "Mbēru" and crawled in under the tail of the fox-god and out from a nostril, in through the other one and thus out again under the tail.

"He is not dead," said Kara-kara.

"He is dead," said the fly and laid eggs in Aguaratunpa's eyes, so that they were full of worms. When the white condor came, he approached Aguaratunpa in order to eat.

"Watch out, he is not dead," said the vulture.

"He is dead," said the fly and again crawled in under Aguaratunpa's tail and out through the one nostril, in through the other one and then out again under the tail.

The white condor now started eating Aguaratunpa. The latter now leaped up, took him captive, and bound him with a chain of silver.

"I will give you a herd of horses if you grant me my freedom, said the white condor.

Ca 539 /263 cont./

"I have so many horses that I do not need any more," said Aguaratunpa.

"I will give you large fields if you grant me my freedom," said the white condor.

"I have so many fields that I do not need any more," said Aguaratunpa.

"I will give you my two daughters as wives and a house in which you can live, if you grant me my freedom," said the white condor.

"I do not need your daughters, for I have wives in all the villages," said Aguaratunpa.

C 415 531

Fig. 127. Clay vessels.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/5.

C. 539

"I will fill a whole house with silver bowls, 'cagua,' and give it to you, if you grant me my freedom," said the white condor.

/264/ "I have as much silver as I need," said Aguaratunpa, "and I caught you in order to kill you. But if you can make me a present of the white rubber ball, 'toki,' so that I can play with it, I shall give you your freedom," said Aguaratunpa.

Tied to a long silver chain, Ururuti flew to fetch the white rubber ball. When Aguaratunpa received it, he gave the white condor his freedom. The ostrich, "Yándu," and the bat, "Andira," played ball. One would throw the ball, catch it with his head, and hit it toward the other one, who in turn caught it with his head and hit it back (cf. p. 45). When the ball was flying through the air, the white condor caught it and disappeared. Aguaratunpa now sent a bird, "Tavatan," to fetch the black rubber ball, and the whole village played. Aguaratunpa played with the ostrich. In the middle

6: Nordenskiöld--116 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano
Chané SF8

539 /264 cont./
of the game he substituted a stone for the ball and threw it. The ostrich caught it with his head and fell down dead. When he came to life again, he had a flattened head, as do all ostriches now. The bat disappeared with the black rubber ball.

Now the story is over.

Tatutunpa's and Aguaratunpa's Marriage.

[115] Legend told by the Chané Indian Agiera on the Río Parapití.

It is said that there was once a great chief, Chiquéri, and there were also Tatutunpa and Aguaratunpa. They all lived far, far away from here. The great chief lived farthest of all. He had Tatutunpa come, in order to give him his daughter as a wife. Tatutunpa knew many tricks, and Aguaratunpa also knew many tricks.

/265/ Tatutunpa started on his way. He went very slowly and waited at many places. Where he made fire, tall grass grew. Two or three days after Tatutunpa had left his house, Aguaratunpa came and asked where Tatutunpa had gone. He was told that Tatutunpa had gone to the great chief. Aguaratunpa now followed him and met him not far from there. Before they arrived, they found a plant called "ihuahuasy" (1) by the wayside. Aguaratunpa

1. Cf. p. 51 /omitted in the translation/, it is said there that, according to Hermann, the Ashluslay know how to make a poisonous fruit, called ihuahuasy by the Chiriguano, edible by boiling it.

told Tatutunpa he should break off the fruits so that they could eat them. He went into the forest under the plant. Before Tatutunpa could touch even one of the fruits, Aguaratunpa shook the plant so that all the fruits fell on Tatutunpa. The latter, who was young and handsome, now became one-eyed and old. Aguaratunpa was the younger and handsomer of the two.

/285 cont./

539 They now continued on their way to the great chief. Tetumupa had a necklace which, before they arrived, Aguaretumpa had cowed from him.

The great chief thought that Tetumupa, who was old and ugly, was Aguaretumpa, and the latter Tetumupa. He gave the former his most beautiful daughter as a wife, and to the latter he gave his ugliest one, who was also one-eyed, as he was.

Aguaretumpa began to work in order to clear the field and sow. While he worked, he tied up his long hair. When he came from work, he was quite dirty. Tetumupa did nothing. He lay all day beside his wife and played on a round wooden pipe (Fig. 80). When his mother-in-law saw that he was not working, she said: "This man does not think of his family at all."

When he heard this and knew that Aguaretumpa had already worked a great deal, he asked his wife whether her father did not have an old field which he could cultivate. The mother-in-law then said to her daughter: "Why does that man ask /286/ for a field, he who is so lazy. It would be better if Aguaretumpa, who works, asked for one."

Tetumupa, with his stick and his wife, went to the old field of the chief. He went out into the large, uncultivated field, dug up a little earth, picked up a clump of earth, and threw it into the air. The clump of earth fell to the ground and crumbled into many pieces. "This earth is no good," he said, and he asked his wife if there were not a large plain somewhere that he could cultivate. She said there was a large plain. They betook themselves there and went out into the middle of the plain. Tetumupa dug up a little earth, again threw a clump of earth into the air; this did not break in two, but fell down whole. He said to his wife that this earth would be very good to cultivate. They went home.

The next morning old Tetutupa set out with his spade for the plain where he had dug a little, and he stuck it into the ground. In a very short time the entire big plain was cleared by the spade alone. Tetumupa then called the wind, which came with great strength and blew away all the worthless stuff. Only the very finest remained standing. Thereupon he called the whirlwind,

/286 cont./

539 which swept the field entirely clean. Tatutunpa asked the parrots for seed, but they came with useless seed kernels which were all broken in two. When he saw that these seeds were worthless, he asked the ducks and pigeons and the very tiny pigeons to come with all kinds of seeds, and this they did. They even did the sowing themselves. When the sowing was finished, Tatutunpa set out for home on the path that led to his house. He had not gone far when he turned around in order to look at his field. He saw that the plants were already starting to sprout. Again he went a short distance and again turned around to look at his field. The plants were already big. Again he went on and again he turned around. Then he found his field already in bloom. Near his house /287/ Tatutunpa turned around again to look at his field and found that everything that he had sowed was already bearing ripe fruit.

For Aguaratunpa, who had worked so industriously, nothing was yet ripe or in bloom.

The next day Tatutunpa said to his wife: "Let us go to look at our field." They went to the field and the wife saw that all the fruits were ripe. Tatutunpa bade her light a fire in order to roast maize and all the other produce. He told her she should dig out an ear of maize, two beans, and a squash, but nothing more. Not even this were they able to eat up.

After that they went home and told the old woman that she should come with them and harvest everything she wished to eat. The old woman did not believe them, but thought they had been stealing. She could not believe that they had anything to harvest, since they had not worked. "I would rather go to my other daughter, who has worked hard," said the old woman.

Aguaratunpa now set out for Tatutunpa's field and stole squash which he brought to his own planting. With sticks and thorns he fastened the squash to the half-grown squash stalks. At dusk he returned home and told his wife that she should ask her mother to harvest squash in his field. The daughter went to her mother and said: "Let us go to the field to gather squash." Delighted, the

/267 cont./

539 old woman set out, for she had seen how much they worked and she believed her daughter. They went, but did not find any more squash than they were able to gather in a winnow.

The next day Tatutunpa's wife again asked her mother to come with her to the field. The old woman did not believe her at all, but when the old man, her husband, saw that they were so stubborn, he ordered her to go. Angrily the old woman /268/ set out. Tatutunpa walked in front of her, playing on his pipe. When they came to the field, the old woman saw that it was full of all kinds of produce, maize, squash, beans, and calabashes. The old woman became truly delighted; she could scarcely restrain her joy.

When they came to the ridge of the field, she saw a huge calabash and told her daughter that she wanted this for herself. While they were talking, the calabash fell on the old woman; she fell down and could scarcely move because of the heavy calabash pressing on her. The daughter came to help her and tried to lift the calabash, but she could not. She called her husband to come and help her. He, however, stayed away a long time, and it was only when the old woman was near death that he came, lifted up the calabash, and fastened it to its old place. He lifted up the half-dead old woman.

After a while, when she had recovered, they again looked at the field. The old woman wanted to break off an ear of maize. Tatutunpa told her she should take care of his field and break off only the ear. Then she harvested two ears of maize and two of all the other products, without destroying anything. Everything she had harvested immediately put forth ripe fruits again. Laden with produce, she went home. She told her husband that Tatutunpa already had a large field. "So that is Tatutunpa whom we sent for," said the old man. "Aguaratunpa deceived us."

The next day Tatutunpa said to his wife: "Let us go to our field." They went there. He dug a hole in which he made a fire. When the hole was really warm, really red, he took a very large calabash and crawled into it. He asked his wife to plug up the calabash, place it in the warm pit, and to turn over the calabash when he whistled, so that he could get out. The woman

/268 cont./

539 did as he had said. When he whistled, she turned the calabash over and Tatutunpa came /269/ out, handsome and young, adorned with all his old ornaments.

After a while Tatutunpa again warmed the pit, and his wife crawled into the calabash. He covered it and threw it into the pit. When she whistled, he turned the calabash over. She came out of it young and beautiful.

They returned home and took a little quebracho stick along, in order to make fire with it. When they reached home, the old woman was busy brewing maize beer.

"It is going to be very cold during the night and therefore I brought this little stick along, so we would have something to warm ourselves with," said Tatutunpa. Aguaratunpa had taken home a great deal of "tartago" wood, but it did not last the whole night. In the middle of the night the wood was used up. He went to the hearth of his mother-in-law, who was cooking maize beer. When the old woman saw that a fox was creeping up to her fire, she stuck a piece of wood in Aguaratunpa's behind. With the wood in his behind, he ran away, forever changed into a fox.

The Origin of Work.

[115] Told by the Chané Indian Batirayu.

Tatutunpa had a magic spade. If one set it in the field at night, the field was completely dug up in the morning. One day Aguaratunpa, in the company of his two brothers, came to Tatutunpa. "Let's play for your spade," he said. "When lightning flashes, let's look into the lightning, and the one who does not blink will win the spade." Tatutunpa agreed to this.

Aguaratunpa now borrowed the eyes of the grasshopper "Tu-ku," who has no eyelids; Tatutunpa and Aguaratunpa sat down and stared at the sky. When lightning flashed, Tatutunpa blinked, but not Aguaratunpa, who had the eyes of the grasshopper. He won the spade. When he departed, however, he did not take the

/269 cont./

539 spade /270/ that dug by itself, but an ordinary wood spade.

"If I take the spade with the hollow handle, even sluggards can grow maize, but with the one here one has to work to provide maize for his family," said Aguaratunpa to his brothers.

Aguaratunpa gave the borrowed eyes back to the grasshopper.

How Aguaratunpa Sent His Brother to the Vault of Heaven.

Told by the Chané Indian Batirayu.

Aguaratunpa lived with his brother. He had two little parrots in a basket. One day they flew to a field where they ate maize. When they came home, one of them had maize meal around its beak. "Where did you get that?" asked Aguaratunpa. "From a field far back yonder where the sun sets," said the parrots.

The next day Aguaratunpa sent the parrots away. He followed them to where they flew. When he reached there, he broke off some maize. Then the owner of the field came and saw that someone had stolen maize. Aguaratunpa hid, but the owner found him, for when he tried to break off the maize, he cut his hands and feet and left behind traces of blood everywhere.

The owner said to Aguaratunpa: "Why did you steal my maize, if you had asked me for it, I would have given it to you." He broke off many ears of maize and loaded them on Aguaratunpa, who brought them home. He put them beside the door.

When he woke up the next morning, the little pile had turned into a big one which reached to the roof.

Aguaratunpa's brother asked him where he had obtained the maize. "It is far away," said Aguaratunpa. "There is no road, and you cannot find your way there."

/271/ Nevertheless, the brother set out and came to the field where he found "anday" (1), from which he ate. This had

[262]

1. Squash of a tasty variety.

Ce 539 /271 cont./

been poisoned, and he died. Aguaratunpa found him dead. He said he wanted to bring him to life again. Aguaratunpa took a plant, "ihuahuasu." With this he beat him. He leaped over him, first directly over his body, then from head to tail.

The brother came to life again and said: "I slept a long time." -- "You did not sleep, you were dead," said Aguaratunpa. The latter sent his brother to heaven (2). When it thunders,

2. Ara = vault of heaven, universe.

Aguaratunpa's brother is going for a walk.

C 539 [115] About the Son of Tatutunpa and How He Rescued His Mother.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási on the Rio Grande.

In a house there was a girl, Inómu, who had never had a husband. In front of the house there was a great drinking bout. Aguaratunpa, Tatutunpa, and Dyori were there. The parents of the girl took her along and set her on the ground where people were busy drinking maize beer. Aguaratunpa thought that Inómu was very pretty. Tatutunpa thought so too. "I shall make the girl pregnant," he said and started to dig. Aguaratunpa stood in front. Tatutunpa dug himself into the earth and up under the girl (3).

3. Modified.

When Tatutunpa was finished, he crawled out again and told Aguaratunpa what he had done.

"I want to try too," said Aguaratunpa and crawled into the passageway. He had not gone far when he got stuck. Tatutunpa seized him by the tail and pulled him out.

/272/

539 When the girl reached home, a bird, "Araqua" /jacu/, cried that she was pregnant. The next day she grew big. She was in an advanced state of pregnancy. Her mother was provoked. She said she wanted to go far away to the father and give birth. Inómu went to the cave of Tatutunpa and dropped the child in it, without giving it milk. The child cried daily, and the mother looked after it, but when she came, it crawled into the cave. One day "Yahuéte" came, the jaguar with two heads, one of which was dry, tore her eyes out, and led her away alive.

The grandfather now went out to catch little Tatutunpa by placing in front of the cave a net, in which he was caught. He led him home. There he grew rapidly and began to become big. He was brought up on honey. One day little Tatutunpa demanded bow and arrow. His grandfather made him an arrow with a blunt point of wax. With that he went out and hunted. When he hit the trunk, all the pigeons fell down dead. There was a great quantity. When Tatutunpa came home, his grandfather asked him how he was able to kill so many pigeons, and then he told how it happened. In the same way he killed many birds. One day he saw five araqua birds on a tree. Tatutunpa shot at the tree, but only four fell down. The fifth said: "You would do better to look for your mother than to shoot birds."

When Tatutunpa reached home, he asked his grandfather to make him a club out of "huirapucu" (1). He hit it against a

737]

1. Huirapucu is a soft wood (Salix Humboldtiana).

thick tree trunk, but was obliged to hit twice in order to get the trunk off. Tatutunpa told his grandfather it was worthless and demanded a club made of "urundey" (2). He hit it against a thick

2. "Urundey" is red quebracho or something similar.

tree trunk and struck off the trunk with one blow. "This one is good," said Tatutunpa.

/273/

539 Accompanied by Dyori, Tatutunpa set out on his way. Along the way he killed a tapir. Dyori (1) divided it into four

[171] 1. Dyori is always described as the insatiable one. He corresponds to Móconomóco in the legends of the Mojo.

parts and devoured it. He even licked the blood from the ground.

Tatutunpa found his mother blind in the woods. She begged him to kill the jaguars who were keeping her captive. "They come to the watering place in order to drink," she said.

Tatutunpa made himself a little shelter in which he hid. Dyori hid behind him. First came "Embaracaya" (2) with her booty.

2. A large wildcat.

With one blow Tatutunpa shattered her head and threw her and her booty to Dyori, who devoured everything. In the same way he killed "Yahuapinta" (3) and the other felines. He threw them

[136] 3. Puma (Felix concolor).

to Dyori, who devoured them all. Finally there came Yahuéte, who had two heads. He asked Inómu for water. Yahuéte was carrying a tapir that he had killed. Inómu directed him to the watering place.

"No, give me water here, there is someone hiding at the spring," said Yahuéte.

"No, there is no one there, and how should I, I who am blind, be able to fetch water, I would fall," said Inómu.

Yahuéte went to the drinking place. When he reached there, Tatutunpa hurled his club, in order to kill him, but struck only the dried head, and Yahuéte leaped away. Tatutunpa followed him. When Yahuéte saw that he was being pursued, he hid under the "tiru" (women's attire mentioned on p. 52) of the moon.

"Where is Yahuéte?" asked Tatutunpa.

"I do not know," answered the woman (that is, the moon). That was the first lie.

C 539 /273 cont./

"He is hidden under your 'tiru,'" said Tatutunpa and went on.

The moon called after him. "Yahuéte is devouring me."

/274/ Tatutunpa went back to help her. She then said it was not true. Tatutunpa went on again. She now called again: "Yahuéte is devouring me." When Tatutunpa came back, she said it was not true. Tatutunpa went on again. Again the moon cried that Yahuéte wanted to devour her. But Tatutunpa did not go back again. Now Yahuéte was really on the point of devouring her.

When Tatutunpa returned to his mother, he said he would see to it that she would be able to see again. He made eyes out of pigeon droppings and clay and set them in her empty eye sockets. Inómu rubbed her eyes, opened them, and was able to see again. Tatutunpa now led his mother home.

Ce 539 [114]

Batirayu told me the same legend with a long introduction which is missing in Yambási's story. I shall give this introduction here.

Ee [171]

Once there was a great drinking bout. Many birds were gathered together there. The chief ordered Aguaratunpa to fetch a girl, Inómu, who was in a neighboring village, so that she might also drink with them. Aguaratunpa departed. When he came to the house of the girl, he met her father.

"Good day, Uncle," said Aguaratunpa.

"Sit down," said the father.

"No, I have come to fetch my niece," said Aguaratunpa. He now asked whether the girl would go with him, which she agreed to do. The girl made herself pretty, put on her necklace, dressed herself in her best "tiru," and followed Aguaratunpa.

When they had gone part way, the girl said: "Why should I go with you who are so ugly," and so she turned back. When Aguaratunpa arrived, the chief asked how it had gone. He now told how the girl had turned back.

"Urapua" (the black vulture) offered to fetch the girl. Urapua set out. When he came to the house of the girl, he said:

/275/ "Good day, Uncle."

"Sit down," said the father.

/275 cont./

539 "No, I have come to fetch my niece, I want her to help me drink maize beer," said Urapua. He asked the girl whether she would come along. She agreed and made ready. When they had gone half way, the girl said: "Why should I go with you who are so ugly." She returned home.

When Urapua arrived, the chief asked him how he had fared. He said that the girl had turned back.

"Tiu" offered to go. When he came to the house of the girl, he said:

"Good day, Uncle."

"Sit down," said the father.

"No, I have come to fetch my niece, I want her to help me drink maize beer," said Tiu. He asked the girl whether she would come along. When they had gone a good part of the way, the girl said: "Why should I go with you who are so ugly," and so she went home again.

Then "Choe" offered to go. When he arrived, he went directly to the girl and asked her whether she would come with him and help him drink maize beer. The girl gave him a calabash bowl of maize beer and was willing to follow him. They departed. When they were quite near the village where there was a great drinking bout, the girl said she did not want to go with him, his legs were so black, and she turned back.

When he arrived, the chief asked him how he had fared. He said that the girl had turned back. All the other birds tried, but the girl did not want to go with any of them. Finally "Churincui" went.

"Watch out," said the chief, "he will surely get the girl to go with him." Churincui went directly to the girl and asked her whether she would go with him and help him /276/ drink maize beer. The girl was willing and followed him there and sat down with the other women.

Aguaratunpa walked around angrily.

The chief asked whether anyone could sing. Aguaratunpa dressed in his "tirucumbai" (Fig. 81) and prepared to sing, but he could do nothing but "pũhuaté, pũhuaté." Now Urapau came forth and wanted to sing, but he could only say "hũ, hũ."

Ce
539

/276 cont./

Then the chief asked "Hũiratucũhua" to sing and he sang:

"Huaté pũhuatẽkos rárásé mãnura lũhuaya chũshico ti, ti, ti, ti..."

There was a man there who was at odds with his brother and all the other birds, who did not take part in the drinking bout, but went about and hunted.

Many parrots were sitting on a tree. Among these was a white parrot. "That one I want to catch," he said, and he tried to catch it with a noose on a rod, but he did not succeed. He now aimed with his bow at the parrot. The latter started to talk and said: "Why do you want to kill me?"

The parrot now taught him how he should sing and told him that when he came into the midst of those who were drinking he should stretch his arm up over his head.

He now walked around those who were drinking and sang. Then he went into their midst and stretched his arm up. When he did this, those who were standing changed into birds and those who were sitting changed into stones, except Inõmu, Tatutunpa, Aguaratunpa, and Teyuhuasu.

Tatutunpa, Aguaratunpa, and Teyuhuasa did not sit with the others, but stood near by. Tatutunpa said to Aguaratunpa:

"You will see, I shall make the girl pregnant (1). /277/

1. Modified.

c
Ce
539
171

When she turns her body, it will have happened." He now dug a hole in the earth under the girl...

The continuation of Batirayu's story is almost identical with the one by Yambãsi.

In its basic characteristics this legend seems to me to be genuinely Indian. Nevertheless there are elements in it which seem to be borrowed from the whites, namely the story of the lies of the moon. These do not occur in Batirayu's version of the story. It also reminds me very much of the boy who used to call for help when there was no danger present. When finally the wolves were devouring him, no one paid any attention to him, -- a legend which is well known in Europe and which I heard as a child in Sweden.

Ee 539 171

/277 cont./

Part of this legend reminds one very much of a legend from the Yuracáre Indians given by D'Orbigny (1). There "Tiri," who,

Ee [113]

1. D'Orbigny. Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale /Journey in South America/. Vol. 3, 1. Paris, 1834, p. 212.

in order to avenge his mother, kills all the felines except the jaguar with the four eyes, who takes refuge with the moon, corresponds to Tatutunpa. In former times the Chiriguano and Chané were undoubtedly in touch with the Yuracáre Indians. When the whites conquered the land around Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the Chiriguano moved south and the Yuracáre to the north. On my last journey I also visited the Yuracáre Indians, whom I shall describe later in another book.

Ee 174 177

Ce 539

The Man Who Married the Daughter of the Thunder God, Chiqueritunpa.

Ce [115]

Told by the Chané Chief Bóyra.

In olden times there were once three poor men who had no relatives. They were very hungry. Two of them went forth to look for something to eat. First they came into a large forest through which went a path. /278/ After three days they came to a great plain. In the middle of the plain there was a house. They walked around the house, but found no entrance. Finally, however, a woman came out; it was Chiquéritunpa's sister. She bade them come in. "We are dirty," they said and did not want to go in. She brought maize beer to one of them. He drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. She brought the other one maize beer. He, too, drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. "Go now and bathe," she said, "and wash your heads." She gave them the root of the "yúag" (1).

Ce [137]

1. = mistol /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./.

/278 cont./

539 When they had bathed and washed themselves, they came back. She gave them urucú for painting themselves. "Go now and rest. Afterwards you shall fetch wood," she said and gave them an ax. They looked everywhere on the plain, but found no wood. "Did you not find any wood?" asked the woman.

"No," they said.

"Did you not see an old man there? He has wood. Give him a blow with the ax," said the woman.

They went back to the plain to look for wood. There they found the old man, but they were ashamed to give him a blow with the ax, and went back to the woman.

"Did you meet the old one?" she said.

"Yes," they answered, "but we were ashamed to kill him."

"Strike the old one, he is wood!" said the woman.

They went back to the plain and found him. They gave him a blow with the ax, and he changed into wood which they carried to the room. The woman cooked. Then she spun thread.

"Why did you come here?" she said.

"We were looking for a mother for ourselves. There were three of us, but we left one behind," they said.

"Why did you not take him along?" said the woman.

/279/ She let the men bathe. They bathed and the woman bathed too. They saw that she was a pretty woman.

"Here you shall make a hut and a trap and catch pigeons! When the pigeons come, they will turn into women. When they are bathing, you shall take their clothes and run!" said the woman. A mass of pigeons came and settled on the trees around the swamp. Among them was their great chief. The pigeons flew to the shore and turned into women and took their clothes (tiru) off. The men crept up; each of them took three garments and ran away. The women ran after them. /Fig. 128 appears here./ One of them threw two garments away and came into the house with one garment and one of the women. The other ran away with all three garments. The women caught up with him and thrashed him soundly. The one who had come with one garment came into the house with his wife.

Ce 539

/279 cont./

"Lie down and sleep!" said the sister of Chiquéritunpa.

The man lay down to sleep with his wife, who was the daughter of Chiquéritunpa. They slept together all day and in the evening she gave birth. The next day Chiquéritunpa came. He wanted to beat his daughter. He sent for a horse, a donkey, and a mare, in order to take his daughter and his son-in-law home. After they had eaten, they rode away.

The man who had been thrashed by the women wept. "Do not weep so much," said the sister of Chiquéritunpa. When they had ridden a short distance, they met a Christian who was working.

"What kind of work are you planning?" asked the man. "I /280/ want to sow mandioca and maize. I want to live here and I want to bring a woman here," said the Christian.

They rode on and met another Christian. "What kind of work are you planning ?" asked the man. In a bad humor, the Christian replied: "I want to sow hills with thorny bushes here."

C [415] [531]

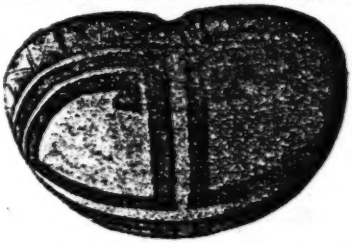


Fig. 128. Calabash bowl. Chiriguano. Itatenbia. 1/4.

They continued their journey and met another Christian who was busy felling trees. "What kind of work are you planning?" asked the man. "I am chopping down poles for fencing for the animals, for I want to have livestock here. I am bringing everything here, I shall get myself clothing," said the Christian.

They rode on and met another Christian. "What kind of work are you planning?" asked the man. In a bad humor, the Christian answered: "I am working to harvest stones."

They rode on and met another Christian, who was doing carpentry work. "What are you doing here?" they asked. "I want to build myself a house where I shall have clothing and all sorts of other things," answered the Christian.

/280 cont./

539 They rode on and met another Christian. "What are you working at?" asked the man. In a bad humor, the Christian replied: "I want to sow chuchio (1) here, so that no one can pass."

1. See p. 18.

When they were near the house of Chiquéritunpa, his daughter said to her husband: "I shall dismount first with the boy, who can walk already. Then you shall dismount, and if you sit down on the bench you must not be surprised if it moves. If the house moves, you must not be surprised. You shall not greet my mother or my brother. You shall greet only my father."

When they arrived, she dismounted first and entered. She was followed by the boy, who was already able to walk. Last of all, the /281/ man got down from the horse. When he got down from the horse, it turned into a heap of bones. He went in and sat on a stool. It moved because it was a large snake. He acted as though he had not noticed anything. The house moved too, but he acted as though he were paying no attention to it. First his mother-in-law came and greeted him, but he did not respond to her greeting. Then his brother-in-law came and greeted him, but he did not respond to his greeting either. The brother-in-law proposed that they play, but he did not answer him.

"Tonight you shall not sleep with me. I shall sleep in a hammock, my /Fig. 129 appears here/ son in one, and you in a third," said Chiquéritunpa's sister to her husband. "Tomorrow you shall play with my brother," she said. They now lay down to sleep.

The next day the rooster cried early: "Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ!" When the first Christian whom they had met came to his field, he found it full of maize and mandioca and, in addition, a hut and a pretty wife. The second Christian, who had answered that he wanted to sow hills with thorny bushes, found his field changed into such. The third Christian found his fence for the animals already finished and full of fine livestock. The one who had replied he wanted to sow stones found his field full of stones. The one who had been doing carpentry in order to build himself

Ce
539

/281 cont./

a house found it already finished and full of clothing. The one who had answered in a bad humor that he wanted to sow chuchio found his field turned into thick brush through which no one could pass.

Chiquéritunpa's son proposed a game to his brother-in-law. "What kind of a game?" he asked. "Let's move the house," /282/ said Chiquéritunpa's son and shifted it with one arm. With all his strength the man moved the house away. "Now let's bring the horse back to life," said Chiquéritunpa's son and lifted up the legs of the horse on which the man had come. It turned into a very fat horse with a mouth that flashed fire. This, too, the man imitated.

The next day the man proposed a game to his brother-in-law, Chiquéritunpa's son. "What shall we play?" he said. "Let's take the sun down," said the man. With a long switch of chuchio he took the sun down. It became so warm that both Chiquéritunpa and his son ran away. The next day the man became chief.

C
[415]
[531]

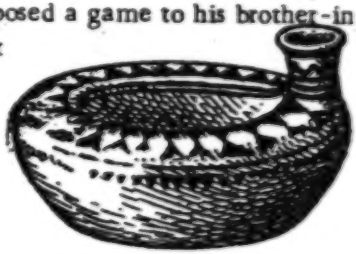


Fig. 129. Clay vessel. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/5.

The one who had been thrashed by the girls whose clothes he had stolen stayed with the sister of Chiquéritunpa. One day she told him he should go to a large lake. There he should dive in and bring up a handful of sand. This sand he should place in the house. He went to the lake, dived in, and brought up a handful of sand which he placed in the house. The next day the sister of Chiquéritunpa said: "Go look at what has become of the sand!" In place of the sand he found a pretty woman. "She shall be your wife," said Chiquéritunpa's sister.

/282 cont./

539 During the day he used to bathe with her in the lake. There he played with her, caressed her, and while bathing they squirted water at each other.

"Do not bathe with her so much in the lake. Remember that she is merely made of sand," said Chiquéritunpa's sister.

He did not listen to her, but played with her and fondled her down by the shore of the lake. One day, while he was playing with her, she grew thinner and thinner, until finally she had turned into a heap of sand. Weeping, the man went to the sister of Chiquéritunpa. Hayma opama! (And there was no more).

[177] This legend, as we see, is not free of European /283/ elements. In its principal features, however, it is purely Indian. None of the legends given here by me seems to me as imaginative as this one.

"Choihuihui's" Abduction of a Woman

Told by the Chané chief Bóyra.

In olden times there was once a great drinking bout. Aguaratunpa, Tatutunpa, Teyuhuasu, Inómu (1), Choihuihui (2),

1. Inómu's story has been told above.

2. A bird.

and many others were there. Aguaratunpa had gone to fetch Inómu. She stayed four days and drank with them. Finally her mother came; she was very angry because she had stayed away so long. She changed all who were there into birds and took Inómu home with her. Only Aguaratunpa, Tatutunpa, and Choihuihui remained there. Tatutunpa went home. Aguaratunpa, who had no permanent dwelling, roamed about and cheated people. Choihuihui set out on his way. He came to a house. A married woman lived there with her daughter. He greeted her. She offered him maize beer and he drank. Then he said farewell and left. Transformed into a choihuihui, however, he remained quite

/283 cont./

539 near in order to spy. After a while the husband of the woman came home. He took her along and they went to the field, she in order to harvest, he in order to dig. When they arrived there, they lighted a fire. He went off to dig; she stayed beside the fire with her little daughter and roasted maize. Choihuihui had followed them. He remained nearby. After a while the woman went off to relieve herself. When she went into the forest, Choihuihui embraced her. Transformed into a bird, he flew off with her.

When her mother did not come back, the girl began to weep. When the father heard this, he went there. He /284/ called his wife, but no one heard him. He looked for her and found Choihuihui's and her tracks. In vain he tried to follow them. After he had searched for a long time, he looked up the brothers of his wife, so that they might help him search. They searched, but found no one. The brothers believed the man had killed his wife out of jealousy. When they passed by a large tree, they saw in the crown the nest of a "tuyuyu" (1). The brothers told the man

1. Probably flamingo.

he should catch the birds in order to comfort his child. Since the tree had a high, straight trunk, they made a ladder, and the man climbed up. When he got to the crown of the tree, the brothers removed the ladder, so that the man could not come down. "You shall sit and starve to death there because you killed your wife," they said. The man started to weep. Finally he went to sleep, leaning against the trunk.

When he awoke, he was sitting in a hut. Beside him sat two pretty women. They asked him how he had got there. He now told how a man had come to his house, etc. (here the entire legend is repeated).

The women started to laugh. "Avayurupiagua led your wife away," they said.

Ce 539

/284 cont./

He asked them who their father was. "He has gone to Itica (2) to get some fish" (3), they said.

2. Rio Pilcomayo.

Ce [439]

3. The important trade in dried fish that is carried on between the tribes is described on p. 138 /omitted in the translation/.

The youngest said he should sleep with her, which he did. The oldest also wanted to sleep with him. "Won't your mother be angry if I do?" he said. "No, you shall sleep with us, for a man never comes here," they said. So he slept with both women.

After a few days the father of the girls came home. He brought along two large loads of dried fish. /285/ The father asked how he had got there. He told etc. (here the entire legend is repeated).

The father said he was not angry because he had slept with his two daughters and promised to help him get his wife back. "She is at Itica with Avayurupiagua," he said. "There is a big drinking bout there and we must go. You shall go with me and do as I say. First you should greet everybody and finally you should greet your wife. She will not recognize you. When she greets you and offers you maize beer, you will fling your arms about her and I shall hit you on the buttocks," he said. They now set out for Itica. When they arrived there, the father first greeted everyone. Finally the man greeted his wife. She offered him a calabash of maize beer. He embraced her and the old one slapped him on the buttocks. Transformed into a tuyuyu, he flew off with his wife. When Avayurupiagua saw this, he dashed angrily into his house to fetch bow and arrow. He shot off one arrow after the other, but was unable to hit them.

Ce [177]

This legend seems to me to be entirely free of foreign elements. The ladder mentioned refers to a long stick into which step-notches have been cut. The Chiriguano in particular, as well

Ce [417] [343]

6: Nordenskiöld--136 E-S (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce
539
Ee
[417]
[343]

/285 cont./
as the Chané on the Itiyuro, always use them for the maize granaries, which are built on piles (see Fig. 84b).

How Aguaratunpa Killed Tatutunpa and Was Then Killed Himself.

Told by the Chané chief Batirayu.

In olden times there were once two deranged girls. Not far from them lived Tatutunpa. They heard him play so beautifully on his "huiramimbi" (see Fig. 80a /see p. 22/). One of them said to the other: "Let us go and see who is playing so beautifully." They went to Tatutunpa, who was lying in his hammock. Tatutunpa took the youngest girl as his wife.

/286/ Aguaratunpa had learned that the girls had gone to Tatutunpa's. He set out, hid in the field where Tatutunpa was working, and killed him with a club. Then he carefully removed the skin of the head and put it on. Resembling Tatutunpa in this way, he went to the latter's hut.

"Look, your husband is coming," said the older sister. She put food on the table. Since Tatutunpa was in the habit of eating very little, only a few beans and a small bowl of maize beer, she did not serve any more. When Aguaratunpa came, he ate up everything and demanded more. When he had eaten this, he demanded still more. The girl asked herself whether this could really be her husband who was eating so much, but of course it could not be anyone else.

In the evening Aguaratunpa asked his wife to delouse him. She sat down and looked for lice on the head of Aguaratunpa. While she was looking, Aguaratunpa fell asleep. She saw that the skin on his head was sewed together, and realized that he had killed her husband and skinned him. She told her sister about this and they killed Aguaratunpa with a club.

/286 cont./

539
[115]

The Man Who Burned Up Añatunpa.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Tambéi on the Rio Grande.

When people gathered honey, Añatunpa (1) would find

1. It is not said here which añatunpa is meant.

them and devour them.

Once there was a man who gathered honey. Then Añatunpa came and asked what he was going. "I am gathering honey," said the man. "Continue," said Añatunpa. When the man had gathered enough, he killed him and tossed him to Dyéri, who devoured him and even licked up the blood. Añatunpa killed many people in this fashion.

A man had gone out to gather honey. The /287/ toucan (1)

1. Rhamphastus.

said to him: "If Añatunpa comes, ask him to carry you to his house and kill you there."

While the man was gathering honey, Añatunpa came. "What do you want?" asked the man.

"I want to eat you up," said Añatunpa.

"Do not do that here, but carry me to your house instead and eat me there," said the man. Añatunpa now took the man on his neck and carried him to his house.

"Break off branches and build a fire on Añatunpa's neck," said the toucan. When Añatunpa went through the thick /Fig. 130 appears here/ brush, the man broke off twigs and branches and carefully lighted a fire on Añatunpa's neck.

"If you come to a low branch, cling to it!" said the toucan to the man. This he did. Soon Añatunpa noticed that there was burning on his neck and he started to run. The fire grew. His hair caught fire, and soon Añatunpa burned up completely and died.

/287 cont./

The Man Who Killed Añamupa.

539 [11 5]

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Tembiki on the Rio Grande.

Añamupa devoured all the human beings that he could catch. A man came along who was carrying wood to Añamupa's cave. "Come, let's play!" said Añamupa.

/288/ "What kind of a game?" said the man.

"You shall give me a blow on the forehead with an ax, and if I do not die, I shall hit you," said Añamupa.

Añamupa stood up straight, offered his forehead to the man, and the latter hit him directly in the middle of it. Since Añamupa's forehead was as hard as iron, this did not affect him. Añamupa now gave the man a blow on the forehead, killed him, and tossed

291 177 531 301

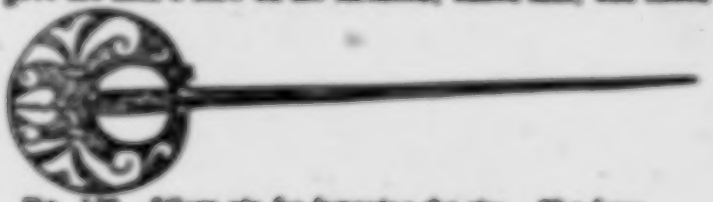


Fig. 138. Silver pin for fastening the tiri. The farm Indian, the ornamentation Spanish. Chiriguano. Pasapiti, 1/3.

539 him to Dyôri, who devoured him.

On another occasion another man came to Añamupa's cave. Añamupa proposed the same game to him. Then a fly, "Mbéru," called to him not to hit him on the forehead, but in the nape of the neck. When Añamupa, with eyes closed, stood up to receive the blow, the man went behind him, struck him in the nape of the neck, and Añamupa fell down dead. Dyôri asked him how he was able to kill Añamupa. The man told him what Mbéru had said.

"Very good," said Dyôri.

/288 cont./

539 How Bisose Fetched Riches out of the Mountain.

[115] Told by the Chané Indian Batirayu.

A Chané, Bisose, wanted to fish in a deep pool. At first he caught many small fish. Suddenly he caught such a large fish that he was unable to pull it up. First he walked around the pool, because he was afraid to go in. Finally he stepped cautiously into the water, following the line with his hand. When he reached the deep water, he felt someone take hold of his leg and pull him into the depths. It was the big snake "Boyhuatu." It led Bisose around in the mountains and to Los Campos del Guanaco. Finally it led him through a narrow pass into the mountain. There it gave him blue stones and silver. Bisose loaded himself with them. When he tried to get out of the pass, it was so narrow that /289/ he could take only a little along. That is why these stones and silver things are so rare. Boyhuatu then led him back to the pool. He came out at the same place where he had gone into the water.

In this legend blue stones are mentioned among the treasures that Bisose brought out of the depths. These Indians [301] greatly treasure pierced turquoise and chrysocolla as beads for necklaces.

The Fox and the Jaguar.

[115] Told by the Chané chief Bóyra.

The fox met the jaguar in his field. The latter was busy sowing.

"Do you want me to help you, Uncle?" said the fox.

"Yes, Nephew. I want to get the digging sticks," said the jaguar.

"I will do that," said the fox and went to the hut of the jaguar.

Chane SF8

539

/289 cont./

When he arrived there, he said to the wife of the jaguar: "I am ashamed to tell you my request."

"Why?" she said.

"Well," said the fox, "the jaguar sent me here to sleep with you and your two daughters." The wife of the jaguar did not believe that.

"Yes, it is true," said the fox. "You shall hear what he says," and then he called: "Shall I take them all?"

"All," the jaguar called in response.

The fox then slept first with the wife of the jaguar and then with the elder daughter and then the younger one. She was still a virgin, and he hurt her (1). Then the fox went

1. Modified.

away. He ran in the grass so that his tracks would not be visible. He leaped onto a long tree trunk. Finally /290/ he came to a pool. He dived under and came out again on the other side. He ran as fast as he could until he came to a tree with a thorny trunk. He crawled up it and lay down to sleep. "Here I shall lie and dream about the wife and the daughters of the jaguar with whom I slept," said the fox. He lay down and went to sleep. /Fig. 131 appears here./

When the jaguar realized that the fox was not coming back with the digging sticks, he thought: "I must see what has become of the fox. That fox is certainly a swindler."

When the jaguar arrived home, his wife said to him: "How can you be so cruel and send the fox to sleep with us?"

Angrily the jaguar set out to hunt for the fox. He followed his tracks and came to the pool where the tracks of the fox came to an end. He looked for him everywhere. Finally he realized that the fox had dived into the pool. The jaguar then dived under too and found the tracks of the fox on the other side. He followed them and came to the tree. He hunted all around the tree for the continuation of the tracks, but could not find them. Then he looked up and saw the fox, who was sleeping. He climbed up, carefully broke off a twig, and tickled the fox

Ce
539

/290 cont./

in the nostrils. The fox sneezed, wiped his nose, and said: "Can the mosquitoes not leave me in peace just when I am dreaming about the jaguar's wife and daughters with whom I slept!"

/291/ Now the jaguar tickled him a little more strongly, and the fox woke up. The jaguar prepared to seize him.

The fox hunched himself up, and when the jaguar hesitated before seizing him, he jumped to the ground with one bound and started running as fast as he could. The jaguar ran after him. Finally the fox grew tired, however, and the jaguar caught him and swallowed him. The fox came to life again in the stomach of the jaguar. The latter threw him up. The jaguar devoured the fox again, but again the latter came to life in his stomach and was thrown up again. Once more the jaguar devoured the fox, who again came to life, etc.

C
[301]
[531]

Ce
[171]

This legend is widespread. In somewhat different form I heard it told in Carmen in Mojos.

Fig.131. Silver chest-ornament. Chiriguano, Caipipendi. Worn by men.

C
539
[115]

When the Turtle "Carumbe" Killed the Jaguar.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási.

Once there was a great drinking bout. Aguaratunpa, Carumbe, and "Taturapua" (the ball armadillo) were there. The little son of the turtle was crying. When they asked him why he was crying, he said he wanted to have the claws of the jaguar to play with. The wife of the turtle told her husband he should fetch the claws of the jaguar so that the little one could play with them.

/291 cont./

539 The turtle set out and came to a "samuo" trunk with large, sharp thorns. He stool there and waited for the jaguar. In the distance he could hear his howling. The jaguar came closer, still howling, and found the turtle at the foot of the tree.

"What are you doing here?" said the jaguar.

"I am playing," said the turtle.

"What are you playing?" said the jaguar.

"I climb up the samuo and then I roll down," said the turtle.

"Let me see," said the jaguar, who had a desire to devour the turtle.

/292/ The latter climbed the trunk up to the crown and rolled down without injuring itself. This amused the jaguar, and the turtle had to climb up again. Once more it rolled down without injuring itself. The jaguar wanted to try it too. He climbed up and rolled down, but tore open his entrails on the thorns and died.

The turtle took home the claws of the jaguar as playthings for his little son.

The Love Story of the Hummingbird.

[115] Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási.

There were two girls who heard Chinu (hummingbird) play the flute. He played so beautifully that one of the girls said: "I want him as my husband." She went to the hummingbird and slept with him.

"Let us go into my house," said the hummingbird. When they got there, it was so small that there was no room for the girl. She therefore went back to her village.

In the evening the hummingbird came to the edge of the village and played the flute, in order to lure her. The girl listened and said: "It is the hummingbird who is playing." But she did not go back to him. Every evening the hummingbird

/292 cont./

539 came to the edge of the village and played his most beautiful airs, but the girl did not want to go with one who had such a little hut.

When the Tick, Yatéu, Ran a Race with the Ostrich, Yándu.

The tick and the ostrich wanted to put on a race to see who could run better. When they started running, the tick hopped on the ostrich and dug itself into the corner of its eye.

When the ostrich had run a short distance, it glanced sideways to see whether the tick was coming along. Since it was in the corner of its eye, it saw it at one side.

/293/ The ostrich hurried on. When it had run a stretch, it again glanced to one side and saw that the tick was still at its side.

The ostrich ran with might and main. When it was quite close to the goal, the tick hopped out of the corner of its eye and arrived there first.

The tick had won the race.

539 These little animal stories have a very widespread dis-
171 tribution. Thus, we find the story of the turtle and the jaguar almost unchanged in Santarem, at the confluence of the Rio Tapajo and the Amazon River (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Fredr. Hartt: Tortoise Myths. Rio de Janeiro, 1875.

Similar stories about foot races are also known from the coast of Brazil (1) /see footnote 1 above/. These last are found among us too, as is well known.

It has been proved (2), as was mentioned, that certain

2. Ehrenreich: loc. cit.

legends from North America and Asia have traveled as far as

c /293 cont./
539 South America. Since, however, this is not the proper place
171 for comparative studies with regard to the legends collected by me, I have contented myself with only presenting the material.

c
539 As we have seen, we learn to understand some of the religious conceptions of the Indians from the legends. They are also interesting from the viewpoint that a whole assortment of little features from the life of the Indians is reproduced. They give us a glimpse into their imaginative life.

c
539 Only the content of the legends collected by me, not
114 the form, is usable as research material. I hope that the
126 native South American ethnographers in particular will add to the collection made by me and also write down the legends in the original languages. In order to be able to do this, however, a complete /294/ mastery of them will be necessary. The best method would be to let the Indians tell these legends into a phonograph.

Ee
Ee
824

The Indians and Natural Phenomena.

Ee
[773] In one of the Chané legends the story is told of how Yahuéte, the two-headed jaguar, was on the point of de-
Ee
[776] vouring the moon. Maringay called Yahuéte "Yahuaróhui." These Indians explain eclipses of the sun and moon by saying
Ee
[171] that the sun and moon are attacked by Yahuéte. The Choroti, too, as has been mentioned, speak of a predatory animal that
[776] attacks the sun and the moon.

If one wanders with an Indian through forest and meadow on a starlit night, the starry sky is his compass and his watch. He will point to Orion or some other constellation and show how much farther it will move before one arrives.

Ee
824 He does not give names to many constellations, but he knows them all. The Chané call the part of the Milky Way nearest the Southern Cross "yándurape," that is, ostrich-way; the Southern Cross, along with a few adjacent stars, is

Ce 821 /294 cont./
"yánduinyaka," the head of the ostrich; the two largest stars in Centaurus are "yánduipoy," necklace of the ostrich; Venus is called "coemilla," morning; Orion with the sword "húirayúasa" (birds meet). Another constellation is "huázupucu," roebuck horn; another, "borévi," tapir. They call the Pleiades "ychu," but they do not know the meaning of the name, and this is the most important constellation of all.

Ce 821 If one sits with the Indians in their huts, they can indicate the position of the most important constellations in the sky without seeing them. They know their position at all times of the year.

Ce 821 805 Ce [241] The starry sky is not only the watch and the compass of the Indians. It is also their calendar. In this the Pleiades play an especially important part here, as among other Indians. When they first /295/ become visible on the horizon at dawn, the proper time has come for the sowing of maize. The fact that this relatively unimportant constellation plays such an important role in the astronomy of the Indians has given rise to fantastic speculations about Babylonian influence.

Ce 821 If one asks Indians about the size of the stars and their distance from us, they stand there perplexed and prefer not to answer at all. They understand, however, that they must be far away.

C 821 773 The stars do not play an important role in the legends. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, however, said there was once a brother who was playing with his little sister. They tried to catch each other, they sang and jumped. Now they are sitting in the firmament as two stars.

Two clusters of stars in the southern part of the southern firmament are the ashes of an old man and an old woman, a Chiriguano once told me. It was an evening in August.

Ce [821] [773] In legends, the sun is a man and the moon a woman. The Chané children stole fire from an old man, the sun, and the two-headed Yahuéte hid under the tiru of the moon-woman when he was being pursued by the son of the armadillo-god.

C /295 cont./
821 The waxing and waning of the moon, according to Maringay's explanation, was caused by the fact that a larger or smaller piece of it is put in the firmament.

C The sun rises over the water and then shines for us during
821 the day. In the evening it dips into the water again, and at
177 night it shines for the other human beings on the other side of the earth. This was Maringay's idea of the course of the sun. I believe, however, that he learned this from the whites.

Ee When a meteor, "baeréndi," falls, it means the death of
821 a chief. About a shooting star, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti said:
784 "He is going to sleep with his girl." Maringay was more
[763] realistic in his explanation. "The star lets something fall," said the old man.

Ee /296/ When it thunders, Chiquéritunpa is walking about.
821 The medicine men, "ipáye," are able to make rain. When
[789] the swallow, "máchurupimpi," flies low, it will rain, the
[825] Indians say. Another bird, "chóncho," announces rain. If
[784] one is going traveling, one should not put a jug in water, but
[484] dip up the water with a calabash; otherwise it will rain. In a
Ce myth about the destruction of the world related to me by the
821 Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, the world is destroyed by water.
773 The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me how the world was
Ce destroyed by a storm. Otherwise the wind plays an unimportant
821 role in the myths. If one places a warmed jug in flowing
[784] water, there will be a storm, say the Chané on the Rio
[825] Parapiti. The rainbow, "yii," is a snake.

6: Nordenskiöld--147 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/297/

Chapter Eighteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

The Catholic Missions among the Chiriguano

Gradually all the Indians are bound to come under the influence of the whites. This is unavoidable. Day by day the areas in which they still live independently are diminishing. As soon as their territories have been conquered, they will be forced, in one way or another, to work for the whites and to become completely dependent on them. As a rule, they are also badly treated, exploited, and morally ruined.

In this unfortunate situation it is therefore fortunate that there have been and are self-sacrificing human beings who have done something and are willing to do something to help the Indians. These persons are the missionaries. It cannot be denied that they have tried and succeeded in doing important civilizing work among them. Enthusiasm and a willingness for self-sacrifice are required in order to become a missionary. No one could, for his own pleasure, spend his whole life in regions where the solitude must be terrible in the long run and where life offers no diversions or enjoyments.

For the missionary, the work of religious conversion is the most important thing. He wants to save souls from hell, "tatahuasurenda" (1). Fortunately, the Catholic missionaries

1. Tatahuasurenda = where the big fire is. Guarani word invented by the missionaries.

are wise enough to /298/ think a little about this life and to strive for improvement in the material conditions of life of the Indians.

Ee /298 cont./

177 797 The Indian, who loves an independent life, but is forced into the dance of civilization, does not want to become a mission child, but chooses this as the lesser evil. In the mission he is under guardians, but not under oppressors.

Ce 797 When my friend, the Chané Indian Batirayu, of whom I have spoken several times here, asked me whether it would not be best to ask the missionaries to come to the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, he thought of them as rescuers from the oppression of the white masters.

C 797 When I asked the Chiriguano chief Maringay whether he did not want missionaries to come to his village, the old man became quite indignant and said peevishly: "I have not done anything bad."

Ee 797 177 The greatest importance of the missionaries lies in the fact that they try to protect the Indians from the oppression and the vices of the whites. I have been pleased to see how the missionaries forbid liquor, the accursed liquor, in the mission stations.

Nevertheless, I do not believe in the future of the missions. It seems to me they are condemned to oblivion. To the extent that the Indians are given better treatment by the other whites and receive proper compensation for their work, they will leave the missions and forsake the guardianship of the Franciscan monks.

The missionaries, however, will always have the honor of having tried, at least to some extent, to protect the Indians from the other Christians. They have also earned honor for the studies they have made of the language, manners, and customs of the Indians.

Fear of the Rubber Regions

C 648 466 167 In a previous chapter I spoke of the migration of the Indians to Argentina. In the /299/ northernmost territory of the Chiriguano Indians another emigration is taking place. It differs from the first, among other things, by the fact that it is not voluntary. It concerns the rubber regions in northeastern

c
648
466
[167]
[464]

/299 cont./

Bolivia. Every Indian who goes to the Argentine sugar factories knows that, if there is no disaster, he will return. No one holds him back by force. From the rubber regions, on the other hand, no one ever returns.

Is it true, they say, that there is a giant there who devours human beings? Is it true that people /300/ are ground

Ce
142
291
302
415
854
531

Fig. 132. Chané children. Rio Parapiti.

c
648
466

up into rubber? Is it true that the meat that comes in tin cans is from human beings? These are questions which the Indians asked me.

The Chiriguano Indians, especially from the Caipipendi valley, were lured in a shameless manner to the rubber regions in northern

C

/300 cont./

648 466 Bolivia, where they were sold as laborers. Under the guard of armed men, they were brought down the Rio Mamoré by way of Quatro-Ojos.

I shall have a better opportunity, however, to discuss the relations of the Indians to the rubber industry in the book in which I shall report on the studies which I made in the rubber regions themselves and among the Indians located near them (1).

C [113]

1. Appeared in Swedish under the title Indianer och hvita i nordöstra Bolivia, Stockholm, 1911.

I shall therefore not go into this question in greater detail here.

E Ec 648 466 465

Compulsory Service for the Whites

The Chiriguano and Chané who work as servants in their own country for the immigrant white race are extraordinarily poorly paid. This is especially true in the remote regions where the higher prices for labor in the Argentine sugar factories, as the result of competition, have not been able to react on wages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti, for example, are seldom paid more than 20 centavos (not quite 35 pfennigs) per day with board. The women earn about half as much. The Indians are paid their wages partly in spirits and sugar, partly in cloth and tools. The cloth is so poor that a shirt made from such material does not last much longer than the time required to earn it. As a result of this system, the Chané and Chiriguano, like their fellow-tribesmen in the rubber regions in northeastern Bolivia, sink into debt slavery.

/301/ It is to be hoped that the large projects initiated by the engineer Herrmann in San Franzisko on the Rio Pilcomayo will improve the Indian wage situation generally. If he will pay better than others, all the Indians will come to him, and the other employers will have to increase their wages.

Ee 648 [466]

/301 cont./

Thus, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this

C 415 531

Fig. 133. Clay vessel. 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

Ee 648

way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

Ee 648 466 465 167 425

/302/ The uncertainty and the oppressive wage conditions under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but forever.

Ee 648 273 177

If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference between drinking maize beer and liquor.

Ee 648 273 177

/302 cont./

An Indian who has become intoxicated on native beverages is never as eager for quarrels and brawls as one who has tasted the infernal soup of the whites. Besides the fact that liquor damages the moral life and health of the Indians, it ruins them completely. I have seen with my own eyes how an Indian can give away his best cow for a keg of spirits.

Distilling for private consumption is still permitted in Bolivia. It should be forbidden, and likewise that anyone may sell alcohol any place he wishes.

Ee 648 177

The Bolivian military law that forces the Indian to perform military duty is quite unreasonable. It is very seldom enforced, to be sure, but when it is, and when the authorities come to get a young man for military service, he himself and all the other Indians of the region along with him are beside themselves with fright. One cannot demand that the Indians take part in the defense of the fatherland before they have the same rights as other citizens and know what their fatherland is.

It is unjust to demand that they should help to defend Bolivia, to defend the whites, who, according to their ideas, have stolen their land from them. The Chiriguano and Chané likewise love their country, but their fatherland is only the valleys and forests in which their fathers made clearings and their mothers painted clay vessels for the festivals.

Ee [484]

During the period of development which Bolivia is now experiencing, /303/ it is important to make use of Indian labor even here in the land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians.

In spite of their unique culture, I have no great hopes for the future of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians. They will, however, become incorporated as an important element of the mestizo race, which in the future will be the sole rulers of the xerophytic forests of the Parapiti valley and the last spurs of the Andes toward El Gran Chaco.

Gradually they will probably forget their legends about Tatutunpa and Aguaratunpa and the other gods.

/303 cont./

000 The descendants of Maringay, Vocapoy, and the others will then perhaps study what has been written about their forefathers in this book, which is printed in a country where maize does not ripen and palms grow only under glass. They will perhaps fly to the north in order to see the ornaments with which the old people were adorned and the beautifully painted drinking vessels in which their ancestresses served maize beer at the festivals. /Ch. 19-20 and the Conclusion, pp. 304-330, are omitted in the translation. In the original work, the List of Illustrations, pp. 331-335, which is translated, is followed by an Alphabetical Index, pp. 336-343, which is not included in the translation, but appears with the foreign text. The errata listed on p. 343 have been corrected in the text./

/331/ List of Illustrations

/It is to be noted in connection with the captions where the author gives the size of an illustration relative to the original object that this refers to the illustration as shown in the original text. The reproductions of the illustrations for this translation are somewhat smaller./

Page

Plates on separate pages:

/Plates 1-15 are omitted in the translation./

16. Caraguata 29
17. Palm forest not far from the Rio Pilcomayo . . 46
18. Chané woman with child 73
19. The wife of the Chané chief Vocapoy is painting a clay vessel 93
20. Storyteller. Chané 110

/331 cont./

000

Figures in the Text:

/Figs. 1-73, listed on pages 331-333, are omitted in the translation./

Page

/333/

74. Vocapoy's village on the Rio Itiyuro 2
75. Chané Indian 3
76. Chané Indian 4
77. Clay vessel 11
78. Clay vessel 12
79. Old Chiriguano with large lip-plug 17
80. Pipe 22
81. Festive attire for men 22
82. Clay vessel 24
83. Hearth for boiling maize-beer 26
84. Maize granary 27
85. Seat 30
86. Hook for hanging things 30
87. Chané woman 31
88. Tobacco pipe 32
89. Spade handle 32
90. Fishing with calabash 38
91. Net 40
92. Steaming apparatus 41
93. Rule for the game of "daro" 43
94. Chané boys playing chunquanti 44

/334/

95. Little sticks for playing tshúcareta 45
96. Máma is set out 47
97. The sticks are thrown 48
98. The players look to see how the sticks have fallen 49
99. Split ball for the tocoróre game 50
100. Playing stick 50
101. Racket 50
102. Maize-cob arrow 51

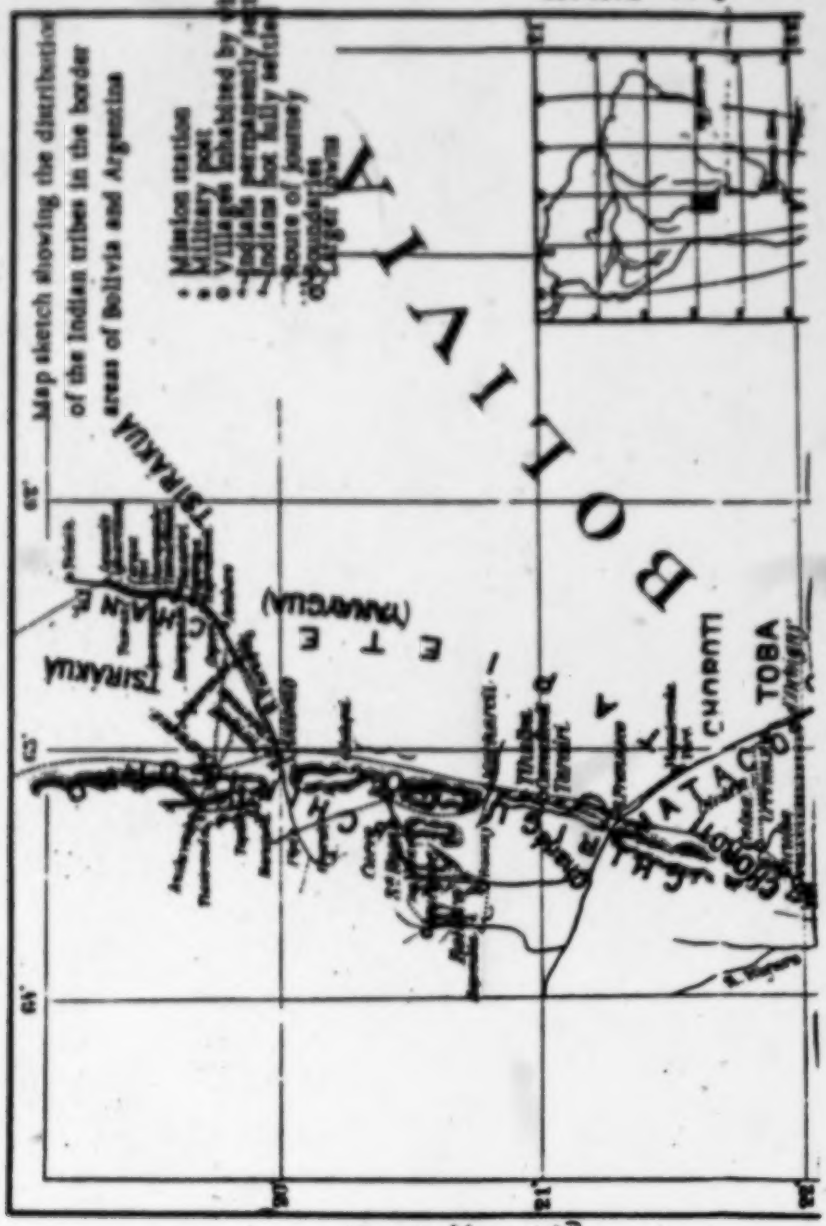
/334 cont./

	Page
103. Little stick for the huirahuahua game	51
104. Toys	53
105. Wax dolls	54
106. Chané woman	55
107. Facial painting	56
108. Woman's tattooed arm	57
109. Combs	58
110. Chané boy	62
111. The Chiriguano chief Mandepora	66
112. Old woman	67
113. Chiriguano grave	71
114. Young Chané woman exposes the upper body to be photographed	79
115. Calabash	83
116. Chané girls pound maize in a mortar	86
117. Cooking maize-beer	88
118. Soup spatulas	90
119. Dance mask	91
120. Serére pipe	94
121. Clay vessel	95
122. Firing clay vessels	96
123. Loom	98
124. Sieve	99
125. Basket	99
126. Decorated calabash bowl	100
127. Clay vessel	115
128. Calabash bowl	130
129. Clay vessel	132
130. Silver pin	138
131. Silver chest-ornament	141
132. Chané children	149
133. Clay vessel	151

/Figs. 134-142, listed on pp. 334-335, are omitted in the translation./

6: Nordenskiöld--156 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF/0
Matace II 7
Chorotí SK6
Chana SF8

C
Ce
102
103
131
133
361
M
Cl
102
131
133



[End Map,(A)]

ARGENTINA
CHOROTI
TOBA
MATACO
ASHLUSLAY
PILAGA
CHAMACOCO
CHIRIGUANO
CHANE
GUARANI
CHIQUITO
CHACO
S. Pedro
S. Francisco
S. Vermejo
S. Bermejo
S. Pilcomayo
S. Paraguay
S. Paraguay
S. Pilcomayo
S. Bermejo
S. Vermejo
S. Pedro
S. Francisco

INDIANERLEBEN

[p. i]

[p. ii is blank]

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

[Facing p. iii]

Tafel 1. Der Verfasser mit Ashluslayfreunden.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

INDIANERLEBEN

EL GRAN CHACO
(SÜDAMERIKA)

VON

ERLAND NORDENSKIÖLD

[piii]

LEIPZIG 1912 / ALBERT BONNIER

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

EINZIGE AUTORISIERTE ÜBERSETZUNG
AUS DEM SCHWEDISCHEN
VON
CARL AUERBACH

C 71.70

N

[p.iv]

Roßberg'sche Buchdruckerei, Leipzig.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

[p. V]

Inhaltsverzeichnis.

Seite

Einleitung 1

Erstes Kapitel:
Reise nach dem Arbeitsfeld 3
Der Calilegua 11

Zweites Kapitel:
Unter den Indianern am Rio Pilcomayo 15

Drittes Kapitel:
Unter den Indianern am Rio Pilcomayo (Fortsetzung) . 32
Gemeinwesen 32
Das Indianerhaus 39

Viertes Kapitel:
Unter den Indianern am Rio Pilcomayo (Fortsetzung) . 44
Der Kampf ums Dasein 44
Wie man bei den Ashluslays und Chorotis ißt . . . 58

Fünftes Kapitel:
Unter den Indianern am Rio Pilcomayo (Fortsetzung) . 63
Indianerkinder 63
Männer und Frauen 74
Arbeitsverteilung zwischen Männern und Frauen . . 94

Sechstes Kapitel:
Unter den Indianern am Rio Pilcomayo (Fortsetzung) . 96
Trinkgelage 96
Das Tabakrauchen 101
Medizinmänner, religiöse Vorstellungen 103
Vom Matacoindianer Na-yás erzählte Sagen:
Der Raub des Feuers 110
Die Frau, die sich mit den Hunden verheiratet hat 111
Die große Feuersbrunst 111
Der Maisraub 112
Der Sohn des Chuña 112
Als die Matacos und die Christen die Welt teilten 113
Der Fuchs und der Stier 113

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Seite

Siebentes Kapitel:
Unter den Indianern am Rio Pilcomayo (Fortsetzung) . 116
Kunst und Industrie 116
Die Indianer als Zeichner 127

Achtes Kapitel:
Unter den Indianern am Rio Pilcomayo (Fortsetzung) . 129
Krieg und Frieden 129
Handel 137
Besuch in fremden Dörfern 141
Das Verhältnis zu den Weißen 142

Neuntes Kapitel:
Das Land der Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer 148

Zehntes Kapitel:
Vom Lande der Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer . . . 163
Indianer als Geographen 163
Der Indianer als Historiker 167

Elftes Kapitel:
Vom Lande der Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer . . . 173
Alltagsleben in den Chané- und Chiriguanohütten . 173
Arbeitsteilung zwischen den Geschlechtern 180
Tabelle, welche die Arbeitsteilung zwischen Männern und Frauen bei den Chanés und Chiriguanos ausweist 180
Nahrungszweige 181
Zubereitung der Speisen 188
Spiele 190
Das Leben der Indianerkinder 193
Alltagskleidung 200
Reinlichkeit 203

Zwölftes Kapitel:
Aus dem Leben der Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer (Fortsetzung) 206
Vom Mutterleib bis zum Grabe 206

Dreizehntes Kapitel:
Aus dem Lande der Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer (Fortsetzung) 221
Häßliche Worte, Homosexualität, Selbstmord, Schamgefühl u. a. 221

Vierzehntes Kapitel:
Aus dem Leben der Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer (Fortsetzung) 228
Häuptlinge und Gesetze 228

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Seite

Fünfzehntes Kapitel:
Trinkgelage bei den Chanés und Chiriguanos 234
Sechzehntes Kapitel:
Aus dem Leben der Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer (Fortsetzung). 242
Kunst und Industrie 242
Siebzehntes Kapitel:
Aus dem Leben der Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer (Fortsetzung). 250
Sage und Religion. 250
1. Der Weltuntergang und der Raub des Feuers 251
2. Der Weltuntergang und der Raub des Feuers 253
Besuche in Aguararenta (dem Dorfe der Füchse) 255
Das Mädchen, das seinem Mann nach Aguararenta folgte 255
Geister- und Tiersagen 257
Die Erschaffung der Welt, wie der Fuchsgott, Agaratunpa, den Algarrobobaum fand, und wie er den weißen Kondor, Ururuti, fing 260
Tatutunpas und Aguaratunpas Verheiratung . . 264
Die Entstehung der Arbeit 269
Wie Aguaratunpa seinen Bruder nach dem Himmelsgewölbe schickte 270
Über den Sohn von Tatutunpa, und wie er seine Mutter gerettet hat 271
Der Mann, der sich mit der Tochter des Donnergottes, Chiqueritunpa, verheiratete 277
„Choihuihuis" Frauenraub 283
Wie Aguaratunpa Tatutunpa tötete und dann selbst getötet wurde 285
Der Mann, der Añatunpa verbrannte 286
Der Mann, der Añatunpa tötete 287
Wie Bisose Reichtümer aus dem Berge holte . . 288
Der Fuchs und der Jaguar 289
Als die Schildkröte „Carumbe" den Jaguar tötete 291
Die Liebessage des Kolibris 292
Als die Zecke, Yatéu, mit dem Strauß, Yándu, um die Wette lief 292
Die Indianer und die Naturerscheinungen 294
Achtzehntes Kapitel:
Aus dem Leben der Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer (Fortsetzung). 297
Die katholischen Missionen unter den Chiriguanos . 297

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Seite
Die Furcht vor den Gummigegenden 298
Frondienste für die Weißen 300
Neunzehntes Kapitel:
Die Tapieteindianer 304
Zu diesen Indianern 304
Kultur und Sprache der Tapieteindianer 310
Tapietesagen:
Wie die Papageien den Tapietes Mais verschaffen 312
Wie die Tapietes das Schaf bekamen. 313
Der Raub des Feuers 313
Das Entstehen der Zahnschmerzen 314
Die Taubstummen der Tapietes 315
Zwanzigstes Kapitel:
Die Tsirakuaindianer 322
Schlußwort 329

[p. 148]

[pp. 1-147 Not processed]

Neuntes Kapitel.

Das Land der Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer.

Wie ich ein Bild des Lebens der Choroti- und Ashluslayindianer zu geben versucht habe, will ich auch die Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer und meine verschiedenen Besuche bei ihnen zu schildern versuchen. Diese Indianer stehen bedeutend höher als die „Wilden" des Chaco. Sie leben zum allergrößten Teil in Abhängigkeit von den Weißen, und ihre alte eigenartige Kultur verschwindet immer mehr.

Die Chiriguanos sind auch jetzt zu einem ganz bedeutenden Teil Christen. Seit über 300 Jahren haben zuerst die Jesuiten und dann die Franziskaner sie mit wechselndem Erfolg zu dem alleinseligmachenden christlichen Glauben zu bekehren versucht. Bei den Chiriguanos befinden sich auch jetzt noch mehrere Missionsstationen, bei den Chanés dagegen keine.

In den Chanés und Chiriguanos lernen wir Menschen mit einer höheren Kultur kennen, Menschen, die von den Indianern, von denen wir in den vorigen Kapiteln gelesen haben, vollständig verschieden sind. Vergleiche zwischen den beiden Kulturtypen, die wir im Chaco antreffen, sind natürlich von Interesse.

Was den Leser vielleicht am meisten wundert, ist der Umstand, daß beide primitive Kulturen nebeneinander bestehen können und sicher jahrhundertelang bestanden haben, ohne ineinander zu verschmelzen, ja ohne voneinander zu lernen, und dies, obschon hier keine natürlichen Grenzen vorhanden sind.

Im Mai 1908 besuchte ich, wie gesagt, den Chanéhäuptling Vocapoy am Rio Itiyuro in Argentinien nahe der boli-

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

vianischen Grenze. Dies ist einer der Flüsse, der vergebens den Wildnissen des Chaco zu entrinnen sucht. Er entspringt den äußersten, urwaldbestandenen Quellen der Anden und verschwindet in den Trockenwäldern des Chaco.

Vocapoy lag im Streit mit den Weißen, die sein Land usurpiert hatten und seine Auffassung, daß sie nur seine Pächter seien, nicht gelten lassen wollten. Er bat mich um

Abb. 74. Vocapoys Dorf am Rio Itiyuro.

Rat, wie er die Weißen dazu bewegen könne, das Recht der Indianer an das Land anzuerkennen. Ich riet ihm, sich an den großen Häuptling der Weißen, den Präsident der Republik, zu wenden, und nahm Stellung als Feldmesser der Indianer an. Ich streifte mit den Indianern durch ihr Gebiet und zeichnete eine kleine Skizze, die Vocapoy mit zum Präsidenten nehmen sollte. Die Indianer hießen meine Skizze nicht gut, sondern zeichneten selbst eine Karte von dem Lande.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Leider weiß ich nicht, ob Vocapoy die lange Reise nach dem Dorfe des großen Häuptlings vorgenommen hat, ich

Abb. 75. Chanéindianer. Rio Itiyuro.

erwarb mir aber durch die Feldmessung das Vertrauen der Indianer.

Als ich Ende Juli 1908 die Chorotis und Ashluslays verließ, begab ich mich über Yacuiba nach San Francisco am

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Rio Pilcomayo. San Francisco war eine Missionsstation, die die Franziskaner unter den Chiriguanos gehabt hatten, die

Abb. 76. Chanéindianer. Rio Papapiti.

aber jetzt eingezogen ist. Nicht weit davon wohnen die Tapieteindianer, bei denen ich im August 1908 eine Woche zubrachte.

In Tihulpa eröffnete ich einige Tage lang ein richtiges

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

kleines Materialwarengeschäft. Indianer und Indianerinnen, besonders die letzteren, drängten sich um den Ladentisch. Es war ein eigentümlicher Laden. Kam eine Indianerin mit Geld dorthin, um zu kaufen, wurde sie vom Ladendiener höflich abgewiesen, kam sie dagegen mit einem hübschen alten Tongefäß, so wurde sie die glückliche Besitzerin von Korallen, feuerroten Bändern, Ohrringen mit wirklichen „Diamanten", Ringen mit „Saphiren" oder von anderem Wackeren, womit sie dann beim nächsten Trinkgelage prahlen konnte.

In diesen Missionsstationen befinden sich immer zwei Dörfer, eins für die Heiden, eins für die Christen. Ich für meine Person fühlte mich immer in dem ersteren am wohlsten, und dies nicht allein deswegen, weil dort mehr hübsche, alte Gegenstände zu sammeln waren, sondern auch, weil man dort in seinem Benehmen freundlicher, taktvoller und feiner war. Die Missionskinder waren zudringlich und frech.

Bei Machareti ist eine große Talmulde, in welcher ein kleiner Bach fließt, der nach einem heftigen tropischen Regen wahrscheinlich zu einem brausenden Fluß anschwillt und sich in den Wildnissen des Chaco verliert. Ganz nahe der Mission verläßt er die hübsch zerschnittenen Berge, wo überall in den Rissen der Klippen kleine Petroleumquellen hervorsickern. Er fließt dann durch eine Hügellandschaft, die allmählich in das gewaltige Flachgebiet des Chaco übergeht. Die Vegetation in diesen Gegenden ist keine sehr üppige. Der Wald, wenn solcher vorhanden ist, ist dünn, niedrig, strauchig und einförmig. Die Felder scheinen reiche Ernten zu geben, die Dürre selten zu groß zu sein. Oft werden diese Gegenden von gewaltigen Heuschreckenschwärmen verheert. Wie große, rotbraune Wolken habe ich diese schädlichen Tiere die Wälder bedecken gesehen.

Von Machareti gingen wir über Itatiqui, einem ganz interessanten Chiriguanodorf in einer wasserarmen Gegend, nach dem Rio Parapiti.

Dieser kommt von Pomabamba und Sauzes, von den

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Gebirgen der Quichuaindianer. Wenn er diese verläßt, ist er in der Regenzeit ein brausender, seine Ufer überschwemmender Strom. In der Trockenzeit führt er wenig Wasser. Auch der Rio Parapiti endet im Chaco. Während der Regenzeit verliert er sich in den Morästen, in der Trockenzeit verschwindet er in dem feinen Sand. Wenn der Rio Parapiti auf den Karten als südlichster Nebenfluß des Amazonenstromes stolziert, so ist dies also nur eine leere Prahlerei von ihm. Die Wälder längs des Rio Parapiti bestehen meistens aus Büschen und niedrigen, feinblättrigen Bäumen, Caraguatá und Kakteen.

In der Trockenzeit häuft der Wind große Dünen längs der Ufer des Flusses auf. Nachdem er die Berge verlassen hat, erhält er keinen Nebenarm. Der Rio Parapiti ist sehr breit, aber niemals tief. Während der trockensten Zeit ist sein Bett in eine Sandwüste verwandelt, wo der Wind mit dem feinen Flußsand spielt. Stürmt es, so wird der Sand über den Flußboden gepeitscht. Will man an einem solchen Tag herüber, so macht man sich vielleicht die Füße nicht naß, muß aber seine Augen hüten.

Der Rio Parapiti ist fischreich, die Fische sind aber winzig klein. Die Ufer sind recht fruchtbar, da sie aber während der Regenzeit überschwemmt werden, gehen die Ernten leicht verloren. In der Trockenzeit wird oft alles durch die brennende Dürre verzehrt. Auch die Heuschrecken hausieren in diesen Gegenden und hinterlassen in ihren eigenen unappetitlichen Körpern einen schlechten Ersatz für das, was sie zerstört haben.

Am Rio Parapiti wohnen ganz hoch oben am Gebirge die Quichuaindianer, dann kommen die Chiriguanos, hierauf nahe dem Flusse die Tapietes, auch Yanayguas genannt, danach die Chanés und zuletzt in den unbekannten Wildnissen die Tsirakuaindianer.

Mein erster Besuch am Rio Parapiti galt dem Padre Carmelo, der dort eine kleine Missionsstation unter den Chiriguanos hatte. Diesen Mönch habe ich sehr lieb ge-

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

wonnen, er hatte eine so vertraueneinflößende Freundlichkeit. Er gehört zu den Missionaren, die hier erforderlich sind, Menschen, die sich für andere aufopfern wollen und können, die allen eine gleich große Freundschaft erweisen.

Ich setzte nun längs des Rio Parapiti nach Isiporenda, am Nordufer des Flusses, fort. Gegenüber Isiporenda wohnen die Tapietes. Einen Besuch, den ich bei ihnen machte, will ich später schildern.

Bei Isiporenda traf ich den ersten Chané oder, wie sie hier genannt werden, Tapuy. Ich besuchte dann den größten Teil ihrer Dörfer. Besonders machte ich mit einigen ihrer Sagenerzähler Bekanntschaft, von denen Batirayu, der Neffe des letzten großen Häuptlings Aringuis, mein guter Freund wurde.

Vom unteren Rio Parapiti begab ich mich über Charagua, einem beinahe ausschließlich von Weißen bewohnten Dorf, nach dem Caipipendital, wo ich mich bei dem Chiriguanohäuptling Tarviri aufhielt.

Man kann sich wundern, daß ein Mensch in diesem wälderlosen Tale, wo man nur ein salziges, schmutziges Wasser findet, wohnen will, im Caipipendital braucht man aber kein Wasser zu trinken, denn dort gibt der Mais herrliche Ernten und dort herrscht niemals Mangel an Maisbier. Die Bewohner des Caipipenditals sind reich, und herrscht in anderen Gegenden Not, so kommen die Indianer von weither zu diesen Stammverwandten, um ihre Kostbarkeiten gegen Mais einzutauschen.

Es ist auch für Sammler ein herrliches Tal. Silberne Schmucksachen, silberne Schalen, fein geschnitzte Musikinstrumente und viele andere Seltenheiten fanden wir in diesem Paradies des Ethnographen. Steinäxte, Ruinen, Grabfelder von verschiedenen Völkern beweisen, daß das Caipipendital lange von den Indianern hoch geschätzt war.

Tief hat das Wasser sich in dieses Tal eingeschnitten. In der Regenzeit regnet es wohl auch dort.

Von Caipipendi kehrte ich über die Berge durch ein seiner

heißen Quellen und seiner Schönheit wegen berühmtes Tal nach Charagua zurück, um dann längs der Anden in der Richtung nach Santa Cruz de la Sierra fortzusetzen.

Es war im Oktober 1908. Nicht ganz ein Jahr später, im Juli 1909, besuchte ich, nach umfassenden Flußfahrten weit hinten an der Grenze Brasiliens, den Chaco wieder. In einem anderen Buche werde ich diese Fahrten auf großen, schiffbaren Flüssen und durch Urwälder, deren üppiges Grün überwältigt, schildern.

Von Santa Cruz de la Sierra kam ich, wie gesagt, im Juli 1909 nach dem Chaco zurück. Ich reiste nun zuerst über den Rio Grande nach dem Rio Parapiti, um vor allem meinen Freund Batirayu zu besuchen.

Der Rio Grande ist der südlichste Nebenfluß des Amazonenstromes. Er kommt von den höchsten Bergen der Anden und fließt bei Sucre vorüber, welche Stadt lange der Stadt La Paz den Rang als Hauptstadt Bolivias streitig gemacht hat. Wenn er aus dem Gebirge tritt, ist er ein brausender, mächtiger Fluß. Weiter unten hat er einen höchst unbeständigen, sehr wenig bekannten Lauf. Nördlich von Santa Cruz de la Sierra nimmt der Rio Grande den Rio Piray auf und vereinigt sich schließlich mit dem Rio Mamoré. Einige Chiriguanos wohnen an diesem Fluß, auch wilde Tsirakuas und Sirionos streifen in den Urwäldern an demselben umher.

Zwischen dem Rio Grande und dem Rio Parapiti ist ein höchst wasserarmes, zum großen Teil mit vollständig undurchdringlichem Gestrüpp und niedrigem Buschwald voller Caraguatá und Kakteen bedecktes Gebiet. Diese einförmige, düstere Vegetation wird hier und da durch Hügel und Grasebenen unterbrochen.

Außer den wilden Tsirakuaindianern, die diese Dickichte unsicher machen, findet man hier eine andere Merkwürdigkeit, nämlich den Guanako (auchenia). Es ist ganz sonderbar, ein Tier wie den Guanako, den man sich nur im Zusammenhang mit den kalten Hochebenen der Anden oder den oft

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

unter Frost leidenden Pampas von Patagonien denken kann, in diesen oft von der Dürre verbrannten Gebüschen zu finden. Es wäre interessant, bestimmen zu können, ob dieser Guanako des tropischen Urwaldes wirklich derselbe ist, den man von kälteren Gegenden her kennt. Intelligente Weiße, mit denen ich hierüber gesprochen habe und die beide gesehen haben, halten sie gleichwohl für dieselbe Art.

Nach dem Rio Parapiti zurückgekommen, suchte ich Batirayu auf, mit dem ich schon 1908 intim bekannt wurde und der auch ein ausgezeichnetes Spanisch spricht.

Keinem Indianer, den ich kennen gelernt habe, bin ich so nahe gekommen, wie Batirayu. Er verstand, daß ich die alten Erinnerungszeichen aus Interesse für seinen Stamm sammele. Batirayu tat sein bestes, mir die religiösen Begriffe seines Stammes zu erklären. Des Abends saßen wir bei einer Zigarette in seiner Stube, und er erzählte von alten Zeiten, Zauberern, Häuptlingen und Geistern. Zuweilen kam ein alter Häuptling Böyra dazu, und von ihm hörte ich viele hübsche Chanésagen. Bis spät in die Nacht hinein saßen wir und plauderten bei einem flackernden Licht, das ich mithatte, um Aufzeichnungen zu machen.

Man irrt sich sehr, wenn man glaubt, daß die Gespräche mit diesen Männern nur ein interessantes Studium wären. Ich fühlte mich wohl bei diesen feinen, taktvollen, ja, warum nicht, gebildeten Menschen. Es war eine reine Erquickung, wenn man von den oft platten, inhaltlosen Weißen kam. Batirayu ist aber auch ein ungewöhnlicher Mann, der Stoff zu einem großen Mann, der zur Untätigkeit verurteilt ist.

Batirayu ist ein Chané. Diese Indianer sprechen jetzt dieselbe Sprache wie die Chiriguanos, und zwar Guaraní. Die meisten ihrer Sitten und Gebräuche stimmen auch mit denen der Chiriguanos überein, von denen sie wahrscheinlich unterworfen worden sind. Ihrem Ursprung nach sind sie indessen Arowakes und somit die am südlichsten Wohnenden dieser Gruppe, die in Südamerika und auf den Antillen eine große Verbreitung hatte und noch hat.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Wenn ich die Chanás und die Chiriguanos hier zusammen schildere, so geschieht dies, weil ihre materielle Kultur so gleichartig ist. Gleichwohl habe ich angegeben, bei welchem Stamm ich diese oder jene Beobachtung gemacht habe; dies gilt besonders für das religiöse Gebiet, auf welchem die Chanás, wenigstens am Rio Paraguay, viele alte Vorstellungen beibehalten haben, die den Chiriguanos unbekannt sind.

Botirayu erzählte mir, einige von den Chanás wüßten noch einige Worte der alten Sprache des Stammes. Besonders bei den Trinkgelagen, wenn sie betrunken sind, pflegten sie sich damit wichtig zu machen, daß sie unter sich die alte Chanásprache, die sonst den Charakter einer Geheimsprache hat, sprechen.

In Begleitung Botirayus begab ich mich nach dem Dorfe „Hoirapembe", wo die Indianer zu finden sein sollten, die am besten Chaná konnten. Es war nicht leicht, ihnen ihre Geheimnisse zu entlocken. Eigentlich waren es nur die Jüngsten, die am allerwenigsten wußten, die mir etwas mitteilen wollten.*) Eine alte Frau, die ausgezeichnet Chaná können sollte, sagte, erst im Totenreiche wolle sie mich unterrichten. Da die Indianer an diesem glücklichen Platze nicht von den Weißen, auch nicht von den Ethnographen belästigt werden, war das Versprechen der Alten nicht sehr freundlich.

Bei einer Menge Ausdrücke, die Schimpfwörter sind, wenden die Chanás ihre alte Sprache an, z. B. karitimisiyti, das sie mit Sohn einer H—e übersetzen. Eine Einladung zum Koitus nennen sie pocine. Auch Lieder finden sich in dieser

*)

	Chaná.	Chiriguano.	Mojo.
Wasser	ñoe	ÿ	ene
Mais	wapiro	abaddi	wapani
Feuer	yuca	tiña	yuca
Hand	tamaire	yadamba	tamarre
Chicha (guiro)	ñapi	cängui	ñaro
Ratte	cibro	angiya	cuan.

alten Sprache, z. B. siparakindowyé, siparakindowyé, siparakindowyé, tomiya, tomiya, tomiya, wollte sie keine Übersetzung wollen.

Vom Rio Parapiti aus besuchte ich wieder den Chiriguano-Häuptling Tarairi im Caipipendital, wo ich so viel alte Schmuckknochen und andere Kostbarkeiten wie möglich zu kaufen suchte. Außer Tarairi besuchte ich auch einen anderen Häuptling, Vombuy, einen alten Elfenmann, der mich immer zu umarmen und dabei zu sagen pflegte: „Ich bin Vombuy."

Abb. 77. Von der Frau des Chiriguanohäuptlings Mariaguy hergestellter Tonopfer. ½

„Ja, der große, mächtige Vombuy", fiel ich ein, worüber der bevorzugtgekommene arme Kerl sich sehr geschmeichelt fühlte.

Vom Caipipendital ging ich über Piga zur Mission bei Ivo. Dieser liegt in einer trockenen, einsamen, wasserarmen Gegend, nahe einigen mächtigen Bergen, und das Leben muß da fürchterlich sein. Als die Blattern in der Gegend stark grassierten, wollte Vater Bernardino den Eingang der Krankheit in die Mission mit Erfolg durch Vakzinierung aller am Platze wohnenden Indianer zu verhindern. Vater Bernardino ist ein wirklich uneigennütziger Mensch, ein wirklicher Missionar. Infolge der Vakzinierung starb in Ivo niemand an den Blattern, während die unheimliche Krankheit unter den Weißen, einige Meilen von der Station, fürchterlich wütete. Es geschah ihnen beinahe recht. War einer an den Blattern gestorben, so wurde der Leichnam auf einem mit Papierblumen und einem Kruzifix geschmückten Tisch gelegt. Um diesen herum betrauten sich die anderen Schweine und

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

trinken so lange obligat,[7]) bis sie auf den Tisch zu liegen kamen. Allein im Dorfe Cuevo starben in kurzer Zeit von zweihundert Personen sechzig. Ich habe die 140 besucht. Sie waren so lustig wie immer. Branntwein und Bier wurde in Massen verzehrt.

Dem Vater Bernardino wurde niemals die Ehre an diesem Werke zuteil, sondern den Medizinmännern, welche die Krankheit verhext hatten, so daß sie nicht nach Ivu kommen sollte. Auch die weißen Kolonisten ließen zuweilen die Medizinmänner kommen, um die Krankheit zu vertreiben. Auch sie glaubten nicht an die Vakain.

Abb. 58. Von der Frau des Chiriguanohäuptlings Maringay hergestellter Tongefäß. $^{1}/_{5}$.

Mit Ivu als Ausgangspunkt machte ich eine Exkursion nach dem Igüembetal, um den Chiriguanohäuptling Maringay zu besuchen. Es war ein hübscher Ritt auf hohe Bergkämme hinauf und in tiefe Täler hinab, durch eine oft grotesque, farbenreiche Landschaft. Diese Täler sind waldarm. Nur in einer gut geschützten Schlucht, in welcher ein Bach hervorsickert, ist die Vegetation üppig.

Mit dem alten Maringay wurde ich bald sehr gut befreundet. Der Alte war konservativ, hielt fest an alten Sitten und meinte, die Indianer sollten mit den Weißen auf gutem Fuße leben, ihre alten Sitten und Gebräuche aber unverändert bewahren. Sein Dorf war außerordentlich interessant und sehr reich an alten, hübschen Sachen. Die Keramik,

[7]) Trinkt jemand obligat mit einem, so muß dieser austrinken.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

die ich dort antraf, gehört zu dem Allerbesten, was ich bei diesen Indianern gesehen habe. (Abb. 77 und 78.)

Von Maringay kehrte ich über die Missionsstation Santa Rosa nach Ivu zurück. Die erstere hat eine wunderbare Lage. Gleich einer alten Burg ist sie auf einem engen Hügel gebaut. Unterhalb liegen in langen Reihen die von niedrigem Wald mit Mimosazeen, Kakteen, kleinen Algorrobos und anderen feinblättrigen Bäumen umgebenen graubraunen Chiriguanohütten. Dieser Wald ist selten so dicht, daß man nicht leicht ohne Waldmesser herauskommen kann. Als ich in Santa Rosa war, herrschte Trockenzeit und alles war verbrannt. Der Regen zaubert aber wohl auch hier das Grün aus dem trockenen Boden. Manchmal bleibt aber der Regen so lange aus, daß die Indianer keinen Mais bekommen, und das bedeutet — Hunger.

Von Santa Rosa sieht man weit hinaus über die Berge und über die große Ebene Boyuovis, über das Land, welches das Vaterland der Chiriguanos war, wo sie bei Curuyuqui ihren letzten Kampf mit den Christen gekämpft haben, die sich das Recht anmaßen, alle schwächeren Völker zu bestehlen.

Nach dem Ausflug bei Maringay verließ ich das Land der Chiriguanos und Chanés und machte meinen, in diesem Buche schon geschilderten zweiten Besuch bei den Chorotis und Ashluslays.

Das von den Chiriguano- und Chanéindianern bebaute Gebiet ist wirklich sehr ausgedehnt. Es hat eine wechselnde Natur, von üppigen Urwäldern bis zu äußerst wasserarmen, vegetationsarmen Tälern und Ebenen. Es ist teilweise sehr bergig, aber die Chiriguanos und die Chanés sind keine Gebirgsvölker. Sie halten sich unten in den Tälern auf und klettern nicht, wie die Quichuaindianer, auf Gipfel und Hochebenen hinauf.

Das Tierleben in diesen Gegenden ist arm, ja sehr arm. Ein Jägervolk könnte dort niemals wohnen. Hier und da ein Rehbock, ein Wildschwein, einige Strauße, das ist alles, was man an Großwild sieht. Auch das Vogelleben ist arm.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Die Zahl der Seen ist sehr gering, und ihre Größe nicht bedeutender, als daß wir sie in Europa Pfützen nennen würden. Am Rio Parapiti sieht man die ihrer kostbaren Federn wegen berühmten weißen Reiher[1]) ziemlich zahlreich. Von den Waldvögeln liefert nur das Huhn „pavas"[2]) einen Beitrag zum Essen. Zuweilen sieht man einen großschnabeligen „Tucan".[3]) Fette, mit Mais gemästete Tauben leben oft in Massen in den Feldern der Indianer. Im Rio Pilcomayo herrscht ein großer Fischreichtum, in den kleinen Flüssen sind die Fische klein und schlecht. Die Indianer, die diese Gegenden bewohnen, müssen Ackerbauer sein, und Maisbauer sind sie im allerhöchsten Grad. Mais ist für sie Essen, Trinken, Freude, alles!

Abenteuer habe ich von diesen Indianern nicht zu berichten. Jedermann kann unbehelligt unter ihnen reisen. Der größte Kummer des Ethnographen ist, daß er nicht alles Interessante und Alte, was er dort sieht, sammeln kann. Man kann nicht alles nach Hause mitnehmen.

Noch lebt in den Wildnissen des Chaco ein Chiriguanohäuptling Cayuhuari, in dessen Dorf kein weißer Mann gewesen ist. Es soll an einem großen See liegen. Dort weiden große Herden von Pferden und Kühen, und die Maisscheunen sind immer voll. Dort sind die Indianer reich, denn dort gibt es keine Weißen. So erzählt man wenigstens.

Cayuhuari, der seit der Empörung 1890 im Chaco lebt, hat eine weiße geraubte Frau als Schwiegertochter. Man sagt, er habe zusammen mit den Tobas die Zuckerfabriken in Nordargentinien besucht. Er hatte seine Schwiegertochter mit. Die Besitzer der Fabrik erboten sich, sie von den Indianern zu retten. „Ich will sie nicht verlassen," sagte sie. „Bei ihnen habe ich meine Kinder." Diese Antwort ehrt sie.

Die Sitten und Gebräuche der Chiriguanoindianer sind von mehreren Verfassern,[4]) meistens Missionaren, geschildert

[1]) Ardea. — [2]) Penelope. — [3]) Rhamphastus.

[4]) Die allermeiste Literatur finden wir von Domenico del Campana angeführt: Notizie etc. l. c.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

worden, so daß wir mehr von ihnen wissen, als von den Chorotis und den Ashluslays.

Ein Teil von dem, was ich über diese Indianer berichtet habe, ist nicht neu, wenn auch in neuer Beleuchtung gesehen. Verschiedenes, besonders was das Religiöse betrifft, unterscheidet sich gleichwohl von den Schilderungen der verschiedenen Missionare. Was ich hierin gesammelt habe, ist von den Chanés, und die Missionare kennen die Chiriguanos am besten.

Was mich in verschiedenen Schilderungen der Missionare von den Indianern unsympathisch berührt, das ist, daß sie danach zu streben scheinen, ihre Fehler in allzu dunklen Farben auszumalen, damit ihre eigene „zivilisatorische Arbeit" so bedeutend wie möglich wirken soll. Die Missionare scheinen mir die Religion der Indianer nicht objektiv schildern zu können.

Wenn ich gelesen habe, wie die Missionare ihre eigene Eroberung des Landes der Chiriguanoindianer beschreiben, so hat es mir nicht gefallen, nur von dem Mut der ersteren und der Grausamkeit der letzteren zu hören. Ich leugne es nicht, die Missionare waren tapfer, mehr bewundere ich aber die Freiheitsliebe und den Mut der Chiriguanoindianer. Ist es den Mönchen zu schwer geworden, so sind ihnen beinahe immer Soldaten zu Hilfe gekommen. Die Indianer haben sich den Missionaren nicht nur infolge der „Religion der Liebe", sondern infolge Kugel und Blei unterworfen. Der Weg zur alleinseligmachenden Kirche ist nicht selten mit Blut getränkt worden.

[p. 163]

Zehntes Kapitel.

Vom Lande der Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer.

Indianer als Geographen.

Gibt es auf dem südamerikanischen Kontinent einen einzigen bewohnbaren Platz, der nicht von den Indianern entdeckt ist?

Diese Frage wage ich mit „Nein" zu beantworten. Auf den höchsten Gipfeln der Anden finden wir Indianer, in den trockenen Buschwäldern des nördlichen Chaco gibt es Indianer, in den tiefen Urwäldern von Ost-Bolivia streifen Indianer umher, die ungastfreundlichen Inseln um das Feuerland werden von Indianern bewohnt, in den Pampas in Argentinien haben früher viele Indianer gelebt.

Welch kolossale Zeit haben diese Menschen nicht gebraucht, um jeden Bach, jede Pfütze, jede Klippe, jedes Wäldchen auf dem südamerikanischen Kontinent zu entdecken. Vierhundert Jahre lang hat der weiße Mann mit allen seinen Hilfsmitteln Südamerika zu erforschen gesucht, und doch ist noch viel mehr unerforscht, als man gewöhnlich glaubt. Er kennt im inneren Südamerika alle die größeren Flüsse und Verkehrsstraßen, ungeheuer sind aber noch die Gebiete, die niemals der Fuß eines Weißen betreten hat. Die Indianer kennen jeden Winkel, oder haben ihn wenigstens gekannt.

Die Zeit, die zur Entdeckung dieses Kontinents und zur Anpassung an das wechselnde Klima, die wechselnde Pflanzen- und Tierwelt vergangen ist, ist sicher eine sehr, sehr

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

lange gewesen. Das beweisen auch die hunderte Indianersprachen, die von Südamerika her bekannt sind.

Das Gebiet, das jeder Indianer in der Regel kennt, ist kein großes, er kennt es aber genau. Ich habe, wie ich hier schon erwähnt habe, mit den Ashluslayindianern eine Wanderung von etwa 250 km in den Wäldern vorgenommen. Dies geschah in ihrem eigenen Land, und das kannten sie vollständig. Einzelne Individuen kennen infolge des Handelsverkehrs etwas von dem Lande der befreundeten Nachbarstämme.

Ich habe stets die Indianer gefragt, von welchen Stämmen sie gehört haben, und habe sie gebeten, diese aufzuzählen. Dies taten sie gern, solche Stämme aber, von denen sie glaubten, daß ich sie nicht kenne, erwähnten sie ganz einfach nicht. Sie wollen die Kenntnis des weißen Mannes vom Lande nicht unnötig erweitern. Dies ist der Grund, warum es oft so schwer ist, unter den Indianern einen Wegweiser zu finden. Wer den weißen Mann in ein diesem unbekanntes Dorf führt, ist ein elender, des Todes werter Verräter. Die Chorotis sagen immer, im Innern ihres Landes, vom Rio Pilcomayo an gerechnet, wo noch niemals ein Weißer gewesen ist, gebe es keine Menschen. Die Ashluslayindianer waren sehr erstaunt, als ich ihnen das charakteristische Besitztum der Tsirakuaindianer beschrieb und ihnen von den Yanayguas erzählte. Daß der weiße Mann diese Stämme kennt, war ihnen vollständig unverständlich.

Sehr umfassend sind die Kenntnisse der Indianer von dem Kontinent, den sie bewohnen, nicht. Kein Indianer südlich von Santa Cruz de la Sierra kennt z. B. die nördlich von dieser Stadt wohnenden. Der Rio Paraguay ist den Chanéindianern eigentümlicherweise bekannt. Die dortigen Stämme kannten sie nicht. Dort wohnt, sagten sie, ein großer Häuptling. Sie fragten mich, ob ich von diesem Häuptling ausgesandt sei, um alle Gegenstände aus alten Zeiten zu sammeln, damit sie nicht verloren gingen. Diesen großen Häuptling in Paraguay meinte ein alter Sagenerzähler, als er eine Abschiedsrede für

mich hielt, die folgendermaßen begann: „Nun kannst du deinem großen Häuptling sagen, daß du uns und unsere Armut gesehen hast . . ."

Das Orientierungsvermögen der Indianer ist viel besprochen. Der Indianer besitzt sicher eine sehr ausgebildete Beobachtungsgabe, sein Orientierungsvermögen ist aber nicht so bedeutend. Ich bin mit den Guarayúindianern im öst-

Abb. 79. Alter Chiriguano mit großem Lippenknopf. Tihuhpa.

lichen Bolivia etwa 250 km in tiefen, großen Wäldern, die sie nicht kannten, und in denen wir uns oft mit dem Waldmesser Schritt für Schritt einen Weg bahnen mußten, gewandert. Sie führten mich, wenn die Sonne von Wolken bedeckt war, oft irre, was ich an meinem Kompaß sah. Für einen weißen Mann, der aus dem Stadtleben direkt in die Wildnis versetzt wird, ist die Vertrautheit des Indianers mit der Natur merkwürdig. Ist man erst selbst an dieses Leben gewöhnt, so sieht man die Sache mit anderen Augen an.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Die Entfernung von einem Platz zu einem anderen wird von allen Indianern dadurch angegeben, daß sie zeigen, wie weit die Sonne gehen muß, ehe man ankommt. Ist es weit, so sagt der Indianer, wie viele Nachtlager man bis dahin aufschlagen muß. Lange und kurze Wege sind ja auch bei uns in verschiedenen Gegenden verschiedene Begriffe. Was wir in der Stadt weit nennen, wird auf dem Lande oft kurz genannt. Für den Indianer sind Wege, die dem weißen Mann kurz erscheinen, in der Regel lang. Es fehlt den Indianern des Urwaldes die Marschfertigkeit, die wir bei den Gebirgsindianern finden.

Jedem Hügel, jeder Ebene, jeder Talschlucht hat der Indianer einen Namen gegeben. Die Chanés sagen, vor langer Zeit, als alle Völker an den Ufern des Parapitiflusses fischten, kam ein großer Geist (Añatunpa) zu Pferde und gab den verschiedenen Stellen Namen. Dieser Fluß soll Parapiti (wo getötet wird) heißen, diese Stelle Amboró usw., sagte Añatunpa. Von den Namen von Chanédörfern seien erwähnt: Húirayúasa (Vögel treffen sich), Aguaráti (weißer Fuchs), Aguarátimi (weißes Füchslein), Yóvi (grünes Wasser), Ouivarénda (wo es Chuchio gibt),[1]) usw. Die letztgenannte Pflanze, deren Blütenstengel von vielen Indianerstämmen in Südamerika als Pfeilschaft angewendet wird, ist jetzt durch die Rinderherden am Rio Parapiti ausgerottet. Die Chané, die ihre Pfeile früher aus Chuchio machten, bauen jetzt eine Art Schilf an, das sie, gleich den anderen Chacoindianern, als Pfeilschaft anwenden. Andere Orte sind nach Häuptlingen benannt, wie Tamachindi, Tamané und Corópa. Ein Dorf nennen sie Yahuanau. Früher war dort ein Sumpf, an dessen Ufern sich kleine schwarze Geschöpfe (Yahuanau) zu sonnen pflegten. Viele Chanéortsnamen sind unübersetzbar, von einem weiß ich, daß er unanständig ist. Einige indianische Ortsnamen sind sicher sehr alt, denn sie beziehen sich auf Pflanzen, Seen oder Sümpfe, die nicht mehr existieren. Im

[1]) Arundo saccharoides.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Caipipendital am Parapiti ist ein Dorf namens Tapiirenda. Das Tal ist jetzt ausschließlich von Chiriguanos bewohnt und keiner von ihnen erinnert sich, daß dort, wie der Ortsname angibt, Tapii (Chanés) gewohnt haben.

Die Ortsnamen der höherstehenden Indianer werden von den Weißen, auch wenn sie die Herren im Lande geworden sind, beibehalten. So haben beinahe alle von ihnen im Chiriguanogebiet bewohnten Plätze Guaraninamen, wie Charagua (Name der vom Wasser eigentümlich ausgeschnittenen Klippen), Carandaiti (wo Palmen wachsen). Die Ortsnamen der niedrigeren Stämme werden dagegen von den Weißen nicht bewahrt. So kennt kein Weißer die Mataco- oder Chorotinamen der verschiedenen Plätze am Rio Pilcomayo. Die Ansiedlungen der Weißen werden nach Heiligen, bolivianischen Staatsmännern und Forschungsreisenden benannt. Wird ein Stamm, wie z. B. die Chorotis, ausgerottet, so bleibt von dessen Sprache nichts in den Ortsnamen zurück. Dies dürfen Ortsnamenforscher nicht übersehen.

Durch die Verbindung mit den Weißen erweitern sich die geographischen Kenntnisse der Indianer bedeutend. Sie gehen immer weitere Wege, um Arbeit zu suchen, und sehen Länder, von denen sie früher keine Ahnung gehabt haben.

Der Indianer als Historiker.

Falls wir die Geschichte der Chorotis und Ashluslays schreiben wollten, könnten wir in der Zeit nicht weit zurückgreifen. Erst in den letzten Jahrzehnten sehen wir sie in der Literatur näher erwähnt. Die Chiriguanos kennen wir dagegen schon von ihren Kämpfen mit dem großen Herrscher Inca Yupanqui, aus der Zeit vor der Entdeckung Amerikas her. Über seine Versuche, das Land zu erobern, berichtet Garcilasso de la Vega.[1]) Seine Beschreibung der Chiriguanos als einer äußerst niedrig stehenden, menschenfressenden Rasse

[1]) Garcilasso de la Vega: The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas. Vol. I—II. Hakluyt Society. London 1869 u. 1871.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

ist sicher seiner eigenen Phantasie entsprungen. In den Gebirgstälern hat sich die Tradition von diesen Kämpfen noch bewahrt.

In der spanischen Zeit ist das Gebiet der Chiriguanos trotz der jahrhundertelangen tapferen Verteidigung Schritt für Schritt erobert worden. Erst noch 1890 unternahm ein Teil von ihnen einen letzten Empörungsversuch, wurde aber, wie erwähnt, in der Schlacht bei Curuyuqui, auf der Ebene von Boyuovis, besiegt. Etwa fünftausend Indianer hatten sich dort gesammelt und kämpften einen ganzen Tag mit den Weißen den ungleichen Kampf gegen die Feuerwaffen. Der Kampf hatte des Morgens begonnen, und des Abends, als es dunkel wurde, war er noch nicht beendigt. Die Lage begann für die Weißen höchst unangenehm zu werden, da ihre Munition beinahe zu Ende war. Der moralische Mut der Indianer war jedoch leider gebrochen. Sie verließen in der Stille der Nacht ihre Verschanzungen.

Ein sehr wichtiges Kapitel in der Geschichte dieser Indianer ist auch die lange und beharrliche Arbeit der Missionare, das Land der Indianer auf verhältnismäßig friedliche Weise zu erobern. Diese wird in der Literatur ausführlich behandelt.

Hier will ich jedoch nicht von der Geschichte dieser Indianer, wie wir sie durch die Literatur kennen, sprechen, sondern von dem Indianer als Historiker.

Spricht man mit den Indianern, so wissen sie von ihrer eigenen Geschichte nicht viel, ihre Tradition geht nicht weit zurück. Die Chanés am Rio Parapiti erzählten mir, sie hätten erst am oberen Rio Parapiti gewohnt,[1]) seien aber von einem großen Häuptling von dort vertrieben worden. Einige blieben, wo sie jetzt wohnen, andere begaben sich durch den Chaco nach dem Rio Paraguay, welcher Fluß, wie gesagt, den

[1]) Dies wird durch Viedma bestätigt: Descripcion geografica y estadistica de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Coleccion Pedro de Angelis. Buenos Aires 1836. Tom. III. S. 180—181.

Indianern nicht unbekannt ist. Am Rio Paraguay finden sich auch Arowaken.

Die Chiriguanos wohnten zuerst am unteren Rio Parapiti und wurden von den Chanés von dort vertrieben. Dies ist

Abb. 80 a. Pfeife. „Huiramimbi". Tihulpa. b. Zeigt a im Durchschnitt. $^{2}/_{3}$

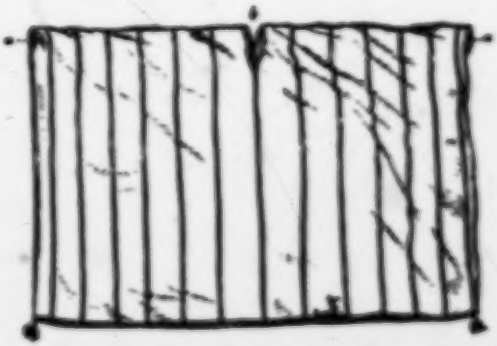


Abb. 81. Festtracht für Männer. „Tirucumbal". Chané. Rio Parapiti. $^{1}/_{10}$
b = Öffnung für den Kopf, a = Ärmlöcher.

möglicherweise „offizielle Geschichte", denn wahrscheinlicher haben wohl die Chiriguanos die Chanés aus den fruchtbaren Tälern des oberen Rio Parapiti gejagt.

Batirayu hat mir alles erzählt, was er über die Geschichte der Chanéindianer am Rio Parapiti wußte. Der letzte große

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Häuptling war Batirayus Onkel, Aringui. Dieser führte viele Indianer seines Stammes zur Arbeit nach Argentinien. Sein Vorgänger war Yámbáe. Vor ihm hatte Ochoápi die Häuptlingswürde bekleidet. Zu seiner Zeit begannen die Weißen ins Land zu dringen. Dieser Häuptling wird als ein bedeutender Mann geschildert, der die Sitten und Gebräuche der Weißen unter seinen Indianern einzuführen suchte. Bekannt ist Ochoápi wegen seiner umfassenden Reisen und seiner Verfolgung der Zauberer. Er soll in Buenos Aires gewesen sein. Vor ihm hatte Chótchori die Häuptlingswürde. Zu seiner Zeit waren die Weißen noch nicht bis zum unteren Rio Parapiti gekommen. Hier ist die Tradition zu Ende. Die hier erwähnten Häuptlinge waren aus demselben Geschlecht, die Regierung geht aber nicht vom Vater auf den Sohn über.

Von den Chanés am Rio Itiyuro könnte ich ein wenig Geschichte erzählen, will aber nicht durch zu viele Namen ermüden. Auch dort geht die Tradition nicht weit zurück, drei Generationen, das ist alles.

In den Sagen dieser Indianer, von denen ich weiterhin mehrere wiedergegeben habe, erfahren wir nichts über die Geschichte dieser Völker. Keine geschichtlichen Ereignisse scheinen dort zu Sagen umgebildet zu sein. Sie haben ganz andere Motive.

Es ist wirklich ganz eigentümlich, daß bei diesen Indianerstämmen ihre Geschichte, der Name ihrer Häuptlinge in Vergessenheit geraten ist, während die Sagen sicher, wenn auch in veränderter Form, jahrhundertelang von Generation zu Generation bewahrt worden sind. Für das hohe Alter der Sagen spricht vor allem ihre große geographische Verbreitung.

Die Gestalten der Sagen und deren Erlebnisse regen die Phantasie an, werden behalten und weitererzählt. Die geschichtlichen Persönlichkeiten und Ereignisse vergißt man.

Sucht man in den Chané- und Chiriguanohäusern, so findet man viele Sachen bewahrt, die jetzt außer Gebrauch sind,

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

die sie aber als Erinnerung an frühere Zeiten ehren und oft nicht hergeben wollen. So sieht man hübsche, runde Pfeifen, „huiramimbi" (Abb. 80), die sicher von Generation zu Generation gegangen sind. Sie wurden früher bei Kriegszügen angewendet. Der alte Maringay hatte alles mögliche aus alter Zeit aufgehoben. Es bereitete mir ein großes Vergnügen, in den Verwahrungsstellen des Alten herumzuwühlen. Ich wollte gern etwas von ihm kaufen, es genierte mich aber, ihm Geld für seine Erinnerungen zu bieten.

In die Wände gestochen fand ich einst Bündel hübscher, ganz verräucherter alter Pfeilspitzen. „Würdest du mir sie nicht verkaufen wollen?" fragte ich meinen alten Freund zögernd. „Du sollst drei geschenkt bekommen", sagte Maringay. Nach dieser Abweisung ließ ich ihn seine lieben Sachen behalten.

Einmal ritt ich von Vocapoys Dorf, um einen alten Chané aufzusuchen, der eine hübsche alte Tracht hatte. Nach einigem Zögern zeigte er sie mir. Er hatte sie sorgfältig in anderes Zeug eingewickelt. Wie ein enthusiastischer Museumsbeamter ein altes Kleinod hervorholt, so wickelte er sie sorgfältig auf. Man sah förmlich, wie lieb sie ihm war. Obgleich ich ihm einen sehr hohen Preis bot, wollte er sie nicht verkaufen.

Daß diese Indianer die alten Erinnerungszeichen lieben, beweist, daß sie eine gewisse Kultur haben. Dies gilt jedoch nur für die Alten, die Jungen sind nicht mehr so, die verkaufen alles, ohne zu zögern. Was kümmern sie sich um eine abgenutzte, alte Festtracht, wenn sie ein rotes, flatterndes Halstuch und Hosen mit Rock dagegen bekommen können! Der Siegeszug der Hosen über die Welt hat auch diese Täler und Ebenen erreicht.

Die Chiriguanos und Chanés führen jetzt nicht mehr richtigen Krieg mit anderen Indianerstämmen. Bisweilen machen die Chanés am Rio Parapiti jedoch gelegentlich Streifzüge gegen die Tsirakuaindianer. Die Ashluslays behaupteten auch, wie mir mein Dolmetscher erzählt hat, daß

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

der Tobahäuptling Taycolique bei seinem Einfall in ihr Gebiet 1909 verschiedene Chiriguanos bei sich hatte.

Batirayu erzählte, die Chanés hätten früher die Köpfe der getöteten Feinde heimgebracht und sie bei Festen auf den Plätzen der Dörfer aufgestellt.

Abb. 82. Tongefäß von den Chanés. 1/4.
Rio Parapiti.

[p.173]

Elftes Kapitel.

Vom Lande der Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer.

Alltagsleben in den Chané- und Chiriguanohütten.

In der Regel habe ich mich in den Hütten der Chanés und Chiriguanos sehr wohl gefühlt. Das Leben in diesen Dörfern ist ganz gleichartig. Schildert man ein Dorf, so hat man sie beinahe alle geschildert.

Wie alle übrigen Indianer, die ich südlich von Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia besucht habe, leben diese Indianer in Dörfern. Einige dieser Dörfer sind recht groß und werden von einigen hundert Personen bewohnt. Oft liegen viele Dörfer nahe aneinander. Die Hütten liegen in der Regel um einen Markt, auf dem zuweilen Flaschenbäume gepflanzt sind, die in der Regenzeit Schutz verleihen. Die Märkte dienen als Spiel- und Versammlungsplätze. Die Hütten sind, im Gegensatz zu den runden Choroti- und Ashluslayhütten, viereckig, und ihre nach dem Dorf zu gerichtete Tür ist am Giebel angebracht. Sie sind aus Rohr oder Holzlatten und mit Dächern aus Gras. Nicht selten sind sie mit Erde verputzt.

Unter dem Einfluß der Weißen verändern aber die Chanés und Chiriguanos allmählich ihre Hütten, und viele Indianer bauen schon mit ihnen identische Hütten.

Keine Hütte hat hier ihre ursprüngliche indianische Form. Die echten Chiriguanohütten (die ursprünglichen Chanéhütten kennt man nicht) waren sehr groß; in demselben Hause wohnten bis zu 100 Personen und das ganze

Dorf bestand nur aus einigen großen Hütten.[7]) Diese entsprechen offenbar den aus Brasilien bekannten großen Familienhäusern, die ich in Bolivia nur bei den Chavchos, einem Panostamm aus Lago Rojo-Aguado, gesehen habe.

Schon zu Viedmas[8]) Zeit, Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts,

Abb. 83. Feuerstätte zum Maisbeerkochen. Chaminari. Rio Itiyuro. Rechts auf dem Bilde große Gefäße, in denen das Maisbier gärt. Das Haus ist mit Erde verputzt.

scheinen sie jedoch den ursprünglichen Hausotyp aufgegeben und kleinere Hütten gebaut zu haben.

In vielen Dörfern gehören zu jeder Hütte eine oder mehrere Maiscbrunnen (Abb. 84a), in denen Mais, Kürbisse usw. auf-

[7]) Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. — Tucuman y Perú — 1996. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Madrid 1885. Tomo II. S. CIV.
[8]) Viedma: l. c.

6:Nordenskiöld 33/10 Chiriguano

bewahrt werden. Diese Scheunen sind auf Pfählen gebaut und vielleicht eine Erinnerung aus der Zeit, wo die Chiriguanos und Chanés in sumpfigen Gegenden wohnten. Zu jeder Scheune gehört in der Regel eine Leiter (Abb. 84 b). Manchmal sind die Scheunen mit den Wohnhäusern zu einem Hause

Abb. 84 a. Maisscheune. Chané. Rio Bivuro

zusammengebaut. Solche Hütten habe ich in der Nähe von Machaveti und bei Yatavéti unweit Ivu gesehen. Nicht so selten stehen die Scheunen auf den Feldern weit ab von den Wohnhäusern.

Es ist in diesen Dörfern fein und rein. Hütten und Markt werden täglich gefegt und der Müll verbrannt.

Der Raum in den Hütten ist nicht zu gering bemessen.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

[Facing p. 176]

Tafel 10. Caraguatá. Von den Indianern im Chaco vielseitig angewandte Pflanze.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

In der Regel wohnt in jedem Hause nur eine Familie, die manchmal, außer den übrigen Familiengliedern, aus den Männern der Töchter besteht, welche während der Verlobung und im Anfang der Ehe bei der Schwiegermutter wohnen. Vor der Hütte ist die große Feuerstätte (Abb. 83), wo das Maisbier, und zuweilen auch das Essen, gekocht

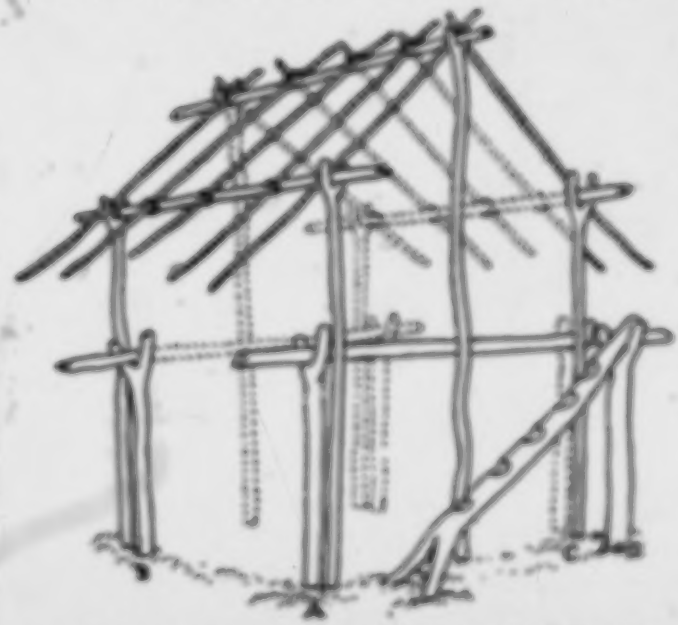


Abb. 84 b. Hütte, aus der Konstruktion der Schwarme ersichtlich.

wird. In der Hütte ist ebenfalls eine Feuerstätte, wo man kocht und die man anbraucht, um sich bei kalten Nächten und Tagen zu wärmen.

Manche Nacht habe ich in diesen Hütten geschlafen. Sie sind in der Regel frei von Ungeziefer, was man nicht von den Wohnstätten aller anderen Indianer und von den Häusern der Weißen sagen kann. Die Lagerstätte besteht entweder aus einem Bett aus einer Art Bambusrohr, oder man legt

auf dem Fußboden auf einer Schilfmatte oder einem Fell. Hängematten sieht man ebenfalls in den Hütten, sie sind aber nicht allgemein. Im tropischen Südamerika hat die Hängematte ihr Heimatland, sie verschwindet aber nach Süden zu und auf den Bergen, denn dort ist es zu kalt, um sie anzuwenden.

Abb. 85. Strohsack. Chiriguano. Tarairí. $\frac{1}{10}$

Abb. 86. Haken zum Aufhängen der Sachen. Chiriguano. $\frac{1}{10}$

Am Dache der Hütte hängen auf Haken und Gestellen Kleider und Eßwaren, Mehlsäcke und anderes. Hier verwahren auch die Männer ihre Pfeile und Bogen, ihre Trommeln u. dgl. In Lianenschlingen pflegen Maiskolben zu hängen.

In einer Chaná- oder Chiriguanohütte ist es, besonders des Abends, wenn alle an das schöne, wärmende Feuer kriechen, wenn der Mond geht, die Alten Sagen erzählen, die Mütter ihre Kleinen zu Bett bringen, die jungen Paare abseits sitzen und lieben, sehr gemütlich.

Hier und da sieht man eine in Holz geschnitzte Sitzbank (Abb. 85) von einer besonders von den brasilianischen Indianern her bekannten Form.

Abb. 85. Chaniñas. Ein Pasquiti. In dem Tragseile hat sie einen Wasserkrug.

An den Wänden der Hütte entlang stehen immer eine Menge Tongefäße von allen Dimensionen. Manche davon sind so groß, daß ein Mann hineinkriechen könnte. Dort

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

sind Töpfe, dort sind Rietschalen, dort sind feingemalte Gefäße, die bei den Festen hervorgeholt werden, und dort ist der Schatztopf, in welchem die Hausfrau alle Kostbarkeiten und Andenken der Familie verwahrt. In ihm liegen, falls das Haus „vermögend" ist, Kleider, Schmucksachen, Schalen aus Silber und Halsketten aus Türkis und Crysocol und vieles andere.

Sehr früh ist es still in den Dörfern. Es wird nicht, wie in einem Chorotí- oder Ashluslaydorf, die ganze Nacht ge-

Abb. 88. Tabakspfeife. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. $^{1}/_{2}$.

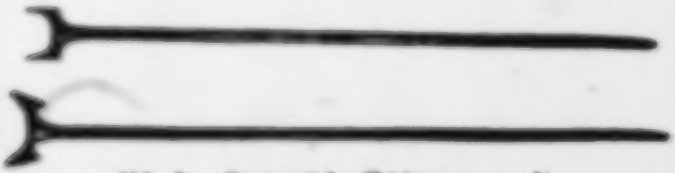


Abb. 89. Spatenstiel. Chiriguano. ca. $^{1}/_{10}$.

schwatzt. Die jungen Herren und die unverheirateten jungen Mädchen laufen nicht herum, um beieinander zu liegen. Die sittlichen Chaná- und Chiriguanomädchen werden von ihren Müttern bewacht, gehen nicht auf Abenteuer aus und nehmen keine Herrenbesuche an. Es kommen keine Nachtmahlzeiten, wie bei den Chorotís und Ashluslays, vor. Man schläft nämlich in diesen Dörfern des Nachts, d. h. wenn man nicht mit dem Maisbrauen für ein Fest beschäftigt ist.

Sehr früh des Morgens wird man in beinahe allen Dörfern durch Klagelieder geweckt. Immer ist dort einer, der einen Angehörigen verloren hat und ihn laut beweint. Ist jemand im Dorfe gestorben, so ist es für einen, der gern lange schläft, unheimlich im Dorfe.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

In der allerfrühesten Morgenstunde stehen die Frauen auf, etwas später die Männer, und die Tagesarbeit beginnt. Das erste, was die Frauen tun, ist, daß sie Wasser holen und ein Bad, ein richtig erfrischendes Bad nehmen.

Die Wasserkrüge tragen sie auf verschiedene Weise. Am Rio Itiyuro tragen die Chanéfrauen sie auf der Schulter, am Rio Parapiti in einem Tragnetz (Abb. 87). Der letztere Brauch ist auch bei den Chiriguanos am gewöhnlichsten. Auf dem Kopfe tragen nur diejenigen Frauen Krüge, die mit den Weißen leben und ihre Sitten und Gebräuche angenommen haben.

Arbeitsteilung zwischen den Geschlechtern.

Wie bei den Choroti- und Ashluslayindianern, hat in der Regel auch hier, wie wir aus der untenstehenden Tabelle ersehen, jedes Geschlecht seine bestimmte Arbeit.

Tabelle, welche die Arbeitsteilung zwischen Männern und Frauen bei den Chanés und Chiriguanos ausweist.

	Männer	Frauen		Männer	Frauen
Fischfang	+	+[1]	Sammeln wilder Früchte und Wurzeln		+
Jagd	+		Keramik		+
Pflanzen, Roden	+		Holzarbeiten	+	
Säen	+	+	Netzstricken	+	
Ernten	+	+	Seilflechten	+	
Kochen	[2]	+	Mattenflechten	+	
Holztragen	+	+[3]	Hängemattenbinden		+
Wassertragen		+	Lederarbeiten	+	
Zubereitung berauschender Getränke		+	Waffenherstellung	+	

[1]) Die Frauen fischen in der Regel in seichtem, die Männer in tiefem Wasser.

[2]) Nehmen manchmal an der Zubereitung der Jagdbeute teil.

[3]) Bei den Chanés am Rio Parapiti.

	Männer	Frauen
Verzierung von Kalebassen	+	
Hausbau	+[1])	
Weben	+[2])	+
Fädenspinnen		+
Bandflechten		+
Viehzucht	+	+
Nähen	+	+
Korbarbeiten	+	
Tagewerke für die Weißen	+	+[3])

Vergleicht man diese Tabelle mit der auf Seite 94, so findet man, daß das schwere Holztragen und der Hausbau bei den höher stehenden Chanés und Chiriguanos beinahe von den Frauen auf die Männer übergegangen ist. Eigentümlicherweise sind gewisse Industrien, z. B. die Tongefäßherstellung, bei beinahe jedem primitiven Indianerstamm Frauenarbeit. Auf dieselbe Weise werden die Kalebassen überall von den Männern geschmückt, wie sie auch alle Holzarbeiten ausführen. Daß hier auch die Frauen fischen, kommt daher, weil verschiedene dieser Indianer an wasserarmen Flüssen leben, in denen nur kleine Fische leben, bei deren Fang der Mut und die Kraft der Fischer auf keine Probe gestellt wird.

Nahrungszweige.

Der Fischfang und die Jagd spielen für den Chané und Chiriguano keine bedeutende Rolle. Sie sind, wie ich schon vorher erwähnt habe, Ackerbauer, vor allem Maisbauer. Diese Indianer leben so ausschließlich von Mais, daß alle andere Nahrung für sie eine untergeordnete Rolle spielt. Eine Ausnahme machen die am Rio Parapiti wohnenden Indianer, die mehr süße Kartoffeln als Mais bauen, die in ihrem Land eine ausgezeichnete Ernte geben.

[1]) Am Rio Parapiti sammelten die Chanéfrauen das Material zu dem Dache, d. h. langes Gras.

[2]) Nur bei Maringay.

[3]) Unbedeutend, eigentlich nur am Rio Parapiti.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Folgende Pflanzen werden von den Chanés und Chiriguanos angebaut:

Süße Kartoffeln.
Mais.
Zapallo (Cucurbita pepo Lin).
Kalebaßfrüchte.
Bohnen in verschiedenen Variationen.
Baumwolle.
Uruku.
Tabak.
Tuna (z. B. bei Yatavéri). Opuntia.
Hirse.
Mandioca (selten).
Schilfrohr zu Pfeilschäften (am Rio Parapiti).

In den Pflanzungen dieser Indianer habe ich weder gewöhnliche Kartoffeln noch Bananen gesehen. Die süßen Kartoffeln sind, nach Batirayus Angaben, in später Zeit von den Weißen eingeführt. Der Tabakbau ist unbedeutend. Die Chanés und Chiriguanos sind keine großen Raucher. Sie rauchen meist Zigaretten in Maisblättern, selten Pfeife (Abb. 88). Bei ihnen braucht man seine Pfeife nicht seinem Nachbar zum Weiterrauchen zu geben.

Es ist eigentümlich, wie verschieden bei den Indianerstämmen der Tabakverbrauch ist. Die Aymaras und Quichuas, die Koka kauen, rauchen sehr selten. Sie finden keinen Geschmack daran. Ebensowenig rauchten die Chacobos und Atsahuacas, zwei Stämme, die ich auf meinen Reisen kennen lernte. Als ich einem Chacobo eine Zigarette anbot, machte er nur ein paar Züge, behielt den Rauch einige Augenblicke im Munde und warf dann die Zigarette fort. Die Chacobos bauen indessen Tabak, wenden ihn aber ausschließlich als Heilmittel an. Ist einem Chacobo ein „boro", eine Fliegenlarve, „Dermatomya", unter die Haut gekommen, so bedeckt er die Eintrittsstelle der Fliegenlarve mit Tabakpulver und kann nach einigen Stunden die tote Larve herausquetschen. Die Chorotis und Ashluslays sind leidenschaftliche Raucher.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Bei ihnen ist das Rauchen einer der höchsten Lebensgenüsse. Diese Gegensätze sind ganz sonderbar.

Die Chiriguanos und die Chanés haben ausgedehnte Anpflanzungen, die, im Gegensatz zu den Rodungen der Chorotis und Ashluslays in der Wildnis, gut gepflegt sind. Ehemals hat man Spaten aus hartem Holz mit schönen Stielen angewendet (Abb. 89), diese sind aber jetzt außer Gebrauch gekommen und vollständig durch eiserne Spaten verdrängt worden. Die Felder liegen nicht selten weit von den Dörfern, wie z. B. im Caipipendital. Dies hängt damit zusammen, daß nicht überall das ganze Jahr Wasser in der Nähe der Pflanzungen vorhanden ist.

Die gewonnenen Früchte werden, wie schon erwähnt, in auf Pfählen gebauten Scheunen (Abb. 84) verwahrt, um sie wenigstens etwas vor Ratten, Feuchtigkeit usw. zu schützen. Diese Scheunen sieht man, außer bei den Chanés am Rio Pilcomayo, überall.

Die Felder sind mit gestrüppförmig gebauten Zäunen eingezäunt, deren Übersteigung oft Schwierigkeiten macht. Eine Düngung der Felder kommt nicht vor. Dagegen läßt man einen ausgenutzten Acker brach liegen.

Die Zeit des Säens wird nach der Stellung des Siebengestirns, „ychu", bestimmt. Geht dieses sehr früh am Morgen über den Horizont, so ist Saatzeit. Wenn die Regenzeit beginnt, muß alles gesät sein.

Die Männer roden und säen. Bei der Ernte helfen alle mit, Männer, Frauen und Kinder. Bei den Chanés im Itiyurotal säeten die Männer den Mais, d. h. sie besorgten die größeren Pflanzungen, während die Frauen Gärtner waren und Kürbisse, Bohnen usw. pflanzten.

Die Chanés und die Chiriguanos sind keine großen Jäger. Vielleicht hat man früher mehr gejagt. Ihre Jagdwaffen bestehen aus Pfeil und Bogen. Zur Wildschweinjagd werden Keulen angewendet, zur Straußenjagd wurden früher die Boleadora, „churiena" benutzt. Schlingen und Vogelnetze kommen auch vor. Früher trugen die Jäger eine offen-

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

bar den Spaniern nachgeahmte, nach europäischem Schnitt zugeschnittene Tracht aus Leder.[1]) Diese durfte nicht im Hause hängen. Früher durfte auch bei den Chanés am Rio Parapiti kein Fleisch im Hause gekocht werden, sondern dies mußte ein Stückchen davon geschehen. Die Knaben sind natürlich eifrige Jäger kleiner Vögel. Sie benutzen manchmal, wie auch die Männer, Tonkugelbogen.

Man hat eigens für die Wildschweinjagd abgerichtete Jagdhunde. In einem Chanédorf am Rio Itiyuro sah ich, wie man allen Hunden ein rotes Kreuz auf den Kopf malte, damit sie nicht von einem in der Nähe grassierenden tollen Hunde gebissen würden. Es war wirklich spaßhaft zu sehen, wie diese heidnischen Chanés ihre Hunde mit dem Kreuzzeichen gegen die Tollwut schützten.

Batirayu erzählte mir, die Chanémänner dürften, wenn sie auf die Jagd gingen, in der Nacht vorher nicht bei ihren Frauen schlafen.

Der Fischfang wird in den verschiedenen Flüssen ungleich betrieben.

Im Rio Itiyuro fischen beinahe ausschließlich Frauen und Kinder. Dort gibt es auch nur kleine Fische. Ich sah dort drei Fischereimethoden. Angelfischerei, Fischfang mit Kalebasse und Fischerei durch Ausdämmen von Teichen. Die Angelhaken bestehen aus gebogenen Nadeln, die man von den Weißen bekommen hat. Flöße und Senkblei kommen nicht vor.

Der Fischfang mit Kalebasse geschieht folgendermaßen. In den Boden des Flusses werden mehrere Laubbüschel gesteckt, die Schatten geben, und vor jeden von diesen wird eine Kalebasse (Abb. 90) mit saurem, gemahlenem Mais (Abfälle vom Bierbrauen) gestellt. Die Fische sammeln sich in den Kalebassen, die von den Frauen von Zeit zu Zeit herausgenommen werden. Diese schleichen sich an die Kalebasse heran, legen schnell die Hand auf die Mündung, heben

[1] Schon Viedma erwähnt diese Tracht, S. 181.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

sie hoch und entleeren dann den Inhalt in Gruben am Flußufer.

Eine andere, in dem erwähnten Flusse oft angewendete Art des Fischens ist das Aufdämmen länglicher Teiche im Sande, in denen die Fische sich sammeln. Die Fische werden nach Entleerung des Wassers aus den Teichen gefangen. Zuweilen läßt man den Teich in einer mit einem Ketscher verschlossenen Rinne enden, aus der die Fische nicht heraus können.

Aller Fischfang, den ich am Rio Itiyuro gesehen habe, geschah während der Trockenzeit an sonnenheißen Tagen.

Abb. 90. Fischfang mit Kalebasse. Rio Itiyuro.

Im oberen Rio Pilcomayo fischen die Chiriguanos mit von den Weißen erhaltenen Angelhaken, mit den Tauchnetzen der Chorotis ähnlichen, obschon kleineren Netzen und durch Schießen der Fische mit Pfeil und Bogen. Die zum Fischfang angewendeten Pfeile haben zwei oder mehrere Spitzen.

Im Rio Parapiti sah ich Chanés und Chiriguanos mit einem Netz von dem hier abgebildeten Typ (Abb. 91) fischen. Beim Fischschießen wenden die dortigen Chiriguanos Pfeile mit vielen feinen Spitzen an.

In diesen zuletzt genannten Flüssen fischen die Männer immer im tieferen Wasser mit Netz und mit Pfeil und Bogen, während die Frauen sich damit begnügen, kleine Fische in den Verdämmungen zu fangen, wenn der Fluß halbtrocken ist.

Nicht so selten nehmen die Indianer lange Reisen vor, um zu fischen. So pflegen die Chanés zuweilen während der

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Trockenzeit die Sümpfe, „Madrejones", in denen der Rio Parapiti sich verliert, zu besuchen.

Es ist merkwürdig, daß Völker, die so viel fischen, so wenige Fischereigeräte kennen. In meiner Schilderung der Chorotis und Ashluslays haben wir mit dieser Armut schon Bekanntschaft gemacht.

Moberg und der Verfasser wollten einmal am Rio Pilcomayo den Indianern etwas von unseren Erfahrungen im Fischfang zum besten geben und fabrizierten nun eine Reuse, über die wir nicht wenig stolz waren. Wir setzten sie in der vollen Überzeugung aus, daß sie am Morgen voller Fische sei. Holz und Abfälle aller Art war alles, was wir fingen, und ich kann nicht leugnen, daß die Indianer uns ein wenig auslachten.

Der Grund der Armut dieser Indianer an Fischereigeräten ist nicht der Mangel an Ideen, sondern ein anderer. Es passen ganz einfach wenige Fischereimethoden für diese Gewässer. Ein Netz des Nachts aussetzen, geht nicht an, denn wenn ein Palometafisch in das Netz gerät, schneidet er dasselbe mit seinen messerscharfen Zähnen sofort entzwei. Angelfischerei treiben, wo es solche Fische gibt, ist auch nicht verlockend, denn sie beißen die Angeln ebenso leicht, wie die Angelschnüre, ab, wenn sie nicht aus sehr gutem Material sind. In diesen tropischen Gewässern modern auch die Fischgeräte schneller, als bei uns, man darf sie also nicht eine ganze Nacht über im Wasser lassen.

Die Chiriguanos und Chanés haben keine Fahrzeuge. Sie sind dagegen außerordentliche Water, und hier während der Regenzeit in den Flüssen waten, ist gerade keine Kleinigkeit. Hat man jedoch einen dieser Indianer als Beistand, so kommt man, wenn es überhaupt möglich ist, doch hinüber.

Als eine Eigentümlichkeit kann ich erwähnen, daß ich während meiner ganzen Reise niemals einen eingeborenen Weißen oder Mestizen habe fischen sehen. In Bolivia ist es nicht fein, frische Fische zu essen. Am Rio Pilcomayo

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

aßen die Offiziere der Militärposten beinahe niemals die leckeren, frischen, lachsähnlichen Fische aus dem Flusse, sondern zogen Büchsenlachs aus Alaska vor. Da dieser, wenn er nach Bolivia kommt, sehr alt ist, schmeckt er schrecklich. Die Angelfischerei ist auch die einzige Fischereimethode, welche die Indianer von den Weißen gelernt haben.

Von Haustieren haben die Chiriguanos und Chanés nur die Hunde nicht von den Weißen bekommen. Diese Hunde scheinen mir jetzt stark mit fremdem Blut vermischt zu sein. Sie haben immer Namen, z. B. tirupotchi (altes Kleid),

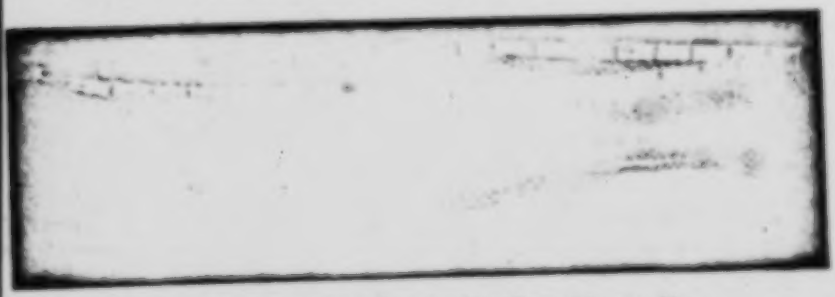


Abb. 91. Netz. Chiriguano. Rio Parapiti. ca. 1/12.

chapikáyu (gelbe Augenbrauen). In der Regel haben die Chiriguanos und Chanés weniger Pferde, Kühe, Esel, Schafe und Ziegen, als die Chorotis und Ashluslays. Hühner und Schweine haben sie dagegen mehr. Zuweilen sieht man Enten, Perlhühner und Truthähne. In gewissen Gegenden, wie z. B. im Caipipendital, wo die Indianer reich sind, haben sie gleichwohl viel Vieh. Was sie besitzen, suchen ihnen die Weißen leider auf alle Weise abzuschwindeln. So ist es nichts Ungewöhnliches, daß ein weißer Mann oder eine weiße Frau mit einigen Fäßchen Branntwein in ein Dorf kommt und dasselbe mit einem Paar der besten Kühe der Indianer verläßt. Die Weißen werden reicher, die Indianer ärmer.

Die Menagerie gezähmter Waldtiere, die man in den Dörfern der primitiveren Indianer sieht, findet man bei

diesen Indianern nicht. Ein Papagei, der etwas Guarani spricht, ist jedoch in den Hütten nichts Ungewöhnliches.

Zubereitung der Speisen.

Den Schmutz, den wir bei der Zubereitung der Speisen und im Essen bei den Chorotis und Ashluslays treffen, findet

Abb. 92 a. Dämpfapparat. Chaná. Rio Ityuro.

man bei den Chanás und Chiriguanos nicht. Die Speisen sind dagegen schrecklich einförmig. Sie bestehen aus Mais in allen möglichen Formen, gekochtem Mais, geröstetem Mais, in Asche gebackenem Maisbrot, Maismehlbrei und

gedämpftem Maismehl. Das letztere wird in einem hier abgebildeten Apparat (Abb. 92) zubereitet.

Fleisch wird mit Mais als Suppe gekocht oder geröstet. Bevor es in den Topf gelegt wird, wird es sauber gewaschen. Die Fische werden in Klammern oder in Maisblättern über dem Feuer geröstet. Die kleinen Fische, die ich auf diese Weise zubereiten gesehen habe, werden erst beim Essen angenommen. Hat man viele Fische, so werden sie für den künftigen Bedarf getrocknet.

Besonders in Zeiten der Not werden auch verschiedene

Abb. 92 b. Oberes Tongefäß.
Das hier abgebildete Exemplar ist von den Mataco-Vejos, die seine Anwendung von den Chaná gelernt haben. $\frac{1}{10}$

wilde Gewächse gegessen. Zum Essen wird Salz angewendet, das jetzt von den Weißen gekauft wird. Früher holte man es aus den Bergsalzgruben am San Luis auf dem Wege von der Stadt Tarija nach dem Chaco, oder bereitete Salz aus salzhaltiger Erde, „yukin". Die mit Salz gemischte Erde wurde in eine Schale mit Wasser gelegt, sank zu Boden, und das Salzwasser wurde angewendet.

Frauen und Männer essen getrennt. Zu Hause geht es gewöhnlich so zu, daß die Männer zuerst essen und dann die Frauen und Kinder. Die Indianer wollen beim Essen Ruhe haben. Es ist deshalb höchst unpassend, sie während dieser wichtigen Beschäftigung anzusprechen.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Sie essen, soweit ich es gesehen habe, nicht aus einer gemeinschaftlichen Schüssel, sondern jeder ißt aus seiner Schale. Nach den Mahlzeiten spülen sie den Mund und waschen sich die Hände, indem sie das Spülwasser über die Finger spucken.

Es schien mir, als würden hier wirkliche Mahlzeiten abgehalten, von denen die erste des Morgens, die zweite mitten am Tage und die dritte bei Sonnenuntergang eingenommen wurde.

Hat man in einem Hause Überfluß an Speisen, so ladet man auch die Nachbarhäuser ein. Ein besuchender Indianer wird sehr gastfrei aufgenommen. Er braucht nicht fortzugehen, ohne Maisbier oder Essen erhalten zu haben. In den Chanédörfern am Rio Parapiti setzten mir die Indianer, wenn ich zu ihnen zu Besuch kam, immer eine Schüssel mit süßen Kartoffeln vor.

Die Chanés essen keine Esel, Maulesel, Pferde, Hunde, Füchse, Geier oder Affen. Dagegen werden Puma und Jaguar für eßbar gehalten.

Wenn die Frauen in den Dörfern nicht zu kochen, zu brauen oder ihre Kleinen zu warten haben, sind sie doch immer fleißig. Wenigstens die älteren unter ihnen sieht man beinahe niemals ohne Beschäftigung. Sie spinnen, machen Tongefäße, weben. Ich habe diese Frauen schätzen gelernt, ich habe ihre liebevolle Fürsorge für die Kinder, ihren Fleiß, ihre Pflege des Heims, ihre Geschicklichkeit und ihren Geschmack bewundert.

Spiele.

Manchmal sieht man die Männer spielen. Das gewöhnlichste Spiel ist jetzt taba, das mit dem Sprungbein einer Kuh gespielt wird und das diese Indianer in den Zuckerfabriken gelernt haben. Auch Würfelspiele sind dort nicht ungewöhnlich. Die Regeln für diese scheinen ihre eigenen, oder vielmehr den Weißen nachgeahmte zu sein.

„Daro", wie die Chiriguanos das Würfelspiel nach dem Spanischen nennen, wird von zwei Personen mit von ihnen

selbst verfertigten Würfeln gespielt. In Tihuipa habe ich folgende Regeln für dieses Spiel (Abb. 93) aufgezeichnet.

Alle übrigen Kombinationen sind = 0. Wer zuerst zehn Striche hat, gewinnt. Die Striche werden auf dem Fußboden markiert.

Von eigenen Hazardspielen haben sie zwei. Das eine ist dasselbe, wie wir es S. 73 von den Chorotis und Ashluslays kennen gelernt haben. Die Chiriguanos nennen dieses Spiel „chúcaráy", die Chanés „chunquánti".[1])

Das andere den Chiriguanos und Chanés bekannte Spiel habe ich bei keinen anderen Indianern gesehen. Sie nennen es tsúcareta und spielen es mit einem Haufen Stäbchen, die auf der einen Seite konvex, auf der anderen eben oder konkav sind (Abb. 95).

Abb. 93. Spielregel für „Daro". Chiriguano. Tihuipa.

Zuerst wird ein Stäbchen (Máma) so ausgelegt, daß es auf den hinzeigt, der werfen soll (Abb. 96). Nehmen wir an, daß es so gelegt ist, daß die konvexe Seite nach oben gerichtet ist. Fallen zwei oder mehr Stäbchen kreuzweise übereinander, und zwar mit der konvexen Seite nach oben und ohne oben von einem Stäbchen mit der ebenen Seite nach oben berührt zu werden, so fallen sie dem Werfenden zu. Wäre das Máma so gelegt worden, daß die ebene Seite nach oben gelegt worden wäre, so hätten nur die gezählt, die mit der ebenen Seite nach oben ein Kreuz gebildet haben.

Man schlägt abwechselnd und jeder legt das Máma beliebig aus. Wer die meisten Stäbchen bekommen hat, hat gewonnen.

Hat man nur noch vier Stäbchen, so wird kein Máma mehr ausgelegt, sondern man kommt überein, ob die konvexen oder ebenen (konkaven) gelten sollen.

[1]) Vgl. Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethn., 1910, H. 3 u. 4.

[facing p. 192]

Tafel 17. Palmenwald, unweit des Rio Pilcomayo.

Bisweilen sieht man die Frauen ein Kegelspiel, von den Chiriguanos in Tiéntpa „tarapia", von den Chanés am Rio Parapiti „tocotóre" genannt, spielen.

In Tiéntpa spielte man auf folgende Weise. Man stellte zwei Reihen Maiskörner, je zwei nebeneinander, als Kegel in einem Abstand von vier bis fünf Fuß auf. Zwei spielten

Abb. 94. Chamquanti spielende Chanékneben am Rio Itiyuro.

abwechselnd, indem sie die Maiskegel des anderen mit einer steinernen Kugel abzuschlagen versuchten. Wer zuerst alle Maiskegel des anderen abgeschlagen hatte, hatte gewonnen.

Am Rio Pilcomayo spielte man mit drei Kegeln auf jeder Seite. Der Abstand zwischen den Kegeln des Gegners war drei Ellen. Jeder Kegel bestand aus einem entmarkten Maiskolben und der Abstand zwischen ihnen sollte eine Handspanne[1]) sein. Die angewandten Bälle sind aus gebranntem Ton und hohl, mit kleinen, rasselnden Kugeln im Innern (Abb. 95).

[1]) Längster Abstand zwischen Daumen und kleinem Finger.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Das Leben der Indianerkinder.

Wenn man vom Leben in den Dörfern spricht, darf man auch die Kinder nicht vergessen. Die Kinder spielen, helfen aber auch den Großen. Sie werden wie die Chorotis- und Ashlusaykinder erzogen. In heiterer Freiheit verbringen sie ihr Leben, ohne Prügel und harte Worte.

Die Chiriguano- und Chanékinder haben mehrere Spiele und Spielsachen, welche man die Kinder der Wildnis in Bolivia niemals anwenden sieht und die mir alle echt indianisch zu sein scheinen.

Die Indianerkinder spielen vor allem die Spiele, die ich schon von den Älteren erwähnt habe. Von den Spielen der Chorotis und Ashlusays kennen sie das korkzyklische Ballspiel, das die Chiriguanos „tiira" nennen. Bei den Chanés habe ich es nicht spielen sehen. Als Tore pflegen sie Großen anzuwenden, und zuweilen schlagen sie die Bälle mit Rakette. Das ist hier ein Knabenspiel. Ein außerordentlich hübsches und schweres Spiel ist „tikki", das ich von den Knaben der Chanés am Río Parapití habe spielen sehen. Es wird von zwei, vier, sechs oder mehr Personen in zwei Abteilungen gespielt. Die Bälle aus massivem Gummi werden von einem der Spielenden erst in die Luft geworfen und dann mit dem Kopf nach der gegenüberliegenden Seite geworfen, wo er mit dem Kopf wieder zurückgeschlagen werden soll. Das Berühren des Balles mit der Hand ist verboten. Die Partei, die, je nach Übereinkommen, fünf- oder sechsmal den Ball verfehlt, hat verloren.

Abb. 29
Mädchen vom Tikiarspiel. ⅔

Das Tikispiel wird in einer der Sagen der Chanéindianer erwähnt. In dieser Sage sehen wir, wie schwer es den Chanés früher gefallen ist, den Gummi für die Bälle zu

erhalten, der, da es im Chaco keinen Gummi gibt, von weit her geholt werden muß.

Jetzt erhalten sie die Gummibälle von Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Ich habe das „Tiki" nur von Knaben spielen sehen. Früher wurde es nicht allein von den Männern, sondern auch

Abb. 96. Männer wird eingelegt. Tikiscretanspiel. Tikstyu. Chiriguano.

von den Gattinnen gespielt. Es ist besonders von den Chiquitos-indianern bekannt.[1])

Auch d'Orbigny[2]) erwähnt dieses hübsche Spiel von den Chiquitos. Am Rio Guaporé habe ich Chiquitano sprechende

[1]) Erlebnisse und ungemeine Geschichten. Wien 1799. S. 55.
[2]) d'Orbigny: Voyage. Partie historique. Tome 2. S. 394—395.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Gummiarbeiter das Spiel spielen sehen, die es außerordentlich gut verstanden, den Ball mit dem Kopf weiterzustoßen. Auch niedrige, den Boden beinahe erreichende Bälle fingen sie, auf dem Magen liegend, in gleicher Weise auf.

Spiele mit Gummibällen scheinen den Spaniern erst sehr spät bekannt geworden zu sein. Dies geht aus dem Erstaunen

Abb. 97. Die Stäbchen werden geworfen. Tobiasvertauschspiel.

hervor, mit dem Gumilla[1]) sie erwähnt. Merkwürdig, sagt er, sind die Bälle und die Art, wie mit ihnen gespielt wird. Der Ball ist groß und aus einem Holzsaft, Caucho genannt, gearbeitet, der bei einem leichten Stoß so hoch springt, wie ein Mann lang ist.

Gumilla erzählt, daß die Indianer am Orinoco mit der

[1]) Gumilla: El Orinoco Ilustrado. Madrid 1745. S. 190.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

rechten Schulter spielten. Traf der Ball einen anderen Körperteil, so verlor der Spielende einen Point. Er bewunderte ihr Spiel, da sie den Ball zehn-, zweimal und noch öfter warfen, ohne den Boden zu berühren.

Ein anderes neues Spiel ist „stokki", das die Chaschnaken am Río Parapití spielten (Abb. 102). Es wird von zwei

Abb. 98. Die Spielenden sehen nach, wo die Stäbchen gefallen sind.

Knaben mit Holzkriegsäbeln gespielt. Erst wirft der eine Knabe einen Pfeil auf den Boden, dann der andere, der dem so nahe wie möglich zu kommen sucht. Kommt er eine Handspanne oder noch näher an den Pfeil des Gegners, so gewinnt er einen Point, d. h. bekommt einen Strich. Wer zuerst sechs Points hat, wenn der andere keinen hat, hat gewonnen. Jeder spielt mit bis zu drei Pfeilen. Die Points zählen so, daß nur das gilt, was der eine mehr als der andere hat.

„Hairahoshoa" ist ein Spiel (Abb. 103), das nur von den jüngeren Chanáknaben am Río Paraguay gespielt wird. Es wird von zwei Knaben mit je einem Stäbchen gespielt. Der eine wirft sein Stäbchen so, daß die Spitze auf den Boden schlägt und so weit wie möglich abspringt. Nachher wirft der zweite. Wer am weitesten geworfen hat, bekommt einen Strich auf dem Boden. Wer zuerst acht Striche hat, wenn der andere auf Null steht, hat gewonnen.

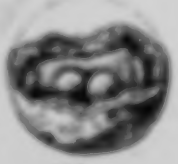


Abb. 102. Geteilter Ball aus Tonscherben. ⅓ Chaná. Río Paraguay.

Das „Paranna"-Spiel habe ich von den Chiriguanos im Caipipendital spielen sehen. Es wird von zweien gespielt. Ein Knopf oder dergleichen wird als Tor auf einen Stein gelegt, worauf man mit runden Stäbchen aus Tonscherben wirft. Der Knopf soll herausgeschlagen werden, und wer

Abb. 103. Spielstock. ⅓. Tikuipa. Chiriguano.

Abb. 104. Rakett. ⅓. Tikuipa. Chiriguano.

demselben am nächsten kommt, hat einen Strich gewonnen. Das Spiel wird so lange fortgesetzt, bis der eine, je nach Übereinkommen, fünf oder mehr Striche hat.

Die Chaná- und Chiriguanokinder haben auch mehrere Spielzeuge, die hier abgebildet sind (Abb. 104—105). Von diesen ist „moro-moro" (Abb. 104) eigentümlich. Mit dem wird

6 Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

wenn die Fäden erst gewirbelt und dann gespannt werden, ein summender Ton hervorgebracht.

Nun habe ich meine Leser wohl ordentlich mit indianischen Spielen und Spielzeuchen gelangweilt. Vielleicht habe ich mich bei diesem in Südamerika so wenig studierten Gegenstande, der mich auf meiner Reise lebhaft interessiert hat, zu lange aufgehalten. Wie bei den Chorotis und Ashluslays, habe ich gern mit den Knaben gespielt. Dies ist auch eine Art und Weise, den Indianern näher zu kommen, ihr Vertrauen zu gewinnen.

Wie die Chorotis- und Ashluslaykinder, langweilen sich

Abb. 102. Maisbeilwerfspiel. $\frac{1}{3}$. „Stock". Chaná. Rio Paraguay.

Abb. 103. Stäbchen zum Hinterhauptspiel. $\frac{1}{3}$. Chaná. Rio Paraguay.

die Kinder der Chanás und Chiriguanos selten, wie diese sind es artige und gute Kinder. Auf den Spielplätzen in den Dörfern geht es in der Regel sehr munter zu. Dies gilt für die Heiden. Die Kinder, die in die Hände der Mönche geraten sind, sehen düster und verschlossen aus, sie haben schon etwas von dem zu kosten bekommen, was die Kinder der weißen Männer lernen, Erziehung und beginnende Zivilisation. „Du sollst . . ." „Du sollst nicht . . ."

Die Spiele und Spielzeuge sind vom anthropo-geographischen Gesichtspunkte aus von großem Interesse. Eine Mehrzahl von ihnen finden wir nicht außerhalb des Chaco und der angrenzenden Gegenden in Südamerika. Dagegen finden wir sie in Nordamerika. Infolgedessen habe ich den Schluß

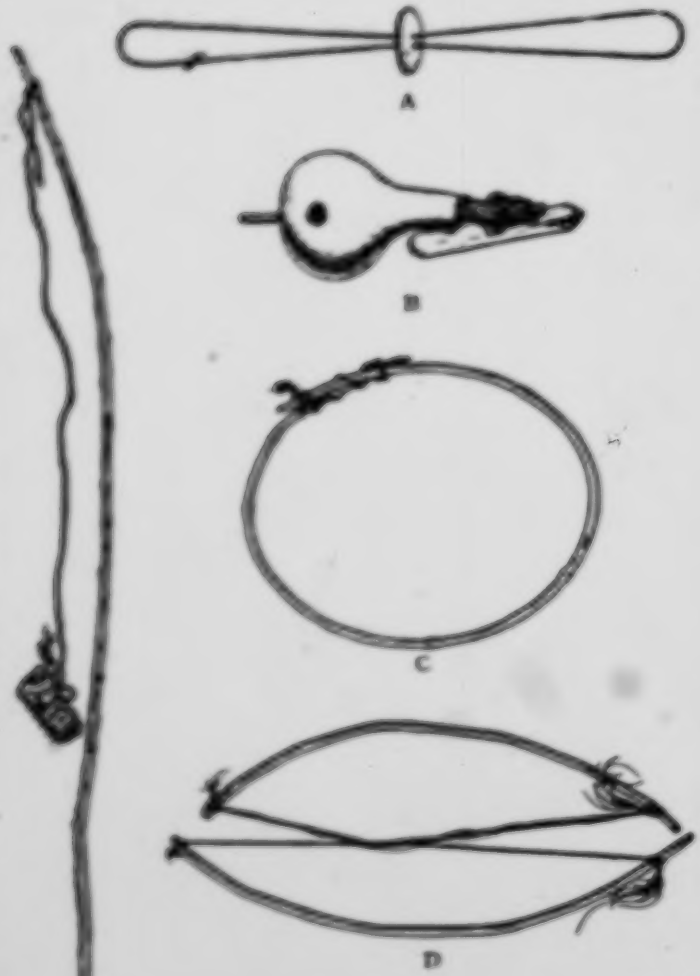


Abb. 104. Spielzeug. Chaná und Chiriguano.

A = „[illegible]". ⅓. Chaná. Rio Paraplitl.
B = [illegible] Knoten. ⅓. Chiriguano. Caipipendi.
C, C1 = Ringe mit Peitsche. Chaná. Rio Ibiyuto.
D = Wurfschlinge. ⅓. Chaná. Rio Paraplitl.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

gezogen,[1]) daß die Spiele und Spielsachen Überbleibsel aus einer Zeit sind, in der der kulturelle Austausch zwischen Nord- und Südamerika größer als jetzt war, oder richtiger, daß Spuren eines von Norden ausgehenden Kulturstromes bis nach Argentinien hinunter gegangen sind. Eine merkwürdige Ähnlichkeit herrscht auch zwischen den Typen von Tabakspfeifen, die man im südlichen Südamerika und in

Abb. 105. Puppen aus Wachs. 1/1. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

Nordamerika trifft. Die Dreifußkeramik, die ich bei meinen Ausgrabungen im östlichen Bolivia, in Mojos, gefunden habe, deutet auch auf Einflüsse von Norden.

Alltagskleidung.

In den Dörfern, wo der Einfluß der Weißen nicht die alten Trachten verdrängt hat, tragen die Chané- und Chiriguanofrauen ein sackförmiges Kleidungsstück, „tiru" (Abb. 106). Dieses kann, wie aus den Photographien ersichtlich, auf verschiedene Weise getragen werden. Früher scheint der Tiru nicht die jetzige Form gehabt zu haben. Viedma[2]) sagt, die

[1]) S. auch Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie, 1910. H. 3 u. 4.

[2]) Viedma, l. c. S. 181.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Chiriguanofrauen hatten nur ein Stück Zeug um die Hüften. Sicher hat sich die Tracht unter dem Einfluß der „moralischen" Christen so entwickelt, daß sie „anständiger" geworden ist.

Abb. 106. Chanéfrau von Rio Parapiti, in „Tiru" gekleidet.

Von einheimischen Schmucksachen sieht man Halsketten aus Türkis- und Chrysocolperlen und aus schwarzen Körnern.

Nach eigenen Angaben finden die Indianer die Steinperlen in der Erde, wo alte Wohnplätze und Gräber sind. Die Mestizen im Tarijatal, die in ihren Feldern eine große Menge dieser Perlen finden, verkaufen sie den Chiriguanos

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

und Chanés zu hohen Preisen. Früher wurde eine Halskette aus diesen Perlen mit einem Pferd bezahlt.

Das Haar tragen die Chané- und Chiriguanofrauen halblang, mitten auf der Stirn gescheitelt und manchmal im Nacken oder auf dem Kopf mit einem Band zusammengebunden.

Die Männer tragen jetzt alle die europäische Tracht. Bei

Abb. 107. Gesichtsbemalung. Chiriguano. Itapeshia. Rote Farbe. A u. B — Männer. C u. D — Frauen.

der Arbeit sieht man sie jedoch nicht selten nur in einem die Geschlechtsteile schützenden Stück Zeug. Bei den Chanés am Rio Parapiti waren Mäntel gleich denen, die wir von den Chorotis und Ashluslays kennen gelernt haben, sehr gewöhnlich. Die älteren Männer, sowie auch die jüngeren in den Chiriguanodörfern am oberen Rio Pilcomayo, tragen das Haar lang, um den Kopf gewunden und von einem in der Regel roten oder blauen Band zusammengehalten. Nach vorn ist das Haar abgeschnitten, sie haben also Stirnlocken

und eine Locke vor jedem Ohr. Es greift jedoch immer mehr die Sitte um sich, das Haar kurz zu schneiden, um ebenso fein zu sein, wie die Weißen. An den Füßen tragen sie, wenn sie auf stringem oder dornigem Boden wandern, wie die Frauen, Sandalen.

Diese Indianer malen sich alltags nicht oft. Zuweilen sieht man eine Frau, die sich das Gesicht rot gemalt hat. Die Weißen behaupten, es bedeute, sie sei heiratslustig, oder, wenn sie verheiratet ist, lüstern. Ich wage jedoch nicht zu sagen, daß dies wahr ist. Einen roten Strich hier und da ins Gesicht malen sich die Frauen auch alltags, oder sie kleben ganz einfach eine Blume an jede Wange. Die Männer bemalen auch manchmal das Gesicht und den Körper rot. Als große Seltenheit habe ich ein paar Chiriguanofrauen gesehen, die auf dem Arm tätowiert waren (Abb. 108). Im Caipipendital haben die Chiriguanofrauen die abscheuliche Sitte, ihre sonst weißen und gesunden Zähne zu schwärzen. Viedma erzählt, daß die Chiriguanomänner ihre Zähne blau zu malen pflegten.

Abb. 108.
Tätowierter Frauenarm.
Chiriguano. Itapembia.

Reinlichkeit.

Die Chanés und Chiriguanos sind sehr reinlich. Sie beginnen, wie schon erwähnt, den Morgen mit einem Bad, und baden dann oft mehrmals im Laufe des Tages. Diese Reinlichkeit ist bei Stämmen, die oft in Gegenden wohnen, wo, wie z. B. im Chipipendital, großer Wassermangel herrscht, merkwürdig. In der Trockenzeit können sie dort niemals ein Bad nehmen, wenigstens die Frauen waschen aber ihren Körper jeden Morgen gründlich ab.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Der Gegensatz, der sich hier in dem Reinlichkeitsgrade der verschiedenen Stämme zeigt, läßt sich, meiner Ansicht nach, durch ihre Wanderungen erklären. Die Chorotis, Ashluslays und Matacos, welche sich noch teilweise in Felldecken kleiden, scheinen mir, wie die Feuerländer und Patagonier, aus den kalten Pampas im Süden, wo ein Waschen leicht unangenehm war, nach dem Chaco eingewandert zu sein, während die Chiriguanos und Chanés vom Norden, aus den feuchtwarmen Urwäldern, von den großen Flüssen kommen, wo das Baden immer schön und erfrischend war. Nun, wo

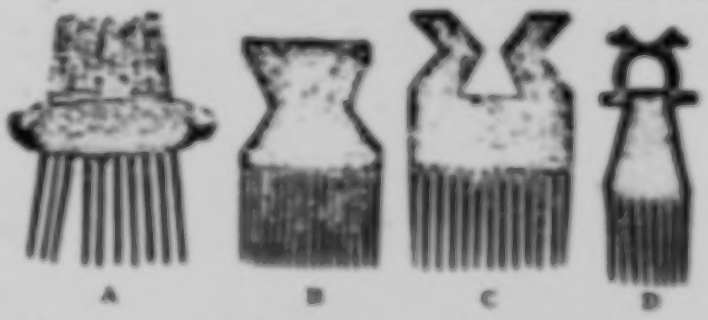


Abb. 109. Kämme zum Kämmen des Haares, nicht zur Befestigung in demselben.

A. von den Chanés. B, C, D von den Chiriguanos.

sie unter denselben klimatischen Verhältnissen leben, haben die ersteren ihren Schmutz, die letzteren ihre Reinlichkeit bewahrt.

Im Thurn[1]) berichtet, daß die Indianer in Guayana sofort nach dem Essen baden, ohne daß ihnen dies schlecht bekommt. Dasselbe habe ich hier oft beobachtet.

Den Kopf schampunieren die Chiriguanos und verschiedene Chanés mit den Samen von „ayantéra", die sie mahlen. Zu demselben Zweck benutzen die Chanés am Rio Parapiti die Rinde des Mistel, „yúag". Auch die Nägel, und nicht

[1]) Im Thurn: Among the indians of Guiana. London 1883.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

zum wenigsten die Zehennägel, werden sauber gepflegt. Zum Kämmen wenden sie in Holz geschnittene oder aus Rohrstäbchen zusammengebundene Kämme an.

Ihre Bedürfnisse verrichten die Chanés und Chiriguanos niemals ganz nahe den Hütten. Besondere Abtritte habe ich aber niemals bei irgend welchen Indianern, und auch nicht bei vielen Weißen in Bolivia, gesehen.

Die Chanés und Chiriguanos gehen mit ihren Kleidern sehr sorgfältig um. Sie halten sie rein und flicken sie, wenn es nötig ist. Jedes Geschlecht wäscht und flickt seine Sachen selbst. Der Mann näht hier vollkommen ebenso gut wie die Frau.

Ich habe hier von dem Alltagsleben bei diesen Indianern gesprochen. Nun will ich die wichtigsten Ereignisse in ihrem Leben, in ihrem Gemeinwesen, ihre Feste, ihre Industrie usw. schildern, um zuletzt zu ihren Sagen und ihrer Religion überzugehen.

[p.206]

Zwölftes Kapitel.

Aus dem Leben der Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer (Forts.).

Vom Mutterleib bis zum Grabe.

Streng arbeiten die Chané- und Chiriguanofrauen auch während der Schwangerschaft, bis sie gebären sollen. Im Dorfe Vocapoys war eine schwangere Frau, der ich eine von mir geschossene Taube schenkte. Vocapoy erklärte mir da ganz erregt, eine schwangere Frau dürfe keine Tauben essen. Kommt ein Chané- oder Chiriguanokind zur Welt, verursacht es seiner Mutter sicherlich nicht viel Schmerzen. Diese Frauen sind gesund und gebären leicht, wie alle Indianerfrauen, die eine gesunde Lebensweise führen und niemals eng anliegende Kleider getragen haben. Sie liegen auch nicht im Wochenbett, das muß statt dessen der Papa des Kleinen. Auch hier treffen wir diesen eigentümlichen Brauch, die „Couvade", die von so vielen Indianerstämmen her bekannt ist. Mehrere Tage soll der Mann liegen und Diät halten. Bei den Chanés am Rio Parapiti darf er die ersten Tage nur gekochten Mais und Maissuppe, später auch süße Kartoffeln essen. Mehrere Tage lang darf er kein Fleisch essen. Ißt er z. B. das Fleisch einer Ziege, so stirbt er, meckernd wie diese. Der Chiriguanoindianer Taco erzählte mir, er habe seinen dicken Magen deswegen bekommen, weil er diesen wichtigen Brauch nicht innegehalten habe. „Fünf Tage hätte ich liegen und Diät halten sollen", sagte er.

Die Sitte der Couvade hat, wie bekannt, in Südamerika eine sehr große Ausdehnung. Bei den Stämmen, die ich kennen gelernt habe, kommt sie sicher, außer bei den Chiri-

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

guanos und Chanés, bei den Chorotis, Guarayis und Chacobos vor. K. v. d. Steinen,[1]) der diesen Brauch ausführlich vom Rio Xingu schildert, sagt, er sei wahrscheinlich für alle brasilianischen Stämme bekannt. Dagegen scheint der Brauch der Couvade von den Quichuas und Aymaras, d. h. von der Gebirgskultur in Bolivia und Peru, unbekannt zu sein. Dies ist einer der vielen Gegensätze, die zwischen den Indianern des Gebirges und des Urwaldes bestehen.

Die Guarayiindianer in Nordost-Bolivia sagten mir, wenn ein Mann gleich nach der Entbindung seiner Frau auf die Jagd geht und z. B. einen Papagei schießt, so kann er sein Kind töten. In den ersten Tagen des Lebens folgt nämlich die Seele des Kindes dem Vater.

Sehr selten werden bei den Chanés und Chiriguanos außerehelliche Kinder geboren. Ich glaube, vielleicht irre ich mich, daß die Frauen dieser Indianer keusch sind, bevor sie heiraten. Am Rio Itiyuro befand sich unter etwa 500 Chanés nur ein von einer unverheirateten Frau geborenes Kind. Mißgestaltete Kinder werden sehr selten geboren. So gibt es, nach dem, was ich gesehen und Batirayu angegeben, im ganzen Parapitital unter 1500–2000 Chanés keinen Blindgeborenen, keinen Schielenden, keinen Idioten und nur einen mit mißgestalteten Extremitäten und vier Taubstumme. Stark stammelnde Indianer habe ich nicht beobachtet.

Ich weiß nicht, ob die mißgestalteten Kinder auch bei diesen Indianern gleich getötet werden, aber wahrscheinlich ist dies der Fall. Ich weiß auch nicht, ob Abtreibung der Leibesfrucht vorkommt. Sicher ist aber, daß diese gesunden Frauen selten Kinder gebären, die nicht wohlgestaltet sind. Im Parapitital fand sich gleichwohl, wie erwähnt, ein Knabe mit mißgestalteten Extremitäten. Das eine Hüftbein war zu kurz und der eine Arm auch verkrüppelt. Dieser Knabe wurde von allen mit außerordentlichem Wohlwollen be-

[1]) Karl v. d. Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens. Berlin 1894.

handelt, und man drückte laut seinen Beifall aus, als ich ihm einige kleine Geschenke gab.

Wenn das Kind zu gehen anfängt, erhält es einen Namen. Diesen gibt nicht der Vater oder die Mutter, sondern seine Großeltern. Bei den Chanés am Rio Parapiti habe ich einige Namen aufgezeichnet. Ist es ein Knabe, so wird er z. B. yatérembi (Lippe der Zecke), huisoraca (Guanaco), tátonambi (Gürteltiercube), yándoiápe (Straußbrücken), vacainyáca (Kuhkopf), aguárachivi (Fuchshaare), derésa paravéte (deine armen Augen) genannt; ist es ein Mädchen, z. B. ácuayppeti (Guayavablüte).[1]) Ein großer Teil der Namen ist unübersetzbar. Zu diesem Namen kommt nicht selten ein Spottname. So wurde z. B. der Chanéhäuptling Boyra (Boy-Schlange) yúrubusu genannt, was Großmaul bedeutet. Der alte Boyra war auch ein Schwätzer, der für alles, was ein wenig unanständig war, eine große Schwäche hatte.

Ungewöhnlich lange stillen die Mütter, und es dauert in der Regel mehrere Jahre, bis sie wieder ein Kind bekommen. Vielleicht vertreibt sie auch ein wenig, wie die Chorotíkro, die Leibesfrucht, damit die Familie nicht allzu sehr belästigt wird.

In der Missionsstation in Ivu suchte ich über die Anzahl überlebender Kinder in 127 Chiriguanoehen eine Statistik aufzustellen und fand da, daß in 10 Ehen kein, in 27 ein, in 35 zwei, in 29 drei, in 13 vier, in 9 fünf und in 4 sechs Kinder waren. Diese Zahlen sind jedoch ganz unsicher. Sie zeigen jedoch, daß man hier, wie bei vielen anderen Indianervölkern, eine Art Zweikindersystem hat.

Corrado[2]) behauptet mit Bestimmtheit, daß unter den Chiriguanos Kindermord vorkommt. Das tut man in verzweifelten Fällen auch bei uns, das von Corrado angeführte Beispiel hat daher nichts zu bedeuten. Die Frage ist: kommt

[1]) Psidium guayava.

[2]) Corrado: El Colegio Franciscano De Tarija y sus misiones. Quaracci 1884. S. 326—327.

Kindermord und Abtreibung der Leibesfrucht als eine vom Stamme angenommene Institution, wie bei den Choroti, war?

Abb. 100. Chanáknabe. Bin Paraguay.
Er hat Pfeile mit stumpfen Spitzen in der Hand.

Die Chaná- und Chiriguanokinder werden auch, wie erwähnt, in Freiheit erzogen. Unter Spielen verleben sie die Kinderjahre. Allmählich beginnt das Kind den Eltern bei Kleinigkeiten, z. B. beim Wasser- und Holztragen, Feuerln

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

der Haustiere, Fischen usw. zu helfen. Die Mädchen lernen von den Müttern das Spinnen, Weben, Anfertigen von Tongefäßen, Brauen des Maisbiers usw. Sie lernen alles durch Imitation. Die Knaben verfolgen die kleinen Vögel um das Dorf und lernen auf diese Weise den Waffengebrauch. Die Kinder begleiten die Eltern zum Fischen und Ackern. Der Knabe begleitet den Vater auf die Jagd und fühlt sich ordentlich stolz und tüchtig, wenn er mit der „gemeinsamen" Jagdbeute nach Hause gehen darf. Die Kinder sehen und lernen. Es macht ihnen Spaß, Vater und Mutter zu helfen.

Wie verschieden ist nicht die Kindererziehung in den Missionen, die auf Spionage und Angeberei basiert ist.

Mutterlose Kinder werden von den Verwandten aufgenommen. Nicht selten sieht man auch hier ältere Tanten die Kinder anderer liebkosen.

Wenn das Mädchen ihre erste Menstruation bekommt, wird sie in einen Verschlag in der Hütte, eine Art Schrank, gesetzt. Ihr Haar wird kurz geschnitten, und sie darf erst wieder heraus, wenn es halblang gewachsen ist. In Begleitung der Mutter darf sie ausgehen und das Notwendigste tun, z. B. baden usw. Zwischen der ersten und zweiten Menstruation muß sie Diät halten. Sie darf gekochten Mais und Mehl essen. Diese Sitte nennen die Chanés „yimundia".

In einem Chanédorf, Aguaráti, sah ich ein Mädchen, das in einem solchen Schrank saß. Sie spann. Ich guckte in den Schrank, was wohl unrecht von mir war, denn am nächsten Tage waren Mädchen und Schrank verschwunden.

P. Chomé[1]) erwähnt schon diesen Brauch von den Chiriguanos. Er sagt, die Indianer glauben, eine Schlange habe das Mädchen gestochen.

Wenn das Mädchen aus dieser Gefangenschaft kommt, ist sie heiratsfähig.

---

[1]) P. Chomé, S. 320. Derselbe Pater spricht auch von dem Brauche der Couvade bei diesen Indianern, S. 321. Lettres édifiantes. T. XXIV.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Wenn der Chanéknabe etwa 10—12 Jahr alt ist, wird seine Unterlippe von einem hierin besonders erfahrenen Mann durchbohrt. In das Loch wird ein Stückchen Holz gesteckt. Der Knabe muß einen Tag liegen. Sein Großvater kommt und reißt tiefe Wunden in seinen Körper, damit er mutig im Kampf und ein tüchtiger Jäger werde. Des Morgens, wenn es noch richtig kalt ist, führt er ihn baden, damit er ein richtiger Mann werde.

Einen Tag lang darf der Vater nichts verzehren, damit der Knabe nicht geschwätzig wird. Dies zeigt, daß die Indianer keine Schwätzer lieben.

Wenn der Knabe älter wird, erhält er statt des kleinen Hölzchens ein größeres, und ist er ein Mann geworden, so kann er mit einem großen Knopf, „Tembeta", in der Unterlippe herumstolzieren (Abb. 79). Diese soll aus Holz sein, in welches Türkisen- und Chrysocolstücke eingesetzt sind. Bei den Chanés und den meisten Chiriguanos haben jetzt nur die Alten die Tembeta. Beim Chiriguanohäuptling Maringay, der noch alte Sitten ehrt, wird allen Knaben die Unterlippe durchbohrt. Maringay gehört zu den Alten, die verächtlich sagen: Der „ava", der Mann, der keine Tembeta trägt, sieht wie eine „cuña" (Frau) aus. Männern das Schimpfwort Frau zurufen, heißt auf Chiriguanoweise beschimpfen. Diese, die „ava" sind, sagen von den Chanés, die kleine Tembetas haben, „cuñareta" (Weiber).

Jetzt werden die meisten Tembetas von den Weißen in den Gebirgsgegenden aus Zinn und Glasstücken angefertigt. Unter denen, die solche gemacht haben, ist der Italiener Pablo Piotti. Seine Werke sind sogar in europäische Museen gekommen, ohne jemals in einem Indianerkinn gesessen zu haben. Früher hatten die Chiriguanos auch Tembetas aus durchsichtigem Harz.[1])

Will der Chané- oder Chiriguanoknabe heiraten, so schickt er den Eltern des Mädchens allerlei Jagdbeute. Vocapoy

[1]) P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. T. XXIV, S. 317.

erzählte mir, daß er vor ihrer Hütte Holz legt. Wird das Holz angezündet, so bedeutet es Einwilligung, findet er das Holz unberührt, so ist er abgewiesen. Hat er mit dem Holz Glück gehabt, so hält er bei der Mutter des Mädchens um sie an. Diese antwortet dann, sie könne nicht wissen, ob er ein guter Mann wird, der seiner Frau Essen schaffen kann. Um dies zu zeigen, muß er bei der künftigen Schwiegermutter ungefähr ein Jahr lang dienen. Die Ehe ist somit hier eine Art Kauf.

Auf dieselbe Weise, wie die Chaná- und Chiriguanoeinwohner heutigentags werben, taten sie es vor zweihundert Jahren.[1]

In der Nacht vor der Hochzeit schläft der junge Mann bei seinem Mädchen. Die Hochzeit wird mit einem Trinkgelage ohne andere Zeremonien als vieles Maisbiertrinken gefeiert. Die Jungverheirateten erhalten Glückwünsche. In der Regel wohnen die Jungen noch einige Zeit in dem Hause der Schwiegermutter.

Die Ehen scheinen mir in der Regel glücklich zu sein. In dem Dorfe des Chanéhäuptlings Vocapoy hatte ich Gelegenheit, mehrere jungverheiratete Paare zu sehen. Das Glück des Honigmonats erschien mir ungebrochen, und die jüngen Frauen arbeiteten eifrig für ihre Männer. Bei den Indianern, wie bei anderen Völkern, gibt es indessen Frauen ungleichen Charakters. Es gab solche, die den ganzen Tag für ihr Heim arbeiteten, und solche, die nur dazu da zu sein schienen, um sich zu amüsieren.

Geschwisterehen sind verboten, Cousins und Cousinen dürfen sich dagegen heiraten (wenigstens bei den Chanés).

Dies ist dagegen, wie erwähnt, weder bei den Chorotis noch bei den Matacos gestattet.

Unter den Chanés und Chiriguanos gibt es solche, die mehrere Frauen haben. Dies gilt jedoch nicht für die Jungen, sondern für die Älteren, besonders für die Häuptlinge. Vocapoy hatte vier Frauen, die in verschiedenen Dörfern wohnten.

---

[1] P. Chomé, l. c. S. 319.

Taro soll sieben haben, Maringay hat zwei, die zusammen wohnen. Der alte Mandepora (Abb. 111) soll auch eine größere

Abb. 111. Der Chiriguanohäuptling Mandepora.

Anzahl haben. Diese älteren hohen Herrn lassen oft ihre Frauen sitzen und schaffen sich neue, junge und hübsche an.

Außer in diesen Fällen scheint der Altersunterschied zwischen den Gatten in der Regel nicht mehr, als ein paar Jahre zu betragen.

Spricht man mit den Missionaren über die sittlichen Verhältnisse unter den Indianern, besonders unter den Chiriguanos, so malen sie dieselben in schwarzen Farben. Der sittliche Wandel der christlichen Indianer ist, fürchte ich, auch nicht erbaulich, aber in den Tälern, wo der weiße Mann die Indianer nicht verdorben hat, habe ich niemals eine allgemeine Liebe, wie bei den Chorotis, vorkommen sehen. Typisch für alle Sitten ist Mariangays Dorf, und dort herrscht eine so strenge Sittlichkeit, wie ich sie sonstwo nicht gesehen habe. In diesem rein heidnischen Dörfchen kam es niemals vor, daß den Mitgliedern der Expedition ein Mädchen angeboten wurde, was dagegen in den Missionsstationen vorkam.

Folgendes Urteil gibt der Jesuit Peter Ignaz Chomé in einem Briefe von 1775,[9] von einer Zeit, da sie von der Zivilisation der Weißen noch vollständig unberührt waren, ab, ein Urteil, das ich hier wortgetreu wiedergeben will:

„Ce qui m'a fort surpris, c'est que dans la femme où ils vivent, je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'il échappât à aucune honnête la moindre action indécente à l'égard des femmes, et jamais je n'ai eu sortir de leur bouche aucune parole tant soit peu déshonnête."

Die Ehen der Chiriguanos schildert dieser Jesuitenpater indessen als sehr locker.

Mit der Ehe beginnt für diese Indianer das Leben im Ernst. Es besteht aus Arbeit und Maisbiertrinken. Die Arbeit habe ich schon ein wenig beschrieben, ihre Trinkgelage werde ich weiterhin schildern.

Das Leben der Indianer und der Indianerin schwindet schneller als das der Weißen. Das Alter eines Indianers ist, wenn man keine bestimmte Zahl hat, an die man sich halten kann, sehr schwer bestimmbar. Mariangay erzählte mir, er sei der Älteste seines Stammes, es lebe kein Alterspräsident von ihm mehr. Die Weißen sagten, Mariangay sei über 100 Jahr alt. Dies ist jedoch übertrieben. Als jungverheirateter,

---

[9] Chomé, l. c. S. 318.

18—20jähriger Jüngling, besuchte Huriguay den Präsidenten Belzu in Sucre. Dieser regierte zwischen 1848—1855, der hundertjährige Huriguay ist also offenbar nicht älter, als angeblich 80 Jahre. Ein 80jähriger Indianer ist also der Älteste seines Stammes. Bei den Indianern sieht man bei-

Abb. 102. Alte Frau. Ita Iriyuro.
Ihre Enkel waren ungefähr 18 Jahre und jünger.

nahe immer, daß derjenige, der erwachsene Enkelkinder hat, sehr gebrechlich und gebrauchsfähig ist und am Rande des Grabes steht. Die Indianer und Indianerinnen entwickeln sich schnell, altern aber auch schnell. Mit 50 Jahren ist der Indianer ein Greis, mit 70 ein sog. Hundertjähriger. Im Thurn[7]) meint ebenfalls, daß die Indianer nicht alt werden.

7) Im Thurn l. c. S. 190.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Er glaubt, daß sie selten ein höheres Alter als 40—50 Jahre erreichen.

Maringays Haare waren leicht ergraut. Es gibt beinahe weißgeblaßaarige Indianer und Indianerinnen, aber sie sind selten (Abb. 112). Einen kahlköpfigen Indianer habe ich niemals gesehen. Wenn sie älter sind, ist das Gesicht stark gefurcht. Nicht selten werden sie im Alter blind, aber weniger oft taub.

Bei den Chorotis und Ashlodays ist der Anblick der Alten oft abschreckend, sie sind schmutzig, abgemergelt und triefäugig. Dies ist bei den Chanés und Chiriguanos nicht der Fall. Diese Indianer verstehen es, in Schönheit zu altern, und auch die Alten halten sich rein und fein.

Erkrankt der Chané- oder Chiriguanoindianer schwer, so läßt man, wie bei anderen Indianern, den Medizinmann kommen.

Die Chiriguanos und Chanés unterscheiden zwischen zwei Arten von Medizinmännern, die sie „ipáye" oder „ipáyepótchi" nennen. Die ersteren sind gut und heben die Verhexungen, die letzteren können die Verhexung heben und verhexen.

Im Scherz fragte ich einmal einen Chiriguano, ob Vater Bernardino in Ivu ein „ipáye" oder ein „ipáyepótchi" sei. Artig antwortete der Indianer, ein „ipáye". Die Stellung des Missionars unter den Indianern ist die des Medizinmannes, er übernimmt ihre Macht und ihren Einfluß.

Im vorhergehenden habe ich erzählt, daß die Weißen in der Gegend von Ivu einen indianischen Medizinmann zum Vertreiben der Pocken kommen ließen. Es kommt auch vor, daß sie glauben, von den Indianern verhext zu sein. Ein Kolonist, Gutierrez, hatte einen Indianer durchgepeitscht. Dieser verhexte ihn so, daß er krank wurde. Es klang in seinem Magen wie das Quaken eines Frosches.

Durch Räuchern suchen die Medizinmänner den Verhexer ausfindig zu machen. Wie es dabei zugeht, habe ich nicht gesehen. Der Verhexer wird, wenn er oder sie entdeckt wird, getötet.

Hier unten werde ich über die Verbindung der Medizinmänner mit den großen Geistern sprechen.

Im Auftreten und in der Methode der Medizinmänner scheint bei den Choretis und Ashluslays und bei den Chanés und Chiriguanos kein Unterschied zu herrschen. Es ist dasselbe Aussaugen fremder, durch Verbrennen in den Körper gelangter Gegenstände. Bei den letzteren sind die Medizinmänner geheimnisvoller, als bei den ersteren. Vielleicht hat die Berührung mit den Weißen bewirkt, daß sie selbst an ihrer Kunst zu zweifeln beginnen.

Ein Unterschied herrscht indessen in den gewöhnlichen Heilmitteln. Die erstgenannten Indianerstämme entnehmen ihre Heilmittel in der Regel dem Pflanzenreich. Man kocht Dekokte von gewissen Gewächsen. Die Chanés und Chiriguanos wenden dagegen, außer gewissen Pflanzen, animale Heilmittel an. So benutzen die Chanés am Rio Itiyuro das Fett vom Reiher für Geschwülste, das Wildschweinfett für das Fieber, das Jaguarfett für Knochenschmerzen und Tukanschnäbel für Frauenblutungen. Die Chanés am Rio Parapiti wendeten das Fett des Straußes gegen Brustschmerzen, der Iguanaeidechse gegen Conjunctivitis, des Huhnes gegen alles, das Maisbier gegen Erkältung an. Das Fett habe ich ausschließlich für den äußeren Gebrauch anwenden sehen.

Merkwürdig ist der Chanéindianer als Aseptiker. Ich habe mehrmals gesehen, wie sie Wunden nach einer höchst modernen Methode behandeln, nämlich mit gekochtem Wasser. Das ist etwas anderes, als wenn die Weißen Schweinexkremente und frischen Urin vom Menschen mit Salz zu demselben Zwecke anwenden. Die Ursache, daß diese Indianer eine so moderne Methode kennen, ist sicher ihre große Reinlichkeit. Sie sind daran gewöhnt, sich beständig zu waschen. Daß sie auf die Idee gekommen sind, das Wasser zu kochen, kommt wahrscheinlich daher, daß sie makroskopische Tiere in demselben haben töten wollen. Zum Verbinden von Wunden wenden die Chanés zuweilen frische Blätter an.

Sollte trotz der Anstrengungen des Medizinmannes die

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Verhexung nicht gehoben werden können und der Chané- oder Chiriguanoindianer sterben, so wird er oder sie in einem großen Tongefäß unter der Hütte begraben. Bevor der Sterbende richtig tot ist oder gleich nach dem Tode, wird er so zusammengefaltet, daß die Knie unter das Kinn kommen, und die Arme werden kreuzweise über die Brust gelegt. Am Rio Parapiti hat jahrelang ein Chanéindianer gelebt, der auf diese Weise zusammengefaltet worden war, der aber, bevor er in die Graburne gestopft worden war, von einem weißen Manne gerettet wurde. Der Tote wird angekleidet, mit einer Wasserkalebasse im Knie, in das Gefäß gesetzt. Das Wasser soll der Tote mithaben, wenn er auf den Bergen umhergeht, sagte mir der Chanéhäuptling Vocapoy. Das Gefäß wird in der Hütte vergraben und als Deckel ein anderes Gefäß darübergestülpt.

Bei Tatarenda in der Nähe von Yacuiba verbrennt man, wie ich gehört habe, nach dem Begräbnis die Hütte. Dies ist jedoch nicht das Gewöhnliche. Dagegen pflegt man die Hütte einige Zeit nach dem Begräbnis zu verlassen, um später wieder hinzuziehen. So geschah es z. B. in einem Chanédorf am Rio Itiyuro, in welcher ich kurz nach dem Begräbnisse war.

Die großen Maisbiergefäße (Abb. 113) werden als Sarg angewendet. Herrscht Mangel an Gefäßen, so begräbt man oft auf andere Weise. In einem Chanédorf, Copéri, am Rio Parapiti, begrub man kurz vor meiner Ankunft ein Kind in einer Haut unter der Hütte.

Auf den Gräbern ihrer toten Verwandten verleben diese Indianer ihr Leben, und oft ist es so voll in der Hütte, daß ein Nachbegräbnis in alten Töpfen notwendig wird.

„Der Christ schleppt seine Toten weit von seinem Hause fort. Wir Indianer, die eine größere Liebe für sie hegen, bewahren sie in unseren Häusern." So ungefähr sprach Vocapoy einmal zu mir, als das Gespräch auf diese eigentümliche Begräbnisart kam.

Wird ein Chiriguano von einem Jaguar getötet, so wird

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

er mit dem Kopf nach unten begraben, damit er nicht als ein solches Tier umgeht. Diese Vorstellung vom Jaguar, der ein Mensch war, ist besonders unter den Quichuas verbreitet,

Abb. 113. Chiriguanograb. Caipipendi.

wo dieses merkwürdige Tier, wie schon erwähnt, Uturunco genannt wird (vgl. S. 12). Heult der Fuchs des Nachts nahe dem Dorfe, so stirbt jemand.

Stirbt der Mann, so soll die Frau das Haar kurz schneiden.

[facing p. 220]

Tafel 18. Chanéfrau mit Kind. Rio Itiyuro

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Hat sie ihn sehr geliebt, tut sie es zweimal. Erst wenn das Haar wieder lang gewachsen ist, darf sie eine neue Ehe eingehen. Stirbt ihr Vater oder ihre Mutter, so schneidet sie das Haar kurz, stirbt ihr Kind, ihr Bruder oder Schwager, so schneidet sie es halblang. Unter langen Haaren versteht man, daß sie bis zur Schulter reichen. Meine Frage, ob auch die Männer bei Trauer ihr Haar schneiden, wurde mit einem Gelächter beantwortet. Sie begnügen sich damit, eins der allerlängsten zu verkürzen. Die Männer dürfen sich erst ungefähr ein Jahr nach dem Tode der Frau wiederverheiraten.

Hat die Frau Trauer, so trägt sie keinen Schmuck. Als ich bei Maringay war, hatte seine Schwiegertochter ihr kleines Kind verloren. Während alle anderen Frauen im Dorfe zahlreiche Halsketten trugen, hatte sie keinen einzigen Schmuckgegenstand. Sie nahm auch an keinem Feste teil.

Die Indianer, welche die Missionare taufen, sehen es nicht immer gern, daß sie ihre Toten auf dem Kirchhof begraben müssen. Sie wollen wenigstens, daß die Toten Wasser mit ins Grab bekommen.

Man befreit sich nicht so leicht von alten, ererbten Vorstellungen, um sie gegen neue einzutauschen.

[p. 221]

Dreizehntes Kapitel.

Aus dem Leben der Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer (Forts.).

Häßliche Worte, Homosexualität, Selbstmord, Schamgefühl u. a.

In der Sprache der Weißen gibt es, wie bekannt, eine Anzahl Worte, die man in anständiger Gesellschaft nicht anwenden darf. Gewisse Körperteile dürfen Personen desselben Geschlechts nur mit lateinischen Namen nennen, während Personen verschiedenen Geschlechts in der Regel gar nicht miteinander darüber sprechen. Ein Wort kann für häßlich gelten, während ein anderes Wort für denselben Gegenstand beliebig angewendet werden kann. Der Grund, warum ein Wort verboten ist, ist sicher oft schwer zu ermitteln.

K. v. d. Steinen[1]) und Koch-Grünberg[2]) haben darauf hingewiesen, daß auch die Weiber unter den Indianern am Xingu und Rio Negro von den Geschlechtsteilen ganz offen, als von etwas Natürlichem reden. Ebenso ist es bei den Indianern, die ich kennen gelernt habe. Als ich nach Worten fragte, welche die allerintimsten Dinge berührten, gaben auch die Weiber, ja die jungen Mädchen, auf die allernatürlichste Weise Auskunft darüber.

Es gibt indessen Worte, die verboten sind. Solche Worte sind bei den Chorotis „ametché", das ein Schimpfwort ist, „ictivähi", das homosexuellen Geschlechtsverkehr bezeichnet, „huéle", das Onanie bedeutet, und „tévi" bei den Chanés

[1]) K. v. d. Steinen: l. c. S. 25.
[2]) Koch-Grünberg: l. c. Bd. I S. 133.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

und Chiriguanos, das dieselbe Bedeutung wie ictivähi hat. Das Unnatürliche im Geschlechtsleben ist auch hier so schändlich, daß es sich nicht paßt, darüber zu sprechen.

Es gibt auch Indianer, die niemals über solche Gegenstände sprechen wollen. So beschaffen war z. B. ein Chiriguano, den ich auf meinem ersten Ausflug den Rio Parapiti herunter mithatte. Er stellte sich sogar so, als hätte er niemals von etwas Derartigem reden hören. Als ich ihn über die Homosexualität bei seinen Landsleuten befragte, stellte er sich dumm und sagte ungefähr: „Pflegen das die Weißen zu tun?"

Unter den Indianern gibt es gleichwohl, wie auch bei uns, solche, denen es Spaß macht, obszöne Geschichten zu erzählen. Ein solcher war der alte Chané Bóyra, er, der den Schimpfnamen yúruhuasu, Großmaul, hatte. Je schlimmere Sachen er erzählte, um so mehr amüsierte sich der alte Bóyra. Zuweilen erzählte er so, daß sogar mein Freund Batirayu, der zu dolmetschen pflegte, sich richtig genierte. Der alte Chiriguano Yambási war auch einer, der alle möglichen Unanständigkeiten zu erzählen wußte.

Bóyra erzählte, wie der Fuchsgott, Aguaratunpa, und die Iguanaeidechse, Téyuhuasu, in einem homosexuellen Verhältnis zueinander standen. Bóyras Erzählung war so außerordentlich realistisch, daß ich sie hier unmöglich wiedergeben kann. Er erzählte auch, wie der Fuchs sich mit einem Waldhuhn[1]) „Kése-Kése" verheiratete, das auch ein Mann war.

Aguara (der Fuchs) kam einmal zur Hütte des Waldhuhns.

„Wie geht es dir, Bruder?" sagte der Fuchs.

„Gut, komm, setz' dich, Bruder", sagte das Waldhuhn.

Der Fuchs setzte sich. Das Waldhuhn hatte viele Erdratten „angúyatúto" aufgehängt, die es getötet hatte.

„Willst du Erdratten essen?" sagte das Waldhuhn.

„Ja", sagt der Fuchs und aß eine. Er verlangte dann noch eine und noch eine usw.

---

[1]) Penelope.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Schließlich bat er darum, zwei für seine Kinder mitnehmen zu dürfen. Das Waldhuhn gab sie ihm. Der Fuchs, der keine Kinder hatte, fraß auch diese auf.

„Hast du eine Frau?" sagte der Fuchs.

„Nein, ich wohne hier mit meiner Schwester," sagte das Waldhuhn.

Der Fuchs ging hierauf fort. Als er zu einer Pflanze „supua" gekommen war, hing er seinen Penis auf, nahm eine Frucht herunter und setzte sie an die Stelle, wo der Penis gesessen hatte. Die Supua sieht nämlich wie eine Vulva aus. Der Fuchs nahm dann die Tembeta heraus und verstopfte das Loch. Er kam dann an ein Haus, wo einige Frauen wohnten.

„Wollt Ihr Tiru (Frauentracht), Halskette und Haarband mit mir gegen ein Pferd tauschen?" sagte der Fuchs.

„Wo hast du dein Pferd?" sagten die Frauen.

„Mit dem komme ich morgen", sagte der Fuchs. Er bekam nun Tiru, Halskette und Haarband, legte alles dies an und begab sich auf einem anderen Wege nach dem Hause des Waldhuhns. Als er dorthin kam, war niemand zu Hause. Er legte sich da in die Hängematte. Nach einer Weile kam das Waldhuhn nach Hause.

„Woher kommst du?" sagte das Waldhuhn.

„Von meinem Vater", antwortete der Fuchs. Der Fuchs kochte nun zwei Erdratten und aß sie auf. Dann kochte er noch zwei und aß auch diese auf. Hierauf kochte er noch zwei und aß sie auf.

Am Abend fragte der Fuchs die Schwester des Waldhuhns: „Wo willst du liegen?" „Hier", sagte sie.

„Dann lege ich mich neben dich", sagte der Fuchs. Ein bißchen davon legte sich das Waldhuhn. Als die Schwester eingeschlafen war, streckte der Fuchs die Hand aus und faßte das Waldhuhn an. Dieses kam und legte sich neben den Fuchs.

„Bist du verheiratet?" sagte das Waldhuhn.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

„Nein, meine Mama hat mich nicht verheiraten wollen", antwortete der Fuchs . . .[1])

Der Fuchs schlief nun zwei Nächte bei dem Waldhuhn und wurde schwanger. Nach einiger Zeit gebar der Fuchs.

Eines Tages kamen einige Vögel dort vorbei. „Gib mir Bogen und Pfeil, ich will schießen", sagte der Fuchs. „Du kannst wohl nicht schießen, du bist ja kein Mann", sagte das Waldhuhn.

„Ich bin ein Mann", sagte der Fuchs, nahm Pfeil und Bogen und ging fort. Als er zur „Supua" kam, nahm er seinen Penis herunter und setzte ihn sich wieder an.

Man erzählte mir von einem Chanéindianer von Yacundai am Rio Parapiti, der sich in fremden Dörfern als Schmarotzer herumzutreiben pflegte. Die Indianer wurden zuletzt seiner über, und als er einmal vollständig betrunken war, schändeten ihn einige Chiriguanoindianer im Caipipendital. Er begab sich nach diesem Schimpf nach dem unteren Rio Parapiti. Als die Kenntnis von dem, was ihm in Caipipendi passiert war, dorthin gedrungen war, hängte er sich in Verzweiflung über diese Schande.

Eigentümlicherweise wird es unter diesen Indianern nicht als eine Schande betrachtet, in einem homosexuellen Verhältnis der Aktive zu sein, der Passive wird aber tief verachtet. Er wird als ein Weib betrachtet. Dies ist der Grund, warum ein Teil rücksichtslose Weiße unverbesserliche Indianer mit — einem Klistier bestrafen. Ein so gekränkter Indianer verschwindet für immer. Man nimmt an, daß er Selbstmord begeht. Mittels „tévi" bestraft ein Indianer seine ungetreue Frau und verläßt sie dann. Chanéknaben habe ich „tévi" spielen sehen.

Nach Westermarck[2]) ist die Homosexualität sehr verbreitet unter den Indianern Amerikas. Die Auffassung, daß dies eine Schändlichkeit ist, ist keineswegs überall so ausgeprägt, wie bei den hier erwähnten Indianern.

---

[1]) Als allzu realistisch ausgelassen.

[2]) Westermarck: Ursprung und Entwickelung der Moralbegriffe. Bd. II. Leipzig 1909.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Über Onanie habe ich bei den Chanés und Chiriguanos nichts gehört. Sie soll dagegen bei den Chorotis von den Männern, die beim Tanz von den Frauen übergangen werden, betrieben werden.

Perversitäten im Verhältnis zwischen Männern und Frauen, die im alten Peru gewöhnlich waren, scheinen hier nicht vorzukommen. Primitive Säugetierstellung beim Koitus soll bei den Chacostämmen gewöhnlich sein.

Mataco gab mir eine Wurzel, die sie als Aphrodisiakum anwendeten.

Das Verhältnis zwischen Menschen und Tieren ist in den Sagen der Indianer so intim verflochten, daß man nicht immer bestimmen kann, ob sie das eine oder das andere meinen. Die Sagen, welche die Liebesverhältnisse zwischen Menschen und Tieren schildern, sind keine Schilderungen von Bestialität, die bei diesen Indianern unbekannt zu sein scheint.

Das Schamgefühl ist bei diesen Völkern sehr verschieden entwickelt. Es scheint mir sehr stark von der Kleidertracht abzuhängen. Keiner dieser Indianer oder Indianerinnen, von denen ich hier erzähle, betrachtet es, soweit sie nicht vollständig verdorben oder zivilisiert sind, als unpassend, den Oberkörper zu zeigen. Die Chiriguano- und Chanéfrauen sind viel verschämter als die Chorotis und Ashluslays, wenn sie die Geschlechtsteile zeigen. Die letzteren wollten sich höchst ungern vollständig entkleiden, um photographiert zu werden. Den ersteren wagte ich so etwas nicht einmal vorzuschlagen.

Saß man des Abends am Feuer in der Hütte und war mit der Familie bekannt, so schienen sie gleichwohl ganz ungeniert zu sein. Die Choroti- und Ashluslaymänner sind sehr schamlos. Die Männer unter den Chanés und Chiriguanos dagegen weniger. Es ist sehr gewöhnlich, daß die Chiriguano- und Chanéfrauen, in einer Gesellschaft konversierend, stehend Wasser lassen und den Urin das Bein herunterlaufen lassen, was ja als weniger sauber gelten darf. Die Männer gehen dagegen immer abseits, um dieses Bedürfnis zu verrichten.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Der Geschlechtsakt geht, wie erwähnt, bei den Ashluslays oft in Gegenwart von Zuschauern vor sich. Bei den Choroti-

Abb. 114. Junge Chanéfrau entblößt den Oberkörper, um sich photographieren zu lassen. Rio Parapiti.

tänzen mußte man sich in der Dunkelheit vorsehen, nicht über die liebenden Paare zu stolpern. Dergleichen sieht man niemals bei den Chiriguanos oder Chanés. Da viele in der-

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

selben Hütte liegen, sieht man gleichwohl auch bei ihnen vieles, was man immer sieht, wenn man Schlafgäste hat. Dies nicht zum wenigsten ist der Grund, daß das Geschlechtsleben selbst für die kleinen Kinder keine Geheimnisse hat.

Offenbar steigert das Zusammenleben mit den Weißen das Schamgefühl. Die Indianerinnen genieren sich sogar, die Brust zu zeigen. Die Moral sinkt in dem Maße, wie das Schamgefühl steigt.

Dies sollten alle diejenigen bedenken, die für nackte Heidenkinder Kleider nähen.

Viele meiner Leser finden vielleicht, daß dieses Kapitel nicht in meinem Buche hätte enthalten sein sollen. Es scheint mir gleichwohl richtig, etwas über die Abweichungen auf dem geschlechtlichen Gebiete zu sprechen. Es trägt zum Verständnis der Menschen, die ich hier schildere, bei. Natürlich habe ich hier nicht über all den Realismus, der bei den Gesprächen am Lagerfeuer manchmal zutage trat, sprechen können.[1])

Die natürliche Seite des Geschlechtslebens fassen die Indianer so ganz verschieden von dem, wie wir es in der Regel sehen, auf. All die Verderbnis, die in der zivilisierten Gesellschaft ist, treffen wir bei diesen Menschen nicht, verschiedenes findet sich aber schon hier. Was besonders die Homosexualität betrifft, so zeigen, wie bekannt, die Verhältnisse bei den Naturvölkern, daß die Ursache des Übels viel tiefer, als in unserer Hyperzivilisation liegt.

[1]) Wenn unsere täglichen Zeitungen, die wohl für die Öffentlichkeit bestimmt sind, über alles mögliche schreiben, so braucht man ja in einer Reiseschilderung nicht allzu prüde zu sein.

[p.228]

Vierzehntes Kapitel.

Aus dem Leben der Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer (Forts.).

Häuptlinge und Gesetze.

Die Häuptlinge bei den Chanés und Chirignanos haben eine ganz andere Stellung als bei den Ashluslays und Chorotis. Sie haben eine bedeutende Macht. Unter den Häuptlingen finden sich die großen Häuptlinge, die über mehrere Dörfer herrschen, und die Dorfhäuptlinge, die nur über ein Dorf oder einen Teil eines solchen gebieten. Von großen Häuptlingen, die ich kennen gelernt habe, sind bemerkenswert die alte Vuáyruyi, die Häuptling über die Chanédörfer am Rio Itiyuro ist, Taruiri, der über den größeren Teil des Caipipenditales herrscht, Mandepora (Abb. 111), der früher eine bedeutende Macht in und um Machareti hatte, und Maringay im Iguembetal.

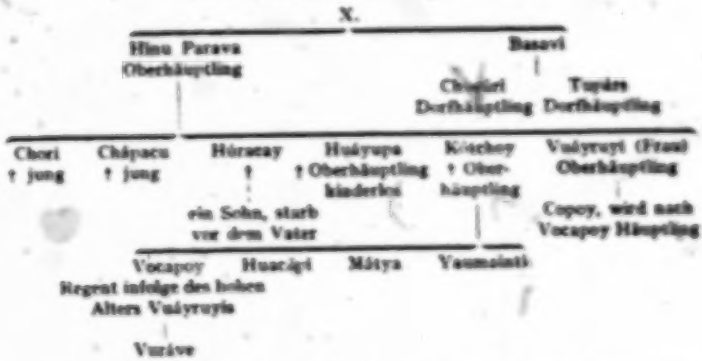
Jetzt haben die Häuptlinge keine anderen Zeichen ihrer Würde, als silberbeschlagene Stöcke. Nach Corrado trugen sie früher einen großen Haarbüschel auf dem Kopfe, „yattira", sowie grüne Steine, die an den Ohren hingen. Bei den Festen und Tänzen hatten sie das Recht, die „yandugua", eine mit einem Bündel Straußenfedern geschmückte Stange, und „iguirape", einen mit eigentümlichen Figuren geschnitzten Stab, anzuwenden. Von diesen habe ich nur eine Yandugua erwerben können. Die übrigen habe ich nicht einmal gesehen.

Die Häuptlingswürde scheint in der Regel erblich zu sein. Doch sind Tüchtigkeit und die Kunst, seine Worte wohl zu setzen, erforderlich.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Vocapoy hat mir seinen Stammbaum mitgeteilt, den ich hier wiedergebe, da er sehr lehrreich ist, und ich zu glauben wage, daß es den Leser interessieren kann, einen indianischen Stammbaum zu studieren.

Vocapoys Stammbaum.



Wir finden somit, daß der eigentliche Häuptling am Rio Itiyuro eine Frau ist. Ich habe die alte Vuáyruyi besucht. Sie empfing mich, in ihrer Hängematte liegend, mit großer Würde. Da die Frau alt und schwach ist, regiert Vocapoy und sucht, so gut wie er kann, die Seinen gegen die Weißen zu schützen, die ihr Land vollständig in Beschlag genommen haben. Ich fragte Vocapoy, warum Vuáyruyi, als Frau Häuptling geworden ist. „Ihr Vater Hinu Parawa hat sie sprechen gelehrt", sagte Vocapoy. Es wird somit von diesen Indianern, um regieren zu können, als höchst wichtig betrachtet, die Sprache in seiner Gewalt zu haben. Diese Menschen können die Klugheit höher schätzen, als die Stärke. Niemand wird Häuptling, wenn er nicht ein älterer Mann ist. Der Mann der Vuáyruyi war nicht Häuptling, sondern nur „Prinzgemahl". Die Dorfhäuptlinge gehören ebenfalls dem Geschlechte Hinu Paravas an.

Taruiri ist auch nicht der richtige Häuptling, sondern vertritt einen jüngeren Verwandten, der infolge seiner be-

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

ständigen Betrunkenheit als untauglich betrachtet wird. Taruiri herrscht im Caipipendital, wo sein Gebiet noch frei ist, von den Weißen aber wohl bald usurpiert werden wird. In Ivu ist ein Chiriguanohäuptling, der auch Medizinmann ist. Dies ist das einzige Beispiel von Theokratie, das ich kennen gelernt habe.

Die Häuptlingsfamilien bilden unter den Chiriguanos und Chanés eine Art Aristokratie. Mehrmals habe ich Indianer sich mit ihren feinen Familienverbindungen großtun hören. Ein Chiriguano, der mich eine längere Zeit als Dolmetscher begleitete, war eifrigst bemüht, mir einzuprägen, daß er mit den bekanntesten Oberhäuptlingen verwandt war.

Wie der Verfasser dieses Buches als Sohn von Adolf Nordenskiöld vorgestellt zu werden pflegt, so pflegten die Indianer in ähnlicher Weise die Söhne ihrer „großen Männer" vorzustellen.

Ich bin sogar hinter ein bißchen Betrügerei mit dem Stammbaum gekommen. Ein Chané behauptete, direkt von dem großen Hinu Parava herzustammen, was aber nicht wahr sein soll.

Will man bei diesen Indianern hübsche Sachen aus alten Zeiten finden, so hat man sie zuerst bei den Häuptlingsfamilien zu suchen. Sie bewahren die alten Kleinodien.

Immer mehr beginnen die weißen Behörden die Häuptlinge zu ernennen. Man kann also in einer Gegend einen von den Weißen gestützten Häuptling und einen legitimen finden.

Die Häuptlinge haben eine große Macht, und man gehorcht ihnen, im Gegensatz zu dem, was bei den Chorotis und Ashluslays der Fall war, soweit ich gesehen habe, immer. Sie besitzen den Boden (wenigstens in gewissen Gegenden), aber nicht für eigene Rechnung, sondern für den Stamm. Braucht man in einem Chané- oder Chiriguanodorf Träger, so erhält man sie von dem Häuptling, und kein Indianer weigert sich, die Befehle des Häuptlings auszuführen.

Obschon der Häuptling einen so großen Einfluß hat,

6:Nordenskiold SF 10 Chiriguano

arbeitet er doch in derselben Weise, wie die übrigen Indianer. Vocapoy z. B. trug selbst das schwere Holz zum Maisbierkochen nach Hause, und seine Frau mußte kochen und fegen, wie die anderen Frauen. Dem Beispiele der Weißen folgend, haben jedoch jetzt einige der zivilisiertesten und reichsten Indianer, wie Taco, Diener aus ihrem eigenen Stamme, aber dies ist nicht das Ursprüngliche. Dagegen ist es, wie ich an anderer Stelle schon erwähnt habe, nichts Ungewöhnliches, daß die Mataco-Vejos und die Tapiete für die Chiriguanos und Chanés arbeiten.

Als wir im Dorfe Vocapoys von der Jagd heimkehrten und mit dem Häuptling unsere Beute teilten, nahm seine Frau alles an, ging aber dann in den Häusern herum und gab den Nachbarn alles, was sie erhalten hatte.

Abb. 119. Kalebasse. Chiriguano. Itapenbia. 1/8.

Man kann hier nicht von reich und arm in demselben Dorfe sprechen, obschon auch der Anfang zu einem Adelstand vorhanden ist. Dagegen gibt es arme und reiche Dörfer. Einzelne verhältnismäßig reiche Indianer gibt es, diese leben aber, wie Taco, wie die Weißen.

Der Häuptling ist Richter und war früher Heerführer.

Vocapoy sagte mir, Totschlag werde in der Weise bestraft, daß der Totschläger dazu verurteilt wird, bis zu einem halben Jahre für die Familie des Getöteten zu arbeiten. Ein Dieb bekommt bis zu fünfzig Rutenschläge und wird, um nicht getötet zu werden, nach einem anderen Dorf geschickt. Nach Vocapoy ist es die Hauptaufgabe des Häuptlings, Blutrache zu verhindern, indem man die Verbrecher fortschickt, damit sie nicht gemordet werden. Vater-, Mutter- und Kindesmord sind, seiner Behauptung nach, in seiner Gegend unbekannt.

Nach Batirayu, dessen Angaben zuverlässiger als die Voca-

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

poys sind, beschäftigt sich der Oberhäuptling der Chanés am Rio Parapiti mit keinen anderen Verbrechen, als mit Mord, Verführung einer anderen Frau und Verhexung. Mord mit vergiftetem Chicha, „bád-dyási", kam früher bei den Chanés vor. Mörder und Verhexer wurden verbrannt. Der Verführer einer Frau wurde aller seiner Habe beraubt. Im übrigen wurden Diebstahl und andere Verbrechen durch Duell geschlichtet. Hatte jemand gestohlen, so riefen der Gekränkte und der Dieb ihre Verwandten herbei, und man kämpfte auf dem offenen Platz im Dorfe.

Die Behörden der Weißen greifen jetzt immer mehr in die Rechtsverhältnisse der Indianer ein.

Im Krieg mit anderen Stämmen führte der Häuptling den Befehl, wie sie es auch bei den Empörungen der Indianer gegen die Weißen getan haben.

Nach Vocapoy besitzt der Häuptling den Boden für den Stamm. Batirayu sagte, das Recht an dem Grundbesitz werde so geordnet, daß jeder anbaut, was er will. Schon bebauter Boden hat seinen Besitzer, wenn er auch jahrelang brachgelegen hat. So wird auch Brachland vererbt.

Die Erbschaften werden im übrigen dadurch bedeutend eingeschränkt, daß der Tote einen Teil seiner Kostbarkeiten mit in das Grab nimmt.

Wie bei den Ashluslays und Chorotis, ist auch hier das Besitzrecht gut ausgebildet, und die Frauen besitzen auch das, was sie anwenden und herstellen. Wie bei den genannten Stämmen, ist auch hier die Mildtätigkeit sehr groß, wenn sie auch dank unserer „Zivilisation" und der Mission weniger ausgeprägt ist.

Das Chiriguanogemeinwesen — das ursprüngliche Chanégemeinwesen kennen wir nicht — hat eine viel festere Organisation gehabt als das Gemeinwesen bei den Chorotis und Ashluslays. Die Chiriguanos waren ein Eroberungsvolk, das wahrscheinlich die Chanés unterjocht und mutig und erfolgreich gegen die Inkas gekämpft sowie lange der Invasion der Weißen Widerstand geleistet hat. Hätte es statt der

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

vielen Häuptlinge nur einen einzigen gegeben, so hätte die Eroberung des Chiriguanolandes ganz sicher das Leben doppelt so vieler Weißen gekostet, als jetzt. Leider haben in den Kämpfen der Weißen gegen die Indianer beinahe stets einige Häuptlinge auf der Seite der Feinde gegen ihren eigenen Stamm gekämpft. Bei dem letzten, durch den Kampf bei Curuyuqui entschiedenen Aufruhr hatten die Weißen eine Hilfstruppe von ein paar tausend Indianern, mit denen sie zusammen deren Stammfreunde bekämpften.

Wie sich alles im Leben der Indianer verändert, wenn die Weißen ihr Land erobert haben, so verwandeln sich auch die sozialen Verhältnisse. Wenn Vocapoy, Maringay, Mandepora und einige andere in den Tongefäßen unter den Hütten liegen, dann ist das Ende herbeigekommen, dann haben die Indianer keine anderen Gesetze als die der Weißen, keine anderen Behörden, als deren Vögte. Die Chanés am Rio Parapiti haben, wie erwähnt, keinen Oberhäuptling mehr. Batirayu ist diese Würde angeboten worden, er will aber nicht der Knecht der Weißen sein, dazu ist er zu stolz. „Es ist nicht wie in alten Zeiten", sagte Batirayu zu dem wunderlichen Weißen, der das Vertrauen und das Verständnis der Indianer suchte.

[p.234]

Fünfzehntes Kapitel.

Trinkgelage bei den Chanés und Chiriguanos.

Erzählt ein Chané oder Chiriguano eine Sage, so beginnt er sie oft so: „Vor langer Zeit war einmal ein großes Trinkgelage." Berichtet er von etwas, was passiert ist, von der Krankheit eines Verwandten oder dergleichen, so sagt er: „Es war vor oder nach dem Fest." Bei diesen Festen hört und sieht man auch das meiste, was von der alten Kultur dieser Indianer übriggeblieben ist. Da kommen die schönsten Tongefäße zum Vorschein, da sieht man Trachten aus früheren Zeiten, da werden die Steinschmucksachen aus den Schatztöpfen hervorgeholt.

Eine Hausmutter bei uns ist stolz, wenn sie ihren Gästen schöne Tischtücher und schönes Porzellan zeigen kann. So denken auch die Chané- und Chiriguanofrauen. Beim Feste will jede Frau, daß das Maisbier in ihrem Hause in schöneren Tongefäßen als denen der Nachbarinnen aufgetragen und in Kalebassen serviert wird, die eleganter geschmückt sind, als bei einem anderen.

Deshalb beschäftigen die Frauen sich vor jedem Feste mit der Herstellung von Tongefäßen und die Männer mit der Verzierung der Kalebassen. In den Chané- und Chiriguanodörfern sieht man auch prächtige Sammlungen von Tongefäßen. Besonders einige Frauen verstehen es, diese mit ausgezeichneter Geschicklichkeit und Eleganz zu malen. Man sieht beinahe niemals drei Krüge, die sich vollständig gleichen. Jede sucht bei dem Feste mit etwas Originellem aufzutreten, etwas Neues und Hübsches zu malen. Was die lineare Orna-

4:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

mentik betrifft, so versteht man es, die alten Ornamente zu variieren, man versteht es aber nicht, oder will sich nicht von ihnen frei machen und neue Bahnen brechen. Die

Abb. 116. Chanámädchen trinken Maté in einem Mirasol. Rio Paraguay.

Indianerin ist in ihrer Kunst konservativ und vermag sich nur, wenn sie ihre Motive direkt aus der Natur nimmt und Tiere malt, von den Vorbildern aus der Zeit der Mutter oder

6 Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Gefäßmuster freimachen. Keineswegs alle Frauen in den Dörfern sind Künstlerinnen. Es gibt solche, denen die Natur die Gabe der Kunst verliehen hat, und richtige Pfuscher. Wer kann Tongefäße so malen, wie die eine Frau des Chiriguanohäuptlings Moringay? Sie sind weitberühmt in den Tälern, und jeder versucht, ihre Werke durch Tausch zu erwerben. Nicht zum wenigsten ich habe ihre sichere und geschmackvolle Kunst bewundert. Die Frau des Chanohäuptlings Vocapoy (Taf. 29) ist auch kein Stümper.

Wo die Indianer reich sind, d. h. große Maisernten haben, da ist die Keramik schön. Wo man arm und der Kampf ums Dasein hart ist, da hat man nicht viel Zeit zu künstlerischer Arbeit. Wenn die Kunst im Indianerheim gedeihen soll, muß Freude und Munterkeit herrschen.

Die jüngere Generation wird, fürchte ich, deutsches Porzellan und Emailgefäße vorziehen, und damit wird auch die Chiriguano- und Chanokunst zu dem vielen Schönen und Feinen gehören, das vor der brutalen Zivilisation des weißen Mannes verschwindet. In vielen Dörfern muß man schon in den Winkeln der Hütten herumkramen, wenn man mit sicherer Hand und natürlichem Geschmack gemalte Gefäße finden will. Das Schlimmste ist jedoch, daß die Weißen Gefallen an den Tongefäßen der Indianer zu finden beginnen. Dadurch entsteht Massenherstellung. Für die Weißen ist alles gut genug, da braucht es weder schön noch gut gearbeitet zu sein. Sie wünschen nicht das Geschmackvolle und Einfache, sondern das Grelle und Merkwürdige, „curiosidades", wie der Kreole sagt. Vor diesem Merkwürdigen müssen sich unsere Museen hüten, denn das gibt eine unrichtige Vorstellung von dem rein Indianischen.

Die Frauen brauen das Bier zum Feste. Dieses soll aus Mais (am liebsten gelbem oder weißem) sein, und nur die armen Chanós am Rio Parapiti müssen sich oft mit Bier aus süßen Kartoffeln begnügen. Ist Algarrobo vorhanden, so wird auch aus dieser Frucht Bier gebraut. „Es ist gut und berauscht so schön", sagen die Indianer.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Ist die Maisernte reich, so herrscht Freude in den Dörfern, dann ist Speise und Trank in jeder Hütte. Mißrät die Maisernte, dann ist keine Freude, die Magen sind leer und auf dem Festplatz ist es still. Sind die Scheunen voll Mais, dann ist der Indianer stolz und kümmert sich nicht um Weiße, Unterdrückung und Sorgen. Ist die Scheune leer, dann ist er untergeben und düster.

Nachdem die Frauen den Mais aus den Scheunen geholt und die Männer Holz und die Frauen Wasser herbeigeschleppt

Abb. 117. Kochen des Maisbieres. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

haben, beginnt das Brauen. Erst wird der Mais in großen Mörsern gestoßen. Nacht und Tag hört man, wie die fleißigen Frauen stoßen. Der gestoßene Mais wird gesiebt und dann in gewaltigen Tongefäßen mit Wasser gemischt und gekocht. Hierauf wird ein Teil herausgenommen, gekaut und ordentlich mit Speichel vermengt. Dies wird dann zu dem übrigen geschüttet und muß, nachdem es geseiht ist, in großen offenen Gefäßen bei schwacher Wärme gären. Mit großen Holzspaten (Abb. 118a) oder mit geschafteten Schulterblättern (Abb. 118b) rührt man in den Töpfen um. Es ist der Stolz jeder Frau, gutes Bier, „cangui", und viel Bier zu brauen. Sie sind auch

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

rastlos fleißig. Den ganzen Tag sieht man sie arbeiten, und auch des Nachts beschäftigen sie sich mit Kochen und Mahlen. Keine Familie darf sich der Zubereitung von Cangui entziehen.

Daß Speichel angewendet wird, erscheint vielleicht unsauber. Anfangs dachte ich dies auch, bald war ich aber so verhärtet, daß mir auf Indianerweise mit Speichelhefe zubereitetes Cangui besser schmeckte, als das von den Weißen auf zivilisiertere Weise gebraute.

Kenner, nicht allein Indianer, sollen derselben Ansicht sein wie ich. Wichtig ist jedoch, daß das Cangui kalt getrunken wird, lauwarm ist es ekelhaft. Wenn es lange gestanden hat, ist es etwas berauschend, jedoch nicht so stark wie das Algarrobobier.

Beim Canguitrinken geht es sehr zeremoniell zu. Vorn sitzen auf Bänken und Schemeln (Abb. 85) die Männer, und hinter ihnen, auf dem Boden, die Frauen. Die älteren Damen bekommen die besten Plätze. Die Wirtin bringt das Cangui in ihren feinsten Tongefäßen, „yambuy", herein und stellt diese vor ihre Gäste (Abb. 77 u. 78). Wem ein Gefäß mit Cangui hingestellt wird, der muß servieren. Das gilt auch für die Häuptlinge. Sogar ich habe auf Indianergesellschaften serviert. Es ist nichts Ungewöhnliches, daß die Männer die Frauen bedienen und umgekehrt. Man füllt das Cangui in verzierte Kalebassen, die man der Reihe nach umherreicht. Jeder muß austrinken. Wer sich weigert, ist unhöflich und ungebildet. Sich selbst einzuschenken, ist nicht passend. Will man gegen den Servierenden höflich sein, so trinkt man erst seine Schale aus, füllt sie dann selbst und bietet sie jenem an. Trinkt man alles, wozu man eingeladen wird, dann ist man der Freund der Indianer. Weigert man sich, dann fassen die Indianer Mißtrauen zu einem. Ein alter Chané sagte auch einmal zu mir: „Du bist ein netter Christ, schon am Morgen trinkst du Maisbier mit uns." Wenn Moberg mit Beute beladen von der Jagd heimkehrte, drängten sich die jungen und hübschen Frauen um den glücklichen Jäger und bewillkommneten ihn mit einer Kalebasse Maisbier.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Was waren die Mühseligkeiten der Jagd gegen die des Trinkens, denn die Frau, deren Schale er unberührt ließ, vergaß niemals den Schimpf. Wenn man Feinde hat, kann das Canguitrinken gefährlich sein, denn wer weiß, ob nicht jemand etwas von den eigenen Exkrementen oder Haaren in das Bier gelegt hat, so daß man verhext wird und stirbt. Dergleichen geschieht in diesen Dörfern.

Bei den Festen kommen oft Züge von Indianerhumor zum Vorschein. Ein Scherz ist z. B. zu tun, als ob man Cangui in einer umgestülpten Kalebasse herumreicht, ein anderer, einen zu bitten, auf einem unförmlichen Rohr Flöte zu blasen.

Tanzmasken werden von den Chiriguanos und Chanés jetzt nur während des Karnevals, dem großen Zechfest der Christen, getragen. Diejenigen, die ich gesehen habe, hatten die Form von menschlichen Gesichtern (Abb. 119).

Sehr verschiedene Ansichten herrschen unter den Indianern, ob die Masken hier ursprünglich indianisch sind oder nicht. Vocapoy sagte, die Idee zu ihnen sei ursprünglich von den Weißen gekommen. Batirayu behauptete dagegen, als Knabe am Rio Parapiti bei den Chanés von den jetzigen verschiedene Masken gesehen zu haben, die bei ihren großen Festen benutzt wurden. Seiner Ansicht nach haben die Chanés Masken angewendet, bevor die Weißen ins Land gekommen sind.

A B

Abb. 118. Suppenspatel. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/4.
B = Caipipendi. 1/4.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Man hatte damals auch Klappern aus Früchten um die Beine und Federschmuck aus Papageifedern auf dem Kopfe.

Die Chiriguanos und Chanés zerstören immer die Masken nach dem Karneval. Sie werden entweder verbrannt oder in den Fluß geworfen. Die Chanés nennen die Masken „añañya".

Eigentümlich ist es, eine wie große Rolle der Karneval jetzt als Fest bei den Indianern spielt. Dies kommt sicher daher, daß die Weißen da Massen von Branntwein verteilten und daß die Indianer, die bei diesen arbeiten, dann einige Tage frei bekamen.

Zu den Festen kommen die Gäste oft aus weiter Ferne. Sie treten dort in ihren feinsten Kleidern und Schmucksachen, neu bemalt und fein gekämmt, auf. Die meisten alten Trachten und Schmucksachen sind jedoch schon verschwunden. Frauen in hausgewebten Kleidern mit Halsketten aus Chrysocol und Türkis sieht man jedoch noch. Das silberne Diadem und die silbernen Nadeln, die zur Festtracht gehören, habe ich indessen niemals im Gebrauch gesehen. Die blauen Trachten der Männer (Abb. 81) mit silbernem Brustschmuck sieht man oftmals in den Hütten bei den Alten verwahrt, zu den Festen werden sie aber nicht angewendet. Bei den Chanés im Itiyurotal habe ich die Indianer bei einem Canguifest tanzen sehen. Um einen „Yambuy" mit Cangui standen einige der alten Männer zu zweien, ein eintöniges Lied singend und den Takt mit den Füßen schlagend. Die Frauen gingen langsam im Takt des Liedes außerhalb des Kreises der Männer auf und nieder.

Bei den Chanés und Chiriguanos verdrängt die Tracht des weißen Mannes alles Alte und Hübsche, und von meinen vielen alten Häuptlingsfreunden unter diesen Indianern verachtet nur allein Maringay die Lumpen der Weißen.

Der Branntwein dringt immer mehr bei diesen Indianern ein, und die zeremoniellen, gutmütigen Maisbierfeste verwandeln sich in rohe Trinkgelage.

Ich vergesse nie eine Nacht im Dorfe Vocapoys. Die

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Männer waren zu den Christen gegangen, um Branntwein zu trinken. Als sie zurück kamen, fielen harte Worte und die Messer kamen hervor. Der Branntwein hätte blutige Opfer gefordert, wenn die mutigen Frauen sich nicht mit Feuerbränden vom Maisbierkochen zwischen die streitenden Männer geworfen und sie, nachdem sie sie getrennt hatten, unter beruhigenden Schmeichelworten nach Hause gebracht hätten.

Abb. 119. Tanzmaske. Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/6.

[facing p. 242]

Tafel 19. Die Frau des Chanéhäuptlings Vocapoy malt ein Tongefäß. Rio Itiyuro.

[p. 242]

Sechzehntes Kapitel.

Aus dem Leben der Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer (Forts.).

Kunst und Industrie.

Die Chiriguanos und Chanés sind Stämme, deren Kunstindustrie sehr hoch steht. Besucht man eine der Hütten der weißen Ansiedler in diesen Gegenden, so wird man nicht viele Erzeugnisse einheimischer Industrie, nicht viel von eigener Kultur sehen. Ich weiß rein gar nichts, was diese Menschen können, was mit der Keramik und Webetechnik der Indianer konkurrieren kann. Sicher ist, je mehr die Indianer „zivilisiert" werden, um so weniger leisten sie kunstindustriell. Von den Weißen lernen sie nicht viel mehr, als Branntwein bereiten und trinken. Die indianische Kunstindustrie verschwindet hier allmählich, je mehr die Indianer mit den Weißen in Berührung kommen, sie wird aber nicht umgebildet. Sie verbleibt zum großen Teil rein indianisch bis zu ihrem schließlichen Untergang. Eine Industrie ist indessen jetzt in den Händen der Weißen, und zwar die Metallindustrie. Die silbernen Schmucksachen, welche z. B. die Chiriguanos und Chanés anwenden, werden von den Schmieden in den Dörfern der Gebirgsgegenden gearbeitet. Die halbweiße oder quichuaindianische Bevölkerung, die wir in den Gebirgen westlich vom Lande der Chiriguano- und Chanéindianer antreffen, ist recht kunstfertig. Besonders die Webetechnik steht dort hoch. Vom Westen haben die Chiriguanos und Chanés sicher viel gelernt.

So finden wir die für die Chiriguanos charakteristische Serérepfeife (Abb. 120) in Sammlungen von der Küste Perus[1]);

[1]) Serére kommen noch bei den Lenguas, Ashluslays, Chiriguanos, Chanés, Churápas und Yuracáres vor.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

die Nadel zur Befestigung der Frauenkleider (Abb. 130) ist in ihrer Form typisch peruanisch, ebenso der silberne Haarauszieher, von dem ich indessen kein Exemplar habe. Die Festtracht des Mannes (Abb. 81) scheint mir ebenfalls peruanischen Schnitt zu haben. Möglicherweise hat sich jedoch der Einfluß von Peru unter den Chiriguanos erst nach der Eroberung der Hochebene durch die Spanier geltend gemacht.

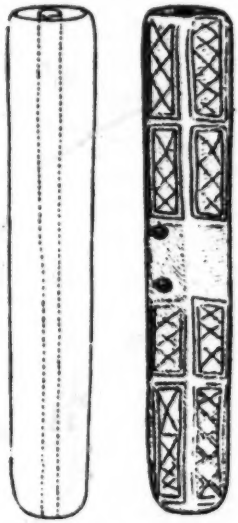


Abb. 120. Serérepfeife. Chiriguano. 1/4.

Boman[1]) hat nachgewiesen, daß die Chiriguanos, oder richtiger der Gúaranistamm, zu welchem diese Indianer gehören, sich früher viel weiter südwärts ausgedehnt haben als jetzt. Er hat dort die für sie so eigentümlichen Graburnen angetroffen.

Die materielle Kultur der Chanéindianer unterscheidet sich nicht sehr von der Kultur der Chiriguanos im allgemeinen. Die Chanés, die mehr abgesondert am Rio Parapiti wohnen, haben dagegen eine vollkommen selbständige Keramik, die wir bei den Chiriguanos nicht wiederfinden. Vergleichen wir im übrigen die Industrieerzeugnisse der Chanés und der Chiriguanos, so finden wir keine größeren Unterschiede, als wir sie in den verschiedenen Chiriguanodörfern auch finden.

Sammelt man z. B. Tongefäße im Iguembetal und im Caipipendital, welche beide Täler von Chiriguanos bewohnt werden, so wird man unwillkürlich finden, daß die Keramik, obschon in Ornamentik und Form stark verwandt, doch

[1]) Boman: Antiquités de la Région Andine. Tome 1–2. Paris 1908.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

auch lokal variiert. Über die individuellen Variationen habe ich schon gesprochen (S. 235).

Von den verschiedenen Industrien steht bei den Chiriguanos und Chanés besonders die Keramik hoch (s. die Abb.). Sie sind auch geschickte Weber und Verzierer von Kalebassen. Korbflechten kommt vor, jedoch meist im nördlichen Teil ihres Gebietes. Federarbeiten werden jetzt nicht mehr angefertigt. Von Caraguatábast werden nur Seile und Fischnetze, und am Rio Parapiti Hängematten und Tragnetze gemacht. Die für die Chacostämme so charakteristischen Taschen aus diesem Material werden niemals von den Chiriguanos und Chanés angefertigt, aber zuweilen durch Handel zwischen den Stämmen erworben.

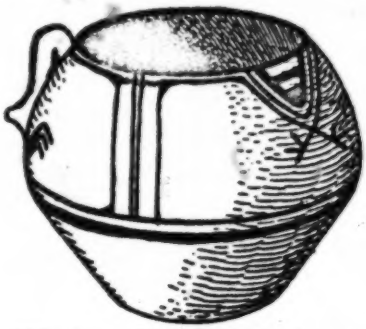


Abb. 121. Tongefäß. Chiriguano. Caipipendital. 1/4.

Bei den Chanés am Rio Itiyuro habe ich die Topfherstellung verfolgt. Der Ton wird gemahlen und mit zerstoßenen, gebrannten Krugscherben gemischt, damit das Gefäß nicht beim Brennen entzwei geht. Die Tongefäße werden auf gewöhnliche Indianerweise aus Rollen aufgebaut. Zum Glätten werden eine Muschelschale oder ein Maiskolben ohne Samen sowie ein schmales Bambusstäbchen angewendet. Der Maiskolben macht parallele, feine Ritzen.[1]) Das Bambusstäbchen wird auch bei der Herstellung zum Abmessen benutzt, um richtige Verhältnisse zu bekommen.

---

[1]) Aus ähnlichen Ritzen an Tongefäßen, die man bei archäologischen Ausgrabungen findet, kann man sehen, daß die Hersteller der Tongefäße Mais gehabt haben. Dies habe ich z. B. an Tongefäßen von Ojo de Agua in Quebrada del Toro in Nordargentinien gesehen.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Hiernach wird das Gefäß einen Tag im Schatten getrocknet, bevor es gebrannt wird. In der Regel hat man nur ein oder ein paar Gefäße gleichzeitig in Arbeit.

Abb. 122. Brennen von Tongefäßen. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

Die gröberen Gefäße sowie alle Kochgefäße werden nur mit Fingereindrücken und aufgelegten Tonschleifen ornamentiert. Die feineren Gefäße werden später bemalt (s. Taf. 19).

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Mit einem Pinsel aus Agutihaaren[1]) werden die Ornamente in Weiß, Dunkelbraun und Schwarz bemalt. Die weiße Farbe ist eine Erdart (Kaolin), die anderen werden aus Schiefer und Sandstein zubereitet. Man malt freihändig und komponiert die Ornamente aus dem Gedächtnis und nicht nach Modellen. Holz, Maiskolben und Kuhexkremente werden um das Gefäß gehäuft. Das Brennmaterial wird angezündet und muß eine Viertelstunde oder, wenn das Gefäß groß ist, noch länger mit kräftigem Feuer brennen (Abb. 122).

Falls das Gefäß gemalt ist, wird es mit Harz, „taraviruti", das von einer Mimosoidee gesammelt ist, und mit Harz von palo santo (s. S. 93) gefirnißt. Das erstere gibt einen gelblichen Glanz, das letztere sieht wie grünschwarze Glasur aus.

Fertigt man einen Topf an, so tauft man ihn, bevor er erkaltet ist, damit das Wasser in demselben schnell kocht.

In Maringays Dorf malte man einzelne Gefäße mit einer Mischung von Uruku oder einer anderen Farbe und einem Pflanzenfett. Wie dies letztere bereitet wird, habe ich nicht sehen können.

Die Chiriguano- und Chanéfrauen sind geschickte Weberinnen. Das Material für die indianischen Gewebe ist in der Regel Baumwolle und manchmal auch Schafwolle.

Da durch die Weißen große Massen Zeug eingeführt werden, verschwinden die einheimischen Gewebe immer mehr. So sah ich bei den Chanés im Itiyurotal keine Webstühle und einheimische Gewebe waren sehr selten.

In der Regel sind alle Gewebe dieser Indianer ohne Ornamente oder diese sind sehr einfach. Die Mädchen in den Missionen lernen von den Mönchen allerlei Blumen, wie Rosen, Veilchen usw., sticken. Dies machen sie ausgezeichnet. Merkwürdigerweise hören die Indianerinnen nach dem Verlassen der Nähschule auf, diese Ornamente anzuwenden. Es wäre richtiger, wenn die Missionare die Indianerkinder

[1]) Dasyprocta.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Ornamente lehrten, die sich deren Phantasieleben anschließen. Die Resultate ihrer Arbeit würden dann ganz andere sein.

Einige Chanéfrauen haben vor ein paar Generationen von einer Quichuafrau Ornamente weben gelernt, die man noch jetzt auf verschiedenen Chanégeweben sieht. Es waren stilisierte Tiere und Menschen. Die Pflanzenornamentik

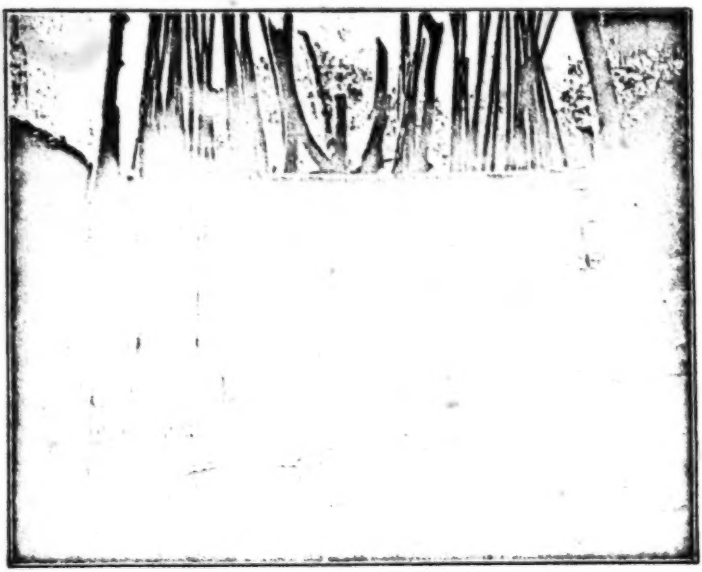


Abb. 123. Webstuhl. Chiriguano. Tihuïpa.

macht wenig Eindruck auf die Indianerinnen. Tier- und Menschenfiguren regen ihre Phantasie an und sie lehren sie ihren Kindern.

Die Chiriguano- und Chanémänner sind tüchtig im Verzieren von Kalebassen (Abb. 126), schnitzen hübsche Pfeifen (Abb. 120) und verstehen das Ledergerben, was sie wohl von der Weißen gelernt haben.

Von plastischen Darstellungen von Tieren und Menschenfiguren sieht man bei diesen Indianern nicht viel. Die Ton-

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

gefäße haben manchmal Tierformen. Die Chanéfrauen am Rio Parapiti formten klumpige kleine Puppen aus Wachs für die Kinder (Abb. 105). Einige der Tongefäße sind mit Tierfiguren bemalt. Ein Gefäß vom Rio Itiyuro, das ich durch Tausch erworben habe, ist mit Baumfiguren geschmückt. Vereinzelt sieht man Tongefäße in Form von Früchten.

Menschen und Tiere darstellende Zeichnungen habe ich an den Wänden in einigen Chanéhütten und an einigen Chiriguanokalebassen aus dem Caipipendital gesehen.

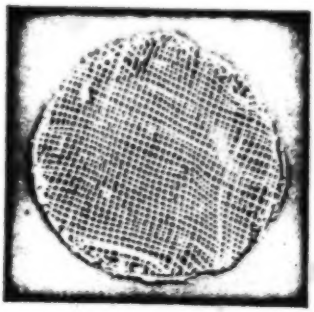


Abb. 124.
Sieb. Rio Parapiti. 1/8.

Abb. 125. Korb. Chiriguano.
Caipipendi. 1/8.

Von Korbarbeiten sind die Siebe bei den Weißen so beliebt, daß sie durch den Handel weit über das Chiriguano- und Chanégebiet hinaus verbreitet werden. Im übrigen arbeiten die Chanés und Chiriguanos wenig Körbe. Massen von Korbarbeiten finden wir bei den Indianern erst, wo die paarblättrigen Palmen beginnen, und das ist bei Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

Wenn wir eine Sammlung von den Chiriguanos und Chanés anlegen, dürfen wir nicht vergessen, daß sie durch den Handel zwischen den Stämmen viele Sachen von den Matacos, Tobas, Chorotis und Tapietes erhalten haben, sonst bekommen wir eine unrichtige Vorstellung von dem großen Unterschied

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

zwischen der materiellen Kultur der hier genannten Chacostämme und der Chiriguanos und Chanés.

Wenn wir die materielle Kultur der Chorotis und Chanés mit der hier ebenfalls beschriebenen der Chorotis und Ashluslays vergleichen, müssen wir u. a. an folgendes denken. Die Chiriguanos und Chanés machen Korbarbeiten — die Chorotis und Ashluslays niemals. Die ersteren verstehen es, die Tongefäße vor dem Brennen zu bemalen, was den letzteren unbekannt ist. Die Chiriguanos und Chanés arbeiten niemals Taschen aus Caraguatá usw. Vergleichen wir im übrigen sämtliche Arbeitserzeugnisse der Chanés und Chiriguanos mit denen der Chorotis und Ashluslays, so finden wir, daß die allermeisten vollständig verschieden sind. Die Herstellung gewisser Sachen, wie der Serére- (Abb. 120) und Huiramimbipfeifen (Abb. 36 und 80) haben die Chacoindianer wahrscheinlich von den Chiriguanos gelernt, dies ist aber verhältnismäßig unbedeutend.

Abb. 126.
Verzierte Kalebaßschale.
Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/1.

Wir sehen hier, wie zwei Kulturen hunderte Jahre lang nebeneinander existieren können, ohne zu verschmelzen.

Folgen wir dem Rio Pilcomayo nach den Gebirgen herunter, so treffen wir zuerst die Quichuakultur, dann kommen die Chiriguanos und Chanés und hierauf die chaquensische Kultur, die ganz gleichartig die Matacos, Tobas, Chorotis, Ashluslays sowie die Lenguas und andere Stämme im Chaco Paraguay umfaßt. Diese drei Kulturen sind vollständig verschieden.

[p.250]

Siebzehntes Kapitel.

Aus dem Leben der Chaná- und Chiriguanoindianer (Forts.).

Sage und Religion.

Es war einmal ein alter Indianer, der des Abends am Feuer in der Hütte zu sitzen und von alten Tagen, von Tieren, Menschen und Geistern zu erzählen pflegte. Lauschend sammelte sich die Jugend um ihn. Der Alte erzählte und erzählte. Mit Mund, Augen, Händen und Füßen erzählte er.

Einer der Jungen nach dem anderen verließ gleichwohl bald den Kreis der Lauschenden und legte sich schlafen. Zuletzt saß der Alte allein am erlöschenden Feuer und erzählte sich selbst von den Abenteuern des Fuchsgottes und des Gürteltiergottes.

Dieser Alte steht vor mir als der Vertreter alter Traditionen, einer Kultur, die verschwindet. Die Jungen hören ein Weilchen zu, bald wird es ihnen aber zu viel. Sie haben neue Interessen. Sie haben angefangen, mit in dem großen Tanz zu tanzen, den die Christen Zivilisation nennen, wo meistens um das goldene Kalb getanzt wird.

Ich habe auch als Lauscher dort gesessen und mir die Sagen erklären lassen. Ich glaube, die Alten hatten mich gern, weil ich ein so großes Interesse für ihre alten Erinnerungen gezeigt habe. Wenn ich sie nun wiedergebe, hoffe ich, daß der Leser mit mir und meinen alten Freunden Nachsicht haben wird, mit mir, weil ich nicht so gut zu erzählen vermag wie die Alten, und mit den Alten, weil sie alles lieben, was ein wenig frivol ist.

6:Nordenskiold SF 10 Chiriguano

Die Sagen geben uns einen Einblick in die Vorstellungen des Indianers vom Leben im Jenseits und von den Geistern. Teils durch sie und teils durch die Erklärungen, welche mir die Indianer gegeben haben, können wir ihre Religion verstehen. Wir werden hier von dem Weltuntergang und dem Raub des Feuers, vom Besuch im Totenreich und vor allem von den Abenteuern der Geister hören, wir werden davon hören, wie sie einander und die Menschen betrugen, hören von ihren Kämpfen und Lastern.

Morallehre ist in diesen Sagen sehr wenig enthalten. Die in denselben Handelnden sind oft „tunpa", d. h. sie besitzen übermenschliche Kräfte, das ist alles.

Infolge der Berührung mit den Weißen sind die Sagen nicht frei von fremden Elementen. Die meisten sind jedoch rein indianisch.

1. Der Weltuntergang und der Raub des Feuers.

Erzählt von dem Chanéindianer Batirayu vom Rio Parapiti.

Es war einmal in alten Tagen ein sehr armer Mann, der in den Wäldern umherirrte und keinen festen Wohnsitz hatte. Wenn er in die Dörfer kam, jagte man ihn fort und hetzte die Hunde auf ihn. Als der Mann sah, daß man ihn in keinem Dorfe wohnen lassen wollte, machte er sich eine Hütte, „tocay".[1]) Dort kamen allerlei schöne Vögel zur Hütte, und die meisten wurden bald so zahm, daß er sie fangen konnte. Der Mann dachte: „Gehe ich mit diesen prächtigen Vögeln in ein Dorf, so nimmt man mich vielleicht auf." Er nahm nun die Vögel und ging in die Dörfer. Alle fanden die Vögel schön, nirgends wollte man ihn aber wohnen lassen. Der Mann ging nach seiner Hütte zurück. Eines Tages kam Añatunpa[2]) in Gestalt eines schönen Vogels zu ihm. Was ist das für ein merkwürdiger Vogel, dachte der Mann. Aña-

[1]) Tocay ist eine Hütte, in welcher der Jäger verborgen liegt, um von dort Vögel mit Schlinge oder Pfeil zu fangen.

[2]) Der Große Geist (s. S. 257).

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

tunpa sagte, er sei gekommen, um ihm zu helfen, und gab ihm ein Paar Flügel.

„Wenn du in ein Dorf kommst, sollst du die Flügel bewegen und dann donnert es," sagte Añatunpa. „Wollen sie dich trotzdem nicht wohnen lassen, so erhebe die Flügel."

Der Mann ging in ein Dorf, wo ein großes Trinkgelage stattfand. Man wollte ihn nicht aufnehmen. Er bewegte die Flügel und es donnerte. Man glaubte, die Medizinmänner seien es, die donnerten, und kümmerte sich nicht um ihn. Wieder bewegte er die Flügel und es donnerte. Man glaubte immer noch, es seien die Medizinmänner, die donnerten, und kümmerte sich nicht um ihn. Als er endlich sah, daß man ihn nicht wohnen lassen wollte, sondern ihn fortjagte, erhob er die Flügel, die er verborgen hatte. Da kam ein Sturm, der riß alle fort, außer zwei Knaben und einem Mädchen.

Diese, die nun allein waren, wollten kochen, aber sie hatten kein Feuer. Sie hatten Kürbis und Mais, konnten sie aber nicht rösten. Da kam ein alter Mann, die Sonne, mit einem Feuerbrand zu ihnen. Er röstete einen Kürbis und aß ihn, als er aber fort ging, nahm er das Feuer wieder mit. Er wollte ihnen nichts davon abgeben. Als der Alte das nächste Mal kam, beschlossen sie, ihm das Feuer zu stehlen. Als er an dem mitgebrachten Feuerbrand einen Kürbis röstete, schlug einer der Knaben mit einem Knüttel darauf, so daß die Glut umhersprühte. Der Alte sammelte sie schnell auf. Einen ganz kleinen Funken fanden sie gleichwohl unter einem halben Kürbis, der auf der Erde gelegen hatte. Sie machten nun Feuer an. Huapi (der Webervogel?) sagte zu ihnen, sie sollten das Feuer gut aufbewahren, so daß es niemals ausgehe. Er sagte ihnen auch, sie sollten, wenn das Feuer erlösche, mit dem „Tatay"[1]) Feuer reiben.

Der jüngere Bruder nahm nun seine Schwester zur Frau. Der ältere hatte keine Frau. Sie legten einen Kürbis in eine kleine Hängematte und wiegten sie. Der Kürbis wuchs zu

[1]) Feuerzeug aus Holzstäbchen.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

einem Mädchen, das bald zu einer Frau emporwuchs. Diese nahm der ältere Bruder zur Frau. Von diesen beiden Paaren stammen alle Chanés.

2. Der Weltuntergang und der Raub des Feuers.

Erzählt von dem Chanéhäuptling Vocapoya.

Ein Jüngling hatte sich in den Wald begeben und in einer Lache das Bild eines schönen Mädchens gesehen, dem er folgte. Er blieb eine lange Zeit bei ihr, einen Monat, und seine Mutter glaubte schon, er sei tot, und schnitt sich die Haare ab. Sie glaubte, er wäre von einer Schlange gebissen worden oder dergleichen. Eines Tages kam der Sohn jedoch nach Hause und erzählte, daß er ein hübsches Mädchen gefunden, mit dem er sich verheiratet habe. Die Mutter sagte ihm da, er solle sie holen, und braute eine Masse Maisbier, um ihre Ankunft zu feiern.

Der Jüngling kam mit seiner Frau, und sie war hübsch und wohlgekleidet. Während des Festes verwandelte sie sich und wurde sehr häßlich. Hierüber machte die Schwägerin eine Bemerkung, und sie wurde böse und verließ sie und ging dahin zurück, woher sie gekommen war, indem sie erklärte, sie werde sich rächen. Sie sagte jedoch, man solle erst einen Knaben und ein Mädchen in ein großes Tongefäß setzen. Ein Bruder und eine Schwester wurden zusammen mit den Samen von Mais, Kürbis und Bohnen in ein Tongefäß gesetzt und der Krug gut zugedeckt. Als dies geschehen war, begann es fürchterlich zu regnen, und Häuser und alles wurde mit Wasser bedeckt. Der Krug floß jedoch oben. Alle Menschen und Tiere ertranken in dem steigenden Wasser. Lange floß das Tongefäß umher und der Knabe und das Mädchen begannen schon groß zu werden. Das Wasser sank dann, als sie aber aussteigen wollten, war der Boden noch sumpfig, und sie mußten warten, bis er getrocknet war.

Als sie aus dem Tongefäß kamen, säeten sie von den mitgehabten Samen Mais, Kürbis und Bohnen. Diese reiften in einem halben Monat. Sie hatten kein Feuer. In einiger

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Entfernung sahen sie Feuer. Es war „Tostó",[5]) ein Watvogel, der an den Flußufern schreit, der Feuer hatte. Als sie sich dem Feuer näherten, verschwand es jedoch weiterhin.

Der Frosch versprach, ihnen Feuer zu rauben. Er hüpfte zu Tostós Lagerfeuer und setzte sich, vor Kälte bebend, daran, um sich zu wärmen. Von Zeit zu Zeit scharrte er die Glut näher zu sich hin, gleichsam um sich besser zu wärmen, und als niemand es sah, steckte er einen kleinen Feuerbrand in den Mund und hüpfte davon.

Zu dem Knaben und dem Mädchen hingekommen, machte er Feuer ab, und seitdem haben die Chanéindianer Feuer. Die Schwester und der Bruder, die nun groß geworden waren, verheirateten sich, und sie wurde schwanger. Sie bauten sich eine Hütte. Das Mädchen bekam Kinder. Als diese Kinder groß waren, verheirateten sie sich miteinander. Von ihren Kindern stammen alle Chanés. Von den Kindern des ältesten Knaben stammen die Häuptlinge her.

Es kann ja eigentümlich erscheinen, daß ich zwei ganz verschiedene Sagen gefunden habe, die denselben Stoff bei demselben Volk behandeln. Dies ist dadurch zu erklären, daß die Chanés ein zersprengter Stamm sind, der keine eigene, selbständige Kultur mehr hat.

Die erstgenannte Version ist wahrscheinlich ihre eigene, während sie die andere von den Chiriguanos geliehen haben. Domenico del Campana[6]) erwähnt, daß diese letzteren eine Flußsage haben, in welcher zwei Kinder auf ähnliche Weise in einem Tongefäß gerettet werden.

Die Chorotis und die Matacos berichten, daß die Welt durch Feuer, die Chanés am Rio Paraguay, daß sie durch Sturm und die Chiriguanos und Chanés am Rio Itiyuro, daß sie durch Wasser untergegangen sei.

Die erstgenannten leben auch in Gegenden, wo große

[5]) Ein anderer Chané erzählte mir, daß der Frosch das Feuer vom schwarzen Geier gestohlen habe.

[6]) Domenico del Campana: l. c. S. 22.

Pampabrände gewesen sind, am Rio Parapiti herrschen oft schwere Stürme und die Chiriguanos sind wahrscheinlich aus Gegenden gekommen, wo große Überschwemmungen gewöhnlich sind.

Daß diese Weltuntergangssagen innig mit der Natur des Landes, in dem sie entstanden sind, zusammenhängen, ist, wie Ehrenreich[1]), Im Thurn[2]) u. a. gezeigt haben, sicher. Ehrenreich sagt, eine solche anthromorphe Auffassung der Sonne, wie hier in der ersten Sage, sei in Südamerika selten.

Besuche in Aguararenta (dem Dorfe der Füchse).

Retirayu erzählte mir folgendes über den Glauben der Chanéindianer vom Leben im Jenseits und dem Totenreiche. Aguararenta (aguara = Fuchs, renta = Dorf) ist ein Dorf, wo die Toten, ata, wohnen. Es liegt im Osten. Des Nachts sind die Toten dort in Menschengestalt, am Tage gehen sie als Füchse, Ratten und andere Tiere umher oder gehen in einen Baumstamm. Jede Nacht sind in Aguararenta große Trinkgelage. Alle Chanés, Kinder, Frauen und Männer, kommen dorthin. Auch Verbrecher (tipiyepétchi) und Mörder kommen nach dem genannten Dorf. Niemand wird im Totenreich der Chanés bestraft.

Auch Lebende haben Aguararenta besucht und erzählt, was sie dort gesehen haben. Ein paar solche Erzählungen will ich hier wiedergeben. Sie geben uns einen guten Einblick in die Vorstellungen der Indianer vom Jenseits.

Das Mädchen, das seinem Mann nach Aguararenta folgte.

Erzählt von einem Chanéindianer in Aguaruti (weißer Fuchs) am Rio Parapiti.

Ein Mädchen wollte sich mit einem Mann verheiraten, aber er starb. Sie hatte ihn sehr gern gehabt. Am Morgen,

---

[1]) Ehrenreich: l. c. S. 50—51.

[2]) Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guyana. London 1883, l. c. S. 375.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

am Tage nach seinem Tode, während es noch finster war, stand sie vor dem Hause ihrer Eltern und stieß in den Mörser. Da kam jemand und erfaßte den Mörserstab.

„Wer bist du?" fragte sie.

„Ich bin es," sagte er. Es war ihr toter Mann. „Willst du mitkommen?"

„Ja", sagte sie, da sie ihn sehr liebte.

Er begab sich nun fort in der Richtung, wo die Sonne aufgeht. Sein Gesicht war verhüllt, damit niemand es sähe. Sie ging hinter ihm her. Sie gingen durch den Wald, sie gingen über die Pampas und wieder durch den Wald. Am Tage schlief er und des Nachts war er wach.

Als der Vater seine Tochter vermißte, ging er, um sie zu suchen. Er folgte ihren Spuren. Vor diesen ging eine Fuchsspur. „Ada hat meine Tochter genommen", sagte der Vater. Zuletzt fand er sie tot am Wege. Er machte sie jedoch wieder lebendig und brachte sie nach Hause. Als sie über die Pampas gingen, sahen sie einen Fuchs umherstreifen. Am folgenden Tage starb sie. Der Vater weinte. Da kam der weiße Kondor „Ururuti" und sagte, er solle nicht klagen. Ururuti nahm ihn auf den Rücken und flog mit ihm nach Aguararenta.

In Aguararenta schlief man am Tage und war wach des Nachts. Als der Vater dorthin kam, trank man Maisbier. Ururuti brachte ihn nach dem Hause seines Schwiegersohnes. Er redete seine Tochter an, sie antwortete ihm aber nicht. Sie sah nicht wie ein Mensch aus. Wieder redete er sie an, er bekam aber keine Antwort. Er ging nun zu Ururuti, der ihn nach Hause brachte. Weder er noch seine Frau beweinten die tote Tochter.

Am folgenden Tage starb der Vater.

Version 2. Erzählt von Batirayu. Es war eine Frau, deren Mann gestorben war. In der Nacht kam er zu ihr in der Gestalt eines Mannes und schlief bei ihr. Er bat sie, mit ihm nach seinem Dorfe Aguararenta zu kommen. Sie folgte ihm. Als sie unweit des Dorfes kamen, hörten sie Gesang

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

und Tanz. Sie ging mit ihrem Mann nach dem Marktplatz, wo ein großes Trinkgelage stattfand. Sie sah dort viele Tote, die sie kannte. Die Toten hatten jedoch Angst vor ihr und hielten sich fern von ihr. Sie blieb dort, bis es Morgen wurde. Da verschwanden alle Hütten, und sie befand sich auf einer Ebene voller Fuchsspuren. Ihr Mann verwandelte sich in eine Ratte (angúya). Sie blieb dort den ganzen Tag, auf dem Stamm einer Algarrobo sitzend. Als es finster wurde, kamen die Menschen wieder und es fand dort ein großes Trinkgelage statt. Am Morgen sagten die Toten: „chéahata húirasécuera (ich gehe als Baumstamm), chéahata augúyara (ich gehe als Ratte), chéahata kárakárara (ich gehe als Geier), chéahata águarára (ich gehe als Fuchs), chéahata ándirára (ich gehe als Fledermaus)" usw. Sie kehrte nach Hause zurück. Ihr Mann sagte, er werde kommen, um sie zu holen. Nach drei Tagen war sie tot. Sie war ihrem Mann nach Aguararenta gefolgt.

Der Chiriguanohäuptling Maringay erzählte mir von einem Mann, der am Wege eingeschlafen war. In der Nacht kam seine tote Frau zu ihm, und er schlief bei ihr. Als er erwachte, war sie verschwunden. Er nahm das im Schlaf Erlebte als Wirklichkeit an. Bei den Chanés und Chiriguanos ist der Glaube an ein jenseitiges Leben, wie bei anderen Indianern, auf Träume gegründet. Sie treffen im Traume einen Toten, sie besuchen im Traume das Totenreich. Es ist indessen unrichtig zu sagen, daß die Indianer an ein Leben im Jenseits glauben. Er weiß, daß es ein solches gibt, denn Lebende haben die Toten gesehen, haben mit ihnen der Liebe gepflogen, haben Maisbier mit ihnen getrunken, haben sie sich in Füchse, Ratten, Baumstämme usw. verwandeln sehen.

Geister- und Tiersagen.

„Die Toten sind aña", sagte Batirayu. Unter diesen gibt es mehrere, die Tunpa (am besten mit groß zu übersetzen) sind und übermenschliche Kräfte besitzen.

Der Größte unter den Añatunpas ist Yamándutunpa.

[facing p. 258]

Tafel 20. Sagenerzähler. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Andere der Großen sind Mariutunpa und Tipaytunpa. Chiquéritunpa, der in einigen der hier wiedergegebenen Sagen auftritt, ist der, der den Donner hervorbringt. Chiquéritunpa heult des Nachts, wenn es Krieg gibt. Diese Añatunpa greifen in das Leben der Menschen ein, besonders die Zauberer stehen mit ihnen in Verbindung. So erzählte Batirayu, daß die Añatunpa des Nachts zu Tsuhuandico, einem großen, jetzt verstorbenen Zauberer, kamen und mit ihm Maisbier tranken. Sie sagten ihm, wenn es regnet, wenn jemand krank wird, ob eine Mißernte eintritt usw. Batirayu berichtete auch, daß Angúya, ein Verwandter des Aringui, der letzte große Häuptling, den Añatunpa Tabak anzubieten pflegte, wenn sie bei Tsuhuandico waren. Die Añatunpas tranken nur ganz wenig Maisbier. Wenn sie kamen, sah man sie nicht, man hörte aber gleichsam das Klingen von Sporen.

Diese Zauberer haben eine ungeheuere Macht, sie können verhexen, denn Krankheit und Tod haben ihren Grund in Verhexung. Unter den Chanés ist Tambápui der größte Zauberer. Er ist der Enkel des Tsuhuandico und Sohn des Yapandáy, der ebenfalls ein großer „ipáye" war.

In den Sagen treten Yamándutunpa, Mariutunpa und Tipaytunpa niemals auf. Dort spielen Aguaratunpa (der Fuchsgott) und Tatutunpa (der Gürteltiergott) die größte Rolle. Aguaratunpa hat Tembeta (s. S. 211). Sie haben menschliche Leidenschaften, und besonders die Geschichte des Fuchsgottes ist eine Schilderung von allerlei Kniffen und Verbrechen. Der Gürteltiergott ist etwas besser und steht auch höher.

Vocapoy erzählte mir, er habe einen alten Mann gekannt, der in den Bergen einen Tunpa gesehen habe. Er war eine Handbreit groß und wohlgekleidet. Das Wasser rann von seinem Körper.

Batirayu glaubte steif und fest an die Existenz der Añas und Añatunpas, an ihre Verbindung mit den Zauberern und an deren Macht. Daß Aguararenta existiert, davon war er fest überzeugt. Der Wahrheitstreue der Sagen von den Aben-

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

teuern und Erlebnissen der Aguaratunpas und Tatutunpas, die ich hier unten wiedergeben will, stand er skeptisch gegenüber.

In der Religion dieser Indianer existiert somit zuerst ein Kern von Wahrheit, an den sie glauben. Hierzu kommen die Abenteuer und Taten, die sie am Lagerfeuer von den Geistern erzählen und die wenigstens die Intelligenteren, die Denkenden unter ihnen, selbst als Sagen auffassen.

Diese Sagen will ich hier unten wiedergeben.

Der Begriff eines großen, allmächtigen Gottes ist den Chanés fremd. Jetzt wissen sie indessen alle direkt oder indirekt etwas vom Christentum, wodurch die Vorstellung an einen großen Gott einzudringen beginnt. Vocapoy, der kein Christ war, erzählte mir einmal, die Chanés glaubten an einen großen Gott, Tunpa.

Batirayu sagte, er glaube nicht an einen Gott, wie ihn die Christen beschreiben. Er wunderte sich, daß die Christen die Armen bedrückten und so viele Schlechtigkeiten begingen, da sie doch lehrten, daß die Sünder mit der Hölle bestraft werden. „Wie kann man wissen, wie es im Himmel aussieht, da niemand, der dort gewesen, zur Erde zurückgekommen ist", sagte Batirayu.

„Und so sagen sie, daß wir Flügel bekommen sollen", sagte er und lachte höhnisch.

Den Missionaren nach glauben die Chanés an ein höchstes Wesen,[1]) Tunpahétte-vae, den wirklichen Gott. Der Name klingt schon verdächtig. Ich stehe der Annahme, daß dieser ursprünglich ist, sehr skeptisch gegenüber. Als ich mit den Missionaren über die Religion der Indianer sprach, erstaunte ich über ihre Unwissenheit. Sie verachten die Vorstellungen der Indianer und halten es nicht der Mühe wert, sie näher kennen zu lernen. Es gelingt ihnen niemals, sich von der katholischen Vorstellung zu befreien, daß die Indianer, die, wie wir, von Adam und Eva herstammen und zu denen San

[1]) Vgl. Domenico del Campana: l. c. S. 39.

Thomas gepredigt hat, nichts von ihrem „ursprünglichen Glauben" wissen.

Zwei der Tunpas, die hier in den Sagen auftreten, haben Tiernamen, Aguaratunpa (Fuchsgott) und Tatutunpa (Gürteltiergott). In den Sagen finden wir einen intimen Zusammenhang zwischen Menschen und Tieren.

Batirayu sagte: „Alle Tiere sind Menschen gewesen."

Die Erschaffung der Welt, wie der Fuchsgott, Aguaratunpa, den Algarrobobaum fand und wie er den weißen Kondor, Ururuti, fing.

Erzählt von zwei Chanéin[illegible]ern am Rio Parapiti.

Es wird erzählt, daß im Anfang ein Tunpa war. Er machte die Erde mit dem Himmel und alle Sterne, die Sonne und den Mond. Es wird erzählt, daß diese Erde nichts trug, daß sie ganz kahl war. Tunpa setzte da allerlei Früchte hinein, um die Armen zu speisen, wie die Caraguatá und die Mangára. Es wird erzählt, daß dort eine Algarrobo war, die Mutter aller Bäume. An diesem Baum waren allerlei Früchte. Dieser Baum hat sich in der ganzen Welt vermehrt. Hierauf kam Tunpa, nahm den Mutterbaum mit und ließ die Sprößlinge hier. Es wird erzählt, daß Tunpa die Voreltern von uns und auch die Voreltern der Weißen geschaffen hat. Den Avas[1]) und Chanés gab Tunpa einen Holzspaten und einen langen geschnitzten Stock, „carúmpa" genannt, Pfeil und Bogen, ein Schaf, eine Ziege, ein Huhn und einen Hund, damit sie alle diese Tiere vermehren und damit sie sich mit diesen Werkzeugen ernähren. Den Weißen gab er Gewehre, ein Pferd, eine Stute und eine Kuh und alle möglichen Werkzeuge aus Eisen, damit sie mit diesen arbeiten.[2])

Es wird erzählt, daß die kleine Viscacha,[3]) „Tacumbo-

[1]) Ava = Chiriguano.

[2]) Dies ist sicher ein moderner Zusatz zur Sage. Dasselbe finden wir in einer hier wiedergegebenen Matacosage.

[3]) Lagostomus.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

cumba", diese Bäume, die vom Mutterbaum zurückblieben, beaufsichtige. Sie hatte diese Bäume sehr gut beaufsichtigt, keinen einzigen Samen hatte sie fortführen lassen. Sie hatte die Blüten gekostet, sie aber bitter gefunden, bis sie Frucht gaben. Als sie reif waren, säete sie die Samen. Als diese wieder gereift waren, säete sie diese wieder. Im folgenden Jahre hatten sie alle reife Frucht gegeben.

Aguaratunpa war zum Hause der Tacumbocumba gekommen. Diese war eine alte Frau. Sie bot Aguaratunpa von diesen Früchten, die sie bewacht hatte, und er fand sie sehr gut. Er fragte, wie sie heißen. Sie erwiderte, diese Früchte heißen „mä".

Als sie ihm die Früchte anbot, setzte sie sich neben Aguaratunpa, damit er kein einziges Samenkorn mitnehme. Aguaratunpa verbarg in einem hohlen Zahne eines der kleinsten Samenkörner. Als er zu essen aufgehört hatte, reichte ihm die Alte Wasser zum Mundausspülen, damit kein einziges Samenkorn zurückbleibe. Mit dem Finger untersuchte sie Aguaratunpas Mund, konnte aber kein einziges Korn finden. Wieder fragte Aguaratunpa die Frau, wie der Baum heiße, und nahm Abschied. Den Namen des Baumes nennend, setzte er seinen Weg fort. Nicht weit davon fiel Aguaratunpa, vergaß den Namen des Baumes und kehrte zu der Alten zurück, um zu fragen. Darauf setzte er seinen Weg fort. Wieder fiel er, wieder vergaß er den Namen, und wieder kam er zu der Alten zurück, um zu fragen. Da sagte sie: „Du hast etwas Samen mitgenommen, und so untersuchte sie noch einmal seinen Mund, konnte aber nichts finden. Hierauf ging Aguaratunpa weiter, bis er zu einer offenen Ebene kam. Dort säete er den Algarrobosamen, den er mithatte. Dann zog er weit umher. Nach einigen Jahren kam er zurück und fand schon eine große Algarrobopflanze vor. Wieder zog er weit umher. Als er zurückkam, blühte die Algarrobo. Er nahm eine Blüte und kaute sie. Sie war bitter. Wieder zog Aguaratunpa in die Welt hinaus. Als er zu seiner Algarrobo zurückkam, fand er sie voll reifer Früchte. Er nahm eine

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

auf, die auf die Erde gefallen war, und kostete sie. Sie war süß und gut. Er suchte nun nach jemand, der den Baum für ihn bewachen wollte. Er fragte zuerst einen Käfer, „Nyákira", dieser wollte aber nicht. Dann fragte er „Húiran", einen kleinen schwarzen Vogel, der wollte aber auch nicht. Nun fragte er einen anderen Käfer, „Tikitikiru",[1]) und dieser versprach ihm, den Baum zu bewachen. Kommt jemand, der von deiner Algarrobo Früchte stehlen will, so will ich singen: „Tikitikiru, tikitikiru, ko mä séramátata, tiki, tiki", sagte er. Aguaratunpa war nicht weit gegangen, da hörte er: „Tikitikiru, tikitikiru, ko mä séramátata, tiki, tiki." Aguaratunpa eilte zurück. „Hier sind (Tuáta) der Floh, (Yatéu) die Zecke und (Isáu) die Blattschneideameise gewesen und die haben Früchte von deiner Algarrobo gestohlen", sagte Tikitikiru. Die Zecke hatte ein großes Tragnetz mitgehabt, um die Früchte zu tragen, und die Blattschneideameise war auf den Baum geklettert, um sie abzubeißen. Aguaratunpa eilte ihnen nach. Zuerst erreichte er die Ameise. Er trat auf ihre Mitte. Darum sind alle Ameisen so schmal um den Leib. Dann nahm er die Zecke auf und trat mitten auf sie, so daß sie ganz platt wurde. Zuletzt bekam er den Floh und trat auf ihn, glitt aber aus, so daß er ihn seitwärts drückte. Darum sind alle Flöhe klein und zusammengedrückt. Tikitikiru überließ nun Aguaratunpa die Algarrobo, damit er sie selbst bewache. Er spannte seine Hängematte auf und legte sich zur Ruhe. An einem Zweig sah er noch eine Frucht, die die Diebe zurückgelassen hatten. Aguaratunpa rief nun den Wind herbei, und der schüttelte den Zweig, an welchem die Algarrobofrucht saß, so daß sie herunterfiel. Die Frucht fiel Aguaratunpa mitten ins Auge. Der Fuchsgott war nun tot.

Bald kamen alle Geier, um von Aguaratunpa zu essen. Sie schickten den Kolibri „Chinu", um ihren großen Häuptling, den weißen Kondor, Ururuti, zu holen, damit dieser von Aguaratunpa esse.

---

[1]) Wahrscheinlich eine Carambycide.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

„Hütet euch, er ist nicht tot, er stellt sich nur tot, um unsern großen Häuptling zu fangen," sagte einer der Geier, „Kara-kara".

„Gewiß ist er tot", sagte die Fliege „Mbéru" und kroch unter dem Schwanz des Fuchsgottes hinein und aus einem Nasenloch heraus, durch das andere hinein und so unter dem Schwanz wieder heraus.

„Er ist nicht tot", sagte Kara-kara.

„Er ist tot", sagte die Fliege und legte Eier in Aguaratunpas Augen, so daß sie voller Würmer waren. Als der weiße Kondor kam, näherte er sich Aguaratunpa, um zu essen.

„Hüte dich, er ist nicht tot", sagte der Geier.

„Er ist tot", sagte die Fliege und kroch wieder unter Aguaratunpas Schwanz hinein und durch das eine Nasenloch heraus, durch das andere hinein und dann unter dem Schwanze wieder heraus.

Der weiße Kondor begann nun von Aguaratunpa zu essen. Dieser fuhr nun auf, nahm ihn gefangen und band ihn mit einer Kette von Silber.

„Eine Herde Pferde will ich dir geben, wenn du mir die Freiheit schenkst", sagte der weiße Kondor.

„Ich habe so viele Pferde, daß ich nicht mehr brauche", sagte Aguaratunpa.

„Ich will dir große Felder geben, wenn du mir die Freiheit schenkst", sagte der weiße Kondor.

„Ich habe so viele Felder, daß ich nicht mehr brauche", sagte Aguaratunpa.

„Ich will dir meine beiden Töchter zu Frauen geben und ein Haus, in dem du wohnen kannst, wenn du mir die Freiheit schenkst", sagte der weiße Kondor.

„Ich brauche deine Töchter nicht, denn ich habe in allen Dörfern Frauen", sagte Aguaratunpa.

„Ich will ein ganzes Haus mit silbernen Schalen, ‚cagua', füllen und es dir geben, wenn du mir die Freiheit schenkst", sagte der weiße Kondor.

„Ich habe so viel Silber, wie ich brauche," sagte Aguaratunpa, „und ich habe dich gefangen, um dich zu töten. Kannst du mir aber den weißen Gummiball, ‚toki', schenken, damit ich damit spielen kann, so will ich dir die Freiheit schenken", sagte Aguaratunpa.

An eine lange silberne Kette gebunden, flog Ururuti, um den weißen Gummiball zu holen. Als Aguaratunpa ihn bekam, schenkte er dem weißen Kondor die Freiheit. Der Strauß, „Yándu", und die Fledermaus, „Andira", spielten Ball. Der eine warf den Ball, fing ihn mit dem Kopf auf und stieß ihn dem anderen zu, der ihn wieder mit dem Kopfe auffing und zurückstieß (vgl. S. 193). Als der Ball durch die Luft flog, fing der weiße Kondor ihn auf und verschwand. Aguaratunpa schickte nun einen Vogel, „Tavatan", um den schwarzen Gummiball zu holen, und das ganze Dorf spielte. Mit dem Strauß spielte Aguaratunpa. Mitten im Spiel tauschte er den Ball gegen einen Stein aus und warf ihn. Der Strauß fing ihn mit dem Kopf und fiel tot nieder. Als er wieder lebendig wurde, hatte er einen plattgedrückten Kopf, wie jetzt alle Strauße. Mit dem schwarzen Gummiball verschwand die Fledermaus.

Abb. 127. Tongefäß. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/3.

Nun ist die Geschichte aus.

Tatutunpas und Aguaratunpas Verheiratung.

Sage, erzählt von dem Chanéindianer Agilera am Rio Parapiti.

Es wird erzählt, dort war einmal ein großer Häuptling, Chiquéri, und dort waren auch Tatutunpa und Aguaratunpa. Sie lebten alle weit, weit fort von hier. Am weitesten wohnte der große Häuptling. Dieser hatte Tatutunpa kommen lassen, um ihm seine Tochter zur Frau zu geben. Tatutunpa kannte viele Künste und Aguaratunpa kannte auch viele Künste.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Tatutunpa machte sich auf den Weg. Er ging ganz langsam und wartete an vielen Stellen. Wo er Feuer anmachte, wuchs hohes Gras. Zwei bis drei Tage, nachdem Tatutunpa sein Haus verlassen hatte, kam Aguaratunpa und fragte, wohin Tatutunpa gegangen sei. Man sagte ihm, Tatutunpa sei zu dem großen Häuptling gegangen. Aguaratunpa folgte ihm nun und traf ihn nicht weit davon. Bevor sie ankamen, fanden sie eine Pflanze namens „ihuahuasu"[1]) am Wege. Aguaratunpa sagte zu Tatutunpa, er solle die Früchte abpflücken, damit sie sie essen könnten. Er ging in den Wald unter die Pflanze. Bevor noch Tatutunpa eine der Früchte hatte berühren können, schüttelte Aguaratunpa die Pflanze, so daß alle Früchte auf Tatutunpa fielen. Dieser, der jung und hübsch war, wurde nun einäugig und alt. Nun war Aguaratunpa der jüngere und schönere von beiden. Sie setzten nun ihren Weg zu dem großen Häuptling fort. Tatutunpa hatte eine Halskette, die Aguaratunpa ihm, bevor sie ankamen, abgelockt hatte.

Der große Häuptling glaubte, Tatutunpa, der alt und häßlich war, sei Aguaratunpa und dieser Tatutunpa. Er gab dem ersteren seine schönste Tochter zur Frau und dem letzteren gab er eine seiner allerhäßlichsten, die auch einäugig, wie er, war.

Aguaratunpa begann zu arbeiten, um den Acker zu roden und zu säen. Während er arbeitete, band er sein langes Haar auf. Als er von der Arbeit kam, war er ganz schmutzig. Tatutunpa tat nichts. Er lag den ganzen Tag neben seiner Frau und flötete auf einer runden Holzpfeife (Abb. 80). Als seine Schwiegermutter sah, daß er nicht arbeitete, sagte sie: „Dieser Mann denkt gar nicht an seine Familie."

Da er dies hörte und wußte, daß Aguaratunpa schon viel gearbeitet hatte, fragte er seine Frau, ob ihr Vater keinen alten Acker habe, den er bebauen könne. Die Schwiegermutter sagte da zu ihrer Tochter: „Warum fragt jener Mann

[1]) Vgl. S. 51.

nach einem Acker, er, der so faul ist. Besser wäre es, wenn Aguaratunpa, der arbeitet, danach fragte."

Tatutunpa ging mit seinem Stock und seiner Frau nach dem alten Acker des Häuptlings. Er ging auf den großen, wüsten Acker, grub ein wenig Erde auf, hob einen Erdklumpen auf und warf ihn in die Luft. Der Erdklumpen fiel zur Erde und zerbröckelte in viele Stücke. „Diese Erde ist nichts wert", sagte er und fragte seine Frau, ob nicht irgendwo eine große Ebene sei, die er bebauen könnte. Sie sagte, es gäbe eine große Ebene. Sie begaben sich dorthin und gingen mitten auf die Ebene. Tatutunpa grub ein wenig Erde auf, warf wieder einen Erdklumpen in die Luft, dieser ging aber nicht entzwei, sondern fiel ganz nieder. Er sagte zu seiner Frau, diese Erde lasse sich sehr gut bearbeiten. Sie gingen nach Hause.

Am anderen Morgen begab sich der alte Tatutunpa mit seinem Spaten nach der Ebene, wo er ein wenig gegraben hatte, und steckte ihn in den Boden. In ganz kurzer Zeit wurde die ganze große Ebene ganz allein von dem Spaten gereinigt. Tatutunpa rief nun den Wind herbei, der mit großer Stärke kam und alles schlechte Zeug wegblies. Nur das Allerfeinste war stehen geblieben. Hierauf rief er den Wirbelwind, der den Acker ganz frei fegte. Tatutunpa bat die Papageien um Samen, sie kamen aber mit untauglichen Samenkörnern, die alle entzwei waren. Als er sah, daß diese Samen nichts taugten, bat er die Enten und Tauben und die ganz kleinen Tauben, sie möchten mit allerlei Samen kommen, und diese taten es auch. Sie säeten sogar selbst. Als die Saat beendet war, begab sich Tatutunpa auf dem Wege, der nach seinem Hause führte, heim. Er war noch nicht weit gekommen, da drehte er sich um, um nach seinem Acker zu sehen. Er sah, daß die Pflanzen schon zu keimen begannen. Wieder ging er ein Stück und wendete sich wieder um, um nach seinem Acker zu sehen. Die Pflanzen waren schon groß. Wieder ging er weiter und drehte sich wieder um. Da fand er seinen Acker schon in Blüte. In der Nähe seines Hauses

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

wandte sich Tatutunpa wieder um, um nach seinem Acker zu sehen, und fand, daß alles, was er gesäet hatte, schon reife Früchte trug.

Bei Aguaratunpa, der so fleißig gearbeitet hatte, war noch nichts reif oder in Blüte.

Am folgenden Tage sagte Tatutunpa zu seiner Frau: „Wir wollen gehen, um nach unserem Acker zu sehen. Sie gingen nach dem Acker und die Frau sah, daß alle Früchte reif waren. Tatutunpa gebot ihr, ein Feuer anzumachen, um Mais und alle anderen Früchte zu rösten. Er sagte ihr, sie solle einen Maiskolben, zwei Bohnen und einen Kürbis ausgraben, aber nicht mehr. Nicht einmal dies vermochten sie aufzuessen.

Danach gingen sie nach Hause und sagten zu der Alten, sie solle mit ihnen kommen und alles abernten, was sie zu essen wünsche. Die Alte glaubte ihnen nicht, sondern glaubte, sie hätten gestohlen. Sie konnte nicht glauben, daß sie etwas zu ernten hätten, da sie nicht gearbeitet hatten. „Ich gehe lieber zu meiner anderen Tochter, die fleißig gearbeitet hat", sagte die Alte.

Aguaratunpa begab sich nun zu Tatutunpas Acker und stahl Kürbisse, die er nach seiner Anpflanzung brachte. Mit Stäbchen und Dornen befestigte er die Kürbisse an den halbgewachsenen Kürbisstengeln. In der Dämmerung kehrte er heim und sagte zu seiner Frau, sie solle ihre Mutter bitten, in seinem Acker Kürbisse zu ernten. Die Tochter ging zu ihrer Mutter und sagte: „Wir wollen nach dem Acker gehen, um Kürbisse zu holen." Vergnügt machte die Alte sich auf den Weg, denn sie hatte gesehen, daß sie viel gearbeitet hatten, und sie glaubte ihrer Tochter. Sie gingen, fanden aber nicht mehr Kürbisse, als wie sie in einer Getreideschwinge einernten konnten.

Am folgenden Tage bat wieder Tatutunpas Frau ihre Mutter, mit aufs Feld zu kommen. Die Alte glaubte ihr gar nicht, als aber der Alte, ihr Mann, sah, daß sie so hartnäckig waren, befahl er ihr, zu gehen. Ärgerlich machte sich die Alte

auf den Weg. Tatutunpa ging vor ihr, auf seiner Pfeife flötend. Als sie auf den Acker kamen, sah die Alte, daß er voll von allerlei Früchten, Mais, Kürbissen, Bohnen und Kalebassen war. Die Alte wurde richtig vergnügt, sie konnte ihre Freude kaum mäßigen.

Als sie nach dem Ackerrain kam, sah sie eine gewaltige Kalebasse und sagte zu ihrer Tochter, diese wünsche sie für sich. Während sie plauderten, fiel die Kalebasse auf die Alte, diese fiel hin und konnte sich infolge der schweren Kalebasse, die sie drückte, kaum bewegen. Die Tochter kam ihr zu Hilfe und versuchte die Kalebasse zu heben, sie vermochte es aber nicht. Sie rief ihrem Manne zu, er solle kommen und ihr helfen. Dieser blieb jedoch eine lange Weile fort, und erst als die Alte dem Tode nahe war, kam er, hob die Kalebasse auf und setzte sie wieder an ihrem alten Platze fest. Die halbtote Alte hob er auf.

Als sie sich nach einem Weilchen erholt hatte, sahen sie sich weiter den Acker an. Die Alte wollte einen Maiskolben abbrechen. Tatutunpa sagte ihr, sie solle seinen Acker schonen und nur den Kolben abbrechen. Sie erntete nun zwei Maiskolben und zwei von allen anderen Früchten, ohne etwas zu zerstören. Alles, was sie abgeerntet hatte, setzte sofort wieder reife Früchte an. Mit den Früchten beladen, ging sie nach Hause. Sie erzählte ihrem Manne, daß Tatutunpa schon einen großen Acker habe. „Das ist somit der Tatutunpa, den wir haben kommen lassen", sagte der Alte. Aguaratunpa hat uns betrogen."

Am folgenden Tag sagte Tatutunpa zu seiner Frau: „Wir wollen nach unserem Acker gehen." Sie gingen dorthin. Er grub nun ein Loch, in welchem er ein Feuer machte. Als das Loch richtig warm, richtig rot war, nahm er eine sehr große Kalebasse und kroch in dieselbe hinein. Er bat seine Frau, die Kalebasse zuzustopfen, in die warme Grube zu legen und die Kalebasse, wenn er pfeife, umzudrehen, damit er hinaus könne. Die Frau tat so, wie er gesagt hatte. Als er pfiff, drehte sie die Kalebasse um und Tatutunpa kam

heraus, schön und jung, mit allen seinen alten Schmucksachen geschmückt.

Nach einem Weilchen wärmte Tatutunpa die Grube wieder und seine Frau kroch in die Kalebasse. Er bedeckte diese und warf sie in die Grube. Als sie pfiff, drehte er die Kalebasse um. Jung und schön kam sie aus derselben.

Sie kehrten nach Hause zurück und nahmen ein Quebrachostäbchen mit, um damit Feuer anzumachen. Als sie nach Hause kamen, war die Alte mit dem Brauen von Maisbier beschäftigt.

„In dieser Nacht wird es sehr kalt und deshalb habe ich dieses Stäbchen mitgenommen, damit wir etwas haben, woran wir uns wärmen können", sagte Tatutunpa. Aguaratunpa hatte viel „Tartago"-Holz mit nach Hause genommen, es reichte aber nicht die ganze Nacht. Mitten in der Nacht war das Holz zu Ende. Er ging zur Feuerstätte seiner Schwiegermutter, die beim Maisbierkochen war. Als die Alte sah, daß ein Fuchs sich zu ihrem Feuer schlich, steckte sie ein Stück Holz in Aguaratunpas Hinteren. Mit dem Holz im Hinteren sprang er davon, für immer in einen Fuchs verwandelt.

Die Entstehung der Arbeit.

Erzählt von dem Chanéindianer Batirayu.

Tatutunpa hatte einen Zauberspaten. Stellte man ihn des Abends in den Acker, so war der Acker am Morgen fertig gegraben. Aguaratunpa kam eines Tages in Gesellschaft seiner beiden Brüder zu Tatutunpa. „Wir wollen um deinen Spaten spielen", sagte er. „Wenn es blitzt, wollen wir in den Blitz sehen, und derjenige, der nicht blinzelt, gewinnt den Spaten. Darauf ging Tatutunpa ein.

Aguaratunpa lieh sich nun die Augen der Heuschrecke „Tu-ku", die keine Augenlider hat, Tatutunpa und Aguaratunpa setzten sich und stierten nach dem Himmel. Als es blitzte, blinzelte Tatutunpa, aber nicht Aguaratunpa, der die Augen der Heuschrecke hatte. Er hatte den Spaten gewonnen. Als er ging, nahm er gleichwohl nicht den Spaten,

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

der selbst grub, mit, sondern einen gewöhnlichen hölzernen Spaten.

„Nehme ich den Spaten mit dem hohlen Stiel, so können auch die Faulen Mais bauen, mit dem hier aber muß man arbeiten, um Mais für seine Familie zu schaffen", sagte Aguaratunpa zu seinen Brüdern.

Der Heuschrecke gab Aguaratunpa die geliehenen Augen zurück.

Wie Aguaratunpa seinen Bruder nach dem Himmelsgewölbe schickte.

Erzählt von dem Chanéindianer Batirayu.

Aguaratunpa lebte mit seinem Bruder zusammen. In einem Korb hatte er zwei kleine Papageien. Eines Tages flogen sie nach einem Acker, wo sie Mais aßen. Als sie nach Hause kamen, hatte der eine Maismehl um den Schnabel: „Woher hast du das?" fragte Aguaratunpa. „Von einem Acker weit hinten, wo die Sonne untergeht", sagten die Papageien.

Am folgenden Tag schickte Aguaratunpa die Papageien fort. Wohin sie flogen, dahin folgte er ihnen. Als er hinkam, brach er Mais ab. Da kam der Besitzer des Ackers und sah, daß jemand Mais gestohlen hatte. Aguaratunpa verbarg sich, der Besitzer fand ihn aber, da er sich, als er den Mais abbrechen wollte, in Hände und Füße geschnitten und überall Blutspuren hinterlassen hatte.

Der Besitzer sagte zu Aguaratunpa: „Warum hast du mir Mais gestohlen, hättest du mich darum gebeten, hätte ich ihn dir gegeben." Er brach viele Maiskolben ab und belud Aguaratunpa damit, der sie nach Hause brachte. Er legte sie neben die Tür.

Als er am folgenden Morgen erwachte, hatte der kleine Haufen sich in einen großen verwandelt, der bis an das Dach reichte.

Aguaratunpas Bruder fragte ihn, woher er den Mais habe. „Es ist weit weg," sagte Aguaratunpa. „Es gibt keinen Weg, und du kannst nicht hinfinden."

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Der Bruder machte sich aber doch auf den Weg und kam an den Acker, wo er „anday"[1]) fand, von dem er aß. Dieser war vergiftet, und er starb. Tot fand Aguaratunpa ihn. Er sagte, er wolle ihn wieder lebendig machen. Aguaratunpa nahm eine Pflanze, „ihuahuasu". Mit dieser schlug er ihn. Er sprang über ihn, erst gerade über den Körper, dann vom Kopf bis zum Schwanz.

Der Bruder wurde wieder lebendig und sagte: „Ich habe lange geschlafen." — „Du hast nicht geschlafen, du bist tot gewesen", sagte Aguaratunpa. Dieser schickte den Bruder zum Himmel.[2]) Wenn es donnert, dann geht der Bruder Aguaratunpas spazieren.

Über den Sohn von Tatutunpa und wie er seine Mutter gerettet hat.

Erzählt von dem Chiriguanoindianer Yambási am Rio Grande.

In einem Hause war ein Mädchen Inómu, das niemals einen Mann gehabt hatte. Vor dem Hause war ein großes Trinkgelage. Dort waren Aguaratunpa, Tatutunpa und Dyori. Die Eltern des Mädchens nahmen sie mit und setzten sie da auf den Boden, wo man mit Maisbiertrinken beschäftigt war. Aguaratunpa fand, daß Inómu sehr hübsch sei. Das fand auch Tatutunpa. „Ich werde das Mädchen schwanger machen", sagte er und begann zu graben. Aguaratunpa stellte sich davor. Tatutunpa grub sich in die Erde und unter dem Mädchen hinauf.[3]) Als Tatutunpa geendet hatte, kroch er wieder heraus und erzählte Aguaratunpa, was er getan.

„Ich will auch versuchen", sagte Aguaratunpa und kroch in den Gang hinein. Er war nicht weit gekommen, da blieb er stecken. Tatutunpa packte ihn am Schwanz und zog ihn heraus.

---

[1]) Kürbis einer wohlschmeckenden Art.
[2]) Ara = Himmelsgewölbe, Weltraum.
[3]) Gemildert.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Als das Mädchen nach Hause kam, rief ein Vogel „Araqua", daß sie schwanger sei. Am folgenden Tage wurde sie groß. Sie war hochschwanger. Ihre Mutter war erbittert. Sie sagte, sie wolle weit fort zum Vater gehen und gebären. Inómu ging zur Höhle Tatutunpas und warf das Kind hinein, ohne ihm Milch zu geben. Das Kind schrie täglich, und die Mutter sah nach ihm, wenn sie aber kam, kroch es in die Höhle. Eines Tages kam „Yahuéte", der Jaguar mit zwei Köpfen, von denen der eine trocken war, riß ihr die Augen aus und führte sie lebend fort.

Der Großvater ging nun aus, um den kleinen Tatutunpa zu fangen, indem er ein Netz vor die Höhle legte, in welchem dieser sich fing. Er führte ihn nach Hause. Dort wuchs er schnell und begann groß zu werden. Er wurde mit Honig großgezogen. Eine Tages verlangte der kleine Tatutunpa Pfeil und Bogen. Der Großvater machte ihm einen Pfeil mit einer stumpfen Spitze aus Wachs. Mit dem ging er aus und jagte. Wenn er den Stamm traf, fielen alle Tauben tot herunter. Es war eine große Masse. Als Tututunpa nach Hause kam, fragte der Großvater, wie er so viele Tauben habe töten können, und da erzählte er, wie es zugegangen war. Auf dieselbe Weise tötete er viele Vögel. Eines Tages sah er fünf Araquavögel auf einem Baum. Tatutunpa schoß nach dem Baum, aber nur vier fielen herunter. Der fünfte sagte: „Du tätest besser, deine Mutter zu suchen, als Vögel zu schießen."

Als Tatutunpa nach Hause kam, bat er den Großvater, ihm eine Keule aus „Huirapucu[1]) zu schaffen. Er schlug mit ihr gegen einen dicken Baumstamm, mußte aber zweimal schlagen, um den Stamm abzubekommen. Tatutunpa sagte da zu dem Großvater, sie tauge nichts, und verlangte eine Keule aus „Urundey".[2]) Er schlug mit ihr gegen einen dicken Baumstamm und schlug den Stamm mit einem Schlage ab. „Diese ist gut", sagte Tatutunpa.

[1]) Huirapucu ist ein weiches Holz (Salix Humboldtiana).

[2]) „Urundey" ist rotes Quebracho oder nahestehend.

In Begleitung Dyoris machte sich Tatutunpa auf den Weg. Auf dem Wege tötete er einen Tapir. Dyori[1]) teilte ihn in vier Teile und fraß ihn auf. Sogar das Blut leckte er vom Boden auf.

Tatutunpa fand die Mutter blind im Walde. Sie bat ihn, die Jaguare zu töten, die sie gefangen hielten. „Sie kommen zur Tränke, um zu trinken", sagte sie.

Tatutunpa machte sich einen kleinen Schuppen, in welchem er sich verborgen hielt. Dyori versteckte sich hinter ihm. Zuerst kam „Embaracaya"[2]) mit ihrer Beute. Mit einem Schlage zertrümmerte Tatutunpa ihren Kopf und warf sie und ihre Beute Dyori hin, der alles auffraß. Auf dieselbe Weise tötete er „Yahuapinta"[3]) und die anderen Katzentiere. Er warf sie Dyori hin, der sie alle auffraß. Zuletzt kam Yahuéte, der zwei Köpfe hatte. Er bat Inómu um Wasser. Yahuéte trug einen Tapir, den er getötet hatte. Inómu wies ihn zur Tränke.

„Nein, gib mir hier Wasser, es hält sich jemand an der Quelle verborgen", sagte Yahuéte.

„Nein, es ist niemand da, und wie soll ich, die ich blind bin, Wasser holen können, ich falle ja", sagte Inómu.

Yahuéte ging zur Tränke. Als er dorthin kam, schlug Tatutunpa mit der Keule, um ihn zu töten, traf aber nur den trocknen Kopf und Yahuéte sprang davon. Tatutunpa folgte ihm. Als Yahuéte sich verfolgt sah, verbarg er sich unter dem „tiru" (S. 200 erwähnte Frauentracht) des Mondes.

„Wo ist Yahuéte?" fragte Tatupunta.

„Das weiß ich nicht", antwortete die Frau (d. h. der Mond). Das war die erste Lüge.

„Er ist unter deiner ‚tiru' verborgen", sagte Tatutunpa und ging weiter.

Der Mond rief ihm da nach. „Yahuéte frißt mich auf."

---

[1]) Dyori wird immer als der Unersättliche geschildert. Er entspricht dem Móconomóco in den Sagen von Mojos.

[2]) Eine große Wildkatze.

[3]) Puma (Felis concolor).

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Tatutupa ging zurück, um ihm zu helfen. Er sagte da, es sei nicht wahr. Tatutupa ging wieder weiter. Er rief nun wieder: „Yahoite frißt mich auf." Als Tatutupa zurückkam, sagte er, es sei unwahr. Tatutupa ging wieder weiter. Wieder rief der Mond, Yahoite wolle ihn auffressen. Tatutupa kehrte aber nicht mehr zurück. Nun war Yahoite wirklich im Begriff, ihn zu fressen.

Als Tatutupa zu seiner Mutter zurückkehrte, sagte er, er werde dafür sorgen, daß sie wieder sehen könne. Aus Taubenschmutz und Ton machte er Augen und setzte sie in ihre leeren Augenhöhlen. Inimu rieb sich die Augen, öffnete sie und konnte wieder sehen. Tatutupa führte nun seine Mutter nach Hause.

Batiraya hat mir dieselbe Sage mit einer langen Einleitung erzählt, die in Yambáis Erzählung fehlt. Diese Einleitung will ich hier wiedergeben.

Es war einmal ein großes Trinkgelage. Dort waren viele Vögel versammelt. Der Häuptling befahl Aguaratupa, ein Mädchen Inimu, die in einem Nachbardorfe war, zu holen, damit sie auch mit ihnen trinke. Aguaratupa ging. Als er ins Haus des Mädchens kam, traf er ihren Vater.

„Guten Tag, Onkel", sagte Aguaratupa.

„Setze dich", sagte der Vater.

„Nein, ich bin gekommen, um meine Nichte zu holen," sagte Aguaratupa. Er fragte nun, ob das Mädchen mit ihm gehen wolle, was es bejahte. Das Mädchen machte sich fein, nahm seine Halskette um, zog seinen besten „tiru" an und folgte Aguaratupa.

Als sie eine Strecke Weges gegangen waren, sagte das Mädchen: „Warum soll ich mit dir gehen, der du so häßlich bist", und so kehrte sie um. Als Aguaratupa ankam, fragte der Häuptling ihn, wie es gegangen sei. Er erzählte nun, daß das Mädchen umgekehrt sei.

„Urapua" (der schwarze Aasgeier) erbot sich, das Mädchen zu holen. Urapua machte sich auf den Weg. Als er ins Haus des Mädchens kam, sagte er:

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

„Guten Tag, Onkel."

„Nimm Platz", sagte der Vater.

„Nein, ich bin gekommen, um meine Nichte zu holen, sie soll mir helfen Maisbier zu trinken", sagte Urapua. Er fragte das Mädchen, ob es mitgehen wolle. Sie erklärte sich einverstanden und machte sich in Ordnung. Als sie halbwegs gekommen waren, sagte das Mädchen: „Warum soll ich mit dir gehen, der du so häßlich bist." Sie kehrte nach Hause zurück.

Als Urapua ankam, fragte der Häuptling, wie es ihm ergangen sei. Er erzählte, das Mädchen sei umgekehrt.

„Tin" erbot sich zu gehen. Als er in das Haus des Mädchens kam, sagte er:

„Guten Tag, Onkel."

„Nimm Platz", sagte der Vater.

„Nein, ich bin gekommen, um meine Nichte zu holen, sie soll mir helfen Maisbier zu trinken", sagte Tin. Er fragte das Mädchen, ob es mitgehen wolle. Als sie ein gutes Stück Weges gekommen waren, sagte das Mädchen: „Warum soll ich mit dir gehen, der du so häßlich bist", und so ging sie wieder nach Hause.

Da erbot sich „Chow" zu gehen. Als er ankam, ging er direkt zum Mädchen und fragte sie, ob sie mit ihm kommen und ihm helfen wolle, Maisbier zu trinken. Das Mädchen gab ihm eine Kalebassschale Maisbier und war bereit, ihm zu folgen. Sie gingen. Als sie ganz nahe dem Dorfe waren, wo ein großes Trinkgelage war, sagte das Mädchen, es wolle nicht mit ihm gehen, er habe so schwarze Beine, und kehrte um.

Als er ankam, fragte der Häuptling, wie es ihm ergangen sei. Er erzählte, daß das Mädchen umgekehrt sei. Alle die übrigen Vögel versuchten, aber mit keinem wollte das Mädchen gehen. Zuletzt ging „Chorincui".

„Paß auf," sagte der Häuptling, „er bekommt bestimmt das Mädchen mit sich." Chorincui ging direkt zu dem Mädchen und fragte es, ob es mit ihm gehen und ihm helfen

wolle, Maisbier zu trinken. Das Mädchen war bereit und folgte ihm bis dahin und setzte sich zu den anderen Frauen.

Aguaratunpa ging erbost umher.

Der Häuptling fragte, ob jemand singen könne. Aguaratunpa kleidete sich in seinen „tirucumbai" (Abb. 81) und machte sich zum Singen bereit, er konnte aber nicht mehr als „púhuaté, púhuaté". Urapau kam nun hervor und wollte singen, er konnte aber nur „hú, hú" sagen.

Da bat der Häuptling „Húiratucúhua" zu singen und dieser sang:

„Huaté púhuatékus rárásé mánura lúhuaya chúshico ti, ti, ti, ti . . ."

Dort war ein Mann, der mit seinem Bruder und allen den anderen Vögeln verfeindet war, der nicht am Trinkgelage teilnahm, sondern umherging und jagte.

Auf einem Baum saßen viele Papageien. Unter diesen war ein weißer Papagei. „Den will ich fangen", sagte er und versuchte es, ihn mit einer Schlinge an einer Rute zu fangen, aber es gelang ihm nicht. Er zielte nun mit dem Bogen nach dem Papagei. Dieser fing zu sprechen an und sagte: „Warum willst du mich töten?"

Der Papagei lehrte ihn nun, wie er singen solle, und sagte ihm, wenn er mitten unter die käme, die trinken, solle er den Arm über den Kopf hochstrecken.

Er ging nun um diejenigen, die tranken, herum und sang. Dann ging er mitten unter sie und streckte den Arm hoch. Als er dies tat, wurden diejenigen, die standen, in Vögel, und die, die saßen, in Steine verwandelt, außer Inómu, Tatutunpa, Aguaratunpa und Teyuhuasu.

Tatutunpa, Aguaratunpa und Teyuhuasa saßen nicht mit den anderen zusammen, sondern standen in der Nähe. Tatutunpa sagte zu Aguaratunpa:

„Du sollst sehen, ich mache das Mädchen schwanger.[1])

[1]) Gemildert.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Wenn sie den Körper dreht, ist es geschehen." Er grub nun ein Loch in der Erde unter dem Mädchen . . .

Die Fortsetzung von Batirayus Erzählung ist mit der Yambásis beinahe identisch.

In ihren Grundzügen scheint mir diese Sage echt indianisch zu sein. Es sind jedoch Elemente darin, die von den Weißen geliehen zu sein scheinen, nämlich die Geschichte von den Lügen des Mondes. Diese kommt in Batirayus Version der Sage nicht vor. Sie erinnert mich auch sehr an den Knaben, der um Hilfe zu rufen pflegte, ohne daß eine Gefahr vorhanden war. Als schließlich die Wölfe dabei waren, ihn aufzufressen, kümmerte sich keiner um ihn. — eine Sage, die in Europa bekannt ist und die ich in Schweden als Kind gehört habe.

Ein Teil dieser Sage erinnert stark an eine von d'Orbigny[1]) von den Yuracáreindianern wiedergegebene Sage. Dem Tatutunpa entspricht dort „Tiri", der, um seine Mutter zu rächen, alle Katzentiere, außer dem Jaguar mit den vier Augen, der seine Zuflucht zum Monde nimmt, tötet. Früher standen die Chirigoanus und Chanés sicher in Verbindung mit den Yuracáreindianern. Als die Weißen das Land um Santa Cruz de la Sierra eroberten, zogen die Chiriguanos nach Süden und die Yuracáres nach Norden. Auf meiner letzten Reise habe ich auch die Yuracáreindianer besucht, die ich später in einem anderen Buche schildern werde.

Der Mann, der sich mit der Tochter des Donnergottes, Chiqueritunpa, verheiratete.

Erzählt vom Chanéhäuptling Bóyra.

Es waren einmal in alten Zeiten drei arme Männer, die keine Verwandten hatten. Sie waren sehr hungrig. Zwei von ihnen gingen, um etwas zum Essen zu suchen. Erst kamen sie in einen großen Wald, durch den ein Pfad ging.

[1]) d'Orbigny. Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale. T. 3, 1. Paris 1834, S. 212.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Nach drei Tagen kamen sie auf eine große Ebene. Mitten in der Ebene war ein Haus. Sie gingen um das Haus herum, fanden aber keinen Eingang. Schließlich kam aber eine Frau heraus, es war Chiquéritunpas Schwester. Sie bat sie, hineinzukommen. „Wir sind schmutzig", sagten sie und wollten nicht hineingehen. Sie brachte dem einen Maisbier. Er trank vier Kalebaßschalen Maisbier aus. Sie brachte dem anderen Maisbier. Auch er trank vier Kalebaßschalen Maisbier aus. „Geht nun und badet euch," sagte sie, „und wascht euch den Kopf." Sie gab ihnen die Wurzel der „yúag".[1])

Als sie gebadet und sich gewaschen hatten, kamen sie wieder. Sie gab ihnen Uruku, um sich zu bemalen. „Geht nun und ruht aus. Nachher sollt ihr Holz holen," sagte sie und gab ihnen eine Axt. Sie suchten überall in der Ebene, fanden aber kein Holz. „Habt ihr kein Holz gefunden?" fragte die Frau.

„Nein", sagten sie.

„Saht ihr dort keinen alten Mann? Er hat Holz. Gebt ihm einen Hieb mit der Axt", sagte die Frau.

Sie gingen wieder auf die Ebene, um Holz zu suchen. Dort fanden sie den Alten, sie schämten sich aber, ihm einen Hieb mit der Axt zu geben, und kehrten zur Frau zurück.

„Habt ihr den Alten getroffen?" sagte sie.

„Ja," antworteten sie, „aber wir schämten uns, ihn zu töten."

„Haut den Alten, er ist Holz!" sagte die Frau.

Sie gingen wieder auf die Ebene und fanden ihn. Sie gaben ihm einen Axthieb, und er verwandelte sich in Holz, das sie zur Stube trugen. Die Frau kochte. Dann spann sie Fäden.

„Warum seid ihr hierhergekommen?" sagte sie.

„Wir suchten uns eine Mutter. Wir waren drei, aber einen haben wir zurückgelassen", sagten sie.

„Warum habt ihr ihn nicht mitgenommen?" sagte die Frau.

---

[1]) = Mistol.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Sie ließ die Männer baden. Sie badeten und die Frau badete auch. Sie sahen, daß sie ein hübsches Weib war.

„Hier sollt ihr eine Hütte und eine Falle machen und Tauben fangen! Wenn die Tauben kommen, werden sie sich in Frauen verwandeln. Wenn diese baden, sollt ihr ihre Kleider nehmen und laufen!" sagte die Frau. Eine Masse Tauben kamen und setzten sich auf die Bäume um den Sumpf. Unter ihnen war ihr großer Häuptling. Die Tauben flogen ans Ufer und verwandelten sich in Frauen und nahmen ihre Kleider (tiru) ab. Die Männer schlichen sich heran, jeder von ihnen nahm drei Kleider und lief davon. Die Frauen liefen ihnen nach. Der eine warf zwei Kleider fort und kam mit einem Kleid und einer der Frauen ins Haus. Der andere lief mit allen drei Kleidern. Die Frauen holten ihn ein und prügelten ihn ordentlich. Derjenige, der mit einem Kleid gekommen war, kam mit seiner Frau ins Haus.

Abb. 128. Kalebaßschale. Chiriguano. Itatenbia. 1/4.

„Legt euch schlafen!" sagte die Schwester Chiquéritunpas.

Der Mann legte sich mit seiner Frau, die die Tochter Chiquéritunpas war, schlafen. Sie schliefen den ganzen Tag zusammen und am Abend gebar sie. Am folgenden Tag kam Chiquéritunpa. Er wollte seine Tochter schlagen. Er schickte nach einem Pferd, einem Esel und einer Stute, um seine Tochter und seinen Schwiegersohn nach Hause zu bringen. Nachdem sie gegessen hatten, ritten sie fort.

Der Mann, der von den Frauen geprügelt worden war, weinte. „Weine nicht so sehr", sagte die Schwester Chiquéritunpas. Als sie ein Stückchen geritten waren, trafen sie einen Christen, der arbeitete.

„Was für Arbeit hast du vor?" fragte der Mann. „Ich

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

will Mandioka und Mais säen. Hier will ich wohnen und hierhin will ich ein Weib bringen", sagte der Christ.

Sie ritten weiter und trafen einen anderen Christen. „Was für Arbeit hast du vor?" fragte der Mann. Übel gelaunt antwortete der Christ: „Hier will ich Hügel mit dornigen Büschen säen."

Sie setzten ihre Reise fort und trafen einen anderen Christen, der mit dem Fällen von Bäumen beschäftigt war. „Was für Arbeit hast du vor?" fragte der Mann. „Ich haue Stangen zur Einzäunung für die Tiere, denn hier will ich Vieh haben. Alles nehme ich hierher, Kleider werde ich mir schaffen", sagte der Christ.

Sie ritten weiter und trafen einen anderen Christen. „Was für Arbeit hast du vor?" fragte der Mann. Übel gelaunt antwortete der Christ: „Ich arbeite, um Steine zu ernten."

Sie ritten weiter und trafen einen anderen Christen, der tischlerte. „Was machst du hier?" fragten sie. „Ich will mir ein Haus bauen, wo ich Kleider und alles mögliche andere haben will", antwortete der Christ.

Sie ritten weiter und trafen einen anderen Christen. „Woran arbeitest du?" fragte der Mann. Übel gelaunt erwiderte der Christ: „Hier will ich Chuchio[1]) säen, damit niemand passieren kann.

Als sie nahe dem Hause des Chiquéritunpa waren, sagte dessen Tochter zu ihrem Mann: „Erst werde ich mit dem Knaben absteigen, der schon gehen kann. Hierauf sollst du absteigen, und wenn du dich auf die Bank setzt, sollst du dich nicht wundern, wenn sie sich bewegt. Bewegt sich das Haus, sollst du dich nicht wundern. Du sollst nicht meine Mutter grüßen und auch nicht meinen Bruder. Nur den Vater sollst du grüßen."

Als sie ankamen, stieg sie zuerst ab und trat ein. Ihr folgte der Knabe, der schon gehen konnte. Zuletzt stieg der

---

[1]) Siehe S. 166.

Mann vom Pferde. Als er vom Pferde stieg, verwandelte es sich in einen Haufen Knochen. Er ging hinein und setzte sich auf einen Schemel. Derselbe bewegte sich, denn er war eine große Schlange. Er tat, als merke er nichts. Auch das Haus bewegte sich, er tat aber, als kümmere er sich nicht darum. Zuerst kam seine Schwiegermutter und grüßte ihn, er beantwortete aber den Gruß nicht. Darauf kam sein Schwager und grüßte, aber er beantwortete auch dessen Gruß nicht. Der Schwager schlug ihm vor, sie sollten spielen, er antwortete ihm aber nicht.

„Heute Nacht sollst du nicht bei mir schlafen. Ich schlafe in einer Hängematte, mein Sohn in einer und du in einer dritten," sagte Chiquéritunpas Schwester zu ihrem Mann. „Morgen sollst du mit meinem Bruder spielen", sagte sie. Sie legten sich nun schlafen.

Fig. 129. Tongefäß. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/3.

Am folgenden Tage rief der Hahn früh: „Jesus Christus, Jesus Christus!" Als der erste Christ, der ihnen begegnet war, nach seinem Acker kam, fand er ihn voll von Mais und Mandioka und außerdem eine Hütte und ein hübsches Weib. Der zweite Christ, der geantwortet hatte, er wolle Hügel mit dornigen Büschen säen, fand seinen Acker in solche verwandelt. Der dritte Christ fand seine Umzäunung für die Tiere schon fertig und voll von schönem Vieh. Derjenige, der geantwortet hatte, er wolle Steine säen, fand seinen Acker voller Steine. Derjenige, der getischlert hatte, um sich ein Haus zu bauen, fand es schon fertig und voller Kleider. Derjenige, der übellaunig geantwortet hatte, er wolle Chuchio säen, fand den Acker in dichtes Gestrüpp verwandelt, durch das niemand konnte.

Chiquéritunpas Sohn schlug seinem Schwager ein Spiel vor. „Was für ein Spiel?" sagte er. „Wir wollen das Haus

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

wegrücken", sagte Chiquéritunpas Sohn und versetzte es mit einem Arm. Mit seiner ganzen Stärke rückte der Mann das Haus weg. „Nun wollen wir das Pferd wieder lebendig machen", sagte Chiquéritunpas Sohn und hob die Beine des Pferdes, auf welchem der Mann gekommen war, hoch. Es verwandelte sich in ein sehr fettes Pferd mit feuersprühendem Mund. Auch dies machte der Mann nach.

Am folgenden Tag schlug der Mann seinem Schwager, Chiquéritunpas Sohn, ein Spiel vor. „Was wollen wir spielen?" sagte er. „Wir wollen die Sonne herunternehmen", sagte der Mann. Mit einer langen Rute aus Chuchio nahm er die Sonne herunter. Es wurde nun so warm, daß sowohl Chiquéritunpa wie sein Sohn davonliefen. Am folgenden Tag wurde der Mann Häuptling.

Derjenige, der von den Mädchen Prügel bekommen hatte, denen er ihre Kleider geraubt hatte, blieb bei der Schwester Chiquéritunpas. Eines Tages sagte sie zu ihm, er solle nach einem großen See gehen. Dort solle er tauchen und eine Handvoll Sand heraufholen. Diesen Sand solle er in das Haus legen. Er ging nun zum See, tauchte und holte eine Handvoll Sand herauf, den er ins Haus legte. Am folgenden Tage sagte die Schwester von Chiquéritunpa: „Sieh nun nach, was aus dem Sande geworden ist!" An Stelle des Sandes fand er ein hübsches Weib. „Dies soll deine Frau sein", sagte Chiquéritunpas Schwester.

Am Tage pflegte er mit ihr am See zu baden. Dort spielte er mit ihr, liebkoste sie und im Bade bespritzten sie sich mit Wasser.

„Bade nicht mit ihr so viel am See. Denke daran, daß sie nur aus Sand gemacht ist", sagte Chiquéritunpas Schwester.

Er hörte nicht auf sie, sondern spielte und koste mit ihr unten am Seeufer. Eines Tages, als er mit ihr spielte, wurde sie immer schmaler, bis sie sich zuletzt in einen Haufen Sand verwandelte. Weinend ging der Mann zur Schwester Chiquéritunpas. Hayma opama! (Und mehr war es nicht).

Diese Sage ist, wie wir sehen, nicht frei von europäischen

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Elementen. In ihren Hauptzügen ist sie jedoch rein indianisch. Keine der von mir hier mitgeteilten Sagen scheint mir so phantasiereich, wie diese.

„Choihuihuis" Frauenraub.

Erzählt von dem Chanéhäuptling Bóyra.

Es war einmal in alten Zeiten ein großes Trinkgelage. Dort waren Aguaratunpa, Tatutunpa, Teyuhuasu, Inómu,[1]) Choihuihui[2]) und viele andere. Aguaratunpa war gegangen, um Inómu zu holen. Sie blieb vier Tage und trank mit ihnen. Zuletzt kam ihre Mutter, die sehr ärgerlich war, daß sie so lange fortgeblieben war. Sie verwandelte alle, die dort waren, in Vögel und nahm Inómu mit nach Hause. Nur Aguaratunpa, Tatutunpa und Choihuihui waren dort geblieben. Tatutunpa ging nach Hause. Aguaratunpa, der keine feste Wohnstätte hatte, streifte umher und betrog die Menschen. Choihuihui machte sich auch auf den Weg. Er kam nach einem Hause. Dort wohnte eine verheiratete Frau mit ihrer Tochter. Er grüßte sie. Sie bot ihm Maisbier und er trank. Darauf nahm er Abschied und ging. Er blieb jedoch, in einen Choihuihui verwandelt, ganz in der Nähe, um zu spionieren. Nach einem Weilchen kam der Mann der Frau nach Hause. Dieser nahm sie mit und sie gingen nach dem Felde, sie um zu ernten, er um zu graben. Als sie dorthin gekommen waren, machten sie Feuer an. Er ging, um zu graben, sie blieb beim Feuer mit der kleinen Tochter und röstete Mais. Choihuihui war ihnen nachgegangen. Er blieb in der Nähe. Nach einem Weilchen ging die Frau abseits, um ihre Notdurft zu verrichten. Als sie in den Wald kam, umschlang Choihuihui sie. In einen Vogel verwandelt, flog er mit ihr davon.

Da die Mutter nicht zurückkam, begann das Mädchen zu weinen. Als der Vater dies hörte, ging er dorthin. Er

[1]) Inómus Geschichte ist im Vorhergehenden erzählt.
[2]) Ein Vogel.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

rief seine Frau, aber niemand hörte. Er suchte sie und fand ihre und Choihuihuis Spur. Vergebens versuchte er ihnen zu folgen. Nachdem er lange gesucht hatte, suchte er die Brüder seiner Frau auf, damit sie ihm suchen hälfen. Sie suchten, fanden aber niemand. Die Brüder glaubten, der Mann habe seine Frau aus Eifersucht getötet. Als sie an einem großen Baum vorüber kamen, sahen sie im Gipfel das Nest eines „Tuyuyu".[1]) Die Brüder sagten zu dem Manne, er solle die Vögel fangen, um sein Kind zu trösten. Da der Baum einen hohen, geraden Stamm hatte, machten sie eine Leiter und der Mann kletterte hinauf. Als er bis zum Gipfel des Baumes gekommen war, nahmen die Brüder die Leiter weg, damit der Mann nicht herunter könne. „Dort sollst du sitzen bleiben und verhungern, weil du deine Frau getötet hast", sagten sie. Der Mann begann zu weinen. Zuletzt schlief er, an den Stamm gelehnt, ein.

Als er erwachte, saß er in einer Hütte. Neben ihm saßen zwei hübsche Frauen. Sie fragten ihn, wie er dorthin gekommen sei. Er erzählte nun, daß ein Mann in sein Haus gekommen sei usw. (hier wird die ganze Sage wiederholt).

Die Frauen begannen zu lachen. „Avayurupiagua hat deine Frau fortgeführt", sagten sie.

Er fragte sie, wer ihr Vater sei. „Er ist nach Itica[2]) gegangen, um Fische[3]) zu holen", sagten sie.

Die Jüngste sagte, er solle bei ihr schlafen, was er tat. Auch die Älteste wollte bei ihm schlafen. „Wird deine Mutter nicht ärgerlich, wenn ich es tue?" sagte er. „Nein, du sollst bei uns schlafen, denn hierher kommt niemals ein Mann", sagten sie. Er schlief somit bei beiden Frauen.

Nach einigen Tagen kam der Vater der Mädchen nach Hause. Er brachte zwei große Bürden getrockneter Fische

---

[1]) Wahrscheinlich Flamingo.

[2]) Rio Pilcomayo.

[3]) S. 138 wird der bedeutende Handel mit getrockneten Fischen, der zwischen den Stämmen betrieben wird, geschildert.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

mit. Der Vater fragte, wie er hierher gekommen sei. Er erzählte usw. (hier wird die ganze Sage wiederholt).

Der Vater sagte, er sei ihm nicht böse ,weil er bei seinen beiden Töchtern geschlafen habe, und versprach ihm seine Hilfe, um die Frau zurückzubekommen. Sie ist am Itica bei Avayurupiagua," sagte er. „Dort ist ein großes Trinkgelage und wir wollen hin. Du sollst mit mir kommen und tun, was ich sage. Erst sollst du alle grüßen, und zuletzt sollst du deine Frau grüßen. Sie wird dich nicht erkennen. Wenn sie dich grüßt und dir Maisbier anbietet, so schlingst du deine Arme um sie und ich schlage dich auf den Steiß", sagte er. Sie begaben sich nun nach Itica. Als sie dorthin kamen, grüßte der Vater zuerst alle. Zuletzt grüßte der Mann seine Frau. Sie bot ihm eine Kalebasse Maisbier. Er umschlang sie und der Alte klopfte ihn auf den Steiß. In einen Tuyuyu verwandelt, flog er mit seiner Frau davon. Als Avayurupiagua dies sah, stürzte er ärgerlich in sein Haus, um Bogen und Pfeile zu holen. Er schoß einen Pfeil nach dem anderen ab, konnte sie aber nicht treffen.

Diese Sage scheint mir vollständig rein von fremden Elementen zu sein. Mit der hier erwähnten Leiter meint man einen langen Stock, in den man Trittstufen gehauen hat. Solche wenden besonders die Chiriguanos sowie die Chanés am Itiyuro stets für die Maisscheunen an, die auf Pfählen gebaut sind (s. Abb. 84 b).

Wie Aguaratunpa Tatutunpa tötete und dann selbst getötet wurde.

Erzählt von dem Chanéhäuptling Batirayu.

Es waren einmal in alter Zeit zwei verrückte Mädchen. Nicht weit davon wohnte Tatutunpa. Sie hörten ihn so schön auf seinem „huiramimbi" (s. Abb. 84 b) pfeifen. Die eine sagte zu der anderen: „Wir wollen hingehen und sehen, wer so schön spielt." Sie gingen zu Tatutunpa, der in seiner Hängematte lag. Tatutunpa nahm das jüngste der Mädchen zur Frau.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Aguaratunpa hatte erfahren, daß die Mädchen sich zu Tatutunpa begeben hatten. Er ging hin, verbarg sich in dem Acker, wo Tatutunpa arbeitete und tötete ihn mit einem Knüppel. Hierauf zog er vorsichtig die Kopfhaut ab und bekleidete sich damit. Auf diese Weise dem Tatutunpa gleichend, ging er zu dessen Hütte.

„Sieh, dort kommt dein Mann", sagte die ältere Schwester. Sie stellte Essen auf den Tisch. Da Tatutunpa sehr wenig zu essen pflegte, nur ein paar Bohnen und eine kleine Schale Maisbier, trug sie nicht mehr auf. Als Aguaratunpa kam, aß er alles auf und verlangte noch mehr. Als er dies gegessen hatte, verlangte er noch mehr. Das Mädchen fragte sich, ob dies wirklich ihr Mann sein könne, der so viel aß, es konnte ja aber kein anderer sein.

Am Abend bat Aguaratunpa seine Frau, sie möchte ihn lausen. Sie setzte sich und suchte Läuse auf dem Kopfe Aguaratunpas. Während sie suchte, schlief Aguaratunpa ein. Sie sah da, daß die Haut auf seinem Kopf zusammengenäht war, und verstand, daß er ihren Mann getötet und abgehäutet hatte. Sie erzählte dies ihrer Schwester, und sie töteten Aguaratunpa mit einen Knüppel.

Der Mann, der Añatunpa verbrannte.

Erzählt von dem Chiriguanoindianer Yambási am Rio Grande.

Wenn die Menschen Honig sammelten, suchte Añatunpa[1]) sie auf und fraß sie auf.

Es war einmal ein Mann, der Honig sammelte. Da kam Añatunpa und fragte ihn, was er tue. „Ich sammle Honig", sagte der Mann. „Fahre damit fort", sagte Añatunpa. Als der Mann genug gesammelt hatte, tötete er ihn und warf ihn Dyóri hin, der ihn auffraß und sogar das Blut aufleckte. Auf diese Weise tötete Añatunpa viele Menschen.

Ein Mann war ausgegangen, um Honig zu sammeln. Der

[1]) Hier wird nicht gesagt, welcher Añatunpa gemeint ist.

Tukan[1]) sagte zu ihm: „Wenn Añatunpa kommt, so bitte ihn, dich nach seinem Hause zu tragen und dich dort zu töten."

Während der Mann Honig sammelte, kam Añatunpa. „Was willst du?" fragte der Mann.

„Ich will dich auffressen", sagte Añatunpa.

„Tue das nicht hier, sondern trag mich nach deinem Hause und friß mich dort auf", sagte der Mann. Añatunpa nahm nun den Mann auf den Nacken und trug ihn zu sich.

„Brich Zweige ab und mache auf dem Nacken Añatunpas Feuer an", sagte der Tukan. Als Añatunpa durch das dichte

Abb. 130. Silberne Nadel zur Befestigung des Tiru. Die Form indianisch, die Ornamente spanisch. Chiriguano. Parapiti. 1/3.

Gestrüpp ging, brach der Mann Zweige und Äste ab und machte auf dem Nacken Añatunpas vorsichtig Feuer an.

„Wenn du an einen niedrigen Zweig kommst, so klammere dich fest!" sagte der Tukan zum Manne. Das tat dieser. Bald merkte Añatunpa, daß es ihm im Nacken brenne und begann zu laufen. Das Feuer nahm zu. Seine Haare fingen Feuer und bald verbrannte Añatunpa vollständig und starb.

Der Mann, der Añatunpa tötete.

Erzählt von dem Chiriguanoindianer Yambási am Rio Grande.

Añatunpa fraß alle Menschen auf, die er erwischen konnte. Da kam ein Mann, der zu Añatunpas Höhle Holz trug. „Komm, wir wollen spielen!" sagte Añatunpa.

---

[1]) Rhamphastus.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

„Was für ein Spiel?" sagte der Mann.

„Du sollst mir mit einer Axt einen Hieb vor die Stirn versetzen, und wenn ich nicht sterbe, schlage ich dich", sagte Añatunpa.

Añatunpa stellte sich gerade auf, reichte dem Mann die Stirn und dieser schlug ihn mitten auf dieselbe. Da Añatunpas Stirn hart wie Eisen war, tat ihm dies nichts. Añatunpa gab nun dem Mann einen Schlag vor die Stirn, tötete ihn und warf ihn Dyóri zu, der ihn auffraß.

Ein anderes Mal kam ein anderer Mann zu Añatunpas Höhle. Añatunpa schlug ihm dasselbe Spiel vor. Eine Fliege „Mbéru" rief ihm da zu, er solle ihn nicht auf die Stirn, sondern in den Nacken hauen. Als Añatunpa sich mit geschlossenen Augen aufstellte, um den Hieb zu erhalten, ging der Mann hinter ihn, hieb ihn in den Nacken und Añatunpa fiel tot nieder. Dyóri fragte ihn, wie er habe Añatunpa töten können. Der Mann erzählte ihm, was Mbéru gesagt hatte.

„Sehr gut", sagte Dyóri.

Wie Bisose Reichtümer aus dem Berge holte.

Erzählt von dem Chanéindianer Eatirayu.

Ein Chané, Bisose, wollte in einem tiefen Pfuhl angeln. Erst angelte er viele kleine Fische. Plötzlich angelte er einen so großen Fisch, daß er ihn nicht heraufzuziehen vermochte. Er ging erst um den Pfuhl herum, weil er Angst hatte, hineinzugehen. Schließlich stieg er vorsichtig ins Wasser, indem er der Angelschnur mit der Hand folgte. Als er in tiefes Wasser gekommen war, fühlte er, daß ihn jemand ums Bein faßte und in die Tiefe zog. Es war die große Schlange „Boyhuasu". Diese führte Bisose im Gebirge umher und nach los Campos del guanaco. Schließlich führte sie ihn durch einen engen Paß in den Berg hinein. Dort gab sie ihm blaue Steine und Silber. Bisose belud sich damit. Als er aus dem Paß herauswollte, war er so eng, daß

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

er nur wenig mitnehmen konnte. Deshalb sind diese Steine und Silbersachen so selten. Boyhuasu führte ihn dann zum Pfuhl zurück. Er kam an derselben Stelle heraus, wo er ins Wasser gestiegen war.

In dieser Sage werden unter den Kostbarkeiten, die Bisose aus der Tiefe holte, blaue Steine erwähnt. Durchbohrte Türkise und Chrysocol schätzen diese Indianer auch als Halskettenperlen hoch.

Der Fuchs und der Jaguar.

Erzählt von dem Chanéhäuptling Bóyra.

Der Fuchs traf den Jaguar in seinem Acker. Dieser war mit Säen beschäftigt.

„Willst du, daß ich dir helfen soll, Onkel?" sagte der Fuchs.

„Ja, Neffe. Ich will mir die Grabestöcke holen", sagte der Jaguar.

„Das will ich", sagte der Fuchs und ging zur Hütte des Jaguars.

Als er dorthin gekommen war, sagte er zur Frau des Jaguars: „Ich schäme mich, dir mein Anliegen zu sagen."

„Wieso?" sagte sie.

„Ja," sagte der Fuchs, „der Jaguar hat mich hierher geschickt, damit ich bei dir und deinen beiden Töchtern schlafe." Das glaubte die Frau des Jaguars nicht.

„Ja, es ist wahr," sagte der Fuchs. „Du sollst hören, was er sagt," und nun rief er: „Soll ich sie alle nehmen?"

„Alle", rief der Jaguar als Antwort.

Der Fuchs schlief nun zuerst bei der Frau des Jaguars und dann bei der ältesten Tochter und dann bei der jüngeren. Sie war noch Jungfer, und er tat ihr weh.[1]) Darauf ging der Fuchs weg. Er lief im Grase, damit die Spuren nicht sichtbar wären. Er sprang auf einen langen Holzstamm. Zu-

[1]) Gemildert.

letzt kam er an einen Pfuhl. Er tauchte unter und kam an der anderen Seite wieder herauf. Er lief, was er laufen konnte, bis er zu einem Baum mit dornigem Stamm kam. Er kroch an demselben hinauf und legte sich schlafen. „Hier will ich liegen und von der Frau und den Töchtern des Jaguars träumen, bei denen ich geschlafen habe", sagte der Fuchs. Er legte sich hin und schlief ein.

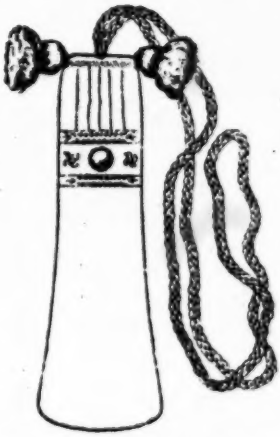


Abb. 131. Brustschmuck aus Silber. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. Wird von Männern getragen.

Als der Jaguar merkte, daß der Fuchs nicht mit den Grabehölzern kam, dachte er: „Ich will doch nachsehen, was aus dem Fuchs geworden ist. Der Fuchs ist doch ein Schwindler."

Als der Jaguar nach seinem Hause kam, sagte seine Frau zu ihm: „Wie kannst du so grausam sein und den Fuchs herschicken, daß er bei uns schlafe?"

Ergrimmt machte sich der Jaguar auf den Weg, um den Fuchs zu suchen. Er folgte seinen Spuren und kam zu dem Pfuhl, wo die Spuren des Fuchses ein Ende nahmen. Überall suchte er ihn. Schließlich verstand er, daß der Fuchs in den Pfuhl getaucht war. Der Jaguar tauchte nun auch nieder und fand die Spuren des Fuchses auf der anderen Seite. Er folgte ihnen und kam zu dem Baume. Überall um den Baum suchte er die Fortsetzung der Spuren, fand sie aber nicht. Da sah er auf und sah den Fuchs, der schlief. Er kletterte hinauf, brach vorsichtig einen Zweig ab und kitzelte den Fuchs in den Nasenlöchern. Dieser nieste, wischte sich die Nase und sagte: „Können die Moskitos mich nicht in Ruhe lassen, wo ich gerade von der Frau und den Töchtern des Jaguars träume, bei denen ich geschlafen habe!"

Nun kitzelte ihn der Jaguar etwas kräftiger, und der Fuchs erwachte. Der Jaguar machte sich bereit, ihn zu packen.

Der Fuchs kroch zusammen, und da der Jaguar zögerte, ihn zu fassen, sprang er mit einem Satz zur Erde und begann zu laufen, alles was er laufen konnte. Der Jaguar verfolgte ihn. Schließlich ermattete der Fuchs jedoch, und der Jaguar fing ihn und verschluckte ihn. Der Fuchs wurde im Magen des Jaguars wieder lebendig. Dieser brach ihn aus. Der Jaguar fraß den Fuchs wieder auf, dieser wurde aber wieder in seinem Magen lebendig und wieder ausgeworfen. Wiederum fraß der Jaguar den Fuchs auf, der wieder lebendig wurde usw.

Diese Sage hat eine weite Verbreitung. In etwas verschiedener Form habe ich sie in Carmen in Mojos erzählen hören.

Als die Schildkröte „Carumbe" den Jaguar tötete.

Erzählt von dem Chiriguanoindianer Yambási.

Es war einmal ein großes Trinkgelage. Dort waren Aguaratunpa, Carumbe und „Taturapua" (das Kugelgürteltier). Der kleine Sohn der Schildkröte weinte. Da man ihn fragte, warum er weine, sagte er, er wolle die Krallen des Jaguars haben, um damit zu spielen. Die Frau der Schildkröte sagte zu ihrem Manne, er solle die Krallen des Jaguars holen, damit der Kleine damit spielen könne.

Die Schildkröte machte sich auf den Weg und kam zu einem Stamm „samuo" mit großen, scharfen Dornen. Dort blieb sie stehen und wartete auf den Jaguar. In der Entfernung hörte sie sein Brüllen. Der Jaguar kam, immer brüllend, näher und fand die Schildkröte am Fuße des Baumes.

„Was tust du hier?" sagte der Jaguar.

„Ich spiele", sagte die Schildkröte.

„Wie geht das zu?" sagte der Jaguar.

„Ich klettere auf den Samuo hinauf und dann rolle ich herunter", sagte die Schildkröte.

„Laß mich sehen", sagte der Jaguar, der Lust hatte, die Schildkröte aufzufressen.

6:Nordenskiold SF10 Chiriguano

Diese kletterte am Stamme bis zum Gipfel hinauf und rollte herab, ohne sich zu beschädigen. Dies machte dem Jaguar Spaß, und die Schildkröte mußte wieder hinaufklettern. Wieder rollte sie herunter, ohne sich zu beschädigen. Der Jaguar wollte es auch versuchen. Er kletterte hinauf und rollte herunter, riß sich aber an den Dornen alle seine Eingeweide auf und starb.

Die Schildkröte nahm die Krallen des Jaguars als Spielzeug für ihren kleinen Sohn mit nach Hause.

Die Liebessage des Kolibris.

Erzählt von dem Chiriguanoindianer Yambási.

Es waren zwei Mädchen, die Chinu (Kolibri) die Flöte spielen hörten. Er spielte so schön, daß eins der Mädchen sagte: „Ihn will ich zum Manne haben." Sie suchte den Kolibri auf und schlief bei ihm.

„Wir wollen in mein Haus gehen", sagte der Kolibri. Als sie dorthin kamen, war es so klein, daß das Mädchen keinen Platz fand. Sie ging deshalb in ihr Dorf zurück.

Am Abend kam der Kolibri vor das Dorf und spielte Flöte, um sie zu locken. Das Mädchen lauschte und sagte: „Der Kolibri ist's, der spielt." Sie ging aber nicht mehr zu ihm. Jeden Abend kam der Kolibri vor das Dorf und spielte seine schönsten Weisen, das Mädchen wollte aber nicht mit ihm gehen, der eine so kleine Hütte hatte.

Als die Zecke, Yatéu, mit dem Strauß, Yándu, um die Wette lief.

Die Zecke und der Strauß wollten einen Wettlauf veranstalten, um zu sehen, wer am besten laufen konnte. Als sie zu laufen begannen, hüpfte die Zecke auf den Strauß und biß sich in den Augenwinkeln fest.

Als der Strauß eine Strecke gelaufen war, schielte er nach der Seite, um zu sehen, ob die Zecke auch mit war. Da sie in dem Augenwinkel war, sah er sie an seiner Seite.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Der Strauß beeilte sich. Als er ein Stückchen gelaufen war, schielte er wieder zur Seite und sah, daß die Zecke noch an seiner Seite war.

Der Strauß lief aus Leibeskräften. Als er dem Ziele ganz nahe war, hüpfte die Zecke von dem Augenwinkel und kam als erster an.

Die Zecke hatte den Wettlauf gewonnen.

Diese kleinen Tiersagen haben eine ungeheuere Verbreitung. So finden wir die Sage von der Schildkröte und dem Jaguar beinahe unverändert in Santarem an dem Zusammenfluß des Rio Tapajo in den Amazonenstrom.[1])

Auch ähnliche Wettlaufsagen sind von der Küste Brasiliens bekannt.[1]) Diese letzteren finden sich, wie bekannt, auch bei uns.

Man hat, wie schon erwähnt, nachgewiesen,[2]) daß gewisse Sagen von Nordamerika und Asien bis nach Südamerika heruntergewandert sind. Da hier indessen nicht der rechte Platz zu vergleichenden Studien über die von mir gesammelten Sagen ist, habe ich mich damit begnügt, nur das Material vorzulegen.

Wie wir gesehen haben, lernen wir aus den Sagen einen Teil der religiösen Vorstellungen der Indianer verstehen. Sie sind auch aus dem Gesichtspunkt interessant, daß in ihnen eine ganze Menge kleiner Züge aus dem Leben der Indianer wiedergegeben werden. Sie geben uns einen Einblick in ihre Phantasiewelt.

Nur der Inhalt der von mir gesammelten Sagen, nicht die Form, ist als Forschungsmaterial verwendbar. Ich hoffe, daß besonders die eingeborenen südamerikanischen Ethnographen die von mir gemachten Sammlungen fortsetzen und die Sagen auch in den Originalsprachen aufzeichnen werden. Um dies zu können, ist jedoch eine vollständige

---

[1]) Vgl. Fredr. Hartt: Tortoise Myths. Rio de Janeiro 1879.
[2]) Ehrenreich: l. c.

Beherrschung derselben notwendig. Die beste Methode wäre, die Indianer diese Sagen in einen Phonographen sprechen zu lassen.

Die Indianer und die Naturerscheinungen.

In einer der Chanésagen wird erzählt, wie Yahuéte, der zweiköpfige Jaguar, im Begriffe war, den Mond aufzufressen. Maringay nannte Yahuéte „Yahuartéui". Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse erklären diese Indianer so, daß Sonne und Mond von Yahuéte angegriffen werden. Die Chorotés sprechen, wie schon erwähnt, auch von einem Raubtier, das die Sonne und den Mond anfällt.

Wandert man in einer sternklaren Nacht mit einem Indianer durch Wald und Flur, so ist der Sternhimmel sein Kompaß und seine Uhr. Er deutet auf den Orion oder auf ein anderes Sternbild hin und zeigt, wieviel es sich weiter bewegt hat, bis man ankommt.

Er gibt nicht vielen Sternbildern Namen, er kennt sie aber alle. Den dem südlichsten Kreuz am nächsten liegenden Teil der Milchstraße nennen die Chanés „yándurape", d. h. Straußweg, das südliche Kreuz nebst einigen nahegelegenen Sternen ist „yánduinyaka", der Kopf des Straußes, die beiden größten Sterne im Zentaur sind „yándupoy", Halskette des Straußes, die Venus heißt „coemilla", Morgen, Orion mit dem Dolche „hóirayúasa (Vögel begegnen sich). Ein anderes Sternbild ist „hoázupucu", Rehbockhorn, ein anderes „horévi" Tapir. Die Plejaden nennen sie „ychu", die Bedeutung des Namens wissen sie aber nicht, und dies ist das wichtigste Sternbild von allen.

Sitzt man mit den Indianern in der Hütte, so können sie den Platz der wichtigsten Sternbilder am Himmel bezeichnen, ohne sie zu sehen. Sie kennen ihre Lage zu allen Jahreszeiten.

Der Sternhimmel ist nicht nur die Uhr und der Kompaß der Indianer. Er ist auch ihr Kalender. Eine besonders wichtige Rolle spielen dabei hier, wie bei anderen Indianern, die Plejaden. Wenn sie zuerst in der Morgendämmerung am

Horizonte sichtbar werden, so ist die geeignete Zeit für die Maiwaat gekommen. Daß gerade dieses relativ unbedeutende Sternbild eine so große Rolle in der Astronomie der Indianer spielt, hat zu phantastischen Spekulationen über babylonischen Einfluß Anlaß gegeben.

Fragt man einen Indianer nach der Größe der Sterne und ihren Abstand von uns, so stehen sie unschlüssig da und antworten am liebsten gar nicht. Sie verstehen gleichwohl, daß sie weit entfernt sein müssen.

[illegible]

Chiriguanohäuptling Maringay erzählte jedoch, es war einmal ein Bruder, der mit seinem Schwesterchen spielte. Sie suchten sich zu haschen, sangen und sprangen. Nun sitzen sie als zwei Sterne am Himmelsgewölbe.

Zwei Sternhaufen im Süden des südlichen Himmelsgewölbes sind die Asche eines alten Mannes und einer alten Frau, sagte einmal ein Chiriguano zu mir. Es war eines Abends im August.

Die Sonne ist in der Sage ein Mann und der Mond eine Frau. Einem alten Mann, der Sonne, stahlen die Chanékinder das Feuer, und unter dem Tiru der Mondfrau verbarg sich der zweiköpfige Yahuéte, als er von dem Sohn des Gürteltiergottes verfolgt wurde.

Die Ab- und Zunahme des Mondes hing nach Maringays Erklärung davon ab, daß ein größeres oder kleineres Stück desselben in das Himmelsgewölbe gestreckt wird.

Die Sonne geht über dem Wasser auf und leuchtet uns dann am Tage. Am Abend steigt sie wieder ins Wasser, und des Abends leuchtet sie den anderen Menschen jenseits der Erde. So dachte sich Maringay den Lauf der Sonne. Ich glaube jedoch, daß er dies von den Weißen gelernt hat.

Wenn ein Meteor, „hareéndi", niederfällt, bedeutet es den Tod eines Häuptlings. Über eine Sternschnuppe sagten die Chanés am Rio Parapiti: „Er geht, um bei seinem Mädchen zu schlafen." Maringay war in seiner Erklärung realistischer. „Der Stern läßt etwas fallen", sagte der Alte.

6 Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Wenn es donnert, geht Chiquitítunpa um. Die Medicinmänner, „ipáye", können Regen machen. Wenn die Schwalbe „mächuropúmpi", niedrig fliegen, regnet es, sagen die Indianer. Ein anderer Vogel, „chimcho", verkündet Regen. Reist man, so soll man nicht einen Krug ins Wasser stecken, sondern das Wasser mit einer Kalebasse schöpfen, sonst regnet es. In einer mir von den Chanés am Rio Itiyuro erzählten Weltuntergangssage geht die Welt durch Wasser unter. Die Chanés am Rio Parapiti erzählten mir, wie die Welt durch [illegible] wird. Auch spielen Wasser in den Sagen eine unbedeutende Rolle. Setzt man einen erwärmten Krug in rinnendes Wasser, so kommt Sturm, sagen die Chanés am Rio Parapiti. Der Regenbogen, „yö", ist eine Schlange.

[p. 297]

Achtzehntes Kapitel.

Aus dem Leben der Chaná- und Chiriguanoindianer (Forts.).

Die katholischen Missionen unter den Chiriguanos.

Allmählich müssen alle Indianer unter den Einfluß der Weißen kommen. Das ist unvermeidlich. Mit jedem Tage vermindern sich die Gebiete, in denen sie noch unabhängig leben. Sobald ihre Gebiete erobert sind, werden sie auf die eine oder andere Weise gezwungen, für die Weißen zu arbeiten und kommen in vollständige Abhängigkeit von ihnen. In der Regel werden sie auch schlecht behandelt, ausgesogen und moralisch verdorben.

Es ist deshalb ein Glück im Unglück, daß es aufopfernde Menschen gegeben hat und gibt, die etwas getan haben und tun wollen, um den Indianern zu helfen. Diese Menschen sind die Missionare. Es läßt sich nicht leugnen, daß diese eine bedeutende zivilisatorische Arbeit unter ihnen versucht und auch vorgenommen haben. Enthusiasmus und Wille zur Aufopferung sind erforderlich, um Missionar zu werden. Seines Vergnügens wegen kann kein Mensch sein ganzes Leben in Gegenden leben, wo die Einsamkeit auf die Dauer schrecklich sein muß und wo das Leben keine Zerstreuungen oder Genüsse gewährt.

Für den Missionar ist die religiöse Bekehrungsarbeit die Hauptsache. Er will die Seelen aus der Hölle „tatahuasuenda"[1]) erretten. Glücklicherweise sind die katholischen Missionare klug genug, auch ein wenig an dieses Leben zu

[1]) Tatahuasuenda = wo das große Feuer ist. Guaranisiwort, von den Missionaren erfunden.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

denken und eine Verbesserung der materiellen Daseinsbedingungen der Indianer zu erstreben.

Der Indianer, der ein unabhängiges Leben liebt, aber mit in den Zivilisationstanz hineingezwungen wird, will kein Missionskind werden, wählt dieses aber als das geringere Übel. In der Mission steht er unter Vormunden, aber nicht unter Unterdrückern.

Als mein Freund, der Chanéindianer Batirayu, von dem ich hier mehrmals gesprochen habe, mich fragte, ob es nicht das beste sei, die Missionare zu bitten, zu den Chanés am Rio Parapiti zu kommen, dachte er sie sich als Retter von der Bedrückung der weißen Herren.

Als ich den Chiriguanohäuptling Maringay fragte, ob er nicht wolle, daß die Missionare nach seinem Dorfe kämen, wurde der Alte ganz aufgebracht und sagte mürrisch: „Ich habe wohl nichts Böses getan."

Die größte Bedeutung der Missionare liegt darin, daß sie die Indianer von der Bedrückung und den Lastern der Weißen zu schützen suchen. Mit Freude habe ich gesehen, wie die Missionare den Branntwein, den verdammten Branntwein, in den Missionsstationen verbieten.

Ich glaube dennoch nicht an die Zukunft der Missionen. Sie scheinen mir zum Verschwinden verurteilt zu sein. In demselben Maße, wie die Indianer von den übrigen Weißen besser behandelt werden und für ihre Arbeit eine ordentliche Entschädigung erhalten, werden sie die Missionen verlassen und sich der Bevormundung der Franziskanermönche entziehen.

Immer aber werden die Missionare die Ehre haben, daß sie die Indianer wenigstens etwas vor den anderen Christen zu schützen versucht haben. Ehre haben sie auch mit den Studien, die sie über Sprache, Sitten und Gebräuche der Indianer gemacht haben, eingelegt.

Die Furcht vor den Gummigegenden.

In einem vorhergehenden Kapitel habe ich über die Wanderung der Indianer nach Argentinien gesprochen. Im nörd-

6:Nordenskiöld SF 10 Chiriguano

lichsten Gebiet der Chiriguanoindianer findet noch eine andere Auswanderung statt. Sie unterscheidet sich von der ersteren u. a. dadurch, daß sie nicht freiwillig ist. Es handelt sich um die Gummigegenden im nordöstlichen Bolivia. Jeder

Abb. 132. Chanékinder. Rio Parapiti.

Indianer, der nach den argentinischen Zuckerfabriken geht, weiß, daß er, wenn kein Unglück eintrifft, wieder zurückkommt. Keiner hält ihn mit Gewalt zurück. Von den Gummigegenden kommt dagegen niemals einer wieder.

Ist es wahr, sagen sie, daß dort ein Riese ist, der Menschen frißt? Ist es wahr, daß die Menschen zu Gummi ge-

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

mahlen werden? Ist es wahr, daß das Fleisch, das in Blechbüchsen kommt, von Menschen ist? Dies sind Fragen, welche die Indianer an mich gerichtet haben.

Auf eine schamlose Weise sind die Chiriguanoindianer, besonders vom Caipipendital, nach den Gummigegenden im nördlichen Bolivia gelockt worden, wo sie als Arbeiter verkauft worden sind. Unter Bewachung bewaffneter Leute sind sie über Quatro-Ojos den Rio Mamoré heruntergebracht worden.

Über das Verhältnis der Indianer zu der Gummiindustrie habe ich jedoch bessere Gelegenheit in dem Buche zu sprechen, in welchem ich über die Studien, welche ich in den Gummigegenden selbst und unter den Indianern, die in der Nähe derselben liegen, berichten werde.[1]) Ich gehe deshalb hier nicht näher auf diese Frage ein.

Frondienste für die Weißen.

Die Chiriguanos und Chanés, die in ihrem eigenen Land bei der zugezogenen weißen Rasse als Diener arbeiten, sind außerordentlich schlecht bezahlt. Dies gilt besonders für abgelegene Gegenden, wo die infolge der Konkurrenz höheren Arbeitspreise in den argentinischen Zuckerfabriken nicht auf die Löhne haben zurückwirken können. Den Chanés am Rio Parapiti wird z. B. selten mehr als 20 Centavos (nicht ganz 35 Pf.) pro Tag nebst Kost bezahlt. Die Frauen verdienen ungefähr halb soviel. Der Verdienst wird den Indianern teils in Branntwein und Zucker, teils in Zeug und Werkzeug ausbezahlt. Das Zeug ist so schlecht, daß ein Hemd aus einem solchen Stoff nicht viel länger reicht, als die Zeit, die zum Verdienen desselben gebraucht wird. Infolge dieses Systems fangen auch die Chanés und Chiriguanos an, wie ihre Stammfreunde in den Gummigegenden im nordöstlichen Bolivia, der Schuldsklaverei zu verfallen.

[1]) Ist unter dem Titel „Indianer och hvita i nordöstra Bolivia", Stockholm 1911, auf Schwedisch erschienen.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Zu hoffen ist, daß die vom Ingenieur Herrmann in Gang gesetzten großen Anlagen in San Franzisko am Rio Pilcomayo die indianischen Lohnverhältnisse im allgemeinen verbessern werden. Bezahlt er besser als andere, so kommen alle Indianer zu ihm, und die übrigen Arbeitgeber müssen die Löhne erhöhen.

Die Chiriguanos und Chanés sind somit auf dem besten

Abb. 133. Tongefäß. 1/4. Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

Wege, in den alles andere als glücklichen Kampf zwischen Arbeitgeber und Arbeitnehmer hineinzugeraten.

Die bolivianische Regierung sollte dafür sorgen, daß die Felder der Indianer ins Grundbuch eingetragen werden, damit die Weißen sich nicht ihrer bemächtigen können. Die Regierung müßte auch die Bedingung aufstellen, daß kein Indianer sein Land verkaufen darf. Auf diese Weise würde die Regierung den Indianern das Besitzrecht am Lande, aber nicht das Eigentumsrecht an demselben zusichern.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Die Unsicherheit und die gedrückten Lohnverhältnisse, unter denen diese Indianer leben, tragen natürlich zur Auswanderung nach Argentinien und vor allem dazu bei, daß viele Indianer das Land nicht nur als Saisonarbeiter, sondern für immer verlassen.

Will die bolivianische Regierung etwas für die Indianer tun, so muß sie in erster Reihe ein Mittel gegen das schlimmste Übel, und zwar den Alkoholismus, zu finden suchen. Zwischen Maisbier- und Branntweintrinken ist nämlich ein ungeheurer Unterschied.

Ein Indianer, der sich in einheimischen Getränken betrunken hat, ist niemals so auf Streit und Schlägerei erpicht, wie derjenige, der von der Höllensuppe der Weißen gekostet hat. Außer daß der Branntwein die Moral und Gesundheit der Indianer schädigt, ruiniert er sie vollständig. Ich habe mit meinen eigenen Augen gesehen, wie ein Indianer für ein Fäßchen Branntwein seine beste Kuh hergeben kann.

Die Brennerei für den eigenen Bedarf ist in Bolivia noch gestattet. Sie müßte verboten werden, ebenso, daß jeder an beliebiger Stelle Alkohol verkaufen darf.

Ganz unvernünftig ist das bolivianische Militärgesetz, das die Indianer zwingt, Militärdienst zu verrichten. Dasselbe kommt zwar sehr selten zur Anwendung, wenn es aber geschieht, und wenn die Behörde einen Jüngling zum Militärdienst abholt, ist er selbst und alle anderen Indianer in der Gegend mit ihm außer sich vor Schreck. Man kann nicht verlangen, daß die Indianer an der Verteidigung des Vaterlandes teilnehmen, bevor sie dieselben Rechte wie andere Bürger haben und wissen, welches ihr Vaterland ist.

Es ist unrecht, zu verlangen, daß sie helfen sollen, Bolivia zu verteidigen, die Weißen zu verteidigen, die ihnen, ihren Begriffen nach, ihr Land gestohlen haben. Auch die Chiriguanos und Chanés lieben ihr Land, aber dieses Vaterland sind nur die Täler und Wälder, in denen ihre Väter gerodet und ihre Mütter Tongefäße für die Feste gemalt haben.

Während der Entwicklungsperiode, die Bolivia jetzt durch-

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

macht, ist es wichtig, sich die indianische Arbeitskraft auch hier im Lande der Chané- und Chiriguanoindianer zunutze zu machen.

Trotz ihrer eigenartigen Kultur setze ich keine großen Hoffnungen auf die Zukunft der Chiriguano- und Chanéindianer. Sie werden indessen als ein wichtiges Element der Mestizenrasse einverleibt werden, die in Zukunft allein über die Trockenwälder des Parapititales und die letzten Ausläufer der Anden nach El gran Chaco herrschen wird.

Allmählich vergessen sie wohl ihre Sagen von Tatutunpa und Aguaratunpa und den anderen Göttern.

Die Nachkommen Maringays, Vocapoys und der anderen werden dann vielleicht studieren, was über ihre Vorväter in diesem Buche geschrieben ist, das in einem Lande gedruckt ist, wo der Mais nicht reift und die Palmen nur unter Glas wachsen. Sie werden vielleicht nach Norden fliegen, um die Schmucksachen zu sehen, mit denen die Alten bekleidet waren, und die schöngemalten Trinkgefäße, in welchen ihre Stammütter das Maisbier zu den Festen gereicht haben.

[pp. 304-330 not processed]

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

[p,331]

Illustrationsverzeichnis.

Seite

Tafeln auf besonderen Blättern:

1. Der Verfasser mit Ashluslayfreunden. Neben dem Titel.
2. Der Calileguaberg 13
3. Dorf des Chorotihäuptlings „Waldhuhn" 30
4. Fische essender Ashluslay 48
5. Mit Mais vom Acker kommende Ashluslaykinder 52
6. Chorotimama mit ihrem kleinen Jungen und dessen Spielkameraden 62
7. Ashluslay-Tänzer. 78
8. Tanzende Ashluslaymänner 84
9. Chorotifrau auf dem Heimweg mit eingesammelten wilden Früchten und Holz 94
10. Matacoindianer rösten „Palometas" und andere Fische . 112
11. Chorotifrauen tragen wilde Früchte in ihren Caraguatátaschen nach Hause 124
12. Ashluslaykrieger 136
13. Ashluslaymann im Magenpanzer 138
14. Ashluslayfischer gehen über den Rio Pilcomayo 142
15. Ashluslayfrau auf der Wanderung 146
16. Caraguatá 176
17. Palmenwald, unweit des Rio Pilcomayo 192
18. Chanéfrau mit Kind 220
19. Die Frau des Chanéhäuptlings Vocapoy malt ein Tongefäß 242
20. Sagenerzähler. Chané 258

Abbildungen im Texte:

1. Matacomädchen 8
2. Hütte der Mataco-Guisnay 9
3. Ashluslayfischer 19
4. Eigentumsmarken auf Mänteln, Ashluslay 36
5. Ashluslaypapa mit seinem kleinen Jungen 37
6. Kochhütte der Chorotis. 40
7. Algarrobofrüchte kauende Ashluslayfrauen 44

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Seite
8. Ashluslayindianer mit Sperrnetzen 45
9. Nadeln zum Aufreihen der Fische 46
10. Spaten 47
11. Sperrung des Rio Pilcomayo mit fischendem Choroti . . 49
12. Chorotikinder spielen, daß sie den Fluß sperren 50
13. Eine Chorotifrau trägt Wasser nach Hause 55
14. Ashluslayfrau seiht Algarrobomehl 57
13. Eßbürste 59
16. In die Erde gegrabener Ofen 60
17. Hölzernes Messer 60
18. Hölzerne Messer zum Essen von Wassermelonen 61
19. „Reibeisen" aus Holz 61
20. Chorotiknabe mit Boleadora 64
21. Das Kleine führt seinen blinden Großvater „abseits" . . 65
22. Die Mama geht mit den Kindern zum Fluß 67
23. Spielzeugflinte von den Chiriguanos 68
24. Boleadora 69
25. Fadenfiguren knüpfende Chorotiknaben 71
26. Ballspielende Matacoindianer 72
27. Spielmarken 73
28. Tätowierung und Gesichtsbemalung 75
29. Tätowierung und Gesichtsbemalung 76
30. Alte Chorotifrau, die den Verf. tätowiert hat 77
31. Ashluslaymann 79
32. Stempel zur Gesichtsbemalung 80
33. Chorotielegant 81
34. Ashluslay mit einer mit Schneckenschalenperlen besetzten Mütze 83
35. Junger Chorotimann am Alltag 85
36. Pfeife 87
37. Boxhandschuh 89
38. Tongefäß 95
39. Ashluslay mit einer Kalebasse Algarrobobier 97
40. „Bowle" 99
41—43. Pfeifenköpfe 101
44. Krankenstuhl 105
45. Geist 109
46. Tongefäß 117
47. Puppen 118
48. Strumpf, Taschen 119
49. Grabestock 120
50. Säge aus hartem Holz 120
51. Scharre aus Muschelschalen 120

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Seite
52. Webstuhl 121
53. Von Ashluslays gewebter kleiner Mantel 122
54. Chorotifrau, ein Tongefäß bauend 123
55. Töpferin 124
56. Hölzernes Gerät 125
57. Trommel aus einem Tongefäß 126
58. Bierkrug 126
59. Wasserkrug 126
60. Kalebasse 127
61. Kalebasse 127
62. Kalebaßschale 129
63. Mais sammelnde Frau (Zeichnung) 130
64. Zeichnungen des Chorotimädchens Ashlisi 130
65. Zeichnungen eines Ashluslayknaben 131
66. Zeichnungen eines 20jährigen Ashluslaymannes 132
67. Ashluslaykrieger 133
68. Federschmuck 134
69. Federschmuck 135
70. Skalp eines Tobapilaga 136
71. Streitkolben 136
72. Ashluslaytänzer zum Besuch bei den Chorotis 139
73. Ashluslayfischer 145
74. Vocapoys Dorf am Rio Itiyuro 149
75. Chanéindianer 150
76. Chanéindianer 151
77. Tongefäß 158
78. Tongefäß 159
79. Alter Chiriguano mit großem Lippenpflock 165
80. Pfeife 169
81. Festtracht für Männer 169
82. Tongefäß 172
83. Feuerstätte zum Maisbierkochen 174
84. Maisscheune 175
85. Sitzbank 177
86. Haken zum Aufhängen der Sachen 177
87. Chanéfrau 178
88. Tabakspfeife 179
89. Spatenstiel 179
90. Fischfang mit Kalebasse 185
91. Netz 187
92. Dämpfapparat 188
93. Spielregel für „Daro" 191
94. Chunquanti spielende Chanéknaben 192

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Seite
95. Stäbchen zum Tshücaretaspiel 193
96. Máma wird ausgelegt 194
97. Die Stäbchen werden geworfen 195
98. Die Spielenden sehen nach, wie die Stäbchen gefallen sind 196
99. Geteilter Ball zum Tocorórespiel 197
100. Spielstock 197
101. Rakett 197
102. Maiskolbenpfeil 198
103. Stäbchen zum Huirahuahuaspiel 198
104. Spielzeug 199
105. Puppen aus Wachs 200
106. Chanéfrau 201
107. Gesichtsbemalung 202
108. Tätowierter Frauenarm 203
109. Kämme 204
110. Chanéknabe 209
111. Der Chiriguanohäuptling Mandepora 213
112. Alte Frau 215
113. Chiriguanograb 219
114. Junge Chanéfrau entblößt den Oberkörper, um sich photographieren zu lassen 226
115. Kalebasse 231
116. Chanémädchen stoßen Mais in einem Mörser 235
117. Kochen des Maisbieres 237
118. Suppenspatel 239
119. Tanzmaske 241
120. Serérepfeife 243
121. Tongefäß 244
122. Brennen von Tongefäßen 245
123. Webstuhl 247
124. Sieb 248
125. Korb 248
126. Verzierte Kalebaßschale 249
127. Tongefäß 264
128. Kalebaßschale 279
129. Tongefäß 281
130. Silberne Nadel 287
131. Brustschmuck aus Silber 290
132. Chanékinder 299
133. Tongefäß 301
134. Tsirakuafrau 307
135. Taubstummenzeichen 316
136. Taubstummenzeichen 318

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Illustrationsverzeichnis. 335

Seite
137. Taubstummenzeichen 319
138. Sandale aus Tapirhaut 321
139. Grabekeule 323
140. Wurfkeulen 325
141. Stück Zeug 326
142. Pfeife aus Holz 327

[p.336]

Alphabetisches Register.

(Die Ziffern bedeuten die Seitenzahl; f nach der Zahl = u. folgende.)

Abstandsangabe 166.
Abtritte 205.
Aderlassen 54.
Aguararenta, s. Totenreich.
Aguaratunpa 222, 258, 274, 283, 285, 291.
Algarobillo 121.
Algarrobo (Bier) 16, 17, 18, 22, 45, 49, 58, 96, 98, 111, 236, 260, 296.
Altersklassen zwischen Kindern 67.
Amulette 53.
Aña. Añatunpa 166, 251, 255 f. 286 f.
Angeschossene Tiere, Leiden 54.
Aphrodisiacum 225.
Araukanier 80.
Arbeit 4 f., 180 f., 190; für die Weißen 4 f., 180 f., 300 f.
Arbeitsteilung zwischen den Geschlechtern 92 f.
Aristokratie 230.
Arowaken 22, 156, 169.
Aseptik 217.
Ashluslay 5, 16—147, 164, 167, 248.
Astronomie 294 f.
Atsahuaca 182.
Aussichtsposten 131.
Ava = Chiriguano.
Aymara 13, 182, 207.
Bäder 84, 203.
Ballspiele 71, 193 f., 264.
Bastian 114.
Baumwolle 51, 182.
Begräbnis 14, 218, 309; mit dem Kopf nach unten 219.
Beigaben 108, 310.
Besitzrecht 35, 50, 232.
Bestialität 225.
Betten 41, 176.
Bewertung von Gegenständen 126, 140.
Blattschneideameise 242.
Blinde 216.
Blitz 11, 269.
Boas 114.
Bogen 52, 133, 183.
Boggiani 26, 48, 51, 138.
Bogoras 114.
Bohnen 52, 182.
Boleadora 70, 112, 183.
Boman 243.
Bordelle (Indianer, welche die Bordelle der Weißen besuchen) 9.
Boro 182.
Boten (Eil-) 131.
Boxhandschuhe 87.
Brandpfeile 134.
Branntwein 8, 11, 100, 240, 298, 302.
Brunnen 57, 328.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Caduvei 138.
Calileguaberg 11 f.
Campana, Domenico del 138, 161, 254, 259.
Campos 137, 142.
Cangui = Maisbier.
Caraguatá 23, 119 f., 244, 269, 320, 324, 326.
Caraguatátaschen 42, 49, 61, 116, 140, 326.
Cardus 324.
Chacobo 174, 182, 207.
Chamacoco 138.
Chañar (Bier) 20, 45, 49, 59, 62, 96, 98.
Chanés 5, 7, 14, 113, 134, 148 bis 303, 310 f., 322.
Chicundapa 258.
Chiquéri = Chiquéritunpa 258, 264, 277, 296.
Chiquitos 194.
Chiriguano 5, 7, 13, 48, 86, 91, 94, 134, 138, 139, 148 bis 303, 310 f.
Chomé, P. 210, 211, 212.
Chorotis 5, 6, 7, 16 bis 147, 164, 167, 221, 248, 254, 310, 320.
Chuchio 166, 280.
Chuña 70, 112.
Churápa 224.
Coca 12, 182.
Corrado 38, 208, 228.
Couvade, s. Wochenbett 92, 206.
Crevaux 26.
Crysocol 179, 201, 211, 240, 289.

Dampfkochen 189.
Daro 190.
Diät s. Speiseverbot.
Diebstahl 34, 231.
Diener, s. Klassenunterschied.
Dolmetscher 34.
Donner 232, 258, 271, 296.
Donnergott = Chiquéritunpa.
Dörfer 32, 33, 173.
Duelle 232.
Dyori 271, 273 f.

Ehe 89 f., 211 f.
Ehrenreich 22, 114, 255, 293.
Ehrgefühl 43.
Ehrlichkeit 144 f.
Eidechsen 22 — s. auch Iguana und Téyuhuasu.
Eifersucht 38, 87.
Eigentumsmarken 35.
Eisen, Handel mit 138, 311, 326.
Eitelkeit 78.
Elternmord 38, 231.
Empörung gegen die Weißen 5, 134, 168, 233.
Erbschaften 7, 232.
Erdbeben 12.
Erdhöhlen 21, 327.
Erdratten 22, 58, 222.
Erinnerungen, für die Indianer kostbare Gegenstände als 171.
Erzeugung (eigentümliche) 112, 114, 271, 276.
Erziehung 10, 63, 209.
Esperanza, Zuckerfabrik 3, 27.
Eßbürsten für Honig 59.

Fadenspiel 70.
Fahrzeuge 48, 186.
Familienhaus 174.
Farbensinn 81.
Federarbeiten 126.
Feldbau 51, 131, 324.
Feldmanöver 133.
Feuerraub 13, 22, 110, 252 f., 312.
Feuerstätte 41, 176.
Feuerzeug 41, 252.
Fische, Handel 139.
Fischerei, Fischgerätschaften 46, 98, 184.

Flamingo (Sagen) 112, 284.
Fledermaus (Sage) 264.
Fliege (Sagen) 263, 288.
Floh (Sage) 262.
Frau 74; Stellung im Gemeinwesen 90; Häuptling 229; unverheiratete 95.
Friede 129 f.
Friederici 18, 24.
Frosch (Sage) 254, 314.
Fruchtbestände, wilde, Besitzer der 50.
Früchte (Einsammeln wilder) 49.
Fuchs 219; Sagen 113, 222, 256, 269, 289 f.
Fuchsgott = Aguaratunpa.

Garcilasso de la Vega 167.
Gären von berauschenden Getränken 96, 237.
Gastfreiheit 144, 190.
Geduld bei Schmerzen 107.
Gefangene, Auslösung 24, 135, 306.
Geier (Sagen) 22, 112, 263, 314.
Geister, s. auch Aña, 108, 257.
Gemeinwesen 29, 232.
Geograph, der Indianer als 163 f.
Gerben 123, 247.
Geruch 85.
Gesang 6, 18, 85, 97, 141, 157 f., 179, 223, 276, 325.
Geschlechtskrankheiten 9.
Geschwisterehe 90, 111, 212, 254.
Gesichtsbemalung 78, 203.
Giftige Pflanzen als Nahrung 51.
Grabekeulen 322.
Gräber 14, 108, 218, 310.
Grabestock 49, 120.
Grabhaus 14.
Graburnen 14, 218.
Guanaco 155.
Gúarayús 52, 165, 207.
Gumilla 195.
Gummibälle 193, 264.
Gummigegenden 298, 305.
Gürteltiere 22.
Gürteltiergott = Tatutunpa.

Haare, Ausreißen 78, 84; Seil aus 121; weißes 216; Abschneiden bei der ersten Menstruation 210; Kurzschneiden bei Trauer 108, 219, 253, 310.
Hagel 12.
Handel 137 f., 248.
Hängematten 177.
Hartt 293.
Hasardspiele, s. Spiele.
Häuptlinge 33, 170, 212, 228 f.
Hausbau 40.
Haustiere 55, 187.
Hawtrey 57, 328.
Heilmittel 107, 217.
Heirat zwischen Cousin und Cousine 90.
Herrmann 27, 51, 142, 300.
Heuschrecke (Sage) 269.
Historiker, der Indianer als 167 f.
Höchstes Wesen 259.
Holzalter 93.
Hölzerne Pfrieme 54.
Hölzerne Sägen 50, 120.
Holzschnitzerei 125.
Holzstäbchen, Spiel mit 72, 191.
Homosexualität 221.
Honig 54; Einsammeln 54.
Humor 239.
Hunde 53, 111, 184, 187, 314; Begräbnis 56; Verhexung 106; windhundähnliche, Canis jubatus 22.
Hütten 39, 173.

Ibareta 26.
Iguana, s. auch Téyuhuasu.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Im Thurn 204, 255.
Industrie 111 f., 242.
Inómu 271, 283.

Jagd 52, 170 f.
Jagdhütte 54, 251.
Jagdtrophäen 53.
Jaguar 12, 20, 23, 111, 218, 272, 289, 291.
Jahreszeiten, Bestimmung der 52, 183.

Käferlarve (Nahrung) 54.
Kalebassen 52, 123, 247, 268.
Kämme 205.
Kara-Kara, Vogel (Sagen) 112, 263.
Karneval 240.
Kartenskizze 149.
Kartoffeln (süße, Bier) 52, 236.
Kegelspiel 192.
Keramik 60, 122, 159, 178, 234, 243.
Keulen 53, 183, 324.
Kinder 63, 92, 193 f., 207 f.
Kindermord 38, 88, 208, 231.
Kindermörderinnen 38.
Klassenunterschied 14, 33, 231; zwischen den Stämmen 14, 94, 311.
Kleidertracht 80, 83, 171, 200 f., 240, 325.
Klistier 224.
Knochenschmerzen, Mittel gegen 12.
Knöcherne Pfrieme 54, 87.
Koch-Grünberg 90, 127, 221.
Kochhütte 40.
Kolibri (Sage) 262, 292.
Kommunismus 34.
Kondor — Ururuti.
Konservatismus 123, 147, 211, 220, 235.
Konserven 42, 59.
Kopfkissen 41.
Kopftrophäen 172.
Korbarbeiten 61, 123, 248.
Krankenstuhl 105.
Kreuz auf dem First 11; auf Gräbern 328.
Krieg 19, 39, 68, 129 f., 171, 306.
Kugelgürteltier (Sage) 112, 291.
Kulturcinflüsse von Peru 12, 242.
Kulturgrenze 249.
Kulturmythen s. Sagen.
Kulturpflanzen 51, 182, 324.
Kunst 116, 234, 242.
Kürbis 51, 232, 267, 271, 314; Raub 13, 111.
Küsse 88.

Laufspiele 70.
Läusesessen 85.
Lausen (Sage) 280.
Leben im Jenseits (Glaube an) 108, 255 f.
Lehmann-Nitsche 27, 86.
Lenguas 48, 51, 57, 137, 224, 249, 328.
Liebe (freie) 78, 86, 87, 94.
Lippenpflock 211, 312.
Lozano 28.
Lügenhaftigkeit 56 f.

Mahlzeiten 59, 110.
Mais (Bier) 12, 51, 96, 98, 161, 181, 188, 237, 244, 258, 275, 278.
Mais, wie die Tapiete Mais bekamen 312.
Maiskolbenpfeife 196.
Maisraub 12, 112, 270.
Mandioca 51, 182.
Männer, unverheiratete 95.
Männerhäuser 33, 97.
Manalé 137.

Mariatunpa 258.
Marschfähigkeit 106.
Maße 139, 192, 196, 315.
Matacos 4, 5, 7, 13, 18, 22, 26, 28, 48, 70, 74, 105 f., 107, 108, 110 f., 127, 130, 132, 135, 225, 248, 320.
Mataco-Gebiete 17, 26, 89, 102, 135.
Mataco-Noté 89.
Mataco-Vejos 13, 125, 231.
Medizinmänner 12, 34, 103 f., 159, 216, 230, 232, 258, 296.
Meerschweinchen (Sage) 13, 111.
Menstruation 74, 107, 200.
Meteor 110, 295.
Militärgewehr 302.
Minderjährig, der Indianer wird betrachtet als 34.
Missionen, Missionäre 109, 148, 151 f., 160 f., 168, 214, 220, 230, 246, 259, 297 f.
Mistel 45, 204, 278.
Mode in Schmucksachen 81.
Mogeln beim Spiel 73.
Mond 32, 110, 273, 295.
Mondfinsternis 110, 294.
Mord 38, 231; s. Kindermord, Elternmord.
Mörser 60, 237.
Musikbogen 86, 190.
Musikinstrumente 86.
Mutterbaum 260.
Mützen 80.
Mystische Wesen 109.

Namen (Spott-) 208.
Namengeben 92, 208.

Ohr 60, 199.
Ohren, Durchbohren der 74.
Ohrenklitze 18, 74.
Ozanie 112, 221, 225.

d'Orbigny 194, 277.
Orientierungsgabe 165.
Orion 294.
Ornamentik 78 f., 116 f., 125 f., 234, 244, 246 f.
Ortsnamen 32, 166.

Pachamama 11.
Pachiln 48.
Palmerta 23, 108, 186.
Papagei (Sage) 266, 270, 276, 312.
Parfüm 85.
Paterson, Dr. 107.
Pelleschi 115.
Pelzmäntel 84, 124.
Pfeife 86, 171, 242 f., 249, 265, 285, 325.
Pfeifen, Tabak 102, 200.
Pferde 52, 133, 183; mit Stumpfspitzen 53, 209, 272.
Pferdewerfen 196.
Pferde, Begräbnis 55; gestohlene 140.
Phantasie 117.
Pfeifen 52, 183, 294.
Pfeilen 108, 158.
Prostitution 95.
Puppen 69, 117, 248.

Quebracho 111, 269, 272.
Quichuas 11, 12, 13, 153, 182, 207, 219, 242, 247, 249, 321.

Rabotin 193.
Regen 296.
Regenbogen 296.
Reibdecke 22.
Reiten (schlagen) 70, 199.
Reinlichkeit 84, 190, 203.
Reisenahrung 59.
Religiöse Vorstellungen 109 f., 114, 230 f.
Rosen, Eric von 23, 27, 41, 115, 158.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Bäen 52, 183.
Sagen 4, 13, 21, 109 f., 222 f., 250 f., 312 f.
Sägen aus Holz 50.
Sagenwanderung 114, 293.
Salz 58, 189.
Sandalen 80, 203, 306, 326.
Sandfloh 63.
Schafe, wie die Tapiete sie bekamen 313.
Schamgefühl 88, 225.
Scheibenschießen (Spiel) 10, 69.
Scheunen 174 f., 183.
Schießwaffen 10.
Schildkröte (Sage) 53, 291.
Schimpfworte 157.
Schlaf 43.
Schlägereien zwischen den Frauen 38, 87, 141.
Schlange (Riesen-) 110, 281, 288.
Schlangen 23.
Schlangenbiß (Heilung mit Menstruation) 107.
Schleudern 12, 53.
Schlingen 54, 183.
Schmucksachen 80 f., 82 f., 240.
Schneckenschalen, Handel 137.
Schöpfungssage 260.
Schwalben verkünden Regen 296.
Schwangerschaft 206.
Schwirrholz 10.
Seelenwanderung 256.
Selbstmord 224.
Siebe 61.
Silberne Schmucksachen 240, 263, 288.
Siluroid 23.
„Sintflut" 253.
Sipoy 22, 311.
Sirionos 155, 322.
Sitzbank 177.
Skalpe, Skalpieren 17, 24, 68, 90, 132.
Sonne 252, 282, 295.
Sonnendach 33.
Sonnenfinsternis 294.
Sonnenacht 33.
Späher 131.
Spaten 52, 183, 266, 269.
Speiseverbot 190, 206, 210.
Sperrung des Flusses 48, 129.
Spiele 65, 190 f., 224, 281 f.
Spielsachen 68, 193 f., 291.
Sprache 28 f., 157, 310, 324.
Stammbaum 229.
Stammnamen 28.
Steine, Armut an 92.
Steinen, K. v. d. 119, 127, 207, 221.
Stelzen 70.
Stempeln der Ornamente 79 f.
Sternbilder 294.
Sternhaufen 295.
Sternschnuppen 295.
Stier (Sage) 104.
Stiften 63; junger Hunde 90.
Strauße 20, 54; (Sage) 264, 292 f.
Strümpfe, zum Schutz gegen Fische 23.
Sturm (Sage) 252, 296.

Tabu 190.
Tabakraucher (Anbau des Tabaks) 51, 101, 182.
Tacumbocumba = Viscacha.
Tänze 17, 78, 85, 106, 141, 240, 323; bei der Menstruation 174.
Tanzmasken 239.
Tanzspiele 71.
Tapietes 5, 28, 137, 139, 151, 153, 154, 164, 248, 304 f.
Tapietes = Yanaygua.
Tapuy = Chané.
Tasi 22, 45.
Tatutupa 258, 264 f., 269, 271 f., 283 f.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

Tätowierung 74 f., 89, 203, 312, 323.
Taulstromme 207, 315.
Tauschhandel, s. Handel.
Téyuhomo 222, 276, 283.
Theokratie 230.
Tiere, wilde, werden zahm, gehalten 40, 56, 187.
Tipuytunpu 238.
Tiri 277.
Tobas 5, 6, 7, 10, 15, 19, 24, 28, 39, 48, 50, 120, 132, 134, 135, 139, 161, 248.
Tobas-Plague 18, 132.
Tod 218, 309.
Tongefäße, s. Keramik.
Tonkugelbogen 53, 184.
Tonscherben als Spielzeuge 107.
Tote 255 f.
Totemreich 157, 233 f.
Totem 125.
Trachten, s. Kleidertrachten.
Trauergruß 24.
Trauer 24, 108, 179, 210, 255, 300.
Träume 257.
Trägen, f. 134, 142, 146, 308.
Trinkgelage 17, 50, 96, 132, 162, 234, 252, 257, 274, 283, 291.
Trommeln 86, 97, 105.
Trophäen, s. Kopftrophäen und Skalpe.
Tsirakuas 60, 80, 137, 153, 155, 164, 171, 303 f., 322 f.
Tsirlómo — Sirelmo.
Tukan (Sage) 287.
Tunpu 232, 237, 324.
Türkisperlen 179, 201, 211, 240, 289.
Tuna 22, 45, 49, 96, 120.

Ungeziefer 85, 176.
Urupua (der schwarze Geier, Sage) 274.
Urukn, Handel mit 158.
Urunti, der weiße Kondor (Sage) 256, 262 f.
Uturunco 12, 219.

Vejos, s. Matacos.
Verbrechen, s. auch Vertreibung der Leibesfrucht, Kindermord usw. 231.
Verführung der Frau eines anderen 232.
Verbrennen 103, 106, 159, 216, 232, 250, 258.
Verjüngung 268.
Versprechen 17.
Vertreibung der Leibesfrucht 58, 88, 208.
Vicuna 168, 174, 200, 203.
Viehzucht 55, 187.
Vielweiberei 90, 212.
Viscacha (Sage) 280.
Vogelnester 183.

Wache 54.
Wahlkönige 22.
Wahlkuhle (Sage) 222.
Wanderungen 5 f., 32, 204, 322.
Wasserfall im Río Pilcomayo 20.
Wassermangel 17, 25, 32, 322, 329.
Wassermelone 31, 96.
Weben 186.
Weben 121, 246, 326.
Wege 24, 33.
Wegweiser 164.
Wegzeichen 131.
Weibe, Verhältnis zu, s. auch Arbeit, 142 f., 300 f.
Weltbrand 13, 21, 111.
Weltuntergang, s. auch Weltbrand, 231.
Werbung (Braut-) 212.
Wiedermarsch 207.

6:Nordenskiöld SF10 Chiriguano

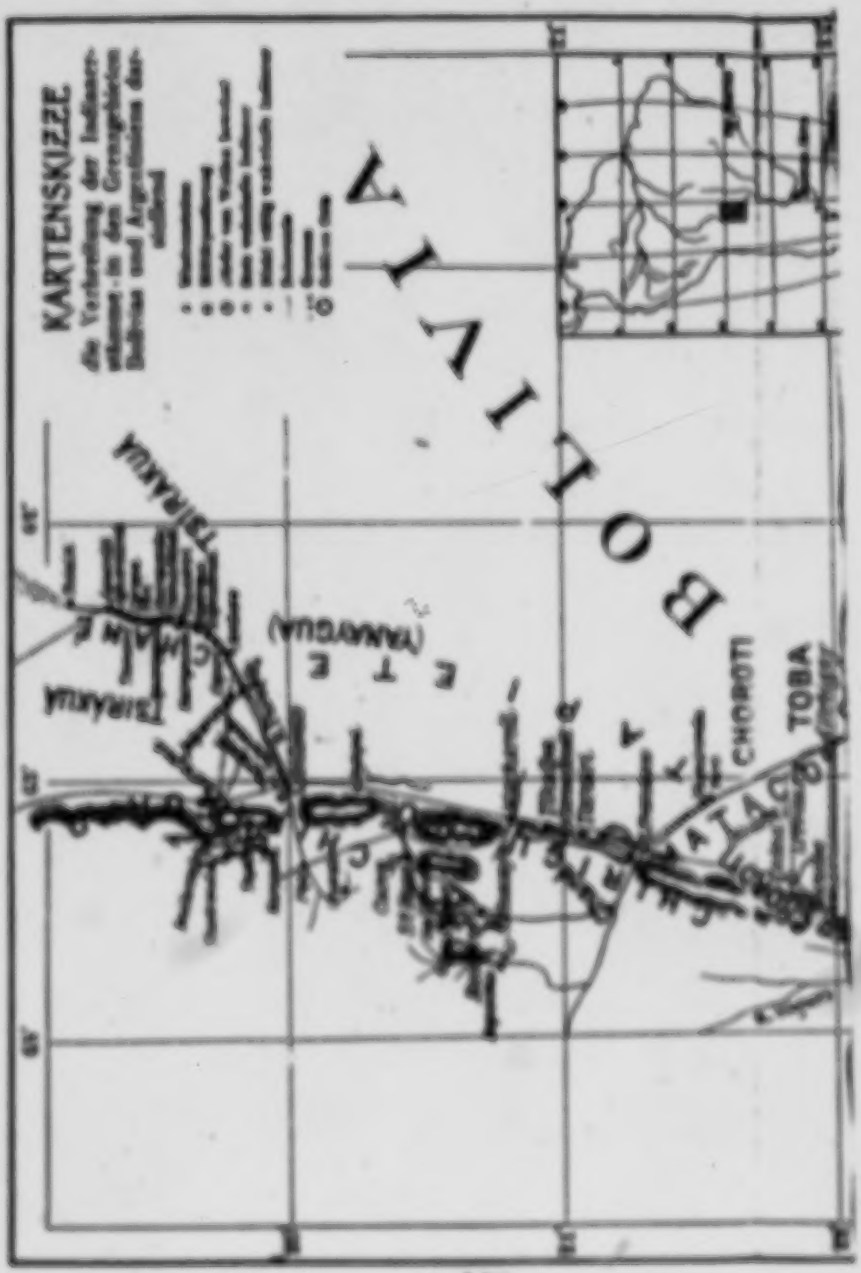
Wettlaufsage 290.
Wildkatze (Sagen) 23 — Kinburukaya 273.
Worte (höfliche) 157, 201.
Würfelspiel 190 f.

Yahuanas, schwarze Wesen 100.
Yahuapinta (Puma) 273.
Yahuitz — zweibeiniger Jaguar — Yahuarihui.
Yamandetempa 237.
Yanayguas — Tapiete.
Yuracáre 21, 32, 76, 224, 277, 303.

Zahlwörter 30, 73, 315.
Zähne, Schwärzen 203.
Zahnschmerzen, Zeitstehen 314.
Zamuco 304, 308.
Zapallo, s. Kürbis.
Zauberer, s. Medizinmänner.
Zauberpfeifen 266, 269.
Zeichen (Sage) 182, 292.
Zeichen der Wände 228.
Zeichnungen, angefertigt vom Indianern 127 f., 248.
Zeiten der Not 30 f., 60.
Zeremoniell bei den Pueblos 238.
Zehenstrang der Spaniern 38, 180.
Zweibeinigiger Jaguar 272, 294.
Zwerge 307.

Berichtigung.

Seite 21 Zeile 12 v. o. „Tanibucht" anstatt „Towabucht".
„ 106 „ 8 v. u. „Caraguatábaut" anstatt „Caraguatárinde".
„ 125 „ 14 v. o. „Korbarbeiten" anstatt „Kostbarkeiten".
„ 138 „ 3 v. o. „Schmerkoverbalen" anstatt „Menschenschalen".
„ 219 „ 14 v. o. „Pfleck" anstatt „Kaupf".


KARTENSKIZZE
BOLIVIA
CHOROTI
TOBA
ETE
(MAKOUA)
TEIRAKUA
TEIRAKUA

[End map (A)]

[End map (B)]

6: Nordenskiöld

SF10 Chiriguano

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

000

ETHNOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH WORK

DURING

THE SWEDISH CHACO-CORDILLERA-EXPEDITION

1901—1902

BY

COUNT ERIC VON ROSEN

WITH 1 MAP AND 283 FIGURES
INCLUSIVE OF 33 PLATES IN BLACK PRINT
AND 1 COLOURED PLATE

[Title Page]

STOCKHOLM
SOLD BY C. E. FRITZE LTD
BOOKSELLERS TO THE COURT

[P. 187]

CHAPTER VII.

The Chiriguano (I).

Ethnographical research among the Chiriguano. The Chiriguano country. The tribal name. Physical qualities. Dwellings. Pile-built granaries. Theories as to the origin of the practice of erecting buildings on piles. Fireplaces. Household furniture. Dress. Modes of dressing the hair. Face-painting. Ornaments. 880

During our journey from Tarija to Gran Chaco we came into touch with the Chiriguano Indians, and on the march, as well as during our stay in the Chaco-Andean border region, I was successful in getting together a small but valuable ethnographical collection from these Indians. It is in connection with the publishing of the most important type specimens of this collection that I consider it suitable to give a brief description of the Chiriguano mode of living. Only in one or two cases, where I have arrived at results diverging from those of other students, have I found it necessary to enter into fuller details. 114

Mention of the Chiriguano tribe has, already in the 15th and 16th centuries, been made by a number of writers, and it is especially in Franciscan mission literature, earlier as well as later, that much valuable information may be found as regards this tribe.[1] Among the literature on the Chiriguano that had been produced prior to our journey, it may be that the books written by Corrado[2] and Serrano[3] are those that best repay perusal, and of works subsequently published, those by del Campana[4], Lehmann-Nitsche[5], Outes[6], Nino[7] and Nordenskiöld[8] are especially valuable. 113 114

[1] A very full list of works dealing with the Chiriguano is to be found in Nordenskiöld (11) and (18).
[2] Corrado (1).
[3] Serrano y Sanz (1).
[4] del Campana (1).
[5] Lehmann-Nitsche (1).
[6] Outes (1).
[7] Nino (1).
[8] Nordenskiöld (11), (18), (18) and (14).

The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between these culturally allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against the whites (in 1890), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are still remaining.

The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly gourd plants and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group, the Chiriguano being counted with the Guarani group, whilst the Chané are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija valley.[1] Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which is Guarani. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches of Rio Parapiti.[2] The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means »dirt people» was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word »guano» is the name for the well-known bird manure-found on the coast of Peru and Chile. It seems however unfair indeed that the Chiriguano, who, in contradistinction to the Puna and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal name.

---

[1] de Matienzo (1), p. 150. Nordenskiöld (15).
[2] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 156.

133
137

Fig. 187. Stream flowing through primeval forest. On the branches of the acacia in the middle distance there can be seen an epiphytic plant (Tillandsia usneoides) and rows of Bromeliaceæ. District of San Luis, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[P. 190 is blank]

142 To me, the Chiriguano seemed to be of better physique than both the Puna and the Chaco Indians, and their cast of features, as a rule, to be less rough-hewn than those of the above-mentioned tribes. Herma ten
141 Kate has taken anthropological measurements of four Chiriguano men,
[127] whose average height was determined at 160.1 cm.[1] Lehmann-Nitsche, who has made anthropological observations of 50 Chiriguano (40 men and 10 women), is my authority for the data I have grouped together in the subjoined table.[2]

The Chiriguano; some physical data.

Sex	Average height, cm	Shape of skull	Colour of skin, Luschan's scale	Colour of hair, Fischer's scale	Iris, by Martin's scale
Men.....	163.4	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 22	Majority 4	Majority 3—4
Women.....	151.7	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 18	Majority 4	Majority 3—4

142 The Chiriguano complexion is, accordingly, brown with a tint of yellow; the iris is dark brown, the hair black, coarse and lank. The growth of hair on face and body is very scanty.

361 The Chiriguano are not a nomadic people, but live in permanent villages, some of which are the abode of only a few families, whilst others contain
[114] several hundreds of inhabitants. At Ibitibi I was studying a Chiriguano village that, according to the Indians, was inhabited by about 300 people. This village was situated on a plain surrounded by wooded mountains (fig. 188). The huts formed a large circle, with the chief's hut in the centre. In the open space between the chief's hut and the rest, there were growing some close-foliaged trees (probably of the Bignoniaceæ
[574] family), affording much-needed shade. In earlier literature it is stated that
[609] the Chiriguano used to build a hut for strangers in the middle of the village plaza.[3] In many of the Chiriguano villages I visited, the huts were scattered about without any perceivable order.

342 The huts are rectangular and with ridged roofs. (Figs. 188—192.) The walls either consist of perpendicular sticks, of tree-branches or reeds,

[1] Ten Kate (1), p. 26.
[2] Lehmann-Nitsche (1).
[3] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 2.

342 placed close together and fastened with withies lashed on horizontally (figs. 189 and 190), or of branches woven together and daubed with clay (fig. 191). The roof, the construction of which is apparent from fig. 217, is thatched with grass. This is an especially interesting *method of roof-construction, used in Peru already in the pre-Columbian period*, a fact plainly evident from an ancient Peruvian vase-painting[1] (fig. 193). The walls and the roof are supported by a hut frame consisting of poles (fig. 217). 2 A

133
342
343

Fig. 188. Part of a Chiriguano village. Two small pile-buildings, used as maize-barns can be seen between the huts. Ibitibi. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

343 The granaries for storing maize are always built on pole supports
417 (figs. 188 and 192). Fig. 191 shows a step-ladder leaning against a tree.
[322] Step-ladders of this kind, usually hewn out of a single piece of wood, are used by the Chiriguano as means of access to these pole-supported granaries.

174 Baron E. Nordenskiöld, who has made a valuable analysis of the distribution
342 of pile-buildings in South America[2], considers that when pile-buildings occur among a tribe inhabiting a region not exposed to inundations, then the idea of constructing buildings raised on piles has generally originated at the time when the tribe inhabited some other region, either a swamp,

[1] Joyce (1), fig. 13.
[2] Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 3—8.

1 A [see cat. 116, P. 215 -- Analyst]
2 A [see cat. 116, p 195 -- An.]

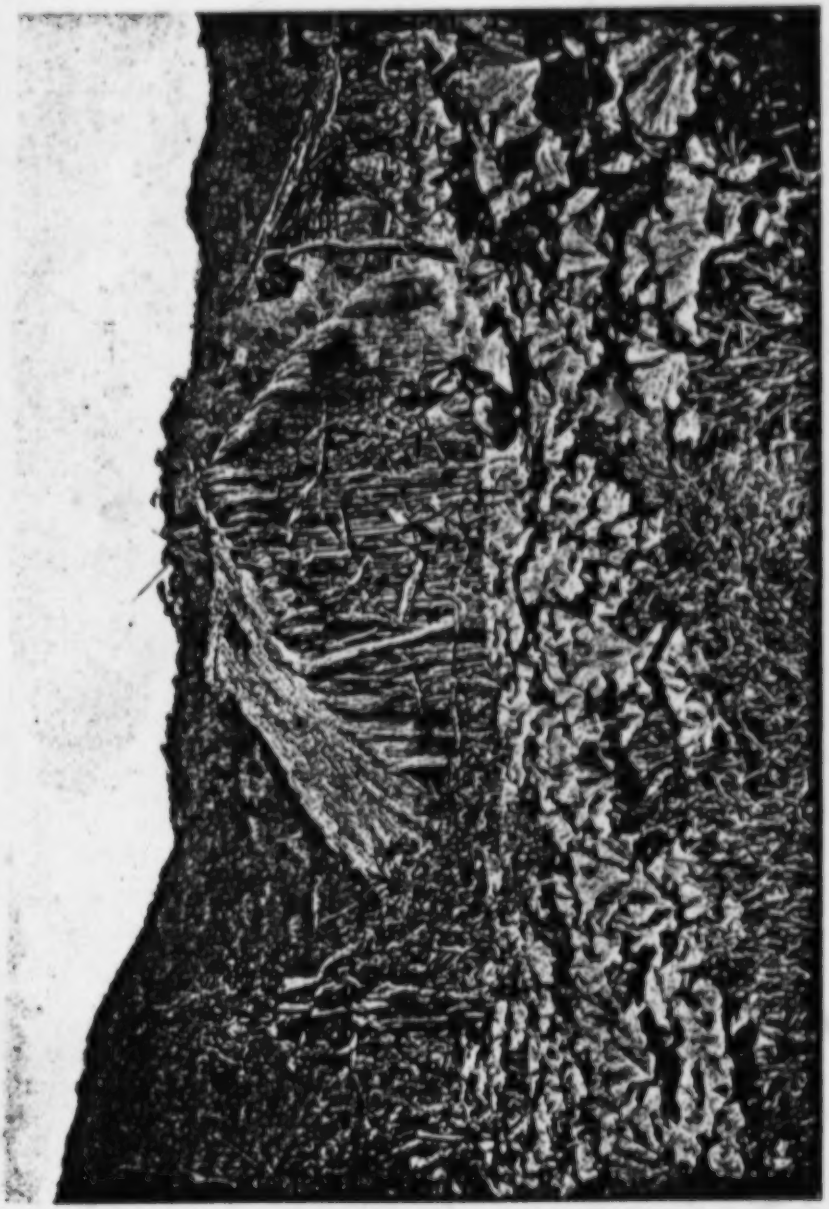


Fig. 184. Women at a cooking fire in front of her hut. In the foreground a gourd patch; in the right an open cooking shed, the roof of which was used as a rough pottery. Chiriguano, San Luis, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

249
342
516
133
252

342
142
291
302
352
273

Fig. 190. Woman in front of her hut. In the foreground a bedstead on which lies chewed maize; this maize is used in the preparation of »chicha», an intoxicating beverage. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

342
361
417

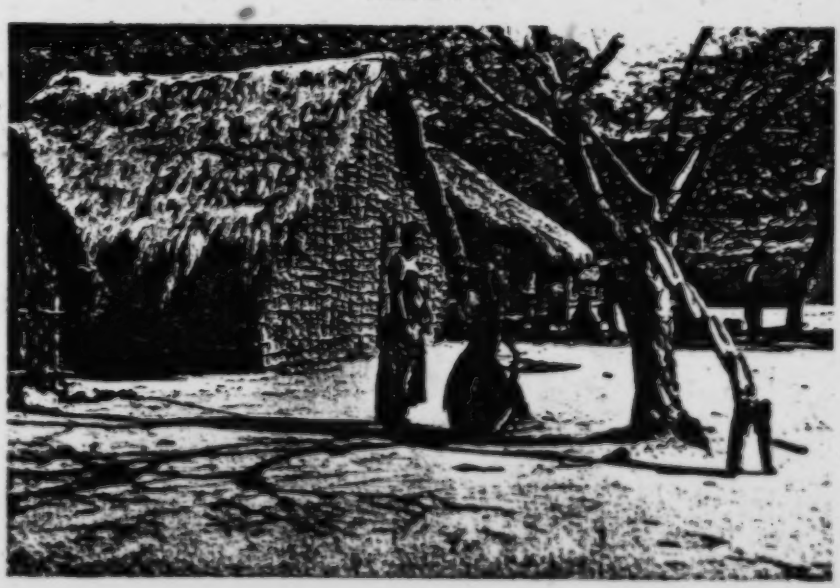


Fig. 191. Huts in the periphery of the circular market-place in the Chiriguano village of Ibitibi. In right foreground, a ladder used on going to the pile-barns for maize. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[P. 194 is blank]

174 342 [114] or a district threatened with flooding through rainfall or the flowing in of the oceanic tide. In my opinion, however, this has usually not been the case.

342 343 825 174 [171] According to my thinking, it is the fear of predatory animals that has given rise to the pile-construction idea. Those granaries built on pole-supports, that are so commonly met with in widely different countries, have, we know, as a rule been constructed for the express purpose of furnishing protection against noxious animals, such as lesser carnivora, rodents and insects. As an example, the »njalla» of the Lapps is built

361 342 343

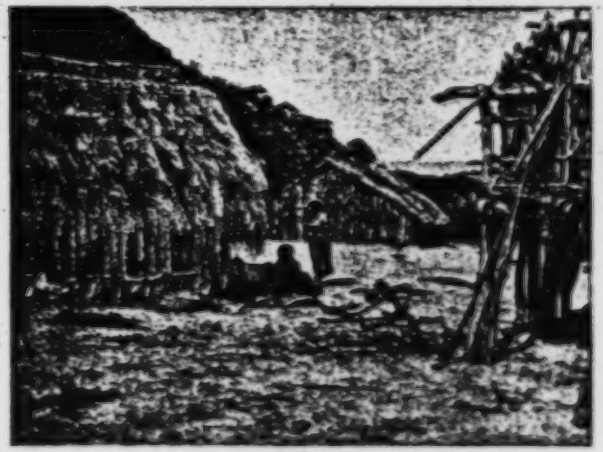


Fig. 192. Part of a Chiriguano village. To the right a pile-barn. Tablá. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

342 343 825 171 174 as a protection against wolverines[1], and many of the native tribes of Africa erect their food depositories, or grain bins, on pole-supports to make them safe against mice and white ants.[2] Both the Balenge people, who inhabit a fairly arid country, and the Babisa, who live on the edge of the Bangweolo swamp, build their corn bins on piles.[3] As the Babisa often build their huts on a platform of beaten clay[4] (not piles, it will be noted) as a protection against the annual heavy floodings of the rainy season, this will naturally give rise to the supposition that the Babisa

[1] von Duben (1), p. 35.
[2] von Rosen (4), pp. 411—412.
[3] von Rosen (6), pp. 332, 349 (fig. A), and 411—412.
[4] von Rosen (6), p. 319 and plate 67 (figs. C and D), also plate 68, fig. D.

[P 196 is blank]

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

342 343 825 171 174

granaries, at any rate, are raised on supports in order to keep the stored crop from getting wet. That such is not the case will, however, be apparent from the fact that the granaries are empty during the time of the rains. It should be remembered that, in these parts, the period of vegetation coincides with the duration of the rainy season, and that the crops are harvested and stored only after the cessation of the rains. During the time the grain reposes in the granaries no rain falls at all, and on that account the granaries of the Balenge are often unprovided with a roof.[1] Moreover, Babisa, as well as Balenge, stated that the pile-built grain bins were constructed solely as a protection against damage to the corn from rats and white ants. The practice of erecting buildings on piles as a safeguard against flooding is entirely non-existent in the Bangweolo region.

Fig. 193. Ancient Peruvian hut. Vase-painting. After Joyce.

The fundamental idea of storing food in structures built on piles may, in my opinion, be traced back to the custom of primitive peoples of keeping freshly killed meat, and other food, safe from depredation by larger or smaller raiding animals, by suspension on trees. The »njalla», which is erected on a single pole, or on the lopped stem of a growing tree left on its root, may, I think, be taken to be a development of the primitive tree cache. The four-poled Lappish larder called »luopte», or »luove» (cfr. the Swedish words »loft», and »lave»), is on the other hand most probably an imitation of the »hebrä» stores of the land-settled folk, which, presumably, also have received their pile-building construction with a view to forming a protection against noxious animals. For the »hebrä» is probably nothing but a development of the »lave». In order to keep divers implements safe, not only from wild animals, but also from mischievous domestic cattle, such as goats, it is sometimes necessary to construct at the homestead a »lave», the floor of which is either supported by three or four rooted tree-stumps, or by poles driven into the ground (fig. 189). When it is desired to shelter the stored utensils from rain, a roof is built at a suitable height from the floor, and if a still more effective shelter is required, the space between the floor and the roof is filled in with walls. At the stone-age

[1] von Rosen (4), fig. 325.

experiment carried out at Rockelstad in the summer of 1909[1], the» stone-age men» soon found themselves compelled to build a »lave» so that the goats should not damage such foodstuffs and implements as had to be kept outside the hut.[2] 342 343 825 171

It is my belief that the »lave» has also supplied the idea of building dwelling-houses on pole-supports. Wherever people in a certain stage of civilization have found themselves settled on solid ground, they have had need of raised food-platforms, partly for keeping their foodstuffs safe from damage on the part of domestic as well as noxious animals, partly for the purpose of drying, smoking or roasting the food (see pp. 38, 47 and 48). If such a people, living on the edge of a lake or a swamp, had wished — for defensive purposes or some other reason — to build their dwelling-huts or other buildings in the water, then, if the bottom of the lake afforded good holding for piles, such buildings would have been constructed in the same way as the food-platforms or pole-supported granaries previously employed on firm ground (compare fig. 28 with fig. 115). Where the people in question has been lacking in sufficient skill to construct large pile-buildings in the water, or if the lake bottom was unsuited to this mode of construction, then huts were built on rafts or quagmire islands, after the manner of the swamp dwellers of Alvastra and Bangweule.[3] 174

The furnishing of the Chiriguano huts is exceedingly plain. The fire-place, which forms a very necessary heating centre at night during the cold season, consists of a few stones serving as supports for the cooking pots. There is no hole in the roof for letting out the smoke, which has to find its way out through the doorway or through fissures in the walls. As a rule, the food is generally cooked on a fire outside the hut (fig. 189). 354 [254]

Bedsteads of the type seen in fig. 190 are to be found in nearly every hut. These bed frames are made of laths or reeds, and are covered with skins. Nordenskiöld states as his opinion that the idea of these bedsteads *has not been borrowed from the civilization of the whites.*[4] *In the analytical* treatise he has written upon this question he adduces conclusive arguments for his opinion, as it seems to me. In Central Africa, one finds bedsteads that are very similar to the Indian ones,[5] and that certainly have not 352 114 [171]

[1] Klein, pp. 88—89.
[2] Klein (1).
[3] For lake and marsh dwelling-places in different parts of the world, see Montelius (1).
[4] Nordenskiöld (18), pp. 8—10.
[5] see Rosen (8), p. 403.

18. — a. Rosen. II.

352 [114] been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks [171] made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. [513] Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of 353 considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly 415 array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize [531] beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

[352] [291] [302] [411] [415] [237] [224] 354

Fig. 170. Man and young woman, Chiriguano, San Luis, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this im- 356 possible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

291 The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of [177] European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] [illegible] (16), p. 189 and fig. 85 (18), pp. 13 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] [illegible] (16), p. 30.

seen any Chiriguano using this typical ancient Andean garment. Ponchos of the cloak type, and robes of the kind used by the Chaco Indians, on the other hand, I have seen worn by the Chiriguano men, who put them on against cold and wet. Formerly the Chiriguano men dressed in the «chiripa», which was a rectangular skirt that was fastened in front to a cord tied round the waist, then passed between the legs, and fixed to the cord above the buttocks. One may still see, here and there, some small boy wearing nothing but this primitive garment. On their heads the men often wear a broad, red, turbanlike frontlet (fig. 194), and, when setting out on long marches, they put on their feet sandals, the straps of which bear distinct resemblance to straps on sandals that have been found in ancient graves on Puna de Jujuy.[1]

Fig. 195. Chiriguano boy with long, flowing hair. San Luis, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

The women also possess sandals, but, like the men, generally walk about barefooted. The women's clothing consists of a loose-fitting, tubular garment made of woollen, or cotton, stuff. It is called «tipoy». The upper part of it is pinned together over the shoulders by means of cactus spines or metal pins, in the manner seen in fig. 190, which leaves the arms free, or the garment may be fastened under the armpits in the way the girl in fig. 194 is wearing it.

Nowadays the men mostly wear their hair bobbed, and with a frontal fringe (fig. 194), but I have seen boys, not fully grown, with long hair, hanging loose down (fig. 195). In former days all the men had long hair, which they gathered on the top of the head, where it was secured with a frontlet, a custom not yet quite discarded in some out-of-the-way parts of the country. The women let their hair grow long, give it a centre parting on the top of the head (fig. 190), plait it into tresses and tie it up, or allow it to hang loose. One may sometimes see girls with short hair (fig. 194), but in such cases the hair has been cut short as a sign that its owner has entered upon her first menstruation. On the death of a near relative it is also the custom of the women to cut off their hair.

Fig. 196. Wooden comb. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 7/8 Eleon. ep. p. Eo.

[1] [illegible] (18), fig. 23; von Rosen (2), fig. 84.

4/8 [footnote 1 appears on p. 200 - - 9 n.]

302 The hair is tended with very neat-looking wooden combs (fig. 196).
[412] Among the Chiriguano I also noticed composite combs of the type used in the Chaco (fig. 85).

[386] Among the men as well as the women, the custom obtains of painting
[824] the face red, the pigment being prepared from Bixa orellana. Many of the men I met in the neighbourhood of San Luis had red-painted the whole face below the eyes, and some of the women had circular red
302 spots, about 3 to 4 cm in diameter, painted on their cheeks. On the
304 other hand, I did not see any tattooed Chiriguano. Instances of tattooing have, however, been noted by Nordenskiöld, who also has seen Chiriguano women who had stained their teeth dark blue with some vegetable extract.[1] In the past, tattooing as well as teeth-staining were commonly practiced by the Chiriguano.

301

Fig. 197. Lip-stud (tembeta) of tin, with inlaid, pinned, turquoise-coloured glass-beads. Chiriguano, Bolivia. *. Rikes. 25. 3. 800.

Another Chiriguano ornament intimately connected with the human body is the lip stud («tembeta»), which is exclusively worn by men and by youths who have attained marriageable age. The Chiriguano lip stud of the present day consists of a hollow tin cylinder with two laminate projections (fig. 197). The cylinder is filled with some waxy substance, into which are embedded a number of small beads of stone, glass or porcelain, usually of a turquoise-blue colour. The lip stud is inserted from the inside, through a hole made in the lower lip, so that its circular, bead-beset, front surface barely shows beyond the skin of the lip. The base of the lip stud, which is slightly concave, then rests against the teeth of the lower jaw. This quaint ornament creates no displeasing impression, but should a Chiriguano take it out, he would look both pitiable and ridiculous, as the saliva then runs through the large hole in the lip. Hence it is considered disgraceful to be seen without the lip stud, and on many occasions I have noticed the women scornfully deriding such men as had sold their lip ornaments. As soon as a man had taken out his lip stud, he generally put his hand to his mouth for concealment until he had time to put in a substitute stud, usually made of wood.

The lip stud that is here shown, which weighs 18.1 grammes, has a base plate 3.4 cm long, and its cylinder is 1 cm high, with a diameter

[1] Nordenskiöld [22], pp. 83, 85 and [18], pp. 187–188.

of 1.1 cm. It is decorated with one large and many small, turquoise-blue beads made of glass or porcelain. 301

Necklaces of stone or glass beads are worn by the women, and even men may occasionally be seen with them. One such necklace (fig. 198), which I bought of a Chiriguano Indian in the San Luis district, consists largely of pierced, cylindrical or laminate, turquois beads of exactly the same kind as I found when excavating the ancient site at Tolomosa in the Tarija valley.[1] The Chiriguano keep all stone beads they happen to pick up on the ground, and also acquire them by barter from other districts. Besides turquoise beads, there are also blue, white, and red glass-beads threaded on this necklace, which to me proved a particularly costly bargain. It is probable that such necklaces as wholly or in part are composed of ancient beads are looked upon as amulets. To this question I shall refer later, in connection with my account of the supposed magical properties of certain Chaco[illegible] objects. [437]

Fig. 198. Necklace of turquoise and glass beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. Tr. Ethnm. 1/3 [illegible]

Fig. 199. Tweezer-like breast ornament of silver. Chiriguano. Cuyupunda, Bolivia. Tr. After Erl. Nordenskiöld. [72] [789]

In the important work entitled «Comparative ethnographical studies», Erland Nordenskiöld describes, from the Chiriguano, an interesting breast ornament called «beiviru» (fig. 199), which I have not myself seen in use. It is of silver, doubled over tweezer-fashion, and worn on a string round the neck. Such tweezers, usually ornamented, are nowadays not put to any practical use, but exclusively worn as ornaments. The leaves of these tweezers are, therefore, sometimes hammered together. On good grounds Nordenskiöld advances his opinion that these ornaments originate from the small tweezers, or pincers, that, already in pre-Spanish times, were used by the Andean Indians for removing hairs of the beard, or 381 174 412 (302)

[1] see Rosen (I), p. 362 and fig. 350: 13–17.

301 (179 412 (302)) other inconvenient hair-growth, and which are still in use among the Chiriguano.[1]

I have noted a circumstance, previously unheeded, that, in my opinion, gives considerable weight to Nordenskiöld's theory as to the true Indian origin of the boivéra ornament. All breast ornaments of this kind have in their upper part a tubular horizontal perforation, open at both ends. In the middle of this barrel, and through the top, there is a hole. Through this barrel and upper hole is run the cord by which the ornament is worn round the neck (fig. 199). This rather peculiar arrangement for fixing the cord on which the ornament is hung, is found in the majority of such ancient Indian hanging ornaments, whistles and flutes of stone, as were meant to be worn a string. As an example, the remarkable ancient Indian stone flute, found in the earth in the vicinity of Iruya,[2] has at one end been bored through (fig. 200) in a manner exactly corresponding to the arrangement for the cord in the boivéra. This cord-fixing adaptation does not, to my knowledge, occur in any European object. For this reason it may surely be considered as very probable, not only that the original use of the boivéra as a pair of tweezers is of Indian origin, but also that the idea of carrying the tweezers on a string round the neck is Indian, and consequently has not originated from those more or less «white» jewellers that nowadays manufacture boivéra ornaments, and sell them to the Indians. I have in another book depicted a fragment of a small, pre-Spanish, ornamented bronze tweezers, which, like the boivéra, has a circular perforation at its upper end,[3] indicating that those tweezers, too, were worn on a cord, and consequently also in all likelihood served as a breast ornament.

[534] [172]

Fig. 200. Two views of stone. Ground-half from Iruya, Bolivia. ½. The detail has marks the hole for fastening a string in the same way as for the breast ornament, fig. 199.

[439]

---

[1] Nordenskiöld (10), no. 8—10, as cited no.
[2] see Rosen (16), pp. 147 and 148.
[3] see Rosen (16), fig. 111.

[p.205]

CHAPTER VIII.

The Chiriguanos (2).

Industries. Cultivated plants. Hunting. Fishing. Vessels for food and drink. Intoxicants and stimulants. Music and dancing. Social order. Customs governing marriages, childbearing, illnesses, death and burial. Character and temperament. Belief in metempsychosis.

The Chiriguano are mainly an agricultural people, but they also do a certain amount of hunting and fishing. Maize is the most important of their cultivated plants, and it is very extensively grown by them. Many other Indian domestic plants are also cultivated, viz. pumpkins, sweet potatoes, beans, mani, cactus with edible fruit (Opuntia), tobacco, cotton, uruku (Bixa orellana), and a reed plant (Arundo donax) for making arrow-shafts. Of imported cultivated plants grown by the Chiriguano, I have seen melons, water melons, sugar cane and oranges. According to Nordenskiöld, they also grow figs and millet,[1] these latter of course also having been introduced by the whites. Nowadays, European spades and hoes are used for loosening the soil. Among wild-growing food plants the algarrobo tree (Prosopis alba) is, to the Chiriguanos, the most important one. The Indians also prepare from the fruit of this tree an intoxicating drink to which they are much addicted.

The Chiriguano larder does not to any great extent depend on hunting the game, but formerly hunting must certainly have been an important source of subsistence. Snaring is, nowadays, the 'only' method of hunting employed by the Chiriguano. The long-bow, the pellet-bow, slings, bird-nets and clubs are still occasionally used in hunting.

In olden times the Indians were good shots with the bow and arrow, and, according to Lizarraga, they then used bows the height of a man.

[1] Nordenskiöld (III), pp. 23 and 24.

411
[714]

[114]

[524]

[126]

[171]

Fig. 201. Riksm. 03. 3. 850. For section, see fig. 203.

Fig. 202. Riksm. 03. 3. 851. For section, see fig. 204.

Longbows. Chiriguano. Bolivia. About 1/7.

On the left wrist they wore a small piece of wood as a protection against the blow of the bowstring.[1]

Curiously enough, the present-day Chiriguano type of bow does not seem to have been exhaustively described by anyone; not even in Schmidt's account of South American bow types,[2] otherwise so exact, is there any mention of the Chiriguano bow. The reason for this may very likely be found in the circumstance that these weapons are said to be of rare occurrence nowadays, and that such few specimens as are still being made, are mostly used as toys and on that account typologically degenerated. Twenty years ago, when I travelled through a part of the Chiriguano country, the bow was, however, not so rarely seen as a hunting weapon as now, and I collected the seven specimens now reposing in the ethnographical section of the Riksmuseum at Stockholm. Beside these, there are two Chiriguano bows brought home by Baron Nordenskiöld, one of which is a toy bow. Two other toy bows that have been brought to Sweden by Nordenskiöld belong to the Gothenburg Museum. This forms the material from which I have compiled the following description of the Chiriguano type of bow.

By their string-fastening arrangement the Chiriguano bows differ from the Chaco-Andean bow types, which latter as a rule have no neck-shaped bow-end projections for the string. On the other hand, all Chiriguano bows that I have studied, even the toy bows, have neck-shaped ends for fastening the string, a circumstance indicating that the Chiriguano bow is no acquisition from Chaco-

[1] de Lizarraga (1), p. 328. From Erl. Nordenskiöld.

[2] Schmidt (1), pp. 1027—1034.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

411

Andean civilization, but is of a type that the Chiriguano themselves brought with them.

The bow staves, of which figs. 201 and 202 represent typical specimens, consist of an exceedingly resilient — though gnarled — kind of wood. As seen from the table here given, the lengths lie between 115 and 145 cm. The longest of the bows examined by me are therefore about 2 dm shorter than a Chiriguano Indian of average height (see table on p. 191), which goes to show that this type of weapon has grown smaller since the days of Lizarraga.

Chiriguano bows.

Riksmuseum catalogue No.	Stave Material	Length of stave, cm	Bow stave centre section	String-fixing arrangement	String material
03. 3. 854	Hard, resilient, gnarled wood	145	Type as in fig. 203	Stave-end pared down to a neck	Twisted rawhide
03. 3. 850	»	143	»	»	»
03. 3. 855	»	136	»	»	»
03. 3. 856	»	135	»	»	»
E. 660	»	123	»	»	»
03. 3. 852	»	119	»	»	»
03. 3. 853	»	115	»	»	»
03. 3. 851	»	119	Type as in fig. 204	»	»

The string side of the Chiriguano bow is plane or very slightly convex, and the front side convex, which gives the stave section the shape shown in fig. 203. Only one of the bows examined, fig. 202, has a differently shaped section, which is seen in fig. 204. It is worthy of remark that two bows (Nos. 03. 3. 850 and 03. 3. 854) are of a low reflex type, i. e., the stave, when the bow is unstrung, assumes a slight curve in the direction opposite the one it has when strung. From the way the string is put on, it is evident that the stringing has not been altered, so that the reflex type is not merely apparent. It is also possible that some of the other Chiriguano bows I have examined have originally been of reflex type, but that the staves, from tight stringing for a long time, have lost their original elasticity. It seems to me, however, most probable that these bows have acquired their reflex character unintentionally. As a rule, the reflex type is

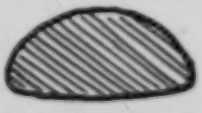


Fig. 203. Section at centre of bow stave, fig. 201. 1/1.

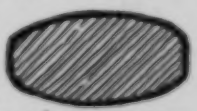


Fig. 204. Section at centre of bow stave, fig. 202. 1/1.

411 unsuited to wooden bows, although, on the other hand, it is useful in the case of built-up bows, and bows made of horn.[1]

411 284 For the purpose of fastening the string, the staves have been given neck-shaped ends, one of which often is longer than the other (fig. 205, a and b). The string, which consists of twisted rawhide, is fastened to the shorter neck end with a knot (fig. 205, a), or a loop, then wound round the other neck end, in the way seen in fig. 205, b. When not in use, the string is slackened on the bow. When the bow is to be used, the stave is stood on the ground, for purchase, when it can be bent as much as is desired, and then the slip-knot (fig. 205, b) is pulled tight. When the bow is strung taut, the slip-knot is locked, so that, when unstringing the bow, one compresses it against the ground in order to slacken the string; the slip-knot is then easily loosened, and the string lengthened as required. When the bow is not being used for shooting, this way of treating it rests the stave, and tends to preserve its elasticity. In shooting, the bow is held with the string-wound part downwards (see figs. 201 and 202).

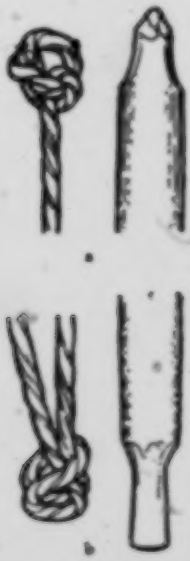


Fig. 205. String ends, and string-end loops of longbow shown in fig. 202. $^{2}/_{3}$.

411 The arrows are long, sometimes as long — or even longer — than the bows. As to their size, and other particulars, this may be seen from figs. 206—214, and the table on p. 211.

In the lancet-shaped heads of arrows of the types seen in figs. 206 and 207, the tang is pushed into a wooden arrow-head socket, the forepart of which is cleft. The rear end of the socket is fitted into the hollow fore end of the reed shaft. The socket is wound with string, so that its cleft part is kept tightly pressed against the tang, which latter often is smeared with beeswax, so as to make it stick firmly in the cleft. In order to give an increased firmness to the string-lashing, this is also heavily waxed, and so is the part of the socket that is fitted in the shaft. Iron arrow-heads [177] of this type have probably been copied from the lanceolate wooden arrow-heads that are still in use among the Chanés.[2]

[1] Longnon and Walmond (1), pp. 48—49.
[2] Vide arrow-head, fig. 6 A, Nordenskiöld (12).

All arrow-shafts have the forepart strengthened by a waxed lashing of bast or string, of a width from 5 to 11 cm. The rear end of the shaft is generally also reinforced with a waxed lashing, applied immediately above the string notch. This latter lashing is usually about 1 cm wide. In those of the arrows here reproduced that seem to be without notch-end lashing, this has become detached, except in the case of the arrow in fig. 40, which never was provided with a lashing of this kind.

I have mentioned in the foregoing that the Chiriguano cultivate a kind of reed plant (Arundo donax) in order to obtain therefrom a suitable material for making arrow-shafts. In making a reed into an arrow-shaft, the arrow-head is fitted to the thicker end of the reed (the lower part of the growing reed), because in this way, when the arrow is being discharged, the joints glide more easily over the bow stave than if the thinner end of the reed were turned to the front. The reed joints are, moreover, smoothed down with some sharp instrument in order to lessen the friction between arrow and stave. Arrow-shafts of a certain very light kind of wood are used by the Chiriguano of San Luis. Such wooden shafts I only saw on the long bird and fish arrows. I have never observed either arrow poison, or feathering on arrows, among the Chiriguano, but Nordenskiöld has seen feathered Chiriguano arrows.[1]

For bird-shooting the Chiriguano use arrows with club-shaped, wooden heads. The striking-face of this blob-head is usually slightly conical, and sometimes given a small, cylindrical projection (fig. 212). This type of arrow-head has been constructed for the purpose of preventing the arrow — if it misses its object — from fixing itself in the stem or branch of a tree, and of making it instead drop to the ground. As birds frequently are sitting high aloft in the trees, the hunter would not have much chance of recovering his arrow, on missing his bird,

Fig. [illegible] Fig. [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
Arrows with [illegible] iron heads, and reed shafts. Chiriguano, San Luis, Bolivia. [illegible]

[1] Nordenskiöld [illegible], p. [illegible].

[Text continues on p. 212]

[P. 210]

411
284

Fig. [illegible] cp. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] cp. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] cp. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] cp. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] cp. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] cp. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] cp. [illegible]

Arrows with points of hard, heavy wood, and shafts of reed. Chiriguano, San Luis, Bolivia. No. [illegible]

Arrows for fish-shooting, with two-pronged points of hard, heavy wood, and reed shafts. Chiriguano, San Luis, Bolivia. No. [illegible]

411

The Chiriguano arrows in figs. 206—214. Synoptic table.

Fig.	Head					Socket		Shafting	Shaft			Length of arrow, cm	Mode of using
	Material	Shape	Length beyond socket, cm	Length beyond shaft, cm	Arrow poison	Material	Length beyond shaft, cm		Material	Length cm	Feathers		
206	Iron.	Lanceolate with tang; no barbs.	14.5	—	None	Wood	8	The tang is stuck into a cleft in the socket. Socket fitted into a hole in the shaft.	Reed	132.5	None	155	For hunting large game such as jaguar and ostrich; also as war weapon.
207	»	»	11.5	—	»	»	11.8	»	»	106.4	»	189.1	»
208	Heavy hard wood.	Needle-like, with triangular section; no barbs.	—	35.2	»	—	—	Arrow-head stuck into a hole in the shaft.	»	78	»	113.8	For hunting various middle-sized game.
209	»	Needle-like, with square section.	—	33.6	»	—	—	»	»	82.9	»	118.5	»
210	»	Needle-like, with irregular section. A row of barbs.	—	21.8	»	—	—	»	»	100.3	»	122.1	Also used for shooting fish.
211	»	Needle-like, with triangular section. Barbed along all three edges.	—	32.3	»	—	—	»	»	103.8	»	136.1	»
212	»	Club-like, with projecting stout pin in middle of striking surface.	—	8.5	»	—	—	»	»	136	»	144.5	Bird-shooting.
213	»	Two needle-like heads with triangular section. The shorter head is barbed.	—	31.5 30.8	»	—	—	»	»	132.4	»	163.9	For fishing.
214	»	»	—	22.5 19.1	»	—	—	»	»	103.6	»	124.1	»

411
223

if the arrow had not been given such a blob-shaped head. The force with which this lumpy head strikes its object, is sufficient to kill a middling-sized bird, provided the range is not too wide. The projection is intended for penetrating the feathers of the bird, so that the arrow shall not glance off the smooth plumage if the arrow should strike the bird at too acute an angle. These lumpy-headed arrows do not, as a rule, pierce the skin of the animal hit, which may be of advantage in killing small game.

411
177
174

The pellet-bow is also used by the Chiriguano. Whether it forms a constituent part of South American culture, or whether it has been introduced from India or Europe, is a question not conclusively settled. For my part I consider it probable that also in South America this weapon is an independent invention, but that the type (especially as regards its chambering) possibly may have been subjected to influence from the *European* pellet-throwing crossbow.[1] The fact of the pellet-bow being, apparently, of more common occurrence on the Chaco than elsewhere, may be explained from proximity to the Andes, and influence from Andean civilization. Within the area of ancient Peruvian culture, the stone sling was the most important distance weapon, and we may be quite sure that the nations then inhabiting the wooded spurs of the eastern Andes got to know the stone slings of the mountain folk. In forest regions, however, slings are unpractical weapons, as, in the whirling preliminary to the throw, they are apt to get caught in tree branches. The idea of using pebbles as projectiles instead of arrows, has however been adopted by the forest-dwelling tribes, who have tried to convert it into shooting with the bow. A stone that has been shot away does not need to be retrieved, but the loss of an arrow is always a serious matter! To my mind, it is in this manner that the pellet-bow of South America has originated. In districts where there are no stones, as for instance the greater part of the Chaco, clay pellets are used instead of stones.

As an argument in support of the view that the pellet-bow is not originally a South American weapon, it has been pointed out that it is not found in Peru, Central America, or Mexico. Its absence in Peru is easily explained, as this country is in its greater part almost entirely treeless, so that here the stone sling would be a weapon so infinitely superior to the pellet-bow that the use of the latter would be purpose-

[1] For discussion of this matter, vide: Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 50—53. von Rosen (5), pp. 170—180. Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 96—30.

Fig. 215. A Chiriguano Indian with a fish spear. Gran Lain, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

less. For the rest, the pellet-shooting long-bow is, compared with the pellet-shooting crossbow of the Old World, in any case a pretty poor weapon, both for war purposes and for hunting, which may explain its inconsiderable distribution even in well-wooded districts. Where this weapon nowadays occurs, it is only used for killing small birds, for target practice, and as a toy.

Fishing is carried on in the water courses with which the country is sparingly supplied. The Indians use hooks, nets, fish traps and weirs. These fishing methods are, however, almost exclusively used for fishing in rivers or largish bodies of water. In shallow streams and rivulets, the fish are shot with arrows, or speared with a two-pronged fish-gig. Fishing with poison is also said to be made use of.[1]

A fish trap consists of a large, bottle-shaped calabash, wide in its lower part, but with a narrow neck. The trap, which is placed under the lee of a few boughs stuck into the river bottom, must not be set in deeper water than makes it possible for a wading person to reach the neck of the calabash. Ground bait, consisting of crushed, sour, maize, is put into the calabash. The fish will then collect inside the calabash, and the fisherman has only to carefully raise the trap out of the water. In the sandy river banks ponds are dug, and connected by a small channel with the river. When fish have collected in the ponds, the connecting channel is blocked up, the pond emptied of water, and the fish gathered up.[2]

Fig. 216. Detail of the fish spear in fig. 215. The prongs are of hard wood. Chiriguano. San Lain, Bolivia. Coll. Bolivia, No. 3 [illegible]

Among the Chiriguano Indians I visited, fish-shooting was a common practice. For this they used their smallest and weakest hunting bows. But it is also possible that those light bows I saw being used for shooting fish with, were exclusively employed for that purpose. If so, then the bow in fig. 202 is a fish bow. The arrows are long, and are usually provided with

[1] [illegible] (18), p. [illegible].
[2] [illegible] (18), pp. [illegible] and [illegible].

411 [226] two barbed prongs made of some hard wood (figs. 213 and 214). The arrow in fig. 210, which has only one prong, is used both in hunting and [824] for fish-shooting. The Chiriguano also use fish arrows pointed with a number of cactus spines.[1]

The fish spear has in later times become a very scarce implement with the Chiriguano. The only specimen obtained, as far as I know, is the one brought home by me, and now belonging to the Riksmuseum in Stockholm (figs. 215 and 216). Erland Nordenskiöld, who has compiled [114] a map of the distribution of the fish spear in South America, has been kind enough to inform me that the only mention he has come across in the literature, concerning its occurrence among the Chiriguano, is to be found in the account of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's unsuccessful expedition against these Indians.[2]

The fish spear I came upon among the Chiriguano in the neighbourhood of San Luis, has a 260 cm long shaft, made of some light kind of wood, very free from knots,[3] at one end of which two barbed wooden prongs are lashed on by means of a thin leather thong. The full lengths of the prongs are, respectively, 32.1 and 31.5 cm, and they project 20.0 cm from the shaft. One of the points has, however, been of a somewhat greater length, but has got blunted off. Both points have seven barbs on their outer sides. To ensure a perfectly firm fastening of the prongs, the fore end of the shaft has been wrapped with a piece of cloth, and over this the prongs have been lashed on.

323 I have already enumerated the various kinds of Chiriguano household [462] furniture. Among them, clay vessels hold a very important place. The Chiriguano are clever potters. It is only the women, though, who work at this industry.

In fig. 217 we see a potter's workshop, with a number of finished and unfinished pieces of earthenware. At the hut entrance is sitting a woman, who, with a piece of stick, is giving a finish to a large pot, which has been built up of rolls of clay, and is still unburnt.

[126] In figs. 218—225 I have reproduced some typical Chiriguano clay vessels that I collected at Aguayenda. These vessels are particularly well made. The peculiar rim warts seen on the hanging vessel in fig. 225,

---

[1] Nordenskiöld (III), fig. 13 a.
[2] Acosta (II), Part I, Chap. XV.
[3] Unfortunately, during the transportation home, the handle was unknown to me, and into two parts.

Fig. 217. A pottery workshop. Chiriguano. Itiibi. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

323
342

[P 216 is blank]

323 counterparts of which are found on many ancient Peruvian clay vessels, have been more fully described by me in »En förgängen värld«.[1] The cord by which this vessel was suspended passed round the edge, and then upwards, between the points of the rim warts. At each wart a hole has been pierced through the rim of the vessel, but these perforations are so very small that they cannot very well have been used for fixing any string by which to hang up the vessel.

Besides the clay pots here reproduced — often graceful of shape and beautifully painted — there are also plain, unpainted clay vessels for cooking and other kitchen purposes. Chiriguano ceramics are of an exceedingly great variety as to form, and many of the shapes are identical with those of clay vessels found in ancient Indian graves and in the ground of ancient dwelling-sites in those regions of the Andes that border on the present Chiriguano country.

824 415 Next to clay vessels, bottles and bowls made of calabash may be said to predominate among the household furniture of the Chiriguano. The bowls are often provided with pokerwork ornament (fig. 226).

273 On festivals — and also usually, though not always — the Chiriguano drink an intoxicating liquor (»chicha«, in Chiriguano: »cangui«), which they prepare from maize. In [415] huge wooden mortars the maize is [531] pounded to flour, which is poured into large clay vessels filled with → water. This mixture is made to boil, and when it has cooled down, lumps of chewed maize dough are put into it to produce fermentation. These masticated mouthfuls of maize are usually allowed to dry in the sun, before use, and are then frequently spread on a [114] bedstead (fig. 190). This method of preparing maize beer naturally

Fig. 218. A jug for holding maize beer. Earthenware. Bottom part and handle unpainted. The vase painted brownish yellow, with ornaments in dark brown (marked in black) and red (marked in dots lines). Chiriguano. Aguayrenda, Bolivia. [illegible] Rosen, op. p. [illegible]

[1] von Rosen (I), p. 344 et seq.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

273
[114] strikes one as particularly disgusting, and therefore, after I had got to know how the brew was made, I could never again bring myself to drink this beverage, which in itself is rather palatable. As I have already mentioned, an intoxicating liquor is also made from the fruit of the algarrobo tree. The beer made by the Chiriguano is very highly prized by
276 them. But, on the other hand, it does not appear that tobacco is used

415
531

Fig. xxix. A jug for maize beer. ⅓. Bolivia. Cp. p. 8 fig.

Fig. xxx. A maize beer decanter. ⅓. Bolivia. Cp. p. 8 fig.

Fig. xxxi. A maize beer bowl. ⅓. Bolivia. Cp. p. 8 fig.

Fig. xxxii. A maize beer bowl with four holes through the rim, in which strings can be fixed. ⅓. Bolivia. (No analogue elsewhere.)

Painted earthenware vessels. The ground-colour of the vessels in figs. xxvi and xxx is yellowish-white; of those in figs. xxvii and xxix, a brownish-yellow. The ornamentation is in dark brown (from oxidized quite black) and red (marked with fine lines). The inner sides and bottoms of the vessels are unpainted.
Chiriguano, Aguaymanda, Bolivia.

415
531
→
276
←
534
←

by them to any considerable extent; I myself never saw any Chiriguano smoking.

The Chiriguano are very fond of music and dancing. Their musical instruments consist of a kind of primitive trumpets of cow-horn, reed flutes, whistles and drums.

An interesting Chiriguano whistling pipe is here reproduced, in fig. 117. It consists of a flat piece of some hard and heavy wood; is 18.5 cm long, 3.6 cm wide, and has a section as set out in the figure. It has, pierced through its longitudinal axis, a tubular perforation, 7 to 9 mm in diameter, and open at both ends, running from end to end of the instrument. In the centre of its upper edge there are two, somewhat smaller, holes through which is threaded the string which allows of the pipe being worn round the neck as a breast ornament. The carrying cord running through two holes, side by side, probably indicates that the pipe was meant to hang horizontally on the breast. If there had been only one hole for the cord, the pipe would have tilted one way or the other, like the beam of a pair of scales. The pipe is designed for blowing on in the

Fig. 115. Food bowl of earthenware, inside and bottom unpainted. The rim of a painted yellowish white, with ornaments painted in dark brown (alcohol black) and not impressed by the hand. Chiriguano, Aguaytimio, Bolivia. ⅓ Rosen. 15 3. Sch.

Fig. 116. Hanging bowl, for hanging small articles. Earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. The rim painted yellowish white, with ornaments in dark brown. Chiriguano, Aguaytimio, Bolivia. ⅓ Rosen. 15 3. Sch.

(301)
←

Fig. 117. Hanging bowl, for hanging small articles. Earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. Otherwise painted yellowish white, with ornaments in dark brown (alcohol black) and not impressed by the hand. Chiriguano, Aguaytimio, Bolivia. ⅓ Rosen. 15 3. Sch.

534 same way as Pan pipes, and naturally *gives out tones, when one end of the tube is closed, different to those producible with both ends open.* The pipe is open at both ends, therefore, not only because this allows the instrument to be easily cleaned from dust, dirt and saliva, but also because *this construction gives the possibility of a greater number of tones.*

531 415 624 529 301 531

Fig. 226. Bowl, of earthenware, ornamented, with polychromatic ornamentation. Chiriguano Guaraní, Bolivia. $^{1}/_{3}$ Scale. 05. 3. 850.

Fig. 227. Whistle, made of hard, black wood. Incised ornamentation. The whistle near one end of the tube have been filled up with a waxy substance. Chiriguano, Aguarenda, Bolivia. $^{1}/_{3}$ Scale. 05. 3. 848.

539 171 That the Indians occasionally also give a thought to keeping dust, etc., from getting into their whistling pipes, is, besides, evident from the pipe shown in fig. 228, which is an Araucan whistle from Cautín, Chile, a tubular piece of wood, 27.5 cm long. A common brass thimble is fitted over the lower end of the pipe, and for its top end there is a small, well made stopper of woollen-yarn, connected to the pipe with a string, so as not to get lost when taken out for the whistle to be blown. Concerning this stopper, Eric Boman, who has reproduced the pipe in one of his works, writes as follows: »Este tapón sirve para cerrar la boca del silbato, cuando éste no se usa, e impedir que entren allí tierra y otras impurezas.«[1] »This stopper serves to keep the mouth of the whistle closed when the latter is not being used, and prevents dust and other dirt from entering.«

Fig. 228. Whistle. Chief of Cautín Chile. From Boman.

Objects of tubular form, in construction corresponding to the one here reproduced in fig. 227, have been found in ancient Peruvian graves, and not only the Chiriguano, but also many other tribes now inhabiting areas in the neighbourhood of what once was the Inca domain, are still

[1] Boman II, p. 508.

534
171

using whistles of this type.[1] Nordenskiöld has advanced a theory as to the origin of the Serére whistle, which is highly interesting. On the ground of the similarity of construction that this type of whistle has to a balance beam shown in fig. 229, with its cords for weights and load still in preservation, found in Peru, Nordenskiöld is of the opinion that the Serére whistle is probably the beam of a balance, but that its original use has been forgotten.[2] By blowing, in play, into one end of such a balance beam, a tone was produced. This way of whistle-blowing gradually became widespread and popular, and, eventually, whistles were manufactured that were of a construction similar to that of the balance beams of the ancients. More and more the balances ceased to be used as such, and finally it was altogether forgotten that the whistle had been made as a copy of the balance beam.

534
171
174
114

Fig. 229. Scale, with a wooden beam. Probably an imperfection from a whistle of Serére type, which forms the bar of the balance. Ground find from Peru. ½. Illustration from E. Nordenskiöld.

On my first acquaintance with this theory of the Serére whistle having originated from the balance beam, it seemed to me so well grounded that I accepted it.[3] But afterwards I quite changed my opinion in this question, for reasons set out below. The ancient Peruvian balance referred to by Nordenskiöld is undoubtedly of a very unpractical construction. Like the Serére whistle, the balance beam is *bored through from end to end*, and provided with *two holes, close together, for its suspension*. Even if in rough and primitive weighing there may occasionally be a certain advantage (a saving of time) in using a balance that is not too sensitive, suspending a balance from two

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), p. 185.
[2] Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 187—188.
[3] see Rosen (8), pp. 000—000.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chirigwasa SF10

534
171
174
114

points of support, in the way shown in fig. 229, is unsuitable, as it would enable the holder of the balance to influence, with an imperceptible movement of his hand, the balancing of the beam. Another point which strikes me as peculiar, is, that the string by which weights and objects for weighing are suspended, should be made to pass through a hole that runs the whole length of the longitudinal axis of the beam. A perforation of such a length obviously represents a good deal of labour, which, moreover, in the case of a balance beam, would be quite unnecessary. Surely the simpler plan would have been to fix a string through a small hole at each end of the beam.

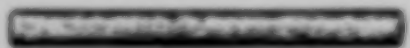


Fig. 230. Ancient Peruvian wooden whistle(?). ¼. From Nordenskiöld. One end of the tube has been stopped up, possibly an weight of the whistle having been found too heavy. Other whistles with both ends open. All other known Old Peruvian objects of this type have both ends open.

The above were my reasons for beginning to form the opinion that the Old Peruvian balance, fig. 229, had been rigged up to do duty as a *whistle*. A proper balance not being at hand, a tubular whistle, fig. 230, was pressed into service. In this way the ancient Peruvian balance, fig. 229, would — if my theory is correct — simply prove to be *a whistle that had been provisionally fixed up as a weighing instrument.*

Fig. 231. Old Peruvian scale. From Stern.

It is not impossible that this way of hastily improvising a balance — rather a dull one, admittedly, but usable for *rough weighing* — was not infrequently employed. When I acquainted Nordenskiöld with my theory as to the constructional purpose of the balance reproduced in fig. 229, he had the great kindness to send me all reproductions of Old Peruvian balances that were in his possession. Three of these retain the cord by which the beam was suspended (the pointing cord), and *in these three, this cord is fixed through a hole in the centre of the beam*, fig. 231. Two of the balances are provided with cords on which to hang the weights and the objects to be weighed. *These cords are not taken through the full length of the balance beam, but attached to it by means of holes bored*

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 131. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the pining and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the pining cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole («les angles inférieurs sont aussi percés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 129, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded «tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] In the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy (note (1) p. 130, fig. 11).

[3] see Rosen (8).

846 [844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 756 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 763 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chaco — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of unclean habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [934] Chorotí, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a [171] rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chaco are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chaco, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 648 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Kirchhoff (1), p. 130.
[2] Nordenskiöld (16).

gave regular battle to the whites. This battle, in which about 5,000 Chiriguano Indians took part, was fought at Curuyqui, on the tableland of Beyuovis. The result of the struggle was long undecided, but the Indians were at length compelled to give way before the superior weapons of the whites. 181 648

According to a Chiriguano legend, man's soul, some time after corporeal death, comes to the abode of the great spirit Tumpá, where it enjoys to the full everything in which it delighted during its earthly existence. But no joy is permanent. When the soul has spent its allotted time with Tumpá, it is obliged to return to the world and there enter into the body of a fox. When the fox dies, the soul moves into a rat, and, when this animal dies, into a branch of an old tree in the forest. The tree ages, withers away and dies and, as the branch decays, the soul, too, gradually perishes. When the branch has finally become mould, the flame of the soul is extinguished for ever. 775

797

Fig. 232. A large wooden cross raised over the Franciscan mission for Chiriguanos, at Agapyonda. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[pp. 226-268 not processed]

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

[p. 269]

List of the literary sources referred to in this book. 113

(1) *DE ACOSTA, J.* HISTORIA NATURAL Y MORAL DE LAS INDIAS. SEVILLA 1590. REPRINTED IN MADRID 1894.

(1) *D'ALVIELLA, G.* LA MIGRATION DES SYMBOLES. PARIS 1891.

(1) *D'ANGHIERA* OR *ANGLERIUS.* SEE PETRUS MARTYR.

(1) *ANKERMANN, B.* DIE AFRIKANISCHEN MUSIKINSTRUMENTE. ETHNOLOG. NOTIZBLATT; VOL. 2. BERLIN 1901.

(1) *BOGGIANI, G.* COMPENDIO DE ETNOGRAFIA PARAGUAYA. ASUNCION 1900.

(1) *BOLINDER, G.* IJCA-INDIANERNAS KULTUR. ALINGSAS 1918.

(2) — BUSINTANA-INDIANERNAS MUSIKBAGE. YMER; 1917. STOCKHOLM.

(1) *BOMAN, E.* ENTERRATORIO PREHISTORICO EN ARROYO DEL MEDIO. HISTORIA; VOL. 1. BUENOS AIRES 1903.

(2) — HALLAZGO ARQUEOLOGICO A 6,100 METRES DE ALTURA. HISTORIA; VOL. 1. BUENOS AIRES 1903.

(3) — CEMENTERIO INDIGENA EN VILUCO (MENDOZA) POSTERIOR A LA CONQUISTA. ANALES DEL MUSEO NACIONAL DE HISTORIA NATURAL DE BUENOS AIRES; VOL. 30. BUENOS AIRES 1920.

(4) — ANTIQUITES DE LA REGION ANDINE DE LA REPUBLIQUE ARGENTINE ET DU DESERT D'ATACAMA. MISSION SCIENTIFIQUE G. DE CREQUI MONTFORT ET E. SENECHAL DE LA GRANGE. PARIS 1908.

(1) *BUSCHAN, G.* ILLUSTRIERTE VOLKERKUNDE. STUTTGART 1910.

(1) *BOVING-PETERSEN, J. O.* AND *DREYER, W.* DJURVARLDEN. TRANSLATION. STOCKHOLM 1900—1904.

(1) *DEL CAMPANA, D.* NOTIZIE INTORNO AI CHIRIGUANI. ARCHIVO PER L'ANTROPOLOGIA E LA ETNOLOGIA; VOL. 32. FLORENCE 1902.

(1) *CHERVIN, A.* ANTHROPOLOGIE BOLIVIENNE. MISSION SCIENTIFIQUE G. DE CREQUI MONTFORT ET E. SENECHAL DE LA GRANGE. PARIS 1908.

(1) *COMAJUNCOSA, A.* SEE *CORRADO, A. M.* AND *COMAJUNCOSA, A.*

(1) *CORRADO, A. M.* AND *COMAJUNCOSA, A.* EL COLEGIO FRANCISCANO DE TARIJA Y SUS MISIONES. QUARACCHI 1884.

(1) *CREVAUX, J.* VOYAGES DANS L'AMERIQUE DE SUD. PARIS 1883.

(1) *DONALDSON, T.* MOQUI PUEBLO INDIANS OF ARIZONA AND PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO. EXTRA CENSUS BULLETIN. ELEVENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES. WASHINGTON 1893.

(1) *DREYER, W.* SEE *BOVING-PETERSEN, J. O.* AND *DREYER, W.*

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

113

(1) *DUCCI, P. F. Z.* LOS TOBAS DE TACCAGALE. BUENOS AIRES 1904.
(1) *VON DUBEN, G.* OM LAPPLAND OCH LAPPARNE, FORETRADESVIS DE SVENSKE. STOCKHOLM 1873.
(1) *ENGEL, C.* MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. LONDON 1908.
(1) *FONTANA, L. J.* EL GRAN CHACO. BUENOS AIRES 1881.
(1) *FRIC, V.* EINE PILCOMAYO-REISE IN DEN CHACO CENTRAL. GLOBUS; VOL. 89. BRAUNSCHWEIG 1906.
(1) *FRIES, R. E.* ZUR KENNTNIS DER ALPINEN FLORA IM NORDLICHEN ARGENTINIEN. NOVA ACTA REGIÆ SOCIETATIS SCIENTIARUM UPSALENSIS; SER. 4. VOL. 1. UPPSALA 1905.
(2) — ZUR KENNTNIS DER PHANEROGAMENFLORA DER GRENZGEBIETE ZWISCHEN BOLIVIA UND ARGENTINIEN, 1—4. KUNGL. VET. AKAD:S ARKIV FOR BOTANIK; VOLS. 5—8. STOCKHOLM 1906—1908.
(3) — MYXOMYCETEN VON ARGENTINIEN UND BOLIVIA. IBIDEM; VOL. 1. STOCKHOLM 1903.
(4) — BEITRAGE ZUR KENNTNIS DER ORNITHOPHILIE IN DER SUDAMERIKANISCHEN FLORA. IBIDEM; VOL. 1. STOCKHOLM 1903.
(5) — EINE LEGUMINOSE MIT TRIMORPHEN BLUTEN UND FRUCHTEN. IBIDEM; VOL. 3. STOCKHOLM 1904.
(6) — UBER EINIGE GASTEROMYCETEN AUS BOLIVIA UND ARGENTINIEN. IBIDEM; VOL. 8. STOCKHOLM 1909.
(7) — MORPHOLOGISCH-ANATOMISCHE NOTIZEN UBER ZWEI SUDAMERIKANISCHE LIANEN. BOTANISKA STUDIER TILLAGNADE F. R. KJELLMAN. UPPSALA 1906.
(8) — EN FASCIERAD PELAR-KAKTE. SVENSK BOTANISK TIDSKRIFT; VOL. 4. STOCKHOLM 1911.
(1) *FROBENIUS, L.* VOLKERKUNDE IN CHARAKTERBILDERN. HANNOVER 1902.
(1) *FRYKLUND, D.* AFRIKANSKA MUSIKINSTRUMENT I SUNDSVALLS LAROVERKS ETNOGRAFISKA SAMLINGAR. SUNDSVALL 1915.
(1) *FRODIN, O.* AND *NORDENSKIOLD, E.* UBER ZWIRNEN UND SPINNEN BEI DEN INDIANERN SUDAMERIKAS. GOTEBORG 1918.
(1) *GRUBB, W. B.* AN UNKNOWN PEOPLE IN AN UNKNOWN LAND. LONDON 1911.
(1) *GRONBECH, V.* PRIMITIV RELIGION. POPULARA ETNOLOGISKA SKRIFTER UTGIVNA UNDER REDAKTION AV PROFESSOR C. V. HARTMAN; 12. STOCKHOLM 1915.
(1) *HAMY, E. T.* GALERIE AMERICAINE DU MUSEE D'ETHNOGRAPHIE DU TROCADERO, CHOIX DE PIECES ARCHEOLOGIQUES ET ETHNOGRAPHIQUES; PART 2. PARIS 1897.
(2) — DECADES AMERICAINES. REVUE D'ETHNOGRAPHIE. 1895.
(1) *HAWTREY, S. H. C.* THE LENGUA INDIANS OF THE PARAGUAYAN CHACO. THE JOURNAL OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND; VOL. 31. LONDON 1901.
(1) *HERODOTOS.* HERODOTOS' HISTORIA. TRANSLATED BY CLAES LJNDSKOG. STOCKHOLM 1920.
(1) *HERRMANN, W.* DIE ETHNOGRAPHISCHEN ERGEBNISSE DER DEUTSCHEN PILCOMAYOEXPEDITION. ZEITSCHRIFT FUR ETHNOLOGIE; EDITION 40. BERLIN 1908.
(1) *HILDEBRAND, H.* AND *VON PFLUGK-HARTTUNG, J.* VARLDSHISTORIA. STOCKHOLM 1912.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

113

(2) *HOLMES, W. H.* ABORIGINAL POTTERY OF THE EASTERN UNITED STATES. TWENTIETH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY. WASHINGTON 1903.
(1) *HOMEROS.* HOMEROS' ILIAD. FRAN GREKISKAN AV ERLAND LAGERLOF, STOCKHOLM 1912.
(1) *HUNT, I. R.* EL CHOROTI O YOFUAHA. REVISTA DEL MUSEO DE LA PLATA; VOL. 23. LIVERPOOL 1915.
(1) *JIJON Y CAAMANO, J.* CONTRIBUCION AL CONOCIMIENTO DE LOS ABORIGINES DE LA PROVINCIA DE IMBABURA EN LA REPUBLICA DEL ECUADOR. ESTUDIOS DE PREHISTORIA AMERICANA; II. MADRID.
(1) *JOYCE, T. A.* SOUTH AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGY. LONDON 1912.
(1) *KARSTEN, R.* INDIAN DANCES IN THE GRAN CHACO (S. AMERICA). HELSINGFORS 1915.
(2) — NAGOT OM GRAN CHACO, DESS NATUR OCH FOLK. TERRA 1915. HELSINGFORS 1915.
(3) — DER URSPRUNG DER INDIANISCHEN VERZIERUNG IN SÜDAMERIKA. ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ETHNOLOGIE; 1916. BERLIN.
(4) — STUDIES IN SOUTH AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGY. I. ÖVERSIKT AV FINSKA VETENSKAPS-SOCIETETENS FORHANDLINGAR; VOL. 62. HELSINGFORS 1920.
(5) — BEITRAGE ZUR SITTENGESCHICHTE DER SÜDAMERIKANISCHEN INDIANER. DREI ABHANDLUNGEN. ACTA ACADEMIÆ ABOENSIS; HUMANIORA 1: 4. ABO 1920.
(1) *KATE, TEN, H.* SEE (1): *TEN KATE, H.*
(1) *KERSTEN, L.* DIE INDIANERSTAMME DES GRAN CHACO BIS ZUM AUSGANGE DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS. INTERNATIONALES ARCHIV FÜR ETHNOGRAPHIE; VOL. 17. LEIDEN 1904.
(1) *KLEIN, E.* STENALDERSLIV. STOCKHOLM 1920.
(1) *KOCH (GRÜNBERG), T.* DIE LENGUAS-INDIANER IN PARAGUAY. GLOBUS; VOL. 78. BRAUNSCHWEIG 1900.
(2) — DIE GUAIKURU-GRUPPE. MITTHEILUNGEN DER ANTHROPOLOGISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT IN WIEN; VOL. 33. WIEN 1903.
(3) — ZWEI JAHRE UNTER DEN INDIANERN. BERLIN 1909.
(1) *KRICKEBERG, W.* AMERIKA. ILLUSTRIERTE VOLKERKUNDE (UTGIVEN AV GEORG BUSCHAN), P. 29 ET SEQ. STUTTGART 1910.
(1) *LANGE, G.* MAP OF RIVER PILCOMAYO FROM PARALLEL 22° S. TO THE RIVER PARAGUAY. 1906. PLACE OF PUBL. NOT GIVEN.
(1) *LEHMANN-NITSCHE, R.* ESTUDIOS ANTROPOLOGICAS SOBRE LOS CHIRIGUANOS, CHOROTES, MATACOS, Y TOBAS. ANALES DEL MUSEO DE LA PLATA; VOL. 1. BUENOS AIRES 1908.
(2) — VOCABULARIO CHOROTE O SOLOTE. REVISTA DEL MUSEO DE LA PLATA; VOL. 17. BUENOS AIRES 1910.
(3) — ETUDES ANTHROPOLOGIQUES SUR LES INDIENS TAKSHIK (GROUPE GUAICURU) DU CHACO ARGENTIN. IBIDEM; VOL. 11. LA PLATA 1904.
(4) — CATALOGO DE LAS ANTIGUEDADES DE LA PROVINCIA DE JUJUY, CONSERVADAS EN EL MUSEO DE LA PLATA. IBIDEM; VOL. 11. LA PLATA 1902.
(1) *LINDMAN, C. A. M.* NAGRA BILDER FRAN DEN SYDAMERIKANSKA VILDMARKEN EL GRAN CHACO. YMER; 1890. STOCKHOLM.
(2) — DEN STORA VILDMARKEN EL GRAN CHACO. GLEERUPSKA BIBLIOTEKET; AVD. 2, GEOGRAFIEN 3. LUND 1911—1913.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

113

(1) *DE LIZARRAGA, R.* DESCRIPCION BREVE DE TODA LA TIERRA DEL PERU, TULUMAN, RIO DE LA PLATA Y CHILE. NUEVA BIBLIOTECA DE AUTORES ESPANOLES; VOL. 13. MADRID 1909. WRITTEN 1609.

(1) *LONGMAN, C. J.* AND *WALROND, H.* ARCHERY. THE BADMINTON LIBRARY. LONDON 1894.

(1) *LOZANO, P.* DESCRIPCION CHOROGRAPHICA DEL TERRENO, RIOS, ARBOLES Y ANIMALES DE LAS DILATADISIMAS PROVINCIAS DEL GRAN CHACO GUALAMBA: Y DE LOS RITOS Y COSTUMBRES DE LAS INNUMERABLES NACIONES BARBARAS E INFIELES QUE LE HABITAN. CORDOBA 1733.

(1) *VON LUSCHAN, F.* AFRIKA. ILLUSTRIERTE VOLKERKUNDE UTGIVEN AV G. BUSCHAN; P. 257 ET SEQ. STUTTGART 1910.

(1) *LONNBERG, E.* ON A COLLECTION OF BIRDS FROM NORTH-WESTERN ARGENTINA AND THE BOLIVIAN CHACO. THE IBIS; 1903. LONDON.

(1) — ON A COLLECTION OF SNAKES FROM NORTH-WESTERN ARGENTINE AND BOLIVIA CONTAINING NEW SPECIES. ANNALS AND MAGAZINE OF NATURAL HISTORY; SER. 7. VOL. 10. 1902. LONDON.

(1) *MC GUIRE.* PIPES AND SMOKING CUSTOMS OF THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES. REPORT SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. WASHINGTON 1899. (AFTER ERL. NORDENSKIOLD).

(1) *DE MATIENZO, J.* MEMORIA DEL LICENCIADO MATIENZO AL EXCELENTISSIMO SENOR DON FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO VISORREY DEL TAN CERCA DEL ASIENTO DE LA PROVINCIA DE LOS CHARCAS, SOBRE EL LABRAR DE LAS MINAS. COLLECCION DE DOCUMENTES INEDITOS; VOL. 24. MADRID 1875.

(1) *MEAD, C. W.* THE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE INCAS. SUPPLEMENT TO AMERICAN MUSEUM JOURNAL; VOL. 3. 1903. NEW YORK.

(1) *MONTELIUS, O.* BONING, GRAV OCH TEMPEL. ANTIKVARISK TIDSKRIFT FOR SVERIGE; PART 21, NO. 1. STOCKHOLM 1915.

(1) *MOORE, C. B.* SOME ABORIGINAL SITES ON GREEN RIVER, KENTUCKY. CERTAIN ABORIGINAL SITES ON LOWER OHIO RIVER. ADDITIONAL INVESTIGATION ON MISSISSIPPI RIVER. JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA; VOL. 16. PHILADELPHIA 1916.

(1) — ANTIQUITIES OF THE ST. FRANCIS, WHITE, AND BLACK RIVERS, ARKANSAS. PART I, II. IBIDEM; VOL. 14. PHILADELPHIA 1910.

(1) — ABORIGINAL SITES ON TENNESSEE RIVER. IBIDEM; VOL. 16. PHILADELPHIA 1915.

(1) *NEUMANN, K. J.* DE HELLENISTISKA STATERNA OCH ROMERSKA REPUBLIKEN. TRANSLATED BY A. JACOBSSON. VARLDSHISTORIA PUBLISHED BY H. HILDEBRAND OCH J. VON PFLUGK-HARTTUNG; VOL. 1, P. 333 ET SEQ. STOCKHOLM 1912.

(1) *DE NINO, B.* ETNOGRAFIA CHIRIGUANA. LA PAZ 1912.

(1) *NORDENSKIOLD, E.* RESA I GRANSTRAKTERNA MELLAN BOLIVIA OCH ARGENTINA. YMER; 1900. STOCKHOLM.

(1) — FRAN HOGFJALL OCH URSKOGAR. STAMNINGSBILDER FRAN ANDERNA OCH CHACO. STOCKHOLM 1905.

(1) — TRAVELS ON THE BOUNDARIES OF BOLIVIA AND ARGENTINA. THE GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL; 1903. LONDON.

113

(6) *NORDENSKIOLD, E.* PRACOLUMBISCHE SALZGEWINNUNG IN PUNA DE JUJUY. ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ETHNOLOGIE; 1902. BERLIN.
(6) — ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS ON THE SUMMIT OF THE NEVADO DEL CHANI. NATURE; 1902. LONDON.
(6) — EINIGES ÜBER DAS GEBIET, WO SICH CHACO UND ANDEN BEGEGNEN. GLOBUS; VOL. 8a. BRAUNSCHWEIG 1903.
(7) — ÜBER DIE SÄUGETIERFOSSILIEN DES TARIJATALS, SÜDAMERIKA. I. MASTODON ANDIUM CUV. KUNGL. SVENSKA VETENSKAPS-AKADEMIENS HANDLINGAR; VOL. 37. STOCKHOLM 1903.
(8) — ÜBER DIE SÄUGETIERFOSSILIEN IM TARIJATAL, SÜDAMERIKA. BULL. OF THE GEOL. INSTIT. OF UPPSALA; 1904. UPPSALA.
(9) — SOBRE LOS MAMIFEROS FOSILES DEL VALLE DE TARIJA. ANALES DE LA SOCIEDAD CIENTIFICA ARGENTINA; VOL. 55. BUENOS AIRES 1903.
(10) — PRACOLUMBISCHE WOHN- UND BEGRÄBNISPLÄTZE AN DER SÜDWESTGRENZE VON CHACO. KUNGL. SVENSKA VETENSKAPS-AKADEMIENS HANDLINGAR; VOL. 38. STOCKHOLM 1905.
(11) — VERGLEICHENDE ETHNOGRAPHISCHE FORSCHUNGEN. 1. EINE GEOGRAPHISCHE UND ETHNOGRAPHISCHE ANALYSE DER MATERIELLEN KULTUR ZWEIER INDIANERSTÄMME IN EL GRAN CHACO. GÖTEBORG 1908.
(12) — COMPARATIVE ETHNOGRAPHICAL STUDIES. 1. THE CHANGES IN THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF TWO INDIAN TRIBES UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF NEW SURROUNDINGS. GÖTEBORG 1908.
(13) — INDIANLIF I EL GRAN CHACO. STOCKHOLM 1910.
(14) — FORSKNINGAR OCH ÄVENTYR I SYDAMERIKA. STOCKHOLM 1913.
(15) — THE GUARANI INVASION OF THE INCA EMPIRE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: AN HISTORICAL INDIAN MIGRATION. THE GEOGRAPHICAL REVIEW; VOL. 6. NEW YORK 1917.
(16) — SYDAMERIKA. KAMPEN OM GULD OCH SILVER 1918—1920. GÖTEBORG 1919.
(17) — SYDAMERIKAS INDIANER. DE SYDAMERIKANSKA INDIANERNAS KULTURHISTORIA. STOCKHOLM 1919.
(18) — SPIELE UND SPIELSACHEN IM GRAN CHACO UND IN NORD-AMERIKA. ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ETHNOLOGIE; 1920. BERLIN.
(19) — EINIGE BEITRÄGE ZUR KENNTNIS DER SÜDAMERIKANISCHEN TONGEFÄSSE UND IHRER HERSTELLUNG. KUNGL. SVENSKA VETENSKAPS-AKADEMIENS HANDLINGAR; VOL. 61. STOCKHOLM 1920.
(20) — VON CHOROTIINDIANERINNEN IN TON MODELLIERTE TIER- UND MENSCHENFIGUREN. YMER; 1920. STOCKHOLM.
(21) — SÜDAMERIKANISCHE RAUCHPFEIFEN. GLOBUS; VOL. 95. BRAUNSCHWEIG 1908.
(22) — SPIELTISCHE AUS PERU UND ECUADOR. ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ETHNOLOGIE; 1908. BERLIN.
(23) — INDIANER OCH VITA. STOCKHOLM 1921.
SEE ALSO: *PRODIN, O.* AND *NORDENSKIOLD, E.*
(1) *NUMELIN, R.* ORSAKERNA TILL FOLKVANDRINGARNA PÅ LÄGRE KULTURSTADIER. EN SOCIOLOGISK STUDIE. HELSINGFORS 1918.
(1) *OLAUS MAGNUS GOTHUS.* HISTORIA DE GENTIBUS SEPTENTRIONALIBUS ETC. ROM 1555.
(1 A) — HISTORIA OM DE NORDISKA FOLKEN. UPPSALA AND STOCKHOLM 1909—.

113

(1) *OUTES, F. F.* LA CERAMICA CHIRIGUANA. REVISTA DEL MUSEO DE LA PLATA. BUENOS AIRES 1909.

(2) *OUTES, F. F.* AND *BRUCH, C.* LOS ABORIGENES DE LA REPUBLICA ARGENTINA. MANUAL ADAPTADO A LOS PROGRAMAS DE LAS ESCUELAS PRIMARIAS, COLEGIOS NACIONALES Y ESCUELAS NORMALES. BUENOS AIRES 1910.

(1) *PENA, E.* ETNOGRAFIA DEL CHACO. MANUSCRITO DEL CAPITAN DE FRAGATA D. JUAN FRANCISCO AGUIRRE. (1793.) BOLETIN DEL INSTITUTO GEOGRAFICO ARGENTINO; VOL. 19. BUENOS AIRES 1898.

(3) *PETRUS MARTYR (PIETRO D'ANGHIERA* ALSO CALLED *ANGLERIUS*). DE REBUS OCEANIS ET DE ORBI NOVO DECADES OCTO. PUBL. 1516—1530. ALSO PUBL. UNDER THE TITLE: NOVUS ORBIS REGIONUM AC INSULARUM VETERIBUS INCOGNITARUM. BASEL 1532.

(1) *VON PFLUGK-HARTTUNG, J.* SEE *HILDEBRAND, H.* AND *VON PFLUGK-HARTTUNG, J.*

(1) *VON ROSEN, E.* EN FORGANGEN VARLD. FORSKNINGAR OCH AVENTYR BLAND ANDERNAS HOGFJALL. STOCKHOLM 1919.

(2) — ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCHES ON THE FRONTIER OF ARGENTINA AND BOLIVIA IN 1901—02. STOCKHOLM 1904. (REPRINTED IN ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION; 1904. WASHINGTON CITY.)

(3) — THE CHOROTI INDIANS IN THE BOLIVIAN CHACO. STOCKHOLM 1904. (REPRINTED IN INTERNATIONALEN AMERIKANISTEN-KONGRESS VIERZEHNTE TAGUNG. STUTTGART 1906.)

(4) — TRASKFOLKET. SVENSKA RHODESIA-KONGO-EXPEDITIONENS ETNOGRAFISKA FORSKNINGSRESULTAT. STOCKHOLM 1916.

(5) — AR DEN SYDAMERIKANSKA KULBAGEN EN EFTERBILDNING AV DEN INDISKA KULLANGBAGEN. YMER; 1919. STOCKHOLM.

(6) — REVIEW OF: "ERLAND NORDENSKIOLD, EINE GEOGRAPHISCHE UND ETNOGRAPHISCHE ANALYSE DER MATERIELLEN KULTUR ZWEIER INDIANERSTAMME IN EL GRAN CHACO. GOTEBORG 1918." YMER; 1919. STOCKHOLM.

(7) — FRAN KAP TILL ALEXANDRIA. RESEMINNEN FRAN SVENSKA RHODESIA-KONGO-EXPEDITIONEN. STOCKHOLM. FIRST EDIT. 1912. SECOND ED. 1913. THIRD ED. 1919.

(8) — EN MARKLIG VISSELPIPTYP. YMER; 1921. STOCKHOLM.

(9) — REVIEW OF: "GUSTAF BOLINDER, DET TROPISKA SNÖFJALLETS INDIANER. STOCKHOLM 1916." SVENSKA DAGBLADET; 1916, 17 DECEMBER. STOCKHOLM.

(10) — BLAND INDIANER. FORSKNINGAR OCH AVENTYR I GRAN CHACO. STOCKHOLM 1921.

(1) *SCHMIDEL VON STRAUBING, U.* REISE IN DER NEUEN WELT. AN TAG GEBEN VON ENGELBERT HEGAUR. WAHRHAFTIGE HISTORIE EINER WUNDERBAREN SCHIFFAHRT, WELCHE ULRICH SCHMIDEL VON STRAUBING VON 1534 BIS 1554 IN AMERICA ODER NEUEWELT BEI BRASILIA ODER RIO DELLA PLATA GETAN. MUNCHEN (YEAR OF PUBLICATION NOT GIVEN).

(1) *SCHMIDT, P.* KULTURKREISE UND KULTURSCHICHTEN IN SUDAMERIKA. ZEITSCHRIFT FUR ETHNOLOGIE; 1913. BERLIN.

(1) *SEFVE, I.* UBER EINEN SCELIDOTHERIUM-SCHADEL AUS TARIJA, BOLIVIA. KUNGL. SVENSKA VETENSKAPSAKADEMIENS HANDLINGAR; VOL. 53. STOCKHOLM 1915. 113

(1) — DIE FOSSILEN PFERDE SUDAMERIKAS. KUNGL. SVENSKA VETENSKAPSAKADEMIENS HANDLINGAR; VOL. 48. UPPSALA AND STOCKHOLM 1912.

(1) *SELER, G. E.* ARKEOLOGIENS PROBLEM. VETENSKAPEN OM MANNISKAN; PART 1, NO. 2. POPULARA ETNOLOGISKA SKRIFTER UTGIVNA UNDER REDAKTION AV PROFESSOR C. V. HARTMAN; 3. STOCKHOLM 1911.

(1) *SERRANO Y SANZ, M.* LOS INDIOS CHIRIGUANOS. REVISTA DE ARCHIVOS, BIBLIOTECAS Y MUSEOS; VOL. 2. MADRID 1898.

(1) *SEYMOUR.* SEE *HAWTREY, S. H. C.*

(1) *SOLBERG, O.* BEITRAGE ZUR VORGESCHICHTE DER OST-ESKIMO. VIDENSKABSSELSKABETS SKRIFTER. II. HIST.-FILOS. KLASSE; 1907, NO. 2. KRISTIANIA 1907.

(1) *VON DEN STEINEN, K.* DIE SCHAMAKOKO-INDIANER. GLOBUS; VOL. 67. BRAUNSCHWEIG 1895.

(1) — UNTER DEN NATURVOLKERN CENTRAL-BRASILIENS. BERLIN 1894.

(1) *STOLPE, H.* UTVECKLINGS-FORETEELSER I NATURFOLKENS ORNAMENTIK. POPULARA ETNOLOGISKA SKRIFTER UTGIVNA UNDER REDAKTION AV PROFESSOR C. V. HARTMAN; 1. STOCKHOLM 1911.

(1) *STORM, O.* EL RIO PILCOMAYO Y EL CHACO BOREAL. BUENOS AIRES 1892.

(1) *TENKATE, H.* MATERIAUX POUR SERVIR A L'ANTHROPOLOGIE DES INDIENS DE LA REPUBLIQUE ARGENTINE. REVISTA DEL MUSEO DE LA PLATA; VOL. 12. LA PLATA 1904.

(1) *THOUAR, A.* EXPLORATIONS DANS L'AMERIQUE DE SUD. PARIS 1891.

(1) *VON TSCHUDI, J. J.* REISEN DURCH SUDAMERIKA. LEIPZIG 1866.

(1) *WALROND, H.* THE BOW. FORMS CHAPTER 17 I: *LONGMAN, C. J.* AND *WALROND, H.* ARCHERY. THE BADMINTON LIBRARY. LONDON 1894.

(1) *ZSCHILLE UND FORRER.* DIE PFERDETRENSE IN IHRER FORMENENTWICKLUNG. BERLIN 1893.

Sc Schmidt E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

000

The Chiriguano and Izoso
[Los Chiriguanos e Izosos]

Max Schmidt

Asunción: 1938
Revista de la Sociedad Científica del Paraguay
Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 1-115

Translated from the Spanish by Sydney Muirden

Human Relations Area Files

1967

[Title page]

Table of Contents

(Prepared by the HRAF editor from the headings in the article)

	Page
Introduction	1
General information	3
Influences on the culture of the Chiriguano and Isoró, taken from historical data	5
Physical characteristics	25
The territory of the Chiriguano	31
Towns and houses	39
Food and drink	44
Utensils: wooden dishes, wooden spoons, shells, gourd vessels (*cuyas*), calabashes. Stimulants, pipe.	
Body care and rest	54
Hammocks, mats. Painting and body deformation, *lip* plug (*tembetá*), cutting and combing the hair. head adornment	
Clothing and adornment	74
Ponchos, mantas, *fajas*, *tipoy*, ring, sandals.	
Treatment of illnesses and burial.	81
Play and toys	83
Agriculture	92
Livestock-raising	94
Hunting	96
Bows and arrows, macana, sling.	
Fishing	104
Acquisition of raw material of inorganic origin	107
Making fire	108
Ceramics	109
Cooking vessels, water vessels, *chicha* vessels, drinking vessels, eating vessels, vessels used in spinning, funeral urns, vessels for undetermined purposes: spindle whorls.	
Working stone and metals	142
Woodworking	142
Grinding raw materials	149
Making cord and thread, spinning	149

	Page
Planting	155
Weaving	169
Netting	193
Sewing	197
The working of skins and leather tanning	198
On the cooking of meals	199
Utensils, fermented drinks, preservation of food.	
Transport	204
Implements for storing objects	206
Art	206
Musical instruments, plastic art, drawings on the surface of objects (painting, incising, pyrography, tanning).	
Social conditions among the Chiriguano and Chané	216
Law	230
Religion	231
Language	233
(The vocabulary for the Chiriguano of Machareti and the Izozó of the Parapiti River, pp. 92-111, is omitted in the translation, as is the list of sources on the Chiriguano and Chané and their history, pp. 111-115. These sections are provided in the foreign text.)	

List of Illustrations

(Prepared by the HRAF editor from the captions accompanying the illustrations)

Plate I 8

Fig. 1. Machareti, a Chiriguano town.

Fig. 2. Izozó in Toledo, with Paraguayan soldiers and the author.

Plate II 9

Fig. 3. Chiriguano in Machareti.

Fig. 4. Chiriguano women in Machareti.

Page

Plate III 28
Fig. 5. Chiriguano women with babies, in Machareti.
Fig. 6. Chiriguano men in Machareti.
Fig. 7. Chiriguano boys in Machareti.
Fig. 8. Chiriguano children in Machareti.

Plate IV 29
Fig. 9. Izozó men, near Toledo.
Fig. 10. Cacique of the Izozó, in Toledo.
Fig. 11. Izozó boy in Toledo.

Plate V 29
Fig. 12. The cacique of the Izozó, with his family, near Toledo.
Fig. 13. Izozó youth, in Toledo.

Plate VI 40
Fig. 14. Chiriguano women and children in front of their house in Machareti.
Fig. 15. Chiriguano in the town of Machareti.

Plate VII 41
Fig. 16. Chiriguano storehouse built on posts in Machareti.
Fig. 17. Scene in the Chiriguano town of Machareti. Boy dressed in a poncho. Large baked clay vessels and a mortar.

Plate VIII 50
Fig. 18. Wooden dishes (Chiriguano).
Fig. 19. Wooden platter (Chiriguano).
Fig. 20. Wooden spatulas and wooden spoon (Chiriguano).
Fig. 21. Spatula (Chiriguano).
Fig. 22. Wooden spoon (Chiriguano).
Fig. 23. Wooden pipe (Chiriguano).

Plate IX 51
Fig. 24. Decorated cuya (Chiriguano).
Fig. 25. a. Cuya with sewing (Izozó).
b. Decorated cuya (Chiriguano).
Fig. 26. Decorated cuyas (Chiriguano).

Page

Plate X 61
Fig. 27. Isoso man with a tembetá in his lower lip.
Fig. 28. Tembetás of the Isoso.
Fig. 29. Combs of the Isoso.

Plate XI 62
Fig. 30. Cotton bands for men's hair (Isoso).
Fig. 31. Band of human hair for the men's hair (Isoso).
Fig. 32. Cotton bands for women's hair (Isoso).

Plate XII 69
Fig. 33. Wooden flutes (Chiriguano).
Fig. 34. a. Cane flute (Chiriguano).
b. Double whistle of cane (Chiriguano).
Fig. 35. a. Children's toy rattle (Chiriguano).
b. Children's toy top (Chiriguano).
Fig. 36. a. Children's toy, "mou-mou" (Chiriguano).
b. Sling (Chiriguano).

Plate XIII 90
Fig. 37. Bows and arrows (Isoso and Chiriguano).
Fig. 38. Macana (Chiriguano).
Fig. 39. Fishing implement (Isoso).

Plate XIV 115
Fig. 40. Fire-making implements (Chiriguano).
Fig. 41. Hoops for storing goods (Chiriguano).
Fig. 42. Calabashes for carrying water (Isoso).
Fig. 43. Objects plaited out of palm leaves for religious festivities (Chiriguano).

Plate XV. Baked clay vessels for cooking foods (Chiriguano) 116
Figs. 44-49.

Plate XVI. Baked clay vessels 116
Fig. 50. Vessel for cooking maize meal for the preparation of chicha (Chiriguano).
Fig. 51. Vessel for storing chicha (Chiriguano).
Fig. 52. Baked clay dish with holes in the bottom for steaming maize meal (Chiriguano).
Fig. 53. a. Vessel for frying /fritar/ maize (Chiriguano).
b. Vessel for storing food (Chiriguano).

Page

Plate XVII. Baked clay vessels 119
Fig. 54. Vessel with net, for carrying water (Izozó).
Fig. 55. Vessel for carrying or storing water (Chiriguano).
Fig. 56. a. Vessel with an interlacing of thread (Izozó).
b. Vessel with a leather strap (Izozó).

Plate XVIII. Baked clay vessels for chicha 120
Figs. 57-59. Chiriguano vessels.
Fig. 61. Izozó vessel.
Fig. 62. Chiriguano vessel.

Plate XIX. Baked clay vessels for chicha 130
Figs. 63-65. Chiriguano vessels.
Fig. 66. Izozó vessel.
Fig. 67. Chiriguano vessel.

Plate XX 132
Figs. 68-69. Baked clay vessels for chicha (Izozó).
Fig. 70. Baked clay vessels (Izozó).
Fig. 71. Baked clay vessel for chicha (Chiriguano).
Fig. 72. Baked clay vessel (Izozó).

Plate XXI. Baked clay vessels (Chiriguano) 133
Figs. 73-75. Vessels for chicha.

Plate XXII. Baked clay vessels 141
Fig. 76. a. Vessel for chicha (Izozó).
b. Dish for eating (Izozó).
Fig. 77. Vessels for chicha (Chiriguano).
Fig. 78. a. Dish for eating (Chiriguano).
b. Dish for eating (Izozó).
Fig. 79. Dishes for eating (Chiriguano).
Fig. 80. a. Dish for eating (Izozó).
b. Vessel used in spinning as a base for the spindle (Izozó).
c. Dish for eating (Izozó).

Plate XXIII. Baked clay vessels 144
Fig. 81. Chiriguano vessels.
Figs. 82. Vessels for serving chicha (Chiriguano).
Fig. 83. Vessels for carrying or storing water (Izozó).
Fig. 84. Vessel for carrying or storing water (Chiriguano).

Page

Plate XXIV 166
Fig. 85. Spindles (Isoné and Chiriguano).
Fig. 86. a. Basket, cotton seeds, raw cotton and a spindle with thread, and a ball of cotton thread (Isoné).
b. Ball of cotton thread (Isoné).

Plate XXV 167
Fig. 87. Wooden spindle-whorls (Chiriguano).
Fig. 88. Baked clay and stone spindle-whorls (Chiriguano).
Figs. 89 and 90. Baked clay spindle-whorls (Isoné).
Fig. 91. Weaving implements (Chiriguano and Isoné).

Plate XXVI. Plaited objects 167
Figs. 92-95. Flat baskets (Isoné and Chiriguano).
Fig. 96. Sieve (Chiriguano).
Fig. 97. Mat plaited out of cornstalk leaves (Chiriguano).

Plate XXVII. Plaited objects 168
Figs. 98-97. Baskets (Isoné).
Fig. 98. Bottoms of baskets (Isoné).
Fig. 99. Interior surface of a hat (Chiriguano).
Fig. 100. Basket (Isoné).
Fig. 101. Bottom of a basket (Chiriguano).

Plate XXVIII 170
Fig. 102. Hammocks (Chiriguano and Isoné).
Fig. 103. Saddle covers (Isoné).

Plate XXIX 170
Fig. 104. Loom of the Isoné.

Plate XXX. Diagrams to illustrate the weaving technique 177
Fig. 105. Arrangement of warp threads on the loom (Isoné).
Fig. 106. Mechanism for making the divisions between the odd and even warp threads of the loom (Isoné).
Figs. 107-110. Ends of cotton bands for men's hair (Isoné).
Fig. 111. Men's hair-band woven out of human hair.
Fig. 112. Diagram to illustrate the making of the double bags.
Fig. 113. The technique for making slits in the fabrics.

Page

Plate XXXI. Woven goods of the Izozó 176
Fig. 114. Tipoy, women's cotton garment.
Fig. 115. Woolen hand woven on a special loom.
Fig. 116. Woolen bag woven on a special loom.
Plate XXXII. Woven woolen ponchos 187
Fig. 117. Izozó poncho.
Fig. 118. Chiriguano poncho.
Plate XXXIII. 188
Fig. 119. Woven fajas.
a. Of wool (Chiriguano).
b. Of wool (Chiriguano).
c. Of cotton (Izozó).
Fig. 120. Ornamentation of the manta (Izozó).
Fig. 121. Ornamentation of the faja (Chiriguano).
Fig. 122. Ornamentation of the faja (Izozó).
Figs. 123-124. Ornamentation of the faja (Chiriguano).
Plate XXXIV. Diagrams to illustrate the techniques of weaving, plaiting with "double thread," and sewing 190
Fig. 125. Technique of weaving, from the band of a carrying net (Izozó).
Fig. 126. Technique of weaving, from a saddle cover (Izozó).
Fig. 127-128. Technique of plaiting with "double thread," from a hammock (Chiriguano).
Fig. 129. Technique of plaiting with "double thread," from a saddle cover (Izozo).
Fig. 130. Technique of sewing two cuyas (Izozó).
Plate XXXV. Woven woolen bags. 191
Fig. 131. a. Woolen bag for carrying loads (Chiriguano).
b. Double bag for loading horses (Chiriguano).
Fig. 132. Double bag for loading horses (Izozó).

Page

Plate XXXVI. Net and net bag for carrying loads, of carraguata 200

Fig. 133. Net made with the technique using knots (Isoné).

Fig. 134. Net made with the technique without knots (Chiriguano).

Fig. 135. Net made with the technique using knots (Isoné).

Fig. 136. Bag made with the netting technique using knots (Isoné).

Plate XXXVII 201

Fig. 137. Diagrams of threads twisted to the right and to the left.

Fig. 138. Diagram of the two different knots used in making nets.

Figs. 139-141. Diagrams of the plaited middle parts of three cotton bands for women's hair (Isoné).

Fig. 142. Diagram of the carrying-net technique using the "reef knot" (Isoné).

Figs. 143-144. Diagrams of the carrying-net technique using loops, without knots (Chiriguano).

Plate XXXVIII. Drawings on the surface of baked clay vessels and a cuya 211

Fig. 145. Phytomorphic drawings on a vessel (Chiriguano).

Fig. 146. Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic drawings on a vessel (Chiriguano).

Fig. 147. Zoomorphic drawing on a vessel (Chiriguano).

Fig. 148. Drawing of a fish incised on the surface of a cuya (Chiriguano).

Plate XXXIX. Drawings on the surface of cuyas and a calabash (Chiriguano) 212

Figs. 149-150. Cuyas.

Fig. 151. Calabash.

Fig. 152-153. Cuyas.

/1/ Introduction

C 114 Knowing only the native tribes of Mato Grosso (Brazil) personally through my previous scientific travels, I accepted with much pleasure the proposal of the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay to visit the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco, and as the idea was fully supported by the Comando del Chaco, I render thanks to the Sociedad Cientifico del Paraguay for its support, to the Jefe of the Comando del Chaco Paraguayo, the section leaders, and all the others who co-operated in my ex-
CSB pedition. I particularly thank His Most Reverend Excellency, the Archbishop of Asunción, Don Juan Sinforiano Bogarin, for the presentations which he made in my behalf before the Oblates of Immaculate Mary, whose mission is located close to the fort Esteros near the Pilcomayo River.

C I set out from Asunción on August 7, 1935, and, passing
Cc the fort López de Filippis (Paraguayan Chaco), on August 15 I
114 arrived at the fort of Toledo, where I found a great number of
Cc Izozó Indians, who had left their homes in the Parapití Valley
[131] because they had been provisionally relocated to the area of Toledo and of the fort "15 de Agosto" /15th of August/.

Cc In addition to my ethnological studies and preparations
114 for the coming journey, I attended to the commission of the
122 Paraguayan Red Cross to deliver clothing, goods, and wool
648 among the Izozó Indians, who at the time were in great need.
C Provided by the Chaco Command at the fort of López de
114 Filippis with two trucks, drivers and helpers, and the necessary provisions, I continued my journey on August 26, heading toward the Pilcomayo River. Beyond Corrales we met the first
C Indians: they were the Churupí /Chulupi/. In Moreno too,
A which we reached in the afternoon, almost at nightfall, there
114 were some Churupí who had moved from Muños to this place.
[361] On August 27 I arrived at the mission of the Oblates of
C Immaculate Mary near the fort of Esteros, where these fathers
114 received me in the most friendly manner and provided their
A most extensive assistance to my studies of the Churupí Indians
114 who were domiciled in or near the mission. They gave me a
797 large ethnological collection of objects of the Churupí Indians,
A which they presented to the Museo de Historia y Etnographia of
[126] The Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay.

Ashluslay SK5
Mataco SI7
Chorotí SK6
Tapiete SK13

/1 cont./

000 the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay. Having also visited
C the Churupí Indians at the mission near Lake Escalante, about
A 25 kilometers from the mission at Esteros, I continued my
M journey on September 5 as far as Linares, where I found a num-
114 ber of Mataco Indians, who in part lived in a town some seven
M kilometers from Linares and in part had come from the other
[361] side of the Pilcomayo River to Linares.

/2/ On September 9 I left Linares and on the next day
C arrived in Guachalla, from where I visited the Churupí camp
A /tolderia/ about seven kilometers away.
114
[361]

On September 11 I left Guachalla for the fort of Cururenda,
C where I had the occasion to see the Chorote /Choroti/ Indians,
CI who were living in a camp some three kilometers from
114 Cururenda, as well as some Toba and Mataco, who came
CI from the other side of the Pilcomayo to Cururenda.
[361]

On September 15 I continued my journey as far as Oruro,
C in the environs of which I visited the Tapieté. My escort,
114 Lieutenant Cabello, who knew these Indians well, took me to
T their two camps, one of which is 15 and the other 32 kilo-
[361] meters from Oruro.

On September 19 I left Oruro, and passing through
C Capirendá and Carandayty, in the company of Lieutenant
114 Díego Corvalan, I arrived at Machareti, where I remained
from September 21-25. Since Machareti is a Chiriguano
town, I had a good chance at this place and at the end of my
journey, to observe this interesting Indian tribe.

Beginning my return on September 25, I passed in succes-
sion through Capirendá, Carandayty, López de Filippis, and
Puerto Casado, arriving in Asunción on October 8.

C Thanks to the great help of the military authorities, it was
[122] possible for me to pass through large areas of the Paraguayan
Chaco during the relatively short time of two months, to get
acquainted with a large number of native tribes of the Chaco,
to take photographs of these tribes, and to make up vocabularies
000 of their different languages. Outside of the Toba, whom I met

C 114 /2 cont./ outside of the Toba, whom I met only in passing. I got to know on this journey the Chiriguano and the Izozó, who, like the former, speak a dialect of the Guaraní language; the Tapieté, Churupí, Mataco, and Chorote. All of these Indian tribes are not unknown in ethnological literature. On Chiriguano history we are oriented through old documents from even the first years of the Spanish conquest, and we owe to the Franciscan missionaries, who have taught among them for a long time, quite important ethnological publications. The Churupí have been studied minutely under the name Ashluslay by Erland Nordenskiöld, and the Oblates of Immaculate Mary in Esteros and Lake Escalante are striving intensively to make ethnological investigations. I have proposed to deal with all of these tribes systematically. This survey will be made on the basis of the results of my journey, and I begin in this first publication with the Chiriguano and Izozó.

C CC [197] C 175 114 797 A 114 101 C 121

General Information

CC 114 361

As I said in the introduction to this work, I first met the Chiriguano in Machareti and the Izozó in the area around the fort of Toledo and in the fort "15 de Agosto," several kilometers from the former two.

C 361 [632] [797]

Figure 1 presents a view of Machareti, a Chiriguano town created in its present form by the Franciscan mission. When the Paraguayan army retook Machareti, it had already been abandoned by the Padres, and now a Chiriguano, in the role of commissioner /comisario/, is the chief of the town, there also being a few caciques. The houses, more or less in the form of modern ranchos (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 /see p.40 /), are on both sides of wide streets which run parallel and at right angles, as in most of the towns of the former Spanish colonies. When I was present in Machareti, there was great need /3/ among these Indians because of the severe drought which had ruined their plantings, which were some distance from the town. At the side of the ranchos are often found deposits which were structures of native houses built on sticks. Although

C [342] [363] C [731] C [342] 000

[See P. 8 -- Analyst]

C /3 cont./ Although
799 many primordial customs of the Chiriguano have been lost
177 because of the influence of the missions, there have never-
178 theless been preserved a sufficient number of native objects
126 to make a relatively complete ethnological collection among these Indians.

Ce The Izozó, having abandoned their homes in the regions
648 of the lower Parapití River during the Chaco War, had been
167 provisionally moved to the environs of the fort of Toledo and
361 the fort "15 de Agosto," where they were living in ranchos abandoned by the soldiers. In the environs of the forts they
Ce had scratched out large fields for their plantings, but, be-
241 cause of the great drought, they had had no chance to plant,
311 with the result that part of them had already returned to the
731 western region when I was in these forts. When I began my
167 return from Machareti, a large part of them were near the fort
[361] of Carandayty. According to the data kindly given me by the
Ce Toledo military authorities, the number of Izozó who had
162 come to Toledo and "15 de Agosto" up to June 30, 1935, reached 1,647 adults, 724 minors, and 122 small children, a total of 2,493 souls. On August 24, the end of my stay in Toledo, there were in this fort and in "15 de Agosto" only 503 adults, 141 minors, and 26 small children, most of them having returned to the west by this time.

Ce These Izozó Indians, who speak a dialect of the Guaraní
101 language, indignantly reject the name Chiriguano. They say
[199] that they are Guaraní and Paraguayans and that their name is
Ce Izozó. Up to now I have not seen this name in ethnological
101 literature and it does not appear in Moreno's work, Cuestión
114 de Límites con Bolivia /Question of Boundaries with Bolivia/, Vol. II. Only on the map of Bolivia drawn by the enginerr Franz Germann (Hamburg, 1904) is there noted between the Rio Grande and the Rio Parapití the name "Izozeños." The
Ce Izozó near Toledo told me that their homes were in the region
101 of the estuaries of the lower Parapití. Since these Indians re-
[361] jected not only the name Chiriguano but also the name Chané

/3 cont./

Ce 101 or Tapyi /Tapii/, it was not possible from what they said to ascertain with which of the tribes known to ethnology they C [101] can be identified. The Chiriguano call themselves "Mbya." If the Izozó were a part of them, they would have called them- Ce 101 17 selves by this name. No doubt they are Chané and that part of the latter which once had their homes in the Izozó River region, taking the name of this river for their own. Their culture, as demonstrated by the objects I collected among them, confirms this opinion. There are some differences between the objects collected among the Izozó and the Chiriguano in Machareti, either with regard to the decorations of the baked clay vessels or with regard to the making of the nets. But in principle it is not possible to decide whether these differences C 171 172 128 648 might not be only local differences. In general the culture of the Chiriguano was diffused in this way throughout the tribes successively subjugated by them, which is why it is proper to deal below with the aspects of the culture of the Chiriguano of Machareti together with that of the Izozó.

C Ce 101 17

Influences on the Culture of the Chiriguano and Izozó, Taken from Historical Data

C Ce [197] At the present time the Chiriguano and Chané form a cultural entity which can be designated as the culture of the Chiriguano, because the Guaraní language of the Chiriguano came to be the common language of the whole group. The Izozó also belong to this ethnic entity. Thus it is necessary to consider this entity /4/ as being formed of completely different tribes. It is also necessary to conceive of their culture as the product of the fusion of very heterogeneous cultural elements. Nordenskiöld deals with this question in one of his books (1)

Ce [113]

1. Erland Nordenskiöld: The changes in the material culture of two Indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative Ethnological Studies, 2. Göteborg, 1920. Cited in the following: Nord. 2.

8: Schmidt--6 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Chane SF8
IZ020

C
Ca
101
17

/4 cont./

and divides (2) the sum of Chiriguano cultural elements into

2. Nord. 2, pp. 196-213.

different categories depending on whether they received them from the whites, from the culture of the ancient Peruvians, or from the Mataco, Toba, and other tribes of the Chaco, or have them in common with the tribes of the north and the east related to them, as well as those that they brought with them from their primordial homes between the Paraná River and the Paraguay River. In what follows we shall often run into this matter, and inasmuch as these cultural influences have taken place in historical times and we know the history of the Chiriguano through existing documents dating from the first days of the Spanish conquest, I would like to make a resumé of these historical data in what follows, insofar as they have influenced the cultural development of the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
Ca
101
17
121

Gi
174

In one of my previous publications which appeared in this journal, entitled "Los Guarayú," I ran into the point at issue, to wit: whether the first Guaraní immigration into the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco took place before the expedition of the Portuguese Alejo García to Peru or whether it took place after that time. In that paper I then deduced that it can be supposed that before Alejo García's expedition there were no Guaraní in the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, because no author mentions that García, who was accompanied by many Guaraní, had met other Guaraní in those regions. With this opinion that the Guaraní immigration to the west occurred after García's expedition, which is based principally on indications by Guzmán, the opinions of Manuel Domínguez and Erland Nordenskiöld also agree. This question of the Guaraní invasion into the western part of the Paraguayan Chaco is also dealt with in detail by Fulgencio R. Moreno in his work Cuestión de límites con Bolivia (3). In that place (4) there

Gi
175

Gi
[113]

3. Ministerio de Exteriores. Cuestión de Límites con Bolivia. Negociaciones diplomaticas. 1915-

/4 cont./

175
[113]

1927. Second edition. Vol. 2: Réplica a la exposición del Señor Ministro de Bolivia Dr. Don Ricardo Mujia por el Plenipotenciario del Paraguay Don Fulgencio R. Moreno /A reply to the exposition of the Minister of Bolivia, Dr. Don Ricardo Mujia, by the Plenipotentiary of Paraguay, Don Fulgencio R. Moreno/. Asunción, 1929. Cited in what follows: Moreno II. Pages 81-84 and 89-91.

4. Moreno II, pp. 84-89.

is reproduced a document which, I believe, serves to clear up this much discussed point. This is the report that Father Alcaya, Curate of Mataca, wrote for the Viceroy of Peru, the Marquis of Montes Claros. This report says that the Inca in Peru, before the Spaniards came to Paraguay, commissioned one of his descendants named Guacane to conquer the llanos of Grigota. Guacane's project was quite successful, especially because he had been well received by the great cacique Grigota, who reigned over this province. With the aid of his brother Condori, who was sent after him and to whom was entrusted the exploitation of the mines of Aypurun, he obtained a great deal of gold and silver in the country. The natives respected him and he employed them in tilling maize fields and helped them in hunting. Through the Indians of the llanos rumors of the wealth of the brothers, Guacane and Condori, reached the ears of the Guaraní in Paraguay, who recruited a force of 8,000 Indians and came in three divisions with their women and children, westward from the Xaraye. Of the 8,000 Guaraní, 1,000 remained in the province of Itatim; 2,000 marched against the Inca Mango and were destroyed until they were reduced to a few by the Peruvians. The largest division, 5,000 Indians, first marched to the region of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and there they subjugated the humble and unwarlike people of that region. /Plates I-II appear here./ /5/ They remained

175
648

175
648
726

[728]

[Text Continues on P. 10]

8: Schmidt--8 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate I

C
361
133

Fig. 1
(I. C. 353) -- Machareti, a Chiriguano town.

Ce
291
142
114

Fig. 2
(I.C. 251) -- Izozó in Toledo, with Paraguayan soldiers and the author.

Plate II

291
516

Fig. 3
(I. C. 354) -- Chiriguano in Machareti

142
291
516
302

Fig. 4
(I.C. 359) -- Chiriguano women in Machareti

175 /5 cont./
648 there for one winter, sending out their spies to the Llanos of
726 Grigota, where King Guacane was resting without care with his men. Unexpectedly one night the Guaraní surprised the King and his men, more than 20,000 Indians, and killed many, among them King Guacane. Grigota, the previous ruler of this country, was seriously wounded. From there the Guaraní victors set out toward the cordillera where Condori, the dead king's brother, was exploring the mines. Leaving their women and children at the foot of the cordillera with a guard, they climbed the mountain and on the following night killed the miners and captured Capitan Condori. The Guaraní then found the fortresses of Guanacopampa and Savaypatta abandoned by their
[727] garrisons. In Savaypatta they found only the women of the Incas, whom they took with them as prisoners. They also found a great deal of gold on Aypurun Mountain. After these successes the Guaraní established themselves in the cordillera, where they also remained in the following period. The Guaraní won another victory over the Peruvians when they overcame Capitán Lucana, whom the Inca had charged with rebuilding the fortification of Cerro de Aypurun. The Guaraní came out to meet the Peruvians and, at a short distance, smashed them and killed more than 6,000 of them. But after that their triumphal march against the Peruvians came to an end. Retiring to their headquarters on the Cordillera, the Indians gathered together by Grigota prepared a surprise for them which had complete success. Five hundred Guaraní were killed and 200 fell prisoner and were taken to Cuzco, where they were condemned by the Inca to suffer death by cold on the snow-capped peaks of the Andes.

174 Father Alcaya's report [illegible] much interest because it pro-
175 vides us with two importan[illegible]tes about the first immigration
167 of the Guaraní. The report tells us about the death of King
648 Guacane. According to Alvar Núñez, this king was still alive when Alejo García returned from his expedition to Peru (5).

5. Moreno II, p. 90.

/5 cont./

M4 M5 167 645

It thus follows that the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní described in Father Alcaya's report and the settling of the Guaraní on the cordillera must have taken place after García's expedition. An even more certain clue is given us by a passage in the report which mentions the name "Mango Inga" (6). The following is said there: The Xaraye "gave them

6. Moreno II, p. 86.

more definite news of the señores and showed them silver clasps and small silver rings for their bows, which King Guacane had sent them from Grigota, scarcely 100 leagues away, and similarly gave them certain news of Mango Inga, who was not resting after his new conquest toward the north and the east, but was hastening to put into effect and overrun the land with his good government." Mango Inga was the legitimate successor of the Inca Huascar, who had been killed by his brother Atahualpa, whom Pizarro, at his request, had helped to realize his claims to the throne and with whom he entered the Inca capital on November 15, 1533. This Inca Manco died after his variable battles with the Spaniards in the year 1544. According to this, the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní and the first settlement of the Guaraní on the crests of the cordillera in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco, which was contemporaneous with those battles, must have occurred between 1533 and 1544, and probably at the beginning of this period of time, because the last years of Inca Manco's life were much taken up with his battles against the Spaniards. According to Dr. Manuel Domínguez' opinion (7), García's expedition took

[113]

7. Dr. Manuel Domínguez: "Paraguay-Bolivia. Cuestión de limites." Lectures. Asunción, 1927, p. 11. Cf. Moreno II, p. 84.

place between 1524 and 1526. This is very much in accord with the fact that the Guaraní, who through García's expedition had learned of the riches of Perú, and beyond that had received reports of the riches of the country belonging to the brothers /6/ Guacane and Condori through the Indians of the llanos, determined about ten years later to emigrate in large numbers, accompanied by their women and children, to this rich land. We must then fix the first settlement of the Guaraní in the regions in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco as having taken

/6 cont./

174
175
167
648

place after García's expedition. But it is possible that in the interval, and perhaps also before García's expedition, the Guaraní might have made smaller forays to the western regions "to the land within," as is said in the report of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Doubtless it is one of these forays that is dealt with in the description given to Alvar Núñez by a Guaraní who had lived among the Charayes. The Indians of his generation, that is, the Guaraní of Itatí, "sent out a great call and held a gathering of Indians of the whole land, and they went to the land and the settlement of the land within." They made war upon the Indians of this land and took from them the sheets and jewels that they had of gold and silver, despoiled many towns, and killed many Indians. But afterward their adversaries joined together, attacked them in great number, and killed nearly all of them. The rest fled into the mountains (8). On the sixth day after his departure

[113]

8. Moreno II, p. 86. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Comentarios historicos, N. 35, pp. 100, 102, and 103.

from Xarayes, Alvar Núñez met some of those Indians who had fled to the desert after their defeat. Some of them, whose age Alvar Núñez calculated to be 35, stated that they were unable to give any information about the route which the Guaraní had then followed in their foray, because they had been very young at the time. Following this information, we must suppose that this unsuccessful foray on the part of the Guaraní to the west must have taken place in the year 1543. Between the expedition of Alvar Núñez and that of the Portuguese Alejo García, which, according to Dr. M. Domínguez, took place between 1524 and 1526, there is a period of about 20 years, and Alvar Núñez could only guess at the age of those Indians who said that they had still been very young at the time of the said foray. Thus this foray might have taken place, according to what is ascertained from the clues based on the age of those

Gi /6 cont./
174 Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any
175 case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great
167 Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori,
648 since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní,
c after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had
[101] settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after
their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the
Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the
foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out
by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only
a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through
which they had previously passed.

Ce In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique
[173] who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before
[648] García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great
gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call
Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and
destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané
cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the
Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted
to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a
Guaraní foray.

Gi The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above
175 were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with
648 the various native groups of the lands through which they
Gi passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians,
[567] they devastated their camps /toldería/ /7/ and carried off
[727] with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been
killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and
Ce were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as
[648] peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When
[181] the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat
C by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they
Gi
648
175
[567]
[727]

C
G1
175
648
[567]
[727]

/7 cont./

continued defeating the neighboring Indians and especially those of the llanos, and they took off with them many of these as slaves to serve them as auxiliaries in other forays. When Nuflo de Chaves came to the cordillera, the Chiriguano were coming to make war upon the Indians of Poxo or of Misque, but Nuflo de Chaves upset their arrival and made them break off their hostilities with those Indians and the others of the frontier. (10) In 1560 the violent actions of the Chiriguano

10. Moreno II, p. 77.

against the tribes in their vicinity forced the viceroy of Peru to send Captain Andrés Manso to that region in order to found a town there, thus establishing a defense against the incursions of these Indians (11). The report of the Corregidor of Tomina,

11. Moreno II, p. 261.

Don Juan Arce Alvendin, made in 1618, informs us that the Chiriguano at first lived in peace with Andrés Manso, but later counseled the Chané who had been pacified by Manso to rebel against the Spaniards, and they killed Captain Manso and the rest of the Spaniards of the new town. They took over the land, subjecting the Chané and making them serve as slaves. In the statement of Sebastian Perez Chamoso in 1571 (12), the

12. Moreno II, pp. 106-107.

act of violence of the Chiriguano against the Yanacona and Chicha Indians are mentioned, and it is said that they took Chicha Indians as slaves. In the Decree of the Royal Audiencia in which it was resolved that war was to be waged against the Chiriguano in the year 1583, there is mentioned among many other misdeeds of the Chiriguano the fact that they had also usurped and devastated the lands of the Llanos and the Chané Indians (13). By continually enslaving the Indians of the

13. Moreno II, p. 104.

Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

C
Gi
175
648
[567]
[727]

/7 cont./ By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xores, the Mares, and the Yuracares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

Gi
C
Ca
175
648
567

14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

Ee
Gi
175
648
162
567

16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 400 Chiriguano of the province of Machareti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

Ee
Gi
175
648
567

Chané, SF8
Guaraní SM4

C
Ee
G
175
648
567

/7 cont./

they definitively lost their independence, being left subject to the whites (17). /8/ From this time also the Chané freed

17. Moreno II, pp. 253 and 254.

themselves from the oppression of their old masters, forming their own separate towns in the midst of their former masters (18).

18. Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883. In Moreno II, p. 254.

In addition, the final insurrection of the Chiriguano in the year 1890 was put down by the Bolivians; and for that reason the situation of the Chané was not modified, and so it is that the explorer Erland v. Nordenskiöld found them still under the same conditions (19).

Ee
G
113

19. Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco (Südamerika /Indian Life. The Gran Chaco (South America)/. Leipzig, 1912, pp. 148 ff. Cited in what follows: Nord 1.

Gi
C
175
648

Having described above the history of Chiriguano relations with the ancient Peruvians and the other Indian tribes, we have yet to deal also with their relations with the whites, that is, with the Spaniards or Bolivians, who little by little occupied their territory. We must stress in the first place the fact that the first whites who came to their territory and to the adjacent llanos were not any novelty to them, since even before their emigration the Chiriguano had met these people in their native land between the upper Paraná River and the Paraguay. Because of the initial attitude of the Guaraní on meeting the conquistadors, it is evident that both parties had the same aim, that of getting rich from the wealth of the rich lands of the west, of which they had heard. In order to attain

C
Gi
175
648

/8 cont./

this common end, the Guaraní had first favored the conquistadors, giving them important information about the rich land and the ways to get there, and placing themselves at their disposal as auxiliaries in war. According to Guzman, the Portuguese Alejo García took with him 2,000 of these Guaraní from the Paraguay on his expedition to Peru, and if Guzman says that that expedition of García's was the cause of the subsequent expedition of the Guaraní to the west and of the emigration of a great number of them to the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, we ought not to reject this opinion, limiting it only in that sense that García's expedition might have been one of the causes of that emigration. When Nuflo de Chaves on his expedition later met the Guaraní of the cacique Vanbaguazu, they received him in a friendly way, oriented him with reference to the rich land and the routes there, and gave him companions for his trip (20).

20. Moreno II, p. 55.

The first of the conquistadors whom the Guaraní met after their emigration to the Cordillera, henceforth called the Chiriguano of the Cordillera, was Captain Domingo de Irala. According to Father Alcaya's report, when Irala arrived in these regions, he sent a Guaraní of his council to make overtures to the Chiriguano Indians, and in what follows the report says literally: "... and many of them came to offer him peace." But in spite of this peace, the Chiriguano did not wish to show him the gold mines and also kept Captain Condori, whom they had captured in their expedition against the Peruvians and whom they now turned over to Captain Irala, as an expert, from finding out anything about the mines (21).

21. Moreno II, p. 92.

Gi
C
125
648

/8 cont./

In 1560 the two conquistadors, Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso, arrived in the Chiriguano region in the Vitupue Province (22). In Gabriel Paniagua de Loayza's letter

22. Moreno II, p. 264.

to the Royal Audiencia in 1584, we learn that the Chiriguano of the Sierra, when Nuflo de Chaves arrived for the first time in their land, were about to make war on the Indians of Poxo or of Misque. As has already been mentioned above, Nuflo de Chaves upset their plans and made them cease hostilities (23).

23. Moreno II, p. 77.

Through the division of territories that took place later between Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso, the former received the /9/ northern territories and the latter the southern ones. While Nuflo de Chaves had to deal principally with the Guaraní Itatines, later called Itatines-Guarayú, who had emigrated into those regions located more to the north and who in a little while killed the valiant conquistador, it was from the beginning Andrés Manso's mission to arrange relationships with the Chiriguano of the Sierra and to put an end to their violent acts. At first Manso managed to enter into peaceful relations with most of the Chiriguano and to put them in service as vassals; but it seems that they were involved from the very beginning in the differences that existed between Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso. A document of 1501, the "Testimonio del Escribano Francisco Gallego /Testimony of the Clerk Francisco Gallego/" (24), gives interesting comments

24. Moreno II, pp. 273 and 274.

upon this matter. He says that in 1560 a Chiriguano Indian came as a delegate of the cacique Bitupue and other caciques to Nuflo de Chaves to complain about Andrés Manso's conduct and at the same time to ask him what they should do. While

C
Gi
175
L48

/9 cont./ while
Nuño de Chaves, as has been mentioned, had prohibited the Chiriguano from continuing their acts of violence upon the other Indians, a short time later Manso made them join up to go to war against the Indians of the llanos. The Chiriguano, having learned of Captain Manso's intentions, all returned to their old ways. Manso again called them to go to war against the llanos Indians, and he took with him several Chiriguano caciques. When it seemed to him that they were taking him along a wrong path, he killed a Chiriguano Indian and ordered another one's hand cut off. He also killed a messenger of the cacique Botipue. We learn from this letter that the hostility which shortly thereafter broke out in the peaceful relations between the Chiriguano and Andrés Manso, and which cost considerable effort, expense, and sacrifice to the Spaniards and later to the Bolivians, was motivated, at least in great part, by the violent acts of the first whites who had relations with these Indians. This guilt of the Spaniards in the continual hostilities with the Chiriguano was frankly admitted by the Maestro General of the Province, Don Salvador Pasit, in the year 1778 (25).

25. Moreno II, p. 241.

He sent an order to all the soldiers that they suspend their activities against the Chiriguano, stating that the attitude of the Chiriguano was provoked by the introduction of the Spaniards into their lands, in which they had established estancias and herds. The beginning of the hostilities between the Spaniards and the Chiriguano was due to the latter, who suddenly attacked the town of Condorillo, or Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded by Andrés Manso, and killed the latter, together with all the other Spaniards, and burned the town (26).

26. Moreno II, p. 281.

C
G1
175
678

/9 cont./

The same fate befell the town of Barranca founded by Nuño de Chaves and Captain Miguel Martin, and their men in the town of Lagunilla. Moreover, nine of Nuño de Chaves' men, as well as Captain Pedro de Castro, who had been charged with rebuilding the destroyed town of Santo Domingo de Nueva Rioja, were killed (27). The attacks and robberies of the Chiriguano

27. Moreno II. p. 114.

against the Spanish settlers were so frequent and continual at the end of the 16th century that they were in constant danger, and communications between the several larger towns were quite difficult (28). The various Chiriguano factions had

28. Moreno II. pp. 102-104, 106, and 107.

divided among themselves the land where they were to make the attacks (29). The expedition of the Viceroy Don Francisco

29. Moreno II. p. 120.

de Toledo, with many people and much equipment and at great expense, had no success whatsoever (30). The Chiriguano

30. Moreno II. p. 114.

continued robbing and attacking. From time to time occasional expeditions were sent to punish them, which, in passing, burned a few rancherias and maize fields /10/ and killed some of them (31), but they never had a decisive success, and this

31. Moreno II. pp. 116-118.

situation still continued for two centuries in an almost unchanging form.(32). But despite these hostilities, there were

32. Moreno II. p. 273.

St Schmidt--'71 E-5 (1935) 1956 SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Guarani 344

C
E4
175
648

/10 cont./

some relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards from the earliest times. According to the Relación de la Annua de la Compañía de Jesús /Annual Report of the Company of Jesus/ for the year 1596, there had been obtained from Potosí and the Charcas many ways and means for bringing them toward peace, considering the very little hope of pacifying them by arms (33) and, according to the same report,

> 33. Moreno II, p. 107 /the first figure of this page number is missing in the original text and has been supplied here on the basis of a previous citation./

already at that time some Spaniards were going in and out of there to deal with them, and also the Chiriguano were coming both to Potosí and to the Charcas for the same purpose. In addition, Techo, who wrote his Historia de la Provincia del Paraguay in the second half of the 17th century, relates that the Chiriguano sold their prisoners of war to the Spaniards. "They lost no opportunity to devote themselves to this business; they compared with the Spaniards themselves" (34).

> 34. Moreno II, p. 257.

According to a communication from Escribano Mosquera in 1579 (35), there were already some Spaniards living among the

> 35. Certification of Escribano Mosquera. According to Moreno II, p. 115.

Chiriguano at that time. This gentleman had heard of two Spaniards and a mestizo among them, who were probably prisoners of war.

C
Gi
175
648
797

/10 cont./

At the end of the 18th century relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards modified to the point that from this time on the mission managed to propagate the faith somewhat more among the Chiriguano. In 1779 the Intendente of Cochabama, Don Tomás Leso, after a bitter struggle, defeated the Saypuru faction, which was the one most feared. Later the reduction of Florida was formed on the western shore of the Guapay, with some hundreds of families who had not assisted the Saypurú faction and so, fearing their vengeance, followed the Spaniards (36). Several years later a few other

36. Moreno II, p. 244.

missions were founded by the Franciscans, together with the fort at Saypurú, as a defense for the missions. But by 1799 the Chiriguano had attacked six of these missions, devastating them completely (37). A strong campaign against the

37. Moreno II, p. 245.

Chiriguano, directed by Intendente Viedma in person, had not had any success at all, the army of 2,000 men having turned back when their officers were killed by the enemy. In spite of this the missionaries repaired the destroyed reductions (38).

38. Moreno II, p. 246.

According to the notes of Father Antonio Comajuncosa (39),

39. Moreno II, pp. 246 and 247. A historical manifesto of what the missionaries of Tarija have wrought.

there already existed in the year 1810, 18 missions among the Chiriguano in the southern zone of the Pilcomayo River. Through the influence of the missions and through both violent

G1
C
175
648

/10 cont./ through the influence of the missions and through both violent and peaceful means of the Spaniards and, later, by the Bolivians, conterminous with the Chiriguano, little by little most of the Chiriguano came over to their side, so that the power of the Chiriguano tribe, in another time so strong and invincible, was weakened (40). Thus it happened that in

C
Gi
[113]

40. José Cardúz: Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia /The Franciscan Missions among the Infidels of Bolivia/. Barcelona, 1886. From Moreno II, pp. 248 and 249.

1875 the inhabitants of the neighboring provinces were able to give a final blow to the last segments of independent Chiriguano, subjugating them completely and obliging the defeated factions who refused to submit to disperse into other lands, some of them taking refuge in the Chaco among the Toba and Tapieté (40) /see footnote 40 above/. Nevertheless, this was not the final fight between the Chiriguano and the whites, as Cardúz supposed in 1885. A part of the Chiriguano in 1890 attempted one last rebellion against the Bolivians. About 5,000 Indians gathered on the Boynove plain near Curuyuqui, fought for a whole day against the Bolivians, who were assisted by some thousand Indians of the same tribe. At nightfall the heated battle had not yet been decided, but in the /11/ night the Indians lost their spirit in the face of the superiority of modern arms and left their trenches (41). Also,

41. Nord. 1, p. 168.

after this defeat one of the caciques, named Cayahari, preferred to take flight rather than surrender to the Bolivians. They say that he settled in the area of a large lake far from the whites (42).

42. Nord. 1, p. 161.

/11 cont./

C. Gi 175 178 167 The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C 178 [126] The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gh 177 174 C [113] As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

C
Gi
177
174

/11 cont./

little from the Indians of the Chaco, we must derive the most important modifications in their culture from the influences of the ancient Peruvian culture. Because of the short duration of the Inca Empire after the time of the immigration of the Chiriguano, we must suppose that these influences were less direct influences than indirect ones through the confluent peoples of the mountainous land of Peru and Bolivia, who had been in contact with the ancient Peruvians for a long time and many of whom had been subjugated by the Chiriguano and made to enter into their community as slaves or vassals. We know that the culture of the Chané, who made up the greater part of the Chiriguano population, had contact with the ancient culture of the Peruvians. In contrast with the influence of the ancient Peruvian culture, the influence of the whites had rather more negative and destructive effects than constructive ones on the primordial culture of the Chiriguano and the Chané, leaving many native industries superfluous because it was more convenient to replace their products with imported merchandise.

Ce
[177]

C
Ce
128

In the respective chapters that deal with the various developments of the culture of the Chiriguano and Chané, we shall expound the details of these cultural influences.

000 /12/ Physical Characteristics

Chiriguano and Chané Types Photographed in Machareti and Toledo

I.C. 354. Group of Chiriguano men, women, and children. Machareti. (Fig. 3.)
I.C. 335. Chiriguano men. Machareti. (Fig. 6.)
I.C. 361. Chiriguano children. Machareti. (Fig. 7.)
I.C. 359. Chiriguano women. Machareti. (Fig. 4.)
I.C. 360. Chiriguano women with babies. (Fig. 5.)
I.C. 362. Chiriguano children. (Fig. 8.)
I.C. 243. Izozó cacique. Toledo. (Fig. 10.)
I.C. 244. Izozó boy. Toledo. (Fig. 11.)
I.C. 245. Izozó lad. Toledo. (Fig. 13.)

/12 cont./

000 I.C. 246. Izozó cacique with his family. Near Toledo. (Fig. 12.)
I.C. 249. Izozó man with tembetá /labret/. Near Toledo. (Fig. 27.)
I.C. 251. Izozó in Toledo with soldiers and the author. (Fig. 2.)
I.C. 330. Izozó men. Near Toledo. (Fig. 9.)

C 144 648 Ce 648 From the preceding historical sketch it can be seen that the ethnic entity "Chiriguano-Chané," with regard to its physical characteristics, is made up of an ethnic mixture of absolutely heterogeneous elements. We have told how the Chiriguano for centuries captured many prisoners, incorporating them into their community, and how at the end of the 16th century the number of Chané incorporated among them was much larger than that of the pure Guaraní-Chiriguano. Although the Chané, belonging to the linguistic group of the Aruacos /Arawak/, were a peaceful nation and were not equal in strength to the pure Chiriguano, their culture, which for a long time was in contact with that of the ancient Peruvians, was doubtless superior to that of their oppressors, and the Chané women surely had considerable influence on their masters. Since the two population elements lived together for three and a half centuries, we must suppose that they would have mixed extensively.

C 142 175 Unfortunately, the ancient documents say very little about the physical qualities of the Chiriguano. The only brief note on this subject that I know of is found in the "Descripción y población de las Indias" by Bishop Lizarraga (44): "They are

44. Moreno II, p. 101.

C [302] Ce 144 175 comely, robust, with broad-shouldered, high chests, well built, dark. They pluck their eyebrows and eyelashes; the eyes are small and lively." According to Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883, that is, a short time after the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites and the Chané began to become emancipated from their oppressors, forming their own towns, somatic differences between the

/12 cont./

C
C
144
[177]

Chiriguano and Chané no longer exist. "The physiognomy of the latter was completely identical to that of the former" (45).

45. Moreno II, p. 254.

C
114
141
C
[113]

In addition to anthropological measurements made on four Chiriguano by Ten Kate (46), Robert Lehmann-Nitsche

46. Ten Kate, Herm.: "Matériaux pour servir à l'antropologie des indiens de la République Argentine /Materials for use for the anthropology of the Indians of the Argentine Republic/." Revista del Museo de la Plata. Vol. 12. La Plata. 1904.

in 1906 had the opportunity at the San Pedro de Jujui sugar mill to take the anthropological measurements of 40 Chiriguano men and ten women, who had come from Bolivia to work at that mill. Entitled "Estudios antropológicos sobre los Chiriguanos, /Pl. III-IV appear here/ /13/ Chorotes, Matacos, y Tobas (Chaco Occidental)" (47), Lehmann-Nitsche has

C
[113]

47. Anales del Museo de La Plata, Vol. I, No. 2, (Second Series). Buenos Aires, 1908.

published the results of these measurements, together with measurements of other Indians, and added to that publication in the first 12 plates Chiriguano types photographed by Carlos Bruch. In addition to the somatic measurements, determination of skin color, eye color, and hair color and form have been published by Lehmann-Nitsche. Thirty-six of the 40 Chiriguano men stated where they had lived, and from this we know that these people had come from various regions of Chiriguano territory to the San Pedro sugar mill. There were some who had come from the northern regions, and one had come from the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Others had come from the south of Chiriguano territory, for example, from the town of Carapati, located considerably to the south of the Pilcomayo River. There are named 13 Chiriguano

C
166

C
[167]

[Text Continues on P. 30]

Plate III

142
291
302
516
854
←

142
291
516
→

Fig. 5
(I.C. 360)--Chiriguano women with babies in Machareti

Fig. 6
(I.C. 335)--Chiriguano men in Machareti

142
291
516

Fig. 7
(I.C. 361)--Chiriguano boys in Machareti

Fig. 8
(I.C. 362)--Chiriguano children in Machareti

8: Schmidt--29 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate IV

142
291
516

Fig. 9
(I.C. 30) -- Izozó men, near Toledo

Fig. 10
(I.C. 243) -- Cacique of the Izozó, in Toledo

142
291
516
→

142
291
516
622
←

Fig. 11
(I.C. 244) -- Izozó boy in Toledo

/13 cont./

166 towns from which one man had come from each one. From Charagua, Parapití, and Carapati two had come from each one, four from Ingre, five from Santa Rosa, and eight from Machareti. Unfortunately, the native soil of the Chiriguano women was not stated, and it is only said that they came from Bolivia.

141 The average height of the Chiriguano men measured by Lehmann-Nitsche is 163.4 cm., and the height of the Chiriguano women measured is 151.7 cm. This average height of the women measured is not a little less. The average height of the eight men from Machareti was only 161.8 cm., and that of the two men from Parapití only 158.1 cm. But the average height of the four men from Ingre was 169.15 cm. The tallest of the Chiriguano men measured, who had a height of 178.6 cm., had come from Ingre, and the shortest, with a height of 153.5 cm., from Machareti. The smallest woman (between 35 and 40 years old) was only 143.0 cm., and the tallest, 158.0 cm. These numbers show us that the height of different Chiriguano individuals is quite variable. Among the Chiriguano measured by Lehmann-Nitsche, the number of those who came from the same region is too small to be able to make exact deductions about the differences in height of the Chiriguano of the various regions in order to be able to clearly demonstrate the somatic influence of mixture with other tribes.

14 The photographs of Chiriguano types published by Lehmann-Nitsche show great variations among the different features and bodies, which corresponds to the fact that the present-day Chiriguano are the product of a mixture of various ethnic elements.

113 Good photographs of the Chiriguano of the southern part
114 of their territory can be found in the publication of von Rosen,
142 Ethnographical Research Work during the Swedish Chaco-Cordillera Expedition, 1901-1902 (48). Erland von Nordenskiöld

48. Stockholm. 1924.

113 /13 cont./
114 has published Chiriguano and Chané types (49).
142

49. Erland Nordenskiöld: Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerica /Inquiry and Adventure in South America/. Stockholm, 1915. Ills. 14-16; 20 and 31. Nord. I. Figs. 75, 76, 79, 87, 106, 110, 111, 112, 116, 132, and Pl. 18-2 /the second figure of this number in the twenties is illegible/.

The Territory of the Chiriguano

C
131 Concerning the location and extent of the territory of the Chiriguano at the time of their independence, that is, from the beginning of the 16th century to the second half of the 19th century, we have Moreno's detailed studies in two places in his work already cited many times above, the titles of which are: "Las tierras de los Chiriguanos /The lands of
C [101] the Chiriguano/" (50). According to Moreno (51), the

50. Moreno II, pp. 79-126 and pp. 235-254.

51. Moreno II, p. 236.

Chiriguano--Chiriguano /14/ of the Cordillera in contrast to the Itatines-Guarayus and the Piritaguaris also often called Chiriguano in the literature -- from the time of the Conquest until they lost their independence inhabited the same territory, that is, the western spurs of the Andes from south of the Pilcomayo up to the lands which extend on both sides of the
Ce Guapay. The Chané, who formerly had a large well-populated
3 territory, "although they formed several partial migrations,
[648] remained in great number subject to the conquering Guaraní within the region which these latter had converted into their impregnable abode" (52). In 1883 Father Alejandro Corrado

52. Moreno II, p. 249.

/14 cont./

Ce 131 still writes that the Chané were found scattered among the Chiriguano located among the last spurs of the Andes (53).

53. Moreno II, p. 254.

C 131 [114] Even after losing their independence, the Chiriguano inhabited more or less the same territory. Having known personally only Machareti out of the territory of the Chiriguano, I here refer to the data of Erland Nordenskiöld, who came to know them in the years 1908, 1909, and 1913 and personally traveled through most of this territory, spending up to four to five months altogether in the study of the Chiriguano and the Chané (54).

54. Nord. 2, p. XII.

According to Nordenskiöld (55), the territory of the

55. Nord. 2, pp. XIV and XV. Cf. Métraux I, pp. 332 and 333.

Chiriguano extends from the region near Santa Cruz de la Sierra in the north to near the Bermejo River in the south. Now the Rio Grande can almost be taken as the northern limit of C Ce 131 their territory. This is the land located between the boundary of the Andes and the great plain of the Chaco, in the valleys of which the Chiriguano, and in part the Chané live. It can be said that this territory is inhabited wherever there is the necessary water, although it may be no more than enough for and their domestic animals to drink. The Chiriguano inhabit that territory contiguously, while the Chané today live in territories separated from one another. Thus some of them are on the Itiyuro River in Argentina, some are in Caipipendi, some on the lower Parapití River, and others near Itaú, south C 131 of the Pilcomayo River. Outside of the territory of the Chiriguano [167] which has thus been circumscribed, a few Chiriguano now live in the Santa Rosa Valley north of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and a few fled to the Chaco after the last broken revolt in 1890, without our having any information on their stopping place.

/14 cont./

131 without our having any information on their stopping place.
[563] Some Chorote live in the territory of the Chiriguano, near
[797] Yacuiba, and also, without counting the missions, the whole territory has been penetrated by whites and mestizos.

131 According to these data given by Nordenskiöld, the
174 territory of the Chiriguano, after their definitive subjection by the whites and up to the present time, has remained the same as that which they had at the time of their independence, except, it would seem, that they have come down more into the valleys and do not now live, as was stated in the 16th century documents, on top of the inaccessible mountains, which, as natural fortresses, offered them a secure refuge during their expeditions.

Towns and Houses

361 The arrangement of the towns and the form of the houses
177 of the Chiriguano are not at the present time the primordial ones, and they have probably passed through two different transformations, one after the other, first under the influence of the architecture of Inca culture and later the architecture of the whites. /15/ According to the Annua de la Compañia de Jesús Tucumán and Peru, of the year 1596, the Chiriguano towns were composed of only a few houses that were large enough to house as many as 100 persons. In his "Descripción breve de toda la
361 tierra del Perú, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata y Chile /A Brief
342 Description of all the Land of Peru, Tucumán, Río de la Plata,
62 and Chile/," Father Lizarraga (56) describes the Chiriguano
[113]

56. Madrid, 1909. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 15. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

towns in the following way: "The largest of the towns is one of five houses: the common number is three; but they are very long, more than 150 paces, with a two-sloped roof with posts in the middle, upon which the framework is constructed, and one kin group /parentela/ lives between one post and the next one."

/15 cont./

500 next one." Garcilaso de la Vega (57) describes the large houses

342

57. Vol. II, p. 281. According to Métraux I, p. 331.

of the Chiriguano in the same way: they build a very large dormitory, and inside as many alcoves as there are residents, and so small that there is no room for anything but persons. Through detailed descriptions and sketches, we are familiar with the construction of the towns of the ancient Guaraní of the Tupinambas on the eastern coast of Brazil (58). Four or

361 342 171 712

[113]

58. According to De Bry. Métraux, A.: La civilisation matérielle des tribus Tupí-Guarani /The Material Culture of the Tupi-Guarani Tribes/. Paris, 1928.

five long, rectangular houses were built a short distance from one another around a quadrangular or pentagonal plaza, and the whole town was fortified by a defensive wall. We also know that the ancient towns of the Chiriguano had such defensive constructions through information from the year 1618, when Ruiz Diaz de Guzman found such a fortification of a Chiriguano town near the Pilcomayo River, which consisted of "two concentric walls of stone and of wood" (59). According

361 712

361 342 171

59. Moreno II, p. 252.

to Serrano (60), the Guaraní towns of the ancient Province of

[113]

60. Antonio Serrano: Etnografía de la antigua provincia del Uruguay /Etnography of the Ancient Province of Uruguay/, Paraná, 1936, p. 125 /the second number of this figure is questionable, being barely discernible in the original text/.

Uruguay consisted of only four to eight large rectangular houses.

/15 cont./

342 171 "In 1627 the Jesuits found near Yapeyú a Guaraní aldea with four houses in which some 100 Indians lived. They found identical dwellings in San Ignacio and nearby regions. These houses were quadrangular and extremely long, often in excess of 50 meters."

361 177 178 Even during the time of their independence the Chiriguano had departed from the primordial construction of their towns, which had served in the first place for defense, since at the end of the 18th century Viedma describes their houses as "a few small ranchos made of cane" (61).

[113] 61. Viedma, Francisco de: Descripción de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra /Description of the Province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra/, Colección Angelis, Vol. 3, Buenos Aires, 1836, written 1793, p. 181. Cited by Nordenskiöld.

000 Photographs of Chiriguano Towns (tenta) and Houses (o)

I.C. 353. Chiriguano town, Machareti (Fig. 1).
I.C. 355. Scene in the town of Machareti (Fig. 17).
I.C. 356. Chiriguano in front of their house in Machareti (Fig. 14).
I.C. 357. Chiriguano storehouse in Machareti (Fig. 16).
I.C. 358. Chiriguano boys in front of their rancho in Machareti (Fig. 15).

361 [199] [363] [177] The Chiriguano town of Machareti was built in its present form by Franciscan missionaries, with wide, parallel, and right-angled streets, following the common form of old Spanish colonies, since their construction is not a product of the indigenous Chiriguano culture. But in parts, the houses and [343] primarily the maize storehouses built on posts, correspond to the houses of other Chiriguano towns, on which we have information from Erland Nordenskiöld and Eric v. Rosen (62).

62. Nord. 1, pp. 173, 176. Nord. 2, pp. 1-3. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 191 and 192, Figs. 188-192.

/16/

36 62 162 The town Ibitibi in the southern part of Chiriguano territory, south of the Pilcomayo River, examined minutely by Eric v. Rosen, was inhabited, according to the Indians, by about 300 persons. The town was located on a plain surrounded by mountains and forests. The houses formed a large circumference, the cacique's house being in the middle. Some shade trees had been planted in the open plaza between the cacique's house and the other houses. In other Chiriguano towns visited by v. Rosen, houses were dispersed without any order. According to the observations of v. Nordenskiöld too, Chiriguano towns are sometimes quite large and inhabited by around 100 persons. Often several towns are near one another. The houses are generally around a plaza sometimes planted with trees and serving as a place to play and to hold meetings.

342 We know the form of the Chiriguano houses in detail through v. Rosen (63), and primarily through the good photo-

63. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 191; Figs. 188-192 and 217.

[335] graphs of such houses. The houses are rectangular and their roofs end in points. Walls and roofs are held up by posts. The walls consist either of only vertical poles made from branches or reeds, close together and tied by horizontal ligatures, or of interwoven poles whose interstices are plastered with mud. The roof (opitiá) is covered with straw. One type of house was illustrated in a photograph by v. Rosen (64), on which one

64. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 190.

side of the roof projects at the top over the other side of the [171] roof. The same house type also exists in the ancient culture of the Peruvians, as is shown by sketches found on the surface of ancient Peruvian vessels.

/16 cont./

342 A special feature of Chiriguano houses and where they differ from those of the common ranchos of white residents is that the two oblique sides of the roof descend almost to the ground, passing far beyond the wall. Machareti houses also show this special feature. (Cf. Fig. 14 /see p. 40/.) The result of this roof construction is that the entrance (ōkye) is on the gable side. To shut the entrance they use reed mats or cowhides (65). Widely influenced by the whites, the Chiriguano

[285] [237] [177]

65. Métraux I, p. 469.

and the Chané continually vary the style of their houses, and, according to Nordenskiöld (66), today many of them are al-

66. Nord. 1, p. 173.

ready building houses identical with those of the whites.

343 In addition to the houses used for dwellings, the Chiriguano and some of the Chané have houses built on posts for storehouses (avatió). Also in Machareti such houses were commonly found beside the dwellings. Figure 16 /see p. 41 / shows such a storehouse. A ladder, which consists of a post provided with notches, leads to the platform (on the right in the figure). These storehouses serve primarily as places to keep the maize crop and other produce. The space under the platform serves for storing various other things. Nordenskiöld saw such houses built on posts, whose upper part served in general for storage, while the lower part was utilized as a dwelling (67). Often those

[417]

67. Nord. 1, p. 175; Nord. 2, p. 3.

storehouses are near the plantings far from the dwellings (68).

68. Nord. 1, p. 173.

[335] As shown in Figure 16, the frame for these storehouses consists of ten vertical posts of different lengths, bifurcated at their upper ends to support the horizontal posts that form the base for

/16 cont./

343 the roof and the /Plates V-VII appear here/ /17/ platform.
335 The middle pair of the vertical posts is the longest pair and serves to hold up the ridgepole. Of the other eight vertical posts, always in two, one longer and one shorter, have been placed immediately next to each other all along the two sides of the middle pair of posts and at a certain distance from it. Of the horizontal posts, each one of which is held up by each one of the five pairs of vertical posts, those which are placed on the higher pair and on the two pairs of middle size of the vertical posts serve to hold up the roof, while the two horizontal posts which are placed on the two smaller pairs of vertical posts form the base for the platform of the house. Besides the five pairs of vertical posts that form the frame of the house, there is also added a vertical post of the height of the platform, which serves to support the ladder leading
343 to it. The roof of these storehouses is covered with straw like the roofs of dwellings. The walls are made of reed poles very close together. While the poles of the storehouse illustrated in Figure 16 are horizontal, those of other storehouses, with which we are familiar through Nordenskiöld's photographs and those of v. Rosen and Métraux, are vertical (69). The en-

69. Nord. 1, Figs. 83 and 84 and Pl. 18.
Métraux I, Fig. 9, p. 349.

trance, which must be reached by means of the ladder, is at
[417] the gable end, like that of the dwellings. The ladder consists of a post with notches for steps (70).

70. Cf. Fig. 16, at the right. Nord. 1, Fig. 84. v. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 191.

[17] [17A] There must be some special reason to explain the surprising fact that the Chiriguano have houses built on posts, since it could not be that they brought the custom of constructing them from their native soil, because the Guaraní have
000 never had them. Nor could it be that they adopted this from

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 42]

8: Schmidt--39 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano
Chane SF8

Plate V

291
516
622
142

Fig. 12
(I.C. 246) -- The cacique of the Izozó, with his family, near Toledo

142

Fig. 13
(I.C. 245) -- Izozó youth, in Toledo

fr Schmidt--40 E-5 (1935) 1909 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate VI

342
352
516
291

Fig. 14
(I.C. 356) -- Chiriguano women and children in front of their house in Macharetí

291
516

Fig. 15
(I.C. 356) -- Chiriguano in the town of Macharetí

Plate VII

343
335

Fig. 14
(I.C. 337) -- Chiriguano storehouse built on posts in Macharetí

291
412
415

Fig. 15
(I.C. 356) -- Scene in the Chiriguano town of Macharetí. Boy dressed in a poncho. Large baked clay vessels and a mortar.

343 [177] /17 cont./ How could it be that they copied this from the whites, because in those regions they have never used houses built on posts. Neither do we have any indications that the ancient Peruvians had such houses. It is very unlikely that the Chiriguano settled in their new territory might have invented the construction of such houses, because the nature of their territory did not render such a form of construction necessary. In South America we find houses built on posts almost solely in regions exposed to floods. Thus we mainly find them in the coastal regions of the northern part of the South American continent, and they appear to the south of the Amazon River only in a relatively narrow zone in the center of the continent including Chiriguano territory. According to Marban in 1878 (71), the Mojo had houses built on posts and

[176]

343 [177]

[113]

71. Marban, Pedro "Relatión de la Provincia de la Virgen del Pilar de Mojos /Report on the Province of the Virgen del Pilar de Mojos/." Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de La Paz, Bolivia, 1898, p. 132. According to Nordenskiöld.

doubtless such house constructions were quite useful in those marshy and often flooded regions. In addition Nordenskiöld during his travels (72) found one of these houses serving as a

72. Nord. 2, p. 3.

storehouse among the Chacobo, who live north of the Mojo not very far away. Some of the Quichua /Quechua/ houses located between the Chaparé River and the Cochabamba River had been built on posts, but Nordenskiöld himself does not consider this architecture to have been primordial among them. Of the Chaco tribes who have storehouses built on posts Nordenskiöld mentions the Matako /Mataco/. I found such storehouses in the Matako town near Linares, but many of them also in the Churupí installations in Esteros. Nordenskiöld in his publications on the Churupí, whom he calls the Ashluslay, does not

C /17 cont./
343 mention the existence of such storehouses among these Indians,
171 and thus we must suppose that the Churupí adopted this style of house construction only recently and probably from the Matako, with whom they have many contacts. /18/ To complete the data on the spread of houses built on posts, I shall also mention my observations on my expeditions of 1901 and 1910 to the Guató (73). Inside many houses, under the roof

C
343
171
Go
342
[352]
[114]

73. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien /Indian Studies in Central Brazil/, Berlin, 1904, p. 178.

C
Go
[113]

and using long horizontal poles, these Indians build a platform which serves for storing various things. In this special arrangement of the Guató in building their houses, we find the rudiment of the true houses built on posts, and this is motivated by the great floods to which they were exposed even when they had been built in places higher than the marshy lands.

Go
[182]

We should not consider houses built on posts as a product of the primordial culture of the Chaco tribes. It leaves as the only center of its propogation the zone in the interior of the South American continent which we have mentioned, the center of the ancient culture of the Aruaco /Arawak/ of these regions, the territory of the Mojo. The Chané, who were later subjugated by the Chiriguano and incorporated into their community, also belonged to this Aruaco culture. We must thus surmise that houses built on posts, like those we still find today among the Chiriguano and some of the Chané, first originated in the Chané culture and later passed to the Chiriguano when the cultures of these two tribes were fused into a single one.

C
343
174
Ce
343
174
171

No doubt the special construction of these storehouses has a different purpose today among the Chiriguano and the Chané than it had in the beginning. According to Nordenskiöld, the Chané of the lower Parapití River, which is a typically marshy region, do not have such houses, while they are common among the Chiriguano and also among the former who live on solid ground not exposed to floods. Their purpose

C
Ce
343
[182]
000

C
Ce
343
182
171
231

/18 cont./ Their Purpose
today among the Chiriguano and Chané, as well as among the Matako and Churupí, is primarily to protect certain provisions against the numerous dogs and other domestic animals who are around in great number in every part of the town (74).

74. Concerning the question of the purpose of houses built upon posts with respect to damage by animals, cf. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 192-198.

C
Ce
433
224
226

Food and Drink. Manner of Eating and Drinking.

Hunting and fishing are not very important in the economy of the Chiriguano and Chané. Their territory has relatively few edible animals, and they are not very brave hunters (75).

75. Nord. 2, p. XVI.

C
Ce
224
262

Of animals that can be hunted, they eat the puma and the jaguar, while they scorn vultures, foxes, and the meat of monkeys, so craved by other Indians (76). One contribution

C
Ce
226
184

76. Nord. 1, p. 190.

to their subsistence which is worth mentioning is that from fishing, but only for the Chiriguano and Chané who live near the upper Pilcomayo River, since that river has excellent fishing. These Indians cannot make much use of fishing in the Rio Grande, because today this river can be held to be almost the frontier of their territory. The Parapití River has many fish, but they are very small. While the Chané today live in territories where for several months some fish are available, many Chiriguano towns are so far from the larger streams that fish does not enter into the diet of their inhabitants (77). With

77. Nord. 2, pp. XV and XVI.

231 /18 cont./ with
262 respect to the eating of meat, the Chiriguano depend on their livestock, which, however, according to Nordenskiöld, since they omit the raising of pigs and chickens, is not so numerous as the livestock of the Chorote and the Churupí. They do not
262 241 eat the flesh of asses, horses, /19/ and dogs (78). Although

78. Nord. 1, p. 190.

we do not have exact data on the amount of meat that their livestock yields, we can suppose that it is not very great, and thus these Indians depend principally on vegetable foods, that is, on the products of their agriculture. We should say that, in comparison with maize, all other foodstuffs have almost no importance, except among the Indians of the Parapití, among whom the sweet potato is the most important food (79).

79. Nord. 1, p. 181.

261 In times of shortage they eat various wild plants, principally
273 the sweet pods of the algarroba (November-December), which, coarsely chopped up with water, they allow to ferment in order to produce a kind of chicha which has inebriating qualities (80).

80. Nord. 1, p. 236. Métraux I, pp. 361 and 362.

262 Since meals consist principally of maize, they are very
252 monotonous, although the maize is eaten by them in many different forms, either boiled or parched, or as a flour cooked in steam, as a fried maize-cake, in embers /rescoldo/, or as a soft maize-pudding (81). Meat is eaten roasted or boiled,

81. Nord. 1, pp. 188 and 189. Métraux I, pp. 356-358.

263 together with maize. Cooking salt is used at meals. While
317 previously salt (dyúki) was obtained from mines or extracted
439 from earth from salt licks /barreros/, today it is obtained

C /19 cont./
263 from the whites (82).
317
439

82. Nord. 1, p. 189. Métraux I, pp. 359 and 360.

C Among beverages, besides water, which is scarce in cer-
273 tain regions, chicha (ka'ui) made of maize, potatoes, or
[312] algarrobo deserves mention (83). Chicha made from yellow

83. Nord. 1, pp. 234 and 236. Métraux I, pp. 364 and 365.

Ce
[273] or white maize is preferred. The chicha from potatoes by the Chané of the Parapití River is considered inferior.

C The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not eat from a
Ce common pot, but separately and from dishes. Because of this
264 their houses contain many dishes, which are normally made
415 of baked clay (nyá'e), but may also be of wood (sua) (84).

84. Cf. Nord. 1, p. 190.

C
Ce I collected various baked clay dishes among the Chiriguano
415 and Chané (cf. Figs. 78-80 /see p.143/), as well as two wooden
[126] dishes, two examples of which the Museum already had, donated by Doña María F. de Casati. I shall deal with the baked clay dishes, along with the other baked clay vessels, in the chapter on pottery, and therefore enumerate here only the wooden plates in the collection.

C Wooden Dishes (sua) of the Chiriguano
415

I. A. 351. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Diam. 21 cm. Ht. 6 cm.
I. A. 352. (") " 15.5 cm. " 3.5 cm.
I. A. 496. (Max Schmidt trip.) Diam. 23 cm. Ht. 6 cm. (Fig. 18).
I. A. 497. (" " ") " 30 cm. " 6.5 cm. (Fig. 18a).

/19 cont./

C 415 As Figure 18, a and b, shows, these wooden dishes have two handles on the rim.

C Ce 412 [177] [439] As an eating utensil the Chiriguano and Chané today use metal spoons which are acquired from the whites. But they also use wooden spoons (85).

C Ce [113]

85. Nord. 2, p. 56. Nordenskiöld, Erland: Vergleichende ethnographische Forschungen I. Eine Geographische und ethnographische Analyse der materiellen Kultur zweier Indianerstämme in el Gran Chaco /Comparative Ethnographic Investigation I. A Geographic and Ethnographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Indian Tribes in the Gran Chaco/, Göteborg, 1918, p. 93. (Cited in what follows: Nord. 3.) Métraux I, pp. 364, [illegible]-376, and Figs. 42 and 43.

C 412 /20/ Wooden Spoons (kuruha) of the Chiriguano

I. A. 353. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Length 36 cm.
I. A. 498. (Max Schmidt trip.) Length 42.5 cm. (Fig. 20).
I. A. 499. (" " ") Length 16 cm. (Fig. 22).

C [177] As Figures 20 and 22 show, there are variations in the shape of these wooden spoons. The shape of spoon I. A. 499 is almost exactly like the Chané spoon shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (86), while the shape of spoon I. A. 498 is very

86. Nord. 3, p. 93. Fig. 24 F.

similar to the spoons found in the ancient burials of the Peruvian highland, their front part and handle forming a rather straight line.

/20 cont./

C
Ce
412
17

Although it may be that the shape of the wooden spoons of the Chiriguano and of the Chané may have been influenced in many cases by the shape of the metal spoons acquired from the whites, we must nonetheless regard it as a product of the indigenous culture of South America that in pre-Columbian times had been rather widespread generally among the Andean cultures. Its appearance is quite limited among the native tribes of South America, setting aside the cases where it has been imported by the whites. But it is quite common among the Indians of the regions near Chiriguano territory in particular, for example, among the Tapieté and many other Chaco tribes, such as the Toba, Matako, Churupí, and especially also among the Mojo and, farther to the east, among the Guató. It must be supposed that the Chiriguano received this cultural possession directly or indirectly from the culture of the Andean montaña.

Shells (ínta) as Eating Utensils

Ce
237
415

I. A. 734 and 735. (Izozó.) Length 12 cm. and 10 cm.

Outside of the spoons mentioned, the Chané-Izozó also use shells as eating utensils.

Ce
415
[824]

As vessels for drinking water and chicha, they above all use cuyas /vessels made from gourds/ (cf. Figures 24-26 and 149; 150; 153) and calabashes (cf. Figures 42 and 151). For the chicha festivities this beverage is ordinarily taken out of the painted baked clay pots in cuyas with designs on them, which are passed around among those present. Of the cuyas that I acquired from the Chiriguano in Machareti many have either incised or pyrographed designs, with which I shall deal in the chapter on art. The cuyas received from the Izozó do not have designs on them, which is easily explained by the peculiar circumstance that the Izozó were at that time living near Toledo. Three of the calabashes received from the Izozó (cf. Figure 42 c) were made from the fruit of the

C
415
126
531

Ce
415
[531]
[824]

Ce /20 cont./
415 Crescentia Cuyete /Crescentia cujete/ tree, which does not
[824] grow in their territory. The cacique of the Izozó told me
[439] that these fruits had been brought from Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

C In addition to these cuyas, the Chiriguano and Izozó also
Ce use for drinking chicha small baked clay chicha vessels with
415 handles in the form of European cups. /Plates VIII-IX appear here./

C /21/ Cuyas (ia) in the Collection
415
126
531

I. A. 451.	Chiriguano	Length 14 cm.	Incised designs.		(Fig.26e.)
I. A. 452.	"	" 10 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 26a.)
I. A. 453.	"	" 10 cm.	"	"	
I. A. 454.	"	" 5.7 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 26c.)
I. A. 455.	"	" 12.5 cm.	Designs incised and pyrographed.		
I. A. 456.	"	" 11.5 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 26b.)
I. A. 457.	"	" 23 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 24.)
I. A. 458.	"	" 15 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 26d.)
I. A. 459.	"	" 13.5 cm.	No designs, red paint outside.		
I. A. 460.	"	" 20 cm.	Incised and pyrographed designs.		(Fig. 25b.)

Ce I. A. 461-463; 490; 537-539. Chiriguano. No designs.
[415] I. A. 666 Izozó Length 19.5 cm. No designs, with handle. (Fig. 25a.)
I. A. 667-670. " No designs.

The length of these cuyas is quite variable. The largest of them measures 23 cm. in length and the smallest only 5.5 cm.

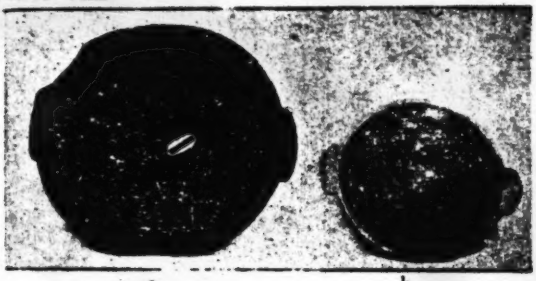
Calabashes (iá, ua) in the Collection

I. A. 464-467.	Chiriguano	With pyrographed designs. (I. A. 466: Fig. 151.)
I. A. 458.	"	No designs; with a maize cob for stopper.
I. A. 469.	"	No designs; entwined all around.
I. A. 661 and 662.	Izozó	No designs. (Fig. 42 a and b.)
I. A. 663-665.	"	No designs; made from the fruit of the Crescentia Cuyete tree. (I. A. 665: Fig. 42.)

Ce
415
126
[531]

Plate VIII

415



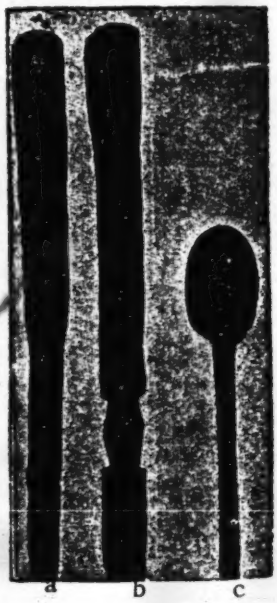
a b

Fig. 18

412 →

415 ←

Fig. 19



a b c

Fig. 20

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

276

Fig. 23

/The captions are on p. 52./

8: Schmidt--51 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate IX

C
415
531

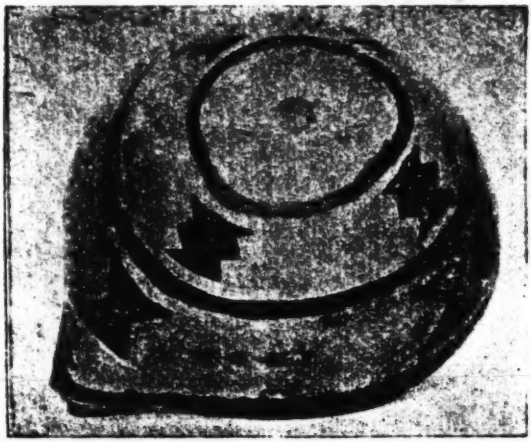


Fig. 24

C
Ce
415

Fig. 25

C
415
531

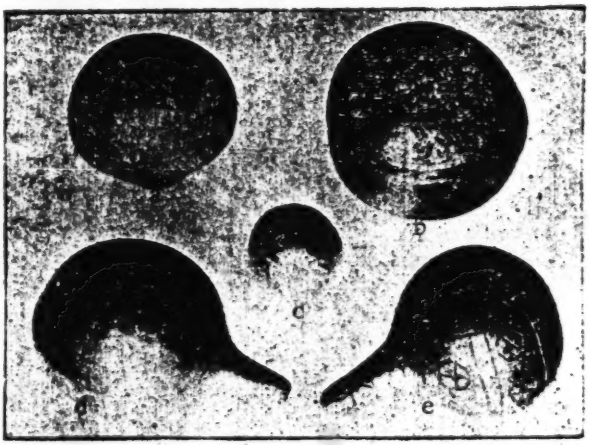


Fig. 26

/The captions are on p. 52./

8: Schmidt- 52 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates VIII and IX./

C 415

Plate VIII

Fig. 18. a (I. A. 497): wooden dish (Chiriguano), diam. 30 cm.
b (I. A. 496): wooden dish (Chiriguano), diam 23 cm.

Fig. 19. (I. A. 574.) Wooden platter (Chiriguano), length 83 cm.

C 412

Fig. 20. a (I. A. 578), b (I. A. 576): wooden spatulas for stirring foods and drinks (Chiriguano), length 66.5 cm. and 114 cm.
c (I. A. 498): wooden spoon (Chiriguano), length 42.5 cm.

Fig. 21. (I. A. 502.) Spatula for stirring foods and drinks (Chiriguano), length 24.5 cm.

C 276

Fig. 22. (I. A. 499.) Wooden spoon (Chiriguano), length 16 cm.

Fig. 23. (I. A. 511.) Wooden pipe (Chiriguano), length 10.5 cm.

C 415

Plate IX

Fig. 24. (I. A. 457.) Decorated cuya (Chiriguano), length 23 cm.

Ce [415]

Fig. 25. a (I. A. 666): cuya with sewing (Izozó), length 19.5 cm.
b (I. A. 460): decorated cuya (Chiriguano), length 20 cm.

Fig. 26. Decorated cuyas (Chiriguano): a (I. A. 452), length 10 cm.; b (I. A. 456), length 11.5 cm.;
c (I. A. 454), length 5.7 cm.; d (I. A. 458), length 15 cm.; e (I. A. 451), length 14 cm.

C
Ce
415

/21 cont./

The largest of these calabashes measures 50 cm. and the smallest 7.5 cm.

Ce
276

Stimulants

The Izozó whom I found in Toledo were not smokers. They attached no importance to the tobacco and pipes that I offered them. I acquired from the Chiriguano a simple wooden pipe, straight in shape, of the kind commonly used among the tribes of the Chaco, but I have seen no other pipes among them; neither have I seen them smoking.

C
276
[126]

C
[126]

Pipe (cachimbo) in the Collection

I. A. 740. Chiriguano. Length 10.5 cm. (Fig. 23.)

C
Ce
249
276

According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano and the Chané plant tobacco, but its planting is not significant and they are not great smokers. If they smoke, they ordinarily use cigarettes, with a wrapper made out of a maize leaf, and only rarely use pipes (87). This explains the very uncharacteristic form of the

C
276

87. Nord. I, p. 182. Cf. Métraux I, p. 339.

pipe that I found among the Chiriguano. A pipe of very different shape, with a special handle in front of the tobacco bowl, is represented in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (88). According to

C
[177]

88. Nord. I, p. 179. Fig. 88.

the same author, the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua have received from the latter the custom of chewing coca.

/22/

Body Care and Rest

C
Ce
515

The Izozó in Toledo and the Chiriguano in Machareti offer a contrast with the Indians of the Chaco whom I visited in that they are relatively clean. We must recognize that this cleanliness, which has also been praised by other authors, occurs despite the fact that a great many of them live in regions with very little water and where often the quantity cannot satisfy the necessities of cleanliness except with great difficulties. According to Nordenskiöld, they bathe several times a day and often directly after eating. After meals they wash their mouths and their hands (89).

C
Ce
[312]

89. Nord. I, pp. 180, 19 /the third figure of this page number in the 190's is illegible/, 203, 204.

Gi
352
513

For sleeping, the ancient Guaraní commonly used the hammock. "The sleeping hammock which they hung from two pillars in the dwelling was characteristic of the Guaraní," says Serrano of the Guaraní of the ancient Province of Uruguay (90). The Chiriguano and Izozó still have hammocks

C
Ce
513
352

90. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 120.

today, but these are not commonly used and serve less for sleeping at night than for resting during the day (91).

91. Cf. Nord. I, p. 177. Nord. 2, p. 9. Métraux I, p. 470 and Plate 88.

C /22 cont./
352 Hammocks (Chiriguano: kía; Izozó: iní) in the Collection
[126]

I. A. 448. Chiriguano. Wool. Length 230 cm. Width 75 cm. (Fig.102b).
I. A. 449. " " " 105 cm. " 60 cm.
I. A. 450. " " " 285 cm. " 60 cm. (Fig. 102a).
Ce I. A. 360. Gift of Mr. Teodoro Rojas. (Chané of the Parapití.)
[126] From Caraguatá. Length 320 cm. (Fig. 102c).
[352]

C The hammocks that I acquired among the Chiriguano in
352 Machareti were all made of wool, as were the hammocks that
286 Métraux saw among the Chiriguano (92). According to

92. Métraux I, p. 470.

Nordenskiöld (93), Chiriguano hammocks are commonly made

93. Nord. 2, p. 12.

C of cotton and only incidentally of wool. Of the three large
286 hammocks in the collection, two (I. A. 448 and 449) were
352 plaited with the technique very common among the Indians of
126 South America, which in my publication on the Guarayú, which appeared in this same journal, I called "double thread plaiting" (Doppelfadengeflecht) (94), while one (I. A. 450) shows the

94. Cf. Fig. 102b /see p.174/.

Ce structure of a piece of weaving. (Cf. Fig. 102a) From the
286 Chané the Museum's collection has hammock I. A. 360, which
352 Mr. Teodoro Rojas acquired among the Indians of the Parapití
[126] River and presented to the Museum. (Fig. 102c.) This hammock was made of caraguata fibers and with a netting technique. According to Nordenskiöld, in addition to such hammocks of caraguata fiber the Chané have others made of cotton, on the technique of which we have no information.
C With regard to the details of these Chiriguano and Chané
Ce hammocks, I refer to the chapters dedicated to the description
286 of the technique of plaiting and the technique of preparing netting.
352

/22 cont./

352 The Chiriguano generally sleeps on a kind of cot (catre),
513 that is, a bed frame made of cane. Such beds, which in
[251] addition to their own purpose also serve for drying maize, have been represented in drawings by Eric v. Rosen (95), Erland

95. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 190.

[174] v. Nordenskiöld (96), and Métraux (97). No doubt /23/ the
[178]

96. Nord. 2, Fig. 2.

97. Métraux 1, Fig. 125, p. 470.

cold climate of the region to which the Chiriguano had emigrated made them abandon the use of the hammock for sleeping, not very practical for such a climate, and replace it with the cot, which was already common among the tribes of those
[232] regions. Lacking a cot, the Chiriguano sleep on the ground.
[824] In that case they use for a bed large mats made of cane or palm
[126] leaves, or also hides (98). I acquired from the Chiriguano one
[824]

98. Nord. 1, p. 177. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 200. Métraux 1, p. 470.

such mat plaited out of palm leaves (Fig. 95).

Chiriguano Mat (túpa) in the Collection

I. A. 540. Length 1.75 m. Width 1.50 m. (Fig. 95).

352 In some Chiriguano houses I also saw wooden benches
17 (apika), but unfortunately I could not acquire a specimen.
[126] Those benches in the form of a sled are very similar to the kind of benches that are very common among the Indians of Brazil (99) and those that we also know from the ancient

[113] 99. Cariy /sic/ von den Steinen: Unter den

C
352
171
[113]

/23 cont./

Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, Berlin, 1894, p. 286.

Peruvians (100). Nordenskiöld and Métraux show such

C
[113]

100. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/, Berlin, 1929, p. 436.

Chiriguano benches in drawings (101).

101. Nord. 1, Fig. 85. Métraux 1, pp. 471 and 472 and Fig. 129.

C
Ce
291
302
178

Painting and Deformations of the Body

As the use of clothing has increased among the Chiriguano and Chané, the custom of painting or tattooing the body has naturally lost importance and the remnants of such customs are too few to be able to say what they were in the past. Nor do we have data on this. I often saw Chiriguano and Izozó women and girls paint themselves with urucú, making colored spots on their faces. According to Nordenskiöld, men and women sometimes paint their faces, as well as their bodies, with red paint (102). Nordenskiöld also found tattooing on

C
Ce
302

C
302

102. Nord. 1, p. 203.

the arms of some women and one Chiriguano man (103). The

103. Nord 1, p. 203. Nord. 2, p. 83, Fig. 27.

custom of dyeing the teeth with dark blue was found by

C /23 cont./
302 Viedma among the Chiriguano men (104), and Nordenskiöld

C
[113]

104. Viedma: Descripción de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Colección Angelis, Vol. 3. Buenos Aires, 1836. Written 1793. Page 181. According to Nordenskiöld.

found it among the women in the valley of Caipipendi (105).

105. Nord. 2, p. 85.

The latter used for that the leaves of a plant that they call "tajú" (tayú = lapacho).

Ee
301
304
174
Gi
301
172

With respect to body deformations we can suppose that it was once a common custom among the Chané and Chiriguano to wear a "tembetá" in the pierced lower lip. Of the Guaraní of ancient times it has been stated that the men had this tembetá, and the custom is confirmed by prehistoric finds (106).

106. Cf. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 122.

Ee
301
174

The form, material, and dimensions of these tembetá were varied and varied regionally. What was the shape of the tembetá that the Guaraní had when at the beginning of the 16th century they emigrated to the spurs of the Cordillera? We do not know. Neither do we know whether or not the Chané had the tembetá when they were enslaved by the Chiriguano. We can assume that the metal tembetás of the Chiriguano and the Chané in their present form have their origin in the period after their contacts with the ancient Peruvians. /24/ since they did not know the technique of working metal and even today most of their tembetás are made by nearby mestizos or whites, who make them to their taste. According to Chomé's (107)

Ee
[199]
[325]
C
301
C
[113]

107. "Lettre du père Ignace Chomé." Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. New edition, Vol. 8, Paris, 1781, p. 326. According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 73.

C /24 cont./
301 account, Chiriguano men wore small cylinders of tin, silver, or resin in the pierced lower lip. It can perhaps be surmised that the aforementioned silver tembetás of the Chiriguano
C were formerly more common among them. According to
Ce Nordenskiöld, at the time of his trip, that is, in 1908 and
301 1909, all the Chiriguano and Chané men of the older generation, and in a few Chiriguano villages the young men and boys, wore the tembetá. Among the Izozó whom I saw in Toledo and in "15 de Agosto" only the old men had the tembetá (cf. Fig. 27 and 28 /see p. 61 /), and among the Chiriguano in Machareti I did not see any men with them.

Ce
301 Tembetás in the Collection
126

I. A. 729.	Izozó.	Length of the base 2.6 cm. Height of the cylinder 0.9 cm. Diameter of the cylinder 1.5 cm. (Fig. 28b.)
I. A. 730.	"	Length of the base 2.8 cm. Height of the cylinder 1.3 cm. Diameter of the cylinder 1 cm. (Fig. 28d.)
I. A. 731.	"	Length of the base 2.5 cm. Height of the cylinder 1.3 cm. Diameter of the cylinder 0.8 cm. (Fig. 28a.)
I. A. 732.	"	Length of the base 3.2 cm. Height of the cylinder 1.4 cm. Diameter of the cylinder 1.8 cm. (Fig. 28c.)
I. A. 733.	"	Height 2 cm. Diameter 1.8 cm. (Fig. 28e.)

The form of the first four tembetás mentioned is that of a cylinder placed on a base of the same metal. On the front surface of the cylinder is placed a disk of semiprecious stone, blue or green, which in three cases exhibits a round perforation in the center, which in two cases is filled with metal. The stone disk
Ce of the tembetá I. A. 729 is broken. The tembetá I. A. 733 is of
301 wax and has the form of an obtuse cone. The tembetás described by v. Rosen and v. Nordenskiöld are different from

Ce
301

/24 cont./

those mentioned in that on the front surface in place of the semiprecious stone there were placed small blue or green stones, or also glass beads of the same color, placed inside a covering of wax with which the cylinder was filled. A good representation in a drawing of such a Chiriguano tembetá with glass beads has been published by v. Rosen (108).

108. v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 202.

C
Ce
301

According to Nordenskiöld (109), the Chané tembetás

109. Nord. 1, p. 211. Nord. 2, pp. 71-77.

are generally smaller than those of the Chiriguano. Comparing the measurements of the tembetás I acquired among the Izozó with the measurements given by v. Rosen, this statement is justified with respect to the length of the base of the tembetás and with respect to the diameter of the cylinder. Certainly also these differences between the larger tembetá of the Izozó and the tembetá described by v. Rosen are very slight, this difference being only 3 mm. with respect to the length of the base and only 2 mm. with respect to the diameter of the cylinder. In contrast to this, the cylindrical part of three of these Izozó tembetás is rather higher than the corresponding part of the tembetá described by v. Rosen. While the height of the latter measures only 1 cm., the cylinders of the three Izozó tembetás have a height of 1.3-1.4 cm. The height of the fourth Izozó tembetá is almost like that of the aforementioned Chiriguano tembetá, being 1 mm. less than the latter. /Plates X-XI appear here./

Chrome SF8
Izozo

Plate X

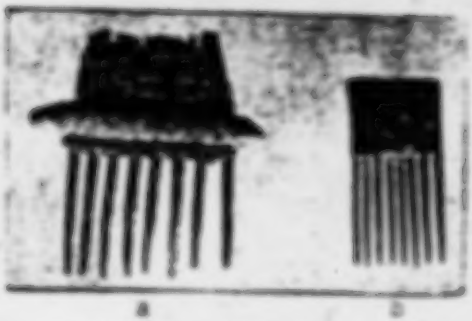
Fig. 27

301

a d e

Fig. 28

412



a b

Fig. 29

/The captions are on p. 63./

Chane SF8
Izozo

301

Plate XI

Fig. 30

Fig. 31

Fig. 32

/The captions are on p. 63./

Br Schmidt--63 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates X and XI/

Plate X

Fig. 27. (I.C. 249.) Izozó man with a tembetá in his lower lip.

301 Fig. 28. Tembetás of the Izozós a (I.A. 731), length 2.5 cm.; b (I.A. 729), length 2.6 cm.; c (I.A. 732, length 3.2 cm.; d (I.A. 730), length 2.8 cm.; e (I.A. 733), height 2 cm.
a-d. of tin and semiprecious stones; e. of wax.

412 Fig. 29. Combs of the Izozós a (I.A. 740), length 9.5 cm.; b (I.A. 1317), length 7.5 cm.

301 Plate XI

Fig. 30. Cotton bands for the men's hair (Izozó): a (I.A. 660), length 97.5 cm., width 3.4 cm.; b (I.A. 653), length 100 cm., width 3.3 cm.; c (I.A. 655), length 96.5 cm., width 2 cm.; d (I.A. 656), length 90 cm., width 2.3 cm.

Fig. 31. (I.A. 738.) Band of human hair for the men's hair (Izozó), length 260 cm., width 8.2 cm.

Fig. 32. Cotton bands for women's hair (Izozó): a (I.A. 646); b (I.A. 641). (Cf. Fig. 141 /see p.201/.)

/25/

Ce 301 The way these tembetás are used has often been described. Figure 27 shows an Izozó man from whose pierced lower lip projects a round stone disk. When these Indians use the tembetá, they pass it from the inside through the perforation in the lip so that its base is between the row of lower teeth and the lower lip, with the cylinder sticking out from the lip.

C Ce 301 The lower base of three of the Izozó tembetás is quite flat, and only the lower base of tembetá I. A. 129 has a clearly concave form. This is of interest because v. Nordenskiöld and v. Rosen, when they describe the Chiriguano and Chané tembetás mention only those which have a concave base (110).

110. Nord. 2, p. 72.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano and Chané sometimes use wooden tembetá's in the form of flat cylinders (111).

111. Nord. 2, p. 72.

Ce 301 237 [123] As already mentioned, I obtained simple wax tembetá from the Izozó. The old man who took it out of his lower lip to give it to me doubtless was using it provisionally for lack of another tembetá, in order to close the perforation in his lower lip and prevent the saliva from coming out.

C Ce 304 301 [622] The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not have the custom of piercing their ear lobes. According to Nordenskiöld (112),

112. Nord. 2, p. 77.

C Ce [177] Ce 301 the caciques formerly used pendant earrings set with green stones. If the younger women and girls have recently begun to use earrings, they are imitating this custom of the whites. The cacique of the Izozó in Toledo told me that the women had gold and silver earrings, which at that time they had hidden.

/25 cont./

C
Ce
302

Cutting and Combing the Hair, and Head Adornment

The women wear their hair plaited into long or medium long braids hanging down to their shoulders (113). As can be

113. See Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Plates XI and XII.

seen in Figures 4, 5, and 12 and in the photographs of Chiriguano women published by Lehmann-Nitsche, the hair of the women and girls is always parted over the forehead. The girls always have such a part from childhood. (See Fig. 8 /see p. 28/.) At the time of the first menstruation, the girls' hair is cut short (114), and the women also cut their hair in the

C
Ce
[881
965]

114. Nord. 1, p. 210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 201.

event of the death of the husband or one of their close relatives; sometimes they cut it twice when the husband dies (115).

115. Nord. 1, p. 220.

C
Ce
301
126

At the nape of the neck, and sometimes also at the top of the head, the hair is tied together with cotton bands. The collection which I brought to the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay contains 29 of these bands used by Izozó women, all of which have the same typical form.

Ce
301

Bands for Women's Hair, from the Collection

(I. A. 624-652.) (Izozó.) (I. A. 646 and 641 shown in Fig. 32a and b.)

The length of these bands for the hair, on the average, is 1.04 cm. /sic/. The longest band measures 1.45 meters, and the shortest, 0.65 meters. The average length of the tassels is 14.3 cm. The longest tassel measures 17.5 cm.; the shortest, 9 cm.

Ce /26/
301 The form of these bands, all of which have been made of cotton, is in general the same. As Fig. 32 shows, they consist of a long middle part which has at its two ends a sort of tassel made up of some strings provided with knots. The middle part generally consists of a cord plaited with three skeins of thread like a braid. But it can also be in the form of a band if more than three skeins of thread have been plaited as shown in Figure 32a. The tassels of these bands are made in the following way: The ends of the threads of the middle part are wrapped by another thread in such a way that knots are made with the same thread, one directly after the other or at a certain distance apart. The number of these pendants with knots varies between three and eight with regard to the bands in the collection, but in only four cases is the number over five.

From the figures given with regard to the length of these hair bands, it can be seen that their length can differ greatly. The longest band measures more than twice the length of the shortest in the collection. The bands have been made of threads of very different colors. Thus there are among them white ones, blue ones, or some of a violet or gray-brown color, with different shadings up to almost black. Generally, the middle part and the thread that forms the knots of the tassels are of the same color. Only in the case of band I. A. 629 is the color of the middle part different from that of the tassels.

C
301 According to Lehmann-Nitsche, some of the Chiriguano women who were the subjects of his anthropological investigations also wore such bands in their hair, and therefore we can consider these to be a cultural possession common to the Izozó and the Chiriguano. But, according to this author, those that he saw among the Chiriguano women, which he describes as "cords decorated with a series of knots," were made of wool threads. The Chiriguano women used them in such a way that their hair was interlaced with them (116).

116. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., p. 56.

C /26 cont./
301 One head ornament used by the Chiriguano women at festivities and as a special mark of distinction is still to be mentioned. This ornament, described by Nordenskiöld, is made up of a forehead band with a long pendant tied to the back part as decoration (117).

117. Nord. 2, pp. 92 and 93 and Fig. 28.

C
Ce
302 The Chiriguano and Chané men today in most cases wear their hair in the modern fashion, cut short. The two Chiriguano boys shown in Figure 7 are even wearing a side part with rodete /hair arranged on the top of the head/, perhaps
Ce especially prepared for the photograph. The hair of the Izozó
302 boy shown in Figure 11 is rather long on the front part of the head, but the hair has been cut in the back and on the sides as
C well. Only the older men, and, according to Nordenskiöld,
302 in the Chiriguano towns of the upper Pilcomayo River the young men as well (118), wear the hair long and wrapped in a special

118. Nord. 1, p. 202.

manner around the head. Lehmann-Nitsche (119) reports to

119. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., p. 56.

us specifically on this hair style of the old men as follows: "Their hair had apparently never been cut and was combed in a special manner; after it had been thrown to the back, they would part it into two halves with their hands, to the right and to the left, respectively, then the right half is brought forward and wrapped toward the left around the head
C in the form of a Muslim turban, while the left half is wrapped
[301] around the other way." The rodetes of the Chiriguano men described by Lehmann-Nitsche were tied up with ordinary
Ce handkerchiefs. Among the Izozó I found some narrow bands
301 /27/ which were used especially for this purpose, and
302

Ce 301 302 /27 cont./
Nordenskiöld shows in a photograph a Chané man with such a band (120). According to information in the Annuae

C 302 171

120. Nord. 1, Plate 20.

litterae Societatis Jesu of the year 1605, the Chiriguano men previously wore a tonsure like that of the Guaraní in Paraguay and the Tupinambá on the Brazilian coast: "Coronis in modum nostrorum sacerdotum utuntur" /coronal in the style of our priest/ (121).

121. Métraux I, p. 467.

Ce 301

Men's Hair Bands

I. A. 653-660. (Izozó), woven of cotton. (Fig. 30: I. A. 660, 653, 655, 656.)

The average length of these men's hair bands measures about one meter. The longest is 1.18 meters and the smallest 0.91 meters. Although the length of all of these bands is almost the same, there are quite big differences in their width, the width varying between 1 cm. and 3.3 cm. The narrowest of these bands were woven plain, without decorations, and are in part white, in part later dyed with blue, red, or blue-gray dye. The two widest bands, 3.0 and 3.3 cm. wide, respectively, show simple ornamentation produced by the weaving. I shall deal with the details of the technique of this weaving and its ornamentation in the chapters on weaving and art.

Beside these bands woven out of cotton, the Izozó have men's hair bands which are longer and wider and woven out of human hair, ending in fringes at the two ends.

/27 cont./

Men's Hair Bands Woven out of Human Hair

Ce 301 439

These bands woven out of human hair correspond, with regard to their manufacture, to the bands that the Chiriguano and Chané make today in great numbers to sell to the whites. These "fajas," as they are commonly called today, represent an article eagerly sought by the whites who are in contact with these Indians, and especially by the soldiers, who wear them as a belt. One of the two Chiriguano men shown in Figure 6 wears such a faja as a belt, and, because we can surmise that today this is their principal use among the Chiriguano as well, we shall deal with them in the following chapter devoted to the description of clothing.

C 301 291 178

C 291 177

Straw Hat (kandáo of the Chiriguano

I. A. 554. Diameter 30 cm. Height 12 cm. (Fig. 99.)

The technique of this hat plaited out of palm-leaf fibers is not native since it is of modern manufacture. As Figure 9 shows, the Izozó men also wear such hats.

Ce [291] [177]

Caps Made with Crochet Hooks

I. A. 442 and 443. (Chiriguano.) Made of Wool. Height 15.5 cm. and 14 cm., resp.

These two crocheted wool caps, which I obtained from the Chiriguano in Machareti, must also be considered as of modern manufacture.

/28/

Combs (kívua) in the Collection

C
Ce
412
322
[126]

I. A. 740. (Found on the road between Capirenda and Garrapatal. Length 9.5 cm. Width 9 cm. (Fig. 29a.)
I. A. 1327. Izozó. Length 7.5 cm. Width 3.5 cm. (Fig. 29b.)

The two combs in the collection, coming from the Izozó, represent two completely different types of comb. To the first type belongs the comb I. A. 740, which is made up of some little wooden sticks held together between two transverse pieces of cane interwoven with threads. (Cf. Fig. 29a.) The comb of the second type, I. A. 1327, has simply been carved from a single piece of flat wood. (Cf. Fig. 29b.) A comb similar to I. A. 740, coming from the Chané, is shown by Nordenskiöld in a drawing (122). The three Chiriguano

C
412
322

122. Nord. 1, Fig. 109.

combs shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (122) /see footnote 122 above/ belong to the second type and have been carved from wood, like the Izozó comb I. A. 1327. But in contrast to this one, the upper parts of their backs have been carved. Likewise the Chiriguano combs shown in drawings by v. Rosen and Métraux (123) are decorated with such carving.

123. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 196.
Métraux I, Plate 87.

C
Ce
412
322
171

Up to now there has been some doubt as to how these two different types of combs might be distributed among the Chané and the Chiriguano. According to Nordenskiöld (124),

124. Nord. 2, p. 81.

the Chiriguano only have combs carved from a single piece of wood, and the Chané commonly have the type of comb with small sticks and rarely the simple comb carved from wood.

/28 cont./

C
Ce
412
322
171

V. Rosen and Métraux found among the Chiriguano combs made of little sticks (125), and, as already mentioned, I obtained these

125. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 202. Métraux I, pp. 467 and 468 and Fig. 123.

two types of comb from the Izozó. According to this, I believe that we must decide the question of the manner by which the two types of comb appear simultaneously among the Chiriguano and among the Chané, but noting first that among the latter the comb made of little sticks is more common and among the former the wooden comb is more common.

Because the diffusion of simple combs carved from wood, like those that the Chiriguano and the Izozó-Chané have, is relatively restricted among the other tribes of South American natives, while this type of comb was known to the ancient Peruvian culture, we must also include this cultural possession among the ancient Peruvian influences (126). The combs fitted

126. Nord. 2, p. 81.

with little sticks, which we know from the Chané and the Chané-Izozó, are different from such combs used by most of the Chaco tribes, for example, by the Churupí /Chulupi/ and the Maká /Maca/, not only with respect to its material but also with respect to its method of manufacture. But I do not accept Nordenskiöld's opinion, according to which those Chané combs are different, in that they are only usable on one side, from those of the Chaco tribes, which were usable from both sides (127). The Chaco Indian combs furnished with little

Ce
[114]

127. Nord. 1, p. 204. Métraux I, p. 467.

sticks that I am familiar with are also used only on one side for combing, inasmuch as the other side is the handle. We can be quite sure of that because the little sticks of cane that form the teeth of the comb are pointed at only one end. The

000

Ce 322 412 171

/28 cont./ The main difference between the Chané combs and the combs of the Chaco tribes is that the teeth of the latter are made of little sticks of cane, and the teeth of the former, of little sticks of any other kind of wood. The /29/ wooden teeth of the Izozó comb in our collection are between two flat little sticks of cane vertical to them, and on the handle end, between the little sticks whose lower parts form the teeth, shorter little sticks have been inserted, so that at the lower part of the comb there is a certain distance between the teeth. The lacing, consisting of cotton threads, covers the upper part of the comb as far as the edge, but also slightly covers the lower part which forms the teeth. The lacing is not secured with wax.

Ce 322 412

Ce [284]

With respect to hair care, we still must mention the data of Nordenskiöld and of Métraux (127) /see footnote 127 above/ to the effect that the Chiriguano and some of the Chané rub their hair with "Nyantéra" seed ("ñitira," according to Métraux), and the Chané of the Parapití with the rind of the mistol /Zizyphus mistol/. "yuag."

Ce Ce 302 824

From Father Lizárraga's description (128), we know that

Ce Ce 302 178 [171]

128. Moreno II, p. 101.

the Chiriguano and Chané in the past plucked out the hairs of the body, except from the head, as do most of the Indians of South America. Father Lazarraga /sic/ says that the Chiriguano plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes. This custom does not exist today, and the photographs of nude Chiriguano men shown by Lehmann-Nitsche (129) show that today as a general

129. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Fig.

rule they do not remove hair from the pubic regions. Also one meets today some middle-aged men who have mustaches, such as the cacique of the Izozó shown in Figure 10 and some of the Chiriguano men shown in drawings by Lehmann-Nitsche (130).

130. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Plates VIII-X.

C
Ce
412
301
302
178

/29 cont./

Because of this change the implement for plucking hair, consisting of small tweezers, formerly very common, has naturally lost a great part of its importance today, and similarly, in its transformed state as a chest ornament, it is rarer. I found such tweezers among the Mataco and the Churupí. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such tweezers or the corresponding chest ornament, called "boivera" also by the Chiriguano. Nordenskiöld describes these tweezers in detail (131),

131. Nord. 2, pp. 81 and 82.

and he adds that the Chiriguano also use small sticks of cane to pluck out hair.

C
412
301
171

The form of these tweezers made of metal corresponds to that of the tweezers known through finds made in the burials of the ancient Peruvians. Today these tweezers are normally made of any piece of tin plate or sheet iron, which, when provided with a cord, they use for chest ornaments, besides their original purpose. This custom of using tweezers as a chest ornament was very common among the ancient Peruvians. Among the latter's necklaces there are many that, apart from other things, consist of silver tweezers. It was customary among the ancient Peruvians that these enlarged tweezers, unsuitable for their original purpose, be transformed into a pure and distinctive ornament. The Museum of Ethnography in Berlin has such ornaments in the form of depilatory tweezers, made of copper, silver, or gold, in great number, one example of which is 52 centimeters in length (132). Therefore I suppose

C
301
[174]
C
[113]

132. Cf. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru, Berlin, 1929, pp. 83, 369, 397, and 399.

we must deduce that the Chiriguano custom of using as a chest ornament a silver ornament in the form of one of those tweezers is due to ancient Peruvian influence. There are several specimens of the "boiveras," now rare and doubtless most of the time carefully kept from the view of the whites, in

/29 cont./

301 [439] European museums. These are not made by the Chiriguano themselves, but by their mestizo neighbors and sold to the Indians. The external form is still that of tweezers, much enlarged. But the boivera of today, discounting its size, also cannot be used for plucking hair because the two parts /30/ of its lower edge have been soldered. The fact that the decoration of the surface is not still primordial is explained by the fact that the Chiriguano are not the makers of these ornaments.

291

Clothing and Adornment

From the 16th century we have the brief description of the Chiriguano by Bishop Lizarraga (133) where, among other

[113]

133. Lizarraga: "Descripción et población de las Indias /Description and population of the Indies/." In Moreno II, p. 101.

things, it is said: "They go about naked or at the most sometimes have a short shirt /camisatilla/ down to the navel." We can assume that this statement by the Bishop as of that time refers only to the Chiriguano men, because it is likely that by the time of their immigration the Chiriguano women were wearing a garment which covered their genital organs, as we know the Guaraní women of the ancient Province of Uruguay did (134). It is likely that this garment had the same form as

174 291 [191]

134. Serrano, op. cit., pp. 123 and 124.

the "tipoy," which is a garment in the form of a poncho without sewing and which even today is very common among Chiriguano and Chané women, as well as among various other Indian tribes of South America.

/30 cont./

Ce 291 177 C [291] [177]

The Chiriguano and Chané men whom I saw were dressed in the European manner, as, according to Nordenskiöld, is the common custom among them today (135). Yet many

135. Nord. 2, p. 59.

Izozó men whom I met in Toledo did not have such complete European clothing. Several of them had no shirt, and various others, especially young men and boys, went about without trousers. But no doubt such a state was only temporary, a result of the exceptional condition of the Izozó transplanted from their usual districts to Toledo. When I passed out clothing to these Indians in Toledo, all of those who were lacking garments presented themselves. On the following day this scarcity was more evident among those attracted by the donations made on the day previous. Most of the boys appeared trouserless then, because they had seen that those who had not had such an article of clothing had been favored on the day before.

Ce [123]

C Ce 291

Of the native garments the men still use the one called "chiripá," the poncho, and the simple manta. According to Nordenskiöld (136), they sometimes still wear a "tirucumbai"

136. Nord. 2, p. 59.

shirt, which consists of a poncho whose two sides have been sewed together up to the arms.

The chiripá consists of a quadrangular piece of material which passes between the legs and whose two ends are stuffed, before and behind, into a belt. Worn in this way, the chiripá covers the genital organs. Figure 11 shows an Izozó boy dressed in such a chiripá. Nordenskiöld also shows a drawing of a Chané boy dressed in a chiripá (137). According to

137. Nord. 1, Fig. 110.

this author, the chiripá is also often used by the Chiriguano and Chané men when they are working.

/30 cont./

C
Ce
291
[439]
[126]

The poncho is a garment in common use even today among Chiriguano and Chané men and boys during the cold season. Figure 17 shows a Chiriguano boy wearing a poncho. Because ponchos today, like the fajas, are an article eagerly sought by the whites and are often made to be sold commercially, I tried to collect only ponchos worn by the Indians themselves.

C
Ce
291
126

/31/ Ponchos (asó'ia) in the Collection

I. A. 423.	(Chiriguano.)	Of wool.	Length	1.45 m.	Width	1.14 m.
I. A. 424.	"	"	"	1.70 m.	"	1.46 m.
I. A. 425.	"	"	"	1.65 m.	"	1.32 m.
I. A. 426.	"	"	"	1.68 m.	"	1.39 m.
						(Fig. 117.)
I. A. 427.	"	Of cotton."		1.36 m.	"	1.95 m.
I. A. 808.	(Izozó)	Of cotton."		1.46 m.	"	1.35 m.
I. A. 809.	"	Of wool. "		1.42 m.	"	1.09 m.
I. A. 110	"	"	"	1.62 m.	"	1.38 m.
I. A. 812	"	"	"	1.16 m.	"	1.17 m.
I. A. 813.	"	"	"	1.16 m.	"	0.78 m.
I. A. 814.	"	"	"	1.36 m.	"	0.68 m.
I. A. 815.	"	"	"	1.28 m.	"	0.64 m.
I. A. 819.	"	Of cotton."		1.26 m.	"	1.10 m.
I. A. 823.	"	Of wool. "		1.40 m.	"	1.30 m.
						(Fig. 116.)
I. A. 825.	"	"	"	1.50 m.	"	1.22 m.
I. A. 830.	"	"	"	1.40 m.	"	0.97 m.
I. A. 833.	"	Of cotton."		1.56 m.	"	1.25 m.
I. A. 834.	"	"	"	1.26 m.	"	0.93 m.
I. A. 835.	"	"	"	1.42 m.	"	1.21 m.
I. A. 836.	"	"	"	1.08 m.	"	0.71 m.
I. A. 837.	"	"	"	0.96 m.	"	0.78 m.

C
Ce
291

In order to explain the above-mentioned measurements we must say that the measurements of length refer to the entire length of the poncho when stretched out. As Figure 17 shows, the poncho is used in such a way that the slit, being in its center,

/31 cont./

C
Ce
291

is brought over the head so that the slit is in the direction of the middle axis of the human body and the middle of the poncho across the shoulders, one part hanging in front and the other behind. Thus the distance between the lower edge of the poncho and the shoulders of the man who is wearing the poncho corresponds to half the length of the poncho when stretched out. Only in the case of two of the Izozó woolen ponchos is half the length equal to the width. I shall deal with the manufacture and decoration of these ponchos in the chapters on the technique of weaving and art.

Ce
29
286
513
126

The Chané of the Parapití River still often wear mantas woven of wool, which they also use to sleep on or to cover themselves with when they are sleeping (138). I have acquired

138. See Nord. 1, p. 202.

nine of these mantas from the Izozó, four of which had been made from ponchos, the slit in the center of them having been closed by sewing. Among the other four mantas which had been made as mantas from the first, the relationship between the length and the width can vary greatly. There are some nearly square and others three times as long as they are wide.

C
291
286
296

From the Chiriguano in Machareti I obtained only one piece of woven material which corresponds to these mantas, and it was already much mended.

Mantas in the Collection

C
Ce
29
126

I. A. 585.	(Chiriguano.)	Of cotton.	Length	1.38 m.	Width	1.27 m.
I. A. 816.	(Izozó)	Of wool.	"	2.20 m.	"	0.60 m.
I. A. 817.	"	"	"	1.80 m.	"	1.20 m.
I. A. 818.	"	"	"	0.68 m.	"	0.60 m.
/32/						
I. A. 824.	"	"	"	1.22 m.	"	1.30 m.
I. A. 826.	"	"	"	1.28 m.	"	0.44 m.
I. A. 827.	"	"	"	1.40 m.	".	0.92 m.
I. A. 828.	"	"	"	1.56 m.	"	1.66 m.
I. A. 829.	"	"	"	1.27 m.	"	1.25 m.
I. A. 831.	"	"	"	1.74 m.	"	1.24 m.

/32 cont./

C 291 I have already mentioned fajas, used today as belts by the Chiriguano men, in the chapter on cutting and combing the hair and head ornaments. I shall deal with their manufacture and decoration in the chapters on the technique of weaving and art.

Fajas (Izozó: kuakuá in the Collection

C Ee 291 [126] I. A. 428-441. (Chiriguano.)
I. A. 738, 803-807. (Izozó.)

Only the Izozó faja I. A. 738, shown in Figure 414, which measures 1.30 m. long and 3.7 cm. wide, differs with respect to the technique of its manufacture and its decoration, which we must attribute to outside influences, from the other fajas collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó. These correspond to one another quite minutely with respect to their dimensions, the weaving technique, and the ornamentation. Moreover, these Izozó fajas have been woven exclusively of cotton and the Chiriguano fajas have been woven exclusively of wool, with the exception of one (I. A. 434), whose warp contains not only cotton threads, but also wool threads. All these fajas are more than 2 m. long. The longest of the Chiriguano fajas measures 2.86 m.; the longest of the Izozó, 2.70 m. The width of the Chiriguano fajas varies between 8.5 and 16 cm., and that of the Izozó ones, between 10 cm. and 19.5 cm.

C Ee [178] The women and girls, much more than the men, have preserved their original garb, which consists of a "tipoy." As the photographs in Figures 3, 4, 8, 12, and 14 show, the modern shirt or jacket made of modern material has often been added to the tipoy, but has not replaced it; the wife and three daughters of the Izozó cacique shown in Figure 12 are wearing the tipoy, as are almost all the Chiriguano women shown in Figure 4. Certainly most of the time the tipoy is used as a skirt, the upper part being rolled over the hips like a long belt.

/32 cont./

Ee 291 The cacique's wife and the eldest daughter shown in Figure 12 wear the upper part of the tipoy over one shoulder. The oldest woman shown in Figure 14 wears the tipoy in the old fashion, securing it with pins or cactus thorns above the two shoulders (139),

139. Cf. v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 201.

so that two openings remain, through which the two arms can pass. Photographs shown by Nordenskiöld (140) and v. Rosen

140. Nord. 1, Fig. 106.

show that there are still other variations in the way of wearing the tipoy.

Ee 291 126 I obtained from the Izozó three of their tipoys, two of which were woven of cotton and one of wool.

Tipoys in the Collection

I. A. 820.	Izozó	Of cotton.	Length	1.26 m. (Fig. 113.)
I. A. 832.	"	Of wool.	"	1.61 m.
I. A. 838.	"	Of cotton.	"	1.37 m.

Ee 291 /33/ One special feature of these tipoys of the Chané-Izozó and also of the Chiriguano in comparison with all the tipoys that we know from other tribes is their great size, and we can doubt that these tipoys were so large in past times. Ee [114] The indication by Viedma (144) that the Chiriguano women

144. Viedma, op. cit., p. 134. Accoeding to Nordenskiöld.

wore only a piece of cloth around their hips implies the opposite answer. I shall concern myself with the manufacture and the decoration in the chapters on the technique of weaving and art.

/33 cont./

C
Ce
301
177

Of Chiriguano and Chané ornaments there have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters the hair ornaments, the tembetá, men's ornament in the form of hair-plucking tweezers, and the earrings now used by women. Among other ornaments the only important ones are the women's necklaces. Most of the women I photographed were provided with necklaces (mbo'ĩ) which consist exclusively of imported objects, such as glass beads, metal pendants, and similar things, and for this reason they have no ethnological importance. Nordenskiöld saw among these Indians necklaces made of beads of turquoise and "chrysocol" /chrysocolla/ and of black seeds (142). V. Rosen shows in a drawing such a

142. Nord. 1, p. 201. Nord. 2, p. 92.

Chiriguano necklace made of turquoise and glass beads (143).

143. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 198.

According to that author, these necklaces were sometimes also used by men (144). Silver pins for fastening the tipoys,

144. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 203.

in the form of those of the ancient Peruvians, can still be found also. But these too are not the product of an original industry, but are received from outside silversmiths (145).

145. Nord. 2, pp. 93 and 94.

8: Schmidt--81 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
I2020

C 301 [126]

/33 cont./

Ring (moĩkaregua) in the Collection

I.A. 1321. (Chiriguano.) Gift of Father Ayala Solis. Diam. 2cm.

Finally I shall mention here a ring obtained by Father Ayala Solis from the Chiriguano and donated by him to the Museo de Historia y Etnografía del Paraguay. The ring was made of metal from a cartridge shell.

Ce 291

The cacique of the Izoṍ shown in Figure 12 wears sandals (Chir.: mbipásu. Izoṍ: pĩapá). Generally the men and women go around barefoot. But both sexes use sandals if they are to walk on stony or thorny ground (146).

146. Nord. 1, p. 203. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 207.

C 291 19

The region of distribution of the sandal in South America leads us to assume that the Chiriguano did not first receive this item from the whites, but earlier, and that it came from the culture of the ancient Peruvians (147).

147. Cf. Nord. 2, p. 69.

Treatment of Illnesses and Burial

Ce 743 Ce [114] C [114] Ce 756 191

In the Indian settlement in Toledo there was arranged a small hospital in which the sick Izoṍ were receiving medical treatment. For that reason I did not have the chance to make investigations among them about the native treatment of the illnesses of these Indians. Nor did I have the chance to make such investigations in Machareti. Therefore, I refer to the investigations /34/ Nordenskiöld and Métraux made on this subject (148), and I wish only to

148. Nord. 1, pp. 216 and 217. Métraux 1, pp. 480-488.

mention here that among the Chiriguano and Chané, as among

C
Ce
754
171

/34 cont./

most other Indians of South America, there is a professional physician who is charged with the treatment of the sick, this treatment in most cases consisting of sorcery among these Indians too. The physician attempts to dispel the evil by sucking out foreign objects which have penetrated the body of the bewitched sick person. In addition to such treatment, remedies are used among the Chiriguano and Chané, which, in addition to those made of plant substances, include the fat of various animals applied externally for different illnesses. The Chané treat wounds with boiling water.

C
Ce
755
757
824
830
Cs
782

Burial among the Chiriguano and Chané who live outside the missions is generally still done in urns, according to primordial custom. According to Nordenskiöld (149), the

Ce
764
415

149. Nord. 1, p. 208.

large pots in which chicha is prepared are also used as funeral urns, and another pot is used to close the urn. Often the dying person, even before being completely dead, or soon after death, is crammed into the urn in a squatting position. A calabash of water is placed with the dead person in the urn, which is buried within the house. Commonly the house, after the burial, is abandoned for some time, but is occupied again later. Such a funeral urn of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi Valley is shown in a drawing by Erland Nordenskiöld (150).

Ce
768
C
764
415

150. Nord. 1, Fig. 113.

Up to half of the urn, which is provided with a cover, is dug-entered. Nordenskiöld's statement that the Chiriguano use the same pots which serve for the preparation of meals as funeral urns is significant. From that we can deduce that a funeral urn found in other regions might also have served, during the lifetime of the dead person buried in it, some other purpose related to the economy of those Indians.

St Schmidt--83 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
I2020

/24 cont./

Play

Ee 924 (857)

Of the different kinds of games, those found among the Chiriguano and the Chané are those of movement, those of skill, and those of chance. But the games of movement are only performed by children.

Ee 526

Among the games of movement we must mention here principally the game of ball, struck with the head. Nordenskiöld saw Chané boys play this. A solid rubber ball is first thrown into the air, and two teams parry it with their heads, without touching it with the hand. This game, called "uki" by the Chané, no doubt was much more common in former times and was also practiced by adults. This was stated to me by the cacique of the Isoso in Toledo and was stated long ago by the author of Lizarze Annuae for 1605 with regard to the Chané (151).

151. Lizarze Annuae, 1605, p. 409.
According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 101.

Ee 923 526

It also follows from a Chané legend noted by Nordenskiöld (152).

152. Nord. 1, p. 281.

According to this legend, the fox "Aguarotumpa" sets the white condor free only on the condition that he obtain a white rubber ball. In what follows, the legend describes in detail how first the ostrich "Yando" plays with the bat "Andira" with this ball, hitting it with his head. When the White Condor came flying out with the white ball, the Demon Aguarotumpa orders a bird to get a black rubber ball, and with this he plays the entire town, and the ostrich "Yando" this time with the fox Aguarotumpa. /26/ The latter exchanged his ball for a stone and threw it at the ostrich. The latter, stopping the stone with his head, died.

Chané SF8
Paressi SP19

Ce 526 993 Ce [314] Ce [439] Ce [171] P [524] P [524] 993 526 P [179] Ce [171]

/35 cont./

This legend, from which I am mentioning here only the parts referring to the game of ball struck with the head, clarifies for us several interesting points about this Chané game. In the first place it shows us that it was difficult for the Chané to obtain within their territory the material necessary for the balls, because there is no rubber there. Just as the Chané today buy their rubber balls in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, so formerly they must have had to obtain them from afar. In addition, the distinction between the two different kinds of balls in the legend, the white one and the black one, is interesting. The black ball no doubt corresponds to the solid rubber ball with which the Chané children still play this game today, while the white ball doubtless corresponds to the type of ball with which I saw the Cozarini-Paressi, or Paresi-Kabíchís /Cabishi/, play in 1910. This rubber ball of the Paresi-Kabichís, light in color, more or less white, was hollow and therefore, in spite of its relatively large size, very light and bouncy, and therefore much more satisfactory for hitting with the head than a solid, hard rubber ball. Unfortunately, Nordenskiöld gives no information on the size of the solid rubber balls of the Chané, but we must assume that they are small, because contact with a solid rubber ball of the Paresís-Kabichís would be too hard for a head, especially for a child's head. In several legends of the Paressís in Utiariti (Mato Grosso), which I recorded in 1928 but have not yet published, there figures a game with the ball hit with the head. Also in these legends there are deities who play this game and it has an absolutely religious character. It is related that the deity of the moon, the day before his nuptials with his sister, plays this game with his brothers, and in another legend they play it as they do in the Chané legend, between animal demons. The turtle plays ball with the young son of the jaguar, and, his ball being of stone, kills him with a shot aimed at the head. Thus there is also a parallel here with the Chané legend in which the fox kills the ostrich with his ball changed into stone.

/35 cont./

526 Nordenskiöld did not see the Chiriguano of the Sierra play the game in which the ball is hit with the head, but he did hear it said that formerly they had played this game, called "bondi" by them, and that, like the Chané, they had used solid rubber balls (153). In my work published in this

526
171

153. Nord. 2, p. 104.

journal (154), I have already mentioned that, according to the

[113] 154. Revista de la Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay, Vol. III, No. 6, pp. 116 and 117.

Litterae Annuae of 1589 (155), the game with a ball hit with

155. Page 434. According to Nordenskiöld.

the head was also played by the Itatines-Guarayús and undoubtedly with a hollow rubber ball, because it is described there as being very light. In 1791 Eder (156) mentions this game

[113] 156. Eder, Franc. Xav.: Descriptio provinciae Moxitarum /Description of the province of the Mojo/, 1791, p. 41. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

with a ball hit with the head for the Moxos /Mojo/, who not only used white, hollow rubber balls, but also used dark, solid ones. Several authors, older ones, and more recent ones, for example, Fernandez and de Orbigny, mention this game among the Chiquito (157). Nordenskiöld on his travels saw it

157. Nord. 2, p. 104.

played in addition to the Chané, by the Huari (158).

158. Nord. 2, p. 104.

C
Ce /35 cont./
526
174
177

According to these data concerning the region of spread of the game with a ball hit with the head, we must assume that the Chané, even before their subjugation by the Chiriguano, must have known this game, and that the Chiriguano of /36/ the Cordillera, like the Itatines-Guarayús, received it earlier from the Chané. The Chiriguano also play the game with a ball made of maize leaves struck with the hand, which we know from many other South American Indians (159). Ac-

C
526
[171]

159. Nord. 1, p. 168. Métraux 1, p. 44 and Fig. 11.

cording to Métraux, this game is not played except at the time when the maize is ripening, and it is related to the cultivation of maize.

With respect to other games of movement, the Chiriguano children play a game which corresponds to the game of polo and is very common among the Chaco tribes. The Chiriguano call it "taca." The ball is struck either, as among the Chorote and the Churupí, with curved sticks or with a primitive racket (160). No doubt the Chiriguano received this game

C
[171]
C
[177]

160. See Nord. 1, p. 193.

from neighboring Chaco tribes.

Of the games of skill, only one is played by adults and this only by women. It is a kind of bowling game that the Chiriguano in Tihuipa call "itarapóa" and the Chané of the Parapití "tecoróre" (161). The bowling pins in this game

Ce
[526]

161. According to Nord. 1, p. 192.

consist of two rows of maize kernels, two by two, one on top of the other, or on a cob. They throw with stone balls or with a hollow ball of baked clay with little pellets of the same material inside (162).

162. Nord. 1, p. 192 and Fig. 99.

/36 cont./

Ce 857 524

Three other games of skill described by Nordenskiöld are played only by children (163). For one of these, called

163. Nord. 1, pp. 196 and 197.

"sóuki," they use two arrows fitted with maize cobs (164).

164. Nord. 1, Fig. 102.

These two games are played by the children of the Chané of the Parapití.

C 857 524

Nordenskiöld saw the third game, called "parama," played by the children of the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley (165).

165. Nord. 1, Fig. 103.

With small round stones, propelled with pieces of baked clay, they try to knock down a button, or some such thing, from a rock.

C 524 126

I obtained from the Chiriguano in Machareti some children's toys which belong to these games of skill.

Toys in the Collection

I. A. 504.	Top	(Chiriguano).	Length	18 cm.
I. A. 505.	"	"	"	16 cm. (Fig. 35b.)
I. A. 506.	Rattle	"	"	25 cm.
I. A. 507.	Small sling	"	"	55 cm.

I. A. 510. Toy called "mou-mou" (Chiriguano). Diameter of the disk 6 cm. (Fig. 36a.)

A specimen of a top similar to those mentioned (see Fig. 35b /see p. 89/) and originating among the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi valley is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (166).

166. Nord. 1, Fig. 104. B.

/36 cont./

C 524 177 The small sling I. A. 507, made out of a small forked stick, two strips of rubber obtained from an automobile tire, and leather, is not of native origin, nor is the rattle shown in Fig. 35a. /Plates XII-XIII appear here./

C 524 857 /37/ The toy shown in Figure 36a, called mou-mou by the Chiriguano, is made of a small gourd disk with a toothed edge and a double string. The latter passes through two holes in the disk. By alternately twisting and stretching this string, a rapid rotation of the disk is produced, together with a humming noise. Among other Chané children's toys there Ce [524] [857] are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld a hoop with a rope, a musical instrument consisting of two bows (167), and a

167. Nord. 1, Fig. 104. C and D.

C [171] small musket. The Chiriguano children in the Caipipendi valley and those of the Chorote also play with such muskets (168).

168. Nord. 1, Fig. 23.

C 524 Among the games of skill we must mention, finally, the string games, some of which are shown in sketches by Métraux, which a Chiriguano man made for him (169). The

169. Métraux I, pp. 443, 446. Plates 89 and 90.

Chiriguano children also know this game.

C Ce 524 There are two games of chance among the Chiriguano and the Chané. One, called "chúcaráy" by the Chiriguano and "chunquanty" by the Chané, is played with four small boards, and the other, called "asúcaretn," with a large number of boards, concave on one side and convex on the other (170).

170. Nord. 1, p. 191 and Pl. 95.

534

Plate XII

a

b

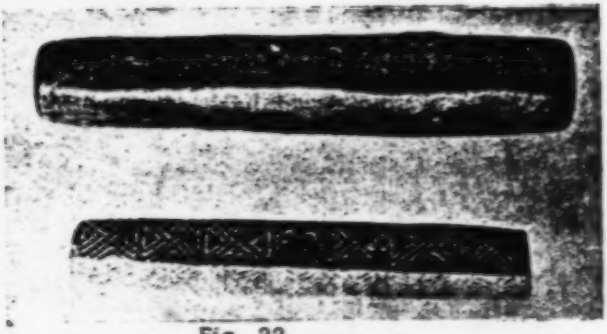
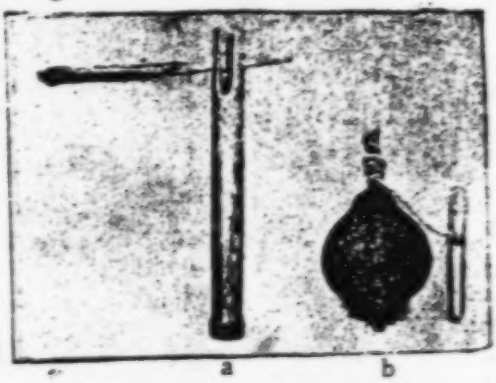


Fig. 33

524 →

a b

Fig. 34



a b

Fig. 35

534 ←

a

b

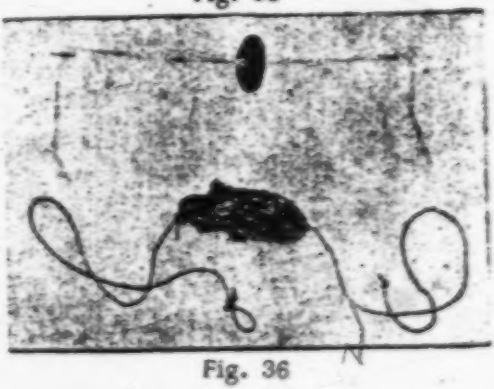


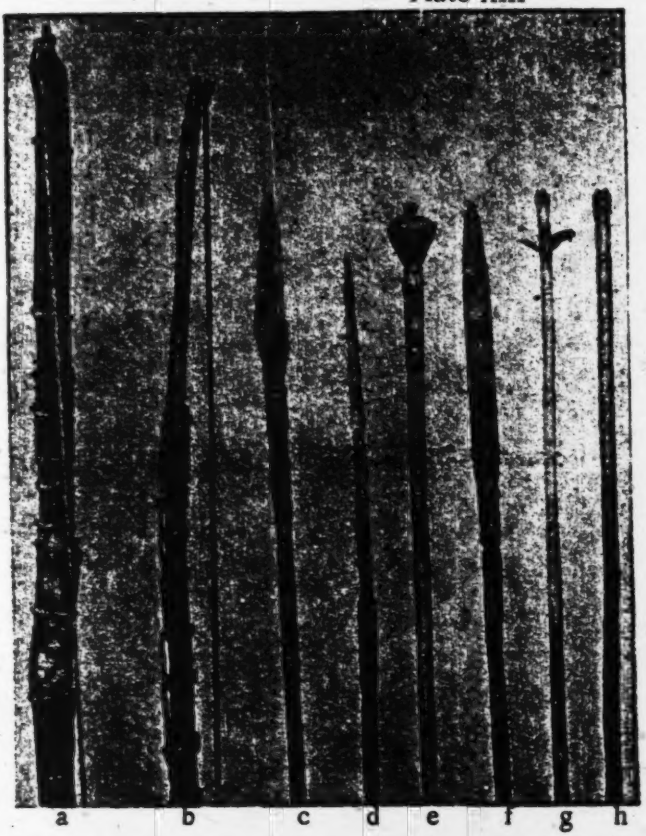
Fig. 36

/The captions appear on p. 91./

8: Schmidt--90 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
F2020
C
Ce
411

Plate XIII

Fig. 27



C
411

Fig. 38

Ce
229

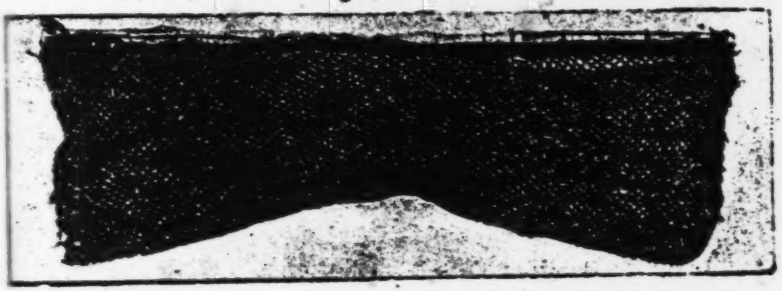


Fig. 39

/The captions appear on p. 91./

8: Schmidt--91 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XII and XIII/

C
534

Plate XII

Fig. 33. Wooden flutes, "serere" (Chiriguano): a (I. A. 492), length 20 cm.; b (I. A. 491), length 17 cm.

Fig. 34. a (I. A. 494): Cane flute (Chiriguano), length 41 cm.
b (I. A. 495): double whistle of cane (Chiriguano), length 33.5 and 7 cm.

C
524

Fig. 35. a (I. A. 506): rattle, a toy for children (Chiriguano), length 23.5 cm.
b (I. A. 505): top, a toy for children (Chiriguano), length 16 cm.

Fig. 36. a (I. A. 510): toy for children, "mou-mou" (Chiriguano), diameter of the disk 6 cm.
b (I. A. 509): sling (Chiriguano), length (without cords) 14 cm.

C
Ce
411

Plate XIII

Fig. 37. Bows and arrows: a (I. A. 757), bow (Izozó), length 1.32 m.; b (I. A. 756), bow (Izozó), length 1.41 m.; c (I. A. 519), arrow (Chiriguano), length 1 m.; d (I. A. 521), arrow (Chiriguano), length 0.85 m.; e (I. A. 534), arrow for birds (Chiriguano), length 1.11 m.; f (I. A. 748), arrow (Izozó), length 0.94 m.; g (I. A. 528), arrow (Chiriguano), length 0.94 m.; h (I. A. 750), arrow (Izozó), length 0.835 m.

C
411

Fig. 38. (I. A. 517.) Macana (Chiriguano), length 0.64 m.

Ce
227

Fig. 39. (I. A. 764.) Fishing implement (Izozó), length 73.5 cm.

C
Ce
524
177

/37 cont./

These Indians received two games of chance from the whites, the game of dice, which they call by the Spanish name "daro," and the game with a cow's leg bone, which they call "taba."

Agriculture

C
Ce
241

I have already explained in the chapter on food and drink that the cultivation of maize as an agricultural product is common, and among the Chané of the Parapití the cultivation of the sweet potato. Mandioca is only cultivated rarely and has no importance in the economy of these Indians. Various species of beans are planted, also one species of cactus, some gourds which have edible fruits, and also a little tobacco. In addition to these edible or stimulating native plants that are cultivated, there are some others received from the whites, but these have little importance in the economy of these Indians. According to Nordenskiöld (171), they are the following: sugar

C
Ce
241
177

171. Nord. 2, pp. 23 and 24.

cane, peanuts, watermelon, muskmelon, figs, oranges and millet, and Métraux also mentions the pepper among them (172).

172. Métraux 1, pp. 338 and 339.

C
Ce
241
[415]
[283]
[386]

In addition to these edible or stimulating plants, there are cultivated various species of gourds whose fruits are not edible but are used to make containers, cotton for making thread, urucú for obtaining red dye, and, among the Indians of the Parapití, also a species of cane, Harundo Donax /Arundo donax/, which grows wild in great quantity on the banks of the Pilcomayo, but not on those of the Parapití River.

/37 cont./

C
Ce
241

The sort of agriculture which these Indians commonly practice is that which we can define with the term "el rozado" /the clearing/, which best corresponds to the technical German word "Waldrodung," which is used for this concept. A piece of woodland is cleared, and the land cultivated in this manner is planted as many times as possible until it is exhausted. According to Métraux (173), the place intended

C
Ce
[412]

173. Métraux 1, p. 334.

for planting is first cleared of underbrush, which is cut with a large stick edged on both sides, and this is burned on the site. Métraux /38/ has also compiled from the literature the respective statements on the method of planting maize (174).

174. Métraux 1, p. 337.

C
Ce
[412]
[177]

Almost all the implements used for this cultivation, such as spades and iron hoes, have been obtained from the whites. The wooden spade, which the Chiriguano doubtless received from the culture of the ancient Peruvians and which was formerly universally used by them, is very rare today (175).

C
412
[177]

175. Nord. 1, p. 188. Métraux 1, pp. 335 and 336.

According to Nordenskiöld, these spades were made of a hard wood and had an artificially formed handle. Two such spade handles with a special handhold at the upper end are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and two similar ones by Métraux (176).

176. Nord. 1, Fig. 89. Métraux 1, p. 336, Figs. 3 and 4.

Ce
412
773

In the Chané legends written down by Nordenskiöld, there is also mentioned, in addition to the spade, the wooden punch, which is a very common agricultural implement among most

/38 cont./

Ce 412 773

of the Indians of South America who have agriculture. In one of these legends it is said that (177) Tunpa, after having

177. Nord. 1, p. 260.

created the grandparents of the Avás (Chiriguano) and Chané, gave them a wooden spade and a long carved stick, called "carumpa," and bows and arrows so that they might feed themselves with these implements. In the other legend it is told that the jaguar goes to get the punches when the fox wants to help him plant his field (178). From the indications

C 412

178. Nord. 1, p. 289.

by Métraux mentioned in the foregoing, it follows that the Chiriguano still use such an implement in their agriculture.

C Ce 241 73

The Chiriguano in Machareti had some plantings near their town, but, because of the extraordinary drought at that time, these had produced nothing. The Izozó near Toledo had cleared large areas, but were unable to plant for the same reason. According to Nordenskiöld (179), the large

C Ce 241

179. Nord. 1, p. 183.

plantings of the Chiriguano and the Chané are often far from their towns and are enclosed by thickets.

The Raising of Livestock

C Ce 231

Of the domestic animals native to South America, the Chiriguano and the Chané have the South American dog, which today is mixed with the blood of European dogs (180).

180. Nord. 1, p. 187. Nord. 2, p. 49.

/38 cont./

Because the ancient Peruvians raised various breeds of dogs, we can assume that the Chiriguano received the dog as a domestic animal from the ancient Peruvians. We can assume the same with regard to the duck, which was also raised by the ancient Peruvians. Therefore I do not include the duck among the domestic animals that these Indians received from the whites, as Nordenskiöld does. We do not know whether the Chiriguano in times past might have raised the llama. From the fact that guanacos exist in the territory located between the Parapití and the Rio Grande, we can deduce that the raising of that other species of Euchenia might have been possible in that country.

The Chiriguano very early received such European domestic animals as the horse, the ass, the cow, sheep, goats, hogs, and chickens, which they captured in great quantities in their continual raids on the Spanish settlers. In 16th century documents there are repeated complaints about the extensive stealing of livestock by these Indians. Today the Chiriguano and Chané do not have many horses, and they have never had the /39/ pronounced character of a nation of horsemen. The true weapons of war were formerly a long bow and arrows which were also long, which cannot be used by a mounted horseman, in addition to which their homes were formerly in the hills in regions which the Spaniards could not enter on horseback. In certain parts of their territory the raising of cattle has some importance (181). More general is the raising of sheep, pigs,

181. See Métraux I, p. 340.

and chickens. Today one sometimes also finds among them guinea hens and turkeys (182).

182. Nord. 1, p. 137.

/39 cont./

C Ce 231 Tamed wild animals are rarely found inside their houses, except that they do have some parrots (182) /see footnote 182 above/.

Hunting

C Ce 224 [433] [411] [439] We have explained before that, because of the lack of animals that can be eaten in the territory of the Chiriguano and Chané, hunting is secondary among their means of subsistence, and in accordance with this we know through old documents that the feathers for their arrows were introduced to the Chiriguano by other Indian tribes who were their tributaries (183). The raising of domestic livestock gives them a

C Ce [231]

183. Moreno II, 121.

C 224 greater opportunity to obtain animal foodstuffs. In accordance with the fact that the Chiriguano, at least today, are not first-class hunters, the most common method of hunting among them is the use of traps (184). Nordenskiöld describes three

C 223

184. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 205.

different kinds of traps, all three of which are used for catching birds (185). The first kind consists of a simple noose and is used

185. Nord. 2, pp. 32, 33, and 85, Fig. 10, 12, and 13.

C [171] with the help of calls. The second kind, which is common among various other tribes of Indians, is used, for example, also by the Kaingua /Caingua/. The third kind consists of a net made in two parts and fixed to the ground by means of stakes. In one of the Chané legends recorded by Nordenskiöld, a trap for catching doves is mentioned (186).

Ce [173] [223]

186. Nord. 1, p. 279.

8: Schmidt--97 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
411
126

/39 cont./

Bows and arrows are only incidentally used for hunting, and it is therefore difficult to collect them today among these Indians. From the Izozó I was able to acquire various bows and arrows, and from the Chiriguano a small bow for children and various arrows. Among these there are also two specimens for killing birds, provided with a club /maza/ at the tip. Because in particular cases we were often unable to decide if a type of arrow were used exclusively for hunting or for fishing or both, I shall list all the types of arrows together in the following list.

Bows (uirápa) in the Collection

I. A. 518	(Chiríguano)	Length	0.80 m.	Cord is strips of animal hide.	
I. A. 754.	(Izozó.)	Length	1.39 m.	" " "	
I. A. 755.	"	"	1.28 m.	" " "	
I. A. 756.	"	"	1.41 m.	" " "	(Fig. 37b).
I. A. 757.	"	"	1.32 m.		(Fig. 37a).
I. A. 758.	"	"	1.31 m.	" " "	
I. A. 759.	"	"	1.04 m.	" " "	
I. A. 760.	"	"	1.11 m.	Cord is a piece of cable.	

C
411
126

/40/ Arrows (uij) in the Collection

I. A. 519. (Chiriguano.) Length 1 m. Iron point; its length 15.5 cm. Cane shaft. No feathering. (Fig. 37c.)

I. A. 520. (Chiriguano.) Length 0.99 m. Iron point; its length 20 cm. Cane shaft. Remnants of feathering.

I. A. 521. (Chiriguano.) Length 0.85 m. Wooden point; its length 28.5 cm. With feathering. (Fig. 37d.)

I. A. 522-533. (Chiriguano.). Wire points.

I. A. 534. (Chiriguano.) Length 1.11 m. Tip in club form; its length 5.5 cm. Cane shaft. With feathering. (Fig. 37e.)

I. A. 535. (Chiriguano.) Length 0.71 m. Tip in club form; its length 4 cm. Wooden shaft. With feathering.

I. A. 536. Wooden arrowpoint. (Chiriguano.) Length 25.5 cm.

Chané SF8
Izozo

Ce 411 126

/40 cont./

I. A. 747. (Izozó.) Length 0.97 m. Iron point; its length 24.5 cm. Cane shaft. Remnants of feathering.

I. A. 748. " Length 0.94 m. Iron point; its length 23.5 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering. Fig. 37 f.)

I. A. 749. " Length 1.07 m. Iron point; its length 23.2 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering.

I. A. 750. " Length 0.835 m. Iron point; its length 17 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering. (Fig. 37h.)

I. A. 751. " Length 0.93 m. Iron point; its length 22.5 cm. Cane shaft. With feathering.

I. A. 752. " Length 0.92 m. Iron point; its length 27 cm. Cane shaft. With feathering.

I. A. 753. " Length 0.985 m. Iron point; its length 21.5 cm. Cane shaft. Perhaps with feathering.

C Ce 411 174 175

Of the seven Izozó bows, the first four on the list are good specimens made of hard wood and correspond in all details to the Chiriguano bows described by v. Rosen (187), except for

187. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 206, 208.

their length, which is a few centimeters less than these. This difference in length is easily explained by the fact these Chiriguano bows were collected by v. Rosen in 1901 and 1902. It would be difficult today to find still among the Chiriguano bows as long as those which v. Rosen acquired 35 years ago. From Lizarraga's statement that the Chiriguano bows were of the same height as the bowman, it is evident that the bows of these Indians were formerly even longer than those described by v. Rosen. If, following Lehmann-Nitsche's somatic measurements mentioned above, we set the average height of Chiriguano men at 1.63 m., there is still a difference of 18 cm. between this figure and that of 1.45 m., which is the length of the longest bow among those collected by v. Rosen. We must consider this shortening of the Chiriguano and Chané bow,

C [141]

Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
411
174
175
Ce
411

/40 cont./

steadily progressing, a consequence of its degeneration resulting from its gradually falling into disuse.

The form of all the bows collected among the Izozó is the same, discounting the insignificant differences with regard to their length. The wood of the bow, which is approximately 3 cm. wide, is flat on the side towards the string and convex on the opposite side. To better fasten the bowstring, each of them is provided at its ends with a quite marked narrowing and always considerably shorter at the upper end than at the lower end. /41/ Three of these Izozó bows show, when not flexed, the reflex form already mentioned by v. Rosen with respect to the Chiriguano bows. The bowstring, made of twisted strips of animal hide, is fastened in the common manner used by South American Indians. By means of a noose with a knot, it goes around the narrowing of the upper end of the bow, while the loop at the lower end is made so that it can either shorten or lengthen the bowstring as necessary. Cf. Fig. 37, a and b /see p. 90/. In all these bows a large part of the string is rolled up as a reserve around the wood of the bow. Bow I. A. 757, whose wood shows cracks on the side toward the string, has wood reinforcements in two places, one of them consisting of a wrapping with thread and the other a piece of the skin of a cow's tail, which has been slipped like a sleeve over the wood of the bow. Cf. Figure 37 /see p. 90/.

Ce
411
283
[237]
[284]
Ce
[237]

The three bows I. A. 758-760, made of light-colored wood, correspond in form to the others, but they are poorly made and appear to be cheap merchandise for trading. Bow I. A. 760 even has a cable wire in place of a string.

Ce
411

The small Chiriguano bow I. A. 518 is a bow made for children for shooting light arrows with a wire point, which have been enumerated in great number in the above list.

C
411
524

The length of the arrows I collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó is somewhat behind with respect to the length of the corresponding bows. The longest among them is a Chiriguano arrow for shooting birds, fitted with a club rather than a point, with a length of 1.11 m. Among the arrows fitted with iron

C
Ce
411
[223]

/41 cont./

C Ce 411 points, one Izozó specimen reaches a length of 1.07 m., and a Chiriguano specimen, a length of 1 m. This is the opposite of the observations that v. Rosen made about Chiriguano arrows, that they were as large or even larger than the bows.

C Ce [524] Without counting the Chiriguano arrows fitted with wire points, which no doubt are used only by children for shooting at fish or birds and which are often made with wooden shafts, Ce [249] [824] arrow shafts are universally made of cane, taken from the plant Arundo donax, which, as I have already mentioned above, is cultivated by the Chané of the Parapití River. Ce 411 [824] According to Nordenskiöld, the Chané formerly also used the Ubá (Cymnerium sp.), which they call "chochio" (188). The

188. Nord. 2, p. 26.

arrows collected among the Izozó are provided with iron points. Nordenskiöld also shows in drawings Chané arrows fitted with wooden points in the form of a lancet or dentate (189).

189. Nord. 2, Fig. 6. A and C.

C Ce 411 Among the Chiriguano arrows in the collection, there are two fitted with iron points, one fitted with a dentate wooden point, one such wooden point without a shaft, and two arrows for bird hunting that are fitted with a club instead of a point. The Chiriguano arrows fitted with iron points correspond throughout to the Izozó ones with respect to form and material. Ce [284] The iron point is joined to the shaft by means of a piece of split wood and a wrapping of cord made from special tree bark and fastened with wax. The lower end of the cane shaft has a groove over which the end of the arrow is also fastened by a wrapping of the same cord secured with wax.

Ce 411 237 /42/ Some Chiriguano and Izozó arrows have feathering, others do not. While the feathering was lost on some of the arrows that do not have it now, as can be discerned from the remnants of wax which had served for attaching it, other arrows show clearly that they never had feathering. Ce [284] [191] If there is feathering, the feather parts attached by means of wrapping with cord are very small, as are those of most of the Chaco tribes.

/42 cont./

000 C Ce 411 237 C 411 [284]

and wax are small, as are those of most of the Chaco tribes. In the diagram made by Hermann Meyer for the various types of South American arrows, the feathering of the Chiriguano and Chané arrows corresponds to those that this writer calls "Peruanische Pechfiederung" /Peruvian pitch-feathering/. The Chiriguano arrow provided with a dentate wooden point differs from the other arrows in that its point is attached directly to the shaft without interposing a special piece of wood. Otherwise, the form of its shaft, provided in this case with feathering, corresponds to the form of the arrow shafts fitted with iron points. V. Rosen (190), v. Nordenskiöld (191), and

190. V. Rosen, op. cit., Figs. 206-214.

191. Nord. 2, Fig. 6 B.

Métraux (192) show in drawings different types of Chiriguano

192. Métraux I, Plates 8 and 9.

arrows fitted with wooden points.

Métraux often found among the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley arrows fitted with two dentate wooden points, which the young men used especially for shooting jacus (193).

193. Métraux I, p. 347 and Plate IX, N. 1.

Of the two Chiriguano bird-hunting arrows fitted with a club at the upper end instead of a point (sõngo), only one specimen, I. A. 534, can be considered typical. As I have already mentioned, it is the longest arrow in the collection. The other arrow for hunting birds, much shorter and badly made, doubtless was used only by boys. The form of the clubs of these two arrows (cf. Fig. 37e) is the same and also corresponds to the form of the arrows of this kind shown in

C 411 /42 cont./
drawings by v. Rosen and v. Nordenskiöld (194). This club is

C 411 284 194. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 212. Nord. 7. Fig. 6. D and E.

fastened directly on the inside of the upper part of the shaft. The shaft of the larger arrow is made of the same cane as that of the other arrows, and that of the smaller arrow is light wood. The binding on the upper part and also on the lower part of
C [239] the shaft of the longer arrow consists of cotton thread secured with wax. The two arrows have feathering and have the same groove at the bottom end of the shaft. Several specimens of Chiriguano bird-hunting arrows whose clubs show different forms are shown in drawings by Métraux (195).

195. Métraux I. Plates X-XI.

C 411 174 [283] The special form of the club of the arrows for shooting birds (cf. Fig. 37e) and the special method of binding the shaft with a cord of tree bark and the length which these arrows formerly had lead us to the conclusion that this type of arrow, equally common today among the Chiriguano and Chané, is the ancient form of arrow that the Chiriguano brought from their native soil to the west. I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano and Chané bows and arrows were formerly much longer. But we can also assume that these implements of the hunt and weapons of war, in accordance with their greater importance, were formerly better made than they are today.

C 411 524 According to Nordenskiöld, only rarely does the podoque, the bow for shooting balls, appear among the Chiriguano and Chané, and it is only used by youths and boys (196).

196. Nord. 7, p. 26.

/-2/

Macana in the Collection

411 [126] I. A. 517. (Chiriguano.) Length 64 cm. (Fig. 38).

[191] The wooden macana, acquired from the Chiriguano, is provided at its upper end with a broadening distinctly delimited from the handle (cf. Fig. 38) and in that respect corresponds to the macanas that we know from various Chaco tribes, for example, the Toba, but it does not correspond to the Chiriguano macana shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (197).

197. Nord. 7. Fig. 9.

The latter is about the same length, but it does not show the clear broadening at the handle, its upper end being only slightly broader. According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano [224] do not use these macanas except for hunting pigs (198).

198. Nord. 1, p. 163.

Slings (tamombeka) in the Collection

[126]

I. A. 508 Chiriguano. Length of the middle part of net 15 cm.
I. A. 509. " " " " " " 14 cm. (Fig. 50.)

The two slings acquired from the Chiriguano seem to be exactly alike. They consist of a middle part made with the [286] net technique with caraguata-fiber string which terminates at each end with a cord. One of these two cords ends in a simple [284] knot and the other in a small loop. These slings are like the Chané ones shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld, while the manufacture of the middle part of the Chiriguano sling shown by Nordenskiöld is different (199). The Chiriguano in contact

199. Nord. 9, Fig. 7, A.

C 411 (77) /43 cont./ The Chiriguano in contact with the Quichua /Quechua/ also use another type of sling made of wool (700).

700. Métraux 1. p. 347 and Plate VII.

C 224 (311) According to Nordenskiöld,[1] the Chiriguano also formerly used the bola, called "*chuzing*," by them, for hunting the ostrich (701).

701. Nord. 1. p. 183.

C (231) We must still mention that the Chiriguano train their dogs for hunting, especially for hunting pigs (702).

702. Nord. 2. p. 31. Métraux 1. p. 346.

Fishing

C 433 282 226 Because, as I have already mentioned, there is no opportunity for fishing in any part of the Chiriguano territory and also the large rivers which are in their territory, except for the upper Pilcomayo River, do not offer any fish other than very small ones, fishing has only secondary importance in the economy of most of the Chiriguano, although they utilize every chance they have to fish.

C 227 Among the Chiriguano in Macharetí I did not see any fishing equipment outside of the small arrows with wire points, which are occasionally used for fishing. But among the Izoceño I acquired such a piece of equipment, which consists of a net bag that is closed at the top with two sticks of cane attached to the upper edge. (Cf. Figure 39.)

CS 136 227

Ce 227 126 /4/

Fishing Implements in the Collection

I. A. 764. Fishing implement (Izozó). Length of the sticks 73.5 cm. Width of the net 24 cm. (Fig. 39).

I. A. 765-801. Net bags for implements like I. A. 764 (Izozó).

Ce 227 Because of the flexibility of the two cane sticks attached to the upper edge of the net bag, the bag can be made to open by tension on the two sticks of cane. The opening thus made closes quickly when the tension ends. Such an implement of the Chiriguano of the Parapití is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (203).

203. Nord. 1, Fig. 91.

Ce 226 Among the other methods of fishing I shall mention, following v. Rosen and v. Nordenskiöld, the following: First, fishing by means of a gourd placed on the bottom of the river in the shade of a branch which is attached to the bottom near it. When the fish attracted by acidified maize have gathered inside the gourd, its opening is quickly closed with the hand (204). In addition the Indians of the Itiyuru River make

204. Nord. 1, p. 194 and Fig. 90.

oblong pools by building dikes (205), and those of the upper

205. Nord. 1, p. 185.

Pilcomayo River build large stone dikes for fishing (206). It

206. Nord. 2, pp. 43 and 44.

is said that on this river they use the bark of a particular tree to poison the water (207). They also fish with hooks, which

207. Nord. 2, p. 40.

C
Ce
226
[439]
[171]

/44 cont./The also fish with hooks, which today they obtain from the whites. But it may be that the hook is an implement of their ancient culture (208). In

208. Nord. 2, p. 44.

addition, they fish by means of deep nets like those of the neighboring Chaco tribes, such as the Chorote, the Churupí, the Matako, and the Toba (209). They also fish with arrows

209. Nord. 2, p. 43. Métraux I, p. 350, Fig. 80.

and formerly with spears with two points. On his trip in 1901-1902, v. Rosen acquired one specimen of these spears from the Chiriguano, which he has described and shown in a sketch (210).

210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 214 and Fig. 216.

C
Ce
227
411

Among the Chiriguano and Chané arrows specifically for fishing, we must distinguish two different kinds, one for larger fish, with two dentate wooden points (211), and the other for

211. Nord. 2, Fig. 15b. V. Rosen, op. cit., Figs. 213 and 214.

small fish, provided at the upper end of the shaft with a large number of cactus spines (212).

212. Nord. 2, Fig. 15a.

/44 cont./

175 316 648 [169] Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Maypurún, and we know that the Chiriguano possessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spurs of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

301 177 439

316 Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own

213. Nord. 1, p. 209.

statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

263 317 [439] While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water

C
317
263

/45 cont./
the earth of the salt licks called "yukiu" (214).

214. Nord. 1, p. 189. See Métraux 1, pp. 359 and 360.

Making Fire

C
Ce
372

Native implements to make fire are little used today by the Chiriguano and Chané. At home fire can generally be obtained from some other piece of burning wood, and for other occasions they commonly provide themselves with modern matches. Moreover, as I have said, the Chiriguano and Chané are not great smokers. One fire-making tool which is still found among them is the strike-a-light. The specimen I acquired from the Chiriguano is different from the strike-a-light of the Chaco tribes in that the tinder consists of a quite thick cotton wick. According to Métraux (215),

C
Ce
[178]
[276]

C
Ce
[415]
[237]

215. Métraux 1, p. 253.

there is also found among them the common form of strike-a-light in which the tinder consists of the fuzz of the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) kept in a container made of a a cow horn or armadillo tail.

C
Ce
372
126

Fire-making Implements in the Collection

I. A. 516. (Fig. 40.)

a. Bag woven of cotton thread as a container for the implements.

b. Wick of cotton thread.

c. Receptacle for the lighted end of the wick, made of the nest of a species of wasp.

d. Piece of a modern metal file.

e. Pieces of flint.

8: Schmidt--109 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
372
[415
239]

/45 cont./

A small nest of a species of wasp serves as a container for the lighted end of the wick. The fire is produced by striking a flint with a piece of a modern metal file.

Ce
372
773

In a Chané legend recorded by Nordenskiöld (216), it

216. Nord. 1, p. 252.

turns out that the Chané formerly produced fire by rubbing one little stick upon another. According to this legend, two boys and a girl received fire from an old man, who is the sun. The bird Huapi advised them to take good care of the fire. Should it once go out, they would have to make new fire with the "tata," which is the /46/ implement for making fire by rubbing two sticks together. The cacique of the Izozó, when I asked him about this implement, also knew it well and called it by its name in Guaraní. Nordenskiöld once saw a Chiriguano who had no matches with him make a fire with such an implement (217).

Ce
372
C
372

217. Nord. 1, p. 50. Cf. Métraux 1, p. 354.

Ceramics

C
Ce
445
114

The great development of ceramics among the Chiriguano and Chané, the very great variety of forms of their diverse vessels and their ornamentation have long excited the interest of ethnologists. Nordenskiöld, who gives the number of variations in the forms of the vessels of these Indians as more than 50, has published a great many of them in outline and also presents the ornamentation of many of them in sketches (218). Eric v. Rosen has also shown numerous

218. Nord. 1, Figs. 77; 78; 82; 92; 113; 117; 121, and Plate 19. Nord. 2, Figs. 38-48.

B: Schmidt--110 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
415
114

/46 cont./ Eric V. Rosen has also shown numerous Chiriguano vessels in drawings in his work already cited (219).

219. V. Rosen. Figs. 218-225.

Métraux describes and shows by drawings a great number of Chiriguano baked clay vessels (220).

220. Métraux 1, pp. 370-374; pp. 382-428; Plates 16-19 and 24-60.

A publication by Felix F. Outes deals particularly with Chiriguano ceramics (221).

C
[113]

221. Felix F. Outes: La ceramica Chiriguana /Chiriguano Ceramics/." From the Revista del Museo de la Plata, Vol. XVI (second series, Vol. III), Buenos Aires, 1909, pp. 121-136.

C
Ce
126
415

Because formerly in the museum of the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay we had only four baked clay vessels and a piece of a handle from the Chiriguano, which Doña Maria F. de Casati collected among them and presented to the museum, I had a special interest in filling this gap. With some effort I managed to acquire from the Izozó in Toledo 41 Chiriguano vessels, and from the Chiriguano in Machareti, 55 of them, and with rather more effort I managed to bring them back whole and with their designs in good condition through the long trip to Asunción.

These baked clay vessels collected by me also show great variation in their form and ornamentation. But these diverse variations can be reduced to several groups, according to the purpose for which they were intended.

C
Ce
415

The Chiriguano and Chané baked clay vessels may serve very different ends:

1. To cook foods and liquids.
2. To fry /fritar, literally "to frit"/ foods.
3. To steam maize meal.
4. To carry and keep water.

C
Ce
415

/46 cont./

5. As a container for chicha.
6. To serve chicha.
7. As a drinking container, especially for drinking chicha.
8. To store food.
9. To store anything at all.
10. As plates for eating meals.
11. As a base for the spindle in spinning.
12. As funerary urns.

C
415
126

/47/

1. Baked Clay Vessels for Cooking Foods and Liquids (yapèpo), from the Collection

I. A. 412	Chirig.	Ht.	12 cm.	Max.	Dia.	14 cm.	Aperture	12 cm. (Fig. 48)
I. A. 413	"	"	26 cm.	"	"	23.5 cm.	"	18 cm. (Fig. 46)
I. A. 414	"	"	24 cm.	"	"	23 cm.	"	17 cm. (Fig. 44)
I. A. 415	"	"	20 cm.	"	"	19.5 cm.	"	14.5 cm.
I. A. 416	"	"	30 cm.	"	"	26 cm.	"	20 cm.
I. A. 417	"	"	22 cm.	"	"	22.5 cm.	"	19 cm.
I. A. 418	"	"	23.5 cm.	"	"	24 cm.	"	20 cm. (Fig. 45)
I. A. 419	"	"	22 cm.	"	"	20 cm.	"	16 cm. (Fig. 47)
I. A. 420	"	"	28.5 cm.	"	"	28 cm.	"	20 cm.
I. A. 421	"	"	20 cm.	"	"	22.5 cm.	"	19 cm.

C
415

The form of these ten Chiriguano vessels intended for cooking foods or liquids is essentially the same. Only the vessel I. A. 412, with a height of 12 cm., is substantially smaller than the other vessels, whose height varies between 20 and 30 cm. Only in the case of the former small vessel is the diameter of the aperture at the top equal to the height of the vessel, while for all the other vessels the diameter of the aperture at the top is less than the height, and in some cases this is a difference of up to 10 centimeters.

/47 cont./

000 C 415 531 difference of up to 10 centimeters. The neck is clearly distinguished from the globular belly of these vessels by a border on all of these vessels provided with sunken ornamentation. Also the flat part of the bottom is clearly distinguished from the wall by a border. The surface of the belly of the vessels has incised lines produced by rubbing the surface, when still moist, with a maize cob. Only the little vessel I. A. 412 has its entire surface covered with sunken ornamentation.

C 415 All of these vessels intended for cooking are fitted with two handles in a vertical position, attached to the upper rim of the pot and coming down to the lower part of the neck. The form of these handles shows some variation which I shall deal with in the chapter on art.

Vessel Intended for Cooking Maize Meal for the Preparation of Chicha, from the Collection

C [126] I. A. 399 (Chirig.) Ht. 52cm. Max. dia. 42cm. Aperture 24 cm. (Fig. 50).

Large baked clay vessels, which in many cases are still much larger than the specimen brought back by me from the Chiriguano, are used for cooking the maize meal used in the preparation of chicha. As shown in Fig. 50, this kind of vessel is different from the ordinary vessels intended for cooking only by not having handles. The wall of the belly is clearly C [531] distinguished from the neck and from the flat bottom. The neck of these vessels also has sunken ornamentation. The vessel shown in Figure 50 is relatively high in comparison with its maximum diameter and with the diameter of the Ce [415] aperture at the top. The vessels for cooking chicha native to the Chané on the Itiyuru and shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld have, in comparison with their maximum diameter and the diameter of their aperture, a much smaller aperture /sic/, (222).

222. Nord. 1, Fig. 83.

c
Ce
415
[126]

/48/ ./

2. Vessels Intended for Frying Maize, from the Collection

I. A. 400 (Chirig.). Ht. 14 cm. Max. dia. 33 cm. (Fig. 53a).
I. A. 592 (Izozó). " 10 cm. " " 21.5 cm.

These two vessels are very similar to each other. Both have two small handles on the rim. They differ from one another only in that the division between the flat base and the wall of the Izozó pot is more marked than on the Chiriguano vessel. A vessel very similar to the two described above and from the Chané on the Itiyuru River is shown in a drawing by Erland Nordenskiöld (223). Because Nordenskiöld states that

223. Nord. 2, p. 53 and Fig. 43, N. 23.

this vessel was intended for frying /fritar/ maize, I also consider the two similar vessels in the collection to have been used for that end.

c
415
c
[126]

3. Vessel for Steaming Maize Meal, from the Collection

I. A. 422 (Chiriguano). Height 12.5 cm. Max. dia. 23 cm. (Fig. 52.)

This vessel has some round holes in the bottom, one of which is in the center and the rest in two concentric circles around the central one. According to Nordenskiöld (224),

c
415
252

224. Nord. 2, Fig. 43, N. 22.

who shows in a drawing a vessel very similar to this one, these plates with holes in the bottom are used for steaming the maize meal with which they prepare a dish that they call in Chiriguano "huintimimimo." To do this, they put the plate with the maize meal on the aperture at the top of a pot in which they boil water (225).

225. See Métraux I, p. 357 and (Plate 13) N. 1 and 2.

/48 cont./

C
Ce
415
126

4. Vessels for Carrying or Storing Water, from the Collection

I. A. 392	Chirig.	Ht.	25 cm.	Max.	Dia.	17.7 cm.	Apert.	4 cm. (Fig. 84)
I. A. 393	"	"	32 cm.	"	"	29.5 cm.	"	9 cm.
I. A. 395	"	"	32 cm.	"	"	31.5 cm.	"	13.5 cm.
I. A. 396	"	"	32 cm.	"	"	30 cm.	"	14.5 cm. (Fig. 55)
I. A. 589	Izozó	"	34 cm.	"	"	23.7 cm.	"	6.5 cm.
I. A. 606	"	"	24.5 cm.	"	"	18.5 cm.	"	3.5 cm. (Fig. 56a)
I. A. 607	"	"	13.5 cm.	"	"	14.5 cm.	"	13 cm.
I. A. 608	"	"	19.5 cm.	"	"	19.2 cm.	"	3.5 cm. (Fig. 83b)
I. A. 617	"	"	16 cm.	"	"	17 cm.	"	11.5 cm. (Fig. 56b)
I. A. 621	"	"	28.5 cm.	"	"	18.4 cm.	"	3.5 cm. (Fig. 83a)
I. A. 761	"	"	40.5 cm.	"	"	27.5 cm.	"	7 cm. (Fig. 54)
I. A. 762	"	"	44 cm.	"	"	34.5 cm.	"	7.9 cm.
I. A. 763	"	"	48 cm.	"	"	35 cm.	"	7.7 cm.

C
Ce
[531]

The vessels mentioned in the above, in contrast with the cooking pots, have a smooth surface. Also they are not painted. This leads us to assume that they are intended for common use rather than for festive occasions, and we must consider them primarily as vessels for water, which naturally does not preclude their being used on occasion for chicha. Plates XIV-XVII appear here.

8: Schmidt--115 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XIV

c 372 415

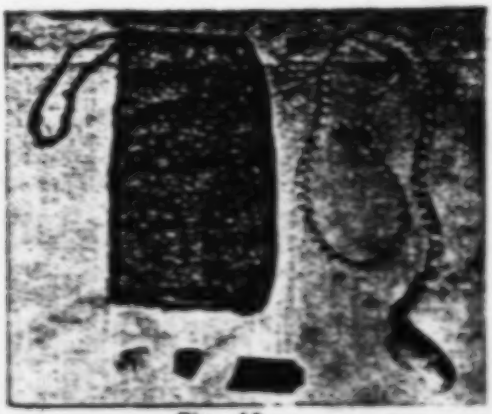


Fig. 40

c [237]

c 415 286

Fig. 41

c 415 284

Fig. 42

c 285 776

Fig. 43

/The captions are on p. 117./

Plate XV

415

Fig. 44

Fig. 46

Fig. 45

Fig. 48

Fig. 47

Fig. 49

/The captions are on p. 117./

8: Schmidt--117 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XIV and XV./

C 372 415

Fig. 40. (I. A. 516) Implements for making fire (Chiriguano):
a (I. A. 516a), bag as receptacle for the implements, length 16 cm., width 8.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 516b), cotton wick, length 62 cm.;
c (I. A. 516c), receptacle for the end of the wick, nest of a species of wasp, length 4.2 cm.;
d (I. A. 516d), piece of a metal file, length 4 cm.
e, flints.

C [237]

C 415 285

Fig. 41. (I. A. 583) A pair of hoops for storing goods (Chiriguano), diameter 43 cm.

Ce 415

Fig. 42. Calabashes for carrying water (Izozó):
a (I. A. 661), height 49.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 662), height 16 cm.;
c (I. A. 665), height 17.5 cm., made out of the fruit of the tree Crescentia Cuyeta /Crescentia cujete/.

Ce [824]

C 285 796

Fig. 43. Objects plaited out of palm leaves, used in religious festivities (Chiriguano):
a (I. A. 1439), length 72 cm.;
b (I. A. 1440), length 37 cm.

C 415

Plate XV. Baked clay vessels for cooking foods (Chiriguano).

Fig. 44 (I. A. 414). -- Height 24 cm.
Fig. 45 (I. A. 418). -- Height 23.5 cm.
Fig. 46 (I. A. 413). -- Height 26 cm.
Fig. 47 (I. A. 419). -- Height 22 cm.
Fig. 48 (I. A. 412). -- Height 12 cm.
Fig. 49 (I. A. 417). -- Height 22 cm.

415

[531]

Plate XVI

Fig. 50

Fig. 51

Fig. 52

a b

Fig. 53

/The captions are on p. 120./

8: Schmidt--119 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XVII

Ce
415
286
482
←

c
415
→

Fig. 5.

Fig. 55

Ce
415
284
←

Ce
415
→

a b

Fig. 5

/The captions are on p. 176./

20

8: Schmidt--120 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
I2020

C
415

/Captions for Plates XVI and XVII./

Fig. 50 (I. A. 399). -- Vessel for cooking maize meal for the preparation of chicha (Chiriguano), height 32 cm.

Fig. 51 (I. A. 397). -- Vessel for storing chicha (Chiriguano), height 62 cm.

Fig. 52 (I. A. 422). -- Baked clay dish with holes in the bottom for steaming maize meal (Chiriguano), height 12.5 cm.

Fig. 53: a (I. A. 400), vessel for frying /fritar/ maize (Chiriguano), height 14 cm.;
b (I. A. 401), vessel for storing food (Chiriguano), height 11.5 cm.

Plate XVII. Baked clay vessels.

Ce
415
286
482
C
415
Ce
415
284
Ce
415

Fig. 54 (I. A. 761). -- Vessel with net, for carrying water (Izozó), height 40.5 cm.

Fig. 55 (I. A. 396). -- Vessel for carrying or storing water (Chiriguano), height 32 cm.

Fig. 56: a (I. A. 606), vessel with an interlacing of thread (Izozó), height 24.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 617), vessel with a leather strap (Izozó), height 16 cm.

/49/

C 415 Among the four Chiriguano vessels of this kind, there are three different types. Two of them have a globular form of the belly and the well-marked distinction of the neck and of the flat bottom, like the cooking vessels, but the surface of the neck too, is smooth, and the handles are different. These, in contrast to the others, are placed in a position horizontal to the wall of the belly of the vessel, slightly above the maximum diameter.

The other two Chiriguano vessels of this kind do not have handles, and their aperture at the top, in comparison to the height, is relatively small. Vessel I.A. 353 has a round bottom, with the result that it cannot stand upright on a flat surface. Vessel I.A. 395, besides its very small aperture, has a cylindrical neck, narrow and relatively high, which can easily be encompassed by the hand.

Ce 415 The Izozó vessels for water have an aperture at the top that is relatively quite small. Three of them have a round bottom and hence cannot stand on a flat surface, while the bottoms of the rest are flat. The necks of all of these vessels are very little distinguished and that of vessel I.A. 698 is very short. Ce [531] The surface is smooth and unpainted. Vessels I.A. 761, 762, and 763 are inside a net, which indicates that they are special vessels for carrying water. Vessel I.A. 696 is clearly a vessel for the same purpose on account of an interlacing of thread on its lower part. None of these Izozó water vessels have handles except for two small vessels which are also different in form from the others. They have two handles which come down vertically from the upper rim. They also differ from the other vessels in their relatively large aperture at the top. Vessel I.A. 617 has a leather strap attached to its two handles.

8: Schmidt--122 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
I2020

C
415
126

5. Vessels Used as Chicha Receptacles, from the Collection

I.A. 203 Chirig. (126). No handles. Ht. 11.5 cm. Max. dia. 20.0 cm. Apert. 13 cm.

126. Donated by D. María F. de Canal.

I.A. 364	Chirig.	No handles.	Ht.	27	cm.	Max.	dia.	34	cm.	Apert.	30	cm.	(Fig. 55)
I.A. 369	"	" "	"	22.5	"	"	"	42	"	"	42	"	(Fig. 60)
I.A. 370	"	" "	"	26	"	"	"	31.5	"	"	27	"	(Fig. 58)
I.A. 372	"	Two handles	"	20	"	"	"	24.5	"	"	21	"	
I.A. 373	"	" "	"	15	"	"	"	22.5	"	"	20	"	(Fig. 75a)
I.A. 374	"	" "	"	16	"	"	"	18	"	"	13	"	(Fig. 75b)
I.A. 375	"	No handles	"	13	"	"	"	28	"	"	28	"	(Fig. 67)
I.A. 376	"	2 handles, 1 broken		24	"	"	"	27	"	"	21	"	(Fig. 63)
I.A. 377	"	No handles Ht.		26	"	"	"	36.5	"	"	24	"	(Fig. 57)
I.A. 378	"	Two handles	"	21.5	"	"	"	22.8	"	"	17	"	(Fig. 63)
I.A. 381	"	No handles	"	14	"	"	"	18.5	"	"	16	"	(Fig. 71)
I.A. 383	"	Two handles	"	12	"	"	"	15.7	"	"	13	"	(Fig. 74b)
I.A. 384	"	" "	"	13.5	"	"	"	16	"	"	11	"	
I.A. 386	"	" "	"	16	"	"	"	19.1	"	"	13	"	(Fig. 73b)
I.A. 387	"	" "	"	16	"	"	"	16.8	"	"	13	"	(Fig. 73a)
I.A. 397	"	No handles	"	42	"	"	"	53	"	"	24	"	(Fig. 53)
I.A. 398	"	" "	"	32	"	"	"	45.2	"	"	18.5	"	
I.A. 407	"	" "	"	9	"	"	"	17	"	"	17	"	(Fig. 77b)
I.A. 408	"	" "	"	8	"	"	"	18.5	"	"	17.5	"	(Fig. 77a)
I.A. 409	"	" "	"	7.2	"	"	"	13	"	"	13	"	
/20/													
I.A. 593	Incaá	" "	"	14	"	"	"	16.5	"	"	18.5	"	
I.A. 596	"	Two handles	"	16	"	"	"	16.2	"	"	11.5	"	(Fig. 64a)
I.A. 598	"	" "	"	13.2	"	"	"	20	"	"	20	"	
I.A. 600	"	No handles	"	13	"	"	"	25.7	"	"	25.7	"	(Fig. 76a)
I.A. 601	"	" "	"	22.5	"	"	"	28.7	"	"	22.5	"	(Fig. 69b)
I.A. 604	"	" "	"	29	"	"	"	27.4	"	"	26	"	(Fig. 61)
I.A. 605	"	" "	"	20.2	"	"	"	22.5	"	"	21.5	"	(Fig. 64a)
I.A. 612	"	" "	"	25.5	"	"	"	29	"	"	18.5	"	(Fig. 66a)

CC
415
126

/50 cont./

CC 415

Among the vessels used as receptacles for chicha, those of the Chiriguano generally show different forms from those of the Izozó. The form of these Chiriguano vessels, especially that of the large ones, generally has a globular belly (cf. the figures 368 /see Fig. 55, p.129/, 370 /see Fig. 56, p.129/, and 377 /see Fig. 57, p.129/), while on the vessels of the Izozó the lower part of the belly becomes larger going upward and is commonly distinguished by a border on the upper part which becomes smaller going upward. (Cf. Figs. 61 /see p.129/, 68, and 69 /see p.132/.) The surface of all of these vessels is smooth and, with the exception of a few Izozó vessels, have designs on them. Only the large Chiriguano vessel I. A. 397 has a round bottom; all the other vessels have flat bottoms marked off from the belly by a border.

CC [531]

Among these Chiriguano and Izozó vessels there are some which have their maximum diameter at the aperture on top (cf. Figs. 60 /see p.129/ and 67 /see p.130/), which gives them the shape of a large dish. Vessels I. A. 397 and 398 differ from the rest by their height.

Of these Chiriguano pots, nine have handles and 12 do not. Of the eight Izozó pots, only two have handles. (Cf. Fig. 68a /see p.132/.) Most of these Izozó pots have the peculiarity that the necks, well distinguished by a border, become wider toward the upper rim. (Cf. Figs. 61 /see p.129/ and 69 a and b /see p.132/.)

Chané SFS
I2020

/10 cont./

C
415
126

6. Vessels Intended for Serving Chicha, from the Collection

I.A. 347 (778)	Chir.	Ht. 18.3 cm.	Max. dia. 15.3 cm.	Apert. 10 cm. (Fig. 61)					
I.A. 348 (778)	Chir.	Ht. 14.5 cm.	Max. dia. 14.7 cm.	Apert. 8 cm.					
I.A. 349 (778)	"	Ht. 18.5 cm.	Max. dia. 16.2 cm.	" 5.2 cm.					
I.A. 371	"	" 20	" "	" 21.3	"	" 8.5 cm.			
I.A. 379	"	" 18.5	" "	" 18	"	" 6 cm.			
I.A. 380	"	" 20	" "	" 18.3	"	" 8.5 cm. (Fig. 85a)			
I.A. 382	"	" 18	" "	" 14	"	" 7 cm. (Fig. 85b)			
I.A. 385	"	" 20.5	" "	" 22.7	"	" 9 cm.			
I.A. 402	"	" 22	" "	" 15.5	"	" 12 cm.			
I.A. 403	"	" 17.5	" "	" 14.5	"	" 14 cm. (Fig. 84)			
I.A. 404	"	" 20	" "	" 21.5	"	" 9 cm. (Fig. 74a)			
I.A. 405	"	" 19	" "	" 19	"	" 7 cm.			
I.A. 387	Izoná	" 18	" "	" 16.2	"	" 12 cm.			
I.A. 388	"	" 14	" "	" 14.3	"	" 12 cm.			
I.A. 390	"	" 13	" "	" 12.8	"	" 12.5 cm.			
I.A. 409	"	" 14	" "	" 12.5	"	" 12 cm.			
I.A. 422	"	" 20.5	" "	" 18	"	" 12.5 cm. (Fig. 67)			

Ce
415
126

/Fn. 226, which appears on p. 222, reads:
Donated by D. María F. de Casas./

C
Ce
415
327
273

The Chiriguano and Chané use vessels like those mentioned above in the chicha festivities, taking the chicha from the large pots by means of them and filling the cuyas /gourd vessels/ or baked clay cups that they pass among those present at the fiesta.

Fr Schmidt--125 8-5 (1926) 1928 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SFE
Izozo

/121/

C Ce 415

Among these vessels we must distinguish two different principal types. The vessels of the first type have the globular form of the belly, a narrowed part at the neck, a relatively small aperture, a flat bottom, and a vertical handle placed on the upper rim and coming down to the upper part of the belly. See Figs. 74 /see p.130/ and 82 /see p.144/. The second type, whose form was no doubt received from the whites, differs from the first primarily in that its aperture has a spout like modern vessels. See Figs. 84 and 85 /see p.150/. Vessels of this type also have a handle that, placed at the upper rim, comes down to the upper part of the belly.

Ce [197]

C 415

In addition to these vessels I found one among the Chiriguano which corresponds in form to vessel I.A. 382, already mentioned among the vessels for carrying water. Like that one, it has a narrow, cylindrical neck that can easily be encompassed by the hand and has no handle. Because its surface has designs, I have included it among the vessels intended for serving chicha.

Ce 415 126

7. Vessels Intended for Drinking Liquids, from the Collection

I.A. 602	Izozó	Ht.	10 cm.	Max.	dia.	12.5 cm.	Apert.	10 cm. (Fig. 70b)
I.A. 603	"	"	8 cm.	"	"	9 cm.	"	6 cm.
I.A. 610	"	"	8 cm.	"	"	10.5 cm.	"	8.5 cm.
I.A. 611	"	"	9 cm.	"	"	11.5 cm.	"	8 cm.

Ce 415

Among the vessels collected among the Izozó there are four in the shape of cups. From the types of vessels shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld (227), it is learned that similar cups

227. Nord. 2, Fig. 40, N. 28; Fig. 42, N. 22 and 23; Fig. 44, N. 19-21.

Ce [197] Ce

are used by the Chané on the Ituyuro and by the Chiriguano. We must assume that the form of these cups is the result of the influence of European styles. These vessels have a globular

Ce 415 /51 cont./ These vessels have a globular form and are provided with a handle. The bottom of three of them is clearly distinct from the belly, forming a foot. Ce [531] Two of them have designs on the surface; the others are without designs.

C 415 [124]

8. Vessels Used as Receptacles for Food, from the Collection

I. A. 394. Chiriguano. Height 17.5 cm. Aperture 44 cm.
I. A. 401. " " 11.5 cm. " 30 cm.

C [124] Two of the baked clay dishes that I obtained from the Chiriguano in Macharetí seem to me to be too big to be considered as dishes for eating, because Nordenskiöld states that (228) the Chiriguano do not eat from a common dish, but

228. Nord. 1, p. 190.

rather each one has his own separate dish. We can assume that these are vessels used as food containers or serving dishes for food before it is placed on the individual dishes.

C [531] The two dishes are without designs. The flat bottom is well distinguished from the wall, which widens upward. The dish I. A. 401 has a rather wide rim which has two handles. Cf. Fig. 53b /see p. 118/.

9. Vessels Used for Storing Objects

C Ce 415 [171]

In contrast to the other Indians, the Chiriguano and Chané use vessels for keeping anything of value. I did not receive from the Indians any indication /52/ that any of the vessels I brought from them belonged particularly to this type. Therefore I refer here to a vessel shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld with the caption "For keeping knicknacks in" /cited in English/ (229).

229. Nord. 2, p. 158 and Fig. 45, N. 19.

/52 cont./

Ce
415

Nordenskiöld says in another place that the mistress of the house keeps all the family's valuable things, such as clothing, ornaments, silver plates, turquoise or chrysocolla necklaces, and many other things, in these vessels (230).

230. Nord. 1, p. 179.

C
415
126

10. Dishes for Eating (nyá e), from the Collection

I. A. 388	Chirig.	Height	6.5 cm.	Aperture	21 cm.	(Fig. 79a)
I. A. 389	"	"	8 cm.	"	23.5 cm.	(Fig. 79b)
I. A. 390	"	"	5.2 cm.	"	15 cm.	
I. A. 391	"	"	4 cm.	"	13 cm.	
I. A. 406	"	"	9 cm.	"	25 cm.	(Fig. 78a)
I. A. 586	Izozó	"	13 cm.	"	25.5 cm.	(Fig. 76b)
I. A. 591	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	16.5 cm.	
I. A. 594	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	21 cm.	
I. A. 595	"	"	9 cm.	"	20 cm.	(Fig. 80a)
I. A. 598	"	"	13.2 cm.	"	25 cm.	
I. A. 612	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	19 cm.	
I. A. 613	"	"	8 cm.	"	21 cm.	(Fig. 80c)
I. A. 614	"	"	9 cm.	"	22 cm.	
I. A. 615	"	"	10.5 cm.	"	27.5 cm.	
I. A. 616	"	"	10.5 cm.	"	22 cm.	
I. A. 618	"	"	10 cm.	"	18.5 cm.	
I. A. 620	"	"	15.5 cm.	"	15 cm.	

Ce
415
1264
[531

Because every Chiriguano and Chanée as already mentioned, eats from his own dish, such baked clay dishes are found in great number in the houses of these Indians. Many of them that are intended for ordinary use do not have designs, while others, used on the occasion of fiestas, have designs on their outer surface or on the upper rim of the interior surface, or are provided with small additions.

/52 cont./

C
Ce
415

All of these dishes have a round belly, becoming somewhat larger going upward. The differences in form are limited only to variations of the upper rim and the bottom. The wall of some of these dishes ends at the top without forming a special rim. Cf. Fig. 76b /see p.143/. Other dishes have a rim in a horizontal or oblique direction. The upper rim of dish I. A. 406 (cf. Fig. 78a /see p.143/) has small continuous incising. The flat bottom of most Izozó dishes is clearly distinct from the wall, forming a foot. This distinction of the bottom is lacking in most Chiriguano dishes, one of which has an almost round bottom.

C
Ce
[531]

Ce
415
[126]

11. Vessel used in Spinning, from the Collection I. A. 619. (Izozó). Height 5 cm. Aperture 12 cm. (Fig. 81b.)

Ce
415
283

Nordenskiöld (231) shows in drawings two small dishes of

231. Nord. II, p. 165 and Fig. 44, No. 23 and 24.

the Chané of the Parapití River, which, according to his statement, are used in the spinning technique /Plates XVIII-XXI appear here/ /53/ as a base for whirling the spindle on its bottom. The small dish I. A. 619, which I obtained from the Izozó and which differs from the other dishes in the collection principally because of its thick and heavy bottom, is similar, with regard to its form and its dimensions, to those two dishes published by Nordenskiöld, and thus I assume it to be for the same purpose, although I did not obtain any indication from the Indians regarding that.

Ce
[174]

8: Schmidt--129 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
12020

C
415
531

Plate XVIII

Fig. 57

Fig. 58

Fig. 59

Fig. 60

Ce
415
531
←

C
415
531
→

Fig. 61

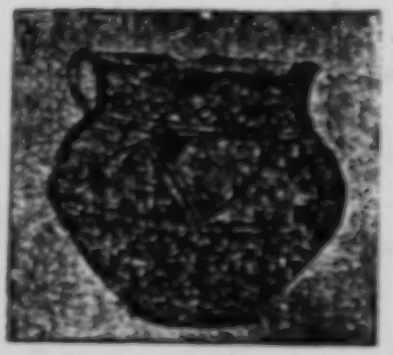


Fig. 62

/The captions are on p. 131./

8: Schmidt--130 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XIX

C
415
531

Fig. 63

Fig. 64

Fig. 65

Ce
415
531
C
415
531

Fig. [illegible]

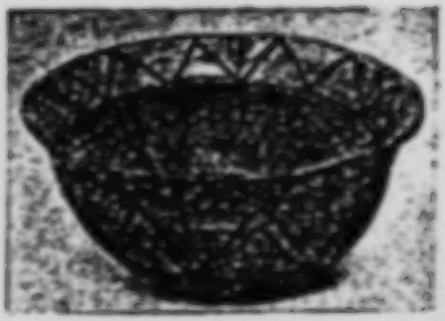


Fig. 67

/The captions appear on p. 131./

St Schmidt--131 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chang SF 8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XVIII and XIX./

C
415
531

Plate XVIII. Baked clay vessels for chicha.

Fig. 57. (I. A. 377) (Chiriguano) Height 26 cm.
Fig. 58. (I. A. 370) (Chiriguano) Height 26 cm.
Fig. 59. (I. A. 368) (Chiriguano) Height 27 cm.
Fig. 60. (I. A. 369) (Chiriguano) Height 27.5 cm.
Fig. 61. (I. A. 604) (Izozó) Height 29 cm.
Fig. 62. (I. A. 376) (Chiriguano) Height 24 cm.

Ce
[415]
[531]

Plate XIX. Baked clay vessels.

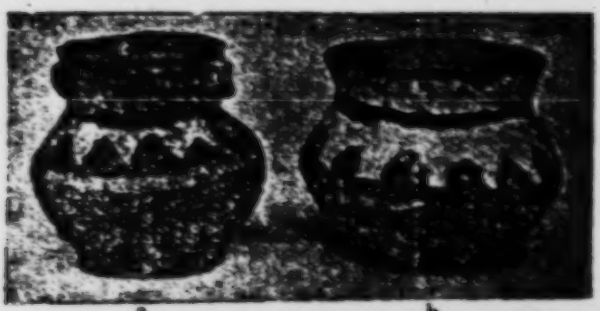
Fig. 63. (I. A. 378) Baked clay vessel for chicha (Chiriguano). Height 21.5 cm. Cf. Fig. 146 /see p. /.
Fig. 64. (I. A. 403) Baked clay vessel for serving chicha (Chiriguano). Height 17.5 cm. Cf. Fig. 145 /see p. /.
Fig. 65. (I. A. 347) Baked clay vessel for serving chicha (Chiriguano). Height 18.3 cm.
Fig. 66. (I. A. 623) Baked clay vessel for serving chicha (Izozó). Hgt. 20.5 cm.
Fig. 67. (I. A. 375) Baked clay vessel for chicha (Chiriguano). Height 13.5 cm.

Ce
[415]
[531]

Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XX

Ce
415
531



a b

Fig. 68

a b

Fig. 69

a b

Fig. 70

C
415
531
Ce
415
531

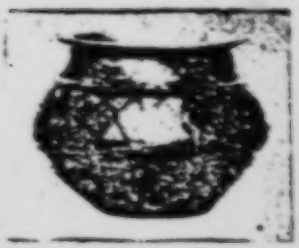


Fig. 71

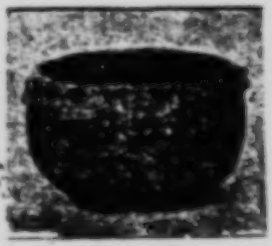


Fig. 72

/The captions appear on p. 134./

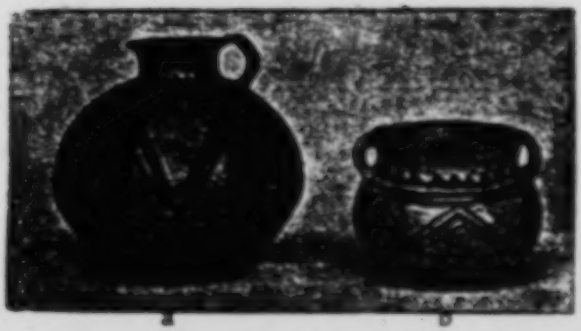
8: Schmidt--133 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XXI

415
531

a b

Fig. 73



a b

Fig. 74

a b

Fig. 75

/The captions appear on p. 134./

/Captions for Plates XX and XXI./

C
415
531

Fig. 68. Baked clay vessels for chicha (Izozó):
a (I. A. 596), height 16 cm.;
b (I. A. 622), height 15.5 cm.

Fig. 69. Baked clay vessels for chicha (Izozó):
a (I. A. 605), height 19.2 cm.;
b (I. A. 601), height 22.5 cm.

Fig. 70. Baked clay vessels (Izozó):
a (I. A. 599), height 9 cm.;
b (I. A. 602), height 10 cm.

C
[415
[531

Fig. 71. Baked clay vessel for chicha (I. A. 381) (Chiriguano), height 14 cm.

Fig. 72. Baked clay vessel (I. A. 597) (Izozó), height 10.5 cm.

C
415
531

Plate XXI. Baked clay vessels (Chiriguano).

Fig. 73. Vessels for chicha:
a (I. A. 387), height 16 cm.;
b (I. A. 386), height 16 cm.

Fig. 74. a (I. A. 404), vessel for serving chicha, height 20 cm.;
b (I. A. 383), vessel for chicha, height 12 cm.

Fig. 75. Vessels for chicha:
a (I. A. 373), height 15 cm.;
b (I. A. 374), height 16 cm.

/53 cont./

12. Funerary Urns

764
415

In the chapter on the treatment of illnesses and burial, I have already dealt with the Chiriguano custom of placing their dead inside funerary urns and of closing these with other vessels. According to Nordenskiöld (232), the large baked clay

232. Nord. 1, p. 278.

vessels used for preparing and keeping chicha also serve as funerary urns. Because among those Indians burial in funerary urns is a direct burial, that is, the entire corpse is placed within the urn, the vessels selected for funerary urns must be large enough to have room for the corpse of an adult. Un-
[226] fortunately, I was unable to bring such large vessels from Machareti. The largest of the vessels that I brought, 52 cm. and 62 cm. in height, are not big enough for an adult, and in particular their apertures on top, which measure only up to 24 cm., are too small to be able to squeeze in a dead person. Therefore, with reference to funerary urns and their respective tops, I refer to the drawing made by Nordenskiöld (233). Outes

233. Nord. 1, Fig. 112.

has published a Chiriguano vessel with a height of 27.5 cm. and an aperture on top of 27.5 cm., which had served as a funerary urn for a small child. With the urn was found a small baked clay dish approximately 6 cm. high (234).

234. Felix F. Outes, op. cit., p. 135 and Figs. 30 and 31.

Outes' data show that the vessels of the Chiriguano can reach quite large dimensions (235). Among the vessels

235. Felix F. Outes, op. cit., pp. 127 and 128.

Chaco SF8
28420

C
764
415

/53 cont./

described by him there is one which is 95 cm. high and has an aperture at the top 70 cm. in diameter. Another is 110 cm. high and its maximum diameter measures 65 cm. In 1845, in Capirendá, Wedell found such vessels with a height of 120 cm. and a maximum diameter of 100 cm. for the wall of the belly.

C
415
126

13. Various Vessels with No Indication Regarding Their Purpose, from the Collection

I. A. 410 (Chirig.). Ht. 14.5 cm. Max. dia. 8 cm. Apert. 5 cm. (Fig. 81b).

I. A. 411 ("). Ht. 13.5 cm. Length 21 cm. (Fig. 81a).

C
415
126

I. A. 397 (Isoso). " 10.5 cm. Max. dia. 16.7 cm. Apert. 15 cm. (Fig. 72).

I. A. 399 (") " 9 cm. " " 12 cm. " 10 cm. (Fig. 70a).

C
415
177

We have no evidence regarding the purpose of these four vessels which are different in form from the other types of vessels. We must regard the small, double vessel I. A. 411 (cf. Fig. 81a /see p.144/) as a special result of the mixture of various, but different cultural elements. The way in which the two small dishes are joined to form a double vessel /34/ corresponds to ancient Peruvian models, while the form of the handle, fitted with a ring, is doubtless an addition of European origin. The whole has the form of a salt cellar and was perhaps made to be sold to the whites for this purpose. We must also consider the vessel I. A. 410 (cf. Fig. 81b /see p. 4-/) as merchandise, while the two vessels I. A. 397 and 399 seem to be manufactured for some use in festivities.

Ee
[439]

Baked Clay Spindle Whorls

C
Q
283
323

The spindle whorls collected among the Chiriguano and Isoso are of baked clay or wood, and the Chiriguano also have some spindles with stone whorls. Because I shall deal with spindle whorls in the chapter on spinning, I wish only to

/54 cont./

point out here a difference between the baked clay whorls of the Izozó and those of the Chiriguano with regard to their manufacture. The whorls of the latter are made of pieces of clay from any broken vessel, by filing them round and perforating them in the center, while the whorls of the Izozó consist of a small disk with different variations in form, also perforated in the center, but made of baked clay especially for that purpose.

Concerning the pottery technique of the Chiriguano and the Chané, we are well instructed by the data given by Nordenskiöld, S. Linné, Métraux (236), and Campana (237).

236. Nord. 1, pp. 244 and 245. S. Linné: The Technique of South American Ceramics, Göteborg, 1925. Métraux 1, pp. 382-388.

237. Campana (Doménico del), "Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani /Information concerning the Chiriguano/," Archiv per l'antropologia e la etnologia, Florence, Vol. 32 (1902), p. 382.

Especially noteworthy among these is the description of the manufacture of baked clay vessels by the Chané on the Bijuru River, which Nordenskiöld studied in its entire procedure. In the book written by Linné, entitled The Technique of South American Ceramics, we find, in addition to the systematic arrangement of the observations made by Nordenskiöld among the Chiriguano and Chané, important data on the results of chemical analyses and microscopic observations which Linné made on the vessels of these Indians. According to this information, the procedure for manufacturing these vessels is the following:

The first condition for the manufacture of baked clay vessels is the availability of suitable clay which has sufficient plasticity so that the vessel can be modeled and fired without being broken. Only a clay with special qualities can meet

C
Ce
323

/54 cont./

these two requirements. Generally it is necessary to correct the defects of the available clay, fixing it by the addition of other substances. Thus the Chiriguano and Chané add to the clay pieces of crushed baked clay. The Chiriguano women in Tarapayu like to use as such an additive, which they call "takupe," pieces of baked clay of ancient origin which they find in great number in their territory and which substance also contains, according to microscopic investigation, pieces of baked clay added to the clay (238).

C
Ce
[113]

238. S. Linné, op. cit., p. 36, Fig. 2, and p. 70. Nordenskiöld, Erland: Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika /Research and Adventure in South America/, Stockholm, 1915, p. 34. Nord. 1, p. 284.

From the quality of the substance of a baked clay vessel of the Chané of the Parapití which is in the Göteborg museum, it turns out that these Indians also add sand to the clay, in addition to pieces of crushed baked clay (239). By microscopic

C
114
323

239. S. Linné, op. cit., p. 33.

analyses of sections of vessels, Linné was able to demonstrate /55/ that pieces of baked clay were added to the clay of the Chiriguano. As a result of these analyses, he points out the following: "Microscopic section analysis of Chiriguano ceramics have shown the materials to contain, besides small quartz grains and larger grains of other minerals, particles of the same colour as the ground-mass, but with distinct outlines. These are due to ground potsherds. There are also some very dark particles, as well as lighter ones, and they, too, are potsherds. The variation as to colour is due to the vessels often in the firing, becoming quite differently coloured in their outer and inner layers" /cited in English/ (240).

240. S. Linné, op. cit., pp. 37 and 68.

/55 cont./

Ce 323 [114] According to Nordenskiöld's observations among the Chané in Itiyuru, the clay to be used for the manufacture of a vessel was first crushed and then mixed with pieces of baked clay also crushed. We do not know how the clay thus prepared is transmuted by the addition of water into the needed plastic substance. [Ce 171] The construction of the vessel is done in the manner most common among South American Indians. First a disk with a raised rim is formed from the clay prepared in the manner described, and this is placed on a piece of cloth or a board. The wall is built on this part, which forms the base of the vessel, by means of rolls of clay which in the form of rings, are placed on top of one another (241). Stones and

241. Nord. 1, p. 244. Nord. 2, p. 137.
S. Linné, op. cit., p. 78. Métraux I, pp. 373 and 384.

narrow little sticks of cane are used to smooth the surface of the vessel made in the manner described. These are also used as a gauge to obtain the proper proportions. [Ce 824] To rub the surface of the vessels intended for cooking and that of the larger vessels, a maize cob is commonly used, which makes sunken parallel lines so that the surface of those vessels is less smooth(242).

242. Nord. 1, p. 244. Nord. 2, p. 137.
S. Linné, op. cit., pp. 107 and 108.
Métraux I, p. 384.

C 323 Using the method described in the above, the Chiriguano manage to make excellent, solid vessels which show a well-proportioned form of wall. According to measurements made by Linné, the radial difference of the aperture of the Chiriguano vessels, whose apertures on top have a diameter of from 15 to 20 cm., is less than 1 mm. (243).

243. Linné, op. cit., p. 78.

/55 cont./

323 Data on the thickness of Chiriguano vessels have been given by Oates in his publication which we have mentioned. According to him, "the walls of the vessels, in general, do not show great thickness: in those of larger size, they are from 15 to 20 millimeters: in the medium ones, they do not exceed 8 millimeters: in the small ventricose jars, they vary between 7 and 4 millimeters. As an exception to these, Oates mentions a small vessel with a height of approximately 6 centimeters and a maximum diameter of 12 centimeters, which is relatively thick, since its side walls are from 7 to 9 millimeters and the bottom reaches 15 millimeters (264).

264. Oates, op. cit., p. 128.

323 531 A large part of the vessels are provided, even before being baked, with handles or with different kinds of decoration on their surface. The surface of the neck of the vessels intended for cooking is decorated with sunken ornamentation by impressions made with the finger. Rings of clay are put on the surface of some vessels, as is shown by the piece of baked clay from a Chané vessel shown in a drawing by Lizné (265), or the surface

265. Lizné, Fig. 21. Nord. 1, p. 265.

is provided with small additions. Cf. the vessel shown in Fig. 44 /see p. 116/. The finer vessels are painted before the firing. The designs are applied in white, red, dark brown, and black (266).

266. Nord. 1, p. 266.

The white color in general is the background color, on top of which are applied /56/ the other colors. For that tiny brushes made of agouti hair or of feathers held together with wax are used (267). The white color is an earth paint (kaolin), the red,

413 1341 ovo

267. Métraux 1, p. 265.

C 326 323 531

/36 cont./The white color is an earth pigment, the red, dark brown, and black are pulverized mineral substances of the corresponding colors (348). Métraux has published the results

348. Nord. 2. p. 145.

of chemical analyses and petrographic observations which he made on these mineral colors (349).

349. Métraux 1. 305.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano at times paint their vessels with a paint consisting of a mixture of urucú and oil, which is probably applied after the vessel has been baked (350).

350. Nord. 2. p. 145.

C 323

Before the vessel is baked, it must be quite dry. In the case observed by Nordenskiöld among the Chané on the Itiyuro River, the vessel was dried for a day in the shade, which can be done, according to another note by Nordenskiöld, in the sun as well (351). The baking is done, according to Nordenskiöld's

351. 2. Lizot. op. cit., p. 121.

observations, by piling firewood, maize cobs, and dry cow dung around the vessel. This fuel must burn with a strong fire for a quarter of an hour and, if the vessel is large, even longer (352).

352. Nord. 1. p. 341. Cf. Nord., Fig. 171.

C 323 [324]

Some of the Chiriguano vessels are varnished. According to Nordenskiöld, such vessels are common among the Chiriguano and Chané on the Itiyuro River. They cover them with the resin of a Mimosaceae, which the Chiriguano call "yaravirati." When varnished in this way the vessels acquire a yellowish sheen. Only the vessels of the Chané on the Itiyuro sometimes show black

C 323 324 326

Ce /36 cont./
323 point on the rim, which is done with the resin of the palo santo
324 (Bulnesia sarmientii), which is spread over the surface of the
326 vessel after it has been baked (253).

253. Steed. 1. p. 366. Steed. 2, p. 144.
Métraux 1. pp. 388 and 397.

Ee
324

Working of Stone and Metals

The manufacture of stone implements is not done among the Chiriguano and Chané. The same can be said with respect to the manufacture of metal implements, except that the Chiriguano sometimes make their needles of tin themselves (254), while

Cb
325
326
439
197
41

254. Steed. 2. p. 171.

they ordinarily obtain their metal ornaments and implements from the mestizos and the whites.

C
322
[41]

Woodworking

Various objects made out of wood by the Chiriguano have already been mentioned above, such as house posts, ladders, plows, spoons, pipes, bows, arrow points, and also cuyas /vessels made out of gourds/ and calabashes. Among other objects made of wood we must also mention the mortar and pestle, various implements used in weaving, small sticks for making nets, large dishes used for keeping food, and flutes. Because the Chiriguano, when they work wood today, exclusively use modern tools obtained from the whites, they have not retained any of their native technique. /Plates XXII-XXV appear here./

C
[191]
[196]

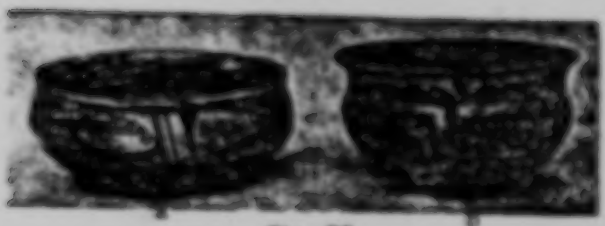
R. Schmidt--143 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF.C Chiriguano SF10
Chiriq SF5
IZOZC

Plate XXII

CC 415 531

a Fig. 76 b

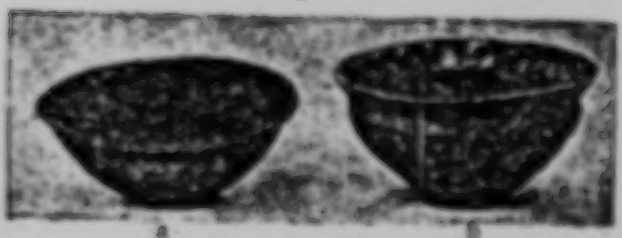
C 415 531



a b

Fig. 77

C 415 ← CC 415 →



a b

Fig. 78

C 415 531

a b

Fig. 79

CC 415

a b c

Fig. 80

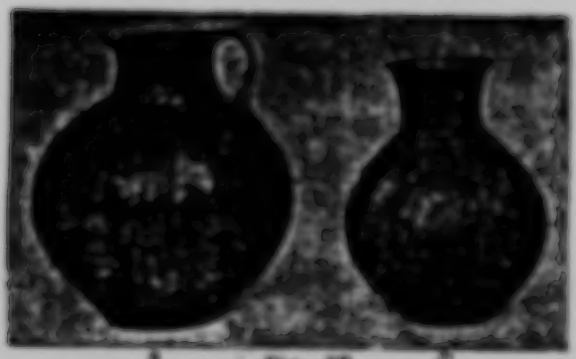
/The captions are on p. 145./

R: Schmidt--144 E-S (1930) 1930 SF10 Chirigueno SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
415
S51

Plate XXIII

a Fig. 61 b



a Fig. 62 b

C
415
S51
C
415

Fig. 63 b Fig. 6.

/The captions are on p. 145./

R: Schmidt--145 E-5 (1931) 1904 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
Iscelo

Ce 415 531

/Captions for Plates XXII and XXIII./

Fig. 76. a (I.A. 404), vessel for chicha (Iscelo), height 13 cm.;
b (I.A. 386), eating dish (Iscelo), height 13 cm.

C 415 531

Fig. 77. Vessels for chicha (Chiriguano):
a (I.A. 408), height 8 cm.;
b (I.A. 407), height 9 cm.

C 415 Ce 415

Fig. 78. a (I.A. 406), eating dish (Chiriguano), height 9 cm.;
b (I.A. 390), eating dish (Iscelo), height 13.7 cm.

C 415 531

Fig. 79. Eating dishes (Chiriguano):
a (I.A. 388), height 6.5 cm.;
b (I.A. 389), height 8 cm.

Ce 415

Fig. 80. a (I.A. 396), eating dish (Iscelo), height 9 cm.;
b (I.A. 619), vessel used in the spinning technique as a base for the spindle (Iscelo), height 5 cm.;
c (I.A. 613), eating dish (Iscelo), height 8 cm.

C 415 531

Plate XXIII. Baked clay vessels.

Fig. 81. Chiriguano:
a (I.A. 411), height 13.5 cm.;
b (I.A. 410), height 14.5 cm.

Fig. 82. Vessels for serving chicha (Chiriguano):
a (I.A. 380), height 20 cm.;
b (I.A. 387), height 18 cm.

Ce 415

Fig. 83. Vessels for carrying or storing water (Iscelo):
a (I.A. 621), height 28.5 cm.;
b (I.A. 608), height 19.5 cm.

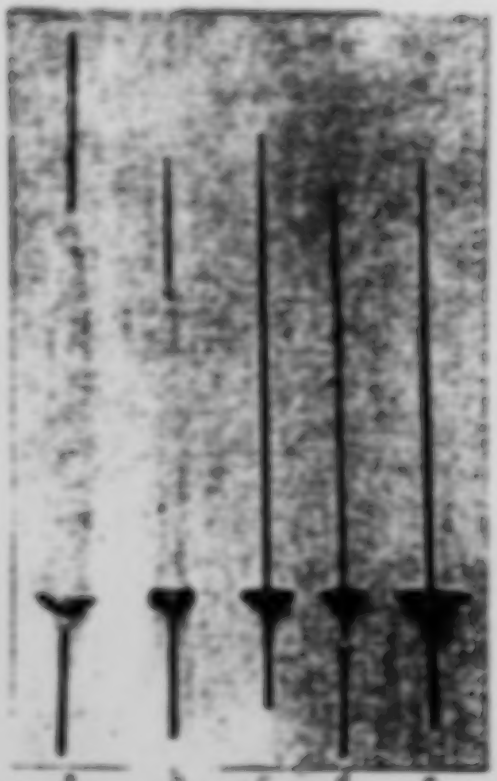
C 415

Fig. 84. (I.A. 392) Vessel for carrying or storing water (Chiriguano), height 26 cm.

R. Schmidt--146 E-6 (1908) 1908 S/10 Chinquee Ut.
Chase-SF 5
12020

Plate XXIV

Ce 283



C 283

Fig. 85

Ce 245 283

Fig. 86

fr Schmidt--147 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chirigusso SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo.

C
283
322

Fig. 87

C
283
323

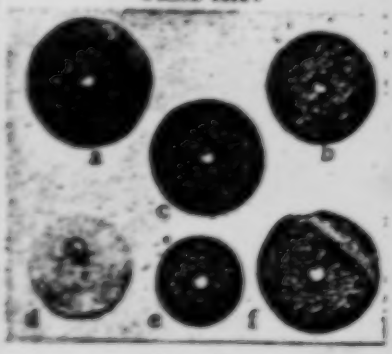


Fig. 88

C
283
323

Fig. 89

Fig. 90

C
Ce
286
413

a
b
c
d
e

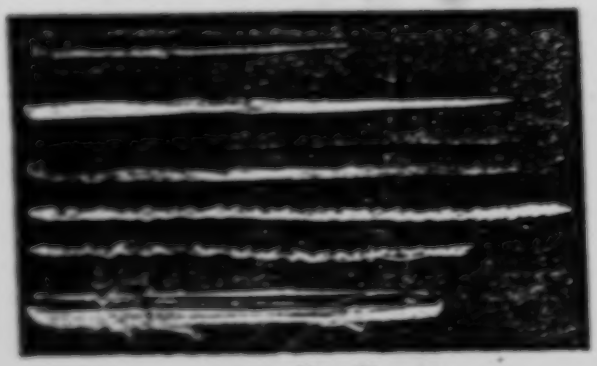


Fig. 91

/The captions are on p. 148./

8: Schmidt--148 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XXIV and XXV./

C
Ce
283

Plate XXIV

Fig. 85. Spindles, a-d (Izozó), e Chiriguano):
a (I.A. 724), length 51 cm.; b (I.A. 703), length 41 cm.; c (I.A. 716), length 41 cm.; d (I.A. 691), length 40.5 cm.; e (I.A. 475), length 42 cm.

Ce
285
283

Fig. 86. (I.A. 725 a and b) Basket (height 12 cm.), cotton seeds, raw cotton, and a spindle with thread, and a ball of cotton thread (Izozó).
b (I.A. 726), ball of cotton thread (Izozó), dia. 8.5 cm.

C
283
322

Plate XXV

Fig. 87. Wooden spindle whorls (Chiriguano): a (I.A. 478), dia. 6 cm.; b (I.A. 474), dia. 5.2 cm.; c (I.A. 480), dia. 6 cm.; d (I.A. 471), dia. 5.3 cm.; e (I.A. 479), dia. 4.3 cm.; f (I.A. 477), dia. 5.2 cm.

C
283
323

Fig. 88. Spindle whorls, a-c of baked clay, e-f of stone (Chiriguano): a (I.A. 486), dia. 6.2 cm.; b (I.A. 487), dia. 5.3 cm.; c (I.A. 483), dia. 5.3 cm.; d (I.A. 481), dia. 4.8 cm.; e (I.A. 482), dia. 4.2 cm.; f (I.A. 484), dia. 5.7 cm.

Ce
283
323

Fig. 89. Baked clay spindle whorls (Izozó): a (I.A. 705), dia. 4.7 cm.; b (I.A. 687), dia. 5.2 cm.; c (I.A. 700), dia. 4 cm.; d (I.A. 702), dia. 3 cm.; e (I.A. 696), dia. 3 cm.; f (I.A. 690), dia. 4 cm.; g (I.A. 692), dia. 4.5 cm.; h (I.A. 689), dia. 4 cm.; i (I.A. 695), dia. 4.2 cm.

Fig. 90. Baked clay spindle whorls (Izozó): a (I.A. 724), dia. 4 cm.; b (I.A. 708), dia. 3.8 cm.; c (I.A. 709), dia. 4.3 cm.; d (I.A. 721), dia. 3.7 cm.; e (I.A. 722), dia. 3.3 cm.; f (I.A. 720), dia. 4.4 cm.; g (I.A. 711), dia. 4.3 cm.; h (I.A. 713), dia. 4.2 cm.; i (I.A. 710), dia. 4 cm.

C
Ce
286
413

Fig. 91. Implements for weaving: a (I.A. 500), implement for arranging the warp threads (Chiriguano), length 20.5 cm.; b (I.A. 674), implement for arranging the warp threads (Izozó), length 30 cm.; c (I.A. 673), wooden sword for weaving (Izozó), length 30 cm.; d (I.A. 727), shuttle with cotton thread (Izozó), length 33.3 cm.; e (I.A. 728), shuttle with cotton thread (Izozó), length 27 cm.; (I.A. 513) reel (Chiriguano), length 25 cm.

/57/

Grinding the Raw Materials

C
Ce
252
412

For grinding raw materials, principally for grinding corn, the Chiriguano and Chané use large wooden mortars with long pestles (255). Such a wooden mortar is shown in Figure 15 and

255. Nord. 1, p. 51. Métraux I, p. 365. Fig. 30.

C
Ce
412
[171]

another one by Nordenskiöld (256). Stone mills are not used by

256. Nord. 1, Fig. 116.

these Indians, although this implement was used, except for the Chaco tribes, by all the tribes whom the Chiriguano had as neighbors after their migration to the west. According to Métraux, a small stone mill is used only for grinding the seeds of a plant which the Chiriguano use as soap for washing their hair. Such a stone mill is shown in a drawing by Métraux (257).

C
[515]
[388]

257. Métraux I, p. 467, Fig. 122.

C
412
171
174

Because the wooden mortar is common even today among the Kainguá /Caingua/, who also belong to the Guaraní linguistic group, and is also mentioned for the ancient Tupinambá /Tupinamba/ of the eastern coast of Brazil, we can assume that the Chiriguano brought this cultural possession from their native land.

C
252
412
[171]

The fact that mandioca is not important in the economy of these Indians explains why they do not use the wooden grater, the application of which is diffused among so many other Indian tribes of South America who cultivate this nourishing root.

Making Cord and Thread

C
Ce
283

The thread that the Chiriguano and Chané make out of wool or cotton is spun by means of the spindle, while that made of caraguata is twisted by hand. We have no information on the way this caraguata thread is twisted.

/57 cont./

C
Ce
283

The direction in which the threads are twisted by these Indians is generally to the left, while the two skeins which generally make up each thread are usually twisted to the right. See the two sketches shown in Figure 137 /see p.201/. The rather heavy cotton cord stretched out on the loom shown in Figure 104 /see p.176/, used for stretching the warp, is twisted to the right, but it consists of three special threads twisted to the left, which in turn are each made up of two skeins twisted to the right. The strings for the bows for shooting arrows, made of only one skein of animal hide, are twisted to the right. The rule is that all threads, whether they be caraguata threads made by hand or wool or cotton threads made with the spindle, are twisted to the left, made up of two skeins twisted to the right. In examining many threads of the Chiriguano and the Izozó, I found only two exceptions to this rule. Of the two threads wound together on the reel I.A. 413 /I.A. 513 in Fig. 91, p.147/ and each made of two skeins, one is twisted to the right and the other to the left, and the thick wool threads of the warp of the plaited hammock I.A. 448 are twisted to the right, being made of two skeins twisted to the left.

Ce
283
126

Thread in the Collection

I.A. 675. Caraguata thread (Izozó).

/58/

I.A. 676. Ball of cotton thread (Izozó). Dia. 9 cm.

I.A. 726. " " " " " " 9.5 cm. (Fig. 86b).

C
Ce
283
126

In addition to the large number of spindles from the Chiriguano and the Izozó, I obtained from these Indians a small basket which contains the raw material needed for spinning cotton thread and a spindle wrapped with cotton thread which is connected to a ball of thread of this material.

Ce
283
285
126

Implements and Raw Material for Spinning, from the Collection

I.A. 725.

a. Basket (Izozó), length 27 cm., height 12 cm., cotton seeds and raw cotton. (Fig. 86a.)

CE 126 283 322

/58 cont./

b. Spindle provided with a whorl of baked clay. Length of the stick 46 cm. Diameter of the whorl 4.2 cm. Ball of cotton thread. (Fig. 86a.)

CE 126 283 32

I.A. 470.	Spindle (Chir.).	Lgth.	44.5 cm.	Wooden whorl.	dia. 4.8 cm.
I.A. 471.	" "	"	36.5 cm.	" "	5.3 cm.
(Fig. 87d)					
I.A. 472.	" "	"	39 cm.	" "	6 cm.
I.A. 473.	" "	"	34.5 cm.	" "	5.7 cm.
I.A. 474.	" "	"	38 cm.	" "	5.3 cm.
(Fig. 87b)					
I.A. 475.	" "	"	40.5 cm.	" "	5.8 cm.
(Fig. 85e)					
I.A. 476.	" "	"	42.7 cm.	" "	6.5 cm.
I.A. 477.	" "	"	38.5 cm.	" "	5.2 cm.
(Fig. 87f)					
I.A. 478.	" "	"	42 cm.	" "	6 cm.
(Fig. 87a)					
I.A. 479.	" "	"	25.5 cm.	" "	4.2 cm.
(Fig. 87e)					
I.A. 480.	" "	"	32.3 cm.	" "	6 cm.
(Fig. 87c)					
I.A. 481.	" "	"	40 cm.	Stone whorl	4.8 cm.
(Fig. 88d)					
I.A. 482.	" "	"	25.5 cm.	" "	4.2 cm.
(Fig. 88e)					
I.A. 483.	" "	"	37 cm.	Baked clay whorl	5.3 cm.
(Fig. 88c)					
I.A. 484.	" "	"	42 cm.	Stone whorl	5.7 cm.
(Fig. 88f)					
I.A. 485.	" "	"	31 cm.	Baked clay whorl	4 cm.
I.A. 486.	" "	"	35.7 cm.	" "	" 6.2 cm.
(Fig. 88a)					
I.A. 487	" "	"	30 cm.	" "	" 5.3 cm.
(Fig. 88b)					
I.A. 488.	" "	"	? cm.	" "	" 5 cm.
I.A. 489.	" "	"	35.5 cm.	Wooden whorl	5.5 cm.
I.A. 687.	" Izozó)	"	43 cm.	Wooden whorl	5.2 cm.
(Fig. 89b)					

CE 126 283 322

R. Schmidt--152 E-5 (1905) 1908 SF10 Chirigano
Chane SFB
F8020

/38 cont./

126 I.A. 688. Spindle (Issoû) Lgth. 39 cm. Wooden whorl 3.7 cm.
283 I.A. 689. " " " 31 cm. " 4 cm.
322 (Fig. 89b)
I.A. 690. " " " 39.5 cm. " 4 cm.
(Fig. 89f)
I.A. 691. " " " 40.5 cm. " 4.5 cm.
(Fig. 89d)
I.A. 692. " " " 39.5 cm. " 3.5 cm.
(Fig. 89g)
I.A. 693. " " " 33 cm. " 4 cm.
I.A. 694. " " " 45.5 cm. " 4 cm.
I.A. 695. " " " 42 cm. " 4.2 cm.
(Fig. 89h)
I.A. 696. " " " 37.5 cm. " 3 cm.
(Fig. 89e)
I.A. 697. " " " 31.7 cm. " 3 cm.
I.A. 698. " " " 49.5 cm. " 4.2 cm.
I.A. 699. " " " 32.5 cm. Wooden whorl. dia. 3.5 cm.
I.A. 700. " " " 34.5 cm. " " " 4 cm.
(Fig. 89c)
I.A. 701. " " " 40 cm. " " " 3.8 cm.
I.A. 702. " " " 33 cm. " " " 3 cm.
(Fig. 89d)
I.A. 703. " " " 41.2 cm. " " " 3 cm.
(Fig. 89b)
I.A. 704. " " " 54.5 cm. " " " 4 cm.
I.A. 705. " " " 33.5 cm. " " " 4.7 cm.
(Fig. 89a)

/39/

I.A. 706. Wooden whorl without stick (Issoû). Dia. 4 cm.
I.A. 707. " " " " " " 3 cm.
I.A. 708. Spindle (Issoû). Lgth. 42.5 cm. Clay whorl. dia. 3.6 cm.
126 (Fig. 90b)
283 I.A. 709. " " " 38.5 cm. " " " 4.3 cm.
323 (Fig. 90c)
I.A. 710. " " " 43 cm. " " " 4 cm.
(Fig. 90a)

Ce 126 283 323

/59 cont./

I.A. 711.	Spindle (Izozó).	Lgth.	36.2 cm.	Clay whorl,	dia.	4.3 cm.
(Fig. 90g)						
I.A. 712.	"	"	"	33.5 cm.	"	"	"	4.2 cm.
I.A. 713.	"	"	"	43.5 cm.	"	"	"	4.2 cm.
(Fig. 90h)						
I.A. 714.	"	"	"	46 cm.	"	"	"	4 cm.
I.A. 715.	"	"	"	43.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.8 cm.
I.A. 716.	"	"	"	41 cm.	"	"	"	3.8 cm.
(Fig. 85c)						
I.A. 717.	"	"	"	42.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.5 cm.
I.A. 718.	"	"	"	36 cm.	"	"	"	3.3 cm.
I.A. 719.	"	"	"	36.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.7 cm.
I.A. 720.	"	"	"	41.2 cm.	"	"	"	4.4 cm.
(Fig. 90f)						
I.A. 721.	"	"	"	34.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.7 cm.
(Fig. 90d)						
I.A. 722.	"	"	"	38.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.3 cm.
(Fig. 90e)						
I.A. 723.	"	"	"	40.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.5 cm.
I.A. 724.	"	"	"	51 cm.	"	"	"	4 cm.
(Figs. 85a and 90a)						

C Ce 283 171

The spindles that I obtained from the Chiriguano and Izozó are the type of spindle, very common among the Indians of South America, that Nordenskiöld calls "Bakairí type" in contrast to the "Bororo type," this nomenclature being based on the first description of these two types of spindles by Carl von den Steinen, who found them among the Bakairí /Bacairi/ on the one hand and among the Bororó on the other (258). In contrast with the

C Ce [113]

258. Carl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, Berlin, 1894, pp. 238 and 488. Nord. 2, p. 196. Otto Frödin and Erland Nordenskiöld, Zwirnen und Spinnen bei Indianern Südamerikas /Twining and

Ee
283
17
[113]

/59 cont./

Spinning among South American Indians/.
Göteborg. 1910.

"Bororo type," the "Bacairí type" of spindle is held in a vertical position when used for spinning and has a small enlargement in the form of a knob at the upper end of the stick. In spinning, the prepared thread winds around the upper piece of the stick. The material of the Chiriguano and Izozó whorls is baked clay (that of the Chiriguano, pieces of broken baked clay vessels, filed), wood, or, rarely, among the Chiriguano, stone.

Ee
[32]

Ee
283

From the measurements mentioned above, it seems that the Chiriguano whorls usually have a rather larger diameter than the spindle whorls of the Izozó. The longest stick in the collection (from the Izozó) measures 54.5 cm.; the shortest (from the Chiriguano), 25.5 cm.

As I have already mentioned, all the sticks of the Chiriguano and Izozó spindles are fitted at the upper end with an enlargement in the form of a knob. Most of the spindle sticks in addition have an enlargement in the lower part, directly under the place where the whorl is put, so as to prevent the whorl from coming down the stick when the spindle is in a vertical position. Many spindles have a wrapping of cotton or raw wool directly under the whorl in order to make the whorl secure.

The form of the whorls shows many variations. I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano whorls are generally larger than those of the Izozó. They are also more uniform. The two sides of the baked clay of the Chiriguano are simply flat and smooth, which results from their origin as pieces of broken baked clay vessels to which the Chiriguano give the form of a disk by filing them and which they perforate in the center. The stone whorls of the Chiriguano /60/ and most of the wooden whorls also show the same form. But among the latter there are also some (cf. Fig. 87 /see p. 147/) which are similar to the more complicated forms of the Izozó whorls, although they differ from the latter in their greater size.

Ee
283
[171]

Among the Izozó whorls only two have two flat sides like the Chiriguano whorls. The other Izozó whorls, not only those of baked clay but also the wooden ones, show great variation in

Chané SF8
Izozo
Pareess. SF19

Ce 283 171

/60 cont./

form. many of them being similar in form to the whorls of the ancient Peruvians. Cf. Figures 89 and 90 /see p. 147/.

P 285 178

The Technique of Plaiting

In a legend told to me by a Paresí Indian in Mato Grosso, the appearance of a new epoch is discussed. The young generation of the Paramís /Paresi/ complains to the grandfather that they have now forgotton the manufacture of the bottoms of their different baskets, that is, the beginning and thus the rudiment of that work. The Chiriguano can make the same complaint to their grandfathers. They have also forgotten, as a result of the appearance of a new era, that is, as a result of their contacts with the whites, most of the elements of the art of plaiting, and imitations of European merchandise or of the plaited objects of neighboring Indians, less cultivated than they, are only poor compensation.

C 285 178

C 285 171

Of the four principal types into which all the plaited objects of the Indians of South America can be classified with regard to their technique, which I have called in my publications which deal with them (259) "Stufengeflechte /step plaiting/,

259. Max Schmidt. Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde /Textbook for Ethnology/, Berlin. 1924. pp. 154-157.

Doppelfadengeflechte /double-thread plaiting/, Rohrstuhlgeflechte /caning/, and Geflechte in Spiralwulsttechnik /plaiting in coiling technique/," only the first two can be found among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó. It is surprising that the fourth type (Geflechte in Spiralwulsttechnik) of plaited objects does not exist among these Indians, because this technique was the most common one in the mountainous regions neighboring Chiriguano territory.

6t Schmidt--156 E-5 (1901) 1909 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
I2020

/60 cont./

C 285 Plaited objects of the first type are made in such a way that the strips of one group are plaited with the strips of another group vertical to the first one, in such a way that the strips of the first group pass alternately a certain number of the strips of the second group and are passed by them, and in such a way that the meshes which go in the same direction form lines of steps. The number of the strips passed each time by one strip of the other group is generally three or two at a time, but there are cases in which only one strip is passed each time.

C [126] [513] [415] [291] Among the plaited objects of this type, I obtained from the Chiriguano a large sleeping mat, small flat baskets /canastillas/, sieves, a quadrangular basket /cesta/, and a hat, and from the Izoró small flat baskets /canastillas/ similar to those of the Chiriguano and two different kinds of baskets /cestas/. In addition, the Chiriguano and Chané also infrequently use fans for fanning the fire (tapékua) plaited out of palm leaves (260).

Cc [415] [186]

C Cc 285 372

260. Nord. 1, p. 56.

Métraux has described and shown in a drawing such a fan for fanning the fire. This fan is plaited out of the leaves of the caranday palm in the "Stufengeflechte" style, in such a way that strips of the first group pass alternately two strips of the second group and are /Plates XXVI-XXVII appear here/ /61/ passed by them. The leaflets, separated from the stem, enlace a stick which, forming the upper edge of the fan, replaces the stem of the pinnate leaves of other palms which are used by other tribes of South American Indians in the manufacture of plaited fans (261).

Cc [824]

261. Métraux I, pp. 460 and 461 and Plate 85.

Gr Schmidt--157 B-S (1005) 1000 DP10 Chicagoan DP11
Chalky SF8
2240 20

Plate XXVI

Ce 285
C 285
C 285

Fig. 92

Fig. 93

Fig. 94

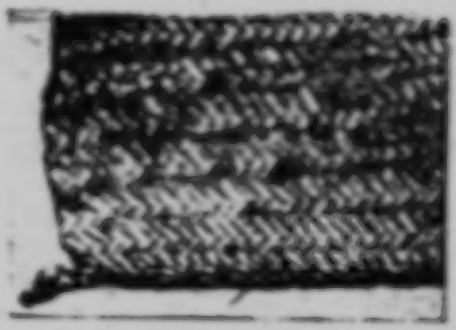


Fig. 95

/The captions appear on p. 159./

R. Schmidt [illegible] E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XXVII

Ce 285

Fig. 96

Fig. 97

Ce 285 ← C 291 285 →

Fig. 98

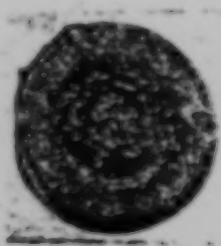


Fig. 99

Ce 285 ← C 285 →

Fig. 100

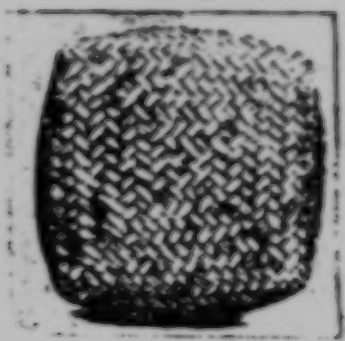


Fig. 101

/The captions appear on p. 159./

fc Schmidt--159 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chant SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XXVI and XXVII/

Plate XXVI. Plaited objects.

Ce 285 Fig. 92. Flat baskets /canastillas/:
a (I. A. 746) (Izozó), diameter 46 cm.;
C 285 b (I. A. 541) (Chiriguano), diameter 39 cm.

Fig. 93. (I. A. 546) Flat basket /canastilla/ (Chiriguano), diameter 32 cm.

Fig. 94. (I. A. 548) Sieve (Chiriguano), diameter 39 cm.

Fig. 95. (I. A. 540) Mat plaited out of caranday leaves (Chiriguano), length 1.72 m.

Plate XXVII. Plaited objects.

Ce 285 Fig. 96. (I. A. 681) Basket /cesta/ (Izozó), length 27 cm.

Fig. 97. (I. A. 683) Basket /cesta/ (Izozó), length 26 cm.

Fig. 98. Bottoms of baskets /cestas/ (Izozó):
a (I. A. 677), length 33 cm.;
b (I. A. 678), length 28 cm.

C 285 291 Fig. 99. (I. A. 554) Interior surface of a hat (Chiriguano), diameter 30 cm.

Ce 285 Fig. 100. (I. A. 677) Basket /cesta/ (Izozó), length 33 cm.

C 285 Fig. 101. (I. A. 551) Bottom of a basket /cesta/ (Chiriguano), length 32 cm.

R: Schmidt--160 E-5 (1930) 1936 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
Izozo

/61 cont./

C 126 285

Plaited Objects of the First Type (Stufengeflechte) in the Collection

I.A. 540. Mat (Chir.) Lgth. 1.72 m. Width 1.30 m. (Fig. 90)
I.A. 541. Flat basket (Chir.). Dia. 39 cm. (Fig. 95b.)
I.A. 542. " " " " 42 cm.
I.A. 543. " " " " 43 cm.
I.A. 544. " " " " 38 cm.
I.A. 545. " " " " 25 cm.
I.A. 546. " " " " 32 cm. (Fig. 93.)
Ce [285] I.A. 744. " " (Isoseé) " 36 cm.
I.A. 745. " " " " 37 cm.
I.A. 746. " " " " 46 cm. (Fig. 92a.)
I.A. 547. Sieve (Chiriguano). " 38 cm.
I.A. 548. " " " 39 cm. (Fig. 94.)
I.A. 549. " " " 39 cm.
I.A. 551. Basket " Lgth. 32 cm. Ht. 16 cm. (Fig. 101)
Ce 285 126 I.A. 677. " (Isoseé) " 33 cm. " 16.5 cm. (Figs. 98a.100)
I.A. 678. " " " 38 cm. " 14 cm. (Fig. 98)
I.A. 725.a. " " " 27 cm. " 12 cm. (Fig. 85c)
I.A. 679. " " " 21 cm. " 22 cm.
I.A. 680. " " " 39 cm. " 31 cm.
I.A. 681. " " " 27 cm. " 23 cm. (Fig. 97).
I.A. 682. " " " 31 cm. " 36 cm.
I.A. 683. " " " 36 cm. " 31 cm. (Fig. 97)
I.A. 684. " " " 35 cm. " 29 cm.
I.A. 685. " " " 44 cm. " 30 cm.
C 285 I.A. 686. " " " 46 cm. " 34 cm.
[291] I.A. 512. Small bag with cover (Chir.) " 9.5 cm.
I.A. 554. Hat (Chiriguano). Ht. 12 cm. Dia. 30 cm. (Fig. 99.)

The material of the plaited objects that I have mentioned above consists of strips of palm leaves or strips of cane, and that of the Chiriguano basket I.A. 551, of strips of wood. Because these Indians do not have palms with pinnate leaves available, they [C 324] must use the peltate leaves of the caranday, from which comes the difference between the plaited objects of these Indians and those of other tribes.

Chaco SF8
12020
Guato 5915

/61 cont./

GR9
Go
285
171
834
Go
285
[104]

of other tribes. For example, the Guató Indians make mats similar to the mat collected among the Chiriguano, as well as baskets similar to one type of basket from the Iaméó, from the large pinnate leaves of the *arari* palm (*Copra whitcophylla* Mart.). The stem or stems of these, from which go the leaflets that form the plaiting, form the upper edge of the mat or baskets. With regard to the carandey palm, it is necessary to detach the leaflets from the stem in order to place them in the position necessary for plaiting them with one another. Therefore the upper edge is formed like a braid to which the leaves are attached in order to be able to proceed to plait from this rudiment. The lower edge is also formed like a braid, which joins the free ends of the strips and terminates in two ends, one at each /62/ side, which project beyond the side edges of the mat. The mat is plaited in such a way that one strip passes two of the other group each time. The decoration is made up of simple stripes parallel to the upper edge of the mat.

C
Ca
285
531

The small flat baskets of the Chiriguano and Iaméó are, in general, similar in form and dimensions. These are plaited with strips of cane and, at their outer edge, have a wooden hoop. Like the mat which has been mentioned, they are plaited in such a way that one strip of one group always passes two strips of the other group, and therefore the surface shows the same ornamentation, which consists of parallel stripes and is typical of all objects plaited in this way. In this ornamentation of the flat baskets there is one difference in that on some of them the entire surface is always filled with parallel lines, all going in the same direction (cf. Fig. 946 /see p. 157/), while the decoration of most of these small baskets consists of concentric squares (cf. Fig. 98 a and b /see p. 157/) formed by the combination of four surface units, two of which show parallel lines in the direction vertical to that of the parallel lines of the other two units. With regard to the details of the formation of such decoration by the technique itself, I refer to my publications regarding this matter (262).

C
Ca
[113]

262. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien /Indian Studies in Central

G: Schmidt--162 S-S (1905) 1908 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SFS
26020

C
Ca
285
S31
[113]

/of cane./

Graeb/, Berlin, 1905, pp. 330 f.; and Die technischen Verzierungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas/ The Technical Rules for the Ornamentation of the Natives of South America/.

C
285
[126]

The three sieves that I obtained from the Chiriguano correspond to the flat baskets described above with respect to their exterior form and to the rudiment of the plaiting. They differ from the latter only in that their strips are a certain distance apart and in that one strip of one group always passes only one of the other group, with the result that the ornamentation of the surface consisting of parallel lines which is shown in the little baskets is not produced. These sieves are also provided with handles like the flat baskets of the Chiriguano. A sketch of a Chaná sieve shown by Nordenskiöld shows that these Indians also use such sieves (263). Flat baskets and sieves analogous to

CC
[285]

263. Nord. I. Fig. 136.

those mentioned are described by Métraux and shown by him in drawings (264).

264. Métraux I. pp. 457-460. Plates 63, 64.

C
285
S31
[119]

The technique of the Chiriguano hat (I.A. 104) is not original, but no doubt was received from the whites and perhaps was directly taught to the Indians in the missions. For us the technique of this hat is without interest, except for the fact that this technique is also applied by the Indians to the making of a type of basket, a specimen of which is shown in Figure 98b /see p. 154/. The manufacture of the hat begins at the center, and the strips, the beginning of which is plaited, are augmented by the addition of other strips. See Figure 99 /see p. 156/. The style of plaiting is like that of all the other objects of this kind among the Chiriguano and Chaná, so that one strip of one group always passes two strips of the other group.

CC
[285]
CC
[285]

/42 cont./

The technique of the small bag I.A. 512, which has a cover and corresponds in form to a modern cigar case, is of no interest to us, because this is a product of modern manufacture.

Baskets I.A. 551 (of the Chiriguano) and I.A. 677 (of the Ipurinã) are of special interest because they represent the product of a new era in which the primordial devices of the technique have been forgotten and therefore they have lost the typical forms of the products of these techniques. The making of this type of basket, which is widespread among the Indian tribes of South America, begins with the making of the bottom and ends at the upper edge of the basket where the free ends of the strips are /43/ fastened. If we compare the structure of the bottom of these Chiriguano baskets with the structure of corresponding baskets of other tribes of South American Indians, such as with the structure of the baskets of the Bororó on the tributaries of the Xingú River (Mato Grosso, Brazil) or of the tribes of the Rio Negro, our attention is drawn to the great difference with respect to the conformity of the work. In my above-mentioned publications (703) I have described this kind of basket in more

703. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien, loc. cit., and Die technischen Voraussetzungen, pp. 197 and 198.

detail, and I have demonstrated that the special design which appears in two variations on the bottom of most of the baskets of this kind that are not yet degenerate is consistent with the technique, because only a bottom decorated in this way can be a proper beginning in order to form the walls of the basket. Moreover, there is the difficulty that for the fabrication of the four walls of one of these baskets one needs twice as many strips as the number of the free ends which come out of the plaited square or rectangle which forms the bottom of the basket. Therefore, the Indians who still know exactly how to plait these baskets plait in the beginning a flat rectangular piece twice as large as the projected bottom of the basket. Then the four edges of this rectangle are folded upward, in this

St Schmidt--164 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

/63 cont./

Ce 285

way serving as parts of the walls of the basket, the latter then being completed by plaiting the free ends of the strips with one another. By this device they manage to obtain a sufficient number of strips to form the walls of the basket. The Chiriguano and Chané of today are ignorant of this device and therefore they cannot make exact baskets of this kind. We do not know whether they gradually forgot the devices of their primordial plaiting technique under the influence of imported crafts or through the introduction of new ideas, or whether they may have imitated forms of baskets which they saw among other tribes of Indians without knowing the devices of the technique.

Ce 285 175 178

The bottoms and thus the rudiments of the two baskets I. A. 678 and 725a, shown in Figures 86a and 98b, are formed in a manner completely different from the bottoms of the two baskets described above. In making these baskets the Indians have availed themselves of the experience which they have had in the manufacture of the modern hat described above. Beginning the plaiting of these two baskets in the center of the bottom exactly corresponds to the beginning of making the hat, outside of the fact that the strips of the baskets, consisting of caranday palm leaflets, are wider and therefore the mesh is much larger. Where the side walls of the basket begin and more strips are needed than for the bottom, other strips are added, but, in contrast to the manufacture of the hat, by means of a kind of plaiting that joins the free ends of the original strips with the additional strips so that all together they are used to weave the sides of the basket. Also, the analogous baskets of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi valley described and shown in drawings by Métraux seem to be strongly influenced by modern techniques (266).

266. Métraux. I, pp. 454-457. Plates 58-61.

Ce 285

One type completely different from the baskets described above is shown in the Izozó baskets I. A. 679-686. The plaiting of these does not begin at the bottom like the plaiting of the other baskets, but at the upper edge, and it ends with the making of the bottom. I have minutely described this type of

Chiwe SF 5
Izozo
Guato SF15

/69 cont./

Ce 285

basket, which appears among many other Indian tribes of South America, in dealing with the corresponding baskets of the Guató Indians, and I refer here to the pertinent descriptions and diagramatic sketches made to explain the manufacture of this type of basket (307).

Ce [113]

307. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien, pp. 221-227.

Go 524 286

Because the Guató use the pinnate leaves of the acuri palm as /64/ material for these baskets, they are able to leave the leaflets needed for plaiting the basket attached to the stem, which thus forms the upper edge of the basket. The Izozó, not having pinnate palm leaves available, have to use the peltate leaves of the carandey. They must remove the leaflets of these in order to use them for the making of baskets. Therefore these baskets begin at the upper edge with a kind of braid, which unites the separate leaflets for plaiting the walls of the basket. As Figures 96 and 97 show, this braid begins and ends with a knot. These two knots are found at the side of the basket or at the middle of the wall and are in most cases tied with a thread wrapping to prevent an interruption of the rim at that place. The strips coming out of the braid are interwoven in such a way that a sleeve form results, the opening of which, below, is closed by a double braid whose two ends at the two sides of the basket pass through the wall and come out again on the outside of the wall, each one ending in a knot. The ends of the braids of the bottom of basket I. A. 683 (cf. Figure 97 /see p. 158/ form at the same time the handle of the basket. The handles of other baskets of this kind consist of a string or a strip of leather.

Ce 285 [524]

C Ca 286 [301]

Braids like or similar to those which sometimes form the handles of the baskets described above are used by the Chiriguano and the Izozó in other cases as well, such as sometimes in the fringes of the fajas and especially for making the middle section of the women's hair bands previously mentioned.

C
Ce
286

/64 cont./

There may be variations in these braids according to the difference in the number of skeins plaited and the number of strips which are passed each time by one strip of the braid, as Figures 139-141 show /see p.201/. The greater the number of skeins in the braid, the more the form of one string of the braid takes on the appearance of a band. Cf. Figure 32 a and b /see p. 62/.

C
Ce
171

To the second of the four kinds of plaited objects into which all the plaited objects of the South American Indians can be classified belong those which are plaited in such a way that one row of sticks, threads, or similar things are united so that a double thread passes the row, continuously or at certain intervals, and in such a way that the two individual threads of the double thread encircle in each rotation one or more of the little sticks or threads of the row.

C
126
352
513
286

Among the objects plaited by this technique there are two Chiriguano hammocks and one Izozó saddle covering in the collection.

Ce
492
286
126

Objects Plaited with Double Thread, from the Collection

I. A. 448. Hammock (Chirig.). Wool. Lgth. 2.60 m. Width 0.75 m. (Fig. 102b and 109.)
I. A. 449. Hammock " " " 2.05 m. " 0.60 m. (Fig. 110.)
I. A. 8.4. Saddle covering (Izozó) " 1.21 m. " 0.57 m. (Fig. 103b and 129.)

C
352
286

The threads of the hammocks mentioned above are made of wool and that applies not only to the warp threads but also to the double threads. The manufacture of these hammocks is explained in two schematic drawings shown in Figures 109 and 110 /see Figs. 127 and 128, p.190/. The diagram in Figures 109 /Fig. 127/ shows the place in hammock I. A. 448 where the double thread begins to pass through the row of warp threads. The arrangement of the warp threads can be explained only by the manner in which a warp of one continuous thread was made first and in the form of a sleeve, /65/ as the warp of weavings done on a loom

C
352
286

/35 cont./

is made. The double threads, when they pass through the warp threads, encircle with each loop caused by their rotation one thread of the front side of the warp and one thread of the back of the warp. Only at the side edge do they encircle, as Figure 109 /Fig. 127/ shows, three or four threads with each loop. The double thread which begins at the right side of the diagram runs through the entire width of the warp in the way shown in the diagram. When it arrives at the other side, the double thread does not turn around to pass through the warp in the opposite direction, but its ends are fastened, and at set distances other double threads pass through the warp in the same way as the first. Hammock I. A. 449 shows the same arrangement of threads and warp, and the double thread passes through the warp in the same manner, except that at the side edge too it encircles only two threads of the warp, and in this case too one thread of the front side of the warp and one thread of the back side of it. See the diagram shown in Figure 110 /Fig. 128/.

Ce
492
286

The Izozó saddle cover mentioned above shows a peculiarity inasmuch as the double threads are compressed, one beside the other, in such a way that they form a compact material in which the warp threads disappear under the double threads. Likewise in this saddle cover two warp threads are encircled by each loop of the double thread, and more threads only at the two sides. But one difference from the hammocks plaited with double thread is that the double thread, after having passed through the warp threads from one side to the other side, returns in the opposite direction, passing through the warp threads. Another peculiarity is that each of the consecutive rows of the mesh of the double thread shows an opposite direction each time, as a result of which there appears a kind of decoration on the surface, consisting of stripes. As the diagram in Figure 111 /Fig. 129; see p.190/ shows this peculiarity is produced by the special way in which the outer warp threads are encircled by the double thread.

/65 cont./

415 Wooden Hoops for Storing Possessions, in the Collection

[126] I. A. 580. A pair of hoops (Chiriguano). Diameter 53 cm.
I. A. 581. " " " " " " 51 cm.
I. A. 582. " " " " " " 46 cm.
I. A. 583. " " " " " " 43 cm. (Fig. 41).
I. A. 584. One hoop " " 48 cm.

In the Chiriguano houses in Macharete I found hanging wooden hoops, which, usually in pairs, served for storing various possessions of the Indians. The circular area of the hoops is filled in with strips of cane that are stretched across the hoop and interwoven as Figure 41 shows. The hoops are provided with strings or strips of leather in order to be hung in the houses (268).

[285]

268. See Métraux I, p. 471, Figs. 126 and 127.

285 Modern Plaited Objects in the Collection

126 I. A. 503. Basket (Chiriguano). Diam. 18 cm. Height 12.5 cm.
I. A. 550. " " " 27 cm. " 13 cm.
I. A. 552. " " " 31 cm. " 23 cm.
I. A. 553 Flat basket " " 56 cm. " 16 cm.

/66/ I obtained from the Chiriguano some baskets whose technique is completely different from the technique of the baskets described above. They are so similar to the baskets commonly used by the Paraguayans that we must consider them products of an absolutely modern craft, and it is not necessary for us to deal with their technique. Nordenskiöld and Métraux show in sketches and describe such baskets of the Chiriguano, among which some have handles and others lids (269).

[171]

285

269. Nord. 2, p. 171 and Figs. 53 and 51. Métraux I, pp. 444-453, Plates 73-77.

8: Schmidt--169 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo
Paressi SP19

/66 cont./

P
Ce
286
171

The Technique of Weaving

On the occasion of the publication of a Paressí-Kabichí /Paressi-Cabishi/ loom (270), I called attention to the great

P
[113]

270. Max Schmidt, Die Paressi-Kabichí, Ethnologische Ergebnisse der Expedition zu den Quellen des Jauru und Juruena in Jahre 1910 /The Paressi-Cabishi, Ethnological Results of the Expedition to the Headwaters of the Jauru and Juruena in the Year 1910/, Baessler-Archiv., Vol. IV, No. 4/5, 1914, pp. 214 and 215.

similarity among all the looms known up to now among the Aruaco /Arawak/ tribes. The loom that I obtained from the Izozó corresponds in form and construction to the Paressí-Kabichí loom described and shown in a sketch by me, but it demonstrates, discounting some insignificant anomalies, a perfection which Nordenskiöld has already mentioned (271).

271. Nord. 2, pp. 174-176.

C
286
126

Loom and Other Implements for Weaving, from the Collection

I. A. 500. Wooden bodkin for arranging the warp threads (Chiriguano). Length 20.5 cm. (Fig. 91a.)

I. A. 513. Reel (Chiriguano). Length 25 cm. (Fig. 91f.)

Ce
286
126

I. A. 741. Loom (Izozó). Height 1.19 m. Length of the upper horizontal bar 56 cm. Length of the lower horizontal bar 57 cm. Height of the warp 83 cm. Width of the warp 28 cm. Length of the shuttle 28 cm. Length of the two swords for weaving 44.5 and 41.5 cm. (Fig. 104.)

I. A. 727.	Shuttle	(Izozó).	Lgth.	33.3	cm.	(Fig. 91d.)
I. A. 728.	"	"	"	27	cm.	(Fig. 91e.)
I. A. 671.	Sword for weaving	"	"	38	cm.	
I. A. 672.	" " "	"	"	45	cm.	
I. A. 673.	" " "	"	"	30	cm.	(Fig. 91c.)

Chane SF8
Izozo
Paressi SP19

Ce /66 cont./
286
126

I. A. 674. Bodkin for arranging the warp threads (Izozó). Lgth. 30 cm. (Fig. 91b.)

I. A. 742. Sword for weaving (Izozó). Length 123 cm.

I. A. 743. " " " " " 128 cm.

Before describing the Izozó loom mentioned in the preceding list and shown in Figure 104, we must emphasize that in this case we are dealing with a very small one. Ordinarily Izozó and Chiriguano looms are considerably larger, as has already been shown by the length and width of their fabrics. But I had to be content with a small one, because most of the larger Izozó looms were mounted on trees, a vertical post of the loom being formed by a tree trunk, and because at the beginning of my trip I was unable to carry objects too large and difficult to transport. A large Chané loom is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (272).

C
[286]

272. Nord. 1, Fig. 123.

Ce
286

As Figure 104 shows, the frame of the Izozó loom is formed by two vertical poles and two horizontal ones. The vertical poles are provided /67/ at their upper ends with forks and are set in the ground at a certain distance from each other. The upper horizontal pole is placed in the two forks of the vertical poles, and the lower horizontal is secured to them, at a short distance from the ground, by a binding.

P
286

On the Paressi-Kabichí looms the warp is made simply by rolling one thread continually around the two horizontal poles. As a result, the warp, when ready, encircles the two horizontal posts like a ring, half of which is on the front side of the loom and the other half on the back part. From the construction of a warp formed in such a way, certain conditions of the form of the fabrics made with such a loom result. If the entire warp is utilized by transforming the entire ring of the threads of the warp, by weaving, into a single piece, this fabric necessarily also has the form of a ring or of a sleeve, like, for example, Paressi-Kabichí tipoys. But when one wishes to make a flat fabric, for example,

Chané SF3
Izozo
Paressi SP19

/37 cont./

P 286 a band, it is necessary to leave one part of the warp threads free and to cut them at that place. The fabric formed in this way has the disadvantage that it is necessary to secure the woof at both ends in some way. On the Chané-Izozó and Chiriguano looms C Ce 286 this disadvantage is avoided by the ingenious device illustrated in the diagram shown in Figure 105. The warp on this loom is not formed in such a way that the thread which forms it is simply rolled around the two horizontal poles of the loom frame. As Figure 105 shows, a string is extended between the two vertical poles at the place where the woof is to start. The thread which forms the warp first passes this extended string, passes the lower horizontal pole and then to the upper horizontal pole, again passes to the extended thread, going around it and returning to the upper horizontal pole, and thus as before until, after having already once bound the extended thread, it is fixed into the weave. Also in this case the prepared warp forms a ring, and thus the Chiriguano and Chané can manufacture with their loom, like the Paressi-Kabichí, fabrics in the form of a sleeve without a seam, of which the tipoy, so common among the women, is an example. But, as the diagram also shows, such a ring can be opened at will by removing the extended string, the result being a flat fabric whose four edges are secured by the manipulation of the same weaving operation. From the fact that the threads of the fringes of the Chiriguano and Izozó fajas end in loops, it follows also that the fajas of these Indians were woven with such a loom provided with the extended string, which was later removed.

P Ce 286 Instead of the small stick that the Paressi-Kabichí pass between the odd and even threads of the warp in order to arrange its "normal formation" so that the even threads are below and the odd threads are above, or vice versa, Izozó looms have a twisted string of caraguata fibers which passes through the warp in the same way and is secured at both ends to the vertical poles of the loom.

/67 cont./

P Ce 286 In order to be able to form easily by a single manipulation the second formation of the warp threads, in which the even threads, which were below in the normal formation are brought up, passing the odd threads, the mechanism represented by the diagram in Figure 106 is constructed. As this figure shows, this mechanism consists of small loops of cotton thread which encircle the even threads of the warp and are tied to one another. This Izozó mechanism is different from the corresponding one of the Paressi-Kabichí loom, in that it is not provided, like the latter, with a small stick which serves to join the aforementioned loops to one another.

Ce 286 /68/ By pulling the warp its position can be varied so that the part of the warp which is being worked is always at the proper height and on the front side of the loom. This can also be effected by moving the lower horizontal pole of the loom frame, which the warp threads are always pulling.

In order to be able to pass the woof thread alternately through the two divisions of the warp threads formed by the string and loops mentioned in the foregoing, these divisions are opened by means of a kind of wooden sword, of which the collection has five specimens in addition to the two which go with the loom. Two of these measure more than a meter, since they are intended for working with much larger looms than the one shown in Figure 104. This implement at the same time is used to fix the woof thread to the finished part of the woven material after it has passed through the warp.

The shuttle, by means of which the woof thread is passed through the two divisions of the warp threads alternately from left to right and from right to left, consists of a simple little stick on which the thread is wrapped. In the list of objects in the collection, two specimens of such shuttles from the Izozó are mentioned, in addition to the one which belongs to the loom. See Figures 91 d and e.

C Ce 286 126 In addition to these implements I acquired two others in the form of a bodkin and made of wood, which are used to arrange the warp threads. One of these is from the Chiriguano, and the other from the Izozó. Combs, which were used by the ancient Peruvian for this purpose, are not used by the Chiriguano or the Chané.

/68 cont./

C Ce 286 174 177 In addition to this usual type of loom, there can also be found among the Chané and Chiriguano other special types which correspond to the ancient Peruvian types of looms for weaving bands. The fact that the mechanism of these looms makes possible the formation of more divisions of the warp threads, makes more variations in the ornamentation possible. Nordenskiöld shows such a Chiriguano loom in a drawing (273). No doubt this kind

273. Nord. 2, Fig. 55, N. 4.

of loom is a product of the influence of the culture of the ancient Peruvians.

C Ce 286 For different purposes, very different weavings, most of which have already been mentioned in the chapter on clothing, can be made with a loom provided with a warp in the form of a ring as described above. With regard to the measurements of these fabrics, I refer the reader to what I have already said in this respect. The material of all of these woven fabrics consists of cotton or wool threads.

C Ce 291 286 126 Woven Goods Made on the Loom Provided with a Warp in the Form of a Ring, from the Collection

1. Tipoys. I.A. 820, 832, and 838 (Izozó) (I.A. 820, Fig. 114).
2. Ponchos. I.A. 423-427 (Chiriguano) (I.A. 426, Fig. 118).
   I.A. 808-810, 812-815, 819, 823-825, 830, 831, 833-836 (Izozó) (I.A. 823, Fig. 117).
3. Mantas. I.A. 585 (Chiriguano).
   I.A. 816-818, 825-829 (Izozó) (I.A. 818, Fig. 120).

Ce 301 126 286 4. Bands of cotton for men's hair. I.A. 653-660 (Izozó) (I.A. 653, Figs. 30b and 108; I.A. 655, Figs. 30c and 109; I.A. 656, Figs. 30d and 110; I.A. 660, Figs. 30a and 107).

/Plates XXVIII-XXXI appear here./

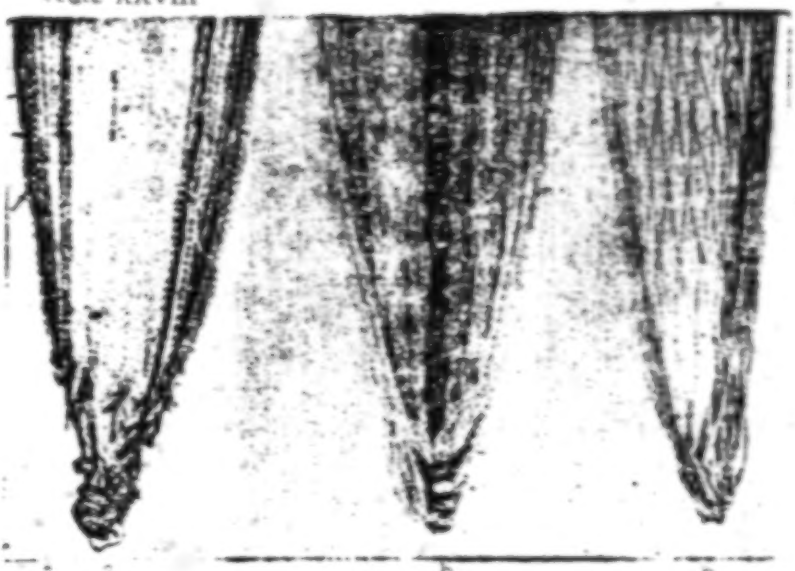
Ce 301 126 /69/ 5. Bands of human hair for men's hair. I.A. 739 and 765 (Izozó) (I.A. 739, Figs. 31 and 111).

[Text continues on P. 180]

8: Schmidt--174 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
I2020

Plate XXVIII

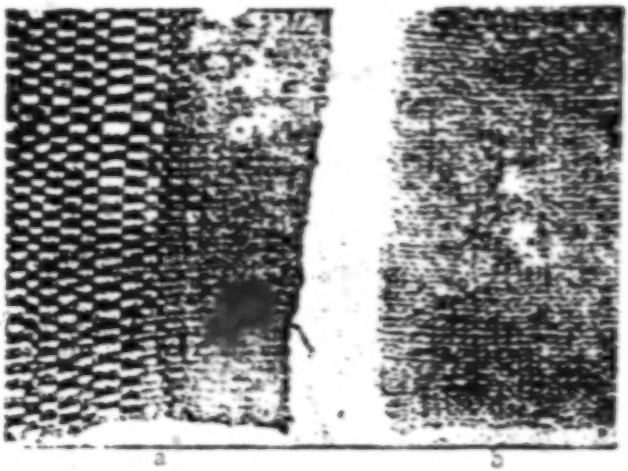
C
352
286



a b c

Fig. 102

C2
492
286



a b

Fig. 103

/The captions appear on p. 175./

St Schmidt--175 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plate XXVIII/

Plate XXVIII

C
352
286

Fig. 107. Hammocks:

a (I. A. 450), hammock of wool, woven (Chiriguano), length 2.85 m.;

b (I. A. 448), hammock of wool, plaited (Chiriguano), length 2.60 m.;

c (I. A. 360), hammock of caraguata, made with netting technique (Izozó), length 3.20 m.

Ce
492
286

Fig. 108. Saddle covers (Izozó):

a (I. A. 843), woven saddle cover, length 1.42 m., width 0.62 m.

b (I. A. 844), saddle cover plaited with "double thread," length 1.21 m., width 0.57 m.

8: Schmidt--176 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XXIX

286

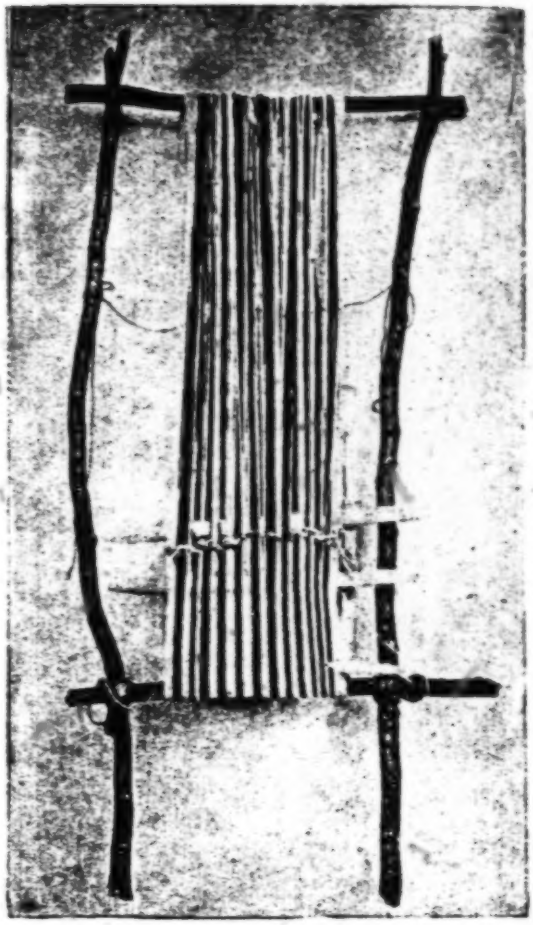


Fig. 104

(I. A. 741.) Izozó loom. Height 1.19 m.

8: Schmidt--177 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguanc SF10
Chane SF8
I2020

Ce
286

Plate XXX

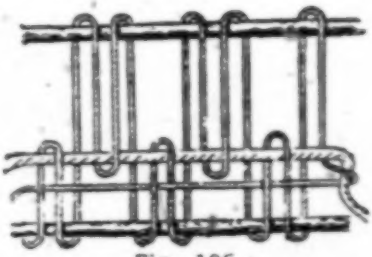


Fig. 105

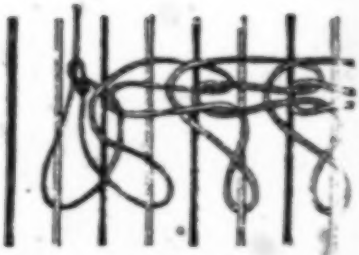


Fig. 106

Ce
301
286

Fig. 107

Fig. 108

Fig. 109

Fig. 110

C
Ce
301
286
415

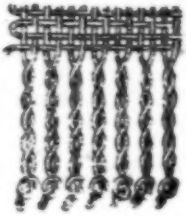


Fig. 111

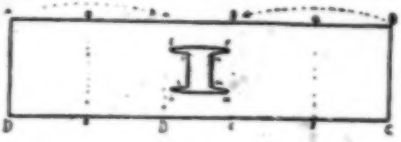


Fig. 112

Fig. 113

/The captions appear on p. 179./

Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XXXI

286
291

286
531

Fig. 114

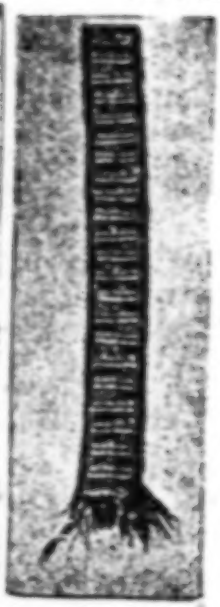


Fig. 115

286
415
531

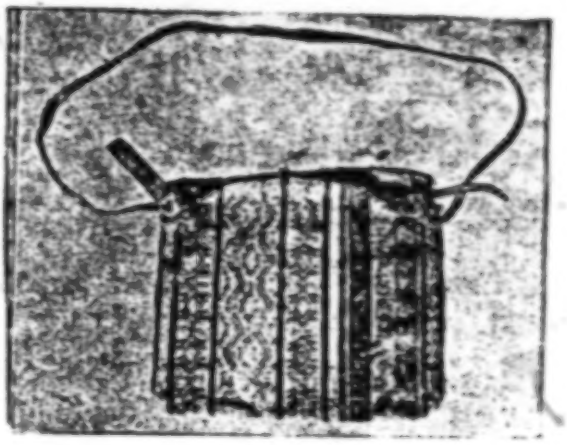


Fig. 116

/The captions appears on p. 179./

Chane SFS
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XXX and XXXI/

286 Plate XXX. Diagrams to illustrate the weaving technique.

Fig. 105. Diagram to illustrate the arrangement of the warp threads on the loom (Izozó).

Fig. 106. The mechanism for making the divisions between the odd and even warp threads on the loom. I. A. 741 (Izozó).

301 286 Figs. 107-110. Ends of cotton bands for men's hair (Izozó): Fig. 107 (I. A. 660); Fig. 108 (I. A. 653); Fig. 109 (I. A. 655); Fig. 110 (I. A. 656).

Fig. 111. (I. A. 739) Men's hair band woven out of human hair.

286 415 Fig. 112. (I. A. 445) Diagram to illustrate the making of the double bags.

Fig. 113. Diagram to illustrate the technique for making slits in the fabrics.

286 Plate XXXI. Woven goods of the Izozó.

[291] Fig. 114. (I. A. 820) "Tipoy," women's garment, of cotton, length 1.26 m.

[531] Fig. 115. (I. A. 738) Band woven on a special loom, of wool, length 1.30 m., width 3.7 cm.

[415] [531] Fig. 116. (I. A. 737) Bag woven off a special loom, of wool, height 21 cm.

In Schmidt--180 E-5 (1930) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
291
126

/69 cont./

6. Pajas. I.A. 429-441 (Chiriguano) (I.A. 423, Figs. 119b and 120; I.A. 430, Fig. 124; I.A. 436, Figs. 119a and 121).
I.A. 803-807 (Izozó) (I.A. 803, Figs. 119c and 122).

Ce
492
126

7. Saddle covers.
I.A. 842 (Izozó). Of wool. Length 0.69 m. Width 0.67 m.
I.A. 843 " " " 1.42 m. " 0.62 m. (Figs. 103a and 126.)

C
415
126

8. Carrying bag (Chiriguano). Of wool. Length 1.07 m. Width 0.45 m. (Fig. 131a.)

Ce
492

9. Double bags for carrying loads on asses or horses.
I.A. 445. (Chirig.) Wool. Entire lgth. 92 cm. Width 37 cm. (Figs. 115 and 131b.)

Ce
492
415
126

I.A. 811.	(Izozó)	Wool.	Entire lgth.	93 cm.	Width	46.5	cm. (Fig. 132.)
I.A. 821.	"	Cotton.	"	" 94 cm.	"	40	cm.
I.A. 822.	"	"	"	" 106 cm.	"	36	cm.
I.A. 839.	"	"	"	" 97 cm.	"	35	cm.
I.A. 840.	"	"	"	" 104 cm.	"	36	cm.
I.A. 841.	"	Wool	"	" 92 cm.	"	46	cm.

Ce
291
286

Of the three tipoys in the collection acquired from the Izozó, one (I.A. 820) consists of a fabric in the form of a sleeve made with the warp in this form. The woolen tipoy (I.A. 832) was lengthened by sewing together two such woven pieces, one beside the other. The structure of the weaving clearly shows the thread which was extended between the two vertical poles of the loom before making the warp, and which remained in the cloth. Tipoy I.A. 838 is not typical and consists of a flat piece of weaving whose two facing edges were sewed together.

C
Ce
291
286

With regard to the making of ponchos, we must mention that those of the Chiriguano consist of two pieces of woven material sewed to each other in the direction of the slit of the poncho, while Izozó ponchos most often consist of a single piece of weaving made across the entire width of the loom and therefore do not show a seam in the middle part such as Chiriguano ponchos show. From the stiff edges in the direction of the woof, it can clearly be seen that the special mechanism

C
Ce
291
286

/69 cont./

of the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, which consists of the thread extended between the two vertical poles of the loom, was used. After finishing the work of weaving, the thread was taken out of the woven piece to transform it into a flat piece.

The slit in the ponchos woven in one piece is not made by cutting the cloth after it has been finished, but is formed in the very act of weaving. As the diagram represented in Figure 113 shows, the slit is made in such a way that in the part of the warp in which the slit is made the woof thread does not pass through the entire warp, but returns when it has passed half of it, to pass through the following division of the warp threads in the opposite direction. The result of this method of weaving is that the slit of the poncho is provided with a firm edge. We must still mention the peculiarity of the Chiriguano and Izozó ponchos, whose four sides are folded and sewed to the rest of the weaving. For that reason the ponchos of these Indians have round edges. Cf. Figures 117 and 118 /see p.187/.

Ce
291
286

Of the Izozó mantas, only one consists of two pieces of weaving sewed together. Some others have been formed from ponchos by sewing up their slits.

Ce
301
286

/70/ The men's hair bands also clearly show that they were woven on a loom like the one which we have described above and which was fitted with the thread extended between the two vertical poles of the loom. Except for only one of these bands (I. A. 659), the fringes of the rest of them all end in loops of thread in such a way that it is not possible that the warp, previously in the shape of a ring, might have later been cut. The loops of free thread at the two ends of these bands can be secured in a very different manner, as is shown by the diagrams in Figures 107-110.

The manufacture of the two men's hair bands woven of human hair and similar in form to the fajas is the same as that of the cotton bands, in addition to which the loops of the free threads are secured in a simpler manner. Cf. the diagram shown in Figure 111 /see p. 177/.

C
Ce /70 cont./
291
286 The manufacture of the fajas of wool or cotton is like that of the men's hair bands woven of human hair. The manner of securing the loops of the free threads at the end of the fajas is also in general the same, as Figure 111 shows, except only that the fringes consist of more than one of these loops, with the result that they form thicker, twisted threads, which end in knots.

Ce
492
286 Of the two saddle covers, one (I.A. 842) is woven in the ordinary fashion of mantas, while the other, I.A. 843, shows in its manufacture the peculiarity that each time two woof threads pass through the same division of warp threads this is done in such a way that one of these two woof threads passes through the division from left to right, and the other from right to left. The diagram shown in Figure 126 shows the course of this double woof thread and also shows how in this way they manage to make the edge of the piece of weaving firmer than it would have been had the two woof threads passed through the division of warp threads in the same direction.

C
415
286 The weaving from which the Chiriguano bag I.A. 444 was made was not made up of a fabric in the form of a manta. By sewing up the two narrower sides, there was first made a piece in the form of a sleeve, from which the bag was made by sewing the edges together, leaving only one part open for the opening.

The double bags mentioned above are made of a flat fabric of either wool or cotton thread, by folding over the two ends and sewing the edges together. The diagram shown in Figure 112 shows the flat fabric before the edges are sewed. All the outside edges of the material are secured by the process of weaving itself, since the fabric is first made in the form of a sleeve and then changed into a flat piece by removing the thread which was extended between the two vertical poles of the loom. Also, the edges, indicated in the diagram by EF, GH, EL, GL, FK, and HM, are secured by the weaving process, which was managed by passing the woof thread through the divisions of the warp, only by parts in the way we know for making the slit in ponchos. Only in those places indicated on the diagram as JL and MK are the warp threads cut in such a way that these sides of the piece

C
415
286

/70 cont./

of weaving are not secured by the weaving process itself. In order to change the piece of weaving described in the foregoing into the double bag, its two ends are folded over at the dotted lines in the diagram, with the result that points A, B, C, and D are placed on top of points A/, B/, C/, and D/. Then the edges which are placed one on top of the other (OA/, OB/, PD/, and BC/) /71/ are sewed together. The parts EILG and FKMH are doubled in the opposite direction to form the tops of the double bag.

C
C6
286
531
171

In accordance with the simple mechanism of the loom with which the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó make their textiles, the possibilities of producing variations in the ornamentation of these are very limited. The variations in ornamentation of the weavings of the Chaco tribes, such as, in particular, those of the Churupí /Chulupi/, which consist of frets, zigzags, rhombuses, and many other figures, are not found among the ornamentations of the weavings of the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
C6
286
531
[177]

Because today the woven goods of these Indians, especially the fajas and the ponchos, are often woven with imported thread or, if they are woven with native wool or cotton thread, these are often dyed with imported dyes, the different colors of the ornamentation on the surface of these weavings have no ethnological importance.

The ornamentation is formed exclusively by the warp threads, due to the fact that the distance between the warp threads is much less than the distance between the wax threads, so that the meshes of the woof disappear completely under those of the warp. Because, outside of that, the formation of the divisions of the warp threads is done by a single mechanism of loops, it can consist only of raising and lowering alternately the even and odd warp threads, for which reason the ornamentation still cannot be influenced by the process of the operation of weaving itself. The structure of this kind of weaving is necessarily such that in the direction of the woof thread, thus vertical to the direction of the warp threads, a row of the meshes formed by the odd warp threads is alternated each time with a row of the meshes formed by the even warp threads. Thus

R: Schmidt--184 E-5 (1905) 1938 SF.0 Chiriguano SF18
Chané SF8
I2020

C
Ce
286
531

/7. cont./

In Figures 120-124 the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, and eleventh horizontal rows are formed by the meshes of the odd warp threads, numbers 1, 3, 5, and so forth, while the second, fourth, sixth, eighth, and tenth horizontal rows are formed by the meshes of the even threads of the warp, and so forth. The result of this is that all of those odd rows in the direction of the woof are like one another in structure and color, and similarly all of the even rows are like one another in the direction of the woof. Therefore the ornamentation of these weavings can only consist of continual repetition of the ornamentation set by the first two rows in the direction of the woof.

These considerations show that the only possibility of providing these weavings with different ornamentation is by varying the color of the warp threads.

The simplest ornamentation that can be done in this manner consists of simple stripes in the longitudinal direction, that is, in the direction of the warp threads. The unfinished weaving on the loom shown in Figure 104 and the manta I.A. 818 have such a decoration of simple stripes. Figure 120 shows that these stripes in the longitudinal direction are produced in such a way that at certain intervals the color of the warp threads is changed. In addition to these longitudinal stripes and in varying combinations with them, transverse stripes appear as ornamentation in these weavings. Cf. Figures 121-124 /see p. 188/. These are produced in such a way that two threads of different color alternate each time among the warp threads. Thus it comes about that the row of meshes formed by the odd warp threads are different in color from the row of meshes formed by the even threads of the warp. If a single thread of the warp has a color different /77/ from the color of the adjacent threads, does appear in the ornamentation, as Figure 121 shows.

From the above explanations it can be seen that all the ornamentation in these weavings of the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izoré is produced exclusively by the arrangement of warp threads of different colors. The process of weaving is absolutely indifferent to the ornamentation set in the beginning by the arrangement of the warp threads.

St Schmidt--185 E-5 (1900) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
I2020

Ce 286 415 301 12

/72 cont./

Weavings Made on a Special Loom, from the Collection

I.A. 737. Bag (Isoró). Wool. Hgt. 21 cm. Width 22 cm. (Fig. 116.)
I.A. 738. Band " " Length 1.3 cm. " 2.7 cm. (Fig. 115.)

C Ce 286 19

Because of the contacts that the Chiriguano and the Chané had for a long time with the culture of the ancient Peruvians, it is surprising that the highly developed technique of the latter should not have had more influence on the weaving technique of these Indians. The fact is that the Chiriguano even today make most of their weavings with the typical loom of the Arauco and with the warp in the form of a ring, which they doubtless received from the Chané. Besides these ordinary looms, the forms of looms that they received directly or indirectly from the technique of the ancient Peruvians are of little importance.

Ce 286 191

The two Isoró weavings mentioned above, and in particular bag I.A. 737, are weavings that are exactly like the weavings produced to this day by the Quichua /Quechua/ and also the typical weavings of the last period of the Inca Empire.

In order to explain the appearance of such weavings among the Chané of the Parapití, we have an interesting observation by Nordenskiöld. The Indians told that author that they had learned that technique of weaving directly from a Quichua woman who had emigrated into their territory (274).

Ce 191

274. Nord. 2, p. 278.

C 286 199

The Chiriguano loom for weaving bands and shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld shows that the Chiriguano also learned to weave in the way of the ancient Peruvians (275) /fn. 275, which appears on p. 173, reads: Nord. 2, Fig. 55, N. 4./. In contrast to the manner of weaving described in the preceding, these weavings are made in such a way that the thread of the woof passes alternately through the threads of the front side of the warp and those of the back side. In addition to this, a double mechanism for the divisions of the warp threads makes possible many more variations in the ornamentation.

C
286
352
126

/72 cont./

Weavings Made without a Special Mechanism for Making the Divisions of the Threads of the Warp, from the Collection

I.A. 450. Hammock (Chirig.) of wool. Lgth 2.85 m. Width 0.60 m. (Fig. 102a.)

Ce
286
415
126
482

I.A. 768. Carrying net provided with a woven caraguata band (Izozó). Length of band 49 cm. (Figs. 125 and 133.)

I.A. 802. Band for a carrying net (Izozó). Caraguatá. Length 49 cm.

C
Ce
286
[415]
[482]
[352]

With regard to their exterior structure too, the bands with which many of the carrying nets (of the Izozó and some of the Chiriguano ones) and one Chiriguano hammock are provided are similar to the weavings. But these /Plates XXXII-XXXV appear here/ /73/ objects are made without any special mechanism for making the divisions of the warp threads.

Figure 125 shows the structure of the band of the net I.A. 768. (Cf. Fig. 133 /see p.200/.) The diagram shows the way in which these bands are made. First the longitudinal threads are stretched in a way similar to the manner of stretching the warp threads of common weavings between the horizontal poles of the frame of the loom, but without using the special thread extended between the two vertical poles of the loom. Then they pass a transverse thread, which corresponds to the woof thread of common weavings, through the two rows of longitudinal threads alternately from the right to the left and from the left to the right, in such a way that this thread is left alternately under one thread of the back row of longitudinal threads and on top of one thread of the front row. Thus the manufacture of these bands and of hammock I.A. 450 is different from that of common weavings principally in the fact that the woof thread passes simultaneously through the threads of the front side and of the back side of the warp. Sundry irregularities in the course of the threads of the warp show that weavings of this kind have been made without using a mechanism for making the divisions of the warp threads.

8: Schmidt--187 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chavie SF8
Izozo

Plate XXXII

ce
286
291
531

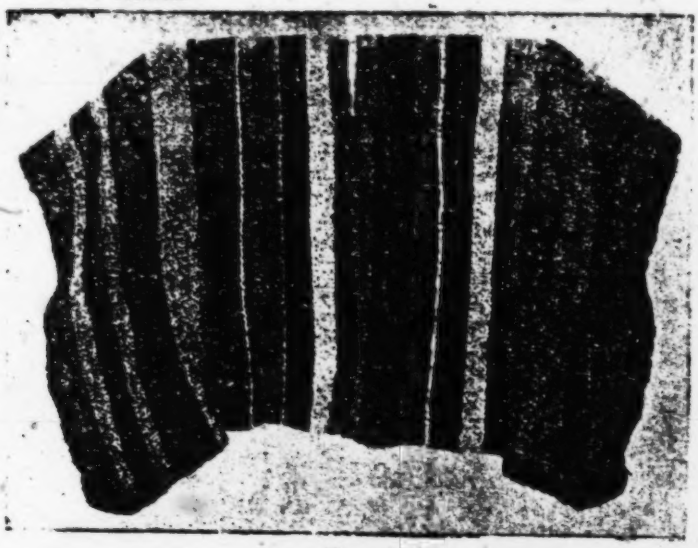


Fig. 117

c
286
291
531

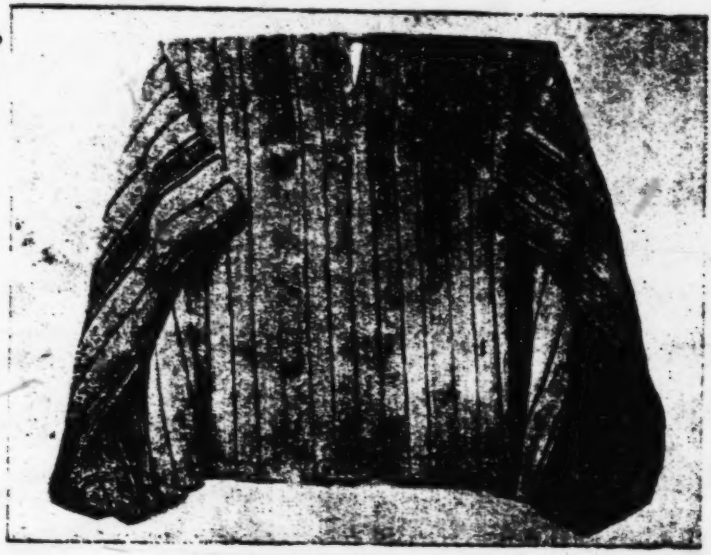


Fig. 118

/The captions appear on p. 189./

8: Schmidt--188 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
286
291
531

Plate XXXIII

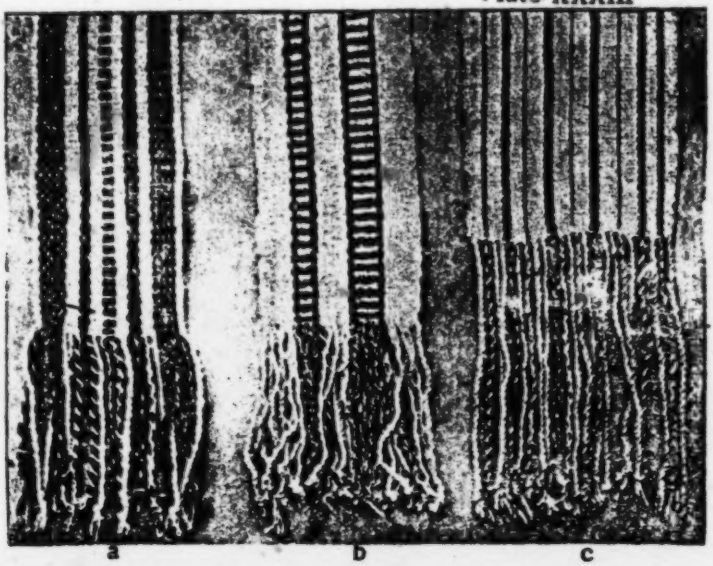


Fig. 119

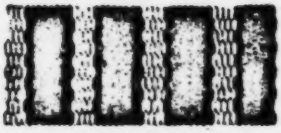


Fig. 120

Fig. 121

Fig. 122

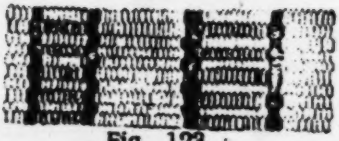


Fig. 123

Fig. 124

/The captions are on p. 189./

8: Schmidt--189 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
286
291
581

/Captions for Plates XXXII and XXXIII/

Plate XXXII. Woven ponchos, of wool.

Fig. 117. (I. A. 823) (Izozó) Width 1.30 m. Length 1.40 m.
Fig. 118. (I. A. 426) (Chiriguano) Width 1.39 m. Length 1.68 m.

Plate XXXIII.

Fig. 119. Woven fajas:
a (I. A. 436), of wool (Chiriguano), length 2.86 m., width 9 cm.;
b (I. A. 428), of wool (Chiriguano), length 2.58 m., width 11.5 cm.;
c (I. A. 803), of cotton (Izozó), length 2.58 m., width 15 cm.

Fig. 120. Ornamentation of the manta I. A. 818 (Izozó).
Fig. 121. Ornamentation of the faja I. A. 436 (Chiriguano).
Fig. 122. Ornamentation of the faja I. A. 803 (Izozó).
Fig. 123. Ornamentation of the faja I. A. 436 (Chiriguano).
Fig. 124. Ornamentation of the faja I. A. 430 (Chiriguano).

Plate XXXIV

Ce
286

C
[286]
→

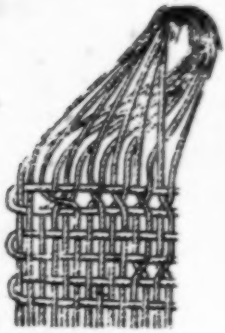


Fig. 125

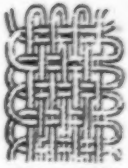


Fig. 126

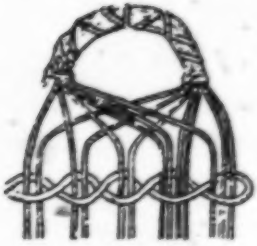


Fig. 127

C
[286]
←

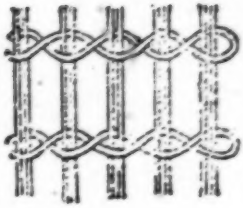


Fig. 128

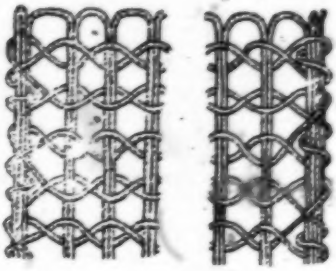


Fig. 129

Ce
415
284

a

b

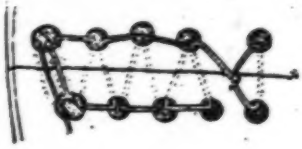


Fig. 130

/The captions are on p. 192./

8: Schmidt--191 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XXXV

C
415
286
531
[492]

a

C
[492]

b

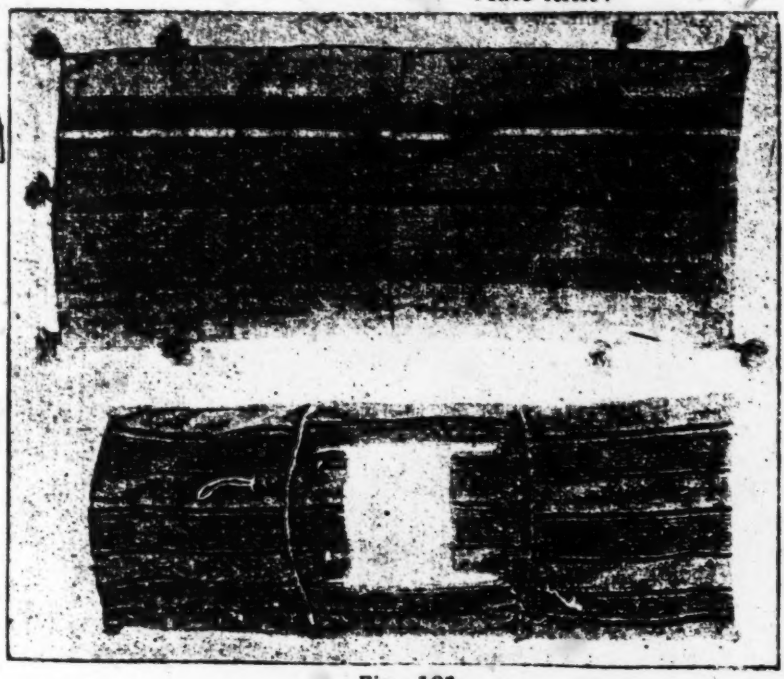


Fig. 131

Ce
415
286
531
492

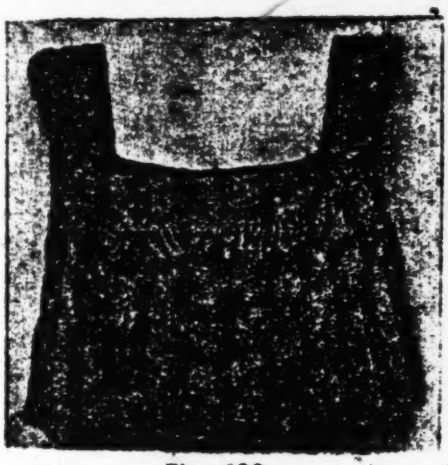


Fig. 132

/The captions are on p. 192./

8: Schmidt--192 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Ce 286 /Plate XXXIV. Diagrams to illustrate the techniques of weaving, plaiting with "double thread," and sewing.

Fig. 125. Diagram to illustrate the technique of weaving, from the band of the net for carrying loads I. A. 768. Cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 200/ (Izozó).

Fig. 126. Diagram to illustrate the technique of weaving, from the saddle cover I. A. 843 (Izozó). Cf. Fig. 103a /see p. 174/

C 286 Fig. 127. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the hammock I. A. 448 (Chiriguano). Cf. Fig. 102b /see p. 174/.

Fig. 128. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the hammock I. A. 449 (Chiriguano).

Ce 286 Fig. 129. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the saddle cover I. A. 844 (Izozó). Cf. Fig. 103b /see p. 174/.

Ce 284 415 Fig. 130. Diagram to illustrate the technique of sewing two cuyas:
a (I. A. 666) (Izozó);
b (I. A. 667) (Izozó).

C 531 415 286 [482] [492] Plate XXXV. Woven bags, of wool.

Fig. 131. a (I. A. 444) Woolen bag for carrying loads (Chiriguano), length 1.07 m., width 0.45 m.
b (I. A. 445) Double bag for loading horses (Chiriguano), entire length 92 cm., width 37 cm.

Ce 415 286 492 531 Fig. 132. (I. A. 811) Double bag for loading horses (Izozó), entire length 93 cm., width 46.5 cm.

/73 cont./

The Technique of Making Nets

C
Ce
286

The technique of making nets is widespread among the Chiriguano and Chané and is used to make various objects, such as fishnets, hammocks, nets for carrying burdens, bags, and slings. The material used for making these nets generally consists of threads made of caraguata fibers. In the collection there are two Chiriguano burden-carrying nets made of woolen threads and another one made of strips of cowhide.

C
Ce
[283]
[824]
C
[482]

The common technique of making nets among the Chiriguano and the Chané is the technique called "Knotentechnik," in German, using the knot called the reef knot in English. Figure 138, a and b, shows such a "reef knot," and Figure 142 shows the technique of making nets with this "reef knot." According to Nordenskiöld (275), the Chiriguano and Chané use small

C
Ce
[284]

275. Nord. 3, p. 207.

rectangular boards for making their nets, like those with which we are familiar from many other tribes of South America. Unfortunately, I did not acquire such a board from the Chiriguano or from the Izozó. By continually wrapping the first board with a thread the simple loops which are shown in the diagram (Figure 142) in the upper row are formed. The thread, after having reached the other end of the board, are wrapped continuously in the opposite direction around a second board, being connected each time, with a knot, with the loops of the thread wrapped around the first board. If the thread has been looped in the manner described, until it gets to the first loop of the first row, the first board can be removed to serve in the formation of the third row of the meshes of the net, which is made in the same way as the second, but in the opposite direction. It is clear that nets made with this technique, in their simplest and least complicated form, must have a rectangular form, and this form is typical of all of the nets of the Chiriguano and Izozó, while various other South American tribes, for example, the Bakairí /Bacairi/, who formerly lived on the tributaries of the Xingú River (in Mato Grosso), make triangular nets.

C
Ce
[171]

8: Schmidt--194 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF 0 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

/74/

Ce 286 352 126

Nets of the Collection That Are Made with the Technique Called "Knotentechnik" in German, Using the Knot Called Reef Knot in English

I. A. 360. Hammock (276) (Chané of the Parapití). Caraguata.

276. Gift of Mr. Teodoro Rojas.

Length 3.20 m. (Fig. 102c.)
I. A. 766. Hammock (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 1.80 m.
C I. A. 794. " " " " 2.70 m.
Ce I. A. 446. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Wool. Lgth 1.05 m.
286 I. A. 447. " " " " " " " 0.75 m.
415 I. A. 561-564, 567, 569-571. Nets for carrying loads (Chiriguano).
482 Caraguata. Length between 1.50 and 0.50 m.
126 (I. A. 567, Figs. 134 and 143; I. A. 568, Fig. 144.)
I. A. 767-787; 790-792. Nets for carrying loads (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 1.60 m. and 0.65 m. (I. A. 768, Figs. 133 and 142; I. A. 772, Fig. 135.)
Ce I. A. 785. Bag (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 0.82 m. Height 0.48 m.
415 I. A. 788 " " " " 0.62 m. " 0.62 m.
286 (Fig. 136.)
126 I. A. 793. Quadrangular net (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 0.90 m.
Ce I. A. 764. Implement for fishing with net (Izozó). Length 73.5 cm.
[227] (Fig. 39.)
I. A. 795-801. Nets for implements such as I. A. 764 (Izozó). Caraguata.
C I. A. 508. Sling (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length 15 cm.
411 I. A. 509. " " " " 14 cm.
286

C Ce 286 352 227 136

From the large size of the mesh of nets I. A. 360, 766, and 794, it follows that they are hammocks. Because in Chiriguano and Chané territory there are generally no fish except small ones, nets for fishing must have considerably smaller meshes.

C Ce 415 286 482 [283]

Of the Chiriguano nets for carrying loads, two are made of wool and one of these has a band like most such nets from the Izozó. The rest of these nets from the Chiriguano and the Izozó are made of caraguata thread. Some of them haye a rather small mesh, but among those of the Izozo those with big mesh are the rule.

/74 cont./

000 small mesh, but among those of the Izozó those with big mesh
Ce are the rule. Thus the mesh of the Izozó nets used for carrying
286 the large water jars is also very large. Most of these Izozó
415 nets have a special band that goes over the forehead of the
482 bearer. The structure of these bands, which are made of caraguata, wool, or cotton, have already been described by us in the chapter on weavings. Cf. Figure 133 /see p. 200/ and the diagram shown in Figure 125 /see p. 190/.

Ce The collection has two net bags from the Izozó which are
286 made in such a way that the whole rectangular net is folded
415 in the middle and the pieces which are on top of one another
[126] are laced together with a thread on the two longitudinal sides.

Ce In the way described in the foregoing they also make the
286 net of the fishing implement I. A. 764 described in the chapter
227 on fishing and shown in Figure 39. Because this implement is used to catch small fish, the net has very small mesh. The
Ce slings described among the hunting implements are also made
[411] in the same way.
[224]

/75/

C Burden-carrying Net Made by the Technique Called "Knotentechnik"
286 in German, But Using the Knot Called "Sheet Knot" in
415 English from the Collection
482
[126] I. A. 573. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Strips of animal hide. Length 0.85 m.

C This net is made like the nets described in the foregoing,
[284] made of knots, but the knot used is the type called "sheet knot" in English and "Schotenstich" in German. This knot is shown in Figure 138, c and d. According to Nordenskiöld (277), the

277. Nord. 2, p. 164.

Chiriguano also have fishing nets which are made using this type of knot.

/75 cont./

286
415
482
[126]

Nets in the Collection That Are Made with Loops and without the Use of Knots

I. A. 555-566.	Net for carrying loads (Chirig.). Lgth.	0.93 m. 1.80 m.
I. A. 567.	" " " " " "	1.15 m. (Figs. 134 and 143.)
I. A. 568.	" " " " " "	1.20 m. (Fig. 144.)

286
284
415
482

From the Chiriguano I obtained several nets for carrying burdens, which are made without using knots, by connecting the thread in the fashion illustrated by Figures 143 and 144 and which is common among many tribes of the Chaco, as happens among the Tapieté, Matako /Mataco/, Toba, Chorote /Choroti/, and Churupí /Chulupi/.

The great number of nets that I acquired from the Izozó are made with knots without exception, and we must therefore assume that these Indians are not familiar with or do not use the technique of making nets with simple loops and without applying knots, and that this technique, called "Schlingtechnik" in German, is used only by the Chiriguano or a part of them. Nordenskiöld does not mention this technique among the Chiriguano, and in the synoptic outline in which the several techniques of making nets are illustrated the Chiriguano are not mentioned in Column 5 among the Indian tribes which use the technique of making nets without applying knots. Of the burden-carrying nets made of caraguata thread that I acquired from the Chiriguano, ten are made without knots being applied, by the technique called "Schlingtechnik," and only seven by applying knots by the technique called "Knotentechnik." We can therefore assume that this part of the Chiriguano at least uses the technique of making nets without applying knots, although this opinion is contrary to that of Nordenskiöld, who says (278) that

286
284
114
177

278. Nord. 2, p. 116.

all of the nets made by this technique found among the Chiriguano and the Chané were acquired from the Chaco Indians.

C
Ce
415
482
177
[126]

/75 cont./

Net Bags Made by the Toba, from the Collection

I. A. 872. Bag for carrying burdens. (Found among the Chiriguano) Length 0.70 cm.

I. A. 845. " " " " (Found among the Izozó) Length 57 cm.

I acquired two net bags, one from the Izozó and the other from the Chiriguano, which show differences from the techniques mentioned in the foregoing. The Izozó and the Chiriguano told me that they themselves had not made these bags and that they had obtained them from the Toba.

C
Ce
294
[177
[296]

/76/ Sewing

With the acquisition of European clothes, naturally the sewing of these clothes to make and mend them became general among the Chiriguano and Chané. Modern sewing needles are an article eagerly sought by them today. But undoubtedly these Indians had already known the technique of sewing with a needle with an eye for a long time through their contact with the culture of the ancient Peruvians. Although the native textiles are, in most cases, made in one piece, needlework coming from other cultures is often added to the native technique of these textiles. I mentioned that a large Izozó tipoy is made of two smaller tipoys sewed together. The ponchos of the Chiriguano in Machareti are made of two pieces sewed together. The four edges of the Chiriguano and Izozó ponchos most of the time are turned and sewed to the rest of the fabric. In the making of the bags for carrying burdens, especially the double bags for loading draft horses or burros, sewing is used.

C
Ce
294

C
Ce
415

Among the cuyas that I obtained from the Chiriguano and Izozó there are several which show breaks mended by sewing. See Figure 25a /see p. 51/. The two diagrams shown in Figure 130 a and b serve to illustrate the way in which this sewing is done, with cotton thread on the two Izozó cuyas I. A. 666 and 667, and with fine wire on the Chiriguano cuya (I. A. 460). The cuya I. A. 667 shows two such repairs done by sewing.

/76 cont./

The Working of Skins and Leather Tanning

Ce 28 [824] [177]

The Chiriguano and Chané know the art of tanning leather, and they use for that the bark of the "Piptadenia" and other trees. No doubt they obtained the knowledge of this craft from the whites. They use not only tanned leather, but also strips of animal skin for the making of sundry objects (279), but the

279. Nord. 2, p. 165.

C 224 [292] 177

craft of working leather and skins is not an important one. It is said that formerly the Chiriguano, when they went hunting, wore leather clothing conforming to the European style (280).

280. Nord. 1, p. 184. Nord. 2, pp. 60, and 61. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

C 281 294

Beyond that, leather is not used for making clothing, except to make sandals (281). The men's modern custom of wearing

C 291 177

281. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23.

a leather belt must be attributed to the influence of the whites. Without counting its application to the making of bridles and saddles for horses and asses, either draft or saddle animals, on which we have no data, strips cut from leather or from animal skins are used in the form of straps, principally to transport or hanging up some object. In place of the common vegetable-fiber cords, leather straps are often put on the nets for carrying burdens, on hammocks, and also on the hoops mentioned above, in which they keep things. The band of the Chiriguano net for carrying burdens I. A. 564 consists of an untanned cowhide strap. See Figure 134 /see p. 200/. The Izozó vessel I. A. 617 has a leather strap attached to its handles. The strings of the bows for shooting arrows are strips of animal skin, and the Chiriguano net I. A. 573 is made of cowhide strips.

C 281 [492]

Ce [281]

/76 cont./

C
Ce
252
[415]
[412]

On the Cooking of Meals

Most of the Chiriguano and Chané utensils used /Plates XXXVI-XXXVII appear here/ /77/ for cooking meals have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters, such as pots for cooking food and for fermenting chicha, dishes with holes in the center of the bottom for steaming maize meal, vessels for frying /fritar/ maize, wooden mortars with their pestles, and sieves. For frying /fritar/ meat or fish, the Chiriguano and Chané do not use the quadrangular or triangular stands which are so common among other South American Indians, but instead simple wooden spits (282). Also, as we have already said, the grater for grating mandioca roots is not found among these Indians.

C
Ce
[171]
Ce
[412]

282. Nord. 2, p. 55. Métraux I, p. 352 and Figure 22.

Ce
[415]
[412]

We have yet to mention two other utensils used by the Chiriguano and Chané for fixing their meals, the large wooden dish and the spatula for stirring foods or drinks when they are boiling or fermenting.

C
415
126

Large Wooden Dishes (Platters) in the Collection

I. A. 574. (Chirig.) Lgth 0.83 m. Width 0.39 m. (Fig. 19.)
I. A. 575. " " 1. m. " 0.325 m.

Unfortunately I did not obtain data regarding the special use of these large wooden dishes which I acquired from the Chiriguano in Machareti. As Fig. 19 shows, these large wooden dishes are provided with the same handles as the smaller wooden dishes which serve as vessels for eating.

Plate XXXVI

Ce
286
415
482
←

C
286
415
482
→

Fig. 133

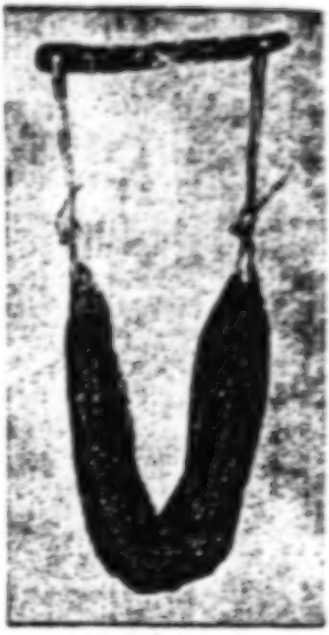


Fig. 134

Ce
286
415
482
←

Ce
286
415
→

Fig. 135

Fig. 136

/The captions are on p. 202./

Ce
Ce
286

Plate XXXVII

Fig. 137

Fig. 138

Ce
286

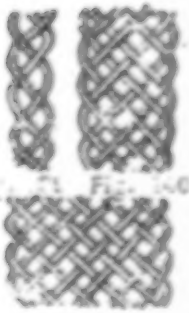


Fig. 141

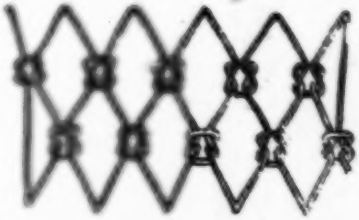


Fig. 142

Ce
286

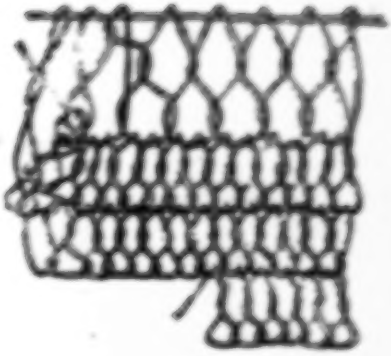


Fig. 143

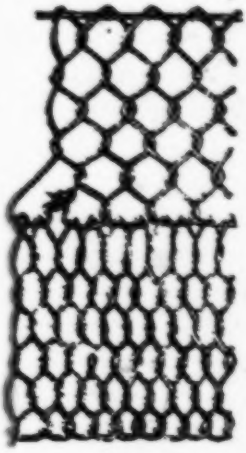


Fig. 144

/The captions are on p. 202./

Ce 286 415 482

/Captions for Plates XXXVI and XXXVII/

Fig. 133. (I. A. 768) Net for carrying loads, made with the technique using knots (Izozó). Length 1.33 m. Cf. Figs. 125 /see p. 190/ and 142 /see p. 201/.

C 286 415 482

Fig. 134. (I. A. 567) Net for carrying loads, made with the technique without knots (Chiriguano). Length 1.15 m. Cf. Fig. 143 /see p. 201/.

Ce 286 415 [482]

Fig. 135. (I. A. 772) Net for carrying loads, made with the technique using knots (Izozó). Length 1.18 m.

Fig. 136. (I. A. 788) Bag made with the netting technique using knots (Izozó). Height 0.62 m. Length 0.62 m.

Plate XXXVII.

C Ce 286

Fig. 137. Diagrams of twisted threads: a, twisted to the right; b, twisted to the left.

Fig. 138. Diagram of the two different knots applied in the making of nets: a and b, "reef knot"; c and d, "sheet knot."

Ce 286

Figs. 139-141. Diagrams of the plaited middle parts of three cotton bands for women's hair (Izozó): Fig. 139 (I. A. 649); Fig. 140 (I. A. 652); Fig. 141 (I. A. 646).

Fig. 142. Diagram of the technique of the net for carrying loads I. A. 768, using the knot called "reef knot" (Izozó). Cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 200/.

C 286

Fig. 143. Diagram of the technique of the net for carrying loads I. A. 567, made only with loops, without knots (Chiriguano).

Fig. 144. Diagram of the technique of the net for carrying loads I. A. 568, made only with loops, without knots (Chiriguano).

/77 cont./

C 412 126

Spatulas for Stirring Foods, Which Are in the Collection

I.A. 501. (Chiriguano) Length 49.5 cm.
I.A. 509. " " 94.5 cm. (Fig. 21)
I.A. 576. " " 114 cm. (Fig. 20b.)
I.A. 577. " " 90 cm.
I.A. 578. " " 62 cm. (Fig. 20a.)
I.A. 579. " " 66.5 cm.

C Ce 412 [531] [171]

These wooden spatulas for stirring are used by the Chiriguano and Chané for stirring the bubbling crock of maize when it is being fermented. Some of these spatulas have decorations on their handles similar to those of the corresponding spatulas of the Guató Indians. Nordenskiöld shows in a sketch such a Chiriguano spatula with a zigzag decoration (283), and beside

C 412 531 237

283. Nord. 2, Fig. 17 A.

it (284) another form of these utensils, from the Chiriguano,

284. Nord. 2, Fig. 17 B.

which consists of the shoulder blade of a large mammal, attached to a wooden handle (285).

285. Nord. 2, p. 55. See Métraux I. Figs. 32 and 34.

C 273

The Making of Fermented Drinks

Concerning the making of maize chicha, that is, the national drink of the Chiriguano, Nordenskiöld says the following (286):

286. Nord. 1, p. 237.

C [412]

First the maize is /78/ ground up in large mortars, then sifted and boiled in large pots with water. A part of this mash,

/78 cont./

C 293 removed from the pot, chewed up and well mixed with saliva, is then mixed back in with the rest. Then it is strained and ferments in large open pots, at moderate heat. By means of C [412] [239] large wooden spatulas or mammals' shoulder blades fitted with wooden handles, the mash is mixed in the pot. We find a more detailed description of this process in the publication by Métraux (787).

787. Métraux I, pp. 365-369.

C Ce 251

The Preservation of Foodstuffs

Concerning the method of preserving foodstuffs, we know that the Chiriguano and Chané dry fish for future use, when fish are abundant (788). According to Niño (789), formerly meat

788. Nord. I, p. 189.

C [113]

789. Niño, F. Bernardino de: Etnografía Chiriguana. La Paz, 1912, pp. 249 and 250. According to Métraux.

from hunting was preserved for the great fiestas by drying it in the sun, without using salt. Even today, when a bovine animal is slaughtered, part of the meat is preserved by drying it in the sun (790).

790. Métraux I, p. 356.

C Ce 501

Transport

The Chiriguano and Chané, in contrast to the Ratipes-Guaraysú, do not have boats (791). Concerning means of

791. Nord. I, p. 198.

/78 cont./ concerning means of transport by land we do not have any evidence except through the sundry implements which serve for carrying burdens. We can assume from the form of the double bags mentioned in the chapter on weaving that they use their horses and burros to transport loads.

The objects used to transport burdens have already been mentioned in preceding chapters. Among them the most general is the carrying net, which often has a band. By means of it burdens are carried on long trips or the fruits of the harvest are brought in from the fields to the houses, or water is brought, often from a distance, to the dwellings. The carrying net is used in such a way that the band goes across the forehead of the bearer so that the weight of the burden rests on his back (293).

293. See Nord. 2, p. 95.

Nordenskiöld has published a photograph of a woman who is carrying a load in her net (293).

293. Nord. 1, Fig. 87.

Baskets are not used by the Chiriguano and Chané for carrying loads: they are used among these Indians only to store things. Neither is any special band used to carry infants: rather they are carried in a fold of the *ciguy*.

Only if water is near the house are water jugs sometimes carried on the shoulder without a net, but not on top of the head. This latter appears only in the cases where the Indians are directly influenced by the whites, as happens in the missions (294).

294. Nord. 2, p. 95.

For carrying small amounts of water when traveling, these Indians also use calabashes enlaced with string, or small baked clay vessels /79/ provided with a string or a leather strap, such as, for example, the vessel I.A. 617 shown in Figure 56b.

C
C5
Ch
191
413

/79 cont./

We must still note that the Chiriguano and Chané transport fish in the same way as the neighboring tribes of the Chaco, by stringing them on a cord provided with a big wooden needle (296).

296. Nord. 9, p. 46.

Implements for Storing Objects

C
Ca
352
353
415

Most of the objects that serve for storing things have also been mentioned in preceding chapters, such as the various kinds of baskets and the wooden hoops which are hung in the houses for storing sundry things in them. The net bag and the carrying net do not serve only for carrying, but also for storing things in them. Baked clay vessels are not only used for storing liquids, but are also used for storing many other things which have a special value or are old memorabilia of the family (296). Furthermore,

296. Nord. 1, p. 179.

C
Ca
[237]

they put up special hooks for hanging various things in the houses. Such a hook is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (297).

297. Nord. 1, p. 177 and Fig. 86.

and Métraux shows such a hook made of a deer's leg (298).

298. Métraux I, Fig. 128.

Art

C
534
126

Flutes and a Whistle in the Collection

I.A. 491. Flute. "sereré" (Chirig.). Wood. Lgth. 17 cm. Width 2.7 cm. (Fig. 33b.)

I.A. 497. " " " " " 20 cm. Width 3.5 cm. (Fig. 22a.)

I.A. 490. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Length 43 cm.

/79 cont./

534 I. A. 494. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Lgth. 41 cm. (Fig. 34a.)
[126] I. A. 495. Double whistle " " " 33.5 and 7 cm. (Fig. 34b.)

[126] From the Chiriguano in Machareti I acquired two different kinds of flutes, the ones made of cane and the others made of wood. The two wooden flutes I. A. 491 and 492 (cf. Figs. 93a and 93b /see Fig. 33a and b, p. 89/) are of particular importance because of their similarity in form, and in the case of I. A. 491 of decoration as well, to a special kind of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians, and for that reason they have already been dealt with several times in ethnological literature. These two flutes are doubtless quite old specimens which per-
[322] haps had already been used by several generations. They are called "sereré" by the Chiriguano, and they are of hard wood bored from one end to the other. In the middle of the upper edge of the lozenge of the apparatus, there are two small
[301] perforations . . A similar flute shown in a sketch by v. Rosen (299)

299. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 220.

shows that these perforations serve for a string to pass through, in order that the flute may be worn as a chest ornament.
534 Nordenskiöld (300) has already called attention to the surprising
174
171

300. Nord. 3, pp. 187 and 188.

resemblance between these flutes and a special form of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians. These, numerous specimens of which are known, are no doubt classified as balance beams because of the fact that on some specimens /80/ the cord which passes through the horizontal perforation and which has at one end a weight and at the other end a loop, or some such similar thing for holding the objects that are to be weighed, has been preserved. V. Rosen, describing and showing in a drawing one of these Chiriguano flutes, which is like flute I. A. 491 except that it still has the cord which passes through the two holes on the upper

C /80 cont./
534 edge, puts forward against Nordenskiöld's deductions his opinion
174 that the ancient Peruvian objects of this form might originally
171 have been flutes and that they might have been used only exceptionally, in the event of necessity or only secondarily, as
C balance beams. Among the objects of this kind in the ancient
[114] Peruvian collection of the museum in Berlin so many specimens
C clearly show that they are balance beams that I cannot say that
[177] I agree with this opinion by V. Rosen (301). We must agree
C
[113]

301. Cf. Max Schmidt, Kunst und Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/, p. 99, fig. p. 544, N. 8-10.

with V. Nordenskiöld's opinion that these wooden objects used by the ancient Peruvians as balance beams may have been accepted by the Chiriguano, not as balance beams, because the Chiriguano did not have the need to weigh anything, but as flutes. We must mention that with this kind of flute, open at both ends, two different sounds can be produced, depending upon whether the lower hole is left open or is closed with the finger.

The two Chiriguano flutes made of cane have six holes for varying the sound and one hole, at one side, for the mouth. Cf. Figure 39a /see Fig. 34a, p. 89/. Nordenskiöld, who shows
C such a flute in a drawing (302), is of the opinion that the
Ce
534
177
171

302. Nord. 2, Fig. 36 A.

Chiriguano and Chané received this kind of flute from the mestizos or whites, because such flutes provided with a hole at one side for the mouth do not exist among the other Indians of South America or among the ancient Peruvians.

/80 cont./

C
Ce
534

The double whistle I.A. 495 consists of two pieces of cane joined together in the manner of Panpipes. In contrast to the flutes described in the preceding, the two tubes of these whistles have lips. One, which has four holes for making the sounds vary, measures 33.5 cm., and the other, which does not have such holes, is only 7 cm. long. A whistle of this kind, but not double, is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (303).

303. Nord. 2, Fig. 36b.

In addition to these musical instruments, Nordenskiöld describes a few others that he saw among the Chiriguano and Chané. Among them can also be found those round flutes which are used by many tribes of the Chaco and one of which is shown in a sketch by Nordenskiöld (304). They also have large

Ce
[171]

304. Nord. 2, Fig. 35.

trumpets, which the Chiriguano call "angùahuasi," while the common trumpet is called by the same name as is the mortar, "angúa" or "angúarai." One can also find trumpets made out of a cow's horn or a calabash, which are blown at the upper end (305).

C
Ce
[237]
[824]

305. Nord. II, p. 119, Fig. 37 A and B.
Métraux I, p. 337, Fig. 35.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Panpipes, which consist of several flutes joined together, are rarely found among these Indians (306).

306. Nord. 2, p. 126.

C
Ce
415
532

Plastic art is little developed among the Chiriguano and Chané. On rare occasions we find plastic art in the form of animals in the forms of the baked clay pottery of the Chiriguano (307).

307. Nord. 2, Fig. 41, N. 4, and Fig. 45, N. 20.

C
Ce
415
532
197
Ce
532
524
C
Ce
415
531

/80 cont./
These pots are undoubtedly imitations /Plates XXXVIII-XXXIX appear here/ /81/ of ancient Peruvian models or of modern products. Outside of that there are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld two dolls in the form of a man and a woman, made of wax, which served as toys for the children of the Chané of the Parapití River (308). Purely decorative plastic sculpture is

308. Nord. 1, Fig. 105.

mainly shown by most of the baked clay vessels intended for cooking foods, in the form of "ornamento hundido" /sunken decoration/, which is generally placed on the surface of the neck of these vessels, but it may also extend over the entire surface. Cf. Figure 48 /see p. 116/. In addition to the sunken decoration on the neck the vessel I.A. 414, shown in Figure 44, is decorated with a row of small pointed additions around the wall of the vessel. Linné shows in a drawing a piece of a Chané baked clay vessel, the surface of which is decorated with a border of baked clay placed in a zigzag around the wall of the vessel. Many of the vessels with smooth surfaces also have small additions and generally in pairs. They often have these instead of handles. In addition the baked clay dishes for eating and the dishes for frying /fritar/ maize are often provided with such additions. The handles of the baked clay vessels are not in the form of figures, but they can be plastically decorated in such a way that a groove divides them into two parts, which can be twisted around each other. Cf. Figures 46 and 49 /see p. 116/.

Some wooden utensils also have primitive plastic ornamentation, such as the spatulas for stirring food and drink, the wooden dishes for eating, and the large dishes or platters on which food is kept. The handles of some of the spatulas for stirring food are carved in such a way that their edges form zigzag lines (cf. fig. I.A. 579 /not illustrated; see Pl. VIII, p. 20/) and the dishes often have additions such as some baked clay dishes also show. Cf. Figures 18 a and b and 19 /see pl. VIII, p. 50/.

C
Ce
531

Drawings are also found on the surface of Chiriguano and Chané objects, in the form of paintings on the surface of baked

[Text continues on p. 214]

Plate XXXVIII

531
532

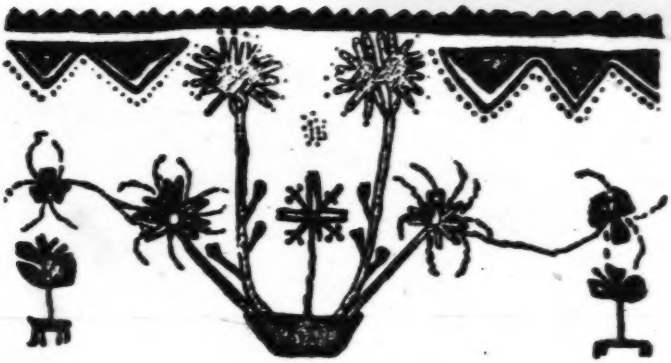


Fig. 145

Fig. 146

Fig. 147

Fig. 148

/The captions are on p. 213./

531

Plate XXXIX

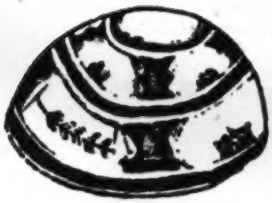


Fig. 149

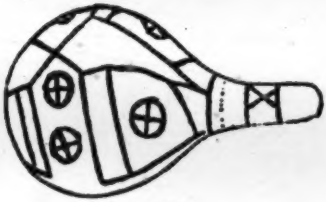


Fig. 150

Fig. 151

Fig. 152

Fig. 153

/The captions are on p. 213./

/Captions for Plates XXXVIII and XXXIX/

531
532

Plate XXXVIII. Drawings on the surface of baked clay vessels and a cuya.

Fig. 145. Phytomorphic drawings on the surface of the vessel I. A. 403 (Chiriguano). Cf. Fig. 64 /see p. 130/.

Fig. 146. Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic drawings on the surface of the vessel I. A. 378 (Chiriguano). Cf. Fig. 63 /see p. 130/.

Fig. 147. Zoomorphic drawing on the surface of the vessel I. A. 347 (Chiriguano). Cf. Fig. 65 /see p. 130/.

Fig. 148. Drawing of a fish incised on the surface of the cuya I. A. 454 (Chiriguano).

Plate XXXIX. Drawings on the surface of cuyas and a calabash (Chiriguano).

Fig. 149. (I. A. 456) Cuya.

Fig. 150. (I. A. 451) Cuya.

Fig. 151. (I. A. 466) Calabash.

Fig. 152. (I. A. 452) Cuya.

Fig. 153. (I. A. 458) Cuya.

/81 cont./

C Ce 531 clay vessels, in the form of incisings on the surface of cuyas and calabashes or flutes of wood or cane, in the form of pyrographic decorations on cuyas, and also, infrequently, in the form of tattooing on parts of the human body. The absolute difference between the drawings applied to the surfaces of baked clay vessels and those on cuyas and calabashes is surprising. This difference is explained by the fact that the decorations on C Ce [562] the baked clay vessels are done exclusively by women and those on cuyas and calabashes by men.

C Ce 531 17 The basic elements of the painting done on the surface of the baked clay vessels of these Indians consist of geometric designs which are completely different from those of the ancient Peruvians and untouched by modern European influences. No doubt these are the products of an old and indigenous art. But we do not know up to what point this originated among the Chiriguano and to what point among the Chané. Neither do we know whether the differences between the nature of the paintings of the Chiriguano in Machareti and that of the paintings of the Izozó of the Parapiti are only local differences or whether they are based on the difference between these two nations. But outside of that primordial decoration and mixed with it, there are foreign elements of decoration which we must reduce to ancient Peruvian models, and this is especially true of the drawings of plants on the surface of a Chiriguano vessel which Figures 64 and 145 show. One /82/ decoration, doubtless also phytomorphic, which appears repeatedly on the surface of the baked clay vessels, for example, on the vessels shown in Figures 67 and 75b, has a direct model in the form of a decoration that we know from the ancient Peruvian pottery of the last period of the Inca Empire (309). Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic repre-

C Ce 531 532

309. See Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru, p. 349, Fig. 1.

sentations are found relatively infrequently among the decorations on the baked clay vessels. The quadruped shown on the surface

/82 cont./

C
Ce
531
532
C
Ce
[171]

of the Chiriguano vessel I.A. 347 (cf. Fig. 65 /see p. 130/ and 147 /see p. 211/) and the way in which the road under this animal is represented show many reminders of similar representations of the ancient Peruvians. The representations of animals and people on the surface of vessel I.A. 378 (cf. Figs. 63 /see p. 130 and 146 /see p. 211/), which in external form is quite modern, correspond to those of other South American Indians. Like them the Chiriguano also combine elements of geometrical ornamentation for the representation of zoomorphic or anthropomorphic motifs, for example, the graduated line for the representation of roosters and triangles for the body of women. Cf. Fig. 146 /see p. 211/.

C
Ce
531

One principal difference between the decoration painted on the surface of the baked clay vessels and the decoration incised on the surface of cuyas lies in the fact that the painting of the baked clay vessel is limited to the decoration of the upper part of the exterior surface or to that of the upper rim of the interior surface of the vessel, that is, the decoration of a continuum, either wider or narrower, while the incisings on the cuyas decorate the entire exterior surface, more or less semiglobular, often making the center of the semiglobular surface the center of the concentric ornamentation.

Among the decorated cuyas I received from the Chiriguano in Machareti some have only incising and others only pyroengraving. But most of them combine these two ways of producing a decoration. Several specimens of these decorated cuyas show the same decorative motifs with a surprising similarity. Without counting the stylized phytomorphic motifs, there can also be found among the incised decorations figures like the representation of a small fish (cf. Fig. 148 /see p. 211/) and of a chapel, clearly identified by a cross. Cf. Figure 153 /see p. 212/.

Among incised decorations we must still mention the concentric circumferences made on the surface of most of the Izozó spindle-whorls and various wooden spindle-whorls of the Chiriguano, and the decoration of the "serere" flute shown in

/82 cont./

Ee 531

Figure 33b, which corresponds, as does also the form of this flute, completely to ancient Peruvian models. Also, the surface of the Chiriguano cane flute I. A. 494 (cf. Fig. 34a /see p. 89/) shows some incisings.

One of the tattooed decorations is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld, who found it on a woman's arm (310).

310. Nord. 1, Fig. 108.

Social Conditions among the Chiriguano and Chané

E Ce 114

With regard to the social conditions among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I am unable to add to the few data which we know on this subject because the situations in which I found myself when with these Indians were not appropriate for such investigations.

Ce 115 122 126

/83/ Among the Izozó whom I found in Toledo there were some who were designated as cacique. To one of these, who spoke Spanish perfectly, I owe the vocabulary of the Izozó language which I wrote down. I met the Chiriguano only in Machareti, where they had lived for a long time under the supervision of the missionaries and, at the time of my trip, under the chieftainship of one of their own fellows who exercised the functions of a commissioner /comisario/. Two other Chiriguano Indians whom I met in Machareti were identified as caciques.

C 114 197 622

E Ce 129

In order to complete my statements about the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I must make a resumé of what we know from the literature regarding the social conditions of those Indians, referring to Moreno's statements, which are based on old documents, as well as those of v. Nordenskiöld, which are based upon his own investigations.

Ce 178 648 643 000

Naturally, many of the old Chiriguano and Chané social institutions have been lost since they lost their independence from the whites. Also, the power of the great caciques has diminished appreciably since they have been dependent on the whites. When Nordenskiöld

Ce 178 643 [114] [248]

/83 cont./ when Nordenskiöld made his expedition, there was no longer a great cacique among the Chané on the Parapití River. The last great cacique had been Aringui, whose nephew, Batiraya, was a cacique, but he had refused the position of great cacique because he did not want to be too dependent on the whites (311).

311. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 233.

C 631 [642]

According to what is said in older documents, the Chiriguano, after their immigration into the Cordillera, did not form a uniform community, a state, in the proper sense of public law. Formerly they had formed a federation of several parcialidades /subdivisions/. In the letter of Licenciado Cepeda (312) in the

C [131] [195]

312. Letter from Licenciado Cepeda giving an account of the war against the Chiriguano under the encomienda of Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, Governor of Santa Cruz, and under the Maestre de Campo, Fernando de Cazorra, through Tomina, and under Luis de Fuentes through Tarija. According to Moreno II, p. 113.

year 1585, it is said "that the Province of the Chiriguano, who are in the Cordillera between Santa Cruz and the city of La Plata, who are divided into three parcialidades, each distinct from the others, 25 leagues, although they communicate and help one another. One is the parcialidad of Vitupué, another that of Condorillo, and the other of Chiquiacá."

C 631 643

Of the two parcialidades Vitupué and Chiquiacá we know that they, at least originally, were each under the chieftainship of a great cacique, from whom they received their respective names. Vitupuera was the great cacique of the former and Chiaca the great cacique of the latter (313). With regard to the parcialidad

313. Moreno II, pp. 122 and 126.

631 /83 cont./
[643] of Condorillo, we do not have any evidence as to whether this whole parcialidad was under the chieftainship of a great cacique. We only know that the town of Saigpuru was one of the most important and that it was the most feared by its enemies and that its inhabitants were defeated in the year 1779 by Don Tomás Leso (314).

[175] [027] [632]

314. Moreno II, p. 244.

631 632 643 103 According to the reports written by the Governor of Santa Cruz, Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, the Province of "Yvytupue," that is, the region governed by the great cacique Vitupuera, was made up of five large subdivisions. As can be assumed from the report cited, these subdivisions were in part made up of one town and in part of several towns and were, with the exception of one, governed by several caciques. Thus there is mentioned in the first place the subdivision "Taquirán and Caracará," probably meaning the towns which bear these names. As the caciques of this first subdivision, three are mentioned; thus the number of caciques does not correspond to the number of towns. Thus, we are not here dealing with a community which was established exclusively on a territorial basis. /84/ For the second subdivision three names are mentioned, Aguapea, Naipea, and Traibi. Thus it was probably made up of three towns. In this subdivision the number of towns, three, corresponds to the number of caciques. The third subdivision is called Tamborá. Thus it can be presumed that it consisted of but one town, and there is also mentioned but one cacique. The fourth subdivision is called Tendy, and three caciques of it are mentioned. It is stated that one of these caciques, called Abaqué, was the son of the cacique Tendy, thus of that cacique who gave his name to that subdivision. Of the fifth subdivision, Ayaguá or Cayaguá, as many as four caciques are mentioned (315).

315. Moreno II, pp. 123 and 124.

/84 cont./

631 [643] Also for the parcialidad of Chiquiacá besides its great cacique, Chiquiacá or Chiacá, 14 other caciques are mentioned, but it cannot be determined from these statements whether these are the names of successive caciques or of contemporaneous ones.

C 175 648 631 We have interesting data from the 16th century on the way in which the individual Chiriguano communities distributed among themselves the different countries in which they were making their depredations. In the "Confesión de Blas Negro," it is said "that to those of the province of caypuru fell the part of tomina, and those of coyagua to the churumatas, and those of tendi as far as misque and tiraque, and those of aguapea up to this road from poxo and santa cruz" (316).

316. Moreno, II, p. 120.

C Ce 175 648 In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have already mentioned that the Chané, and also other tribes as well, were subjugated by the Chiriguano and incorporated as subjects into their communities. The Chané communities which C [928] [648] had originally been in Chiriguano territory or its environs had been exterminated, until at the end of the 19th century, when the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites, the Chané were emancipated from their oppressors and once more inhabited their separate towns governed by their own great caciques. Ce 175 643 We have an interesting item in the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" through which we know that the Chané in times past, before being subjugated by the Chiriguano, had a strong social organization and powerful great caciques. In Puerto de Reyes, Alvar Nuñez met a Chané cacique who had previously accompanied García on his return from Peru and later, after the murder of García by the Guaraní, had fled from them. Among other things this cacique declared "that in his land those of his race have a single headman who orders all and who is obeyed by all, and that there are many towns of many peoples of those of ooo his race" (317). The subjugated Chané were distributed among

317. Moreno II, p. 30.

C
Ce /84 cont./ The subjugated Chané were distributed among
175 the various social communities of the Chiriguano as subjects or
648 slaves. In the "Relación del Corregidor de Tomino Don Juan
162 Arce de Alvedia" in the year 1618, it is said that in the Province
[567] of Machareti, "which is Pilcomayo and its environs," there lived scarcely 400 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 5,000 Chané "to one 200, to another 100, to another 60, and in this way up to said number." In the Province of Charaguay 4,000 Chané were distributed in the same manner to the 350 Chiriguano of this province, and upwards of 1,000 Chané to the 200 Chiriguano of the Province of Guapay. As in other documents, in this one as well, there is mentioned the ill treatment which these subjects had to suffer from the Chiriguano and the hate which they had toward their oppressors (318). The Chiriguano

C
Ce
175
648
567

C
Ce
[186]

318. Moreno II, pp. 250 and 104.

scornfully called the Chané "tapií," while they themselves were called /85/ by the latter "cheya," that is, "my master" (319).

319. Moreno II, p. 254.

C
175 Although most of these subjects or slaves were made up of Chané,
648 there were also among them other Indians who had been subjugated
567 in the expeditions, for example, Chicha Indians (320), and among

Ce
[567]
[648]

320. Moreno II, p. 207.

the Chiriguano of Tendi also Guatuco Indians (321). According

321. Moreno II, p. 117.

to Techo (322), whose report was written in the second half of

322. According to Moreno II, pp. 236 and 237.

the 17th century, the Chiriguano customarily sold some of their slaves to the Spaniards.

/85 cont./

648
175

Outside of those subjects incorporated directly into the Chiriguano communities, several tribes of Indians subjugated by the Chiriguano were their tributaries, that is, the tributaries of their individual parcialidades. These tribes had to pay fixed tributes and to lend services as allies in war (323). Such tribu-

323. Moreno II, pp. 121 and 125, 117.

taries of the Chiriguano of the province of Yvytupue were the Tamacocies, the Xores, and the Yurucarés. In the "Carta /letter/ from Don Lorenzo de Figueroa" of the year 1584 it says that the Tamacocies and Xores and Yurucarés had not assisted the Chiriguano of the parcialidad of Vitupue, seeing that they might be defeated by the Spaniards. From this report it can be surmised that as tributaries, they might have been obligated to aid their masters. From the "Confesión del Blas negro," who had lived for a long time as a prisoner among the Chiriguano, we learn what made up the tributes that the three tributary tribes had to pay to the parcialidad of Ybytupue (324). "They

324. Moreno II, pp. 121 and 125.

pay tribute in this way, the Xores poisonous herbs for their arrows, and the Tamacozies, Indian men and women, bows and arrows, and fish and game and macaws, and the Yurucares give them coconuts and turkey feathers and chonta palm for making arrows." Moreover the same source says that the Chiriguano of Tendi and Aparo, Aguapea, and Caripui had contracted with the Chuis-Indians of the town of Mísque to provide them "with powdered saltpeter, stone, sulfur, axes, crowns /coronas/, chipanos, scissors, knives, and other things" (325).

325. Moreno II, p. 121.

/85 cont./

C 631 643 [622] According to all that we learn from the old documents, the Chiriguano communities, that is, the parcialidades under the chieftainship of great caciques and the subdivisions under the chieftainship of ordinary caciques, had a very firm organization in comparison with other tribes of South American Indians. The great cacique commands his subjects and they obey him absolutely. C [177] It is likely that in this regard the example of the absolute rule of the neighboring Incas of Peru influenced the organization of the Chiriguano. C CR 643 631 Even at the time of Erland v. Nordenskiöld's trip in 1908, the Chiriguano and Chané caciques were very powerful in contrast with the caciques of the neighboring tribes of the Chaco. Even at that time there were great caciques, who governed a large territory made up of several towns, and ordinary caciques, who governed the inhabitants of a town or part of them. Thus, at the time of Nordenskiöld's trip most of the towns of the Caipipendi valley were governed by a great cacique named Taruiri. The great cacique Mandepora formerly had considerable power in and near Machareti, and the great cacique Maringay in the Iguembe valley. CR 643 [562] We have Nordenskiöld's interesting statement that women too can be great caciques among the Chané. Thus the great cacique of the Chané towns on the Itiyuru was a woman named Vuáyruyi, who had succeeded her late brother in that office. Because she was already old, she was replaced in her duties by her nephew Vocapoy, who was the eldest son of her brother and predecessor. /86/ Her son was favored as great cacique after Vocapoy (326). Among the Chané on the Itiyuru, and

326. Nord. 1, pp. 223 and 229.

formerly among the Chané of the Parapití when they still had a great cacique, the office of great cacique was tied to a certain family, but it did not pass from father to son. Nordenskiöld recorded the genealogical tree of the family of the caciques of the Chané on the Itiyuru, according to which, after the great cacique Hinu Parava, two of the latter's sons successively succeeded to this office. After the death of the last of these, Hinu Parava's daughter, the above-mentioned Vuáyruyi, was great cacique, while the son

/86 cont./

Ce 643 of her late brother and predecessor, as already mentioned, took her place in her duties. The one predestined for the office of cacique cannot begin his functions if he does not have ability and skill in discussion. The great cacique in the Caipipendi valley was considered incapable because of continual drunkenness, and he was replaced in his functions by one of his relatives (327). In

327. Nord. 1, p. 230.

the Chané towns on the Itiyuru the ordinary caciques too belong to Hinu Parava's family (328).

328. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 129.

C Ce 643 301 302 293 As a symbol of chieftainship Nordenskiöld observed staffs decorated with silver and the so-called "Yandagua," which consists of a long rod adorned with a tuft of ostrich feathers and is carried by caciques at fiestas and dances. According to Corrado, the caciques formerly wore as a symbol of their office a large lock of hair on top of the head, which they called "yattira," and green stones as pendants in the ear lobes, and at the fiestas, in addition to the "yandagua" mentioned above, the "iguiripe," which was a staff carved with figures (329).

329. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 756 643 622 At the side of the caciques a special position is held by the sorcerers, among whom the Chiriguano distinguish two kinds, the "ipáye," who are good and who can undo spells, and the "ipáyepótchi," who can undo spells, but who also cast them. The sorcerer is also above all the doctor who has the obligation of curing the sick (330). In general the occupation of sorcerer is separate

330. Nord. 1, p. 216.

from that of cacique. Only in Ivu did Nordenskiöld observe a case where a Chiriguano cacique was a sorcerer at the same time (331).

331. Nord. 1, p. 230.

/86 cont./

The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, plaiting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

/87 cont./

462 rope, making nets, plaiting mats and baskets, leatherwork, the manufacture of weapons, the decoration of cuyas and calabashes, and the building of houses. Only the following work is apportioned to women: carrying water, cooking, making fermented beverages, gathering fruits and roots, ceramics, making hammocks, spinning, and plaiting bands. The following work is apportioned to both sexes: fishing, with the difference that the women catch small fish in shallow water, while the men fish in deep water, planting and harvesting, cooking -- attributed in the preceding to the women -- in that men at times participate in the preparation of game, fetching firewood, which on most occasions is men's work, but among the Chané on the Pacapirí River women's as well, the raising of domestic animals, sewing and weaving, in that in some regions men also weave, although in general weaving is women's work. Children also participate, depending on their sex, in the respective work of their parents, particularly in the harvest (336) /there is no footnote bearing this number/, and in this way seeing and imitating, they learn from a very early age the work that they must do in later life.

I have already mentioned in the chapter on towns and houses that Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of only a few houses, each of them inhabited by up to 100 persons. Today, as a general rule, only one family lives in each house, but often together with the husbands of the daughters, who live for a time before the nuptials and also during the first part of the marriage in the house of the mother-in-law (337). The Chiriguano clean

337. Nord. I, p. 176.

a piece of ground for his daughter, one which the son-in-law can work, doing the planting and harvesting (338).

338. Métraux I, p. 345.

/87 cont./

The girl is mobile when, after the first menstruation, she has undergone a certain ceremony, which lasts until her hair, cut short, has grown out again to medium length. This ceremony of the girls, which is called "yimundia," consists of her being put in a kind of separate room inside the house. Until the following menstruation, she must stay on a diet and she must not eat anything but cooked maize and meal (339). Only in the

339. Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

company of her mother may she temporarily leave the separate room to bathe and to take care of her other needs (340).

340. Nord. 1, p. 210.

We also learn from Nordenskiöld that the Chané boys from 10 to 12 years of age must also undergo certain ceremonies, which consist in having a man who is particularly expert in such matters pierce the lower lip (341) and put a small stick through the hole.

341. According to Métraux I, pp. 346 and 347 and Fig. 12, the Chiriguano formerly used for that purpose punches made of horn.

and his grandfather puts deep wounds in his body so that he may be valiant in battle and in hunting and takes him out in the morning, when it is cold, to bathe (342).

342. Nord. 1, p. 211.

Chiriguano and Chané girls are watched over by their mothers /88/ until their marriage (343), and illegitimate children are

343. Nord. 1, p. 172.

C Ce 887 848

/88 cont./

rarely born (344). Marriages are made among the Chané by a

Ce 583 584

344. Nord. 1. p. 207.

method whereby the young man who wishes to marry sends several pieces of game to the girl's parents. He puts firewood in front of her house, and, if it is used, this signifies consent. But only after having worked for one year for his future mother-in-law can he marry the girl. The night before the wedding, which is celebrated by drinking a good amount of chicha, the young man sleeps with the girl (345).

Ce 585

345. Nord. 1. pp. 211 and 212.

Ce 595 643 622

While young men have but one wife, older men, and particularly caciques, often have several wives. Thus the substitute great cacique on the Itiyuru had four wives, who lived in different towns, and the cacique Maringay had two wives, who lived together (346). Marriage between brother and sister is prohibited.

C Ce 582

346. Nord. 1. pp. 212 and 213.

while cousins may marry (347).

347. Nord. 1. p. 212.

Ce 843

Certain foods are forbidden to the pregnant woman. Thus, among the Chané on the Itiyuru a pregnant woman cannot eat doves. But they do their work until they give birth (348). After

Ce [1461] Ce 846

348. Nord. 1. p. 206.

a child has been born, the man must go through the "couvade," which means that he must remain lying down for several days and must stay on a certain diet. Among the Chané on the Parapití : : for the first few days he may eat only cooked maize and maize soup,

Ce /88 cont./
846 but no meat (349). Later he can eat sweet potatoes. When the

Ce
553
551
603

349. See Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

baby begins to walk, he is given one name at most, not by his parents, but by his grandparents. Nicknames are often added to
Ce the proper name later (350). Orphans are brought up by their
736

350. Nord. 1, p. 208.

relatives (351).

351. Nord. 1, p. 210.

C From the time they first immigrated to the Sierra de la
721 Cordillera, the Chiriguano, that is, their parcialidades, made war or attacks on the neighboring Indian tribes or the Spaniards. In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have described these hostilities in broad outline. Their weapons
C of war were bows and arrows and the club. The caciques were
[411] also war chiefs. According to what one Chané cacique told
[701] Nordenskiöld, these Indians formerly had the custom of bringing
[727] home the heads of their dead enemies and of showing them during the fiestas in the town square (352). The Chiriguano capacity

C
195
721

352. Nord. 1, p. 172.

for war was still recognized by the Spaniards in the 16th century. In the "Declaración de Sebastián Pérez Chamoso" in 1571, it is said of them: "With the inventions and tricks and mode of war that they have, they have done and are doing said damages unto the Spaniards, Indians, and workers that are in the said fields" (353).

353. Moreno II, p. 107.

C Before the Chiriguano launched their attack upon King Guacane,
726 they reconnoitered with spies the Llanos of Grigota where the

726 /88 cont./
712 King was (354). Their towns, described in the preceding, were

354. Moreno II, p. 87.

175 fortified by blockades, in addition to their natural position. Ruiz
212 Diaz de Guzman on his expedition against the Chiriguano found
248 a town near the Pilcomayo which was fortified by two concentric blockades of stone and wood (355). We find interesting data

355. Moreno II, p. 252.

about the fortifications that the Chiriguano made during their wars in the "Relación y breve noticia de lo sucedido en la guerra de Chiriguanos que se ha hecho este año de 1729 por orden /89/ del señor Virrey y Real Audiencia de Chuquisaca por el Padre Bartholomé de Mora /Report and brief note on what happened in the Chiriguano war that took place in this year of 1729 by order of the Lord Viceroy and Royal Audiencia of Chuquisaca by Father Bartolomé de Mora/" (356). These fortifications are described

[113]

356. Unpublished /inedito/ manuscript published /publicado/ by Professor A. Posnansky with an introduction and notes by Dr. A. Métraux. (Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad de Tucuman, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 126.)

in the following way: "Continuing on their way (the Spaniards and Chiquitos), now by the light of day, at about a league they found blocking the way a very strong and well placed trench with very heavy stakes stuck in the ground, which, hewn like planks, had loopholes through which they shot arrows. Here considerable resistance was met, because the trench was very well fortified and the Indians who defended it were numerous." In another place it says: "They went on, all now being together, and they arrived at the place where the enemies had fortified themselves.... The fort was a ravine cut like a wall, which had

C 173 712 648 /89 cont./

only one way up, very narrow and steep, which, sown with thorny branches, made it more impenetrable. On the eminence of which they had entrenched the gate with stakes stuck into the ground."

Ce 178 648 721 Today the Chiriguano and Chané no longer make war upon other Indians, aside from the fact that the Chané on the Parapití occasionally go on expeditions against the Tsirakua Indians (357).

357. Nord. 1, p. 171.

Law

Ce 671 177 178 Because the white authorities intervene more and more in the original, juridical traditions of the Chiriguano and Chané, many of them no longer exist today and also, from the few data which Nordenskiöld gives regarding this matter as of 30 years ago, many do not now correspond to the facts.

Ce 627 With regard to penal law, we find among these Indians a mixture between the principle of the "vendetta" and the practice of penal law. Among the Chané on the Parapití, most crimes, and robbery in particular, were settled by means of the duel. Ce [685] In the case of theft, the one who has stolen and the one who has been robbed appear, each with his relatives, in the town square to fight each other. Only homicide, the seduction of a woman, Ce 607 642 68 and sorcery were decided by the great cacique as judge. Homicide, which formerly occurred among the Chané in the form of poisoning with poisoned chicha ("bád dyási"), and sorcery were punished by the burning of the criminal. The seducer of a woman lost his property (358). According to statements of the substitute great

358. Nord. 1, p. 232.

cacique of the Chané on the Itiyuru, it was the principal obligation of the cacique to avoid the vendetta by sending criminals to another region so that they would not be killed. Thus thieves, after having received 50 lashes, were sent to another town. A murderer was condemned to work up to half a year for the family

Ce 692 643 68 /89 cont./
of the deceased (359).

359. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 421 Private property is highly respected among the Chiriguano. According to Métraux, even the closest relatives cannot make use of the property of one of them without his consent. The C 423 possession of a piece of land is guaranteed to a Chiriguano by planting any plant on it or by clearing the circumference of the land required and making large slashes in the trees. When he selects a plot for his planting, the Chiriguano examines it carefully to determine that there are no traces of a previous planting (360).

360. Métraux I, pp. 334 and 340.

C 241 476 [622] After the land selected for the planting has been cleared, relatives and friends are called together to help with the work. Formerly, the cacique of the town also took part by keeping watch for the workers (361).

361. Métraux I, p. 337.

/90/

Religion

C Ce 797 771 178 538 In their many years of activity the missions have naturally influenced notably the religious notions of the Chiriguano and Chané. Most of them today are Christians. Some still retain part of their primordial ideas, expressed in their legends. I shall limit myself here to referring the reader again to the Chané legends taken down by Nordenskiöld (362) and mentioned several times in the Preceding.

362. Nord. 1, pp. 251-296.

/90 cont./

000 preceding. I must also cite A. Métraux's publication, "Les
792 Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguano e dans l'Amérique de Sud
[113] /Men-Gods among the Chiriguano and in South America/" (363),

363. In the Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, No. 1, Tucumán, 1931.

in which he deals with the cases, repeated several times, in which some individuals among the Chiriguano appear as Messiahs and, acquiring many proselytes, gave the mission administrations much to do.

796 [126] Plaited Objects Used in Religious Celebrations, from the Collection

I.A. 1439. (Chiriguano) Length 70 cm. (Fig. 43b.)
I.A. 1440. " " 37 cm. (Fig. 43a.)

[171] Plaited objects like those mentioned above are also very common among the Paraguayans and made in the same way. This
796 custom of making such plaited figures and having them blessed,
797 as the Chiriguano also do, is connected with the Catholic ritual,
177 and the Chiriguano no doubt received it from the missionaries along with the other rites of the Catholic religion (364).

364. See the opposite opinion of Métraux I, p. 462.

532 The masks that the Chiriguano make to carry during the Carnival
[527] fiestas are also modern objects. Some such Chiriguano masks are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and Métraux (365).

365. Nord. 1, Fig. 119. Métraux I, Plate 86 and Fig. 121.

/90 cont./

The Language

C
Ce
197 I have already mentioned above that the Chané originally spoke a language different from that of the Chiriguano, but that during the long period of their captivity they adopted the latter's
Ce 198 language. A cacique of the Chané of the Parapití, named Batirayu, told Nordenskiöld that some of the Chané still knew a few words of their original language and that today it had the
Ce 195 nature of a secret language. .Thus there are still often employed invectives of the original Chané language, such as "karitimisóyti," which the Indians translated as equivalent to "son of a whore."
Ce 533 197 Songs in the original language can also be found for example, "siparakinánoye, siparakinánoye, siparakinánoye, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya," which they cannot translate, however.
Ce 114 197 Nordenskiöld, with much effort and patience, was able to take down six words of the original Chané language in the town of Huirapembe on the Parapití, where a few Chané Indians who still knew their original language were said to be living. From
Ce [194] the comparison of these six words with the corresponding words of the Mojo language, a great similarity was apparent; thus there can be no doubt /91/ but that the Chané originally belonged to the Aruaco /Arawak/ linguistic group (366).

366. Nord. 1, p. 157.

M
C
104
197

Translation	Original Chané	Mojo (367)
Water	úne	une
Maize	sopóro	soponi
Fire	yucu	yucu
Dog	tamúco	tamucu
Good	liqui	itico
Mouse	cóvo	cozo

Ce
M
[113]

367. According to Father Pedro Marban, Arte de la lengua Moxa con su vocabulario y cathecismo /Art of the Mojo Language with its Vocabulary and Catechism/. Republished by Julio Platzmann, facsimile edition, Leipzig, 1894.

8: Schmidt--234 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
104

/91 cont./

Vocabularies of the Chiriguano of Machareti and of the Izozó of the Parapití River

Notes on the Alphabet of the Vocabularies

In publishing below the Chiriguano and Izozó vocabularies which I took down in Machareti (Chiriguano) and Toledo (Izozó), I use the same alphabet as in my previous publication on the vocabulary of the Guarayú language in this same journal (Vol. III, No. 6).

Vowels

a; e; i; o; u. : long vowels.
a; e; i; o; u. : short vowels.
ã; ẽ; ĩ; õ; ũ. : nasal vowels.
ɨ : gutteral vowel (as in Guaraní and agua).
è = ä in German (as in: Bär = bear).
ü = ü in German (as in: Übel = bad).
ai; au; oi are dipthongs.
au = au in German (as in: Auge = eye).
oi = eu in German (as in: Teufel = devil).
aĩ is a nasal dipthong.

The apostrophe after a vowel (a'i; a'u; o'i) indicates that it does not form a dipthong with the following vowel.

Consonants

The consonants used in the Chiriguano and Izozó vocabularies are the following:

b; d; (f is not used); g = g in German (as in Garten = garden); h is always aspirated as in Guaraní; j = j in Spanish (as in jabón); k; (l is not used) m; n; p; r; s = c in Spanish before i (as in cielo); t; v = w in German (as in Wagen = cart); y = y in New York, is exclusively used as a consonant; z = z in French; ch corresponds to the ch in Spanish; sh = j in French, as in je = I).

The accented syllable of the vowels is indicated by means of the acute accent. /The word list, pp. 92-111, and the bibliography, pp. 111-115, are omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

413

/For information on the various types of spindles in use among the Chiriguano and Chane Indians, see category 283./

8: Schmidt SF10 Chiriguano SF10

175
648

/Since Métraux believes that the Chiriguano are actually descendants of the Guarani, data in this source which have been specifically subheaded for the Guarani file, in regard to culture contacts and foreign relations, may equally apply to the Chiriguano. The researcher is therefore advised to consult text category 116, pp. 6-25 for this additional data./

8: Schmidt SF10 Chiriguano

REVISTA
DE LA
SOCIEDAD CIENTÍFICA DEL PARAGUAY

TOMO IV | ASUNCIÓN, ABRIL DE 1938 | NÚM. 3

REVISTA DE
CIENCIAS FÍSICO-NATURALES
Y MATEMÁTICAS

SUMARIO

Prof. Dr. Max Schmidt	Los Chiriguanos e Izozós
Leopoldo A. Benítez	Hipótesis y Conjeturas sobre Totemismo Guaraní
Guillermo B. Schouten	Haemogregarina hassleri, n. sp. Hematozoario de un ofidio. Apostolepis Ambinigra. Peters. (Mboy Tatá).

ASUNCIÓN
Imp. y Librería LA MUNDIAL
1938

[Title Page]

[P.1]

REVISTA
DE LA
SOCIEDAD CIENTIFICA DEL PARAGUAY.

Tomo IV. | Asunción, Abril de 1938 | Núm. 3

Los Chiriguanos e Izozós

POR EL

PROF. DR. MAX SCHMIDT

INTRODUCCIÓN

Conociendo personalmente por mis precedentes viajes cientificos solo a las tribus indigenas de Matto-Groso (Brasil), acepté con mucho placer la proposición de la Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay de visitar a los indios del Chaco Paraguayo y como fuera apoyado ámpliamente el pensamiento por el Comando del Chaco, doy gracias por su apoyo a la Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay, al Jefe del Comando del Chaco Paraguayo, a los Jefes de etapas y a todos los otros cooperadores de mi expedición. Especialmente agradezco a S. E. Reverendisima, el Señor Arzobispo de Asunción, Don Juan Sinforiano Bogarin por las presentaciones que hiciera a mi favor ante los padres Oblatos de Maria Inmaculada, cuya misión se halla proxima a fortín Esteros, cerca del Rio Pilcomayo.

Salí de Asunción el 7 de Agosto del año 1935 y pasando el fortín López de Filippis (Chaco Paraguayo), llegé el 15 de Agosto al fortín Toledo, donde hallé a un gran numero de indios Izozó, que habian dejado sus habitaciones en el valle del Parapití por haber sido trasladados provisoriamente a las cercanias de Toledo y del fortín « 15 de Agosto ».

Además, de mis estudios etnológicos y de las preparaciones para el viaje futuro, atendí a la comisión de la Cruz Roja Paraguaya de repartir trajes, generos y lana entre los indios Izozós que a la sazón estaban muy necesitados. Proveido por el Comando del Chaco en fortín López de Filippis de dos camiones, con choferes y ayudantes y de los viveres necesarios, prosegui el viaje el 26 de Agosto, con rumbo al Rio Pilcomayo. Más allá de Corrales nos encontramos con los primeros indios: Eran los Churupís. También en Moreno, que alcanzamos por la tarde, casi ya de noche, estaban presentes algunos Churupís, que se habian trasladado desde Muños hasta aqui. El 27 de Agosto llegé a la misión de los padres Oblatos de María Inmaculada, cerca del fortín Esteros, donde los padres me recibieron de la manera más amistosa y prestaron su apoyo más extenso a mis estudios de los indios Churupís, domiciliados en la misión o cerca de ella. Me dieron una grande colección etnológica de objetos de los indios Churupís que regalaron al Museo de Historia y Etnografía de la Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay. Habiendo visitado también a los indios Churupís en la misión cerca de la Laguna Escalante, distante de la misión de Esteros más o menos 25 kilometros, prosegui el viaje el 5 de Septiembre hasta Linares, donde hallé bastante indios Matacos, que en parte vivian en un pueblo distante unos 7 kilometros de Linares y parte pasaron del otro lado del Rio Pilcomayo, a Linares.

Salí el 9 de Septiembre de Linares, llegé el día siguiente a Guachalla, de donde yo visité una tolderia de los Churupís distante más o menos 7 kilometros.

El 11 de Septiembre salí de Guachalla, al fortín Cururenda, en donde tuve ocación de conocer a los indios Chorotes, que vivian en una tolderia distante unos 3 kilometros de Cururenda y a algunos Tobas y Matacos, que venian del otro borde del Rio Pilcomayo a Cururenda.

El 15 de Septiembre proseguí el viaje hasta Oruro en cuyas cercanias vivian los Tapietés. Mi acompañante el Teniente Cabello, que conocia bien a estos indios, me llevó a sus dos tolterias, de las cuales la una distante 15 y la otra 32 kilometros de Oruro.

El 19 de Septiembre salí de Oruro, y pasando por Capirendá y Carandayty llegué en compañia del Teniente Diego Corvalan, a Machareti, en donde permanecí desde el 21 al 25 de Septiembre. Siendo Machareti un pueblo de los Chiriguanos tuve en este lugar, y al fin de mi viaje, una buena ocasión de conocer a esta interesante tribu de indios.

Principiando mi regreso el 25 de Septiembre, pasé sucesivamente por Capirendá, Carandayty, López de Filippis y Puerto Casado llegando a Asunción al 8 de Octubre.

Gracias al grande apoyo de los autoridades militares tuve la posibilidad de atravesar durante el tiempo relativamente corto de dos meses, grandes regiones del Chaco Paraguayo; de conocer un gran numero de tribus indigenas del Chaco; de hacer fotografias de estas tribus y de confeccionar vocabularios de sus diferentes idiomas. Fuera de los Tobas, con los cuales yo no me encontré, sino pasando, conocí en este viaje a los Chiriguanos y a los Izozós, que hablan como aquellos, un dialecto de la lengua Guaraní; a los Tapietés, Churupís, Matacos, y Chorotes. Todas estas tribus de indios no son desconocidas en la literatura etnológica. Sobre la Historia de los Chiriguanos estamos orientados por medio de documentos antiguos hasta desde los primeros tiempos de la conquista española y debemos a los misioneros Franciscanos, que han enseñado entre ellos por mucho tiempo, publicaciones etnológicas bastante importantes. Los Churupís han sido estudiados minuciosamente con el nombre Ashluslay por Erland Nordenskiöld, y los Oblatos de María Inmaculada en Esteros y Laguna Escalante procuran intensivamente hacer investigaciones etnológicas. Yo me he propuesto de tratar a todas estas tribus sistematicamente. Esta revista se hará a base de los resultados de mi viaje y principio en esta primera publicación con los Chiriguanos o Izozós.

GENERALIDADES

Como ya dije en la introducción de este trabajo, conocí a los Chiriguanos en Machareti y a los Izozós en las cercanias del fortín Toledo y en el fortín «15 de Agosto», distante algunos kilómetros de aquellos.

La figura 1 da una vista de Machareti, pueblo de los Chiriguanos creado en su forma actual por la misión de los Franciscanos. Cuando el Ejército Paraguayo retomó a Machareti, ya había sido abandonado por los Padres y ahora un Chiriguano en su carácter de comisario, es jefe del pueblo, existiendo también algunos caciques. Las casas, más o menos en la forma de ranchos modernos (comp. fig. 14 y 15) están a los dos lados de anchas calles, que corren paralelas y rectangulares como en la mayor parte de los pueblos de las colonias antiguas de los Españoles. Cuando yo estuve presente en Machareti existia grande caren-

cia entre esos indios, por causa de la grande seca que dejaba sin resultado sus plantaciones que estaban algo distantes del pueblo. Al lado de los ranchos se encuentran muchas veces depósitos que eran construcciones de casas indígenas hechas encima de palos. Aunque muchas costumbres primordiales de los Chiriguanos se han perdido por causa de la influencia de las misiones, se han conservado, no obstante, muchos objetos indígenas como para poder juntar entre estos indios una colección etnológica relativamente completa.

Los Izozós, habiendo abandonado durante la guerra del Chaco sus domicilios en las regiones del bajo Rio Parapiti, habian sido trasladados provisoriamente a las cercanías del fortín Toledo y al fortín «15 de Agosto» donde vivian en los ranchos abandonados por los soldados. Ellos habian rozado en las cercanías de los fortines grandes terrenos para sus plantaciones, pero también ellos por causa de la grande seca, no tuvieron ocasión de plantar, así que una parte de ellos ya habia vuelto a las regiones del Oeste cuando yo estuve en esos fortines. Al comenzar mi regreso de Machareti, una grande parte de ellos estaba cerca del fortín Carandayty. Según los datos que me comunicaron amablemente las autoridades militares de Toledo, el número de los Izozós que habian llegado hasta el 30 de Junio de 1935 a Toledo y «15 de Agosto» ascendió a 1647 mayores, 724 menores y 122 criaturas de pecho, total a 2493 almas. El 24 de Agosto, al fin de mi estada en Toledo, estaban en este fortín y en «15 de Agosto», solamente 503 mayores, 141 menores y 26 criaturas de pecho habiendo vuelto en esa fecha la mayor parte de ellos al Oeste.

Esos indios Izozós que hablan su dialecto de la lengua Guaraní, rechazan con indignación el nombre de Chiriguano. Dicen que son Guaraníes y Paraguayos y su nombre es el de Izozó. Hasta ahora no conocí en la literatura etnológica este nombre y él también no aparece en la obra de Moreno: «Cuestión de Límites con Bolivia». Tomo II. Solamente en el mapa de Bolivia trazado por el ingeniero Franz Germann (Hamburg 1904) está apuntado entre el Rio Grande y el Rio Parapiti el nombre «Izozéos». Los Izozós, cerca de Toledo, me dijeron que sus domicilios estaban en la región de los esteros del bajo Parapiti. Rechazando esos indios no sólo el nombre de Chiriguanos, sino que también el nombre de Chané o Tapyi no se pudo averiguar de sus indicaciones con què tribu conocida en la etnología pueden ser identificados. Los Chiriguanos se llaman a sí mismos «Mbya». Si los Izozós fueses una parte de ellos, se habian llamado con ese nombre. Sin duda ellos son Chanés y aquella parte de estos que tenian sus domicilios en la región del Rio Izozó, aceptando el nombre de este rio por su propio. Su cultura como lo demuestran los objetos coleccionados por mi entre ellos, afirma esta opinión. Existen algunas diferencias entre los objetos coleccionados entre los Izozós y los Chiriguanos en Machareti, sea por lo que se refiere a los ornamentos de las vasijas de barro cocido, o, a la fabricación de las redes. Pero desde un principio no se puede decidir, si estas diferencias no sean solamente diferencias locales. Por lo general, la cultura de los Chiriguanos se difundió de este modo por entero con la de las tribus sucesivamente sometidas por ellos, por lo que conviene tratar también a continuación los aspectos de la cultura de los Chiriguanos de Machareti, junto con la de los Izozós.

INFLUJOS DE LA CULTURA DE LOS CHIRIGUANOS E IZOZÓS SACADOS DE DATOS HISTÓRICOS.

Los Chiriguanos y Chanés forman al presente una entidad de cultura que se puede significar como cultura de los Chiriguanos, porque la lengua Guaraní de los Chiriguanos llegó a ser la lengua común de todo el grupo. También los Izozós pertenecen a esta entidad étnica. Así que hay que considerar a esta enti-

8: Schmidt SF10 Chiriguano

dad como formada por tribus completamente diferentes. También hay que concebir su cultura como el producto de la fusión de elementos culturales muy heterogéneos. Nordenskiöld trata en uno de sus libros (1) esta cuestión y divide (2) la suma de elementos culturales de los Chiriguanos en diferentes categorías según que los recibieron de los blancos, o de la cultura de los Peruanos antiguos, o de los Matacos, Tobas y otras tribus del Chaco; o tienen en común con las tribus del Norte y del Este perteneciendo a estos también aquellos que habían llevado con sigo de sus domicilios primordiales entre el Río Paraná y el Río Paraguay. Encontraremos en lo sucesivo muchas veces este asunto, y como estos influjos de cultura han sucedido en tiempos históricos y nosotros conocemos la historia de los Chiriguanos por medio de los documentos existentes desde los primeros tiempos de la conquista española, quiero tratar en lo que sigue, el resumen de estos datos históricos en cuanto que han influido en el desarrollo cultural de los Chiriguanos y Chanés.

Ya en una de mis anteriores publicaciones hecha en esta revista, titulada: «Los Guarayú», encontré el punto en discusión, a saber: si la primera inmigración de los Guaranies en las regiones al Oeste del Chaco Paraguayo sucedió en tiempos anteriores a la expedición del Portugués Alejo Garcia hacia el Perú o tuvo lugar después de ese tiempo. En aquella publicación entonces deduje que se puede suponer que antes de la expedición de Alejo Garcia no habían existido Guaranies en las regiones del Oeste del Chaco Paraguayo, porque ningún autor menciona que Garcia acompañado por muchos Guaranies hubiese encontrado en aquellas regiones a otros Guaranies. Con esta opinión de que la inmigración de los Guaranies al Oeste haya sucedido después de la expedición de Garcia, fundada principalmente en las indicaciones de Guzmán, concuerdan también las opiniones de Manuel Domínguez y Erland Nordenskiöld. Esa cuestión de la invasión de los Guaranies al Oeste del Chaco Paraguayo es tratado detenidamente también por Fulgencio R. Moreno en su obra: Cuestión de límites con Bolivia. (3) En ese lugar (4) se reproduce un documento que, yo creo, sirve para aclarar este punto muy discutido. Es la relación que el P. Alcaya, Cura de Mataca, escribió para el Virrey del Perú, Marqués de Montes Claros. Esa relación dice, que el Inca en el Perú ya antes que viniesen los Españoles al Paraguay, dio comisión a un descendiente suyo, llamado Guacane para que conquistase los Llanos de Grigota. La empresa de Guacane tuvo un buen éxito, sobre todo por haber sido recibido bien por el gran cacique Grigota, que dominaba sobre esta provincia. Con ayuda de su hermano Condori enviado detrás de él y a quien fué encargada la explotación de las minas de Aypurun, consiguió mucho oro y plata en el país. Los indígenas le respetaban y él los ocupaba en labrar chacras de maiz y ayudabales en la caza. Por medio de los indios de los Llanos, la fama de las riquezas de los hermanos Guacane y Condori llegó a los oídos de los Guaranies en el Paraguay que se alistaron en número de ocho mil indios, y en tres divisiones vinieron, con sus mujeres e hijos, de los Xarayes hacia el Oeste. De los 8000 Guaranies se quedaron 1000 en la provincia de Itatim, 2000 marcharon contra el Inca Mango, y fueron exterminados hasta ser reducidos a pocos por los Peruanos. La división más grande, de 5000 indios, marchó primero a la región de Santa Cruz de la Sierra y allí sojuzgaron a la gente humilde y poco belicosa de aquella parte.

Nota 1. Erland Nordenskiöld: The changes in the material culture of two indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative ethnological studies 2 Göteborg 1920 Citado en el siguiente: Nord. 2.

Nota 2. Nord 2, p. 196-212.

Nota 3 Ministerio de Exteriores. Cuestión de Límites con Bolivia. Negociaciones diplomáticas, 1903 1927. Segunda edición. Tomo 2: Réplica a la exposición del Señor Ministro de Bolivia Dr. Don Ricardo Mujía por el Plenipotenciario del Paraguay Don Fulgencio R. Moreno. Asunción 1926. Citado en lo que sigue: Moreno II. p. 81-84 y 86-91.

Nota 4. Moreno II p. 86-90.

[P. 4-A]

LAMINA I

Sociedad Científica del Paraguay

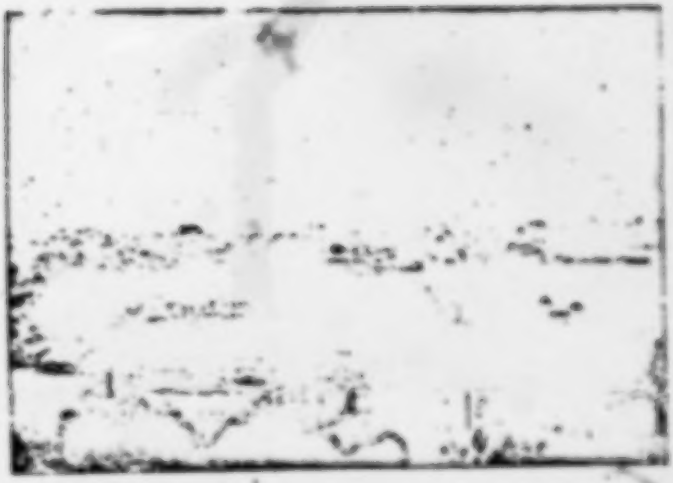


Fig. 1

(I. C. 35) — Machiñori, pueblo de los Chiriguanos

Fig. 2

(I.C. 35)—Iraude en Tobodo junto con soldados paraguayos y con el autor

[P 4-B]

Fig. 3

(I C. Sito—Chiriguano en Macharetí)

Fig. 4

(I C. Sito—Mujeres Chiriguanas en Macharetí)

Allí se detuvieron un invierno, desde donde enviaban a sus mujeres a los Llanos de Chiquito donde el Rey Guaraní sin ningún cuidado se holgaba con las mujeres. Inesperadamente una noche, los Guaraníes sorprendieron al Rey y a las mujeres que eran más de 30.000 indios y mataron muchos, entre ellos también el Rey Guaraní Grigoria, el presidente gobernador de ese país, salió mal herido. De allí los victoriosos Guaraníes tomaron la vía hasta la cordillera donde Cendoti, hermano del Rey muerto, explotaba las minas. Dejando sus mujeres y criaturas con una guardia al pié de la cordillera, subieron al cerro y otra noche asaltaron a los mineros y prendieron al Capitán Cendoti. Los fortalezas de Guasacuenga y de Sevayuatia, los Guaraníes los encontraron abandonados por sus guarniciones. En Sevayuatia, ellos encontraron solamente a las mujeres de los Incas a las que llevaron con sigo como presas. También encontraron mucho oro en el cerro de Ayparos. Después de este éxito, los Guaraníes se establecieron en la cordillera, donde permanecieron también en el tiempo siguiente. Otra victoria la ganaron los Guaraníes contra los Peruanos, venciendo al Capitán Lozana a quien el Inca había encargado fortificar de nuevo el Cerro de Ayparos. Los Guaraníes salieron al encuentro de los Peruanos y a pura distancia, los desbarataron y mataron más de 2.000 de ellos, pero después [illegible] los Peruanos habían terminado. Retirándose a su estancia, encima de la Cordillera, los indios cercados por Grigoria los preparaban una sorpresa que se realizó con tanto éxito. 300 Guaraníes quedaron muertos y 300 capaces prisioneros los cuales conducidos al Cerro fueron condenados por el Inca a subir en las escarpadas cimas de las Andes la muerte de frío.

La relación del P. Alonso Gaso merece interés porque ella nos dá dos indicios importantes para la primera inmigración de los Guaraníes. La relación sobre la muerte del Rey Guaraní, Cacifornes Alvar Nuñez, este Rey vivía todavía cuando Alejo García volvió de su expedición al Perú. (5) Así, pues, las conclusiones entre los Peruanos y los Guaraníes, descriptas en la relación del P. Alonso y el establecimiento de los Guaraníes encima de la cordillera, deben haber sucedido después de la expedición de García. Una indicación más segura nos dá indirectamente un pasaje de la relación que menciona el nombre «Mango Inga». (6) En aquel lugar se dice lo siguiente: Los Xarayes «los dieron más cinco estilla de las minas, y los mostraron muchas de plata y aquillas de plata para sus armas, que el Rey Guaraní les había enviado desde Grigoria, que hay cinco leguas cercanas, y también les dieron estilla cierta de Mango Inga, el cual no durmió en su nueva conquista por hacia el Norte y Grimaia, cercando y atravesando la Gerra cercano «Mas quieren». Mango Inga era el sucesor legítimo del Inca Huaraní, sucedido por su hermano Atahualpa, a quien Pizarro a sus pedidos ayudaba para realizar sus pretensiones al trono y junto con quien él entraba el 15 de Noviembre de 1533 a la capital de los Incas. Este Inca Manco murió después de sus violentas conclusiones con los Españoles en el año de 1544. Conforme a esa, las conclusiones entre los Peruanos y los Guaraníes y el establecimiento primero de los Guaraníes en las cumbres de la Cordillera al Oeste del Chaco Paraguayo, que se correspondieron con esas conclusiones, deben haber sucedido entre 1533 y 1544, y probablemente en el principio de este espacio de tiempo, porque los últimos años de la vida del Inca Manco eran absorbidos mucho con sus conclusiones contra los Españoles. Según la opinión del Dr. Manuel Domínguez, (7) la expedición de García tuvo lugar entre 1524 y 1526. Con eso está muy de acuerdo que los Guaraníes, que habían conocido por la expedición de García los riquezas del Perú y hacía de ese habían recibido noticias de las riquezas del país de los Incas

Nota 5. Manuel D. p. 90.
Nota 6. Manuel D. p. 90.
Nota 7. Dr. Manuel Domínguez. Paraguay Antiguo. Cuadro de Indios. Conferencias. Asunción, 1897 p. 11. Domínguez Manuel D., p. 90.

Guacane y Condori por los indios de los Llanos, se resolvieron más o menos 10 años más tarde a emigrar en gran número, en compañía con sus mujeres e hijos hacia esta tierra rica. Así pues tenemos que fijar el primer establecimiento de los Guaranies en las regiones al Oeste del Chaco Paraguayo en tiempos posteriores a la expedición de García. Pero es posible que en el intervalo y talvez también antes de la expedición de García, los Guaranies hayan hecho correrías más pequeñas a las regiones del Oeste, «a la tierra a dentro» como dice la relación de Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Sin duda se trata de una de esas correrías en la descripción que hizo un Guaraní que había vivido entre los Charayes, a Alvar Núñez. Los indios de su generación, quiere decir, los Guaranies de Itatí «hicieron gran llamamiento y junta de indios de toda la tierra, y pasaron a la tierra y población de la tierra adentro.» Ellos hicieron guerra a los indios de esta tierra y les tomaron las planchas y joyas que tenían de oro y plata, despoblaron muchos pueblos y mataron muchos indios. Pero luego se juntaron sus adversarios, les alcanzaron en gran número y los mataron casi todos. El resto huyó «a los montes» (8). Al sexto día de su partida de Xarayes, Alvar Núñez se encuentra con algunos de esos indios, los que después de su derrota, habían huido a los desiertos. Algunos hombres de ellos, cuya edad Alvar Núñez calculaba en 35 años, manifestaron que nada podían informar sobre el camino, que siguieron entonces los Guaranies en su correría, porque eran en aquel tiempo muy pequeños. Conforme esta indicación tenemos que suponer que esta correría fracasada por los Guaranies al Oeste, haya tenido lugar bastante tiempo antes de la expedición de Alvar Núñez, la cual tuvo lugar en el año de 1543. Entre la expedición de Alvar Núñez y la expedición del Portugués Alejo García, que según Dr. M. Domínguez tuvo lugar entre 1524 y 1526, quedan más o menos 20 años y Alvar Núñez podía solamente calcular la edad de esos indios que dijeron era muy pequeños tolaria en el tiempo de la dicha correría. Así pues, esta correría pudo haber tenido lugar, conforme se afirma en esas indicaciones basadas sobre la edad de los indios, sea antes o después de la expedición de García. Pero, en todo caso, no se trata con esta correría de aquella grande expedición de los Guaranies contra Guacane y su hermano Condori, pues se cuenta en el documento citado, que estos Guaranies después de sus victoriosos combates contra Guacane y Condori, se establecieron «cerca de la Sierra, donde quedaron también después de su derrota por Grigota, llamados en lo sucesivo por los Peruanos con el nombre de Chiriguanos. Los Guaranies que hicieron la correría de que refiere Alvar Núñez fueron exterminados casi todos por sus enemigos que eran probablemente indios del Chaco, y solamente algunos restos de ellos compuesto salvándose en los desiertos por donde habían pasado antes.

Irala recibió, en el puerto de los Reyes, de un cacique de los Chanés que hablaba Guaraní, la noticia «que en tiempos pasados, antes que García viniese, del Brasil a los dichos guaranís, se hizo una gran junta de los dichos Guaranies en el puerto que llamo de Itatín para ir a beneficiar el metal.» (9) En esta ocasión los Guaranies pasaron las tierras de los Chanés y destruyeron sus casas. También en esta indicación del cacique de los Chanés no se dice nada sobre un establecimiento permanente de los Guaranies al Oeste. Más bien se dice que los Guaranies quisieron «beneficiar» el metal. Pues se trata también aquí de una comisión de los Guaranies.

Las expediciones y emigraciones de los Guaranies descritas en lo que precede estaban ya desde el principio en conexión con choques hostiles con los diversos indígenas de las tierras recorridas. En todas las regiones donde los Guaranies se encontraron con los otros indios, ellos les devastaron sus tolderías

(8) Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: Comentarios, Madrid, 1906, p. 67. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: Comentarios, Madrid, 1906, p. 146, 147 y 153.
(9) Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: Comentarios, Madrid, 1906, p. 67.

y llevaban consigo como esclavos a todos los habitantes que no fueron muertos en los combates. Eran enemigos de todos y odiados por todos. Sobre todo los Chanés descritos como pacificos y poco belicosos sufrieron sus violencias. Cuando los Guaranies, que habian emigrado al Oeste, despuès de su derrota por Grigota, se habian establecido permanentemente encima de la Cordillera continuaron derrotando a los indios de vecindad y sobre todo a los de los Llanos y llevaron con sigo muchos de ellos como esclavos, para que les serviesen como auxiliares en sus otras correrias. Cuando Nuflo de Chaves llegó a la Cordillera, los Chiriguanos venian de hacer guerrra a los indios de Poxo o de Misque, pero Nuflo de Chaves les estorbó la venida y hizo dejarse de las hostilidades con aquellos indios y los otros de la frontera. (10) El año de 1560 las violencias de los Chiriguanos contra las tribus de su vecindad hicieron al Virrey de Perú mandar al Capitàn Andrés Manso a esa región para que fundara un pueblo en ella, estableciendo una valla a las incursiones de estos indios. (11) La relación del Corregidor de Tomina, Don Juan Arce Alvendin, del año 1618, nos refiere que los Chiriguanos al principio vivieron en amistad con Andrés Manso, pero más tarde aconsejaron a los Chanés pacificados por Manso, que se rebelasen contra los Españoles, y mataron al Capitán Manso y a los demás Españoles, del nuevo pueblo. Ellos se apoderaron de la tierra sujetando a los Chanés y haciendolos servir como esclavos. En la declaración de Sebastian Perez Chamoso, del año 1571, (12) son mencionadas las violencias de los Chiriguanos contra los indios Yanaconas y Chichas y se dice que ellos llevaron indios Chichas como esclavos. El Auto de la Real Audiencia en que se toma resolución de la guerra que se ha de hacer a los Chiriguanos en el año 1583, menciona entre muchos otros desafueros de los Chiriguanos también aquél que han usurpado y devastado las tierras de los Llanos e indios Chanés. (13) Esclavizando continuamente a los indios de las Tribus sometidas, los Chiriguanos tenian ya al fin del siglo XVI numerosos súbditos y auxiliares de sus guerras. La mayor parte de los Tamacocies (llamados más tarde Chamacoco) y de los Chanés eran de estos y, si otros documentos de los años 1583 y 1584 refieren, que los Tamacocies, los Xores, los Mares y los Yuracares fuesen sus aliados, se trata probablemente de tales indios violentamente sometidos y empleados como auxiliares de guerra. (14) Mientras que los Tamacocies (Chamacocos) se emanciparon posteriormente de los Chiriguanos conquistadores y emigraron hasta el Oriente, la mayor parte de los Chanés, que eran antes una nación muy populosa, permaneció sometida por mucho tiempo. (15) Por causa del mal tratamiento que los Chiriguanos, de ordinario empleaban con ellos, existió siempre un contraste entre las dos naciones y los Chanés preferian ser dependientes de los Españoles que permanecer en la esclavitud de los odiados Chiriguanos. (16) Según la relación del corregidor Tomina, del año 1618, ya mencionada en el precedente escrito, la relación entre la población de Chiriguanos y la población de los Chanés era tal, que el numero de los Chiriguanos puros quedó por debajo al numero de sus súbditos. Según la tasación hecha en esta relacion, la población de los Chiriguanos de la Cordillera consistia en 1.500 Chiriguanos puros entre los cuales habian repartidos 10.000 Chanés. Entre los 400 Chiriguanos de la provincia de Machareti fueron repartidos 5.000 Chanés esclavos. Todavia varios siglos, los Chanés debieron permanecer en la rigurosa esclavitud de los Chiriguanos, hasta que en la segunda mitád del siglo XIX se quebrantó la formidable resistencia de los Chiriguanos y ellos perdieron definitivamente después de un rudo golpe su independencia quedando sometidos a los blancos. (17)

Nota 10. Moreno II, p. 77.
Nota 11. Moreno II, p. 261.
Nota 12. Moreno II, p 106-107.
Nota 13. Moreno II; p. 104.
Nota 14. Moreno II: p. 72 y 73.
Nota 15. Moreno II; p. 249.
Nota 16. Moreno II, p. 250.
Nota 17. Moreno II, p. 253 y 254

Desde este tiempo también los Chanés sacudieron la opresión de sus viejos dominadores formando a parte sus pueblos propios en medio de sus antiguos dueños (18). También la ultima insurrección de los Chiriguanos en el año 1890, fué vencida por los Bolivianos, por eso la situación de los Chanés no se modificó, así es que el explorador Erland v. Nordenskiöld se encontró con ellos todavia en las mismas condiciones. (19)

Habiendo descrito en lo que precede la historia de las relaciones de los Chiriguanos con los Peruanos antiguos y las demás tribus de indios, tenemos que tratar todavia sus relaciones con los blancos quiere decir con los Españoles o Bolivianos que poco a poco ocuparon su territorio. Tenemos que acentuar en primer lugar el hecho que los primeros blancos que vinieron a su territorio y a los Llanos confluantes, no eran para ellos una novedad, pues, ya antes de su emigración, los Chiriguanos se habian encontrado con ellos en su suelo natal entre el Rio Alto Paraná y el Rio Paraguay. Por la primera actitud de los Guaranies al encontrarse con los conquistadores ha sido decisivo el hecho de que las dos partes tenian el mismo destino que era el de enriquecerse de las riquezas de las tierras ricas del Oeste, de las cuales habian recibido noticias. Para alcanzar este destino común los Guaranies favorecieron al principio a los conquistadores, dándoles importantes noticias sobre la tierra rica y los caminos hasta allá. y poniendose a su disposición como auxiliares de guerra. Según Guzman, el Portugues Alejo Garcia, llevó consigo a 2.000 de esos Guaranies del Paraguay en su expedición al Perú y, si Guzman dice, que esa expedición de Garcia fué el motivo de la siguiente expedición de los Guaranies al Oeste y de la emigración de grandes partes de ellos en las regiones al Oeste del Chaco Paraguayo, no debemos rechazar esta opinión restringiendola solamente en aquel sentido que la expedición de Garcia fué uno de los motivos de esa emigración. Cuando posteriormente Nuflo de Chaves se encontró en su expedición con los Guaranies del cacique Vanbaguazu, estos le recibieron en amistad, le orientaron sobre la tierra rica y los caminos para allá y le dieron compañeros para su viaje. (20)

El primero de los conquistadores con quien se encontraron los Guaranies, después de su emigración a la Cordillera, llamados en adelante los Chiriguanos de la Cordillera, era el Capitán Domingo de Irala. Según la relación del P. Alcaya, Irala, cuando había llegado en estas regiones, envió un Guaraní de su comitiva a que atrayese a los indios Chiriguanos y en lo que sigue la relación dice literalmente: «y vinieron muchos de ellos a darle la paz.» Pero a pesar de esta paz, los Chiriguanos no quisieron descubrirle las minas de oro y prohibieron al Capitán Condori, a quien habian capturado en su expedición contra los Peruanos, y a quien cedieron ahora al Capitán Irala, como práctico, que descubriese algo respecto a las minas. (21)

El año de 1560 los dos conquistadores Nuflo de Chaves y Andrés Manso, llegaron en la región de los Chiriguanos, en la Provincia de Vitupue. (22) En la carta de Gabriel Paniagua de Loayza a la Real Audiencia, del año 1584, conocemos que los Chiriguanos de la Sierra, cuando Nuflo de Chaves llegó la primera vez a su tierra, venían de hacer guerra a los indios de Poxo o de Misque. Como ya fué mencionado en lo que precede, Nuflo de Chaves estorbó la venida y los hizo dejarse de las hostilidades. (23) Por la partición de los dominios que posteriormente sucedió entre Nuflo de Chaves y Andrés Manso, aquel recibió los

Nota 18. P. Alejandro Corrado en el año 1893. Según Moreno II, p. 254.
Nota 19. Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben El Gran Chaco.. (Südamerika). Leipzig 1912. p. 148, s. Citado en el que sigue: Nord. I.
Nota 20. Moreno II, p. 55
Nota 21. Moreno II, p. 92.
Nota 22 Moreno II, p. 264.

territorios del Norte y este los del Sud. Mientras que Nuño de Chaves tenía que ocuparse, principalmente con los Itatines Guaraní, llamados posteriormente Itatines-Guarayú, los cuales habían emigrado en esas regiones situadas más en el Norte y los cuales después de poco tiempo mataron al valiente conquistador, era desde el principio la misión de Andrés Manso de que arreglase las relaciones con los Chiriguanos de la Sierra y estorbase sus violencias. En el primer tiempo Manso consiguió entrar en conexiones pacíficas con la mayor parte de los Chiriguanos y ponerlos a servicios de vasallos; pero parece que ellos fuesen implicados ya desde el primer tiempo en las diferencias existientes entre Nuño de Chaves y Andrés Manso. Un documento del año 1501, el «Testimonio del Escribano Francisco Gallego», (24) da noticias interesantes sobre ese asunto. El dice que, el año de 1560, un indio Chiriguano llegó como delegado del cacique Bitupue y de otros caciques a Nuño de Chaves para lamentarse del proceder de Andrés Manso y en el mismo tiempo preguntarle que debían hacer. Mientras Nuño de Chaves, como fué mencionado, había prohibido a los Chiriguanos que prosiguiesen en violentando a los demás indios, poco tiempo después Manso los hizo juntar para ir a la guerra contra los indios de los Llanos. Los Chiriguanos habiendo conocido la intención del Capitán Manso, volvieron todos del camino. Manso tornó a hacer llamamiento para ir a la guerra contra los indios de los Llanos y llevó consigo a diversos caciques de los Chiriguanos. Pareciéndole que le llevaban por mal camino mató a un indio Chiriguano y mandó cortar la mano de otro. También había matado a un mensajero del cacique Botipue. Conocemos de esta comunicación que la hostilidad que surgió poco tiempo después en las relaciones pacíficas entre los Chiriguanos y Andrés Manso y que ha costado mucho trabajo, gastos y sacrificios a los Españoles y más tarde a los Bolivianos, era motivada, al menos por su mayor parte, por las violencias de los primeros blancos que tuvieron relaciones con esos indios. Esa culpa de los Españoles de las hostilidades continuas con los Chiriguanos fué aprobada francamente por el Maestro General de la Provincia, Don Salvador Pacit en el año de 1778. (25) El despachó orden a todos los militares que suspendieran sus empresas contra los Chiriguanos, manifestando que la actitud de los Chiriguanos era provocada por la introducción de los Españoles en sus tierras en donde establecieron estancias y ganados. El principio de las hostilidades entre los Españoles y los Chiriguanos se debió a que éstos de repente asaltaron al Pueblo de Condorillo o Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, fundado por Andrés Manso y mataron a este junto con todos los demás Españoles y quemaron el pueblo. (26) La misma suerte tuvo el pueblo de Barranca fundada por Nuño de Chaves y el Capitán Miguel Martín y su gente en el pueblo de la Lagunilla. Además fueron muertos 9 hombres de la gente de Nuño de Chaves y también el Capitán Pedro Castro a quien se le había encargado reconstruir el destruido pueblo de Santo Domingo de Nueva Rioja. (27) Los asaltos y robos de los Chiriguanos contra los colonos españoles eran al fin del siglo XVI tan frecuentes y continuos que eran un constante peligro y dificultaban la conexión entre las diversas poblaciones mayores (28) Las diversas parcialidades de los Chiriguanos se habían repartido entre sí la tierra en donde debían hacer sus asaltos. (29) La expedición del Virrey Don Francisco de Toledo con mucha gente y grandísimos aparatos de guerra y con gran costo, no tuvo ningún éxito. (30) Los Chiriguanos siguieron robando y asaltando. De cuando en cuando fueron mandadas algunas expediciones para castigarlos, las que de paso quemaron algunas rancherías y cosechas de maíz

Nota 23. Moreno II, p. 77.
Nota 24. Moreno II, p. 278 y 274.
Nota 25. Moreno II, p. 241.
Nota 26. Moreno II, p. 281.
Nota 27. Moreno II, p. 114.
Nota 28. Moreno II, p. 102-104, 106 y 107.
Nota 29. Moreno II, p. 120.
Nota 30. Moreno II, p. 114.

y mataron algunos de ellos, (31) pero nunca tuvieron un éxito desicivo, y esta situación duró todavia por dos siglos en una forma casi invariada. (32) Pero, a pesar de estas hostilidades, han existido ya desde los primeros tiempos, algunas relaciones entre los Chiriguanos y los Españoles. Según la Relación de la Annua de la Compañia de Jesús, del año 1596 se han procurado desde Potosí y las Charcas, muchos medios y vias para atraerlos hacia la paz, viendo la poca esperanza que se tenia de pacificarlos por las armas (33) y según la misma Relación entraron y salieron allá ya en aquel tiempo algunos Españoles para contratar con ellos y también los Chiriguanos llegaron a Potosí y a las Charcas a lo mismo. También Techo, que escribió su «Historia de la Provincia del Paraguay» en la segunda mitád del siglo XVII, refiere que los Chiriguanos vendieron sus prisioneros de guerra a los Españoles. «No perdian ocasión de dedicarse a este comercio; con los mismos Españoles combatian». (34) Según una comunicación del Escribano Mosquera, del año 1573 (35) vivian ya en aquel tiempo algunos Españoles entre los Chiriguanos. Este garante recibió noticia de la estada de dos Españoles y un mestizo entre ellos, tratandose probablemente de prisioneros de guerra.

Al fin del siglo XVIII las relaciones entre los Chiriguanos y los Españoles se modificaban en cuanto que desde ese tiempo la misión consiguió una propagación mayór de la fé entre los Chiriguanos. El año 1779 el Intendente de Cochabamba Don Tomás Leso habia derrotado después de reñida lucha a la parcialidad de Saypuru, que era la más temida. Más tarde fué constituida la reducción de la Florida, en la banda occidental del Guapay con unas centenas de familias que no habian ayudado a la parcialidad de Saypurú y como temiendo su venganza, siguieron a los Españoles. (36) Algunos años después fueron fundadas algunas otras misiones por los Franciscanos, junto con el fortin Saypurú, para resguardo para las misiones. Pero ya en el año de 1799 los Chiriguanos asaltaron seis de estas misiones desvastandolas completamente (37) Una gran campaña contra los Chiriguanos guiada por el Intendente Viedma en persona no habia tenido éxito alguno, dando la vuelta el ejército de dos mil hombres cuando dos oficiales fueron muertos por los enemigos. A pesár de eso rehicieron los misioneros las reducciones destruidas. (38) Según las notas del Fr. Antonio Comajuncosa (39) existen ya en el año de 1810, 18 misiones entre los Chiriguanos en la zona septentrional del Rio Pilcomayo. Por la influencia de las misiones y por medios violentos o pacificos de los Españoles y, más tarde, de los Bolivianos, confinantes con los Chiriguanos, pasaron poco a poco la mayor parte de los Chiriguanos al lado de aquellos, asi que el poder de la tribu de los Chiriguanos en otro tiempo tan fuerte e invencible, fué debilitada. (40) Asi sucedió que los habitantes de las provincias vecinas pudieron dar en el año de 1875 el ultimo golpe a las ultimas fracciones de Chiriguanos independientes, sujetando completamente y obligando a las parcialidades derrotas que no quisieron someterse se dispersaron por otras tierras, refugiándose algunas en el Chaco entre los Tobas y Tapietés. (40) Sin embargo, este no era el ultimo golpe entre Chiriguanos y blancos, como Cardúz supuso en el año de 1885. Una parte de los Chiriguanos ensayó en el año de 1890 una ultima rebelión contra los Bolivianos. Más o menos 5.000 indios, unidos en la planicie de Boynove cerca de Curuyuqui, combatieron un dia entero contra los Bolivianos, que eran auxiliados por unos mil de indios de la misma tribu. Al oscurecer el ardiente combate todavia no estaba decidido pero a la

Nota 31. Moreno II, p. 116 118.
Nota 32. Moreno II, p. 218.
Nota 33. Moreno II, p. 62.
Nota 34. Moreno II, p. 287.
Nota 35. Certificación del Escribano Mosquera. Según Moreno II, p. 125.
Nota 36. Moreno II, p. 241.
Nota 37. Moreno II, p. 265.
Nota 38. Moreno II, p. 290.
Nota 39. Moreno II, p. 216 y 217. Manifiesto histórico de lo que han trabajado los misioneros de Tarija.
Nota 40. José Cardúz: Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los indios de Bolivia. Barcelona 1896. Según Moreno II, p. 248 y 299.

noche los indios perdieron el animo ante la superioridad de las armas modernas y salieron de sus trincheras. (41) También después de esta derrota uno de los caciques, llamado Cayahari, preferió rehuir para no renderse a los Bolivianos. Dicen que se habia establecido en las cercanias de una grande laguna lejos de los blancos. (42)

El cuadro historico precedente ha demostrado que podemos averiguar la historia de los Chiriguanos por medio de numerosos documentos en un periodo de 400 años, hasta aquella época tan importante para su suerte futura y su cultura, en que emigraron de su pais natal estableciendose en una región lejana. En este nuevo pais encontraron condiciones de la vida completamente diferentes. Todo los tres factores, por los cuales toda la vida humana y toda la cultura humana son influenciadas y condicionadas, la naturaleza, el estado social y la cultura espiritual del ambiente eran otros en el nuevo medio y por eso tuvo que modificarse durante los cuatro siglos de su historia, su cultura primordial, que habian llevado de su pais natal.

Las producciones de su cultura actual, tratadas en esta publicación por medio de la colección etnografica que traje de Machareti y de Toledo, tenemos que considerarlas como el producto de numerosos y diferentes factores cooperantes. Algunas pocas de las producciones de la cultura antigua se han conservado en forma bastante primoldial hasta hoy; otras se han modificado, sea perfeccionándose, sea degenerandose. Muchas se perdieron completamente por causa de las circunstancias modificadas y algunas pocas se agregaron como resultado de la asimilación de culturas extrañas.

Como ya dijemos, la cuestión de la influencia de la cultura de los Chiriguanos, ha sido tratada extensamente por Erland Nordenskiöld. (43) Mientras que los Chiriguanos han recibido ralativamente poco de parte de los indios del Chaco tenemos que derivar las modificaciones más importantes de su cultura de las influencias de la cultura antigua de los Peruanos. Por causa de la poca duración del imperio de los Incas, después del tiempo de la inmigración de los Chiriguanos, tenemos que suponer que esas influencias fueseu menos influencias directas, que indirectas por medio de los pueblos confinantes a la tierra montuosa del Perú y de Bolivia, los cuales han estado por mucho tiempo en conexión con los Peruanos antiguos y de los cuales muchos los Chiriguanos los habian sujetado y los hicieron entrar en su comunidad como esclavos o vasallos. Sabemos que la cultura de los Chanés, los que integraron la mayor parte de la población Chiriguana, tenia conexión con la cultura antigua de los Peruanos. Por el contrario a la influencia de la cultura antigua de los Peruanos, la influencia de los blancos ha tenido más efectos disolventes y destructivos que constructivos para la cultura primordial de los Chiriguanos y Chanés quedando superflua muchas industrias indigenas porque era más comodo reemplazar sus productos por mercaderias importadas.

En los capitulos respectivos que tratan de los diversos desarrollos de la cultura de los Chiriguanos y Chanés expondremos los detalles de estas influencias de cultura.

Nota 41. Nord. 1, p. 168.

Nota 42. Nord. 1, p. 161.

Nota 43. Nord. 2, p. 195-218. Compare Alfred Métraux: Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tomo I. Entrega 3. Citado en lo que sigue Métraux II, p. 299 y 300.

CARACTERES FISICOS.

TIPOS DE CHIRIGUANOS Y CHANÉS FOTOGRAFIADOS EN MACHARETI Y TOLEDO

I. C. 354. Grupo de hombres, mujeres y criaturas de los Chiriguanos. Machareti. (Fig. 3).
I. C. 335. Hombres Chiriguanos. Machareti. (Fig. 6).
I. C. 361. Muchachos Chiriguanos. Machareti. (Fig. 7).
I. C. 359. Mujeres Chiriguanas. Machareti (Fig. 4).
I. C. 360. Mujeres Chiriguanas con criaturas. (Fig. 5).
I. C. 362. Criaturas Chiriguanas. (Fig. 8).
I. C. 243. Cacique de los Izozós. Toledo. Fig. 10).
I. C. 244. Muchacho Izozó. Toledo. (Fig. 11).
I. C. 245. Mozo Izozó. Toledo. (Fig. 13).
I. C. 246. Cacique de los Izozós junto con su familia. Cerca de Toledo. (Fig. 12).
I. C. 249. Hombre Izozó con tembetá. Cerca de Toledo. (Fig. 27).
I. C. 251. Izozós en Toledo junto con militares y el autor. (Fig. 2).
I. C. 330. Hombres Izozós. Cerca de Toledo. (Fig. 9).

Del cuadro histórico precedente resulta que la entidad étnica «Chiriguano-Chané» integra respecto a sus caracteres físicos una mezcla étnica de elementos absolutamente heterogéneos. Hemos relatado que los Chiriguanos, por siglos, capturaron muchos prisioneros, incorporándolos a su comunidad, y que al fin del siglo XVI el número de los Chanés incorporados era mucho más grande que el de los Guaraní-Chiriguanos puros. Aunque los Chanés, perteneciendo al grupo lingüístico de los Aruacos, eran una nación pacífica y no eran de fuerza igual con los Chiriguanos puros, su cultura, que, por mucho tiempo, estuvo en relaciones con la de los Peruanos antiguos, era sin duda superior a aquella de sus opresores y seguramente las mujeres Cheneses influenciaban bastante sobre sus amos. Viviendo los dos elementos de la población por 3 1/2 siglos juntos, tenemos que suponer que se habían mestizado extensamente.

Por desgracia, los documentos antiguos no refieren sino muy poco sobre las cualidades físicas de los Chiriguanos. La única breve noticia sobre este asunto, que conozco, la encontramos en la «Descripción y población de las Indias» por el Obispo Lizarraga: (44) «Son bien dispuestos, fornidos, los pechos levantados espaldudos, y bien hechos, morenazos. Pélanse las cejas y pestañas, los ojos tienen pequeños y vivos». Según el P. Alejandro Corrado en el año 1883, quiere decir, poco tiempo despnés de que los Chiriguanos perdieron su independencia a causa de los blancos y los Chanés principiaron a emanciparse de sus opresores, formando sus pueblos propios, no existen todavia diferencias somaticas entre los Chiriguanos y Chanés. «La fisionomía de estos era completamente idéntica de aquellos». (45)

Además de mediciones antropológicas hechas por Ten Kate de 4 Chiriguanos, (46) Robert Lehmann-Nitsche, en el año de 1906, tuvo ocasión de hacer mediciones antropológicas en el ingenio azucarero de San Pedro de Jujui, de 40 hombres Chiriguanos y de 10 mujeres Chiriguanas que habian venido de Bolivia para trabajar en el Ingenio. Titulados: «Estudios antropológicos sobre los Chiri-

Nota 44. Moreno II. p. 161.
Nota 45. Moreno II. p. 254.
Nota 46. Ten Kate. Herm.: Matériaux pour servir à l'antropologie des indiens de la République Argentine. Revista del Museo de la Plata. Vol. 12. La Plata 1904.

[P. 12-A]

LAMINA III

Sociedad Científica del Paraguay

Fig. 5

(I C. 360)—Mujeres Chiriguanas con criaturas, en Machareti

Fig. 6

(I C. 335)—Hombres Chiriguanos en Machareti

Fig. 7

(I. C. 361)—Muchachos Chiriguanos, en Machareti

Fig. 8

(I C. 362)—Criaturas Chiriguanas, en Machareti

[P. 12-B]

Fig. 9
(I. C. 30)—Hombres Izozós, cerca de Toledo

Fig. 10
(I. C. 243)—Cacique de los Izozós, en Toledo

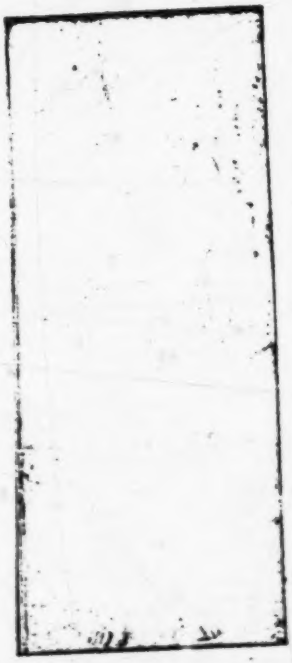


Fig. 11
(I. C. 244)—Muchacho Izozó
en Toledo

guanos, Chorotes, Matacos y Tobas (Chaco Occidental)» (47) Lehmann-Nitsche ha publicado los resultados de esas mediciones junto con mediciones de otros indios y añadido a esa publicación en las primeras 12 laminas tipos Chiriguanos fotografiados por Carlos Bruch. Además de las mediciones somaticas, han sido publicadas por Lehmann Nitsche determinaciones del color del cutis y del iris y del color y de la forma de los pelos. De 36 de los 40 hombres Chiriguanos se expresa donde tenian su domicilio y por esto conocemos que esta gente habia venido de diversas regiones del territorio de los Chiriguanos al Ingenio en San Pedro. Habian algunos que vinieron de las regiones del Norte y uno había venido de la ciudad de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Otros habian venido del Sud del territorio de los Cgiriguanos como por ejemplo, del pueblo Carapari, situado ya bastante al Sud del Rio Pilcomayo. Son nombrados 13 pueblos de los Chiriguanos, de los cuales habia venido un hombre solo de cada uno de ellos. De Charagua, de Parapiti y Carapati habian venido 2 de cada uno, de Ingre 4, de Santa Rosa 5 y de Machareti 8. Por desgracia, no se expresa el suelo natal de las mujeres Chiriguanas y se dice solo que han venido de Bolivia.

El termino medio de la altura de los hombres Chiriguanos, medidos por Lehmann-Nitsche, es de 163,4 cm. y para la altura de las mujeres Chiriguanas medidas de 151,7 cm. Este termino medio de la altura de las mujeres medidas, es bastante menos. El termino medio para la altura de los 8 hombres venidos de Machareti era solamente 161.8 cm. y para la altura de los dos hombres venidos de Parapiti solamente 158,1 cm. Pero el término medio para la altura de 4 hombres de Ingre era 169,15 cm. El más grande entre los hombres Chiriguanos medidos que tenía una altura de 178,6 cm. había venido de Ingre y el más chico con una altura de 153,5 cm. de Machareti. La mujer más chica (entre 35 y 40 años de edad) tenia solamente 143,0 cm. y la más alta 158 cm. Estos números nos demuestran que la altura entre los diversos individuos de los Chiriguanos es muy variable. Entre los Chiriguanos medidos por Lehmann-Nitsche el número de aquellos que vinieron de la misma región, es demasiado pequeño, como para podór hacer deducciones exactos sobre las diferencias de altura de los Chiriguanos de las diversas regiones para poder poner en claro la influencia somatica de la mestización con otras tribus.

Las fotografías de tipos Chiriguanos publicados por Lehmann-Nitsche muestran grandes variaciones entre las diversas facciones y cuerpos, lo que corresponde al hecho de que los Chiriguanos actuales son el producto de una mestización de varios elementos étnicos.

Buenas fotografías de los Chiriguanos de la parte del Sud de su territorio encontramos en la publicación de von Rosen «Ethnographical research work during the Swedish Chaco-Cordillera-Expedition 1901-1902». (48) También Erland von Nordenskiöld ha publicado tipos Chiriguanos y Chanés. (49)

EL TERRITORIO DE LOS CHIRIGUANOS.

Sobre la situación y extensión del territorio de los Chiriguanos en el tiempo de su independencia, quiere decir desde el principio del siglo XVI hasta la segunda mitád del siglo XIX, tenemos los estudios minuciosos de Moreno en dos lugares de su obra ya antes muchas veces citada, cuyos títulos son: «Las tierras de los Chiriguanos». (50) Según Moreno (51) los Chiriguanos—Chirigua-

Nota 47. Anales del Museo de La Plata. Tomo I. Entrega 2 (Segunda Serie). Buenos Aires 1908.
Nota 48. Stockholm. 1924.
Nota 49. Erland Nordenskiöld: Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika. Stockholm 1918. Bild 14-16; 20 y 31. Nord. I. Abb 75, 76, 79, 87, 106, 110, 111, 112, 116, 152 y Taf. 12-2.

nos de la Cordillera en contraste con los Itatines-Guarayús y los Piritaguaris llamados en la literatura también muchas veces Chiriguanos- habitaban desde el tiempo de la conquista hasta que perdieron su independencia al mismo territorio o sea los contrafuertes orientales de los Andes, desde el Sud del Pilcomayo hasta las tierras que se extienden a ambos lados del Guapay. Los Chanés, que antes tenían un gran territorio, muy poblado, «si bien formaron varias migraciones parciales, permanecieron en gran número sometidos a los guaranies conquistadores dentro de la región que estos convirtieron en morada inexpugnable». (52) Todavía en el año 1883 el P. Alejandro Corrado escribe, que entre los Chiriguanos situados entre los últimos contrafuertes de los Andes hallabanse diseminados los Chanés. (53)

También después de haber perdido su independencia, los Chiriguanos habitaron más o menos el mismo territorio. Habiendo conocido en persona del territorio de los Chiriguanos, solamente Machareti, me refiero aquí a los datos de Erland Nordenskiöld, que los ha conocido en los años 1908, 1909 y 1913 y recorrió, en persona la mayor parte de este territorio, empleando en todo 4 hasta 5 meses en el estudio de los Chiriguanos y Chanés. (54)

Según Nordenskiöld (55) el territorio de los Chiriguanos se extiende de la región cercana de Santa Cruz de la Sierra al Norte, hasta cerca del Rio Bermejo al Sud. Ahora el Rio Grande puede ser casi tenido por el rio limite de su territorio en el Norte. Es la tierra situada entre el borde de los Andes y la grande planicie del Chaco en cuyos valles viven los Chiriguanos y en parte los Chanés. Se puede decir que este territorio es habitado en todas partes en donde existe agua necesaria aunque no sea sino lo suficiente para beber ellos y los animales domesticos que poseen. Los Chiriguanos habitan ese territorio en continuidad, mientras que los Chanés viven hoy en territorios separados los unos de los otros. Así algunos en el Rios Itiyuro en Argentina, algunos en Caipipendi, algunos en el bajo Rio Parapití y otros cerca de Itaú, al Sud del Rio Pilcomayo. Fuera del territorio de los Chiriguanos así circunscrito, viven hoy algunos pocos Chiriguanos en el valle Sánta Rosa, al Norte de Santa Cruz de la Sierra y algunos pocos habian huido después de la última revuelta fracasada del año 1890 al Chaco sin que conozemos indicaciones sobre su paradero. Dentro del territorio de los Chiriguanos viven algunos Chorotes, cerca de Yacuiba y también sin contar con las misiones, todo el territorio ha sido penetrado por blancos y mestizos.

Según estos datos, referidos por Nordenskiöld, el territorio de los Chiriguanos ha quedado también después de su sujeción definitiva por los blancos y hasta el tiempo actual el mismo que tenian en el tiempo de su indepodencia, excepto, según parece, que ellos desandaron más hacia los valles y no viven ahora, como lo refieren los documentos del siglo XVI, encima de las montañas poco accesibles los cuales como fortalezas naturales les ofrecieron un buen refugio durante sus expediciones.

PUEBLOS y CASAS.

La disposición de los pueblos y la forma de las casas de los Chiriguanos no son actualmente las primordiales y han pasado probablemente dos diferentes transformaciones, una después la otra, influenciadas primero por la arquitectura de la cultura de los Incas y más tarde por la arquitectura de los blancos. Se-

Nota 50. Moreno II, p. 79-126 y p. 235-254.
Nota 51. Moreno II, p. 236.
Nota 52. Moreno II, p. 249.
Nota 53. Moreno II, p. 254.
Nota 54. Nord. 2, p. XII.
Nota 55. Nord. 2, p. XIV y XV. Compare Métraux I, p. 332 y sig.

gún la Annua de la Compañía de Jesús, Tucuman y Perú, del año 1596, los pueblos de los Chiriguanos componíanse solamente de algunas pocas casas que eran tan grandes como para habitar hasta cien personas. En su «Descripción breve de toda la tierra del Perú, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata y Chile,» P. Lizarraga (56) describe los pueblos de los Chiriguanos en forma siguiente: «El mayor de los pueblos es de cinco casas; lo común es de tres; más son muy largas de más de 150 pasos, a dos aguas con estantes en el medio sobre que se arma la cumbrera, y de estante a estante vive una parentela.» A la misma manera describe Garcilaso de la Vega (57) las grandes casas de los Chiriguanos: hacen un galpón grandisimo, y adentro tantos apartadijos« cuantos son los vecinos, y tan pequeños que no caben más de las personas. Por descripciones minuciosas junto con dibujos, conozemos la construcción de pueblos de los Guaranies antiguos de los Tupinambas a la costa oriental del Brasil. (58) Cuatro o cinco casas largas y rectangulares, han sido edificadas a poca distancia una a otra, alrededor de una plaza cuadrangular o pentagonal, y todo el pueblo a sido fortificado por un cerco de defensa. Sabemos también que los pueblos antiguos de los Chiriguanos tenian tales construcciones de defensa, por una noticia del año 1618, en cuyo año Ruiz Diaz de Guzman, encontró una tal fortificación de un pueblo de los Chiriguanos próximo al Rio Pilcomayo que consistia en «dos cercos concéntricos de piedra y de madera.» (59) Según Serrano (60) los pueblos de los Guaranies de la antigua Provincia del Uruguay estaban formadas solamente de cuatro a ocho casas grandes y rectangulares. «En 1627 los Jesuitas encontraron cerca de Yapeyú una aldea guaraní con cuatro casas en las cuales vivian unos cien indios. Identicas vivendas encontraron en San Ignacio y regiones próximas. Estas casas eran cuadrangulares y sumamente largas pasando muchas veces de 50 metros.»

Todavia durante el tiempo de su independencia los Chiriguanos han largado la construcción primordial de sus pueblos que servia en primer lugar a la defensa, pues al fin del siglo XVIII Viedma describe sus casas como «unos pequeños ranchos hechos de caña» (61)

FOTOGRAFIAS DE PUEBLOS (ténta) Y CASAS (o) DE LOS CHIRIGUANOS.

I. C. 353. Pueblo de los Chiriguanos, Machareti. (Fig. 1).
I. C. 355. Escena en el pueblo Machareti. (Fig. 17).
I. C. 356. Chiriguanos al frente de su casa en Machareti. (Fig. 14).
I. C. 357. Casa de depósito de los Chiriguanos en Machareti. (Fig. 16).
I. C. 358. Muchachos Chiriguanos al frente de su rancho en Machareti. (Fig. 15).

El pueblo de los Chiriguanos, Machareti, ha sido edificado en su forma actual por misioneros Franciscanos, con calles anchas, paralelas y rectagulares conforme al estilo comun en las colonias españoles antiguas, pues su construcción no es producto de la cultura indigena de los Chiriguanos. Pero en partes, las casas, y en primer lugar, los depósitos para maiz edificados encima de postes, corresponden a las casas de otros pueblos Chiriguanos, sobre los cuales tenemos noticias por Erland Nordenskiöld y Eric. v. Rosen. (62)

Nota 56. Madrid 1909. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles. T. 15. Citado según Nordenskiöld.
Nota 57. T. II. p. 291. Según Métraux I. p. 331.
Nota 58. Según De Hry. Métraux, A: La civilisation matérielle des tribus Tupi-Guarani. Paris 1928.
Nota 59. Moreno II. p. 252.
Nota 60. Antonio Serrano: Etnografía de la antigua provincia del Uruguay. Paraná 1936. p. 1-8.
Nota 61. Viedma, Francisco des: Descripción de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Colección Angelis. Tomo 5. Buenos Aires 1836. Escrito 1793. p. 181. Citado según Nordenskiöld.
Nota 62. Nord. I. p. 173-176 Nord. 2. p. 1-8. Eric. v. Rosen. l. c. p. 191 y 192. Fig. 189-192.

El pueblo Ibitibi, en la parte Sud del territorio de los Chiriguanos, al Sud del Rio Pilcomayo, investigado minuciosamente por Eric v. Rosen fué habitado según indicación de los indios por más o menoe 300 personas. El pueblo estaba situado en una planicie rodeada por montañas y selvas. Las casas formaban una grande circunferencia, estando la casa del cacique en el medio. En la plaza libre, entre la casa del cacique y las otras casas, habian sido plantados algunos arboles para sombra. En otros pueblos de los Chiriguanos visitados por v. Rosen, las casas estaban dispersas sin ningun orden. También según las observaciones de v. Nordenskiöld, los pueblos de los Chiriguanos son en parte bastante grandes y habitados por alrededor de cien personas. Muchas veces los varios pueblos estan cerca uno de otro. Las casas están, por regla general, alrededor de una plaza plantada algunas veces con árboles y sirviendo por sitio donde se juega y se hace conferencias.

Las formas de las casas de los Chirignanos los conocemos exactamente por v. Rosen, (63) y en primer lugar por las buenas fotografias de tales casas. Las casas son rectangulares y sus tejados rematan en puntas. Paredes y tejados son sostenidos por postes. Las paredes consisten sea solamente en pértigas verticales de ramos o cañas, reunidas estrechamente y juntadas por ligadura horizontal, sea en pértigas entrelazadas cuyos intervalos son tapiados por barro. El tejado (opitiá) esta cubierto con paja. Una forma de casa ha sido publicada en fotografia por v. Rosen (64) uno de cuyos lados del tejado sobresale, en la perhilera, el otro lado del tejado. La misma forma de casa existia también en la cultura antigua de los Peruanos como muestran dibujos hallados encima de la superficie de vacijas peruanas antiguas.

Una especialidad de las casas de los Chiriguanos y en eso se diferencian ellas de los ranchos comunes de los moradores blancos, es que los dos lados oblicuos del tejado bajan hasta cerca del suelo pasando mucho la pared. También las casas en Machareti muestran esta especialidad. (Compare Fig. 14). La consecuencia de esta contrucción del tejado es que la puerta (ökye) de entrada está en el lado hastial. A poder cerrar la puerta sirven esteras de caña o pieles de ganado vacuno. (65) Influidos extensivamente por los blancos, los Chiriguanos y Chanés varian continuamente el estilo de sus casas, y según Nordenskiöld (66) hoy ya muchos de ellos edifican casas idénticas a las de los blancos.

Además, de las casas para habitaciones, los Chiriguanos y una parte de los Chanés, tienen casas edificadas encima de postes para casas de depósito (avatió) También en Machareti tales casas estaban por lo común, al lado de las habitaciones. La figura 16 muestra una tal casa de depósito. Una escalera que consiste en un poste, provisto de entalladuras, conduce a la plataforma (En la figura a la derecha). Estas casas de depósito sirven en primer lugar para guardar la cosecha de maiz y otros frutos. El espacio debajo de la plataforma sirve para guardar diversas otras cosas. Nordenskiöld ha visto tales casas, edificadas encima de postes, cuya parte superior servia en general para depósito, mientras que la parte inferior es aprovechada como habitación (67) Muchas veces están esas casas de depósito cerca de las plantaciones, lejos de las habitaciones (68)

Como muestra la figura 16 el cuadro para estos depósitos consiste en 10 postes verticales de diferente largor y bifurcados en sus extremos superiores para sostener los postes horizontales que forman el base para el tejado y la plata-

Nota 63. Eric v. Rosen. l. c. p. 191. Fig. 188-192 y 217.
Nota 64. Eric v. Rosen l. c. Fig. 196.
Nota 65. Métraux l. p. 460.
Nota 66. Nord. l. p. 173.
Nota 67. Nord. l. p. 175. Nord. 2. p. 8
Nota 68. Nord. l. p. 173.

[P. 16-A]

LAMINA V

Sociedad Científica
del Paraguay

Fig. 12

(I C 246)—El cacique de los Izozós junto con su familia, cerca de Toledo

Fig. 13

(I C. 245)—Mozo Izozó, en Toledo

[P. 16-B]

Sociedad Científica
del Paraguay

LAMINA VI

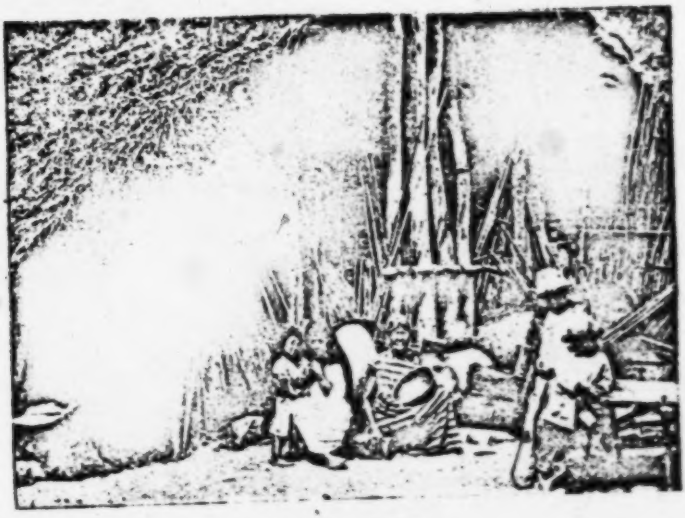


Fig. 14

I. C. 256)—Mujeres y criaturas Chiriguanas, delante de su casa en Macharetí

Fig. 15

(I. C. 268—Chiriguanos en el pueblo de Macharetí

[P. 16-C]

Fig. 16

(I. C. 357)—Casa de depósito edificada encima de postes, de los Chiriguanos en Macharetí.

Fig. 17

(I. C. 358)—Escena en el pueblo Macharetí de los Chiriguanos. Muchacha vestida con un poncho. Grandes vasijas de barro cocido y un mortero.

forma. El par mediano de los postes vérticales es el más largo y sirve para sostener la parhilera. De los demás 8 postes verticales, siempre dos, uno más largo y otro más corto, han sido colocados inmediatamente juntos en todos los dos lados del par mediano de postes y a una cierta distancia de él. De los postes horizontales, de los cuales cada vez uno es sostenido por cada uno de los 5 pares de postes verticales, sirven los que están colocados sobre el par más alto y sobre los dos pares de tamaño mediano de los postes verticales, para apoyar el tejado, mientras que los dos postes horizontales que están colocados sobre los dos pares más chicos de los postes verticales forman el base para la plataforma de la casa. Además de los 5 pares de postes vérticales que forman el cuadro de la casa, se agrega todavía un poste vértical de la altura de la plataforma que sirve para sostener la escalera que conduce a aquella. El techo de esas casas de depósito está cubierto como los techos de las casas de habitación, con paja. Las paredes se componen de pértigas de caña proximas las unas a las otras. Mientras que las pértigas de paréd de la casa de depósito publicada en figura 16 son horizontales, las de otras casas de depósito, las que conocemos por fotografias de Nordenskiöld, de v. Rosen y de Métraux, son veticales.(69)
La entrada que hay que alcanzar por medio de la escalera está como la de las casas de habitación, en el lado del hastial. La escalera consiste en un poste provisto con entalladuras como gradas. (70)

Debe existir alguna causa especial para explicar el hecho sorprendente de que los Chiriguanos tengan casas edificadas encima de postes, pues no puede ser que han llevado la costumbre de construirlas, de su suelo natál antiguo, porque los Guaranies nunca las han tenido. También no puede ser que la han adoptado de los blancos, porque estos nunca han empleado en aquellas regiones casas edificadas encima de postes. Tampoco tenemos indicios de que los Peruanos antiguos tenian tales casas. Es muy inverisimil que los Chiriguanos instalados en su nuevo territorio hubiesen inventado la construccion de esas casas, porque la naturaleza de su territorio no hizo necesaria la forma de tales construcciones. Hallamos en la América del Sud, casas edificadas encima de postes casi solamente en regiones expuestas a inundaciones. Así las encontramos principalmente en las regiones de las costas de la parte septentrional del continente Sudamericano, y ellas aparecen al Sud del Rio Amazonas, solamente por dentro de una zona relativamente estrecha en el centro del continente comprendiendo el territorio de los Chiriguanos. Según la indicación de Marban, del año 1676, (71) los Mojos tenían casas edificadas encima de postes y sin duda eran tales construcciones de casas bastante útiles en aquellas regiones pantanosas y muchas veces inundadas. Además Nordenskiöld encontró en sus viajes (72) una de esas casas, que sirvió de depósito, entre los Chacobos que viven, no muy lejos, al Norte de los Mojos. Algunas casas de los Qui-hua, situados entre el Rio Chapáre y el Rio Cochabamba habian sido edificadas encima de postes, pero Nordenskiöld mismo no tiene por primordial esa arquitectura entre ellos. De las tribus del Chaco que tienen casas de depósito edificadas encima de postes Nordenskiöld menciona a los Matakos. Yo hallé tales casas de depósito en el pueblo de los Matakos cerca de Linares pero también numerosas en las instalaciones de los Chorupís en Esteros. Nordenskiöld en sus publicaciones sobre los Chorupís, llamados por él Ashluslay, no menciona la existencia de tales casas de depósito entre estos indios, así es que tenemos que suponer que los Chorupís no han aceptado esta construcción de casas sino recientemente y probablemente de los Matakos con los cuales tienen muchas rela-

Nota 69. Nord. I. Abb. 66 y 68 y Taf. 28. Métraux I. Fig. 6, p. 208.
Nota 70. Compare Fig. 16 a la derecha. Nord. I. Abb. 66. V. Rosen I. c. Fig. 191.
Nota 71. Marban, Pedro. Relación de la Provincia de los Mojos del Pilar de Mojos. Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de La Paz. Bolivia. 1906, p. 182. Según Dunkelberg
Nota 72. Nord. I p. 9

8: Schmidt SF10 Chiriguano

ciones. Para completar los datos sobre la extensión de las casas edificadas encima de postes, menciono también mis observaciones hechas en mis expediciones de los años 1901 y 1910 a los Guatós (73) Dentro de muchas casas estos indios construyen, debajo del tejado, y por medio de pértigas horizontales, una plataforma que sirve para guardar diversas cosas. En esta disposición especial de los Guatós al construir sus casas, hallamos el rudimento de las verdaderas casas edificadas encima de postes, y es motivada por las grandes inundaciones a las cuales están expuestas aun cuando hayan sido edificadas en lugares más altos de las tierras pantanosas.

No debemos tener a las casas edificadas encima de postes como producto de la cultura primordial de las tribus del Chaco. Queda como unico centro de su propagación, la zona mencionada en el interior del Continente Sudamericano, el centro de la cultura antigua de los Aruacos en estas regiones, el territorio de los Mojos. A esta cultura de los Aruacos pertenecieron también los Chanés, más tarde subyugados por los Chiriguanos e incorporados a su comunidad. Tenemos, pues, que suponer que las casas edificadas encima de postes, como las que encontramos todavia hoy entre los Chiriguanos y entre una parte de los Chanés, eran al principio originarias de la cultura de los Chanés y pasaron más tarde a los Chiriguanos, cuando las culturas de esas dos tribus se fundieron en una sola.

Sin duda la construción especial de esas casas de depósito tiene entre los Chiriguanos y Chanés hoy otro destino, como tenia en su principio. Según Nordenskiöld los Chanés del bajo Rio Parapiti, quiere decir de una región típicamente pantanosa, no tienen tales casas, mientras que ellas son comunes entre los Chiriguanos y también entre aquellos que viven en tierra firme no expuesta a inundaciones. Su destino es hoy entre los Chiriguanos y Chanés como también entre los Matakos y Churupis, en primer lugar, para guardar ciertas provisiones contra los numerosos perros y otros animales domesticos, los que pasean en gran numero por toda parte del pueblo. (74)

COMIDA Y BEBIDA. MANERA DE COMER Y DE BEBER

La caza y los pescados no tienen mucha importancia en la economia de los Chiriguanos y Chanés. Su territorio tiene relativamente pocos animales comestibles, y ellos tampoco son cazadores muy valientes. (75) De animales que se pueden cazar, ellos comen el puma y el tigre, mientras que desprecian los buitres, zorros y la carne de los monos, tan apetecida por otros indios. (76) Una contribución para su subsistencia que merece mencionarse es la del pescado, solamente para los Chiriguanos y Chanés que viven cerca del alto Rio Pilcomayo teniendo ese rio excelentes pescados. De los pescados del Rio Grande, esos indios no pueden aprovecharse mucho porque este rio hoy ya puede ser tenido casi como la frontera de su territorio. El Rio Parapiti tiene muchos pescados pero estos son muy pequeños. Mientras que los Chanés viven hoy en territorios en los cuales disponen por algunos meses de algunos pescados; muchos pueblos de los Chiriguanos están tan lejos de las aguas más grandes, que hace que no entre el pescado en la alimentación de sus habitantes. (77) Respecto a comida de carne, los Chiriguanos dependen de sus ganados, los que sin embargo, según Nordenskiöld, prescindiendo de la cria de chanchos y gallinas, ni aún alcanzan el numero del ganado de los Chorotes y Churupis. Ellos no comen la carne de asnos, caballos

Nota 73. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien. Berlin 1905. p. 170.
Nota 74 Incumbe a la cuestión del destino de las casas edificadas encima de postes respecto al daño de animales, compare: V. Rosen. l. c. p. 149-150.
Nota 75. Nord. 2. p. XVI.
Nota 76. Nord. 1. p. 190.
Nota 77. Nord. 2. p. XV y XVI.

y perros. (78) Aunque no tenemos datos exactos sobre el rendimiento de carne de su ganado, podemos suponer que aquél no es muy grande, así es que esos indios dependen principalmente de alimentos vegetales, quiere decir de los productos de su agricultura. Debemos decir que, en comparación con el maíz, toda la otra comida casi no tiene importancia excepto entre los indios del Parapití, entre los cuales la batata dulce es el alimento más importante. (79) En tiempos de carestía comen diversas plantas silvestres, principalmente las vainas dulces de la algarroba (Noviembre-Diciembre)-las que hacen fermentar grosseramente triturándose con agua para producir una especie de chicha que embriaga. (80)

Consistiendo las comidas, principalmente de maíz, ellas, son muy modestas, aunque el maíz lo comen en las más diferentes formas, asa hervido, asa tostado o como harina cocida al vapor, como pan de maíz frito, en revuelto o como polenta blanda de maíz. (81) Carne se come asada o hervida, junto con maíz. La sal de cocina emplean en las comidas. Mientras que antes la sal (dyáki) era buscada en las minas o sacada de las tierras de barreros, hoy ella es adquirida de los blancos. (82)

Entre las bebidas, merece mencionarse, fuera del agua, en ciertas regiones bastante escasa, la chicha, (ka'ni) fabricada de maíz, batata o de algarroba. (83) La chicha fabricada de maíz amarillo o blanco es preferida. La chicha fabricada por los Chanés del Río Parapití hecha de batatas, pasa como de menos valor.

Los Chiriguanos y Chanés, ordinariamente, no comen de una vasija común, pero sí separados y en platos. Por eso existen numerosos platos en sus casas, los que son fabricados por la comida de barro cocido (uyá'e) pero pueden ser también platos de madera (ma). (84) Varios platos de barro cocido ya las colecciené entre los Chiriguanos y Chanés, (compare fig. 78-80) así como también dos platos de madera, de los cuales el Museo ya tenía dos ejemplares donados por Fr. Maria F. de Casati. De los platos de barro cocido me ocuparé en el capítulo al tratar sobre alfarería, junto con las demás vasijas de barro cocido, enumerando por eso aquí solamente los platos de madera de la colección.

PLATOS DE MADERA (ma) DE LOS CHIRIGUANOS

I. A. 351. (Donación de Fr. Maria F. de Casati.) Diámetro 21 cm. Altura 6 cm.
I. A. 352. (") " 15.5 cm. " 3.5 cm.
I. A. 496. (Viaje Max Schmidt) Diámetro 23 cm. Altura 6 cm. (Fig. 18).
I. A. 497. (" ") " 20 cm. " 6.5 cm. (Fig. 18 a).

Como muestran las figuras 18, a y b, estos platos de madera tienen en su borde, dos asilleros.

Como utensilio para comer usan hoy los Chiriguanos y los Chanés, cucharas de metal las que son adquiridas de los blancos. Pero ellos usan también cucharas de madera. (85)

Nota 78. Nord. I. p. 240.
Nota 79. Nord. I. p. 241.
Nota 80. Nord. I. p. 179. Métraux I. p. 80 y 82.
Nota 81. Nord. I. p. 240 y 241. Métraux I. p. 83-84.
Nota 82. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 80 y 82.
Nota 83. Nord. I. p. 240 y 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 84. Compare Nord. I. p. 240.
Nota 85. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 86. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 87. Nord. I. p. 241.
Nota 88. Nord. I. p. 241.
Nota 89. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 90. Compare Nord. I. p. 240.
Nota 91. Nord. I. p. 240 y 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 92. Compare Nord. I. p. 240.
Nota 93. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 94. Nord. I. p. 241.
Nota 95. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 96. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 97. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 98. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 99. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 100. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 101. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 102. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 103. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 104. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 105. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 106. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 107. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 108. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 109. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 110. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 111. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 112. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 113. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 114. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 115. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 116. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 117. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 118. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 119. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 120. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 121. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 122. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 123. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 124. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 125. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 126. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 127. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 128. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 129. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 130. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 131. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 132. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 133. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 134. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 135. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 136. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 137. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 138. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 139. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 140. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 141. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 142. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 143. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 144. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 145. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 146. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 147. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 148. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 149. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 150. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 151. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 152. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 153. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 154. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 155. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 156. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 157. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 158. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 159. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 160. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 161. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 162. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 163. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 164. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 165. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 166. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 167. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 168. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 169. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 170. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 171. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 172. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 173. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 174. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 175. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 176. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 177. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 178. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 179. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 180. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 181. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 182. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 183. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 184. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.
Nota 185. Nord. I. p. 241. Métraux I. p. 84 y 85.

CUCHARAS DE MADERA (karaba) DE LOS CHIRIGUANOS

I. A. 393. (Donación de Dr. Maria F. de Cassel) Largo: 16 cm.
I. A. 494. (Viaje Max Schmidt) Largo: 42,5 cm. (Fig. 20).
I. A. 495. (" ") Largo: 14 cm. (Fig. 22).

Como muestran las figuras 20 y 22, existen variaciones de la forma de estas cucharas de madera. La forma de la cuchara I. A. 495 corresponde bastante exactamente a la cuchara de los Chaná, representada por dibujo por Nordenskiöld, (26), mientras que la forma de la cuchara I. A. 494 se asemeja más a las cucharas halladas en los sepulcros antiguos de la montaña Peruana, formando su parte anterior y su mango una línea bastante derecha.

Aunque pueda ser que la forma de las cucharas de madera de los Chiriguanos y de los Chaná haya sido influenciada en mucha cosa por la forma de las cucharas de metal adquiridas de los blancos, sin embargo, tenemos que tomarla por otra prolongación de la cultura Sudamericana indígena que, en tiempo prehistórico se había extendido bastante, generalmente entre las culturas andinas. Entre las tribus salvajes de la América del Sud, se conocen en bastante. Habitado precisamente los casos en los cuales ella ha sido importada por los blancos. Pero especialmente entre los indios de las regiones vecinas al territorio de los Chiriguanos, ella es bastante común, así entre los Tupiniki y muchas otras tribus del Chaco, como Tobas, Matacos, Chorotis, así sobre todo, también entre los Mojos y aún al Este entre los Guaiás. Hay que suponer que los Chiriguanos hayan recibido este bien de cultura directa o indirectamente de la cultura de la montaña andina.

CUCHARAS (tabe) COMO UTENSILIOS PARA COMER.

I. A. 734 y 735. (Iruki) Largo: 22 cm. y 19 cm.

Fuera de las cucharas mencionadas, los Chaná-Iguaio emplean también muchas veces utensilios para comer.

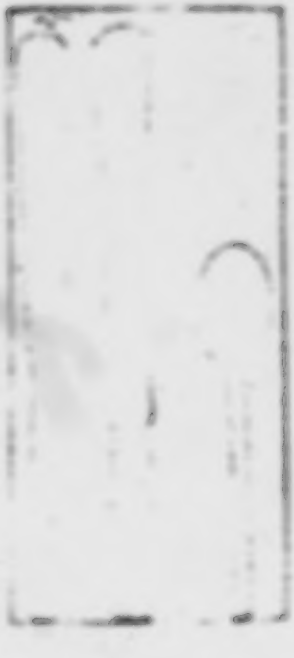
Como vasijas para beber agua y chicha, usan sobre todo, cuyas (compare las figuras 24-26 y 149; 150; 151.) y calabazas. (compare las figuras 42 y 151). A las fiestas de chicha esta bebida se sirve ordinariamente de las vasijas de barro cocido, pintadas, en cuyos dibujos, los que se hace circular entre los asistentes. En los cuyos que he adquirido de los Chiriguanos en Machareti muchos tienen dibujos grabados o pirograbados, de los cuales trataré en el capítulo relativo al arte. Las cuyas cocidas de los Iguaio, no están dibujadas, lo que se explica fácilmente por la circunstancia particular de que los Iguaio vivían en aquel tiempo cerca de Tolaba. Tres de las calabazas cortadas de los Iguaio (compare figura 42 c) han sido fabricadas de la fruta del árbol Cuamachi. Crece, que no crece en su territorio. El origen de los Iguaio me refirió que estas frutas fueron traídas desde Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

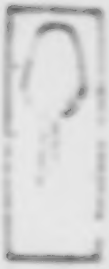
Además de esas cuyas, Chiriguanos e Iguaio usan también para beber chicha, vasijas chicas de barro cocido hechas con asas en forma de tazas europeas.

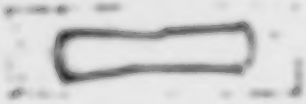
Nota de Nota 5, p. 72, Ann. 74 C.

[P.20-A]

Lámina 100







[P. 20-B]

LAMINA VIII

Fig. 18

a. (I. A. 4975).
Plato de madera (Chiriguano)
Diám. 30 cm.

b. (I. A. 4985).
Plato de madera (Chiriguano).
Diám. 35 cm.

Fig. 19

(I. A. 570)
Pinzas de madera
(Chiriguano).
Largor 60 cm.

Fig. 20

a. (I. A. 570) b. (I. A. 570).
Bastones de madera
para remover comidas
y bebidas (Chiriguano)
Largor 60,5 cm.
y 114 cm.

c. (I. A. 4980)
Cucharon de madera
(Chiriguano).
Largor 48,5 cm.

Fig. 21

(I. A. 500).
Bastón para re-
mover bebidas y co-
midas. Chiriguano).
Largor 34,5 cm.

Fig. 22

(I. A. 4980)
Cucharon de madera
(Chiriguano)
Largor 18 cm.

Fig. 23

(I. A. 501).
Pipa de madera (Chiriguano)
Largor 10.5 cm.

[P. 20-C]

LAMINA IX

Fig. 24

(I. A. 457)—Cuya ornamentada. (Chiriguano).—Largor 23 cm.

Fig. 25

a. (I. A. 666).—Cuya provista de costura. (Izozó) Largor 19,5 cm.

b. (I. A. 460)—Cuya ornamentada. (Chiriguano). Largor 20 cm.

Fig. 26

Cuyas ornamentadas. (Chiriguano)

a. *(I. A. 452)* Largor 10 cm.

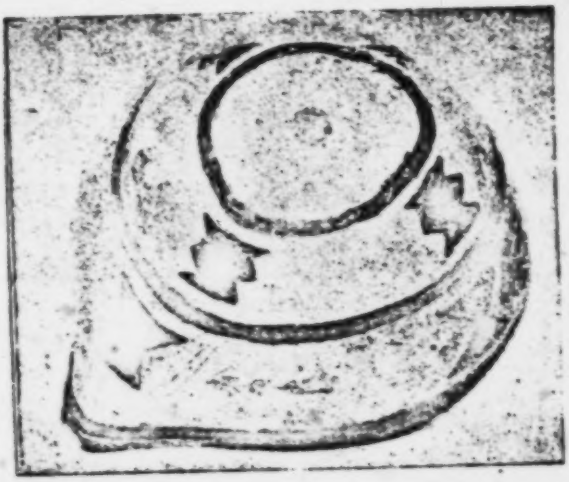
b. *(I. A. 458)* Largor 11,5 cm.

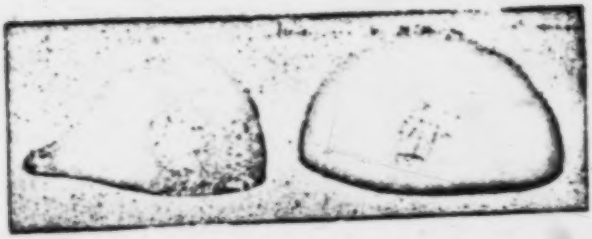
c. (I A. 454)—Largor 5,7 cm.

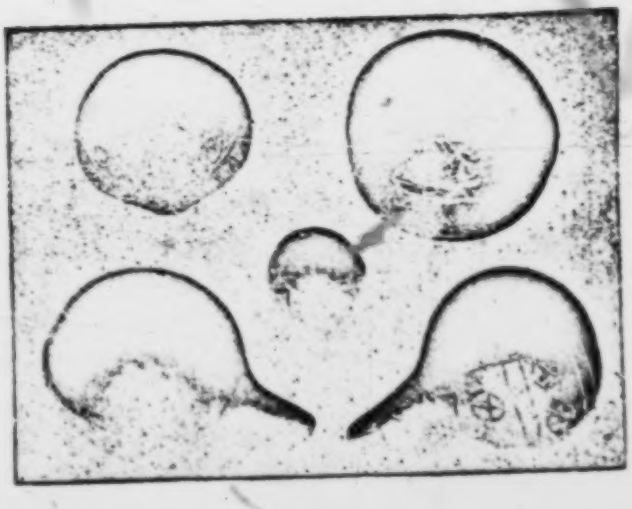
d. *(I. A. 456)* Largor 15 cm.

e. *(I. A. 451)* Largor 14 cm.

[P. 20-D]







CUYAS (ia) DE LA COLECCIÓN.

I. A. 451. Chiriguano. Largór 14 cm. Dibujos grabados. (Fig. 26. e.)
I. A. 452. » » 10 cm. » » (Fig. 26. a.)
I. A. 453. » » 10 cm. » »
I. A. 454. » » 5,7 cm. » » (Fig. 26. c.)
I. A. 455. » » 12,5 cm. Dibujos grabados y pirografiados.
I. A. 456. » » 11,5 cm. » » (Fig. 26. b.)
I. A. 457. » » 23 cm. » » (Fig. 24.)
I. A. 458. » » 15 cm. » » (Fig. 26. d.)
I. A. 459. » » 13,5 cm. Sin dibujos, para fuera tinte colorado.)
I. A. 460. » » 20 cm. Dibujos grabados y pirografiados. Fig. 25. b.)
I. A. 461-463; 490; 537-539. Chiriguano. Sin dibujos.
I. A. 666. Izozó Largór 19,5 cm. Sin dibujos, con costura. (Fig. 25. a.)
I. A. 667-670. » Sin dibujos.

El largór de esas cuyas es muy variable. La mayór de ellas mide 23 cm. de largór y la menór solamente 5,5 cm.

CALABAZAS (iá ua) DE LA COLECCIÓN.

I. A. 464-467. Chiriguano. Con dibujos pirografiados. (I. A. 466: Fig. 151.)
I. A. 458. » No dibujada; con marlo de maiz por tapa.
I. A. 469. » No dibujada; entrelazada al rededor.
I. A. 661 y 662. Izozó No dibujadas. (Fig. 42 a y b.)
I. A. 663-665. » No dibujadas; fabricadas de la fruta del arbol Crescentia Cuyete. (I. A. 665: Fig. 42.)

La más alta de esas calabazas mide 50 cm. y la más chica, 7,5 cm.

EXITANTES.

Los Izozós que hallé en Toledo, no eran fumadores. Al tabaco y a las pipas que yo les ofrecí no dieron importancia. De los Chiriguanos yo adquirí una simple pipa de madera con la forma derecha, tal como la usan en común las tribus del Chaco, pero no he visto otras pipas entre ellos; tampoco los he visto fumando.

PIPA (cachimbo) DE LA COLECCIÓN.

I. A. 740. Chiriguano. Largór 10,5 cm. (Fig. 23.)

Según Nordenskiöld, los Chiriguanos y los Chanés plantan tabaco pero su plantación no tiene importancia y ellos no son grandes fumadores. Si ellos fuman, usan en común cigarrillos, con tapa hecha de hoja de maiz y solamente pocas veces en pipas. (87) De eso se explica la forma poco característica de la pipa que hallé entre los Chiguanos. Una pipa de un tipo muy diferente, provista de un asidero especial adelante del recipiente para el tabaco es representada por dibujo por Nordenskiöld. (88) Según el mismo autor, los Chiriguanos que viven cerca de los Quichuas, han recibido de estos la costumbre de masticar coca.

Nota 87. Nord. I. p. 182. Compare Métraux I p. 189
Nota 88. Nord. I. p. 179. Abb. 8c.

CUIDADOS DEL CUERPO Y DESCANSO

Los Izozós en Toledo y los Chiriguanos en Machareti presentan contrastes con los indios del Chaco a los cuales visité, por ser relativamente aseados. Tenemos que reconocer que ese aseo elogiado también por otros autores tiene lugar, apesar de que una gran parte de ellos viven en regiones con muy poca agua y donde muchas veces la cantidad no puede satisfacer las necesidades del aseo sinó con grandes dificultades. Según Nordenskiöld se bañan varias veces al día y muchas veces directamente después de la comida. Después de la comida ellos se lavan la boca y las manos. (89)

Para dormir, los Guaranies antiguos utilizaban en común la hamaca. «La hamaca para dormir y que suspendían de dos pilares de la vivienda, ha dado carácter a los Guaranies», dice Serrano de los Guaranies de la antigua Provincia del Uruguay. (90) Los Chiriguanos o Izozós tienen hoy todavía hamacas, pero estas no son utilizadas en común y sirven menos para dormir de noche que para descansar de día. (91)

HAMACAS (Chir: kia; Izozó: iul.) DE LA COLECCIÓN

I. A. 448. Chiriguano. De lana. Largór 230 cm. Anchura 75 cm. (Fig. 102 b).
I. A. 449. » » » 105 cm. » 60 cm.
I. A. 450. » » » 285 cm. » 60 cm. (Fig. 102 a).
*I. A. 360. Donación del señor Teodoro Rojas. (Chanés del Parapiti). De Caraguatá. Largór 320 cm. (Fig. 102 c).

Las Hamacas adquiridas por mi entre los Chiriguanos, en Machareti han sido fabricadas todas de lana y asimismo las hamacas que Métraux vió entre los Chiriguanos. (92) Según Nordenskiöld (93) las hamacas de los Chiriguanos se hacen comunmente de algodón y solo accidentalmente de lana. De las tres grandes hamacas de la colección, dos (I. A. 448 y 449) han sido trenzadas con la técnica muy común entre los indios de la América del Sud, la que he llamado en mi publicación sobre los Guarayús, hecha en esta misma Revista, el «trenzar con hilo doble» (Doppelfadengeflecht), (94) mientras que una (I. A. 450) muestra la estructura de un tejido. (Compare figura 102 a.) De los Chanés la colección del Museo tiene la hamaca I. A. 360 la que el señor Teodoro Rojas ha adquirido entre los indios del Rio Parapiti y donado al Museo. (Figura 102 c.) Esta hamaca ha sido fabricada de fibras de Caraguatá y con técnica de red. Según Nordenskiöld, los Chanés tienen fuera de tales hamacas de fibras de Caraguatá, también otras hechas de algodón, sobre cuya técnica no tenemos datos. Respecto a los detalles de esas hamacas de los Chiriguanos y Chanés remito a los capítulos destinados a la descripción de la técnica de trenzar y de la técnica de preparación de la red.

El Chiriguano duerme por lo general encima de una especie de catre, (catre) quiere decir una armadura de cama hecha de caña. Tales camas que fuera de su destino propio sirven también para secar el maiz han sido representadas por dibujos por Eric v. Rosen (95) Erland v. Nordenskiöld (96) y Métraux. (97). Sin

Nota 89. Nord. I. p. 180, 19 , 208, 204.
Nota 90. Antonio Serrano: I. c. p. 120.
Nota 91. Compare Nord. I. p. 177 Nord. 2. p. 4. Métraux I. p. 470 y plancha 99.
Nota 92. Métraux I. p. 470.
Nota 93. Nord. 2. p. 1.
Nota 94. Compare figura 102 b.
Nota 95. Eric v Rosen. I. c. p. 180.
Nota 96. Nord. 2 . fig. 2.
Nota 97. Métraux I. Fig. 135 p. 470.

duda el clima frío de la región a la que los Chiriguanos habían inmigrado, hizo que abandonaran el uso de la hamaca para dormir, poco práctico para un tal clima y que la reemplazaron por el catre, ya común entre las otras tribus de aquellas regiones. Por falta de un catre, los Chiriguanos duermen en el suelo. Por cama emplean en ese caso grandes esteras de caña o de hoja de palmera o también cueros (98). De los Chiriguanos yo he adquirido una tal estera trenzada de hoja de palmera. (Figura 95)

ESTERA (tápa) DE LOS CHIRIGUANOS DE LA COLECCIÓN

I A. 540. Largor 1,75 m. Anchura 1,50 m. (Fig. 95)

En algunas casas de los Chiriguanos yo he visto también bancos de madera, apika, pero por desgracia no pude adquirir ningún ejemplar. Esos bancos con forma de un trineo, asemejanse mucho a la forma de bancos que son muy comunes entre los Indios del Brasil. (99) y de los que conocemos también de los Peruanos antiguos. (100) Nordenskiöld y Métraux representan tales bancos de los Chiriguanos por dibujos. (101)

PINTURAS Y DEFORMACIONES DEL CUERPO

Al aumentar la vestimenta de los Chiriguanos y Chanés, la costumbre de pintarse o tatuarse el cuerpo ha perdido naturalmente su importancia y los restos de estas costumbres son demasiado pocos para poder referir lo que era en los tiempos pasados. Tampoco tenemos datos sobre eso. Muchas veces yo he visto que las mujeres y muchachas de los Chiriguanos e Ismés, pintanse, con urucú, manchas coloradas en la cara. Según Nordenskiöld, algunas veces, mujeres y hombres se pintan la cara con tinte colorado y también el cuerpo. (102) También halló Nordenskiöld el tatuaje de los brazos de algunas mujeres y de un hombre de los Chiriguanos. (103) La costumbre de teñir con azul oscuro los dientes, Viedma la ha encontrado entre los hombres de los Chiriguanos (104) y Nordenskiöld entre las mujeres en el valle de Caipipendi. (105) Estas empleaban para eso las hojas de una planta que llaman «tajú» (tayú=lapacho).

Respecto a las deformaciones del cuerpo podemos suponer que antes era costumbre común entre Chanés y Chiriguanos de ponerse un «tembetá» en el labio inferior, perforado. De los Guaranies de los tiempos antiguos se ha afirmado que los hombres tenían ese tembetá, y por hallazgos prehistóricos esta costumbre es confirmada. (106) La forma, el material y las dimensiones de estos tembetás eran diferentes y conforme a las diferentes regiones. ¿Cuál es la forma del tembetá que tenían los Guaranies, que, al principio del siglo XVI emigraron a los contrafuertes de la Cordillera? No lo sabemos. Tampoco no conocemos si los Chanés tenían tembetás cuando fueron esclavizados por los Chiriguanos. Podemos suponer que los tembetás de metál de los Chiriguanos y Chanés con su forma actual, proceden de la época después de su conexión con los Peruanos antiguos.

Nota 98. Nord. I. p. 177. V. Rosen. l. c. p. 202. Métraux. p. I. 470.
Nota 99. Coriv von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens. Berlin. 1894 p. 196.
Nota 100. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru. Berlin 1929. p. 4'6.
Nota 101. Nord. I. Fig 98. Métraux: l. p. 471 y 472 y fig. 139.
Nota 102. Nord. I. p. 208.
Nota 103. Nord. I. p. 212. Nord. 2. p. 88. fig. 17.
Nota 104. Viedma: Descripción de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Colección Angelis T. 6. Buenos Aires 1836. Escrito 1792 p. 101. Según Nordenskiöld.
Nota 105. Nord. 2. p. 89.
Nota 106. Compare Antonio Serrano. l. c. p. 132.

pues no conocían la técnica de labrar metales y también hoy la mayor parte de sus tembetás son labrados por mestizos vecinos o blancos, que los hacen conforme a su gusto. Según la relación de Chomé (107) los hombres Chiriguanos llevaban en el labio inferior perforado, pequeños cilindros de estaño, plata o resina. Tal vez se puede suponer que los mencionados tembetás de plata de los Chiriguanos fueron antes más común entre ellos. Según Nordenskiöld, en el tiempo de su viaje, quiere decir en los años 1908 y 1909, todos los hombres Chiriguanos y Chanés de la generación más vieja y en algunos pocos pueblos de los Chiriguanos también los mozos y muchachos llevaban el tembetá. Entre los Izozós que encontré en Tolelo y «15 de Agosto» tenían solamente los hombres viejos el tembetá. (Compare las figuras 27 y 28) y entre los Chiriguanos en Machareti no he visto ningún hombre con ellos.

TEMBETAS DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 729. Izozó. Largor de la base 2,6 cm. Altura del cilindro 0,9 cm. Diámetro del cilindro 1,5 cm. (Fig 28 b.)

I. A. 730. » Largor de la base 2,8 cm. Altura del cilindro 1,3 cm. Diámetro del cilindro 1 cm. (Fig. 28 d.)

I. A. 731. » Largor de la base 2.5 cm. Altura del cilindro 1,3 cm. Diámetro del cilindro 0.8 cm. (Fig. 28 a.)

I. A. 732 » Largor de la base 3,2 cm. Altura del cilindro 1,4 cm. Diámetro del cilindro 1,8 cm. (Fig. 28 c.)

I. A. 733. » Altura 2 cm. Diámetro 1,8 cm: (Fig. 28 e.)

La forma de los cuatro primeros de los mencionados tembetás es la de un cilindro puesto encima de una base del mismo metál. En la superficie anterior del cilindro se halla puesto un disco de una piedra semipreciosa, azul o verde, que muestra en tres casos una perforación redonda en el centro, la que en dos casos es llenada con metál. El disco de piedra del tembetá I. A. 729 está roto. El tembetá I. A. 733, es de cera y tiene la forma de un cono obtuso. Los témbetás descritos por v. Rosen y v. Nordenskiöld, se diferencian de los mencionados en cuanto que en su superficie anterior del cilindro, en lugar de la piedra semipreciosa han sido puestas piedras chicas, azules o verdes, o también abalorios del mismo color, colocados por dentro de una capa de cera con la que el cilindro está llenado. Una buena representación por dibujo de un tal tembetá de los Chiriguanos con abalorios publica v. Rosen (108).

Según Nordenskiöld (109) los tembetás de los Chanes son generalmente más chicos que los de los Chiriguanos. Comparando las medidas de los tembetás adquiridos por mi entre los Izozós con las medidas referidas por v. Rosen, esta afirmación es justa respecto al largor del base de los tembetás y respecto al diámetro del cilindro. Ciertamente también estas diferencias entre el tembetá más grande de los Izozós y el tembetá descrito por v. Rosen son muy pequeñas, ascendiendo esta diferencia respecto al largor de la base, solamente a 3 mms. y respecto al diámetro del cilindro, solamente a 2 mms. En contraste con eso la parte cilíndrica de tres de estos tembetás de los Izozós es bastante más alta que la parte correspondiente del tembetá descrito por v. Rosen. Mientras que la altura de éste mide solamente 1 cm., los cilindros de los tres tembetás de los Izozós tienen una altura de 1,3-1,4 cm. La altura del cuarto tembetá de los Izozós es casi como la del mencionado tembetá de los Chiriguanos, siendo 1 mm. menor que este.

Nota 107. Lettre du père Ignace Chomé. Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. Nouvelle édition. T. 8. Paris 1780. p. 270. Según Nordenskiöld 2 p. 73

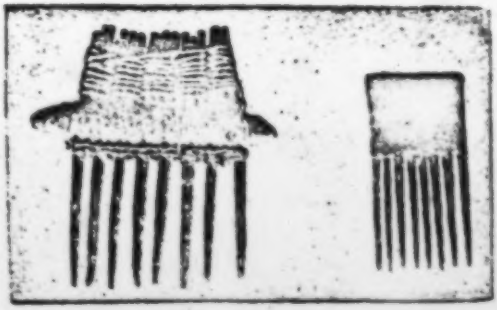
Nota 108. v. Rosen. 1 c p. 302.

Nota 109. Nord. 1. p. 211. Nord. 2. p. 71-72.

[P. 24-A]

LAMINA X

Sociedad Cientifica
del Paraguay



[P. 24 - B]

LAMINA X

FIG. 27

(I. C. 249)—Hombre Izozó que tiene el tembetá en el labio inferior.

FIG 28

Tembetás de los Izozós.

a (I. A 731) Largor 2,5 cm. b (I A 729) Largor 2,6 cm. c. (I. A. 732) Largor 3,2 cm. d. (I. A. 730) Largor 2,8 cm. e. (I. A 733) Altura 2 cm.

a d: de estaño y piedras semipreciosas; e: de cera.

FIG. 29

Peines de los Izozós.

a. (I A. 740) Largor 9,5 cm b. (I. A. 1317) Largor 7,5 cm.

[P. 24-C]

LAMINA XI

Fig. 30

Vendas de algodón para los cabellos de hombres. (Izozó)

a. (I. A. 660) Largor 97,5 cm. Anchura 8,4 cm.

b. (I. A. 653) Largor 100 cm. Anchura 3,8 cm.

c. (I. A. 655) Largor 96,5 cm. Anchura 2 cm.

d. (I. A. 656) Largor 99 cm. Anchura 2,3 cm.

Fig. 31

(I. A. 739) – Venda de pelo humano para los cabellos de hombres. (Izozó)

Largor 290 cm. Anchura 8,9 cm.

Fig. 32

Vendas de algodón para los cabellos de mujeres. (Izozó)

a. (I. A. [illegible]) b. (I. A. 641)

(Compare fig. 141)

[P 24-D]

Sociedad Científica
del Paraguay

LAMINA XI

La manera como se usan esos tembetás ha sido descrita muchas veces. La figura 27 muestra un hombre Izozó, de cuyo labio inferior perforado sale el disco redondo de piedra. Utilizando el tembetá esos indios, le hacen pasar del lado interior por la perforación del labio así que su base se queda entre la hilera de los dientes inferiores y el labio inferior avanzando el cilindro del labio.

La base inferior de tres de los tembetás de los Izozós representa un plano recto y solamente la base inferior del tembetá I. A. 129 tiene una forma claramente cóncava. Llama la atención eso porque v. Nordenskiöld y v. Rosen, describiendo los tembetás de los Chiriguanos y Chanés, mencionan solamente los que tienen una base cóncava (110).

Según Nordenskiöld, los Chiriguanos y Chanés algunas veces usan tembetás de madera en forma de cilindros chatos. (111) Como ya mencioné, recibí de los Izozós un tembetá simple de cera. El hombre viejo que lo sacó de su labio inferior para entregármelo, lo traía sin duda provisoriamente por falta de un otro tembetá, para cerrar la perforación de su labio inferior y evitar la salida de la saliva.

Los Chiriguanos y Chanés en común, no tienen la costumbre de perforar sus lóbulos de sus orejas. Según Nordenskiöld (112) los caciques antes usaban zarcillos provistos de piedras verdes, pendientes. Si las mujeres más jóvenes y las mozas recientemente usan pendientes, ellas imitan esta costumbre de las blancas. El cacique de los Izozós en Toledo, me contó que las mujeres tenían zarcillos de oro y de plata, los que en aquel tiempo los habían escondido.

CORTE Y PEINADO DEL CABELLO Y ADORNOS DE LA CABEZA

Las mujeres tienen el cabello trenzado con trenzas largas, o medio largo pendiendo hasta los hombros (113) Como se puede ver en las figuras 4, 5 y 12 y en las fotografías de mujeres Chiriguanas publicadas por Lehnann-Nitsche, los cabellos de las mujeres y mozas son siempre partidos sobre la frente. Una tal raya ya tienen las mozas desde la primera juventud. (Compare figura 8.) En el tiempo de la primera menstruación los cabellos de las mozas se cortan cortos (114) y también las mujeres cortan sus cabellos en caso que fallezca su marido o uno de sus parientes allegados; algunas veces los cortan dos veces cuando muere su marido. (115) En la nuca y algunas veces también encima de la cabeza, los cabellos son unidos por vendas de algodón. La colección traída por mi a la Sociedad Científica del Paraguay contiene 29 de esas vendas usadas por las mujeres de los Izozós, las que representan todas la misma forma típica.

VENDAS PARA LOS CABELLOS DE MUJERES, DE LA COLECCION

(I. A. 624-652.) (Izozó) (I. A. 646 y 641 representadas en Fig. 32. a. y b.)

El largor de estas vendas para cabellos por término medio es 1,04 cm. La venda más larga mide 1.45 m. y la venda más corta 0,65 m. El largor de las borlas por término medio es 14,3 cm. La borla más larga mide 17,5 cm., la borla más corta 9 cm.

Nota 110. Nord. 2 p. 72.
Nota 111. Nord. 2 p. 72.
Nota 112. Nord. 2 p. 77.
Nota 113. Contorni: [illegible] Rivista l. c. Planchas XI y XII.
Nota 114. Nord. 1 p. 219. V. Rosen. l. c. p. 201.
Nota 115. Nord. 1. p. 226.

La forma de estas vendas, que todas han sido fabricadas de algodón, es en común igual. Como la figura 32 muestra ellas consisten en una parte mediana, larga, que tiene en sus dos extremos una especie de borla, la que se compone de varios cordeles provistos de nudos. La parte media consiste por lo común en un cordón trenzado de tres madejas de hilo a modo de una trenza. Pero ella puede tener tambien la forma de una venda, si han sido trenzadas más de tres madejas de hilo como muestra la figura 32 a. Las borlas de esas vendas son fabricadas de la manera siguiente: Los extremos de los hilos de la parte mediana son envueltos por otro hilo, de modo que con el mismo hilo están hechos los nudos, directamente uno tras otro o en una cierta distancia. El número de esos pendientes provistos de nudos, varia, respecto a las vendas de la colección, entre 3 y 8, pero pasa solamente en 4 casos, el número 5.

De los números mencionados respecto al largor de esas vendas para cabellos, resulta que su largór puede ser muy diferente. La venda más larga mide más que el duplo del largór de la venda más corta de la colección. Las vendas han sido fabricadas de hilos de colores muy diferentes. Asi hay entre ellas blancas, azules o de color lila o pardo, con diferentes matices hasta ser casi negros. Por lo común la parte mediana y el hilo que forma los nudos de las borlas tienen el mismo colór. Solamente de la venda I. A. 629 el colór de la parte mediana es diferente del colór de las borlas.

Según Lehnann-Nitsche también algunas de las mujeres Chiriguanas que fueron objeto de sus investigaciones antropológicas, llevaban tales vendas en sus cabellos, asi que podemos tener éstas por un bien de cultura común a los Izozós y a los Chiriguanos. Pero según ese autor, las que él vió entre las mujeres Chiriguanas y las que califica de «cordones adornados de una serie de nudos» eran fabricadas de hilos de lana. Las mujeres Chiriguanas las usaban a la manera de que sus cabellos fueron entrelazados con ellas. (116)

Hay que mencionar todavia un adorno de cabeza usado por las mujeres Chiriguanas en las fiestas y como distintivo especial. Ese adorno, descrito por Nordenskiöld, se compone de una venda frontal a cuya parte posterior ha sido atado un largo pendiente de adorno. (117)

Los hombres Chiriguanos y Chanés usan hoy los cabellos, las más de las veces, a la manera moderna, cortados cortos. Los dos muchachos Chiriguanos representados en figura 7 usan hasta una raya lateral con rodete, talvéz preparada especialmente para la fotografia. Los cabellos del muchacho Izozó representado en la figura 11, en la parte anterior de la cabeza, son bastante largos pero por atrás y a los lados también sus cabellos han sido cortados. Solamente los hombres más viejos y según Nordenskiöld en los pueblos de los Chiriguanos del alto Rio Pilcomayo tambien los jóvenes (118) usan el cabello largo y envuelto de una manera especial alrededor de la cabeza. Lehmann-Nitsche (119) nos refiere exactamente sobre este uso de cabello de los hombres viejos de la manera siguiente: «El cabello de éstos no habia sido al parecer nunca cortado y estaba peinado de una manera especial: echado hacia atrás lo partian con las manos en dos mitades a derecha e izquierda respectivamente, después se trae la mitad derecha hacia delante y se envuelve hacia la izquierda alrededor de la cabeza en forma de turbante musulmán, mientras que con la mitad izquierda se la envuelve a la inversa.» Los rodetes de los hombres Chiriguanos descitos por Lehnann-Nitsche eran atados con pañuelos comunes. Entre los Izozós yo hallé algunas vendas es-

Nota 116. Lehnann-Nitsche. l. c. p. 56.
Nota 117. Nord. 2. p. 92 y 98 y fig. 28.
Nota 118. Nord. 1. p. 202.
Nota 119. Lehmann-Nitsche. l. c. p. 56.

trechas las que servian especialmente a ese destino, y Nordenskiöld representa por fotografia un hombre Chané con una tal venda. (120) Según una noticia de las Annuae litterae Societatis Jesu anni 1605 los hombres Chiriguanos, antes, usaban una tonsura así como los Guaranies del Paraguay y los Tupinambás en las costas del Brasil: «Coronis in modum nostrorum sacerdotum utuntur.» (121)

VENDAS PARA LOS CABELLOS DE HOMBRES

I. A. 653-660. (Izozó), tejidas de algodón. (Fig. 30: I. A. 660, 653, 655, 656.)

El largor de estas vendas para cabellos de hombres mide por término medio más o menos 1 m. La más larga tiene un largor de 1,18 m. y la más pequeña de 0,91 m. En tanto qun el largor de todas estas vendas es casi el mismo, existen diferencias bastante grandes en la anchura de ellas; difiriendo la anchura entre 1 cm. y 3,3 cm. Las más estrechas de esas vendas han sido tejidas simplemente sin ornamentos y son en parte blancas, en parte teñidas posteriormente con tinte azul, colorado o azul gris. Las dos vendas más anchas de una anchura de 3 resp. 3,3 cm., muestran ornamentos simples producidos por el tejér. Sobre los detalles de la técnica de esos tejidos y de sus ornamentos trataré en los capitulos relativos a los tejidos y a la arte.

Además de esas vendas tejidas de algodón los Izozós tienen vendas para los cabellos de hombre, más largas y anchas, tejidas de pelo humano, terminando en sus dos extremos en franjas.

VENDAS PARA LOS CABELLOS DE HOMBRES TEJIDAS DE PELO HUMANO.

Estas vendas tejidas de pelo humano corresponden, con respecto a su fabricación, a las vendas que los Chiriguanos y Chanés fabrican hoy en gran numero para venderlas a los blacos. Estas «fajas,» como son llamadas, hoy comunmente, representan un articulo muy solicitado por los blancos, que están en conexión con esos indios y especialmente por los soldados, para traerlos como cinto. Uno de los dos hombres Chiriguanos representados en la figura 6 trae una tal faja como cinto y, porque podemos suponer que eso es hoy su destino principal también entre los Chiriguanos las trataré en el capitulo siguiente destinado a la descripción del vestido.

SOMBRERO (kandáo) DE PAJA DE LOS CHIRIGUANOS

I. A. 554. Diámetro 30 cm. Altura 12 cm. (Fig. 99.)

La técnica de ese sombrero trenzado de fibras de hojas de palmera no es indígena pues es fabricación moderna. Como muestra la figura 9 también los hombres Izozós usan tales sombreros.

GORROS HECHOS CON PUNTO DE CROCHET

I. A. 442. y 443. (Chiriguano.) De lana. Altura 15,5 cm. resp. 14 cm.

Esos dos gorros hechos de lana con punto de crochet, los que recibí de los Chiriguanos en Machareti, tenemos que tenerlos también como de fabricación moderna.

Nota 120. Nord. I. Tafel 39.
Nota 121 Métraux I. p. 467.

PEINES (kivas) DE LA COLECCIÓN

I. A. 740. (Hallado en el camino entre Capirenda y Garrapatal.) Largór 9,5 cm. Anchura 9 cm. (Fig. 29. a.)

I. A. 1327. Izozó. Largór 7,5 cm. Anchura 3,5 cm. (Fig. 29. b.)

Los dos peines de la colección, procedentes de los Izozós representan dos tipos de peines completamente diferentes. Al primer tipo pertenece el peine I. A. 740, que se compone de varios palitos de madera, los que están unidos entre dos palos de caña, trasversales, entrelazados con hilos. (Compare figura 29. a.) El peine I. A. 1327, del segundo tipo, ha sido entallado simplemente de un pedazo chato de madera. (Compare figura 29. b.) Un peine semejante al peine I. A. 740 oriundo de los Chanés, Nordenskiöld le representa por dibujo. (122) Los tres peines de los Chiriguanos representados por dibujo por Nordenskiöld (122) pertenecen al segundo tipo y han sido entallados en madera como el peine I. A. 1327 de los Izozós. Pero en contraste con este las partes superiores de sus asideros han sido esculpidos. También los peines de los Chiriguanos representados por dibujos por v. Rosen y Métraux (123) son ornamentados por tales esculturas.

Estaba en duda hasta ahora el saber de qué manera estos dos tipos diferentes de peine estuvieron distribuidos entre los Chanés y los Chiriguanos. Según Nordenskiöld (124) los Chiriguanos tienen solamente peines entallados en un pedazo de madera y los Chanés en común, el tipo de peine provisto de palitos y pocas veces el simple peine entallado en madera. V. Rosen y Métraux hallaron entre los Chiriguanos peines de palitos (125) y, como ya mencioné, he recibido estos dos tipos de peine, de los Izozós. Conforme con eso, yo creo, que tenemos que decidir esa cuestión de la forma por la cual aparecen los dos tipos de peines simultaneamente entre los Chiriguanos y entre los Chanés pero advirtiendo antes que entre estos, el peine provisto de palitos es más frecuente y entre aquellos, el peine de madera es más común.

Porque la difusión de los simples peines entallados en madera, como los tienen los Chiriguanos y Chanés- Izozós, es relativamente restringida entre las otras tribus de indígenas de la America del Sud, pero este tipo de peine era conocido a la cultura Peruana antigua, tenemos que reducir también ese bién de cultura a influencias Peruanas antiguas. (126) Los peines provistos de palitos, los que nosotros conocemos de los Chanés y de los Chanés - Izozós se diferencian de tales peines, usados por la mayor parte de las tribus del Chaco, por ejemplo, de los Churupis y de los Mokó, no solo respecto a su material, sino que también respecto a la manera de su fabricación. Pero no acepto la opinión de Nordenskiöld según la cual esos peines de los Chanés se diferencian, por ser aprovechables solo de un lado, de los de las tribus del Chaco, que fueron aprovechables por los dos lados. (127) También los peines munidos de palitos, de los indios del Chaco, que yo conozco, son usados para peinarse, solamente de un lado, en tanto que el otro lado forma el asidero. Podemos conocer eso claramente porque los palitos de caña que forman las puas del peine son puntiagudos solamente en un extremo. La diferencia principal entre los peines de los Chanés y los peines de las tribus del Chaco consiste en que las puas de estos están formadas por palitos de caña y las puas, de aquellos por palitos de cualquier otra madera. Los

Nota 122. Nord. l. c. pág. 200.
Nota 123. V. Rosen. l. c. Fig. 104. Métraux. I. Planche 69.
Nota 124. Nord. l. c. p. 92.
Nota 125. V. Rosen l. c. p. 202. Métraux I. p. 467 y 468 y fig. 123.
Nota 126. Nord. l. c. 95.
Nota 127. Nord. l. p. 200. Métraux I. p. 467.

pasa de madera del peine de los Izoaio de nuestra colección, están entre dos palitos chatos de caña, verticales a ellas, y en la parte del anverso han sido insertados entre los palitos cuyas partes inferiores forman las pasa, palitos más cortos así que existe en la parte inferior del peine una cierta distancia entre las pasa. El enrejado, consistiendo en hilos de algodón, alcanza en la parte superior del peine casi el borde, pero pasa también un poco a la parte inferior que forma las pasa. El envijado no es asegurado por cera.

Respecto a los cuidados al cabello tenemos que mencionar todavía las indicaciones de Nordenskiöld y de Métraux (127) de que los Chiriguanos y una parte de los Chanés friccionan su cabello con la semilla de «Nyantéro» (=según Métraux Sitira=) y los Chanés del Paraquí con camara del mismo «yuqo».

De la descripción del P. Lizárraga (128) sabemos que los Chiriguanos y Chanés en tiempos pasados se sacaban los pelos del cuerpo, fuera del cabello, como hacían la mayor parte de los indios de America del Sud. Padre Lazarraga dice que los Chiriguanos se sacaban las cejas y la pestaña. Esta costumbre hoy ya no existe y las fotografías de hombres Chiriguanos, desnudos, representados por Lehmann Nitsche, (129) muestran, que hoy por lo común no se sacan los pelos de las partes pudendas. También encuentranse hoy diversos hombres de edad mediana que tienen bigotes, como el cacique de los Izoaio representado en la figura 10 y diversos de los hombres Chiriguanos representados por dibujos por Lehmann - Nitsche. (130) Por causa de esta variación, naturalmente el utensilio para sacar los pelos formado por pinzas chicas, antes muy común, ha perdido hoy una grande parte de su importancia y también en su forma transformada como adorno de pecho el es más raro. Yo hallé tales pinzas entre los Matacos y los Chorupis. Por desgracia no logré aquirir tales pinzas o el correspondiente adorno de pecho, llamado «bolvera» también por los Chiriguanos. Nordenskiöld describe exactamente esas pinzas (131) y el añade que los Chiriguanos emplean también palitos de caña para sacar sus pelos.

La forma de esas pinzas fabricadas de metál, corresponde a la de las pinzas conocidas por hallazgos hechos en sepulcros de los Peruanos antiguos. Hoy, esas pinzas son fabricadas por lo común de cualquier pedazo de lata o chapa de hierro, pero hasta hoy los Chiriguanos usan todavía algunas de esas pinzas hechas de plata, las que provistas de un cordón, ellos usan también, fuera de su destino primordial, como adorno de pecho. Esta costumbre, de usar la pinza como adorno de pecho, era muy común entre los Peruanos antiguos. Entre los collares de estos hay muchos que consisten, aparte de otras cosas, de pinzas de plata. Fué costumbre entre los Peruanos antiguos que esas pinzas agrodadas, impropias para su destino primordial, se transformaron en adorno pero o distintivo. El Museo de Etnografía en Berlín tiene tales adornos en forma de pinzas para depilar, fabricadas de cobre, de plata o de oro y en gran número, de los cuales un ejemplar tiene un largor de 58 cm. (132) Por eso cuando que tenemos que deducir que la costumbre de los Chiriguanos de usar como adorno de pecho es adorno de plata en forma de una de esas pinzas son debida a la influencia Peruana antigua. De las «bolveras» ahora raras y sin duda las más veces guardadas cuidosamente de la vista de los blancos, existen varios ejemplares en los museos europeos. Ellas son son fabricadas por los Chiriguanos mismos así por medios varianos y son vendidos a los indios. La forma exterior es todavía la de pinzas, muy agrandadas. Pero también sin contar en tamaño la bolvera de hoy no se puede emplear como pinzas para sacar pelos porque las dos partes

Nota 128: Blumen 11, p. 101.
Nota 129: Lehmann - Nitsche, l. c. Fig.
Nota 130: Lehmann - Nitsche, l. c. Planchas VIII - X.
Nota 131: Ibid. I, p. 28 y 27.
Nota 132: Gerhard Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru. Berlín 1929, p. 13 [illegible] 247 y [illegible].

de su borde inferior han sido suldados. El hecho de que la ornamentación de su superficie no es indaria primordial se explica de que los Chiriguanos no son los fabricantes de esos adornos.

VESTIDO y ADORNO.

Del siglo XVI poseemos la corta descripción de los Chiriguanos por el obispo Lizarraga (133) en la que, entre otras cosas se dice: «Andan desnudos, cuando mucho cuál o cuál tiene una camisetilla hasta el ombligo.» Podemos suponer que esta indicación del Obispo de aquel tiempo se refiere solamente a los hombres de los Chiriguanos, porque se recuerdo que las mujeres Chiriguanas ya en el tiempo de su inmigración usaron, como lo sabemos de las mujeres Guaranies de la Provincia antigua del Uruguay (134) un vestido que cubria sus organos genitales. Es recuerdo que ese vestido tenia la misma forma como el «tipoy» que es un vestido en forma de una manga y sin costura y hasta hoy todavia muy común entre las mujeres Chiriguanas y Chaná como también entre diversas otras tribus de indios de America del Sud.

Los hombres de los Chiriguanos y Chaná, que yo he visto, estaban vestidos de la manera europea tal como es, según Nordenskiöld, hoy costumbre común entre ellos (135). Pero muchos de los hombres Izaná a los que encontré en Toledo, no tenian un tal vestido europeo completo. Varios de ellos no tenian camisas y varios otros, especialmente los menos y muchachos, andaban sin calzones. Pero, sin duda, este estado era solamente transitorio, producido por la situación excepcional de los Izaná traslados a Toledo desde sus comarcas habituales. Cuando yo repartí trajes en Toledo a esos indios, se acercaron todos los que tenian escasés de ropas. Al dia siguiente, fué más visible esta carencia entre los atraidos por los donativos hechos el dia anterior. Vimos entonces a la mayor parte de los menos llegar sin calzones porque habian visto que fueron favorecidos el dia anterior los que no tenian tal prenda de vestir.

De vestidos indígenas los hombres usan todavia el llamado «chiripá», el poncho y la simple manta. Según Nordenskiöld (136) ellos traen algunas veces todavia una camisa «tirasunhai» que consiste en un poncho cuyos dos lados han sido unidos por costura hasta las aberturas para los brazos.

El chiripá consiste en un pedazo cuadrangular de género que pasa por entre las piernas y cuyos dos extremos son sujetos, por atras y por delante, con una cinta. El chiripá, vestido de esa manera, cubre los órganos genitales. La figura 11 representa un muchacho Izaná vestido con tal chiripá. También Nordenskiöld representa por su dibujo un muchacho Chaná vestido con el chiripá (137) Según este autor, el chiripá es usado también muchas veces por los hombres Chiriguanos y Chaná cuando estan trabajando.

El poncho es un vestido hasta hoy todavia usado en común por los hombres y muchachos Chiriguanos y Chaná durante la estación fria. La figura 17 muestra un muchacho Chiriguano vestido con el poncho. Porque hoy los ponchos como las lajas son un artículo muy solicitado por los blancos y muchas veces se fabrican para el comercio, yo procuré adquirir solamente ponchos usados por los indios mismos.

---

(133) Lizarraga: Descripción y costumbres de los Indios. Origen Marcos. II. p. 181.
(134) Serrano: [illegible] p. 428 y 430.
(135) Nordenskiöld: [illegible] p. 80.
(136) [illegible] p. 80.
(137) Nordenskiöld: [illegible] 108.

PONCHOS (ñañ'ia) DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 423.	(Chiriguano)	De lana.	Largór	1,45 m.	Anchura	1,14 m.
I. A. 424.	»	»	»	1,70 m.	»	1,46 m.
I. A. 425.	»	»	»	1,65 m.	»	1,32 m.
I. A. 426.	»	»	»	1,68 m.	»	1,39 m. (Fig. 117.)
I. A. 427.	»	»	De algodón.	Largor 1,36 m.	Anchura 1,06 m.	
I. A. 808.	(Izoció)	De algodón.	Largor	1,46 m.	Anchura	1,35 m.
I. A. 809.	»	De lana	»	1,42 m.	»	1,09 m.
I. A. 110.	»	»	»	1,62 m.	»	1,38 m.
I. A. 812.	»	»	»	1,16 m.	»	1,17 m.
I. A. 813.	»	»	»	1,16 m.	»	0,78 m.
I. A. 814.	»	»	»	1,36 m.	»	0,68 m.
I. A. 815.	»	»	»	1,28 m.	»	0,64 m.
I. A. 819.	»	De algodón	»	1,26 m.	»	1,10 m.
I. A. 823.	»	De lana	»	1,40 m.	»	1,30 m. (Fig. 116.)
I. A. 825.	»	»	»	1,50 m.	»	1,22 m.
I. A. 830.	»	»	»	1,40 m.	»	0,97 m.
I. A. 833.	»	De algodón	»	1,56 m	»	1,25 m.
I. A. 834.	»	»	»	1,26 m.	»	0,93 m.
I. A. 835.	»	»	»	1,42 m.	»	1,21 m.
I. A. 836.	»	»	»	1,08 m.	»	0,71 m.
I. A. 837.	»	»	»	0,96 m.	»	0,78 m.

Para explicar las medidas arriba mencionadas tenemos que decir que las medidas del largór se refieren al largór entero del poncho extendido. Como muestra la figura 17 el poncho se usa a la manera que la hendidura, estando en el centro es llevado encima de la cabeza de modo de que la hendidura está en la dirección del eje mediano del cuerpo humano y la mitad del poncho pasando los hombros, pende para adelante y la otra mitad para detrás. Pues corresponde la distancia entre el borde inferior del poncho y los hombros del hombre que viste el poncho, a la mitad del largór del poncho extendido. Solamente de dos ponchos de lana de los Izoció, la mitad del largór es igual a la anchura. La fabricación y la ornamentación de esos ponchos las trataré en los capítulos relativos a la técnica de tejer y al arte.

Los Chanés del Rio Parapití visten todavía muchas veces mantas, tejidas de lana, las que ellos usan también para dormir encima o para cubrirse con ellos cuando están durmiendo. (138) Yo he adquirido 9 de esas mantas de los Izoció de las cuales cuatro habían sido hechas de ponchos, habiendo cerrado con costura la hendidura en el centro de ellos. Entre las otras cuatro mantas las que han sido fabricadas luego como mantas, las relaciones entre el largór y la anchura pueden ser muy diferentes. Hay algunas de forma casi cuadrada y otras, que son tres veces más largas que anchas. De los Chiriguanos, en Macharetí, recibí solamente un tejido correspondiente a esas mantas que ya está muy remendado.

MANTAS DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 583.	(Chiriguano.)	De algodón.	Largór	1,36 m.	Anchura	1,07 m.
I. A. 816.	(Izoció)	De lana	»	2,20 m.	»	0,60 m.
I. A. 817.	»	»	»	1,80 m.	»	1,20 m.
I. A. 818.	»	»	»	0,68 m.	»	0,60 m.

Nota (38. Compare Nordi 6 p. 82.

I. A. 824. (Ianá)		De lana	Largur	1,22 m.	Anchura	1,30 m.
I. A. 826.	"	"	"	1,28 m.	"	0,44 m.
I. A. 827.	"	"	"	1,40 m.	"	0,92 m.
I. A. 828.	"	"	"	1,34 m.	"	1,05 m.
I. A. 829.	"	"		1,27 m.	"	1,05 m.
I. A. 831.	"	"	"	1,74 m.	"	1,04 m.

Ya mencioné las fajas, hoy usadas por los hombres Chiriguanos a modo de cinto, en el capítulo sobre corte y peinado del cabello y adornos de la cabeza. La fabricación y la ornamentación las trataré en los capítulos relacionados a la técnica de tejer y al arte.

FAJAS (Iouh: kouhá) DE LA COLECCIÓN

I. A. 420-441. (Chiriguano).
I. A. 730; 803-807. (Ianá.)

Solamente la faja de los Ianá I. A. 730 representada en la figura 414, que mide 1,30 m. de largur y 3,7 cm. de anchura, se diferencia respecto a la técnica de su fabricación y sus ornamentaciones, las que tienen que referir a influencias extrañas, a las demás fajas coleccionadas entre los Chiriguanos e Ianá. Estas corresponden bastante exactamente las unas a las otras respecto a sus dimensiones, la técnica de tejer y su ornamentación. Mas, estas fajas de los Ianá son siempre tejidas exclusivamente de algodón y las fajas de los Chiriguanos de lana fuera de una (I. A. 434) cuya urdimbre contiene no solo hilos de algodón sino que también hilos de lana. Todas esas fajas son menos largas de 2 m. La faja más larga de los Chiriguanos mide 2,06 m., la más larga de los Ianá 2,70 m. La anchura de las fajas de los Chiriguanos varía entre 8,5 y 16 cm., aquella de los Ianá entre 10 cm. y 19,5 cm.

Hecho más que los hombres, las mujeres y niñas han conservado su traje primordial consistente en el tipoy. Como muestran las fotografías representadas en las figuras 3, 4, 6, 12 y 14, la camisa moderna o la chaqueta de género moderno han completado muchas veces el tipoy, pero no lo han complicado. La mujer y las tres hijas del cacique de los Ianá representadas en la figura 12 están vestidas del tipoy y también casi todas las mujeres Chiriguanas representadas en la figura 4. Ciertamente las más de las veces, el tipoy es usado como una falda, siendo arrollada su parte superior alrededor de las caderas como una larga cinta. La mujer del cacique y la hija más vieja representadas en la figura 12 han puesto la parte superior del tipoy encima de su hombro. La mujer más vieja representada en la figura 14 viste el tipoy a la manera primordial amarrando sus agujas o espinas de cacto por encima de los dos hombros, (139) del que quedan dos aberturas para poder pasar los dos brazos. Fotografías representadas por Nordenskiöld (140) y v. Rosen muestran que existen todavía otras variaciones en la manera de vestir el tipoy.

De los Ianá he recibido tres de sus tipoys de los cuales dos han sido tejidos de algodón y uno de lana.

TIPOYS DE LA COLECCIÓN

I. A. 832. Ianá.	De algodón.	Largur	1,31 m.	(Fig. 113)
I. A. 833. "	De lana	"	1,61 m.	
I. A. 834. "	De algodón	"	1,37 m.	

Nota 139. Comparar N. Rosen l. c. p. 98.
Nota 140. Ibidem l. cit. 98.

Una especialidad de este tipo de los Chaco-Indios y también de los Chiriguanos en comparación con todos los tipos que conocemos de otras tribus, es su grande tamaño y podemos decir que este tipo bajo sido tan grande en los tiempos anteriores. La indicación de Vieira, (141) que las mujeres Chiriguanas habíanse vestido enteramente en pedazo de género alrededor de sus cuerpos contrata la respuesta contraria. De la fabricación y de la ornamentación nos ocupará en los capítulos sobre la técnica de tejer y el arte.

De los adornos de los Chiriguanos y Chaco ya han sido mencionados en los capítulos antecedentes los adornos del tobillo, el tembeta, el adorno de hombro en forma de plumas para sacar pelos y los anillos, actualmente usados por las mujeres. De otros adornos tienen importancia solamente los collares de las mujeres. La mayor parte de las mujeres fotografiadas por mí estan provistas de collares (ñoñ'E), los que consisten exclusivamente de materiales importados como abalorios, pedazos de metal y monedas como, y por eso no tienen importancia etnológica. Sorprendíbile sólo entre esas tribus, collares compuestos de conchas de tortugas y «chrysocolla» y de semillas negras. (142) V. Rosa representa por dibujo en tal collar de los Chiriguanos compuesto de conchas de tortugas y abalorios. (143) Según esos autor esos collares fueron usados algunas veces también por hombres. (144) También encontramos todavía agujas de plata para sujetar los tipoys, en forma de las de los Peruanos antiguos. Pero también aquellas no son el producto de una industria primitiva, sino si recibidas de plateros europeos. (145)

Al fin mencionos aquí un anillo recibido por el P. Ayala Sala de los Chiriguanos y donado por él al Museo de Historia y Etnografía del Paraguay. El anillo ha sido hecho del metal de la capsula de un cartucho de arma de fuego.

ANILLO (mokkarupa) DE LA «COLECCION

I. A. 1321. (Chiriguano). Donación del P. Ayala Sala. Diámetro 2 cm.

El «origen de los Incas» representado en la figura 12 «alas mandalas» (Chir. antiguas Inca: yñaqá). Por lo cuales los hombres y las mujeres ambos diferían. Pero los dos «ojos» «las mandalas», si ambos contan de una «cara pulpuna o «ojuna. (146)

La región de la propagación de la mandala en la América del Sud nos hace suponer que los Chiriguanos no han recibido primariamente esta prenda de los blancos sino ya antes y proveía de la cultura de los Peruanos antiguos. (147)

TRATAMIENTO DE ENFERMEDADES Y OFRENDAS

En el establecimiento de los indios en Toledo estaba arreglado un pequeño hospital en el que los Indios enfermos recibían tratamiento medico. Por eso no tuve ocasión de hacer entre ellos investigaciones sobre el tratamiento indígena de las enfermedades de esos indios. Tampoco en Machareti tuve ocasión de hacer tales investigaciones. Por eso, me remito a las investigaciones de

Nota 141. Vieira: l. c. p. 20. Según Ordenanzas.
Nota 142. Schmidt: l. c. Del Alum. l. c. p. 42.
Nota 143. V. Rosa: l. c. Fig. 108.
Nota 144. V. Rosa: l. c. p. 108.
Nota 145. Schmidt: l. c. p. 42.
Nota 146. Schmidt: l. c. Del Nacht: l. c. p. 44. Fig. 90. V. Rosa: l. c. p. 90.
Nota 147. Compare Schmidt: l. c. p. 40.

Nordenskiöld y Métraux hablan en punto a esto, (148) y quiero aquí solamente mencionar que también entre los Chiriguanos y Chaná, como entre la mayor parte de los demás indios de la América del Sud existe un médico profesional a quien corresponde el tratamiento de los enfermos, considerado este tratamiento, lo mismo de las tribus, también entre esos indios, es hechicerías. El médico intenta alejar el mal, empuja objetos «dañosos», provocados dentro del cuerpo del enfermo hechizado. Además de tal tratamiento explícase entre los Chiriguanos y Chaná remedios y, sea, fuera de remedios consistiendo en substancias vegetales, también la grasa de diversos animales usada exclusivamente para las diferentes enfermedades. Las heridas los Chaná las tratan con agua hervida.

El aspecto verificase entre los Chiriguanos y Chaná que vivos fuera de los ataúdes, por lo cual habría conforme a la costumbre primordial, en urnas. Según Nordenskiöld (149) los grandes potes para preparar la chicha son también usados como urnas funerarias, y una otra vasija sirve para tapar la urna. Dícese nunca el moribundo ya antes de estar muerto completamente, o largo después de la muerte es apretado por dentro de la urna en «cubillo». Una calabaza con agua se pasa junto con el muerto en la urna y esta es enterrada dentro de la cova. Por la cuenta la casa, después del aspecto, es abandonada por algún tiempo, pero esta tarde otra vez habitada. Una tal urna funeraria de los Chiriguanos del valle de Guipuzcoa es representada por dibujo por Erland Nordenskiöld. (150) Hasta la mitad la urna, provista de una tapa, está desenterrada. Importante es la indicación de Nordenskiöld de que los Chiriguanos usan los mismos potes que sirven a la preparación de las «vasijas» funerarias. De esto podemos deducir que los usos funerarios hallados también en otras regiones tuvieron lugar en vida, durante la vida del muerto, enterrado dentro de «la», a otros destinos relacionados a la economía de esta tribu.

JUEGO

De los diferentes especies de juego encontramos entre los Chiriguanos y Chaná los de movimiento, los juegos de habilidad y los juegos de azar. Pero los juegos de movimiento solo son practicados por los niños.

Entre los juegos de movimiento tenemos que mencionar aquí, principalmente el juego de pelota, gripada con la cabeza. Nordenskiöld lo visto a los muchachos de los Chaná jugar así. Una pelota de goma maciza, primero colocada al «la», dos partidas la «chutan», con la cabeza, sin que la toquen con la mano. Este juego llamado por los Chaná «tuki», sin duda, antes era mucho más común y practicado también por los adultos. Era un «final» el regreso de los Jesuitas en Toledo y lo «tuki» efectuado ya mucho antes por el autor de «Lettres Annues» del año 1616 respecto a los Chaná (151). Era «suelto» también de una leyenda de los Chaná apuntada por Nordenskiöld (152) Según esta leyenda el nuevo «Agaravirangue» se pone en libertad al «cuidar blanco» si «se con la condición de que le procure la pelota blanca de goma. En lo que sigue la leyenda describe minuciosamente como el primero el «ventrio» «Tauhi» juega con el «ventrilugo» «Ludiro» con esta pelota bailándola con la cabeza. Tanto el «Tauhi» blanco salió «cuando junto con la pelota blanca el Demonio Agaravirangue «medio a su pajero a buscar la pelota negra de goma y con esta juega el pueblo «nuevo y, el «ventrio» «Tauhi» esta vez con el nuevo Agaravirangue.

[illegible]

Este tiraba su pelota con una piedra y echaba esta al encuentro del avestrúz Rheo, parando la piedra con la cabeza, murió.

Esta leyenda de la cual mencioné aquí solamente las partes que se refieren al juego de la pelota golpeada con la cabeza nos dá aclaraciones interesantes sobre ese juego de los Chanés, en diversos puntos. En primer lugar ella nos muestra que era difícil para los Chanés, el procurarse dentro de su territorio la substancia necesaria para esas pelotas, porque allá no hay goma. Como los Chanés hoy compran esas pelotas de goma en Santa Cruz de la Sierra también antes ellos debían procurarselas de lejos. Además, tiene interés la distinción entre dos diferentes especies de pelota en la leyenda, la pelota blanca y la pelota negra. La pelota negra corresponde sin duda aquella pelota de goma, maciza, con la cual los muchachos de los Chanés todavía hoy practican ese juego, mientras que la pelota blanca, sin duda, corresponde a la forma de pelota con la cual, en el año 1910, he visto jugar a los Cosaríel - Parenis o Parresi - Kabichis. Esta pelota de goma, clara, más o menos blanca, de los Paresi - Kabichis era hueca y por eso apesar de su tamaño relativamente grande, muy liviana y elástica y por eso mucho más propia para golpearla con la cabeza que una pelota de goma, maciza y dura. Por desgracia Nordenskiöld no da ningún dato sobre el tamaño de las pelotas de goma, macizas de los Chanés, pero tenemos que suponer que ellas son chicas, porque el choque con una pelota de goma maciza del mismo tamaño como él de las pelotas huecas de los Paresis - Kabichis tiene demasiado fuerte para una cabeza, especialmente para una cabeza de un muchacho. En varias leyendas de los Parenis en Utiariti (Matto - Grosso) las que apunté en el año 1928 pero todavía no publiqué, figura el juego con la pelota golpeada con la cabeza. También en estas leyendas son las deidades que juegan ese juego y este tiene un carácter absolutamente religioso. Ha relatado que la deidad de la luna, el día antes de esa especie con su hermana juega ese juego con sus hermanos y en una otra leyenda lo juegan, como en la leyenda de los Chanés, demonios animales. La tortuga juega la pelota con el hijo joven del tigre y, siendo su pelota de piedra ella lo mata por el choque dirigido a la cabeza. Pues también hay aquí un paralelo a la leyenda de los Chanés, en la cual el zorro mata al avestrúz con su pelota transformada en piedra.

Nordenskiöld no vió a los Chiriguanos de la Sierra jugar el juego de la pelota golpeada con la cabeza, pero oyó contar que, antes, ellos practicaban este juego llamado «bendi» por ellos y, eso, como los Chanés con pelotas de goma macizas. (153) En mi trabajo, publicado en esta revista, (154) ya he mencionado que según las «Litteres Annuae» del año 1589 (155) el juego con pelota golpeada con la cabeza era practicado también por los Itatines-Guaraynis y eso sin duda con una pelota de goma, hueca, porque ella es descrita en aquel lugar como muy liviana. Eder (156) menciona este juego con pelota golpeada con la cabeza en el año 1791 por los Matacos, los que no sólo usaban pelotas de goma blancas y huecas sino que también usaban pelotas oscuras y macizas. Diversos autores más antiguos y más recientes, por ejemplo Fernandez y de Orbigny mencionan ese juego entre los Chiquitos (157). Nordenskiöld, en sus viajes, lo ha visto jugar, fuera de los Chanés, a los Huari. (158)

Según esos datos sobre la región de propagación del juego con pelota golpeada con la cabeza, tenemos que suponer que los Chanés, ya antes de su sujetación por los Chiriguanos hayan conocido ese juego y, que los Chiriguanos de

(153) Nordenskiöld, I, p. 326.
(154) Revista de la Sociedad Científica del Paraguay. Tomo III. N. 4, p. 136 y 137.
(155) p. 400 Nordenskiöld.
(156) Eder, Pfaum, Lopez Descripción geográfica [illegible] 1791 p. 41. Según Nordenskiöld.
(157) Nord. I, p. 326.
(158) Nord. I, p. 326.

la Cordillera, como los Itatines - Guarayús le han recibido desde temprano de los Chanés. Los Chiguanos usan también el juego de pelota hecha de hojas de maiz y golpeada con la mano lo que conocemos de muchos otros indios Sudamericanos (159). Según Métraux no se juega este juego sino en el tiempo cuando el maiz esta madureciendo y está relacionado del cultivo del maiz.

Respecto a otros juegos de movimiento, los muchachos de los Chiriguanos juegan un juego que corresponde al juego de polo y es muy común entre las tribus del Chaco. Los Chiriguanos lo llaman «taca». La pelota es golpeada sea, como entre los Chorotes y Churupis, con palos encorvados, sea con una raqueta primitiva. (160) Sin duda los Chiriguanos recibieron ese juego de las tribus circunvecinas del Chaco.

De los juegos de habilidad, solamente uno es jugado por los adultos y eso solamente por las mujeres. Es una especie de juego de bolo lo que los Chiriguanos en Tibuipa llaman «itarapóa» y los Chanés del Parapiti «tecorôre» (161) Los bolos de ese juego consisten en dos hileras de granos de maiz, dos a dos, uno encima del otro, o en un marlo. Es echado con bolas de piedra o con una pelota hueca de barro cocido provista por dentro de bolitas hechas de la misma materia. (162)

Tres otros juegos de habilidad, descrito por Nordenskiöld, son jugados solamente por muchachos. (163) Para uno de esos, llamado «sóuki» son empleados dos flechas provistas de marlos (164). Esos dos juegos son practicados por los muchachos de los Chanés del Parapiti.

El tercer juego llamado «parama», Nordenskiöld lo vió jugar a los muchachos de los Chiriguanos en el valle de Caipipendi. Con piedritas redondas, echadas con pedazos de barro cocido, se intenta derribar un botón, o tal cosa, de una piedra.

Recibí de los Chiriguanos en Machareti algunos juguetes de las criaturas los que pertenecen a esos juegos de habilidad.

JUGUETES DE LA COLECCIÓN

I. A. 504. Trompo. (Chiriguano). Largór 18 cm.
I. A. 505. » » » 16 cm. (Fig. 35. b.)
I. A. 506. Matraca. » » 25 cm.
I. A. 507. Hondita. » » 55 cm.

I. A. 510. Juguete llamado «mou - mou». (Chiriguano). Diámetro del disco 6 cm. (Fig. 36. a.)

Un ejemplar de trompo, semejante a los dos mencionados (compare figura 35. b.) y oriundo de los Chiriguanos del valle de Caipipendi es representado por dibujo por Nordenskiöld. (166)

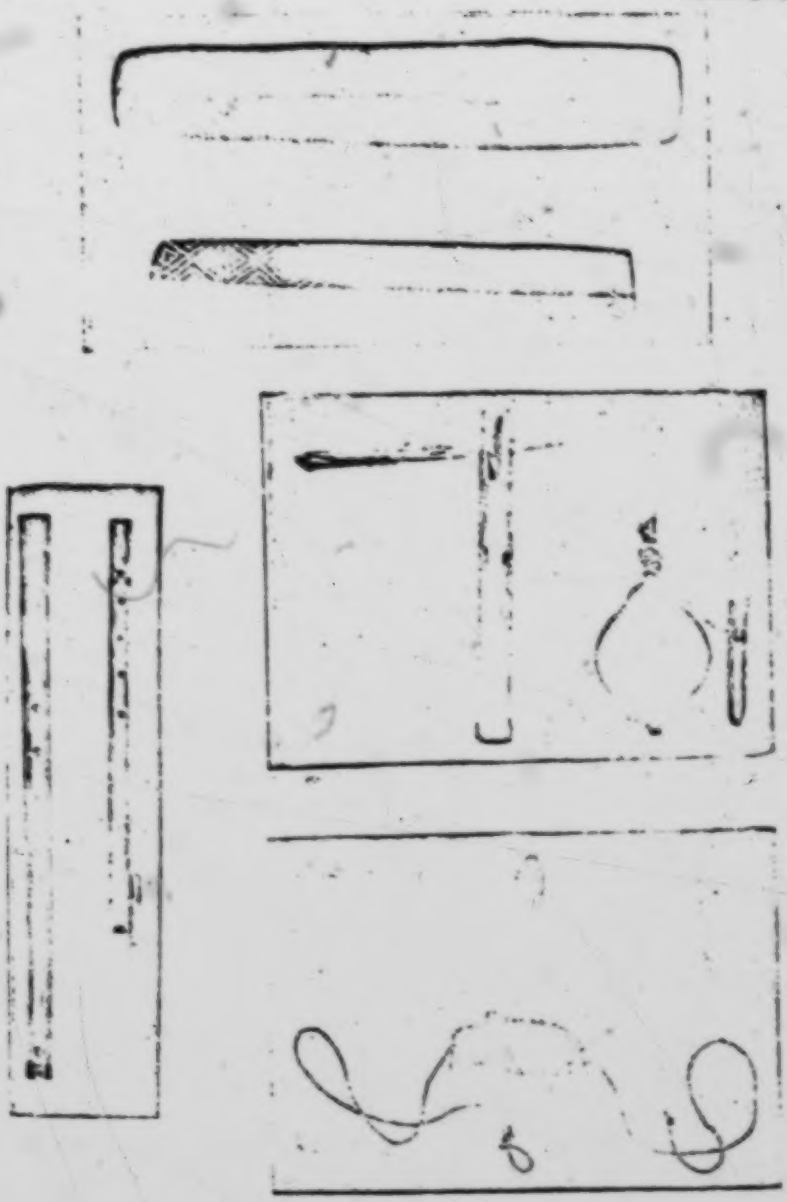
La hondita, I. A. 507, compuesta de una horqueta de madera, de dos listas de goma, procuradas de un neumatico de automovil, y de un cuero, no tiene origen indigena, tampoco la matraca representada en figura 35. a.

Nota 159. Nord. III p 168. Métraux I. p. 44 y fig. 11.
Nota 160. Comparar: Nord. I. p. 198.
Nota 161. Según Nord. I. p. 192.
Nota 162. Nord. I. p. 192 y Abb. 99.
Nota 163. Nord. I. p. 196 y 197.
Nota 164. Nord. I. Abb. 102
Nota 65. Nord. I. Abb. 109.
Nota 166. Nord. I. Abb. 104. B.

[P. 36-A]

LAMINA XII

Sociedad Científica
del Paraguay



[P·36-B]

LAMINA XII

Fig. 33

Flautas "sarere" de madera. (Chiriguano)

a. (I. A. 492) Largor 20 cm.
b. (I. A. 491) Largor 17 cm.

Fig. 35

a. (I. A. 506) Matraca. Juguete para criaturas. (Chiriguano) Largor 22,5 cm.

b. (I. A. 505) Trompo. Juguete para criaturas. (Chiriguano) Largor 16 cm.

Fig. 34

a. (I. A. 493) Flauta de caña. (Chiriguano) Largor 41 cm.

b. (I. A. 495) Silbato d-ble de caña. (Chiriguano) Largor 22.5 y 7 cm.

Fig. 36

a. (I. A. 510)—Juguete para criaturas "mere-mere". (Chiriguano) Diámetro del disco 6 cm.

b. (I. A. 509)—Honda. (Chiriguano). Largor (sin cordones) 14 cm.

LAMINA XIII

[P. 36-C]

Fig. 37

Arcos y flechas

a. (I. A. 787)
Arco. (Iscuó)
Largor 1,30 m.

c. (I. A. 819)
Flecha.
(Chiriguano)
Largor 1 m.

e. (I. A. 834)
Flecha para pájaros.
(Chiriguano)
Largor 1,11 m.

g. (I. A. [illegible])
Flecha.
(Chiriguano)
Largor 0,94 m.

b. (I. A. 756)
Arco. (Iscuó)
Largor 1,41 m.

d. (I. A. [illegible])
Flecha.
(Chiriguano)
Largor 0,85 m.

f. (I. A. 749)
Flecha. (Iscuó)
Largor 0,94 m.

h. (I. A. 750)
Flecha. (Iscuó)
Largor 0,[illegible] m.

Fig. 38

(I. A. 817)
Warana.
(Chiriguano)
Largor 0,61 m.

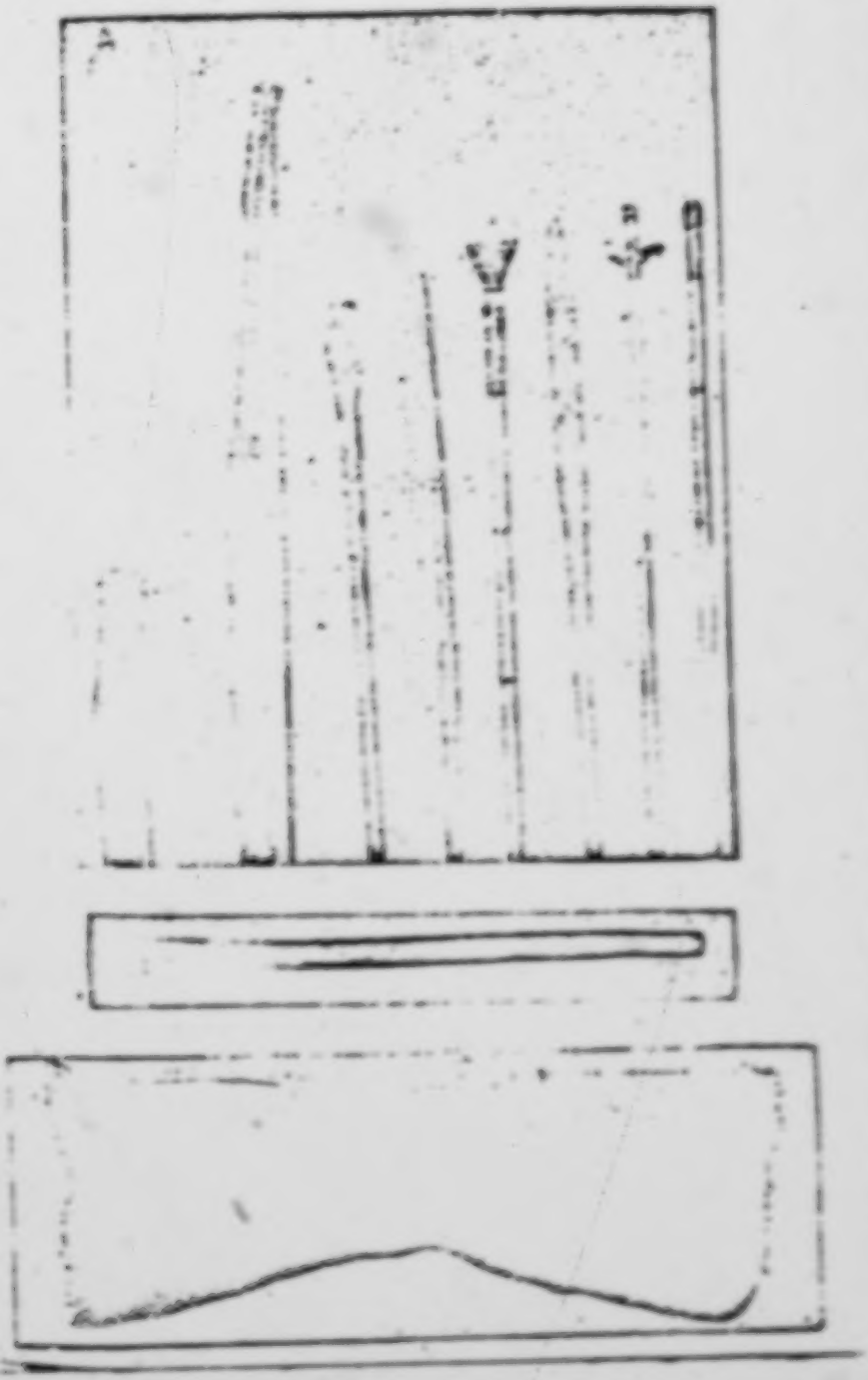
Fig. 39

(I. A. 764)—Utensilio para pescar. (Iscuó). Largor 73,5 cm.

[P. 36-D]

Nominal Classification
(El Paraguay)

LAMINA XIII



El juguete representado en figura 36. a, llamado «mou - mou» por los Chiriguanos, se compone de un chico disco de calabaza con borde dentado y un hilo doble. Este pasa por dos agujeros del disco. Por torcerse y estirarse alternativamente ese hilo, produce una rotacion rápida del disco junto con un ruido corriente. De otros juguetes de las criaturas de los Chanés son representados por dibujos por Nordenskiöld un cerco junto con chicote, un intrumento de musica consistiendo en dos arcos (167) y un mosquete chico. Con tales mosquetes juegan también las criaturas de los Chiriguanos en el valle de Caipipendi y de los Chorotes. (168)

De los juegos de habilidad tenemos que mencionar, al fin, los juegos de hilo de los cuales algunos son representados por dibujos por Métraux, los cuales un hombre Chiriguano hizo para él. También los niños de los Chiriguanos conocen este juego.

De los juegos de azar existen dos entre los Chiriguanos y los Chanés. Uno, llamado por los Chiriguanos «chúcaráy» y por los Chanés «chunquanty» es jugado con cuatro tablitas, y el otro, llamado «asúcareta», con un gran número de tablitas, cóncavas de un lado y convexas de otro lado. (170)

De los blancos esos indios recibieron dos juegos de azar, el juego de dados lo que llaman con el nombre español «daro» y el juego con un hueso de la pierna de una vaca lo que llaman «taba».

AGRICULTURA

Ya en el capitulo relativo a comida y bebida he explicado que es común como producto de la agricultura el cultivo del maiz y entre los Chanés del Parapití, el cultivo de la batata dulce. La mandioca no es cultivada sino pocas veces y no tiene importancia en la economía de esos indios. Diversas especies de habas son plantadas, además una especie de cacto, algunas calabazas que tienen frutas comestibles y también poco tabaco. A estas plantas comestibles o exitantes indígenas que son plantadas, se agregan algunas otras recibidas de los blancos, pero estas tienen poca importancia en la economía de esos indios. Según Nordenskiöld (171) son estas las siguientes: La caña dulce, el maní, la sandia, el melón, el higo, la naranja y el mijo y, por Métraux, es mencionado entre ellas también el plátano. (172) Fuera de estas plantas comestibles o exitantes son cultivadas diversas especies de calabazas, cuyas frutas no son comestibles pero sirven para fabricar vasijas; algodón para fabricar hilos; urucú para ganar el tinte colorado y entre los indios del Parapití también una especie de caña, Harundo Donax, que crece, en gran cantidad, silvestre en los bordes del Pilcomayo, pero no en los del Rio Parapití.

La especie de agriultura que en común practican esos indios es aquella que podemos determinar por la palabra «el rozado», la que corresponde el mejor al término técnico alemán: «Waldrodung» usado para este concepto. Un pedazo del monte es rozado y la tierra, en esta manera cultivada, es tantas veces plantada hasta que esté agotada. Según Métraux (173) el lugar destinado a la plantación es primero limpiado del yuyo que es cortado con un gran palo provisto de un corte en sus dos cortados, y que es cremado en el lugar mismo. Métraux

Nota 167. Nord. I. Abb. 104. C. y D.
Nota 168. Nord. I. Abb. 123.
Nota 169. Métraux I. p. 442 446. Planches 89 y 90.
Nota 170. Nord. I. p. 199 y Abb. 95.
Nota 171. Nord. 2. p. 75 y 34.
Nota 172. Métraux I. p. 520 y 529.
Nota 173. Métraux I. p. 524.

ha compilado de la literatura también las respectivas indicaciones sobre la manera de la siembra del maiz. (174)

Los utensilios usados para este cultivo son recibidos casi todos de los blancos como palas y azadas de hierro. La pala, hecha de madera la que los Chiriguanos recibieron, sin duda, de la cultura de los Peruanos antiguos y que antes era usada universalmente por ellos es hoy muy rara. (175) Según Nordenskiöld esas palas consistian en madera dura y eran provistas de un mango artificialmente formado. Dos de tales mangos de palas provistos con un asidero especial en su extremo superior son representados por dibujos por Nordenskiöld y dos semejantes por Métraux (176). En las leyendas de los Chanés, apuntadas por Nordenskiöld, se menciona fuera de la pala, también el punzón de madera, que es un utensilio de agricultura muy común entre la mayor parte de los indios de la America del Sud que tienen agricultura. En una de esas leyendas se dice (177) que Tunpa, después de haber creado los abuelos de los Avás (Chiriguanos) y de los Chanés les dió una pala de madera y un palo largo y entallado, llamado «carumpa» y flechas y arcos para que se alimentasen con esos utensilios. En la otra leyenda se cuenta que el tigre va a buscar los punzones cuando el zorro quiere ayudarle a sembrar su chacra (178) De las indicaciones de Métraux mencionadas en lo que precede sigue que los Chiriguanos usan todavia un tal utensilio de madera para su agricultura.

Los Chiriguanos en Machareti tenian algunas plantaciones cerca de su pueblo pero por causa de la seca extraordinaria de aquel tiempo, ellos no habian producido nada. Los Izoños cerca de Toledo habian rozado grandes terrenos pero por la misma causa no podian plantar. Según Nordenskiöld (179) las grandes plantaciones de los Chiriguanos y Chanés están muchas veces lejos de sus pueblos y están cercadas con materrales.

CRIA DE GANADOS

De animales domesticos, primordiales en la America del Sud, los Chiriguanos y Chanés tienen el perro sudamericano, quien, hoy, está mezclado con la sangre de los perros europeos. (180) Porque los Peruanos antiguos criaban diversas razas de perros podemos suponer que los Chiriguanos recibieron el perro como animal doméstico de los Peruanos antiguos. Lo mismo podemos suponer respecto al pato, el que también era criado por los Peruanos antiguos. Por eso yo no hago entrar el pato en los animales domesticos que recibieron esos indios de los blancos como hace Nordenskiöld. No sabemos si los Chiriguanos en tiempos pasados hayan criado la llama. Del hecho de que existen en el territorio situado entre el Rio Parapiti y el Rio Grande, Guanacos, podemos suponer que la cria de aquella otra especie de Eschenia fuese posible en aquel pais.

Ya temprano los Chiriguanos recibieron los animales domésticos europeos como el caballo, el asno, el vacuno, carneros, cabras, chanchos y gallos y gallinas, los que ellos capturaron en gran cantidad en sus correrias continuas emprendidas contra los colonos españoles. Repetidas veces quejase en los documentos del siglo XVI del extenso robo de ganado hecho por esos indios. Hoy los Chiriguanos y Chanés no tienen muchos caballos y nunca ellos han tenido el caracter

Nota 174. Métraux 1 p. 187.
Nota 175. Nord. 1 p. 18; Métraux 1, p. 188 y 189.
Nota 176. Nord. 1. Abb. 44. Métraux 1 p. 188 fig. 3 y 4.
Nota 177. Nord. 1. p. 284.
Nota 178. Nord. 1. p. 286.
Nota 179. Nord. 1. p. 188.
Nota 180. Nord. 1 p. 142. Nord. 2. p. 80.

pronunciado de una nación de jinetes. Las armas verdaderas de guerra eran antes un arco largo y flechas también largas, que no se pueden usar cuando el jinete está montado, además de que antes sus domicilios estaban en las cercanías en regiones en las que también los Españoles no pudieron alcanzar a entrar montados. En ciertas partes de su territorio la cría de vacuno tiene alguna importancia. (181) Más general es la cría de carneros, cerdos y gallinas. Hoy se encuentran entre ellos algunas veces también gallinas de Guinea y pavos. (182)

Animales silvestres domesticados se encuentran pocas veces en el interior de sus casas, sino que ellos tienen algunos loros. (183)

CAZA

Anteriormente hemos explicado que, por consecuencia de la carencia de animales que pueden comerse en el territorio de los Chiriguanos y Chanés, la caza tiene un caracter secundario entre los medios para su alimentación y, conforme a eso, conocemos por documentos antiguos que las plumas para sus flechas eran entregadas a los Chiriguanos por otras tribus de indios, que eran sus tributarios (183) La cría del ganado doméstico les da más ocasión de procurarse alimentos animales. Conforme al hecho de que los Chiriguanos, por lo menos hoy, no son excelentes cazadores, el método de cazar más común entre ellos es el uso de trampas. (184) Nordenskiöld describe tres especies diferentes de trampas que las tres sirven para prender aves. (185) La primera especie consiste en un simple lazo y es usado con ayuda de reclamos. La segunda especie, que es común entre otras diversas tribus de indios, es usada, por ejemplo, también por los Kaingua. La tercera especie consiste en una red que consta de dos partes y es asegurada al suelo por medio de estacas. En una de las leyendas de los Chanés, apuntadas por Nordenskiöld, se menciona una trampa para prender palomas. (186)

Solo accidentalmente son usados para cazar, arcos y flechas, así que hoy ya es difícil coleccionarlos entre esos indios. De los Ituzaé yo pude adquirir diversos arcos y flechas y de los Chiriguanos un pequeño arco para criaturas y diversas flechas. Entre éstas también dos ejemplares para matar aves, provistos de una maza en la punta. Porque muchas veces, en caso particular no podemos decidir, si una especie de flecha es usada exclusivamente para la caza o para la pesca o para estos dos destinos, enumeraré todas las tipos de flechas juntas en el siguiente cuadro.

ARCOS (sirápa) DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 518.	(Chiriguano)	Largo	0,80 m.	Cuerda consiste en tiras de pellejo animal			
I. A. 754.	(Ituzaé).	Largo	1,29 m.	•	•	•	
I. A. 755.	•	•	1,28 m.	•	•	•	
I. A. 756.	•	•	1,41 m.	•	•	•	(Fig. 37 b.)
I. A. 757.	•	•	1,32 m.	•	•	•	(Fig. 37 a.)
I. A. 758.	•	•	1,31 m.	•	•	•	
I. A. 759.	•	•	1,04 m.	•	•	•	
I. A. 760.	•	•	1,11 m.	Cuerda consiste en un pedazo de cabio.			

Nota 181. Compare Métraux I. p. 387.
Nota 182. Nord. I. p. 197.
Nota 183. Métraux II. 175.
Nota 184. V. Bucco. I. c. p. 391.
Nota 185. Nord. I. p. 82, 83 y 84 ann. 81, 82 y 83
Nota 186. Nord. I. p. 179.

FLECHAS (sij) DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 519. (Chiriguano). Largúr 1 m. Punta de hierro; su largúr 18,5 cm. Asta de caña. Sin emplumación. (Fig. 37. c.)

I. A. 520. (Chiriguano) Largúr 0,99 m. Punta de hierro; su largúr 20 cm. Asta de caña. Restos de emplumación.

I. A. 521. (Chiriguano). Largúr 0,95 m. Punta de madera; su largúr 20,5 cm. Asta de caña. Con emplumación. (Fig. 37. d.)

I. A. 522-523. (Chiriguano). Puntas de alambre

I. A. 524. (Chiriguano). Largúr 1,11 m. Punta en forma de maza; su largúr 5,5 cm. Asta de caña. Con emplumación. (Fig. 37. e.)

I. A. 525. (Chiriguano). Largúr 0,71 m. Punta en forma de maza; su largúr 4 cm. Asta de madera. Con emplumación.

I. A. 526. Punta de madera de una flecha. (Chiriguano). Largúr 25,5 cm.

I. A. 747. (Izozo). Largúr 0,97 m. Punta de hierro; su largúr 24,5 cm Asta de caña. Restos de emplumación

I. A. 748. " Largúr 0,94 m. Punta de hierro; su largúr 23,5 cm. Asta de caña. Sin emplumación. (Fig. 37. f.)

I. A. 749. " Largúr 1,07 m. Punta de hierro; su largúr 23,2 cm. Asta de caña. Sin emplumación.

I. A. 750. " Largúr 0,835 m. Punta de hierro; su largúr 17 cm. Asta de caña. Sin emplumación. (Fig. 37. h.)

I. A. 751. " Largúr 0,93 m. Punta de hierro; su largúr 22,5 cm. Asta de caña. Con emplumación.

I. A. 752. " Largúr 0,92 m. Punta de hierro; su largúr 27 cm. Asta de caña. Con emplumación.

I. A. 753. " Largúr 0,965 m. Punta de hierro; su largúr 21,5 cm. Asta de caña. Tal vez con emplumación.

De las 7 arcos de los Izozo, los 4 primeros de la lista son buenos ejemplares hechos de madera dura, y corresponden en todos los detalles exactamente a los arcos de los Chiriguanos descritos por v. Rosen (187) excepto, solamente su largúr, que tiene algunos centímetros menos que el largúr de estos. Esa diferencia en el largúr se explica bien de que esos arcos de los Chiriguanos ya fueron coleccionados por v. Rosen en los años 1901 y 1902. Hoy sería difícil encontrar entre los Chiriguanos todavía arcos tan largos como aquellos que adquirió v. Rosen hacen 35 años. De la indicación de Lizarraga de que los arcos de los Chiriguanos tenían el mismo largúr como el que tenía el tirador, resulta que los arcos de esos indios antes eran todavía más largos que los descritos por v. Rosen. Si nosotros proponemos según las mediciones antéricas de Lehmann-Nitsche, mencionadas en lo que precede, por término medio de la altura del hombre Chiriguano una altura de 1,63 m., hay, entre este número y el número de 1,65 m. que indica el largúr del arco más largo entre los arcos coleccionados por v. Rosen, tuviera una diferencia de 10 cm. Tenemos que tener esta reducción del arco de los Chiriguanos y Chaná, sucesivamente progresando, por una consecuencia de su degeneración producida por su caer paulatinamente en abuso.

La forma de todos los arcos coleccionados entre los Izozo es la misma, sin contar las diferencias insignificantes respecto a su largúr. La madera del arco, teniendo más o menos 3 cm. de anchura, es plano del lado que se dirige a la cuerda y convexa al lado contrario. Para poder asegurar mejor la cuerda del arco, cada uno de estos está provisto en sus extremos, de una reducción distintamente marcada y siempre al extremo superior bastante más corta que al extremo infe-

Nota del v. Rosen. l. c. p. 245 Sub.

rior. Tres de esos arcos de los Isoseño muestran, estando su tensa, la forma recién ya mencionada por v. Rosen con respecto a los arcos de los Chiriguanos. La cuerda del arco consistiendo en tiras de piel de animal, torcidas, se halla amarrada a la manera común que lo hacen los indios de la América del Sud. Por medio de un lazo provisto de un nudo, ella rodea la reducción del extremo superior del arco, mientras que el lazo del extremo inferior, está hecho de manera que se pueda efectuar conforme a la necesidad, ora una reducción ora una prolongación de la cuerda del arco. Compare figura 37. a y b. En todos esos arcos una grande parte de la cuerda está arrollada como reserva al rededor de la madera del arco. El arco I. A. 757 cuya madera muestra handiduras del lado que se dirige a la cuerda, tiene en dos partes refuerzos de la madera consistiendo el uno de estos en su envolvimiento con hilo y el otro en un pedazo de la piel de la cola de ganado vacuno que pasa en forma de una manga la madera del arco. Compare figura 37.

Los tres arcos I. A. 758 - 760, hechos de una madera clara, corresponden, respecto a su forma, a la de los otros, pero han sido fabricados mal y aparecen con una ornamentaría mala, destinada a hacer negocios. El arco I. A. 760 tiene hasta un alambre de cobre, en lugar de la cuerda.

El arco chico de los Chiriguanos, I. A. 918, es un arco destinado a los muchachos para tirar con flechas bien provistas de una punta de alambre, de las cuales se han enumerado en gran número en la lista precedente.

El largo de las flechas coleccionadas por mí entre los Chiriguanos 4 largos en queda bastante atrás con respecto al largo de los arcos correspondientes. La más larga entre ellas es una flecha de los Chiriguanos para tirar a las aves, provista de una maza en lugar de la punta, teniendo su largo de 1,11 m. Entre las flechas provistas de punta de hierro, un ejemplar de los Isoseño alcanza el largo de 1,07 m. y un ejemplar de los Chiriguanos, el largo de 1 m. Esto es lo contrario de las observaciones que hizo v. Rosen sobre las flechas de los Chiriguanos, las que eran tan grandes o tenían más grandes que los arcos.

Sin contar las flechas de los Chiriguanos provistas de puntas de alambre las que, sin duda, por lo común no son usadas sino por los muchachos para tirar a pájaros o a aves y las que son muchas veces provistas de astas de madera, las astas de las flechas consisten universalmente en caña, extraídas de la planta Arundo Donax, lo que, como ya mencioné en lo que precede, es cultivada por los Chaná del Río Paraguay. Según Nordenskiöld, los Chaná antes han usado también el Uká (Cymorium sp.) que llaman «Ibirbiro» (168). Las flechas coleccionadas entre los Isoseño están provistas de puntas de hierro. Nordenskiöld, representa por dibujos también flechas de los Chaná provistas de puntas de madera, en forma de una lanceta, o, dentelas. (169)

Entre las flechas de los Chiriguanos existen en la colección dos provistas de puntas de hierro, una provista de punta de madera, dentada, una tal punta de madera sin asta y dos flechas para matar aves, provistas de una maza en lugar de la punta. Las flechas provistas de punta de hierro, de los Chiriguanos corresponden respecto a la forma y la substancia, completamente a las de los Isoseño. La punta de hierro está jostada con el asta por medio de un pedazo de madera hendida, y de un envolvimiento de hilo, hecho de una cortina especial de un tejido y adornado con cera. El extremo inferior de la asta de caña está provisto de una estalladura encima de la cual el extremo de la flecha es también adornado por un envolvimiento con el mismo hilo y adornado con cera.

(168) Nord. I. p. 31.
(169) Nord. I. Fig. 5. a y d.

Algunas de las flechas de los Chiriguanos é Izozóe tienen emplumación, otras no. Mientras que la emplumación de algunas de las flechas que ahora no la tienen, se perdió posteriormente, como se puede conocer de los restos de cera que servía para asegurarla, otras flechas muestran claramente que nunca tuvieron emplumación. Si hay emplumación, las partes de plumas aseguradas por medio de envolvimiento con hilo y de cera, son pequeñas como las de la mayór parte de las tribus del Chaco. En el esquema combinado por Herrmann Meyer para los diversos tipos de flechas sudamericanas, la emplumación de las flechas de los Chiriguanos y Chaqueños corresponde a aquella que este autor llama «Peruanische Pechfiederung». La flecha de los Chiriguanos provista de una punta de madera, dentada, se diferencia de las demás flechas por ser su punta asegurada directamente al asta sin intermediar un pedazo especial de madera. Por lo demás, la forma de su asta provista, en este caso, de una emplumación, corresponde a la forma de las astas de las flechas provistas de punta de hierro. V. Rosen (190) v. Nordenskiöld (191) y Métraux (192) representan por dibujos, diferentes tipos de flechas de los Chiriguanos provistas de punta de madera.

Métraux halló entre los Chiriguanos en el valle de Caipipendi muchas veces flechas provistas de dos puntas de madera, dentadas, las que los jóvenes usaban especialmente para tirar a los yacú (193)

De las dos flechas de los Chiriguanos para tirar a aves provistas de una maza al extremo superior, en lugar de la punta (sóngo), solamente un ejemplar, I. A. 534, puede ser tenido por un ejemplar típico. Ella es, como ya mencioné, la flecha más larga de la colección. La otra flecha para tirar a aves, mucho más corta y mal hecha, sin duda servía solamente a los muchachos. La forma de las mazas de esas dos flechas (compare fig. 37. e.) es la misma y corresponde también a la forma de las flechas de esta especie, las que representan por dibujos v. Rosen y v. Nordenskiöld. (194) Esta maza está afirmada directamente por dentro de la parte superior del asta. El asta de la flecha mayor consiste en la misma caña como las de las demás flechas y la de la flecha menor, en madera liviana. El envolvimiento en la parte superior y también en la parte inferior del asta de la flecha más larga, consiste en hilo de algodón, afirmado con cera. Las dos flechas tienen una emplumación y la misma entalladura al extremo inferior del asta. Varios ejemplares de flechas de los Chiriguanos, para tirar a aves, cuyas mazas muestran diferentes formas son representados por dibujos por Métraux (195)

La forma especial de la maza de las flechas para tirar a las aves, (compare figura 37. e.) y la manera especial del envolvimiento del asta con un hilo de corteza de árbol y el largór que, antes, tenían estas flechas, nos hacen suponer que ese tipo de flechas, hoy común igualmente entre los Chiriguanos y Chaqueños, son la forma antigua de las flechas, que los Chiriguanos llevaron de su suelo natal, el Chaco. Ya mencioné que los arcos y las flechas de los Chiriguanos y de los Chaqueños entre ellos más largas. Pero podemos también suponer que esos utensilios de caza y armas de guerra, antes, conforme a su importancia mayór, fueron trabajados mejór que hoy.

Según Nordenskiöld, solo pocas veces aparece entre los Chiriguanos y los Chaqueños el boleador, el arco para echar bolas, y es usado solamente por los muchachos y mujeres. (196)

(190) V. Rosen, l. c. Fig. 208-214.
(191) Nord. l. Fig. 4 B.
(192) Métraux l. Planchas 8 y 9.
(193) Métraux l. c. 87. y planchas IX n. 1.
(194) V. Rosen l. c. Pag. 202. Nord. 2. Fig. 4. D. y E
(195) Métraux l. Planchas X. XI.
(196) Nord. l. p. 9.

MACANA DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 817. (Chiriguano). Largór 64 cm. (Fig 38).

La macana de madera, adquirida de los Chiriguanos, está provista en su extremo superior de una dilatación distintamente delimitada del mango, (Compare Fig. 38) y corresponde en eso a las macanas las que conocemos de diversas tribus del Chaco, como por ejemplo de los Tobas; pero no corresponde a la macana de los Chiriguanos representada por dibujo por Nordenskiöld. (197) Esta tiene más o menos el mismo largór, pero no muestra una dilatación delimitada del mango, siendo su extremo superior solamente poco dilatado. Según Nordenskiöld, los Chiriguanos no usan esas macanas sino para la caza de puercos. (198)

HONDAS (tamombeka) DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 508. Chiriguano. Largor de la parte mediana de red 18 cm.
I. A. 509. » » » » » 14 cm. (Fig. 34. b.)

Las dos hondas adquiridas de los Chiriguanos se parecen completamente la una a la otra. Consisten en una parte mediana fabricada con la técnica de red y con hilo de fibras de caraguatá que acaba en cada uno de sus extremos en un cordón. De estos dos cordones uno acaba por un simple nudo y el otro por un pequeño lazo. Esas hondas corresponden a las de los Chaués representadas por dibujo por Nordenskiöld, mientras que la fabricación de la parte mediana de la honda de los Chiriguanos representada por Nordenskiöld es diferente. (199). Los Chiriguanos que tienen conexiones con los Quichuas usan también otro tipo de hondas hechas de lana. (200)

Según Nordenskiöld, antes, los Chiriguanos usaban para cazar el avestrúz, también la baleadora llamada por ellos «churimo». (201)

Todavia tenemos que mencionar que los Chiriguanos adiestran sus perros para la caza, especialmente para la caza de los puercos. (202)

LA PESCA

Porque, como ya mencioné, no hay en todas partes del territorio de los Chiriguanos ocasión para pescar y también los pocos grandes rios que están en su territorio, excepto el Rio Pilcomayo superior no provean sinó pescados de muy pequeño tamaño, la pesca tiene en la economia de la mayor parte de los Chiriguanos solamente una importancia secundaria, aunque ellos aprovechan toda ocasión para pescar.

Entre los Chiriguanos en Macharetí no he visto algunos utensilios destinados a la pesca, fuera de las flechas pequeñas provistas de puntas de alambre, las que sirven tal vez ocasionalmente a la pesca. Pero entre los Isoso adquirí un tal utensilio, consistiendo en una bolsa de red que se cerrada por encima por dos listones de caña asegurados al borde superior. (Compare figura 39.)

Nota 197. Nord. 2. p. Fig. 6.
Nota 198. Nord. 1 p. 188.
Nota 199. Nord. 2. Fig. 7. a.
Nota 200. Métraux 1 p. 367 y planche VII.
Nota 201. Nord. 1. p. 188.
Nota 202. Nord. 2. p. 61. Métraux 1. p. 366.

UTENSILIOS DE PESCA DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 764. Utensilio de pesca (Ipaé). Largo de los listones 73,5 cm. Ancho de la red 24 cm. (Fig. 39).

I. A. 795-801. Bolsas de red para utensilios como I. A. 764. (Ipaé).

Por la elasticidad de los dos listones de caña asegurados al borde superior de la bolsa de red, se obtiene que la bolsa puede ser abierta por una traslación de los listones de caña. La abertura así producida se cierra rápidamente si la tracción termina. Un tal utensilio de los Chiriguanos del Parapití es representado por dibujo por Nordenskiöld. (203)

De los demás métodos de pesca mencionados, según v. Rosen y v. Nordenskiöld los siguientes: En primer lugar, la pesca por medio de una calabaza puesta al vado del río a la sombra de una rama la que está fijada al suelo cerca de ella. Si los peces atraídos con maíz acidificado se han juntado por dentro de la calabaza, su abertura se cerrada rápidamente con la mano. (204) Además como indios del Río Itiyuru hacen estanques oblongos levantando diques (205) y los del río Río Pilcomayo construyen grandes diques de piedra para la pesca (206) Se dice que en este río ellos utilizan la corteza de un árbol especial para envenenar el agua. (207) Ellos pescan también con anzuelos, los que ellos prefieren hoy de los blancos. Pero puede ser que el anzuelo sea un utensilio de la cultura antigua de ellos. (208) Además, pescan por medio de redes profundas que corresponden a las de las tribus vecinas del Chaco como son los Chorotes, Chunupis, Matakos y Tobas. (209) Pescan también con flechas y, antes, con lanzas provistas de dos puntas. De estas lanzas v. Rosen ha adquirido en su viaje, en los años 1901-1902, totavía un ejemplar de los Chiriguanos, la que ha descrito y representado por dibujo. (210) Entre las flechas de los Chiriguanos y Chanés destinadas exclusivamente a la pesca, tenemos que distinguir dos especies diferentes, una destinada a pescar peces mayores, provista de dos puntas de madera, dentadas, (211) y la otra para pescar peces chicos, provista en el extremo superior del asta, de gran número de espinas de cacto. (212)

ADQUISICION DE LA MATERIA PRIMA DE ORIGEN INORGANICO

Porque eran los tesoros ricos de los Incas y de las tierras confinantes especialmente su riqueza de oro y plata, los que habían estimulado a los Chiriguanos a inmigrar a las regiones confinantes a este imperio, se impone la cuestión de si los Chiriguanos participaron a la explotación de la tierra con ese objeto. Nosotros conocemos sus combates con Guacane y su hermano Condori por causa de las minas ricas de Mayporó y conocemos que los Chiriguanos han poseído por algún tiempo estas minas y han llevado en esta ocasión grandes cantidades de oro y de plata. Pero en esos combates ellos se habían apoderado de la persona de Condori, que era el dueño de esas minas y, se quedaron con él, sujetándola, para que explotase las minas para ellos. Además se poder sobre la región de las minas duró poco tiempo, porque fueron rechazados por el cacique Grigota

---

[illegible]

hasta las cordilleras orientales de los Andes. No tenemos ninguna noticia de que ellos en su nueva patria hubieran tenido ocasión de extraer oro y plata del suelo; tampoco de que ellos mismos hubieran labrado, en medio mayor esos metales. Hoy mismo ellos saben hacer sus adornos de plata o los sustituyen o bien con cuchillas, excepto el solo hecho de que los Chiriguanos fabricaban algunas veces sus tembetás de estaño.

Por la descripción de sus tembetás y collares conocemos que los Chiriguanos poseen algunas piedras semipreciosas. Como Kurtenbáhl refiere (312) ellos, según sus propias indicaciones, hallan las cuentas de turquesa y chrysocol en la tierra ondende existieron habitaciones o donde están ubicadas superiores antiguas.

Mientras que la sal hoy es adquirida de los blancos, antes, era extraída de la tierra, sea en la forma de sal gema, la que sacaban de las minas, cerca de San Luis, sea en la forma de agua salada que ganaban tratando por agua la tierra de las barreras llamadas «yokie» (314).

PRODUCCION DEL FUEGO.

Por los Chiriguanos y los Chaco hoy son usados para sus utensilios indígenas para producir el fuego. En la casa de habitación, generalmente, se puede producir el fuego de cualquier otro tipo de fuego y para otros usos, ellos se proveen comúnmente de cuchillas inglesas modernas. Además, como ya dije, los Chiriguanos y los Chaco no son grandes fumadores. Un utensilio para producir el fuego que se encuentra indeviá entre ellos es el mbiabia. El ejemplar adquirido por mí de los Chiriguanos está diferenciado de los mbiabiaos de las tribus del Chaco por consistir la pieza en una mecha de algodón bastante gruesa. Según Métraux (311) hallaron entre ellos también la forma conocida del mbiabia constituido la pieza en las palmas de la fruta del palo barroso (Chorisia insignis) guardada en un recipiente de cuerno vacuno o de coco de tatú.

UTENSILIOS PARA PRODUCIR EL FUEGO, DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 516. (Fig. 46.)

a. Bolsa tejida de hilo de algodón como recipiente para los utensilios.

b. Mecha de hilo de algodón.

c. Recipiente para el extremo encendido de la mecha, constituido por el cuerno de una especie de ciervo.

d. Pedazo de una lima moderna, de metal.

e. Pedazo de pedernal.

Como recipiente para el extremo encendido de la mecha, sirve un cuerno de una especie de ciervo. El fuego se produce por golpear un pedernal con el pedazo de una lima moderna, de metal.

De una leyenda de los Chaco apuntada por Kurtenbáhl (315) resulta que los Chaco antes producían el fuego frotando un palito medio de un otro. Según esta leyenda, dos muchachos y una muchacha recibían fuego de un hombre viejo, que no el sol. El «ave Hagi» les aconseja guardar bien el fuego. Si alguna vez se apagaría, debían producir nuevo fuego con el «tinte», lo que no el

Para Chiriguanos: Nordenskiöld 1, p. 280.
Para Chiriguanos: Métraux 1, p. 280 y 280.
Para Chiriguanos: Métraux 1, p. 280.
Para Chiriguanos: Métraux 1, p. 280.
Para Chaco: Kurtenbáhl 1, p. 280.

utensilio para producir fuego frotando dos palitos. También el cacique de los Isoale preguntado por mi respecto a ese utensilio, lo conocía bien y lo llamaba con su nombre en Guaraní. Nordenskiöld ha visto una vez en Chiriguano que no tenía fósforos consigo, producir fuego con aquel utensilio. (917)

CERÁMICA

El gran desenvolvimiento de la cerámica de los Chiriguanos y Chanés, la máxima variedad de las formas de sus diversos vasijas y sus ornamentos han atraído, ya hace mucho tiempo, la atención de los etnólogos. Nordenskiöld quien indica el número de las variaciones de las formas de las vasijas de esos indios es más de cincuenta, ha publicado un gran número de ellas en contorno y representa también la ornamentación de muchas de ellas por dibujos. (918) También Fritz v. Reuss ha representado por dibujos numerosas vasijas de los Chiriguanos en su obra citada. (919) Métraux describe y representa por dibujos un gran número de las vasijas de barro cocido, de los Chiriguanos. (920)

Una publicación de Félix F. Outes trata especialmente de la cerámica Chiriguana. (921)

Porque, antes, no teníamos en el museo de la Sociedad Científica del Paraguay sino cuatro vasijas de barro cocido y no pudimos de una sola, de los Chiriguanos, que D. María F. de Casati había coleccionado entre ellos y regalado al Museo, yo tenía no intento especial en completar esta serie. Con algún trabajo alcancé adquirir de los indios en Tobodá 41 vasijas y de los Chiriguanos en Sicuaretí, 55 de ellas y, con bastante más trabajo alcancé traerlas enteras y en buen estado de los dibujos al término del largo viaje hasta Asunción.

También estas vasijas de barro cocido coleccionadas por mí muestran grandes variaciones de su forma y de sus ornamentos. Para estas diversas variaciones pueden ser relacionadas, conforme al diferente destino, a algunos grupos.

Las vasijas de barro cocido de los Chiriguanos y Chanés pueden servir á destinos muy diferentes:

1. A cocer comidas y legumbres.
2. A freír comidas.
3. A cocer harina de maíz al vapor.
4. A transportar y guardar el agua.
5. Como recipiente para chicha.
6. Para servir la chicha.
7. Como utensilio de beber, especialmente, para beber la chicha.
8. A guardar comidas.
9. A guardar cualesquier cosas.
10. Como platos para comer comidas.
11. Como base del horno para freír.
12. Como urnas funerarias.

[illegible]

1. VASIJAS DE BARRO COCIDO PARA COCER COMIDAS Y LIQUIDOS. (grupo) DE LA COLECCIÓN.

I. A. 412	(Chiriguano)	Altura	12 cm.	Diámetro máx.	14 cm.	Abertura	12 cm.	(Fig. 48)
I. A. 413	"	"	26 cm.	"	"	26,5 cm.	"	18 cm. (Fig. 46)
I. A. 414	"	"	24 cm.	"	"	23 cm.	"	17 cm. (Fig. 44.)
I. A. 415	"	"	29 cm.	"	"	19,5 cm.	"	14,5 cm.
I. A. 416	"	"	37 cm.	"	"	35 cm.	"	20 cm.
I. A. 417	"	"	29 cm.	"	"	22,5 cm.	"	19 cm. (Fig. 49.)
I. A. 418	"	"	23,5 cm.	"	"	24 cm.	"	20 cm. (Fig. 45.)
I. A. 419	"	"	22 cm.	"	"	23 cm.	"	14 cm. (Fig. 47.)
I. A. 420	"	"	23,5 cm.	"	"	28 cm.	"	20 cm.
I. A. 421	"	"	20 cm.	"	"	22,5 cm.	"	19 cm.

La tropa de estas 10 vasijas de los Chiriguanos, las que están destinadas a cocer comidas o líquidos, no es tan uniformemente variable igual. Solamente la vasija I. A. 412 tendiendo una altura de 12 cm. es bastante menor que las demás vasijas cuya altura varía entre 20 y 30 cm. Solamente de aquella vasija chica es el diámetro de la abertura superior no igual a la altura de la vasija mientras que de todas las demás vasijas el diámetro de la abertura superior es menor que la altura y esto no alcanza nunca tanto como hasta una diferencia de 10 cm. Del alrededor globular de estas vasijas no bien distinguido, por su canto, el cuello, de todas estas vasijas provistas del ornamento bondido. También la parte plana del fondo está bien distinguida por su canto, de la pared. La superficie del alrededor de las vasijas está provista de líneas grabadas, las que son producidas por medio del bruñimiento en la superficie, en estado humedo, barbo con un manto de mate. Solamente de la vasija chica I. A. 412 toda la superficie es llenada del ornamento bondido.

Todas estas vasijas destinadas a cocer son provistas de dos asas, en posición vertical, pasando el borde superior de la vasija y alcanzando la parte inferior del cuello. Las formas de estas asas muestran algunas variaciones de las cuales me ocuparé en el capítulo respectivo al arte.

VASIJA DESTINADA A COCER HARINA DE MAIZ PARA PREPARAR LA CHICHA, DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 422. (Chiriguano) Altura 52 cm. Diámetro máx. 42 cm. Abertura 24 cm. (Fig. 50)

A cocer la harina de maíz para preparar la chicha sirven grandes vasijas de barro cocido las que no alcanzan casi nunca mucho mayores que el ejemplar tratado por mí de los Chiriguanos. Como muestra la figura 50 esta especie de vasija se distingue de las vasijas comunes destinadas a cocer, solamente por su tamaño. La pared del alrededor no bien distinguida del cuello y del fondo plano. El cuello también de estas vasijas está provisto de ornamento bondido. La vasija representada en figura 50 es relativamente alta en comparación con su diámetro máximo y con el diámetro de la abertura superior. Las vasijas para cocer la chicha utilizadas de los Chaná en el Hiyura y presentadas por dibujos por Rudolphi (Ibero, no mencionándolas con su diámetro máximo y el diámetro de su abertura, esta abertura siendo menor. (300)

(300) Ibero (Rud.) I. Atlas 40

2. VASIJAS DESTINADAS A FRITAR MAIZ, DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 400. (Chiriguano) Altura 14 cm. Diámetro máx. 23 cm. (Fig. 53. a.)
I. A. 592. (Isoso) » 10 cm. » » 21,5 cm.

Estas dos vasijas se asemejan mucho una a la otra. Las dos están provistas de dos chicos asideros en su borde. Se diferencian una de la otra solamente en eso de que la distinción del fondo plano a la pared de la vasija de los Isoso es más marcada que en la vasija de los Chiriguanos. Una vasija muy semejante a las dos descritas en lo que precede y oriunda de los Chaná en Río Uruguay está representada por dibujo por Erland Nordenskiöld (223) Por razón de la indicación de Nordenskiöld de que esta vasija era destinada a fritar maíz, tengo también las dos vasijas semejantes de la colección por empleadas a ese destino.

3. VASIJA PARA SOMETER AL VAPOR LA HARINA DEL MAIZ, DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 422. (Chiriguano). Altura 12,5 cm. Diámetro máx. 23 cm. (Fig. 53.)

Esta vasija está provista en el fondo de algunos agujeros redondos, de los cuales uno está en el centro y los demás en dos circunferencias concéntricas a aquel agujero central. Según Nordenskiöld. (224) que representa por dibujo una tal vasija muy semejante sirven estos platos provistos de agujeros al fondo a someter al vapor la harina de maíz con la que ellos preparan una comida que llaman los Chiriguanos «baistimimo». Para ese destino ellos ponen el plato provisto de harina de maíz a la abertura superior de un pote en que hacen hervir agua. (225)

4 VASIJAS QUE SIRVEN PARA EL TRANSPORTE DE AGUA O COMO RECIPIENTE DE AGUA, DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 392.	Chiriguano.	Altura	28 cm.	Diámetro máx.	17,7 cm.	Abert.	4 cm.	(Fig. 54.)
I. A. 393.	»	»	32 cm.	»	» 29,5 cm.	»	9 cm.	
I. A. 395.	»	»	32 cm.	»	» 31,5 cm.	»	13,5 cm.	
I. A. 396.	»	»	32 cm.	»	» 30 cm.		14,5 cm.	(Fig. 55.)
I. A. 589.	Isoso.	Altura	34 cm.	Diámetro máx.	23,7 cm.	Abert.	6,5 cm.	
I. A. 606.	»	»	24,5 cm.	»	» 16,5 cm.	»	3,5 cm.	(Fig. 56 a.)
I. A. 607.	»	»	13,5 cm.	»	» 14,5 cm.	»	13 cm.	
I. A. 608.	»	»	19,5 cm.	»	» 19,2 cm.	»	3,5 cm.	(Fig. 93 b.)
I. A. 617.	»	»	16 cm.	»	» 17 cm.	»	11,5 cm.	(Fig. 56 b.)
I. A. 621.	»	»	28,5 cm.	»	» 16,4 cm.	»	3,5 cm.	(Fig. 93 a.)
I. A. 761.	»	»	40,5 cm.	»	» 27,5 cm.	»	7 cm.	(Fig. 54.)
I. A. 762.	»	»	44 cm.	»	» 34,5 cm.	»	7,9 cm.	
I. A. 763.	»	»	48 cm.	»	» 38 cm.	»	7,7 cm.	

Las vasijas mencionadas en lo que precede tienen en contraste con las vasijas destinadas al cocer, una superficie lisa. También no son pintadas. Esto nos hace suponer que son más destinadas al uso cotidiano que a ocasiones de fiestas y que tenemos que tenerlas en primer lugar por vasijas para agua, con lo que naturalmente no se excluye que ellas sean usadas ocasionalmente para chicha.

Nota 223. Nord. I. p. 68 y fig. 43 n. 6
Nota 224. Nord. I. fig. 43 h. 20
Nota 225. Comparar Métraux I. p. 487 y siguientes fig. 1 y 5

B. Schmidt

SF10 Chiriguano

[P. 48-A]

LANIRA 3/11

[P 48-8]

LAMINA XIV

Fig. 40

(S. A. 9145)—Utensilios para productos tragos. (Chiriguano).

a. (S. A. 919 a.)—Bolsa usada recipiente de los utensilios. Largo 18 cm. Anchura 6,5 cm.

b. (S. A. 919 b.)—Rasqueta de algodón. Largo 40 cm.

c. Palomitas.

d. (S. A. 919 d.)—Palitos de una clase de metal. Largo 4 cm.

e. (S. A. 919 e.)—Rasqueta para el cuerpo de la mujer. Hecho de una espuela de avispa. Largo 4,8 cm.

Fig. 41

(S. A. 940). Tu par de aros para guardar tizones. (Chiriguano). Chaco. 40 cm.

Fig. 42

Calabazas para transportar agua. (Tonti).

a. (S. A. 901) Altura 44,5 cm.

b. (S. A. 902) Altura 34 cm.

c. (S. A. 900) Altura 27,5 cm. Pintada de la Fama del actual. Chamacocos Chaqueño

Fig. 43

Objetos usados de baja de guisamo, empleados en fiestas religiosas. (Chiriguano).

a. (S. A. 1400). Largo 78 cm.

b. (S. A. 1401). Largo 97 cm.

[P 48-C]

LÁMINA 37

Tacijas de barro cocido para cocer maíz. (Chiriguano).

Fig. 44

(C. A. 010)—Altura 30 cm.

Fig. 45

(C. A. 020)—Altura 30 cm.

Fig. 46

(C. A. 018)—Altura 30,5 cm.

Fig. 48

(C. A. 012)—Altura 19 cm.

Fig. 47

(C. A. 016)—Altura 20 cm.

Fig. 49

(C. A. 017)—Altura 30 cm.

[P.48-D]

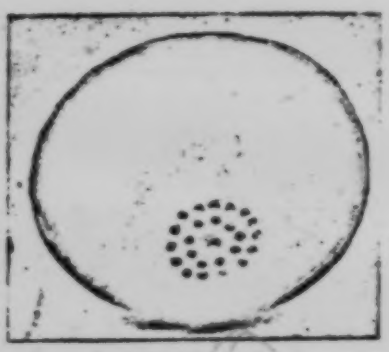
Gerald Cheshire
Antwerpen

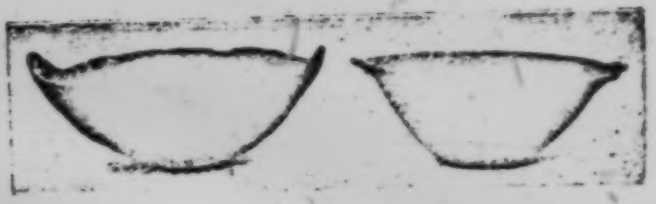
LAMINA XV

[P·48-E]

LAMINA XVI

Sociedad Científica del Paraguay





[P.48-F]

LAMINA XVI

Vasijas de barro cocido

Fig 50

(I. A. 399.)—Vasija destinada a cocer harina de maiz para preparar la chicha. (Chiriguano). Altura 52 cm.

Fig. 51

(I. A. 397.)—Vasija para guardar la chicha (Chiriguano). Altura 61 cm.

Fig. 52

(I. A. 422.)—Plato de barro cocido, provisto de agujero al fondo, para someter al vapor la harina de maiz, (Chiriguano) Altura 12,5 cm.

Fig. 53

a. (I. A. 400.)—Vasija para fritar el maiz. (Chiriguano) Altura 14 cm.

b. (I. A. 401.)—Vasija para guardar comida. (Chiriguano) Altura 11,5 cm.

[P.48-G]

LAMINA XVII

Vasijas de barro cocido

Fig. 54

(I. A. 781.) — Vasija con red para transportar agua. (Izozo). Altura 40,5 cm

Fig. 55

(I. A. 806.) — Vasija para transportar o guardar agua. (Chiriguano). Altura 30 cm.

Fig. 56

a. (I. A. 608.) — Vasija con entrelazamiento de hilo. (Izozo). Altura 34,5 cm.

b. (I. A. 617.) — Vasija con tira de cuero. (Izozo). Altura 16 cm.

[P.48-H]

Società Classifica
del l'origine

Entre las cuatro vasijas de esta especie de los Chiriguanos, existen tres tipos diferentes. Dos de ellas tienen la forma global del vientre y la distinción bien marcada del cuello y del fondo plano, como las vasijas destinadas a cocer, pero la superficie, también del cuello, está lisa y sin asas sin diferentes. Estas asa, en contraste con aquellas, puestas en posición horizontal a la pared del vientre de la vasija, pero arriba del diámetro máximo.

Las dos otras vasijas de esta especie, de los Chiriguanos, no tienen asas y su abertura superior es, en comparación con la altura, relativamente pequeña. La vasija I. A. 393 tiene un fondo redondo de tal modo de que no puede mantenerse erecta de una base plana. La vasija I. A. 392 tiene fuera de su abertura muy pequeña un cuello cilíndrico, estrecho y relativamente alto, que se puede fácilmente rodear con la mano.

Las vasijas destinadas a agua, de los Ituaín, tienen una abertura superior relativamente muy pequeña. Tres de ellas tienen un fondo redondo de manera que no se pueden mantener erectas de una base plana, mientras que el fondo de las demás es plano. El cuello de todas estas vasijas es muy poco distinguido y el de la vasija I. A. 606 muy corto. La superficie es lisa y no pintada. Las vasijas I. A. 761, 762 y 763 están por dentro de una red, lo que las señala junto como vasijas especiales para transportar agua. La vasija I. A. 616 es señalada como vasija para el mismo destino, por un entrelazamiento de hilo en su parte inferior. Todas esas vasijas para agua, de los Ituaín, no tienen asas fuera de dos pequeñas vasijas divergiendo también en su forma de las demás. Ellas son provistas de dos asas pasando del borde superior en posición vertical. De las demás vasijas, ellas se diferencian también por la abertura superior, relativamente grande. La vasija I. A. 617 está provista de una tira de cuero asegurada en sus dos asas.

5. VASIJAS QUE SIRVEN COMO RECIPIENTES DE CHICHA, DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 355.	Chiriguano (?)	Sin asas.	Altura 15,5 cm.	Diám. máx. 20,5 cm.	Abert. 13 cm.				
I. A. 366.	»	Sin asas.	Alt. 27 cm.	Diám. máx. 34 cm.	Abert. 30 cm.	(Fig. 56.)			
I. A. 369.	»	» »	» 27,5 cm.	»	» 42 cm.	» 42 cm.	(Fig. 60.)		
I. A. 370.	»	» »	» 26 cm.	»	» 32,5 cm.	» 27 cm.	(Fig. 58.)		
I. A. 372.	»	Dos asas	» 20 cm.	»	» 24,5 cm.	» 21 cm.			
I. A. 373.	»	» »	» 15 cm.	»	» 22,5 cm.	» 20 cm.	(Fig. 75 a.)		
I. A. 374.	»	» »	» 16 cm.	»	» 18 cm.	» 13 cm.	(Fig. 75 b.)		
I. A. 375.	»	Sin asas	» 13 cm.	»	» 28 cm.	» 28 cm.	(Fig. 67.)		
I. A. 376.	»	2 asas, una rota	24 cm.	»	» 27 cm.	» 21 cm.	(Fig. 62.)		
I. A. 377.	»	Sin asas	» 26 cm.	»	» 30,3 cm.	» 24 cm.	(Fig. 57.)		
I. A. 378.	»	Con 2 asas	21,5 cm.	»	» 22,0 cm.	» 17 cm.	(Fig. 63.)		
I. A. 381.	»	Sin asas	» 14 cm.	»	» 16,5 cm.	» 15 cm.	(Fig. 71.)		
I. A. 383.	»	Con 2 asas	12 cm.	»	» 15,7 cm.	» 13 cm.	(Fig. 74 b.)		
I. A. 384.	»	» »	» 13,5 cm.	»	» 16 cm.	» 11 cm.			
I. A. 386.	»	» »	» 16 cm.	»	» 19,1 cm.	» 13 cm.	(Fig. 73 b.)		
I. A. 387.	»	» »	» 16 cm.	»	» 18,8 cm.	» 13 cm.	(Fig. 73 a.)		
I. A. 397.	»	Sin asas	» 42 cm.	»	» 53 cm.	» 24 cm.	(Fig. 51.)		
I. A. 398.	»	» »	» 32 cm.	»	» 45,2 cm.	» 18,5 cm.			
I. A. 407.	»	» »	» 9 cm.	»	» 17 cm.	» 17 cm.	(Fig. 77 b.)		
I. A. 408.	»	» »	» 8 cm.	»	» 16,5 cm.	» 17,5 cm.	(Fig. 77 a.)		
I. A. 409.	»	» »	» 7,2 cm.	»	» 13 cm.	» 13 cm.			

Fot. o Dib. Donación de D. Mario F. de Cuenl.

I. A. 593.	Izozó	Sin asas	Alt. 14 cm.	Diám. máx.	18,5 cm.	Abert. 18,5 cm.	
I. A. 596.	»	Con 2 asas	» 16 cm.	»	» 16,2 cm.	» 11,5 cm.	(Fig. 68 a.)
I. A. 598.	»	»	» » 13,2 cm.	»	» 25 cm.	» 25 cm.	
I. A. 600.	»	Sin asas	» 13 cm.	»	» 25,7 cm.	» 25,7 cm.	(Fig. 76 a.)
I. A. 601.	»	» »	» 22,5 cm.	»	» 26,7 cm	» 23,5 cm.	(Fig. 69 b.)
I. A. 604.	»	» »	» 29 cm.	»	» 27,4 cm.	» 24 cm.	(Fig. 61.)
I. A. 605.	»	» »	» 19,2 cm.	»	» 22,5 cm.	» 21,5 cm.	(Fig. 69 a.)
I. A. 622.	»	» »	» 15,5 am.	»	» 19 cm.	» 15,5 cm.	(Fig. 68 b.)

Entre las vasijas que sirven como recipientes para chicha, las de los Chiriguanos muestran generalmente formas diferentes de las de los Izozós. La forma de esas vasijas de los Chiriguanos, especialmente las de las vasijas grandes tienen en común la forma global del vientre, (compare las figuras 368, 370 y 377) mientras que de las vasijas de los Izozós, la parte inferior del vientre aumentan hacia arriba y comunmente se distingue por un canto de la parte superior que se disminuye arriba. (Compare las figuras 61, 68 y 69). La superficie de todas esas vasijas es lisa y excepto algunas vasijas de los Izozós, dibujada. Solamente la grande vasija I. A. 397 de los Chiriguanos tiene un fondo redondo; todas las demás vasijas tienen fondos planos, distinguidos por un canto del vientre.

Entre esas vasijas de los Chiriguanos y de los Izozós hay algunas (Compare las figuras 60 y 67) que tienen su diámetro máximo en la abertura superior, lo que les dá la forma de un gran plato. Las vasijas I. A. 397 y 398 se diferencian de las demás por su altura.

De estas vasijas de los Chiriguanos, 9 están provistas de asas y 12 no las tienen. De las 8 vasijas de los Izozós, solamente dos están provistas de asas. (Compare la figura 68. a.) La mayór parte de estas vasijas de los Izozós tienen la especialidad de que su cuello, bien distinguido por un canto, se ensancha bastante hasta el borde superior. (Compare las figuras 61 y 69. a y b.)

6. VASIJAS DESTINADAS A SERVIR LA CHICHA, DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 347. (226).	(Chiriguano)	Altura 18,3 cm.	Diám. máx. 15,3 cm.	Abert. 10 cm.	(Fig. 65)		
I. A. 348. (226).	Chiriguano	Altura 14,5 cm.	Diám. max. 14,7 cm.	Abertura 8 cm.			
I. A. 349. (226).	»	Altura 18,5 cm.	Diám. max. 18,2 cm.	Abertura 5,2 cm.			
I. A. 371.	»	» 20 cm.	»	» 21,3 cm.	» 8,5 cm		
I. A. 379.	»	» 18,5 cm.	»	» 16 cm.	» 6 cm.		
I. A. 380.	»	» 20 cm.	»	» 18,3 cm.	» 8,5 cm	(Fig. 82.a)	
I. A. 382.	»	» 18 cm.	»	» 14 cm.	» 7 cm.	(Fig. 82. b)	
I. A. 385.	»	» 20,5 cm.	»	» 21,7 cm.	» 9 cm.		
I. A. 402.	»	» 22 cm.	»	» 15,5 cm.	» 12 cm.		
I. A. 403.	»	» 17,5 cm.	»	» 14,5 cm.	» 14 cm	(Fig. 64.)	
I. A. 404.	»	» 20 cm.	»	» 21,5 cm.	» 9 cm.	(Fig. 74. a)	
I. A. 405.	»	» 19 cm.	»	» 19 cm.	» 7 cm.		
I. A. 587.	Izozó »	» 18 cm.	»	» 16,2 cm.	» 12 cm.		
I. A. 588.	»	» 14 cm.	»	» 14,3 cm.	» 12 cm.		
I. A. 590.	»	» 13 cm.	»	» 12,8 cm.	» 12,5 cm.		
I. A. 609.	»	» 14 cm.	»	» 12,5 cm.	» 12 cm.		
I. A. 623.	»	» 20,5 cm.	»	» 18 cm.	» 12,5 cm.	(Fig. 66).	

Vasijas como las mencionadas en lo que precede, los Chiriguanos y los Chanés las usan en las festividades de chicha para sacar por medio de ellas la chicha de los grandes potes llenando las cuyas o tazas de barro cocido que hacen circular entre los asistentes a la fiesta.

Entre esas vasijas tenemos que distinguir dos diferentes tipos principales. Las vasijas del primer tipo, tienen la forma global de su vientre, una parte disminuida al cuello, una abertura relativamente pequeña, un fondo plano y una asa vertical puesta en su borde superior y alcanzando la parte superior del vientre. Compare las figuras 74 y 82. a. El segundo tipo, cuya forma es recibida, sin duda, de los blancos, se diferencia del primero, principalmente por su abertura provista de un pico a la manera de las vasijas modernas. Compare las figuras 64 y 65. También las vasijas de este tipo, tienen una asa que, puesta en la borde superior, pasa hasta la parte superior del vientre.

Fuera de esas vasijas encontre entre los Chiriguanos una que corresponde respecto a su forma, a la vasija I. A. 382, ya mencionada entre las vasijas para agua. Ella tiene como aquella un cuello cilíndrico y estrecho que se puede facilmente rodear con la mano y no tiene asa. Por ser su superficie dibujada la he mencionado entre las vasijas destinadas a servir la chicha.

7. VASIJAS DESTINADAS A BEBER LIQUIDOS, DE LA COLECCION

I. A 602.	Inosé.	Altura	10 cm	Diám. máx	12,5 cm.	Abertura	10 cm.	(Fig. 70.b.)
I. A. 603.	»	»	8 cm.	»	9 cm.	»	6 cm.	
I. A. 610.	»	»	8 cm.	»	10,5 cm.	»	8,5 cm.	
I. A. 611.	»	»	9 cm.	»	11,5 cm.	»	8 cm.	

Entre las vasijas adquiridas de los Inosé hay cuatro con forma de tazas. De los tipos de vasijas representados por dibujos por Nordenskiöld (227) resulta que tazas semejantes son usadas también por los Chaná en el Ituyuru y por los Chiriguanos. Tenemos que suponer que la forma de esas tazas sea el producto de la influencia de estilos europeos. Esas vasijas tienen forma global y están provistas de una asa. El fondo de tres de ellas es bien distinguido del vientre, formando un pié. Dos de ellas tienen la superficie dibujada, las demás están sin bibujos.

8. VASIJAS QUE SIRVEN COMO RECIPIENTES DE COMIDAS, DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 394.	Chiriguano.	Altura	17,5 cm.	Abertura	44 cm.
I. A. 401.	»	»	11,5 cm.	»	30 cm.

Dos de los platos de barro cocido que recibí de los Chiriguanos en Macharetí, me parecen demasiado grandes para poder tenerlos por platos de comer, porque Nordenskiöld refiere que (228) los Chiriguanos no comen de un plato común y si cada uno tiene su plato separado. Podemos suponer que se trata de vasijas empleadas como recipientes para comidas o fuentes ántes que estas sean puestas en los platos individuales.

Los dos platos están sin dibujos. El fondo plano está bién distinguido de la paréd la que se aumenta para arriba. El plato I. A. 401 está provisto de un borde bastante ancho, que tiene dos asideros. Compare la figura 53. b.

9. VASIJAS QUE SIRVEN PARA GUARDAR OBJETOS

En contraste con los demás indios, los Chiriguanos y Chaná usan vasijas para guardar cualquier cosa de valór. No recibí de los indios la indicación de

Nota 227. Nord. 2. Fig. 60 N. 26; Fig. 47 N. 22 y 23; Fig. 44 N. 19-21.
Nota 228. Nord. 1. p. 198.

que una de las vasijas, las que traje de ellos, pertenecieso especialmente a esta especie. Por eso refiero en ese lugar una vasija representada por dibujo por Nordenskiöld con la indicación «For keeping knicknacks in» (229).

Nordenskiöld dice en otro lugar, que por dentro de esas vasijas la dueña de la casa guarda todas las cosas de valor de la familia, como vestidos adornos, platos de plata, collares de turquesa o crysocol y muchas otras cosas más (230)

10. PLATOS PARA COMER, (ayá e), DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 388.	Chiriguano.	Altura	6,5 cm.	Abertura	21 cm. (Fig. 79. a.
I. A. 389.	»	»	8 cm.	»	22,5 cm.(Fig. 79. b.)
I. A. 390.	»	»	5,2 cm.	»	15 cm.
I. A. 391.	»	»	4 cm.	»	13 cm.
I. A. 406.	»	»	9 cm.	»	25 cm. (Fig. 78. a.)
I. A. 586.	Izcaó	»	13 cm.	»	25,5 cm.(Fig. 76. b.)
I. A. 591.	»	»	9,5 cm.	»	16,5 cm.
I. A. 594.	»	»	9,5 cm.	»	21 cm.
I. A. 595.	»	»	9 cm.	»	20 cm. (Fig. 80. a.)
I. A. 598.	»	»	13,2 cm.	»	25 cm.
I. A. 612.	»	»	9,5 cm.	»	19 cm.
I. A. 613.	»	»	8 cm.	»	21 cm. (Fig. 80. c.)
I. A. 614.	»	»	9 cm.	»	22 cm.
I. A. 615.	»	»	10,5 cm.	»	27,5 cm.
I. A. 616.	»	»	10,5 cm.	»	22 cm.
I. A. 618.	»	»	10 cm.	»	18,5 cm.
I. A. 620.	»	»	15,5 cm.	»	15 cm.

Porque todos los Chiriguanos y Chaqués, como ya mencioné, comen cada uno de su plato propio, tales platos de barro cocido se encuentran en gran número en las casas de esos indios. Muchos de ellos que están destinados al uso común, no tienen dibujos, mientras que otros usados en ocasiones de las fiestas, están provistos de dibujos en su superficie exterior o en el borde superior de su superficie interior o, provistos de añadidos pequeños.

Todos estos platos tienen un vientre redondo aumentándose un poco hacia arriba. Las diferencias de las formas existen casi solamente en las variaciones del borde superior y del fondo. La paréd de algunos de esos platos termina para arriba sin formar borde especial. Compare la figura 76. b. Otros platos están provistos de un borde en dirección horizontal o oblicua. El borde superior del plato I. A. 406 (Compare la figura 78. a.) está provisto de estalladuras chicas, continuas. El fondo plano de la mayór parte de los platos de los Izcaó es bien distinguido de la paréd, formando un pié. Esa distincion del fondo falta a la mayór parte de los platos de los Chiriguanos, de los cuales uno tiene un fondo casi redondo.

11. VASIJA USADA EN LA TÉCNICA DE HILAR, DE LA COLECCIÓN

I. A. 619. (Izcaó). Altura 5 cm. Abertura 12 cm. (Fig. 81. b.)

Nordenskiöld (231) representa por dibujos dos platos chicos de los Chaqués del Rio Parapiti, los que, según su indicación son usados en la técnica de hilar

Nota 229. Nord. I. p. 190, y figura 48 K. P.
Nota 230. Nord. I. p. 179.
Nota 231. Nord. II p. 160 y Fig 44 N° 28 y 34.

8: Schmidt

SF10 Chiriguano

[P-52-A]

LAMINA XVIII

Instituto Chaqueño del Paraguay

[P. 52-B]

LAMINA XVIII

Tallas de barro cocido para chicha

Fig. 57
(I. A. 977) (Chiriguano) Altura 36 cm.

Fig. 58
(I. A. 979) (Chiriguano) Altura 30 cm.

Fig. 59
(I. A. 980) (Chiriguano) Altura 37 cm.

Fig. 60
(I. A. 988) (Chiriguano) Altura 37,5 cm.

Fig. 61
(I. A. 984) (Sacaí) Altura 19 cm.

Fig. 62
(I. A. 978) (Chiriguano) Altura 34 cm.

[P52-C]

LAMINA XII

Fig. 63.

Vasijas de barro cocido

(I. A. [illegible]) Vasija de barro cocido para chicha. (Chiriguano Altura 31,5 cm. Compare fig. 146.

Fig. 64.

(I. A. 4[illegible]) Vasija de barro cocido para servir la chicha. (Chiriguano). Altura 17,5 cm. Compare fig. 145.

Fig. 65.

(I. A. 317.) Vasija de barro cocido para servir la chicha. (Chiriguano). Altura 18,5 cm.

Fig. 66.

(I. A. [illegible]) Vasija de barro cocido para servir la chicha. (Iscaó). Alt. 20,5 cm.

Fig. 67.

(I. A. 375.) Vasija de barro cocido para chicha. (Chiriguano). Altura 18,5 cm.

[P.52-D]

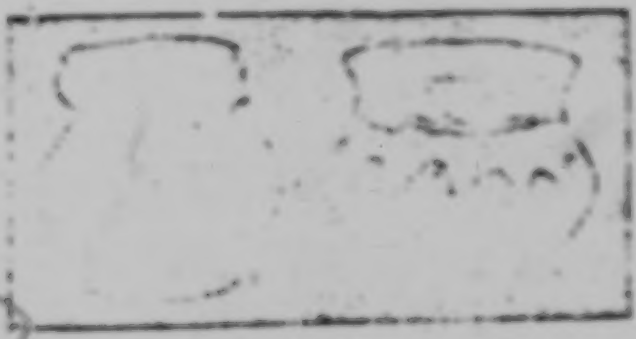
Sociedad Científica del Paraguay

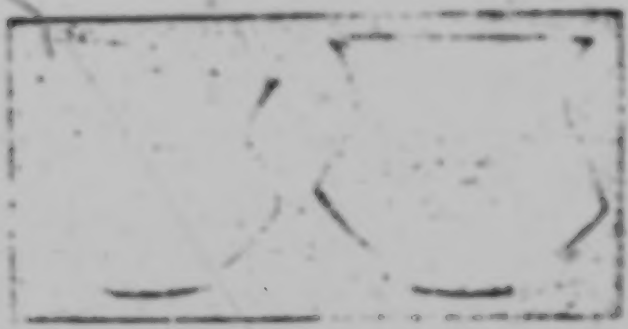
LAMINA XIX

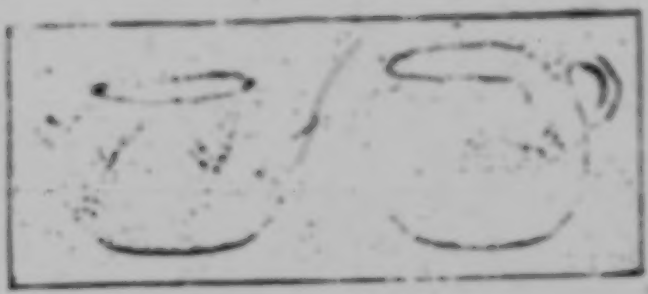
[P. 52-E]

LAMINA XX

Instituto Etnologico del Paraguay







[P 52-F]

Fig. 68

Vasija de barro cocido para chicha. (Sanchi)

a. (I. A. 596.) Altura 19 cm. b. (I. A. 600.) Altura 13,5 cm.

Fig. 69

Vasija de barro cocido para chicha. (Sanchi)

a. (I. A. 600.) Altura 19,5 cm. b. (I. A. 601.) Altura 20,5 cm.

Fig. 70

Vasija de barro cocido. (Sanchi)

a. (I. A. 596.) Altura 9 cm. b. (I. A. 600.) Altura 14 cm.

Fig. 71

Vasija de barro cocido para chicha.
(I. A. 601.) (Chiriguano). Altura 14 cm.

Fig. 72.

Vasija de barro cocido
(I. A. 597.) (Sanchi). Altura 10,5 cm.

[P.52-G]

Lessing 331

Fig. 13

Fig. 14

Fig. 15

[P.52-#]

LAMINA XXI

como base para hacer voltear el kaso encima de su fondo. El plato chico I. A. 410, que yo recibí de los Izoseño y que se diferencia principalmente por su fondo, grueso y pesado, de los demás platos de la colección, asemejase, respecto a su forma y sus dimensiones a esos dos platos publicados por Nordenskiöld, así que yo lo tengo por un plato con el mismo destino, aunque no recibí de los indios alguna indicación respecto a eso.

12. URNAS FUNERARIAS

Ya en el capítulo relativo a tratamiento de enfermedades y al sepelio, me ocupé de la costumbre de los Chiriguanos de poner sus muertos dentro de urnas funerarias y de taparlas estas con otras vasijas. Según Nordenskiöld, (232) las vasijas grandes de barro cocido, usadas para preparar y guardar la chicha sirven también como urnas funerarias. Porque el sepelio en urnas funerarias no entre esos indios no sepelio directo, quiere decir que el cadaver entero se puesto dentro de la urna, las vasijas elegidas para urnas funerarias deben ser bastante grandes para poder dar cabida al cadaver de un adulto. Por desgracias yo no pude traer de Macharetí vasijas tan grandes. Las mayores de las vasijas traídas por mí, de una altura de 52 cm. y 62 cm. no eran bastante grandes como para poder dar cabida a un adulto y principalmente sus aberturas superiores, las que miden solamente hasta 24 cm. son demasiado pequeñas para poder apretar un difunto adentro. Por eso yo refiero respecto a las urnas funerarias y a las correspondientes tapas la representación por dibujo hecha por Nordenskiöld (233) Outes ha publicado una vasija de los Chiriguanos que tiene una altura de 27.5 cm. y una abertura superior de 45 cm. que había servido como urna funeraria para un niño pequeño. Junto con la urna se encontró un plato chico de barro cocido que tenía una altura de más o menos 6 cm. (234)

De los datos de Outes resulta que, las vasijas de los Chiriguanos pueden alcanzar dimenciones bastante grandes. (235) Entre las vasijas descritas por él se encuentra una que tiene una altura de 92 cm. y una abertura superior de 70 cm. de diámetro. Una otra tiene una altura de 110 cm. y su diámetro máximo mide 85 cm. Wedell halló en el año 1845 tales vasijas en Capirendá, que tenían una altura de 130 cm. y un diámetro máximo de la pared del vientre de 100 cm.

13. DIVERSAS VASIJAS SIN INDICACIONES RESPECTO A SU DESTINO DE LA COLECCIÓN

I. A. 410. (Chiriguano). Altura 14,5 cm. Diám. máx 8 cm. Abertura 5 cm. (Fig. 81. b).
I. A. 411. (») Altura 13,5 cm. Largór 21 cm. (Fig. 81. a.)
I. A. 397. (Izoseño) » 10,5 cm. Diám. máx 16.7 cm. Abertura 15 cm. (Fig. 79).
I. A. 399. (») » 9 cm. » » 13 cm. » 10 cm. (Fig. 70. a).

Respecto al destino de estas cuatro vasijas, diferentes en su forma de los demás tipos de vasijas, no tenemos indicaciones. La vasija chica, doble, I. A. 411 (Compare la figura 81. a.) tenemos que considerarla como un producto particular de la mescla de los varios elementos de cultura, más diferentes. La manera de como los dos platos chicos están unidos para formar una vasija do-

Nota 232. Nord. l. p. 228.
Nota 233. Nord l. Abb. 112.
Nota 234. Felix F. Outes. l. c. p. 126 y Fig. 80 y 81.
Nota 235. Felix F. Outes. l. c. p. 127 y 128.

bio corresponde a modelos peruanos antiguos, mientras que la forma del agarradero proviene de un asilla en sitio dudo pétamente de origen europeo. El todo tiene la forma de un sabre y es fabricado tal vez con «ese destino para vendirlo a los blancos. Por mercadería, debieron tener también la vasija I. A. 616 (Compare la figura 61, b.) mientras que las dos vasijas I. A. 897 y 899 parecen ser fabricadas para cualquier destino en las Antillas.

TORTERAS DE HONOS, DE BARRO COCIDO.

Las tarteras de los honos relacionados entre los Chiriguanos é Isoseño son de barro cocido o de madera y, los Chiriguanos tienen también algunos honos con tarteras de piedra. Porque me ocuparé de las tarteras de honos en el capítulo relativo al bilado, quiero acentuar aquí solamente una diferencia respecto de su fabricación, entre las tarteras de barro cocido de los Isoseño y las de los Chiriguanos. Las tarteras de estos están hechas de pedazos de barro cocido procedentes de cualquier vasija rota, afilándolas redondas y perforándolas en el centro mientras que esas tarteras de los Isoseño consisten en un chico disco con diferentes variaciones de forma, también perforado en el centro para fabricado en barro cocido especialmente para ese destino.

Sobre la técnica de la cerámica de los Chiriguanos y Chaná existen bien instruidos por las indicaciones hechas por Nordenskiöld, por S. Lizzé, por Métraux (236) y Campana. (237)

Entre estas es notable especialmente la descripción de la fabricación de las vasijas de barro cocido de los Chaná en el Río Ibiyuna, la que Nordenskiöld observó en todo el transcurso. En el libro escrito por Lizzé y titulado: «The technique of south american ceramics» hallamos, fuera del acuerdo sistemático de las observaciones hechas por Nordenskiöld entre los Chiriguanos y Chaná, datos importantes sobre los resultados de los análisis químicos y las observaciones microscópicas, las que Lizzé hizo respecto a las vasijas de esos indios. Según estas indicaciones, el curso de la fabricación de esas vasijas es el siguiente:

La primera condición para la fabricación de vasijas de barro cocido es el disponer de un barro propio que tiene bastante plasticidad para poder modelar la vasija y quemarla sin que ella se rompa. Solamente un barro provisto de cualidades especiales puede cumplir esas dos requisitos. Generalmente se necesita corregir los defectos del barro disponible, arreglándolo por añadidura de otras substancias. Así los Chiriguanos y Chaná añaden al barro, pedazos de barro cocido, triturados. Las mujeres Chiriguanas en Tarapaya, utilizaron con predilección como tal añadidura, que ellos llaman «takupe», los pedazos de barro cocido, antiguos, los que se encuentran en gran número en su terreno y cuya substancia contiene, según la investigación microscópica, igualmente pedazos de barro cocido, añadidos al barro. (238).

De la calidad de la substancia de una vasija de barro cocido de los Chaná del Paraguay la que está en el museo de Göteborg, resulta que estos indios añaden al barro fuera de pedazos de barro cocido, triturados, también arena. (239) Por análisis microscópico de cortes de vasijas, Lizzé pudo demos-

Nota 236. Nord. l. p. 264 y 266. S. Lizzé: The technique of south americas ceramics. Gteborg 1925. Métraux l. p. 262 - 266.

Nota 237. Campana (Dominicus del) Notas sobre el Chiriguaní (Archiv por l' antropología - la etnología. Florenz. t. 32. (1902) p. 66.

Nota 238. S. Lizzé. l. c. p. 30, fig. 2, y p. 70. Nordenskiöld, Erland: Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika. Stockholm 1925. p. 34. Nord. l. p. 264.

Nota 239. S. Lizzé. l. c. p. 34.

trar que al barro de los Chiriguanos fueron añadidos pedazos de barro cocido. Como resultado de estos analisis él indica lo siguiente: «Microscopic section analysis of Chiguano-ceramics have shown the materials, to contain, biside small quartz grains and larger grains of other minerals, particles of the same colour as the ground - mass, but with distinct outlines. These ar due to ground? potsherds. There are also some very dark particles, as well as lighter ones, and they, too, are potsherds. The variation as to colour is due to the vessels often, in the firing, becoming quite differenthy coloured in their outes and inner layers». (240)

Según las observaciones de Nordenskiöld entre los Chanés en Itiyuru el barro destinado a la fabricación de una vasija fué primero triturado y después mesclado con los pedazos de barro cocido, también triturados. No conocemos de que manera el barro asi aprestado es transmutado por añadidura de agua en la substancia plastica que se necesita. La construción de la vasija se hace a la manera más común entre los indios Sudamericanos. Primero se forma del barro preparado a la manera descrita, un disco con borde levantado y se le pone encima de un pedazo de genero o de una tabla. Sobre esta parte que forma la base de la vasija se construye la paréd por medio de rodillos de barro que son puestos, en forma de anillo, uno encima del otro. (241) A bruñir la superficie de la vasija construida de manera descrita, sirven piedras y palitos estrechos de caña. Estas se usan también como medida para lograr las justas proporciones. Para refregar la superficie de las vasijas destinadas a cocer y de las vasijas mayores es usado comunmente un marlo de maiz que hace lineas hundidas, paralelas de manera que la superficie de esas vasijas está menos lisa. (242)

A la manera descrita en lo que precede, los Chiiriguanos logran fabricar vasijas exquisitas solidas, que muestran una forma bién proporcionada de la paréd. Según mediciones, hechas por Linné, la diferencia radial de la abertura de las vasijas de los Chiriguanos cuyas aberturas superiores tienen un diámetro de 15 hasta 20 cm. es inferior a 1 mm. (243)

Datos sobre el espesor de las vasijas de los Chiriguanos, Outes los dá en su publicación mencionada. Según él «las paredes de los vasos, en general, no acusan un gran espesór; en los de mayor tamaño, tienen 15 a 20 milimetros; en los medianos, no exceden de 8 milimetros; en las reducidas jarritas ventricosas, oscilan entre 7 y 4 milimetros. Como excepción de esos Outes menciona una vasija chica de una altura de más o menos 6 centimetros y un diámetro máximo de 12 centimetros, que es relativamente grosera, pues sus paredes laterales tienen de 9 a 7 milimetros y el fondo alcanza a 15 milimetros. (244)

Una grande parte de las vasijas están provistas, todavia antes de sufrir la cocción, de asas o de diferentes especies de adornos encima de su superficie. La superficie del cuello de las vasijas destinadas a cocer, está adornada con el ornamento hundido por impresiones hechas con el dedo. Sobre la superficie de algunas vasijas se colocan rodillos de barro, como muestra el pedazo de barro cocido de una vasija de los Chanés representado por dibujo por Linné (245) o, la superficie está munida de pequeños añadidos. Compare la vasija representada en la figura 44. Las vasijas más finas son pintadas antes de la cocción. Los dibujos son aplicados en blanco, colorado, marrón - oscuro y negro. (246) El tinte blanco representa en común el colór fundamentál encima del cual son aplica-

Nota 240. S. Liané. l. c. p. 57 y 68
Nota 241. Nord. 1. p. 244. Nord. 2. p. 137. S. Liané. l. c. p. 78. Métraux I p. 378 y 384.
Nota 242. Nord. 1. p. 244. Nord. 2. p. 137. S. Linné l. c. p. 107 y 108. Métraux I. p. 384.
Nota 243. Linné l. c. p. 78.
Nota 244. Outes l. c. p. 128.
Nota 45. Linné Fig. 81. Nord. 1. p. 245.
Nota 246. Nord. 1. p. 246.

dos los demás tintes. A eso sirven pinceles chicos hechos de pelos de agutí o de plumas unidas por medio de cera. (247) El tinte blanco consiste de un tinte de tierra (Caolino), el colorado, el marrón oscuro y el negro en substancias minerales polverizadas del correspondiente colór. (248) Métraux ha publicado los resultados de analisis quimicos y observaciones petrograficos que hizo de estos colores minerales. (249)

Según Nordenskiöld, los Chiriguanos, a veces, pintan sus vasijas con tinte que consiste en una mescla de urucú y aceite, el cual es aplicado probablemente después de cocida la vasija (250)

Antes que la vasija sea cocida, debe estar bién seca. En el caso observado por Nordenskiöld entre los Chanés, en el Itiyuru, se hizo secar la vasija un dia en la sombra, lo que se puede hacer según una otra indicación de Nordenskiöld también al sol. (251) La cocción se hace según las observaciones de Nordenskiöld de modo que leña, marlos de maiz y excrementos secos de vaca son amontados al rededór de la vasija. Este combustible debe quemar con un fuego fuerte un cuarto de hora y siendo la vasija grande, todavia más tiempo. (252)

Algunas de las vasijas de los Chiriguanos están barnizadas. Según Nordenskiöld tales vasijas son frecuentes entre los Chiriguanos y Chanés en el Rio Itiyuru. Las untan con la resina de una Minosoidea, que los Chiriguanos llaman «taraviruti». Barnizadas de esa manera las vasijas reciben un lustre amarillento. Solamente las vasijas de los Chanés en el Itiyuru muestran a veces una pintura negra en su orilla, la que se hace con la resina de Palo santo (Bulnesia Sarmienti) la que es extendida sobre la superficie de la vasija después de estar ella cocida. (253)

EL LABRADO DE LA PIEDRA Y DE LOS METALES

La fabricación de utensilios de piedra no se efectua entre los Chiriguanos y Chanés. Lo mismo se puede decir respecto a la fabricación de utensilios de metál excepto que los Chiriguanos, a veces, hacen ellos mismos sus tembetás de estaño, (254) mientras que ellos procuran por lo común sus adornos y utensilios de metál de los mestizos y los blancos.

EL LABRADO DE LA MADERA

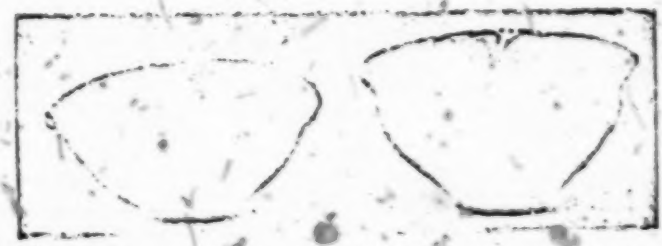
Ya en lo que precede fueron mencionados diversos objetos de los Chiriguanos, labrados en madera, como ser postes de casas, escaleras, platos, cucharas, pipas, arcos, puntas de flechas y también cúyas y calabazas. Entre otros objetos hechos en madera tenemos que mencionar todavia el mortero junto con la mano, diversos utensilios de tejer, palitos para hacer redes, grandes platos que sirven para guardar comidas, y flautas. Porque los Chiriguanos al labrar la madera hoy utilizan exclusivamente utensilios modernos recibidos de los blancos, no conservaron en nada su técnica indigena.

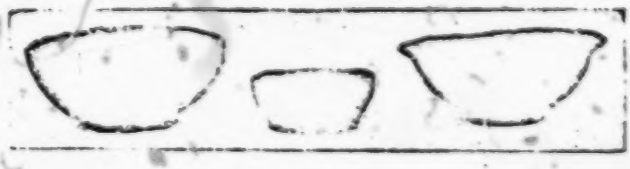
Nota 247. Métraux I. p. 386.
Nota 248. Nord. 2. p. 145.
Nota 249. Métraux I. 386.
Nota 250. Nord. 2 p. 145.
Nota 251. S. Linné. I. c. p. 121.
Nota 252. Nord. I. p. 246 Compare Nord. Abb. 122.
Nota 253. Nord. I. p. 246 Nord. 2. p. 144. Métraux I. p. 386 y 387.
Nota 254. Nord. 2. p. 174.

[P-56-A]

LAMINA XXII

Sociedad Científica del Paraguay





[P 56-B]

Vasijas de barro cocido.

Fig. 76

a. (I. A. 600) Vasija para chicha (Izozó.) Altura 13 cm.

b. (I. A. 586) Plato para comer. (Izozó) Altura 13 cm.

Fig. 77

Vasijas para chicha. (Chiriguano)

a. (I. A. 408.) Altura 8 cm.

b. (I. A. 407.) Altura 9 cm.

Fig. 78

a. (I. A. 406.) Plato para comer. (Chiriguano) Altura 9 cm.

b. (I. A. 598.) Plato para comer. (Izozó) Altura 13,2 cm.

Fig. 79

Platos para comer. (Chiriguano)

a. (I. A. 388.) Altura 6,5 cm.

b. (I. A. 389.) Altura 8 cm.

Fig. 80

a. (I. A. 595.) Plato para comer. (Izozó) Altura 9 cm.

b. (I. A. 619.) Vasija usada en la técnica de hilar para base del huso. (Izozó). Alt. 5 cm.

c. (I. A. 613.) Plato para comer. (Izozó). Altura 8 cm.

[P·56-C]

LAMINA XXIII

Vasijas de barro cocido.

Fig. 81

(Chiriguano)

a. (I. A. 411.) Altura 13,5 cm. b. (I. A. 410.) Altura 14,5 cm.

Fig. 82

Vasijas para servir la chicha. (Chiriguano)

a. (I. A. 380.) Altura 20 cm. b. (I. A. 382.) Altura 18 cm.

Fig. 83

Vasijas para transportar o guardar agua. (Izozó)

a. (I. A. 621.) Alt. 28,5 cm. b. (I. A. 608.) Altura 19,5

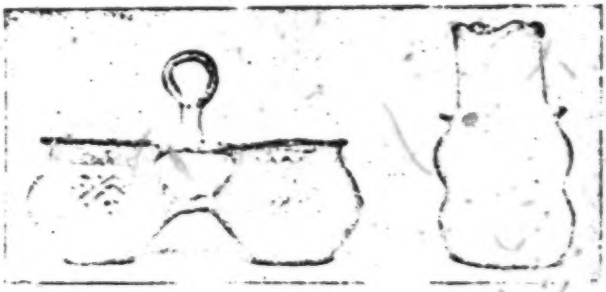
Fig. 84

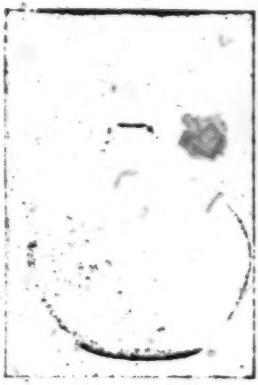
(I. A. 392.) Vasija para transportar o guardar agua. (Chiriguano). Altura 25 cm,

Sociedad Científica
del Paraguay

[P·56-D]

LAMINA XXIII

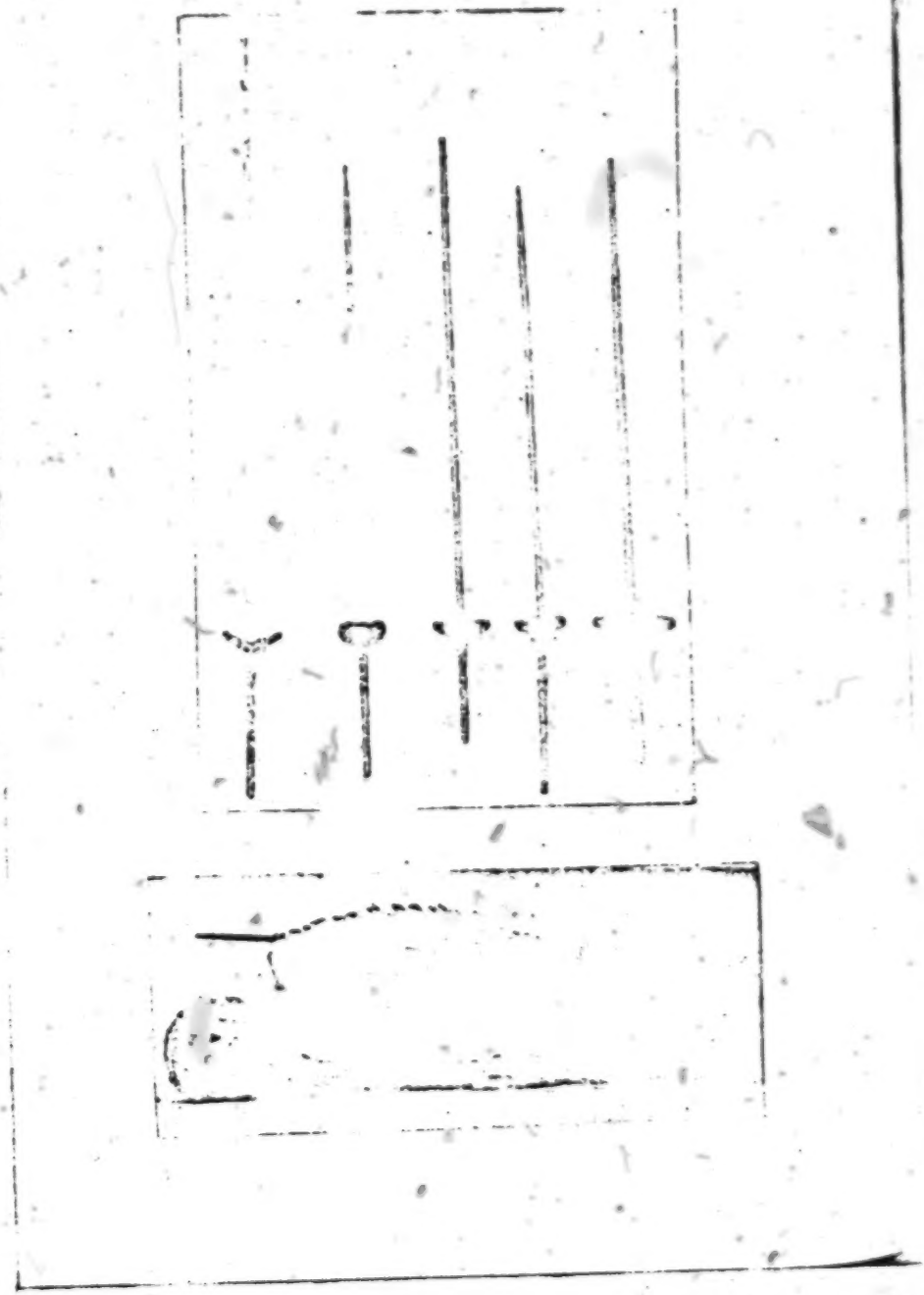




[P 56-E]

LAMINA XXIV

Sociedad Científica
del Paraguay



[P 56-F]

LAMINA XXIV

Fig. 85

Husos. a-d: (Izozó) .e: (Chiriguano)

a. (I. A. 724.) Largór 51 cm. b. (I. A 703.) Largór 41 cm. c. (I. A. 716.) Largór 41 cm. d. (I. A. 691.) Largór 40.5 cm. e. (I. A. 475.) Largór 42 cm.

Fig. 86

(I. A. 725 a y b.)

Cesta (altura 12 cm.) semillas de algodón, algodón crudo y un huso con hilo y ovillo de algodón (Izozó.)

b. (I. A. 726.) Ovillo de algodón (Izozó). Diám. 8,5 cm.

[p.56-G]

LAMINA XXV

Fig. 87

Torteras de huso, de madera. (Chiriguano)

a. (I. A. 478.) Diám. 6 cm. b. (I. A. 474.) Diám. 5,2 cm.

c. (I. A. 480.) Diám. 6 cm.

d. (I. A. 471.) Diám. 5,3 cm. e. (I. A. 479.) Diám. 4,3 cm. f. (I. A. 477.) Diám. 5,2 cm.

Fig. 88

Torteras de huso de barro cocido. (Chiriguano.)

a. (I. A. 486.) Diám. 6,2 cm. b. (I. A. 487.) Diám. 5,3 cm.

c. (I. A. 483.) Diám. 5,3 cm.

d. (I. A. 481.) Diám. 4,8 cm. e. (I. A. 482.) Diám. 4,2 cm. f. (I. A. 484.) Diám. 5,7 cm.

Fig. 89

Torteras de huso de barro cocido. (Izozó)

a. (I. A. 705.) Diám. 4,7 cm. b. (I. A. 687.) Diám. 5,2 cm. c. (I. A. 700.) Diám. 4 cm.

d. (I. A. 702.) Diám. 3 cm. e. (I. A. 686.) Diám. 3 cm. f. (I. A. 690.) Diám. 4 cm.

g. (I. A. 692.) Diám. 4,5 cm. h. (I. A. 689.) Diám. 4 cm. i. (I. A. 695.) Diám. 4,2 cm.

Fig. 90

Torteras de huso de barro cocido. (Izozó)

a. (I. A. 724.) Diám. 4 cm. b. (I. A. 708.) Diám. 3,8 cm. c. (I. A. 709.) Diám. 4,8 cm.

d. (I. A. 721.) Diám. 3,7 cm. e. (I. A. 722.) Diám. 3,3 cm. f. (I. A. 720.) Diám. 4,6 cm.

g. (I. A. 711.) Diám. 4,3 cm. h. (I. A. 713.) Diám. 4,2 cm. i. (I. A. 710.) Diám. 4 cm.

Fig. 91

Utensilios para tejer

a. (I. A. 500.) Utensilio para arreglar los hilos de la urdimbre. (Chiriguano.) Largór 90,5

b. (I. A. 674.) Utensilio para arreglar los hilos de la urdimbre. (Izozó) Largór 30 cm.

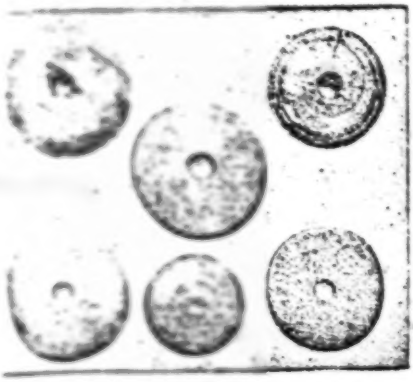
c. (I. A. 673.) Espada de madera para tejer. (Izozó). Largór 30 cm.

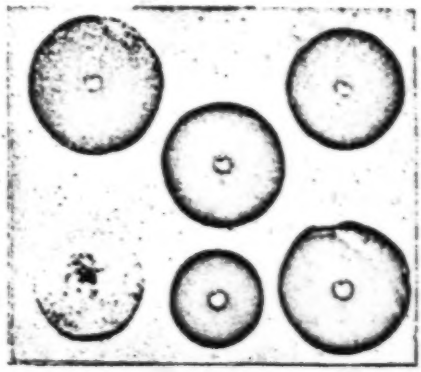
d. (I. A. 727.) Lanzadera con hilo de algodón. (Izozó) Largór 33,3 cm.

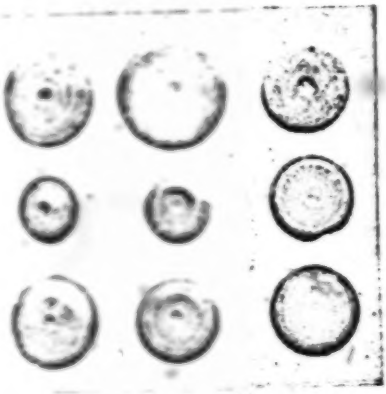
e. (I. A. 728.) Lanzadera con hilo de algodón. (Izozó). Largór 27 cm.

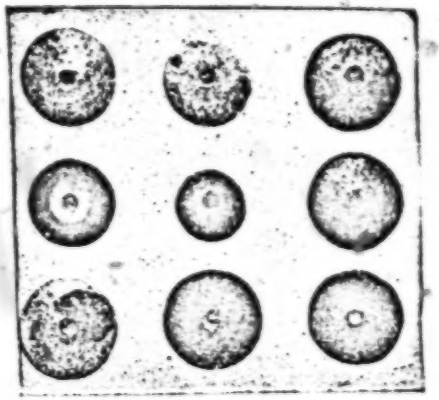
(I. A. 513.) Canilla. (Chiriguano) Largór 25 cm.

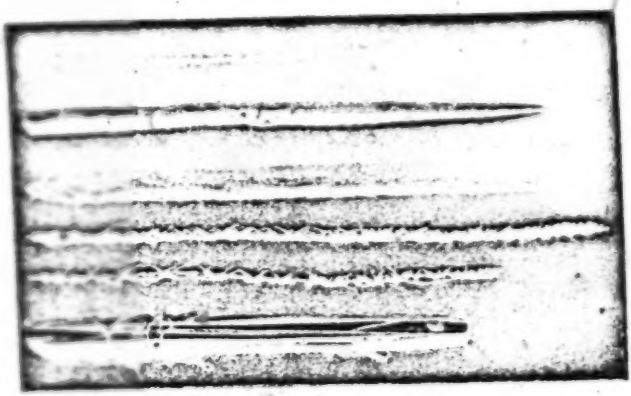
[P-56-H]











LA TRITURACION DE LAS MATERIAS PRIMAS

Para la trituración de las materias primas, principalmente para triturar el maiz, los Chiririguanos y Chanés usan grandes morteros de madera con largas manos de mortero. (255) Un tal mortero de madera está presentado en figura, 15 y un otro, por Nodenskiöld. (256) Molinos de piedra, esos indios no los usan aunque ese utensilio era empleado, fuera de las tribus del Chaco, por todas las tribus de las que los Chiriguanos tenian como vecinos, después de su inmigración al Oeste. Según Métraux se emplea un pequeño molino de piedra sololamente para triturar las semillas de una planta las que los Chiriguanos las usan como jabón, lavando sus cabellos. Un tal molino de piedra esta representado por dibujo por Métraux. (257)

Porque el mortero de madera es común hasta hoy entre los Kaingués, los que pertenecen también al grupo linguistico de los Guaranies y, también es mencionado de los Tupinanbás antiguos de la costa oriental del Brasil, podemos suponer que los Chiriguanos trajeron este bién de cultura de su pais natal.

Del hecho de que la mandioca no tiene importancia en la economia de esos indios, se explica que ellos no utilizan el ralladór de madera, cuya aplicación está difundida entre tantas otras tribus de indios de la Americana del Sud que cultivan esa raiz alimenticia.

HECHURA DE CUERDAS Y DE HILOS

De los hilos de los Chiriguanos y Chanés los que están hechos de lana o de algodón, son hilados por medio del huso, mientras que los que están hechos de caraguatá, son torcidos con la mano. Sobre la manera de como son torcidos esos hilos de caraguatá no tenemos indicaciones.

La dirección según la cual esos hilos están torcidos por esos indios es comunmente hacia la izquierda, mientras que las dos madejas de las cuales, generalmente, consta cada un hilo están torcidas por lo común hacia la derecha. Compare los dos esquemas representados en la figura 137. La cuerda bastante gruesa, de algodón, extendido al telar, representado en la figura 104, para tender la urdimbre, está torcida a la derecha, pero ella consiste de tres hilos particulares, torcidos a la izquierda, los que a su vez se forman cada uno de dos madejas torcidas a la derecha. Las cuerdas de los arcos para tirar flechas formadas solamente de una madeja de pellejo animal, están torcidas a la derecha. La regla es, que todos los hilos, sean hilos de caraguatá hechos con la mano, sean hilos de lana o de algodón, hechos con el huso, están torcidos hacia la izquierda, constituidos por dos madejas torcidas hacia la derecha. Investigando muchos hilos de los Chiriguanos e Izozós hallé solamente dos excepciones a esta regla. De los dos hilos, enrrollados, junto, a la canilla I. A. 413 y constituido cada uno por dos manejas, el uno está torcido hacia la derecha y el otro hacia la izquierda y los hilos gruesos de lana de la urdimbre de la hamaca trenzada, I. A. 448, estan torcidos hacia la derecha formados por dos madejas torcidas hacia la izquierda.

HILOS DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 675. Hilo de caraguatá. (Izozós)

Nota 255. Nord. . p. 51. Métraux I. p. 365. fig. 80.
Nota 256. Nord. I. Abb. 116.
Nota 257. Métraux I. p. 467. fig. 122.

I. A. 676. Ovillo de hilo de algodón. (Izozós). Diámetro 9 cm.
I. A. 726. » » » » » 9,5 cm. (Fig 86. b.)

Fuera de un gran numero de husos de los Chiriguanos y de los Izozós recibí de esos indios una chica cesta que contiene la materia prima que se necesita para hilar un hilo de algodon y un huso envuelto con un hilo de algodón que está unido con un ovillo de hilo de esta substancia.

UTENSILIOS Y MATERIA PRIMA PARA HILAR, DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 725.

a. Cesta (Izozós). Largór 27 cm. Altura 12 cm; semillas de algodón y algodón crudo. (Fig. 86. a.)

b. Huso provisto de una tortera de barro cocido. Largór del palito 46 cm. Diámetro de la tortera 4,2 cm; ovillo de hilo de algodón. (Fig. 86. a.)

I. A. 470. Huso (Chiriguano). Largór 44,5 cm. Tortera de madera. Su diám. 4,8 cm.
I. A. 471. » » » 36,5 cm. » 5,3 cm. (Fig. 87. d.)
I. A. 472. » » » 39 cm. » 6 cm.
I. A. 473. » » » 34,5 cm. » 5,7 cm.
I. A 474. » » » 38 cm. » 5,3 cm. (Fig. 87. b.)
I. A. 475. » » » 40,5 cm. » 5,8 cm. (Fig. 85. e.)
I. A. 476. » » » 42,7 cm. » 6,5 cm.
I. A. 477. » » » 38,5 cm. » 5,2 cm. (Fig. 87. f.)
I. A. 478. » » » 42 cm. » 6 cm. (Fig. 87. a.)
I. A. 479. » » » 25,5 cm. » 4,3 cm. (Fig. 87. e.)
I. A. 480. » » » 32,3 cm. » 6 cm. (Fig. 87. c.)
I. A. 481. » » » 40 cm. Tortera de piedra. 4,8 cm. (Fig. 88. d.)
I. A. 482. » » » 25,5 cm. » 4,2 cm. (Fig. 88. e.)
I. A. 483. » » » 37 cm. Tortera de barro cocido. 5,3 cm. (Fig. 88 c.)
I. A. 484. » » » 42 cm. Tortera de Piedra. 5,7 cm. (Fig. 88. f.)
I. A. 485. » » » 31 cm. Tortera de barro cocido. 4 cm.
I. A. 486. » » » 35,7 cm. » 6,2 cm. (Fig. 88. a.)
I. A. 487. » » » 30 cm. » 5,3 cm. (Fig. 88. b.)
I. A. 488. » » » ? » » 5 cm.
I. A. 489. » » » 35,5 cm. Tortera de madera. 5,5 cm.
I. A. 687. » (Izozó) Largor 43 cm. Tortera de madera. » 5,2 cm. (Fig. 89. b.
I. A. 688. » » » 39 cm. » » » 3,7 cm.
I. A. 689. » » » 31 cm. » » » 4 cm. (Fig. 89. h.)
I. A. 690. » » » 39,5 cm. » » » 4 cm. (Fig. 89. f.)
I. A. 691. » » » 40,5 cm. » » » 4,5 cm. (Fig. 85. d.)
I. A. 692. » » » 39,5 cm. » » » 3,5 cm. (Fig. 89. g.)
I. A. 693. » » » 33 cm. » » » 4 cm.
I. A. 694. » » » 45,5 cm. » » » 4 cm.
I. A. 695. » » » 42 cm. » » » 4,2 cm. (Fig. 89. i.)
I. A. 696. » » » 37,5 cm. » » » 3 cm. (Fig. 89. e.)
I. A. 697. » » » 31,7 cm. » » » 3 cm.
I. A. 698. » » » 49,5 cm. » » » 4,2 cm.
I. A. 699. » » » 32,5 cm. » » » 3,5 cm.
I. A. 700. » » » 34,5 cm. » » » 4 cm. (Fig. 89. c.)
I. A. 701. » » » 40 cm. » » » 3,8 cm.
I. A. 702. » » » 33 cm. » » » 3 cm. (Fig. 89. d.)
I. A. 703. » » » 41,2 cm. » » » 3 cm. (Fig. 89. b.)
I. A. 704. » » » 54,5 cm. » » » 4 cm.
I. A. 705. » » » 33,5 cm. » » » 4,7 cm. (Fig. 89. a.)

I. A. 706. Tortera de madera sin palito. (Izozés). Diámetro 4 cm.
I. A. 707. » » » » » » » 3 cm.
I. A. 708. Huso. (Izozés) Largo 42,5 cm. Tortera de barro. Su diám 3,8 cm. Fig. 90. h.
I. A. 709. » » » 38,5 cm. » » » 4,3 cm. (Fig. 90. c.)
I. A. 710. » » » 43 cm. » » » 4 cm. (Fig. 90. i.)
I. A. 711. » » » 36,2 cm. » » » 4,3 cm. (Fig. 90. g.)
I. A. 712. » » » 33,5 cm. » » » 4,2 cm.
I. A. 713. » » » 43,5 cm. » » » 4,2 cm. (Fig. 90. b.)
I. A. 714. » » » 46 cm. » » » 4 cm.
I. A. 715. » » » 43,5 cm. » » » 3,8 cm.
I. A. 716. » » » 41 cm. » » » 3,8 cm. (Fig. 85. c.)
I. A. 717. » » » 42,5 cm. » » » 3,5 cm.
I. A. 718. » » » 36 cm. » » » 3,3 cm.
I. A. 719. » » » 36,5 cm. » » » 3,7 cm.
I. A. 720. » » » 41,2 cm. » » » 4,4 cm. (Fig. 90. f.)
I. A. 721. » » » 34,5 cm. » » » 3,7 cm. (Fig. 90. d.)
I. A. 722. » » » 38,5 cm. » » » 3,3 cm. (Fig. 90. a.)
I. A. 723. » » » 40,5 cm. » » » 3,5 cm.
I. A. 724. » » » 51 cm. » » » 4 cm. (Fig. 85. a. y 90 a.

Los husos que recibí de los Chiriguanos e Izozés pertenecen a aquel tipo de husos, muy común entre los indios de la America del Sud, que Nordenskiöld llama «tipo Bakairi» en contraste con el «tipo Bororo», siendo fundado esa nomenclatura por la descripción primera de esos dos tipos de husos por Carl von den Steinen, los que encontró entre los Bakairis por un lado y entre los Bororós por otro lado. (258) En contraste con el «tipo Bororo» el huso del «tipo Bacairi» usandolo para hilar, está tenido en posición vértical y tiene un chico aumento a modo de un botón al extremo superior del palito. Hilando, el hilo listo se envuelve al rededor del pedazo superior del palito. La materia de las torteras de los Chiriguanos e Izozés consiste en barro cocido (de los Chiriguanos de pedazos de vasijas rotas de barro cocido, afilados) en madera o, pocas veces entre los Chiriguanos, en piedra.

De las medidas mencionadas en lo que precede, resulta que las torteras de los Chiriguanos tienen por lo común un diámetro bastante mayór que las torteras de los husos de los Izozés. El palito más largo de los husos de la colección (de los Izozés) mide 54,5 cm; el más corto (de los Chiriguanos) 25,5 cm.

Como ya mencioné, todos los palitos de los husos de los Chiriguanos e Izozés están provistos al extremo superior del palito de un aumento a modo de un botón. La mayor parte de los palitos de husos tienen además un aumento en la parte inferior, directamente por debajo del lugar donde está puesta la tortera, de modo que se evita el descender de la tortera del palito en la posición vértical del huso. Muchos husos tienen directamente por debajo de la tortera un envolvimiento con algodón o lana cruda para asegurar la tortera.

La forma de las torteras muestra muchas variaciones. Ya mencioné que las torteras de los Chiriguanos son por lo común bastante mayores que las de los Izozés. Ellas son también mucho más uniformes. Los dos lados de barro cocido de los Chiriguanos son simplemente planos y lisos, lo que ya resulta de su origen de pedazos de vasijas rotas de barro cocido a las cuales los Chiriguanos dan la forma de un disco, afiliándolos y a los cuales los perforan en el centro. La misma forma la muestran también las torteras de piedra de los Chiri-

Nota 258. Carl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Berlin 1894. p. 238. y 439 R. vd. 2. p. 196. Otto Nordenskiöld. Zwirnen und Spinnen bei Indianern. Ostmerikan., Göteborg 1924.

guanos y la mayór parte de las torteras de madéra. Pero entre estas hay también algunas (Compare la figura 87) que se asemejan a las formas, más complicadas, de las torteras de los Ipurinás aunque se diferencian de estas por su mayór tamaño.

Entre las torteras de los Ipurinás se encuentran solamente dos que están, como las torteras de los Chiriguanos en los dos lados planos. Las demás torteras de los Ipurinás, no solo las de barro cocido sino que también las de madera, muestran grandes variaciones de sus formas, de las cuales muchas se asemejan a las formas de torteras de los Peruanos antiguos. Compare las figuras 89 y 90.

LA TÉCNICA DE TRENZAR.

En una leyenda, la que me contó un indio Parecsi en Mato-Grosso, se trata de la aparición de una época nueva. La generación joven de los Parecsis se queja a su abuelo de que ellos ya habían olvidado la fabricación del fondo de sus diferentes cestas, quiere decir el principio y así pues el rellenado de esos trabajos. Del mismo pueden quejarse los Chiriguanos a sus abuelos. También ellos han olvidado por consecuencia del nacer de una nueva época, quiere decir por consecuencia de la conexión con los blancos la mayór parte de los elementos de su arte de trenzar y, imitaciones de mercaderías europeas o de objetos trenzados de indios vecinos, menos cultivados que ellos, constituyen solamente una mala compensación.

De las cuatro especies principales en las que pueden ser clasificados, respecto a su técnica, todos objetos trenzados de los indios de la América del Sud y las que yo he llamado en mis correspondientes publicaciones (259) «Stufengeflechte, Doppelfadengeflechte, Rohrstabgeflechte y Geflechte in Spiralwulsttechnik» encuentranse entre los Chiriguanos y Chaná-Ipurinás solamente las dos primeras. Sorprendente es el hecho de que no existe entre esos indios la cuarta especie (Geflechte in Spiralwulsttechnik) de objetos trenzados porque la técnica de esta era la más común en las regiones montañosas confinantes al territorio de los Chiriguanos.

Los objetos trenzados de la primera especie están hechos a la manera de que las tiras de un grupo son trenzadas con las tiras de un otro grupo que están verticales a las primeras, de la manera de que las tiras del primer grupo pasan alternativamente un cierto número de las tiras del segundo grupo y son pasadas por ellas; y en de modo que siempre las mallas que transcurren en la misma dirección, forman líneas de gradas. El número de las tiras cada vez pasadas por una tira del otro grupo, está generalmente de tres o de dos pero hay casos en los que es pasada cada vez, solamente una tira.

De objetos trenzados que pertenecen a esta primera especie, yo recibí de los Chiriguanos una grande estera para dormir, canastillos chatos, cribas, una cesta cuadrangular y un sombrero y, de los Ipurinás, canastillos chatos semejantes a las de los Chiriguanos y dos especies diferentes de cestas. Además usan los Chiriguanos y Chaná pocas veces también abanicos para soplar fuego (tapéko) trenzados de hojas de palmera (260). Métraux ha descrito y representado por dibujo un tal abanico para soplar el fuego. Este abanico está trenzado de las hojas de la palmera Caranday a la manera de los «Stufengeflechte», de modo que las tiras del primer grupo pasan alternativamente dos tiras del segundo grupo y son

Nota 259. Vide Schmidt: Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde. Berlin 1924, p. 186 - 187.
Nota 260. Nord. I. p. 36.

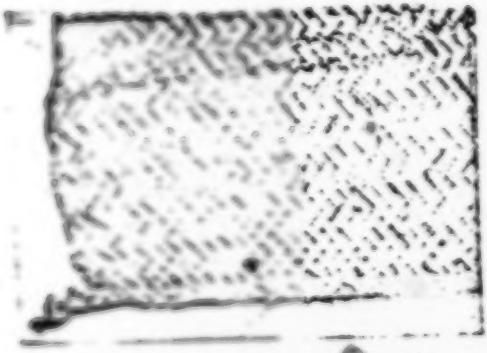
B. Schmidt

SF10 Chiriguano

[P. 60-A]

LAMINA XXVI

Sociedad Científica
del Paraguay



[P 60-B]

LAMINA XXVI

Objetos trenzados

Fig. 92

Canastillas

a. (I. A. 746.) (Izozó). Diám. 45. cm.

b. (I. A. 541.) (Chiriguano) Diám. 30 cm.

Fig. 93

(I. A. 546.) Canastilla. (Chiriguano). Diám. 32 cm.

Fig. 94

(I. A. 548.) Criba. (Chiriguano). Diám. 30 cm.

Fig. 95

(I. A. 544.) Esteera trenzada de hojas de caranday. (Chiriguano). Largo 1,75 cm.

[P. 60-C]

LAMINA XXVII

Objetos trenzados

Fig. 96

(I. A. 681.) Canta. (Isoné). Largúr 27 cm.

Fig. 97

(I. A. 685.) Canta. (Isoné). Largúr. 26 cm.

Fig. 98

Fondos de cestas (Isoné)

a. (I. A. 677.) Largúr 23 cm. b. (I. A. 678.) Largúr 28 cm.

Fig. 99

(I. A. 554.) Superficie interior de un sombrero. (Chiriguano.) Diám. 30 cm.

Fig. 100

(I. A. 677.) Canta. (Isoné). Largúr 22 cm.

Fig. 101

(I. A. 551.) Fondo de una canta. (Chiriguano.) Largúr 28 cm.

[P.60-D]

Sociedad Científica
del Paraguay

LAMINA XXVII

grandes por ellos. Las hojuelas, merlas del lado exterior no pelo que, formando el borde superior del abanico, consiguen el lado de las hojas pinadas de otras palmeras, las que emplean otras tribus de indios Guaraníes en la fabricación de sus abanicos trenzados. (301)

OBJETOS TRENZADOS DE LA PRIMERA SUPERIE (STUFENGEFLECHTE), DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 540.	Balsa.		(Chiriguano)	Largo:	1,72 m.	Ancho 1,00 m. (Fig. 95.)
I. A. 541.	Cuadrilla chata		•	Idem.	39 cm.	(Fig. 92. b.)
I. A. 542.	•	•	•	•	43 cm.	
I. A. 543.	•	•	•	•	43 cm.	
I. A. 544.	•	•	•	•	38 cm.	
I. A. 545.	•	•	•	•	38 cm.	
I. A. 546.	•	•	•	•	33 cm.	(Fig. 93.)
I. A. 544.	•	•	(Isoci)	•	36 cm.	
I. A. 545.	•	•	•	•	37 cm.	
I. A. 546.	•	•	•	•	46 cm.	(Fig. 92. a.)
I. A. 547.	Cribe	•	(Chiriguano)	•	36 cm.	
I. A. 548.	•		•	•	30 cm.	(Fig. 94.)
I. A. 549.	•		•	•	30 cm.	
I. A. 551.	Cesta		•	Largo:	32 cm.	Alt. 16 cm. (Fig. 101.)
I. A. 677.	•		(Isoci)	•	33 cm.	• 16,5 cm. (Fig. 99 a y 100)
I. A. 678.	•		•	•	39 cm.	• 14 cm. (Fig. 98. b.)
I. A. 795. a.	•		•	•	37 cm.	• 12 cm. (Fig. 98 a.)
I. A. 679.	•		•	•	31 cm.	• 22 cm.
I. A. 680.	•		•	•	39 cm.	• 31 cm.
I. A. 681.	•		•	•	37 cm.	• 23 cm. (Fig. 96.)
I. A. 682.	•		•	•	31 cm.	• 26 cm.
I. A. 683.	•		•	•	26 cm.	• 21 cm. (Fig. 97.)
I. A. 684.	•		•	•	55 cm.	• 29 cm.
I. A. 685.	•		•	•	44 cm.	• 30 cm.
I. A. 686.	•		•	•	46 cm.	• 24 cm.

I. A. 512. Bolsita con tapa. (Chiriguano) Altura 9,5 cm.

I. A. 554. Sombrero. (Chiriguano). Altura 18 cm. Diámetro 30 cm. (Fig. 99.)

La materia de los objetos trenzados los que ha mencionado en lo que precede, consiste en tiras de hojas de palmera o en tiras de caña y de la cesta I. A. 551, de los Chiriguanos en tiras de madera. Porque esos indios no disponen de palmeras con hojas pinadas ellos tienen que usar las hojas palmadas de la Carandaí, de donde se sigue la diferencia entre los objetos trenzados de esos indios y aquellos de otras tribus. Por ejemplo hacen los indios Guaraníes estores trenzados a la estera coleccionada entre los Chiriguanos, y costas almohadas a su tipo de cestos de los Ipurinas, de las grandes hojas pinadas de la palmera Acuri (Cocos Schizophylla Mart.). El lado o los lados de los cestos entre las hojuelas que forman el trenzado, forman el borde superior de la estera o de las cestas. Respecto a la palmera de Carandaí se necesita doblar las hojuelas del lado para ponerlas en la posición necesaria para poder trenzarlas las unas con las otras. Por tanto el borde superior está formado a la manera de un trenzado a la real las hojuelas están torcidas para poder seguir desde este rodamiento el trenzado. El borde inferior es también formado a la manera de un trenzado la que las extremas libres de las tiras y terminan en dos extremos, una en cada

Para Del. Mitteilungen. I. p. 460 y 461 y Plancha 69.

tula, que adornaban los bordes laterales de la estera. La estera está trenzada a la manera de que una tira pasa cada vez dos tiras del otro grupo. La ornamentación se formaba por «líneas rayas, paralelas al borde superior de la estera.

Las cestillas chaco de los Chiriguanos o Isoseña, en general, se asemejan respecto a su forma y a sus dimensiones. Ellas están trenzadas de tiras de caña y, a su borde exterior, provistas de un cerco de madera. Como la estera, trenzada, ellas son trenzadas a la manera de que siempre una tira de un grupo pasa dos tiras del otro grupo y muestran por ello en su superficie la misma ornamentación, que consiste en rayas paralelas y es típica para todos los objetos trenzados de esta manera. En esta ornamentación de las cestillas existe una diferencia en cuanto que, de algunas de ellas, la superficie entera está llenada de líneas paralelas que pasan todas en la misma dirección (Compare la figura 94c), mientras que la ornamentación de la mayor parte de estas cestillas consiste en «cuadrados concéntricos» (Compare las figuras 98. a y b.) formados por la combinación de cuatro mitades de la superficie de las cuales dos muestran las líneas paralelas en la dirección vertical a la de las líneas paralelas de los dos otras mitades. Respecto a los detalles de la formación de tales ornamentos por la técnica misma yo remito a mis relaciones publicadas. (102)

Las tres cribas las que recibí de los Chiriguanos corresponden respecto a su forma exterior y el redondeado del trenzar a las cestillas descritas en lo que precede. Ellas se diferencian de estas solamente en de que una tira tiene una cierta distancia una de la otra y de que una tira de un grupo pasa siempre sólo una tira del otro grupo, lo que no es producido aquella ornamentación de la superficie considerada en «rayas paralelas» que muestran las cestillas. También estas cribas están provistas de asas como las cestillas de los Chiriguanos. Un dibujo de una criba de los Chanés representado por Nordenskiöld, muestra que también «los Indios usan tales cribas. (103) Cestillas y cribas análogas a las mencionadas, Métraux las describe y representa por dibujos. (104)

La técnica del sombrero de los Chiriguanos (I. A. 504.) no es primordial, más, sin duda, recibida de los blancos y tal vez ha sido directamente enseñada a los Indios en las misiones. Para mostrar la técnica de este sombrero no tiene interés aquí porque ella es aplicada por los Isoseña también a la fabricación de un tipo de cestos de las cuales la figura 99. b. representa un ejemplar. La fabricación del sombrero principia en el centro y las tiras de las cestas está trenzado el principio son «enseñadas» por «alrededor» de otras tiras. Compare la figura 99. Lá manera de trenzar es como la de todos los otros objetos de esta especie, de los Chiriguanos y Chanés, de modo que una tira de un grupo pasa siempre dos tiras del otro grupo.

La técnica de la balsa chica, I. A. 512, que está provista de una tapa y correspondía respecto a su forma a una cigarrera moderna, no tiene interés para nosotros porque se trata de un producto de fabricación moderna.

Las cestas I. A. 501 (de los Chiriguanos) y I. A. 677 (de los Isoseña) tienen un interés especial, porque ellas representan el producto de una época vuelta en que ya se han olvidado los artículos primordiales de la técnica y por lo tanto se han perdido las formas típicas de las producciones de esas técnicas. La imitación de un tipo de cestas que tiene una grande propagación entre las tribus de Indios de la América del Sud principia con la hechura del fondo y termina en el borde superior de la cesta donde las estrenas libres de las tiras son sir-

(102) Vaca Schmidt: Schlingenmuster in Amerika-Ornamentik, Berlin 1906, p. 56 ss. y: Die nordamerikanischen Flechtmuster in der Ornamentik der Kriegerkultur Südamerikas.
(103) Nordenskiöld: l. c. p. 111.
(104) Métraux: l. c. p. 457 ss. Planches 56 ss.

mados. Si comparamos la estructura del fondo de esas cestas de los Chiriguanos y Chanés con la estructura de las cestas correspondientes de otras tribus de indios Sudamericanos como con la estructura de las cestas de los Bacairis en las afluencias del Rio Xingú (Matto-Grosso-Brasil) o de las tribus en el Rio Negro, llama la atención la grande diferencia respecto a la conformidad del trabajo. En mis publicaciones ya mencionadas (265) yo he descrito esta especie de cestas más minuciosamente y he mostrado que el ornamento especial que aparece en dos variaciones en el fondo de la mayor parte de las cestas de esta eepecie, todavia no degeneradas, está coherente con la técnica, porque solamente un fondo ornamentado de esta manera puede ser un principio propio para poder formar las paredes de la cesta. Además, hay la dificultad de que para la fabricación de las cuatro paredes de una de estas cestas se necesitan dos veces más tiras de lo que integra el número de los extremos libres de las tiras que salen del cuadrado o rectángulo trenzado que forma el fondo de la cesta. Por eso, los indios que saben todavia trenzar exactamente estas cestas, trenzan en el principio un pedazo rectangular, plano, dos veces mayor que el fondo proyectado de la cesta. Entonces los cuatro cantos de este rectángulo son doblados hacia arriba sirviendo de este modo como partes de las paredes de la cesta las que son completadas trenzando los extremos libres de las tiras las unas con las otras. Por este artificio se alcanza a disponer de un número suficiente como para poder formar las paredes de la cesta. Los Chiriguanos y Chanés de hoy desconocen este artificio y por eso ellos no logran hacer cestas exactas de esa especie. No sabemos si ellos, influenciados por industrias importadas o por ideas nuevas hayan olvidado poco a poco los artificios de su técnica primordial de trenzar o, si ellos hayan imitado formas de cestas las que habian visto entre otras tribus de indios sin que conocer los artificios de la técnica.

Completamente diferente de los fondos de las dos cestas, descritas en lo que precede, están formados los fondos y asi los rudimentos de las dos cestas I. A. 678 y 725. a, representadas en las figuras 86. a. y 98. b. En la fabicación de estas cestas los indios se han aprovechado de la experiencia que habian hecho en la fabricación del sombrero moderno descrito en lo que precede. El principio del trenzar de esas dos cestas en el centro del fondo corresponde exactamente al principio de la fabricación del sombrero, fuera de que las tiras de las cestas consistiendo en las hojuelas de la caranday son más anchas y por eso las mallas son mucho más grandes. Donde principian las paredes laterales de la cesta y se necesitan más tiras que para el fondo, son añadidas otras tiras, pero en contraste a la fabricación del sombrero por medio de una especie de trenza que une los extremos libres de las tiras primordiales con las tiras añadidas asi que todas juntos sirven para trenzar las paredes de la cesta. También las cestas análogas de los Chirignanos del valle de Caipipendi descritas y representadas por dibujos por Métraux parecen estar influenciadas bastante por la técnica moderna. (266)

Un tipo completamente diferente de las cestas descritas en lo que precede, representan las cestas I. A. 679 - 686, de los Izozós. El trenzar de ellas no principia en el fondo como el trenzar de las otras cestas, pero si en el borde superior y termina con la hechura del fondo. Yo he descrito minuciosamente este tipo de cestas que aparece entre muchas otras tribus de indios de la America del Sud, en tratando las cestas correspondientes de los indios Guatós y remito aqui mis relativas indicaciones y dibujos esquemáticos hechos para explicar la fabricación de esa especie de cestas. (267)

Porque los Guatós usan las hojas pinadas de la palmera Acuri como ma-

Nota 265. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien l. c. y: Die technischen Voraussetzungen. l. c. p. 157 y 158.
Nota 266. Métraux. l. p. 454 - 457. Planches 58 - 61.
Nota 267. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien. l. c. p. 221 - 227.

terial para esas cestas, ellos pueden dejar las hojuelas las que necesitan para trenzar la cesta, junto al limbo, él que forma así el borde superior de la cesta. Los Izozós, no disponiendo de hojas de palmera, pinadas, tienen que usar las hojas pentadas de la Caranday. De estas tienen que soltar las hojuelas para poder servir ellas a la fabricación de cestas. Por eso estas cestas principian al borde superior con una especie de trenza, que une las hojuelas sueltas para poder trenzar las paredes de la cesta. Como muestran las figuras 96 y 97 esta trenza principia y termina con un nudo. Estos dos nudos se encuentran al costado de la cesta o al medio de la paréd y están ligados de las más de las veces por un envolvimiento de hilo para evitar una interrupción del borde en ese lugar. Las tiras, saliendo de la trenza, son trenzadas las unas con las otras a la manera de que resulta la forma de una manga cuya abertura, por abajo, es cerrada por una trenza doble, cuyos dos extremos a los dos lados de la cesta, pasan por la paréd y salen otra vez para fuera de la paréd, terminando cada uno con un nudo. Los extremos de las trenzas del fondo de la cesta I. A. 683 (Compare la figura 97) forman a la vez el asa de la cesta. Las asas de otras cestas de esta especie consisten en un hilo o de una tira de cuero.

Trenzas iguales o semejantes a aquellas que forman a veces las asas de las cestas descritas en lo que precede, son usadas por los Chiriguanos é Izozós también en otros casos, como algunas veces en las franjas de las fajas y sobre todo para formar la parte mediana de las vendas para los cabellos de las mujeres anteriormente mencionadas. Conforme a la diferencia del numero de las madejas trenzadas y del numero de las tiras que cada vez son pasadas por una tira de la trenza resultan variaciones de esas trenzas como las representan las figuras 139 - 141. Cuanto mayór es el numero de las madejas de la trenza, tanto más la forma de una cuerda de la trenza se transforma en el aspecto de una venda. Compare la figura 32. a y b.

A la segunda de las cuatro especies de objetos trenzados, en que se clacifican todos los objetos trenzados de los indios Sudamericanos, pertenecen aquellos que están trenzados de modo que una fila de palos, de hilos o de semejantes cosas son unidos a la manera de que un hilo doble pasa continuamente o con ciertas distancias, la fila y, eso de modo que los dos hilos particulares del hilo doble, abrazan en cada rotación uno o más de los palitos o hilos de la fila.

De objetos trenzados con esta técnica existen en la coleción dos hamacas de los Chiriguanos y una cubierta de silla de caballo, de los Izozós.

OBJETOS TRENZADOS CON HILO DOBLE, DE LA COLECCIÓN.

I. A. 448. Hamaca. (Chiriguano) De lana. Largor 2,60 m. Anchura 0,75 m. (Fig. 102. b. y 109.)
I. A. 449. » » » » 2,05 m. » 0,60 m. Fig. 110.)
I. A. 844. Cubierta de silla de caballo (Izozó) 1,21 m. » 0,57 m. Fig. 103. b. y 129.)

Los hilos de las hamacas mencionadas en lo que precede están hechos de lana y eso no solo respecto a los hilos de la urdimbre sino que también respecto a los hilos dobles. La fabricación de esas hamacas se halla explicada por los dos dibujos esquemáticos representados en las figuras 109 y 110. El esquema representado en la figura 109, muestra el lugar de la hamaca I. A. 448 en que el hilo doble principia a pasar la fila de los hilos de la urdimbre. El arreglo de los hilos de la urdimbre se puede explicar solamente a la manera de que se ha hecho primeramente una urdimbre de un hilo continuo y en forma de una manga,

como se hace la urdimbre de los tejidos hechos con el telár. Los hilos dobles pasando los hilos de la urdimbre, abrazan con cada lazo originado por su rotación, un hilo del lado anterior de la urdimbre y un hilo del lado posterior de la urdimbre. Solamente al borde lateral son abrazados, como muestra la figura 109, tres o cuatro hilos por cada lazo. El hilo doble, que principia al lado derecho del esquema, transcorre toda la anchura de la urdimbre de la manera indicada por el esquema. Llegando al otro lado, el hilo doble no vuelve para pasar la urdimbre en la dirección encontrada, mas sus extremos son afirmados y, en ciertas distancias, pasan otros hilos dobles la urdimbre, á la misma manera como el primero. La hamaca I. A. 449 muestra el mismo arreglo de los hilos y de la urdimbre y el hilo doble pasa la urdimbre a la misma manera, fuera de que también al borde lateral son abrazados por él solamente dos hilos de la urdimbre y eso también un hilo del lado anterior de la urdimbre y un hilo del lado posterior de esta. Compare el esquema representado en la figura 110.

La cubierta de la silla de caballo, de los Izozós, mencionada en lo que precede, muestra una particularidad en cuanto a que los hilos dobles están apretados uno al lado del otro, de modo que forman un genero compacto cuyos hilos de la urdimbre desaparecen debajo de los hilos dobles. También de esta cubierta de silla de caballo están abrazados dos hilos de la urdimbre por cada un lazo del hilo doble y, solamente a los dos lados algunos hilos más. Pero una diferencia de las hamacas trenzadas con hilo doble consiste en que el hilo doble después de haber pasado los hilos de la urdimbre de un lado al otro lado, vuelve en la dirección encontrada pasando los hilos de la urdimbre. Una otra particularidad consiste en que cada una de las filas consecutivas de las mallas del hilo doble muestra cada vez la dirección encontrada de la otra, por lo que aparece una especie de ornamentación encima de la superficie, consistiendo en rayas. Como muestra el esquema representado en la figura 111, esta particularidad es producida por la manera especial de que son abrazados los hilos exteriores de la urdimbre por el hilo doble.

AROS DE MADERA PARA GUARDAR BIENES, DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 580.	Un par de aros.	(Chiriguano)	Diámetro	53 cm.	
I. A. 581.	»	»	»	»	51 cm.
I. A. 582.	»	»	»	»	46 cm.
I. A. 583.	»	»	»	»	43 cm. (Fig. 41.)
I. A. 584.	Un aro		»	»	48 cm.

En las casas de los Chiriguanos en Machareti hallé suspendidos aros de madera, los que, comunmente dos a dos, servian para guardar diversos bienes de los indios. La superficie circular de los aros está llenada por tiras de caña que están extendidas entre el aro y trenzadas unas con las otras como la muestra la figura 41. Los aros están provistos de cordones o tiras de cuero para poder suspenderlos en las casas. (268).

OBJETOS TRENZADOS, MODERNOS, DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 503.	Cesta.	(Chiriguano)	Diámetro	18 cm.	Altura	12,5 cm.
I. A. 550.	»	»	»	27 cm.	»	13 cm.
I. A. 552.	»	»	»	31 cm.	»	23 cm.
I. A. 553.	Canasta chata			56 cm.	»	16 cm.

Nota 268. Compare Métraux I. p. 471. fig. 126 y 127.

De los Chiriguanos recibí algunas cestas, cuya técnica se diferencia completamente de la técnica de las cestas descritas en lo que precede. Ellos corresponden tanto a las cestas comunmente usadas por los Paraguayos que tenemos que tenerlas por artículos de una industria absolutamente moderna y no precisamos tratar su técnica. Nordenskiöld y Métraux representan, por dibujos y describen tales cestas de los Chiriguanos entre los cuales están algunas provistas de asas y otras de tapas. (269).

LA TECNICA DE TEJER

En ocasión de la publicación de un telár de los Parexi-Kabichis (270) he llamado la atención a la grande semejanza de todos los telares conocidos desde ahora de las tribus Aruacas. El telár que recibí de los Izozós corresponde, respecto a su forma y a su construcción, al telár de los Parexi-Kabichis, descrito y representado por dibujo por mi, mas contiene, sin contar con algunas discordancias insignificantes, un perfeccionamiento lo que Nodenskiöld ya menciona. (271).

TELAR Y OTROS UTENSILIOS PARA TEJER, DE LA COLECCION

I. A. 500. Punzón de madera, para arreglar los hilos de la urdimbre. (Chiriguano.) Largór 20,5 cm. (Fig. 91. a.)

I. A. 513. Canilla. (Chiriguano) Largór 25 cm. (Fig. 91. f.)

I. A. 741. Telár. (Izozó). Altura 1,19 m Largór del poste horizontal superior 56 cm. Largór del poste horizontal inferior 57 cm. Altura de la urdimbre 83 cm. Anchura de la urdimbre 25 cm. Largór de la lanzadera 28 cm. Largór de las dos espadas para tejer 44,5 y 41,5 cm. (Fig. 104.)

I. A. 727. Lanzadera (Izozó) Largór 33,3 cm. (Fig. 91 d.)
I. A. 728. » » » 27 cm. (Fig. 91 e.)
I. A. 671. Espada para tejer » » 38 cm.
I. A. 672. » » » » 45 cm.
I. A. 673. » » » » 30 cm. (Fig. 91 c.)
I. A. 674. Punzón para arreglar los hilos de la urdimbre. (Izozó) Largór 30 cm. (Fig. 91 b.)

I. A. 742. Espada para tejer. (Izozó). Largór 123 cm.
I. A. 743. » » » » 128 cm.

Antes de describir el telár de los Izozós, mencionado en la lista precedente y representado en figura 104, tenemos que acentuar que se trata en ese caso de un ejemplar muy pequeño. Por lo común los telares de los Izozós y Chiriguanos son bastante mayores, como ya muestran el largor y la anchura de sus tejidos. Pero yo tuve que contentarme con un ejemplar pequeño, por que la mayor parte de los telares mayores de los Izozós estaban armados en árboles, estando formado un poste vertical del telár por un tronco y, porque, en el principio de mi viaje, no pude llevar objetos demasiado grandes y difícilmente transportables. Un telár grande de los Chanés es representado por dibujo por Nordenskiöld. (272.)

Como muestra la figura 104 el cuadro del telár de los Izozós es formado por dos palos verticales y dos palos horizontales. Los palos verticales están pro-

Nota 269. Norp. 2. p. 171 y Fig. 58 y 61. Métraux I. p. 411-454. Planches 73-77.
Nota 270. Max Schmidt: Die Parexi-Kabichi. Ethnologische Ergebnisse der Expedition zu den Quellen des Jauru und Juruena in Jahre 1910. Baessler-Archiv. Bd. IV. Heft 4/5. 1914. p. 214 y 215.
Nota 271. Nord. 2. p. 174-176.
Nota 272. Nord. I. Abb. 129.

vistos en sus extremos superiores de horquetas y son fijados en la tierra a cierta distancia uno del otro. El palo horizontal, superior, está puesto en los dos horquetas de los palos verticales y el palo horizontal inferior asegurado a ellos, a poca distancia del suelo, por un envolvimiento.

De los telares de los Paressi-Kabichís la urdimbre es construida simplemente de la manera de que un hilo es arrollado continuamente al rededor de los dos palos horizontales. Por tanto, la urdimbre, lista, envuelve los dos postes, horizontales como un anillo cuya mitad está al lado anterior del telár y la otra mitad en la parte posterior. De la construcción de una urdimbre, formada de tal manera, resultan ciertas condiciones de la forma de los tejidos hechos con un tal telár. Si la urdimbre entera está utilizada, transformandose el anillo entero de los hilos de la urdimbre, por la trama, en un tejido, este tejido tiene necesariamente también la forma de un anillo ó de una manga como por ejemplo, los tipoys de las Paressi-Kabichís. Pero, cuando se quiere fabricar un tejido plano como, por ejemplo, una venda, se necesita dejar una parte de los hilos de la urdimbre libres y cortarlos en ese lugar. El tejido formado de esta manera tiene la desventaja de que hay que afirmar, de cualquier manera la trama en los dos extremos. De los telares de los Chanés-Izozós y de los Chirihuanos esta desventaja es evitada por un artificio ingenioso que es ilustrado por el esquema representado en la figura 105. La urdimbre de este telár no es formada a la manera de que el hilo, que la forma está arrollado simplemente al rededor de los dos palos horizontales del cuadro del telár. Como muestra la figura 105, un cordón está extendido entre los dos palos verticales en el lugar donde se quiere principiar con la trama. El hilo que forma la urdimbre pasa primeramente a este cordón extendido, pasa el palo horizontal inferior y entonces al palo horizontal, superior, pasa otra vez hasta el hilo extendido, enlazandole y volviendo al palo horizontal, superior y así por delante hasta que, después de haber enlazado todavía una vez el hilo extendido, él es afirmado en el tejido. También en ese caso la urdimbre lista forma un anillo y así pues los Chiriguanos y Chanés pueden fabricar con su telar, como los Paressi-Kabichís, tejidos en forma de una manga sin costura, de los cuales el tipoy, tan común entre sus mujeres, representa un ejemplo. Pero, como muestra también el esquema, ese anillo puede ser abierto a gusto sacando el hilo extendido, de modo que resulta un tejido plano cuyos cuatro bordes están afirmados por la manipulación de la misma operación de tejer. Del hecho de que los hilos de las franjas de las fajas, de los Chiriguaé Izozós, terminan como lazos, siguese de que también las fajas de estos indios han sido tejidas con un tal telár provisto del cordón extendido, el cual fué sacado posteriormente.

En lugar del palito que los Paressi-Kabichís hacen pasar entre los hilos pares é impares de la urdimbre para arreglar la «formación normal» de esta, á la manera de que los hilos pares están por abajo y los hilos impares por arriba ó, vice-versa, los teláres de los Izozós tienen un cordón torcido de fibras de caraguatá que pasa la urdimbre a la misma manera y está asegurado con sus dos extremos a los palos verticales del telár.

Para poder formar facilmente por una sola manipulación la segunda formación de los hilos de la urdimbre, en que los hilos pares, los que estaban en la formacion normal por abajo, son tirados para arriba, pasando los hilos impares, está construido el mecanismo representado por el esquema de la figura 106. Como esta figura lo muestra, este mecanismo consiste en lazos pequeños de hilo de algodón, los que abrazan los hilos pares de la urdimbre y son enlazados los unos con los otros. Del mecanismo correspondiente del telár de los Paressi-Kabichís, ese mecanismo de los Izozós se diferencia por eso de que no está previsto, como aquello de un palito que sirve para unir los mencionados lazos los unos a los otros.

Por tirar la urdimbre la posición de esta puede ser variada de modo que la parte de la urdimbre con que se trabaja está siempre en la altura propia y al lado anterior del telár. También se puede efectuar por trasladar el palo horizontal, inferior, del cuadro del telár, que los hilos de la urdimbre están siempre tirantes.

Para hacer pasar el hilo de la trama alternativamente las dos divisiones de los hilos de la urdimbre, formados por el cordón y los lazos mencionados en lo que precede, se habren estas divisiones por medio de una especie de espada de madera, de las cuales la colección tiene 5 ejemplares fuera de los dos que pertenecen al telár. Dos de estos miden más de un metro, pues, están destinados a la labor con telares mucho más grandes que aquél que está represen ado en figura 104. Ese utensillo sirve a la vez para fijar el hilo de la trama a la parte terminada del tejido después de haber pasado la urdimbre.

La lanzadera por medio de que se hace pasar el hilo de la trama las dos divisiones de los hilos de la urdimbre, alternativamente de la izquierda a la derecha y de la derecha a la izquierda, consiste en un simple palito en que está envuelto el hilo. En la lista de los objetos de la colección están mensionados dos ejemplares de tales lanzaderas de los Izozós fuera de él que pertenece al telár. Compare las figuras 91.d y e.

Fuera de estos utensilios, yo adquirí dos otros en forma de un punzón y hechos de madera, los que son usados para arreglar los hilos de la urdimbre. Uno de estos es de los Chiriguanos y el otro de los Izozós. Peines que eran usados por los Peruanos antiguos para este destino, los Chiriguanes y los Chanés no los usan.

Fuera de ese tipo usual de telár encuentranse entre los Chanés y Chiriguanos también otros tipos especiales, correspondientes a las formas de telares de los Peruanos antiguos, para tejer vendas. Del hecho de que el mecanismo de estos telares hace posible la formación de más divisiones de los hilos de la urdimbre resulta la posibilidad de más variaciones respecto a la ornamentación. Nordenskiöld representa por dibujo un tal telár de los Chiriguanos. (273) Sin duda, esta especie de telár es un producto de la influencia de la cultura de los Peruanos. antiguos.

Conforme al destino diferente, se puede hacer con el telár provisto de una urdimbre en forma de un anillo, descrito en lo que precede, tejidos muy diferentes, de los cuales la mayor parte ya fueron mencionados en el capítulo respectivo al vestido. Respecto a las medidas de esos tejidos remito al lector a mis indicaciones correspondientes. El material de todos esos tejidos consiste en hilos de algodón o de lana.

TEJIDOS HECHOS CON EL TELAR PROVISTO DE UNA URDIMBRE EN FORMA DE UN ANILLO, DE LA COLECCION

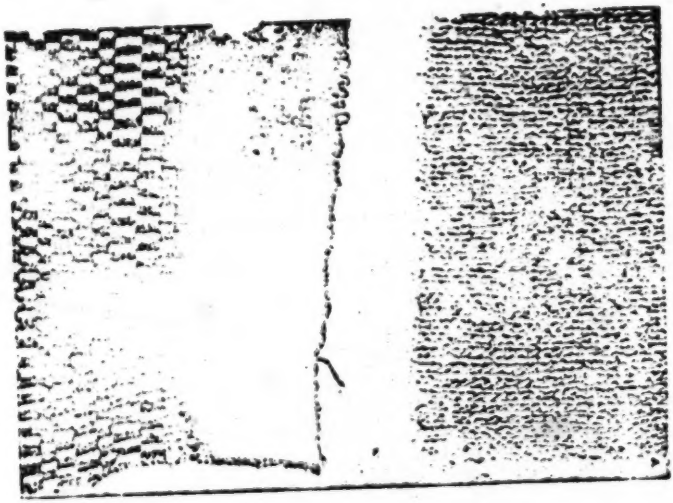
1. Tipoys. I. A. 820, 832 y 838. (Izozó) (I. A. 820: Fig. 114).
2. Ponchos. I. A. 423-427. (Chiriguano) (I. A. 426: Fig. 118.)
   I. A. 808-810, 812-815, 819, 823-825, 830. 831, 833-836. (Izozó) (I. A. 823: Fig. 117.)
3. Mantas. I. A. 585. (Chiriguano.)
   I. A. 816-818, 825-829. (Izozó). (I. A. 818 Fig. 190:)
4. Vendas de algodón, para los cabellos de hombres. I. A. 653-660. (Izozó.)
   (I. A. 653: Fig. 30. b. y 108. I. A. 655: Fig. 30. c. y 109, I. A. 656: Fig. 30 d. y 110, I. A. 660: Fig. 30 a. y 107.)

Nota 27A Nord. 2 Fig 55. N. 4.

[P 68-A]

LAMINA XXVIII

Sociedad Científica
del Paraguay



[P. 68-B]

LAMINA XXVIII

Fig. 102

Hamacas

a. (I. A. 450.) Hamaca de lana, tejida. (Chiriguano) Largór 2,85 m.

b. (I. A. 448.) Hamaca de lana, trenzada. (Chiriguano). Largór 2,60 m.

c. (I. A. 360.) Hamaca de caraguatá, hecha con la técnica de red. (Izozó). Largór 3,20 m.

Fig. 103

Cubiertas para silla de caballo. (Izozó)

a. (I. A. 843.) Cubierta para silla de caballo, tejida. Largór 1,42 m. Anchura 0,62 m.

b. (I. A. 844.) Cubierta para silla de caballo, trenzada con «hilo doble». Largór 1,21 m. Anchura 0,57 m.

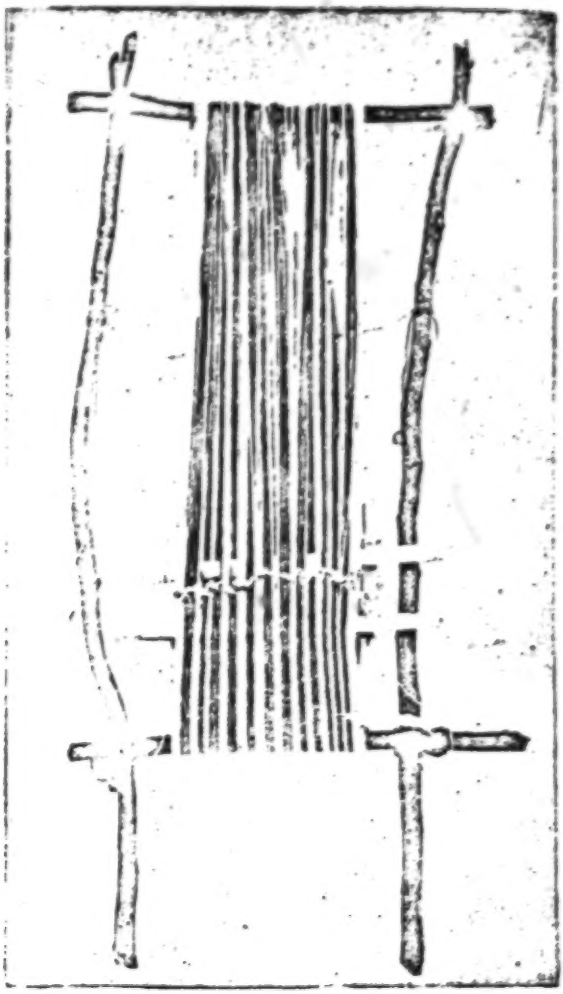
[P.68-C]

LAMINA XXIX

Fig. 104

(I. A. 741.) Telar de los Izozós. Altura 1,19 m.

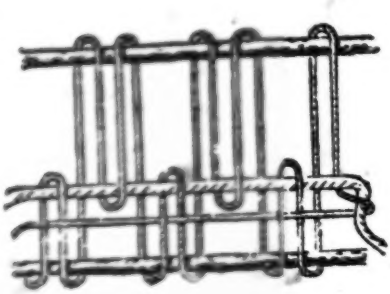
[P 68-D]

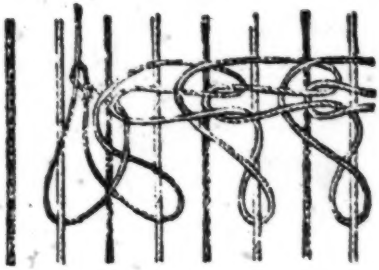


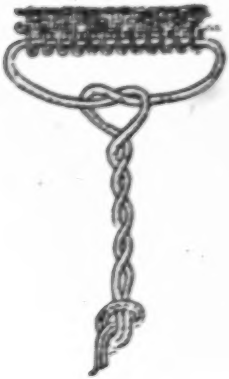
[P.68-E]

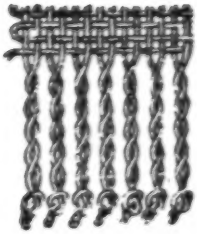
LAMINA XXX

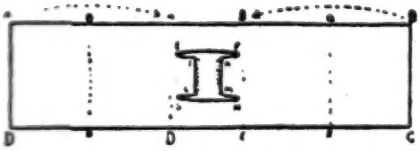
Sociedad Cientifica
del Paraguay











[P.68-F]

LAMINA XXX

Esquemas para ilustrar la técnica de tejer.

Fig. 105

Esquema para ilustrar el arreglo de los hilos de la urdimbre al telár. (Izozó).

Fig. 106

El mecanismo para hacer las divisiones entre los hilos pares y impares de la urdimbre del telár. I. A. 741. (Izozó.)

Fig. 107-110

Extremos de vendas para los cabellos de hombres, de algodón. (Izozó).

Fig. 107	Fig. 108	Fig. 109	Fig. 110
(I. A. 660)	(I) A. 653.)	(I. A. 655,)	(I. A. 656.)

Fig. 111

(I. A. 789.) Venda tejida de pelo humano para los cabellos de hombres.

Fig. 112

(I. Á. 445.) Esquema para ilustrar la hechura de las bolsas-dobles.

Fig. 113

Esquema para ilustrar la técnica de aplicar hendiduras a los tejidos.

[p. 68-G]

LAMINA XXXI

Tejidos de los Izozós

Fig. 114

(I. A. 820.) "Tipoy", vestido de las mujeres, de algodón. Largór 1,26 m.

Fig. 115

(I. A. 739.) Venda, tejida con un telár especial, de lana. Largór 1.50 m. Anchura 3,7 cm.

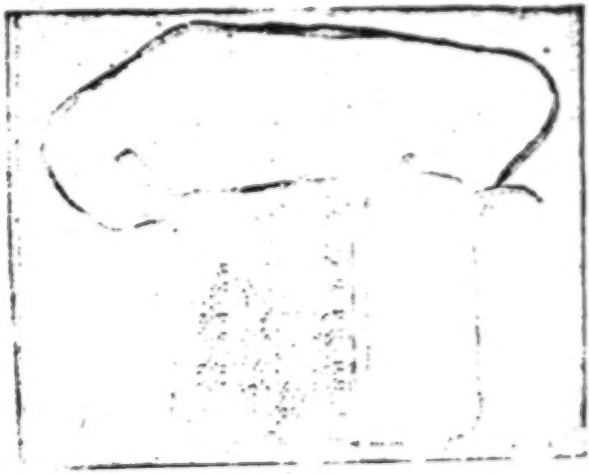
Fig. 116

(I. A. 737.) Bolsa, tejida con un telár especial, de lana Altura 21 cm.

[P.68-H]

Sociedad Científica
del Paraguay

LAMINA XXXI



5. Vendas de pelo humano para cabellos de hombres. I. A. 739 y 785. (Izozó.) (I. A. 739: Fig. 31 y 111.)

6. Fajas. I. A. 429-441. (Chiriguano) (I. A. 432: Fig. 119 b. y 123, I. A. 430: Fig. 124. I. A. 436.: Fig. 119 a y 121.)
I. A. 903-907: (Izozó) (I. A. 903: Fig. 119 c. y 122.)

7. Cubiertas para silla de caballo.
I. A. 942. (Izozó) De lana. Largúr 0,69 m. Anchura 0.67 m.
I. A. 943. » » » 1,42 m. » 0.62 m. (Fig. 103 a. y 126.)

8. Bolsa para cargar. (Chiriguano). De lana. Largúr 1,07 m. Anchura 0,45 m. (Fig. 131 a.)

9. Doble-bolsas para cargar cargas encima de asno o del caballo.

I. A. 445.	(Chiriguano)	De lana.	Largúr entero 92 cm.		Anchura 37 cm	(Fig. 115 y 131. b.)	
I. A. 811.	(Izozó)	De lana.	Largúr entero 93 cm.		Anchura 46,5 cm.	(Fig. 132.)	
I. A. 821.	»	De algodón	»	»	94 cm.	»	40 cm.
I. A. 822.	»	»	»	»	106 cm.	»	36 cm.
I. A. 839.	»	»	»	»	97 cm.	»	35 cm.
I. A. 840.	»	»	»	»	104 cm.	»	36 cm.
I. A. 841.	»	De lana	»	»	92 cm.	»	46 cm.

De los tres tipoys de la colección, recibidos de los Izozós, uno (I. A. 839) consiste en un tejido de forma de una manga hecho de la urdimbre en esta forma. El tipoy de lana (I. A. 832) ha sido alargado por coser dos de tales tejidos, uno al lado del otro. La estructura del tejido muestra claramente el hilo que fué extendido entre los dos palos verticales del telár antes de hacer la urdimbre y, que se quedó en el tejido. El tipoy I. A. 838 no es típico, consistiendo en un tejido plano, cuyos dos bordes enfrentados están cosidos el uno al otro.

Respecto a la fabricación de los ponchos tenemos que mencionar que los de los Chiriguanos consisten de dos tejidos cosidos uno al otro en la dirección de la hendidura del poncho, mientras que los ponchos de los Izozós, consisten, las más de las veces, en un solo tejido hecho con el telár en toda su anchura y, por eso, no muestra, en su parte mediana, una costura como la muestran los ponchos de los Chiriguanos. De los bordes firmes en la dirección de la trama se puede conocer claramente que fué utilizado el mecanismo especial de los Chiriguanos y Chané-Izozós, que consiste en el hilo extendido entre los dos palos verticales del telár. Después de terminar la labor de tejer, el hilo fué sacado del tejido para transformar este en un tejido plano.

La hendidura de los ponchos que están tejidos como enteros, no es hecha de modo que se corta posteriormente el tejido, ya terminado, pero si es formada en el mismo acto del tejer. Como muestra, el esquema, representado en la figura 113, la hendidura, está efectuada de modo que en la parte de la urdimbre en la que se hace la hendidura, el hilo de la trama no pasa la urdimbre entera, mas vuelve, cuando ha pasado la mitad de ella, para pasar la división siguiente de los hilos de la urdimbre en la dirección encontrada. De este método de tejer resulta que la hendidura, del poncho está provista de un borde firme. Tenemos que mencionar, todavía, la especialidad de los ponchos de los Chiriguanos y de los Izozós de que los cuatro cantos están doblados y costureados a la demás parte del tejido. Por eso los ponchos de esos indios muestran cantos redondos. Compare las figuras 117 y 118.

De las mantas de los Izozós, solamente una consiste de dos tejidos costreados el uno al otro. Algunas otras están transformadas posteriormente de ponchos, cerrandose sus hendiduras por una costura.

También las vendas para los cabellos de hombres muestran claramente que están tejidas con un telar como aquél que hemos descrito en lo que precede y que era provisto del hilo extendido entre los dos palos verticales del telár. Excepto solamente una de esas vendas (I. A. 669) las franjas de las demás de ellas terminan todas en lazos del hilo, de modo que no puede ser que la urdimbre, antes en forma de un anillo, fuese cortada posteriormente. Los lazos de los hilos libres en los dos extremos de esas vendas pueden estar afirmados de manera muy diferente como lo muestran los esquemas representados en las figuras 107-110.

La fabricación de las dos vendas para cabellos de hombres, tejidas de pelo humano y, correspondientes respecto a su forma a las fajas, es la misma como en la de las vendas de algodón, además de que los lazos de los hilos libres están afirmados de una manera más simple. Compare el esquema representado en la figura 111.

La fabricación de las fajas de lana o de algodón, corresponde a la de las vendas para los cabellos de hombres, tejidas de pelo humano. También la manera de afirmar los lazos de los hilos libres en los extremos de las fajas es en general la misma, como lo muestra la figura 111, excepto solamente en que las franjas consisten de más de uno de esos lazos, de modo que forman hilos torcidos más gruesos, los que terminan con cuadros.

De las dos cubiertas para silla de caballo, el uno (I. A. 842) está tejida a la manera como de las mantas, mientras que la otra, I. A. 843, muestra, respecto a su fabricación, la especialidad de que cada vez dos hilos de la trama pasan la misma división de los hilos de la urdimbre y, eso de modo que uno de esos dos hilos de la trama pasa la división de la izquierda a la derecha y el otro de la derecha a la izquierda. El esquema representado en la figura 126 muestra el curso de ese hilo doble de la trama y muestra también como por eso se efectúa hacer el borde del tejido más firme de lo que fuese si los dos hilos de la trama pasarían la división de los hilos de la urdimbre en la misma dirección.

El tejido del cual está fabricada la bolsa de los Chiriguanos I. A. 444 no está hecho de un tejido en forma de una manga, pero sí de un tejido plano en forma de una manta. Por costura de los dos cantos más estrechos fué hecho primeramente un tejido en forma de una manga del cual se hizo la bolsa costureando los bordes el uno a otro, dejando solamente una parte abierta para abertura.

Las bolsas dobles, mencionadas en lo que precede, están hechas de un tejido plano, sea de hilos de lana, sea de hilos de algodón, doblando sus dos extremos y costureando los bordes el uno al otro. El esquema representado en la figura 112 muestra el tejido plano antes de la costura de los bordes. Todos los bordes exteriores del tejido están afirmados por el proceso del tejer mismo, pues el tejido está hecho primeramente en forma de una manga y transformado en un tejido plano por sacar el hilo que fué extendido entre los dos palos verticales del telár. También los bordes, señalados en el esquema EF; GH; EI; GL; FK; y HM son afirmados por el proceso del tejer, lo que fué alcanzado por hacer pasar el hilo de la trama a las divisiones de la urdimbre solamente por partes de la manera como lo conocemos por la fabricación de la hendidura de los ponchos. Solamente en los lugares que están señalados en el esquema con JL y MK, los hilos de la urdimbre han sido cortados de modo que estos cantos del tejido, no son afirmados por el proceso del tejer mismo. Para taansformar el tejido, descrito en lo que precede, en la bolsa doble sus dos extremos son doblados en las partes marcadas en el esquema por las dos líneas punteadas, de modo que los puntos A; B; C; y D están puestos encima de los puntos A/; B/; C/ y D/. Entonces los bordes que están puestos uno encima del otro (OA/; QB/; PD/; y EC/)

son costureados uno a otro. Las partes EILG y FKMH son dobladas al revés para formar las tapas de la bolsa doble.

Correspondiente del mecanismo simple del telár con que los Chiriguanos y los Chané - Izozós fabrican sus tejidos, las posibilidades de producir variaciones de la ornamentación de estos, están muy limitadas. Las variaciones de la ornamentación de los tejidos de las tribus del Chaco, como, sobre todo de los Churupis la que consiste en meandros, zigzagues, rombos y muchas otras figuras, no las hallamos entre las ornamentaciones de los tejidos de los Chiriguanos y Chanés.

Porque hoy los tejidos de esos indios, sobre todo las fajas y los ponchos están tejidos muchas veces de hilos importados o si están tejidos con hilos de lana o de algodón, indígenas, éstos están muchas veces teñidos con tintes importados, los diferentes colores de los ornamentos en la superficie de esos tejidos no tienen importancia etnológica.

La ornamentación está formada exclusivamente por los hilos de la urdimbre debido a que la distancia entre los hilos de la urdimbre es mucho menór que la distancia entre los hilos de la trama, de modo que las mallas de la trama desaparecen completamente abajo de las mallas de los hilos de la urdimbre. Porque fuera de eso la formación de las divisiones de los hilos de la urdimbre, es efectuada por un solo mecanismo de lazos, ella puede consistir solamente en levantar y bajar alternativamente los hilos pares y los hilos impares de la urdimbre, por lo que la ornamentación no puede ser influenciada todavia por el proceso de la operación misma de tejer. La estructura de esa especie de tejidos es necesariamente tal, que en la dirección del hilo de la trama así pues vértical a la dirección de los hilos de la urdimbre, cada vez una hilera de las mallas formadas por los hilos impares de la urdimbre, alterna con una hilera de mallas formadas por los hilos pares de la urdimbre. Así, en las figuras 120-124, la primera, tercera, quinta, septima, novena y undécima hilera horizontal están formadas por las mallas de los hilos impares, de la urdimbre, 1; 3; 5; y así sucesivamente, mientras que la segunda, cuarta, sexta, octava y décima hilera horizontal se forman de las mallas de los hilos pares de la urdimbre, 2; 4; 6; y así sucesivamente. De eso resulta que todas esas hileras impares, en la dirección de la trama, son iguales una a la otra respecto a su estructura y a su colór, asimismo son iguales entres si todas las hileras pares, en la direción de la trama. Por tanto la ornamentación de esos tejidos puede consistir solamente en la repetición continua de la ornamentación fijada por las dos primeras hileras, en la direción de la trama.

De esas reflexiones resulta que la unica posibilidad de proveer esos tejidos de ornamentaciones diferentes consiste en la variacion del colór d los hilos de la urdimbre.

La ornamentación más simple, que se puede hacer de esta manera, consiste en simples rayas de dirección longitudinal, quiere decir en la dirección de los hilos de la urdimbre. El tejido, incompleto, al telár representado en la figura 104 y, la manta I. A. 818 están provistos de una tal ornamentación de simples rayas. La figura 120 muestra que estas rayas en la dirección longitudinal están producidas de modo que, en ciertas distancias, está cambiado el color de los hilos de la urdimbre. Además de estas rayas longitudinales y, en varias combinaciones junto con estas, aparecen como ornamentación de esos tejidos, rayas transversales. Compare las figuras 121-124. Estas están producidas de modo que, cada vez, alternan, entre los hilos de la urdimbre, dos hilos de diferentes colores. Por eso es efectuado que la hilera de mallas formadas por los hilos impares de la urdimbre se diferencian respecto a su color de la hilera de mallas formadas por los hilos pares de la urdimbre. Si un hilo solo de la urdimbre tiene un color di-

ferente del color de los hilos constantes, aparece punto en la ornamentación como los muestra la figura 121.

De las explicaciones que preceden resulta que toda ornamentación de esos tejidos de los Chiriguanos y Chané-Izozio está producida exclusivamente por el arreglo de los hilos, de la urdimbre, de diferentes colores. El proceso del tejer es absolutamente indiferente a la ornamentación fijada desde su principio por el arreglo de los hilos de la urdimbre.

TEJIDOS DE LA COLECCION, HECHOS CON UN TELAR ESPECIAL

I. A. 737. Bolsa. (Izozó) De lana. Altura 21 cm. Anchura 22 cm. (Fig. 116.)
I. A. 738. Venda. » » Largor 1,3 cm. » 3,7 cm. (Fig. 115.)

Por causa de las conexiones que los Chiriguanos y Chanés tenían, desde hace tiempo, con la cultura de los Peruanos antiguos, es sorprendente que la técnica de estos tan desarrollada, no hubiera influenciado más en la técnica de tejer de esos indios. Así es que los Chiriguanos, todavía hoy, hacen la mayor parte de sus tejidos con el telar típico de los Araucos y con urdimbre en forma de un anillo, que han recibido, sin duda, de los Chanés. Además de estos telares comunes, aquellas formas de telares que recibieron directa o indirectamente de la técnica de los Peruanos antiguos tienen poca importancia.

Los dos tejidos de los Izozio, mencionados en lo que precede y sobre todo, la bolsa I. A. 737, son tejidos, que corresponden exactamente a los tejidos, hasta hoy, producidos por los Quichua y también a los tejidos típicos del último tiempo del imperio de los Incas.

Para poder explicar el aparecer de tales tejidos entre los Chanés del Paraguay tenemos una indicación interesante de Nordenskiöld. Los indios comunicaron a ese autor que ellos habían aprendido esa técnica de tejer directamente de una mujer Quichua la que había inmigrado al terreno de ellos. (274).

El telár de los Chiriguanos destinado a tejer vendas y representado por dibujo por Nordenskiöld, muestra que también los Chiriguanos han aprendido tejer a la manera de los Peruanos antiguos. (275) En contraste con la manera de tejer descrita en lo que precede, esos tejidos están hechos a la manera de que el hilo de la trama pasa alternativamente los hilos del lado anterior de la urdimbre y los hilos de su lado posterior. Fuera de eso, un mecanismo doble para las divisiones de los hilos de la urdimbre hace posible mucho más variaciones de la ornamentación.

TEJIDOS HECHOS SIN MECANISMO ESPECIAL PARA HACER LAS DIVISIONES DE LOS HILOS DE LA URDIMBRE, DE LA COLECCION.

I. A. 450. Hamaca. (Chiriguano) de lana. Largor 2,85m. Anchura 0,80m. (Fig. 101a.)
I. A. 768. Red para transportar, provista de una venda tejida de caraguatá (Izozó) Largor de la venda 49 cm. (Fig. 125 y 132.)
I. A. 802. Venda para una red para transportar. (Izozo) De caraguatá. Largor 49 cm.

Respecto a su estructura exterior también las vendas con que están provistas muchas de las redes para transportar (de los Izozio y algunas de los Chiriguanos) y, una hamaca de los Chiriguanos se parecen a los tejidos. Mas como

Rom. 274. Mord. 2. p. 179.

B: Schmidt

SF10 Chiriguano

[P-72-A]

LAMINA XXXII

Sociedad Científica del Paraguay

[P 92-8]

Pseudoscyphidius, de Iesa.

Fig. 117

(S. A. 490) (Cusco). Aumento 1,50 m. Lenguje 1,50 m.

Fig. 118

(S. A. 490) (Chirigueno). Aumento 1,50 m. Lenguje 1,50 m.

[P.72-C]

LAMINA XXXIII

Fig. 119

Fajas tejidas

a. (I. A. 498) De base. (Chiriguano.) Largo 9,00 m. Ancho 9 cm.

b. (I. A. 494) De base. (Chiriguano.) Largo 9,50 m. Ancho 11 5 cm.

c. (I. A. 908) De algodón. (Guaná). Largo 9,50 m. Ancho 10 cm.

Fig. 120

Ornamentación de la manta I. A. 410 (Guaná.)

Fig. 121

Ornamentación de la faja I. A. 498. (Chiriguano).

Fig. 122

Ornamentación de la faja I. A. 908 (Guaná.)

Fig. 123

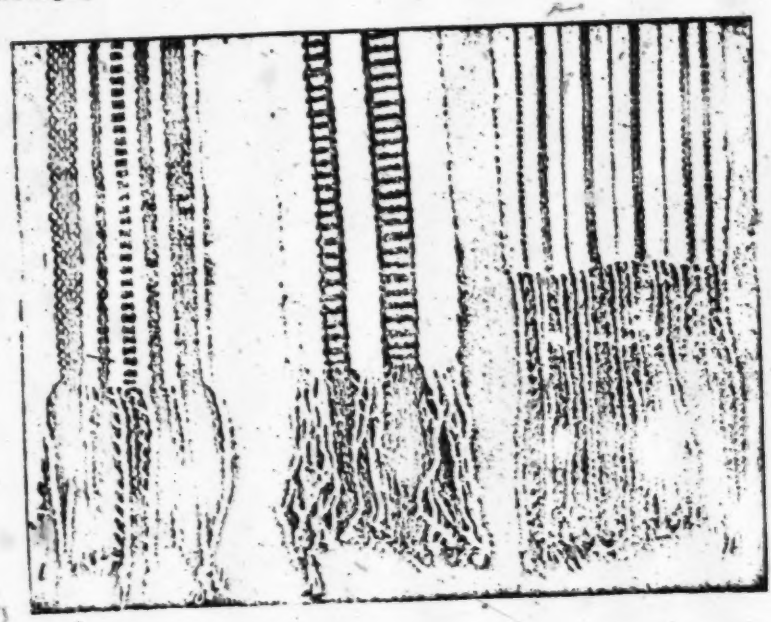
Ornamentación de la faja. I. A. 498. (Chiriguano).

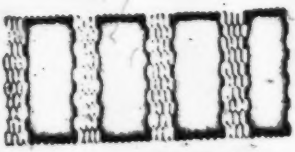
Fig. 124

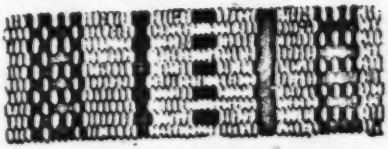
Ornamentación de la faja I. A. 498. (Chiriguano)

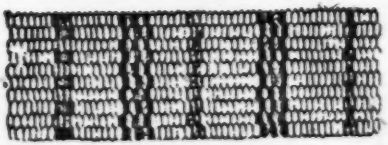
[P. 72- D]

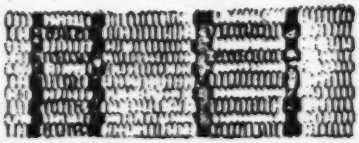
Sociedad Científica
del Paraguay







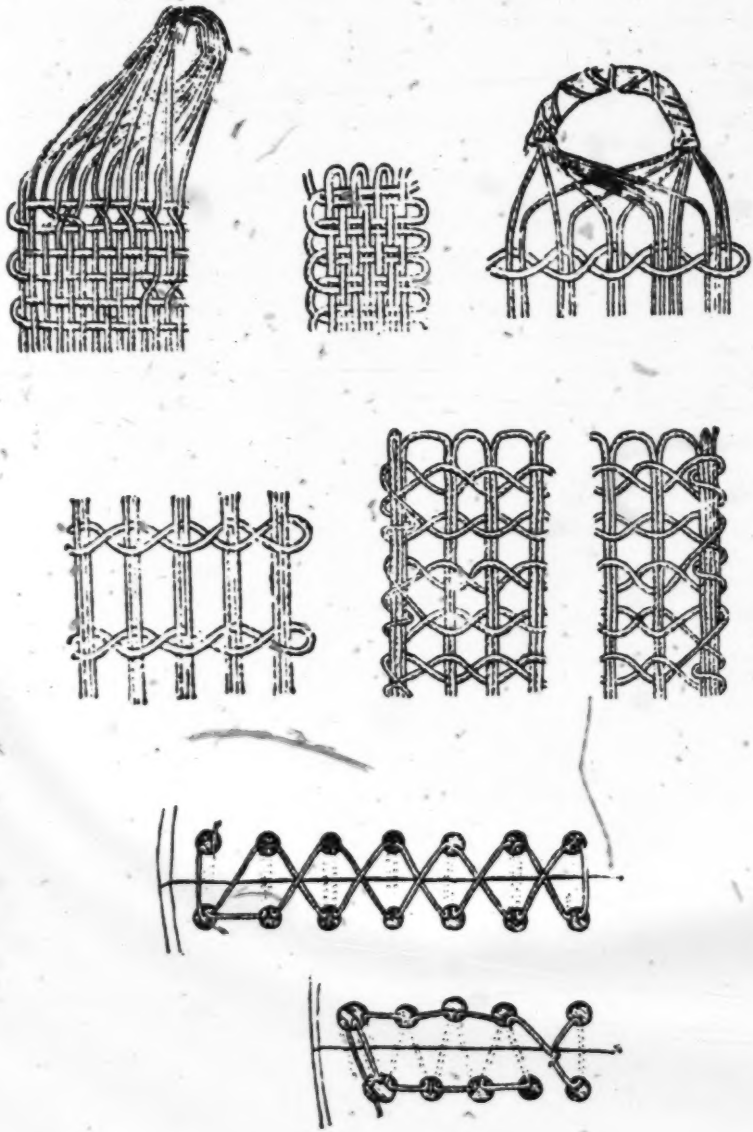




[p. 72-E]

LAMINA XXXIV

Sociedad Científica
del Paraguay



[P. 72- F]

LAMINA XXXIV

Esquemas para ilustrar las técnicas de tejer, de trenzar con "hilo doble" y de costurar.

Fig. 125

Esquema para ilustrar la técnica de tejer, de la venda de la red para llevar cargas I. A. 768. Compare fig. 133. (Izozó).

Fig. 126

Esquema para ilustrar la técnica de tejer, de la cubierta para silla de caballo I. A. 843. (Izozó). Compare fig. 103 a.

Fig. 127

Esquema para ilustrar la técnica de trenzar con "hilo doble", de la hamaca I. A. 448. (Chiriguano). Compare fig. 102. b.

Fig. 128

Esquema para ilustrar la técnica de trenzar con "hilo doble", de la hamaca I. A. 449. (Chiriguano).

Fig. 129

Esquema para ilustrar la técnica de trenzar con "hilo doble", de la cubierta para silla de caballo I. A. 844. (Izozó) Compare fig. 103 b.

Fig. 130

Esquema para ilustrar la técnica de la costura de dos cuyas.

a. (I. A. 666.) (Izozó).

b. (I. A. 667.) (Izozó).

[P. 72-G]

LAMINA XXXV

Bolsas tejidas, de lana

Fig. 131

a. (I. A. 444.) Bolsa de lana para llevar cargas. (Chiriguano)
Largor 1,07 m. Anchura 0,45 m.

b (I. A. 445.) Doble-bolsa para cargar caballos (Chiriguano)
Largor entero 92 cm. Anchura 87 cm.

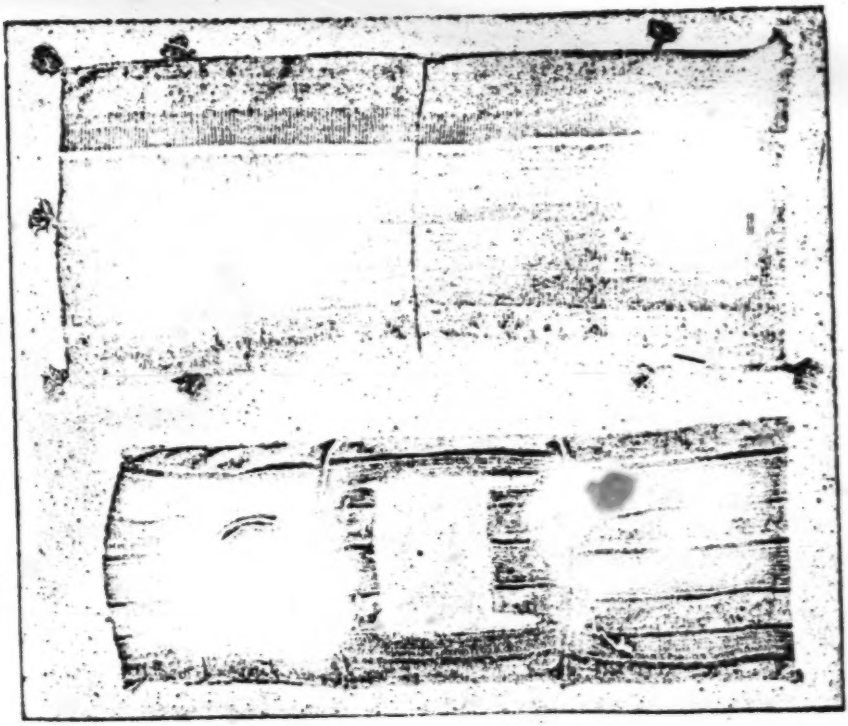
Fig. 132

(I. A. 811.) Doble-bolsa para cargar caballos. (Izozó).
Largor entero 93 cm. Anchura 46,5 cm.

[P. 72- H]

ciedad Cientifica
del Paraguay

LAMINA XXXV



objetos son formados sin mecanismo especial para hacer las divisiones de los hilos de la urdimbre.

La figura 125 representa la estructura de la venda de la red I. A. 768. (Compare la figura 133.) El esquema muestra la manera de que están hechas esas vendas. Primeramente son extendidos los hilos longitudinales de manera semejante al modo de extender los hilos de la urdimbre de los tejidos comunes entre los dos palos horizontales del cuadro del telár, pero sin que fuese usado el hilo especial, extendido entre los dos palos verticales del telár. Entonces se hace pasar un hilo transversal que corresponde al hilo de la trama de los tejidos comunes, las dos hileras de los hilos longitudinales alternativamente de la derecha a la izquierda y de la izqnierda a la derecha de modo que este hilo se queda alternativamente bajo de un hilo de la hilera posterior de los hilos longitudinales y encima de un hilo de la hilera anterior. Pues la fabricación de esas vendas y de la hamaca I. A. 450 se diferencia de la de los tejidos comunes, principalmente por el hecho de que el hilo de la trama, pasa simultaneamente los hilos del lado anterior y del lado posterior de la urdimbre. Diversas irregularidades del curso de los hilos de la urdimbre muestran que los tejidos de esta especie han sido fabricados sin utilizar un mecanismo para formar las divisiones de los hilos de la urdimbre.

LA TECNICA DE HACER REDES

La técnica de hacer redes, tiene una grande propagación entre los Chiriguanos y Chanés y es empleada para fabricar diversos objetos, como redes de pescar, hamacas, redes para llevar cargas, bolsas y hondas. La materia que se usa para la fabricación de esas redes consiste en general en hilos hechos de fibras de caraguatá. En la colección existen dos redes para llevar cargas, de los Chiriguanos, hechas de hilos de lana y una otra hecha de tiras de piel de ganado vacuno.

La técnica común de fabricar sus redes es entre los Chiriguanos y Chanés la técnica llamada en alemán «Knotentechnik», empleandose» el nudo llamado en inglés reefknot. La figura 138. a y b muestra una tal «reefknot» y la figura 142 representa la técnica de hacer redes con este «reefknot». Según Nordenskiöld (275) los Chiriguanos y Chanés utilizan para hacer sus redes tablas rectangulares, chicas, iguales a aquellas que conocemos de muchas otras tribus de la América del Sud. Por desgracia, no adquiri una tal tabla de los Chiriguanos o de los Izozós. Por envolvimiento continuo de la primera tabla con un hilo se producen los lazos simples que están representados en el esquema (Figura 142) en la hilera superior. El hilo, después de haber alcanzado al otro extremo de la tabla se envuelve continuamente en la dirección encontrada al rededór de una segunda tabla enlazandose cada vez, con un nudo, con los lazos del hilo envuelto al rededór de la primera tabla. Si el hilo ha enlazado, de la manera descrita, hasta con el primer lazo de la primera hilera, la primera tabla puede ser sacada para servir entonces a la formación de la tercera hilera de las mallas de la red, la que es hecha a la manera igual como la segunda mas, en dirección encontrada. Es claro que las redes hechas con esa técnica en su forma más simple y sin complicaciones, deben tener una forma rectangular y, esta forma es típica para todas las redes de los Chiriguanos é Izozós, mientras que diversas otras tribus Sudamericanas, como por ejemplo los Bakairis, los que vivian antes en los afluentes del Rio Xingú (en Matto-Grosso), hacen redes triangulares.

Nota 275 . Nord S. p. 267.

REDES, DE LA COLECCION, HECHAS CON LA TECNICA LLAMADA EN ALEMAN «KNOTENTECHNIK» EMPLEANDOSE EL NUDO LLAMADO EN INGLES «REEFKNOT».

I. A. 360. hamaca. (276) (Chané del Parapití). De caraguatá. Largor 3.20 m. (Fig. 102. c.)
I. A. 766. » (Izozó) De caraguatá. Largor 1.80 m.
I. A. 794. » » » » 2.70 m.
I. A 446. Red para llevar cargas. (Chiriguano) De lana. Largor 1.05 m.
I. A. 447. » » » » » » 0.75 m.
I. A. 561-564; 567; 569-571. Redes para llevar cargas. (Chiriguano) De caraguatá Largor entre 1.50 y 0,50 m. (I. A. 567: Fig. 134 y 143; I. A. 568: Fig. 144.)
I. A. 767-787; 790-792. Redes para llevar cargas. (Izozó) De caraguatá largor 1.60 m. y 0,65 m. (I. A. 768: Fig. 133 y 142; I. A. 772: Fig. 135.)
I. A. 785. Bolsa. (Izozó) De caraguatá. Largor 0,82 m. Altura 0,48 m.
I. A. 788 » » » » 0,62 m. » 0,62 m, (Fig 136).
I. A. 793. Red cuadrangular. (Izozó) De caraguatá. Largor 0,90 m.
I. A. 764. Utensilio para pescar con red. (Izozó) Largor 73,5 cm. (Fig. 39.)
I. A. 795-801, Redes para utensilios como I. A. 764 (Izozó) De caraguatá.
I. A. 508. Honda (Chiriguano). De caraguatá .Largor 15 cm.
I. A. 509. » » » » 14 cm.

Del gran tamaño de las mallas de las redes I. A. 360; 766 y 794 resulta que se trata de hamacas. Porque en el territorio de los Chiriguanos y Chanés no existen generalmente peces, sino pequeños, las redes para la pesca deben estar provistas de mallas bastante menores.

De las redes para llevar cargas, de los Chiriguanos, dos están hechas de lana y una de estas está provista de una venda como la mayór parte de esas redes de los Izozós.Las demás de estas redes, de los Chiriguanos y de los Izozós están hechas de hilos de caraguatá. Algunas de ellas tienen mallas bastante pequeñas pero entre las de los Izozós las con mallas grandes son la regla. Así también las mallas de las redes de los Izozós para transportar los grandes potes para agua, son muy grandes. La mayór parte de esas redes de los Izozós están provistas de una venda especial la que pasa por la frente del portador. La estructura de esas vendas que están hechas de hilos de caraguatá, de lana o de algodón, ya la hemos descrito en el capítulo respectivo de los tejidos. Compare la figura 133 y el esquema representado en la figura 125.

De los Izozós, la colección tiene dos bolsas de red las que están hechas de modo que la unidad de red, rectangular, es doblada en el medio y los cantos que están uno encima del otro son enlazados por el hilo en los dos lados longitudinales.

A la manera descrita en lo que precede, está hecha también la red del utensilio para pescar. I. A. 764. descrito en el capítulo respectivo a la pesca y representado en la figura 39. Porque ese utensilio se emplea para prender peces pequeños, la red tiene mallas muy pequeñas. También las hondas descritas entre los utensilios de la caza están hechas de la misma manera.

Nota 276 Donación del señor Teodoro Rojas.

RED PARA LLEVAR CARGAS, FORMADA CON LA TECNICA, LLAMADA EN ALEMAN «KNOTENCHNIK» PERO EMPLEANDOSE EL NUDO LLAMADO EN INGLES «SHEETKNOT», DE LA COLECCION.

I. A. 573. Red para llevar cargas. (Chiriguanos) De tiras de piel animal. Largor 0,85 m.

Esta red está hecha como las redes descritas en lo que precede, formada de nudos, pero el nudo empleado es el tipo, llamado en inglés «Sheetknot» y en alemán «Schotenstich». Este nudo está representado en la figura 138. c. y d. Según Nordenskiöld, (277) los Chiriguanos tienen también redes para pescar las que están hechas empleando esta especie de nudo.

REDES, DE LA COLECCION, FORMADAS CON LAZOS Y SIN USO DE NUDOS

I. A. 555-566. Red para llevar cargas. (Chiriguano). Largor 0,93 m.—1,80 m.)
I. A. 567. » » » » » Largor 1,15 m. (Fig. 134 y 143.
I A. 568. » » » » » » 1,20 m. (Fig. 144)

De los Chiriguanos recibí varias redes para llevar cargas, las que están hechas, sin que fuesen empleados nudos, por enlazarse el hilo en la forma que es ilustrada por las figuras 143 y 144 y que es común entre muchas tribus del Chaco, tal como sucede entre los Tapietés, Matakos, Tobas, Chorotes y Churupis.

El gran número de redes las que adquirí de los Izozós están formadas, sin excepción, de nudos, así que tenemos que suponer que esos indios no conocen o no usan la técnica de formar las redes con simples lazos y sin aplicar nudos y, que esta técnica, llamada en alemán «Schlingtechnik» es empleada solamente por los Chiriguanos o por una parte de estos. Nordenskiöld no menciona esta técnica de los Chiriguanos y en el cuadro sinoptico en que las diversas técnicas de formar redes son ilustradas, los Chiriguanos no son mencionados en la columna 5 entre las tribus de indios que usan la técnica de formar redes sin aplicar nudos. De las redes para llevar cargas, formadas de hilos de caraguatá, que adquirí de los Chiriguanos, 10 están hechas sin que fuesen aplicados nudos, en la técnica llamada «Schlingtechnik» y, solamente 7, aplicandose nudos con la técnica llamada «Knotentechnik». Por eso podemos suponer que, por lo menos, esta parte de los Chiriguanos usa la técnica de formar redes sin aplicar nudos aunque esta opinión está en contraste con la de Nordenskiöld que dice (278) que todas las redes fabricadas en esta técnica, halladas entre los Chiriguanos y Chanés, hayan sido adquiridas de los indios del Chaco:

BOLSAS DE RED FABRICADAS POR LOS TOBAS, DE LA COLECOION.

I. A. 572. Bolsa para llevar cargas. (Hallada entre los Chiriguanos) Lorgor 0,70 m.
I. A. 845. » » » » (Hallada entre los Izozós) Largor 57 cm.

Yo adquirí dos bolsas de red, una de los Izozós y la otra de los Chiriguanos, las que muestran diferencias de las técnicas mencionadas en lo que precede. Los Izozós y los Chiriguanos me dijeron que ellos mismos no hicieron esas bolsas y si las recibiesen de los Tobas.

Nota 277 Nod. 2. p. 164.
Nota 278 Nord. 2. p. 116.

COSTURA

Con la adquisición de vestidos europeos se generalizó naturalmente entre los Chiriguanos y Chanés la costura de estos vestidos para hacerlos y remendarlos. Agujas de coser, modernos, son hoy un artículo muy solicitado por ellos. Pero, sin duda, esos indios conocieron la técnica de la costura con empleo de una aguja con ojo, ya desde hace mucho tiempo por la conexión con la cultura de los Peruanos antiguos. Aunque los tejidos indígenas, las más de las veces, están hechos en un pedazo, son añadidas a la técnica indígena de estos tejidos muchas veces costuras provenientes de culturas ajenas. Mencioné que un tipoy grande de los Izozós consta de dos tipoys menores costureados uno al otro. Los ponchos de los Chiriguanos en Machareti constan de dos partes costureadas una a otra. Los cuatro cantos de los ponchos de los Chiriguanos e Izozós, las más de las veces, están doblados y costureados a la demás parte del tejido. En la fabricación de las bolsas para llevar cargas, especialmente de las doble-bolsas para cargar caballos o burros cargueros se emplean costuras.

Entre las cuyas que recibí de los Chiriguanos e Izozós hay varias que muestran desgarrones remendados por costura. Compare la figura 25. a. Los dos esquemas representados en la figura 130 a y b sirven para ilustrar la manera de hacer esa costura la que está formada, de las dos cuyas I. A. 666 y 667, de los Izozós, con hilo de algodón y, de una cuya de los Chiriguanos (I. A. 460.) con alambre fino. La cuya I. A. 667 muestra dos de esas reparaciones hechas con costuras.

EL LABRADO DE LAS PIELES Y EL CURTIDO DEL CUERO

Los Chiriguanos y Chanés conocen el arte del curtido del cuero y ellos utilizan para eso la corteza de la «Piptadenia» y de otros árboles. Sin duda, ellos recibieron el conocimiento de este oficio de los blancos. Emplean no solo cuero curtido sino que también tiras de piel animál para la fabricación de diversos objetos, (279) pero el oficio de trabajar cueros y pieles no tiene mucha importancia. Se dice que antes, los Chiriguanos, cuando cazaban, usaban un traje hecho de cuero y conforme a la hechura europea. (280) Fuera de eso no se usa el cuero para fabricar vestimentás sino para fabricar las sandalias. (281) La costumbre moderna de los hombres de usar un cinto de cuero tenemos que reducirla a la influencia de los blancos. Sin contar su aplicacion a la fabricación de los frenos y sillas de caballos o de asnos, de carga o de silla, sobre lo que no tenemos indicaciones, tiras cortadas de cuero o de piel animál son empleadas en forma de correas, principalmente para transportar o sospender cualquier objeto. Muchas veces, correas de cuero son colocadas a las redes para llevar cargas, a las hamacas y también a los aros para guardar objetos, mencionados en lo que precede, en lugar de los cordones comunes de fibras vegetales. La venda de la red para transportar cargas I. A. 564. de los Chiriguanos, consiste en una correa de piel de ganado vacuno, no curtida. Compare la figura 134. La vasija I. A. 617, de los Izozós, está provista de una correa de cuero asegurada en sus asas. Las cuerdas de los arcos para tirar flechas consisten de tiras de piel animál y, de tiras de la piel de ganado vacuno está fabricada la red I. A. 573, de los Chiriguanos.

DEL GUISADO DE LAS COMIDAS

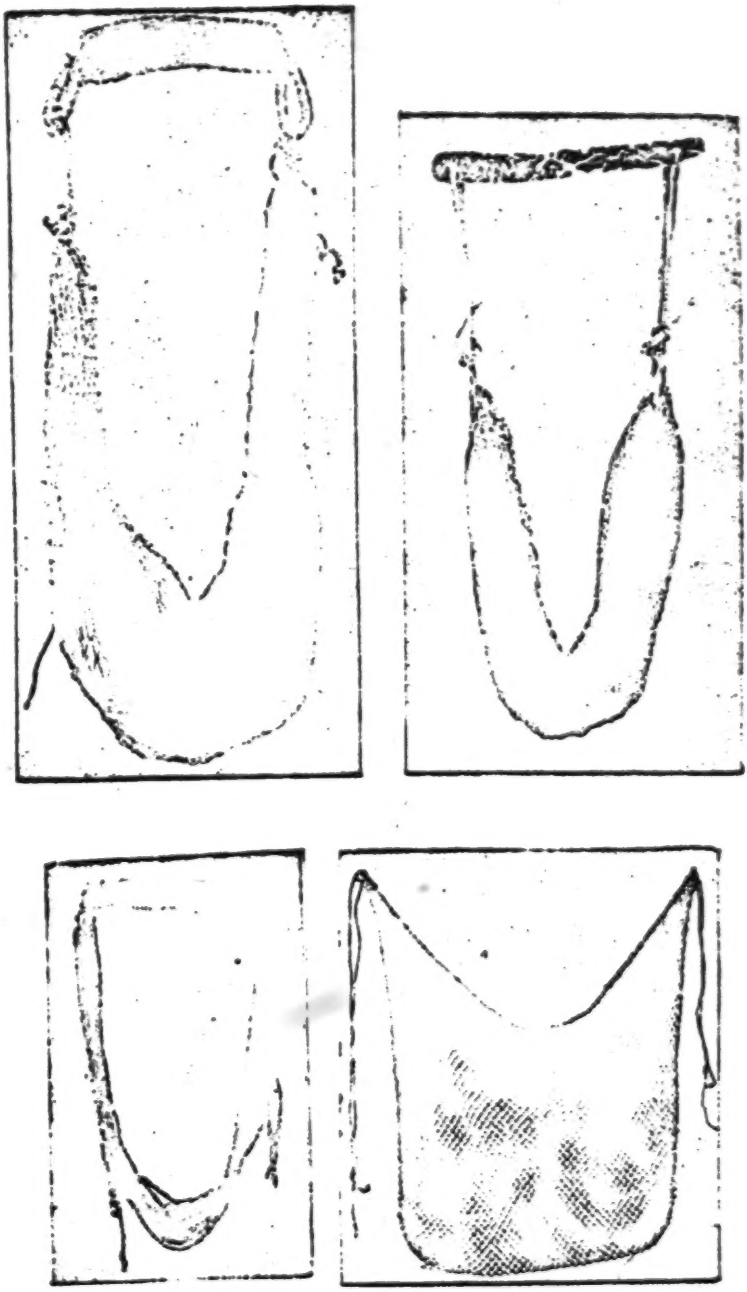
La mayor parte de los utensilios, de los Chiriguanos y Chanés, usados pa-

Nota 279. Nord. 2. p. 166.
Nota 280. Nord. 1. p. 184. Nord. 2. p. 60 y 61. Viedma 1. c. p. 181. Según Nordenskiöld.
Nota 281. Nord 2. p. 69 Fig. 23.

[P. 76-A]

LAMINA XXXVI

Sociedad Cientifica
del Paraguay



[P. 76-B]

LAMINA XXXVI

Redes y bolsa de red para llevar cargas, de caraguatá.

Fig. 133

(I A. 768.) Red para llevar cargas hecha con la técnica de aplicar nudos (Izozó.) Largor 1,33 m. Compare fig. 125 y 142.

Fig. 134

(I A. 567.) Red para llevar cargas hecha con la técnica de sin aplicar nudos. (Chiriguano). Largor 1,15 m. Compare fig. 143.

Fig. 135

(I A. 772.) Red para llevar cargas hecha con la técnica de aplicar nudos. (Izozó.) Largor 1,18 m.

Fig. 136

(I. A. 768.) Bolsa hecha con técnica de red aplicando nudos. (Izozó.) Altura 0,62 m. Largor 0,62 m.

[P. 76-C]

LAMINA XXXVII

Fig. 137

Esquemas de hilos torcidos.

a. Torcido a la derecha.

b. Torcido a la izquierda.

Fig. 138

Esquema de los dos nudos diferentes, aplicados a la fabricación de redes.

a. y b.: «Reefknot» c. y d.: «Sheetknot».

Fig. 139-140

Esquemas de las partes medianas trenzadas de tres vendas para los cabellos de mujeres, de algodón. (Izozó)

Fig. 139 (I. A. 649)

Fig. 140 (I. A. 652.)

Fig. 141 (I. A. 646.)

Fig. 142

Esquema de la técnica de la red para llevar cargas I. A. 768, aplicandose el nudo llamado «reefknot». (Izozó). Compare fig. 133.

Fig. 143

Esquema de la técnica de la red para llevar cargas I. A. 567, hecha con solos lazos, sin nudos. (Chiriguano.)

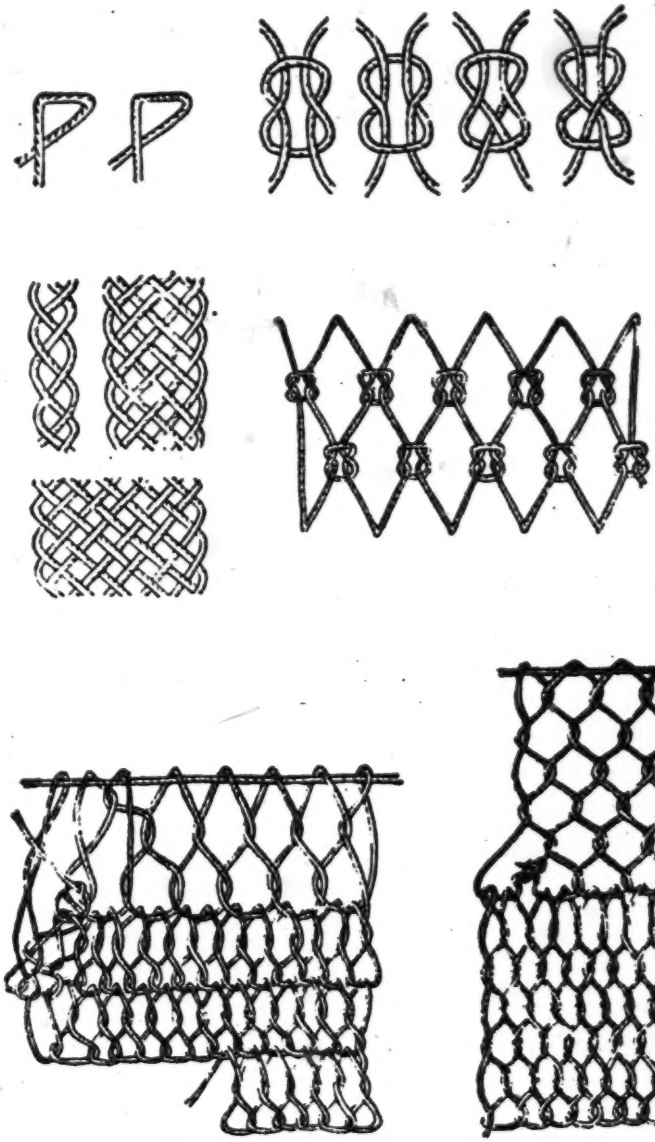
Fig. 144

Esquema de la técnica de la red para llevar cargas I. A. 568, hecha con solos lazos, sin nudos. (Chiriguano.)

[P·76-D]

Sociedad Científica
del Paraguay

LAMINA XXXVII



ra guisar las comidas ya los hemos mencionado en los capítulos precedentes, como los potes para cocer las comidas y para hacer fermentar la chicha, los platos previstos de agujeros en el centro de su fondo para someter al vapor la harina de maíz, vasijas para fritar el maíz, los morteros de madera con sus manos y las cribas. No emplean los Chiriguanos y Chanés para fritar carne o pescados los estantes cuadrangulares o triangulares que son tan frecuentes entre muchos otros indios Sudamericanos, pero sí simples asadores de madera. (282) También no encuentrase entre estos indios, como ya dijimos, el rallo para rallar los raíces de la mandioca.

Tenemos que mencionar todavía dos otros utensilios usados por los Chiriguanos y Chanés para guisar sus comidas: el grande plato de madera y la espátula para remover las comidas y bebidas cuando están hirviendo o fermentando.

GRANDES PLATOS DE MADERA (FUENTES), DE LA COLECCION.

I. A. 574. (Chiriguano) Largor 0,83 m. Anchura 0,39 m. (Fig. 19.)
I. A. 575. » » 1, m. » 0,325 m.

Por desgracia no recibí datos sobre el destino especial de estos grandes platos de madera los que adquirí de los Chiriguanos en Machareti. Como muestra la figura 19 estos grandes platos de madera están previstos de los mismos asideros como los de los platos de madera, más pequeños, que sirven como vasijas para comer.

ESPÁTULAS PARA REMOVER LAS COMIDAS, QUE HAY EN LA COLECCION

I. A. 501. (Chiriguano) Largor 49.5 cm.
I. A. 502. » » 24.5 cm. (Fig. 21)
I. A. 576. » » 114 cm. (Fig. 20. b.)
I. A. 577 » » 93 cm.
I. A. 578. » » 62 cm. (Fig. 20. a.)
I. A. 579. » » 66.5 cm.

Estas espátulas de madera para remover son empleados por los Chiriguanos y Chanés para remover la gacha hervida de maíz cuando se la hace fermentar. Algunas de esas espátulas están provistas en sus mangos, de ornamentos semejantes a los de las espátulas correspondientes de los indios Guatós. Nordenskiöld representa por dibujo una tal espátula de los Chiriguanos prevista del ornamento en zigzag (283) y, al lado de él (284) una otra forma de esos utensilios, de los Chiriguanos, que consiste en el omóplato de un gran mamífero, asegurado a un mango de madera. (285)

FABRICACION DE BEBIDAS FERMENTADAS

Sobre la fabricación de la Chicha de maíz o sea la bebida nacional de los Chiriguanos, Nordenskiöld indica lo siguiente: (286) Primeramente el maíz es

Nota 282 Nord. 2 p. 55. Métraux I. p. 352 y figura 22.
Nota 283. Nord. 2. Fig. 17. A.
Nota 284. Nord. 2. Fig. 17 B.
Nota 285. Nord. 2. p. 55. Compare Métraux I. Fig. 33 y 34
Nota 286. Nord. 1. p. 297

triturado en grandes morteros, luego, cribabo y hervido en grandes potes con agua. Una parte de esa masa, sacada del pote, masticada y, bién mezclada con saliva, se une otra vez a la masa general. Esta, después de ser colada, fermenta en grandes potes abiertos, con calór moderado. Por medio de grandes espátulas de madera o de omóplatos de mamiferos provistos de mangos de madera, la masa es removida en el interior del pote. Una descripción más detallada de ese proceso la encontramos en la publicación de Métraux. (287)

LA CONSERVACION DE LOS VIVERES

Sobre el modo de conservar viveres conocemos que los Chiriguanos y Chanés secan pescados para el uso futuro, en los casos de pesca abundante. (288) Según Niño (289), antes también la carne de la caza era conservada para las grandes fiestas secandola al sol, sin emplear sal. Hoy todavía, cuando se mata un animál vacuno, una parte de la carne es conservada secandola al sol (290)

EL TRANSPORTE

Los Chiriguanos y Chanés, en contraste con los Itatines - Guarayis, no tienen embarcaciones. (291) Sobre los medios del transporte por tierra no tenemos indicaciones sinó las que resultan de los diversos utensilios que sirven para transportar cargas. Podemos suponer de la forma de sus doble-bolsas, mencionadas en el capitulo respectivo al tejer, que emplean sus caballos y burros para el transporte de cargas.

Los ojetos empleados para transportar cargas, ya estan mencionados, todos, en los capitulos que preceden. Entre ellos está el más generál la red para transportar, muchas veces provista de una venda. Por medio de ella son transportadas las cargas en largos viajes o son traidos los productos de la cosecha desde las plantaciones hasta las casas o el agua, muchas veces de lejos, hasta las habitaciones. La red para transportar se usa a la manera de que la venda pasa por la frente del portador de modo que la carga pesa encima de su espalda. (292) Por Nordenskiöld está publicada una fotografia de una mujér que está transportando una carga en su red. (293)

Canastos no son usados por los Chiriguanos y Chanés para transportar cargas, ellos sirven entre esos indios solamente para guardar objetos. Tampoco es empleada una venda especial para llevar criaturas; más bien estas son llevadas en un pliegue del tipoy.

Solamente si el agua está cerca de la casa las vasijas para agua, algunas veces, son transportadas sin red encima del hombro, pero, no encima de la cabeza. Esto aparece solamente en los casos de que los indios están influenciados directamente por los blancos como sucede en las misiones. (294)

Para transportar cantidades pequeñas de agua esos indios, cuando viajan, usan también calabazas enlazadas con un hilo, o vasijas chicas de barro cocido,

---

Nota 287. Métraux I. p. 365 - 369.
Nota 288. Nord. 1. p. 189.
Nota 289. Niño F. Bernardino de: Etnografia Chiriguana. La Paz. 1912. (p. 249 y 250. Según Métraux.
Nota 290. Métraux I. p. 56.
Nota 291. Nord. 1. p. 186.
Nota 292. Compare Nord. 2. p. 98.
Nota 293. Nord. 1. Abb. 87.
Nota 294. Nord. 2. p. 98.

provistas de un hilo o de una correa de cuero, como por ejemplo, la vasija I. A. 617 representada en la figura 56. b.

Tenemos que recordar todavía que los Chiriguanos y Chanés transportan los peces a la misma manera como los tribus vecinas del Chaco lo hacen ensartandolos en un cordón provisto de una grande aguja de madera. (295)

UTENSILIOS PARA GUARDAR OBJETOS

También de los objetos que sirven para guardar cosas la mayór parte ya están mencionados en los capitulos que preceden, como las diversas especies de cestas y los arcos de madera los que están suspendidos en las casas para guardar diversas cosas dentro de ellos. La bolsa de red y la red para transportar no sirven solamente para transportar, sinó también para guardar cosas. Las vasijas de barro cocido no sirven solamente para guardar liquidos, pero se usan también para guardar muchas otras cosas que tienen un valór especial o son memorias antiguas de la familia. (296) Además, en las casas, están suspendidos ganchos especiales para sostener diversas cosas. Un tal gancho está representado por dibujo por Nordenskiöld (297) y, por Métraux un tal gancho, hecho de la pierna de un ciervo (298)

LA ARTE
FLAUTAS Y SILBATO DE LA COLECCIÓN

I. A. 491. Flauta «sororé (Chiriguano). De madera. Largor 17 cm. Anchura 2,7 cm. (Fig. 33. b.)
I. A. 492. » » » » Largor 20 cm. Anchura 3,5 cm. (Fig. 33. a.)
I. A. 493. Flauta. (Chiriguano) De caña. Largor 45 cm.
I. A. 494. » » » » 41 cm. (Fig. 34. a.)
I. A. 495. Silbato-doble. » » » 33,5 y 7 cm. (Fig 34. b.)

De los Chiriguanos en Macharetí adquirí dos diferentes especies de flautas, las unas hechas de caña y las otras hechas de madera. Las dos flautas hechas de madera I. A. 491 y 492 (Compare las figuras 93 a. y 93 b.) tienen importancia especial porque ellas se asemejan respecto a su forma y I. A. 491 también respecto a su ornamentación a una especie particular de astil de balanza de los Peruanos antiguos y, por eso ya fueron tratadas varias veces en la literatura etnológica. Estas dos flautas son sin duda, ejemplares bastante viejos que tal vez ya fueron usados por varias generaciones. Ellas son denominadas por los Chiriguanos «sororé» y consistes en una madera dura, perforada desde un extremo al otro. En el medio del canto superior de la losange del aparato hay dos pequeñas perforaciones. Una flauta análoga representada por dibujo por v. Rosen (299) muestra que esas perforaciones sirven para hacer pasar un cordón, para poder ponerse la flauta como adorno del pecho. Nordenskiöld (300) ya ha llamado la atención de la concordancia sorprendente que existe entre estas flautas y una forma especial de astiles de balanza de los Peruanos antiguos. Estos, de los cuales son conocidos numerosos ejemplares están caracterizados sin duda, como astiles de balanzas por el hecho de que de algunos ejemplares se conservó to-

Nota 295. Nord. 2. p. 46.
Nota 296. Nord. 1. p. 178.
Nota 297. Nord. 1. p. 177 y Abb. 56.
Nota 298. Métraux 1. Fig. 128.
Nota 299. V. Rosen. L. c. p. 230.
Nota 300. Nord. 3. p. 187 y 188.

davia el cordón que pasa la perforación horizontal y que está provisto en su extremo de una pesa y en el otro extremo de un lazo o tal cosa parecida para recibir los objetos que hay que pesar. V. Rosen describiendo y representando por dibujo una de estas flautas de los Chiriguanos, que corresponde a la flauta I. A. 491, excepto solamente que de aquella flauta está conservada todavia el cordón que pasa los dos agujeros en el canto superior, defende contra las deducciones de Nordenskiöld la opinión de que también los objetos de esta forma de los Peruanos antiguos hubiesen sido primordialmente flautas y fuesen empleados solo excepcionalmente, en caso de necesidad o sea secundariamente, como astiles de balanzas. Entre los objetos de esta especie existen en la colección Peruana antigua del Museo en Berlin tantos ejemplares que muestran claramente que son astiles de balanzas por lo que no puedo declararme conforme con esta opinión de V. Rosen.(301) Tenemos que aprobar la opinión de V. Nordenskiöld de que esos objetos de madera, empleados por los Peruanos antiguos como astiles de balanza, fuesen aceptados por los Chiriguanos pero no como astiles de balanza, porque los Chiriguanos no tenian la necesidad de pesar cualquier cosa, pero si como flautas. Tenemos que mencionar que con esta especie de flautas, abiertas en sus dos extremos, se puedon producir dos diferentes sonidos según que se deja la abertura inferior abierta o se la cierra con el dedo.

Las dos flautas de los Chiriguanos, hechas de caña están provistas de 6 agujeros para variar el sonido y de un agujero, a un costado, para la boca. Compare la figura 39. a. Nordenskiöld que representa una tal flauta por dibujo (302) opina que los Chiriguanos y Chanés recibieron una especie de flauta de los mestizos o de los blancos, porque tales flautas provistas de un agujero a un costado para la boca no existen entre los demás indios Sudamericanos y tampoco entre los Peruanos antiguos.

El silbato doble I. A. 495 consiste en dos pedazos de caña unidos uno a otro a la manera de las flautas de Pan. En contraste con las flautas descritas en lo que precede, los dos tubos de esos silbatos están provistos de labios. Uno que tiene cuatro agujeros para hacer variar los sonidos, mide 33,5 cm, y el otro que no tiene tales agujeros solamente 7 cm. Un silbato de esta especie, pero no doble, está representado por dibujo por Nordenskiöld. (303)

Fuera de estos instrumentos de música son descritos por Nordenskiöld algunos otros, los que vió entre los Chiriguanos y Chanés. Entre ellos también encuéntranse aquellas flautas redondas, que son usadas por muchas tribus del Chaco y de las cuales una está representada por dibujo por Nordenskiöld. (304) Ellos tienen también grandes trompetas, las que los Chiriguanos llaman «angúahuasi», mientras que la trompeta común es llamada con la misma palabra para el mortero: angúa» o «angúarai». También encuentranse trompetas hechas de cuerno de ganado-vacuno o de una calabaza, las que son sopladas por el extremo superior. (305)

Según Nordenskiöld, las flautas de Pan que consisten en varias flautas unidas una a otra se encuentran pocas veces entre esos indios. (306)

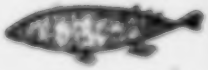
El arte plástico está desenvuelto muy poco entre los Chiriguanos y Chanés. Plástica en forma animal la encontramos raras veces en las formas de las vasijas de barro cocido de los Chiriguanos. (307) Estas vasijas son, sin duda, imita-

Nota 301. Compare: Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru. p. 99 Abb. p. 344 H. 9-10.
Nota 302. Nord. 2. Fig. 40 A.
Nota 303. Nord. 2. Fig. 38 b.
Nota 304. Nord. 2. Fig. 35.
Nota 305. Nord. II p. 119. Fig. 37. A. y B. Métraux I. p. 207. Fig. 38.
Nota 306. Nord. 2. p. 126.
Nota 307. Nord. 2. Fig. 41. K. 4 y Fig. 45 H. 20.

[P. 80-A]

LAMINA XXXVIII

Sociedad Científica del Paraguay



[P 80-B]

LAMINA XXXVIII

Dibujos escalas de la superficie de vasijas de borde ondido y de una reja

Fig. 145

Dibujo fotografía escalas de la superficie de la vasija I. A. 600. (Chiriguano). Compare fig. 66

Fig. 146

Dibujo aerografía y estampado escalas de la superficie de la vasija I. A. 578. (Chiriguano). Compare fig. 65.

Fig. 147

Dibujo estampado escalas de la superficie de la vasija I. A. 547. (Chiriguano). Compare fig. 66.

Fig. 148

Dibujo de un gran grabado en la superficie de la reja I. A. 484. (Chiriguano)

[P. 80-C]

LAMINA XXXIII

Dibujos escalas de la superficie de cayas y de sus calabazas. (Chiriguanos).

Fig. 149
(I. A. 458). Caya.

Fig. 150
(I. A. 451). Caya.

Fig. 151
(I. A. 455). Calabaza.

Fig. 152
(I. A. 452). Caya.

Fig. 153. (I. A.) 456. Caya.

[P 80-D]

ciones de modelos Peruanos antiguos o productos modernos. Fuera de eso están representadas por dibujos por Nordenskiöld dos muñecas en forma de un hombre y de una mujér, hechas de cera, las que servian como juguetes de las criaturas de los Chanés del Rio Parapiti. (308) Plástica solamente ornamentál la muestran principalmente la mayor parte de las vasijas de barro cocido destinadas a cocer comidas, en forma del «ornamento hundido», que es puesto generalmente encima de la superficie del cuello de estas vasijas, pero puede tambièn extenderse sobre la superficie entera. Compare la figura 48. La vasija I. A. 414, representada en la figura 44, está ornamentada fuera del ornamento hundido en el cuello por una hilera de añadidos chicos puntiagudos pasando al rededór de la paréd de la vasija, Linné representa por dibujo un pedazo de una vasija de barro cocido de los Chanés cuya superficie está ornamentada por un rodete de barro cocido puesto en zigzag encima de la paréd de la vasija. Añadidos chicos los tienen también muchas de las vasijas con superficie lisa y eso generalmente dos a dos. Ellos están muchas veces en lugar de asas. Tambien los platos de barro cocido para comer y los platos para fritar el maiz están provistos muchas veces de tales añadidos. Las asas de las vasijas de barro cocido no tienen la forma de figuras pero ellas pueden ser ornamentadas plasticamente de la manera de que un surco las divide en dos partes, las que pueden estar torcidas una al rededór de la otra. Compare las figuras 46 y 49.

También algunos utensilios de madera están provistos de una plástica ornamentál, primitiva, como las espàtulas para remover las comidas y bebidas, los platos de madera para comer y los grandes platos o fuentes para guardar comida. Los mangos de algunas de las espàtulas para remover las comidas son entallados de modo que sus bordes forman lineas en zigzag (Compare la figura I. A. 579.) y los platos están provistos muchas veces de dos añadidos como los muestran también algunos platos de barro cocido. Compare las figuras 18. a. y b. y 19.

Dibujos encuentranse encima de la superficie de objetos de los Chiriguanos y Chañéz, en forma de pinturas encimas de la superficie de las vasijas de barro cocido, en forma de gravados en la superficie de cuyas y calabazas o de flautas, de madera o de caña, y, en forma de ornamentos pirograbados encima de cuyas y también, pocas veces, en forma de tatuaje encima de partes del cuerpo humano. Sorprendente es la diferencia absoluta entre los dibujos aplicados a las superficies de las vasijas de barro cocido y a las de las cuyas y calabazas. Esta diferencia se explica por el hecho de que las ornamentaciones de las vasijas de barro cocido están hechas exclusivamente por las mujeres y las de las cuyas y calabazas por los hombres.

Los elementos fundamentales de la pintura hecha encima de la superficie de las vasijas de barro cocido, de estos indios, consisten en ornamentos geométricos completamente diferentes de los de los Peruanos antiguos é intactos de influencias europeas modernas. Sin duda se trata de productos de un arte antiguo é indigena. Pero no sabemos hasta qué punto este se origina de los Chiriguanos y hasta qué punto de los Chanés. Tampoco conocemos si las diferencias que existen entre el caracter de las pinturas de los Chiriguanos en Machareti y el de las pinturas de los Izozós del Parapiti sean solamente diferencias locales o estén fundadas en la diferencia de esas dos naciones. Pero, fuera de esa ornamentación primordiál y mesclada con ella, aparecen elementos ajenos de ornamentación que tenemos que reducir a modelos Peruanos antiguos asi sobre todo, las representaciones de plantas encima de la superficie de una vasija, de los Chiriguanos, las que muestran las figuras 64 y 145. Un

Nota 308 Nord. 1. Abb. 105.

ornamento, sin duda, también fitómorfo, que aparece repetidas veces encima de la superficie de las vasijas de barro cocido, como por ejemplo, de las vasijas representadas en las figuras 67 y 75. b, tiene su modelo directo en la forma de un ornamento que conocemos de las vasijas Peruanas antiguas de los últimos tiempos del imperio de los Incas. (309) Representaciones zoómorfas y antropómorfas encuentranse relativamente pocas veces entre los ornamentos de las vasijas de barro cocido. El cuadrúpedo representado en la superficie de la vasija I. A. 347, de los Chiriguanos, (Compare las figuras 65 y 147) y la manera de que está representado el camino abajo de este animál muestran muchas reminiscencias a representaciones correspondientes de los Peruanos antiguos. Las representaciones de animales y gente encima de la superficie de la vasijas I. A. 378 (Compare las figuas 63 y 146) la que es, respecto a su forma exterior, bastante moderna, corresponden a las de otros indios Sudamericanos. Como estos, también los Chiriguanos combinan elementos de la ornamentación geométrica para la representación de motivos zoómorfos o antropómorfos; así por ejemplo la linea graduada para la representación de gallos, y triangulos, para la representación del cuerpo de mujeres. Compare la figura 146.

Una diferencia principal entre la onamentación pintada encima de la superficie de las vasijas de barro cocido y la ornamentación grabada en la superficie de las cuyas, existe en eso de que la pintura de la vasija de barro cocido, se limita a la ornamentación de la parte superior de la superficie exterior o a la del borde superior de la superficie interior de la vasija; quiere decir a la ornamentacion de una lista continua, más ancha o más estrecha; mientras que los grabados en las cuyas ornamentan la superficie exterior entera, más o menos semiglobál, formando muchas veces el centro del semiglobo a la vez el centro de una ornamentación concéntrica.

Entre las cuyas ornamentadas que recibí de los Chiriguanos en Machareti se encuentran algunas que están provistas solamente de grabados y otras que tienen solo pirografias. Pero la mayór parte de ellas combinan estas dos maneras de producir una ornamentación. Varios ejemplares de esas cuyas ornamentadas, muestran los mismos motivos de ornamentación con sorprendente semejanza Sin contar con los motivos fitómorfos, estilizados, se encuentran entre los onamentos grabados, también figuras como la representación de un pequeño pez (compare la figura 148) y de una capilla, caracterizada claramente por una cruz. Compare la figura 153.

Entre los ornamentos grabados, tenemos que mencionar todavía las circunferencias concéntricas hechas encima de la superficie de la mayór parte de las torteras de los Izozós y de varias torteras de madera de los Chiriguanos y, la ornamentación de la flauta «serere» representada en la figura 33. b., la que corresponde, como también la forma de esa flauta, completamente a modelos Peruanos antiguos. También la superficie de la flauta de caña, I. A. 494, de los Chiriguanos, (Compare la figura 34. a.) muestra algunos grabados.

De los ornamentos tatuados uno está representado por dibujo por Nordenskiöld y lo halló aplicado al brazo de una mujér. (310)

EL ESTADO SOCIAL DE LOS CHIRIGUANOS Y CHANÉS

Respecto al estado social de lós Chiriguanos y Chané-Izozós, no puedo completar los pocos datos que conocemos sobre ese asunto porque las situaciones en las que me encontré con esos indios no eran propias a tales investigaciones.

Nota 309. Compare: Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru. 1. e. p. 38» Abb. 1.
Nota 310. Nord. 1. Abb. 108

Entre los Izozós, con los que me encontré en Toledo estaban algunos que fueron designados como caciques. A uno de estos que hablaba perfectamente español, yo debo el vocabulario que apunté de la lengua de los Izozós. A los Chiriguanos yo les conocí solamente en Manchereti, donde ellos vivieron mucho tiempo bajo la administración de Misioneros y, al tiempo de mi viaje, bajo la jefatura de uno de sus compañeros que tenía las funciones de un comisario. Dos otros indios Chiriguanos con quienes me encontré en Machareti fueron significados como caciques.

Para completar mis indicaciones sobre los Chiriguanos y Chané-Izozos tengo que resumir lo que conocemos de la literatura sobre el estado social de esos indios remitiendo a las indicaciones de Moreno, fundadas en los documentos antiguos y las de v. Nordenskiöld, basadas en sus propias investigaciones.

Naturalmente, muchas de las instituciones sociales, antiguas de los Chiriguanos y Chanés se han perdido después que aquellos perdieron su independencia de los blancos. También el poder de los caciques mayores disminuyóse considerablemente desde que ellos dependen de los blancos. Cuando Nordenskiöld hizo su expedición, no existia todavía un tal cacique mayór entre los Chanés en el Rio Parapití. El último cacique mayór había sido Aringui, cuyo sobrino, Batiraya era cacique; pero él habia recusado el oficio de un cacipue mayór porque no quiso estar demasiado dependiente de los blancos. (311)

Según las indicaciones de los documentos antiguos, los Chiriguanos después de su inmigración en la Cordillera, no formaban una comunidad uniforme, un estado, en sentido propio del derecho público. Antes si ellos formaban una federación de varias parcialidades. En la carta del Licenciado Cepeda, (312) del año 1585, se dice «que la Provincia de los Chiriguanos, que están en la cordillera en medio de Santa Cruz y la ciudad de La Plata los que están repartidos en tres parcialidades, distintas cada una de la otra, veinte y cinco leguas, aunque se comunican y se favorecen. Es la una la parcialidad de Vitupué y la otra de Condorillo y la otra Chiquiacá».

De las dos parcialidades de Vitupué y de Chiquiacá sabemos, que ellas, por lo menos primordialmete, cada una estaban bajo de la jefatura de un cacique mayór, de las que ellas recibieron sus respectivos nombres. Vitupuera era cacique mayór de aquella y Chiaca cacique mayór de esta. (313) Respecto a la parcialidad de Condorillo no tenemos indicaciones de si también esta parcialidad entera estuviese bajo la jefatura de un cacique mayór. Sabemos solamente que el pueblo Saigpuru era uno de los más importantes y el más temido por los enemigos y que sus habitautes fueron derratados el año de 1779 por Don Tomás Leso. (314)

Según las relaciones escritas por el Gobernadór de Santa Cruz, Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, la Provincia de «Yvytupue» quiere decir, la región gobernada por el cacique mayór Vitupuera, constaba de cinco subdivisiones grandes. Como puede suponerse de la relación citada, constaban estas subdivisiones en parte de un pueblo y en parte de varios pueblos y estaban excepto de una, gobernadas por varios caciques. Así es mencionada en primer lugar la subdivisión «Taquirán y Caracará», tratándose verosimilmente de los pueblos que tienen estos nombres. Como caciques de esta primera subdivisión son mensionados tres: así que el número de los caciques no corresponde al número de los pueblos. Así, pues, no se trata de una comunidad fundada exclusivamente en una base

Nota 311. Nord. I. p. 170 y 285.
Nota 312. Carta del Licenciado Cepéda dando cuenta de la guerra a los Chiriguanos encomendada a Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa Gobernador de Santa Cruz y al Maestre de Campo Fernando de Casorra por Tomina y a Luis de Fuentes por Tarija. Según Moreno II. p. 113.
Nota 313. Moreno II. p. 121 y 126.
Nota 314. Moreno II. p. 244.

territorial. Por la segunda subdivisión son mencionados tres nombres: Aguapea, Naipea y Traybi. Pues ella constaba verosimilmente de tres pueblos. De esta subdivisión el número tres de los pueblos corresponde al número de los caciques. La tercera subdivisión es llamada Tamborá. Pues, es presumible que ella constaba solamente de un pueblo y es mencionado también solamente un cacique. La cuarta subdivisión se llama Tendy y son mencionados tres caciques de ella. Se dice que uno de esos caciques, llamado Abaqué, era el hijo del cacique Tendy, pues de aquel cacique que dió su nombre a esa subdivisión. De la quinta subdivisión Ayaguá o Cayaguá son mencionados hasta cuatro caciques. (315)

También de la parcialidad Chiquiacá son mencionados fuera de su cacique mayór Chiquiacá o Chiacá, 14 otros caciques, pero no se puede decidir, de estas indicaciones, hasta que punto se trata de nombres de caciques sucesivos o contemporáneos.

Interesantes noticias tenemos del siglo XVI sobre la manera de como las comunidades particulares de los Chiriguanos distribuyeron entre si los diferentes paises en que ellos hacian sus depredaciones. En la «Confesión de Blas Negro» se dice «que los de la provincia de caypuru les cabia la parte de tomina, y los de coyagua a los churumatas, y los de tendi hazia misque é tiraque, y los de aguapea hazia este camino de poxo y santa cruz» (316)

Ya en el cuadro histórico compuesto al principio de ese trabajo, se mencionó que los Chanés y tambien otras tribus, han sido subyugados por los Chiriguanos y incorporados como súbditos a las comunidades de estos. Las comunidades de los Chanés que habian estado primordialmente en el territorio de los Chiriguanos o en sus contornos habian sido exterminadas hasta que al fin del siglo XIX, cuando los Chiriguanos perdieron su independencia por causa de los blancos, los Chanés se emanciparon de sus opresores y habitaban otra vez sus pueblos separados y gobernados por sus propios caciques mayores. Tenemos una indicación interesante en los «Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca» por la que conocemos que los Chanés en tiempos pasados antes de ser subyugados por los Chiriguanos, tenian una organización social, firme y poderosos caciques mayores. En Puerto de Reyes, Alvar Nuñez se encontró con un cacique Chané que anteriormente habia acompañado a Garcia en su regreso del Perú y, más tarde, despues del asesinato de Garcia por los Guaranies, habia huido de estos. Entre otras cosas ese cacique declaró: «que en su tierra los de su generación tienen un solo principal que los manda a todos y de todos es obedecido, y que hay muchos pueblos de muchas gentes de los de su generación» (317) Los Chanés subyugados fueron repartidos a las diversas comunidades sociales de los Chiriguanos como súbditos o esclavos. En la «Relación del Corregidor de Tomina Don Juan Arce de Alvedin», del año 1618, se dice que en la Provincia de Machareti» que es Pilcomayo y sus contornos» vivian Chiriguanos puros cuatrocientos escasos a las cuales estaban repartidos 5.000 Chanés «qual a duzientos qual a ciento qual a sesenta y de esta forma hasta el número dicho». En la Provincia de Charaguay eran repartidos, de la misma manera, a los 350 Chiriguanos de esta provincia 4.000 Chanés y a los 200 Chiriguanos de la Provincia de Guapay, 1.000 Chanés para arriba. Como en otros documentos, también en este, se menciona el mal tratamiento que tenian que sufrir esos súbditos de los Chiriguanos y, el odio que aquellos tenian a sus opresores. (318) Los Chiriguanos llamaban a los Chanés despectivamente «tapií», mientras que aquellos mismos eran llamados

Nota 315 Moreno II. p 123 y 124
Nota 316 Moreno II. p. 130.
Nota 317. Moreno II. p. 30.
Nota 318. Moreno II. p. 25» y 104

por estos como «cheya» quiere decir «mi amo». (319) Aunque la mayór parte de esos subditos o esclavos constaban en Chanés, habia también entre ellos otros indios que fueron subyugados en las expediciones, así por ejemplo indios Chichas (320) y entre los Chiriguanos de Tendi también indios Guaiucos. (321) Según Techo (322) cuya relación fué escrita en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII, los Chiriguanos solian vender algunos de sus esclavos a los Españoles.

Fuera de esos súbditos incorporados directamente a las comunidades Chiriguanas, existian diversas tribus de indios, subyugados por los Chiriguanos, que eran tributarios de estos, quiere decir de sus parcialidades particulares. Esas tribus tenian que entregar tributos determinados y prestar servicios como auxiliares de guerra. (323) De esta manera eran tributarios de los Chiriguanos de la provincia de Yvytupue, los Tamacocies, los Xores y los Yurucarés. En la «Carta de Don Lorenzo de Figueroa» del año 1584 se dice que los Tamacocies y Xores y Yurucarés no habian auxiliado a los Chiriguanos de la parcialidad de Vitupue viendo que estos fuesen derrotados por los Españoles. De esa noticia puede suponerse que ellos, como tributarios, hubiesen sido obligados a auxiliar a sus dueños. De la «Confesión del Blas negro» que habia vivido mucho tiempo como prisionero entre los Chiriguanos, nosotros conocemos en qué constaban los tributos que las tres tribus tributarias tenian que entregar a la parcialidad de Ybytupue. (324) «Dan tributo en esta manera, los Xores yervas ponsoñosas para sus flechas, y los Tamacozies yndios yndias arcos y flechas y pescado y caza y guacamayos y los Yurucares les dan cocos y plumas de pavos y chonta de palma para hacer flechas.» Además es dicho por el mismo garante que los Chiriguanos de Tendi y Aparo, Agunpea y Caripui hubiesen contratado con los Chuis-indios del pueblo del Misque, a proveerlos» de polvora salitre piedra azufre ochas coronas chipatos tixeras cuchillos y otras cosas.» (325)

Según todo lo que conocemos de los documentos antiguos, las comunidades de los Chiriguanos, quiere decir, las parcialidades bajo de la jefatura de caciques mayores, y las subdivisiones bajo la jefatura de caciques comunes, tenian en comparación con otras tribus de indios Sudamericanos una organización muy firme. El cacique mayór manda a sus súbditos y estos le obedecen asbsolutamente. Es verosimil que respecto a eso el ejemplo del imperio absoluto de los Incas del Peru vecino ha influenciado en la organización de los Chiriguanos. Todavia en el tiempo, del viaje de Erland v. Nordenskiöld, en el año de 1908, los caciques de los Chiriguanos y de los Chanés eran muy poderosos en contraste a los caciques de las tribus vecinas del Chaco. Todavia en aquel tiempo existian caciques mayores, que gobernaban un grande territorio que constaba de varios pueblos' y caciques comunes que gobernaban a los habitantes de un pueblo o a una parte de ellos. Así eran gobernados en el tiempo del viaje de Nordenskiöld, la mayór parte de los pueblos del valle de Caipipendi por un cacique mayór llamado Tarniri El cacique mayór, Mandepora, tenia, antes, un poder considerable en y cerca de Machareti y el cacique mayór Maringay en el valle de Iguembe. Tenemos la indicación interesante de Nordenskiöld de que entre los Chanés también mujeres pueden ser caciques mayores. Así era cacique mayór de los pueblos de los Chanés en el Itiyuru una mujér, llamada Vuáyruyi, que había sucedido en ese oficio a su hermano fallecido. Porque ella ya era vieja ella era reemplazada en sus funciones por su sobrino Vocapoy que era el hijo mayór de su hermano y prede-

Nota 319. Moreno II. p. 284.
Nota 320. Moreno II. p. 207.
Nota 321. Moreno II p. 117:
Nota 322. Según Moreno II. p. 286 y 287.
Nota 323. Moreno II. p. 121 y 125. 117.
Nota 324. Moreno II. p. 121 y 125.
Nota 325 Moreno II. p. 121.

cesor. Su hijo era predilecto como cacique mayór después de Vocapoy. (326) Entre los Chanés en el Itiyuru y, antes, cuando los Chanés del Parapití tenían todavía un cacique mayór, también entre estos el oficio del cacique mayór era ligado a una cierta familia, mas no pasó del padre al hijo. Nordenskiöld apuntó de la familia de los caciques de los Chanés en el Itiyuru un arbol genealógico según que, después del cacique mayór, Hinu Parava, dos hijos de este sucedieron sucesivamente en este oficio. Después del fallecimiento del ultimo de estos, fué la hija de Hinu Parava cacique mayór, la mencionada Vuáyruyi, mientras que el hijo de su hermano fallecido y predecesor, como ya mencionamos, la reemplazó en sus funciones. El predestinado al oficio del cacique no puede entrar en sus funciones sino tiene capacidad y la habilidad de discurrir. El cacique mayór en el valle de Caipipendi fué tenido por incapaz por causa de su embriaguez continua y fué reemplazado en sus funciones por uno de sus parientes. (327) En los pueblos de los Chanés en el Itiyuru también los caciques comunes pertenecen a la familia de Hinu Parava. (328)

Como símbolo del cacicazgo. Nordenskiöld vio [illegible] guarnecidos de plata y, la llamada «Yandagua» que consiste en una pértiga adornada con un penacho de plumas de avestrúz y es traido por los caciques en las fiestas y bailes. Según Corrado, las caciques antes traian como símbolo de su oficio un mechón encima de la cabeza que llamaban «yattira» y, piedras verdes como pendientes en los lóbulos y, en las fiestes además de la mencionada «yandagua» el «iguiripe» que era un bastón entallado con figuras. (329)

Al lado de los caciques tienen una posición especial los hechiceros, entre los cuales los Chiriguanos diferencian dos especies, los «ipáye» que son buenos y remedian hechicerias y, los «ipáyepótchi» los que pueden remediar hechicerias pero también hechizan. El hechicero es sobre todo también el médico que tiene la obligación de curar enfermos. (330) En general el oficio del hechicero es separado del oficio del cacique. Solamente en Ivu, Nordenskiöld observó el caso de que el cacique de los Chiriguanos era a la vez el hechicero. (331)

Las desigualdades que antes existian entre la clase de los Chiriguanos propios y la clase de sus súbditos que constaban por la mayór parte de Chanés, hoy no tienen más importancia después que éstos se anticiparon, desde el fin del siglo pasado y tienen otra vez sus caciques mayores y caciques comunes propios. Fuera de que los miembros de la familia a que pertenecen los caciques tienen alguna preferencia (332) hoy, existe apenas una diferencia entre los miembros de la misma comunidad de los Chiriguanos respecto a la economia de su vida. Pero sí, puede existir una tal diferencia entre las diversas comunidades mismas, conforme a las condiciones de la producción en los diferentes lugares. También el trabajo se distribuye, hoy después de la emancipación de los Chanés, más o menos igualmente entre los miembros de la comunidad, del mismo sexo. El cacique mayór y su mujer participan a los trabajos comunes. Están solamente exceptuados de esta regla algunos indios, que se han acomodado a la situación moderna y mandan a trabajar miembros de su tribu propia como sirvientes (333)

Una desigualdad de importancia práctica existe casi solamente entre los dos sexos y, sobre todo, respecto a la distribución del trabajo. Respecto al cum-

---

Nota 326. Nord. I. p. 228 y 229.
Nota 327 Nord. I. p. 230.
Nota 328 Nord I. p. 170 y 179.
Nota 329 Nord. I. p. 231.
Nota 330 Nord. I p 216
Nota 331. Nord. I. p 230.
Nota 332. Nord. I. p. 230.
Nota 333. Nord. I p. 231.

8: Schmidt SF10 Chiriguano

plimiento de las necesidades, esta desigualdad entre los dos sexos no aparece sino en eso de que los hombres y mujeres comen separados y si, los hombres en general los primeros y después las mujeres y las criatusas. (334) Nordenskiöld ha combinado un cuadro exacto de la distribución del trabajo entre los hombres y las mujeres. (335) Según este cuadro están proporcionados a los hombres solos los trabajos siguientes: La caza, el plantar y el rozar, el labrado de la madera, el torcer cordones, el hacer redes, el trenzar esteras y cestas, el labrado en cuero, la fabricación de armas, el ornamentar las cuyas y calabazas y la edificación de las casas. A las mujeres solas están proporcionados los trabajos siguientes: El transporte del agua, el cocer, la fabricación de las bebidas fermentadas, el recojer frutas y raices, la cerámica, la fabricación de las hamacas, el hilar y al trenzar vendas. A los dos sexos están proporcionados los trabajos siguientes: La pesca, con la diferencia de que las mujeres prenden los peces pequeños en agua baja, mientras que los hombres pescan en el agua honda, el sembrar el cosechar, el cocer—Atribuido en lo que precede a las mujeres—en cuanto que los hombres participan a las veces a la preparación de lo cazado, el traer leña lo que es las más de las veces ocupación de los hombres, mas entre los Chanés en el Parapití también de las mujeres, la cria de ganado, la costura y el tejer, en cuanto que en algunas regiones también los hombres tejen mientras que, en general, el tejer es trabajo de las mujeres. También las criaturas participan, según el sexo, a los trabajos respectivos de sus padres así principalmente a la cosecha (336) y aprenden de esta manera, viendo é imitando, ya desde temprano los trabajos que tienen que hacer en su vida más tarde.

Ya mencioné, en el capítulo respectivo a pueblos y casas, que los pueblos de los Chiriguanos, antes, constaban solamente de pocas casas de las cuales cada una estaba habitada por hasta 100 personas. Hoy, vive, por lo común, en cada casa solamente una familia, mas, muchas veces, junto con los esposos de las hijas, los que viven un tiempo antes de las nupcias y también el primer tiempo del matrimonio en la casa de la suegra. (337) El Chiriguano roza un pedazo de tierra para su hija de lo que el yerno puede ocuparse haciendo siembra y cosecha. (338)

La moza es nubil cuando ella ha pasado, después de la primera menstruación, una cierta ceremonia, la que dura hasta que sus pelos cortados cortos han crecido otra vez medio largos. Esa ceremonia de las mozas que es llamada «yimundia», consiste en que ella es puesta en una especie de apartado dentro de la casa. Hasta la menstruación siguiente ella tiene que guardar dieta y no debe comer sino maiz cocido y harina. (339) Solamente en compañia de su madre ella debe salir temporariamente, del apartado para bañarse y hacer sus otras precisiones. (340)

De los Chanés sabemos por Nordenskiöld que también los muchachos de 10 hasta 12 años de edad tienen que pasar ciertas ceremonias las que consisten en que un hombre especialmente experto en eso les perfora al labio interior (341) y pone un palito por la perforación y, su abuelo les produce hondas heridas en el cuerpo para que sean valientes para el combate y para la caza y, los conduce de la mañana, cuando hace frio, a bañarse. (342)

Las mozas de los Chiriguanos y Chanés son guardadas por sus madres hasta

Nota 334. Nord. 1. p. 189.
Nota 337. Nord. 1. p. 176.
Nota 338. Métraux I. p. 345.
Nota 339. Compare Métraux I. p. 320 nota 3.
Nota 340. Nord. 1. p. 210.
Nota 341. Según Métraux I p. 346 y 347 y fig. 12 los Chiriguanos usaban, antes, para ese fin punzones de cuerno.
Nota 342. Nord. 1. p. 211.

8: Schmidt SF10 Chiriguano

sus nupcias (343) y, raras veces nacen criaturas ilegítimas. (344) Las nupcias se hacen entre los Chanés a la manera de que el joven que quiere casarse manda a los padres de la moza varias piezas de caza. El pone leña delante de su casa y, si esta es usada, eso significa consentimiento. Pero solamente después de haber trabajado por un año para su suegra futura él puede casarse con la moza. La noche antes de las nupcias, que son celebradas bebiendo bastante chica, el joven duerme con la moza. (345)

Mientras que los hombres jóvenes tienen una mujer sola, los hombres más viejos y, principalmente los caciques, tienen muchas veces varias mujeres. Así poseia el cacique mayór sustituto en el Itiyuru cuatro mujeres las que vivian en diferentes pueblos y el cacique Maringay tenia dos mujeres las que vivian juntos. (346) Matrimonio entre hermano y hermana está prohibido mientras que primos y primas pueden casarse. (347)

A la mujer embarazada están prohibidas ciertas comidas. Así, entre los Chanés en el Itiyuru una mujer embarazada no puede comer palomas. Mas ellas hacen sus trabajos hasta que deben partir. (348) Después de nacer una criatura el hombre pasa la «couvade» que consiste en que él se queda acostado varios dias y guarda una cierta dieta. Entre los Chanés en el Parapití él puede comer, los primeros dias, solamente maiz cocido y sopa de maiz y no carne. (349) Más tarde él puede comer batatas dulces. Cuando la criatura principia a andar es dado un nombre a lo mas, no por sus padres, pero sí, por sus abuelos. Al nombre propio son añadidos muchas veces, más tarde, ápodos. (350) Huérfanos son criados por sus parientes. (351)

Desde los primeros tiempos de su inmigración a la Sierra de la Cordillera, los Chiriguanos, quiere decir sus parcialidades, hicieron la guerra o asaltos a las tribus de indios vecinos o a los Españoles. En el cuadro histórico compuesto al principio de este trabajo, yo he descrito a grandes rasgos estas hostilidades. Sus armas de guerra eran arcos y flechas y la macana. Los caciques eran a la vez jefes en la guerra. Según la indicación que hizo un cacique de los Chanés a Nordenskiöld, estos indios tenian, antes, la costumbre de traer en casa las cabezas de los enemigos muertos y de exponerlas en las fiestas en la plaza del pueblo. (352) Ya en el siglo XVI la capacidad de los Chiriguanos a la guerra es reconocida por los Españoles. En la «Declaración de Sebastian Perez Chamoso» del año de 1571 se dice de ellos: «Con las ynvenciones y asechancas y orden de guerra que tienen han hecho y hacen dichos daños en los españoles yndios y servicios que hay en las dichas chacras». (353) Antes de que los Chiriguanos ejecutaran su asalto al Rey Guacane hicieron reconocer por espias los Llanos de Grigota por donde estaba el Rey. (354) Sus pueblos descritos en lo que precede, estaban fortificados fuera de su posición natural por cercos. Ruiz Diaz de Guzman encontró en su expedición contra los Chiriguanos un pueblo proximo al Pilcomayo que estaba fortificado por dos cercos concéntricos de piedra y de madera. (355) Datos interesantes sobre las fortificaciones que hicieron los Chiriguanos en sus guerras los encontramos en la «Relación y breve noticia de lo sucedido en la guerra de Chiriguanos que se ha hecho este año de 1729 por orden

Nota 343. Nord. I. p. 179.
Nota 344. Nord. I. p. 207.
Nota 345. Nord. I. p. 211 y 212.
Nota 346. Nord. I. p. 212 y 213.
Nota 347. Nord. I. p. 212.
Nota 348. Nord. I. p. 206.
Nota 349. Compare Métraux I. p. 320 nota 3.
Nota 350. Nord. I. p. 208.
Nota 351. Nord. I. p. 210.
Nota 352. Nord. I. p. 172.
Nota 353. Moreno II. p. 107.
Nota 354. Moreno II. p. 97.
Nota 355. Moreno II. p. 252.

del señor Virrey y Real Audiencia de Chuquisaca por el Padre Bartholomé de Mora». (356) Estas fortificaciones son descritas en la forma siguiente: «Proseguiendo su camino (los Españoles y Chiquitos) ya de dia claro, como de una legua dieron con una trinchera, que atajaua el paso, muy fuerte y bien dispuesta, con palos muy gruesos, clavados en el suelo, q' hacheados a modo de tablones, tenian sus troneras por donde disparauan las flechas. Aqui se encontró mucha resistencia, por estar la trinchera muy bien fortalecida, y ser muchos los yndios que la defendian.» En otro lugar se dice: «Prosigiose el camino estando ya todos juntos, y llegaron al lugar, donde los enemigos se auian hecho fuertes. .. Era el fuerte una barranca cortada a modo de paréd, que solo tenia una subida muy estrecha, y empinada, que sembrada de ramas espinosas, la hacia más impenetrable. En cuya eminencia tenian atrincherada la puerta con palos clavados en la tierra.»

Hoy, los Chiriguanos y Chanés no hacen mas la guerra a otros indios fuera de eso, los Chanés en el Parapiti hacen ocasionalmente expediciones contra los indios Tsirakua. (357)

EL DERECHO

Porque las autoridades de los blancos intervienen más y más en las tradiciones jurídicas, primordiales, de los Chiriguanos y Chanés hoy ya no existen muchas de ellas y, también de las pocas indicaciones que Nordenskiöld da respecto a ese asunto de 30 años atrás, muchas hoy ya no corresponden a los hechos.

Respecto al derecho penal encontramos entre esos indios una mezcla entre el principio de la «vendetta» y la práctica del derecho penal. Entre los Chanés, en el Parapiti, la mayór parte de los delitos y, principalmente el hurto, fueron arreglados por medio del duelo. En caso de un hurto aparecen el que hurtó y el hurtado, cada uno junto con sus parientes en la plaza del pueblo para combatir el uno con el otro. Solamente el homicidio, la seducción de una mujer y la hechiceria eran sentencionados por el cacique mayór, como juez. Homicidio que, antes, acontecló entre los Chanés en la forma de envenenamiento con chicha envenenada («bád dyási») y la hechicería eran castigados con la quema del criminal. El seductor de una mujer, perdia sus bienes; (358) Según las indicaciones del cacique mayór sustituto de los Chanés en el Itiyuru era la obligación principal del cacique el que evitase la vendetta, enviando a otra parte a los criminales para que no fueran matados. Asi los ladrones, después de haber recibido 50 varazos eran mandados para otro pueblo. El homicida era condenado a trabajar hasta un medio año para la familia del muerto. (359)

Propiedad individual es bastante valida entre los Chiriguanos. Según Métraux también los parientes más allegados no pueden disponer de las cosas de uno de los suyos sin su asentimiento. La posesión de un terreno está asegurada a un Chiriguano por plantar cualquier planta en él o por limpiar la circunferencia del terreno requerido y hacer grandes entalladuras a los árboles. Escogiendo un terreno para su plantación, el Chiriguano examina cuidadosamente si no existian rastros de una plantación anterior. (360)

Después de haber sido rozado el terreno, escogido para la plantación, son convocados los parientes y amigos para ayudar al trabajo. Antes, también el cacique del pueblo participaba vigilando por los trabajadores. (361)

Nota 356. Manuscrito inedito publicado por el Profesor A. Posnansky con introducción y notas del Dr. A. Métraux. (Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad de Tucuman. Tomo II. Entrega 1. p. 126.)
Nota 357. Nord. I. p. 171.
Nota 358. Nord. I. p. 232.
Nota 359. Nord. I. p. 231.
Nota 360. Métraux I pp. 334 y 340.
Nota 361. Métraux I p. 337.

LA RELIGION

En los muchos años de su actividad, las misiones naturalmente han influenciado notablemente en las ideas religiosas de los Chiriguanos y Chanés. La mayór parte de ellos son hoy cristianos. Algunos han conservado todavía una parte de sus ideas primordiales, exprimidas en sus leyendas. Yo me limito aquí, a remitir al lector otra vez a las leyendas de los Chanés apuntadas por Nordenskiöld (362) y, varias veces mencionadas en lo que precede. También tengo que citar la publicación de A. Métraux: «Les Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguano e dans l'Amérique du Sud», (363) en que son tratados los casos, varias veces repetidos, en que algunos individuos entre los Chiriguanos aparecen como Mesias y adquiriendo muchos prosélitos dieron mucho que hacer a las administraciones de las misiones.

OBJETOS TRENZADOS, DE LA COLECCION, EMPLEADOS EN FIESTAS RELIGIOSAS

I. A. 1439. (Chiriguano), Largór 70 cm. (Fig. 43 b.)
I. A. 1440. » » 37 cm. (Fig. 43 a.)

Figuras trenzadas como las mencionadas en lo que precede son muy comunes también entre los Paraguayos y hechas en la misma forma. Esta costumbre de fabricar tales figuras trenzadas y hacer bendecirlas, como también los Chiriguanos lo hacen, está en conexión con el rito católico y, los Chiriguanos la recibieron, sin duda junto con los demás ritos de la religión católica de los misioneros. (364)

También las máscaras que los Chiriguanos fabrican para llevarlas al curso de las fiestas de Carnaval son objetos modernos. Algunas de tales máscaras de los Chiriguanos están representadas por dibujos por Nordenskiöld y por Métraux. (365)

LA LENGUA

Ya mencionó en lo que precede que los Chanés primordialmente hablaban otra lengua distinta de la de los Chiriguanos, pero que aceptaron durante el largo tiempo de su cautiverio la lengua de estos. Un cacique de los Chanés del Parapití, llamado Batirayu, dijo a Nordenskiöld que algunos de los Chanés sabían todavía algunas palabras de su lengua primordiál, y que tenía hoy el caracter de una lengua secreta. Así muchas veces se usan todavía invectivas de la lengua primordial de los Chanés, como: «karitimisóyti» lo que los indios tradujieron como equivalente a «hijo de puta». También encontranse canciones en la lengua primordial, por ejemplo: «siparakinánoye, siparakinánoye, siparakinánoye, tonéya tonéya, tonéya, tonéya;» pero que ellos no pueden traducir. Nordenskiöld no logró sinó con mucho trabajo y paciencia apuntar 6 palabras de la lengua primordiál de los Chanés en el pueblo Huirapembe en el Parapití donde se dijo que vivían algunos indios Chanés que sabían todavía su lengua primordial .De la Comparación de estas 6 palabras con las palabras correspondientes de la lengua de los Mojos resulta su grande semejanza con esta, así que no puede ponerse en

Nota 362 Nord. I. p. 251 - 296
Nota 363. En la Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tomo II, Entrega I. Tucumán 1931.
Nota 364. Compare la opinión opuesta de Métraux I, p. 462.
Nota 365. Nord. I. Fig. 119. Métraux I. Planche 86 y fig. 121.

duda de que los Chanés pertenecian primordialmente al grupo linguistico de los Aruacos. (366)

ESPAÑOL	CHANÉ PRIMORDIAL	MOJO (367)
Agua	úne	une
Maiz	sopóro	soponi
Fuego	yucu	yucu
Perro	tamúco	tamucu
hicha (buena)	liqui	itico
Ratón	cóvo	cozo

VOCABULARIOS DE LOS CHIRIGUANOS DE MACHARETI Y DE LOS IZOZÓS DEL RIO PARAPITÍ

ANOTACIONES SOBRE EL ALFABETO DE LOS VOCABULRAIOS

Publicando en lo que sigue los vocabularios de los Chiriguanos y de los Izozós, los que apunté en Machareti (Chirignanos) y en Toledo (Izozós) yo empleo el mismo alfabeto de mi publicación anterior del vocabulario de la lengua Guarayú, en esta misma revista. (Tomo III. N. 6)

LAS VOCALES

a; e; i; o; u. : vocales largas.
a; e; i; o; u. : vocales breves.
ã; ẽ; ĩ; õ; ũ. : vocales nasales.
ɨ : vocal guttral (como en Guaraní y agua.)
ä=ä en alemàn (como en : Bär=oso.)
ü=ü en alemán (como en : Übel=malo.)
ai ; au; oi son diptongos.
ai=ei ò ai en alemán (como en: Ei=huevo).
au=au en alemán (como en: Auge=ojo).
oi=eu en alemán (como en: Teufel=Diablo.)
aĩ es diptongo nasál.

El apóstrofo atrás de una vocal (a'i; a'u; o'i) indica que esta no forma diptongo con la vocal siguiente.

LAS CONSONANTES

Las consonantes aplicadas en los vocabularios de los Chiriguanos y de los Izozós son las siguientes:

b; d; (f no se usa.) g=g en alemán (como en Garten=jardin); h es siempre aspirada como en guaraní; j=j en español (como en jabón); k; (l no se usa) m; n; p; r; s=c en español ante i (como en cielo); t; v=w en alemán (como en Wagen=carro); y=y en Nueva York, es exclusivamente aplicada como consonante; z=z en francés; ch corresponde a la ch en español; sh=j en francés como en je=yo).

La silaba acentuada de los vocablos se indica por medio del acento agudo.

Nota 366 Nord 1. P. 187.
Nota 367. Según Padre Pedro Marban: Arte de la lengua Moxa con su vocabulario y catheciamo. Publicado nuevo por Julio Platzmann. Edición facsimilar. Leipzig 1894.

ESPAÑOL	CHIRIGUANO	IZOZÓ
1. lengua.	tchékû	sékû
2. boca.	tche'iyurú	sedyurú
3. labios		
labio superior.	tchãkua	seapua
labio inferior.	tcherembé	tserémbe
4. diente.	tchena'i	serã'i
5. nariz.	tchénti	sêti
6. ventana de la nariz	tchapúigai	seapia
7. ojo.	tchereza	sercha
8. oreja.	tchenámbi	sendambi
9. orificio de la oreja	tchapuisa	sehapíha
10. frente.	tchesívua	sehíva
11. rostro.	tcherová	serová
12. cabeza.	tchãka	seãká
13. craneo		akãgué
14. cabellos.	tcheá	seagué
15. tonsura	iapitevoká	
16. cejas.	tcherénsapika	senesabika
17. pestañas.	tcheropéa	seropéa
18. barbas.	tcherendivá	
19. mejilla.	tcherovapé	
20. barba.	tchena'íka	serãyikara
21. pescuezo.	tcheayú	seadyú
22. nuca.	tchãata	seatoatí
23. garganta.	tcheaséo	seaseorã
24. hombro.	tcheatiá	seatiá
25. brazo		sedshiua
26. brazo desde el hombro hasta el codo.	tchey!gua	
27. antebrazo.	tchepápi	
28. codo.	tcherendivangá	serendevanga
29. mano.	tcheépo	sepó
30. palma de la mano.	tchepombité	sepopité
31. dedo.	tchempoãka	sepoãká
32. dedo pulgar.	tchempoãka'uasú	sepoakãguasú

ESPAÑOL	CHIRIGUANO	IEOZÓ
33. dedo chico.	tchempoãkara'ĩ	sepoakará'ĩ
37. uña del dedo.	tchepampé	sepoápe
39. parte superior del muslo	tchéú	séú
40. parte inferior del muslo.	tchentimánka	setimatá
41. rodilla.	tchetáva	seta'ua
42. pié.	tchépĩ	sepĩ
43. planta del pié	tchepibíte	sepĩ pité
44. talón	tchepita	sepuitá
45. dedo del pié.	tchepisa	sepiha
45. a. dedo grande del pié		sepihãguahá
47. cuerpo.	tchereté	sereté
48 cadaver.	umanó (?)	omanó (?)
48. a. esqueleto.	ikaueknó	
49. sobaco.	tcherendapevue	serenapigui
50. omoplato.	tchesipé	senyevapika (?)
51. costillas.	tcharûka	seãruká
52. pecho.	tchepĩtiá	sepitiaká
53. teta.	ikambí	ikambí
54. pezón (de hombre)	ikambiínti	sekitá
56. vientre.		sèrié
57. ombligo.	tchepunuá	sèponoá
59. espaldas.	tchekúpe	sekupeprte
60. asentadoras.	tcherévi	setokó
61. pene.		serakua'ĩ
62. piel.	tchepíre	sepire
68. hueso.	tchenkâgue	sekãgué
69. sangre.	tcherugui	seruguí
70. leche.	kambĩtii	kambí
71. vena.		serádshi
73. carne.	tcheroó	seroo
75. corazón.	tchesóngo	
76. higado	tchepĩá	sepiá
77. riñones.	tchepirikiti	ipirikiti
77. lomo.		sekupe

ESPAÑOL	CHIRIGUANO	IZOZÓ
78. pulmón.	tchepitûe	
69. estómago.	tchepiá	sepia
80. tripas.	tchetchûri	setchûri
81. saliva.	tcheréndi	serendi
82. urina.	ikuarukué	
83. sudór.	tchearáku	seria'i
84. lágrima.	tcheresá 'i	sereha'i
85. excremento.	umanyá	sere'ikuá
86. aliento.		sepoayekrij
87. pico de un pajaro.	ínti	iti
88. cola (de un perro).	huguai	huguá'i
89. rabo (de un pajaro).	huguai	huguá'i
90. cola (de un pez)	huguai	huguá'i
91. ala.	ipèpo	ipèpo
92. pluma.	hágue	hagué
93. aleta de pez.		ipèpo
94. espina de pez.	pirakágué	inyarúka
94. a cuero	vakapi (Cuero de vaca)	ipire
95. huevo.	hupia	hopia
95. a. nido.	virara'iti	ha'itî
96. agua	i	i
97. rio.	iguásu	i
97. a. laguna	ipa	iúpá
99. fuego.	tátá	tatá
100. humo.	tatánti	tatati
101. ceniza.	tandímbu	tãdimbû
102. leña.	yepeá	dyepeá
103. cielo	ára	ara
105. nube.	amapíntu	amapitû
106. lluvia	áma	ama
107. niebla	ivuinti	iví(r)ti
108. rocio		isapúi
109. viento.	ivuitu	ivîtû
110. tempestád	ivuitnuasû	

ESPAÑOL	CHIRIGUANO	IBOZÔ
111. relámpago.	amavêra	amavêra
112. trueno	amariápa	arariápa
113. sol.	kuarásî	kuara'ĩ
114. sombra.	kuarasia ; kuaraiá	kuarânga
114. Este.		kuara'ĩ o'ia
116. Norte.		ívitugodsu
117. Oste.		kuara'ĩ o'ikîa
118. Sur.		aradyévî
119. Arco Iris.	dziii	dyîi (r)
120. año.		anyo (Esp.)
123. dia	ára	ara
124. noche.	píntu	pîtu, pîarí
125. mañana.	de'imbóve	
126. mediodia.	kuarajímbite	kuara' mbîte
127. la tarde	kaáru	kâaru
128. media noche		pîarebîte
129. luna.	dyásî	dyásî
132. estrella.	dyasîtáta	dyasitáta
134. Camino de Santiago.		dyasitáta rúgua'i
136. suelo.	ívuí	ívuí
137. tierra.	ívui	ívui
138. campo.	nyúu	nyuû
139. bosque.	kaá	ká
140. cerro.	ivuiti	Ivîti
142. isla.	Iovuerupamba'é	Iakapá'ñ
143. playa.		igaka'imbî (g)
144. cueva.	itakúá	
145. arena.	ivuikuínti	ívikûiti
146. barro.	tuyuú	tudvu
147. rozado.	ivuánki	ambokátu
148. capoera		ambómbomako
148. a. chaco		ko
149. pántano	ivuiasúru	Iviasúru
[illegible]	tapé	tápe

Español	Chiriguano	Izozó
151. piedra	ita	ita
153. sal	dyákî	dyukî
154. hierro	korepoti	hiéro (Esp.)
155. oro	korepotiyu; korepotiyuva'é	
156. plata	korepoti	korepóti
157. pueblo.	tíuta	têta
158. casa	ó	ó
158. a. plaza		oká
159. techo.	opîtió	oapîte
160. puerta	ókye	óke
161. palos de la casa.		okîta
162. pared.	uguémbi	ovapetéa
163. cama, catre.	urapémbî	guirapembî
164. banco.	apîka	apîka; îvîretenda
	tendapîka: banco largo	
165. gancho.		tiá'i
166. estera.	tápo	paritchî
167. hamaca.	kîo	ini
168. mortero.	angûa	ãgûa
169. mano de mortero.	mba'esîka	ba'isóka
170. olla para cocer.	yapépomi	dyapepo
171. pote para agua.	îru	tinâ
171. a. pote grande para chicha.	îrirú	
172. plato.	nyá'e	nyá'e
176. cuchara	kuchara (esp.)	kutchára (esp.)
177. calabaza.	îâkua; îguâiru	îâkua
178. cuya.	îa	îa
180. a. fuente de madera.	îvîiranyá'e	
181. cesta para guardar cosas	mbaerira	asa'idyé
182. bolsa de red para transportar,	anyapoka (con asas) titika (sin asas)	anyapoka
184. hilo.	indimbo	inímbo
185. cordón.	karaguata'aipóea	karaguatátimása

ESPAÑOL	CHIRIGUANO	IZOZÓ
186. lana.	ovètcharágue	mandóshu
187. ovillo.	ovetcharáguaepûa	indíbeupûa
188. huso.	è'l	ôe
190. tortera del huso.	iguámba	ûubegua
191. telár.	tirûtá	tembiápe (?)
192. madera para afirmar los hilos de la trama.	chiûka	ówiráipe
193. aguja.	ynú	dyuuni; dyuugudu: aguja grande
194. palos para producir el fuego.	tata'i	ítirutatá'l
196. yesca.	koragnetayivaitèkue	tata îdyebotéka
198. abanico para fuego.	tapèkua	tapégua (abanico redondo)
199. hacha.	dzil	hochá; dyi (r): hacha chica.
200. manija de hacha.	dzüil	hachair
202. cuchillo.	kiaé	kiae
203. tijeras.		dyetápa
205. piedra para afilar.		ita
206. papél.		tapapire
208. peine.	kívua	kígua
211. canoa.	tchanana (esp.)	kanóa (esp.)
211. a. balsa de madera.	itapá	
212. remo.	ipluká	
214. arco.	uirápá	bíráipa
215. cordón de arco.	uirapánua	guírapá
216. flecha.	uí(j)	kiae ówí
217. punta de madera de la flecha.	ovanti	
218. asta de la flecha.		tokuareuásí
219. plumas de la flecha.		seruvípèpe
220. entalladura de la flecha.	uíinyaya	seruvínanya
221. flecha para pajaros.	sóngo	seóngo'ir
221. a. masa de la flecha para pajaros		songuaka

MBAEOL	CHIRIGUANO	MOBÓ
224. lanza.		ní
225. macana.	ciropungo	mokúna
226. red para pescar	pázz	pázu
229. anzuelo.	pizda	pizda
230. hilo de anzuelo.	pizana	
231. escopeta.		beka
232. polvora.		bekakíl
243. munición.		munición (esp.)
235. poncho.	ané'ie	
238. faja.		kaukná
239. camisa.		kamisa (esp.)
240. calzón		zimbáro
240. a. saco.		saku (esp.)
241. sombrero.	okoudáko	sombrero
242. a. venda de cabeza para hombres.		apikua
243. venda de cabeza para mujeres.		artirki
245. adorno de oreja de oro o de plata.		namirbeula
245. a. tembetá		tembéta
246. anillo	mokkerégua	mokabéra
248. pulsera.	hapikipá	apykapíégua
249. collar.	mbi'ĩ	mbi'ĩ
250. cuenta de vidrio.		ta'ĩkerĩ
252. sandalias.	mbipána	apykapá
253. botines.	sapáta (esp.)	botina (esp.)
254. peleta.		toka
256. flauta.	himbé	pacapána
258. tambór	água	água; tambola: grande tambór
260. baile	sanpatéa (Esp.)	sanpatéa (Esp.)
261. canto	aparaé	kanta (esp.)
263. muñeca	sambiĩhaungá	manyéka (esp.)
264. médico	ipayé	ipáyiva

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
365. [illegible]		[illegible]
366. enfermedad	[illegible]	[illegible]
367. tabaco	[illegible]	[illegible]
368. pipa para fumar	[illegible] (esp.)	
369. cigarro		[illegible] (esp.)
370. Dios	[illegible]	[illegible]
373. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
374. hombre	[illegible]	[illegible]
375. familia	[illegible]	[illegible]
376. hombre-varón		[illegible]
377. marido	[illegible]	[illegible]
378. padre	[illegible]	[illegible]
381. madre	[illegible]	[illegible]
384. niño, criatura		[illegible]
386. hijo	[illegible]	[illegible]
388. niña	[illegible]	[illegible]
389. muchacha	[illegible]	[illegible]
391. hermano mayor	[illegible]	[illegible]
392. hermano menor	[illegible]	[illegible]
393. cuñado: herm. de la esposa	[illegible]	[illegible]
394. hermana mayor	[illegible]	[illegible]
395. hermana menor	[illegible]	[illegible]
397. mejor	[illegible]	[illegible]
398. esposa	[illegible]	
399. muchacha.	[illegible]	[illegible]
400. hija.	[illegible]	[illegible]
403. viuda.	[illegible]	[illegible]
403. a. viuda.	[illegible]	[illegible]
404. tío: hermano del padre	[illegible]	[illegible]
405. tía: hermana de la madre.	[illegible]	[illegible]
310. anciano	[illegible]	
313. abuelo padre del padre.	[illegible]	[illegible]
314. abuela: padre de la madre	[illegible]	[illegible]

español	chiriguano	mosó
313. abuela: madre del padre	tchiyuñ	
314. abuela: madre de la madre	tchiyuñ	
317. cuñado.	ombretiche'kanñ	mavetiche
318. amigo.	tchiñó	oñ?
320. hermiga.	tchanova'tchó	mova'tche; tova'tche
321. Paraguayo.		kóiye
322. negro.		konda'ivad
324. mono.	mañó	mañó
325. mono chillon (cuerpi)		kavelyd
327. mosquitogo.	ondire	ondire
328. pava.	yaguapiria	dyaguapiria
329. tigre.	yagua	dyagua
330. yaguarete		karokañyuni
331. venado.	ouó	ouó
332. ciervo.		guoupytiko
333. s. guazuvira.	ouóikuko	guoióikiko
334. asno, tapir.	ñhuwet	huwet
334. cacyloudo.		kapigaiko
336. agutí.		akuti
338. aperoá.	aperoa	aperoá
339. chancho del monte	taiyóo	taiyoñ
340. cuisinó.	taiñiko	taiñoto
341. lobo de agua.(?)		gua'iriko
342. lobo	d'iro	
343. nutria		aguahd
344. oso hormiguero.	tawi	tawi
345. tamandua mirin.		tawiini
347. tatú pulido.	taiñoua; taiñra tiko	taiñguaua
348. tatú liso.	taiñapiko	taiñoñapiyo
349. tapiti.	tapiti	tapiti
350. cabello.	kavéye	kavelyó
351. hoy.		akiye
352. vaca.	vaka	vakakaeya

español	chiriguano	izozó
353. perro.	yóimbu	ya'imbú
353. a. gato.	mita	mita
354. chanchu.	kúchi	kutchi
355. a. oveja.	ovícha (esp.)	ovéu (esp.)
356. cabra.	kapará; kabará	kovara
357. pajaro.	guiro	guiro
359. arara colorada.		gua'idyara
360. perequito.	mara kana	uraguai
361. loro.	oyóro	udyoro; tál: esp. chico
362. mono.		mikan
363. yacú.		yuku
364. ciervo.	orúhu; tebátcha	urupúa
365. carancará. (carancho)	karakará	karakará
366. avestrúz.	ayándú	ayandú
367. paloma.	pikuándi	vira
368. pato.	ñpe	poni
369. inámbú. (perdiz)		ándumbú
370. gallo.	urukambú	urukambde
371. gallina.	urukúnya	urukunya
372. pez.	piro	hevd'i (piro: Especie particular)
373. caya.	tumbóro	
376. piraña.	pirá'i	pirá'i
380. dorado.		pirádyú
381. yacaré	pa'ítha	pa'ítcha
382. tortuga de río.		karámbú
384. serpiente.	mbó'i	
385. boa constrictor.		mbo'ígudu
386. víbora de cascavel.	mbo'ítúsi	moittui
387. rana.	pinta.	pitá
388. sapo.	kurara	karára
390. lagartija.	teyuíví	tédyu
391. lagarto. Iguana	teyuguáu	tédyuguáú
392. boruga	tázú	tázú

ESPAÑOL	CHIRIGUANO	IZOZÓ
393. termitos.	kupii	kupi
394. casa de termitos.		kupiroga
395. mosca.	mbèru	mbèru
396. mosquito.	yantiû	nyatiu
397. abeja.	ë'iru	tapesûa
398. miel.	è'i	e'i
398. a. cera.	irá'itî	ira'itî
399. avispa.	yurantiranti	e'inuványa; ivîé'i: avispa de tierra
400. langosta.	túku	tukú
401. mariposa.	pána	panapána
402. piojo	tchèkî (j)	sekî
403. nigua	tûû	t(u)û
404. araña.	nyandú	nyandú
405. cangrejo.	tchumbikarámpe	úsa
406. garrapata.	yateú	dyatéu
407. concha.	ínta	ìta
408. caracól.		dyatîtá
409. arbol.	ivira	îvíra
410. hoja.	hókî; ivirarókî	hógue
411. rama.		nya'iraka
411. a. madera.	ivuiráne (?)	iviráõye'opa : tabla
412. cascara de arbol.	ivuirapire	ivirapire
413. raiz.	ivuirarâpo	iviraháp o
414. espina.	yuránti	dyúu
415. semilla.	tèminte	ivirahã
416. resina.	piárî	
417. flor.	mbèpótî	ipótî
418. fruta.	îva	ivira îa
419. pasto.	kapii	kapiáta
420. maiz.	avatí	avati
421. mandioca brava.	mandiporópî	
422. mandioca utilis.	mandió	mandió; mandio móha: otra esp.

ESPAÑOL	CHIRIGUANO	IZÔZO
423. raiz de mandioca.	mandiorapo	mandiohapo
424. harina de mandioca.	mandyokui	mbandyokúi
425. yerba mate.	yerva (Esp.)	yerba (Esp.)
426. chicha.	kā'ui	kā'ui (chicha. de maiz) mandiokā ūi (chicha de mandioca
427. banana	bakova	bakóva
428. batata.	yètij	dyetī
430. haba.	kambantī	kambondá
431. mani	mandúvi	mbúnduvi
432. achiote (urucú).	uruků	uruků
434. algarroba		ī guopó
434. a. palo santo.		ivīra'ita
435. coco.		guareno
436. caranday.	karandu'ī	karanda'ī
438. pimienta.		pimienta (esp.)
439. algodón.	bandíyů	mbandídshů
440. ananas (piña).		pinya (Esp.)
443. arroz.	áro (Esp.)	aró (Esp.)
443. a. caraguatá.	kurukuāta	karaguata
444. tacuara.		takuará
444. a. caña dulce.	tankuaneé	takuaré
445. 1.	pentē'ī ; penti	mompètī
446. 2.	mokō'ī	mokoi
447. 3.	mbapui	mboapī
448. 4.	irundi	irondī
449. 5.	pandèpo	pandepó
450. 6.	óva	óva
451. 7.	tchiú	siu
451. 8.	húri	hóri
453. 9.	tchá'ů	chá'u
454. 10.	opayandépo	panyadépo
11.		mompètī ierambogua
12.		mokoi ierambogua

ESPAÑOL	CHIRIGUANO	IZÓZÓ
13.		mboapi ierambogua
14.		irundi ierambogua
15.		pandépo ierambogua
16.		ova'ierambogua
17.		siu ierambogua
18.		huri ierambogua
19.		cha'u ierambogua
455. 20.	monko'ipayandèpo	mokoipayanépo
458. poco.	mitchi	mitchi
459. mucho.	bèta.	heta.
460. medio, mitad.		mbitérupi
461. lleno.	tinié	tiníema
462. todos.		opareve
463. yo.	tcheé	se
mi.		se
464. tu.	ndeé	nde
tu. (pos.)		nde
467. nosotros.	nyandé; oré	nyande (incl.)ore excl.)
468. vosotros.	peé	
469. grande.	tuicha	tuicha
470. chico.	michi	mitchi
471. alto.	ipukú	ipúkua
472. hondo.	ipipukú	ipipukú
473. largo.		ipukuva
474. ancho.	ipilvuasú	ipiguásu
475. gordo.	ikira	ikiraguásu
476. flaco, delgado.	ipó'i	ipiruva
477. alegre.	horikatu	horikátu
477. a. triste.	ipiatiti	ipiamboá'i
478. pesado.	ipo'i	ipó'iva
479. liviano.	uvuèvi(j)	ovevuivua
480. viejo.	indèchi	indetchi
481. joven.	ta'irosú	indetchiva
482. estrecho.		ipirmiva

ESPAÑOL	CHIRIGUANO	IZOZÓ
483. redondo.	yapuá	dyapûava
484. frio.	ro ĩ	iré'ĩ
485. caliente.	hakú	hakûve
486. seco.	untini	hotinima
487. humide.	yanki	tigue
488. podrido.	hûû	itcheńmbi
489. sano.		ikávi
490. enfermo.	huûá	ímba'irasij
491. muerto.	umanó	umáno
492. ciego.	hesáa	hesemba'é
493. sordo.	iapĩsaá	iyapĩsaba'e
494. n.udo.		úpa
495. manco.	ikóntcho	ikõtchova
496. embaraza.		ipurûava
497. bueno.	ikavi	iplakávive
498. lindo.	imponá	ikavi
499. valiente.		hatãgátuve
501. malo.	ipochĩ	
502. feo.	ikaviá	
503. estupido.		oikośa
504. medroso.		okídye
505. sucio.	ikĩa	ikéá
506. oscuro.	pitumimbi	pĩtomimbi
507. claro.	hèsapé	hembipekata
508. blanco	tĩi	tiive'i
509. negro.	huû	huûve
510. colorado.	pi(n)tá	pĩtava
511. amarillo.	iyú	idyuve
512. azul.	hóvuĩ	hóvuiva
513. verde.	hóvuĩ	hóvuiva
514. ayer.	koárumo (?)	kóhema
515. anteayer.	koárumo'irũgue	kohéramó
516. mañana.	kuridye	plareve
517. hoy.	anyáve	kocáre

ESPAÑOL	CHIRIGUANO	IZÓZÓ
519. ahora.		aandyáve
520. en seguida.	ataitema	
522. a la derecha.	kotí(j)	seukátu
523. a la izquierda.	kuakótĩ	seasú
524. aquí.		koapé
526. allá.		peapé
527. lejos.		mombírĩ
528. largo tiempo.		Imama
528. a. tarde		kăruma
529. sí.	hoó	ene'i
530. no	aipotaá	adyupotá (?)
531. adelante.	cherononde	tendónde
532. atrás.	cheraikuekotĩ	ta'ijkue
534. arriba.		Ivate
536. encima.		iyárambo
537. abajo		ignipe
539. adentro.		hapípe
548. vivir		aikovénye
540. andar.	aguatá	aguatá
550. vamos		dyahá
551. correr.	asi	esuij
551. a. saltar.	asukueé	
552. venir.	aiyú	adyú
553. volver.		adyudyé'ijta
554. quedar.	apĩta	apüitá
556. volar.	avevé	ovevé
557. estar a pié.		adyimbé'i
558. levantarse.		epúi
559. estar sentado	avnápĩ	egnapĩ
560. caír.	aá	
564. sentir.		adyandu
565. ver.	aètcha	a(t)chá
566. oír.	ayándu	ahendú
567. oler.	aéntu	aentú

ESPAÑOL	CHIRIGUANO	IZOZÓ
568. alegrarse.		aviá
569. estar triste,		ndavia'i
570. temer.		akidye
571. llorar	ayaé	adya'ié
572. reir.	apuka	apuká
573. respirar.		sepitué
574. toser.	cheynú	seuú
575. bostezar.	airupéka	serope'i
576. estornudar	cheátie	seatchie
577. cagar.		amanyá
578. orinar		akuarú; atchivi
579. comer.	akarú	akarú
580. beber.	ha'ú	ïha'uta
581. masticar.		dyaitchuú
581. a. fumar		tapetimbo
582. tener hambre	cheyumba'i	senyimbea'é
583. tener sed.	cheué	se'ué
584. dormir.	akyetamá	akemá
575. dormir con mujer		edyuyaké
586. tomar baño.	aya'ú	adya'ú
586. a. nadar.	a'ïtá'i	a'ïtá'i
587. morir.	amánu	ománoma
588. matar.	uyuká	odyúká
591. relatar.		ambombé'u
592. hablar.	ayemingetá	nyanyomomiari
593. cantar.	utairári	rokáta
594. llamar.		roení
595. bailar.	usapatéa (Esp.)	rosapatéa (Esp.)
596. querer.	chea'ipotá	a'ipota
598. hacer.	cheaiapotá	adyapó
599. agarrar.		e'ipisï
600. traer.	tchearú	erú
601. atar.		enyapïti (evirare)

ESPAÑOL	CHIRIGUANO	IZOZÓ
603. tocar música.		embopû
604. echar		odyapakuá
606. encender.		odyatapî
607. dar.		amé
608. pegar, golpear.	okuá	ainupá
609. trabajar.	umbaapó	amboapó
610. jugar.	nyuvánga	adyuanga
611. coser.		omba embovivî
611. a. cocer.	o'iyá	opopuma
612. tejer.	baapoa	ombaapó
613. lavar.	aputukú	omba'epotúka
614. moler.	aiyosó	omba'esó
615. cortar.	aiasiá	eyaseá
616. afilar.	aimbeé	e'imbeé
617. pescar.		apindapó
618. cazar.		dyahadyadyukabaé: vamos a cazar.
619. flechar.		dyadyayuka ovuîpé
621. pintar.	cheamimpîta	odyegná

Para completar los dos vocabularios apuntados por mi de los Chiriguanos é Izozós tengo que mencionar todavia algunas palabras de los Chiriguanos y Chanés las que se encuentran dispersas en el texto de las publicaciones citodas de Erland v. Nordenskiöld. El alfabeto aplicado por Nordenskiöld ha sido conservado en la apuntación de estas palabras.

tierra. salada.	yukiu
las dos estrellas más grandes en el Centauro.	yánduipoy.
Venus.	coemilla.
Orion.	húirayúasa.
Pleyadas.	ychu
La Cruz del Sud.	yánduinyaka. (Chané)
parte de la via láctea cerca de la cruz del Sud.	yandurape.
aerolito.	baerendi.
resina especiál para barnizar las vasijas de barro cocido.	taraviruti.

rancho para cazadores.	tocay.
palitos para producir fuego.	tatay.
palo como utensilio de plantar.	carúmpa.
boleadora.	churima.
vasija para chicha.	yambuy.
chicha buena	cangui
chicha envenenada.	bád-dyási.
plato de plata.	cagua.
disco para el labio	tembeta
camisa de poncho para fiestas.	tirucumbai
vestido para mujeres (tipoy).	tiru,
mechón de los caciques.	yattira.
pértiga adornada con un penacho de plumas de avestrúz para los caciques.	yandugua
bastón entallado con figuras para los caciques.	iguirape.
pelota blanca para golpear con la cabeza.	toki
juego con pelota golpeando con la cabeza.	toki. (Chané del Parapití).
juego de pelota golpeando con palo o con raqueta.	táca. (Chané del Parapití).
juego de bolo, de las mujeres.	itarapóa. (Chiriguano en Tihuipa) tocoróre. (Chané del Parapití).
juego con flechas provistas de marlo de maiz.	sóuki. (Muchachos del Parapití).
juego con dos palitos	huirahuahua. (Muchachos de los Chanés del Parapití).
juego con palitos derribando un botón de una piedra.	paraná.
juego con dados.	daro. (esp. Muchachos Chiriguanos en el valle de Caipipendi).
juego con cuatro tablitas	chúcaráy. (Chiriguano). chunquánti. (Chané).
juego con palitos.	tsúcareta.
palitos del juego «tsúcareta».	máma.
ceremonia de menstruación de las mozas.	yimundia.

hombre.	ava.
mujer.	cuña.
hechicero bueno.	ipáye.
hechicero malo.	ipáyepótchi.
grande espiritu	añatunpa.
espiritu.	tunpa.
el muerto.	aña.
pueblo de los muertos.	aguararenta.
planta esp.	yúag.
fruta del algarroba.	mä.
samuu. (arbol)	samuo.
arbol esp.	urunday
planta esp.	supua.
semilla de una planta empleada para los cabellos.	nyantéra.
planta esp.	ikuahuasu
melon esp.	anday.
tigre.	yahuéte.
puma.	yahuapinta.
gato del monte. (grande)	embaracaya.
viscacha. (esp. chica; Langostomus)	tacumbocumba.
sorro.	agara.
murcielago.	andira.
tatú esp.	taturapua.
avestrúz.	yándu.
condor blanco.	ururuti
golondrina.	máchurupimpi
caracará.	kara-kara.
colibri.	chinú.
deferentes especies de aves:	urapua; tiu; choe; churincui; tayuyu; kése-kese; choncho; aragua; tavatán; toste; huapi; húiram.
boya grande	boybuasu.
tortuga.	carumbe
mosca.	mberu.
pulga.	tuáta.

garrapata.	yatáu.
hormiga esp.	isáu.
escarabajo esp.	nyákira
escarabajo esp.	tikitikiru

LITERATURA SOBRE LOS CHIRIGUANOS Y CHANÉS Y SU HISTORIA

Annua de la Compañia de Jhesus. 1596. (Relaciones Geográficas de Indias. Tomo II. Según Moreno II. p. 320)

Annuae litterae Societatis Jesu Anni 1605 ad Patres et Fratres eiusdem Societatis Duaci 1618. Según Métraux.

Auto de la Real Audiencia en que se toma resolución de la guerra que se ha de hacer a los Chiriguanaes. 1583. (Exposición Mujia Anexo II. Según Moreno II p. 321.)

Bertoni, Dr. Moises Santiago: La Civilización Guaraní. Parte I. Etnologia. (Descripción fisica, economica y social del Paraguay) Puerto Bertoni. 1922.

Campana, Dominico del: Notizie intorno ai Cirigunni. (Archivo per l'antropologia e la etnologia. Vol 32. Florenze 1902. pp. 17—139.

Cardús, José: Las Misiones franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia. Bacelona 1886.

Carta de D. Gabriel Paniagua de Loayza a la Real Audiencia. 1584. (Exposición de Mujia. Anexo II. Según Moreno II. p. 319.)

Carta de Gabriel Paniagua de Loayza. 1584. (Juicio de limites entre el Perú y Bolivia. Prueba Peruana por V. Maurtua. Tomo II. Según Moreno II. p. 320.)

Carta de D. Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa sobre los Chiriguanós. 1584. (Exposición de Mujia. Según Moreno II. p. 322.

Carta. de Hernan Diez. 1583. (Exposición Mujia. Según Moreno II. p. 322.)

Carta del Licenciado Cepeda dando cuenta de la guerra a los Chiriguanos encomendada a Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa Gobernadór de Santa Cruz y al Maestre de Campo Fernando de Cazoria por Tomina y a Luis de Fuentes por Tarija. 1583. (Exposición Mujia. Según Moreno II. p. 321.)

Carta del Vicario de Tarija. 1778. (Archivo Gral. de Indias. Según Moreno II. p. 325.)

Certificación del escribano Mosquera. 1573. (Exposición Mujia. Según Moreno. II. p. 322.)

Charlevoix. François-Xavier: Historia du Paraguay. Paris 1757.

Chomé, Ignace: Lettre du Pére Ignace Chomé. (Lettres édificantes et curieuse. Nouvelle édition. T. 8. Paris 1781.)

Church. George: Aborigines of South America. London 1912, Editado por Clemente R. Markham del manuscrito no acabado, dejado por el autor al morir.

Cubo, Bernabé: Historia del nuevo mundo. Tomo IV. Sevilla 1895. (Sociedad de bibliófilos andaluces. Según Nordenskiöld.)

Confesión de Blas Negro. 1585. (Exposición de Mujia. Según Moreno II. p. 322.

8: Schmidt SF10 Chiriguano

Coni, Emilio A.: Los Guaranies y el antiguo Tucumán. (Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. 2 serie, sección II. t. II. 1925.

Corrado, Fr. Alejandro M.: El Colegio Franciscano de Tarija y sus misiones. Quaracchi 1884.

Declaración de Juan Picon. 1585. (Exposición Mujia. Anexo II. Según Moreno II. p. 327.

Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español Chiriguano, conpilado teniendo á la vista diversos manuscritos de antiguos Misioneros del Apostolico Colegio de Santa Maria de los Angeles de Tarija y particularmente el Diccionario Chiriguano etimológico del R. P. Doroteo Giannechini por los Padres Santiago Romano y Hermano Cattunar, alumnos del mismo Colegio. Tarija (Bolivia) 1916,

Dictamen del Fiscal. 1778. (Archivo Gral. de Indias. Según Moreno II. p. 325.

Dobrizhoffer, Martino: Historia de Abipones. Viennae 1784 III vol.

En alemán: Geschichte der Abiponer. Traducción por A. Keil. 3 Bde. Wien. 1783-84.

En ingles: An account of the Abipones.—London 1821 3 Vol.

Dominguez, Manuel: El Chaco. (Revista del Instituto Paraguayo. Año VI. N. 3 Asunción 1904.

Fragmentos pertenientes de una carta del Virrey Don Luis de Velazco. 1502. (Exposición Mujia. Según Moreno II. p. 321.

Fröhlin, Otto und Nordenskiöld. Über Zwirnen und Spinnen bei den Indianern Südamericas. (Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps—och Vitterhetssamhälles Handlingar Göteborg 1918.)

Gandia Enrique de: Historia del Gran Chaco. Madrid 1929.

Garay, Blas: Colección de documentos relativos á la historia de América y particularmente á la historia del Paraguay. Asunción 1889.

Garcilasso de la Vega: Comentarios reales que tratan del origen de los Incas Lisboa, 1609.

Garcilaso de la Vega: Los comentarios reales de los Incas. Colección de historiadores clasicos del Perú. T. I—IV. Lima 1919.

Guevara: Historia del Paraguay, Rio de la Plata y Tucumán. Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de las Provincia del Rio de la Plata, publicada por Pedro de Angelis, t. II, pp. 29—172. Buenos Aires 1910.

Guzman, Ruy Diaz de: Historia Argentina del descubrimiento, población y conquista de Rio de la Plata. 1612. (Colección de obras y documentos..... por Pedro de Angelis. Vol. I. Buenos Aires 1836.)

Guzmán, Ruy Diaz de: La Argentina. Historia de las Provincias del Rio de la Plata. (Anales de la Biblioteca Buenos Aires. T. X, 1914, pp. I 246. Edición critica de P. Groussak.)

Hernández, Pedro: Comentario de Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca en Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, naufragios y comentarios. Madrid. Edición Calpe 1922. pp. 150—368.

Hervás: Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas y enumeración, división y clases de estas según la diversidad de sus idiomas y dialectos. 6 tomos. 1800—1805. Tomo I: Lenguas y naciones americanas. Madrid 1800.

Huonder. Die Völkergruppierung in Gran Chaco im 18. Jahrhundert. (Globus Bd 81. 1902).

Información de Iñigo de Ayala. 1571. (Exposición Mujia. Según Moreno II. p. 321).

Instrucciones del Virrey al Capitán Juan Pérez de Zurita para el gobierno de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. 1571. (Exposición Mujia. Según Moreno II.)

Jolia. Saggio sulla storia naturale della provincia del Gran Chaco. Faenza 1789.

Kersten. Dr. Indwig. Die Indianerstämme des Gran Chaco bis zun Ausgange des 18. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zus historichen Ethnographie Südamerikas (Internat. Archiv für Ethnogr. Leyden. Tomo XVII. 1904.

Krickeberg. Walter: Amerika. (En: Illustrierte Völkerkunde von Georg Buschan. Stuttgart 1910.)

Lehmann-Nitsche, Robert: Estudios Antropológicos sobre los Chiriguanos, Chorotes, Matacos y Tobas. (Anales del Museo de la Plata. T. I. Segunda serie. Buenos Aires 1908.

Lehmann-Nitsche, R. La astronomia de los Chiriguanos. (Mitología Sudamericana VIII. Rev. del Museo de la Plata, t. XXVIII. Buenos Aires 1924.

Linné, Sigwald: The technique of South American Ceramics. (Göteborgs Kungl vetenskaps och vitterhets-samhälles handlingar. Fjärde följden Band 29 N. 5. Göteborg 1925.)

Lizarraga, Fr. Reginaldo de: Descripción colonial. Biblioteca argentina. Tomo XIII y XIV. Buenos Aires 1916.

Lozano, Pedro: Descripción chorographica del terreno, rios, arboles y animales. de las dilatisimas provincias del Gran Chaco, Gualamba: y de los ritos y costumbres de las innumerables naciones bárbaras e infieles que le habitan. Cordoba 1733.

Matienzo, Carta del Licenciado Matienzo a S. M, sobre los Chiriguanaes, visitas y otros asuntos. 1561. (Archivo de Indias. En: Juicio de limites entre Peru y Bolivia: Prueba Peruana presentada al gobierno de la República Argentina por Victor M. Maurtua. Barcelona. 1906. Vol. II.)

Means, Philip Ainsworth: A note on the Guarani invasions of the Inca Empire. (The Geographical Review. New York. 1937.)

Métraux, Alfredo: Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano. (Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tomo. I. Entrega 3. pp. 295-493. Tucumán.) Citado: Métraux I.

Métraux, Alfredo: Les hommes-dieux chez les Chiriguano et dans l'Amérique de Sud. (En Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tomo II. Entrega I. Tucumán 1931. pp. 61-91)

Métraux, Alfredo: Migrations historiques des Tupi-guarani. (Journal de la Société de Américanistes de Paris, nouvelle série, t. XIX. 1927. pp. 1-45.)

Mora, Bartholomé de: Relación y breve noticia de lo sucedido en la guerra de Chiriguanos que se ha hecho este año de 1729 por orden del señor virrey y real audiencia de Chuquisaca. Manuscrito inédito publicado por el

profesor A. Posnansky, con introducción y notas del doctor A. Métraux. (Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tomo II. Entrega I. Tucumán. 1931. pp. 101-132.)

Moreno, Fulgencio R.: Réplica a la exposición del señor Ministro de Bolivia Dr. Don Ricardo Mujia por el Plenipotenciario del Paraguay Don Fulgencio R. Moreno. (Ministerio de Relaciónes Exteriores. Cuestión de Limites con Bolivia. Negociaciones diplomáticas. 1915-1917. Segunda Edición. Tomo II. Asunción 1929.) Citado: Moreno II.

Mujia. Dr. Ricardo: Bolivia-Paraguay. 2 vol. (Según Moreno.)

Nino, Bernardino de: Etnografía Chiriguana. La Paz. 1912.

Nordenskiöld, Erland: Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika. Stockholm 1915.

Nordenskiöld, Erland: Indianlif i El Gran Chaco (Syd Amerika). Stockholm. 1910. Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco (Südamerika). Leipzig. 1912. (Citado: Nord. I.)

Nordenskiöld, Erland: The changes in the material culture of two indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative ethnographical studies. 2. Göteborg 1920. Citado: Nord. II.)

Nordenskiöld, Erland: Eine geographische und ethnographische Analyse der materiellen Kultur zweier Indianerstämme in el Gran Chaco. (Südamerika.) Vergleichende ethnographische Forschungen. 1. Göteborg. 1918. (Citado: Nord. III.)

Nordenskiöld, Erland: The Guarani invasión of the Inca Empire in the sixteenth century: An historical Indian migration. (The Geographical Review. Vol. 4. New York. 1917.)

Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Alvar: Relación de los naufragios y comentarios. Madrid. 1906. (Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia de América. T. 5-6. First edition Valladolid. 1555.)

Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Alvar. Documentos Historicos: Los comentarios de Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca; en Revista del Instituto Paraguayo. Año IV. 1902.

Nusser—Asport: Die Stämme der östlichen Indianer-Grenze in Bolivien. (Globus Bd. 71. 1897.)

D'Orbigny, Alcide: L'homme Américain. Paris. 1839.

Outes, Felix F.: La Cerámica Chiriguana. (Revista del Museo de La Plata. Tomo XVI. (2 Serie, t. III.) Buenos Aires. 1909.)

Parecer del Licenciado Pedro Ramirez. 1573. (Exposición Mujia. Anexo II. Según Moreno II. p. 328.)

Parecer de Don Salvador Pacit. 1778. (Archivo de Indias. Según Moreno II. p. 325.)

Real Cédula al Virrey del Perú sobre Poblaciones en los Chiriguanaes. 1590. (Exposición Mujia. Según Moreno II. p. 321.

Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala acerca de los descubrimientos que iba haciendo cuando fué navegando Paraguay arriba por orden del gobernador Cabeza de Vaca, desde el 18 de diciembre de 1542. (Anales de la Biblioteca. Buenos Aires, t. VIII. 1912. p. p. 337-352.

Relación de la Ciudad de Santa Cruz de la Sierra por su Gobernador Juan Pé-

rez de Zorita. (Relaciones Geográficas de Indias y Exposición Mujia Anexo I. Según Moreno II. p. 320.)

Relación de la Ciudad de Santa Cruz, por su Gobernador Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa. (Relaciones Geográficas de Indias y Exposición Mujia. Anexo I. Según Moreno II. p. 320.)

Relación de la Ciudad y Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra y Cordillera de los Chiriguanaes y guerra de la provincia de Vitupué que hizo el gobernador don Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa y el Maestre de campo general Fernando de Cacorla Narvaez. (Exposición Mujia. Anexo II. Según Moreno II. p. 321.)

Relación de la jornada del Virrey Toledo a los Chiriguanos. 1574. (Exposición Mujia. Anexo II. Según Moreno II. p. 319.)

Relación del Corregidor de Tomina, Don Juan Arce de Alvendin. 1618. (P. Groussac, Anales de la Biblioteca. TomoIX. Según Moreno II. p. 325.)

Relación del Padre Alcaya. (Juicio de limites entre Perú y Bolivia. Prueba Peruana por V. Maurtua. Según Moreno II. p. 320.)

Relación que se va tomando por el descubrimiento de los Moxos. (Juicio de limites entre Perú y Bolivia. Prueba Peruana por V. Maurtua. Tomo II. Según Moreno II. p. 320.)

Relación sobre asaltos de Indios y Peligro en que están las Haciendas de la Ciudad de la Plata. 1567. (Colección Garay. Según Moreno II. p. 320.)

Relación sobre el estado de guerra de los indios Chiriguanos. 1585. (Exposición Mujia. Anexo II. Según Moreno I. p. 320.

Relacion verdadera del asiento de Santa Cruz de la Sierra, limites y comarcas della, Rio de la Plata y el de Y-Guapay e Sierras del Piru en las provincias de los Charcas, para el exmo. Señór Don Francisco de Toledo Visorey del Pirú. (En Relaciones geográficas. Madrid 1885. Vol. 2.)

Rosen, Count Eric v.: Ethnographical research work during the Swedish Chaco-Cordillera-Expedition. 1901-1902. Stockholm. 1924.

Sarmiento de Gamboa, Pedro: Geschichte des Inkareiches. Edit. por Richard Pietschmann. (Abhand. der K. Gesel. der Wiss. zu Göttingen. Philol. Hist. Klasse. N. 8. Vol. 6. 1906.

Serrano y Sanz, Manuel: Los indios Chiriguanos. (Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos. T. 2. Madrid 1898.

Techo: Historia Provinciae Paraguariae Societatis Jesu, etc. Lièges. 1673. (Translation in Vol. 4 of Churchill's «A Colection of Voyages and Travels,» London 1732.

Ten Kate, H.: Matériaux pour servir a l'anthropologie des indieus de la Republique Argentine. (Revista del Museo de La Plata. Vol. 12. La Plata 1904.)

Viedma, Francisco de: Descripción de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra, (Colección Angelis. T. 3. Buenos Aires 1836. Escrito 1793.)

Yrala, Domingo de: Carta de Domingo de Yrala a S. M. dando extensa cuenta del estado de las provincias del Rio de la Plata, prisión de Cabeza de Vaca etc. 1545. (En: Relación de los naufragios y comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca. Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la Historia de América. Vol. VI. Madrid 1906.

Schwedenbibl I-4,(1906-1908, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 114

Indians in the years 1908, 1909 and 1913, and spent in all 4 to 5 months studying them. In my book »Indianlif» I gave a popular account of them as I got to know them during the Hermmarck expedition in 1908 and 1909. In my last book of travel »Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika» there is some information about the Chiriguano. I have brought home to Sweden from the Chiriguano and Chané about 1500 articles which are now in the Riksmuseum at Stockholm and in the Gothenburg Museum. In the Geographical Review I wrote a short article on the migrations of the Chiriguano Indians.

C Ce [126]

C Ce 12 114

A close study of the Chiriguano and Chané civilization by the ethno-geographical method affords points of especial interest, since their mode of life is rather well known, and we are able to trace their history back to the beginning of the 16th century. I have also collected archaeological material from their region. At first I was minded to give an account of this, too, in the present work. I decided, however, that it would be better here only to mention individual finds by the way, and to leave the archaeological material for another publication in which I shall be able also to publish certain archaeological finds made in other parts of Bolivia. This for purely practical reasons.

C Ce 121

I will here endeavour to make clear how the Guarani-speaking Chiriguano's and the Guaranized Chanés' civilization are composed, what culture-elements they have got from the Whites and from the Mountain civilization in the west, what each brought to the common stock and what they possibly obtained from other quarters.

In this analysis of Chiriguano and Chané manners and customs, I do not intend properly to examine the question as to whence these Indians came to their present abodes. Broadly speaking we know that already. Respecting the Chiriguano migrations there are historical documents extant which evidently show that it was not until the beginning of the 16th century that these Indians conquered

C 175 648 167

/295/ Preface

114 In the chapters to follow, I propose to publish part of the
● 12 results obtained in the course of the expedition that I undertook in the Bolivian and Argentinian Chaco in my capacity as director of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Tucumán.

114 This expedition took place from February to June, 1929.
[101] Its itinerary was the following: Having left Tucumán, I went by railroad to La Quiaca where I stayed for several days, making observations on the more or less half-breed natives of the region. From La Quiaca I went to Tarija, where I remained longer than I might have wished because of the suspicions my trip raised at the time of the Paraguayan-Bolivian conflict.

114 After a 15-day stop I left Tarija to reach the Chiriguano
101 tolderías of the upper Pilcomayo. I crossed the village of Santa
103 Ana, then the Alta del Cóndor, the Narvaez River, the post of San Diego, passed five kilometers from San Luis (Entre-Ríos) to stop at the Cuesta de San Simon, where I found the first Chiriguano. Once having crossed the Cuesta de San Simón I quickly reached the Salado River, then the Chiriguano villages of Timboy
[126] (Saladito). It was there that I made my best acquisitions of pottery and where I collected the oldest objects. The inhabitants
[178] of these rancherías, who live relatively far from the highway from Argentina to Santa Cruz, have preserved the traditions and culture of their ancestors better than their racial brothers have. From Saladito I reached the village of Itasiti and then Salado Grande,
[361] in order /296/ to reach the Pilcomayo at the confluence with the Salado. There, the Chiriguano villages are large and numerous. The most interesting are those of Ñawirenda, Ibopeytí, and Tumbía.

After stopping for some time in this place, I continued my trip toward Huacaya and the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo.

In one day I went from Boicovo to Cuevo, going by way of the mission of Santa Rosa.

[199] From Cuevo on I was in the mission of Ivu, which is without
[178] doubt the one where the old Chiriguano customs have undergone the fewest modifications.

/296 cont./

114 101 103 From Cuevo I left for the northwest toward the Parapiti River region. I crossed this river near Pipi. After stopping in that village, I followed an Indian path which led me to Caurari, to the home of my good friend Captain Kamapadyi. I spent a week with him and left him only to explore the whole Caipipendi valley, visiting all the Indian villages one after another. At Caipipendi itself I made fruitful excavations and collected interesting myths.

The limit of my trip toward the north was the little city of Charagua.

I devoted the last part of my trip to more or less long stays in the Franciscan missions of Tarairi, Tigüipa, Macharetí, and Ivo.

Before going back to Argentina I made an excursion into the Iguembé valley as far as the village of Masavi.

114 127 The last two weeks of my expedition were devoted to the study of the Chané Indians who live near Aguaray in the Salta Chaco (Argentine Republic).

Previously I had been obliged, for various reasons, to stay at Oran for a month. I took advantage of this to make collections among the Ashluslay Indians who come there for the sugar-cane harvest.

In this volume I shall publish only the results of my expedition which bring new facts and details to light. Therefore the chapters I devote to the Chiriguano must not be considered an exhaustive study of their culture, but simply as a contribution. Chiriguano culture has been the subject of four important works, two of which are by ethnographers of great authority (1). /297/

1. Nordenskiöld (2, 5, and 10) and Rowe (1) /the underlined numbers following an author's name refer to the boldface numbers in the bibliography/. Campana's monograph on the Chiriguano, which I shall often have occasion to cite, is only a recompilation and reorganization of the manuscript notes left by the Italian missionary, the Reverend Father Dominco Giannechini. This work is excellent in many respects. As for the book of the Reverend

/SP1 cont./

Father Bernardino de Nino. It is only a translation of Campana's article, filled out with copious borrowings from Conzdr's work. Nevertheless the Reverend Father Bernardino de Nino added many very interesting details to the texts that he reproduces, which make consultation of his Etnografía chiriguana indispensable.

My aim was to complete the work of my predecessors and to get together for the Museum of Tucumán a collection which would be truly representative of the last of the cultures which formerly flourished within the limits of the old gobernación of Tucumán. My Chiriguano collections, along with those collected by Nordenskiöld, are, I believe, the most complete ones from this region that exist in the world. They bear witness, I hope, to the richness of this area from an ethnographic point of view, a richness which has been left unexploited and which will disappear in a few years.

May these pages demonstrate that every culture is a whole complex, so varied, that no ethnographer can study all its details in the course of a single trip. It is not useless to go back where others have preceded you, for, whatever their merits may have been, the material cannot be exhausted in one time.

There remains the paying of a debt of gratitude by thanking Doctor J. B. Terán and Doctor J. Heller, who, as rector and vice-rector of the University of Tucumán, gave me the means to bring about this trip. The new rector of the University, Doctor J. Prebisch, granted me the sizable funds which publication of the results of this expedition required and supported constantly the Revue d'Ethnologie of my Institute. I am eager to make known to him here how grateful I am.

I wish to express my thanks again to all those who helped me in the course of my trips first and foremost the Franciscan missionaries who gave me generous hospitality and helped me as much as possible; my debt is particularly great to the Reverend Father Jacundo Ferrari, thanks to whom I was able to carry out without damage the transportation of my collections from the upper Pilcomayo to Cuevas; to Father Angiuoni who received me so frequently in his Ivo mission. Neither do I wish to forget Fathers

/299/

First Part

Material Culture

To Eva who was my traveling companion.

Introduction

•121 For anyone who wants to verify experimentally, if I may say so, the value of the methods which are being adopted in modern ethnography, for anyone who wishes to judge the factors which condition the formation and evolution of civilizations, there is no better field than the study of the Chiriguano Indians.

We know where they came from, the period when they formed a new nation, the populations with which they mingled or were in contact, the influences they underwent and their duration, and finally we are acquainted with the vicissitudes of their history: in a word, we can be present at the formation and development of this people from their origin to their present decline, an experience unique in South America, rare perhaps elsewhere, and in any case rich in instruction.

Adaptation to the environment, borrowing of new cultural elements, abandonment of traditions and techniques, somatic and linguistic changes, so many problems that the Chiriguano civilization poses and that the historical documents and the collections permit solving or at least clarifying.

1778 1178 Chiriguano culture is composed of elements of different origins, borrowed from tribes which had only a little in common with one another. It involves an old Guarani substratum, transformed and entirely renewed by the contribution of the Arawak culture of the Chané, which itself had been enriched and modified by the influence of the Andean populations of present-day southern Bolivia. A common environment and long proximity allowed many a technique and industry of the primitive Indians of the Chaco to be adopted and assimilated by the Chiriguano. The importance of this third component is minimal.

/299 cont./

177 178 An analysis of Chiriguano culture (see Nordenskiöld, 10, pp. 196-213) makes manifest the heterogeneity which the history of the tribe caused to be suspected a priori. The pottery, basketry, weapons, and furniture almost constantly present disparate characteristics in which are expressed this play of influences, this intermixture of races and ideas of which the present-day culture of the Chiriguano is the product.

/300/ The ethnographer feels all the more at ease in his analysis when at every step history confirms or invalidates the findings to which his comparative work leads him. Thus he walks on firm ground, and the results he has acquired in this particular domain will justify his method when he uses it to solve problems whose data are less complete.

181 The Chiriguano, in more than one respect, deserve to hold a preponderant place in the ethnography of South America. They have played an important role in the history of Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina; their civilization has been brilliant and has maintained itself intact almost until our time; besides, they are remarkably endowed from the point of view of character and intelligence. To these qualifications they add that of having built up their civilization, so to say, before our very eyes and of offering to science a field where it moves with some sureness.

In order to understand the point of view I have tried to put forward in this introduction, it is indispensable to know, in its main lines, the early history of these Indians.

Chapter I

000 Historical Outline of the Formation of the Chiriguano Nation

/Eight lines of poetry in Spanish, from Barco Centenera, La Argentina, pp. 185-186, are omitted in the translation./

121 175 My intention is not to recount the history of the Chiriguano from the 16th century to today insofar as we can know it from official documents and chronicles. This work has been done and generally well done (Corrado; Kersten, pp. 66-69; Serrano y Sanz; Nordenskiöld, 7 and 8, pp. 45-58; Gandía, 2, pp. 25-56 and id., 3, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.).

/300 cont./

and id., 1, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.). I shall limit myself to tracing here, in their main lines, the characteristics of the great Guarani migration which ended in the formation of the Chiriguano tribe.

The Chiriguano Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family. A branch separated from the great Guarani nation or, more exactly, a swarm separated from the whole group of tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil called Guarani, they came to establish themselves at the foot of the Andes at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century after crossing the Chaco plains.

/301/ The causes of this great movement, which swept along so many thousands of Guarani toward the frontiers of the Inca Empire, are explained by the singular attraction which metal objects, clothes, in a word everything that can make life easier and more beautiful, exerted and continue to exert on the Indians. The Guarani of Paraguay and the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had known for a long time about Peru and its riches. From there they used to receive bronze instruments and ornaments of silver and sometimes also of gold (1). At the same time as these objects,

1. On the trade relations between the peoples of the Andes and the tribes of the Chaco, Paraguay, and Brazil, cf. Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 255-259.

confused descriptions reached them of these mountain peoples, so strange, who lived in stone huts, had "deer with long hair" at their service, and who decorated their persons with brilliant jewels. Bronze axes, necklaces, bracelets, breastplates, diadems, and goblets of silver reached them by a trade route whose exact position is unknown, but which probably used to pass through the northern Chaco. The Chané /Chane/ who lived in direct contact with the populations of the Inca Empire and traded with them, played the role of brokers, and with them as middlemen these tools and ornaments reached Paraguay, passing from hand to hand (2).

2. Hernández, p. 322: "They were asked of what race are those who have the silver and the

/375 cont./

Calabashes

415 In each Chiriguano village calabashes are as abundant as pottery (see Fig. 47 /see p. 139 /). The huts are full of them. They are of every shape and size, from the spoons we spoke of to the big basins in which the kāwi is distributed on feast days.

[286] The calabashes which are ovoid or gourd-shaped are generally enveloped in a kind of rudimentary net of vegetable fibers or leather thongs, which allows them to be carried in the hand or hung (1). In them is put either water, or grain

415
286
171

1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 97) has given the list of the South American tribes who put their calabashes inside a net to carry or hang them. This contrivance is widespread on the continent and its distribution is certainly greater than that indicated by Nordenskiöld, but travelers generally take only slight interest in such details, which are nevertheless important. The Kaingúa of Paraguay encompass their calabashes with wembé bark just like the Chiriguano (see Ambrosetti, 2, p. 716).

415 and seed, or roasted flour, or finally roucou or kalasapa powder saved for feast days (Plate XX, 1 and 2; Plate XXI, 3 and 4).

[322] Some calabashes are provided with a lid which the Indians make by cutting a calotte with star-shaped edges in the still green fruit, and this then forms a hermetic closing. The lid is fastened on by means of a small cord which, when pulled, suffices to close the calabash /376/ (Plate XX, 4 and Plate XXI, 2). Gourds whose opening is small in diameter receive a fragment of a shelled ear of corn as a stopper. /Figs. 42-47 appear here./

[121] Painted, pyrographed, or incised calabashes will be the object of a special study.

/382 cont./

804 439 [177] The Chiriguano measure the cloth which Syrian peddlers come to offer them with varas, that is, a stick about 80 centimeters long, the length of the ancient Spanish vara. This instrument has been borrowed from the Bolivian half-breeds.

Chapter VI

●121 ## Art among the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

To Professor Félix F. Outes.

The artistic sense of the Chiriguano is manifested in pottery decoration, pyrography, and wood carving.

We shall study these three activities one after the other.

Pottery Technique

114 323 The Chiriguano pottery technique has been studied briefly by Campana (p. 54), following Father Giannechini's notes, and by Outes (3, pp. 122-123), who adds some details communicated to him by the naturalist Holmberg to the ones he took from Campana's work. Nordenskiöld (1 and 10, pp. 142-147) completed on many points Campana's brief survey, so that I myself shall have few new things to note.

317 323 The clay used by Chiriguano potters comes from beds well known to the Indians, where they go from time to time to lay in fresh supplies. It is enough to see old vessels full of earth around a hut to know that a woman lives there still practicing the ancestral industry. Where adequate clay is [439] lacking, pottery is imported. Thus in the Tigüipa mission all the vessels in use were made in Machareti.

323 In order to be used the clay must be degreased with powder /383/ coming from potsherds. Fragments of old vessels are ground in a mortar until, after being put through a sieve, they give a fine powder which is kneaded for a rather

/398 cont./

175
648
[266]
[443]

acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even had public meat markets for human flesh.'" /Translated from the Spanish./

175
139
648
[567]
[126]

Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII. 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

437
439

Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

121
192

Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text Continues on P. 173]

/403 cont./

A P.C 19 531

Latcham (p. 5) says that for a long time he has also had the impression that Chincha culture had played a very important role in the development of the prehistoric art of the north and center of Chile, especially in the Diaguito-Chilean region, that is, the provinces of Atacama and Coquimbo, and that these influences had extended as far as Cachapoal in the south.

After the publication of Uhle's work, Latcham (p. 20) not only accepted his conclusions but even demonstrated the extension of Chincha culture as far as Caldera. Like Uhle, Latcham (p. 20) is of the opinion "that an examination of Diaguito-Argentine pottery would furnish proof that the traces of Chincha and Chincha-Atacama influences are very common in the art of northwestern Argentina, where all the designs reproduced (by Latcham) are found again alone or in combinations with other local motifs. These influences made themselves felt as far as the southeast and even the northeast of Bolivia, as can be ascertained by consulting the works dealing with the antiquities of these regions. In the modern pottery of the Chiriguano many of these same elements persist, as one can realize by leafing through the work of Outes, 3."

C [415] [531] [177]

C 415 177 121

In the pages which follow I shall seek to demonstrate that Chiriguano pottery presents characteristics obliging us to rank it among those which seem to have undergone the influence of the Chincha-Atacama civilization.

A P.C 17 14 21 [648]

Even if the hypothesis of the existence of a Chincha-Atacama civilization must be rejected some day, it is not any less certain that at a given moment the prehistoric tribes of the region of Atacama, of the northern coast of Chile, of the south of Peru and Bolivia, and of the north and northwest of Argentina were united by close relations, which /404/ explain the numerous points of contact of their cultures. Uhle's theory has on its side the advantage of accounting for these analogies whatever may be the reservations we might be able to formulate concerning the date this scholar attributes to the Chincha-Atacama civilization, concerning the importance and the extent he gives it.

/404 cont./

CCD A PC 172 179 121

concerning the importance and the extent he gives it. To the Chincha-Atacama sphere of influence belongs, precisely, the culture of the Andean Chincha and Humahuaca peoples whom the Chiriguano and their Arawak predecessors had as neighbors for centuries.

C Ce 415

2. Analysis of the Influences Exerted on the Fancy Pottery of the Chané and the Chiriguano

C Ce [121]

The criterion of form. -- The influences which have made themselves felt on Chané and Chiriguano pottery are manifested in both form and decoration. In the pages to follow I propose to note the most striking affinities between Chiriguano and Chané vessels and those of the neighboring regions, and also to determine the importance of Guarani or other survivals which we meet here and there.

C Ce [171]

1. Vessels with a subglobular belly, short neck, flared lips, flattened base, constitute the most common type of fancy pottery (Plates XXXV-XL, XLVII-LIII, etc.). Pottery of this category lacks well-characterized counterparts in the Andean zone. On the contrary, they resemble the jars for kaśiri still used by the Indians of Guiana and the Amazon (Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 151, p. 227).

C 415

One of the yambuí (Plate XLVIII, 3)[1] of this type has as handles on each side of the neck two little miniature vessels of the same form as itself. In what is perhaps only the fancy of a native artist appears nevertheless a concept peculiar to the Andean peoples and one in harmony with their style.

C [171]

2. The yapepo (Plate XLV, 1 and 2; LIX and LX)[2] are subglobular vessels with a low neck, provided with a handle which extends from the rim to the belly; they can be considered as yambuí in miniature. This category of vessels has its equivalent in several points of the adjoining Andean zone. Thus in Calama (Atacama Desert) and in Cagua (Yura canton, Porco province) pots have been found which seem to be, from the point of view of form, replicas of Chiriguano yapepo. (Créqui de Montfort, Plate VII, Fig. 8, and Plate VIII, Fig. 11.)

[1] [See p. 221 -- Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 221, 244 and 245 respectively. Analyst]

/426 cont./

531 Lacking them, the study we have pursued brings us the estab-
171 lishment of a very important fact. The existence on the upper
172 Pilcomayo of a pottery /427/ closely related to that of the
105

Ce
531
415

Fig. 83. Chané vessel. Prov.: Tuyuntí (Aguaray, Salta Chaco). On the belly: series of yakú (pavo del monte) in blackish brown on white background. (1/3 nat. size.)

C
531 Quebrada de Humahuaca is an indication which proves in a sure
171 way that the art of the former inhabitants of these regions was
172 identical to that of their neighbors, and perhaps racial brothers,
105 *of the Bolivian altiplano.*

Apropos of the Chiriguano, I believe it is wrong to speak of
S
121 Andean or Inca culture. The first of these terms is too vague and
531 the second partially false. In this chapter I have tried to demon-
171 strate that Chiriguano pottery exhibits close affinities with that
105 of the civilizations which, by their numerous points of similarity,
seem to have undergone a Chincha or Atacama influence and
which preceded Inca Culture.

/473/

Chapter XIII

Toys and Games

524 [126] All the toys which Chiriguano parents make for their children or the latter put together themselves are represented in my collections. Nevertheless, I consider it useless to give a description of them, for Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 193-200) has been greatly /Fig. 133 appears here/ concerned with this and has reproduced all of them. Simply as a curiosity I sketch a doll clothed in the traditional tipoy and the hair of which is intertwined with a ribbon in the Chiriguano manner (Fig. 133). A little bag (Fig. 134) contains a whole assortment of tipoy in miniature. [868] Minuscule vessels and baskets (Fig. 109) have been made for the use of little girls, who, in playing, thus learn little by little to become excellent housewives.

String figures. I have never seen children make string figures (cat-craddle /cat's cradle/), but I know they are acquainted with them. At Cururutí an Indian amused himself by executing a whole series for me, some of which were sewn by the Indians themselves onto the leaves of my notebook. According to the figure they wanted to produce, they used both hands or helped with the mouth and feet (Figs. 135 and 136). The "full moon" (Plate XXXIX, 3) /Fig. 134 appears here/ was made by my Indian who, having sat down, used feet and hands.

524 121 String figures have extraordinary interest from the point of view of comparative ethnography. If they prove themselves identical in two different regions, they can testify to trade or migrations, like certain games which pass from one region to the other without modifying their character or modalities. Games are the most stable of all cultural elements since they are independent of the environment, race, or way of life, at least in general. It is urgent to collect in South America /474/ the greatest possible number of string figures in order to be able to study their distribution. For this continent we know only a very small number, but this, insignificant as it may be, already allows us to establish some very curious facts.

[Text continues on p. 346]

/480 cont./

75 Fig. 16) was present at an analogous treatment also practiced /481/ by a medicine woman on a child at Yumbia, not far from the Salado. She rubbed him and blew on his body (1).

[113] [192]

1. In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc. (p. 72), we find the word hunga translated "to rub, to massage" and the sentence Ñiyari Ñerungarunga tein, irói á Ñe with the following meaning: "My grandmother rubbed me enough, but I did not get well." The medicine women, add the authors of the dictionary, use the word hunga to express the act of rubbing with the hand any painful part of the body, especially the chest, without any remedy other than the saliva they spit on their hand. These women attribute a special virtue to saliva. [827]

755 756 The sick boy's father told me that, once suffering from prolonged headaches, he had had recourse to a sorceress, an old woman with woolly hair, who was called the Samba. She sucked the place where the ache was localized and drew out worms from it. The half-breed got well, of course.

757 [825] In the toldería of Ñawirenda, where there was a child ill with fever, his mother had made him eat crushed garrapatas (ticks). The unfortunate child's lips were purple from it.

756 755 [121] I shall devote a special study to Chiriguano medicine men in a future volume of this Review. Meanwhile I shall limit myself to describing, according to the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano (pp. 166-167), the way in which these powerful personages customarily proceed when they are called to the bedside of a sick person. I am forced to have recourse to the observations made by another for lack of having been able to be present myself at the spectacle which Father Giannechini evokes with as much accuracy as vivacity. The great Chiriguano paye are now all in the Ivoka where they take

/xii cont./

arms of the Delegation and the forts, which they know how to burn frequently; the Tapiete continually threaten the farthest outposts and all their personnel, because the cannon and bayonet are powerless to civilize and to implant in the iron breast and crude heart of the savage /xiii/ humanitarian ideas, philanthropical ideas, because the cannon destroys, it does not civilize.

121 [119] I shall not concern myself with these tribes in the course of my pages; a book could be written about all of them, studying their origin, their customs, their relations with the other tribes and even with the whites, their relations with invisible or imaginary beings, their language and their deeds, but I renounce this arduous task and concentrate upon the Chiriguano race, which was conquered by the missionaries of Tarija long before South American Independence and later by the fellows of the Colegio de Potosí from the year 1870 through a region closed to trade and civilization.

The first thing I shall do in the course of these lines is to set down a description of the Chiriguano region, after which will follow: the origin of the tribe or race, language, statistics, physical and moral character, religion, political organization, the people, customs, imposition of the tembeta /lip plug/ on the males, fasting of the maidens, sicknesses, wars, songs, gatherings, and, finally, death and mourning. I shall try to make this little work pleasant and for that reason I shall allow myself to insert an occasional fable which was formerly held to be a fact and which even today is taken as such in certain regions.

Word to the Reader

114 This little work, which some will call not only useless but also a waste of effort is now born, but perhaps others who like to study races will find it useful for Ethnography, despite the fact that it is inadequate to give a perfect idea of the race among which I have lived since the year 1893.

Before beginning this third work I have tried to acquire some knowledge. I am not the first to write about these Indians; I have been preceded by D'Orbigny, Pelleschi, /xiv/ Mantegazza,

/xiv cont./

114 the Franciscans Conrado, Cardús, Martarelli, Giannecchini, and Señor del Campano, etc. But in Bolivia no complete work is known, notes or pages by authors definitely worthy of every respect and very competent hardly exist, nor have explorers witnessed all that they have written about, from which have come errors which would certainly have been avoided if the reports had not been made so hastily.

121 [124] With all possible calm, patience, and unlimited time, I have set out to talk with the oldest and most knowledgeable Indians, who have explained some points to me, corrected certain others, and made me add still more; but I have already said that with my writing I do not pretend even to equal the luster of those who have preceded me. I shall only give more extension to the ideas which have been set forth by others, ideas which in the majority have been confirmed by the Indians to whom I have addressed myself.

Finally, I must state that since the Chiriguano are in contact with the mission Indians, and these, both old and new, exist in considerable number, I shall add by way of conclusion, after having finished what I have proposed to do, a chapter concerning the heathen Chiriguanos, the neophytes, or new Christians, and the method that the Missionaries use to reduce them religiously and civilly, and the effort required to maintain them in the Catholic faith.

121 128 Everyone will understand that, in order to avoid confusion, this small work will be divided into chapters, and the chapters into sections, for greater clarity and so as not to tire the reader. Certain terms that I must print here by necessity will be written in the Chiriguano language with their corresponding explanation, so that each one may understand the impact of the language. I could also formulate some general propositions with the corresponding Spanish, but the nature of this somewhat voluminous book does not permit it, nor is it necessary, because /xv/ there are various small handbooks which have been printed in this Republic of Bolivia.

/xv cont./

121 Lovers of Ethnography are asked to overlook as much as they can the faults that they will find; rather I pray that they will only note the facts which I set down with all candor and exuberance. With the remarks that precede I am going to begin.

San Buenaventura de Ivo, May 20, 1911.

Father Bernardino de Nino, Missionary, O. F. M.

/Page xvi is omitted in the translation./

/xvii/

Foreword

114

Je prends mon bien partout
où je le trouve.

The Reverend Father de Nino, Franciscan Missionary of the Colegio de Propaganda Fide of Potosí, has honored me by charging me with the presentation to the public of the book which today sees the light, the preparation of which we have already announced in several numbers of the Boletín of the Repartición Nacional under our administration.

A very special reason compelled us to accept such a pleasant task: it provides for us, and for the scientific interest of the country, valuable collaborative material which is brought us by the learned Missionary whose intimate knowledge of the Chiriguano Indians, among whom he has lived as a catechist for many years, is indisputable.

There likewise weighed heavily upon our mind another powerful reason for welcoming the Etnografía Chiriguana with deserved applause: we had in mind the fact that in 1914, by an arrangement arrived at in London at the close of the sessions of the XVIII International Congress of Americanists it was decided that the meeting of the XIX was to be in Washington and this City of La Paz, as was done with the XVII, which held its sessions in commemoration of the Argentinian Centennial of 1810 in Buenos Aires, finishing in Mexico City.

We had to prepare ourselves for the session which was to be /xviii/ held in Bolivia, and this suggested to us the idea that the worthy work of the Reverend Father de Nino might be dedicated

/1/

Chapter One

Description

Introduction

• 121

When an historian or an ethnographer proposes to write the history or ethnography of a tribe or race, he must naturally begin with a description of the region occupied by the human beings who are for a greater or lesser time to occupy the writer's mind. The general description of the region is almost as necessary as the origin of the tribe, but during the course of the undertaking, whether it be large or small, it does not prevent the one who is burdened with the work from letting his preoccupied fantasies go from time to time andscatter hither and yon lilies and fragrant roses, whenever an unexpected opportunity to sketch a delightful panorama, like the one which unfolds before the traveler on the peak of Huacareta Hill and the one from Irenta Hill descending toward Cuevo, might present itself to him.

In my little work "La continuación de la Historia de Misiones del Colegio de Potosí," I said that in order to bring forth a chapter like the present one, one needed time, elucidation, an abundance of material, and tranquility of spirit, things or properties hard to find together in an obscure missionary like the one who is writing.

/2/ Could my readers perhaps believe that my situation could have changed in so short a time? If they do believe this, it is due to the goodness of their hearts, since the situation of he who writes, instead of improving, seems to have become aggravated. Nonetheless, unpretentiously, I am going to concern myself with a description of the Chiriguano region, only because by its nature the work requires it. In my previous one I never foresaw that I should write this third one, which will cost me a little work and time, because, I repeat, in order to write, tranquility is needed, and the Indians, with their continual grievances, do not allow this for a missionary, which leads to the diversity in style, smooth to harsh, lucid to obscure.

/2 cont./

●121 elegant or labored, natural or stilted, which can be observed in one book by a single author. But the fact is that I can only write it here, since only the Indians are able to smooth out the difficulties which naturally will arise in the course of these pages.

I am familiar with almost the entire region inhabited by the Chiriguano, with the exception of a few small areas, but this is of little importance, as much because they are not of historical importance as because I have obtained data about them which show them to be like the rest. It would even be easy to make a map of the region, but I am embarrassed to say that I am not competent to do this.

General View

133 The region which the Chiriguano Indians occupy today is composed of many little valleys /cañadas/ which run from north to south; they are separated by mountain ridges which vary in size, height, precipitous slopes, deep gorges, and incalculable depths. Its length is quite considerable, while its breadth is not over 180 kilometers. The mountains rise to 3,000 meters and more above sea level, but at that altitude there is no longer any vestige of forest, while at 1,200 meters the woods are exuberant.

In the midst of the valleys low hills cross in every direction, and there are some which from a distance look like larger hills or on their way to becoming such; others are completely isolated and quite small, but they attract the attention of the traveler because of their conical shape, like the traditional "Tunparepoti", located at the beginning of the pampas of Yvu. *There is no hill which does not make room* [262] upon its breast for a multitude of trees of every size and description, like a grove, and /3/ another multitude of vines like the bejuco and low-lying plants of the cactus family, which the Indian uses by eating their fruit, whose combined acridness and sweetness would make them please and be preferred by the most aristocratic lady of the city of Paris.

/63 cont./

439 191 them in the area around the place called Basilio, and they take them in cages to the Argentine Republic.

*136 TOUCAN. -- A very unusual bird because of its long beak, which is almost as long as its body. This beak is yellow, red, and black, but very light; otherwise, since it is so large, it would be difficult to hold up. One who for the *[825] first time sees a toucan, called "Tuaca" in Chiriguano, thinks that it is carrying an ear of maize in its beak. Toucans go in large flocks and have their favorite places; I know only [157] one variety of them. It is said that the beak, when ground up *[826] and taken in water, stops the flow of blood. It seems that the toucan only lives in hot climates. If it is taken to other places, it dies.

URRACA /magpie/. -- This flying creature is rather large and abundant. There are several species of them, [231] differentiated by their plumage. It is easily domesticated, and it is useful in the houses, because it kills all of the bugs or insects which multiply in them, but its size is no larger than that of the toucan. It is as restless and noisy in the houses as it is in the woods.

●121 I here put an end to this brief description of the land inhabited by the Chiriguano and what is contained therein. All will understand that I did not attempt to discover and describe minutely each and every one of the plants, each and every one of the quadrupeds, amphibians, and insects, each and every one of the birds, but only those which seemed to me to be of the most importance. If it seems to my readers to be too much, or too little, they will be so kind as to excuse my faults; meanwhile, I am going to begin the real ethography, which will be somewhat long so that it may be clearer and more pleasant. /*/ /Illustration appears here./

/125 cont./

524
609

20 centavos the libra, and 25 as well. In the Chaco this is too expensive.

/126/

600

Chapter Four

Religion, Divinities, and Beliefs of the Chiriguano

/The introduction to this chapter, "An Illustrious Franciscan," pp. 126-127, is omitted in the translation./

/128/

Religion

121

It is beyond any doubt that all peoples profess some religion. This fact is proved by the testimony of all missionaries and confirmed by innumerable travelers of various nationalities and who profess different creeds.

But to the extent that religion implies external demonstrations of veneration, the variety of ways of worship is so great that it may well be stated that every people has its special way, proper and peculiar to it, in which it honors its divinities.

The most advanced peoples display in their respective demonstrations of worship all possible splendor. They have magnificent temples, priests, and a ceremonial which, if it is not always in conformity with the dictates of common sense, does tend, nevertheless, by its nature and form, to awaken in man a sense of veneration and respect for a superior being, represented by something which strikes the senses.

From this point of view it would not be too bold to state that the external worship of peoples in general is in direct proportion to their level of civilization and culture.

This explains why among savage people there can scarcely be discovered a single sign, a ceremony, which might be a sign of external demonstrations of worship. But in reality it does

/128 cont./

124 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not show Him homage in some way.

971 124 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find out with special care, constancy, and assiduousness what religion they profess and what type of worship they render to their divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

[115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion, and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt true, 796 795 however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

[805 791 192]

1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the months by moons, and they have other very similar customs. It is very notable that they also have some Hebrew words.

577 971 /129/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is, natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts, since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

/187 cont./

301 302 (199) buy in the stores, so active since the founding of the missions. The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapirunta /166/ walks very proudly and show off both things at feast: in the presence of his companions (1).

(199) (114) (121)

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yuchis had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 294 285 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter is woven by them themselves with palm leaves. Carandaiti they bring them from the places where they are abundant. Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no longer than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect 292 564 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by old Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (7).

291 302 304 176

2. The Cuchua /Quechua/ always with his cap, the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in few places now, and the straw hat is being

/312 cont./

the race can endure for a longer time. The same is true, if, instead of forts, the Government, at less expense, were to found missions in the places which are being explored at the present time; useful hands would be obtained for commerce and for agriculture, without the destruction of the poor humanity.

I finish by giving thanks to the Divine Providence which has brought about here the civilization of the race, utilizing for this purpose its simple and humble subjects, such as the sons of Francis of Assisi, who came to this New World immediately after it was discovered.

To those readers who have followed me benevolently and to those who have charitably criticized my poor writing, I give my sincere thanks and at the same time pray that they will deign to pardon such errors as they might find. Leon Deo.

End of the Work

/Illustration appears here./

/313/ Appendix

121 126

The time and place do not now permit me to draw a map of the entire region that I have described in the first chapter of this ethnography; nor do they permit me to write clearly about the other tribes which populate the eastern part of the Bolivian Chaco, which has recently been explored (1).

1. I believed that a map was indispensable for the "Guide to the Chaco." I drew it recently, and it is soon to be published at the expense of the Supreme Government. I may perhaps get an extra run of 1,000 copies for the present work.

C /313 cont./
121
122 If the Supreme Government and the friends who have helped me in this first edition continue to provide me with their considerable support, I plan to return to the region, to make better studies, to get certain data about the other tribes, to get views and panoramas with photographic cameras, and then bring out a second, more polished edition.

C
131
[114] Since, however, through my nomination as a Corresponding Member of the Geographical Society of this city of La Paz, I am making studies appropriate to this science, I shall set down in these pages the approximate geographical degree occupied by the known tribes which populate the extensive zone of the Bolivian Chaco.

The Chiriguano Indians are numerous from 18° 50' to 22° latitude south of the Paris meridian and from 65° to 66° 50' west longitude. However, small groups can be found at 17° 30' latitude and other groups at 22° 35' toward the south of present-day Yacuiba (2).

2. I follow the Paris meridian in placing the tribes because in the body of the work I have used the same to indicate the location of the Cayuguari Indians.

C
121 /314/ The reader who has accompanied me as far as these lines will have quite a clear idea of the Chiriguano Indians, their language, customs, and beliefs, and consequently I have nothing to add with regard to them, because this would be a repetition of what I have said. I shall say something about the others, so that Bolivians and foreigners may know the Indians with whom they are to deal.

Tapúi or Isoseños

Ce
161
131 The Tapúi Indians are as many as 2,000 between children and adults; they occupy both banks of the Parapiti River at 19° and 19° 50' latitude and 62° 30' to 65° longitude from the Paris meridian.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5, (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
114

Indians in the years 1908, 1909 and 1913, and spent in all 4 to 5 months studying them. In my book »Indianlif» I gave a popular account of them as I got to know them during the Hernmarck expedition in 1908 and 1909. In my last book of travel »Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika» there is some information about the Chiriguano. I have brought home to Sweden from the Chiriguano and Chané about 1500 articles which are now in the Riksmuseum at Stockholm and in the Gothenburg Museum. In the Geographical Review I wrote a short article on the migrations of the Chiriguano Indians.

C
Ce
[126]

C
Ce
12
114

A close study of the Chiriguano and Chané civilization by the ethno-geographical method affords points of especial interest, since their mode of life is rather well known, and we are able to trace their history back to the beginning of the 16th century. I have also collected archaeological material from their region. At first I was minded to give an account of this, too, in the present work. I decided, however, that it would be better here only to mention individual finds by the way, and to leave the archaeological material for another publication in which I shall be able also to publish certain archaeological finds made in other parts of Bolivia. This for purely practical reasons.

C
Ce
121

I will here endeavour to make clear how the Guarani-speaking Chiriguano's and the Guaranized Chanés' civilization are composed, what culture-elements they have got from the Whites and from the Mountain civilization in the west, what each brought to the common stock and what they possibly obtained from other quarters.

In this analysis of Chiriguano and Chané manners and customs, I do not intend properly to examine the question as to whence these Indians came to their present abodes. Broadly speaking we know that already. Respecting the Chiriguano migrations there are historical documents extant which evidently show that it was not until the beginning of the 16th century that these Indians conquered

C
175
648
187

ScNordenskiöld E-8,4 (1906-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 115 148 167 Ee [557] Ce 101 197 C Ce 121 167

the tracts they now occupy.[1]) [2]) They drove out or subjugated the original population, which consisted chiefly of Chané Indians. They made slaves of a great number of them and ravished a great number of women.

The Chané are, as was mentioned, Arawaks and all indications point to their having come from the north or north-east, where they have large numbers of kinsfolk. It will be found that the present investigation confirms this. A matter of particular interest in this connection is to notice how two peoples belonging to the most important groups of tribes in all America made adoptations in their mode of life when they had emigrated to places with strange natural conditions. Again, it is worthy of note how their civilization was transformed und the influence of the Bronze-age civilization in the west and afterwards under the influence of the Whites. Further we shall see what they have, under their new conditions, been able to preserve of their original civilization. We shall gain insight into the way in which the civilization of two Indian tribes was transformed under the influence of other peoples and new natural conditions.

Ce 121

As in Part I, I deal chiefly with the «material» side of these Indians' life. Or rather, everything in their life which

[1]) NORDENSKIÖLD (13).

[2]) MEANS, basing his opinion on GARCILASSO and MONTESINOS, has assumed that the Chiriguano invaded the Inca Realm earlier than the beginning of the 16th century. But even if his assumption is correct, these inroads led to no domiciliation there. This is evident from the accounts of the invasion in the 16th century, when the Chiriguano supplanted, what was everywhere an original stock. Nor do we know whether by Chiriguano the Incas did not mean barbaric tribes of the Chaco in general, and not any particular tribe. In these parts Chiriguano probably corresponded to the signification that Chunchos had in the district of Cuzco, where it meant all sorts of barbaric Indian tribes east of the Andes. The Chiriguano that GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA AND MONTESINOS speak of need by no means have been Guarani Indians. I have already pointed out (NORDENSKIÖLD 13) that GARCILASSO's description of the Chiriguano is absolutely irresponsible.

C [114]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,½(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
CE
121

can be kept in a museum or for which one may find — given favourable circumstances — archeaological comparative material. Besides weapons, ornaments etc there is thus included also burial customs, tatooing, dancing-masks, etc.

C
CE
128

The reader will find that I have endeavoured to make this part more graphic than Part I . From the maps of bibliography it will be seen regarding what regions I have had access to literature; it can also, in some measure, be seen whether the blanks on the maps are due to those particular tribes never having been closely studied.

The maps of distributions in this work are fewer in number than in Part I. This is because we find the Chiriguano and Chané, or one of these tribes, on twenty-nine maps in Part I. Part I is largely preparatory to Part II. Parts I and 2 together contain 45 maps showing the distribution of culture-elements occuring among the Chané and (or) Chiriguano.

C
CE
121

All who are interested in the ethnography of S. America will, I venture to think, find the maps worth close study and will see that from them various deductions can be made not only respecting the Chiriguano and Chané Indians but also as to the ethnography of S. America in general. In some measure I have, indeed, endeavoured to do this myself.

C
CE
131

The land of the Chiriguano and Chané the Indians streches from near Sta Cruz de la Sierra to near Rio Bermejo. Southwards of Sta Cruz the territory inhabited by the Chiriguano is continuous. The Chané, on the other hand, live in several different quarters, some at the river Itiyuro in the Argentine, some at Caipipendi near the Rio Pilcomayo, some at the Lower Rio Parapiti, and others near Itau south of the Rio Pilcomayo. The neighbours of the Chiriguano and Chané are the Mataco-Vejos, Mestizos, and Whites to the south, the Matacq, Toba, Tapiete, (Yanaygua) and Tsirakua to the east, to the north Mestizos and Whites, and to the west Quichua, Mestizos, and Whites.

C
CE
101
162

Schwedenskiöld E-S (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Resumé.

C
Ce
121
177

In the foregoing pages I have attempted to analyse the material culture of the Chiriguano and Chané, and have tried to show from where they have derived the cultural elements existent among them. Finally I will see to what extent conclusions can be drawn from what has been said above, as to the changes the material culture of these Indian tribes has undergone under the influence of an entirely strange culture — that of the Whites — and of a kindred culture — that of the bronze age in the west. Furthermore, we will see what the Chiriguano and Chané have kept of the culture they had before they migrated to the districts they now inhabit, in what measure they have adapted themselves to their new natural surroundings, and what they presumably have learnt from their neighbours the Chorotí, Toba, Mataco and Tapiete.

C
Ce
128
177

I have shown in tabular form the cultural elements the Chiriguano and Chané received from the Whites, those they received from the Mountain culture, and those that derive from the north and the east. This third table embraces such cultural elements as the Chiriguano and Chané took with them when they migrated to their present habitat. In the tables I have mentioned, as the reader will see, in the case of each cultural element whether its distribution in the region examined is favoured by natural surroundings, whether in its distribution it is in general independent of such surroundings, whether it is of great importance in the struggle for existence, whether its manufacture calls for technical skill, whether it is man's or woman's work, whether it is used by men or women or both, or only by children, whether it may be looked upon as still frequently used or as disappearing, and whether it can be regarded as a

C Ce 834 171

/225 cont./

Nevertheless, if in the evening one sat beside the fire in the hut and was acquainted with the family, they seemed to be quite free and easy. The Choroti and Ashluslay men are very shameless. The men among the Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, less so. It is very common for the Chiriguano and Chané women, conversing in a group, to pass water standing up and to let the urine run down their legs, which may be regarded as less than clean. The men, on the other hand, always step aside in order to relieve themselves.

C Ce [574]

C Ce 833 171 834

/226/ As has been mentioned, the sexual act among the Ashluslay often takes place in the presence of onlookers. At the Choroti /Fig. 114 appears here/ dances one had to be careful in the darkness not to stumble over the loving couples. One never sees anything like that among the Chiriguano or Chané. Since many /227/ are lying in the same hut, however, one sees even among them what one always sees if one has overnight guests. This is not the least reason why the sexual life has no secrets even for small children.

C Ce 834 177 577

Apparently life with the whites heightens the sense of modesty. The Indian women are even embarrassed to expose their breasts. Morality declines in proportion as the sense of modesty grows.

This should be taken into consideration by all those who sew clothing for naked heathen children.

Ce ●121

Many of my readers may perhaps feel that this chapter should not have been included in my book. Nevertheless, it seems to me proper to say something about deviations in the sexual sphere. It contributes to an understanding of the people whom I am describing here. I have, of course, not been able to speak about all the realism that came out in the conversations around the camp fire (1).

1. If our daily papers, which are meant for the public, write about all kinds of things, one need not be too prudish in a travel account.

C 114 /2 cont./ outside of the Toba, whom I met only in passing, I got to know on this journey the Chiriguano and the Izozó, who, like the former, speak a dialect of the Guaraní language; the Tapieté, Churupí, Mataco, and Chorote. All of these Indian tribes are not unknown in ethnological literature. On Chiriguano history we are oriented through old documents from even the first years of the Spanish conquest, and we owe to the Franciscan missionaries, who have taught among them for a long time, quite important ethnological publications. The Churupí have been studied minutely under the name Ashluslay by Erland Nordenskiöld, and the Oblates of Immaculate Mary in Esteros and Lake Escalante are striving intensively to make ethnological investigations. I have proposed to deal with all of these tribes systematically. This survey will be made on the basis of the results of my journey, and I begin in this first publication with the Chiriguano and Izozó.

C CC [197] C 175 114 797 A 114 101 C 121

General Information

C CC 114 361 As I said in the introduction to this work, I first met the Chiriguano in Machareti and the Izozó in the area around the fort of Toledo and in the fort "15 de Agosto," several kilometers from the former two.

C 361 [632] [797] Figure 1[1] presents a view of Machareti, a Chiriguano town created in its present form by the Franciscan mission. When the Paraguayan army retook Machareti, it had already been abandoned by the Padres, and now a Chiriguano, in the role of commissioner /comisario/, is the chief of the town, there also being a few caciques. The houses, more or less in the form of modern ranchos (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 /see p.40 /), are on both sides of wide streets which run parallel and at right angles, as in most of the towns of the former Spanish colonies. When I was present in Machareti, there was great need /3/ among these Indians because of the severe drought which had ruined their plantings, which were some distance from the town. At the side of the ranchos are often found deposits which were structures of native houses built on sticks. Although

C [342] [363] C [731] C [342] 000

[1] [See P. 8 -- Analyst]

Guarani SM4
Chane SF8
I2020

C
Ce
101
17

/4 cont./

and divides (2) the sum of Chiriguano cultural elements into

2. Nord. 2, pp. 196-213.

different categories depending on whether they received them from the whites, from the culture of the ancient Peruvians, or from the Mataco, Toba, and other tribes of the Chaco, or have them in common with the tribes of the north and the east related to them, as well as those that they brought with them from their primordial homes between the Paraná River and the Paraguay River. In what follows we shall often run into this matter, and inasmuch as these cultural influences have taken place in historical times and we know the history of the Chiriguano through existing documents dating from the first days of the Spanish conquest, I would like to make a resumé of these historical data in what follows, insofar as they have influenced the cultural development of the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
Ce
101
17
121

Gi
174

In one of my previous publications which appeared in this journal, entitled "Los Guarayú," I ran into the point at issue, to wit: whether the first Guaraní immigration into the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco took place before the expedition of the Portuguese Alejo García to Peru or whether it took place after that time. In that paper I then deduced that it can be supposed that before Alejo García's expedition there were no Guaraní in the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, because no author mentions that García, who was accompanied by many Guaraní, had met other Guaraní in those regions. With this opinion that the Guaraní immigration to the west occurred after García's expedition, which is based principally on indications by Guzmán, the opinions of Manuel Domínguez and Erland Nordenskiöld also agree. This question of the Guaraní invasion into the western part of the Paraguayan Chaco is also dealt with in detail by Fulgencio R. Moreno in his work Cuestión de límites con Bolivia (3). In that place (4) there

Gi
175

Gi
[113]

3. Ministerio de Exteriores. Cuestión de Límites con Bolivia. Negociaciones diplomaticas. 1916-

/297 cont./

121 114 Father Bernardino de Nino, it is only a translation of Campana's article, filled out with copious borrowings from Corrado's work. Nevertheless the Reverend Father Bernardino de Nino added many very interesting details to the texts that he reproduces, which make consultation of his Etnografía chiriguana indispensable.

121 126 My aim was to complete the work of my predecessors and to get together for the Museum of Tucumán a collection which would be truly representative of the last of the cultures which formerly flourished within the limits of the old gobernación of Tucumán. My Chiriguano collections, along with those collected by Nordenskiöld, are, I believe, the most complete ones from this region that exist in the world. They bear witness, I hope, to the richness of this area from an ethnographic point of view, a richness which has been left unexploited and which will disappear in a few years.

121 May these pages demonstrate that every culture is a whole complex, so varied, that no ethnographer can study all its details in the course of a single trip. It is not useless to go back where others have preceded you, for, whatever their merits may have been, the material cannot be exhausted in one time.

● 122 There remains the paying of a debt of gratitude by thanking Doctor J. B. Terán and Doctor J. Heller, who, as rector and vice-rector of the University of Tucumán, gave me the means to bring about this trip. The new rector of the University, Doctor J. Prebisch, granted me the sizable funds which publication of the results of this expedition required and supported constantly the Revue d'Ethnologie of my Institute. I am eager to make known to him here how grateful I am.

114 122 I wish to express my thanks again to all those who helped me in the course of my trips first and foremost the Franciscan missionaries who gave me generous hospitality and helped me as much as possible; my debt is particularly great to the Reverend Father Jocundo Ferrari, thanks to whom I was able to carry out without damage the transportation of my collections from the upper Pilcomayo to Cuevo; to Father Angrisani who received me so frequently in his Ivu mission. Neither do I wish to forget Fathers

/297 cont./

122 114 Luis Mattioli, Dionisio Polvorini, Juan Nicolai, and Honorato Catinari, who backed me up on various occasions. The Reverend Father Enrique Biagini did me a service for which I was very grateful by committing me to the care of all the missionaries of the Chaco.

The prefect of Tarija, Colonel Nuñez del Prado, facilitated my trip /298/ by giving me a safe-conduct which was particularly useful to me in dealing with the authorities of eastern Bolivia. This man, courteous and intelligent, has just died on the battlefield. I wish to salute his memory with gratitude.

My compatriots Messrs. Burry helped me during my whole trip and rendered invaluable services which I remember gratefully, as well as the important aid given me by Messrs. Attié of Tarija.

I received cordial hospitality from Mr. Bonardi of Ñancarwinna and from Mr. Vicente Constantini, whom I thank here.

Mr. Alberto Torrejón of Ibopeyti showed himself to be a host full of intelligence, and his intervention on my behalf with the Indians was very useful to me.

114 123 I should show myself ungrateful and unjust if I did not here express all I owe to the Indians themselves, whose reception, once the first mistrust was dissipated, was always so cordial, so generous. Here I should like to cite the name of my old friend, Captain Karnapadyú, of Carurutí, who was a courteous and kind friend to me and who made my stay in the Caipipendí valley so pleasant. Some day may I come back to my Chiriguano friends with mules loaded with knives, cloth, and beads, and thus fulfill the wishes they expressed so often to me.

/356 cont./

252 no preparation other than constant stirring in order not to be burned. This food takes the place of bread for the Chiriguano, who like to munch these crunchy and appetizing kernels. They provide themselves with it when they go on a trip.

Atipũi pounded in a mortar and passed through a sieve gives atši, a brownish flour which has an excellent taste. Atši is also prepared differently: kernels of corn are reduced to a flour which is roasted in a terra-cotta roaster or in a wide potsherd. According to Nino (p. 246), the name atikũi would be given to the kernels of roasted corn made into flour after being put through a sieve and ground until pulverized. The same missionary reserves the term atši for roasted flour obtained from the residue left by kernels which have been treated in the following way: after letting them soak in water all night, they are poured into a sieve the next morning. When the water has drained off, they are pounded in a mortar. This flour is now sifted, then roasted; cooked in water, it is the dish the Chiriguano call muintí or huinti. Atši then would be made with the residue from the muinti flour, which is ground again, then roasted like it, but first mixed with salt or pimento. I
[122] have often eaten roasted corn flour which the Indians told me was atši, but I could never tell that it was seasoned. The Chiriguano give the name abatikure to the corn bran.

This is how muintimimo is prepared: kernels of corn are /Plate XIII appears here/ /357/ put to soak all night. The next morning they are ground and sifted in an urumpé (sieve with very fine mesh). The flour is poured into a muitero
[115] (Plate XIII, 1 and 2). This utensil is a terra-cotta basin whose bottom is pierced with holes like a skimmer (1). The flour is

[113] [114]

1. Linné (2, Map 1, p. 23) has given us the distribution of vessels with perforated bottoms throughout America. The enumeration he makes of them is very complete; yet it lacks mention of La Rioja in the Argentine Republic where Boman (5, p. 17) discovered fragments of vessels whose bases were entirely perforated like a sieve.

[Text continues on p. 104]

/364 cont./

Fermented Beverages

293 Anyone who has traveled among the Chiriguano or the Chané has learned to prize corn beer, or kĩwi. Few moments in the course of my expedition have left me more pleasant memories than the ones when, tired by a long stage, I would sit down in front of a hut and receive from the hands of the wife of the "captain" a calabash full of this liquid, slightly sharp and a little granular, which quenches thirst and allays hunger. The day when the Chiriguano stop making kĩwi will be a sign that they have disappeared from the face of the earth, and perhaps this delicious drink will survive them as a creole speciality in which good nationalists will take pride.

[122] [123]

Father Corrado (p. 43) once heard from the mouth of a Chiriguano an admirable definition of the role of kĩwi in the life of an Indian: "It is our father and our mother," said he. Indeed, it is the father of joy, the sign of plenty, the companion of the most beautiful moments of existence as well as the most tragic ones. It has within it a mysterious and mystic force which penetrates the individual, exalts him, and protects him against supernatural dangers. All festivals are reduced, in their essential part, to the consumption of kĩwi; no collective enterprise is conceivable without their first drinking it from full jars (1). From birth to death, all that affects the

293 726

1. Even in the 18th century the Chiriguano, like the ancient Tupinambá, did not undertake any expedition of war without having celebrated a caouin or a vin /wine/, to express ourselves like the old French chroniclers; /a passage of poetry in Spanish from Barco Centenera, p. 262, is omitted in the translation/.

When the Chiriguano of Parapití and Caipipendí rose up in 1799, before the revolt they held great drinking festivals, during the course of which they decided on the plan of operations (Corrado, p. 254).

/462 cont./

Chapter X

Masks

532 796 [122] The handsome masks, whose description I shall give further on, are worn during the carnival festivities. Difficulties with the Bolivian authorities kept me from arriving in the Chiriguano villages at the time when they were taking place. When I finally found myself among my Chiriguano friends, they had emptied the last vats of kĩwi and were /463/ in their [126] normal state. Thanks to the closeness of the feast I was able [241] to collect the masks published here; ordinarily they are destroyed or used in the fields as scarecrows.

115 My host, Mr. Alberto Torrejon, who lives at Ibopeytí on the upper Pilcomayo in an Indian village, gave me some very interesting details about the ceremonies and merrymaking in which he had just participated. I transcribe them as given.

796 At my approach of any festival, the carnival, for exam- 795 ple, the first act consists in causing the souls of the dead to flee. 789 If this precaution is not taken, the widows and relatives of the deceased will have to abstain from taking part. For the purpose of purifying the air, a drum is beaten, and the whole family /Fig. 120 appears here/ which has lost a member weeps and shouts. When the spirits have cleared out, the drum, in a joyful rhythm, gives the signal for merrymaking.

796 The festival is opened by a man and a woman who, with a stick decorated with flowers in hand, advance toward the middle of the square, followed by all the inhabitants in a long chain. When they have arrived at the middle of the area extending between the huts, the couple plants this sign, thus giving the signal for the festival.

[535] The chain breaks up and small groups form to dance in a ring. Their dance consists in advancing and retreating in triple time to the sound of flutes and drums.

532 /480 cont./

Figure 11. Guanaco (José Miguel).

[821] Figure 12. (A): blue jaguar who lives in the sky (personification of the spots on the moon) getting ready to eat the moon (B) and the sun (C), thus bringing on an eclipse.

Chapter XIV

The Treatment of Illnesses

Sorcerers and Remedies

756 178 Sorcerers. Medicine men have become so rare among the Chiriguano that I could not get to know a one during my whole [123] trip. Only on the upper Pilcomayo did they allude in front of me to a talented paye who lived in a nearby village.

Although great sorcerers endowed with supernatural powers and surrounded with great prestige no longer exist, there still must be in each village a man or woman capable of curing certain illnesses and of pronouncing incantations.

A scene I witnessed at Timboy (Salado River, upper Pilcomayo) demonstrates well that the profession of sorcerer, less important though it may be, has nevertheless not disappeared. [122] I was living in the home of a Bolivian half-breed whose child's body was covered with purulent pimples. His parents began by appealing to my medical knowledge, but I declared myself incompetent to treat this case or any other. They then 75 called an old Indian woman, who appeared one morning with [824] a plant in her hand, a kind of wild pumpkin which the half-breeds call sandía del monte. This plant, crushed and mixed with hot water, is used for external washing. They stretched the child out on the ground and commanded him to hold himself motionless. The old woman sat down near him and began to mutter inaudible incantations which she interrupted only to spit often on the limbs of the little patient. Then she would take up her recitation again, at the same time spreading the saliva over his body from head to feet. Nordenskiöld (3, p. 44,

4: Nino--1 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SP10 Chirigano SP10

/v/

Homage that the author presents to the XIX International Congress of Americanists, which is to meet in this city of La Paz in the year 1914. /Page ii is blank. Page iii is omitted in the translation./

/vi/ Author's Acknowledgement to the Supreme Government of Bolivia

Gratitude is a virtue by means of which the blessings received on this earth are acknowledged: it is natural and supernatural: the former is based in nature and the latter in a divine principle through which a grateful person becomes worthy of even eternal blessings.

The ingrate becomes an abomination before humanity and before God: thus does he show us the bitterness that Jesus, the man-God, felt when He received the affront of Judas, who had received so many blessings from his Divine Master.

Does the world ever lack persons who in times of tribulation, troubles, and unhappiness will come to others for consolation, declaring themselves to be friends and later, their ends gained, will turn against some, gossiping about their benefactors and accusing them of what is not so, because their perverse eye makes them see white black and black white? There is no lack of these, and the history of the Nations provides us with innumerable examples of this.

Religion cannot do anything but reprove ingratitude and approve the opposite virtue, from which it is necessary to deduce that the Christian, who professes the true one, ought to show his gratitude to those who do him a favor.

/vii/ I began this work, which will soon be printed, with the expectation of being assisted in its publication by the present Mandatary Most Excellent President of Bolivia, the Eminent Doctor don Eliodoro Villazón, who encouraged me to do it by letter in 1908. And my expectations have been fulfilled.

/in cont./

122 In fact, at the beginning of this year 1912 I had occasion to address myself to the Most Excellent President, to the Ministers of Instruction, Finance, and Colonization, Messrs. M. B. Macias /y/, Carlos Tamayo, and Julio La-Faye, with the assistance of the Chancellor of the University of Potosí, Dr. don Nestor D. Mendoza and the Supreme Government, which so highly esteems scientific works, has decided to have my work printed at its expense in the print shops of La Paz.

This eminently patriotic and national act greatly honors the Most Excellent President and his illustrious Cabinet, and places a great debt of gratitude on the author of Etnografía Chiriguana, which was completed in the same region that it describes.

By means of these few lines, then, the undersigned shows his deep gratitude to the Supreme Government of Bolivia for the consideration with which he has been honored, the publication of his work having been accepted in the manner set forth in the communication which I reproduce literally, as follows: "Ministry of War and Colonization -- Bolivia -- Department of Colonization -- Nos. 410 -- La Paz, February 23, 1912. -- To Reverend Father Bernardino de Sinn. -- Potosí. Sir: In reply to your kind letter of January 11, together with which you have been so kind as to send me a copy of the proposal brought before the Supreme Government, for the publication of a work prepared by you on the eastern region of the Republic and the ethnography of the races who people it, I am obliged to inform you that the lack of funds available in the National Budget for such purposes prevents us from accepting the first part of the proposal you suggest, the second being more feasible, in accordance with which the Government can recommend the publication of your work in the War Administration of this city, which has the necessary means; in which case you will have the right to the 500 copies which you request, with the intellectual rights to the work being reserved.

/v cont./

122 "Your proposal thus having been accepted in one of the proposed forms, I trust that you will be so kind as to send /vi/ the respective original copies to this Ministry with such instructions and documentation as may be necessary for the purpose already indicated.

"With this in mind I greet you and repeat that I am your obedient and humble servant. --For the Minister, José Lavadenz, Deputy Secretary of Colonization."

Although in the preceding original letter only the Minister of War is represented, other official communications which I have in hand show that the Most Excellent President and his Cabinet took an active interest in the publication of my work, for which reason my gratitude for this extraordinary favor is addressed especially to the Most Excellent Señor Villazón first of all and then to the Honorable Ministers.

Potosí, March 15, 1912.

Father Bernardino de Nino.

Note. -- For justifiable reasons, instead of having the publication of the present work done in the War Administration, it is being done in another location, for which the Supreme Government looked favorably upon my petition that they help me with the amount of 2,000 bolivianos, which I have already received, with myself being obliged to deliver to the Minister of War 250 copies of the work when the publication is completed. /Page vii is omitted in the translation. Page viii is blank./

C /212 cont./
121
•122 If the Supreme Government and the friends who have helped me in this first edition continue to provide me with their considerable support, I plan to return to the region, to make better studies, to get certain data about the other tribes, to get views and panoramas with photographic cameras, and then bring out a second, more polished edition.

C
131
[114] Since, however, through my nomination as a Corresponding Member of the Geographical Society of this city of La Paz, I am making studies appropriate to this science, I shall set down in these pages the approximate geographical degree occupied by the known tribes which populate the extensive zone of the Bolivian Chaco.

The Chiriguano Indians are numerous from 18° 50' to 22° latitude south of the Paris meridian and from 65° to 68° 50' west longitude. However, small groups can be found at 17° 20' latitude and other groups at 22° 25' toward the south of present-day Tacuiba (2).

2. I follow the Paris meridian in placing the tribes because in the body of the work I have used the same to indicate the location of the Cayuguari Indians.

C
121 /214/ The reader who has accompanied me as far as these lines will have quite a clear idea of the Chiriguano Indians, their language, customs, and beliefs, and consequently I have nothing to add with regard to them, because this would be a repetition of what I have said. I shall say something about the others, so that Bolivians and foreigners may know the Indians with whom they are to deal.

Tapiú or Iowaiha

Ce
161
131 The Tapiú Indians are as many as 2,000 between children and adults; they occupy both banks of the Parapiti River at 19° and 19° 50' latitude and 62° 20' to 65° longitude from the Paris meridian.

4: Nino--497 M-2 (1890-1911) 1912 SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Tapiete SP13

T
433
648
167

/920 cont./

They devote themselves to planting, hunting, fishing, and raising livestock; they rarely go on maue to Chiriguano towns and even more rarely to those of the whites, to which they do little damage.

Miscellany

C
824
829
757

In the section "Flora" in Etnografía Chiriguana /Chiriguano Ethnography/ I described the passion flower of the Chaco region of Bolivia, which is called granadilla de monte /wild passion flower/ there. Its roots are medicinal and those with pretensions of being doctors there employ them to cure tapeworm.

There is a small tree called "Nuranti mburu," long thorn, by the Chiriguano, and melocrillo /small melon/ by the whites of Santa Cruz. It grows three or four meters high at most; when it blooms, its tips are a quite light purple; its roots are put on to boil for a period of one and a half hours, and the clarified water is an effective remedy for treating dysentery.

C
122

The Franciscan school /colegio/ at Pomé, the Reverend Father Prefect of Missions, and the Padres Convertos of the same school deferred to my suggestion that they /924/ help me in publishing the Etnografía Chiriguana, for which I thank each and every one of them from the bottom of my heart.

I extend in these pages the same thanks to a group of gentlemen from the city of Sucre, who, encouraged by Doctor Don Tomás Arana, assisted in the publication with a subscription of ten bolivianos per copy.

Finally, special thanks have been earned by two young ladies from the city of Sucre and another from the city of Oruro, who, through special deference to the author, have favored him with extraordinary alms, without imposing upon him any obligation whatsoever.

Schwedenmission 8-4,5 (1904-1909, 1913) 1920
SFSS Chirigwana SFSS
Chaco SFS

[p. vii]
[p. vi is blank]

PREFACE

C
Ce
D2

As I mentioned in the preface to the First Part of this work, the expenses of publication have been defrayed by Consul-General Axel Axson Johnson, Esq., of Stockholm, to whom I have taken the liberty of dedicating this, the second part of my book, as a small token of my appreciation of the interest and kindness he has shown towards my South American researches. I also mentioned in the earlier preface that Consul-General Johnson has in every way tried to further Swedish researches in S. America, above all by granting free passages to all the Swedish explorers visiting that continent on board his comfortable and stately ships.

C
Cc
F6
F7
Ce
D2

This work is based on collections made by me in S. America, as well as on the study of material in museums and of books (See Part I). I would remind my readers that these researches have been carried out with the support of Swedish patrons of research-work, notably Arvid Hovgaard, Esq., and Mrs. Ina Smitt.

610

I have to thank several of my friends and colleagues for valuable communications, which I have made use of in one way or another in the present work. These are: Mr. Kaj Birket-Smith of the National Museum, Copenhagen (M. C.), Dr. G. Friederici, Dr. R. Karsten, Prof. Dr. Th. Koch-Grünberg, Director of the Ethnological Museum, Stuttgart, Dr. F. Krause, Ethnological Museum, Leipzic, Dr. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Leiden, Licentiate Sven Lovén, Prof. Dr. Max Schmidt, Ethnological Museum, Berlin, (M. f. V. B.) and Dr. Max Uhle. Every possible courtesy has been shown me by the Riksmuseum,

C /176 cont./
Ce of the daughters, who, during the betrothal and at the beginning
592 of the marriage, live with the mother-in-law. In front of
C the hut is the large hearth (Ill. 83) where the maize beer,
Ce and sometimes also the food, is cooked. /Fig. 84b appears
592 here./ Inside the hut there is likewise a hearth where cooking
354 is done and where one seeks warmth on cold nights and days.

Ce
342
415
417
293

Fig. 83. Hearth for boiling maize beer. Chané village. Rio Itiyuro. To the right in the picture, large vessels in which the maize beer ferments. The house is plastered with earth.

C
Ce I have slept in these huts many a night. They are, as a
342 rule, free of vermin, which cannot be said of the dwellings
122 of all other Indians and of the houses of the whites. The sleep-
136 ing place either consists of a bed made of a species of bamboo
352 cane, or one lies /Plate 16 appears here/ /177/ on the ground
513 on a reed mat or a skin. One also sees hammocks in the huts.

Ee 622 643 354

/230 cont./

The chiefs' families form a sort of aristocracy among the Chiriguano and Chané. Several times I heard Indians boast about their good family connections. A Chiriguano who accompanied me for some time as an interpreter was eager to impress upon me that he was related to the most famous high chiefs.

Just as the author of this book is customarily introduced as the son of Adolf Nordenskiöld, so the Indians were wont to introduce in similar fashion the sons of their "great men."

I even discovered a bit of deception in connection with the family tree. A Chané claimed direct descent from the great Hinu Parava, which, however, is said to be untrue.

If one wishes to find beautiful things from olden times among these Indians, one must first look for them in the chiefs' families. They keep the old treasures.

Ee [177]

More and more the white authorities are beginning to appoint the chiefs. Thus, in one region one can find a chief supported by the whites and a legitimate one.

Ee 622 423 122 643

The chiefs have great power, and, as far as I could see, they are always obeyed, in contrast to conditions among the Choroti and Ashluslay. They own the land (at least in certain regions), not for themselves, but for the tribe. If one needs porters in a Chané or Chiriguano village, one gets them from the chief, and no Indian will refuse to carry out the orders of the chief.

Ee 622 643

Although the chief has such great influence, /231/ he nevertheless works in the same way as the other Indians. Vocapoy himself, for example, carried home the heavy wood for cooking the maize beer, and his wife had to cook and sweep, like the other women. Following the example of the whites, however, a few of the most civilized and wealthy Indians, such as Taco, now have servants from their own tribe, but this was not done originally. On the other hand, as I have mentioned elsewhere, it is not unusual for the Mataco-Vejos and the Tapiete to work for the Chiriguano and Chané.

Ee [359] [177]

Ee 177 464

Ee 622 643 431 123

When we came home to Vocapoy's village from hunting and shared our booty with the chief /Fig. 115 appears here/, his wife accepted everything, but then went around to the houses and gave her neighbors everything that she had received.

Ashluslay SK5
Mataco SI7
Choroti SK6
Tapiete SK13

/1 cont./

000 the Sociedad Científica del Paraguay. Having also visited
C the Churupí Indians at the mission near Lake Escalante, about
A 25 kilometers from the mission at Esteros, I continued my
M 114 journey on September 5 as far as Linares, where I found a num-
M ber of Mataco Indians, who in part lived in a town some seven
[361] kilometers from Linares and in part had come from the other
side of the Pilcomayo River to Linares.

C /2/ On September 9 I left Linares and on the next day
A arrived in Guachalla, from where I visited the Churupí camp
114 /tolderia/ about seven kilometers away.
A
[361] On September 11 I left Guachalla for the fort of Cururenda,
C where I had the occasion to see the Chorote /Choroti/ Indians,
CI who were living in a camp some three kilometers from
114 Cururenda, as well as some Toba and Mataco, who came
CI from the other side of the Pilcomayo to Cururenda.
[361]

C On September 15 I continued my journey as far as Oruro,
T in the environs of which I visited the Tapieté. My escort,
114 Lieutenant Cabello, who knew these Indians well, took me to
T their two camps, one of which is 15 and the other 32 kilo-
[361] meters from Oruro.

C On September 19 I left Oruro, and passing through
114 Capirendá and Carandayty, in the company of Lieutenant
Diego Corvalan, I arrived in Machareti, where I remained
from September 21-25. Since Machareti is a Chiriguano
town, I had a good chance at this place and at the end of my
journey, to observe this interesting Indian tribe.

Beginning my return on September 25, I passed in succes-
sion through Capirendá, Carandayty, López de Filippis, and
Puerto Casado, arriving in Asunción on October 8.

C Thanks to the great help of the military authorities, it was
[122] possible for me to pass through large areas of the Paraguayan
Chaco during the relatively short time of two months, to get
acquainted with a large number of native tribes of the Chaco,
to take photographs of these tribes, and to make up vocabularies
000 of their different languages. Outside of the Toba, whom I met

/297 cont./

122 114 Luis Mattioli, Dionisio Polvorini, Juan Nicolai, and Honorato Catinari, who backed me up on various occasions. The Reverend Father Enrique Biagini did me a service for which I was very grateful by committing me to the care of all the missionaries of the Chaco.

The prefect of Tarija, Colonel Nuñez del Prado, facilitated my trip /298/ by giving me a safe-conduct which was particularly useful to me in dealing with the authorities of eastern Bolivia. This man, courteous and intelligent, has just died on the battlefield. I wish to salute his memory with gratitude.

My compatriots Messrs. Burry helped me during my whole trip and rendered invaluable services which I remember gratefully, as well as the important aid given me by Messrs. Attié of Tarija.

I received cordial hospitality from Mr. Bonardi of Nancarwinza and from Mr. Vicente Constantini, whom I thank here.

Mr. Alberto Torrejón of Ibopeyti showed himself to be a host full of intelligence, and his intervention on my behalf with the Indians was very useful to me.

114 123 I should show myself ungrateful and unjust if I did not here express all I owe to the Indians themselves, whose reception, once the first mistrust was dissipated, was always so cordial, so generous. Here I should like to cite the name of my old friend, Captain Karnapadyú, of Carurutí, who was a courteous and kind friend to me and who made my stay in the Caipipendí valley so pleasant. Some day may I come back to my Chiriguano friends with mules loaded with knives, cloth, and beads, and thus fulfill the wishes they expressed so often to me.

/338 cont./

241 Sorghum (triku) (Sorghum saccharíferum) (1):

[262] 1. Sorghum is cultivated only on a very small scale. It is a delicacy that the Chiriguano reserve for children, who suck its stalk.

/339/ Sugar cane:
Melons:
Watermelons (sandías):
Prickly pear (saini) (Opuntia spec.):
Fig trees:
Orange trees (in the missions).

[199] The Chiriguano cultivate only on a very small scale the plants which, like sorghum, sugar cane, fig trees, and orange trees, have been introduced by the Europeans. Of these only melons enjoy general favor.

248 They always devote some parts of their fields to the cultivation of plants of value only for their arts and manufactures. These are: cotton plants (mandiyú), cucurbitaceous plants (iá) which grow on the ground next to their squash and furnish the containers they need, roucou (urukú), which scarcely exists except in the northern part of their habitat, and finally a species of reed (Arundo donax) with which they make the shafts of their arrows.

249 They also plant tobacco (pétí), but I have never seen any in their fields. According to Nordenskiöld (10, p. 25), its [276] cultivation is insignificant and rare. The Chiriguano are not [123] great smokers, and the numerous packs of cigarettes I took along for them found only a few devotees. Among the Toba, Matako /Mataco/, or Chorotí /Choroti/ my stocks would have been exhausted in the wink of an eye, for these Indians love tobacco more than anything in the world.

276 The use of tobacco among the ancient Chiriguano, as among 756 their ancestors in Paraguay or Brazil, was reserved for the 824 medicine men for their magical operations. Their use made [198] of it a plant endowed with "mystical" virtues, and its

/339 cont./
consumption was limited (1).

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.

We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the Indians of the Cururutí region in Caipipendí valley. From the end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6).

This temporary migration of the whole population of a village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

[Fig 6 appears on p. 69 - Analyst]

/340 cont./

421 Property is a sacred thing among the Chiriguano, and the nearest relatives cannot dispose of their belongings without their formal consent.

241 115 123 At the time of my stay in Carurutí, I once asked my old friend "Captain" Karnapadyú to take me to his field. He was very

249 407 797 142 291

Fig 7 Mill for grinding sugar cane at the Ivu mission. (Photo. A. M.)

241 115 [123] touched by /Plate VI appears here/ /341/ the interest that my wish implied and in an instant showed himself ready to do the honors.

His field was about 700 meters from the village on top of one of the cliffs which border the "quebrada" /ravine/ of Carurutí. Access to it was by a steep path across fallen rocks. The entrance [35] to the field was closed by a hedge composed of tree trunks and [417] thorny shrubs which we climbed over with the help of an Indian-style ladder, That is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps.

[Text continues on p. 74]

/334 cont./

Fermented Beverages

293 Anyone who has traveled among the Chiriguano or the Chané has learned to prize corn beer, or kãwi. Few moments in the course of my expedition have left me more pleasant memories than the ones when, tired by a long stage, I would sit down in front of a hut and receive from the hands of the wife of the "captain" a calabash full of this liquid, slightly sharp and a little granular, which quenches thirst and allays hunger. The day when the Chiriguano stop making kãwi will be a sign that they have disappeared from the face of the earth, and perhaps this delicious drink will survive them as a creole speciality in which good nationalists will take pride.

[122] [123]

Father Corrado (p. 43) once heard from the mouth of a Chiriguano an admirable definition of the role of kãwi in the life of an Indian: "It is our father and our mother," said he. Indeed, it is the father of joy, the sign of plenty, the companion of the most beautiful moments of existence as well as the most tragic ones. It has within it a mysterious and mystic force which penetrates the individual, exalts him, and protects him against supernatural dangers. All festivals are reduced, in their essential part, to the consumption of kãwi; no collective enterprise is conceivable without their first drinking it from full jars (1). From birth to death, all that affects the

293 726

1. Even in the 18th century the Chiriguano, like the ancient Tupinamba, did not undertake any expedition of war without having celebrated a caouin or a vin /wine/, to express ourselves like the old French chroniclers: /a passage of poetry in Spanish from Barco Centenera, p. 262, is omitted in the translation/.

When the Chiriguano of Parapití and Caipipendí rose up in 1799, before the revolt they held great drinking festivals, during the course of which they decided on the plan of operations (Corrado, p. 254).

/364 cont./

273 life of the individual or the community is associated with this beverage. The divine principle which kĩwi has in it does not take away its secular character; and, while one gets drunk on it during the festivals, nothing prevents washing down meals with it at the time when the corn ripens. As a sign of [594] hospitality every stranger is invited to empty a calabash full [596] of it; and the compliments he addresses to the wife of his host fill his heart with pride.

527 The Indians always appreciated the liking I showed 293 /Plate XIV appears here/ /365/ for kĩwi, and my old friend [123] Karnapadyũ did not fail to recall the big vats full to the brim to persuade one to return to celebrate Easter with them, or, if you like, the corn harvest, since these two dates coincide more or less. Such promises /Fig. 29 appears here/ could not remain without effect, and Karnapadyũ was not at all surprised to see me arrive shortly before the festival.

The greatest animation prevailed in the village of Caruruf, formerly so calm. Men came and went, bending under enormous loads of wood. All the urns were lined up in front of the huts and buried to a third of their height (Plate XIV, 1). 529 For a long time big piles of corn had already been heaped up 273 in the village, which all, big and small, men and women, 273 /Fig. 30 appears here/ were actively engaged in husking. [412] Some used their fingers, others knives or a pointed stick. Not [413] one had thought of the so practical instrument used by their ancestors: a small wooden peg with a leather loop to put two fingers through. It is curious to note that such a simple object fell into disuse; an old man still sold me a specimen made of iron but a close copy, so to speak, of the wooden prototype, of which it reproduced the smallest details (Fig. 29).

273 Now the hardest work begins: the grinding of the kernels. Day and night the dry noise of the pestles crushing the corn [461] resounds in the village. Often, to get the chore over more quickly, three women group around the same mortar and with surprising speed raise and pound their pestle without a single [415] error in rhythm interrupting their laborious work. Once ground, the corn is sifted in an urumpesa or large-meshed sieve (Fig. 31). The rather coarse flour is poured into large urns filled with water.

293
824

/269 cont./

De Molles, y de murta bien sirado.
Seguro que bebian casi ayrobe.
Que media á cada cual le ayrobe dado."
/The wine of mauze and of algarrobe.
Of Molles, and of myrtle well worked.
It is certain that they drank almost
an arrobe.
The measure which was given to each
one./

293
524
596
[123]
[114]

Kiwi is too respected a drink to be drunk in any old way. Etiquette requires one to comply with certain rules if the honor of participating in a drinking bout is done you. I sometimes had a chance to be invited to these festivities, and on such an occasion I was able to make the following observations which I am setting down just as I noted them in my field notebook: The men are seated in a circle on chairs or benches. The women squat behind them, on skins spread out on the ground. The kiwi is brought in vessels shaped like bulls, and one of them is put down at the feet of the "captain." The girl who has brought it fills a small calabash and offers it to the "captain," who empties it. Next he serves me and gives the vessel back to her. He does the same with my neighbor, then with several of the guests. Then he hands the calabash to his wife and goes to sit down. The latter serves the rest of the men present.

[954]

A second vessel, brimming over with kiwi, is put this time before another Indian who perhaps is held in some esteem. He drinks first, then buries himself with his companions. Two large calabashes are then given over to the women, and from that moment on, the distribution no longer seems to follow any order. Men and women drink and serve their neighbors without obeying any rule of decorum other than not to forget other people. They acquit themselves perfectly in this duty of politeness, and nobody is neglected, not even the very small children, who take alarming quantities of kiwi.

In Mexican--166 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/[illegible] cons./

Fig. 45. Fabrication of a large vat: the potter impresses her thumbnail into the still soft clay to obtain a regular design.

In some villages there are no more potters. The inhabitants of the toldería of Ibopeytí, for example, have to import the painted vessels they need to celebrate festivals. When I wanted to acquire them, it was generally objected that they had been bought and often at a very high price. "You go away and leave us without vessels," they often used to say to me as a half-joking, half-sad good-by after my raids.

/476 cont./

123 Drawings. On Plates XCI-XCIII one can see gathered to-
126 gether a certain number of drawings executed for my sake by
532 Chiriguano Indians. In order to obtain them I first approached
several old men, who refused with an outraged air as if I were
123 asking them to do a thing beneath their dignity. A small boy
126 of 12, Consito, two young men, Asensio and José Miguel, and
115
532

524

Fig. 136. Indian executing the mobile string figure called "culo de caballo /horse's rear end/.

123
126
115 a girl, Iwawasei, showed themselves willing to cover the pages
532 of my album with all kinds of sketches.

Consito did not have to be begged: I was proposing to him a game not only pleasant but fruitful, and he had soon filled two pages (Plate XCI, 1, 2, 4, 9; Plate XCII, 2, 4; Plate
115 XCIII, 1, 3, 10). Asensio, my faithful friend, also gave me
123 complete satisfaction. He was a curious individual, and I keep
126 a particularly vivid and congenial memory of him. He was 25 to 30 years old and was conspicuous because of his extraordinary
[322] activity and ingenuity. At any moment of the day he could be seen busy cutting or carving a piece of wood which then

[See pp. 355-357-- Analyst]

/476 cont./

115 123 122 322 443 became an ingeniously conceived tool or still oftener a musical instrument. Asensio used to make violins which on first sight appeared to have come from a European factory. It goes without saying that he was the recognized carpenter of the village and the great provider of household articles. When Asensio had understood the purpose which had brought me to his home, he transformed his hut into a workshop for ethnographic objects: and I owe it to his enterprising spirit that I was able to collect many a piece, today no longer in use, which he reconstructed for me.

At the time when I was in his village, Asensio had received big orders for flutes for the coming Easter festival, [532] and I had a good time watching him work. Once an instrument was finished, he would embellish it with engraved animals.

115 122 532 The material on which Asensio (see Plate XCI /see p.355/, 5, 7,. and Plate XCII /see p.356 /, 3, 6) incised his figures exerted an indirect influence on the pencil drawings he drew in my notebook. They stand out by their angular character, but also by their cleanness.

José Miguel (see Plate XCI, 8; Plate XCII, 1, 5, 7, 9; Plate XCIII /see p. 357 /, 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12), whom Asensio's example had encouraged, asked me to give him the notebook and pencil, and he made me a whole series of drawings which, although rather light and uncertain, sometimes are not lacking in a certain movement. José Miguel had traveled to Argentina: [177] the train and the automobile (which he drew from memory) attest well to his admiration for the /477/ marvels of "Progress" (Plate XCII, 7, 8). Thank God his modernism had not made him forget his mythology, and he was able to draw for me a mythical episode which is to be seen on Plate XCIII, 12, A, B, C: the blue jaguar (yaguarowi, personification of the spots on the moon) is preparing to devour the moon and the sun.

123 122 532 When I had finished with the men, I wanted to have several feminine drawings, imagining that the women would lend themselves willingly to this game since they are the recognized artists of the tribe. All, unanimously and to my great surprise, refused to do it, shouting in the middle of gales of laughter: Aikuaá "I Can't do it, I don't know how."

/677 cont./

000 laughter: Aikuá "I can't do it, I don't know how." Only one,
123 a girl, Iwawari, allowed herself to be persuaded by the promise
182 of a spool of thread. Her awkwardness was not feigned, as I
115 was able to see from the beginning, seeing the embarrassed air
532 with which she took the pencil. Once ready to draw, inspiration was suddenly lacking. She stopped short until I had penned out a vessel to her to copy. Since her confusion only grew greater, she asked Cocoto, the small boy who made my first drawings, to help her. He drew the vessel on Plate XCII, 10, which she began conscientiously to reproduce in series. I protested, and then she made me a horse and on this horse's back a man and a child, then a woman (Plate XCI, 3 and XCII, 7). I am not very sure that all the drawings she told me she had made were hers, for when my attention was diverted by a visit, she had Cocoto secretly help her.

532 The drawings the Chiriguano executed for my sake recall not
171 only those of our children but approximate appreciably those which have been collected in various regions of South America, notably among the tribes of the Negro River (Koch-Grünberg, 1); the Tasiipang and the Makú (Koch-Grünberg, 3, Plates 28-32, pp. 129-161); the Indians of the upper Xingú (Steinen, 2, Plates III-IV), (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 245-247, pp. 198-199); the Chorotí and the Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 2, Figs. 63-66, pp. 130-137); the Kaingué (Ambrosetti, 2, Plates I-III, pp. 674-692), etc.

There could be no question of making a comparative study of these drawings, so uniform is their style. The only details which are worth being brought together are those denoting similar psychological characteristics and yet these common traits are not characteristic of a primitive mentality. I should scarcely have to point out the fact that in drawing a woman, a Kaingué Indian proceeded exactly as did two of my Chiriguano artists (Plate XCI, 3 and 7): he began by representing the woman naked, then dressed her.

532 /end cont./

Figure 11. Guenaco (José Miguel).

[821] Figure 12. (A): blue jaguar who lives in the sky (personification of the spots on the moon) getting ready to eat the moon (B) and the sun (C), thus bringing on an eclipse.

Chapter XIV

The Treatment of Illnesses

Sorcerers and Remedies

956 178 Sorcerers. Medicine men have become so rare among the Chiriguano that I could not get to know a one during my whole trip. Only on the upper Pilcomayo did they allude in front of [125] me to a talented paye who lived in a nearby village.

Although great sorcerers endowed with supernatural powers and surrounded with great prestige no longer exist, there still must be in each village a man or woman capable of curing certain illnesses and of pronouncing incantations.

A scene I witnessed at Timboy (Salado River, upper Pilcomayo) demonstrates well that the profession of sorcerer, less important though it may be, has nevertheless not disappeared. I was living in the home of a Bolivian half-breed whose [122] child's body was covered with purulent pimples. His parents began by appealing to my medical knowledge, but I declared myself incompetent to treat this case or any other. They then 95 called an old Indian woman, who appeared one morning with [124] a plant in her hand, a kind of wild pumpkin which the half-breeds call sandía del monte. This plant, crushed and mixed with hot water, is used for external washing. They stretched the child out on the ground and commanded him to hold himself motionless. The old woman sat down near him and began to mutter inaudible incantations which she interrupted only to spit often on the limbs of the little patient. Then she would take up her recitation again, at the same time spreading the saliva over his body from head to feet. Nordenskiold (5, p. 44,

/136 cont./

775 If one asks the Indians about this point, they answer that a woman has seen in her dreams the shade of her departed husband, or he that of his departed wife, and both, those of their children, relatives, or grandparents, for all of whom they have an excessive fondness, and it can be deduced from this that in the Chiriguano race there is a confused belief in the immortality of the soul, since, with regard to the body, they themselves can see that everything turns to dust and earth.

775 776 192 Some explorers and travelers have set down in writing that they call the soul Afia; the Indians also confirm these accounts, but they do not give the name Afia indiscriminately to all souls, but only to those which had a very bad death, such as suicide, and those who took a long time to die. But in no case would a mother call her child's soul Afia, nor would relatives use this term for their departed, because Afia means demon or evil spirit (1).

[93]

1. At times I have been called to pray near a person gravely ill, so that he might die sooner and thus be free of that spirit, which, according to them, is bad; but I made it understood to them that I would neither pray as they wished nor was the sick person evil because of taking a long time to die.

The true enemy of the Tupa is the Afia, demon, but /135/ this latter word only means demon through use, just as iñ by the same use means soul. The Indians today give both terms the meaning that I attribute to them, and I still lean on the authority of Father Corrado, who in his catechism defines Afia as demon, Anihoata, place of demons, Afia imma, the demon's companion, yaneñgle, our soul, iñgle, their soul. The Indians have great fear of a demon and seek protection by demons; they say that they frequently see them at night, and when they have to walk in the shadows, they carry a burning firebrand (1).

775 776

[92]

1. Afia means phantom in Chiriguano; iñ means shade, cuarai iñ pe, in the shade. Missionaries should make them understand the true meaning.

4: Nmo--194 M-2 (1893-1911) .917 [illegible] Chiriguano [illegible]

/135 cont./

775 776 because the Indians know that the evil spirit is a phantom, and the soul of the dead a shade: chemembi if shecha. I saw the shade of my son, says the mother.

776 784 [123] One night while the smallpox epidemic was going on, they called me, being the Convenor of the Santa Rosa Mission, to catechize a poor and miserable old woman who was some two and a half kilometers from the town. Among those who accompanied me there was one whom I well remember, who is still alive and whose name I shall not forget, who carried a burning firebrand, which was not necessary for me because the night was quite bright. When he was asked the reason for such a thing, he answered: Afia afuguae vaena, to chase away the demons. They all do this especially when they are alone, which is rare, because the Chiriguano only rarely goes out at night because of his fear of evil spirits.

776 174 171 From this it can be deduced with considerable probability that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay. There were in that region, in past centuries, the missionaries of the Company of Jesus, who are famous for their apostolic work and for the suffering which they experienced in the reduction of the region. Because of the sorcerers some of them even suffered martyrdom.

I had the opportunity to read a brief history, which I have mentioned above, written by Father Antonio of this same company, and I learned that the Guaraní believe in sorcerers and saw the Afia, demon, at all times and places. It destroyed the wheatfields and other plantings, did damage in their houses and burned them. Even the Guaraní called the bad spirit Afia which the said missionary applies to the demon (?).

2. A work written in the Guaraní missions of Paraguay.

/139 con./

Belief in the Future Life

[195] This belief has suffered many more alterations than the previous one; nevertheless it reveals that even under the rude and ignorant nature of the poor Indian and the unfortunate Chiriguano there is in force the idea of the great philosopher, non omnis moriar, which so many materialists would have end with material life, doubtless in order to drown apparently the remorse of the gnawing worm which from time to time appears and unintentionally reminds us of the perversities which have been perpetrated (1).

[77] 1. It is difficult for the Chiriguano to understand spiritual matters, for which reason his ideas concerning the future life are purely material. Without revelation this dogma of faith is not understood.

When the soul of a Chiriguano leaves the body, it does not die. All, without realizing it or even suspecting it, have this idea of the immortality of the soul. Mourning and sentiments of grief, burial, and things that they put in the coffin when someone dies, with which I shall deal later, are related to this. Should someone ask them about this, they would answer, "Mahanu" How will it be? I don't know. In spite of this ignorance, in order to express their thoughts regarding the soul and its immortality, they admit that there are three places for souls: Tunparenta, Iboca, and Cuarasigli, Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell.

[123] [191] I am going to deal with the three, rectifying what concerns Iboca, which belief I was acquainted with from the beginning of residence among the race and an account of which can be found in my little Nene, which was printed in the year 1905 to help Chiriguano children learn the Spanish or Castilian language.

The Tunparenta is literally the place of God, or his dwelling place, as the aflarenta is the dwelling place of the devil. I have already noted the fact that Tunpa is the source of good, of all virtue, of everything good: Tecocavi. With this idea that he has of God, the Chiriguano naturally concludes that God only

/266 cont./

574 576 [194] The second t of the word tuti is pronounced double (1).

1. In other places the salutation is different. They say Catapiri or Aguyeti, good things, prosperity. But the other seems to me to be more in conformity with the universal salutation, as is done everywhere.

If the visitor is a person he knows, the host then says, Nde pa co? Is it thee? And the other answers, Checo, it is I, and then goes on to say Imeño pa nei? Are you living? Imeño aí, I am living. And he enters the house of his uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law, or whoever it may be, since it seems that the Chiriguano has relatives everywhere, and he would have them all over the world, if there were Chiriguano all over the world.

574 576 622 Often it is the cacique who receives strangers, if these come looking for him, as naturally happens, but any Indian at whose house he may come will at once say to him with all courtesy, Eyú, come in, if he is on foot, and Egüeyi, come down, if he is mounted. At once he presents him with the best seat that he has and begins the conversation; meanwhile the lady of the house puts at his disposal a large jar of chicha with the respective maté or tumbler, and, aided by her daughters, she prepares the best meal. The captain, or cacique, of Tiasía prepared for me a maté of boiled corn with salt, arivivi, or very hot chili peppers, and hard-boiled eggs chopped into small pieces. 123 [622]

I noted the great cleanness of the food and the utensils, and then, as I have already said elsewhere, I had a long talk with the Indian, who was quite loquacious and frank, about various religious matters, and in conclusion he made me understand that he would not go to the Boicovo Mission or to the others, because prayer and baptism cause death; that my companions and I had made it not rain that night in order that we might not get wet, and that it is not God who created man, and, when asked who it was, he answered naturally and with astonishment, Ndicuaá á pa? Don't you know? (2) /Illustration appears here./

797 771 2. In the other place I did not set down everything

[Text Continues on P.362]

C 123 439 /151 cont./

In Tihuipa I opened a regular /152/ small produce store for a few days. Indian men and women, especially the latter, crowded around the shop counter. It was a

Ce 142 291

Fig. 76. Chane Indian.
Rio Parapiti.

C 123 439 [437] peculiar shop. If an Indian woman came there with money in order to buy something, she was politely sent away by the clerk, but if she came with an attractive old clay vessel, she became the happy owner of corals, fire-red ribbons,

/152 cont./

earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other 123
fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout. 439

There are always two villages in these mission stations, 437
one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt 361
more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more 797
fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent.

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through 133
which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected [135]
mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco. The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The wood- 137
land, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monoto- 241
nous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the droughts seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge 731
swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the 136
woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds.

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting 114
Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti.

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the 133
/153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand. If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of 137
bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti.

/157 cont./ One old woman who was supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by ethnographers either, the promise of the old woman was not very friendly.

The Chané use their old language for many expressions that are abusive, for example, karitimisóyti, which they translate as son of a w---e. An invitation to coitus is called pocóne. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for example, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, which they did not know how to translate.

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief Taruiri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Taruiri I also visited another chief, Yumbay, an old worthy who was always embracing me and saying: "I am Yumbay." /Fig. 77 appears here./ "Yes, the great, mighty Yumbay," I chimed in, which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered.

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the mission at Ivu. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region, Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spreading into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in Ivu died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged frightfully among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix. Around this the other swine would get drunk and /159/ continue to drink obligos (1) until they were finally lying on the table.

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the latter must drink up.

/159 cont./

In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities. 114 64 [65] [273]

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either. 797 756

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the 114

415 531

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igüembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 114 It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant. [133] [137]

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things. 123 157 173 643 000

/170 cont./ Ce

The legendary figures and their experiences stimulate the imagination, are preserved and retold. The historical personalities and events are forgotten. 173 Ee

If one looks in Chané and Chiriguano houses, one finds many things preserved which are now no longer in use, /171/ but which they value as mementos of earlier times and often do not want to give up. For example, one sees handsome round pipes, "huiramimbi" (Ill. 80), which have undoubtedly been handed down from generation to generation. They were formerly used in connection with expeditions of war. Old Maringay had kept all kinds of things from olden times. It gave me great pleasure to rummage about in the old man's storage places. I wanted to buy something from him, but felt embarrassed to offer him money for his mementos. 523 Ee [276] [721] c 523 123 126

I once found a bundle of fine, old, completely smoke-blackened arrow-points stuck into the walls. "Would you not like to sell them to me?" I asked my old friend hesitatingly. "You shall have three as presents," said Maringay. After this refusal I let him keep his cherished things.

Once I rode away from Vocopay's village in order to look up an old Chané who had an attractive old costume. After some hesitation he showed it to me. He had carefully wrapped it in other material. Like an enthusiastic museum official taking out an old gem, he unwrapped it carefully. One unmistakably saw how dear it was to him. Although I offered him a very high price, he did not want to sell it. Ce 523 123 126 c Ce

The fact that these Indians love their old keepsakes shows that they have a certain degree of culture. This is true only of the old people, however. The young ones are no longer like that; they sell everything without hesitation. What do they care about a worn-out old festival costume if they can get a red, fluttering scarf and trousers with jacket in exchange! The triumphal march of trousers across the world has also reached these valleys and plains. 523 178 c Ce [177]

The Chiriguano and Chané no longer carry on regular war with other Indian tribes. Occasionally, however, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians. Ce 721 c [721]

/186 cont./

It is strange that peoples who fish so much are acquainted with so little fishing gear. In my description of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we have already become familiar with this deficiency.

On the Rio Pilcomayo, Moberg and the author once wanted to give the Indians the benefit of our fishing experience and constructed a weir of which we were not a little proud. We set it out, firmly convinced that in the morning it would be full of fish. All we caught was wood and refuse of all sorts, and I cannot deny that the Indians ridiculed us a bit.

The reason for the poverty of these Indians with regard to fishing gear is not a lack of ideas, but a different one. There are, quite simply, few fishing methods suitable for these waters. Setting out a net at night is not feasible, for if a palometa fish gets into the net it immediately cuts it in two with its knife-sharp teeth. Fishing with a hook where there are such fish is also not enticing, for they bite off the hooks as easily as the lines, if these are not made of good material. In these tropical waters the fishing gear also rots more quickly than among us and thus should not be left in the water all night.

The Chiriguano and Chané have no vessels. On the other hand, they are extraordinary waders, and to wade in the rivers here during the rainy period is not exactly a small matter. If, however, one has the assistance of one of these Indians, one can cross if it is possible at all.

As an oddity I might mention that during my entire journey I never saw a native white or mestizo fishing. In Bolivia it is not refined to eat fresh fish. On the Rio Pilcomayo /187/ the officers of the military post almost never ate the delicious, fresh, salmon-like fish from the river, but preferred canned salmon from Alaska. Since this is very old by the time it reaches Bolivia, it tastes dreadful. Fishing with a hook is also the only method of fishing that the Indians learned from the whites.

As for domestic animals, the dog is the only one that the Chiriguano and Chané did not get from the whites. These dogs now seem to me to have a strong mixture of foreign blood. They always have names, for example, tirupotchi (old garment), /Fig. 91 appears here/ chapikáyu (yellow eyebrows). As a rule,

C 524 /197 cont./

I saw the "parama" game played by the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley. It is played by two. A button or the like is placed on a stone as a goal, whereupon they throw small round stones made of clay shards. The button is supposed to be struck down, and the one /Figs. 100 and 101 appear here/ who comes closest to it wins a stroke. The game goes on until one of them has five or more strokes, according to agreement.

C Ce 524 The Chané and Chiriguano children also have a number of toys which are illustrated here (Figs. 104-105). One of these, "mou-mou" (Fig. 104), is strange. With it /198/ a buzzing tone is produced if the threads are first twisted and then stretched.

Ce 524

Fig. 102. Maize-cob arrow. 1/3.
"Sóuki." Chané. Rio Parapiti.

Fig. 103. Little stick for the huirahuahua game. 1/3. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

Now I have no doubt properly bored my readers with Indian games and toys. Perhaps I have dwelt too long on this subject, so little studied in South America, which interested me keenly on my journey. As among the Choroti and Ashluslay, I liked playing with the boys. This is also a way of coming closer to the Indians, of winning their confidence.

Ee [123]

Ee 85 [797] [177]

Like the Choroti and Ashluslay children, the children of the Chané and Chiriguano are seldom bored; like the former, they are well-behaved and good children. It is usually very lively on the playgrounds in the villages. This is true of the heathen. The children who have fallen into the hands of the monks look melancholy and reserved; they have already been given a taste of what the children of the white man learn, training and the beginning of civilization. "You shall..." "You shall not..."

C Ce 881 [302] /210 cont./

When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short, and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again. Ce [262] Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize and meal. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."

C 881 •123 In a Chané village, Aguarśti, I saw a girl who was sitting in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet, which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and closet had disappeared.

C 881 P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection

C [113]

1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

C [825] with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has bitten the girl.

C Ce 881 582 When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is marriageable.

Ce 852 304 [301] Ce [603] /211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this. A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.

Ce [262] [191] For one day the father may not consume anything, so that the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians do not like prattlers.

Ce 301 885] When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig. 79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the

C [301] [78] Ce [78] Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta.

6: Nordenskiöld--101 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/250/

Chapter Seventeen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Legend and Religion

Ee
538

Once there was an old Indian who used to sit beside the fire in his hut in the evening and tell about olden days, about animals, human beings, and spirits. The young people gathered around him, listening. The old man went on and on telling stories. He told them with his mouth, eyes, hands, and feet.

One young person after another, however, soon left the circle of listeners and lay down to sleep. Finally the old man was sitting alone beside the dying fire and talking to himself about the adventures of the fox-god and the armadillo-god.

To me this old man represents the old traditions, a culture that is disappearing. The young people listen for a while, but it is soon too much for them. They have new interests. They have begun dancing the great dance which the Christians call civilization, where the dancing is usually around the golden calf.

Ee
[123]

I also sat there as a listener and had the legends explained to me. I believe the old people liked me because I showed such great interest in their old recollections. If I now retell them, I hope the reader will be lenient with me and my old friends, with me because I cannot tell a story as well as the old people, and with the old people because they love everything that is a bit frivolous.

/251/ The legends give us insight into the Indians' ideas of the life beyond and of the spirits. In part through them and in part through the explanations which the Indians have given me, we can understand their religion. We shall hear about the destruction of the world and the theft of fire, about the visit in the realm of the dead, and, above all, about the adventures of the spirits; we shall hear how they deceived one another and human beings, hear of their combats and their vices.

/xiv cont./

114 the Franciscans Conrado, Cardús, Martarelli, Giannecchini, and Señor del Campano, etc. But in Bolivia no complete work is known, notes or pages by authors definitely worthy of every respect and very competent hardly exist, nor have explorers witnessed all that they have written about, from which have come errors which would certainly have been avoided if the reports had not been made so hastily.

121 With all possible calm, patience, and unlimited time, I
[124] have set out to talk with the oldest and most knowledgeable Indians, who have explained some points to me, corrected certain others, and made me add still more; but I have already said that with my writing I do not pretend even to equal the luster of those who have preceded me. I shall only give more extension to the ideas which have been set forth by others, ideas which in the majority have been confirmed by the Indians to whom I have addressed myself.

Finally, I must state that since the Chiriguano are in contact with the mission Indians, and these, both old and new, exist in considerable number, I shall add by way of conclusion, after having finished what I have proposed to do, a chapter concerning the heathen Chiriguanos, the neophytes, or new Christians, and the method that the Missionaries use to reduce them religiously and civilly, and the effort required to maintain them in the Catholic faith.

121 Everyone will understand that, in order to avoid confusion,
128 this small work will be divided into chapters, and the chapters into sections, for greater clarity and so as not to tire the reader. Certain terms that I must print here by necessity will be written in the Chiriguano language with their corresponding explanation, so that each one may understand the impact of the language. I could also formulate some general propositions with the corresponding Spanish, but the nature of this somewhat voluminous book does not permit it, nor is it necessary, because /xv/ there are various small handbooks which have been printed in this Republic of Bolivia.

/128 cont./

121 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not show Him homage in some way.

771 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find out with special care, constancy, and assiduousness what religion 124 they profess and what type of worship they render to their divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

[115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion, and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate 776 one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt true, 775 however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

[805] [771] [192]

1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the months by moons, and they have other very similar customs. It is very notable that they also have some Hebrew words.

577 /129/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is, 771 natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts, since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

/130 cont./

What I am going to set down here will cast some light on this subject and will enlighten the intelligence of the studious man for its investigation.

From conversations with the true Chiriguanos it is impossible to form any idea of the supreme being that they accept. I say true Chiriguanos, by which I mean those who have had almost no contact with missionaries or whites. Today it is difficult to find one of these. Yet despite this, if one should ask the old people who live far from the missions, "Who made all that we see?" they answer, "Quia ndigó?" Who can it be? "Who created us?" They answer: "Ti! Ndicuaá á?" What do you mean? Do you not know? And they give a purely material explanation, as happened on an exploration and trip that I made several years ago in the company of other missionaries south of the canton or town of Huacaya, where I talked with an old cacique who had taken part in the war of 1875 against Iglembe and who, after the pacification, preferred to live outside the mission and planned to die there, because he is convinced that Indians who live in missions die earlier, just as, according to him, all of his companions from Boicovo have already died, which is not true, because they still are alive there, as old as he is (1).

1. The Indians have had and will continue to have the false and erroneous idea that baptism makes those who receive it die, because it is administered to men and women who are in immediate danger of death, and hence those who are old do not wish to be baptized when they are enjoying good health.

192 In the Chiriguano language we find the word Tunpa, which means "superior being" or "marvelous being." When for the first time they saw a large clock with its "tick, tock" and the pendulum making the hands move and giving energy to the hammer to strike the hours with its little bell or wire string, when they saw for the first time the photographic camera which reproduced the image of one or more of them, the clock and camera were Tunpa for the Chiriguano. They applied this word to both things.

Ea 834 871

/221 cont./

K. v. d. Steinen (1) and Koch-Grünberg (2) have pointed

1. K. v. d. Steinen: op. cit., p. 25.

2. Koch-Grünberg: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 133 /Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern (Two Years among the Indians), Berlin, 1909/.

Ea [115]

out that even the women among the Indians on the Xingu and Rio Negro speak of sexual parts quite openly, as of something natural. The same is true among the Indians with whom I became acquainted. When I inquired about words touching on the most intimate things, even the women, indeed, the young girls, answered in the most natural manner.

Ea [124]

There are words, however, which are prohibited. Such words among the Chavori are "amenché," which is an abusive word, "ictivähi," which designates homosexual intercourse, "huéie," which means onanism, and "tévi" among the Chané /222/ and Chiriguano, which has the same meaning as ictivähi. Here, too, the unnatural in sexual life is so shameful that it is not proper to speak of it.

Ea 195 834 838

c 834 838

There are also Indians who never want to speak about such things. This was true, for example, of a Chiriguano whom I had with me on my first trip on the Rio Parapiti. He even pretended that he had never heard such things mentioned. When I asked him about homosexuality among his countrymen, he feigned stupidity and said more or less: "Is that what the whites do?"

c [124]

Ca 538 871 [551]

Among the Indians, as among ourselves, there are nevertheless some who take pleasure in telling obscene stories. Such a one was the old Chané Bóyra, he who had the abusive name yúruhuasu, big-mouth. The more disagreeable the things he related, the more old Bóyra enjoyed himself. Sometimes he told such things that even my friend Batirayu, who used to interpret, was quite embarrassed. The old Chiriguano Yambási was also one who could tell all kinds of obscene stories.

Ca [115] c [551] [871]

/295/ Preface

114 12 In the chapters to follow, I propose to publish part of the results obtained in the course of the expedition that I undertook in the Bolivian and Argentinian Chaco in my capacity as director of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Tucumán.

114 [101] This expedition took place from February to June, 1929. Its itinerary was the following: Having left Tucumán, I went by railroad to La Quiaca where I stayed for several days, making observations on the more or less half-breed natives of the region. From La Quiaca I went to Tarija, where I remained longer than I might have wished because of the suspicions my trip raised at the time of the Paraguayan-Bolivian conflict.

114 101 103 After a 15-day stop I left Tarija to reach the Chiriguano tolderías of the upper Pilcomayo. I crossed the village of Santa Ana, then the Alta del Cóndor, the Narvaez River, the post of San Diego, passed five kilometers from San Luis (Entre-Ríos) to stop at the Cuesta de San Simon, where I found the first Chiriguano. Once having crossed the Cuesta de San Simón I quickly reached the Salado River, then the Chiriguano villages of Timboy (Saladito). It was there that I made my best acquisitions of [126] pottery and where I collected the oldest objects. The inhabitants [178] of these rancherías, who live relatively far from the highway from Argentina to Santa Cruz, have preserved the traditions and culture of their ancestors better than their racial brothers have. From Saladito I reached the village of Itasití and then Salado Grande, [361] in order /296/ to reach the Pilcomayo at the confluence with the Salado. There, the Chiriguano villages are large and numerous. The most interesting are those of Ñawirenda, Ibopeytí, and Yumbía.

After stopping for some time in this place, I continued my trip toward Huacaya and the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo.

In one day I went from Boicovo to Cuevo, going by way of the mission of Santa Rosa.

[199] [178] From Cuevo on I was in the mission of Ivu, which is without doubt the one where the old Chiriguano customs have undergone the fewest modifications.

/297 cont./

121 114 Father Bernardino de Nino, it is only a translation of Campana's article, filled out with copious borrowings from Corrado's work. Nevertheless the Reverend Father Bernardino de Nino added many very interesting details to the texts that he reproduces, which make consultation of his Etnografía chiriguana indispensable.

121 126 My aim was to complete the work of my predecessors and to get together for the Museum of Tucumán a collection which would be truly representative of the last of the cultures which formerly flourished within the limits of the old gobernación of Tucumán. My Chiriguano collections, along with those collected by Nordenskiöld, are, I believe, the most complete ones from this region that exist in the world. They bear witness, I hope, to the richness of this area from an ethnographic point of view, a richness which has been left unexploited and which will disappear in a few years.

121 May these pages demonstrate that every culture is a whole complex, so varied, that no ethnographer can study all its details in the course of a single trip. It is not useless to go back where others have preceded you, for, whatever their merits may have been, the material cannot be exhausted in one time.

122 There remains the paying of a debt of gratitude by thanking Doctor J. B. Terán and Doctor J. Heller, who, as rector and vice-rector of the University of Tucumán, gave me the means to bring about this trip. The new rector of the University, Doctor J. Prebisch, granted me the sizable funds which publication of the results of this expedition required and supported constantly the Revue d'Ethnologie of my Institute. I am eager to make known to him here how grateful I am.

114 122 I wish to express my thanks again to all those who helped me in the course of my trips first and foremost the Franciscan missionaries who gave me generous hospitality and helped me as much as possible: my debt is particularly great to the Reverend Father Jocundo Ferrari, thanks to whom I was able to carry out without damage the transportation of my collections from the upper Pilcomayo to Cuevo; to Father Angriani who received me so frequently in his Ivo mission. Neither do I wish to forget Fathers

241
412
243
[124]

Métraux used to cite to us the following example: during the great war the French soldiers did not much like using English shovels different from their own, and vice versa. The Chiriguano I have seen laboring on military roads in Bolivia handle our shovels exactly like any European laborer; but back home, when it is a question of working a field, they return immediately to the ancestral gestures and are constrained to adapt the form of their instruments to them.

The handle fits into a handgrip carved out of a small block of wood and set in with the greatest care. The latter generally takes the shape of a crescent on which the hand rests comfortably. The handgrips with an elegant curve, which gave an aesthetic character to the ancient spades, have become very rare. In the course of /335/ my trip I was able to acquire only two shovel handles which were provided with them. One comes from Ibopeyti (Fig. 3) and the other was made for me by an old Indian of the Ivu mission. The workmanship of this latter specimen is careless, but it reproduces fairly faithfully the ancient models (Fig. 4).

[124]

241
412
172
243

The use of the shovel among the Chiriguano probably dates back only three or four centuries. This instrument was unknown in ancient Paraguay where our Indians came from. The borrowing which could be presumed a priori has been confirmed by the discovery in the Quebrada de Humahuaca of wooden shovels similar in every detail to the ones I

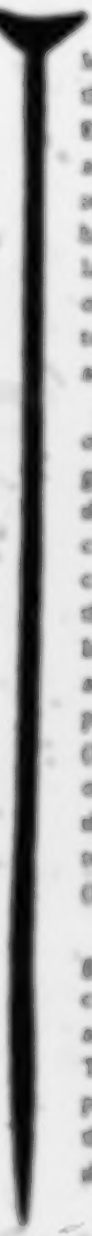


Fig. 3. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ibopeyti. (1/11 nat. size.)

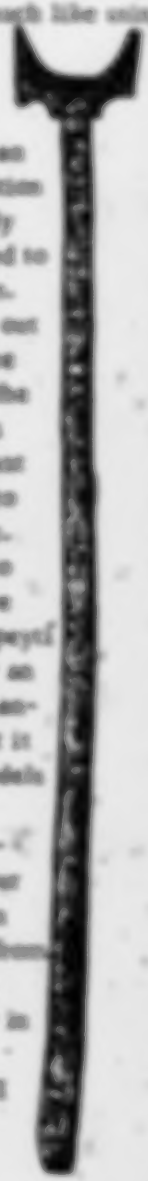


Fig. 4. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ivu. (1/8 nat. size.)

/347 cont./

433 between the roof beams. Once out of this region the ethnog-
123 rapher will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire
224 these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him,
184 they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an
[91] old man or crudely made specimens without any value other than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some rare lover of hunting.

294 The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendí
411 are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using
184 it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were intended, from what they told me, for killing the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.). They are long reeds armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate IX, 1). One must not conclude that the yakú, abundant as they may be, represent an appreciable food resource. Besides, hunting is
[433] scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for
[124] fun. The Indian who gave up to me the handsomest lot of
[425] these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained to me, /349/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them without his consent.

357 Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shoot-
168 ing with a bow than men. One can see them run around the
224 village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows (Plate XII, 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach. Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16 appears here./

223 Some Indians of the Caipipendí valley sold me large
[124] bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts. That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are certainly not numerous in this region; in a month's stay I
287 did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17
434 appears here/ feather duters, which the Chiriguano sell in the

[See Continues on P. 91]

/366 cont./

273 It is not so easy as one thinks to observe in detail the preparation of kāwi, and I am still at a loss to describe the stages in their exact sequence. This difficulty is due to the fact that kāwi is prepared over several days (generally three or four), and it is /Plate XV appears here/ /367/ difficult to be on the spot all the time so as not to miss any detail. Besides, as different families do not begin to prepare kāwi at the same time, confusion results; and it is hard to know at what point of the operation one finds oneself. Apparently I am not the only one to have come up against this obstacle, for it is enough to read the various descriptions devoted to this important occupation to become aware that they are far from agreeing.

126

[114]

273 462 At the moment when the water is at the boiling point in the big vats, the burning pieces of wood and the live coals are scattered, and the corn flour is poured in, being stirred vigorously so that it will not form lumps. While this operation is performed, other women have pounded fine a certain quantity of corn, sifted it, winnowed it to rid it of any impurity, then roasted it in a large potsherd. As this flour is taken off the fire, the women chew part of it and spit this into a calabash. This paste impregnated with saliva is called temišu. According to Nino (p. 248), the Indian women mix the temišu with the corn broth which is cooking in the vats and with which they fill a pot. The woman who busies herself with this mixture (umopirai) allows it to fall back in from a certain height "to give it sweetness."

[412]

Fig. 32. Sticks for stirring the kāwi while it is cooking. No. 1 comes from Tigūipa; No. 2 from Ivu; Nos. 3 and 4 from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (1/1 nat. size.)

/371 cont./

415 531 Certain vessels (Fig. 35) have the exterior surface entirely covered with these depressions obtained by pressure of the thumbnail. The Indians call this decoration tatupire, that is "armadillo carapace," /Fig. 37 appears here/ a completely justifiable comparison.

One can consider as an evolution of the process of ornamentation by finger impressions the angles or chevrons which decorate the outside surface of the vessel of Figure 2, Plate XVI /see p. 125/, which have been incised in the soft clay with a pointed instrument. This type of ornamentation can be reduced to its simplest expression; thus on the neck of the vessel of Plate XVII, 2 /see p. 127/ it is limited to a row of little cavities made with a pointed stick. The small vessel of Figure 36 /see p. 128/ with a belly flattened from top to bottom belongs, from the decorative point of view, in the same category.

415 531 171 On another vessel (Plate XVI, 1) the small nipples which project /372/ all around the belly constitute a summary decoration which completes that of the neck formed by fingernail impressions. Pots of this type are found among the Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 65, p. 218).

This decoration is exceptional in South America. Jijon y Caamaño (p. 6) considers it characteristic of the northern part of Ecuador. He points out its distribution in Central America and in the Mound region in the United States.

[126] The ïru of Plate XVIII, Fig. 2 /see p. 131 / has the exact shape of a calabash; this resemblance was intentional, for the Indian woman who sold it to me presented it at the same time as the calabash which /Fig. 38 appears here/ had doubtless served as a model. Vessels which are almost replicas of this specimen have been found at Jachal and Calingasta in San Juan province in Argentina (Ambrosetti, 1, Plate VII, and Debenedetti, 3, Fig. 41, p. 69).

415 [462] 415 323 The Chiriguano call the vessels in which the women draw the water they need for their households by the Quichua name ïru. The ïru are characterized not only by their more or less globular shape and the narrowness of the neck on top, but also by the quality of the paste from which they were

/387 cont./

C 323 386 The name tarawirisi is also given by the Chiriguano to objects resembling loaves of bread kneaded by hand which are composed of a resinous material mixed with wax. According to the explanations given me by the Indians themselves, this

C 417 415

Fig. 60. Forked tree-trunk serving as a shelf for putting vessels on. (After a sketch by the author.)

C 323 386 substance is taken from a mimosa. After being sprinkled with boiling water, it is kneaded and dried in the sun. Its color is yellow or red, but after firing it becomes black.

I could not learn whether this black glaze was applied over a layer of black paint or spread directly on the walls of the vessel. In every case the designs made by this process are much less regular than the ones drawn with a brush.

C [126] My collections of pottery, which consist of nearly 200 pieces, do not contain any glazed specimen. Nordenskiöld (C p. 144) assures us that the Chiriguano and the Chané of the Parapití coat their yambui with a sort of gum called tarawisi, a word which, except for one syllable, is the same as the one designating the resinous substance we have just been considering.

C 114 323 386

/389 cont./

415 531 The plant kingdom hardly inspires Chiriguano artists. The vessel of Plate LII, Fig. 3, is the only one whose decoration is clearly phytomorphic; and again in this case I am not sure that

323 516 342 291 415

Fig. 61. Fabrication of a vessel: the exterior surface is smoothed with a chip of bamboo after being flattened with the hand.

415 531 a European model did not serve as an intermediary between nature and the picture the potter portrayed.

[126] [179] /390/ Among the 200 vessels I collected in Chiriguano country there is not one that includes a figuration of the human face, with the exception of the one to which I have alluded, whose form betrays the desire to satisfy the stupid puerility of THE TOURISTS.

/392 cont./

531 peculiar to the villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé
184 valley. The decoration made up of broken and asymmetric lines does not go beyond the zone of the Franciscan missions and the Itiyuro region.

323
415
291
516
142
302

Fig. 62. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is rolled between the palms of the hands. (Photographs taken by the author at Masaví, Igüembé Valley.)

• [126]

/393/

Decline of the Art of Pottery among the Chiriguano

323 Of all the Chiriguano industries the most threatened one
178 is doubtless ceramics. The Chiriguano can claim the glory of
415 having been until recently the last Indians of South America
/Fig. 64 appears here/ to have a pottery which deserved to be
included in the number of beautiful manifestations of this art,
so brilliantly represented in certain regions of the continent.
Today things have changed a great deal. Villages in which
one can still find women capable of decorating vessels with
the mastery of former days have become rare and are limited
415 to a restricted area. /394/ It was in the tolderías of the Timboy,
126 the Great Salado and the Little Salado, in the region of Yumbía
178 and in the Igüembé valley (upper Pilcomayo, departments of
Tarija and Chuquisaca) that I was able to collect the finest
specimens in my collection. Elsewhere it was exceptional
/Fig. 65 appears here/ /see p. 166/ to be lucky enough to lay
my hands on a fine piece; and, if I did have this luck several
times, it was almost always a question of an old vessel pre-
[797] served as if by a miracle. The Franciscan missions which
formerly gave Nordenskiöld and Holmberg such fine specimens
797 contributed less toward enriching my collections. Nothing ex-
323 presses the sad state of decline of the Chiriguano better than
415 what I /395/ could observe in the Machareti mission. After
178 going through nearly all the huts of this large village, which in
[162] normal times has close to 2,000 inhabitants, I could scarcely
acquire five or six yambuí having some artistic value. There
[463] were no longer more than three or four women who still knew
how to hold a brush and they had to /Fig. 66 appears here/ /see
p. 167/ provide for almost the whole village. In a few years
the ancient painted pottery will exist only in memory in the
large village where the famous "Captain" Mandepona lived.

323 This decline has several causes. The first is the state of
415 profound demoralization in which the Chiriguano are found, the
178 total disorganization of their social life, and the increasing
177 influence of the white men, followed by its corruptive effects:
finally, the introduction of manufactured products, first and
foremost gasoline cans.

/396 cont./

291
323
415
531

Fig. 65. Fabrication of a large vat: the potter impresses her thumbnail into the still soft clay to obtain a regular design.

463
323
178
439
[126]
[123]

In some villages there are no more potters. The inhabitants of the toldería of Ibopeytí, for example, have to import the painted vessels they need to celebrate festivals. When I wanted to acquire them, it was generally objected that they had been bought and often at a very high price. "You go away and leave us without vessels," they often used to say to me as a half-joking, half-sad good-by after my raids.

/398 cont./

175
648
[266]
[443]

acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even 'had public meat markets for human flesh.' " /Translated from the Spanish./

175
177
648
[567]
[126]

Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII, 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

437
439

Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

121
172

Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text continues on p. 173]

C A /406 cont./
415 following observation: "The dispersion and evolution of a type
171 of pottery whose /407/ origin must be assigned to the peoples near the Isthmus of Panama can be due only to the Arawak, who spread it among the nations living beyond the Andes, in regions as southerly as the Chaco and the territory of Misiones (1).

> 1. Ambrosetti (2, p. 714) as a matter of fact represents Kainguá vessels with a circular foot. I doubt very much that these pots reproduce a primitive type. They are badly fired, badly modeled, asymmetric, and the foot, which is fastened to the vessel when the latter is finished, is easily detached from it.
>
> These vessels are perhaps crude imitations of European pottery.

A
171 In South America the Arawak have been the propagators of Central-American culture among the primitive tribes located east of the Andes."

C A
415 10. The distribution of vessels with a ribbed belly, of
171 which I acquired a marvelous specimen in the Caipipendí
C valley (Plate XXVI, 2), 2/1 is almost the same as that of the
[126] "compotes," and we can, as with the latter, rank them with the pottery which shows a Central-American origin /Fig. 72 appears here/ and whose dispersion was the work of the Arawak (Jijon y Caamaño, p. 5, Fig. 1 D).

C 11. The vessel of Plate XXVII, 2 2/1 is composed of two
415 superimposed domes: one in the shape of a truncated cone,
171 the other rounded. It comes from Ivu and is the only specimen
C of this form that I encountered in the course of my trip. An
[172] identical vessel was dug up on the upper Paraná by Ambrosetti (3, plate between pp. 256-257, Fig. 5). Similar receptacles are still in use by the Yuruná /Yuruna/ Indians of the lower
C Xingú (Steinen, 1, plate between pp. 266-267). The presence
& of vessels of this type among the ancient Guarani authorizes us
415 to suppose that our specimen from Ivu represents /408/ the
171 survival of an ancient form of Guarani pottery which the
172 Chiriguano have not abandoned.

2/1 [See p. 179--Analyst]
2/1 [See p. 183--Analyst]

PA 531 114

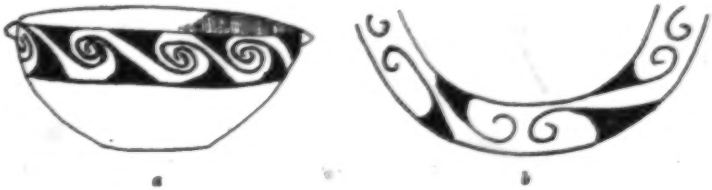
/415 cont./

On the other hand, the excavations carried out on the Isla de Tilcara have produced only a few specimens of pottery whose ornamentation was curvilinear. Debenedetti (2, p. 88) considers the latter, for reasons which I cannot accept, as foreign to the locality. Nevertheless, he has reproduced in his book the decoration of two dishes which is made up of facing triangles with volutes (Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 53 and 54, pp. 88-89) (Fig. 79); and he notes the same design on two other dishes which he does not reproduce. In the same publication (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 113, p. 165; Fig. 114, p. 166; Fig. 115, p. 166) are represented three vessels similar to the Chiriguano yapepo and also decorated with hooked triangles.

C 415 531 171

C 415 171 531

/416/ The most interesting piece in this respect is the



P.A 415 531

Fig. 79. a, bowl from the Isla de Tilcara, whose rim is decorated with facing voluted triangles; b, border of a dish decorated with voluted triangles (Isla Tilcara) (from Debenedetti).

C 415 171 531

yuro of Figure 70 b, reproduced from a drawing given by Debenedetti (2, Fig. 124, p. 175). We have already seen that its form is identical with that of a Chiriguano îru I bought on the upper Pilcomayo. The same is true for the general elements of its decoration.

PA 531

The voluted triangle is found on three other pieces from the Isla de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 160, p. 217; Figs. 161 and 163, p. 217), which Debenedetti (2, p. 218) classes among the pottery imported to the Isla de Tilcara and utilized by curacas /chiefs/. Our yambuí from the upper Pilcomayo, which from the artistic point of view are very superior to the specimens described by Debenedetti, have often been bought

C 415 531 171 126

C /416 cont./
531 by me in humble cabins whose owners were certainly not
415 curacas, but poor devils who had the luck to have a mother
12 or grandmother who was an expert potter. If the criterion of
[126] Mr. Debenedetti were admissible, the crude pottery and the
[114] fancy vessels which can be bought in every Chané or
C Chiriguano village would be products of two different civiliza-
415 tions. In reality the fancy pottery is used on feast days for drinking chicha; and the other, more humble in appearance, is adapted to daily needs.

P.A
415
531

Fig. 80. Dish from Tilcara and decorated with red voluted triangles on a white background. (1/6 nat. size ±.)

P.A
531
[114]

Besides, the voluted triangle is more frequent on the Isla de Tilcara than Debenedetti wishes us to think. In addition to the examples cited, seven others must be added (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 24, p. 59; Fig. 30, p. 63; Fig. 40, p. 70; Fig. 48, p. 80; Fig. 165, p. 219; Fig. 165, pp. 219-220). A vessel from Alfarcito in the same Quebrada bears a triangle with volute on the inside rim of the neck (Debenedetti, 4, Fig. 15, p. 29).

/434 cont./

286 171 The Chiriguano have their loom in common with many tribes of tropical America, and they doubtless were already acquainted with it in Paraguay, at least in a more rudimentary form. In some Chiriguano villages looms of the Inca or Quichua /Quechua/ type, that is to say, horizontal ones, can be seen. The warp is then fastened to a small cord along a piece of wood and the cloth is rolled around as it is produced.

286 294 Headbands and belts are woven with looms of a type similar to the one just described. The warp threads are fastened to a loop of cotton attached to a hut post. As the fabric is made it is rolled around two small sticks or two ears of corn attached to the lower end of the warp (for this type of loom, see Nordenskiöld, 10, Fig. 4, p. 175).

29 30 I am reproducing in Fig. 95 a tsumbi headband. These ornaments have now become very rare, and only a few old men still wear them. Our specimen is dyed with natural colors.

29 [178] Every Indian woman who lives outside the influence of the missions still wears the tipoy, that is, a kind of long sheath which they fasten on the shoulder nowadays with a safety pin and formerly [286] /Plate LXXII appears here/ /435/ with a thorn. In olden times these tipoy were woven by the Indian women on looms of the Arawak type. They were of cotton and dyed blue-black. /Fig. [439] 90 appears here./ Today it is almost impossible to find a woman whose tipoy is not made of chamalote, a kind of cheap cotton cloth which the Syrians and half-breeds sell at a high price to our Indians. In the Caipipendí valley /Fig. 91 appears here/ I met two old women who still kept the tipoy of olden times. They would not [126] give it up to me for any price. At Carurutí, an old fellow desirous of striking a good bargain sold me his wife's at a very /436/ high price in order to buy brandy for himself. It was very necessary to celebrate Easter fittingly.

[178] The shirts (tiru-kumbaè) which the men formerly sported exist no more except in the memory of the old men.

[See p. 278--Analyst]

Ce 101 174 /443 cont./ the center of dispersion of the Arawak must be placed to the north of the Amazon, and before the Chiriguano invasion the Arawak tribe of the Chané was established over the whole extent of the territory now occupied by the former.

C 285 171 Beside this technique another exists, known to the Chiriguano since time immemorial and well before their great migration. The English-language ethnographers give it the name of twilled work. No other type of basketwork is so widespread. This technique is preponderant in all of tropical America from the Antilles to Paraguay and in the south stops at the Chaco. The Chiriguano are the only Indians of the Chaco among whom twilled work is in current use. This type of basketry used to exist on the coast of ancient Peru, but its importance there was not great and it appears only in work baskets.

C 285 184 Basketry in wicker work and that in twined work do not have an identical distribution among the Chiriguano. Baskets of the first kind are numerous in the villages of the upper Pilcomayo (Saladito, Salado Grande and Chico, Ibopeytí, and Yumbia) and go as far as the Ivu mission. They stop, or are rare, in the rest of the Chiriguano country, notably in the Caipipendí valley, where baskets of the second type (twilled work) predominate almost exclusively. These are widespread there, and the beauty of their workmanship, the embellishments with which they are provided, put them well above the basketwork of any other zone and even above that of tribes living in regions richer in palm trees.

C [126] In the huts of the upper Pilcomayo I collected several baskets in twilled work, but they were rare there and often incomplete and torn. I had the impression that they had arrived there by way of commercial exchanges. In any case, the Indians no longer plait baskets of this type, and it is possible that their disappearance has given value to the specimens of them which remain. That would explain the absence of any new specimen and the preservation of ancient baskets almost beyond usefulness. Be that as it may, at present the true center of basketry in twilled work is the Caipipendí valley, and that of the basketry of /444/ wicker work, the region of the upper Pilcomayo. Since the living conditions of the C [178] Chiriguano in the missions north and south of the Pilcomayo have undergone deep modifications, I do not know what the respective

/462 cont./

Chapter X

Masks

532 The handsome masks, whose description I shall give
796 further on, are worn during the carnival festivities. Difficulties
[122] with the Bolivian authorities kept me from arriving in the Chiriguano villages at the time when they were taking place. When I finally found myself among my Chiriguano friends, they had emptied the last vats of kāwi and were /463/ in their
[126] normal state. Thanks to the closeness of the feast I was able
[241] to collect the masks published here; ordinarily they are destroyed or used in the fields as scarecrows.

115 My host, Mr. Alberto Torrejon, who lives at Ibopeytí on the upper Pilcomayo in an Indian village, gave me some very interesting details about the ceremonies and merrymaking in which he had just participated. I transcribe them as given.

796 At my approach of any festival, the carnival, for exam-
795 ple, the first act consists in causing the souls of the dead to flee.
789 If this precaution is not taken, the widows and relatives of the deceased will have to abstain from taking part. For the purpose of purifying the air, a drum is beaten, and the whole family /Fig. 120 appears here/ which has lost a member weeps and shouts. When the spirits have cleared out, the drum, in a joyful rhythm, gives the signal for merrymaking.

796 The festival is opened by a man and a woman who, with a stick decorated with flowers in hand, advance toward the middle of the square, followed by all the inhabitants in a long chain. When they have arrived at the middle of the area extending between the huts, the couple plants this sign, thus giving the signal for the festival.

[535] The chain breaks up and small groups form to dance in a ring. Their dance consists in advancing and retreating in triple time to the sound of flutes and drums.

/473/

Chapter XIII

Toys and Games

524 [126] All the toys which Chiriguano parents make for their children or the latter put together themselves are represented in my collections. Nevertheless, I consider it useless to give a description of them, for Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 193-200) has been greatly /Fig. 133 appears here/ concerned with this and has reproduced all of them. Simply as a curiosity I sketch a doll clothed in the traditional tipoy and the hair of which is intertwined with a ribbon in the Chiriguano manner (Fig. 133). A little bag (Fig. 134) contains a whole assortment of tipoy in miniature. Minuscule vessels and baskets (Fig. 109) have been made for the use of little girls, who, in playing, thus learn little by little to become excellent housewives. [868]

String figures. I have never seen children make string figures (cat-craddle /cat's cradle/), but I know they are acquainted with them. At Caruruti an Indian amused himself by executing a whole series for me, some of which were sewn by the Indians themselves onto the leaves of my notebook. According to the figure they wanted to produce, they used both hands or helped with the mouth and feet (Figs. 135 and 136). The "fuli moon" (Plate XXXIX, 3) /Fig. 134 appears here/ was made by my Indian who, having sat down, used feet and hands.

524 121 String figures have extraordinary interest from the point of view of comparative ethnography. If they prove themselves identical in two different regions, they can testify to trade or migrations, like certain games which pass from one region to the other without modifying their character or modalities. Games are the most stable of all cultural elements since they are independent of the environment, race, or way of life, at least in general. It is urgent to collect in South America /474/ the greatest possible number of string figures in order to be able to study their distribution. For this continent we know only a very small number, but this, insignificant as it may be, already allows us to establish some very curious facts.

[Text continues on p. 346]

/476 cont./

123 Drawings. On Plates XCI-XCIII one can see gathered to-
126 gether a certain number of drawings executed for my sake by
532 Chiriguano Indians. In order to obtain them I first approached
several old men, who refused with an outraged air as if I were
123 asking them to do a thing beneath their dignity. A small boy
126 of 12, Consito, two young men, Asensio and José Miguel, and
115
532

524

Fig. 136. Indian executing the mobile string figure called "culo de caballo /horse's rear end/.

123
126
115 a girl, Iwawaei, showed themselves willing to cover the pages
532 of my album with all kinds of sketches.

Consito did not have to be begged: I was proposing to him a game not only pleasant but fruitful, and he had soon filled two pages (Plate XCI, 1, 2, 4, 9; Plate XCII, 2, 4; Plate XCIII, 1, 3, 10). Asensio, my faithful friend, also gave me
115 complete satisfaction. He was a curious individual, and I keep
123 a particularly vivid and congenial memory of him. He was 25
126 to 30 years old and was conspicuous because of his extraordinary
activity and ingenuity. At any moment of the day he could
[322] be seen busy cutting or carving a piece of wood which then
[See pp 355-359-- Analyst]

/476 cont./

115 123 126 322 463 became an ingeniously conceived tool or still oftener a musical instrument. Asensio used to make violins which on first sight appeared to have come from a European factory. It goes without saying that he was the recognized carpenter of the village and the great provider of household articles. When Asensio had understood the purpose which had brought me to his home, he transformed his hut into a workshop for ethnographic objects; and I owe it to his enterprising spirit that I was able to collect many a piece, today no longer in use, which he reconstructed for me.

At the time when I was in his village, Asensio had received big orders for flutes for the coming Easter festival, [532] and I had a good time watching him work. Once an instrument was finished, he would embellish it with engraved animals.

115 126 532 The material on which Asensio (see Plate XCI /see p.355/, 5, 7,, and Plate XCII /see p.356 /, 3, 6) incised his figures exerted an indirect influence on the pencil drawings he drew in my notebook. They stand out by their angular character, but also by their clearness.

José Miguel (see Plate XCI, 8; Plate XCII, 1, 5, 7, 9; Plate XCIII /see p. 357 /, 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12), whom Asensio's example had encouraged, asked me to give him the notebook and pencil, and he made me a whole series of drawings which, although rather light and uncertain, sometimes are not lacking [177] in a certain movement. José Miguel had traveled to Argentina: the train and the automobile (which he drew from memory) attest well to his admiration for the /477/ marvels of "Progress" (Plate XCII, 7, 8). Thank God his modernism had not made him forget his mythology, and he was able to draw for me a mythical episode which is to be seen on Plate XCIII, 12, A, B, C: the blue jaguar (yaguarowi, personification of the spots on the moon) is preparing to devour the moon and the sun.

123 126 532 When I had finished with the men, I wanted to have several feminine drawings, imagining that the women would lend themselves willingly to this game since they are the recognized artists of the tribe. All, unanimously and to my great surprise, refused to do it, shouting in the middle of gales of laughter: Aikuaá "I can't do it, I don't know how."

/477 cont./

000 laughter Aikuaá "I can't do it, I don't know how." Only one,
123 a girl, Iwawasei, allowed herself to be persuaded by the promise
126 of a spool of thread. Her awkwardness was not feigned, as I
115 was able to see from the beginning, seeing the embarrassed air
532 with which she took the pencil. Once ready to draw, inspiration was suddenly lacking. She stopped short until I had pointed out a vessel to her to copy. Since her confusion only grew greater, she asked Consito, the small boy who made my first drawings, to help her. He drew the vessel on Plate XCIII, 10, which she began conscientiously to reproduce in series. I protested, and then she made me a horse and on this horse's back a man and a child, then a woman (Plate XCI, 3 and XCIII, 7). I am not very sure that all the drawings she told me she had made were hers, for when my attention was diverted by a visit, she had Consito secretly help her.

532 The drawings the Chiriguano executed for my sake recall not
191 only those of our children but approximate appreciably those which have been collected in various regions of South America, notably among the tribes of the Negro River (Koch-Grünberg, 1); the Taulipang and the Makuši (Koch-Grünberg, 3, Plates 28-32, pp. 128-161); the Indians of the upper Xingú (Steinen, 2, Plates III-IV), (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 245-247, pp. 390-396); the Choroti and the Ashlulay (Nordenskiöld, 2, Figs. 63-66, pp. 130-132); the Kaingué (Ambrosetti, 2, Plates I-III, pp. 674-682), etc.

There could be no question of making a comparative study of these drawings, so uniform is their style. The only details which are worth being brought together are those denoting similar psychological characteristics and yet these common traits are not characteristic of a primitive mentality. I should scarcely have to point out the fact that in drawing a woman, a Kaingué Indian proceeded exactly as did two of my Chiriguano artists (Plate XCI, 3 and 7): he began by representing the woman naked, then dressed her.

4: Nino--149 M-3 (1850-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/199/

Chapter Three

Characteristics of the Chiriguano

Introduction

At the end of the nineteenth century, and specifically in the year 1897, the whole Catholic world was invited in advance to attend the great exhibition of sacred art which took place in Turin, beautiful and grand Italian city of the Piedmont. The Pontiff of Rome made his voice heard and the Catholics of the five parts of the terrestrial world made preparations to participate in the literary, scientific, manufacturing industry, and other competitions.

The missions could not fail to take part in this contest of competency: they could not close their ears to the voice of the Supreme Hierarch of the world: with the fervor of the first Christians, with the humility of neophytes, directed by missionaries of all of the Catholic orders and congregations, they prepared an extraordinary contest. In Turin were seen the rarities and products of the missions of China, Africa, Palestine, North America, the colony of Eritrea, Oceania, Patagonia, South America, etc.

Although Bolivia occupies a quite modest place on maps of the world and is slowly being organized to rise to a very great height, it exhibited its products in the said world exposition and was even represented by its tribes. They sent there everything that could be sent from the missions of Guarayos, the missions of Tarija, and those of Potosí. It was then that an Italian photographer, employed in Tarija, went through its missions and those of Potosí, taking pictures of views, panoramas, groups of Chiriguano, families, churches, missionaries, etc. (1).

1. The order to take part came from the Curia Generalicia of Rome and the Most Reverend Father Commissioner in Bolivia disposed that the Colegio of Potosí be united

792
•122

/109 cont./

with that of Tarija because the inhabitants of the missions of both colegios were of the same Chiriguano race.

/110/ The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 165/ is one of the said photographs: it shows a group of Chiriguano women with their festive clothing and adornments, who are ready to attend a public gathering for drinking: it was made in the Boicovo Mission and taken with the others to the exposition. The group of Indian day laborers is reserved for the chapter which deals with work and clothes: both groups show the physical constitution of the race, about which Beltrí del Campano, after the exposition was over, wrote his book; perhaps this gentleman also had seen the four Chiriguano who were brought from the Tarija missions (1).

[113]

1. Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani /Information on the Chiriguano/. Florence, 1901. This is the most complete work that exists in Italy, in view of which I decided to write the present one here where the Chiriguano live.

Physique

114 After having studied the territory that a tribe occupies and consigned to paper what is most characteristic, and, next, having discovered appropriately by means of traditional and historical data or well-founded suppositions the origin and derivation of the tribe, the first thing that is exhibited to the ethnographer and to any observer is the physical body: its proportions, whether large, small, or average, soon strike the eye, the latter, the observer, considers mentally what the former, the physical ethnographer, sees, and begins his narration and then goes on to the character.

/109 cont./

291 Clothing in the fashion of Adam is still seen everywhere. In the towns the men, and almost everywhere the women, are at least dressed from the waist to below the knee, because for work or for coolness the Cutama or tipoy, which can cover them up to the shoulders, is allowed to fall to the waist, the rest being left visible.

Gala Dress

292

For the ancient Chiriguano, the Ambícual, doublet, was fine and festive clothing. This single name includes the Guaupi cangas, bar, the Ambícual, sagum or frock coat, and the Guaupi tumbias, breeches. Because the doublet is an object of luxury, they do not all wear it, its use being limited to the grandees or caciques, to rich men, and to sorcerer. It is made entirely of tanned skins, which are those of the wild boar, peccary, or pygmy deer. They are tanned with the bark of the Cuapa, the astringent acacia or uevil, which contains a great deal of tannin.

Skillful men are needed to make a complete doublet like the one made in the Santa Rosa Mission by the Indian Cachupari, which, when taken to the Turin exposition, was acquired by the Florence Museum, along with the skull that I acquired in Cuayuqui and other objects, such as the Yandugua, a kind of parasol of ostrich feathers, etc., objects which the missionaries of Ponaí sent along with the missionaries of Tarija (2).

2. The missionary who was charged with taking all the things to the exposition and leading the Chiriguano of both sexes, as the program directed, was the late Franciscan Father Dorneo Giannecchini.

/190/

291 294 The crown of the hat is made of four oval parts, as is the brim which surrounds it, sewed with fine cords of the same material, and the edge of the brim is turned upward. The hat has a band of the same material sewed to both sides at the temples to hold it to the throat; a knot or a ring on the band can be used to tighten it.

292 281 The Ambícuai, which lends its name to the whole outfit, is a perfect cassock, but its form is entirely Chiriguano, for it does not hinder the movement of the arms. Its cut is not straight, and both parts are made fast at the chest with two leather straps, which are run through the holes on the opposite side. The cassock in back ends in two points, where there is a kind of ornamentation of the same leather, which consists of short, fine strips, like a tassel. The sleeves are wide, as is the whole garment, and are attached to the shoulder, being open at the armpit so as not to impede the movement of the arms, either in hunting or in war, where the grandees also wear it. In fact, in the photograph taken in Santa Rosa to be [126] sent to the exposition, a hunter and a warrior dressed in this doublet appear outside the circle. In the middle there is a 529 554 562 Chiriguano woman with her crown and adomments as queen of the fiesta, who offers chicha to all who are enjoying themselves (1).

1. The queen is the one who serves the dancers as mistress and patroness of the fiesta. This [128] photograph or figure will not be reproduced in the chapter dealing with fiestas because I could not obtain it.

292 [281] The Timbiao, breeches, is also of leather and is made of four pieces, wider from the waist to the sacrum and narrower from the thigh to the bottom. It is quite wide and comes to the ankle. It is rougher than the rest, but more valued, and they will give anything to have even a single pair. This garment is tied at the waist with a belt or with two strings which are sewed across the entire width of the garment itself.

/198 cont./

301 [562] [554] [527] I am going to end this chapter by mentioning a fancy ornament which has completely disappeared. It is a woman's ornament and is called Aguá, crown, and whoever wore it was called Cuña aguá vaé, crowned woman. The duty of this woman at the public drinking bouts and solemnities was to direct the women's dance, to direct the singing, and to give drinks to the singers and dancers with her own hands. The aguá was a varicolored band up to three meters long, which was put around the head, crossed at the back of the neck, and held on by thorns, needles, or big silver pins, and both ends terminated in tassels of various colors. It was a very striking ornament (1).

● [126]

1. In order to send a complete aguá to the Turin exposition I had to have it made in the girls' school in Santa Rosa. I could not get one in the town; there were none even at that time.

ooo Here is poor humanity without any exact idea of religion and worship, they are zealous and hard-working for the body, but have no concern at all for the soul. Only Christ can restore humankind, and tear away the veil which was obscuring its intelligence, and only the priest and Catholic missionary can teach him the sound doctrine of /199/ immortality and other dogmas, so that with this knowledge he may first seek the kingdom of God and receive the rest besides (1).

1. Quaerite primum regnum Dei et haec omnia adiicentur vobis.

372 Explanation of the Preceding Illustration λ

1. Sticks for getting fire.
534 2. Bull's horn for use as a musical instrument.
3. Tail of a quiriquincho /armadillo/ for use as a musical instrument.
412 4. Tweezers for pulling out the hair from the face and other parts.

λ [i.e., on p. 266.- Analyst]

4: Nino--293 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/216/

Chapter Nine

Children, Puberty, the Tembeta (1)

881

1. This will deal with the puberty of the girls and the imposition of the tembeta for boys, which is carried out a little before their puberty, so that when this does appear they will have the mark of manhood.

Introduction

797 533 At the beginning of this chapter /see p. 294/ my readers will see a small band of young, luxuriously uniformed musicians with a Franciscan missionary at their side. These [126] are the musicians of San Buenaventura de Ivu, whose photograph was taken on the pastoral visit made by the renowned and wise Delegate General M. R. P. Wolfgango Privaser, illustrious and glorious in the seraphic religion, on the 23rd day of September, 1908. His secretary, the intelligent Father Angel Domáica, was the one who was charged with taking this group and the others in the Potosí and Tarija missions.

All the musicians are Chiriguano boys whose fathers [648] were in the 1892 uprising in the fields of Curuyuqui, half a league away from what is today the mission building, which at that time did not exist. They are the sons of fathers who all wear the tembeta and of mothers who in their puberty underwent the strict tests which I shall relate in this chapter.

175 648 Their fathers declared war to the death, not on the Cross, but on the white, be he Christian or not, because he saw in him a tyrant and hangman, and he wished to cast off the yoke by destroying the one whom he considered its maker. But it is certain that the Indian in his hate and rancor, which he has consistently maintained /illustration appears here/ /217/ against the caray /white man/, did not know how to make a categorical distinction, because not all have bad hearts. If there are some bad ones, real executioners of humanity, there are also very good and compassionate ones, from whom they received and still receive favors.

/260 cont./

527 273 [554 562] The drinking continues for several hours, half in silence with a moderate and placid gathering, with the important men seated on benches or seats and some of their inferiors standing and others sitting on the ground, all of them separated from the women, and these latter, as I have already observed elsewhere, look like so many mortars. When the gathering is well attended, the sight is very pleasant, because anyone who has never seen it will be astonished by the variety of costumes and by the ornaments and cosmetics with which they adorn their faces and feet, and I have in fact seen some travelers stay for quite some time to contemplate this simple custom of those who are called the savages of Bolivia (2).

2. What a pity that there is no photograph of such gatherings! The one taken in Santa Rosa is scarcely a simulacre, since at that time there was not even any chicha for those who formed the wheel or gathering for the dance to drink.

The Dance and Songs

527 533 126 By the time they are quite full, they begin the dancing and singing of the Ayarise. I do not give the Spanish words here, for the real meaning is not known; I could explain them with conjectures and by analogy with other, similar ones, as was done by Father Giannecchini, whose words the Italian del Campano transcribes in his book, but they themselves do not know the meaning. The notes of the Ayarise are written and printed here so that any band that so desires may have a pleasant piece for some capital plaza: risum teneatis amici. The band music was set down by a maestro of the Potosí missions in the year 1903 and touched up this year by the missionary Franciscan Father Domingo F. Regini.

/261/

The Music for the Ayarise

527
535
533
[293]

The signal for the dancing and singing is given by the host, who first makes a short speech to the maestro, who is carrying in his hands a Yandugua, a kind of parasol or umbrella made of ostrich feathers fastened around a long, straight piece of hollow cane. All the feathers have their natural curve outward (1).

[293]
[126]

1. The Yandugua in the Florence museum was purchased in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission by the Reverend Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi, tireless missionary of Potosí.

See the picture on page 77.

527
535

After the speech that the maestro and dancers listen to as if it were a Good Friday sermon in church, the singing and the dance begin. The maestro keeps time with his yandugua, the men dance by moving their feet from the knee, striking the ground without moving from the place they occupy, and the women behind the men with a maté in hand, full of chicha or not. The women take one step backward and another forward, and, not staying in the same place, they walk in time around the men with the formality and exactness of priestesses and hold hands with the other hand, two by two.

527
533

The larger the number of dancers, the more noise they make; there is no staying near them, because the men sing too loud. At a distance, to a person who is used to these songs, they seem relatively pleasant, but at night when one hears them for the first time and does not know what they contain, a thousand things will pass through the mind. Here are the verses of the Ayarise:

[539]

Ayarise, rise -- Mborisese, sese -- Rosa yainde -- Imbaragüe -- Yuma chúrere -- Yuma chuépa -- Soro poco -- Eh! Eh! -- Saisá -- saisá -- Cururu hetesimi pinte -- Hevi sunzu -- Iparanta tapiti -- Cha machá imbarayu -- Imbará, boteriyu -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. It is perhaps appropriate and my readers may like

/312 cont./

the race can endure for a longer time. The same is true, if, instead of forts, the Government, at less expense, were to found missions in the places which are being explored at the present time; useful hands would be obtained for commerce and for agriculture, without the destruction of the poor humanity.

I finish by giving thanks to the Divine Providence which has brought about here the civilization of the race, utilizing for this purpose its simple and humble subjects, such as the sons of Francis of Assisi, who came to this New World immediately after it was discovered.

To those readers who have followed me benevolently and to those who have charitably criticized my poor writing, I give my sincere thanks and at the same time pray that they will deign to pardon such errors as they might find. Laus Deo.

End of the Work

/Illustration appears here./

/313/ Appendix

121
126

The time and place do not now permit me to draw a map of the entire region that I have described in the first chapter of this ethnography; nor do they permit me to write clearly about the other tribes which populate the eastern part of the Bolivian Chaco, which has recently been explored (1).

1. I believed that a map was indispensable for the "Guide to the Chaco." I drew it recently, and it is soon to be published at the expense of the Supreme Government. I may perhaps get an extra run of 1,000 copies for the present work.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

[P. vii]
[P. vi is blank]

PREFACE.

C
CE
D2

As I mentioned in the preface to the First Part of this work, the expenses of publication have been defrayed by Consul-General Axel A:son Johnson, Esq., of Stockholm, to whom I have taken the liberty of dedicating this, the second part of my book, as a small token of my appreciation of the interest and kindness he has shown towards my South American researches. I also mentioned in the earlier preface that Consul-General Johnson has in every way tried to further Swedish researches in S. America, above all by granting free passages to all the Swedish explorers visiting that continent on board his comfortable and stately ships.

C
CE
126
127
C
CE
D2

This work is based on collections made by me in S. America, as well as on the study of material in museums and of books (See Part 1). I would remind my readers that these researches have been carried out with the support of Swedish patrons of research-work, notably Arvid Hernmarck, Esq., and Mrs. Ina Smitt.

000

I have to thank several of my friends and colleagues for valuable communications, which I have made use of in one way or another in the present work. These are: Mr. Kaj Birket-Smith of the National Museum, Copenhagen (M. C.), Dr. G. Friederici, Dr. R. Karsten, Prof. Dr. Th. Koch-Grünberg, Director of the Ethnological Museum, Stuttgart, Dr. F. Krause, Ethnological Museum, Leipsic, Dr. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Leiden, Licentiate Sven Lovén, Prof. Dr. Max Schmidt, Ethnological Museum, Berlin, (M. f. V. B.) and Dr. Max Uhle. Every possible courtesy has been shown me by the Riksmuseum,

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
114

Indians in the years 1908, 1909 and 1913, and spent in all 4 to 5 months studying them. In my book »Indianlif» I gave a popular account of them as I got to know them during the Hernmarck expedition in 1908 and 1909. In my last book of travel »Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika» there is some information about the Chiriguano. I have brought home to Sweden from the Chiriguano and Chané about 1500 articles which are now in the Riksmuseum at Stockholm and in the Gothenburg Museum. In the Geographical Review I wrote a short article on the migrations of the Chiriguano Indians.

C
Ce
[126]

C
Ce
12
114

A close study of the Chiriguano and Chané civilization by the ethno-geographical method affords points of especial interest, since their mode of life is rather well known, and we are able to trace their history back to the beginning of the 16th century. I have also collected archaeological material from their region. At first I was minded to give an account of this, too, in the present work. I decided, however, that it would be better here only to mention individual finds by the way, and to leave the archaeological material for another publication in which I shall be able also to publish certain archaeological finds made in other parts of Bolivia. This for purely practical reasons.

C
Ce
121

I will here endeavour to make clear how the Guarani-speaking Chiriguano's and the Guaranized Chanés' civilization are composed, what culture-elements they have got from the Whites and from the Mountain civilization in the west, what each brought to the common stock and what they possibly obtained from other quarters.

In this analysis of Chiriguano and Chané manners and customs, I do not intend properly to examine the question as to whence these Indians came to their present abodes. Broadly speaking we know that already. Respecting the Chiriguano migrations there are historical documents extant which evidently show that it was not until the beginning of the 16th century that these Indians conquered

C
175
648
167

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
291
171

On very rare occasions one sees clothes of tanned skin worn by the men. As far back as CHOMÉ[3]) these skin clothes

Ce
[142]
[302]

Fig. 19. Chanéboy in »chiripa». Rio Parapiti.

C
Ce
[177]
[126]

were mentioned. I have obtained a costume of the kind consisting of a coat, breeches, and a hat. They are

[3]) P. 330.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee
Ee
291
171*
[177]
[126]

of European cut and have most certainly come from the Whites. According to NINO[1]) they were also sometimes made by the Indians themselves. I do not think this is the case with the costume I have collected.

Ee
302
291
142

Fig. 20. Chanéwoman in Tipoy. Rio Parapiti.

Ee
291

The »tipoy» is the typical dress of the Chiriguano and Chané women. It is a sack of cotton or wool open at both ends and woven without seam. The tipoy for every day wear is of normal length. (Fig. 21) On festive oc-

[1]) P. 189.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
323
415
[531]

The Chiriguano, as well as the Chané at Rio Itiyuro, have elaborate pottery of richly varied shapes and often beautifully ornamented. The Chané at Rio Parapiti have plainer pottery. The development of the ceramic art in the various tribes I got to know has differed greatly. The Chama and the Tambopata-Guarayo who are pretty certainly identical with them, are the only Indians I visited who have no earthenware vessels. The pottery of some tribes is a work of art, while others only make the most necessary household utensils. This is not necessarily connected with the tribe's state of civilization generally. Thus in several respects the Yuracáre stand as high as the Chiriguano but the former have very poor pottery; the latter highly developed pottery. If such peoples were studied archaeologically, the former would yield hardly any remains while the latter would yield many beautiful specimens. Wrong conclusions might then be easily drawn as to the stage of civilization of the two tribes.

C
Ce
*171
415
323

Below will be found indicated how many different types of earthen vessels are found among the tribes I visited It will be seen that the Chiriguano and Chané (Rio Itiyuro) have by far the largest number of shapes of earthen vessels.[1]) This is simply due to their having experienced such

C
Ce
[114]
[126]

[1]) On entering a Chiriguano or a Chané hut, one sees a lot of earthen vessels of which the majority are unpainted. All the vessels of various shape and ornamentation which I have collected are from several hundred Chiriguano and Chané huts. It is a selection out of many thousand vessels which I have made and it shows how pottery varies within the tribes. In most Indian huts there will be found but a small number of different types. Unless we bear in mind that the collection is a selection, it leaves the impression that the pottery of these Indians is of much more varied shape than is really the case. What I remark here of my collection of pottery holds good of nearly all collections in ethnographical museums. When we see a cupboard full of various articles from an Indian tribe, we must not think that all these things are used by every family in the tribe. It is properly a collection of all the different objects used by a large number of individuals.

/154 cont./

One might be surprised that a person would want to live in this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter their valuables for maize.

For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians.

The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy season it probably rains there too.

From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a /155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Batirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio

/157 cont./ One old woman who was supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by ethnographers either, the promise of the old woman was not very friendly, Ce 124 197 123 Ce

The Chané use their old language for many expressions that are abusive, for example, karitimisóyti, which they translate as son of a w---e. An invitation to coitus is called pocóne. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for example, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, which they did not know how to translate. 195 197 Ce [533] c

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief Taruiri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Taruiri I also visited another chief, Yumbay, an old worthy who was always embracing me and saying: "I am Yumbay." /Fig. 77 appears here./ "Yes, the great, mighty Yumbay," I chimed in, which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered. 114 126 C [123] C

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the mission at Ivu. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region, Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spreading into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in Ivu died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged frightfully among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix. Around this the other swine would get drunk and /159/ continue to drink obligos (1) until they were finally lying on the table. 797 164 [114] [133] [312] C [764] C [273]

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the latter must drink up. C [576]

/170 cont./

The legendary figures and their experiences stimulate the imagination, are preserved and retold. The historical personalities and events are forgotten.

If one looks in Chané and Chiriguano houses, one finds many things preserved which are now no longer in use, /171/ but which they value as mementos of earlier times and often do not want to give up. For example, one sees handsome round pipes, "huiramimbi" (Ill. 80), which have undoubtedly been handed down from generation to generation. They were formerly used in connection with expeditions of war. Old Maringay had kept all kinds of things from olden times. It gave me great pleasure to rummage about in the old man's storage places. I wanted to buy something from him, but felt embarrassed to offer him money for his mementos.

I once found a bundle of fine, old, completely smoke-blackened arrow-points stuck into the walls. "Would you not like to sell them to me?" I asked my old friend hesitatingly. "You shall have three as presents," said Maringay. After this refusal I let him keep his cherished things.

Once I rode away from Vocopay's village in order to look up an old Chané who had an attractive old costume. After some hesitation he showed it to me. He had carefully wrapped it in other material. Like an enthusiastic museum official taking out an old gem, he unwrapped it carefully. One unmistakably saw how dear it was to him. Although I offered him a very high price, he did not want to sell it.

The fact that these Indians love their old keepsakes shows that they have a certain degree of culture. This is true only of the old people, however. The young ones are no longer like that; they sell everything without hesitation. What do they care about a worn-out old festival costume if they can get a red, fluttering scarf and trousers with jacket in exchange! The triumphal march of trousers across the world has also reached these valleys and plains.

The Chiriguano and Chané no longer carry on regular war with other Indian tribes. Occasionally, however, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians.

Ee 838 171 c ce [113]

/224 cont./

According to Westermarck (2), homosexuality is very

2. Westermarck: Ursprung und Entwickelung der Moralbegriffe /Origin and Development of Ideas of Morality/. Vol. II. Leipzig, 1909.

widespread among the Indians of America. The conception that this is a disgrace is by no means as marked everywhere as it is among the Indians mentioned here.

Ee 839 171 c

/225/ Among the Chané and Chiriguano I did not hear anything about onanism. Among the Choroti, on the other hand, it is said to be practiced by the men who are ignored by the women at a dance.

Ee 833 171 [839]

Perversions in the relationship between men and women, which were common in ancient Peru, do not seem to occur here. The primitive mammal position in coitus is said to be common among the Chaco tribes.

M 832

Mataco gave me a root which they used as an aphrodisiac.

824 Ee 825 773 839

The relationship between human beings and animals is so intimately intertwined in the legends of the Indians that one cannot always determine whether they mean the one or the other. The legends that describe love affairs between human beings and animals are not descriptions of bestiality, which seems to be unknown among these Indians.

Ee 834 171

The sense of modesty has developed very differently among these peoples. It seems to me to depend very much on the mode of dress. None of these Indian men or women of whom I have spoken here regards it as improper, insofar as they have not been completely corrupted or civilized, to expose the upper part of the body. The Chiriguano and Chané women are much more ashamed than the Choroti and Ashluslay when they expose the sexual parts. The latter were very reluctant to undress completely in order to be photographed. I did not even dare propose such a thing to the former.

Ee [126]

Ee /247 cont./

531 The Chiriguano and Chané men are clever in the deco-
322 ration of calabashes (Fig. 126), carve attractive pipes (Fig.
221 120), and know how to tan leather, which they probably learned
177c from the whites.

Ee Among these Indians one does not see much in the way
532 of plastic representations of animal and human figures. The
clay /248/ vessels sometimes have animal shapes. The
C Chané women on the Rio Parapiti fashioned lumpy little dolls
[126] out of wax for their children (Fig. 105). Some of the clay
[437] vessels are painted with animal figures. A vessel from the Rio

Ee 285 →

C 285 ←

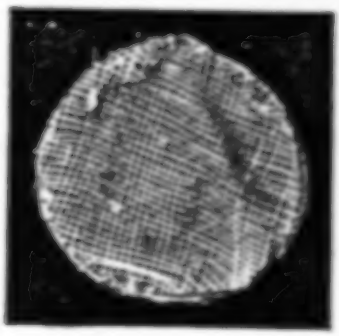


Fig. 124.
Sieve. Rio Parapiti.
1/8.

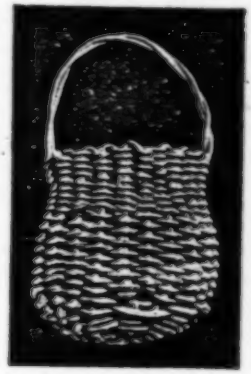


Fig. 125. Basket
Chiriguano.
Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ee
532 Itiyuro, which I acquired through barter, is adorned with tree
figures. Occasionally one sees clay vessels in the shape of fruits.

Ee I saw drawings representing human beings and animals
[353] on the walls in a few Chané huts and on a few Chiriguano
Ee calabashes from the Caipipendi valley.

285 As for basket work, the sieves are so popular among the
[439] whites that through trade they are being distributed far beyond
the Chiriguano and Chané region. Otherwise the Chané and
Chiriguano make few baskets. We find basket work in quantities
only among the Indians where the matching-leaved palms begin,
and that is at Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

c /293 cont./
539 South America. Since, however, this is not the proper place
171 for comparative studies with regard to the legends collected by me, I have contented myself with only presenting the material.

c
539 As we have seen, we learn to understand some of the religious conceptions of the Indians from the legends. They are also interesting from the viewpoint that a whole assortment of little features from the life of the Indians is reproduced. They give us a glimpse into their imaginative life.

c
539 Only the content of the legends collected by me, not
114 the form, is usable as research material. I hope that the
126 native South American ethnographers in particular will add to the collection made by me and also write down the legends in the original languages. In order to be able to do this, however, a complete /294/ mastery of them will be necessary. The best method would be to let the Indians tell these legends into a phonograph.

Ee
Ee
824

The Indians and Natural Phenomena.

Ee
[773] In one of the Chané legends the story is told of how Yahuéte, the two-headed jaguar, was on the point of de-
Ee
[776] vouring the moon. Maringay called Yahuéte "Yahuaróhui." These Indians explain eclipses of the sun and moon by saying
Ee
[171] that the sun and moon are attacked by Yahuéte. The Chorotí, too, as has been mentioned, speak of a predatory animal that
[776] attacks the sun and the moon.

If one wanders with an Indian through forest and meadow on a starlit night, the starry sky is his compass and his watch. He will point to Orion or some other constellation and show how much farther it will move before one arrives.

Ee
824 He does not give names to many constellations, but he knows them all. The Chané call the part of the Milky Way nearest the Southern Cross "yándurape," that is, ostrich-way; the Southern Cross, along with a few adjacent stars, is

411
[714]

[114]

[524]

[126]

[171]

Fig. 200. Riksm. 05. 3. 830. For section, see fig. 203.

Fig. 201. Riksm. 05. 3. 831. For section, see fig. 204.

Longbows. Chiriguano. Bolivia. About 1/6.

On the left wrist they wore a small piece of wood as a protection against the blow of the bowstring.[5]

Curiously enough, the present-day Chiriguano type of bow does not seem to have been exhaustively described by anyone; not even in Schmidt's account of South American bow types,[6] otherwise so exact, is there any mention of the Chiriguano bow. The reason for this may very likely be found in the circumstance that these weapons are said to be of rare occurrence nowadays, and that such few specimens as are still being made, are mostly used as toys and on that account typologically degenerated. Twenty years ago, when I travelled through a part of the Chiriguano country, the bow was, however, not so rarely seen as a hunting weapon as now, and I collected the seven specimens now reposing in the ethnographical section of the Riksmuseum at Stockholm. Beside these, there are two Chiriguano bows brought home by Baron Nordenskiöld, one of which is a toy bow. Two other toy bows that have been brought to Sweden by Nordenskiöld belong to the Gothenburg Museum. This forms the material from which I have compiled the following description of the Chiriguano type of bow.

By their string-fastening arrangement the Chiriguano bows differ from the Chaco-Andean bow types, which latter as a rule have no neck-shaped bow-end projections for the string. On the other hand, all Chiriguano bows that I have studied, even the toy bows, have neck-shaped ends for fastening the string, a circumstance indicating that the Chiriguano bow is no acquisition from Chaco-

[5] de Lizarraga (II, p. 328. From Ed. Nordenskiöld.

[6] Schmidt (II, pp. 1027—1034.

411 [226] two barbed prongs made of some hard wood (figs. 213 and 214). The arrow in fig. 210, which has only one prong, is used both in hunting and [824] for fish-shooting. The Chiriguano also use fish arrows pointed with a number of cactus spines.[1]

The fish spear has in later times become a very scarce implement with the Chiriguano. The only specimen obtained, as far as I know, is the one brought home by me, and now belonging to the Riksmuseum in Stockholm (figs. 213 and 216). Erland Nordenskiöld, who has compiled [114] a map of the distribution of the fish spear in South America, has been kind enough to inform me that the only mention he has come across in the literature, concerning its occurrence among the Chiriguano, is to be found in the account of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's unsuccessful expedition against these Indians.[2]

The fish spear I came upon among the Chiriguano in the neighbourhood of San Luis, has a 260 cm long shaft, made of some light kind of wood, very free from knots,[3] at one end of which two barbed wooden prongs are lashed on by means of a thin leather thong. The full lengths of the prongs are, respectively, 32.0 and 31.4 cm, and they project 10.0 cm from the shaft. One of the points has, however, been of a somewhat greater length, but has got blunted off. Both points have seven barbs on their outer sides. To ensure a perfectly firm fastening of the prongs, the free end of the shaft has been wrapped with a piece of cloth, and over this the prongs have been lashed on.

323 I have already enumerated the various kinds of Chiriguano household [462] furniture. Among them, clay vessels hold a very important place. The Chiriguano are clever potters. It is only the women, though, who work at this industry.

In fig. 217 we see a potter's workshop, with a number of finished and unfinished pieces of earthenware. At the hut entrance is sitting a woman, who, with a piece of stick, is giving a finish to a large pot, which has been built up of rolls of clay, and is still unburnt.

[126] In figs. 218—225 I have reproduced some typical Chiriguano clay vessels that I collected at Aguayenda. These vessels are particularly well made. The peculiar rim warts seen on the hanging vessel in fig. 225,

---

[1] Nordenskiöld (III), fig. 15 a.

[2] Acosta (II), Part I, Chap. XV.

[3] Unfortunately, during the transportation home, the handle was unknown to me, and lost two parts.

/3 cont./ Although
many primordial customs of the Chiriguano have been lost because of the influence of the missions, there have nevertheless been preserved a sufficient number of native objects to make a relatively complete ethnological collection among these Indians.

The Izoró, having abandoned their homes in the regions of the lower Paraguí River during the Chaco War, had been provisionally moved to the environs of the fort of Toledo and the fort "15 de Agosto," where they were living in ranches abandoned by the soldiers. In the environs of the forts they had scratched out large fields for their plantings, but, because of the great drought, they had had no chance to plant, with the result that part of them had already returned to the western region when I was in these forts. When I began my return from Machareti, a large part of them were near the fort of Carandayty. According to the data kindly given me by the Toledo military authorities, the number of Izoró who had come to Toledo and "15 de Agosto" up to June 30, 1935, reached 1,047 adults, 734 minors, and 122 small children, a total of 2,493 souls. On August 24, the end of my stay in Toledo, there were in this fort and in "15 de Agosto" only 503 adults, 141 minors, and 38 small children, most of them having returned to the west by this time.

These Izoró Indians, who speak a dialect of the Guaraní language, indignantly reject the name Chiriguano. They say that they are Guaraní and Paraguayan and that their name is Izoró. Up to now I have not seen this name in ethnological literature and it does not appear in Métraux's work, Cuestión de Límites con Bolivia /Question of Boundaries with Bolivia/, Vol. II. Only on the map of Bolivia drawn by the engineer Franz Germann (Hamburg, 1904) is there noted between the Río Grande and the Río Paraguí the name "Izoszike." The Izoró near Toledo told me that their homes were in the region of the estuaries of the lower Paraguí. Since these Indians rejected not only the name Chiriguano but also the name Chané

St Schmidt--24 E-5 (1908) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

/11 cont./

E. G. 175 178 167

The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

E. 198 [126]

The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Macharetí and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today: others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

E. 191 174 C [113]

As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-212. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/." Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

C /19 cont./
263 from the whites (82).
317
439

82. Nord. 1, p. 189. Métraux I, pp. 359 and 360.

C 273 [312] Among beverages, besides water, which is scarce in certain regions, chicha (ka'ui) made of maize, potatoes, or algarrobo deserves mention (83). Chicha made from yellow

83. Nord. 1, pp. 234 and 236. Métraux I, pp. 364 and 365.

Ce [273] or white maize is preferred. The chicha from potatoes by the Chané of the Parapití River is considered inferior.

Ce The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not eat from a
264 common pot, but separately and from dishes. Because of this
415 their houses contain many dishes, which are normally made of baked clay (nyá'e), but may also be of wood (sua) (84).

84. Cf. Nord. 1, p. 190.

C Ce I collected various baked clay dishes among the Chiriguano
415 and Chané (cf. Figs. 78-80 /see p.143/), as well as two wooden
[126] dishes, two examples of which the Museum already had, donated by Doña María F. de Casati. I shall deal with the baked clay dishes, along with the other baked clay vessels, in the chapter on pottery, and therefore enumerate here only the wooden plates in the collection.

C Wooden Dishes (sua) of the Chiriguano
415

I. A. 351. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Diam. 21 cm. Ht. 6 cm.
I. A. 352. (") " 15.5 cm. " 3.5 cm.
I. A. 496. (Max Schmidt trip.) Diam. 23 cm. Ht. 6 cm. (Fig. 18).
I. A. 497. (" " ") " 30 cm. " 6.5 cm. (Fig. 18a).

/20 cont./

C
Ce
412
17

Although it may be that the shape of the wooden spoons of the Chiriguano and of the Chané may have been influenced in many cases by the shape of the metal spoons acquired from the whites, we must nonetheless regard it as a product of the indigenous culture of South America that in pre-Columbian times had been rather widespread generally among the Andean cultures. Its appearance is quite limited among the native tribes of South America, setting aside the cases where it has been imported by the whites. But it is quite common among the Indians of the regions near Chiriguano territory in particular, for example, among the Tapieté and many other Chaco tribes, such as the Toba, Matako, Churupí, and especially also among the Mojo and, farther to the east, among the Guató. It must be supposed that the Chiriguano received this cultural possession directly or indirectly from the culture of the Andean montaña.

Shells (Ínta) as Eating Utensils

Ce
237
415

I. A. 734 and 735. (Izozó.) Length 12 cm. and 10 cm.

Outside of the spoons mentioned, the Chané-Izozó also use shells as eating utensils.

Ce
415
[824]

As vessels for drinking water and chicha, they above all use cuyas /vessels made from gourds/ (cf. Figures 24-26 and 149; 150; 153) and calabashes (cf. Figures 42 and 151). For the chicha festivities this beverage is ordinarily taken out of the painted baked clay pots in cuyas with designs on them, which are passed around among those present. Of the cuyas that I acquired from the Chiriguano in Machareti many have either incised or pyrographed designs, with which I shall deal in the chapter on art. The cuyas received from the Izozó do not have designs on them, which is easily explained by the peculiar circumstance that the Izozó were at that time living near Toledo. Three of the calabashes received from the Izozó (cf. Figure 42 c) were made from the fruit of the

C
415
126
531

Ce
415
[531]
[824]

Chane SF8
Izozo

Ce /20 cont./
415 Crescentia Cuyete /Crescentia cujete/ tree, which does not
[824] grow in their territory. The cacique of the Izozó told me
[439] that these fruits had been brought from Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

In addition to these cuyas, the Chiriguano and Izozó also
C use for drinking chicha small baked clay chicha vessels with
Ce handles in the form of European cups. /Plates VIII-IX appear here./
415

C /21/ Cuyas (ia) in the Collection
415
126
531

I. A. 451.	Chiriguano	Length 14 cm.	Incised designs.		(Fig.26e.)
I. A. 452.	"	" 10 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 26a.)
I. A. 453.	"	" 10 cm.	"	"	
I. A. 454.	"	" 5.7 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 26c.)
I. A. 455.	"	" 12.5 cm.	Designs incised and pyrographed.		
I. A. 456.	"	" 11.5 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 26b.)
I. A. 457.	"	" 23 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 24.)
I. A. 458.	"	" 15 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 26d.)
I. A. 459.	"	" 13.5 cm.	No designs, red paint outside.		
I. A. 460.	"	" 20 cm.	Incised and pyrographed designs.		(Fig. 25b.)

Ce I. A. 461-463; 490; 537-539. Chiriguano. No designs.
[415] I. A. 666 Izozó Length 19.5 cm. No designs, with handle. (Fig. 25a.)

I. A. 667-670. " No designs.

The length of these cuyas is quite variable. The largest of them measures 23 cm. in length and the smallest only 5.5 cm.

Calabashes (iá, ua) in the Collection

I. A. 464-467.	Chiriguano	With pyrographed designs. (I. A. 466: Fig. 151.)
I. A. 458.	"	No designs; with a maize cob for stopper.
I. A. 469.	"	No designs; entwined all around.
I. A. 661 and 662.	Izozó	No designs. (Fig. 42 a and b.)
I. A. 663-665.	"	No designs; made from the fruit of the Crescentia Cuyete tree. (I. A. 665: Fig. 42.)

Ce
415
126
[531]

C. Ce 415 /21 cont./

The largest of these calabashes measures 50 cm. and the smallest 7.5 cm.

Stimulants

Ce 276 The Izozó whom I found in Toledo were not smokers. They attached no importance to the tobacco and pipes that I offered them. I acquired from the Chiriguano a simple wooden pipe, straight in shape, of the kind commonly used among the tribes of the Chaco, but I have seen no other pipes among them; neither have I seen them smoking.

C 276 [126]

C [126]

Pipe (cachimbo) in the Collection

I. A. 740. Chiriguano. Length 10.5 cm. (Fig. 23.)

C Ce 249 276 According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano and the Chané plant tobacco, but its planting is not significant and they are not great smokers. If they smoke, they ordinarily use cigarettes, with a wrapper made out of a maize leaf, and only rarely use pipes (87). This explains the very uncharacteristic form of the

C 276

87. Nord. I, p. 182. Cf. Métraux I, p. 339.

pipe that I found among the Chiriguano. A pipe of very different shape, with a special handle in front of the tobacco bowl, is represented in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (88). According to

C [177]

88. Nord. I, p. 179. Fig. 88.

the same author, the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua have received from the latter the custom of chewing coca.

C /22 cont./
352 Hammocks (Chiriguano: kía; Izozó: iní) in the Collection
[126]

I. A. 448. Chiriguano. Wool. Length 230 cm. Width 75 cm. (Fig.102b).
I. A. 449. " " " 105 cm. " 60 cm.
I. A. 450. " " " 285 cm. " 60 cm. (Fig. 102a).
Ce I. A. 360. Gift of Mr. Teodoro Rojas. (Chané of the Parapití.)
[126] From Caraguatá. Length 320 cm. (Fig. 102c).
[352]

C The hammocks that I acquired among the Chiriguano in
352 Machareti were all made of wool, as were the hammocks that
286 Métraux saw among the Chiriguano (92). According to

92. Métraux I, p. 470.

Nordenskiöld (93), Chiriguano hammocks are commonly made

93. Nord. 2, p. 12.

C of cotton and only incidentally of wool. Of the three large
286 hammocks in the collection, two (I. A. 448 and 449) were
352 plaited with the technique very common among the Indians of
126 South America, which in my publication on the Guarayú, which appeared in this same journal, I called "double thread plaiting" (Doppelfadengeflecht) (94), while one (I. A. 450) shows the

94. Cf. Fig. 102b /see p.174/.

Ce structure of a piece of weaving. (Cf. Fig. 102a) From the
286 Chané the Museum's collection has hammock I. A. 360, which
352 Mr. Teodoro Rojas acquired among the Indians of the Parapití
[126] River and presented to the Museum. (Fig. 102c.) This hammock was made of caraguata fibers and with a netting technique. According to Nordenskiöld, in addition to such hammocks of caraguata fiber the Chané have others made of cotton, on the technique of which we have no information.
C With regard to the details of these Chiriguano and Chané
Ce hammocks, I refer to the chapters dedicated to the description
286 of the technique of plaiting and the technique of preparing netting.
352

/22 cont./

352 513 [251] The Chiriguano generally sleeps on a kind of cot (catre), that is, a bed frame made of cane. Such beds, which in addition to their own purpose also serve for drying maize, have been represented in drawings by Eric v. Rosen (95), Erland

95. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 190.

[174] [178] v. Nordenskiöld (96), and Métraux (97). No doubt /23/ the

96. Nord. 2, Fig. 2.

97. Métraux 1, Fig. 125, p. 470.

cold climate of the region to which the Chiriguano had emigrated made them abandon the use of the hammock for sleeping, not very practical for such a climate, and replace it with the cot, which was already common among the tribes of those regions. Lacking a cot, the Chiriguano sleep on the ground. In that case they use for a bed large mats made of cane or palm leaves, or also hides (98). I acquired from the Chiriguano one

[232] [824] [126] [824]

98. Nord. 1, p. 177. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 200. Métraux 1, p. 470.

such mat plaited out of palm leaves (Fig. 95).

Chiriguano Mat (túpa) in the Collection

I. A. 540. Length 1.75 m. Width 1.50 m. (Fig. 95).

352 17 [126] In some Chiriguano houses I also saw wooden benches (apika), but unfortunately I could not acquire a specimen. Those benches in the form of a sled are very similar to the kind of benches that are very common among the Indians of Brazil (99) and those that we also know from the ancient

[113] 99. Cariy /sic/ von den Steinen: Unter den

/25 cont./

C
Ce
302

Cutting and Combing the Hair, and Head Adornment

The women wear their hair plaited into long or medium long braids hanging down to their shoulders (113). As can be

113. See Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Plates XI and XII.

seen in Figures 4, 5, and 12 and in the photographs of Chiriguano women published by Lehmann-Nitsche, the hair of the women and girls is always parted over the forehead. The girls always have such a part from childhood. (See Fig. 8 /see p. 28/.) At the time of the first menstruation, the girls' hair is cut short (114), and the women also cut their hair in the

C
Ce
[881]
[965]

114. Nord. 1, p. 210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 201.

event of the death of the husband or one of their close relatives; sometimes they cut it twice when the husband dies (115).

115. Nord. 1, p. 220.

C
Ce
301
126

At the nape of the neck, and sometimes also at the top of the head, the hair is tied together with cotton bands. The collection which I brought to the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay contains 29 of these bands used by Izozó women, all of which have the same typical form.

Ce
301

Bands for Women's Hair, from the Collection

(I. A. 624-652.) (Izozó.) (I. A. 646 and 641 shown in Fig. 32a and b.)

The length of these bands for the hair, on the average, is 1.04 cm. /sic/. The longest band measures 1.45 meters, and the shortest, 0.65 meters. The average length of the tassels is 14.3 cm. The longest tassel measures 17.5 cm.; the shortest, 9 cm.

/28/

Combs (kívua) in the Collection

C
Ce
412
322
[126]

I. A. 740. (Found on the road between Capirenda and Garrapatal. Length 9.5 cm. Width 9 cm. (Fig. 29a.)
I. A. 1327. Izozó. Length 7.5 cm. Width 3.5 cm. (Fig. 29b.)

The two combs in the collection, coming from the Izozó, represent two completely different types of comb. To the first type belongs the comb I. A. 740, which is made up of some little wooden sticks held together between two transverse pieces of cane interwoven with threads. (Cf. Fig. 29a.) The comb of the second type, I. A. 1327, has simply been carved from a single piece of flat wood. (Cf. Fig. 29b.) A comb similar to I. A. 740, coming from the Chané, is shown by Nordenskiöld in a drawing (122). The three Chiriguano

C
412
322

122. Nord. 1, Fig. 109.

combs shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (122) /see footnote 122 above/ belong to the second type and have been carved from wood, like the Izozó comb I. A. 1327. But in contrast to this one, the upper parts of their backs have been carved. Likewise the Chiriguano combs shown in drawings by v. Rosen and Métraux (123) are decorated with such carving.

123. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 196.
Métraux I, Plate 87.

C
Ce
412
322
171

Up to now there has been some doubt as to how these two different types of combs might be distributed among the Chané and the Chiriguano. According to Nordenskiöld (124),

124. Nord. 2, p. 81.

the Chiriguano only have combs carved from a single piece of wood, and the Chané commonly have the type of comb with small sticks and rarely the simple comb carved from wood.

/30 cont./

C
Ce
291
[439]
[126]

The poncho is a garment in common use even today among Chiriguano and Chané men and boys during the cold season. Figure 17 shows a Chiriguano boy wearing a poncho. Because ponchos today, like the fajas, are an article eagerly sought by the whites and are often made to be sold commercially, I tried to collect only ponchos worn by the Indians themselves.

C
Ce
291
126

/31/ Ponchos (asó'ia) in the Collection

I. A. 423.	(Chiriguano.)	Of wool.	Length	1.45 m.	Width	1.14 m.
I. A. 424.	"	"	"	1.70 m.	"	1.46 m.
I. A. 425.	"	"	"	1.65 m.	"	1.32 m.
I. A. 426.	"	"	"	1.68 m.	"	1.39 m.
						(Fig. 117.)
I. A. 427.	"	Of cotton.	"	1.36 m.	"	1.95 m.
I. A. 808.	(Izozó)	Of cotton.	"	1.46 m.	"	1.35 m.
I. A. 809.	"	Of wool.	"	1.42 m.	"	1.09 m.
I. A. 110	"	"	"	1.62 m.	"	1.38 m.
I. A. 812	"	"	"	1.16 m.	"	1.17 m.
I. A. 813.	"	"	"	1.16 m.	"	0.78 m.
I. A. 814.	"	"	"	1.36 m.	"	0.68 m.
I. A. 815.	"	"	"	1.28 m.	"	0.64 m.
I. A. 819.	"	Of cotton.	"	1.26 m.	"	1.10 m.
I. A. 823.	"	Of wool.	"	1.40 m.	"	1.30 m.
						(Fig. 116.)
I. A. 825.	"	"	"	1.50 m.	"	1.22 m.
I. A. 830.	"	"	"	1.40 m.	"	0.97 m.
I. A. 833.	"	Of cotton.	"	1.56 m.	"	1.25 m.
I. A. 834.	"	"	"	1.26 m.	"	0.93 m.
I. A. 835.	"	"	"	1.42 m.	"	1.21 m.
I. A. 836.	"	"	"	1.08 m.	"	0.71 m.
I. A. 837.	"	"	"	0.96 m.	"	0.78 m.

C
Ce
291

In order to explain the above-mentioned measurements we must say that the measurements of length refer to the entire length of the poncho when stretched out. As Figure 17 shows, the poncho is used in such a way that the slit, being in its center,

/31 cont./

C
Ce
291

is brought over the head so that the slit is in the direction of the middle axis of the human body and the middle of the poncho across the shoulders, one part hanging in front and the other behind. Thus the distance between the lower edge of the poncho and the shoulders of the man who is wearing the poncho corresponds to half the length of the poncho when stretched out. Only in the case of two of the Izozó woolen ponchos is half the length equal to the width. I shall deal with the manufacture and decoration of these ponchos in the chapters on the technique of weaving and art.

Ce
29
[286]
[513]
[126]

The Chané of the Parapití River still often wear mantas woven of wool, which they also use to sleep on or to cover themselves with when they are sleeping (138). I have acquired

138. See Nord. 1, p. 202.

nine of these mantas from the Izozó, four of which had been made from ponchos, the slit in the center of them having been closed by sewing. Among the other four mantas which had been made as mantas from the first, the relationship between the length and the width can vary greatly. There are some nearly square and others three times as long as they are wide.

C
291
286
296

From the Chiriguano in Machareti I obtained only one piece of woven material which corresponds to these mantas, and it was already much mended.

Mantas in the Collection

C
Ce
29
126

I. A. 585.	(Chiriguano.)	Of cotton.	Length	1.38 m.	Width	1.27 m.
I. A. 816.	(Izozó)	Of wool.	"	2.20 m.	"	0.60 m.
I. A. 817.	"	"	"	1.80 m.	"	1.20 m.
I. A. 818.	"	"	"	0.68 m.	"	0.60 m.
/32/						
I. A. 824.	"	"	"	1.22 m.	"	1.30 m.
I. A. 826.	"	"	"	1.28 m.	"	0.44 m.
I. A. 827.	"	"	"	1.40 m.	"	0.92 m.
I. A. 828.	"	"	"	1.56 m.	"	1.66 m.
I. A. 829.	"	"	"	1.27 m.	"	1.25 m.
I. A. 831.	"	"	"	1.74 m.	"	1.24 m.

/32 cont./

C 291 I have already mentioned fajas, used today as belts by the Chiriguano men, in the chapter on cutting and combing the hair and head ornaments. I shall deal with their manufacture and decoration in the chapters on the technique of weaving and art.

Fajas (Izozó: kuakuá in the Collection

Ce 291 [126] I. A. 428-441. (Chiriguano.)
I. A. 738, 803-807. (Izozó.)

Only the Izozó faja I. A. 738, shown in Figure 414, which measures 1.30 m. long and 3.7 cm. wide, differs with respect to the technique of its manufacture and its decoration, which we must attribute to outside influences, from the other fajas collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó. These correspond to one another quite minutely with respect to their dimensions, the weaving technique, and the ornamentation. Moreover, these Izozó fajas have been woven exclusively of cotton and the Chiriguano fajas have been woven exclusively of wool, with the exception of one (I. A. 434), whose warp contains not only cotton threads, but also wool threads. All these fajas are more than 2 m. long. The longest of the Chiriguano fajas measures 2.86 m.; the longest of the Izozó, 2.70 m. The width of the Chiriguano fajas varies between 8.5 and 16 cm., and that of the Izozó ones, between 10 cm. and 19.5 cm.

Ce [178] The women and girls, much more than the men, have preserved their original garb, which consists of a "tipoy." As the photographs in Figures 3, 4, 8, 12, and 14 show, the modern shirt or jacket made of modern material has often been added to the tipoy, but has not replaced it; the wife and three daughters of the Izozó cacique shown in Figure 12 are wearing the tipoy, as are almost all the Chiriguano women shown in Figure 4. Certainly most of the time the tipoy is used as a skirt, the upper part being rolled over the hips like a long belt.

C 301 [126] /33 cont./

Ring (moãkaregua) in the Collection

I.A. 1321. (Chiriguano.) Gift of Father Ayala Solis. Diam. 2cm.

Finally I shall mention here a ring obtained by Father Ayala Solis from the Chiriguano and donated by him to the Museo de Historia y Etnografía del Paraguay. The ring was made of metal from a cartridge shell.

Ce 291 The cacique of the Izozó shown in Figure 12 wears sandals (Chir.: mbipása. Izozó: pʃapá). Generally the men and women go around barefoot. But both sexes use sandals if they are to walk on stony or thorny ground (146).

146. Nord. 1, p. 203. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 207.

C 291 17 The region of distribution of the sandal in South America leads us to assume that the Chiriguano did not first receive this item from the whites, but earlier, and that it came from the culture of the ancient Peruvians (147).

147. Cf. Nord. 2, p. 69.

Treatment of Illnesses and Burial

Ce 743 Ce [114] C [114] C Ce 756 171 In the Indian settlement in Toledo there was arranged a small hospital in which the sick Izozó were receiving medical treatment. For that reason I did not have the chance to make investigations among them about the native treatment of the illnesses of these Indians. Nor did I have the chance to make such investigations in Machareti. Therefore, I refer to the investigations /34/ Nordenskiöld and Métraux made on this subject (148), and I wish only to

148. Nord. 1, pp. 216 and 217. Métraux 1, pp. 480-488.

mention here that among the Chiriguano and Chané, as among

8: Schmidt--87 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/36 cont./

Ce 857 524

Three other games of skill described by Nordenskiöld are played only by children (163). For one of these, called

163. Nord. 1, pp. 196 and 197.

"sóuki," they use two arrows fitted with maize cobs (164).

164. Nord. 1, Fig. 102.

These two games are played by the children of the Chané of the Parapití.

C 857 524

Nordenskiöld saw the third game, called "parama," played by the children of the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley (165).

165. Nord. 1, Fig. 103.

With small round stones, propelled with pieces of baked clay, they try to knock down a button, or some such thing, from a rock.

C 524 126

I obtained from the Chiriguano in Machareti some children's toys which belong to these games of skill.

Toys in the Collection

I. A. 504. Top (Chiriguano). Length 18 cm.
I. A. 505. " " " 16 cm. (Fig. 35b.)
I. A. 506. Rattle " " 25 cm.
I. A. 507. Small sling " " 55 cm.
I. A. 510. Toy called "mou-mou" (Chiriguano). Diameter of the disk 6 cm. (Fig. 36a.)

A specimen of a top similar to those mentioned (see Fig. 35b /see p. 89/) and originating among the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi valley is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (166).

166. Nord. 1, Fig. 104. B.

8: Schmidt--97 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Cc
411
126

/39 cont./

Bows and arrows are only incidentally used for hunting, and it is therefore difficult to collect them today among these Indians. From the Izozó I was able to acquire various bows and arrows, and from the Chiriguano a small bow for children and various arrows. Among these there are also two specimens for killing birds, provided with a club /maza/ at the tip. Because in particular cases we were often unable to decide if a type of arrow were used exclusively for hunting or for fishing or both, I shall list all the types of arrows together in the following list.

Bows (uirápa) in the Collection

I. A. 518	(Chiríguano)	Length 0.80 m.	Cord is strips of animal hide.		
I. A. 754.	(Izozó.)	Length 1.39 m.	" " "		
I. A. 755.	"	" 1.28 m.	" " "		
I. A. 756.	"	" 1.41 m.	" " "		(Fig. 37b).
I. A. 757.	"	" 1.32 m.			(Fig. 37a).
I. A. 758.	"	" 1.31 m.	" " "		
I. A. 759.	"	" 1.04 m.	" " "		
I. A. 760.	"	" 1.11 m.	Cord is a piece of cable.		

C
411
126

/40/ Arrows (uij) in the Collection

I. A. 519. (Chiriguano.) Length 1 m. Iron point; its length 15.5 cm. Cane shaft. No feathering. (Fig. 37c.)

I. A. 520. (Chiriguano.) Length 0.99 m. Iron point; its length 20 cm. Cane shaft. Remnants of feathering.

I. A. 521. (Chiriguano.) Length 0.85 m. Wooden point; its length 28.5 cm. With feathering. (Fig. 37d.)

I. A. 522-533. (Chiriguano.). Wire points.

I. A. 534. (Chiriguano.) Length 1.11 m. Tip in club form; its length 5.5 cm. Cane shaft. With feathering. (Fig. 37e.)

I. A. 535. (Chiriguano.) Length 0.71 m. Tip in club form; its length 4 cm. Wooden shaft. With feathering.

I. A. 536. Wooden arrowpoint. (Chiriguano.) Length 25.5 cm.

/-8/

Macana in the Collection

411 [126] I. A. 517. (Chiriguano.) Length 64 cm. (Fig. 38).

[171] The wooden macana, acquired from the Chiriguano, is provided at its upper end with a broadening distinctly delimited from the handle (cf. Fig. 38) and in that respect corresponds to the macanas that we know from various Chaco tribes, for example, the Toba, but it does not correspond to the Chiriguano macana shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (197).

197. Nord. 2, Fig. 9.

The latter is about the same length, but it does not show the clear broadening at the handle, its upper end being only slightly broader. According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano [224] do not use these macanas except for hunting pigs (198).

198. Nord. 1, p. 183.

Slings (tamomboka) in the Collection

[126]

I. A. 508. Chiriguano. Length of the middle part of net 15 cm.
I. A. 509. " " " " " " 14 cm. (Fig. 36b.)

The two slings acquired from the Chiriguano seem to be [286] exactly alike. They consist of a middle part made with the net technique with caraguata-fiber string which terminates at [284] each end with a cord. One of these two cords ends in a simple knot and the other in a small loop. These slings are like the Chané ones shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld, while the manufacture of the middle part of the Chiriguano sling shown by Nordenskiöld is different (199). The Chiriguano in contact

199. Nord. 2, Fig. 7, A.

C 317 263

/45 cont./
the earth of the salt licks called "yukiu" (214).

214. Nord. 1, p. 189. See Métraux 1, pp. 359 and 360.

Making Fire

C Ee 372

Native implements to make fire are little used today by the Chiriguano and Chané. At home fire can generally be obtained from some other piece of burning wood, and for other occasions they commonly provide themselves with modern matches. Moreover, as I have said, the Chiriguano and Chané are not great smokers. One fire-making tool which is still found among them is the strike-a-light. The specimen I acquired from the Chiriguano is different from the strike-a-light of the Chaco tribes in that the tinder consists of a quite thick cotton wick. According to Métraux (215),

C Ee [178] [276]

C Ee [415] [237]

215. Métraux 1, p. 253.

there is also found among them the common form of strike-a-light in which the tinder consists of the fuzz of the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) kept in a container made of a a cow horn or armadillo tail.

C Ee 372 126

Fire-making Implements in the Collection

I. A. 516. (Fig. 40.)

a. Bag woven of cotton thread as a container for the implements.

b. Wick of cotton thread.

c. Receptacle for the lighted end of the wick, made of the nest of a species of wasp.

d. Piece of a modern metal file.

e. Pieces of flint.

S: Schmidt--110 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
415
114

/46 cont./ Eric V. Rosen has also shown numerous Chiriguano vessels in drawings in his work already cited (219).

219. V. Rosen. Figs. 218-225.

Métraux describes and shows by drawings a great number of Chiriguano baked clay vessels (220).

220. Métraux 1, pp. 370-374; pp. 382-428; Plates 16-19 and 24-60.

A publication by Felix F. Outes deals particularly with Chiriguano ceramics (221).

C
[113]

221. Felix F. Outes: La ceramica Chiriguana /Chiriguano Ceramics/." From the Revista del Museo de la Plata, Vol. XVI (second series, Vol. III), Buenos Aires, 1909, pp. 121-136.

C
Ce
126
415

Because formerly in the museum of the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay we had only four baked clay vessels and a piece of a handle from the Chiriguano, which Doña Maria F. de Casati collected among them and presented to the museum, I had a special interest in filling this gap. With some effort I managed to acquire from the Izozó in Toledo 41 Chiriguano vessels, and from the Chiriguano in Machareti, 55 of them, and with rather more effort I managed to bring them back whole and with their designs in good condition through the long trip to Asunción.

These baked clay vessels collected by me also show great variation in their form and ornamentation. But these diverse variations can be reduced to several groups, according to the purpose for which they were intended.

C
Ce
415

The Chiriguano and Chané baked clay vessels may serve very different ends:

1. To cook foods and liquids.
2. To fry /fritar, literally "to frit"/ foods.
3. To steam maize meal.
4. To carry and keep water.

C
Ce
415

/48 cont./

5. As a container for chicha.
6. To serve chicha.
7. As a drinking container, especially for drinking chicha.
8. To store food.
9. To store anything at all.
10. As plates for eating meals.
11. As a base for the spindle in spinning.
12. As funerary urns.

C
415
126

/47/

1. Baked Clay Vessels for Cooking Foods and Liquids (yapèpo), from the Collection

I. A. 412	Chirig.	Ht.	12 cm.	Max. Dia.		14 cm.	Aperture	12 cm. (Fig. 48)
I. A. 413	"	"	26 cm.	"	"	22.5 cm.		18 cm. (Fig. 46)
I. A. 414	"	"	24 cm.	"	"	23 cm.	"	17 cm. (Fig. 44)
I. A. 415	"	"	20 cm.	"	"	19.5 cm.	"	14.5 cm.
I. A. 416	"	"	30 cm.	"	"	26 cm.	"	20 cm.
I. A. 417	"	"	22 cm.	"	"	22.5 cm.	"	19 cm.
I. A. 418	"	"	23.5 cm.	"	"	24 cm.	"	20 cm. (Fig. 45)
I. A. 419	"	"	22 cm.	"	"	20 cm.	"	16 cm. (Fig. 47)
I. A. 420	"	"	28.5 cm.	"	"	29 cm.	"	20 cm.
I. A. 421	"	"	20 cm.	"	"	22.5 cm.	"	19 cm.

C
415

The form of these ten Chiriguano vessels intended for cooking foods or liquids is essentially the same. Only the vessel I. A. 412, with a height of 12 cm., is substantially smaller than the other vessels, whose height varies between 20 and 30 cm. Only in the case of the former small vessel is the diameter of the aperture at the top equal to the height of the vessel, while for all the other vessels the diameter of the aperture at the top is less than the height, and in some cases this is a difference of up to 10 centimeters.

/47 cont./

difference of up to 10 centimeters. The neck is clearly distinguished from the globular belly of these vessels by a border of all of these vessels provided with sunken ornamentation. Also the flat part of the bottom is clearly distinguished from the wall by a border. The surface of the belly of the vessels has incised lines produced by rubbing the surface, when still moist, with a maize cob. Only the little vessel I. A. 442 has its entire surface covered with sunken ornamentation.

All of these vessels intended for cooking are fitted with two handles in a vertical position, attached to the upper rim of the pot and coming down to the lower part of the neck. The form of these handles shows some variation which I shall deal with in the chapter on art.

Vessel Intended for Cooking Maize Meal for the Preparation of Chicha, from the Collection

I. A. 595 (Chirig.) Ht. 55 cm. Max. dia. 47 cm. Aperture 36 cm. (Fig. 56).

Large baked clay vessels, which in many areas are still much larger than the specimen brought back by me from the Chiriguano, are used for cooking the maize meal used in the preparation of chicha. As shown in Fig. 56, this kind of vessel is different from the ordinary vessels intended for cooking only by not having handles. The wall of the belly is clearly distinguished from the neck and from the flat bottom. The neck of these vessels also has sunken ornamentation. The vessel shown in Figure 56 is relatively high in comparison with its maximum diameter and with the diameter of the aperture at the top. The vessels for cooking chicha sent to the Chané on the Itiyuro and shown in drawings by Niedermeyer have, in comparison with their maximum diameter and the diameter of their aperture, a much smaller aperture /48/. (???).

??? Nord. 1, Fig. 62.

Sc Schmidt--112 E-6 (1900) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF3
Ibera

C
Ce
415
(126)

/49/ ./

2. Vessels Intended for Frying Maize, from the Collection

I. A. 400 (Chirig.). Ht. 14 cm. Max. dia. 23 cm. (Fig. 32a).
I. A. 392 (Isoso). " 10 cm. " " 21.5 cm.

These two vessels are very similar to each other. Both have two small handles on the rim. They differ from one another only in that the division between the flat base and the wall of the vessel is more marked than on the Chiriguano vessel. A vessel very similar to the two described above and from the Chané on the Itiyuro River is shown in a drawing by Erland Nordenskiöld (222). Because Nordenskiöld states that

222. Nord. 2, p. 59 and Fig. 43, N.
22.

this vessel was intended for frying /tostar/ maize, I also consider the two similar vessels in the collection to have been used for that end.

C
415

3. Vessel for Steaming Maize Meal, from the Collection

C
(126)

I. A. 457 (Chiriguano). Height 12.5 cm. Max. dia. 23 cm. (Fig. 32.)

This vessel has some round holes in the bottom, one of which is in the center and the rest in two concentric circles around the central one. According to Nordenskiöld (224),

C
415
252

224. Nord. 2, Fig. 43, N. 22.

who shows in a drawing a vessel very similar to this one, these plates with holes in the bottom are used for steaming the maize meal with which they prepare a dish that they call in Chiriguano "Tuiuiminimo." To do this, they put the plate with the maize meal on the aperture at the top of a pot in which they boil water (225).

225. See Métraux 1, p. 387 and (Plate 13)
N. 1 and 2.

/48 cont./

4. Vessels for Carrying or Storing Water, from the Collection

I. A. 392	Chirig.	Ht.	25 cm.	Max.	Dia.	17.7 cm.	Apert.	4 cm.
								(Fig. 84)
I. A. 393	"	"	32 cm.	"	"	29.5 cm.	"	9 cm.
I. A. 395	"	"	32 cm.	"	"	31.5 cm.	"	13.5 cm.
I. A. 396	"	"	32 cm.	"	"	30 cm.	"	14.5 cm.
								(Fig. 55)
I. A. 589	Izozó	"	34 cm.	"	"	23.7 cm.	"	6.5 cm.
I. A. 606	"	"	34.5 cm.	"	"	18.5 cm.	"	3.5 cm.
								(Fig. 56a)
I. A. 607	"	"	13.5 cm.	"	"	14.5 cm.	"	13 cm.
I. A. 608	"	"	19.5 cm.	"	"	19.2 cm.	"	3.5 cm.
								(Fig. 83b)
I. A. 617	"	"	16 cm.	"	"	17 cm.	"	11.5 cm.
								(Fig. 56b)
I. A. 621	"	"	28.5 cm.	"	"	18.4 cm.	"	3.5 cm.
								(Fig. 83a)
I. A. 761	"	"	40.5 cm.	"	"	27.5 cm.	"	7 cm.
								(Fig. 54)
I. A. 762	"	"	44 cm.	"	"	34.5 cm.	"	7.9 cm.
I. A. 763	"	"	48 cm.	"	"	35 cm.	"	7.7 cm.

The vessels mentioned in the above, in contrast with the cooking pots, have a smooth surface. Also they are not painted. This leads us to assume that they are intended for common use rather than for festive occasions, and we must consider them primarily as vessels for water, which naturally does not preclude their being used on occasion for chicha. Plates XIV-XVII appear here.

8: Schmidt--122 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
I2020

C
415
126

5. Vessels Used as Chicha Receptacles, from the Collection

1.A. 355 Chirig. (226). No handles. Ht. 15.5 cm. Max. dia. 20.5 cm. Apert. 15 cm.

226. Donated by D. María F. de Casati.

1.A. 368	Chirig.	No handles.	Ht.	27	cm.	Max.	dia.	34	cm.	Apert.	30	cm. (Fig. 59)
1.A. 369	"	" "	"	27.5	"	"	"	42	"	"	42	" (Fig. 60)
1.A. 370	"	" "	"	26	"	"	"	39.5	"	"	27	" (Fig. 58)
1.A. 372	"	Two handles	"	20	"	"	"	24.5	"	"	21	"
1.A. 373	"	" "	"	15	"	"	"	22.5	"	"	20	" (Fig. 75a)
1.A. 374	"	" "	"	16	"	"	"	18	"	"	13	" (Fig. 75b)
1.A. 375	"	No handles	"	13	"	"	"	28	"	"	28	" (Fig. 67)
1.A. 376	"	2 handles, 1 broken		24	"	"	"	27	"	"	21	" (Fig. 62)
1.A. 377	"	No handles	Ht.	26	"	"	"	30.3	"	"	24	" (Fig. 57)
1.A. 378	"	Two handles	"	21.5	"	"	"	22.8	"	"	17	" (Fig. 63)
1.A. 381	"	No handles	"	16	"	"	"	18.5	"	"	15	" (Fig. 71)
1.A. 383	"	Two handles	"	15	"	"	"	15.7	"	"	13	" (Fig. 74b)
1.A. 384	"	" "	"	13.5	"	"	"	16	"	"	11	"
1.A. 386	"	" "	"	16	"	"	"	19.1	"	"	13	" (Fig. 73b)
1.A. 387	"	" "	"	16	"	"	"	18.8	"	"	13	" (Fig. 73a)
1.A. 397	"	No handles	"	62	"	"	"	53	"	"	24	" (Fig. 51)
1.A. 398	"	" "	"	52	"	"	"	45.2	"	"	18.5	"
1.A. 407	"	" "	"	9	"	"	"	17	"	"	17	" (Fig. 77b)
1.A. 408	"	" "	"	8	"	"	"	18.5	"	"	17.5	" (Fig. 77a)
1.A. 409	"	" "	"	7.2	"	"	"	13	"	"	13	"
/50/												
1.A. 593	Inosé	" "	"	14	"	"	"	18.5	"	"	18.5	"
1.A. 596	"	Two handles	"	16	"	"	"	16.2	"	"	11.5	" (Fig. 68a)
1.A. 598	"	" "	"	13.2	"	"	"	25	"	"	25	"
1.A. 600	"	No handles	"	13	"	"	"	25.7	"	"	25.7	" (Fig. 76a)
1.A. 601	"	" "	"	22.5	"	"	"	26.7	"	"	23.5	" (Fig. 69b)
1.A. 604	"	" "	"	29	"	"	"	27.4	"	"	24	" (Fig. 61)
1.A. 605	"	" "	"	19.2	"	"	"	22.5	"	"	21.5	" (Fig. 69a)
1.A. 622	"	" "	"	15.5	"	"	"	19	"	"	15.5	" (Fig. 68b)

CE
415
126

C
415
126

/50 cont./

6. Vessels Intended for Serving Chicha, from the Collection

I. A. 347 (226)	Chir.	Ht. 18.3 cm.	Max. dia. 15.3 cm.	Apert. 10 cm. (Fig. 65)
I. A. 348 (226)	Chir.	Ht. 14.5 cm.	Max. dia. 14.7 cm.	Apert. 8 cm.
I. A. 349 (226)	"	Ht. 18.5 cm.	Max. dia. 18.2 cm.	" 5.2 cm.
I. A. 371	"	" 20 "	" " 21.3 "	" 8.5 cm.
I. A. 379	"	" 18.5 "	" " 16 "	" 6 cm.
I. A. 380	"	" 20 "	" " 18.3 "	" 8.5 cm. (Fig. 82a)
I. A. 382	"	" 18 "	" " 14 "	" 7 cm. (Fig. 82b)
I. A. 385	"	" 20.5 "	" " 21.7 "	" 9 cm.
I. A. 402	"	" 22 "	" " 15.5 "	" 12 cm.
I. A. 403	"	" 17.5 "	" " 14.5 "	" 14 cm. (Fig. 64)
I. A. 404	"	" 20 "	" " 21.5 "	" 9 cm. (Fig. 74a)
I. A. 405	"	" 19 "	" " 19 "	" 7 cm.
I. A. 587	Izozó	" 18 "	" " 16.2 "	" 12 cm.
I. A. 588	"	" 14 "	" " 14.3 "	" 12 cm.
I. A. 590	"	" 13 "	" " 12.8 "	" 12.5 cm.
I. A. 609	"	" 14 "	" " 12.5 "	" 12 cm.
I. A. 623	"	" 20.5 "	" " 18 "	" 12.5 cm. (Fig. 66)

Ce
415
126

/Fn. 226, which appears on p. 122, reads:
Donated by D. María F. de Casati./

C
Ce
415
527
273

The Chiriguano and Chané use vessels like those mentioned above in the chicha festivities, taking the chicha from the large pots by means of them and filling the cuyas /gourd vessels/ or baked clay cups that they pass among those present at the fiesta.

Ce 415 /51 cont./ These vessels have a globular form and are provided with a handle. The bottom of three of them is clearly distinct from the belly, forming a foot. Ce [531] Two of them have designs on the surface; the others are without designs.

C 415 [126]

8. Vessels Used as Receptacles for Food, from the Collection

I. A. 394. Chiriguano. Height 17.5 cm. Aperture 44 cm.
I. A. 401. " " 11.5 cm. " 30 cm.

C [264] Two of the baked clay dishes that I obtained from the Chiriguano in Machareti seem to me to be too big to be considered as dishes for eating, because Nordenskiöld states that (228) the Chiriguano do not eat from a common dish, but

228. Nord. 1, p. 190.

rather each one has his own separate dish. We can assume that these are vessels used as food containers or serving dishes for food before it is placed on the individual dishes.

C [531] The two dishes are without designs. The flat bottom is well distinguished from the wall, which widens upward. The dish I. A. 401 has a rather wide rim which has two handles. Cf. Fig. 53b /see p. 118/.

C Ce 415 [171]

9. Vessels Used for Storing Objects

In contrast to the other Indians, the Chiriguano and Chané use vessels for keeping anything of value. I did not receive from the Indians any indication /52/ that any of the vessels I brought from them belonged particularly to this type. Therefore I refer here to a vessel shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld with the caption "For keeping knicknacks in" /cited in English/ (229).

229. Nord. 2, p. 158 and Fig. 45, N. 19.

/52 cont./

Ce
415

Nordenskiöld says in another place that the mistress of the house keeps all the family's valuable things, such as clothing, ornaments, silver plates, turquoise or chrysocolla necklaces, and many other things, in these vessels (230).

230. Nord. 1, p. 179.

C
415
126

10. Dishes for Eating (nyá e), from the Collection

I. A. 388	Chirig.	Height	6.5 cm.	Aperture	21 cm.	(Fig. 79a)
I. A. 389	"	"	8 cm.	"	23.5 cm.	(Fig. 79b)
I. A. 390	"	"	5.2 cm.	"	15 cm.	
I. A. 391	"	"	4 cm.	"	13 cm.	
I. A. 406	"	"	9 cm.	"	25 cm.	(Fig. 78a)
I. A. 586	Izozó	"	13 cm.	"	25.5 cm.	(Fig. 78b)
I. A. 591	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	16.5 cm.	
I. A. 594	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	21 cm.	
I. A. 595	"	"	9 cm.	"	20 cm.	(Fig. 80a)
I. A. 598	"	"	13.2 cm.	"	25 cm.	
I. A. 612	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	19 cm.	
I. A. 613	"	"	8 cm.	"	21 cm.	(Fig. 80c)
I. A. 614	"	"	9 cm.	"	22 cm.	
I. A. 615	"	"	10.5 cm.	"	27.5 cm.	
I. A. 616	"	"	10.5 cm.	"	22 cm.	
I. A. 618	"	"	10 cm.	"	18.5 cm.	
I. A. 620	"	"	15.5 cm.	"	15 cm.	

Ce
415
[264]
[531]

Because every Chiriguano and Chanés as already mentioned, eats from his own dish, such baked clay dishes are found in great number in the houses of these Indians. Many of them that are intended for ordinary use do not have designs, while others, used on the occasion of fiestas, have designs on their outer surface or on the upper rim of the interior surface, or are provided with small additions.

/53 cont./

12. Funerary Urns

764
415

In the chapter on the treatment of illnesses and burial, I have already dealt with the Chiriguano custom of placing their dead inside funerary urns and of closing these with other vessels. According to Nordenskiöld (232), the large baked clay

232. Nord. 1, p. 278.

vessels used for preparing and keeping chicha also serve as funerary urns. Because among those Indians burial in funerary urns is a direct burial, that is, the entire corpse is placed within the urn, the vessels selected for funerary urns must be large enough to have room for the corpse of an adult. Unfortunately, I was unable to bring such large vessels from [126] Machareti. The largest of the vessels that I brought, 52 cm. and 62 cm. in height, are not big enough for an adult, and in particular their apertures on top, which measure only up to 24 cm., are too small to be able to squeeze in a dead person. Therefore, with reference to funerary urns and their respective tops, I refer to the drawing made by Nordenskiöld (233). Outes

233. Nord. 1, Fig. 113.

has published a Chiriguano vessel with a height of 27.5 cm. and an aperture on top of 27.5 cm., which had served as a funerary urn for a small child. With the um was found a small baked clay dish approximately 6 cm. high (234).

234. Felix F. Outes, op. cit., p. 135 and Figs. 30 and 31.

Outes' data show that the vessels of the Chiriguano can reach quite large dimensions (235). Among the vessels

235. Felix F. Outes, op. cit., pp. 127 and 128.

C /53 cont./
764 described by him there is one which is 92 cm. high and has
415 an aperture at the top 70 cm. in diameter. Another is 110 cm. high and its maximum diameter measures 85 cm. In 1845, in Capirendá, Wedell found such vessels with a height of 120 cm. and a maximum diameter of 100 cm. for the wall of the belly.

C
415
126

13. Various Vessels with No Indication Regarding Their Purpose, from the Collection

I. A. 410 (Chirig.). Ht. 14.5 cm. Max. dia. 8 cm. Apert. 5 cm. (Fig. 81b).
I. A. 411 ("). Ht. 13.5 cm. Length 21 cm. (Fig. 81a).
Ce I. A. 597 (Izozó). " 10.5 cm. Max. dia. 16.7 cm. Apert. 15 cm. (Fig. 72).
415
126 I. A. 599 (") " 9 cm. " " 13 cm. " 10 cm. (Fig. 70a).

C We have no evidence regarding the purpose of these four
Ce vessels which are different in form from the other types of
415 vessels. We must regard the small, double vessel I. A. 411
177 (cf. Fig. 81a /see p.144/) as a special result of the mixture of various, but different cultural elements. The way in which the two small dishes are joined to form a double vessel /54/ corresponds to ancient Peruvian models, while the form of the handle, fitted with a ring, is doubtless an addition of European origin. The whole has the form of a salt cellar and was per-
C haps made to be sold to the whites for this purpose. We must
Ce also consider the vessel I. A. 410 (cf. Fig. 81b /see p.144/)
[439] as merchandise, while the two vessels I. A. 597 and 599 seem to be manufactured for some use in festivities.

C
Ce
283
323

Baked Clay Spindle Whorls

The spindle whorls collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó are of baked clay or wood, and the Chiriguano also have some spindles with stone whorls. Because I shall deal with spindle whorls in the chapter on spinning, I wish only to

/57 cont./

C
Ce
283

The direction in which the threads are twisted by these Indians is generally to the left, while the two skeins which generally make up each thread are usually twisted to the right. See the two sketches shown in Figure 137 /see p.201/. The rather heavy cotton cord stretched out on the loom shown in Figure 104 /see p.176/, used for stretching the warp, is twisted to the right, but it consists of three special threads twisted to the left, which in turn are each made up of two skeins twisted to the right. The strings for the bows for shooting arrows, made of only one skein of animal hide, are twisted to the right. The rule is that all threads, whether they be caraguata threads made by hand or wool or cotton threads made with the spindle, are twisted to the left, made up of two skeins twisted to the right. In examining many threads of the Chiriguano and the Izozó, I found only two exceptions to this rule. Of the two threads wound together on the reel I.A. 413 /I.A. 513 in Fig. 91, p.147/ and each made of two skeins, one is twisted to the right and the other to the left, and the thick wool threads of the warp of the plaited hammock I.A. 448 are twisted to the right, being made of two skeins twisted to the left.

Ce
283
126

Thread in the Collection

I.A. 675. Caraguata thread (Izozó).

/58/

I.A. 676. Ball of cotton thread (Izozó). Dia. 9 cm.

I.A. 726. " " " " " " 9.5 cm. (Fig. 86b).

C
Ce
283
126

In addition to the large number of spindles from the Chiriguano and the Izozó, I obtained from these Indians a small basket which contains the raw material needed for spinning cotton thread and a spindle wrapped with cotton thread which is connected to a ball of thread of this material.

Ce
283
285
126

Implements and Raw Material for Spinning, from the Collection

I.A. 725.

a. Basket (Izozó), length 27 cm., height 12 cm., cotton seeds and raw cotton. (Fig. 86a.)

8: Schmidt--151 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Ce 283 323 126 /58 cont./

b. Spindle provided with a whorl of baked clay. Length of the stick 46 cm. Diameter of the whorl 4.2 cm. Ball of cotton thread. (Fig. 86a.)

C 126 283 32

I.A. 470.	Spindle	(Chir.).	Lgth.	44.5 cm.	Wooden whorl,	dia. 4.8 cm.
I.A. 471.	"	"	"	36.5 cm.	"	" 5.3 cm.
(Fig. 87d)						
I.A. 472.	"	"	"	39 cm.	"	" 6 cm.
I.A. 473.	"	"	"	34.5 cm.	"	" 5,7 cm.
I.A. 474.	"	"	"	38 cm.	"	" 5.3 cm.
(Fig. 87b)						
I.A. 475.	"	"	"	40.5 cm.	"	" 5.8 cm.
(Fig. 85e)						
I.A. 476.	"	"	"	42.7 cm.	"	" 6.5 cm.
I.A. 477.	"	"	"	38.5 cm.	"	" 5.2 cm.
(Fig. 87f)						
I.A. 478.	"	"	"	42 cm.	"	" 6 cm.
(Fig. 87a)						
I.A. 479.	"	"	"	25.5 cm.	"	" 4.2 cm.
(Fig. 87e)						
I.A. 480.	"	"	"	32.3 cm.	"	" 6 cm.
(Fig. 87c)						
I.A. 481.	"	"	"	40 cm.	Stone whorl	4.8 cm.
(Fig. 88d)						
I.A. 482.	"	"	"	25.5 cm.	"	" 4.2 cm.
(Fig. 88e)						
I.A. 483.	"	"	"	37 cm.	Baked clay whorl	5.3 cm.
(Fig. 88c)						
I.A. 484.	"	"	"	42 cm.	Stone whorl	5.7 cm.
(Fig. 88f)						
I.A. 485.	"	"	"	31 cm.	Baked clay whorl	4 cm.
I.A. 486.	"	"	"	35.7 cm.	"	" " 6.2 cm.
(Fig. 88a)						
I.A. 487	"	"	"	30 cm.	"	" " 5.3 cm.
(Fig. 88b)						
I.A. 488.	"	"	"	? cm.	"	" " 5. cm.
I.A. 489.	"	"	"	35.5 cm.	Wooden whorl	5.5 cm.
I.A. 687.	"	Izozó)	"	43 cm.	Wooden whorl	5.2 cm.
(Fig. 89b)						

Ce 126 283 322

/60 cont./

C 285 Plaited objects of the first type are made in such a way that the strips of one group are plaited with the strips of another group vertical to the first one, in such a way that the strips of the first group pass alternately a certain number of the strips of the second group and are passed by them, and in such a way that the meshes which go in the same direction form lines of steps. The number of the strips passed each time by one strip of the other group is generally three or two at a time, but there are cases in which only one strip is passed each time.

C [126] [513] [415] [291] Ce [415] [126] Among the plaited objects of this type, I obtained from the Chiriguano a large sleeping mat, small flat baskets /canastillas/, sieves, a quadrangular basket /cesta/, and a hat, and from the Izozó small flat baskets /canastillas/similar to those of the Chiriguano and two different kinds of baskets /cestas/. In addition, the Chiriguano and Chané also infrequently use fans for fanning the fire (tapèkua) plaited out of palm leaves (260).

C Ce 285 372

260. Nord. 1, p. 56.

C Ce [824] Métraux has described and shown in a drawing such a fan for fanning the fire. This fan is plaited out of the leaves of the caranday palm in the "Stufengeflechte" style, in such a way that strips of the first group pass alternately two strips of the second group and are /Plates XXVI-XXVII appear here/ /61/ passed by them. The leaflets, separated from the stem, enlace a stick which, forming the upper edge of the fan, replaces the stem of the pinnate leaves of other palms which are used by other tribes of South American Indians in the manufacture of plaited fans (261).

261. Métraux I, pp. 460 and 461 and Plate 85.

/61 cont./

C
126
285

Plaited Objects of the First Type (Stufengeflechte) in the Collection

I. A. 540. Mat (Chir.) Lgth. 1.72 m. Width 1.50 m. (Fig. 95)
I. A. 541. Flat basket (Chir.). Dia. 39 cm. (Fig. 92b.)
I. A. 542. " " " " 42 cm.
I. A. 543. " " " " 43 cm.
I. A. 544. " " " " 38 cm.
I. A. 545. " " " " 38 cm.
I. A. 546. " " " " 32 cm. (Fig. 93.)
Ce [285] I. A. 744. " " (Izozó) " 36 cm.
I. A. 745. " " " " 37 cm.
I. A. 746. " " " " 46 cm. (Fig. 92a.)
I. A. 547. Sieve (Chiriguano). " 38 cm.
I. A. 548. " " " 39 cm. (Fig. 94.)
I. A. 549. " " " 39 cm.
Ce I. A. 551. Basket " Lgth. 32 cm. Ht. 16 cm. (Fig. 101)
285 I. A. 677. " (Izozó) " 33 cm. " 16.5 cm. (Figs. 98a,100)
126 I. A. 678. " " " 28 cm. " 14 cm. (Fig. 98b)
I. A. 725. a. " " " 27 cm. " 12 cm. (Fig. 86a)
I. A. 679. " " " 21 cm. " 22 cm.
I. A. 680. " " " 39 cm. " 31 cm.
I. A. 681. " " " 27 cm. " 23 cm. (Fig. 96).
I. A. 682. " " " 31 cm. " 26 cm.
I. A. 683. " " " 26 cm. " 21 cm. (Fig. 97)
I. A. 684. " " " 55 cm. " 29 cm.
I. A. 685. " " " 44 cm. " 30 cm.
C I. A. 686. " " " 46 cm. " 24 cm.
285 I. A. 512. Small bag with cover (Chir.) " 9.5 cm.
[291] I. A. 554. Hat (Chiriguano). Ht. 12 cm. Dia. 30 cm. (Fig. 99.)

The material of the plaited objects that I have mentioned above consists of strips of palm leaves or strips of cane, and that of the Chiriguano basket I. A. 551, of strips of wood. Because these Indians do not have palms with pinnate leaves available, they C [824] must use the peltate leaves of the caranday, from which comes the difference between the plaited objects of these Indians and those of other tribes.

C /62 cont./
Ce
285
531
[113]

Brazil/, Berlin, 1905, pp. 330 ff.; and Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas/ The Technical Bases for the Ornamentation of the Natives of South America/.

C
285
[126]

The three sieves that I obtained from the Chiriguano correspond to the flat baskets described above with respect to their exterior form and to the rudiment of the plaiting. They differ from the latter only in that their strips are a certain distance apart and in that one strip of one group always passes only one of the other group, with the result that the ornamentation of the surface consisting of parallel lines which is shown in the little baskets is not produced. These sieves are also provided with handles like the flat baskets of the Chiriguano. A sketch of a Chané sieve shown by Nordenskiöld shows that these Indians also use such sieves (263). Flat baskets and sieves analogous to

Ce
[285]

263. Nord. 1, Fig. 124.

those mentioned are described by Métraux and shown by him in drawings (264).

264. Métraux I, pp. 457-460, Plates 83, 84.

C
285
291
294
[177]

The technique of the Chiriguano hat (I.A. 554) is not original, but no doubt was received from the whites and perhaps was directly taught to the Indians in the missions. For us the technique of this hat is without interest, except for the fact that this technique is also applied by the Izozó to the making of a type of basket, a specimen of which is shown in Figure 98b /see p. 158/. The manufacture of the hat begins at the center, and the strips, the beginning of which is plaited, are augmented by the addition of other strips. See Figure 99 /see p. 158/. The style of plaiting is like that of all the other objects of this kind among the Chiriguano and Chané, so that one strip of one group always passes two strips of the other group.

Ce
[285]

Ce
[285]

C
Ce
286

/64 cont./

There may be variations in these braids according to the difference in the number of skeins plaited and the number of strips which are passed each time by one strip of the braid, as Figures 139-141 show /see p.201/. The greater the number of skeins in the braid, the more the form of one string of the braid takes on the appearance of a band. Cf. Figure 32 a and b /see p. 62/.

Ce
Ce
[171]

To the second of the four kinds of plaited objects into which all the plaited objects of the South American Indians can be classified belong those which are plaited in such a way that one row of sticks, threads, or similar things are united so that a double thread passes the row, continuously or at certain intervals, and in such a way that the two individual threads of the double thread encircle in each rotation one or more of the little sticks or threads of the row.

C
126
352
513
286

Among the objects plaited by this technique there are two Chiriguano hammocks and one Izozó saddle covering in the collection.

Ce
492
286
126

Objects Plaited with Double Thread, from the Collection

I. A. 448. Hammock (Chirig.). Wool. Lgth. 2.60 m. Width 0.75 m. (Fig. 102b and 109.)
I. A. 449. Hammock " " " 2.05 m. " 0.60 m. (Fig. 110.)
I. A. 844. Saddle covering (Izozó) " 1.21 m. " 0.57 m. (Fig. 103b and 129.)

C
352
286

The threads of the hammocks mentioned above are made of wool and that applies not only to the warp threads but also to the double threads. The manufacture of these hammocks is explained in two schematic drawings shown in Figures 109 and 110 /see Figs. 127 and 128, p.190/. The diagram in Figures 109 /Fig. 127/ shows the place in hammock I. A. 448 where the double thread begins to pass through the row of warp threads. The arrangement of the warp threads can be explained only by the manner in which a warp of one continuous thread was made first and in the form of a sleeve, /65/ as the warp of weavings done on a loom

/65 cont./

415 Wooden Hoops for Storing Possessions, in the Collection

[126] I. A. 580. A pair of hoops (Chiriguano). Diameter 53 cm.
I. A. 581. " " " " " " 51 cm.
I. A. 582. " " " " " " 46 cm.
I. A. 583. " " " " " " 43 cm. (Fig. 41).
I. A. 584. One hoop " " 48 cm.

In the Chiriguano houses in Macharete I found hanging wooden hoops, which, usually in pairs, served for storing various [285] possessions of the Indians. The circular area of the hoops is filled in with strips of cane that are stretched across the hoop and interwoven as Figure 41 shows. The hoops are provided with strings or strips of leather in order to be hung in the houses (268).

268. See Métraux I, p. 471, Figs. 126 and 127.

285 Modern Plaited Objects in the Collection

126 I. A. 503. Basket (Chiriguano). Diam. 18 cm. Height 12.5 cm.
I. A. 550. " " " 27 cm. " 13 cm.
I. A. 552. " " " 31 cm. " 23 cm.
I. A. 553 Flat basket " " 56 cm. " 16 cm.

/66/ I obtained from the Chiriguano some baskets whose technique is completely different from the technique of the [171] baskets described above. They are so similar to the baskets commonly used by the Paraguayans that we must consider them products of an absolutely modern craft, and it is not necessary 285 for us to deal with their technique. Nordenskiöld and Métraux show in sketches and describe such baskets of the Chiriguano, among which some have handles and others lids (269).

269. Nord. 2, p. 171 and Figs. 53 and 51. Métraux I, pp. 444-453, Plates 73-77.

Chane SF8
Izozo.
Paressi SP19

/66 cont./

P
Ce
286
171

The Technique of Weaving

On the occasion of the publication of a Paressí-Kabichí /Paressi-Cabishi/ loom (270), I called attention to the great

P
[113]

270. Max Schmidt, Die Paressi-Kabichí, Ethnologische Ergebnisse der Expedition zu den Quellen des Jauru und Juruena in Jahre 1910 /The Paressi-Cabishi, Ethnological Results of the Expedition to the Headwaters of the Jauru and Juruena in the Year 1910/, Baessler-Archiv., Vol. IV, No. 4/5, 1914, pp. 214 and 215.

similarity among all the looms known up to now among the Aruaco /Arawak/ tribes. The loom that I obtained from the Izozó corresponds in form and construction to the Paressí-Kabichí loom described and shown in a sketch by me, but it demonstrates, discounting some insignificant anomalies, a perfection which Nordenskiöld has already mentioned (271).

271. Nord. 2, pp. 174-176.

C
286
126

Loom and Other Implements for Weaving, from the Collection

I. A. 500. Wooden bodkin for arranging the warp threads (Chiriguano). Length 20.5 cm. (Fig. 91a.)

I. A. 513. Reel (Chiriguano). Length 25 cm. (Fig. 91f.)

Ce
286
126

I. A. 741. Loom (Izozó). Height 1.19 m. Length of the upper horizontal bar 56 cm. Length of the lower horizontal bar 57 cm. Height of the warp 83 cm. Width of the warp 25 cm. Length of the shuttle 28 cm. Length of the two swords for weaving 44.5 and 41.5 cm. (Fig. 104.)

I. A. 727.	Shuttle	(Izozó).	Lgth.	33.3 cm.	(Fig. 91d.)
I. A. 728.	"	"	"	27 cm.	(Fig. 91e.)
I. A. 671.	Sword for weaving	"	"	38 cm.	
I. A. 672.	" " "	"	"	45 cm.	
I. A. 673.	" " "	"	"	30 cm.	(Fig. 91c.)

/67 cont./

P Ce 286 In order to be able to form easily by a single manipulation the second formation of the warp threads, in which the even threads, which were below in the normal formation are brought up, passing the odd threads, the mechanism represented by the diagram in Figure 106 is constructed. As this figure shows, this mechanism consists of small loops of cotton thread which encircle the even threads of the warp and are tied to one another. This Izozó mechanism is different from the corresponding one of the Paressi-Kabichí loom, in that it is not provided, like the latter, with a small stick which serves to join the aforementioned loops to one another.

Ce 286 /68/ By pulling the warp its position can be varied so that the part of the warp which is being worked is always at the proper height and on the front side of the loom. This can also be effected by moving the lower horizontal pole of the loom frame, which the warp threads are always pulling.

In order to be able to pass the woof thread alternately through the two divisions of the warp threads formed by the string and loops mentioned in the foregoing, these divisions are opened by means of a kind of wooden sword, of which the collection has five specimens in addition to the two which go with the loom. Two of these measure more than a meter, since they are intended for working with much larger looms than the one shown in Figure 104. This implement at the same time is used to fix the woof thread to the finished part of the woven material after it has passed through the warp.

The shuttle, by means of which the woof thread is passed through the two divisions of the warp threads alternately from left to right and from right to left, consists of a simple little stick on which the thread is wrapped. In the list of objects in the collection, two specimens of such shuttles from the Izozó are mentioned, in addition to the one which belongs to the loom. See Figures 91 d and e.

C Ce 286 126 In addition to these implements I acquired two others in the form of a bodkin and made of wood, which are used to arrange the warp threads. One of these is from the Chiriguano, and the other from the Izozó. Combs, which were used by the ancient Peruvian for this purpose, are not used by the Chiriguano or the Chané.

/68 cont./

C Ce 286 174 177 In addition to this usual type of loom, there can also be found among the Chané and Chiriguano other special types which correspond to the ancient Peruvian types of looms for weaving bands. The fact that the mechanism of these looms makes possible the formation of more divisions of the warp threads, makes more variations in the ornamentation possible. Nordenskiöld shows such a Chiriguano loom in a drawing (273). No doubt this kind

273. Nord. 2, Fig. 55, N. 4.

of loom is a product of the influence of the culture of the ancient Peruvians.

C Ce 286 For different purposes, very different weavings, most of which have already been mentioned in the chapter on clothing, can be made with a loom provided with a warp in the form of a ring as described above. With regard to the measurements of these fabrics, I refer the reader to what I have already said in this respect. The material of all of these woven fabrics consists of cotton or wool threads.

C Ce 291 286 126

Woven Goods Made on the Loom Provided with a Warp in the Form of a Ring, from the Collection

1. Tipoys. I.A. 820, 832, and 838 (Izozó) (I.A. 820, Fig. 114).
2. Ponchos. I.A. 423-427 (Chiriguano) (I.A. 426, Fig. 118).
   I.A. 808-810, 812-815, 819, 823-825, 830, 831, 833-836 (Izozó) (I.A. 823, Fig. 117).
3. Mantas. I.A. 585 (Chiriguano).
   I.A. 816-818, 825-829 (Izozó) (I.A. 818, Fig. 120).
4. Bands of cotton for men's hair. I.A. 653-660 (Izozó) (I.A. 653, Figs. 30b and 108; I.A. 655, Figs. 30c and 109; I.A. 656, Figs. 30d and 110; I.A. 660, Figs. 30a and 107).

Ce 301 126 286

/Plates XXVIII-XXXI appear here./

Ce 301 126 /69/

5. Bands of human hair for men's hair. I.A. 739 and 765 (Izozó) (I.A. 739, Figs. 31 and 111).

[Text continues on p. 180]

C
Ce /69 cont./
291 6. Fajas. I.A. 428-441 (Chiriguano) (I.A. 423, Figs. 119b
126 and 123; I.A. 430, Fig. 124; I.A. 436, Figs. 119a and 121).
I.A. 803-807 (Izozó) (I.A. 803, Figs. 119c and 122).

Ce 7. Saddle covers.
492 I.A. 842 (Izozó). Of wool. Length 0.69 m. Width
126 0.67 m.
I.A. 843 " " " 1.42 m. "
0.62 m. (Figs. 103a and 126.)

C 8. Carrying bag (Chiriguano). Of wool. Length 1.07 m. Width
415 0.45 m. (Fig. 131a.)
126 9. Double bags for carrying loads on asses or horses.
[492] I.A. 445. (Chirig.) Wool. Entire lgth. 92 cm. Width 37 cm. (Figs. 115 and 131b.)

Ce I.A. 811. (Izozó) Wool. Entire lgth. 93 cm. Width 46.5 cm. (Fig. 132.)
492 I.A. 821. " Cotton. " " 94 cm. " 40 cm.
415 I.A. 822. " " " " 106 cm. " 36 cm.
126 I.A. 839. " " " " 97 cm. " 35 cm.
I.A. 840. " " " " 104 cm. " 36 cm.
I.A. 841. " Wool " " 92 cm. " 46 cm.

Ce Of the three tipoys in the collection acquired from the Izozó,
291 one (I.A. 820) consists of a fabric in the form of a sleeve made
286 with the warp in this form. The woolen tipoy (I.A. 832) was lengthened by sewing together two such woven pieces, one beside the other. The structure of the weaving clearly shows the thread which was extended between the two vertical poles of the loom before making the warp, and which remained in the cloth. Tipoy I.A. 838 is not typical and consists of a flat piece of weaving whose two facing edges were sewed together.

C With regard to the making of ponchos, we must mention
Ce that those of the Chiriguano consist of two pieces of woven ma-
291 terial sewed to each other in the direction of the slit of the
286 poncho, while Izozó ponchos most often consist of a single piece of weaving made across the entire width of the loom and therefore do not show a seam in the middle part such as Chiriguano ponchos show. From the stiff edges in the direction of the woof, it can clearly be seen that the special mechanism

C
28
352
126

/72 cont./

Weavings Made without a Special Mechanism for Making the Divisions of the Threads of the Warp, from the Collection

I.A. 450. Hammock (Chirig.) of wool. Lgth 2.85 m. Width 0.60 m. (Fig. 102a.)

CC
286
415
126
482

I.A. 768. Carrying net provided with a woven caraguata band (Izonó). Length of band 49 cm. (Figs. 125 and 132.)

I.A. 802. Band for a carrying net (Izonó). Caraguata. Length 49 cm.

C
CC
286
[415]
[482]
[352]

With regard to their exterior structure too, the bands with which many of the carrying nets (of the Izonó and some of the Chiriguano ones) and one Chiriguano hammock are provided are similar to the weavings. But these /Plates XXXII-XXXV appear here/ /73/ objects are made without any special mechanism for making the divisions of the warp threads.

Figure 125 shows the structure of the band of the net I.A. 768. (Cf. Fig. 133 /see p.700/.) The diagram shows the way in which these bands are made. First the longitudinal threads are stretched in a way similar to the manner of stretching the warp threads of common weavings between the horizontal poles of the frame of the loom, but without using the special thread extended between the two vertical poles of the loom. Then they pass a transverse thread, which corresponds to the woof thread of common weavings, through the two rows of longitudinal threads alternately from the right to the left and from the left to the right, in such a way that this thread is left alternately under one thread of the back row of longitudinal threads and on top of one thread of the front row. Thus the manufacture of these bands and of hammock I.A. 450 is different from that of common weavings principally in the fact that the woof thread passes simultaneously through the threads of the front side and of the back side of the warp. Sundry irregularities in the course of the threads of the warp show that weavings of this kind have been made without using a mechanism for making the divisions of the warp threads.

6c Schmidt--194 E-5 (1905) 1903 SF 0 Chiriguano SF 0
Clark SF
P20 3.0

/75/

Nets of the Collection That Are Made with the Technique Called "Kammknüpfen" in German.
Using the Knot Called Reef Knot
in English

Ce 286 352 126

I.A. 701. Hammock (278) (Chané of the Paraguá). Caraguata.

278. Gift of Mr. Teodoro Rojas.

Length 3.20 m. (Fig. 109c.)
I.A. 705. Hammock (Isoné). Caraguata. Length 1.80 m.
I.A. 794. " " " " 2.70 m.
I.A. 446. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Wool. Lgth 1.05 m.
I.A. 447. " " " " " " " 0.75 m.
I.A. 561-564, 567, 569-571. Nets for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length between 1.50 and 0.50 m. (I.A. 567, Figs. 134 and 143; I.A. 568, Fig. 144.)
I.A. 787-787; 790-792. Nets for carrying loads (Isoné). Caraguata. Length 1.60 m. and 0.65 m. (I.A. 788, Figs. 139 and 142; I.A. 772, Fig. 135.)
I.A. 785. Bag (Isoné). Caraguata. Length 0.82 m. Height 0.40 m.
I.A. 786 " " " " 0.82 m. " 0.07 m. (Fig. 136.)
I.A. 793. Quadrangular net (Isoné). Caraguata. Length 0.90 m.
I.A. 794. Implement for fishing with net (Isoné). Length 72.5 cm. (Fig. 33.)
I.A. 795-801. Nets for implements such as I.A. 794 (Isoné). Caraguata.
I.A. 508. Sling (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length 15 cm.
I.A. 509. " " " " 14 cm. "

C 286 415 458 126
C 415 297 126
Ce [227]
C 411 286

From the large size of the mesh of nets I.A. 560, 705, and 794, it follows that they are hammocks. Because in Chiriguano and Chané territory there are generally no fish except small ones, nets for fishing must have considerably smaller meshes.

Of the Chiriguano nets for carrying loads, two are made of wool and one of these has a band like most such nets from the Isoné. The rest of these nets from the Chiriguano and the Isoné are made of caraguata thread. Some of them have a rather small mesh, but among them, of the Isoné [illegible] with big mesh are not rare.

C 286 352 297 126
C 415 297 126 [283]

Ib Schmidt--196 8-6 (1950) 1934 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane 5F8
2Ro20

/74 cont./

small mesh, but among those of the Isoró those with big mesh are the rule. Thus the mesh of the Isoró nets used for carrying the large water jars is also very large. Most of these Isoró nets have a special band that goes over the forehead of the bearer. The structure of these bands, which are made of caraguata, wool, or cotton, have already been described by us in the chapter on weavings. Cf. Figure 133 /see p. 300/ and the diagram shown in Figure 125 /see p. 196/.

The collection has two net bags from the Isoró which are made in such a way that the whole rectangular net is folded in the middle and the pieces which are on top of one another are laced together with a thread on the two longitudinal sides.

In the way described in the foregoing they also make the net of the fishing implement I.A. 794 described in the chapter on fishing and shown in Figure 35. Because this implement is used to catch small fish, the net has very small mesh. The slings described among the hunting implements are also made in the same way.

/75/

Burden-carrying Net Made by the Technique Called "Knotennetzstich" in German, But Using the Knot Called "Sheet Knot" in English from the Collection

I.A. 572. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Strips of animal hide. Length 0.85 m.

This net is made like the nets described in the foregoing, made of knots, but the knot used in the type called "sheet knot" in English and "Schotenstich" in German. This knot is shown in Figure 138, c and d. According to Nordenskiöld (277), the

277. Nord. 2, p. 164.

Chiriguano also have fishing nets which are made using this type of knot.

/75 cont./

Nets in the Collection That Are Made with Loops and without the Use of Knots

I.A. 565-566.	Net for carrying loads (Chirig.).	Lgth.	0.90 m. 1.80 m.
I.A. 567.	" " " " "	"	1.15 m. (Figs. 134 and 143.)
I.A. 568.	" " " " "	"	1.20 m. (Fig. 144.)

From the Chiriguano I obtained several nets for carrying burdens, which are made without using knots, by connecting the thread in the fashion illustrated by Figures 143 and 144 and which is common among many tribes of the Chaco, as happens among the Tapiété, Matako /Mataco/, Toba, Chorote /Choroti/, and Churupí /Chulupi/.

The great number of nets that I acquired from the Izozó are made with knots without exception, and we must therefore assume that these Indians are not familiar with or do not use the technique of making nets with simple loops and without applying knots, and that this technique, called "Schlingtechnik" in German, is used only by the Chiriguano or a part of them. Nordenskiöld does not mention this technique among the Chiriguano, and in the synoptic outline in which the several techniques of making nets are illustrated the Chiriguano are not mentioned in Column 5 among the Indian tribes which use the technique of making nets without applying knots. Of the burden-carrying nets made of caraguata thread that I acquired from the Chiriguano, ten are made without knots being applied, by the technique called "Schlingtechnik," and only seven by applying knots by the technique called "Knotentechnik." We can therefore assume that this part of the Chiriguano at least uses the technique of making nets without applying knots, although this opinion is contrary to that of Nordenskiöld, who says (278) that

278. Nord. 2, p. 116.

all of the nets made by this technique found among the Chiriguano and the Chané were acquired from the Chaco Indians.

C
Ce
415
482
177
[126]

/75 cont./

Net Bags Made by the Toba, from the Collection

I. A. 572. Bag for carrying burdens. (Found among the Chiriguano) Length 0.70 cm.

I. A. 845. " " " " (Found among the Izozó) Length 57 cm.

I acquired two net bags, one from the Izozó and the other from the Chiriguano, which show differences from the techniques mentioned in the foregoing. The Izozó and the Chiriguano told me that they themselves had not made these bags and that they had obtained them from the Toba.

C
Ce
294
[177]
[296]

/76/ Sewing

With the acquisition of European clothes, naturally the sewing of these clothes to make and mend them became general among the Chiriguano and Chané. Modern sewing needles are an article eagerly sought by them today. But undoubtedly these Indians had already known the technique of sewing with a needle with an eye for a long time through their contact with the culture of the ancient Peruvians. Although the native textiles are, in most cases, made in one piece, needlework coming from other cultures is often added to the native technique of these textiles. I mentioned that a large Izozó tipoy is made of two smaller tipoys sewed together. The ponchos of the Chiriguano in Machareti are made of two pieces sewed together. The four edges of the Chiriguano and Izozó ponchos most of the time are turned and sewed to the rest of the fabric. In the making of the bags for carrying burdens, especially the double bags for loading draft horses or burros, sewing is used.

C
Ce
294

C
Ce
415

Among the cuyas that I obtained from the Chiriguano and Izozó there are several which show breaks mended by sewing. See Figure 25a /see p. 51/. The two diagrams shown in Figure 130 a and b serve to illustrate the way in which this sewing is done, with cotton thread on the two Izozó cuyas I. A. 666 and 667, and with fine wire on the Chiriguano cuya (I. A. 460). The cuya I. A. 667 shows two such repairs done by sewing.

/76 cont./

C
Ce
252
[415]
[412]

On the Cooking of Meals

Most of the Chiriguano and Chané utensils used /Plates XXXVI-XXXVII appear here/ /77/ for cooking meals have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters, such as pots for cooking food and for fermenting chicha, dishes with holes in the center of the bottom for steaming maize meal, vessels for frying /fritar/ maize, wooden mortars with their pestles, and sieves. For frying /fritar/ meat or fish, the Chiriguano and Chané do not use the quadrangular or triangular stands which are so common among other South American Indians, but instead simple wooden spits (282). Also, as we have already said, the grater for grating mandioca roots is not found among these Indians.

C
Ce
[171]
C
Ce
[412]

282. Nord. 2, p. 55. Métraux I, p. 352 and Figure 22.

Ce
[415]
[412]

We have yet to mention two other utensils used by the Chiriguano and Chané for fixing their meals, the large wooden dish and the spatula for stirring foods or drinks when they are boiling or fermenting.

C
415
126

Large Wooden Dishes (Platters) in the Collection

I. A. 574. (Chirig.) Lgth 0.83 m. Width 0.39 m. (Fig. 19.)
I. A. 575. " " 1 m. " 0.325 m.

Unfortunately I did not obtain data regarding the special use of these large wooden dishes which I acquired from the Chiriguano in Machareti. As Fig. 19 shows, these large wooden dishes are provided with the same handles as the smaller wooden dishes which serve as vessels for eating.

/77 cont./

C 412 126

Spatulas for Stirring Foods, Which Are in the Collection

I.A. 501.	(Chiriguano)	Length	49.5 cm.	
I.A. 509.	"	"	24.5 cm.	(Fig. 21)
I.A. 576.	"	"	114 cm.	(Fig. 20b.)
I.A. 577.	"	"	93 cm.	
I.A. 578.	"	"	62 cm.	(Fig. 20a.)
I.A. 579.	"	"	66.5 cm.	

C Ce 412 [531] [171]

These wooden spatulas for stirring are used by the Chiriguano and Chané for stirring the bubbling crock of maize when it is being fermented. Some of these spatulas have decorations on their handles similar to those of the corresponding spatulas of the Guató Indians. Nordenskiöld shows in a sketch such a Chiriguano spatula with a zigzag decoration (283), and beside

C 412 531 237

283. Nord. 2, Fig. 17 A.

it (284) another form of these utensils, from the Chiriguano,

284. Nord. 2, Fig. 17 B.

which consists of the shoulder blade of a large mammal, attached to a wooden handle (285).

285. Nord. 2, p. 55. See Métraux I, Figs. 33 and 34.

C 273

The Making of Fermented Drinks

Concerning the making of maize chicha, that is, the national drink of the Chiriguano, Nordenskiöld says the following (286):

286. Nord. 1, p. 237.

C [412] First the maize is /78/ ground up in large mortars, then sifted and boiled in large pots with water. A part of this mash,

/79 cont./

C
Ce
402
191
413

We must still note that the Chiriguano and Chané transport fish in the same way as the neighboring tribes of the Chaco, by stringing them on a cord provided with a big wooden needle (295).

295. Nord. 2, p. 46.

Implements for Storing Objects

C
Ce
352
353
415

Most of the objects that serve for storing things have also been mentioned in preceding chapters, such as the various kinds of baskets and the wooden hoops which are hung in the houses for storing sundry things in them. The net bag and the carrying net do not serve only for carrying, but also for storing things in them. Baked clay vessels are not only used for storing liquids, but are also used for storing many other things which have a special value or are old memorabilia of the family (296). Furthermore,

296. Nord. 1, p. 179.

C
Ce
[237]

they put up special hooks for hanging various things in the houses. Such a hook is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (297),

297. Nord. 1, p. 177 and Fig. 86.

and Métraux shows such a hook made of a deer's leg (298).

298. Métraux I, Fig. 128.

Art

C
534
126

Flutes and a Whistle in the Collection

I.A. 491. Flute, "sereré" (Chirig.). Wood. Lgth. 17 cm. Width 2.7 cm. (Fig. 33b.)

I.A. 492. " " " " " 20 cm. Width 2.5 cm. (Fig. 33a.)

I.A. 493. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Length 43 cm.

/79 cont./

534 I. A. 494. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Lgth. 41 cm. (Fig. 34a.)
[126] I. A. 495. Double whistle " " " 33.5 and 7 cm. (Fig. 34b.)

[126] From the Chiriguano in Machareti I acquired two different kinds of flutes, the ones made of cane and the others made of wood. The two wooden flutes I. A. 491 and 492 (cf. Figs. 93a and 93b /see Fig. 33a and b, p. 89/) are of particular importance because of their similarity in form, and in the case of I. A. 491 of decoration as well, to a special kind of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians, and for that reason they have already been dealt with several times in ethnological literature. These two flutes are doubtless quite old specimens which per-
[322] haps had already been used by several generations. They are called "sereré" by the Chiriguano, and they are of hard wood bored from one end to the other. In the middle of the upper edge of the lozenge of the apparatus, there are two small
[301] perforations . A similar flute shown in a sketch by v. Rosen (299)

299. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 220.

shows that these perforations serve for a string to pass through, in order that the flute may be worn as a chest ornament.
534 Nordenskiöld (300) has already called attention to the surprising
174
191

300. Nord. 3, pp. 187 and 188.

resemblance between these flutes and a special form of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians. These, numerous specimens of which are known, are no doubt classified as balance beams because of the fact that on some specimens /80/ the cord which passes through the horizontal perforation and which has at one end a weight and at the other end a loop, or some such similar thing for holding the objects that are to be weighed, has been preserved. V. Rosen, describing and showing in a drawing one of these Chiriguano flutes, which is like flute I. A. 491 except that it still has the cord which passes through the two holes on the upper

/90 cont./
000 preceding. I must also cite A. Métraux's publication, "Les
792 Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguano e dans l'Amérique de Sud
[113] /Men-Gods among the Chiriguano and in South America/" (363),

363. In the Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, No. 1, Tucumán, 1931.

in which he deals with the cases, repeated several times, in which some individuals among the Chiriguano appear as Messiahs and, acquiring many proselytes, gave the mission administrations much to do.

796
[126] Plaited Objects Used in Religious Celebrations, from the Collection

I.A. 1439. (Chiriguano) Length 70 cm. (Fig. 43b.)
I.A. 1440. " " 37 cm. (Fig. 43a.)

[171] Plaited objects like those mentioned above are also very com-
796 mon among the Paraguayans and made in the same way. This
797 custom of making such plaited figures and having them blessed,
177 as the Chiriguano also do, is connected with the Catholic ritual, and the Chiriguano no doubt received it from the missionaries along with the other rites of the Catholic religion (364).

364. See the opposite opinion of Métraux I, p. 462.

532 The masks that the Chiriguano make to carry during the Carnival
[527] fiestas are also modern objects. Some such Chiriguano masks are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and Métraux (365).

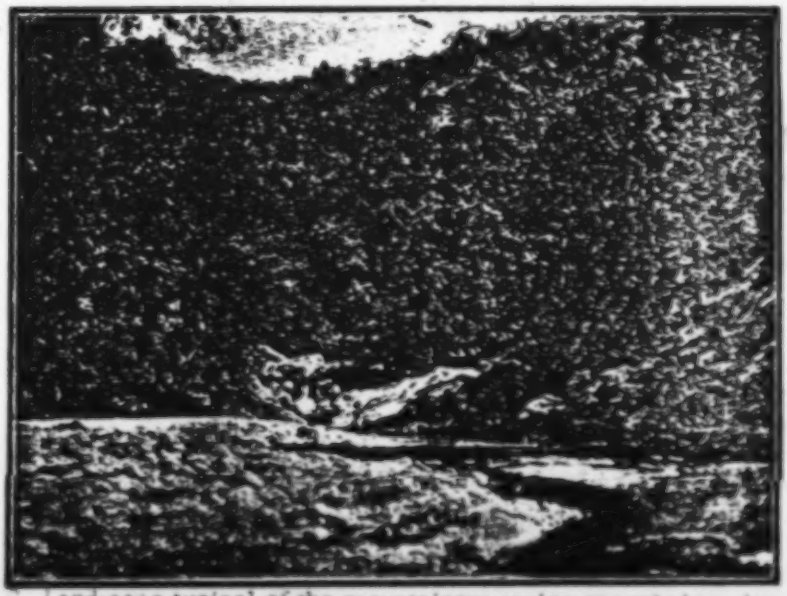
365. Nord. 1, Fig. 119. Métraux I, Plate 86 and Fig. 121.

Plate I

133
797

1. Panoramic view of the Franciscan mission of San Pascual de Boicovo (Huacaya Valley). (Photo. by the Reverend Father Honorato Catinari)

133



2. Landscape typical of the mountainous region occupied by the Chiriguano. View taken in a gorge in the neighborhood of the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo (Photo. by Reverend Father Honorato Catinari)

[127]

/315 cont./

C G 175 648 Ce 175 648 567

/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race; asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him, and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

C G 175 127 114 167

This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guarani all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

/315 cont./

G 114 127 175 167

/fn. 1 cont./ still present in everyone's memory. Even if we accept Garcilaso's version and make that event go back to the reign of Tupac Inca Yupanki, it is still no less certain that it could only have taken place in the last decades of the 15th century. It is indeed at this time, according to Balboa, that the emperor Tupac Inca Yupanki would have reigned. (See Nordenskiöld, 6). In this case the first Guarani migration would have preceded García's trip by about 50 years. Why then does Gandía, who himself gives us this figure, consider it more probable that this invasion took place more than a century before the Conquest? When I personally submitted to Mr. Gandía the reservations I had on the subject of the date he was assigning to the establishment of the Guarani at the foot of the Andes, he answered that he had taken as a basis for this evaluation a passage from Lozano (Descripción chrorográfica...) and Mendiburn (Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú...). According to the latter the Inca Yupanki would have died in 1453. I shall reply to this objection by stating that the evidence of Lozano, who was satisfied to copy Garcilaso, has no value; and as for Mendiburn's calculation, I do not grant him any credence.

One single fact remains certain in this controversy: The Guarani had begun their migratory movement toward Peru some years before García's adventurous trip.

G 175 167 [114]

/316/ establishing. Neither was Alejo García's expedition the determining cause of the great migration of which Díaz de Guzmán (p. 29) speaks thus:

"Following these events (García's trip) the Indians of the Province of Paraguay met together with their caciques and

/319 cont./

there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs, lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques, /320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them. Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians. The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding on human flesh, uniting *by chance, living without fire or law*, burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II, p. 281) gives us of the large house of the Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

/320 cont./

C 175 342

interesting: "they make a very big dormitory and, within it, as many small rooms as there are residents, and so small that they do not have room for more persons, and it is enough for them, because they do not have furniture, nor do they have wearing apparel and hence they go about naked." /Translated from the Spanish./ These facts agree on every point with those of the Relaciones geográficas, etc. (Vol. II, Plate CIV) and of Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 259) on the same subject. The Guarani, just like the Tupinamba and other Tupi tribes, lived in maloca, gigantic halls capable of containing more than 150 persons and which often in themselves formed the village. The existence of this type of dwelling among the Chiriguano in the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes new proof for the recent character of their migration. In the 18th century we find them already in possession of the small rectangular house which they still have now and where one single family lives. (See Métraux, 2, p. 51.)

C [114] [113]

C [171]

C [174] [167]

C 114 127 175

novelist Garcilaso which might allow one to suppose that he really knew who the Chiriguano were. As for this conquest by the Inca, it would have been barely an attempt at conquest... Garcilaso confuses the Chiriguano with all the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes whom he had vaguely heard mentioned. Let us note that he is the only one to attribute this expedition to the Inca Yupanki, while the other chroniclers, better informed, are satisfied to say that the Inca Yupanki made an expedition against the Antis, probably around Cuzco. Unfortunately the vogue this pleasant writer enjoyed at a time when the history of America was still in limbo bluffs some modern critics into believing him, and they go so far as to prefer one of his unwarranted affirmations to the serious /321/ and precise evidence of chroniclers who get their information at first hand and from reliable sources.

C 114 127 175 148 [101]

/333 cont./

Chapter II

Agriculture

241 The Chiriguano, like the Guarani and the Chané, their ancestors, are excellent farmers, and the working of the soil represents their principal occupation and their great concern.
243 For them corn is of prime importance; it constitutes the basis
[273] of their diet, for it enters into the preparation of most of their dishes and in addition gives them their preferred drink, chicha or kāwi.

[132] The sandy lands of the western Chaco and its climate,
[134] hot and dry a great part of the year, but also rainy during the summer months, seem to be particularly suitable for this grain. I have never seen such beautiful fields of corn anywhere. The ears are large, well filled out /334/ with kernels, and extremely tasty. The Bolivian half-breeds and settlers who are coming in greater and greater numbers to take the place of the Indians devote themselves like them to the growing of corn, which, with cattle-raising, is their main resource.

114 My trip to the Chaco, which took place from the month
243 of February to the month of June, did not give me a chance to
[101] be present at the sowing which is done at the beginning of the rainy season. For many details I shall therefore be forced to
[127] refer to Corrado (pp. 42 and 48), Campana (pp. 96-98), Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 181-184, and 10, pp. 23-24), to Nino (pp. 237-241), and Rosen (1, p. 205).

241 When a Chiriguano wishes to cultivate a new piece of
243 ground for himself and his family, he scours the environs of his village looking for a spot which may suit him and which is, in addition, easily irrigable. This condition is generally fulfilled by the lands at the foot of a hill or rising ground. The rain water which pours down there assures them of fertility.

/105 cont./

797 setbacks, and endured the bitterness of having some captured
361 by the savages, but the establishment of the town is now an accomplished fact. It has a pretty church, consecrated at the end of July, 1908, and the only thing lacking is a priest in residence to attend to them spiritually with great care, because Machareti is quite far for this widespread parish (1).

1. The Christians who explored the territory of Carandaiti received the land promised; there is no potable water other than that of the ponds, which are in danger of being emptied. The preservation of this town should receive the attention of the Government of Bolivia for the sake of commerce, the cattle industry, transportation, and the prospect of new explorations to the east.

128 /106/ With the brief summary which I have made with
127 reference to the missionaries among the Chiriguano and to the towns of whites built in the same region, presided over by the Franciscans of Tarija and Potosí, I bring an end to this second chapter, in which several opinions regarding the origin and point of departure of the Chiriguano for the region which they occupied, and with slight differences occupy at present, have been expressed.

There is no invention in it; by means of patient verification from different persons at different times, by consulting numerous authors, who, by study, reference, or in passing, have left something in writing, I have come to learn certain facts which, if they are believed here, are also believed in other places, and I have concluded that not all of it could be a fable, and as I have heard them told, so do I present them to my readers. This is the chapter which has concerned me most, and I do not know if the time, vigils, and the sleep of which my eyes have been deprived have been well employed; be that as it may, the public now has it.

4: Nino--438 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/324 cont./

127 128 Some of the lithographs for Etnografía Chiriguana have been reproduced from the Anthropologie Bolivienne of Doctor Arthur Chervin, as well as others from the work of Señor del Campano, and the rest from photographs which I was able to get from some amateur photographers among the Franciscans.

Some of those of the first-named author and all of those of the second were reproduced from the album which is kept in the Potosí missions and in the Franciscan Colegio de Tarija.

If the author of the Etnografía had had the necessary time available and had been able to rely upon a collaborator, it would have been easy, most easy, to have reproduced with photographic apparatus important scenes, beautiful landscapes, enchanting panoramas, high and thick palm groves, immense beaches on great rivers, and other innumerable beauties which exist in the region. In a second edition all this could be done, if the Supreme Government would make available the necessary funds so that a scientific tour might be made through the entire region in the company of a photographer.

/325/ Table of Contents Page

Homage 1
Approbation of the work /omitted in the translation/
Author's acknowledgement to the Supreme Government of Bolivia 1
Dedication /omitted in the translation/
Introduction 4
Word to the reader 5
Foreword by Don Manuel V. Ballivián 7

Schwedenkiste E-8,4 (1909-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

[p.vii]
[p.vi is blank]

PREFACE

C
Ce
D2

As I mentioned in the preface to the First Part of this work, the expenses of publication have been defrayed by Consul-General Axel Axson Johnson, Esq., of Stockholm, to whom I have taken the liberty of dedicating this, the second part of my book, as a small token of my appreciation of the interest and kindness he has shown towards my South American researches. I also mentioned in the earlier preface that Consul-General Johnson has in every way tried o further Swedish researches in S. America, above all by granting free passages to all the Swedish explorers visiting that continent on board his comfortable and stately ships.

C
CC
126
127
Ce
D2

This work is based on collections made by me in S. America, as well as on the study of material in museums and of books (See Part I). I would remind my readers that these researches have been carried out with the upport of Swedish patrons of research-work, notably Arvid Hernmarck, Esq., and Mrs. Ina Smitt.

010

I have to thank several of my friends and colleagues for valuable communications, which I have made use of in one way or another in the present work. These are: Mr. Kaj Birket-Smith of the National Museum, Copenhagen (M. C.), Dr. G. Friederici, Dr. R. Karsten, Prof. Dr. Th. Koch-Grünberg, Director of the Ethnological Museum, Stuttgart, Dr. F. Krause, Ethnological Museum, Leipzig, Dr. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Leiden, Licentiate Sven Lindh, Prof. Dr. Max Schmidt, Ethnological Museum, Berlin, (M. J. V. B.) and Dr. Max Uhle. Every possible courtesy has been shown me by the Riksmuseum,

ScNordenskiöld E-8,(1900-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chirigsano SF10
Chaco SF8

E00
C
Ce
127
[104]

Stockholm, through Prof. C. V. Hartman, Dr. G. Lindblom, and last but not least by its skilled attendant A. Törnblom. The objects described here which belong to the Riksmuseum in Stockholm, are marked R. M. with the number of their inventory, those belonging to the Museum at Gothenburg are marked G. M.

In the last named museum there are, inter alia, collections made by Lieutenant O. Liljeualch and Mr. Otto Thulin. The latter has supplied me with a number of valuable oral particulars which are reproduced in the following.

I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Lars Wählin, Head Librarian of the Stadsbibliotek at Gothenburg, for procuring rare books for me to consult and for translations of Latin quotations. As the works of Italian authors occasionally caused me some trouble, since I cannot read Italian fluently, Consul-General E. Correa was good enough to help me when in difficulties.

The illustrations to this volume are chiefly due to Mr. A. Hjelm and Miss A. Danielsson. Some of the stereotype-plates were kindly lent me by Mr. K. O. Bonnier, the publisher of my popular works. Most of the illustrations, however, were made by the Opla Company of this town from pictures not previously published.

The translation into English of my Swedish manuscript was carried out by two translators and revised by Dr. G. E. Fahrken.

Schneeweiß E-4,8 (1908-1909. 1912) 1800
1911 Chiriguano 1911
Chané 1911

c
ce
352
171
[554]

corroborated by the accounts of PEDRO PIZARRO and XEREZ, who were eyewitnesses of the conquest of the Inca empire. In the high mountain country it is natural that hammocks should not be used as beds. In such parts they would be too cold. It is harder to make out why hammocks were not used in the coastal regions of Peru.

Evidently the hammock in S. America is so old a culture-element that it is impossible to decide whence it came to the Chané and Chiriguano. The latter certainly, and most likely the former too, used hammocks when they settled in their present territory. The technique employed in most Chané and all Chiriguano hammocks is the same as, with small variations, is mostly used wherever hammocks occur.

It is possible that some tribes about the river Amazon preferred palm-fibre hammocks to cotton ones, because the former are cooler. Possibly, too, in these regions of moist heat, hammocks of palm-fibre are less liable to rot and to be attacked by insects than those of cotton.

I here append a map (3) showing the distribution of hammocks of different material after PATER SCHMIDT, with certain additions, as will be seen from table 3.

The seat so characteristic of the Indians in great parts of S. America is a rather uncommon piece of furniture in the huts of the Chiriguano and Chané (Fig. 3). Its distribution in S. America has been investigated by PATER SCHMIDT[8] and SAVILLE[9]) wherefore I beg to refer to their works. In my own sphere of work I saw seats among the Quichua mestizoes at Callegua, among the Mojo, Huari, Baure and Huanyam. The seat as a culture-element has its southern boundary here. It occurred, though rarely, among the Incas, where seats seem to have been the special privilege of the chiefs[9]). Most likely it is a culture-element which the Chané

c
ce
[127]
c
ce
[622]

[8]) P. 1080.
[9]) V. 2, P. 203.
[9]) COBO Vol. 2. P. 170.

[P. 190 is blank]

142

To me, the Chiriguano seemed to be of better physique than both the Puna and the Chaco Indians, and their cast of features, as a rule, to be less rough-hewn than those of the above-mentioned tribes. Herma ten Kate has taken anthropological measurements of four Chiriguano men, [141 [127] whose average height was determined at 1[illegible] cm.[1] Lehmann-Nitsche, who has made anthropological observations of 50 Chiriguano (40 men and 10 women), is my authority for the data I have grouped together in the subjoined table.[2]

The Chiriguano: some physical data.

Sex	Average height, cm	Shape of skull	Colour of skin, Martin's scale	Colour of hair, Fischer's scale	Iris, by Martin's scale
Men	[illegible]	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 33	Majority 4	Majority 3—4
Women	[illegible]	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 38	Majority 4	Majority 3—4

142 The Chiriguano complexion is, accordingly, brown with a tint of yellow; the iris is dark brown, the hair black, coarse and lank. The growth of hair on face and body is very scanty.

361 The Chiriguano are not a nomadic people, but live in permanent villages, some of which are the abode of only a few families, whilst others contain [119] several hundreds of inhabitants. At Itiibi I was studying a Chiriguano village that, according to the Indians, was inhabited by about 500 people. This village was situated on a plain surrounded by wooded mountains (fig. 188). The huts formed a large circle, with the chief's hut in the centre. In the open space between the chief's hut and the rest, there were growing some close-foliaged trees (probably of the Bignoniaceae family), affording much-needed shade. In earlier literature it is stated that [579 [609] the Chiriguano used to build a hut for strangers in the middle of the village plaza.[3] In many of the Chiriguano villages I visited, the huts were scattered about without any perceivable order.

342 The huts are rectangular and with ridged roofs. (Figs. 189—190.) The walls either consist of perpendicular sticks, of tree-branches or reeds,

[1] Ten Kate (1), p. 46.
[2] Lehmann-Nitsche (1).
[3] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 6.

/<u>Ib conc.</u>/

Figure 33b, which corresponds, as does also the form of this flute, completely to ancient Peruvian models. Also, the surface of the Chiriguano case from L.A. 496 (cf. Fig. 34a /see p. 89/) shows some inclings.

One of the carved decorations is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld, who found it on a woman's arm (310).

310. Nord. 1, Fig. 116.

Social Conditions among the Chiriguano and Chané

With regard to the social conditions among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izoré, I am unable to add to the few data which we know on this subject because the situations in which I found myself when with these Indians were not appropriate for such investigations.

/65/ Among the Izoré whom I found in Toledo there were some who were designated as cacique. To one of them, who spoke Spanish perfectly, I owe the vocabulary of the Izoré language which I wrote down. I met the Chiriguano only in Macharetí, where they had lived for a long time under the supervision of the missionaries and, at the time of my trip, under the chieftainship of one of their own fellows who exercised the functions of a commissioner /<u>comisario</u>/. Two other Chiriguano Indians whom I met in Macharetí were identified as caciques.

In order to complete my statements about the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izoré, I must make a resumé of what we know from the literature regarding the social conditions of these Indians, referring to Métraux's statements, which are based on old documents, as well as those of v. Nordenskiöld, which are based upon his own investigations.

Naturally, many of the old Chiriguano and Chané social institutions have been lost since they lost their independence from the whites. Also, the power of the great caciques has diminished appreciably since they have been dependent on the whites. When Nordenskiöld

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The migrations, wars, and the religious conversion of the *Chiriguano* have been the subjects of many historical monographs. The most important of these are by Corrado (1884), Serrano y Sanz (1898), Dominguez (1918), Gandia (1929 a, and b), Métraux (1930 b), Coni (1925), Moreno (1929), and Finot (1939). The Jesuit missionary work among the *Chiriguano* has been described by Lozano (1941) and Muriel (1918).

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

As today *Chiriguano* and *Chané* share in the same culture, the following data may apply to both tribes.

Farming.—The *Chané*, conquered by the *Chiriguano*, were proficient farmers who, though practicing a tropical type of agriculture, were probably acquainted with many of the methods of cultivation of the Andean area. The *Chiriguano* adopted their traditions. The new habitat of the *Chiriguano* did not offer the same resources for hunting and fishing as had their homeland. Therefore, these Indians depend on farming to a larger extent than any other *Tupí-Guaraní tribe*. The basis of their livelihood is maize, of which they have 11 varieties, all related to those of Paraguay. Then follow in order of importance: Pumpkins, beans (11 varieties), sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, peanuts, and some Barbary figs (*Opuntia* sp). Sweet potatoes were grown on a large scale by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

These Indians also raise cotton, tobacco, urucú, and, in the Parapeti region, reeds for arrow shafts (*Arundo donax*). Plants of the Old World adopted by the *Chiriguano* include melons, watermelons, oranges, sugarcane, and sorghum.

Chiriguano men clear the fields and surround them with a tall fence as a protection against the inroads of wild or domesticated animals, a task which is considered to be particularly strenuous. They also till the soil, but at harvest time they are assisted by the women and children. The latter, armed with slings, drive away the parakeets and other birds which prey on the crops. Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 183) observed that among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro region, large maize fields were tended by men while pumpkins and beans were raised by the women.

Collecting wild food.—When their crops fail, the *Chiriguano* subsist on the same species of pods and fruits as those collected by the Chaco Indians: Algarrobo, tusca, mistol, caraguatá, and other plant foods.

Hunting.—Hunting is a very secondary economic activity, at least in modern times. Peccaries, which are the main game animal, are hunted with specially trained dogs and killed with bows and arrows or with clubs. Rheas, which are abundant in the Chaco plains, are caught with bolas. Pigeons are captured with clap nets. Special arrows with two points are used for hunting yacu birds (*Penelope* sp.).

/xiv cont./

114 the Franciscans Conrado, Cardús, Martarelli, Giannecchini, and Señor del Campano, etc. But in Bolivia no complete work is known, notes or pages by authors definitely worthy of every respect and very competent hardly exist, nor have explorers witnessed all that they have written about, from which have come errors which would certainly have been avoided if the reports had not been made so hastily.

121 [124] With all possible calm, patience, and unlimited time, I have set out to talk with the oldest and most knowledgeable Indians, who have explained some points to me, corrected certain others, and made me add still more; but I have already said that with my writing I do not pretend even to equal the luster of those who have preceded me. I shall only give more extension to the ideas which have been set forth by others, ideas which in the majority have been confirmed by the Indians to whom I have addressed myself.

Finally, I must state that since the Chiriguano are in contact with the mission Indians, and these, both old and new, exist in considerable number, I shall add by way of conclusion, after having finished what I have proposed to do, a chapter concerning the heathen Chiriguanos, the neophytes, or new Christians, and the method that the Missionaries use to reduce them religiously and civilly, and the effort required to maintain them in the Catholic faith.

121 • 128 Everyone will understand that, in order to avoid confusion, this small work will be divided into chapters, and the chapters into sections, for greater clarity and so as not to tire the reader. Certain terms that I must print here by necessity will be written in the Chiriguano language with their corresponding explanation, so that each one may understand the impact of the language. I could also formulate some general propositions with the corresponding Spanish, but the nature of this somewhat voluminous book does not permit it, nor is it necessary, because /xv/ there are various small handbooks which have been printed in this Republic of Bolivia.

/105 cont./

797 361 setbacks, and endured the bitterness of having some captured by the savages, but the establishment of the town is now an accomplished fact. It has a pretty church, consecrated at the end of July, 1908, and the only thing lacking is a priest in residence to attend to them spiritually with great care, because Machareti is quite far for this widespread parish (1).

1. The Christians who explored the territory of Carandaiti received the land promised; there is no potable water other than that of the ponds, which are in danger of being emptied. The preservation of this town should receive the attention of the Government of Bolivia for the sake of commerce, the cattle industry, transportation, and the prospect of new explorations to the east.

•128 127 /106/ With the brief summary which I have made with reference to the missionaries among the Chiriguano and to the towns of whites built in the same region, presided over by the Franciscans of Tarija and Potosí, I bring an end to this second chapter, in which several opinions regarding the origin and point of departure of the Chiriguano for the region which they occupied, and with slight differences occupy at present, have been expressed.

There is no invention in it; by means of patient verification from different persons at different times, by consulting numerous authors, who, by study, reference, or in passing, have left something in writing, I have come to learn certain facts which, if they are believed here, are also believed in other places, and I have concluded that not all of it could be a fable, and as I have heard them told, so do I present them to my readers. This is the chapter which has concerned me most, and I do not know if the time, vigils, and the sleep of which my eyes have been deprived have been well employed; be that as it may, the public now has it.

/190/

291 The crown of the hat is made of four oval parts, as is
294 the brim which surrounds it, sewed with fine cords of the same material, and the edge of the brim is turned upward. The hat has a band of the same material sewed to both sides at the temples to hold it to the throat; a knot or a ring on the band can be used to tighten it.

292 The Ambícuai, which lends its name to the whole outfit,
281 is a perfect cassock, but its form is entirely Chiriguano, for it does not hinder the movement of the arms. Its cut is not straight, and both parts are made fast at the chest with two leather straps, which are run through the holes on the opposite side. The cassock in back ends in two points, where there is a kind of ornamentation of the same leather, which consists of short, fine strips, like a tassel. The sleeves are wide, as is the whole garment, and are attached to the shoulder, being open at the armpit so as not to impede the movement of the arms, either in hunting or in war, where the grandees also
[126] wear it. In fact, in the photograph taken in Santa Rosa to be sent to the exposition, a hunter and a warrior dressed in this
529 doublet appear outside the circle. In the middle there is a
554 Chiriguano woman with her crown and adornments as queen
562 of the fiesta, who offers chicha to all who are enjoying themselves (1).

1. The queen is the one who serves the dancers as mistress and patroness of the fiesta. This
• [128] photograph or figure will not be reproduced in the chapter dealing with fiestas because I could not obtain it.

292 The Timbiao, breeches, is also of leather and is made
[281] of four pieces, wider from the waist to the sacrum and narrower from the thigh to the bottom. It is quite wide and comes to the ankle. It is rougher than the rest, but more valued, and they will give anything to have even a single pair. This garment is tied at the waist with a belt or with two strings which are sewed across the entire width of the garment itself.

4t Nino--438 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/324 cont./

127 128 Some of the lithographs for Etnografía Chiriguana have been reproduced from the Anthropologie Bolivienne of Doctor Arthur Chervin, as well as others from the work of Señor del Campano, and the rest from photographs which I was able to get from some amateur photographers among the Franciscans.

Some of those of the first-named author and all of those of the second were reproduced from the album which is kept in the Potosí missions and in the Franciscan Colegio de Tarija.

If the author of the Etnografía had had the necessary time available and had been able to rely upon a collaborator, it would have been easy, most easy, to have reproduced with photographic apparatus important scenes, beautiful landscapes, enchanting panoramas, high and thick palm groves, immense beaches on great rivers, and other innumerable beauties which exist in the region. In a second edition all this could be done, if the Supreme Government would make available the necessary funds so that a scientific tour might be made through the entire region in the company of a photographer.

/325/ Table of Contents Page

Homage	1
Approbation of the work /omitted in the translation/	
Author's acknowledgement to the Supreme Government of Bolivia	1
Dedication /omitted in the translation/	
Introduction	4
Word to the reader	5
Foreword by Don Manuel V. Ballivián	7

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,½(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
CE
121

can be kept in a museum or for which one may find — given favourable circumstances — archeaological comparative material. Besides weapons, ornaments etc there is thus included also burial customs, tatooing, dancing-masks, etc.

C
CE
128

The reader will find that I have endeavoured to make this part more graphic than Part I . From the maps of bibliography it will be seen regarding what regions I have had access to literature; it can also, in some measure, be seen whether the blanks on the maps are due to those particular tribes never having been closely studied.

The maps of distributions in this work are fewer in number than in Part I. This is because we find the Chiriguano and Chané, or one of these tribes, on twenty-nine maps in Part I. Part I is largely preparatory to Part II. Parts I and 2 together contain 45 maps showing the distribution of culture-elements occuring among the Chané and (or) Chiriguano.

C
CE
121

All who are interested in the ethnography of S. America will, I venture to think, find the maps worth close study and will see that from them various deductions can be made not only respecting the Chiriguano and Chané Indians but also as to the ethnography of S. America in general. In some measure I have, indeed, endeavoured to do this myself.

C
CE
131

The land of the Chiriguano and Chané the Indians streches from near Sta Cruz de la Sierra to near Rio Bermejo. Southwards of Sta Cruz the territory inhabited by the Chiriguano is continuous. The Chané, on the other hand, live in several different quarters, some at the river Itiyuro in the Argentine, some at Caipipendi near the Rio Pilcomayo, some at the Lower Rio Parapiti, and others near Itau south of the Rio Pilcomayo. The neighbours of the Chiriguano and Chané are the Mataco-Vejos, Mestizos, and Whites to the south, the Mataco, Toba, Tapiete, (Yanaygua) and Tsirakua to the east, to the north Mestizos and Whites, and to the west Quichua, Mestizos, and Whites.

C
CE
101
162

S:Nordenskiöld E-8,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XIII.

Toilet-Articles, Tattooing etc.

Ee 55 171 174

The Chiriguano and the Chané are careful of their personal appearance. They are cleanly people, much cleaner than their neighbours. If these tribes had emigrated from the cold Bolivian mountains into their present territory, part of which is very poorly watered, they certainly would not bathe once, or even several times a day, as they do, but would be as dirty as the Quichua and the Aymara, who are, incredibly filthy. Their Chaco neighbours, too, the Mataco are also extremely dirty. In the parts I have explored it is only in Mojos that we find Indians as cleanly as the Chiriguano and Chané, these being the Mojo and the Baure, kindred tribes of the Chané. On the other hand the Guarani Indians in North Bolivia, the Guarayú, are less clean, even if they are among the «clean ones». The Guarani in Paraguay are, however, said to be very cleanly. The cleanliness of the Chiriguano and the Chané is a positive proof that they migrated to the territory now inhabited by them from warmer and well-watered parts, where bathing was pleasant and easily accessible. The Chiriguano and the Chané have not learnt to bathe from the Mestizos or the Whites, whose habits are anything but clean in these parts. Cleanliness is certainly not a virtue suddenly acquired by any people, but may indeed be regarded as a race-peculiarity. A map of S. American cleanliness would most certainly enlighten us on several points of interest with regard to the origin of the tribes. Now, when I read that the Mundrucú are very dirty I am sceptical of their being Guarani-Indians, and consider it much more likely that they are naturalized Guarani of a different origin. I shall not venture to give a map of S. American cleanliness

Ee [128]

SchNordenskiöld E-S, 4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Aymara SF5

here. In order to do so, it would be necessary for me to have seen much more of S. American Indians than is the case. I will, however, here try to give the tribes I know a *certificate of cleanliness*. I mark the dirtiest, the Aymara, with o and Mojo, the cleanest, with 5. At the same time I will give them a certificate of orderliness, i. e. point out to what extent they keep their huts tidy and their belongings clean and neat. These 'certificates' are also of considerable interest as a means of understanding the cultural development and relations of the tribes.

I consider that a distinction should be made between the Chané who live on the Rio Itiyuro and those living on the Rio Parapiti. The former are poorer and characteristically enough less cleanly than the latter. It is of a certain interest to see that skill in arts does not always go hand in hand with tidiness and cleanliness.

The more or less high standard of Indian art, at least among present-day tribes in E. Bolivia, is dependent on whether they have been influenced to a greater or less degree by pre-Columbian civilization in western S. America.

Schwedenskiöld E-Sv(1908-1908, 1913) 1980
SF10 Chiriguano SF10●
Class SF1

Resumé.

C
Ce
12
177

In the foregoing pages I have attempted to analyse the material culture of the Chiriguano and Chané, and have tried to show from where they have derived the cultural elements existent among them. Finally I will see to what extent conclusions can be drawn from what has been said above, as to the changes the material culture of these Indian tribes has undergone under the influence of an entirely strange culture — that of the Whites — and of a kindred culture — that of the bronze age in the west. Furthermore, we will see what the Chiriguano and Chané have kept of the culture they had before they migrated to the districts they now inhabit, in what measure they have adapted themselves to their new natural surroundings, and what they presumably have learnt from their neighbours the Chorotí, Toba, Matacó and Tapiete.

C
Ce
●128
177

I have shown in tabular form the cultural elements the Chiriguano and Chané received from the Whites, those they received from the Mountain culture, and those that derive from the north and the east. This third table embraces such cultural elements as the Chiriguano and Chané took with them when they migrated to their present habitat. In the tables I have mentioned, as the reader will see, in the case of each cultural element whether its distribution in the region examined is favoured by natural surroundings, whether in its distribution it is in general independent of such surroundings, whether it is of great importance in the struggle for existence, whether its manufacture calls for technical skill, whether it is man's or woman's work, whether it is used by men or women or both, or only by children, whether it may be looked upon as still frequently used or as disappearing, and whether it can be regarded as a

luxury or as a necessity. The tables thus reveal, for instance, whether these Indians have received chiefly articles of luxury from a certain source, whether what they received was mainly what women manufacture, and so forth.

Among the Chiriguano and Chané we naturally find a number of cultural elements with regard to whose origin we are quite ignorant. Without doubt many of these have a large distribution, but it is simply unknown. Others again have a distribution of such a nature that it yields us no conclusions regarding their origin. The Chiriguano and Chané have no cultural elements of any importance that are not known from one or several other Indian tribes. There are, of course, minor peculiarities in shape and ornamentation that characterize all the belongings of these Indians when compared with similar articles from other tribes, but I know of no striking invention of any description to the sole credit of these tribes.

A. *The influence of the Whites on the culture of Chiriguano and Chané*

The cultural elements the Chiriguano and Chané certainly or presumably derived from the Whites, are given in the table 20. It includes such elements as they manufacture themselves, but are indebted to the Whites for the idea; cultivated plants and domestic animals which were not introduced among them until post-Columbian times.

If we examine the table 20 we shall find that it embraces 31 cultural elements. It omits a few cultivated plants obtained by the Chiriguano and Chané from the Whites which are not, and never were, of any importance whatever. Likewise a few domestic animals that are rarely seen. It includes three cultivated plants and four kinds of domestic animals. Of the remaining cultural elements, 17 are man's or boy's work, and only four woman's work. The majority

[text continues on p. 200]

is conservative, which may partly be connected with the fact that for him, as KARSTEN has pointed out, colours and ornaments have a great magical importance. When the Chiriguano and Chané obtain by barter glass-beads for their labrets, these must be blue, like the turquoises they were wont to fasten in them.

When they come across anything in the culture of the Whites that approximates to their own conception of the ideal, the Indians have no difficulty in adapting it to their own use. We know that the dance mask is an Indian practice: it is therefore quite natural for the Indians to have embraced the carnival of the Whites with great interest and have added to it their own dances, in which they appear with masks on.

B. *The influence of the bronze age culture on that of the Chiriguano and Chané.*

In the table 21 I have put together the cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané have very probably obtained from the culture zone in the west. We can see at a glance that this influence has been very considerable. The positive influence has been greater even than from the Whites.

If we look into the table we shall find that the Chiriguano and Chané have especially learnt from the culture zone in the west such things as are connected in some way with festivals. Here belong the men's festal attire, several adornments worn by men and women, the feather parasol, the finer sorts of pottery, the ornamentation of calabashes with pyrograving, several musical instruments, games, etc. When we know with what interest the Indians have embraced the festivals of the Catholic Church, wherever they have had an opportunity of doing so, it can easily be understood that the tribes that were neighbours of the Incas, also imitated their festivals.

6:Nordenskiöld E-S,V(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians 53

Notes on the Bibliographical maps.

S
C
Ce
113
114
128
102

To this bibliography several maps have been added which ought to prove useful from many points of view. *The maps indicate the territories concerning which the authors quoted in parts 1 and 2 made their investigations.*

The first map shows the literature from 1498—1600, the second from 1600—1700, the third from 1700—1800, the fourth from 1800—1900 and the fifth from 1900—1920. We find a separate map of the archæological literature. Several important works are unfortunately missing which I have not been able to study. It is difficult and expensive work to collect the literature on the S. American Indians. Not the least difficult of access are certain works printed in S. America during the 19th century. For my ethno-geographical studies I have of course read a number of books without finding anything to quote from them and consequently they are not mentioned here. I desired especially to show the merits and demerits of the maps of the distribution of the cultural elements here published. The maps of the authors' names show us the districts from which I have no material at all and those from which I only have the material of older authors, or only of modern writers.

Some authors have not travelled in the territories they have written about, but have drawn from the works of several other authors. The most remarkable existant work of this kind is COOPER's excellent work on all that has been written about the Indian tribes in southernmost S. America. If there were many such compilations, it would not be difficult to draw up maps of the distribution of the various cultural elements.

From the map that indicates about which districts the archeological treatises are written, we can see, even though

Nordenskiöld E-S,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians 53

S
C
Ce
113
114
128
102

some names are missing, what immense territories in S. America are still entirely unexplored archeologically.

The bibliography includes some authors whose names will not be found in the maps, i. e. FRIEDERICI and PATER SCHMIDT, great as their services to the ethnography of S. America have been. This is because they have written comprehensive works dealing with the ethnography of the whole continent, and not with any particular part of it.

When I have quoted from several works by the same author, these are numbered 1, 2, 3, etc. in the bibliography. The same work has the same number in the First and Second Parts of my own book.

/156 cont./ Ce 115
from the often vulgar, empty whites. Batirayu, however, is also an exceptional man, the makings of a great man, who is condemned to idleness.

Batirayu is a Chané. These Indians now speak the same language as the Chiriguano, namely, Guarani. Most of their customs and usages correspond to those of the Chiriguano, by whom they were probably subjugated. According to their origin, however, they are Arowaken /Arawak/ and hence the most southerly dwellers of this group, which had, and still has, a wide distribution in South America and on the Antilles. Ce 197 171 648 Ce 101

/157/ If I describe the Chané and the Chiriguano together here, it is because their material culture is so similar. Nevertheless, I have indicated in which tribe I made this or that observation; this is especially true for the religious domain, in which the Chané, at least on the Rio Parapiti, have kept many old conceptions which are unknown to the Chiriguano. Ce 128 171 778

Batirayu told me that a few of the Chané still knew some words of the old language of the tribe. He said that especially at the drinking bouts, when they are intoxicated, they give themselves airs by speaking the old Chané language, which otherwise has the character of a secret language. Ce 197 554 273 Ce

In the company of Batirayu I set out for the village of "Huirapembe" where the Indians who knew Chané best were supposed to be found. It was not easy to draw their secrets out of them. Actually, only the youngest ones, who knew the least, were willing to tell me something (1). One old woman who was Ce 128 197 119 17 Ce

1.

	Chané	Chiriguano	Mojo
Water	ñue	ñ	uue
Maize	sapiro	abuki	sepuni
Fire	yucu	tata	yucu
Dog	temico	yolmita	temucu
Chicha (good)	liqui	cangui	nico
Ear	cóvo	anglya	cono.

C 192 197

6: Nordenskiöld--SE E-S (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chaco SF 8

Ee 514 Ee [171] Ee 296 Ee 128

/205 cont./

The Chaná and Chiriguano never relieve themselves close to the hut. I never saw special privies, however, for any Indians, and not for many whites in Bolivia either.

The Chaná and Chiriguano are very careful with their clothing. They keep it clean and mend it if necessary. The members of each sex wash and mend their own things. The men here sewed quite as well as the women.

I have spoken here of the everyday life of these Indians. Now I shall describe the most important events in their lives, in their social life, their festivals, their industry, etc., and

Cce 482 531

Fig. 110. Combs for combing the hair, not for fastening in it.

A, from the Chaná; B, C, D, from the Chiriguano.

Ee 128

finally proceed to their legends and their religion.

Dr Schmidt--6 8-5 (1950) 1958 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

/2 cont./

or Tapyi /Tapii/, it was not possible from what they said to ascertain with which of the tribes known to ethnology they can be identified. The Chiriguano call themselves "Mbya." If the Izozó were a part of them, they would have called themselves by this name. We doubt they are Chané and that part of the latter which once had their homes in the Izozó River region, taking the name of this river for their own. Their culture, as demonstrated by the objects I collected among them, confirms this opinion. There are some differences between the objects collected among the Izozó and the Chiriguano in Macharetí, either with regard to the decorations of the baked clay vessels or with regard to the making of the nets. But in principle it is not possible to decide whether these differences might not be only local differences. In general the culture of the Chiriguano was diffused in this way throughout the tribes successively subjugated by them, which is why it is proper to deal below with the aspects of the culture of the Chiriguano of Macharetí together with that of the Izozó.

Influences on the Culture of the Chiriguano and Izozó, Taken from Historical Data

At the present time the Chiriguano and Chané form a cultural entity which can be designated as the culture of the Chiriguano, because the Guaraní language of the Chiriguano came to be the common language of the whole group. The Izozó also belong to this ethnic entity. Thus it is necessary to consider this entity /6/ as being formed of completely different tribes. It is also necessary to conceive of their culture as the product of the fusion of very heterogeneous cultural elements. Nordenskiöld deals with this question in one of his books (1)

1. Erland Nordenskiöld: The changes in the material culture of two Indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative Ethnological Studies. I. Göteborg, 1920.

Cont in the following: Ind. 2.

Sr Schmidt--25 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Chane SF8

/11 cont./

little from the Indians of the Chaco, we must derive the most important modifications in their culture from the influences of the ancient Peruvian culture. Because of the short duration of the Inca Empire after the time of the immigration of the Chiriguano, we must suppose that these influences were less direct influences than indirect ones through the confluent peoples of the mountainous land of Peru and Bolivia, who had been in contact with the ancient Peruvians for a long time and many of whom had been subjugated by the Chiriguano and made to enter into their community as slaves or vassals. We know that the culture of the Chané, who made up the greater part of the Chiriguano population, had contact with the ancient culture of the Peruvians. In contrast with the influence of the ancient Peruvian culture, the influence of the whites had rather more negative and destructive effects than constructive ones on the primordial culture of the Chiriguano and the Chané, leaving many native industries superfluous because it was more convenient to replace their products with imported merchandise.

In the respective chapters that deal with the various developments of the culture of the Chiriguano and Chané, we shall expound the details of these cultural influences.

/12/

Physical Characteristics

Chiriguano and Chané Types Photographed in Macharetí and Toledo

I.C. 334. Group of Chiriguano men, women, and children. Macharetí. (Fig. 3.)
I.C. 335. Chiriguano men. Macharetí. (Fig. 6.)
I.C. 361. Chiriguano children. Macharetí. (Fig. 7.)
I.C. 359. Chiriguano women. Macharetí. (Fig. 4.)
I.C. 360. Chiriguano women with babies. (Fig. 5.)
I.C. 362. Chiriguano children. (Fig. 8.)
I.C. 243. Izozó cacique. Toledo. (Fig. 10.)
I.C. 244. Izozó boy. Toledo. (Fig. 11.)
I.C. 245. Izozó lad. Toledo. (Fig. 12.)

/15 cont./

433 241 sweet potatoes; corn grows everywhere. tomatoes and garlic mature the year round. and in the garden lettuce. cabbage. cauliflower. and peppers create the beauty of a spot. without taking into account the gastronomic advantages. Even the peach trees would yield fine fruits. but they suffer much from the black butterflies. which damage them before they ripen.

Without work the land will produce only briars and brambles. and /16/ as long as there are only Chiriguano and cattle ranches here. progress will be slight and the population sparse. because the Indian has no ambition. and life is relatively inexpensive; the whites prosper by taking good care of their livestock. and no greater fertility can be obtained from the land because the holdings of a few families are very extensive and do not facilitate the residence of numerous renters. who do not always give good results nor do all come or ask to rent for farming alone. All of them want to get rich easily and quickly. and the best way is to raise stock. the result of which is that great areas of briars and brambles exist.

[57 71 75]

Flora

• 13 In the course of this hasty description I have noted that in Chiriguano country atmospheric changes are very sudden. but it has been noted that the region is quite fertile when it is watered by the rains or by irrigation ditches. because small rivers are plentiful. particularly in the mountainous region. and an occasional river of some size bathes the adjacent territories with its abundant waters.

There are many hills. pampas. and valleys. and for this reason every kind of climate may be found in this territory. [37] There are in fact oppressive heat. intense cold. and a temperate climate. thus making it possible to find land for every product from the lowly gourd to the savory chirimoya. from the ubiquitous maize to wheat. rice. and barley. from the mulberry /mora/. which grows spontaneously. to the rich grape. whose bunches reach weights of three and four libras.

/153 cont./

In the dry season the wind heaps large dunes along the banks of the river. After it has left the mountain, it does not receive a tributary. The Río Parapití is very wide, but never deep. During the driest period its bed is transformed into a sand desert where the wind plays with the fine river sand. When it storms, the sand is swept across the bottom of the river. If one wishes to cross it on such days, one may perhaps not get his feet wet, but he must shield his eyes. C 133 132

The Río Parapití is rich in fish, but the fish are tiny. The banks are quite fertile, but inasmuch as they are flooded during the rainy season, the harvests are easily lost. Often in the dry season everything is wasted by the scorching droughts. The locusts, too, hawk about in these regions and leave behind in their own unappetizing bodies a poor substitute for what they have destroyed. C 130

On the Río Parapití, high up in the mountain, live the Quichua Indians, then come the Chiriguano, beyond them, near the river, the Tapiete, also called Tanoygua, then the Chané, and finally, in the unknown wilderness, the Tirakua Indians. C 101

My first visit on the Río Parapití was paid to Father Carmelo, who had a small mission station there among the Chiriguano. I became very fond of this monk. /154/ he had such confidence-inspiring friendliness. He is one of the missionaries who are needed here, people who desire and are able to sacrifice themselves for others, who show an equally great friendship toward all. C 114 117

I now continued along the Río Parapití to Itiparenda on the north bank of the river. The Tapiete live opposite Itiparenda. I shall later describe a visit that I made to them. C 114 [91]

At Itiparenda I met the first Chané, or, as they are called here, Tapuy. I then visited most of their villages. I made the acquaintance especially of some of their storytellers, of whom Retiayu, the nephew of the last great chief, Aringsi, became my good friend. Ce 114 [101] [538] [123]

From the lower Río Parapití I proceeded by way of Charagua, a village inhabited almost exclusively by whites, to the Caipipendi valley, where I stayed with the Chiriguano chief Tarairi. C 114

/154 cont./

One might be surprised that a person would want to live in this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter their valuables for maize.

For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians.

The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy season it probably rains there too.

From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a /155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Betirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio

/160 cont./ Ee 13

The region settled by the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is really very extensive. It is varied in nature, from luxuriant virgin forests to extremely arid valleys and plains poor in vegetation. It is in part very mountainous, but the Chiriguano and Chané are not mountain people. They stay down in the valleys and do not climb up to the peaks and plateaus, like the Quichua Indians. Ee 136

Animal life in these regions is poor, in fact, very poor. A hunting people could never live there. Now and then a roebuck, a wild pig, a few ostriches, that is all one sees in the way of big game. Bird life, too, is very poor. /161/ Ee [133] The number of lakes is very small, and they are no larger than what we would call pools in Europe. On the Rio Parapiti one sees quite a large number of white egrets (1), famous for

1. Ardea.

Ee [262] their valuable feathers. With regard to wood fowl, only the chicken called "pavas" (2) contributes to the diet. Occasionally

2. Penelope.

one sees a large-billed "toucan" (3). Sleek pigeons, fattened

3. Rhamphastus.

on maize, often live in masses in the fields of the Indians. Ee In the Rio Pilcomayo there is a great abundance of fish; in the little rivers the fish are small and poor. The Indians who [243] live in these regions have to be farmers, and they are maize [262] farmers to the highest degree. For them maize is food, [273] drink, pleasure, everything!

I have no adventures to report from among these Indians. ooo Everyone may travel unharmed among them. The greatest sorrow of the ethnographer is that he is unable to collect all the interesting and old things that he sees there. One cannot take everything home.

/316 cont./

E decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where
175 Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians
167 of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The
Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the
E course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the
131 Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the
175 borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived
167 in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay
River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of
Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on
the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones
who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues
from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la
Sierra."

E In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca
E (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migra-
175 tion which does not appear to have any relation to that of
167 García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage
648 in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this
great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent
a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer,
with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians
who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood.
The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani
were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the
Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian,
married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a
long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race,
had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/
knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to
accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before
the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani,
originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River;
that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy
E of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the
[721] villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his
[726] father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text Continues on P. 41]

C /331 cont./
105
175
[167]
[173]

This migration had as its motive power the attraction which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

ce
[197]
[199]

At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

C
[618]
[619]
[619]

The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives.

The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

C
[199]

From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguanos; and it is through them that today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

ce
[199]
[199]
[198]

On their part the Chané adopted the language of their conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a secret language.

C
175
131

Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Matagusayo and the Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

C
[101]
C
[361]

/332 cont./ Permanent?

villages were there under the command of hereditary caciques. The middle course of the Parapití formed their boundary to the east. In the 18th century the Chiriguano constituted the most important and remarkable nation of the western Chaco. The statistics concerning them vary a great dealt the figures, given with their usual exaggerations, vary between 41,000 and 15,000 warriors. The Chané are included in this number, which completely removes all value from these statistics." (Kersten, pp. 68-69.)

Today the boundaries of the Chiriguano have stayed about the same. But even though they inhabit a territory whose extent has varied little, their situation has none the less undergone great changes. Several thousand half-breeds from Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Chuquisaca have settled inside this area that we have defined. A Chiriguano frontier no longer exists, but only remains of villages and small groups which still mark the former extent of the tribe. On the other hand, the number of Chiriguano has diminished terribly and is diminishing each day, so that a few years from now the true habitat /333/ of the Chiriguano will be contained between the Parapití and the Pilcomayo and will be reduced to the former Franciscan missions and to several valleys of the Precordillera, such as those of Caipipendí and Igüembé (1).

1. Some historians not well informed about the ethnic geography of South America have claimed that in the 16th century the Chiriguano lived well beyond the boundaries I have indicated. One of them (Dr. Pulgencio Moreno) went so far in this direction that he attributes to the Chiriguano the possession of a large part of northwestern Argentina and pushes this fancy to the point of locating them almost as far as in the province of Córdoba. Mr. Coni in an excellent monograph, documents in hand, has done good justice to these bold allegations and has demonstrated that these hypotheses were without foundation.

/333 cont./

E
172
131
[114]

The archeological arguments of those who believe in a vast extension of the Guarani into Argentina rest on the occurrence of burials of adults in urns in the provinces of Salta and Jujuy. Recently I conducted excavations in several pre-Hispanic cemeteries of this region (Candelaria department. Salta prov.), and I was able to satisfy myself that the peoples who left us these great necropolises had nothing in common with the Chiriguano from a cultural and anthropological point of view. The funerary urns I brought to light are entirely different from those of the ancient Guarani. and the funerary furnishings include no piece which could be attributed either closely or distantly to the Guarani.

T-G
[764]

Burials of adults in urns is not in any way characteristic of the culture of the Tupi-Guarani Indians. and, I might say, even the opposite. Already in 1905 Outes (1) in a very well-documented monograph had proved that the cemeteries of Rosario de Lerma and San Pedro de Jujuy. which Boman (1) considered as Guarani. in no way constituted proofs of a Guarani migration into northwestern Argentina. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 184-189) and myself (Métraux, 2, pp. 271-276) have resumed study of this question, and our results entirely confirm those of Outes (1). Therefore, as much from the historic as from the ethnographic point of view, boundaries other than the ones I have indicated could not be assigned to the ancient Chiriguano.

4: Nino

101
102
103
131
133
361
797

SF10 Chirguano SF10

p. 447	p. 448	p. 449
p. 450	p. 451	p. 452

Chart of Positions of End Map. (pp. 447-452).
/facing End Map/

/3 cont./

133 The lakes are natural, but not permanent: they are
[135] many and large: in some the water is very good, but from others not even the cattle /4/ drink, because it contains so
[132] much saltpeter. They all receive water from the sky, which sometimes falls with great force and fills them at a single time. White Christians are now making artificial lakes, especially in the Gran Chaco and in the vicinity of Caipipendi.
271 When water is completely lacking, the Indian scratches the
824 ground, looking for the root of the "uyuy," samaño, which is as large as a watermelon: he cuts it at the top, squeezes the pulp with his hand, it turns to water, and he drinks: thus the need is met, but when this drink is taken for a long period, it gives rise to sickness.

311 The land lends itself to farming and to cattle raising,
312 but both industries diminish in those years when the beneficial
433 action of the rains is scarce. Then the crops are lost, and the
132 cattle die from lack of food and from the great amounts of water that they drink from the rivers and lakes on whose banks they stay through lack of energy: nonetheless this rarely happens throughout the region, which, because of embracing a wide area, in one place or another receives showers which renew nature.

Extent and Area

13 The Chiriguano tribe or race was extremely numerous and
[161] thus once took in an extraordinarily large area: traces of these
[464] Indians are found in the vicinity of Tarija,* and they may be found beyond Santa Cruz, where even today Chiriguano men and women are in larger part those in domestic service with the genteel families. Toward the capital of the Republic the Indians still remember that their grandparents used to live in Tacopaya and even beyond, in Talisco, included in the same district. Then they extended toward the Bermejo River and, finally, eastward to within a few leagues of Carandaiti, where the arid zone, inhabited by the Toba and other savages, begins.

/4 cont./

131 Thus formerly the Chiriguano territory in the north was contiguous with the province of Sara, in the south and southwest with Argentina and the city of Tarija, in the west with Tacubaco country, and in the east with the colony of Caranduiti. According to its former boundaries, it then included an area of 200 leagues from north to south and southwest, and more than 90 leagues west to east.

131 16 [698] Today this extensive territory has been much reduced because of emigration, caused in part by the whites, under whose dominion most of them will not resign themselves to staying; the plagues which decimate the race have a powerful influence on its further reduction, and very soon /5/ barely the 131 name will remain. Today to the north it scarcely reaches Abapó, to the south, Rivera de Tacuiba, to the west, Monteagudo, and to the east, Caranduiti, some hundred leagues from north to south and about 40 from west to east.

131 CUB [833] Formerly it embraced several degrees of latitude and three and a half of longitude; as they lost a considerable part of this area, so will they end up by losing it all, for despite their being heirs to the country which God had given them, as one of them was saying to me not long ago, they do not know how to farm it and improve their agriculture; they prefer to go far away and work for others rather than to own land at home. This very day only a few leagues remain in the hands of the Indians, Caipipendi in the province of Cordillera, Gutierrez Canton, and all the territory occupied by the missions, but both are likely to pass into foreign hands, because in fact the Indian is incapable of making the land that he does possess bear fruit; then the few survivors in the territory will be servants in their own house, as are so many others in lands that were once their own.

311 134 [132] The land is very unstable, at least that now occupied; it lacks stone and gravel, and since in their season the rains are torrential, they easily open cracks which in a few years become wide, deep ravines. Contributing a great deal to this are the cattle, which, because of their weight, stir up the land with their hoofs more than other livestock; for this reason

/73 cont./ Before a century had passed after the discovery of this New World, they were numerous in the area near and beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The founders of this departmental city had quite a fight in the year 1575 in order to humble their pride, disperse them, and take charge of the territory; the Chiriguano lived in the areas around Padilla and Tomina, which were founded precisely to contain their advances, since they seemed determined to invade the territory of Chuquisaca itself, whose Audiencia ordered the creation of both settlements so that they might serve as a bulwark and impede successive new advances, new attacks, and devastations.

The city of Tarija with its territory owes its founding to Don Luis de la Fuente, who was ordered there by the Viceroy, Don Francisco de /74/ Toledo, by decree of January 28, 1574. On that date, Don Luis with his army entered the valley of Tarija in order to put down the audacity of the Chiriguano, who were advancing with their arms into the places conquered by the Spaniards. Don Luis and his soldiers were greatly surprised when they found the said valley full of a great quantity of wild cattle, which was to be a powerful aid to his troops (1).

1. It is believed that the wild cattle found belonged to a certain Zárate, who had been forced to leave his ranch by the Chiriguano, who had doubtless made him their victim.

/75/ Before the Spaniards arrived and invaded the country of the Chiriguano, they were the torment of the surrounding tribes, the members of which they shot with arrows, or killed, and took captive, subjecting them to the cruelest slavery. But once the whites arrived, they had to have it out with enemies superior to themselves; fearing that some day they would have to pay for the casualties which they had exacted from those whom they had conquered and whose fertile territory they had taken over, they did not act like the Quechua, who surrendered when they might well have

[i.e., the Chiriguano. -Analyst]

/79 cont./

178 Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija
464 missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which
[197] makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big
[162] and small, old and young. But of this number there are scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work, and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through
[131] their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from
[465] north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

648 There is a great struggle under way between the
[167] Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior, yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave, he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[464]

1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former
197 times and the very missions which antedate South American
361 independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and others are on the point of disappearing.

/96 cont./

175
648

The expedition entrusted by the Supreme Government to an Englishman, which was to enter the Cayuguari region through Picuigua (water for dowelings), can be said to have failed, because the two attempts which it made were without result and it had to return in order not to perish because of the absolute lack of water.

Picuigua is some 12 leagues distant from Cayuguari. Picuigua is a dry lake, but, with drilling, sufficient water can be obtained for the garrison of the fort which is to be established, should it turn out that the news of the existence of a permanent lake in Cayuguari, where there are some 50 families, is false. /The last paragraph of p. 96, p. 97, and the first three paragraphs of p. 98 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 98 follows./

Itatiqui

361
[131]

The town of Chiriguano infidels with which I head these few lines is located 11 leagues from the Franciscan Mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu and seven leagues from the missions of the Parapiti Grande, at 19° 43' 13" latitude south of the meridian of Paris, and at 60° 70' 42" west longitude.

799
361

The Colegio de Misiones Franciscanos de Pomé is trying to establish in this place a Mision Conversora which would depend on the Fathers established on the basis of the Parapiti River. The idea is eminently civilizing and progressive, because this place is located along the highway which, coming out of Yacuiba, passes /98/ through Charagua and ends in the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

In the journey from the little town of Boyuive to the Parapiti Grande, there is no other town which might be able to provide services for the travelers and the vehicles which traverse it every day without being able now to count upon any assistance in their difficult crossing.

1797

The Indian of Itatiqui is too poor and lazy; it is necessary to get him moving and watch over him so that he may become useful and progress; in his territory there is no water, nor are there artificial lakes so that he and his livestock

/101 cont./

36 (1) 1. Macharetí. -- Father Jerónimo de la Peña was the first to enter Macharetí, but, before he could begin any work, death intervened, and only after a century, that is, in the year 1909, could the Cross of Redemption be raised, around which began to gather the settlers dispersed by the war and the death of Captain Tarucuntí, not very friendly to the missionaries.

(162) Before the mission had been founded for ten years, it numbered more than 3,000 souls, but today it is much smaller, (167) its inhabitants reaching 1,500. Emigration to the Republic (164) of Argentina is a real plague for this area, because the principal recruiters of Indians for work outside of Bolivian territory are there, and it is useless to cite laws, because there are clever interpreters; meanwhile all wait for workers.

36 (133) Macharetí has a delightful and picturesque panorama: to the north and to the east the human eye cannot take in the immensity of the plains or the exuberance of the woods and the variety and caprice of the hills. The town is located on a great plain, but is now quite reduced; its buildings, atop a high hill which dominates everything: it has a beautiful church with painting and /102/ gildings, a mission house of two stories, two great halls, with their respective patios, for instruction, and a third one for the music school, and also other buildings for shops (1).

36 (131) 1. When the Macharetí mission was founded, it cut off the retreat of the bellicose Huacayeños, who were coming into the Gran Chaco by the Charo road, some 15 leagues from Huacaya and some 12 from Ivai; its altitude above sea level is 771 meters and it is located at 20° 49' 58" south latitude and 63° 3' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/109 cont./

799 5. Tigüipa. -- This mission, dedicated to the universal Patron of the Church, the Patriarch St. Joseph, begin its existence on May 30, 1872, the day when, for the first time, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated, and there was planted in its territory the Tree of Redemption; it is some 12 kilometers from Macharetí, with quite a rough road.

361 799 (62) At present it has a population of 800 souls. The town, made up of both infidels and neophytes, is quite neat; the buildings are not very well arranged, and the ones which merit consideration are: its tall and beautiful church, broad and well-proportioned, with its magnificent choir, gilded altars, and well-turned railings; in addition, the beautiful mechanism of double trusses which support the roof. Its house is new, of a single story, and was begun in the month of August or July in the year 1910 and dedicated in March of this year; the other buildings neither follow any arrangement nor are of any worth, and lend to the whole a rather sad appearance, but once the renovation of both towns has been completed, the planned arrangement of the buildings for instruction and workshops will be made.

(133) Its panorama has nothing in particular: to the west, the last range of the Andes, to the north and south, some rather high hills rise at a short distance and obstruct the view for the curious observer, who, frustrated in his desire to see and observe, finds a slight relief to the east, where the horizon opens out and gladdens the heart; it seems to be the older sister of the San Pascual de Boicowo Mission. The climate is in general healthy, in spite of the fact that the mission is located in a hollow, but the water, or the location of the place, dulls the understanding of its residents, according to what all the travelers note (?). /Illustration appears here./

(563) (464) (131) 6. In the years of abundance several nomadic tribes come to this mission and remain there serving the Chiriguano in exchange for food. Its elevation above sea level is 715 meters, and it is located at 20° 27' 18" south latitude and 62° 14' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

[text continues on p 191]

/106 cont./

Tacuiba

Because of an error in the demarcation of the boundaries with the Republic of Argentina, the town of Tacuiba is located to the south of the boundary stone, while it should be to the north, and the latter, the boundary stone, should be located precisely in Bipuru, the limit of the Chiriguano tribe, which has occupied Bolivian territory since its immigration.

Tacuiba, or Tacuigua, as the Chiriguano pronounce it, means line of the wild turkey. It is a rich region throughout; its territory is level, the streets which are being built are as straight as a line of this name, the land fertile. There are grown there the orange or pea, the garbanzo, and other cereals, which plants are irrigated with water which is relatively abundant.

The town, which also fell in the earthquake of 1899, is being rebuilt according to modern methods, and its progress is rapid. It now has a first-class hotel, where the traveler and the countryman are served with all culture and exactness, department stores, where every article is found, and permanent buildings, houses of great size, and a customs building all of stone from the walls to the roof.

The little city, in addition, is quite picturesque because of the many orange groves which continually embellish it with their green foliage and yellow fruit. /107/ which indicates the fertility of the territory and the abundance of water.

The little city is located in the territory of Tarija; consequently it was founded through Bolivian efforts. It is the seat of the subprefecture of the Gran Chaco, and today it is a cosmopolitan town, whether because of the many foreigners who have settled there or because of the many others who are continually passing through, not to mention the importance given it by the continual arrival of vehicles and that which it will receive from the proximity of the railway.

4: Nino--422 M-2 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaye SF8
Tapui

C /313 cont./
121 If the Supreme Government and the friends who have
122 helped me in this first edition continue to provide me with their considerable support, I plan to return to the region, to make better studies, to get certain data about the other tribes, to get views and panoramas with photographic cameras, and then bring out a second, more polished edition.

C Since, however, through my nomination as a Corresponding
•131 Member of the Geographical Society of this city of La Paz, I
[114] am making studies appropriate to this science, I shall set down in these pages the approximate geographical degree occupied by the known tribes which populate the extensive zone of the Bolivian Chaco.

The Chiriguano Indians are numerous from 18° 50' to 22° latitude south of the Paris meridian and from 65° to 66° 50' west longitude. However, small groups can be found at 17° 30' latitude and other groups at 22° 35' toward the south of present-day Yacuiba (2).

2. I follow the Paris meridian in placing the tribes because in the body of the work I have used the same to indicate the location of the Cayuguari Indians.

C /314/ The reader who has accompanied me as far as these
121 lines will have quite a clear idea of the Chiriguano Indians, their language, customs, and beliefs, and consequently I have nothing to add with regard to them, because this would be a repetition of what I have said. I shall say something about the others, so that Bolivians and foreigners may know the Indians with whom they are to deal.

Tapúi or Isoseños

Ce The Tapúi Indians are as many as 2,000 between children
161 and adults; they occupy both banks of the Parapiti River at 19°
131 and 19° 50' latitude and 62° 30' to 65° longitude from the Paris meridian.

4: Nino--446 M-2 (1693-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/332 cont./
Music of the Mbaqo Péure /omitted in the original source/
Chiriguano carnival 361
Music of the Alleluia /omitted in the original source/
Bows, arrows, etc. 368
Group of Choroti Indians 384
Choroti Indian houses 392
Girls' school of the San Pascual Mission 401
Schoolgirls at work (San Francisco del Parapiti) 410
Interior of the San Pascual Church 418
Group of Mataco Indians 422
Group of Toba Indians 430

/The corrections in the list on p. 333 have been made in the text of the translation. Page 333 continues with the following note concerning the end map./

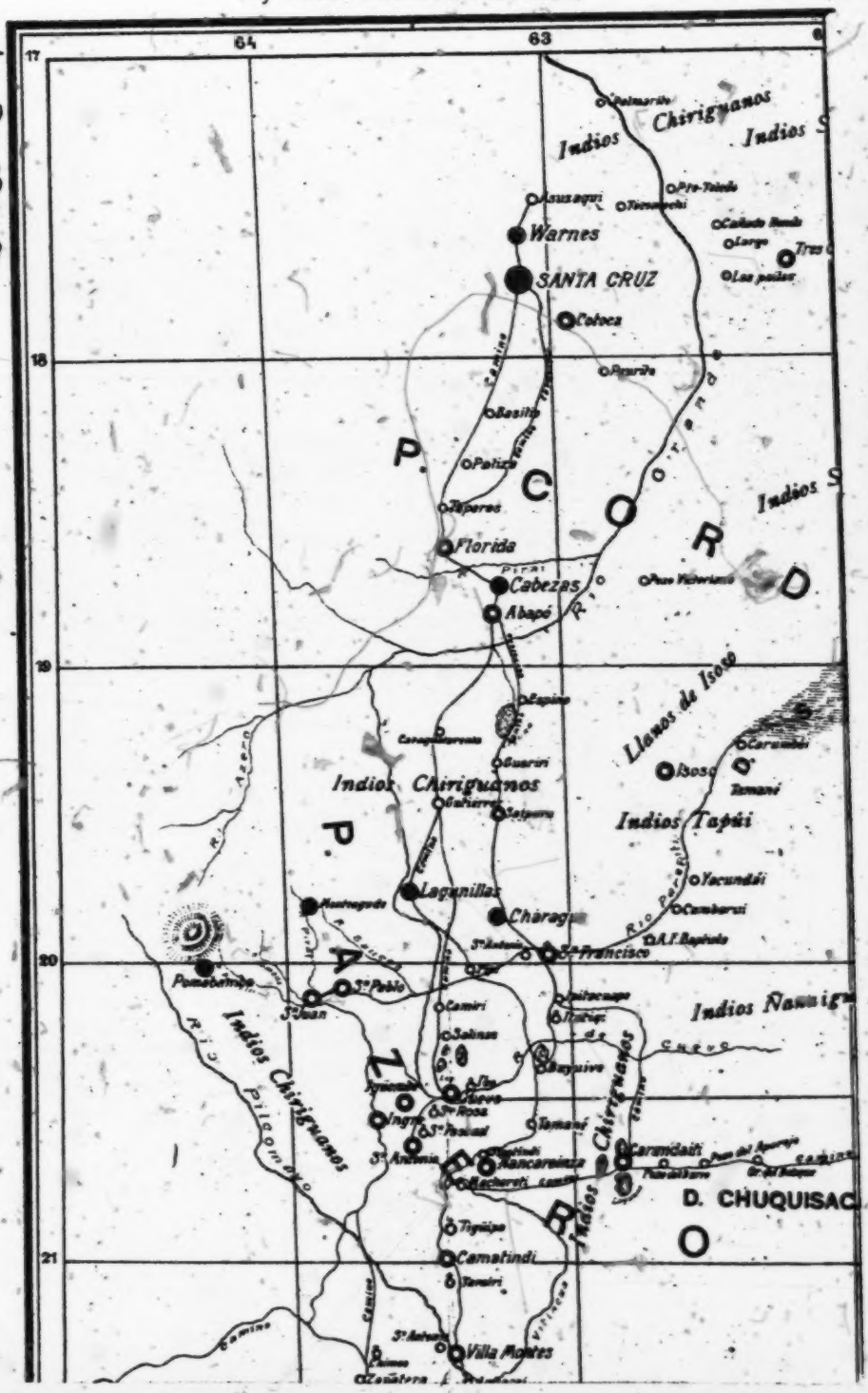
101 Note: The map which is found at the end of the work con-
102 tains the following errors: (1) the juntas of San Antonio should
103 be of San Francisco; (2) the line which comes out of Cuevo
131 toward the Azero River is not a river, but a dividing line between
133 Santa Cruz and Sucre; (3) the missions of the Parapiti occupy
361 the left bank of said river; (4) Ibo occupies the right bank of the
797 Cuevo River; (5) the projected city of Manso should be near the bank of the Pilcomayo River.

4: Nino--447 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Map of the Gran Chaco

by Father Bernardino de Nino

102
101
103
131
133
361
797

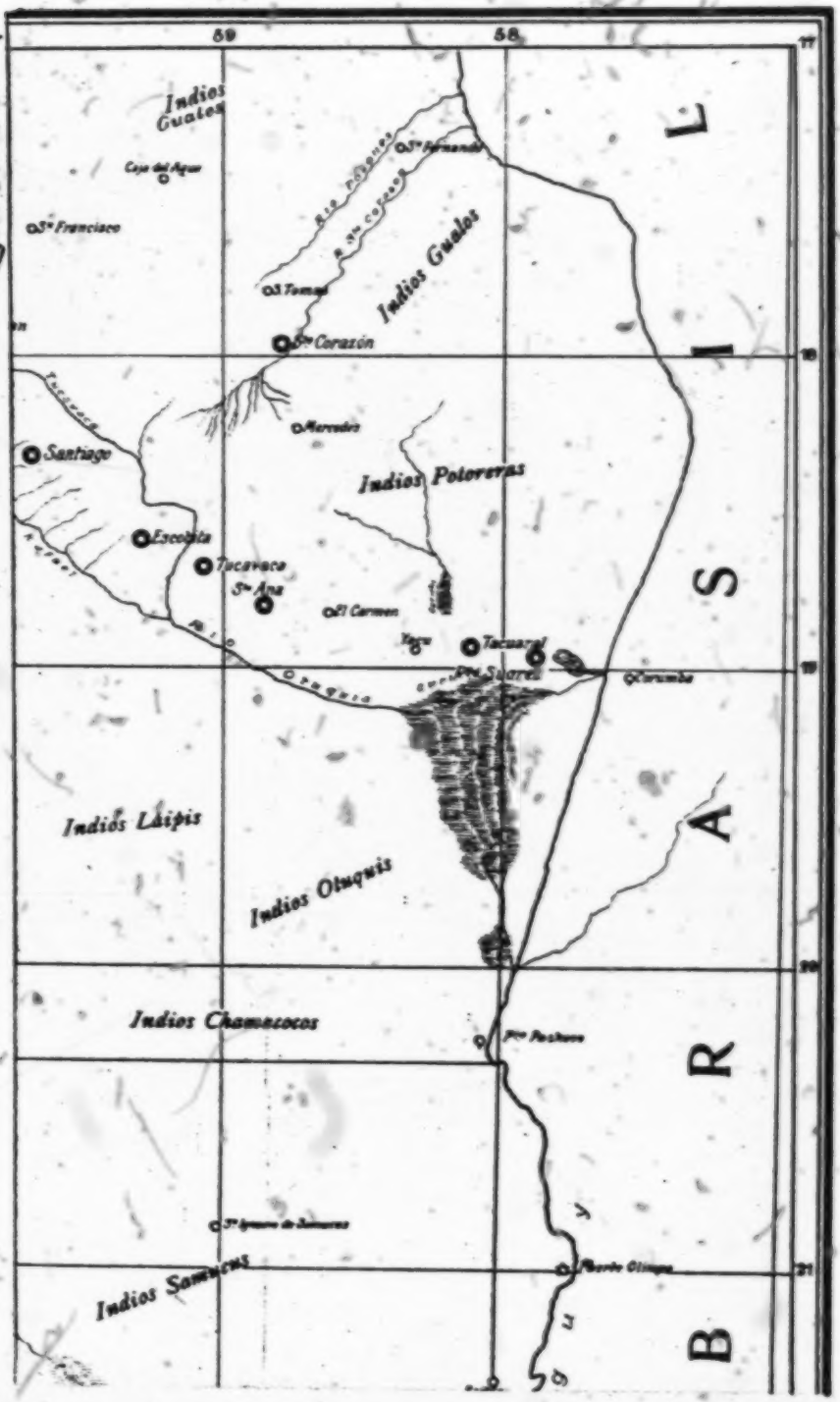


4: Nino--448 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797

4: Nino--449 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
●131
133
361
797



8:Nordenskiöld E-S,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Introduction.

c
ce
114

In Part I of this work I sought by a new method to analyse the material culture of two Indian tribes the Choroti and Ashluslay. In the introduction to the aforesaid work I explained the method employed. In Part 2 I have sought by the same method to make an ethno-geographical analysis of the civilization of two other Indian tribes. These are the Chiriguano and Chané, who dwell in the southernmost part of Bolivia and northernmost Argentina. The Chiriguano are Guarani Indians, while the Chané are Guaranized Arawaks[1]). They thus belong to two of the most important tribal groups in all America. Their civilisation is already well known, thanks to the missionaries who have worked and still work among them. Their works are referred to in the bibliography. The most important are those by CORRADO and NINO. DEL CAMPANA wrote a monograph on the Chiriguano based on information supplied by missionaries. We also find mention of the Chiriguano in many older works. The information they give us of their manners and customs is unfortunately scanty. It is, indeed, only in LIZÁRRAGA, CHOMÉ, VIEDMA, LOZANO and one or two of the LITTERAE ANNUEA that we find any useful matter.

c
ce
[101
131
197]
c
.114

SERRANO Y SANZ wrote an excellent work on the post-Columbian history of the Chiriguano. OUTES has written about their pottery. LEHMANN-NITSCHE has dealt with their physical anthropology. Works on their languages have been published by several missionaries. I visited these

[1]) Vide NORDENSKIÖLD (8).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,V(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
ce
121

can be kept in a museum or for which one may find — given favourable circumstances — archeaological comparative material. Besides weapons, ornaments etc there is thus included also burial customs, tatooing, dancing-masks, etc.

C
ce
128

The reader will find that I have endeavoured to make this part more graphic than Part I . From the maps of bibliography it will be seen regarding what regions I have had access to literature; it can also, in some measure, be seen whether the blanks on the maps are due to those particular tribes never having been closely studied.

The maps of distributions in this work are fewer in number than in Part I. This is because we find the Chiriguano and Chané, or one of these tribes, on twenty-nine maps in Part I. Part I is largely preparatory to Part II. Parts I and 2 together contain 45 maps showing the distribution of culture-elements occuring among the Chané and (or) Chiriguano.

C
ce
121

All who are interested in the ethnography of S. America will, I venture to think, find the maps worth close study and will see that from them [illegible]ious deductions can be made not only respecting the Chiriguano and Chané Indians but also as to the ethnography of S. America in general. In some measure I have, indeed, endeavoured to do this myself.

C
ce
131

The land of the Chiriguano and Chané the Indians streches from near Sta Cruz de la Sierra to near Rio Bermejo. Southwards of Sta Cruz the territory inhabited by the Chiriguano is continuous. The Chané, on the other hand, live in several different quarters, some at the river Itiyuro in the Argentine, some at Caipipendi near the Rio Pilcomayo, some at the Lower Rio Parapiti, and others near Itau south of the Rio Pilcomayo. The neighbours of the Chiriguano and Chané are the Mataco-Vejos, Mestizos, and Whites to the south, the Matacq, Toba, Tapiete, (Yanaygua) and Tsirakua to the east, to the north Mestizos and Whites, and to the west Quichua, Mestizos, and Whites.

C
ce
101
162

Some Choroti live near Vacuiba. In nearly all of the Chiriguano territory there are Mestizos and Whites. There are also several large missionary stations in their territory. Some few Chiriguano live in the village of Sta Rosa to the north of Sta Cruz de la Sierra. Some Chiriguano who sought refuge in central Chaco after their last rebellion, live there still. They are the only tribe of Chiriguano-Indians who are quite independent of the Whites. c 101 162 131 [797]

The country which is inhabited by the Chiriguano and partly by the Chané is a border land between the Andine mountains and the great plain of the Chaco. It is in the valleys between the outermost mountain ridges towards the Chaco and on the plain to the east of them that the Chiriguano and the Chané live. The land of the Chiriguano and Chané-Indians is not a real country of primeval forests. There are some great forests, but on the whole it is sparsely wooded, in places even very poorly wooded. The supply of water is the governing condition for settlement in the land of these Indians. It may be said that wherever there is access to water there the country is inhabited, at any rate as regards the region south of the Rio Grande, one of the great rivers that run through their territory There need not be a great supply of water for the Indians to find the country inhabitable. All that is necessary is sufficient drinking-water for man and beast, as at Itatique and in the Caipipendi valley near Rio Parapiti. c ce 131 135 c ce 361 312

The biggest rivers running through the territory of the Chiriguano and the Chané are the Rio Grande, the Rio Parapiti and above all the Rio Pilcomayo. The Rio Grande may now almost be considered the boundary river of these tribes towards the north, and is of but little importance to them. The Rio Parapiti is a strange river. While well supplied with water in the mountains it is almost shrinks to nothing in the plains during the dry season. During the rains it is very full of water and may be dangerous to ford. Fish are plentiful only in the Rio Pilcomayo, and we c ce 133 c ce [226]

S.Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920

SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●

Chane SF8

South American Indians S3

5

C
CE
171*
102
342
343
131 ●

S
342
343
102

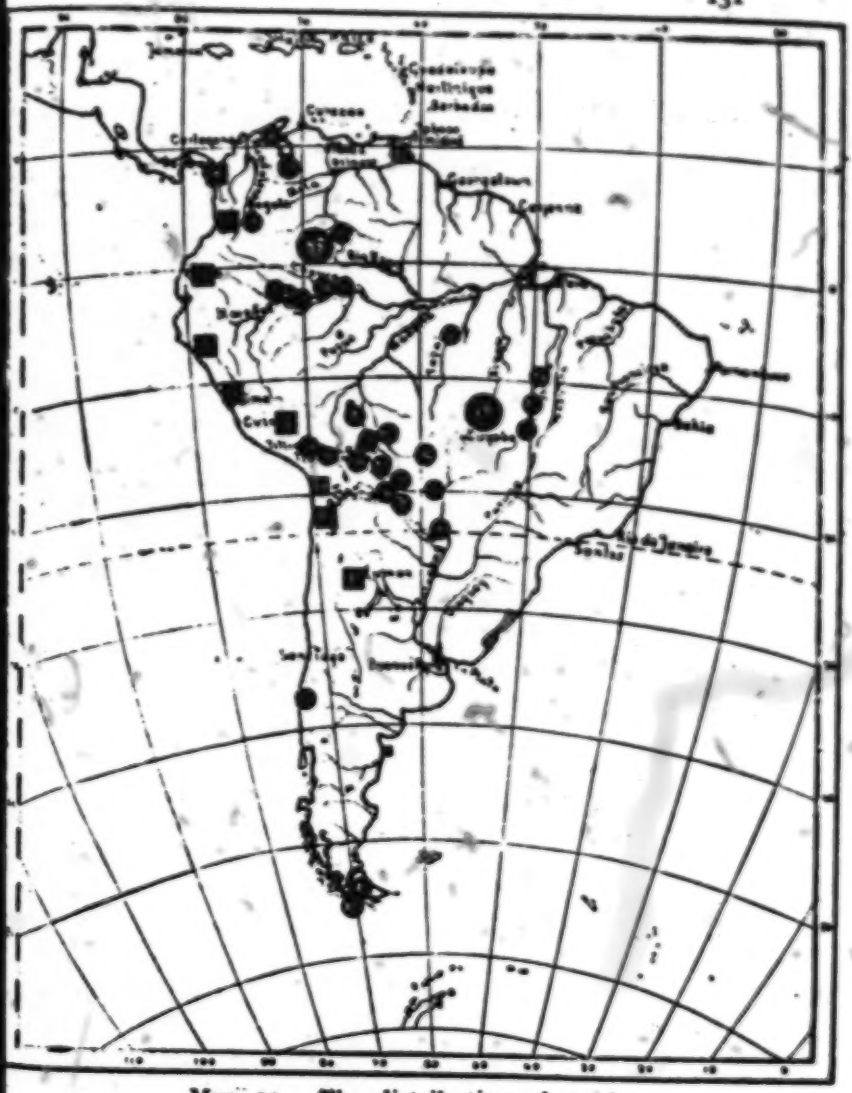
Map 1. The distribution of pile buildings.

● = Dwelling-houses.

○ Barns.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
102
131
532
M1
S
102
532



Map 12. The distribution of masks.

● = dancing masks. ■ = burial masks and other masks.

/168 cont./ Ce 173 648 169 [101] c
as has been said, /169/ is not unfamiliar to the Indians. On the Rio Paraguay Arowaken /Arawak/ are also found.

The Chiriguano first lived on the lower Rio Parapiti and were driven away from there by the Chané. This is p. 80 and 81 appear here/ possibly "official history," for more probably the Chiriguano drove the Chané out of the fertile valleys of the upper Rio Parapiti. 173 648 131

Batirayu told me everything that he knew about the history of the Chané Indians on the Rio Parapiti. The last great /170/ chief was Batirayu's uncle, Aringui. He led many Indians of his tribe to Argentina to work. His predecessor was Yämbäe. Before him Ochoäpi was invested with the position of chief. In his time the whites began to push into the country. This chief is described as an important man who sought to introduce the manners and customs of the whites among his Indians. Ochoäpi is known for his extensive journeys and his persecution of sorcerers. He was said to have been in Buenos Aires. Before him Chötchori had the position of chief. In his time the whites had not yet come as far as the lower Rio Parapiti. Here the tradition comes to an end. The chiefs mentioned here were of the same family /Geschlecht/, but the rule does not pass from father to son. Ce 173 648 Ce 177

I could relate a bit of history about the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, but I do not wish to be boring with too many names. There, too, tradition does not go back far, three generations, that is all. Ce 173

In the legends of these Indians, several of which I have given below, we learn nothing about the history of these peoples. No historical events seem to have been recast into legends there. They have entirely different themes.

It is really quite strange that among these Indian tribes their history, the names of the chiefs, have been forgotten, whereas the legends have undoubtedly been preserved, though in altered form, from generation to generation for centuries. It is chiefly the wide geographical distribution of the legends that speaks for their great age.

C /243 cont./
171 (Fig. 130) is typically Peruvian in form, as is the silver hair re-
291 mover, of which, however, I have no specimen. The festive
[534] costume of the man (Fig. 81) also seems to me to have a Peruvian
[413] cut. It is possible, however, that the influence of Peru did not
197 manifest itself among the Chiriguano until after the conquest of
the plateau by the Spanish.

e Boman (1) has proved that the Chiriguano, or more cor-
131
172
e
[113]

1. Boman: Antiquités de la Région Andine. Vols. 1-2. Paris, 1908.

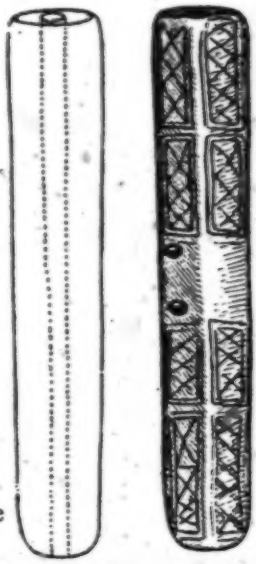


Fig. 120. Serére pipe. Chiriguano. 1/4.

rectly the Guarani tribe to which these Indians belong, formerly extended much farther south than they do now. He found there the gave urns so characteristic of them.

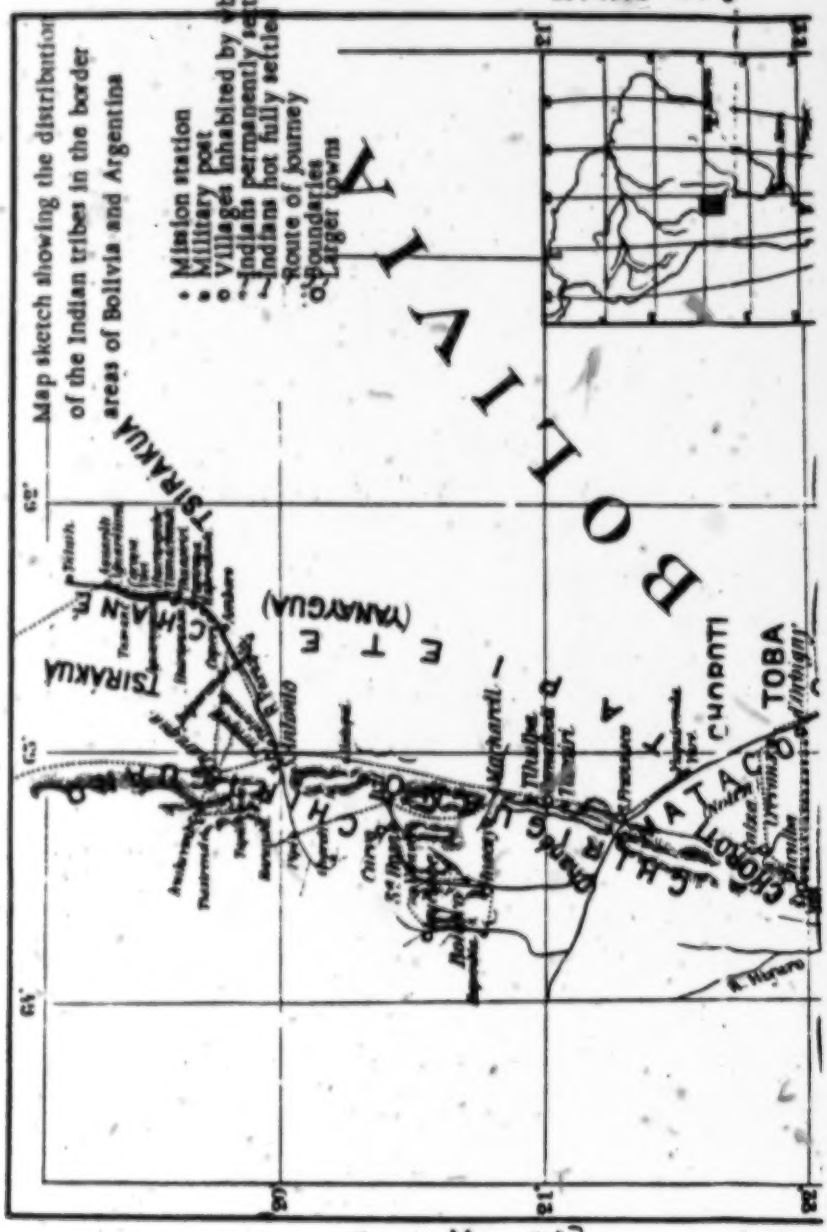
C The material culture of the Chané
Ce Indians does not, in general, differ very
171 much from the culture of the Chiriguano.
Ce The Chané, on the other hand, who are
[323] more isolated on the Rio Parapiti, have
a completely independent pottery which we
C do not find again among the
[534] Chiriguano. If we compare the
[534] remaining products of Chané
C and Chiriguano industry, we do
[184] not find any greater differences than we find in the various Chiriguano villages themselves.

C For example, if one collects clay vessels in the Iguembe
323 valley and in the Caipipendi valley, both of which valleys are
184 occupied by Chiriguano, one inevitably finds that the pottery, though strongly related in ornamentation and form, nevertheless /244/ also varies locally. I have already spoken of the individual variations (p. 85).

6: Nordenskiöld--156 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Mataco SI 7
Chorotí SK6
Chane SF8

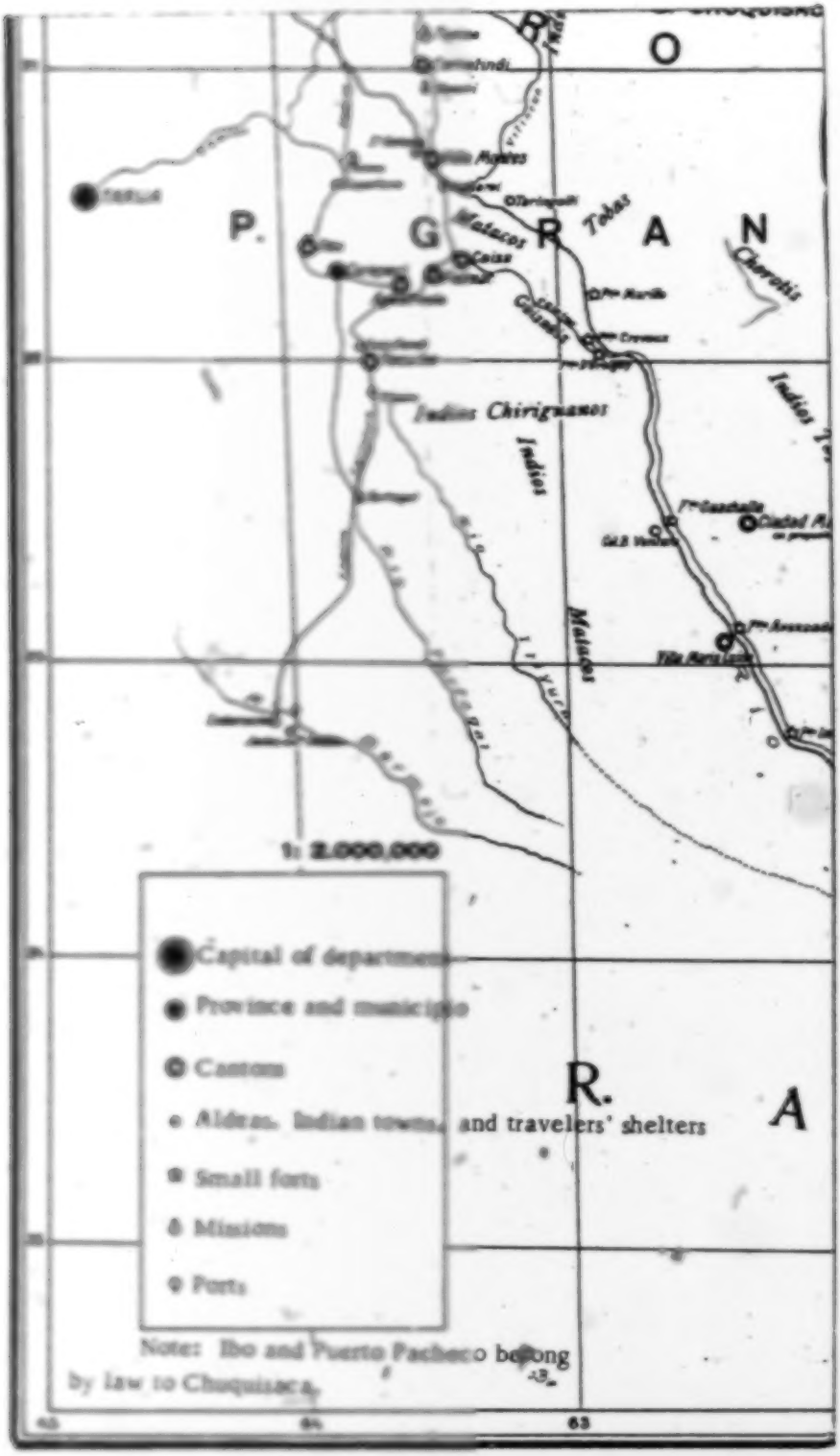
C
ce
102
103
131
133
361
M
C1
102
131
133


Map sketch showing the distribution of the Indian tribes in the border areas of Bolivia and Argentina
Mission station
Military post
Villages inhabited by whites
Indians permanently settled
Indians not fully settled
Route of journey
Boundaries
Larger towns
BOLIVIA
TSIRAKUA
CHAMAN
TSIRAKUA
ETE (MAKAGUA)
CHIRIGUANO
CHOROTI
MATACO
CHUPUTI
TOBA
Tarija
Tilcara
Humahuaca
Jujuy
Orán
Tartagal
Santa Cruz
Sucre
Potosí
Oruro
La Paz
Cochabamba
Tupiza
Villazon
Uyuni
Antofagasta
Iquique
Arica
Tacna
Mollendo
Arequipa
Puno
Cuzco
Iquitos
Pucallpa
Tocopilla
Calama
Chuquicamata
Pisagua
Tocopilla
Antofagasta
Copiapo
Vallenar
Coquimbo
Valparaiso
Santiago
Concepcion
Temuco
Valdivia
Puerto Montt
Punta Arenas
Ushuaia
Rio Negro
Rio Pilcomayo
Rio Bermejo
Rio Salado
Rio Dulce
Rio Paraguay
Rio Paraná
Rio Uruguay
Rio Negro
Rio Chubut
Rio Santa Cruz
Rio Gallegos
Rio Grande
Rio Colorado
Rio Cuarto
Rio Cuyo
Rio Mendoza
Rio Tunuyan
Rio Diamante
Rio Atuel
Rio Chico
Rio Deseado
Rio Chubut
Rio Negro
Rio Chico

Map 'B'
ARGENTINA
CHOROTI
TOBA
CHOROTI
ATACO
CHOROTI
MATACO
ASHLUSLAY
MATACO
ASHLUSLAY
TOBA
PILAGA
ASHLUSLAY
Orano
Ledesma
S. Pedro
R. Pilcomayo
R. Bermejo
Guachalla
Bermeverturas
Chaco
Tempey Bolis
Chaco
Chaco
Chaco

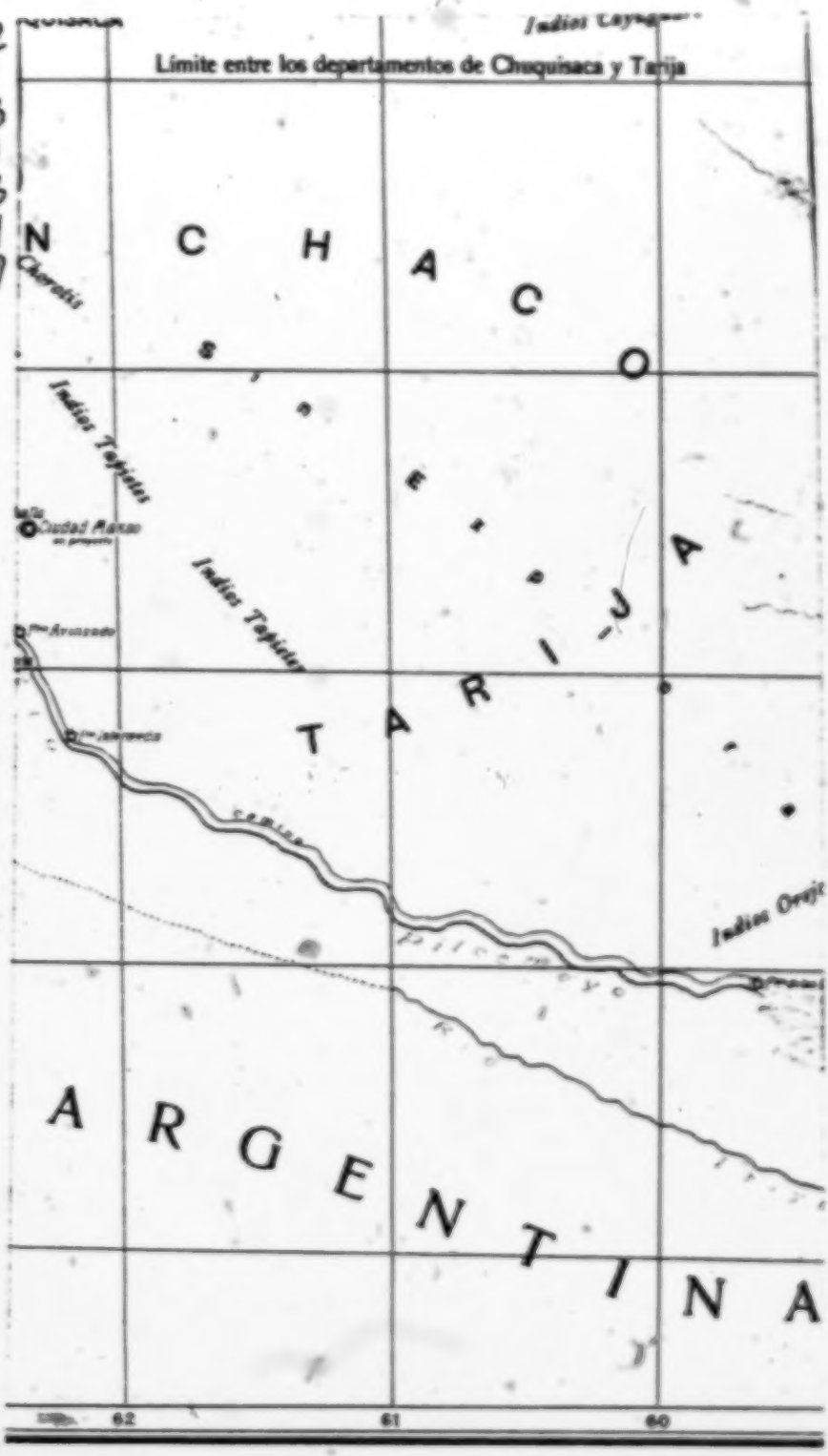
4: Nino-450 M-3 (1880-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
799



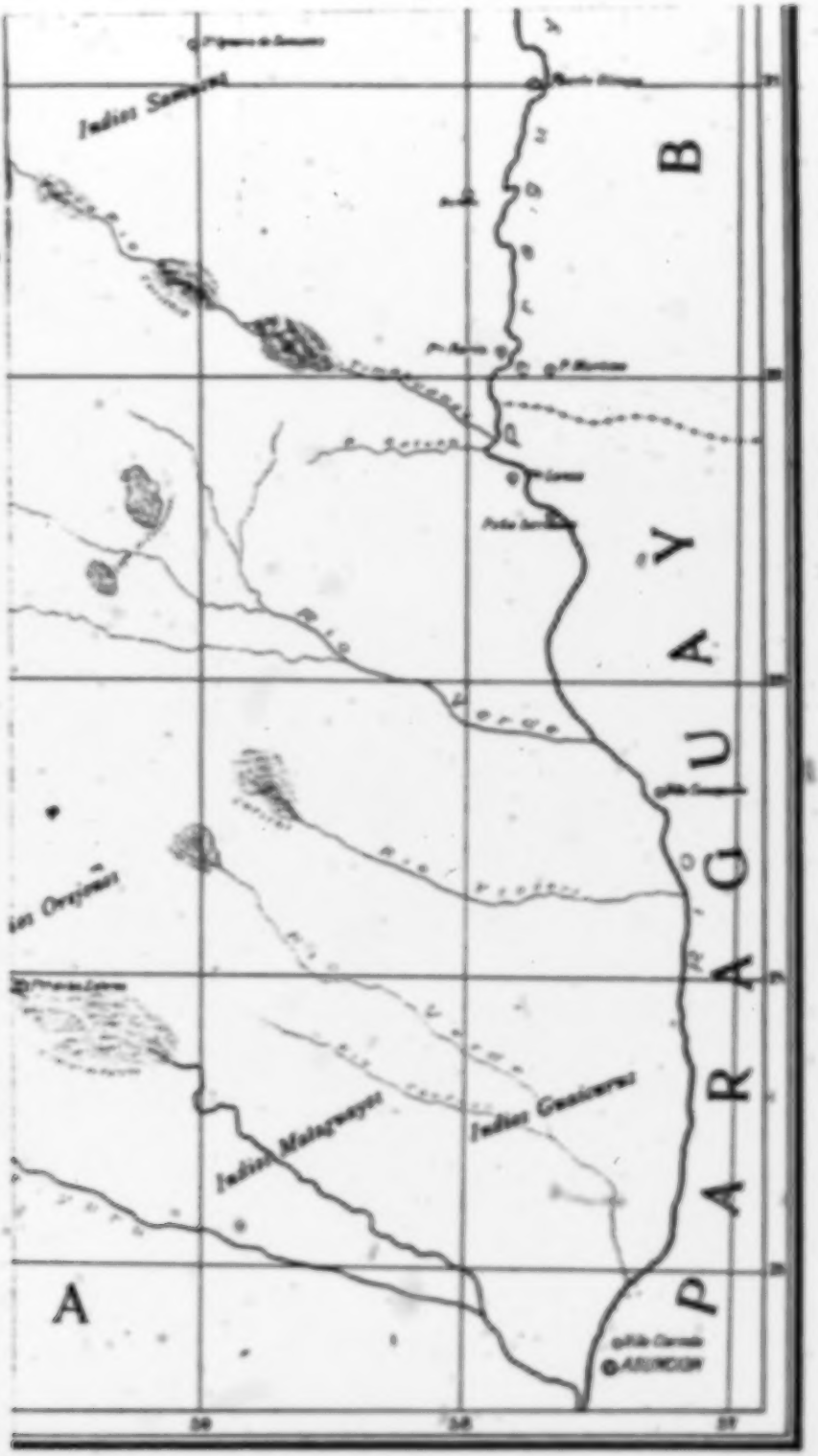
4: Nino--451 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



4: Nino--45? M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
●131
133
361
797



Chané SF8

The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between these culturally allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against the whites (in 1890), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are still remaining.

The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly ground plants and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group, the Chiriguano being counted with the Guarani group, whilst the Chané are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija valley.[1] Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which is Guarani. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches of Rio Parapiti.[2] The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means «dirt people» was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word «guano» is the name for the well-known bird manure found on the coast of Peru and Chile. It seems however unfair indeed that the Chiriguano, who, in contradistinction to the Puna and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal name.

---

[1] de Matienzo (51), p. 130. Nordenskiöld (56).
[2] Nordenskiöld (56), p. 136.

/13 cont./

has published Chiriguano and Chané types (49).

49. Erland Nordenskiöld: Äventyr i Sydamerika /Inquiry and Adventure in South America/. Stockholm. 1915. Ills. 14-18; 20 and 21. Nord. I. Figs. 75, 76, 78, 87, 106, 110, 111, 115, 116, 132, and Pl. 19-2 /the second figure of this number in the twenties is illegible/.

The Territory of the Chiriguano

Concerning the location and extent of the territory of the Chiriguano at the time of their independence, that is, from the beginning of the 16th century to the second half of the 19th century, we have Moreno's detailed studies in two places in his work already cited many times above, the titles of which are: "Las tierras de los Chiriguanos /The lands of the Chiriguanos/" (50). According to Moreno (51), the

50. Moreno II, pp. 79-126 and pp. 200-204.

51. Moreno II, p. 206.

Chiriguano--Chiriguano /14/ of the Cordillera in contrast to the Ñationes-Guarayos and the Piringuaris also often called Chiriguano in the literature -- from the time of the Conquest until they lost their independence inhabited the same territory, that is, the western spurs of the Andes from south of the Pilcomayo up to the lands which extend on both sides of the Guapay. The Chané, who formerly had a large well-populated territory, "although they formed several partial migrations, remained in great number subject to the conquering Guaraní within the legion which these latter had converted into their impregnable abode" (52). In 1003 Father Alejandro Corrado

52. Moreno II, p. 240.

/11 cont./

Ce 131 still writes that the Chané were found scattered among the Chiriguano located among the last spurs of the Andes (53).

53. Mémoire II, p. 334.

Even after losing their independence, the Chiriguano inhabited more or less the same territory. Having known personally only Machaerti out of the territory of the Chiriguano, I here refer to the data of Erland Nordenskiöld, who came to know them in the years 1906, 1908, and 1913 and personally traveled through most of this territory, spending up to four to five months altogether in the study of the Chiriguano and the Chané (54).

C 131 [114]

54. Nord. I, p. XII.

According to Nordenskiöld (55), the territory of the

55. Nord. I, pp. XIV and XV. Cf. Métraux I, pp. 322 and 323.

Chiriguano extends from the region near Santa Cruz de la Sierra in the north to near the Bermejo River in the south. Now the Río Grande can almost be taken as the northern limit of their territory. This is the land located between the boundary of the Andes and the great plain of the Chaco, in the valleys of which the Chiriguano, and in part the Chané live. It can be said that this territory is inhabited wherever there is the necessary water, although it may be no more than enough for and their domestic animals to drink. The Chiriguano inhabit that territory contiguously, while the Chané today live in territories separated from one another. Thus some of them are on the Itiyuro River in Argentina, some are in Caipipendi, some on the lower Parapití River, and others near Itaí, south of the Pilcomayo River. Outside of the territory of the Chiriguano which has thus been circumscribed, a few Chiriguano now live in the Santa Rosa Valley north of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and a few fled to the Chaco after the last broken revolt in 1892, WITHOUT ONE HAVING ANY INFORMATION ON THEIR SETTLING PLACE.

Ce 131

C 131 [169]

/14 cont./

131 without our having any information on their stopping place. Some Chorote live in the territory of the Chiriguano, near Yacuiba, and also, without counting the missions, the whole territory has been penetrated by whites and mestizos.

[563] [797]

131 174 According to these data given by Nordenskiöld, the territory of the Chiriguano, after their definitive subjection by the whites and up to the present time, has remained the same as that which they had at the time of their independence, except, it would seem, that they have come down more into the valleys and do not now live, as was stated in the 16th century documents, on top of the inaccessible mountains, which, as natural fortresses, offered them a secure refuge during their expeditions.

Towns and Houses

361 177 The arrangement of the towns and the form of the houses of the Chiriguano are not at the present time the primordial ones, and they have probably passed through two different transformations, one after the other, first under the influence of the architecture of Inca culture and later the architecture of the whites. /15/ According to the Annua de la Compañia de Jesús Tucumán and Peru, of the year 1596, the Chiriguano towns were composed of only a few houses that were large enough to house as many as 100 persons. In his "Descripción breve de toda la tierra del Perú, Tucumán, Rio de la Plata y Chile /A Brief Description of all the Land of Peru, Tucumán, Río de la Plata, and Chile/," Father Lizarraga (56) describes the Chiriguano

36 34 62 [113]

56. Madrid, 1909. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 15. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

towns in the following way: "The largest of the towns is one of five houses: the common number is three; but they are very long, more than 150 paces, with a two-sloped roof with posts in the middle, upon which the framework is constructed, and one kin group /parentela/ lives between one post and the next one."

Ce 178 643 [114] [148]

/83 cont./ when Nordenskiöld made his expedition, there was no longer a great cacique among the Chané on the Parapití River. The last great cacique had been Aringui, whose nephew, Batiraya, was a cacique, but he had refused the position of great cacique because he did not want to be too dependent on the whites (311).

311. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 233.

C 631 [142]

According to what is said in older documents, the Chiriguano, after their immigration into the Cordillera, did not form a uniform community, a state, in the proper sense of public law. Formerly they had formed a federation of several parcialidades /subdivisions/. In the letter of Licenciado Cepeda (312) in the

C [131] [195]

312. Letter from Licenciado Cepeda giving an account of the war against the Chiriguano under the encomienda of Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, Governor of Santa Cruz, and under the Maestre de Campo, Fernando de Cazorra, through Tomina, and under Luis de Fuentes through Tarija. According to Moreno II, p. 113.

year 1585, it is said "that the Province of the Chiriguano, who are in the Cordillera between Santa Cruz and the city of La Plata, who are divided into three parcialidades, each distinct from the others, 25 leagues, although they communicate and help one another. One is the parcialidad of Vitupué, another that of Condorillo, and the other of Chiquiacá."

C 631 643

Of the two parcialidades Vitupué and Chiquiacá we know that they, at least originally, were each under the chieftainship of a great cacique, from whom they received their respective names. Vitupuera was the great cacique of the former and Chiaca the great cacique of the latter (313). With regard to the parcialidad

313. Moreno II, pp. 122 and 126.

/333 cont./

Chapter II

Agriculture

241 The Chiriguano, like the Guarani and the Chané, their ancestors, are excellent farmers, and the working of the soil represents their principal occupation and their great concern.
243 For them corn is of prime importance; it constitutes the basis
[273] of their diet, for it enters into the preparation of most of their dishes and in addition gives them their preferred drink, chicha or kãwi.

[132] The sandy lands of the western Chaco and its climate,
[134] hot and dry a great part of the year, but also rainy during the summer months, seem to be particularly suitable for this grain. I have never seen such beautiful fields of corn anywhere. The ears are large, well filled out /334/ with kernels, and extremely tasty. The Bolivian half-breeds and settlers who are coming in greater and greater numbers to take the place of the Indians devote themselves like them to the growing of corn, which, with cattle-raising, is their main resource.

114 My trip to the Chaco, which took place from the month
243 of February to the month of June, did not give me a chance to
[101] be present at the sowing which is done at the beginning of the rainy season. For many details I shall therefore be forced to
[127] refer to Corrado (pp. 42 and 48), Campana (pp. 96-98), Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 181-184, and 10, pp. 23-24), to Nino (pp. 237-241), and Rosen (1, p. 205).

241 When a Chiriguano wishes to cultivate a new piece of
243 ground for himself and his family, he scours the environs of his village looking for a spot which may suit him and which is, in addition, easily irrigable. This condition is generally fulfilled by the lands at the foot of a hill or rising ground. The rain water which pours down there assures them of fertility.

/3 cont./

133 The lakes are natural, but not permanent; they are
[135] many and large; in some the water is very good, but from
[132] others not even the cattle /4/ drink, because it contains so much saltpeter. They all receive water from the sky, which sometimes falls with great force and fills them at a single time. White Christians are now making artificial lakes, especially in the Gran Chaco and in the vicinity of Caipipendi.
271 When water is completely lacking, the Indian scratches the
824 ground, looking for the root of the "sipoy," samolo, which is as large as a watermelon; he cuts it at the top, squeezes the pulp with his hand, it turns to water, and he drinks; thus the need is met, but when this drink is taken for a long period, it gives rise to sickness.

311 The land lends itself to farming and to cattle raising,
312 but both industries diminish in those years when the beneficial
433 action of the rains is scarce. Then the crops are lost, and the
132 cattle die from lack of food and from the great amounts of water that they drink from the rivers and lakes on whose banks they stay through lack of energy; nonetheless this rarely happens throughout the region, which, because of embracing a wide area, in one place or another receives showers which renew nature.

Extent and Area

131 The Chiriguano tribe or race was extremely numerous and
[161] thus once took in an extraordinarily large area; traces of these
[464] Indians are found in the vicinity of Tarija, and they may be found beyond Santa Cruz, where even today Chiriguano men and women are in larger part those in domestic service with the genteel families. Toward the capital of the Republic the Indians still remember that their grandparents used to live in Tacopaya and even beyond, in Talisco, included in the same district. Then they extended toward the Bermejo River and, finally, eastward to within a few leagues of Carandaiti, where the arid zone, inhabited by the Toba and other savages, begins.

/4 cont./

131 Thus formerly the Chiriguano territory in the north was contiguous with the province of Sara, in the south and southwest with Argentina and the city of Tarija, in the west with Tarabuco country, and in the east with the colony of Carandaiti. According to its former boundaries, it then included an area of 200 leagues from north to south and southwest, and more than 90 leagues west to east.

131 16 [648] Today this extensive territory has been much reduced because of emigration, caused in part by the whites, under whose dominion most of them will not resign themselves to staying; the plagues which decimate the race have a powerful influence on its further reduction, and very soon /5/ barely the 131 name will remain. Today to the north it scarcely reaches Abapó, to the south, Itiyuru de Yacuiba, to the west, Monteagudo, and to the east, Carandaiti, some hundred leagues from north to south and about 40 from west to east.

131 648 [433] Formerly it embraced several degrees of latitude and three and a half of longitude; as they lost a considerable part of this area, so will they end up by losing it all, for despite their being heirs to the country which God had given them, as one of them was saying to me not long ago, they do not know how to farm it and improve their agriculture; they prefer to go far away and work for others rather than to own land at home. This very day only a few leagues remain in the hands of the Indians, Caipipendi in the province of Cordillera, Gutierrez Canton, and all the territory occupied by the missions, but both are likely to pass into foreign hands, because in fact the Indian is incapable of making the land that he does possess bear fruit; then the few survivors in the territory will be servants in their own house, as are so many others in lands that were once their own.

311 134 [132] The land is very unstable, at least that now occupied; it lacks stone and gravel, and since in their season the rains are torrential, they easily open cracks which in a few years become wide, deep ravines. Contributing a great deal to this are the cattle, which, because of their weight, stir up the land with their hoofs more than other livestock; for this reason

/11 cont./

133 From Igüembre Canton natural and artificial lakes begin to appear, the first ones end in Cuevo Canton and the later ones begin to appear from Buyuive, vice-Canton of Ñancaroinza, and continue through Caipipendi, Carandaiti, and Parapiti, on the right bank. Some of them may well dry up during the year, but if the rains are plentiful they will easily last until the new rainy season. The lakes are a great benefit in the arid zones, and without them there would be no life, since there is none where they are lacking; it is precisely through the lack of water that it is difficult to cross the plains of the Gran Chaco to get to Paraguay more quickly. A railroad from Santa Cruz to Isoso and from the east to Oriente in a straight line would avoid all difficulty; it would be 100 leagues through level, only slightly irregular terrain.

Climate

• 132 821 Without taking into consideration an occasional isolated exception, in the entire area or in most of it we can state as a general principle, through experience, that in the vast region inhabited by the Chiriguano race there are only two seasons of the year, called summer and /12/ winter, despite which they distinguish by name four seasons, "Aracu, Roi, Maentiha, Ipiroha," hot, cold, planting, and harvest, or summer, winter, spring, and fall.

132 The two seasons of which I speak are very marked: the summer by the abundance of rain, and the winter by drought. The first rains begin in the month of November or sometimes at the end of October, increase gradually and are frequent in the month of January, scarce in February, irregular in March, and generally stop in the month of April, or after Easter. The rains are preceded and accompanied by lightning and thunder, which fill one with fear, especially when there is added to them violent wind, and they end leaving in the air an incomparable freshness; rarely does rain fall calmly as in other parts of the world.

The rain is nearly always brought by the south wind, rarely by the others, and never or almost never by the north wind. In the area now inhabited by the Chiriguano snow is almost never seen; on rare occasions it falls in the highest

/12 cont./

•132 mountains, where it melts away in the first hours of sunlight. On June and July nights a small quantity of water will freeze, but this does not happen every year.

The temperature is quite variable everywhere, and is even irregular throughout the former area, both because of the elevation of some places and because of atmospheric accidents. The lowest temperature is 5, the highest 34, and the average 18. The hottest months are November, December, and January, and the coldest May, June, and July; nevertheless there is frost even in the months of August, September, and October, which are very oppressive because of the lack of rains to cool the atmosphere. Although the heat may be very intense in the months of November, December, and January, it is tempered by the beneficent action of the rains, which fall frequently and abundantly, but if, as happens, they cease for a relatively long period, the heat is nearly unbearable by day and insufferable at night, with sweat running off the body like a bath, which does not allow one even to think of sleeping, except in the mornings, which are always somewhat cool.

The above-noted temperature is regularly observed in the center of the area; it varies to the north, west, and southwest. In Santa Cruz the thermometer registers higher temperatures, in Padilla and Tarija lower; there are days when a thermometer placed in the sun registered 60°, and despite this it does not cause frequent sunstrokes among these Indians who wear nothing on the head for protection while they work in the fields.

/13/ In the cold months, only when the north wind dominates can very pleasant and remarkably clear days be enjoyed, but the south wind upsets it all, covering the sky with clouds and beginning the drizzle and the cold which saddens the heart, producing sickness, because the changes are very sudden, even in the rainy season. The south wind in the summer can easily bring about the loss of crops in a few days. What could be the cause of this? I have said that the rains almost always come with the south wind, but it happens that instead of rain hail will fall over much of the area; then the

/13 cont./

●132 atmosphere immediately cools down and there begins a cold wind whose chill is increased as it passes through the region of hail, and since the maize stalks are still tender they are easily stricken. The hail that falls is big, the earth is churned up, and it kills birds, sheep, goats, and other animals, if they are unable to hide in the bushes or under thick trees, but this does not happen often nor every year.

[133] Earthquakes are most rare; I felt them twice during my stay in the region, in 1899 and 1909, but the wind is sometimes so strong that it seems to make the earth tremble; there is no doubt but that it tears up trees and strips them, ruins buildings, and dismantles tiled roofs. Foreigners in this [145] so hot and changeable climate soon age and turn gray, but the natives who are used to it from childhood, despite the vices of drinking and others to which they surrender, enjoy a relatively long and healthy life.

It can readily be understood from what has been said that here the seasons of the year follow a different order from that which is seen in the Old World. Despite the fact, then, that there are no more than two seasons, we always can and ought to consider the four, in order to follow the general rule of the universe which divides the year into four parts. Summer begins December 21, fall March 21, winter June 21, and spring September 21, but all of these come ahead of time, as anyone who has lived here can testify.

Fertility

133 182 311 312 361 The Aguaragüe range, which is found to the east and one league from the Mission of San Buenaventura de Yvu, is the last one in Chiriguano territory. Small towns and families of these Indians are scattered here and there are still found east of the said range some 15 leagues away, but beyond that /14/ there are none because the area is arid and dry, "igüi utini vae," as they say, and the Chiriguano accustomed to planting maize, beans, and gourds cannot live where there is a scarcity of rain for his crops and water for his daily bath.

/14 cont./

311 The closer the traveler gets to the Gran Chaco, the less
312 water and the less fertility he finds; the very fields of Yvu
241 are patent proof, for crops are rarely abundant there. When the rains are torrential in other sections, they are sparse in Yvu; the farther to the west one travels from Aguaragüe, the more fertile is the land, because the hills and hillocks are more frequent and higher, water more abundant, and consequently the land more moist, which is necessary for agricultural production.

The fields are suitable for raising cows and horses, for the multiplication of sheep and pigs; the year when it fails to rain, however, there is lack of food for the livestock, as well as lack of water, the suffering is great, and numbers die near the waters which are found at some distance from the spots where there is feed, such as the slopes of the hills and the tops of the hillocks, abounding in tree leaves.

137 The countryside is clothed with grasses in the summer, but the region begins to turn beautiful in the spring and even earlier. The vigorous woods, dry and leafless during the cold months, begin to dress in verdant foliage at the beginning of the month of September, and in a few days nature is rejuvenated. Then it is very lovely to contemplate from some slight rise a broad pampa where there are carob trees, groves of catalpas or lapachos, the first green, the second red, and the third yellow and purple.

241 The territory is productive only in the rainy season, be-
182 cause the Chiriguano in general will not take the trouble to put
[132] in a good irrigation ditch when he can; he waits for it all from
[433] the high heavens. Miracles could have been worked on the banks of the rivers in times past; today it is difficult because they are very few and, like their grandparents, are satisfied with maize, a little sugar cane, and other delicacies, like sweet potatoes or batatas, mandioca, and peanuts.

241 Large-scale planting begins at the end of November or the
[221] beginning of December, after the country has been watered by two or three abundant rains. The maize grows very high and, when there is no lack of water, produces two or three ears on each stalk. The frijoles produce three crops. The sugar cane

/55cont./

*825 759 and not those veterans of several arrobas like gourds in the form of saddlebags, which are seen in abundance around Pozuelos, Piray, San Juan, and Pomabamba.

*136 *825 There is another large bird with the same instincts as the buzzard, called carcancho by the whites and "Caracara" by the Indians. It does not, however, kill calves; it does hunt and kill little lambs, suckling pigs, and chickens, disregarding with boldness and dissimulation the brood hen. /56/ This shameless, fearless bird is abundant everywhere and is capable of getting into kitchens and sticking its beak into the ollas; but its favorite spot is the corral, where it scratches about, looks for things, and eats, and like the most natural thing in the world it will pull out the entrails of a sleeping lamb or at the least blind it in one eye. The rascal gets into the nests of smaller birds and steals eggs or kills the young to eat them. All in all, it is a sad and ugly neighbor, with the result that all are its enemies, and some birds chase it out of their nests. Such is the practice of the bird that the Chiriguano call "Guirapipasa"; another called "Suiriri" gets on the shoulders of the carcancho and pecks it until it runs long distances.

[759] The Indians assert that carcancho fat is an efficacious remedy for the vision, and that they used it before modern medicines, which turned out to be more efficaceous and [262] active, were introduced. They eat its meat if it is fat. The [237] feathers of the carcancho and the buzzard are very strong, and [411] they put them on the ends of their arrows, so that they will not turn aside when they are shot and consequently will hit the mark better.

*136 GOLONDRINA /swallow/. -- The heat is altogether too • [132] much at certain times of the year, with the thermometer in the shade up to 32° and in the sun up to 60°, but let it not be believed that this state of heat is the normal thing. There are months of the year, and in these months there are weeks and days, in which it is difficult to endure the cold, which is most intense in June and parts or all of July. As a result of this, the swallow, even here, is a pilgrim, emigrating at the end of April and returning at the beginning of October. There are some entirely black, and there are some with white breasts. The

/123 cont./

797 religious education of the boys and girls would not make much
829 progress because their parents are in continual movement. Some
179 effort at least has been made to help them by means of the property rights which they have in the territory, about three leagues long by half a league wide, and the plan was then to build them some small chapel, but I believe that these efforts will be left in the filing cabinet for centuries to come (1).

000

1. Today, instead of missions, they are building forts for the purpose of colonization. Doubtless the epoch of a new method of colonization has arrived, but nobody is ignorant of the fact that this costs the Republic millions, while the cost of a mission is relatively nothing, and the advantages and progress incomparable. What advances are there in Crevaux, in Guachalla, and other places? What buildings are there of note and stability? None. In a single hour the Toba or any other savage may destroy them by fire. Don Fernando Guachalla, the president-elect, said it well when he said that the best and cheapest method of colonizing is that of founding missions.

175 Before the Parapiti missions were organized, those Indians
511 suffered considerable misery, because the place was quite dry
[132] in the rainy season, and they had no means of planting along the banks of the river, since the few lands there were in the
[186] hands of the whites. Father Giannecchini passed through there in 1887 as an expeditionary to Paraguay, and when he saw them so poor and so reduced in number, he exhorted them to move to some mission, but they answered that it was not easy to leave the place where they had been born and had grown old.

/253 cont./

261 feed themselves with: algarroba pods, Hibope; chañar /a legume/,
262 Cumbaru; mistol /a fruit/, Yua; tusca, Hibopene; sour algarrobos, Hibope tayi; nopal fruits, Saini; or from the fig, Iva; the higuerilla /little fig/, Caicantina, the thistle /cardo/, Tapiacaru, and the ulala /a kind of cactus/, Ñancagüína (1).

[137]
[132]

1. The fruits mentioned and many others are plentiful in the whole area, but in the Ivu region they are more plentiful; the years have now greatly changed; it does not rain as regularly as in times past and the crops are somewhat certain only at the foot of the mountain ranges.

181 Indubitably the Chiriguano, although superior to other nomadic tribes that surround them or border them, are very unfortunate and poor, but, on the other hand, their life is peaceful, they bother no one, and they do not wish to be bothered. When the Chiriguano Indian has food, he is the happiest being on earth; his savage bliss can today be envied by all the rulers and great of the world who live without knowing whether or not they will wake up on the morrow, in view of being surrounded by so many anarchistic dangers, so many bombs and dynamite that the obscure sects make explode, so many excesses that occur and are reported in the newspapers, and so many deaths that are taking place. Oh, this kind of savagery has not penetrated among these savages! That is why they sleep peacefully without fear, in the town, in the countryside, and in the forest, and they are happier than others; those who seek bliss on this earth may well envy these Indians.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,V(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c ce 133 226 shall see that the methods of fishing differ somewhat in the different rivers. At the Rio Pilcomayo the Indians must always have found a good supply of food. As many Chiriguano live by very insignificant streams they never have the opportunity of fishing. The Chané all live in places where they are able to procure fish during some part of the year at least. c ce [361]

c ce 224 Big game is scarce in the land of the Chiriguano and Chané. Nor are these Indians keen huntsmen. One seldom sees game that has been killed by them in their huts. c ce [223] The great flocks of fat pigeons that settle in their fields are for the most part left unmolested.

c ce 241 243 As we shall see in the following the Chiriguano and Chané live mostly by tilling the ground. Owing to the comparative dryness of their land maize is cultivated more than anything else. It is the ease with which this plant can be grown here, that makes the land of the Chiriguano and Chané a good land to dwell in.

c ce 222 The fruit of the carob-tree (algarrobo) is the most important wild fruit. Probably no careful study has ever been made of the climatic conditions of the Chiriguano and Chané country. c ce ●132 It is situated in the tropics, north of the tropic of Capricorn and the traveller there of course suffers more from heat than cold. In May and June especially, however, when there is a strong south wind, it is agreeable to have a well built house, warm clothes and a snug bed. The rains begin in December and leave off in April or May. c ce [244] It sometimes happens that there is little or no rain and then the crops are a failure. They are often destroyed by grasshoppers.

/153 cont. /

In the dry season the wind heaps large dunes along the banks of the river. After it has left the mountains, it does not receive a tributary. The Rio Parapiti is very wide, but never deep. During the driest period its bed is transformed into a sand desert where the wind plays with the fine river sand. When it storms, the sand is swept across the bottom of the river. If one wishes to cross it on such days, one may perhaps not get his feet wet, but he must shield his eyes. C 133 132

The Rio Parapiti is rich in fish, but the fish are tiny. The banks are quite fertile, but inasmuch as they are flooded during the rainy season, the harvests are easily lost. Often in the dry season everything is wasted by the scorching droughts. The locusts, too, hawk about in these regions and leave behind in their own unappetizing bodies a poor substitute for what they have destroyed. C 13

On the Rio Parapiti, high up in the mountains, live the Quichua Indians, then come the Chiriguano, beyond them, near the river, the Tapiete, also called Yanaygua, then the Chané, and finally, in the unknown wilderness, the Tsirakua Indians. C 101

My first visit on the Rio Parapiti was paid to Father Carmelo, who had a small mission station there among the Chiriguano. I became very fond of this monk; /154/ he had such confidence-inspiring friendliness. He is one of the missionaries who are needed here, people who desire and are able to sacrifice themselves for others, who show an equally great friendship toward all. C 114 797

I now continued along the Rio Parapiti to Isiporenda on the north bank of the river. The Tapiete live opposite Isiporendo. I shall later describe a visit that I made to them. C 114 T [131]

At Isiporenda I met the first Chané, or, as they are called here, Tapuy. I then visited most of their villages. I made the acquaintance especially of some of their storytellers, of whom Batirayu, the nephew of the last great chief, Aringui, became my good friend. Ce 114 [101 538 123]

From the lower Rio Parapiti I proceeded by way of Charagua, a village inhabited almost exclusively by whites, to the Caipipendi valley, where I stayed with the Chiriguano chief Taruiri. C 114

/154 cont./

One might be surprised that a person would want to live in this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter their valuables for maize. 13 243 273 556 437 731

For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians. 126.

The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy season it probably rains there too. 133 132

From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a /155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. 114 [312]

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Barirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio 133

/155 cont./ C
Piray and finally unites with the Rio Mamoré. A few Chiriguano 133
live along this river, and savage Tsirakua and Siriono also [101]
rove about in the forests along it. C

Between the Rio Grande and the Rio Parapiti there is a 133
region with an extreme scarcity of water and largely covered 137
with completely impenetrable underbrush and low scrub forest 312
full of caraguata and cacti. This monotonous, dismal vegetation is interrupted here and there by hills and grassy plains. C

Besides the savage Tsirakua Indians who make these thickets 136
unsafe, one finds another curiosity here, namely the guanaco C
(Auchenia). It is altogether strange to find an animal like the [132]
guanaco, which one thinks of only in connection with the cold plateaus of the Andes or the /156/ pampas of Patagonia, often afflicted with frost, in this bush which is frequently scorched by droughts. It would be interesting to be able to determine whether this guanaco of the tropical forest is really the same as the one known from the colder regions. Intelligent whites with whom I have discussed this and who have seen both regard them, however, as the same species.

Having returned to the Rio Parapiti, I looked up Batirayu, Ce 115
with whom I had already become intimately acquainted in 1908 and who also speaks excellent Spanish.

With no other Indians with whom I became acquainted did I become as close as with Batirayu. He understood that I was collecting the old mementos out of an interest in his tribe. Batirayu did his best to explain to me the religious conceptions of his tribe. In the evening we used to sit in his room with a cigarette, and he told about olden times, sorcerers, chiefs, Ce and spirits. Occasionally an old chief, Böyra, also came, and [122] from him I heard many charming Chané legends. We would sit until far into the night and chat by a flickering light that I had with me in order to take notes. Ce

One would be very much mistaken if he were to believe that 115
the conversations with these men were merely an interesting 123
study. I felt comfortable with these fine, tactful, yes, why not, cultured human beings. It was genuinely refreshing after coming from the often vulgar, empty whites.

/159 cont./

things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78).

From Maringsy I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of Mimosaceae, cacti, small algarrobas, and other fine-leaved trees. This woodland is seldom so dense than one cannot easily get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa,

Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringsy. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth. Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger.

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and across the great plain of Boyuovit, over the country that was the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuqui, they fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the right to rob all weaker peoples.

After my excursion to Maringsy I left the land of the Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already described in this book, to the Chorotí and Ashluslay.

/186 cont./ Ea 226

Another method of fishing often used in the aforementioned river is to dam up longish pools in the sand, in which fish gather. After the water is emptied out of the pools, the fish are caught. Sometimes the pool is made to terminate in a channel closed off with a scoop net /Kescher/, from which the fish cannot escape. Ea

All the fishing that I saw on the Rio Itiyuro was done during the dry season, on hot, sunny days. [132]

On the upper Rio Pilcomayo the Chiriguano fish with fishhooks obtained from the whites, with nets similar to the dip nets of the Chorotí, though smaller, and by shooting the fish with bow and arrow. The arrows used for fishing have two or more points. C 226 [197] [411]

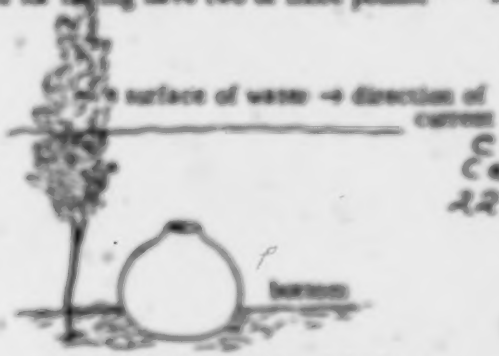


Fig. 90. Fishing with calabash. Rio Itiyuro.

Ea 226

On the Rio Parapiti I saw Chaná and Chiriguano fishing with a net of the type illustrated here (Fig. 91). In shooting fish, the Chiriguano there use arrows with many flat points. C [411]

In these last-named rivers the men always fish in deeper water with nets and with bow and arrow, whereas the women are common to catch small fish where the water is dammed when the river is half dry. Ea

Not infrequently the Indians undertake long journeys in order to fish. Thus, the Chaná sometimes during the /186/ dry season visit the swamps "Madrejones" in which the Rio Parapiti disappears. 226 [384] [38]

The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between these culturally allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against the whites (in 1892), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are still remaining.

The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly ground plants and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

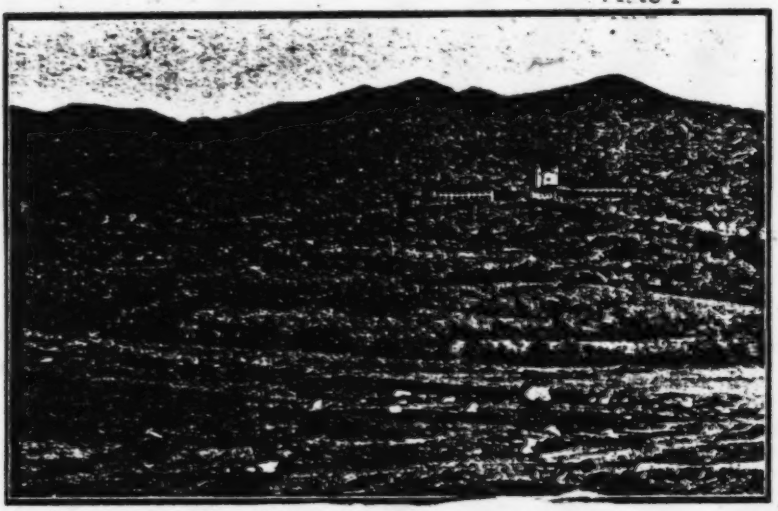
Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group, the Chiriguano being counted with the Guarani group, whilst the Chané are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija valley.[1] Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which is Guarani. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches of Rio Paraguay.[2] The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means «dirt people» was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word «guano» is the name for the well-known bird manure-found on the coast of Peru and Chile. It seems however unfair indeed that the Chiriguano, who, in contradistinction to the Pano and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal name.

---

[1] de Matienzo (1), p. 130. Fernandez (16).
[2] Fernandez (16), p. 138.

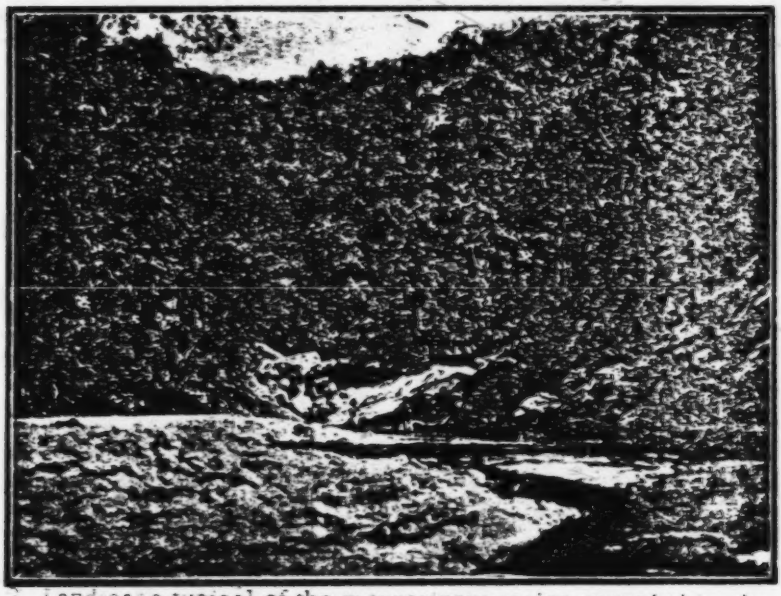
Plate I

133
797



1. Panoramic view of the Franciscan mission of San Pascual de Boicovo (Huacaya Valley). (Photo by the Reverend Father Honorato Catinari)

133



2. Landscape typical of the mountainous region occupied by the Chiriguano. View taken in a gorge in the neighborhood of the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo (Photo. by Reverend Father Honorato Catinari)

[127]

/363 cont./

234 To end up, one could still cite among Chiriguano food
262 the cheese they make in some villages. Each time they
butcher they take care to keep the abomasus in order to make
[177] milk separate. Chiriguano cheeses are of the same quality as
those of the half-breeds, who for once have taught something
[272] to our Indians. I shall add that I have never seen a Chiriguano
drink milk.

312 The problem of water does not come up for the Chiriguano
● 133 as for the other Indians of the Chaco. Numerous rivers cross
their territory, and several of them are large enough not to dry
up even in the middle of the dry season. These watercourses
form innumerable quebradas, gorges or valleys, which give
its characteristic aspect to the country inhabited by our Indians.
[361] Sometimes villages are built near springs or small lakes, like
the Ivu mission, which is provided with plenty of water.

312 When I crossed the Caipipendí valley, the river which
occupies the bottom was nearly dry. The Indians had scooped
out small wells about one meter in depth in the sand of its
bed. They had surrounded them with slabs of stone to prevent
any caving in and to preserve the water which accumulated in
them from the heat of the sun. In this same valley, in a village
situated on top of a hill, the Indians had dug a cistern four to
five meters in diameter in which rain water had collected.

271 The Chiriguano have found a way to purify the muddy
312 water they often have to drink. They crush caraguatá leaves
824 between two stones, then steep them in the water, and all its
impurities settle as a result of the action of the juice of this plant.

264 The Chiriguano do not eat at set times. They make a
rather substantial breakfast very early in the morning and again
take some food toward the middle of the day. In the evening
[562] about six o'clock they make a kind of dinner. Since the men
are served first, then the women and children, it follows that
the meals drag out in length. At any moment of the day one
[415] can see someone eating. The food /364/ is presented to each
one in a calabash or terra-cotta bowl which each holds on his
knees. They pick up the pieces with their fingers but imbibe
liquids with a wooden spoon (Figs. 42 and 43). After eating,
they wash their hands. I have seen some rinse out their mouths.

4: Nino

101
102
103
131
133
361
797

SF10 Chiriguano SF10

p. 447	p. 448	p. 449
p. 450	p. 451	p. 452

Chart of Positions of End Map, (pp. 447-452).
/facing End Map/

/2 cont./

121 elegant or labored, natural or stilted, which can be observed in one book by a single author. But the fact is that I can only write it here, since only the Indians are able to smooth out the difficulties which naturally will arise in the course of these pages.

I am familiar with almost the entire region inhabited by the Chiriguano, with the exception of a few small areas, but this is of little importance, as much because they are not of historical importance as because I have obtained data about them which show them to be like the rest. It would even be easy to make a map of the region, but I am embarrassed to say that I am not competent to do this.

General View

• 133 The region which the Chiriguano Indians occupy today is composed of many little valleys /cañadas/ which run from north to south; they are separated by mountain ridges which vary in size, height, precipitous slopes, deep gorges, and incalculable depths. Its length is quite considerable, while its breadth is not over 180 kilometers. The mountains rise to 3,000 meters and more above sea level, but at that altitude there is no longer any vestige of forest, while at 1,200 meters the woods are exuberant.

In the midst of the valleys low hills cross in every direction, and there are some which from a distance look like larger hills or on their way to becoming such; others are completely isolated and quite small, but they attract the attention of the traveler because of their conical shape, like the traditional "Tunparepoti", located at the beginning of the
[262] pampas of Yvu. There is no hill which does not make room upon its breast for a multitude of trees of every size and description, like a grove, and /3/ another multitude of vines like the bejuco and low-lying plants of the cactus family, which the Indian uses by eating their fruit, whose combined acridness and sweetness would make them please and be preferred by the most aristocratic lady of the city of Paris.

/3 cont./

133 The Indian makes full use of the valleys, laying out his
136 field with its own fence; his cow also grazes there, with her
311 calf running and playing across the level ground, and the wild animals live everywhere there, the dauntless foxes, the inoffensive anteaters, and the timid little deer /corzuelas/, while the monkeys seek the woods and the brambly, craggy ground of the hills to entertain themselves in raucous clamor, and the condors love to soar through the air to an extraordinary height, even considering that they launch themselves from the peaks of the highest hills.

133 While the ridges run from north to south, the course of the rivers is quite capricious; they run to the north, regress southward, direct themselves eastward, advance intrepidly westward, but the dominant course of them all as far as the pampas of the Gran Chaco is from west to east, overcoming every difficulty set in their way by the ridges, from which they leap with an extraordinary din, such as at the "Pirapo" (cataract of the fishes) or the waterfalls of the Pilcomayo and Parapiti rivers.

In the land of the Chiriguano, torrents and streams abound; more numerous are the rivulets which quickly lose their waters because within a few kilometers they run into endless sandy areas. If the hidden water should fail to appear occasionally in the ravines, which are small arroyos in origin, life here would be all but impossible, since places like Yvu, which without having a river or anything similar, possesses abundant and excel-
312 lent water, are numbered. The springs which appear in the beds
[157] of the torrents are of the greatest benefit in those places where there are no lakes or ponds, for the Indian, because of his laziness, is not capable of building artificial lakes for his water
[484] supply. In Itatiqui, for instance, not long ago there was a group of some 150 Chiriguano families; they could have made a lake in order to have such a necessity, but neither did they do it nor will they on their own initiative, and they go five kilometers to get it or at least there is the Chiriguano woman with her jug waiting for the forming of the drops which exude from the western slope, from which comes the name "Itatiqui," the stone that drips.

/3 cont./

133 The lakes are natural, but not permanent; they are
[135] many and large; in some the water is very good, but from
others not even the cattle /4/ drink, because it contains so
[132] much saltpeter. They all receive water from the sky, which
sometimes falls with great force and fills them at a single
time. White Christians are now making artificial lakes,
especially in the Gran Chaco and in the vicinity of Caipipendi.
271 When water is completely lacking, the Indian scratches the
824 ground, looking for the root of the "sipoy," samolo, which is
as large as a watermelon; he cuts it at the top, squeezes the
pulp with his hand, it turns to water, and he drinks; thus the need
is met, but when this drink is taken for a long period, it gives
rise to sickness.

311 The land lends itself to farming and to cattle raising,
312 but both industries diminish in those years when the beneficial
433 action of the rains is scarce. Then the crops are lost, and the
132 cattle die from lack of food and from the great amounts of
water that they drink from the rivers and lakes on whose banks
they stay through lack of energy; nonetheless this rarely happens throughout the region, which, because of embracing a
wide area, in one place or another receives showers which renew nature.

Extent and Area

131 The Chiriguano tribe or race was extremely numerous and
[161] thus once took in an extraordinarily large area; traces of these
[464] Indians are found in the vicinity of Tarija, and they may be
found beyond Santa Cruz, where even today Chiriguano men and
women are in larger part those in domestic service with the
genteel families. Toward the capital of the Republic the
Indians still remember that their grandparents used to live in
Tacopaya and even beyond, in Talisco, included in the same
district. Then they extended toward the Bermejo River and,
finally, eastward to within a few leagues of Carandaiti, where the
arid zone, inhabited by the Toba and other savages, begins.

/5 cont./

311 in certain valleys that are narrow or not too wide there is
134 scarcely room for fields, because so many little ravines have been formed. Such is the valley of Huacaya Canton; if there lived in it today the multitude of Indians which formerly were there, it would be hard to find, because of the woods and the ravines, sufficient land in the tiny level places for all the fields of maize, French beans, and gourds which they value much for food and gifts; only for other elements would a little valley be very desirable, were it not all owned.

Hills or Mountains

● 133 Chiriguano territory, because it is very extensive, as has already been seen, is quite varied; from Talisco to Monteagudo and from Tarija to the salt flats of O'Connor Province in the city of Entreríos it is very mountainous and few are the places which extend far enough to form a level place of a few leagues. Although there are /6/ no very high hills, between the two hills which limit the valleys there is an infinity of low hills of all sizes in height, width, and length.

The pampas begin imperceptibly from Monteagudo in the west and from Aguairenta, where the Gran Chaco begins; said pampas from Monteagudo little by little grow larger or again become small as the ridges permit, until they reach the last cordillera, which is found to the east of the Mission of San Buenaventura de Yvu, at a distance of one league, behind which begin the immense plains of the Gran Chaco, where the horizon becomes lost.

The principal mountains are: Padilla, called through antonomasia "The Hill," because its configuration is the same one that is called "Curi" toward San Juan del Pirai (1).

> 1. The hill is different from the Curi, because the former is more an enormous rock which ends in the ranges of Limon.

At this point the road across the hill is very rough and long, but if it is rather long toward Padilla, it is, by contrast, as

/6 cont./

133 comfortable to go down as to go up, if an occasional short
[241] section be excepted. The hill of Padilla attracts the attention of
[361] all; there grow and ripen well both potatoes and maize, and the hill is sprinkled on both sides with houses of all sizes. From January to May the fields give it a quite picturesque and pleasing appearance as it rises some 2,340 meters above sea level, for which reason no doubt it is unforested with the trees which are found nearby growing exuberantly on the plain toward Monteagudo along the rivulet called Limón.

Next come the hills called Huacangui, Bartolo, and Cazaderos, the first two found on the right bank and the latter on the left bank of the Acero River, which touches the slopes of the last named; the three have no peculiarity, only that they are tree covered, rather high, and the road through
[136] them is very bad. Cazaderos Hill abounds in jaguars, and it is the same hill which must be crossed or climbed in order to go from San Juan del Piray to San Pablo de Huacareta; before one climbs this hill near San Juan, there is another small one called Ñañoloma, which attracts the attention of all because it is very narrow, low, and straight; it is a straight line which rises in the middle of the valley and continues without ending to the southeast; the Piray and Parapiti rivers wash the base of Ñañolama.

/7/ Monteagudo has a somewhat irregular plain, but it is not interrupted by hills until three leagues away, that is, at the Parapiti River in Matara, where there is another hill renowned only because it is a road and an extremely bad one. The Parapiti River bathes it at its base, and along the river itself the way is very boldly opened through the hard rock, forming a waterfall there; this same hill must be climbed to leave Ingre Canton, as well as Igüembe, where the passage is also quite rough.

133 From Matara to Ivu there are hills and rises of little im-
173 portance, if one makes an exception of the hills of Itiranti,
648 Saararenta, and Incahuasi, which last separates the province of Acero from that of Cordillera; on Incahuasi there are an infinite number of ruins of fortresses and houses, which, according to what they say and the name Incahuasi, "Inca's House," was an encampment of Quechua Indians, when, at the orders

/7 cont./

133 [173] [648] of one of their emperors, they tried to conquer all the Chiriguano, but they had to halt at the top of said hill without daring to go down to the pampas of Caraparicito, where they were awaited by all the Indians, allied with the Toba.

Cuevo, like all of the cantons of the frontier, is shut in by two ridges, that of Saararenta to the west and that of Aguaragüe to the east, the latter being the last one which is found; it is quite high, measuring 1,500 meters, and with it end the cordilleras in the east, giving way to the plains of the Bolivian Chaco.

From the peak of Aguaragüe the view is most delightful; to the right can be seen the picturesque panorama of Cuevo Canton with its hills, lakes, fields, forests, and stream, which, with its sand, looks like an immense ribbon of homespun twisting through the entire region, and to the left extend the immense plains, lost to view in the distance. From this peak can be seen the lakes and fields of Carandaiti, until the horizon is lost in the pampas inhabited by the savages.

The above-named ranges of the former and present territory of the Chiriguano continue to the north and south to Santa Cruz and Tarija and Argentina, assuming different names in each place, but they are ramifications of the renowned Andes. I have crossed the last one, Aguaragüe, to Santa Cruz, and it passes north of that city, as well as on the southwest toward Tarija and O'Connor Province, ending in Tartagal in the Argentine Republic.

/8/ Rivers and Lakes

It can easily be understood that this immense area and extent of land, crossed from north to south by so many mountains of all heights and dimensions and by a great number of hills in every direction, would be furrowed with rivers, torrents, streams, brooks, and abundant springs, while in the Gran Chaco all of these disappear and natural and artificial lakes and ponds begin to appear.

/8 cont./

133 The rivers which bathe the Chiriguano region are four; the Pilcomayo, the Parapiti, the Grande or Guapay River, and the Acero. The Pilcomayo begins in the northwest of Potosí Department and crosses Chiriguano country in the southeast. Its water, sweet and clear up to the southern part of [135] Igüembe Canton, is somewhat salty in Huacaya and Villamontes, because to the southeast of Ibopeiti it receives as a tributary the Salado River with its rather abundant waters; these waters are quite salty, because they pass through the salt flats of O'Connor Province. Its bed is wide and shallow, but its flow is very abundant from December to April, because this is the rainy season. If in Villamontes the Germans or others open the great canal proposed by the Supreme Government, the navigation of this river up to the estuaries /esteros/ of the P. Patiño, even in small boats, will be made nearly impossible, because there will not be enough water for it.

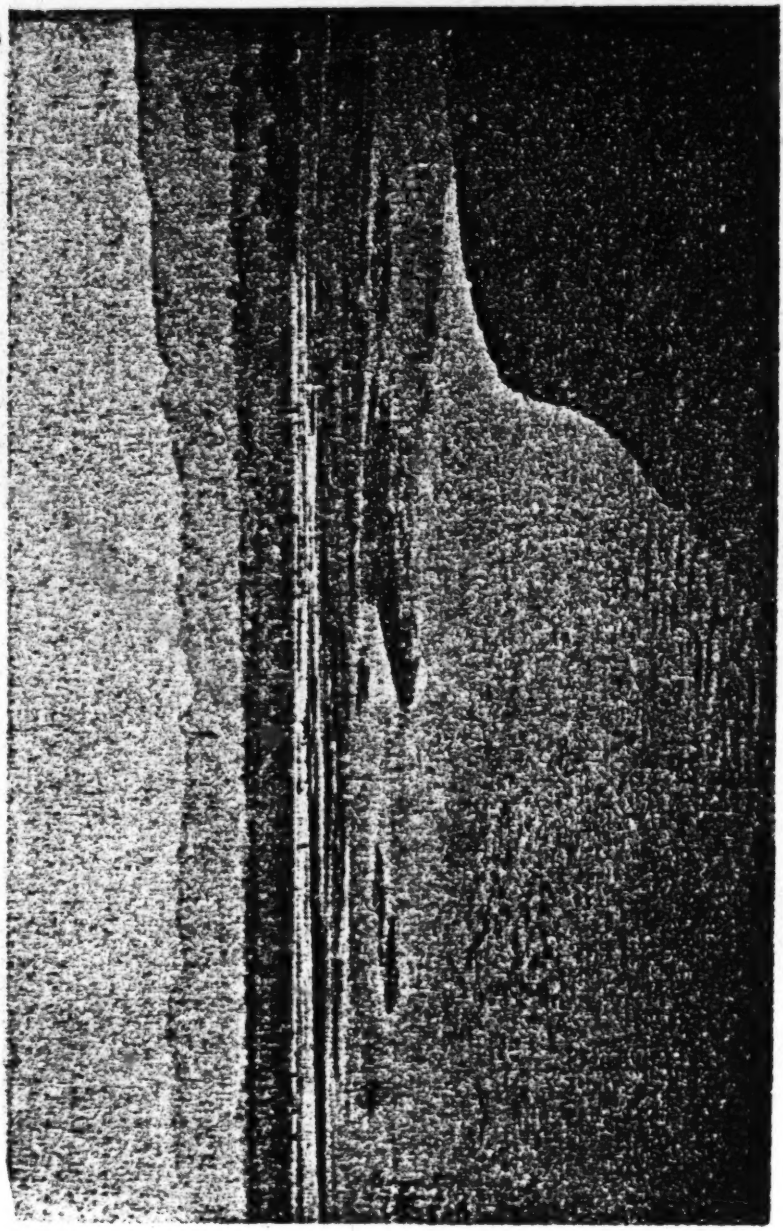
136 In the Pilcomayo fish are abundant: bagre, shad /sábalo/, and dorado; some of the latter are very large, up to a meter and a half in length. The first freshets of the rainy season wash up and kill many fish, leaving them stretched out on the ground on both banks or piling them up like stones or firewood. Then 226 the Chiriguano Indians, the Toba, and Mataco fill their houses, and dogs and crows come there by the thousands and stuff themselves, while the air is full of unbearable miasmas.

[221] The most satisfactory and safest season for fishing is from the May cold until the end of July and in certain years up to [251] the middle of August; then all the Indians are fishermen; they fish for themselves and for trading; they open the fish though the middle vertically and dry it in the sun. If nobody goes [438] there to barter, they go off to sell it at 20 centavos apiece, [435] but generally during the fishing season the tribes far from the rivers go to the banks of same, taking maize or parched meal and bringing back abundant fish. /Illustration appears here./

4: Nino--22 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/facing p. 9/

● 133



Parapiti River

/9/

157 The banks of the Pilcomayo are difficult for the opening
181 of canals because they are quite high, but it must also be
185 admitted that the Indians do not concern themselves with
[133] progress, are not ambitious like the whites who have settled on its banks; the latter also, because of being few, poor, and of limited means, almost all prefer to get rich with little work and little outlay of money, for which reason they devote themselves to raising cattle and hogs, which thrive without much care or expense.

133 The Parapiti is the second river named; it contains less water than the first and in Pomabamba, where it begins, it is very insignificant, but ten leagues farther, or after it has crossed Curi Ridge, it already begins to be respectable, and in front of the town of San Juan del Piray it appears as a ferocious beast ready to do battle with a weaker adversary, like the Armado River, whose waters it stops or makes recede, just as a lackey halts in the presence and at the sight of his master.

This river runs from west to east with few digressions as far as Mariqui in Parapiti Canton, whence it goes north and from its beginning it crosses the central part of Chiriguano country. In San Juan del Piray the river is some 12 leagues from the Pilcomayo; both rivers could easily be joined to make them one, for which there was once a project, but it would cause much harm to agriculture, especially in Cordillera Province, and the Pilcomayo would have the slight advantage of an increase in flow which would perhaps make it navigable from Villamontes to the Esteros.

In San Juan del Piray the Parapiti River receives as tributaries the Armado and the Piray rivers, and beyond San Pablo de Huacareta the waters of the river of Sauces and several others join it. Thus the Parapiti is a river of some consideration, and its bed is very dangerous at nearly every crossing because of the absolute lack of stone, especially from the Missions of San Antonio and San Francisco to Isoso Canton.

/9 cont./

133 [312] [231] At this point the river disappears completely from the month of June to December or January, forcing the farmers to make great excavations in its bed in order to be able to water their livestock; they have to go down to five meters in certain places. The course of the now dry river is easily seen, because in the season of great floods it leaves on the bank all the trash which it drags along and in its bed all the sand; the waters reappear to form the San Miguel River in the province of Velasco.

133 312 /10/ The benefit that agriculture and cattle raising draws from the Parapiti is indisputable; without it the existence of Parapiti and Isoso cantons would be almost impossible. All the wealth of both areas would disappear, there would be no livestock, sugar plantations, or rice fields as there are now on both banks, which lend themselves marvelously to the opening of canals and irrigating the sugar-cane fields which abound there. Nevertheless, the extraordinary floods of certain years do much damage, making plantations and their equipment disappear almost completely.

136 This river contains few fish; there are only bagre and shad and others of little value; the big dorados do not exist and there are only a few small ones in its tributary, the Piray River, but strangely they do not enter the Parapiti; at the confluence they go back. Below the San Francisco Mission the fish disappear, because the water diminishes until it almost all disappears near Mariqui.

241 31 312 In Isoso maize is planted in the month of June in order to harvest the crop before the beginning of the big floods which inundate it all, and during the rainy season they are content to sow frijoles, gourds, melons, and watermelon far from the riverbed, but fruit is not always produced, since the region is rather arid. The waters of this river are quite sweet, and this must be one reason why agriculture is very vigorous on its banks, as any traveler can see.

/10 cont./

• 133 The Guapay or Grande River is the third river that I mentioned. in Cordillera it is called Abapó and Guapay, or the Valiente River by the Chiriguano; it begins in Cochabamba Department, waters Arque Province, and crosses the northern part of the Chiriguano region, washing a part of Cordillera Province. It passes through Santa Cruz and mixes its waters with those of the Mamoré; its sweet and clear waters contain a great abundance of fish.

The banks of this river in Cordillera Province easily allow the opening of canals to make the adjacent lands fertile. There on the left bank, especially in Abapó and Cabezas, it seems that the river is inviting man to make use of its waters by irrigating great stretches of land. What wealth the Republic would have were a foreign colony to be established on the banks of this river! But as long as there is no method of transportation by the construction of railroads, all progress is impossible; it is impossible to think of colonies, /11/ because the immigrant neither comes on foot nor is he accustomed to eating only parched or stewed maize or squash with beans.

The Acero River is a tributary of the above. Its source is beyond Supachuy, and some four or five leagues from the town it is already a torrent; its waters operate many mill wheels, are clear and fresh, abound in fish, shad, bagre, dorado, and many others. The bed of the Acero is full of rocks, doubtless because it runs through rather rugged hills and hillocks; only in the rainy season is it dangerous to cross it, because then it is full of water and turbulent; at other times it can be crossed without the least concern.

In addition to these four main rivers there is another multitude of brooks and streams which contain abundant water, so long as they do not run far from the hills or do not fail to run between rocky slopes, but as soon as they arrive at sandy ground they are lost, and then, just in order to drink, it is necessary to make more or less deep excavations. In Acero Province in Ticucha Canton there is the rivulet called Taperilla which comes from far away and converts that district into a delight and makes it very productive; great plantations of all kinds of plants and productive crops could be made there.

/11 cont./

•133 From Igüembre Canton natural and artificial lakes begin to appear, the first ones end in Cuevo Canton and the later ones begin to appear from Buyuive, vice-Canton of Ñancaroinza, and continue through Caipipendi, Carandaiti, and Parapiti, on the right bank. Some of them may well dry up during the year, but if the rains are plentiful they will easily last until the new rainy season. The lakes are a great benefit in the arid zones, and without them there would be no life, since there is none where they are lacking; it is precisely through the lack of water that it is difficult to cross the plains of the Gran Chaco to get to Paraguay more quickly. A railroad from Santa Cruz to Isoso and from the east to Oriente in a straight line would avoid all difficulty; it would be 100 leagues through level, only slightly irregular terrain.

Climate

132 821 Without taking into consideration an occasional isolated exception, in the entire area or in most of it we can state as a general principle, through experience, that in the vast region inhabited by the Chiriguano race there are only two seasons of the year, called summer and /12/ winter, despite which they distinguish by name four seasons, "Aracu, Roi, Maentiha, Ipiroha," hot, cold, planting, and harvest, or summer, winter, spring, and fall.

132 The two seasons of which I speak are very marked: the summer by the abundance of rain, and the winter by drought. The first rains begin in the month of November or sometimes at the end of October, increase gradually and are frequent in the month of January, scarce in February, irregular in March, and generally stop in the month of April, or after Easter. The rains are preceded and accompanied by lightning and thunder, which fill one with fear, especially when there is added to them violent wind, and they end leaving in the air an incomparable freshness; rarely does rain fall calmly as in other parts of the world.

The rain is nearly always brought by the south wind, rarely by the others, and never or almost never by the north wind. In the area now inhabited by the Chiriguano snow is almost never seen; on rare occasions it falls in the highest

/13 cont./

132 atmosphere immediately cools down and there begins a cold wind whose chill is increased as it passes through the region of hail, and since the maize stalks are still tender they are easily stricken. The hail that falls is big, the earth is churned up, and it kills birds, sheep, goats, and other animals, if they are unable to hide in the bushes or under thick trees, but this does not happen often nor every year.

[133] Earthquakes are most rare: I felt them twice during my stay in the region, in 1899 and 1909, but the wind is sometimes so strong that it seems to make the earth tremble; there is no doubt but that it tears up trees and strips them, ruins buildings, and dismantles tiled roofs. Foreigners in this [145] so hot and changeable climate soon age and turn gray, but the natives who are used to it from childhood, despite the vices of drinking and others to which they surrender, enjoy a relatively long and healthy life.

It can readily be understood from what has been said that here the seasons of the year follow a different order from that which is seen in the Old World. Despite the fact, then, that there are no more than two seasons, we always can and ought to consider the four, in order to follow the general rule of the universe which divides the year into four parts. Summer begins December 21, fall March 21, winter June 21, and spring September 21, but all of these come ahead of time, as anyone who has lived here can testify.

Fertility

133 182 311 312 361 The Aguaragüe range, which is found to the east and one league from the Mission of San Buenaventura de Yvu, is the last one in Chiriguano territory. Small towns and families of these Indians are scattered here and there are still found east of the said range some 15 leagues away, but beyond that /14/ there are none because the area is arid and dry. "igüi otini vae," as they say, and the Chiriguano accustomed to planting maize, beans, and gourds cannot live where there is a scarcity of rain for his crops and water for his daily bath.

4: Nimo--85 M-8 (1880-1911) 1917 BP10 Chorigrams BP10

133
139

Small grove of palmettos in front of the house of Mons Ichaso. -- Galiras.

/75 cont./

194 167 They could have emigrated from their land of residence and followed the course of the Paraguay River on its right bank, arriving at Curumbá, and then across the salt flats of San José, coming to the places which they occupy today, but the stretch is longer, the water to be found is scarce, and over great stretches there is no trace of anything which /76/ might verify their emigration over this route, if indeed they would not have been attacked en route by the numerous nomads thereabouts.

[133] [34] It is necessary to conclude that they followed the banks of the Pilcomayo River: this rapid stream starts in the interior of the Bolivian Republic, crosses through the entire Chiriguano region, and empties into the Paraguay: its banks from near Azurduy up to Villa Montes is a straight line of more than 50 leagues, all populated by Indians who are clearly Chiriguano. From Villa Montes to Guachalla near the Esteros del Padre Patiño there are Choroti and Tapiete, who, with slight differences, speak the Chiriguano language: this stretch has plenty of water, fish, and fruit and is shorter than the above-mentioned one. Dr. Campos followed the banks of this river in order to arrive in Paraguay: Colonel Rivas, the Frenchman Crevaux, and the Spaniard Ibarreta followed the Pilcomayo River on their expeditions; they failed not through a lack of food or water, but some because they felt sure of the goodness of the Indians, and others because they had a very small force with them. All of these circumstances clearly show that the Chiriguano must have come into Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo; the tribes along the way could not have offered them much difficulty, because their number was extraordinary; hardship on the travel rations was so insignificant that it allowed them to fight with vigor and bravery, and finally their attitude was peaceful (1).

1. Colonel Rivas and the Frenchman Crevaux were killed by the Toba, and Ibarreta by other Indians.

/87 cont./

797 the climate is very healthy, but the lack of food is continual, and they must often eat the roots of the serpentine arum, or mangara, bitter and poisonous before it is cooked (2).

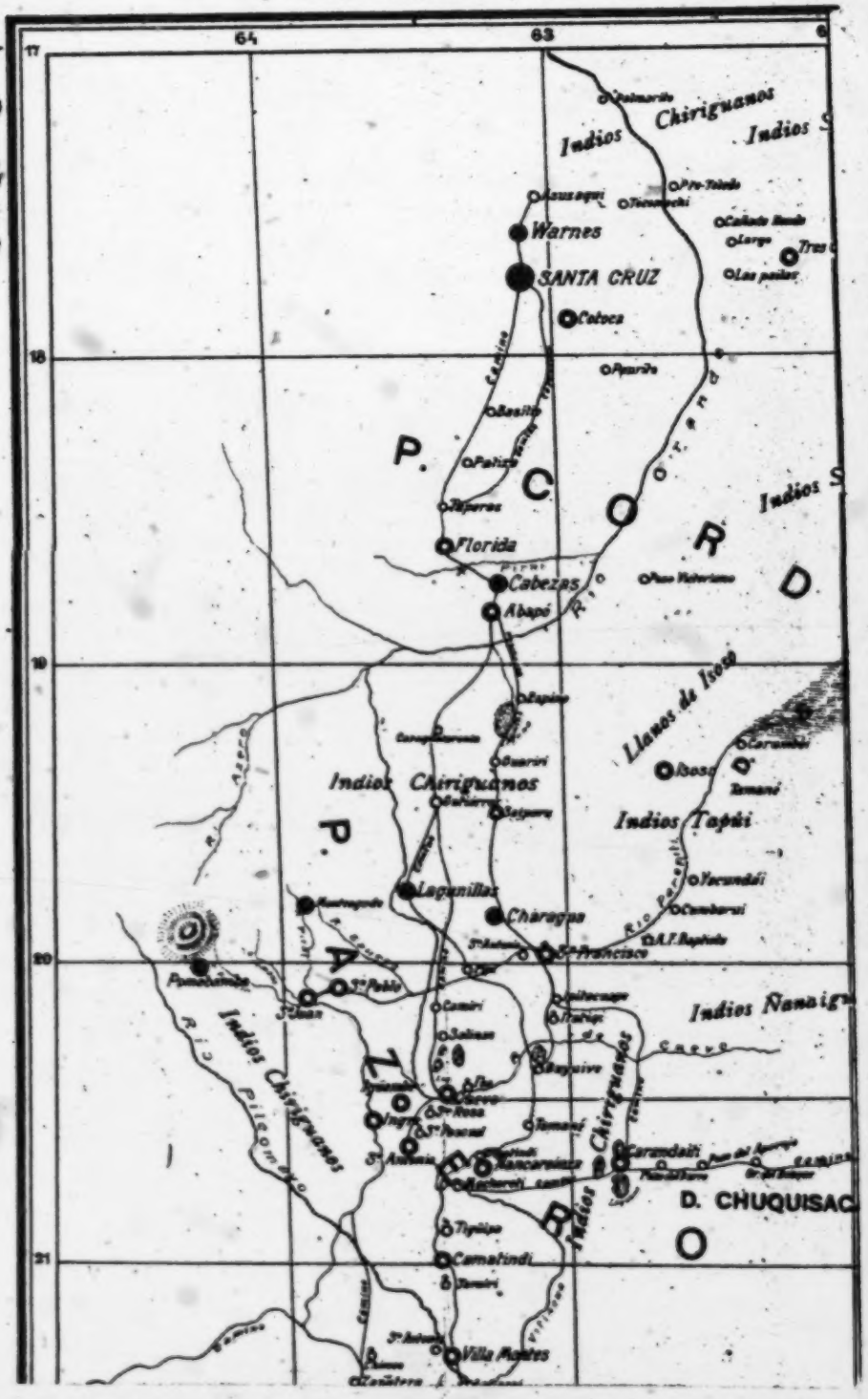
2. Flora Cruceña of R. Peña. The fire makes it lose the poisonous part, but not all of the bitterness.

The buildings are constructed on a level site located on a small rise. The panorama which runs from north to northeast is [133] extensive and pleasant; there in the distance can be seen the hills of Taremacua and the cordillera of Ururigua, through which Nature opened a gateway to give passage to the waters of the Parapiti River, which fearlessly and with great boldness hurls itself from a great height, forming by its imposing waterfall a lake of white foam, like a boll of wild cotton, and then following its rapid course through San Antonio, Mariqui, Cumbarui, and Isoso, /88/ where it is completely lost. Still farther beyond, to [137] the north and northwest, in the midst of a thick forest of quebrachos, [133] thickets, and secular algarrobas, are seen the tops of the ranges of Salinas and Timboirenta and something of Incahuasi, and at a short distance from the town is seen a round hill called "Tunpa repoti," the Chiriguano history and meaning of which I am not ignorant, and in front of the mission house, at the distance of half a league, are the pampas of Curuyuqui located among algarrobas and other trees; up to here the panorama of Yvu is similar to that of green Umbria of the kingdom of Italy. The [137] picture is dismal to the west and south, because the heart is oppressed by a consideration of the sands of the desert, however, much the springs of the west suggest the ancient and capricious fountains of the temples of Arcadia. Nevertheless, in the rainy season the hills and the plains garb themselves with fresh grass and wild flowers, lending to the nearby horizon a pleasant and varied appearance. The town is located at 770 meters above sea level, and at 20° 44' 35" south latitude, and 65° 50' 7" longitude west of the meridian of Paris, according to what is recorded in the

4: Nino--447 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

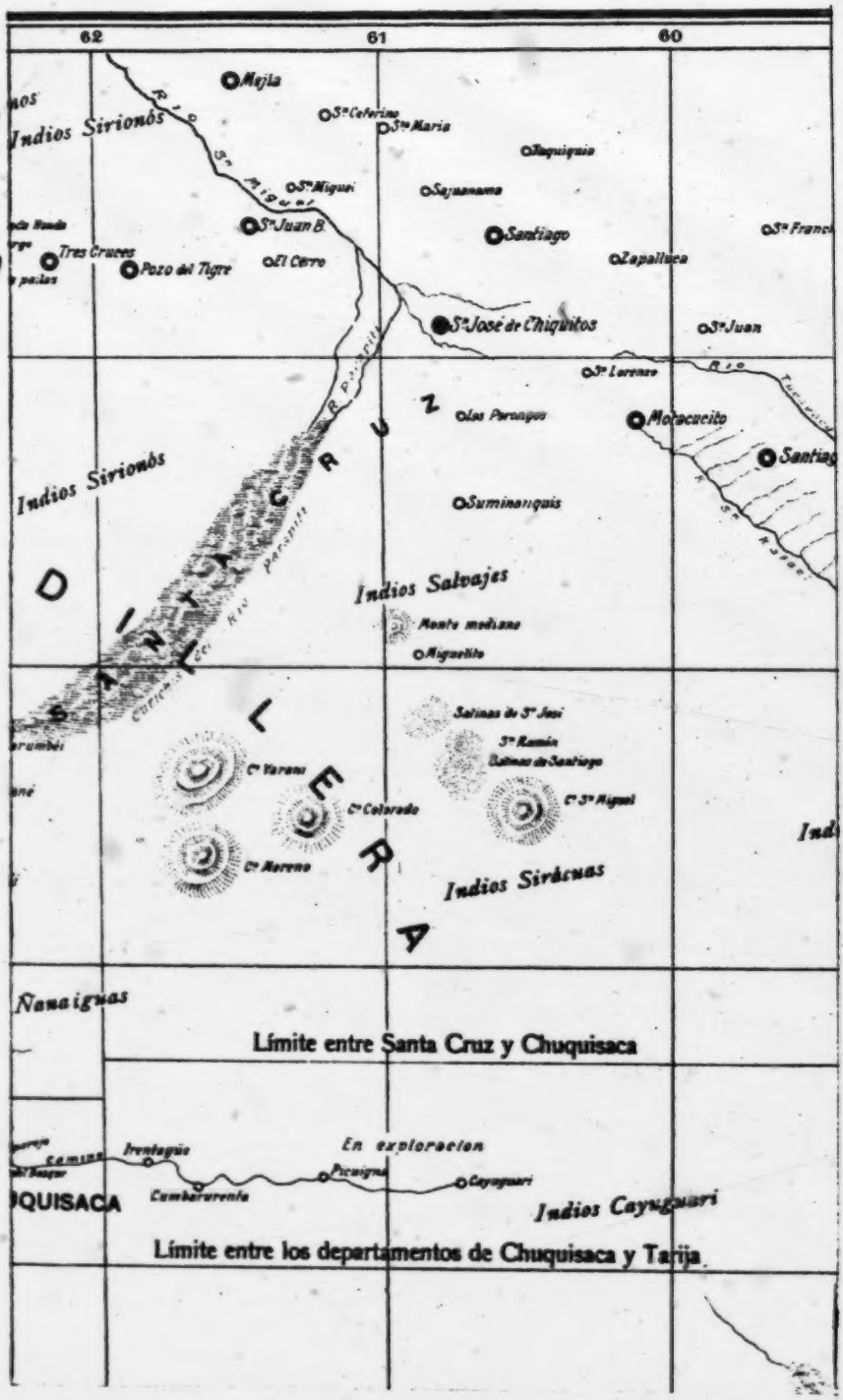
Map of the Gran Chaco
by Father Bernardino de Nino

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



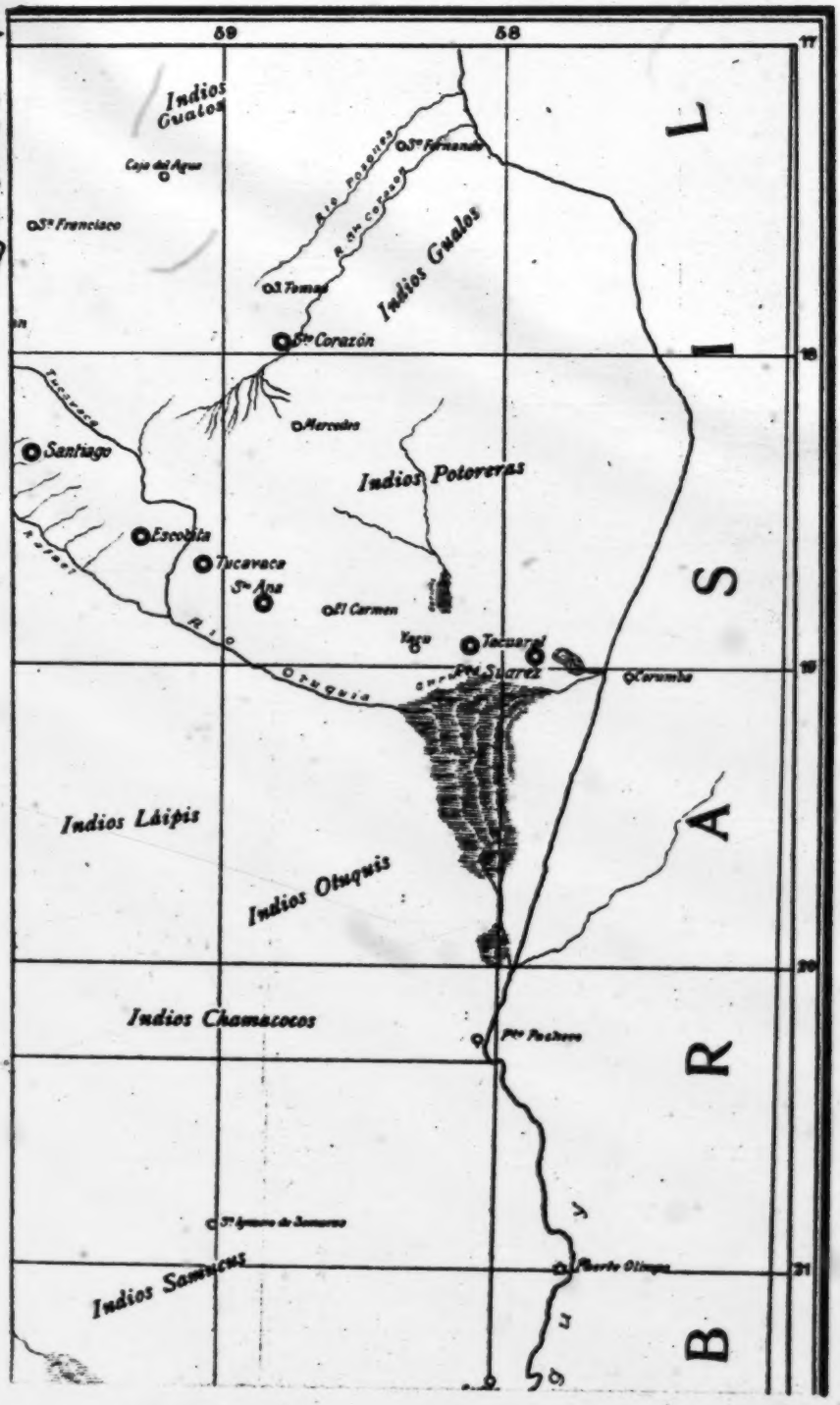
4: Nino--448 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



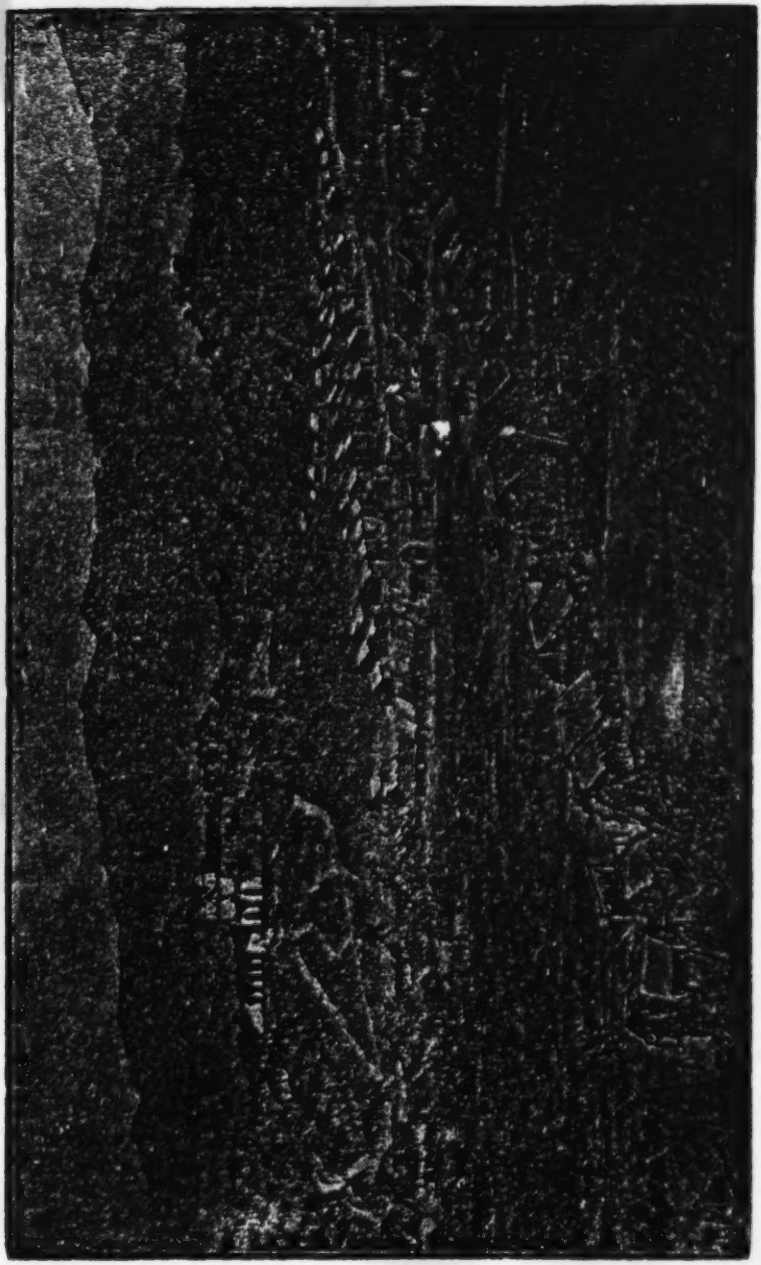
4: Nino--449 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



4: Nino--127 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
346
133



View of the Santa Rosa Mission

/101 cont./

361 797 1. Machareti. -- Father Jerónimo de la Peña was the first to enter Machareti, but, before he could begin any work, death intervened, and only after a century, that is, in the year 1869, could the Cross of Redemption be raised, around which began to gather the settlers dispersed by the war and the death of Captain Taruncunti, not very friendly to the missionaries.

[162] Before the mission had been founded for ten years, it numbered more than 3,000 souls, but today it is much smaller, [167] its inhabitants reaching 1,500. Emigration to the Republic [464] of Argentina is a real plague for this area, because the principal recruiters of Indians for work outside of Bolivian territory are there, and it is useless to cite laws, because there are clever interpreters; meanwhile all wail for workers.

361 [133] Machareti has a delightful and picturesque panorama; to the north and to the east the human eye cannot take in the immensity of the plains or the exuberance of the woods and the variety and caprice of the hills. The town is located on a great plain, but is now quite reduced; its buildings, atop a high hill which dominates everything; it has a beautiful church with painting and /102/ gildings, a mission house of two stories, two great halls, with their respective patios, for instruction, and a third one for the music school, and also other buildings for shops (1).

361 797 131 1. When the Machareti mission was founded, it cut off the retreat of the bellicose Huacayeños, who were coming into the Gran Chaco by the Chorro road, some 15 leagues from Huacaya and some 12 from Ivu; its altitude above sea level is 771 meters and it is located at 20° 49' 58" south latitude and 63° 3' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/102 cont./

797 2. Tigüipa. -- This mission, dedicated to the universal Patron of the Church, the Patriarch St. Joseph, began its existence on May 20, 1872, the day when, for the first time, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated, and there was planted in its territory the Tree of Redemption; it is some 12 kilometers from Machareti, with quite a rough road.

361 797 [162] At present it has a population of 800 souls. The town, made up of both infidels and neophytes, is quite neat; the buildings are not very well arranged, and the ones which merit consideration are: its tall and beautiful church, broad and well-proportioned, with its magnificent choir, gilded altars, and well-turned railings; in addition, the beautiful mechanism of double trusses which support the roof. Its house is new, of a single story, and was begun in the month of August or July in the year 1910 and dedicated in March of this year; the other buildings neither follow any arrangement nor are of any worth, and lend to the whole a rather sad appearance, but once the renovation of both towns has been completed, the planned arrangement of the buildings for instruction and workshops will be made.

[133] Its panorama has nothing in particular: to the west, the last range of the Andes, to the north and south, some rather high hills rise at a short distance and obstruct the view for the curious observer, who, frustrated in his desire to see and observe, finds a slight relief to the east, where the horizon opens out and gladdens the heart; it seems to be the older sister of the San Pascuál de Boicovo Mission. The climate is in general healthy, in spite of the fact that the mission is located in a hollow, but the water, or the location of the place, dulls the understanding of its residents, according to what all the travelers note (2). /Illustration appears here./

[563] [464] [131] 2. In the years of abundance several nomadic tribes come to this mission and remain there serving the Chiriguano in exchange for food. Its elevation above sea level is 715 meters, and it is located at 20° 27' 18" south latitude and 62° 14' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

[text continues on p. 141]

4: Nino--230 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

133
342
361

Chiriguano Town

797
●133

Panorama of the S. Pascual Mission

/332 cont./

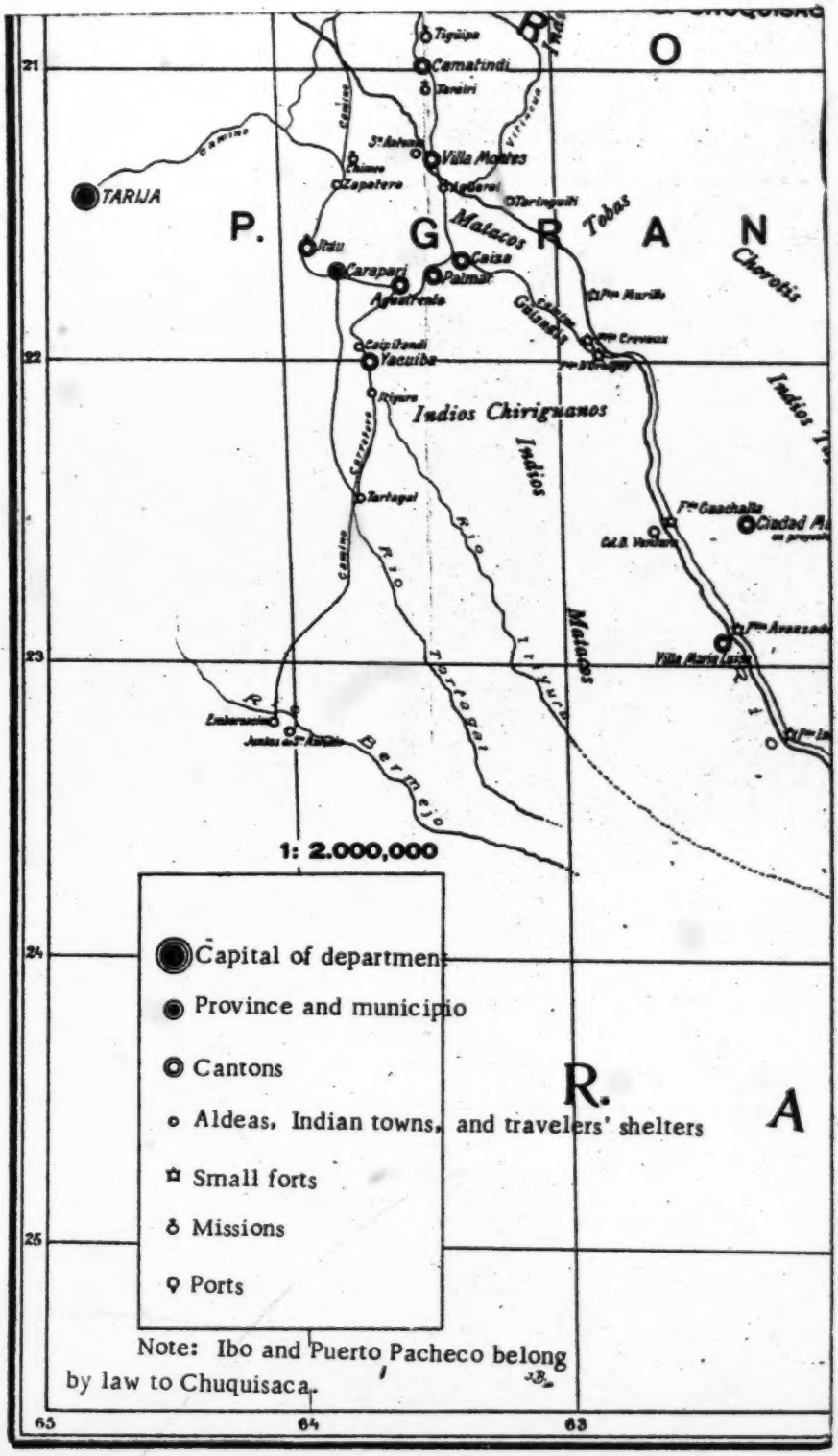
Music of the Mbapa Páure /omitted in the original source/
Chiriguano carnival 361
Music of the Alleluia /omitted in the original source/
Bows, arrows, etc. 368
Group of Choroti Indians 384
Choroti Indian houses 392
Girls' school of the San Pascual Mission 401
Schoolgirls at work (San Francisco del Parapiti) 410
Interior of the San Pascual Church 418
Group of Mataco Indians 422
Group of Toba Indians 430

/The corrections in the list on p. 333 have been made in the text of the translation. Page 333 continues with the following note concerning the end map./

101 Note: The map which is found at the end of the work con-
102 tains the following errors: (1) the juntas of San Antonio should
103 be of San Francisco; (2) the line which comes out of Cuevo
131 toward the Azero River is not a river, but a dividing line between
133 Santa Cruz and Sucre; (3) the missions of the Parapiti occupy
361 the left bank of said river; (4) Ibo occupies the right bank of the
797 Cuevo River; (5) the projected city of Manso should be near the bank of the Pilcomayo River.

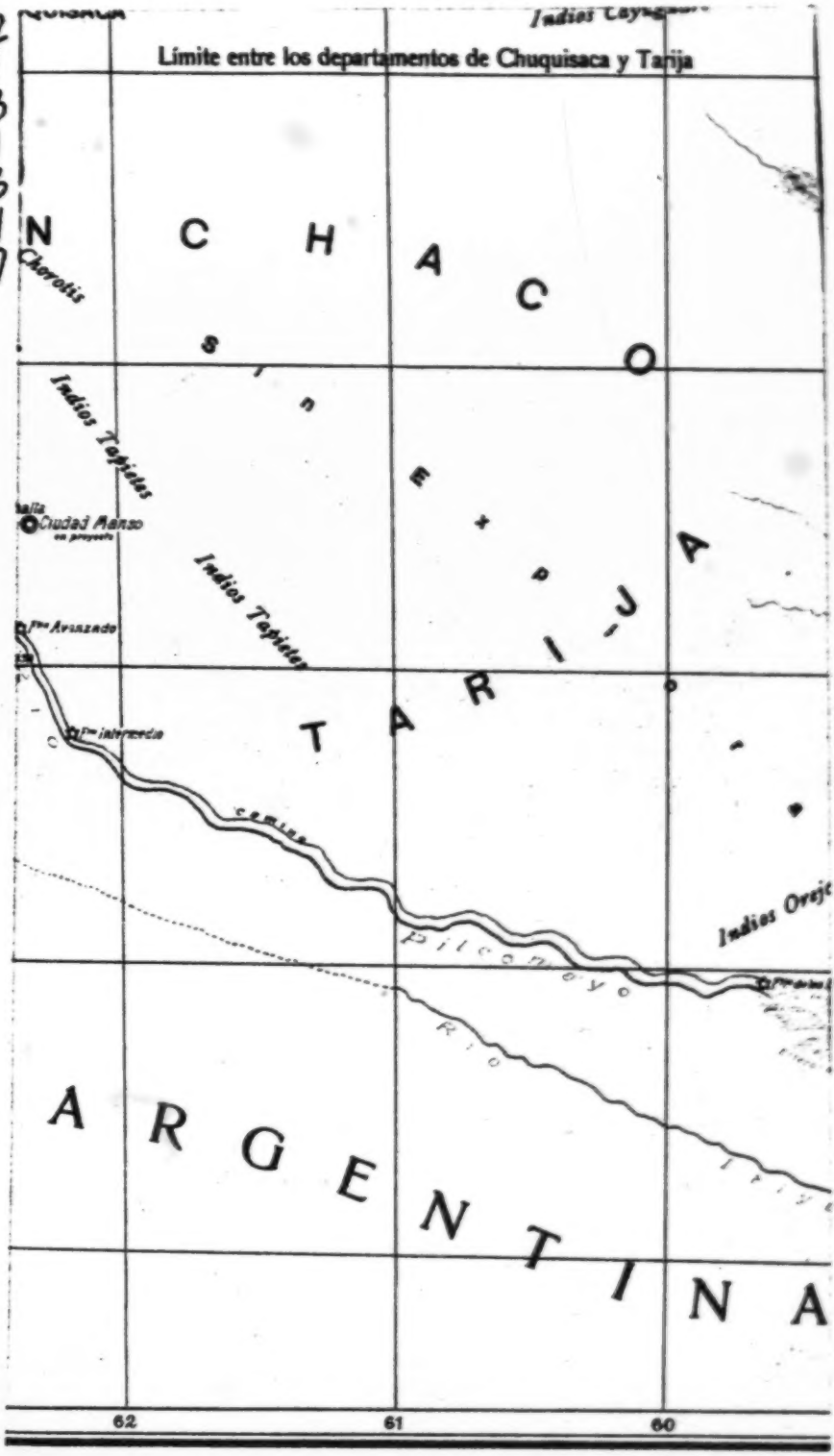
4: Nino-450 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



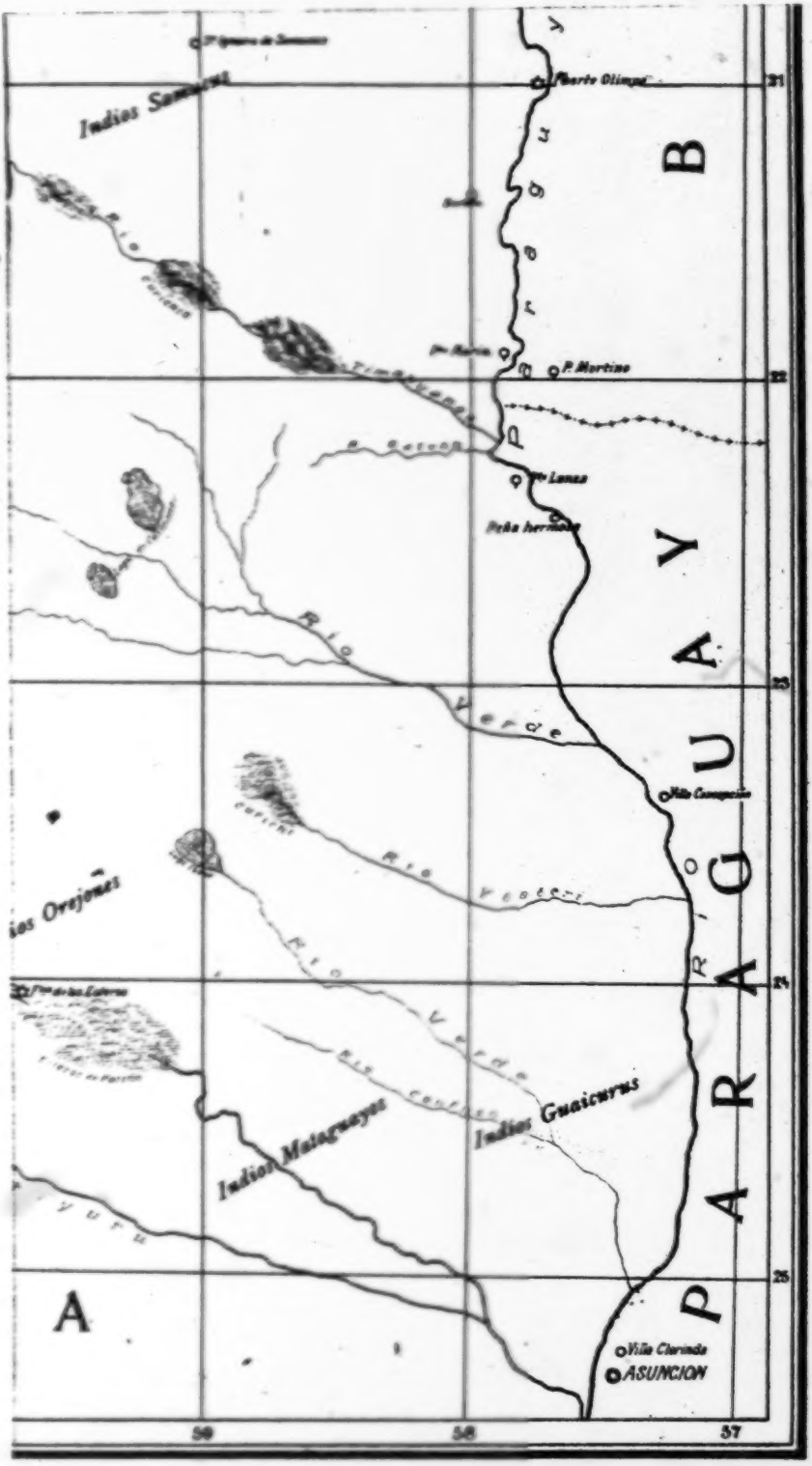
4: Nino--451 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



4: Nino--452 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
●133
361
797



S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Some Choroti live near Yacuiba. In nearly all of the Chiriguano territory there are Mestizos and Whites. There are also several large missionary stations in their territory. Some few Chiriguano live in the village of Sta Rosa to the north of Sta Cruz de la Sierra. Some Chiriguano who sought refuge in central Chaco after their last rebellion, live there still. They are the only tribe of Chiriguano-Indians who are quite independent of the Whites.

The country which is inhabited by the Chiriguano and partly by the Chané is a border land between the Andine mountains and the great plain of the Chaco. It is in the valleys between the outermost mountain ridges towards the Chaco and on the plain to the east of them that the Chiriguano and the Chané live. The land of the Chiriguano and Chané-Indians is not a real country of primeval forests. There are some great forests, but on the whole it is sparsely wooded, in places even very poorly wooded. The supply of water is the governing condition for settlement in the land of these Indians. It may be said that wherever there is access to water there the country is inhabited, at any rate as regards the region south of the Rio Grande, one of the great rivers that run through their territory There need not be a great supply of water for the Indians to find the country inhabitable. All that is necessary is sufficient drinking-water for man and beast, as at Itatique and in the Caipipendi valley near Rio Parapiti.

The biggest rivers running through the territory of the Chiriguano and the Chané are the Rio Grande, the Rio Parapiti and above all the Rio Pilcomayo. The Rio Grande may now almost be considered the boundary river of these tribes towards the north, and is of but little importance to them. The Rio Parapiti is a strange river. While well supplied with water in the mountains it is almost shrinks to nothing in the plains during the dry season. During the rains it is very full of water and may be dangerous to ford. Fish are plentiful only in the Rio Pilcomayo, and we

Schwedenskiöld E-A/(1908-1908, 1912) 1908
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chaco SF1

C
Ce
●133 shall see that the methods of fishing differ somewhat in
226 the different rivers. At the Rio Pilcomayo the Indians must always have found a good supply of food. As many Chiriguano live by very insignificant streams they never have the opportunity of fishing. The Chané all live in places
C
Ce
[361] where they are able to procure fish during some part of the year at least.

C
Ce
224 Big game is scarce in the land of the Chiriguano and Chané. Nor are these Indians keen huntsmen. One sel-
C
Ce
[223] dom sees game that has been killed by them in their huts. The great flocks of fat pigeons that settle in their fields are for the most part left unmolested.

C
Ce
247 As we shall see in the following the Chiriguano and
243 Chané live mostly by tilling the ground. Owing to the comparative dryness of their land maize is cultivated more than anything else. It is the ease with which this plant can be grown here, that makes the land of the Chiriguano and Chané a good land to dwell in.

C
Ce
222 The fruit of the carob-tree (algarrobo) is the most im-
C
Ce
132 portant wild fruit. Probably no careful study has ever been made of the climatic conditions of the Chiriguano and Chané country. It is situated in the tropics, north of the tropic of Capricorn and the traveller there of course suffers more from heat than cold. In May and June especially, however, when there is a strong south wind, it is agreeable to have a well built house, warm clothes and a snug bed.
Ce
[244] The rains begin in December and leave off in April or May. It sometimes happens that there is little or no rain and then the crops are a failure. They are often destroyed by grasshoppers.

/152 cont./
earings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other 123
fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout. 439
There are always two villages in these mission stations, 437
one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt 361
more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more 797
fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent.

Near Macharetí there is a large basin-shaped valley through 133 ●
which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected
mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere [135]
in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco. The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The wood- 137
land, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monoto- 241
nous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the drought seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge 731
swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the 156
woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds.

From Macharetí we went by way of Itatiquí, a very interesting 114
Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Río Parapití.

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauces, from the 133
/153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Río Parapití also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand. If the Río Parapití parades on the maps, as the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its part. The woodlands along the Río Parapití consist mostly of 137
bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti.

/153 cont./

In the dry season the wind heaps large dunes along the banks of the river. After it has left the mountain, it does not receive a tributary. The Rio Parapiti is very wide, but never deep. During the driest period its bed is transformed into a sand desert where the wind plays with the fine river sand. When it storms, the sand is swept across the bottom of the river. If one wishes to cross it on such days, one may perhaps not get his feet wet, but he must shield his eyes. C 153 132

The Rio Parapiti is rich in fish, but the fish are tiny. The banks are quite fertile, but inasmuch as they are flooded during the rainy season, the harvests are easily lost. Often in the dry season everything is wasted by the scorching drought. The locusts, too, hawk about in these regions and leave behind in their own unappetizing bodies a poor substitute for what they have destroyed. C 13

On the Rio Parapiti, high up in the mountains, live the Quichua Indians, then come the Chiriguano, beyond them, near the river, the Tapiete, also called Tanaygua, then the Chané, and finally, in the unknown wilderness, the Tsirabua Indians. C 101

My first visit on the Rio Parapiti was paid to Father Carmelo, who had a small mission station there among the Chiriguano. I became very fond of this monk. /154/ he had such confidence-inspiring friendliness. He is one of the missionaries who are needed here, people who desire and are able to sacrifice themselves for others, who show an equally great friendship toward all. C 114 147

I now continued along the Rio Parapiti to Itiparenda on the north bank of the river. The Tapiete live opposite Itiparenda. I shall later describe a visit that I made to them. C 114 [151]

At Itiparenda I met the first Chané, or, as they are called here, Tapuy. I then visited most of their villages. I made the acquaintance especially of some of their maryollem, of whom Batiraya, the nephew of the last great chief, Aringui, became my good friend. C 114 [181 538 123]

From the lower Rio Parapiti I proceeded by way of Charagua, a village inhabited almost exclusively by whites, to the Caipipendi valley, where I stayed with the Chiriguano chief Tarairi. C 114

/154 cont./

One might be surprised that a person would want to live in this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter their valuables for maize. 13 243 273 556 437 731

For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians. 126.

The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy season it probably rains there too. 133 132

From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a /155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. 114 [312]

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Batirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio 133

/155 cont./ C
Piray and finally unites with the Rio Mamoré. A few Chiriguano 133
live along this river, and savage Tsirakua and Siriono also [101]
rove about in the forests along it. C

Between the Rio Grande and the Rio Parapiti there is a 133
region with an extreme scarcity of water and largely covered 137
with completely impenetrable underbrush and low scrub forest 312
full of caraguata and cacti. This monotonous, dismal vegetation is interrupted here and there by hills and grassy plains. C

Besides the savage Tsirakua Indians who make these thickets 136
unsafe, one finds another curiosity here, namely the guanaco C
(Auchenia). It is altogether strange to find an animal like the [132]
guanaco, which one thinks of only in connection with the cold plateaus of the Andes or the /156/ pampas of Patagonia, often afflicted with frost, in this bush which is frequently scorched by droughts. It would be interesting to be able to determine whether this guanaco of the tropical forest is really the same as the one known from the colder regions. Intelligent whites with whom I have discussed this and who have seen both regard them, however, as the same species. Ce

Having returned to the Rio Parapiti, I looked up Batirayu, 115
with whom I had already become intimately acquainted in 1908 and who also speaks excellent Spanish.

With no other Indians with whom I became acquainted did I become as close as with Batirayu. He understood that I was collecting the old mementos out of an interest in his tribe. Batirayu did his best to explain to me the religious conceptions of his tribe. In the evening we used to sit in his room with a cigarette, and he told about olden times, sorcerers, chiefs, Ce
and spirits. Occasionally an old chief, Bóyra, also came, and [122]
from him I heard many charming Chané legends. We would sit until far into the night and chat by a flickering light that I had with me in order to take notes. Ce

One would be very much mistaken if he were to believe that 115
the conversations with these men were merely an interesting 123
study. I felt comfortable with these fine, tactful, yes, why not, cultured human beings. It was genuinely refreshing after coming
from the often vulgar, empty whites.

/157 cont./ One old woman who was supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by ethnographers either, the promise of the old woman was not very friendly. Ce 124 197 123 Ce

The Chané use their old language for many expressions that are abusive, for example, karitimisôyti, which they translate as son of a w---e. An invitation to coitus is called pocône. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for example, siparakinânoyé, siparakinânoyé, siparakinânoyé, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, which they did not know how to translate. 195 197 Ce [533] C

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief Taruiri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Taruiri I also visited another chief, Yumbay, an old worthy who was always embracing me and saying: "I am Yumbay." /Fig. 77 appears here./ "Yes, the great, mighty Yumbay," I chimed in, which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered. 114 126 C [123] C

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the mission at Ivu. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region, Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spreading into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in Ivu died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged frightfully among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix. Around this the other swine would get drunk and /159/ continue to drink obligos (1) until they were finally lying on the table. 797 164 [114] [133] [312] C [764] C [273]

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the latter must drink up. C [576]

/159 cont./
In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities. 114 64 [65] [273]

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either. 797 756

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the 114

415
531

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igüembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 114 It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant. [133] [137]

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things. 123 157 173 643 000

/159 cont./

things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among 323
the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78).

From Maringay I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station 361
of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, 797
it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the [114]
grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of [342]
Mimosaceae, cacti, small algorrobas, and other fine-leaved [137]
trees. This woodland is seldom so dense than one cannot easily
get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa, 132

415
531

Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, 132
however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth.
Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the [731]
Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger.

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and 133 ●
across the great plain of Boyuovis, over the country that was 648
the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuqui, they
fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the
right to rob all weaker peoples.

After my excursion to Maringay I left the land of the 114
Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already
described in this book, to the Choroti and Ashluslay.

/160 cont./

The region settled by the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is really very extensive. It is varied in nature, from luxuriant virgin forests to extremely arid valleys and plains poor in vegetation. It is in part very mountainous, but the Chiriguano and Chané are not mountain people. They stay down in the valleys and do not climb up to the peaks and plateaus, like the Quichua Indians.

Animal life in these regions is poor, in fact, very poor. A hunting people could never live there. Now and then a roebuck, a wild pig, a few ostriches, that is all one sees in the way of big game. Bird life, too, is very poor. /161/ The number of lakes is very small, and they are no larger than what we would call pools in Europe. On the Rio Parapiti one sees quite a large number of white egrets (1), famous for

1. Ardea.

their valuable feathers. With regard to wood fowl, only the chicken called "pavas" (2) contributes to the diet. Occasionally

2. Penelope.

one sees a large-billed "toucan" (3). Sleek pigeons, fattened

3. Rhamphastus.

on maize, often live in masses in the fields of the Indians. In the Rio Pilcomayo there is a great abundance of fish; in the little rivers the fish are small and poor. The Indians who live in these regions have to be farmers, and they are maize farmers to the highest degree. For them maize is food, drink, pleasure, everything!

I have no adventures to report from among these Indians. Everyone may travel unharmed among them. The greatest sorrow of the ethnographer is that he is unable to collect all the interesting and old things that he sees there. One cannot take everything home.

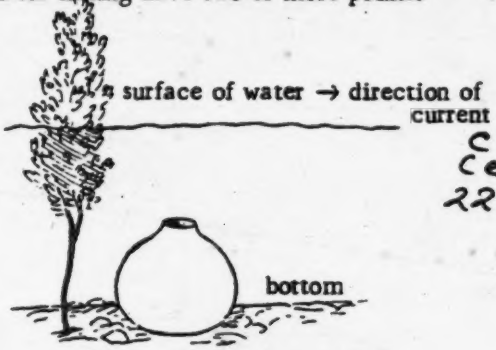
/185 cont./

Ee 226

Another method of fishing often used in the aforementioned river is to dam up longish pools in the sand, in which fish gather. After the water is emptied out of the pools, the fish are caught. Sometimes the pond is made to terminate in a channel closed off with a scoop net /Ketscher/, from which the fish cannot escape. C Ee

All the fishing that I saw on the Rio Itiyuro was done during the dry season, on hot, sunny days. [132]

On the upper Rio Pilcomayo the Chiriguano fish with fishhooks obtained from the whites, with nets similar to the dip nets of the Choroti, though smaller, and by shooting the fish with bow and arrow. The arrows used for fishing have two or more points. C 226 [199] [411]



C Ee 226

Fig. 90. Fishing with calabash. Rio Itiyuro.

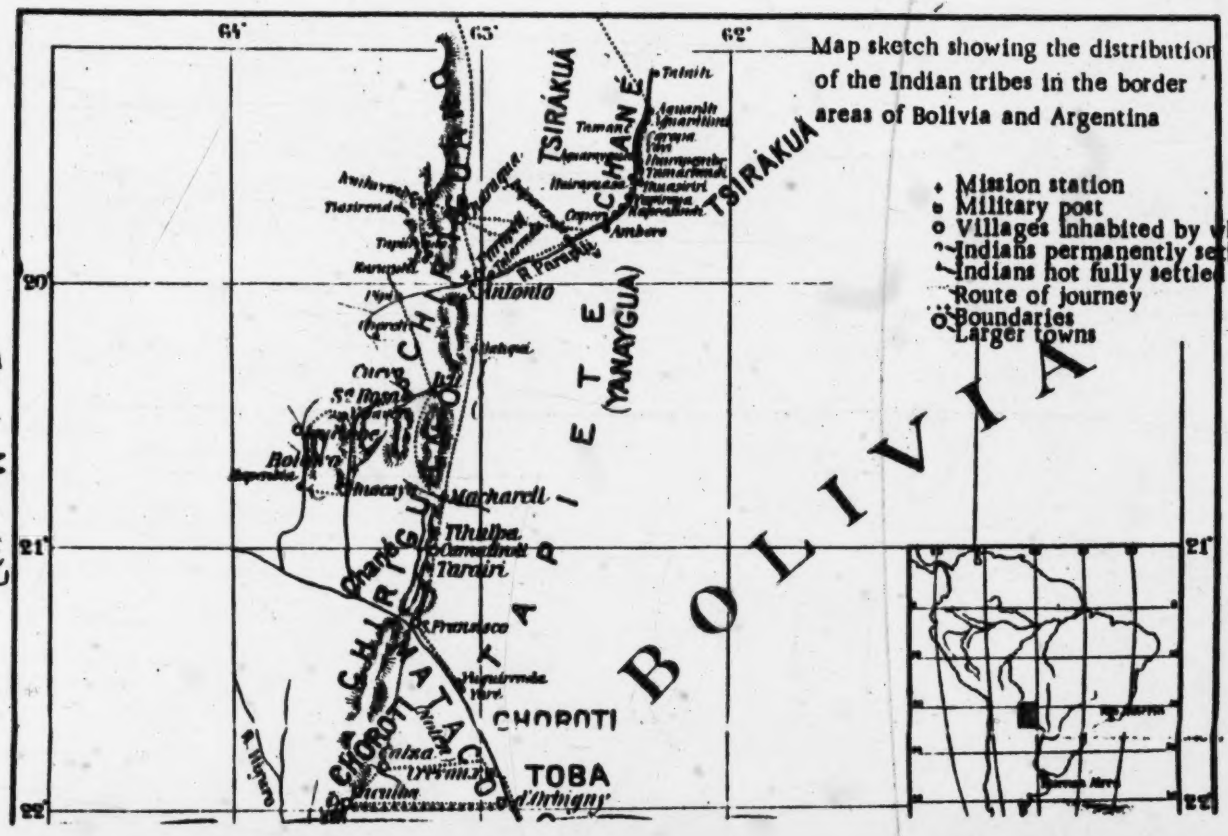
On the Rio Parapiti I saw Chané and Chiriguano fishing with a net of the type illustrated here (Fig. 91). In shooting fish, the Chiriguano there use arrows with many fine points. C [411]

In these last-named rivers the men always fish in deeper water with nets and with bow and arrow, whereas the women are content to catch small fish where the water is dammed when the river is half dry. Ee

Not infrequently the Indians undertake long journeys in order to fish. Thus, the Chané sometimes during the /186/ dry season visit the swamps "Madrejones" in which the Rio Parapiti disappears. 226 484 [33]

6: Nordenskiöld--156 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF/0●
Mataco IT 7
Chorotí SK6
Chane SF1

C
CE
102
103
131
133
●133
361
M
C1
102
131
133



[End Map (A)]

E: Nordenskiöld--157 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chirriguano SF10
Matacos SF7
Chorotis SF6
Chaqe SF8

The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between these culturally allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against the whites (in 1890), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are still remaining.

The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly gourd plants and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group, the Chiriguano being counted with the Guarani group, whilst the Chané are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija valley.[1] Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which is Guarani. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches of Rio Parapiti.[2] The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means »dirt people» was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word »guano» is the name for the well-known bird manure-found on the coast of Peru and Chile. It seems however unfair indeed that the Chiriguano, who, in contradistinction to the Puna and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal name.

---

[1] de Matienzo (1), p. 150. Nordenskiöld (16).
[2] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 156.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

133
137

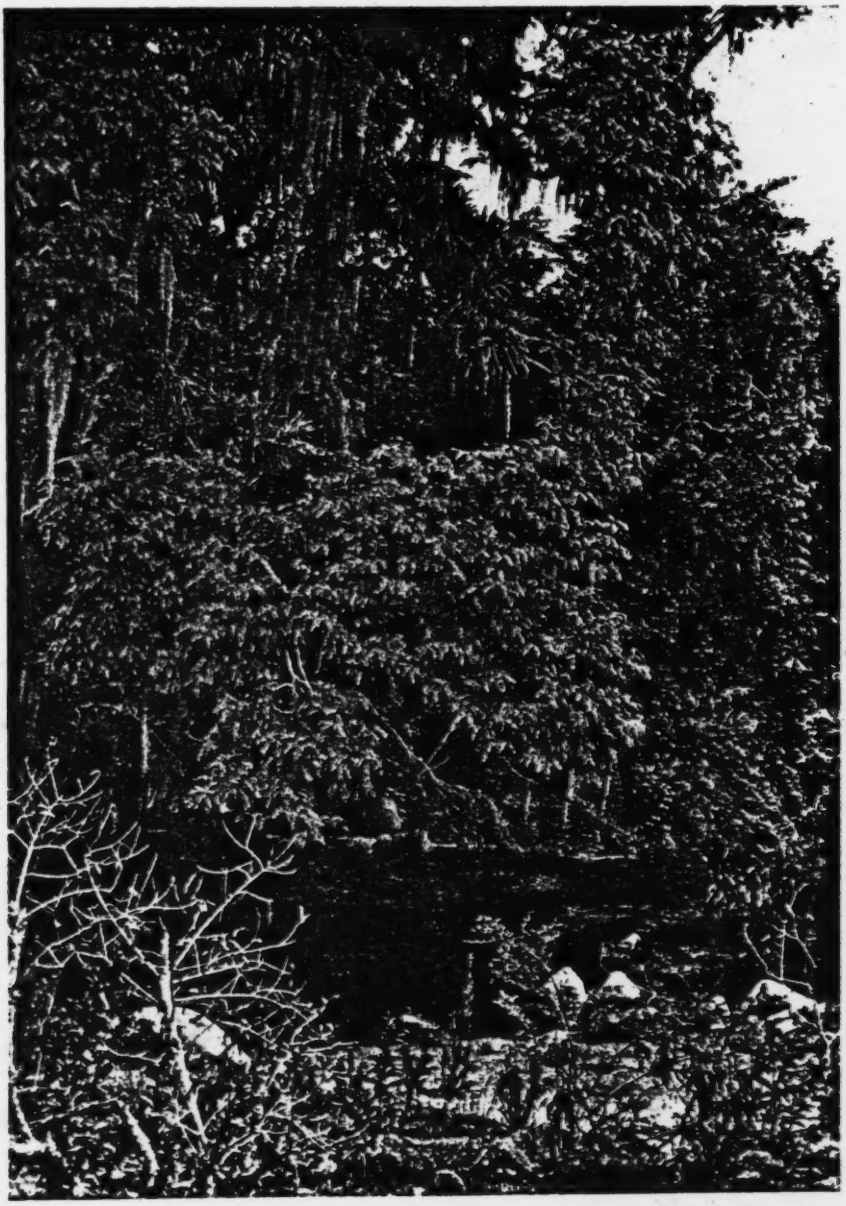


Fig. 187. Stream flowing through primeval forest. On the branches of the acacia in the middle distance there can be seen an epiphytic plant (Tillandsia usneoides) and rows of Bromeliacea. District of San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

342 placed close together and fastened with withies lashed on horizontally (figs. 189 and 190), or of branches woven together and daubed with clay (fig. 191). The roof, the construction of which is apparent from fig. 217, is thatched with grass. This is an especially interesting *method of roof-construction, used in Peru already in the pre-Columbian period,* a fact plainly evident from an ancient Peruvian vase-painting[1] (fig. 193). The walls and the roof are supported by a hut frame consisting of poles (fig. 217). 1

●133
342
343

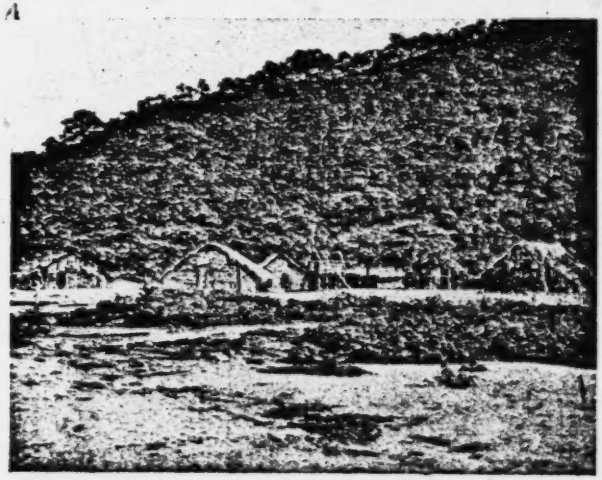


Fig. 188. Part of a Chiriguano village. Two small pile-buildings, used as maize-barns can be seen between the huts. Ibitibi. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

343 The granaries for storing maize are always built on pole supports
417 (figs. 188 and 192). Fig. 191 2 shows a step-ladder leaning against a tree.
[322] Step-ladders of this kind, usually hewn out of a single piece of wood, are used by the Chiriguano as means of access to these pole-supported granaries.

174 Baron E. Nordenskiöld, who has made a valuable analysis of the distribution
342 of pile-buildings in South America[2], considers that when pile-buildings occur among a tribe inhabiting a region not exposed to inundations, then the idea of constructing buildings raised on piles has generally originated at the time when the tribe inhabited some other region, either a swamp,

[1] Joyce (1), fig. 13.
[2] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 3—8.

1 [see cat. 116, P. 215 - - Analyst]
2 [see cat. 116, p 195 - - An.]

:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

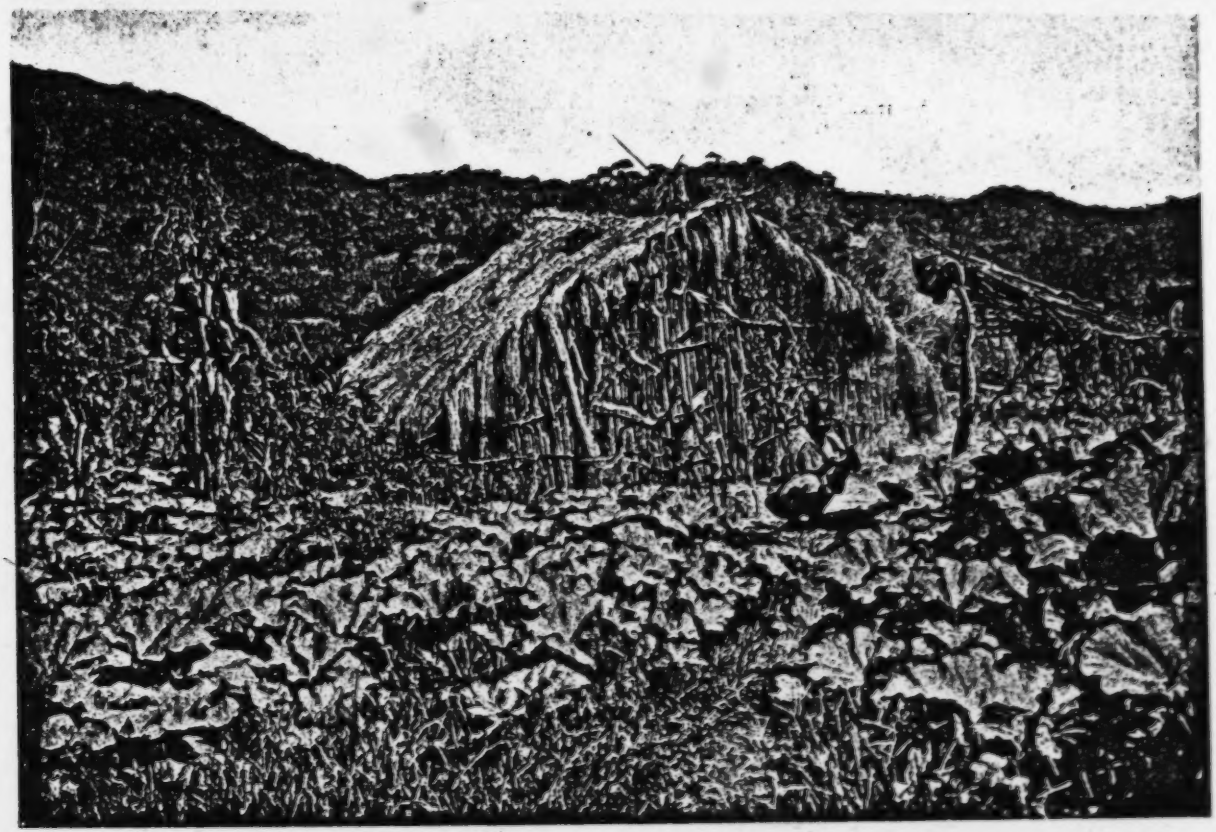


Fig. 189. Woman at a cooking-fire in front of her hut. In the foreground a gourd-patch; to the right an open cooking shed, the roof of which was used as a rough pantry. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

349
343
516
133.
253

8: Schmidt--8 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate I

C
361
133

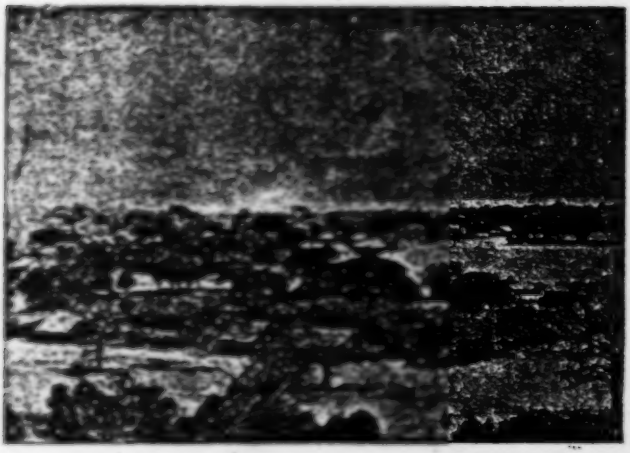


Fig. 1
(I. C. 353) -- Machareti, a Chiriguano town.

Ce
291
142
114

Fig. 2
(I.C. 251) -- Izozó in Toledo, with Paraguayan soldiers and the author.

/333 cont./

Chapter II

Agriculture

241 The Chiriguano, like the Guarani and the Chané, their ancestors, are excellent farmers, and the working of the soil represents their principal occupation and their great concern.
243 For them corn is of prime importance; it constitutes the basis
[273] of their diet, for it enters into the preparation of most of their dishes and in addition gives them their preferred drink, chicha or kāwi.

[132] The sandy lands of the western Chaco and its climate,
[134] hot and dry a great part of the year, but also rainy during the summer months, seem to be particularly suitable for this grain. I have never seen such beautiful fields of corn anywhere. The ears are large, well filled out /334/ with kernels, and extremely tasty. The Bolivian half-breeds and settlers who are coming in greater and greater numbers to take the place of the Indians devote themselves like them to the growing of corn, which, with cattle-raising, is their main resource.

114 My trip to the Chaco, which took place from the month
243 of February to the month of June, did not give me a chance to
[101] be present at the sowing which is done at the beginning of the rainy season. For many details I shall therefore be forced to
[127] refer to Corrado (pp. 42 and 48), Campana (pp. 96-98), Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 181-184, and 10, pp. 23-24), to Nino (pp. 237-241), and Rosen (1, p. 205).

241 When a Chiriguano wishes to cultivate a new piece of
243 ground for himself and his family, he scours the environs of his village looking for a spot which may suit him and which is, in addition, easily irrigable. This condition is generally fulfilled by the lands at the foot of a hill or rising ground. The rain water which pours down there assures them of fertility.

/4 cont./

131 Thus formerly the Chiriguano territory in the north was contiguous with the province of Sara, in the south and southwest with Argentina and the city of Tarija, in the west with Tarabuco country, and in the east with the colony of Carandaiti. According to its former boundaries, it then included an area of 200 leagues from north to south and southwest, and more than 90 leagues west to east.

131 16 [648] Today this extensive territory has been much reduced because of emigration, caused in part by the whites, under whose dominion most of them will not resign themselves to staying; the plagues which decimate the race have a powerful influence on its further reduction, and very soon /3/ barely the 131 name will remain. Today to the north it scarcely reaches Abapó, to the south, Riyuru de Tacuba, to the west, Montenagudo, and to the east, Carandaiti, some hundred leagues from north to south and about 40 from west to east.

131 [48] [433] Formerly it embraced several degrees of latitude and three and a half of longitude; as they lost a considerable part of this area, so will they end up by losing it all, for despite their being heirs to the country which God had given them, as one of them was saying to me not long ago, they do not know how to farm it and improve their agriculture; they prefer to go far away and work for others rather than to own land at home. This very day only a few leagues remain in the hands of the Indians, Caipipendi in the province of Cordillera, Gutierrez Canton, and all the territory occupied by the missions, but both are likely to pass into foreign hands, because in fact the Indian is incapable of making the land that he does possess bear fruit; then the few survivors in the territory will be servants in their own house, as are so many others in lands that were once their own.

31 134 [152] The land is very unstable, at least that now occupied; it lacks stone and gravel, and since in their season the rains are torrential, they easily open cracks which in a few years become wide, deep ravines. Contributing a great deal to this are the cattle, which, because of their weight, stir up the land with their hoofs more than other livestock; for this reason

/5 cont./

311 134 in certain valleys that are narrow or not too wide there is scarcely room for fields. because so many little ravines have been formed. Such is the valley of Huacaya Canon: if there lived in it today the multitude of Indians which formerly were there. it would be hard to find. because of the woods and the ravines. sufficient land in the tiny level places for all the fields of maize. French beans. and gourds which they value much for food and gifts: only for other elements would a little valley be very desirable. were it not all owned.

Hills or Mountains

133 Chiriguano territory. because it is very extensive. as has already been seen. is quite varied: from Talisco to Monteagudo and from Tarija to the salt flats of O'Connor Province in the city of Entre/ín it is very mountainous and few are the places which extend far enough to form a level place of a few leagues. Although there are /6/ no very high hills. between the two hills which limit the valleys there is an infinity of low hills of all sizes in height. width. and length.

The pampas begin imperceptibly from Monteagudo in the west and from Aguaiventa. where the Gran Chaco begins: said pampas from Monteagudo little by little grow larger or again become small as the ridges permit. until they reach the last cordillera. which is found to the east of the Mission of San Buenaventura de Yvo. at a distance of one league. behind which begin the immense plains of the Gran Chaco. where the horizon becomes lost.

The principal mountains are: Padilla. called through antonomasia "The Hill. " because its configuration is the same one that is called "Curi" toward San Juan del Piraí (1).

1. The hill is different from the Curi. because the former is more an enormous rock which ends in the ranges of Limon.

At this point the road across the hill is very rough and long. but if it is rather long toward Padilla. it is. by contrast. as

/3 cont./

133 The lakes are natural, but not permanent; they are
[135] many and large; in some the water is very good, but from
[132] others not even the cattle /4/ drink, because it contains so much saltpeter. They all receive water from the sky, which sometimes falls with great force and fills them at a single time. White Christians are now making artificial lakes, especially in the Gran Chaco and in the vicinity of Caipipendi.
271 When water is completely lacking, the Indian scratches the
824 ground, looking for the root of the "sipoy," samolo, which is as large as a watermelon; he cuts it at the top, squeezes the pulp with his hand, it turns to water, and he drinks; thus the need is met, but when this drink is taken for a long period, it gives rise to sickness.

311 The land lends itself to farming and to cattle raising,
312 but both industries diminish in those years when the beneficial
433 action of the rains is scarce. Then the crops are lost, and the
132 cattle die from lack of food and from the great amounts of water that they drink from the rivers and lakes on whose banks they stay through lack of energy; nonetheless this rarely happens throughout the region, which, because of embracing a wide area, in one place or another receives showers which renew nature.

Extent and Area

131 The Chiriguano tribe or race was extremely numerous and
[161] thus once took in an extraordinarily large area; traces of these
[464] Indians are found in the vicinity of Tarija, and they may be found beyond Santa Cruz, where even today Chiriguano men and women are in larger part those in domestic service with the genteel families. Toward the capital of the Republic the Indians still remember that their grandparents used to live in Tacopaya and even beyond, in Talisco, included in the same district. Then they extended toward the Bermejo River and, finally, eastward to within a few leagues of Carandaití, where the arid zone, inhabited by the Toba and other savages, begins.

/8 cont./

133 The rivers which bathe the Chiriguano region are four; the Pilcomayo, the Parapiti, the Grande or Guapay River, and the Acero. The Pilcomayo begins in the northwest of Potosí Department and crosses Chiriguano country in the southeast. Its water, sweet and clear up to the southern part of [135] Igüembe Canton, is somewhat salty in Huacaya and Villamontes, because to the southeast of Ibopeiti it receives as a tributary the Salado River with its rather abundant waters; these waters are quite salty, because they pass through the salt flats of O'Connor Province. Its bed is wide and shallow, but its flow is very abundant from December to April, because this is the rainy season. If in Villamontes the Germans or others open the great canal proposed by the Supreme Government, the navigation of this river up to the estuaries /esteros/ of the P. Patiño, even in small boats, will be made nearly impossible, because there will not be enough water for it.

136 In the Pilcomayo fish are abundant: bagre, shad /sábalo/, and dorado; some of the latter are very large, up to a meter and a half in length. The first freshets of the rainy season wash up and kill many fish, leaving them stretched out on the ground on both banks or piling them up like stones or firewood. Then 226 the Chiriguano Indians, the Toba, and Mataco fill their houses, and dogs and crows come there by the thousands and stuff themselves, while the air is full of unbearable miasmas.

[221] The most satisfactory and safest season for fishing is from [251] the May cold until the end of July and in certain years up to the middle of August; then all the Indians are fishermen; they fish for themselves and for trading; they open the fish though [438] the middle vertically and dry it in the sun. If nobody goes [435] there to barter, they go off to sell it at 20 centavos apiece, but generally during the fishing season the tribes far from the rivers go to the banks of same, taking maize or parched meal and bringing back abundant fish. /Illustration appears here./

/144 cont./

Genii

776 171 Where ignorance dominates, superstition is the result, I imagine, since all the tribes adjacent to the Chiriguano must believe in the existence of genii or owners of certain places who, not to offend anybody, are even accepted by some members of the white race, especially when dealing with buried treasures. This is not the least strange, since before the arrival of Christ all humanity, except for the Hebrews, believed in this, and even today in those places where the light of the Gospel has not penetrated a belief in genii prevails, even among enlightened people, because only the Gospel dissipates /illustration appears here/ /145/ the mists from the soul and destroys error, consequences of the fall of the first man.

778 776 In Chiriguano the tutelar genii of a place are called Iya, owner in the literal sense. If the Chiriguano pass by places where there is some genie, they find it difficult to approach, and if one asks them where there might be some limestone or gypsum, they will not tell for fear of the Iya, who would take revenge by killing the Chiriguano who caused the place watched over by the genie to be discovered. If something useful must be taken from such a place, they do it with the permission of the Iya (1).

[278] [317] [231]

1. The presence of the Iya in places where petroleum is found is undeniable for the Chiriguano. They will take what is absolutely necessary of this liquid to cure the sores of their horses, cows, etc.

●135 When the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, the missionary made every effort to try to find gypsum and limestone, but no Indian was willing to tell where it was abundant. Nevertheless, by chance, while the foundations of the church were being built, it was discovered that many of the stones being used were of hydraulic lime, an abundant vein of which was found about 300 meters from the church itself on top of a hill. Gypsum up to today has not been found in the areas thereabouts for the same reason, but there are signs of its presence. In

797

The Santa Rosa Mission Band

135 /145 cont./
Caraparirenta there is an occasional stone of this, which has been brought there by water.

In Huacaya Canton, along the shores of the Pilcomayo on the lower slopes of the hills of Oriente, it is asserted that there must be mines or deposits of gold. A stream brings little nuggets to [648] certain places. Almost all the whites there say that the Indians pick up these nuggets, sell some of them, and work others into rings or earrings for their wives, but up to now, however hard the whites have tried to discover the place, they have never found an Indian who would take them (2).

776
778

2. They say that in the woods on the peak of a small hill there are two bells hanging from a tree and in another place a building with two

/152 cont./
earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other 123
fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout. 439
There are always two villages in these mission stations, 437
one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt 361
more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more 797
fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent.

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through 133
which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected [135] •
mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco. The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The wood- 137
land, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monoto- 241
nous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the drought seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge 731
swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the 136
woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds.

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting 114
Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti.

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the 133
/153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand. If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of 137
bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti.

●136
825

/For a listing of the various types of native fauna in the Chiriguano area and their cultural recognition and use by the people, see category 116, pp. 50-93./

/3 cont./

133 The Indian makes full use of the valleys, laying out his
136 field with its own fence; his cow also grazes there, with her
311 calf running and playing across the level ground, and the wild animals live everywhere there, the dauntless foxes, the inoffensive anteaters, and the timid little deer /corzuelas/, while the monkeys seek the woods and the brambly, craggy ground of the hills to entertain themselves in raucous clamor, and the condors love to soar through the air to an extraordinary height, even considering that they launch themselves from the peaks of the highest hills.

133 While the ridges run from north to south, the course of the rivers is quite capricious; they run to the north, regress southward, direct themselves eastward, advance intrepidly westward, but the dominant course of them all as far as the pampas of the Gran Chaco is from west to east, overcoming every difficulty set in their way by the ridges, from which they leap with an extraordinary din, such as at the "Pirapo" (cataract of the fishes) or the waterfalls of the Pilcomayo and Parapiti rivers.

In the land of the Chiriguano, torrents and streams abound; more numerous are the rivulets which quickly lose their waters because within a few kilometers they run into endless sandy areas. If the hidden water should fail to appear occasionally in the ravines, which are small arroyos in origin, life here would be all but impossible, since places like Yvu, which without having a river or anything similar, possesses abundant and excel-
312 lent water, are numbered. The springs which appear in the beds
[157] of the torrents are of the greatest benefit in those places where there are no lakes or ponds, for the Indian, because of his laziness, is not capable of building artificial lakes for his water
[484] supply. In Itatiqui, for instance, not long ago there was a group of some 150 Chiriguano families; they could have made a lake in order to have such a necessity, but neither did they do it nor will they on their own initiative, and they go five kilometers to get it or at least there is the Chiriguano woman with her jug waiting for the forming of the drops which exude from the western slope, from which comes the name "Itatiqui," the stone that drips.

/6 cont./

133 comfortable to go down as to go up, if an occasional short
[241] section be excepted. The hill of Padilla attracts the attention of
[361] all; there grow and ripen well both potatoes and maize, and the hill is sprinkled on both sides with houses of all sizes. From January to May the fields give it a quite picturesque and pleasing appearance as it rises some 2,340 meters above sea level, for which reason no doubt it is unforested with the trees which are found nearby growing exuberantly on the plain toward Monteagudo along the rivulet called Limón.

Next come the hills called Huacangui, Bartolo, and Cazaderos, the first two found on the right bank and the latter on the left bank of the Acero River, which touches the slopes of the last named; the three have no peculiarity, only that they are tree covered, rather high, and the road through
• [136] them is very bad. Cazaderos Hill abounds in jaguars, and it is the same hill which must be crossed or climbed in order to go from San Juan del Piray to San Pablo de Huacareta; before one climbs this hill near San Juan, there is another small one called Ñañoloma, which attracts the attention of all because it is very narrow, low, and straight; it is a straight line which rises in the middle of the valley and continues without ending to the southeast; the Piray and Parapiti rivers wash the base of Ñañolama.

/7/ Monteagudo has a somewhat irregular plain, but it is not interrupted by hills until three leagues away, that is, at the Parapiti River in Matara, where there is another hill renowned only because it is a road and an extremely bad one. The Parapiti River bathes it at its base, and along the river itself the way is very boldly opened through the hard rock, forming a waterfall there; this same hill must be climbed to leave Ingre Canton, as well as Igüembe, where the passage is also quite rough.

133 From Matara to Ivu there are hills and rises of little im-
173 portance, if one makes an exception of the hills of Itiranti,
648 Saararenta, and Incahuasi, which last separates the province of Acero from that of Cordillera; on Incahuasi there are an infinite number of ruins of fortresses and houses, which, according to what they say and the name Incahuasi, "Inca's House," was an encampment of Quechua Indians, when, at the orders

/8 cont./

133 The rivers which bathe the Chiriguano region are four; the Pilcomayo, the Parapiti, the Grande or Guapay River, and the Acero. The Pilcomayo begins in the northwest of Potosí Department and crosses Chiriguano country in the southeast. Its water, sweet and clear up to the southern part of [135] Igüembe Canton, is somewhat salty in Huacaya and Villamontes, because to the southeast of Ibopeiti it receives as a tributary the Salado River with its rather abundant waters; these waters are quite salty, because they pass through the salt flats of O'Connor Province. Its bed is wide and shallow, but its flow is very abundant from December to April, because this is the rainy season. If in Villamontes the Germans or others open the great canal proposed by the Supreme Government, the navigation of this river up to the estuaries /esteros/ of the P. Patiño, even in small boats, will be made nearly impossible, because there will not be enough water for it.

•136 In the Pilcomayo fish are abundant: bagre, shad /sábalo/, and dorado; some of the latter are very large, up to a meter and a half in length. The first freshets of the rainy season wash up and kill many fish, leaving them stretched out on the ground on both banks or piling them up like stones or firewood. Then 226 the Chiriguano Indians, the Toba, and Mataco fill their houses, and dogs and crows come there by the thousands and stuff themselves, while the air is full of unbearable miasmas.

[221] The most satisfactory and safest season for fishing is from the May cold until the end of July and in certain years up to [251] the middle of August; then all the Indians are fishermen; they fish for themselves and for trading; they open the fish though the middle vertically and dry it in the sun. If nobody goes [438] there to barter, they go off to sell it at 20 centavos apiece, [435] but generally during the fishing season the tribes far from the rivers go to the banks of same, taking maize or parched meal and bringing back abundant fish. /Illustration appears here./

/9 cont./

133 [312] [231] At this point the river disappears completely from the month of June to December or January, forcing the farmers to make great excavations in its bed in order to be able to water their livestock; they have to go down to five meters in certain places. The course of the now dry river is easily seen, because in the season of great floods it leaves on the bank all the trash which it drags along and in its bed all the sand; the waters reappear to form the San Miguel River in the province of Velasco.

133 312 /10/ The benefit that agriculture and cattle raising draws from the Parapiti is indisputable; without it the existence of Parapiti and Isoso cantons would be almost impossible. All the wealth of both areas would disappear, there would be no livestock, sugar plantations, or rice fields as there are now on both banks, which lend themselves marvelously to the opening of canals and irrigating the sugar-cane fields which abound there. Nevertheless, the extraordinary floods of certain years do much damage, making plantations and their equipment disappear almost completely.

• 136 This river contains few fish; there are only bagre and shad and others of little value; the big dorados do not exist and there are only a few small ones in its tributary, the Piray River, but strangely they do not enter the Parapiti; at the confluence they go back. Below the San Francisco Mission the fish disappear, because the water diminishes until it almost all disappears near Mariqui.

241 311 312 In Isoso maize is planted in the month of June in order to harvest the crop before the beginning of the big floods which inundate it all, and during the rainy season they are content to sow frijoles, gourds, melons, and watermelon far from the riverbed, but fruit is not always produced, since the region is rather arid. The waters of this river are quite sweet, and this must be one reason why agriculture is very vigorous on its banks, as any traveler can see.

/152 cont./
earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other 123
fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout. 439
There are always two villages in these mission stations, 437
one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt 361
more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more 797
fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent.

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through 133
which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected [135]
mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco. The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The wood- 137
land, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monoto- 241
nous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the droughts seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge 731
swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the 136
woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds.

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting 114
Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti.

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the 133
/153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is *lost in the swamps, in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand.* If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of 137
bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti.

/155 cont./ C
Piray and finally unites with the Rio Mamoré. A few Chiriguano 133
live along this river, and savage Tsirakua and Siriono also [101]
rove about in the forests along it. C

Between the Rio Grande and the Rio Parapiti there is a 133
region with an extreme scarcity of water and largely covered 137
with completely impenetrable underbrush and low scrub forest 312
full of caraguata and cacti. This monotonous, dismal vegetation is interrupted here and there by hills and grassy plains. C

Besides the savage Tsirakua Indians who make these thickets 136
unsafe, one finds another curiosity here, namely the guanaco C
(Auchenia). It is altogether strange to find an animal like the [132]
guanaco, which one thinks of only in connection with the cold plateaus of the Andes or the /156/ pampas of Patagonia, often afflicted with frost, in this bush which is frequently scorched by droughts. It would be interesting to be able to determine whether this guanaco of the tropical forest is really the same as the one known from the colder regions. Intelligent whites with whom I have discussed this and who have seen both regard them, however, as the same species. Ce

Having returned to the Rio Parapiti, I looked up Batirayu, 115
with whom I had already become intimately acquainted in 1908 and who also speaks excellent Spanish.

With no other Indians with whom I became acquainted did I become as close as with Batirayu. He understood that I was collecting the old mementos out of an interest in his tribe. Batirayu did his best to explain to me the religious conceptions of his tribe. In the evening we used to sit in his room with a Ce
cigarette, and he told about olden times, sorcerers, chiefs, *and spirits. Occasionally an old chief, Böyra, also came, and* [102]
from him I heard many charming Chané legends. We would sit until far into the night and chat by a flickering light that I had with me in order to take notes. Ce

One would be very much mistaken if he were to believe that 115
the conversations with these men were merely an interesting 123
study. I felt comfortable with these fine, tactful, yes, why not, cultured human beings. It was genuinely refreshing after coming
from the often vulgar, empty whites

/160 cont./ Ee 13

The region settled by the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is really very extensive. It is varied in nature, from luxuriant virgin forests to extremely arid valleys and plains poor in vegetation. It is in part very mountainous, but the Chiriguano and Chané are not mountain people. They stay down in the valleys and do not climb up to the peaks and plateaus, like the Quichua Indians. Ee

Animal life in these regions is poor, in fact, very poor. 136 ●
A hunting people could never live there. Now and then a roebuck, a wild pig, a few ostriches, that is all one sees in the way of big game. Bird life, too, is very poor. /161/ Ee
The number of lakes is very small, and they are no larger than what we would call pools in Europe. On the Rio Parapiti [133]
one sees quite a large number of white egrets (1), famous for

1. Ardea.

Ee
their valuable feathers. With regard to wood fowl, only the [262]
chicken called "pavas" (2) contributes to the diet. Occasionally

2. Penelope.

one sees a large-billed "toucan" (3). Sleek pigeons, fattened

3. Rhamphastus.

on maize, often live in mames in the fields of the Indians. Ee
In the Rio Pilcomayo there is a great abundance of fish, in the little rivers the fish are small and poor. The Indians who [243]
live in these regions have to be farmers, and they are maize [242]
farmers to the highest degree. For them maize is food, [273]
drink, pleasure, everything!

I have no adventures to report from among these Indians. ●●●
Everyone may travel unharmed among them. The greatest sorrow of the ethnographer is that he is unable to collect all the interesting and old things that he sees there. One cannot take everything home.

C /176 cont./
Ce of the daughters, who, during the betrothal and at the beginning
592 of the marriage, live with the mother-in-law. In front of
C the hut is the large hearth (Ill. 83) where the maize beer,
Ce and sometimes also the food, is cooked. /Fig. 84b appears
592 here./ Inside the hut there is likewise a hearth where cooking
354 is done and where one seeks warmth on cold nights and days.

Ce
342
415
417
293

Fig. 83. Hearth for boiling maize beer. Chané village. Rio Itiyuro. To the right in the picture, large vessels in which the maize beer ferments. The house is plastered with earth.

C
Ce I have slept in these huts many a night. They are, as a
342 rule, free of vermin, which cannot be said of the dwellings
122 of all other Indians and of the houses of the whites. The sleep-
136 ing place either consists of a bed made of a species of bamboo
352 cane, or one lies /Plate 16 appears here/ /177/ on the ground
513 on a reed mat or a skin. One also sees hammocks in the huts.

/273/

539 Accompanied by Dyori, Tatutunpa set out on his way. Along the way he killed a tapir. Dyori (1) divided it into four

[171]

1. Dyori is always described as the insatiable one. He corresponds to Móconomóco in the legends of the Mojo.

parts and devoured it. He even licked the blood from the ground.

Tatutunpa found his mother blind in the woods. She begged him to kill the jaguars who were keeping her captive. "They come to the watering place in order to drink," she said.

Tatutunpa made himself a little shelter in which he hid. Dyori hid behind him. First came "Embaracaya" (2) with her booty.

2. A large wildcat.

With one blow Tatutunpa shattered her head and threw her and her booty to Dyori, who devoured everything. In the same way he killed "Yahuapinta" (3) and the other felines. He threw them

•[136]

3. Puma (Felix concolor).

to Dyori, who devoured them all. Finally there came Yahuête, who had two heads. He asked Inómu for water. Yahuête was carrying a tapir that he had killed. Inómu directed him to the watering place.

"No, give me water here, there is someone hiding at the spring," said Yahuête.

"No, there is no one there, and how should I, I who am blind, be able to fetch water, I would fall," said Inómu.

Yahuête went to the drinking place. When he reached there, Tatutunpa hurled his club, in order to kill him, but struck only the dried head, and Yahuête leaped away. Tatutunpa followed him. When Yahuête saw that he was being pursued, he hid under the "tiru" (women's attire mentioned on p. 52) of the moon.

"Where is Yahuête?" asked Tatutunpa.

"I do not know," answered the woman (that is, the moon). That was the first lie.

S: Schmidt--194 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF 0 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
I2020

/194/

Ce 286 352 126

Nets of the Collection That Are Made with the Technique Called "Knotentechnik" in German. Using the Knot Called Reef Knot in English

I.A. 260. Hammock (276) (Chané of the Pacapití). Caraguata.

276. Gift of Mr. Teodoro Rojas.

Length 3.20 m. (Fig. 192c.)

I.A. 766. Hammock (Isosó). Caraguata. Length 1.80 m.

C I.A. 794. " " " " 2.70 m.

Ce 286 415 482 126

I.A. 446. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Wool. Lgth 1.05 m.

I.A. 447. " " " " " " " 0.75 m.

I.A. 561-564, 567, 569-571. Nets for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length between 1.50 and 0.50 m. (I.A. 567, Figs. 134 and 143; I.A. 568, Fig. 144.)

I.A. 767-787; 790-792. Nets for carrying loads (Isosó). Caraguata. Length 1.60 m. and 0.65 m. (I.A. 768, Figs. 133 and 142; I.A. 772, Fig. 135.)

Ce 415 286 126

I.A. 785. Bag (Isosó). Caraguata. Length 0.82 m. Height 0.40 m.

I.A. 788 " " " " 0.62 m. " 0.62 m. (Fig. 136.)

I.A. 793. Quadrangular net (Isosó). Caraguata. Length 0.90 m.

Ce [227] I.A. 794. Implement for fishing with net (Isosó). Length 72.5 cm. (Fig. 28.)

I.A. 795-801. Nets for implements such as I.A. 794 (Isosó). Caraguata

C 411 286

I.A. 508. Sling (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length 15 cm.

I.A. 509 " " " " 14 cm.

C Ce 286 352 227 136

From the large size of the mesh of nets I.A. 260, 766, and 794, it follows that they are hammocks. Because in Chiriguano and Chané territory there are generally no fish except small ones, nets for fishing must have considerably smaller meshes.

C Ce 415 286 482 [283]

Of the Chiriguano nets for carrying loads, two are made of wool and one of these has a band like most such nets from the Isosó. The rest of these nets from the Chiriguano and the Isosó are made of caraguata thread. Some of them have a rather small mesh, but among those of the Isosó those with big mesh are the rule.

/430/

Chapter IX

Basketry and Its Techniques

1. General Considerations

Basketry is far from being as abundantly represented among the Chiriguano and the Chané as among the Indian tribes of the Amazon basin or the Guianas. The secondary role it plays in their industry is due to the nature of the soil where they live and the climate they enjoy. Palm trees with pinnate leaves are lacking, to my knowledge at least, over the whole extent of their territory: as for the ones whose leaves open like fans, if they are numerous in certain places, their occurrence is far from being uniform. The palms which the Chiriguano Indians call karandaí (Copernicia australis) form veritable groves here and there, whereas over vast regions they are lacking or appear only sparsely. I saw a considerable number of them between San Luis and the Saladito River, and I have crossed some large palm groves between Tacuiba and Villamontes, on the Pilcomayo, and south of the Parapití River, going from Cuevo to Pipi. I noted, moreover, that the distribution of the karandaí coincided with that of a certain type of basketry (twilled work /named in English/), for which the Indians use these leaves.

Fig. 97. Back basket used by the Guarayú Indians for transporting heavy loads (from Nordenskiöld).

Nordenskiöld (10, p. 169) recounts an anecdote which illustrates well the influence the environment exerts on this industry. At the time of one of his trips into the Chaco, the scholar was accompanied by several Guarayú Indians, who followed him as far as Chiriguano country. The Guarayú customarily load their baggage and the products of their fields into back baskets of a special type (see Fig. 97) which have a wide distribution in tropical America, from the Guianas to Paraguay (Nordenskiöld 11, p. 171 and MAP 21).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The migrations, wars, and the religious conversion of the *Chiriguano* have been the subjects of many historical monographs. The most important of these are by Corrado (1884), Serrano y Sanz (1898), Domínguez (1918), Gamba (1929 a, and b), Métraux (1930 b), Coni (1925), Moreno (1929), and Finot (1939). The Jesuit missionary work among the *Chiriguano* has been described by Lozano (1941) and Muriel (1918).

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

As today *Chiriguano* and *Chané* share in the same culture, the following data may apply to both tribes.

Farming.—The *Chané*, conquered by the *Chiriguano*, were proficient farmers who, though practicing a tropical type of agriculture, were probably acquainted with many of the methods of cultivation of the Andean area. The *Chiriguano* adopted their traditions. The new habitat of the *Chiriguano* did not offer the same resources for hunting and fishing as had their homeland. Therefore, these Indians depend on farming to a larger extent than any other *Tupi-Guarani tribe*. The basis of their livelihood is maize, of which they have 11 varieties, all related to those of Paraguay. Then follow in order of importance: Pumpkins, beans (11 varieties), sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, peanuts, and some Barbary figs (*Opuntia* sp). Sweet potatoes were grown on a large scale by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

These Indians also raise cotton, tobacco, urucú, and, in the Parapeti region, reeds for arrow shafts (*Arundo donax*). Plants of the Old World adopted by the *Chiriguano* include melons, watermelons, oranges, sugarcane, and sorghum.

Chiriguano men clear the fields and surround them with a tall fence as a protection against the inroads of wild or domesticated animals, a task which is considered to be particularly strenuous. They also till the soil, but at harvest time they are assisted by the women and children. The latter, armed with slings, drive away the parakeets and other birds which prey on the crops. Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 183) observed that among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro region, large maize fields were tended by men while pumpkins and beans were raised by the women.

Collecting wild food.—When their crops fail, the *Chiriguano* subsist on the same species of pods and fruits as those collected by the Chaco Indians: Algarrobo, tunca, mistol, caraguatá, and other plant foods.

Hunting.—Hunting is a very secondary economic activity, at least in modern times. Peccaries, which are the main game animal, are hunted with specially trained dogs and killed with bows and arrows or with clubs. Rheas, which are abundant in the Chaco plains, are caught with bolas. Pigeons are captured with clap nets. Special arrows with two points are used for hunting yacu birds (*Penelope* sp.).

/14 cont./

311 The closer the traveler gets to the Gran Chaco, the less
312 water and the less fertility he finds; the very fields of Yvu
241 are patent proof, for crops are rarely abundant there. When the rains are torrential in other sections, they are sparse in Yvu; the farther to the west one travels from Aguaragüe, the more fertile is the land, because the hills and hillocks are more frequent and higher, water more abundant, and consequently the land more moist, which is necessary for agricultural production.

The fields are suitable for raising cows and horses, for the multiplication of sheep and pigs; the year when it fails to rain, however, there is lack of food for the livestock, as well as lack of water, the suffering is great, and numbers die near the waters which are found at some distance from the spots where there is feed, such as the slopes of the hills and the tops of the hillocks, abounding in tree leaves.

• 137 The countryside is clothed with grasses in the summer, but the region begins to turn beautiful in the spring and even earlier. The vigorous woods, dry and leafless during the cold months, begin to dress in verdant foliage at the beginning of the month of September, and in a few days nature is rejuvenated. Then it is very lovely to contemplate from some slight rise a broad pampa where there are carob trees, groves of catalpas or lapachos, the first green, the second red, and the third yellow and purple.

241 The territory is productive only in the rainy season, be-
182 cause the Chiriguano in general will not take the trouble to put
[132] in a good irrigation ditch when he can; he waits for it all from
[433] the high heavens. Miracles could have been worked on the banks of the rivers in times past; today it is difficult because they are very few and, like their grandparents, are satisfied with maize, a little sugar cane, and other delicacies, like sweet potatoes or batatas, mandioca, and peanuts.

241 Large-scale planting begins at the end of November or the
[221] beginning of December, after the country has been watered by two or three abundant rains. The maize grows very high and, when there is no lack of water, produces two or three ears on each stalk. The frijoles produce three crops. The sugar cane

/15 cont./

433 241 sweet potatoes; cotton grows everywhere, tomatoes and garlic mature the year round, and in the gardens lettuce, cabbage, cauliflower, and peppers create the beauty of a spot, without taking into account the gastronomic advantages. Even the peach trees would yield fine fruits, but they suffer much from the black butterflies, which damage them before they ripen.

Without work the land will produce only briars and brambles, and /16/ as long as there are only Chiriguano and [157] [181] [185] cattle ranches here, progress will be slight and the population sparse, because the Indian has no ambition, and life is relatively inexpensive; the whites prosper by taking good care of their livestock, and no greater fertility can be obtained from the land because the holdings of a few families are very extensive and do not facilitate the residence of numerous renters, who do not always give good results nor do all come or ask to rent for farming alone. All of them want to get rich easily and quickly, and the best way is to raise stock, the result of which is that great areas of briars and brambles exist.

Flora

13 In the course of this hasty description I have noted that in Chiriguano country atmospheric changes are very sudden, but it has been noted that the region is quite fertile when it is watered by the rains or by irrigation ditches, because small rivers are plentiful, particularly in the mountainous region, and an occasional river of some size bathes the adjacent territories with its abundant waters.

There are many hills, pampas, and valleys, and for this reason every kind of climate may be found in this territory. [137] There are in fact oppressive heat, intense cold, and a temperate climate, thus making it possible to find land for every product from the lowly gourd to the savory chirimoya, from the ubiquitous maize to wheat, rice, and barley, from the mulberry /mora/, which grows spontaneously, to the rich grape, whose bunches reach weights of three and four libras.

824 /16 cont./
139
[114]

I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it through experience and careful reading; when describing certain plants, I shall also make note of the use made of the bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall, straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood borer does not damage it; it is much used here in the construction of upper roofs, especially for the braches or trusses on which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less value; it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows, but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the face free of blemishes; here it is known by the name "timboy."

[342]
[492]
[296]
[515]

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. moniliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which reason drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it. It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatane," fire that smells; the wood is yellow.

[372]

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of trees of this class here and there; it is the most abundant tree, the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does not eat it; the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites; the latter call it sebil and the former "Curupau."

[342]
[281]

245
137
324

ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters, its leaves are dark green; it produces abundant fruit in a sort of pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds, which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces

[302]
[303]
[439]

/17 cont./

245 137 824 [302] [303] [439] and feet with them, as will be seen; for this last purpose it is prepared beforehand, many pods being boiled in an olla, and pastes of every size are made from the decoction, depending on the value that they wish them to have; it is traded by Chiriguanos and whites.

137 824 The Bixa orellana, or "Urucu," as the Indians call it, is a plant of high value for the Chiriguano; he will travel far to obtain a small amount in the towns or places where it is prepared.

ALGARROBO. -- The place where this extraordinarily large tree abounds is in the pampas; thus in the plain of "Curuyuqui" of Yvu Mbaion, Isoso, Parapiti, and the Gran Chaco it is found forming forests. It is very bulky and has [342] [415] long branches which on some touch the ground; its trunk is thick and not always erect, the wood is excellent, similar to oak in spite of being dark, and it is much used for making tuns, door and window casings, and even for barrels. In [262] [273] Chiriguano this tree is called /18/ "Ivopei," and the "Ivope" pod is long, compressed, and yellow; when it is ripe, it is sweet and much sought after by livestock and by the Chiriguano; it is their food and drink in times of scarcity as well as other times, and the mead that they make is extremely intoxicating. On the bank of the Pilcomayo even the whites eat this pod; the Toba, Choroti, Mataco, and others hold their orgies when the algarrobo ripens.

ALGARROBO CHICO. -- This is a smaller tree than the previous one, even its fruit is smaller, speckled in color, and sweeter than the true algarrobo, but not as abundant as the first. As the pods are small and the seeds within abundant, it [262] is not highly thought of among the Chiriguano; they only eat it out of necessity or as a tidbit; the wood is not valued very highly because undoubtedly there are others that are better. In Chiriguano it is called "Ivope rai."

ALGARROBO AGRIO. -- This is also small, and it is called [262] "sour" because the flavor of the pods really is sour. In times of scarcity it is also food for the Chiriguano; the pods are small, and the tree has its congenial sites. The Chiriguano Indians call it "Ivopetayi."

/18 cont./

•137 824 ALGARROBO NEGRO. -- Among the Indians this is called "Ivopene," and the whites call it tusca; it multiplies and grows very fast. Sometimes 20 or 30 newly sprouted plants can be counted around a single cake of cow dung, which indicates that the cattle eat it in abundance, and where it does not already exist they sow it with their bowels. [262] It grows to a height of some three meters and is very thorny, which makes it difficult to travel through places where it is abundant; when there is no other food it is one of the Chiriguano's resources.

[322] ALGAROBILLA. -- The wood of this plant, which the Chiriguano call "Igüirayepiro," is black and very good for cabinetmakers; it is a species of ebony and is strong. Implements of war and those for fiestas of the tribes are made of this wood; its trunk is twisted, and it rarely has a single trunk; the flowers are yellow and the berries much sought after, by goats, but it makes them abort.

ALGODONERO /cottonwood/. -- This is a leafy tree with many branches; it grows to a height of two meters, has yellow flowers and a white boll when it is ripe, which is then picked, dried in the sun, the material pulled away from the seeds and cleaned. The "mandiyu" cotton is very useful; hammocks, ponchos, saddlebags, and sacks are made with it; it would even be easy to manufacture macana, but this is not done because what comes from outside is very cheap and /19/ [157] showier, even though it is not as strong as the other. Its leaves used as a poultice are anticancerous, and its seeds in the form of a pomade work against herpes and skin eruptions; oil for lighting can be extracted from the seed.

ANONA. -- The annona is a bush which grows to barely one meter; it has congenial places, the pampas, which have soil mixed with sand. In the said pampas it thrives in abundance, but it is even found in other places. The ripe fruit is red and like the pineapple in shape, but the pulp and seeds are like the chirimoya, as is the flavor of the pulp. Before it ripens, even the skin is very similar to that of the chirimoya. The Chiriguano call it "Aratícu."

ASPIDOSPERMO BLANCO. -- This tree is of great size and it is abundant almost everywhere; the wood is white and good

/19 cont./

137 824 [157] in dry places; when dampness penetrates it, it is destroyed in a few years, as experience has shown. The bark that is found under the first layer is split, washed in tepid water, and left to steep overnight; it cures intermittent fever. The Argentinians call it cacha, the whites quebracho, and the Chiriguano "Igüiraro."

AZUFAIFO /jujube tree/. -- This is abundant hereabouts [162] and is a tree of medium size. Its wood is not valued very highly, but the fruit, the size of a grape seed and of a dark coffee color, is a great resource in times of scarcity for the poor Chiriguano. It ripens in January and February and is liked even by cattle and by sheep and pigs. The whites call it mistol and the Chiriguano "Yuá."

245 BANANA TREE. -- Cultivated in orchards and well fenced-in fields, it forms a grove, and each plant yields or produces a cluster, very large on some of them. When the ripe cluster is removed, the plant that produced it must be cut in order that the others may produce their own. There are several [162] varieties, large and small, the latter very sweet and eaten as fruit, and the former only when boiled and roasted; the whites call them plátano, and the Chiriguano "Pacoba."

137 824 BIGONIA ACUOSA. -- This is a tiny little bush one vara in height, which under the ground has a large root like a watermelon and even larger; it contains much pulp which, [171] when squeezed, yields potable water and is used for it in times of scarcity. The Chiriguano call it "Sipoi."

[142] CATALPA. -- This is a large tree and fairly strong. Its wood is used in the construction of houses. The color of the /20/ wood is dark, but when it is newly cut it is somewhat [115] green. Its flowers are purple, and the Chiriguano chew them to whiten their teeth; they are bitter and because of this the tree is called "Tayi," or bitter, in Chiriguano, the whites call it lapacho.

CEIBA. -- A large tree with deformed trunk, and furnished with sharp points, broad leaves, and large, white flowers which produce a material similar to cotton without fibers, for which reason it is smoother and shinier; it is used for mattresses [122] and pillows and candle wicks. The wood is spongy and not at [115] all hard; from it are made troughs to hold water from year to year and in this way they are not soon damaged. Its ashes

/20 cont./ ITS ashes
[137] are good for the manufacture of soap, the bark is an emetic.
[824] The whites call it toborochi and the Chiriguano "Samuú."
[388] There are several varieties and all of them are utilized to
[757] some degree or other.

[322] CEIBO. -- This tree is smaller than the former, but its
[415] wood is much superior, very fibrous, and rather light in weight, being used to make troughs which are very durable since they neither split nor are eaten by wood borers. It is very pretty when
[262] it blooms; the flowers are fiery red and good for salads. The Chiriguano call it "Suinandi."

DRAGO /dragon tree/. -- A tall tree, straight and quite thick; the wood is strong and useful. If an incision is made
[757] in the tree, a very red resin comes out; its bark is the best for making the teeth hard and for curing scurvy. The gum called "dragon's blood" is extracted from this tree. The whites call it tipa and the Chiriguano "Güirapitiyu guasu."

ENEA /cattail/. -- An aquatic plant which abounds in certain ponds and pools formed by the water of rivers which flow away from the main stream; the Indians use it for roofing their houses, muleteers for packsaddles, and others for mats in the dwellings, on which they also have their bedding for sleeping. This is the totora or matara of the whites and the "Caipempe" of the Chiriguano.

[262] ESTORAQUE /storax/. -- This is a very large tree of the forest; it has whitish flowers and yellow fruit the size of a fig, which is edible and a favorite of parrots and monkeys; the Chiriguano eat it as a fruit and call it "Aguai."

GARGATEA or CARICA MAMAYA. -- This tree is not very abundant nor is it found in every section. It is of normal size, with a straight trunk and smooth bark softer than the fig tree; the wood is soft and is of no use at all, being similar to that
[262] of the ceiba, or toborochi. Its leaves are like those of the fig
[252] tree, and the fruit is of the /21/ same size and form, but yellow; it is edible and good when boiled or roasted. If eaten raw, it hurts the mouth. In Chiriguano it is called "Caincantina."

/21 cont./

137 GUAYABO /guava/. -- This fruit-bearing tree is found
824 wild and cultivated; it is of medium size, and the fruit, when
[245] ripe, is yellow on the outside and purple on the inside, and its bittersweet flavor is very pleasant and laxative. The green fruit and the roots are astringent; the Chiriguano know it by the same name. The wood has no use at all, and even if it
[262] did, the Indians would not use it because it produces edible fruit. They regret it when any of these trees and others, like the algarrobo, are destroyed.

GÜEMBE. -- This plant thrives on the trunks of high trees, where it puts its root, and others which penetrate the ground
[492] hang down from there. The roots and lianas are dark in color; very strong and durable halters are made from its bark; it is not found everywhere. One encounters it from the left bank of the Parapiti River; its fruit is similar to that of maize, for which reason it is called maize of the air, and it is edible.

HIGUERA AMERICANA /Amerigan fig/. -- This is the
[262] guapoy of the Chiriguano and the bibosi of the populace; although the fruit is rather sour, it is edible. Bats like it, and it
[757] is annoying to have this tree near the dwellings; it has a milky juice like the common fig tree, which, applied to wounds, heals them. In addition to the above fig tree, there is the
[245] common one which flourishes with very little care, in the towns,
[439] especially the Mission ones, it is widely cultivated by the
[431] natives and its fruit is used by them for gifts and trade with the whites.

244 MANDIOCA. -- This plant is called "Mandio" or "Mandiporopi" by the Chiriguano Indians. A little book written by a Jesuit missionary of the old Paraguay missions relates that this plant was left to those Indians by Saint Thomas the Apostle who, according to their tradition, came here to preach the doctrine of the Redeemer. Mandioca is
[252] an excellent food and very digestible; it is eaten boiled,
[262] roasted, and fried in lard. It is a plant cultivated by whites and by Indians.

/21 cont./

•137 824 MARA or CAOBA /mahogany/. -- This tree is found in all sections. It is a strong wood, but the white part at the sides is subject to decay. It is rather heavy and hard and is only used for door and window casings and even for tables. The leaves are permanent, but not too good for shade. If the leaves are touched with some force in order to pick them, they cause a skin eruption which disappears only when treated with bees' honey; I cured myself this way twice.

[342] [352] [757]

137 /22/ MELOCOTÓN /peach tree/. -- This tree, native to Persia, is quite productive in this region, but its fruit, severely attacked by the black butterfly, does not reach maturity because it always has worms. The apple tree grows in high places and where the atmosphere is not so hot, but both of these are orchard trees, not native ones, having been imported by the whites, who cultivate them, which can also be said of the quince tree.

137 824 MOLLE. -- This tree is not found in the central part of the region and thus is not native here, being obtained only by cultivation. The whites and the Missionaries have introduced it into the towns with good results. It is found in abundance in the district under the jurisdiction of Padilla; it has permanent leaves, which are medicinal, as is the resin which comes from the trunk; a cooling beverage, pleasant and similar to wine, except that its odor is somewhat disagreeable, is made from the seeds. The eucalyptus is another tree which thrives regularly here, but it has also been imported; its leaves, also permanent, are very good medicine for the endemic fevers; its trunk is an excellent wood. Neither tree has a name in Chiriguano, from which it can be deduced that they have been imported, like the grape vine, the common fig tree, the peach, quince, etc.

[757] [2073] [757]

MORA OR MORERA /mulberry/. -- This tree is found wild from the left bank of the Parapiti River in Cordillera Province. It rises to a height of some 15 meters, is bulky with a very leafy top, and the fruit is smaller than that of the cultivated mulberry; the wood is solid and compact like that of the *roro* and has even better qualities; it is used for machines for milling sugar cane, plantations of which are common from the banks of the Parapiti River, where sugar of the highest quality

/22 cont./

•137 824 is manufactured. On the slopes of the hills is also found the blackberry /zarzamora/, whose fruit is so pleasant to the palate, but whose thorn, which is like a cat's claw, is quite dangerous and barbed. The mulberry in Chiriguano is called "Tatayigua."

245 NARANJO /orange/. -- Neither the orange nor the lemon are native to the Chiriguano region, but they flourish greatly and grow to some height. Where it is easy to open irrigation ditches and possible to irrigate orange and lemon trees, they produce large, juicy fruit, the former being very sweet and the sourness of the latter being mild. The citron tree flourishes and is a plant imported here; its fruits are as big as gourds. The Chiriguano cultivate the orange tree here and there, but the whites cultivate it on a large scale; I know of some /23/ rather large orange groves, and they exist in nearly all the missions.

139 824 NOGAL. -- This tree of extraordinary height is only found wild; the leaves are very small and somewhat like those of the true nogal; the fruit is edible, but its shell is hard to crack. [258] The flavor and characteristics are the same as those of walnuts, so that oil, which is used instead of that from the olive, can be extracted from them. The wood is rather dark and good [322] for carpentry and cabinetwork, but it is inferior to that of the true nogal, which is found in the cultivated state where there [386] is sufficient moisture; a dark coffee-colored dye is prepared from the leaves, the bark of the trunk, or the roots, for dyeing wool, for staining other woods, and for printing ink.

NOPAL. -- This is the fruit-bearing plant which is most abundant in the region and which is found everywhere without any cultivation, for which reason it is most highly regarded by the Chiriguano, who is naturally lazy. But since it is sought [245] by the cattle, it is beginning to disappear or, more exactly, it is not found very much in the woods and clearings, but the Indian still cultivates it because it flourishes easily without need of irrigation and multiplies without the need of planting other shoots. It is convenient for the laziness of the Indian; the yellow flowers come out around each spathe and the fruit matures there as well; it is full of small seeds and sweet pulp, pleasant and refreshing. Some trees are covered with long

/23 cont./ some trees are covered with long
137 sharp points and others are not, only having an occasional im-
824 perceptible sharp point; the fruit of both is pleasant and serves
[139] for gifts and trade for the Indian, who sells it to the whites,
[431] the ones who, rushing to get rich more quickly and easily, are
[348] little concerned about the nopal and the fig tree. In Chiriguano it is called "Saini."

PALM or PALMER. -- The palm tree has congenial places, where immense forests are formed and sometimes grow all around a lake like a great garland; it is a very tall and smooth tree without a single branch. Its leaves are in the form of a
[435] fan and are used to make hats and for sieves, which are sold
[342] for 30 or 40 centavos apiece. The wood is good for joists in houses, and it is also split into shingles for roofs and is quite durable, if the precaution is taken of cutting them after the full moon. In Chiriguano it is called "Carandai," and the place which they occupy, "Carandaiti," palm grove.

PALMA CHRISTI. -- A not very durable plant, it grows to a height of four meters, has a soft, hollow trunk, large leaves, /24/ and flowers in the form of a bunch of grapes. The seeds are found inside little burrs, like chestnuts; said burrs in some plants open by themselves in the warmth of the sun, while others must be opened or carefully broken with a little hammer or a stone. The name indicates that it is a beautiful plant, but this beauty is in the broad, abundant perennial leaves. There are several types with reference to
[159] size and quality of seeds; I know five kinds. Castor oil is
[302] extracted from this plant or from its seeds for use as medicine; we use it in the missions to fuel the lamp of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Chiriguanos mix it with "Achiote" seeds and put the resulting cosmetic on their faces and on their calves down to the feet. In Chiriguano the plant is called "Cenirio," and the oil, "Yandi." Even the leaves of the
[159] Palma Christi are medicinal, some being hot and others cool; thus when headache is a result of overexposure to the sun, the leaves of the white spurge are applied; if, on the other hand, it is the result of high humidity, the leaves of the red spurge are applied. The seeds of the dark purple spurge are very small, but contain more oil than others.

[illegible] tree. -Analysis[]

/24 cont./

245 PAPAYO. -- This tree is neither native like the palma Christi, nor is it found wild like the latter. It is grown in orchards or in well-fenced fields, grows very fast, and produces fruit one year after being planted. Its trunk is straight, soft, and hollow; some have two or three branches and rise up to four meters high. The fruit is refreshing, yellow, with a smooth skin, of the size and shape of a small melon, even the flavor being somewhat similar, but it is more digestible. Many fruits are bunched around the trunk and are also found here and there at each leaf, but always attached to the trunk. The plants which produce the fruit are the good ones, and they call them "females." There are others which they call "males," but their fruits are useless and are not attached to the trunk, but rather hang from it like streamers. It is useless to pick them. To have a good papayo tree they assert that, in transplanting one, it is necessary to take the precaution of always putting or burying two plants in each hole, one of which will always be a female, and the one which turns out to be male will be pulled out. I do not know if this is true, but I did it this way in January of this year. The fruit contains many seeds which, [257] when ground and drunk in an emulsion, are good for getting rid of worms. The fruit and the tree have a resinous milk. [252] Therefore, in order for the fruit to be good and digestible, it is better to cut off the ends and make about five or six vertical cuts so that this resin may come out; by the next day /illustration appears here/ /25/ it is already very pleasant. It is nevertheless best to take the precaution of letting them begin to ripen on the plant itself; in this condition, uncut, they will last up to six days without going bad; then they can easily be transported great distances.

137 PASSION FLOWER. -- This is a climber which is found 824 on fences, clothing them in the rainy season with abundant [252] foliage, as does the "supua," whose fruit is edible and good [262] roasted or boiled, as is the leaf. The fruit of the passion flower is of the size of an apple and just as smooth, the skin is thin and the inside is found to be covered with a white, stringy membrane. When this is broken, the seeds of the fruit come

[Text continues on p. 43]

/25 cont./

•137 824 forth bittersweet and very good. These are ash-colored and pearly and very highly regarded by Chiriguano and whites. The blossom of the passion flower is purple, forming a garland like a crown of thorns; it has its calyx, five petals and three pistils, for which reason it is called passion flower, and it is certainly worthy of admiration. The Indians call it "Murucuya."

PIÑON. -- A euphorbiaceous plant, this little tree exists [177] in a cultivated state and was introduced into this Chiriguano region by the white Christians. It grows in orchards and elsewhere, and its maximum height is three meters. Its small [157] trunk is slender and top heavy, and its fruit consists of black seeds which are not edible but which, when ground and diluted in water, make a powerful purgative and therefore must be used with great care, because they can cause death.

137 SAUCE /willow/. -- It grows and develops on the banks and in the bed of torrents, as well as on the shores of streams, which shows that it seeks damp places, but from these places the force of a flood often uproots it. The common willow has [342] no special qualities; only its branches are useful in the building of houses because they are flexible, fibrous, and not heavy; little use is made of the trunk. It is a tall, large tree with very tiny leaves. In addition to the common willow there is also the weeping willow, whose branches touch the ground; it is neither native nor found wild; some whites plant it to beautify their interior patios. In Chiriguano the common willow is called "Ñañirapuco."

SAÚCO /elder/. -- It is not found everywhere, only being found along streams with little water which are in the wood. It grows to four meters in height, its trunk is slender and soft, its branches have a pith which is easily extracted, and its white flowers in the shape of a parasol are sudorific. The whites do a good deal of searching for this flower /26/ for their illnesses. Even the leaves are medicinal; when drunk in a decoction they are a good purge. What a pity that it is found in such limited areas!

/26 cont./

•137 824 SOTO. -- This gigantic tree is found everywhere from the province of Tomina, but there are places where it is more abundant. In the spring, when the budding begins, its leaves are red, and later they turn green. In the autumn its fruit, which the parrots like, are red and are in bunches like cherries. Seen from a distance by a European, he thinks they are cherries. The wood of the uxo is strong and does not rot; in dampness or in water it is better than iron, since it does not deteriorate. [342] It is very widely used in the construction of houses, especially when they are of frame construction. A great deal of tannin, which the Europeans use in tanneries, is extracted from the uxo. It is called palo cuchi by the whites here and "Urundei" by the Chiriguano.

249 TOBACCO. -- An annual plant which flourishes everywhere, but only the whites cultivate it on a large scale, especially in Saipirangui and Chiquiacá, whose products have some fame. Even an occasional Indian cultivates it for his own use and to give to his friends. There is another similar plant, and, when he lacks real tobacco, the Indian deceives himself with its leaves. The true tobacco is called "pooni" in Chiriguano, and the other "huacapooni," which, literally explained, means "cow tobacco." 296 In Bolivia there is considerable consumption of tobacco wrapped in paper or maize husks; rarely does one see cigars of pure tobacco, like the Havanas and others; the Chiriguano smokes a lot and acquires the habit at a tender age. [397] Children of four years of age have already begun to smoke; [542] women also smoke.

137 824 TACUARA. -- In the past when there were no cattle, the tacuara, or hollow cane, was very abundant; vestiges still remain of some immense canebrakes, but the plant has been reduced almost to the cultivated one, with the result that what was previously found in the forest at the disposal of the first occupant is found today in the possession of private parties, and anyone who is planning to build a dwelling must pay for hollow cane at the rate of 50 centavos per hundred, and the worst of it is that it is not found everywhere. This lack is made up for by small reds from trees, but these are neither as light nor always [435]

/36 cont./

139 824 as straight as cane. Beyond Santa Cruz there are still groves; in addition there are groves of another cane called "Bambú," which is the best known, and in Chiriguano it is called "Tacuarembo." It rises to a height of about 15 meters and is used for making /37/ ladders and scaffolding in construction because it is light and strong. The shoots are tender and contain a sugary substance highly regarded by the Indians: it is not sought much today, because there are abundant plantings of sugar cane, which is of great utility for the production of sugar and alcohol. This last thrives with great ease and little work. Planting is done in two ways, making furrows and burying it or planting cuttings. The former is the better method where the freshets of the rivers do not penetrate. On the slopes and tops of hills which contain water there is another sort of slender cane, very strong and heavy, which is not hollow like the other classes and is called caña brava by the whites, and "Tacuarembo" by the Chiriguano. They use it for weavers' reeds and for sleeping cots.

139 824

TAMARIND. -- This beautiful and useful tree is not native, but it thrives with enough care and grows to a respectable height; the fruit that it produces is abundant, consisting of abundant pods more or less the size of chich-pea pods; the pulp is blackish and pleasant to the taste, but it is bad for the teeth. It is astringent and is administered as medicine for intestinal inflammations, especially to children. It is also a good tonic drink on excessively hot days; it is prepared with sugar, water, and a little of its pulp. The tree is rather sensitive to cold, and the flowers wilt easily with the south wind. For this reason the whites plant it in their patios, which are surrounded by the living quarters.

TAGHOUE. -- The name of this tree in Chiriguano. The tatagui is found in some regions, but not in others. It is of the cactus variety, rises up to six meters. Its branchage is abundant and close, which gives a fine shade against the blazing rays of the sun. Its branches or leaves are striated and armed with spines; the fruit is tiny, but sweet and otherwise pleasant, and much liked by foxes, who only get it when it falls from the tree. The ñiala or opuntia is smaller than the tatagui. Its leaves have the same form, the color is ash-gray and they are less abundant, or, more properly, few. The fruit is a smooth berry

/77 cont./

which is purple when mature and opens into three sections when ripe. It has an insipid sweetness, but one which both whites and Chiriguano like. The color is a bright purple. It is abundant, and in certain years of scarcity it is a resource for human life in the months of February and March. In Chiriguano it is called "Nerogüino." The carapari is another cactus, taller than the preceding ones, which also has its congenial land. /78/ since it is not found everywhere. It is admirable for its tall, striated leaves or branches, ash-gray and armed with spines; its fruit is very pleasant and also sought by foxes. The trunk is soft like that of all cacti; nevertheless doors are made of this wood and are durable enough. The pulp of the trunk is used medicinally to cure liver ailments, etc. They say that it is even good for goiter. There is another species of cactus which grows to some 20 or 25 centimeters; it is round and thick, striated and armed with spines. In Chiriguano it is called "Zapapo." The children, as we shall see, make wheels by cutting off its spines, and, making it roll, they use it as targets for their arrows. Finally, there is another which is trailing and long, covering the ground where it grows and making the place impenetrable. This has and produces a very delicious fruit which is called "Tapiacaru" in Chiriguano.

TILANDSIA. -- This plant is known to the Chiriguano by the name of "Caraguata guaso." Its special place is the hills, and among them it has some more congenial to it; it grows well enough, and its leaves are extraordinarily broad and long and ash-gray in color; in the middle there is a thick stalk which rises quite high and is good wood for house rafters; from the crushed leaves they make cord and from these are made first-rate halters for tying up animals in the rainy season. The Tobas and even the Chiriguano make a kind of net which they call chiqa or "ulaqueca," which is very useful, inasmuch as the women can carry any weight in a bag of that kind; from the same they make nets so as to be able to fish in the rivers, and these are pieces of work which would attract attention in any part of the Old World.

/28 cont./

139 There is another small caraguata which invades wide areas
824 of land, preventing any animal from entering there, because
it has spines on the bottoms of the leaves. In times of scarcity
[262] its root is food for the poor Chiriguano; the root contains a
little starch which has the taste of mandioca, but it requires
[283] great effort to pull it up. The leaf of this tilandsia is also good
for making cord.

Finally, there is a third one which flourishes abundantly in trees and on the rocks of the hills, but which has no peculiar properties; it is large because of its leaves, which measure up to one meter in length. The plant is thick, the leaf fleshy, and it is used to decorate the streets with arches during processions. The aloe is similar to the second type of tilandsia, but aloe leaves are wide and thick, full of juice, while those of the tilandsia are slender, arched, and dry. The aloe is not abundant; only an occasional shrub or plant is found.

244 /29/ TOMATO. -- This plant which produces fruits so pleasant and useful to the culinary art flourishes exuberantly in these lands; the fruit from each plant is abundant and is produced the year round when some care is taken to protect the plant from the cold or from the light frosts which customarily
[237] fall in June and July. To do this it suffices to pile up dry cow dung in two or three places in the tomato patch and set them
[197] afire. True tomato plants are also found in the woods, but it is presumed that some bird must have carried the seed to such places; the tomato is a plant which has been brought into the Chiriguano country, as is the case with the onion, the sweet potato, and the cabbage.

222 In the woods there is a kind of tomato in the wild state which is somewhat similar in appearance and taste, but which is quite different from the true one; it is picked green and allowed to ripen in a room on top of a piece of wood; in a
[244] few days it turns red, which is a sign that it is ripe. The chili pepper also produces abundantly and with little care; it is a plant which lasts up to three years if care is taken to prune it, and the second and third years the fruits are very hot. Another kind of small, round chili pepper abounds in the woods and bears spontaneously; it is called arejivi by the whites and "quii rai" by the Chiriguano. It is hot, and some cure sickness,

222 [989] /29 cont./ IT IS HOT, AND SOME CAUSE SUBSTITS, or inflammation of the eyes, with it. Nevertheless, one should not confuse this little plant with another similar one whose fruits lack flavor and which is called by the Chiriguano "Aguara quii," which is to say, literally, "fox pepper," of the fox. The best way not to confuse it is to taste the fruit; it is found everywhere.

243 TRIGO /wheat/. -- The Eternal Creator of all things in his bounty and mercy arranged that this small plant, necessary in every aspect, should yield its fruit in every region inhabited by man; thus, in spite of the excessive heat, it is harvested here in abundance, and the farmer is not robbed of his hopes if he takes care to irrigate the field opportunely. Barley also flourishes in irrigated lands, but the cultivation of both has been abandoned for reasons already expounded in these pages and also because birds greatly bother both crops, as also happens in the rice paddies, which will be found empty if they are left to the discretion of our flying friends.

[824] [412] There also thrives together with maize, or in other places, the wheat called Guinea, or sweet sorghum, which the Chiriguano call "Trico" and which is indigenous; it is sweet, matures with maize, and they suck it, as well as the panicled sorghum, which is a kind of sorghum /30/ without sweetness and used for making brooms for sweeping. The seed of both plants is liked by birds.

● 139 824 [262] VID /grapevine/. -- Further on I have said that this plant pre-eminently required for the Sacrifice, like wheat, thrives quite vigorously in this region. I add here that in the woods there is a tree with small leaves and unimportant wood, which rises up to some eight meters above the ground and whose fruit is the size of an olive, has a dark coffee color and a flavor like that of the grape, matures in the month of February, is edible, and is called "Ivaviyu" in Chiriguano. Also in the wild state is the native grape with its twining trunk. Its fruits are like a bunch of grapes; they are white and some even black, and they are good for the manufacture of brandy.

/20 cont./

137 824 27 YERBA DEL DIABLO. -- This is the datura which is so abundant in the countryside and fields and which is a real plague. It rises to one meter in height, has branches, broad leaves, white flowers, and fruit armed with spines which, when dry, are enough to draw blood. The leaves and seeds make one lose one's memory. In this respect I remember one incident when an Indian woman absent-mindedly or out of ignorance covered an olla of hot food with datura leaves; half an hour later she ate it and it gave her a bad headache and a short spell of vertigo. Her little granddaughter, a schoolgirl about six years old, ate some also, and she suffered a complete loss of memory and all her actions were those of a demented person, a state which lasted some 24 hours. It seems that the Chiriguano [159] do not know that this plant and its seeds and leaves are poisonous; the latter, dried, are medicinal, alleviate the effects of asthma, and are prescribed for asthmatic Indians. Christians know it by the name of chamico, and the Indians by that of "caani," that is, painful herb.

137 824 SAPALLO /squash/. -- There are eleven species of this creeping plant, which I shall discuss in another chapter, only adding that watermelon and melon also grow here, as well as the cucumber and the beet. The "curugua" and the "curuguami" [242] of the Chiriguano are plants which are similar to the sapallo, but they climb trees and produce there an oblong, sweet, and fragrant fruit; when one enters a house, it is immediately evident if there are curugua fruits there; they are edible both green and ripe, but they are preferable in the ripe state.

I shall forgo describing many trees and plants whose [342] medicinal virtues are known; I shall take up others when dealing with medicines; however, below I forget it. I shall note here at the end of the flora that a region where /21/ there are damp places abounds in secular cedar, whose wood is used in carpentry for doors, windows, tables, etc. So that it may not be subject to rot, it is necessary to get mature plants whose color is light red; the whitish one is attacked by the wood borer; the odor of the wood is narcotic, and this property keeps away insects; its odor is similar to that of the cedar of Lebanon, and for this reason the conquistadors gave the name of cedar to this tree which the Chiriguano call "ñaiñaca," or stinking stick.

4: Nino--85 M-3 (1893-1911) 1917 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

133
137

Small grove of palmettos in front of the house of Mans Ichaso. -- Salinas.

/87 cont./

797 the climate is very healthy, but the lack of food is continual, and they must often eat the roots of the serpentine arum, or mangara, bitter and poisonous before it is cooked (?).

> ?. Flora Cruceña of R. Peña. The fire makes it lose the poisonous part, but not all of the bitterness.

The buildings are constructed on a level site located on a small rise. The panorama which runs from north to northeast is [133] extensive and pleasant; there in the distance can be seen the hills of Taremacua and the cordillera of Ururigua, through which Nature opened a gateway to give passage to the waters of the Parapiti River, which fearlessly and with great boldness hurls itself from a great height, forming by its imposing waterfall a lake of white foam, like a boll of wild cotton, and then following its rapid course through San Antonio, Mariqui, Cumbarúi, and Isoso, /88/ where it is completely lost. Still farther beyond, to [137] the north and northwest, in the midst of a thick forest of quebrachos, [133] thickets, and secular algarrobas, are seen the tops of the ranges of Salinas and Timboirenta and something of Incahuasi, and at a short distance from the town is seen a round hill called "Tunpa repoti," the Chiriguano history and meaning of which I am not ignorant, and in front of the mission house, at the distance of half a league, are the pampas of Curuyuqui located among algarrobas and other trees; up to here the panorama of Yvu is similar to that of green Umbria of the kingdom of Italy. The [137] picture is dismal to the west and south, because the heart is oppressed by a consideration of the sands of the desert, however, much the springs of the west suggest the ancient and capricious fountains of the temples of Arcadia. Nevertheless, in the rainy season the hills and the plains garb themselves with fresh grass and wild flowers, lending to the nearby horizon a pleasant and varied appearance. The town is located at 770 meters above sea level, and at 20° 44' 35" south latitude, and 65° 50' 7" longitude west of the meridian of Paris, according to what is recorded in the

/172 cont./

342 824 The hardest part is finished with the previous operation; a short rest is taken, and then the owner of the new building must obtain enough hollow cane, engaging for this purpose Indians who have horses. But if the cane is very far away and has owners to boot, he gathers long sticks of astringent acacia or sebil and puts them horizontally every 15 centimeters on top of the rafters with the same above-mentioned lianas. Some [283] people, to tie the cane or sticks, use thin cords made from cowhide, but this, in addition to being more expensive, is less durable than bejuco (1).

[137] [178] [423] 1. Before the whites settled in Chiriguano country, hollow cane was abundant and had no owners; at the present time it cannot be found, and, if there is any, it is in private hands and must be bought.

Generally, before the walls are begun the house is covered with capíi, red straw, or, should this not be available, with capiáncua, straw for harnesses of beasts of burden, which is of inferior quality and very soon frays to pieces with the rain, sun, and strong winds, while the capíi may last for more than ten years.

[476] If it can be obtained by staying for a few days in a place where it is plentiful, he pulls it up there and reduces it to rather large handfuls; the gathering is done in several days, engaging Indians who own horses. When the material is in the town, he rests for a few days or weeks; he informs or invites those who wish to take part, in particular those who are closest to him by [354] kinship or friendship. These then go about tying the capíi between two horizontal canes toward the side of the roots, forming long, narrow lines, and when they are so placed, they attach them horizontally, beginning at the bottom and working /173/ upward or toward the ridgepole, where they leave a large vent to let out the eternal smoke of their inextinguishable fires (1).

1. Now the red straw is disappearing almost completely; the destruction of this necessary

/193 cont./

302 Another of the cosmetics frequently used by men and women
137 is the Carasapa. This is an annual plant with broad leaves, and
824 its stem grows /194/ to the height of a meter or a little more. The color of the plant itself and of its leaves is, for about half of it, somewhere between red and purple. The flower is large and about 30 centimeters long, its color being the same as that of the plant, but much brighter. There is enough of the plant everywhere, but it is not very abundant. The flower is somewhat heavy when it has seeds, and since the stem is slender and flexible, the result is that when it cannot hold itself upright it leans over toward the ground, forming an arch, hence its name Carasapa, or arched plant (1).

[527]

1. At carnival time even the neophytes paint their faces, as do the whites. They buy face paint which the whites sell, and the infidels forsake their achiote at the carnivals.

303 When the flower and seed are in season, the coquettes do their harvesting in order to use it, and they look pretty. The Carasapa also has its preparation, without which its application would not be easy. They first grind up some white beans, sift this meal very fine, and then grind the Carasapa in a mortar with a little water, put this mixture in a cloth, squeeze over the bean meal the water which comes out, washing or coloring it, and then dry the dough in the sun, spread out on a cloth or a Cutama. The preparation is not difficult, but not all of them go to the trouble to do it, and for those who prepare it, it is a profitable item.

302 The way to use it is the same as for the achiote, but it
[531] does not have any peculiarity, and hence it is only used at fiestas and at carnival time. Maidens beautify their faces by forming two circles of carasapa on their fresh cheeks and paint their eyebrows with achiote. Formerly, when young girls wore the Atira, pompadour /copete/, at fiestas it was painted with the carasapa mixture, after having been oiled with palma Christi.

/253 cont./

261 feed themselves with: algarroba pod, Hibope; chañar /a legume/.
262 Cumbaru; mistol /a fruit/. Tua; tuna, Hibopone; sour algarroba, Hibope tayi; nopal fruit, Saini; or from the fig, iva; the higuerilla /little fig/, Caicarina, the thistle /rando/, Tapiacaru, and the chala /a kind of cactus/, Ñancagüna (1).

[137] [132]

1. The fruits mentioned and many others are plentiful in the whole area, but in the Iva region they are more plentiful; the years have now greatly changed: it does not rain as regularly as in times past and the crops are somewhat certain only at the foot of the mountain ranges.

181 Indubitably the Chinguano, although superior to other nomadic tribes that surround them or border them, are very unfortunate and poor, but, on the other hand, their life is peaceful, they bother no one, and they do not wish to be bothered. When the Chinguano Indian has food, he is the happiest being on earth; his savage bliss can today be envied by all the rulers and great of the world who live without knowing whether or not they will wake up on the morrow, in view of being surrounded by so many anarchistic dangers, so many bombs and dynamite that the obscure sects make explode, so many excesses that occur and are reported in the newspapers, and so many deaths that are taking place. Oh, this kind of savagery has not penetrated among these savages! That is why they sleep peacefully without fear, in the town, in the countryside, and in the forest, and they are happier than others; those who seek bliss on this earth may well envy these Indians.

IV.

Hunting Equipment.

The Chiriguano and the Chané are not keen huntsmen. They are rarely seen out hunting. Their hunting-weapons are the bow and arrow, the pellet-bow, clubs, slings, and snares, all of their own manufacture. The Chiriguano have bird-nets too, and formerly they had the bola as well. The Chiriguano and the Chané have no weapons exclusively used in warfare. Formerly they had lances[1]).

The bow and arrow are going quite out of use among these Indians except for fishing and as a weapon for boys. The degenerate type of bow now seen among the Chané and Chiriguano is certainly not original. According to LOZANO[2]) the Chiriguano used to have bows of a man's height. It is of great interest to learn from LOZANO that the Chiriguano used to protect their left wrist with a small piece of wood to prevent the skin being grazed by the bow-string. Something similar occurs among the Ashluslay (see Part I. P. 40).

Their arrows are very like those used by the Chorotti and Ashluslay. The arrow shafts are of the same kind of reed[3]). At the Rio Parapiti this plant, which grows abundantly beside the Rio Pilcomayo is cultivated by the Indians. On the Rio Parapiti there is a place called Ouivarenda, which means where there is chuchio.[4] This plant, the *Gynerium* sp. whose seed-stalks so many Indian tribes use

[1]) Chorotti P. 331.

[2]) P. 308. "Usaban demandas y quando marchan qual ó qual tiene una cantarilla hasta el cuchillo; . . . son grandes flecheros, son armas son arco y flecha; el arco tan grande como el mismo que lo tira, y porque la cuerda no lastime la mano izquierda, en la muñeca encajan un trozillo de madera y allí da la cuerda."

[3]) *Arundo donax.*

[4]) [Errata: this should read "See Summary of Sites, P. 248."
(4 errata sheet, Col. 116, Rules -- Analysis.)]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,7(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce
Ce
412
252
Ce
[194]
[361]
Ce
412
252
x 171

Rio Paraguay after Garcias marauding expedition, not far from the tract where the Guató now live.

A potspade of the same type from the Yulámana along the Rio Querarý is shown in an illustration by Koch-Grünberg.[1]) I have not seen the shoulderblade potspade in any other tribe.

Similar spades, said to have been used for agricultural purposes, are mentioned by St. Cricq[2]) from the Conibo.

C
Ce
412
415
264
177

Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané for the most part eat their food with metal spoons which they have got from the Whites. They have, however, wooden spoons as well. They generally eat from earthenware bowls of their own make. They seldom have wooden bowls. I have already treated of the distribution of the wooden bowl and the wooden spoon. (Part 1 map 12 and 13.) They are features of western civilization. Calabash bowls are universally used by the Chiriguano and Chané as drinking vessels, particularly for chicha.

C
415
177

Silver bowls — »Cagua» — are occasionally seen at the Chiriguano festivals. These bowls, which are shaped like cloven calabashes, are often furnished with small ears and are made by mestizo smiths to suit the Indian taste.

C
Ce
415
[439]

There is in my collection a calabash bowl that has been turned into a ladle by means of a handle. It is from the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro. I have also procured some bowls made of the fruit of the calabash tree from the Chiriguano. The Indians get them from Sta Cruz de la Sierra, for, as far as I know, the calabash-tree is not cultivated within their own area.

C
Ce
372
137
x 171

Fire-fans of plaited palm leaves are used, though they are rather uncommon. These fire-fans belong to the cultural elements which have come to the Chiriguano and the Chané from the north and east. Later on, when writing about the Indians in northeastern Bolivia, who have sev-

[1]) T. 2. P. 209.
[2]) P. 287

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee 37R 137 171
C 412

eral different kinds of palm leaf fans, I will deal with them in detail.

At present I can refer to what Pater Schmidt[1]) has written about the geographical distribution of fire fans of plaited palm leafs in S. America.

Fig. 13. Fotopaden. Chiriguano.

A from Tikiipa. 1/4 R.M. E. 395.
B from Caipipendi. 1/4 R. M. E. 390.

[1]) P. 1082.

/152 cont./

earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout. 123 439 437

There are always two villages in these mission stations, one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent. 361 797

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco. The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The woodland, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monotonous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the drought seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the woodland like large, reddish-brown clouds. 133 [135] 137 241 731 136

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti. 114

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the /153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand. If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti. 133 137

/155 cont./ C
Pilcy and finally unites with the Rio Mamoré. A few Chiriguanos 133
live along this river, and savage Tsirakua and Sirionó also [01]
rove about in the forests along it. C

Between the Rio Grande and the Rio Parapiti there is a 133
region with an extreme scarcity of water and largely covered 137
with completely impenetrable underbrush and low scrub forest 312
full of caraguata and cacti. This monotonous, dismal vegetation is interrupted here and there by hills and grassy plains. C

Besides the savage Tsirakua Indians who make these thickets 136
unsafe, one finds another curiosity here, namely the guanaco C
(Auchenia). It is altogether strange to find an animal like the [032]
guanaco, which one thinks of only in connection with the cold plateaus of the Andes or the /156/ pampas of Patagonia, often afflicted with frost, in this bush which is frequently scorched by droughts. It would be interesting to be able to determine whether this guanaco of the tropical forest is really the same as the one known from the colder regions. Intelligent whites with whom I have discussed this and who have seen both regard them, however, as the same species.

Having returned to the Rio Parapiti, I looked up Batirayu, Ca 115
with whom I had already become intimately acquainted in 1908 and who also speaks excellent Spanish.

With no other Indians with whom I became acquainted did I become as close as with Batirayu. He understood that I was collecting the old mementos out of an interest in his tribe. Batirayu did his best to explain to me the religious conceptions of his tribe. In the evening we used to sit in his room with a cigarette, and he told about olden times, sorcerers, chiefs, Ca and spirits. Occasionally an old chief, Bóyra, also came, and [022] from him I heard many charming Chaná legends. We would sit until far into the night and chat by a flickering light that I had with me in order to take notes. Ca

One would be very much mistaken if he were to believe that 115
the conversations with these men were merely an interesting 123
study. I felt comfortable with these fine, tactful, yes, why not, cultured human beings. It was genuinely refreshing after coming
from the often vulgar, empty whites.

/110 cont./

In the village of Cuevo alone 65 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantity.

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivo. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either.

With Ivo as the starting point, I made a trip into the

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Iguembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an ochre grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant.

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things.

/119 cont./

things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78).

From Maringay I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of [illegible], [illegible], small algorrobas, and other fine-leaved trees. This woodland is seldom so dense than one cannot easily get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa,

Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth. Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger.

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and across the great plain of Boyuovis, over the country that was the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuqui, they fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the right to rob all weaker peoples.

After my excursion to Maringay I left the land of the Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already described in this book, to the Choroti and Ashluslay.

6: Nordenskiöld--24 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF 8

/171 cont./
on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tekoluo Indians. The Ashluslay also maintain, as my interpreter told me, that /172/ the Toba chief Teyoolique, during his invasion of their territory in 1909, had several Chiriguano with him.

Batireyu said that in former times the Chané brought home the heads of their slain enemies and set them up on the plazas of the villages during festivals.

Fig. 82. Clay vessel of the Chané. 1/4.
Rio Parapiti.

/172/

Chapter Eleven

From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Everyday Life in the Chané and Chiriguano Huts

As a rule, I felt very comfortable in the huts of the Chané and Chiriguano. The life in these villages is exactly the same. If one describes one village, he has described almost all of them.

Like all the other Indians whom I visited south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, these Indians live in villages. Some of these villages are quite large and inhabited by several hundred persons. Often many villages lie close together. The huts, as a rule, lie around a market place on which sweetsop trees are occasionally planted for shelter in the rainy season. The market places serve as playgrounds and meeting places. The huts, in contrast to the round Choroti and Ashluslay huts, are square, and their doors, facing the village, are set in the gable. They are made of cane or wooden slats, with roofs of grass. Not infrequently they are plastered with earth.

/181 cont./

Branches of Subsistence

Fishing and hunting do not play an important role among the Chané and Chiriguano. As I have mentioned before, they are farmers, primarily maize farmers. These Indians live so exclusively on maize that for them all other food plays a subordinate role. The Indians living on the Río Parapití are an exception: they plant more sweet potatoes than maize, and these yield an excellent harvest in their country.

/182/ The following plants are grown by the Chané and Chiriguano:

Sweet potatoes.
Maize.
Squash (Cucurbita pepo Lin.).
Calabash fruits.
Beans of different varieties.
Cotton.
Urucú.
Tobacco.
Tuna (for example, at Yatavéri). Opuntia.
Millet.
Mandioca (rare).
Reed for arrow shafts (on the Río Parapití).

In the plantings of these Indians I saw neither ordinary potatoes nor bananas. The sweet potatoes, according to Batiraya's statements, were introduced at a late period by the whites. Tobacco-raising is insignificant. The Chané and Chiriguano are not great smokers. They mostly smoke cigarettes in maize leaves, seldom pipes (Fig. 88). Among them one need not give his pipe to a neighbor for further smoking.

It is strange how the use of tobacco differs among the Indian tribes. The Aymara and Quichua /Quechua/, who chew coca, very seldom smoke. They have no taste for it. The Chacobo and Atahuaca, two tribes with whom I became acquainted on my travels, smoked just as little. When I offered a Chacobo a

fr Sundstrom/Bd--61 D-5 (1900-1909) 1912 SF10 Chirigoano SF10

Plate 17. Palm forest not far from the Rio Piscomayo

/177/

539 When the girl reached home, a bird, "Arapu" /pro/, cried that she was pregnant. The next day she grew big. She was in an advanced state of pregnancy. Her mother was provided. She said she wanted to go far away to the Sabes and give birth. Inimu went to the cave of Tatutupa and dropped the child in it, without giving it milk. The child grew daily, and the mother looked after it, but when she came, it crawled into the cave. One day "Tabuke" came, the jaguar with two heads, one of which was dry, tore her eyes out, and led her away alive.

The grandfather now went out to catch little Tatutupa by placing in front of the cave a net, in which he was caught. He led him home. There he grew rapidly and began to become big. He was brought up on honey. One day little Tatutupa demanded bow and arrow. His grandfather made him an arrow with a blunt point of wax. With that he went out and hunted. When he hit the trunk, all the pigeons fell down dead. There was a great quantity. When Tatutupa came home, his grandfather asked him how he was able to kill so many pigeons, and then he told how it happened. In the same way he killed many birds. One day he saw five arapu birds on a tree. Tatutupa shot at the tree, but only four fell down. The fifth said: "You would do better to look for your mother than to shoot birds."

When Tatutupa reached home, he asked his grandfather to make him a club out of "hairapuru" (1). He hit it against a

•/37/] 1. Hairapuru is a soft wood (Salix Humboldtiana).

thick tree trunk, but was obliged to hit twice in order to get the trunk off. Tatutupa told his grandfather it was worthless and demanded a club made of "urundey" (2). He hit it against a thick

2. "Urundey" is red quebracho or something similar.

tree trunk and struck off the trunk with one blow. "This one is good," said Tatutupa.

The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between these outwardly allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against the whites (in 1892), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are still remaining.

The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly gourd plants and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group, the Chiriguano being counted with the Guarani-group, whilst the Chané are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija valley.[1] Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which is Guarani. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches of Rio Paraguay.[2] The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means «dirt people» was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word «guano» is the same for the well-known bird manure-found on the coast of Peru and Chile. It seems however unfair indeed that the Chiriguano, who, in contradistinction to the Puna and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal name.

---

[1] de Matienzo (35), o. cpn. [illegible] (34).
[2] [illegible] (18), p. 198.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

123
137

Fig. 187. Stream flowing through primeval forest. On the branches of the acacia in the middle distance there can be seen an epiphytic plant (Tillandsia usneoides) and rows of Bromeliaceae. District of San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

189

/109 cont./

797
126

with that of Tarija because the inhabitants of the missions of both colegios were of the same Chiriguano race.

/110/ The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 148/ is one of the said photographs; it shows a group of Chiriguano women with their festive clothing and adornments, who are ready to attend a public gathering for drinking; it was made in the Boicovo Mission and taken with the others to the exposition. The group of Indian day laborers is reserved for the chapter which deals with work and chores; both groups show the physical constitution of the race, about which Señor del Campano, after the exposition was over, wrote his book; perhaps this gentleman also had seen the four Chiriguano who were brought from the Tarija missions (1).

[113]

1. Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani /Information on the Chiriguano/. Florence, 1902. This is the most complete work that exists in Italy, in view of which I decided to write the present one here where the Chiriguano live.

Physique

• 14

After having studied the territory that a tribe occupies and consigned to paper what is most characteristic, and, next, having discovered appropriately by means of traditional and historical data or well-founded suppositions the origin and derivation of the tribe, the first thing that is exhibited to the ethnographer and to any observer is the physical body; its proportions, whether large, small, or average, soon strike the eye, the latter, the observer, considers mentally what the former, the physical ethnographer, sees, and begins his narration and then goes on to the character.

/13 cont./

166 towns from which one man had come from each one. From Charagua, Parapití, and Carapati two had come from each one, four from Ingre, five from Santa Rosa, and eight from Machareti. Unfortunately, the native soil of the Chiriguano women was not stated, and it is only said that they came from Bolivia.

141 The average height of the Chiriguano men measured by Lehmann-Nitsche is 163.4 cm., and the height of the Chiriguano women measured is 151.7 cm. This average height of the women measured is not a little less. The average height of the eight men from Machareti was only 161.8 cm., and that of the two men from Parapití only 158.1 cm. But the average height of the four men from Ingre was 169.15 cm. The tallest of the Chiriguano men measured, who had a height of 178.6 cm., had come from Ingre, and the shortest, with a height of 153.5 cm., from Machareti. The smallest woman (between 35 and 40 years old) was only 143.0 cm., and the tallest, 158.0 cm. These numbers show us that the height of different Chiriguano individuals is quite variable. Among the Chiriguano measured by Lehmann-Nitsche, the number of those who came from the same region is too small to be able to make exact deductions about the differences in height of the Chiriguano of the various regions in order to be able to clearly demonstrate the somatic influence of mixture with other tribes.

14 The photographs of Chiriguano types published by Lehmann-Nitsche show great variations among the different features and bodies, which corresponds to the fact that the present-day Chiriguano are the product of a mixture of various ethnic elements.

113 114 142 Good photographs of the Chiriguano of the southern part of their territory can be found in the publication of von Rosen, Ethnographical Research Work during the Swedish Chaco-Cordillera Expedition, 1901-1902 (48). Erland von Nordenskiöld

48. Stockholm. 1924.

/111 cont./
144 who conquered Mexico and Peru (1).
114
[113]

1. Guillermo Robertson. Historia de América desde el descubrimiento hasta antes de la Independencia /History of America from the Discovery to before Independence/. Travelers exaggerate their stories in order to attract more attention.

144 There are extensive areas where mixture of the two
[191] races was frequent, but it must be pointed out that in these
[142] areas the children of such have ceased to be Chiriguano, both because of the Spanish language, which they now speak perfectly, and the color, which is completely different; it is no longer parchment, as Father Corrado states, but a skin which is up to a certain point fine and velvetlike, so that for this class of persons who descend from white and Chiriguano the appropriate name is mestizo and not Chiriguano, and consequently the physical characteristics of the race have not changed. In these same areas families which have kept pure Chiriguano blood are not rare, and these families, or the individuals which make them up, have the same characteristics as other Chiriguano, without any noteworthy difference (2).

2. From the left bank of the Parapiti River northward this radical change is taking place, making the race disappear.

On the contrary, in the great Chiriguano centers, such as all the missions and a few other areas outside of them,
141 the physique of the native has not changed at all. As a
142 rule their stature does not reach one meter and 70 centimeters in men, and rare are the women who reach 1.60; the hair is black, glossy, and coarse, and very vigorous in

/111 cont./

141 both men and women, and fair hair indicates either an
142 oddity or a clandestine affair. The forehead is rather small, as are also the languid, downcast eyes; the face is round, the nose flat, the mouth wide, the denture white as ivory, the chin short, and the lips rather thick. /112/ The
142 men do not wear beards, and anyone would believe that they
302 are beardless, but the main reason why they do not have one is that they pull out the hairs as they grow, and for this they have some tin tweezers with which they make all the hair disappear, and they do well, because otherwise, in view of their slovenliness, with long beards they would really be orangutans (1).

[186] 1. The Toba call the Chiriguano tigre face because of his round face, and the latter gets back at them by calling them horse face because of their long faces. In the missions the neophytes wear mustache and goatee.

141 They have a chest thrust forward, rather heavy
[291] shoulders and arms, normal-sized hands, and not very big feet, in spite of the fact that they grow as they will since they always go barefoot, especially the women, and not
147 all of them wear sandals /ojotas/. When they are enjoy-
[853] ing good health, they are very robust, and the women without the slightest bother will nurse two babes at their
[609] breasts. Whenever some white Christian woman is not able to nurse, she usually seeks out a Chiriguano woman to wet-nurse her child; this, in addition to being very advantageous because of the goodness of the blood, is also quite eco-
855 nomical. But it is true that most Indian women do not
[609] wish to take care of children other than their own; most
[466] of the time they agree to it with reluctance, or by force, this last occurring when the Indians are subject to a master.

[P. 190 is blank]

142 To me, the Chiriguano seemed to be of better physique than both the Puna and the Chaco Indians, and their cast of features, as a rule, to be less rough-hewn than those of the above-mentioned tribes. Herma ten
141 Kate has taken anthropological measurements of four Chiriguano men,
[127] whose average height was determined at 160.1 cm.[1] Lehmann-Nitsche, who has made anthropological observations of 50 Chiriguano (40 men and 10 women), is my authority for the data I have grouped together in the subjoined table.[2]

The Chiriguano; some physical data.

Sex	Average height, cm	Shape of skull	Colour of skin, Luschan's scale	Colour of hair, Fischer's scale	Iris, by Martin's scale
Men.....	163.4	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 22	Majority 4	Majority 3—4
Women.....	151.7	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 18	Majority 4	Majority 3—4

142 The Chiriguano complexion is, accordingly, brown with a tint of yellow; the iris is dark brown, the hair black, coarse and lank. The growth of hair on face and body is very scanty.

361 The Chiriguano are not a nomadic people, but live in permanent villages, some of which are the abode of only a few families, whilst others contain
[114] several hundreds of inhabitants. At Ibitibi I was studying a Chiriguano village that, according to the Indians, was inhabited by about 300 people. This village was situated on a plain surrounded by wooded mountains (fig. 188). The huts formed a large circle, with the chief's hut in the centre. In the open space between the chief's hut and the rest, there were growing some close-foliaged trees (probably of the Bignoniaceæ family), affording much-needed shade. In earlier literature it is stated that
[574] the Chiriguano used to build a hut for strangers in the middle of the
[609] village plaza.[3] In many of the Chiriguano villages I visited, the huts were scattered about without any perceivable order.

342 The huts are rectangular and with ridged roofs. (Figs. 188—192.) The walls either consist of perpendicular sticks, of tree-branches or reeds,

[1] Ten Kate (1), p. 26.
[2] Lehmann-Nitsche (1).
[3] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 2.

/12 cont./

C
Ce
144
[177]

Chiriguano and Chané no longer exist. "The physiognomy of the latter was completely identical to that of the former" (45).

45. Moreno II, p. 254.

C
114
141
C
[113]

In addition to anthropological measurements made on four Chiriguano by Ten Kate (46), Robert Lehmann-Nitsche

46. Ten Kate. Herm.: "Matériaux pour servir à l'antropologie des indiens de la République Argentine /Materials for use for the anthropology of the Indians of the Argentine Republic/." Revista del Museo de la Plata. Vol. 12. La Plata. 1904.

in 1906 had the opportunity at the San Pedro de Jujui sugar mill to take the anthropological measurements of 40 Chiriguano men and ten women, who had come from Bolivia to work at that mill. Entitled "Estudios antropológicos sobre los Chiriguanos, /Pl. III-IV appear here/ /13/ Chorotes, Matacos, y Tobas (Chaco Occidental)" (47), Lehmann-Nitsche has

C
[113]

47. Anales del Museo de La Plata, Vol. I, No. 2, (Second Series). Buenos Aires, 1908.

published the results of these measurements, together with measurements of other Indians, and added to that publication in the first 12 plates Chiriguano types photographed by Carlos Bruch. In addition to the somatic measurements, determination of skin color, eye color, and hair color and form have been published by Lehmann-Nitsche. Thirty-six of the 40 Chiriguano men stated where they had lived, and from this we know that these people had come from various regions of Chiriguano territory to the San Pedro sugar mill. There were some who had come from the northern regions, and one had come from the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Others had come from the south of Chiriguano territory, for example, from the town of Carapati, located considerably to the south of the Pilcomayo River. There are named 13 Chiriguano

C
166

C
[167]

[Text Continues on P. 30]

/13 cont./

166 towns from which one man had come from each one. From Charagua, Parapití, and Carapati two had come from each one, four from Ingre, five from Santa Rosa, and eight from Machareti. Unfortunately, the native soil of the Chiriguano women was not stated, and it is only said that they came from Bolivia.

141 The average height of the Chiriguano men measured by Lehmann-Nitsche is 163.4 cm., and the height of the Chiriguano women measured is 151.7 cm. This average height of the women measured is not a little less. The average height of the eight men from Machareti was only 161.8 cm., and that of the two men from Parapití only 158.1 cm. But the average height of the four men from Ingre was 169.15 cm. The tallest of the Chiriguano men measured, who had a height of 178.6 cm., had come from Ingre, and the shortest, with a height of 153.5 cm., from Machareti. The smallest woman (between 35 and 40 years old) was only 143.0 cm., and the tallest, 158.0 cm. These numbers show us that the height of different Chiriguano individuals is quite variable. Among the Chiriguano measured by Lehmann-Nitsche, the number of those who came from the same region is too small to be able to make exact deductions about the differences in height of the Chiriguano of the various regions in order to be able to clearly demonstrate the somatic influence of mixture with other tribes.

14 The photographs of Chiriguano types published by Lehmann-Nitsche show great variations among the different features and bodies, which corresponds to the fact that the present-day Chiriguano are the product of a mixture of various ethnic elements.

113 114 142 Good photographs of the Chiriguano of the southern part of their territory can be found in the publication of von Rosen, Ethnographical Research Work during the Swedish Chaco-Cordillera Expedition, 1901-1902 (48). Erland von Nordenskiöld

48. Stockholm. 1924.

Chané SF8
Izozo

Ce 411 126

/40 cont./

I. A. 747. (Izozó.) Length 0.97 m. Iron point; its length 24.5 cm. Cane shaft. Remnants of feathering.

I. A. 748. " Length 0.94 m. Iron point; its length 23.5 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering. Fig. 37 f.)

I. A. 749. " Length 1.07 m. Iron point; its length 23.2 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering.

I. A. 750. " Length 0.835 m. Iron point; its length 17 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering. (Fig. 37h.)

I. A. 751. " Length 0.93 m. Iron point; its length 22.5 cm. Cane shaft. With feathering.

I. A. 752. " Length 0.92 m. Iron point; its length 27 cm. Cane shaft. With feathering.

I. A. 753. " Length 0.985 m. Iron point; its length 21.5 cm. Cane shaft. Perhaps with feathering.

C Ce 411 174 177

Of the seven Izozó bows, the first four on the list are good specimens made of hard wood and correspond in all details to the Chiriguano bows described by v. Rosen (187), except for

187. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 206, 208.

their length, which is a few centimeters less than these. This difference in length is easily explained by the fact these Chiriguano bows were collected by v. Rosen in 1901 and 1902. It would be difficult today to find still among the Chiriguano bows as long as those which v. Rosen acquired 35 years ago. From Lizarraga's statement that the Chiriguano bows were of the same height as the bowman, it is evident that the bows of these Indians were formerly [illegible] longer than those described by v. Rosen. If, following [illegible]ehmann-Nitsche's somatic measurements mentioned above, we set the average height of Chiriguano men at 1.63 m., there is still a difference of 18 cm. between this figure and that of 1.45 m., which is the length of the longest bow among those collected by v. Rosen. We must consider this shortening of the Chiriguano and Chané bow,

C [141]

1: Métraux--19 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

1. Old Chiriguano of Yumbía (Upper Pilcomayo). Note the enormous labret and the head band.

142
301
302

2. Karnapadyú, "captain" of the Caruruí region near the middle course of the Parapití River (Photo. A. M.)

142
291
554
302
643

643
241
516

142
241
516

Plate III

1. Mandepona, the most illustrious Chiriguano chief of the past century. His authority extended not only over the village of Macharetí, where he lived, but over vast expanses of the Chaco. (Photo. by the R. P. Honorato Catinari.)

2. Type of Chiriguano Indian from the Igllembé Valley. (Photo. A. M.)

II Mémoires--29 E-5 (1929) 1930 SP10 Chiriguano SP10

142
554
643
199

1. Santos Airedyú, the last "capitan grande" of the still independent Chiriguano Indians. Airedyú is completely assimilated to civilization and lives like a rich Bolivian farmer. He is a man of great character. (Photo. A. M.)

142
291
999

2. Group of Chiriguano in a Franciscan mission. (Photo. by the R. P. Honorato Catinari.)

142
291
302
481
516

Fig. 1. Old Indian from the Santa Rosa Mission (Photo. by the Reverend Father Honorato Catinari).

142
281
302
301
765

142
212
301
302

Plate V

1. Iwawaset. Chiriguano Indian girl from the region of Cururuti (near the middle course of the Parapití River). Her hair is cut short as a sign of mourning for the death of an aunt. (Photo. A. M.)

2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the village of Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo). She has put on her festival clothes and sports her most beautiful necklaces. (On her chest, necklace of silver coins.) (Photo. A. M.)

II Métraux—50 E-5 (1950) 1950 SF-0 Chiriguano SF-0

/340 cont./

Property is a sacred thing among the Chirigwano, and the nearest relatives cannot dispose of their belongings without their formal consent.

At the time of my stay in Caranti, I once asked my old friend "Captain" Kamapadyu to take me to his field. He was very

Fig. 7. Mill for grinding sugar cane, at the Ivu mission.
(Photo. A. II.)

touched by //Plate VI appears here// /341/ the interest that my wish implied and in an instant showed himself ready to do the honors.

His field was about 700 meters from the village on top of one of the cliffs which border the "quebrada" /ravine/ of Caranti. Access to it was by a steep path across fallen rocks. The entrance to the field was closed by a hedge composed of tree trunks and thorny shrubs which we climbed over with the help of an Indian-style ladder, that is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 94]

Plate VI

1. Young Chiriguano daughter of the "capitan grande" Fernández. Her cheeks are painted with *bálsamo* powder.

2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the Caruruti region, considered a beauty by the Indians. (Photo. A. M.)

/355 cont./

142
291
351
372

Fig. 26. Chiriguano woman lighting a fire. Upper Pilcomayo. (Photo. A. M.)

262
[075] do not hunt nor eat this animal (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 3).

[756] Medicine men cannot under any circumstances eat pimento. If a man refuses to taste this condiment, one can be sure he is a magician (id., p. 184).

[765] Grilled corn is strictly forbidden for persons in mourning, whose tears would dry up if they ate this dish.

[825] the exclusive right to eat deer meat, which thus instilled in them
[789] the agility and suppleness of this animal. Women could eat, without

/392 cont./

531 peculiar to the villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé
184 valley. The decoration made up of broken and asymmetric lines does not go beyond the zone of the Franciscan missions and the Itiyuro region.

323
415
291
516
142
302

Fig. 62. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is rolled between the palms of the hands. (Photographs taken by the author at Masaví, Igüembé Valley.)

[126]

/392 cont./

323
415
291
516
142
302

Fig. 63. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is ready to be superposed on the preceding one.

/396/

000 first and foremost gasoline cans. Artistic ceramics have become the
323 appanage of a few old women who are not founding a school and who
178
463
887
531

323
415
142
302

Fig. 64. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is placed on the preceding one and flattened between the thumb and
[531] the other fingers of the potter. Finger impressions result from this, forming a crude design.

323 will carry the secret of their art to the grave. Already today,
178 obliged to satisfy a large demand, they endlessly repeat the same
463 motifs and have a vexing tendency to draw them hastily and
887 without any care at all. These designs are becoming awkward,
531 crude, and are taking on a primitive appearance which is far from corresponding to the taste and culture of the Chiriguano.

/433 cont./

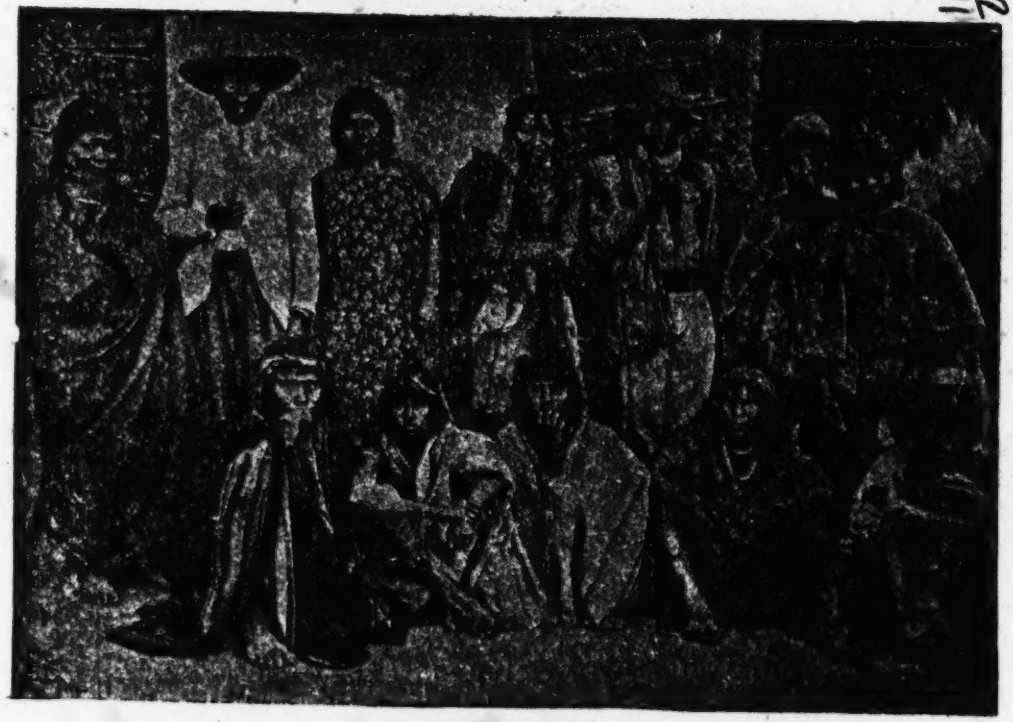
283
291
516
142

Fig. 87. Chiriguano woman getting ready to spin. Cururutí. (Photo. A. M.)

286 The reed of our European looms is replaced here by an /Fig. 88 appears here/ interlacing of threads which grasp one thread of the warp, then the other, alternately.

286 413 The woof is passed through with the help of a shuttle whose motion back and forth is facilitated by a weaver's sword (iwirapé) which separates the warp threads. This latter instrument is used to tighten the cloth each time the woof has passed through. A [237] mammalian metatarsal bone sharpened to a point (Fig. 92) or a small pointed or spindle-shaped stick (Figs. 93 and 94) permits

4: Nino--52 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano
Tapiete Sk13

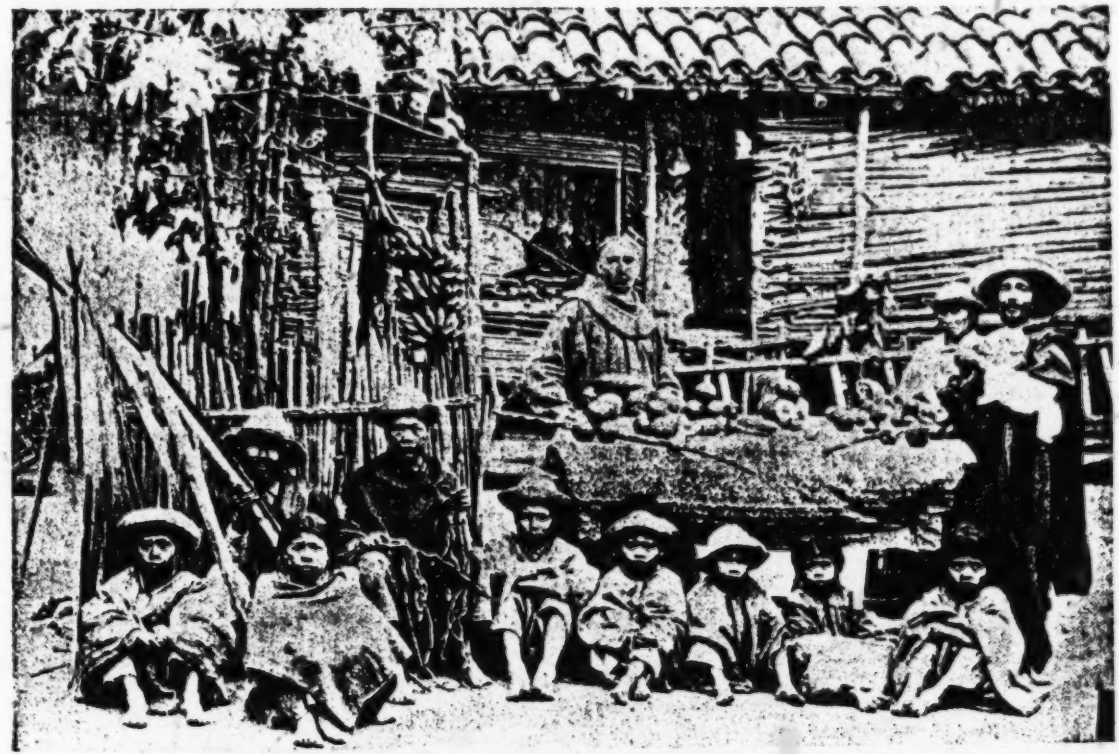


Group of Tapiete Indians

142
291

4: Nino--63 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

PD 1422 291



Agricultural Industry of the Missions

4: Nino--104 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano
Tapiete SK13

142
291
302

Man of the Tapiete race on the Pilcomayo River between Guachalla and Esteros de Patiño.

4: Nino--148 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
301
302
516

Group of Chiriguano Women

/111 cont./
144 who conquered Mexico and Peru (1).
114
[113]

1. Guillermo Robertson. Historia de América desde el descubrimiento hasta antes de la Independencia /History of America from the Discovery to before Independence/. Travelers exaggerate their stories in order to attract more attention.

144 There are extensive areas where mixture of the two
[191] races was frequent, but it must be pointed out that in these
[142] areas the children of such have ceased to be Chiriguano, both because of the Spanish language, which they now speak perfectly, and the color, which is completely different; it is no longer parchment, as Father Corrado states, but a skin which is up to a certain point fine and velvetlike, so that for this class of persons who descend from white and Chiriguano the appropriate name is mestizo and not Chiriguano, and consequently the physical characteristics of the race have not changed. In these same areas families which have kept pure Chiriguano blood are not rare, and these families, or the individuals which make them up, have the same characteristics as other Chiriguano, without any noteworthy difference (2).

2. From the left bank of the Parapiti River northward this radical change is taking place, making the race disappear.

On the contrary, in the great Chiriguano centers, such as all the missions and a few other areas outside of them,
141 the physique of the native has not changed at all. As a
142 rule their stature does not reach one meter and 70 centimeters in men, and rare are the women who reach 1.60; the hair is black, glossy, and coarse, and very vigorous in

/111 cont./

141 both men and women, and fair hair indicates either an
142 oddity or a clandestine affair. The forehead is rather small, as are also the languid, downcast eyes; the face is round, the nose flat, the mouth wide, the denture white as ivory, the chin short, and the lips rather thick. /112/ The
142 men do not wear beards, and anyone would believe that they
302 are beardless, but the main reason why they do not have one is that they pull out the hairs as they grow, and for this they have some tin tweezers with which they make all the hair disappear, and they do well, because otherwise, in view of their slovenliness, with long beards they would really be orangutans (1).

[186] 1. The Toba call the Chiriguano tigre face because of his round face, and the latter gets back at them by calling them horse face because of their long faces. In the missions the neophytes wear mustache and goatee.

141 They have a chest thrust forward, rather heavy
[291] shoulders and arms, normal-sized hands, and not very big feet, in spite of the fact that they grow as they will since they always go barefoot, especially the women, and not
147 all of them wear sandals /ojotas/. When they are enjoy-
[853] ing good health, they are very robust, and the women without the slightest bother will nurse two babes at their
[609] breasts. Whenever some white Christian woman is not able to nurse, she usually seeks out a Chiriguano woman to wet-nurse her child; this, in addition to being very advantageous because of the goodness of the blood, is also quite eco-
855 nomical. But it is true that most Indian women do not
[609] wish to take care of children other than their own; most
[466] of the time they agree to it with reluctance, or by force, this last occurring when the Indians are subject to a master.

/112 cont./

142 The Chiriguano at the time of birth has a color which is difficult to define, but, and let nobody laugh at this, his color is that of newborn mice, and as he grows the color changes until it is that of sunburnt parchment. The causes [147] of this change are the tropical heat, the sudden winds and changes, and the burning sun, to the action of which they expose themselves with untoward pleasure, with no bother and without fear, even should they be but tender infants.

441 147 From this it can easily be deduced that the Indian does not fear the canicular sun, or heat either; he works on the hottest days without shirt, trousers, or anything which re- [291] sembles these; he stretches out full length, very content, [516] receiving on his back the rays of the firey sun, and nothing daunts him. But when the north wind changes to the south and consequently the cold begins and the frost comes, he is very cowardly, and it is hard to make him work well and happily; in such cases it is easier to suspend the work for a few days, not to pay the laborers anything at all, and not to get uselessly angry; but this can only be done when the suspension does not have any bad effects (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. It is not only the Chiriguano Indian who hates the cold, but also the other races of America, such as, for example, the Quichua /Quechua/, according to what the historian Robertson says.

165 /113/ Life Span

The Chiriguano normally lives a good many years; he is little affected by heat, cold, and the inconstancy of the climate, nor by drunkenness and self-indulgence, to which capital vices he abandons himself from a tender age. Some [145] reach and pass 100 years, judging their longevity by their hair, since their hair does not turn white except at a very

[Text Continues on P. 156]

/113 cont./

165 [145] advanced age, and I have seen Indians with the head completely white, and others with a white the color of smoke or something smoked. In the performance of my ministry I have met and baptized many centenarians at the time of their death, and in the towns through which I have passed I have met several who fought in the Caraparí war and who witnessed the War of Independence.

273 276 [178] But today the Chiriguano has degenerated greatly: in somewhat distant times they did not know about either liquor or coca, and today both are general, and because of liquor and coca, the use of which they much abuse, they ruin their health and shorten their existence. Much youth disappears with the abuse of these substances, and as a general rule in the missions the best disappear, those who know some art or have some fortune; all that they earn, after buying their clothing (although not always), they invest in liquor and coca, and [165] [648] thus shorten their lives. I have seen towns where out of 40 or 50 young men of the same age there are scarcely two or three alive who will reach 50; it can thus be seen that the drunkenness produced by chicha is not so pernicious as that of liquor or alcohol, for which any tax imposed on them by the Supreme Government is never too much, and would that such a tax were higher, more general, and that it was not felt to be enough [142] [147] simply to write it out. In spite of this dissipated life, it is very rare that one encounters a bald Indian, which indicates great robustness (1).

1. I have known many large and small Chiriguano towns; I have only found three semibald persons.

Morality

181 At present the Chiriguano Indian differs slightly or not at all morally from the common mass of men. I mean that not all are good nor are all perverse; there are good ones and bad ones

4: Nino--255 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
302
516
622
352
411

Cacique Güirasa with His Family

/210 cont./

Infant Care

854 [352] For the newborn child to rest in, they have a kind of net which they hang at one end of the lodging. Its mother places it there when it sleeps, and she covers it with a piece of cloth so that the flies will not bother it. Some wool or cotton hammocks are crudely made /211/ by them, and these are called Ini ó quiha, the last term of which literally means quietness.

The mother almost never leaves her newborn child, and to go to the spring or to the river she takes advantage of the time when it is asleep, leaving it in the care of some person, even a little one. She cannot yet carry it in the folds of her clothing, because the child's tender limbs cannot bear such a position. Only when they have become somewhat stronger does the mother walk from one end of the town to the other, to the field, to the spring, without leaving her child at home, like weasels or like the kangaroos of Australia, who do not leave their young in the caves when they go out, making leaps like a jerboa.

147 854 The sun in the Chiriguano region is very hot and yet children exposed to its action do not feel its effects very much, if at all. They receive its rays perpendicularly, from in front, from all sides, and square on their faces, and it is as though they were in the shade. The only effect that it has on them is the copper color of the race, because experience has shown that this color is acquired (1).

• 142 1. The color of the newborn babies is rather strange; they look like mice. Many newborn babies are completely white, but not like Europeans; the difference between the former and the latter can be seen immediately.

4: Nino--321 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
302
516
412

Group of Indian Women

Chihuahua Mexico
Mexico—401 M-3 (1888-1911) 1913 8710

Girls' School of San Pascual Mission

Schmelzenkäfid E-S,c (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF9

C
361
1942

Fig. 24 Old Chiriguano Indian with a big »Tembeta». Tiñiñipa, Bolivia.

XII.

Articles connected with the deformation of the body. »Tembeta».

Ee
361

All Chiriguano and Chané men of the older generation and, in a few of the Chiriguano villages, the younger men and boys also wear a so-called *tembeta* or lip-button in the under-lip. The custom of boring the lips is wide-spread in S. America. Dall, Dixon, Nuttd, Uhle and Verneau-River have drawn up summary tables to which I beg to refer, at the same time making some additions based on notes I have made from the literature on the subject to which I have had access.

Ee
304
171

The tembeta of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is made, as a rule, of tin and in shape reminds one of a cap with a peak at both the front and back. (fig. 25)

Ce /164 cont./
829 referring when he addressed a farewell speech to /165/ me, which began as follows: "Now you can tell your great chief that you saw us and our poverty..."

G S The sense of direction of the Indians has been discussed a
823 great deal. The Indian undoubtedly has a very highly developed gift of observation, but his sense of direction is not so
G considerable. I wandered with the Guarayú Indians in east-
823 ern Bolivia for about 250 kilometers in deep, large forests which they did not know, and in which we often had to cut a path,

C
142
301
302

Fig. 79. Old Chiriguano with large lip-plug. Tihuipa.

G step by step, with the bush knife. When the sun was covered
823 with clouds, they often led me astray, as I could see by my compass. For a white man transplanted directly from city life into the wilderness, the Indian's intimate acquaintance with nature is remarkable. If one is accustomed to this life himself, he looks at the matter differently.

/214 cont./

577 entirely untouched by the civilization of the whites, an opinion
831 which I shall reproduce here verbatim:
175

"Ce qui m'a fort surpris, c'est que dans la licence où ils vivent, je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'il échappat à aucun homme la moindre action indécente à l'egard des femmes, et jamais je n'ai oui sortir de leur bouche aucune parole tant soit peu déshonnête

643
291
415
142
352
516

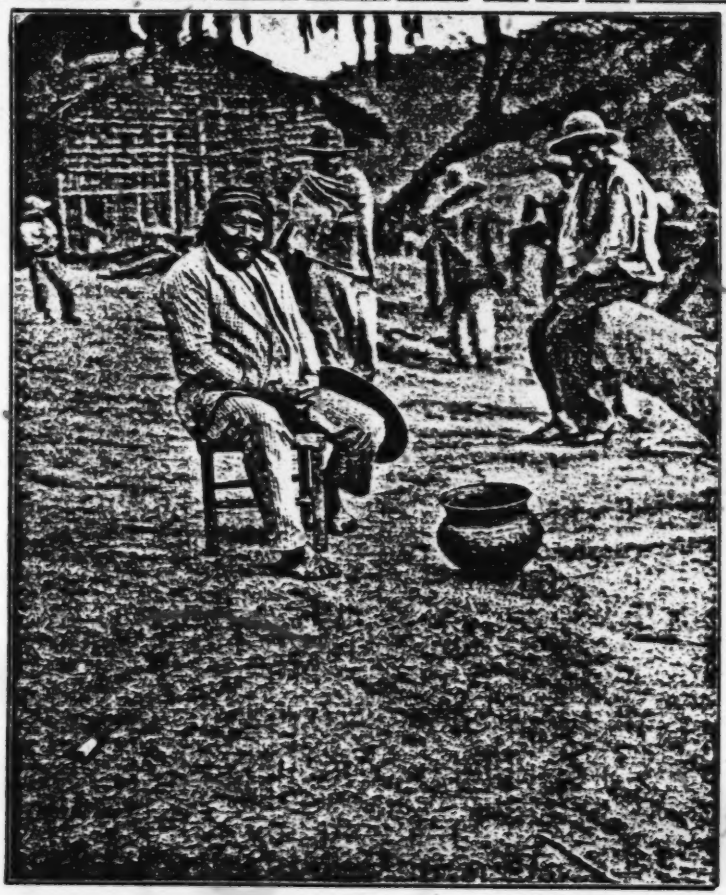


Fig. 111. The Chiriguano chief Mandepora.

577 /What surprised me very much is that in the freedom in which
831 they live I never noticed the slightest indecent behavior on the
175 part of any man with regard to women, and never did I hear from their lips any word that was the least bit immodest/."

/214 cont./

581 This Jesuit priest describes the marriages of the Chiriguano, however, as very loose.

581 273 With marriage, life begins in earnest for these Indians. It consists of work and drinking maize beer. I have already described their work somewhat; I shall discuss their drinking bouts below.

165 The life of the Indian men and women passes more quickly

● 142 291 516

Fig. 112. Old woman. Rio Itiyuro.
Her grandsons were about 18 years old and younger.

165 than that of whites. The age of the Indian is very difficult to determine when one has no definite figures to go by. Maringay told me that he was the oldest of his tribe, that none of his contemporaries was living any more. The whites said that Maringay was over 100 years old. This is exaggerated, however. As a newly married /215/ youth 16-20 years old, Maringay visited

C /215 cont./
165 President Belzu in Sucre. The latter governed between 1848-1855; thus, 100-year-old Maringay is obviously not more than about 80. An 80-year-old Indian is therefore the oldest of his tribe.
C 145 Among the Indians one almost always sees /Fig. 112 appears here/ that the one who has grown-up grandchildren is very frail and senile and stands at the brink of the grave. Indian men and women
C mature very rapidly, but also age quickly. At 50 the Indian is an
[114] old man, at 70 a so-called centenarian. Im Thurn (1) likewise

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 190.

believes that the Indians do not grow old. /216/ He thinks that
C they seldom reach an age older than 40 or 50.
●142 Maringay's hair was slightly gray. There are some Indian men and women whose hair is almost whitish yellow, but they are
C [145] rare (Fig. 112). I never saw a bald Indian. When they are older,
[164] their faces are deeply furrowed. Not infrequently they become blind in old age, less often deaf.
Ee Among the Choroti and Ashluslay the appearance of old
142 people is often frightening; they are dirty, emaciated, and
515 bleary-eyed. This is not the case among the Chané and Chiriguano. These Indians know how to grow old in beauty, and even the old people keep themselves nice and clean.
Ee If the Chané or Chiriguano Indian becomes seriously ill,
756 the medicine man is sent for, as among other Indians.

The Chiriguano and Chané distinguish between two kinds
Ee of medicine men, whom they call "ipáye" or "ipáyepótchi." The
[754] former are good and lift the spell; the latter are able to lift the spell and to bewitch.
C I once jokingly asked a Chiriguano whether Father
756 Bernardino in Ivu was an "ipáye" or an "ipáyepótchi." The Indian
797 answered dutifully, an "ipáye." The position of the missionary among the Indians is that of medicine man; he assumes their power and their influence.
Ee In the preceding I said that the whites in the vicinity of
756 Ivu sent for an Indian medicine man to drive away smallpox.
177

[P. 190 is blank]

142 To me, the Chiriguano seemed to be of better physique than both the Puna and the Chaco Indians, and their cast of features, as a rule, to be less rough-hewn than those of the above-mentioned tribes. Herma ten [141] Kate has taken anthropological measurements of four Chiriguano men, [127] whose average height was determined at 160.1 cm.[1] Lehmann-Nitsche, who has made anthropological observations of 50 Chiriguano (40 men and 10 women), is my authority for the data I have grouped together in the subjoined table.[2]

The Chiriguano; some physical data.

Sex	Average height, cm	Shape of skull	Colour of skin, Luschan's scale	Colour of hair, Fischer's scale	Iris, by Martin's scale
Men.....	163.4	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 22	Majority 4	Majority 3—4
Women.....	151.7	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 18	Majority 4	Majority 3—4

142 The Chiriguano complexion is, accordingly, brown with a tint of yellow; the iris is dark brown, the hair black, coarse and lank. The growth of hair on face and body is very scanty.

361 The Chiriguano are not a nomadic people, but live in permanent villages, some of which are the abode of only a few families, whilst others contain [114] several hundreds of inhabitants. At Ibitibi I was studying a Chiriguano village that, according to the Indians, was inhabited by about 300 people. This village was situated on a plain surrounded by wooded mountains (fig. 188). The huts formed a large circle, with the chief's hut in the centre. In the open space between the chief's hut and the rest, there were growing some close-foliaged trees (probably of the Bignoniaceæ [574] family), affording much-needed shade. In earlier literature it is stated that [609] the Chiriguano used to build a hut for strangers in the middle of the village plaza.[3] In many of the Chiriguano villages I visited, the huts were scattered about without any perceivable order.

342 The huts are rectangular and with ridged roofs. (Figs. 188—192.) The walls either consist of perpendicular sticks, of tree-branches or reeds,

[1] Ten Kate (1), p. 26.
[2] Lehmann-Nitsche (1).
[3] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 2.

342
●142
291
302
352
273

Fig. 190. Woman in front of her hut. In the foreground a bedstead on which lies chewed maize; this maize is used in the preparation of »chicha», an intoxicating beverage. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

342
361
417

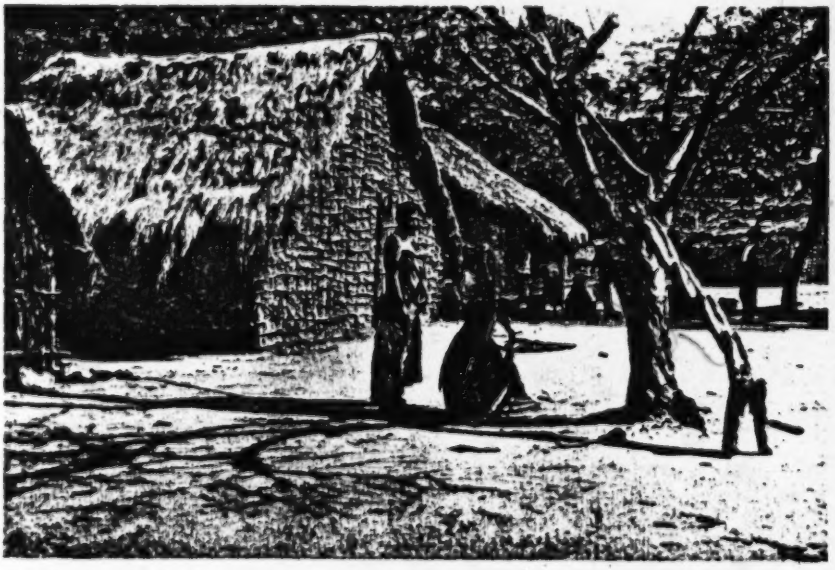


Fig. 191. Huts in the periphery of the circular market-place in the Chiriguano village of Ibitibi. In right foreground, a ladder used on going to the pile-barns for maize. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

 [P. 194 is blank]

seen any Chiriguano using this typical ancient Andean garment. Ponchos of the cloak type, and robes of the kind used by the Chaco Indians, on the other hand, I have seen worn by the Chiriguano men, who put them on against cold and wet. Formerly the Chiriguano men dressed in the »chiripa», which was a rectangular skirt that was fastened in front to a cord tied round the waist, then passed between the legs, and fixed to the cord above the buttocks. One may still see, here and there, some small boy wearing nothing but this primitive garment. On their heads the men often wear a broad, red. turbanlike frontlet (fig. 194), and, when setting out on long marches, they put on their feet sandals, the straps of which bear distinct resemblance to straps on sandals that have been found in ancient graves on Puna de Jujuy.[1]

Fig. 195. Chiriguano boy with long, flowing hair. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

The women also possess sandals, but, like the men, generally walk about barefooted. The women's clothing consists of a loose-fitting, tubular garment made of woollen, or cotton, stuff. It is called »tipoy». The upper part of it is pinned together over the shoulders by means of cactus spines or metal pins, in the manner seen in fig. 190, which leaves the arms free, or the garment may be fastened under the armpits in the way the girl in fig. 194 is wearing it.

Nowadays the men mostly wear their hair bobbed, and with a frontal fringe (fig. 194), but I have seen boys, not fully grown, with long hair, hanging loose down (fig. 195). In former days all the men had long hair, which they gathered on the top of the head, where it was secured with a frontlet, a custom not yet quite discarded in some out-of-the-way parts of the country. The women let their hair grow long, give it a centre parting on the top of the head (fig. 190), plait it into tresses and tie it up, or allow it to hang loose. One may sometimes see girls with short hair (fig. 194), but in such cases the hair has been cut short as a sign that its owner has entered upon her first menstruation. On the death of a near relative it is also the custom of the women to cut off their hair.

Fig. 196. Wooden comb. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 829.

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), fig. 23; von Rosen (1), fig. 84.

1 [footnote 1 appears on p. 200 - - An.]

Plate II

291
516

Fig. 3
(I. C. 354) -- Chiriguano in Machareti

142
291
516
302

Fig. 4
(I.C. 359) -- Chiriguano women in Machareti

/12 cont./

000 I.C. 246. Izozó cacique with his family. Near Toledo. (Fig. 12.)
I.C. 249. Izozó man with tembetá /labret/. Near Toledo. (Fig. 27.)
I.C. 251. Izozó in Toledo with soldiers and the author. (Fig. 2.)
I.C. 330. Izozó men. Near Toledo. (Fig. 9.)

C 144 648 Ce 648 From the preceding historical sketch it can be seen that the ethnic entity "Chiriguano-Chané," with regard to its physical characteristics, is made up of an ethnic mixture of absolutely heterogeneous elements. We have told how the Chiriguano for centuries captured many prisoners, incorporating them into their community, and how at the end of the 16th century the number of Chané incorporated among them was much larger than that of the pure Guaraní-Chiriguano. Although the Chané, belonging to the linguistic group of the Aruacos /Arawak/, were a peaceful nation and were not equal in strength to the pure Chiriguano, their culture, which for a long time was in contact with that of the ancient Peruvians, was doubtless superior to that of their oppressors, and the Chané women surely had considerable influence on their masters. Since the two population elements lived together for three and a half centuries, we must suppose that they would have mixed extensively.

C 142 175 Unfortunately, the ancient documents say very little about the physical qualities of the Chiriguano. The only brief note on this subject that I know of is found in the "Descripción y población de las Indias" by Bishop Lizarraga (44): "They are

44. Moreno II, p. 101.

C [302] Ce 144 175 comely, robust, with broad-shouldered, high chests, well built, dark. They pluck their eyebrows and eyelashes; the eyes are small and lively." According to Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883, that is, a short time after the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites and the Chané began to become emancipated from their oppressors, forming their own towns, somatic differences between the

8: Schmidt--28 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate III

142
291
302
516
854
←

142
291
516
→

Fig. 5
(I.C 380) - Chiriguano women with babies in Machareti

Fig. 6
(I.C.335)--Chiriguano men in Machareti

142
291
516

Fig. 7
(I.C. 361)--Chiriguano boys in Machareti

Fig. 8
(I.C. 362)--Chiriguano children in Machareti

/13 cont./

166 towns from which one man had come from each one. From Charagua, Parapití, and Carapati two had come from each one, four from Ingre, five from Santa Rosa, and eight from Machareti. Unfortunately, the native soil of the Chiriguano women was not stated, and it is only said that they came from Bolivia.

141 The average height of the Chiriguano men measured by Lehmann-Nitsche is 163.4 cm., and the height of the Chiriguano women measured is 151.7 cm. This average height of the women measured is not a little less. The average height of the eight men from Machareti was only 161.8 cm., and that of the two men from Parapití only 158.1 cm. But the average height of the four men from Ingre was 169.15 cm. The tallest of the Chiriguano men measured, who had a height of 178.6 cm., had come from Ingre, and the shortest, with a height of 153.5 cm., from Machareti. The smallest woman (between 35 and 40 years old) was only 143.0 cm., and the tallest, 158.0 cm. These numbers show us that the height of different Chiriguano individuals is quite variable. Among the Chiriguano measured by Lehmann-Nitsche, the number of those who came from the same region is too small to be able to make exact deductions about the differences in height of the Chiriguano of the various regions in order to be able to clearly demonstrate the somatic influence of mixture with other tribes.

14 The photographs of Chiriguano types published by Lehmann-Nitsche show great variations among the different features and bodies, which corresponds to the fact that the present-day Chiriguano are the product of a mixture of various ethnic elements.

113 114 142 Good photographs of the Chiriguano of the southern part of their territory can be found in the publication of von Rosen, Ethnographical Research Work during the Swedish Chaco-Cordillera Expedition, 1901-1902 (48). Erland von Nordenskiöld

48. Stockholm. 1924.

113 /13 cont./
114 has published Chiriguano and Chané types (49).
142

49. Erland Nordenskiöld: Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerica /Inquiry and Adventure in South America/. Stockholm, 1915. Ills. 14-16; 20 and 31. Nord. I. Figs. 75, 76, 79, 87, 106, 110, 111, 112, 116, 132, and Pl. 18-2 /the second figure of this number in the twenties is illegible/.

The Territory of the Chiriguano

C
131 Concerning the location and extent of the territory of the Chiriguano at the time of their independence, that is, from the beginning of the 16th century to the second half of the 19th century, we have Moreno's detailed studies in two places in his work already cited many times above, the titles of which are: "Las tierras de los Chiriguanos /The lands of
C [101] the Chiriguano/" (50). According to Moreno (51), the

50. Moreno II, pp. 79-126 and pp. 235-254.

51. Moreno II, p. 236.

Chiriguano--Chiriguano /14/ of the Cordillera in contrast to the Itatines-Guarayus and the Piritaguaris also often called Chiriguano in the literature -- from the time of the Conquest until they lost their independence inhabited the same territory, that is, the western spurs of the Andes from south of the Pilcomayo up to the lands which extend on both sides of the
Ce Guapay. The Chané, who formerly had a large well-populated
13 territory, "although they formed several partial migrations,
[648] remained in great number subject to the conquering Guaraní within the region which these latter had converted into their impregnable abode" (52). In 1883 Father Alejandro Corrado

52. Moreno II, p. 249.

113, 143

Chiriguano SP10
Choroti SK8
Mataco SI7
Tehuelche SH5
Caraja SP9
Tucano SQ19
Guarani SM4
Timbira SO8
Araucanians SG4
Paez SC15
Canari SD4
Jivaro SD9
Aymara SF5
Ona SH4
Yahgan SH6

/For information on genic locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see: 4: Hill et al., SS18 Warao, Category 116, pp. 107-114./

G4 285 482 [824] /439 cont./
p. 171 and Map 21). Their baskets being in bad shape, the Guarayú wanted to make some new ones and were very annoyed not to find in the region into which they had come the palm trees with pinnate leaves which they were in the habit of using for this purpose. Now, Guarayú and Chiriguano are brothers in race and language and emigrated at the same period from Paraguay to settle in the vicinity of the Andes. When leaving their country of origin, both were acquainted with this type of basket used by their ancestors, the Guaraní, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, /440/ and still favored among their first cousins from Paraguay, the Kainguá (Métraux, 2, p. 206). The disappearance of this cultural element among the Chiriguano is due solely to the lack of appropriate raw materials.

C G4 285 482 174 824 [144] [197]

C 177 482 In order to make up for the absence of back baskets, indispensable to a farming people /Fig. 98 appears here/ the Chiriguano borrowed from their neighbors in the Chaco, either the Mataco or the Choroti, the carrying nets (in Chiriguano: añapoka) whose use is so widespread among the latter and is so characteristic of their civilization. Carrying nets today are in general use among the Chiriguano, and in every village each family has at /Fig. 99 appears here/ least one (Figs. 98 and 99). In spite of this wide diffusion, the Chiriguano añapoka betrays its origin by its form and technique (see Figs. 100 and 101 /see pp. 283 -285/), which are both found in the tribes we have just enumerated (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208, Technique I). Although considerably more advanced on the way to civilization than the seminomadic tribes of the Chaco, the Chiriguano do not by any means equal them /441/ in the art of making nets. The añapoka I collected cannot be compared with the deep bags which the Matako or the Choroti, for example, make for the same purpose. In the village of Machareti, where Toba live with Chiriguano, it is the former who furnish the latter with the /Fig. 100 appears here/ carrying nets they need (see Fig. 99 /see p.282/) (1).

C [171] C [286] C [563] [439]

C 286 482 171 1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 163, Fig. 49 A) gives the detail of the technique of a Chiriguano carrying net. This technique is not found on any

[TEXT Continues on P. 283]

/110 cont./

144 Some explorers and travelers, after having happily concluded their investigative labors, have set down in their reports that the Chiriguano Indians have changed greatly in physique since the whites or Creoles entered their territory, but nothing could be less exact than this. Clandestine unions between Christian men and Chiriguano women have been quite rare, and even rarer are legitimate unions through Catholic marriage, from which generally comes propagation and change in races (2).

[563] [799] [799]

> 2. In 20 years of missionary life I have blessed but four marriages between Christian white men and Chiriguano neophytes.

114 144 If Señor del Campano states that for a period of 40 years the Chiriguano have maintained themselves without change, on the basis of photographs taken in the year 1860, which were placed at his disposal by Professor Mantegazza, and those which the missionaries of Potosí and Tarija sent in 1898 to the Turin Exposition, among /111/ which was a skull collected by the author of this work in the fields of Curuyuqui and sold by Father Giannecchini to the Florence museum, what can be said by some missionaries who have grown old and who are growing old among these Indians and who know the race in old men and in young boys, in old women and in damsels, before and after the white Christians were introduced in number?

In my judgment the said change does not exist, because an occasional isolated case, an occasional family, where the mixture of the two races has taken place, cannot be adduced as proof that the physique of the race has varied greatly. Travelers and explorers pass through a region rapidly; they can devote little time to the study of a race, and consequently their written reports, worthy of all respect, are somewhat exaggerated, as were those of the Spaniards

/111 cont./

•144 114 [113] who conquered Mexico and Peru (1).

1. Guillermo Robertson. Historia de América desde el descubrimiento hasta antes de la Independencia /History of America from the Discovery to before Independence/. Travelers exaggerate their stories in order to attract more attention.

144 [191] [142] There are extensive areas where mixture of the two races was frequent, but it must be pointed out that in these areas the children of such have ceased to be Chiriguano, both because of the Spanish language, which they now speak perfectly, and the color, which is completely different: it is no longer parchment, as Father Corrado states, but a skin which is up to a certain point fine and velvetlike, so that for this class of persons who descend from white and Chiriguano the appropriate name is mestizo and not Chiriguano, and consequently the physical characteristics of the race have not changed. In these same areas families which have kept pure Chiriguano blood are not rare, and these families, or the individuals which make them up, have the same characteristics as other Chiriguano, without any noteworthy difference (?).

2. From the left bank of the Parapiti River northward this radical change is taking place, making the race disappear.

On the contrary, in the great Chiriguano centers, such as all the missions and a few other areas outside of them, 141 the physique of the native has not changed at all. As a 142 rule their stature does not reach one meter and 70 centimeters in men, and rare are the women who reach 1.60; the hair is black, glossy, and coarse, and very vigorous in

St Schmidt--56 E-6 (1905) 1908 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/12 cont./

GDD

I.C. 246. Izoné cacique with his family. Near Toledo. (Fig. 12.)
I.C. 249. Izoné man with tembetá /labret/. Near Toledo. (Fig. 27.)
I.C. 251. Izoné in Toledo with soldiers and the author. (Fig. 2.)
I.C. 238. Izoné man. Near Toledo. (Fig. 3.)

C
LHS
LHS
CE
LHS

From the preceding historical sketch it can be seen that the ethnic entity "Chiriguano-Chané," with regard to its physical characteristics, is made up of an ethnic mixture of absolutely heterogeneous elements. We have told how the Chiriguano for centuries captured many prisoners, incorporating them into their community, and how at the end of the 16th century the number of Chané incorporated among them was much larger than that of the pure Guaraní-Chiriguano. Although the Chané, belonging to the linguistic group of the Arauca /Arawak/, were a peaceful nation and were not equal in strength to the pure Chiriguano, their culture, which for a long time was in contact with that of the ancient Peruvians, was doubtless superior to that of their oppressors, and the Chané women surely had considerable influence on their masters. Since the two population elements lived together for three and a half centuries, we must suppose that they would have mixed extensively.

C
142
M5

Unfortunately, the ancient documents say very little about the physical qualities of the Chiriguano. The only brief note on this subject that I know of is found in the "Descripción y población de las Indias" by Bishop Lizarraga (44): "They are

44. Moreno II, p. 101.

C
[BOL]
CE
M5

comely, robust, with broad-shouldered, high chests, well built, dark. They pluck their eyebrows and eyelashes; the eyes are small and lively." According to Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883, that is, a short time after the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites and the Chané began to become emancipated from their oppressors, forming their own towns, somatic differences between the

/12 cont./

C 149 [177]

Chiriguano and Chané no longer exist. "The physiognomy of the latter was completely identical to that of the former" (45).

45. Moreno II, p. 254.

C 114 141 [113]

In addition to anthropological measurements made on four Chiriguano by Ten Kate (46), Robert Lehmann-Nitsche

46. Ten Kate. Herm.: "Matériaux pour servir à l'anthropologie des indiens de la République Argentine /Materials for use for the anthropology of the Indians of the Argentine Republic/." Revista del Museo de la Plata. Vol. 12. La Plata. 1904.

in 1906 had the opportunity at the San Pedro de Jujui sugar mill to take the anthropological measurements of 40 Chiriguano men and ten women, who had come from Bolivia to work at that mill. Entitled "Estudios antropológicos sobre los Chiriguanos. /Pl. III-IV appear here/ /13/ Choroteo, Matacos, y Tobas (Chaco Occidental)" (47), Lehmann-Nitsche has

C [113]

47. Anales del Museo de La Plata. Vol. I. No. 2. (Second Series). Buenos Aires. 1908.

published the results of these measurements, together with measurements of other Indians, and added to that publication in the first 12 plates Chiriguano types photographed by Carlos Bruch. In addition to the somatic measurements, determination of skin color, eye color, and hair color and form have been published by Lehmann-Nitsche. Thirty-six of the 40 Chiriguano men stated where they had lived, and from this we know that these people had come from various regions of Chiriguano territory to the San Pedro sugar mill. There were some who had come from the northern regions, and one had come from the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Others had come from the south of Chiriguano territory, for example, from the town of Carapati, located considerably to the south of the Pilcomayo River. There are named 13 Chiriguano

C 166

C [167]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 30]

/13 cont./

132 atmosphere immediately cools down and there begins a cold wind whose chill is increased as it passes through the region of hail, and since the maize stalks are still tender they are easily stricken. The hail that falls is big, the earth is churned up, and it kills birds, sheep, goats, and other animals, if they are unable to hide in the bushes or under thick trees, but this does not happen often nor every year.

[133] Earthquakes are most rare; I felt them twice during my stay in the region, in 1899 and 1909, but the wind is sometimes so strong that it seems to make the earth tremble; there is no doubt but that it tears up trees and strips them, ruins buildings, and dismantles tiled roofs. Foreigners in this [145] so hot and changeable climate soon age and turn gray, but the natives who are used to it from childhood, despite the vices of drinking and others to which they surrender, enjoy a relatively long and healthy life.

It can readily be understood from what has been said that here the seasons of the year follow a different order from that which is seen in the Old World. Despite the fact, then, that there are no more than two seasons, we always can and ought to consider the four, in order to follow the general rule of the universe which divides the year into four parts. Summer begins December 21, fall March 21, winter June 21, and spring September 21, but all of these come ahead of time, as anyone who has lived here can testify.

Fertility

133 182 311 312 361 The Aguaragüe range, which is found to the east and one league from the Mission of San Buenaventura de Yvu, is the last one in Chiriguano territory. Small towns and families of these Indians are scattered here and there are still found east of the said range some 15 leagues away, but beyond that /14/ there are none because the area is arid and dry, "igũ utini vae," as they say, and the Chiriguano accustomed to planting maize, beans, and gourds cannot live where there is a scarcity of rain for his crops and water for his daily bath.

/112 cont./

142 The Chiriguano at the time of birth has a color which is difficult to define, but, and let nobody laugh at this, his color is that of newborn mice, and as he grows the color changes until it is that of sunburnt parchment. The causes [147] of this change are the tropical heat, the sudden winds and changes, and the burning sun, to the action of which they expose themselves with untoward pleasure, with no bother and without fear, even should they be but tender infants.

441 147 From this it can easily be deduced that the Indian does not fear the canicular sun, or heat either; he works on the hottest days without shirt, trousers, or anything which re- [291] sembles these; he stretches out full length, very content, [516] receiving on his back the rays of the firey sun, and nothing daunts him. But when the north wind changes to the south and consequently the cold begins and the frost comes, he is very cowardly, and it is hard to make him work well and happily; in such cases it is easier to suspend the work for a few days, not to pay the laborers anything at all, and not to get uselessly angry; but this can only be done when the suspension does not have any bad effects (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. It is not only the Chiriguano Indian who hates the cold, but also the other races of America, such as, for example, the Quichua /Quechua/, according to what the historian Robertson says.

165 /113/ Life Span

The Chiriguano normally lives a good many years; he is little affected by heat, cold, and the inconstancy of the climate, nor by drunkenness and self-indulgence, to which capital vices he abandons himself from a tender age. Some [145] reach and pass 100 years, judging their longevity by their hair, since their hair does not turn white except at a very

[Text Continues on P. 156]

/113 cont./

165 advanced age, and I have seen Indians with the head com-
[145] pletely white, and others with a white the color of smoke or something smoked. In the performance of my ministry I have met and baptized many centenarians at the time of their death, and in the towns through which I have passed I have met several who fought in the Caparari war and who witnessed the War of Independence.

273 But today the Chiriguano has degenerated greatly; in
276 somewhat distant times they did not know about either liquor
[178] or coca, and today both are general, and because of liquor and coca, the use of which they much abuse, they ruin their health and shorten their existence. Much youth disappears with the abuse of these substances, and as a general rule in the missions the best disappear, those who know some art or have some fortune; all that they earn, after buying their clothing (although not always), they invest in liquor and coca, and
[165] thus shorten their lives. I have seen towns where out of 40 or
[648] 50 young men of the same age there are scarcely two or three alive who will reach 50; it can thus be seen that the drunkenness produced by chicha is not so pernicious as that of liquor or alcohol, for which any tax imposed on them by the Supreme Government is never too much, and would that such a tax were higher, more general, and that it was not felt to be enough simply to write it out. In spite of this dissipated life, it is
[142] very rare that one encounters a bald Indian, which indicates
[147] great robustness (1).

1. I have known many large and small Chiriguano towns; I have only found three semibald persons.

Morality

181 At present the Chiriguano Indian differs slightly or not at all morally from the common mass of men. I mean that not all are good nor are all perverse; there are good ones and bad ones

C /215 cont./
165 President Belzu in Sucre. The latter governed between 1848-1855; thus, 100-year-old Maringay is obviously not more than about 80. An 80-year-old Indian is therefore the oldest of his tribe.
C
145 Among the Indians one almost always sees /Fig. 112 appears here/ that the one who has grown-up grandchildren is very frail and senile and stands at the brink of the grave. Indian men and women
e mature very rapidly, but also age quickly. At 50 the Indian is an
[114] old man, at 70 a so-called centenarian. Im Thurn (1) likewise

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 190.

believes that the Indians do not grow old. /216/ He thinks that
C they seldom reach an age older than 40 or 50.
142 Maringay's hair was slightly gray. There are some Indian
C men and women whose hair is almost whitish yellow, but they are
[145] rare (Fig. 112). I never saw a bald Indian. When they are older,
[64] their faces are deeply furrowed. Not infrequently they become blind in old age, less often deaf.
Ee Among the Choroti and Ashluslay the appearance of old
142 people is often frightening; they are dirty, emaciated, and
515 bleary-eyed. This is not the case among the Chané and Chiriguano. These Indians know how to grow old in beauty, and even the old people keep themselves nice and clean.
Ee If the Chané or Chiriguano Indian becomes seriously ill,
756 the medicine man is sent for, as among other Indians.

The Chiriguano and Chané distinguish between two kinds of medicine men, whom they call "ipáye" or "ipáyepótchi." The
Ee former are good and lift the spell; the latter are able to lift the
[754] spell and to bewitch.
C I once jokingly asked a Chiriguano whether Father
756 Bernardino in Ivu was an "ipáye" or an "ipáyepótchi." The Indian
797 answered dutifully, an "ipáye." The position of the missionary among the Indians is that of medicine man; he assumes their power and
C their influence.
Ee In the preceding I said that the whites in the vicinity of
756 Ivu sent for an Indian medicine man to drive away smallpox.
177

/111 cont./

141 both men and women, and fair hair indicates either an
142 oddity or a clandestine affair. The forehead is rather small, as are also the languid, downcast eyes; the face is round, the nose flat, the mouth wide, the denture white as ivory, the chin short, and the lips rather thick. /112/ The
142 men do not wear beards, and anyone would believe that they
302 are beardless, but the main reason why they do not have one is that they pull out the hairs as they grow, and for this they have some tin tweezers with which they make all the hair disappear, and they do well, because otherwise, in view of their slovenliness, with long beards they would really be orangutans (1).

[186] 1. The Toba call the Chiriguano tigre face because of his round face, and the latter gets back at them by calling them horse face because of their long faces. In the missions the neophytes wear mustache and goatee.

141 They have a chest thrust forward, rather heavy
[291] shoulders and arms, normal-sized hands, and not very big feet, in spite of the fact that they grow as they will since they always go barefoot, especially the women, and not
● 147 all of them wear sandals /ojotas/. When they are enjoy-
[853] ing good health, they are very robust, and the women without the slightest bother will nurse two babes at their
[609] breasts. Whenever some white Christian woman is not able to nurse, she usually seeks out a Chiriguano woman to wet-nurse her child; this, in addition to being very advantageous because of the goodness of the blood, is also quite eco-
855 nomical. But it is true that most Indian women do not
[609] wish to take care of children other than their own; most
[466] of the time they agree to it with reluctance, or by force, this last occurring when the Indians are subject to a master.

/112 cont./

142 The Chiriguano at the time of birth has a color which is difficult to define, but, and let nobody laugh at this, his color is that of newborn mice, and as he grows the color changes until it is that of sunburnt parchment. The causes [147] of this change are the tropical heat, the sudden winds and changes, and the burning sun, to the action of which they expose themselves with untoward pleasure, with no bother and without fear, even should they be but tender infants.

441 147 From this it can easily be deduced that the Indian does not fear the canicular sun, or heat either; he works on the hottest days without shirt, trousers, or anything which re- [291] sembles these; he stretches out full length, very content, [516] receiving on his back the rays of the firey sun, and nothing daunts him. But when the north wind changes to the south and consequently the cold begins and the frost comes, he is very cowardly, and it is hard to make him work well and happily; in such cases it is easier to suspend the work for a few days, not to pay the laborers anything at all, and not to get uselessly angry; but this can only be done when the suspension does not have any bad effects (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. It is not only the Chiriguano Indian who hates the cold, but also the other races of America, such as, for example, the Quichua /Quechua/, according to what the historian Robertson says.

165 /113/ Life Span

The Chiriguano normally lives a good many years; he is little affected by heat, cold, and the inconstancy of the climate, nor by drunkenness and self-indulgence, to which [145] capital vices he abandons himself from a tender age. Some reach and pass 100 years, judging their longevity by their hair, since their hair does not turn white except at a very

[Text Continues on P. 156]

/113 cont./

165 [145] advanced age, and I have seen Indians with the head completely white, and others with a white the color of smoke or something smoked. In the performance of my ministry I have met and baptized many centenarians at the time of their death, and in the towns through which I have passed I have met several who fought in the Carapari war and who witnessed the War of Independence.

273 276 [178] But today the Chiriguano has degenerated greatly; in somewhat distant times they did not know about either liquor or coca, and today both are general, and because of liquor and coca, the use of which they much abuse, they ruin their health and shorten their existence. Much youth disappears with the abuse of these substances, and as a general rule in the missions the best disappear, those who know some art or have some fortune; all that they earn, after buying their clothing (although not always), they invest in liquor and coca, and [165] [648] thus shorten their lives. I have seen towns where out of 40 or 50 young men of the same age there are scarcely two or three alive who will reach 50; it can thus be seen that the drunkenness produced by chicha is not so pernicious as that of liquor or alcohol, for which any tax imposed on them by the Supreme Government is never too much, and would that such a tax were higher, more general, and that it was not felt to be enough [142] [147] simply to write it out. In spite of this dissipated life, it is very rare that one encounters a bald Indian, which indicates great robustness (1).

1. I have known many large and small Chiriguano towns; I have only found three semibald persons.

Morality

181 At present the Chiriguano Indian differs slightly or not at all morally from the common mass of men. I mean that not all are good nor are all perverse; there are good ones and bad ones

/210 cont./

Infant Care

854 [352] For the newborn child to rest in, they have a kind of net which they hang at one end of the lodging. Its mother places it there when it sleeps, and she covers it with a piece of cloth so that the flies will not bother it. Some wool or cotton hammocks are crudely made /211/ by them, and these are called Ini ó quiha, the last term of which literally means quietness.

The mother almost never leaves her newborn child, and to go to the spring or to the river she takes advantage of the time when it is asleep, leaving it in the care of some person, even a little one. She cannot yet carry it in the folds of her clothing, because the child's tender limbs cannot bear such a position. Only when they have become somewhat stronger does the mother walk from one end of the town to the other, to the field, to the spring, without leaving her child at home, like weasels or like the kangaroos of Australia, who do not leave their young in the caves when they go out, making leaps like a jerboa.

147 854 The sun in the Chiriguano region is very hot and yet children exposed to its action do not feel its effects very much, if at all. They receive its rays perpendicularly, from in front, from all sides, and square on their faces, and it is as though they were in the shade. The only effect that it has on them is the copper color of the race, because experience has shown that this color is acquired (1).

142 1. The color of the newborn babies is rather strange; they look like mice. Many newborn babies are completely white, but not like Europeans; the difference between the former and the latter can be seen immediately.

/479 cont./

532 Figure 3. This nandu with angular lines characterizes the style of Asensio, used to drawing on a material as unyielding as bamboo.

Figure 4. This drawing is supposed to give the picture of a pig (kutši), whose tail, however, would be more appropriate for a fox and the face for a man (Consito).

Figure 5. A boy (sambiay) and the author, recognizable by his hat and the heels of his boots (José Miguel).

Figure 6. Yagua (jaguar), drawn by Asensio, who here again has reproduced a figure he doubtless was in the habit of engraving on his flutes. The jaguar, which is seen in profile, naturally has only two legs.

Figures 7 and 8. These two drawings, one representing a car and the other a train, are owed to José Miguel, who [151] traveled to Argentina. They constitute a good example of the sense of observation and memory of the Chiriguano. The car has three wheels, that is, the front ones have been represented in profile, but as if they were viewed head on.

Figure 9. Woman walking, drawn by José Miguel.

Plate XCIII

Figure 1. Calabashes attached to their stem (Consito).

Figure 2. Parrot (atyuru) (José Miguel).

Figure 3. Corn on stalk (avati) (Consito).

Figure 4. Cow (waka) (José Miguel).

/480/

Figure 5. Duck (posi) (José Miguel).

Figure 6. Deer (wasu) (José Miguel).

Figure 7. Horse, and over it, a man and a child. In reality these are two distinct drawings which the artist, young Iwawasei, put together inadvertently.

Figure 8. Anteater (tšigwa) (José Miguel).

Figure 9. Dog (yeimbá) (José Miguel).

Figure 10. Vessel (yambuí) decorated with voluted triangles (Consito).

/121 cont./

Love for the Home

574 152 When someone has been away from his town for a long time and returns, he is received with much love. He enters his house without saying a word, and if he arrives at night, to the question of "Who is it?" he merely answers "Checo," it's me, and then those in the house begin to cry or give shrieks of joy which may last for five minutes, and soon they give him something to eat and the [114] questions and answers begin. I witnessed this without being seen one night in Parapiti at the San Antonio Mission.

152 591 167 186 It is not rare that once in a while a smaller or greater proportion of Indians temporarily leave their town, either because of scarcity or in order to avoid the anger or ill will of the cacique. They then go away with considerable unhappiness, and they go into exile like Hagar /122/ with her son Ishmael when they were ordered out by the patriarch Abraham. They cry as they leave, they cry along the way, they cry upon arriving in the land that receives them, where, in spite of the good reception which has been prepared for them by other people, they do not find peace, and they always sigh for their home.

When they decide that in their former dwelling place things may have changed, or that the cacique who is responsible for their misfortune and exile may have disappeared from among the living, they return (1). In Yvu, where

1. The Indian Cayuguari, because of a crime committed in Machareti, fled with a group of Indian friends and relatives, settled quite far away to the northeast of Carandaiti, and, as the cacique whom he offended is still alive and as furthermore Cayuguari began a life of cattle rustling, he never returned to his town.

the war of Curuyuqui (1892) occurred when the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, all those Indians who had taken part in the uprising were wandering about in

/122 cont./

152 other towns, and they returned almost en masse, and the first
591 thing they did when they once again trod the soil of their home-
167 land was to cry. I witnessed the arrival of a cacique with
186 his large family. Men and women came loaded with their household goods and children. They arrived in poor condition, covered with dust and sweat (it was at the end of December), tired and sad, and when they saw their fellow countrymen and relatives happy and content under the paternal rule of the Catholic missionary, they put their burdens down on the ground, in the houses of others, and then there broke out the tears and the wails, thus arousing the consternation of all the inhabitants and the missionary (2).

2. Father Corrado relates an analogous case in his Historia de las Misiones de Tarija.

Poor unfortunates! In spite of the vices which dominate their corrupt nature, there is something noble in the Chiriguano race. Their fondness for their native place, for their home, is great. They will make any sacrifice to return and prefer to die of hunger and thirst. They will never abandon their town and their home, unless constrained by necessity, fear, or persecution.

Along the road from Yvu to Parapiti there is a town called Itatiqui, where not even drinking water can be found in the vicinity. Want is eternal there; the crops are miserable there; and they either beg for water or steal it from the lakes which are more than five kilometers from the town. Some six years ago there were about 120 families there, persecuted by some whites to whom they did not wish to be subjected. I tried to take them away to form a part of San Antonio Mission, but it was impossible to move them from the place.

They prefer to suffer hunger, thirst, vexations, and persecu-
799 tions there, but they do not abandon the place. They would re-
829 main there very happily /123/ if a small mission were built for
177 them, as they desire, which is somewhat difficult, considering the special circumstances of the place, since the civil and

/133 cont./

776 finally, the caciques, tired of being oppressed in certain areas by
173 certain bad Christians, have called some unfortunate, but alert
792 and bright boy Tunpa, in order to gather Indians from other areas to hear a flesh and blood God and fight with courage in the holy war (2).

000

2. The Mexicans, at the time they were conquered by Hernán Cortes, had temples and idols, with priests serving them. When they beat on the holy drum, the fury of the warriors was kindled. In one battle Cortes lost 60 Spaniards, who were burned before the idols.

776 In this last case the illustrious Missionary Father Angélico
173 /134/ Martarelli, in his appendix to the history of the missions
792 says in substance the following: "The boy whom the caciques
791 chose to deceive the rest assumed the name of Tunpa so that his oracles would be believed and respected with great reverence. He was shut up in a hut and from there, through his counselors (one of whom is still alive and very attached to the missionary), gave answers to those who asked, Indian or white. These must respect his advice with all humility, and they were damned if they declared themselves unbelievers, while those who were good joined the ranks behind his flag.

Beliefs in the Spirits

• 152 It is not unusual for someone who is passing through Chiriguano towns to hear, either near or far, a man or a woman, or some-
[195] times many people, crying, especially at night. In this last case it causes sadness and who knows what terror for white hearers or for missionaries, because these wails sound like those of condemned
775 souls, and it seems as if they are crying about their misfortunes and the loss of eternal blessings.

/270 cont./

535
541
[292]
[562]
[177]

times in different locations (1).

1. At the carnival, during the three days, there are women who dress like men and men who dress like women, but both cover their faces well so as not to be recognized; this was also taught them by the white man.

[152] On the second circuit all the Agüeros, the masked ones, a mestizo term, ask from house to house for provisions, and they accept everything, even bean pods and watermelon rinds, and on the third circuit, which is the farewell, there begins the wailing of big and small masked persons, laden with provisions and scraps; these weepers really make the old people and others cry, because some of them are thinking of their departed ones who are not present at this festivity which is ending, and others perhaps because they think they will not get to see another carnival. I questioned an old man who was really crying, and he gave me the preceding answer. When the last circuit ends with the drums muffled as a sign of sorrow, all of them, riders, dancers, and agüeros, go out of the town and go to a place where they throw away the masks and immediately go to the river, or a spring, to wash their hands and faces a little (2).

535
541
177

2. All of the foregoing games in Ivu were taught them by the same white man whom I have mentioned, and in the beginning he taught them by demonstration, causing astonishment, particularly in the women and the old persons; many of the said games are immoral, especially the circles and the massed group.

796
177

Easter

Forty days later the Chiriguano has another fiesta, that of the Pascua de Resurrección /Easter/, which was introduced by the whites; the old Indians call it nice because it is quiet, as they call the carnival very noisy.

/3 cont./

133 The Indian makes full use of the valleys, laying out his
132 field with its own fence; his cow also grazes there, with her
311 calf running and playing across the level ground, and the wild animals live everywhere there, the dauntless foxes, the inoffensive anteaters, and the timid little deer /*cervulus*/, while the monkeys seek the woods and the brambly, craggy ground of the hills to entertain themselves in raucous clamor, and the condors love to soar through the air to an extraordinary height, even considering that they launch themselves from the peaks of the highest hills.

133 While the ridges run from north to south, the course of the rivers is quite capricious: they run to the north, regress southward, direct themselves eastward, advance intrepidly westward, but the dominant course of them all as far as the pampas of the Gran Chaco is from west to east, overcoming every difficulty set in their way by the ridges, from which they leap with an extraordinary din, such as at the "*Pirapo*" (cataract of the fishes) or the waterfalls of the Pilcomayo and Parapiti rivers.

In the land of the Chiriguano, torrents and streams abound; more numerous are the rivulets which quickly lose their waters because within a few kilometers they run into endless sandy areas. If the hidden water should fail to appear occasionally in the ravines, which are small arroyos in origin, life here would be all but impossible, since places like Tva, which without having a river or anything similar, possess abundant and excellent water, are numbered. The springs which appear in the beds
312 [157] of the torrents are of the greatest benefit in those places where there are no lakes or ponds, for the Indian, because of his laziness, is not capable of building artificial lakes for his water
[164] supply. In Batiqui, for instance, not long ago there was a group of some 150 Chiriguano families; they could have made a lake in order to have such a necessity, but neither did they do it nor will they on their own initiative, and they go five kilometers to get it or at least there is the Chiriguano woman with her jug waiting for the forming of the drops which exude from the western slope, from which comes the name "*Batiqui*," the stone that drips.

151
151
151
[133]

The banks of the Pilcomayo are difficult for the opening of canals because they are quite high, but it must also be admitted that the Indians do not concern themselves with progress, are not ambitious like the whites who have settled on its banks; the latter also, because of being few, poor, and of limited means, almost all prefer to get rich with little work and little outlay of money, for which reason they devote themselves to raising cattle and hogs, which thrive without much care or expense.

133 The Paraguay is the second river named; it contains less water than the first and in Fuerabamba, where it begins, it is very insignificant, but ten leagues farther, or after it has crossed Curi Ridge, it already begins to be respectable, and in front of the town of San Juan del Piray it appears as a ferocious beast ready to do battle with a weaker adversary, like the Armado River, whose waters it stops or makes recede, just as a lackey halts in the presence and at the sight of his master.

This river runs from west to east with few digressions as far as Mariqui in Parapiti Canon, whence it goes north and from its beginning it crosses the central part of Chiriguano country. In San Juan del Piray the river is some 12 leagues from the Pilcomayo; both rivers could easily be joined to make them one, for which there was once a project, but it would cause much harm to agriculture, especially in Cordillera Province, and the Pilcomayo would have the slight advantage of an increase in flow which would perhaps make it navigable from Villamontes to the Encon.

In San Juan del Piray the Parapiti River receives as tributaries the Armado and the Piray rivers, and beyond San Pablo de Huacareta the waters of the river of Sauces and several others join it. Thus the Parapiti is a river of some consideration, and its bed is very dangerous at nearly every crossing because of the absolute lack of stone, especially from the Missions of San Antonio and San Francisco to Iman Canon.

/15 cont./

433 241 sweet potatoes; cotton grows everywhere, tomatoes and garlic mature the year round, and in the gardens lettuce, cabbage, cauliflower, and peppers create the beauty of a spot, without taking into account the gastronomic advantages. Even the peach trees would yield fine fruits, but they suffer much from the black butterflies, which damage them before they ripen.

Without work the land will produce only brian and brambles, and /16/ as long as there are only Chiriguano and cattle ranches here, progress will be slight and the population sparse, because the Indian has no ambition, and life is relatively inexpensive; the whites prosper by taking good care of their livestock, and no greater fertility can be obtained from the land because the holdings of a few families are very extensive and do not facilitate the residence of numerous renters, who do not always give good results nor do all come or ask to rent for farming alone. All of them want to get rich easily and quickly, and the best way is to raise stock, the result of which is that great areas of brian and brambles exist.

[35] [36] [35]

Flora

13 In the course of this hasty description I have noted that in Chiriguano country atmospheric changes are very sudden, but it has been noted that the region is quite fertile when it is watered by the rains or by irrigation ditches, because small rivers are plentiful, particularly in the mountainous region, and an occasional river of some size bathes the adjacent territories with its abundant waters.

There are many hills, pampas, and valleys, and for this reason every kind of climate may be found in this territory. [37] There are in fact oppressive heat, intense cold, and a temperate climate, thus making it possible to find land for every product from the lowly gourd to the savory chirimoya, from the ubiquitous maize to wheat, rice, and barley, from the mulberry /mora/, which grows spontaneously, to the rich grape, whose bunches reach weights of three and four libras.

648 /115 cont./
178 obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

157 Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, incon-
181 stancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even
[847] suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They
[762] only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome
[461] by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family.
[186] But if near the carai /sic; see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

[533] They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of
[273] their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and
[178] cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not com-
[674] mon formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

[648] 1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge
[685] great secrecy so that the authorities will not
[754] make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/123 cont./

Aptitudes

461 It cannot be denied that laziness is innate in the
•157 Chiriguano Indian, but, when compared with the Toba, Mataco, and other tribes, I assert that they do a great deal or even too much. They need a guide, they need to be watched over, but when this is not lacking, they are hard working. The whites
464 in the regions inhabited by these Indians do not know of any other laborers. All the towns of Cordillera, Azero, and Gran Chaco have been built with the energies of the Chiriguano. With these same laborers are sustained the agriculture and cattle raising of these provinces, and even by means of them are the national roads of these regions kept clean and open, as well as those from one canton to another, the one from Yacuiba to Santa Cruz and the one from Taperilla. The Chiriguano laborers began and are continuing the work on the Azero bridge, /124/ and many of them are still working on the Bermejo River close to where it arrives at Yacuiba (1).

1. A private enterprise composed of Don Braulio Zapata, corregidor of Carandaiti, the subprefect, Don Ramón Menduiña, and other well-known and rich men of the same town is organizing an expedition to the fields of Cayuguari to found a fort there and to conquer the territory. The subprefect plans to open a cart road, with the help of the Chiriguano cacique, Mandepónai, and his soldiers.

797 The paternal rule of the missionaries has managed to make the Chiriquano much more docile; it has succeeded in building towns and large centers of population around the Cross; there is not one of the towns of those who live in complete ignorance of Religion that can be compared with them. The Missionaries have succeeded in building magnificent churches, great teaching establishments, comfortable and airy houses, workshops for arts and crafts. They have managed to implant the teaching of

/124 cont./

797 Religion, that of reading and writing, and even the art of musical chords, which is only seen in the great centers of the world (2).

[533] 2. In the Potosí missions there are four music bands, and in those of Tarija, two.

The history of the Tarija missions is glorious in all of its pages. The reader can consult, whenever he wishes, the one of the Colegio of Potosí in its two epochs as well. This will cast a brilliant light upon the matter, and the traveler can say nothing to contradict it when, ecstatically, he contemplates the grandiose, strong, and well-planned edifice of the Santa Rosa Mission, that of the elevated Machareti Mission, that of the old or semisecular Tarairi Mission, and the one which, as though by enchantment and with order, is being built in the mission of San Antonio del Parapiti Grande.

797 All of this shows that the Chiriguano, in spite of his
●157 indolence, is docile, and with gentleness and a little strictness
177 at the same time he will do whatever the white and the missionary wish him to do. It finally demonstrates that, though he does have his vices and defects, certain human virtues are not lacking. It shows that it is necessary to educate his nature by teaching, with civilization, as the carpenter with his plane smooths a piece of wood if he wants to make the job elegant, or a blacksmith with his file smooths the rough iron until he has made a key, a lock, or any other object.

/125/ Philanthropy

577 To end this third chapter and then pass on to deal with
829 Chiriguano religion, I am going to say in passing that they are very compassionate with the unfortunate. If one of them suffers the harshness of imprisonment, they all make every effort to ask that he be freed and will even sacrifice whatever they may
[136] have to obtain it. If someone is sick, he is visited by many; if one is left an orphan, all are his fathers, mothers, grandparents, and brothers and sisters, or at least they are his uncles and aunts or brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

/159 cont./

In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities. 114 164 [65] [273]

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either. 797 756

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the 114

415 531

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igüembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 114 It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant. [133] [137]

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things. 123 157 178 643 000

/4 cont./

131 Thus formerly the Chiriguano territory in the north was contiguous with the province of Sara, in the south and southwest with Argentina and the city of Tarija, in the west with Tarabuco country, and in the east with the colony of Carandaiti. According to its former boundaries, it then included an area of 200 leagues from north to south and southwest, and more than 90 leagues west to east.

131 Today this extensive territory has been much reduced be-
• 16 cause of emigration, caused in part by the whites, under
[648] whose dominion most of them will not resign themselves to staying; the plagues which decimate the race have a powerful influence on its further reduction, and very soon /5/ barely the
131 name will remain. Today to the north it scarcely reaches Abapó, to the south, Itiyuru de Yacuiba, to the west, Monteagudo, and to the east, Carandaiti, some hundred leagues from north to south and about 40 from west to east.

131 Formerly it embraced several degrees of latitude and three
648 and a half of longitude; as they lost a considerable part of this
[433] area, so will they end up by losing it all, for despite their being heirs to the country which God had given them, as one of them was saying to me not long ago, they do not know how to farm it and improve their agriculture; they prefer to go far away and work for others rather than to own land at home. This very day only a few leagues remain in the hands of the Indians, Caipipendi in the province of Cordillera, Gutierrez Canton, and all the territory occupied by the missions, but both are likely to pass into foreign hands, because in fact the Indian is incapable of making the land that he does possess bear fruit; then the few survivors in the territory will be servants in their own house, as are so many others in lands that were once their own.

311 The land is very unstable, at least that now occupied;
134 it lacks stone and gravel, and since in their season the rains
[132] are torrential, they easily open cracks which in a few years become wide, deep ravines. Contributing a great deal to this are the cattle, which, because of their weight, stir up the land with their hoofs more than other livestock; for this reason

/330 cont./

Cg 177 The Chiriguano adopted this civilization of a superior type with all the more ease by reason of the numerous affinities it offered with their own. The whole Amazonian and Guianan side of the Chané civilization was composed of industries, techniques, and practices with which the Chiriguano, having come from the tropical regions of America, from a country of great forests and rivers, were already acquainted in part. Thus, for example, the Guarani, upon arriving among the Chané, found again the hammocks, grain sieves, mortars, baskets, and weapons to which they were accustomed.

Cg Ce 177 Ce [323] The contribution of the Chané consisted of the very cultural elements they had received from the Andean peoples, that is, clothing (camisetas, headband, etc.), the liking for silver ornaments, some artistic motifs, certain pottery forms, etc., things which were scarcely beginning to filter into Paraguay. The influence of the Chané was decisive in the sphere of pottery.

Cg 177 563 323 [161] Ce 178 323 177 The civilizing action of the Chané upon the Chiriguano had as agent the Chané women whom the Chiriguano captured and married. The Guarani had certainly taken along with them only a small number of girls. They themselves were few in number at the beginning, 4,000 according to Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260). In uniting with the Chané women whom they carried off by the thousands, they renewed with their blood all the feminine aspects of their industry. It is the women, for example, who make /331/ the pottery; a man would not be able to engage in it without losing prestige. So we see the pottery of the Guarani undergo important modifications and change completely. Today pottery is their glory; and of their ancient ceramics they have kept only the humble pots or the brewing vats for chicha. In spite of their decline the Chané have maintained their traditional superiority in this art, and they continue to produce vessels which, if they are not comparable to those of the past, are often very beautiful.

175 /332 cont./ Permanent
[3] villages were there under the command of hereditary caciques.
[361] The middle course of the Parapití formed their boundary to
[621] the east. In the 18th century the Chiriguano constituted the most important and remarkable nation of the western Chaco.
● 161 The statistics concerning them vary a great deal: the figures, given with their usual exaggerations, vary between 41,000 and
[114] 15,000 warriors. The Chané are included in this number, which completely removes all value from these statistics." (Kersten, pp. 68-69.)

131 Today the boundaries of the Chiriguano have stayed
[178] about the same. But even though they inhabit a territory whose extent has varied little, their situation has none the less
[162] undergone great changes. Several thousand half-breeds from Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Chuquisaca have settled inside this area that we have defined. A Chiriguano frontier no longer exists, but only remains of villages and small groups which still mark
161 the former extent of the tribe. On the other hand, the num-
131 ber of Chiriguano has diminished terribly and is diminishing each day, so that a few years from now the true habitat /333/ of the Chiriguano will be contained between the Parapiti and the Pilcomayo and will be reduced to the former Franciscan missions and to several valleys of the Precordillera, such as those of Caipipendí and Igüembé (1).

114
174
131

1. Some historians not well informed about the ethnic geography of South America have claimed that in the 16th century the Chiriguano lived well beyond the boundaries I have indicated. One of them (Dr. Fulgencio Moreno) went so far in this direction that he attributes to the Chiriguano the possession of a large part of northwestern Argentina and pushes this fancy to the point of locating them almost as far as in the province of Córdoba. Mr. Coni in an excellent monograph, documents in hand, has done good justice to these bold allegations and has demonstrated that these hypotheses were without foundation.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 175 797 648 In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purisima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Rio Grande): Abapo, Mazabi, Cabezas, Piray, Igmiri, Tacurú, Iti, Parapetí, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuaremboti, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1799. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapetí River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapetí. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

C 668 648 175

C 797 464 167 648 101 In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

C 162 175 The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapetí River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Acero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izozo, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were baptized and 3,187 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

C 161

ARCHEOLOGY

C 172 764 Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapetí River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupayu. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

C 172 At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

/3 cont./

133 The lakes are natural, but not permanent; they are
[135] many and large; in some the water is very good, but from
others not even the cattle /4/ drink, because it contains so
[132] much saltpeter. They all receive water from the sky, which
sometimes falls with great force and fills them at a single
time. White Christians are now making artificial lakes,
especially in the Gran Chaco and in the vicinity of Caipipendi.
271 When water is completely lacking, the Indian scratches the
824 ground, looking for the root of the "sipoy," samolo, which is
as large as a watermelon; he cuts it at the top, squeezes the
pulp with his hand, it turns to water, and he drinks; thus the need
is met, but when this drink is taken for a long period, it gives
rise to sickness.

311 The land lends itself to farming and to cattle raising,
312 but both industries diminish in those years when the beneficial
433 action of the rains is scarce. Then the crops are lost, and the
132 cattle die from lack of food and from the great amounts of
water that they drink from the rivers and lakes on whose banks
they stay through lack of energy; nonetheless this rarely hap-
pens throughout the region, which, because of embracing a
wide area, in one place or another receives showers which re-
new nature.

Extent and Area

131 The Chiriguano tribe or race was extremely numerous and
• [161] thus once took in an extraordinarily large area; traces of these
[464] Indians are found in the vicinity of Tarija, and they may be
found beyond Santa Cruz, where even today Chiriguano men and
women are in larger part those in domestic service with the
genteel families. Toward the capital of the Republic the
Indians still remember that their grandparents used to live in
Tacopaya and even beyond, in Talisco, included in the same
district. Then they extended toward the Bermejo River and,
finally, eastward to within a few leagues of Carandaiti, where the
arid zone, inhabited by the Toba and other savages, begins.

/41 cont./

*136 ZORRO /fox/. -- This quadruped is not scarce here among the Chiriguano; it thus seems that it adapts to every climate. It is so intrepid that at night it will go about the towns without betraying its presence to the dogs, but if they do smell it, they pursue it immediately and even kill it, although they may suffer for it, because the dog of the Chiriguano Indian and the fox are equally skinny, but among several of them they achieve their purpose and kill it.

This dauntless beast leaves nothing; it makes its meal off whatever it encounters; it causes considerable damage in the cane fields from the time when the plants begin to become sweet and even pulls up recently planted shoots from their furrows or holes. It slashes watermelons and melons without allowing them to ripen, and as a result of this the farmer often does not taste these gifts. It also does damage in maize fields, but this is an abundant crop and the harm is not felt so much; when it can obtain chickens, it does not fail to provide itself with a good lunch or supper, and to this end it approaches towns and houses in the country by day as well.

There are several classes and sizes of them, but they are smaller, like every animal, than those of the other hemisphere. It is difficult to chase them out of the cane fields, the damage to which will only be reduced by reducing the number of foxes, and this can only be achieved by the use of strychnine or some other poison, which, mixed with small bits of meat, is placed on the various trails that they have opened, causing damage to the sugar-cane plants.

*136 *825 176 178 [161] We shall see in the course of these pages that the Chiriguano used to venerate it as a divinity with the name of "Aguara-Tunpa," or Fox-God, to whom they attributed more power because he was capable of destroying the works of the true tunpa. Today, when the region has been invaded and populated by so many whites and foreigners and the Chiriguano have been reduced to a handful scattered here and there, those who believe in such humbug are few.

174 /73 cont./
175 understood, because they spoke the same language with slight
167 differences, they joined them, and from that moment the number of the Chiriguano was increased (1).

> 1. These 4,000 Indians were not of the Guaraní race; they had gone to settle in Paraguay and had learned that language imperfectly; they were called Carius and had killed Captain García.

The 4,000 Indians who fled from Paraguay because of the continual relations that they had had with the Portuguese had, at the time when they formed an alliance with the Chiriguano, a slight tincture of superficial civilization, just as in Mexico the Indians of Tlascala had learned it from Hernán Cortes and other Spaniards. As a result of this trace of civilization they had begun to use some clothing to cover, in principle, the most delicate part of the body; they had stopped eating the flesh of their enemies and prisoners and were more humanitarian in their dealings.

Having established their abode and formed a single
[266] tribe with the Chiriguano, they introduced their kind and
[171] humanitarian customs among their ferocious friends, who softened slightly their haughtiness and pride, imitated their allies in the manner of dress, and began to abandon the barbarous custom of cannibalism, because of which they are distinguished today, and even for a long time before, from the Toba, Mataco, Tapiete, and Sirionó (2).

[197]

> 2. The Tapiete speak the Chiriguano language with a certain difference, and the Sirionó, it is believed, were ancient Chiriguano, because their language is somewhat similar.

175 The Chiriguano, thus united, continued to multiply
[161] much more and to extend their dominions into the different departments of the Audiencia, the possession of which they now had in lesser degree. Before a century had passed after the

175 /73 cont./ Before a century had passed after the
648 discovery of this New World, they were numerous in the
[131] area near and beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The founders
[161] of this departmental city had quite a fight in the year 1575 in order to humble their pride, disperse them, and take charge of the territory; the Chiriguano lived in the areas around Padilla and Tomina, which were founded precisely to contain their advances, since they seemed determined to invade the territory of Chuquisaca itself, whose Audiencia ordered the creation of both settlements so that they might serve as a bulwark and impede successive new advances, new attacks, and devastations.

The city of Tarija with its territory owes its founding to Don Luis de la Fuente, who was ordered there by the Viceroy, Don Francisco de /74/ Toledo, by decree of January 22, 1574. On that date, Don Luis with his army entered the valley of Tarija in order to put down the audacity of the Chiriguano, who were advancing with their arms into the places conquered by the Spaniards. Don Luis and his soldiers were greatly surprised when they found the said valley full of a great quantity of wild cattle, which was to be a powerful aid to his troops (1).

1. It is believed that the wild cattle found belonged to a certain Zárate, who had been forced to leave his ranch by the Chiriguano, who had doubtless made him their victim.

[727] Before the Spaniards arrived and invaded the country of the Chiriguano, they were the torment of the surrounding tribes, the members of which they shot with arrows, or killed, and took captive, subjecting them to the cruelest slavery. But once the whites arrived, they had to have it out with enemies superior to themselves; fearing that some day they would have to pay for the casualties which they had exacted from those whom they had conquered and whose fertile territory they had taken over, they did not act like the Quechua, who surrendered when they might well have

λ [i.e., the Chiriguano. -Analyst]

/78/

Statistics

161 The tribe is in complete decadence and in a few more
162 years will be entirely lost. At the beginning of the nine-
[181] teenth century, that is, before the war of South American Independence, in the Tarija missions alone there were more than 23,000 souls, and nevertheless that number did not include any of the numerous towns existing between the two large Parapiti and Pilcomayo rivers or the Indians of Caipipendi, Choreti, Pipi, and others located south of Lagunillas. At that time, I can state that the Chiriguano numbered more than 200,000, inasmuch as, according to the statistics of Father Lozano, the adult men fit for war, without counting women and children, numbered from 25,000 to 35,000.

167 Although Father Lozano was referring to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the difference must have been slight, because at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not felt as there is today the emigration to the Argentine Republic, which began when the territory was opened to trade with the founding of towns of white Christians, which there are now in great number, up to the founding of large provinces with the names of Acero, Cordillera, and Gran Chaco, nor was there so much immorality as prevails today (1).

1. New laws have been made which make recruitment for Argentina impossible, and Dr. don Justo Padilla, the present national delegate from the Gran Chaco, at the present time does not allow the law to be merely written; he lets nobody through.

165 Epidemics, vagrancy, and emigration more than any-
161 thing, in addition to scarcity of provisions, are destroying this race, which is greatly needed and will be needed later for agriculture and cattle-raising in the provinces which have
000 been mentioned. Today there is already a need for farmers.

464 797 /78 cont./ Today there is already a need for farmers, and everybody is coming to the missions looking for day laborers, muleteers, and herders, cheese-makers, house-builders, etc., etc. How will it be later? (2) The immi-

> 2. H. Montero's project, approved by the Commission in the year 1910, may well be approved by Congress, but it seems impossible to me that the caciques will report the Indians who try to go to Argentina. To charge missionary padres to send 25 per cent of the people to the intendancies, where they will receive a daily pay which is lower than what they are paid in their own town, is to drive away the missionary who cannot comply with this obligation every month because the Indians will resist it or run away.

gration of useful people, not idle people, is necessary, but not in order to destroy the missionary centers, /79/ as is proposed, because this would soon end up by destroying the tribe, but colonizing what is unpopulated. What did the government achieve by the absence of missionaries in Villa Montes? That the Indians will now not work for anyone, and only do so when they are good and ready. All the authority of a delegation was not sufficient to get a few days' work out of its population, and for this reason the previous work was at the point of being completely destroyed; weeds had taken over in the vineyards and gardens which had been so fruitful and so well maintained in the time of the earlier missionaries.

175 464 [161] Now almost all of the great Chiriguano centers have disappeared, and barely the names of the great caciques of some faction or other remain; in all of the cantons the disappearance of the labor force causes astonishment, and [797] [162] service is scarcely to be obtained for fuel. Even the missions are undergoing this decline; in Acero Province there must be some 5,000 souls, in Cordillera some 8,000, in the

/297/

Chapter Fourteen

Infidels and Neophytes of the Missions

Introduction

797
648

The continual revolts of the Chiriguano against the white race clearly demonstrate their aversion toward the Christian element, which they consider to be the effective cause of their misfortunes and of the almost total loss of their territory, of which not too long ago they considered themselves the legitimate owners and absolute rulers. It is as clear as the midday sun that the Christian, with the patience and constancy of an anchorite and in many circumstances risking his life, has gradually taken over the extensive region. Today there is no corner where an occasional Christian family is not living. In many places the
161 Chiriguano tribe has completely disappeared, whether through
464 epidemics or through loss of freedom; in some places a rather
466 considerable nucleus exists under the control of a master, either
648 because of the territory which it cultivates or because of a debt which has been contracted (1).

1. The caciques of the Curuyuqui war, in their ignorance, thought that they could recover the lost territory and, in revenge, take over most of the Republic.

797
648
[184]

The Indians located in the area to the left of the Pilcomayo River took only one thing into consideration when they resolutely refused to have a conversion mission founded: they only considered that behind the missionary would come those whom they considered invaders; they only understood that white Christians would gather behind or around the Cross, which Father Giannelli planted with considerable daring in the middle of the nineteenth century. But why is it that the Indians of Tarairí /298/ are still owners of their land? Because of the missionary, whom one faction, in its ignorance, wanted to leave when the destruction of the flourishing missions of San Francisco and San Antonio began, where six years ago building a new London was attempted, with almost

/312 cont./ The exploration of River Nunez.
Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 76) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

/336 cont./

Ce 175 649 cites a people of the Zchenone (Chané) in whom by reason of their geographic situation we must see the Chané-Guaná. "They are vassals and subjects of the Mayaiosu (Mbeyá) as with us the peasants are subject to their lords." We also have no trouble in recognizing the Chané in the Quenaes (Guaná) whom Alcide d'Orbigny mentions, according to an old account, as having been subjugated by their neighbors the Chiriguano and obliged by them to cultivate their fields. In the 18th century the Chané, as prisoners of war of the Chiriguano, had been quartered /Plate V appears here/ /335/ like slaves in villages called Chané after them. When Lozano declares that the Chiriguano call their slaves Chané, an ethnic value must be given to this phrase. The state of subjection of the Chané in relation to the Chiriguano is explained in the linguistic sphere by the name which the first used to give to the seconds: chaya, 'my master,' the Chané used to say when addressing the Chiriguano, and the latter called the Chané tapii, 'my slave.'

Ce 175 999 "The little we know about the Chané who live in the lost regions of the northern Chaco is connected exclusively with the activity of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries of the Collège de Tarija. The first evangelized the Chané in the 17th century at the same time as the Chiriguano; and in 1734 they formed with them a doctrina /Christianized Indian village/ in the vicinity of Santa Cruz. It was called San Juan de los Pamagos and in 1767 was under the authority of a parish priest. It was only with great difficulty that the Chané could be assembled, in 1767 and 1768, into the two missions of Asero and Ito. We learn from a report by Father Pedro Bartolomé addressed to Francisco Aguirre that the Filipili mission in 1789 was made up of Chané Indians whose racial brothers were living mingled with the Chiriguano on the borders of Chuquisaca and Santa Cruz. Viedma, who visited the missions in 1786, found in the villages of the Parapití Chiriguano and Chané who were living together, united under the authority of the Franciscan missionaries. The activity of the missionaries among the Chané naturally was to have as a consequence a rupture of the bonds

[Text continues on p. 51]

/332 cont./ Permanent?

[195] [3] [361] [62] villages were there under the command of hereditary caciques. The middle course of the Parapití formed their boundary to the east. In the 18th century the Chiriguano constituted the most important and remarkable nation of the western Chaco. 161 The statistics concerning them vary a great deal: the figures, given with their usual exaggerations, vary between 41,000 and [114] 15,000 warriors. The Chané are included in this number, which completely removes all value from these statistics." (Kersten, pp. 68-69.)

131 Today the boundaries of the Chiriguano have stayed [178] about the same. But even though they inhabit a territory whose extent has varied little, their situation has none the less [142] undergone great changes. Several thousand half-breeds from Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Chuquisaca have settled inside this area that we have defined. A Chiriguano frontier no longer exists, but only remains of villages and small groups which still mark 161 the former extent of the tribe. On the other hand, the num- 131 ber of Chiriguano has diminished terribly and is diminishing each day, so that a few years from now the true habitat /333/ of the Chiriguano will be contained between the Parapiti and the Pilcomayo and will be reduced to the former Franciscan missions and to several valleys of the Precordillera, such as those of Caipipendí and Igilembé (1).

114 194 131

1. Some historians not well informed about the ethnic geography of South America have claimed that in the 16th century the Chiriguano lived well beyond the boundaries I have indicated. One of them (Dr. Fulgencio Moreno) went so far in this direction that he attributes to the Chiriguano the possession of a large part of northwestern Argentina and pushes this fancy to the point of locating them almost as far as in the province of Córdoba. Mr. Coni in an excellent monograph, documents in hand, has done good justice to these bold allegations and has demonstrated that these hypotheses were without foundation.

/393/

Decline of the Art of Pottery among the Chiriguano

323 Of all the Chiriguano industries the most threatened one
178 is doubtless ceramics. The Chiriguano can claim the glory of
415 having been until recently the last Indians of South America
/Fig. 64 appears here/ to have a pottery which deserved to be
included in the number of beautiful manifestations of this art,
so brilliantly represented in certain regions of the continent.
Today things have changed a great deal. Villages in which
one can still find women capable of decorating vessels with
the mastery of former days have become rare and are limited
415 to a restricted area. /394/ It was in the tolderías of the Timboy,
126 the Great Salado and the Little Salado, in the region of Yumbía
178 and in the Igüembé valley (upper Pilcomayo, departments of
Tarija and Chuquisaca) that I was able to collect the finest
specimens in my collection. Elsewhere it was exceptional
/Fig. 65 appears here/ /see p. 166/ to be lucky enough to lay
my hands on a fine piece; and, if I did have this luck several
times, it was almost always a question of an old vessel pre-
[797] served as if by a miracle. The Franciscan missions which
formerly gave Nordenskiöld and Holmberg such fine specimens
797 contributed less toward enriching my collections. Nothing ex-
323 presses the sad state of decline of the Chiriguano better than
415 what I /395/ could observe in the Macharetí mission. After
178 going through nearly all the huts of this large village, which in
[162] normal times has close to 2,000 inhabitants, I could scarcely
acquire five or six yambuí having some artistic value. There
[463] were no longer more than three or four women who still knew
how to hold a brush and they had to /Fig. 66 appears here/ /see
p. 167/ provide for almost the whole village. In a few years
the ancient painted pottery will exist only in memory in the
large village where the famous "Captain" Mandepona lived.

323 This decline has several causes. The first is the state of
415 profound demoralization in which the Chiriguano are found, the
178 total disorganization of their social life, and the increasing
177 influence of the white men, followed by its corruptive effects:
finally, the introduction of manufactured products, first and
foremost gasoline cans.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Inca fortresses were visited by Nordenskiöld (1915 a, 1924 a), who described them under the names of Incallacta and Incahuasi. They bear witness to the accuracy of the various traditions concerning the *Guaraní* invasions, recorded by the chroniclers of Perú and of the Río de la Plata. C 175 648

Along the Andes, the *Chiriguano* found a peaceful *Arawakan* population, the *Chané*, a branch of the *Chané* or *Guana* tribe, which occupied the northern part of the Chaco along the Paraguay River. The western *Chané*, after centuries of close contact with the Andean cultures, had been deeply influenced by them. They dressed like their neighbors, the Andean *Chicha*, produced a pottery which resembled that of Southern Bolivia and of the valley of Humahuaca, wore metal ornaments, and used metal tools. The *Chané* fell easy prey to the *Guaraní*, who slaughtered and ate many of them and reduced the remaining population to a condition of serfdom. The *Guaraní* invaders, having brought few of their own women, however, took *Chané* wives. The fusion of these two tribes produced a civilization in which Andean, *Guaraní*, and some *Arawak* features were intimately blended. The *Chané* did not entirely lose their identity, however, for along the Parapeti River, in the Caipipendi Valley, on the Itiyuro River, and in the Province of Salta (Argentine), *Chané* villages survived under their own chiefs. But even these have adopted the *Guaraní* language and today cannot be distinguished from their conquerors. The *Chiriguano*, nevertheless, consider the *Chané* somewhat inferior, while the latter remember the forays and cannibalistic habits of their former masters. The *Chané* language, probably extinct now, was spoken by a few persons as late as 1908. C Ce 648 195 Ce [197] C [266] C [186] Ce [197]

The number of *Chané* is said to have greatly exceeded that of the *Guaraní* invaders. They extended from the Río Grande (Guapay River) to the Argentine along the foothills of the Andes. At the beginning of the 17th century, according to Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, in the region of Machareti, 400 *Chiriguano* ruled over 5,000 *Chané*; in Charagua, 350 *Chiriguano* owned 4,000 *Chané* serfs; and on the Guapay River, 200 *Chiriguano* kept 1,000 *Chané* in subjection. C Ce 175 648 162

The first White settlement in the land of the *Chiriguano* was the ephemeral town of Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded in 1564 on the upper Parapeti (Cordorillo) River by Manso and destroyed a short time later by the *Chiriguano*. In 1571 the *Chiriguano* attacked the *Chicha* and the natives of the Provinces of Condorillo and Barranca. To punish them for their "arrogance," the Viceroy of Perú, Francisco de Toledo, led an expedition against them. The Indians avoided battle and harassed the troops of the Viceroy until he was obliged to retreat in shameful defeat (1574). San Lorenzo de la Frontera, which became the modern Santa Cruz de la Sierra, was founded primarily to keep the *Chiriguano* at bay. C 175 648

The first attempt to convert the *Chiriguano* to Christianity was made in 1609, when two Franciscans, Augustín Sabio and Francisco Gonzalez, built a church in the valley of Salinas, but the reduction was soon abandoned because of Indian opposition. The Jesuit fathers founded a college in Tarija in 1690 and undertook the spiritual conquest of the *Chiriguano*. In 1691, Father Arce founded a mission in the valley of Tariquea, which lasted only 3 years; another mission, established on the Guapay River by Fathers Zea and Centeno, met the same fate. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Dominicans founded three missions in the valley of Chiquiacá, Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Miguel, and Santa Rosa, while the Augustins formed the Mission of Santa Clara in the valley of Salinas. In 1715, the Jesuits reestablished their ancient mission of Tariquea. In 1727, all the missions in the *Chiriguano* country were destroyed by the rebellion of the chief, Aruma, and his followers, who feared being taken into slavery. The revolt was crushed by an armed expedition sent from Santa Cruz and composed of Spaniards, "tame" *Chiriguano*, and *Chiquito* auxiliary troops. The *Chiriguano* had been aroused against the missions by the fear of being taken into slavery. C 175 797 648

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 175 797 648 In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purisima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Rio Grande): Abapo, Mazabi, Caberas, Piray, Igmiri, Tacurú, Iti, Parapetí, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuaremboti, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1799. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapetí River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapetí. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

C 668 648 175

C 797 464 167 648 101 In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

C 164 175 The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapetí River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Acero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izoro, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were captured and 3,187 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

C 161

ARCHEOLOGY

C 172 964 Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapetí River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupayu. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

C 172 At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

/77 cont./

197 194 171 "Conumi," lad, do not have an accent on the i in Chiriguano, but they do in Guaraní.

197 178 361 162 In past centuries the race, and therefore the language, embraced a great deal of territory, but today it is greatly reduced, and I can state without danger of error that it is still numerous in Caipipendi, Pipi, Choreti, Tasete, Araticu, and in the Potosí and Tarija missions; but in the former places it is scattered among many little towns, while in the latter it makes up respectable towns of 500, 1,000, and 2,000 souls (2).

2. Choreti Guasu is located on the left bank of the Parapiti in Cordillera Province; it almost forms a single town with Membirai, and between the two of them they have about 110 families.

197 178 177 797 Purity of language is now no longer found in any town or in the missions, in the first because of living among whites and continually emigrating to the Argentine Republic, and in the second, the missions, for a third reason, instruction in Spanish, which the missionaries give the boys and girls in the schools; thus, if the race is not finished first, as is feared, because of the continual epidemics and vagrancy, the language will soon be lost, and then the few books that exist will only serve as an historical monument for posterity, which will be able to recognize the merit and labor of the missionaries who spread among them, the Chiriguano, and poured out sweat with the sole purpose of civilizing them in a Christian way (3).

3. There are a grammar, a Spanish-Chiriguano dictionary, a catechism with its translation, Father Corrado's masterpiece, a small Chiriguano-Spanish "Nene" /"Infant"; the work referred to is Nino's Nene Chiriguano/, and many unpublished sermons.

/78/

Statistics

161 The tribe is in complete decadence and in a few more
162 years will be entirely lost. At the beginning of the nine-
[181] teenth century, that is, before the war of South American Independence, in the Tarija missions alone there were more than 23,000 souls, and nevertheless that number did not include any of the numerous towns existing between the two large Parapiti and Pilcomayo rivers or the Indians of Caipipendi, Choreti, Pipi, and others located south of Lagunillas. At that time, I can state that the Chiriguano numbered more than 200,000, inasmuch as, according to the statistics of Father Lozano, the adult men fit for war, without counting women and children, numbered from 25,000 to 35,000.

167 Although Father Lozano was referring to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the difference must have been slight, because at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not felt as there is today the emigration to the Argentine Republic, which began when the territory was opened to trade with the founding of towns of white Christians, which there are now in great number, up to the founding of large provinces with the names of Acero, Cordillera, and Gran Chaco, nor was there so much immorality as prevails today (1).

1. New laws have been made which make recruitment for Argentina impossible, and Dr. don Justo Padilla, the present national delegate from the Gran Chaco, at the present time does not allow the law to be merely written; he lets nobody through.

165 Epidemics, vagrancy, and emigration more than any-
161 thing, in addition to scarcity of provisions, are destroying this race, which is greatly needed and will be needed later for agriculture and cattle-raising in the provinces which have been mentioned. Today there is already a need for farmers.

464 797 /78 cont./ Today there is already a need for farmers, and everybody is coming to the missions looking for day laborers, muleteers, and herders, cheese-makers, house-builders, etc., etc. How will it be later? (2) The immi-

> 2. H. Montero's project, approved by the Commission in the year 1910, may well be approved by Congress, but it seems impossible to me that the caciques will report the Indians who try to go to Argentina. To charge missionary padres to send 25 per cent of the people to the intendancies, where they will receive a daily pay which is lower than what they are paid in their own town, is to drive away the missionary who cannot comply with this obligation every month because the Indians will resist it or run away.

gration of useful people, not idle people, is necessary, but not in order to destroy the missionary centers, /79/ as is proposed, because this would soon end up by destroying the tribe, but colonizing what is unpopulated. What did the government achieve by the absence of missionaries in Villa Montes? That the Indians will now not work for anyone, and only do so when they are good and ready. All the authority of a delegation was not sufficient to get a few days' work out of its population, and for this reason the previous work was at the point of being completely destroyed; weeds had taken over in the vineyards and gardens which had been so fruitful and so well maintained in the time of the earlier missionaries.

178 464 [161] Now almost all of the great Chiriguano centers have disappeared, and barely the names of the great caciques of some faction or other remain; in all of the cantons the disappearance of the labor force causes astonishment, and [797] [162] service is scarcely to be obtained for fuel. Even the missions are undergoing this decline; in Acero Province there must be some 5,000 souls, in Cordillera some 8,000, in the

/79 cont./

178 Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija
464 missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which
[197] makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big
[162] and small, old and young. But of this number there are scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work, and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through
[131] their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from
[465] north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

648 There is a great struggle under way between the
[167] Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior, yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave, he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[464] 1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former
197 times and the very missions which antedate South American
361 independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and others are on the point of disappearing.

/94 cont./

631 If this were the case, the boundaries of the new canton
648 should be the following, according to the agreement made by the Representación Chuquisaqueña /from Chuquisaca/: on the south the left bank of the stream Vitiacua, on the north the parallel of the stream of Cuevo, on the east the range of Aguaragüe up to said parallel, on the west the ranges of Saararenta and Irenta, and on the southwest the stream of Chimbe.

[797] Within this delimitation are included several Chiriguano
[162] towns, the most populous being the missions of Santa Rosa, with more than 1,200 inhabitants, and that of San Buenaventura de Ivu with 652 souls.

White families are few, but not less than 40, which could give a total of at least 160 souls. It might be that with time this small population will grow in the new canton, as that of Cuevo grew.

797 Years are needed for the Chiriguano Indian to be able to
177 take over the political government of a town, in spite of the
463 fact that in the relatively new missions there are musicians,
648 carpenters, woodworkers, masons, saddlers, shoemakers, tailors, and young men who know how to write well and to read better, but it is one thing to know an art or a trade and quite another one to have to administer justice.

/95/ The experience of many years of missionary life and what I have seen in the missions abandoned since the war of Independence justifies my opinion that many years are needed for the Chiriguano Indians to be able to fill certain public offices such as that of corregidor and parish alcalde.

A Project

000 The eastern zone, which today belongs to the three departments of Santa Cruz, Tarija, and Sucre, is somewhat threatened by foreign countries, but it might be that the Bolivian Republic could make friendly settlements with the neighboring nations.

/101 cont./

361 797 1. Machareti. -- Father Jerónimo de la Peña was the first to enter Machareti, but, before he could begin any work, death intervened, and only after a century, that is, in the year 1869, could the Cross of Redemption be raised, around which began to gather the settlers dispersed by the war and the death of Captain Taruncunti, not very friendly to the missionaries.

[162] Before the mission had been founded for ten years, it numbered more than 3,000 souls, but today it is much smaller, [167] its inhabitants reaching 1,500. Emigration to the Republic [464] of Argentina is a real plague for this area, because the principal recruiters of Indians for work outside of Bolivian territory are there, and it is useless to cite laws, because there are clever interpreters; meanwhile all wail for workers.

361 [133] Machareti has a delightful and picturesque panorama; to the north and to the east the human eye cannot take in the immensity of the plains or the exuberance of the woods and the variety and caprice of the hills. The town is located on a great plain, but is now quite reduced; its buildings, atop a high hill which dominates everything; it has a beautiful church with painting and /102/ gildings, a mission house of two stories, two great halls, with their respective patios, for instruction, and a third one for the music school, and also other buildings for shops (1).

361 797 131 1. When the Machareti mission was founded, it cut off the retreat of the bellicose Huacayeños, who were coming into the Gran Chaco by the Chorro road, some 15 leagues from Huacaya and some 12 from Ivu; its altitude above sea level is 771 meters and it is located at 20° 49' 58" south latitude and 63° 3' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/102 cont./

797 2. Tigüipa. -- This mission, dedicated to the universal Patron of the Church, the Patriarch St. Joseph, began its existence on May 20, 1872, the day when, for the first time, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated, and there was planted in its territory the Tree of Redemption; it is some 12 kilometers from Machareti, with quite a rough road.

361 797 [162] At present it has a population of 800 souls. The town, made up of both infidels and neophytes, is quite neat; the buildings are not very well arranged, and the ones which merit consideration are: its tall and beautiful church, broad and well-proportioned, with its magnificent choir, gilded altars, and well-turned railings; in addition, the beautiful mechanism of double trusses which support the roof. Its house is new, of a single story, and was begun in the month of August or July in the year 1910 and dedicated in March of this year; the other buildings neither follow any arrangement nor are of any worth, and lend to the whole a rather sad appearance, but once the renovation of both towns has been completed, the planned arrangement of the buildings for instruction and workshops will be made.

[133] Its panorama has nothing in particular: to the west, the last range of the Andes, to the north and south, some rather high hills rise at a short distance and obstruct the view for the curious observer, who, frustrated in his desire to see and observe, finds a slight relief to the east, where the horizon opens out and gladdens the heart; it seems to be the older sister of the San Pascuál de Boicovo Mission. The climate is in general healthy, in spite of the fact that the mission is located in a hollow, but the water, or the location of the place, dulls the understanding of its residents, according to what all the travelers note (?). /Illustration appears here./

[563] [464] [131] 2. In the years of abundance several nomadic tribes come to this mission and remain there serving the Chiriguano in exchange for food. Its elevation above sea level is 715 meters, and it is located at 20° 27' 18" south latitude and 62° 14' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

[text continues on p 141]

/104 cont./

797

has left the mission house and the garden for the use and comfort of the Father-Chaplain. It is located at 778 meters above sea level and at 21° 46' 10" south latitude and 62° 48' 35" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

5. San Francisco and San Antonio. -- In the missions called San Antonio and San Francisco del Pilcomayo the Supreme Government decided to found a city under the name of Villa-Montes; but after it was handed over by the missionaries in the year 1906, instead of progressing, those flourishing settlements have retrogressed. The vineyards and gardens have deteriorated. The buildings are falling into ruin, and morality fell precipitously and is progressively worse there. The schools for boys and girls have been reduced to very few students, and for these few the national treasury distributes 160 bolivianos per month, while to the chaplain who has to live there it pays no more than 240 bolivianos per year.

[871]

Everything that belonged to the two missions, such as implements, carpentry, buildings, sugar mills, cattle, horses, etc., was handed over with an inventory to the national delegate, Dr. Don Leocadio Trigo, and the missionaries, without being able to use even a cell which might serve as lodging for the night for the Father Chaplain, had no other recourse but to shake even the dust from their sandals.

[162]

The approximate population of Chiriguano natives in the above towns is 4,500 souls (2).

2. The Supreme Government rented the mission building to the German company, which has made little progress. It is located at 460 meters above sea level and at 21° 16' 15" south latitude and at 62° 20' 2" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/204 cont./

643 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves
648 are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live
797 as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 The important men assert that to possess many wives is
574 necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality
829 to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because
643 the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they
622 do not become such in their youth, when they are like humming-
[582] birds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162]
[169]

1. Formerly, women were abundant because of wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
CE
121

can be kept in a museum or for which one may find — given favourable circumstances — archeaological comparative material. Besides weapons, ornaments etc there is thus included also burial customs, tatooing, dancing-masks, etc.

C
CE
128

The reader will find that I have endeavoured to make this part more graphic than Part I . From the maps of bibliography it will be seen regarding what regions I have had access to literature; it can also, in some measure, be seen whether the blanks on the maps are due to those particular tribes never having been closely studied.

The maps of distributions in this work are fewer in number than in Part I. This is because we find the Chiriguano and Chané, or one of these tribes, on twenty-nine maps in Part I. Part I is largely preparatory to Part II. Parts I and 2 together contain 45 maps showing the distribution of culture-elements occuring among the Chané and (or) Chiriguano.

C
CE
121

All who are interested in the ethnography of S. America will, I venture to think, find the maps worth close study and will see that from them various deductions can be made not only respecting the Chiriguano and Chané Indians but also as to the ethnography of S. America in general. In some measure I have, indeed, endeavoured to do this myself.

C
CE
131

The land of the Chiriguano and Chané the Indians streches from near Sta Cruz de la Sierra to near Rio Bermejo. Southwards of Sta Cruz the territory inhabited by the Chiriguano is continuous. The Chané, on the other hand, live in several different quarters, some at the river Itiyuro in the Argentine, some at Caipipendi near the Rio Pilcomayo, some at the Lower Rio Parapiti, and others near *Itau south of the Rio Pilcomayo. The neighbours of the*

C
CE
101
162

Chiriguano and Chané are the Mataco-Vejos, Mestizos, and Whites to the south, the Matacq, Toba, Tapiete, (Yanaygua) and Tsirakua to the east, to the north Mestizos and Whites, and to the west Quichua, Mestizos, and Whites.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Some Choroti live near Yacuiba. In nearly all of the Chiriguano territory there are Mestizos and Whites. There are also several large missionary stations in their territory. Some few Chiriguano live in the village of Sta Rosa to the north of Sta Cruz de la Sierra. Some Chiriguano who sought refuge in central Chaco after their last rebellion, live there still. They are the only tribe of Chiriguano-Indians who are quite independent of the Whites.

C 101 162 131 [777]

The country which is inhabited by the Chiriguano and partly by the Chané is a border land between the Andine mountains and the great plain of the Chaco. It is in the valleys between the outermost mountain ridges towards the Chaco and on the plain to the east of them that the Chiriguano and the Chané live. The land of the Chiriguano and Chané-Indians is not a real country of primeval forests. There are some great forests, but on the whole it is sparsely wooded, in places even very poorly wooded. The supply of water is the governing condition for settlement in the land of these Indians. It may be said that wherever there is access to water there the country is inhabited, at any rate as regards the region south of the Rio Grande, one of the great rivers that run through their territory. There need not be a great supply of water for the Indians to find the country inhabitable. All that is necessary is sufficient drinking-water for man and beast, as at Itafique and in the Caipipendi valley near Rio Parapiti.

C Ce 131 133
C Ce 361 312

The biggest rivers running through the territory of the Chiriguano and the Chané are the Rio Grande, the Rio Parapiti and above all the Rio Pilcomayo. The Rio Grande may now almost be considered the boundary river of these tribes towards the north, and is of but little importance to them. The Rio Parapiti is a strange river. While well supplied with water in the mountains it is almost shrinks to nothing in the plains during the dry season. During the rains it is very full of water and may be dangerous to ford. Fish are plentiful only in the Rio Pilcomayo, and we

C Ce 133
C Ce [326]

6: Nordenskiöld--24 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF 8

/171 cont./
on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tairakua Indians. The Ashluslay also maintain, as my interpreter told me, that /172/ the Toba chief Taycollique, during his invasion of their territory in 1909, had several Chiriguano with him.

Batirayu said that in former times the Chané brought home the heads of their slain enemies and set them up on the plazas of the villages during festivals.

Fig. 82. Clay vessel of the Chané. 1/4.
Rio Parapiti.

/173/ Chapter Eleven

From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Everyday Life in the Chané and Chiriguano Huts

As a rule, I felt very comfortable in the huts of the Chané and Chiriguano. The life in these villages is exactly the same. If one describes one village, he has described almost all of them.

Like all the other Indians whom I visited south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, these Indians live in villages. Some of these villages are quite large and inhabited by several hundred persons. Often many villages lie close together. The huts, as a rule, lie around a market place on which sweeping trees are occasionally planted for shelter in the rainy season. The market places serve as playgrounds and meeting places. The huts, in contrast to the round Chaworí and Ashluslay huts, are square, and their doors, facing the village, are set in the gable. They are made of cane or wooden slats, with roofs of grass. Not infrequently they are plastered with earth.

/207 cont./

says it is probably known to all Brazilian tribes. On the other hand, the custom of the couvade seems to be unknown to the Quichua /Quechua/ and Aymara, that is to say, to the mountain culture in Bolivia and Peru. This is one of the many contrasts between the Indians of the mountains and of the virgin forest. Ee 846 171

The Guarayú Indians of northeastern Bolivia told me that if a man goes hunting immediately after his wife's confinement and, for example, shoots a parrot, he might kill his child. That is, during the first days of life the soul of the child follows the father. G 846 224 774

Illegitimate children are very rarely born among the Chané and Chiriguano. I believe, perhaps I am mistaken, that the women of these Indians are chaste before they marry. On the Rio Itiyuro, among about 500 Chané, there was only one child born to an unmarried woman. Deformed children are very rarely born. Thus, from what I saw and what Batiayu said, in the entire Parapiti Valley, among 1500-2,000 Chané, there is no one who was born blind, none cross-eyed, no idiot, and only one with deformed extremities, and four deaf mutes. I did not observe any Indians with a serious stutter. Ee 848 Ce 848 162 C Ce 732 [762]

I do not know whether among these Indians, too, deformed children are immediately killed, but this is probably the case. Nor do I know whether abortion occurs. It is certain, however, that these healthy women seldom bear children who are not well formed. Nevertheless, in the Parapiti valley, as was said, there was a boy with deformed extremities. One hip bone was too short and one arm was also crippled. This boy was treated by all with extraordinary kindness, /208/ and loud approval was expressed when I gave him a few small presents. Ee [947] Ce [D23] Ee

When the child begins to walk, it is given a name. This is not given by the father or mother, but by its grandparents. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti I wrote down a few names. If it is a boy, he is called, for example, yandurembi (lip of the rock), hulucaca (guanaco), tinunambi (armadillo ear), yánducúpe (ostrich back), vacatuyáca (cow head), aguachivi (fox urine), derée paravée (your poor eye); if it is a girl, for example, ñanayupi (guava blossom) (1). A great many of the names are 553 603 Ce 551

1. Psidium guayava.

Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

C
Gi
175
648
[567]
[727]

/7 cont./ By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xores, the Mares, and the Yuracares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

Gi
C
Ge
175
648
567

14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

Ee
Gi
175
648
162
567

16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 400 Chiriguano of the province of Machareti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

Ee
Gi
175
648
567

/16/

36 62 162 The town Ibitibi in the southern part of Chiriguano territory, south of the Pilcomayo River, examined minutely by Eric v. Rosen, was inhabited, according to the Indians, by about 300 persons. The town was located on a plain surrounded by mountains and forests. The houses formed a large circumference, the cacique's house being in the middle. Some shade trees had been planted in the open plaza between the cacique's house and the other houses. In other Chiriguano towns visited by v. Rosen, houses were dispersed without any order. According to the observations of v. Nordenskiöld too, Chiriguano towns are sometimes quite large and inhabited by around 100 persons. Often several towns are near one another. The houses are generally around a plaza sometimes planted with trees and serving as a place to play and to hold meetings.

342 We know the form of the Chiriguano houses in detail through v. Rosen (63), and primarily through the good photo-

63. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 191; Figs. 188-197 and 217.

[335] graphs of such houses. The houses are rectangular and their roofs end in points. Walls and roofs are held up by posts. The walls consist either of only vertical poles made from branches or reeds, close together and tied by horizontal ligatures, or of interwoven poles whose interstices are plastered with mud. The roof (opitié) is covered with straw. One type of house was illustrated in a photograph by v. Rosen (64), on which one

64. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 190.

side of the roof projects at the top over the other side of the [171] roof. The same house type also exists in the ancient culture of the Peruvians, as is shown by sketches found on the surface of ancient Peruvian vessels.

C Ca /84 cont./ The subjugated Chané were distributed among
175 the various social communities of the Chiriguano as subjects or
648 slaves. In the "Relación del Corregidor de Tomino Don Juan
162 Ance de Alvedia" in the year 1618, it is said that in the Province
[567] of Macharetí, "which is Pilcomayo and its environs," there
lived scarcely 400 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed
5,000 Chané "to one 200, to another 100, to another 80, and in
this way up to said number." In the Province of Charagua 4,000
C Ca/ Chané were distributed in the same manner to the 350 Chiriguano
175 of this province, and upwards of 1,000 Chané to the 200
648 Chiriguano of the Province of Guapay. As in other documents, in
567 this one as well, there is mentioned the ill treatment which
these subjects had to suffer from the Chiriguano and the hate
which they had toward their oppressors (318). The Chiriguano

C Ca [146]

318. Moreno II, pp. 750 and 104.

scornfully called the Chané "tapé," while they themselves were
called /ñi/ by the latter "chaya," that is, "my master" (319).

319. Moreno II, p. 754.

C 175 Although most of these subjects or slaves were made up of Chané,
648 there were also among them other Indians who had been subjugated
567 in the expeditions, for example, Chicha Indians (320), and among

Ca [567] [648]

320. Moreno II, p. 707.

the Chiriguano of Tendi also Guaraco Indians (321). According

321. Moreno II, p. 117.

to Techo (322), whose report was written in the second half of

322. According to Moreno II, pp. 256 and 707.

the 17th century, the Chiriguano commonly sold some of their
slaves to the Spaniards.

/211 cont./

853 222 There is no special food or more abundant food for mothers after childbirth. She who gives her breasts to her little one eats little and extremely poorly. Her ordinary food is parched maize, parched maize meal, bread made of the same, herbs, beans, gourds, other things of this nature, and rarely a little purchased beef, other meat from animals that died from sickness, lack of pasture, or snake bite, and, finally, game or chicken. In spite of this extremely bad food, milk is abundant in her breasts; the children are almost always hanging from them and sucking and never seem to dry them up, which indicates that they are excellent nursers.

648 424 853 Mestizo or white mothers who sometimes have little or no breast milk because of sickness or some accident make contracts with Chiriguano mothers, pay them well, and treat them better, but it seems that continued good and satisfactory nursing harms them, /212/ it also being prejudicial to the breast as well as to both newborn babies, the weaker child succumbing first (1).

1. Naturally the Chiriguano women refuse to be wet nurses for white children, because they abhor them. When through experience they learn of the sad consequences, communicated by others, they resist even more and only do it when force or the right of the stronger prevails.

Twins

845 [63] [65] Multiple births are rare, and those of two children are frequent. In the former case the newborn babies die very soon, and in the latter case one almost always lives, and many times both live. When twins survive or through the death of the mother a newborn child is left an orphan, it is very easy for the grandmother to care for one twin or the orphaned child. 236 603 [853] [824] Although the old woman may have reached or passed 60, she

/226 cont./

881 178 do not advise anyone of their puberty, even their mothers, and the consequences are sad in no few cases. They do not tell anyone because the older girls make fun of them.

•163 582 A single thing is noted in the missions, and it is that the neophytes, when they get to the age of about 35, stop having children. Perhaps this is because they marry very young, at about 16 to 20 at the latest. If it is true that the Chiriguano 581 women of old were ready for marriage /227/ as soon as they came out of their hiding or fasting, the union which they contracted was certainly neither continuous nor for life with the same person. One or two months with one, then a rest until giving birth, afterwards again joining the same man, or perhaps she would seek out another if the first had become bored 799 with her or she with him. But this does not happen in the 581 missions; those who contract marriage do it for life, because it is a Catholic union and, as such, indissoluble, just as the natural marriage of the infidels would be, but the Chiriguano does not understand this, since in principle he wishes to be a hummingbird, coming to rest on many flowers and not stopping at any of them until he reaches a certain age.

881 785 184 In the districts where the fasting lasted for a year, such as in Cuevo, before the town of San Juan Bautista and the Santa Rosa Mission were founded, after the first rigorous month the maidens were made to eat meat and beans also, and they were even allowed to drink a little mild chicha, so that they would not become too weak or die. If the chicha had turned sour, it would be prejudicial for later married life, producing the effects of which I have already spoken.

881 178 177 Finally, to conclude such a delicate subject, let it be noted that at the present time the custom of such a rigorous fast for the female sex is observed in very few places; today the region is inhabited by the white race, which is making them understand that all this is superstition, because of the example of their daughters, who, in spite of the fact that they have done nothing of what has been said, live in perfect

Ce 551 /208 cont./
untranslatable. Not infrequently a nickname is added to this name. Thus, for example, the Chané chief Boyra (Boy-snake) was called yŭruhuasu, which means big-mouth. Indeed, old Boyra was a talker who had a great weakness for everything that was a bit indecent.

Ee 862 ●163 C 847 Mothers nurse for an unusually long time, and it is several years, as a rule, before they have another child. Perhaps the woman also aborts the fruit of her womb occasionally, like the Choroti woman, so that the family will not become too burdened.

E 163 In the mission station in Ivu I tried to gather statistics about the number of surviving children in 127 Chiriguano marriages and found that in ten marriages there were no children, in 27 one, in 35 two, in 29 three, in 13 four, in 9 five, and in 4 six. These figures, however, are quite uncertain. Nevertheless they show that here, as among many other Indian tribes, there is a sort of two-children system.

C 847 114 C [113] Corrado (2) maintains with certainty that infanticide occurs

2. Corrado: El Colegio Franciscano De Traija y sus misiones. Quaracci, 1884. Pages 526-527.

among the Chiriguano. It is done in desperate cases among us, too, and therefore the example cited by Corrado means nothing. C 847 The question is: does /209/ infanticide and abortion occur as an institution accepted by the tribe, as among the Choroti? /Fig. 110 appears here./

C Ee 868 857 The Chané and Chiriguano children, as has been mentioned, are brought up in freedom. They spend their childhood playing. Gradually the child begins to help its parents in small matters, for example, in carrying water and wood, tying up /210/ the domestic animals, fishing, etc. The girls learn spinning, weaving, making clay vessels, brewing maize beer, etc. from their mothers. They learn everything by imitation. The boys pursue small birds around the village and in this way learn the use of weapons. The children accompany their parents to fish and to till. The boy

/484/

412 However, these awls are too abundant in each village for their use to be only sacred. It is probable that the Chiriguano use them as a simple tool for solely secular purposes.

[174] At Tilcara, Debenedetti (2, Fig. 176, p. 232) discovered specimens made of deerhorn identical with our Chiriguano examples.

824 757 8. I have in my collections seeds whose virtues are multiple: they are an excellent remedy for skin eruptions, ulcers, and toothaches.

9. For stomach-ache the Chiriguano recommend the absorption of particles of wood (mboipinda).

232 [824] 10. Certain seeds (of a graminaceous plant?) when crushed give a paste or powder with which they treat animals whose sores are attacked by worms.

11. When cows' hooves tend to work loose, they bathe them with fragments of limestone (itakwi).

757 237 12. Fat extracted from a cow's foot is an effective ointment for cases of rheumatism.

13. The beak of the toucan is said to enjoy great medicinal properties. They grate it and drink in water the powder which comes from it (Campana, 111).

Stitches in the side and dysentery are treated with a piece of armadillo shell burned, ground, and dissolved in water, which the patient drinks.

757 [114] In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (passim) and Nino's book (pp. 288-290) is found many a very interesting piece of information on the pharmacopoeia of the Chiriguano. I shall summarize them in order to complete my own observations.

757 164 1. The oil which floats on kiwi, when it is done, is a good remedy for headaches.

2. Salt, ground and drunk mixed with the urine of a small child, quiets stomach pains.

[824] 3. Rheumatism is doctored by applying on the ailing part a branch of ulala (Rankawina) from which the thorns have been removed and which has been heated.

[644] /484 cont./
[757]
[824]

4. To stop dysentery, one must drink a decoction made of corn and watermelon seeds ground together.

[237] 5. Stitches in the side are treated by drinking a fragment of armadillo shell ground up and by rubbing the ailing place with a portion of this same calabash heated.

6. Tumors and swellings of the throat or knee are made to disappear by applying on the sore region the leaves of a shrub called urukuna, heated in a pot. Another herb (yundurimbiu) has the same virtue.

/485/ Urukuna leaves put in compresses on the skull dissipate headaches, protect one from congestion, and cure erysipelas. The leaves of yandipa (hediondilla) have all the virtues of urukuna.

7. Hemorrhages are stopped by means of latex or the roasted leaf of the liana supuapempe.

8. Kaa-upaya is an efficacious herb in cases of stomach ailments; and soto root cures pains in the feet (rheumatism?).

9. Guaya is a liana which cures any swelling in the side.

[753] [821] 10. Goiter, rare among the Indians, is attributed by them to the sun. They treat it with tutía, a yellow fruit which reminds one of an apple, or by putting around the neck compresses of the blood of the gallinazo, carancho, or handurria, kinds of vultures.

11. Ophthalmia or conjunctivitis is doctored with drops extracted from the bark of the algarrobillo or with the glue taken from the bud of the membiría plant. The leaves of yandi-wope are excellent for cases of ophthalmia.

12. A variety of caraguatá makes diarrhea stop.

13. The flower kaa-ro (bitter herb) cures skin eruptions and is as good for malaria.

14. The herb inái (tooth of water) is a remedy against whooping cough, which can also be treated with an infusion made of boiled or roasted wasps and drunk warm.

15. Tingi bark attached around the belly is excellent for fighting dropsy, as are the leaves of the ñuru (palo de india), a tree reminiscent of laurel, or the herb kaa-paye, taken as an infusion.

164 /485 cont./

757 16. Gonorrhea is treated with the boiled root of the
824 mistol and tapir fat.

[237] 17. Earaches pass away if drops of chicken, beetle, and cicada fat are poured into the auditory canal.

18. The root of chirimoya del monte (aratibu) is a good antidote if one feels poisoned.

752 19. Snake bites lose their seriousness if one applies some
824 of the herb uruuru, guaje, tobacco, or nicotine on the wound.

The sap of the liana isipo-poro-mboyi, although poisonous, nonetheless constitutes an excellent antidote for the same cases.

752 20. By putting melted wax on the wound, you do not risk
237 dying when a mad dog has bitten you.

21. Wounds produced by a sharp instrument heal if burned chicken feathers are spread on them.

757 22. It suffices for a woman to drink the powder of a shell in water to put her fallen uterus back in place.

/486/

757 23. The red leaves of the añankamisa, iwira-ro (quebracho
824 cacha) bark, the woody plant toba-pitše, taken as infusions, are as many remedies for fever.

[752] 24. Compresses of kaa-ruruntirái make abscesses burst.

25. In case of constipation it is good to drink the latex of the kaa-si (cardencha, lechetresna).

752 26. After any serious fall one must drink water in which
757 one has made an infusion of a sort of vervain (kaimberai)
824 pounded beforehand. The consequences of the shock will not be felt if one applies on the sore regions poultices made with this same plant carefully ground.

27. Recommended for spreading on sprains are cara guatá leaves or a thick glue obtained by boiling the bark of iwira-pitiyu-wasu. This substance is equally good for fractures.

757 28. The Chiriguano chew the bark of iwira-pitiyu-wasu to make
824 their violent toothaches stop and to make their teeth more solid.

29. A cataract is doctored in the following way: One boils kuruwa leaves and bathes the patient's head with this infusion.
[237] Then one takes the gall from the dorado fish with pincers or

/42 cont./

*136 We can count among the amphibians the "Boicururu," or snake toad, which is nothing but the water tarantula, but it is very poisonous here; it is found near lakes in the swamps. Frogs are found in small numbers in the center of the region; [262] they abound where there is water on the banks of rivers; only the Toba and other barbarians eat them; the Chiriguano do not. There is an infinity of "Cururu" toads in terms of size, color, and song, one being distinguished among all of them, the one that the whites call "Rococo" and that is heard continually and loudly at a distance of one kilometer at night in rainy weather and where there is water.

*136 *825 [257] [164] The toad is medicinal; one or two large ones are gently caught alive and, one after the other, applied /43/ to parts of the body affected by erysipelas, which is cured very efficaceously, with the animal being left dead, doubtless because with its cold belly it absorbs all the heat which the sick person has in the said painful parts; more than once I have seen erysipelas cured in this way. In rainy weather there are so many of them that it is impossible to sleep near the place where they gather to sing their discordant tattoo; at the end of a heavy shower is when the noise of the toads is most unbearable.

*136 Fish abound in the large rivers, where there are shad, bagre, and dorado; the latter reach a length of two meters, as I have seen, and are very palatable and drip blood like cow's meat. Then in the same rivers, streams, and permanent lakes, there is an infinity of small "pira" fish, which are good to the taste, and finally there is no lack of eels, "Chorinchi," 43 or the useful leeches, "Evoipe." Indians who live on the banks of rivers of great volume trade in fish; to be sure, they plant fields, but generally they do not harvest because of the lack of rain, but obtain maize in exchange for fish; dried shad tastes like cod and is worth 10 and 20 centavos.

*136 Insects are innumerable, but not as abundant and varied in their form, size, and color as they are in the region of the Beni, the Mojo, and others; they are a hundred times more numerous than all the quadrupeds and birds together; there are bothersome ones, like mosquitoes and zancudos /long-beaked mosquito/, and there are poisonous ones, which, however, rarely cause death.

/45 cont./

*136 mouth, and then it goes to another place to repeat the operation. The eggs remain in the ground one month /46/ so that the larvae may hatch; these take three months to reach the state when they can fly. Red locusts have no fixed direction, but fly and stop in the hills and rarely come down to the pampas. Only if the pampas are very extensive will they spend the night there, but always in trees or thickets. Then
• [164] the Chiriguano gets up very early and puts in provisions for many days, and dysentery immediately appears in the town, carrying many to the grave.

Niguas are abundant where there are pigs and dogs, which they bother constantly. The nigua is a small flea in form and color, but not in its effects. It gets into the skin, causing a slight smarting. It is easy to get it out if its presence is soon noticed, but if it manages to establish its dwelling there and to make a nest, which consists of a small ball of skin, it is difficult to get it out. The nigua causes swelling and discomfort and makes walking impossible when it establishes its domain in one's feet. So that this may not happen, one first raises the skin around the ball with a needle, trying to get it out whole; ashes, especially cigar ashes, are deposited in the cavity which remains, and all danger of becoming immobilized for several days then disappears.

The guanaco is similar to the louse, but larger, and there are some of every size. In Chiriguano they are called
*[825] "Guanaco." These insects are also slightly buried in the ground, and they can easily bite one who goes barefoot or in sandals. They are abundant from Yvu to far beyond Santa
[164] Cruz de la Sierra. Their bite is not poisonous, but some of them do cause pimples or swellings all over the body, and in others the swelling is in the most immediately affected parts. The first of these effects was caused in a companion of mine, and he was later cured with five drops of ammonia in water; I had the second effect. It was during a trip, and since I had no ammonia, I cured myself of the swelling, which bothered me all day, with tender plantain leaves and melted grease, which an old woman in Guariri put on me. I spent the night there and woke up with no symptoms and no pain. The Indians chew tobacco and cure themselves easily.

/149 cont./

755 This done, they return to the town with an air of triumph
756 and pass through all of it, raining blows with their clubs on the
731 corners of the plaza and the houses of the most notable persons, and, the performance ended, he directs his discourse to those who surround him and the others who have come out of their houses. He tells them that they must not be afraid and that they should have confidence in him, for the illness over which he is the master has been dispelled.

He then takes a rest from his labors for several days, takes his leave of the cacique and the principal men, blessed by the frightened inhabitants, and returns to his town. Anyone can understand that, if there is no epidemic, it is a coincidence which will give considerable renown to the rascally impostor, and, if there is one, the blame falls on the townspeople or on some other /150/ bad sorcerer. Then he returns and becomes the healer for all of them. In smallpox epidemics the sorcerer is always one who has had it and who as a sad sign thereof has his face and his nose covered with pox.

755 In the first months after I arrived at the Santa Rosa Mission,
756 an epidemic began to break out; without my realizing what was
731 happening, exorcisms against the smallpox were being carried
164 out by the sorcerer Biringa, but as this disease had thoroughly invaded the town by the end of the year, he returned and paid well for his deceits; his threats that he would make the 255 male students of the school perish were of no avail since both they and the female students became sick, but only one of the boys and seven of the girls died (1).

> .. The girls of the Santa Rosa school numbered 735 in the year of the smallpox; those who were dangerously sick received the viaticum before they were taken to the lazaretto. Those about to die even received Extreme Unction in the lazaretto. In January of 1904 there were more than 500 persons in the latter.

/150 cont./

756 Even for rain the sorcerers perform their incantations with
789 their maize-husk cigar, making a turn in the planted fields.
731 but if the drought is general, the incantations are public per-
824 formed in the town in front of the house of the principal cacique.
[197] One of these was performed in the early days of the above-mentioned mission. The missionary had admonished them to stop it, but when they answered insolently, he formed or organized a commission with shotguns and old rifles. The three or four sorcerers fled, but one of them fell into the hands of the commission, was punished for his insolence, and in a few minutes a torrential shower refreshed the entire territory of the mission.

756 In concrete cases, when the sorcerer is required by a
755 particular family, he establishes himself in the house of the sick man; he asks him a thousand questions regarding the sickness, the houses that he has frequented, the friends with whom he has drunk, the companions with whom he has played, and the things that he has earned. Then he lights his maize-husk cigar and smokes, blowing the smoke over the body of the patient, especially the affected part.

Then, depending on the greater or lesser seriousness of the illness, depending on the nature of the disease, whether it requires blows or joltings, which is the most likely, he delivers them so atrociously that they are likely to end the patient's life, and if not he is content with rubbing the affected part hard /151/ and sucking it with his mouth, extracting from the patient's body the worms which the rascal has hidden in his mouth (1).

• [164]

1. In many cases worms can be found in the bodies of these Indians between the flesh and the skin. I myself, with the use of fenelina, have made worms as big as chickpeas come out of their bodies, without their having had any wound at all.

/712 cont./

736 very easily manages to make the milk come down. She
603 grinds watermelon seed or sarsaparilla root, Isipocagua, and
824 washes herself repeatedly, squeezing herself over or above her
853 breasts, and makes the famished child suck continuously for several days, and in a short time she achieves the desired result. Sometimes even young women lose their milk. They then look for the root and juice of the sámolo, or cipoi, wash the breasts with this juice, and succeed in nursing their children again (2).

2. In the confirmation administered by the Bishop in October, 1909, in Ivu Mission, an old woman of some 60 years of age presented her granddaughter, whom she had nursed. She is still alive, and so is the twin granddaughter, although not very strong.

Joy and Grief

855 For the Chiriguano race their joy at the birth of a male child is the same as at that of a female child, because if the former helps his father in field chores and in hunting and fishing, the latter helps her mother in household chores, and the father as much as the grandfather very much like to eat meal which has been ground by the hands /213/ of their daughter
765 or granddaughter. If either one dies, the grief that the old
855 people feel is very heavy. I witnessed many times a mother's agonies of grief over the death of her son and the profound feeling of the father over the irreparable loss of his idolized daughter.

799 What I am going to relate will better convince my
758 readers. In the month of July in the year 1909, a rabid dog
164 at the girls' school of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission bit Cecilia Yagúndai slightly and Ana Yarandui and Delina Aragúndai more severely. The two latter, younger than the

/213 cont./

797 first, came to me to be treated for their wounds, to which I
758 applied cotton soaked with ammonia, of which I also made
•164 them drink five drops. The two went through a high fever for four days, but they are alive. Cecilia did not consider her bite very important and did not come to me; I did not know that she had been bitten. She did not have a high fever either, because in fact scarcely any blood came out, according to what her companions say.

The month of January came, just six months after June, and the little girls who had been treated with ammonia again had the same degree of fever and recovered. The other girl began to be afraid of water and to be laughed at by her companions for this fear, so much so that she was the object of foolish tricks. She went down to the town, she wanted to drink water, was unable to, and she told her parents. At once she said that she had pain in her wrist, in her little breast, and in her shoulder, and nothing could be done to treat her; the sickness got worse and she received the last rites. The night before she died she tried to run out of the house; she howled without rest and tried to hit and bite her mother. In all, she had true hydrophobia, which carried her to the grave in three days (1).

> 1. The child Cecilia was bitten by the rabid dog right on her wrist, which is where the first pain began six months later. When I blessed her with holy water, she was afraid and shrank away.

Until she was buried, I did not know what had happened in the month of July, but when I saw such a similarity to rabies, I inquired and it turned out to be this which had
753 caused her death. Her parents, since they could not be
754 persuaded that the bite could produce an effect after so long a time, attributed her violent death to sorcery, stating that this must have been done by a young man who a few days earlier

/252 cont./

262 As very savory food there are also cicadas, ants, lizards, locusts, and some green worms which cause disgust just to name them. If a head of cattle dies and putrefaction has begun, the Chiriguano finds it excellent; give it to him and it is a grand gift, and that day is a carnival for him; he does not try to find out whether the animal died from the poison of a viper or rattlesnake or from rabies (1).

262
252

1. When Indians bring home the meat of dead cattle well into a state of putrefaction, they boil it in ollas and throw away the liquid, and in this way it loses much of its bad smell.

262
178 I do not know whether it is through superstition or because they are descendants of the Jews that this tribe formerly did not eat the flesh of the pig; although they like and hunt the wild boar or the peccary, they did not touch the domestic pig, but today almost all of them, with the exception of some women, eat it.

261
262 The Chiriguano suffers in times of hunger or scarcity of food, but he looks for food in the earth; this is very harmful food, which produces various ailments, such as consumption and
[252] dysentery. He looks for the potato of the serpentine arum, ex-
[164] tracts it, and, making a hole, heats it, throws the potatoes there, and covers it with ashes and embers, leaving them overnight; on the following day he and his family eat, but it gives them a bad stomach-ache, which makes them throw themselves down with their bellies to the ground until the pain abates; the same potato, raw, is efficaceous for killing worms in the galls of animals.

[222] Another food in times of scarcity is the Caraguata; this
[252] is a kind of aloe with leaves without the oily liquid; the edible part is the roots, which have a flavor like mandioca; it is considerable work to pull them out of the ground, where they are firmly attached, and the mealy substance is /253/ little enough; to eat it, it is roasted in the coals or under the ashes. When it is the time for fruits and wart threatens, the Chiriguano

/265 cont./

52
519

They spend the rest of the year in diversions, playing cards and shooting dice, hunting doves and wild animals, going fishing, or fishing where the large rivers are, organizing private drinking parties, today in one barrio, tomorrow in another, today in Mengano's house, tomorrow in Fulano's, the day after tomorrow in Sempronio's, until planting time returns once more.

The Indian concerns himself very little about his house, which sometimes is at the point of falling in on him: his house is better ventilated than a sieve, it rains more inside than out, he sleeps there almost like a toad, he sleeps on the damp ground or above it on a miserable cot, placed over the mud or the water, and his sleep is like that of the dormouse (1).

•[164]

1. This way of life in the dampness in their houses or outside of them is the cause of many skin diseases, fevers, and tumors.

Hospitality

574
576

The Chiriguano is very hospitable and it would be hard to find any other race which is his equal in this: he receives and serves everyone in his house, both whites and those of familiar condition, for example, the Toba, and, with greater reason, those of his own race. They visit from one town to another, and at the first meeting or at first sight they say immediately, /266/ depending upon the age of the person most Ndengpuama pa tati? good day, uncle, if it is in the morning; Ndecaaruma pa? good afternoon; or Ndepistruma pa? good evening. Literally, these three salutations have another meaning. The first mean "Have you reached this day, have you arisen healthy and vigorous?" The second, "Have you reached the afternoon?" And the third, "Have you reached the evening?" He who receives the greeting answers, Ampuama, checaaruma, or chepistruma, respectively.

/385 cont./

753 821 which rises continually to the sky on these interminable plains, taking behind it all of the trash that it finds along its way. It is called Curumino, and, according to them, it causes pains in the foot, knees, and bones. When a whirlwind begins in a town, they try to cut it with a knife.

164 Illnesses and Remedies

The most common illnesses among the Chiriguano are the intermittent fevers that are endemic, tuberculosis or consumption, eye disease, convulsive coughing, diarrhea, dysentery, mange or itch, and tumors accompanied by a kind of leprosy that covers a large part of the body. The intermittent fevers appear at the time of the first rains and continue until the time of the fruits and fresh maize. These fevers are not fatal, but one who is attacked by them has a rather afflicted life. Their remedies are vegetal: 757 they boil cushacha or algarroba bark, and they drink this water, but it does not always have a salutary effect. /786/ If a small dose of quinine is administered during the intermittent fevers, they immediately get well (1).

1. They get well with a small dosage, perhaps because their bodies are not accustomed to the remedies of the apothecary. Another efficacious remedy for the intermittent fevers is bitter coffee or coffee with a little sugar.

164 The itch, tumors, and leprosy do not cause death. 262 Chiriguano food is almost always tainted. They are not careful 263 in selecting it, and stinking meat does not disgust them. Their 951 water is not always clean; they bathe at any hour and, after bathing 95 do not dry their bodies. If it rains, they let the wet clothing dry 880 on their person. From this and other causes come the many skin

164 757 /The cold./ From this and other causes come the many skin diseases which do not let them sleep. The itch is cured with saltpeter found in the dry stream beds. They call it Curuyuqui, or salt for curing the itch, but the remedy does not always produce its effect. The itch principally attacks those of few years, and nursing infants catch it from their mothers. Lepers are cured very efficaciously by means of hot cow dung, and it is enough to apply it two or three times for a cure within three days without any further remedy, but they do not resign themselves easily to using this repugnant but efficacious remedy.

157

164 Smallpox and measles are epidemics which appear from time to times; for this reason I do not put them in the list of endemic diseases like the former ones. The Chiriguano runs from smallpox as a person with hydrophobia does from water, since through experience he knows that anyone who gets it has a hard time being saved from a horrible death. When it enters a town, it sows fear and desolation. Sick people resign themselves to death, and the healthy ones flee to serve to other tribes. It seems that it is not easy to attack smallpox directly, and up to now only vaccination has benign effects (7).

777 164

> 7. When smallpox breaks out, the missionaries go wherever their ministry is needed, like doctors and priests. Up to now none of them has caught it, perhaps because they are vaccinated or because they have different blood.

In 1910 the town of Cuevo, which is about eight kilometers from Tve, was decimated by smallpox. I vaccinated all the people of Tve and those who were not residents there. But the vaccine did not take in all of them, as occasionally happens. Nevertheless, few got sick and only two died. The remedy that I administered after the initial fever had begun was rather strong wine vinegar. The sickness ran its course only in those who had not drunk the /787/ vinegar or who had not been able to retain it in the stomach. I administered one cup every six hours three times, and it was enough for this terrible illness, which would cause so many deaths in Cuevo, to pass almost unperceived in the San Buenaventura Mission (1).

> 1. Many people became sick and died in the

/287 cont./

799
164

Santa Rosa Mission, but the use of the vinegar, which I began to administer later, made the mortality stop.

Measles usually attacks children, as does diarrhea, and because they are very delicate it is difficult to treat them, for which reason almost all of them succumb. Lemon and vinegar are efficacious remedies for both illnesses; in many cases I have administered camomile with good results. Diarrhea in infants comes from a scarcity of food, for then the mothers eat very hot things, such as the fruit or potato of serpentine arum, algarrobas, and other wild plants, as a result of which the infants drink the very hot milk, which damages their bellies and produces inflammation (2).

164
261

[757]

2. There exists near or around the lakes a herbaceous plant called pazote, and by the Indians and whites páico. A tisane made from this herb is efficacious against smallpox and measles.

Dysentery occurs in older people, and an occasional case of it shows up even in children. The cause of this illness is the very poor diet in times of want, when they eat wild roots and fruits. Here there is a very effective remedy, which the whites call meloncillo and the Indians Ñurantimburu. This is a thorny bush with long thorns, from which its name comes. At the time when it buds, or in the springtime, its thorns are slightly purple, and its roots are the remedy. They are boiled and the patient is given this water to drink for a week. The eye sickness attacks all, big and small, without distinction and is so bad that some lose their sight completely or are left with only one eye. In the missions this is treated with white lead or lead acetate, and it suffices to apply it two or three times to bring about a complete cure.

164
757

[797]

164

The convulsive cough, or whooping cough, is another illness which attacks children up to ten years old, causing many deaths. It shows up in the cold months and even in the rainy season, sometimes attacking grown-ups, among whom it does not cause death. There is in the hills a yellow flower which around here is called

[757]

164 757 /287 cont./

vira-vira. The tisane made from these flowers has salutary effects, but it is not strong enough to bring about a radical cure, /288/ especially if the precaution of wrapping the child up after the potion is drunk is not taken (1).

1. Most effective for whooping cough is the use of petroleum. The child is anointed from his forehead to his belly and made to drink a few drops. In 1910 almost all of those whom I treated with petroleum got well.

164 Consumption, or tuberculosis, attacks men and women and appears in both sexes as a stomach-ache. This pain can be considered the beginning of the sickness, which usually appears after the age of 40, but in certain places it carries to the grave persons who have not yet reached the age of 20.

In the Santa Rosa mission this disease alone, in less than ten years, caused the death of more than 70 schoolgirls: at that time this mortality was attributed to the bad water there, but as it is found in other places where the water is excellent there must be another cause. For young people or adolescents it could not be the continual fires, because there are none in the schools.

164 291 755 The Chiriguano has no remedy for tuberculosis, and one who gets it is resigned to death, because whether or not he attributes everything to sorcery, he believes in it and in the poison in this case: hence the sick person goes for help to the sorcerer, who to get rid of the illness, without succeeding, uses atrocious and even immoral means when dealing with women (2).

[799] 2. The missionary buys remedies from the apothecary to treat the Indians. These remedies are almost always repugnant. If the sick person does not drink it in the presence of the missionary, he will pour it out: he has more faith in the sorcerer.

/389 cont./

Other Illnesses and Remedies

759 According to the illnesses that exist, there are doctors and medicines among the Chiriguano. The former have not gone through any university other than experience, learning from the latter to prepare medicines, not only from plants and herbs, but also from minerals and even from the excrement of animals. The doctors receive the praise of individuals who know less than they and are differentiated even by name from the evil sorcerers, who are called Mbaecué, while the former are called Ipaye, and the medicines or drugs are called Mba.

759 The oil that is necessarily a side product of the preparation of chicha is very good for curing headaches. Salt, ground and mixed with the urine of infants, is drunk and is a good anodyne for stomach-aches. Dampness and cold produce a tightening of the nerves, which causes atrocious pain in more /759/ than one person. To cure this disorder they pull up a branch of ulale /a cactus/, Nasrapiina, strip off the spines, parch it, and, when it is good and hot, apply it to the affected parts and get well. They use something else to cure dysentery. They burn yellow maize, grind it with watermelon seed, and have those attacked by the disease drink it (1).

> 1. The melencilla /little melon/ is a remedy which the whites told me about. It is more effective, but the Chiriguano have no faith in it or do not use it out of weakness.

When a sick person suffers a pain in his side, he asks for a hulled-armadillo shell, grinds it up, and drinks it. At the same time what is left is heated at the fire and applied to the pain, and it stops as if by magic. If measles comes out on the lips, the sorcerer or doctor applies a tick which has been taken off some dog's flesh, and thus it disappears. Sometimes tumors or a swelling in the throat and in the knees appear, and these are made to disappear through the application of the herb called Urucina. It is heated at the fire in a small olla and applied. Another herb, called Yandurimbó, is also good for this. They

• [14]

/157 cont./ One old woman who was
supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after
she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in
this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by eth-
nographers either, the promise of the old woman was not very
friendly.

The Chané use their old language for many expressions
that are abusive, for example, karaimabyti, which they trans-
late as son of a w---e. An invitation to coitus is called
pacône. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for
example, siparakinkoyé, siparakinkoyé, siparakinkoyé,
sandya, sandya, sandya, which they did not know how to translate.

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief
Tamiri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many
old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Tamiri
I also visited another chief, Tumbey, an old worthy who was
always embracing me and saying: "I am Tumbey." /Fig. 77
appears here./ "Yes, the great, mighty Tumbey," I chimed in,
which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered.

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the
mission at Ivo. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little
water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be
dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region,
Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spread-
ing into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the
place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a
genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in
Ivo died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged fright-
fully among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost
served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was
laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix.
Around this the other twine -ould get drunk and /159/ continue
to drink obligo (1) until they were finally lying on the table.

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the
latter must drink up.

/159 cont./
In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities. 114 [64] [65] [273]

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either. 797 756

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the 114

415
531

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igüembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 114 It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant. [133] [137]

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things. 123 157 173 643 000

C 165 /215 cont./
President Belzu in Sucre. The latter governed between 1848-1855; thus, 100-year-old Maringay is obviously not more than about 80. An 80-year-old Indian is therefore the oldest of his tribe.
C 145 Among the Indians one almost always sees /Fig. 112 appears here/ that the one who has grown-up grandchildren is very frail and senile and stands at the brink of the grave. Indian men and women mature very rapidly, but also age quickly. At 50 the Indian is an
C [114] old man, at 70 a so-called centenarian. Im Thurn (1) likewise

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 190.

believes that the Indians do not grow old. /216/ He thinks that they seldom reach an age older than 40 or 50.
C 142 Maringay's hair was slightly gray. There are some Indian men and women whose hair is almost whitish yellow, but they are
C [145] rare (Fig. 112). I never saw a bald Indian. When they are older,
C [164] their faces are deeply furrowed. Not infrequently they become blind in old age, less often deaf.
Ee 142 515 Among the Choroti and Ashluslay the appearance of old people is often frightening; they are dirty, emaciated, and bleary-eyed. This is not the case among the Chané and Chiriguano. These Indians know how to grow old in beauty, and even the old people keep themselves nice and clean.
Ee 756 If the Chané or Chiriguano Indian becomes seriously ill, the medicine man is sent for, as among other Indians.
The Chiriguano and Chané distinguish between two kinds of medicine men, whom they call "ipáye" or "ipáyepótchi." The
Ee [754] former are good and lift the spell; the latter are able to lift the spell and to bewitch.
C 756 797 I once jokingly asked a Chiriguano whether Father Bernardino in Ivu was an "ipáye" or an "ipáyepótchi." The Indian answered dutifully, an "ipáye." The position of the missionary among the Indians is that of medicine man; he assumes their power and their influence.
Ee 756 177 In the preceding I said that the whites in the vicinity of Ivu sent for an Indian medicine man to drive away smallpox.

/78/

Statistics

161 The tribe is in complete decadence and in a few more
162 years will be entirely lost. At the beginning of the nine-
[181] teenth century, that is, before the war of South American Independence, in the Tarija missions alone there were more than 23,000 souls, and nevertheless that number did not include any of the numerous towns existing between the two large Parapiti and Pilcomayo rivers or the Indians of Caipipendi, Choreti, Pipi, and others located south of Lagunillas. At that time, I can state that the Chiriguano numbered more than 200,000, inasmuch as, according to the statistics of Father Lozano, the adult men fit for war, without counting women and children, numbered from 25,000 to 35,000.

167 Although Father Lozano was referring to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the difference must have been slight, because at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not felt as there is today the emigration to the Argentine Republic, which began when the territory was opened to trade with the founding of towns of white Christians, which there are now in great number, up to the founding of large provinces with the names of Acero, Cordillera, and Gran Chaco, nor was there so much immorality as prevails today (1).

1. New laws have been made which make recruitment for Argentina impossible, and Dr. don Justo Padilla, the present national delegate from the Gran Chaco, at the present time does not allow the law to be merely written; he lets nobody through.

165 Epidemics, vagrancy, and emigration more than any-
161 thing, in addition to scarcity of provisions, are destroying this race, which is greatly needed and will be needed later for agriculture and cattle-raising in the provinces which have been mentioned. Today there is already a need for farmers.

/112 cont./

142 The Chiriguano at the time of birth has a color which is difficult to define, but, and let nobody laugh at this, his color is that of newborn mice, and as he grows the color changes until it is that of sunburnt parchment. The causes [147] of this change are the tropical heat, the sudden winds and changes, and the burning sun, to the action of which they expose themselves with untoward pleasure, with no bother and without fear, even should they be but tender infants.

144 147 From this it can easily be deduced that the Indian does not fear the canicular sun, or heat either; he works on the hottest days without shirt, trousers, or anything which re- [291] sembles these; he stretches out full length, very content, [516] receiving on his back the rays of the firey sun, and nothing daunts him. But when the north wind changes to the south and consequently the cold begins and the frost comes, he is very cowardly, and it is hard to make him work well and happily; in such cases it is easier to suspend the work for a few days, not to pay the laborers anything at all, and not to get uselessly angry; but this can only be done when the suspension does not have any bad effects (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. It is not only the Chiriguano Indian who hates the cold, but also the other races of America, such as, for example, the Quichua /Quechua/, according to what the historian Robertson says.

• 165 /113/ Life Span

The Chiriguano normally lives a good many years; he is little affected by heat, cold, and the inconstancy of the climate, nor by drunkenness and self-indulgence, to which capital vices he abandons himself from a tender age. Some [145] reach and pass 100 years, judging their longevity by their hair, since their hair does not turn white except at a very

[Text Continues on P. 156]

/113 cont./

165 [145] advanced age. and I have seen Indians with the head completely white. and others with a white the color of smoke or something smoked. In the performance of my ministry I have met and baptized many centenarians at the time of their death. and in the towns through which I have passed I have met several who fought in the Caraparí war and who witnessed the War of Independence.

293 276 [178] But today the Chiriguano has degenerated greatly: in somewhat distant times they did not know about either liquor or coca. and today both are general. and because of liquor and coca. the use of which they much abuse. they ruin their health and shorten their existence. Much youth disappears with the abuse of these substances. and as a general rule in the missions the best disappear. those who know some art or have some fortune: all that they earn. after buying their clothing (although not always). they invest in liquor and coca. and [165] [248] thus shorten their lives. I have seen towns where out of 40 or 50 young men of the same age there are scarcely two or three alive who will reach 50: it can thus be seen that the drunkenness produced by chicha is not so pernicious as that of liquor or alcohol. for which any tax imposed on them by the Supreme Government is never too much. and would that such a tax were higher. more general. and that it was not felt to be enough simply to write it out. In spite of this dissipated life. it is [142] [149] very rare that one encounters a bald Indian. which indicates great robustness (1).

1. I have known many large and small Chiriguano towns: I have only found three semibald persons.

Morality

181 At present the Chiriguano Indian differs slightly or not at all morally from the common mass of men. I mean that not all are good nor are all perverse: there are good ones and bad ones

/211 cont./

853 262 There is no special food or more abundant food for mothers after childbirth. She who gives her breasts to her little one eats little and extremely poorly. Her ordinary food is parched maize, parched maize meal, bread made of the same, herbs, beans, gourds, other things of this nature, and rarely a little purchased beef, other meat from animals that died from sickness, lack of pasture, or snake bite, and, finally, game or chicken. In spite of this extremely bad food, milk is abundant in her breasts; the children are almost always hanging from them and sucking and never seem to dry them up, which indicates that they are excellent nursers.

648 464 853 Mestizo or white mothers who sometimes have little or no breast milk because of sickness or some accident make contracts with Chiriguano mothers, pay them well, and treat them better, but it seems that continued good and satisfactory nursing harms them, /212/ it also being prejudicial to the breast as well as to both newborn babies, the weaker child succumbing first (1).

1. Naturally the Chiriguano women refuse to be wet nurses for white children, because they abhor them. When through experience they learn of the sad consequences, communicated by others, they resist even more and only do it when force or the right of the stronger prevails.

845 [163] [165] Twins

Multiple births are rare, and those of two children are frequent. In the former case the newborn babies die very soon, and in the latter case one almost always lives, and many times 736 603 both live. When twins survive or through the death of the mother a newborn child is left an orphan, it is very easy for the grandmother to care for one twin or the orphaned child. [853] [824] Although the old woman may have reached or passed 60, she

/159 cont./
In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities. 114 [65] [275]

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either. 797 756

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the 114

415
531

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igüembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 114
It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant. [133] [137]

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things. 123 157 173 643 000

/214 cont./

581 This Jesuit priest describes the marriages of the Chiriguano, however, as very loose.

581 273 With marriage, life begins in earnest for these Indians. It consists of work and drinking maize beer. I have already described their work somewhat; I shall discuss their drinking bouts below.

165 The life of the Indian men and women passes more quickly

142 291 516

Fig. 112. Old woman. Rio Itiyuro.
Her grandsons were about 18 years old and younger.

165 than that of whites. The age of the Indian is very difficult to determine when one has no definite figures to go by. Maringay told me that he was the oldest of his tribe, that none of his contemporaries was living any more. The whites said that Maringay was over 100 years old. This is exaggerated, however. As a newly married /215/ youth 16-20 years old, Maringay visited

C 165 /215 cont./
President Belzu in Sucre. The latter governed between 1848-1855; thus, 100-year-old Maringay is obviously not more than about 80. An 80-year-old Indian is therefore the oldest of his tribe.
C 145 Among the Indians one almost always sees /Fig. 112 appears here/ that the one who has grown-up grandchildren is very frail and senile and stands at the brink of the grave. Indian men and women mature very rapidly, but also age quickly. At 50 the Indian is an
[114] old man, at 70 a so-called centenarian. Im Thurn (1) likewise

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 190.

believes that the Indians do not grow old. /216/ He thinks that they seldom reach an age older than 40 or 50.

C 142 Maringay's hair was slightly gray. There are some Indian men and women whose hair is almost whitish yellow, but they are C [145] [164] rare (Fig. 112). I never saw a bald Indian. When they are older, their faces are deeply furrowed. Not infrequently they become blind in old age, less often deaf.

Ee 142 515 Among the Choroti and Ashluslay the appearance of old people is often frightening; they are dirty, emaciated, and bleary-eyed. This is not the case among the Chané and Chiriguano. These Indians know how to grow old in beauty, and even the old people keep themselves nice and clean.

Ee 756 If the Chané or Chiriguano Indian becomes seriously ill, the medicine man is sent for, as among other Indians.

The Chiriguano and Chané distinguish between two kinds of medicine men, whom they call "ipáye" or "ipáyepótchi." The Ee [759] former are good and lift the spell; the latter are able to lift the spell and to bewitch.

C 756 797 I once jokingly asked a Chiriguano whether Father Bernardino in Ivu was an "ipáye" or an "ipáyepótchi." The Indian answered dutifully, an "ipáye." The position of the missionary among the Indians is that of medicine man; he assumes their power and their influence.

Ee 756 177 In the preceding I said that the whites in the vicinity of Ivu sent for an Indian medicine man to drive away smallpox.

/12 cont./

C 144 [177] Chiriguano and Chané no longer exist. "The physiognomy of the latter was completely identical to that of the former" (45).

45. Moreno II, p. 254.

C 114 141 [113] In addition to anthropological measurements made on four Chiriguano by Ten Kate (46), Robert Lehmann-Nitsche

46. Ten Kate. Herm.: "Matériaux pour servir à l'antropologie des indiens de la République Argentine /Materials for use for the anthropology of the Indians of the Argentine Republic/." Revista del Museo de la Plata. Vol. 12. La Plata. 1904.

in 1906 had the opportunity at the San Pedro de Jujui sugar mill to take the anthropological measurements of 40 Chiriguano men and ten women, who had come from Bolivia to work at that mill. Entitled "Estudios antropológicos sobre los Chiriguanos, /Pl. III-IV appear here/ /13/ Chorotes, Matacos, y Tobas (Chaco Occidental)" (47), Lehmann-Nitsche has

C [113] 47. Anales del Museo de La Plata. Vol. I. No. 2, (Second Series). Buenos Aires. 1908.

published the results of these measurements, together with measurements of other Indians, and added to that publication in the first 12 plates Chiriguano types photographed by Carlos Bruch. In addition to the somatic measurements, determination of skin color, eye color, and hair color and form have been published by Lehmann-Nitsche. Thirty-six of the 40 Chiriguano men stated where they had lived, and from this we know that these people had come from various regions of Chiriguano territory to the San Pedro sugar mill. There were some who had come from the northern regions, and one had come from the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Others had come from the south of Chiriguano territory, for example, from the town of Carapatí, located considerably to the south of the Pilcomayo River. There are named 13 Chiriguano

C 166 C [167]

[Text Continues on P. 30]

/13 cont./

166 towns from which one man had come from each one. From Charagua, Parapití, and Carapati two had come from each one, four from Ingre, five from Santa Rosa, and eight from Machareti. Unfortunately, the native soil of the Chiriguano women was not stated, and it is only said that they came from Bolivia.

141 The average height of the Chiriguano men measured by Lehmann-Nitsche is 163.4 cm., and the height of the Chiriguano women measured is 151.7 cm. This average height of the women measured is not a little less. The average height of the eight men from Machareti was only 161.8 cm., and that of the two men from Parapití only 158.1 cm. But the average height of the four men from Ingre was 169.15 cm. The tallest of the Chiriguano men measured, who had a height of 178.6 cm., had come from Ingre, and the shortest, with a height of 153.5 cm., from Machareti. The smallest woman (between 35 and 40 years old) was only 143.0 cm., and the tallest, 158.0 cm. These numbers show us that the height of different Chiriguano individuals is quite variable. Among the Chiriguano measured by Lehmann-Nitsche, the number of those who came from the same region is too small to be able to make exact deductions about the differences in height of the Chiriguano of the various regions in order to be able to clearly demonstrate the somatic influence of mixture with other tribes.

14 The photographs of Chiriguano types published by Lehmann-Nitsche show great variations among the different features and bodies, which corresponds to the fact that the present-day Chiriguano are the product of a mixture of various ethnic elements.

113 114 142 Good photographs of the Chiriguano of the southern part of their territory can be found in the publication of von Rosen, Ethnographical Research Work during the Swedish Chaco-Cordillera Expedition, 1901-1902 (48). Erland von Nordenskiöld

48. Stockholm. 1924.

175
648
167
721
726

/Since Métraux believes that the Chiriguano are actually descendants of the Guarani, early culture history of the Chiriguano, in regard to their migrations and relations with other groups with whom they came in contact, will be found in category 116, pp. 1-30. Much of the material in these pages has been subheaded for Guarani SM6 but if the author's contention is correct then the data contained therein may equally apply to the historical Chiriguano./

/201 cont./

/fn. 7 cont./ from the corocotoquys to the [illegible] two, and near them are the curumanos and [illegible], and from there they take a four or five days' journey to the carcaras who are the masters of the metal, and together with them are the [illegible] who similarly are the masters of the metal." Normally the "maya" concerned in some of these lists are the Mbayá /Mbaya/ of the Guaikurú /Guaicuru/ family.

/202/ This infiltration of objects probably lasted a very long time before the Guarani had the idea of going themselves to get them at their source. Notions about the Inca Empire, at first vague and uncertain, must have become more precise little by little and must have increased their desire to know with their own eyes the fabulous men and countries which produced so many beautiful and strange things. We must imagine the attitude of the Guarani Indians toward the populations subject to the Inca as being /203/ in every way similar to that of their descendants, the Chiriguano, and the present-day small tribes of the Chaco with respect to the white men. There are still tribes who have never seen them, but who already possess iron objects whose importance in the struggle for life they appreciate fully. I have in my collections two Tairabus burins whose points are of iron, and yet these Indians have never seen a white man and probably have scarcely heard of them. If there is a chance to be able to approach without danger half-breed or creole villages, they will do it. Thus it is that we have each year a temporary migration of thousands of Indians toward the ingenios (sugar mills) of Argentina. Among the numerous tribes which make their way toward the sugar-cane plantations, there are perhaps many who had never had any direct contact with the white men to whom they are going in order to seek an easing of their lives and an improvement in their material conditions. By leaving for the Chaco and the Andes, the Guarani thus obey the same aspirations as these poor Tiwanaku (Chiriguano) whom one meets in autumn on the highways which lead to Argentina.

G 175 484 648 [262] G [271] G [721]

/311 cont./

Elsewhere (Hernández, p. 341): "The Spanish, taking with them as guides some Indians and several individuals who said they knew the way, walked for thirty days across deserts where they suffered very much from hunger and thirst, to such a degree that some Indians died ... they returned eating wild thistles all the way. For something to drink they extracted the juice from these thistles and other weeds."

"Aracare ... ordered them (the Guarani who were accompanying a Spanish expedition into the Chaco) to set fire to the prairies they were crossing, which was the equivalent of warning the enemy Indians whose territory they were going through to come and bar their way and kill them. They did that against the custom and discipline observed by those who make expeditions in this country and against the practice of the Indians themselves." (Hernández, p. 228.)

A Guarani from Puerto de los Reyes, who had taken part in an expedition to look for metal, reported to Irala "that he had heard it said that they took five moons before reaching the place where the metal was, and he added that the ones from Itatin who lived more than a hundred leagues lower asserted that they took no more than three months and claimed that they made this trip in five months since they had to pass so close to the spot where their homes were. He said that what he was claiming was the truth, but that the duration of this trip was due to the fact that they often stayed to eat in regions which appeared fertile and that during the time he was with them they stayed in one place three months and that this was why it took them so long." (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

G 175 167 721 C • 167

Against the frequency of these warlike expeditions of the Guarani, there /312/ will be raised the objection of the insurmountable obstacles the Chaco presents, the unprecedented difficulties the Europeans had in trying to cross it, the bloody sacrifices all the expeditions risking it must have made. I shall reply by reporting the account of a contemporary migration made to me by my old friend and host, "Captain" Taruirí of Caipipendí. Some years ago, old Taruirí, having learned

169 [464] /312 cont./Some years ago, old Taruirí, having learned from some Chiriguano that Brazilians were "carifiosos," that is, generous, had the idea of going to their country to find work, for which he hoped to be well paid. He banded together with 45 other Chiriguano before whom he held out the glittering fortune which awaited them in the country to the east. With this adventurous spirit and boldness which characterize the Guarani, they did not hesitate to take off toward the unknown. They first passed through Chané territory and followed the course of the Parapiti to the desert. There they rushed boldly into these unexplored regions, dried-up expanses, which separate the Izoxoc from Chiquitos. They were all armed with bows and arrows to defend themselves from a possible attack by the Tsirakua, the tracks of whose squared-off sandals they often saw in the sand. No water, of course, but only sipóy roots, which permitted them to stand the thirst. After 12 days of walking, this band arrived at Chiquitos, then from there reached the Paraguay River and Corumbá. Taruirí was not a little surprised to find brothers there, "that is," he explained to me, "people who spoke my language, badly it is true, but who nevertheless made themselves understood." When I inquired discreetly as to the success of his business over there, Taruirí answered, shaking his head and in a tone shot through with sadness and disillusionment: "All that was only a lie," todo era engaño.

[291 [324] Taruirí does not know and will never know that by doing this he accomplished an exploit that would be the pride and glory of an explorer. For him, it was a question of a simple trip, scarcely longer and more arduous than the one he undertook in the past to go to Argentina.

173 539 648 484 Does anyone want other modern examples of their spirit of adventure and of that ease with which the Guarani move about? I transcribe as such the curious tale told to me by the Indian Cipriano from the Ivu mission, who, confused as he may be, refers to definitely authentic facts:

C
G
175
484

/313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

C
G
175
167
484
[162]

I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

C
G
114
175
167
484
174

Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

C
G
175
167
648
484

C G 175 167 /314 cont./

Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

C G 175 167 721 726 I 726

Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

C G [729] I [712]

Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

C G 176 721 726 I 726 901 C G [291] [266]

The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land.

G
175
721
726
I
[726]
[701]

/314 cont./

for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

C
E
114
175
721
726
I
[712]
C
G
114
175
167
E
175
167
721
726
Ce
[648]
[567]

1. Gandia (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that Garcia's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

/315 cont./

E
G
167
175
721
726
Ce
648
567

/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

E
175
648
Ce
175
648
567

The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

/315 cont./

C G 175 648 Ce 175 648 567

/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race; asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him; and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

C G 175 127 114 ● 167

This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guarani all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

/315 cont./

G
114
127
175
167

/fn. 1 cont./ still present in everyone's memory. Even if we accept Garcilaso's version and make that event go back to the reign of Tupac Inca Yupanki, it is still no less certain that it could only have taken place in the last decades of the 15th century. It is indeed at this time, according to Balboa, that the emperor Tupac Inca Yupanki would have reigned. (See Nordenskiöld, 6). In this case the first Guarani migration would have preceded García's trip by about 50 years. Why then does Gandía, who himself gives us this figure, consider it more probable that this invasion took place more than a century before the Conquest? When I personally submitted to Mr. Gandía the reservations I had on the subject of the date he was assigning to the establishment of the Guarani at the foot of the Andes, he answered that he had taken as a basis for this evaluation a passage from Lozano (Descripción chrorográfica...) and Mendiburn (Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú...). According to the latter the Inca Yupanki would have died in 1453. I shall reply to this objection by stating that the evidence of Lozano, who was satisfied to copy Garcilaso, has no value; and as for Mendiburn's calculation, I do not grant him any credence.

One single fact remains certain in this controversy: The Guarani had begun their migratory movement toward Peru some years before García's adventurous trip.

G
175
167
[114]

/316/ establishing. Neither was Alejo García's expedition the determining cause of the great migration of which Díaz de Guzmán (p. 29) speaks thus:

"Following these events (García's trip) the Indians of the Province of Paraguay met together with their caciques and

/316 cont./

C G 175 167 decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the C G 131 175 167 course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la Sierra."

G C 175 167 648 In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migration which does not appear to have any relation to that of García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer, with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood. The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian, married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race, had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/ knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani, originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River; that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy C G of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the [721] villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his [726] father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text Continues on P. 41]

C G /319/ They took from them the gold and silver plaques and ornaments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

/319 cont./

there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs, lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques, /320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them. Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians. The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding on human flesh, unit[illegible]y chance, living without fire or law, burying the bones of [illegible]eir dead in caves or in the hollows of trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II, p. 281) gives us of the large house of the Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

/320 cont./

C 175 342

interesting: "they make a very big dormitory and, within it, as many small rooms as there are residents, and so small that they do not have room for more persons, and it is enough for them, because they do not have furniture, nor do they have wearing apparel and hence they go about naked." /Translated from the Spanish./ These facts agree on every point with those of the Relaciones geográficas, etc. (Vol. II, Plate CIV) and of Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 259) on the same subject. The Guarani, just like the Tupinamba and other Tupi tribes, lived in maloca, gigantic halls capable of containing more than 150 persons and which often in themselves formed the village. The existence of this type of dwelling among the Chiriguano in the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes new proof for the recent character of their migration. In the 18th century we find them already in possession of the small rectangular house which they still have now and where one single family lives. (See Métraux, 2, p. 51.)

C [114] [113]

C [171]

C [174] [167]

C 114 127 175

novelist Garcilaso which might allow one to suppose that he really knew who the Chiriguano were. As for this conquest by the Inca, it would have been barely an attempt at conquest... Garcilaso confuses the Chiriguano with all the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes whom he had vaguely heard mentioned. Let us note that he is the only one to attribute this expedition to the Inca Yupanki, while the other chroniclers, better informed, are satisfied to say that the Inca Yupanki made an expedition against the Antis, probably around Cuzco. Unfortunately the vogue this pleasant writer enjoyed at a time when the history of America was still in limbo bluffs some modern critics into believing him, and they go so far as to prefer one of his unwarranted affirmations to the serious /321/ and precise evidence of chroniclers who get their information at first hand and from reliable sources.

C 114 127 175 648 [101]

/325 cont./

C Ce 175 648 [797]

of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguano: as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 16th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 15th century.

C 175 72 167 Ce 175 648 C G [266] Ce [113]

The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had done with his companions and several women. He was able to escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

C G 175 72 567 Ce 175 648

In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later; "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

Ce /331 cont./
178
439
323
[177]

The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C
G
177
178
342
596

Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

G
177
178
266

C
17

Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C
105
175

The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

C
[167]

They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

C /331 cont./
105
175
[167]
[173]

This migration had as its motive power the attraction which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

ce
[197]
[199]

At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

C
[648]
[563]
[619]

The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives.

The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

C
[177]

From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

ce
[199]
[197]
[198]

On their part the Chané adopted the language of their conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a secret language.

C
175
131

Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Mataguayo and the Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

C
[101]
C
[361]

177 /430 cont./ Let us not forget that
531 pyrography is a masculine activity and that men are more
[462] open than women to every innovation. Moreover, for the
[167] most part they have gone to Argentina, and from there, with
a new turn of mind, they brought back models and inspirations
foreign to their ancient tradition. This European influence
is patent in many cases; thus, the calabash of Plate LXVII. 3,
and the one of Plate LXIX. 1, are decorated with Arabic num-
bers. The calabashes of Plates LXIV. 1, LXV. 1 and 5, and
LXIX. 5, are decorated with stylized flowers or stars which are
not Indian at all. The influence of the white men and their bad
taste is evident in the motifs painted in roucou which decorate
the calabash of Plate LXV. 3.

531 Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic representations are
commoner on calabashes than on pottery. A rough draw-
ing of a man greatly schematized /431/ is represented on
the calabash of Plate LXIII. 1 a and b. On the calabash of
Plate LXIII. 2 a, dogs have been engraved and birds on
those of Plates LXIII. 1, LXVIII. 3 a and b, LXIX. 2, and
LXXI. 3. A llama was represented in very expressive
fashion on calabash No. 2 b on Plate LXIII; and on the
calabash of Fig. 85 a and b one recognizes a horse and
a feline animal, a puma or jaguar. Three fish and a bird
appear on the specimen of Plate LXVII. 2.

531 The Indians of the Ivu mission and the ones from
322 the Caipipendí valley paint their calabashes with roucou.
386 This color is very difficult to rub off and does not spread
beyond the periphery of the colored designs. /Fig. 86
appears here. To obtain this result, the Chiriguano begin

TRIBES OF THE EASTERN SLOPES OF THE BOLIVIAN ANDES

By Alfred Métraux

INTRODUCTION

Five tribes live along the slopes of the Bolivian Cordillera from the Argentine border to Perú: The *Chiriguano*, the *Yuracare*, the *Mosetene* and *Chimane*, the *Leco*, and the *Tacana*. The *Chiriguano* belong to the *Tupi-Guarani* group; the *Yuracare*, *Leco*, and *Tacana* represent still isolated linguistic families. The *Mosetene* and *Chimane* form a single linguistic group. 101

CHIRIGUANO AND CHANE

HISTORY

The *Chiriguano* (*Ava Chaiguanco*) (map 1, *No. 3;* map 2; map 8, *No. 5*) are the descendants of the *Guarani* who in historic times migrated from Paraguay and crossed the plains of the Chaco in successive waves to settle along the foothills of the Andes from the upper Pilcomayo River to the upper Río Grande (Guapay River). (Lat. 18°–23° S., long. 63°–64° W.) Seven migrations are alluded to in historical documents. 175 167 101

The first migration (1471 or 1476), reported by Garcilaso de la Vega, took place during the last year of the reign of Inca Yupanqui. Another, between 1513 and 1518, can be surmised from the testimony of a *Guarani* Indian who spoke to Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. A *Chané* Indian captured by the *Guarani* and brought to Itatí told Domingo de Irala in 1542 of a third migration, between 1519 and 1523, which probably came after the 1513-18 invasion and certainly before that in which Alejo García took part. The *Guarani* migration described by Diego Félipo de Alvaya, curate of Mataca, may perhaps be this third one, though many details are certainly fanciful. According to Gandía (1935 a, p. 26), this was the migratory shift which took the *Guarani* from the region of Itatí to the Province of Santa Cruz and which contributed to the formation of the *Guarayú-Pauserna* tribe.

The fourth *Guarani* invasion, about which we have the most complete information, occurred between 1521 and 1526. It is famous because a few White men, shipwrecked sailors of the Solís armada, accompanied the invading Indians. One of them, Alejo García, seems to have played a conspicuous part in this migration, although Díaz de Guzmán's (1914, 9:26–30) statement that García was the organizer of the raid may be doubted. With a strong force of *Guarani* he crossed the Chaco, probably at lat. 13° S., and invaded the borderlands of the *Inca* Empire. The raiders advanced as far as Presto to the northeast and Tarabuco to the southeast of Sucre. Fearing a victorious return of the *Charcas* (Chichas), the invaders retreated, carrying their booty. On reaching Paraguay, with *Chané* and *Tarapecosi* (*Chiquito*), Alejo

2 A [Maps 1, 2, 3 not processed for this file]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

175 169 Garcia was killed by the *Guaraní*. The historical character of Alejo García's expedition is amply proved by several passages in documents of the Conquest of Paraguay, mainly in the "Comentaries" of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, Pedro, 1852, pp. 579–580). The success of this raid prompted many more *Guaraní* to migrate westward. Those from the Río Paraná followed the Pilcomayo River. Those from the region of Asunción entered the Chaco north of that city. The Indians of Jeruquisaba and Carayzapera, that is to say of the country of Itatí, entered the Chaco near San Fernando (lat. 20° S.). According to Díaz de Guzmán, these Indians were the ancestors of the *Guarayú* or *Itatinez*, who lived 90 miles (30 leagues) from Santa Cruz.

In a letter written by Martín González from Asunción in 1556, there is the following passage which confirms the continuous migration of the *Guaraní* toward the Andes: "These Indians [the *Guaraní*] go and come back from the lands of Perú. As they have no roads and avoid their enemies, they reconnoiter the land ahead of them, settle long enough to sow crops and harvest their food, and go on. So went those who for long had been settled in the Peruvian sierras and those who go today to meet the Christians.

"In Asunción are many Indians who with their wives and children have gone there two or three times from opposite that city, along a river [the Pilcomayo] that flows 2 leagues from here and comes from the city of La Plata. The Indians from Paraguay have settled by that river and along the Cordillera, over a space of 100 leagues. Some *Cario* [*Guaraní*] have gone to the mountains along another river, 42 leagues down the Paraguay River, which is called the Ypití [Bermejo River]. *Cario* are established in the mountains near the Ypití River, which also leads, according to what those who came from Perú say, to the city of La Plata." (Quoted by Gandía, 1935 a, p. 37.)

Several thousand *Guaraní*, serving as auxiliaries and porters, accompanied Domingo de Irala and Nuño de Chaves on their expeditions from Paraguay to the foothills of the Andes. It is historically attested that the 2,000 or 3,000 *Guaraní* of Itatí who followed Nuño de Chaves in 1564 were in part the ancestors of the modern *Guarayú-Pauserna*.

The *Guaraní* not only invaded and conquered the foothills of the Andes from the upper Bermejo River to Santa Cruz de la Sierra, but certain groups went even farther to the north and settled near the border of the *Mojo* and *Baurí* country. The *Pitaguari* (*Piritaguari*) were a *Guaraní* group established in the Sierras de Chiquitos, north of the first Santa Cruz. There were also *Chiriguano* around the town of San Francisco Alfaro in the Province of Chiquitos, near the Jesuit mission of San Xavier.

The *Guaraní* invasions, which started as plundering raids along the *Inca* frontier, were prompted by the desire to obtain gold and silver ornaments and copper tools from the *Caracara* (*Charcas, Chicha*) and from the *Chané* of the foothills, who were amply provided with these metals. Probably metal objects first reached the *Guaraní* of Paraguay through the *Chané*, whose villages were scattered across the Chaco from the Andes to the upper Paraguay River. Although the prospect of rich loot was certainly the predominant cause of their invasions, the old *Guaraní* dream of a land of immortality and abundance, the abode of the Great Ancestor, also may have played some part in determining their migrations.

175 648 The *Guaraní* finally became such a threat to the *Quechua* towns of the Province of Charcas that an *Inca* Emperor, probably Huayna Capac, built fortresses at Samaypata (Savaypata), Saigpuru, and Guanacopampa to halt their inroads. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1906, p. 105) speaks of Huayna Capac's wars against the *Chiriguano*, of the *Chiriguano's* capture of the fortress of Cuscotuyo (probably Incahuasi), and their defeat by Huayna Capac's general, Yasca. The ruins of these

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 175 797 698 In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purísima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Río Grande): Abapo, Mazubi, Cabezas, Piray, Igmiri, Tacuri, Iti, Parapeti, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuarembuti, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1799. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapeti River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapeti. In 1896, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

C 668 648 175

C 797 464 167 698 701 In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guarani* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guayaya*."

C 164 195 The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 22,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapeti River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Azero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izozo, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were baptized and 3,187 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

C 161

ARCHEOLOGY

C 172 964 Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapeti River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupayu. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guarani* ware.

C 172 At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of jars with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

/67 cont./

173 never name dead persons, with the result that the principal
[551] events are not known because the names of those great persons who took part in them are not known. The present ones know nothing about the many wars which were waged against the Quechua before the Conquest, after the enthronement of the Inca Yupanqui (1400), and /68/ against the Spaniards during the time of the colonization, the oldest people know little more, and we only know somewhat more through the Spanish historians and missionaries of the various religious orders of Paraguay and Bolivia.

173 Through their oral tradition they assert that their origin
• 167 was in Paraguay, that they multiplied there, and that when
648 the New World was discovered, because they had killed one of the Portuguese captains, they feared the revenge of his companions and fled en masse along the shores of the Pilcomayo River until they arrived in the region which they occupy today, displacing other natives who were in possession of these places (1).

1. This must refer to the flight of the 4,000 Carious who joined up with the Chiriguano here.

173 Nevertheless the oldest and most notable because of their
648 authority in this place give the impression that they originally came from Brazil. They say that in ancient times they had a formidable war with the whites who came from far-off lands: conquered by them because of the inequality in arms and their expertness in the art of war, they were pursued until they entered the plains of the Gran Chaco, which they crossed, coming into Paraguay. During the campaign they defended them-
726 selves and built fortifications at several points, of which I
712 know four: one is in Gutierrez, two in Cuevo Canon, and the fourth in Curuyuqui, which belongs to the San Buenaventura de Yvu Mision, where the uprising and defeat of the Chiriguano in the year 1892 took place (2).

2. I recently explored this last. It is one meter deep and one wide, and goes from the stream of Cuevo from northwest to northeast.

/70 con./

174 Consequently it was very natural that the race which
24 was emigrating from Paraguay should seek out for its needs
31 better lands which would permit it to make good use of its natural inclination to cultivate "Abati," maize, "Gilindaca," gourds, and "Cumanda," beans, because from the names that they give to all of these vegetables, it can be deduced that they did not get to know them after the discovery of America, but long before; and the same is true for the domestic animals. "Taimba," dog, "Uru," /71/ chicken, "Minta," cat. What is certain is that the Chiriguano race
174 has been distinguished and is distinguished from the others
25 which still remain in the savage state, and the Toba, as
563 well as the Mataco and the Choroti, regard the Chiriguano as nobles and masters, and they serve them in exchange for maize and other things, and there has never been a natural marriage involving a Chiriguano man or woman with the tribes named (1).

> 1. The Toba are more intelligent and more easily reduced than the Mataco; the latter were also exposed to the missionaries of San Antonio del Pilcomayo, located on its right bank.

The Toba have generally assisted their masters in wars and have lived for long periods among them, especially in the time of good and abundant crops. They did this before the missionaries opened Cuevo and Ivo to trade with the founding of the Santa Rosa and San Buenaventura missions, and they still do in the Franciscan missions of Macharetí, Tigüipa, and Tariari, because they are near these tribes.

174 The places that the Chiriguano selected for their resi-
169 dence after the migration were the mountainous one and the one visited by frequent rains, necessary so as not to lose the fruit of their labor, and in fact we do not see this race settled in places away from the mountain range, nor in impenetrable forest, good only for those tribes in a state of

/71 cont./

174 complete savagery (1).

169

1. Cayuguari, with some 30 Chiriguano, went to the desert to live among the savages to the east of Cavandaiti.

174 In addition to Chiriguano tradition and the fable of the
175 Aguaca-Tunpa, from which we understand that the race with
167 which I am dealing originated in Paraguay, there are ecclesiastical and secular authors who support my opinion. Among the first stand out the Franciscan missionaries Cardús and Martarelli, and the most eminent among them is the Most Reverend Father Corazón, who in his history of the school and missions of Tarija asserts that the most probable opinion is that the Chiriguano came from Paraguay, despite the fact that the Guaraní language is scattered through many parts of Brazil and some parts of the Argentine Republic; since, as we have just finished saying, language is a powerful argument in learning about the origin of a tribe, and it has already been said that Guaraní is generally spoken in Paraguay, so much so that it would not be an error to say /72/ that the Guaraní have gone to Brazil and to Argentina from the same Nation (1).

1. In the chapter "Religion and Beliefs" I shall discuss the fable of Aguaca Tunpa more fully.

175 Among the secular authors we have the famous d'Orbigny. According to him, before the discovery of America by the immortal Genoese, the Chiriguano occupied the last ramifications of the Bolivian Andes, lived completely naked, were
CSD cannibals, and were of Guaraní origin (1). The Inca Yupanqui

[569]
[266]

2. The Indians of Pacapiti told me that the Tapiti natives were their slaves, and that in the uprisings of the latter they ate their ringleaders and others.

175 648 /72 cont./ The Inca Yupanqui
promoted many wars against the Chiriguano with the intention
[125] of conquering them for the Inca civilization, but his efforts were in vain because his army was always conquered by the ferocity of the Chiriguano, who also had in his favor the fact that this was his own land and as a result he knew it well enough to be able to play tricks on the Inca militia with ease.

It seems that the Incas in their insistence on civilizing the Chiriguano brought their armies to the frontier of Cordillera Province. In fact there exists along the top of the range which divides this province from that of Acero and from Sapirangui Canton a fortress of great size, all of it made out of well-set stones, called "Incahuasi," "house of the Inca," and gives this name to the whole range, whose elevation to the south was set up by the law of interdepartmental demarcation as the boundary between Santa Cruz and Chuquisaca, when in the year 1898, the law of settlement was negotiated.

[192] Inca-huasi is a compound word of the Quichua /Quechua/ language; the Chiriguano language does not even have a word which resembles it; it is thus very probable that that fort was built by the Quechua and that, inasmuch as the forces were personally directed by the Inca, he should have ordered houses to be built along the whole top of the range, as can still be seen today (3).

3. The road from Caraparicito to Monteagudo through Incahuasi is not an old one. Don Octavio Padilla had it opened.

174 175 169 It is also a verified historical fact that after the discovery of Brazil and other regions of South America, 4,000 Indians fled from Paraguay, because in the many wars which they had waged against the Portuguese, they had killed the leader. Fearing general destruction, they came into Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo River; in the Gran Chaco they found the region near the cordilleras occupied and inhabited by the ferocious Chiriguano, /illustration appears here/ /73/ but since they could easily make themselves

[Text continues on p. 105]

174 /73 cont./
175 understood, because they spoke the same language with slight
167 differences, they joined them, and from that moment the number of the Chiriguano was increased (1).

1. These 4,000 Indians were not of the Guaraní race; they had gone to settle in Paraguay and had learned that language imperfectly; they were called Carius and had killed Captain García.

The 4,000 Indians who fled from Paraguay because of the continual relations that they had had with the Portuguese had, at the time when they formed an alliance with the Chiriguano, a slight tincture of superficial civilization, just as in Mexico the Indians of Tlascala had learned it from Hernán Cortes and other Spaniards. As a result of this trace of civilization they had begun to use some clothing to cover, in principle, the most delicate part of the body; they had stopped eating the flesh of their enemies and prisoners and were more humanitarian in their dealings.

[266] Having established their abode and formed a single
[171] tribe with the Chiriguano, they introduced their kind and humanitarian customs among their ferocious friends, who softened slightly their haughtiness and pride, imitated their allies in the manner of dress, and began to abandon the barbarous custom of cannibalism, because of which they are distinguished today, and even for a long time before, from the Toba, Mataco, Tapiete, and Sirionó (2).

[197] 2. The Tapiete speak the Chiriguano language with a certain difference, and the Sirionó, it is believed, were ancient Chiriguano, because their language is somewhat similar.

175 The Chiriguano, thus united, continued to multiply
[161] much more and to extend their dominions into the different departments of the Audiencia, the possession of which they now had in lesser degree. Before a century had passed after the

/75 cont./

175 founded various missions, and today what is not in the hands
797 of the respective diocesan authority is all in the power of the latter group, who have irrigated this soil with the sweat of their labors for centuries (1).

1. The Jesuit Father Pons made efforts to found missions in the stretch between the Pilcomayo and Parapiti, with whose Indians he began to speak, but he was unable to do anything. This was done in the first half of the seventeenth century.

174 There is no doubt about the Paraguayan origin of the
167 Chiriguano native, as there is none about that of the Guarayo, whose language is the brother of the former's, despite the fact that they do not understand each other well, owing to the great variations which both have undergone. Paraguay is southeast of Bolivia and the region occupied by the Chiriguano tribe northwest of the former, with the Gran Chaco being the extensive region which separates the two republics of Paraguay and Bolivia. The domicile of the Chiriguano in the Gran Chaco is another circumstance which weighs heavily in indicating the Paraguayan origin of the tribe.

All that remains is to know the route which the Chiriguano followed in their migration to Bolivia; it might have been done in a straight line, crossing the Gran Chaco, which distance from the last cordillera west of Parapiti and Charagua to Paraguay is scarcely 100 leagues, but this route offers the insuperable obstacle of lacking the most important element for life, water. This has clearly been demonstrated by the calamities suffered by the various expeditions organized by the Bolivian government for the purpose of opening a straight road to Paraguay by setting out from Isoso (2).

2. The explorer Francés Thouar, after having gone over the route opened by the Arana, had to retreat because of lack of water and in a rash slip became lost and, with several others, nearly perished from hunger and thirst.

/75 cont./

174
169

They could have emigrated from their land of residence and followed the course of the Paraguay River on its right bank, arriving at Curumbá, and then across the salt flats of San José, coming to the places which they occupy today, but the stretch is longer, the water to be found is scarce, and over great stretches there is no trace of anything which /76/ might verify their emigration over this route, if indeed they would not have been attacked en route by the numerous nomads thereabouts.

[133]
[361]

It is necessary to conclude that they followed the banks of the Pilcomayo River; this rapid stream starts in the interior of the Bolivian Republic, crosses through the entire Chiriguano region, and empties into the Paraguay; its banks from near Azurduy up to Villa Montes is a straight line of more than 50 leagues, all populated by Indians who are clearly Chiriguano. From Villa Montes to Guachalla near the Esteros del Padre Patiño there are Choroti and Tapiete, who, with slight differences, speak the Chiriguano language; this stretch has plenty of water, fish, and fruit and is shorter than the above-mentioned one. Dr. Campos followed the banks of this river in order to arrive in Paraguay; Colonel Rivas, the Frenchman Crevaux, and the Spaniard Ibarreta followed the Pilcomayo River on their expeditions; they failed not through a lack of food or water, but some because they felt sure of the goodness of the Indians, and others because they had a very small force with them. All of these circumstances clearly show that the Chiriguano must have come into Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo; the tribes along the way could not have offered them much difficulty, because their number was extraordinary; hardship on the travel rations was so insignificant that it allowed them to fight with vigor and bravery, and finally their attitude was peaceful (1).

1. Colonel Rivas and the Frenchman Crevaux were killed by the Toba, and Ibarreta by other Indians.

/76 cont./

174 167 When experience showed them that they could settle in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen. 241 433 [461] The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every type of cereal; maize matures exuberantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hooks and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

433 241 511 [131] But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably. In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /77/ along some stream; plantings of this type are called socorro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

192 [101] By what has already been related it can easily be understood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guarayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guarayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

[194] [171] 1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

/78/

Statistics

161 The tribe is in complete decadence and in a few more
162 years will be entirely lost. At the beginning of the nine-
[181] teenth century, that is, before the war of South American Independence, in the Tarija missions alone there were more than 23,000 souls, and nevertheless that number did not include any of the numerous towns existing between the two large Parapiti and Pilcomayo rivers or the Indians of Caipipendi, Choreti, Pipi, and others located south of Lagunillas. At that time, I can state that the Chiriguano numbered more than 200,000, inasmuch as, according to the statistics of Father Lozano, the adult men fit for war, without counting women and children, numbered from 25,000 to 35,000.

• 167 Although Father Lozano was referring to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the difference must have been slight, because at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not felt as there is today the emigration to the Argentine Republic, which began when the territory was opened to trade with the founding of towns of white Christians, which there are now in great number, up to the founding of large provinces with the names of Acero, Cordillera, and Gran Chaco, nor was there so much immorality as prevails today (1).

1. New laws have been made which make recruitment for Argentina impossible, and Dr. don Justo Padilla, the present national delegate from the Gran Chaco, at the present time does not allow the law to be merely written; he lets nobody through.

165 Epidemics, vagrancy, and emigration more than any-
161 thing, in addition to scarcity of provisions, are destroying this race, which is greatly needed and will be needed later for agriculture and cattle-raising in the provinces which have
000 been mentioned. Today there is already a need for farmers,

/79 cont./

178 464 [197] [162] Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big and small, old and young. But of this number there are scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work, and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through [131] [465] their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

648 [167] There is a great struggle under way between the Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior, yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave, he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[464]

1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 197 361 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former times and the very missions which antedate South American independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and others are on the point of disappearing.

/101 cont./

361 797 1. Machareti. -- Father Jerónimo de la Peña was the first to enter Machareti, but, before he could begin any work, death intervened, and only after a century, that is, in the year 1869, could the Cross of Redemption be raised, around which began to gather the settlers dispersed by the war and the death of Captain Taruncunti, not very friendly to the missionaries.

[162] Before the mission had been founded for ten years, it numbered more than 3,000 souls, but today it is much smaller, [167] its inhabitants reaching 1,500. Emigration to the Republic [464] of Argentina is a real plague for this area, because the principal recruiters of Indians for work outside of Bolivian territory are there, and it is useless to cite laws, because there are clever interpreters; meanwhile all wail for workers.

361 [133] Machareti has a delightful and picturesque panorama; to the north and to the east the human eye cannot take in the immensity of the plains or the exuberance of the woods and the variety and caprice of the hills. The town is located on a great plain, but is now quite reduced; its buildings, atop a high hill which dominates everything; it has a beautiful church with painting and /102/ gildings, a mission house of two stories, two great halls, with their respective patios, for instruction, and a third one for the music school, and also other buildings for shops (1).

361 797 131 1. When the Machareti mission was founded, it cut off the retreat of the bellicose Huacayeños, who were coming into the Gran Chaco by the Chorro road, some 15 leagues from Huacaya and some 12 from Ivu; its altitude above sea level is 771 meters and it is located at 20° 49' 58" south latitude and 63° 3' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/106 cont./

Yacuiba

[131] [167] Because of an error in the demarcation of the boundaries with the Republic of Argentina, the town of Yacuiba is located to the south of the boundary stone, while it should be to the north, and the latter, the boundary stone, should be located precisely in Itiyuru, the limit of the Chiriguano race, which has occupied Bolivian territory since its immigration.

[103] Yacuiba, or Yacuigua, as the Chiriguano pronounce it, means: lake of the wild turkey. It is a rich region throughout; its territory is level, the streets which are being built are as straight as a line of this name, the land fertile. There are grown there the arveja or pea, the garbanzo, and other cereals, which plants are irrigated with water which is relatively abundant.

The town, which also fell in the earthquake of 1899, is being rebuilt according to modern methods, and its progress is rapid. It now has a first-class hotel, where the traveler and the countryman are served with all culture and exactness, department stores, where every article is found, and permanent buildings, houses of great size, and a customs building all of zinc from the walls to the roof.

The little city, in addition, is quite picturesque because of the many orange groves which continually embellish it with their green foliage and yellow fruit, /107/ which indicates the fertility of the territory and the abundance of water.

The little city is located in the territory of Tarija; consequently it was founded through Bolivian efforts. It is the seat of the subprefecture of the Gran Chaco, and today it is a cosmopolitan town, whether because of the many foreigners who have settled there or because of the many others who are continually passing through, not to mention the importance given it by the continual arrival of vehicles and that which it will receive from the proximity of the railway.

/120 cont./

578 Out of these general wars were derived other private ones, which civilized people called affairs of honor-dueling. This does not happen in private, as occurs among civilized people, who go off to a determined place with
578 their respective seconds. All is public, in the presence
541 of many people who come to drink. It is /121/ the caciques who incite their soldiers to match their strength and to avenge with crime an affront or an unfounded jealousy. When this happens, with or without a reason, the fighters place themselves in the midst of a whole crowd of spectators in the presence of the caciques, who urge them on with a word of command, while the poor angry men hit each other cruel blows.

578 Boxing is ancient, because formerly knives were not
[412] known and, if they had them, they only used them in
[178] their work in the fields. Now the picture has changed;
[167] the young are succeeding the old, and these young people
[464] continually go to work in the Argentine Republic. There they learn how to drink pure liquor, to handle the knife with which they are armed for their work, and to defend themselves. One small word is enough; it is enough if one says yainano, let us fight, the word of challenge, and knives are unsheathed, and then blood flows. Fortunately, they usually are content with inflicting wounds which rarely bring death because they do not deliver the blow with the point of the weapon but with the edge.

167 This mania for going off to the Argentine Republic has
464 them in continual movement, and, unfortunately, many of them remain for years, to return finally bringing almost nothing with them, and if one asks them, they answer very
167 rudely, "I drank it all." Last year's law has made recruit-
464 ment impossible. Several Indians went off, but they could
648 not get through Villa-Montes and returned (1).

1. If the authorities in Villa-Montes and Yacuiba continue to capture the Indians who are trying to escape, the law will not be in vain this time.

/121 cont./

Love for the Home

574 152 When someone has been away from his town for a long time and returns, he is received with much love. He enters his house without saying a word, and if he arrives at night, to the question of "Who is it?" he merely answers "Checo," it's me, and then those in the house begin to cry or give shrieks of joy which may last for five minutes, and soon they give him something to eat and the [114] questions and answers begin. I witnessed this without being seen one night in Parapiti at the San Antonio Mission.

152 591 ●167 186 It is not rare that once in a while a smaller or greater proportion of Indians temporarily leave their town, either because of scarcity or in order to avoid the anger or ill will of the cacique. They then go away with considerable unhappiness, and they go into exile like Hagar /122/ with her son Ishmael when they were ordered out by the patriarch Abraham. They cry as they leave, they cry along the way, they cry upon arriving in the land that receives them, where, in spite of the good reception which has been prepared for them by other people, they do not find peace, and they always sigh for their home.

When they decide that in their former dwelling place things may have changed, or that the cacique who is responsible for their misfortune and exile may have disappeared from among the living, they return (1). In Yvu, where

1. The Indian Cayuguari, because of a crime committed in Machareti, fled with a group of Indian friends and relatives, settled quite far away to the northeast of Carandaiti, and, as the cacique whom he offended is still alive and as furthermore Cayuguari began a life of cattle rustling, he never returned to his town.

the war of Curuyuqui (1892) occurred when the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, all those Indians who had taken part in the uprising were wandering about in

/122 cont./

152 other towns, and they returned almost en masse, and the first
571 thing they did when they once again trod the soil of their home-
167 land was to cry. I witnessed the arrival of a cacique with
186 his large family. Men and women came loaded with their household goods and children. They arrived in poor condition, covered with dust and sweat (it was at the end of December), tired and sad, and when they saw their fellow countrymen and relatives happy and content under the paternal rule of the Catholic missionary, they put their burdens down on the ground, in the houses of others, and then there broke out the tears and the wails, thus arousing the consternation of all the inhabitants and the missionary (2).

2. Father Corrado relates an analogous case in his Historia de las Misiones de Tarija.

Poor unfortunates! In spite of the vices which dominate their corrupt nature, there is something noble in the Chiriguano race. Their fondness for their native place, for their home, is great. They will make any sacrifice to return and prefer to die of hunger and thirst. They will never abandon their town and their home, unless constrained by necessity, fear, or persecution.

Along the road from Yvu to Parapiti there is a town called Itatiqui, where not even drinking water can be found in the vicinity. Want is eternal there; the crops are miserable there; and they either beg for water or steal it from the lakes which are more than five kilometers from the town. Some six years ago there were about 120 families there, persecuted by some whites to whom they did not wish to be subjected. I tried to take them away to form a part of San Antonio Mission, but it was impossible to move them from the place.

They prefer to suffer hunger, thirst, vexations, and persecu-
797 tions there, but they do not abandon the place. They would re-
829 main there very happily /123/ if a small mission were built for
177 them, as they desire, which is somewhat difficult, considering the special circumstances of the place, since the civil and

/204 cont./

643 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves
648 are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live
797 as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 The important men assert that to possess many wives is
574 necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality
829 to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because
643 the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they
622 do not become such in their youth, when they are like humming-
[582] birds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162]
[167]

1. Formerly, women were abundant because of wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

/237 cont./

648 It can be said with all certainty that the only laborer in
464 the four provinces of Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor, and Gran
466 Chaco is the Chiriguano, who is found even beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he also works, taken there by the authorities or by the owners of the lands, which they bought in ancient times for a trifle (1).

[425]

1. If one is to credit what the Indians say, in some places land was acquired by barefaced trickery /leva raida/ at the time of Ferdinand VII; in other places, for three or four arrobas of cheese, and in the last ones, for a cow, a poncho, a few varas of cloth, or a few bottles of liquor given to the cacique.

178 Today the Chiriguano, very abject, in many places suffers
[169] in resignation what, according to the story, he did not want yesterday; in other places he is migrating the better part of the time, that is to say, when his presence is necessary for the general planting, to which of necessity the old people must devote themselves if they want to live without dying of hunger and in order to be able to welcome the migrants when they return for a few days to show off their new clothing, their work from other regions, to sell it immediately for very little, to slaughter some cattle of their own or of their elders, and to go back at once without even saying good-by.

Property Rights

648 The object of the present chapter is to describe the
[241] method of cultivating the land when the Indians lived alone in the country, before the whites had moved in among them; now they scarcely give them /238/ room to do their planting
177 as best they can. Nonetheless, since they keep them con-
648 tinually occupied, food and clothing are never lacking to anybody in a Christian's house, where the Indian gets them

/304 cont./

797 and our Holy Mother Church (2).
871
177

2. The children know how to pray much better in the missions than in other centers, because in every mission there are two teaching establishments, one for boys and one for girls.

The youth grow up under the punctilious care of the missionary, who, by example and word, imbues their hearts with every goodness and love of holy and moral things, and moreover he makes them avoid, insofar as possible, all contact with the old people, managing it so that they see nothing, especially at night, not allowing them to sleep in their houses, except in case of illness and mourning, but it is not easy to avoid it altogether, because three times a day the children go down to the town to eat in their homes, and at fiesta time they are given a holiday, /305/ which they use in hunting birds or in bringing in firewood and foodstuffs (1).

1. The girls receive a more polished education under the uninterrupted vigilance and care of preceptoresses, who teach them, in addition to theoretical-practical religion, all the chores of their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; the vestments and chasubles for use in the solemnities are the work of these girls.

797 What is most ruinous to young neophytes are certain whites
177 of the neighboring cantons, whose profession it is to sell liquor
273 and coca, which they secretly bring into the missions at times of celebration, during which even those of the race enter into the same trade, because they have seen that it is a very lucrative business.

●167 In addition many of them emigrate temporarily to the
593 establishments of the Argentine Republic, where, with the excuse
578 that they are going to earn a great deal with a little work, they lead too free a life, drink liquor like water, and become accustomed to drunkenness; then the first thing that they buy is an outsize

/305 cont./

knife; they learn to use it like the gauchos, get into fights, are injured, and even get killed, and, when they return to the mission, they only bring a little black clothing for themselves, a trifle or nothing for their wives, to whom they deliver a sovereign beating on the first chance they get, with reason or without, and then, at the first drinking bout they molest peaceful people, disturb public order, and always or nearly always it becomes necessary to bewail the spilling of blood. Let there be added to all of this the fact that the virus of irreligion is beginning to be inoculated hereabouts, and inasmuch as they are not well grounded in the dogmas of the Catholic faith, the result is that those who do not behave like infidels or indifferent persons are Protestants on the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and Catholics in the mission.

There is no doubt; moral, religious, and civil progress is the work of time; it is not the work of 40 or 50 years, as some believe. How long does it take to implant social reform among civilized people? How long did it take the Church to become established in the Roman Empire? Truth fought against error for more than 300 years; she was persecuted, shut up in the catacombs, and bathed in the blood of millions of martyrs of the Catholic faith, but in the end she triumphed and raised herself, radiant, above the ruins of error which had reigned for so many centuries.

No effort to implant social reform is made in the missions; what is being done is to build, to uproot the Indian from the jungle, to make him come out of barbarism, and to begin to teach him to be a man, to consider himself nobler than the brute; an effort is being made to remove from him the superstition /306/ in which he was born, so that he may believe in the maxims of the true faith. What sacrifice then must it not cost the missionary, who spends the best years, or even all the years, of his life in order to realize this grandiose project without earthly recompense, but rather with the marked scorn of those who should appreciate his highly civilized work (1).

1. The Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi has been in the Potosí Missions since the year 1872; almost all the missions have been founded by him;

/306 cont./
797 continually shown (3).

3. A rest is almost imperative after a long stay in the missions, in order to refresh the spirit, because a bow which is always bent breaks, says the Evangelist St. John.

/307/ There is no traveler who does not marvel upon considering the progress of the missions, upon considering the beautiful works of the Indians, when they think that years ago there were impenetrable jungles and bare hills on the site now occupied by the grandiose temple and buildings. As was said by an enlightened Englishman, Protestant in religion, of course, the Catholic missions among the Chiriguano are like oases in the desert, and to see them at a distance stirs who knows what in the heart; even I do not know what I experience when on some journey I again approach and see them in the distance.

The Method

The method established since the beginning of the first founding of the missions cannot be improved upon, in that it looks toward moral and civil progress and has yielded practical results, especially in some missions where, despite the fact that they have been in existence only few years, almost all speak the national language moderately well. Is this not a near prodigy, achieved with a race whose language has no analogy with
000 civilized languages? /The remainder of p. 307 and the first paragraph on p. 308 are omitted. The remainder of p. 308 follows./

● 167 464 [797] Following the method which has been implanted, the missions progress and would progress further if the Chiriguano were not so changeable. Neither in their towns nor in the neighboring cantons is there any lack of work for them; but rather it is day laborers who are not to be found; they prefer to go far away where they may earn less than here, spending their small gains on things that are useless and harmful to them (1).

[511] 1. There are neophytes who stay on the haciendas

/308 cont./

167
464
511

of the Argentine Republic for eight or ten years: they drink it all up and when they want to come back they scarcely bring back more than a knife and a small black garment /ternito/, which costs little.

If one asks the reason for this procedure, so strange for them themselves, they answer that in their town they could never save up ten or 15 bolivianos, because they spend them immediately on trifles for themselves and their families, while in the Argentine Republic they keep their money in the master's house and, when they come back, buy clothing and even animals, tools, saddles, and other items. There is some truth in this, but just as it is not completely true that here their money does not last, neither is it completely true that they bring clothing and other things from Argentina. Those who are a little careful and who are not lazy dress very well here, while the vice-ridden in Argentina let themselves be overcome by laziness and return as naked as they were before; they arrive, spend or waste, if they have anything, and finally go off to live as they please (2).

101
167

2. The Chiriguano Indians call the gauchos, or natives of Argentina, criollos /Creoles/; they apply the same name to those of their own race who settle there for many years.

797
87
191
177

The method of instruction as it is applied yields prodigious results in the girls, who, in addition to learning their letters and worship, learn in the schools the tasks proper to their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; certain mission schools for girls, for example, the one at San Antonio del Parapiti and the one at San José de Tigüipa arouse real admiration in visitors, both because of /illustration appears here/ /309/ the handiwork which is done in them and, in the former, because of the Spanish language, which from first to last they all speak with considerable perfection, since from the beginning the language of their parents has been absolutely prohibited for them in the school, even among themselves.

Schwedenskilled E-5,(1908-1908, 1913) 1909
SF10 Chiriguano SF11 ●
Chaco SF4

C
114

Indians in the years 1908, 1909 and 1913, and spent in all 4 to 5 months studying them. In my book «Indianlif» I gave a popular account of them as I got to know them during the Hermanzick expedition in 1908 and 1909. In my last book of travel «Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika» there is some information about the Chiriguano. I have brought home to Sweden from the Chiriguano and Chané about 1500 articles which are now in the Riksmuseum at Stockholm and in the Gothenburg Museum. In the Geographical Review I wrote a short article on the migrations of the Chiriguano Indians.

C
Ce
[126]

C
Ce
12
114

A close study of the Chiriguano and Chané civilisation by the ethno-geographical method affords points of especial interest, since their mode of life is rather well known and we are able to trace their history back to the beginning of the 16th century. I have also collected archaeological material from their region. At first I was minded to give an account of this, too, in the present work. I decided, however, that it would be better here only to mention individual finds by the way, and to leave the archaeological material for another publicktion in which I shall be able also to publish certain archaeological finds made in other parts of Bolivia. This for purely practical reasons.

C
Ce
121

I will here endeavour to make clear how the Guarani-speaking Chiriguano's and the Guaranized Chané' civilisation are compared, what culture-elements they have got from the Whites and from the Mountain civilisation in the west, what each brought to the common stock and what they possibly obtained from other quarters.

In this analysis of Chiriguano and Chané manners and customs, I do not intend properly to examine the question as to whence these Indians came to their present abodes. Broadly speaking we know that already. Respecting the Chiriguano migrations there are historical documents extant which evidently show that it was not until the beginning of the 16th century that these Indians conquered

C
175
448
●167

the tracts they now occupy.?) ¶ They drove out or subjugated the original population, which consisted chiefly of Chané Indians. They made slaves of a great number of them and ravished a great number of women.

The Chané are, as was mentioned, Arawaks and all indications point to their having come from the north or north-east, where they have large numbers of kinsfolk. It will be found that the present investigation confirms this. A matter of particular interest in this connection is to notice how two peoples belonging to the most important groups of tribes in all America made adaptations in their mode of life when they had emigrated to places with strange natural conditions. Again, it is worthy of note how their civilization was transformed and the influence of the Incaage civilization in the west and afterwards under the influence of the Whites. Further we shall see what they have, under their new conditions, been able to preserve of their original civilization. We shall gain insight into the way in which the civilization of two Indian tribes was transformed under the influence of other peoples and new natural conditions.

As in Part I, I deal chiefly with the material side of these Indians' life. Or rather, everything in their life which

?) [illegible] 119.

?) Steere, basing his opinion on Garcilasso and Montesinos, has assumed that the Chirigguano invaded the Inca Realm earlier than the beginning of the 16th century. But even if his assumption is correct, these inroads led to no desolification there. This is evident from the accounts of the invasion in the 16th century, when the Chirigguano supplanted, what was everywhere an original stock. Nor do we know whether by Chirigguano the Incas did not mean barbaric tribes of the Chaco in general, and not any particular tribe. In these parts Chirigguano probably corresponded to the signification that Cheneches had in the district of Cuzco, where it meant all sorts of barbaric Indian tribes east of the Andes. The Chirigguano that Garcilasso de la Vega and Montesinos speak of need by no means have been Guarani Indians. I have already pointed out (Documentary 19) that Garcilasso's description of the Chirigguano is absolutely irreconcilable.

Ea /298 cont./

177 797 The Indian, who loves an independent life, but is forced into the dance of civilization, does not want to become a mission child, but chooses this as the lesser evil. In the mission he is under guardians, but not under oppressors.

Ea 797 When my friend, the Chané Indian Batirayu, of whom I have spoken several times here, asked me whether it would not be best to ask the missionaries to come to the Chané on the Río Parapití, he thought of them as rescuers from the oppression of the white masters.

C 797 When I asked the Chiriguano chief Maringay whether he did not want missionaries to come to his village, the old man became quite indignant and said peevishly: "I have not done anything bad."

Ea 797 177 The greatest importance of the missionaries lies in the fact that they try to protect the Indians from the oppression and the vices of the whites. I have been pleased to see how the missionaries forbid liquor, the accursed liquor, in the mission stations.

Nevertheless, I do not believe in the future of the missions. It seems to me they are condemned to oblivion. To the extent that the Indians are given better treatment by the other whites and receive proper compensation for their work, they will leave the missions and forsake the guardianship of the Franciscan monks.

The missionaries, however, will always have the honor of having tried, at least to some extent, to protect the Indians from the other Christians. They have also earned honor for the studies they have made of the language, manners, and customs of the Indians.

Fear of the Rubber Regions

C 648 466 •167 In a previous chapter I spoke of the migration of the Indians to Argentina. In the /299/ northernmost territory of the Chiriguano Indians another emigration is taking place. It differs from the first, among other things, by the fact that it is not voluntary. It concerns the rubber regions in northeastern

c
648
466
[167]
[464]

/299 cont./

Bolivia. Every Indian who goes to the Argentine sugar factories knows that, if there is no disaster, he will return. No one holds him back by force. From the rubber regions, on the other hand, no one ever returns.

Is it true, they say, that there is a giant there who devours human beings? Is it true that people /300/ are ground

Ce
142
291
302
415
854
531

Fig. 132. Chané children. Rio Parapiti.

c
648
466

up into rubber? Is it true that the meat that comes in tin cans is from human beings? These are questions which the Indians asked me.

The Chiriguano Indians, especially from the Caipipendi valley, were lured in a shameless manner to the rubber regions in northern

Ee /301 cont./
648 Thus, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to
[466] being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this

C 415 531

Fig. 133. Clay vessel. - 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

Ee
648 way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

Ee /302/ The uncertainty and the oppressive wage conditions
648 under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to
466 Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many
465 Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but for-
167 ever.
425

Ee If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the
648 Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst
273 evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference
177 between drinking maize beer and liquor.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between these culturally allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against the whites (in 1890), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are still remaining.

The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly gourd plants and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group, the Chiriguano being counted with the Guarani group, whilst the Chané are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija valley.[1] Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which is Guarani. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches of Rio Parapiti.[2] The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means »dirt people» was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word »guano» is the name for the well-known bird manure-found on the coast of Peru and Chile. It seems however unfair indeed that the Chiriguano, who, in contradistinction to the Puna and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal name.

---

[1] de Matienzo (1), p. 150. Nordenskiöld (18).
[2] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 156.

8: Schmidt--24 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

/11 cont./

C.
Gi
175
178
167

The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C
178
[126]

The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C.
Gi
177
174
C
[113]

As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

/12 cont./

C 144 [177]

Chiriguano and Chané no longer exist. "The physiognomy of the latter was completely identical to that of the former" (45).

45. Moreno II, p. 254.

C 114 141 C [113]

In addition to anthropological measurements made on four Chiriguano by Ten Kate (46), Robert Lehmann-Nitsche

46. Ten Kate. Herm.: "Matériaux pour servir à l'antropologie des indiens de la République Argentine /Materials for use for the anthropology of the Indians of the Argentine Republic/." Revista del Museo de la Plata. Vol. 12. La Plata. 1904.

in 1906 had the opportunity at the San Pedro de Jujui sugar mill to take the anthropological measurements of 40 Chiriguano men and ten women, who had come from Bolivia to work at that mill. Entitled "Estudios antropológicos sobre los Chiriguanos, /Pl. III-IV appear here/ [illegible]/ Chorotes, Matacos, y Tobas (Chaco Occidental)" (47), Lehmann-Nitsche has

C [113]

47. Anales del Museo de La Plata, Vol. I, No. 2, (Second Series). Buenos Aires, 1908.

published the results of these measurements, together with measurements of other Indians, and added to that publication in the first 12 plates Chiriguano types photographed by Carlos Bruch. In addition to the somatic measurements, determination of skin color, eye color, and hair color and form have been published by Lehmann-Nitsche. Thirty-six of the 40 Chiriguano men stated where they had lived, and from this we know that these people had come from various regions of Chiriguano territory to the San Pedro sugar mill. There were some who had come from the northern regions, and one had come from the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Others had come from the south of Chiriguano territory, for example, from the town of Carapati, located considerably to the south of the Pilcomayo River. There are named 13 Chiriguano

C 166

C [167]

[Text continues on p. 30]

/14 cont./

Ce 131 still writes that the Chané were found scattered among the Chiriguano located among the last spurs of the Andes (53).

53. Moreno II, p. 254.

C 131 [114] Even after losing their independence, the Chiriguano inhabited more or less the same territory. Having known personally only Machareti out of the territory of the Chiriguano, I here refer to the data of Erland Nordenskiöld, who came to know them in the years 1908, 1909, and 1913 and personally traveled through most of this territory, spending up to four to five months altogether in the study of the Chiriguano and the Chané (54).

54. Nord. 2, p. XII.

According to Nordenskiöld (55), the territory of the

55. Nord. 2, pp. XIV and XV. Cf. Métraux I, pp. 332 and 333.

Chiriguano extends from the region near Santa Cruz de la Sierra in the north to near the Bermejo River in the south. Now the Rio Grande can almost be taken as the northern limit of C Ce 131 their territory. This is the land located between the boundary of the Andes and the great plain of the Chaco, in the valleys of which the Chiriguano, and in part the Chané live. It can be said that this territory is inhabited wherever there is the necessary water, although it may be no more than enough for and their domestic animals to drink. The Chiriguano inhabit that territory contiguously, while the Chané today live in territories separated from one another. Thus some of them are on the Itiyuro River in Argentina, some are in Caipipendi, some on the lower Parapití River, and others near Itaú, south C 131 of the Pilcomayo River. Outside of the territory of the Chiriguano which has thus been circumscribed, a few Chiriguano now live [167] in the Santa Rosa Valley north of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and a few fled to the Chaco after the last broken revolt in 1890, without our having any information on their stopping place.

/44 cont./

175
316
648
[167]

Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Maypurún, and we know that the Chiriguano possessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spurs of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

301
177
439

316

Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own

213. Nord. 1, p. 209.

statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

263
317
[439]

While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water

Ce /331 cont./
178
439
323
[177]

The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C
G
177
178
342
596

Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

G
177
178
266

C
17

Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C
105
175

The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

C
[167]

They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

1: Métraux--168 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Omaguaca SI9

C
323
415
198
184

/396 cont./

In former times when artists were not lacking, the number of motifs used within each group must have been larger, and in this variety was doubtless found many an element which today seems to have disappeared, only to be met in another zone. It is probable that an ethnographer who might have made a collection among the Chiriguano a century ago would have established a classification other than the one I have tried to outline here.

C
Ce
415
17

Comparative Study of the Basic Elements of the Painted Pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

1. The Problem of the Chincha Atacama Civilization

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians shows such strong affinities with that of the ancient Andean populations from the point of view of form as well as decoration that their relationship cannot be doubted.

These analogies are especially striking among certain pieces /397/ of pottery dug up in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and the ones still made by Chiriguano or Chané women. With an interval of four centuries the resemblance between the pottery of these two regions is still so pronounced that it had attracted the attention of Mr. Debenedetti (2, pp. 134, 149, note 1, and 156), even though he apparently had for his whole basis of comparison only a few rare pieces of very simple Chiriguano pottery collected in the Chaco and of such uncertain provenance that one of them was attributed to the Choroti. The latter in reality, have pottery of an entirely different type, although also influenced by the Andean civilization.

O
C
Ce
[648]
[439]

The affinities of Chiriguano pottery with certain pottery of the Quebrada de Humahuaca have been scientifically established by Nordenskiöld (10, p. 143). This scholar explains these surprising similarities very naturally by the influence the Indians of the Humahuaca region had on their immediate neighbors, the Chané or Chiriguano, and by the trade relations these peoples maintained.

C
Ce
415
17
648
0
[648]

/397 cont./

these peoples maintained. These relations between Chiriguano and Humahuaca Indians are historically attested to. At the time of the uprisings which took place during the period of the Spanish conquest, Humahuaca and Chiriguano united to resist the common enemy (see Boman, 2, Vol. I, p. 77).

The yambuí and yapepo, of which I made a good collection in the upper Pilcomayo region, provide new evidence, even more conclusive, of this striking parallelism which appears between the pottery of the modern Chiriguano and the prehistoric populations of northern Argentina. To allow a direct influence of the Humahuaca Indians on the ancestors of the present-day Chiriguano living on the upper course of the Pilcomayo in the departments of Tarija and Chuquisaca would be a point of view difficult to defend. The radiance of the culture of the Quebrada de Humahuaca could have affected only the southern Chiriguano and the Chané of the Itiyuro. As for the hypothesis which would make of the Chiriguano the precursors of this culture, it is so absurd, so contrary to all good sense, that we cannot envisage it here. At the spot where the Pilcomayo gets ready to leave the valley that it digs across the Andean spurs to spread out in the Chaco plain, the Chiriguano had Chicha Indians as immediate neighbors whose territory extended to the north of the Quebrada de Humahuaca in the south of present-day Bolivia. It was they who transmitted the special forms of their pottery and its principal decorative elements to the Chané, who in turn left them to their successors and conquerors, the Chiriguano. Perhaps the Chané have not everywhere been the inevitable intermediaries between the two cultures; in many cases, Chicha groups must have communicated directly to the Guarani invaders the principal products of their industrial techniques and of their arts.

C
175
721
727
648
Ce
648
C
17

/398/ We know from 16th and 17th century documents that the Chiriguano constantly made forays into Chicha territory, that they raided their villages, made them pay tribute, and carried away groups of these Indians into slavery, as they did with the Chané. These direct contacts between the Chiriguano and their western neighbors must have contributed greatly to the spread of Andean civilization among them, and

/398 cont./

17 this explains why the Chiriguano culture of the upper Pilcomayo presents such close affinities with that of the Chicha, the Humahuaca, and the Atacama (1).

175
648
[101]
[177]

1. On the western borders of their territory the Chiriguano were in constant touch with the Chicha, whose territory they devastated and whom they obliged to pay tribute to them.

Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 282): "the quality of the valley (of Tarija) being known, and the importance of its being populated, in order to check in that direction the Chiriguanas, who had done no little harm to the Chichas there, and they even paid them tribute, named as corregidor, etc...." /translated from the Spanish/.

Lizárraga (Vol. II, p. 117): "he went to Mosquera and returned, and with more than thirty natives, twenty of them Chiriguanas, and the rest indios Chaneses /Chane Indians/ in service, and among them two more illustrious Chiriguanas, one called Marucare and the other par excellence Inga Condorillo, and another Indian of Chicha nation, whom they confined with those Chiriguanas ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

Archivo de Indias (74-4-1, cited by Coni, p. 19): "and in about a month they reached another nation of indios called chiriguanaes, who thus neighbor this city a dozen leagues from potosí, and they carry off a pueblo of indios chichas who are called chupas." /translated from the Spanish/

Coni (p. 21): "In a letter from the licenciado Matienzo he tells us that the Chiriguanaes continued to raze the plains of Manso and, in addition, made frequent onslaughts on the Charcas, where they

C /400 cont./
A
17 It cannot be denied that there exist, between the civilization of Atacama and those of the provinces of north and northwest Argentina, of southern Bolivia, and of the coast of Chile, variants important enough to justify the subdivision of this culture zone into separate regions corresponding perhaps to the extent of tribes speaking different languages. But along with these local variations, how many similarities! How many analogies in technical materials and artistic forms! Farther on when I deal with fundamental elements of Chiriguano art from a comparative point of view, I shall have occasion to dwell on some of these resemblances and to give many an example.

The credit for bringing out the elements common to all these civilizations and seeking to explain them belongs to Uhle (1, 3, 4).

P.C
A
172 /401/ Already in 1913, on the subject of tablets from Chiuchiu, this scholar (Uhle, 1, p. 457) declared "that there had not been only one Atacama civilization, but several belonging to different periods." Several years later, after some systematic excavations he made in Pisagua, Arica, and Tacna, he tackled the "Atacameño" problem as a whole and proposed a plausible solution for it. Since knowledge of the results acquired by Uhle is important for understanding what follows, I believe it necessary to give as complete a résumé of them as possible.

Near Tacna, Uhle (4, p. 2) collected remains of several superimposed cultures, which he classifies in the following manner:

1. Period of primordial man (objects of paleolithic type);

2. Period of the Arica aborigines (first centuries of our era). The remains of this period belong to a very primitive population of fishermen;

3. Period contemporary with the Chavin ruins, which goes from about the year 400 to 600 A.D.;

4. Tiahuanaco period and continuation of the epigonal style, from about the year 600 to the year 900;

5. Period of the indigenous civilization of Atacama, from the year 900 to about 1100;

/441 cont./

194 177 286 482 [439] Everything thus leaves us to suppose that, in the early period of their settling on the western confines of the Bolivian Chaco, the Chiriguano procured by barter the carrying nets intended to replace the back baskets they had used until then. It was only later that they learned to make them themselves, adopting only the simplest and easiest of techniques besides. Thanks to this example we can catch alive the causes which have motivated the adoption of a new cultural element after the disappearance of another which rendered the same services. For that, two factors have come into play, the physical environment and the ethnic one. There was adaptation and borrowing at the same time. This fact also proves that a relatively civilized people never hesitates to appropriate the inventions of more barbaric tribes when they find some advantage in it.

285 • 17 The present poverty of the basketwork industry among the Chiriguano does not imply that it is insignificant and worthless. Perhaps before the decline of this nation it was more widely represented in each village. I was able to observe that the disappearance of basketwork /442/ went along with the influence of the white men. But, for the reasons I have given above, I do not believe that at any time there could have been found among the Chiriguano that abundance of objects made of basketwork which travelers noted among the Indians of Guiana or the Amazon basin. Formerly, when the ancestors of the Chiriguano were still living in Paraguay and Brazil, they possessed basketwork identical with that of the tribes inhabiting the regions I have alluded to. Proof of it is furnished by the survival among the modern Chiriguano of various types of baskets, fire fans, and sieves, of which we find /Fig. 101 appears here/ the exact equivalent only in Guiana and the Amazon basin. As we shall ascertain in the course of this study, the identity between these two ethnic areas is perfect from this point of view. The only difficulty is to know whether in this case it is a matter of the remains of an industry peculiar to the Chané Indians of Arawak origin, whose influence upon the Chiriguano was considerable, or whether this basketwork only continues that of the ancient Guarani emigrants. In my opinion the question does not need to be asked. The basketwork of the

/3 cont./

Ce 101 or Tapyi /Tapii/, it was not possible from what they said to ascertain with which of the tribes known to ethnology they can be identified. The Chiriguano call themselves "Mbya." [C 101] If the Izozó were a part of them, they would have called themselves by this name. Ce 101 17 No doubt they are Chané and that part of the latter which once had their homes in the Izozó River region, taking the name of this river for their own. Their culture, as demonstrated by the objects I collected among them, confirms this opinion. There are some differences between the objects collected among the Izozó and the Chiriguano in Machareti, either with regard to the decorations of the baked clay vessels or with regard to the making of the nets. But in principle it is not possible to decide whether these differences might not be only local differences. C 171 172 128 648 In general the culture of the Chiriguano was diffused in this way throughout the tribes successively subjugated by them, which is why it is proper to deal below with the aspects of the culture of the Chiriguano of Machareti together with that of the Izozó.

C Ce 101 17

Influences on the Culture of the Chiriguano and Izozó, Taken from Historical Data

C Ce [197] At the present time the Chiriguano and Chané form a cultural entity which can be designated as the culture of the Chiriguano, because the Guaraní language of the Chiriguano came to be the common language of the whole group. The Izozó also belong to this ethnic entity. Thus it is necessary to consider this entity /4/ as being formed of completely different tribes. It is also necessary to conceive of their culture as the product of the fusion of very heterogeneous cultural elements. Nordenskiöld deals with this question in one of his books (1)

C Ce [113]

1. Erland Nordenskiöld: The changes in the material culture of two Indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative Ethnological Studies, 2. Göteborg, 1920. Cited in the following: Nord. 2.

Guarani SM4
Chane SF8
I2020

C
Ce
101
17

/4 cont./

and divides (2) the sum of Chiriguano cultural elements into

2. Nord. 2, pp. 196-213.

different categories depending on whether they received them from the whites, from the culture of the ancient Peruvians, or from the Mataco, Toba, and other tribes of the Chaco, or have them in common with the tribes of the north and the east related to them, as well as those that they brought with them from their primordial homes between the Paraná River and the Paraguay River. In what follows we shall often run into this matter, and inasmuch as these cultural influences have taken place in historical times and we know the history of the Chiriguano through existing documents dating from the first days of the Spanish conquest, I would like to make a resumé of these historical data in what follows, insofar as they have influenced the cultural development of the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
Ce
101
17
121

Gi
174

In one of my previous publications which appeared in this journal, entitled "Los Guarayú," I ran into the point at issue, to wit: whether the first Guaraní immigration into the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco took place before the expedition of the Portuguese Alejo García to Peru or whether it took place after that time. In that paper I then deduced that it can be supposed that before Alejo García's expedition there were no Guaraní in the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, because no author mentions that García, who was accompanied by many Guaraní, had met other Guaraní in those regions. With this opinion that the Guaraní immigration to the west occurred after García's expedition, which is based principally on indications by Guzmán, the opinions of Manuel Domínguez and Erland Nordenskiöld also agree. This question of the Guaraní invasion into the western part of the Paraguayan Chaco is also dealt with in detail by Fulgencio R. Moreno in his work Cuestión de límites con Bolivia (3). In that place (4) there

Gi
175

Gi
[113]

3. Ministerio de Exteriores. Cuestión de Límites con Bolivia. Negociaciones diplomaticas. 1915-

/20 cont./

C
Ce
412
•17

Although it may be that the shape of the wooden spoons of the Chiriguano and of the Chané may have been influenced in many cases by the shape of the metal spoons acquired from the whites, we must nonetheless regard it as a product of the indigenous culture of South America that in pre-Columbian times had been rather widespread generally among the Andean cultures. Its appearance is quite limited among the native tribes of South America, setting aside the cases where it has been imported by the whites. But it is quite common among the Indians of the regions near Chiriguano territory in particular, for example, among the Tapieté and many other Chaco tribes, such as the Toba, Matako, Churupí, and especially also among the Mojo and, farther to the east, among the Guató. It must be supposed that the Chiriguano received this cultural possession directly or indirectly from the culture of the Andean montaña.

Shells (Ínta) as Eating Utensils

Ce
237
415

I. A. 734 and 735. (Izozó.) Length 12 cm. and 10 cm.

Outside of the spoons mentioned, the Chané-Izozó also use shells as eating utensils.

Ce
415
[824]

As vessels for drinking water and chicha, they above all use cuyas /vessels made from gourds/ (cf. Figures 24-26 and 149; 150; 153) and calabashes (cf. Figures 42 and 151). For the chicha festivities this beverage is ordinarily taken out of the painted baked clay pots in cuyas with designs on them, which are passed around among those present. Of the cuyas that I acquired from the Chiriguano in Machareti many have either incised or pyrographed designs, with which I shall deal in the chapter on art. The cuyas received from the Izozó do not have designs on them, which is easily explained by the peculiar circumstance that the Izozó were at that time living near Toledo. Three of the calabashes received from the Izozó (cf. Figure 42 c) were made from the fruit of the

C
415
126
531

Ce
415
[531]
[824]

C 301 [126] /33 cont./

Ring (mollkaregua) in the Collection

I.A. 1321. (Chiriguano.) Gift of Father Ayala Solis. Diam. 2cm.

Finally I shall mention here a ring obtained by Father Ayala Solis from the Chiriguano and donated by him to the Museo de Historia y Etnografía del Paraguay. The ring was made of metal from a cartridge shell.

Ce 29 The cacique of the Izoṅõ shown in Figure 12 wears sandals (Chir.: mbipása. Izoṅõx pllapá). Generally the men and women go around barefoot. But both sexes use sandals if they are to walk on stony or thorny ground (146).

146. Nord. 1, p. 203. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 207.

C 291 ● 19 The region of distribution of the sandal in South America leads us to assume that the Chiriguano did not first receive this item from the whites, but earlier, and that it came from the culture of the ancient Peruvians (147).

147. Cf. Nord. 2, p. 69.

Treatment of Illnesses and Burial

Ce 745 Ce [114] C [114] Ee 756 191 In the Indian settlement in Toledo there was arranged a small hospital in which the sick Izoṅõ were receiving medical treatment. For that reason I did not have the chance to make investigations among them about the native treatment of the illnesses of these Indians. Nor did I have the chance to make such investigations in Machareti. Therefore, I refer to the investigations /34/ Nordenskiöld and Métraux made on this subject (148), and I wish only to

148. Nord. 1, pp. 216 and 217. Métraux 1, pp. 480-488.

mention here that among the Chiriguano and Chané, as among

Chane SF8
I2020

Ce 286 415 301 126

/72 cont./

Weavings Made on a Special Loom, from the Collection

I.A. 727. Bag (Izozó). Wool. Hgt. 21 cm. Width 22 cm. (Fig. 116.)
I.A. 728. Band " " Length 1.3 cm. " 3.7 cm. (Fig. 115.)

C Ce 286 19

Because of the contacts that the Chiriguano and the Chané had for a long time with the culture of the ancient Peruvians, it is surprising that the highly developed technique of the latter should not have had more influence on the weaving technique of these Indians. The fact is that the Chiriguano even today make most of their weavings with the typical loom of the Aruaco and with the warp in the form of a ring, which they doubtless received from the Chané. Besides these ordinary looms, the forms of looms that they received directly or indirectly from the technique of the ancient Peruvians are of little importance.

Ce 286 171

The two Izozó weavings mentioned above, and in particular bag I.A. 727, are weavings that are exactly like the weavings produced to this day by the Quichua /Quechua/ and also the typical weavings of the last period of the Inca Empire.

In order to explain the appearance of such weavings among the Chané of the Paraguí, we have an interesting observation by Nordenskiöld. The Indians told that author that they had learned that technique of weaving directly from a Quichua woman who had emigrated into their territory (274).

Ce [197]

274. Nord. 2, p. 178.

C 286 [199]

The Chiriguano loom for weaving bands and shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld shows that the Chiriguano also learned to weave in the way of the ancient Peruvians (272) /fn. 272, which appears on p. 172,reads: Nord. 2, Fig. 55, N. 4./. In contrast to the manner of weaving described in the preceding, these weavings are made in such a way that the thread of the woof passes alternately through the threads of the front side of the warp and those of the back side. In addition to this, a double mechanism for the divisions of the warp threads makes possible many more variations in the ornamentation.

Ce 531

/81 cont./

clay vessels, in the form of incisings on the surface of *cuyas* and calabashes or flutes of wood or cane, in the form of pyrographic decorations on *cuyas*, and also, infrequently, in the form of tattooing on parts of the human body. The absolute difference between the drawings applied to the surfaces of baked clay vessels and those on *cuyas* and calabashes is surprising. This difference is explained by the fact that the decorations on the baked clay vessels are done exclusively by women and those on *cuyas* and calabashes by men.

Ce [542]

Ce 531 17

The basic elements of the painting done on the surface of the baked clay vessels of these Indians consist of geometric designs which are completely different from those of the ancient Peruvians and untouched by modern European influences. No doubt these are the products of an old and indigenous art. But we do not know up to what point this originated among the Chiriguano and to what point among the Chané. Neither do we know whether the differences between the nature of the paintings of the Chiriguano in Machareti and that of the paintings of the Izoseó of the Parapiti are only local differences or whether they are based on the difference between these two nations. But outside of that primordial decoration and mixed with it, there are foreign elements of decoration which we must reduce to ancient Peruvian models, and this is especially true of the drawings of plants on the surface of a Chiriguano vessel which Figures 64 and 165 show. One /82/ decoration, doubtless also phytomorphic, which appears repeatedly on the surface of the baked clay vessels, for example, on the vessels shown in Figures 67 and 71b, has a direct model in the form of a decoration that we know from the ancient Peruvian pottery of the last period of the Inca Empire (309). Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic repre-

Ce 531 532

309. See Max Schmidt: *Kunst und Kultur von Peru*, p. 349, Fig. 1.

sentations are found relatively infrequently among the decorations on the baked clay vessels. The quadruped shown on the surface

/320 cont./

C 175 342

interesting: "they make a very big dormitory and, within it, as many small rooms as there are residents, and so small that they do not have room for more persons, and it is enough for them, because they do not have furniture, nor do they have wearing apparel and hence they go about naked." /Translated from the Spanish./ These facts agree on every point with those of the Relaciones geográficas, etc. (Vol. II, Plate CIV) and of Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 259) on the same subject. The Guarani, just like the Tupinamba and other Tupi tribes, lived in maloca, gigantic halls capable of containing more than 150 persons and which often in themselves formed the village. The existence of this type of dwelling among the Chiriguano in the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes new proof for the recent character of their migration. In the 18th century we find them already in possession of the small rectangular house which they still have now and where one single family lives. (See Métraux, 2, p. 51.)

C [114] [113]

C [171]

C [174] [167]

C 114 127 175

novelist Garcilaso which might allow one to suppose that he really knew who the Chiriguano were. As for this conquest by the Inca, it would have been barely an attempt at conquest... Garcilaso confuses the Chiriguano with all the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes whom he had vaguely heard mentioned. Let us note that he is the only one to attribute this expedition to the Inca Yupanki, while the other chroniclers, better informed, are satisfied to say that the Inca Yupanki made an expedition against the Antis, probably around Cuzco. Unfortunately the vogue this pleasant writer enjoyed at a time when the history of America was still in limbo bluffs some modern critics into believing him, and they go so far as to prefer one of his unwarranted affirmations to the serious /321/ and precise evidence of chroniclers who get their information at first hand and from reliable sources.

C 114 127 175 648 [101]

/329 cont./

Ce 172 167 [177] clearly Arawak by its technique and many a detail of its structure. It dates from an epoch when the Chané, newly come to the foot of the Andes, had not yet undergone the Andean influence of the populations of the Bolivian south (Chicha, Atacama, etc.).

C 181 171 When they arrived among the Chané, the Guarani had a civilization nearly identical with that of their racial brothers, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, whose ethnography is so familiar to us, thanks to the old French and Portuguese chronicles. They differed little from their present-day cousins, the Kainguá /Caingua/ of Brazil and Paraguay, who are independent but impoverished Guarani.

C 177 181 Upon contact with the superior Chané civilization, the Guarani adopted it as it was, introducing, however, some cultural elements of Paraguayan origin. From this fusion of the two nations was /330/ formed a center of acculturation which we can designate as Chané-Chiriguano civilization.

C 177 It is through the medium of the Chané that so many aspects of Andean civilization still characterize Chiriguano culture. For how could we otherwise explain so strong an effect of Andean civilization on the Chiriguano at the time when that civilization was failing and disappearing, at least partially?

Ce 177 178 The Chané, on the other hand, established for centuries near the Chicha and other Indians of the south of mountainous Bolivia, have, thanks to their trade relations, submitted to the attractions of the Andean civilization which has infiltrated among them, as among the other tribes of the Chaco, in the form of toilet objects, jewels, artistic motifs, games, words, and vices. It is these multiple contributions which give the Chané culture this Andean appearance which strikes every ethnographer used to the peoples of Brazil. But, having come from the great forests of the Amazon basin, these "Quichuaized /Quechuaized/" Arawak have faithfully kept until today furniture and utensils which betray this origin and tie them directly to their faraway relatives of the Guianas. The Chané civilization was and still is a mixed civilization formed of elements from different sources and often of opposing nature.

/334 cont./

241 Before taking possession of a new plot of land the
423 Chiriguano is always careful to make sure that there is no trace
243 of previous cultivation. Otherwise the former owner or his
[685] descendants would have the right to lodge a complaint against him to the chief of the village.

[824] The Chiriguano makes known his new property right by planting any edible plant before the rainy season, for example, the large squash (gindako-wasu) which spreads everywhere and is not smothered by the underbrush. He can equally well insure possession of the chosen terrain by knocking down the underbrush all around and making big gashes in the trees (1).

[171] 1. Compare this manner of insuring property rights with the method observed by the Caxinawa /Cashinawa/ in the same circumstances: "I saw (an Indian is speaking) rising ground which is suitable for a planting. I am going to make a planting for this summer. I broke many branches on this hill to mark this excellent place. No one can make his clearing on this hill. This hill is excellent; do not go there to make your planting." (Abreu, p. 69.)

241 In the middle of the dry season, say, in August, the
243 Indian, with a long stick sharp on both sides, fells the underbrush which encumbers his future field and sets fire to it. This operation has the further advantage of fertilizing the soil, thanks to the bed of ashes, which is a rather good fertilizer.

The cultivated fields are usually cleaned up after the harvest.
[231] The domestic animals, who feed there with little expense, are first let out there, and then the fields are set afire.

[221] Sowing takes place in the month of November when the first rainstorms have softened the soil. This time is announced by
[821] the appearance of the Pleiades (itšu) above the horizon early in the morning.

/336 cont./

241 have described here. These finds were made in the ruins of
412 the Alfarcito and of the Pukará de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 4,
172 Fig. 17 and p. 32) and at the Huerta in the same Quebrada de
243 Humahuaca. Numerous wooden shovels have been dug up at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Figs. 236-237, pp. 457-458), and Ambrosetti supposes with justification that they were hafted like those of the modern Chiriguano. Debenedetti (1, p. 35) obtained a specimen of this instrument at Kipón in Salta province.

[171] This type of shovel is particularly well represented in the archeological material of the Chilean coast. Numerous specimens have been found in Calama, Chiuchiu, and Pica in Tarapaca province (Boman, 2, Vol. II, pp. 731-732 and Plate LXVIII a; and Uhle, 3, pp. 15-16 and Plate I).

[171] The half-breeds and Indians of the Bolivian altiplano still work the earth today with a spade which in no way differs from that of their ancestors; moreover, it shows great similarity /337/ to the wooden shovel of the ancient Chiriguano (Chervin, p. 216, Fig. 120).

241 Nordenskiöld (9, pp. 30-32), studying the distribution
412 of this cultural element, established that it was peculiar to
171 the Andean zone and the adjoining regions. The Chiriguano
243 shovel nonetheless has a characteristic feature for which we should look in vain on all the specimens found inside the boundaries of the Inca Empire: this is the crescent-shaped handgrip. It corresponds quite precisely to the crutches terminating the oars in use among the tribes of Brazil, Paraguay, and the Guianas and on which the paddler puts his hand flat.

241 The Chiriguano formerly lived in a region rich in rivers and
412 streams, and they probably made use of paddles of this type to
174 go up or down them. Once settled at the foot of the Andes,
243 the resemblance between their former /Fig. 5 appears here/ oars and the shovels they saw in the hands of the Chané or the Chicha must have struck them; and they naturally sought to adapt to the new instruments this detail of structure whose convenience paddling had shown them. Such a hypothesis is not too adventuresome, for do we not have in the Chaco some shovels which have exactly the appearance of oars? (On this subject see the Ashluslay shovel published by Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 30, Fig. 1.)

/344 cont./

526 immediately, chased by his comrades who pulled his hair
178 energetically. The awkward player who threw the ball in such
243 a way that his partner could not catch it was in the same
789 category as the one who let it fall, on condition, however, that his opposite number had not made the gesture of catching it. Once the corn was ripe, they stopped playing mboto.

526
171

[179]

The game of mboto has a wide distribution in South America, but it is limited to the populations of the Amazonian basin and the Guianas. Doubtless the Chiriguano introduced it into the Chaco (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 168).

417
251
824

Fig. 10. Forked tree on which the Chiriguano pile corn inside their huts. This device may have given rise to the corncribs on piles.

526
789
243

This game without any doubt derives from a magical rite whose object was to promote the beneficial course of the sun and to oblige it to shine without interruption to make the corn ripen. The straw shuttlecock represents the sun. The period when this game is played and the meaning the Chiriguano attach to it make my hypothesis a very likely one. Preuss demonstrated that in all of Central America and even in North America the /345/ tennis game arose out of a magical operation intended to influence the sun.

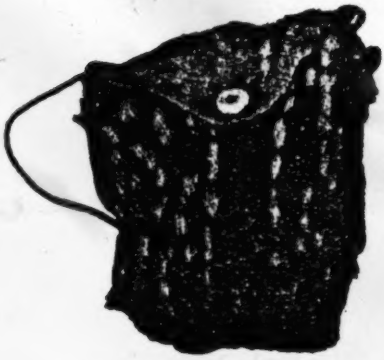
Fig. 11. Straw shuttlecock (mboto), accessory for the game of the same name. Prov.: Carurutí. (1/3 nat. size.)

/353 cont./

372 [171] In former times the Chiriguano made fire exactly like all the Indians of South America, by rubbing two sticks one against /354/ each other. One of my friends from Carurutí reconstructed one of these devices for me in the hope of surprising me and getting a good price for it. He took two sticks of tata iwira, or fire wood (1), cut one of them lengthwise

[824] 1. According to Father D. Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 91), the Chiriguano might use, for obtaining fire by rotation, sticks made from the wood of a red liana whose

415 281 372 ←



415 281 →

Fig. 23. Small deerskin bag in which a Chiriguano used to carry a tinderbox and its accessories. Prov.: Pípi. (1/3 nat. size.)

Fig. 24. Puma paw (yagua-pintaipo) made into a bag. Prov.: Saladito. (1/4 nat. size.)

372 [824] flower has five yellow petals with a red spot on one of them. The Chiriguano name for this plant is isipo-pinta.

and provided one of its sides with two cups along which he contrived a perpendicular groove. These two little furrows were intended to conduct the glowing sawdust onto the tinder placed on the ground. /Fig. 25 appears here./ The other stick was slightly sharpened to allow it to go into the cups. Since this

262 /355 cont./ Women could eat, without
[562] harm, parrot, a heavy and stupid bird. In their misogyny the Chiriguano doubtless figured that that would not change their nature in any way. (Campana, p. 92.)

252 Cooking is not a secondary activity; it is an important form /Fig. 26 appears here/ of the material culture and an excellent index for judging the cultural level of a human group. The art of preparing dishes reveals as well as any tool the faculties of invention and taste. In South America one can very well classify the tribes according to the more or less great variety of their dishes and the care they take in preparing them. This hierarchy would certainly correspond to that of the cultural elements.

[171] In the Chaco, Chiriguano cooking stands in contrast by its variety, its /356/ taste, and its cleanness to that of the more primitive tribes like the Toba or the Matako.

Before passing on to the study of the utensils used by the Chiriguano housewives, it is fitting to describe their menus.

When the Chiriguano kill a cow, goat, or sheep, the meat is boiled in water, roasted on a spit, or dried in the sun (charqui). They are especially partial to the head of the animal they kill, and they eat it boiled after skinning it. The pieces of meat are cleaned carefully before being cooked; and the tripe, for example, which is a delicacy, is taken out beforehand.

Corn is prepared in various ways. If the ears are tender and green, they are boiled in water or grilled over the fire or under the ashes.

When the corn is still in this state, the women prepare simbikuai or humitas (in Spanish). They bite with an appetite into the still tender ears, chew the kernels for a long time, and spit them into a calabash. This white mash saturated with saliva is wrapped in corn leaves and put under the ashes.

[415] The Chiriguano give the name of atipíi to kernels of corn roasted in a special bowl called tapuipe (Plate XIII, 3) or in large potsherds, which tend more and more to replace the primitive utensil appropriate for this use. The atipíi requires

/356 cont./

252 no preparation other than constant stirring in order not to be burned. This food takes the place of bread for the Chiriguano, who like to munch these crunchy and appetizing kernels. They provide themselves with it when they go on a trip.

Atipíi pounded in a mortar and passed through a sieve gives atši, a brownish flour which has an excellent taste. Atši is also prepared differently: kernels of corn are reduced to a flour which is roasted in a terra-cotta roaster or in a wide potsherd. According to Nino (p. 246), the name atikúi would be given to the kernels of roasted corn made into flour after being put through a sieve and ground until pulverized. The same missionary reserves the term atši for roasted flour obtained from the residue left by kernels which have been treated in the following way: after letting them soak in water all night, they are poured into a sieve the next morning. When the water has drained off, they are pounded in a mortar. This flour is now sifted, then roasted; cooked in water, it is the dish the Chiriguano call muintí or huinti. Atši then would be made with the residue from the muinti flour, which is ground again, then roasted like it, but first mixed with salt or pimento. I [122] have often eaten roasted corn flour which the Indians told me was atši, but I could never tell that it was seasoned. The Chiriguano give the name abatikure to the corn bran.

This is how muintimimo is prepared: kernels of corn are /Plate XIII appears here/ /357/ put to soak all night. The next morning they are ground and sifted in an urumpé (sieve with very fine mesh). The flour is poured into a muitero [415] (Plate XIII, 1 and 2). This utensil is a terra-cotta basin whose bottom is pierced with holes like a skimmer (1). The flour is

[171] [114]

1. Linné (2, Map 1, p. 23) has given us the distribution of vessels with perforated bottoms throughout America. The enumeration he makes of them is very complete; yet it lacks mention of La Rioja in the Argentine Republic where Boman (5, p. 17) discovered fragments of vessels whose bases were entirely perforated like a sieve.

[Text continues on p. 104]

T /360 cont./
175 their four fingers from the earthen dish or other vessel in
264 which they keep it, even though they throw it from rather far away, nevertheless they put it so accurately into their mouths that they do not drop a single bit. So that some of us Frenchmen, wishing to imitate them, thought we would eat it in that fashion, and not being at all trained for that like them, instead of throwing it in our mouths, we discharged it on our cheeks and floured our whole face; /361/ consequently unless those principally who wore beards would have wanted to be accoutered as players of farces, we were constrained to take it with spoons" (Léry, Vol. I, pp. 143-144).

T This comparison permitted me to suppose that roasted
262 corn flour has simply replaced the "farinha" of the Brazilians.
252 As we know, the pulp of manioc tubers, after being carefully
264 squeezed in the tipiti, or trough, was roasted on a terra-cotta slab and changed into dry flour, with which the Tupinamba accompanied all their meals. The Chiriguano think the same
C 262 way about atši: they say that corn flour, in order to be eaten,
264 must have an accompaniment, an intina. To my way of think-
176 ing, atši and muínti are two substitutes for manioc flour that the Chiriguano invented or adapted after emigrating into a
C land where bitter manioc was unknown. Neither the other tribes
[171] of the Chaco nor the Quichua eat corn in this form, and, to my knowledge at least, there is no doubt that the Chiriguano introduced these two dishes into the country, without counting a goodly number of the ones which have been enumerated.

C The only fruits that the Chiriguano consume on a large
262 scale are the prickly pear or tuna (Opuntia), which are seen
C in all their villages. They also plant some fig and orange
[245] trees when they are under mission influence. They are also
[097] great lovers of melons, of sandias (watermelons), and when they have eaten one of these which has pleased them particularly, they keep the seed. They love sugar cane with a passion. Sorghum is especially meant for the children, for whom these graminaceae are a veritable sweetmeat. They suck the juice, which is as sweet as that of sugar cane.

/362 cont./

262 The Chiriguano call kumanara a leguminous plant, wild,
[252] which resembles the yuca and which can serve as food after being boiled. They resort to it only when pressed by hunger. The word designating this plant has a strange resemblance to
[192] the name of the batata in the Quichua dialects of Ecuador and northern Peru (Rivet, 3, pp. 583-590). It is perhaps a question of a Quichua word introduced into the Chiriguano language to designate a plant of which they did not have the equivalent in their original homeland. The case is nevertheless rare, and one can wonder if it is not a simple coincidence.

[222] Neither do the Chiriguano look down on honey, although they
[171] do not seek it with the passion of their cousins, the Kainguá. What I tasted among them was contained in thin honeycombs having the consistency of cardboard. It had a pleasant taste.

222 Any Indian who goes in search of honey (ei) must not make
784 his intention known to anyone and, if he is asked where he is going, he must answer: "To look for wood." If you do not take
[176] these precautions, the protecting spirit of the honey is warned of your plan and hides the honeycombs he guards (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 86).

222 The missionary Corrado (p. 43) assures us that grass-
114 hoppers, cicadas, the larvae of bees are that many delicious
[252] dishes for the Chiriguano. He adds that these insects are roasted. Nino (p. 247) reproduces the statements of his predecessor and completes the list of strange foods by adding /363/ ants, lizards, leaves of the cucurbitaceae, melted tallow, etc. Personally I
[191] have never seen the Chiriguano touch these dishes strange to our palates, but I am all the more inclined to believe these two missionaries that the tastes they indicate are actually those of the Indians in other regions.

262 Already in the 16th century the Chiriguano passed as snake
252 lovers, even of poisonous species. They cut off the head and tail, skinned them, and roasted pieces of them on live coals. They used to eat them with pimento. No doubt the Spaniards con-
[178] fused snakes with iguanas, which even today the Chiriguano justly like (Lizárraga, Vol. I, p. 260).

C 273 /368 cont./

A certain variety of kãwi is prepared by boiling it again after passing it through the sieve and "bottling" it only after letting it cool a second time.

Kãwi is generally covered with a thick oily layer which the Indians are far from scorning. The mistress of the house takes the precaution of pouring a certain quantity of it into the vessels which do not have any.

In their descriptions of the preparation of kãwi, Giannecchini and Nordenskiöld say nothing about the temisu, the umopirai, and, in general, a good many of the stages the corn goes through before being converted into beer. This silence is probably due to the very complexity of this operation, more than one detail of which certainly escaped them. The preparation of kãwi is a tiring occupation which requires great effort. The Indians display a veritable science in its manufacture. It is easier to distill alcohol, and, in any case, this is a task demanding less physical activity. Perhaps centuries of groping were needed for arriving at determining the time of cooking, the proportions of roasted and chewed flour, the quality of the grain, etc. All that is the result of minute observations, many trials, and also much reflection. These considerations are intended to justify the remark made at the beginning of this chapter: a simple cooking recipe often tells as much about the civilization of a people as a perfected tool.

C 273 824 [171] ce [273] [824] [114]

/369/ The fruits of the mistol, chañar, or algarroba can give a chicha that the Chaco Indians like very much, but which the Chiriguano scorn. They have recourse to it only in case of scarcity. The Chané of the Izozoc, whom I could not visit, have the specialty of kãwi from batatas. The Chiriguano also know how to make use of this tuber to prepare a fermented drink, but they judge it to be of inferior quality and declare that one must be a poor devil to take any. (Nordenskiöld, 2, p. 236) (1).

1. Barco Centenera (p. 315) already mentions the different types of chicha prepared by the Chiriguano: "El vino de maiz y de algarroba,

/371 cont./

415 Certain vessels (Fig. 35) have the exterior surface entirely
531 covered with these depressions obtained by pressure of the thumbnail. The Indians call this decoration tatupire, that is "armadillo carapace," /Fig. 37 appears here/ a completely justifiable comparison.

One can consider as an evolution of the process of ornamentation by finger impressions the angles or chevrons which decorate the outside surface of the vessel of Figure 2, Plate XVI /see p. 125/, which have been incised in the soft clay with a pointed instrument. This type of ornamentation can be reduced to its simplest expression; thus on the neck of the vessel of Plate XVII, 2 /see p. 127/ it is limited to a row of little cavities made with a pointed stick. The small vessel of Figure 36 /see p. 128/ with a belly flattened from top to bottom belongs, from the decorative point of view, in the same category.

415 On another vessel (Plate XVI, 1) the small nipples which
531 project /372/ all around the belly constitute a summary
● 171 decoration which completes that of the neck formed by finger-nail impressions. Pots of this type are found among the Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 65, p. 218).

This decoration is exceptional in South America. Jijon y Caamaño (p. 6) considers it characteristic of the northern part of Ecuador. He points out its distribution in Central America and in the Mound region in the United States.

[126] The îru of Plate XVIII, Fig. 2 /see p. 131 / has the exact shape of a calabash; this resemblance was intentional, for the Indian woman who sold it to me presented it at the same time as the calabash which /Fig. 38 appears here/ had doubtless served as a model. Vessels which are almost replicas of this specimen have been found at Jachal and Calingasta in San Juan province in Argentina (Ambrosetti, 1, Plate VII, and Debenedetti, 3, Fig. 41, p. 69).

415 The Chiriguano call the vessels in which the women
[462] draw the water they need for their households by the Quichua name îru. The îru are characterized not only by their more
415 or less globular shape and the narrowness of the neck on top,
323 but also by the quality of the paste from which they were

C
Ce
415
171
177

/373 cont./

Typologically, we must put the vessels of the primitive tribes of the Chaco in the category of the iru. Like the Chiriguano or their forerunners the Chané, the Matako, Toba, Choroti, and Ashluslay copied Andean models, which they adapted to their needs. It is appropriate to note that the seminomadic tribes of the Chaco must have fashioned their vessels in such a way as to be able to take them along with

T
415
531

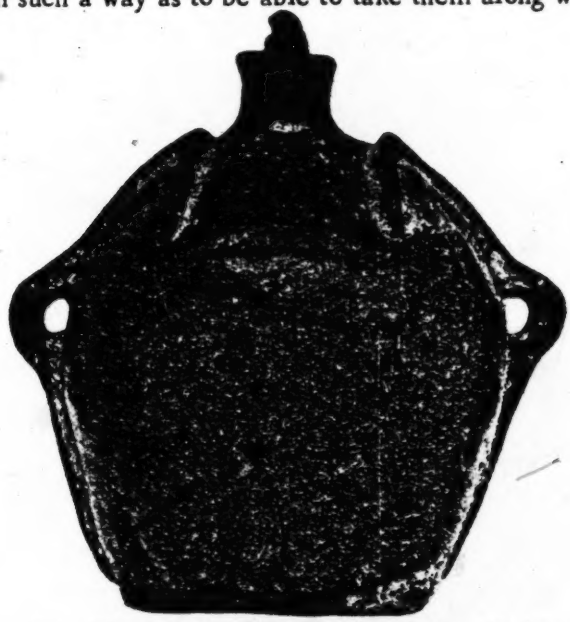


Fig. 39. Toba vessel with bands in relief imitating the suspension cords with which vessels of this type are generally provided. Prov.: Macharetí. (1/4 nat. size ⊥.)

C
Ce
415
171
177

them on their peregrinations, while the Chané and Chiriguano, sedentary nations, did not feel the need to modify the primitive form and kept the Andean prototype without bringing variations to it. For comparison I am reproducing here two vessels from the Chaco: one (Fig. 37) comes from the Toba section of Macharetí, and the other (Fig. 38) from an Ashluslay tribe traveling in northern Argentina.

/374 cont./

415 surmounted by two nipples, remains of stylized ears. These protuberances can be perforated and allow a suspension cord to pass through, which permits hooking the bowl to a beam of the hut (Fig. 41).

Spoons

412 Spoons are very common among the Chiriguano. Their
● 171 form connects them closely to those which have been made
172 known to us by the excavations carried out on the Bolivian altiplano and in northwestern Argentina. It is among the ancient populations of this region that we must seek the origin of this cultural element (on this subject see Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 91-92), of which the Chiriguano have faithfully kept the primitive aspect and even certain peculiarities such as the indentations of the handle which /Plates XIX-XXI appear here/ /375/ are seen on one of our specimens and on one discovered in the Puna de Jujuy (Pucara de Rinconada) by Boman (2, Vol. II, Plate LIX, Fig. 142).

Beside these spoons, whose use spread under the influence
412 of the civilized peoples of the west, the Chiriguano kept the
237 most rudimentary forms of this utensil: the valves of a fresh-
824 water mollusk (anodonta) (in Chiriguano: inta) are often used by them to eat liquid dishes; the shell of the fruit of a bignoniacea (?) opened lengthwise also appears in the north of the Chiriguano territory as the survival of a time when spoons were still unknown to them (Fig. 44).

412 Some small calabashes, ovoid or round, with a jutting peduncle, can, after being cut through the middle, replace
[171] wooden spoons to advantage (Fig. 45). It was in this natural form that the spoon spread in tropical America where Andean influence did not make itself felt. The Chiriguano do not disdain using these half-calabashes to dip into the bean pot or the meat broth. Calabashes like the one of Figure 46 /see p. 139/ take the place of ladles.

/375 cont./

Calabashes

415 In each Chiriguano village calabashes are as abundant as pottery (see Fig. 47 /see p. 139 /). The huts are full of them. They are of every shape and size, from the spoons we spoke of to the big basins in which the kāwi is distributed on feast days.

[286] The calabashes which are ovoid or gourd-shaped are generally enveloped in a kind of rudimentary net of vegetable fibers or leather thongs, which allows them to be carried in the hand or hung (1). In them is put either water, or grain

415
286
● 171

1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 97) has given the list of the South American tribes who put their calabashes inside a net to carry or hang them. This contrivance is widespread on the continent and its distribution is certainly greater than that indicated by Nordenskiöld, but travelers generally take only slight interest in such details, which are nevertheless important. The Kaingúa of Paraguay encompass their calabashes with wembé bark just like the Chiriguano (see Ambrosetti, 2, p. 716).

415 and seed, or roasted flour, or finally roucou or kalasapa powder saved for feast days (Plate XX, 1 and 2; Plate XXI, 3 and 4).

[322] Some calabashes are provided with a lid which the Indians make by cutting a calotte with star-shaped edges in the still green fruit, and this then forms a hermetic closing. The lid is fastened on by means of a small cord which, when pulled, suffices to close the calabash /376/ (Plate XX, 4 and Plate XXI, 2). Gourds whose opening is small in diameter receive a fragment of a shelled ear of corn as a stopper. /Figs. 42-47 appear here./

[121] Painted, pyrographed, or incised calabashes will be the object of a special study.

/377/

Wooden Bowls and Basins

C 415 171 439

The Chiriguano also use wooden bowls (Fig. 49). I do not know whether they make them themselves or receive them from the half-breeds of the /Fig. 48 appears here/ San Luis region. In this latter case the Chiriguano of the San Luis (Entre-Rios) region would be the only ones to make them. In Tarija /Figs. 49-50 appear here / where these bowls are much sought after by the half-breeds, they were indicated to me as coming from that zone. The rare wooden bowls which /378/ I saw at Caipipendí had been bought by the Chiriguano in the course of their trips. The same origin must be attributed to the wooden troughs found among the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua half-breeds of Tarija department. These basins are used for washing food and also as bathtubs. The Choroti have wooden dishes (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 20, p. 88) which have a shape very similar to that of the trough reproduced here (Fig. 50) and which doubtless were introduced among them either by the ancient Quichua or by the half-breeds. Among the Araucan of Argentina wooden basins are found, which are similar in every detail to those of the Indians and half-breeds of Bolivia and the specimen pictured here.

Ci 415 177

A 415 171

Chapter V

Tools of the Chiriguano

C 412 178 [179]

The work tools the Chiriguano use nowadays are almost all of European manufacture. Here and there the ancient forms were kept when stone or bone were replaced by iron. Witness the adze of Plate XXII /see p.143 / which constitutes a curious survival of the eared or T-shaped ax certainly adopted by the Chiriguano after their migration and their establishment at the foot of the Andes. This type of ax is unknown to me from any other Tupi-Guarani tribe and is rare in the area occupied by the different nations belonging to this linguistic family (see Rivet, 1, pp. 149-155).

T-G [412] [184]

1: Métraux--141 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Modern Quechua SE24

C
415

Fig. 48. Calabash hung by means of a transverse stick. Prov.: Ivu. (1/3 nat. size.)

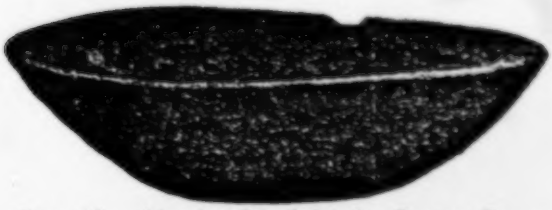


Fig. 49. Wooden bowl (sua). Prov.: Carurutí. (1/3 nat. size.)

Q
C
415
171

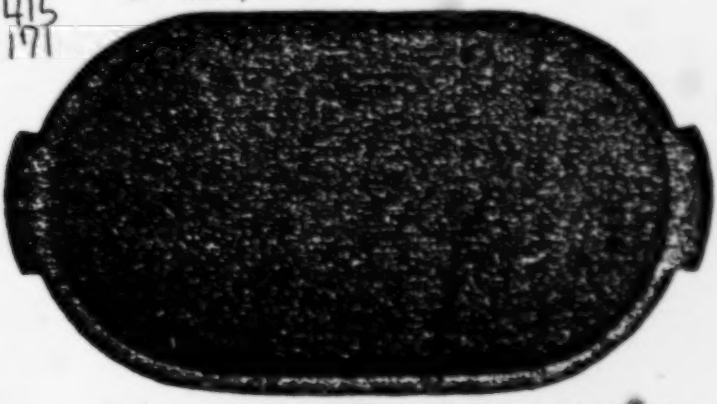


Fig. 50. Wooden basin in use among the Quichua Indians and half-breeds of the department of Tarija (Bolivia) and sometimes also among the Chiriguano.

/378 cont./

412 114 171 178 The specimen I am publishing here was still giving good service to its owner, who gave it to me with regret and only for a large sum of money. The presence of the eared ax among the modern Chiriguano invalidates the allegation of Nordenskiöld (14, p. 120), who places it among the cultural elements which have completely disappeared in South America. It survived [181] thanks to the prodigious conservatism of the Indians. I am convinced that several of the objects whose disappearance is attested to by Nordenskiöld will perhaps be found in some tribe now living, when we have more abundant ethnographic material from South America than we now have at our disposal.

412 171 Another very interesting peculiarity of this ax is the bent shape of the handle, to which the blade is securely fastened with leather thongs. The distribution of the bent-handled ax has been traced by Linné (2, p. 202). Few tribes of South America have continued to use it up to our day. They are: the Colorado of Ecuador, the Tukano /Tucano/, Tariané, and other tribes of the /Plates XXII and XXIII are here/ /378/ Caiary-Uaupés, the Tehueiche, and the modern Quichua /Quechua/. Among the Indians of the Caiary-Uaupés the tool lost all practical value and finally became a simple dance accessory (Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. I, Fig. 225, p. 350). /Fig. 51 appears here./

The bent ax has been found archeologically in Peru (Chuquitanta: Marquez Valley near Lima) and in Casabindo in La Puna de Jujuy (Argentine Republic). The specimens from Peru are designated as being hoes, which is possible. However, I shall call attention to the fact that the Chiriguano specimen from Caipipendí is exclusively a carpenter's instrument, which the Indians use for cutting the pieces of wood from which they make their furniture or weapons. /Fig. 52 appears here./

Figure 51 shows how modern axes of the simple neolithic ax type can be hafted exactly like their stone prototypes. The similarity of this ax to the stone ones used up to today by the Guayaki extends to the somewhat arched shape of the handle and to its slightly swollen upper end (La Hitte, Plate IV, 9).

...iron blade has the form of the T-shaped axes of ancient Peru. Prov.: ...(1/2 nat. size.)

Digitized by Oklahoma State University Library

/379 cont./

412
•191

Still hafted in this way are the stone axes of the Indians of the upper Xingú (Steinen, 2, p. 197) and the Kaingang /Coingang/ of southern Brazil (Nordenskiöld, 15, Fig. 17, p. 38) and the iron cutting tools of the Matako-Vejos (Nordenskiöld, 15, Fig. 70, p. 44) and the Yamana (?) of Tierra del Fuego (id., 14, Fig. 45, p. 87) which replaced the ancient stone celts.

172
412

Plate XXIII /see p. 144/ reproduces a series of stone axes coming from the region of Caipipendí, Ivu, and Ibapeytí. The Caipipendí axes are all provided with a groove. Of the two axes with heels one was found at Ibapeytí and the other at Ivu.

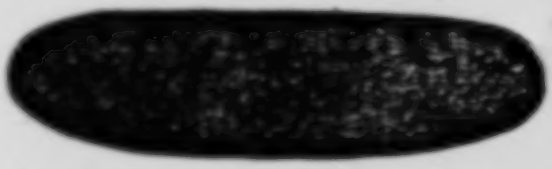


Fig. 50. Stone roller used as a grinder on a flat stone. Archeological piece found at Ivu. (1/4 nat. size.)

Fig. 51. Iron ax of the type called simple neolithic ax, provided with a handle like the ancient stone axes. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/8 nat. size ±.)

/380/

303
415
325

Fig. 53. Mold for making tin labrets (tembetayapua). Prov.: Yumbía. (1/3 nat. size.)

301
303
415
325

Mold for Tembetas

The tembeta, or labrets, of the Chiriguano are of tin. They make them themselves with the aid of the mold pictured here (Fig. 53). It is a calabash into which the fins of the labret have been hollowed out, while the thicker central part of the ornament corresponds to the end of a stick going through the calabash. The cavity produced in the central part of the labret is then filled with wax into which glass or turquoise beads are incrusted. These come from ancient burial-places and are sold to the Chiriguano by the half-breeds of Tarija.

[531]
[439]

Balances

276
177
171

The Chiriguano of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé valley prize coca quite as much as the Quichua of the altiplano. Besides, it is from them that they got this vice. The fact is known and does not need to be demonstrated. This custom

/380 cont./

276 177 171 spread among the Chiriguano recently for it has not yet spread throughout the territory they inhabit. The Chiriguano who live far removed from the half-breed or Indian populations of the Cordillera are not "coqueros," and only rarely does one meet among them some old man who accepts a quid of coca.

276 171 302 114 Ivu is the last point toward the east and north where I could distribute my supply of coca to advantage. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 85-91) sought to demonstrate that the custom of blackening the teeth went along cheek by jowl with that of chewing coca and derived from it. As a matter of fact, this habit has a very marked western distribution and follows the zone of coca cultivation.

276 [824] The Chiriguano mix each quid of coca with the ashes reaped from a tree (ulala) whose scientific name I do not know. These ashes (tanimbo), which corresponds to the llicta of the Quichua, are contained in a small leather bag.

276 439 804 Coca is a luxury commodity which the Quichua Indians or half-breeds come to sell to the Chiriguano. To avoid all argument and all fraud on the part of unscrupulous sellers, the Chiriguano have recourse to balances of their own making. They fabricate them with /381/ two calabashes cut in half to serve as scales (Figs. 54 and 55). The balance with scales was in [177] use in pre-Hispanic times /Fig. 54 appears here/ in the ancient Inca Empire (see Nordenskiöld, 16) and so I believed at first that among the Chiriguano it represented a survival of /Fig. 55 appears here/ the Andean influence, whose importance we shall see further on. Among the Chiriguano, however, this object is designated by the Spanish name /382/ mbalanza, which seems to indicate that they borrowed it from the half-breeds. The latter and the Quichua use them in their commercial transactions, but especially for weighing the precious coca. Perhaps it was the same in prehistoric times. There is nothing to prove that only metals were weighed, as has been supposed with respect to these ancient scales.

804 177 For weights the Chiriguano use old Bolivian silver coins and express measures according to the old Spanish system. By a tacit convention a coin worth two modern sous is the equivalent of one ounce.

C
Ce
/387 cont./
386
323
171
This makes me think that glazing implies a technical process analogous to the one in use on the upper Pilcomayo.

Ce
C.I
323
The Chaco Indians draw crude decorations on their vessels with palo santo resin, which they apply after firing. According to Nordenskiöld (id. supra), the Chané of the Itiyuro probably use the same method to decorate some of their vessels with black designs.

C
323
After being painted, the vessel is put in the shade to dry for several days. It is only when the sides have acquired a certain hardness that the firing process is begun. The vessels are then taken to a spot where there is plenty of dead wood. A large quantity is collected, with which the vessels are covered from bottom to top. Generally, long pieces of bark are selected, which burn brightly.

They set fire to this pyramid of wood and, with a long pole, the /388/ potter watches to see that no brand burns directly against the walls, which would bring on a "shot of fire." When she ascertains that a vessel gives a metallic sound on being touched, she scatters the firebrands with her pole and, by rolling it, makes it go out of the fire.

It may happen that in the course of the firing a vessel may suffer some cracking. This is remedied by taking a little moist earth mixed with dung and applying it on the split while the vase is still hot. The fissure closes, but remains noticeable.

Classification of Chiriguano Pottery

C
415
The figures which illustrate this text, the plates published by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 155-162), and the diagram of Outes (3) give a better idea of the more common forms of this pottery than any description. However, a few remarks are called for.

C
[184]
Vessels with a subglobular belly surmounted by a low, wide neck flaring at the top constitute, without doubt, the most widespread type. (Plates XXXV-LVII.)

O 172 171 415 /399 cont./ It is already evident that the pottery of the Humahuaca region shows identical characteristics from the north of Jujuy to the vicinity of La Quiaca. To me the local variations seem absolutely negligible. Boman (2, Vol. I, p. 77) was already expressing himself in the following manner on the relations between these two regions: "If one wishes to compare the objects dug up in the Humahuaca region with the pre-Hispanic remains of other regions, they would be most like those of the Chichas." At

A [172] [171] OOO

C 172 531 534

Fig. 67. Panpipe made of olive-hued stone, found on the upper Pilcomayo near the Chiriguano village of Ibopeytí at the same time as the vessel on Plate XXV. (1/2 nat. size.)

C 172 171 415 AT Tolomosa in Bolivia, in the department of Tarija, the von Rosen mission (2, Fig. 175, p. 112) found an ornithomorphic dish, an exact replica of the famous puco of this type discovered at La Paya in the Calchaqui Valley.

A O 172 171 18 The Humahuaca-Chicha culture does not form an isolated bloc. It is more or less closely related to those whose remains have been studied in the northwest of Argentina in Diaguite territory, on the Puna de Atacama and de Jujuy, in the Atacama Desert, in the north of Chile and the extreme south of Peru. In the geographic area thus defined, it surely seems as though there was formerly a center of acculturation whose existence was pointed out only a few years ago.

1: Métraux--181 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Atacama SG5
Prehistoric Chile SG3

/404 cont./

concerning the importance and the extent he gives it. To the Chincha-Atacama sphere of influence belongs, precisely, the culture of the Andean Chincha and Humahuaca peoples whom the Chiriguano and their Arawak predecessors had as neighbors for centuries.

2. Analysis of the Influences Exerted on the Fancy Pottery of the Chané and the Chiriguano

The criterion of form. -- The influences which have made themselves felt on Chané and Chiriguano pottery are manifested in both form and decoration. In the pages to follow I propose to note the most striking affinities between Chiriguano and Chané vessels and those of the neighboring regions, and also to determine the importance of Guarani or other survivals which we meet here and there.

1. Vessels with a subglobular belly, short neck, flared lips, flattened base, constitute the most common type of fancy pottery (Plates XXXV-XL, XLVII-LIII, etc.). Pottery of this category lacks well-characterized counterparts in the Andean zone. On the contrary, they resemble the jars for kaśiri still used by the Indians of Guiana and the Amazon (Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 151, p. 227).

One of the yambuí (Plate XLVIII, 3)[1] of this type has as handles on each side of the neck two little miniature vessels of the same form as itself. In what is perhaps only the fancy of a native artist appears nevertheless a concept peculiar to the Andean peoples and one in harmony with their style.

2. The yapepo (Plate XLV, 1 and 2; LIX and LX)[2] are subglobular vessels with a low neck, provided with a handle which extends from the rim to the belly; they can be considered as yambuí in miniature. This category of vessels has its equivalent in several points of the adjoining Andean zone. Thus in Calama (Atacama Desert) and in Cagua (Yura canton, Porco province) pots have been found which seem to be, from the point of view of form, replicas of Chiriguano yapepo. (Créqui de Montfort, Plate VII, Fig. 8, and Plate VIII, Fig. 11.)

[1] [See p. 229--Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 221, 244 and 245 respectively. Analyst]

P.A. /404 cont./

415 172 The cemeteries of the Isla de Tilcara have given numerous specimens of this type (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 98, p. 152; Fig. 101, p. 154; Fig. 104, p. 157; Fig. 106, p. 158; Figs. 109-111, p. 162; Figs. 113-114, pp. 165-166), of which a specimen has also been found in the Alfarcito in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, Fig. 15, p. 29). /Plate XXVII appears here./

C 415 171

/405/ Vessels whose appearance is obviously similar to that of our yapepo were formerly used in Chile (Latcham, Fig. 17, p. 11).

P.A. 415 531 172

C 415 531 178

a b

Fig. 70. The iru (a), drawn from Debenedetti, was found on the Isla de Tilcara. Vessel b is modern. It comes from the Chiriguano village of Yumbía. It attests to the fidelity with which the Chiriguano have kept to our day the ancient types of Andean pottery. (1/6 nat. size.)

C 415 171

3. The large yambuí of Plate LV, 3,[1] is not a common type in South America. Jijon y Caamaño (p. 24, Fig. 15) cites only one specimen, coming from Imbabura in Ecuador, which was known to him outside of Chiriguano country.

4. The two yambuí of Plates XLI, 1,[2] and LV, 1[3] both come from the Ivu mission. Their form is unusual in Chiriguano country, but very interesting by reason of the analogy it offers with that of vessels dug up in Catamarca province in Caspinchango (Debenedetti, 5, Figs. 9 and 10, pp. 23-24) and that of funerary urns from La Rioja discovered and published by Boman (5, Fig. 4b, p. 24).

1 [See P. 237--Analyst]
2,3 [See PP. 217 and 237 respectively--Analyst]

C /405 cont./
415
171
P.A.
[415]
[172]

5. The iru of Fig. 70 b goes back into the class of the vessels known as pseudo-apods, as some Argentinian archeologists call them. As their name indicates, they are closely related, from the morphological point of view, to the vessels known as apods or more simply aryballuses, which constitute in northwestern Argentina so many concrete proofs of Inca influence. Among the Chiriguano and Chané this type of pottery is exceptional, and the specimen of Fig. 70 b is a unique piece whose interest is considerably increased by the extraordinary resemblance it bears to a vessel discovered in the cemeteries of the Isla de Tilcara (Fig. 70 a). These two iru have so many similarities between them that one could easily believe them to have come from the hands of the same artist. In the regions near the habitat of the Chiriguano numerous vessels of this type have been dug up. Odilia Bregante (p. 287) /406/ enumerates for the specimens found in Jujuy province the following localities: Saruga, Taranta, Pucará de Tilcara, Isla de Tilcara, and Cochinoca, for the Puna de Atacama, Antofogasta de la Sierra. In La Paya in Salta province these aryballuses or aryballoid vessels are very numerous, and one of them published by Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 42, p. 62) has on the upper part of the belly a row of triangles with volutes, which we find again on our specimen from the upper Pilcomayo.

Ce
[415]
[171]
P.A
[415]
[172]
C
P.A.
415
171

Vessels of this kind are, as we have said, characteristic of the Inca civilization. Similar jugs already appear in Tacna during the Chincha or Chincha-Atacama period (Uhle, 4, Plate XVII, Fig. 4; Plate XIX, Fig. 1 and 1 a; Plate XX, Figs. 1 and 2). /Fig. 71 appears here./

C
415
171

This type is so little diffused in Chiriguano country that one could not invoke its occasional presence to attest to the strong Inca influence of civilization on these Indians.

C
[177]

6. The miniature vessel of Figure 71 is also a unique piece. If its distribution on the eastern slope of the Andes were not so sporadic, it would constitute an eloquent proof of the persistence of Inca tradition in Chiriguano pottery. Actually, as Linné (1, p. 161) demonstrated with the aid of

C
[177]

C
415
171

/406 cont./

a map, these footed vessels "bakershaped" /quoted in English/ mark out the whole extent of the Inca Empire from Ecuador to Chile and Argentina. This is the first time, however, that their presence has been noted among the Chiriguano and outside the borders proper of the Inca Empire.

C
[177]

7. As Nordenskiöld (10, Fig. 48, p. 162) established, the twinned Chiriguano vessels (Plate XXVII, 3)[1] also denote an Andean influence. As for that, it suffices to compare them with the ones from the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 144, p. 196).

C
415
531

Fig. 71. Miniature footed vessel. Prov.: Cuevo. (2/5 nat. size.)

C
415
171

8. As for the vessels consisting of triple connected bodies (Plate XXVII, 4), Jijon y Caamaño (p. 26) believes them to be of Central American origin. "Their center of dispersion," he says, "must be located in a southern region of Central America, from where, perhaps through the medium of the Arawak, they arrived in the Chaco and Peru." This hypothesis is tempting.

9. The Central American origin of the footed bowl or "compote" (Fig. 72)[2] could not be doubted. Jijon y Caamaño (pp. 31-51), Rivet (2, pp. 8-9), and Linné (2, Map 6, p. 107) have amply demonstrated it. On the subject of one of the varieties of this type, Jijon y Caamaño (p. 34) makes the

C
A
415
171

[1] [See P. 183 -- Analyst]
[2] [See P. 187 -- Analyst]

C A /406 cont./
415 following observation: "The dispersion and evolution of a type
171 of pottery whose /407/ origin must be assigned to the peoples near the Isthmus of Panama can be due only to the Arawak, who spread it among the nations living beyond the Andes, in regions as southerly as the Chaco and the territory of Misiones (1).

1. Ambrosetti (2, p. 714) as a matter of fact represents Kainguá vessels with a circular foot. I doubt very much that these pots reproduce a primitive type. They are badly fired, badly modeled, asymmetric, and the foot, which is fastened to the vessel when the latter is finished, is easily detached from it.

These vessels are perhaps crude imitations of European pottery.

A
171 In South America the Arawak have been the propagators of Central-American culture among the primitive tribes located
C east of the Andes."
A 10. The distribution of vessels with a ribbed belly, of
415 which I acquired a marvelous specimen in the Caipipendí
171 valley (Plate XXVI, 2),[2] is almost the same as that of the
C [126] "compotes," and we can, as with the latter, rank them with the pottery which shows a Central-American origin /Fig. 72 appears here/ and whose dispersion was the work of the Arawak (Jijon y Caamaño, p. 5, Fig. 1 D).

C 11. The vessel of Plate XXVII, 2[2] is composed of two
415 superimposed domes: one in the shape of a truncated cone,
171 the other rounded. It comes from Ivu and is the only specimen
C of this form that I encountered in the course of my trip. An
[172] identical vessel was dug up on the upper Paraná by Ambrosetti (3, plate between pp. 256-257, Fig. 5). Similar receptacles are still in use by the Yuruná /Yuruna/ Indians of the lower
C Xingú (Steinen, 1, plate between pp. 266-267). The presence
G of vessels of this type among the ancient Guarani authorizes us
415 to suppose that our specimen from Ivu represents /408/ the
171 survival of an ancient form of Guarani pottery which the
172 Chiriguano have not abandoned.

[2] [See p. 179--Analyst]
[2] [See p. 183--Analyst]

/408 cont./

000 Chiriguano have not abandoned. It is not out of the question,
CC however, that the Chané did not contribute toward preserving
415 this type,[1] if it was really they who made it known to the popu-
171 lations of tropical America east of the Andes. Jijon y Caamaño
C (pp. 11-13) studied its distribution in the two Americas and
[415] placed its center of diffusion in Central America. In Diaguite
[171]
000

C
415
531

Fig. 72. Footed bowl or "compote." Black and red motifs on cream background. Prov.: Carurutí. (1/3 nat. size.)

C
415
171 In Diaguite country we find pottery of a more or less similar aspect, but
D which must nevertheless be eliminated from this category.
415 It is indeed provided either with a tongue-shaped appendage or
531 with an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figuration (Ambrosetti, 6, pp. 372-380).

[1] [i.e. The type depicted in Plate XXVII, 2, p. 183 -- Analyst]

/408 cont./

415 171 172 12. The ornithomorphic vessel of Figure 73 seems to have come from the hands of the ancient potters of the Isla de Tilcara who, several centuries ago, used to make analogous pieces, without a doubt servilely imitated by the Chané and the ancestors of the Chiriguano (see Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 139-141, p. 191). Boman (2, Vol. II, p. 786, Fig. 193) also publishes a bird-shaped vessel, perhaps of the pavo del monte (Penelope obscura, Vieill.?), found not far from the present-day village of Humahuaca and which, in addition to its general appearance, has in common with our specimen

415 531

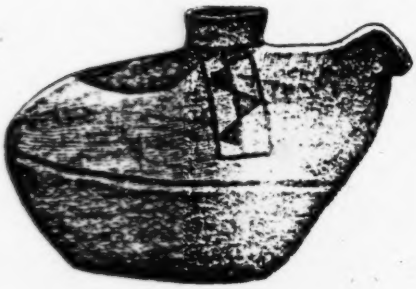


Fig. 73. Ornithomorphic vessel. Chiriguano. Motifs: pink and green. Prov.: Tarairí. (1/3 nat. size.)

415 171 172 from Tarairí designs painted on the sides which represent the wings and tail.

The Chiriguano Indians of the Caipipendí valley and the 415 532 Ivu mission still like to serve chicha in vessels to which they give the appearance of a bull (Plate XXVIII, 7-9).[7] Llama-[273] shaped vessels have been discovered in the Quebrada de [172] Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 27, Fig. 14, and Odilia [171] Bregante, Fig. 132, p. 147). Perhaps these are the prototypes of the present-day Chiriguano specimens. Why suppose that [114] these receptacles had solely ritual usage, as Mr. Debenedetti thinks, when one sees the modern Chiriguano make an entirely secular use of them?

[7] [See p. 190--Analyst]

P.C. Ce 415 171 532

/408 cont./

13. The marvelous vessel of Plate XXVI, 2/1 is entirely of Andean inspiration. The idea of giving the shape of a human head to the neck of the yuro was not foreign to the ancient populations of the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Boman, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 190 and Plate LXXXII, Fig. f; and Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 136, p. 186). Up to the present time this region has not provided any vessel of this type which, by its beauty and the sureness of the modeling, /Plate XXVIII appears here/ /409/ was comparable to our specimen from the Itiyuro. The woman who fashioned it was a worthy artist.

C [415] →

Fig. 74. Vessel painted red. Prov.: Carurutí. (1/4 nat. size.)

P.E Ce 415 171 532

In Ecuador, vessels with a globular belly surmounted by a human head are frequent, but few specimens from this region can compete with this Chané masterpiece.

C 415 171 172

14. The vessels of Figures 74 and 75 and Plate XXVII, 1, 2/1 are characterized by a narrowing which separates them into two superimposed globular bodies of more or less similar diameter. In the valley of the Loa River a vessel of similar type was found which presents the most surprising identity with the one of Figure 74. Montell (1, Fig. 34 e, p. 28), who publishes it, makes the following remarks about it.

[Text Continues on P. 191]

[531] ←

Fig. 75. Vessel decorated with red and black motifs. Prov.: Caipipendí. (2/5 nat. size.)

1/1 [See p. 179-- Analyst]
2/1 [See p. 183--Analyst]

/409 cont./

415 "This particular form is not unique. It is found in the
171 northern cultures of the coast of Peru and its area of dispersion
172 stretches as far as Pachacamac and Ancon, including Lambayeque, Cajamarca, and Trujillo. East of the Andes, this type exists among the Chiriguano, the Ashluslay, and the Lengua. Specimens of it have been dug up by Debenedetti in Tilcara and in the Quebrada de Humahuaca. The find of the Loa River contributes to forming a link of this distribution uniting the /Fig. 75 appears here/ /see p. 189/ eastern zone with that of the Peruvian culture whence this type surely emanates.

Pots of this type show a striking resemblance to the signal trumpets of Guiana. Objects of this kind have been described by many authors and depicted by Gumilla and Roth. If one disregards the mouth and the base, one cannot distinguish these vessels from the terra-cotta trumpets. It is probable that this instrument was discovered independently in Guiana. In any case it is still too early to present theories on the possible connections between the two types, without preliminary research having been done to justify such comparisons."

To the distribution indicated by Montell must be added Molino del Puesto and Caspinchango in Catamarca province (Bruch, 2, Fig. 42, p. 54, and Debenedetti, 5, Fig. 14, p. 27).

415 15. Jugs with a globular belly or one in the shape of a
171 truncated cone, with a short and narrow cylindrical neck from which often begins a small handle attaching at the other end /410/ to the belly of the receptacle (Plate LVI, 1, 2, and 4; Plate LVIII, etc.), make up a very common type in all of the Chiriguano region which is in the hands of the missions. Up to the present the neighboring territories have not produced prehistoric vessels which could have served as models for the Chiriguano or the Chané at the time when Andean influence made itself felt on them. The only jug belonging to this type, outside Chiriguano country, is one found in Chile in Valdivia, which Medina (Fig. 184) reproduces in his great work on the antiquities

[See pp. 238 and 240 respectively-- Analyst]

C /410 cont./
415 of this country (1).
171

P.A. [415]

1. Vessels of this type also show great similarity to the Araucan ones which were discovered in the Argentinian territory of the Neuquén. (San Martin, pp. 10-15, pp. 131 and 132.)

C
415
531

Fig. 76. Cup decorated with black checkerwork on cream background. Prov.: Igüembé Valley. (1/3 nat. size.)

C
415
171

16. The little cup of Figure 76 is the only one of this shape I was able to collect. Like the vessels examined thus far, it constitutes by its aspect and decoration an Andean survival. Many cups have been discovered in northwestern Argentina. Some of these specimens have been found on the Isla de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 149, p. 206) and at Casabindo in the Puna de Jujuy (Lehmann-Nitsche, Pl. IV, 5 D).

P.A. [172] [415]

17. Bowls have such a wide distribution in South America that their presence among the Chiriguano would not by itself be a sufficient argument to demonstrate the Andean origin of their culture. However, among these Indians, the numerous specimens of this category of receptacles found in each village show such similarities with the puco of the adjoining Andean regions that we are obliged to consider them as borrowed forms.

C [177]

C 415 171

/410 cont./

Thus, for example, the puco of Plate XIX, 2 and 4[1] are nearly identical with certain dishes coming from La Poma, Salta province. (Dillenius, Fig. 7, p. 13.)

The Chiriguano puco (Fig. XIX, 3) could easily be mixed with a specimen from La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 185, p. 368), which, like it, has two nipples on each side of the rim.

C [531]

The small bowl of Figure 77 carries on the rim two heads of a mammal stylized to the point that one can identify it as a llama or a puma, as one wishes. The two appendages in relief are perforated to allow a suspension cord to pass through. One would never finish enumerating all the receptacles of the Andean region which are decorated with the same motif. I shall limit myself to citing, in the countries adjoining the habitat of the Chiriguano, /Plate XXIX appears here/ /411/ several analogous finds. Thus, a dish of this type was dug up at Casabindo, on the Puna de Jujuy (Ambrosetti, 4, Fig. 49 b, p. 39, Vol. LIV) and at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 181, p. 364).

P.A. [172] [415]

C 415 531

Several bowls (Plate XXIX, 1 and 6) of my collections are provided /Fig. 77 appears here/ with small nipples on the sides, whose use is, at first sight, enigmatic. As Rosen (2, p. 109, Figs. 167-188) has demonstrated, they are appendages which permit passing a small cord around the dish and hanging it. On some Chiriguano specimens these protuberances are perforated and a string passed through. By this means, /Fig. 78 appears here/ the bowl is suspended from the roof beams. Several from the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 60-63, pp. 111-112) also show these protuberances, whose use must have been the same as among the present-day Chiriguano. These nipples are doubtless handles or ears which, having lost all practical usefulness, were reduced /412/ to the state of simple ornamental motifs and not, as was believed, of still embryonic handles.

P.C. [415]

[1] [See p. 135-- Analyst]

C /412 cont./

415 18. To put an end to these comparisons, I shall call
171 attention to two vessels (Fig. 78 a and b), one acquired in
pp Ivu in the Chaco and the other in Tacna, and dating from the
415 Inca period (Uhle, 4, Plate XXVIII, 2). A simple glance at the two figures permits the establishment of their perfect identity.

C In short, from these comparisons and the ones we made
Ce on the subject of pottery in common use, we can draw the
415 following conclusions: Chiriguano and Chané pottery is, from
171 the morphological point of view, closely related to that of the ancient populations of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina
C and therefore offers numerous points of contact with the
Ce Chincha-Atacama civilizations. It still keeps traces of strong
[179] Inca influences (footed vessel (baker-shaped /in English/), aryballoid jars, ornithomorphic and anthropomorphic vessels, bowls, etc.). The ancient Arawak ethnic substratum is mani-
A fested in this sphere by the survival of several special types of
[415] pottery (vessels in the form of beakers or bowls (compoteras), vessels with a ribbed belly, vessels with three connecting bodies, etc.).

Ce The pottery in everyday use is clearly of Guarani inspira-
G tion and in its general features has remained identical to those
415 of the ancient Guarani of Bolivia.

C
531 Comparative Study of the Principal Decorative
184 Motifs of Chiriguano Pottery and That of the Neighboring Andean Peoples

The triangle with volute. In the region of the upper Pilcomayo the fundamental motif of pottery decoration is the triangle whose apex is prolonged in a volute or spiral (Plates XXXII-XXXIII,[1] 136-199). This decorative element is repeated to repletion on all the vessels I collected from the village of Saladito to the valley of Igüembé. Elsewhere it becomes less frequent and takes on a more rudimentary form, which can be considered as further developed or degenerated.

[1] [See pp 200-201 -- Analyst]

/412 cont./

531 184 Even on the upper Pilcomayo this design occurs in many variations according to the place or the artists: on certain pieces the volute which prolongs the triangle is clearly drawn (Plate XXXV, 1; XXXVII, 2; XXXVIII,[2] 2; etc.); on others it is no more than a hook more or less closed (Plate XXXII, 137-151). This last case is more usual. Finally, the hook itself is drawn with so little care that it is transformed into the simple arc of a circle, then into a straight line prolonging one of the sides of the triangle (Fig. 78 a).

Some vessels, generally outside the upper Pilcomayo region, /Plates XXX-XXXIV appear here/ /413/ present the same motif, but instead of the hook or the spiral the potter has painted a fret element (Plate XLI, 2, and XLIII, 1; LIV, 1 and 4),[2] more or less well executed. Thus one can follow the evolution of the spiral to the fret by going from one point to another of Chiriguano territory.

Most often these triangles with a volute are arranged in two rows and face each other alternately. When such an arrangement occurs, the potter always takes care to draw, along the line forming the volute, a parallel line of a different color, which, after following the inflections of the volute, goes to join that of the facing triangle. The figure (Plate XXXIII,[3] 178-194) thus obtained is a double volute in the form of a couchant S. It is particularly characteristic of the pottery of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé valley. This double volute perhaps can be treated as an independent decorative element, witness the yambui of Plate XXXVI, 2, and LI, 3.

531 Sometimes, but rarely, the triangle with a double volute is replaced by an angle whose sides, by being drawn out, form a continuous line which unites these motifs to each other (Plate XXXVI, 1; XLVII, 3; LIII, 3).[4]

[191] The origin of this motif is lost in the night of time. It appears already very stylized on the vessels of the Tiahuanaco period, coming from Tiahuanaco itself (Posnansky, Plate III, Figs. E and F) and from the Mizque valley (Nordenskiöld, 5, p. 95, Fig. 40).

[1] [See pp 211, 213 and 214 respectively--Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 217, 219 and 233 respectively--Analyst]
[3] [See p 201--Analyst]
[4] [See pp 212, 226 and 232 respectively--Analyst]

A 531 172 C 531 171

/413 cont./

It is also met on most of the vessels from Tacna and Taltal, belonging to the period known as Chincha-Atacama (Uhle, 4, Plate XIX, Figs. 1 and 2; Plate XX, Figs. 1 and 2; Plate XXI, Fig. 2; Plate XXII, Fig. 4; Plate XXIII, Fig. 1; Plate XXIV, Fig. 2; and Guevara, Vol. I, plate between pp. 42 and 43 and between pp. 48 and 49).

These analogies with Chiriguano pottery become still more striking if one considers the details and arrangement of this motif. On a vessel from Tacna (Uhle, 4, Plate XX, 1) the volute takes off from two lines forming an angle, as on the yambuí of Plate XI, 1, published here. On the vessel from Tacna (Uhle, 4, Plate XXI, Fig. 2) the triangles with a volute face one another, and the inflections of the spiral are accompanied by a parallel line in another color. An anthropomorphic vessel found at Tacna (Uhle, 4, Plate XXII, Fig. 1) is also decorated with hooked triangles which face each other alternately.

As for the frets of Uhle's Chincha-Atacama vessel (4, Plate XXII, Fig. 4), they are doubtless volutes which the potter's fancy modified.

One can as well consider as a derivation of the voluted triangle the hooks which, on several Tacna and Taltal vessels and on a Calama calabash, form vertical and horizontal rows (Uhle, 4, Plate XX, Fig. 1; Plate XXI, Fig. 2; Plate XXIII, Fig. 3; XXIV, /414/ Fig. 3, etc.; Guevara, Vol. I, plate between pp. 46-47 and 48-49; and Oyarzun, Fig. 11). With the Chiriguano the voluted triangle underwent an analogous process of simplification, but this evolution took place only in very rare cases and on pieces whose decoration was drawn with a certain negligence (Plate XXXII, $\frac{1}{A}$138-140).

A 531 172

The textile fabrics from Arica discovered by Skottsberg (Figs. 41-42), which are kept today in the Göteborg Museum, exhibit the voluted triangle, among other motifs. Judging by their style, these specimens undoubtedly belong to Uhle's Chincha-Atacama period.

$\frac{1}{A}$ [See p. 200 -- Analyst]

PA 531 114

/415 cont./

On the other hand, the excavations carried out on the Isla de Tilcara have produced only a few specimens of pottery whose ornamentation was curvilinear. Debenedetti (2, p. 88) considers the latter, for reasons which I cannot accept, as foreign to the locality. Nevertheless, he has reproduced in his book the decoration of two dishes which is made up of facing triangles with volutes (Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 53 and 54, pp. 88-89) (Fig. 79); and he notes the same design on two other dishes which he does not reproduce. In the same publication (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 113, p. 165; Fig. 114, p. 166; Fig. 115, p. 166) are represented three vessels similar to the Chiriguano yapepo and also decorated with hooked triangles.

C 415 531 191

/416/ The most interesting piece in this respect is the

C 415 191 531

PA 415 531

Fig. 79. a, bowl from the Isla de Tilcara, whose rim is decorated with facing voluted triangles; b, border of a dish decorated with voluted triangles (Isla Tilcara) (from Debenedetti).

C 415 191 531

yuro of Figure 70 b, reproduced from a drawing given by Debenedetti (2, Fig. 124, p. 173). We have already seen that its form is identical with that of a Chiriguano yu I bought on the upper Pilcomayo. The same is true for the general elements of its decoration.

PA 531

The voluted triangle is found on three other pieces from the Isla de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 160, p. 217; Figs. 161 and 163, p. 217), which Debenedetti (2, p. 219) classes among the pottery imported to the Isla de Tilcara and utilized by curacas /chiefs/. Our yambuí from the upper Pilcomayo, which from the artistic point of view are very superior to the specimens described by Debenedetti, have often been bought

C 415 531 191 126

C /416 cont./
53] by me in humble cabins whose owners were certainly not
415 cuneca, but poor devils who had the luck to have a mother
19] or grandmother who was an expert potter. If the criterion of
[146] Mr. Debenedetti were admissible, the crude pottery and the
[114] fancy vessels which can be bought in every Chané or
C Chiriguano village would be products of two different civilizat-
415 ions. In reality the fancy pottery is used on feast days for drinking chicha; and the other, more humble in appearance, is adapted to daily needs.

PA
415
531

Fig. 81. Dish from Tilcara and decorated with red veluted triangles on a white background. (1/6 nat. size [illegible].)

PA
531
[114]

Besides, the veluted triangle is more frequent on the side of Tilcara than Debenedetti wishes us to think. In addition to the examples cited, seven others must be added (Debenedetti, [illegible], Fig. 54, p. 59; Fig. 38, p. 62; Fig. 40, p. 70; Fig. 46, p. 80; Fig. 165, p. 219; Fig. 165, pp. 219-220). A vessel from Allaricito in the same Quebrada bears a triangle with volute on the inside rim of the neck (Debenedetti, [illegible], Fig. 15, p. 29).

1: Métraux--223 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Diaguita S66
Prehistoric Argentina S13

D 531 198

/419 cont./

hook (1). I strongly doubt that the triangle with volute and the

1. See, for example, Bruch (2, Fig. 32, p. 37; Fig. 66, p. 71; Fig. 70, p. 74; Fig. 85, p. 85; Fig. 90, p. 89; Fig. 130, p. 152) and Lafone Quevedo (2, Fig. 68, p. 384).

triangle with fret have a separate origin. The second doubtless derives from the first.

PA 531

At Tinti on the Salta plain the motif Odilia Bregante speaks of is a triangle one of whose sides is stepped and which terminates in a fret which in turn interlaces with the one taking off from the following triangle (see Boman, 3, Plate XIV, Fig. b). I cannot understand what arguments Odilia Bregante relies on in order to assert that no vestige of Diaguite culture exists in this place. The contrary seems to be true.

D [531] [114]

C PA 531 191

To sum up, the triangle with volute has a nearly uninterrupted distribution from the north coast of Peru to San Juan province in Argentina, and as far as central Chile. To the east it extends as far as the Pilcomayo and the Quebrada de Humahuaca.

The importance of this decoration increases in proportion as one moves from south to north. In Calchaqui country it is of secondary importance and constitutes an accessory motif; at La Paya it gains in preponderance and this asserts itself in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and on the Pacific Coast. In Chiriguano territory on the upper Pilcomayo it triumphs.

C 531

By itself this motif would constitute a meager proof of the existence of related cultures over the whole extent of this geographical area: but combined with other elements it acquires a very special significance.

C 531 191

The triangle with volute seems to have developed independently in the Guianas. At least I doubt very much that its occurence in that region is due to a western influence. The motif adorns manioc graters coming from the Patamona tribe (Nordenskiöld, 14, Fig. 19 c, p. 53) and several Wapiana /Wapishana/ and Taulipang calabashes (Koch-Grünberg, 3, Vol. III, Plate XIX, Figs. 1-3).

C /419 cont./

531 171

The S-shaped double volute (Plates XXXII-XXXIII,[1] 163-164, 167-197). I have already had occasion to insist on the fact that the S-shaped double volute was a motif closely associated with the voluted triangle. In certain cases, and, moreover, rare ones, this decorative element appears detached (see Plate XXVI, 2).[2]

P.P. [531]

The double volute has been painted on several vessels from Tacna (Uhle, 4, Plate XXIII, Fig. 1; Plate XXIV, Figs. 2 and 3; and Guevara, plate between pp. 46-47). There it is once even framed by a line which follows its contour exactly as on some Chiriguano vessels (Plate XXXII, 162-163).

PB 531

On vessels found at Calama and doubtless coming from Cagua (Yura, Porco province, Bolivia) and even in the region of Cagua /420/ (Créqui de Monfort, Plate VII, Fig. 8, and Plate VIII, Fig. 11) an S-shaped decoration is seen which could be brought nearer to our double volute if its style were different. The ends of the curve are slightly pointed, and a dot is inscribed in each hook.

PC. 531

Chilean potters have sometimes made use of the double volute to decorate their vessels, but a limited use (Latcham, Fig. 38, p. 16; Fig. 58, p. 25; Fig. 59, p. 26). This motif is also carved in a block /Fig. 81 appears here/ of stone from the Chilean province of Antofagasta, between Santa Fe del Toro and Quillagua (Plagemann, Plate III). In the Quebrada de Humahuaca the double volute embellishes the outside surface of the yuro from the Isla de Tilcara reproduced by Debenedetti (2, Fig. 124, p. 175).

PC [324]

PA 531

At La Paya the motif is represented on the bottom of two ornithomorphic puco (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 131, and Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XV, Fig. 29).

D 531 [415] [764]

A design in the shape of an S, but made up of a more or less wide band adorns the base or the belly of a large number of funerary urns of the Diaguite region and the bowls which closed them. This decoration /Plates XLVII-LIV appear here/ /see pp. 226-233/ /421/ is not to be confused with the one which has occupied us up to now because it is nothing but a

[1] [See pp. 200-201--Analyst]
[2] [See p. 179--Analyst]

C /421 cont./

531 171 The spiral as an independent decorative element has a much less wide distribution than when it is combined with the triangle it surmounts. In the geographical area which interests us it is known only on some pieces from the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 41 and 42, pp. 72-73; Bregante, Figs. 176 and 179, pp. 170-171), on a calabash from Calama (Oyarzun, Fig. 10), from the Puna de Jujuy and from the valley of Yocavil (Ambrosetti, 4, Fig. 70, p. 68, and Fig. 69, p. 72, Vol. LIV), on a puco from Pabellon in the Santa Maria valley, Catamarca province (Outes, 1, p. 19, Fig. 13).

C 531 Angles, triangles, and zigzag lines (Plate XXX, 1-46, Plate XXXI, Figs. 71-108, 127). Nearly all the yambuí and yapepo which form my collections are decorated on the interior rim, at the base of the neck, or on the upper part of the belly with interlaced angles, with series of triangles painted on the surface, which form denticulate bands. This decorative theme, simple and a bit monotonous, varies from one specimen to the other, according to whether the field of the triangles is sprinkled or surrounded with dots, whether the apexes are joined by angles or arcs of a circle, or, finally, whether or not these triangles are bordered by a broken line which they face.

C [184] Triangles and zigzag lines only rarely constitute the fundamental decoration of vessels. On the upper Pilcomayo, the yambuí of Plate LIII, 4, is the only one exclusively decorated with triangular dots and parallel zigzag lines. Some pieces from Ivu and Caipipendí are characterized by the same simplicity.

C 531 171 A 531 172 At Tacna and Taltal the series of triangular dots constituted a motif particularly dear to the populations of the Chincha-Atacama period (Uhle, 4, Plate XVII, Fig. 4; Plate XVIII, Figs. 1, 2, and 4; Plate XIX; Fig. 1 a; Plate XXII, Fig. 4; Plate XXIII, Figs. 3 and 4 and Figs. 21 and 22, pp. 40-41).

Prehistoric Chile SG3
Prehistoric Argentina SI3
Bolivian Prehistory SF4
Atacama SG5

C 531 171 /421 cont./

In Chile, on the pieces influenced by Chincha art, there is the same abundance (Latcham, Fig. 28, p. 14; Fig. 53, p. 21; Fig. 59, p. 26; Medina, Fig. 206).

PC 531

PA 531 171 /422/ In the whole northwest of Argentina, borders composed of triangles painted, striped, or reticulated are extremely frequent and do not form a type characterized clearly enough for anyone to try to give the distribution in detail. The latter extends from the Quebrada de Humahuaca to the Yocavil valley (Bregante, p. 182).

C P.A. B.P. 531 171 One of the varieties of this motif, however, is worth examining closely, for it permits establishing a striking parallel between present-day Chiriguano pottery and that of northwestern Argentina and southern Bolivia. It consists of a denticulate band or series of triangular dots and one or several zigzag lines which run parallel to these triangles. This decoration figures in my collections on the specimens of Plate XLI, 1, and Plate LX, 4. The archeological replica of this ornamentation is furnished by a vessel from Tolomosa (Tarija department, Bolivia), from Pabellon (Santa Maria, Catamarca), from Chañar Yaco (Catamarca) (see Rosen, 2, Fig. 166, p. 109; Outes, 2, p. 11, Fig. 8; Lafone Quevedo, 1, Fig. 5 e and f; Huaca E., p. 42). The excavations of the Messrs. Wagner at Llacta Maucta (Santiago del Estero province) yielded fragments of a dish whose patterns belong in this category.

A 531 172 The triangles which stand out against a background sprinkled with dots (Plate XLVIII, 1) and which form a band on the yambuí of Plate XXXV, 2, have their prehistoric equivalent at Taltal on a vessel of the Chincha-Atacama period (Uhle, 4, Fig. 21, p. 40).

PA 531 171 Series of triangles arranged horizontally are very often associated with the decoration of apodal or aryballoid vessels, which have been discovered in northwestern Argentina in such large numbers (see, for example, Boman, 2, Vol. I, p. 297) and, in general, over the whole extent of the Inca Empire.

/422 cont./

531
171

Festooned bands (Plates XXXI-XXXII,[1] 129-131). The series of triangles with which we have been occupied are often replaced by festooned bands (see, for example, Plate XLIX, 3; L, 1; and LIII, 3).[2] The transition from one of these motifs to the other is, so to speak, imperceptible; it is sufficient for the triangles to be slightly rounded for them to take on the appearance of a band of festoons. In northwestern Argentina the same transformation has taken place several times. A good example of it is the vessels from the Jachal (Bregante, pp. 179-181).

Isosceles triangles joined at the apex (Plate XXXI, 116-122). Two isosceles triangles joined at the apex form a design schematically representing an hourglass. This motif is rather common on Chiriguano pottery. In neighboring regions it is less frequent and seems to be peculiar to the pottery of Inca origin. Nordenskiöld (14, Fig. 69 a, p. 157) has already pointed out the close resemblance of this figure as it appears on several Chiriguano vessels with the one which decorates the ornithomorphic dishes /Plates LV-LVIII appear here/ /423/ of Cuzco. The analogy extends to the perpendicular lines which separate each one of the facing triangles from the following ones. This decoration is typically Inca. The ancestors of the Chiriguano copied this motif on several Inca specimens exactly like the ancient inhabitants of Tilcara, La Paya, and Catamarca who drew them: some, on a vessel with a lateral handle (Bregante, Fig. 320, p. 268), others, on a cup (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XII, Fig. 26, and Plate XIV, Fig. f), and the last on an apodal vessel (Outes, 2, Plate III, Fig. 5). Outside of the "aryballuses," or purely Peruvian type vessels, the "hourglass" is a motif of rather rare use. It was painted on a vessel from Fuerte Quemado published by Ameghino (Vol. I, Plate X, Fig. 333) and on a vessel from Punta de Balasto (Lafone Quevedo, 2, Plate VII, Fig. a). Other examples could be cited, but I have neither the intention nor the means of being complete.

1/n [See pp. 199-200--Analyst]
2/n [See pp. 228, 229 and 232 respectively--Analyst]

C /423 cont./
531
191

This decorative element is no stranger to Chilean pottery either (Latcham, Fig. 42, p. 18, and Fig. 45, p. 19; Medina, Figs. 180, 202, 206, etc.). It figures also on the base of an Araucan vessel found in the territory of the Neuquen (San Martin, Plate 15, Fig. III).

Tooth-shaped triangular designs enclosing diamond shapes between them have been pyrographed on a calabash from Calama whose ornamentation matches that of our Chiriguano vessels.

Concentric diamond shapes (Plate XXX, 52-56). The series of concentric diamond shapes drawn on a goodly number of vessels in my collections had already been painted on the pottery of the Chincha-Atacama period at Tacna and Taltal (Uhle, 4, Plate XX, Fig. 2; Plate XXI, Fig. 2; and Guevara, plate between pp. 42-43) and pyrographed on the Calama calabashes (Oyarzun, Fig. 6).

P.A.
[531]

This design is classic, so to speak, on the aryballuses from Argentina (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XVIII, Fig. 43, and Outes, 2, Plate III, Fig. 2).

PA
531

Reticulated design (Plate XXX, 59-64). Several vessels in my collection have a reticulated band on the belly or neck. On the vessel of Plate LIV, 2, the triangles have this detail. On the subject of this motif, Odilia Bregante (p. 162) expresses herself as follows: "Reticulated decoration is found in the middle of the Yocavil valley beside pieces which bear the symbol of the triangle with spiral and the stepped element and even in modern cemeteries like that of Chañar Yaco (see, for example, Lafone Quevedo, 1, Plate VII, Fig. a). But it is in the northern regions, in Salta and Jujuy, that the greatest number of specimens of this reticulation are found and where it enters into the composition of characteristic embellishments. On the Isla de Tilcara, in the Pucará de Tilcara, and in other localities, the archeological material which includes this design forms the most interesting type of pottery and is abundant enough to be classified."

PA. /423 cont./

531 Some vessels from the Isla de Tilcara and the Pucará de
C Tilcara, /424/ as a matter of fact, have a reticulated band on the
531 rim, like our Chiriguano vessels. (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 45, p. 79,
171 and Bregante, Fig. 164, p. 166.)

PC In Chile we encounter bands, triangles, diamond shapes,
531 reticulated rectangles, and there again the unity of these different cultures in whatever has to do with pottery asserts itself. (Latcham, Figs. 25-28, p. 14, and Bregante, Figs. 232, p. 192.)

PA.
C
531
171
415

a b

Fig. 82. Vessel b comes from the Chiriguano village of Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). It offers an extraordinary resemblance to vessel a from Tilcara. (1/2 nat. size.)

000 Figs. 25-28, p. 14, and Bregante, Fig. 232, p. 192.)

C Checkerwork (Fig. 76). A cup I acquired in the Igüembé val-
531 ley is decorated in a brown and white checkered design. This is the
171 only example I know in Chiriguano country. In northwestern
PA Argentina this motif has a very wide distribution: it extends from the
[531] Quebrada de Humahuaca to San Juan province (Bregante, p. 196).
[171] It was common in Chile (Latcham, Fig. 7, p. 7; Fig. 41, p. 18;
PC Fig. 55, p. 22, etc.). In the post-Columbian period it was still
[531] in use among the Araucan of southern Mendoza (Métraux, 6, Fig. 12, p. 50).

Atacama SG5
Prehistoric Argentina SI3
Chané SF8
Diaguita SG6

/424 cont./

C Ce 531 171 Crenels, broken lines, Z-shaped lines (Plate XXXII, 154-155 and XXXIII, 200-206). While trying to define in the preceding pages the decorative style characteristic of the Chané of the Itiyuro and the Chiriguano of the region of the Franciscan missions, I mentioned single or multiple lines which, running around the belly of the vessel, form triangles, crenels, and Z's with elongated or linked strokes. At first sight these apparently capricious motifs seem to escape all comparison and one would almost be tempted to believe them autochthonous or constituting reminiscences of Guianan art. Nevertheless, their counterpart is found in the archeology of northwestern Argentina and, as expected, in that of the Quebrada de Humahuaca. P.A. [531]

C Ce 531 171 P.A. 531 Ce PA [114] Debenedetti (2, Fig. 75, p. 132, and Fig. 78, p. 135) reproduces a goblet found on the Isla de Tilcara, which has on its lower part a band /Plates LIX and LX appear here/ /425/ composed of three parallel lines broken at right angles. Mr. Debenedetti rightly compares this decoration with that of Chané vessels, of which he shows an example he attributes erroneously to the Choroti. The same remark may be made about some engraved vessels from the Arroyo del Medio, which in some respects are similar to our Chiriguano vessels (Boman, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 207, III, p. 843).

C 171 531 D [531] PA [531] Much more striking yet is the resemblance between the Chiriguano yambui of this type and two vessels from the Diaguite region, one found at Molino del Puesto (Fuerte Quemado, Catamarca), and the other at Hualfin (Catamarca), both of which have been published by Bruch (2, p. 87, Fig. 88, and id., 2, Fig. 11, p. 8, and Fig. 27, p. 13). A puco from Llacta Mauca, province of Santiago del Estero, offers a similar design, to judge from a sketch by Mr. Duncan Wagner. There can be no doubt as to the Andean origin of this type of decoration.

A [531] [172] Z-shaped motifs stand out again on a vessel from Tacna of the Chincha-Atacama period (Uhle, 4, Plate XXI, Fig. 1) and from San Felipe, Chile (Medina, Fig. 68).

C /425 cont./
531
171

The large triangles which run around the belly of the îru and yambuí from the mission region strongly resemble an analogous motif which covers the outside surface of vessels made by the Neuquen Araucan (San Martin, Plate XV, Fig. 3).

Eyebrow-shaped design (Plate XLIX, 4).[1] A vessel from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) has as its only decorative motif a strange decoration in the shape of a stylized eyebrow which stands out in white against a red background and is situated on the neck. This design is made up of two parallel lines separated by dots. In the presence of this curious motif one cannot help thinking immediately of the human faces painted on the funerary urns of the Diaguite region. The facial organs are overhung by a gigantic superciliary arch which, starting from the tip of the nose, descends to the height of the ears. The manner in which this part of the head is drawn recalls strongly the figure we are concerned with here.

D [415] [531] [764]

Cross. The vessel of Plate LX, 2, is decorated on the belly with a series of crosses inscribed in diamonds. This sign constitutes a decorative motif of which the present-day Chiriguano make exceptional use. Like the majority of the motifs painted on their vases, this one has no particular significance. A calabash from the same region is also decorated with pyrographed Maltese crosses (see Plate LXI, 1 /see p. 252 /). We know the frequency of this ornamentation, symbolic or not, on the funerary urns of the Diaguite country, principally of the Santa Maria region (Catamarca), a frequency such that it warranted a book by Quiroga, some of the illustrations of which are interesting.

D [415] [531] [764]

The cross appears also on a Taltal vessel of the Chincha-Atacama period (Guevara, plate between pp. 46-47 and 50-51), on a calabash from Calama /426/ (Oyarzun, Fig. 10), on another from the Puna de Jujuy (Ambrosetti, 4, Fig. 70, p. 68, Vol. LIV), *and on a box from Morhuasi (Boman, 2, Fig. 75, Plate XXVII)*, etc.

Representation of the human face. The human face is not reproduced on any of the vessels I collected. Nordenskiöld (10, Fig. 28, p. 137) shows and describes a pot on whose rim a face was represented: the nose was in relief and the other organs painted on it. The similarity of this motif and the one decorating some pieces from the Andean region does not need to be emphasized.

C [532]

[1] [See p. 228--Analyst]

/426 cont./

531 171 Sign of unknown significance. On the Macharetí yambui (Plate LII, 2) was painted a crescent-shaped sign having in its concave part two dashes perhaps representing feet. The subject is doubtless a stylized bird, a presumption all the more plausible because another vessel from the same locality and made by the same hand is decorated with animal figures (dogs and toads) (Plate LII, 1).

This mysterious sign is very similar to the one found on a puco from Tolomosa in the Tarija department (Rosen, 2, Fig. 175, p. 112) and on some dishes from La Paya. These designs are also more or less stylized pictures of a bird. (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate X, Fig. 22, and Ambrosetti, 6, Figs. 35-40, pp. 56-61.)

Zoomorphic representations. Animal figures are rare in Chiriguano pottery, but their occurrence only brings out the better the similarities of this art to that of the neighboring Andean regions. The rows of yaku (pavo del monte) on the yambuí from the Aguaray are the counterpart of the nandus on the Diaguite funerary urns and the La Paya birds. The dog on the vessel in the plate appears nearly identical with the bottom of a puco from Molino del Puesto, Catamarca. (Bruch, 2, Fig. 70, p. 72.)

531 171 105 The comparisons we have made could doubtless be extended and many another relationship noted between the modern pottery of the Chiriguano and that of the populations which have today disappeared from the Bolivian altiplano and northwestern Argentina. To continue such an investigation would be superfluous, for there is no one acquainted with the art which formerly flourished in the Andean and Chiriguano regions who would hesitate to establish a relationship between the two and would not have the second derive from the first.

As one might logically expect, these similarities become more numerous and more striking in proportion as one leaves the south and advances toward the north into the Andean zone which runs parallel to the habitat of the Chiriguano and Chané. When eastern [192] Bolivia is methodically explored, models of the vessels which the ancestors of the Chiriguano admired and copied will be found.

[See p. 231 -- Analyst]

C /426 cont./
531 Lacking them, the study we have pursued brings us the estab-
171 lishment of a very important fact. The existence on the upper
172 Pilcomayo of a pottery /427/ closely related to that of the
105

Ce
531
415

Fig. 83. Chané vessel. Prov.: Tuyuntí (Aguaray, Salta Chaco). On the belly: series of yakú (pavo del monte) in blackish brown on white background. (1/3 nat. size.)

C
531 Quebrada de Humahuaca is an indication which proves in a sure
171 way that the art of the former inhabitants of these regions was
172 identical to that of their neighbors, and perhaps racial brothers,
105 of the Bolivian altiplano.

Apropos of the Chiriguano, I believe it is wrong to speak of
S
121 Andean or Inca culture. The first of these terms is too vague and
531 the second partially false. In this chapter I have tried to demon-
171 strate that Chiriguano pottery exhibits close affinities with that
105 of the civilizations which, by their numerous points of similarity, seem to have undergone a Chincha or Atacama influence and which preceded Inca Culture.

/427 cont./

which preceded Inca culture. If one compares the present-day pottery of the Chiriguano with that of the Quicha /Quechua/ of Cuzco, certain analogies will appear, but they will be neither abundant nor conclusive enough to establish a direct filiation. Aryballuses are missing or rare, ornithomorphic dishes seldom found, etc.; on the contrary, we have seen how multiple and close the ties are between this pottery and that of the Chincha-Atacama period. Chiriguano pottery, in relation to that of Cuzco, is in a situation analogous to that of northwestern Argentina: on an Andean but original base, influences from Cuzco have been superposed. This Inca action on the Chicha is attested to even today by /428/ the presence among the Chiriguano of footed vessels of the purest Inca type and apodal ones of the same origin. Arising from the same influence, one may add certain decorative motifs, with which I have already dealt.

Arawak and Amazonian tradition is scarcely represented, except by footed bowls (compoteras), vessels with a ribbed belly, those with a body in the shape of a truncated cone and a subspherical belly, and perhaps by some motifs (T-shaped figures, Plate XXXVIII, 1).

The conclusion of this chapter will be: there exists today and for some years to come a civilization which, closely related to that of the Chicha, continues an art earlier than that of the Inca but influenced by them. May this fact make archeologists cautious!

Chapter VII

Calabashes

The second art in which the Chiriguano excel is pyrography and engraving on calabashes. When pottery-making was an essentially feminine activity, pyrography was the province of the men. Nordenskiöld (9, pp. 233-236) thinks, completely wrongly it seems to me, that pyrography is of Andean origin. He advances in support of this opinion the advantages that knowledge of metal offers to this art. Nevertheless, the populations of the

Guiana SR1
Guato SP15

C
Ga
GO
531
171

/428 cont./ Nevertheless, the populations of the upper Xingú where Andean influence certainly was never felt have pyrographed calabashes, as do the Guató /Guato/ of the upper Paraguay. Pyrography is equally in use among the Indians of Guiana, on whom any influence by Inca civilization is very problematical. The distribution of pyrography in itself demonstrates that there is no need at all of possessing metal objects in order to practice this technique.

C
531
171

If one compares the motifs which decorate the calabashes I collected in the Chaco with those exhibited by the pyrographed calabashes found in northwestern Argentina, one is struck by the similarity of their style and the numerous analogies of detail they have in common. Thus, the Maltese cross which decorates a calabash from Jujuy (Ambrosetti, 4, p. 68, Fig. 70, Vol. LIV) is found again identically on the calabashes of Plates LXI, 1; LXII, 1; and the volutes of a maté from Tastil (Boman, 2, Vol. 1, Fig. 84 a) have their counterpart in the hooks incised on the specimen of Plate LXI, 2. On the fragment of a calabash discovered in the same region (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XXXII, Fig. 84) and on another specimen from La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 288, p. 524), we have the prototype of the checkerwork which so often embellishes /Plates LXI-LXXI appear here/ /429/ Chiriguano calabashes (Plate LXI, 1 a, and Plate LXIV, 2). The reticulated bands which frame the decoration of one of the Calama calabashes (Boman, 2, Vol. II, Plate LXXV, Fig. 176 b) are frequently incised on those of the Chiriguano (Plate LXVI, 1 and 4; Plate LXIX, 3, etc., for example), just like the rows of triangles on a blackened field which appear on some calabashes from the Puna de Jujuy (Ambrosetti, 4, Figs. 61-63, pp. 65-66; Figs. 70-71, pp. 58-69, Vol. LIV) and on the fragment from La Paya already mentioned. The zigzag line which stands out in white on the reticulated background of one of the Calama calabashes

[Text continues on p. 265]

C 531 171 /429 cont./
(Boman, 2, Vol. II, Plate LXXV, Fig. 186 c) reappears nearly identical on the pretty calabash of Plate LXII, 2.

C D 531 171 I can give no better argument in favor of the close analogy between the calabashes of the Andean region and those of the modern Chiriguano than by publishing the calabash of Plate LXII, 3 a and b, found in Diaguite territory in Catamarca province ("La Quebrada," Valle del Cajón). Its decoration is composed of incised and finely reticulated bands on a blackened background. The hooks which leave from the circle

Fig. 84. Incised and pyrographed calabash. Prov.: Caratindi (Igüembé Valley). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

engraved on the top of the calabash and the sides of the latter strangely recall analogous motifs we have seen on Chiriguano specimens.

C 531 171 The spiral, which seems to have been a motif especially dear to the pyrographers of northwestern Argentina and the Atacama Desert, does not occur on any of the specimens in my collections, if one does not want to consider as rudiments of spirals or as degenerated spirals the hooks we see on some Chiriguano calabashes (Plate LXI, 2). It is interesting to ascertain that the spiral and the voluted triangle of Andean calabashes are typologically closely related to analogous motifs which the Chiriguano women of the upper Pilcomayo paint on their vessels. If these designs have been better preserved in pottery than in pyrography, it is doubtless due to the fact that the first art has remained closer to its origins. The women, who have the monopoly of it, are more conservative than the men, who decorate the calabashes.

C [323] [462]

/429 cont./

531 On almost all the calabashes in my collection, pyrographed
171 designs alternate with incised motifs. Perhaps it is the same with the calabashes of the Andean region. Judging from the ex-
[114] cellent photographs which Boman (2, Vol. II, Plate LXXVI) gives us of them, and from /430/ the specimen from the Calchaqui valley which I am publishing here, this scholar erroneously considers them as having been entirely pyrographed. When a Chiriguano incises a design with a knife on a calabash, he is always careful to fill the engraved lines with ashes to make them stand out. At first sight this process may be confused with true pyrography.

415
531

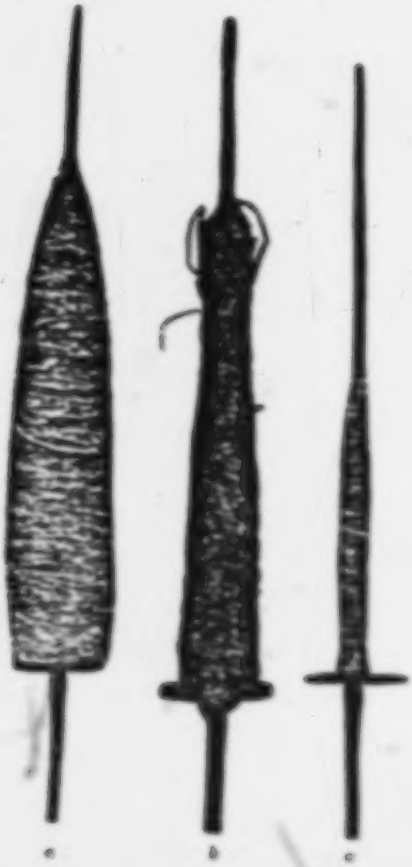
a b

Fig. 85. a and b. Engraved calabash. Only the rim has been lightly pyrographed. On one side (a) is seen a feline animal (jaguar or puma), on the other (b) a fox (?) and a bird. Prov.: Masaví (Igüembé Valley). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

531 A single glance at Plates LXI-LXXI allows one to realize that pyrography and engraving on calabashes do not obey such rigid stylistic rules as pottery. These calabashes differ very much, and there are scarcely any motifs that seem to be preferred to others. To what is this diversity due? I believe it artificial; and I am convinced that formerly this art followed precise norms, in a word, that in times past there was a true style of pyrography and engraving on wood. How would one explain otherwise that precisely the most beautiful pieces in my collection are at the same time the oldest and the most similar to the Andean prototypes (Plate LXI, 1 and 2; LXII, 1 and 2; LXIV, 2; LXVIII, 2 and 3, etc.)? Let us not forget that

/434 cont./

283
413



[191]
[184]

Fig. 89. a, b, c. Chiriguano spindles of the bakàiri /Bacairi/ type. Prov.: a, Tasiti; b, Tintapaw; c, Tasiti (upper Pilcomayo). These spindles are provided with a groove in the upper part which allows the thread to be fastened. The whorls of a and b are of terra cotta, that of c of wood. (1/4 nat. size.)

A34 cont./

286 The Chiriguano have their loom in common with many tribes
[197] of tropical America, and they doubtless were already acquainted with it in Paraguay, at least in a more rudimentary form. In some Chiriguano villages looms of the Inca or Quichua /Quechua/ type, that is to say, horizontal ones, can be seen. The warp is then fastened to a small cord along a piece of wood and the cloth is rolled around as it is produced.

286 Headbands and belts are woven with looms of a type similar
[294] to the one just described. The warp threads are fastened to a loop of cotton attached to a hut post. As the fabric is made it is rolled around two small sticks or two ears of corn attached to the lower end of the warp (for this type of loom, see Nordenskiöld, 10, Fig. 4, p. 175).

29 I am reproducing in Fig. 95 a tsimbi headband. These orna-
30 ments have now become very rare, and only a few old men still wear them. Our specimen is dyed with natural colors.

29 Every Indian woman who lives outside the influence of the
[198] missions still wears the tipoy, that is a kind of long sheath which they fasten on the shoulder nowadays with a safety pin and formerly
[286] /Plate LXXII appears here/ /436/ with a thorn. In olden times these tipoy were woven by the Indian women on looms of the Arawak type. They were of cotton and dyed blue-black. /Fig.
[439] 90 appears here./ Today it is almost impossible to find a woman whose tipoy is not made of chamalote, a kind of cheap cotton cloth which the Syrians and half-breeds sell at a high price to our Indians. In the Caipipendí valley /Fig. 91 appears here/ I met two old women who still kept the tipoy of olden times. They would not
[126] give it up to me for any price. At Caruruti, an old fellow desirous of striking a good bargain sold me his wife's at a very /436/ high price in order to buy brandy for himself. It was very necessary to celebrate Easter fittingly.

[198] The shirts (tiro-bumbae) which the men formerly sported exist no more except in the memory of the old men.
[See p. 198--Analysis]

Tupi-Guarani SL6
Tupinamba SO9
Guarani SM4
Chane SF8

/436 cont./

000 animals or human beings. There is nothing like that among the
C Chiriguano. The simplicity /437/ of their fabrics forms a striking
286 contrast with the richness and variety of the decoration of their
53 pottery. Their inferiority in this respect is far from corresponding
171 to the skillfulness which is their wont in all their activities. It is
C enough to see the admirable pieces of work executed by little
286 Chiriguano girls in the missions to realize what they would have
174 been capable of if historic traditions had not held them away
857 from this art. Their distant Tupi-Guarani ancestors were
T-G acquainted with only rudimentary forms of weaving, and it can
286 be asserted that /Fig. 95 appears here/ this industry remained
174 foreign to all the Tupi tribes which did not undergo the influence
T of a nation more civilized than they. The Tupinamba of the
286 Brazilian coast apparently practiced only the double-thread
174 technique (Doppelfadentechnick) by means of which they used
G to make their hammocks. The ancient chroniclers note the use
286 of the tipoy among the ancient Guarani of Paraguay, which is an
[175] indication of the existence of weaving among that subdivision
[291] of the Tupi family. Their present-day descendants, the Kaingua
/Caingua/, could pass for good weavers to judge by the fineness
G of the several fabrics which have been collected among them.
[291] These are for the most part wide belts which they pass between
their legs and knot around their loins. In reality, weaving is in
its beginnings among them, /438/ as is shown by their loom. It
is only a simple frame around which the warp threads are coiled.
The woof is passed through, thread after thread, as in darning.

Ee No doubt it was the Chané who taught the Chiriguano to weave,
286 and as they had probably not reached a /Fig. 96 appears here/
177 very high level in this art, they could only transmit to their
successors and suzerains, the Chiriguan, a still little-developed
technique, which the latter have scarcely improved on.

/438 cont./

323 The contrast between a highly evolved pottery and a still
287 rudimentary art of weaving is characteristic of the Indians
286 of the tropical and subtropical regions of South America, at
1971 least for those who can pass for being relatively civilized,
such as the Arawak and the Karib /Carib/.

291
301

Fig. 95. Headband (tumbi). Prov.: Yumbía. (1/5 nat. size.)

/439/

Chapter IX

Basketry and Its Techniques

1. General Considerations

Basketry is far from being as abundantly represented among the Chiriguano and the Chané as among the Indian tribes of the Amazon basin or the Guianas. The secondary role it plays in their industry is due to the nature of the soil where they live and the climate they enjoy. Palm trees with pinnate leaves are lacking, to my knowledge at least, over the whole extent of their territory: as for the ones whose leaves open like fans, if they are numerous in certain places, their occurrence is far from being uniform. The palms which the Chiriguano Indians call karandaí (Copernicia australis) form veritable groves here and there, whereas over vast regions they are lacking or appear only sparsely. I saw a considerable number of them between San Luis and the Saladito River, and I have crossed some large palm groves between Tacuiba and Villamontes, on the Pilcomayo, and south of the Parapití River, going from Cuevo to Pipi. I noted, moreover, that the distribution of the karandaí coincided with that of a certain type of basketry (twilled work /named in English/), for which the Indians use these leaves.

Fig. 97. Back basket used by the Guaraýó Indians for transporting heavy loads (from Nordenskiöld).

Nordenskiöld (11, p. 169) recounts an anecdote which illustrates well the influence the environment exerts on this industry. At the time of one of his trips into the Chaco, the scholar was accompanied by several Guaraýó Indians, who followed him as far as Chiriguano country. The Guaraýó customarily load their baggage and the products of their fields into back baskets of a special type (see Fig. 97) which have a wide distribution in tropical America, from the Guianas to Paraguay (Nordenskiöld 11, p. 171 and MAP 21).

/439 cont./

p. 171 and Map 21). Their baskets being in bad shape, the Guarayú wanted to make some new ones and were very annoyed not to find in the region into which they had come the palm trees with pinnate leaves which they were in the habit of using for this purpose. Now, Guarayú and Chiriguano are brothers in race and language and emigrated at the same period from Paraguay to settle in the vicinity of the Andes. When leaving their country of origin, both were acquainted with this type of basket used by their ancestors, the Guarani, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, /441/ and still favored among their first cousins from Paraguay, the Kaingué (Métraux, 2, p. 208). The disappearance of this cultural element among the Chiriguano is due solely to the lack of appropriate raw materials.

In order to make up for the absence of back baskets, indispensable to a farming people /Fig. 98 appears here/ the Chiriguano borrowed from their neighbors in the Chaco, either the Mataco or the Chorotí, the carrying nets (in Chiriguanit allapoka) whose use is so widespread among the latter and is so characteristic of their civilization. Carrying nets today are in general use among the Chiriguano, and in every village each family has at /Fig. 99 appears here/ least one (Fig. 98 and 99). In spite of this wide diffusion, the Chiriguano allapoka betrays its origin by its form and technique (see Fig. 100 and 101 /see pp. 282 -285/), which are both found in the tribes we have just enumerated (Nordenskiöld, 8, p. 208, Technique I). Although considerably more advanced on the way to civilization than the semisnomadic tribes of the Chaco, the Chiriguano do not by any means equal them /441/ in the art of making nets. The allapoka I collected cannot be compared with the deep bags which the Mataco or the Chorotí, for example, make for the same purpose. In the village of Machareti, where Tobá live with Chiriguano, it is the former who furnish the latter with the /Fig. 100 appears here/ carrying nets they need (see Fig. 99 /see p. 282/) (1).

1. Nordenskiöld (15, p. 162, Fig. 49 A) gives the detail of the technique of a Chiriguano carrying net. This technique is not found on any

[Text cont. here on p. 285]

/441 cont./

286
482

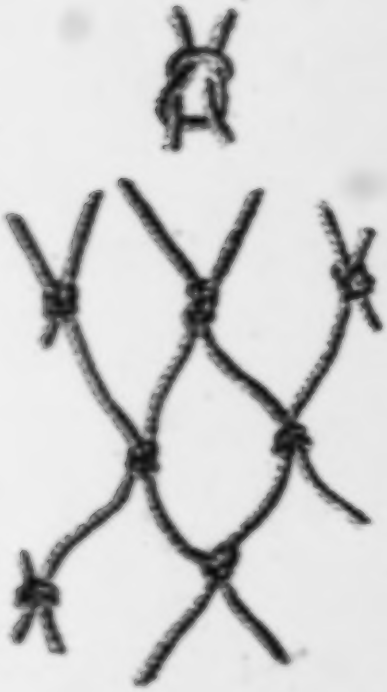


Fig. 100. Technique of the net of Fig. 98 (Technique I, according to Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208).

286 /In. 1 cont./ of the allapoke I brought back
482 from the Chaco. I suppose it is a question of
● 171 a carrying net which the Chiriguano might have bought from Choroti, who, with the Ashluslay and the Matako, seem to be the only ones to use this technique. The technique we show in Fig. 101 is known to the Ashluslay, the Choroti, and the Tapiete. Nordenskiöld (9, p. 208) does not mention it among the Toba, where it nevertheless exists, as the allapoka of Fig. 99 testifies.

C /442 cont./ The basketwork of the
285 ancient Guarani or Tupinamba did not differ essentially in tech-
171 nique, form, or processes of ornamentation from the basketwork
174 of the north of southern America (Métraux, 2, pp. 249-255). It must have offered more than one point of similarity with that of the Chané, and we must consider the modern basketwork of the Chiriguano the heir of the basketwork common to these two /443/ nations. Let us notice in passing that the basketwork of the populations of tropical America has a certain unity. Nevertheless,

C
286

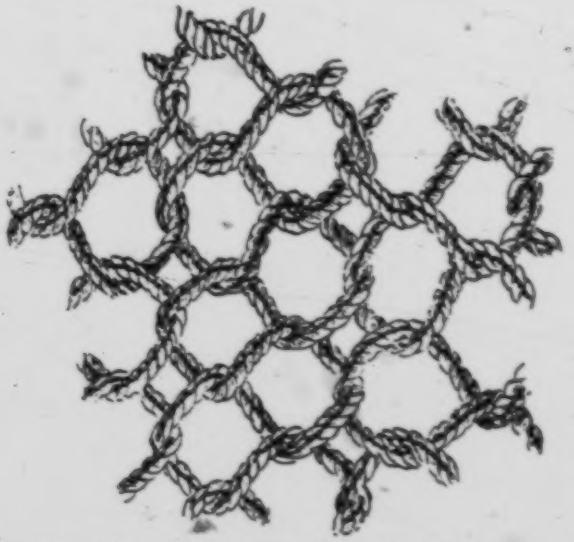


Fig. 101. Technique of the net of Fig. 99 (Technique V, according to Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208).

C it was in the Guianas that it reached perfection.
285 After their great migration to the foot of the Andes, the
171 Chiriguano seem to have adopted basketwork of a new technique,
174 which doubtless was unknown to their ancestors and racial brothers in Paraguay and Brazil. This technique is characteristic of all the baskets I am putting under the heading of wicker work /named in English/ in the following pages. As we shall see,
Ce [285] this technique also exists in the Guianas, and it is possible that
[171] it was brought into the Bolivian Chaco by the Arawak nation
[174] of the Chané. The center of dispersion of the Arawak must be
ooo

Ce 101 174 /443 cont./ the center of dispersion of the Arawak must be placed to the north of the Amazon, and before the Chiriguano invasion the Arawak tribe of the Chané was established over the whole extent of the territory now occupied by the former.

C 285 171 Beside this technique another exists, known to the Chiriguano since time immemorial and well before their great migration. The English-language ethnographers give it the name of twilled work. No other type of basketwork is so widespread. This technique is preponderant in all of tropical America from the Antilles to Paraguay and in the south stops at the Chaco. The Chiriguano are the only Indians of the Chaco among whom twilled work is in current use. This type of basketry used to exist on the coast of ancient Peru, but its importance there was not great and it appears only in work baskets.

C 285 184 Basketry in wicker work and that in twined work do not have an identical distribution among the Chiriguano. Baskets of the first kind are numerous in the villages of the upper Pilcomayo (Saladito, Salado Grande and Chico, Ibopeytí, and Yumbia) and go as far as the Ivu mission. They stop, or are rare, in the rest of the Chiriguano country, notably in the Caipipendí valley, where baskets of the second type (twilled work) predominate almost exclusively. These are widespread there, and the beauty of their workmanship, the embellishments with which they are provided, put them well above the basketwork of any other zone and even above that of tribes living in regions richer in palm trees.

C [126] In the huts of the upper Pilcomayo I collected several baskets in twilled work, but they were rare there and often incomplete and torn. I had the impression that they had arrived there by way of commercial exchanges. In any case, the Indians no longer plait baskets of this type, and it is possible that their disappearance has given value to the specimens of them which remain. That would explain the absence of any new specimen and the preservation of ancient baskets almost beyond usefulness. Be that as it may, at present the true center of basketry in twilled work is the Caipipendí valley, and that of the basketry of /444/ wicker work, the region of the upper Pilcomayo. Since the living conditions of the

C [178] Chiriguano in the missions north and south of the Pilcomayo have undergone deep modifications, I do not know what the respective

/444 cont./

285 184 distribution of these two techniques must have been in former times. We shall find this difficulty every time we consider the diffusion of a cultural element peculiar to these Indians.

285 177 Wicker work basketry has undergone strong European influence. The agents have been the half-breeds of the department of Tarija, who live in constant contact with the Chiriguano. This foreign influence on the baskets belonging to this technique is manifested by modifications of the original forms and improvements of details, such as horseshoe handles.

285 171 Among the Chiriguano I did not find a single basket woven with the technique called "in spirals" (coiled basketry /named in English/), although in olden times it was in use among the Andean populations who used to and still do live in contact with the Chiriguano. Basketwork "in spirals" has continued on the altiplano, as the basket of Fig. 103, which I bought in La Quiaca, proves.

Basketry in "Wicker Work"

285 Mason (p. 228) designates under the name of wicker basketry a type obtained with the following technique: a rigid framework composed of thick, solid elements is intercrossed by thinner, more flexible elements. In the course of this work I shall call warp the rigid elements of the framework, and the ones crossing them, woof. The woof passes alternately over and under each element of the warp. This technique is well known to us: it is that of our wicker baskets, trunks, and back baskets (see Fig. 105 /see p.295 /).

Because of its very simplicity we have a right to suppose that this technique is old. It is only a variety of checker work /named in English/, the most elementary of all the techniques. By checker work we understand the process which consists of interlacing flexible bands so as to obtain a checkerboard design. The only piece of basketry made with this technique that I know of in the region we are concerned with is a basket that Eric von Rosen

/444 cont./

285 (1, Fig. 134, p. 122) obtained from some Choroti who were
[114] camping near Tatarenda. I share the opinion of this explorer, who considers this object as of Chiriguano origin.

In spite of its simple and archaic character, basketry in wicker work is rare in South America. According to Nordenskiöld
[171] (10, p. 171, and 11, p. 198), it is found among the Araucan, Yurakare, Atsawaka, Tambopata Guarayú (Chama), Yamiaka, and the Indians of Guiana, in particular those of the Roroima region.

1: Métraux--289 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/445/

102
171
285

Map 1. showing the distribution of the technique called wicker work

1: Métraux--290 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/446/

Table for Map 1

Distribution of the basketry technique called "wicker work"

171
285

Numbers on the map	Tribes	Authors	Remarks
1	Chiriguano and Chané		
2	Diaguite	Museo de Tucumán No. 305	Some impressions on the base of a vessel enabled me to discover the existence of this technique in this geographical area.
3	Araucan of Chile	Latcham, p. XXXV (1)	
4	Araucan of Argentina	National Museum of Buenos Aires (Palavecino Collection).	
5	Yurakare	Nordenskiöld, 11, Fig. 30, p. 128.	
6	Atsawaka, Tambopata-Guarayú	Nordenskiöld, 11, p. 198.	
7	Palikur	Nimuendajú, Fig. 23, p. 49.	
8	Siusí and Kauá of the Aiary River	Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 142 a-d, p. 221.	
9	Patamona, Makusi, Arekuna	Roth, p. 140, Pl. 105 B and C.	
10	Arawak	Roth, Pl. 104 B.	

[113]

1. Latcham, R. E., "Ethnology of the Araucanos," in The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 34, London, 1904, cited from Nordenskiöld, 10, p. 171.

/446 cont./

285 This information needs to be completed. The technique
171 called wicker work was apparently known to the ancient Diaguite. A vessel from one of the Andean valleys in Tucuman province bears imprinted on its base impressions left by a tray or basket in wicker work, upon which the potter had placed this receptacle when the clay was still soft (Fig. 102). This discovery did not surprise me: already, and for a long time, I had supposed that this manner of plaiting baskets was not foreign to the peoples of the Andes. How otherwise could one explain the occurrence of wicker work among the half-breeds and Indians of Tarija department, the Araucan and Chiriguano Indians of the upper Pilcomayo?

Guiana forms a second area of dispersion of this technique without, however, its being very common there. The small bags in which the Patamona put the cotton with which they provide the arrows of their /447/ blowguns before blowing them are in wicker work, the same as the pegalls with the so-called "armadillo" motifs of the Arawak, Patamona, and Makuŝi /Macusi/. The baskets in the form of carafes or bottles of the Siusí /Siusi/ and Kauá /Caua/ of the Aiary River are also good examples of this technique. (On the modalities and distribution of this technique, see Roth, p. 140 and Plates 104, 105, and 106, and pp. 329-331.)

The distribution of this technique is wider in North America. It is known to the Indians of eastern Canada and abounds in /Fig. 102 appears here/ southern Mexico and in Central America. It appears scattered here and there on the Pacific Coast and in the interior basin.

Most of the fish weirs, the enclosures for stopping game during hunting drives, and the coarse baskets serving for the transport of numerous objects are made in this technique.

285 If one examines the baskets of this type among the Chiriguano,
323 one will doubtless be struck by the fact that several of them assume the form of pottery pieces. This resemblance is further accentuated by the fact that some (see Plate LXXV, 2 /see p. 299/) are provided with lateral handles in imitation of vessels. The interplay between these two industries is evident.

/448/

285 The horseshoe handles which surmount some of these baskets
● 191 (Plate LXXV, 1 and 3)[z] seem to me to come from imitation of
192 European or half-breed basketwork. Among the half-breeds of the eastern slopes of the Andes I found baskets which had exact replicas among the Chiriguano (see, for example, Fig. 108 /see p. 302 /) and attested eloquently to the borrowing of the latter.

285
191

Fig. 102. Base of a vessel from the mountainous region of Tucumán Province, and bearing the impressions of a tray or basket in wicker work, on which it rested during its manufacture.

Besides, the Chiriguano give the Spanish name of canastos to baskets of European form /Fig. 103 appears here./

Among the baskets in wicker work there are some (Plate LXXV, 4) which in form and technique are singularly reminiscent of the baskets of Brazilian Guiana which Koch-Grünberg (?, Vol. II, p. 221, Fig. 242 a, b, c) compares to carafes. (Cf. also Roth, Plate 104, Fig. C.)

z [See p. 299--Analyst]

/452 cont./

285 This small basket is closely related to the preceding one in its technique. The warp is made of four fibrous bands which cross in octagons and are then divided into three /Plate LXXVII appears here/ /453/ or two diverging elements which form the warp (see Fig. 106 /see p. 301/).

Figure 108. Height, 12 centimeters; maximum diameter, 28 centimeters. Provenance: Ivu.

[199] There is no doubt that this basket is a pure and simple imitation of European ones. I have seen baskets identical from the point of view of form and technique among the half-breeds of the department of Tarija.

3. Basketry in "Twilled Work"

The term twilled work designates the basketry technique in which the woof elements pass over two or several elements of the warp so as to produce with the contexture of the fabric diagonal motifs and an infinity of others all based on the changes of rhythm in the number of the warp elements which have been skipped over (Mason, p. 224).

285 In the pages where I dealt with wicker work I have already had
• 191 occasion to note the affinities which not only the technique but coin the form of Chiriguano baskets offer with those from Guiana. The analogy is still more striking with twilled baskets. We have among the Chiriguano the exact counterpart of the famous telescope baskets or pegall of Guiana. These are rectangular baskets in two parts, one fitting into the other and shutting hermetically (Plates LXXVII, LXXX,[a] and Figs. 110 and 111). Nordenskiöld (10, p. 173) has given us a map indicating the distribution of baskets provided with a cover into which they fit more or less completely. These "telescope" baskets are particularly abundant north of the Amazon. I suspect that the famous harameno of the Tupinamba, in which the latter put their feathers, must have belonged to this type. Among the Tupi-Guarani, the only ones where this type of closure has been noted are the Guayaki, Paumona, Mashé /Maw/, and Oyampi (Métraux, 2, p. 253).

[a] [See pp. 309 & 309 respectively -- Amalfi 57]

/453 cont./

285 [531] [171] Another point of contact between the basketry of the Chiriguano and that of the Indians of the east and north of South America is the occurrence of baskets in twilled work in which elements of two colors are combined, following a changing rhythm, to produce geometric figures. The basket of Plate LXXVIII, with the frets standing out in black on the sides, is representative of this form of art, which, in the Guianas, shone with a lively brilliance.

Baskets of the pegall or "telescope" type are divided into two categories according to the principle of their plaiting. To make one kind (Plate LXXIX, and Fig. 111), the basket-maker began by crossing the warp elements with one another in such a way that they radiate from a single center. Then he interlaced according to a binary rhythm the tigellas which /454/ left the common center like so many rays. Baskets of the second category have been plaited by intermingling the elements of the warp and woof at right angles so as to make the bottom without any precise point from which the elements come away (Plate LXXX, 2). The photographs (Plates LXXIX and LXXX, 2) show what I mean better than any description.

[824] The stalks which serve for the fabrication of baskets in twilled work are taken from the leaves of the carandaí palm (Copernicia cerifera Mart. or Copernicia australis). The leaves are cut into fine strips and softened by immersion.

Sieves and fire fans belong in the basketry called twilled, but I shall deal with them in a separate chapter.

Description of baskets in "twilled work"

Plate LXXVIII, Figures 1 and 2. Height, 7 centimeters; diameter, 17.5 centimeters. Provenance: Caripendí.

This basket belongs to the category of those called "telescopes" or /Fig. 110 appears here/ pegall of Guiana. Plate LXXIX which shows us the detail of its upper surface also indicates its technique with sufficient clarity so that no diagram is necessary. The warp is composed of 32 flexible elements radiating from a common center. They begin by interlacing for two rounds: then,

[See P. 308 - Analysis]

/457 cont./

G 415 285 Sieves are of two kinds. The first category includes those whose meshes are close together and composed of fine strips of karandaí leaves intercrossing in a binary rhythm. Sieves of this type belong in the basketwork called twilled. The Chiriguano give them the name of urumpé and use them in preference to the others, whose usage is limited.

The second category includes sieves with wide meshes. The strips forming them cross in checkerwork, that is, the woof passes alternately under, then over, an element of the warp. The Chiriguano designate sieves of this type by the name of urumpesa, and they use them for sifting ground corn when they wish to obtain a coarse flour.

G 415 285 191 Some of these sieves are real works of art, but they cannot be compared with the magnificent specimens from Guiana, on which the alternation of the black and white elements produce geometric figures of the handsomest effect. It is probable that formerly the Chiriguano had identical sieves, as can be supposed from the one on Plate LXXXII, which is composed of a warp and a woof whose gray and white elements are arranged in such a way as to form dark and light bands on which concentric squares stand out.

C 415 191 The sieve is widespread in all of tropical America, where it is used not only for corn flour but also for that which the natives make from bitter manioc. It is unknown to the primitive populations of the Chaco, who have not even felt the need to borrow it from the Chiriguano or Chané. The populations of the Inca Empire /458/ did not know its use. The urumpé is a utensil common to nearly all the Tupi-Guarani tribes; it has been described or noted among the Tupinamba, the Guarani, the Kainguá /Caingua/, the Guarayú, the Fauserna, the Apiaká /Apiaca/, and the Parintintin. The Chiriguano must therefore have taken along with them when they emigrated from Paraguay, which does not exclude the fact that they may also have found it in use among the Chané.

C [174]

/460 cont./

Fans or Fire-blowers

C 372 184 [171] Great was my surprise when upon arriving in the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo region I found fire fans identical with those of the Indians of Brazil and the Guianas. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 56) barely mentions them and insists on their rarity. The fact is explained by the absence of this cultural element in all the rest of the zone inhabited by the Chiriguano. In most of the villages they use old hats or fragments of baskets to fan the fire.

C 372 285 Plate LXXXV. 2/1 Length, 28.5 centimeters; width, 31 centimeters. Provenance: Saladito.

The making of these fans is rather simple. The leaves composing them cross in a rhythm of two. On the edge the stalks have been bent back and, passing again across the fabric, are interlaced to form a pucker on each side. The free ends /Plates LXXXIII-LXXXV appear here/ /461/ have been plaited on top and one part passed into a split stick forming the handle (Fig. 117).

C [171] An important remark must be made on the subject of these fans. They /Fig. 117 appears here/ differ little from the fans made of a single pinnate palm leaf, such as are found in Brazil and Paraguay. The Chiriguano, having no palm trees of this C [824] species in their new homeland, had to /Fig. 118 appears here/ adopt the palmate leaves of the karandaí. They replaced the petiole, which forms the handle, with the split stick to which I have alluded. (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 106 and 107, pp. 219-220.)

C 285 353 797 [824] /462/

"Flowers"

On feast days the Chiriguano of the Franciscan missions decorate the church with artificial "flowers" which they make from leaves of karandaí palms. These decorations are of ancient origin and derive directly from the straw amusements /jeux/ still made by the Indians in various /Fig. 119 appears here/ regions of America, notably in the Guianas. The natives of the latter region often hang them in their houses where they perhaps

G 285 353 2/1 [See p. 322 -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 324]

Guiana SR1
Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

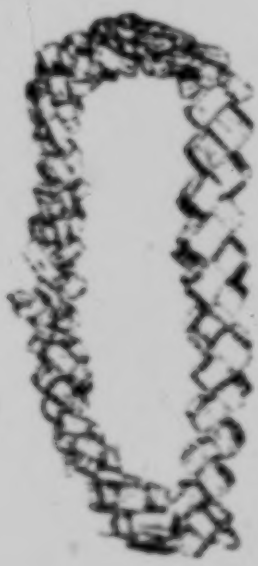
G 285 353

/462 cont /

serve as amulets, and, in any case, as ornaments. (Roth, pp. 497-499. Figs. 241-244 and p. 270; Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, p. 244.) In the same way the Chiriguano Indians decorate their huts with these figures, which they take care to have blessed. Exactly as in Europe they keep palm branches as lucky charms. Rosen (1, p. 61, Fig. 51) publishes a similar straw amusement which he found among the Choroti and which was pointed out to him as an ornament worn on the forehead. This explorer suspects the exactitude of this information and supposes that a ritual object is concerned. In reality, it is only a "flower," which the Choroti described by Rosen probably received or bought in some Chiriguano mission. It is enough to compare the figure of it that he gives us and ours in order to be convinced of this.

C 285 353 178 789

Ci 114 285 301



A 285 301

Fig. 119 Wreath of plaited palm leaves (amusement or ornament?). Ashluslay. Prov.: Estero Patiño. (1/4 nat. size.)

A C Ci 285 171

Figures made of palm leaves are not, however, unknown to the other Indians of the Chaco. The Ashluslay sold me a diadem braided according to this principle (Fig. 119) and Rosen (1 Fig. 44, p. 48) reproduces an identical head-ornament which he bought from a Choroti tribe.

/464 cont./

796 Eyu ickuama — Come and kiss me
832 Simireko mi — My little wife
786 Diyuru emesie — Give me thy mouth
Tuiia dipota — I love thee much
539 Se songo pe — With my heart

Ime deresa ikavi — Thou hast pretty eyes
Ime diyuro misiray — Thou hast a little mouth
Tuiia dipota — I love thee much
Pairamo ayporu deve. — For that I am going to ask for thee.

796 During this time young or old men with their faces
532 covered by a mask (aflawasu) run here and there, force the peo-
522 ple to dance by blows of a stick, play tricks on them, and address jokes to them.

796 The feast lasts as long as there is kiwi or alcohol. At
[293] the moment when it is on the point of ending, a final ceremony takes place. The rite of going out is similar to the rite of entering: the couple who planted the flowery stick tear it from the ground and go out of the village, followed by the aflawasu and all those who took part in the festival. The procession advances to a certain distance from the village to the sound of the flutes and drums. They throw away the masks and throw stones while shouting. The carnival is finished and everyone goes home.
[585] Some take along their new wife, for it is at this moment that most marriages are celebrated.

796 The carnival festivity such as I have just described in-
177 volves only a few elements borrowed from the half-breeds or
178 creoles, outside of the coincidence of dates. This is an ancient
[241] feast of a purely agricultural character, which the Chiriguano have acquired the habit of celebrating at the same time as the Bolivian carnival. Besides, the Indians of Ibopeyti are pagans.

796 The masked men are supposed to represent the spirits of the
241 dead, as their name indicates (aflat spirit; wasu great). As in
171 the festivals of the Guianas and Central America, they come in numbers //Plate LXXXVI appears here/ /465/ to insure for their

[Text continues on p 329]

C /465 cont./
796 descendants or relatives the fertility of the fields and the
241 abundance of the future harvest. These masked festivals have
[171] their counterpart in the famous ceremonies of the populations of
C the Negro River, the details of which Koch-Grünberg has made
[177] known to us. Besides, it is probable that the Chiriguano borrowed these ceremonies, and especially the masks, from the
A Chané. It is the racial brothers of the Chané, the Arawak of
796 the Negro River, who celebrate these festivals with the most
241 splendor. The Chané of the Paraguay still accord to these ancient
C rites more importance than the Chiriguano, and their masks
796 crowned with immense tufts of feathers are, it appears, more
241 sumptuous than those of their old Guarani enemies.
532

In the missions the carnival has lost its purely pagan significance and has become contaminated with magic which
C the Chiriguano have borrowed from the half-breeds. Nino
796 (pp. 267-270) gives a good description of them, of which I
[177] [177] shall summarize the principal features.

The festival is directed by a personage wearing an old-
C man mask. He stops at each corner of the square, recommending
[532] peace and harmony to all.

Then they give themselves over to different games masked personages scatter bean pods or corn bean upon the dancers.

Young men, masked but almost entirely naked, daub themselves with mud and try to soil all those who have new
C [177] garments. These two customs can have only a Bolivian origin.

Individuals who are also masked mime a combat between
C a jaguar and a bull which is finally put to death by a fanciful
796 hunter. Then they pass on to the pleasures of the dance. "The
532 dancers form a large circle by joining hands and dance thus
[536] three times. Three times also they squat down, and three more times they pass under the extended arms of a couple of the same circle, and finally the same number of times they press against one another, forming a big mass, their faces turned toward the outside and their hands folded. They remain in this position until another couple dances around them. These do not hold each other by the hand. The man chases the woman and tries to grab her. She avoids him and goes to hide in the middle of the others."

/488 cont./

forming a design. Combs of this category generally have a double row of teeth, but sometimes one row is entirely covered by the planing and is transformed into a handle (Nordenskiöld, ?, Fig. 168, p. 304). These two kinds of comb are also found in the Andean zone; but whereas the first is limited to this geographical area and especially to northwestern Argentina, the second, which includes all varieties of composite combs, has a vast distribution

[551]

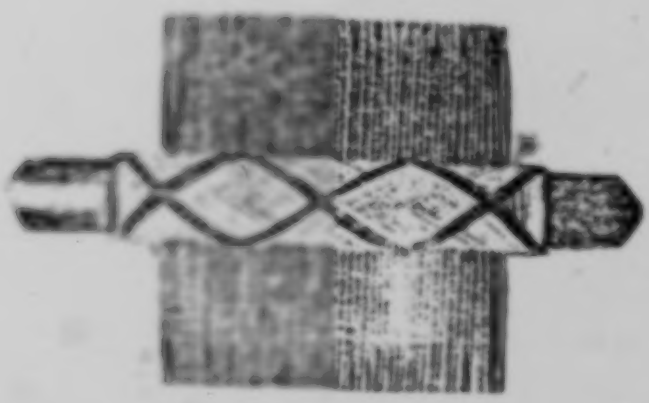


Fig. 172. Composite comb made of fine cylinders of bamboo. Chiriguano. Prov.: Cercado. (1/3 nat. size.)

over all South America, in the Inca Empire as well as in Brazil. The Chiriguano doubtless used them well before they settled in their present location. It is not the same with the comb of carved wood, which they borrowed from the Chicha or the Humahuaca. With regard to two combs in my collections, one (Plate LXXXVII, 14) has a handle carved in the shape of a dog, and the other, a deer (Plate LXXXVII, 15). They strongly resemble a comb found in the Quebrada de Humahuaca, which is also surmounted by the silhouette of a quadruped (Debenedetti, ?, p. 267, Fig. 186). At Kipon in the Calchaquí Valley Debenedetti (1, p. 27, Fig. 16) discovered a comb whose upper part represents a human head, in which our author thinks he sees an idol with a sad expression (!?). The half-breed women of that valley have kept up to our times the ancient indigenous combs of algarroba wood.

/468 cont./

412 171 At La Paya, Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 254, p. 484) discovered comb: cut out of a small wooden board and some composite combs. Instead of simply recording the coexistence of two different types of combs /Plate LXXXVII appears here/ /469/ in the same place, a very natural phenomenon by reason of the heterogeneous character of the culture of La Paya. Ambrosetti puts forth the strange hypothesis that these combs served for carding wool, without taking the trouble to inquire whether this instrument was known in pre-Columbian times.

303 322 462 412 The making of combs, like all wood carving, is an essentially masculine job.

412 174 The table on Plate LXXXVII indicates my idea of the morphological evolution of the different forms of combs which I have collected.

Chapter XII

Furniture

352 [114] Since the diverse cultural elements which constitute the furniture of the Chiriguano have been completely studied by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 8-22), I shall limit myself to mentioning them here, insisting only on several details. /Fig. 174 appears here./ /See p. 338./

[342] Let us enter a Chiriguano hut. The door we open is a kind of screen of reeds or a cowhide hardened in the sun. Daylight penetrates the interior through this opening. The only important [513] piece of furniture is a wooden cot (Fig. 175), a kind of bedstead generally occupied by two persons between whom one or two children come /470/ to slip in somehow or other. Nor do the Chiriguano hesitate to sleep on the ground on an cohide, which they spread out in front of their house. On the upper Pilcomayo, in nearly all the huts one can /Fig. 175 appears here/ /See p. 339./ see one or two hammocks which serve either as seats during the day or as cradles for small children. Their technique, that of the [286] [197] double thread (Doppelfadentechnik), continues an old Guarani

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 338]

/474 cont./

524 already allows us to establish some very curious facts. Thus among
171 the string figures I have brought together, three are exactly like figures from various tribes of the upper Negro River and the Guianas. The first is the one the Chiriguano call "full moon" (yauwau) (Plate LXXXIX, 3) and we find it again among the Sinú of the Alary River under the name of "tapir intestines" (Koch-Grünberg.?

391
524

Fig. 125. Indian executing the string figure called "snake design" (mboi-kwatía). Caraiuí. (Photo A.M.)

524 Vol. I, Fig. 69 c, p. 122), among the Tukano / Tucano/ designated
171 as being a "tapir with its four feet," and among the Benoya simply as "a tapir" (id., Vol. I, p. 255, and Vol. II, Fig. 72, p. 131).

Our "star" (yasi-tata) (Plate LXXXIX, 1) is interpreted as a "spider" by the Sinú (id., Vol. I, Fig. 69 g, p. 122) and the Kaberua (id., Fig. 73, p. 131), but the Wapiana /Wapishana/ see a "star" in this figure, exactly like the Chiriguano (cf. Roth, Fig. 267, p. 313).

/474 cont./

524 191 The "snake designs" (mbeu bwaría) (Plate XC, Fig. 7) have their equivalents among the Abawet, Arawak, Wapiana, and Petamona (Roth, Fig. 299, Fig. 326), but represent, according to these Indians: "four fish walking" (sic). In his book on the Indians of the Chaco, /Plates LXXXIX and XC appear here/ /475/ Nordenskiöld (C, Fig. 55, p. 71) gives the photograph of a Chorote child who has just executed a cat-cradle identical with our "snake design." It is regrettable that Nordenskiöld has not given its meaning.

524 The string figure on Plate XC, 2 represents the track borne by the woolen blankets (ergón) the cowboys put under their saddles. There is no doubt that the indigenous meaning of this figure has been forgotten and replaced by a new appellation. This is probably what has happened also to the cat-cradle (Fig. 136) named culo de caballo /horse's rear end/. /Fig. 136 appears here./ /See p. 356./

String figures can be subdivided into two categories, the first including all those which form a stable figure like a design, and the second those which represent an object, animal, or organ by synthesizing its characteristic movement.

Thus the string figures on Plates LXXXIX-XC belong to the first class, but the one which the Indian on Figure 136 is in the act of executing belongs to the second. The latter cat-cradle consists in opening or closing a small circle of string which is supposed to represent the contractions of a horse's anus.

524 191 Among the Sioux there are also mobile string figures which symbolize an animal by imitating its typical movements (the "caterpillar," for example) exactly as among the Chiriguano.

524 191 197 The resemblances between the Chiriguano string figures and those of the /476/ Guianan tribes could be explained by Arawak influence, and we could suppose that the Chané kept the figures common to the whole family. String figures travel very rapidly and only their meaning changes. Therefore it is possible that the Chiriguano were acquainted with them before being in contact with the Arawak.

[See p. 349-- Analyst]

/477 cont./

GDD 123 132 126 115 532 laughter Aibuá "I can't do it, I don't know how." Only one, a girl, Iwawuri, allowed herself to be persuaded by the promise of a spool of thread. Her awkwardness was not feigned, as I was able to see from the beginning, seeing the embarrassed air with which she took the pencil. Once ready to draw, inspiration was suddenly lacking. She stopped short until I had pointed out a vessel to her to copy. Since her confusion only grew greater, she asked Comiro, the small boy who made my first drawings, to help her. He drew the vessel on Plate XCIII, 10, which she began conscientiously to reproduce in series. I protested, and then she made me a horse and on this horse's back a man and a child, then a woman (Plate XCI, 3 and XCIII, 7). I am not very sure that all the drawings she told me she had made were hers, for when my attention was diverted by a visit, she had Comiro secretly help her.

532 191 The drawings the Chiriguano executed for my sake recall not only those of our children but approximate appreciably those which have been collected in various regions of South America, notably among the tribes of the Negro River (Koch-Grünberg, 1); the Tsolipeng and the Makú (Koch-Grünberg, 2, Plates 28-32, pp. 159-161); the Indians of the upper Xingú (Steinen, 2, Plates III-IV), (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 345-347, pp. 396-399); the Chorotí and the Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 2, Figs. 63-66, pp. 130-132); the Kaingué (Ambrosetti, 2, Plates I-III, pp. 674-682), etc.

There could be no question of making a comparative study of these drawings, so uniform is their style. The only details which are worth being brought together are those denoting similar psychological characteristics and yet these common traits are not characteristic of a primitive mentality. I should scarcely have to point out the fact that in drawing a woman, a Kaingué Indian proceeded exactly as did two of my Chiriguano artists (Plate XCI, 3 and 7): he began by representing the woman naked, then dressed her.

/482 cont./

302 faces and legs oiled in this way, which gives them a very strange reddish and shiny hue. This custom, which was already noted /483/ in the sixteenth century among the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, is tending to fall into disuse. [191] [198]

Roucou in paste form is kept in a small corn-husk bag (Fig. 139). /Fig. 139 appears here/ as is kalasapa, a substance composed of a mixture of roucou and pounded aroma seeds, which gives a violet color. 302 386 [415]

4. Jaguar fat (yaguapira) cures any "leprosy" (karatši) if one rubs oneself with it after heating it. 757 237

5. Iguana fat makes cramps go away and heals wounds. Its use is external. [152]

6. The dried penis of a fox makes toothaches and earaches go away. For that it suffices to touch the ailing part with the end /Fig. 140 appears here/ of this member. The Indians consider it very malodorous and touch it only with repugnance. To avoid this inconvenience they provide it with a handle and shut it up in a bamboo case (Fig. 141). [415]

7. Deerhorns heated and /Fig. 141 appears here/ applied against the neck will cure a stiff neck. The medical use of deer (wasu) horns explains the frequent presence of the horns of this animal in the archeological strata of the neighboring Andean regions. Some have thus been found in the ruins of the Alfarcito, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 21), at Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, p. 232), at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 235, p. 453), and at Tastil (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, Fig. 78 f). [172]

Horns adhering to a fragment of the skull and whose use could only have been magical or medical must be distinguished from the ones which the Indians work into awls. These instruments still have a ritual use and are reserved for piercing the lower lip of children when they are old enough to wear the labret. At least this is what Campana (p. 80) informs us. Besides, the Indians all have confirmed this detail to me. Formerly, the Tupinamba of Brazil practiced this operation with an awl of the same nature (see Métraux, 3, p. 105). 858 302 237 412 [171]

/484/

412 However, these awls are too abundant in each village for their use to be only sacred. It is probable that the Chiriguano use them as a simple tool for solely secular purposes.

[174] At Tilcara, Debenedetti (2, Fig. 176, p. 232) discovered specimens made of deerhorn identical with our Chiriguano examples.

824 757 8. I have in my collections seeds whose virtues are multiple: they are an excellent remedy for skin eruptions, ulcers, and toothaches.

9. For stomach-ache the Chiriguano recommend the absorption of particles of wood (mboipinda).

232 [824] 10. Certain seeds (of a graminaceous plant?) when crushed give a paste or powder with which they treat animals whose sores are attacked by worms.

11. When cows' hooves tend to work loose, they bathe them with fragments of limestone (itakwi).

757 237 12. Fat extracted from a cow's foot is an effective ointment for cases of rheumatism.

13. The beak of the toucan is said to enjoy great medicinal properties. They grate it and drink in water the powder which comes from it (Campana, 111).

Stitches in the side and dysentery are treated with a piece of armadillo shell burned, ground, and dissolved in water, which the patient drinks.

757 [114] In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (passim) and Nino's book (pp. 288-290) is found many a very interesting piece of information on the pharmacopoeia of the Chiriguano. I shall summarize them in order to complete my own observations.

757 164 1. The oil which floats on kāwi, when it is done, is a good remedy for headaches.

2. Salt, ground and drunk mixed with the urine of a small child, quiets stomach pains.

[824] 3. Rheumatism is doctored by applying on the ailing part a branch of ulala (ñankawina) from which the thorns have been removed and which has been heated.

/488 cont./

757 114 The explorer Eric von Rosen tried to demonstrate that some objects found in northwestern Argentina are clyster tubes or nozzles. Nordenskiöld is also of this opinion. As for me, I am all the more tempted to adopt this hypothesis because I could not otherwise explain the presence of this instrument among the Chiriguano. No Tupi tribe, as a matter of fact, with the exception of the Omagua on the upper Amazon, seems to have resorted to enemas in case of illness; at least not one of the numerous travelers who gave their attention to these Indians mentions the operation among them. There is no doubt that the Chiriguano borrowed this curative method and the corresponding instrument from the nearby Andean peoples. We know that the Quichua /Quechua/ gave each other enemas, as is proved by the discovery of a leather syringe in a pre-Hispanic grave of the Ollachea Valley in eastern Peru (Nordenskiöld, 14, Fig. 74, p. 188). (To be continued.)

757 171 174

000 /The bibliography, pp. 488-493, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text. The following "Table of Contents" appears at the end of this volume of the Revista, along with the tables of contents for the other articles in the volume. The lists of plates and figures which follow the table of contents in the translation were made up from the captions and are not part of the original text./

/598/ Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians

by Alfred Métraux

	page
Preface	1
I. Material Culture	5
Introduction	5
Historical outline of the formation of the Chiriguano nation	6
Agriculture	63
Cooking and food	80
Food resources	80
Fish	93
Cooking	97

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fishing.—Fishing is worth while only for those *Chiriguano* and *Chané* who live along the upper Pilcomayo or Bermejo Rivers and, to lesser extent, for the *Chané* of the Parapeti and Itiyuro Rivers. Methods of fishing vary somewhat with the regions. Along the Pilcomayo River, fish are caught with iron hooks, with dipnets, similar to those of the Chaco Indians, with the bow and arrow, and with long two-pronged spears. Fishing baskets are used in combination with stone dams (fig. 57).

FIGURE 57.—*Chiriguano* fish dam in the Pilcomayo River. *A* is entrance; *B* are pockets where fish are caught. (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1930, fig. 14.)

Among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro, fishing is done almost exclusively by women and children. They use hooks, but more often they capture fish in small ponds which they cut from the main stream by means of weirs. They also catch small fish in narrow-necked gourds into which they place chicha dregs as a bait. The *Chané* of the Parapeti scoop fish with nets or shoot them with arrows tipped with a bundle of cactus thorns (Nordenskiöld, 1912, pp. 184–185).

Domesticated animals.—Modern *Chiriguano* raise sheep, cattle, horses, and chickens. Their dogs are so completely mongrel that their European or Indian origin cannot be ascertained. The *Chiriguano* were probably acquainted with chickens when they arrived in their present territory, for they use a *Guaraní* term for them. Pets are not numerous in their villages; most of them are parrots which were captured by means of a noose attached to the end of a long pole. In order to approach the wild birds, the Indians use tame parrots and decoys.

Cooking.—Maize is prepared in a great many ways. The grains are eaten on the cob, roasted in special pans, boiled in water, or ground into flour, which is served with every meal. One method of preparing maize flour is to steam it in a perforated bowl.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

MANUFACTURES

Pottery.—*Chiriguano* pottery is, for the beauty of its painted decoration and the variety of its forms, outstanding in modern South America. The mixed origin of *Chiriguano* culture is reflected in the two types of earthenware vessels. The plain pots for cooking and the large jars for chicha, which did not differ from similar vessels of the Paraguayan *Guarani*, were ornamented with fingernail impressions (pl. 41, *bottom, right*).

C 323 531
C [171]

C Ca 301
C Ca 411
C Ca 412
C Ca 534 531 301
C Ca 301 531
C a 524

FIGURE 59.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* manufactures. *a*, Silver pincers used as breast ornaments; *b*, bird arrow point; *c*, handle to wooden spade; *d*, wooden whistle used as ornament; *e*, tin labret with mosaic inlay; *f*, *Chané* pen-shooter. (*a*, *d*, *e*, Redrawn from Rosen, 1924; *b*, *c*, *f*, from Nordenskiöld, 1930, figs. 28, 15, 5, 34.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8

are based on a triangle surmounted by a scroll, which is multiplied in countless variations. C 323 531

Women potters (pl. 41, *top, left,* and *bottom, left*) tempered the clay with crushed potsherds and built up their vases by coiling. They painted them with several kinds of ocher and with black obtained from resin. C 362 386

Spinning and weaving.—Among the *Chiriguana*, wool is more commonly used than cotton for textiles, but *Chané* fabrics are generally of cotton. The fibers are spun with a drop spindle weighted with a clay whorl (pl. 42, *center*). Although garments are in part Andean in shape, the loom remains of the vertical type. Formerly, indigo was the favorite native dye; today aniline dyes have entirely replaced it. The ornamentation of the fabrics is limited to a few stripes. C 286 283 171 ● 386 531

Netting.—Fishing nets and carrying nets are made by means of a wooden gage in a reed-knot technique. C 285

Basketry.—Fine, round baskets with overlapping lids, and sieves are coiled with palm leaves in the best *Guiana* fashion, but wickerwork basketry is very common. No large baskets for carrying or storing food are made.

Gourds.—The painted, incised, or fire-engraved (fig. 61) gourds (*Lagenaria siceraria*) used as cups are, after pottery, the best expressions of *Chiriguana* art. The motifs are mainly geometrical, with occasional realistic representations. C 415 531

Figure 61.—*Chané calabashes. Left:* Specimen with lid (approximately ¼ actual size). *Right:* Pyrogravved specimen (approximately ⅓ actual size). (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1920, fig. 30 and Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 62.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 372

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

C 411

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

C [223] Ce [226] [411] [824] Ce 411 824

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

C 411 [171] [178]

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Ce [411] Ce 824

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

C 624 613 596 594

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

C 622 [643]

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

C 623 756 357 565 692

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had
304 his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "á, á" for the masculine "tá." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

851 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before mar-
191 riage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective
383 father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride serv-
171 ice, a custom widely spread among *Guarani*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River a few decades ago. The bride-
591 groom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of
595 wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many
622 cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often
556 sisters or a mother and her daughter.

Death.—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was sur-
763 rounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and
764 dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate.
765 The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

plicated affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large jars. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

Gambling.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the suka game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.[9] Another favorite dice game is called chukareta: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous talo game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

Games.—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapeti River, like so many Guiana tribes, played a ball game with rubber balls which they butted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

Chiriguano women had a game (iacapon) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tumpa, or Iandapoka ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaretumpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guarani*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ana," the souls of the dead.

[9] The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 107).

/27 cont./

[139] which is purple when mature and opens into three sections
[824] when ripe. It has an insipid sweetness, but one which both
[262] whites and Chiriguano like. The color is a bright purple. It is abundant, and in certain years of scarcity it is a resource for human life in the months of February and March. In Chiriguano it is called "Nacaglina." The carapari is another cactus, taller than the preceding ones, which also has its congenial land. /28/ since it is not found everywhere. It is admirable for its tall, striated leaves or branches, ash-gray and armed with spines; its fruit is very pleasant and also sought
[342] by foxes. The trunk is soft like that of all cacti; nevertheless
[159] doors are made of this wood and are durable enough. The pulp of the trunk is used medicinally to cure liver ailments, etc. They say that it is even good for goiter. There is another species of cactus which grows to some 20 or 25 centimeters; it is round and thick, striated and armed with spines. In Chiriguano it is called "Zipepe." The children, as we shall
[524] see, make wheels by cutting off its spines, and, making it roll, they use it as targets for their arrows. Finally, there is another which is trailing and long, covering the ground where it grows and making the place impenetrable. This has and
[262] produces a very delicious fruit which is called "Tapiocaru" in Chiriguano.

TILANDSIA. -- This plant is known to the Chiriguano
[342] by the name of "Caraguata guasu." Its special place is the
[283] hills, and among them it has some more congenial to it; it
[492] grows well enough, and its leaves are extraordinarily broad and long and ash-gray in color; in the middle there is a thick stalk which rises quite high and is good wood for house rafters; from the crushed leaves they make cord and from these are made first-rate halters for tying up animals in the rainy season.
[286] The Toba and even the Chiriguano make a kind of net which
[171] they call chipa or "allapoca," which is very useful, inasmuch
[482] as the women can carry any weight in a bag of that kind; from
[227] the same they make nets so as to be able to fish in the rivers, and these are pieces of work which would attract attention in any part of the Old World.

*136 [859] /62 cont./ It is only hunted by children, for whom every little bird is a joy and a pleasure.

There is also a species of oropéndola /oriole/, which makes a very funny nest, conical like a globe, with the wide part open toward the top; it hangs it from tree branches by means of long, slender threads. Sometimes there are many nests in a single tree. Neither vipers nor another large bird can do any damage in such a shelter.

TORDO /thrush/. -- Thrushes are innumerable everywhere from Monteagudo eastward. They fly in flocks. The males are completely black, blacker than writing ink, and the females a kind of tan. They cause incalculable damage in newly planted fields, scratching up and eating the seeds very dexterously. At the time of sprouting they pull up the tender plant of maize, wheat, barley, and rice; consequently they are a true plague, and the instant the farmer is careless, he will harvest only wind for his labor. Their flesh is good, but the Indians only hunt them because of the damage they do. The thrush, like no other bird, takes singular pleasure in following the cattle grazing tranquilly in the field, and some readers will be able to understand the object and purpose of this singularity.

*[825] This type of thrush, called "Chorunchín" in Chiriguano, sings little and has less grace in its song. But there is another class of thrush which is quite amusing. It is found about nine or ten leagues south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra; it is also black, and the female is black as well. It is frequently domesticated and sings with variety and strength. This little animal is a precious thing and an enchanting one. Nevertheless, in the domestic state every small thing which it finds it comically carries off with its beak and hides; it could well be pounds sterling or quintos. It loves its master and abhors strangers, ruffling itself up and pecking furiously.

439 [435] [191] A thrush of this second species is worth something more than five bolivianos or duros in Santa Cruz, and in Salta or Tucumán it is worth up to 30 nacionales. There are Indians in Parapiti and others who /63/ trade in thrushes. They catch

/63 cont./

them in the area around the place called Basilio, and they take them in cages to the Argentine Republic.

TOUCAN. -- A very unusual bird because of its long beak, which is almost as long as its body. This beak is yellow, red, and black, but very light; otherwise, since it is so large, it would be difficult to hold up. One who for the first time sees a toucan, called "Tunca" in Chiriguano, thinks that it is carrying an ear of maize in its beak. Toucans go in large flocks and have their favorite places; I know only one variety of them. It is said that the beak, when ground up and taken in water, stops the flow of blood. It seems that the toucan only lives in hot climates. If it is taken to other places, it dies.

URRACA /magpie/. -- This flying creature is rather large and abundant. There are several species of them, differentiated by their plumage. It is easily domesticated, and it is useful in the houses, because it kills all of the bugs or insects which multiply in them, but its size is no larger than that of the toucan. It is as restless and noisy in the houses as it is in the woods.

I have put an end to this brief description of the land inhabited by the Chiriguano and what is contained therein. All will understand that I did not attempt to discover and describe minutely each and every one of the plants, each and every one of the quadrupeds, amphibians, and insects, each and every one of the birds, but only those which seemed to me to be of the most importance. If it seems to my readers to be too much, or too little, they will be so kind as to excuse my faults; meanwhile, I am going to begin the real ethnography, which will be somewhat long so that it may be clearer and more pleasant. /64/ /Illustration appears here./

174 /73 cont./
175 understood, because they spoke the same language with slight
167 differences, they joined them, and from that moment the number of the Chiriguano was increased (1).

1. These 4,000 Indians were not of the Guaraní race; they had gone to settle in Paraguay and had learned that language imperfectly; they were called Carios and had killed Captain García.

The 4,000 Indians who fled from Paraguay because of the continual relations that they had had with the Portuguese had, at the time when they formed an alliance with the Chiriguano, a slight tincture of superficial civilization, just as in Mexico the Indians of Tlascala had learned it from Hernán Cortes and other Spaniards. As a result of this trace of civilization they had begun to use some clothing to cover, in principle, the most delicate part of the body; they had stopped eating the flesh of their enemies and prisoners and were more humanitarian in their dealings.

Having established their abode and formed a single
[266] tribe with the Chiriguano, they introduced their kind and
[191] humanitarian customs among their ferocious friends, who softened slightly their haughtiness and pride, imitated their allies in the manner of dress, and began to abandon the barbarous custom of cannibalism, because of which they are distinguished today, and even for a long time before, from the Toba, Mataco, Tapiete, and Sirionó (2).

[197] 2. The Tapiete speak the Chiriguano language with a certain difference, and the Sirionó, it is believed, were ancient Chiriguano, because their language is somewhat similar.

175 The Chiriguano, thus united, continued to multiply
[161] much more and to extend their dominions into the different departments of the Audiencia, the possession of which they now had in lesser degree. Before a century had passed after the

/76 cont./

174 169 When experience showed them that they could settle in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen. 241 433 [461] The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every type of cereal; maize matures exuberantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hoeks and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

433 241 511 [931] But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably. In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /77/ along some stream; plantings of this type are called socorro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

197 [101] By what has already been related it can easily be understood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guarayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guarayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

[194] [171] 1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize.

/?? cont./

"Comuni," Ind. do not have an accent on the i in Chiriguano, but they do in Guaraní.

In past centuries the race, and therefore the language, embraced a great deal of territory, but today it is greatly reduced, and I can state without danger of error that it is still numerous in Caipipendi, Pipi, Cirenti, Tarija, Aguaica, and in the Porení and Tarija missions; but in the former places it is scattered among many little towns, while in the latter it makes up respectable towns of 500, 1,000, and 2,000 souls (?).

2. Cirenti Guasu is located on the left bank of the Pilcomayo in Cordillera Province; it almost forms a single town with Mandiraí, and between the two of them they have about 1?? families.

Purity of language is now no longer found in any town or in the missions, in the first because of living among whites and continually emigrating to the Argentine Republic, and in the second, the missions, for a third reason, instruction in Spanish, which the missionaries give the boys and girls in the schools; thus, if the race is not finished first, as is feared, because of the continual epidemics and vagrancy, the language will soon be lost, and then the few books that exist will only serve as an historical monument for posterity, which will be able to recognize the merit and labor of the missionaries who spread among them, the Chiriguano, and poured out sweat with the sole purpose of civilizing them in a Christian way (3).

3. There are a grammar, a Spanish-Chiriguano dictionary, a catechism with its translation, Father Corrado's masterpiece, a small Chiriguano-Spanish "Nene" /"Infant": the work referred to is Nino's Nene Chiriguano/, and many unpublished sermons.

/120 cont./

124 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not show Him homage in some way.

991 124 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find out with special care, contrary, and stubbornness what religion they profess and what type of worship they render to their divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

[115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion, and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt too, however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

[105] 191 [192]

1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the months by moons, and they have other very similar customs. It is very notable that they also have some Hebrew words.

577 991 /121/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is, natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts, since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

G. Nimu--109 M-9 (1905-1911) .R2 SF10 Chiriguano SF.0

/136 cont./

because the Indians know that the evil spirit is a phantom, and the soul of the dead a shade: chenumbi if ebecha. I saw the shade of my son, says the mother.

One night while the smallpox epidemic was going on, they called me, being the Caravanga of the Santa Rosa Mission, to catechize a poor and miserable old woman who was some two and a half kilometers from the town. Among those who accompanied me there was one whom I well remember, who is still alive and whose name I shall not forget, who carried a burning firebrand, which was not necessary for me because the night was quite bright. When he was asked the reason for such a thing, he answered: Afia ellaguan vanta, to chase away the demons. They all do this especially when they are alone, which is rare, because the Chiriguano only rarely goes out at night because of his fear of evil spirits.

From this it can be deduced with considerable probability that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay. There were in that region, in past centuries, the missionaries of the Company of Jesus, who are famous for their apostolic work and for the suffering which they experienced in the reduction of the region. Because of the converts some of them even suffered martyrdom.

I had the opportunity to read a brief history, which I have mentioned above, written by Father Antonio of this same company, and I learned that the Guaraní believe in sorcerers and saw the Afia, demon, at all times and places. It destroyed the wheatfields and other plantings, did damage in their houses and burned them. Even the Guaraní called the bad spirit Afia which the said missionary applies to the demon (?).

2. A work written in the Guaraní missions of Paraguay.

/144 cont./

Genii

776 171 Where ignorance dominates, superstition is the result, I imagine, since all the tribes adjacent to the Chiriguano must believe in the existence of genii or owners of certain places who, not to offend anybody, are even accepted by some members of the white race, especially when dealing with buried treasures. This is not the least strange, since before the arrival of Christ all humanity, except for the Hebrews, believed in this, and even today in those places where the light of the Gospel has not penetrated a belief in genii prevails, even among enlightened people, because only the Gospel dissipates /illustration appears here/ /165/ the mists from the soul and destroys error, consequences of the fall of the first man.

778 776 In Chiriguano the tutelar genii of a place are called Iya, owner in the literal sense. If the Chiriguano pass by places where there is some genie, they find it difficult to approach, and if one asks them where there might be some limestone or gypsum, they will not tell for fear of the Iya, who would take revenge by killing the Chiriguano who caused the place watched over by the genie to be discovered. If something useful must be taken from such a place, they do it with the permission of the Iya (1).

[298] [317] [231]

1. The presence of the Iya in places where petroleum is found is undeniable for the Chiriguano. They will take what is absolutely necessary of this liquid to cure the sores of their horses, cows, etc.

135 When the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, the missionary made every effort to try to find gypsum and limestone, but no Indian was willing to tell where it was abundant. Nevertheless, by chance, while the foundations of the church were being built, it was discovered that many of the stones being used were of hydraulic lime, an abundant vein of which was found about 300 meters from the church itself on top of a hill. Gypsum up to today has not been found in the areas thereabouts for the same reason, but there are signs of its presence. In

/190 cont./

574 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accommodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

594 178 [431] [293] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he asks nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretasted liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

> 1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 527 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quiriquinchos, /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

622 224

> 2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

293 824 191

[Text Continues on P. 221]

/161 cont./

273
824
171

and the Mataco; thus the fruit of the chañar, mistol, and algarroba are used in the manufacture of chicha.

Subalterns

621
623

The cacique of a tribe is not alone in political, judicial, and administrative administration. In order to have a more correct administration, he, as sole and supreme authority, selects counselors and assistants, whom he seeks from among the most competent persons of the tribe. The primary advisors are whatever sorcerers there may be; these men are thus feared and hence respected by the people, who make use of them in sickness and calamity, both public and private.

621
624
554

Next in rank as counselors come other men to whom they give the name Igüira iya, owner of the stick or baton, according to the signification of the word and which corresponds in Spanish to hombre de mando ó autoridad /man in command or authority/. Thus they are the alcaldes, to whom the cacique hands over part of his authority with absolute subordination, so that through complaints, ineptitude, or other causes, the alcaldes are summarily dismissed and then others appointed. In each tribe there is a single alcalde who does everything, because the cacique, in his town, is better than an emperor, not having to lift a straw and spending his time in prolonged idleness.

/162/ The alcaldes in the tribes take charge of the rest of the settlers; in a search for peons they hear the sarcasms and recriminations of their fellows, and many times they definitely disobey them, even going so far as to insult them with: Mburubicha pa nde? Perhaps you are a cacique?" (1)

1. In the missions with many tribes there are as many caciques and alcaldes as there are tribes composing them. In this regard the custom of the Indians has been respected for a better and more honest administration.

/169 cont./

Towns

It is thus stated in the Holy Scriptures that man from the beginning began to build towns, and all the descendants of the first inhabitants of the earth have followed their example. I believe that my readers have learned that the Chiriguano are different from the other natives who surround them; they consider the Toba and the Mataco to be very inferior, so inferior that they scorn and despise the ornaments and varied feathers that the latter use.

The Chiriguano also, as descendants of the first men, love society and like to live in company, in more or less large towns, in well-formed towns, with houses around a plaza, in contrast to other tribes which, in spite of being sociable, form towns as quickly as they disappear, according to need. Thus it happens that wherever they know that there is food, the Toba and the other nomadic races go there; if they are helping a missionary, they abandon him when the algarrobas, the chañar, and the mistol are ripe (2).

2. Polygamy in the world began with Lamec. From Ada, his first wife, he took Fael who lived in cabins; it seems that the nomadic tribes of America are descendants of his.

I have witnessed both cases, the first in the Tigüipa Mission, where on the right bank of its little river three tribes had gathered in 1905, making their miserable round huts with a few stakes, with branches covered with grass, in which men and women, old and young, and dogs covered with mange lived together. I witnessed the second in the mission of San Antonio del Pilcomayo in 1900 when, the algarrobas already being ripe, some 68 Mataco families disappeared, running off into the woods to seek a life of gifts and surrender themselves to drink and dishonesty, turning their backs on the religion which some of them had embraced.

/170 cont./

Modern Houses

342 171 [464] [648] A Chiriguano house offers nothing special in appearance, but even those of the mestizos who have settled in their country are of the same form and not rarely worse, because naturally since the mestizo is not very fond of physical labor, because he is not an Indian, it is necessary for him to call on the energy of the latter, and the native is not always inclined to lend him this or that service, from which it follows that their houses are inferior (2). /Illustration appears here./

> 2. I am speaking here of the houses that the mestizos or whites build in the countryside where they live; in the towns their houses are normal; they almost all have tile roofs, and there are also some which are white-washed.

342 [192] [184] /171/ House in the Chiriguano language is called Ho, which is different from what they call Tapi, hut. The latter are common in large towns and belong to the lazy people, wanderers, and even the poor. It must thus be understood that the construction of a Chiriguano house is a work of no small importance and care, if one considers that the Chiriguano is poor, so poor that he only has available an ax, a shovel, and a knife, and not always these. Because of the importance that I give to this construction, many who do not know these regions could believe that the houses are very fine, but there is nothing fine about them. None of them is beyond the rank of cabins.

342 335 476 I believe that it is indispensable to describe the way of constructing them and the elements available to the Chiriguano in order to carry this out. If the Indian has some luck in sheep, he pays some of his companions with sheep so that they will help him gather the principal timber, and should this wealth be lacking, he begins to cut and strip bark in the woods by himself, selecting timber of good quality, straight and resistant to the action of water. The principal pieces are generally six posts

[Text Continues on P. 235]

/174 cont./

342 281 second frame, taking care that it is not very tight so that when it dries it will not warp. He attaches this hide from behind with thongs of the same material, and the result for them is a door de luxe, which could be envied even by some whites, who, in spite of the fact that they have hides, either cannot find anyone to work them for such a door, or who out of avarice and in order not to spend a few coins do not concern themselves with such a comfort (2).

342 322

2. Some of them make very crude doors with two pieces of thorny ceiba wood, which they work perfectly with a knife. No Chiriguano puts a window in his house.

Ancient Houses

342 177 178 Some of my readers perhaps may have believed that the house and its mode of construction just described go back to the origin of the race. /175/ This belief would be an error, because they must understand that the above-mentioned is the result of progress. The method of building houses like the present ones is relatively new; they learned it from the whites, especially from the inhabitants of the Santa Cruz area, where the houses all have galleries, this being noted even in the capital of the department, although they may be of much more importance and may be disappearing in the new buildings. But 184 in Monteagudo, Lagunillas, Charagua, and centers where the Chiriguano have their holdings, houses have gallaries.

These, in addition to giving the houses a better appearance, in addition to the indisputable utility, are a very great reinforcement and protection for the walls of the house, not allowing the torrential rains to wear away or demolish the plastering that 342 they do in all the houses. It is true that many houses of the 171 whites in their towns are of adobe, but when the timber is of superior quality it is almost preferable, because this material + REMAINS JOINED BETTER AND IS MORE COMPACT.

000 /175 cont./
remains joined better and is more compact (1).

197 1. When a mission is founded, the first building is the mission house made in the usual way. But in the Potosí missions they are all of timber, and any traveler would marvel at their height and strength.

342 178 The ancient Chiriguano houses were of different form, and they were not alike in size or beauty in the towns. Some were distinguished by their roundness and conical form, and others because they were small and low. The latter had no importance at all and could scarcely even be called huts, in spite of the fact that, to the poor Chiriguano, dominated by his laziness, the smallness of a dwelling does not detract from its importance.

342 171 I am going to deal at some length with the way the houses of conical form were built, because they indicate skill on the part of the builder or because they make one's imagination take wing and fly to China, Africa, and Japan, where similar forms are found and thus make us ever more convinced of the unity of the human race.

As explorers, travelers, histories, and well thought out books say and as is also observed in the pictures of illustrated geographies, it is evident that in China, Japan, Africa, New Zealand, and in the east of Australia not a few of the inhabitants /176/ have houses in conical form.

This form seems to be the original one of the human race, and it is very probable that man has used it in the five parts of the world, since it is even found among the Chiriguano.

342 335 In fact, in order to construct a comfortable house before the Conquest, the clever Chiriguano used the following method. He first obtained a single post of some four or five meters and planted it at a depth of approximately one meter (1).

[476] [574] 1. For any small job for which the Indian must trouble his friends, he would get nothing without offering them a drink. Not even money is so esteemed and appreciated as chicha by the Chiriguano.

/188 cont./

291
302
304
178

replaced by the cloth one, although it costs a great deal; the customs of yesteryear are now disappearing, and those of today, or of the whites, are penetrating rapidly.

302
412
[831]

For the Chiriguano virility consists of a vigorous head of hair; nevertheless, although he prizes hair on his head, he never allows any other hair on his body, except that of the eyelashes and eyebrows, which he forms into arches. He pulls out the rest of the hair on his face and body with his Tendivaha poha, or tweezers. These consist of some little pieces of tin or a piece of cane slit down the middle, and sometimes a knife. With great patience and bit by bit he pulls out or cuts off all the hair that appears on his chin, thus looking like another woman. Others who are called /illustration appears here/ /189/ rich pull out their hair with thin pieces of silver, which they call Mboivera (1).

302

1. During my stay in the territory I saw only one Indian who had a thick beard, but because of this uncleanliness he was considered disgusting. When the hairs grew, he cut them with scissors. Today the young men are beginning to wear mustaches and goatees, and many shave with razors.

[178]

291
[171]

The ancient Chiriguano clothing was very simple and too immoral, as is still seen among the Indians where the civilization of the Cross has not penetrated, such as the Chacobo north of Santa Cruz and others in the Bolivian Chaco. Boys go about naked until the age of ten or twelve, and girls up to seven, at which age they are content to cover the most delicate part of the body because of a trace of modesty which exists among them. Even grown men make use of this most simple garment when they are in the country busy at work or when they are returning to town loaded with firewood or food.

[Text Continues on P. 260]

593
586

/208 cont./

love can accomplish much, and they really love their children, without making much outward show of this.

Finally, the man, whenever he wishes, can dismiss his wife with great ease. He does it with contempt, in biting words, calling her Cuña pochi, bad woman, Cuña imuquere, lost woman, good only for lighting the fire. No one could endure such scorn for an hour, and she understands that the rascal has won the love of another, younger woman.

515 When a mother goes to the spring or river, she takes her son or daughter with her, bathes herself and also her child, and then grinds up some grains of Ñetira, a kind of potash, leaving her hair and that of her daughter clean and shiny. The bath is daily, but the washing of the hair with ñetira is not.

/209/ Pregnancy and Birth

843 When a woman finds herself pregnant, she does not give up her customary chores, but goes to the field as usual and fetches from there heavy loads of maize and other things.

482 285 [171] They use for this, as I have already noted, a kind of close-woven net which the Toba make with the bark of the caraguata or maguey. Those made by the Chiriguano are like the wooden fruit-baskets /chipas/. They are open on top, where they have an easily untied cord, in the middle of which there is a wide band for holding the weight with the forehead (1).

482

1. The Chiriguano woman lets all the weight of the load she is carrying rest on her spinal column, etc., holding it with her forehead. If the water is some distance away, she does the same; if not, she carries the vessel vertically on her left shoulder, or on her head, where she places a pad of rags.

/214 cont./

845 I judge that they take away the lives of these unfortunates,
847 not to do them harm, but to do a highly philanthropic act for
732 them, since they would have even greater suffering were they to be left blind, crippled, lame, one-handed, mute, and deaf for the rest of their lives (2).

[171]
[734]

2. Similar philanthropic acts are still practiced among the Toba and other tribes; so that they will not suffer much and long, they also bury sick persons alive.

732 Today one sees an occasional deformed person, and these isolated cases are either due to parents not brave enough to kill /215/ their children or perhaps they can be attributed to illnesses contracted at an advanced age. As a conclusion to
181 the present chapter, let it be noted that some have written things about which they know nothing, making the Chiriguano out to be ferocious wild animals without compassion, but a particular fact cannot be used to draw general conclusions. True explorers state, as I do, that in general the Chiriguano is humanitarian; he loves his relatives in life and in death, and they are astounded by the conduct of the whites, who upon the death of their relatives slaughter cattle, drink brandy, and play as if it were a fiesta (1).

000

1. The conduct of certain civilized persons should not be reproved by the world. Even in the most civilized nations there are benefit dances. They drink, dance, and do other things, while the poor or the sick suffer. The Catholic takes out his money and gives it away in secret, without ever bragging about it; this is the true way to help humanity.

/228 cont./

301 [304] The Tembeta usually is a small round piece of tin with two little ears or hooks on the sides which serve to hold it in the pierced lip. The circle of the tembeta is hollow up to near the surface of the hooks; a little wax is put in it, and the ornaments, such as coralline or little light-blue stones of little value, are set in the wax. What is somewhat valuable is the Itogũi, a small green stone in one piece which fills the entire hole of the tembeta. I have one of these, and its stone is fixed in place with a little prong of the same tin. The tembetas are also of hollow cane and of wood, but never of stone, as some writers have stated (2).

2. Though tembeta literally means lip stone, this does not come from its being made of stone; the literal meaning comes from itogũi, which is a stone. The itogũi is also set in those of wood.

178 301 The tembeta, already described, is relatively new. Before Christians and missionaries came into their country the tembetas were of wood, and they were of the same form as the tin ones, with all the ornamentation, but most people used a piece of hollow cane, especially when they were working. [304] This is a little piece of cane cut at a node, which is thinner in the hole in order to be held in the pierced lip. In these there is neither ornament nor wax, because they are for the poor, and for the rich only when they are working.

301 [435] The Itogũi had considerable value among the Indians, being worth a horse, a c[illegible] burro, etc., but, as I have already said, it was a rel[illegible] value, since in Tarija, from where they brought them, their value was two bolivianos. From this it can be concluded that the itogũi is not found in [171] Chiriguano country. It owes its origin to the Incas or Quichuas /Quechua/, /229/ but it is the Chiriguano who work the tembetas, in which they set the itogũi, or green stone.

/229 cont./

881 304 [821] For the piercing of the lip, a full moon is necessary, so that the open wound will not have bad results, will gradually get larger, and will not form a swelling. The boys who are ready for the tembeta must not be younger than seven years of age or older than 12. In the first case they would not be able to stand the pain, and in the second the piercing would be difficult because the lip would have hardened.

Thus, when the moon is at its maximum and the boy is of the proper age, he little by little becomes prepared for the operation. The mother and father prepare him with loving words, stimulating his vanity so that he may afterward be esteemed and loved by the girls. Then they make him understand the need for piercing his lip, so that everyone will know [186] [885] that he belongs to the noble Chiriguano race and is worthy of being a member of it; finally, they make him understand that only when he has the tembeta will the grandees of the nation respect him and treat him kindly (1).

[869] [171]

1. Christian mothers, to encourage their sons to endure suffering and even martyrdom itself, show them Heaven, an invisible dwelling place. The savage infidels encourage their children with earthly promises, such as the love of women; qui de terra est; de terra loquitur; this is the effect of ignorance.

The boy hears the nice things that his parents say to him as a deaf man hears music. What he considers more and what occupies all his concern is the pain that the opening of his lip is going to cause him. Nevertheless, he cannot hide or run away; he must submit to the operation in spite of his fear of it. In fact, before the full moon the father goes with his 304 881 759 son to the house of the surgeon and tells him the reason for his visit, asking him to make his boy into a man. The surgeon-doctor makes an appointment for the next day or another one, and in the meantime he looks for a second boy to undergo the

/231 cont./

304 881 [824] Meanwhile the one who performed the operation now gives final admonishments to the boy, and he, following all of these instructions and those of his father, keeps the little tube in continual motion so that it will not stick to the flesh, and on the days that follow he begins to put around it little twigs /232/ from the bush called Yacurimbíu, food of the turkeys. When it has healed, he will cut a larger stick from the same bush and put it in alone, removing the tembetandi, and continue enlarging the hole this way little by little until he can put in a tembeta of hollow cane, which also goes on taking on larger dimensions until it seems big enough. Then he buys a de luxe tembeta and he puts it in, never to remove it again, either day or night, since it would be a great embarrassment for a Chiriguano to appear in public without his tembeta (1).

1. If the Chiriguano were to be without his tembeta while asleep, saliva would run out, because the hole is rather large in most of them.

301 [326] [439] [177] The hollow-cane tembetas are made by every Chiriguano, while those of wood and tin are made by craftsmen. In spite of there not being any blacksmiths or tinsmiths among them and as neither tin or lead nor anything similar is available, the result is that the material for making them is brought from other parts, being bought from the whites, with whom they have maintained relations since the beginning of Tarija, out of which region the Chiriguano were expelled.

The Tembeta in Other Tribes

301 ●171 The use of the tembeta may be another argument for the unity of the human race; indubitably the Chiriguano use it as a tradition passed on from father to son, and thus successively up to our times. The tembeta is found in use by savage tribes almost throughout the world; in Africa the Noers /Nuer/ and

/232 cont./

301 Berry women put pieces of glass and bits of ivory in their lips,
•171 respectively; among the Mittoo /Mittu/ and the Lobbatk, men and women wear in the lower lip tembeta that are conical in shape, and in addition the women even wear hoops in the upper lip (2).

> 2. In many tribes of the world, the tembeta is a mark of modesty, and women who wear it do not show themselves in public without having it in the lip.

In other regions the women are coquettes, only wearing in their upper lip a wood or ivory hoop, which the Sciulus do. Finally, even the Cormá /Korma/, investigated not long ago by the Italian Bottego, wear in their lip wide wooden hoops which increase the wideness of the lip itself.

In North America the tembeta is used by preference by the /233/ women; it serves them as an ornament, and they put around it as many little pieces of wood as they have years of age. The tembetas of the Tapíi of Isoso are small, and those of the Chorotí and the Tapiete are of wood or of cane; no doubt up until today it was difficult for them to get the metal to make a de luxe one (1).

101

> 1. The Tapiete are, or were, Chiriguano Indians. They stayed near the inlets, where there is flat land with hills and streams, in order to be able to do their planting.

301 According to what is known through faith, clothing was
773 given to humanity as punishment for its disobedience, a punish-
776 ment which has been converted into the luxury of frequent and extravagant fashions, so also among the Chiriguano does there exist the fabulous belief that the tembeta, which today they consider to be a distinctive mark of the race and a sign of virility, strength, and valor, was nothing other than a bitter and well-deserved punishment which a marvelous and very

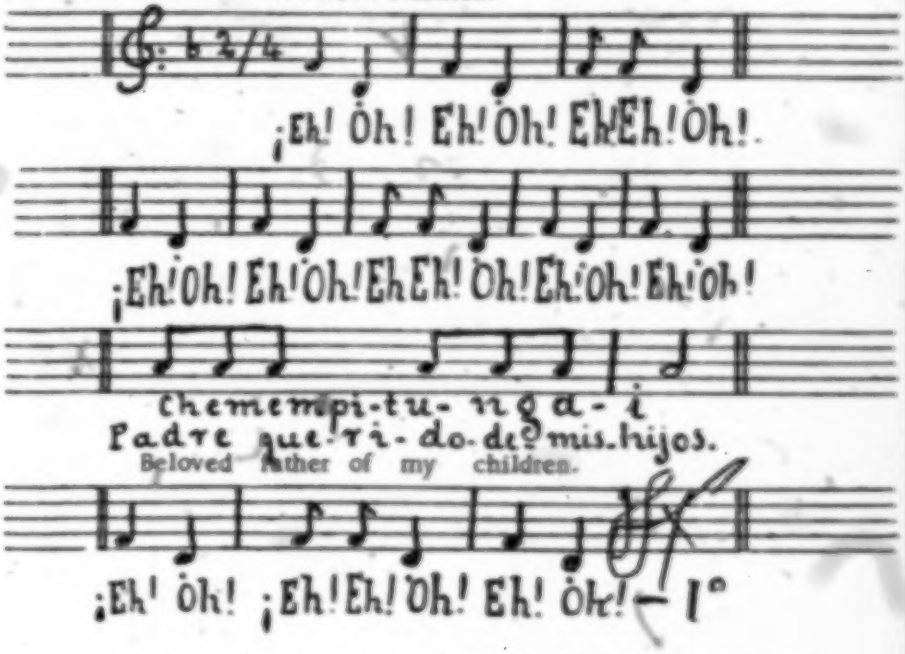
/295 cont./

765 589 of the relatives comes from afar to the house of the departed. he does not greet anyone. but asks where the grave is. goes there. and. crouching down with his face toward the wall. cries for several minutes. and. when this is over. he then greets the living and the conversation begins in subdue tones.

589 765 539 [171] The song. as well as the way of weeping for the dead. is the same in all the tribes. but there are some small differences. as happens in the language itself.

Duelo de una viuda

A Widow's Lament



1. If the deceased is a grandchild. she says: Chinamanino ngai! Beloved grandchild! And if it is a son or daughter: Chemempi mi ngai! Beloved son or daughter!

171

/For information on the distribution of Chiriguano and Chané material culture throughout the Chaco area and South America as a whole, see category 116, pp. 2-22, 25-47, 51-68, 71-81, 84-92, 95-98, 101-122, 125-146, 164-179, and 182-195./

/156 cont./

from the often vulgar, empty whites. Batirayu, however, is also an exceptional man, the makings of a great man, who is condemned to idleness. Ce 115

Batirayu is a Chané. These Indians now speak the same language as the Chiriguano, namely, Guarani. Most of their customs and usages correspond to those of the Chiriguano, by whom they were probably subjugated. According to their origin, however, they are Arowaken /Arawak/ and hence the most southerly dwellers of this group, which had, and still has, a wide distribution in South America and on the Antilles. C Ce 197 171 ● 648 Ce 101

/157/ If I describe the Chané and the Chiriguano together here, it is because their material culture is so similar. Nevertheless, I have indicated in which tribe I made this or that observation; this is especially true for the religious domain, in which the Chané, at least on the Río Parapiti, have kept many old conceptions which are unknown to the Chiriguano. C Ce 128 171 771

Batirayu told me that a few of the Chané still knew some words of the old language of the tribe. He said that especially at the drinking bouts, when they are intoxicated, they give themselves airs by speaking the old Chané language, which otherwise has the character of a secret language. Ce 197 554 273

In the company of Batirayu I set out for the village of "Huirapembe" where the Indians who knew Chané best were supposed to be found. It was not easy to draw their secrets out of them. Actually, only the youngest ones, who knew the least, were willing to tell me something (1). One old woman who was Ce 124 197 114 M

1.

	Chané	Chiriguano	Mojo
Water	ũne	y	une
Maize	sopóro	ahuãti	seponí
Fire	yucu	tãta	yucu
Dog	tamũco	yaũmba	tamucu
Chicha (good)	liquí	cãngui	itico
Rat	cõvo	angũya	cozo.

C 192 197

/173 cont./ C Ce

Under the influence of the whites, however, the Chané and Chiriguano are gradually changing their huts, and many Indians are already building huts that are identical with theirs. 342 177

No hut here has its original Indian form. The genuine Chiriguano huts (the original Chané huts are not known) were very large; up to 100 persons lived in one house, and the entire /174/ village consisted of only a few large huts (1). These C 342 178 361 592 171

1. Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. -- Tucuman y Perú -- 1596. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Madrid, 1885. Vol. II. Page CIV. C [113]

evidently correspond to the large family houses well known in Brazil, which I saw in Bolivia only among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe from Lago Rojo-Aguado.

Even in Viedma's (2) time, at the end of the eighteenth

2. Viedma: loc. cit.

century. /Fig. 83 appears here/ however, they seem to have given up the original type of house and built smaller huts. C Ce

In many villages there belongs to each hut one or more maize granaries (Fig. 84a), in which maize, gourds, etc. are /175/ stored. These granaries are built on piles and are perhaps a reminder of the time when the Chiriguano and Chané lived in swampy regions. To each granary there belongs, as a rule, a ladder (Fig. 84b). Sometimes the granaries and the dwellings are built together into one house. /Fig. 84a appears here./ I saw such huts in the vicinity of Machareti and at Yatavéri, not far from Ivo. Not infrequently the granaries stand in the fields, far from the dwellings. 343 Ee 361 174 C Ce 342 343

These villages are neat and clean. Huts and market place are swept daily and the refuse is burned. Ee 364

The space in the huts is not too cramped. /176/ In each house, as a rule, there lives only one family, which, aside from the rest of the family members, sometimes consists of the husband: Ee 592

C
Ce
352
191

/177 cont./one also sees hammocks in the huts but they are not common. The hammock is native to tropical South America, but it disappears toward the south and in the mountains, for there it is too cold to use it. /Figs. 85 and 86 appears here./

Ce
343
419

Fig. 84a. Maize granary. Chané. Rio Bijuro.

C
Ce
352
353
[251]

From the roof of the hut, on hooks and racks, hang clothing and provisions, medicine, and other things. Here the men also keep their bows and arrows, their drums, and similar things. Maize ears are hung by liana loops.

C 352 191

/170/

New and then one sees a seat carved out of wood (Fig. 87) in a shape especially familiar from the Brazilian Indians.

C Ce 415 [353]

A great many clay vessels of all dimensions are always standing along the walls of the huts. Some of them are so large that a man could crawl into them. There /171/ are pots, there are

Ce 482 291 854

Fig. 87. Chaná woman. Río Paraná. She has a water jug in the carrying net.

C Ce 415

roasting bowls, there are handsomely painted vessels which are brought out for the festivals, and there is the treasure pot, in which the housewife keeps all the valuables and souvenirs of the family. In it, if the home is "well-to-do," lie clothing,

Ce [354]

/180 cont./

the most common among the Chiriguano. Only those women who live with the whites and have adopted their manners and customs carry jugs on their heads.

Division of Labor between the Sexes

Here too, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, each sex, as a rule, has its specific work, as we see from the following table:

Table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Chaná and Chiriguano.

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Fishing . . .	+	+ (1)	Gathering wild fruits and tubers		+
Hunting . . .	+		Ceramics . . .		+
Planting, clearing . .	+		Woodworking . .	+	
sowing . .	+	+	Knotting nets . .	+	
reaping . .	+	+	Plaiting rope . .	+	
Cooking	(2)	+	Plaiting mats . .	+	
Carrying wood . . .	+	+ (3)	Tying hammocks .		+
Carrying water . . .		+	Leather work . .	+	
Preparing intoxicating drinks		+	Making weapons .	+	

1. As a rule, the women fish in shallow water, the men in deep water.

2. Sometimes take part in the preparation of the hunting beats.

3. Among the Chaná on the Rio Paraná.

/181/

Ce 462

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Decoration of calabashes	+		Raising animals. .	+	+
Building houses	+ (1)		Sewing	+	+
Weaving	+ (2)	+	Basketry	+	
Spinning thread .	+		Day labor for the whites . . .	+	+ (3)
Plaiting bands . .	+				

Ce [464]

Ce [342] [842]

1. On the Rio Parapiti the Chané women gathered the material for the roof, that is, long grass.

2. Only in the case of Maringay.

3. Not important, actually only on the Rio Parapiti.

Ce [198]

If one compares this table with the one on page 94 /omitted in the translation/, one finds that heavy wood-carrying and the building of houses has been almost entirely transferred from the women to the men among the higher-standing Chané and Chiriguano. Strangely enough, certain industries, for example, the production of clay vessels, are women's work in almost every primitive Indian tribe. Similarly, the calabashes are decorated everywhere by the men, who also do all woodworking. The reason that the women too fish here is because a number of these Indians live on rivers with little water, in which only small fish live, and in catching them the courage and strength of the fisher are not put to any test.

Ce [171]

/181 cont./

Branches of Subsistence

Fishing and hunting do not play an important role among the Chané and Chiriguano. As I have mentioned before, they are farmers, primarily maize farmers. These Indians live so exclusively on maize that for them all other food plays a subordinate role. The Indians living on the Rio Parapiti are an exception; they plant more sweet potatoes than maize, and these yield an excellent harvest in their country.

/182/ The following plants are grown by the Chané and Chiriguano:

- Sweet potatoes.
- Maize.
- Squash (Cucurbita pepo Lin.).
- Calabash fruits.
- Beans of different varieties.
- Cotton.
- Urucú.
- Tobacco.
- Tuna (for example, at Yatavéri). Opuntia.
- Millet.
- Mandioca (rare).
- Reed for arrow shafts (on the Rio Parapiti).

In the plantings of these Indians I saw neither ordinary potatoes nor bananas. The sweet potatoes, according to Batirayu's statements, were introduced at a late period by the whites. Tobacco-raising is insignificant. The Chané and Chiriguano are not great smokers. They mostly smoke cigarettes in maize leaves, seldom pipes (Fig. 88). Among them one need not give his pipe to a neighbor for further smoking.

It is strange how the use of tobacco differs among the Indian tribes. The Aymara and Quichua /Quechua/, who chew coca, very seldom smoke. They have no taste for it. The Chacobo and Atsahuaca, two tribes with whom I became acquainted on my travels, smoked just as little. When I offered a Chacobo a

When I offered a

/182 cont./ Chacobo a

cigarette, he took only a few puffs, kept the smoke in his mouth for a few seconds, and then threw the cigarette away. Nevertheless, the Chacobo plant tobacco, but use it exclusively as a remedy. If a Chacobo gets a "boro," a fly larva, "Dermatomya," under his skin, he covers the fly larva's entry spot with tobacco powder and is then able to squeeze out the dead larva in a few hours. The Choroti and Ashluslay are passionate smokers. /183/ For them smoking is one of the greatest enjoyments of life. These contrasts are quite strange.

The Chiriguano and the Chané have extensive plantings which, in contrast to the clearings of the Choroti and Ashluslay in the wilderness, are well tended. In former times they used spades made of hard wood with attractive handles (Fig. 89), but these have now gone out of use and have been entirely supplanted by iron spades. Not infrequently the fields lie far from the villages, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley. This is due to the fact that water is not available throughout the year everywhere in the vicinity of the plantings.

As has been mentioned, the produce obtained is stored in granaries built on piles (Fig. 84), so that it will be at least somewhat protected from rats, moisture, etc. These granaries are seen everywhere, except among the Chané on the Rio Pilcomayo.

The fields are fenced in with fences built brush-shaped, which are often difficult to climb over. There is no fertilization of the fields. On the other hand, a field that has been exhausted is left to lie fallow.

The time of sowing is determined by the position of the Pleiades, "ychu." When this passes across the horizon very early in the morning, it is sowing time. When the rainy season begins, everything must be sowed.

The men clear and sow. Everyone helps with the harvest, men, women, and children. Among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley the men sowed the maize, that is, they took care of the larger plantings, whereas the women were gardeners and planted gourds, beans, etc.

P 276 249 757
C Ce 276 171
C Ce 241 [412] [177]
C Ce [312]
C Ce 251 343
Ce 241
C Ce [821]
Ce 241 462
C [241] [462]

C Ce 231 /187 cont./ the Chiriguano and Chané have fewer horses, cows, donkeys, sheep, and goats than the Choroti and Ashluslay. On the other hand, they have more chickens and pigs. Sometimes one sees ducks, guinea fowl, and turkeys. In certain regions, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley, where the Indians are wealthy, they also have much livestock. The whites, unfortunately, try in every way to cheat them out of what they have. Thus, it is not uncommon for a white man or a white woman to come into a village with a few kegs of spirits and to leave it with a couple of the best cows of the Indians. The whites are richer, the Indians poorer.

C Ce [184] [556] Ee [439]

C 227

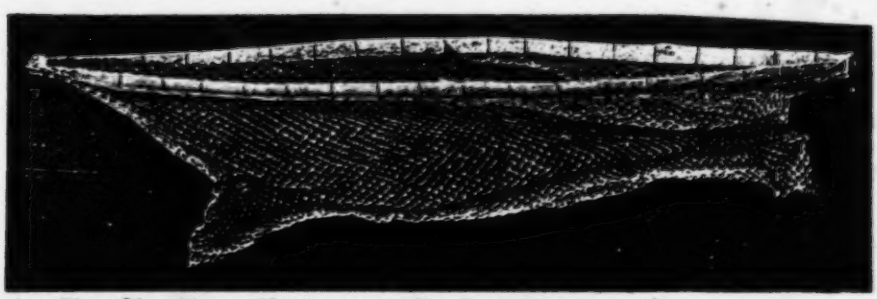


Fig. 91. Net. Chiriguano. Rio Parapiti. Ca. 1/12.

C Ce 231 ● 171 The menagerie of tamed wild animals which one sees in the villages of the more primitive Indians is not to be found among /188/ these Indians. A parrot that talks a little Guarani, however, is not unusual in the huts.

Preparation of Food

C Ce 252 The dirt that we come across in the preparation of food and eating among the Choroti and Ashluslay is not found /Fig. 92a appears here/ among the Chané and Chiriguano. On the other hand, the dishes are terribly monotonous. They consist of maize in every possible form, cooked maize, roasted maize, maize bread baked in ashes, maize flour porridge, and /189/ steamed maize flour. The latter is prepared in an apparatus illustrated here (Fig. 92).

Ee [262]

/192 cont./ C Ce 524

On the Rio Pilcomayo three pins were used on each side. The distance between the pins of the opponent was three ells. Each pin consisted of a shelled ear of maize, and the distance between them was supposed to be a hand span (1). The balls Ce [804] [323]

1. Longest distance between thumb and little finger.

used are made of fired clay and are hollow, with small, rattling pellets inside (Fig. 99). /Plate 17 appears here./

C Ce 524

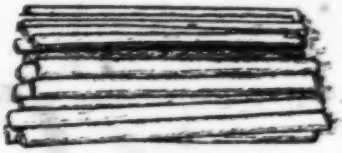


Fig. 95.
Little sticks for the tshűcareta game. 2/9.

/193/ The Life of the Indian Children C Ce 855

If one speaks of the life in the villages, one must not forget the children. The children play, but also help the adults. They are reared like the Choroti and Ashluslay children. They spend their lives in happy freedom, without thrashings and harsh words.

The Chiriguano and Chané children have a number of games and toys which one never sees the children of the whites in Bolivia use, and all of which seem to me to be genuinely Indian. C Ce 524

First of all, the Indian children play the games of the adults that I have already mentioned. Of the Choroti and Ashluslay games, they are familiar with the hockey-like game of ball, which the Chiriguano call "táca." I did not see it played among the Chané. As goals they use pits, and sometimes they hit the C Ce 857 526 [171]

[text continues on p. 47] ball with rackets.

C
Ce
CI
524
526
171

/198 cont./

The games and toys are of great interest from the anthropogeographical point of view. We do not find the majority of then. outside the Chaco and the adjacent regions of South America. On the other hand, we find them in North America. Consequently I have /199/ /Ill. 104 appears here/ /200/ come to the conclusion (1)

1. See also Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie, 1910. Nos. 3 and 4.

that the games and toys are vestiges from a time when the cultural exchange between North and South America was greater than now, or, more correctly, that traces of a cultural stream coming from the north extended down as far as Argentina. A peculiar similarity also exists between the types of tobacco pipes that one finds in southern South America and in /Fig. 105 appears here/ North America. The tripod pottery which I found in my excavations in eastern Bolivia, in Mojos, also points to influences from the north.

S
276
171
S
323
171
172

Everyday Clothing

C
Ce
291
177

In the villages in which the influence of the whites has not driven out the old attire, the Chané and Chiriguano women wear a sack-shaped garment, "tiru" (Fig. 106). This, as the photographs show, may be worn in various ways. In former times the tiru does not seem to have had its present shape. Viedma (2) says

2. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181.

the /201/ Chiriguano women merely had a piece of fabric around their hips. Undoubtedly, under the influence of the "moral" Christians, the costume developed so that it became "more decent." /Fig. 106 appears here./

C Ce 174 515 /204 cont./

and Mataco, who still in part dress in fur cloaks, seem to me, like the Fuegians and Patagonians, to have immigrated to the Chaco from the cold pampas in the south where washing was extremely unpleasant, whereas the Chiriguano and Chané come from the north, out of the warm, humid, virgin forests, from the great rivers, where bathing was always pleasant and refreshing. Now, where /Fig. 109 appears here/ they live under the same climatic conditions, the former have preserved their dirt, the latter their cleanliness.

C Ce 264 171 515 C 304

Im Thurn (1) reports that the Indians in Guiana bathe

1. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883.

Fig. 108.
Woman's tattooed arm. Chiriguano.
Itapenbia.

C Ce 264 171 515

immediately after eating, without any harm to them. I often observed the same thing here.

C Ce 515 824 Ce 302 412

The Chiriguano and various Chané shampoo the head with the seeds of "nyantêra," which they grind. For the same purpose the Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the bark of the mistol /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./, "yûag." The nails, and /205/ not least the toenails, are also very carefully tended. For combing they use combs carved in wood or made out of sticks of cane tied together.

C
Ce
514
Ce
[171]
Ce
296
C
Ce
128

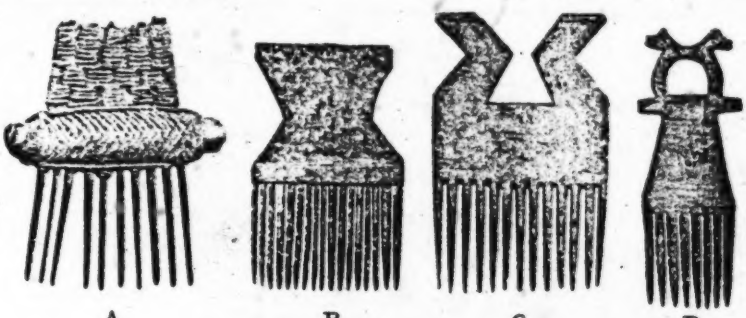
/205 cont./

The Chané and Chiriguano never relieve themselves close to the huts. I never saw special privies, however, for any Indians, and not for many whites in Bolivia either.

The Chané and Chiriguano are very careful with their clothing. They keep it clean and mend it if necessary. The members of each sex wash and mend their own things. The man here sews quite as well as the woman.

I have spoken here of the everyday life of these Indians. Now I shall describe the most important events in their lives, in their social life, their festivals, their industry, etc., and

Cce
412
531



A B C D

Fig. 109. Combs for combing the hair, not for fastening in it.

A, from the Chané; B, C, D, from the Chiriguano.

Ce
128

finally proceed to their legends and their religion.

6: Nordenskiöld--59 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Chapter Twelve

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

From the Womb to the Grave

C Ce 843 Ce [123] Ce 844 Ce 846 Ce [171] Ce 846 262 Ce [825] C 846 262 C Ce 171 846

The Chané and Chiriguano women work hard even during pregnancy, until they are to give birth. In Vocapoy's village there was a pregnant woman to whom I gave a pigeon that I shot. Vocapoy thereupon told me in great excitement that a pregnant woman must not eat pigeons. When a Chané or Chiriguano child comes into the world, it undoubtedly does not cause its mother much pain. These women are healthy and give birth easily, as do all Indian women who lead a healthy life and have never worn tight-fitting clothing. They also do not lie in childbed; instead, that must be done by the papa of the little one. Here, too, we come across this strange custom, the "couvade," which is known from so many Indian tribes. The husband is supposed to lie down for several days and observe a diet. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti he is permitted to eat only cooked maize and maize soup during the first few days, and later sweet potatoes as well. For several days he may not eat meat. For example, if he eats the meat of a goat, he will die, bleating as it does. The Chiriguano Indian Taco told me that he got his fat stomach because he did not observe this important custom. "I should have lain for five days and stayed on a diet," he said.

The custom of the couvade, as is well known, is very widespread in South America. Among the tribes with whom I am familiar it definitely occurs, aside from the /207/ Chiriguano and Chané, among the Chorotí, Gúarayú, and Chacobo. K. v.d. Steinen (1), who describes this custom in detail from the Rio Xingu,

C Ce [N3]

1. Karl v. d. Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/. Berlin, 1894.

/207 cont./

says it is probably known to all Brazilian tribes. On the other hand, the custom of the couvade seems to be unknown to the Quichua /Quechua/ and Aymara, that is to say, to the mountain culture in Bolivia and Peru. This is one of the many contrasts between the Indians of the mountains and of the virgin forest.

The Gúarayú Indians of northeastern Bolivia told me that if a man goes hunting immediately after his wife's confinement and, for example, shoots a parrot, he might kill his child. That is, during the first days of life the soul of the child follows the father.

Illegitimate children are very rarely born among the Chané and Chiriguano. I believe, perhaps I am mistaken, that the women of these Indians are chaste before they marry. On the Rio Itiyuro, among about 500 Chané, there was only one child born to an unmarried woman. Deformed children are very rarely born. Thus, from what I saw and what Batirayu said, in the entire Parapiti Valley, among 1500-2,000 Chané, there is no one who was born blind, none cross-eyed, no idiot, and only one with deformed extremities, and four deaf mutes. I did not observe any Indians with a serious stutter.

I do not know whether among these Indians, too, deformed children are immediately killed, but this is probably the case. Nor do I know whether abortion occurs. It is certain, however, that these healthy women seldom bear children who are not well formed. Nevertheless, in the Parapiti valley, as was said, there was a boy with deformed extremities. One hip bone was too short and one arm was also crippled. This boy was treated by all with extraordinary kindness, /208/ and loud approval was expressed when I gave him a few small presents.

When the child begins to walk, it is given a name. This is not given by the father or mother, but by its grandparents. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti I wrote down a few names. If it is a boy, he is called, for example, yatéurembi (lip of the tick), huásucaca (guanaco), tátunambi (armadillo ear), yánducúpe (ostrich back), vacainyáca (cow head), aguárachivi (fox urine), derésa paravéte (your poor eyes); if it is a girl, for example, árasaypoti (guava blossom) (1). A great many of the names are

1. Psidium guayava.

Ee 581 /212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

C Ce 582 Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

C Ce [171] This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Mataco.

Ee 595 Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have C [643] seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. Ee [586] 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

Ee 582 Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

C 577 177 797 831 /214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict C [837] morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

C 577 831 175 The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

Ee /216 cont./
754 They also sometimes believe that they are bewitched by the
177 Indians. A colonist, Gutierrez, flogged an Indian. The latter bewitched him, so that he became ill. Inside his stomach it sounded like the croaking of a frog.

C Ce The medicine men try to discover the bewitcher with smoke.
755 I did not see how this was done. The bewitcher, if he or she is
754 discovered, is killed.

000 /217/ In the following I shall speak about the connection of the medicine men with the great spirits.

Ee There seems to be no difference in the appearance and
755 the method of the medicine men among the Choroti and
756 Ashluslay and among the Chané and Chiriguano. It is the same
171 sucking out of foreign objects that have entered the body through
Ee bewitchment. Among the latter the medicine men are more
[177] secretive than among the former. Perhaps their contact with the whites has had the effect that they themselves are beginning to doubt their art.

Ee There is a difference, however, in the common remedies.
757 The first-named Indian tribes obtain their remedies, as a rule,
[171] from the vegetable kingdom. They boil decoctions of certain
Ee plants. The Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, except
[237] for certain plants, use animal remedies. Thus, on the Rio
Ce Itiyuro, the Chané use the fat of herons for swellings, wild pig
757 fat for fever, jaguar fat for pains in the bones, and toucan beaks
237 for female hemorrhages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the fat of the ostrich for chest pains, of the iguana lizard for conjunctivitis, of the chicken for everything, and maize beer for colds. I saw fat applied exclusively for external use.

Ce The Chané Indian is remarkable with regard to aseptic
752 treatment. I saw several times how they treat wounds in accordance with a most modern method, namely, with boiled water. This is different from the whites' use of pig excrement and the fresh urine of human beings, along with salt, for the same purpose. The reason that these Indians are familiar with such a modern
Ce method is undoubtedly their great cleanliness. They are used to
[515] washing themselves constantly. They probably hit upon the idea

Ce 834 171

/221 cont./

K. v. d. Steinen (1) and Koch-Grünberg (2) have pointed

1. K. v. d. Steinen: op. cit., p. 25.

C Ce [113]

2. Koch-Grünberg: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 133 /Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern (Two Years among the Indians), Berlin, 1909/.

out that even the women among the Indians on the Xingu and Rio Negro speak of sexual parts quite openly, as of something natural. The same is true among the Indians with whom I became acquainted. When I inquired about words touching on the most intimate things, even the women, indeed, the young girls, answered in the most natural manner.

Ce [124]

C Ce 195 834 838

There are words, however, which are prohibited. Such words among the Choroti are "ametché," which is an abusive word, "ictivähi," which designates homosexual intercourse, "huéle," which means onanism, and "tévi" among the Chané /222/ and Chiriguano, which has the same meaning as ictivähi. Here, too, the unnatural in sexual life is so shameful that it is not proper to speak of it.

C 834 838

There are also Indians who never want to speak about such things. This was true, for example, of a Chiriguano whom I had with me on my first trip on the Rio Parapiti. He even pretended that he had never heard such things mentioned. When I asked him about homosexuality among his countrymen, he feigned stupidity and said more or less: "Is that what the whites do?"

C [124]

Ce 538 831 [551]

Among the Indians, as among ourselves, there are nevertheless some who take pleasure in telling obscene stories. Such a one was the old Chané Bóyra, he who had the abusive name yúruhuasu, big-mouth. The more disagreeable the things he related, the more old Bóyra enjoyed himself. Sometimes he told such things that even my friend Batirayu, who used to interpret, was quite embarrassed. The old Chiriguano Yambási was also one who could tell all kinds of obscene stories.

Ce [115] C [538] [831]

Ec 838 171 c Ce [1/3]

/224 cont./

According to Westermarck (2), homosexuality is very

2. Westermarck: Ursprung und Entwickelung der Moralbegriffe /Origin and Development of Ideas of Morality/. Vol. II. Leipzig, 1909.

widespread among the Indians of America. The conception that this is a disgrace is by no means as marked everywhere as it is among the Indians mentioned here.

Ec Ce 839 171 c

/225/ Among the Chané and Chiriguano I did not hear anything about onanism. Among the Choroti, on the other hand, it is said to be practiced by the men who are ignored by the women at a dance.

Ce 833 171 [839]

Perversions in the relationship between men and women, which were common in ancient Peru, do not seem to occur here. The primitive mammal position in coitus is said to be common among the Chaco tribes.

M 832 824 Ec 825 773 839

Mataco gave me a root which they used as an aphrodisiac.

The relationship between human beings and animals is so intimately intertwined in the legends of the Indians that one cannot always determine whether they mean the one or the other. The legends that describe love affairs between human beings and animals are not descriptions of bestiality, which seems to be unknown among these Indians.

Ec 834 171 Ec [126]

The sense of modesty has developed very differently among these peoples. It seems to me to depend very much on the mode of dress. None of these Indian men or women of whom I have spoken here regards it as improper, insofar as they have not been completely corrupted or civilized, to expose the upper part of the body. The Chiriguano and Chané women are much more ashamed than the Choroti and Ashluslay when they expose the sexual parts. The latter were very reluctant to undress completely in order to be photographed. I did not even dare propose such a thing to the former.

C
Ce
834
171

/225 cont./

Nevertheless, if in the evening one sat beside the fire in the hut and was acquainted with the family, they seemed to be quite free and easy. The Choroti and Ashluslay men are very shameless. The men among the Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, less so. It is very common for the Chiriguano and Chané women, conversing in a group, to pass water standing up and to let the urine run down their legs, which may be regarded as less than clean. The men, on the other hand, always step aside in order to relieve themselves.

C
Ce
[574]

C
Ce
833
171
834

/226/ As has been mentioned, the sexual act among the Ashluslay often takes place in the presence of onlookers. At the Choroti /Fig. 114 appears here/ dances one had to be careful in the darkness not to stumble over the loving couples. One never sees anything like that among the Chiriguano or Chané. Since many /227/ are lying in the same hut, however, one sees even among them what one always sees if one has overnight guests. This is not the least reason why the sexual life has no secrets even for small children.

C
Ce
834
177
577

Apparently life with the whites heightens the sense of modesty. The Indian women are even embarrassed to expose their breasts. Morality declines in proportion as the sense of modesty grows.

This should be taken into consideration by all those who sew clothing for naked heathen children.

Ce
121

Many of my readers may perhaps feel that this chapter should not have been included in my book. Nevertheless, it seems to me proper to say something about deviations in the sexual sphere. It contributes to an understanding of the people whom I am describing here. I have, of course, not been able to speak about all the realism that came out in the conversations around the camp fire (1).

1. If our daily papers, which are meant for the public, write about all kinds of things, one need not be too prudish in a travel account.

Ea 831 /227 cont./

The Indians regard the natural aspect of sexual life very differently from the way we view it as a rule. We do not find among these people all the corruption which is in civilized society, but various things are to be found here already. As far as homosexuality in particular is concerned, conditions among primitive peoples, as is known, show that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than in our hypercivilization.

Ea 838

/228/

Chapter Fourteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Chiefs and Laws

Ee 622 293 (111)

The chiefs have an entirely different position among the Chané and Chiriguano than among the Ashluslay and Choroti. They have considerable power. Among the chiefs there are the great chiefs, who rule over several villages, and the village chiefs, who have command over only one village or a part of one. Among the great chiefs whom I met, the noteworthy ones are the old woman Vuŷyuyi, the chief over the Chané villages on the Rio Itiyuro, Taruiri, who rules over most of the Caipipendi valley, Mandepora (Fig. 111), who in former times had considerable power in and around Macharetí, and Maringay in the Iguembe valley.

Ee 443

Ee

Ee 622 293 443 301 302

Nowadays the chiefs have no symbol of their office other than silver-mounted sticks. According to Corrado, they formerly wore a large tuft of hair on the head, "yattira," as well as green stones which hung at their ears. At the festivals and dances they had the right to use the "yandugua," a rod decorated with a bunch of ostrich feathers, and "iguirape," a staff carved with peculiar figures. Of these I was able to acquire only a yandugua. I did not even see the rest.

Ea 622 255 443

The office of chief seems to be hereditary as a rule. Capability and the art of using words well are required, however.

/242/

000

Chapter Sixteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Art and Industry

C
Ce
285
323
177

The Chiriguano and Chané are tribes whose art-industry is on a very high level. If one visits one of the huts of the white settlers in these regions, one will not see many products of native industry, not much of their own culture. I know of absolutely nothing that these people are capable of doing which can compare with the pottery and the weaving technique of the Indians. One thing is certain, the more "civilized" the Indians become, the less they accomplish in the way of art and industry. They do not learn much more from the whites than how to make and drink liquor. Indian art-industry is gradually disappearing here, the more the Indians come in contact with the whites, but it is not transformed. It remains largely purely Indian until its final destruction. One industry, however, is now in the hands of the whites, namely, the metal industry. The silver ornaments which, for example, the Chiriguano and Chané use are made by the smiths in the villages of the mountain regions. The half-white or Quichua /Quechua/ Indian population which we come across in the mountains west of the land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is quite skilled artistically. The weaving technique in particular is very highly developed there. The Chiriguano and Chané undoubtedly learned a great deal from the west.

C
Ce
[273]

C
Ce
325
171
439
000

Ee
286
177

C
534
171
291
413

Thus we find the serére pipe[2] (Fig. 120) characteristic of the Chiriguano in collections from the coast of Peru (1); /Plate

1. Serére also occur among the Lengua, Ashluslay, Chiriguano, Chané, Churāpa, and Yuracāre.

19 appears here/ /243/ the pin for fastening women's clothing

2 [A flute-like musical instrument--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 94]

C /243 cont./
171 (Fig. 130) is typically Peruvian in form, as is the silver hair re-
291 mover, of which, however, I have no specimen. The festive
[539] costume of the man (Fig. 81) also seems to me to have a Peruvian
[413] cut. It is possible, however, that the influence of Peru did not
197 manifest itself among the Chiriguano until after the conquest of
the plateau by the Spanish.

C Boman (1) has proved that the Chiriguano, or more cor-
131
172
C
[113]

1. Boman: Antiquités de la Région Andine. Vols. 1-2. Paris, 1908.

rectly the Guarani tribe to which these Indians belong, formerly extended much farther south than they do now. He found there the grave urns so characteristic of them.

C The material culture of the Chané
Cc 171 Indians does not, in general, differ very
much from the culture of the Chiriguano.
Ce [323] The Chané, on the other hand, who are
more isolated on the Río Parapiti, have
a completely independent pottery which we
C do not find again among the
[534] Chiriguano. If we compare the
534 remaining products of Chané
C and Chiriguano industry, we do
[184] not find any greater differences than we find in the various Chiriguano villages themselves.

Fig. 120. Serére pipe. Chiriguano. 1/4.

C For example, if one collects clay vessels in the Iguembe
323 valley and in the Caipipendi valley, both of which valleys are
184 occupied by Chiriguano, one inevitably finds that the pottery, though strongly related in ornamentation and form, nevertheless /244/ also varies locally. I have already spoken of the individual variations (p. 83).

Ee 439 177

/249 cont./

When we present a collection from the Chiriguano and Chané, we must not forget that, through trade between the tribes, they have obtained many things from the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Tapiete; otherwise we would have a mistaken conception of the great difference /249/ between the material culture of the Chaco tribes named here and the Chiriguano and Chané.

Ee

171

If we compare the material culture of the Choroti and Chané with that of the Choroti and Ashluslay likewise described here, we must remember the following. The Chiriguano and Chané produce basket work -- the Choroti and Ashluslay never. The former know how to paint clay vessels before firing, which is unknown to the latter. The Chiriguano and Chané never make bags out of

Ee [285] c Ee [325] Ee [285] c [417] [531]

Fig. 138.
Decorated calabash bowl.
Chiriguano. Tacuiba. 1/5.

caraguata, etc. If, moreover, we compare all the products made by the Chané and Chiriguano with those of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we find that most of them are entirely different. The Chaco Indians probably learned how to make certain things, such as the serfre (Fig. 120) and huiremimbi pipes (Figs. 36 /omitted in the translation/ and 80), from the Chiriguano, but this is relatively insignificant.

c [177] Ee 177

We see here how two cultures can exist side by side for hundreds of years without mingling.

Ee 101

If we follow the Rio Pilcomayo down toward the mountain, we first come across the Quichua /Quechua/ culture, then come the Chiriguano and Chané, and after that the Chaquenuic /Chaco/ culture which embraces equally the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Ashluslay; as well as the Lengua and other tribes in the Paraguay Chaco. These three cultures are entirely different.

Ca. 539 /254 cont./

The frog promised to steal fire for them. He hopped to Tomé's campfire and, trembling with cold, sat down beside it in order to warm himself. From time to time he raked the coals closer to himself, as though to warm himself better, and, when no one was looking, he stuffed a little firebrand into his mouth and hopped away.

Having come back to the boy and the girl, he made a fire, and since then the Chané Indians have had fire. The sister and the brother, who had now grown up, married, and she became pregnant. They built themselves a hut. The girl had children. When these children grew up, they married one another. From their children came all the Chané. The chiefs are descended from the children of the oldest boy.

It may seem strange that I found two entirely different legends that deal with the same subject among the same people. This is to be explained by the fact that the Chané are a dispersed tribe which no longer has its own, independent culture.

Ca. [177] The first version is probably their own, whereas they have borrowed the other from the Chiriguano. Domenico del Campana (2)

2. Domenico del Campana: op. cit., p. 21.

Ec mentions that the latter have a river legend in which two children are saved in a clay vessel in a similar way.

539 The Chamri and the Matoco say that the world was destroyed by fire, the Chané on the Río Parapití that it was destroyed by storm, and the Chiriguano and Chané on the Río Itiyuro that it was destroyed by water.

[171] Ca. [184]

The first-mentioned live in regions where there were great /255/ pampas fires, on the Río Parapití there are often violent storms, and the Chiriguano probably came from regions where great floods are common.

It is certain that these legends of world destruction are intimately connected with the character of the country in which they originated, as Ehrenreich (1), Im Thurn (2), and others have shown.

1. Ehrenreich: op. cit., pp. 30-31.

6: Nordenskiöld--106 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ea /255 cont./

539 2. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guyana.
[113] London, 1883, op. cit., p. 375.

Ea Ehrenreich says that such an anthropomorphic conception of the
(171) sun, as here in the first legend, is unusual in South America.

Ce Visits in Aguararenta (the Village of the Foxes).

539 Batizayu told me the following about the beliefs of the Chané
775 Indians with regard to life in the world beyond and in the realm of the dead. Aguararenta (aguara = fox, tenta = village) is a village where the dead, ana, live. It lies in the east. At night the dead there have human form; during the day they go about as foxes, rats, and other animals, or they go into a tree trunk. Every night there are great drinking bouts in Aguararenta. All the Chané, children, women, and men, go there. Bewitchers (ipáyepéchi) and murderers also go to this village. No one is
Ce punished in the Chané realm of the dead.

[787] The living have also visited Aguararenta and have told what they saw there. I shall give a couple of these stories here. They give us a good insight into the Indians' conceptions about the realm beyond.

The Girl Who Followed Her Husband to Aguararenta.

Ce
[115] Told by a Chané Indian in Aguarati (white fox) on the Rio Parapiti.

A girl wanted to marry a man, but he died. She had been very fond of him. In the morning, /256/ on the day after his death, while it was still dark, she was standing in front of the house of her parents and was pounding in the mortar. Then somebody came and seized the pestle.

"Who are you?" she asked.

"It is I," he said. It was her dead husband. "Do you want to come along?"

/273/

539 Accompanied by Dyori, Tatutunpa set out on his way. Along the way he killed a tapir. Dyori (1) divided it into four

[171]

1. Dyori is always described as the insatiable one. He corresponds to Móconomóco in the legends of the Mojo.

parts and devoured it. He even licked the blood from the ground.

Tatutunpa found his mother blind in the woods. She begged him to kill the jaguars who were keeping her captive. "They come to the watering place in order to drink," she said.

Tatutunpa made himself a little shelter in which he hid. Dyori hid behind him. First came "Embaracaya" (2) with her booty.

2. A large wildcat.

With one blow Tatutunpa shattered her head and threw her and her booty to Dyori, who devoured everything. In the same way he killed "Yahuapinta" (3) and the other felines. He threw them

[136]

3. Puma (Felix concolor).

to Dyori, who devoured them all. Finally there came Yahuéte, who had two heads. He asked Inómu for water. Yahuéte was carrying a tapir that he had killed. Inómu directed him to the watering place.

"No, give me water here, there is someone hiding at the spring," said Yahuéte.

"No, there is no one there, and how should I, I who am blind, be able to fetch water, I would fall," said Inómu.

Yahuéte went to the drinking place. When he reached there, Tatutunpa hurled his club, in order to kill him, but struck only the dried head, and Yahuéte leaped away. Tatutunpa followed him. When Yahuéte saw that he was being pursued, he hid under the "tiru" (women's attire mentioned on p. 52) of the moon.

"Where is Yahuéte?" asked Tatutunpa.

"I do not know," answered the woman (that is, the moon). That was the first lie.

C 539 /273 cont./

"He is hidden under your 'tiru,'" said Tatutunpa and went on.

The moon called after him. "Yahuéte is devouring me."

/274/ Tatutunpa went back to help her. She then said it was not true. Tatutunpa went on again. She now called again: "Yahuéte is devouring me." When Tatutunpa came back, she said it was not true. Tatutunpa went on again. Again the moon cried that Yahuéte wanted to devour her. But Tatutunpa did not go back again. Now Yahuéte was really on the point of devouring her.

When Tatutunpa returned to his mother, he said he would see to it that she would be able to see again. He made eyes out of pigeon droppings and clay and set them in her empty eye sockets. Inómu rubbed her eyes, opened them, and was able to see again. Tatutunpa now led his mother home.

Ce 539 [114]

Batirayu told me the same legend with a long introduction which is missing in Yambási's story. I shall give this introduction here.

Ee [171]

Once there was a great drinking bout. Many birds were gathered together there. The chief ordered Aguaratunpa to fetch a girl, Inómu, who was in a neighboring village, so that she might also drink with them. Aguaratunpa departed. When he came to the house of the girl, he met her father.

"Good day, Uncle," said Aguaratunpa.

"Sit down," said the father.

"No, I have come to fetch my niece," said Aguaratunpa. He now asked whether the girl would go with him, which she agreed to do. The girl made herself pretty, put on her necklace, dressed herself in her best "tiru," and followed Aguaratunpa.

When they had gone part way, the girl said: "Why should I go with you who are so ugly," and so she turned back. When Aguaratunpa arrived, the chief asked how it had gone. He now told how the girl had turned back.

"Urapua" (the black vulture) offered to fetch the girl. Urapua set out. When he came to the house of the girl, he said:

/275/ "Good day, Uncle."

"Sit down," said the father.

Ce
539

/276 cont./

Then the chief asked "Hûiratucûhua" to sing and he sang:

"Huaté púhuatékos rárásé mánura lúhuaya chúshico ti, ti, ti, ti..."

There was a man there who was at odds with his brother and all the other birds, who did not take part in the drinking bout, but went about and hunted.

Many parrots were sitting on a tree. Among these was a white parrot. "That one I want to catch," he said, and he tried to catch it with a noose on a rod, but he did not succeed. He now aimed with his bow at the parrot. The latter started to talk and said: "Why do you want to kill me?"

The parrot now taught him how he should sing and told him that when he came into the midst of those who were drinking he should stretch his arm up over his head.

He now walked around those who were drinking and sang. Then he went into their midst and stretched his arm up. When he did this, those who were standing changed into birds and those who were sitting changed into stones, except Inómu, Tatutunpa, Aguaratunpa, and Teyuhuasu.

Tatutunpa, Aguaratunpa, and Teyuhuasa did not sit with the others, but stood near by. Tatutunpa said to Aguaratunpa:

"You will see, I shall make the girl pregnant (1). /277/

1. Modified.

C
Ce
539
●171

When she turns her body, it will have happened." He now dug a hole in the earth under the girl...

The continuation of Batirayu's story is almost identical with the one by Yambăsi.

In its basic characteristics this legend seems to me to be genuinely Indian. Nevertheless there are elements in it which seem to be borrowed from the whites, namely the story of the lies of the moon. These do not occur in Batirayu's version of the story. It also reminds me very much of the boy who used to call for help when there was no danger present. When finally the wolves were devouring him, no one paid any attention to him, -- a legend which is well known in Europe and which I heard as a child in Sweden.

Ee 539 171

/277 cont./

Part of this legend reminds one very much of a legend from the Yuracáre Indians given by D'Orbigny (1). There "Tiri," who,

Ee [113]

1. D'Orbigny. Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale /Journey in South America/. Vol. 3, 1. Paris, 1834, p. 212.

in order to avenge his mother, kills all the felines except the jaguar with the four eyes, who takes refuge with the moon, corresponds to Tatutunpa. In former times the Chiriguano and Chané were undoubtedly in touch with the Yuracáre Indians. When the whites conquered the land around Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the Chiriguano moved south and the Yuracáre to the north. On my last journey I also visited the Yuracáre Indians, whom I shall describe later in another book.

Ee 174 177

Ce 539

The Man Who Married the Daughter of the Thunder God, Chiqueritunpa.

Ce [115]

Told by the Chané Chief Bóyra.

In olden times there were once three poor men who had no relatives. They were very hungry. Two of them went forth to look for something to eat. First they came into a large forest through which went a path. /278/ After three days they came to a great plain. In the middle of the plain there was a house. They walked around the house, but found no entrance. Finally, however, a woman came out; it was Chiquéritunpa's sister. She bade them come in. "We are dirty," they said and did not want to go in. She brought maize beer to one of them. He drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. She brought the other one maize beer. He, too, drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. "Go now and bathe," she said, "and wash your heads." She gave them the root of the "yúag" (1).

Ce [137]

1. = mistol /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./.

/292 cont./

539 came to the edge of the village and played his most beautiful airs, but the girl did not want to go with one who had such a little hut.

When the Tick, Yatéu, Ran a Race with the Ostrich, Yándu.

The tick and the ostrich wanted to put on a race to see who could run better. When they started running, the tick hopped on the ostrich and dug itself into the corner of its eye.

When the ostrich had run a short distance, it glanced sideways to see whether the tick was coming along. Since it was in the corner of its eye, it saw it at one side.

/293/ The ostrich hurried on. When it had run a stretch, it again glanced to one side and saw that the tick was still at its side.

The ostrich ran with might and main. When it was quite close to the goal, the tick hopped out of the corner of its eye and arrived there first.

The tick had won the race.

539 These little animal stories have a very widespread dis-
●171 tribution. Thus, we find the story of the turtle and the jaguar almost unchanged in Santarem, at the confluence of the Rio Tapajo and the Amazon River (1).

[113]

1. Cf. Fredr. Hartt: Tortoise Myths. Rio de Janeiro, 1875.

Similar stories about foot races are also known from the coast of Brazil (1) /see footnote 1 above/. These last are found among us too, as is well known.

It has been proved (2), as was mentioned, that certain

2. Ehrenreich: loc. cit.

legends from North America and Asia have traveled as far as

c /293 cont./
539 South America. Since, however, this is not the proper place
171 for comparative studies with regard to the legends collected
by me, I have contented myself with only presenting the ma-
c terial.
539 As we have seen, we learn to understand some of the
religious conceptions of the Indians from the legends. They
are also interesting from the viewpoint that a whole assort-
ment of little features from the life of the Indians is repro-
c duced. They give us a glimpse into their imaginative life.
539 Only the content of the legends collected by me, not
114 the form, is usable as research material. I hope that the
126 native South American ethnographers in particular will add to
the collection made by me and also write down the legends
in the original languages. In order to be able to do this,
however, a complete /294/ mastery of them will be necessary.
The best method would be to let the Indians tell these legends
into a phonograph.

Ee
Ee
824 The Indians and Natural Phenomena.
Ee
[773] In one of the Chané legends the story is told of how
Ee Yahuéte, the two-headed jaguar, was on the point of de-
[776] vouring the moon. Maringay called Yahuéte "Yahuaróhui."
Ee These Indians explain eclipses of the sun and moon by saying
[171] that the sun and moon are attacked by Yahuéte. The Choroti,
too, as has been mentioned, speak of a predatory animal that
[776] attacks the sun and the moon.

If one wanders with an Indian through forest and
meadow on a starlit night, the starry sky is his compass and
his watch. He will point to Orion or some other constellation
and show how much farther it will move before one arrives.
Ee
824 He does not give names to many constellations, but he
knows them all. The Chané call the part of the Milky Way
nearest the Southern Cross "yándurape," that is, ostrich-way;
the Southern Cross, along with a few adjacent stars, is

174 342 or a district threatened with flooding through rainfall or the flowing in [114] of the oceanic tide. In my opinion, however, this has usually not been the case.

342 According to my thinking, it is the fear of predatory animals that has 343 given rise to the pile-construction idea. Those granaries built on pole- 825 supports, that are so commonly met with in widely different countries, 174 have, we know, as a rule been constructed for the express purpose of furnishing protection against noxious animals, such as lesser carnivora, [171] rodents and insects. As an example, the »njalla» of the Lapps is built

361 342 343

Fig. 192. Part of a Chiriguano village. To the right a pile-barn. Ibitibi. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

342 as a protection against wolverines[1], and many of the native tribes of 343 Africa erect their food depositories, or grain bins, on pole-supports to 825 make them safe against mice and white ants.[2] Both the Balenge people, 171 who inhabit a fairly arid country, and the Babisa, who live on the edge 174 of the Bangweolo swamp, build their corn bins on piles.[3] As the Babisa often build their huts on a platform of beaten clay[4] (not piles, it will be noted) as a protection against the annual heavy floodings of the rainy season, this will naturally give rise to the supposition that the Babisa

[1] von Duben (1), p. 35.
[2] von Rosen (4), pp. 411—412.
[3] von Rosen (4), pp. 332, 349 (fig. A), and 411—412.
[4] von Rosen (4), p. 319 and plate 67 (figs. C and D), also plate 68, fig. D.

[P. 196 is blank]

342 343 825 171 174

granaries, at any rate, are raised on supports in order to keep the stored crop from getting wet. That such is not the case will, however, be apparent from the fact that the granaries are empty during the time of the rains. It should be remembered that, in these parts, the period of vegetation coincides with the duration of the rainy season, and that the crops are harvested and stored only after the cessation of the rains. During the time the grain reposes in the granaries no rain falls at all, and on that account the granaries of the Balenge are often unprovided with a roof.[1] Moreover, Babisa, as well as Balenge, stated that the pile-built grain bins were constructed solely as a protection against damage to the corn from rats and white ants. The practice of erecting buildings on piles as a safeguard against flooding is entirely non-existent in the Bangweolo region.

Fig. 193. Ancient Peruvian hut. Vase-painting. After Joyce.

The fundamental idea of storing food in structures built on piles may, in my opinion, be traced back to the custom of primitive peoples of keeping freshly killed meat, and other food, safe from depredation by larger or smaller raiding animals, by suspension on trees. The »njalla», which is erected on a single pole, or on the lopped stem of a growing tree left on its root, may, I think, be taken to be a development of the primitive tree cache. The four-poled Lappish larder called »luopte», or »luove» (cfr. the Swedish words »loft», and »lave»), is on the other hand most probably an imitation of the »hebrä» stores of the land-settled folk, which, presumably, also have received their pile-building construction with a view to forming a protection against noxious animals. For the »hebrä» is probably nothing but a development of the »lave». In order to keep divers implements safe, not only from wild animals, but also from mischievous domestic cattle, such as goats, it is sometimes necessary to construct at the homestead a »lave», the floor of which is either supported by three or four rooted tree-stumps, or by poles driven into the ground (fig. 189). When it is desired to shelter the stored utensils from rain, a roof is built at a suitable height from the floor, and if a still more effective shelter is required, the space between the floor and the roof is filled in with walls. At the stone-age

[1] von Rosen (4), fig. 325.

experiment carried out at Rockelstad in the summer of 1919[1], the »stone-age men» soon found themselves compelled to build a »lave» so that the goats should not damage such foodstuffs and implements as had to be kept outside the hut.[2] 342 343 825 171 174

It is my belief that the »lave» has also supplied the idea of building dwelling-houses on pole-supports. Wherever people in a certain stage of civilization have found themselves settled on solid ground, they have had need of raised food-platforms, partly for keeping their foodstuffs safe from damage on the part of domestic as well as noxious animals, partly for the purpose of drying, smoking or roasting the food (see pp. 38, 47 and 48). If such a people, living on the edge of a lake or a swamp, had wished — for defensive purposes or some other reason — to build their dwelling-huts or other buildings in the water, then, if the bottom of the lake afforded good holding for piles, such buildings would have been constructed in the same way as the food-platforms or pole-supported granaries previously employed on firm ground (compare fig. 28 with fig. 115). Where the people in question has been lacking in sufficient skill to construct large pile-buildings in the water, or if the lake bottom was unsuited to this mode of construction, then huts were built on rafts or quagmire islands, after the manner of the swamp dwellers of Alvastra and Bangweolo.[3]

The furnishing of the Chiriguano huts is exceedingly plain. The fire-place, which forms a very necessary heating centre at night during the cold season, consists of a few stones serving as supports for the cooking pots. There is no hole in the roof for letting out the smoke, which has to find its way out through the doorway or through fissures in the walls. As a rule, the food is generally cooked on a fire outside the hut (fig. 189). 354 [252]

Bedsteads of the type seen in fig. 190 are to be found in nearly every hut. These bed frames are made of laths or reeds, and are covered with skins. Nordenskiöld states as his opinion that the idea of these bedsteads has not been borrowed from the civilization of the whites.[4] In the analytical treatise he has written upon this question he adduces conclusive arguments for his opinion, as it seems to me. In Central Africa, one finds bedsteads that are very similar to the Indian ones,[5] and that certainly have not 352 114 [171]

[1] Klein, pp. 88—89.
[2] Klein (1).
[3] For lake- and marsh dwelling-places in different parts of the world, see Montelius (1).
[4] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 8—12.
[5] von Rosen (4), p. 403.

352 [114] been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks [171] made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, [513] however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of 353 considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly 415 array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize [531] beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

[352] → [291] [302] [411] [415] ← [237] [824] → 354 →

Fig. 194. Man and young woman. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this im- 356 possible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

291 The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of [177] European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 163 and fig. 85 (12), pp. 15 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 59.

seen any Chiriguano using this typical ancient Andean garment. Ponchos of the cloak type, and robes of the kind used by the Chaco Indians, on the other hand, I have seen worn by the Chiriguano men, who put them on against cold and wet. Formerly the Chiriguano men dressed in the »chiripa», which was a rectangular skirt that was fastened in front to a cord tied round the waist, then passed between the legs, and fixed to the cord above the buttocks. One may still see, here and there, some small boy wearing nothing but this primitive garment. On their heads the men often wear a broad, red. turbanlike frontlet (fig. 194), and, when setting out on long marches, they put on their feet sandals, the straps of which bear distinct resemblance to straps on sandals that have been found in ancient graves on Puna de Jujuy.[1]

Fig. 195. Chiriguano boy with long, flowing hair. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

The women also possess sandals, but, like the men, generally walk about barefooted. The women's clothing consists of a loose-fitting, tubular garment made of woollen, or cotton, stuff. It is called »tipoy». The upper part of it is pinned together over the shoulders by means of cactus spines or metal pins, in the manner seen in fig. 190, which leaves the arms free, or the garment may be fastened under the armpits in the way the girl in fig. 194 is wearing it.

Nowadays the men mostly wear their hair bobbed, and with a frontal fringe (fig. 194), but I have seen boys, not fully grown, with long hair, hanging loose down (fig. 195). In former days all the men had long hair, which they gathered on the top of the head, where it was secured with a frontlet, a custom not yet quite discarded in some out-of-the-way parts of the country. The women let their hair grow long, give it a centre parting on the top of the head (fig. 190), plait it into tresses and tie it up, or allow it to hang loose. One may sometimes see girls with short hair (fig. 194), but in such cases the hair has been cut short as a sign that its owner has entered upon her first menstruation. On the death of a near relative it is also the custom of the women to cut off their hair.

Fig. 196. Wooden comb. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 829.

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), fig. 23; von Rosen (1), fig. 84.

1/1 [footnote 1 appears on p. 200 - - An.]

411
[714]

[114]

[524]

[126]

[171]

Fig. 201. Riksm. 03. 3. 850. For section, see fig. 203.

Fig. 202. Riksm. 03. 3. 851. For section, see fig. 204.

Longbows. Chiriguano. Bolivia. About 1/7.

On the left wrist they wore a small piece of wood as a protection against the blow of the bowstring.[1]

Curiously enough, the present-day Chiriguano type of bow does not seem to have been exhaustively described by anyone; not even in Schmidt's account of South American bow types,[2] otherwise so exact, is there any mention of the Chiriguano bow. The reason for this may very likely be found in the circumstance that these weapons are said to be of rare occurrence nowadays, and that such few specimens as are still being made, are mostly used as toys and on that account typologically degenerated. Twenty years ago, when I travelled through a part of the Chiriguano country, the bow was, however, not so rarely seen as a hunting weapon as now, and I collected the seven specimens now reposing in the ethnographical section of the Riksmuseum at Stockholm. Beside these, there are two Chiriguano bows brought home by Baron Nordenskiöld, one of which is a toy bow. Two other toy bows that have been brought to Sweden by Nordenskiöld belong to the Gothenburg Museum. This forms the material from which I have compiled the following description of the Chiriguano type of bow.

By their string-fastening arrangement the Chiriguano bows differ from the Chaco-Andean bow types, which latter as a rule have no neck-shaped bow-end projections for the string. On the other hand, all Chiriguano bows that I have studied, even the toy bows, have neck-shaped ends for fastening the string, a circumstance indicating that the Chiriguano bow is no acquisition from Chaco-

[1] de Lizarraga (1), p. 328. From Erl. Nordenskiöld.

[2] Schmidt (1), pp. 1027—1034.

534 same way as Pan pipes; and *naturally gives out tones, when one end of the tube is closed, different to those producible with both ends open.* The pipe is open at both ends, therefore, not only because this allows the instrument to be easily cleaned from dust, dirt and saliva, but also because *this construction gives the possibility of a greater number of tones.*

531
415
824
←
534
301
531
→

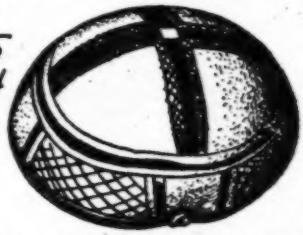


Fig. 226. Bowl, of calabash, up-turned, with pokerwork ornaments. Chiriguano. Carapari. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 831.

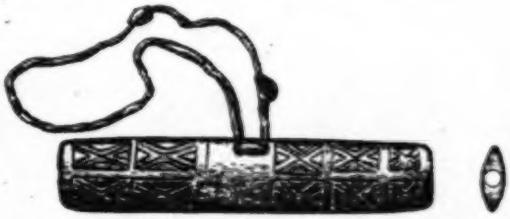


Fig. 227. Whistle, made of hard, black wood. Incised ornaments. Two cracks near one end of the tube have been filled up with a waxy substance. Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 848.

534 That the Indians occasionally also give a thought to keeping dust, etc.,
●171 from getting into their whistling pipes, is, besides, evident from the pipe shown in fig. 228, which is an Araucan whistle from Cautin, Chile, a tubular piece of wood, 27.5 cm long. A common brass thimble is fitted over the lower end of the pipe, and for its top end there is a small, well made stopper of woollen-yarn, connected to the pipe with a string, so as not to get lost when taken out for the whistle to be blown. Concerning this stopper, Eric Boman, who has reproduced the pipe in one of his works, writes as follows: »Este tapón sirve para cerrar la boca del silbato, cuando éste no se usa, e impedir que entren allí tierra y otras impurenzas.»[1] »This stopper serves to keep the mouth of the whistle closed when the latter is not being used, and prevents dust and other dirt from entering.»

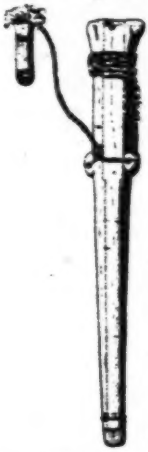


Fig. 228. Whistle, found at Cautin. Chile. From Boman.

Objects of tubular form, in construction corresponding to the one here reproduced in fig. 227, have been found in ancient Peruvian graves, and not only the Chiriguano, but also many other tribes now inhabiting areas in the neighbourhood of what once was the Inca domain, are still

[1] Boman (3), p. 518.

534
171

using whistles of this type.[1] Nordenskiöld has advanced a theory as to the origin of the Serére whistle, which is highly interesting. On the ground of the similarity of construction that this type of whistle has to a balance beam shown in fig. 229, with its cords for weights and load still in preservation, found in Peru, Nordenskiöld is of the opinion that the Serére whistle is probably the beam of a balance, but that its original use has been forgotten.[2] By blowing, in play, into one end of such a balance beam, a tone was produced. This way of whistle-blowing gradually became widespread and popular, and, eventually, whistles were manufactured that were of a construction similar to that of the balance beams of the ancients. More and more the balances ceased to be used as such, and finally it was altogether forgotten that the whistle had been made as a copy of the balance beam.

534
171
174
114

Fig. 229. Scale, with a wooden beam. Probably an improvisation from a whistle of Serére type, which forms the bar of the balance. Ground find from Peru. 1/4. Illustration from E. Nordenskiöld.

On my first acquaintance with this theory of the Serére whistle having originated from the balance beam, it seemed to me so well grounded that I accepted it.[3] But afterwards I quite changed my opinion in this question, for reasons set out below. The ancient Peruvian balance referred to by Nordenskiöld is undoubtedly of a very unpractical construction. Like the Serére whistle, the balance beam is *bored through from end to end*, and provided with *two holes, close together, for its suspension*. Even if in rough and primitive weighing there may occasionally be a certain advantage (a saving of time) in using a balance that is not too sensitive, suspending a balance from two

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), p. 185.
[2] Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 187—188.
[3] von Rosen (6), pp. 211—212.

534
171
174
114

points of support, in the way shown in fig. 229, is unsuitable, as it would enable the holder of the balance to influence, with an imperceptible movement of his hand, the balancing of the beam. Another point which strikes me as peculiar, is, that the string by which weights and objects for weighing are suspended, should be made to pass through a hole that runs the whole length of the longitudinal axis of the beam. A perforation of such a length obviously represents a good deal of labour, which, moreover, in the case of a balance beam, would be quite unnecessary. Surely the simpler plan would have been to fix a string through a small hole at each end of the beam.

Fig. 230. Ancient Peruvian wooden whistle(?). ¼. From Nordenskiöld. One end of the tube has been stopped up, possibly on account of the whistle having been found too hard-blown with both ends open. All other known Old Peruvian objects of this type have both ends open.

The above were my reasons for beginning to form the opinion that the Old Peruvian balance, fig. 229, had been rigged up to do duty as a makeshift. A proper balance not being at hand, a tubular whistle, fig. 230, was pressed into service. In this way the ancient Peruvian balance, fig. 229, would — if my theory is correct — simply prove to be *a whistle that had been provisionally fixed up as a weighing instrument.*

Fig. 231. Old Peruvian scale. From Hamy.

It is not impossible that this way of hastily improvising a balance — rather a dull one, admittedly, but usable for *rough weighing* — was not infrequently employed. When I acquainted Nordenskiöld with my theory as to the constructional purpose of the balance reproduced in fig. 229, he had the great kindness to send me all reproductions of Old Peruvian balances that were in his possession. Three of these retain the cord by which the beam was suspended (the poising cord), and *in these three, this cord is fixed through a hole in the centre of the beam*, fig. 231. Two of the balances are provided with cords on which to hang the weights and the objects to be weighed. *These cords are not taken through the full length of the balance beam, but attached to it by means of holes bored*

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

534 171 174 114

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

361 622

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

582 595 881 [304] [301] 585 574 846

[1] Hamy (II), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (I) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] see Rosen (II).

846 [844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 756 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 763 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [831] Choroti, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a [171] rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 648 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Kirchberg (1), p. 134.
[2] Nordenskiöld (18).

/3 cont./

Ce 101 or Tapyi /Tapii/, it was not possible from what they said to ascertain with which of the tribes known to ethnology they can be identified. The Chiriguano call themselves "Mbya." [101] If the Izozó were a part of them, they would have called themselves by this name. No doubt they are Chané and that part of the latter which once had their homes in the Izozó River region, taking the name of this river for their own. Their culture, as demonstrated by the objects I collected among them, confirms this opinion. There are some differences between the objects collected among the Izozó and the Chiriguano in Machareti, either with regard to the decorations of the baked clay vessels or with regard to the making of the nets. But in principle it is not possible to decide whether these differences might not be only local differences. In general the culture of the Chiriguano was diffused in this way throughout the tribes successively subjugated by them, which is why it is proper to deal below with the aspects of the culture of the Chiriguano of Machareti together with that of the Izozó.

Ce 101 17

Ce 171 172 128 648

Influences on the Culture of the Chiriguano and Izozó, Taken from Historical Data

Ce [197] At the present time the Chiriguano and Chané form a cultural entity which can be designated as the culture of the Chiriguano, because the Guaraní language of the Chiriguano came to be the common language of the whole group. The Izozó also belong to this ethnic entity. Thus it is necessary to consider this entity /4/ as being formed of completely different tribes. It is also necessary to conceive of their culture as the product of the fusion of very heterogeneous cultural elements. Nordenskiöld deals with this question in one of his books (1)

Ce [113]

1. Erland Nordenskiöld: The changes in the material culture of two Indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative Ethnological Studies. 2. Göteborg, 1920. Cited in the following: Nord. 2.

/15 cont./
CSD next one." Garcilaso de la Vega (57) describes the large houses
342

57. Vol. II. p. 281. According to Métraux I. p. 331.

of the Chiriguano in the same way: they build a very large dormitory, and inside as many alcoves as there are residents, and so small that there is no room for anything but persons. Through detailed descriptions and sketches, we are familiar with the construction of the towns of the ancient Guaraní of the Tupinambas on the eastern coast of Brazil (58). Four or

361
342
171
712
[113]

58. According to De Bry. Métraux. A.: La civilisation matérielle des tribus Tupí-Guarani /The Material Culture of the Tupí-Guarani Tribes/. Paris. 1928.

five long, rectangular houses were built a short distance from one another around a quadrangular or pentagonal plaza, and the whole town was fortified by a defensive wall. We also know that the ancient towns of the Chiriguano had such defensive constructions through information from the year 1618, when Ruiz Díaz de Guzman found such a fortification of a Chiriguano town near the Pilcomayo River, which consisted of "two concentric walls of stone and of wood" (59). According

361
712
361
342
171

59. Moreno II. p. 252.

to Serrano (60), the Guaraní towns of the ancient Province of

[113]

60. Antonio Serrano: Etnografía de la antigua provincia del Uruguay /Etnography of the Ancient Province of Uruguay/. Paraná. 1936. p. 125 /the second number of this figure is questionable, being barely discernible in the original text/.

Uruguay consisted of only four to eight large rectangular houses.

/15 cont./

342 "In 1627 the Jesuits found near Yapeyú a Guaraní aldea with
171 four houses in which some 100 Indians lived. They found identical dwellings in San Ignacio and nearby regions. These houses were quadrangular and extremely long, often in excess of 50 meters."

341 Even during the time of their independence the Chiriguano
177 had departed from the primordial construction of their towns,
178 which had served in the first place for defense, since at the end of the 18th century Viedma describes their houses as "a few small ranchos made of cane" (61).

[113] 61. Viedma, Francisco de: Descripción de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra /Description of the Province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra/, Colección Angelis, Vol. 3, Buenos Aires, 1836, written 1793, p. 181. Cited by Nordenskiöld.

000 Photographs of Chiriguano Towns (ñinta) and Houses (of)

I.C. 353. Chiriguano town, Macharetí (Fig. 1).
I.C. 355. Scene in the town of Macharetí (Fig. 17).
I.C. 356. Chiriguano in front of their house in Macharetí (Fig. 14).
I.C. 357: Chiriguano storehouse in Macharetí (Fig. 16).
I.C. 358. Chiriguano boys in front of their rancho in Macharetí (Fig. 18).

361 The Chiriguano town of Macharetí was built in its present
[199] form by Franciscan missionaries, with wide, parallel, and
363 right-angled streets, following the common form of old Spanish
[197] colonies, since their construction is not a product of the indigenous Chiriguano culture. But in parts, the houses and
[343] primarily the maize storehouses built on posts, correspond to the houses of other Chiriguano towns, on which we have information from Erland Nordenskiöld and Eric v. Rosen (62).

62. Nord. 1, pp. 173, 176. Nord. 2, pp. 1-3. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 191 and 192, Figs. 189-192.

/16/

36 62 162 The town Ibitibi in the southern part of Chiriguano territory, south of the Pilcomayo River, examined minutely by Eric v. Rosen, was inhabited, according to the Indians, by about 300 persons. The town was located on a plain surrounded by mountains and forests. The houses formed a large circumference, the cacique's house being in the middle. Some shade trees had been planted in the open plaza between the cacique's house and the other houses. In other Chiriguano towns visited by v. Rosen, houses were dispersed without any order. According to the observations of v. Nordenskiöld too, Chiriguano towns are sometimes quite large and inhabited by around 100 persons. Often several towns are near one another. The houses are generally around a plaza sometimes planted with trees and serving as a place to play and to hold meetings.

342 We know the form of the Chiriguano houses in detail through v. Rosen (63), and primarily through the good photo-

63. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 191; Figs. 188-192 and 217.

[335] graphs of such houses. The houses are rectangular and their roofs end in points. Walls and roofs are held up by posts. The walls consist either of only vertical poles made from branches or reeds, close together and tied by horizontal ligatures, or of interwoven poles whose interstices are plastered with mud. The roof (opiria) is covered with straw. One type of house was illustrated in a photograph by v. Rosen (64), on which one

64. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 190.

side of the roof projects at the top over the other side of the [171] roof. The same house type also exists in the ancient culture of the Peruvians, as is shown by sketches found on the surface of ancient Peruvian vessels.

/16 cont./

343 the roof and the /Plates V-VII appear here/ /17/ platform.
335 The middle pair of the vertical posts is the longest pair and serves to hold up the ridgepole. Of the other eight vertical posts, always in two, one longer and one shorter, have been placed immediately next to each other all along the two sides of the middle pair of posts and at a certain distance from it. Of the horizontal posts, each one of which is held up by each one of the five pairs of vertical posts, those which are placed on the higher pair and on the two pairs of middle size of the vertical posts serve to hold up the roof, while the two horizontal posts which are placed on the two smaller pairs of vertical posts form the base for the platform of the house. Besides the five pairs of vertical posts that form the frame of the house, there is also added a vertical post of the height of the platform, which serves to support the ladder leading
343 to it. The roof of these storehouses is covered with straw like the roofs of dwellings. The walls are made of reed poles very close together. While the poles of the storehouse illustrated in Figure 16 are horizontal, those of other storehouses, with which we are familiar through Nordenskiöld's photographs and those of v. Rosen and Métraux, are vertical (69). The en-

69. Nord. 1, Figs. 83 and 84 and Pl. 18.
Métraux I, Fig. 9, p. 349.

trance, which must be reached by means of the ladder, is at
[417] the gable end, like that of the dwellings. The ladder consists of a post with notches for steps (70).

70. Cf. Fig. 16, at the right. Nord. 1, Fig. 84. v. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 191.

[171] [174] There must be some special reason to explain the surprising fact that the Chiriguano have houses built on posts, since it could not be that they brought the custom of constructing them from their native soil, because the Guaraní have
000 never had them. Nor could it be that they adopted this from

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 42]

343 [177] /17 cont./ Nor could it be that they adopted this from the whites, because in those regions they have never used houses built on posts. Neither do we have any indications that the ancient Peruvians had such houses. It is very unlikely that the Chiriguano settled in their new territory might have invented the construction of such houses, because the nature of their territory did not render such a form of construction necessary. In South America we find houses built on posts almost solely in regions exposed to floods. Thus we mainly find them in the coastal regions of the northern part of the South American continent, and they appear to the south of the Amazon River only in a relatively narrow zone in the center of the continent including Chiriguano territory. According to Marban in 1676 (71), the Mojo had houses built on posts and

[176]

343 171

[113]

71. Marban, Pedro: "Relatión de la Provincia de la Virgen del Pilar de Mojos /Report on the Province of the Virgen del Pilar de Mojos/," Boletín de la Sociedad Geografica de La Paz, Bolivia, 1898, p. 132. According to Nordenskiöld.

doubtless such house constructions were quite useful in those marshy and often flooded regions. In addition Nordenskiöld during his travels (72) found one of these houses serving as a

72. Nord. 2, p. 3.

storehouse among the Chacobo, who live north of the Mojo not very far away. Some of the Quichua /Quechua/ houses located between the Chaparé River and the Cochabamba River had been built on posts, but Nordenskiöld himself does not consider this architecture to have been primordial among them. Of the Chaco tribes who have storehouses built on posts Nordenskiöld mentions the Matako /Mataco/. I found such storehouses in the Matako town near Linares, but many of them also in the Churupí installations in Esteros. Nordenskiöld in his publications on the Churupí, whom he calls the Ashluslay, does not

C /17 cont./
343 mention the existence of such storehouses among these Indians,
171 and thus we must suppose that the Churupí adopted this style of house construction only recently and probably from the Matako, with whom they have many contacts. /18/ To com-
C 343 plete the data on the spread of houses built on posts, I shall
171 also mention my observations on my expeditions of 1901 and
Go 342 1910 to the Guató (73). Inside many houses, under the roof
[352]
[114]

73. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien /Indian Studies in Central Brazil/, Berlin, 1904, p. 178.

C Go [113] and using long horizontal poles, these Indians build a platform which serves for storing various things. In this special arrange-
Go [182] ment of the Guató in building their houses, we find the rudiment of the true houses built on posts, and this is motivated by the great floods to which they were exposed even when they had been built in places higher than the marshy lands.

C 343 We should not consider houses built on posts as a product
174 of the primordial culture of the Chaco tribes. It leaves as the only center of its propogation the zone in the interior of the South American continent which we have mentioned, the center of the ancient culture of the Aruaco /Arawak/ of these
Ce 343 regions, the territory of the Mojo. The Chané, who were later
174 subjugated by the Chiriguano and incorporated into their com-
171 munity, also belonged to this Aruaco culture. We must thus surmise that houses built on posts, like those we still find today among the Chiriguano and some of the Chané, first originated in the Chané culture and later passed to the Chiriguano when the cultures of these two tribes were fused into a single one.

C Ce 343 No doubt the special construction of these storehouses has
[182] a different purpose today among the Chiriguano and the Chané than it had in the beginning. According to Nordenskiöld, the Chané of the lower Parapití River, which is a typically marshy region, do not have such houses, while they are common among the Chiriguano and also among the former
000 who live on solid ground not exposed to floods. Their purpose

C
Ce
343
182
171
231

/18 cont./ Their Purpose
today among the Chiriguano and Chané, as well as among the Matako and Churupí, is primarily to protect certain provisions against the numerous dogs and other domestic animals who are around in great number in every part of the town (74).

74. Concerning the question of the purpose of houses built upon posts with respect to damage by animals, cf. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 192-198.

C
Ce
433
224
226

Food and Drink. Manner of Eating and Drinking.

Hunting and fishing are not very important in the economy of the Chiriguano and Chané. Their territory has relatively few edible animals, and they are not very brave hunters (75).

75. Nord. 2, p. XVI.

C
Ce
224
262

Of animals that can be hunted, they eat the puma and the jaguar, while they scorn vultures, foxes, and the meat of monkeys, so craved by other Indians (76). One contribution

C
Ce
226
184

76. Nord. 1, p. 190.

to their subsistence which is worth mentioning is that from fishing, but only for the Chiriguano and Chané who live near the upper Pilcomayo River, since that river has excellent fishing. These Indians cannot make much use of fishing in the Rio Grande, because today this river can be held to be almost the frontier of their territory. The Parapití River has many fish, but they are very small. While the Chané today live in territories where for several months some fish are available, many Chiriguano towns are so far from the larger streams that fish does not enter into the diet of their inhabitants (77). With

77. Nord. 2, pp. XV and XVI.

/19 cont./

C 415 As Figure 18, a and b, shows, these wooden dishes have two handles on the rim.

C Ce 412 [177] [439] As an eating utensil the Chiriguano and Chané today use metal spoons which are acquired from the whites. But they also use wooden spoons (85).

C Ce [113] 85. Nord. 2, p. 56. Nordenskiöld, Erland: Vergleichende ethnographische Forschungen I. Eine Geographische und ethnographische Analyse der materiellen Kultur zweier Indianerstämme in el Gran Chaco /Comparative Ethnographic Investigation I. A Geographic and Ethnographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Indian Tribes in the Gran Chaco/, Göteborg, 1918, p. 93. (Cited in what follows: Nord. 3.) Métraux I, pp. 364, 374-376, and Figs. 42 and 43.

C 412 /20/ Wooden Spoons (kuruha) of the Chiriguano

I. A. 353. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Length 36 cm.
I. A. 498. (Max Schmidt trip.) Length 42.5 cm. (Fig. 20).
I. A. 499. (" " ") Length 16 cm. (Fig. 22).

C [171] As Figures 20 and 22 show, there are variations in the shape of these wooden spoons. The shape of spoon I. A. 499 is almost exactly like the Chané spoon shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (86), while the shape of spoon I. A. 498 is very

86. Nord. 3, p. 93. Fig. 24 F.

similar to the spoons found in the ancient burials of the Peruvian highland, their front part and handle forming a rather straight line.

/22 cont./

352 513 [251] The Chiriguano generally sleeps on a kind of cot (catre), that is, a bed frame made of cane. Such beds, which in addition to their own purpose also serve for drying maize, have been represented in drawings by Eric v. Rosen (95), Erland

95. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 190.

[174] [178] v. Nordenskiöld (96), and Métraux (97). No doubt /23/ the

96. Nord. 2, Fig. 2.

97. Métraux 1, Fig. 125, p. 470.

cold climate of the region to which the Chiriguano had emigrated made them abandon the use of the hammock for sleeping, not very practical for such a climate, and replace it with the cot, which was already common among the tribes of those [232] [824] [126] [824] regions. Lacking a cot, the Chiriguano sleep on the ground. In that case they use for a bed large mats made of cane or palm leaves, or also hides (98). I acquired from the Chiriguano one

98. Nord. 1, p. 177. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 200. Métraux 1, p. 470.

such mat plaited out of palm leaves (Fig. 95).

Chiriguano Mat (túpa) in the Collection

I. A. 540. Length 1.75 m. Width 1.50 m. (Fig. 95).

352 17 [126] In some Chiriguano houses I also saw wooden benches (apika), but unfortunately I could not acquire a specimen. Those benches in the form of a sled are very similar to the kind of benches that are very common among the Indians of Brazil (99) and those that we also know from the ancient

[113] 99. Cariy /sic/ von den Steinen: Unter den

C
352
17
[113]

/23 cont./

Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, Berlin, 1894, p. 286.

Peruvians (100). Nordenskiöld and Métraux show such

C
[113]

100. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/, Berlin, 1929, p. 436.

Chiriguano benches in drawings (101).

101. Nord. 1, Fig. 85. Métraux 1, pp. 471 and 472 and Fig. 129.

C
Ce
291
302
178

Painting and Deformations of the Body

As the use of clothing has increased among the Chiriguano and Chané, the custom of painting or tattooing the body has naturally lost importance and the remnants of such customs are too few to be able to say what they were in the past. Nor do we have data on this. I often saw Chiriguano and Izozó women and girls paint themselves with urucú, making colored spots on their faces. According to Nordenskiöld, men and women sometimes paint their faces, as well as their bodies, with red paint (102). Nordenskiöld also found tattooing on

C
Ce
302
C
302

102. Nord. 1, p. 203.

the arms of some women and one Chiriguano man (103). The

103. Nord 1, p. 203. Nord. 2, p. 83, Fig. 27.

custom of dyeing the teeth with dark blue was found by

8: Schmidt--68 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Ce 301 302

/27 cont./

Nordenskiöld shows in a photograph a Chané man with such a band (120). According to information in the Annuae

C 302 171

120. Nord. 1, Plate 20.

litterae Societatis Jesu of the year 1605, the Chiriguano men previously wore a tonsure like that of the Guaraní in Paraguay and the Tupinambá on the Brazilian coast: "Coronis in modum nostrorum sacerdotum utuntur" /coronal in the style of our priest/ (121).

121. Métraux I, p. 467.

Ce 301

Men's Hair Bands

I. A. 653-660. (Izozó), woven of cotton. (Fig. 30: I. A. 660, 653, 655, 656.)

The average length of these men's hair bands measures about one meter. The longest is 1.18 meters and the smallest 0.91 meters. Although the length of all of these bands is almost the same, there are quite big differences in their width, the width varying between 1 cm. and 3.3 cm. The narrowest of these bands were woven plain, without decorations, and are in part white, in part later dyed with blue, red, or blue-gray dye. The two widest bands, 3.0 and 3.3 cm. wide, respectively, show simple ornamentation produced by the weaving. I shall deal with the details of the technique of this weaving and its ornamentation in the chapters on weaving and art.

Beside these bands woven out of cotton, the Izozó have men's hair bands which are longer and wider and woven out of human hair, ending in fringes at the two ends.

Chane SF8
Izozo

/28/

Combs (kívua) in the Collection

C
Ce
412
322
[126]

I. A. 740. (Found on the road between Capirenda and Garrapatal. Length 9.5 cm. Width 9 cm. (Fig. 29a.)
I. A. 1327. Izozó. Length 7.5 cm. Width 3.5 cm. (Fig. 29b.)

The two combs in the collection, coming from the Izozó, represent two completely different types of comb. To the first type belongs the comb I. A. 740, which is made up of some little wooden sticks held together between two transverse pieces of cane interwoven with threads. (Cf. Fig. 29a.) The comb of the second type, I. A. 1327, has simply been carved from a single piece of flat wood. (Cf. Fig. 29b.) A comb similar to I. A. 740, coming from the Chané, is shown by Nordenskiöld in a drawing (122). The three Chiriguano

C
412
322

122. Nord. 1, Fig. 109.

combs shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (122) /see footnote 122 above/ belong to the second type and have been carved from wood, like the Izozó comb I. A. 1327. But in contrast to this one, the upper parts of their backs have been carved. Likewise the Chiriguano combs shown in drawings by v. Rosen and Métraux (123) are decorated with such carving.

123. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 196.
Métraux I, Plate 87.

C
Ce
412
322
171

Up to now there has been some doubt as to how these two different types of combs might be distributed among the Chané and the Chiriguano. According to Nordenskiöld (124),

124. Nord. 2, p. 81.

the Chiriguano only have combs carved from a single piece of wood, and the Chané commonly have the type of comb with small sticks and rarely the simple comb carved from wood.

/28 cont./

Ce
Ce
412
322
171

V. Rosen and Métraux found among the Chiriguano combs made of little sticks (125), and, as already mentioned, I obtained these

125. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 202. Métraux I, pp. 467 and 468 and Fig. 123.

two types of comb from the Izozó. According to this, I believe that we must decide the question of the manner by which the two types of comb appear simultaneously among the Chiriguano and among the Chané, but noting first that among the latter the comb made of little sticks is more common and among the former the wooden comb is more common.

Because the diffusion of simple combs carved from wood, like those that the Chiriguano and the Izozó-Chané have, is relatively restricted among the other tribes of South American natives, while this type of comb was known to the ancient Peruvian culture, we must also include this cultural possession among the ancient Peruvian influences (126). The combs fitted

126. Nord. 2, p. 81.

with little sticks, which we know from the Chané and the Chané-Izozó, are different from such combs used by most of the Chaco tribes, for example, by the Churupí /Chulupi/ and the Maká /Maca/, not only with respect to its material but also with respect to its method of manufacture. But I do not accept Nordenskiöld's opinion, according to which those Chané combs are different, in that they are only usable on one side, from those of the Chaco tribes, which were usable from both sides (127). The Chaco Indian combs furnished with little

Ce
[114]

127. Nord. 1, p. 204. Métraux I, p. 467.

sticks that I am familiar with are also used only on one side for combing, inasmuch as the other side is the handle. We can be quite sure of that because the little sticks of cane that form the teeth of the comb are pointed at only one end. The

000

Ce 322 412 171

/28 cont./ The main difference between the Chané combs and the combs of the Chaco tribes is that the teeth of the latter are made of little sticks of cane, and the teeth of the former, of little sticks of any other kind of wood. The /29/ wooden teeth of the Izozó comb in our collection are between two flat little sticks of cane vertical to them, and on the handle end, between the little sticks whose lower parts form the teeth, shorter little sticks have been inserted, so that at the lower part of the comb there is a certain distance between the teeth. The lacing, consisting of cotton threads, covers the upper part of the comb as far as the edge, but also slightly covers the lower part which forms the teeth. The lacing is not secured with wax.

Ce 322 412

Ce [284]

With respect to hair care, we still must mention the data of Nordenskiöld and of Métraux (127) /see footnote 127 above/ to the effect that the Chiriguano and some of the Chané rub their hair with "Nyantéra" seed ("ñitira," according to Métraux), and the Chané of the Parapití with the rind of the mistol /Zizyphus mistol/, "yuag."

Ce Ce 302 824

From Father Lizárraga's description (128), we know that

Ce Ce 302 178 [171]

128. Moreno II, p. 101.

the Chiriguano and Chané in the past plucked out the hairs of the body, except from the head, as do most of the Indians of South America. Father Lazarraga /sic/ says that the Chiriguano plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes. This custom does not exist today, and the photographs of nude Chiriguano men shown by Lehmann-Nitsche (129) show that today as a general

129. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Fig.

rule they do not remove hair from the pubic regions. Also one meets today some middle-aged men who have mustaches, such as the cacique of the Izozó shown in Figure 10 and some of the Chiriguano men shown in drawings by Lehmann-Nitsche (130).

130. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Plates VIII-X.

C
Ce /29 cont./
412 Because of this change the implement for plucking hair, con-
301 sisting of small tweezers, formerly very common, has naturally
302 lost a great part of its importance today, and similarly, in its
178 transformed state as a chest ornament, it is rarer. I found such tweezers among the Mataco and the Churupí. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such tweezers or the corresponding chest ornament, called "boivera" also by the Chiriguano. Nordenskiöld describes these tweezers in detail (131),

131. Nord. 2, pp. 81 and 82.

and he adds that the Chiriguano also use small sticks of cane to pluck out hair.

C
412 The form of these tweezers made of metal corresponds to
301 that of the tweezers known through finds made in the burials of
171 the ancient Peruvians. Today these tweezers are normally made of any piece of tin plate or sheet iron, which, when provided with a cord, they use for chest ornaments, besides their original purpose. This custom of using tweezers as a chest ornament was very common among the ancient Peruvians. Among the latter's necklaces there are many that, apart from other things, consist of silver tweezers. It was customary among the ancient Peruvians that these enlarged tweezers, unsuitable for their original purpose, be transformed into a pure and distinctive ornament. The Museum of Ethnography in Berlin has such ornaments in the form of depilatory tweezers, made
C of copper, silver, or gold, in great number, one example of
301 which is 52 centimeters in length (132). Therefore I suppose
[174]
C
[113]

132. Cf. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru, Berlin, 1929, pp. 83, 369, 397, and 399.

we must deduce that the Chiriguano custom of using as a chest ornament a silver ornament in the form of one of those tweezers is due to ancient Peruvian influence. There are several specimens of the "boiveras," now rare and doubtless most of the time carefully kept from the view of the whites, in

/29 cont./

301 [439] European museums. These are not made by the Chiriguano themselves, but by their mestizo neighbors and sold to the Indians. The external form is still that of tweezers, much enlarged. But the boivera of today, discounting its size, also cannot be used for plucking hair because the two parts /30/ of its lower edge have been soldered. The fact that the decoration of the surface is not still primordial is explained by the fact that the Chiriguano are not the makers of these ornaments.

291

Clothing and Adornment

From the 16th century we have the brief description of the Chiriguano by Bishop Lizarraga (133) where, among other

[113]

133. Lizarraga: "Descripción et población de las Indias /Description and population of the Indies/." In Moreno II, p. 101.

things, it is said: "They go about naked or at the most sometimes have a short shirt /camisatilla/ down to the navel." We can assume that this statement by the Bishop as of that time refers only to the Chiriguano men, because it is likely that by the time of their immigration the Chiriguano women were wearing a garment which covered their genital organs, as we know the Guaraní women of the ancient Province of Uruguay did (134). It is likely that this garment had the same form as

174 291

[171]

134. Serrano, op. cit., pp. 123 and 124.

the "tipoy," which is a garment in the form of a poncho without sewing and which even today is very common among Chiriguano and Chané women, as well as among various other Indian tribes of South America.

8: Schmidt--81 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C 301 [126]

/33 cont./

Ring (moãkaregua) in the Collection

I.A. 1321. (Chiriguano.) Gift of Father Ayala Solis. Diam. 2cm.

Finally I shall mention here a ring obtained by Father Ayala Solis from the Chiriguano and donated by him to the Museo de Historia y Etnografía del Paraguay. The ring was made of metal from a cartridge shell.

Ce 291

The cacique of the Izozó shown in Figure 12 wears sandals (Chir.: mbipása. Izozó: pápá). Generally the men and women go around barefoot. But both sexes use sandals if they are to walk on stony or thorny ground (146).

146. Nord. 1, p. 203. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 207.

C 291 17

The region of distribution of the sandal in South America leads us to assume that the Chiriguano did not first receive this item from the whites, but earlier, and that it came from the culture of the ancient Peruvians (147).

147. Cf. Nord. 2, p. 69.

Treatment of Illnesses and Burial

Ce 743 Ce [114] C [114] C Ce 756 191

In the Indian settlement in Toledo there was arranged a small hospital in which the sick Izozó were receiving medical treatment. For that reason I did not have the chance to make investigations among them about the native treatment of the illnesses of these Indians. Nor did I have the chance to make such investigations in Machareti. Therefore, I refer to the investigations /34/ Nordenskiöld and Métraux made on this subject (148), and I wish only to

148. Nord. 1, pp. 216 and 217. Métraux 1, pp. 480-488.

mention here that among the Chiriguano and Chané, as among

C Ce /34 cont./
756 most other Indians of South America, there is a professional
171 physician who is charged with the treatment of the sick, this treatment in most cases consisting of sorcery among these
C Ce Indians too. The physician attempts to dispel the evil by
755 sucking out foreign objects which have penetrated the body of
757 the bewitched sick person. In addition to such treatment,
[824] remedies are used among the Chiriguano and Chané, which,
[237] in addition to those made of plant substances, include the fat of various animals applied externally for different illnesses.
Ce The Chané treat wounds with boiling water.
752

Burial among the Chiriguano and Chané who live outside
C Ce the missions is generally still done in urns, according to
764 primordial custom. According to Nordenskiöld (149), the
415

149. Nord. 1, p. 208.

large pots in which chicha is prepared are also used as funeral urns, and another pot is used to close the urn. Often the dying person, even before being completely dead, or soon after death, is crammed into the urn in a squatting position. A calabash of water is placed with the dead person in the urn,
Ce which is buried within the house. Commonly the house, after
768 the burial, is abandoned for some time, but is occupied again
C later. Such a funeral urn of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi
764 Valley is shown in a drawing by Erland Nordenskiöld (150).
415

150. Nord. 1, Fig. 113.

Up to half of the urn, which is provided with a cover, is disenterred. Nordenskiöld's statement that the Chiriguano use the same pots which serve for the preparation of meals as funeral urns is significant. From that we can deduce that a funeral urn found in other regions might also have served, during the lifetime of the dead person buried in it, some other purpose related to the economy of those Indians.

/35 cont./

526 Nordenskiöld did not see the Chiriguano of the Sierra play the game in which the ball is hit with the head, but he did hear it said that formerly they had played this game, called "bondi" by them, and that, like the Chané, they had used solid rubber balls (153). In my work published in this

526 171

153. Nord. 2, p. 104.

journal (154), I have already mentioned that, according to the

[113] 154. Revista de la Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay, Vol. III, No. 6, pp. 116 and 117.

Litterae Annuae of 1589 (155), the game with a ball hit with

155. Page 434. According to Nordenskiöld.

the head was also played by the Itatines-Guarayús and undoubtedly with a hollow rubber ball, because it is described there as being very light. In 1791 Eder (156) mentions this game

[113] 156. Eder, Franc. Xav.: Descriptio provinciae Moxitarum /Description of the province of the Mojo/, 1791, p. 41. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

with a ball hit with the head for the Moxos /Mojo/, who not only used white, hollow rubber balls, but also used dark, solid ones. Several authors, older ones, and more recent ones, for example, Fernandez and de Orbigny, mention this game among the Chiquito (157). Nordenskiöld on his travels saw it

157. Nord. 2, p. 104.

played in addition to the Chané, by the Huari (158).

158. Nord. 2, p. 104.

c
ce /35 cont./
526
174
177

According to these data concerning the region of spread of the game with a ball hit with the head, we must assume that the Chané, even before their subjugation by the Chiriguano, must have known this game, and that the Chiriguano of /36/ the Cordillera, like the Itatines-Guarayús, received it earlier from the Chané. The Chiriguano also play the game with a ball made of maize leaves struck with the hand, which we know from many other South American Indians (159). Ac-

c
526
[171]

159. Nord. 1, p. 168. Métraux 1, p. 44 and Fig. 11.

cording to Métraux, this game is not played except at the time when the maize is ripening, and it is related to the cultivation of maize.

With respect to other games of movement, the Chiriguano children play a game which corresponds to the game of polo and is very common among the Chaco tribes. The Chiriguano call it "taca." The ball is struck either, as among the Chorote and the Churupí, with curved sticks or with a primitive racket (160). No doubt the Chiriguano received this game

c
[171]
c
[177]

160. See Nord. 1, p. 193.

from neighboring Chaco tribes.

Of the games of skill, only one is played by adults and this only by women. It is a kind of bowling game that the Chiriguano in Tihuipa call "itarapóa" and the Chané of the Parapití "tecoróre" (161). The bowling pins in this game

ce
[526]

161. According to Nord. 1, p. 192.

consist of two rows of maize kernels, two by two, one on top of the other, or on a cob. They throw with stone balls or with a hollow ball of baked clay with little pellets of the same material inside (162).

162. Nord. 1, p. 192 and Fig. 99.

/36 cont./

C 524 177 The small sling I. A. 507, made out of a small forked stick, two strips of rubber obtained from an automobile tire, and leather, is not of native origin, nor is the rattle shown in Fig. 35a. /Plates XII, XIII appear here./

C 524 857 /37/ The toy shown in Figure 36a, called mou-mou by the Chiriguano, is made of a small gourd disk with a toothed edge and a double string. The latter passes through two holes in the disk. By alternately twisting and stretching this string, a rapid rotation of the disk is produced, together with a humming noise. Among other Chané children's toys there Ce [524 857] are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld a hoop with a rope, a musical instrument consisting of two bows (167), and a

167. Nord. 1, Fig. 104. C and D.

C [171] small musket. The Chiriguano children in the Caipipendi valley and those of the Chorote also play with such muskets (168).

168. Nord. 1, Fig. 23.

C 524 Among the games of skill we must mention, finally, the string games, some of which are shown in sketches by Métraux, which a Chiriguano man made for him (169). The

169. Métraux I, pp. 443, 446. Plates 89 and 90.

Chiriguano children also know this game.

C Ce 524 There are two games of chance among the Chiriguano and the Chané. One, called "chúcaráy" by the Chiriguano and "chunquanty" by the Chané, is played with four small boards, and the other, called "anúcaretn," with a large number of boards, concave on one side and convex on the other (170).

170. Nord. 1, p. 191 and Fig. 95.

/39 cont./

Ee 231 Tamed wild animals are rarely found inside their houses, except that they do have some parrots (182) /see footnote 182 above/.

Hunting

Ee 224 [433] [411] [439] We have explained before that, because of the lack of animals that can be eaten in the territory of the Chiriguano and Chané, hunting is secondary among their means of subsistence, and in accordance with this we know through old documents that the feathers for their arrows were introduced to the Chiriguano by other Indian tribes who were their tributaries (183). The raising of domestic livestock gives them a

Ee [231]

183. Moreno II, 121.

Ee 224 greater opportunity to obtain animal foodstuffs. In accordance with the fact that the Chiriguano, at least today, are not first-class hunters, the most common method of hunting among them is the use of traps (184). Nordenskiöld describes three

Ee 223

184. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 205.

different kinds of traps, all three of which are used for catching birds (185). The first kind consists of a simple noose and is used

185. Nord. 2, pp. 32, 33, and 85, Fig. 10, 12, and 13.

C [171] with the help of calls. The second kind, which is common among various other tribes of Indians, is used, for example, also by the Kaingua /Caingua/. The third kind consists of a net made in two parts and fixed to the ground by means of stakes. In one Ee [913] [223] of the Chané legends recorded by Nordenskiöld, a trap for catching doves is mentioned (186).

186. Nord. 1, p. 279.

Chane SFS
IZOZO

/41 cont./

C Ee 411 points, one Izozó specimen reaches a length of 1.07 m., and a Chiriguano specimen, a length of 1 m. This is the opposite of the observations that v. Rosen made about Chiriguano arrows, that they were as large or even larger than the bows.

C Ee [524] Without counting the Chiriguano arrows fitted with wire points, which no doubt are used only by children for shooting at fish or birds and which are often made with wooden shafts, Ee [524] arrow shafts are universally made of cane, taken from the plant Arundo donax, which, as I have already mentioned above, is cultivated by the Chané of the Parapití River. Ac- Ee 411 [524] cording to Nordenskiöld, the Chané formerly also used the Ubá (Cymnerium sp.), which they call "chochio" (188). The

188. Nord. 2, p. 58.

arrows collected among the Izozó are provided with iron points. Nordenskiöld also shows in drawings Chané arrows fitted with wooden points in the form of a lancet or dentate (189).

189. Nord. 2, Fig. 6. A and C.

C Ee 411 Among the Chiriguano arrows in the collection, there are two fitted with iron points, one fitted with a dentate wooden point, one such wooden point without a shaft, and two arrows for bird hunting that are fitted with a club instead of a point. The Chiriguano arrows fitted with iron points correspond throughout to the Izozó ones with respect to form and material. Ee [524] The iron point is joined to the shaft by means of a piece of split wood and a wrapping of cord made from special tree bark and fastened with wax. The lower end of the cane shaft has a groove over which the end of the arrow is also fastened by a wrapping of the same cord secured with wax.

Ee 411 237 /42/ Some Chiriguano and Izozó arrows have feathering, others do not. While the feathering was lost on some of the arrows that do not have it now, as can be discerned from the remnants of wax which had served for attaching it, other arrows show clearly that they never had feathering. If there is feather- Ee [524] ing, the feather parts attached by means of wrapping with cord [191] are small, as are those of most of the Chaco tribes.

/-3/

Macana in the Collection

411 [126] I. A. 517. (Chiriguano.) Length 64 cm. (Fig. 38).

[191] The wooden macana, acquired from the Chiriguano, is provided at its upper end with a broadening distinctly delimited from the handle (cf. Fig. 38) and in that respect corresponds to the macanas that we know from various Chaco tribes, for example, the Toba, but it does not correspond to the Chiriguano macana shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (197).

197. Nord. 2, Fig. 9.

The latter is about the same length, but it does not show the clear broadening at the handle, its upper end being only slightly broader. According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano [198] do not use these macanas except for hunting pigs (198).

198. Nord. 1, p. 183.

Sling (ramomboka) in the Collection

[126]

I. A. 508. Chiriguano. Length of the middle part of net 15 cm.
I. A. 509. " " " " " " 14 cm. (Fig. 36b.)

The two slings acquired from the Chiriguano seem to be [256] exactly alike. They consist of a middle part made with the net technique with caraguata-fiber string which terminates at [256] each end with a cord. One of these two cords ends in a simple knot and the other in a small loop. These slings are like the Chané ones shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld, while the manufacture of the middle part of the Chiriguano sling shown by Nordenskiöld is different (199). The Chiriguano in contact

199. Nord. 2, Fig. 7, A.

C
Ce
226
[439]
[171]

/44 cont./The also fish with hooks, which today they obtain from the whites. But it may be that the hook is an implement of their ancient culture (208). In

208. Nord. 2, p. 44.

addition, they fish by means of deep nets like those of the neighboring Chaco tribes, such as the Chorote, the Churupí, the Matako, and the Toba (209). They also fish with arrows

209. Nord. 2, p. 43. Métraux I, p. 350, Fig. 80.

and formerly with spears with two points. On his trip in 1901-1902, v. Rosen acquired one specimen of these spears from the Chiriguano, which he has described and shown in a sketch (210).

210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 214 and Fig. 216.

C
Ce
227
411

Among the Chiriguano and Chané arrows specifically for fishing, we must distinguish two different kinds, one for larger fish, with two dentate wooden points (211), and the other for

211. Nord. 2, Fig. 15b. V. Rosen, op. cit., Figs. 213 and 214.

small fish, provided at the upper end of the shaft with a large number of cactus spines (212).

212. Nord. 2, Fig. 15a.

Ce 415 /51 cont./ These vessels have a globular form and are provided with a handle. The bottom of three of them is clearly distinct from the belly, forming a foot. Ce [531] Two of them have designs on the surface; the others are without designs.

C 415 [126]

8. Vessels Used as Receptacles for Food, from the Collection

I. A. 394. Chiriguano. Height 17.5 cm. Aperture 44 cm.
I. A. 401. " " 11.5 cm. " 30 cm.

C [264] Two of the baked clay dishes that I obtained from the Chiriguano in Machareti seem to me to be too big to be considered as dishes for eating, because Nordenskiöld states that (228) the Chiriguano do not eat from a common dish, but

228. Nord. 1, p. 190.

rather each one has his own separate dish. We can assume that these are vessels used as food containers or serving dishes for food before it is placed on the individual dishes.

C [531] The two dishes are without designs. The flat bottom is well distinguished from the wall, which widens upward. The dish I. A. 401 has a rather wide rim which has two handles. Cf. Fig. 53b /see p. 118/.

C Ce 415 [171]

9. Vessels Used for Storing Objects

In contrast to the other Indians, the Chiriguano and Chané use vessels for keeping anything of value. I did not receive from the Indians any indication /52/ that any of the vessels I brought from them belonged particularly to this type. Therefore I refer here to a vessel shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld with the caption "For keeping knicknacks in" /cited in English/ (229).

229. Nord. 2, p. 158 and Fig. 45, N. 19.

8: Schmidt--149 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/57/

Grinding the Raw Materials

C
Ce
252
412

For grinding raw materials, principally for grinding corn, the Chiriguano and Chané use large wooden mortars with long pestles (255). Such a wooden mortar is shown in Figure 15 and

255. Nord. 1, p. 51. Métraux I, p. 365, Fig. 30.

C
Ce
412
[171]

another one by Nordenskiöld (256). Stone mills are not used by

256. Nord. 1, Fig. 116.

these Indians, although this implement was used, except for the Chaco tribes, by all the tribes whom the Chiriguano had as neighbors after their migration to the west. According to Métraux, a small stone mill is used only for grinding the seeds of a plant which the Chiriguano use as soap for washing their hair. Such a stone mill is shown in a drawing by Métraux (257).

C
[515]
[388]

257. Métraux I, p. 467, Fig. 122.

C
412
171
174

Because the wooden mortar is common even today among the Kainguá /Caingua/, who also belong to the Guaraní linguistic group, and is also mentioned for the ancient Tupinambá /Tupinamba/ of the eastern coast of Brazil, we can assume that the Chiriguano brought this cultural possession from their native land.

C
262
252
412
[171]

The fact that mandioca is not important in the economy of these Indians explains why they do not use the wooden grater, the application of which is diffused among so many other Indian tribes of South America who cultivate this nourishing root.

Making Cord and Thread

C
Ce
283

The thread that the Chiriguano and Chané make out of wool or cotton is spun by means of the spindle, while that made of caraguata is twisted by hand. We have no information on the way this caraguata thread is twisted.

/59 cont./

Ce 126 283 323

I.A. 711. (Fig. 90g)	Spindle (Izozó).	Lgth.	36.2 cm.	Clay whorl,	dia.	4.3 cm.
I.A. 712.	"	"	"	33.5 cm.	"	"	"	4.2 cm.
I.A. 713. (Fig. 90h)	"	"	"	43.5 cm.	"	"	"	4.2 cm.
I.A. 714.	"	"	"	46 cm.	"	"	"	4 cm.
I.A. 715.	"	"	"	43.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.8 cm.
I.A. 716. (Fig. 85c)	"	"	"	41 cm.	"	"	"	3.8 cm.
I.A. 717.	"	"	"	42.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.5 cm.
I.A. 718.	"	"	"	36 cm.	"	"	"	3.3 cm.
I.A. 719.	"	"	"	36.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.7 cm.
I.A. 720. (Fig. 90f)	"	"	"	41.2 cm.	"	"	"	4.4 cm.
I.A. 721. (Fig. 90d)	"	"	"	34.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.7 cm.
I.A. 722. (Fig. 90e)	"	"	"	38.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.3 cm.
I.A. 723.	"	"	"	40.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.5 cm.
I.A. 724. (Figs. 85a and 90a)	"	"	"	51 cm.	"	"	"	4 cm.

C Ce 283 171

The spindles that I obtained from the Chiriguano and Izozó are the type of spindle, very common among the Indians of South America, that Nordenskiöld calls "Bakairí type" in contrast to the "Bororo type," this nomenclature being based on the first description of these two types of spindles by Carl von den Steinen, who found them among the Bakairí /Bacairi/ on the one hand and among the Bororó on the other (258). In contrast with the

C Ce [113]

258. Carl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, Berlin, 1894, pp. 238 and 488. Nord. 2, p. 196. Otto Frödin and Erland Nordenskiöld, Zwirnen und Spinnen bei Indianern Südamerikas /Twining and

C
Ce
283
17
[113]

/59 cont./

Spinning among South American Indians/,
Göteborg, 1910.

"Bororo type," the "Bacairí type" of spindle is held in a vertical position when used for spinning and has a small enlargement in the form of a knob at the upper end of the stick. In spinning, the prepared thread winds around the upper piece of the stick. The material of the Chiriguano and Izozó whorls is baked clay (that of the Chiriguano, pieces of broken baked clay vessels, filed), wood, or, rarely, among the Chiriguano, stone.

Ce
[32]

C
Ce
283

From the measurements mentioned above, it seems that the Chiriguano whorls usually have a rather larger diameter than the spindle whorls of the Izozó. The longest stick in the collection (from the Izozó) measures 54.5 cm.; the shortest (from the Chiriguano), 25.5 cm.

As I have already mentioned, all the sticks of the Chiriguano and Izozó spindles are fitted at the upper end with an enlargement in the form of a knob. Most of the spindle sticks in addition have an enlargement in the lower part, directly under the place where the whorl is put, so as to prevent the whorl from coming down the stick when the spindle is in a vertical position. Many spindles have a wrapping of cotton or raw wool directly under the whorl in order to make the whorl secure.

The form of the whorls shows many variations. I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano whorls are generally larger than those of the Izozó. They are also more uniform. The two sides of the baked clay of the Chiriguano are simply flat and smooth, which results from their origin as pieces of broken baked clay vessels to which the Chiriguano give the form of a disk by filing them and which they perforate in the center. The stone whorls of the Chiriguano /60/ and most of the wooden whorls also show the same form. But among the latter there are also some (cf. Fig. 87 /see p. 147/) which are similar to the more complicated forms of the Izozó whorls, although they differ from the latter in their greater size.

Ce
283
[171]

Among the Izozó whorls only two have two flat sides like the Chiriguano whorls. The other Izozó whorls, not only those of baked clay but also the wooden ones, show great variation in

Ce 283 171

/60 cont./

form, many of them being similar in form to the whorls of the ancient Peruvians. Cf. Figures 89 and 90 /see p. 147/.

P 285 178

The Technique of Plaiting

In a legend told to me by a Paressí Indian in Mato Grosso, the appearance of a new epoch is discussed. The young generation of the Parassís /Paressi/ complains to the grandfather that they have now forgotton the manufacture of the bottoms of their different baskets, that is, the beginning and thus the rudiment of that work. The Chiriguano can make the same complaint to their grandfathers. They have also forgotten, as a result of the appearance of a new era, that is, as a result of their contacts with the whites, most of the elements of the art of plaiting, and imitations of European merchandise or of the plaited objects of neighboring Indians, less cultivated than they, are only poor compensation.

C 285 178

Of the four principal types into which all the plaited objects of the Indians of South America can be classified with regard to their technique, which I have called in my publications which deal with them (259) "Stufengeflechte /step plaiting/,

C 285 171

259. Max Schmidt, Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde /Textbook for Ethnology/, Berlin, 1924, pp. 154-157.

Doppelfadengeflechte /double-thread plaiting/, Rohrstuhlgeflechte /caning/, and Geflechte in Spiralwulsttechnik /plaiting in coiling technique/," only the first two can be found among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó. It is surprising that the fourth type (Geflechte in Spiralwulsttechnik) of plaited objects does not exist among these Indians, because this technique was the most common one in the mountainous regions neighboring Chiriguano territory.

C 285 177 /62 cont./

The technique of the small bag I. A. 512, which has a cover and corresponds in form to a modern cigar case, is of no interest to us, because this is a product of modern manufacture.

C Ce 285 178 Baskets I. A. 551 (of the Chiriguano) and I. A. 677 (of the Izozó) are of special interest because they represent the product of a new era in which the primordial devices of the technique have been forgotten and therefore they have lost the typical forms of the products of those techniques. The making of this C 285 type of basket, which is widespread among the Indian tribes of ● 171 South America, begins with the making of the bottom and ends at the upper edge of the basket where the free ends of the strips are /63/ fastened. If we compare the structure of the bottom of these Chiriguano baskets with the structure of corresponding baskets of other tribes of South American Indians, such as with the structure of the baskets of the Bacairí on the tributaries of the Xingú River (Mato Grosso, Brazil) or of the tribes of the Rio Negro, our attention is drawn to the great difference with respect to the conformity of the work. In my above-mentioned C 285 publications (265) I have described this kind of basket in more C [113]

265. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien, loc. cit.; and Die technischen Veraussetzungen, pp. 157 and 158.

detail, and I have demonstrated that the special design which appears in two variations on the bottom of most of the baskets of this kind that are not yet degenerate is consistent with the technique, because only a bottom decorated in this way can be a proper beginning in order to form the walls of the basket. Moreover, there is the difficulty that for the fabrication of the four walls of one of these baskets one needs twice as many strips as the number of the free ends which come out of the plaited square or rectangle which forms the bottom of the basket. C Therefore, the Indians who still know exactly how to plait Ce these baskets plait in the beginning a flat rectangular piece 285 twice as large as the projected bottom of the basket. Then the four edges of this rectangle are folded upward, in this

C
Ce
286

/64 cont./

There may be variations in these braids according to the difference in the number of skeins plaited and the number of strips which are passed each time by one strip of the braid, as Figures 139-141 show /see p.201/. The greater the number of skeins in the braid, the more the form of one string of the braid takes on the appearance of a band. Cf. Figure 32 a and b /see p. 62/.

C
Ce
[171]

To the second of the four kinds of plaited objects into which all the plaited objects of the South American Indians can be classified belong those which are plaited in such a way that one row of sticks, threads, or similar things are united so that a double thread passes the row, continuously or at certain intervals, and in such a way that the two individual threads of the double thread encircle in each rotation one or more of the little sticks or threads of the row.

C
126
352
513
286

Among the objects plaited by this technique there are two Chiriguano hammocks and one Izozó saddle covering in the collection.

Ce
492
286
126

Objects Plaited with Double Thread, from the Collection

I. A. 448. Hammock (Chirig.). Wool. Lgth. 2.60 m. Width 0.75 m. (Fig. 102b and 109.)
I. A. 449. Hammock " " " 2.05 m. " 0.60 m. (Fig. 110.)
I. A. 844. Saddle covering (Izozó) " 1.21 m. " 0.57 m. (Fig. 103b and 129.)

C
352
286

The threads of the hammocks mentioned above are made of wool and that applies not only to the warp threads but also to the double threads. The manufacture of these hammocks is explained in two schematic drawings shown in Figures 109 and 110 /see Figs. 127 and 128, p.190/. The diagram in Figures 109 /Fig. 127/ shows the place in hammock I. A. 448 where the double thread begins to pass through the row of warp threads. The arrangement of the warp threads can be explained only by the manner in which a warp of one continuous thread was made first and in the form of a sleeve, /65/ as the warp of weavings done on a loom

/65 cont./

415 Wooden Hoops for Storing Possessions, in the Collection

[126]

I.A. 580.	A pair of hoops (Chiriguano).					Diameter	53 cm.
I.A. 581.	"	"	"	"	"	"	51 cm.
I.A. 582.	"	"	"	"	"	"	46 cm.
I.A. 583.	"	"	"	"	"	"	43 cm. (Fig. 41).
I.A. 584.	One hoop				"	"	48 cm.

In the Chiriguano houses in Macharete I found hanging wooden hoops, which, usually in pairs, served for storing various possessions of the Indians. The circular area of the hoops is filled in with strips of cane that are stretched across the hoop and interwoven as Figure 41 shows. The hoops are provided with strings or strips of leather in order to be hung in the houses (268).

[285]

268. See Métraux I, p. 471, Figs. 126 and 127.

285 Modern Plaited Objects in the Collection

126

I.A. 503.	Basket	(Chiriguano).	Diam.	18 cm.	Height	12.5	cm.
I.A. 550.	"	"	"	27 cm.	"	13	cm.
I.A. 552.	"	"	"	31 cm.	"	23	cm.
I.A. 553	Flat basket	"	"	56 cm.	"	16	cm.

/66/ I obtained from the Chiriguano some baskets whose technique is completely different from the technique of the baskets described above. They are so similar to the baskets commonly used by the Paraguayans that we must consider them products of an absolutely modern craft, and it is not necessary for us to deal with their technique. Nordenskiöld and Métraux show in sketches and describe such baskets of the Chiriguano, among which some have handles and others lids (269).

[171]

285

269. Nord. 2, p. 171 and Figs. 53 and 51. Métraux I, pp. 444-453, Plates 73-77.

C /70 cont./
415
286 of weaving are not secured by the weaving process itself. In order to change the piece of weaving described in the foregoing into the double bag, its two ends are folded over at the dotted lines in the diagram, with the result that points A, B, C, and D are placed on top of points A/, B/, C/, and D/. Then the edges which are placed one on top of the other (OA/, QB/, PD/, and RC/) /71/ are sewed together. The parts EILG and FKMH are doubled in the opposite direction to form the tops of the double bag.

C
Ce
286
531
171 In accordance with the simple mechanism of the loom with which the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó make their textiles, the possibilities of producing variations in the ornamentation of these are very limited. The variations in ornamentation of the weavings of the Chaco tribes, such as, in particular, those of the Churupí /Chulupi/, which consist of frets, zigzags, rhombuses, and many other figures, are not found among the ornamentations of the weavings of the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
Ce
286
531
[177] Because today the woven goods of these Indians, especially the fajas and the ponchos, are often woven with imported thread or, if they are woven with native wool or cotton thread, these are often dyed with imported dyes, the different colors of the ornamentation on the surface of these weavings have no ethnological importance.

The ornamentation is formed exclusively by the warp threads, due to the fact that the distance between the warp threads is much less than the distance between the wax threads, so that the meshes of the woof disappear completely under those of the warp. Because, outside of that, the formation of the divisions of the warp threads is done by a single mechanism of loops, it can consist only of raising and lowering alternately the even and odd warp threads, for which reason the ornamentation still cannot be influenced by the process of the operation of weaving itself. The structure of this kind of weaving is necessarily such that in the direction of the woof thread, thus vertical to the direction of the warp threads, a row of the meshes formed by the odd warp threads is alternated each time with a row of the meshes formed by the even warp threads. Thus

/73 cont./

The Technique of Making Nets

C Ce 286

The technique of making nets is widespread among the Chiriguano and Chané and is used to make various objects, such as fishnets, hammocks, nets for carrying burdens, bags, and slings. The material used for making these nets generally consists of threads made of caraguata fibers. In the collection there are two Chiriguano burden-carrying nets made of woolen threads and another one made of strips of cowhide.

C Ce [283] [824] C [482]

The common technique of making nets among the Chiriguano and the Chané is the technique called "Knotentechnik," in German, using the knot called the reef knot in English. Figure 138, a and b, shows such a "reef knot," and Figure 142 shows the technique of making nets with this "reef knot." According to Nordenskiöld (275), the Chiriguano and Chané use small

C Ce [284]

275. Nord. 3, p. 207.

rectangular boards for making their nets, like those with which we are familiar from many other tribes of South America. Unfortunately, I did not acquire such a board from the Chiriguano or from the Izozó. By continually wrapping the first board with a thread the simple loops which are shown in the diagram (Figure 142) in the upper row are formed. The thread, after having reached the other end of the board, are wrapped continuously in the opposite direction around a second board, being connected each time, with a knot, with the loops of the thread wrapped around the first board. If the thread has been looped in the manner described, until it gets to the first loop of the first row, the first board can be removed to serve in the formation of the third row of the meshes of the net, which is made in the same way as the second, but in the opposite direction. It is clear that nets made with this technique, in their simplest and least complicated form, must have a rectangular form, and this form is typical of all of the nets of the Chiriguano and Izozó, while various other South American tribes, for example, the Bakairí /Bacairi/, who formerly lived on the tributaries of the Xingú River (in Mato Grosso), make triangular nets.

C Ce [171]

/76 cont./

C
Ce
252
[415]
[412]

On the Cooking of Meals

Most of the Chiriguano and Chané utensils used /Plates XXXVI-XXXVII appear here/ /77/ for cooking meals have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters, such as pots for cooking food and for fermenting chicha, dishes with holes in the center of the bottom for steaming maize meal, vessels for frying /fritar/ maize, wooden mortars with their pestles, and sieves. For frying /fritar/ meat or fish, the Chiriguano and Chané do not use the quadrangular or triangular stands which are so common among other South American Indians, but instead simple wooden spits (282). Also, as we have already said, the grater for grating mandioca roots is not found among these Indians.

C
Ce
[171]
C
Ce
[412]

282. Nord. 2, p. 55. Métraux I, p. 352 and Figure 22.

C
Ce
[415]
[412]

We have yet to mention two other utensils used by the Chiriguano and Chané for fixing their meals, the large wooden dish and the spatula for stirring foods or drinks when they are boiling or fermenting.

C
415
126

Large Wooden Dishes (Platters) in the Collection

I.A. 574. (Chirig.) Lgth 0.83 m. Width 0.39 m. (Fig. 19.)
I.A. 575. " " 1 m. " 0.325 m.

Unfortunately I did not obtain data regarding the special use of these large wooden dishes which I acquired from the Chiriguano in Machareti. As Fig. 19 shows, these large wooden dishes are provided with the same handles as the smaller wooden dishes which serve as vessels for eating.

/77 cont./

C 412 126

Spatulas for Stirring Foods, Which Are in the Collection

I.A. 501. (Chiriguano) Length 49.5 cm.
I.A. 509. " " 24.5 cm. (Fig. 21)
I.A. 576. " " 114 cm. (Fig. 20b.)
I.A. 577. " " 93 cm.
I.A. 578. " " 62 cm. (Fig. 20a.)
I.A. 579. " " 66.5 cm.

C Ce 412 [531] [191]

These wooden spatulas for stirring are used by the Chiriguano and Chané for stirring the bubbling crock of maize when it is being fermented. Some of these spatulas have decorations on their handles similar to those of the corresponding spatulas of the Guató Indians. Nordenskiöld shows in a sketch such a Chiriguano spatula with a zigzag decoration (283), and beside

C 412 531 237

283. Nord. 2, Fig. 17 A.

it (284) another form of these utensils, from the Chiriguano,

284. Nord. 2, Fig. 17 B.

which consists of the shoulder blade of a large mammal, attached to a wooden handle (285).

285. Nord. 2, p. 55. See Métraux I, Figs. 33 and 34.

C 273

The Making of Fermented Drinks

Concerning the making of maize chicha, that is, the national drink of the Chiriguano, Nordenskiöld says the following (286):

286. Nord. 1, p. 237.

C [412]

First the maize is /78/ ground up in large mortars, then sifted and boiled in large pots with water. A part of this mash,

/79 cont./

C
Ce
482
171
413

We must still note that the Chiriguano and Chané transport fish in the same way as the neighboring tribes of the Chaco, by stringing them on a cord provided with a big wooden needle (295).

295. Nord. 2, p. 46.

Implements for Storing Objects

C
Ce
352
353
415

Most of the objects that serve for storing things have also been mentioned in preceding chapters, such as the various kinds of baskets and the wooden hoops which are hung in the houses for storing sundry things in them. The net bag and the carrying net do not serve only for carrying, but also for storing things in them. Baked clay vessels are not only used for storing liquids, but are also used for storing many other things which have a special value or are old memorabilia of the family (296). Furthermore,

296. Nord. 1, p. 179.

C
Ce
[237]

they put up special hooks for hanging various things in the houses. Such a hook is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (297),

297. Nord. 1, p. 177 and Fig. 86.

and Métraux shows such a hook made of a deer's leg (298).

298. Métraux I, Fig. 128.

Art

C
534
126

Flutes and a Whistle in the Collection

I.A. 491. Flute, "sereré" (Chirig.). Wood. Lgth. 17 cm. Width 2.7 cm. (Fig. 33b.)

I.A. 492. " " " " " 20 cm. Width 3.5 cm. (Fig. 33a.)

I.A. 493. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Length 43 cm.

/79 cont./

534 I. A. 494. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Lgth. 41 cm. (Fig. 34a.)
[126] I. A. 495. Double whistle " " " 33.5 and 7 cm. (Fig. 34b.)

[126] From the Chiriguano in Machareti I acquired two different kinds of flutes, the ones made of cane and the others made of wood. The two wooden flutes I. A. 491 and 492 (cf. Figs. 93a and 93b /see Fig. 33a and b, p. 89/) are of particular importance because of their similarity in form, and in the case of I. A. 491 of decoration as well, to a special kind of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians, and for that reason they have already been dealt with several times in ethnological literature. These two flutes are doubtless quite old specimens which per-
[322] haps had already been used by several generations. They are called "sereré" by the Chiriguano, and they are of hard wood bored from one end to the other. In the middle of the upper edge of the lozenge of the apparatus, there are two small
[301] perforations . A similar flute shown in a sketch by v. Rosen (299)

299. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 220.

shows that these perforations serve for a string to pass through, in order that the flute may be worn as a chest ornament.
534 Nordenskiöld (300) has already called attention to the surprising
174
191

300. Nord. 3, pp. 187 and 188.

resemblance between these flutes and a special form of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians. These, numerous specimens of which are known, are no doubt classified as balance beams because of the fact that on some specimens /80/ the cord which passes through the horizontal perforation and which has at one end a weight and at the other end a loop, or some such similar thing for holding the objects that are to be weighed, has been preserved. V. Rosen, describing and showing in a drawing one of these Chiriguano flutes, which is like flute I. A. 491 except that it still has the cord which passes through the two holes on the upper

C /80 cont./
534 edge, puts forward against Nordenskiöld's deductions his opinion
194 that the ancient Peruvian objects of this form might originally
171 have been flutes and that they might have been used only ex-
C ceptionally, in the event of necessity or only secondarily, as
[114] balance beams. Among the objects of this kind in the ancient
C Peruvian collection of the museum in Berlin so many specimens
[177] clearly show that they are balance beams that I cannot say that
C I agree with this opinion by V. Rosen (301). We must agree
[113]

301. Cf. Max Schmidt, Kunst ünd Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/, p. 99, fig. p. 544, N. 8-10.

with V. Nordenskiöld's opinion that these wooden objects used by the ancient Peruvians as balance beams may have been accepted by the Chiriguano, not as balance beams, because the Chiriguano did not have the need to weigh anything, but as flutes. We must mention that with this kind of flute, open at both ends, two different sounds can be produced, depending upon whether the lower hole is left open or is closed with the finger.

The two Chiriguano flutes made of cane have six holes for varying the sound and one hole, at one side, for the mouth. Cf. Figure 39a /see Fig. 34a, p. 89/. Nordenskiöld, who shows
C such a flute in a drawing (302), is of the opinion that the
Ce
534
199
171

302. Nord. 2. Fig. 36 A.

Chiriguano and Chané received this kind of flute from the mestizos or whites, because such flutes provided with a hole at one side for the mouth do not exist among the other Indians of South America or among the ancient Peruvians.

/80 cont./

Ee 534 The double whistle I.A. 495 consists of two pieces of cane joined together in the manner of Panpipes. In contrast to the flutes described in the preceding, the two tubes of these whistles have lips. One, which has four holes for making the sounds vary, measures 33.5 cm., and the other, which does not have such holes, is only 7 cm. long. A whistle of this kind, but not double, is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (303).

303. Nord. 2, Fig. 36b.

In addition to these musical instruments, Nordenskiöld describes a few others that he saw among the Chiriguano and Ee [191] Chané. Among them can also be found those round flutes which are used by many tribes of the Chaco and one of which is shown in a sketch by Nordenskiöld (304). They also have large

304. Nord. 2, Fig. 35.

trumpets, which the Chiriguano call "angùahuasi," while the common trumpet is called by the same name as is the mortar, "angúa" or "angúarai." One can also find trumpets made cut Ee [237] [324] of a cow's horn or a calabash, which are blown at the upper end (305).

305. Nord. II, p. 119, Fig. 37 A and B.
Métraux I, p. 337, Fig. 35.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Panpipes, which consist of several flutes joined together, are rarely found among these Indians (306).

306. Nord. 2, p. 126.

Ee 415 532 Plastic art is little developed among the Chiriguano and Chané. On rare occasions we find plastic art in the form of animals in the forms of the baked clay pottery of the Chiriguano (307).

307. Nord. 2. Fig. 41, N. 4, and Fig. 45, N. 20.

/82 cont./

Ee 531 532 of the Chiriguano vessel I.A. 347 (cf. Fig. 65 /see p. 130/ and 147 /see p. 211/) and the way in which the road under this animal is represented show many reminders of similar representations of the ancient Peruvians. The representations of animals and people on the surface of vessel I.A. 378 (cf. Figs. 63 /see p. 130 and 146 /see p. 211/), which in external form is quite modern, correspond to those of other South American Indians. Like them the Chiriguano also combine elements of geometrical ornamentation for the representation of zoomorphic or anthropomorphic motifs, for example, the graduated line for the representation of roosters and triangles for the body of women. Cf. Fig. 146 /see p. 211/.

Ee [171]

Ee 531 One principal difference between the decoration painted on the surface of the baked clay vessels and the decoration incised on the surface of cuyas lies in the fact that the painting of the baked clay vessel is limited to the decoration of the upper part of the exterior surface or to that of the upper rim of the interior surface of the vessel, that is, the decoration of a continuum, either wider or narrower, while the incisings on the cuyas decorate the entire exterior surface, more or less semiglobular, often making the center of the semiglobular surface the center of the concentric ornamentation.

Among the decorated cuyas I received from the Chiriguano in Machareti some have only incising and others only pyroengraving. But most of them combine these two ways of producing a decoration. Several specimens of these decorated cuyas show the same decorative motifs with a surprising similarity. Without counting the stylized phytomorphic motifs, there can also be found among the incised decorations figures like the representation of a small fish (cf. Fig. 148 /see p. 211/) and of a chapel, clearly identified by a cross. Cf. Figure 153 /see p. 212/.

Among incised decorations we must still mention the concentric circumferences made on the surface of most of the Isoso spindle-whorls and various wooden spindle-whorls of the Chiriguano, and the decoration of the "serere" flute shown in

/90 cont./
preceding. I must also cite A. Métraux's publication, "Les Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguano e dans l'Amérique de Sud /Men-Gods among the Chiriguano and in South America/" (363).

363. In the Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, No. 1, Tucumán, 1931.

in which he deals with the cases, repeated several times, in which some individuals among the Chiriguano appear as Messiahs and, acquiring many proselytes, gave the mission administrations much to do.

Plaited Objects Used in Religious Celebrations, from the Collection

I.A. 1439. (Chiriguano) Length 70 cm. (Fig. 45b.)
I.A. 1440. " " 37 cm. (Fig. 45a.)

Plaited objects like those mentioned above are also very common among the Paraguayans and made in the same way. This custom of making such plaited figures and having them blessed, as the Chiriguano also do, is connected with the Catholic ritual, and the Chiriguano no doubt received it from the missionaries along with the other rites of the Catholic religion (364).

364. See the opposite opinion of Métraux I, p. 462.

The masks that the Chiriguano make to carry during the Carnival fiestas are also modern objects. Some such Chiriguano masks are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and Métraux (365).

365. Nord. 1, Fig. 119. Métraux I, Plate 86 and Fig. 121.

Ci 209 112 101

almost with pride. Evidently it is thought that the very scars afterwards act as a sort of charm against the spirits.[1]

If scars left by wounds are considered to possess desirable, magical properties, it would easily be supposed that perforations that have been kept open must possess the same properties in a greatly enhanced degree. Among the Chiriguano, neighbours of the Chaco, the actual piercing of the lower lip constituted the most important of the ceremonial acts performed on the boys on their having attained puberty, and among the Chaco — whose culture is akin to that of the Chiriguano — not only was the lower lip pierced on this occasion, but the boys were also given other wounds on the body.[2]

Co 111 209 171

Ci 209 194

From what I have adduced above, it will therefore be seen that, according to the belief of the Indians, *the making of punctures or perforations on the body, has in itself magic effects, and, consequently, that these magic effects are not believed to arise with the fixing of some ornamental object of magical character — e. g., a trinket, or an ear disc — into the perforation.*

Ci 209 194 242

This being so, here, in my opinion, lies the explanation of the fact that Chaco girls sometimes have pierced ear-lobes, although it has never still *certainly* been shown that they ever wear ear discs. On the other hand, from reasons I shall present below, it is *probable* that old Chaco women, with distended ear-lobes, *exceptionally* do wear ear discs.

I myself, as well as other investigators of the Chaco peoples, have seen elderly women among the Chaco with holes in their ears so large that one was forced to suppose that the lobes had been stretched in some way or other. Such stretching, however, *may not necessarily* be due to the wearing of ear blocks, but *may* have been produced by manual manipulation. That, by such means, perfectly monstrous distension of the soft parts of the body can very well be brought about, is proved by, among other things, the practice of the Hottentot women of lengthening out — merely by frequent pulling — the labia minora into an enormous size.[3] A similar stretching of the hole in the ear-lobe might, from the Indians' point of view, have for its object the increasing, proportionately to its size, the magic properties of the hole. Among the Incas, the size

[1] Kanesse [1], p. 139. Refer by von Rosen.
[2] Kanesse [1], p. 200.
[3] von Luschan [1], p. 398.

/333 cont./

C
G
172
131
[114]

The archeological arguments of those who believe in a vast extension of the Guarani into Argentina rest on the occurrence of burials of adults in urns in the provinces of Salta and Jujuy. Recently I conducted excavations in several pre-Hispanic cemeteries of this region (Candelaria department, Salta prov.), and I was able to satisfy myself that the peoples who left us these great necropolises had nothing in common with the Chiriguano from a cultural and anthropological point of view. The funerary urns I brought to light are entirely different from those of the ancient Guarani, and the funerary furnishings include no piece which could be attributed either closely or distantly to the Guarani.

T-G
[764]

Burials of adults in urns is not in any way characteristic of the culture of the Tupi-Guarani Indians, and, I might say, even the opposite. Already in 1905 Outes (1) in a very well-documented monograph had proved that the cemeteries of Rosario de Lerma and San Pedro de Jujuy, which Boman (1) considered as Guarani, in no way constituted proofs of a Guarani migration into northwestern Argentina. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 184-189) and myself (Métraux, 2, pp. 271-276) have resumed study of this question, and our results entirely confirm those of Outes (1). Therefore, as much from the historic as from the ethnographic point of view, boundaries other than the ones I have indicated could not be assigned to the ancient Chiriguano.

241
412
243
[464]

Mauss used to cite to us the following example: during the great war the French soldiers did not much like using English shovels different from their own, and vice versa. The Chiriguano I have seen laboring on military roads in Bolivia handle our shovels exactly like any European laborer; but back home, when it is a question of working a field, they return immediately to the ancestral gestures and are constrained to adapt the form of their instruments to them.

The handle fits into a handgrip carved out of a small block of wood and set in with the greatest care. The latter generally takes the shape of a crescent on which the hand rests comfortably. The handgrips with an elegant curve, which gave an aesthetic character to the ancient spades, have become very rare. In the course of /336/ my trip I was able to acquire only two shovel handles which were provided with them. One comes from Ibopeyti (Fig. 3) and the other was made for me by an old Indian of the Ivu mission. The workmanship of this latter specimen is careless, but it reproduces fairly faithfully the ancient models (Fig. 4).

[126]

241
412
172
243

The use of the shovel among the Chiriguano probably dates back only three or four centuries. This instrument was unknown in ancient Paraguay where our Indians came from. The borrowing which could be presumed a priori has been confirmed by the discovery in the Quebrada de Humahuaca of wooden shovels similar in every detail to the ones I

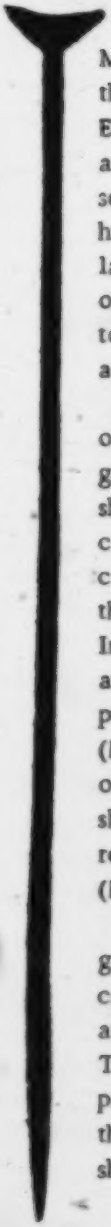


Fig. 3. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ibopeyti. (1/11 nat. size.)

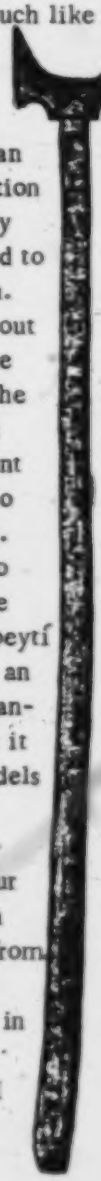


Fig. 4. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ivu. (1/8 nat. size.)

/336 cont./

241 have described here. These finds were made in the ruins of
412 the Alfarcito and of the Pukará de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 4,
● 172 Fig. 17 and p. 32) and at the Huerta in the same Quebrada de
243 Humahuaca. Numerous wooden shovels have been dug up at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Figs. 236-237, pp. 457-458), and Ambrosetti supposes with justification that they were hafted like those of the modern Chiriguano. Debenedetti (1, p. 35) obtained a specimen of this instrument at Kipón in Salta province.

[171] This type of shovel is particularly well represented in the archeological material of the Chilean coast. Numerous specimens have been found in Calama, Chiuchiu, and Pica in Tarapaca province (Boman, 2, Vol. II, pp. 731-732 and Plate LXVIII a; and Uhle, 3, pp. 15-16 and Plate I).

[171] The half-breeds and Indians of the Bolivian altiplano still work the earth today with a spade which in no way differs from that of their ancestors; moreover, it shows great similarity /337/ to the wooden shovel of the ancient Chiriguano (Chervin, p. 216, Fig. 120).

241 Nordenskiöld (9, pp. 30-32), studying the distribution
412 of this cultural element, established that it was peculiar to
171 the Andean zone and the adjoining regions. The Chiriguano
243 shovel nonetheless has a characteristic feature for which we should look in vain on all the specimens found inside the boundaries of the Inca Empire: this is the crescent-shaped handgrip. It corresponds quite precisely to the crutches terminating the oars in use among the tribes of Brazil, Paraguay, and the Guianas and on which the paddler puts his hand flat.

241 The Chiriguano formerly lived in a region rich in rivers and
412 streams, and they probably made use of paddles of this type to
174 go up or down them. Once settled at the foot of the Andes,
243 the resemblance between their former /Fig. 5 appears here/ oars and the shovels they saw in the hands of the Chané or the Chicha must have struck them; and they naturally sought to adapt to the new instruments this detail of structure whose convenience paddling had shown them. Such a hypothesis is not too adventuresome, for do we not have in the Chaco some shovels which have exactly the appearance of oars? (On this subject see the Ashluslay shovel published by Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 30, Fig. 1.)

C /372 cont./
323 modeled. The latter is extremely fine, of very good quality,
[415] and, when fired, forms a compact, hard, and resistant mass. This clay is inherently not very porous; to render it still more impermeable the Chiriguano potters give the vessel a long polishing while it is still unfired but nevertheless very dry. This is applied on the exterior walls of the receptacle and gives them a brilliant and metallic appearance which at first sight would be taken for a glaze. This operation has the effect of making the vessel almost impermeable and thus of avoiding the evaporation which takes place more or less rapidly in most Chiriguano receptacles. The narrowness of the neck at the top of these vessels serves a similar purpose.

C 415 →

The iru can be of any size: there are very large ones like the Chané specimen of Plate XVII, 1 /see p. 127/ and other very small ones (Plate XVIII, 4 /see p. 131/) which little girls use to help their mothers and /Plate XVIII appears here/ /373/ become initiated into housework. Vessels 1 and 3

A [415] ←

Fig. 38. Ashluslay vessel.
Prov.: Estero Patiño.
(1/3 nat. size.)

of Plate XVIII represent rather rare close forms, which derive from the primitive type but which have been perfected. The handles with which these iru are provided allow them to be carried on a trip in place of gourds.

C [172] Prototypes of the Chiriguano iru have been furnished us by Debenedetti's excavations (2, Fig. 119, p. 171) on the Isla de Tilcara.

/374 cont./

415 surmounted by two nipples, remains of stylized ears. These protuberances can be perforated and allow a suspension cord to pass through, which permits hooking the bowl to a beam of the hut (Fig. 41).

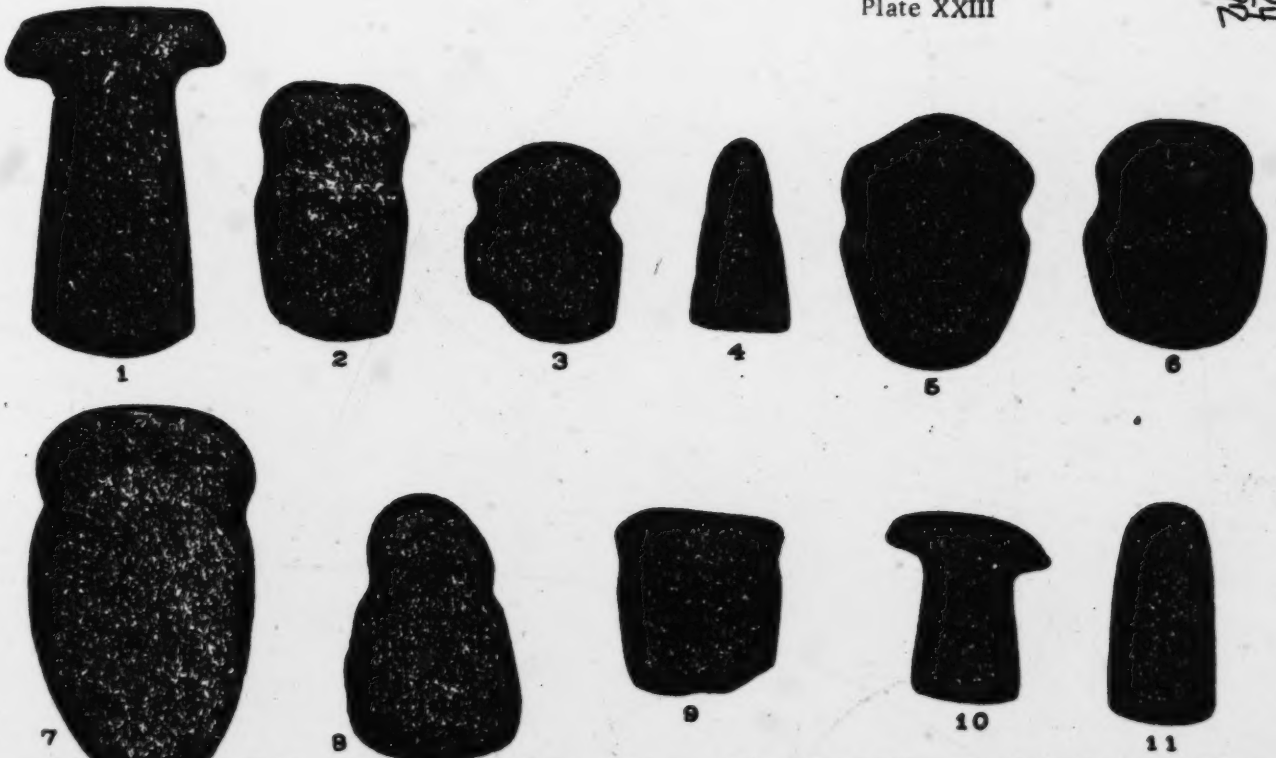
Spoons

412 171 ●172 Spoons are very common among the Chiriguano. Their form connects them closely to those which have been made known to us by the excavations carried out on the Bolivian altiplano and in northwestern Argentina. It is among the ancient populations of this region that we must seek the origin of this cultural element (on this subject see Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 91-92), of which the Chiriguano have faithfully kept the primitive aspect and even certain peculiarities such as the indentations of the handle which /Plates XIX-XXI appear here/ /375/ are seen on one of our specimens and on one discovered in the Puna de Jujuy (Pucara de Rinconada) by Boman (2, Vol. II, Plate LIX, Fig. 142).

412 237 824 Beside these spoons, whose use spread under the influence of the civilized peoples of the west, the Chiriguano kept the most rudimentary forms of this utensil: the valves of a fresh-water mollusk (anodonta) (in Chiriguano: inta) are often used by them to eat liquid dishes; the shell of the fruit of a bignoniacea (?) opened lengthwise also appears in the north of the Chiriguano territory as the survival of a time when spoons were still unknown to them (Fig. 44).

412 [171] Some small calabashes, ovoid or round, with a jutting peduncle, can, after being cut through the middle, replace wooden spoons to advantage (Fig. 45). It was in this natural form that the spoon spread in tropical America where Andean influence did not make itself felt. The Chiriguano do not disdain using these half-calabashes to dip into the bean pot or the meat broth. Calabashes like the one of *Figure 46 /see p. 139/* take the place of ladles.

Plate XXIII



Stone axes of the ancient Chiriguano. The first of the eared axes, Nos. 1 and 10, comes from Ibopeyti, the second from Ivu. The axes with a complete groove (Nos. 2, 3, 5-9) were collected in the Caipipendi Valley, with the exception of ax No. 4, which was acquired in Ivu. The simple neolithic ax, No. 11, comes from Caipipendi. (1/3 nat. size ± .)

/379 cont./

412
171

Still hafted in this way are the stone axes of the Indians of the upper Xingú (Steinen, 2, p. 197) and the Kaingang /Caingang/ of southern Brazil (Nordenskiöld, 15, Fig. 16, p. 38) and the iron cutting tools of the Matako-Vejos (Nordenskiöld, 15, Fig. 29, p. 44) and the Yamana (?) of Tierra del Fuego (id., 14, Fig. 45, p. 86) which replaced the ancient stone celts.

172
412

Plate XXIII /see p. 144/ reproduces a series of stone axes coming from the region of Caipipendí, Ivu, and Ibopeytí. The Caipipendí axes are all provided with a groove. Of the

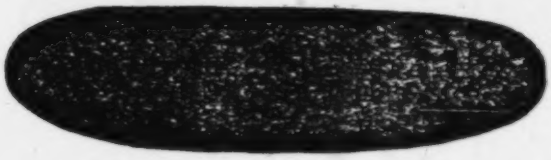


Fig. 52. Stone roller used as a grinder on a flat stone. Archeological piece found at Ivu. (1/4 nat. size.)

two axes with heels one was found at Ibopeytí and the other at Ivu.

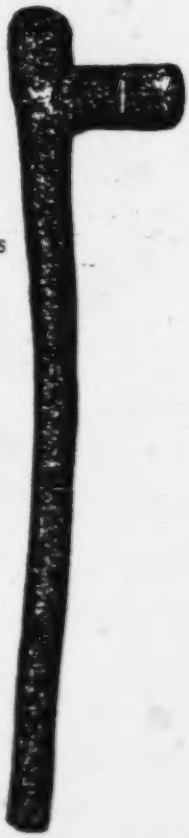


Fig. 51. Iron ax of the type called simple neolithic ax, provided with a handle like the ancient stone axes. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/8 nat. size ±.)

/398 cont./

175 648 [266] [443]

acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even 'had public meat markets for human flesh.' " /Translated from the Spanish./

175 177 648 [567] [126]

Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII, 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

437 439

Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

121 172

Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text continues on p. 173]

1: Métraux--172 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XXV

415
532
172

Anthropomorphic vessel found on the banks of the Pilcomayo near the Chiriguano village of Ibopeyti, attesting to the existence in this region of a civilized population before the Chiriguano. The vessel has a red glaze and the ears of the personage are pierced. (1/2 nat. size.)

O 172 171 415 399 cont. / It is already evident that the pottery of the Humahuaca region shows identical characteristics from the north of Jujuy to the vicinity of La Quiaca. To me the local variations seem absolutely negligible. Boman (2, Vol. I, p. 77) was already expressing himself in the following manner on the relations between these two regions: "If one wishes to compare the objects dug up in the Humahuaca region with the pre-Hispanic remains of other regions, they would be most like those of the Chichas." At

A [172] [171] see C

C 172 531 534

Fig. 37. Panpipe made of olive-hued stone, found on the upper Pilcomayo near the Chiriguano village of Iboyeytí at the same time as the vessel on Plate XXV. (1/2 nat. size.)

C 172 171 415 AT Tolomosa in Bolivia, in the department of Tarija, the von Rosen mission (2, Fig. 175, p. 112) found an ornithomorphic dish, an exact replica of the famous puco of this type discovered at La Paya in the Calchaqui Valley.

A 172 171 18 The Humahuaca-Chicha culture does not form an isolated bloc. It is more or less closely related to those whose remains have been studied in the northwest of Argentina in Diaguite territory, as the Puna de Atacama and de Jujuy, in the Atacama Desert, in the north of Chile and the extreme south of Peru. In the geographic area thus defined, it surely seems as though there was formerly a center of acculturation whose existence was pointed out only a few years ago.

/400/

A 172 Boman (2, Vol. II, pp. 767-778) is the first to have defined the specific characteristics of the most important of these cultures from the historical point of view, that of the Atacama. By comparing the objects his own excavations or those of his colleagues brought to light in Calama, in Chiuchiu in the Atacama Desert, and in various localities of the Puna de Jujuy, he could demonstrate the homogeneity of these finds. He rightly attributed all these remains to one single people, the Atacama, whose habitat probably embraced, besides the regions I have just enumerated, the Puna de Atacama and part of the Calchaquí Valley as far as La Paya.

C 172 531

C [178] Fig. 68. Fragments of incised pottery found at Caipipendí. Present-day Chiriguano never decorate their pottery with engraved lines. (2/3 nat. size.)

A PA 114 172 However, there is one aspect of the problem to which Boman gave too limited a solution. In seeking to determine the frontiers of the ancient peoples of the north and northwest of Argentina, in my opinion he stressed too much the divergences which the remains of their culture present and not enough the traits they have in common. Still, the points of contact are too numerous and too specific to be attributable simply to a great Peruvian civilization from which these civilizations emanated.

A 172 174 131 167 /402 cont./

The Atacama Indians, whose original territory would have been the vicinity of the Atacama and Arizaro salt marshes and a portion of the coastal zone near Tocopilla, including the lower course of the Loa River, emigrated at an unknown date from the south to the north. They occupied the

C 172 415

Fig. 69. Pot decorated with incised lines and provided with two holes for hanging. This object was unearthed at Caipipendí. (2/3 nat. size.)

A 172 174 131 167 provinces of Chicha and Lipez, the region between the great salt marshes of western Bolivia and the western Cordillera, and spread across the whole province of Carangas and the districts west of the Desaguadero. They would also have taken possession of a large part of the Titicaca and the northern plains. Their culture would have spread to the south of modern Peru as far as the latitude of Ica and as far as Ayacucho in the A [179] mountains. Upon this ancient ethnic and cultural stratum influences from the north made themselves felt (Uhle, 3, p. 13).

C A /406 cont./
415 following observation: "The dispersion and evolution of a type
171 of pottery whose /407/ origin must be assigned to the peoples near the Isthmus of Panama can be due only to the Arawak, who spread it among the nations living beyond the Andes, in regions as southerly as the Chaco and the territory of Misiones (1).

> 1. Ambrosetti (2, p. 714) as a matter of fact represents Kaingua vessels with a circular foot. I doubt very much that these pots reproduce a primitive type. They are badly fired, badly modeled, asymmetric, and the foot, which is fastened to the vessel when the latter is finished, is easily detached from it.
>
> These vessels are perhaps crude imitations of European pottery.

A
171 In South America the Arawak have been the propagators of Central-American culture among the primitive tribes located
C east of the Andes."
A 10. The distribution of vessels with a ribbed belly, of
415 which I acquired a marvelous specimen in the Caipipendí
171 valley (Plate XXVI, 2),[1] is almost the same as that of the
C [126] "compotes," and we can, as with the latter, rank them with the pottery which shows a Central-American origin /Fig. 72 appears here/ and whose dispersion was the work of the Arawak (Jijon y Caamaño, p. 5, Fig. 1 D).

C 11. The vessel of Plate XXVII, 2[2] is composed of two
415 superimposed domes: one in the shape of a truncated cone,
171 the other rounded. It comes from Ivu and is the only specimen
C of this form that I encountered in the course of my trip. An
[172] identical vessel was dug up on the upper Paraná by Ambrosetti (3, plate between pp. 256-257, Fig. 5). Similar receptacles are still in use by the Yuruná /Yuruna/ Indians of the lower
E Xingú (Steinen, 1, plate between pp. 266-267). The presence
415 of vessels of this type among the ancient Guarani authorizes us
171 to suppose that our specimen from Ivu represents /408/ the
172 survival of an ancient form of Guarani pottery which the Chiriguano have not abandoned.

[1] [See p. 129--Analist]
[2] [See p. 183--Analist]

/408 cont./

415 171 172 12. The ornithomorphic vessel of Figure 73 seems to have come from the hands of the ancient potters of the Isla de Tilcara who, several centuries ago, used to make analogous pieces, without a doubt servilely imitated by the Chané and the ancestors of the Chiriguano (see Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 139-141, p. 191). Boman (2, Vol. II, p. 786, Fig. 193) also publishes a bird-shaped vessel, perhaps of the pavo del monte (Penelope obscura, Vieill.?), found not far from the present-day village of Humahuaca and which, in addition to its general appearance, has in common with our specimen

415 531

Fig. 73. Ornithomorphic vessel. Chiriguano. Motifs: pink and green. Prov.: Tarairí. (1/3 nat. size.)

415 171 172 from Tarairí designs painted on the sides which represent the wings and tail.

The Chiriguano Indians of the Caipipendí valley and the Ivu mission still like to serve chicha in vessels to which they 415 532 give the appearance of a bull (Plate XXVIII, 7-9).[2] Llama- [293] shaped vessels have been discovered in the Quebrada de [172] Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 27, Fig. 14, and Otilia [171] Breganze, Fig. 132, p. 147). Perhaps these are the prototypes of the present-day Chiriguano specimens. Why suppose that [114] these receptacles had solely ritual usage, as Mr. Debenedetti thinks, when one sees the modern Chiriguano make an entirely secular use of them?

[2] [See p. 190--Am41957]

PC
Ce
415
191
532

/408 cont./

13. The marvelous vessel of Plate XXVI.[2] 1 is entirely of Andean inspiration. The idea of giving the shape of a human head to the neck of the yuro was not foreign to the ancient populations of the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Boman, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 190 and Plate LXXXII, Fig. f; and Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 136, p. 186). Up to the present time this region has not provided any vessel of this type which, by its beauty and the oneness of the modeling, /Plate XXVIII appears here/ /408/ was comparable to our specimen from the Iñyuro. The woman who fashioned it was a worthy artist.

C
[415]

Fig. 74. Vessel painted red. Prov.: Carurutí. (1/4 nat. size.)

PE
Ce
415
191
532

In Ecuador, vessels with a globular belly surmounted by a human head are frequent, but few specimens from this region can compete with this Chané masterpiece.

C
415
191
192

14. The vessels of Figures 74 and 75 and Plate XXVII, 1.[2] are characterized by a narrowing which separates them into two superimposed globular bodies of more or less similar diameter. In the valley of the Los River a vessel of similar type was found which presents the most surprising identity with the one of Figure 74. Montell (1, Fig. 34 e, p. 28), who publishes it, makes the following remarks about it.

[Text continues on p. 191]

[531]

Fig. 75. Vessel decorated with red and black motifs. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/5 nat. size.)

[1] [See p. 179 -- Analyst]
[2] [See p. 183 -- Analyst]

/409 cont./

415 191 192 "This particular form is not unique. It is found in the northern cultures of the coast of Peru and its area of dispersion stretches as far as Pachacamac and Ancon, including Lambayeque, Cajamarca, and Trujillo. East of the Andes, this type exists among the Chiriguano, the Ashluslay, and the Lengua. Specimens of it have been dug up by Debenedetti in Tilcara and in the Quebrada de Humahuaca. The find of the Loa River contributes to forming a link of this distribution uniting the /Fig. 75 appears here/ /see p. 189/ eastern zone with that of the Peruvian culture whence this type surely emanates.

Pots of this type show a striking resemblance to the signal trumpets of Guiana. Objects of this kind have been described by many authors and depicted by Gumilla and Roth. If one disregards the mouth and the base, one cannot distinguish these vessels from the terra-cotta trumpets. It is probable that this instrument was discovered independently in Guiana. In any case it is still too early to present theories on the possible connections between the two types, without preliminary research having been done to justify such comparisons."

To the distribution indicated by Montell must be added Molino del Puesto and Caspinchango in Catamarca province (Bruch, 2, Fig. 42, p. 54, and Debenedetti, 5, Fig. 14, p. 27).

415 191 15. Jugs with a globular belly or one in the shape of a truncated cone, with a short and narrow cylindrical neck from which often begins a small handle attaching at the other end /410/ to the belly of the receptacle (Plate LVI, 1, 2, and 4; Plate LVIII, etc.),[2] make up a very common type in all of the Chiriguano region which is in the hands of the missions. Up to the present the neighboring territories have not produced prehistoric vessels which could have served as models for the Chiriguano or the Chané at the time when Andean influence made itself felt on them. The only jug belonging to this type, outside Chiriguano country, is one found in Chile in Valdivia, which Medina (Fig. 184) reproduces in his great work on the antiquities

[2] [See pp. 238 and 240 respectively-- Analyst]

/426 cont./

531 191 Sign of unknown significance. On the Machareti yambui (Plate LII. 2)[x] was painted a crescent-shaped sign having in its concave part two dashes perhaps representing feet. The subject is doubtless a stylized bird, a presumption all the more plausible because another vessel from the same locality and made by the same hand is decorated with animal figures (dogs and toads) (Plate LII. 1).

This mysterious sign is very similar to the one found on a puco from Tolomosa in the Tarija department (Rosen, 2, Fig. 175, p. 112) and on some dishes from La Paya. These designs are also more or less stylized pictures of a bird. (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate X, Fig. 22, and Ambrosetti, 6, Figs. 35-40, pp. 56-61.)

Zoomorphic representations. Animal figures are rare in Chiriguano pottery, but their occurrence only brings out the better the similarities of this art to that of the neighboring Andean regions. The rows of yaku (pavo del monte) on the yambuí from the Aguaray are the counterpart of the nandus on the Diaguite funerary urns and the La Paya birds. The dog on the vessel in the plate appears nearly identical with the bottom of a puco from Molino del Puesto, Catamarca. (Bruch, 2, Fig. 70, p. 72.)

531 191 105 The comparisons we have made could doubtless be extended and many another relationship noted between the modern pottery of the Chiriguano and that of the populations which have today disappeared from the Bolivian altiplano and northwestern Argentina. To continue such an investigation would be superfluous, for there is no one acquainted with the art which formerly flourished in the Andean and Chiriguano regions who would hesitate to establish a relationship between the two and would not have the second derive from the first.

As one might logically expect, these similarities become more numerous and more striking in proportion as one leaves the south and advances toward the north into the Andean zone which runs parallel to the habitat of the Chiriguano and Chané. When eastern Bolivia is methodically explored, models of the vessels which the ancestors of the Chiriguano admired and copied will be found.

[192]

x [See p. 231 -- Analyst]

C /416 cont./

531 Lacking these, the study we have pursued brings us the estab-
191 lishment of a very important fact. The existence on the upper
192 Pilcomayo of a pottery /417/ closely related to that of the
105

CC 531 415

Fig. 65. Chané vessel. Prov.: Tuyuní (Aguaray, Salta Chaco). On the belly: series of yaké (nave del monte) in blackish brown on white background. (1/3 nat. size.)

C 531 191 192 105 Quebrada de Humahuaca is an indication which proves in a sure way that the art of the former inhabitants of these regions was identical to that of their neighbors, and perhaps racial brothers, of the Bolivian altiplano.

Apropos of the Chiriguano, I believe it is wrong to speak of Andean or Inca culture. The first of these terms is too vague and the second partially false. In this chapter I have tried to demonstrate that Chiriguano pottery exhibits close affinities with that of the civilizations which, by their numerous points of similarity, seem to have undergone a Chincha or Atacama influence and which preceded Inca Culture.

S 531 191 105

/402 cont./

302 faces and legs oiled in this way, which gives them a very strange reddish and shiny hue. This custom, which was already noted /403/ in the sixteenth century among the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, is tending to fall into disuse.

[191] [196]

Roucou in paste form is kept in a small cow-horn bag (Fig. 139). /Fig. 139 appears here/ as in Salesape, a substance composed of a mixture of roucou and pounded arema seeds, which gives a violet color.

302 387 [319]

4. Jaguar fat (yaguapire) cures any "leprosy" (hacali) if one rubs oneself with it after heating it.

750 297

5. Iguana fat makes cramps go away and heals wounds. Its use is external.

[752]

6. The dried penis of a fox makes toothaches and earaches go away. For that it suffices to touch the ailing part with the end /Fig. 140 appears here/ of this member. The Indians consider it very malodorous and touch it only with repugnance. To avoid this inconvenience they provide it with a handle and shut it up in a bamboo case (Fig. 141).

[195]

7. Deerhorn heated and /Fig. 141 appears here/ applied against the neck will cure a stiff neck. The medical use of deer (wazu) horns explains the frequent presence of the horns of this animal in the archeological strata of the neighboring Andean regions. Some have thus been found in the ruins of the Alfarcito, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 71), at Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, p. 202), at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 235, p. 453), and at Tastil (Bennett, 2, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, Fig. 78 f).

[172]

Horns adhering to a fragment of the skull and whose use could only have been magical or medical must be distinguished from the ones which the Indians work into awls. These instruments still have a ritual use and are reserved for piercing the lower lip of children when they are old enough to wear the labret. At least this is what Compana (p. 86) informs us. Besides, the Indians all have confirmed this detail to me. Formerly, the Tupinamba of Brazil practiced this operation with an awl of the same nature (see Métraux, 3, p. 105).

358 302 297 812

[171]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SFS

In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pozo, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purísima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Río Grande): Abapo, Mazabi, Cabezas, Piray, Igatirí, Tacuvi, Itá, Paraguá, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuarembotí, Piritá, and Otuig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1798. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapetí River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairí, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivo, and San Francisco del Parapetí. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guarani* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapetí River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 262) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Azero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izozo, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were baptized and 3,167 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

ARCHEOLOGY

Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapetí River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupaya. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

typical *Inca* designs. At Caipipendi (pl. 41, *top, right*), near Charagua, he found a *Chiriguano* cemetery consisting of large, corrugated urns, identical to modern *Chiriguano* chicha jars, covered with smaller jars. Near the surface was found a vessel with incised decoration which has no resemblance to any modern *Chiriguano* ware. The same site yielded a small pot with thin incisions and two suspension holes. 172

SOURCES

Short descriptions of the *Chiriguano* appear in the early literature. Garcilaso de la Vega's picture of *Chiriguano* culture is on the whole quite inaccurate, but for a few details. Díaz de Guzmán (1914), Barco Centenera (1836, 1912), and Lizárraga (1909) speak briefly of *Chiriguano* culture, but the earliest firsthand account of it is Father Chomé's letter (1819 b). Tamajuncosa's report (1910) about the state of the missions at the end of the 18th century is also an interesting document. Weddel (1853), who visited the *Chiriguano* in the middle of the last century, published a few notes about their culture. The best sources are the reports and books written by the Franciscan missionaries, Cardús (1886), Corrado (1884), and especially Campana (1902). Nino's (1912) much-quoted book is based in great part on Campana's monograph. 113 114

Nordenskiöld dedicates several chapters of his "Indianerleben" (1912) and of "Forschungen and Abenteuer" (1924 a) to the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*. His data are accurate though somewhat superficial. Great stress is placed on the economic life and the material culture, but social organization and religion receive only cursory attention. However, the collection of *Chané* and *Chiriguano* myths is fairly large and of great interest. Nordenskiöld made a comparative analysis of *Chiriguano* material culture in one of the volumes of his ethnographical series (Nordenskiöld, 1920). More minute details about *Chiriguano* artifacts may be found in Eric von Rosen's (1924) luxurious publication based on a collection he made among these Indians at the beginning of the century.

Several aspects of *Chiriguano* history and material culture were studied in some detail by the writer (Métraux, 1930 b), who also published new *Chiriguano* myths (1931 a) and two sociological essays (Métraux, 1931 b and 1935).

Several monographs deal with *Chiriguano* pottery, which is today one of the best in South America. (Outes, 1909; Nordenskiöld, 1920; Métraux, 1930 b; Paulotti, 1942.) Recently, Max Schmidt (1938) again published and described *Chiriguano* artifacts and techniques.

Knowledge of *Chiriguano* religious and social life is meager and is limited mainly to Campana's monograph (1902) and to observations made by Nordenskiöld (1912) and the present author (1930 b) at a time when aboriginal *Chiriguano* culture was already decadent. The Paraguayan-Bolivian war accelerated its breakdown and little of it now survives.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Omaguaca SI 9

C 323 172 177 531
C 415 531
O 172 415 531
C 415 531

The de luxe vases and dishes, typologically related to vessels in the archeological pottery of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina, were decorated with distinctly Andean patterns (figs. 58, 60). The most common vessel is the yambui, a subglobular vase with ears, in which chicha was served. The motifs are mainly geometrical and most of them

FIGURE 60.—*Chiriguano* pottery. Specimen at *top, right*, a *Humahuaca* archeological specimen included for comparison. (Approximately 1/7 actual size.) (Redrawn from Métraux, 1930 b, fig. 70, pls. 35, 37, 44.)

/68 cont./

126 712 covering an area of about 2,000 meters; it ends in a hill surrounded by the same foundations. It had its lookout and a small plaza and dominated the whole area.

172 712 These fortifications have stone foundations, are made artfully, and are very large; consequently it is not credible that they might have been built by Indians who were even less civilized than the present ones. I believe, rather, that it was the work of the conquistadors, who, following the example of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro, built them for protection from the Chiriguano arrow; the extent of these walls and the height of the lookouts do not suggest anything else. The old men add that when they were pursued some of them hid in the mountains out of fear or because they were tired and that these then populated the region (3).

173 648

3. This must refer to what Father Cardús says about the time when the Cruceños /people of Santa Cruz/ settled at the place which today is occupied by the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

174 /69/ From what has been expounded it can be deduced that the Chiriguano race is most probably of Paraguayan origin; the inhabitants of that region also say this to those who annually go to work in the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and to the Indians who in past years went to Corumbá from Yvu, Caipipendi, and Parapiti. For example, they told them that they knew of the existence of a place named Yvu and of another called Parapiti, frequented by their grandparents who had formerly visited their relatives, the Chiriguano. In addition there is a tradition that in a not too distant time many families settled thereabouts traveled from time to time to visit their relatives who lived on the banks of the Paraguay River.

8:Nordenskiöld E-S,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee 252 415 *171 [4/2]

that they fanned the flour. They had no proper sieves. As we have seen from the table, the Chaco tribes have no basket-sieves, but use bag-nets instead.

Mandioca-graters do not occur among the Chiriguano and the Chané.

Ee 252 415 273

Of course the Chiriguano and the Chané cook their food in earthern ware. Maize-beer «Chicha», their chief food, is boiled in large vessels. It is only with great difficulty that these can be moved from one place to another[1]). Some of the Chiriguano occasionally allow the maize-beer to ferment in hollow stumps of the bottle-tree.

Ee 252 415

The steam cooking-pot shown here (fig. 16) is of very great interest. It is used by the Chané and Chiriguano in cooking a certain dish of maize, the «huintimimmo».[2])

I have seen this contrivance being used as shown by the illustration, but I have, unfortunately, not tasted the maize-dish that was cooked in it.

Ee 252 415 *171

In literature dealing with other parts of S. America I have only found this steam cooking pot mentioned by Ullrich[3]) from the Rio Grande do Sul (Munizip Pelotas).

He there found pieces of «Siebtöpfen» and says that they were used on the top of a cooking-pot. Ullrich[3]) tells us that these steam-cooking-pots were used by the

Ee [172] [437]

[1]) When fragments of very large and heavy earthenware vessels are found in archæological excavations one may, as a rule, presume that they originate from a permanently settled tribe. It may be assumed with perfect certainty that these very large vessels were made at the spot where they are found. Small earthen pots may, however, have been bartered from some other tribe. This is naturally of a certain interest if we wish to distinguish between native and imported pottery found in archæological excavations. — Some of the Chiriguano at the Rio Parapiti make only the big common clay vessels themselves and get the small, painted pots by barter from other Chiriguano Indians.

[2]) Corrado when speaking of different dishes of maize says that «el huintimimmo, especie de torta muy tierna hecha con harina de maiz humedecida y blandamente dispuesta en una tortera agujereada y cocida con baño del agua caliente.» P. 42.

[3]) P. 300.

Schwerdtfeger E-4,6(1908-1909, 1912) 1910
BF10 Chirigoano BF10
Chano BF9
South American Indians 53

S
C
Ce
102
113
172

Bibliographical map 6. Archaeological literature.

C Ce 301 /201 cont./

As for native ornaments, one sees necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla beads and of black seeds.

Ce 301 172 [439] Ce [435] According to their own statements, the Indians find the stone beads in the ground where there are old dwellings and graves. The mestizos in the Tarija valley, who find a great many of these beads in their fields, sell them to the Chiriguano /202/ and Chané at high prices. In former times a necklace of these beads was paid for with a horse.

Ce 524

Fig. 105. Wax dolls. 1/1. Chané. Río Parapití.

C Ce 302 The Chané and Chiriguano women wear the hair medium long, parted in the middle of the forehead, and sometimes tied at the nape of the neck or on the head with a band.

C Ce 291 177 Ce 291 171 C 302 The men now all wear European attire. At /Fig. 107 appears here/ work, however, one not infrequently sees them in only a piece of fabric protecting the sexual parts. Among the Chané on the Río Parapití, coats resembling those with which we became familiar among the Choroti and Ashluslay were very common. The older men, as well as the younger ones in the Chiriguano villages on the upper Río Pilcomayo, wear the hair long, wound around the head, and held together, as a rule, with a red or blue band. Toward the front the hair is cut off; thus they have forelocks /203/ and a lock in front of each ear. The

C /243 cont. /
171 (Fig. 130) is typically Peruvian in form, as is the silver hair re-
291 mover, of which, however, I have no specimen. The festive
[534] costume of the man (Fig. 81) also seems to me to have a Peruvian
[413] cut. It is possible, however, that the influence of Peru did not
177 manifest itself among the Chiriguano until after the conquest of
e the plateau by the Spanish.
131 Boman (1) has proved that the Chiriguano, or more cor-
●172
e
[113]

1. Boman: Antiquités de la Région Andine. Vols. 1-2. Paris, 1908.

rectly the Gûarani tribe to which these Indians belong, formerly extended much farther south than they do now. He found there the grave urns so characteristic of them.

C
Ce
171 The material culture of the Chané Indians does not, in general, differ very much from the culture of the Chiriguano.
Ce
[323] The Chané, on the other hand, who are more isolated on the Rio Parapiti, have a completely independent pottery which we do not find again among the
C
[534] Chiriguano. If we compare the
534 remaining products of Chané and Chiriguano industry, we do
C
[184] not find any greater differences than we find in the various Chiriguano villages themselves.

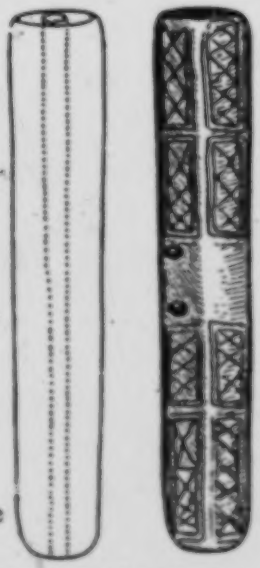


Fig. 120. Serére pipe. Chiriguano. 1/4.

C For example, if one collects clay vessels in the Iguembe
323 valley and in the Caipipendi valley, both of which valleys are
184 occupied by Chiriguano, one inevitably finds that the pottery, though strongly related in ornamentation and form, nevertheless /244/ also varies locally. I have already spoken of the individual variations (p. 85).

of 2.1 cm. It is decorated with one large and many small, turquoise-blue beads made of glass or porcelain. 301

Necklaces of stone or glass beads are worn by the women, and even men may occasionally be seen with them. One such necklace (fig. 198), which I bought of a Chiriguano Indian in the San Luis district, consists largely of pierced, cylindrical or laminate, turquois beads of exactly the same kind as I found when excavating the ancient site at Tolomosa in the Tarija valley.[1] The Chiriguano keep all stone beads they happen to pick up on the ground, and also acquire them by barter from other districts. Besides turquoise beads, there are also blue, white, and red glass-beads threaded on this necklace, which to me proved a particularly costly bargain. It is probable that such necklaces as wholly or in part are composed of ancient beads are looked upon as amulets. To this question I shall refer later, in connection with my account of the supposed magical properties of certain Choroti objects. [437]

Fig. 198. Necklace of turquoises and glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 905.

Fig. 199. Tweezer-like breast ornament of silver. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. Bolivia. 1/2. After Erl. Nordenskiöld.

[172] [789]

In the important work entitled »Comparative ethnographical studies», Erland Nordenskiöld describes, from the Chiriguano, an interesting breast ornament called »boivéra» (fig. 199), which I have not myself seen in use. It is of silver, doubled over tweezer-fashion, and worn on a string round the neck. Such tweezers, usually ornamented, are nowadays not put to any practical use, but exclusively worn as ornaments. The leaves of these tweezers are, therefore, sometimes hammered together. On good grounds Nordenskiöld advances his opinion that these ornaments originate from the small tweezers, or pincers, that, already in pre-Spanish times, were used by the Andean Indians for removing hairs of the beard, or 301 174 412 [302]

[1] von Rosen (1), p. 367 and fig. 332: 03—07.

301 174 412 [302] other inconvenient hair-growth, and which are still in use among the Chiriguano.[1]

I have noted a circumstance, previously unheeded, that, in my opinion, gives considerable weight to Nordenskiöld's theory as to the true Indian origin of the boivéra ornament. All breast ornaments of this kind have in their upper part a tubular horizontal perforation, open at both ends. In the middle of this barrel, and through the top, there is a hole. Through this barrel and upper hole is run the cord by which the ornament is worn round the neck (fig. 199). This rather peculiar arrangement for fixing the cord on which the ornament is hung, is found in the majority of such ancient Indian hanging ornaments, whistles and flutes of stone, as were meant to be worn a string. As an example, the remarkable ancient Indian stone flute, found in the earth in the vicinity of Iruya,[2] has at one end been bored through (fig. 200) in a manner exactly corresponding to the arrangement for the cord in the boivéra. This cord-fixing adaptation does not, to my knowledge, occur in any European object. For this reason it may surely be considered as very probable, not only that the original use of the boivéra as a pair of tweezers is of Indian origin, but also that the idea of carrying the tweezers on a string round the neck is Indian, and consequently has not originated from those more or less «white» jewellers that nowadays manufacture boivéra ornaments, and sell them to the Indians. I have in another book depicted a fragment of a small, pre-Spanish, ornamented bronze tweezers, which, like the boivéra, has a circular perforation at its upper end,[3] indicating that those tweezers, too, were worn on a cord, and consequently also in all likelihood served as a breast ornament.

[534] [172]

Fig. 200. Pan-pipe of stone. Ground-foil from Iruya, Bolivia. 1/1. The dotted line marks the hole for fastening a string in the same way as for the breast ornament, fig. 199.

[439]

---

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), pp. 81—83, 90 and 94.
[2] von Rosen (18), pp. 147 and 148.
[3] von Rosen (18), fig. 211.

167 [464] /312 cont./ Some years ago, old Taruiri, having learned from some Chiriguano that Brazilians were "cariñosos," that is, generous, had the idea of going to their country to find work, for which he hoped to be well paid. He banded together with 45 other Chiriguano before whom he held out the glittering fortune which awaited them in the country to the east. With this adventurous spirit and boldness which characterize the Guarani, they did not hesitate to take off toward the unknown. They first passed through Chané territory and followed the course of the Parapiti to the desert. There they rushed boldly into these unexplored regions, dried-up expanses, which separate the Isoso from Chiquitos. They were all armed with bows and arrows to defend themselves from a possible attack by the Tairakua, the tracks of whose squared-off sandals they often saw in the sand. No water, of course, but only sipóy roots, which permitted them to stand the thirst. After 12 days of walking, this band arrived at Chiquitos, then from there reached the Paraguay River and Corumbá. Taruirí was not a little surprised to find brothers there, "that is," he explained to me, "people who spoke my language, badly it is true, but who nevertheless made themselves understood." When I inquired discreetly as to the success of his business over there, Taruirí answered, shaking his head and in a tone shot through with sadness and disillusionment: "All that was only a lie," todo era engaño.

Taruirí does not know and will never know that by doing this he accomplished an exploit that would be the pride and glory of an explorer. For him, it was a question of a simple trip, scarcely longer and more arduous than the one he undertook in the past to go to Argentina.

193 539 646 489 Does anyone want other modern examples of their spirit of adventure and of that ease with which the Guarani move about? I transcribe as such the curious tale told to me by the Indian Cipriano from the Ivu mission, who, confused as he may be, refers to definitely authentic facts:

/312 cont./

C 173 539 648 484 C [643]

In olden days numerous Paraguayans emerged into our territory near the Izozoc and they went to fight on the side of the Guarayú and Santa Cruz. From there they went on to Cochabamba. They gave battle over there, then went to Oruro. Their colonel was killed. They scattered in every direction. One of them came to Macharetí where the "Capitan grande," Mandepona, was. The latter told Cipriano, who was then a young man: "Let us go to Paraguay." Mandepona had given this Paraguayan ten "soldiers." Cipriano did not want to go with them. The ten went down the Pilcomayo and arrived at a village near Paraguay. /Plate III appears here./ /313/ A soldier richly decked out with silver, with a horse whose harness was of the same metal, came to meet them to examine them. The Paraguayan they were escorting went to speak with this soldier, but the others did not hear what they were saying. While these two were talking, they saw the Toba arrive with a piece of cloth between their legs and their chests and arms painted with charcoal. The Toba asked them where they were coming from and where they were going. The Chiriguano answered: "To visit you." The Toba refused to allow them to continue on their way, although they were only one league from Paraguay. As an excuse they told them that they were in the act of making war. The Paraguayan rode behind the soldier, and the ten Chiriguano returned to Macharetí.

The first part of this story seems to be a modern adaptation of Alejo García's adventure. I do not know what event could have given rise to this legend, which, had it been true, would have been very much to the taste of the Paraguayan government. As for the trip of the ten Chiriguano from Macharetí, it has the appearance of being wholly authentic.

C 175 648

The crossing of the Chaco is a less difficult undertaking for Indians than for white men. Formerly these trips from the Andes to Paraguay must have been facilitated by a greater density of the native population. It is enough to recall the relatively easy trip of Juan de Ayolas going from Paraguay to the country of the Chané and coming back without having to cope with any particular obstacles. The exploration of Alvar Núñez

[Text continues on p. 30]

/327 cont./
brutal people butcher them. The Chané are so subject to the Chiriguana that it is enough for them to see a Chiriguana to sit down without resisting, allowing the Chiriguana to do what they like with them. The Chiriguana take them along like flocks of sheep. They eat the ones they want and use the others for work in their houses and fields. If they want to eat one, they only tell him to go and wash in the river and he does it without talking back. He comes back naked: the Chiriguana command their children to take bows and arrows, and the poor Chané tries /328/ to escape the arrows without, however, daring to flee from the spot until he dies riddled with arrows, to the great joy of all who look at him. They cut him in pieces and eat him either grilled or roasted, with corn and much ají /peppers/. For war they use Chané who they think are brave and robust. They treat them according to their barbaric customs and put them in front of themselves: if they do not fight well, they kill them with arrow shots from behind." (Lizarraga, Vol. I, pp. 259-260.)

Last year, going from Cuevo to Igüembé, I had taken a Chiriguano guide who spoke Spanish fairly well and who had lived among the Chané in childhood. He told me in his own way about these wars of former days. His involved narrative recalls that of the Spanish monk. Later I sojourned for some time among the Chané who in their turn alluded to their fights with the Chiriguano and to the cannibalistic customs of the latter. "The Tapui are not the Ava. In times past they used to fight against the Ava." The Ava used to take the women and keep them in captivity. They used to marry the captives. From the sons of the Ava issued the Tapui, they are sons of the women they carried away. The Chané are sons of the captives. When the Chané talk together, it is with words that one does not understand. Formerly the Karai (Whites) used to fight the Ava around Cochabamba. The Karai pursued them to the lower part and left them in Paraguay. The Paraguayans are sons of the ancient Ava. In olden days the Ava used to eat the Tapuí when they made war against them. "The Ava used to eat us," the Chané would say, "and that is why we detest them."

/328 cont./

The Chané confirmed to me the sayings of my informant and assured me that the Chiriguano used to eat them in times past (1).

1. Matienzo (pp. 166-167) expresses himself on the subject of the Chiriguano and the Chané in almost the same words as Lizárraga: "In the land there is a province of the Charcas and close to the city there are some immigrant Indians who are said to be chiriguanaes, warlike people, very cruel, indomitable, and they eat human flesh, live in the cordilleras, have no occupation other than fighting and killing and eating Indians and using them as slaves; they go out at night to plunder on the plains which are near the cordilleras, where some Indians subject to their sovereignty live, and they seize them by the thousand and two thousands and eat them and have others to fatten for eating, and others to serve as slaves; these Indians, out of fear of the chiriguanaes, fled from their land, which had some very beautiful and fertile valleys, thirty and forty leagues from the city of the Plata, and went to some plains and deserts which were customarily deserted because of the lack of water; they live entirely on yucas and cardoons, are more than eighty thousand, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. The deserts under discussion here and where the Chané took refuge are none other than those of the lower Paraguay where numerous Chané now live, in spite of the poverty of this arid region.

It is not at all surprising that the Chiriguano have kept alive the memory of their struggles with the Chané. These ended only in the last years of the 18th century. In 1765 we see the

/6 cont./

133 comfortable to go down as to go up, if an occasional short
[241] section be excepted. The hill of Padilla attracts the attention of
[361] all: there grow and ripen well both potatoes and maize, and the hill is sprinkled on both sides with houses of all sizes. From January to May the fields give it a quite picturesque and pleasing appearance as it rises some 2,340 meters above sea level, for which reason no doubt it is adorned with the trees which are found nearby growing exuberantly on the plain toward Mamagudo along the rivulet called Limón.

Next come the hills called Huacaqui, Barnio, and Casadero, the first two found on the right bank and the latter on the left bank of the Acero River, which touches the slopes of the last named; the three have no peculiarity, only that they are tree covered, rather high, and the road through
[134] them is very bad. Casadero Hill abounds in jaguars, and it is the same hill which must be crossed or climbed in order to go from San Juan del Pizay to San Pablo de Huacaera; before one climbs this hill near San Juan, there is another small one called Ñañiama, which attracts the attention of all because it is very narrow, low, and straight; it is a straight line which rises in the middle of the valley and continues without ending to the southeast; the Pizay and Pacapiti rivers wash the base of Ñañiama.

/7/ Mamagudo has a somewhat irregular plain, but it is not interrupted by hills until three leagues away, that is, at the Pacapiti River in Maiura, where there is another hill renowned only because it is a road and an extremely bad one. The Pacapiti River bathes it at its base, and along the river itself the way is very boldly opened through the hard rock, forming a waterfall there; this same hill must be climbed to leave Iqire Canon, as well as Iglesiabe, where the passage is also quite rough.

133 From Maiura to Ivo there are hills and rises of little im-
● 173 portance. If one makes an exception of the hills of Iravet,
648 Saraweta, and Iwalauai, which last separates the province of Acero from that of Cordillera; on Iwalauai there are an infinite number of ruins of fortresses and houses, which, according to what they say and the name Iwalauai, "Inca's House," was an encampment of Quechua Indians, when, at the orders

4: Bino--DO 36-2 (1900-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/1 cont./

133 (173) [248] of one of their emperors, they tried to conquer all the Chiriguano, but they had to halt at the top of said hill without daring to go down to the pampas of Caraparicito, where they were awaited by all the Indians, allied with the Toba.

Cuevo, like all of the cantons of the frontier, is shut in by two ridges, that of Iaracuenta to the west and that of Aguaragüe to the east, the latter being the last one which is found; it is quite high, measuring 1,500 meters, and with it end the cordilleras in the east, giving way to the plains of the Bolivian Chaco.

From the peak of Aguaragüe the view is most delightful: to the right can be seen the picturesque panorama of Cuevo Canton with its hills, lakes, fields, forests, and stream, which, with its sand, looks like an immense ribbon of homespun twisting through the entire region, and to the left extend the immense plains, lost to view in the distance. From this peak can be seen the lakes and fields of Carandaiti, until the horizon is lost in the pampas inhabited by the savages.

The above-named ranges of the former and present territory of the Chiriguano continue to the north and south to Santa Cruz and Tarija and Argentina, assuming different names in each place, but they are ramifications of the renowned Andes. I have crossed the last one, Aguaragüe, to Santa Cruz, and it passes north of that city, as well as on the southwest toward Tarija and O'Connor Province, ending in Tartagal in the Argentine Republic.

/18/ Rivers and Lakes.

It can easily be understood that this immense area and extent of land, crossed from north to south by so many mountains of all heights and dimensions and by a great number of hills in every direction, would be furrowed with rivers, torrents, streams, brooks, and abundant springs, while in the Gran Chaco all of these disappear and natural and artificial lakes and ponds begin to appear.

4: Nino--95 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/65/

Chapter Two

Origin. Language. Statistics

Introduction

There are many men, even among those who are considered wise, who on the great question of the origin of man pay homage to certain theories which sane reason, good logic, and well-understood science reject as absurd.

The ultimate absurdity in this series of disquisitions is the delirium of Darwin, who would have man, a rational being, originally descend from another being that was irrational, that is, the monkey. /The remainder of p. 65 and the first four paragraphs of p. 66 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 66 follows./

What can properly be called history develops in peoples to the extent that they have advanced along the path of civilization.

Savage tribes cannot have a history in the strict sense of the word, because they lack civilization and the adequate means for obtaining it, principally writing. The latter is doubtless the great lever which has raised peoples from their prostration and ignorance.

173 [174] It is certain that the Chiriguano do not have a written history, but they do not lack certain traditions, more or less fabulous, with respect to their origin.

/67/ And as for matters dealing with that history which we could call modern, they do have knowledge of relatively recent epochs, the truth of which cannot be doubted, inasmuch as these historical facts are related to the conquest of these regions by the Spaniards, as will be seen in the following section.

/67 cont./

Origin

212 The Chiriguano tribe has no written language, for which reason it is difficult to determine exactly its origin, the place from which it came, and the time the immigration took place. They admire our modern paper, which they call "Tarapipire," skin of God, and they say that we are fortunate because by means of this we are able to make our thoughts and wishes known to friends and relatives at great distances. What then would they say if they had the faintest idea of the telegraph and the telephone and so many other modern inventions, such as that of flying through the air, in this twentieth century, which quite justly might be called century of the globes?

[29]

They recount that "Aguara Tunpa," Fox-God, tried to destroy the work of the true God by killing all men. To achieve this end he made use of the "Iguazu," big water: he then opened the gates or doors of the seas and flooded the whole land; the waters of the earth's surface called those of the sky "Ipuru," flood, and thus the human race perished. But before there took place the total destruction of the Chiriguano, to whom humanity was confined, a woman took her two children, a male and a female, put them in a "Chogoño," big gourd, left them to the mercy of the waters, and, when these went down, they found themselves in Paraguay, where they again multiplied (1).

1. The two children, after disembarking, did not perish from the cold, because the "Cururu," toad, took pity on them, bringing them fire in his mouth, for which reason the true Chiriguano never hunts this inoffensive animal.

173 I have said that they do not have writing, but, on the other hand, they do have a kind of oral tradition, "Miani," which is transmitted from father to son. This tradition is also wrapped in a veil of confusion, however, because they

[55]

/97 cont./

•173 [551] never name dead persons, with the result that the principal events are not known because the names of those great persons who took part in them are not known. The present men know nothing about the many wars which were waged against the Quechua before the Conquest, after the enthronement of the Inca Tupanqui (1400), and /98/ against the Spaniards during the time of the colonization, the oldest people know little more, and we only know somewhat more through the Spanish historians and missionaries of the various religious orders of Paraguay and Bolivia.

173 169 648 Through their oral tradition they assert that their origin was in Paraguay, that they multiplied there, and that when the New World was discovered, because they had killed one of the Portuguese captains, they feared the revenge of his companions and fled en masse along the shores of the Pilcomayo River until they arrived in the region which they occupy today, displacing other natives who were in possession of these places (1).

1. This must refer to the flight of the 4,000 Cariosa who joined up with the Chiriguano here.

173 648 Nevertheless the oldest and most notable because of their authority in this place give the impression that they originally came from Brazil. They say that in ancient times they had a formidable war with the whites who came from far-off lands; conquered by them because of the inequality in arms and their experience in the art of war, they were pursued until they entered the plains of the Gran Chaco, which they crossed, coming into Paraguay. 726 712 During the campaign they defended themselves and built fortifications at several points, of which I know four: one is in Gutierrez, two in Cuevo Canton, and the fourth in Curuyuqui, which belongs to the San Buenaventura de Yvo Mission, where the uprising and defeat of the Chiriguano in the year 1892 took place (2).

2. I recently explored this last. It is one meter deep and one wide, and goes from the stream of Cuevo from northwest to southeast.

/98 cont./

126 112 covering an area of about 2,000 meters; it ends in a hill surrounded by the same foundations. It had its lookout and a small plaza and dominated the whole area.

192 112 These fortifications have stone foundations, are made artfully, and are very large; consequently it is not credible that they might have been built by Indians who were even less civilized than the present ones. I believe, rather, that it was the work of the conquistadors, who, following the example of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro, built them for protection from the Chiriguano arrow; the extent of these walls and the height of the lookouts do not suggest anything

193 118 else. The old men add that when they were pursued some of them hid in the mountains out of fear or because they were tired and that those then populated the region (1).

1. This must refer to what Father Castiñ says about the time when the Cruceñin /people of Santa Cruz/ settled at the place which today is occupied by the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

194 /XIV/ From what has been expounded it can be deduced that the Chiriguano race is most probably of Paraguayan origin; the inhabitants of that region also say this to those who actually go to work in the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and to the Indians who in past years went to Corumbá from Tvu, Caipipendi, and Parapiti. For example, they told them that they knew of the existence of a place named Tvu and of another called Parapiti, frequented by their grandparents who had formerly visited their relatives, the Chiriguano. In addition there is a tradition that in a not too distant time many families settled thereabouts traveled from time to time to visit their relatives who lived on the banks of the Paraguay River.

/83 cont./

799
175

The cross was found by an Indian who had followed a deer which took refuge in the same cave; it was later moved to Tarija and placed in the church of San Francisco.

[173] None of the Indians could give any certain explanation for this precious relic; nevertheless, tradition from father to son, to grandson, to great-grandson and great-great-grandson, etc., among those Chiriguano states that /84/ in very remote times a man "of considerable height, white of face, with a long beard, with extensive hair, who wore long clothing almost to his feet, with a tunic and square cape or blanket," had walked about with that piece of wood, preaching to them that God had come to the world and that He had died upon another piece of wood like that one, and, seeing that they did not wish to believe him or accept his doctrine, he had withdrawn into that cave, where he stayed for a long time; he had gone away later and left the piece of wood there.

When the Fathers of the Company of Jesus founded missions in Paraguay among the Guaraní, they found a tradition that the Apostle Santo Tomé or Santo Tomás /Saint Thomas/ had been among them, had taught them the religion of Christ, had predicted that this religion would be lost among them, and that in distant times others dressed almost like him and with a cross in their hands would announce the same doctrine to them. The Indians were convinced that the prophecy had come true with the arrival of the Jesuit Fathers.

We know through Christian chronicles and histories that God performs miracles by means of the relics of the saints and the things that have belonged to them or have been used by them. We can consequently lend credence to the coming of an Apostle, or of St. Thomas, first because of the Gospel, "Euntes in mundum universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae," and, second, because of the tradition among the Guaraní Indians, the Chiriguano, and those of Carabuco in the province of Omasuyos, department of La Paz, where another cross was found, and, thirdly, because of the miracles performed by means of it.

/133/

773 The Cururu then, before the total flood, went into the ground, carrying burning embers in his mouth, and there, by blowing on them, he did not let them go out. When he found out that the liquid element had disappeared from the face of the earth, he once again took into his mouth the embers of fire, came out into the open air, sought out the two children, delivered the fire to them, and thus they were able to cook the fish which they were patiently extracting from the fresh water, and thus they were able to give warmth to their shivering members (1).

[538] [825]

1. When children bother a toad, it will puff itself up to remind them that by blowing it did not let the fire go out, reminding them that they owe it gratitude. This is what the very old people tell the children.

The two children grew older until they were old enough to propagate, which in fact they did until the Chiriguano had again multiplied, all of whom, according to them, descended from those two beings.

This story, as I said, clearly manifests, with very slight differences, the idea of the universal flood, of Noah's ark, and of the human race which was saved in it. At the same time it demonstrates the ill will of Aguara-Tunpa against God and His creatures, and the new multiplication of the race on the banks of a river.

776 173 792 The primary divinities, one completely good and the other good and bad, depending on his will, are only two, but tradition and relatively contemporary history teach us that in different times and in various regions some daring Indian who was fond of laziness and other people's property, with a degree of loquacity and extraordinary promises, managed to gather around him in his new house, which he had deliberately built outside the town, a multitude of Indians from near and far and claimed to be Tunpa, an extraordinary and marvelous being. Others, including a certain woman of great daring, have claimed to be Tunpa ichi, "mother of God," which had little effect, and on other occasions,

/133 cont./

776 finally, the caciques, tired of being oppressed in certain areas by
173 certain bad Christians, have called some unfortunate, but alert
792 and bright boy Tunpa, in order to gather Indians from other areas to hear a flesh and blood God and fight with courage in the holy war (2).

000

2. The Mexicans, at the time they were conquered by Hernán Cortes, had temples and idols, with priests serving them. When they beat on the holy drum, the fury of the warriors was kindled. In one battle Cortes lost 60 Spaniards, who were burned before the idols.

776 In this last case the illustrious Missionary Father Angélico
173 /134/ Martarelli, in his appendix to the history of the missions
792 says in substance the following: "The boy whom the caciques
791 chose to deceive the rest assumed the name of Tunpa so that his oracles would be believed and respected with great reverence. He was shut up in a hut and from there, through his counselors (one of whom is still alive and very attached to the missionary), gave answers to those who asked, Indian or white. These must respect his advice with all humility, and they were damned if they declared themselves unbelievers, while those who were good joined the ranks behind his flag.

Beliefs in the Spirits

152 It is not unusual for someone who is passing through Chiriguano towns to hear, either near or far, a man or a woman, or some-
[775] times many people, crying, especially at night. In this last case it causes sadness and who knows what terror for white hearers or for missionaries, because these wails sound like those of condemned
775 souls, and it seems as if they are crying about their misfortunes and the loss of eternal blessings.

/233 cont./

301 powerful being inflicted upon them because of the weakness
773 and laziness that distinguish them, corresponding to the
776 opinion the reader may have formed in the course of these lines. They attribute its origin to the Tunpa, source of all goodness, and to the Aguara-Tunpa, whom they regard as the source of all evil, as has been seen. Under this concept, the one who punished them was not the former, but the Aguara-Tunpa. I shall end this ninth chapter by telling a fable in which the belief in the punishments that humanity may deserve from a superior being will be seen.

A Legendary Tale

539 The Indians say that formerly there was no distinction
173 between men; all were of the same color and spoke the same language. It has already been said in previous pages that the Chiriguano of certain regions believe that the original language was Quichua /Quechua/. What caused the diversity
539 of color and the diversity of language? Here is the legend (2).

> 2. If one asks a Chiriguano about the origin of all men, he answers that they are different from us; they have been made ugly, miserable, poor, and ignorant.

Two men of old were short of food and had wretched clothing; they were reduced to extreme suffering and were on the point of dying. The Aguara-Tunpa, in spite of /234/ his evil inclination and his abhorrence of humanity, in spite of his few philanthropic instincts, was moved to compassion for the unfortunate men and went to them and said, "I wish to help you and put an end to your miseries, to your misfortunes and needs, because I can do it; in spite of the fact that you consider my enemy your good friend and me your enemy, I wish to do you a favor so that you may see that when I want to be I am more powerful than your friend, who does not know how to succor you in your present calamities.

/262 cont./

527 are gathering together all the people, shouting like madmen and making known their great joy. The lord of the fiesta has arranged beforehand that the morning reception should take place in one location and the afternoon affair in another, and in this way not only is there time to prepare, but there is also food every day for the outsiders and for those who are not outsiders.

In the afternoon, at four o'clock more or less, they eat again with more enthusiasm than before, because their happiness is greater and then, it will be understood, ex abundantia multi os loquitur. But great friendship and harmony prevail: then they sing a little more, one by one, and when the sun sets there is a general rest (2).

2. From the afternoon oration until two in the morning there is complete silence: at that hour the song begins anew, with dancing and drinking. Today, since the voice of the cacique is little heeded, there is no schedule.

[622] [178]

535 184 173

Mbapa páure

This dance is similar to a quadrille: couples execute it by making turns through the streets of the town, both day and night. According to what the Indians of Ivu say, the Mbapa páure is not general for the Chiriguano race, but peculiar to certain regions, and it is not more than a hundred years old. They even say that it had its origin /263/ at the foot of the Itácua mountain range in Cordillera Province and then spread there up to Menbirái and Choreti Guasu.

When the war of the cacique Yaveáu took place, the Indians of Gilracoti, living on the left bank of the stream of Cuevo, fled to the left bank of the Parapiti River, where they stayed and learned this new dance and song. Thus, when they returned to their lands, when Yaveáu, through having avenged himself excessively, had pardoned and forgotten the affront he had received, they brought back the novelty and began to introduce it into their towns.

/963 cont./

535 184 173 Someone went to teach it in the towns located behind the hill of Aguaraglie, and the towns located on the right bank of the Cuevo River intended to introduce it, but, seeing the dismal consequences that resulted from it, they have abstained to this day, so that it is a fact that the Mbapa páure is now limited to the small towns of Caraguatarenta, Nagua, and Caraguataglie, and it is certain that it is neither heard nor seen in the large towns of Santa Rosa and Ivu, which are a few kilometers away (1).

[537]

1. In the towns where the Mbapa páure is sung, there are upset marriages, because the dance is between a man and woman holding hands, which does not happen in the Ayarise: therefore, or to avoid said upsets, many caciques do not allow it to be introduced into their area of jurisdiction.

The Music of the Mbapa páure

627 533 535 [184] This is another piece of music which has been scored for a band by the Reverend Father Domingo F. Regini: it is much simpler than the ayarise, but the song and dance attract a great deal of attention, because they are not known in all the Chiriguano towns. It is a kind of carnival which lasts for a long time, but when the said time is over, nobody again remembers the Mbapa páure until a year has passed. Here are the words of the song: Tavia, Tavia -- Ereculye mbapa páure -- Tiriuni, tiriuni -- Ancua chopi -- Chopi nano saraviyé -- Eh! Eh! Uetepeu, güeremeno -- Yagua tairari, yagua tairari -- Yurumbopi -- Yémanta -- Eh! Eh! (2).

[539]

2. Explanation: Let us sing the mbapa paure, like the blackbird sings, let us sing until we are left with our mouths twisted and we are tired, even though it give us a pain in the chest, let us challenge even the jaguar, and let our mouths stretch. Eh! Eh!

/273 cont./

721 I am not going to consider the Chiriguano at war with the Incas or with the Spaniards or with the whites who occupy the region. I am going to consider him at war with his own kind, or with the inhabitants of /274/ other towns which border his. Sensitive to the extreme, the Indian will fight on any pretext, however minor it may be considered, such as the abduction of a woman, her attempted violation, cattle stealing, or any other offense; they are enough to make the pride of the native scheme for vengeance and carry it out without any loss of time.

721 Among the Indians of Ivu there is still kept alive the memory
173 of the four or five wars which the regional cacique Yaveáu of
643 Cuevo and its vicinity waged against Yuti, where among the
[727] women killed was the wife of the Indian Cairama, who still lives in the Santa Rosa Mission; against Choreti, where, while retreating, he killed several whites; against Itau and Carapari, from where he brought a small cannon as booty; and against Parapiti, where he was defeated, leaving some 200 victims on the battlefield on the left bank of the river. It has already been seen in the preceding pages that the cause which brought about this prolonged and bloody war was the attempt of the cacique Güiracoti with regard to Yaveáu's wife, which he avenged to excess (1).

1. The cacique Yaveáu waged a war of extermination against all the towns noted, because they all fought on Güiracoti's side, but he could do nothing against Chituri, the cacique of Parapiti.

721 My readers, having thus understood that the Chiriguano is
411 very warlike, must be convinced of another truth, that is, that they are prepared to take up arms on any occasion, from which it can be deduced also that it is a fact that in every house they had available as many bows as there were persons fit for war, in addition to having ready as many dozens of arrows, because it was a law that in war each warrior had to carry at least a dozen.

/161 cont./

In the wilderness of the Chaco there still lives a Chiriguano chief, Cayuhuari, in whose village no white man has been. It is said to lie on a big lake. Large herds of horses and cows graze there, and the maize granaries are always full. The Indians are rich there, because no whites are there. At least so it is said. 173 361

Cayuhuari, who has lived in the Chaco since the uprising in 1890, has an abducted white woman as a daughter-in-law. It is said that, with the Toba, he visited the sugar factories of northern Argentina. He had his daughter-in-law with him. The owners of the factory offered to rescue her from the Indians. "I do not want to leave them," she said. "With them I have my children." This answer honors her. 563

The manners and customs of the Chiriguano Indians have been described by several authors (4), mostly missionaries, /162/ 114 797

4. We find most of the literature cited by Domenico del Campana: "Notizie," etc., loc. cit. /"Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani (Notes on the Chiriguano)," Arch. per L'Anthr. e la Etn. Firenze, 1902. Page 61./ [113]

so that we know more about them than about the Choroti and the Ashluslay.

A part of what I have reported about these Indians is not new, though seen in a new light. Nevertheless, various things, especially concerning religion, differ from the descriptions of the various missionaries. What I have gathered here is from the Chané, and the missionaries know the Chiriguano best.

What I do not like in the various descriptions of the Indians by the missionaries is that they seem to be striving to paint their shortcomings in colors that are all too faint, so that their own "civilizing work" may seem as important as possible. The missionaries seem to me to be unable to describe the religion of the Indians objectively.

/167 cont./

to conquer the land. His description of the Chiriguano as a cannibalistic race of extremely low standing /168/ surely originated in his own imagination. The tradition about these battles has been preserved in the mountain valleys.

The territory of the Chiriguano, in spite of the centuries-long valiant defense, was conquered, step by step, in the Spanish era. As recently as 1890 part of them made a last attempt at rebellion, but they were defeated, as has been mentioned, in the battle at Curuyuqui, on the plain of Boyuovis. About 5,000 Indians had gathered there and for a whole day fought the whites in an unequal battle against fire-arms. The battle had begun in the morning and it had not yet ended in the evening when it grew dark. The situation was becoming extremely unpleasant for the whites, since their ammunition was almost gone. Unfortunately, however, the morale of the Indians was broken. They abandoned their entrenchments in the quiet of the night.

Another very important chapter in the history of these Indians is the long and persistent effort of the missionaries to conquer the land of the Indians in a comparatively peaceful manner. This is treated in detail in the literature.

Here, however, I do not wish to speak of the history of these Indians as we know it through the literature, but of the Indian as historian.

If one talks to the Indians, they do not know much about their own history; their tradition does not go back very far. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me they had first lived on the upper Rio Parapiti (1), but were driven away from there by a great chief. Some remained where they are now living, others set out through the Chaco to the Rio Paraguay, which river,

1. This is confirmed by Viedma: Descripcion geografica y estadistica de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Coleccion Pedro de Angelis. Buenos Aires, 1836. Vol. III. Pages 180-181.

/168 cont./
as has been said, /169/ is not unfamiliar to the Indians. On the Rio Paraguay Atowahen /Atawak/ are also found.

The Chiriguano first lived on the lower Rio Parapiti and were driven away from there by the Chané. This is /p. 80 and 81 appear here/ possibly "official history," for more probably the Chiriguano drove the Chané out of the fertile valleys of the upper Rio Parapiti.

Batiraya told me everything that he knew about the history of the Chané Indians on the Rio Parapiti. The last great /170/ chief was Batiraya's uncle, Aringui. He led many Indians of his tribe to Argentina to work. His predecessor was Tambée. Before him Ochoépi was invested with the position of chief. In his time the whites began to push into the country. This chief is described as an important man who sought to introduce the manners and customs of the whites among his Indians. Ochoépi is known for his extensive journeys and his persecution of sorcerers. He was said to have been in Buenos Aires. Before him Chóchori had the position of chief. In his time the whites had not yet come as far as the lower Rio Parapiti. Here the tradition comes to an end. The chiefs mentioned here were of the same family /Geschlecht/, but the rule does not pass from father to son.

I could relate a bit of history about the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, but I do not wish to be boring with too many names. There, too, tradition does not go back far, three generations, that is all.

In the legends of these Indians, several of which I have given below, we learn nothing about the history of these peoples. No historical events seem to have been recast into legends there. They have entirely different themes.

It is really quite strange that among these Indian tribes their history, the names of the chiefs, have been forgotten, whereas the legends have undoubtedly been preserved, though in altered form, from generation to generation for centuries. It is chiefly the wide geographical distribution of the legends that speaks for their great age.

/200 cont./

and id., 1, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.). I shall limit myself to tracing here, in their main lines, the characteristics of the great Guarani migration which ended in the formation of the Chiriguano tribe.

The Chiriguano Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family. A branch separated from the great Guarani nation or, more exactly, a swarm separated from the whole group of tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil called Guarani, they came to establish themselves at the foot of the Andes at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century after crossing the Chaco plains.

/201/ The causes of this great movement, which swept along so many thousands of Guarani toward the frontiers of the Inca Empire, are explained by the singular attraction which metal objects, clothes, in a word everything that can make life easier and more beautiful, exerted and continue to exert on the Indians. The Guarani of Paraguay and the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had known for a long time about Peru and its riches. From there they used to receive bronze instruments and ornaments of silver and sometimes also of gold (1). At the same time as these objects,

1. On the trade relations between the peoples of the Andes and the tribes of the Chaco, Paraguay, and Brazil, cf. Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 255-259.

confused descriptions reached them of these mountain peoples, so strange, who lived in stone huts, had "deer with long hair" at their service, and who decorated their persons with brilliant jewels. Bronze axes, necklaces, bracelets, breastplates, diadems, and goblets of silver reached them by a trade route whose exact position is unknown, but which probably used to pass through the northern Chaco. The Chané /Chane/ who lived in direct contact with the populations of the Inca Empire and traded with them, played the role of brokers, and with them as middlemen these tools and ornaments reached Paraguay, passing from hand to hand (2).

2. Hernández, p. 322: "They were asked of what race are those who have the silver and the

/313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Nuñez

Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 76) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

/320 cont./

C 175 342

interesting: "they make a very big dormitory and, within it, as many small rooms as there are residents, and so small that they do not have room for more persons, and it is enough for them, because they do not have furniture, nor do they have wearing apparel and hence they go about naked." /Translated from the Spanish./ These facts agree on every point with those of the Relaciones geográficas, etc. (Vol. II, Plate CIV) and of Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 259) on the same subject. The Guarani, just like the Tupinamba and other Tupi tribes, lived in malocas, gigantic halls capable of containing more than 150 persons and which often in themselves formed the village. The existence of this type of dwelling among the Chiriguano in the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes new proof for the recent character of their migration. In the 18th century we find them already in possession of the small rectangular house which they still have now and where one single family lives. (See Métraux, ? p. 51.)

C [114] [113]

C [171]

C [174] [167]

C 114 127 175

novelist Garcilaso which might allow one to suppose that he really knew who the Chiriguano were. As for this conquest by the Inca, it would have been barely an attempt at conquest... Garcilaso confuses the Chiriguano with all the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes whom he had vaguely heard mentioned. Let us note that he is the only one to attribute this expedition to the Inca Tupanki, while the other chroniclers, better informed, are satisfied to say that the Inca Tupanki made an expedition against the Antis, probably around Cuzco. Unfortunately the vogue this pleasant writer enjoyed at a time when the history of America was still in limbo bluffs some modern critics into believing him, and they go so far as to prefer one of his unwarranted affirmations to the serious /321/ and precise evidence of chroniclers who get their information at first hand and from reliable sources.

C 114 127 175 64 [101]

/307 cont./ Permanent?

villages were there under the command of hereditary caciques. The middle course of the Parapití formed their boundary to the east. In the 16th century the Chiriguano constituted the most important and remarkable nation of the western Chaco. The statistics concerning them vary a great deal: the figures, given with their usual exaggerations, vary between 41,000 and 15,000 warriors. The Chané are included in this number, which completely removes all value from these statistics." (Keroum, pp. 60-63.)

Today the boundaries of the Chiriguano have stayed about the same. But even though they inhabit a territory whose extent has varied little, their situation has none the less undergone great changes. Several thousand half-breeds from Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Chuquisaca have settled inside this area that we have defined. A Chiriguano frontier no longer exists, but only remains of villages and small groups which still mark the former extent of the tribe. On the other hand, the number of Chiriguano has diminished terribly and is diminishing each day, so that a few years from now the true habitat /333/ of the Chiriguano will be contained between the Parapití and the Pilcomayo and will be reduced to the former Franciscan missions and to several valleys of the Precordillera, such as those of Caipipendí and Igüembé (1).

1. Some historians not well informed about the ethnic geography of South America have claimed that in the 16th century the Chiriguano lived well beyond the boundaries I have indicated. One of them (Dr. Pulgencio Moreno) went so far in this direction that he attributes to the Chiriguano the possession of a large part of northwestern Argentina and pushes this fancy to the point of locating them almost as far as in the province of Córdoba. Mr. Coni in an excellent monograph, documents in hand, has done good justice to these bold allegations and has demonstrated that these hypotheses were without foundation.

/336 cont./

241 412 192 243 have described here. These finds were made in the ruins of the Alfarcito and of the Pukará de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 6, Fig. 17 and p. 37) and at the Huerta in the same Quebrada de Humahuaca. Numerous wooden shovels have been dug up at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Figs. 336-337, pp. 417-418), and Ambrosetti supposes with justification that they were halted like those of the modern Chiriguano. Debenedetti (1, p. 35) obtained a specimen of this instrument at Kipón in Salta province.

[191] This type of shovel is particularly well represented in the ethnological material of the Chilean coast. Numerous specimens have been found in Colama, Chiuchiu, and Pica in Tarapacá province (Roman, 7, Vol. II, pp. 731-732 and Plate LXVIII 21 and Uhle, 3, pp. 15-16 and Plate 5).

[191] The half-breeds and Indians of the Bolivian altiplano still work the earth today with a spade which in no way differs from that of their ancestors; moreover, it shows great similarity /337/ to the wooden shovel of the ancient Chiriguano (Chavin, p. 216, Fig. 170).

241 412 191 243 Nordenskiöld (8, pp. 30-32), studying the distribution of this cultural element, established that it was peculiar to the Andean zone and the adjoining regions. The Chiriguano shovel nonetheless has a characteristic feature for which we should look in vain on all the specimens found inside the boundaries of the Inca Empire: this is the crescent-shaped handgrip. It corresponds quite precisely to the crutches terminating the oars in use among the tribes of Brazil, Paraguay, and the Guianas and on which the paddler puts his hand flat.

241 412 174 243 The Chiriguano formerly lived in a region rich in rivers and streams, and they probably made use of paddles of this type to go up or down them. Once settled at the foot of the Andes, the resemblance between their former /Fig. 5 appears here/ oars and the shovels they saw in the hands of the Chané or the Chicha must have struck them; and they naturally sought to adapt to the new instruments this detail of structure whose convenience paddling had shown them. Such a hypothesis is not too adventuresome, for do we not have in the Chaco some shovels which have exactly the appearance of oars? (On this subject see the Ashluslay shovel published by Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 30, Fig. 1.)

/ATT cont./

which preceded Inca culture. If one compares the present-day pottery of the Chiriguano with that of the Quicha /Quechua/ of Cuzco, certain analogies will appear, but they will be neither abundant nor conclusive enough to establish a direct filiation. Aryballoids are missing or rare, ornithomorphic dishes seldom found, etc.; on the contrary, we have seen how multiple and close the ties are between this pottery and that of the Chincha-Arequipa period. Chiriguano pottery, in relation to that of Cuzco, is in a situation analogous to that of northwestern Argentina: on an Andean but original base, influences from Cuzco have been superposed. This Inca action on the Chicha is attested to even today by /XIX/ the presence among the Chiriguano of footed vessels of the purest Inca type and apodal ones of the same origin. Arising from the same influence, one may add certain decorative motifs, with which I have already dealt.

Arawak and Amazonian tradition is scarcely represented, except by footed bowls (compotieras), vessels with a ribbed belly, those with a body in the shape of a truncated cone and a subspherical belly, and perhaps by some motifs (T-shaped figures, Plate XXXVIII, 1).

The conclusion of this chapter will be: there exists today and for some years to come a civilization which, closely related to that of the Chicha, continues an art earlier than that of the Inca but influenced by them. May this fact make archeologists cautious!

Chapter VII

Calabashes

The second art in which the Chiriguano excel is pyrography and engraving on calabashes. When pottery-making was an essentially feminine activity, pyrography was the province of the men. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 233-236) thinks, completely wrongly it seems to me, that pyrography is of Andean origin. He advances in support of this opinion the advantages that knowledge of metal offers to this art. Nevertheless, the populations of the

Tupi-Guaran. 516
Tup.namba 509
Guarani 2[illegible]
Chane 5[illegible]

/436 cont./

G 286 531 191 animals or human beings. There is nothing like that among the Chiriguano. The simplicity /437/ of their fabrics forms a striking contrast with the richness and variety of the decoration of their pottery. Their inferiority in this respect is far from corresponding to the skillfulness which is their wont in all their activities. It is

G 286 192 857 enough to see the admirable pieces of work executed by little Chiriguano girls in the missions to realize what they would have been capable of if historic traditions had not held them away from this art. Their distant Tupi-Guarani ancestors were

T-G 286 194 acquainted with only rudimentary forms of weaving, and it can be asserted that /Fig. 95 appears here/ this industry remained foreign to all the Tupi tribes which did not undergo the influence of a nation more civilized than they. The Tupinambá of the

T 286 194 Brazilian coast apparently practiced only the double-thread technique (Doppelfadentechnick) by means of which they used to make their hammocks. The ancient chroniclers note the use

G 286 [195] [291] of the ripoy among the ancient Guarani of Paraguay, which is an indication of the existence of weaving among that subdivision of the Tupi family. Their present-day descendants, the Kaingué /Caingua/, could pass for good weavers to judge by the fineness

G [291] of the several fabrics which have been collected among them. These are for the most part wide belts which they pass between their legs and knot around their loins. In reality, weaving is in its beginnings among them, /438/ as is shown by their loom. It is only a simple frame around which the warp threads are coiled. The woof is passed through, thread after thread, as in darning.

Ee 286 197 No doubt it was the Chané who taught the Chiriguano to weave, and as they had probably not reached a /Fig. 96 appears here/ very high level in this art, they could only transmit to their successors and suzerains, the Chiriguan, a still little-developed technique, which the latter have scarcely improved on.

/439 cont./

p. 171 and Map 21). Their baskets being in bad shape, the Guarayú wanted to make some new ones and were very annoyed not to find in the region into which they had come the palm trees with pinnate leaves which they were in the habit of using for this purpose. Now, Guarayú and Chiriguano are brothers in race and language and emigrated at the same period from Paraguay to settle in the vicinity of the Andes. When leaving their country of origin, both were acquainted with this type of basket used by their ancestors, the Guarani, the Tupinambá of the Brazilian coast, /440/ and still favored among their first cousins from Paraguay, the Kaingué (Métraux, 9, p. 204). The disappearance of this cultural element among the Chiriguano is due solely to the lack of appropriate raw materials.

In order to make up for the absence of back baskets, indispensable to a farming people /Fig. 98 appears here/ the Chiriguano borrowed from their neighbors in the Chaco, either the Mataco or the Choroti, the carrying nets (in Chiriguano: aflapoka) whose use is so widespread among the latter and is so characteristic of their civilization. Carrying nets today are in general use among the Chiriguano, and in every village each family has at /Fig. 99 appears here/ least one (Figs. 98 and 99). In spite of this wide diffusion, the Chiriguano aflapoka betrays its origin by its form and technique (see Figs. 100 and 101 /see pp. 283 -285/), which are both found in the tribes we have just enumerated (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208, Technique I). Although considerably more advanced on the way to civilization than the seminomadic tribes of the Chaco, the Chiriguano do not by any means equal them /441/ in the art of making nets. The aflapoka I collected cannot be compared with the deep bags which the Matako or the Choroti, for example, make for the same purpose. In the village of Machareti, where Toba live with Chiriguano, it is the former who furnish the latter with the /Fig. 100 appears here/ carrying nets they need (see Fig. 99 /see p.282/) (1).

1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 163, Fig. 49 A) gives the detail of the technique of a Chiriguano carrying net. This technique is not found on any

[Text continues on p. 283]

/441 cont./

●174 Everything thus leaves us to suppose that, in the early period of
177 their settling on the western confines of the Bolivian Chaco, the
286 Chiriguano procured by barter the carrying nets intended to re-
482 place the back baskets they had used until then. It was only later
[439] that they learned to make them themselves, adopting only the simplest and easiest of techniques besides. Thanks to this example we can catch alive the causes which have motivated the adoption of a new cultural element after the disappearance of another which rendered the same services. For that two factors have come into play, the physical environment and the ethnic one. There was adaptation and borrowing at the same time. This fact also proves that a relatively civilized people never hesitates to appropriate the inventions of more barbaric tribes when they find some advantage in it.

285 The present poverty of the basketwork industry among the
17 Chiriguano does not imply that it is insignificant and worthless. Perhaps before the decline of this nation it was more widely represented in each village. I was able to observe that the disappearance of basketwork /442/ went along with the influence of the white men. But, for the reasons I have given above, I do not believe that at any time there could have been found among the Chiriguano that abundance of objects made of basketwork which travelers noted among the Indians of Guiana or the Amazon basin. Formerly, when the ancestors of the Chiriguano were still living in Paraguay and Brazil, they possessed basketwork identical with that of the tribes inhabiting the regions I have alluded to. Proof of it is furnished by the survival among the modern Chiriguano of various types of baskets, fire fans, and sieves, of which we find /Fig. 101 appears here/ the exact equivalent only in Guiana and the Amazon basin. As we shall ascertain in the course of this study, the identity between these two ethnic areas is perfect from this point of view. The only difficulty is to know whether in this case it is a matter of the remains of an industry peculiar to the Chané Indians of Arawak origin, whose influence upon the Chiriguano was considerable, or whether this basketwork only continues that of the ancient Guarani emigrants. In my opinion
ooo the question does not need to be asked. The basketwork of the

C /442 cont./ The basketwork of the
285 ancient Guarani or Tupinamba did not differ essentially in tech-
171 nique, form, or processes of ornamentation from the basketwork
174 of the north of southern America (Métraux, 2, pp. 249-255). It must have offered more than one point of similarity with that of the Chané, and we must consider the modern basketwork of the Chiriguano the heir of the basketwork common to these two /443/ nations. Let us notice in passing that the basketwork of the populations of tropical America has a certain unity. Nevertheless,

C
286

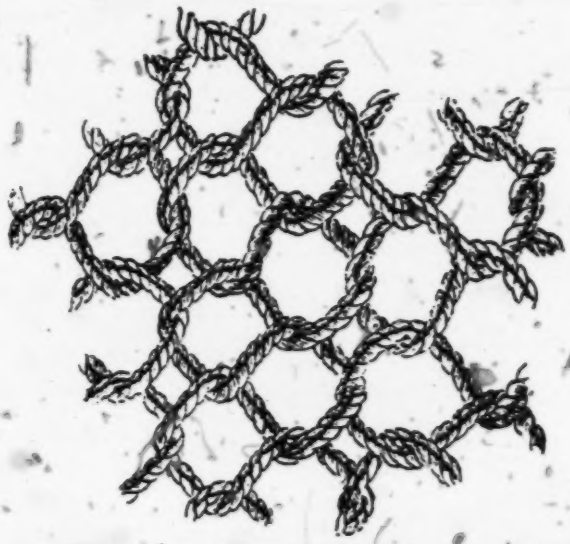


Fig. 101. Technique of the net of Fig. 99 (Technique V, according to Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208).

C it was in the Guianas that it reached perfection.
285 After their great migration to the foot of the Andes, the
171 Chiriguano seem to have adopted basketwork of a new technique,
174 which doubtless was unknown to their ancestors and racial brothers in Paraguay and Brazil. This technique is characteristic of all the baskets I am putting under the heading of wicker work /named in English/ in the following pages. As we shall see,
Ce [285] this technique also exists in the Guianas, and it is possible that
[171] it was brought into the Bolivian Chaco by the Arawak nation
[174] of the Chané. The center of dispersion of the Arawak must be
ooo

/457 cont./

C 415 285 Sieves are of two kinds. The first category includes those whose meshes are close together and composed of fine strips of karandaí leaves intercrossing in a binary rhythm. Sieves of this type belong in the basketwork called twilled. The Chiriguano give them the name of urumpé and use them in preference to the others, whose usage is limited.

The second category includes sieves with wide meshes. The strips forming them cross in checkerwork, that is, the woof passes alternately under, then over, an element of the warp. The Chiriguano designate sieves of this type by the name of urumpesa, and they use them for sifting ground corn when they wish to obtain a coarse flour.

C G 415 285 191 Some of these sieves are real works of art, but they cannot be compared with the magnificent specimens from Guiana, on which the alternation of the black and white elements produce geometric figures of the handsomest effect. It is probable that formerly the Chiriguano had identical sieves, as can be supposed from the one on Plate LXXXII, which is composed of a warp and a woof whose gray and white elements are arranged in such a way as to form dark and light bands on which concentric squares stand out.

C 415 171 The sieve is widespread in all of tropical America, where it is used not only for corn flour but also for that which the natives make from bitter manioc. It is unknown to the primitive populations of the Chaco, who have not even felt the need to borrow it from the Chiriguano or Chané. The populations of the Inca Empire /458/ did not know its use. The urumpé is a utensil common to nearly all the Tupi-Guarani tribes; it has been described or noted among the Tupinamba, the Guarani, the Kainguá /Caingua/, the Guarayú, the Pauserna, the Apiaká /Apiaca/, and the Parintintin. The Chiriguano must therefore have taken along with them when they emigrated from Paraguay, which does not exclude the fact that they may also have found it in use among the Chané.

C [174]

/468 cont./

412 171 At La Paya, Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 254, p. 484) discovered combs cut out of a small wooden board and some composite combs. Instead of simply recording the coexistence of two different types of combs /Plate LXXXVII appears here/ /469/ in the same place, a very natural phenomenon by reason of the heterogeneous character of the culture of La Paya, Ambrosetti puts forth the strange hypothesis that these combs served for carding wool, without taking the trouble to inquire whether this instrument was known in pre-Columbian times.

303 322 462 412 The making of combs, like all wood carving, is an essentially masculine job.

412 194 The table on Plate LXXXVII indicates my idea of the morphological evolution of the different forms of combs which I have collected.

Chapter XII

Furniture

352 [114] Since the diverse cultural elements which constitute the furniture of the Chiriguano have been completely studied by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 8-22), I shall limit myself to mentioning them here, insisting only on several details. /Fig. 124 appears here./ /See p. 338./

[342] Let us enter a Chiriguano hut. The door we open is a kind of screen of reeds or a cowhide hardened in the sun. Daylight penetrates the interior through this opening. The only important [513] piece of furniture is a wooden cot (Fig. 125), a kind of bedstead generally occupied by two persons between whom one or two children come /470/ to slip in somehow or other. Nor do the Chiriguano hesitate to sleep on the ground on an oxhide, which they spread out in front of their house. On the upper Pilcomayo, in nearly all the huts one can /Fig. 125 appears here/ /See p. 339./ see one or two hammocks which serve either as seats during the day [286] or as cradles for small children. Their technique, that of the [177] double thread (Doppelfadentechnik), continues an old Guarani

[Text Continues on P. 338]

Plate LXXXVII /left side/

412
174

Table indicating the way in which the evolution of the different types of comb might have come about. Prov.: 1 and 2, Yumbía; 3, Isirié (upper Pilcomayo); 4 and 5, Ñawirenda; 6, Igüembé; 7, Caipipendí; 8, Igüembé; 9, Ivu; 10 and 11, Tiwiraití; 12 (after Nordenskiöld); 13, Yumbía; 14, Igüembé; 15, Ñawirenda; 16 and 17, Carurutí; 18, Ñawirenda; 19 and 20, Ibopeytí; 21, Saladito. /Combs 9-15 are shown on the next page./

/Right side of Plate LXXXVII/

412
174

/See the caption on the left side of the plate on the preceding page./

/488 cont./

757 114 The explorer Eric von Rosen tried to demonstrate that some objects found in northwestern Argentina are clyster tubes or nozzles. Nordenskiöld is also of this opinion. As for me, I am all the more tempted to adopt this hypothesis because I could not otherwise explain the presence of this instrument among the Chiriguano. No Tupi tribe, as a matter of fact, with the exception of the Omagua on the upper Amazon, seems to have resorted to enemas in case of illness; at least not one of the numerous travelers who gave their attention to these Indians mentions the operation among them. There is no doubt that the Chiriguano borrowed this curative method and the corresponding instrument from the nearby Andean peoples. We know that the Quichua /Quechua/ gave each other enemas, as is proved by the discovery of a leather syringe in a pre-Hispanic grave of the Ollachea Valley in eastern Peru (Nordenskiöld, 14, Fig. 74, p. 188). (To be continued.)

757 171 174

000 /The bibliography, pp. 488-493, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text. The following "Table of Contents" appears at the end of this volume of the Revista, along with the tables of contents for the other articles in the volume. The lists of plates and figures which follow the table of contents in the translation were made up from the captions and are not part of the original text./

/598/ Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians

by Alfred Métraux

	page
Preface	1
I. Material Culture	5
Introduction	5
Historical outline of the formation of the Chiriguano nation	6
Agriculture	63
Cooking and food	80
Food resources	80
Fish	93
Cooking	97

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/68 cont./

126 712 covering an area of about 2,000 meters; it ends in a hill surrounded by the same foundations. It had its lookout and a small plaza and dominated the whole area.

172 712 These fortifications have stone foundations, are made artfully, and are very large; consequently it is not credible that they might have been built by Indians who were even less civilized than the present ones. I believe, rather, that it was the work of the conquistadors, who, following the example of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro, built them for protection from the Chiriguano arrow; the extent of these walls and the height of the lookouts do not suggest anything else. The old men add that when they were pursued some 173 648 of them hid in the mountains out of fear or because they were tired and that these then populated the region (3).

3. This must refer to what Father Cardús says about the time when the Cruceños /people of Santa Cruz/ settled at the place which today is occupied by the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

• 174 /69/ From what has been expounded it can be deduced that the Chiriguano race is most probably of Paraguayan origin; the inhabitants of that region also say this to those who annually go to work in the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and to the Indians who in past years went to Corumbá from Yvu, Caipipendi, and Parapiti. For example, they told them that they knew of the existence of a place named Yvu and of another called Parapiti, frequented by their grandparents who had formerly visited their relatives, the Chiriguano. In addition there is a tradition that in a not too distant time many families settled thereabouts traveled from time to time to visit their relatives who lived on the banks of the Paraguay River.

/69-cont./

174 199 In support of the aforesaid is the language, which differs little from Guaraní, spoken in the Republic of Paraguay, in various parts of Brazil, and even in Corrientes, and language is an irrefutable argument for one or more nations, but inasmuch as this language is very reduced in the latter places, and it was general in the former (Paraguay) until a rather recent period, it might well be concluded that the Chiriguano originated in Paraguay.

648 999 This Nation is attempting in our times to enlarge or extend its domain into the territories occupied by the Chiriguano, especially as far as degree 22, where almost all of the missions are located, including those of Parapiti Grande, which are located at 19° 58' latitude south of the meridian of Paris. Bolivian diplomacy has powerful arguments to uphold its rights, with the support of the missions, principally those of Parapiti, whose first founding goes back to the eighteenth century. The Franciscan Father Narciso Llamedo built there a moral and a physical edifice, whose vestiges can still be seen today, by authority of the Most Illustrious Archbishop of Chuquisaca and supported by the Royal Audiencia of Charcas. Neither the Chiriguano language nor the invasion of this race gives any right to Paraguay, because all authors and explorers are in agreement that this race did not exist here before the thirteenth century. In the fifteenth century the Chiriguano were visited by the Inca Yupanqui with a large force of men from Cuzco. Later, in the sixteenth century, the resident viceroy of Lima vainly attempted to humiliate the pride of this race, and finally everyone sees that the Bolivian Nation has exercised full authority here since before and after the war of Independence, and that the missions have progressed and are progressing in the shadow of the Bolivian flag, which has always waved in these remote lands.

174 Someone might observe and say: Why, when the Chiriguano /70/ emigrated from Paraguay, did they not settle on the banks of the Pilcomayo and on the immense pampas of the Gran Chaco? At first glance this question constitutes a grave embarrassment to one who does not know the race, but it is easy to answer it satisfactorily. All barbarous tribes remain in

/70 cont./

174 idleness and laziness and in indolence and are content with what nature provides for them to live on and subsist; this is the practice of the savages to the north of Santa Cruz, thus the Toba, Mataco, Choriti, and others who do not bother with planting and are content with only hunting, fishing, roots, and wild fruits, which, when they begin to turn yellow, are greeted by the Toba and Mataco with the "Pimpin," a kind of small drum, so that they may mature faster and better.

174 241 311 But the Chiriguano, in spite of being indolent, a recent émigré, like his neighbors, is not so much so as the other tribes, since he joined the Carious. In addition to liking to fish and hunt, he does not fail to make his plantings of maize on a large scale, where he uses his energies in order to profit from his sweat later by converting it into "Atipíi," parched maize, "Atiruru," mote or boiled maize, "Aticúi," meal, "Muyape," bread, "Cangüi," or chicha, etc., dishes that the Toba and others know only in the house or larder of the Chiriguano. In order to obtain this class of foodstuffs, the banks of the Pilcomayo were not sufficient for a very large tribe; in addition, the other tribes which were hidden in the woods along that stretch must have devastated their fields, or their owners must have been in a continual state of uneasiness. Neither could they have obtained it on the pampas of the Gran Chaco, because the cooling action of the rains is scarce there, and, moreover, the soil in many places is like an immense sieve because of the holes made by the quiriquinchos /armadillos/, balled armadillos, and others of the species, which nest there and have built their subterranean towns (1).

1. The Toba began to plant maize and beans when they came under the control of the Franciscan fathers at the San Francisco dey Pilcomayo Mission, now Villamontes; today they plant very little.

/70 cont./

174 241 311 Consequently it was very natural that the race which was emigrating from Paraguay should seek out for its needs better lands which would permit it to make good use of its natural inclination to cultivate "Abati," maize, "Gūndaca," gourds, and "Cumanda," beans, because from the names that they give to all of these vegetables, it can be deduced that they did not get to know them after the discovery of America, but long before; and the same is true for the domestic animals, "Yaimba," dog, "Uru," /71/ chicken, "Minta," cat. 174 648 563 What is certain is that the Chiriguano race has been distinguished and is distinguished from the others which still remain in the savage state, and the Toba, as well as the Mataco and the Choroti, regard the Chiriguano as nobles and masters, and they serve them in exchange for maize and other things, and there has never been a natural marriage involving a Chiriguano man or woman with the tribes named (1).

1. The Toba are more intelligent and more easily reduced than the Mataco; the latter were also exposed to the missionaries of San Antonio del Pilcomayo, located on its right bank.

The Toba have generally assisted their masters in wars and have lived for long periods among them, especially in the time of good and abundant crops. They did this before the missionaries opened Cuevo and Ivo to trade with the founding of the Santa Rosa and San Buenaventura missions, and they still do in the Franciscan missions of Machareti, Tigūipa, and Tariari, because they are near these tribes.

174 167 The places that the Chiriguano selected for their residence after the migration were the mountainous one and the one visited by frequent rains, necessary so as not to lose the fruit of their labor, and in fact we do not see this race settled in places away from the mountain range, nor in impenetrable forest, good only for those tribes in a state of

/71 cont./

174 complete savagery (2).
167

2. Cayuguari, with some 30 Chiriguano, went to the desert to live among the savages to the east of Carandaiti.

174 In addition to Chiriguano tradition and the fable of the
175 Aguara-Tunpa, from which we understand that the race with
167 which I am dealing originated in Paraguay, there are ecclesiastical and secular authors who support my opinion. Among the first stand out the Franciscan missionaries Cardús and Martarelli, and the most eminent among them is the Most Reverend Father Corrado, who in his history of the school and missions of Tarija asserts that the most probable opinion is that the Chiriguano came from Paraguay, despite the fact that the Guaraní language is scattered through many parts of Brazil and some parts of the Argentine Republic, since, as we have just finished saying, language is a powerful argument in learning about the origin of a tribe, and it has already been said that Guaraní is generally spoken in Paraguay, so much so that it would not be an error to say /72/ that the Guaraní have gone to Brazil and to Argentina from the same Nation (1).

1. In the chapter "Religion and Beliefs" I shall discuss the fable of Aguara Tunpa more fully.

175 Among the secular authors we have the famous d'Orbigny. According to him, before the discovery of America by the immortal Genoese, the Chiriguano occupied the last ramifications of the Bolivian Andes, lived completely naked, were
080 cannibals, and were of Guaraní origin (2). The Inca Yupanqui

[567]
[266]

2. The Indians of Parapiti told me that the Tapii natives were their slaves, and that in the uprisings of the latter they ate their ringleaders and others.

175 /72 cont./ The Inca Yupanqui
[175] promoted many wars against the Chiriguano with the intention of conquering them for the Inca civilization, but his efforts were in vain because his army was always conquered by the ferocity of the Chiriguano, who also had in his favor the fact that this was his own land and as a result he knew it well enough to be able to play tricks on the Inca militia with ease.

It seems that the Incas in their insistence on civilizing the Chiriguano brought their armies to the frontier of Cordillera Province. In fact there exists along the top of the range which divides this province from that of Acero and from Sapirangui Canton a fortress of great size, all of it made out of well-set stones, called "Incahuasi," "house of the Inca," and gives this name to the whole range, whose elevation to the south was set up by the law of interdepartmental demarcation as the boundary between Santa Cruz and Chuquisaca, when in the year 1898, the law of settlement was negotiated.

[192] Inca-huasi is a compound word of the Quichua /Quechua/ language; the Chiriguano language does not even have a word which resembles it; it is thus very probable that that fort was built by the Quechua and that, inasmuch as the forces were personally directed by the Inca, he should have ordered houses to be built along the whole top of the range, as can still be seen today (3).

3. The road from Carapariciito to Monteagudo through Incahuasi is not an old one. Don Octavio Padilla had it opened.

• 174
175
169 It is also a verified historical fact that after the discovery of Brazil and other regions of South America, 4,000 Indians fled from Paraguay, because in the many wars which they had waged against the Portuguese, they had killed the leader. Fearing general destruction, they came into Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo River; in the Gran Chaco they found the region near the cordilleras occupied and inhabited by the ferocious Chiriguano. /illustration appears here/ /73/ but since they could easily make themselves

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 105]

174 /73 cont./
175 understood, because they spoke the same language with slight
167 differences, they joined them, and from that moment the number of the Chiriguano was increased (1).

1. These 4,000 Indians were not of the Guaraní race; they had gone to settle in Paraguay and had learned that language imperfectly; they were called Carius and had killed Captain García.

The 4,000 Indians who fled from Paraguay because of the continual relations that they had had with the Portuguese had, at the time when they formed an alliance with the Chiriguano, a slight tincture of superficial civilization, just as in Mexico the Indians of Tlaxcala had learned it from Hernán Cortes and other Spaniards. As a result of this trace of civilization they had begun to use some clothing to cover, in principle, the most delicate part of the body; they had stopped eating the flesh of their enemies and prisoners and were more humanitarian in their dealings.

[266] Having established their abode and formed a single
[191] tribe with the Chiriguano, they introduced their kind and humanitarian customs among their ferocious friends, who softened slightly their haughtiness and pride, imitated their allies in the manner of dress, and began to abandon the barbarous custom of cannibalism, because of which they are distinguished today, and even for a long time before, from the Toba, Mataco, Tapiete, and Sirionó (2).

[197] 2. The Tapiete speak the Chiriguano language with a certain difference, and the Sirionó, it is believed, were ancient Chiriguano, because their language is somewhat similar.

175 The Chiriguano, thus united, continued to multiply
[161] much more and to extend their dominions into the different departments of the Audiencia, the possession of which they now had in lesser degree. Before a century had passed after the

/75 cont./

175 founded various missions, and today what is not in the hands
177 of the respective diocesan authority is all in the power of the latter group, who have irrigated this soil with the sweat of their labors for centuries (1).

1. The Jesuit Father Pons made efforts to found missions in the stretch between the Pilcomayo and Parapiti, with whose Indians he began to speak, but he was unable to do anything. This was done in the first half of the seventeenth century.

174 There is no doubt about the Paraguayan origin of the
167 Chiriguano native, as there is none about that of the Guarayo, whose language is the brother of the former's, despite the fact that they do not understand each other well, owing to the great variations which both have undergone. Paraguay is southeast of Bolivia and the region occupied by the Chiriguano tribe northwest of the former, with the Gran Chaco being the extensive region which separates the two republics of Paraguay and Bolivia. The domicile of the Chiriguano in the Gran Chaco is another circumstance which weighs heavily in indicating the Paraguayan origin of the tribe.

All that remains is to know the route which the Chiriguano followed in their migration to Bolivia; it might have been done in a straight line, crossing the Gran Chaco, which distance from the last cordillera west of Parapiti and Charagua to Paraguay is scarcely 100 leagues, but this route offers the insuperable obstacle of lacking the most important element for life, water. This has clearly been demonstrated by the calamities suffered by the various expeditions organized by the Bolivian government for the purpose of opening a straight road to Paraguay by setting out from Isoso (2).

2. The explorer Francés Thouar, after having gone over the route opened by the Arana, had to retreat because of lack of water and in a rash slip became lost and, with several others, nearly perished from hunger and thirst.

/75 cont./

194
167

They could have emigrated from their land of residence and followed the course of the Paraguay River on its right bank, arriving at Curumbá, and then across the salt flats of San José, coming to the places which they occupy today, but the stretch is longer, the water to be found is scarce, and over great stretches there is no trace of anything which /76/ might verify their emigration over this route, if indeed they would not have been attacked en route by the numerous nomads thereabouts.

[133]
[364]

It is necessary to conclude that they followed the banks of the Pilcomayo River; this rapid stream starts in the interior of the Bolivian Republic, crosses through the entire Chiriguano region, and empties into the Paraguay; its banks from near Azurduy up to Villa Montes is a straight line of more than 50 leagues, all populated by Indians who are clearly Chiriguano. From Villa Montes to Guachalla near the Esteros del Padre Patiño there are Choroti and Tapiete, who, with slight differences, speak the Chiriguano language; this stretch has plenty of water, fish, and fruit and is shorter than the above-mentioned one. Dr. Campos followed the banks of this river in order to arrive in Paraguay; Colonel Rivas, the Frenchman Crevaux, and the Spaniard Ibarreta followed the Pilcomayo River on their expeditions; they failed not through a lack of food or water, but some because they felt sure of the goodness of the Indians, and others because they had a very small force with them. All of these circumstances clearly show that the Chiriguano must have come into Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo; the tribes along the way could not have offered them much difficulty, because their number was extraordinary; hardship on the travel rations was so insignificant that it allowed them to fight with vigor and bravery, and finally their attitude was peaceful (1).

1. Colonel Rivas and the Frenchman Crevaux were killed by the Toba, and Ibarreta by other Indians.

/76 cont./

194 169 When experience showed them that they could settle in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen. 241 433 [461] The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly very fertile: when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every type of cereal: maize matures exuberantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hoes and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

433 241 511 [931] But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably. In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /77/ along some stream: plantings of this type are called socorro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

192 [101] By what has already been related it can easily be understood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay: thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guarayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guarayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

[194] [171] 1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words: in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

/135 cont./

775
776

because the Indians know that the evil spirit is a phantom, and the soul of the dead a shade: chemembi il abecha. I saw the shade of my son, says the mother.

776
784
[123]

One night while the smallpox epidemic was going on, they called me, being the Convensor of the Santa Rosa Mission, to catechize a poor and miserable old woman who was some two and a half kilometers from the town. Among those who accompanied me there was one whom I well remember, who is still alive and whose name I shall not forget, who carried a burning fire-brand, which was not necessary for me because the night was quite bright. When he was asked the reason for such a thing, he answered: Alla allugue vaena, to chase away the demons. They all do this especially when they are alone, which is rare, because the Chiriguano only rarely goes out at night because of his fear of evil spirits.

776
174
171

From this it can be deduced with considerable probability that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay. There were in that region, in past centuries, the missionaries of the Company of Jesus, who are famous for their apostolic work and for the suffering which they experienced in the reduction of the region. Because of the sorcerers some of them even suffered martyrdom.

I had the opportunity to read a brief history, which I have mentioned above, written by Father Asunnio of this same company, and I learned that the Guaraní believe in sorcerers and saw the Alla, demon, at all times and places. It destroyed the wheat-fields and other plantings, did damage in their houses and burned them. Even the Guaraní called the bad spirit Alla which the said missionary applies to the demon (?).

2. A work written in the Guaraní missions of Paraguay.

/138 cont./

993 the disobedience that was his sin, and the confusion which the guilt caused in him, with its consequent reprobation (1).

> 1. This story lacks the promise of a Savior, a most important fact, to be sure, but it should be kept in mind that this is a centuries-old tradition. The Indian is ignorant and only sees material things.

It can clearly be seen that this account, with only a slight difference, follows the story told by Moses in the first chapter of the Bible and adds even more to the proof that the inhabitants of the Americas came from and are descendants of the first man, a fact which so many enemies of Religion make efforts to deny. It also proves the unity of our race or species against Darwin, who would have it descend through evolution until it is related to the orangutan (2).

> 2. Hernán Cortes visited the Emperor Moctezuma during his first visit to Mexico. The latter assured him that they descended from other very ancient men, similar to the Spaniards, whom they called brothers.

It is easy to see that the Chiriguano tradition just related has been altered slightly, and that they attribute the reconstruction of the race to it, which, according to the Bible, is in fact the creation or formation of the first man. Centuries have passed since the universal flood and even more since the creation of the first man. The Chiriguano race is ignorant, has no books, no [212] [179] writing. It is descended from the Guaraní, who always lived apart from civilization. It could never be subjugated by the Incas, and thus it is not strange that the said tradition regarding creation might have changed until it is believed to be a second creation. Instead it is strange that /139/ up to now it has been preserved so clearly and with so few differences. I confess that when I first heard it I could not but be surprised and amazed, and I present it for the consideration of my readers just as I heard it.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians
53

C
Ee
343
114
*171
342

Pampas in which the corn is stored to protect it from hares.

The above-mentioned village and barns I have, therefore, left out of my map. PATER SCHMIDT[1]) mentions pile-buildings from other tribes too.

FRIEDERICI[2]) has also collected numerous statements referring to the occurrence of pile-dwellings in S. America from the works of older writers.

C
Ee
*171
342
114
343

The table 1 and map 1 which follow show the distribution of pile-buildings in S. America according to LEHMANN, FRIEDERICI and PATER SCHMIDT, together with some additions and corrections.

S
342
343

On the accompanying map I have merely indicated those which seem certainly to be of Indian origin. Those mentioned at the end of the 15th century, as well as those from the 16th are so undoubtedly. I am convinced that the pile-buildings of the Chané and Chiriguano are genuinely Indian, as nowhere in this region do the Whites possess such barns. Their geographical distribution leads us to presume their genuinely Indian origin, as also that they are a culture-element which came to these Indians from the swamps of Mojos, and that they here are an Arawak culture-element too. The use of pile-buildings on hard ground is quite comprehensible to me, as they offer great advantages, whether used for barns or dwelling-houses. The idea must have come, however, from some marshy tract or from a sea-coast where the inhabitants were dependent on ebb and flood tides. In the cases where a people employ pile-buildings on hard ground which is not liable to floods, it is due, as a rule, to conservative ideas — the mode of building to which they were accustomed in their former dwelling-places has become indispensable.

C
Ee
343
114
342

---

[1]) P. 1004.
[2]) (5) P. 98.

C
Ce
352
249
*171
283

do not even spin. It must, above all, have been the Tupi - Guarani. They are known for their manufacture of cotton hammocks. The Omagua who dwell (have dwelt?) in a tract where they and the Cocama are the only Tupi Indians, use hammocks both of palm-fibre and of cotton. All the neighbouring tribes have nothing but palm-fibre hammocks. Some Tupi at the Upper Xingú use palm-fibre hammocks with a woof of cotton. RUTH HAEBLER mentions two hammocks of bast from the Cainguá. Otherwise, the Tupi tribes use cotton hammocks, as has been pointed out by PATER SCHMIDT. The Caribs, too, have undoubtedly contributed to the spread of cotton-growing and the use of cotton hammocks, for it is very evident that in Guiana especially, they have used, and still use, cotton in their hammocks far more than the Arawaks. The distribution of cotton hammocks in S. America cannot be properly understood except in connection with the general history of the cultivation of cotton. It is highly probable that it was from the western area of civilization in S. America that the knowledge of cotton-growing spread over a

C
Ce
[174]

considerable part of the continent. It is very likely that, in post-Columbian times, the practice of growing cotton has spread to a good many tribes who formerly were ignorant of it. We must remember that cotton has been grown at such mission-stations as in Mojos on a very large scale.

C
Ce
352
249
*171

It must also be remembered that the history of the cultivation of cotton is of especial interest, because the cotton bush is one of the few cultivated plants that in pre-Columbian time were common to both the Old and New World. Consequently, it would be very interesting if we could prove that cotton was first used in S. America within the old culture areas, and there only after the Indians had reached a comparatively high state of civilization.

C
Ce
352
*171
[554]

It is not quite right to say that the hammock was not used within the culture-area of the west. It was used — not as a bed, but as a litter for persons of rank. This is

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XIII.

Toilet-Articles, Tattooing etc.

Ce
Ce
515
*171
174

The Chiriguano and the Chané are careful of their personal appearance. They are cleanly people, much cleaner than their neighbours. If these tribes had emigrated from the cold Bolivian mountains into their present territory, part of which is very poorly watered, they certainly would not bathe once, or even several times a day, as they do, but would be as dirty as the Quichua and the Aymara, who are, incredibly filthy. Their Chaco neighbours, too, the Mataco are also extremely dirty. In the parts I have explored it is only in Mojos that we find Indians as cleanly as the Chiriguano and Chané, these being the Mojo and the Baure, kindred tribes of the Chané. On the other hand the Guarani Indians in North Bolivia, the Guarayú, are less clean, even if they are among the »clean ones». The Guarani in Paraguay are, however, said to be very cleanly. The cleanliness of the Chiriguano and the Chané is a positive proof that they migrated to the territory now inhabited by them from warmer and well-watered parts, where bathing was pleasant and easily accessible. The Chiriguano and the Chané have not learnt to bathe from the Mestizos or the Whites, whose habits are anything but clean in these parts. Cleanliness is certainly not a virtue suddenly acquired by any people, but may indeed be regarded as a race-peculiarity. A map of S. American cleanliness would most certainly enlighten us on several points of interest with regard to the origin of the tribes. Now, when I read that the Mundrucú are very dirty I am sceptical of their being Guarani-Indians, and consider it much more likely that they are naturalized Guarani of a different origin. I shall not venture to give a map of S. American cleanliness

Ce
Ce
[128]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5, 4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Aymara SF5

here. In order to do so, it would be necessary for me to have seen much more of S. American Indians than is the case. I will, however, here try to give the tribes I know a *certificate of cleanliness*. I mark the dirtiest, the Aymara, with 0 and Mojo, the cleanest, with 5. At the same time I will give them a certificate of orderliness, i. e. point out to what extent they keep their huts tidy and their belongings clean and neat. These 'certificates' are also of considerable interest as a means of understanding the cultural development and relations of the tribes.

C Ce 515 171 174 128 A [515]

I consider that a distinction should be made between the Chané who live on the Rio Itiyuro and those living on the Rio Parapiti. The former are poorer and characteristically enough less cleanly than the latter. It is of a certain interest to see that skill in arts does not always go hand in hand with tidiness and cleanliness.

Ce 515 184

The more or less high standard of Indian art, at least among present-day tribes in E. Bolivia, is dependent on whether they have been influenced to a greater or less degree by pre-Columbian civilization in western S. America.

C Ce [177]

Nordenskiöld E-B A (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the ornamental design not always so (fig. 26). It is difficult to decide whether the idea of the pincer as a mere breast ornament is due only to the influence of non-Indian smiths or not. Most likely the pincer was turned into mere ornament by the makers, who presumably used it as an article of barter and then increased its size in order to make it more and more coveted by the Indians. At last the makers themselves may even have been quite ignorant of its original use. Consequently we cannot be wrong in considering the »boivéra» an original Indian element of culture which has been transformed under the influence of

Ce 301 442 177 [531] Ce [174] [437]

Fig. 27. Figure tattooed on the arm of a old Chiriguano Indian. Caipipendi. 1/1.

C [531] [304]

the Whites. There is no doubt that the pincer is a cultural element derived from the old culture zone in the west. They are, as we know, quite common in collections from that part. The Chiriguano also sometimes use a piece of split reed for removing hair.

C [442] [302]

Tattooing occurs here, but is very rarely seen. I have only seen two Chiriguano women and one old Chiriguano man with tattooing on their arms. The old man had the figure depicted here (fig. 27) tattooed on his arm. If I understood him rightly, it used in old times to be quite common for the Chiriguano-men to be tattooed in the same way. I have seen no tattooed Chané men or Chané women. I have already given an account of the distribution of tattooing in S. America in the first part of this book.

C 304 Ce [304]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

302 276 *171 ed with coca. The teeth of the Paez were also blackened by coca-chewing. Most likely this holds good of the Goajiro too. We ought, therefore, to distinguish between two regions, viz., one where the Indians get black teeth by chewing coca-leaves with lime, and another where they purposely stain their teeth blue or black. The latter must be renewed after a time. the former, which is the result of coca-chewing with lime, lasts for life.

302 174 *171 It is difficult to explain the geographical distribution of the custom of staining the teeth. Perhaps the unintentional staining of the teeth is the original one, and has given rise to the intentional staining. One might suppose that the Indians who saw the »nice», black teeth of the coca-chewers wanted to appropriate the fashion, though they were not coca-chewers themselves, and consequently they stained their teeth dark.

That coca-chewers in Cumaná considered it elegant to have black teeth is obvious from what MARTYR says: »They contemptuously call the Spaniards »women and children» because the latter like to have white teeth.» »Women» is not exactly a title of honour among Indians.

One might imagine that staining the teeth was once fashionable within the civilized area of the Andes and that the custom has lived on in the border land after it dropped out of fashion in the place from which it originated. Staining the teeth is not a Guarani custom, so it must have been only when the Chiriguano Indians reached their present place of abode that they learnt the custom. [177]

It may also be assumed that the coca used to be chewed with lime all over the old civilized western area. If this is so, we ought to be able to prove it archaeologically, but, as far as I know, none of the skulls found in Peru or Bolivia have had teeth blackened and destroyed by using lime with the coca.

It is, however, a striking fact that intentional blackening of the teeth does not occur far from the Andine region

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

of civilization. This, at any rate, appears from the quotations here given; nor is it likely that blackening of the teeth in early post-Columbian times had a much greater distribution than is here indicated. I venture to affirm this, since blackening of the teeth is one of those practices which would strike all travellers even from the time of the Conquest. Respecting such practices as have interested older writers we ought to be able to make very exact maps of their post-Columbian geographical distribution.

302
174
171

5tNordenskiöld E-5,7(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

S 534 174 tions — should have occurred within the Amazon basin, and not within the areas of civilization in the west and north-west, if it really were pre-Columbian.

S 174 439 534 By means of far-reaching trade connections it is certain that European and, possibly, African ideas were spread far and wide at the beginning of the Conquest period. *Within a large part of America the continuity between the tribes was at that time, still undisturbed.* When the Whites had completed the conquest of all the great highways — the navigable rivers — trade among the Indians ceased or was at least diminished. The wide extent of inter-Indian trade already appears from the fact that the Indians of the upper Amazon in the seventeenth century obtained axes and knives of iron from Guiana[1]). This proves that Indian trade was carried on over immense distances. Thanks to this trade there were also spread, of course, many purely Indian ideas. Where large tracts are occupied by Indians, trade is still very lively, as in Guiana, along the upper Orinoco and in the Chaco. Only a short time ago Indians appear to have carried on a trade in weapons between Guiana and Rio Negro.[2])

S 174 534 177 In what I have now said I do not consider that I have proved finally that the side-blown trumpet in S America is an African culture-element. I have however demonstrated that is highly possible, and that the question deserves attention.

C Ce 534 174 177 The information I give below, which is based on the literature on the subject and on Museum specimens to which I have had access, indicates my knowledge of the occurrence of trumpets in S. America. Thus it verifies Map 10. The end-blown trumpet may have been obtained by the Chiriguano and Chané from the western area of civilization. In this case the original trumpets must have been of some

[text continues on p. 126]

[1]) Manuel Rodriguez Lib. 2, Cap. XI, P. 131.
[2]) Koch-Grünberg (7).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
534
174
177

other material than the cowhorns introduced by the Whites, e. g. of calabashes, like the old trumpet from Caipipendi. Mouthpieces with lips were presumably, as I said, introduced by the Whites. COMINGES[1]) relates the following little episode which is significant as showing how the Indians learn the use of musical instruments from the Whites. »Á su vista se me occurió la idea de fabricarles un clarinete, lo que hice en pocos minutos con una caña tacuara, del que se arrancaron notas muy agudas parecidos á las que produce la dulzaina; lo que alegró tanto á la concurrencia que hasta los viejos me metían cañas por los ojos bara que les hiciese gaitas, en cuya operación me pasé el resto de la tarde y parte de la noche.»

C
Ce
534
*171

The panpipe is very rare here. It consists of four reeds which I have not seen bound together. In the following table and in the accompanying map 11 I have endeavoured, on the basis of the investigations of PATER SCHMIDT, some other writers, and of myself, to indicate the distribution of the panpipe in S. America. The map does not enlighten us as to whether the Chané got the panpipe from the area of civilization in the west, or if it came to them from Indians in N. E. Bolivia. The latter seems the likeliest supposition, as it only occurs within the northern part of the Chané country. It is not a culture-element from Guarani Indians. It is interesting to notice that the panpipe has by no means so great a distribution at it might have. In the Chaco there is abundance of material for panpipes, but they are unknown there. In the wealth of old literature dealing with the Indians on the coast of Brazil, I have found no hints of the panpipe. Oddly enough the panpipe is also unknown among the Indians of the Roraima region. Nor is the panpipe known to the Cainguá Indians. Very possibly the distribution of the panpipe has been considerably extended in post-Columbian times. The well-known investi-

[1]) P. 227

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Neither the Chiriguano nor Chané have carrying-baskets. They have carrying-nets instead.

In Part I I related how, in the year 1909, I came with some Guarayú Indians to the Chané and Chiriguano country. As there was no palm with parapinnate leaves, they were unable to make themselves new carrying-baskets instead of their old ones which were worn out. Should their tribe, for any reason, be compelled to emigrate to the Chiriguano and Chané country, they must alter their type of carrying-basket. It is quite possible that something similar has befallen the Chiriguano and Chané. They did not find suitable material for basket-making and so they learnt from the original inhabitants to make and use carrying-nets. Of the carrying-nets used by neighbouring tribes, those used by the Chiriguano and Chané most resemble those found among the Yuracáre.

In N. E. Bolivia, where palms abound, the Indians often make baskets for occasional use of a single palm-leaf. The whole basket thus consists of one palm-leaf. MAX SCHMIDT has given a minute description of such baskets. They occur among the Chané on the lower Rio Parapiti and, more rarely, among the Chiriguano. It is, at present, impossible to define the distribution of such baskets, since the majority of explorers have paid them no attention. There is a considerable difference of make in different places. In my collections I possess such baskets from the Chimáne, Ixiama, Cavina, Huanyam, Itonama, Pauserna, Churápa, Yuracáre, Siriono, Guarayú and Chacobo, as well as from the Chané and Chiriguano. It can be said that, practically speaking, they were used by all the Indians whose acquaintance I made on my travels excepting the Choroti, Ashluslay, Toba, Tapiete, Mataco, Quichua and Aymara.

The »Urupé» is a type of basket which I have already dealt with in the foregoing, and I beg to refer to what I said there.

Nordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The influence of the Mountain culture has extended considerably further east than the territory of the Chiriguano and Chané. In the First Part of this work I showed what a great influence this culture had on the Choroti, Ashluslay, Lengua, Mbayá, and other tribes. The Guarani-Tupi Indians in the most easterly part of S. America have even been influenced by it. The influence of the Mountain culture east of the Andes has probably been considerable not only under the Incas, but also at earlier epochs. But this is difficult to substantiate, with the paucity of distribution maps at present drawn up. I would ascribe to it certain cultural elements such as urn-burial and the shape of the labret among the Chiriguano. If this assumption is correct, these cultural elements must first have been conveyed eastward from the culture zone in the west, and then have been brought westward again by the migrations of the Chiriguano Indians. Both are here evidently original to Chiriguano and not to Chané.

The influence of the bronze age culture on tribes with a lower civilization must have been quite different from that of the Whites. And yet the culture of the more highly civilized Indians consisted of the same elements as that of the more primitive Indians. The Chané and Chiriguano have therefore not only learnt the use of a number of things from the bronze age culture, but have also learnt to make them themselves. Among these more primitive Indians domestic industry has evidently progressed under the influence of the Mountain culture, but is perishing under the influence of the Whites.

As I pointed out in Part I, the bronze age culture in the west was a great attraction for the Indians east of the Andes. It was in order to pillage the rich districts in the west that the Chiriguano migrated to those parts at the beginning of the 16th century. It must have been in order to facilitate the establishment of intercourse with the opulent culture of the bronze age that the Arawaks (i. e., the

[text continues on p. 206]

8:Nordenskiöld E-8,γ(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177
174

Chané) wandered south along the Andes to parts where no dense primeval forests hampered communications. This is always on the presumption that they were not forced southward by other tribes, which may possibly have been the case.

The question may naturally suggest itself, 'How was it possible for the Chiriguano, if they did not establish themselves in their present habitat until the beginning of the 16th century, to have learnt so much from the bronze age culture in the west, which began to decay a few years later?' They did not do so by direct intercourse with this culture, but learnt it from the original inhabitants of those districts, who were for a long time under the influence of that culture. The Chiriguano conquerors were presumably very few in number, compared with the original inhabitants, who most likely had long been under the influence of the bronze age culture. The conquerors adopted the culture of the original inhabitants, these the language of the conquerors.

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané is evidently an offshoot of the Mountain culture, their textile industry has been strongly influenced by it. The most important domestic industries of these Indians are woman's work, and it is probable that kidnapped women have here been the intermediary agents of culture. When the Chiriguano conquered the parts they now occupy, they did so, to a great extent at least, from the Chané.[1]) They then kidnapped a great number of women from these Indians. After being admitted into the tribe, the women taught their skill to their offspring. Being culturally much above their husbands, they would no doubt have a great influence on them.

C
[727]

[1]) See NORDENSKIÖLD (13).

8tNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177
824

sent work.) It follows that these Indians used other material for their arrows in pre-Columbian days. The Choroti and Ashluslay probably had wooden shafts to their arrows, as Chuchio does not, and probably never did grow in their country. Before *Arundo donax* grew in the Chaco it must have been difficult in many places to find material for flutes, etc. Even in the country of the Chiriguano and Chané there were reeds only in certain parts, so that the introduction of *Arundo donax* may have been of importance for other things than the material for arrows.

C
Ce
177
285

The difficulty of getting suitable material for basket-making has resulted in the baskets being of less importance to the Indians of the district under examination than to the Arawaks and Guarani-tribes elsewhere. Presumably the Chiriguano and Chané used to have carrying-baskets, which were supplanted by carrying-nets of Caraguatá or Yuchan.

C
Ce
174
[343]
[515]

Pile-barns are probably a reminiscence from a time when the Chané lived in swampy parts.

I have already pointed out that the great cleanliness of the Chané and Chiriguano shows that they immigrated to their present habitat from warmer, well-watered parts.

C
Ce
177

There are not many cultural elements of which we can say with absolute certainty that they were brought by the Chiriguano, and not by the Chané. Such are, however, urn-burials and »tembeta» of the kind now in use. This is not precluded by the fact that these cultural elements were originally western. Finger-mark ornamention, the wooden mortar, and certain bird-arrows, spindles of the Bakaïri type with a little knob on the top of the stick, are also cultural elements with such a distribution that we can assume that they were originally more intimately connected with the Chiriguano than with the Chané. Further comparative investigations, and access to an extensive quantity of the necessary material will doubtless enable us, from a study of the minor details in the external form of

/173 cont./

Under the influence of the whites, however, the Chané and Chiriguano are gradually changing their huts, and many Indians are already building huts that are identical with theirs.

No hut here has its original Indian form. The genuine Chiriguano huts (the original Chané huts are not known) were very large; up to 100 persons lived in one house, and the entire /174/ village consisted of only a few large huts (1). These

1. Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. -- Tucuman y Perú -- 1596. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Madrid, 1885. Vol. II. Page CIV.

evidently correspond to the large family houses well known in Brazil, which I saw in Bolivia only among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe from Lago Rojo-Aguado.

Even in Viedma's (2) time, at the end of the eighteenth

2. Viedma: loc. cit.

century, /Fig. 83 appears here/ however, they seem to have given up the original type of house and built smaller huts.

In many villages there belongs to each hut one or more maize granaries (Fig. 84a), in which maize, gourds, etc. are /175/ stored. These granaries are built on piles and are perhaps a reminder of the time when the Chiriguano and Chané lived in swampy regions. To each granary there belongs, as a rule, a ladder (Fig. 84b). Sometimes the granaries and the dwellings are built together into one house. /Fig. 84a appears here./ I saw such huts in the vicinity of Machareti and at Yatavéri, not far from Ivu. Not infrequently the granaries stand in the fields, far from the dwellings.

These villages are neat and clean. Huts and market place are swept daily and the refuse is burned.

The space in the huts is not too cramped. /176/ In each house, as a rule, there lives only one family, which, aside from the rest of the family members, sometimes consists of the husbands

/203 cont./

C
Ce
615

Cleanliness

The Chané and Chiriguano are very clean. As has been said, they start the day with a bath and then often bathe several times in the course of the day. This cleanliness is strange among tribes who often live in regions such as, for example, the Caipipendi valley, where a great shortage of water prevails. During the dry season they can never take a bath there, but the

C
302

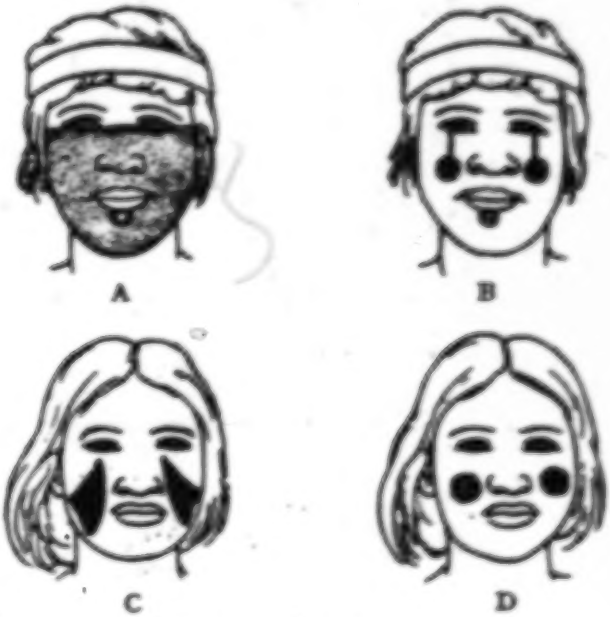


Fig. 197. Facial painting. Chiriguano.
Itapenbia. Red color.
A and B = men. C and D = women.

C
Ce
515

women at least wash their bodies thoroughly every morning.

C
Ce
174
515

/204/ The contrast which is evident here in the zeal for cleanliness on the part of the various tribes may be explained, in my opinion, by their migrations. The Choroti, Ashluslay,

C Ee /204 cont. /

194 and Matacco, who still in part dress in fur cloaks, seem to me,
515 like the Fuegians and Patagonians, to have immigrated to the Chaco from the cold pampas in the south where washing was extremely unpleasant, whereas the Chiriguano and Chané come from the north, out of the warm, humid, virgin forests, from the great rivers, where bathing was always pleasant and refreshing. Now, where /Fig. 109 appears here/ they live under the
Ee same climatic conditions, the former have preserved their dirt, the latter their cleanliness.

264 Im Thurn (1) reports that the Indians in Guiana bathe
171
515

1. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883.

C
304

Fig. 108.
Woman's tattooed arm. Chiriguano.
Itapenhia.

Ee
264
171
515 immediately after eating, without any harm to them. I often observed the same thing here.

C The Chiriguano and various Chané shampoo the head with
Ee the seeds of "nyantéra," which they grind. For the same pur-
515 pose the Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the bark of the mistol
824 /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./, "yóag." The nails, and /205/ not
Ee least the toenails, are also very carefully tended. For combing
302 they use combs carved in wood or made out of sticks of cane
412 tied together.

000
Ce /232 cont./
423 even if it has lain fallow for years. Thus, fallow land is also
428 inherited.
Ce Otherwise inheritance is considerably curtailed by the
422 fact that the deceased takes part of his treasures along with him
428 into the grave.
764 As among the Ashluslay and Choroti, the right of owner-
Ce ship is well developed here too, and the women own what they
421 use and make. As among the aforementioned tribes, generosity is
171 very great here too, even though, thanks to our "civilization" and to
Ce the mission, it is less conspicuous.
425
177 Chiriguano social life -- we are not familiar with the
C original Chané social life -- was much more tightly organized
● 174 than the social life of the Choroti and Ashluslay. The Chiriguano
648 were a conquering people who probably subjugated the Chané and fought bravely and successfully against the Inca, and also resisted the invasion of the whites for a long time. If, instead of the /233/ many chiefs, there had been but a single one, the conquest of the land of the Chiriguano would quite certainly have cost the lives of twice as many whites as now. Unfortunately, in the battles of the whites against the Indians, there were almost always a few chiefs fighting on the side of the enemy against their own tribes. In the last uprising, decided by the battle at Curuyuqui, the whites had an auxiliary force of a couple of thousand Indians, with whom they fought against the fellow-tribesmen of the latter.

C Just as everything changes in the life of the Indians when
Ce the whites conquer their land, so also are social relations altered.
177 By the time Vocapoy, Maringay, Mandepora, and a few others are lying in clay vessels under the huts, the end will have come; then the Indians will have no laws other than those of the whites, no authorities other than the latter's administrators. The Chané
Ce on the Rio Parapiti, as was said, no longer have a high chief.
643 Batirayu was offered this position, but he does not wish to be the
177 servant of the whites; he is too proud for that. "It is not as it was in olden times," said Batirayu to the eccentric white man who sought understanding and the confidence of the Indians.

Ee 539 171

/277 cont./

Part of this legend reminds one very much of a legend from the Yuracáre Indians given by D'Orbigny (1). There "Tiri," who,

Ee [113]

1. D'Orbigny. Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale /Journey in South America/. Vol. 3, 1. Paris, 1834, p. 212.

in order to avenge his mother, kills all the felines except the jaguar with the four eyes, who takes refuge with the moon, corresponds to Tatutunpa. In former times the Chiriguano and Chané were undoubtedly in touch with the Yuracáre Indians. When the whites conquered the land around Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the Chiriguano moved south and the Yuracáre to the north. On my last journey I also visited the Yuracáre Indians, whom I shall describe later in another book.

Ee 174 199

Ee 539

The Man Who Married the Daughter of the Thunder God, Chiqueritunpa.

Ee [115]

Told by the Chané Chief Böyra.

In olden times there were once three poor men who had no relatives. They were very hungry. Two of them went forth to look for something to eat. First they came into a large forest through which went a path. /278/ After three days they came to a great plain. In the middle of the plain there was a house. They walked around the house, but found no entrance. Finally, however, a woman came out; it was Chiquéritunpa's sister. She bade them come in. "We are dirty," they said and did not want to go in. She brought maize beer to one of them. He drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. She brought the other one maize beer. He, too, drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. "Go now and bathe," she said, "and wash your heads." She gave them the root of the "yüag" (1).

Ee [139]

1. = mistol /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./.

Chané CFI

C
Ce
101

The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on
C [13] the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of
S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the
Ce Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but
[648] Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole
district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between
C these culturally allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against
[648] the whites (in 1890), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved
[167] away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are
[195] still remaining.

C The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the
133 tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking
137 wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly
812 watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly gourd plants
281 and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is
132 not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

C Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level
Ce of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group,
101 the Chiriguano being counted with the Guarani group, whilst the Chané
C are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of
[179] their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a
portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija
Cc valley.[1] Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In
[197] later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which
[177] is Guarani. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may
be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches
C of Rio Paraguay.[2] The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means «dirt
[174] people» was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the
[131] Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word
C «guano» is the name for the well-known bird manure found on the coast
101 of Peru and Chile. It seems however, unfair indeed that the Chiriguano,
C who, in contradistinction to the Puna and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously
[515] cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal
name.

---

[1] de Matienzo (1), p. 130. [illegible] (16).
[2] [illegible] (16), p. 198.

342 placed close together and fastened with withies lashed on horizontally (figs. 189 and 190), or of branches woven together and daubed with clay (fig. 191). The roof, the construction of which is apparent from fig. 217, is thatched with grass. This is an especially interesting method of roof-construction, used in Peru already in the pre-Columbian period, a fact plainly evident from an ancient Peruvian vase-painting[1] (fig. 193). The walls and the roof are supported by a hut frame consisting of poles (fig. 217).

133
342
343

Fig. 188. Part of a Chiriguano village. Two small pile-buildings, used as maize-barns and lie seen between the huts. Dolbi, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

343 The granaries for storing maize are always built on pole supports
417 (figs. 188 and 191). Fig. 192 shows a step-ladder leaning against a tree.
[342] Step-ladders of this kind, usually hewn out of a single piece of wood, are used by the Chiriguano as means of access to these pole-supported granaries.

174 Baron E. Nordenskiöld, who has made a valuable analysis of the distribution
342 of pile-buildings in South America[2], considers that when pile-buildings occur among a tribe inhabiting a region not exposed to inundations, then the idea of constructing buildings raised on piles has generally originated at the time when the tribe inhabited some other region, either a swamp,

---

[1] Joyce (1), fig. 13.
[2] Nordenskiöld (18), pp. 3–4.

1 [see cat. 116, P. 215 -- Analyst]
2 [see cat. 116, p 195 -- An.]

177
342 or a district threatened with flooding through rainfall or the flowing in
[114] of the oceanic tide. In my opinion, however, this has usually not been the case.

342 According to my thinking, it is the fear of predatory animals that has
343 given rise to the pile-construction idea. Those granaries built on pole-
825 supports, that are so commonly met with in widely different countries,
174 have, we know, as a rule been constructed for the express purpose of
[171] furnishing protection against noxious animals, such as lesser carnivora, rodents and insects. As an example, the »njalla» of the Lappe is built

361
342
343

Fig. 170. Part of a Chirigwano village. To the right a pile-barn. Bailéi. Bahéia.
Photo. E. v. R.

342 as a protection against wolverines[1], and many of the native tribes of
343 Africa erect their food depositories, or grain bins, on pole-supports to
825 make them safe against mice and white ants.[2] Both the Balenge people,
171 who inhabit a fairly arid country, and the Babisa, who live on the edge
174 of the Bangwezolo swamp, build their corn bins on piles.[3] As the Babisa often build their huts on a platform of beaten clay[4] (not piles, it will be noted) as a protection against the annual heavy floodings of the rainy season, this will naturally give rise to the supposition that the Babisa

[1] see Dracken (1), p. 35.
[2] see Rosen (4), pp. 411—412.
[3] see Rosen (4), pp. 339, 340 (fig. A), and 411—412.
[4] see Rosen (4), p. 339 and plate 65 (figs. C and D), also plate 68, fig. D.

[P 196 is blank]

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

342 343 825 171 174

granaries, at any rate, are raised on supports in order to keep the stored crop from getting wet. That such is not the case will, however, be apparent from the fact that the granaries are empty during the time of the rains. It should be remembered that, in these parts, the period of vegetation coincides with the duration of the rainy season, and that the crops are harvested and stored only after the cessation of the rains. During the time the grain reposes in the granaries no rain falls at all, and on that account the granaries of the Balenge are often unprovided with a roof.[1] Moreover, Babisa, as well as Balenge, stated that the pile-built grain bins were constructed solely as a protection against damage to the corn from rats and white ants. The practice of erecting buildings on piles as a safeguard against flooding is entirely non-existent in the Bangweolo region.

Fig. 193. Ancient Peruvian hut. Vase-painting. After Joyce.

The fundamental idea of storing food in structures built on piles may, in my opinion, be traced back to the custom of primitive peoples of keeping freshly killed meat, and other food, safe from depredation by larger or smaller raiding animals, by suspension on trees. The »njalla», which is erected on a single pole, or on the lopped stem of a growing tree left on its root, may, I think, be taken to be a development of the primitive tree cache. The four-poled Lappish larder called »luopte», or »luove» (cfr. the Swedish words »loft», and »lave»), is on the other hand most probably an imitation of the »hebrä» stores of the land-settled folk, which, presumably, also have received their pile-building construction with a view to forming a protection against noxious animals. For the »hebrä» is probably nothing but a development of the »lave». In order to keep divers implements safe, not only from wild animals, but also from mischievous domestic cattle, such as goats, it is sometimes necessary to construct at the homestead a »lave», the floor of which is either supported by three or four rooted tree-stumps, or by poles driven into the ground (fig. 189). When it is desired to shelter the stored utensils from rain, a roof is built at a suitable height from the floor, and if a still more effective shelter is required, the space between the floor and the roof is filled in with walls. At the stone-age

[1] von Rosen (4), fig. 325.

experiment carried out at Rockelstad in the summer of 1919[1], the »stone-age men» soon found themselves compelled to build a »lave» so that the goats should not damage such foodstuffs and implements as had to be kept outside the hut.[2] 342 343 825 171

It is my belief that the »lave» has also supplied the idea of building dwelling-houses on pole-supports. Wherever people in a certain stage of civilization have found themselves settled on solid ground, they have had need of raised food-platforms, partly for keeping their foodstuffs safe from damage on the part of domestic as well as noxious animals, partly for the purpose of drying, smoking or roasting the food (see pp. 38, 47 and 48). If such a people, living on the edge of a lake or a swamp, had wished — for defensive purposes or some other reason — to build their dwelling-huts or other buildings in the water, then, if the bottom of the lake afforded good holding for piles, such buildings would have been constructed in the same way as the food-platforms or pole-supported granaries previously employed on firm ground (compare fig. 28 with fig. 115). Where the people in question has been lacking in sufficient skill to construct large pile-buildings in the water, or if the lake bottom was unsuited to this mode of construction, then huts were built on rafts or quagmire islands, after the manner of the swamp dwellers of Alvastra and Bangweolo.[3] 174

The furnishing of the Chiriguano huts is exceedingly plain. The fire-place, which forms a very necessary heating centre at night during the cold season, consists of a few stones serving as supports for the cooking pots. There is no hole in the roof for letting out the smoke, which has to find its way out through the doorway or through fissures in the walls. As a rule, the food is generally cooked on a fire outside the hut (fig. 189). 354 [252]

Bedsteads of the type seen in fig. 190 are to be found in nearly every hut. These bed frames are made of laths or reeds, and are covered with skins. Nordenskiöld states as his opinion that the idea of these bedsteads has not been borrowed from the civilization of the whites.[4] In the analytical treatise he has written upon this question he adduces conclusive arguments for his opinion, as it seems to me. In Central Africa, one finds bedsteads that are very similar to the Indian ones,[5] and that certainly have not 352 114 [171]

[1] Klein, pp. 88—89.
[2] Klein (1).
[3] For lake- and marsh dwelling-places in different parts of the world, see Montelius (1).
[4] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 8—12.
[5] von Rosen (4), p. 403.

of 2.1 cm. It is decorated with one large and many small, turquoise-blue beads made of glass or porcelain. 301

Necklaces of stone or glass beads are worn by the women, and even men may occasionally be seen with them. One such necklace (fig. 198), which I bought of a Chiriguano Indian in the San Luis district, consists largely of pierced, cylindrical or laminate, turquois beads of exactly the same kind as I found when excavating the ancient site at Tolomosa in the Tarija valley.[1] The Chiriguano keep all stone beads they happen to pick up on the ground, and also acquire them by barter from other districts. Besides turquoise beads, there are also blue, white, and red glass-beads threaded on this necklace, which to me proved a particularly costly bargain. It is probable that such necklaces as wholly or in part are composed of ancient beads are looked upon as amulets. To this question I shall refer later, in connection with my account of the supposed magical properties of certain Choroti objects. [437]

Fig. 198. Necklace of turquoises and glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 905.

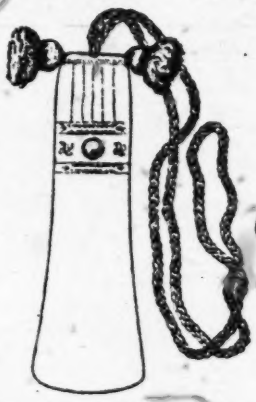


Fig. 199. Tweezer-like breast ornament of silver. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. Bolivia. 1/3. After Erl. Nordenskiöld.

[172]
[789]

In the important work entitled »Comparative ethnographical studies», Erland Nordenskiöld describes, from the Chiriguano, an interesting breast ornament called »boivéra» (fig. 199), which I have not myself seen in use. It is of silver, doubled over tweezer-fashion, and worn on a string round the neck. Such tweezers, usually ornamented, are nowadays not put to any practical use, but exclusively worn as ornaments. The leaves of these tweezers are, therefore, sometimes hammered together. On good grounds Nordenskiöld advances his opinion that these ornaments originate from the small tweezers, or pincers, that, already in pre-Spanish times, were used by the Andean Indians for removing hairs of the beard, or 301 174 412 [302]

[1] von Rosen (1), p. 367 and fig. 332: 23—27.

301
174 other inconvenient hair-growth, and which are still in use among the Chiriguano.[1]

412
[302] I have noted a circumstance, previously unheeded, that, in my opinion, gives considerable weight to Nordenskiöld's theory as to the true Indian origin of the boivéra ornament. All breast ornaments of this kind have in their upper part a tubular horizontal perforation, open at both ends. In the middle of this barrel, and through the top, there is a hole. Through this barrel and upper hole is run the cord by which the ornament is worn round the neck (fig. 199). This rather peculiar arrangement for fixing the cord on which the ornament is hung, is found in the majority of such ancient Indian hanging ornaments, whistles and flutes of stone, as were meant to be worn a string. As an example, the remarkable ancient Indian stone flute, found in the earth in the vicinity of Iruya,[2] has at one end been bored through (fig. 200) in a manner exactly corresponding to the arrangement for the cord in the boivéra. This cord-fixing adaptation does not, to my knowledge, occur in any European object. For this reason it may surely be considered as very probable, not only that the original use of the boivéra as a pair of tweezers is of Indian origin, but also that the idea of carrying the tweezers on a string round the neck is Indian, and consequently has not originated from those more or less ›white› jewellers that nowadays manufacture boivéra ornaments, and sell them to the Indians. I have in another book depicted a fragment of a small, pre-Spanish, ornamented bronze tweezers, which, like the boivéra, has a circular perforation at its upper end,[3] indicating that those tweezers, too, were worn on a cord, and consequently also in all likelihood served as a breast ornament.

[534]
[172]

Fig. 200. Pan-pipe of stone. Ground-find from Iruya. Bolivia. 1/2. The dotted line marks the hole for fastening a string in the same way as for the breast ornament, fig. 199.

[439]

---

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 81—83, 92 and 94.
[2] von Rosen (10), pp. 147 and 148.
[3] von Rosen (10), fig. 211.

411
223

if the arrow had not been given such a blob-shaped head. The force with which this lumpy head strikes its object, is sufficient to kill a middling-sized bird, provided the range is not too wide. The projection is intended for penetrating the feathers of the bird, so that the arrow shall not glance off the smooth plumage if the arrow should strike the bird at too acute an angle. These lumpy-headed arrows do not, as a rule, pierce the skin of the animal hit, which may be of advantage in killing small game.

411
177
174

The pellet-bow is also used by the Chiriguano. Whether it forms a constituent part of South American culture, or whether it has been introduced from India or Europe, is a question not conclusively settled. For my part I consider it probable that also in South America this weapon is an independent invention, but that the type (especially as regards its chambering) possibly may have been subjected to influence from the *European* pellet-throwing crossbow.[1] The fact of the pellet-bow being, apparently, of more common occurrence on the Chaco than elsewhere, may be explained from proximity to the Andes, and influence from Andean civilization. Within the area of ancient Peruvian culture, the stone sling was the most important distance weapon, and we may be quite sure that the nations then inhabiting the wooded spurs of the eastern Andes got to know the stone slings of the mountain folk. In forest regions, however, slings are unpractical weapons, as, in the whirling preliminary to the throw, they are apt to get caught in tree branches. The idea of using pebbles as projectiles instead of arrows, has however been adopted by the forest-dwelling tribes, who have tried to convert it into shooting with the bow. A stone that has been shot away does not need to be retrieved, but the loss of an arrow is always a serious matter! To my mind, it is in this manner that the pellet-bow of South America has originated. In districts where there are no stones, as for instance the greater part of the Chaco, clay pellets are used instead of stones.

As an argument in support of the view that the pellet-bow is not originally a South American weapon, it has been pointed out that it is not found in Peru, Central America, or Mexico. Its absence in Peru is easily explained, as this country is in its greater part almost entirely treeless, so that here the stone sling would be a weapon so infinitely superior to the pellet-bow that the use of the latter would be purpose-

[1] For discussion of this matter, vide: Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 50—53. von Rosen (6), pp. 174—180. Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 26—30.

Fig. 215. A Chiriguano Indian with a fish spear. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

less. For the rest, the pellet-shooting long-bow is, compared with the pellet-shooting crossbow of the Old World, in any case a pretty poor weapon, both for war purposes and for hunting, which may explain its inconsiderable distribution even in well-wooded districts. Where this weapon nowadays occurs, it is only used for killing small birds, for target practice, and as a toy.

Fishing is carried on in the water courses with which the country is sparingly supplied. The Indians use hooks, nets, fish traps and weirs. These fishing methods are, however, almost exclusively used for fishing in rivers or largish bodies of water. In shallow streams and rivulets, the fish are shot with arrows, or speared with a two-pronged fish-gig. Fishing with poison is also said to be made use of.[1]

A fish trap consists of a large, bottle-shaped calabash, wide in its lower part, but with a narrow neck. The trap, which is placed under the lee of a few boughs stuck into the river bottom, must not be set in deeper water than makes it possible for a wading person to reach the neck of the calabash. Ground bait, consisting of crushed, sour, maize, is put into the calabash. The fish will then collect inside the calabash, and the fisherman has only to carefully raise the trap out of the water. In the sandy river banks ponds are dug, and connected by a small channel with the river. When fish have collected in the ponds, the connecting channel is blocked up, the pond emptied of water, and the fish gathered up.[2]

Fig. 216. Detail of the fish spear in fig. 215. The prongs are of hard wood. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. 1/6. Riksm. 03. 3. 904.

Among the Chiriguano Indians I visited, fish-shooting was a common practice. For this they used their smallest and weakest hunting bows. But it is also possible that those light bows I saw being used for shooting fish with, were exclusively employed for that purpose. If so, then the bow in fig. 202 is a fish bow. The arrows are long, and are usually provided with

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 40.
[2] Nordenskiöld (13), pp. 170 and 171.

using whistles of this type.[1] Nordenskiöld has advanced a theory as to the origin of the Serére whistle, which is highly interesting. On the ground of the similarity of construction that this type of whistle has to a balance beam shown in fig. 229, with its cords for weights and load still in preservation, found in Peru, Nordenskiöld is of the opinion that the Serére whistle is probably the beam of a balance, but that its original use has been forgotten.[2] By blowing, in play, into one end of such a balance beam, a tone was produced. This way of whistle-blowing gradually became widespread and popular, and, eventually, whistles were manufactured that were of a construction similar to that of the balance beams of the ancients. More and more the balances ceased to be used as such, and finally it was altogether forgotten that the whistle had been made as a copy of the balance beam.

534
171
534
171
174
114

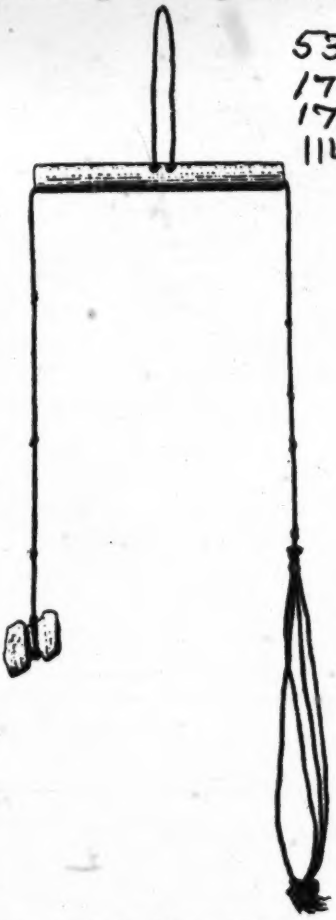


Fig. 229. Scale, with a wooden beam. Probably an improvisation from a whistle of Serére type, which forms the bar of the balance. Ground find from Peru. 1/4. Illustration from E. Nordenskiöld.

On my first acquaintance with this theory of the Serére whistle having originated from the balance beam, it seemed to me so well grounded that I accepted it.[3] But afterwards I quite changed my opinion in this question, for reasons set out below. The ancient Peruvian balance referred to by Nordenskiöld is undoubtedly of a very unpractical construction. Like the Serére whistle, the balance beam is *bored through from end to end*, and provided with *two holes, close together, for its suspension*. Even if in rough and primitive weighing there may occasionally be a certain advantage (a saving of time) in using a balance that is not too sensitive, suspending a balance from two

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), p. 185.
[2] Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 187—188.
[3] von Rosen (6), pp. 211—212.

534
171
●174
114

points of support, in the way shown in fig. 229, is unsuitable, as it would enable the holder of the balance to influence, with an imperceptible movement of his hand, the balancing of the beam. Another point which strikes me as peculiar, is, that the string by which weights and objects for weighing are suspended, should be made to pass through a hole that runs the whole length of the longitudinal axis of the beam. A perforation of such a length obviously represents a good deal of labour, which, moreover, in the case of a balance beam, would be quite unnecessary. Surely the simpler plan would have been to fix a string through a small hole at each end of the beam.

Fig. 230. Ancient Peruvian wooden whistle(?). 1/4. From Nordenskiöld. One end of the tube has been stopped up, possibly on account of the whistle having been found too hard-blown with both ends open. All other known Old Peruvian objects of this type have *both ends open.*

The above were my reasons for beginning to form the opinion that the Old Peruvian balance, fig. 229, had been rigged up to do duty as a makeshift. A proper balance not being at hand, a tubular whistle, fig. 230, was pressed into service. In this way the ancient Peruvian balance, fig. 229, would — if my theory is correct — simply prove to be *a whistle that had been provisionally fixed up as a weighing instrument.*

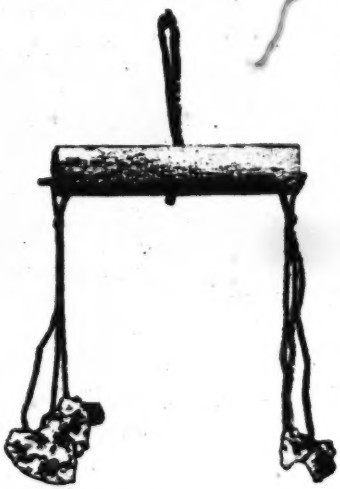


Fig. 231. Old Peruvian scale. From Hamy.

It is not impossible that this way of hastily improvising a balance — rather a dull one, admittedly, but usable for *rough weighing* — was not infrequently employed. When I acquainted Nordenskiöld with my theory as to the constructional purpose of the balance reproduced in fig. 229, he had the great kindness to send me all reproductions of Old Peruvian balances that were in his possession. Three of these retain the cord by which the beam was suspended (the poising cord), and *in these three, this cord is fixed through a hole in the centre of the beam,* fig. 231. Two of the balances are provided with cords on which to hang the weights and the objects to be weighed. *These cords are not taken through the full length of the balance beam, but attached to it by means of holes bored*

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

534 171 174 114

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

361 622

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

582 595 881 [304] [301] 585 574 844 846

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

/11 cont./

C. Gi 175 178 167

The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C 178 [126]

The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gh 174 C [113]

As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

C Gi 177 174 /11 cont./

little from the Indians of the Chaco, we must derive the most important modifications in their culture from the influences of the ancient Peruvian culture. Because of the short duration of the Inca Empire after the time of the immigration of the Chiriguano, we must suppose that these influences were less direct influences than indirect ones through the confluent peoples of the mountainous land of Peru and Bolivia, who had been in contact with the ancient Peruvians for a long time and many of whom had been subjugated by the Chiriguano and made to enter into their community as slaves or vassals. We know that the culture of the Chané, who made up the greater part of the Chiriguano population, had contact with the ancient culture of the Peruvians. In contrast with the influence of the ancient Peruvian culture, the influence of the whites had rather more negative and destructive effects than constructive ones on the primordial culture of the Chiriguano and the Chané, leaving many native industries superfluous because it was more convenient to replace their products with imported merchandise.

Ce [177]

C Ce 128 In the respective chapters that deal with the various developments of the culture of the Chiriguano and Chané, we shall expound the details of these cultural influences.

000 /12/ Physical Characteristics

Chiriguano and Chané Types Photographed in Machareti and Toledo

I.C. 354. Group of Chiriguano men, women, and children. Machareti. (Fig. 3.)
I.C. 335. Chiriguano men. Machareti. (Fig. 6.)
I.C. 361. Chiriguano children. Machareti. (Fig. 7.)
I.C. 359. Chiriguano women. Machareti. (Fig. 4.)
I.C. 360. Chiriguano women with babies. (Fig. 5.)
I.C. 362. Chiriguano children. (Fig. 8.)
I.C. 243. Izozó cacique. Toledo. (Fig. 10.)
I.C. 244. Izozó boy. Toledo. (Fig. 11.)
I.C. 245. Izozó lad. Toledo. (Fig. 13.)

/14 cont./

131 without our having any information on their stopping place. Some Chorote live in the territory of the Chiriguano, near [563] Yacuiba, and also, without counting the missions, the whole [797] territory has been penetrated by whites and mestizos.

131 According to these data given by Nordenskiöld, the ● 174 territory of the Chiriguano, after their definitive subjection by the whites and up to the present time, has remained the same as that which they had at the time of their independence, except, it would seem, that they have come down more into the valleys and do not now live, as was stated in the 16th century documents, on top of the inaccessible mountains, which, as natural fortresses, offered them a secure refuge during their expeditions.

Towns and Houses

361 The arrangement of the towns and the form of the houses 177 of the Chiriguano are not at the present time the primordial ones, and they have probably passed through two different transformations, one after the other, first under the influence of the architecture of Inca culture and later the architecture of the whites. /15/ According to the Annua de la Compañia de Jesús Tucumán and Peru, of the year 1596, the Chiriguano towns were composed of only a few houses that were large enough to house as many as 100 persons. In his "Descripción breve de toda la 361 tierra del Perú, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata y Chile /A Brief 344 Description of all the Land of Peru, Tucumán, Río de la Plata, 62 and Chile/," Father Lizarraga (56) describes the Chiriguano [113]

56. Madrid, 1909. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 15. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

towns in the following way: "The largest of the towns is one of five houses: the common number is three; but they are very long, more than 150 paces, with a two-sloped roof with posts in the middle, upon which the framework is constructed, and one kin group /parentela/ lives between one post and the next one."

/16 cont./

343 the roof and the /Plates V-VII appear here/ /17/ platform.
335 The middle pair of the vertical posts is the longest pair and serves to hold up the ridgepole. Of the other eight vertical posts, always in two, one longer and one shorter, have been placed immediately next to each other all along the two sides of the middle pair of posts and at a certain distance from it. Of the horizontal posts, each one of which is held up by each one of the five pairs of vertical posts, those which are placed on the higher pair and on the two pairs of middle size of the vertical posts serve to hold up the roof, while the two horizontal posts which are placed on the two smaller pairs of vertical posts form the base for the platform of the house. Besides the five pairs of vertical posts that form the frame of the house, there is also added a vertical post of the height of the platform, which serves to support the ladder leading
343 to it. The roof of these storehouses is covered with straw like the roofs of dwellings. The walls are made of reed poles very close together. While the poles of the storehouse illustrated in Figure 16 are horizontal, those of other storehouses, with which we are familiar through Nordenskiöld's photographs and those of v. Rosen and Métraux, are vertical (69). The en-

69. Nord. 1, Figs. 83 and 84 and Pl. 18.
Métraux I, Fig. 9, p. 349.

trance, which must be reached by means of the ladder, is at
[417] the gable end, like that of the dwellings. The ladder consists of a post with notches for steps (70).

70. Cf. Fig. 16, at the right. Nord. 1, Fig. 84. v. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 191.

[17] [174] There must be some special reason to explain the surprising fact that the Chiriguano have houses built on posts, since it could not be that they brought the custom of constructing them from their native soil, because the Guaraní have
000 never had them. Nor could it be that they adopted this from

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 42]

C /17 cont./
343 mention the existence of such storehouses among these Indians,
171 and thus we must suppose that the Churupí adopted this style of house construction only recently and probably from the Matako, with whom they have many contacts. /18/ To com-
C 343 plete the data on the spread of houses built on posts, I shall
171 also mention my observations on my expeditions of 1901 and 1910 to the Guató (73). Inside many houses, under the roof
Go 342 [352] [114]

73. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien /Indian Studies in Central Brazil/, Berlin, 1904, p. 178.

C Go [113] and using long horizontal poles, these Indians build a platform which serves for storing various things. In this special arrange-
GO [182] ment of the Guató in building their houses, we find the rudiment of the true houses built on posts, and this is motivated by the great floods to which they were exposed even when they had been built in places higher than the marshy lands.

We should not consider houses built on posts as a product
C 343 of the primordial culture of the Chaco tribes. It leaves as
174 the only center of its propogation the zone in the interior of the South American continent which we have mentioned, the center of the ancient culture of the Aruaco /Arawak/ of these
Ce 343 regions, the territory of the Mojo. The Chané, who were later
174 subjugated by the Chiriguano and incorporated into their com-
171 munity, also belonged to this Aruaco culture. We must thus surmise that houses built on posts, like those we still find today among the Chiriguano and some of the Chané, first originated in the Chané culture and later passed to the Chiriguano when the cultures of these two tribes were fused into a single one.

C Ce No doubt the special construction of these storehouses has
343 a different purpose today among the Chiriguano and the Chané
[182] than it had in the beginning. According to Nordenskiöld, the Chané of the lower Parapití River, which is a typically marshy region, do not have such houses, while they are common among the Chiriguano and also among the former
000 who live on solid ground not exposed to floods. Their purpose

/22 cont./

352 513 [251] The Chiriguano generally sleeps on a kind of cot (catre), that is, a bed frame made of cane. Such beds, which in addition to their own purpose also serve for drying maize, have been represented in drawings by Eric v. Rosen (95), Erland

95. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 190.

[174] [178] v. Nordenskiöld (96), and Métraux (97). No doubt /23/ the

96. Nord. 2, Fig. 2.

97. Métraux 1, Fig. 125, p. 470.

cold climate of the region to which the Chiriguano had emigrated made them abandon the use of the hammock for sleeping, not very practical for such a climate, and replace it with the cot, which was already common among the tribes of those regions. Lacking a cot, the Chiriguano sleep on the ground. In that case they use for a bed large mats made of cane or palm leaves, or also hides (98). I acquired from the Chiriguano one

[232] [824] [126] [824]

98. Nord. 1, p. 177. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 200. Métraux 1, p. 470.

such mat plaited out of palm leaves (Fig. 95).

Chiriguano Mat (túpa) in the Collection

I. A. 540. Length 1.75 m. Width 1.50 m. (Fig. 95).

352 17 [126] In some Chiriguano houses I also saw wooden benches (apika), but unfortunately I could not acquire a specimen. Those benches in the form of a sled are very similar to the kind of benches that are very common among the Indians of Brazil (99) and those that we also know from the ancient

[113]

99. Cariy /sic/ von den Steinen: Unter den

C /23 cont./
302 Viedma among the Chiriguano men (104), and Nordenskiöld

C
[113]

104. Viedma: Descripción de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Colección Angelis. Vol. 3. Buenos Aires, 1936. Written 1793. Page 181. According to Nordenskiöld.

found it among the women in the valley of Caipipendi (105).

105. Nord. 2, p. 85.

The latter used for that the leaves of a plant that they call "tajú" (tayú = lapacho).

Ee 301 304 174 Gi 301 172

With respect to body deformations we can suppose that it was once a common custom among the Chané and Chiriguano to wear a "tembetá" in the pierced lower lip. Of the Guaraní of ancient times it has been stated that the men had this tembetá, and the custom is confirmed by prehistoric finds (106).

106. Cf. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 122.

Ee 301 174

The form, material, and dimensions of these tembetá were varied and varied regionally. What was the shape of the tembetá that the Guaraní had when at the beginning of the 16th century they emigrated to the spurs of the Cordillera? We do not know. Neither do we know whether or not the Chané had the tembetá when they were enslaved by the Chiriguano. We can assume that the metal tembetás of the Chiriguano and the Chané in their present form have their origin in the period after their contacts with the ancient Peruvians, /24/ since they did not know the technique of working metal and even today most of their tembetás are made by nearby mestizos or whites, who make them to their taste. According to Chomé's (107)

Ee [199] [325]

C 301 C [113]

107. "Lettre du père Ignace Chomé." Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. New edition. Vol. 8, Paris, 1781, p. 326. According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 73.

C
Ce
412
301
302
178

/29 cont./

Because of this change the implement for plucking hair, consisting of small tweezers, formerly very common, has naturally lost a great part of its importance today, and similarly, in its transformed state as a chest ornament, it is rarer. I found such tweezers among the Mataco and the Churupí. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such tweezers or the corresponding chest ornament, called "boivera" also by the Chiriguano. Nordenskiöld describes these tweezers in detail (131),

131. Nord. 2, pp. 81 and 82.

and he adds that the Chiriguano also use small sticks of cane to pluck out hair.

C
412
301
171

The form of these tweezers made of metal corresponds to that of the tweezers known through finds made in the burials of the ancient Peruvians. Today these tweezers are normally made of any piece of tin plate or sheet iron, which, when provided with a cord, they use for chest ornaments, besides their original purpose. This custom of using tweezers as a chest ornament was very common among the ancient Peruvians. Among the latter's necklaces there are many that, apart from other things, consist of silver tweezers. It was customary among the ancient Peruvians that these enlarged tweezers, unsuitable for their original purpose, be transformed into a pure and distinctive ornament. The Museum of Ethnography in Berlin has such ornaments in the form of depilatory tweezers, made of copper, silver, or gold, in great number, one example of which is 52 centimeters in length (132). Therefore I suppose

C
301
[174]
C
[113]

132. Cf. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru, Berlin, 1929, pp. 83, 369, 397, and 399.

we must deduce that the Chiriguano custom of using as a chest ornament a silver ornament in the form of one of those tweezers is due to ancient Peruvian influence. There are several specimens of the "boiveras," now rare and doubtless most of the time carefully kept from the view of the whites, in

/29 cont./

301 [439] European museums. These are not made by the Chiriguano themselves, but by their mestizo neighbors and sold to the Indians. The external form is still that of tweezers, much enlarged. But the boivera of today, discounting its size, also cannot be used for plucking hair because the two parts /30/ of its lower edge have been soldered. The fact that the decoration of the surface is not still primordial is explained by the fact that the Chiriguano are not the makers of these ornaments.

291

Clothing and Adornment

From the 16th century we have the brief description of the Chiriguano by Bishop Lizarraga (133) where, among other

[113]

133. Lizarraga: "Descripción et población de las Indias /Description and population of the Indies/." In Moreno II, p. 101.

things, it is said: "They go about naked or at the most sometimes have a short shirt /camisatilla/ down to the navel." We

● 174 291 can assume that this statement by the Bishop as of that time refers only to the Chiriguano men, because it is likely that by the time of their immigration the Chiriguano women were wearing a garment which covered their genital organs, as we know the Guaraní women of the ancient Province of Uruguay

[191] did (134). It is likely that this garment had the same form as

134. Serrano, op. cit., pp. 123 and 194.

the "tipoy," which is a garment in the form of a poncho without sewing and which even today is very common among Chiriguano and Chané women, as well as among various other Indian tribes of South America.

/35 cont./

According to these data concerning the region of spread of the game with a ball hit with the head, we must assume that the Chané, even before their subjugation by the Chiriguano, must have known this game, and that the Chiriguano of /36/ the Cordillera, like the Ilatines-Guaraýís, received it earlier from the Chané. The Chiriguano also play the game with a ball made of maize leaves struck with the hand, which we know from many other South American Indians (159). According to Métraux, this game is not played except at the time when the maize is ripening, and it is related to the cultivation of maize.

159. Nord. 1, p. 188. Métraux 1, p. 44 and Fig. 11.

With respect to other games of movement, the Chiriguano children play a game which corresponds to the game of polo and is very common among the Chaco tribes. The Chiriguano call it "taca." The ball is struck either, as among the Chorote and the Churupí, with curved sticks or with a primitive racket (160). No doubt the Chiriguano received this game from neighboring Chaco tribes.

160. See Nord. 1, p. 193.

Of the games of skill, only one is played by adults and this only by women. It is a kind of bowling game that the Chiriguano in Tiburipa call "itarapía" and the Chané of the Parapití "recoráe" (161). The bowling pins in this game consist of two rows of maize kernels, two by two, one on top of the other, or on a cob. They throw with stone balls or with a hollow ball of baked clay with little pellets of the same material inside (162).

161. According to Nord. 1, p. 192.

162. Nord. 1, p. 192 and Fig. 98.

/38 cont./

Because the ancient Peruvians raised various breeds of dogs, we can assume that the Chiriguano received the dog as a domestic animal from the ancient Peruvians. We can assume the same with regard to the duck, which was also raised by the ancient Peruvians. Therefore I do not include the duck among the domestic animals that these Indians received from the whites, as Nordenskiöld does. We do not know whether the Chiriguano in times past might have raised the llama. From the fact that guanacos exist in the territory located between the Parapití and the Rio Grande, we can deduce that the raising of that other species of Eucheuia might have been possible in that country.

The Chiriguano very early received such European domestic animals as the horse, the ass, the cow, sheep, goats, hogs, and chickens, which they captured in great quantities in their continual raids on the Spanish settlers. In 18th century documents there are repeated complaints about the extensive stealing of livestock by these Indians. Today the Chiriguano and Chané do not have many horses, and they have never had the /39/ pronounced character of a nation of horsemen. The true weapons of war were formerly a long bow and arrows which were also long, which cannot be used by a mounted horseman, in addition to which their homes were formerly in the hills in regions which the Spaniards could not enter on horseback. In certain parts of their territory the raising of cattle has some importance (181). More general is the raising of sheep, pigs,

181. See Métraux I, p. 340.

and chickens. Today one sometimes also finds among them guinea hens and turkeys (182).

182. Nord. I, p. 137.

Chané SF8
Izozo

Ce 411 126

/40 cont./

I. A. 747.	(Izozó.)	Length 0.97 m. Iron point; its length 24.5 cm. Cane shaft. Remnants of feathering.
I. A. 748.	"	Length 0.94 m. Iron point; its length 23.5 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering. Fig. 37 f.)
I. A. 749.	"	Length 1.07 m. Iron point; its length 23.2 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering.
I. A. 750.	"	Length 0.835 m. Iron point; its length 17 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering. (Fig. 37h.)
I. A. 751.	"	Length 0.93 m. Iron point; its length 22.5 cm. Cane shaft. With feathering.
I. A. 752.	"	Length 0.92 m. Iron point; its length 27 cm. Cane shaft. With feathering.
I. A. 753.	"	Length 0.985 m. Iron point; its length 21.5 cm. Cane shaft. Perhaps with feathering.

C Ce 411 174 177

Of the seven Izozó bows, the first four on the list are good specimens made of hard wood and correspond in all details to the Chiriguano bows described by v. Rosen (187), except for

187. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 206, 208.

their length, which is a few centimeters less than these. This difference in length is easily explained by the fact these Chiriguano bows were collected by v. Rosen in 1901 and 1902. It would be difficult today to find still among the Chiriguano bows as long as those which v. Rosen acquired 35 years ago. From Lizarraga's statement that the Chiriguano bows were of the same height as the bowman, it is evident that the bows of these Indians were formerly even longer than those described by v. Rosen. If, following Lehmann-Nitsche's somatic measurements mentioned above, we set the average height of Chiriguano men at 1.63 m., there is still a difference of 18 cm. between this figure and that of 1.45 m., which is the length of the longest bow among those collected by v. Rosen. We must consider this shortening of the Chiriguano and Chané bow,

C [141]

Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
411
174
178
Ce
411

/40 cont./

steadily progressing, a consequence of its degeneration resulting from its gradually falling into disuse.

The form of all the bows collected among the Izozó is the same, discounting the insignificant differences with regard to their length. The wood of the bow, which is approximately 3 cm. wide, is flat on the side towards the string and convex on the opposite side. To better fasten the bowstring, each of them is provided at its ends with a quite marked narrowing and always considerably shorter at the upper end than at the lower end. /41/ Three of these Izozó bows show, when not flexed, the reflex form already mentioned by v. Rosen with respect to the Chiriguano bows. The bowstring, made of twisted strips of animal hide, is fastened in the common manner used by South American Indians. By means of a noose with a knot, it goes around the narrowing of the upper end of the bow, while the loop at the lower end is made so that it can either shorten or lengthen the bowstring as necessary. Cf. Fig. 37, a and b /see p. 90/. In all these bows a large part of the string is rolled up as a reserve around the wood of the bow. Bow I. A. 757, whose wood shows cracks on the side toward the string, has wood reinforcements in two places, one of them consisting of a wrapping with thread and the other a piece of the skin of a cow's tail, which has been slipped like a sleeve over the wood of the bow. Cf. Figure 37 /see p. 90/.

Ce
411
783
[237]
[284]
Ce
[237]

The three bows I. A. 758-760, made of light-colored wood, correspond in form to the others, but they are poorly made and appear to be cheap merchandise for trading. Bow I. A. 760 even has a cable wire in place of a string.

Ce
411

The small Chiriguano bow I. A. 518 is a bow made for children for shooting light arrows with a wire point, which have been enumerated in great number in the above list.

C
411
524

The length of the arrows I collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó is somewhat behind with respect to the length of the corresponding bows. The longest among them is a Chiriguano arrow for shooting birds, fitted with a club rather than a point, with a length of 1.11 m. Among the arrows fitted with iron

C
Ce
411
[223]

C 411 /42 cont./
drawings by v. Rosen and v. Nordenskiöld (194). This club is

C 411 284 194. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 212. Nord. 2, Fig. 6, D and E.

fastened directly on the inside of the upper part of the shaft. The shaft of the larger arrow is made of the same cane as that of the other arrows, and that of the smaller arrow is light wood. C [239] The binding on the upper part and also on the lower part of the shaft of the longer arrow consists of cotton thread secured with wax. The two arrows have feathering and have the same groove at the bottom end of the shaft. Several specimens of Chiriguano bird-hunting arrows whose clubs show different forms are shown in drawings by Métraux (195).

195. Métraux I, Plates X-XI.

C G 411 174 [283] The special form of the club of the arrows for shooting birds (cf. Fig. 37e) and the special method of binding the shaft with a cord of tree bark and the length which these arrows formerly had lead us to the conclusion that this type of arrow, equally common today among the Chiriguano and Chané, is the ancient form of arrow that the Chiriguano brought from their native soil to the west. I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano and Chané bows and arrows were formerly much longer. But we can also assume that these implements of the hunt and weapons of war, in accordance with their greater importance, were formerly better made than they are today.

C G 411 524 According to Nordenskiöld, only rarely does the bodoque, the bow for shooting balls, appear among the Chiriguano and Chané, and it is only used by youths and boys (196).

196. Nord. 2, p. 26.

/57/

Grinding the Raw Materials

C Ce 252 412 For grinding raw materials, principally for grinding corn, the Chiriguano and Chané use large wooden mortars with long pestles (255). Such a wooden mortar is shown in Figure 15 and

255. Nord. 1, p. 51. Métraux 1, p. 365, Fig. 30.

C Ce 412 [171] another one by Nordenskiöld (256). Stone mills are not used by

256. Nord. 1, Fig. 116.

these Indians, although this implement was used, except for the Chaco tribes, by all the tribes whom the Chiriguano had as neighbors after their migration to the west. According to Métraux, a C [515] [388] small stone mill is used only for grinding the seeds of a plant which the Chiriguano use as soap for washing their hair. Such a stone mill is shown in a drawing by Métraux (257).

257. Métraux I, p. 467, Fig. 122.

C 412 171 174 Because the wooden mortar is common even today among the Kainguá /Caingua/, who also belong to the Guaraní linguistic group, and is also mentioned for the ancient Tupinambá /Tupinamba/ of the eastern coast of Brazil, we can assume that the Chiriguano brought this cultural possession from their native land.

C 262 252 412 [171] The fact that mandioca is not important in the economy of these Indians explains why they do not use the wooden grater, the application of which is diffused among so many other Indian tribes of South America who cultivate this nourishing root.

Making Cord and Thread

C Ce 283 The thread that the Chiriguano and Chané make out of wool or cotton is spun by means of the spindle, while that made of caraguata is twisted by hand. We have no information on the way this caraguata thread is twisted.

/68 cont./

C Ce 286 174 177

In addition to this usual type of loom, there can also be found among the Chané and Chiriguano other special types which correspond to the ancient Peruvian types of looms for weaving bands. The fact that the mechanism of these looms makes possible the formation of more divisions of the warp threads, makes more variations in the ornamentation possible. Nordenskiöld shows such a Chiriguano loom in a drawing (273). No doubt this kind

273. Nord. 2, Fig. 55, N. 4.

of loom is a product of the influence of the culture of the ancient Peruvians.

C Ce 286

For different purposes, very different weavings, most of which have already been mentioned in the chapter on clothing, can be made with a loom provided with a warp in the form of a ring as described above. With regard to the measurements of these fabrics, I refer the reader to what I have already said in this respect. The material of all of these woven fabrics consists of cotton or wool threads.

C Ce 291 286 126

Woven Goods Made on the Loom Provided with a Warp in the Form of a Ring, from the Collection

1. Tipoys. I.A. 820, 832, and 838 (Izozó) (I.A. 820, Fig. 114).
2. Ponchos. I.A. 423-427 (Chiriguano) (I.A. 426, Fig. 118).
   I.A. 808-810, 812-815, 819, 823-825, 830, 831, 833-836 (Izozó) (I.A. 823, Fig. 117).
3. Mantas. I.A. 585 (Chiriguano).
   I.A. 816-818, 825-829 (Izozó) (I.A. 818, Fig. 120).

Ce 301 126 286

4. Bands of cotton for men's hair. I.A. 653-660 (Izozó) (I.A. 653, Figs. 30b and 108; I.A. 655, Figs. 30c and 109; I.A. 656, Figs. 30d and 110; I.A. 660, Figs. 30a and 107).

/Plates XXVIII-XXXI appear here./

Ce 301 126

/69/

5. Bands of human hair for men's hair. I.A. 739 and 765 (Izozó) (I.A. 739, Figs. 31 and 111).

[Text continues on p. 180]

/79 cont./

534 I. A. 494. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Lgth. 41 cm. (Fig. 34a.)
[126] I. A. 495. Double whistle " " " 33.5 and 7 cm. (Fig. 34b.)

[126] From the Chiriguano in Machareti I acquired two different kinds of flutes, the ones made of cane and the others made of wood. The two wooden flutes I. A. 491 and 492 (cf. Figs. 93a and 93b /see Fig. 33a and b, p. 89/) are of particular importance because of their similarity in form, and in the case of I. A. 491 of decoration as well, to a special kind of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians, and for that reason they have already been dealt with several times in ethnological literature. These two flutes are doubtless quite old specimens which per-
[322] haps had already been used by several generations. They are called "sereré" by the Chiriguano, and they are of hard wood bored from one end to the other. In the middle of the upper edge of the lozenge of the apparatus, there are two small
[301] perforations . A similar flute shown in a sketch by v. Rosen (299)

299. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 220.

shows that these perforations serve for a string to pass through, in order that the flute may be worn as a chest ornament.
534 Nordenskiöld (300) has already called attention to the surprising
• 174
171

300. Nord. 3, pp. 187 and 188.

resemblance between these flutes and a special form of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians. These, numerous specimens of which are known, are no doubt classified as balance beams because of the fact that on some specimens /80/ the cord which passes through the horizontal perforation and which has at one end a weight and at the other end a loop, or some such similar thing for holding the objects that are to be weighed, has been preserved. V. Rosen, describing and showing in a drawing one of these Chiriguano flutes, which is like flute I. A. 491 except that it still has the cord which passes through the two holes on the upper

C /80 cont./
534 edge, puts forward against Nordenskiöld's deductions his opinion
174 that the ancient Peruvian objects of this form might originally
171 have been flutes and that they might have been used only exceptionally, in the event of necessity or only secondarily, as
C balance beams. Among the objects of this kind in the ancient
[114] Peruvian collection of the museum in Berlin so many specimens
C clearly show that they are balance beams that I cannot say that
[177] I agree with this opinion by V. Rosen (301). We must agree

C
[113]

301. Cf. Max Schmidt, Kunst ünd Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/, p. 99, fig. p. 544, N. 8-10.

with V. Nordenskiöld's opinion that these wooden objects used by the ancient Peruvians as balance beams may have been accepted by the Chiriguano, not as balance beams, because the Chiriguano did not have the need to weigh anything, but as flutes. We must mention that with this kind of flute, open at both ends, two different sounds can be produced, depending upon whether the lower hole is left open or is closed with the finger.

The two Chiriguano flutes made of cane have six holes for varying the sound and one hole, at one side, for the mouth.
C Cf. Figure 39a /see Fig. 34a, p. 89/. Nordenskiöld, who shows
Ce such a flute in a drawing (302), is of the opinion that the
534
177
171

302. Nord. 2, Fig. 36 A.

Chiriguano and Chané received this kind of flute from the mestizos or whites, because such flutes provided with a hole at one side for the mouth do not exist among the other Indians of South America or among the ancient Peruvians.

175
648
167
721
726

/Since Métraux believes that the Chiriguano are actually descendants of the Guarani, early culture history of the Chiriguano, in regard to their migrations and relations with other groups with whom they came in contact, will be found in category 116, pp. 1-30. Much of the material in these pages has been subheaded for Guarani SM4 but if the author's contention is correct then the data contained therein may equally apply to the historical Chiriguano./

/299 cont./

177 178 An analysis of Chiriguano culture (see Nordenskiöld, 10, pp. 196-213) makes manifest the heterogeneity which the history of the tribe caused to be suspected a priori. The pottery, basketry, weapons, and furniture almost constantly present disparate characteristics in which are expressed this play of influences, this intermixture of races and ideas of which the present-day culture of the Chiriguano is the product.

/300/ The ethnographer feels all the more at ease in his analysis when at every step history confirms or invalidates the findings to which his comparative work leads him. Thus he walks on firm ground, and the results he has acquired in this particular domain will justify his method when he uses it to solve problems whose data are less complete.

181 The Chiriguano, in more than one respect, deserve to hold a preponderant place in the ethnography of South America. They have played an important role in the history of Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina; their civilization has been brilliant and has maintained itself intact almost until our time; besides, they are remarkably endowed from the point of view of character and intelligence. To these qualifications they add that of having built up their civilization, so to say, before our very eyes and of offering to science a field where it moves with some sureness.

In order to understand the point of view I have tried to put forward in this introduction, it is indispensable to know, in its main lines, the early history of these Indians.

Chapter I

000 Historical Outline of the Formation of the Chiriguano Nation

/Eight lines of poetry in Spanish, from Barco Centenera, La Argentina, pp. 185-186, are omitted in the translation./

121 175 My intention is not to recount the history of the Chiriguano from the 16th century to today insofar as we can know it from official documents and chronicles. This work has been done and generally well done (Corrado; Kersten, pp. 66-69; Serrano y Sanz; Nordenskiöld, 7 and 8, pp. 45-58; Gandía, 2, pp. 25-56 and id., 3, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.).

C 173 539 648 484 C [643]

/312 cont./

In olden days numerous Paraguayans emerged into our territory near the Izozoc and they went to fight on the side of the Guarayú and Santa Cruz. From there they went on to Cochabamba. They gave battle over there, then went to Oruro. Their colonel was killed. They scattered in every direction. One of them came to Macharetí where the "Capitan grande," Mandepona, was. The latter told Cipriano, who was then a young man: "Let us go to Paraguay." Mandepona had given this Paraguayan ten "soldiers." Cipriano did not want to go with them. The ten went down the Pilcomayo and arrived at a village near Paraguay. /Plate III appears here./ /313/ A soldier richly decked out with silver, with a horse whose harness was of the same metal, came to meet them to examine them. The Paraguayan they were escorting went to speak with this soldier, but the others did not hear what they were saying. While these two were talking, they saw the Toba arrive with a piece of cloth between their legs and their chests and arms painted with charcoal. The Toba asked them where they were coming from and where they were going. The Chiriguano answered: "To visit you." The Toba refused to allow them to continue on their way, although they were only one league from Paraguay. As an excuse they told them that they were in the act of making war. The Paraguayan rode behind the soldier, and the ten Chiriguano returned to Macharetí.

The first part of this story seems to be a modern adaptation of Alejo García's adventure. I do not know what event could have given rise to this legend, which, had it been true, would have been very much to the taste of the Paraguayan government. As for the trip of the ten Chiriguano from Macharetí, it has the appearance of being wholly authentic.

C G 175 648

The crossing of the Chaco is a less difficult undertaking for Indians than for white men. Formerly these trips from the Andes to Paraguay must have been facilitated by a greater density of the native population. It is enough to recall the relatively easy trip of Juan de Ayolas going from Paraguay to the country of the Chané and coming back without having to cope with any particular obstacles. The exploration of Alvar Núnez

[Text continues on P. 30]

C G /313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núñez
175 Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de
484 Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

C G 175 167 484 [162] I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

C G 114 175 167 484 174 Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the C G 175 167 648 484 Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

/314 cont./

Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land.

Guarani SM4
Inca SE13

/314 cont./

E
G
175
721
726
I
726
701

they caused great destruction, robberies, and deaths.

"This news went to Guayna Capac in Quito, who received it with great sorrow and immediately sent a captain of his, named Yasca, to Cuzco to form an army, and with it he was to go to wage war on the Chiriguanaes. The captain left for Cuzco, taking with him the guacas /huacas/, Catiquilla of Caxamarca and Guamachuco and Curichaculla of the Chachapoyas and the guaca Tomayrica and Chinchaycoaha with many of the guacas' own men. And he arrived in Cuzco where he was very well received by the governors named Apo Hilaquita and Auqui Topa Inga, and, forming his army, he left Cuzco for the Charcas. And on the way he took many troops from Collao, with which he came to the Chiriguanaes and waged cruel war and took some of them prisoner, whom he sent as specimens to Guayna Capac in Quito, so that he might see the strangeness of that people. And Captain Yasca rebuilt the fortresses which were there, and, putting in them the necessary garrison, he returned to Cuzco, where he dismissed the troops, and each one went back to his land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Santa Cruz Pachacuti, p. 304: "And at this time (of the Inca Huayna-capac) there came the news that the Cheriguanaes had come forth to take the lands of the ynga, which news upset the ynga, and so he sent the most experienced captains for the conquest of the Chiriguanaes, with 20,000 Chinchaysuyo men." /Translated from the Spanish./

/314 cont./

E
G
175
721
726
I
726
701

Balboa, p. 105: "But this fiesta was interrupted by the news from Cusco that the Chiriguanes, a cruel and brave people, had killed the garrisons of the frontiers and leveled the whole country as far as Chuquisaca and its surroundings. Guayna-Cápac was disturbed by this news, disguised his grief as much as he could, and called to command his army a man full of bravery and intrepidity, named Yasca, whom he ordered to punish this aggression. Yasca departed from Tumibamba at the head of the best of the ingas soldiers; moreover, he had orders to recruit from Caxamarca on all the men that he found, in order to wage the war which he was going to undertake; and in order to arouse their valor he ordered each nation to bring with it the great Guaca of its country, which is an idol besides, and to which they very frequently come. He arrived at Cusco with a large army made up of different nations; through all parts the governors welcomed him with affection and gave him great honors. Provided with everything that he might need and his army augmented with the best men from Collao, he continued on his way with the utmost speed in pursuit of the Chirihuanas; many battles were joined, without any victory declared by either of the two armies. Nevertheless Yasca took some prisoners, whom he sent to Quito. He repaired the damage that the enemies had done in the country, and he left a new garrison in the fortresses and on the frontiers; afterward he returned to Cusco, where the governors rewarded the soldiers who had distinguished themselves and permitted them to return to their countries, taking their Guacas, or idols." /Translated from the Spanish./

I
[702]
[778]

Cieza de Leon, p. 228: "(Guayna Capac) sent captains with troops of war to the Chiriguanaes; but things did not go well for them,

Guarani SM4
Inca SE13
Chane SF8

G 195 721 726 I [726] [701] E 114 175 921 926 I [912] G 114 175 167 E 195 167 721 726 Ce [648] [567]

/314 cont./

for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cusco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

1. Gandia (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that Garcia's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

/315 cont./

E
G
167
175
721
726
Ce
648
567

/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

E
175
648
Ce
175
648
567

The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

/315 cont./

C
G
175
648
Ce
175
648
567

/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race: asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys: asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes: asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him, and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

C
G
175
127
114
167

This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guarani all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

/315 cont./

/fn. 1 cont./ still present in everyone's memory. Even if we accept Garcilaso's version and make that event go back to the reign of Tupac Inca Tupanki, it is still no less certain that it could only have taken place in the last decades of the 15th century. It is indeed at this time, according to Balboa, that the emperor Tupac Inca Tupanki would have reigned. (See Nordenskiöld, B). In this case the first Guarani migration would have preceded García's trip by about 50 years. Why then does Gandía, who himself gives us this figure, consider it more probable that this invasion took place more than a century before the Conquest? When I personally submitted to Mr. Gandía the reservations I had on the subject of the date he was assigning to the establishment of the Guarani at the foot of the Andes, he answered that he had taken as a basis for this evaluation a passage from Lozano (Descripción chorographica...) and Mendiburu (Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú...). According to the latter the Inca Tupanki would have died in 1453. I shall reply to this objection by stating that the evidence of Lozano, who was satisfied to copy Garcilaso, has no value; and as for Mendiburu's calculation, I do not grant him any credence.

One single fact remains certain in this controversy: The Guarani had begun their migratory movement toward Peru some years before García's adventurous trip.

/316/ establishing. Neither was Alejo García's expedition the determining cause of the great migration of which Díaz de Guzmán (p. 79) speaks thus

"Following these events (García's trip) the Indians of the Province of Paraguay met together with their caciques and

/316 cont./

E 135 169 decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the borders of the Corregimiento de Tarijat the Indians who lived in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay River in the direction of Caiguaní. The Indians of Jerequinaba and Carayanapera who were living higher up on the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz de la Sierra."

E 131 135 169

E 135 169

In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migration which does not appear to have any relation to that of García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this great ethnic movement: Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer, with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood. The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian, married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race, had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/ knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani, originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River; that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

E 1921 1922

[Text continues on p. 41]

G /319/
175 They took from them the gold and silver plaques and orna-
169 ments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages
729 they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many
726 Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a
G long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the
175 people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting
169 trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was
484 covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds
487 must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

/319 cont./

C G 175 167 [721] there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs, lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes C G [721] he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques, /320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them. Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

G C 175 648 [167] Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians. The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law, burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of C 114 177 175 trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II, p. 281) gives us of the large house of the Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

C 175 342

/320 cont./

C 175 342

interesting: "they make a very big dormitory and, within it, as many small rooms as there are residents, and so small that they do not have room for more persons, and it is enough for them, because they do not have furniture, nor do they have wearing apparel and hence they go about naked." /Translated from the Spanish./ These facts agree on every point with those of the Relaciones geográficas, etc. (Vol. II, Plate CIV) and of Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 259) on the same subject. The Guarani, just like the Tupinamba and other Tupi tribes, lived in maloca, gigantic halls capable of containing more than 150 persons and which often in themselves formed the village. The existence of this type of dwelling among the Chiriguano in the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes new proof for the recent character of their migration. In the 18th century we find them already in possession of the small rectangular house which they still have now and where one single family lives. (See Métraux, 2. p. 51.)

C [114] [113]

C [171]

C [174] [167]

C 114 127 175

novelist Garcilaso which might allow one to suppose that he really knew who the Chiriguano were. As for this conquest by the Inca, it would have been barely an attempt at conquest... Garcilaso confuses the Chiriguano with all the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes whom he had vaguely heard mentioned. Let us note that he is the only one to attribute this expedition to the Inca Yupanki, while the other chroniclers, better informed, are satisfied to say that the Inca Yupanki made an expedition against the Antis, probably around Cuzco. Unfortunately the vogue this pleasant writer enjoyed at a time when the history of America was still in limbo bluffs some modern critics into believing him, and they go so far as to prefer one of his unwarranted affirmations to the serious /321/ and precise evidence of chroniclers who get their information at first hand and from reliable sources.

C 114 127 175 648 [101]

/321 cont./

E
G
175
648

In 1550 during the expedition made by Domingo Martínez de Irala from Paraguay to the slopes of the Andes, 150 Guarani Indians out of those he had with him as auxiliary troops mutinied when they learned that they were in the vicinity of Chiriguano Indians "who are of the same nation." They deserted in order to go and join them. In 1548 the same thing had already happened (Díaz de Guzmán, p. 142).

G4
114
175
167
174

The Guarayú and the Pauserna are brothers of the Chiriguano and, like them, came from Paraguay at a recent date to settle in eastern Bolivia. Nordenskiöld (7), without giving any proof, correlates their migration with that of the Chiriguano and fixes its date at the beginning of the 16th century. The Guarayú would have been none other than the descendants of those Guarani who, having left northern Paraguay, would have gone obliguely toward the northwest in their trek toward the setting sun. I myself shared this opinion for a long time, until my attention was attracted by an episode in the history of the conquest which obliged me to recognize my error, at the same time permitting me to solve the problem of the origin of the Guarayú.

G4
175
167
[101]
[131]

The Itatin, known nowadays by the names Guarayú and Pauserna, actually came from Itatin province in Paraguay (1);

1. The former province of Itatí in Paraguay extended to the south of the Apa River, formerly the Corrientes River.

but it is not a question of a migration in the usually understood sense, and their establishment in eastern Bolivia was later than that of the Chiriguano.

G4
175
167
648

Nufrio de Chaves, going from Santa Cruz de la Sierra to Asunción in 1563, stopped among the Itatin and plotted with the chiefs of this tribe to transplant the Indians of this region beyond Paraguay. The project was carried out the following year when the Governor of Paraguay, Vergara, and Nufrio de Chaves organized the famous exodus toward Peru. While passing through the country of the Itatin, Nufrio de Chaves raised

/324 cont./

Ce 6a 648 cites a people of the Zchennte (Chané) in whom by reason of their geographic situation we must see the Chané-Guaná: 'They are vassals and subjects of the Mayaiess (Mbayá) as with us the peasants are subject to their lords.' We also have no trouble in recognizing the Chané in the Queanaes (Guaná) whom Alcide d'Orbigny mentions, according to an old account, as having been subjugated by their neighbors the Chiriguano and obliged by them to cultivate their fields. In the 18th century the Chané, as prisoners of war of the C Ce 175 648 567 727 Chiriguano, had been quartered /Plate V appears here/ /325/ like slaves in villages called Chané after them. When Lozano declares that the Chiriguano call their slaves Chané, an ethnic value must be given to this phrase. The state of subjection of the Chané in relation to the Chiriguano is explained in the linguistic sphere by the name which the first used to give to the second: cheya, 'my master,' the Chané used to say when addressing the Chiriguano, and the latter called the Chané tapii, 'my slave.'

Ce 175 797 "The little we know about the Chané who live in the lost regions of the northern Chaco is connected exclusively with the activity of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries of the Collège de Tarija. The first evangelized the Chané in C [797] the 17th century at the same time as the Chiriguano; and in 1714 they formed with them a doctrina /Christianized Indian village/ in the vicinity of Santa Cruz. It was called San Juan de los Porongos and in 1767 was under the authority of a parish priest. It was only with great difficulty that the Chané could C Ce 175 162 797 be assembled, in 1767 and 1789, into the two missions of Asero and Iti. We learn from a report by Father Pedro Bartolomé addressed to Francisco Aguirre that the Filipili mission in 1789 was made up of Chané Indians whose racial brothers were living mingled with the Chiriguano on the borders of Chuquisaca and Santa Cruz. Viedma, who visited the missions in 1788, found in the villages of the Parapití Chiriguano and Chané who were C Ce 175 648 797 living together, united under the authority of the Franciscan missionaries. The activity of the missionaries among the Chané naturally was to have as a consequence a rupture of the bonds

[Text Continues on P. 51]

/325 cont./

C Ce 175 648 [797]

of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguano: as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 16th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 15th century.

C 175 72 167 Ce 175 648 C [266] Ce [113]

The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had done with his companions and several women. He was able to escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

C G 175 72 567 Ce 175 648

In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later: "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

/326 cont./

C G 175 567 72 Ce 175 648

go in search of metal? The aforesaid Indian answered: "They do not understand that I am only telling them that they can go to the country of the Chané in nine days." While they were speaking with this Indian, the aforesaid Cheroçe, chief of the Chané, was conversing with a woman of his tribe who as a girl had been kidnapped by these Indians whose chief had taken her as his wife. She said that it was correct that from the last houses of the aforesaid Guarani only four days were required to go as far as Ytapua and that from there, according to what Cheroçe claimed, one could go to his country in three days. He knew the way very well, for he had been brought up over there, but up to the present he had had no news of his country. (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

These facts prove that well before García's adventure the Guarani raided the Chané territory and were already beginning to make slaves of its inhabitants.

C G 175 567 72

"When Guarani bands arrived on the slopes of the Andes, each one tried to occupy as strong a position as possible on the most craggy points. From there they began to make pitiless war on the natives of the region, treating them with such cruelty that they spared nobody and made their fodder of the unfortunates they captured. They made themselves so fearsome that numerous villages submitted to them without violence. With the slaves they took to serve them and with all the women by whom they had children they populated these frontiers, each one choosing the region which seemed best to him. These Indians are the ones we call Chiriguana in Peru today; they originate from the Guarani. They never went out from this country, either because of the great hardships and risks of the road or in order to keep in their power this land which they found consonant with their nature and taste. It is indeed very fertile, with large and marvelous valleys which are warm rather than cold; and it is crossed by deep rivers coming from the neighboring province of Charcas. In possession of this land, they made numerous /327/ warlike expeditions in it, ruining the plains to the north, the south, and the east. They killed more than 100,000 Indians. In the beginning they used to eat them in the feasts and drinking bouts which they celebrated, but

C G [266] [439]

/327 cont./

C G 175 567 72 [266] [439] they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there C G 175 556 721 727 are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed C G 175 648 721 many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of C Ce 175 101 181 648 C [361] [197] Ce [131] Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a C 175 727 266 648 567 Ce 648 175 [161] more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

C 175 727 567 266 648 Ce 648 175 /327 cont./ brutal people butcher them. The Chané are so subject to the Chiriguana that it is enough for them to see a Chiriguana to sit down without resisting, allowing the Chiriguana to do what they like with them. The Chiriguana take them along like flocks of sheep. They eat the ones they want and use the others for work in their houses and fields. If they want to eat one, they only tell him to go and wash in the river and he does it without talking back. He comes back naked; the Chiriguana command their children to take bows and arrows, and the poor Chané tries /328/ to escape the arrows without, however, daring to flee from the spot until he dies riddled with arrows, to the C [252] great joy of all who look at him. They cut him in pieces and eat him either grilled or roasted, with corn and much ají C Ce [726] /peppers/. For war they use Chané who they think are brave and robust. They treat them according to their barbaric customs and put them in front of themselves; if they do not fight well, they kill them with arrow shots from behind." (Lizarraga, Vol. I, pp. 259-260.)

C 173 727 727 648 Ce 648 173 186 C [266] Last year, going from Cuevo to Igüembé, I had taken a Chiriguano guide who spoke Spanish fairly well and who had lived among the Chané in childhood. He told me in his own way about these wars of former days. His involved narrative recalls that of the Spanish monk. Later I sojourned for some time among the Chané who in their turn alluded to their fights with the Chiriguano and to the cannibalistic customs of the latter. "The Tapui are not the Ava. In times past they used to fight against the Ava." The Ava used to take the women and keep them in captivity. They used to marry the captives. From the sons of the Ava issued the Tapui, they are sons of the women they carried away. The Chané are sons of the captives. When the Chané talk together, it is with words that one does not understand. Formerly the Karai (Whites) used to fight the Ava around Cochabamba. The Karai pursued them to the lower part and left them in Paraguay. The Paraguayans are C [266] sons of the ancient Ava. In olden days the Ava used to eat the Tapuí when they made war against them. "The Ava used to eat us," the Chané would say, "and that is why we detest them."

C
266
648
173
727
Ce
648
175

/328 cont./

The Chané confirmed to me the sayings of my informant and assured me that the Chiriguano used to eat them in times past (1).

C
175
266
721
727
648
Ce
648
175

1. Matienzo (pp. 166-167) expresses himself on the subject of the Chiriguano and the Chané in almost the same words as Lizárraga: "In the land there is a province of the Charcas and close to the city there are some immigrant Indians who are said to be chiriguanaes, warlike people, very cruel, indomitable, and they eat human flesh, live in the cordilleras, have no occupation other than fighting and killing and eating Indians and using them as slaves; they go out at night to plunder on the plains which are near the cordilleras, where some Indians subject to their sovereignty live, and they seize them by the thousand and two thousands and eat them and have others to fatten for eating, and others to serve as slaves; these Indians, out of fear of the chiriguanaes, fled from their land, which had some very beautiful and fertile valleys, thirty and forty leagues from the city of the Plata, and went to some plains and deserts which were customarily deserted because of the lack of water; they live entirely on yucas and cardoons, are more than eighty thousand, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. The deserts under discussion here and where the Chané took refuge are none other than those of the lower Parapití where numerous Chané now live, in spite of the poverty of this arid region.

Ce
[131]

Ce
175
648

It is not at all surprising that the Chiriguano have kept alive the memory of their struggles with the Chané. These ended only in the last years of the 18th century. In 1745 we see the

C Ce /328 cont./
175 Chané of Santa Cruz province coming to ask
648 for aid and protection from the Chiriguano who
were tracking them down; in 1798 the Chané
Ce [172] of the Itiyuro were still making incursions
against the Chiriguano of the region of Itáu
and destroyed that mission almost completely.
(See Corrado, pp. 98 and 225; Tamajuncosa,
p. 211.)

Ce /329/ The Chané tribe did not succumb to these hecatombs
648 or to slavery. It was able to maintain itself on two points of
178 its former territory: on the Itiyuro and the Parapití. Several
131 villages whose density is rather great still exist there. The
Ce Chané of the Itiyuro still number about 1,500. They all live
[162] in Argentine territory in the province of Salta. I do not have
[101] any statistics for the Chané population of the lower Parapití,
but I know these Indians are still numerous there.

Ce Today the Chané are not distinguishable from the
191 Chiriguano by their material culture or their language. They
[101] speak Guarani, but use certain locutions and certain words which
C the Chiriguano say they do not understand and which are perhaps
[197] so many vestiges of their ancient Arawak speech. They have
Ce kept the latter as a secret language. Nordenskiöld (2, p. 157)
[198] was able to collect a short vocabulary of it among the Chané
of the Parapití. As was supposed a priori, it is certainly an
Arawak dialect closely related to Moxo-Mbaure.

Ce The modern Chané are no longer slaves, but their early
648 condition is still manifested in their relations with their former
186 masters. The Chiriguano always regard them with a certain
C scorn and a protective air, to which the Chané respond with
[186] open animosity. A Chiriguano would feel offended to be called
C Chané, and a Chané Chiriguano. The name by which the
[101] Chiriguano designate the Chané is always Tapii.

Ce Even if historic traditions or ethnic facts were not in agree-
172 ment to prove the existence in the western Chaco of an Arawak
167 population, archeology alone would suffice to teach it to us. At
Tarupayu, Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 40-41) brought to light pottery

Ce /331 cont./
178
439
323
[177]

The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C
G
177
178
342
596

Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

G
177
178
266

C
17

Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C
105
175

The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

C
[167]

They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

C /331 cont./
105
175
[167]
[173]

This migration had as its motive power the attraction which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

Ce
[197]
[177]

At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

C
[648]
[563]
[619]

The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives.

The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

C
[177]

From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

Ce
[177]
[197]
[198]

On their part the Chané adopted the language of their conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a secret language.

C
175
131

Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Mataguayo and the Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

C
[101]
C
[361]

175 /332 cont./ Permanent
[3] villages were there under the command of hereditary caciques.
[361] The middle course of the Parapití formed their boundary to
[62] the east. In the 18th century the Chiriguano constituted the most important and remarkable nation of the western Chaco.
161 The statistics concerning them vary a great deal: the figures, given with their usual exaggerations, vary between 41,000 and
[114] 15,000 warriors. The Chané are included in this number, which completely removes all value from these statistics." (Kersten, pp. 68-69.)

131 Today the boundaries of the Chiriguano have stayed
[178] about the same. But even though they inhabit a territory whose extent has varied little, their situation has none the less
[162] undergone great changes. Several thousand half-breeds from Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Chuquisaca have settled inside this area that we have defined. A Chiriguano frontier no longer exists, but only remains of villages and small groups which still mark
161 the former extent of the tribe. On the other hand, the num-
131 ber of Chiriguano has diminished terribly and is diminishing each day, so that a few years from now the true habitat /333/ of the Chiriguano will be contained between the Parapiti and the Pilcomayo and will be reduced to the former Franciscan missions and to several valleys of the Precordillera, such as those of Caipipendí and Igüembé (1).

114
174
131

1. Some historians not well informed about the ethnic geography of South America have claimed that in the 16th century the Chiriguano lived well beyond the boundaries I have indicated. One of them (Dr. Fulgencio Moreno) went so far in this direction that he attributes to the Chiriguano the possession of a large part of northwestern Argentina and pushes this fancy to the point of locating them almost as far as in the province of Córdoba. Mr. Coni in an excellent monograph, documents in hand, has done good justice to these bold allegations and has demonstrated that these hypotheses were without foundation.

/351/
226 /Figs. 19-22 appear here/ /352/ Chiriguano attach them to the
[227] end of long cords. A spear with one or two points serves to harpoon the enormous surubú which pass within their reach
[481] (Fig. 21). It goes without saying that the Chiriguano are marvelous swimmers.
262 439 The Chiriguano like fish (1). If they live far from the

226 175 227 481

1. The skill of the Chiriguano at fishing had already attracted the attention of the ancient chroniclers. Acosta (Vol. I, p. 236) reports that he had a chance to see them handle the spear, a specimen of which is reproduced here in Figure 21. "Some Chiriguanas plunged under the water and, swimming with admirable speed, followed the fish, and with some fish spears, or harpoons, which they carried in the right hand, swimming only with the left, they struck the fish; and, spearing it thus, they came up, so that they certainly seemed to be more fish than men of the land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Rosen (1, Fig. 215, p. 213) represents a Chiriguano holding one of these two-pointed spears in his hand.

262 439 Pilcomayo and cannot get any directly, they buy it from the Toba or the Matako, who are good fishermen and in addition have the advantage of living on the very banks of the lower Pilcomayo.

[482] In the dry season one can see near Pilcomayo a continual coming and going of Chiriguano, bent under the weight of their nets full of ears of corn that they are going to barter for fresh
[484] or dried fish. They would not hesitate, it appears, to travel 150 kilometers to feast on it (Nino, p. 251).

C
CE
415
17
648
0
[648]

/397 cont./

these peoples maintained. These relations between Chiriguano and Humahuaca Indians are historically attested to. At the time of the uprisings which took place during the period of the Spanish conquest, Humahuaca and Chiriguano united to resist the common enemy (see Boman, 2, Vol. I, p. 77).

The yambuí and yapepo, of which I made a good collection in the upper Pilcomayo region, provide new evidence, even more conclusive, of this striking parallelism which appears between the pottery of the modern Chiriguano and the prehistoric populations of northern Argentina. To allow a direct influence of the Humahuaca Indians on the ancestors of the present-day Chiriguano living on the upper course of the Pilcomayo in the departments of Tarija and Chuquisaca would be a point of view difficult to defend. The radiance of the culture of the Quebrada de Humahuaca could have affected only the southern Chiriguano and the Chané of the Itiyuro. As for the hypothesis which would make of the Chiriguano the precursors of this culture, it is so absurd, so contrary to all good sense, that we cannot envisage it here. At the spot where the Pilcomayo gets ready to leave the valley that it digs across the Andean spurs to spread out in the Chaco plain, the Chiriguano had Chicha Indians as immediate neighbors whose territory extended to the north of the Quebrada de Humahuaca in the south of present-day Bolivia. It was they who transmitted the special forms of their pottery and its principal decorative elements to the Chané, who in turn left them to their successors and conquerors, the Chiriguano. Perhaps the Chané have not everywhere been the inevitable intermediaries between the two cultures; in many cases, Chicha groups must have communicated directly to the Guarani invaders the principal products of their industrial techniques and of their arts.

C
195
721
929
648
CE
648
C
17

/398/ We know from 16th and 17th century documents that the Chiriguano constantly made forays into Chicha territory, that they raided their villages, made them pay tribute, and carried away groups of these Indians into slavery, as they did with the Chané. These direct contacts between the Chiriguano and their western neighbors must have contributed greatly to the spread of Andean civilization among them, and

/398 cont./

17 this explains why the Chiriguano culture of the upper Pilcomayo presents such close affinities with that of the Chicha, the Humahuaca, and the Atacama (1).

1. On the western borders of their territory the Chiriguano were in constant touch with the Chicha, whose territory they devastated and whom they obliged to pay tribute to them.

Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 282): "the quality of the valley (of Tarija) being known, and the importance of its being populated, in order to check in that direction the Chiriguanas, who had done no little harm to the Chichas there, and they even paid them tribute, named as corregidor, etc...." /translated from the Spanish/.

Lizárraga (Vol. II, p. 117): "he went to Moquera and returned, and with more than thirty natives, twenty of them Chiriguanas, and the rest indios Chanenes /Chane Indians/ in service, and among them two more illustrious Chiriguanas, one called Marucare and the other par excellence Inga Condorillo, and another Indian of Chicha nation, whom they confined with those Chiriguanas ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

Archivo de Indias (74-4-1, cited by Coni, p. 19): "and in about a month they reached another nation of indios called chiriguanaes, who thus neighbor this city a dozen leagues from potosí, and they carry off a pueblo of indios chichas who are called chupas." /translated from the Spanish./

Coni (p. 21): "In a letter from the licenciado Matienzo he tells us that the Chiriguanaes continued to raze the plains of Manso and, in addition, made frequent onslaughts on the Charcas, where they

/398 cont./

175 648 [266] [443]

acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even 'had public meat markets for human flesh.' " /Translated from the Spanish./

175 179 648 [567] [126]

Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII, 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

437 439

Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

121 192

Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text continues on p. 173]

/487 cont./

757
271

wet their finger and moisten his lips (Campana, p. 113). The patient must also drink this water.

757
[175]

Chiriguano medicine in the 18th century. A manuscript of the 18th century, written by Father Manuel Mingo and kept in the Library of the Collège de Tarija, contains information of the greatest interest on the way in which the Chiriguano used to doctor themselves when they were still independent. Here is the translation of the passage in question:

"The manner in which they doctor themselves in case of sickness is curious. Sometimes, when they feel sick, they go immediately to bathe inside their house in jars or a wooden basin. Sometimes they have several herbs applied, which they go to get in the fields or thickets. Sometimes also they allow an enema or clyster to be administered to them. This instrument (according to what I could see at Tariquea) is also very curious. It comes down to a small calabash or hollow gourd with a round opening on top and a small hole at the bottom. In the lower part one fastens or puts a hollow nozzle or a small hollow reed corresponding to the nozzle. One pours through the top (that is, through the large round opening arranged in the swollen part of the calabash) a broth of urine with salt. After that, the one who is acting as nurse or orderly blows hard through the upper part or from the top by pressing his lips to the opening or window of the calabash, and the force of the breath makes the liquid pass into the patient's intestines." (Fol. 107-108).

Nordenskiöld (14, pp. 184-196), who in a recent book went full length into the matter of the various instruments utilized by the American Indians for giving enemas, distinguishes two types: those which are provided with a rubber or leather bulb or a bladder, and those which amount to a simple tube. The one described for us with such a wealth of details by our missionary belongs to the second type, although /488/ exhibiting some similarities with the first. It can be considered as intermediate between the two.

TRIBES OF THE EASTERN SLOPES OF THE BOLIVIAN ANDES

By Alfred Métraux

INTRODUCTION

Five tribes live along the slopes of the Bolivian Cordillera from the Argentine border to Perú: The *Chiriguano*, the *Farauare*, the *Mosetene* and *Chimane*, the *Leca*, and the *Tacana*. The *Chiriguano* belong to the *Tupi-Guarani* group; the *Farauare*, *Leca*, and *Tacana* represent still isolated linguistic families. The *Mosetene* and *Chimane* form a single linguistic group. (C)

CHIRIGUANO AND CHANE

HISTORY

The *Chiriguano* (*Ava Chaboanco*) (map 1, *No. 1*; map 2; map 8, *No. 3*) are the descendants of the *Guarani* who in historic times migrated from Paraguay and crossed the plains of the Chaco in successive waves to settle along the foothills of the Andes from the upper Pilcomayo River to the upper Río Grande (Guapay River). (Lat. 18°–22° S., long. 62°–64° W.) Seven migrations are alluded to in historical documents.

The first migration (1471 or 1476), reported by Garcilaso de la Vega, took place during the last year of the reign of Inca Yupanqui. Another, between 1513 and 1518, can be surmised from the testimony of a *Guarani* Indian who spoke to Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. A *Chané* Indian captured by the *Guarani* and brought to Inti told Domingo de Irala in 1542 of a third migration, between 1519 and 1522, which probably came after the 1513-18 invasion and certainly before that in which Aleja Garcia took part. The *Guarani* migration described by Diego Felipe de Alvarez, curate of Mizque, may perhaps be this third one, though many details are certainly lacrifed. According to Cordía (1933 a, p. 20), this was the migratory shift which took the *Guarani* from the region of Inti to the Province of Santa Cruz and which contributed to the formation of the *Guarayo-Pauserna* tribe.

The fourth *Guarani* invasion, about which we have the most complete information, occurred between 1527 and 1528. It is famous because a few White men, shipwrecked sailors of the Solís armada, accompanied the invading Indians. One of them, Aleja Garcia, seems to have played a conspicuous part in this migration, although Díaz de Guzmán's (1914, 9:28-30) statement that Garcia was the organizer of the raid may be doubted. With a strong force of *Guarani* he crossed the Chaco, probably at lat. 17° S., and invaded the borderlands of the Inca Empire. The raiders advanced as far as Pocoto to the northeast and Tarabuco to the southeast of Inca. Fearing a victorious return of the *Charcas* (*Chiriha*), the invaders retreated, carrying their booty. On reaching Paraguay, with *Chané* and *Tarapecosi* (*Chiquito*), Aleja

Maps 1, 2, 3 not processed for this file

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

175 169 Garcia was killed by the *Guarani*. The historical character of *Aleja Garcia's* expedition is amply proved by several passages in documents of the Conquest of Paraguay, mainly in the "Commentaries" of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, Prólogo, 1852, pp. 379-383). The success of this raid prompted many more *Guarani* to migrate westward. Those from the Río Paraná followed the Pilcomayo River. Those from the region of Asunción entered the Chaco north of that city. The Indians of *Jerapalinda* and *Caraynapora*, that is to say of the country of Itatí, entered the Chaco near San Fernando (Lat. 20° S.). According to Díaz de Guzmán, these Indians were the ancestors of the *Guarayú or Itatines*, who lived 90 miles (30 leagues) from Santa Cruz.

In a letter written by *Martín González* from Asunción in 1556, there is the following passage which evidences the continuous migration of the *Guarani* toward the Andes: "These Indians [the *Guarani*] go and come back from the lands of Perú. As they have no roads and avoid their enemies, they remember the land ahead of them, settle long enough to sow crops and harvest their food, and go on. So went those who for long had been settled in the Peruvian sierras and those who go today to meet the Christians.

"In Asunción are many Indians who with their wives and children have gone there two or three times from opposite that city, along a river [the *Pilcomayo*] that flows 2 leagues from here and comes from the city of La Plata. The Indians from Paraguay have settled by that river and along the Cordillera, over a space of 100 leagues. Some *Carió* [*Guarani*] have gone to the mountains along another river, 42 leagues down the Paraguay River, which is called the Ypití [Bermejo River]. *Carió* are established in the mountains near the Ypití River, which also leads, according to what those who came from Perú say, to the city of La Plata." (Quoted by Cardiz, 1935 a, p. 37.)

Several thousand *Guarani*, serving as auxiliaries and porters, accompanied Domingo de Irala and Nuño de Chaves on their expeditions from Paraguay to the foothills of the Andes. It is historically assumed that the 1,200 or 1,500 *Guarani* of Itatí who followed Nuño de Chaves in 1564 were in part the ancestors of the modern *Guarayú-Pinomeros*.

The *Guarani* not only invaded and conquered the foothills of the Andes from the upper Bermejo River to Santa Cruz de la Sierra, but certain groups went even farther to the north and settled near the border of the *Moje* and *Zamí* country. The *Pinapuari* (*Pirinapuari*) were a *Guarani* group established in the Sierra de Chiquitos, north of the first Santa Cruz. There were also *Chiriguano* around the town of San Francisco Alfaro in the Province of Chiquitos, near the Jesuit mission of San Xavier.

The *Guarani* invasions, which started as plundering raids along the *Inca* frontier, were prompted by the desire to obtain gold and silver ornaments and copper tools from the *Camaure* (*Charrua*, *Chiriba*) and from the *Chané* of the foothills, who were amply provided with these metals. Probably metal objects first reached the *Guarani* of Paraguay through the *Chané*, whose villages were scattered across the Chaco from the Andes to the upper Paraguay River. Although the prospect of rich loot was certainly the predominant cause of their invasions, the old *Guarani* dream of a land of immortality and abundance, the abode of the Great Ancestor, also may have played some part in determining their migrations.

175 .42 The *Guarani* finally became such a threat to the *Quechua* towns of the Province of Charcas that an *Inca* Emperor, probably Huayna Capac, built fortresses at *Samaipata* (*Samaypata*), *Saipurú*, and *Cotacampanga* to halt their inroads. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1906, p. 102) speaks of Huayna Capac's wars against the *Chiriguano*, of the *Chiriguano*'s capture of the fortress of *Cotacampa* (probably *Samaipata*), and their defeat by Huayna Capac's general, Yaco. The ruins of these

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 175 648

face forwards were visited by Hernández (1915 a, 1924 a), who described them under the names of Isoalleta and Isoalsuel. They bear witness to the accuracy of the various traditions concerning the *Guaraní* invasions, recorded by the chroniclers of Perú and of the Río de la Plata.

C Ce 648 195 Ce [197] C [266]

Along the Andes, the *Chiriguano* found a peaceful *Arawakan* population, the *Chané*, a branch of the *Chané* or *Guana* tribe, which occupied the northern part of the Chaco along the Paraguay River. The western *Chané*, after centuries of close contact with the Andean cultures, had been deeply influenced by them. They dressed like their neighbors, the Andean *Chiriguano*, produced a pottery which resembled that of Southern Bolivia and of the valley of Huamahuaca, wore metal ornaments, and used metal tools. The *Chané* fell easy prey to the *Guaraní*, who slaughtered and ate many of them and reduced the remaining population to a condition of serfdom. The *Guaraní* invaders, having brought few of their own women, however, took *Chané* wives. The fusion of these two tribes produced a civilization in which Andean, *Guaraní*, and some *Arawakan* features were intimately blended. The *Chané* did not entirely lose their identity, however, for along the Parapeti River, in the Caipipendi Valley, on the Itiyuro River, and in the Province of Salta (Argentine), *Chané* villages survived under their own chiefs. But even these have adopted the *Guaraní* language and today cannot be distinguished from their conquerors. The *Chiriguano*, nevertheless, consider the *Chané* somewhat inferior, while the latter remember the forays and cannibalistic habits of their former masters. The *Chané* language, probably extinct now, was spoken by a few persons as late as 1908.

C Ce [186] Ce [197]

The number of *Chané* is said to have greatly exceeded that of the *Guaraní* invaders. They extended from the Río Grande (Guapay River) to the Argentine along the foothills of the Andes. At the beginning of the 17th century, according to Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, in the region of Macharetí, 400 *Chiriguano* ruled over 5,000 *Chané*; in Charagua, 350 *Chiriguano* owned 4,000 *Chané* serfs; and on the Guapay River, 300 *Chiriguano* kept 1,000 *Chané* in subjection.

C Ce 195 648 162

The first White settlement in the land of the *Chiriguano* was the ephemeral town of Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded in 1564 on the upper Parapeti (Cordorillo) River by Manso and destroyed a short time later by the *Chiriguano*. In 1571 the *Chiriguano* attacked the *Chiriguano* and the natives of the Provinces of Condorillo and Berrueta. To punish them for their "arrogance," the Viceroy of Perú, Francisco de Toledo, led an expedition against them. The Indians avoided battle and harassed the troops of the Viceroy until he was obliged to retreat in shameful defeat (1574). San Lorenzo de la Frontera, which became the modern Santa Cruz de la Sierra, was founded primarily to keep the *Chiriguano* at bay.

C 195 648

C 175 797 648

The first attempt to convert the *Chiriguano* to Christianity was made in 1609, when two Franciscans, Augustín Sabio and Francisco González, built a church in the valley of Salinas, but the reduction was soon abandoned because of Indian opposition. The Jesuit fathers founded a college in Tarija in 1690 and undertook the spiritual conquest of the *Chiriguano*. In 1691, Father Arce founded a mission in the valley of Tariquea, which lasted only 3 years; another mission, established on the Guapay River by Fathers Zea and Cassano, met the same fate. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Dominicans founded three missions in the valley of Chiquiacá, Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Miguel, and Santa Rosa, while the Augustins formed the Mission of Santa Clara in the valley of Salinas. In 1715, the Jesuits reestablished their ancient mission of Tariquea. In 1727, all the missions in the *Chiriguano* country were destroyed by the rebellion of the chief, Aruma, and his followers, who feared being taken into slavery. The revolt was crushed by an armed expedition sent from Santa Cruz and composed of Spaniards, "tame" *Chiriguano*, and *Chiquito* auxiliary troops. The *Chiriguano* had been aroused against the missions by the fear of being taken into slavery.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C ●175 797 648 In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purisima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Rio Grande): Abapo, Mazabi, Cabezas, Piray, Igmiri, Tacurú, Iti, Parapeti, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuaremboti, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1799. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapeti River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapeti. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

C 668 648 175

C 797 464 167 648 101 In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

C 164 175 The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapeti River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Acero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izozo, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were baptized and 3,187 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

C 161

ARCHEOLOGY

C 172 764 Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapeti River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupayu. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

C 172 At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

/71 cont./
174 complete savagery (2).
167

2. Cayuguari, with some 30 Chiriguano, went to the desert to live among the savages to the east of Carandaiti.

174 In addition to Chiriguano tradition and the fable of the
175 Aguara-Tunpa, from which we understand that the race with
167 which I am dealing originated in Paraguay, there are ecclesiastical and secular authors who support my opinion. Among the first stand out the Franciscan missionaries Cardús and Martarelli, and the most eminent among them is the Most Reverend Father Corrado, who in his history of the school and missions of Tarija asserts that the most probable opinion is that the Chiriguano came from Paraguay, despite the fact that the Guaraní language is scattered through many parts of Brazil and some parts of the Argentine Republic, since, as we have just finished saying, language is a powerful argument in learning about the origin of a tribe, and it has already been said that Guaraní is generally spoken in Paraguay, so much so that it would not be an error to say /72/ that the Guaraní have gone to Brazil and to Argentina from the same Nation (1).

1. In the chapter "Religion and Beliefs" I shall discuss the fable of Aguara Tunpa more fully.

175 Among the secular authors we have the famous d'Orbigny. According to him, before the discovery of America by the immortal Genoese, the Chiriguano occupied the last ramifications of the Bolivian Andes, lived completely naked, were cannibals, and were of Guaraní origin (2). The Inca Yupanqui

[567]
[266]

2. The Indians of Parapiti told me that the Tapii natives were their slaves, and that in the uprisings of the latter they ate their ringleaders and others.

175 648 /72 cont./ The Inca Yupanqui promoted many wars against the Chiriguano with the intention of conquering them for the Inca civilization, but his efforts [125] were in vain because his army was always conquered by the ferocity of the Chiriguano, who also had in his favor the fact that this was his own land and as a result he knew it well enough to be able to play tricks on the Inca militia with ease.

It seems that the Incas in their insistence on civilizing the Chiriguano brought their armies to the frontier of Cordillera Province. In fact there exists along the top of the range which divides this province from that of Acero and from Sapirangui Canton a fortress of great size, all of it made out of well-set stones, called "Incahuasi," "house of the Inca," and gives this name to the whole range, whose elevation to the south was set up by the law of interdepartmental demarcation as the boundary between Santa Cruz and Chuquisaca, when in the year 1898, the law of settlement was negotiated.

[192] Inca-huasi is a compound word of the Quichua /Quechua/ language; the Chiriguano language does not even have a word which resembles it; it is thus very probable that that fort was built by the Quechua and that, inasmuch as the forces were personally directed by the Inca, he should have ordered houses to be built along the whole top of the range, as can still be seen today (3).

3. The road from Caraparicito to Monteagudo through Incahuasi is not an old one. Don Octavio Padilla had it opened.

174 175 167 It is also a verified historical fact that after the discovery of Brazil and other regions of South America, 4,000 Indians fled from Paraguay, because in the many wars which they had waged against the Portuguese, they had killed the leader. Fearing general destruction, they came into Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo River; in the Gran Chaco they found the region near the cordilleras occupied and inhabited by the ferocious Chiriguano, /illustration appears here/ /73/ but since they could easily make themselves

[Text continues on p. 105]

174 /73 cont./
175 understood, because they spoke the same language with slight
167 differences, they joined them, and from that moment the number of the Chiriguano was increased (1).

1. These 4,000 Indians were not of the Guaraní race; they had gone to settle in Paraguay and had learned that language imperfectly; they were called Carius and had killed Captain García.

The 4,000 Indians who fled from Paraguay because of the continual relations that they had had with the Portuguese had, at the time when they formed an alliance with the Chiriguano, a slight tincture of superficial civilization, just as in Mexico the Indians of Tlascala had learned it from Hernán Cortes and other Spaniards. As a result of this trace of civilization they had begun to use some clothing to cover, in principle, the most delicate part of the body; they had stopped eating the flesh of their enemies and prisoners and were more humanitarian in their dealings.

[266] Having established their abode and formed a single
[171] tribe with the Chiriguano, they introduced their kind and humanitarian customs among their ferocious friends, who softened slightly their haughtiness and pride, imitated their allies in the manner of dress, and began to abandon the barbarous custom of cannibalism, because of which they are distinguished today, and even for a long time before, from the Toba, Mataco, Tapiete, and Sirionó (2).

[197] 2. The Tapiete speak the Chiriguano language with a certain difference, and the Sirionó, it is believed, were ancient Chiriguano, because their language is somewhat similar.

175 The Chiriguano, thus united, continued to multiply
[161] much more and to extend their dominions into the different departments of the Audiencia, the possession of which they now had in lesser degree. Before a century had passed after the

175 648 [131] [161] /73 cont./ Before a century had passed after the discovery of this New World, they were numerous in the area near and beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The founders of this departmental city had quite a fight in the year 1575 in order to humble their pride, disperse them, and take charge of the territory; the Chiriguano lived in the areas around Padilla and Tomina, which were founded precisely to contain their advances, since they seemed determined to invade the territory of Chuquisaca itself, whose Audiencia ordered the creation of both settlements so that they might serve as a bulwark and impede successive new advances, new attacks, and devastations.

The city of Tarija with its territory owes its founding to Don Luis de la Fuente, who was ordered there by the Viceroy, Don Francisco de /74/ Toledo, by decree of January 22, 1574. On that date, Don Luis with his army entered the valley of Tarija in order to put down the audacity of the Chiriguano, who were advancing with their arms into the places conquered by the Spaniards. Don Luis and his soldiers were greatly surprised when they found the said valley full of a great quantity of wild cattle, which was to be a powerful aid to his troops (1).

1. It is believed that the wild cattle found belonged to a certain Zárate, who had been forced to leave his ranch by the Chiriguano, who had doubtless made him their victim.

[727] Before the Spaniards arrived and invaded the country of the Chiriguano, they were the torment of the surrounding tribes, the members of which they shot with arrows, or killed, and took captive, subjecting them to the cruelest slavery. But once the whites arrived, they had to have it out with enemies superior to themselves; fearing that some day they would have to pay for the casualties which they had exacted from those whom they had conquered and whose fertile territory they had taken over, they did not act like the Quechua, who surrendered when they might well have

[i.e., the Chiriguano. -Analyst]

/74 cont./

175 648 wiped out the few soldiers whom Francisco Pizarro led into Cajamarca, overpowering Emperor Atahuallpa by killing 5,000 Indians.

The Chiriguano, better advised than the Quechua and their emperor, formed great armies to combat the invaders, and these were defeated many times by the terrible host; on other occasions they destroyed their fields in order to make them perish from need, and other times they made captives of the women, after having killed the men and other younger males.

175 797 The unequal struggle lasted for centuries, and finally they were conquered little by little by the missionaries. The latter, with only the Cross and preaching, obtained greater victories, because whereas the whites presented themselves to the barbarians with superiority of arms, sowing devastation and making the rivers run with blood, the missionaries presented themselves with humility, sowing the divine seed, and conquered them with the word of the Gospel.

The barbarians recognized the difference between them, and while in the beginning they destroyed the first missions, killing a missionary priest (2), when they understood more

> 2. The Chiriguano Indians of Ingre Valley set fire to the mission of the Jesuit fathers and plucked from the altar Father Lisardi, who was killed by 17 arrows in the mission plaza, dressed in his sacramental vestments.

perfectly that the priest proposed the conquest of their souls /75/ and the defense of their country, they delivered themselves completely into the hands of the missionary, not in order to be educated as Christians, but in order not to lose their independence. Only through the agency of the missionaries is the vast country which includes a distance of more than 260 leagues from north to south and more than 60 from east to west entirely open today to trade and civilization. The Jesuits were slowly replaced by the Franciscans, who

/75 cont./

175 founded various missions, and today what is not in the hands
797 of the respective diocesan authority is all in the power of the latter group, who have irrigated this soil with the sweat of their labors for centuries (1).

1. The Jesuit Father Pons made efforts to found missions in the stretch between the Pilcomayo and Parapiti, with whose Indians he began to speak, but he was unable to do anything. This was done in the first half of the seventeenth century.

174 There is no doubt about the Paraguayan origin of the
167 Chiriguano native, as there is none about that of the Guarayo, whose language is the brother of the former's. despite the fact that they do not understand each other well, owing to the great variations which both have undergone. Paraguay is southeast of Bolivia and the region occupied by the Chiriguano tribe northwest of the former, with the Gran Chaco being the extensive region which separates the two republics of Paraguay and Bolivia. The domicile of the Chiriguano in the Gran Chaco is another circumstance which weighs heavily in indicating the Paraguayan origin of the tribe.

All that remains is to know the route which the Chiriguano followed in their migration to Bolivia; it might have been done in a straight line, crossing the Gran Chaco, which distance from the last cordillera west of Parapiti and Charagua to Paraguay is scarcely 100 leagues, but this route offers the insuperable obstacle of lacking the most important element for life, water. This has clearly been demonstrated by the calamities suffered by the various expeditions organized by the Bolivian government for the purpose of opening a straight road to Paraguay by setting out from Isoso (2).

2. The explorer Francés Thouar, after having gone over the route opened by the Arana, had to retreat because of lack of water and in a rash slip became lost and, with several others, nearly perished from hunger and thirst.

/80 cont./

46 well in his own home; he only lacks the facility to procure what the Argentines give him and then he will resign himself to not emigrating.

797 As I have said above, nowadays the principal centers of the tribe have been reduced to the missions. For this reason I judge it appropriate to speak briefly of each of these which exists at the present time, so that the reader /illustration appears here/ /81/ can form some idea, however vague, of the efforts of the Franciscan missionaries, who are the only persons who today spend years and even their whole lives in the midst of privations and infirmities, experiencing solitude and enduring a sad and woeful life, in order to instruct and reduce some Indians who have little appreciation of religious and civil instruction.

The First Missionaries among the Chiriguano and a Precious Discovery

000 The primary end which the seraphic St. Francis of Assisi proposed with the founding of the Order of Minors was the reformation of the customs in the nations of the world and the teaching of the true Religion to the infidels of the Universe. /The remainder of p. 81 and the first paragraph of p. 82 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 82 follows./

797 175 But let us return to the primary object of this section. We have at hand the Crónica de la Provincia de San Antonio de los Charcas, written by the Franciscan Father Diego de Mendoza, O. F. M., in 1665. In his first book, Chapters 13 and 14, may be read in summary what immediately follows.

The first civilized man who entered the region of the Chiriguano to the east of Tarija was Father Simón de San Payo, a priest-cleric, son of Portuguese people, a native of Brazil, and, as such, informed about the language of

[text continues on p. 118]

/82 cont./

797 ●175 these Indians; he was there for four years. But the arrival of this priest neither can nor should be considered in the sense of missionary, because his motives for going there were very different from the religious instruction of the Chiriguano, with whom he lived in a fashion not at all correct, for which reason the Viceroy Marqués de Monte Claros made him leave.

Nevertheless, the Viceroy, as a good Catholic, was burning with the ardent desire to have the many Chiriguano souls enlightened by the light of the Gospel, and, in order to bring this about, he decided to send to the region the illustrious Sons of Loyola. These, with the fervor which characterizes them, accepted the offer with much pleasure, with the condition that the ill-fated Father Simón de San Payo, who had behaved so badly the first time, should not return there.

But the Indians urgently asked for this cleric, and furthermore none of the Fathers and Brothers of the Company knew the language of the Indians whom they were to catechize. Finally, since the Jesuit Fathers had set the exclusion of that bad priest as a sine qua non condition, the Viceroy stopped insisting in their presence.

Had he perhaps also desisted from carrying on his project of civilizing the Chiriguano? No. He made proposals in the name of His Majesty before the Superior of the Convent of San Francisco de Chuquisaca, and, once the matter was known by the community, 17 religious spontaneously volunteered for such holy work.

From among these volunteers two were selected by royal decree, to wit, Father Agustín Sabio and Father Francisco Gonzalez, with the promise that more religious would be sent as necessity required.

Nonetheless, the Chiriguano Indians insisted that /83/ the Licenciado Simón de San Payo be allowed to come back, because, according to what was found out later from statements by the cacique, this misguided man had made many and various promises to the unfortunate savages.

/83 cont./

797
175

A new hearing was held before the Audiencia; there was opposition against the return of the said priest, but the opposite opinion prevailed, and consequently it was ordered that the missionaries who were dispatched for the civilization of the Chiriguano should take the Licenciado with them, as was done to their great regret and to that of the Franciscan community.

On November 2 of 1609 the three charged with this duty left Chuquisaca, passed through Potosí, where they baptized the first three Chiriguano, passed through Tarija, and arrived at their town, located near the Salinas Valley, on December 22 of the same year.

This first arrival did not correspond to the most noble purposes of our missionaries, both because of the intrigues of the Licenciado and because of the inconstancy and avarice of the barbarians, which we know perfectly well. Even today, despite being completely reduced in the several missions, they reveal the same inconstancy and avarice, which indicates that they have always been the same, not inclined toward the mysteries and practices of our holy Religion.

Nevertheless, the seed left in the field of Salinas by the first missionaries of San Francisco de Chuquisaca did not fall upon completely sterile ground, and it slowly began to yield its fruit, since in later years others entered the same region.

What is surprisingly impressive about this is that there was found in the area of Salinas a large and heavy cross that had been placed in a cave located in the depths of the forest.

This cross rested on three pyramids of medium-sized stones, was made out of a thick piece of quinaquina wood, 15 feet long and two-thirds of a foot in diameter, retained its natural bark, and had in same three spikes of the same wood with their octagonal heads placed in the arms and foot of the said cross; twelve men were needed to move it to the town of La Torre.

/83 cont./

799 175 The cross was found by an Indian who had followed a deer which took refuge in the same cave; it was later moved to Tarija and placed in the church of San Francisco.

[173] None of the Indians could give any certain explanation for this precious relic; nevertheless, tradition from father to son, to grandson, to great-grandson and great-great-grandson, etc., among those Chiriguano states that /84/ in very remote times a man "of considerable height, white of face, with a long beard, with extensive hair, who wore long clothing almost to his feet, with a tunic and square cape or blanket," had walked about with that piece of wood, preaching to them that God had come to the world and that He had died upon another piece of wood like that one, and, seeing that they did not wish to believe him or accept his doctrine, he had withdrawn into that cave, where he stayed for a long time; he had gone away later and left the piece of wood there.

When the Fathers of the Company of Jesus founded missions in Paraguay among the Guaraní, they found a tradition that the Apostle Santo Tomé or Santo Tomás /Saint Thomas/ had been among them, had taught them the religion of Christ, had predicted that this religion would be lost among them, and that in distant times others dressed almost like him and with a cross in their hands would announce the same doctrine to them. The Indians were convinced that the prophecy had come true with the arrival of the Jesuit Fathers.

We know through Christian chronicles and histories that God performs miracles by means of the relics of the saints and the things that have belonged to them or have been used by them. We can consequently lend credence to the coming of an Apostle, or of St. Thomas, first because of the Gospel, "Euntes in mundum universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae," and, second, because of the tradition among the Guaraní Indians, the Chiriguano, and those of Carabuco in the province of Omasuyos, department of La Paz, where another cross was found, and, thirdly, because of the miracles performed by means of it.

/84 cont./

797
•175

We have said that the strength of 12 men was needed to move the cross found among the Chiriguano from the cave to the town of La Torre. Nevertheless, on the occasion of a fire which destroyed the church and a metal chalice, one soldier went into the temple to save the cross from the fire, and he alone took it from among the flames, which scarcely left any signs of the fire on the Holy Wood.

In a quarrel which occurred among some soldiers Francisco del Cerro was gravely injured by a deadly stab wound; neither doctors nor surgeons were present, and meanwhile this soldier was bleeding and was in danger of dying.

In those days they were very faithful, and since they fervently venerated the cross which they had found in the cave, they removed a small part of the Holy Wood, reduced it to powder, /85/ the wounded man drank it in some water, the blood ceased to flow, and within four days he was completely well, without need of any other medicine.

From these and other extraordinary deeds performed by the Holy Wood, we can deduce, still depending on the tradition of the Paraguay Indians, that it was quite probable that one of the Apostles of Christ came to preach the faith in this part of the world and even probable that this Apostle might have been St. Thomas, because the description given by the Guaraní and Chiriguano Indians corresponds to that of the same Apostle told to us in the ecclesiastical histories.

Missions of the Colegio de Potosí (1)

[361]

1. The department of Potosí does not have any Chiriguano Indians, and thus the Franciscans of that Colegio /school/ could not have catechized them by establishing missions, but by previous agreement with the missionaries of Sucre and permission of the government and diocesan authority, they came into possession of their territory.

/91 cont./

Cuevo

361 175 [163] The town of Cuevo is located on the left bank of the torrent or stream of the same name. Before the war of the year 1875, and even later, it was known by the Chiriguano who lived there as Ñumbicte, which means "halfway field," and in fact it occupies a beautiful level place located almost midway between the ranges to the west and those to the east.

Almost all of the first white inhabitants were from the department of Santa Cruz, and it is an undeniable fact that Colonel Víctor Antezana moved to the region of Cuevo-Ibo with some militiamen from Lagunillas and built a fortress where the public cemetery of Cuevo is today, and another one where the church of San Buenaventura of the mission of Yvu has been built, both works which are owed to the constancy and activity of the Franciscan missionaries of the Villa Imperial. The fortresses are later than 1875.

[797] [648] Subsequently, the town was formed under the protection of the missionaries themselves and around the Cross of the Savior; it was completely burned by the Indians in the uprising of Curuyuqui in 1892, but the inhabitants of Cuevo who did not perish, with the assistance of the flourishing mission of Santa Rosa, built anew and in better condition the new town, which continues to progress today.

195 648 [361] In the war of the year 1875 all the Chiriguano of Cuevo-Ibo and Huacaya, together with the treacherous Toba and guided by the great cacique Corone, who lost his life in the torrent of Baecua opposite the town of Igüembe, rose up as one man to overwhelm all the whites in the region.

/92/ In this critical situation the intrepid subprefect of the province of Acero, D. Antonio Menduiña, with the militiamen from Monteagudo, San Juan del Piray, Huacareta, and Ingre, flew to the region of Igüembe and with these people overwhelmed the innumerable and ferocious host, reducing it at once to impotence by the slaughter of Caipipendi.

/95 cont./

000 These disputes are prejudicial up to a certain point, inasmuch as they impede the free colonization of the Bolivian Chaco, which would not be the case if everything were peaceful in those remote regions.

Once the friendly settlements were made and the spirits of the settlers were calmed, the region would be colonized more, which would increase the number of inhabitants. If this were the case, it is my opinion that in a short time the Government of Bolivia could establish a new department in the Gran Chaco. The Chaco is open to commerce and to civilization throughout its area, many towns exist there, and, in them, commercial establishments; one can pass through the region without any danger, and the Chiriguano race receives the traveler with demonstrations of affection and subjection. /The remainder of p. 95 and the first sentence on p. 96 are omitted in the translation. Page 96 continues as follows./

Cayuguari

● 175 648 [103] Cayuguari is the name given to the country inhabited by an Indian of the same name who fled from Macharetí with others in the year 1856 or 1857; they settled along the lake of Cumbarurenta, four leagues to the southeast of Yrentagüe, and subsequently withdrew 20 leagues farther to the east, because in the company of Toba, Tapiete, and other tribes they had committed innumerable cattle thefts, for which they were constantly hunted by the settlers of Carandaiti, where a picket detailed from Aguairenta is stationed today.

The flight of the Cayuguari Indian to Cumbarurenta first, and today to 52 leagues from Carandaiti, was not due to the death of Captain Taruncunti, murdered by the Macharitefios /persons from Macharetí/ Barapiche, Arasuque, and Yepoina, residents of Avay, but to their disposition and outrages committed against their relative, Mandepónai.

/96 cont./

175 648 The expedition entrusted by the Supreme Government to an Englishman, which was to enter the Cayuguari region through Picuigua (water for dovelings), can be said to have failed, because the two attempts which it made were without result and it had to return in order not to perish because of the absolute lack of water.

Picuigua is some 12 leagues distant from Cayuguari. Picuigua is a dry lake, but, with drilling, sufficient water can be obtained for the garrison of the fort which is to be established, should it turn out that the news of the existence of a permanent lake in Cayuguari, where there are some 50 families, is false. /The last paragraph of p. 96, p. 97, and the first three paragraphs of p. 98 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 98 follows./

Itatiqui

361 (131) The town of Chiriguano infidels with which I head these few lines is located 11 leagues from the Franciscan Mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu and seven leagues from the missions of the Parapiti Grande, at 19° 43' 13" latitude south of the meridian of Paris, and at 60° 59' 42" west longitude.

799 361 The Colegio de Misiones Franciscanas de Potosí is trying to establish in this place a Misión Convento which would depend on the Fathers established on the banks of the Parapiti River. The idea is eminently civilizing and progressive, because this place is located along the highway which, coming out of Yacuiba, passes /99/ through Charagua and ends in the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

In the journey from the little town of Buyuive to the Parapiti Grande, there is no other town which might be able to provide services for the travelers and the vehicles which traverse it every day without being able now to count upon any assistance in their difficult crossing.

799 The Indian of Itatiqui is too poor and lazy: it is necessary to get him moving and watch over him so that he may become useful and progress: in his territory there is no water, nor are there artificial lakes so that he and his livestock

4: Nino--166 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/120 cont./

762
839
K84
1973

committed suicide in her own home early one Sunday morning at a height of one meter. She did it by kneeling down.

Suicide is not rare even among men, and there were several during my stay among the Chiriguano. The men, if they are young, commit it in order not to suffer the reproach of their parents for something bad they have done. If they are older than their wives, it is because they have no other way to remedy the woman's infidelity, because there are cases in which a man dominated by his wife and somewhat timid in nature does not dare in such circumstances to throw the bad one out of his house, and thus he believes that he can fix everything by taking his life. These unpleasant happenings and accidents happen in the fields or in the woods.

195
921
K28

Fencing and Dueling

In ancient times this race was very numerous and constantly in a state of war against its common enemies, but there were other wars in which one town rose up against another for trivial reasons. In the middle of the nineteenth century there was a bloody war between the towns of Yvu and Conguataventa against those of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo because of oppression which the cacique Gilracoti had tried to practice (2).

2. This regional war occurred before Chiriguano Mission was founded. Gilracoti deceived the authorities of Cordillera, who were quartering people in the vicinity and around Pampitt in order to repress the audacity of Tawaso, whom they believed to be the head of the revolution.

/123 cont./

797 religious education of the boys and girls would not make much
829 progress because their parents are in continual movement. Some
179 effort at least has been made to help them by means of the property rights which they have in the territory, about three leagues long by half a league wide, and the plan was then to build them some small chapel, but I believe that these efforts will be left in the filing cabinet for centuries to come (1).

000

1. Today, instead of missions, they are building forts for the purpose of colonization. Doubtless the epoch of a new method of colonization has arrived, but nobody is ignorant of the fact that this costs the Republic millions, while the cost of a mission is relatively nothing, and the advantages and progress incomparable. What advances are there in Crevaux, in Guachalla, and other places? What buildings are there of note and stability? None. In a single hour the Toba or any other savage may destroy them by fire. Don Fernando Guachalla, the president-elect, said it well when he said that the best and cheapest method of colonizing is that of founding missions.

175 Before the Parapiti missions were organized, those Indians
511 suffered considerable misery, because the place was quite dry
[132] in the rainy season, and they had no means of planting along the banks of the river, since the few lands there were in the
[146] hands of the whites. Father Giannecchini passed through there in 1887 as an expeditionary to Paraguay, and when he saw them so poor and so reduced in number, he exhorted them to move to some mission, but they answered that it was not easy to leave the place where they had been born and had grown old.

/216/

Chapter Nine

881

Children, Puberty, the Tembeta (1)

1. This will deal with the puberty of the girls and the imposition of the tembeta for boys, which is carried out a little before their puberty, so that when this does appear they will have the mark of manhood.

Introduction

797 533 At the beginning of this chapter /see p. 294/ my readers will see a small band of young, luxuriously uniformed [192] musicians with a Franciscan missionary at their side. These are the musicians of San Buenaventura de Ivu, whose photograph was taken on the pastoral visit made by the renowned and wise Delegate General M. R. P. Wolfgango Priesser, illustrious and glorious in the seraphic religion, on the 23rd day of September, 1908. His secretary, the intelligent Father Angel Domáica, was the one who was charged with taking this group and the others in the Porení and Tarija missions.

[248] All the musicians are Chiriguano boys whose fathers were in the 1892 uprising in the fields of Curuyuqui, half a league away from what is today the mission building, which at that time did not exist. They are the sons of fathers who all wear the tembeta and of mothers who in their puberty underwent the strict tests which I shall relate in this chapter.

195 248 Their fathers declared war to the death, not on the Cross, but on the white, be he Christian or not, because he saw in him a tyrant and hangman, and he wished to cast off the yoke by destroying the one whom he considered its maker. But it is certain that the Indian in his hate and rancor, which he has consistently maintained /illustration appears here/ /217/ against the caray /white man/, did not know how to make a categorical distinction, because not all have bad hearts. If there are some bad ones, real executioners of humanity, there are also very good and compassionate ones, from whom they received and still receive favors.

/217 cont./

195 68 [199]

The parents of these youths would not have thrown themselves into a disastrous war if the Supreme Government had quickly decreed the founding of the mission which they desired, as can be read in the history of the Colegio de Potosí; in it is clearly seen what the Ivu people did to try to have the presence of a missionary father, because political authority always showed itself to be humanitarian with the unfortunate Indians.

It has now been 19 years since that bloodletting, and still the pampas of Cuayuqui are sown with human bones; one can still see traces of their fortifications, where they fought like lions, with such unequal weapons; the memory of that horrible and destructive occurrence is still retained (1).

1. Some 500 men and women died in the war, but almost all were outsiders; the others, who knew the place, saved themselves by taking flight and hiding. They do not like to have anyone talk to them about this uprising.

199 87 68 [195]

As a consequence of the war the decree to found the mission came, and just a few days after the defeat the measuring and laying out of the necessary land was done. Today fathers and sons live tranquilly; some of them have gone on to a better or to a worse life, many have experienced the paternal government of the missionary, which they do not tire of praising. The sons have learned the religion and practice it. They have learned the alphabet and read books. They have learned religious singing, and several of them know and play the music which has been taught to them by the missionaries. It is truly surprising to see the changes which have been brought about in such a short time in such bellicose Indians! This is the virtue of the Cross! Others could have done nothing, as nothing had been done or will be

199

/275 cont./

195 729 722 History tells us that the Chiriguano were not the first inhabitants of the region that they now occupy. Other savages had lived here, who handed over the territory by reason or right of the stronger. Subjugated by the number and valor of the invaders, some of them emigrated to perish, and others remained as vassals in their own land and little by little came to an end, leaving the Chiriguano masters of their land.

195 648 [101] In time the Incas tried to conquer this extensive territory, leaving behind innumerable marks of their tenacity, but they had to abandon this noble thought, contenting themselves with calling them with great contempt: Chiriguano or Chirihuano, cold excrement. But however warlike or invincible a people or nation shows itself to be or is, its hour to succumb arrives. 195 648 999 What was not achieved by the Incas or by the arms of the Spaniard here has been brought about by the patience of the missionary and the tenacity of the whites of Santa Cruz and 648 999 Tarija. Today the dread Chiriguano is subdued and bows his haughty head. He has been reduced to nothing, and one who does not live in the missions is the vassal of the white man, who has dominated him completely. It is the disposition of Providence, which subdues the proud and decrees that they experience, although much more gently, what they made the invaded ones experience. It seems that in the last war of [181] Cuevuqui, the Chiriguano learned his inferiority, but it cannot be denied that this race has been one of the most warlike that has existed here (2).

195 648 729 722 2. The Incas tried to conquer the Chiriguano in order to moderate their customs. The Chiriguano treated the Tapûi with great cruelty: according to what has been told by the natives of Parapiti, they fattened them in order to eat them later.

Schwedenskifd E-4,g1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF1

C
114

Indians in the years 1908, 1909 and 1913, and spent in all 4 to 5 months studying them. In my book «Indianlif» I gave a popular account of them as I got to know them during the Hermmarck expedition in 1908 and 1909. In my last book of travel «Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika» there is some information about the Chiriguano. I have brought home to Sweden from the Chiriguano and Chané about 1500 articles which are now in the Riksmuseum at Stockholm and in the Gothenburg Museum. In the Geographical Review I wrote a short article on the migrations of the Chiriguano Indians.

C
Ce
[263]

C
Ce
12
114

A close study of the Chiriguano and Chané civilization by the «ethno-geographical method» affords points of especial interest, since their mode of life is rather well known, and we are able to trace their history back to the beginning of the 16th century. I have also collected archaeological material from their region. At first I was minded to give an account of this, too, in the present work. I decided, however, that it would be better here only to mention individual finds by the way, and to leave the archaeological material for another publication in which I shall be able also to publish certain archaeological finds made in other parts of Bolivia. This for purely practical reasons.

C
Ce
121

I will here endeavour to make clear how the Guarani-speaking Chiriguano's and the Guaranized Chanés' civilization are composed, what culture-elements they have got from the Whites and from the Mountain civilization in the west, what each brought to the common stock and what they possibly obtained from other quarters.

In this analysis of Chiriguano and Chané manners and customs, I do not intend properly to examine the question as to whence these Indians came to their present abodes. Broadly speaking we know that already. Respecting the Chiriguano migrations there are historical documents extant which evidently show that it was not until the beginning of the 16th century that these Indians conquered

C
175
648
127

SchNordenskiöld E-8,4 (1906-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

the tracts they now occupy.[1]) [2]) They drove out or subjugated the original population, which consisted chiefly of Chané Indians. They made slaves of a great number of them and ravished a great number of women.

The Chané are, as was mentioned, Arawaks and all indications point to their having come from the north or north-east, where they have large numbers of kinsfolk. It will be found that the present investigation confirms this. A matter of particular interest in this connection is to notice how two peoples belonging to the most important groups of tribes in all America made adoptations in their mode of life when they had emigrated to places with strange natural conditions. Again, it is worthy of note how their civilization was transformed und the influence of the Bronze-age civilization in the west and afterwards under the influence of the Whites. Further we shall see what they have, under their new conditions, been able to preserve of their original civilization. We shall gain insight into the way in which the civilization of two Indian tribes was transformed under the influence of other peoples and new natural conditions.

As in Part I, I deal chiefly with the «material» side of these Indians' life. Or rather, everything in their life which

[1]) NORDENSKIÖLD (13).

[2]) MEANS, basing his opinion on GARCILASSO and MONTESINOS, has assumed that the Chiriguano invaded the Inca Realm earlier than the beginning of the 16th century. But even if his assumption is correct, these inroads led to no domiciliation there. This is evident from the accounts of the invasion in the 16th century, when the Chiriguano supplanted, what was everywhere an original stock. Nor do we know whether by Chiriguano the Incas did not mean barbaric tribes of the Chaco in general, and not any particular tribe. In these parts Chiriguano probably corresponded to the signification that Chunchos had in the district of Cuzco, where it meant all sorts of barbaric Indian tribes east of the Andes. The Chiriguano that GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA AND MONTESINOS speak of need by no means have been Guarani Indians. I have already pointed out (NORDENSKIÖLD 13) that GARCILASSO's description of the Chiriguano is absolutely irresponsible.

8cNordenskiöld E-5/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
301

The back is somewhat concave enabling it to rest conveniently on the chin-bone. The front is round and flat and does not project beyond the lip. The metal is hollowed at the front and filled with wax, in which are fastened green or blue stones or glass beads of the same colours. In a grave at Caipipendi I found a tembeta of wood of the shape here described, in which a round piece of green glazed earthenware is inserted. For every-day use both the Chiriguano and Chané sometimes have lip-buttons of wood which are shaped like flat wooden cylinders. The Chané usually have smaller lip-buttons than the Chiriguano. CHOMÉ[1]) mentions lip-buttons of resin among the latter Indians from the 18th century.

Ce
[175]

I make no attempt here to show on the map the distribution of lip-boring in S. America.[2]) As was mentioned, it is very considerable. The idea of inserting stones or beads fastened with wax in the tembeta is almost confined to the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
Ce
301
*171

It might almost be suspected that they got this idea from the Whites, who now have an extensive manufacture of metal tembetas in order to sell to the Indians. This is not the case, however, for SCHMIDEL writes of the Karkhokhies (Gorocotoques)[3]) who dwelt in N. W. Chaco: — »Pero sus mujeres tienen un canutillo asegurado à los labios en el que meten ellas una piedra verde ó gris». Of what material this »canutillo» was, we are not informed. In Chili[4]) a tembeta of stone has been found with a cavity in which possibly another stone or the like had been set.

C
Ce
[177]
[114]

C
Ce
301
*171
175

The metal tembeta is here probably, though not neces-

[1]) P. 331

[2]) (This) because few of the old writers have given any detailed description of lip-buttons.

[3]) (1) P. 204. (2) P. 94. »Ihre weiber aber habenn ein kleins röclein gemacht in denn lepsen, darein sie ein grienen oder grabenn christallen stein stechenn.»

[4]) MEDINA (1) Fig. 77. From Freirina.

8:Nordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ea
301
171*
[175]

sarily, post-Columbian. CASTILLO[1]) mentions silver tembetas from Mojos as early as the 17th century, and in Ecuador a tembeta of gold has been found.[2]) CHOMÉ[3]) writes of the Chiriguano: »Les hommes se percent la lévre inferieure, ils y attachent un petit cylindre d'étain, ou d'argent ou de resine transparente.» It is not impossible that the Indians of this part, viz. the Chané, had lip-buttons of silver in pre-Columbian times.

The highly specialized type of tembeta which I have here likened to a cap with both front and back peak, is not now found in use in S. America elsewhere than among the Indians here dealt with and some few Tapiete who learned its use from the Chiriguano.

Similar tembetas of stone have been found at the Rio Negro in Patagonia[4]), in San Juan[5]) in Argentine, in central Chili[6]), at Tiahuanaco[7]); at Parana-Mini[8]), Minas Geraes[9]) and Pernambuco[10]). Here may also be included a tembeta of gold described by RIVET and VERNEAU from Chordeleg in Ecuador. This type of tembeta is also found in Mexico and in western N. America. This lip-button is best characterized by saying that, when inserted in the lip, it looks like a round disc.

The type of lip-button most closely resembling those described here, have a more or less spike shape when seen from the side. While the Chiriguano tembeta projects either not at all or very slightly beyond the lip, in the spike-shaped

[1]) P. 326.
[2]) RIVET (4) and VERNEAU Pl. XXIV, Fig. 10.
[3]) P. 331.
[4]) LEHMANN-NITSCHE (4).
[5]) DIEBEREDITTI (4) P. 38.
[6]) MEDINA (1); UHLE (9) P. 8.
[7]) UHLE (1) Vol. 1, Pl. 19, Fig. 23 and 24.
[8]) DIEBEREDITTI (4) P. 37.
[9]) NETTO Pl. 8.
[10]) » »

6: Nordenskiöld--19 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane SF 8
S-Am. 51
S-Am. Indians 53

/167 cont./

is a village called Tapiirenda. The valley is now inhabited exclusively by Chiriguano, and none of them remembers that, as the name of the place indicates, Tapii (Chané) lived there.

The place names of the Indians of higher standing are retained by the whites, even if they have become the masters of the country. Thus, almost all the places inhabited by them in Chiriguano territory have Guarani names, such as Charagua (name of the cliffs peculiarly carved out by the water), Carandaiti (where palms grow). The place names of the lower tribes, on the other hand, are not kept by the whites. Thus, no white knows the Mataco or Choroti names of the various places on the Rio Pilcomayo. The settlements of the whites are named after saints, Bolivian statesman, and explorers. If a tribe, for example, the Choroti, becomes extinct, there is nothing left of its language in the place names. Investigators of place names should not overlook this.

Through association with the whites, the geographical knowledge of the Indians has been extended considerably. They go farther and farther away to seek work, and they see countries which they had never heard of before.

The Indian as Historian

If we wanted to write the history of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we could not go back very far in time. It is only in the last decades that we see them mentioned more specifically in the literature. On the other hand, we already know about the Chiriguano, from their battles with the great ruler, Inca Yupanqui, from the period before the discovery of America. Garcilasso de la Vega (1) reports on his attempts

1. Garcilasso de la Vega. The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas. Vol. I-II. Hakluyt Society. London, 1869 and 1871.

C 175 648

/167 cont./

to conquer the land. His description of the Chiriguano as a cannibalistic race of extremely low standing /168/ surely originated in his own imagination. The tradition about these battles has been preserved in the mountain valleys.

The territory of the Chiriguano, in spite of the centuries-long valiant defense, was conquered, step by step, in the Spanish era. As recently as 1890 part of them made a last attempt at rebellion, but they were defeated, as has been mentioned, in the battle at Cutuyuqui, on the plain of Boyuovis. About 5,000 Indians had gathered there and for a whole day fought the whites in an unequal battle against fire arms. The battle had begun in the morning and it had not yet ended in the evening when it grew dark. The situation was becoming extremely unpleasant for the whites, since their ammunition was almost gone. Unfortunately, however, the morale of the Indians was broken. They abandoned their entrenchments in the quiet of the night.

C 175 797

Another very important chapter in the history of these Indians is the long and persistent effort of the missionaries to conquer the land of the Indians in a comparatively peaceful manner. This is treated in detail in the literature.

Ea 829

Here, however, I do not wish to speak of the history of these Indians as we know it through the literature, but of the Indian as historian.

C Ca [173]

If one talks to the Indians, they do not know much about their own history; their tradition does not go back very far. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me they had first lived on the upper Rio Parapiti (1), but were driven away from there by a great chief. Some remained where they are now living, others set out through the Chaco to the Rio Paraguay, which river,

Ca 173 68 [173]

1. This is confirmed by Viedma: Descripcion geografica y estadistica de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Coleccion Pedro de Angelis. Buenos Aires, 1836. Vol. III. Pages 180-181.

Ca [173]

Ca [167]

Ee 581 /212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

Ce 582 Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

Ce [171] This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Mataco.

Ee 595 Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

[643] Ee [586]

Ee 582 Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

577 177 797 831 /214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

[837]

577 831 175 The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

/214 cont./

577 entirely untouched by the civilization of the whites, an opinion
831 which I shall reproduce here verbatim:
175

"Ce qui m'a fort surpris, c'est que dans la licence où ils vivent, je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'il échappat à aucun homme la moindre action indécente à l'egard des femmes, et jamais je n'ai oui sortir de leur bouche aucune parole tant soit peu déshonnête

643
291
415
142
352
516

Fig. 111. The Chiriguano chief Mandepora.

577 /What surprised me very much is that in the freedom in which
831 they live I never noticed the slightest indecent behavior on the
175 part of any man with regard to women, and never did I hear from their lips any word that was the least bit immodest/."

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between these culturally allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against the whites (in 1890), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are still remaining.

The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly gourd plants and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group, the Chiriguano being counted with the Guarani group, whilst the Chané are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija valley.[1] Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which is Guarani. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches of Rio Parapiti.[2] The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means »dirt people» was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word »guano» is the name for the well-known bird manure-found on the coast of Peru and Chile. It seems however unfair indeed that the Chiriguano, who, in contradistinction to the Puna and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal name.

---

[1] de Matienzo (1), p. 150. [illegible] (16).
[2] [illegible] (18), p. 156.

●175
648

/Since Métraux believes that the Chiriguano are actually descendants of the Guarani, data in this source which have been specifically subheaded for the Guarani file, in regard to culture contacts and foreign relations, may equally apply to the Chiriguano. The researcher is therefore advised to consult text category 116, pp. 6-25 for this additional data./

C 114 /2 cont./ outside of the Toba, whom I met only in passing. I got to know on this journey the Chiriguano and the Izozó, who, like the former, speak a dialect of the Guaraní language; the Tapieté, Churupí, Mataco, and Chorote. All of these Indian tribes are not unknown in ethnological literature. On Chiriguano history we are oriented through old documents from even the first years of the Spanish conquest, and we owe to the Franciscan missionaries, who have taught among them for a long time, quite important ethnological publications. The Churupí have been studied minutely under the name Ashluslay by Erland Nordenskiöld, and the Oblates of Immaculate Mary in Esteros and Lake Escalante are striving intensively to make ethnological investigations. I have proposed to deal with all of these tribes systematically. This survey will be made on the basis of the results of my journey, and I begin in this first publication with the Chiriguano and Izozó.

C Ee [199] C 195 114 199 A 114 101 C 121

General Information

C Ee 114 361

As I said in the introduction to this work, I first met the Chiriguano in Machareti and the Izozó in the area around the fort of Toledo and in the fort "15 de Agosto," several kilometers from the former two.

C 361 [632] [199]

Figure 1[2] presents a view of Machareti, a Chiriguano town created in its present form by the Franciscan mission. When the Paraguayan army retook Machareti, it had already been abandoned by the Padres, and now a Chiriguano, in the role of commissioner /comisario/, is the chief of the town, there also being a few caciques. The houses, more or less in the form of modern ranchos (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 /see p.40 /), are on both sides of wide streets which run parallel and at right angles, as in most of the towns of the former Spanish colonies. When I was present in Machareti, there was great need /3/ among these Indians because of the severe drought which had ruined their plantings, which were some distance from the town. At the side of the ranchos are often found deposits which were structures of native houses built on sticks. Although

C [342] [365] C [731] C [342]

2 [See p. 8 -- Analyst]

/6 cont./

174 175 167 648 c [101]

Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori, since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní, after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through which they had previously passed.

Ce [173] [648]

In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a Guaraní foray.

Gi 175 648

The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with the various native groups of the lands through which they passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians, they devastated their camps /toldería/ /7/ and carried off with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they

Gi [567] [729]

Ce [648] [81]

C Gi 648 175 [567] [729]

C
G1
175
G4F
[567]
[727]

/7 cont./

continued defeating the neighboring Indians and especially those of the llanos, and they took off with them many of these as slaves to serve them as auxiliaries in other forays. When Nuño de Chaves came to the cordillera, the Chiriguano were coming to make war upon the Indians of Poco or of Misque, but Nuño de Chaves upset their arrival and made them break off their hostilities with those Indians and the others of the frontier. (10) In 1560 the violent actions of the Chiriguano

10. Moreno II, p. 77.

against the tribes in their vicinity forced the viceroy of Peru to send Captain Andrés Manso to that region in order to found a town there, thus establishing a defense against the incursions of these Indians (11). The report of the Corregidor of Tomina,

11. Moreno II, p. 261.

Don Juan Arce Alvendin, made in 1618, informs us that the Chiriguano at first lived in peace with Andrés Manso, but later counseled the Chané who had been pacified by Manso to rebel against the Spaniards, and they killed Captain Manso and the rest of the Spaniards of the new town. They took over the land, subjecting the Chané and making them serve as slaves. In the statement of Sebastian Perez Chamono in 1571 (12), the

12. Moreno II, pp. 106-107.

act of violence of the Chiriguano against the Yanacona and Chicha Indians are mentioned, and it is said that they took Chicha Indians as slaves. In the Decree of the Royal Audiencia in which it was resolved that war was to be waged against the Chiriguano in the year 1585, there is mentioned among many other misdeeds of the Chiriguano the fact that they had also usurped and devastated the lands of the Llanos and the Chané Indians (13). By continually enslaving the Indians of the

13. Moreno II, p. 104.

Chane SF5
Guarani SM4

C
Gi
175
GA8
567
[127]

/7 cont./ By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xoxes, the Mares, and the Turacares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

Gi
C
Ga
175
GA8
567

14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 240.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

Ee
Gi
175
GA8
162
567

16. Moreno II, p. 256.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 600 Chiriguano of the province of Macharetti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

Ee
Gi
175
GA8
567

Chané SF8
Guaraní: SM4

C
Ce
Gi
175
178
567

/1 cont./
they definitively lost their independence, being left subject to the whites (17). /8/ From this time also the Chané freed

17. Moreno II, pp. 280 and 294.

themselves from the oppression of their old masters, forming their own separate towns in the midst of their former masters (18).

18. Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883. In Moreno II, p. 294.

In addition, the final insurrection of the Chiriguano in the year 1892 was put down by the Bolivians; and for that reason the situation of the Chané was not modified, and so it is that the explorer Erland v. Nordenskiöld found them still under the same conditions (19).

Ce
(113)

19. Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco (Südamerika) /Indian Life. The Gran Chaco (South America)/. Leipzig, 1912, pp. 148 ff. Cited in what follows Nord 1.

Gi
175
178

Having described above the history of Chiriguano relations with the ancient Peruvians and the other Indian tribes, we have yet to deal also with their relations with the whites, that is, with the Spaniards or Bolivians, who little by little occupied their territory. We must show in the first place the fact that the first whites who came to their territory and to the adjacent llanos were not any novelty to them, since even before their emigration the Chiriguano had met these people in their native land between the upper Paraná River and the Paraguay. Because of the initial attitude of the Guaraní on meeting the conquistadors, it is evident that both parties had the same aim, that of getting rich from the wealth of the rich lands of the west, of which they had heard. In order to explain

St Schmidt--17 8-6 (1980) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

Sociology 1975 1978

/9 cont./

this common end, the Guaraní had first favored the conquistadors, giving them important information about the rich land and the ways to get there, and placing themselves at their disposal as auxiliaries in war. According to Guzman, the Portuguese Aleijo García took with him 2,000 of these Guaraní from the Paraguay on his expedition to Peru, and if Guzman says that that expedition of García's was the cause of the subsequent expedition of the Guaraní to the west and of the emigration of a great number of them to the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, we ought not to reject this opinion, limiting it only in that sense that García's expedition might have been one of the causes of that emigration. When Nuño de Chaves on his expedition later met the Guaraní of the cacique Yaiñeguazu, they received him in a friendly way, oriented him with reference to the rich land and the routes there, and gave him companions for his trip (20).

20. Memoirs II, p. 55.

The first of the conquistadors whom the Guaraní met after their emigration to the Cordillera, henceforth called the Chiriguano of the Cordillera, was Captain Domingo de Irala. According to Father Alcaya's report, when Irala arrived in these regions, he sent a Guaraní of his council to make overtures to the Chiriguano Indians, and in what follows the report says literally: "... and many of them came to offer him peace." But in spite of this peace, the Chiriguano did not wish to show him the gold mines and also kept Captain Candavi, whom they had captured in their expedition against the Peruvians and whom they now turned over to Captain Irala, as an expert, from finding out anything about the mines (21).

21. Memoirs II, p. 95.

Guarani SM4

/8 cont./

In 1560 the two conquistadors, Nuño de Chaves and Andrés Manso, arrived in the Chiriguano region in the Vitupue Province (22). In Gabriel Paniagua de Loayza's letter

Gi
C
175
648

22. Moreno II, p. 204.

to the Royal Audiencia in 1584, we learn that the Chiriguano of the Sierra, when Nuño de Chaves arrived for the first time in their land, were about to make war on the Indians of Poro or of Misque. As has already been mentioned above, Nuño de Chaves upset their plans and made them cease hostilities (23).

23. Moreno II, p. 77.

Through the division of territories that took place later between Nuño de Chaves and Andrés Manso, the former received the /9/ northern territories and the latter the southern ones. While Nuño de Chaves had to deal principally with the Guaraní Itatines, later called Itatines-Guarayú, who had emigrated into those regions located more to the north and who in a little while killed the valiant conquistador, it was from the beginning Andrés Manso's mission to arrange relationships with the Chiriguano of the Sierra and to put an end to their violent acts. At first Manso managed to enter into peaceful relations with most of the Chiriguano and to put them in service as vassals; but it seems that they were involved from the very beginning in the differences that existed between Nuño de Chaves and Andrés Manso. A document of 1581, the "Testimonio del Escribano Francisco Gallego /Testimony of the Clerk Francisco Gallego/" (24), gives interesting comments

24. Moreno II, pp. 273 and 274.

upon this matter. He says that in 1580 a Chiriguano Indian came as a delegate of the cacique Bitupue and other caciques to Nuño de Chaves to complain about Andrés Manso's conduct and at the same time to ask him what they should do. While

R Schmidt--19 E-5 (1981) 1958 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

C
Gi
125
48

/9 cont./ while
Nuño de Chaves, as has been mentioned, had prohibited the Chiriguano from continuing their acts of violence upon the other Indians, a short time later Mamo made them join up to go to war against the Indians of the llanos. The Chiriguano, having learned of Captain Mamo's intentions, all returned to their old ways. Mamo again called them to go to war against the llanos Indians, and he took with him several Chiriguano caciques. When it seemed to him that they were taking him along a wrong path, he killed a Chiriguano Indian and ordered another one's hand cut off. He also killed a messenger of the cacique Betipu. We learn from this letter that the hostility which shortly thereafter broke out in the peaceful relations between the Chiriguano and Andrés Mamo, and which cost considerable effort, expense, and sacrifice to the Spaniards and later to the Bolivians, was motivated, at least in great part, by the violent acts of the first whites who had relations with these Indians. This guilt of the Spaniards in the continual hostilities with the Chiriguano was frankly admitted by the Maestre General of the Province, Don Salvador Paalt, in the year 1778 (25).

25. Moreno II, p. 581.

He sent an order to all the soldiers that they suspend their activities against the Chiriguano, stating that the attitude of the Chiriguano was provoked by the introduction of the Spaniards into their lands, in which they had established estancias and herds. The beginning of the hostilities between the Spaniards and the Chiriguano was due to the latter, who suddenly attacked the town of Condorillo, or Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded by Andrés Mamo, and killed the latter, together with all the other Spaniards, and burned the town (26).

26. Moreno II, p. 581.

/9 cont./

The same fate befell the town of Barranca founded by Nuño de Chaves and Captain Miguel Martín, and their men in the town of Lagunilla. Moreover, nine of Nuño de Chaves' men, as well as Captain Pedro de Castro, who had been charged with rebuilding the destroyed town of Santo Domingo de Nueva Rioja, were killed (27). The attacks and robberies of the Chiriguano

27. Moreno II, p. 114.

against the Spanish settlers were so frequent and continual at the end of the 16th century that they were in constant danger, and communications between the several larger towns were quite difficult (28). The various Chiriguano factions had

28. Moreno II, pp. 102-104, 106, and 107.

divided among themselves the land where they were to make the attacks (29). The expedition of the Viceroy Don Francisco

29. Moreno II, p. 120.

de Toledo, with many people and much equipment and at great expense, had no success whatsoever (30). The Chiriguano

30. Moreno II, p. 114.

continued robbing and attacking. From time to time occasional expeditions were sent to punish them, which, in passing, burned a few rancherías and maize fields /31/ and killed some of them (31), but they never had a decisive success, and this

31. Moreno II, pp. 116-118.

situation still continued for two centuries in an almost unchanging form (32). But despite these hostilities, there were

32. Moreno II, p. 773.

Guarani 3M4

/10 cont./
some relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards from the earliest times. According to the Relación de la Annua de la Compañía de Jesús /Annual Report of the Company of Jesus/ for the year 1596, there had been obtained from Pomé and the Charcas many ways and means for bringing them toward peace, considering the very little hope of pacifying them by arms (33) and, according to the same report,

> 33. Moreno II, p. 102 /the first figure of this page number is missing in the original text and has been supplied here on the basis of a previous citation./

already at that time some Spaniards were going in and out of there to deal with them, and also the Chiriguano were coming both to Pomé and to the Charcas for the same purpose. In addition, Techo, who wrote his Historia de la Provincia del Paraguay in the second half of the 17th century, relates that the Chiriguano sold their prisoners of war to the Spaniards. "They lost no opportunity to devote themselves to this business; they competed with the Spaniards themselves" (34).

> 34. Moreno II, p. 227.

According to a communication from Escribano Mosquera in 1573 (35), there were already some Spaniards living among the

> 35. Certification of Escribano Mosquera. According to Moreno II, p. 115.

Chiriguano at that time. This gentleman had heard of two Spaniards and a mestizo among them, who were probably prisoners of war.

Gi
175
48
797

/10 cont./

At the end of the 18th century relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards modified to the point that from this time on the mission managed to propagate the faith somewhat more among the Chiriguano. In 1779 the Intendente of Cochabama, Don Tomás Leso, after a bitter struggle, defeated the Saypuru faction, which was the one most feared. Later the reduction of Florida was formed on the western shore of the Guapay, with some hundreds of families who had not assisted the Saypurú faction and so, fearing their vengeance, followed the Spaniards (36). Several years later a few other

36. Moreno II, p. 244.

missions were founded by the Franciscans, together with the fort at Saypurú, as a defense for the missions. But by 1799 the Chiriguano had attacked six of these missions, devastating them completely (37). A strong campaign against the

37. Moreno II, p. 245.

Chiriguano, directed by Intendente Viedma in person, had not had any success at all, the army of 2,000 men having turned back when their officers were killed by the enemy. In spite of this the missionaries repaired the destroyed reductions (38).

38. Moreno II, p. 246.

According to the notes of Father Antonio Cornajuncosa (39),

39. Moreno II, pp. 246 and 247. A historical manifesto of what the missionaries of Tarija have wrought.

there already existed in the year 1810, 18 missions among the Chiriguano in the southern zone of the Pilcomayo River. Through the influence of the missions and through both violent

G1
C
175
648

/10 cont./ Through the influence of the missions and through both violent and peaceful means of the Spaniards and, later, by the Bolivians, conterminous with the Chiriguano, little by little most of the Chiriguano came over to their side, so that the power of the Chiriguano tribe, in another time so strong and invincible, was weakened (40). Thus it happened that in

C
Gi
[113]

40. José Cardúz: Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia /The Franciscan Missions among the Infidels of Bolivia/. Barcelona, 1886. From Moreno II, pp. 248 and 249.

1875 the inhabitants of the neighboring provinces were able to give a final blow to the last segments of independent Chiriguano, subjugating them completely and obliging the defeated factions who refused to submit to disperse into other lands, some of them taking refuge in the Chaco among the Toba and Tapieté (40) /see footnote 40 above/. Nevertheless, this was not the final fight between the Chiriguano and the whites, as Cardúz supposed in 1885. A part of the Chiriguano in 1890 attempted one last rebellion against the Bolivians. About 5,000 Indians gathered on the Boynove plain near Curuyuqui, fought for a whole day against the Bolivians, who were assisted by some thousand Indians of the same tribe. At nightfall the heated battle had not yet been decided, but in the /11/ night the Indians lost their spirit in the face of the superiority of modern arms and left their trenches (41). Also,

41. Nord. 1, p. 168.

after this defeat one of the caciques, named Cayahari, preferred to take flight rather than surrender to the Bolivians. They say that he settled in the area of a large lake far from the whites (42).

42. Nord. 1, p. 161.

8: Schmidt--24 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

/11 cont./

C. Gi 175 178 167

The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C 178 [126]

The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gi 174 174 C [113]

As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

/12 cont./

000 I.C. 246. Izozó cacique with his family. Near Toledo. (Fig. 12.)
I.C. 249. Izozó man with tembetá /labret/. Near Toledo. (Fig. 27.)
I.C. 251. Izozó in Toledo with soldiers and the author. (Fig. 2.)
I.C. 330. Izozó men. Near Toledo. (Fig. 9.)

C 144 648 Ce 648 From the preceding historical sketch it can be seen that the ethnic entity "Chiriguano-Chané," with regard to its physical characteristics, is made up of an ethnic mixture of absolutely heterogeneous elements. We have told how the Chiriguano for centuries captured many prisoners, incorporating them into their community, and how at the end of the 16th century the number of Chané incorporated among them was much larger than that of the pure Guaraní-Chiriguano. Although the Chané, belonging to the linguistic group of the Aruacos /Arawak/, were a peaceful nation and were not equal in strength to the pure Chiriguano, their culture, which for a long time was in contact with that of the ancient Peruvians, was doubtless superior to that of their oppressors, and the Chané women surely had considerable influence on their masters. Since the two population elements lived together for three and a half centuries, we must suppose that they would have mixed extensively.

C 142 175 Unfortunately, the ancient documents say very little about the physical qualities of the Chiriguano. The only brief note on this subject that I know of is found in the "Descripción y población de las Indias" by Bishop Lizarraga (44): "They are

44. Moreno II, p. 101.

C [302] Ee 144 175 comely, robust, with broad-shouldered, high chests, well built, dark. They pluck their eyebrows and eyelashes; the eyes are small and lively." According to Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883, that is, a short time after the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites and the Chané began to become emancipated from their oppressors, forming their own towns, somatic differences between the

/38 cont./

C 23 177 194 Because the ancient Peruvians raised various breeds of dogs, we can assume that the Chiriguano received the dog as a domestic animal from the ancient Peruvians. We can assume the same with regard to the duck, which was also raised by the ancient Peruvians. Therefore I do not include the duck among the C [114] domestic animals that these Indians received from the whites, as Nordenskiöld does. We do not know whether the Chiriguano in times past might have raised the llama. From the fact that guanacos exist in the territory located between the Parapití and the Rio Grande, we can deduce that the raising of that other species of Euchenia might have been possible in that country.

C [175] [248] The Chiriguano very early received such European domestic animals as the horse, the ass, the cow, sheep, goats, hogs, and chickens, which they captured in great quantities in their continual raids on the Spanish settlers. In 16th century documents there are repeated complaints about the extensive stealing of livestock by these Indians. Today the Chiriguano C and Chané do not have many horses, and they have never had 49 41 the /39/ pronounced character of a nation of horsemen. The 48 361 true weapons of war were formerly a long bow and arrows which were also long, which cannot be used by a mounted horseman, in addition to which their homes were formerly in the hills in C regions which the Spaniards could not enter on horseback. In Ce certain parts of their territory the raising of cattle has some 23 importance (181). More general is the raising of sheep, pigs,

181. See Métraux I, p. 340.

and chickens. Today one sometimes also finds among them guinea hens and turkeys (182).

182. Nord. 1, p. 137.

/44 cont./

195 316 648 [169]

Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Mayporin, and we know that the Chiriguano powessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spur of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

301 179 439

316

Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own

213. Nord. 1. p. 209.

statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

263 319 [439]

While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water

Ce 178 643 [114] [248]

/83 cont./ when Nordenskiöld made his expedition, there was no longer a great cacique among the Chané on the Parapití River. The last great cacique had been Aringui, whose nephew, Batiraya, was a cacique, but he had refused the position of great cacique because he did not want to be too dependent on the whites (311).

311. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 233.

C 631 [642] C [131] [175]

According to what is said in older documents, the Chiriguano, after their immigration into the Cordillera, did not form a uniform community, a state, in the proper sense of public law. Formerly they had formed a federation of several parcialidades /subdivisions/. In the letter of Licenciado Cepeda (312) in the

312. Letter from Licenciado Cepeda giving an account of the war against the Chiriguano under the encomienda of Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, Governor of Santa Cruz, and under the Maestre de Campo, Fernando de Cazorra, through Tomina, and under Luis de Fuentes through Tarija. According to Moreno II, p. 113.

year 1585, it is said "that the Province of the Chiriguano, who are in the Cordillera between Santa Cruz and the city of La Plata, who are divided into three parcialidades, each distinct from the others, 25 leagues, although they communicate and help one another. One is the parcialidad of Vitupué, another that of Condorillo, and the other of Chiquiacá."

C 631 643

Of the two parcialidades Vitupué and Chiquiacá we know that they, at least originally, were each under the chieftainship of a great cacique, from whom they received their respective names. Vitupuera was the great cacique of the former and Chiaca the great cacique of the latter (313). With regard to the parcialidad

313. Moreno II, pp. 122 and 126.

631 /83 cont./
[643] of Condorillo, we do not have any evidence as to whether this whole parcialidad was under the chieftainship of a great cacique. We only know that the town of Saigpuru was one of the most important and that it was the most feared by its enemies and that its inhabitants were defeated in the year 1779 by Don Tomás Leso (?:4).
[195 020 632]

314. Moreno II, p. 344.

631 According to the reports written by the Governor of Santa Cruz,
632 Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, the Province of "Yvytupue," that
643 is, the region governed by the great cacique Vitupuera, was made
103 up of five large subdivisions. As can be assumed from the report cited, these subdivisions were in part made up of one town and in part of several towns and were, with the exception of one, governed by several caciques. Thus there is mentioned in the first place the subdivision "Taquirán and Caracará," probably meaning the towns which bear these names. As the caciques of this first subdivision, three are mentioned; thus the number of caciques does not correspond to the number of towns. Thus, we are not here dealing with a community which was established exclusively on a territorial basis. /84/ For the second subdivision three names are mentioned, Aguapea, Naipea, and Traibi. Thus it was probably made up of three towns. In this subdivision the number of towns, three, corresponds to the number of caciques. The third subdivision is called Tamboré. Thus it can be presumed that it consisted of but one town, and there is also mentioned but one cacique. The fourth subdivision is called Tendy, and three caciques of it are mentioned. It is stated that one of these caciques, called Aoqué, was the son of the cacique Tendy, thus of that cacique who gave his name to that subdivision. Of the fifth subdivision, Ayaguá or Cayaguá, as many as four caciques are mentioned (?:5).

315. Moreno II, pp. 173 and 174.

/84 cont./

631 [643] Also for the parcialidad of Chiquiacá besides its great cacique, Chiquiacá or Chiacá, 14 other caciques are mentioned, but it cannot be determined from these statements whether these are the names of successive caciques or of contemporaneous ones.

C •195 648 631 We have interesting data from the 16th century on the way in which the individual Chiriguano communities distributed among themselves the different countries in which they were making their depredations. In the "Confesión de Blas Negro," it is said "that to those of the province of cayguru fell the part of tomina, and those of coyagua to the churumatas, and those of tendi as far as misque and tiraque, and those of aguapes up to this road from poxo and santa cruz" (316).

316. Moreno II, p. 129.

C Ca 175 648 In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have already mentioned that the Chané, and also other tribes as well, were subjugated by the Chiriguano and incorporated as subjects into their communities. The Chané communities which C [928] [648] had originally been in Chiriguano territory or its environs had been exterminated, until at the end of the 19th century, when the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites, the Chané were emancipated from their oppressors and once more inhabited their separate towns governed by their own great caciques. Ca 175 643 We have an interesting item in the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" through which we know that the Chané in times past, before being subjugated by the Chiriguano, had a strong social organization and powerful great caciques. In Puerto de Reyes, Alvar Nuñez met a Chané cacique who had previously accompanied García on his return from Peru and later, after the murder of García by the Guaraní, had fled from them. Among other things this cacique declared "that in his land those of his race have a single headman who orders all and who is obeyed by all, and that there are many towns of many peoples of those of his race" (317). The subjugated Chané were distributed among

317. Moreno II, p. 30.

C Ca /86 cont./ The subjugated Chané were distributed among
175 the various social communities of the Chiriguano as subjects or
648 slaves. In the "Relación del Corregidor de Tomino Don Juan
162 Arce de Alvedia" in the year 1618, it is said that in the Province
[567] of Machareti, "which is Pilcomayo and its environs," there lived scarcely 400 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 5,000 Chané "to one 200, to another 100, to another 60, and in this way up to said number." In the Province of Charagua 4,000 Chané were distributed in the same manner to the 350 Chiriguano of this province, and upwards of 1,000 Chané to the 200 Chiriguano of the Province of Guapay. As in other documents, in this one as well, there is mentioned the ill treatment which these subjects had to suffer from the Chiriguano and the hate which they had toward their oppressors (318). The Chiriguano

C Ca 175 648 567

C Ca [186]

318. Moreno II, pp. 250 and 104.

scornfully called the Chané "tapiá," while they themselves were called /65/ by the latter "cheya," that is, "my maker" (319).

319. Moreno II, p. 254.

C 175 Although most of these subjects or slaves were made up of Chané,
648 there were also among them other Indians who had been subjugated
567 in the expeditions, for example, Chicha Indians (320), and among

Ca [567] [648]

320. Moreno II, p. 90].

the Chiriguano of Tendi also Guatuco Indians (321). According

321. Moreno II, p. 117.

to Techo (322), whose report was written in the second half of

322. According to Moreno II, pp. 236 and 237.

the 17th century, the Chiriguano customarily sold some of their slaves to the Spaniards.

/90 cont./

648 175 Outside of those subjects incorporated directly into the Chiriguano communities, several tribes of Indians subjugated by the Chiriguano were their tributaries, that is, the tributaries of their individual parcialidades. These tribes had to pay fixed tributes and to lend services as allies in war (322). Such tribu-

322. Moreno II, pp. 121 and 125, 117.

taries of the Chiriguano of the province of Tvytupue were the Tamacocies, the Xores, and the Turucarés. In the "Carta /letter/ from Don Lorenzo de Figueroa" of the year 1584 it says that the Tamacocies and Xores and Turucarés had not assisted the Chiriguano of the parcialidad of Vitupue, seeing that they might be defeated by the Spaniards. From this report it can be surmised that as tributaries, they might have been obligated to aid their masters. From the "Confesión del Ilas negro," who had lived for a long time as a prisoner among the Chiriguano, we learn what made up the tributes that the three tributary tribes had to pay to the parcialidad of Thytupue (324). "They

324. Moreno II, pp. 121 and 125.

pay tribute in this way, the Xores poisonous herbs for their arrows, and the Tamacocies, Indian men and women, bows and arrows, and fish and game and guacaws, and the Turucares give them coconuts and turkey feathers and chonta palm for making arrows." Moreover the same source says that the Chiriguano of Tendi and Aparo, Aguapea, and Caripui had contracted with the Chuin-Indians of the town of Míque to provide them "with powdered saltpeter, stone, sulfur, axes, crowns /coronas/, chipanos, scissors, knives, and other things" (325).

325. Moreno II, p. 121.

/of sons./
but no meat (349). Later he can eat sweet potatoes. When the

349. See Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

baby begins to walk, he is given one name at most, not by his parents, but by his grandparents. Nicknames are often added to the proper name later (350). Orphans are brought up by their

350. Nord. 1, p. 208.

relatives (351).

351. Nord. 1, p. 210.

From the time they first immigrated to the Sierra de la Cordillera, the Chiriguano, that is, their parcialidades, made war or attacks on the neighboring Indian tribes or the Spaniards. In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have described these hostilities in broad outline. Their weapons of war were bows and arrows and the club. The caciques were also war chiefs. According to what one Chané cacique told Nordenskiöld, these Indians formerly had the custom of bringing home the heads of their dead enemies and of showing them during the fiestas in the town square (352). The Chiriguano capacity

352. Nord. 1, p. 172.

for war was still recognized by the Spaniards in the 16th century. In the "Declaración de Sebastián Pérez Chamoso" in 1571, it is said of them: "With the inventions and tricks and mode of war that they have, they have done and are doing said damages unto the Spaniards, Indians, and workers that are in the said fields" (353).

353. Moreno II, p. 107.

Before the Chiriguano launched their attack upon King Guacane, they reconnoitered with spies the Llanos of Grigota where the

726 /88 cont./
912 King was (354). Their towns, described in the preceding, were

354. Moreno II, p. 87.

175 fortified by blockades, in addition to their natural position. Ruiz
212 Diaz de Guzman on his expedition against the Chiriguano found
248 a town near the Pilcomayo which was fortified by two concentric blockades of stone and wood (355). We find interesting data

355. Moreno II, p. 252.

about the fortifications that the Chiriguano made during their wars in the "Relación y breve noticia de lo sucedido en la guerra de Chiriguanos que se ha hecho este año de 1729 por orden /89/ del señor Virrey y Real Audiencia de Chuquisaca por el Padre Bartholomé de Mora /Report and brief note on what happened in the Chiriguano war that took place in this year of 1729 by order of the Lord Viceroy and Royal Audiencia of Chuquisaca by Father Bartolomé de Mora/" (356). These fortifications are described

[113]

356. Unpublished /inedito/ manuscript published /publicado/ by Profesor A. Posnansky with an introduction and notes by Dr. A. Métraux. (Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad de Tucuman, Vol. II, No. I, p. 126.)

in the following way: "Continuing on their way (the Spaniards and Chiquitos), now by the light of day, at about a league they found blocking the way a very strong and well placed trench with very heavy stakes stuck in the ground, which, hewn like planks, had loopholes through which they shot arrows. Here considerable resistance was met, because the trench was very well fortified and the Indians who defended it were numerous." In another place it says: "They went on, all now being together, and they arrived at the place where the enemies had fortified themselves.... The fort was a ravine cut like a wall, which had

/89 cont./

only one way up, very narrow and steep, which, sown with thorny branches, made it more impenetrable. On the eminence of which they had entrenched the gate with stakes stuck into the ground."

Today the Chiriguano and Chané no longer make war upon other Indians, aside from the fact that the Chané on the Parapití occasionally go on expeditions against the Tsiraksu Indians (357).

357. Nord. 1, p. 171.

Law

Because the white authorities intervene more and more in the original, juridical traditions of the Chiriguano and Chané, many of them no longer exist today and also, from the few data which Nordenskiöld gives regarding this matter as of 30 years ago, many do not now correspond to the facts.

With regard to penal law, we find among these Indians a mixture between the principle of the "vendetta" and the practice of penal law. Among the Chané on the Parapití, most crimes, and robbery in particular, were settled by means of the duel. In the case of theft, the one who has stolen and the one who has been robbed appear, each with his relatives, in the town square to fight each other. Only homicide, the seduction of a woman, and sorcery were decided by the great cacique as judge. Homicide, which formerly occurred among the Chané in the form of poisoning with poisoned chicha ("bád dyát"), and sorcery were punished by the burning of the criminal. The seducer of a woman lost his property (358). According to statements of the substitute great

358. Nord. 1, p. 222.

cacique of the Chané on the Itiyuru, it was the principal obligation of the cacique to avoid the vendetta by sending criminals to another region so that they would not be killed. Thus thieves, after having received 50 lashes, were sent to another town. A murderer was condemned to work up to half a year for the family

T 115 264 /301 cont./
their four fingers from the earthen dish or other vessel in which they keep it, even though they throw it from rather far away, nevertheless they put it so accurately into their mouths that they do not drop a single bit. So that some of us Frenchmen, wishing to imitate them, thought we would eat it in that fashion, and not being at all trained for that like them, instead of throwing it in our mouths, we discharged it on our cheeks and fouled our whole face: /301/ consequently unless those principally who wore beards would have wanted to be accoutered as players of farces, we were constrained to take it with spoons" (Léry, Vol. I, pp. 143-144).

T 262 263 264 This comparison permitted me to suppose that roasted corn flour has simply replaced the "farinha" of the Brazilians. As we know, the pulp of manioc tubers, after being carefully squeezed in the tipiti, or trough, was roasted on a terra-cotta slab and changed into dry flour, with which the Tupinambá accompanied all their meals. -The Chiriguano think the same way about sabi: they say that corn flour, in order to be eaten, must have an accompaniment, an [illegible]. To my way of thinking, sabi and mulati are two substitutes for manioc flour that the Chiriguano invented or adapted after emigrating into a land where bitter manioc was unknown. Neither the other tribes of the Chaco nor the Quichua eat corn in this form, and, to my knowledge at least, there is no doubt that the Chiriguano introduced these two dishes into the country, without counting a goodly number of the ones which have been enumerated.

C 262 C [1045] [1047] The only fruits that the Chiriguano consume on a large scale are the prickly pear or tuna (Opuntia), which are seen in all their villages. They also plant some fig and orange trees when they are under mission influence. They are also great lovers of melons, of sandias (watermelons), and when they have eaten one of those which has pleased them particularly, they keep the seed. They love sugar cane with a passion. Sorghum is especially meant for the children, for whom these graminaceae are a veritable sweetmeat. They suck the juice, which is as sweet as that of sugar cane.

343 /17 cont./ How could it be that they copied this from
(149) the whites, because in these regions they have never used
houses built on posts. Neither do we have any indications
(176) that the ancient Peruvians had such houses. It is very un-
likely that the Chiriguano settled in their new territory might
have invented the construction of such houses, because the
nature of their territory did not render such a form of construc-
343 tion necessary. In South America we find houses built on posts
(17) almost solely in regions exposed to floods. Thus we mainly
find them in the coastal regions of the northern part of the
South American continent, and they appear to the south of the
Amazon River only in a relatively narrow zone in the center
of the continent including Chiriguano territory. According to
Marban in 1676 (71), the Moje had houses built on posts and

(113) 71. Marban, Pedro "Relatión de la Provincia de la Virgen del Pilar de Mojos /Report on the Province of the Virgen del Pilar de Mojos/." Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de La Paz, Bolivia, 1888, p. 132. According to Nordenskiöld,

doubtless such house constructions were quite useful in those marshy and often flooded regions. In addition Nordenskiöld during his travels (72) found one of these houses serving as a

72. Ibid. 2, p. 2.

storehouse among the Chacobo, who live north of the Mojo not very far away. Some of the Quichua /Quechua/ houses located between the Chaparé River and the Cochabamba River had been built on posts, but Nordenskiöld himself does not consider this architecture to have been primordial among them. Of the Chaco tribes who have storehouses built on posts Nordenskiöld mentions the Matako /Mataco/. I found such storehouses in the Matako town near Linares, but many of them also in the Churupí installations in Esteros. Nordenskiöld in his publications on the Churupí, whom he calls the Ashluslay, does not

/1200/

First Part

Material Culture

To Eva who was my traveling companion.

Introduction

121 For anyone who wants to verify experimentally, if I may say so, the value of the methods which are being adopted in modern ethnography, for anyone who wishes to judge the factors which condition the formation and evolution of civilizations, there is no better field than the study of the Chiriguano Indians.

We know where they came from, the period when they formed a new nation, the populations with which they mingled or were in contact, the influences they underwent and their duration, and finally we are acquainted with the vicissitudes of their history: in a word, we can be present at the formation and development of this people from their origin to their present decline, an experience unique in South America, rare perhaps elsewhere, and in any case rich in instruction.

Adaptation to the environment, borrowing of new cultural elements, abandonment of traditions and techniques, somatic[1] and linguistic changes, so many problems that the Chiriguano civilization poses and that the historical documents and the collections permit solving or at least clarifying.

• 177 178 Chiriguano culture is composed of elements of different origins, borrowed from tribes which had only a little in common with one another. It involves an old Guarani substratum, transformed and entirely renewed by the contribution of the Arawak culture of the Chané, which itself had been enriched and modified by the influence of the Andean populations of present-day southern Bolivia. A common environment and long proximity allowed many a technique and industry of the primitive Indians of the Chaco to be adopted and assimilated by the Chiriguano. The importance of this third component is minimal.

/299 cont./

177 178 An analysis of Chiriguano culture (see Nordenskiöld, 10, pp. 196-213) makes manifest the heterogeneity which the history of the tribe caused to be suspected a priori. The pottery, basketry, weapons, and furniture almost constantly present disparate characteristics in which are expressed this play of influences, this intermixture of races and ideas of which the present-day culture of the Chiriguano is the product.

/300/ The ethnographer feels all the more at ease in his analysis when at every step history confirms or invalidates the findings to which his comparative work leads him. Thus he walks on firm ground, and the results he has acquired in this particular domain will justify his method when he uses it to solve problems whose data are less complete.

181 The Chiriguano, in more than one respect, deserve to hold a preponderant place in the ethnography of South America. They have played an important role in the history of Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina; their civilization has been brilliant and has maintained itself intact almost until our time; besides, they are remarkably endowed from the point of view of character and intelligence. To these qualifications they add that of having built up their civilization, so to say, before our very eyes and of offering to science a field where it moves with some sureness.

In order to understand the point of view I have tried to put forward in this introduction, it is indispensable to know, in its main lines, the early history of these Indians.

Chapter I

000 Historical Outline of the Formation of the Chiriguano Nation

/Eight lines of poetry in Spanish, from Barco Centenera, La Argentina, pp. 185-186, are omitted in the translation./

121 175 My intention is not to recount the history of the Chiriguano from the 16th century to today insofar as we can know it from official documents and chronicles. This work has been done and generally well done (Corrado; Kersten, pp. 66-69; Serrano y Sanz; Nordenskiöld, 7 and 8, pp. 45-58; Gandía, 2, pp. 25-56 and id., 3, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía, etc.).

142
554
643
177

1. Santos Airedyú, the last "capitan grande" of the still independent Chiriguano Indians. Airedyú is completely assimilated to civilization and lives like a rich Bolivian farmer. He is a man of great character. (Photo. A. M.)

142
291
797

2. Group of Chiriguano in a Franciscan mission. (Photo by the R. P. Honorato Catinari.)

/329 cont./

Ce 172 167 [177] clearly Arawak by its technique and many a detail of its structure. It dates from an epoch when the Chané, newly come to the foot of the Andes, had not yet undergone the Andean influence of the populations of the Bolivian south (Chicha, Atacama, etc.).

C G 181 171 When they arrived among the Chané, the Guarani had a civilization nearly identical with that of their racial brothers, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, whose ethnography is so familiar to us, thanks to the old French and Portuguese chronicles. They differed little from their present-day cousins, the Kainguá /Caingua/ of Brazil and Paraguay, who are independent but impoverished Guarani.

C G 177 181 Upon contact with the superior Chané civilization, the Guarani adopted it as it was, introducing, however, some cultural elements of Paraguayan origin. From this fusion of the two nations was /330/ formed a center of acculturation which we can designate as Chané-Chiriguano civilization.

C 177 It is through the medium of the Chané that so many aspects of Andean civilization still characterize Chiriguano culture. For how could we otherwise explain so strong an effect of Andean civilization on the Chiriguano at the time when that civilization was failing and disappearing, at least partially?

Ce 177 178 The Chané, on the other hand, established for centuries near the Chicha and other Indians of the south of mountainous Bolivia, have, thanks to their trade relations, submitted to the attractions of the Andean civilization which has infiltrated among them, as among the other tribes of the Chaco, in the form of toilet objects, jewels, artistic motifs, games, words, and vices. It is these multiple contributions which give the Chané culture this Andean appearance which strikes every ethnographer used to the peoples of Brazil. But, having come from the great forests of the Amazon basin, these "Quichuaized /Quechuaized/" Arawak have faithfully kept until today furniture and utensils which betray this origin and tie them directly to their faraway relatives of the Guianas. The Chané civilization was and still is a mixed civilization formed of elements from different sources and often of opposing nature.

/330 cont./

C
G
177

The Chiriguano adopted this civilization of a superior type with all the more ease by reason of the numerous affinities it offered with their own. The whole Amazonian and Guianan side of the Chané civilization was composed of industries, techniques, and practices with which the Chiriguano, having come from the tropical regions of America, from a country of great forests and rivers, were already acquainted in part. Thus, for example, the Guarani, upon arriving among the Chané, found again the hammocks, grain sieves, mortars, baskets, and weapons to which they were accustomed.

C
G
Ce
177
Ce
[323]

The contribution of the Chané consisted of the very cultural elements they had received from the Andean peoples, that is, clothing (camisetas, headband, etc.), the liking for silver ornaments, some artistic motifs, certain pottery forms, etc., things which were scarcely beginning to filter into Paraguay. The influence of the Chané was decisive in the sphere of pottery.

C
G
177
563
323
[161]
Ce
178
323
177

The civilizing action of the Chané upon the Chiriguano had as agent the Chané women whom the Chiriguano captured and married. The Guarani had certainly taken along with them only a small number of girls. They themselves were few in number at the beginning, 4,000 according to Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260). In uniting with the Chané women whom they carried off by the thousands, they renewed with their blood all the feminine aspects of their industry. It is the women, for example, who make /331/ the pottery; a man would not be able to engage in it without losing prestige. So we see the pottery of the Guarani undergo important modifications and change completely. Today pottery is their glory; and of their ancient ceramics they have kept only the humble pots or the brewing vats for chicha. In spite of their decline the Chané have maintained their traditional superiority in this art, and they continue to produce vessels which, if they are not comparable to those of the past, are often very beautiful.

Ce /331 cont./
178
439
323
[177]

The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C
G
177
178
342
596

Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

G
177
178
266

C
17

Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C
105
175

The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

C
[167]

They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

C /331 cont./
105
175
[167]
[173]

This migration had as its motive power the attraction which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

Ce
[197]
[177]

At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

C
[648]
[563]
[619]

The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives.

The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

C
[177]

From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

Ce
[177]
[197]
[198]

On their part the Chané adopted the language of their conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a secret language.

C
175
131

Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Mataguayo and the Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

C
[101]
C
[361]

/338 cont./

241 Sorghum (triku) (Sorghum sacchariferum) (1);

[262] 1. Sorghum is cultivated only on a very small scale. It is a delicacy that the Chiriguano reserve for children, who suck its stalk.

/339/ Sugar cane;
Melons;
Watermelons (sandias);
Prickly pear (saini) (Opuntia spec.);
Fig trees;
Orange trees (in the missions).

[177] The Chiriguano cultivate only on a very small scale the plants which, like sorghum, sugar cane, fig trees, and orange trees, have been introduced by the Europeans. Of these only melons enjoy general favor.

248 They always devote some parts of their fields to the cultivation of plants of value only for their arts and manufactures. These are: cotton plants (mandiyú), cucurbitaceous plants (iá) which grow on the ground next to their squash and furnish the containers they need, roucou (urukú), which scarcely exists except in the northern part of their habitat, and finally a species of reed (Arundo donax) with which they make the shafts of their arrows.

249 They also plant tobacco (pẽtĩ), but I have never seen any in their fields. According to Nordenskiöld (10, p. 25), its [276] cultivation is insignificant and rare. The Chiriguano are not [123] great smokers, and the numerous packs of cigarettes I took along for them found only a few devotees. Among the Toba, Matako /Mataco/, or Chorotí /Choroti/ my stocks would have been exhausted in the wink of an eye, for these Indians love tobacco more than anything in the world.

276 The use of tobacco among the ancient Chiriguano, as among 756 their ancestors in Paraguay or Brazil, was reserved for the 824 medicine men for their magical operations. Their use made [178] of it a plant endowed with "mystical" virtues, and its

/341 cont./

243 825 532 Parrots are veritable plagues for agriculture in the Chaco and cause great damage. In order to fight their voracious bands the Chiriguano make scarecrows by attaching to the tip of flexible poles the masks they wear during the carnival festivities and which they have no use for afterward (Fig. 8). It is the need to be constantly /342/ on the watch to repulse the intrusion of these formidable bands of plunderers which obliges the Indians to come and live in their fields as soon as the corn ripens. The children and young people have the task of frightening off by their shouts these insatiable marauders. As soon as they see or hear a flock of parrots, they emit a long modulation which, it seems, has the effect of scaring them. If 243 411 the parrots come too near or perch on the fields, the Indians make them flee by bombarding them with stones with their slings. They have two kinds of these. Wherever the Chiriguano [177] are in direct contact with the Quichua /Quechua/, these slings are of wool (Plate VII, 1 and 2); elsewhere, especially in the Caipipendí valley, they are of vegetable fibers and made according to the net technique (Plate VII, 3). No doubt the Chiriguano borrowed this weapon from the Andean populations. To be convinced of this it suffices to compare the slings of the Indians and half-breeds of the department of Tarija with that of the Chiriguano (Rosen, 1, Fig. 267, p. 261).

[825] Another means of scattering the birds is to stretch a string above the fields. I do not know the effect that this measure can have on them.

243 825 [351] The fields of the Chiriguano Indians are always surrounded by a high, thick hedge which protects them from animals, wandering cows and horses, which could get in and play havoc with them. Grasshoppers sometimes do them much harm. In the Caipipendí valley I saw a field in which they were swarming and which seemed to have been abandoned for this reason (1).

1. When grasshoppers are particularly numerous, the Chiriguano dig ditches which they make them go into and in which they bury them. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 83.)

/3-4 cont./

526 immediately, chased by his comrades who pulled his hair
178 energetically. The awkward player who threw the ball in such
243 a way that his partner could not catch it was in the same
789 category as the one who let it fall, on condition, however, that his opposite number had not made the gesture of catching it. Once the corn was ripe, they stopped playing mboto.

526 171 The game of mboto has a wide distribution in South America, but it is limited to the populations of the Amazonian basin and the Guianas. Doubtless the Chiriguano introduced it into the Chaco (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 168).

[179]

417 Fig. 10. Forked tree on
251 which the Chiriguano pile
824 corn inside their huts. This device may have given rise to the corncribs on piles.

526 This game without any doubt derives
789 from a magical rite whose object was to pro-
243 mote the beneficial course of the sun and to oblige it to shine without interruption to make the corn ripen. The straw shuttlecock represents the sun. The period when this game is played and the meaning the Chiriguano attach to it make my hypothesis a very likely one. Preuss[illegible]nstrated that in all of Central Am[illegible]ica and even in North America the /345/ tennis game arose out of a magical operation intended to influence the sun.

Fig. 11. Straw shuttlecock (mboto), accessory for the game of the same name. Prov.: Carurutí (1/3 nat. size.)

/352 cont./

C 252 The fish begins by being opened and cleaned and only then is it boiled or roasted. In this last case it is inserted between the two branches of a switch split for three quarters of its length (Fig. 22). So that the latter does not open completely, the lower part is fastened securely with bands of bark, and so that the fish does not fall out once it is inserted in the interstice, the upper part. Among their ancestors, the Guarani, G [252] such a spit would have been superfluous, because to grill the product of their fishing or hunting they used to construct C [251] [262] buccans. Our Chiriguano also eat fish dried in the sun and enjoy it in this form combined with some corn dish.

/353/

Chapter IV

Cooking

Fire

C 372 177 The modern Chiriguano more and more use matches of Bolivian make, but their poor quality has contributed to maintaining the popularity of the tinderbox. That of the Chiriguano, borrowed recently from the white men, is composed of a flint and a piece of iron with which they make sparks fly, which fall on a little wild cotton (the one which the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) produces). This tow (tata rimbiuna) is kept in a small receptacle made from the end of a cow horn or an armadillo tail. /Figs. 23 and 24 appear here./ It is hermetically sealed by a wooden disk, which a small cord passing inside the capsule and coming out through a hole at the tip of the horn or tail allows to be put back in place with a single motion. This ingenious contrivance is not, however, of Indian invention; I saw it adapted to the tinderboxes of the creoles in the Argentine Republic. Some Chiriguano make cloth wicks which at first sight would seem C [415] [281] to have been produced in one of our factories. The tinderbox with its accessories is carefully kept in small bags of deerskin, wildcat, iguana, etc. (Figs. 23 and 24).

/363 cont./

234 To end up, one could still cite among Chiriguano food
262 the cheese they make in some villages. Each time they butcher they take care to keep the abomasus in order to make
[177] milk separate. Chiriguano cheeses are of the same quality as those of the half-breeds, who for once have taught something
[272] to our Indians. I shall add that I have never seen a Chiriguano drink milk.

312 The problem of water does not come up for the Chiriguano
133 as for the other Indians of the Chaco. Numerous rivers cross their territory, and several of them are large enough not to dry up even in the middle of the dry season. These watercourses form innumerable quebradas, gorges or valleys, which give its characteristic aspect to the country inhabited by our Indians.
[361] Sometimes villages are built near springs or small lakes, like the Ivu mission, which is provided with plenty of water.

312 When I crossed the Caipipendí valley, the river which occupies the bottom was nearly dry. The Indians had scooped out small wells about one meter in depth in the sand of its bed. They had surrounded them with slabs of stone to prevent any caving in and to preserve the water which accumulated in them from the heat of the sun. In this same valley, in a village situated on top of a hill, the Indians had dug a cistern four to five meters in diameter in which rain water had collected.

271 The Chiriguano have found a way to purify the muddy
312 water they often have to drink. They crush caraguatá leaves
824 between two stones, then steep them in the water, and all its impurities settle as a result of the action of the juice of this plant.

264 The Chiriguano do not eat at set times. They make a rather substantial breakfast very early in the morning and again take some food toward the middle of the day. In the evening
[562] about six o'clock they make a kind of dinner. Since the men are served first, then the women and children, it follows that the meals drag out in length. At any moment of the day one
[415] can see someone eating. The food /364/ is presented to each one in a calabash or terra-cotta bowl which each holds on his knees. They pick up the pieces with their fingers but imbibe liquids with a wooden spoon (Figs. 42 and 43). After eating, they wash their hands. I have seen some rinse out their mouths.

/369 cont./

293 At Sainirenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the
574 first one served is always the "captain." As before, the
576 vessel full of kāwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first
[554] bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they always come back to the first person who received each one and he finishes it. The men move from their places several times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/
[533] ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of flutes and violins.

When the supply of kāwi is exhausted in a village, they get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere to revel.

[789] Formerly the preparation of kāwi was accompanied by
[198] magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of
[302] daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the women do not even take this precaution any more. However, between Caruruti and Caipipendi, I could still see several women stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an expression dear to Jean de Léry.

415 Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/ gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are preparing corn beer.

Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a com-
[197] pletely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The
[198] latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements, while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

C
Ce
415
121
179

/373 cont./

Typologically, we must put the vessels of the primitive tribes of the Chaco in the category of the iru. Like the Chiriguano or their forerunners the Chané, the Matako, Toba, Choroti, and Ashluslay copied Andean models, which they adapted to their needs. It is appropriate to note that the seminomadic tribes of the Chaco must have fashioned their vessels in such a way as to be able to take them along with

T
415
531

Fig. 39. Toba vessel with bands in relief imitating the suspension cords with which vessels of this type are generally provided. Prov.: Macharetí. (1/4 nat. size ⅟.)

C
Ce
415
121
179

them on their peregrinations, while the Chané and Chiriguano, sedentary nations, did not feel the need to modify the primitive form and kept the Andean prototype without bringing variations to it. For comparison I am reproducing here two vessels from the Chaco: one (Fig. 37) comes from the Toba section of Macharetí, and the other (Fig. 38) from an Ashluslay tribe traveling in northern Argentina.

1: Métraux--140 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chorotí SK6
Araucanians S64
Tupi-Guarani SL6

/377/

Wooden Bowls and Basins

C 415 171 439

The Chiriguano also use wooden bowls (Fig. 49). I do not know whether they make them themselves or receive them from the half-breeds of the /Fig. 48 appears here/ San Luis region. In this latter case the Chiriguano of the San Luis (Entre-Rios) region would be the only ones to make them. In Tarija /Figs. 49-50 appear here / where these bowls are much sought after by the half-breeds, they were indicated to me as coming from that zone. The rare wooden bowls which /378/ I saw at Caipipendí had been bought by the Chiriguano in the course of their trips. The same origin must be attributed to the wooden troughs found among the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua half-breeds of Tarija department. These basins are used for washing food and also as bathtubs. The Choroti have wooden dishes (Nordenskiöld, 5, Fig. 20, p. 88) which have a shape very similar to that of the trough reproduced here (Fig. 50) and which doubtless were introduced among them either by the ancient Quichua or by the half-breeds. Among the Araucan of Argentina wooden basins are found, which are similar in every detail to those of the Indians and half-breeds of Bolivia and the specimen pictured here.

Ci 415 177

A 415 171

Chapter V

Tools of the Chiriguano

C 412 178 [177]

The work tools the Chiriguano use nowadays are almost all of European manufacture. Here and there the ancient forms were kept when stone or bone were replaced by iron. Witness the adze of Plate XXII /see p.143 / which constitutes a curious survival of the eared or T-shaped ax certainly adopted by the Chiriguano after their migration and their establishment at the foot of the Andes. This type of ax is unknown to me from any other Tupi-Guarani tribe and is rare in the area occupied by the different nations belonging to this linguistic family (see Rivet, 1, pp. 149-155).

T-G [412] [184]

/380/

303
415
325

Fig. 53. Mold for making tin labrets (tembetayapua). Prov.: Tumbía. (1/2 nat. size.)

301
303
415
325

Mold for Tembetas

The tembeta, or labrets, of the Chiriguano are of tin. They make them themselves with the aid of the mold pictured here (Fig. 53). It is a calabash into which the fins of the labret have been hollowed out, while the thicker central part of the ornament corresponds to the end of a stick going through the calabash. The cavity produced in the central part of the labret is then filled with wax into which glass or turquoise beads are incrusted. These come from ancient burial-places and are sold to the Chiriguano by the half-breeds of Tarija.

[531]
[439]

Balances

296
199
191

The Chiriguano of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé valley prize coca quite as much as the Quichua of the altiplano. Besides, it is from them that they got this vice. The fact is known and does not need to be demonstrated. This custom

/380 cont./

276 177 171 spread among the Chiriguano recently for it has not yet spread throughout the territory they inhabit. The Chiriguano who live far removed from the half-breed or Indian populations of the Cordillera are not "coqueros," and only rarely does one meet among them some old man who accepts a quid of coca.

276 171 302 114 Ivu is the last point toward the east and north where I could distribute my supply of coca to advantage. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 85-91) sought to demonstrate that the custom of blackening the teeth went along cheek by jowl with that of chewing coca and derived from it. As a matter of fact, this habit has a very marked western distribution and follows the zone of coca cultivation.

276 [824] The Chiriguano mix each quid of coca with the ashes reaped from a tree (ulala) whose scientific name I do not know. These ashes (tanimbo), which corresponds to the llicta of the Quichua, are contained in a small leather bag.

276 439 804 Coca is a luxury commodity which the Quichua Indians or half-breeds come to sell to the Chiriguano. To avoid all argument and all fraud on the part of unscrupulous sellers, the Chiriguano have recourse to balances of their own making. They fabricate them with /381/ two calabashes cut in half to serve as scales (Figs. 54 and 55). The balance with scales was in [177] use in pre-Hispanic times /Fig. 54 appears here/ in the ancient Inca Empire (see Nordenskiöld, 16) and so I believed at first that among the Chiriguano it represented a survival of /Fig. 55 appears here/ the Andean influence, whose importance we shall see further on. Among the Chiriguano, however, this object is designated by the Spanish name /382/ mbalanza, which seems to indicate that they borrowed it from the half-breeds. The latter and the Quichua use them in their commercial transactions, but especially for weighing the precious coca. Perhaps it was the same in prehistoric times. There is nothing to prove that only metals were weighed, as has been supposed with respect to these ancient scales.

804 177 For weights the Chiriguano use old Bolivian silver coins and express measures according to the old Spanish system. By a tacit convention a coin worth two modern sous is the equivalent of one ounce.

/382 cont./

804 439 The Chiriguano measure the cloth which Syrian peddlers come to offer them with varas, that is, a stick about 80 centimeters long, the length of the ancient Spanish vara. This instrument has been borrowed from the Bolivian half-breeds. [177]

Chapter VI

121 Art among the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

To Professor Félix F. Outes.

The artistic sense of the Chiriguano is manifested in pottery decoration, pyrography, and wood carving.

We shall study these three activities one after the other.

Pottery Technique

114 323 The Chiriguano pottery technique has been studied briefly by Campana (p. 54), following Father Giannechini's notes, and by Outes (3, pp. 122-123), who adds some details communicated to him by the naturalist Holmberg to the ones he took from Campana's work. Nordenskiöld (1 and 10, pp. 142-147) completed on many points Campana's brief survey, so that I myself shall have few new things to note.

317 323 The clay used by Chiriguano potters comes from beds well known to the Indians, where they go from time to time to lay in fresh supplies. It is enough to see old vessels full of earth around a hut to know that a woman lives there still practicing the ancestral industry. Where adequate clay is lacking, pottery is imported. Thus in the Tigüipa mission all the vessels in use were made in Machareti. [439]

323 In order to be used the clay must be degreased with powder /383/ coming from potsherds. Fragments of old vessels are ground in a mortar until, after being put through a sieve, they give a fine powder which is kneaded for a rather

/389 cont./

415 531 The plant kingdom hardly inspires Chiriguano artists. The vessel of Plate LII, Fig. 3, is the only one whose decoration is clearly phytomorphic: and again in this case I am not sure that

323 516 342 291 415

Fig. 61. Fabrication of a vessel: the exterior surface is smoothed with a chip of bamboo after being flattened with the hand.

415 531 a European model did not serve as an intermediary between nature and the picture the potter portrayed.

[126] [179] /390/ Among the 200 vessels I collected in Chiriguano country there is not one that includes a figuration of the human face, with the exception of the one to which I have alluded, whose form betrays the desire to satisfy the stupid puerility of THE TOURISTS.

/393/

Decline of the Art of Pottery among the Chiriguano

323 Of all the Chiriguano industries the most threatened one
198 is doubtless ceramics. The Chiriguano can claim the glory of
415 having been until recently the last Indians of South America
/Fig. 64 appears here/ to have a pottery which deserved to be
included in the number of beautiful manifestations of this art,
so brilliantly represented in certain regions of the continent.
Today things have changed a great deal. Villages in which
one can still find women capable of decorating vessels with
the mastery of former days have become rare and are limited
415 to a restricted area. /394/ It was in the tolderías of the Timbey,
126 the Great Salado and the Little Salado, in the region of Yumbía
198 and in the Iglembé valley (upper Pilcomayo, departments of
Tarija and Chuquisaca) that I was able to collect the finest
specimens in my collection. Elsewhere it was exceptional
/Fig. 65 appears here/ /see p. 166/ to be lucky enough to lay
my hands on a fine piece: and, if I did have this luck several
times, it was almost always a question of an old vessel pre-
[199] served as if by a miracle. The Franciscan missions which
formerly gave Nordenskiöld and Holmberg such fine specimens
799 contributed less toward enriching my collections. Nothing ex-
323 presses the sad state of decline of the Chiriguano better than
415 what I /395/ could observe in the Machareti mission. After
198 going through nearly all the huts of this large village, which in
[162] normal times has close to 2,000 inhabitants, I could scarcely
acquire five or six yambuí having some artistic value. There
[463] were no longer more than three or four women who still knew
how to hold a brush and they had to /Fig. 66 appears here/ /see
p. 167/ provide for almost the whole village. In a few years
the ancient painted pottery will exist only in memory in the
large village where the famous "Captain" Mandepuna lived.

323 This decline has several causes. The first is the state of
415 profound demoralization in which the Chiriguano are found, the
198 total disorganization of their social life, and the increasing
197 influence of the white men, followed by its corruptive effects;
finally, the introduction of manufactured products, first and
foremost gasoline cans.

/398 cont./

17 this explains why the Chiriguano culture of the upper Pilcomayo presents such close affinities with that of the Chicha, the Humahuaca, and the Atacama (1).

1. On the western borders of their territory the Chiriguano were in constant touch with the Chicha, whose territory they devastated and whom they obliged to pay tribute to them.

Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 287): "the quality of the valley (of Tarija) being known, and the importance of its being populated, in order to check in that direction the Chiriguanas, who had done no little harm to the Chichas there, and they even paid them tribute, named as corregidor, etc...." /translated from the Spanish/.

Lizárraga (Vol. II, p. 117): "he went to Moquera and returned, and with more than thirty natives, twenty of them Chiriguanas, and the rest indios Chaneses /Chane Indians/ in service, and among them two more illustrious Chiriguanas, one called Marocare and the other par excellence Inga Cimbrillo, and another Indian of Chicha nation, whom they confined with those Chiriguanas ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

Archivo de Indias (74-4-1, cited by Cont, p. 19): "and in about a month they reached another nation of indios called chiriguanaes, who thus neighbor this city a dozen leagues from potosí, and they carry off a pueblo of indios chichas who are called chupas." /translated from the Spanish./

Cont (p. 21): "In a letter from the licenciado Matienzo he tells us that the Chiriguanaes continued to raze the plains of Mamo and, in addition, made frequent onslaughts on the Charcas, where they

/398 cont./

175
648
[266]
[443]

acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even 'had public meat markets for human flesh.' " /Translated from the Spanish./

175
177
648
[567]
[126]

Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII, 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

437
439

Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

121
172

Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text continues on p. 173]

/403 cont./

A P.C 17 531

Latcham (p. 5) says that for a long time he has also had the impression that Chincha culture had played a very important role in the development of the prehistoric art of the north and center of Chile, especially in the Diaguito-Chilean region, that is, the provinces of Atacama and Coquimbo, and that these influences had extended as far as Cachapoal in the south.

After the publication of Uhle's work, Latcham (p. 20) not only accepted his conclusions but even demonstrated the extension of Chincha culture as far as Caldera. Like Uhle, Latcham (p. 20) is of the opinion "that an examination of Diaguito-Argentine pottery would furnish proof that the traces of Chincha and Chincha-Atacama influences are very common in the art of northwestern Argentina, where all the designs reproduced (by Latcham) are found again alone or in combinations with other local motifs. These influences made themselves felt as far as the southeast and even the northeast of Bolivia, as can be ascertained by consulting the works dealing with the antiquities of these regions. In the modern pottery of the Chiriguano many of these same elements persist, as one can realize by leafing through the work of Outes, 3."

C [415] [531] [177]

C 415 177 121

In the pages which follow I shall seek to demonstrate that Chiriguano pottery presents characteristics obliging us to rank it among those which seem to have undergone the influence of the Chincha-Atacama civilization.

A P.C 17 114 121 [648]

Even if the hypothesis of the existence of a Chincha-Atacama civilization must be rejected some day, it is not any less certain that at a given moment the prehistoric tribes of the region of Atacama, of the northern coast of Chile, of the south of Peru and Bolivia, and of the north and northwest of Argentina were united by close relations, which /404/ explain the numerous points of contact of their cultures. Uhle's theory has on its side the advantage of accounting for these analogies whatever may be the reservations we might be able to formulate concerning the date this scholar attributes to the Chincha-Atacama civilization, concerning the importance and the extent he gives it.

C /405 cont./
415
171
P.A.
[415]
[172]

5. The iru of Fig. 70 b goes back into the class of the vessels known as pseudo-apods, as some Argentinian archeologists call them. As their name indicates, they are closely related, from the morphological point of view, to the vessels known as apods or more simply aryballuses, which constitute in northwestern Argentina so many concrete proofs of Inca influence. Among the Chiriguano and Chané this type of pottery is exceptional, and the specimen of Fig. 70 b is a unique piece whose interest is considerably increased by the extraordinary resemblance it bears to a vessel discovered in the cemeteries of the Isla de Tilcara (Fig. 70 a). These two iru have so many similarities between them that one could easily believe them to have come from the hands of the same artist. In the regions near the habitat of the Chiriguano numerous vessels of this type have been dug up. Odilia Bregante (p. 287) /406/ enumerates for the specimens found in Jujuy province the following localities: Saruga, Taranta, Pucará de Tilcara, Isla de Tilcara, and Cochinoca, for the Puna de Atacama, Antofogasta de la Sierra. In La Paya in Salta province these aryballuses or aryballoid vessels are very numerous, and one of them published by Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 42, p. 62) has on the upper part of the belly a row of triangles with volutes, which we find again on our specimen from the upper Pilcomayo.

Ce
[415]
[171]
P.A
[415]
[172]
C
P.A.
415
171

C
415
171

Vessels of this kind are, as we have said, characteristic of the Inca civilization. Similar jugs already appear in Tacna during the Chincha or Chincha-Atacama period (Uhle, 4, Plate XVII, Fig. 4; Plate XIX, Fig. 1 and 1 a; Plate XX, Figs. 1 and 2). /Fig. 71 appears here./

C
[177]

This type is so little diffused in Chiriguano country that one could not invoke its occasional presence to attest to the strong Inca influence of civilization on these Indians.

6. The miniature vessel of Figure 71 is also a unique piece. If its distribution on the eastern slope of the Andes were not so sporadic, it would constitute an eloquent proof of the persistence of Inca tradition in Chiriguano pottery. Actually, as Linné (1, p. 161) demonstrated with the aid of

C
[177]

C
415
171

/406 cont./

a map, these footed vessels "bakershaped" /quoted in English/ mark out the whole extent of the Inca Empire from Ecuador to Chile and Argentina. This is the first time, however, that their presence has been noted among the Chiriguano and outside the borders proper of the Inca Empire.

C
[177]

7. As Nordenskiöld (10, Fig. 48, p. 162) established, the twinned Chiriguano vessels (Plate XXVII, 3)[1] also denote an Andean influence. As for that, it suffices to compare them with the ones from the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 144, p. 196).

C
415
531

Fig. 71. Miniature footed vessel. Prov.: Cuevo. (2/5 nat. size.)

C
415
171

8. As for the vessels consisting of triple connected bodies (Plate XXVII, 4), Jijon y Caamaño (p. 26) believes them to be of Central American origin. "Their center of dispersion," he says, "must be located in a southern region of Central America, from where, perhaps through the medium of the Arawak, they arrived in the Chaco and Peru." This hypothesis is tempting.

9. The Central American origin of the footed bowl or "compote" (Fig. 72)[2] could not be doubted. Jijon y Caamaño (pp. 31-51), Rivet (2, pp. 8-9), and Linné (2, Map 6, p. 107) have amply demonstrated it. On the subject of one of the varieties of this type, Jijon y Caamaño (p. 34) makes the

C
A
415
171

[1] [See p. 183 -- Analyst]
[2] [See p. 187 -- Analyst]

C 415 171 /410 cont./ of this country (1).

P.A. [415]

1. Vessels of this type also show great similarity to the Araucan ones which were discovered in the Argentinian territory of the Neuquén. (San Martin, pp. 10-15, pp. 131 and 132.)

C 415 531

Fig. 76. Cup decorated with black checkerwork on cream background. Prov.: Igüembé Valley. (1/3 nat. size.)

C 415 171

16. The little cup of Figure 76 is the only one of this shape I was able to collect. Like the vessels examined thus far, it constitutes by its aspect and decoration an Andean survival. Many cups have been discovered in northwestern Argentina. Some of these specimens have been found on the Isla de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 149, p. 206) and at Casabindo in the Puna de Jujuy (Lehmann-Nitsche, Pl. IV, 5 D).

P.A. [172] [415]

17. Bowls have such a wide distribution in South America that their presence among the Chiriguano would not by itself be a sufficient argument to demonstrate the Andean origin of their culture. However, among these Indians, the numerous specimens of this category of receptacles found in each village show such similarities with the puco of the adjoining Andean regions that we are obliged to consider them as borrowed forms.

C [177]

C /412 cont./
415
171
pp
415

18. To put an end to these comparisons, I shall call attention to two vessels (Fig. 78 a and b), one acquired in Ivu in the Chaco and the other in Tacna, and dating from the Inca period (Uhle, 4, Plate XXVIII, 2). A simple glance at the two figures permits the establishment of their perfect identity.

C
Ce
415
171

In short, from these comparisons and the ones we made on the subject of pottery in common use, we can draw the following conclusions: Chiriguano and Chané pottery is, from the morphological point of view, closely related to that of the ancient populations of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina and therefore offers numerous points of contact with the Chincha-Atacama civilizations. It still keeps traces of strong Inca influences (footed vessel (baker-shaped /in English/), aryballoid jars, ornithomorphic and anthropomorphic vessels, bowls, etc.). The ancient Arawak ethnic substratum is manifested in this sphere by the survival of several special types of pottery (vessels in the form of beakers or bowls (compoteras), vessels with a ribbed belly, vessels with three connecting bodies, etc.).

C
Ce
[179]
A
[415]

The pottery in everyday use is clearly of Guarani inspiration and in its general features has remained identical to those of the ancient Guarani of Bolivia.

C
Ce
G
415

C
531
184

Comparative Study of the Principal Decorative Motifs of Chiriguano Pottery and That of the Neighboring Andean Peoples

The triangle with volute. In the region of the upper Pilcomayo the fundamental motif of pottery decoration is the triangle whose apex is prolonged in a volute or spiral (Plates XXXII-XXXIII,[1] 136-199). This decorative element is repeated to repletion on all the vessels I collected from the village of Saladito to the valley of Igüembé. Elsewhere it becomes less frequent and takes on a more rudimentary form, which can be considered as further developed or degenerated.

[1] [See pp. 200-201 -- Analyst]

415
531

[191]

[108]

Plate LXIX

/See p. 264 for caption./

415
531

/Captions for Plates LXI-LXXI, pp. 252-262 cont./

LXVII Incised, pyrographed, and painted calabashes. Prov.: 1, Caratindi (Igüembé); 2 and 6, Macharetí; 3, Tiwiraiti; 4, Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo); 5, Caipipendí. Remarks: On No. 3, more or less deformed numbers. Calabash No. 4 is painted, pyrographed, and incised. (Nos. 1-5 and 5 /sic/ = 1/2; 4-5 /sic/ = 1/5 approximate nat. size.)

LXVIII Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Prov.: 1, Ñawirenda; 2 a and b, Caratindi (Igüembé Valley); 3 a and b, Yumbía; 4, Ibopeytí. Remark: On No. 3 a and b a very stylized bird has been represented. (Nos. 1-3 = 1/2; 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

LXIX Pyrographed and incised calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1 and 3, Caipipendí; 2 and 4, Macharetí; 5, Tiwiraiti (upper Pilcomayo); 6, Ñawirenda (upper Pilcomayo). Remarks: Calabash No. 1 is decorated with a series of engraved numbers going from 1 to 10; Calabash No. 6 with motifs clearly European in inspiration. (Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 6 = 1/2; 2 and 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

[801]
[179]

LXX Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1 and 4, Tarairi; 2, Macharetí; 3, Caipipendí. (Nos. 1 and 2 = 1/3; 3 = 1/2; 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

LXXI Painted, incised, and pyrographed calabashes. Prov.: 1, Ivu; 2, Igüembé; 3 and 4, Caipipendí. (Nos. 1-3 = 1/2; 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

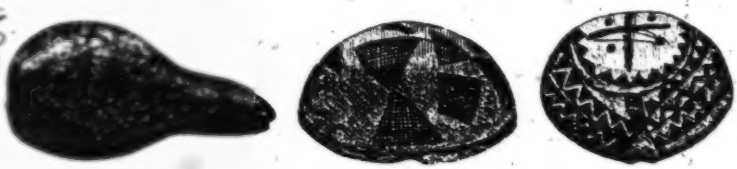
177 /430 cont./ Let us not forget that
531 pyrography is a masculine activity and that men are more
[462] open than women to every innovation. Moreover, for the
[167] most part they have gone to Argentina, and from there, with a new turn of mind, they brought back models and inspirations foreign to their ancient tradition. This European influence is patent in many cases; thus, the calabash of Plate LXVII, 3, and the one of Plate LXIX, 1, are decorated with Arabic numbers. The calabashes of Plates LXIV, 1, LXV, 1 and 5, and LXIX, 5, are decorated with stylized flowers or stars which are not Indian at all. The influence of the white men and their bad taste is evident in the motifs painted in roucou which decorate the calabash of Plate LXV, 3.

531 Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic representations are commoner on calabashes than on pottery. A rough drawing of a man greatly schematized /431/ is represented on the calabash of Plate LXIII, 1 a and b. On the calabash of Plate LXIII, 2 a, dogs have been engraved and birds on those of Plates LXIII, 1, LXVIII, 3 a and b, LXIX, 2, and LXXI, 3. A llama was represented in very expressive fashion on calabash No. 2 b on Plate LXIII; and on the calabash of Fig. 85 a and b one recognizes a horse and a feline animal, a puma or jaguar. Three fish and a bird appear on the specimen of Plate LXVII, 2.

531 The Indians of the Ivu mission and the ones from
322 the Caipipendí valley paint their calabashes with roucou.
386 This color is very difficult to rub off and does not spread beyond the periphery of the colored designs. /Fig. 86 appears here. To obtain this result, the Chiriguano begin

C /431 cont./
531 by taking off the epidermis which covers it, except at the places
322 which are to remain uncolored. Then they smear its exterior
386 surface with roucou and scrape the tegument where they have saved it. The figures then stand out in red against a yellowish background. An analogous process is in use among the Pauserna (Nordenskiöld 5, p. 344). The motifs decorating most of the

C
Ec
415
531



a b c

Fig. 86. a, b, and c. Miniature calabashes, "liqueur glasses" and children's toys. Chiriguano and Chané. Prov.: a, Tuyunti, near Aguaray (Salta Chaco); b, Ñawirenda (upper Pilcomayo); c, id. (About 1/2 nat. size.)

C
531 The motifs decorating most of the
painted calabashes I collected in Ivu are unfortunately very
● 177 much influenced by European models, and beside very pretty designs one finds others of the most distressing banality.

/431 cont./

Chapter VIII

Weaving

286 Weaving is a very widespread industry among the Chiriguano.
[177] Unfortunately, at the present time its products are commonplace and, since they have been using aniline dyes (1), often very ugly.

386
824

1. The Chiriguano used to extract blue dye from a plant they call kaa-howi, that is to say, "blue grass." They also used to grow it. In order to color their tiru (large sleeveless bag slipped on over the tipoy, of the same shape but less ample), they dipped them into a decoction of this grass. Sometimes also they used to add coloring woods, such as palo soto or quebracho, to this bouillon. The leaves of a tree which easily reaches a height of eight to ten meters, the iwira kaa-howi, also furnish a blue dye, but for that they must be young and the tree must be in bloom.

With piari, black resin which exudes from the trunk of the algarroba (Prosopis), Chiriguano women blacken the tiru which they had dyed blue. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc., pp. 16-17 and 173.)

286
[291]
[177]
Most of their ponchos are copied from those of the Bolivian half-breeds.

/432/ The type of loom prevalent among the Chiriguano is the one which has been given the name Arawak loom. Plate LXXII [2] gives an idea of it. Two forked sticks are set in the ground. They support two /Fig. 87 appears here/ parallel crossbars, one of which, the lower one, is a pestle of hard and heavy wood. The warp threads are rolled around them, but at each circuit turn back on themselves after going over a /433/ small cord stretched parallel to the ground. Once the cloth is finished, this string is removed, and in an instant the piece of cloth, which until then formed an endless band, opens up (Fig. 91).[2]

[2] [See P. 244--Analyst]
[2] [See P. 275 -- Analyst]

C
286
531
177
000

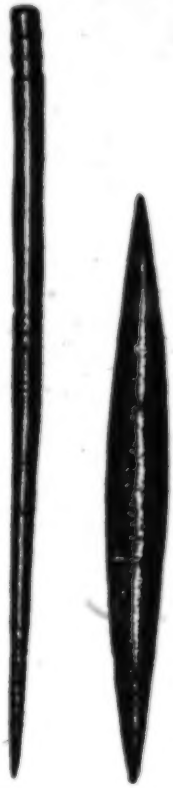
/436 cont./

Modern Chiriguano fabrics show almost no originality. They are generally plain, and, if they present some linear motifs, these are servilely copied from models coming from the Andean region. The Quichua /Quechua/ fabrics, prototypes of those of

C
286
413

C
[237]

Fig. 92. Metatarsal bone of a mammal, carved in the shape of a dagger, which the Chiriguano women utilize to cross and then tighten the warp threads. Prov.: Ivu. (1/2 nat. size.)



Figs. 93-94. Awls (kiruna) for crossing and then tightening the warp threads. Prov.: Salado Grande. (2/5 nat. size.)

M.Q.
286
531

The Quichua /Quechua/ fabrics, prototypes of those of the Chiriguano, are nevertheless of better quality and greater richness of ornamentation. In addition to purely geometric designs they are often decorated with small figures representing animals or human beings.

/436 cont./

000 animals or human beings. There is nothing like that among the
C 286 Chiriguano. The simplicity /437/ of their fabrics forms a striking
53 contrast with the richness and variety of the decoration of their
17 pottery. Their inferiority in this respect is far from corresponding
to the skillfulness which is their wont in all their activities. It is
C 286 enough to see the admirable pieces of work executed by little
174 Chiriguano girls in the missions to realize what they would have
857 been capable of if historic traditions had not held them away
from this art. Their distant Tupi-Guarani ancestors were
F-G 286 acquainted with only rudimentary forms of weaving, and it can
174 be asserted that /Fig. 95 appears here/ this industry remained
foreign to all the Tupi tribes which did not undergo the influence
T 286 of a nation more civilized than they. The Tupinamba of the
174 Brazilian coast apparently practiced only the double-thread
technique (Doppelfadentechnick) by means of which they used
G 286 to make their hammocks. The ancient chroniclers note the use
[175] of the tipoy among the ancient Guarani of Paraguay, which is an
[291] indication of the existence of weaving among that subdivision
of the Tupi family. Their present-day descendants, the Kainguá
/Caingua/, could pass for good weavers to judge by the fineness
G of the several fabrics which have been collected among them.
[291] These are for the most part wide belts which they pass between
their legs and knot around their loins. In reality, weaving is in
its beginnings among them, /438/ as is shown by their loom. It
is only a simple frame around which the warp threads are coiled.
The woof is passed through, thread after thread, as in darning.

C No doubt it was the Chané who taught the Chiriguano to weave,
286 and as they had probably not reached a /Fig. 96 appears here/
177 very high level in this art, they could only transmit to their
successors and suzerains, the Chiriguan, a still little-developed
technique, which the latter have scarcely improved on.

Gu 285 482 [824] /439 cont./
p. 171 and Map 21). Their baskets being in bad shape, the Guarayú wanted to make some new ones and were very annoyed not to find in the region into which they had come the palm trees with pinnate leaves which they were in the habit of using for this purpose. Now, Guarayú and Chiriguano are brothers in race and language and emigrated at the same period from Paraguay to settle in the vicinity of the Andes. When leaving their country of origin, both were acquainted with this type of basket used by their ancestors, the Guarani, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, /440/ and still favored among their first cousins from Paraguay, the Kainguá (Métraux, 2, p. 206). The disappearance of this cultural element among the Chiriguano is due solely to the lack of appropriate raw materials.

C Gu 285 482 174 824 [144] [197]

In order to make up for the absence of back baskets, indispensable to a farming people /Fig. 98 appears here/ the Chiriguano borrowed from their neighbors in the Chaco, either the Mataco or the Choroti, the carrying nets (in Chiriguanor aflapoka) whose use is so widespread among the latter and is so characteristic of their civilization. Carrying nets today are in general use among the Chiriguano, and in every village each family has at /Fig. 99 appears here/ least one (Figs. 98 and 99). In spite of this wide diffusion, the Chiriguano aflapoka betrays its origin by its form and technique (see Figs. 100 and 101 /see pp. 283 -285/), which are both found in the tribes we have just enumerated (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208, Technique I). Although considerably more advanced on the way to civilization than the seminomadic tribes of the Chaco, the Chiriguano do not by any means equal them /441/ in the art of making nets. The aflapoka I collected cannot be compared with the deep bags which the Matako or the Choroti, for example, make for the same purpose. In the village of Machareti, where Toba live with Chiriguano, it is the former who furnish the latter with the /Fig. 100 appears here/ carrying nets they need (see Fig. 99 /see p.282/) (1).

C 177 482 C [171] C [286] C [563] [439]

1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 163, Fig. 49 A) gives the detail of the technique of a Chiriguano carrying net. This technique is not found on any

C 286 482 171

[Text continues on p. 283]

/441 cont./

Everything thus leaves us to suppose that, in the early period of their settling on the western confines of the Bolivian Chaco, the Chiriguano procured by barter the carrying nets intended to replace the back baskets they had used until then. It was only later that they learned to make them themselves, adopting only the simplest and easiest of techniques besides. Thanks to this example we can catch alive the causes which have motivated the adoption of a new cultural element after the disappearance of another which rendered the same services. For that, two factors have come into play, the physical environment and the ethnic one. There was adaptation and borrowing at the same time. This fact also proves that a relatively civilized people never hesitates to appropriate the inventions of more barbaric tribes when they find some advantage in it.

The present poverty of the basketwork industry among the Chiriguano does not imply that it is insignificant and worthless. Perhaps before the decline of this nation it was more widely represented in each village. I was able to observe that the disappearance of basketwork /442/ went along with the influence of the white men. But, for the reasons I have given above, I do not believe that at any time there could have been found among the Chiriguano that abundance of objects made of basketwork which travelers noted among the Indians of Guiana or the Amazon basin. Formerly, when the ancestors of the Chiriguano were still living in Paraguay and Brazil, they possessed basketwork identical with that of the tribes inhabiting the regions I have alluded to. Proof of it is furnished by the survival among the modern Chiriguano of various types of baskets, fire fans, and sieves, of which we find /Fig. 101 appears here/ the exact equivalent only in Guiana and the Amazon basin. As we shall ascertain in the course of this study, the identity between these two ethnic areas is perfect from this point of view. The only difficulty is to know whether in this case it is a matter of the remains of an industry peculiar to the Chané Indians of Arawak origin, whose influence upon the Chiriguano was considerable, or whether this basketwork only continues that of the ancient Guarani emigrants. In my opinion the question does not need to be asked. The basketwork of the

/444 cont./

285 distribution of these two techniques must have been in former times.
184 We shall find this difficulty every time we consider the diffusion of a cultural element peculiar to these Indians.

285 Wicker work basketry has undergone strong European influence.
177 The agents have been the half-breeds of the department of Tarija, who live in constant contact with the Chiriguano. This foreign influence on the baskets belonging to this technique is manifested by modifications of the original forms and improvements of details, such as horseshoe handles.

285 Among the Chiriguano I did not find a single basket woven
171 with the technique called "in spirals" (coiled basketry /named in English/), although in olden times it was in use among the Andean populations who used to and still do live in contact with the Chiriguano. Basketwork "in spirals" has continued on the altiplano, as the basket of Fig. 103, which I bought in La Quiaca, proves.

Basketry in "Wicker Work"

285 Mason (p. 228) designates under the name of wicker basketry a type obtained with the following technique: a rigid framework composed of thick, solid elements is intercrossed by thinner, more flexible elements. In the course of this work I shall call warp the rigid elements of the framework, and the ones crossing them, woof. The woof passes alternately over and under each element of the warp. This technique is well known to us: it is that of our wicker baskets, trunks, and back baskets (see Fig. 105 /see p.295 /).

Because of its very simplicity we have a right to suppose that this technique is old. It is only a variety of checker work /named in English/, the most elementary of all the techniques. By checker work we understand the process which consists of interlacing flexible bands so as to obtain a checkerboard design. The only piece of basketry made with this technique that I know of in the region we are concerned with is a basket that Eric von Rosen

/448/

285 The horseshoe handles which surmount some of these baskets
191 (Plate LXXV, 1 and 3) seem to me to come from imitation of
● 177 European or half-breed basketwork. Among the half-breeds of the eastern slopes of the Andes I found baskets which had exact replicas among the Chiriguano (see, for example, Fig. 108 /see p. 302 /) and attested eloquently to the borrowing of the latter.

285
191

Fig. 102. Base of a vessel from the mountainous region of Tucumán Province, and bearing the impressions of a tray or basket in wicker work, on which it rested during its manufacture.

Besides, the Chiriguano give the Spanish name of canastos to baskets of European form /Fig. 103 appears here./

Among the baskets in wicker work there are some (Plate LXXV, 4) which in form and technique are singularly reminiscent of the baskets of Brazilian Guiana which Koch-Grünberg (?, Vol. II, p. 221, Fig. 242 a, b, c) compares to carafes. (Cf. also Roth, Plate 104, Fig. C.)

?[See p. 299--Analyst]

/450 cont./

285 Plate LXXV, Figure 2. Height, 16 centimeters; maximum diameter, 17.5 centimeters. Provenance: Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo).

This basket deserves a place apart by virtue of its general shape, the handles it has, and the care with which it was plaited.

The handles with which it is provided are formed by an element of the woof which, after making the round of the warp, takes off from it to pass three times, perpendicularly, under the framework of the basket. /Plates LXXIII-LXXVI appear here./

/451/ The handle thus obtained is reinforced by a supplementary tigella which laces among the elements just as the woof does (see Fig. 107 /see p.301 /). Plate /Fig. 106 appears here/ LXXVI, 2, shows us the fashion in which the basket-maker proceeded in order to group the warp elements, which are 15 in number.

Plate LXXV, Figure 3. /Fig. 107 appears here./ Height, 16 centimeters; maximum diameter, 15 centimeters. Provenance: Ñawirenda (mouth of the Salado River).

The framework is composed of flat, brittle stalks always going in groups of two. The added handle is made of twisted fibers. The general form of this basket betrays European influence.

Plate LXXV, Figure 4. Height, 15 centimeters; diameter, 12 centimeters. Provenance: Ñawirenda (mouth of the Salado River).

The warp is formed of flat, thin elements wider than those of the woof. The handles /452/ are added on. They are formed by a stalk coiled on itself and passing three times under the woof elements. One stalk interlaces there exactly as the woof interlaces with the warp. /Fig. 108 appears here./

Plate LXXVII, Figure 1.¾ Height, 8 centimeters; diameter, 16 centimeters. Provenance: Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo). /Fig. 109 appears here./

This little, slightly rounded basket is remarkable for its rigidity and strength. The technique is still the same as we have examined thus far. The warp is composed of 15 elements arranged at the base exactly as on Plate LXXVI, 1.

Plate LXXVII, Figure 2. Height, 9 centimeters; width, 11 centimeters. Provenance: Tirapaw (mouth of the Salado River, upper Pilcomayo).

¾ [See p. 304 -- Analyst]

/452 cont./

285 This small basket is closely related to the preceding one in its technique. The warp is made of four fibrous bands which cross in octagons and are then divided into three /Plate LXXVII appears here/ /453/ or two diverging elements which form the warp (see Fig. 106 /see p. 301/).

Figure 108. Height, 17 centimeters; maximum diameter, 28 centimeters. Provenance: Ivu.

• [199] There is no doubt that this basket is a pure and simple imitation of European ones. I have seen baskets identical from the point of view of form and technique among the half-breeds of the department of Tarija.

3. Basketry in "Twilled Work"

The term twilled work designates the basketry technique in which the woof elements pass over two or several elements of the warp so as to produce with the contexture of the fabric diagonal motifs and an infinity of others all based on the changes of rhythm in the number of the warp elements which have been skipped over (Mason, p. 254).

285 197 In the pages where I dealt with wicker work I have already had occasion to note the affinities which not only the technique but even the form of Chiriguano baskets offer with those from Guiana. The analogy is still more striking with twilled baskets. We have among the Chiriguano the exact counterpart of the famous telescope baskets or pegall of Guiana. These are rectangular baskets in two parts, one fitting into the other and shutting hermetically (Plates LXXVIII, LXXX,[a] and Figs. 110 and 111). Nordenskiöld (10, p. 172) has given us a map indicating the distribution of baskets provided with a cover into which they fit more or less completely. These "telescope" baskets are particularly abundant north of the Amazon. I suspect that the famous harameno of the Tupinamba, in which the latter put their feathers, must have belonged to this type. Among the Tupi-Guarani, the only ones where this type of closure has been noted are the Guayakí, Paucerna, Mashé /Maw/, and Oyampi (Métraux, 5, p. 253).

[a] [See pp. 309 & 309 respectively -- Analysis]

/464 cont./

Eyu ʼekuama	Come and kiss me
ʼmireko mi	My little wife
Diyuru emesie	Give me thy mouth
Tuiʼa dipota	I love thee much
Se vongo pe	With my heart
Ime deresa ikavi	Thou hast pretty eyes
Ime diyuro misiray	Thou hast a little mouth
Tuiʼa dipota	I love thee much
Pairamo ayporu deve.	For that I am going to ask for thee.

During this time young or old men with their faces covered by a mask (aĩawasu) run here and there, force the people to dance by blows of a stick, play tricks on them, and address jokes to them.

The feast lasts as long as there is ĩkĩwi or alcohol. At the moment when it is on the point of ending, a final ceremony takes place. The rite of going out is similar to the rite of entering: the couple who planted the flowery stick tear it from the ground and go out of the village, followed by the aĩawasu and all those who took part in the festival. The procession advances to a certain distance from the village to the sound of the flutes and drums. They throw away the masks and throw stones while shouting. The carnival is finished and everyone goes home. Some take along their new wife, for it is at this moment that most marriages are celebrated.

The carnival festivity such as I have just described involves only a few elements borrowed from the half-breeds or creoles, outside of the coincidence of dates. This is an ancient feast of a purely agricultural character, which the Chiriguano have acquired the habit of celebrating at the same time as the Bolivian carnival. Besides, the Indians of Ibopeytí are pagans.

The masked men are supposed to represent the spirits of the dead, as their name indicates (aĩa: spirit; wasu: great). As in the festivals of the Guianas and Central America, they come in numbers /Plate LXXXVI appears here/ /465/ to insure for their

[Text continues on p. 329]

C /465 cont./
796 descendants or relatives the fertility of the fields and the
24 abundance of the future harvest. These masked festivals have
[171] their counterpart in the famous ceremonies of the populations of
C the Negro River, the details of which Koch-Grünberg has made
[177] known to us. Besides, it is probable that the Chiriguano
borrowed these ceremonies, and especially the masks, from the
A Chané. It is the racial brothers of the Chané, the Arawak of
796 the Negro River, who celebrate these festivals with the most
241 splendor. The Chané of the Parapití still accord to these ancient
Ce rites more importance than the Chiriguano, and their masks
796 crowned with immense tufts of feathers are, it appears, more
24 sumptuous than those of their old Guarani enemies.
532

In the missions the carnival has lost its purely pagan
C significance and has become contaminated with usages which
796 the Chiriguano have borrowed from the half-breeds. Nino
[797] (pp. 267-270) gives a good description of them, of which I
[177] shall summarize the principal features.

C The festival is directed by a personage wearing an old-
[532] man mask. He stops at each corner of the square, recommending peace and harmony to all.

Then they give themselves over to different games: masked personages scatter bean pods or corn bran upon the dancers.

Young men, masked but almost entirely naked, daub
C themselves with mud and try to soil all those who have new
[177] garments. These two customs can have only a Bolivian origin.

Individuals who are also masked mime a combat between
C a jaguar and a bull which is finally put to death by a fanciful
796 butcher. Then they pass on to the pleasures of the dance. "The
535 dancers form a large circle by joining hands and dance thus
[536] three times. Three times also they squat down, and three more times they pass under the extended arms of a couple of the same circle, and finally the same number of times they press against one another, forming a big mass, their faces turned toward the outside and their hands folded. They remain in this position until another couple dances around them. These do not hold each other by the hand. The man chases the woman and tries to grab her. She avoids him and goes to hide in the middle of the others."

/466 cont./

Chapter XI

Combs

C 302 G T [302] C [197]

Formerly, at the time when they carried out the conquest of their present territory, the Chiriguano wore a tonsure after the fashion of their relatives in Paraguay and the coast of Brazil, the Guarani and Tupinamba, who shaved the whole anterior part of the skull with a bamboo chip /467/ (see Métraux, 2, pp. 181-185) (1). Later, probably under the influence of the

1. Annuae litterae, page 407: "Cultus eorum singularis valde, coronis in modum nostrorum Sacerdotum utuntur, reliqui vero capilli ad ulnam circiter dimidiam pendent a tergo; corpora utplurimum variis depingunt coloribus."
(Their appearance [to the Chiriguano] is truly singular. They make use of a tonsure similar to that of our priests, and others let their hair hang down their backs to the length of an aune and a half. They dye their bodies with various colors.)

Chané or the Quichua /Quechua/, the Chiriguano abandoned the tonsure and let their hair grow, letting it fall over the nape of the neck and the back. They were content to cut it on the forehead from one temple to the other.

C 302 198

This hair style, still common in the last century, is tending to disappear in turn. The only ones who have remained faithful to it are a few old men and the inhabitants of several villages lost in the valleys of the upper Pilcomayo.

C [291] [648]

The Chiriguano who continue to observe the old style knot their long hair around their heads and hide it under a hat or a kind of turban when they go to work among the white men, for fear of being ridiculed.

/468 cont./

412 171 At La Paya, Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 254, p. 484) discovered combs cut out of a small wooden board and some composite combs. Instead of simply recording the coexistence of two different types of combs /Plate LXXXVII appears here/ /469/ in the same place, a very natural phenomenon by reason of the heterogeneous character of the culture of La Paya, Ambrosetti puts forth the strange hypothesis that these combs served for carding wool, without taking the trouble to inquire whether this instrument was known in pre-Columbian times.

303 322 462 412 The making of combs, like all wood carving, is an essentially masculine job.

412 174 The table on Plate LXXXVII indicates my idea of the morphological evolution of the different forms of combs which I have collected.

Chapter XII

Furniture

352 [114] Since the diverse cultural elements which constitute the furniture of the Chiriguano have been completely studied by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 8-22), I shall limit myself to mentioning them here, insisting only on several details. /Fig. 124 appears here./ /See p. 338./

[342] Let us enter a Chiriguano hut. The door we open is a kind of screen of reeds or a cowhide hardened in the sun. Daylight penetrates the interior through this opening. The only important [513] piece of furniture is a wooden cot (Fig. 125), a kind of bedstead generally occupied by two persons between whom one or two children come /470/ to slip in somehow or other. Nor do the Chiriguano hesitate to sleep on the ground on an oxhide, which they spread out in front of their house. On the upper Pilcomayo, in nearly all the huts one can /Fig. 125 appears here/ /See p. 339./ see one or two hammocks which serve either as seats during the day [286] or as cradles for small children. Their technique, that of the [177] double thread (Doppelfadentechnik), continues an old Guarani

[Text Continues on P. 338]

/470 cont./

352 and Arawak tradition. Some hammocks, not many, are crudely
[286] woven. The threads which /Fig. 126 appears here/ compose
[179] them are of wool; formerly they were doubtless of cotton (Plate XXXVIII).

352 It is a delicate business to persuade a Chiriguano mother to
854 sell you the hammock of her nursling. She fears that an /Plate
754 LXXXVIII appears here/ /471/ evil-intentioned person will profit by the fact that the fabric is impregnated with urine, in order to indulge in magical practices which would make the new-born child die.

342
351

Fig. 124. Chiriguano hut. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (Photo. A. M.)

353 Along the walls are lined up vessels of all dimensions
[415] which /Figs. 127 and 128 appear here/ are kept there for the drinking feasts; some contain seed, others serve as linen cupboards or provision bags. On the walls, generally in the four
[352] corners, hang reed screens or hoops made of palm leaves /Fig. 129 appears here/ which take the place of shelves (Figs. 126 and 129).

[TEXT Continues on P. 342]

/471 cont./

353 and 127). Everything in the world can be found there: small vessels, baskets, boxes, packages carefully wrapped in cloth, in short, a thousand little objects which the Chiriguano women regard as their treasure. From the roof hang hooks from which [414] are suspended household effects or supplies. These hooks are [237] generally of wood, but there are some also which are formed by a deer foot bent back and dried in the sun (Fig. 128).

Every chink in the walls is transformed into a hiding-place where the women put their scissors, the men their knives or combs. /472/ Bows and arrows are slipped between the struts of the roof.

In some huts whose walls are plastered with earth, the Indians arrange niches in the shape of swallows' nests, which serve as rudimentary cupboards. Might there be in that a distant remembrance of the niches so characteristic of Inca houses? It is possible.

352 The inhabitants of each hut sit on the cots or on /Figs. 516 130-132 appear here/ chairs with backs very well copied from [177] those of the creoles. The women generally squat on the ground. [178] On the upper Pilcomayo, one still finds benches with two seats (Fig. 129), a cultural element which the Chiriguano inherited from their ancestors of the Amazon basin.

356 The fire for cooking is lighted in the middle of the hut. [354] Chiriguano dwellings are clean. I have never caught fleas or other vermin there as I have in the ranchos of creoles or half-breeds. The women sweep their huts at least once a day. One is rarely disturbed there by mice (Fig. 132).

/474 cont./

524 171 The "snake designs" (mboi kwatía) (Plate XC, Fig. 3) have their equivalents among the Akawoi, Arawak, Wapišana, and Patamona (Roth, Fig. 289, Fig. 526), but represent, according to these Indians: "four fish walking" (sic). In his book on the Indians of the Chaco, /Plates LXXXIX and XC appear here/ /475/ Nordenskiöld (2, Fig. 25, p. 71) gives the photograph of a Choroti child who has just executed a cat-craddle identical with our "snake design." It is regrettable that Nordenskiöld has not given its meaning.

524 The string figure on Plate XC, 1 2 represents the mark borne by the woolen blankets (jergón) the creoles put under their saddles. There is no doubt that the indigenous meaning of this figure has been forgotten and replaced by a new appellation. This is probably what has happened also to the cat-craddle (Fig. 136) named culo de caballo /horse's rear end/. /Fig. 136 appears here./ /See p. 350./

String figures can be subdivided into two categories, the first including all those which form a stable figure like a design, and the second those which represent an object, animal, or organ by synthesizing its characteristic movement.

Thus the string figures on Plates LXXXIX-XC belong to the first class, but the one which the Indian on Figure 136 is in the act of executing belongs to the second. The latter cat-craddle consists in opening or closing a small circle of string which is supposed to represent the contractions of a horse's anus.

524 171 Among the Siusí there are also mobile string figures which symbolize an animal by imitating its typical movements (the "caterpillar," for example) exactly as among the Chiriguano.

524 171 177 The resemblances between the Chiriguano string figures and those of the /476/ Guianan tribes could be explained by Arawak influence, and we could suppose that the Chané kept the figures common to the whole family. String figures travel very rapidly and only their meaning changes. Therefore it is possible that the Chiriguano were acquainted with them before being in contact with the Arawak.

1 [See p. 349--Analyst]

/476 cont./

115 123 126 [322] [463] became an ingeniously conceived tool or still oftener a musical instrument. Asensio used to make violins which on first sight appeared to have come from a European factory. It goes without saying that he was the recognized carpenter of the village and the great provider of household articles. When Asensio had understood the purpose which had brought me to his home, he transformed his hut into a workshop for ethnographic objects; and I owe it to his enterprising spirit that I was able to collect many a piece, today no longer in use, which he reconstructed for me.

At the time when I was in his village, Asensio had received big orders for flutes for the coming Easter festival, [532] and I had a good time watching him work. Once an instrument was finished, he would embellish it with engraved animals.

115 126 532 The material on which Asensio (see Plate XCI /see p.355/, 5, 7,, and Plate XCII /see p.356 /, 3, 6) incised his figures exerted an indirect influence on the pencil drawings he drew in my notebook. They stand out by their angular character, but also by their clearness.

José Miguel (see Plate XCI, 8; Plate XCII, 1, 5, 7, 9; Plate XCIII /see p. 357 /, 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12), whom Ascensio's example had encouraged, asked me to give him the notebook and pencil, and he made me a whole series of drawings which, although rather light and uncertain, sometimes are not lacking in a certain movement. José Miguel had traveled to Argentina: [177] the train and the automobile (which he drew from memory) attest well to his admiration for the /477/ marvels of "Progress" (Plate XCII, 7, 8). Thank God his modernism had not made him forget his mythology, and he was able to draw for me a mythical episode which is to be seen on Plate XCIII, 12, A, B, C: the blue jaguar (yaguarowi, personification of the spots on the moon) is preparing to devour the moon and the sun.

123 126 532 When I had finished with the men, I wanted to have several feminine drawings, imagining that the women would lend themselves willingly to this game since they are the recognized artists of the tribe. All, unanimously and to my great surprise, refused to do it, shouting in the middle of gales of laughter: Aikuaá "I can't do it, I don't know how."

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The migrations, wars, and the religious conversion of the *Chiriguano* have been the subjects of many historical monographs. The most important of these are by Corrado (1884), Serrano y Sanz (1898), Dominguez (1918), Gandía (1929 a, and b), Métraux (1930 b), Coni (1925), Moreno (1929), and Finot (1939). The Jesuit missionary work among the *Chiriguano* has been described by Lozano (1941) and Muriel (1918).

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

As today *Chiriguano* and *Chané* share in the same culture, the following data may apply to both tribes.

Farming.—The *Chané*, conquered by the *Chiriguano*, were proficient farmers who, though practicing a tropical type of agriculture, were probably acquainted with many of the methods of cultivation of the Andean area. The *Chiriguano* adopted their traditions. The new habitat of the *Chiriguano* did not offer the same resources for hunting and fishing as had their homeland. Therefore, these Indians depend on farming to a larger extent than any other *Tupí-Guaraní tribe*. The basis of their livelihood is maize, of which they have 11 varieties, all related to those of Paraguay. Then follow in order of importance: Pumpkins, beans (11 varieties), sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, peanuts, and some Barbary figs (*Opuntia* sp). Sweet potatoes were grown on a large scale by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

These Indians also raise cotton, tobacco, urucú, and, in the Parapeti region, reeds for arrow shafts (*Arundo donax*). Plants of the Old World adopted by the *Chiriguano* include melons, watermelons, oranges, sugarcane, and sorghum.

Chiriguano men clear the fields and surround them with a tall fence as a protection against the inroads of wild or domesticated animals, a task which is considered to be particularly strenuous. They also till the soil, but at harvest time they are assisted by the women and children. The latter, armed with slings, drive away the parakeets and other birds which prey on the crops. Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 183) observed that among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro region, large maize fields were tended by men while pumpkins and beans were raised by the women.

Collecting wild food.—When their crops fail, the *Chiriguano* subsist on the same species of pods and fruits as those collected by the Chaco Indians: Algarrobo, tusca, mistol, caraguatá, and other plant foods.

Hunting.—Hunting is a very secondary economic activity, at least in modern times. Peccaries, which are the main game animal, are hunted with specially trained dogs and killed with bows and arrows or with clubs. Rheas, which are abundant in the Chaco plains, are caught with bolas. Pigeons are captured with clap nets. Special arrows with two points are used for hunting yacu birds (*Penelope* sp.).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

252 415 412 264 *Chiriguano* mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. [3 7 263] Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 592 **Dwellings.**—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

361 178 [343 712] The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 177 **Clothing.**—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano women still dress in tipoys, a long, sacklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, *right*). Some tipoys (tiru) are so long that they need to be folded. 291

Anciently, *Chiriguano* men shaved their foreheads, as did the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband. 302 412

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a tasseled fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

Body painting.—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass. 302 178

Ornaments.—The distinctive ornament of the *Chiriguano*, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 59, *e*). Originally, labrets were made of rosin, as were those of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip. 301 178

Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean woven frontlets studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 59, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the *Chiriguano* in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads. 301 177 [439]

Miscellaneous.—The *Chiriguano* have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout *Chiriguano* territory. 515 824

Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers. 302

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The rivers in *Chiriguano* territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River. 501

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Omaguaca SI 9

E 323 172 177 531

The de luxe vases and dishes, typologically related to vessels in the archeological pottery of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina, were decorated with distinctly Andean patterns (figs. 58, 60). The most common vessel is the yambui, a subglobular vase with ears, in which chicha was served. The motifs are mainly geometrical and most of them

C 415 531

O 172 415 531 →

C 415 531

FIGURE 60.—*Chiriguano* pottery. Specimen at *top, right*, a *Humahuaca* archeological specimen included for comparison. (Approximately 1/7 actual size.) (Redrawn from Métraux, 1930 b, fig. 70, pls. 35, 37, 44.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

000 c 726 c [727]

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

c 727 266 c 567 727

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

c 534 177 Cc 534

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

c 535

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

c 273 628 527

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

c 276

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

c 273 462

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●

Chané SF8

C 273 462 plicated affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large jars. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

Ce 273 C

Gambling.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the suka game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.[8] Another favorite dice game is called chukareta: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

Ce C 525 [177]

C

European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous taba game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

177 525

C

Games.—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

526 [171]

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

Ce 526

Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapeti River, like so many Guiana tribes, played a ball game with rubber balls which they butted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

Ce [439]

C 524

Chiriguano women had a game (itarapoa) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

C 77

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

177 797

During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tunpa, or Iandapoha ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaratunpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guaraní*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ana," the souls of the dead.

C [994] [191]

[8] The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Handbuch, vol. 1, p. 337).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/25 cont./

137 824 forth bittersweet and very good. These are ash-colored and pearly and very highly regarded by Chiriguano and whites. The blossom of the passion flower is purple, forming a garland like a crown of thorns; it has its calyx, five petals and three pistils, for which reason it is called passion flower, and it is certainly worthy of admiration. The Indians call it "Murucuya."

PIÑON. -- A euphorbiaceous plant, this little tree exists [177] in a cultivated state and was introduced into this Chiriguano region by the white Christians. It grows in orchards and elsewhere, and its maximum height is three meters. Its small [757] trunk is slender and top heavy, and its fruit consists of black seeds which are not edible but which, when ground and diluted in water, make a powerful purgative and therefore must be used with great care, because they can cause death.

137 SAUCE /willow/. -- It grows and develops on the banks and in the bed of torrents, as well as on the shores of streams, which shows that it seeks damp places, but from these places the force of a flood often uproots it. The common willow has [342] no special qualities; only its branches are useful in the building of houses because they are flexible, fibrous, and not heavy; little use is made of the trunk. It is a tall, large tree with very tiny leaves. In addition to the common willow there is also the weeping willow, whose branches touch the ground; it is neither native nor found wild; some whites plant it to beautify their interior patios. In Chiriguano the common willow is called "Igũirapucu."

SAÚCO /elder/. -- It is not found everywhere, only being found along streams with little water which are in the wood. It grows to four meters in height, its trunk is slender and soft, its branches have a pith which is easily extracted, and its white flowers in the shape of a parasol are sudorific. The whites do a good deal of searching for this flower /26/ for their illnesses. Even the leaves are medicinal; when drunk in a decoction they are a good purge. What a pity that it is found in such limited areas!

/28 cont./

139 There is another small caraguata which invades wide areas
824 of land, preventing any animal from entering there, because
it has spines on the bottoms of the leaves. In times of scarcity
[262] its root is food for the poor Chiriguano; the root contains a
little starch which has the taste of mandioca, but it requires
[283] great effort to pull it up. The leaf of this tilandsia is also good
for making cord.

Finally, there is a third one which flourishes abundantly in trees and on the rocks of the hills, but which has no peculiar properties; it is large because of its leaves, which measure up to one meter in length. The plant is thick, the leaf fleshy, and it is used to decorate the streets with arches during processions. The aloe is similar to the second type of tilandsia, but aloe leaves are wide and thick, full of juice, while those of the tilandsia are slender, arched, and dry. The aloe is not abundant; only an occasional shrub or plant is found.

244 /29/ TOMATO. -- This plant which produces fruits so pleasant and useful to the culinary art flourishes exuberantly in these lands; the fruit from each plant is abundant and is produced the year round when some care is taken to protect the plant from the cold or from the light frosts which customarily
[237] fall in June and July. To do this it suffices to pile up dry cow dung in two or three places in the tomato patch and set them
• [177] afire. True tomato plants are also found in the woods, but it is presumed that some bird must have carried the seed to such places; the tomato is a plant which has been brought into the Chiriguano country, as is the case with the onion, the sweet potato, and the cabbage.

222 In the woods there is a kind of tomato in the wild state, which is somewhat similar in appearance and taste, but which is quite different from the true one; it is picked green and allowed to ripen in a room on top of a piece of wood; in a
[244] few days it turns red, which is a sign that it is ripe. The chili pepper also produces abundantly and with little care; it is a plant which lasts up to three years if care is taken to prune it, and the second and third years the fruits are very hot. Another kind of small, round chili pepper abounds in the woods and bears spontaneously; it is called arivivi by the whites and "quii rai" by the Chiriguano. It is hot, and some cure sickness,

/77 cont./

197 "Conumi," lad, do not have an accent
194 on the i in Chiriguano, but they do in
171 Guaraní.

197 In past centuries the race, and therefore the language, em-
178 braced a great deal of territory, but today it is greatly
361 reduced, and I can state without danger of error that it is
162 still numerous in Caipipendi, Pipi, Choreti, Tasete, Araticu,
and in the Potosí and Tarija missions; but in the former
places it is scattered among many little towns, while in the
latter it makes up respectable towns of 500, 1,000, and
2,000 souls (2).

2. Choreti Guasu is located on the left bank of the Parapiti in Cordillera Province; it almost forms a single town with Membirai, and between the two of them they have about 110 families.

197 Purity of language is now no longer found in any town
178 or in the missions, in the first because of living among
177 whites and continually emigrating to the Argentine Repub-
797 lic, and in the second, the missions, for a third reason,
instruction in Spanish, which the missionaries give the boys
and girls in the schools; thus, if the race is not finished first,
as is feared, because of the continual epidemics and
vagrancy, the language will soon be lost, and then the few
books that exist will only serve as an historical monument
for posterity, which will be able to recognize the merit and
labor of the missionaries who spread among them, the
Chiriguano, and poured out sweat with the sole purpose of
civilizing them in a Christian way (3).

3. There are a grammar, a Spanish-Chiriguano dictionary, a catechism with its translation, Father Corrado's masterpiece, a small Chiriguano-Spanish "Nene" /"Infant"; the work referred to is Nino's Nene Chiriguano/, and many unpublished sermons.

/94 cont./

631
645

If this were the case, the boundaries of the new canton should be the following, according to the agreement made by the Representación Chuquisaqueña /from Chuquisaca/: on the south the left bank of the stream Vitiacua, on the north the parallel of the stream of Cuevo, on the east the range of Aguaragüe up to said parallel, on the west the ranges of Saararenta and Irenta, and on the southwest the stream of Chimbe.

[792]
[162]

Within this delimitation are included several Chiriguano towns, the most populous being the missions of Santa Rosa, with more than 1,200 inhabitants, and that of San Buenaventura de Ivi with 652 souls.

White families are few, but not less than 40, which could give a total of at least 160 souls. It might be that with time this small population will grow in the new canton, as that of Cuevo grew.

799
172
463
648

Years are needed for the Chiriguano Indian to be able to take over the political government of a town, in spite of the fact that in the relatively new missions there are musicians, carpenters, woodworkers, masons, saddlers, shoemakers, tailors, and young men who know how to write well and to read better, but it is one thing to know an art or a trade and quite another one to have to administer justice.

/95/ The experience of many years of missionary life and what I have seen in the missions abandoned since the war of Independence justifies my opinion that many years are needed for the Chiriguano Indians to be able to fill certain public offices such as that of corregidor and parish alcalde.

A Project

000

The eastern zone, which today belongs to the three departments of Santa Cruz, Tarija, and Sucre, is somewhat threatened by foreign countries, but it might be that the Bolivian Republic could make friendly settlements with the neighboring nations.

/103 cont./
799 of the Indians (1).

[721]

1. This mission, because it was the first one north of the Pilcomayo, was the target of the Chiriguano and Toba, who repeatedly tried to destroy it; its elevation above sea level is 652 meters, and it is located at 21° 8' 27" south latitude and 63° 17' 4" west of the meridian of Greenwich.

4. Aguairenta. -- This mission was founded in the year 1849, and at the present time it is the oldest, because for a long time now Chimeo and the town of Itau have been elevated in rank to true Doctrinas /a cinacy, also an Indian village newly consecrated to the Christian religion/. Three caciques of three parties joined together for the founding of Aguairenta, since each one wanted the missionary in his town. The distance which separates the Aguairenta mission from the one /104/ of Tarairi is more than 22 leagues by way of a quite level and wide road.

According to what has been described with some exaggeratiln and for not very good motives, Aguairenta is the queen of the plains, the muse of poets, and the contemplation of the wise men; it is certain that its panorama is quite delightful, as are its meadows, full of fragrance because of the many orange groves. It has abundant water, which makes the land fertile, but it is not found at any great distance.

[563] [191] [199]

The settlers have been reduced to a few and are mixed with the whites; almost all speak the Spanish language well, and the customs and style of dress are like those of the mestiso settlers, in spite of the fact that an occasional one may be seen dressed in the old way (1).

1. By a decree of January 4, 1911, Aguairenta has been declared a headquarters for troops, who have had possession of the place since the end of 1910. Nevertheless the Government

/110 cont./

144 Some explorers and travelers, after having happily concluded their investigative labors, have set down in their reports that the Chiriguano Indians have changed greatly in physique since the whites or Creoles entered their territory, but nothing could be less exact than this. Clandestine unions between Christian men and Chiriguano women have been quite rare, and even rarer are legitimate unions through Catholic marriage, from which generally comes propagation and change in races (?).

563 199 199

> 2. In 20 years of missionary life I have blessed but four marriages between Christian white men and Chiriguano neophytes.

114 144 If Señor del Campano states that for a period of 40 years the Chiriguano have maintained themselves without change, on the basis of photographs taken in the year 1860, which were placed at his disposal by Professor Mantegazza, and those which the missionaries of Potosí and Tarija sent in 1898 to the Turin Exposition, among /111/ which was a skull collected by the author of this work in the fields of Curuyuqui and sold by Father Giannecchini to the Florence museum, what can be said by some missionaries who have grown old and who are growing old among these Indians and who know the race in old men and in young boys, in old women and in damsels, before and after the white Christians were introduced in number?

In my judgment the said change does not exist, because an occasional isolated case, an occasional family, where the mixture of the two races has taken place, cannot be adduced as proof that the physique of the race has varied greatly. Travelers and explorers pass through a region rapidly: they can devote little time to the study of a race, and consequently their written reports, worthy of all respect, are somewhat exaggerated, as were those of the Spaniards

/116 cont./

797
829
177

Difficulties in Reducing Them

If among other tribes missionaries have been able to found missions without considering the material advantages for the Indian, among the Chiriguano this has not been the case. I can say that almost all of them have been founded when the Indian was undergoing some calamity or persecution by his neighbors: Santa Rosa, Ivu, Parapiti, etc. were founded in this way. The Indian does not consider his spiritual well-being; when he admits the missionary into his land, he is thinking of the material advantages. By the same token if in other missions young and old are baptized without distinction, among these people this is not what happens. To baptize an adult Indian who is enjoying good health would be like asking for pears from an elm; he only requests this sacrament when he sees that there is no longer any hope of life, and in the first years of a mission even this is difficult and a great many of them reject it categorically. I could enumerate cases which have happened to me. There are persons who want to be condemned simply because they have heard from the lips of missionaries that those who do not receive baptism are not saved, and, inasmuch as nobody received it before the founding of the mission, they want to descend to the place of punishment in order to see their loved ones again. Oh sad and lamentable ignorance, from which some do not wish to emerge (2)!

2. In Yvu there was less difficulty because of the proximity of Santa Rosa, and in Parapiti there was none because of the repeated foundings in that place.

In case of calamity or persecution, the missionary is quickly sought by the caciques, who do not rest until they have gained their ends. One modern proof of this is offered to us in the case of the cacique of the village of Pipi, who

/116 cont./

797 829 177 not long ago continually appeared at the Yvu mission to take me to found a mission in his town and thus to free it from persecution by a neighbor, according to what he said. For this he promised everything, goodness, docility, adherence, free work, and all the rest; religion and baptism only were reserved for children, as in other towns. While the Indian is well off and not bothered by anyone in his lazy life with its frequent drinking, it is not easy to get good things out of him.

797 829 871 177 /117/ Even for the education of a child it is necessary to bribe the Indian with material things. He does not resist handing over his children, but he wants them to be given clothing. No matter how much they may have, he brings them to school completely naked or with a shirt all ragged and torn, so that the missionary will immediately dress them, and let it be noted that he does not ask this as *a favor. Up to a certain point he seems to demand it,* saying, "Ropa emeé chupé," give him clothing. If the missionary asks something as a favor, he must pay them back in material things; should he forget, they ask for them.

829 797 177 It has already been seen that the Tarairi mission was founded in the year 1854, this being the first founding to take place on the left bank of the Pilcomayo River, being due to the zeal of Father José Giannelli. It was near Easter, and the missionary let it be known to various caciques that at that time there would be a commemoration of the death of God and that they should also come, with their pains and afflictions, to demonstrate their adherence to the truths and dogmas of the Catholic faith. He knew through experience that the Chiriguano have a special tenderness for the dead. In fact, a great number of them gathered there to hear the word of the missionary father, who thought that he had conquered them all, seeing them so attentive and silent and seeing them crying and full of compunction. But Easter came, the day of joy, and those who had come to cry about the death of Jesus came once more before the missionary, asking for new

/117 cont./
829 clothing in payment for the service. Let the reader imagine
797 how the poor father, who had nothing, felt when he heard
177 such a petition (1)!

1. Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Vices and Their Consequences

883 It seems to be and is an unfortunate truth that in this
842 tribe, once so numerous, there is no lack of coquettish girls, who, if they restrained themselves from flirting any more, would not be so bad. The unfortunate thing is that these poor girls, in order to enjoy mundane pleasures and drink to the depths the dregs of corruption, or also in order not to have the nuisance of nursing children and training
[756] them, have recourse to a very simple thing. They consult
[278] the old women who bear the name of sorcerers, and these
[885] show them the remedy, which consists of a drink that they extract from certain plants or herbs which almost all the Chiriguano women and Indian sorcerers know wonderfully well.

883 /118/ These unfortunate girls, usually orphans, once the
786 period of puberty is over, drink this venomous beverage,
[881] suffer a great deal, if indeed they do not die, and are
[842] sterilized, and they then give themselves up to orgies at the time of general drinking, which is the most terrible thing that you can imagine, because at them morality is offended by words and very licentious stories, by raucous laughter and giggling by men and women, by their glances, and finally by their acts, although these take place at a
797 suitable distance from the said gathering.

/122 cont./

152 other towns, and they returned almost en masse, and the first
571 thing they did when they once again trod the soil of their home-
167 land was to cry. I witnessed the arrival of a cacique with
186 his large family. Men and women came loaded with their household goods and children. They arrived in poor condition, covered with dust and sweat (it was at the end of December), tired and sad, and when they saw their fellow countrymen and relatives happy and content under the paternal rule of the Catholic missionary, they put their burdens down on the ground, in the houses of others, and then there broke out the tears and the wails, thus arousing the consternation of all the inhabitants and the missionary (2).

2. Father Corrado relates an analogous case in his Historia de las Misiones de Tarija.

Poor unfortunates! In spite of the vices which dominate their corrupt nature, there is something noble in the Chiriguano race. Their fondness for their native place, for their home, is great. They will make any sacrifice to return and prefer to die of hunger and thirst. They will never abandon their town and their home, unless constrained by necessity, fear, or persecution.

Along the road from Yvu to Parapiti there is a town called Itatiqui, where not even drinking water can be found in the vicinity. Want is eternal there; the crops are miserable there; and they either beg for water or steal it from the lakes which are more than five kilometers from the town. Some six years ago there were about 120 families there, persecuted by some whites to whom they did not wish to be subjected. I tried to take them away to form a part of San Antonio Mission, but it was impossible to move them from the place.

They prefer to suffer hunger, thirst, vexations, and persecu-
799 tions there, but they do not abandon the place. They would re-
829 main there very happily /123/ if a small mission were built for
• 177 them, as they desire, which is somewhat difficult, considering the special circumstances of the place, since the civil and

/123 cont./

797 religious education of the boys and girls would not make much
829 progress because their parents are in continual movement. Some
179 effort at least has been made to help them by means of the property rights which they have in the territory, about three leagues long by half a league wide, and the plan was then to build them some small chapel, but I believe that these efforts will be left in the filing cabinet for centuries to come (1).

000

1. Today, instead of missions, they are building forts for the purpose of colonization. Doubtless the epoch of a new method of colonization has arrived, but nobody is ignorant of the fact that this costs the Republic millions, while the cost of a mission is relatively nothing, and the advantages and progress incomparable. What advances are there in Crevaux, in Guachalla, and other places? What buildings are there of note and stability? None. In a single hour the Toba or any other savage may destroy them by fire. Don Fernando Guachalla, the president-elect, said it well when he said that the best and cheapest method of colonizing is that of founding missions.

175 Before the Parapiti missions were organized, those Indians
511 suffered considerable misery, because the place was quite dry
[132] in the rainy season, and they had no means of planting along the banks of the river, since the few lands there were in the
[146] hands of the whites. Father Giannecchini passed through there in 1887 as an expeditionary to Paraguay, and when he saw them so poor and so reduced in number, he exhorted them to move to some mission, but they answered that it was not easy to leave the place where they had been born and had grown old.

/124 cont./

797 Religion, that of reading and writing, and even the art of musical chords, which is only seen in the great centers of the world (2).

[533] 2. In the Potosí missions there are four music bands, and in those of Tarija, two.

The history of the Tarija missions is glorious in all of its pages. The reader can consult, whenever he wishes, the one of the Colegio of Potosí in its two epochs as well. This will cast a brilliant light upon the matter, and the traveler can say nothing to contradict it when, ecstatically, he contemplates the grandiose, strong, and well-planned edifice of the Santa Rosa Mission, that of the elevated Machareti Mission, that of the old or semisecular Tarairi Mission, and the one which, as though by enchantment and with order, is being built in the mission of San Antonio del Parapiti Grande.

797 All of this shows that the Chiriguano, in spite of his
157 indolence, is docile, and with gentleness and a little strictness
•177 at the same time he will do whatever the white and the missionary wish him to do. It finally demonstrates that, though he does have his vices and defects, certain human virtues are not lacking. It shows that it is necessary to educate his nature by teaching, with civilization, as the carpenter with his plane smooths a piece of wood if he wants to make the job elegant, or a blacksmith with his file smooths the rough iron until he has made a key, a lock, or any other object.

/125/ Philanthropy

577 To end this third chapter and then pass on to deal with
829 Chiriguano religion, I am going to say in passing that they are very compassionate with the unfortunate. If one of them suffers the harshness of imprisonment, they all make every effort to ask that he be freed and will even sacrifice whatever they may
[736] have to obtain it. If someone is sick, he is visited by many; if one is left an orphan, all are his fathers, mothers, grandparents, and brothers and sisters, or at least they are his uncles and aunts or brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

/130 cont./

776 What I am going to set down here will cast some light on this subject and will enlighten the intelligence of the studious man for its investigation.

124 776 From conversations with the true Chiriguanos it is impossible to form any idea of the supreme being that they accept. I say true Chiriguanos, by which I mean those who have had almost no contact with missionaries or whites. Today it is difficult to find one of these. Yet despite this, if one should ask the old people who live far from the missions, "Who made all that we see?" they answer, "Quia ndipó?" Who can it be? "Who created us?" They answer: "Ti! Ndicuaá á?" What do you mean? Do you not know? And they give a purely material explanation, as happened on an exploration and trip that I made several years ago in the company of other missionaries south of the canton or town of Huacaya, where I talked with an old cacique who had taken part in the war of 1875 against Igüembe and who, after the pacification, preferred to live outside the mission and planned to die there, because he is convinced that Indians who live in missions die earlier, just as, according to him, all of his companions from Boicovo have already died, which is not true, because they still are alive there, as old as he is (1).

790 170 829 [114]

> 1. The Indians have had and will continue to have the false and erroneous idea that baptism makes those who receive it die, because it is administered to men and women who are in immediate danger of death, and hence those who are old do not wish to be baptized when they are enjoying good health.

192 In the Chiriguano language we find the word Tunpa, which means "superior being" or "marvelous being." When for the first time they saw a large clock with its "tick, tock" and the pendulum making the hands move and giving energy to the hammer to strike the hours with its little bell or wire string, when they saw for the first time the photographic camera which reproduced the image of one or more of them, the clock and camera were Tunpa for the Chiriguano. They applied this word to both things,

/135 cont./

000 Revelation teaches us that legions of angels were lost because of an error or the grave sin of pride and passed into the category /136/ of the condemned or demons. Faith, reason, and common sense teach us that perverse men who die in their perversity are separated from good ones, as evil-doers are separated in this world by being imprisoned in jails. Divine justice demands punishment for the perverse, who, like condemned persons, pass into the category of lost spirits and as semblance of the demons, God allowing this, and they can appear to those of us who live here in the world to detain us along the way of sin or to warn us about it.

776 787 Under this concept it is not repugnant even to common sense to admit the probability that the Chiriguano do see the Añia, demon or evil spirit. Sacred history speaks of visions and apparitions; profane histories cannot combat them, but rather they relate innumerable facts of demoniac apparitions which have appeared by means of spiritualism. It is not strange that such a thing should happen among the Chiriguano. Doubtless it is incredible that it should be so frequent. They say that they see the demons at every moment of the night, whenever there is no fire or light, but this is a puerile worry, and due to fear and fright in some and to ignorance in others (1).

[372] [789] 1. In all the houses of the true Chiriguano there is always a fire burning at night for the principal end of keeping away the evil spirit or Añia.

773 Beliefs Relative to the Creation

[115] Before going on I am going to relate what was told to me by the cacique Anduari of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission, who, in order to increase his income, is a sorcerer or witch doctor for the Indians and some whites in a wide area. According to the account that follows, the human race, or the Chiriguano, was destroyed twice. The first time and its restoration have already been seen. The second occurred in the following way (2).

[585] [177] 2. Anduari gave his account in the presence of his

773
[585]
[177]

/136 cont./

wife and his Christian daughter, whose name is Candelaria Asúmbai, married according to the Catholic marriage ceremony.

Anduari then says that the first Chiriguano man, named Araparigua, without others knowing it, was saved from the universal flood, because, as a creature who had come directly from the hands of God and consequently was very beloved, he was taken up to the sky before the earth was flooded. /Illustration appears here./ /137/ When the Chiriguano had multiplied anew, he came down again to enjoy as before the pleasures of Bacchus and Venus, but very soon he made himself abhorred by all the people because of his haughtiness and his abuse of the property and women of others. Hence he was at the point of perishing, murdered by his own vassals, but Tunpa came to his aid, took him away again, and put him in his company. There Araparigua swore vengeance and asked Tunpa to destroy the whole race. God, knowing that his privileged creature no longer had any close relatives, such as a wife, mother, father, and children, acceded to his desires, and the Chiriguano were destroyed for a second time (1).

[595]

1. The caciques follow the example of Araparigua, having several wives and abusing others,to the great sorrow of their parents and of the damsels themselves. It is completely false that the women of this race who fall to the cacique consider it an honor, as is stated by Dr. Leocadio Trigo. I do not know if this happens with those of other races, but he writes in general of all of the races of the Chaco.

But the Tunpa did not wish to be without privileged creatures for a long time, and he came down to earth again. He made a human body from clay with all the members corresponding to the masculine sex. Then he made another with all the members of the female body. He gave life to both, they lived, and he left them in their nakedness, leaving them in possession of a beautiful place.

[text continues on p. 188]

/174 cont./

342 281 second frame, taking care that it is not very tight so that when it dries it will not warp. He attaches this hide from behind with thongs of the same material, and the result for them is a door de luxe, which could be envied even by some whites, who, in spite of the fact that they have hides, either cannot find anyone to work them for such a door, or who out of avarice and in order not to spend a few coins do not concern themselves with such a comfort (2).

342 322

2. Some of them make very crude doors with two pieces of thorny ceiba wood, which they work perfectly with a knife. No Chiriguano puts a window in his house.

Ancient Houses

342 177 178 Some of my readers perhaps may have believed that the house and its mode of construction just described go back to the origin of the race. /175/ This belief would be an error, because they must understand that the above-mentioned is the result of progress. The method of building houses like the present ones is relatively new; they learned it from the whites, especially from the inhabitants of the Santa Cruz area, where the houses all have galleries, this being noted even in the capital of the department, although they may be of much more importance and may be disappearing in the new buildings. But 184 in Monteagudo, Lagunillas, Charagua, and centers where the Chiriguano have their holdings, houses have gallaries.

These, in addition to giving the houses a better appearance, in addition to the indisputable utility, are a very great reinforcement and protection for the walls of the house, not allowing the torrential rains to wear away or demolish the plastering that 342 171 they do in all the houses. It is true that many houses of the whites in their towns are of adobe, but when the timber is of superior quality it is almost preferable, because this material + REMAINS JOINED BETTER AND IS MORE COMPACT.

/177 cont./

Fire

354
372 In conical houses as well as in those of rectangular form, ancient as well as modern, a fire burned, and still burns, night and day; it is never extinguished, but should this happen, the way to relight it is to borrow it from the neighbors. If all the
372 177 178 inhabitants of a tribe have temporarily emigrated to a place which is not far away, as happens at the time of general planting, at the end of the harvest, and upon returning to town, they come back bringing their fire with them, as I have seen on repeated occasions. But as today civilization has penetrated
[435] and the match has become common, even the Chiriguano will
[276] save up one medio, or ten centavos, to buy such a useful combustible, which they use very sparingly, because in their hands this is now a luxury and lends them an air when in a gathering of companions they can bring out and show their box of matches while lighting a maize-husk cigar.

372 When a fire happens to go out in a place where it is difficult to get it from distant houses, the Chiriguano is not too worried. The man is almost never without a flint, tinder, and a piece of steel; these implements are used to obtain new fire. The tinder is prepared by them from a boll of wild cotton or the flower of the samuu, which they reduce into a skein of thread and put into a cow's horn, which they clear at the wider end, fitting to it a wooden stopper that they keep down with a small wire or agave string; inside the tinder box it extends to the other end, where they make a small hole in order to be able to pull the wire or string and keep the top on tight.

The Indian who does not have all this apparatus does not worry much either. If his fire happens to go out, he makes a small conical hole in a piece of well-dried wood, in which he violently spins a small cylindrical stick, also dry, which does not take long to get hot and then to give off sparks of fire, to which he then applies the tinder, which consists of the dry pith either of the agave or of the /178/ maguey, which when it has taken fire will light any other combustible material (1).

[973] 1. When the toad handed over fire to the two

/184 cont./

323 the force of the heat and remains over the paintings like a
[237] binder, without which they would disappear the first time it was used. The Taragüirisi remains on the vessels like a light coat of rubber and the white of the Tovanti becomes opaque (2).

2. When a pot is slightly damaged, they heat it in the fire and on the inside and outside apply the Taragüirisi, and it is as good as before.

/185/ Textiles

286 Another important occupation of the Chiriguano woman
462 is weaving the Asoya for her husband, brother, or son, and the
[294] Cutama for herself. For this she prepares the wool or cotton, spins it opposite the way the mestizo and European women spin, and then bleaches it and finally dyes it.

286 In order to weave, they set up two tall, slender forked sticks in the house, with two sticks across, one above and one below, and arrange or place the threads vertically, and then sit on the ground and begin to run the woof through, thread by thread, which they hit with a pointed stick of soto wood called Piuca. This, to be sure, is time consuming, if the threads are fine, but, on the other hand, the work is very durable.

291 Ponchos, Asoya, are of two types, one of wool and one
286 of cotton; the first are common from the right bank of the
231 Parapiti River southward and the second from the left bank
249 northward, because in the first region sheep are plentiful, and
[184] in the second, cotton fields. Formerly, before the whites intro-
[177] duced cattle into the region, cotton was cultivated everywhere, and from its product the men were dressed for ceremonies in their Tíru and the women in the Mandu, which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

/187 cont./

000 What did Adam obtain through his sin? Confusion and being thrown out of Paradise in order to be subjected to all the [186] miseries of life. We have all inherited the pride of the first Adam, and this capital sin causes us to commit errors and more errors, causes the principle of humility to be lost, and causes the favored one to look with disdain on one who is inferior; only religion can remedy these evils, but Catholicism has not penetrated everywhere, and among the Chiriguano, formerly savages in every sense of the word, it is relatively new, for which reason the pride with which they deprecate their inferiors, looking at them disdainfully, is not altogether uprooted; they do not make use of their clothing and adornments, and they strive to appear equal to the whites, whom they consider superior (?).

> 2. The simplicity of dress of the American Catholic women when they go to church is worthy of all praise. Would that they always dressed in this way and that the fashion of hats had never appeared! In Europe they are so large that they bother the spectator in large gatherings, and in the daily services they interfere with the view of the holy ceremonies, and, consequently, they attend without piety.

Clothing

302 The Chiriguano wears his hair long and barely ever cuts the hair near the forehead, either for adornment or so that it may not interfere with his vision, because he does not tie it 301 up like the women and the Quechua Indians. He wraps it 302 around his head and ties it with a band that his wife, mother, [286] or sister weaves for him. This band is called Yapicuana; it is 1.25 or 1.50 meters long and 5 centimeters more or less in width. It is of cotton or wool and comes in various colors, [177] but at the present time most of them, where civilization has not sufficiently penetrated, use one of red baize, which they

/187 cont./

301 buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions.
302 The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicuana
[177] /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts in the presence of his companions (1).

[797] [114] [121]

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbía had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter
294 is woven by them themselves with palm leaves, Carandai;
285 they bring them from the places where they are abundant, Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect
292 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older
554 Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (?).

291 2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap,
302 the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of
304 long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in
178 few places now, and the straw hat is being

/191 cont./

292 make people laugh at the carnival. The same thing can be said of other antiquities.
[562] I have placed in this chapter the method for making it, as well as the one for the hat, because it is work from which only the man benefits and both are counted among his garments.

Conveniences

463 In the course of the previous pages it has been seen that the Chiriguano is hunter, warrior, and also sorcerer. The first and second categories contain many, and the third one fewer, and this is easily understood, because a knowledge of medicinal herbs is needed and, more than this, the art of knowing how to deceive with prattling, which is not for all.

463 The three classes wear a belt with a bag which hangs from
291 it. The belt is called "Bosa," doubtless because it has a bolsa
415 /bag/. In this those of the first and second category put tobacco, maize husks, and flint, tinder, and steel for making fire, and sorcerers add to these things the implements of their profession, which /192/ are the Mbaecagüe, a piece of bone, the Itarapúa, a round stone, both of which are necessary for the cures... miraculous ones (1).

• [177] 1. The Bosa does not seem to be of Chiriguano origin. Anduari doubts that it was introduced by the Argentinians or by the Tarijeños /people of Tarija/, but it seems to me that it was the former who introduced it, because it is similar to the one used by the gaucho.

/196 cont./

301 Over their tiru the men put the Mboivera, which is a small double piece of silver with its hole in the upper part, where they put a double cord of wool, on the ends of which there are [562] tassels of the same color. This ornament is for men, but there are also women who wear them, but smaller ones. If one in- • [177] quires about the origin of the mboivera, no Chiriguano can tell you today, but it is almost certain that they received it from the Spaniards, with whom they had relations almost from the time of the discovery, as can be deduced from the history of Tarija, whose first settlers had to fight vigorously to take over the territory which they then occupied. It is enough to see a mboivera in order to conclude that it is not of Chiriguano origin. The work which goes into almost all of them indicates that it is the work of civilized people, since decorations by the engraver's burin can be seen on it (2).

43
301

2. A Mboivera, a Tempeta /sic/ with a ndamicha, four necklaces, and a ndamicha ichi formerly were exchanged for a horse, a cow, ten sheep, or 15 goats, but it should be noted that these pieces of property were worth little. A cow was worth five or six pesos, and the same could be said of the rest. Conscientious travelers today pay up to four bolivianos for a tembeta, because it is a museum piece.

301
435
756

Both men and women adorn their necks with beads /perlas/. Itogũi; necklaces, Risi, are not of beads like those of civilized people, but in spite of this the itogũi has a conventional value among the Chiriguano. For four itogũi necklaces they sold the best that they had, and sick persons gave them to the sorcerer in order that he would cure them, and today, when it is almost impossible to obtain a necklace, it is not rare for a sick person who owns one to make a gift of it to the doctor, even though it may be his passport to eternity, because everyone understands that after the sick person has been treated by a sorcerer in the most barberous manner, if he does not recover it is clear he will die.

/197 cont./

301 562 [439] These are of ten-centavo or five-centavo pieces, but they try to have them all alike. From what has been said it can be seen that the necklaces that the women wear are modern, brought by traders, especially peddlers (2).

2. Today neither medios nor reales of pure silver are found, but the Chiriguano Indian women make their necklaces with medios and reales of nickel. These are satisfactory, but the former were better.

301 184 Modern necklaces are common and also worn by the neophytes, but they do not wear bracelets, which are suitable only for the infidels. They make a long string of small blue beads and wrap it around /198/ their wrists, taking care to be sure that each turn is tight and close to the previous one, and so on with the rest which follow.

291 301 186 177 The Chiriguano, because he is proud, does not lower himself to wearing the adornments of neighboring tribes which are inferior to him, but he does easily adapt himself to wearing the clothing and adornments of races which are superior to him. He does not lower himself to wearing bird feathers, to scarring his face and arms, to wearing wooden earrings, like the Toba and others, but he imitates and attempts to surpass his superiors, the whites, by dressing himself like them, the men wearing the fine hat and the women wearing the wool and silk manta, the young men the footwear and boot, and the maidens foreign earrings. Hence, tiny little girls at the moment they are born have the ear lobe pierced, so that in time, even before they begin to walk, the mother can put a pair of earrings on them, while none of the old women whom I know wears earrings in her ears. This is a sure sign that they never wore ornaments in them, and thus, if the modern Chiriguano women wear them, it is because they have seen women and maidens who came from civilized centers or were born there.

/226 cont./

881 178 do not advise anyone of their puberty, even their mothers, and the consequences are sad in no few cases. They do not tell anyone because the older girls make fun of them.

163 582 A single thing is noted in the missions, and it is that the neophytes, when they get to the age of about 35, stop having children. Perhaps this is because they marry very young, at about 16 to 20 at the latest. If it is true that the Chiriguano 581 women of old were ready for marriage /227/ as soon as they came out of their hiding or fasting, the union which they contracted was certainly neither continuous nor for life with the same person. One or two months with one, then a rest until giving birth, afterwards again joining the same man, or perhaps she would seek out another if the first had become bored 799 with her or she with him. But this does not happen in the 581 missions: those who contract marriage do it for life, because it is a Catholic union and, as such, indissoluble, just as the natural marriage of the infidels would be, but the Chiriguano does not understand this, since in principle he wishes to be a hummingbird, coming to rest on many flowers and not stopping at any of them until he reaches a certain age.

881 785 184 In the districts where the fasting lasted for a year, such as in Cuevo, before the town of San Juan Bautista and the Santa Rosa Mission were founded, after the first rigorous month the maidens were made to eat meat and beans also, and they were even allowed to drink a little mild chicha, so that they would not become too weak or die. If the chicha had turned sour, it would be prejudicial for later married life, producing the effects of which I have already spoken.

881 178 177 Finally, to conclude such a delicate subject, let it be noted that at the present time the custom of such a rigorous fast for the female sex is observed in very few places; today the region is inhabited by the white race, which is making them understand that all this is superstition, because of the example of their daughters, who, in spite of the fact that they have done nothing of what has been said, live in perfect

/227 cont./

881 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently,
178 and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection
● 177 of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where
226 there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the
462 little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Parirenta.

881 /228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and
[195] not a boy, the time to give up the ú ú of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man
[304] ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother,
[301] and other relatives make him understand that for this it is necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of
[885] the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip,
[554] Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

[192] 1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ita, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

/231 cont./

304 881 [824] Meanwhile the one who performed the operation now gives final admonishments to the boy, and he, following all of these instructions and those of his father, keeps the little tube in continual motion so that it will not stick to the flesh, and on the days that follow he begins to put around it little twigs /232/ from the bush called Tacurimbó, food of the turkeys. When it has healed, he will cut a larger stick from the same bush and put it in alone, removing the tembetandi, and continue enlarging the hole this way little by little until he can put in a tembeta of hollow cane, which also goes on taking on larger dimensions until it seems big enough. Then he buys a de luxe tembeta and he puts it in, never to remove it again, either day or night, since it would be a great embarrassment for a Chiriguano to appear in public without his tembeta (1).

1. If the Chiriguano were to be without his tembeta while asleep, saliva would run out, because the hole is rather large in most of them.

301 The hollow-cane tembetas are made by every Chiriguano, while those of wood and tin are made by craftsmen. In spite [326] of there not being any blacksmiths or tinsmiths among them [439] and as neither tin or lead nor anything similar is available, [199] the result is that the material for making them is brought from other parts, being bought from the whites, with whom they have maintained relations since the beginning of Tarija, out of which region the Chiriguano were expelled.

The Tembeta in Other Tribes

301 171 The use of the tembeta may be another argument for the unity of the human race: indubitably the Chiriguano use it as a tradition passed on from father to son, and thus successively up to our times. The tembeta is found in use by savage tribes almost throughout the world: in Africa the Noers /Nuer/ and

/234 cont./

539 "I further wish," the Aguara-Tunga continued, "that you may never /235/ forget the day on which your bad luck made you inferior to your companion: take also this button which will distinguish you from the descendants of the one who is your superior." He made a hole in his lower lip and put the tembeta on him: and that was the beginning of the difference between the white race, or caray, and the Chiriguano, who believe that they owe their misfortune to the Aguara-Tunga (1).

1. Today few Indians believe in such a legend. They consider the fox to be a four-footed animal and the rascal that he is, and the young people listen to storytelling just because they like to hear it.

Here we have humanity left to its free will, without being enlightened by the true religion: they believe in a patchwork of lies and superstitions: they respect or are frightened by a wild animal, giving it the name of a marvelous being able to do good or evil to them: tremble in the presence of a dauntless fox, who is a thief without intelligence or speech, and disfigure the faces of their children, making the goodness, strength, prestige, and nobility of the individual consist of a piece of tin, wood, or hollow cane: they subject their tender and delicate damsels to rigorous fasting, to imprisonment for months and even a year, because of a false belief in sorcery, in supposed sicknesses and spells, ruining their health and even risking their lives (2).

2. Almost all the present-day Chiriguano have a slight smattering of the true religion: for this reason they no longer concern themselves with their old customs of fasting, hiding, putting on the tembeta, and long hair.

/237 cont./

648 464 466 It can be said with all certainty that the only laborer in the four provinces of Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor, and Gran Chaco is the Chiriguano, who is found even beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he also works, taken there by the authorities or by the owners of the lands, which they bought in ancient times for a trifle (1).

[425] 1. If one is to credit what the Indians say, in some places land was acquired by barefaced trickery /leva raida/ at the time of Ferdinand VII; in other places, for three or four arrobas of cheese, and in the last ones, for a cow, a poncho, a few varas of cloth, or a few bottles of liquor given to the cacique.

178 [169] Today the Chiriguano, very abject, in many places suffers in resignation what, according to the story, he did not want yesterday; in other places he is migrating the better part of the time, that is to say, when his presence is necessary for the general planting, to which of necessity the old people must devote themselves if they want to live without dying of hunger and in order to be able to welcome the migrants when they return for a few days to show off their new clothing, their work from other regions, to sell it immediately for very little, to slaughter some cattle of their own or of their elders, and to go back at once without even saying good-by.

Property Rights

648 [241] The object of the present chapter is to describe the method of cultivating the land when the Indians lived alone in the country, before the whites had moved in among them; now they scarcely give them /238/ room to do their planting as best they can. Nonetheless, since they keep them continually occupied, food and clothing are never lacking to anybody in a Christian's house, where the Indian gets them 177 648

/238 cont./

177 648 for himself, for his children, and for his wife (1).

1. Perhaps without intending to do so, the whites have done and are doing a work of charity for the Indian, that of moralizing him somewhat through work, during which he neither gets drunk nor thinks of trifles, etc. Only in some places a little moderation is needed in order not to discourage him.

241 773 776 It was also the Aguara-Tunpa who taught the Chiriguano the cultivation of land, since, seeing that he had not been able to remedy his misery and needs by handing over the bows and arrows, he once again visited his poor hut, and seeing him thin and emaciated, he gave him all kinds of seed so that he might make them bear fruit, teaching him the method of burying them and advising him also of the way and the time for pulling out the weeds with a weeder, because he would have seemed bad before his enemy and before the Indian himself if he had not completed his philanthropical work, after criticizing so much the true friend of Chiriguano humanity (2).

2. The Aguara-Tunpa, Fox God, did not tell him that the seeds could be eaten right away, because in that way they would have been lost immediately. After they had germinated, he advised that when they were ripe, he could have food for himself and for his family.

423 Every Chiriguano has a small plot of cultivated land, sufficient for himself and for his family. Nobody had previously entered the area in which the Indians live, so that nobody disputed their property rights, as they should not be disputed today, because they are the owners ab immemorabili, and no individual could have sold what belonged to the community.

/241 cont./

Modern Farming and Seeds

241 177 [407] Today planting with the spade is disappearing, and if this tool is necessary for weeding, an iron one has been substituted. The plow has become general, as have the yoke and oxen, and in the missions even boys of 12 break in oxen two and a half years old. They first do the planting for the mission, then for themselves and their fathers, and finally they help those who have no sons; the missionary provides them with young oxen, plowshares, and even halters when they are very poor.

The neophytes in most of the Potosí missions have learned to perfection this new method of farming, and they are so advanced that they are competitive with and even superior to many mestizo farmers. The older ones teach the younger ones, fathers teach their sons, and the latter as well as the former manufacture plow and yoke out of selected wood with all the perfection that these implements require. It is satisfying to see upon a farm 40 or 50 yokes of oxen, directed and driven by young men and boys who yesterday were like their grandparents! The whites themselves do their planting on a large scale, aided by these Chiriguano, who receive in exchange double daily wages (1).

[868] [407] [231] 46

1. A peon plowman is not obliged to bring oxen; it is the white who waits for him with the yoke hitched. If a peon brings his own, he earns up to triple daily wages, because they are worth exactly three strong peons, the two oxen and the man who drives them. Thus it is not much to pay him triple.

243 262 Today it seems to me that there must not be another country where the different types of maize thrive better. This is the principal element, the daily food, not only of the Chiriguano tribe, but of all those who inhabit most of Bolivia. Here in particular, when there is no harvest, its lack is greatly felt by whites and blacks, that is to say, by mestizos and by Chiriguano.

/242 cont./

The seventh type has no peculiarity. It is called Cachinchi, which in the language means curly, and it actually is; the kernel is rather small at the end, but not at the beginning, and in the middle it is very soft; it contains considerable saccharine, and they use it for parched maize. They also have the Abati guayeta, then the Abati chore, which they use for parched meal, and finally they have the Saimpini, gray, very good for parched maize because of its softness (2).

[177] 2. It appears that formerly these Indians did not have the Abati guayeta. It is very probable that it was introduced after the Conquest, or as soon as they had any relations with the whites.

262 Maize is a very common food for the Chiriguano Indian, and he eats it in different ways, but in times of plenty one tires of eating the same thing, like the Hebrews, who in the desert had become tired of eating manna. They remedy this difficulty with the Intina, side dishes /companage.

The first, Abati tina, is the Cumanda, French bean /alubia/; there are also 11 types of French beans, or [263] cumanda. All are eaten with salt or without /243/ it, with maize meal, with parched maize, or without them. Here they are: Cumanda háigũe, bean with a yellow kernel; Cumanda sacuayu, which literally means bean with yellow eye; Cumanda úú, black bean; Cumanda gũiraya, which literally means bean owner of the trees, because it is a climber; Cumandandi, white bean; Cumanda pucu, long bean with red kernel; Cumanda mi, small bean. This one is not small because of its grain, but because of the plant, and it is the one that the whites call yellow poroto; Cumandansi, sour bean; Cumanda guasu, large bean, it is because the plant is very thick. There is another called Gũira rupía because it resembles birds' eggs, and, finally, there is Saimpino, which is similar to the gray egg-colored maize (1).

244 1. The Cumanda guasu, or large bean, is the

/244 cont./

252 262 Gourds are eaten boiled, roasted, and in broth; the seed is enjoyed when roasted with maize meal, parched maize, or beans. They also eat them as broth, which they call Güindaca mi quira, or grease of the gourd, to which they add chili pepper and salt, just as they do with beans cooked in ollas with the whole pod, which they call Sopirigua.

241 If the Chiriguano manages to plant a little maize beans /poroto/, and gourds, he is content and stops planting other, less important seeds. Few plant Yeti, sweet potato, Mandiporopi, mandioca, Tacuaneé, sugar cane, and Monduvi, peanut. They all plant watermelons and other melons; many plant figs and tunas, or nopal, and few cultivate orange trees, because this Indian has little patience for waiting on the ingratitude of certain plants which require much care and are very slow in yielding fruit (2).

[192] [177] 2. Names for watermelon /sandía/ and melon /melón/ do not exist in the Chiriguano language, which indicates that these fruits were introduced by the whites, from whom the Indians got them.

222 245 262 The nopal is very abundant in this area, rising to some three or four meters; its fruit is very exquisite, as everyone knows. Its cultivation is nil; it is enough to pluck off a branch of the main plant and bury it halfway, and its sweet fruit will ripen from the second year on. It is the plant that the Chiriguano value most.

245 Even the fig tree, which also needs little care, is cultivated. They call it Iva, as well as calling the nopal Saini, and both plants seem to be native, because they grow in hot places, and the name indicates that they have always had them. The fig tree requires more cultivation than the nopal, but this is relatively insignificant; they pull off a branch, plant it during the rainy season, and let it grow fully without pulling off any shoots (3).

439 3. Whites who live among the Indians are

/247 cont./

252 262 Infrequently the Indian drinks a broth of ground maize, Hapi; when he does not have meat, he uses beans and gourds for his broth. If he does not have these either, he prefers Cagüí rai, which he prepares by soaking and grinding the maize, removing the bran, and cooking it. They also chew it sometimes, let it ferment, and eat it when it is ready; anyone who sees this last food could not help but be disgusted, but for them it is a very excellent dish.

The twelfth and last way of eating maize is Muyape, [263] bread. The preparation is the same as that of the Hebrews when they eat unleavened bread, but the Chiriguano put salt and chili pepper in it; after it is kneaded, they cover it with ashes and fire and let it cook well; when it is done, they take it out, wash it with water until the ashes which have stuck to it are gone, and, well washed, it has the color of bread, which invites both big and small to savor it; it is what the Indian likes best, and the women make it frequently in times of plenty. Its odor and taste are very pleasant, especially when just made.

273 Cangüí — Chicha

All the ability of a wife consists of knowing how to make chicha well, the delicious cangüí of the Chiriguano, who is capable of walking a hundred kilometers or more to drink it, when invited with all the rules of native diplomacy. Cangüí is his coffee, his soup, his wine, his food, his drink, his everything. In a certain way it is his God, and I am sure that many would renounce heaven for chicha, because they know almost nothing of what heaven is, and, on the other hand, they know that chicha is a sweet thing which gladdens the heart and leads to conversation and singing; therefore, every Chiriguano woman must take special care from even before puberty to learn well the method of preparing it. Here it is (2).

•[177] 2. The method of making the chicha which the whites call arrope is somewhat different, but the Chiriguano Indians do not use it and learned of it only recently.

/250 cont./

224 184 Although all the Indians are hunters, not all can or go to hunt; some stay in town to help the women put the jars /cántaros/ in the plaza, and others do not go because they have other food [231] available for their friends. Some of them have goats and sheep, [574] others even chickens and cows; these take pride in being able to offer their friends in the public plaza chicken soup, or one of lamb or kid, or a succulent roast of veal, since there is no doubt that anyone would prefer fresh meat to charqui or dried meat of wild animals.

Animals

231 From the little that has been said with reference to animals it can be deduced that the Chiriguano have some, and they are the horse, ass, mule, cow, sheep, goat, chicken, and dog; all of them have Spanish names, /251/ except the chicken, Uru, and the dog, Yáimba. It is possible that these last are native, that is, that the Chiriguano have always had them, since they have their own name in the language; but if one reflects a little some doubt rises in the mind. The chicken, so it seems to me, is called Uru by the Chiriguano because it has some resemblance to the turkey buzzard, which they call Urugüi and which is a species of crow. The dog is called Yáimba in Chiriguano, no doubt because he [177] is very faithful to his master, Ya, which really means owner-master, and Imba, beast, so that the dog turns out to be a special beast which, more than others, loves its owner or master, and I say this because other tribes who are neighbors of the Chiriguano and are in a complete state of savagery do not have the dog, from which it can be deduced that they acquired it when the Spaniards entered their country (1).

1. For my opinion to be complete and closer to the truth, the word Imba should have an h; nevertheless, I do not give this as more than an opinion. The literal meaning of the word Yáimba would be: beast of the owner.

/255 cont./

those of certain peoples who, without going further, are close to those who know nothing about civilization, whose morals, compared with those of these unfortunates, are far lower because of their refinement (2).

2. Some moderns would have civilization consist of purely material education without attending to the yearnings of the heart; for them it is all the same whether man dresses or goes naked.

527 In the course of this chapter my readers will learn that I can be little mistaken in what I stated above, and they will also learn that even the Chiriguano have fiestas, which they call Arete, which /256/ are celebrated neither for saints, emperors, nor kings, nor are they celebrated in a disorderly fashion, nor do they allow themselves to be disemboweled by a bull, as sometimes happens to mestizos or Spaniards; much less are they celebrated for open abandonment to luxury; they are celebrated only in order to drink and stuff oneself, and to enjoy the fruit of the labor involved in the planting of the maize, to have a few days of general rejoicing, to drink, in sum, like good brothers (1).

[526] 1. In the general drinking a certain immorality in their words is to be lamented, and they sometimes test their strength and valor with pugilism.

Before the Fiesta

241 231 177 Before the white race entered the region, cattle were almost unknown and the few that the Indians had were tame, nor had they taken to their hearts the desire for maize as they do now; thus the Chiriguano easily did his planting and weeding in less than a month, leaving the rest to God, but I speak badly, to the good sorcerer, the sun, and the rain. Today if he does not put a fence around his planting, the cattle of the Christians and the indians very soon reach the crop, and a little carelessness is

/256 cont./

241 enough for this. Although there are good fences, there are better
231 and braver bulls or calves, who with their horns are capable of
177 opening iron gates, opening the way to all their females, whom they then call with much affection with their prolonged bellows (2).

> 2. The harmful cattle even become ferocious; if a man alone tries to chase them out of the field without the help of good dogs, he will be charged.

24 The harvest marks for the Chiriguano the time of the year
22 that he calls Mbaepiro, which literally means a dry thing or things, and everyone will understand that this corresponds to autumn, in which season the trees and every bush take off their beauty and raiment. Men and women then are busy carrying in
[343] what the land has produced for them; the maize crop is kept in the plot itself, in a kind of house of sticks called Abatío, maize house, and the woman little by little, as needed, brings it to the town for the daily meal and for the preparation of chicha (3).

> 3. If the harvest of gourds is not abundant, they put them on the maize in the same shed, if they do not build another; the bean crop is brought immediately to the tribe or town.

527 /257/ After this the Chiriguano spends his time in idleness, drinking here today, there tomorrow, visiting with some, playing with others, enjoying, in sum, with almost no work, a better life than the greatest ruler in the world. The harvest is cut be-
[221] tween May and June, and after it the libations in honor of the belly god begin. As the desire to drink is extraordinary, before having the general libation, the families, one by one, begin to make a small quantity of chicha to be drunk among a few friends and relatives.

/263 cont./

527 273 The fiesta of the Ayarise is an annual one, and it is always understood that the Indians have drink; thus in the general fiestas it does not end in one day; /264/ it lasts a long time until the chicha bottled in the vessels outside comes to an end; when this is finished, they repair to the large pitchers indoors, which are in reserve, like the reserve corps in a war. After eight or ten 527 574 days the fiesta can be considered at an end, and then the ucau vaé with all his soldiers takes leave of the purumuncau vaé with thousands of thanks, congratulating him for the order which has been maintained, the joy which has reigned, and the abundance of food and drink prepared. On finishing the praises, the guest in turn invites his friend and all the people for a similar affair in his tribe, with the month and day immediately being set.

527 273 Thus does the Chiriguano fiesta end, leaving everyone content and satisfied. But it is repugnant to see them drink without resting; the surroundings of these places look as though they were flooded by rain, their bodies give off an unpleasant odor, their faces seem swollen, their eyes out of their sockets, their lips with the tembeta sag like a baby lamb's, and just to approach one of them or the place where they are drinking is the same as approaching a sewer, such is the fetidness! But the Chiriguano is very content and glories in the piglike state in which he finds himself, saying, Asagũipo, I am drunk, and when he is getting over his drunkenness, he confirms what a good state he was in. Poor beast! (1)

[178] 1. Formerly, the intoxication of the Chiriguano was almost never complete; today, with the use of liquor, he frequently loses consciousness. Would that this harmful drink could be eliminated! The mission Indians no longer glory in their drunkenness; they say that they have been drunk, but not as an honorable act.

[997] [177]

/266 cont./

797
791

that the cacique had said with reference to their idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

574
576

/267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leaving the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu ndereé, I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma, I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tunpa reño eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

541
177

If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Lagunillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing. The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano [184] fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbapa páure, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe, in addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

[648]

1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Igüembe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Azero,

/267 cont./

54 177 648 Don Antonio Menduiña, who had requested aid; he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers from Azero.

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival [178] is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of Arete, fiesta, through antonomasia, and all the old fiestas are [461] gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that [292] this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguano works almost all year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him; for it is he gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy clothing for himself and his wife and children; and on those days all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put on /268/ during the other days of the year, neither for the Ayarise nor for the Mbapa páure.

In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between [532] blacks and whites; the men well dressed, and even the infidel women with garb adorned with gauze, fancy hats, and multicolored ribbon; the children cover their faces with masks which they have made beforehand by carving toborochi wood; young men prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others, such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the dancers and Agüeros /maskers/, for whom everything is allowed because it is carnival.

54 535 By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one drinks and has fun, they make merry on the compadre and [527] comadre days, and on Quinquagesima Saturday, all day, the maskers and dancers practice the dances that they call Aticu. On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival, [532] dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually mounted on a burro; the one who is thus disguised directs the fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

1. The principal man so disguised has subalterns,

/270 cont./

535
541
[292]
[562]
[177]

times in different locations (1).

1. At the carnival, during the three days, there are women who dress like men and men who dress like women, but both cover their faces well so as not to be recognized; this was also taught them by the white man.

[152]

On the second circuit all the Agüeros, the masked ones, a mestizo term, ask from house to house for provisions, and they accept everything, even bean pods and watermelon rinds, and on the third circuit, which is the farewell, there begins the wailing of big and small masked persons, laden with provisions and scraps; these weepers really make the old people and others cry, because some of them are thinking of their departed ones who are not present at this festivity which is ending, and others perhaps because they think they will not get to see another carnival. I questioned an old man who was really crying, and he gave me the preceding answer. When the last circuit ends with the drums muffled as a sign of sorrow, all of them, riders, dancers, and agüeros, go out of the town and go to a place where they throw away the masks and immediately go to the river, or a spring, to wash their hands and faces a little (2).

535
541
177

2. All of the foregoing games in Ivu were taught them by the same white man whom I have mentioned, and in the beginning he taught them by demonstration, causing astonishment, particularly in the women and the old persons; many of the said games are immoral, especially the circles and the massed group.

796
177

Easter

Forty days later the Chiriguano has another fiesta, that of the Pascua de Resurrección /Easter/, which was introduced by the whites; the old Indians call it nice because it is quiet, as they call the carnival very noisy.

/280 cont./

000 defeated, may the evil ones die. While the war lasts, it is the
722 rule that women and their daughters must not sit in a squatting
784 position, but with their legs stretched /281/ out in front, so that
516 their fathers and husbands who are in battle will not feel any
828 tiredness (1).

722
533
535
●177

1. The Italian del Campano, relying on the writings of Father Giannecchini, a missionary of the Colegio de Tarija, writes in his work that, before the fighting began and during it, women and maidens come out to the plaza and in a loud voice sing and dance the Aré aré. This song and dance must have originated among the Toba, who at that time were numerous in the Gran Chaco region, because in the Ivu region and other regions they scarcely know the name of the Aré aré, and not all share in that knowledge, as has been proved, for in no combat which has occurred to the north, south, and west of Ivu has the Aré, aré been danced and sung.

726 During the Curuyuqui war the Santa Rosa mission was in-
727 vaded by the rebels, who, in spite of their number and strength, were unable to enter the town which they intended to burn. Then and afterward the missionaries witnessed painful scenes of women who, crying their hearts out, raised their voices and threw ashes to obscure the enemies' vision. Bitter memories of that massacre are still retained, at which some of them laugh today, but they cried then. Whenever I hear the sad stories, my eyes overflow with tears (2).

726

[648)

2. The Curuyuqui rebels first attacked the town of Cuevo, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in Santa Rosa the night before. In a few days they attacked the mission, from which it can be concluded that their hate was against the whites, and concomitantly against the Indians who were

000 /298 cont./
726 soon, he turns cowardly and flees. The eight-hour battle at
648 Curuyuqui, considering that the weapons were so unequal, can
181 be regarded as a prodigious feat, because once the Chiriguano were so far from their towns, they had to resign themselves to winning or dying before falling prisoner.

Infidels

797
●177 The adult Indian has no appreciation of religion, whatever it may be. To be sure, first his ignorance and then, more than anything, his pride and laziness contributed to this, because he turns his back on anyone who tries to instruct him. Some of them come to the monthly instruction, but almost all are like those described by the royal Psalmist in that they have eyes but do not see, ears but do not hear, /299/ and a tongue but do not speak, do not sing praises, and do not worship their Creator (1).

1. It seems that the demon of luxury has them blind, deaf, and mute with regard to religion and worship and keeps them away from the Spirit of God.

It is not likely that the Chiriguano will ask for the founding of a mission, because he does not want anyone to disturb his peace and tranquility in his own land. He considers the mission an unbearable yoke for himself and for his children. It is almost useless, it is almost a waste of time, to speak to the Indian about the supernatural, to make him yield and accept the mission. He does not understand or wish to understand why animalis homo non percipit ea quae Dei sunt. Only when he sees himself persecuted with regard to his person, his family, and his property, only in order not to fall completely into slavery, only to free himself from the harassments which he receives from his fellow man, does he then ask for a mission with much insistence, until he obtains the end desired. This is also one of the ways that God uses to secure the redemption and salvation of an endless number of souls (2).

2. There are a number of Chiriguano families

/299 cont./

797
177

in Pipi; to free themselves from such vexations, they have been asking for a mission. There are still more of them in Caipipendi; I have spoken with them repeatedly, because they have their own land, but they are still not inclined to ask for the founding of a mission, and the reason for this is clear, they are not greatly persecuted.

Even in this case the adult proposes the bases of the agreement; he asks for freedom to follow his barbarous customs, without being obliged to receive baptism and consequently to enter the church to hear Mass and to do other things proper to Catholic worship, because his hair and the tembeta are out of place in God's house, and they feel extreme embarrasment on seeing themselves mixed in among children, young people, and whites. The advantage that religion presents is the education of the youth and the baptism of the infants, who in great quantities fly straight to heaven, because there are many who die, regenerated by holy baptism.

Provided that he does not speak to them about religion or about receiving baptism, the missionary can do what he wishes with the adult Indian. It is enough if he only shows a little foresight from the beginning regarding the way in which they must live in the mission. One who freely and spontaneously gave his name obeys in every respect, provided that effort and care are taken to suppress any disorder or disobedience immediately.

464
466

If he is needed for personal labor, it is not likely that he will refuse, at least in the first years, even though he be paid no wages /300/ nor given anything, since he understands that the missionary orders the construction of a building, not for speculation, but for the moral and civil progress of his children. If the missionary ordains, as is the case, that during the night they cease singing, they will comply, in spite of the fact that at times it is necessary to remind them with some sharpness, noting here that words alone are of little value.

/300 cont./

797 In sum, the adult Indian infidel, when carefully watched
177 over, is quite submissive in complying with the orders of the missionary father, and even when drunk he is gentle and humble. Although it is quite true that he wishes to know nothing of religion as long as he lives, in order not to learn to pray and to comply with what religion demands, nevertheless today almost all ask for or receive baptism at the time of death. The difficulties which formerly occurred with respect to the sick who were in danger of death, which would be interminable in the telling, have now almost completely disappeared. (1)

> 1. It is more difficult to baptize old women, for it is they who advise a sick person to refuse to accept baptism, while others coax him to accept for material gain. In such cases it is very necessary to know their language.

[595] If an Indian or a cacique had two or more wives when a mission was founded, bit by bit the missionary can make him give them up until he has but one. This requires some effort, but through persuasion and threats the desired end can be obtained, because this is one of the conditions which the minister of God sets when he is asked by the Indians to establish a mission. This is what I did in San Antonio del Parapiti, and they accepted all the conditions very willingly.

761 The adult Chiriguano is not baptized while he enjoys good
797 health; he only does it at the time of dying and when he is al-
177 most sure that he cannot live any longer. In the past it was even difficult to baptize infants, because they were convinced that baptism is the cause of death, for in their ignorance they did not understand that those who receive baptism in a serious illness died because of the gravity of the disease.

The missionary, because of his long experience, easily recognizes who is in danger of dying, and it is unlikely that he will err, because the serious illnesses of the Chiriguano are known diseases, such as dropsy, smallpox, dysentery, and consumption, to name the principal ones. He thus baptizes precisely those who cannot live, because it would be very

761 /301/
797 difficult afterward to make them comply with what religion re-
177 quires. The result of this is that the Indian believes without founda-
tion that baptism causes death (1).

797
762
177

1. Some of them experience so much sadness with being adult Christians that they try to take their own lives; this happens when they are half out of their minds with some dangerous illness.

797
177

When a baptized person whose life is in danger survives, it is not likely that he will comply with what religion requires, and only at the missionary's insistence is the matter finally resolved, but he enters the church secretly, seeking the corners or the sacristy, so that no one will see him, and, when there is a change of missionaries, he takes advantage of the ignorance of the one who is new to the mission so as not to attend religious ceremonies. Then what kind of Christians are these? In church they are like idiots, being almost unable to learn prayers, either because it is difficult or because they are unwilling to learn them. In church they are little different from brutes; in their houses they behave like the infidels among whom they live; they play, sing, and drink the same as the rest of them (2).

2. We should not be too astonished by the behavior of the Indian who has survived after being baptized while gravely ill, because the poor souls had never seen a church in their lives nor did they know anything about the obligations of praying to and worshiping a Supreme Being, about whom, in their unbelief, they had no exact idea and barely a remote one.

In a mission already old, all this does not happen. There are Indians with tembeta and long hair, there are old women with their tipoy who go to Mass and comply with the other obligations of the Catholic Church, but almost all are mute, that is to say, they do not utter a single word of prayer. Some will say, and I too say, that with time the opposite will be the case, but

/301 cont./

799 this time has hardly come, because the infidel in the Chiriguano
●177 missions does not leave followers, since his children have almost all been baptized. They are getting old and dying without being replaced.

797 Some of them are baptized in order to make the missionary
763 happy and in order that the family will not suffer any blame, but
177 several times it has happened that as a dying person who had no thought of being made a Christian breathed his last or gave almost no sign of life, the relatives hastily called. Finally, others
[104] accept and profess being Christians so that the missionary will permit or tolerate the burial of the body in their own home, and this is the first thing that the sick person asks for after being catechized, for which reason many difficulties are encountered. When it is hinted to the sick person /302/ that he must repent, he either denies completely that he is guilty before God or he does not abhor his past actions. All of these difficulties occur at the beginning of a mission; everything changes with the passage of time, and there is scarcely any which is not in the end easily overcome (1).

797
177

1. When a mission is founded, it is ordered that the missionary be told about sick people so that he can comply with the charity of Christ, to make them know the truth, the reward or punishment which awaits them in eternity. For just this reason he reprimands those who hide the sick. When the latter explicitly refuse to be baptized, and the missionary does not manage to convince them of the error, he leaves them. Such cases have occurred.

293 For the Indian infidel, drunkenness is a very honorable act, an action which indicates greatness, friendship, and benevolence, and he glories in it, saying clearly and with great satisfaction, Asagtipo ma, I have got drunk. They say it to anybody and appear before anybody in this state. Nevertheless,
[999] when corrected and admonished by the missionary, if they do not hide it when he is inspecting the town, at least they avoid appearing at the mission house.

797
46
• 177

/307 cont./

With regard to material things, the Indian in the mission has more freedom than the others outside. He does not lift a hand without being paid. He works in the construction of buildings, such as house, church, rooms for the teaching of letters, music, arts and crafts, he builds fences, and, despite the fact that all of this is for their benefit and that of their children, they are paid for it. They only have the task of planting and weeding, but in the end the missionary provides them with yokes of oxen, plowshares, and even harness, and the produce is theirs to keep or is used to buy merchandise. Thus they do nothing gratis (2).

> 2. The merchandise brought by the missionaries from Tarija and other places is distributed gratis to the students and sold at warehouse cost to the older ones.

They are completely free to work in their fields or for the whites, but they must tell the missionary or the cacique. Nevertheless, they do not always comply with this. If, however, someone needs them for work and they do not feel like it, they answer either that the missionary will not let them or that they must talk with him first, but it is enough for him to intervene and request it, and the Indian will come up with all sorts of objections, and if the missionary starts to listen to them all, soon nobody will obey him. He must show himself to be firm and that he knows how to distinguish true necessities or reasons from deceptions and traps, so that he will not be fooled. In the Chiriguano missions it is almost impossible to get 20 per cent of their labor, as the mission rules require. /illustration appears here/ /308/ believing perhaps that missionaries make them work for nothing, or are making a profit out of them (1).

> 1. The 20 per cent is not obtained in any mission. Only in Parapiti do the men work half a day per week, but this is a custom imposed by the priests before the founding of the mission, because they had no funds whatever. The missionaries take advantage of this custom for plantings and buildings which are for them themselves.

/303 cont./

Neophytes

799
● 177

The infidels' children, or neophytes, grow up like their parents or even worse, being different from them in having a purely /304/ materialistic civilization; on the missionary's part special care is taken in their education; their parents hand them over, or, more accurately, the missionary takes them, from the age of seven, and they surrender them without the least resistance, but if they can hide them, they make no excuses and let them grow up in the forest (1).

> 1. Nobody should be surprised if they leave something to be desired and try to hide their children, because it should be taken into consideration that it was and is a pleasure for the infidel to see his son grow up to be like him.

790
871
197

When they have entered the school, the children learn from the first letters up to writing, if they can; the more intelligent even learn music, and the most able learn masonry, tailoring, carpentry, shoemaking, and tanning. The school is daily, morning and afternoon, and all of them attend from the age mentioned until they are grown up or married, which generally occurs at the age of 18 or 20. The children are absent from school only by permission, but there is never any lack of those who, when they can, mock the vigilance of the teacher, as even happens in the great centers.

The children have time to spare in which to learn reading, writing, and all that they ought to believe and practice in order to demonstrate their religious beliefs through good works. They are not ignorant of what our Holy Mother Church demands; they see the good examples of fervent Christians as well as the evils of others, and, since humanity is more inclined toward evil than toward good, the tender plants, not well grounded in the practices of Religion, can easily adhere to what is contrary to divine law

/304 cont./
797 and our Holy Mother Church (2).
871
199

2. The children know how to pray much better in the missions than in other centers, because in every mission there are two teaching establishments, one for boys and one for girls.

The youth grow up under the punctilious care of the missionary, who, by example and word, imbues their hearts with every goodness and love of holy and moral things, and moreover he makes them avoid, insofar as possible, all contact with the old people, managing it so that they see nothing, especially at night, not allowing them to sleep in their houses, except in case of illness and mourning, but it is not easy to avoid it altogether, because three times a day the children go down to the town to eat in their homes, and at fiesta time they are given a holiday, /305/ which they use in hunting birds or in bringing in firewood and foodstuffs (1).

1. The girls receive a more polished education under the uninterrupted vigilance and care of preceptoresses, who teach them, in addition to theoretical-practical religion, all the chores of their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; the vestments and chasubles for use in the solemnities are the work of these girls.

797 What is most ruinous to young neophytes are certain whites
199 of the neighboring cantons, whose profession it is to sell liquor
293 and coca, which they secretly bring into the missions at times of celebration, during which even those of the race enter into the same trade, because they have seen that it is a very lucrative business.

169 In addition many of them emigrate temporarily to the
593 establishments of the Argentine Republic, where, with the excuse
578 that they are going to earn a great deal with a little work, they lead too free a life, drink liquor like water, and become accustomed to drunkenness; then the first thing that they buy is an outsize

/308 cont./

167
464
511

of the Argentine Republic for eight or ten years; they drink it all up and when they want to come back they scarcely bring back more than a knife and a small black garment /ternito/, which costs little.

If one asks the reason for this procedure, so strange for them themselves, they answer that in their town they could never save up ten or 15 bolivianos, because they spend them immediately on trifles for themselves and their families, while in the Argentine Republic they keep their money in the master's house and, when they come back, buy clothing and even animals, tools, saddles, and other items. There is some truth in this, but just as it is not completely true that here their money does not last, neither is it completely true that they bring clothing and other things from Argentina. Those who are a little careful and who are not lazy dress very well here, while the vice-ridden in Argentina let themselves be overcome by laziness and return as naked as they were before; they arrive, spend or waste, if they have anything, and finally go off to live as they please (2).

101
167

2. The Chiriguano Indians call the gauchos, or natives of Argentina, criollos /Creoles/; they apply the same name to those of their own race who settle there for many years.

797
871
191
177

The method of instruction as it is applied yields prodigious results in the girls, who, in addition to learning their letters and worship, learn in the schools the tasks proper to their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; certain mission schools for girls, for example, the one at San Antonio del Parapiti and the one at San José de Tigüipa arouse real admiration in visitors, both because of /illustration appears here/ /309/ the handiwork which is done in them and, in the former, because of the Spanish language, which from first to last they all speak with considerable perfection, since from the beginning the language of their parents has been absolutely prohibited for them in the school, even among themselves.

/309 cont./

797 87 868 191 177 Should this method be followed, in a few years nobody would know that the mission Chiriguano belong to the race, because little by little the parents would teach their children the Spanish language, as I have already seen them do in the San Pascual de Boicovo Mission, and, if the morality still leaves something to be desired, later perhaps by means of preaching, the advice of the missionary, and the example of those who are good, all will be corrected. Semen est verbum Dei; it does not fall upon completely sterile ground (1).

797 177

1. The San Pascual de Boicovo Mission is so advanced in every respect that application has been made for it to be promoted to the rank of parish. In language, clothing, and behavior they differ little from the whites.

797 291 177 Almost from the beginning the schoolgirls were forbidden the use of the tipoy, being forced to dress in the same way as the women residents of the nearby towns; today they are very accustomed to the said clothing and do not change it for any reason in the world in the missions; only those girls who run away and even practically denounce their religion dress in the tipoy again, like the infidels, in order not to be recognized. By means of the teaching of the Catholic religion, the learning of the national language, and the change in clothing, the transformation is continually taking place, until little by little the distinction between the races will disappear, by means of the union of their tastes.

What the missionaries have done for the clothing of the girls, they are also doing for that of the boys, trying to make it decent. For both boys and girls, so long as they reside in the schools, the missionary of each mission provides their clothing, having it brought from some departmental capital and distributing it free of charge twice and even three times a year, or when he sees the needs of each student. In this way, after they are married, they themselves work in order to continue dressing in the same fashion or better than when they were in school, since some also wear socks /botines/ and shoes, and there are a number of women who

797 291 177

/309 cont./
in addition to the ordinary clothing, use a waist /corpiño/, hat, socks, and small rug /alfombrita/ in church (2). /Page 310 and

000

[184] [492]

2. The place where they dress most elegantly is in the missions of the Parapiti Grande, especially the women, who even have saddles for traveling and for riding about on horseback.

the first paragraph on p. 311 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 311 follows./

Conclusion

797

In conclusion, let it be noted for a final time that the Bolivian nation and people have opened to commerce and industry the broad region described in the first chapter of this work. This is due to the Franciscan missionaries, whose labor dates from the year 1609; they faced all the dangers; they risked their lives in the forests, in the torrential rivers, on the summits of the hills, they suffered thirst, hunger, fatigue, cold and heat, they endured with resignation the calumny and persecution of the people without conscience who never failed to make them the target of their filthy mouths and tongues.

[648]

The work has been accomplished; previously nobody went among the Chiriguano without the risk of falling victim; today the entire region is one with more or less large towns, there are provincial capitals, cantons and vice-cantons; the merchant passes through the Chiriguano towns, sleeps, very highly esteemed, in their houses, and the whites themselves, scattered throughout the region, have every guarantee of safety. This is a real prodigy owing to the Religion of Jesus Christ, preached by the missionaries; it is one more proof of the fact that the Cross is constructive.

[177]

/312/ It is evident that the native element is disappearing because of the causes previously enumerated during the course of these lines (1).

000

1. If the present missions remain and new ones are founded in the centers that are left today,

5tNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
342
[592]
171
Ce
361
342
[609]

village consisting of only a few big huts.[1]) These plainly correspond to the great family-houses known to us from Brazil, but which in Bolivia I have only seen among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe on the Lago Rojo-Agnado. CHOMÉ[2]) gives no exact information about the huts. He says they stood in a circle around an open place. In the middle of the square there was a special hut for strangers. According to NIXO[3]) the Chirignano formerly had round houses. He gives a rather lengthy description of these, but does not tell us the source of his information. NIXO describes at length how the Chirignano now build their houses.

C
Ce
342
177

As early as the time of VIEDMA[4]) — end of the 18th century — they seem to have forsaken their original type of house and built themselves smaller huts. Since the dwelling-houses here retain no traces of their original shape, it is useless to make comparisons with other Indian huts. There is hardly anything in Indian culture which so quickly changes under the influence of the Whites as the houses. The acquisition of iron tools makes it possible to put up quickly properly built houses. An Indian tribe need consequently not have been long in contact with the Whites before they alter the style of their huts. This is not the case, to be sure, with all the tribes, for many, such as those in the interior of the Chaco, tenaciously preserve the primitive type of hut which, though small and inconvenient, affords greater protection from cold than the roomier dwellings of the Whites.

C
Ce
[171]

It would be of interest to find out in what measure

[1]) Annua de la Compañia de Jesús — Tucuman y Perú — 1596. «El mayor de los pueblos es de cinco casas; lo común es de tres; mas son muy largas, de más de 150 pasos, á dos aguas, con estantes en el medio sobre que se arma la cumbrera, y de estante á estante vive una parentela.» LIZÁRRAGA P. 332.

[2]) P. 313. «Pendant ce temps-là, je n'avais pas d'autre logement que le toit de *paille qui était au milieu de la place*.»

[3]) P. 174.

[4]) P. 181. «Sus casas son unos pequeños ranchos hechos de caña.»

SuNordenskiöld E-S,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the earth-plastering of huts is here an original Indian idea. I have attempted to indicate on a map the distribution of huts with earth-plastered walls, but I refrain from publishing it because, in the majority of cases, I cannot ascertain whether the Indians learned from the Whites to plaster their huts. Huts with earth-plastered walls are found among the Indians around Roraima in Guiana[1]) and among the Ijca[2]) in Columbia. The Indians at Mojos[3]) used to have such huts, and OUTES[4]) mentions them from the Caingná etc. Earth-plastered mestizo huts are also common in the Mizque valley in Bolivia.

The Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, but not those on the Rio Parapiti, and the Chiriguano have maize-barns on piles.[5]) Occasionally the barn and dwelling-house are combined in such wise that the people live on the ground-floor and store their maize on the floor above. During my travels I have only seen barns on piles among the Mataco-Guisnay (one only), Mataco Vejos, and the Chacobo (one only). Some Quichua huts between the Rio Chapáre and Cochabamba are built on piles. I scarcely think these are original, however.

JOHANNES LEHMANN has written a treatise on pile-buildings all over the world. He mentions there their occurrence among several tribes in northern S. America, which are shown on the map below. The village on piles from La Plata mentioned by LEHMANN after HEIERLI is, of course, not Indian; nor are the barns from the Argentine

[1]) THYLER.
[2]) BOLINDER (4). P. 35.
[3]) MARBAN P. 135; CASTILLO, P. 318.
[4]) OUTES Y BRUCH (5) P. 93.
[5]) Already LUZERAGA (P. 109) speaks of the maize-barns of the Chiriguano: «No dormían en el bohío, sino fuera, las espaldas seguras con unas pirwas de maíz junto al bohío (pirwa es un cercado como de dos varas de hueco, redondo de cañas, donde se encierra el maíz).»

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

S
342

RESE OF BAVARIA[1]) depicts numerous pile-buildings from the town of Guayaquil and its surroundings. On the lower Amazon the Indians and Mestizoes in general live in pile-buildings.[2])

II.

Beds and other fittings of the huts.

C
Ce
352
177

The Chiriguano and Chané make use of platform beds as well as hammocks. The bedsteads are made of thick sticks, the underlay being covered with cane or long sticks. The most civilized Chiriguano also have bedsteads in which the underlay is made of plaited thongs — this having been learned from the Whites. I had always held that the platform bed was a culture-element which the Indians have obtained from the Whites. KARL V. D. STEINEN[3]) seems also to be of this opinion. This is not, however, correct, for the platform bed is a genuine Indian culture-element, which is worth closer study. Platform beds are mentioned as early as 1549 by PALOMINO[4]) from Chuquimayo in N. Peru among quite unvisited Indians, and there is not the least reason to suppose that the platform bed

---

1) (2)

2) »Nos logares alagados de beira rio, como certas porções do Amazonas entre o Pará e Gurupá e em todo o litoral do archipelago de Marajó, ao menos na parte a O e SO d'esse archipelago, erguem as casas sobre paliçadas á maneira das cidades lacustres dos tempos prehistoricos .....» VERISSIMO P. 370.

3) (5) P. 75.

4) P. XLIX »Duermen en barbacoas sobre unos petates de caña.»

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

is a culture-element so coveted as in a few years to have spread from the Whites in Peru to the interior of the country. When the distribution of the platform bed is closely studied, it will be found that it is evidently a very old culture-element which remains in places where the hammock has not penetrated or has been found unpractical. In the land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians it is often too cold to sleep in hammocks. A platform bed is therefore preferred by them, especially when they have clothes to put under and over them. Hammocks are few and are mostly used to recline upon during the day. I have endeavoured on the map to show the geographical distribution of the platform bed. The summary does not, however, pretend to be complete. Its aim is mainly to draw attention to a culture-element which has often been overlooked, and which gives me the impression of being older than the hammock by which it has been relegated to certain tracts, particularly on the eastern slopes of the Andes, where it is rather cold to sleep in hammocks, and rather uncomfortable to sleep on the ground, as is the custom up on the high fells or farther to the south.

C
Ce
352
177
c
ce
352
171*
513
102
S
102
352

Table 2.

The platform bed (Catre). Map. 2.

4. Chiriguano.
5. Chané. Fig. 2.
18. Quichua, Riobamba, Rivet (2) P. 60.
21. Cainguá, Ambrosetti (7) P. 697.
22. Yuracáre.
23. Churápa.
24. Chimane.
29. Caingang, Ambrosetti (1) P. 325. Is considered to be post - Columbian.
34. Jivaro, Rivet (1) P. 40.
35. Chimila, Bolinder (4) P. 52.
36. Ijca, " (4) P. 48. Only the medicinemen.

Ce
352
171*
102
S
102
352

[Text continues on P.12]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,+(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

received from their kinsfolk at Mojos, or they may even have brought it with them when they migrated to their present abode. Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané commonly use chairs of the type they have learned from the whites. They are made by themselves in the missions.

I have a rush mat from the Chané. Both the Chiriguano and the Chané have skin mats. I have already spoken of such mats in Part I of this work. The skin mat is naturally a southern culture-element.

The Chiriguano and Chané keep their belongings either hung from the ceiling or else on the floor. Clothes and other fragile things are often kept in large earthen vessels — a method of keeping one's belongings which I have not seen anywhere else. COBO[1]) says that the Incas kept their clothes in a similar way.

It is very common among the Chiriguano and Chané to fix wooden hooks in the roof of their huts on which to hang their belongings (fig. 4). Elsewhere I have only seen these hooks among the Churápa. In the Gothenburg Museum there is a collection by LILJEWALCH and THULIN of hooks made by Indian tribes on the Roraima. The only mention of them that I am aware of in literature on the subject is from the Araucanians.[2]) Small articles of this kind are, of course, easily overlooked, wherefore it is not at present possible to draw a map of their distribution. This is to be regretted, as the distribution of such small objects would offer points of great interest. It seems to me not unlikely that the wooden hook is an Andine culture-element. Within my sphere of work the hook does not occur among other Indians than those mentioned here.

Small articles are kept by the Chiriguano and Chané in cloth and leather bags, wooden boxes, baskets, armadillo scales, the scrotum of bulls, and in calabashes with or without lids.

[1]) COBO Vol. 4, P. 171.
[2]) LATCHAM (1) P. 338.

[Text continues on P.22]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 241

water-melons, melons, figs, tuna[1]), oranges, cotton, millet, and reeds for arrow-shafts.

Ce 241 [245] C Ce [244] C Ce [177] [262]

Bananas are not cultivated. Among the Chané at the Rio Parapiti the sweet-potato is the most important cultivated plant. Of the plants mentioned, the sugar-cane, the melon, the watermelon, the fig, the orange and the millet are not American. All those cultivated plants which have been introduced by Europeans are of slight importance to the Indians. I have never seen mandioca cultivated, but I have heard that it is to be met with in the fields of these Indians. As a staple food of the people it is of no importance here.

C Ce 412 177

Iron spades bought from the Whites are the tools employed nowadays. Very occasionally one still sees wooden spades. In Part I I have published a map of the geographical distribution of the spade.

The spade in S. America is evidently a western element of culture, i. e. the idea of fitting on a more or less broad blade to the lower part of the digging-stick is plainly derived from the western area of civilization.

Whence the Chiriguano got the idea of the shapely handles I do not know. They are too shapely for the art to have been derived from the Whites. They have obviously a long evolution behind them, and it is very probable that they had their origin in the Mountain area of civilization.

Hoes with iron blades occur. The Indians have got them from the Whites. I have not seen any primitive hoes, although we are here on the border of the area of distribution of the genuine American hoe[2]).

The Chiriguano and Chané use a small implement for removing the corn from the corn-cobs which I have described in Part I. P. 32.

---

[1]) Opuntia.

C Ce [114]

[2]) It is incorrect to affirm, as Wissler does, (P. 97) that the hoe was unknown in S. America. Incas had hoes and they are found still among the Quichua.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5½(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

for arrow shafts has been completely destroyed by cattle along the Rio Parapiti. Formerly the Chané made the shafts for their arrows of »chuchio».

The arrow points are made of hard wood and sometimes of iron. Arrows with several tips are used for fishing and sometimes also for shooting birds. Arrow-tips made of cactus spikes are used by some Chiriguano for fishing. Some characteristic types of arrows are depicted here (fig. 6). Some arrows are feathered to guide the flight. The feathers are fixed in the way that MEYER calls »Peruvian cemented feathering». The feathers are quite small as on Chaco arrows generally. Arrows with thickened heads (bird arrows) are very common. Some of them have the shape we see depicted here (fig. 6 E). This type does not occur among any of the other tribes I got to know during my travels, but they are common among several peoples living in the east, e. g. the Cainguá, Guató, and Bororó, and in the northern part of S. America, among the Trio, Guahibo and others. They have most likely been introduced here by the Chiriguano. It is not probable that they have come from the Arawaks for, as a rule, they do not use blunt bird-arrows. In Part I I have published a map (No. 3) showing the distribution of the bird-arrow in S. America. Later on I will deal with arrows particularly used for fishing. The Chiriguano and Chané sometimes use a special kind of bast to bind round the arrow where the point is inserted in the shaft. The same kind of bast is not met with among the Choroti and Ashluslay or among the other Chaco tribes I have got to know. It occurs, however, among the Cainguá.

In part I I have already published a map showing the distribution of the sling in S. America. I have nothing to add to this which cannot be seen in the subjoined drawings (fig. 7).

The pellet-bow is rather common among the Chiriguano and also among the Chané. It is chiefly used by boys and youths. I wish here to make a few additions to what I have said about the pellet-bow in Part I.

Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
CC
411
114
177
171

In a weighty article E. von Rosen (3) has criticised my opinion that the pellet-bow was possibly brought from India to S. America by Portuguese sailors in post-Columbian times. He is quite correct in the statement that the thick part in the middle of the bow is not for strength-

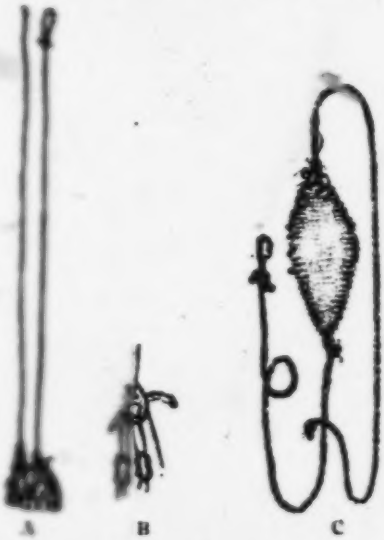


Fig. 7. Slings.

A Chané. Rio Parapiti. 1/12. R. M. P. 219.
B Detail of A. 1/3.
C Chiriguano. 1/3. R. M. E. 168.

Fig. 8. Detail of pellet-bow. Rest for the pellet. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 391 1/2.

ening but is merely for better grip. This holds concerning both the Asiatic pellet-bows and some of the American. This contrivance is practical but not indispensable. It is certainly not little toy-bows alone that have not got it. It is quite wanting on the pellet-bows of the Choroti, Ashluslay, Tapiete, Mataco and Yuracáre. Presuming that the pellet-bow in S. America is of Asiatic origin, it is evident that the Indians who first learnt the use of the pellet-bow

SvNordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee 411 177 171 114

from the Portuguese have kept its Asiatic shape, while the tribes that received it later have made pellet-bows more like their usual bows.

Von Rosen puts forward the supposition that the S. American pellet-bow may be an imitation of the European crossbow. This is supported by the fact that the pellet-rests on some S. American pellet-bows (fig. 8) and the pellet-rests on some European crossbows are very similar. This similarity is extremely noteworthy. Still, I deem it unlikely that Indians should have hit on the use of pellet-bows because they had seen Portuguese crossbows — especially as I am not aware that the Portuguese in S. America used bullets for their crossbows. In any case the pellet-bow in S. America would be a post-Columbian culture-element.

C [192]

It is quite true that some Indians, e. g. the Choroti and Ashluslay have their own words for pellet-bow. But it is a common thing for some Indian tribes to have coined words to denote objects introduced by Europeans. On the other hand, it never happens that the Indians that still speak their own language lack native words for objects which are plainly pre-Columbian with them. It is therefore of primary importance for the settlement of the question as to whether the pellet-bow was introduced in post-Columbian times to note the fact that several tribes lack native words for the pellet-bow, calling it sbodoques.[1])

C Ee 177 411 171*

The Chané call it sboroques. I am not acquainted with any Chiriguano name for it. A circumstance that speaks in favour of the pellet-bow being a post-Columbian culture-element is the fact that these bows are unknown in Peru, in Central America, and in Mexico, that is to say, in the cultural zones proper. There are not many of the elaborate culture-elements in S. America that have been unknown to

[1]) From the Portuguese.

C
Ce
411
177
*171

the most civilized tribes and only known to the tribes east of the Andes. This applies especially to those cultural elements that are of little or no importance in the struggle for existence. The pellet-bow is the only weapon of any importance which, as far as is known, was unknown in all the seats of higher civilization in America. If the pellet-bow is an original American invention, it must have been invented by a comparatively uncivilized tribe.

C
Ce
411
*171

The pellet-bow is nowhere in S. America of any great importance as a hunting weapon. The heavy hand of necessity has never spurred the Indians into making an invention of this kind.

C
Ce
411
*171
114

FRIEDERICI has pointed out to me in a letter that in MARTYR »De orbe novo» there is a statement about bows from the coast of Venezuela used by boys for shooting with pellets of clay or wax. This is plainly the same statement as GOMARA'S that I quoted in Part I. MARTYR'S statement is in the Eighth Decade, where he complains, that his memory was beginning to fail him. I believe there must be some misapprehension on MARTYR'S part, and that the pellets in question were arrows with thickened heads of wax or wood. MARTYR cannot refer to pellets thrown by hand, as he plainly speaks of bows. It is not likely that wax pellets were used for clay pellet-bows, but, on the other hand, it is not at all unusual that arrows used in play should have thickened wax heads. Arrows of this kind have been brought from the Ijca in Colombia by BOLINDER. The pellet-bow is mentioned neither by missionaries nor by any modern authors as occurring in Venezuela or any other part of northern S. America. It is extremely unlikely that this desirable toy weapon should have existed there at the beginning of the 15th century and then entirely vanished. Such an isolated occurrence would be most peculiar and unusual.

C
Ce
411
*171

The clubs (fig. 9) that I have seen among the Chiriguano and Chané have not always clearly defined heads like those of the Cherokee and Ashluskay.

Nordenskiöld E-5,5(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

who dwelt on the Upper Rio Bermejo beyond Centa. The Figure 14 shows us the construction of one of these dams. Nino[8]) speaks of a large kind of trap, the «pari», used by the Chiriguano. I have not come across any of them in my travels. The Caingang[9]) call big traps «pari», as do also the Apiacá[9]).

I have seen the Chané at Rio Itiyuto fishing with calabashes and also employing the method of making dams.[9]) Fishing with calabashes proceeds as follows: A number of leafy boughs are stuck into the bottom of the stream to form a shadow and in front of each one of them a calabash containing sour ground maize offal from the chicha brewing is placed. The fish enter the calabash, which is emptied now and then by the women. I have not seen this method of fishing in any other place.

The Chiriguano and Chané also fish with hooks which they now get from the Whites. They use neither floats nor sinkers.

Among present-day Indians I have seen an original fishhook from the Tambopata-Guarayo. That the fishhook in S. America is of pre-Columbian origin is known by the numerous finds of fish-hooks on the coast of Peru and Chili made by Uhle and others. Among the Chiriguano the fish-hook is certainly also a pre-Columbian cultural element. This is apparent from the fact that they, as well as the Tupi Indians on the coast of Brazil, call the fish-hook «Pinda», which word is plainly identical with the Quichua or Incan name for fish-hook, «Pinta». From this it appears that the Chiriguano and Chané probably learned the use of fish-hooks from the western region of civilization.

It is also known that the first Conquistadores brought fish-hooks for barter, so it is most likely that many Indian

[text continues on p. 46]

[8]) P. 231.
[9]) Ambrosetti (1) P. 338.
[9]) Plowden P. 276.
[9]) See Nordenskiöld (8 a) P. 179.

C
Ee
226
1917
C
Ee
226
1911

tribes have learnt this method of fishing from the whites. As mentioned above, I consider the fish-hook I found among the Tamboqata - Guarayo[8]) to be of original Indian type. Something similar is also mentioned by FIGUEIREDO from the Maimas[9]). Fish-hooks of bone occur among the Indians at the Rio Napo. The Uitoto use hooks of wood or palm-spikes.[9]) In rivers where the palometas (Serrosalmo) occurs, fishing with hooks of an inferior material is almost impossible, as these voracious fish bite through a hook with their sharp teeth as easily as they would a line.

Fig. 19. Dam of stone from the Upper Rio. Pilcomayo.
A — Entrance. B — Pocket where the fish are caught.

The Chirigoano on the Rio Pilcomayo use a wooden needle with a line to pull up fish that they have caught. Such needles are also known from the Chorotí, Ashluslay, Toba, Matacó and Lengua.

---

[8]) (a) Fig. 19.
[9]) P. 408.
[9]) WEDDEN P. 112. (See also WALLACE P. 192.)

Schwedenskiöld S-4,-1(1909-1910, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

VI.

Domestic Animals.

Apart from the dog, the Chiriguano and Chané keep only European domestic animals. There is now no genuinely Indian breed of dogs here. Cattle-breeding is of some importance in certain parts, especially in the Caipipendi valley. Milking the cows is not understood. Some of these Indians keep large numbers of sheep and the women spin the wool and weave woollen stuffs. It is not known if they had wool in the pre-Columbian period, as it has not been ascertained whether these Indians kept llamas or not. Poultry are of great importance to the Chiriguano and Chané. The Indians in South-America were exceedingly quick to learn the art of poultry-keeping, thus, when Cabral touched the south coast of Brazil in 1506, he got plenty of hens from the Indians by barter.[1] The Chiriguano and Chané have but few horses. They are not nearly such good equestrians as, for instance the Toba.

I have in my collection a riding whip stock made by the Chané. Dr. Campana depicts a very primitive saddle from the Chiriguano. I have seen similar saddles among the Toba Indians.

When these Indians acquired the European domestic animals, the chase must have lost in importance for them. They obtained their meat in another way. The possession of cattle compelled them to enclose their tilled ground, or to have it far removed from the pastures.

[1] Brasio (a) T. v. P. 258.

8/Nordenskiöld E-5/(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
IF10 Chiriguano IF10
Chaco

VII.

Tools.

C 412 [114]

With the exception of bone awls the Chiriguano Indians of to-day have no genuinely Indian tools. Bone awls which I have already dealt with in part I very rarely occur among the Chiriguano. I omitted to mention this in the German edition of Part I.

VIII.

Fire-making.

C 312

Once only have I seen a Chiriguano Indian making fire by wood friction. He had forgotten his matches. Flint-and-steel are also seldom seen among these Indians now-a-days. In my collection there is a cotton-plaiting, in a wooden pocket from the Chiriguano. The Indians use such for tinder when striking fire with flint and steel. The idea of this was of course obtained from the Whites.

C [77]

Schwedenkiste E-Ee(1908-1909, 1913) 1909
#10 Chiriguano #10
Chane #8

Ee 452 Rio Paraguay after Garcias marauding expedition, not far
Ee from the tract where the Guaiú now live.
[199 [201]

A petapade of the same type from the Velikmana along the Rio Quetary is shown in an illustration by Koch-Grünberg.[1]) I have not seen the shoulderblade petapade in any other tribe.

Ee 442 Similar spades, said to have been used for agricultural
452 purposes, are mentioned by St. Cruz[2]) from the Conibo.
<171

Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané for the most part eat their food with metal spoons which they have got from the Whites. They have, however, wooden spoons as well. They generally eat from earthenware bowls of their own make. They seldom have wooden bowls. I have already treated of the distribution of the wooden bowl and the wooden spoon. (Part 1 map 12 and 13.) They are features of western civilization. Calabash bowls are universally used by the Chiriguano and Chané as drinking vessels, particularly for *chicha*.

Ee 442 452 ● 177

C 415 Silver bowls — «Cagua» — are occasionally seen at the
177 Chiriguano festivals. These bowls, which are shaped like
cloven calabashes, are often furnished with small ears and are made by mestizo smiths to suit the Indian taste.

There is in my collection a calabash bowl that has been turned into a ladle by means of a handle. It is from the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro. I have also procured some bowls made of the fruit of the calabash tree from the Chiriguano. The Indians get them from Sta Cruz de la Sierra, for, as far as I know, the calabash-tree is not cultivated within their own area.

Ee 415 [437]

Fire-fans of plaited palm leaves are used, though they are rather uncommon. These fire-fans belong to the cultural elements which have come to the Chiriguano and the Chané from the north and east. Later on, when writing about the Indians in northeastern Bolivia, who have ar-

Ee 442 137 <171

[1]) T. 1. P. [illegible].
[2]) P. [illegible]

Schwedenskiöld E-4 (1900-1906, 1912) 1920
8710 Chiriguano 8710
Chaco 878

XI.

Dress.

The Chiriguano and the Chané men of the present day wear European clothes which they buy at the stores, get at the missions, or, more often still, when working at the sugar factories in northern Argentina. The native garments, the loin-cloth (chiripa) (fig. 19) and the poncho-shirt are still occasionally seen. The loin-cloth is a rectangular piece of cloth which is passed between the legs and kept in place back and front by being tucked into the belt. The geographical distribution of the loin-cloth in S. America it is almost useless to endeavour to show on the map, as in many places it would not be possible to say if it was native Indian or not. Among the tribes visited by me, with the exception of the Chiriguano and the Chané, I have only seen it among the Tapiete. I have a piece of cloth from the Toicakua that may have been a chiripa. I found a doll in a mound in Mojos which most likely represents a man with a chiripa. That it is a very old cultural element is obvious from the fact that the curious mummies found by Uhle[1]) at Arica and belonging to the oldest culture periods there, wore the chiripa. In the museum at Gothenburg[2]) we have a mummy of the kind, found by Sievrensen at Arica, which wears a chiripa. This chiripa is not woven, but is netted.

The Poncho-shirt which I dealt with in detail in the first part of this book is undoubtedly a cultural element which has come to the Chiriguano and the Chané from the civilized zone in the west. (See map 16 in Part I.)

[1]) [illegible]
[2]) G. M.

Schwabenschiffel E-4/(1909-1910, 1912) 1910
1910 Chiriguano 1910
Chaco 1910

On very rare occasions one sees clothes of tanned skin worn by the men. As far back as Cocoaff) these skin clothes

Fig. 19. Chamiñey in whitipo. Río Parapití.

were mentioned. I have obtained a costume of the kind consisting of a coat, breeches, and a hat. They are

---

[1] P. 19.

Schmidt-Schlid II-3,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Ee 291 171* [177] [126]

of European cut and have most certainly come from the Whites. According to Nino[9]) they were also sometimes made by the Indians themselves. I do not think this is the case with the costume I have collected.

Ee 302 291 142

Fig. 20. Chanéwoman in Tipoy. Rio Parapiti.

Ee 291

The «tipoy» is the typical dress of the Chiriguano and Chané women. It is a sack of cotton or wool open at both ends and woven without seam. The tipoy for every day wear is of normal length. (Fig. 21) On festive oc-

[9]) P. 189.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Both men and women among the Chiriguano and Chané have sandals which, however, they seldom wear. In Part I of this work I have given an account of the geographical distribution of sandals in S. America. Obviously sandals are a cultural element which the Chiriguano and Chané have got from the area of civilization in the west.

A pair of sandals with fastenings differing from the usual kind are depicted here. A sandal with very similar binding but of another shape is described and depicted by ERIC VON ROSEN[1]) in his recent, splendid work.

The Chiriguano and Chané wear girdles which as a rule are woven, though they are sometimes made of leather. As I pointed out in Part I, the woven girdle belongs to the western cultural elements and the leather belts to the southern. The leather girdles worn by the Chiriguano and Chané are provided with pockets and sometimes ornamented with coins, and are consequently imitations of the gorgeous cincture worn by the Argentine gauchos. NINO[2]) is of the same opinion, and he points out that they are called »bosa» (from the Spanish word »bolsa»[3]) owing to their being provided with a pocket.

As already mentioned in Part I the woven »head-band» or frontlet also belongs to the dress of the Chiriguano and Chané-men. The frontlet is certainly a western culture-element.

Chiriguano and Chané shirts and ceremonial tipoys are of native make and are often dyed blue with indigo. The frontlets are blue or red. Chiriguano and Chané women wear a kind of hair-band with tassels which they most likely learned to make in the missions.

[1]) (4) Fig. 84, P. 127.

[2]) P. 191.

[3]) »Bolsa» is »bosa» in the Chriguano languages as these Indians do not pronounce l.

8cNordenskiöld E-5y(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
301

The back is somewhat concave enabling it to rest conveniently on the chin-bone. The front is round and flat and does not project beyond the lip. The metal is hollowed at the front and filled with wax, in which are fastened green or blue stones or glass beads of the same colours. In a grave at Caipipendi I found a tembetá of wood of the shape here described, in which a round piece of green glazed earthenware is inserted. For every-day use both the Chiriguano and Chané sometimes have lip-buttons of wood which are shaped like flat wooden cylinders. The Chané usually have smaller lip-buttons than the Chiriguano. CHOMÉ[1]) mentions lip-buttons of resin among the latter Indians from the 18th century.

Ce
[175]

C
Ce
301
*171

I make no attempt here to show on the map the distribution of lip-boring in S. America.[2]) As was mentioned, it is very considerable. The idea of inserting stones or beads fastened with wax in the tembeta is almost confined to the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
Ce
[177]
[114]

It might almost be suspected that they got this idea from the Whites, who now have an extensive manufacture of metal tembetas in order to sell to the Indians. This is not the case, however, for SCHMIDEL writes of the Karkhokhies (Gorocotoques)[3]) who dwelt in N. W. Chaco: — »Pero sus mujeres tienen un canutillo asegurado à los labios en el que meten ellas una piedra verde ó gris«. Of what material this »canutillo« was, we are not informed. In Chili[4]) a tembeta of stone has been found with a cavity in which possibly another stone or the like had been set.

C
Ce
301
*171
175

The metal tembeta is here probably, though not neces-

[1]) P. 331

[2]) (This) because few of the old writers have given any detailed description of lip-buttons.

[3]) (1) P. 264. (2) P. 94. »Ihre weiber aber haben ein kleins röhlein gemacht in denn lepzen, darein sie ein grienen oder grabenn christallen stein stechenn.«

[4]) MEDINA (1) Fig. 77. From Freirina.

S:Nordenskiöld E-8/4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

Formerly the chiefs wore ear-rings with pendants of green stones. Among these Indians the only women with pierced ears are a few of the younger ones who have learned from the Whites the custom of wearing ear-rings. These ornaments are also obtained from the Whites. Oddly enough, the barbarous custom of piercing the ear is thus here an idea obtained by the Indians from the Whites. Neither men nor women pierce the nasal septum.

C
Ce
301
304
[177]
C
Ce
301
171*

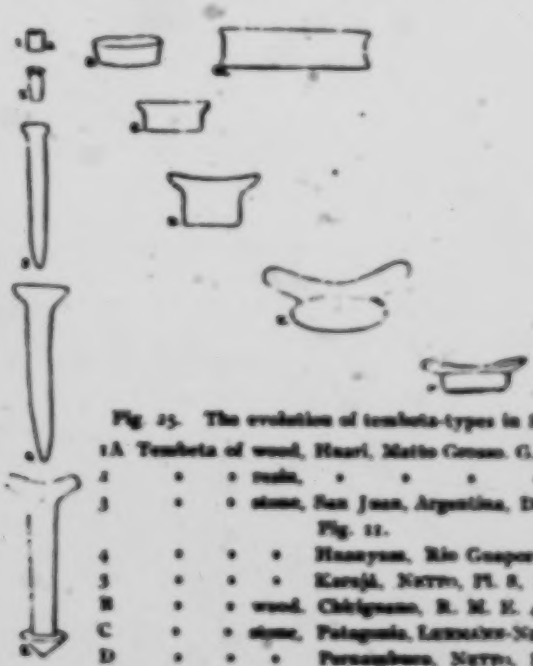


Fig. 25. The evolution of tembeta-types in S. America. $^{1}/_{2}$

1A Tembeta of wood, Huari, Matto Grosso. G. M. 13. 1. 334.
2 " " resin, " " " " 16. 1. 290.
3 " " stone, San Juan, Argentina, DEBENEDETTI, (4) Fig. 11.
4 " " " Hanayum, Rio Guaporé.
5 " " " Karajá, NETTO, Pl. 8, Fig. 6.
B " " wood, Chiriguano, R. M. E. 469.
C " " stone, Patagonia, LEHMANN-NITSCHE (4), P. 186.
D " " " Pernambuco, NETTO, Pl. 8, Fig. 4
E " " " Fuidina, Chile, MEDINA (1), Fig. 16.
F " " metal, hollowed at the front and filled with wax in which are fastened glass beads. Chiriguano. G. M. 13. 1. 349.
B1 " " wood, Suyá, Rio Xingú. UHLE (2) Fig. 34.

SzNordenskiöld E-S, 4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Aymara SF5

here. In order to do so, it would be necessary for me to have seen much more of S. American Indians than is the case. I will, however, here try to give the tribes I know a *certificate of cleanliness*. I mark the dirtiest, the Aymara, with 0 and Mojo, the cleanest, with 5. At the same time I will give them a certificate of orderliness, i. e. point out to what extent they keep their huts tidy and their belongings clean and neat. These 'certificates' are also of considerable interest as a means of understanding the cultural development and relations of the tribes.

I consider that a distinction should be made between the Chané who live on the Rio Itiyuro and those living on the Rio Parapiti. The former are poorer and characteristically enough less cleanly than the latter. It is of a certain interest to see that skill in arts does not always go hand in hand with tidiness and cleanliness.

The more or less high standard of Indian art, at least among present-day tribes in E. Bolivia, is dependent on whether they have been influenced to a greater or less degree by pre-Columbian civilization in western S. America.

seen in the villages about the upper Río Pilcomayo. When the hair is long it is not worn hanging down the back, as is the custom with other Indians wearing long hair. It is wound round the head, «put up», and kept in place with a frontlet. I have not seen any other Indians do their hair in this way. The women also have long hair, usually parted down the middle and braided. Braiding may have been introduced in post-Columbian times, though this is uncertain, as it was also common in the culture-area of the west.

The Chiriguano and Chané use combs, but no brushes. In Part I I have already dealt with different kinds of combs met with in the districts through which I have travelled. The Chiriguano only have plain wooden combs which are sometimes rather prettily carved. This type of comb is probably derived from the mountain civilization, as I have already pointed out in Part I.

The Chané have «stick-combs», «Stäbchenkämme» and now and again, though rarely, plain wooden ones too. These constructed combs are, as a rule, one-sided, in contradistinction to the doublesided ones of the Chorotí and the Ashluslay. Thus we see that the Chané type of comb is unlike the one found in old tombs in the Puna de Jujuy, and which now occurs among the Quichua and the Aymara, the Chorotí and the Ashluslay. Chiriguano and Chané combs are used exclusively for cleaning the hair and are never worn as ornaments.

The use of the pincer or tweezer as a toilet article certainly came to the Chiriguano and Chané from the civilized zone in the west. They are of metal and are used for removing hair from the body. Nowadays pincers are usually made of the metal from some old tin can, but sometimes of silver. These pincers of silver also serve as breast ornaments for the men, and are called «beivéra». They have to a great extent lost their original use, and are now simply used as ornaments. They have even sometimes been hammered together so that they can no longer be used as pin-

8tNordenskiöld E-8,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
301
302
442
531

Fig. 26. 1/2.

1) Implement of tin for removing hair. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 396.
2) " " silver " " " also used as breast ornament. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 378.
3) Breast ornament of silver. " " 374
4) " " " " " " 370.

C
Ce
301
442
177
Ce
[531]

cers. They have become bigger and bigger. (fig. 26) These silver trinkets are not made any more by the Indians themselves, and it is likely that the majority of, or all the silver ornaments now found among the Indians have been made by white silversmiths.[1]) The shape is always Indian, but

[1]) Nino is also of the opinion that the ‹bolvéra› is not of Indian make. P. 196.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 μ (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the ornamental design not always so (fig. 26). It is difficult to decide whether the idea of the pincer as a mere breast ornament is due only to the influence of non-Indian smiths or not. Most likely the pincer was turned into mere ornament by the makers, who presumably used it as an article of barter and then increased its size in order to make it more and more coveted by the Indians. At last the makers themselves may even have been quite ignorant of its original use. Consequently we cannot be wrong in considering the »boivéra» an original Indian element of culture which has been transformed under the influence of

Fig. 27. Figure tattooed on the arm of a old Chiriguano Indian. ? Caipipendi. 9/10.

the Whites. There is no doubt that the pincer is a cultural element derived from the old culture zone in the west. They are, as we know, quite common in collections from that part. The Chiriguano also sometimes use a piece of split reed for removing hair.

Tattooing occurs here, but is very rarely seen. I have only seen two Chiriguano women and one old Chiriguano man with tattooing on their arms. The old man had the figure depicted here (fig. 27) tattooed on his arm. If I understood him rightly, it used in old times to be quite common for the Chiriguano-men to be tattooed in the same way. I have seen no tattooed Chané men or Chané women. I have already given an account of the distribution of tattooing in S. America in the first part of this book.

SiNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

302 276 *171 ed with coca. The teeth of the Paez were also blackened by coca-chewing. Most likely this holds good of the Guajiro too. We ought, therefore, to distinguish between two regions, viz., one where the Indians get black teeth by chewing coca-leaves with lime, and another where they purposely stain their teeth blue or black. The latter must be renewed after a time. the former, which is the result of coca-chewing with lime, lasts for life.

302 174 *171 It is difficult to explain the geographical distribution of the custom of staining the teeth. Perhaps the unintentional staining of the teeth is the original one, and has given rise to the intentional staining. One might suppose that the Indians who saw the «nice», black teeth of the coca-chewers wanted to appropriate the fashion, though they were not coca-chewers themselves, and consequently they stained their teeth dark.

That coca-chewers in Cumana considered it elegant to have black teeth is obvious from what MARTYR says: «They contemptuously call the Spaniards «women and children» because the latter like to have white teeth.» «Women» is not exactly a title of honour among Indians.

One might imagine that staining the teeth was once fashionable within the civilized area of the Andes and that the custom has lived on in the border land after it dropped out of fashion in the place from which it originated. Staining the teeth is not a Guarani custom, so it must have been only when the Chiriguano Indians reached their present place of abode that they learnt the custom.

[171]

It may also be assumed that the coca used to be chewed with lime all over the old civilized western area. If this is so, we ought to be able to prove it archaeologically, but, as far as I know, none of the skulls found in Peru or Bolivia have had teeth blackened and destroyed by using lime with the coca.

It is, however, a striking fact that intentional blackening of the teeth does not occur far from the Andine region

Schwedenmüller E-6 (1908-1908, 1912) 1920
[illegible] Chirignano [illegible]
Chané [illegible]

XV.

Ornaments and Knick-knacks.

C
Ce
301
177

Nowadays the Chirignano and the Chané have but few personal adornaments. This is perhaps to a certain extent owing to their long intercourse with Whites. Feather-ornaments, pierced teeth, and such things are not seen. I have already described the *shovéras*. The embellishments on these silver ornaments, especially the Swastika are, I think, not genuine Indian. In South America I know of the Swastika on pottery from the Mizque valley[1]), from Tiahuanaco[2]) and from Icu[3]) and Cajamarca[4]) in Peru. An ornament which most certainly originates from the civilized mountain region is the *stopa* or breast-pin, which is peculiar to this region. An embellished one of silver is shown here (fig. 29 a). It was most likely made by a Mestiz smith. Necklaces worn by Chirignano and Chané women are most often of glass beads, but one now and then sees ornaments of pieces of shells, turquoise and, other green and blue stones, black seeds and coral. The stones are said originally to have been found in the ground, especially in the Tarija valley.

C
Ce
[531]
[171]

C
292
301
[177]

A very rare ornament is the head-drum depicted here (fig. 28). It was formerly worn by Chirignano women on festive occasions. Even if it is now made of a material which the Indians have had from the Whites, it is quite

[1]) Nordenskiöld (12) Fig. 32.
[2]) Posnansky Fig. 30.
[3]) Max Schmidt (3) Fig. 34.
[4]) M. C. A. 176.

242 possible that the original idea was Indian and in that case
301 came from the civilized mountain region. The frontlet was
177 there a mark of distinction[1]).

● 177
301
531

a

b

Fig. 10. a. Silver pin used for fastening the «Tipoy». The shape is Indian, embellishment Spanish. Chiriguano, Río Pilcomayo. In Mr Boman's private collection. 1/1.

b. Breast-plate of silver «bichiro». Chiriguano, Caipipendi. In my private collection. 1/1.

[1]) «Siguano cuidar usan en esta circunstancia sobre la cabeza una especie de corona de color rojo, por debajo de la cual pendan varias cordones que recuadran en una borla. Este adorno, de que usan solo siguanos y embajadores en el ayuno, no deja de darles cierta gracia.» Cremaschi P. 22.

Schwedenmöbel 8-6 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XVIII.

Games.

C
Ce
524
C
Ce
[177]

I have found a greater number of games among the Chiriguano and Chané than are known to any other tribes in S. America. In the first part of this book I pointed out that games of chance were known only in the west of S. America and that the »tsúka» or the »chunquanti» game is one that has come to the Indians in Chaco from the civilized area in the west. I also mentioned having found it among the Chiriguano and Chané. It is not necessary to repeat the description of the game here, as it occurs in Part I of this work.

The Chiriguano and Chané have another dice game called »kinkaveta» which is played with a heap of sticks. These sticks are convex on one side and flat or concave on the other. It is played in the following manner.

First you place a stick (máma) so that it points towards the person who is to throw. We assume it has been placed with the convex side up. If two or more sticks fall crossed with the convex side up and without being touched above by any stick with the flat or concave side up, they go to the thrower. If the máma had been placed with the flat or concave side up, only the sticks with the flat or concave side up would have counted. The players throw alternately and each of them places the máma as he pleases. The one wins who gets most sticks. When only four sticks are

[1] With the exception of the chunquanti-game I here repeat the description of Chiriguano and Chané games so as to group them in one place, though I have given them before. There are already several descriptions, but as they are only in Swedish they are regarded by many explorers as non-existent.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C
Ce
524

left, no máma is put out and the players decide if the convex or flat (concave) side is to count.

C
Ce
524
177

Other games of chance that are common here have most likely been borrowed from the Whites. »Tabá», the well known national game of the Gauchos, is played, the astragalus of a cow being thrown, and it depends on which side of the bone turns up whether you win or lose.

The European game of dice goes by the name of »daro», here from the Spanish »dado». The Chiriguano and Chané have dice of their own make. They are made of bone or burnt clay. In Tihiiqa I wrote down the rules of this

Fig. 31. Rules for the game of »daro». Chiriguano. Tihiiqa.

game shown in Fig. 31. All other combinations are = 0. The first to get ten marks, has won. The marks are made on the ground. It is plain that these dice are an imitation of European dice. Those at the top of the illustration correspond to our one, the next to our five; then comes two, then six, then three and next four. They seem to have made their own rules for this game or else they are a re-hash of those of the Whites. There is no doubt that card playing has come from the Whites. The cards they use are bought in stores.

C
Ce
526

Of the games of skill occurring here I have in the first part of this book described in detail a bat and ball game (map 28) and a game with maize leaf balls (map 29).

Schwedenskiöld E-S,(1908-1909, 1913) 1930
SF10 Chirignano SF10
Chané SF8

C
Ce
524
*171

In no other tribe among whom I have travelled have I found any quite original game unknown to the Chirignano or Chané. Very few are known from other parts of South America.

C
Ce
524
*171
177

I have already said that games of chance must have come to the Chirignano and Chané from the civilized area of the west. Games with maize-leaf balls and india-rubber balls are northern culture-elements. Bat and ball games are southern culture-elements. Quoits-games most likely hail from the civilized parts of the west. I found discs that may have been used for such games at Caipipendi and also in the old settlements in the San Francisco valley in the province of Jujuy in Argentine. Quoits-games are common among the Quichua. — I cannot tell where the Indians here dealt with learned to play with marbles, or to play *wiyépe* and *ahuirahuahua*. — I have found nothing about such games in the literature. The game of *wónki* may possibly be a northern culture element. Hand-darts like those used by the Chané are mentioned by KOCH-GRÜNBERG from southern Guiana. In BOLINDER'S collection in the Gothenburg museum there is a hand-dart of the kind from the Chimila in Columbia.

The reason why we find such a number of games among the Chirignano and Chané is that the latter tribe is an Arawak tribe and that they have been strongly influenced by western civilization. They know not only the Arawak games, but several games that were of importance in the civilized parts of the west.

Schwabenbibl E-4,2(1908-1909, 1913) 1911
1910 Chiriguano 1910
Chaco 1911

XX.

Musical instruments.

C
Ce
534 The Chiriguano and Chané have the following musical instruments: drums, flutes, whistles, and trumpets. Among the latter tribe I have also seen the panpipe and the musical bow. The panpipe may possibly occur among the Chiriguano too.

I have already, in Part I, dealt with the drum, the whistles, and the musical bow. The two former, I concluded, were Peruvian, the latter a post-Columbian culture-element.

C
Ce
[177] When studying Indian musical instruments we must bear in mind that, in post-Columbian times, they have learnt a good deal from Whites and negroes.

C
Ce
[197] [212] At the mission stations the Indians are always instructed by the missionaries in music. At the Bolivian mission-stations it is not unusual to come across Indians who very well understand musical notation, though unable to read or write. At the Chiriguano mission stations there are full-blown musical bands.

C
[192] A large drum is called by the Chiriguano sanghahuasi, an ordinary drum sangia or sanghazai. Like the Guarani Indians in Paraguay the Chiriguano call a mortar sangia. The Mataco sometimes make drums by stretching a skin over a wooden mortar. So too, if we are to be guided by the name, the Chiriguano drums must originally have appeared.

The long wooden-whistle (fig. 35 A) is very common among the Chiriguano and Chané, and often of great size; the round wooden whistle is more rare. Both are often elaborately carved.

C
CC
534
217

C
CC
534
217
vol

Flutes of several kinds are found among the Chiriguano and Chané, and they are here depicted. They are always made of reeds and never of bone (fig. 38).

Some of the Chiriguano and Chané flutes are not genuinely Indian. This is evidently the case with side-blown flutes with six carefully fitted holes. The like are not found among outlying tribes, nor, what is very important, have they been found in old excavations on the coast of Peru. No such flute is found among the 26 flutes depicted by MEAD from the coast of Peru. Nor are flutes of this kind found among the Chorotti and Ashluslay. All the old Peruvian flutes are blown from the end, and the holes seem to be placed very arbitrarily. I have in my collections side-blown flutes from the Yuracáre, Chimiane, Tacanna, Cavina, and Tapiete as well as from the Chiriguano and Chané. They are also found among the Caingui. Everywhere they have six holes.[1] They are never found among absolutely outlying tribes. Endblown flutes are undoubtedly pre-Columbian. All the flutes from the Peruvian coast described by MEAD are end-blown flutes. Three of them are made of reed, one of a cabbitsh, the others of bone. Various kinds of end-blown flutes are very widely distributed in S. America. I have such flutes from the Chiriguano, Chané, Moxo, Toba, Tapiete, Ashluslay, Chorotti, Yuracáre, and Bororó.

---

[1] A flute of this kind is called by the Chané *ñáma*. Speaking of the Quichua musical instruments Cobo says (IV. P. 128) *Quena — quena es una caña sin cosa flauta para varias melodías*. The Cavina call a dance at which they play with flutes and drums *ñáma-ñáma*. (Dominicanos (1.c) P. 480.) Cassorla, when mentioning the Quichua musical instruments, says that they, and especially the musicians, have their small flutes which they call *ñáma*. . . (P. 178). I presume that the Chané took over from the musicians not only the side-blown flute but also the name *ñáma*, which the latter in their turn had obtained from the Quichua language. How the Quichua came to apply the word *ñáma* to a musical instrument which was originally unknown to them, I do not know.

Schwabenschiffel 2-4, 9-11, 1949-1950, 1952, 1960
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

As I said in Part I the Guiaos in different parts of S. America are too little known for me to venture to express any opinion as to the source whence the Chiriguano and Chané got the end-blown flute.

Both the Chiriguano and Chané possess trumpets made of cowhorn. From the former I also have an old trumpet made from a calabash (Fig. 37 B) which I acquired at Caipipendi. I do not know whether this was ever provided with a mouthpiece. The Chané Indians have on their cowhorns mouthpieces of reed with lips (See Fig. 30, Part I). I have not seen these mouthpieces among the Chiriguano; they blow the cowhorns from the end without a mouthpiece. Most likely the Indians learned from the Whites to use mouthpieces of the aforementioned type.

Trumpets are very wide-spread in S. America, and it is interesting to notice the distribution of trumpets blown from the side and those blown from the end. The pre-Columbian date of the latter is certain, while that of the former is very doubtful. Map 20 indicates the distribution of these two types of trumpet.

Thus we see that side-blown trumpets occur especially in the basin of the Amazon,[1] in the region where negro influence has been and is very great, and I do not think it impossible that the Indians have learnt to use such trumpets from the negroes. When negro slaves were brought to S. America, they naturally introduced many African ideas. Runaway slaves frequently sought refuge among the Indians. In Matto Grosso, for instance, it is probable that negroes had been in touch with Indians who had not yet seen Whites. From these the Indians would be able to learn a great deal.

When making a trumpet of an antelope horn or the tusk of an elephant, it is quite natural to make a hole in the

[1] From sixteen Indians at Tapirio in Matto Grosso mentioned side-blown trumpets which, it is quite certain, were introduced by the Whites at a late date.

Schwabenschild E-4,7(1909-1910, 1912) 1910
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF9
South American Indians 53

S 534 174 tions — should have occurred within the Amazon basin, and not within the areas of civilization in the west and north-west, if it really were pre-Columbian.

S 174 439 534 By means of far-reaching trade connections it is certain that European and, possibly, African ideas were spread far and wide at the beginning of the Conquest period. *Within a large part of America the continuity between the tribes was at that time, still undisturbed.* When the Whites had completed the conquest of all the great highways — the navigable rivers — trade among the Indians ceased or was at least diminished. The wide extent of inter-Indian trade already appears from the fact that the Indians of the upper Amazon in the seventeenth century obtained axes and knives of iron from Guiana[1]). This proves that Indian trade was carried on over immense distances. Thanks to this trade there were also spread, of course, many purely Indian ideas. Where large tracts are occupied by Indians, trade is still very lively, as in Guiana, along the upper Orinoco and in the Chaco. Only a short time ago Indians appear to have carried on a trade in weapons between Guiana and Rio Negro[2])

S 174 534 177 In what I have now said I do not consider that I have proved finally that the side-blown trumpet in S America is an African culture-element. I have however demonstrated that is highly possible, and that the question deserves attention.

C Ce 534 174 177 The information I give below, which is based on the literature on the subject and on Museum specimens to which I have had access, indicates my knowledge of the occurrence of trumpets in S. America. Thus it verifies Map 10. The end-blown trumpet may have been obtained by the Chiriguano and Chané from the western area of civilization. In this case the original trumpets must have been of some

[trail continues to p. 126]

[1]) Markham, Rodriguez Lib. 5, Cap. XI, P. 150.
[2]) Koch-Grünberg, 175.

Interdenominational S-Ayr(1900-1906, 1910) 1911
SF10 Chiriguano SF11
Chaco SF8

C
Ce
534
174
177

other material than the conforms introduced by the Whites, e.g. of calabashes, like the old trumpet from Caipipendi. Mouthpieces with lips were presumably, as I said, introduced by the Whites. Cruz[illegible]) relates the following little episode which is significant as showing how the Indians learn the use of musical instruments from the Whites. «A su vista se me ocurrió la idea de fabricarles un clarinete, lo que hice en pocos minutos con una caña tacuara, del que se arrancaron notas muy agudas parecidas á las que produce la dulzaina; lo que alegró tanto á la concurrencia que hasta los viejos me metían cañas por los ojos hasta que les hiciese gaitas, en cuya operación me pasó el resto de la tarde y parte de la noche.»

C
Ce
534
171

The panpipe is very rare here. It consists of four reeds which I have not seen bound together. In the following table and in the accompanying map 11 I have endeavoured, on the basis of the investigations of Paul Schmidt, some other writers, and of myself, to indicate the distribution of the panpipe in S. America. The map does not enlighten us as to whether the Chané got the panpipe from the area of civilization in the west, or if it came to them from Indians in N. E. Bolivia. The latter seems the likeliest supposition, as it only occurs within the northern part of the Chané country. It is not a culture-element from Guarani Indians. It is interesting to notice that the panpipe has by no means so great a distribution as it might have. In the Chaco there is abundance of material for panpipes, but they are unknown there. In the wealth of old literature dealing with the Indians on the coast of Brazil, I have found no hints of the panpipe. Oddly enough the panpipe is also unknown among the Indians of the Roraima region. Nor is the panpipe known to the Caingná Indians. Very possibly the distribution of the panpipe has been considerably extended in post-Columbian times. The well-known (pseudo-

Schmidt-Collection 1-4,9,12,19-1896, 1919, 1920
#710 Chiriguano #710
Class 970

XXI.

Dancing Masks.

C
Ce
177
552
587
535

A Chané Indian on the Rio Itiyuro told me that mask dances were introduced among the Indians by the Whites. Padre Bernardino de Nino was also told by the Chiriguano that the celebration of the carnival came to them from the Whites, and he plainly considers that we here have to do with a custom which is not of Indian origin. This is certainly wrong. The fixed date of the festival came to the Indians from the Whites, but the manner of celebration is manifestly derived from an old Indian custom which corresponds to similar masquerades described from Brazil by Koch-Grünberg. This appears from Nino's own account of the celebration of the carnival.

The ceremony is at least partly a feast of fruitfulness[1]. The mask dancers throw the husks of beans and the offal from chicha-brewing at the other dancers in order to secure a good harvest. Just as in northwestern Brazil, some at least of the Chiriguano-dancers appear disguised as animals which they imitate. Nino says that towards the end of the festival the old people weep because they call to mind the dead who cannot share in the pleasure. The ceremony is ended by the participators going out of the village and throwing their masks into the river or some other water-course and there washing their faces and hands. Sometimes they burn the masks, as is done in northwestern Brazil.

Batrave, a most reliable old Chané Indian, assured me that when he was a boy he had seen masks on the Rio

[1] N. P. cit.

535

Ce
273
915
531

Fig. 38. Vessel for serving maize-beer from the Chaco. Rio Pilcomayo. R. M. P. 313. 5/9

XXII.

Pottery.

C
Ce
323

The earthenware vessels of the Chiriguano and Chaco are made in the usual way by building up layers of strips of clay[1]. Stones, mussel-shells and empty coro-cobs are used for smoothing the vessels. The last mentioned leave characteristic marks. It looks as if some comb-shaped instrument had been employed. These marks diminish the smoothness of the vessel, so that it slips out of the hand less easily. Coro-cobs are therefore more especially used in the making of cooking-pots and large utensils. Judging by the pottery which I collected on my journeys, the practice of using coro-cobs in this way would seem to be derived from the mountain civilization. I have seen vessels marked in this way found at Ojo de Agua in the most northern part of Argentina, where they revealed the fact that the Indians that used these vessels had maize. On the other hand, they are lacking on the pottery which I found in my excavations at Caipipendi and in the whole of N. E. Bolivia. They are also lacking in Misiones in Argentina.

C
Ce
[197]

---

[1]) See Part I

C Ce 415 #171 [252] Only a few vessels are provided with ~~spouts~~ lips in rims which here seem to be an idea obtained by the Indians from the Whites.

Bowls with holes in the bottom which are used for steaming have already been mentioned in the foregoing. This applies also to bowls for the roasting of maize.

The Chané on the Rio Parapíti have small plates which they sometimes use in spinning. I have not seen the like elsewhere. Occasionally one sees, among the most civilized C Ce [111] Chiriguano and Chané, fire-pans for holding hot water. (Fig. 43,10). They must have obtained the idea from the Whites.

C Ce 323 The Chiriguano and Chané understand the art of painting earthenware before burning.[1]) I have already, in Part I, endeavoured to show the geographical distribution of this invention. Whether it was known to the Chané and Chiriguano before they settled in this tract cannot be decided. The pottery I found in the archaeological excavations at Caipipendi is unpainted.

C Ce [189] The Chané at Rio Itiyuro sometimes paint the edge of earthen vessels after burning with resin of palo santo. This is never seen among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Parapíti. As such painting is common among several tribes in the Chaco, it is possible that the Chané at Rio Itiyuro got the idea from there. The Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro often varnish the painted vessels after burning with a kind of gum called by the Chiriguano — staragüirisi.

The Chiriguano and Chané also ornament their earthenware by finger-impressions. This method of ornamentation has an eastern extension in S. America. A map showing its distribution is published in Part I.

The ornamentation painted on earthenware is seen in the illustrations. The Chané at Rio Parapíti usually have very plain ornamentation.

C Ce [257] [1]) For this purpose brushes of Aguti hair are used. (See also WEYSSA p. 60).

[text from corrected. See errata sheet p. 245.]

8eNordenskiöld E-S,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Maps of the geographical distribution of various kinds of ornamentation can scarcely be drawn up at present with the exception of a few very characteristic specimens, e. g. the spiral. This is found on earthen vessels from the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, and from the Chiriguano, but not from the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.

C Ce 323 C Ce [184]

The colours used by the Chiriguano and the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro are black, red, brown and white. The white is caolin, the red, brown and black are obtained by pulverizing schists of these colours. The Chiriguano sometimes mix Urucu with oil. Vessels are probably painted with this mixture only after burning.

C Ce [386]

Pottery is undoubtedly the chief art practised by the Chiriguano and Chané. We may, indeed, assert that it is the only one that is still of very great importance to these Indians. It is an interesting fact that, though these tribes have been in close contact with missionaries and other Whites for nearly 400 years, and though their country has been flooded with European goods, their pottery has been influenced very little by foreign culture. It is still genuine Indian. This holds good not only of its shape, but to an equally great extent of its ornamentation. It shows how conservative the Indian is towards anything that cannot make easier for him the struggle for life. A cultivated plant can spread in a few years over a large part of a continent, whereas one will not take the trouble to adopt a foreign ornamentation or foreign types of household furniture. This does not imply that the pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané now has the appearance that it had 400 years ago. It has changed, as the Indians themselves told me, but the change has chiefly consisted in ringing the changes on old Indian patterns. How and how much it has changed, can only be proved archæologically. Unfortunately, I do not possess the archæological material. What I found in the country of these Indians probably goes very much further back in time than 400 years, and has very little in common with

C Ce 323 177 C Ce [181]

Nordenskiöld E-S,y(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C
Ce
323
177

the ceramics of the tribes here dealt with. The ceramic art we find among the Chiriguano and Chané is, as we saw, strongly influenced by the culture-zone in the west. There is a great similarity, as I said, to the pottery that has been found in the Humahuaca Valley. It is especially the finely painted pottery which, in shape and ornamentation, recalls the pottery of the culture-zone in the west. The simple cooking-pots ornamented with finger-impressions more closely resemble what is found in the old Guarani territory in Misiones. The main difference is that the pots used by the Chiriguano and Chané are provided with ears (handles), which as a rule are lacking in the pottery from Misiones. The ear, as I mentioned, is a western culture-element. I think the explanation may be, that when the Chiriguano conquered the districts they now occupy, their own women generally or always made earthenware with finger-impressed ornamentation. As we know, the immigrant Chiriguanos carried off masses of women, presumably from Chané for the most part, but probably also from other tribes. The women abducted from the parts bordering on the old kingdom of the Incas were no doubt skilful potters, and afterwards taught their art to their daughters. It is this that now continues in the finer pottery, especially in the vessels used at great drinking-bouts.

C
[727]

It is very evident, as we see, that the Chiriguano and Chané pottery has been strongly under the influence of the culture-area in the west. It would be of great interest to show how far it has also been influenced by the Arawak pottery at Mojos. This cannot, however, be conclusively proved. Not even among the Chané at Rio Parapiti can any such influence be traced. This is probably because it is so long since the Chané migrated to their present district.

Ce
[184]

It may be asked how it is that the Chané at Rio Parapiti have pottery which is plainly less influenced by the mountain civilization than that of the Chiriguano and the

Schwedenhöhle E-5/4 (1908-1909. 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
323
177
Ce
[184]

Chané at Rio Itiyuro. This may be owing to their poverty.[1]) Maize-beer does not flow so abundantly there as it does among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro. The finely painted vessels are intended for festivals, and it is especially on those occasions that one sees double pitchers and other types reminiscent of mountain-culture pottery. The Chané at Rio Parapiti dwell rather remotely, at a considerable distance from the culture-area in the west. Their calabashes, too, are more plainly ornamented than those of the Chiriguano and the other Chané. This may be due partly to poverty and partly to their isolated habitation.

---

[1]) I regret that I did not study the question of the supply in different places of good clay suitable, for earthenware. Where the clay has to be brought from afar, it is unlikely that the pottery will be highly developed

C
Ce
[117]

Schmidt-Schiffel E-S/F (1908-1909, 1913) 1910
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
Ce
283

Their spindles are of the Bakairi type with a knob. (See Part. I map 35). The spindle discs are sometimes of stone. The Chané at Rio Parapiti sometimes use when spinning a small earthen plate made for the purpose, on which the spindle is whirled.

The preparing of leather.

C
Ce
281
177
171*

The Choroti and Ashluslay have no knowledge of tanning, whereas the Chiriguano, Chané, Toba and Tapiete have. They use the bark of Piptadenia and other trees.

These Indians have, in all likelihood, learnt the art of tanning from the Whites who, in these tracts, are more skilled in leatherwork than in any other trade. Tanning seems to be unknown to all Indians in S. America who are either untouched or but slightly influenced by White civilization.

The carving and ornamentation of calabashes.

C
Ce
415
322

The Chiriguano Indians, as well as the Chané make very great use of calabashes. They are used as receptacles for water and maize-beer; as boxes, humming-tops, bowls and, above all, as drinking-vessels. At festivals maize-beer is handed round in elaborately ornamented calabashes.

Sometimes the calabashes are provided with lids. These are so made that lid and box are of the same fruit. Now and then star-shaped lids occurs. Lids with a shutting arrangement of the type shown in Fig. 50 A are characteristic of these Indians.

I published in Part I a map showing the distribution of calabashes with lids. From this map we see that these are probably a culture-element which the Indians east of the Andes received from the western area of civilization.

I scarcely think, at any rate, that the star-shaped lids can be cut out so as to fit tight on the box, save with a metal tool. It could hardly be done with a stone or bone implement.

Schmelzschiffel 2-4 (1900-1908, 1912) 1920
[illegible] Chiriguano [illegible]
Chané [illegible]
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
285
•171
5
192
285

X 3. Fiume Rio Ventuari, Communication by letter from Prof. Koch-Grünberg.

Baskets with lids which are opened like an ordinary cigar-box.

A. Graves on the Peruvian Coast. G. M. Very common in all collections of peruvian antiquities.

C
Ce
285
531

Some baskets from the Chiriguano have shapes which make them look like imitations of earthen vessels. (Fig. 53 C and D) Sometimes they even have an ear. Chiriguano and Chané baskets are very seldom ornamented.

Metal-work.

C
325
309

The only metal-work now occurring here is that the Chiriguano sometimes make their tembetas (lip-bottons) of tin themselves. Whether the Chiriguano and Chané, before coming into contact with the Whites, themselves performed metal-work, I cannot say.

Stone-work.

C
Ce
324

The Chiriguano and Chané do not now work stone.

Wood-work.

C
Ce
322
452
•177

For their wood-work the Chiriguano and Chané now use exclusively tools obtained from the Whites.

Weaving.

C
Ce
286

Among the Chiriguano I saw two types of loom; among the Chané only one.

The loom found among the Chiriguano and Chané is characterized by the completed product forming a ring (seamless) N. B. if so desired. The warp is set up as shown in the outline drawing, (Fig. 55.a) and in the sketch of a hand-loom from the Chané. (Fig. 55.c). When the ring is

[text continues on p. 176]

8:Nordenskiöld E-S,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C
Ce
286
*171

Weaving-bodkins of bone are found among the Quichua. LEHMANN-NITSCHE depicts one from Puna de Jujuy[1]) and I found one in an excavation at Ollachea,[2]) Peru. Cobo[3]) mentions their use by the Incas.

C
Ce
286
531
Ce
[177]

The large fabrics woven by the Chiriguano and Chané are not adorned with figures. On the other hand, it is not rare to see ribbons with woven human figures and other ornaments (fig. 57). The Chané on the Rio Parapiti are said to have learnt these ornaments from a Quichua woman who had immigrated to these parts. The Chiriguano girls are never seen to wear the ornaments they have learnt to embroider at the mission schools. These are flowers and the like, generally European ones, which interest the Indians very little, and are too strange for their fancy. This does not prevent the work they do at the mission schools being excellently done. At the mission schools the Indian girls also sew and crochet lace. But they never make these things once they have left school.

C
797
871
531
286
●177

C
Ce.
286

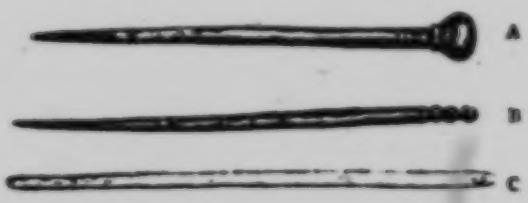


Fig. 56. Weaving-implement of wood. A and B from the Chiriguano. C from the Chané.

A — R. M. E. 48. 1/4. B — R. M. E. 146. 1/4. C — R. M. P. 21. 1/4.

---

[1]) Pl. IV. C5.

[2]) (3) Pl. 3. Fig. 12.

[3]) »Van apretando y tupiendo la tela con un hueso puntiagudo y liso» .... Cobo T. 4. p. 204. Cobo gives a description of the Peruvian loom. P. 203.

Nordenskiöld E-8,(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

XXIV

Trophies.

C
Ce
727
[527]

We know from several writers[1]) that the Chiriguano used to keep the heads of their beaten enemies as trophies According to what a Chané Indian named Batirayu told me, the Chané used to bring home the heads of slain enemies. At festivals these were put up on the «square» in the villages. Thanks to FRIEDERICI we have a fine work on scalping in America to which I beg to refer. It is, at present, impossible to say whence the Chiriguano and Chané obtained this custom.

---

1) See PAPPELLAR P. 30; CORRADO P. 46.

XXV.

Property Marks.

C
Ce
423
177

In part 1 (Map 34) I have already written about the geografic distribution of such marks. They belong to the cultural elements that these Indians probably got from the culture zone in the west.

Schwedenskjöld E-6,4 (1908-1909. 1912) 1910
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

staff was introduced at the missionary stations as a symbol of authority for chiefs. In the same way white men had introduced the staff as a symbol of authority among the Araucanians.[7]) The half civilized Ijcas[8]) use the staff as a symbol of authority for medicinemen.

According to Restrepo[9]) the Chibcha chiefs had staffs of guayacán. Martius[10]) tells us that the chief of the Tupí-Indians carried a tall staff «pocacaba». He also tells us that Pombal, in order to flatter conquered chiefs ordered Malacca canes with big knobs and tassels to be distributed among them. The Incas do not seem to have used the staff as a symbol of authority.

It is obvious from what I have said that the staff, as a symbol of authority, was introduced here by the Whites, while on the other hand the Chiriguano most likely got the «yandugua», from the Incas. One of the Inca symbols of authority was a parasol of ostrich-feathers. Thus Betanzos[11]) [12]) tells us about Inca Urco, a son of Viracocha that he was borne in a litter on the shoulders of chiefs. When he went into the market-square, he sat on a golden stool and had a parasol made of ostrich-feathers dyed red.

Dr. Max Uhle has been kind enough to inform me that he possesses a japanned wooden drinking-cup, possibly from Carabuco near Lago Titicaca. It dates from the period of conquest. On the cup is depicted an Inca with all his tokens of honour, down to the parasol.

---

[7]) Guevara, P. 17.
[8]) Boldemer (4). P. 115.
[9]) P. 99.
[10]) (1). P. 64.
[11]) P. 34.
[12]) See also Markham P. 292.

Schmelzkiste 1-4(1908-1909, 1912) 1909
IF10 Chiriguano IF10
Chaco IF9

Resumé.

C
Ce
121
177

In the foregoing pages I have attempted to analyse the material culture of the Chiriguano and Chané, and have tried to show from where they have derived the cultural elements existent among them. Finally I will see to what extent conclusions can be drawn from what has been said above, as to the changes the material culture of these Indian tribes has undergone under the influence of an entirely strange culture — that of the Whites — and of a kindred culture — that of the bronze age in the west. Furthermore, we will see what the Chiriguano and Chané have kept of the culture they had before they migrated to the districts they now inhabit, in what measure they have adapted themselves to their new natural surroundings, and what they presumably have learnt from their neighbours the Chaouti, Toba, Mataco and Tapiete.

C
Ce
128
177

I have shown in tabular form the cultural elements the Chiriguano and Chané received from the Whites, those they received from the Mountain culture, and those that derive from the north and the east. This third table embraces such cultural elements as the Chiriguano and Chané took with them when they migrated to their present habitat. In the tables I have mentioned, as the reader will see, in the case of each cultural element whether its distribution in the region examined is favoured by natural surroundings, whether in its distribution it is in general independent of such surroundings, whether it is of great importance in the struggle for existence, whether its manufacture calls for technical skill, whether it is man's or woman's work, whether it is used by men or women or both, or only by children, whether it may be looked upon as still frequently used or as disappearing, and whether it can be regarded as a

luxury or as a necessity. The tables then reveal, for instance, whether these Indians have received chiefly articles of luxury from a certain source, whether what they received was mainly what women manufacture, and so forth.

Among the Chiriguano and Chané we naturally find a number of cultural elements with regard to whose origin we are quite ignorant. Without doubt many of these have a large distribution, but it is simply unknown. Others again have a distribution of such a nature that it yields us no conclusions regarding their origin. The Chiriguano and Chané have no cultural elements of any importance that are not known from one or several other Indian tribes. There are, of course, minor peculiarities in shape and ornamentation that characterize all the belongings of these Indians when compared with similar articles from other tribes, but I know of no striking invention of any description to the sole credit of these tribes.

A. *The influence of the Whites on the culture of Chiriguano and Chané*

The cultural elements the Chiriguano and Chané certainly or presumably derived from the Whites, are given in the table 20. It includes such elements as they manufacture themselves, but are indebted to the Whites for the idea; cultivated plants and domestic animals which were not introduced among them until post-Columbian times.

If we examine the table 20 we shall find that it embraces 31 cultural elements. It omits a few cultivated plants obtained by the Chiriguano and Chané from the Whites which are not, and never were, of any importance whatever, likewise a few domestic animals that are rarely seen. It includes three cultivated plants and four kinds of domestic animals. Of the remaining cultural elements, 17 are man's or boy's work, and only four woman's work. The majority

[text continues on p. 200]

Schwabenkiller E-6,4(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
Ce
35
1912
931

Table 20.

Culture element that the Chiriguano and Chaco presumably derived from the Whites.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
QUESTION MARK INDICATES.

	Chiriguano.	Chaco.	Distribution favored by natural surroundings.	Distribution independent of natural surroundings.	Of great importance in the struggle for existence.
Modern hut	+	+	+	—	+
Chair	+	+	/	+	—
Wooden boxes	+	—	/	+	—
Sugar-cane	+	+	—	—	—
Water-melon	+	+	+	—	—
Bamboo arrow-shafts (Arundo donax)	+	+	—	—	+
Pulled fowl	+	+	/	—	—
Cattle	+	+	+	—	+
Sheep	+	+	—	—	+
Horses	+	+	+	—	—
Poultry-keeping	+	+	+	—	+
Riding whip stock	+	+	/	+	—
Saddle	+	+	/	+	—
Trader-class striking fire with flint and steel	+	+	/	+	—
Clothes of tanned skin	+	—	—	—	—
Leather girdle with pocket	+	+	/	—	—
Shirtsail with tassels	+	+	/	+	—
Sombrero	—	+	/	—	—
Women with pierced ears	+	+	/	+	—
Shoulder	+	+	/	+	—
Tube-game	+	+	/	+	—
Dice	+	+	/	+	—
Skills (plaything)	+	+	/	+	—
Musical bow	—	+	/	+	—
Flutes with six carefully fitted holes	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets of cow-horn	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets with mouth-piece of reed	—	+	/	+	—
Vessels with lips in rims	+	+	/	+	—
Bracket	+	+	/	+	—
Tripodes	+	+	/	+	—
Reef	+	+	/	+	—

199

Culture element that the Chiriguano and *Chano presumably derived from the White.*
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence
/ Question not answered.

Manufacture tools for lack and skill	Man's work	Woman's work	Used by men	Used by women	Used only by children	Still frequently used	Luxury
+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
/	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	—	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	—	—	+	—
/	/	—	—	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	—	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	—	—	—	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—

Schmelzkiste E-4,q(1909-1910, 1913) 1920
EF10 Chiriguano EF10
Chaco EF4

C
Ce
177
[191]

are chiefly used by the men. It is clear that the latter learnt more from the Whites than the women, for they came into contact with them to a far greater extent. Hence many of the men, but few of the women, learnt to speak Spanish.

C
Ce
291
177

All the Chiriguano and Chané men now clothe themselves more or less like the Whites, that is to say in shirt and trousers. Few have coats. You rarely see anyone with boots, and never anyone with stockings. Practically all the Chiriguano and Chané women still wear the tipoy. It is usually made of cloth bought from the Whites. But in some villages the women still have a predominance of home-woven tipoys. The clothes worn by the men, and which are of the same cut as those of the Whites, are not their own make, but are obtained ready-made in exchange for manual labour. The cloth for the women's tipoys, too, which they make up themselves, is as a rule carried in similar wise by the men. The Indians now obtain the implements for all these things from the Whites.

C
Ce
291
177

The agriculture of the Chiriguano and Chané has been very little affected by the Whites. As the banana cannot be cultivated here with any success, the Indians have not been able appreciably to improve their conditions of life by extensive planting of the cultivated plants introduced by the Whites. For some of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians, cattle-breeding has become of considerable importance.

C
Ce
177
[235]

Seventeen of the cultural elements included in the tables may be regarded as articles of luxury. These are games, musical instruments, etc.

The domestic industry of these Indians has been very little influenced in its development by the Whites, a fact on which I laid stress in speaking of their pottery, which has remained in a wonderful manner untouched by 400 years of intercourse with missionaries and others. I here repeat that even the instruction given in the mission schools in embroidery, lace-making and the like, has but very slightly affected the native domestic industry of the In-

Schmidt-Schiffel 2-4,V (1909-1910, 1913) 1920
SF13 Chiriguano SF13
Chané SF8

C
Ce
177

dism. A handicraft the Chiriguano and Chané have learnt from the Whites, is tanning.

The dwelling-places of these two tribes have been greatly changed under the influence of the Whites. I have noticed the same phenomenon in several other tracts. The Yamoiea, a small Peruvian tribe that I visited in 1904, a few years after its discovery, had already given up the old type of hut and built huts on the pattern of the houses of the Whites. The Hunuyam, a small tribe near the Rio Gonçaré in Brazil, which had not long been under the influence of the Whites (or more correctly, the negroes), now builds huts on the model of the houses they see at the rubber barracks. Several similar examples could be recorded. Everywhere it is the introduction of the white man's implements, so excellent in comparison with the stone axes, that has brought about the revolution.

C
Ce
177
342

C
Ce
177

The negative influence of the Whites has of course been very great here. The primitive tools have disappeared, a number of implements and ornaments have become rare or have vanished, a quantity of domestic industry has become superfluous, since readymade things have been purchasable from the Whites. The Indian domestic industry is gradually disappearing, but is not transformed under the influence of the Whites.

A race like the Chiriguano or Chané, when it falls under the influence of a culture, such as the Whites', which is very strange to them, very soon, as a rule, utilises for its own ends such elements as smooth for them the struggle for existence. We know, for instance, with what incredible rapidity the culture of the banana spread among the Indians soon after the Discovery of America, and that in many places it rapidly became one of their most important cultivated plants. And I have already mentioned that, a few years after its introduction, poultry-keeping spread far and wide among the Indians in S. Brazil.

C
Ce

In the matter of ornaments and adornments the Indian

[illegible]

C C C [illegible] 30 [illegible] [illegible] is conservative, which may partly be connected with the fact that for him, as Kamerer has pointed out, colours and ornaments have a great magical importance. When the Chiriguano and Chané obtain by barter glass-beads for their bahuts, these must be blue, like the turquoises they were wont to fasten in them.

C C C [illegible] When they come across anything in the culture of the Whites that approximates to their own conception of the ideal, the Indians have no difficulty in adopting it to their own use. We know that the dance mask is an Indian practice: it is therefore quite natural for the Indians to have embraced the carnival of the Whites with great interest and have added to it their own dances, in which they appear with masks on.

B. *The influence of the Incaic age culture on that of the Chiriguano and Chané.*

C C C [illegible] In the table xi I have put together the cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané have very probably obtained from the culture zone in the west. We can see at a glance that this influence has been very considerable. The positive influence has been greater even than from the Whites.

If we look into the table we shall find that the Chiriguano and Chané have especially learnt from the culture zone in the west such things as are connected in some way with festivals. Here belong the men's festal attire, several adornments worn by men and women, the leather parasol, the finer sorts of pottery, the ornamentation of calabashes with pyrograving, several musical instruments, games, etc. When we know with what interest the Indians have embraced the festivals of the Catholic Church, wherever they have had an opportunity of doing so, it can easily be understood that the tribes that were neighbours of the Incas, also imitated their festivals.

C C C [illegible]

[illegible] 1950
[illegible] Chiriguano [illegible]
Chaco [illegible]

C
Ce
177

The influence of the Mountain culture has extended considerably further east than the territory of the Chiriguano and Chaná. In the First Part of this work I showed what a great influence this culture had on the Choroti, Ashluslay, Lengua, Mbayá, and other tribes. The Guarani-Tupi Indians in the most easterly part of S. America have even been influenced by it. The influence of the Mountain culture east of the Andes has probably been considerable not only under the Incas, but also at earlier epochs. But this is difficult to substantiate, with the paucity of distribution maps at present drawn up. I would ascribe to it certain cultural elements such as sun-burial and the shape of the labret among the Chiriguano. If this assumption is correct, these cultural elements must first have been conveyed eastward from the culture zone in the west, and then have been brought westward again by the migrations of the Chiriguano Indians. Both are here evidently original to Chiriguano and not to Chaná.

The influence of the bronze age culture on tribes with a lower civilisation must have been quite different from that of the Whites. And yet the culture of the more highly civilised Indians consisted of the same elements as that of the more primitive Indians. The Chaná and Chiriguano have therefore not only learnt the use of a number of things from the bronze age culture, but have also learnt to make them themselves. Among these more primitive Indians domestic industry has evidently progressed under the influence of the Mountain culture, but is perishing under the influence of the Whites.

C
Ce
177
174

As I pointed out in Part I, the bronze age culture in the west was a great attraction for the Indians east of the Andes. It was in order to pillage the rich districts in the west that the Chiriguano migrated to those parts at the beginning of the 16th century. It must have been in order to facilitate the establishment of intercourse with the opulent culture of the bronze age that the Arawaks (i. e., the

[text continues on p. 206]

Table 21.

Cultural elements that the Chirigunos and Chaco Petkwenkiy derived from the Caribs (Kiche in the west).
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
(Elements not Indigenous)

C
Ce
●177
462
511
105

	Chirigunos	Chaco	Indicates Dr. Crawford's information	Indicates Dr. Crawford's information	Indicates Dr. Crawford's information
Wooden hook on which to hang their belongings		+	+	+	—
Spade (Wooden)		—	+	—	—
Bird-net		—	+	—	—
Wooden bowl		+	+	—	—
Wooden spoon		+	+	—	—
Cocu	+	—	—	—	—
Poncho-shirt	—	+	—	—	—
Sandal	—	+	—	—	—
Woven girdle	—	+	—	+	—
Frontlet	+	+	—	—	—
Wooden comb	—	—	—	—	—
Flauta	—	+	—	—	—
Tupu	—	—	+	+	+
Necklaces of green stones	—	+	+	+	—
Headdress worn by Chirigunos Women on festive occasions	+	—	+	—	—
Vessels which are intended to be carried by a string running round the vessel	—	—	+	—	—
Chonquanti-game	—	+	+	—	—
Chacoreta- "	—	+	+	—	—
Quaita- "	+	—	+	+	—
Long wooden whistle	—	+	+	+	—
Rasual " "	—	+	+	+	—
Drum	—	+	+	—	—
Vessels provided with ears or handles	—	+	+	—	—
Double pitchers	—	—	+	—	—
Water-pitchers	—	+	+	—	—
Pitchers with a bulging neck	—	+	+	—	—
Calabashes with lids	—	—	+	+	—
Calabashes with burnt in ornamentation	—	+	+	—	—
Peruvian loom	—	—	+	—	—
Bodkin of bone	+	+	+	—	—
Property marks	—	—	+	—	—
Yandagua the parasol of ostrich feathers	+	—	+	+	—

Schweizerische X-4,4 (1900-1908, 1919) 1920
[illegible] Chirgwin [illegible]
Chem. [illegible]

Cultural elements that the Chirigwins took central
personally obtained from the radiate zone in the west.
[illegible] distance. —Indirect evidence.
/ Denotes not [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
—	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	—	—	+	—	—	+	+
+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	—	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	—	—	+	—	—	—

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177
174

Chané) wandered south along the Andes to parts where no dense primeval forests hampered communications. This is always on the presumption that they were not forced southward by other tribes, which may possibly have been the case.

The question may naturally suggest itself, 'How was it possible for the Chiriguano, if they did not establish themselves in their present habitat until the beginning of the 16th century, to have learnt so much from the bronze age culture in the west, which began to decay a few years later?' They did not do so by direct intercourse with this culture, but learnt it from the original inhabitants of those districts, who were for a long time under the influence of that culture. The Chiriguano conquerors were presumably very few in number, compared with the original inhabitants, who most likely had long been under the influence of the bronze age culture. The conquerors adopted the culture of the original inhabitants, these the language of the conquerors.

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané is evidently an offshoot of the Mountain culture, their textile industry has been strongly influenced by it. The most important domestic industries of these Indians are woman's work, and it is probable that kidnapped women have here been the intermediary agents of culture. When the Chiriguano conquered the parts they now occupy, they did so, to a great extent at least, from the Chané.[1]) They then kidnapped a great number of women from these Indians. After being admitted into the tribe, the women taught their skill to their offspring. Being culturally much above their husbands, they would no doubt have a great influence on them.

C
[727]

[1]) See NORDENSKIÖLD (13).

5tNordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C. *Cultural Elements which the Chané and Chiriguano have got from the Mataco, Toba, and other tribes in the Gran Chaco.*

C
Ce
177

The Chané and Chiriguano have presumably not learnt much from their neighbours the Choroti, Toba, Mataco, and Tapiete, whose chief domestic industry is the caraguatá work, in which they have developed an astonishing skill. As we saw in Part I of this work they have various different kinds of knitting, sewing, and plaiting. The Chiriguano and Chané, on the other hand, do very little caraguatá work, and the technique of their knitting is without much variety. I consider it likely that they learnt from the Chaco Indians the use of the bowstring made of shreds of hide, landing-nets of the type used here, the wooden needle with the line for stringing fish, the skin rug, the forked wooden spit, the use of the resin of palo santo for painting earthen vessels, and possibly the bat and ball game.

It is clear that more civilized Indians like the Chiriguano and Chané, when they come in contact with more primitive Indians, like the Mataco, Tapiete, and Choroti, do not imitate their ornaments, clothes, etc. I have already pointed this out in Part I. We must bear in mind that the Mataco sometimes work as servants for the Chané, and the Tapiete for the Chiriguano.[1]) These more cultured tribes would be more inclined to recognise the warlike Toba Indians as their likes.[2])

C
Ce
[357
563]

[1]) Among the Chiriguano (it does not exist among the Chané) it is characteristically only a boys' game, whereas among the less civilized tribes, the Mataco, Choroti etc., it is indulged in by grown-up men.

[2]) NORDENSKIÖLD (8).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

D. *Northern and Eastern Cultural Elements that occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.*

C
Ce
177

The Chiriguano and Chané have a number of cultural elements that clearly reveal their connection with their kinsmen in northern and eastern S. America. The area of their distribution stretches like a wedge from the more tropical northern Bolivia between the Andes and El Gran Chaco proper. Several of these cultural elements, moreover, have a distribution that induces us to assume that they reached the region examined with the Arawaks, i. e. the Chané. One such is, for instance, the india-rubber ball game. Several of them, such as the hammock and the seat, were familiar to both Chiriguano and Chané before they migrated to their present habitat. Those cultural elements that we may with more or less certainty assume to have been known to the Chiriguano or the Chané, or to both, at the time of their immigration, I have collocated in the table (22). Of course these Indians have several other cultural elements with a similar origin, though this cannot be proved from the material at our disposal.

In Table 22 there is scarcely any reference to clothing and adornments, owing to the fact that the Chiriguano and Chané have learnt much in this respect from the civilization of the bronze age and from the Whites. It is a characteristic trait for the Indian women to have clung to an older type of garment, — the tipoy.

C
Ce
177
178

Most of the cultural elements the Chané and Chiriguano have kept from the time of their migration to these parts, are useful articles, such as household furniture and fishing tackle. But some of these things are of minor importance here, since their existence is not necessitated by external conditiosn: they are evidently suited to other natural conditions than those that obtain in these parts.

C
Ce
177

One can conceive that several of the cultural elements included in Table 22 did not reach the Chané and Chiri-

5:Nordenskiöld E-5/4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
Ce
177

guano until they had settled in their present territory, let us say by trade or other connections with the tribes living in N. E. Bolivia. I will not assert that this is impossible, but I am of opinion that it cannot apply to most of these cultural elements. In any case it does not apply to such cultural elements as rubber balls, certain kinds of basket work of palm-leaves, and hammocks, which clearly overstepped the natural confines as a result of emigration. The rubber for the balls must be procured from the north, and suitable palm-leaves for basket-work is not to be found locally. The hammock is not the kind of bed best suited to this part of the continent.

C
Ce
177
241

Mandioca is now cultivated only as a rarity by the Chiriguano and Chané. It is highly probable that, before they settled in their present habitat, this plant was of considerable importance to them. Neither the Chiriguano nor the Chané depended so largely on maize before they came to the parts they now inhabit. Here they have an excellent soil for growing maize.

C
Ce
177
226

Fish and game are now certainly of less importance to these Indians than they used to be. I mentioned earlier that the Chiriguano and Chané now make the impression of fishermen without water to fish in. A method of fishing which is of no little importance to the kinsmen of these Indians, is fishing with poison. In these parts it is rare, but occurs, at least among the Chiriguano.

C
Ce
177
824

»Chuchio» (*Gynerium* sp.) was formerly the plant that yielded at least the material for the arrows of the Chané Indians. As it has now been uprooted, its place is taken by another growth of grass, *Arundo donax*. It was not until post-Columbian times that this reed, which is used by the Chiriguano, Chané, and all the Chaco tribes for the shafts of their arrows and for other purposes, was introduced into S. America, where now, not least in El Gran Chaco, it has an exceedingly widespread distribution. (I ought to have pointed this out in the First Part of the pre-

[text continues on p. 212]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Table 22.

Northern and Eastern Elements that occur among the Chiriguano and Chane.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

C
Ce
105
177
462
511

	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings.	Distribution independent of natural surroundings.	Of great importance in the struggle for existence.
Maize-barns on piles	+	+	—	—	+
Hammock used as a bed	+	+	—	—	—
Seat	+	+	/	+	—
Mandioca	+	+	—	—	—
Urucu	+	+	—	—	—
Bird arrows	+	+	/	+	—
» » (special type fig. 6 E.)	+	+	/	+	—
Snare fixed onto a long rod	—	+	/	+	—
Fish-spear	+	—	—	—	—
Multi-pointed fishing-arrows	+	—	—	—	—
Fishing with poison	+	—	—	—	—
Wooden mortar	+	+	/	—	+
Round-Siege, »Urupe»	+	+	—	—	+
Great pot-spades of wood	+	+	/	+	+
Fire fans of plaited palm leaves		+	—	—	—
»Tipoy»	+	+	+	—	+
Rubber-balls	+	+	—	—	—
Souki-game	—	+	/	—	—
Panpipe	?	+	/	—	—
Game with maize-leaf balls	+	—	/	—	—
Vessels ornamented with finger-impressions	+	+	/	+	—
Baka-spindle	+	+	/	+	+
Baskets made of a single palm-leaf	+	+	—	—	—
Baskets with overlapping lids	+	+	/	+	—
»Arawak» loom	+	+	/	+	+

Northern and Eastern Elements That occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

C
Ce
105
177
462
511

Manufacture calls for technical skill.	Man's work.	Woman's work.	Used by men.	Used by women.	Used only by children.	Still frequently used.	Luxury.
+	+	?	+	+	—	+	—
+	—	+	+	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	—	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	?	?	?	?	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—
—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—
+	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	/	/	—	—	—
+	+	—	/	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177
824

sent work.) It follows that these Indians used other material for their arrows in pre-Columbian days. The Choroti and Ashluslay probably had wooden shafts to their arrows, as Chuchio does not, and probably never did grow in their country. Before *Arundo donax* grew in the Chaco it must have been difficult in many places to find material for flutes, etc. Even in the country of the Chiriguano and Chané there were reeds only in certain parts, so that the introduction of *Arundo donax* may have been of importance for other things than the material for arrows.

C
Ce
177
285

The difficulty of getting suitable material for basket-making has resulted in the baskets being of less importance to the Indians of the district under examination than to the Arawaks and Guarani-tribes elsewhere. Presumably the Chiriguano and Chané used to have carrying-baskets, which were supplanted by carrying-nets of Caraguatá or Yuchan.

C
Ce
174

Pile-barns are probably a reminiscence from a time when the Chané lived in swampy parts.

[343]
[515]

I have already pointed out that the great cleanliness of the Chané and Chiriguano shows that they immigrated to their present habitat from warmer, well-watered parts.

C
Ce
177

There are not many cultural elements of which we can say with absolute certainty that they were brought by the Chiriguano, and not by the Chané. Such are, however, urn-burials and »tembeta» of the kind now in use. This is not precluded by the fact that these cultural elements were originally western. Finger-mark ornamention, the wooden mortar, and certain bird-arrows, spindles of the Bakaïri type with a little knob on the top of the stick, are also cultural elements with such a distribution that we can assume that they were originally more intimately connected with the Chiriguano than with the Chané. Further comparative investigations, and access to an extensive quantity of the necessary material will doubtless enable us, from a study of the minor details in the external form of

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177

the various objects, to prove that some ideas are to be traced to the Chané, others to the Chiriguano.[1]) For the purpose of such studies, we require access to the collections of all the great museums, and probably much more material.

There are of course among the Chiriguano and Chané many cultural elements of which we cannot say whence these Indians obtained them. These are such cultural elements of which the distribution is very imperfectly known, as well as some old ones whose distribution does not reveal from where they came originally. I do not consider it worth while tabulating all these cultural elements specially. They are mentioned in the foregoing, though occasionally only *en passant*.

[1]) This calls for a number of special studies of different cultural elements, such as Frödin's, and my own on the spindle.

/Pages 1-147 (Introduction and Chapters 1-8), Plates 1-15, and Figs. 1-73 are omitted in the translation./

/148/ Chapter Nine

The Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Just as I have tried to give a picture of the life of the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, I shall also try to describe the Chané and Chiriguano Indians and my various visits among them. These Indians are considerably more advanced than the "savages" of the Chaco. For the most part they live in a state of dependence on the whites, and their old unique culture is disappearing more and more.

The Chiriguano are now also to a very considerable extent Christians. For more than 300 years, first the Jesuits and then the Franciscans have tried, with varying results, to convert them to the one soul-saving Christian faith. Even now there are several mission stations among the Chiriguano, but none among the Chané.

In the Chané and Chiriguano we meet people with a higher culture, people who are entirely different from the Indians about whom we have read in the preceding chapters. Comparisons between the two types of culture that we come across in the Chaco are, naturally, of interest.

What will perhaps surprise the reader most is the fact that the two primitive cultures are able to exist side by side, and have doubtless done so for centuries, without fusing, indeed, without learning from each other, and this even though there are no natural boundaries here.

/170 cont./ Ce 173

The legendary figures and their experiences stimulate the imagination, are preserved and retold. The historical personalities and events are forgotten. Ee 523

If one looks in Chané and Chiriguano houses, one finds many things preserved which are now no longer in use, /171/ but which they value as mementos of earlier times and often do not want to give up. For example, one sees handsome round pipes, "huiramimbi" (Ill. 80), which have undoubtedly been handed down from generation to generation. They were formerly used in connection with expeditions of war. Old Maringay had kept all kinds of things from olden times. It gave me great pleasure to rummage about in the old man's storage places. I wanted to buy something from him, but felt embarrassed to offer him money for his mementos. Ee [276] [72] c 523 123 126

I once found a bundle of fine, old, completely smoke-blackened arrow-points stuck into the walls. "Would you not like to sell them to me?" I asked my old friend hesitatingly. "You shall have three as presents," said Maringay. After this refusal I let him keep his cherished things. Ce

Once I rode away from Vocopay's village in order to look up an old Chané who had an attractive old costume. After some hesitation he showed it to me. He had carefully wrapped it in other material. Like an enthusiastic museum official taking out an old gem, he unwrapped it carefully. One unmistakably saw how dear it was to him. Although I offered him a very high price, he did not want to sell it. 523 123 126 c Ce

The fact that these Indians love their old keepsakes shows that they have a certain degree of culture. This is true only of the old people, however. The young ones are no longer like that; they sell everything without hesitation. What do they care about a worn-out old festival costume if they can get a red, fluttering scarf and trousers with jacket in exchange! The triumphal march of trousers across the world has also reached these valleys and plains. 523 178 c Ce [177]

The Chiriguano and Chané no longer carry on regular war with other Indian tribes. Occasionally, however, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians. Ce 721 c [721]

/173 cont./ C Ce

Under the influence of the whites, however, the Chané and Chiriguano are gradually changing their huts, and many Indians are already building huts that are identical with theirs. 342 177

No hut here has its original Indian form. The genuine Chiriguano huts (the original Chané huts are not known) were very large; up to 100 persons lived in one house, and the entire /174/ village consisted of only a few large huts (1). These C 342 178 [361] [592] [171]

1. Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. -- Tucuman y Perú -- 1596. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Madrid, 1885. Vol. II. Page CIV. C [113]

evidently correspond to the large family houses well known in Brazil, which I saw in Bolivia only among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe from Lago Rojo-Aguado.

Even in Viedma's (2) time, at the end of the eighteenth

2. Viedma: loc. cit.

century, /Fig. 83 appears here/ however, they seem to have given up the original type of house and built smaller huts. C

In many villages there belongs to each hut one or more maize granaries (Fig. 84a), in which maize, gourds, etc. are /175/ stored. These granaries are built on piles and are perhaps a reminder of the time when the Chiriguano and Chané lived in swampy regions. To each granary there belongs, as a rule, a ladder (Fig. 84b). Sometimes the granaries and the dwellings are built together into one house. /Fig. 84a appears here./ I saw such huts in the vicinity of Machareti and at Yatavéri, not far from Ivu. Not infrequently the granaries stand in the fields, far from the dwellings. Ce 343 Ee [361] [174] C Ce 342 343

These villages are neat and clean. Huts and market place are swept daily and the refuse is burned. Ce 364

The space in the huts is not too cramped. /176/ In each house, as a rule, there lives only one family, which, aside from the rest of the family members, sometimes consists of the husbands Ee 592

/180 cont./ C Ce

the most common among the Chiriguano. Only those women who live with the whites and have adopted their manners and customs carry jugs on their heads. 512 482 [177]

Division of Labor between the Sexes C Ce

Here too, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, each sex, as a rule, has its specific work, as we see from the following table: 462 171

Table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Chané and Chiriguano.

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Fishing . . .	+	+ (1)	Gathering wild fruits and tubers		+
Hunting . . .	+		Ceramics . . .		+
Planting, clearing . .	+		Woodworking . .	+	
sowing . .	+	+	Knotting nets . .	+	
reaping . .	+	+	Plaiting rope . .	+	
Cooking	(2)	+	Plaiting mats . .	+	
Carrying wood . . .	+	+ (3)	Tying hammocks .		+
Carrying water . . .		+	Leather work . .	+	
Preparing intoxicating drinks		+	Making weapons .	+	

Ce

1. As a rule, the women fish in shallow water, the men in deep water. [226]

C Ce

2. Sometimes take part in the preparation of the hunting booty. [252] [224]

Ce

3. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. [482]

/181 cont./

Branches of Subsistence

Fishing and hunting do not play an important role among the Chané and Chiriguano. As I have mentioned before, they are farmers, primarily maize farmers. These Indians live so exclusively on maize that for them all other food plays a subordinate role. The Indians living on the Rio Parapiti are an exception; they plant more sweet potatoes than maize, and these yield an excellent harvest in their country.

/182/ The following plants are grown by the Chané and Chiriguano:

Sweet potatoes.
Maize.
Squash (Cucurbita pepo Lin.).
Calabash fruits.
Beans of different varieties.
Cotton.
Urucú.
Tobacco.
Tuna (for example, at Yatavéri). Opuntia.
Millet.
Mandioca (rare).
Reed for arrow shafts (on the Rio Parapiti).

In the plantings of these Indians I saw neither ordinary potatoes nor bananas. The sweet potatoes, according to Batirayu's statements, were introduced at a late period by the whites. Tobacco-raising is insignificant. The Chané and Chiriguano are not great smokers. They mostly smoke cigarettes in maize leaves, seldom pipes (Fig. 88). Among them one need not give his pipe to a neighbor for further smoking.

It is strange how the use of tobacco differs among the Indian tribes. The Aymara and Quichua /Quechua/, who chew coca, very seldom smoke. They have no taste for it. The Chacobo and Atsahuaca, two tribes with whom I became acquainted on my travels, smoked just as little. When I offered a Chacobo a

When I offered a

/182 cont./ Chacobo a

cigarette, he took only a few puffs, kept the smoke in his mouth for a few seconds, and then threw the cigarette away. Nevertheless, the Chacobo plant tobacco, but use it exclusively as a remedy. If a Chacobo gets a "boro," a fly larva, "Dermatomya," under his skin, he covers the fly larva's entry spot with tobacco powder and is then able to squeeze out the dead larva in a few hours. The Choroti and Ashluslay are passionate smokers. /183/ For them smoking is one of the greatest enjoyments of life. These contrasts are quite strange.

The Chiriguano and the Chané have extensive plantings which, in contrast to the clearings of the Choroti and Ashluslay in the wilderness, are well tended. In former times they used spades made of hard wood with attractive handles (Fig. 89), but these have now gone out of use and have been entirely supplanted by iron spades. Not infrequently the fields lie far from the villages, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley. This is due to the fact that water is not available throughout the year everywhere in the vicinity of the plantings.

As has been mentioned, the produce obtained is stored in granaries built on piles (Fig. 84), so that it will be at least somewhat protected from rats, moisture, etc. These granaries are seen everywhere, except among the Chané on the Rio Pilcomayo.

The fields are fenced in with fences built brush-shaped, which are often difficult to climb over. There is no fertilization of the fields. On the other hand, a field that has been exhausted is left to lie fallow.

The time of sowing is determined by the position of the Pleiades, "ychu." When this passes across the horizon very early in the morning, it is sowing time. When the rainy season begins, everything must be sowed.

The men clear and sow. Everyone helps with the harvest, men, women, and children. Among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley the men sowed the maize, that is, they took care of the larger plantings, whereas the women were gardeners and planted gourds, beans, etc.

/183 cont./

The Chané and the Chiriguano are not great hunters. Perhaps in former times there was more hunting. Their hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow. For hunting wild pigs they use clubs; for ostrich hunts the boleadora /bola/, "churima," was formerly used. Snares and bird nets are also found. In former times the hunters wore /184/ a costume of leather cut in imitation of a European cut, obviously copied from the Spaniards (1). This

C 224 [410] [223] C [292] [177]

1. Viedma already mentions this costume, p. 181.

was not permitted to hang in the house. Formerly, also among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, no meat could be cooked in the house; rather, this had to be done a short distance away. Boys are, of course, eager hunters of small birds. Like the men, they sometimes use clay-projectile bows.

Ee 252 Ee 857 223 411

There are hunting dogs specially trained for hunting wild pigs. In a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro I saw how all the dogs had a red cross painted on their heads, so that they would not be bitten by a mad dog running about in the vicinity. It was truly amusing to see how these heathen Chané protected their dogs against rabies with the sign of the cross.

Ce 224 231 789

Batirayu told me that Chané men, when they go hunting, are not permitted to sleep with their wives the night before.

Ce 224 834

Fishing is carried on differently in the various rivers.

In the Rio Itiyuro women and children almost exclusively do the fishing. There are only small fish there too. I saw three methods of fishing there. Angling, fishing with calabashes, and fishing by damming up pools. The fishhooks consist of bent needles obtained from the whites. Floats and sinkers are not used.

Ee 226 [462]

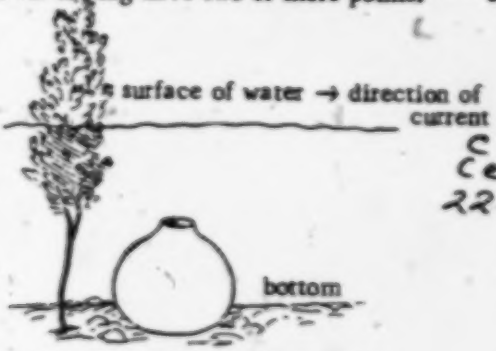
Fishing with calabashes is done in the following way. Several bunches of leaves, which give shade, are stuck in the bottom of the river, and in front of each of these is placed a calabash (Fig. 90) with sour, ground maize (residue from beer brewing). The fish gather in the calabashes, which are taken out from time to time by the women. The latter creep toward the calabash, quickly place a hand over the opening, lift /185/ it up, and then empty the contents into pits along the river bank.

/185 cont./ Ee 226

Another method of fishing often used in the aforementioned river is to dam up longish pools in the sand, in which fish gather. After the water is emptied out of the pools, the fish are caught. Sometimes the pond is made to terminate in a channel closed off with a scoop net /Keescher/, from which the fish cannot escape. Ee [132]

All the fishing that I saw on the Rio Itiyuro was done during the dry season, on hot, sunny days.

On the upper Rio Pilcomayo the Chiriguano fish with fishhooks obtained from the whites, with nets similar to the dip nets of the Choroti, though smaller, and by shooting the fish with bow and arrow. The arrows used for fishing have two or more points. C 226 [177] [411]



C Ee 226

Fig. 90. Fishing with calabash. Rio Itiyuro.

On the Rio Parapiti I saw Chané and Chiriguano fishing with a net of the type illustrated here (Fig. 91). In shooting fish, the Chiriguano there use arrows with many fine points. C [411]

In these last-named rivers the men always fish in deeper water with nets and with bow and arrow, whereas the women are content to catch small fish where the water is dammed when the river is half dry. Ee

Not infrequently the Indians undertake long journeys in order to fish. Thus, the Chané sometimes during the /186/ dry season visit the swamps "Madrejones" in which the Rio Parapiti disappears. 226 484 [133]

/186 cont./

It is strange that peoples who fish so much are acquainted with so little fishing gear. In my description of the Choroti and Ashlushay, we have already become familiar with this deficiency. C Ee 226

On the Rio Pilcomayo, Moberg and the author once wanted to give the Indians the benefit of our fishing experience and constructed a weir of which we were not a little proud. We set it out, firmly convinced that in the morning it would be full of fish. All we caught was wood and refuse of all sorts, and I cannot deny that the Indians ridiculed us a bit. Ee 226 123

The reason for the poverty of these Indians with regard to fishing gear is not a lack of ideas, but a different one. There are, quite simply, few fishing methods suitable for these waters. Setting out a net at night is not feasible, for if a palometa fish gets into the net it immediately cuts it in two with its knife-sharp teeth. Fishing with a hook where there are such fish is also not enticing, for they bite off the hooks as easily as the lines, if these are not made of good material. In these tropical waters the fishing gear also rots more quickly than among us and thus should not be left in the water all night. C Ee 226

The Chiriguano and Chané have no vessels. On the other hand, they are extraordinary waders, and to wade in the rivers here during the rainy period is not exactly a small matter. If, however, one has the assistance of one of these Indians, one can cross if it is possible at all. C Ee 484 501

As an oddity I might mention that during my entire journey I never saw a native white or mestizo fishing. In Bolivia it is not refined to eat fresh fish. On the Rio Pilcomayo /187/ the officers of the military post almost never ate the delicious, fresh, salmon-like fish from the river, but preferred canned salmon from Alaska. Since this is very old by the time it reaches Bolivia, it tastes dreadful. Fishing with a hook is also the only method of fishing that the Indians learned from the whites. Ee [226] [177]

As for domestic animals, the dog is the only one that the Chiriguano and Chané did not get from the whites. These dogs now seem to me to have a strong mixture of foreign blood. They always have names, for example, tirupotchi (old garment) /Fig. 91 appears here/ chapikáyu (yellow eyebrows). As a rule, Ee 231 [177] [5 5]

6: Nordenskiöld--43 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF3

/190 cont./

Games

Ea
524
[177]

Sometimes one sees the men playing. The most common game is now tabo, which is played with the ankle bone of a cow and which these Indians learned in the sugar factories. Dice games, too, are not uncommon there. The rules for these seem to be their own, or rather seem to be copied from the whites.

"Daro," as the Chiriguano call the dice game after the Spanish, is played by two persons with /191/ dice made by them themselves. In Tihulpa I noted down the following rules for this game (Fig. 93).

All other combinations are = 0. The first one to have ten strokes wins. The strokes are marked on the floor.

As for their own games of chance, they have two. The first is the same as the one we became acquainted with on page 73 /untranslated/ in connection with the Choroti and Ashluslay. The Chiriguano call this game "chicarly," the Chané "chunquiuti" (1).

Fig. 93. Rule for the game of "daro." Chiriguano. Tihulpa.

Ea
[113]

1. Cf. Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethn., 1910, Nos. 3 and 4.

The other game known to the Chiriguano and Chané I did not see among any other Indians. They call it uícareta and play it with a pile of little sticks which are convex on one side and flat or concave on the other (Fig. 95).

First a stick (máma) is placed in such a way that it points to the one who is supposed to throw (Fig. 96). Let us assume that it is placed so that the convex side is up. If two or more sticks fall on one another crosswise with the convex side up and without being touched on the upper side by a stick with the flat side up, they go to the thrower. If the máma had been placed so that the flat side was up, only those which formed a cross with the flat side up would have counted.

C 524 /197 cont./

I saw the "pérame" game played by the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley. It is played by two. A button or the like is placed on a stone as a goal, whereupon they throw small round stones made of clay sherds. The button is supposed to be knock down, and the one /Figs. 100 and 101 appear here/ who comes closest to it wins a stroke. The game goes on until one of them has five or more strokes, according to agreement.

C Ce 524 The Chané and Chiriguano children also have a number of toys which are illustrated here (Figs. 104-105). One of these, "mumou" (Fig. 104), is strange. With it /198/ a buzzing tone is produced if the threads are first twisted and then stretched.

Ce 524

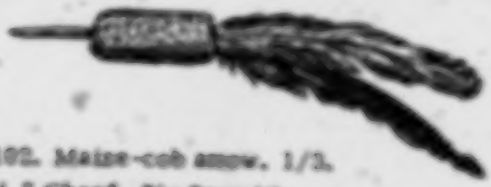


Fig. 102. Maize-cob arrow. 1/3.
"Sóuki." Chané. Río Parapití.

Fig. 103. Little stick for the huirahuahua game. 1/3. Chané. Río Parapití.

p.00 Now I have no doubt properly bored my readers with Indian games and toys. Perhaps I have dwelt too long on this subject, so little studied in South America, which interested me keenly on my journey. As among the Choroti and Ashluslay, I liked playing with the boys. This is also a way of coming closer to the Indians, of winning their confidence.

Ee [123] Ee 85 [197] [177]

Like the Choroti and Ashluslay children, the children of the Chané and Chiriguano are seldom bored; like the former, they are well-behaved and good children. It is usually very lively on the playgrounds in the villages. This is true of the heathen. The children who have fallen into the hands of the monks look melancholy and reserved; they have already been given a taste of what the children of the white man learn, training and the beginning of civilization. "You shall..." "You shall not..."

6. Nordenskiöld--92 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF 1
S-Am. Indians 53
Chaco Indians 584

E
Ec
524
526
171

/198 cont./

The games and toys are of great interest from the anthropo-geographical point of view. We do not find the majority of them outside the Chaco and the adjacent regions of South America. On the other hand, we find them in North America. Consequently I have /199/ /Ill. 104 appears here./ /200/ come to the conclusion (1)

1. See also Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie, 1910. Nos. 3 and 4.

that the games and toys are vestiges from a time when the cultural exchange between North and South America was greater than now, or, more correctly, that traces of a cultural stream coming from the north extended down as far as Argentina. A peculiar similarity also exists between the types of tobacco pipes that one finds in southern South America and in /Fig. 105 appears here/ North America. The tripod pottery which I found in my excavations in eastern Bolivia, in Mojos, also points to influences from the north.

E
276
171
E
523
171
172

Everyday Clothing

E
Ee
29
177

In the villages in which the influence of the whites has not driven out the old attire, the Chané and Chiriguano women wear a sack-shaped garment, "tiru" (Fig. 106). This, as the photographs show, may be worn in various ways. In former times the tiru does not seem to have had its present shape. Viedma (2) says

2. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181.

the /201/ Chiriguano women merely had a piece of fabric around their hips. Undoubtedly, under the influence of the "moral" Christians, the costume developed so that it became "more decent." /Fig. 106 appears here./

C Ce 301 /201 cont./

As for native ornaments, one sees necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla beads and of black seeds.

Ce 301 172 [439] Ce [435] According to their own statements, the Indians find the stone beads in the ground where there are old dwellings and graves. The mestizos in the Tarija valley, who find a great many of these beads in their fields, sell them to the Chiriguano /202/ and Chané at high prices. In former times a necklace of these beads was paid for with a horse.

Ce 524

Fig. 105. Wax dolls. 1/1. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

C Ce 302 The Chané and Chiriguano women wear the hair medium long, parted in the middle of the forehead, and sometimes tied at the nape of the neck or on the head with a band.

Ce 291 ●177 Ce 291 171 C 302 The men now all wear European attire. At /Fig. 107 appears here/ work, however, one not infrequently sees them in only a piece of fabric protecting the sexual parts. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, coats resembling those with which we became familiar among the Choroti and Ashluslay were very common. The older men, as well as the younger ones in the Chiriguano villages on the upper Rio Pilcomayo, wear the hair long, wound around the head, and held together, as a rule, with a red or blue band. Toward the front the hair is cut off; thus they have forelocks /203/ and a lock in front of each ear. The

The
/203 cont./

C 302 [177]

custom of cutting the hair short, however, is becoming more prevalent, in order to be just as elegant as the whites. When they travel over stony or thorny ground, they wear sandals on their feet, like the women.

These Indians do not often paint themselves ordinarily. Sometimes one sees a woman who has painted her face red. The whites maintain that it means she is anxious to get married, or, if married, lascivious. I do not venture to say, however, that this is true. /Fig. 108 appears here./ The women also commonly paint a red line here or there on the face, or they simply paste a flower on each cheek. The men, too, sometimes paint the face and body red. As a great rarity I saw a couple of Chiriguano women who were tattooed on the arms (Fig. 108). In the Caipipendi valley the Chiriguano women have disgusting habit of blackening

Ce [142] [291] [302]

Fig. 106. Chané woman from the Rio Parapiti, clothed in "tiru."

their otherwise white and sound teeth. Viedma says that the Chiriguano men were in the habit of painting their teeth blue.

/211 cont./

Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

C Ce 581 /212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

C Ce 582 Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

C Ce [171] This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Mataco.

C Ce 595 Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

C [643] Ce [586]

Ce 582 Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

C 577 177 797 831 /214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

C [837]

C 577 831 175 The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

C /215 cont./
165 President Belzu in Sucre. The latter governed between 1848-1855; thus, 100-year-old Maringay is obviously not more than about 80. An 80-year-old Indian is therefore the oldest of his tribe.
C 145 Among the Indians one almost always sees /Fig. 112 appears here/ that the one who has grown-up grandchildren is very frail and senile and stands at the brink of the grave. Indian men and women mature very rapidly, but also age quickly. At 50 the Indian is an
C [114] old man, at 70 a so-called centenarian. Im Thurn (1) likewise

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 190.

believes that the Indians do not grow old. /216/ He thinks that
C 142 they seldom reach an age older than 40 or 50.

Maringay's hair was slightly gray. There are some Indian men and women whose hair is almost whitish yellow, but they are
C [145] rare (Fig. 112). I never saw a bald Indian. When they are older,
[164] their faces are deeply furrowed. Not infrequently they become blind in old age, less often deaf.

Ee 142 515 Among the Choroti and Ashluslay the appearance of old people is often frightening; they are dirty, emaciated, and bleary-eyed. This is not the case among the Chané and Chiriguano. These Indians know how to grow old in beauty, and even the old people keep themselves nice and clean.

Ee 756 If the Chané or Chiriguano Indian becomes seriously ill, the medicine man is sent for, as among other Indians.

The Chiriguano and Chané distinguish between two kinds of medicine men, whom they call "ipáye" or "ipáyepótchi." The
Ee [754] former are good and lift the spell; the latter are able to lift the spell and to bewitch.

C 756 797 I once jokingly asked a Chiriguano whether Father Bernardino in Ivu was an "ipáye" or an "ipáyepótchi." The Indian answered dutifully, an "ipáye." The position of the missionary among the Indians is that of medicine man; he assumes their power and their influence.

Ee 756 In the preceding I said that the whites in the vicinity of Ivu sent for an Indian medicine man to drive away smallpox.
● 177

Ee /216 cont./
754 They also sometimes believe that they are bewitched by the
177 Indians. A colonist, Gutierrez, flogged an Indian. The latter bewitched him, so that he became ill. Inside his stomach it sounded like the croaking of a frog.

Ce The medicine men try to discover the bewitcher with smoke.
755 I did not see how this was done. The bewitcher, if he or she is
754 discovered, is killed.

000 /217/ In the following I shall speak about the connection of the medicine men with the great spirits.

Ee There seems to be no difference in the appearance and
755 the method of the medicine men among the Choroti and
756 Ashluslay and among the Chané and Chiriguano. It is the same
171 sucking out of foreign objects that have entered the body through
Ce bewitchment. Among the latter the medicine men are more
[177] secretive than among the former. Perhaps their contact with the whites has had the effect that they themselves are beginning to doubt their art.

Ee There is a difference, however, in the common remedies.
757 The first-named Indian tribes obtain their remedies, as a rule,
[171] from the vegetable kingdom. They boil decoctions of certain
Ee plants. The Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, except
[237] for certain plants, use animal remedies. Thus, on the Rio
Ce Itiyuro, the Chané use the fat of herons for swellings, wild pig
757 fat for fever, jaguar fat for pains in the bones, and toucan beaks
237 for female hemorrhages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the fat of the ostrich for chest pains, of the iguana lizard for conjunctivitis, of the chicken for everything, and maize beer for colds. I saw fat applied exclusively for external use.

Ce The Chané Indian is remarkable with regard to aseptic
752 treatment. I saw several times how they treat wounds in accordance with a most modern method, namely, with boiled water. This is different from the whites' use of pig excrement and the fresh urine of human beings, along with salt, for the same purpose. The reason that these Indians are familiar with such a modern
Ce method is undoubtedly their great cleanliness. They are used to
[515] washing themselves constantly. They probably hit upon the idea

Ec /219 cont./
765
302
[587]

If her husband dies, the wife is supposed to cut her hair short. /220/ If she loved him very much, she does it twice. It is not until her hair has grown long again that she may enter into another marriage. If her father or mother dies, she cuts her hair short; if her child, her brother, or brother-in-law dies, she cuts it moderately short. Long hair means that it reaches to the shoulders. My question as to whether the men also cut their hair in mourning was answered with laughter. They content themselves with shortening only the longest. The men may not marry until about a year after the death of the wife.

C
765
301

If the woman is in mourning, she wears no ornaments. When I was with Maringay, his daughter-in-law had lost her little child. Though all the other women in the village wore many necklaces, she did not have a single ornament. She also did not take part in any festivity.

Ec
764
177

The Indians whom the missionaries baptize do not always like having to bury their dead in a cemetery. They at least want the dead to have water with them in the grave.

One does not free oneself so easily from the old, inherited ideas, in order to exchange them for new ones. /Pl. 18 appears here./

/221/ Chapter Thirteen

000 On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Ugly Words, Homosexuality, Suicide, Sense of Modesty, etc.

In the language of the whites there are, as is well known, a number of words that may not be used in polite society. Persons of the same sex may mention certain parts of the body only by their Latin names, whereas persons of different sex, as a rule, do not speak of them at all to one another. One word may be regarded as ugly, whereas another word for the same thing may be used at will. The reason why a word is forbidden is undoubtedly often difficult to determine.

C Ce 834 171

/225 cont./

Nevertheless, if in the evening one sat beside the fire in the hut and was acquainted with the family, they seemed to be quite free and easy. The Choroti and Ashluslay men are very shameless. The men among the Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, less so. It is very common for the Chiriguano and Chané women, conversing in a group, to pass water standing up and to let the urine run down their legs, which may be regarded as less than clean. The men, on the other hand, always step aside in order to relieve themselves.

C Ce [574]

C Ce 833 171 834

/226/ As has been mentioned, the sexual act among the Ashluslay often takes place in the presence of onlookers. At the Choroti /Fig. 114 appears here/ dances one had to be careful in the darkness not to stumble over the loving couples. One never sees anything like that among the Chiriguano or Chané. Since many /227/ are lying in the same hut, however, one sees even among them what one always sees if one has overnight guests. This is not the least reason why the sexual life has no secrets even for small children.

C Ce 834 177 577

Apparently life with the whites heightens the sense of modesty. The Indian women are even embarrassed to expose their breasts. Morality declines in proportion as the sense of modesty grows.

This should be taken into consideration by all those who sew clothing for naked heathen children.

C Ce 121

Many of my readers may perhaps feel that this chapter should not have been included in my book. Nevertheless, it seems to me proper to say something about deviations in the sexual sphere. It contributes to an understanding of the people whom I am describing here. I have, of course, not been able to speak about all the realism that came out in the conversations around the camp fire (1).

1. If our daily papers, which are meant for the public, write about all kinds of things, one need not be too prudish in a travel account.

Ee 622 643 554

/230 cont./

The chiefs' families form a sort of aristocracy among the Chiriguano and Chané. Several times I heard Indians boast about their good family connections. A Chiriguano who accompanied me for some time as an interpreter was eager to impress upon me that he was related to the most famous high chiefs.

Just as the author of this book is customarily introduced as the son of Adolf Nordenskiöld, so the Indians were wont to introduce in similar fashion the sons of their "great men."

I even discovered a bit of deception in connection with the family tree. A Chané claimed direct descent from the great Hinu Parava, which, however, is said to be untrue.

If one wishes to find beautiful things from olden times among these Indians, one must first look for them in the chiefs' families. They keep the old treasures.

Ee [177]

More and more the white authorities are beginning to appoint the chiefs. Thus, in one region one can find a chief supported by the whites and a legitimate one.

Ee 622 423 122 643

The chiefs have great power, and, as far as I could see, they are always obeyed, in contrast to conditions among the Choroti and Ashluslay. They own the land (at least in certain regions), not for themselves, but for the tribe. If one needs porters in a Chané or Chiriguano village, one gets them from the chief, and no Indian will refuse to carry out the orders of the chief.

Ee 622 643

Although the chief has such great influence, /231/ he nevertheless works in the same way as the other Indians. Vocapoy himself, for example, carried home the heavy wood for cooking the maize beer, and his wife had to cook and sweep, like the other women. Following the example of the whites, however, a few of the most civilized and wealthy Indians, such as Taco, now have servants from their own tribe, but this was not done originally. On the other hand, as I have mentioned elsewhere, it is not unusual for the Mataco-Vejos and the Tapiete to work for the Chiriguano and Chané.

Ee [359] [177] Ee 177 464

Ee 622 643 431 123

When we came home to Vocapoy's village from hunting and shared our booty with the chief /Fig. 115 appears here/, his wife accepted everything, but then went around to the houses and gave her neighbors everything that she had received.

Ee 565 556 621

/231 cont./

One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village, though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand, there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy individual Indians, but they, like Taco, live like the whites.

Ee 622 701 642 643

The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader of the fighting men.

Ce 682

Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain. A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

Ce 692 643 681

C 531 415 Ce 682

According to Batirayu, whose statements are more reliable than those of /232/ Vocapoy, the high chief of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti deals with no offenses other than murder, seduction of another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with poisoned chicha, "bád-dyási," occurred in former times among the Chané. Murderer and bewitcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the open plaza in the village.

Fig. 115. Calabash. Chiriguano. Itapenbia. 1/6.

Ce 684 Ce 685 681

Ee 177 Ce 643 622 721

The administrative authorities of the whites are now intervening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

Ce 423 622 643

According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner, even if it has lain fallow for years.

000
Ce /232 cont./
423 even if it has lain fallow for years. Thus, fallow land is also
428 inherited.

Ce Otherwise inheritance is considerably curtailed by the
422 fact that the deceased takes part of his treasures along with him
428 into the grave.

764 As among the Ashluslay and Choroti, the right of owner-
Ce ship is well developed here too, and the women own what they
421 use and make. As among the aforementioned tribes, generosity is
171 very great here too, even though, thanks to our "civilization" and to
Ce the mission, it is less conspicuous.
425

177 Chiriguano social life -- we are not familiar with the
C original Chané social life -- was much more tightly organized
174 than the social life of the Choroti and Ashluslay. The Chiriguano
648 were a conquering people who probably subjugated the Chané and fought bravely and successfully against the Inca, and also resisted the invasion of the whites for a long time. If, instead of the /233/ many chiefs, there had been but a single one, the conquest of the land of the Chiriguano would quite certainly have cost the lives of twice as many whites as now. Unfortunately, in the battles of the whites against the Indians, there were almost always a few chiefs fighting on the side of the enemy against their own tribes. In the last uprising, decided by the battle at Curuyuqui, the whites had an auxiliary force of a couple of thousand Indians, with whom they fought against the fellow-tribesmen of the latter.

C Ce Just as everything changes in the life of the Indians when
●177 the whites conquer their land, so also are social relations altered. By the time Vocapoy, Maringay, Mandepora, and a few others are lying in clay vessels under the huts, the end will have come; then the Indians will have no laws other than those of the whites, no authorities other than the latter's administrators. The Chané
Ce on the Rio Parapiti, as was said, no longer have a high chief.
643 Batirayu was offered this position, but he does not wish to be the
177 servant of the whites; he is too proud for that. "It is not as it was in olden times," said Batirayu to the eccentric white man who sought understanding and the confidence of the Indians.

Ee 531 177

/236 cont./

The younger generation, I fear, will prefer German porcelain and enamelware, and with that the Chiriguano and Chané art will become part of the many fine and beautiful things that will disappear before the brutal civilization of the white man. In many villages one is already obliged to rummage around in the corners of the huts if one wishes to find vessels painted with a sure hand and natural taste. The worst thing, however, is that the whites are beginning to take pleasure in the clay vessels of the Indians. This brings about mass production. For the whites everything is good enough, it need be neither beautiful nor well done. They do not want the tasteful and simple, but the garnish and strange, "curiosidades," as the Creole says. Our museums must beware of these curiosities, for they give a mistaken idea of what is truly Indian.

Ee 273

The women brew beer for the festival. This is supposed to be made with maize (preferably yellow or white), and only the poor Chané on the Rio Parapiti must often content themselves with beer made out of sweet potatoes. If algarroba is available, beer is also brewed from this fruit. "It is good and intoxicates so nicely," say the Indians.

Ee 527 261 433

/237/ If the maize harvest is abundant, there is joy in the villages; then there is food and drink in every hut. If the maize crop has failed, there is no joy, stomachs are empty, and it is quiet on the festival plaza. If the granaries are full of maize, the Indian is proud and does not care about whites, suppression, and trouble. If the barn is empty, he is subservient and morose.

Ee 273

After the women have fetched the maize from the granaries and the men have brought wood and the women water, /Fig. 117 appears here/ the brewing commences. First the maize is pounded in large mortars. Day and night one hears the busy women pounding. The pounded maize is sifted and then mixed with water in huge clay vessels and boiled. Then a portion is taken out, chewed, and mixed well with saliva. This is then poured into the rest and, after it has been strained, must ferment in large open vessels with a little heat. The pots are stirred with large wooden spatulas

Ee /238 cont./
273 finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her
574 guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with
576 cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well. Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred. It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me: "You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears
e here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl
Ce he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has
[754] enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen in these villages.

C At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to
Ce
522 light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were hand-
527 ing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.

C Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané
Ce
535 only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the
532 Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).
●177
541 Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about
ce whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy
532 said the idea for them had originally come from the whites.
177 Batirayu, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Rio
535 Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which
Ce
[796]

Ce /239 cont./
535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
177 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[539] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

The Chiriguano and Chané
Ee always destroy the masks after the
532 carnival. They are either burned
177 or thrown into the river. The Chané
541 call the masks "añañya."
535

It is strange what a great
C role the carnival now plays as a
Ce festival among the Indians. This
541 undoubtedly comes from the fact
177 that the whites distribute great quanti-
[464] ties of spirits there and that the Indians
who work for them are given a few
days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already
disappeared. Nevertheless one still
sees women in home-woven clothing
C with necklaces of chrysocolla and
Ce turquoise. I never saw used, however,
[178] the silver diadem and the silver
C pins which belong to the festive attire.
412 One often sees the men's blue
237 costumes (Fig. 81) with silver
chest ornaments preserved in the
huts by the old people, but they
Ce are not used for the festivals.
535 Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
527 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
273 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
533

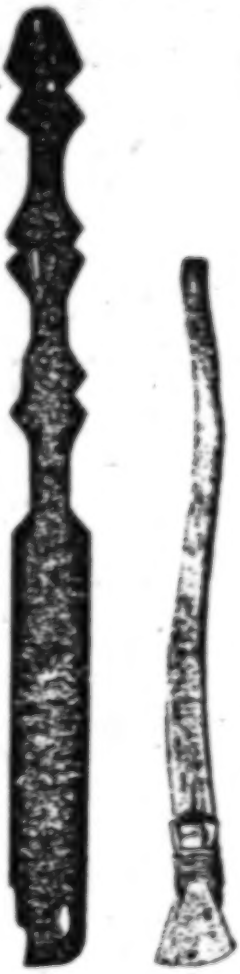


Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ce
527
533
535
273

/240 cont./
and beating time with their feet. The women walked slowly up and down in time with the song, outside the circle of men.

Ee
291
177

Among the Chané and Chiriguano the attire of the white man is replacing everything old and beautiful, and of my many old friends among the chiefs of these Indians only Maringay scorns the rags of the whites.

c
Ce
273
177
527

Liquor is being introduced more and more among these Indians, and the ceremonial, pleasant maize-beer festivals are turning into crude drinking bouts.

c
532
535

Fig. 119. Dance mask.
Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/6.

c e
578
273
177

I shall never forget a night in Vocapoy's village. The /241/ men had gone to the Christians to drink liquor. When they came back, harsh words fell and knives were displayed. The liquor would have claimed bloody sacrifices if the courageous women, with firebrands from the maize-beer boiling, had not thrown themselves between the quarreling men and, after separating them, taken them home with soothing words of flattery.

6: Nordenskiöld--92 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/242/

Chapter Sixteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Art and Industry

The Chiriguano and Chané are tribes whose art-industry is on a very high level. If one visits one of the huts of the white settlers in these regions, one will not see many products of native industry, not much of their own culture. I know of absolutely nothing that these people are capable of doing which can compare with the pottery and the weaving technique of the Indians. One thing is certain, the more "civilized" the Indians become, the less they accomplish in the way of art and industry. They do not learn much more from the whites than how to make and drink liquor. Indian art-industry is gradually disappearing here, the more the Indians come in contact with the whites, but it is not transformed. It remains largely purely Indian until its final destruction. One industry, however, is now in the hands of the whites, namely, the metal industry. The silver ornaments which, for example, the Chiriguano and Chané use are made by the smiths in the villages of the mountain regions. The half-white or Quichua /Quechua/ Indian population which we come across in the mountains west of the land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is quite skilled artistically. The weaving technique in particular is very highly developed there. The Chiriguano and Chané undoubtedly learned a great deal from the west.

Thus we find the serére pipe[1] (Fig. 120) characteristic of the Chiriguano in collections from the coast of Peru (1); /Plate

1. Serére also occur among the Lengua, Ashluslay, Chiriguano, Chané, Churápa, and Yuracáre.

12 appears here/ /243/ the pin for fastening women's clothing

[A flute-like musical instrument--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 94]

C /243 cont./
171 (Fig. 130) is typically Peruvian in form, as is the silver hair re-
291 mover, of which, however, I have no specimen. The festive
[534] costume of the man (Fig. 81) also seems to me to have a Peruvian
[413] cut. It is possible, however, that the influence of Peru did not
177 manifest itself among the Chiriguano until after the conquest of
the plateau by the Spanish.

e Boman (1) has proved that the Chiriguano, or more cor-
131
172
e
[113]

1. Boman: Antiquités de la Région Andine. Vols. 1-2. Paris, 1908.

rectly the Gûarani tribe to which these Indians belong, formerly extended much farther south than they do now. He found there the grave urns so characteristic of them.

C Ce The material culture of the Chané
171 Indians does not, in general, differ very much from the culture of the Chiriguano.
Ce [323] The Chané, on the other hand, who are more isolated on the Rio Parapiti, have a completely independent pottery which we do not find again among the
C [534 534] Chiriguano. If we compare the remaining products of Chané and Chiriguano industry, we do
C [184] not find any greater differences than we find in the various Chiriguano villages themselves.

Fig. 120. Serére pipe. Chiriguano. 1/4.

C For example, if one collects clay vessels in the Iguembe
323 valley and in the Caipipendi valley, both of which valleys are
184 occupied by Chiriguano, one inevitably finds that the pottery, though strongly related in ornamentation and form, nevertheless /244/ also varies locally. I have already spoken of the individual variations (p. 85).

Ce /245 cont./
323 The coarser vessels, as well as all cooking vessels, are
531 decorated with only finger imprints and clay loops put on them.
ce The finer vessels are subsequently painted (see Pl. 19 /see p. 93/).
[237] /246/ With a brush made of agouti hairs (1) the decorations are
[413]

1. Dasyprocta.

Ce painted in white, dark brown, and black. The white pigment
[386] is a kind of earth (kaolin); the others are made out of slate and
Ce sandstone. They paint freehand and compose the decorations from
323 memory, not from models. Wood, maize cobs, and cow excrement are heaped around the vessel. The fuel is lighted and must burn with a vigorous fire for a quarter of an hour or, if the vessel is large, even longer (Fig. 122).

Ce If the vessel has been painted, it is varnished with resin,
[314] "taraviruti," which is collected from a Mimosoideae, and with
[824] resin from the palo santo (see p. 93 /untranslated; Palosanto is identified there as Bulnesia Sarmienti/). The former gives a yellowish polish; the latter looks like greenish-black glaze.

Ce When a pot is made, it is baptized before it has cooled,
[789] so that water will boil rapidly in it.

c In Maringay's village individual vessels were painted
531 with a mixture of urucú or some other color and a vegetable fat.
323 I was unable to see how this latter was prepared.
386

The Chiriguano and Chané women are skillful weavers.
Ee The material for the Indian weaving is, as a rule, cotton and
286 sometimes sheep wool.

Ee Since large quantities of cloth are imported by the whites,
[439] native weaving is disappearing more and more. Thus, I did
[177] not see any looms among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley, and native woven goods were very rare.

Ee As a rule, all the weaving of these Indians is without
286 ornamentation, or else this is very simple. The girls in the
531 missions learn from the monks how to embroider all kinds of
[797] flowers, such as roses, violets, etc. They do this superbly.

Ee /247 cont./

53 The Chiriguano and Chané men are clever in the deco-
322 ration of calabashes (Fig. 126), carve attractive pipes (Fig.
231 120), and know how to tan leather, which they probably learned
77c from the whites.

Ee Among these Indians one does not see much in the way
532 of plastic representations of animal and human figures. The
clay /248/ vessels sometimes have animal shapes. The
C Chané women on the Rio Parapiti fashioned lumpy little dolls
[126] out of wax for their children (Fig. 105). Some of the clay
[437] vessels are painted with animal figures. A vessel from the Rio

Ee 285 →

C 285 ←

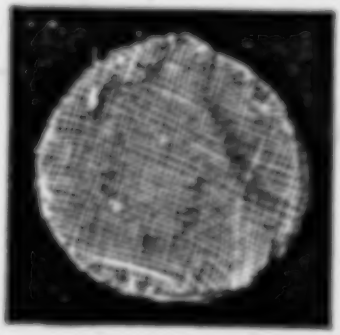


Fig. 124.
Sieve. Rio Parapiti.
1/8.

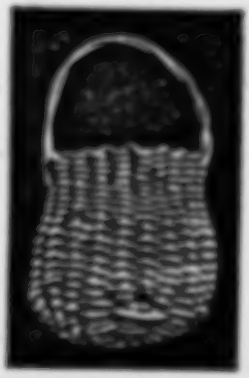


Fig. 125. Basket
Chiriguano.
Caipipendi. 1/8.

Ee
532 Itiyuro, which I acquired through barter, is adorned with tree
figures. Occasionally one sees clay vessels in the shape of fruit.

Ee I saw drawings representing human beings and animals
[353] on the walls in a few Chané huts and on a few Chiriguano
Ee calabashes from the Caipipendi valley.

285 As for basket work, the sieves are so popular among the
[439] whites that through trade they are being distributed far beyond
the Chiriguano and Chané region. Otherwise the Chané and
Chiriguano make few baskets. We find basket work in quantities
only among the Indians where the matching-leaved palms begin,
and that is at Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

Ea /249 cont./

439 When we present a collection from the Chiriguano and Chané,
177 we must not forget that, through trade between the tribes, they have obtained many things from the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Tapiete; otherwise we would have a mistaken conception of the
Ea great difference /249/ between the material culture of the Chaco tribes named here and the Chiriguano and Chané.

171 If we compare the material culture of the Choroti and Chané
Ea with that of the Choroti and Ashluslay likewise described here,
[285] we must remember the following. The Chiriguano and Chané produce basket work -- the
c Choroti and Ashluslay never.
Ea The former know how to paint
[323] clay vessels before firing,
Ea which is unknown to the latter.
[28] The Chiriguano and Chané never make bags out of
c
[415] →
[531]

Fig. 126.
Decorated calabash bowl.
Chiriguano. Tacuiba. 1/5.

caraguata, etc. If, moreover, we compare all the products made by the Chané and Chiriguano with those of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we find that most of them are entirely differ-
c ent. The Chaco Indians probably learned how to make certain
[177] things, such as the serére (Fig. 120) and huiramimbi pipes (Figs. 36 /omitted in the translation/ and 80), from the Chiriguano,
Ea but this is relatively insignificant.

177 We see here how two cultures can exist side by side for hundreds of years without mingling.

Ea If we follow the Rio Pilcomayo down toward the mountains,
101 we first come across the Quichua /Quechua/ culture, then come the Chiriguano and Chané, and after that the Chaquenuc /Chaco/ culture which embraces equally the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Ashluslay, as well as the Lengua and other tribes in the Paraguay Chaco. These three cultures are entirely different.

6: Nordenskiöld--128 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee 539 171

/277 cont./

Part of this legend reminds one very much of a legend from the Yuracáre Indians given by D'Orbigny (1). There "Tiri," who,

Ee [113]

1. D'Orbigny. Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale /Journey in South America/. Vol. 3, 1. Paris, 1834, p. 212.

in order to avenge his mother, kills all the felines except the jaguar with the four eyes, who takes refuge with the moon, corresponds to Tatutupa. In former times the Chiriguano and Chané were undoubtedly in touch with the Yuracáre Indians. When the whites conquered the land around Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the Chiriguano moved south and the Yuracáre to the north. On my last journey I also visited the Yuracáre Indians, whom I shall describe later in another book.

Ee 179 199

Ee 539

The Man Who Married the Daughter of the Thunder God, Chiqueritunpa.

Ee [115]

Told by the Chané Chief Bóysa.

In olden times there were once three poor men who had no relatives. They were very hungry. Two of them went forth to look for something to eat. First they came into a large forest through which went a path. /278/ After three days they came to a great plain. In the middle of the plain there was a house. They walked around the house, but found no entrance. Finally, however, a woman came out; it was Chiquéritunpa's sister. She bade them come in. "We are dirty," they said and did not want to go in. She brought maize beer to one of them. He drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. She brought the other one maize beer. He, too, drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. "Go now and bathe," she said, "and wash your heads." She gave them the root of the "yiag" (1).

Ee [137]

1. = mistol /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./.

/287 cont./

The Man Who Killed Añatunpa.

539 [115]

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási on the Rio Grande.

Añatunpa devoured all the human beings that he could catch. A man came along who was carrying wood to Añatunpa's cave. "Come, let's play!" said Añatunpa.

/288/ "What kind of a game?" said the man.

"You shall give me a blow on the forehead with an ax, and if I do not die, I shall hit you," said Añatunpa.

Añatunpa stood up straight, offered his forehead to the man, and the latter hit him directly in the middle of it. Since Añatunpa's forehead was as hard as iron, this did not affect him. Añatunpa now gave the man a blow on the forehead, killed him, and tossed

291 177 531 301

Fig. 130. Silver pin for fastening the tiru. The form Indian, the ornamentation Spanish. Chiriguano. Parapiti, 1/3.

539 him to Dyóri, who devoured him.

On another occasion another man came to Añatunpa's cave. Añatunpa proposed the same game to him. Then a fly, "Mbéru," called to him not to hit him on the forehead, but in the nape of the neck. When Añatunpa, with eyes closed, stood up to receive the blow, the man went behind him, struck him in the nape of the neck, and Añatunpa fell down dead. Dyóri asked him how he was able to kill Añatunpa. The man told him what Mbéru had said.

"Very good," said Dyóri.

C
821

/295 cont./

The waxing and waning of the moon, according to Maringay's explanation, was caused by the fact that a larger or smaller piece of it is put in the firmament.

C
821
177

The sun rises over the water and then shines for us during the day. In the evening it dips into the water again, and at night it shines for the other human beings on the other side of the earth. This was Maringay's idea of the course of the sun. I believe, however, that he learned this from the whites.

Ee
821
784
[763]

When a meteor, "baeréndi," falls, it means the death of a chief. About a shooting star, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti said: "He is going to sleep with his girl." Maringay was more realistic in his explanation. "The star lets something fall," said the old man.

Ee
821
[789]
[825]
[784]
[484]
Ce
821
773
Ce
821
[784]
[825]

/296/ When it thunders, Chiquéritunpa is walking about. The medicine men, "ipáye," are able to make rain. When the swallow, "máchurupimpi," flies low, it will rain, the Indians say. Another bird, "chóncho," announces rain. If one is going traveling, one should not put a jug in water, but dip up the water with a calabash; otherwise it will rain. In a myth about the destruction of the world related to me by the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, the world is destroyed by water. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me how the world was destroyed by a storm. Otherwise the wind plays an unimportant role in the myths. If one places a warmed jug in flowing water, there will be a storm, say the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. The rainbow, "yii," is a snake.

6: Nordenskiöld--147 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/297/

Chapter Eighteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

The Catholic Missions among the Chiriguano

Gradually all the Indians are bound to come under the influence of the whites. This is unavoidable. Day by day the areas in which they still live independently are diminishing. As soon as their territories have been conquered, they will be forced, in one way or another, to work for the whites and to become completely dependent on them. As a rule, they are also badly treated, exploited, and morally ruined.

In this unfortunate situation it is therefore fortunate that there have been and are self-sacrificing human beings who have done something and are willing to do something to help the Indians. These persons are the missionaries. It cannot be denied that they have tried and succeeded in doing important civilizing work among them. Enthusiasm and a willingness for self-sacrifice are required in order to become a missionary. No one could, for his own pleasure, spend his whole life in regions where the solitude must be terrible in the long run and where life offers no diversions or enjoyments.

For the missionary, the work of religious conversion is the most important thing. He wants to save souls from hell, "tatahuasurenda" (1). Fortunately, the Catholic missionaries

1. Tatahuasurenda = where the big fire is. Guarani word invented by the missionaries.

are wise enough to /298/ think a little about this life and to strive for improvement in the material conditions of life of the Indians.

Ce /298 cont./

177 797 The Indian, who loves an independent life, but is forced into the dance of civilization, does not want to become a mission child, but chooses this as the lesser evil. In the mission he is under guardians, but not under oppressors.

Ce 797 When my friend, the Chané Indian Batirayu, of whom I have spoken several times here, asked me whether it would not be best to ask the missionaries to come to the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, he thought of them as rescuers from the oppression of the white masters.

C 797 When I asked the Chiriguano chief Maringay whether he did not want missionaries to come to his village, the old man became quite indignant and said peevishly: "I have not done anything bad."

Ce 797 177 The greatest importance of the missionaries lies in the fact that they try to protect the Indians from the oppression and the vices of the whites. I have been pleased to see how the missionaries forbid liquor, the accursed liquor, in the mission stations.

Nevertheless, I do not believe in the future of the missions. It seems to me they are condemned to oblivion. To the extent that the Indians are given better treatment by the other whites and receive proper compensation for their work, they will leave the missions and forsake the guardianship of the Franciscan monks.

The missionaries, however, will always have the honor of having tried, at least to some extent, to protect the Indians from the other Christians. They have also earned honor for the studies they have made of the language, manners, and customs of the Indians.

Fear of the Rubber Regions

C 648 466 167 In a previous chapter I spoke of the migration of the Indians to Argentina. In the /299/ northernmost territory of the Chiriguano Indians another emigration is taking place. It differs from the first, among other things, by the fact that it is not voluntary. It concerns the rubber regions in northeastern

Ee 648 [466]

/301 cont./

Thus, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this

C 415 531

Fig. 133. Clay vessel. - 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

Ee 648

way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

Ee 648 466 465 167 425

/302/ The uncertainty and the oppressive wage conditions under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but forever.

Ee 648 273 177

If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference between drinking maize beer and liquor.

Ee 648 273 177

/302 cont./

An Indian who has become intoxicated on native beverages is never as eager for quarrels and brawls as one who has tasted the infernal soup of the whites. Besides the fact that liquor damages the moral life and health of the Indians, it ruins them completely. I have seen with my own eyes how an Indian can give away his best cow for a keg of spirits.

Distilling for private consumption is still permitted in Bolivia. It should be forbidden, and likewise that anyone may sell alcohol any place he wishes.

Ee 648 177

The Bolivian military law that forces the Indian to perform military duty is quite unreasonable. It is very seldom enforced, to be sure, but when it is, and when the authorities come to get a young man for military service, he himself and all the other Indians of the region along with him are beside themselves with fright. One cannot demand that the Indians take part in the defense of the fatherland before they have the same rights as other citizens and know what their fatherland is.

It is unjust to demand that they should help to defend Bolivia, to defend the whites, who, according to their ideas, have stolen their land from them. The Chiriguano and Chané likewise love their country, but their fatherland is only the valleys and forests in which their fathers made clearings and their mothers painted clay vessels for the festivals.

Ee [464]

During the period of development which Bolivia is now experiencing, /303/ it is important to make use of Indian labor even here in the land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians.

In spite of their unique culture, I have no great hopes for the future of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians. They will, however, become incorporated as an important element of the mestizo race, which in the future will be the sole rulers of the xerophytic forests of the Parapiti valley and the last spurs of the Andes toward El Gran Chaco.

Gradually they will probably forget their legends about Tatutunpa and Aguaratunpa and the other gods.

been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

Fig. 194. Man and young woman. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this impossible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 163 and fig. 85 (12), pp. 15 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 59.

[P. 205]

CHAPTER VIII.

The Chiriguanos (2).

Industries. Cultivated plants. Hunting. Fishing. Vessels for food and drink. Intoxicants and stimulants. Music and dancing. Social order. Customs governing marriages, childbearing, illnesses, death and burial. Character and temperament. Belief in metempsychosis.

The Chiriguano are mainly an agricultural people, but they also do a certain amount of hunting and fishing. Maize is the most important of their cultivated plants, and it is very extensively grown by them. Many other Indian domestic plants are also cultivated, viz. pumpkins, sweet potatoes, beans, mani, cactus with edible fruit (Opuntia), tobacco, cotton, uruku (Bixa orellana), and a reed plant (Arundo donax) for making arrow-shafts. Of imported cultivated plants grown by the Chiriguano, I have seen melons, water melons, sugar cane and oranges. According to Nordenskiöld, they also grow figs and millet,[1] these latter of course also having been introduced by the whites. Nowadays, European spades and hoes are used for loosening the soil. Among wild-growing food plants the algarrobo tree (Prosopis alba) is, to the Chiriguanos, the most important one. The Indians also prepare from the fruit of this tree an intoxicating drink to which they are much addicted.

The Chiriguano larder does not to any great extent depend on hunting the game, but formerly hunting must certainly have been an important source of subsistence. Snaring is, nowadays, the "only" method of hunting employed by the Chiriguano. The long-bow, the pellet-bow, slings, bird-nets and clubs are still occasionally used in hunting.

In olden times the Indians were good shots with the bow and arrow, and, according to Lizarraga, they then used bows the height of a man.

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 23 and 24.

411 unsuited to wooden bows, although, on the other hand, it is useful in the case of built-up bows, and bows made of horn.[1]

411 For the purpose of fastening the string, the staves have been given
284 neck-shaped ends, one of which often is longer than the other (fig. 205, a and b). The string, which consists of twisted rawhide, is fastened to the shorter neck end with a knot (fig. 205, a), or a loop, then wound round the other neck end, in the way seen in fig. 205, b. When not in use, the string is slackened on the bow. When the bow is to be used, the stave is stood on the ground, for purchase, when it can be bent as much as is desired, and then the slip-knot (fig. 205, b) is pulled tight. When the bow is strung taut, the slip-knot is locked, so that, when unstringing the bow, one compresses it against the ground in order to slacken the string; the slip-knot is then easily loosened, and the string lengthened as required. When the bow is not being used for shooting, this way of treating it rests the stave, and tends to preserve its elasticity. In shooting, the bow is held with the string-wound part downwards (see figs. 201 and 202).

Fig. 205. String sites, and string-end loops of longbow shown in fig. 202. 2/3.

411 The arrows are long, sometimes as long — or even longer — than the bows. As to their size, and other particulars, this may be seen from figs. 206—214, and the table on p. 211.

In the lancet-shaped heads of arrows of the types seen in figs. 206 and 207, the tang is pushed into a wooden arrow-head socket, the forepart of which is cleft. The rear end of the socket is fitted into the hollow fore end of the reed shaft. The socket is wound with string, so that its cleft part is kept tightly pressed against the tang, which latter often is smeared with beeswax, so as to make it stick firmly in the cleft. In order to give an increased firmness to the string-lashing, this is also heavily waxed, and so is the part of the socket that is fitted in the shaft. Iron arrow-heads
[177] of this type have probably been copied from the lanceolate wooden arrow-heads that are still in use among the Chanés.[2]

[1] Longman and Walrond (1), pp. 48—49.
[2] Vide arrow-head, fig. 6 A, Nordenskiöld (12).

411
223

if the arrow had not been given such a blob-shaped head. The force with which this lumpy head strikes its object, is sufficient to kill a middling-sized bird, provided the range is not too wide. The projection is intended for penetrating the feathers of the bird, so that the arrow shall not glance off the smooth plumage if the arrow should strike the bird at too acute an angle. These lumpy-headed arrows do not, as a rule, pierce the skin of the animal hit, which may be of advantage in killing small game.

411
●177
174

The pellet-bow is also used by the Chiriguano. Whether it forms a constituent part of South American culture, or whether it has been introduced from India or Europe, is a question not conclusively settled. For my part I consider it probable that also in South America this weapon is an independent invention, but that the type (especially as regards its chambering) possibly may have been subjected to influence from the *European* pellet-throwing crossbow.[1] The fact of the pellet-bow being, apparently, of more common occurrence on the Chaco than elsewhere, may be explained from proximity to the Andes, and influence from Andean civilization. Within the area of ancient Peruvian culture, the stone sling was the most important distance weapon, and we may be quite sure that the nations then inhabiting the wooded spurs of the eastern Andes got to know the stone slings of the mountain folk. In forest regions, however, slings are unpractical weapons, as, in the whirling preliminary to the throw, they are apt to get caught in tree branches. The idea of using pebbles as projectiles instead of arrows, has however been adopted by the forest-dwelling tribes, who have tried to convert it into shooting with the bow. A stone that has been shot away does not need to be retrieved, but the loss of an arrow is always a serious matter! To my mind, it is in this manner that the pellet-bow of South America has originated. In districts where there are no stones, as for instance the greater part of the Chaco, clay pellets are used instead of stones.

As an argument in support of the view that the pellet-bow is not originally a South American weapon, it has been pointed out that it is not found in Peru, Central America, or Mexico. Its absence in Peru is easily explained, as this country is in its greater part almost entirely treeless, so that here the stone sling would be a weapon so infinitely superior to the pellet-bow that the use of the latter would be purpose-

[1] For discussion of this matter, vide: Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 50—53. von Rosen (5), pp. 174—180. Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 26—30.

Fig. 215. A Chiriguano Indian with a fish spear. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

less. For the rest, the pellet-shooting long-bow is, compared with the pellet-shooting crossbow of the Old World, in any case a pretty poor weapon, both for war purposes and for hunting, which may explain its inconsiderable distribution even in well-wooded districts. Where this weapon nowadays occurs, it is only used for killing small birds, for target practice, and as a toy.

Fishing is carried on in the water courses with which the country is sparingly supplied. The Indians use hooks, nets, fish traps and weirs. These fishing methods are, however, almost exclusively used for fishing in rivers or largish bodies of water. In shallow streams and rivulets, the fish are shot with arrows, or speared with a two-pronged fish-gig. Fishing with poison is also said to be made use of.[1]

A fish trap consists of a large, bottle-shaped calabash, wide in its lower part, but with a narrow neck. The trap, which is placed under the lee of a few boughs stuck into the river bottom, must not be set in deeper water than makes it possible for a wading person to reach the neck of the calabash. Ground bait, consisting of crushed, sour, maize, is put into the calabash. The fish will then collect inside the calabash, and the fisherman has only to carefully raise the trap out of the water. In the sandy river banks ponds are dug, and connected by a small channel with the river. When fish have collected in the ponds, the connecting channel is blocked up, the pond emptied of water, and the fish gathered up.[2]

Fig. 216. Detail of the fish spear in fig. 215. The prongs are of hard wood. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. 1/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 904.

Among the Chiriguano Indians I visited, fish-shooting was a common practice. For this they used their smallest and weakest hunting bows. But it is also possible that those light bows I saw being used for shooting fish with, were exclusively employed for that purpose. If so, then the bow in fig. 202 is a fish bow. The arrows are long, and are usually provided with

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 40.
[2] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 170 and 171.

C /3 cont./ Although
797 many primordial customs of the Chiriguano have been lost
179 because of the influence of the missions, there have never-
178 theless been preserved a sufficient number of native objects
126 to make a relatively complete ethnological collection among these Indians.

Ce The Izozó, having abandoned their homes in the regions
648 of the lower Parapití River during the Chaco War, had been
167 provisionally moved to the environs of the fort of Toledo and
361 the fort "15 de Agosto," where they were living in ranchos
Ce abandoned by the soldiers. In the environs of the forts they
241 had scratched out large fields for their plantings, but, be-
311 cause of the great drought, they had had no chance to plant,
731 with the result that part of them had already returned to the
167 western region when I was in these forts. When I began my
[361] return from Machareti, a large part of them were near the fort
Ce of Carandayty. According to the data kindly given me by the
162 Toledo military authorities, the number of Izozó who had come to Toledo and "15 de Agosto" up to June 30, 1935, reached 1,647 adults, 724 minors, and 122 small children, a total of 2,493 souls. On August 24, the end of my stay in Toledo, there were in this fort and in "15 de Agosto" only 503 adults, 141 minors, and 26 small children, most of them having returned to the west by this time.

Ce These Izozó Indians, who speak a dialect of the Guaraní
101 language, indignantly reject the name Chiriguano. They say
[199] that they are Guaraní and Paraguayans and that their name is
Ce Izozó. Up to now I have not seen this name in ethnological
101 literature and it does not appear in Moreno's work, Cuestión
114 de Límites con Bolivia /Question of Boundaries with Bolivia/, Vol. II. Only on the map of Bolivia drawn by the enginerr Franz Germann (Hamburg, 1904) is there noted between the Rio Grande and the Rio Parapití the name "Izozeños." The
Ce Izozó near Toledo told me that their homes were in the region
101 of the estuaries of the lower Parapití. Since these Indians re-
[361] jected not only the name Chiriguano but also the name Chané

/3 cont./

Ce 101 or Tapyi /Tapii/, it was not possible from what they said to ascertain with which of the tribes known to ethnology they can be identified. The Chiriguano call themselves "Mbya." C [101] If the Izozó were a part of them, they would have called themselves by this name. Ce 101 17 No doubt they are Chané and that part of the latter which once had their homes in the Izozó River region, taking the name of this river for their own. Their culture, as demonstrated by the objects I collected among them, confirms this opinion. There are some differences between the objects collected among the Izozó and the Chiriguano in Machareti, either with regard to the decorations of the baked clay vessels or with regard to the making of the nets. But in principle it is not possible to decide whether these differences C 171 might not be only local differences. In general the culture of the Chiriguano was diffused in this way throughout the tribes 172 successively subjugated by them, which is why it is proper to 128 deal below with the aspects of the culture of the Chiriguano 648 of Machareti together with that of the Izozó.

C Ce 101 17

Influences on the Culture of the Chiriguano and Izozó, Taken from Historical Data

C Ce [197] At the present time the Chiriguano and Chané form a cultural entity which can be designated as the culture of the Chiriguano, because the Guaraní language of the Chiriguano came to be the common language of the whole group. The Izozó also belong to this ethnic entity. Thus it is necessary to consider this entity /4/ as being formed of completely different tribes. It is also necessary to conceive of their culture as the product of the fusion of very heterogeneous cultural elements. Nordenskiöld deals with this question in one of his books (1)

C Ce [113]

1. Erland Nordenskiöld: The changes in the material culture of two Indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative Ethnological Studies, 2. Göteborg, 1920. Cited in the following: Nord. 2.

/11 cont./

C. Gi 175 178 167

The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C 178 [126]

The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gh 177 174 C [113]

As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

8: Schmidt--25 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Chane SF8

C
Gi
177
174

/11 cont./

little from the Indians of the Chaco, we must derive the most important modifications in their culture from the influences of the ancient Peruvian culture. Because of the short duration of the Inca Empire after the time of the immigration of the Chiriguano, we must suppose that these influences were less direct influences than indirect ones through the confluent peoples of the mountainous land of Peru and Bolivia, who had been in contact with the ancient Peruvians for a long time and many of whom had been subjugated by the Chiriguano and made to enter into their community as slaves or vassals. We know that the culture of the Chané, who made up the greater part of the Chiriguano population, had contact with the ancient culture of the Peruvians. In contrast with the influence of the ancient Peruvian culture, the influence of the whites had rather more negative and destructive effects than constructive ones on the primordial culture of the Chiriguano and the Chané, leaving many native industries superfluous because it was more convenient to replace their products with imported merchandise.

Ce
[177]

C
Ce
128

In the respective chapters that deal with the various developments of the culture of the Chiriguano and Chané, we shall expound the details of these cultural influences.

000 /12/ Physical Characteristics

Chiriguano and Chané Types Photographed in Machareti and Toledo

I.C. 354. Group of Chiriguano men, women, and children. Machareti. (Fig. 3.)
I.C. 335. Chiriguano men. Machareti. (Fig. 6.)
I.C. 361. Chiriguano children. Machareti. (Fig. 7.)
I.C. 359. Chiriguano women. Machareti. (Fig. 4.)
I.C. 360. Chiriguano women with babies. (Fig. 5.)
I.C. 362. Chiriguano children. (Fig. 8.)
I.C. 243. Izozó cacique. Toledo. (Fig. 10.)
I.C. 244. Izozó boy. Toledo. (Fig. 11.)
I.C. 245. Izozó lad. Toledo. (Fig. 13.)

/12 cont./

C 149 [177] Chiriguano and Chané no longer exist. "The physiognomy of the latter was completely identical to that of the former" (45).

45. Moreno II, p. 254.

C 114 141 [113] In addition to anthropological measurements made on four Chiriguano by Ten Kate (46), Robert Lehmann-Nitsche

46. Ten Kate. Herm.: "Matériaux pour servir à l'anthropologie des indiens de la République Argentine /Materials for use for the anthropology of the Indians of the Argentine Republic/." Revista del Museo de la Plata. Vol. 12. La Plata. 1904.

in 1906 had the opportunity at the San Pedro de Jujui sugar mill to take the anthropological measurements of 40 Chiriguano men and ten women, who had come from Bolivia to work at that mill. Entitled "Estudios antropológicos sobre los Chiriguanos. /Pl. III-IV appear here/ /13/ Chorotes, Matacos, y Tobas (Chaco Occidental)" (47), Lehmann-Nitsche has

C [113] 47. Anales del Museo de La Plata, Vol. I, No. 2, (Second Series). Buenos Aires, 1908.

published the results of these measurements, together with measurements of other Indians, and added to that publication in the first 12 plates Chiriguano types photographed by Carlos Bruch. In addition to the somatic measurements, determination of skin color, eye color, and hair color and form have been published by Lehmann-Nitsche. Thirty-six of the 40 Chiriguano men stated where they had lived, and from this we know that these people had come from various regions of Chiriguano territory to the San Pedro sugar mill. There were some who had come from the northern regions, and one had come from the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Others had come from the south of Chiriguano territory, for example, from the town of Carapati, located considerably to the south of the Pilcomayo River. There are named 13 Chiriguano

C 166 C [167]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 30]

/14 cont./

131 without our having any information on their stopping place. Some Chorote live in the territory of the Chiriguano, near [563] Yacuiba, and also, without counting the missions, the whole [197] territory has been penetrated by whites and mestizos.

131 174 According to these data given by Nordenskiöld, the territory of the Chiriguano, after their definitive subjection by the whites and up to the present time, has remained the same as that which they had at the time of their independence, except, it would seem, that they have come down more into the valleys and do not now live, as was stated in the 16th century documents, on top of the inaccessible mountains, which, as natural fortresses, offered them a secure refuge during their expeditions.

Towns and Houses

361 177 The arrangement of the towns and the form of the houses of the Chiriguano are not at the present time the primordial ones, and they have probably passed through two different transformations, one after the other, first under the influence of the architecture of Inca culture and later the architecture of the whites. /15/ According to the Annua de la Compañia de Jesús Tucumán and Peru, of the year 1596, the Chiriguano towns were composed of only a few houses that were large enough to house as many as 100 persons. In his "Descripción breve de toda la 361 tierra del Perú, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata y Chile /A Brief 342 Description of all the Land of Peru, Tucumán, Río de la Plata, 62 and Chile/," Father Lizarraga (56) describes the Chiriguano [113]

56. Madrid, 1909. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 15. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

towns in the following way: "The largest of the towns is one of five houses: the common number is three; but they are very long, more than 150 paces, with a two-sloped roof with posts in the middle, upon which the framework is constructed, and one kin group /parentela/ lives between one post and the next one."

/15 cont./

342 171 "In 1627 the Jesuits found near Yapeyú a Guaraní aldea with four houses in which some 100 Indians lived. They found identical dwellings in San Ignacio and nearby regions. These houses were quadrangular and extremely long, often in excess of 50 meters."

361 177 178 Even during the time of their independence the Chiriguano had departed from the primordial construction of their towns, which had served in the first place for defense, since at the end of the 18th century Viedma describes their houses as "a few small ranchos made of cane" (61).

[113] 61. Viedma, Francisco de: Descripción de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra /Description of the Province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra/. Colección Angelis. Vol. 3, Buenos Aires, 1836, written 1793, p. 181. Cited by Nordenskiöld.

000 Photographs of Chiriguano Towns (ténta) and Houses (o)

I.C. 353. Chiriguano town, Machareti (Fig. 1).
I.C. 355. Scene in the town of Machareti (Fig. 17).
I.C. 356. Chiriguano in front of their house in Machareti (Fig. 14).
I.C. 357. Chiriguano storehouse in Machareti (Fig. 16).
I.C. 358. Chiriguano boys in front of their rancho in Machareti (Fig. 15).

361 [197] [363] [177] [343] The Chiriguano town of Machareti was built in its present form by Franciscan missionaries, with wide, parallel, and right-angled streets, following the common form of old Spanish colonies, since their construction is not a product of the indigenous Chiriguano culture. But in parts, the houses and primarily the maize storehouses built on posts, correspond to the houses of other Chiriguano towns, on which we have information from Erland Nordenskiöld and Eric v. Rosen (62).

62. Nord. 1, pp. 173, 176. Nord. 2, pp. 1-3. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 191 and 192, Figs. 188-192.

/16 cont./

342 A special feature of Chiriguano houses and where they differ from those of the common ranchos of white residents is that the two oblique sides of the roof descend almost to the ground, passing far beyond the wall. Machareti houses also show this special feature. (Cf. Fig. 14 /see p. 41/.) The result of this roof construction is that the entrance (tkye) is on the gable side. To shut the entrance they use reed mats or cowhides (65). Widely influenced by the whites, the Chiriguano

[285] [237] [177]

65. Métraux I, p. 469.

and the Chané continually vary the style of their houses, and, according to Nordenskiöld (66), today many of them are already building houses identical with those of the whites.

343 In addition to the houses used for dwellings, the Chiriguano and some of the Chané have houses built on posts for storehouses (avatió). Also in Machareti such houses were commonly found beside the dwellings. Figure 16 /see p. 41 / shows such a storehouse. A ladder, which consists of a post provided with notches, leads to the platform (on the right in the figure). These storehouses serve primarily as places to keep the maize crop and other produce. The space under the platform serves for storing various other things. Nordenskiöld saw such houses built on posts, whose upper part served in general for storage, while the lower part was utilized as a dwelling (67). Often these

[417]

66. Nord. 1, p. 173.

67. Nord. 1, p. 175; Nord. 2, p. 3.

storehouses are near the plantings far from the dwellings (68).

68. Nord. 1, p. 173.

As shown in Figure 16, the frame for these storehouses consists of ten vertical posts of different lengths, bifurcated at their upper ends to support the horizontal posts that form the base for

[335]

343 /17 cont./ NOT COULD IT BE THAT THEY CAUGHT THIS FROM
[177] the whites, because in those regions they have never used houses built on posts. Neither do we have any indications
[176] that the ancient Peruvians had such houses. It is very unlikely that the Chiriguano settled in their new territory might have invented the construction of such houses, because the nature of their territory did not render such a form of construction necessary. In South America we find houses built on posts
343 171 almost solely in regions exposed to floods. Thus we mainly find them in the coastal regions of the northern part of the South American continent, and they appear to the south of the Amazon River only in a relatively narrow zone in the center of the continent including Chiriguano territory. According to Marban in 1676 (71), the Mojo had houses built on posts and

[113] 71. Marban, Pedro: "Relatión de la Provincia de la Virgen del Pilar de Mojos /Report on the Province of the Virgen del Pilar de Mojos/." Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de La Paz, Bolivia, 1898, p. 132. According to Nordenskiöld.

doubtless such house constructions were quite useful in those marshy and often flooded regions. In addition Nordenskiöld during his travels (72) found one of these houses serving as a

72. Nord. 2, p. 3.

storehouse among the Chacobo, who live north of the Mojo not very far away. Some of the Quichua /Quechua/ houses located between the Chaparé River and the Cochabamba River had been built on posts, but Nordenskiöld himself does not consider this architecture to have been primordial among them. Of the Chaco tribes who have storehouses built on posts Nordenskiöld mentions the Matako /Mataco/. I found such storehouses in the Matako town near Linares, but many of them also in the Churupí installations in Esteros. Nordenskiöld in his publications on the Churupí, whom he calls the Ashluslay, does not

/19 cont./

C 415 As Figure 18, a and b, shows, these wooden dishes have two handles on the rim.

C 412 [192] [439] As an eating utensil the Chiriguano and Chané today use metal spoons which are acquired from the whites. But they also use wooden spoons (85).

C Co [113]

85. Nord. 2, p. 56. Nordenskiöld, Erland: Vergleichende ethnographische Forschungen I. Eine Geographische und ethnographische Analyse der materiellen Kultur zweier Indianerstämme in el Gran Chaco /Comparative Ethnographic Investigation I. A Geographic and Ethnographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Indian Tribes in the Gran Chaco/. Göteborg, 1918, p. 93. (Cited in what follows: Nord. 3.) Métraux I, pp. 364, 374-376, and Figs. 42 and 43.

C 412 /20/ Wooden Spoons (kuruha) of the Chiriguano

I. A. 353. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Length 36 cm.
I. A. 498. (Max Schmidt trip.) Length 42.5 cm. (Fig. 20).
I. A. 499. (" " ") Length 16 cm. (Fig. 22).

C [171] As Figures 20 and 22 show, there are variations in the shape of these wooden spoons. The shape of spoon I. A. 499 is almost exactly like the Chané spoon shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (86), while the shape of spoon I. A. 498 is very

86. Nord. 3, p. 93. Fig. 24 F.

similar to the spoons found in the ancient burials of the Peruvian highland, their front part and handle forming a rather straight line.

C
Ce
415

/21 cont./

The largest of these calabashes measures 50 cm. and the smallest 7.5 cm.

Ce
276

Stimulants

The Izozó whom I found in Toledo were not smokers. They attached no importance to the tobacco and pipes that I offered them. I acquired from the Chiriguano a simple wooden pipe, straight in shape, of the kind commonly used among the tribes of the Chaco, but I have seen no other pipes among them; neither have I seen them smoking.

C
276
[126]

C
[126]

Pipe (cachimbo) in the Collection

I. A. 740. Chiriguano. Length 10.5 cm. (Fig. 23.)

C
Ce
249
276

According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano and the Chané plant tobacco, but its planting is not significant and they are not great smokers. If they smoke, they ordinarily use cigarettes, with a wrapper made out of a maize leaf, and only rarely use pipes (87). This explains the very uncharacteristic form of the

C
276

87. Nord. I, p. 182. Cf. Métraux I, p. 339.

pipe that I found among the Chiriguano. A pipe of very different shape, with a special handle in front of the tobacco bowl, is represented in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (88). According to

C
[177]

88. Nord. I, p. 179. Fig. 88.

the same author, the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua have received from the latter the custom of chewing coca.

C /23 cont./
302 Viedma among the Chiriguano men (104), and Nordenskiöld

C
[113]

104. Viedma: Descripción de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Colección Angelis, Vol. 3. Buenos Aires, 1936. Written 1793. Page 181. According to Nordenskiöld.

found it among the women in the valley of Caipipendi (105).

105. Nord. 2, p. 85.

The latter used for that the leaves of a plant that they call "tajú" (tayú = lapacho).

Ce 301 304 174 With respect to body deformations we can suppose that it was once a common custom among the Chané and Chiriguano to wear a "tembetá" in the pierced lower lip. Of the Guaraní of ancient times it has been stated that the men had this tembetá, and the custom is confirmed by prehistoric finds (106).

Gi 301 172

106. Cf. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 122.

Ce 301 174 The form, material, and dimensions of these tembetá were varied and varied regionally. What was the shape of the tembetá that the Guaraní had when at the beginning of the 16th century they emigrated to the spurs of the Cordillera? We do not know. Neither do we know whether or not the Chané had the tembetá when they were enslaved by the Chiriguano. We can assume that the metal tembetás of the Chiriguano and the Chané in their present form have their origin in the period after their contacts with the ancient Peruvians, /24/ since they did not know the technique of working metal and even today most of their tembetás are made by nearby mestizos or whites, who make them to their taste. According to Chomé's (107)

Ce [177] [325]

C 301

C [113]

107. "Lettre du père Ignace Chomé." Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. New edition, Vol. 8, Paris, 1781, p. 326. According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 73.

/25/

Ce 301 The way these tembetás are used has often been described. Figure 27 shows an Izozó man from whose pierced lower lip projects a round stone disk. When these Indians use the tembetá, they pass it from the inside through the perforation in the lip so that its base is between the row of lower teeth and the lower lip, with the cylinder sticking out from the lip.

C Ce 301 The lower base of three of the Izozó tembetás is quite flat, and only the lower base of tembetá I. A. 129 has a clearly concave form. This is of interest because v. Nordenskiöld and v. Rosen, when they describe the Chiriguano and Chané tembetás mention only those which have a concave base (110).

110. Nord. 2, p. 72.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano and Chané sometimes use wooden tembeta's in the form of flat cylinders (111).

111. Nord. 2, p. 72.

Ce 301 237 [123] As already mentioned, I obtained simple wax tembetá from the Izozó. The old man who took it out of his lower lip to give it to me doubtless was using it provisionally for lack of another tembetá, in order to close the perforation in his lower lip and prevent the saliva from coming out.

C Ce 304 301 [622] The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not have the custom of piercing their ear lobes. According to Nordenskiöld (112),

112. Nord. 2, p. 77.

C Ce [177] Ce 301 the caciques formerly used pendant earrings set with green stones. If the younger women and girls have recently begun to use earrings, they are imitating this custom of the whites. The cacique of the Izozó in Toledo told me that the women had gold and silver earrings, which at that time they had hidden.

/27 cont./

Men's Hair Bands Woven out of Human Hair

C
Ce
301
439

These bands woven out of human hair correspond, with regard to their manufacture, to the bands that the Chiriguano and Chané make today in great numbers to sell to the whites. These "fajas," as they are commonly called today, represent an article eagerly sought by the whites who are in contact with these Indians, and especially by the soldiers, who wear

C
301
291
178

them as a belt. One of the two Chiriguano men shown in Figure 6 wears such a faja as a belt, and, because we can surmise that today this is their principal use among the Chiriguano as well, we shall deal with them in the following chapter devoted to the description of clothing.

C
291
177

Straw Hat (kandáo of the Chiriguano

I. A. 554. Diameter 30 cm. Height 12 cm. (Fig. 99.)

Ce
[291]
[177]

The technique of this hat plaited out of palm-leaf fibers is not native since it is of modern manufacture. As Figure 9 shows, the Izozó men also wear such hats.

Caps Made with Crochet Hooks

I. A. 442 and 443. (Chiriguano.) Made of Wool. Height 15.5 cm. and 14 cm., resp.

These two crocheted wool caps, which I obtained from the Chiriguano in Machareti, must also be considered as of modern manufacture.

/30 cont./

Ce 291 177 C

The Chiriguano and Chané men whom I saw were dressed in the European manner, as, according to Nordenskiöld, is the common custom among them today (135). Yet many

135. Nord. 2, p. 59.

[291] [177]

Izozó men whom I met in Toledo did not have such complete European clothing. Several of them had no shirt, and various others, especially young men and boys, went about without trousers. But no doubt such a state was only temporary, a result of the exceptional condition of the Izozó transplanted from their usual districts to Toledo. When I passed out clothing to these Indians in Toledo, all of those who were lacking garments presented themselves. On the following day this scarcity was more evident among those attracted by the donations made on the day previous. Most of the boys appeared trouserless then, because they had seen that those who had not had such an article of clothing had been favored on the day before.

Ce [123]

Ce 291

Of the native garments the men still use the one called "chiripá," the poncho, and the simple manta. According to Nordenskiöld (136), they sometimes still wear a "tirucumbai"

136. Nord. 2, p. 59.

shirt, which consists of a poncho whose two sides have been sewed together up to the arms.

The chiripá consists of a quadrangular piece of material which passes between the legs and whose two ends are stuffed, before and behind, into a belt. Worn in this way, the chiripá covers the genital organs. Figure 11 shows an Izozó boy dressed in such a chiripá. Nordenskiöld also shows a drawing of a Chané boy dressed in a chiripá (137). According to

137. Nord. 1, Fig. 110.

this author, the chiripá is also often used by the Chiriguano and Chané men when they are working.

C
Ce
301
177

/33 cont./

Of Chiriguano and Chané ornaments there have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters the hair ornaments, the tembetá, men's ornament in the form of hair-plucking tweezers, and the earrings now used by women. Among other ornaments the only important ones are the women's necklaces. Most of the women I photographed were provided with necklaces (mbo'i) which consist exclusively of imported objects, such as glass beads, metal pendants, and similar things, and for this reason they have no ethnological importance. Nordenskiöld saw among these Indians necklaces made of beads of turquoise and "chrysocol" /chrysocolla/ and of black seeds (142). V. Rosen shows in a drawing such a

142. Nord. 1, p. 201. Nord. 2, p. 92.

Chiriguano necklace made of turquoise and glass beads (143).

143. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 198.

According to that author, these necklaces were sometimes also used by men (144). Silver pins for fastening the tipoys,

144. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 203.

in the form of those of the ancient Peruvians, can still be found also. But these too are not the product of an original industry, but are received from outside silversmiths (145).

145. Nord. 2, pp. 93 and 94.

/35 cont./

According to these data concerning the region of spread of the game with a ball hit with the head, we must assume that the Chané, even before their subjugation by the Chiriguano, must have known this game, and that the Chiriguano of /36/ the Cordillera, like the Itatines-Guarayús, received it earlier from the Chané. The Chiriguano also play the game with a ball made of maize leaves struck with the hand, which we know from many other South American Indians (159). According to these data concerning the region of spread of the game with a ball hit with the head, we must assume that the Chané, even before their subjugation by the Chiriguano, must have known this game, and that the Chiriguano of the Cordillera, like the Itatines-Guarayús, received it earlier from the Chané. The Chiriguano also play the game with a ball made of maize leaves struck with the hand, which we know from many other South American Indians (159). Ac-

159. Nord. 1, p. 168. Métraux 1, p. 44 and Fig. 11.

cording to Métraux, this game is not played except at the time when the maize is ripening, and it is related to the cultivation of maize.

With respect to other games of movement, the Chiriguano children play a game which corresponds to the game of polo and is very common among the Chaco tribes. The Chiriguano call it "taca." The ball is struck either, as among the Chorote and the Churupí, with curved sticks or with a primitive racket (160). No doubt the Chiriguano received this game

160. See Nord. 1, p. 193.

from neighboring Chaco tribes.

Of the games of skill, only one is played by adults and this only by women. It is a kind of bowling game that the Chiriguano in Tihuipa call "itarapóa" and the Chané of the Parapití "tecoróre" (161). The bowling pins in this game

161. According to Nord. 1, p. 192.

consist of two rows of maize kernels, two by two, one on top of the other, or on a cob. They throw with stone balls or with a hollow ball of baked clay with little pellets of the same material inside (162).

162. Nord. 1, p. 192 and Fig. 99.

/36 cont./

C 524 177 The small sling I. A. 507, made out of a small forked stick, two strips of rubber obtained from an automobile tire, and leather, is not of native origin, nor is the rattle shown in Fig. 35a. /Plates XII-XIII appear here./

C 524 857 /37/ The toy shown in Figure 36a, called mou-mou by the Chiriguano, is made of a small gourd disk with a toothed edge and a double string. The latter passes through two holes in the disk. By alternately twisting and stretching this string, a rapid rotation of the disk is produced, together with a humming noise. Among other Chané children's toys there Ce [524] [857] are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld a hoop with a rope, a musical instrument consisting of two bows (167), and a

167. Nord. 1, Fig. 104. C and D.

C [171] small musket. The Chiriguano children in the Caipipendi valley and those of the Chorote also play with such muskets (168).

168. Nord. 1, Fig. 23.

C 524 Among the games of skill we must mention, finally, the string games, some of which are shown in sketches by Métraux, which a Chiriguano man made for him (169). The

169. Métraux I, pp. 443, 446. Plates 89 and 90.

Chiriguano children also know this game.

C Ce 524 There are two games of chance among the Chiriguano and the Chané. One, called "chúcaráy" by the Chiriguano and "chunquanty" by the Chané, is played with four small boards, and the other, called "asúcareta," with a large number of boards, concave on one side and convex on the other (170).

170. Nord. 1, p. 191 and Fig. 95.

C
Ce
524
177

/37 cont./

These Indians received two games of chance from the whites, the game of dice, which they call by the Spanish name "daro," and the game with a cow's leg bone, which they call "taba."

Agriculture

C
Ce
241

I have already explained in the chapter on food and drink that the cultivation of maize as an agricultural product is common, and among the Chané of the Parapití the cultivation of the sweet potato. Mandioca is only cultivated rarely and has no importance in the economy of these Indians. Various species of beans are planted, also one species of cactus, some gourds which have edible fruits, and also a little tobacco. In addition to these edible or stimulating native plants that are cultivated, there are some others received from the whites, but these have little importance in the economy of these Indians. According to Nordenskiöld (171), they are the following: sugar

C
Ce
241
177

171. Nord. 2, pp. 23 and 24.

cane, peanuts, watermelon, muskmelon, figs, oranges and millet, and Métraux also mentions the pepper among them (172).

172. Métraux 1, pp. 338 and 339.

C
Ce
241
415
283
386

In addition to these edible or stimulating plants, there are cultivated various species of gourds whose fruits are not edible but are used to make containers, cotton for making thread, urucú for obtaining red dye, and, among the Indians of the Parapití, also a species of cane, Harundo Donax /Arundo donax/, which grows wild in great quantity on the banks of the Pilcomayo, but not on those of the Parapití River.

/37 cont./

C Ce 241 The sort of agriculture which these Indians commonly practice is that which we can define with the term "el rozado" /the clearing/, which best corresponds to the technical German word "Waldrodung," which is used for this concept. A piece of woodland is cleared, and the land cultivated in this manner is planted as many times as possible until it is exhausted. According to Métraux (173), the place intended

C Ce [412]

173. Métraux 1, p. 334.

for planting is first cleared of underbrush, which is cut with a large stick edged on both sides, and this is burned on the site. Métraux /38/ has also compiled from the literature the respective statements on the method of planting maize (174).

174. Métraux 1, p. 337.

C Ce [412] [177] Almost all the implements used for this cultivation, such as spades and iron hoes, have been obtained from the whites. The wooden spade, which the Chiriguano doubtless received from the culture of the ancient Peruvians and which was formerly universally used by them, is very rare today (175).

C 412 [177]

175. Nord. 1, p. 188. Métraux 1, pp. 335 and 336.

According to Nordenskiöld, these spades were made of a hard wood and had an artificially formed handle. Two such spade handles with a special handhold at the upper end are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and two similar ones by Métraux (176).

176. Nord. 1, Fig. 89. Métraux 1, p. 336, Figs. 3 and 4.

Ce 412 773 In the Chané legends written down by Nordenskiöld, there is also mentioned, in addition to the spade, the wooden punch, which is a very common agricultural implement among most

/38 cont./

Because the ancient Peruvians raised various breeds of dogs, we can assume that the Chiriguano received the dog as a domestic animal from the ancient Peruvians. We can assume the same with regard to the duck, which was also raised by the ancient Peruvians. Therefore I do not include the duck among the domestic animals that these Indians received from the whites, as Nordenskiöld does. We do not know whether the Chiriguano in times past might have raised the llama. From the fact that guanacos exist in the territory located between the Parapití and the Rio Grande, we can deduce that the raising of that other species of Euchenia might have been possible in that country.

The Chiriguano very early received such European domestic animals as the horse, the ass, the cow, sheep, goats, hogs, and chickens, which they captured in great quantities in their continual raids on the Spanish settlers. In 16th century documents there are repeated complaints about the extensive stealing of livestock by these Indians. Today the Chiriguano and Chané do not have many horses, and they have never had the /39/ pronounced character of a nation of horsemen. The true weapons of war were formerly a long bow and arrows which were also long, which cannot be used by a mounted horseman, in addition to which their homes were formerly in the hills in regions which the Spaniards could not enter on horseback. In certain parts of their territory the raising of cattle has some importance (181). More general is the raising of sheep, pigs,

181. See Métraux I, p. 340.

and chickens. Today one sometimes also finds among them guinea hens and turkeys (182).

182. Nord. 1, p. 137.

C 411 /43 cont./ The Chiriguano in contact
● 177 with the Quichua /Quechua/ also use another type of sling made of wool (200).

200. Métraux 1, p. 342 and Plate VII.

C 224 According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano also formerly
[411] used the bola, called "churima," by them, for hunting the ostrich (201).

201. Nord. 1, p. 183.

C [231] We must still mention that the Chiriguano train their dogs for hunting, especially for hunting pigs (202).

202. Nord. 2, p. 31. Métraux 1, p. 346.

Fishing

C 433 Because, as I have already mentioned, there is no op-
226 portunity for fishing in any part of the Chiriguano territory and also the large rivers which are in their territory, except for the upper Pilcomayo River, do not offer any fish other than very small ones, fishing has only secondary importance in the economy of most of the Chiriguano, although they utilize every chance they have to fish.

C 227 Among the Chiriguano in Machareti I did not see any fishing equipment outside of the small arrows with wire points,
Ce 126 which are occasionally used for fishing. But among the Izozó I acquired such a piece of equipment, which consists of a
227 net bag that is closed at the top with two sticks of cane attached to the upper edge. (Cf. Figure 39.)

/44 cont./

Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Maypurún, and we know that the Chiriguano possessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spurs of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own

213. Nord. 1, p. 209.

statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water

/51/

C Ce 415 Among these vessels we must distinguish two different principal types. The vessels of the first type have the globular form of the belly, a narrowed part at the neck, a relatively small aperture, a flat bottom, and a vertical handle placed on the upper rim and coming down to the upper part of the belly. See Figs. 74 /see p.133/ and 82 /see p.144/. The C Ce [177] second type, whose form was no doubt received from the whites, differs from the first primarily in that its aperture has a spout like modern vessels: See Figs. 64 and 65 /see p.130/. Vessels of this type also have a handle that, placed at the upper rim, comes down to the upper part of the belly.

C 415 In addition to these vessels I found one among the Chiriguano which corresponds in form to vessel I. A. 382, already mentioned among the vessels for carrying water. Like that one, it has a narrow, cylindrical neck that can easily be encompassed by the hand and has no handle. Because its surface has designs, I have included it among the vessels intended for serving chicha.

Ce 415 126

7. Vessels Intended for Drinking Liquids, from the Collection

I. A. 602	Izozó	Ht.	10 cm.	Max.	dia.	12.5 cm.	Apert.	10 cm. (Fig. 70b)
I. A. 603	"	"	8 cm.	"	"	9 cm.	"	6 cm.
I. A. 610	"	"	8 cm.	"	"	10.5 cm.	"	8.5 cm.
I. A. 611	"	"	9 cm.	"	"	11.5 cm.	"	8 cm.

Among the vessels collected among the Izozó there are four C Ce 415 in the shape of cups. From the types of vessels shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld (227), it is learned that similar cups

227. Nord. 2, Fig. 40, N. 26; Fig. 42, N. 22 and 23; Fig. 44, N. 19-21.

C Ce [177] are used by the Chané on the Itiyuru and by the Chiriguano. We must assume that the form of these cups is the result of the C00 influence of European styles. These vessels have a globular

C 764 415

/53 cont./

described by him there is one which is 92 cm. high and has an aperture at the top 70 cm. in diameter. Another is 110 cm. high and its maximum diameter measures 85 cm. In 1845, in Capirendá, Wedell found such vessels with a height of 120 cm. and a maximum diameter of 100 cm. for the wall of the belly.

C 415 126

13. Various Vessels with No Indication Regarding Their Purpose, from the Collection

I. A. 410 (Chirig.). Ht. 14.5 cm. Max. dia. 8 cm. Apert. 5 cm. (Fig. 81b).

I. A. 411 ("). Ht. 13.5 cm. Length 21 cm. (Fig. 81a).

Ce 415 126

I. A. 597 (Izozó). " 10.5 cm. Max. dia. 16.7 cm. Apert. 15 cm. (Fig. 72).

I. A. 599 (") " 9 cm. " " 13 cm. " 10 cm. (Fig. 70a).

C Ce 415 177

We have no evidence regarding the purpose of these four vessels which are different in form from the other types of vessels. We must regard the small, double vessel I. A. 411 (cf. Fig. 81a /see p.144/) as a special result of the mixture of various, but different cultural elements. The way in which the two small dishes are joined to form a double vessel /56/ corresponds to ancient Peruvian models, while the form of the handle, fitted with a ring, is doubtless an addition of European origin. The whole has the form of a salt cellar and was perhaps made to be sold to the whites for this purpose. We must also consider the vessel I. A. 410 (cf. Fig. 81b /see p.144/) as merchandise, while the two vessels I. A. 597 and 599 seem to be manufactured for some use in festivities.

Ce [439]

Baked Clay Spindle Whorls

C Ce 283 323

The spindle whorls collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó are of baked clay or wood, and the Chiriguano also have some spindles with stone whorls. Because I shall deal with spindle whorls in the chapter on spinning, I wish only to

Ce /56 cont./
323 paint on the rim, which is done with the resin of the palo santo
824 (Bulnesia sarmienti), which is spread over the surface of the
386 vessel after it has been baked (253).

253. Nord. 1, p. 246. Nord. 2, p. 144.
Métraux 1, pp. 386 and 387.

Ee
324 Working of Stone and Metals

The manufacture of stone implements is not done among the
Ee Chiriguano and Chané. The same can be said with respect to
325 the manufacture of metal implements, except that the Chiriguano
301 sometimes make their tembetá of tin themselves (254), while
439
177 254. Nord. 2, p. 171.
41 they ordinarily obtain their metal ornaments and implements from
the mestizos and the whites.

C
322 Woodworking

Various objects made out of wood by the Chiriguano have
[41] already been mentioned above, such as house posts, ladders,
plates, spoons, pipes, bows, arrow points, and also cuyas /vessels
made out of gourds/ and calabashes. Among other objects made
of wood we must also mention the mortar and pestle, various
implements used in weaving, small sticks for making nets, large
C dishes used for keeping food, and flutes. Because the Chiriguano,
[177] when they work wood today, exclusively use modern tools ob-
[178] tained from the whites, they have not retained any of their native
technique. /Plates XXII-XXV appear here./

C /62 cont./
Ce
285
531
[113]

Brazil/, Berlin, 1905, pp. 330 ff.; and Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas/ The Technical Bases for the Ornamentation of the Natives of South America/.

C
285
[126]

The three sieves that I obtained from the Chiriguano correspond to the flat baskets described above with respect to their exterior form and to the rudiment of the plaiting. They differ from the latter only in that their strips are a certain distance apart and in that one strip of one group always passes only one of the other group, with the result that the ornamentation of the surface consisting of parallel lines which is shown in the little baskets is not produced. These sieves are also provided with handles like the flat baskets of the Chiriguano. A sketch of a Chané sieve shown by Nordenskiöld shows that these Indians also use such sieves (263). Flat baskets and sieves analogous to

Ce
[285]

263. Nord. 1, Fig. 124.

those mentioned are described by Métraux and shown by him in drawings (264).

264. Métraux I, pp. 457-460, Plates 83, 84.

C
285
291
294
[177]
Cc
[285]

The technique of the Chiriguano hat (I.A. 554) is not original, but no doubt was received from the whites and perhaps was directly taught to the Indians in the missions. For us the technique of this hat is without interest, except for the fact that this technique is also applied by the Izozó to the making of a type of basket, a specimen of which is shown in Figure 98b /see p. 158/. The manufacture of the hat begins at the center, and the strips, the beginning of which is plaited, are augmented by the addition of other strips. See Figure 99 /see p. 158/. The style of plaiting is like that of all the other objects of this kind among the Chiriguano and Chané, so that the strip of one group always passes two strips of the other group.

Ce
[285]

C 285 177

/62 cont./

The technique of the small bag I. A. 512, which has a cover and corresponds in form to a modern cigar case, is of no interest to us, because this is a product of modern manufacture.

C Ce 285 178

Baskets I. A. 551 (of the Chiriguano) and I. A. 677 (of the Izozó) are of special interest because they represent the product of a new era in which the primordial devices of the technique have been forgotten and therefore they have lost the typical forms of the products of those techniques. The making of this type of basket, which is widespread among the Indian tribes of South America, begins with the making of the bottom and ends at the upper edge of the basket where the free ends of the strips are /63/ fastened. If we compare the structure of the bottom of these Chiriguano baskets with the structure of corresponding baskets of other tribes of South American Indians, such as with the structure of the baskets of the Bacairí on the tributaries of the Xingú River (Mato Grosso, Brazil) or of the tribes of the Rio Negro, our attention is drawn to the great difference with respect to the conformity of the work. In my above-mentioned publications (265) I have described this kind of basket in more

C 285 171

C 285

C [113]

265. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien, loc. cit.; and Die technischen Voraussetzungen, pp. 157 and 158.

detail, and I have demonstrated that the special design which appears in two variations on the bottom of most of the baskets of this kind that are not yet degenerate is consistent with the technique, because only a bottom decorated in this way can be a proper beginning in order to form the walls of the basket. Moreover, there is the difficulty that for the fabrication of the four walls of one of these baskets one needs twice as many strips as the number of the free ends which come out of the plaited square or rectangle which forms the bottom of the basket. Therefore, the Indians who still know exactly how to plait these baskets plait in the beginning a flat rectangular piece twice as large as the projected bottom of the basket. Then the four edges of this rectangle are folded upward, in this

C Ce 285

fr Schmidt--164 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF5
Ic20

Ce 285

/63 cont./

way serving as parts of the walls of the basket, the latter then being completed by plaiting the free ends of the strips with one another. By this device they manage to obtain a sufficient number of strips to form the walls of the basket. The Chiriguano and Chané of today are ignorant of this device and therefore they cannot make exact baskets of this kind. We do not know whether they gradually forgot the devices of their primordial plaiting technique under the influence of imported crafts or through the introduction of new ideas, or whether they may have imitated forms of baskets which they saw among other tribes of Indians without knowing the devices of the technique.

Ce 285 177 178

The bottoms and thus the rudiments of the two baskets I.A. 678 and 725a, shown in Figures 86a and 96b, are formed in a manner completely different from the bottoms of the two baskets described above. In making these baskets the Indians have availed themselves of the experience which they have had in the manufacture of the modern hat described above. Beginning the plaiting of these two baskets in the center of the bottom exactly corresponds to the beginning of making the hat, outside of the fact that the strips of the baskets, consisting of caranday palm leaflets, are wider and therefore the mesh is much larger. Where the side walls of the basket begin and more strips are needed than for the bottom, other strips are added, but, in contrast to the manufacture of the hat, by means of a kind of plaiting that joins the free ends of the original strips with the additional strips so that all together they are used to weave the sides of the basket. Also, the analogous baskets of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi valley described and shown in drawings by Métraux seem to be strongly influenced by modern techniques (266).

266. Métraux. I, pp. 454-457. Plates 58-61.

Ce 285

One type completely different from the baskets described above is shown in the Izoró baskets I.A. 679-686. The plaiting of these does not begin at the bottom like the plaiting of the other baskets, but at the upper edge, and it ends with the making of the bottom. I have minutely described this type of

fr Schmidt--173 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

/68 cont./

C
Ce
286
197
197

In addition to this usual type of loom, there can also be found among the Chané and Chiriguano other special types which correspond to the ancient Peruvian types of looms for weaving bands. The fact that the mechanism of these looms makes possible the formation of more divisions of the warp threads, makes more variations in the ornamentation possible. Nordenskiöld shows such a Chiriguano loom in a drawing (273). No doubt this kind

273. Nord. 2. Fig. 56, N. 4.

of loom is a product of the influence of the culture of the ancient Peruvians.

C
Ce
286

For different purposes, very different weavings, most of which have already been mentioned in the chapter on clothing, can be made with a loom provided with a warp in the form of a ring as described above. With regard to the measurements of these fabrics, I refer the reader to what I have already said in this respect. The material of all of these woven fabrics consists of cotton or wool threads.

C
Ce
291
286
126

Woven Goods Made on the Loom Provided with a Warp in the Form of a Ring, from the Collection

1. Tipoys. I.A. 830, 832, and 838 (Iasenó) (I.A. 830, Fig. 114).
2. Ponchos. I.A. 433-437 (Chiriguano) (I.A. 436, Fig. 118).
   I.A. 808-810, 812-815, 819, 823-825, 830, 831, 833-836 (Iasenó) (I.A. 823, Fig. 117).
3. Mantas. I.A. 580 (Chiriguano).
   I.A. 816-818, 835-839 (Iasenó) (I.A. 818, Fig. 130).
4. Bands of cotton for men's hair. I.A. 652-660 (Iasenó) (I.A. 658, Figs. 30b and 108; I.A. 656, Figs. 30c and 109; I.A. 656, Figs. 30d and 110; I.A. 660, Figs. 30a and 107).

Ce
301
126
286

/Plates XXVIII-XXXI appear here./

/69/

Ce
301
126

5. Bands of human hair for men's hair. I.A. 739 and 765 (Iasenó) (I.A. 739, Figs. 31 and 111).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 180]

C
415
286

/70 cont./

of weaving are not secured by the weaving process itself. In order to change the piece of weaving described in the foregoing into the double bag, its two ends are folded over at the dotted lines in the diagram, with the result that points A, B, C, and D are placed on top of points A/, B/, C/, and D/. Then the edges which are placed one on top of the other (OA/, OB/, PD/, and RC/) /71/ are sewed together. The parts EILG and FKMH are doubled in the opposite direction to form the tops of the double bag.

C
C8
286
531
177

In accordance with the simple mechanism of the loom with which the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó make their textiles, the possibilities of producing variations in the ornamentation of these are very limited. The variations in ornamentation of the weavings of the Chaco tribes, such as, in particular, those of the Churupí /Chulupí/, which consist of frets, zigzags, rhombuses, and many other figures, are not found among the ornamentations of the weavings of the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
C8
286
531
177

Because today the woven goods of these Indians, especially the fajas and the ponchos, are often woven with imported thread or, if they are woven with native wool or cotton thread, these are often dyed with imported dyes, the different colors of the ornamentation on the surface of these weavings have no ethnological importance.

The ornamentation is formed exclusively by the warp threads, due to the fact that the distance between the warp threads is much less than the distance between the wax threads, so that the meshes of the woof disappear completely under those of the warp. Because, outside of that, the formation of the divisions of the warp threads is done by a single mechanism of loops, it can consist only of raising and lowering alternately the even and odd warp threads, for which reason the ornamentation still cannot be influenced by the process of the operation of weaving itself. The structure of this kind of weaving is necessarily such that in the direction of the woof thread, thus vertical to the direction of the warp threads, a row of the meshes formed by the odd warp threads is alternated each time with a row of the meshes formed by the even warp threads. Thus

Ce 286 415 301 126

/72 cont./

Weavings Made on a Special Loom, from the Collection

I. A. 737. Bag (Izozó). Wool. Hgt. 21 cm. Width 22 cm. (Fig. 116.)
I. A. 738. Band " " Length 1.3 cm. " 3.7 cm. (Fig. 115.)

C Ce 286 17

Because of the contacts that the Chiriguano and the Chané had for a long time with the culture of the ancient Peruvians, it is surprising that the highly developed technique of the latter should not have had more influence on the weaving technique of these Indians. The fact is that the Chiriguano even today make most of their weavings with the typical loom of the Aruaco and with the warp in the form of a ring, which they doubtless received from the Chané. Besides these ordinary looms, the forms of looms that they received directly or indirectly from the technique of the ancient Peruvians are of little importance.

Ce 286 171

The two Izozó weavings mentioned above, and in particular bag I. A. 737, are weavings that are exactly like the weavings produced to this day by the Quichua /Quechua/ and also the typical weavings of the last period of the Inca Empire.

Ce [177]

In order to explain the appearance of such weavings among the Chané of the Parapití, we have an interesting observation by Nordenskiöld. The Indians told that author that they had learned that technique of weaving directly from a Quichua woman who had emigrated into their territory (274).

274. Nord. 2, p. 178.

C 286 [177]

The Chiriguano loom for weaving bands and shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld shows that the Chiriguano also learned to weave in the way of the ancient Peruvians (273) /fn. 273, which appears on p. 173, reads: Nord. 2, Fig. 55, N. 4./. In contrast to the manner of weaving described in the preceding, these weavings are made in such a way that the thread of the woof passes alternately through the threads of the front side of the warp and those of the back side. In addition to this, a double mechanism for the divisions of the warp threads makes possible many more variations in the ornamentation.

/75 cont./

286
415
482

Nets in the Collection That Are Made with Loops and without the Use of Knots

[126] I. A. 555-566. Net for carrying loads (Chirig.). Lgth. 0.93 m. 1.80 m.
I. A. 567. " " " " " " 1.15 m. (Figs. 134 and 143.)
I. A. 568. " " " " " " 1.20 m. (Fig. 144.)

286
284
415
482

From the Chiriguano I obtained several nets for carrying burdens, which are made without using knots, by connecting the thread in the fashion illustrated by Figures 143 and 144 and which is common among many tribes of the Chaco, as happens among the Tapieté, Matako /Mataco/, Toba, Chorote /Choroti/, and Churupí /Chulupi/.

The great number of nets that I acquired from the Izozó are made with knots without exception, and we must therefore assume that these Indians are not familiar with or do not use the technique of making nets with simple loops and without applying knots, and that this technique, called "Schlingtechnik" in German, is used only by the Chiriguano or a part of them. Nordenskiöld does not mention this technique among the Chiriguano, and in the synoptic outline in which the several techniques of making nets are illustrated the Chiriguano are not mentioned in Column 5 among the Indian tribes which use the technique of making nets without applying knots. Of the burden-carrying nets made of caraguata thread that I acquired from the Chiriguano, ten are made without knots being applied, by the technique called "Schlingtechnik," and only seven by applying knots by the technique called "Knotentechnik." We can therefore assume that this part of the Chiriguano at least uses the technique of making nets without applying knots, although this opinion is contrary to that of Nordenskiöld, who says (278) that

286
284
114
177

278. Nord. 2, p. 116.

all of the nets made by this technique found among the Chiriguano and the Chané were acquired from the Chaco Indians.

8: Schmidt [illegible] 2-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
415
482
177
[126]

/75 cont./

Net Bags Made by the Toba, from the Collection

I. A. 572. Bag for carrying burdens. (Found among the Chiriguano) Length 0.70 cm.

I. A. 845. " " " " (Found among the Izozó) Length 57 cm.

I acquired two net bags, one from the Izozó and the other from the Chiriguano, which show differences from the techniques mentioned in the foregoing. The Izozó and the Chiriguano told me that they themselves had not made these bags and that they had obtained them from the Toba.

C
Ce
294
[177]
[296]

/76/ Sewing

With the acquisition of European clothes, naturally the sewing of these clothes to make and mend them became general among the Chiriguano and Chané. Modern sewing needles are an article eagerly sought by them today. But undoubtedly these Indians had already known the technique of sewing with a needle with an eye for a long time through their contact with the culture of the ancient Peruvians. Although the native textiles are, in most cases, made in one piece, needlework coming from other cultures is often added to the native technique of these textiles. I mentioned that a large Izozó tipoy is made of two smaller tipoys sewed together. The ponchos of the Chiriguano [illegible]chareti are made of two pieces sewed together. The four edges [illegible]guano and Izozó ponchos most of the time are turned and sewed to the rest of the fabric. In the making of the bags for carrying burdens, especially the double bags for loading draft horses or burros, sewing is used.

C
Ce
294

C
Ce
415

Among the cuyas that I obtained from the Chiriguano and Izozó there are several which show breaks mended by sewing. See Figure 25a /see p. 51/. The two diagrams shown in Figure 130 a and b serve to illustrate the way in which this sewing is done, with cotton thread on the two Izozó cuyas I. A. 666 and 667, and with fine wire on the Chiriguano cuya (I. A. 460). The cuya I. A. 667 shows two such repairs done by sewing.

/76 cont./

The Working of Skins and Leather Tanning

C Ce 281 [824] [177]

The Chiriguano and Chané know the art of tanning leather, and they use for that the bark of the "Piptadenia" and other trees. No doubt they obtained the knowledge of this craft from the whites. They use not only tanned leather, but also strips of animal skin for the making of sundry objects (279), but the

279. Nord. 2, p. 165.

C 224 [297] 177

craft of working leather and skins is not an important one. It is said that formerly the Chiriguano, when they went hunting, wore leather clothing conforming to the European style (280).

280. Nord. 1, p. 184. Nord. 2, pp. 60, and 61. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

C 281 294

Beyond that, leather is not used for making clothing, except to make sandals (281). The men's modern custom of wearing

C 291 177

281. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23.

a leather belt must be attributed to the influence of the whites. Without counting its application to the making of bridles and saddles for horses and asses, either draft or saddle animals, on which we have no data, strips cut from leather or from animal skins are used in the form of straps, principally to transport or hanging up some object. In place of the common vegetable-fiber cords, leather straps are often put on the nets for carrying burdens, on hammocks, and also on the hoops mentioned above, in which they keep things. The band of the Chiriguano net for carrying burdens I. A. 564 consists of an untanned cowhide strap. See Figure 134 /see p. 200/. The Izozó vessel I. A. 617 has a leather strap attached to its handles. The strings of the bows for shooting arrows are strips of animal skin, and the Chiriguano net I. A. 573 is made of cowhide strips.

C 281 [492]

Ce [281]

C Ce /78 cont./ concerning means of
482 transport by land we do not have any evidence except through
489 the sundry implements which serve for carrying burdens. We
492 can assume from the form of the double bags mentioned in the chapter on weaving that they use their horses and burros to transport loads.

C Ce The objects used to transport burdens have already been
286 mentioned in preceding chapters. Among them the most gen-
415 eral is the carrying net, which often has a band. By means of
482 it burdens are carried on long trips or the fruits of the harvest
[484] are brought in from the fields to the houses, or water is brought, often from a distance, to the dwellings. The carrying net is used in such a way that the band goes across the forehead of the bearer so that the weight of the burden rests on his back (292).

292. See Nord. 2, p. 95.

Nordenskiöld has published a photograph of a woman who is carrying a load in her net (293).

293. Nord. 1, Fig. 87.

C Ce Baskets are not used by the Chiriguano and Chané for carry-
415 ing loads; they are used among these Indians only to store things.
482 Neither is any special band used to carry infants; rather they
[854] are carried in a fold of the tipoy.

Only if water is near the house are water jugs sometimes carried on the shoulder without a net, but not on top of the head. This latter appears only in the cases where the Indians are
C Ce directly influenced by the whites, as happens in the missions (294).
[177]

294. Nord. 2, p. 95.

C Ce
[484] For carrying small amounts of water when traveling, these Indians also use calabashes enlaced with string, or small baked clay vessels /79/ provided with a string or a leather strap, such as, for example, the vessel I. A. 617 shown in Figure 56b.

C /80 cont./
534 edge, puts forward against Nordenskiöld's deductions his opinion
174 that the ancient Peruvian objects of this form might originally
171 have been flutes and that they might have been used only exceptionally, in the event of necessity or only secondarily, as
C balance beams. Among the objects of this kind in the ancient
[114] Peruvian collection of the museum in Berlin so many specimens clearly show that they are balance beams that I cannot say that
C
[177] I agree with this opinion by V. Rosen (301). We must agree
C
[113]

301. Cf. Max Schmidt, Kunst und Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/, p. 99, fig. p. 544, N. 8-10.

with V. Nordenskiöld's opinion that these wooden objects used by the ancient Peruvians as balance beams may have been accepted by the Chiriguano, not as balance beams, because the Chiriguano did not have the need to weigh anything, but as flutes. We must mention that with this kind of flute, open at both ends, two different sounds can be produced, depending upon whether the lower hole is left open or is closed with the finger.

The two Chiriguano flutes made of cane have six holes for varying the sound and one hole, at one side, for the mouth.
C Cf. Figure 39a /see Fig. 34a, p. 89/. Nordenskiöld, who shows
Ce such a flute in a drawing (302), is of the opinion that the
534
177
171

302. Nord. 2, Fig. 36 A.

Chiriguano and Chané received this kind of flute from the mestizos or whites, because such flutes provided with a hole at one side for the mouth do not exist among the other Indians of South America or among the ancient Peruvians.

C
Ce
415
532
●177
Ce
532
524

/80 cont./

These pots are undoubtedly imitations /Plates XXXVIII-XXXIX appear here/ /81/ of ancient Peruvian models or of modern products. Outside of that there are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld two dolls in the form of a man and a woman, made of wax, which served as toys for the children of the Chané of the Parapití River (308). Purely decorative plastic sculpture is

C
Ce
415
531

308. Nord. 1, Fig. 105.

mainly shown by most of the baked clay vessels intended for cooking foods, in the form of "ornamento hundido" /sunken decoration/, which is generally placed on the surface of the neck of these vessels, but it may also extend over the entire surface. Cf. Figure 48 /see p. 116/. In addition to the sunken decoration on the neck the vessel I. A. 414, shown in Figure 44, is decorated with a row of small pointed additions around the wall of the vessel. Linné shows in a drawing a piece of a Chané baked clay vessel, the surface of which is decorated with a border of baked clay placed in a zigzag around the wall of the vessel. Many of the vessels with smooth surfaces also have small additions and generally in pairs. They often have these instead of handles. In addition the baked clay dishes for eating and the dishes for frying /fritar/ maize are often provided with such additions. The handles of the baked clay vessels are not in the form of figures, but they can be plastically decorated in such a way that a groove divides them into two parts, which can be twisted around each other. Cf. Figures 46 and 49 /see p. 116/.

Some wooden utensils also have primitive plastic ornamentation, such as the spatulas for stirring food and drink, the wooden dishes for eating, and the large dishes or platters on which food is kept. The handles of some of the spatulas for stirring food are carved in such a way that their edges form zigzag lines (cf. fig. I. A. 579 /not illustrated; see Pl. VIII, p. 20/) and the dishes often have additions such as some baked clay dishes also show. Cf. Figures 18 a and b and 19 /see pl. VIII, p. 50/.

C
Ce
531

Drawings are also found on the surface of Chiriguano and Chané objects, in the form of paintings on the surface of baked

[Text continues on p. 214]

/85 cont./

C 631 643 [622] According to all that we learn from the old documents, the Chiriguano communities, that is, the parcialidades under the chieftainship of great caciques and the subdivisions under the chieftainship of ordinary caciques, had a very firm organization in comparison with other tribes of South American Indians. The great cacique commands his subjects and they obey him absolutely. C [177] It is likely that in this regard the example of the absolute rule of the neighboring Incas of Peru influenced the organization of the Chiriguano. C Ce 643 631 Even at the time of Erland v. Nordenskiöld's trip in 1908, the Chiriguano and Chané caciques were very powerful in contrast with the caciques of the neighboring tribes of the Chaco. Even at that time there were great caciques, who governed a large territory made up of several towns, and ordinary caciques, who governed the inhabitants of a town or part of them. Thus, at the time of Nordenskiöld's trip most of the towns of the Caipipendi valley were governed by a great cacique named Taruiri. The great cacique Mandepora formerly had considerable power in and near Machareti, and the great cacique Maringay in the Iguembe valley. Ce 643 [562] We have Nordenskiöld's interesting statement that women too can be great caciques among the Chané. Thus the great cacique of the Chané towns on the Itiyuru was a woman named Vuáyruyi, who had succeeded her late brother in that office. Because she was already old, she was replaced in her duties by her nephew Vocapoy, who was the eldest son of her brother and predecessor. /86/ Her son was favored as great cacique after Vocapoy (326). Among the Chané on the Itiyuru, and

326. Nord. 1, pp. 223 and 229.

formerly among the Chané of the Parapití when they still had a great cacique, the office of great cacique was tied to a certain family, but it did not pass from father to son. Nordenskiöld recorded the genealogical tree of the family of the caciques of the Chané on the Itiyuru, according to which, after the great cacique Hinu Parava, two of the latter's sons successively succeeded to this office. After the death of the last of these, Hinu Parava's daughter, the above-mentioned Vuáyruyi, was great cacique, while the son

C 175 712 648 /89 cont./

only one way up, very narrow and steep, which, sown with thorny branches, made it more impenetrable. On the eminence of which they had entrenched the gate with stakes stuck into the ground."

Ce 178 648 721 Today the Chiriguano and Chané no longer make war upon other Indians, aside from the fact that the Chané on the Parapití occasionally go on expeditions against the Tsirakua Indians (357).

357. Nord. 1, p. 171.

Law

Ce 671 177 178 Because the white authorities intervene more and more in the original, juridical traditions of the Chiriguano and Chané, many of them no longer exist today and also, from the few data which Nordenskiöld gives regarding this matter as of 30 years ago, many do not now correspond to the facts.

Ce 627 With regard to penal law, we find among these Indians a mixture between the principle of the "vendetta" and the practice of penal law. Among the Chané on the Parapití, most crimes, and robbery in particular, were settled by means of the duel. Ce [685] In the case of theft, the one who has stolen and the one who has been robbed appear, each with his relatives, in the town square to fight each other. Only homicide, the seduction of a woman, and sorcery were decided by the great cacique as judge. Homicide, which formerly occurred among the Chané in the form of poisoning with poisoned chicha ("bád dyási"), and sorcery were punished by the burning of the criminal. The seducer of a woman lost his property (358). According to statements of the substitute great

Ce 692 642 68

358. Nord. 1, p. 232.

cacique of the Chané on the Itiyuru, it was the principal obligation of the cacique to avoid the vendetta by sending criminals to another region so that they would not be killed. Thus thieves, after having received 50 lashes, were sent to another town. A murderer was condemned to work up to half a year for the family

/90 cont./
000 preceding. I must also cite A. Métraux's publication, "Les
792 Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguano e dans l'Amérique de Sud
[113] /Men-Gods among the Chiriguano and in South America/" (363).

363. In the Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, No. 1, Tucumán, 1931.

in which he deals with the cases, repeated several times, in which some individuals among the Chiriguano appear as Messiahs and, acquiring many proselytes, gave the mission administrations much to do.

796
[126]

Plaited Objects Used in Religious Celebrations, from the Collection

I. A. 1439. (Chiriguano) Length 70 cm. (Fig. 43b.)
I. A. 1440. " " 37 cm. (Fig. 43a.)

[171] Plaited objects like those mentioned above are also very com-
mon among the Paraguayans and made in the same way. This
796 custom of making such plaited figures and having them blessed,
797 as the Chiriguano also do, is connected with the Catholic ritual,
177 and the Chiriguano no doubt received it from the missionaries along with the other rites of the Catholic religion (364).

364. See the opposite opinion of Métraux I, p. 462.

532 The masks that the Chiriguano make to carry during the Carnival
[527] fiestas are also modern objects. Some such Chiriguano masks are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and Métraux (365).

365. Nord. 1, Fig. 119. Métraux I, Plate 86 and Fig. 121.

/295/ Preface

114 12 In the chapters to follow, I propose to publish part of the results obtained in the course of the expedition that I undertook in the Bolivian and Argentinian Chaco in my capacity as director of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Tucumán.

114 [101] This expedition took place from February to June, 1929. Its itinerary was the following: Having left Tucumán, I went by railroad to La Quiaca where I stayed for several days, making observations on the more or less half-breed natives of the region. From La Quiaca I went to Tarija, where I remained longer than I might have wished because of the suspicions my trip raised at the time of the Paraguayan-Bolivian conflict.

114 101 103 After a 15-day stop I left Tarija to reach the Chiriguano tolderías of the upper Pilcomayo. I crossed the village of Santa Ana, then the Abra del Cóndor, the Narvaez River, the post of San Diego, passed five kilometers from San Luis (Entre-Ríos) to stop at the Cuesta de San Simon, where I found the first Chiriguano. Once having crossed the Cuesta de San Simón I quickly reached the Salado River, then the Chiriguano villages of Timboy [126] (Saladito). It was there that I made my best acquisitions of pottery and where I collected the oldest objects. The inhabitants [178] of these rancherías, who live relatively far from the highway from Argentina to Santa Cruz, have preserved the traditions and culture of their ancestors better than their racial brothers have. From Saladito I reached the village of Itasiti and then Salado Grande, [361] in order /296/ to reach the Pilcomayo at the confluence with the Salado. There, the Chiriguano villages are large and numerous. The most interesting are those of Ñawirenda, Ibopeytí, and Yumbía.

After stopping for some time in this place, I continued my trip toward Huacaya and the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo.

In one day I went from Boicovo to Cuevo, going by way of the mission of Santa Rosa.

[197] [198] From Cuevo on I was in the mission of Ivu, which is without doubt the one where the old Chiriguano customs have undergone the fewest modifications.

/299/

First Part

Material Culture

To Eva who was my traveling companion.

Introduction

121 For anyone who wants to verify experimentally, if I may say so, the value of the methods which are being adopted in modern ethnography, for anyone who wishes to judge the factors which condition the formation and evolution of civilizations, there is no better field than the study of the Chiriguano Indians.

We know where they came from, the period when they formed a new nation, the populations with which they mingled or were in contact, the influences they underwent and their duration, and finally we are acquainted with the vicissitudes of their history; in a word, we can be present at the formation and development of this people from their origin to their present decline, an experience unique in South America, rare perhaps elsewhere, and in any case rich in instruction.

Adaptation to the environment, borrowing of new cultural elements, abandonment of traditions and techniques, somatic and linguistic changes, so many problems that the Chiriguano civilization poses and that the historical documents and the collections permit solving or at least clarifying.

177 Chiriguano culture is composed of elements of different
178 origins, borrowed from tribes which had only a little in common with one another. It involves an old Guarani substratum, transformed and entirely renewed by the contribution of the Arawak culture of the Chané, which itself had been enriched and modified by the influence of the Andean populations of present-day southern Bolivia. A common environment and long proximity allowed many a technique and industry of the primitive Indians of the Chaco to be adopted and assimilated by the Chiriguano. The importance of this third component is minimal.

/299 cont./

177 An analysis of Chiriguano culture (see Nordenskiöld, 10,
178 pp. 196-213) makes manifest the heterogeneity which the history of the tribe caused to be suspected a priori. The pottery, basketry, weapons, and furniture almost constantly present disparate characteristics in which are expressed this play of influences, this intermixture of races and ideas of which the present-day culture of the Chiriguano is the product.

/300/ The ethnographer feels all the more at ease in his analysis when at every step history confirms or invalidates the findings to which his comparative work leads him. Thus he walks on firm ground, and the results he has acquired in this particular domain will justify his method when he uses it to solve problems whose data are less complete.

181 The Chiriguano, in more than one respect, deserve to hold a preponderant place in the ethnography of South America. They have played an important role in the history of Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina; their civilization has been brilliant and has maintained itself intact almost until our time; besides, they are remarkably endowed from the point of view of character and intelligence. To these qualifications they add that of having built up their civilization, so to say, before our very eyes and of offering to science a field where it moves with some sureness.

In order to understand the point of view I have tried to put forward in this introduction, it is indispensable to know, in its main lines, the early history of these Indians.

Chapter I

000 Historical Outline of the Formation of the Chiriguano Nation

/Eight lines of poetry in Spanish, from Barco Centenera, La Argentina, pp. 185-186, are omitted in the translation./

121 My intention is not to recount the history of the Chiriguano
175 from the 16th century to today insofar as we can know it from official documents and chronicles. This work has been done and generally well done (Corrado; Kersten, pp. 66-69; Serrano y Sanz; Nordenskiöld, 7 and 8, pp. 45-58; Gandía, 2, pp. 25-56 and id., 3, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.).

Ce /331 cont./
178
439
323
[177]

The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C
G
177
178
342
596

Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

G
177
178
266

C
17

Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C
105
175

The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

C
[167]

They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

/332 cont./ Permanent

villages were there under the command of hereditary caciques. The middle course of the Parapití formed their boundary to the east. In the 18th century the Chiriguano constituted the most important and remarkable nation of the western Chaco. The statistics concerning them vary a great deal: the figures, given with their usual exaggerations, vary between 41,000 and 15,000 warriors. The Chané are included in this number, which completely removes all value from these statistics." (Kersten, pp. 68-69.)

Today the boundaries of the Chiriguano have stayed about the same. But even though they inhabit a territory whose extent has varied little, their situation has none the less undergone great changes. Several thousand half-breeds from Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Chuquisaca have settled inside this area that we have defined. A Chiriguano frontier no longer exists, but only remains of villages and small groups which still mark the former extent of the tribe. On the other hand, the number of Chiriguano has diminished terribly and is diminishing each day, so that a few years from now the true habitat /333/ of the Chiriguano will be contained between the Parapiti and the Pilcomayo and will be reduced to the former Franciscan missions and to several valleys of the Precordillera, such as those of Caipipendí and Igiembé (1).

1. Some historians not well informed about the ethnic geography of South America have claimed that in the 16th century the Chiriguano lived well beyond the boundaries I have indicated. One of them (Dr. Fulgencio Moreno) went so far in this direction that he attributes to the Chiriguano the possession of a large part of northwestern Argentina and pushes this fancy to the point of locating them almost as far as in the province of Córdoba. Mr. Coni in an excellent monograph, documents in hand, has done good justice to these bold allegations and has demonstrated that these hypotheses were without foundation.

/338 cont./

243 The sad state of decline in which the Chiriguano are at present
476 has put an end to collective work, and it is only rarely that sowing
●178 is done in common. Each one must provide for his needs without any assistance other than that of his near relatives.

342

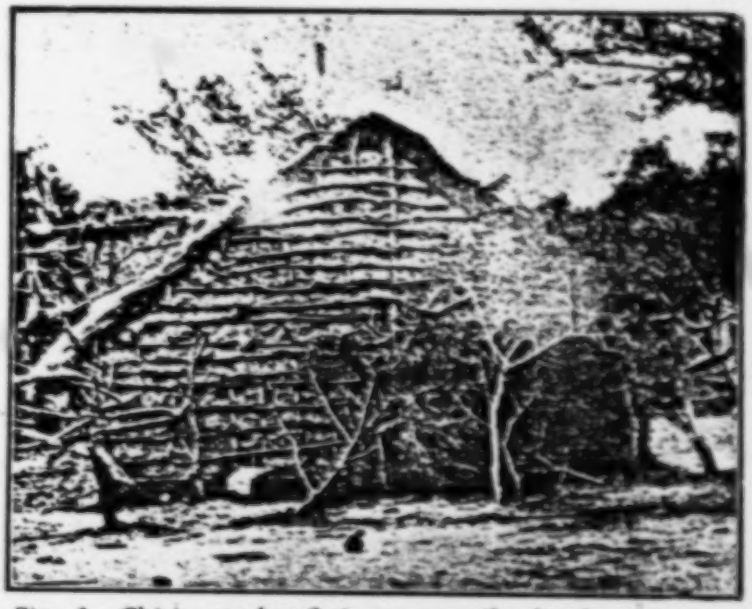


Fig. 6. Chiriguano hut (ho), temporarily abandoned by its inhabitants, who have gone to work in the fields. Caipipendí. (Photo. A. M.)

241

The Chiriguano cultivate the following plants:
Corn (avati): 11 varieties;
Beans (kumanda): 11 varieties;
Squash (andai and grindaka-wasu): 5 varieties;
Sweet potatoes (yeti): 6 varieties;
Yucca or sweet manioc (mandio) (Manihot utilisima Pohl);
Groundnuts (manduví);
Pimento /peppers/ (kîi) (Capsicum), very rarely cultivated;

/338 cont./

241 Sorghum (triku) (Sorghum saccharíferum) (1):

[262] 1. Sorghum is cultivated only on a very small scale. It is a delicacy that the Chiriguano reserve for children, who suck its stalk.

/339/ Sugar cane:
Melons:
Watermelons (sandías):
Prickly pear (saini) (Opuntia spec.):
Fig trees:
Orange trees (in the missions).

[199] The Chiriguano cultivate only on a very small scale the plants which, like sorghum, sugar cane, fig trees, and orange trees, have been introduced by the Europeans. Of these only melons enjoy general favor.

248 They always devote some parts of their fields to the cultivation of plants of value only for their arts and manufactures. These are: cotton plants (mandiyú), cucurbitaceous plants (iá) which grow on the ground next to their squash and furnish the containers they need, roucou (urukú), which scarcely exists except in the northern part of their habitat, and finally a species of reed (Arundo donax) with which they make the shafts of their arrows.

249 They also plant tobacco (pĕtĭ), but I have never seen any in their fields. According to Nordenskiöld (10, p. 25), its [276] cultivation is insignificant and rare. The Chiriguano are not [123] great smokers, and the numerous packs of cigarettes I took along for them found only a few devotees. Among the Toba, Matako /Mataco/, or Chorotí /Choroti/ my stocks would have been exhausted in the wink of an eye, for these Indians love tobacco more than anything in the world.

276 The use of tobacco among the ancient Chiriguano, as among 756 their ancestors in Paraguay or Brazil, was reserved for the 824 medicine men for their magical operations. Their use made [198] of it a plant endowed with "mystical" virtues, and its

/242 cont./

243 Wives accompany their husbands to the fields. They
462 spend the day there spinning, sewing, grilling ears of corn, or
[482] roasting manioc. In the evening, if they return to the village, the wife comes back bent under the weight of her alapoko, or carrying-net, full of ears of corn. Sometimes the men help
[492] them. Those who have donkeys and horses use them as beasts of burden.

482 Transport of corn is done generally with the help of the carrying-net, but maloshifu let them do without it in case of necessity. The ears of corn are held together in bundles by means of leaves which encompass them and are suspended from a flexible switch bent in the shape of a figure eight. When the two loops are balanced, one can raise them by grasping them by the middle.

251 In the village the ears are either stored in granaries on piles, to which steps cut in a tree trunk (Fig. 8) lead, or kept in the hut where a special corner has been made into a compartment. A tree trunk tipped with a natural fork may serve /Plate VII appears here/ /243/ as a storage place for corn. The ears, tied into bundles, are piled between the two branches of the fork (Fig. 10).

243 Formerly, before their dreadful decline began, the
789 Chiriguano had recourse to magical ceremonies to hasten the ripening of corn and to avoid drought or too great an abundance of rain. /Fig. 9 appears here./

When the sun threatened to burn the harvest, they had one or several medicine men come who were charged with bringing the recalcitrant clouds. Provided with a cigar, they went around the fields blowing the smoke in every direction (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 187). The symbolism of this rite of homeopathic magic is clear: the smoke represents the clouds which the ipaye is to gather.

[512] The game of mbaná represents the survival of a magical
[178] ceremony having to do with the growth of corn and its maturing.

[Text continues, on p. 78]

2a/

526 In the Chirigüano missions or in the villages of the Coi-
178 yéndé valley one finds on the large village plaza /Fig. 10
243 appears here/ an abundance of onion-like objects made of leaves
799 of corn folded together (Fig. 11). Children throw them to each other with the flat of the hand and try to catch them again before they fall to the ground. A hurried traveler would see in this

343
251

Fig. 9. Corncrib on poles (*ovarijó*). Ivu. (Photo. A. M.)

526 game only an Indian form of our court tennis or a rudimentary
178 tennis. Actually, this is certainly the present significance of
243 this amusement. In olden days the meaning was not the same,
799 as I learned in the Machareté mission. Only a few years ago *mbonó* was played only at the time when the corn was beginning to ripen. The children formed a circle and threw this kind of shuttlecock to one another. If by chance one of them let it fall through inadvertence or awkwardness, he left the place

/344 cont./

526 immediately, chased by his comrades who pulled his hair
179 energetically. The awkward player who threw the ball in such
243 a way that his partner could not catch it was in the same
989 category as the one who let it fall, on condition, however, that his opposite number had not made the gesture of catching it. Once the corn was ripe, they stopped playing mboté.

526 The game of mboté has a wide
191 distribution in South America, but
it is limited to the populations of
the Amazonian basin and the
[179] Guianas. Doubtless the Chiriguano introduced it into the Chaco (Nordenskiöld. 9, p. 168).

417 Fig. 10. Forked tree on
251 which the Chiriguano pile
524 corn inside their huts.
This device may have given
rise to the corncribs on piles.

526 This game without any doubt derives
989 from a magical rite whose object was to pro-
243 mote the beneficial course of the sun and to oblige it to shine without interruption to make the corn ripen. The straw shuttlecock represents the sun. The period when this game is played and the meaning the Chiriguano attach to it make my hypothesis a very likely one. Preuss demonstrated that in all of Central America and even in North America the /345/ tennis game arose out of a magical operation intended to influence the sun.

Fig. 11. Straw shuttlecock (mboté), accessory for the game of the same name. Prov.: Cururuti. (1/3 nat. size.)

/345 cont./

241 The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields.
115 "Captain" Karnapadyú made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations, without sparing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I answered that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

243 The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for
593 her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of
583 it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano
606

[585]

1. Corrado (p. 155) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacras nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whose laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

433
224 I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano vil-
178 lages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game. It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo,
[251] chuña /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Nino, pp. 249-258).

/345 cont./

433 224 178 Outside these official expeditions they doubtless used to hunt for pleasure or simply to interrupt the monotony of their menu.

224 411 Quadrupeds were killed with arrows with lanceolate tips, originally of wood, today of iron (Plates VIII and IX, 2); small game, with arrows tipped with a barbed wooden rod [223] (Plate IX, 3-5). Birds were taken in traps or felled with a special arrow having a splayed ferrule (Plates X-XI).

224 [231] Anyone who has seen the little dogs of the Chiriguano Indians, with elongated /346/ muzzle, pointed ears, short hair, and arched tail will ask with surprise how animals so miserable, stupid, and snappish could have been trained to render service to man. Nevertheless, such seems to have been the case. For hunting the peccary, for example, the Indians employ the dogs, who track them and /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ force them to hide in their dens, from which they are smoked out and felled with blows of a stick when they try to run away. At least this is how the inhabitants of the village of Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) told me they had killed a peccary which they showed me at the time I was there.

433 224 184 For the modern Chiriguano, hunting has lost its reason for existing as an activity having an economic character, except perhaps /Plates VIII, IX, X, and XI appear here/ /347/ /Fig. 14 appears here/ for those of this nation who live [352] in the region of the upper Pilcomayo. At least this is the im- [412] pression I had after examining their huts: the bedsteads or wooden cots were often covered with peccary skins and the old deerhorn awls (Fig. 12) numerous enough to be able to be exchanged for a trifle. The relative abundance of these objects proves that among these Indians hunting has not been relegated /Fig. 15 appears here/ to the rank of a simple sport and that it keeps, at least in part, its past importance. [797] The contrast is striking if one then goes into the zone of the Franciscan missions: there, more peccary skins, more [411] perforators made of deerhorn, more ostrich feathers. In the villages of the upper Pilcomayo there is no cabin, poor as it may be, in which a bow and a bundle of arrows are not slipped

[Text Continues on P. 89]

/348 cont./

287 half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade
439 brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as
[484] Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each
[435] feather duster.

224 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the
178 Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago,
231 those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep,
433 goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last
435 years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills
[464] of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in
[465] recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep,
and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often
471 even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently
231 costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the
[435] means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

[262] 1. In former times they used to feel an un-
[178] conquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to
556 *diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by* the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text Continues on p. 93]

/349 cont./

556 tendency to estimate the value of objects in cows. For example,
[435] a loom with a nearly finished poncho was offered to me "for
[437] a cow," and the owner of the loom could not understand that
it was difficult for me to convert the exchange into money.

262 Charqui, or meat dried in the sun, most often replaces
[251] fresh meat in the menus of our Indians. It is not a question
of preference, but of necessity. Charqui is cheap and is
bought in any estancia.

Fishing

221 When I went through the Chiriguano villages of the upper
226 Pilcomayo and the Parapití, the rivers were in flood, the corn was
ripening in the fields, and no Indian wanted to let the parrots
eat his corn in order to go to catch fish at the risk of getting him-
self carried off by the current. If I had come back to these
same villages in July or August, the scene would have been
completely different. The rivers would have been only thin
trickles of water, and in every direction I should have per-
ceived men /350/ and women busy fishing. The fishing season
would have been at its height.

• [178] The Chiriguano, having come from a country rich in
watercourses, have in this respect preserved the traditions of
their ancestors of the Paraná or the Paraguay.

226 Some, equipped with large landing nets (Fig. 18), form
barriers against the current and advance, gathering the fish as if
[229] with a spoon. Then they grab them and attach them to their
[482] belts, after /Fig. 18 appears here/ threading them on a cord
by means of a wooden needle (Fig. 19). Others lie in wait for
a fish in the water and, as it goes by, impale it with an arrow
equipped with several points (Fig. 20) or simply with two long,
barbed wooden rods. Some, with the help of stone barriers,
try to make the fish converge toward the opening of a wicker
trap (1). Sometimes a group of individuals turn aside a

1. Compare Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260): "in summer (the Chiriguano) divert a stretch of the river; they leave the fish in the drained

/357 cont./

252 covered with the bran. The muitero is then placed on the opening of a pot full of water and the whole put on the fire. The rising steam goes through the holes of the muitero and cooks the corn while saturating it with moisture. So that the steam will not escape at the sides, the line of contact between the edges of the muitero and the neck of the vessel is smeared with clay.

I have given the recipe for this dish according to Nino (p. 246), for I have never been present at its preparation. The Chiriguano themselves must have forgotten it: I do not remember having seen more than two muitero during my whole trip: one at Yumbía and the other at Ivu. Since it is im-
• [198] possible to prepare muintimimo without this basin, one must suppose that the Chiriguano of the decline have forgotten even the taste of one of the most original dishes of their cuisine.

At Ivu the Chiriguano had me taste kĩwi-rai (little kĩwi), a kind of gruel made with kernels of corn softened by a more or less long soaking in water, then pounded and rid of the bran. This gruel is cooked in water and eaten cold. It is
[273] sometimes left to ferment for several days and from that has doubtless come its name of "little corn beer."

The Indians make flat corn cakes (muyape) (2), which are

2. The corn fritters that I saw roasted in a frying pan at Pípi were doubtless muyape cakes. Unfortunately, I was not able to learn their name.

mentioned in the myths I have collected, but which I myself have never had a chance to taste. Avatindi, or white corn, is softened in water, pounded, then kneaded with salt and pimento and the dough shaped into flat cakes which are cooked under the ashes. When they are supposed to be done, they are pulled out from beneath the glowing embers and washed with water, and they finally have a kind of bread with a pleasant taste.

/362 cont./

262 The Chiriguano call kumanara a leguminous plant, wild,
[252] which resembles the yuca and which can serve as food after being boiled. They resort to it only when pressed by hunger. The word designating this plant has a strange resemblance to
[192] the name of the batata in the Quichua dialects of Ecuador and northern Peru (Rivet, 3, pp. 583-590). It is perhaps a question of a Quichua word introduced into the Chiriguano language to designate a plant of which they did not have the equivalent in their original homeland. The case is nevertheless rare, and one can wonder if it is not a simple coincidence.

[222] Neither do the Chiriguano look down on honey, although they
[171] do not seek it with the passion of their cousins, the Kainguá. What I tasted among them was contained in thin honeycombs having the consistency of cardboard. It had a pleasant taste.

222 Any Indian who goes in search of honey (ei) must not make
784 his intention known to anyone and, if he is asked where he is going, he must answer: "To look for wood." If you do not take
[176] these precautions, the protecting spirit of the honey is warned of your plan and hides the honeycombs he guards (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 86).

222 The missionary Corrado (p. 43) assures us that grass-
114 hoppers, cicadas, the larvae of bees are that many delicious
[252] dishes for the Chiriguano. He adds that these insects are roasted. Nino (p. 247) reproduces the statements of his predecessor and completes the list of strange foods by adding /363/ ants, lizards, leaves of the cucurbitaceae, melted tallow, etc. Personally I
[171] have never seen the Chiriguano touch these dishes strange to our palates, but I am all the more inclined to believe these two missionaries that the tastes they indicate are actually those of the Indians in other regions.

262 Already in the 16th century the Chiriguano passed as snake
252 lovers, even of poisonous species. They cut off the head and tail, skinned them, and roasted pieces of them on live coals. They used to eat them with pimento. No doubt the Spaniards con-
[178] fused snakes with iguanas, which even today the Chiriguano justly like (Lizárraga, Vol. I, p. 260).

/365 cont./

273 The preparation of chicha is not play; it is necessary not only /366/ to grind an enormous quantity of corn, but again to go
484 ceaselessly to get water, often at a great distance. At Cururuti
482 the nearest potable water was at the bottom of a ravine of particu-
273 larly difficult access. The women were constantly going there with an îru (Plate XVII, 1),[1] which they carried on their backs in a net (añapoka) held on the forehead by a strap. They would fill

462
516
273
291
415
412

Fig. 31. Woman sifting corn which she has just ground in the mortar beside her. This flour is to be roasted, then chewed to serve as ferment for kāwi. Cururuti. (Photo. A.M.)

484 the jug and, loading it with difficulty, would go back up the
482 steep slope doubled over under the weight. So as not to lose any
273 time, these hard-working creatures would take along a calabash full of ground corn which they continually chewed.

273 The ground corn is cooked in water and constantly stirred
412 with flat sticks whose edges used to be cut out with a certain artistic care in olden days (Fig. 32). Today a kind of oar (Fig.
[178] 33) or the scapula of an ox (Fig. 34) fastened to a long handle
[239] replaces the ancient utensils in which was manifested so well the
[531] Chiriguano tendency to decorate even the most humble objects.

[1] [For plate XVII, See category 116, P.127--Analyst]

/369 cont./

293 At Sainirenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the
574 first one served is always the "captain." As before, the
576 vessel full of kāwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first
[554] bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they always come back to the first person who received each one and he finishes it. The men move from their places several times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/
[533] ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of flutes and violins.

When the supply of kāwi is exhausted in a village, they get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere to revel.

[789] Formerly the preparation of kāwi was accompanied by
[198] magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of
[302] daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the women do not even take this precaution any more. However, between Caruruti and Caipipendí, I could still see several women stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an expression dear to Jean de Léry.

415 Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/ gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are preparing corn beer.

Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a com-
[197] pletely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The
[198] latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements, while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

/377/

Wooden Bowls and Basins

C 415 171 439

The Chiriguano also use wooden bowls (Fig. 49). I do not know whether they make them themselves or receive them from the half-breeds of the /Fig. 48 appears here/ San Luis region. In this latter case the Chiriguano of the San Luis (Entre-Rios) region would be the only ones to make them. In Tarija /Figs. 49-50 appear here./ where these bowls are much sought after by the half-breeds, they were indicated to me as coming from that zone. The rare wooden bowls which /378/ I saw at Caipipendí had been bought by the Chiriguano in the course of their trips. The same origin must be attributed to the wooden troughs found among the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua half-breeds of Tarija department. These basins are used for washing food and also as bathtubs. The Choroti have wooden dishes (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 20, p. 88) which have a shape very similar to that of the trough reproduced here (Fig. 50) and which doubtless were introduced among them either by the ancient Quichua or by the half-breeds. Among the Araucan of Argentina wooden basins are found, which are similar in every detail to those of the Indians and half-breeds of Bolivia and the specimen pictured here.

Ci 415 177

A 415 171

Chapter V

Tools of the Chiriguano

C 412 178 [177]

The work tools the Chiriguano use nowadays are almost all of European manufacture. Here and there the ancient forms were kept when stone or bone were replaced by iron. Witness the adze of Plate XXII /see p.143 / which constitutes a curious survival of the gared or T-shaped ax certainly adopted by the Chiriguano after their migration and their establishment at the foot of the Andes. This type of ax is unknown to me from any other Tupi-Guarani tribe and is rare in the area occupied by the different nations belonging to this linguistic family (see Rivet, 1, pp. 149-155).

T-G [412] [184]

/378 cont./

412 The specimen I am publishing here was still giving good
114 service to its owner, who gave it to me with regret and only
171 for a large sum of money. The presence of the eared ax among
178 the modern Chiriguano invalidates the allegation of Nordenskiöld (14, p. 120), who places it among the cultural elements which have completely disappeared in South America. It survived
[181] thanks to the prodigious conservatism of the Indians. I am convinced that several of the objects whose disappearance is attested to by Nordenskiöld will perhaps be found in some tribe now living, when we have more abundant ethnographic material from South America than we now have at our disposal.

412 Another very interesting peculiarity of this ax is the bent
171 shape of the handle, to which the blade is securely fastened with leather thongs. The distribution of the bent-handled ax has been traced by Linné (2, p. 202). Few tribes of South America have continued to use it up to our day. They are: the Colorado of Ecuador, the Tukano /Tucano/, Tariana, and other tribes of the /Plates XXII and XXIII appear here/ /379/ Caiary-Uaupés, the Tehuelche, and the modern Quichua /Quechua/. Among the Indians of the Caiary-Uaupés the tool lost all practical value and finally became a simple dance accessory (Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. I, Fig. 225, p. 350). /Fig. 51 appears here./

The bent ax has been found archeologically in Peru (Chuquitanta; Marquez Valley near Lima) and in Casabindo in La Puna de Jujuy (Argentine Republic). The specimens from Peru are designated as being hoes, which is possible. However, I shall call attention to the fact that the Chiriguano specimen from Caipipendí is exclusively a carpenter's instrument, which the Indians use for cutting the pieces of wood from which they make their furniture or weapons. /Fig. 52 appears here./

Figure 51 shows how modern axes of the simple neolithic ax type can be hafted exactly like their stone prototypes. The similarity of this ax to the stone ones used up to today by the Guayaki extends to the somewhat arched shape of the handle and to its slightly swollen upper end (La Hitte, Plate IV, 9).

/388 cont./

415 184 The footed bowl or "compote" (Fig. 72) comes from the Caipipendí valley, the same as the vessel with ribbed belly of Plate XXVI, 2. These are the only specimens of this type that I found in the whole Chiriguano country.

415 184 532 Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic vessels are rare. Scarcely anywhere but in the Caipipendí valley is corn beer ordinarily served you in vessels shaped like a bull. Besides, their workmanship is careless. The admirable anthropomorphic vessel of Plate XXVI, 1 is an exceptional piece.

415 Twinned vessels (Plate XXVII, 3) and those which a constriction separates into two bodies (Figs. 74, 75, and Plate XXVII, 1) are very rare.

415 531 The motifs painted on Chiriguano vessels most often are of a purely geometric nature.

There are few exceptions to this rule. As an example of them, I shall give the large yambuí of Plate LII, 1, on the belly of which have been painted more or less stylized dogs, chickens, and toads; the yambuí of Figure 83, whose principal decoration is composed of a series of yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/, Penelope spec.); and finally several vessels in my collections, which I did not want to publish because of their completely Europeanized form. On one of them silhouettes of nandus are distinguishable (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 222) and on another have been drawn a man and woman whose hands are united by a red line (symbol of marriage, of love?).

I remember having seen on a jar in the Caipipendí valley /389/ nandus drawn with particular skill. I would gladly have bought that piece if it had been possible to arrange its transportation.

[178] The vessel of Figure 83 gives an excellent idea of what Chiriguano potters could do in the "realistic" genre if a long /Fig. 61 appears here/ tradition did not oblige them to limit themselves to the representation of geometric motifs.

[See P 249, Category 116-- Analyst]

/393/

Decline of the Art of Pottery among the Chiriguano

323 Of all the Chiriguano industries the most threatened one
178 is doubtless ceramics. The Chiriguano can claim the glory of
415 having been until recently the last Indians of South America /Fig. 64 appears here/ to have a pottery which deserved to be included in the number of beautiful manifestations of this art, so brilliantly represented in certain regions of the continent. Today things have changed a great deal. Villages in which one can still find women capable of decorating vessels with the mastery of former days have become rare and are limited
415 to a restricted area. /394/ It was in the tolderías of the Timboy,
126 the Great Salado and the Little Salado, in the region of Yumbía
178 and in the Igüembé valley (upper Pilcomayo, departments of Tarija and Chuquisaca) that I was able to collect the finest specimens in my collection. Elsewhere it was exceptional /Fig. 65 appears here/ /see p. 166/ to be lucky enough to lay my hands on a fine piece; and, if I did have this luck several times, it was almost always a question of an old vessel pre-
[797] served as if by a miracle. The Franciscan missions which formerly gave Nordenskiöld and Holmberg such fine specimens
797 contributed less toward enriching my collections. Nothing ex-
323 presses the sad state of decline of the Chiriguano better than
415 what I /395/ could observe in the Macharetí mission. After
178 going through nearly all the huts of this large village, which in
[162] normal times has close to 2,000 inhabitants, I could scarcely acquire five or six yambuí having some artistic value. There
[463] were no longer more than three or four women who still knew how to hold a brush and they had to /Fig. 66 appears here/ /see p. 167/ provide for almost the whole village. In a few years the ancient painted pottery will exist only in memory in the large village where the famous "Captain" Mandepona lived.

323 This decline has several causes. The first is the state of
415 profound demoralization in which the Chiriguano are found, the
178 total disorganization of their social life, and the increasing
177 influence of the white men, followed by its corruptive effects: finally, the introduction of manufactured products, first and foremost gasoline cans.

/396/

000 first and foremost gasoline cans. Artistic ceramics have become the
323 appanage of a few old women who are not founding a school and who
178
463
887
531

323
415
142
302

Fig. 64. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is placed on the preceding one and flattened between the thumb and
[531] the other fingers of the potter. Finger impressions result from this, forming a crude design.

323 will carry the secret of their art to the grave. Already today,
178 obliged to satisfy a large demand, they endlessly repeat the same
463 motifs and have a vexing tendency to draw them hastily and
887 without any care at all. These designs are becoming awkward,
531 crude, and are taking on a primitive appearance which is far from corresponding to the taste and culture of the Chiriguano.

/396 cont./

291
323
415
531

Fig. 65. Fabrication of a large vat: the potter impresses her thumbnail into the *still soft clay to obtain a regular* design.

463
323
178
439
[126]
[123]

In some villages there are no more potters. The inhabitants of the toldería of Ibopeytí, for example, have to import the painted vessels they need to celebrate festivals. When I wanted to acquire them, it was generally objected that they had been bought and often at a very high price. "You go away and leave us without vessels," they often used to say to me as a half-joking, half-sad good-by after my raids.

/396 cont./

323 178 Without wishing to pass as a prophet, I think I can assign five years of life to the artistic pottery of the Chiriguano. Already it is becoming difficult to make collections of it, at least collections having aesthetic value.

323 415 531

Fig. 66. Fabrication of a large vat: when dry, the clay is polished with a well-polished stone. The purpose of this operation is to avoid all porosity in the surface of the vessel.

415 178 184 323 The state of decline and regression in which Chiriguano pottery is found explains perhaps the decided differences often existing in the pottery of the various regions inhabited by the Chiriguano. Artists being few, it is not surprising that their output varies little and that, because of this, the vessels of one village are all very much alike.

C
323
415
198
184

/386 cont./

In former times when artists were not lacking, the number of motifs used within each group must have been larger, and in this variety was doubtless found many an element which today seems to have disappeared, only to be met in another zone. It is probable that an ethnographer who might have made a collection among the Chiriguano a century ago would have established a classification other than the one I have tried to outline here.

C
Ce
415
19

Comparative Study of the Basic Elements of the Painted Pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

1. The Problem of the Chincha Atacama Civilization

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians shows such strong affinities with that of the ancient Andean populations from the point of view of form as well as decoration that their relationship cannot be doubted.

These analogies are especially striking among certain pieces /397/ of pottery dug up in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and the ones still made by Chiriguano or Chané women. With an interval of four centuries the resemblance between the pottery of these two regions is still so pronounced that it had attracted the attention of Mr. Debenedetti (2, pp. 134, 149, note 1, and 156), even though he apparently had for his whole basis of comparison only a few rare pieces of very simple Chiriguano pottery collected in the Chaco and of such uncertain provenance that one of them was atributed to the Choroti. The latter in reality, have pottery of an entirely different type, although also influenced by the Andean civilization.

C
Ce
[648]
[439]

The affinities of Chiriguano pottery with certain pottery of the Quebrada de Humahuaca have been scientifically established by Nordenskiöld (10, p. 143). This scholar explains these surprising similarities very naturally by the influence the Indians of the Humahuaca region had on their immediate neighbors, the Chané or Chiriguano, and by the trade relations these peoples maintained.

/400/

A 172 Boman (2, Vol. II, pp. 767-778) is the first to have defined the specific characteristics of the most important of these cultures from the historical point of view, that of the Atacama. By comparing the objects his own excavations or those of his colleagues brought to light in Calama, in Chiuchiu in the Atacama Desert, and in various localities of the Puna de Jujuy, he could demonstrate the homogeneity of these finds. He rightly attributed all these remains to one single people, the Atacama, whose habitat probably embraced, besides the regions I have just enumerated, the Puna de Atacama and part of the Calchaqui Valley as far as La Paya.

C 172 531

C [178] Fig. 68. Fragments of incised pottery found at Caipipendí. Present-day Chiriguano never decorate their pottery with engraved lines. (2/3 nat. size.)

A 114 172 However, there is one aspect of the problem to which Boman gave too limited a solution. In seeking to determine the frontiers of the ancient peoples of the north and northwest of Argentina, in my opinion he stressed too much the divergences which the remains of their culture present and not enough the traits they have in common. Still, the points of contact are too numerous and too specific to be attributable simply to a great Peruvian civilization from which these civilizations emanated.

1: Métraux--182 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Prehistoric Argentina Ω 3

PA. 415 172 C 415 171

/404 cont./

The cemeteries of the Isla de Tilcara have given numerous specimens of this type (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 98, p. 152; Fig. 101, p. 154; Fig. 104, p. 157; Fig. 106, p. 158; Figs. 109-111, p. 162; Figs. 113-114, pp. 165-166), of which a specimen has also been found in the Alfarcito in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, Fig. 15, p. 29). /Plate XXVII appears here./

C 415 171

/405/ Vessels whose appearance is obviously similar to that of our yapepo were formerly used in Chile (Latcham, Fig. 17, p. 11).

PA 415 531 172 C 415 531 198

a

b

Fig. 70. The iru (a), drawn from Debenedetti, was found on the Isla de Tilcara. Vessel b is modern. It comes from the Chiriguano village of Yumbia. It attests to the fidelity with which the Chiriguano have kept to our day the ancient types of Andean pottery. (1/6 nat. size.)

C 415 171

3. The large yambuí of Plate LV, 3,[2] is not a common type in South America. Jijon y Caamaño (p. 36, Fig. 15) cites only one specimen, coming from Imbabura in Ecuador, which was known to him outside of Chiriguano country.

4. The two yambuí of Plates XLI, 1,[3] and LV, 1,[3] both come from the Ivu mission. Their form is unusual in Chiriguano country, but very interesting by reason of the analogy it offers with that of vessels dug up in Catamarca province in Caspinchango (Debenedetti, 5, Figs. 9 and 10, pp. 23-24) and that of funerary urns from La Rioja discovered and published by Boman (5, Fig. 46, p. 24).

[2] [See p. 239.--Analyst]

[3] [See pp. 217 and 239 respectively--Analyst]

PA /416 cont./
531 taking off from a blackened triangle. A painted vessel from
171 the same locality has the same motif on its belly, but there the spiral has changed into a fret.

So that the distribution of the triangle with spiral may be complete, we must add: Caquinchango in Catamarca province (Debenedetti, 5, Figs. 10-12, pp. 26-28, and Fig. 14, p. 27); San Blas de los Sauces y Los Manas in La Rioja province (Boman, 5, Plate VI, Fig. E; Plate VII, Fig. F; Plate XX, Figs. a and b, and Fig. 11, p. 63); Ancofagasta de la Sierra (Ambrosetti, 5, Plate I, Figs. 31 and 32); Chaffar Yaco (Catamarca) (Lafone Quevedo, 1, Fig. 47, p. 39); and finally Barreal in San Juan province (Kühn, p. 31).

D The recent excavations of Messrs. Emile and Duncan
PA Wagner in the province of Santiago del Estero permitted them
531 to discover the remains of a population whose culture was
171 closely related to that of the valleys of the Diaguita region. It is undoubtedly a matter of a tribe of the Kokan language, established on the plain crossed by the Salado River. There too we find our triangle with volute, judging by the plates on which Mr. Duncan Wagner has tried to reconstitute the pieces of pottery whose fragments he found. Here again we note the transition of the volute to the fret.

D Over and above these additions, some observations must
PA be made concerning the passage from Odilia Bregante. The
531 triangle whose apex is prolonged in a curved or straight line
[178] can be considered as a degeneration of the voluted triangle, as has already been said above (see Lafone Quevedo, 2, Plate IX, 3).

D I have called attention several times to the transition
531 of the volute into fretwork or element of it. This progressive
178 mutation of one motif into another took place in Diaguita
[531] country exactly as among the Chiriguano. Urns of the Santa
[178] Maria type exhibit, among other common decorations, a triangle, with steps or not, which terminates in fretwork. Now on several specimens this fret element is a volute or a /Plates XXXV-XLVI appear here/ /416b/ more or less closed

A34 cont./

28 [197] The Chiriguano have their loom in common with many tribes of tropical America, and they doubtless were already acquainted with it in Paraguay, at least in a more rudimentary form. In some Chiriguano villages looms of the Inca or Quichua /Quechua/ type, that is to say, horizontal ones, can be seen. The warp is then fastened to a small cord along a piece of wood and the cloth is rolled around as it is produced.

28 [198] Headbands and belts are woven with looms of a type similar to the one just described. The warp threads are fastened to a loop of cotton attached to a hot post. As the fabric is made it is rolled around two small sticks or two ears of corn attached to the lower end of the warp (for this type of loom, see Nordenskiöld, 10, Fig. 4, p. 179).

29 [30] I am reproducing in Fig. 90 a tiumbi headband. These ornaments have now become very rare, and only a few old men still wear them. Our specimen is dyed with natural colors.

29 [198] Every Indian woman who lives outside the influence of the missions still wears the tipoy, that is, a kind of long sheath which they fasten on the shoulder nowadays with a safety pin and formerly [200] /Plate LXXII appears here/ /630/ with a thorn. In olden times these tipoy were woven by the Indian women on looms of the Arawak type. They were of cotton and dyed blue-black. /Fig. [439] 90 appears here./ Today it is almost impossible to find a woman whose tipoy is not made of chamalote, a kind of cheap cotton cloth which the Syrians and half-breeds sell at a high price to our Indians. In the Caipipendí valley /Fig. 91 appears here/ I met two old women who still kept the tipoy of olden times. They would not [192] give it up to me for any price. At Caraguí, an old fellow desirous of making a good bargain sold me his wife's at a very /636/ high price in order to buy brandy for himself. It was very necessary to celebrate Easter fittingly.

[198] The skirts (tiu-kumbai) which the men formerly sported exist no more except in the memory of the old men.

[See p. 278--Ms.4457]

Ce 101 194 /443 cont./ the center of dispersion of the Arawak must be placed to the north of the Amazon, and before the Chiriguano invasion the Arawak tribe of the Chané was established over the whole extent of the territory now occupied by the former.

C 285 191 Beside this technique another exists, known to the Chiriguano since time immemorial and well before their great migration. The English-language ethnographers give it the name of twilled work. No other type of basketwork is so widespread. This technique is preponderant in all of tropical America from the Antilles to Paraguay and in the south stops at the Chaco. The Chiriguano are the only Indians of the Chaco among whom twilled work is in current use. This type of basketry used to exist on the coast of ancient Peru, but its importance there was not great and it appears only in work baskets.

C 285 194 Basketry in wicker work and that in twined work do not have an identical distribution among the Chiriguano. Baskets of the first kind are numerous in the villages of the upper Pilcomayo (Saladito, Salado Grande and Chico, Ibopeytí, and Yumbia) and go as far as the Ivu mission. They stop, or are rare, in the rest of the Chiriguano country, notably in the Caipipendí valley, where baskets of the second type (twilled work) predominate almost exclusively. These are widespread there, and the beauty of their workmanship, the embellishments with which they are provided, put them well above the basketwork of any other zone and even above that of tribes living in regions richer in palm trees.

C [126] In the huts of the upper Pilcomayo I collected several baskets in twilled work, but they were rare there and often incomplete and torn. I had the impression that they had arrived there by way of commercial exchanges. In any case, the Indians no longer plait baskets of this type, and it is possible that their disappearance has given value to the specimens of them which remain. That would explain the absence of any new specimen and the preservation of ancient baskets almost beyond usefulness. Be that as it may, at present the true center of basketry in twilled work is the Caipipendí valley, and that of the basketry of /444/ wicker work, the region of the upper Pilcomayo. Since the living conditions of the C [198] Chiriguano in the missions north and south of the Pilcomayo have undergone deep modifications, I do not know what the respective

/464 cont./

796	Eyu šekuama	Come and kiss me
832	Šemireko mi	My little wife
786	Diyuru emesie	Give me thy mouth
539	Tuiša dipota	I love thee much
	Šẽ songo pe	With my heart

Ime deresa ikavi	Thou hast pretty eyes
Ime diyuro misiray	Thou hast a little mouth
Tuiša dipota	I love thee much
Pairamo ayporu deve.	For that I am going to ask for thee.

796 During this time young or old men with their faces
532 covered by a mask (añawasu) run here and there, force the peo-
522 ple to dance by blows of a stick, play tricks on them, and address jokes to them.

796 The feast lasts as long as there is kãwi or alcohol. At
[273] the moment when it is on the point of ending, a final ceremony takes place. The rite of going out is similar to the rite of entering: the couple who planted the flowery stick tear it from the ground and go out of the village, followed by the añawasu and all those who took part in the festival. The procession advances to a certain distance from the village to the sound of the flutes and drums. They throw away the masks and throw stones while shouting. The carnival is finished and everyone goes home.
[585] Some take along their new wife, for it is at this moment that most marriages are celebrated.

796 The carnival festivity such as I have just described in-
177 volves only a few elements borrowed from the half-breeds or
178 creoles, outside of the coincidence of dates. This is an ancient
[241] feast of a purely agricultural character, which the Chiriguano have acquired the habit of celebrating at the same time as the Bolivian carnival. Besides, the Indians of Ibopeyti are pagans.

796 The masked men are supposed to represent the spirits of the
241 dead, as their name indicates (aña: spirit; wasu: great). As in
171 the festivals of the Guianas and Central America, they come in numbers /Plate LXXXVI appears here/ /465/ to insure for their

[Text continues on p. 329]

/466 cont./

Chapter XI

Combs

C 302 G T [302] C [197]

Formerly, at the time when they carried out the conquest of their present territory, the Chiriguano wore a tonsure after the fashion of their relatives in Paraguay and the coast of Brazil, the Guarani and Tupinamba, who shaved the whole anterior part of the skull with a bamboo chip /467/ (see Métraux, 2, pp. 181-185) (1). Later, probably under the influence of the

1. Annuae litterae, page 407: "Cultus eorum singularis valde, coronis in modum nostrorum Sacerdotum utuntur, reliqui vero capilli ad ulnam circiter dimidiam pendent a tergo; corpora utplurimum variis depingunt coloribus."
(Their appearance [to the Chiriguano] is truly singular. They make use of a tonsure similar to that of our priests, and others let their hair hang down their backs to the length of an aune and a half. They dye their bodies with various colors.)

Chané or the Quichua /Quechua/, the Chiriguano abandoned the tonsure and let their hair grow, letting it fall over the nape of the neck and the back. They were content to cut it on the forehead from one temple to the other.

C 302 198

This hair style, still common in the last century, is tending to disappear in turn. The only ones who have remained faithful to it are a few old men and the inhabitants of several villages lost in the valleys of the upper Pilcomayo.

C [291] [248]

The Chiriguano who continue to observe the old style knot their long hair around their heads and hide it under a hat or a kind of turban when they go to work among the white men, for fear of being ridiculed.

/471 cont./

353 and 127). Everything in the world can be found there: small vessels, baskets, boxes, packages carefully wrapped in cloth, in short, a thousand little objects which the Chiriguano women regard as their treasure. From the roof hang hooks from which [414] are suspended household effects or supplies. These hooks are [237] generally of wood, but there are some also which are formed by a deer foot bent back and dried in the sun (Fig. 128).

Every chink in the walls is transformed into a hiding-place where the women put their scissors, the men their knives or combs. /472/ Bows and arrows are slipped between the struts of the roof.

In some huts whose walls are plastered with earth, the Indians arrange niches in the shape of swallows' nests, which serve as rudimentary cupboards. Might there be in that a distant remembrance of the niches so characteristic of Inca houses? It is possible.

352 The inhabitants of each hut sit on the cots or on /Figs. 516 130-132 appear here/ chairs with backs very well copied from [177] those of the creoles. The women generally squat on the ground. [178] On the upper Pilcomayo, one still finds benches with two seats (Fig. 129), a cultural element which the Chiriguano inherited from their ancestors of the Amazon basin.

356 The fire for cooking is lighted in the middle of the hut. [354] Chiriguano dwellings are clean. I have never caught fleas or other vermin there as I have in the ranchos of creoles or half-breeds. The women sweep their huts at least once a day. One is rarely disturbed there by mice (Fig. 132).

532 /480 cont./

Figure 11. Guanaco (José Miguel).

[821] Figure 12. (A): blue jaguar who lives in the sky (personification of the spots on the moon) getting ready to eat the moon (B) and the sun (C), thus bringing on an eclipse.

Chapter XIV

The Treatment of Illnesses

Sorcerers and Remedies

756 178 [123] Sorcerers. Medicine men have become so rare among the Chiriguano that I could not get to know a one during my whole trip. Only on the upper Pilcomayo did they allude in front of me to a talented paye who lived in a nearby village.

Although great sorcerers endowed with supernatural powers and surrounded with great prestige no longer exist, there still must be in each village a man or woman capable of curing certain illnesses and of pronouncing incantations.

A scene I witnessed at Timboy (Salado River, upper Pilcomayo) demonstrates well that the profession of sorcerer, less important though it may be, has nevertheless not disappeared. [122] I was living in the home of a Bolivian half-breed whose child's body was covered with purulent pimples. His parents began by appealing to my medical knowledge, but I declared myself incompetent to treat this case or any other. They then 75 [824] called an old Indian woman, who appeared one morning with a plant in her hand, a kind of wild pumpkin which the half-breeds call sandía del monte. This plant, crushed and mixed with hot water, is used for external washing. They stretched the child out on the ground and commanded him to hold himself motionless. The old woman sat down near him and began to mutter inaudible incantations which she interrupted only to spit often on the limbs of the little patient. Then she would take up her recitation again, at the same time spreading the saliva over his body from head to feet. Nordenskiold (5, p. 44,

/482 cont./

302 faces and legs oiled in this way, which gives them a very strange reddish and shiny hue. This custom, which was already [191] noted /483/ in the sixteenth century among the Tupinamba of [198] the Brazilian coast, is tending to fall into disuse.

Roucou in paste form is kept in a small corn-husk bag (Fig. 302 139). /Fig. 139 appears here/ as is kalasapa, a substance com- 386 posed of a mixture of roucou and pounded aroma seeds, which [415] gives a violet color.

757 4. Jaguar fat (yaguapira) cures any "leprosy" (karaŭi) if 237 one rubs oneself with it after heating it.

5. Iguana fat makes cramps go away and heals wounds. [152] Its use is external.

6. The dried penis of a fox makes toothaches and earaches go away. For that it suffices to touch the ailing part with the end /Fig. 140 appears here/ of this member. The Indians consider it very malodorous and touch it only with repugnance. [415] To avoid this inconvenience they provide it with a handle and shut it up in a bamboo case (Fig. 141).

7. Deerhorns heated and /Fig. 141 appears here/ applied against the neck will cure a stiff neck. The medical use of [172] deer (wasu) horns explains the frequent presence of the horns of this animal in the archeological strata of the neighboring Andean regions. Some have thus been found in the ruins of the Alfarcito, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 21), at Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, p. 232), at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 235, p. 453), and at Tastil (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, Fig. 78 f).

858 Horns adhering to a fragment of the skull and whose use 304 could only have been magical or medical must be distinguished 237 from the ones which the Indians work into awls. These in- 412 struments still have a ritual use and are reserved for piercing the lower lip of children when they are old enough to wear the labret. At least this is what Campana (p. 60) informs us. Besides, the Indians all have confirmed this detail to me. [171] Formerly, the Tupinamba of Brazil practiced this operation with an awl of the same nature (see Métraux, 3, p. 105).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

252 415 412 264 *Chiriguano* mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. [319 263] Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 592 **Dwellings.**—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

361 178 [343 712] The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 177 **Clothing.**—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano women still dress in tipoys, a long, sacklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, *right*). Some tipoys (tiru) are so long that they need to be folded. 291

Anciently, *Chiriguano* men shaved their foreheads, as did the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband. 302 412

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a tasseled fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

Body painting.—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass. 302 178

Ornaments.—The distinctive ornament of the *Chiriguano*, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 59, *e*). Originally, labrets were made of rosin, as were those of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip. 301 178

Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean woven frontlets studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 59, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the *Chiriguano* in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads. 301 177 [439]

Miscellaneous.—The *Chiriguano* have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout *Chiriguano* territory. 515 824

Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers. 302

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The rivers in *Chiriguano* territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River. 501

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 372

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

C 411

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

C [223] Ca [226] [411] [824] Ce 411 824

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

C 411 [171] [178]

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Ce [411] 824

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

C 621 613 596 594

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

C 621 [643]

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

C 623 756 357 565 692

/41 cont./

*136 ZORRO /fox/. -- This quadruped is not scarce here among the Chiriguano; it thus seems that it adapts to every climate. It is so intrepid that at night it will go about the towns without betraying its presence to the dogs, but if they do smell it, they pursue it immediately and even kill it, although they may suffer for it, because the dog of the Chiriguano Indian and the fox are equally skinny, but among several of them they achieve their purpose and kill it.

This dauntless beast leaves nothing; it makes its meal off whatever it encounters; it causes considerable damage in the cane fields from the time when the plants begin to become sweet and even pulls up recently planted shoots from their furrows or holes. It slashes watermelons and melons without allowing them to ripen, and as a result of this the farmer often does not taste these gifts. It also does damage in maize fields, but this is an abundant crop and the harm is not felt so much; when it can obtain chickens, it does not fail to provide itself with a good lunch or supper, and to this end it approaches towns and houses in the country by day as well.

There are several classes and sizes of them, but they are smaller, like every animal, than those of the other hemisphere. It is difficult to chase them out of the cane fields, the damage to which will only be reduced by reducing the number of foxes, and this can only be achieved by the use of strychnine or some other poison, which, mixed with small bits of meat, is placed on the various trails that they have opened, causing damage to the sugar-cane plants.

*136 We shall see in the course of these pages that the
*825 Chiriguano used to venerate it as a divinity with the name
176 of "Aguara-Tunpa," or Fox-God, to whom they attributed
● 178 more power because he was capable of destroying the works
[161] of the true tunpa. Today, when the region has been invaded and populated by so many whites and foreigners and the Chiriguano have been reduced to a handful scattered here and there, those who believe in such humbug are few.

/77 cont./

197 194 171 "Conumi," lad. do not have an accent on the i in Chiriguano, but they do in Guaraní.

197 178 361 162 In past centuries the race, and therefore the language, embraced a great deal of territory, but today it is greatly reduced, and I can state without danger of error that it is still numerous in Caipipendi, Pipi, Choreti, Tacte, Aratico, and in the Potosí and Tarija missions; but in the former places it is scattered among many little towns, while in the latter it makes up respectable towns of 500, 1,000, and 2,000 souls (2).

2. Choreti Guasu is located on the left bank of the Parapiti in Cordillera Province; it almost forms a single town with Membirai, and between the two of them they have about 110 families.

197 178 197 197 Purity of language is now no longer found in any town or in the missions, in the first because of living among whites and continually emigrating to the Argentine Republic, and in the second, the missions, for a third reason, instruction in Spanish, which the missionaries give the boys and girls in the schools; thus, if the race is not finished first, as is feared, because of the continual epidemics and vagrancy, the language will soon be lost, and then the few books that exist will only serve as an historical monument for posterity, which will be able to recognize the merit and labor of the missionaries who spread among them, the Chiriguano, and poured out sweat with the sole purpose of civilizing them in a Christian way (3).

3. There are a grammar, a Spanish-Chiriguano dictionary, a catechism with its translation, Father Corrado's masterpiece, a small Chiriguano-Spanish "Nene" /"Infant"; the work referred to is Nino's Nene Chiriguano/, and many unpublished sermons.

/78 cont./ today there is already a need for farmers, and everybody is coming to the missions looking for day laborers, muleteers, and herders, cheese-makers, house-builders, etc., etc. How will it be later? (2) The immi-

> 2. H. Montero's project, approved by the Commission in the year 1910, may well be approved by Congress, but it seems impossible to me that the caciques will report the Indians who try to go to Argentina. To charge missionary padres to send 25 per cent of the people to the intendancies, where they will receive a daily pay which is lower than what they are paid in their own town, is to drive away the missionary who cannot comply with this obligation every month because the Indians will resist it or run away.

gration of useful people, not idle people, is necessary, but not in order to destroy the missionary centers, /79/ as is proposed, because this would soon end up by destroying the tribe, but colonizing what is unpopulated. What did the government achieve by the absence of missionaries in Villa Montero? That the Indians will now not work for anyone, and only do so when they are good and ready. All the authority of a delegation was not sufficient to get a few days' work out of its population, and for this reason the previous work was at the point of being completely destroyed; weeds had taken over in the vineyards and gardens which had been so fruitful and so well maintained in the time of the earlier missionaries.

Now almost all of the great Chiriguano centers have disappeared, and barely the names of the great caciques of some faction or other remain; in all of the cantons the disappearance of the labor force causes astonishment, and service is scarcely to be obtained for fuel. Even the missions are undergoing this decline; in Acero Province there must be some 5,000 souls, in Cordillera some 8,000, in the

/79 cont./

178 464 [197] [162] Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big and small, old and young. But of this number there are scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work, and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through [131] [465] their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

648 [167] There is a great struggle under way between the Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior, yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave, he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[464] 1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 197 361 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former times and the very missions which antedate South American independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and others are on the point of disappearing.

/113 cont./

165 [145] advanced age, and I have seen Indians with the head completely white, and others with a white the color of smoke or something smoked. In the performance of my ministry I have met and baptized many centenarians at the time of their death, and in the towns through which I have passed I have met several who fought in the Caraparí war and who witnessed the War of Independence.

273 276 [178] But today the Chiriguano has degenerated greatly: in somewhat distant times they did not know about either liquor or coca, and today both are general, and because of liquor and coca, the use of which they much abuse, they ruin their health and shorten their existence. Much youth disappears with the abuse of these substances, and as a general rule in the missions the best disappear, those who know some art or have some fortune; all that they earn, after buying their clothing (although not always), they invest in liquor and coca, and [165 248] thus shorten their lives. I have seen towns where out of 40 or 50 young men of the same age there are scarcely two or three alive who will reach 50; it can thus be seen that the drunkenness produced by chicha is not so pernicious as that of liquor or alcohol, for which any tax imposed on them by the Supreme Government is never too much, and would that such a tax were higher, more general, and that it was not felt to be enough simply to write it out. In spite of this dissipated life, it is [142 149] very rare that one encounters a bald Indian, which indicates great robustness (1).

1. I have known many large and small Chiriguano towns; I have only found three semibald persons.

Morality

181 At present the Chiriguano Indian differs slightly or not at all morally from the common mass of men. I mean that not all are good nor are all perverse; there are good ones and bad ones

/114 cont./

648 721 Once the conquest had been completed through the work of the missionaries and through colonization by the inhabitants of several departments, the Chiriguano had to submit to the rights of the stronger; on several occasions he tried to raise his head by means of general uprisings, such as the one of 1875 and the one of 1892 in Curuyuqui de Cuevo-Ibo, but they succumbed because of the difference in arms and because the whites were well situated (3).

[113] 3. Mattarelli. Addition to the Historia de Misiones del Colegio de Pozoní, which deals with the Curuyuqui war and the beginnings of the founding of the San Buenaventura de Ivo Mission.

648 •178 /115/ A new uprising seems unlikely today because they are few and because the territory is populated by whites who have taken over the territory by right of conquest and through purchase made before the Supreme Government, but the Indians have not resigned themselves to permanent servitude, having once been lords of their house and land; their pride has been put down by superior forces, and most of them endure their fate with resignation.

To be sure, it is a fact that the Chiriguano of today is not the Chiriguano of other times; he is not the one who fought so tenaciously against the soldier of the Inca army, against the Spaniard, and against the Bolivian soldier himself. This change has taken place, I shall say once more, through the loss of territory and his independence, and in repeated struggles of extraordinary tenacity, which only resulted in aggravating a bad situation, and in the loss of their most beloved people and of their lands. For better or for worse they have had to submit to the laws of the Government of the Republic, which still exercises supreme authority over them, in the missions, where it is embodied in the conversors, in the provinces in the person of the subprefects, and in the cantons in that of the corregidors, who generally make use of the cacique or the alcalde to

648 /115 cont./
198 obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

157 Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, incon-
181 stancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even
[849] suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They
[762] only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome
[461] by want: then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family.
[182] But if near the *cari* /cf: see *carey*, p. 107/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the *cari*, they append the adjective *pachi*, bad, perverse, tyrannical, cruelly, etc.

[533] They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all: they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of
[273] their home. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and
[178] cattle-stealing are relatively recent: they were not com-
[694] mon formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad compte. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

[648]
[685]
[954]

1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge great secrecy so that the authorities will not make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

4: Stan--167 M-2 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/120 cont./

Out of these general wars were derived other private ones, which civilized people called affairs of honor-dueling. This does not happen in private, as occurs among civilized people, who go off to a determined place with their respective seconds. All is public, in the presence of many people who come to drink. It is /121/ the caciques who incite their soldiers to match their strength and to avenge with crime an affront or an unfounded jealousy. When this happens, with or without a reason, the fighters place themselves in the midst of a whole crowd of spectators in the presence of the caciques, who urge them on with a word of command, while the poor angry men hit each other cruel blows.

Dueling is ancient, because formerly knives were not known and, if they had them, they only used them in their work in the fields. Now the picture has changed; the young are succeeding the old, and these young people continually go to work in the Argentine Republic. There they learn how to drink pure liquor, to handle the knife with which they are armed for their work, and to defend themselves. One small word is enough; it is enough if one says *vaimano*, let us fight, the word of challenge, and knives are unsheathed, and then blood flows. Fortunately, they usually are content with inflicting wounds which rarely bring death because they do not deliver the blow with the point of the weapon but with the edge.

This mania for going off to the Argentine Republic has them in continual movement, and, unfortunately, many of them remain for years, to return finally bringing almost nothing with them, and if one asks them, they answer very calmly, "I drank it all." Last year's law has made recruitment impossible. Several Indians went off, but they could not get through Villa-Montes and returned (1).

1. If the authorities in Villa-Montes and Tarija continue to capture the Indians who are trying to escape, the law will not be in vain this time.

/149 cont./

755 embassy to the sorcerer is the cacique, and his
756 companions limit themselves to saying Aflete,
554 that is how it is, just as the altar boy or sacristan
731 says amen.

756 Of course, his arrival is awaited anxiously. All surround
554 him in order to welcome him and give him demonstrations of
574 affection. There is no family which will not bring him whatever
731 it can so that he may cure well. Cooked chickens, boiled eggs,
[176] live lambs, and plenty of chicha are all presents for the great
rascal. All of this is still done for any sorcerer.

755 After a short rest, a good meal, and better refreshments,
756 the sorcerer opens his ceremonial with numerous questions in
731 order to try to discover who brought the epidemic to the town,
in case it has come in already. If so, he continues in this way
and his exorcisms are daily, general for the town, and special
for each sick person, as I shall say farther on.

But if the sickness has not come in, he gathers together all
of the principal men, they make cigars of tobacco wrapped in
maize husks, gather in a circle, light the cigars, and blow
smoke in every direction, the sorcerer observing which way the
smoke is going. When the location is more or less known, they
all go there, club in hand. The sorcerer makes a small excava-
tion and takes from it the charm which he has put there before-
hand without being seen; it consists of old, dirty rags mixed with
hairs and small bones. Then he burns all that in the presence of
the company, strikes the ground with his club and feet, being
imitated by all (2).

2. It is not uncommon that the sorcerers
themselves take the clothing of persons with
smallpox from one town to another in order
that the contagion may spread and that they
may have some pretext for profit and a life
full of gifts.

/160 cont./

594 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accommodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

594 198 [431] [293] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he sells nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretested liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 527 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quirquincho, /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

622 224

2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

293 594 191

[Text Continues on P. 221]

/171 cont./

which form the skeleton of the house, but where the forest is not tall and the trees slender, nine are needed.

Once the timber has been transported with the help of his companions and relatives and they have been treated with food and chicha, the day for setting up the house is set. The center posts are first placed, with the two holes being dug quite deep; next comes the placement of the four or six lateral ones, which are much shorter so that rain will not stay on the roof and there will not be continual and copious dripping. I measured several relatively new houses, and their pitch from the ground to the ridgepole is about 45 c/o in some and in others 36, it being possible to conclude that the average is 40 (1).

> 1. Chiriguano houses are rectangular with only one room, which, if it is very long, has in the middle another post which holds up the ridgepole so that it may not bend or break.

[198] This proportion is maintained today by the houses in Chiriguano towns, and it cannot be otherwise, because the roof is entirely of straw and the rain would stay on it if it did not have sufficient slope. Some who by mistake build them without this proportion realize at the time of the first torrential rain, and even more in the ones that follow, the mistake that they have made, but in vain, because /172/ it is very difficult for the Indian to correct his lack of foresight.

Once the skeleton of the house has been set up vertically, the rest is simpler to do, except for the placement of the ridgepole and the side beams; the latter can be cut in half to make it easier to move them, in addition to making finding them easier. The placement of these beams is followed by that of the rafters and the reinforcing pieces of wood to strengthen the walls. The rafters are tied with bejuco or with spiny ceiba bark, which is called Samuu by the Indians and Toborochi by the whites.

/172 cont./

342 D24 The hardest part is finished with the previous operation: a short rest is taken, and then the owner of the new building must obtain enough hollow cane, engaging for this purpose Indians who have horses. But if the cane is very far away and has owners to boot, he gathers long sticks of astringent acacia or ubiri and puts them horizontally every 15 centimeters on top of the rafters with the same above-mentioned lianas. Some [283] people, to tie the cane or sticks, use thin cords made from cowhide, but this, in addition to being more expensive, is less durable than bejuco (1).

[137] [178] [423]

1. Before the whites settled in Chiriguano country, hollow cane was abundant and had no owners: at the present time it cannot be found, and, if there is any, it is in private hands and must be bought.

Generally, before the walls are begun the house is covered with capii, red straw, or, should this not be available, with cañamazu, straw for harnesses of beasts of burden, which is of inferior quality and very soon frays to pieces with the rain, sun, and strong winds, while the capii may last for more than ten years.

[496] If it can be obtained by staying for a few days in a place where it is plentiful, he pulls it up there and reduces it to rather large handfuls: the gathering is done in several days, engaging Indians who own horses. When the material is in the town, he rests for a few days or weeks: he informs or invites those who wish to take part, in particular those who are closest to him by kinship or friendship. These then go about tying the capii be- [354] tween two horizontal canes toward the side of the roots, forming long, narrow lines, and when they are so placed, they attach them horizontally, beginning at the bottom and working /173/ upward or toward the ridgepole, where they leave a large vent to let out the eternal smoke of their inextinguishable fires (1).

1. Now the red straw is disappearing almost completely: the destruction of this necessary

/174 cont./

342 281 second frame, taking care that it is not very tight so that when it dries it will not warp. He attaches this hide from behind with thongs of the same material, and the result for them is a door de luxe, which could be envied even by some whites, who, in spite of the fact that they have hides, either cannot find anyone to work them for such a door, or who out of avarice and in order not to spend a few coins do not concern themselves with such a comfort (2).

342 322 2. Some of them make very crude doors with two pieces of thorny ceiba wood, which they work perfectly with a knife. No Chiriguano puts a window in his house.

Ancient Houses

342 177 178 Some of my readers perhaps may have believed that the house and its mode of construction just described go back to the origin of the race. /175/ This belief would be an error, because they must understand that the above-mentioned is the result of progress. The method of building houses like the present ones is relatively new; they learned it from the whites, especially from the inhabitants of the Santa Cruz area, where the houses all have galleries, this being noted even in the capital of the department, although they may be of much more importance and may be disappearing in the new buildings. But 184 in Monteagudo, Lagunillas, Charagua, and centers where the Chiriguano have their holdings, houses have gallaries.

These, in addition to giving the houses a better appearance, in addition to the indisputable utility, are a very great reinforcement and protection for the walls of the house, not allowing the torrential rains to wear away or demolish the plastering that 342 they do in all the houses. It is true that many houses of the 171 whites in their towns are of adobe, but when the timber is of superior quality it is almost preferable, because this material + REMAINS JOINED BETTER AND IS MORE COMPACT.

000 /175 cont./
remains joined better and is more compact (1).

797 1. When a mission is founded, the first building is the mission house made in the usual way. But in the Potosí missions they are all of timber, and any traveler would marvel at their height and strength.

342 178 The ancient Chiriguano houses were of different form, and they were not alike in size or beauty in the towns. Some were distinguished by their roundness and conical form, and others because they were small and low. The latter had no importance at all and could scarcely even be called huts, in spite of the fact that, to the poor Chiriguano, dominated by his laziness, the smallness of a dwelling does not detract from its importance.

342 171 I am going to deal at some length with the way the houses of conical form were built, because they indicate skill on the part of the builder or because they make one's imagination take wing and fly to China, Africa, and Japan, where similar forms are found and thus make us ever more convinced of the unity of the human race.

As explorers, travelers, histories, and well thought out books say and as is also observed in the pictures of illustrated geographies, it is evident that in China, Japan, Africa, New Zealand, and in the east of Australia not a few of the inhabitants /176/ have houses in conical form.

This form seems to be the original one of the human race, and it is very probable that man has used it in the five parts of the world, since it is even found among the Chiriguano.

342 335 In fact, in order to construct a comfortable house before the Conquest, the clever Chiriguano used the following method. He first obtained a single post of some four or five meters and planted it at a depth of approximately one meter (1).

[476] [574] 1. For any small job for which the Indian must trouble his friends, he would get nothing without offering them a drink. Not even money is so esteemed and appreciated as chicha by the Chiriguano.

/177 cont./

Fire

354
372 In conical houses as well as in those of rectangular form, ancient as well as modern, a fire burned, and still burns, night and day; it is never extinguished, but should this happen, the way to relight it is to borrow it from the neighbors. If all the 372 inhabitants of a tribe have temporarily emigrated to a place 177 which is not far away, as happens at the time of general plant- • 178 ing, at the end of the harvest, and upon returning to town, they come back bringing their fire with them, as I have seen on repeated occasions. But as today civilization has penetrated [435] and the match has become common, even the Chiriguano will [276] save up one medio, or ten centavos, to buy such a useful combustible, which they use very sparingly, because in their hands this is now a luxury and lends them an air when in a gathering of companions they can bring out and show their box of matches while lighting a maize-husk cigar.

372 When a fire happens to go out in a place where it is difficult to get it from distant houses, the Chiriguano is not too worried. The man is almost never without a flint, tinder, and a piece of steel; these implements are used to obtain new fire. The tinder is prepared by them from a boll of wild cotton or the flower of the samuu, which they reduce into a skein of thread and put into a cow's horn, which they clear at the wider end, fitting to it a wooden stopper that they keep down with a small wire or agave string; inside the tinder box it extends to the other end, where they make a small hole in order to be able to pull the wire or string and keep the top on tight.

The Indian who does not have all this apparatus does not worry much either. If his fire happens to go out, he makes a small conical hole in a piece of well-dried wood, in which he violently spins a small cylindrical stick, also dry, which does not take long to get hot and then to give off sparks of fire, to which he then applies the tinder, which consists of the dry pith either of the agave or of the /178/ maguey, which when it has taken fire will light any other combustible material (1).

[973] 1. When the toad handed over fire to the two

/180 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it; most of them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have [513] this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they [178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and [237] to have cots like the whites use; the open part of the latter is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred; in the Ivu Mission almost all make them of this material.

574 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either;
576 when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on
516 the ground; nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit
352 down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For
322 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of
[574] wood and called Apica. There are some with two places and up to four with their respective dividers; there are some for [412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter [438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like [439] those of the whites; they make the latter for their own use [824] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharrosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel.
352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks, Quiha ó inni, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/185 cont./

291 The Cutama, which I have mentioned, has been replaced
286 by the Tipoi of the same form as the former, but made of
[178] chintz, blue drill, linen, merino wool, or corduroy; they also weave covers for their beds, but these are without colors, and an occasional man has a crude loom, like those they use in Europe with a comb, manufactured by themselves (1).

291

1. The Mandu is attached to both shoulders by means of two large silver pins which correspond to the luxury of the garment; on ordinary days they pin the Tipoi with large thorns, but these have been replaced by needles, pins, and metal clasps.

462 Other tasks of the women are carrying water, maize, and field produce for the kitchen and making chicha and algarroba mead, which we shall discuss below, putting an end to this chapter for now.

000 /186/

Chapter Seven

Chiriguano Clothing and Adornments

Introduction

/The first paragraph on p. 186 is omitted in the translation. Page 186 continues as follows./

Clothing, which should remind us of the fall of our first parents, their misfortunes, their sufferings, hardships, and their death, our hardships, misfortunes, and death as a consequence of that disobedience, is today used as an object of extraordinary luxury. All of humanity has converted clothing into an object of vanity, and there is no nation, no tribe, however abject it might be or might consider itself, which has not abused or is not abusing clothing and adornments. /The last paragraph on p. 186 and the first paragraph on p. 187 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 187. The remainder of page 187 follows./

/187 cont./

301 buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions.
302 The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicuano
[199] /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts
in the presence of his companions ( ).

[199] [114] [121]

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbéa had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter
294 is woven by them themselves with palm leaves. Carandai;
285 they bring them from the places where they are abundant. Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/7 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect
292 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older
564 Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (7).

291 2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap,
302 the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of
304 long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in
178 few places now, and the straw hat is being

/188 cont./

291
302
304
178

replaced by the cloth one, although it costs a great deal; the customs of yesteryear are now disappearing, and those of today, or of the whites, are penetrating rapidly.

302
412
[831]

For the Chiriguano virility consists of a vigorous head of hair; nevertheless, although he prizes hair on his head, he never allows any other hair on his body, except that of the eyelashes and eyebrows, which he forms into arches. He pulls out the rest of the hair on his face and body with his Tendivaha poha, or tweezers. These consist of some little pieces of tin or a piece of cane slit down the middle, and sometimes a knife. With great patience and bit by bit he pulls out or cuts off all the hair that appears on his chin, thus looking like another woman. Others who are called /illustration appears here/ /189/ rich pull out their hair with thin pieces of silver, which they call Mboivera (1).

302

1. During my stay in the territory I saw only one Indian who had a thick beard, but because of this uncleanliness he was considered disgusting. When the hairs grew, he cut them with scissors. Today the young men are beginning to wear mustaches and goatees, and many shave with razors.

[178]

291
[171]

The ancient Chiriguano clothing was very simple and too immoral, as is still seen among those Indians where the civilization of the Cross has not penetrated, such as the Chacobo north of Santa Cruz and others in the Bolivian Chaco. Boys go about naked until the age of ten or twelve, and girls up to seven, at which age they are content to cover the most delicate part of the body because of a trace of modesty which exists among them. Even grown men make use of this most simple garment when they are in the country busy at work or when they are returning to town loaded with firewood or food.

[Text Continues on P 260]

/192 cont./

Adornments

000

/The first paragraph of this section, pp. 192-193, is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 193, and the remainder of p. 193 follows./

181 The Chiriguano, although they occupy a very lowly place in this corner of the world, although they have little in the way of grandeur and show to display and take pride in, follow the common tendency of humanity, almost as the beast follows its instincts. Without any fear of error, if the Chiriguano were to possess great riches, he would probably invest them in his vices and in the adornment of his body.

302 When the Chiriguano wants to make a formal visit, he [292] washes his body, dresses in his best clothing, and paints his [594] face with achiote powder. The preparation of achiote seeds has been described in the preceding pages in the discussion of the flora /see p. 32/. Here I add that in order for the Urucú to be fixed on the Indian's skin it is necessary that he first soften his face, or the part that he wants to paint or embellish, with palma Christi oil.

751 It has already been seen that the region is hot and that 302 atmospheric changes are very sudden; a period of extreme heat can be followed by severe cold, and in these changes the Chiriguano's skin becomes chapped. To avoid this nuisance, men and women paint their faces and their feet with the cosmetic. [527] They also use it during public drinking sessions, ~~at banquets~~, and [758] during the preparation of chicha in order to ward off the high heat, as well as during convalescence and after having recovered from smallpox (1).

1. Achiote powder with palma Christi oil is cool in hot weather and warm in cold weather. The neophytes in the missions no longer use it, or, if they do, it is sparingly and as a remedy.

• [198]

[text continues on p. 267]

/194 cont./

302 The flower of the Guambero, purslane, has the same properties as the carasapa, but it is little used, and they content themselves with just sticking the leaves on their faces, and this only at carnival time, the result being a gay set of dancers. Finally, the Indians have a fourth cosmetic, which they call Mboiuvucu, or achiote of the viper. It is red, and they assert that it is food for the viper, hence its name. They use it by rubbing it on their cheeks, which makes them a bright red.

292 As noted above, the ancient Chiriguano man, Ava, and the
[527] Chiriguano woman of long age, Cuña, at solemn fiestas and on
[178] days /195/ of general rejoicing, after having adorned their faces and washed their persons, wore the tiru and the mandu, respectively (1).

> 1. If the Indian dressed in a tiru does not have breeches, guasupi timbiao, he wraps his body from the waist down with a shorter poncho
> [286] which comes to the calf. It is also of cotton,
> [462] and the women weave it. It is called Tirupeé, or sheath that warms, "alias" wrap /abrigo/.

The Tiru is a kind of long poncho, from which it differs because of the two openings that it has near the wrists: the hands are put into said openings and remain free for movement, and, the tiru fastened to the wrists, nothing impedes the motion
[286] of the one wearing it. It is spun and woven by the women, and
292 the raw material is cotton. The tiru differs in color, some
386 are black, others dark red, and others blue. The first color is
[824] obtained with black mud, Tuñúú, mixed with the resin of the algarroba, Piari; the second, with sotillo bark, Urundeibugu; and the third, with wild indigo, Caogüi (2).

> [437] 2. Today this is all purchased commercially,
> [178] and the indigo plant, which is abundant in certain places, is ignored. They buy the indigo and the other colors, just as they buy for their poncho and their tipoi.

/195 cont./

292 The black tiru is first dyed with sotillo bark, and then they
386 immerse it in a vessel which has well-steeped black mud and
824 algarroba resin. After some time they wash it and dry it out, leaving the permanent color. The dark red is made with only boiled sotillo bark. Finally, to dye with indigo they crush this leaf and expose it to the sun's rays, then they crush it again in the same way, after which they put it in a large earthenware vessel with water, in which the tiru is immersed and comes out a light blue, but, if they want it to be like the blue of drill, it is necessary to boil the indigo.

In order to dye everything red they also use a species of onion that they call Tunpaipi, which literally translated, means feet of God and is abundant in the fields, and another
292 one called Chapi, which is found in the hills. Everything said about the tiru is applicable to the mandu of the women, with the sole difference that this is open at both ends and is attached to the shoulders with two enormous silver needles that they call Yu guasu, big needles, which are also disappearing.

301 When a woman is occupied with domestic and other work,
302 she ties her hair up tightly with a band, Apicuá, /196/ of cotton
[529] or wool, so that it will not inconvenience her at her tasks, but
[515] when there is a fiesta, she washes her person, washes her head, combs her heavy and shining hair, and lets it loose, flowing over her body as far down as it will go (1).

• [178]

1. The young women today put up their hair like the white women, making braids through which they draw a band that they call Allopea, braided cord. The hair fastened in the old way was like a baton, since not a hair was to be seen, even horizontally, all of it being covered by the band, allopea.

997 /205 cont./ Let the reader consider that the work of the missionary, who strives for and dedicates himself to the reduction of the Indian, would not amount to much if he could make light of immorality, a sin which God anciently punished with two floods, one of water and one of fire, thus manifesting His just indignation with these words: Non permanebit spiritus meus in homine, quia caro est.

595 With these inclinations not at all restrained, but instead fomented with the five physical senses and all the faculties of the soul, it is not strange that there should exist among the Chiriguano a tendency to very frequent bigamy and polygamy as a luxury or a sign of greatness. /204/ If or all have many wives, it is either because it is not easy to support them or because they are not easily found, because every woman would like to be the only mistress in her house (1).

> 1. In the house of a polygamist or bigamist, the one who gives orders and is in charge as mistress and manager is the oldest, as long as she anticipates her husband's thinking; since, as she knows his irremediable incontinence, in order not to lose her authority in the house, she advises a second and third marriage, etc., and then the master of all of these women imposes the respect due the oldest woman.

[243] Almost all regional caciques are polygamists, and they have a woman in almost every town of their dependency, without counting the eight or twelve that they have in the town where they live. Caciques can do this because they have authority, although they do not give them anything. Formerly 595 polygamy was much more extensive. It is not so now because 178 the race has been much reduced, and there has penetrated [999] everywhere, if not the missionary, the Christian, who at times is a reproach for the lasciviousness of the carnal Ava.

/209 cont./

§43 §78 228 415 Near the time of giving birth, she carries less weight, prepares what is necessary, which consists of some cloth pads and her new little olla in which to cook the maize which she must eat boiled. If the olla were old or used, the newborn [153] would be subject to mal caduco, or epilepsy, and if a woman who has just given birth were to eat parched maize, her breasts would dry up and would not give milk for feeding the child.

§44 At the time of giving birth the only person left in the house is the midwife; the others, even the husband, go out, but he returns as soon as the birth has taken place, in order to lend some help to his wife and the midwife, who alone cannot attend to the newborn child and its mother, who fights with her very life against the pains, for which she is consoled at the sight of the fruit of her womb, which for a moment makes her forget her present suffering.

They at once cover with sand every trace of the event, wrap up with bands, cloths, or other things the body of the woman who has just given birth, and lay her on the ground face down, making her rest on a bed which has little or no resemblance to such, but as every Chiriguano woman is strong, she puts up with this as though she were in a featherbed.

[154] §46 Throughout the whole world birth is a very dangerous thing, and it is even here. The Chiriguano women also need considerable rest. When some old women were asked about the matter, they stated that childbirth formerly lasted almost two weeks, and they marvel that the neophytes get up so quickly, returning to their customary labors within eight days; they attribute this robustness to the lack of strict fasting in the years of puberty.

§46 /210/ It is consequently an error to state that puerperae go to the lake or river to bathe from the second or third day, much less on the same day as the birth. Natural reason would not allow the latter. There might have been some extraordinary case in which some woman walked immediately after giving birth, but it would not cease to be an extraordinary case. The [198] neophytes are abandoning the custom of their grandmothers and

/210 cont./

846 slowly accepting that of the whites. They do not come out of
•178 the house until they are completely well, and they only do it on a Sunday morning. They then wear a new dress for the first time and present themselves at the door of the church to receive the post partum blessing (1).

> 1. I saw an extraordinary case, from which no illness resulted. They have been accustomed to the post partum blessing by the virtuous old mistresses, and they continue this.

846 Soon, in a week or two, the woman is completely well,
848 and she is allowed to go out to bathe and paint her face with
302 urucu, returning gradually to her usual tasks. Childbirth is
844 regarded by the Chiriguano as a time of fasting, in which some
785 authors say that all the members of the family participate, but this is not true; only the husband shares this obligation, and he does it for two or three days (?).

> 2. They say that it is necessary for the baby's father to fast so that it may not die nor any harm come to it when it grows up.

797 The missionaries try to eradicate from the neophytes the
785 superstition that is represented by the husband's fasting, but
844 when their mothers see that their grandchildren are dying,
178 they reprehend in their children the abandonment of the customs of yesteryear. I knew an old woman who was very attached to these customs and who tried in every way to force her son to fast, in view of the fact that the newborn babies died every time her daughter-in-law gave birth.

/225 cont./

885 195 her duties /226/ serve her companion in whatever he may wish, and henceforth in her answers she ceases to use the ü ü which children use and adopts the é é suitable for women.

885 591 The young woman, in spite of being scarcely 13 years old when she comes out into public life, and despite a slight embarrassment which she feels when first presented to society as a woman ready and suitable for marriage, little by little begins to lose this misgiving, very natural in girls, and acquires frankness in answering quite clearly persons who may question her, whoever it may be, always staying within the limits of morality. What is immoral will cause astonishment in her and perhaps embarrassment at the beginning, but she soon becomes accustomed to it, because she hears it in the house, she hears it at the drinking bouts, during the gatherings and parties. From hearing a lot of this, it begins to cause pleasure in her, which brings on a continual and loud laughter, since day or night the women laugh long and loud. This is usually a sure sign that in a gathering or party there is some gallant present who is giving free rein to his tongue (1).

1. Missionaries who know the language of the Indians and who find themselves at the beginning in a new mission may be astonished by the frankness with which boys and girls of 12 or 13 years answer them.

[827] The men state that their wives are better at enduring hunger and thirst. They attribute this to the strict fasting which they undergo at puberty, but the women say that the neophytes are stronger than they, because they go out sooner after giving birth.

881 178 In none of the missions do the maidens follow the custom of their mothers at the time of puberty. When the first signs appear, the only thing conceded to them is some three days leave for rest, and so that her mother may tell her, as should be done in analogous circumstances, to hide what must be hidden. When this short leave ends, they return to school as before, and continue their work without any inconvenience (2).

2. Many of these maidens, out of modesty,

/226 cont./

881 881 178 do not advise anyone of their puberty, even their mothers, and the consequences are sad in no few cases. They do not tell anyone because the older girls make fun of them.

163 582 A single thing is noted in the missions, and it is that the neophytes, when they get to the age of about 16, stop having children. Perhaps this is because they marry very young, at about 16 to 20 at the latest. If it is true that the Chiriguano 581 women of old were ready for marriage /227/ as soon as they came out of their hiding or fasting, the union which they contracted was certainly neither continuous nor for life with the same person. One or two months with one, then a rest until giving birth, afterwards again joining the same man, or perhaps she would seek out another if the first had become bored 799 with her or she with him. But this does not happen in the 581 missions: those who contract marriage do it for life, because it is a Catholic union and, as such, indissoluble, just as the natural marriage of the infidels would be, but the Chiriguano does not understand this, since in principle he wishes to be a hummingbird, coming to rest on many flowers and not stopping at any of them until he reaches a certain age.

881 185 184 In the districts where the fasting lasted for a year, such as in Cuevo, before the town of San Juan Bautista and the Santa Rosa Mission were founded, after the first rigorous month the maidens were made to eat meat and beans also, and they were even allowed to drink a little mild chicha, so that they would not become too weak or die. If the chicha had turned sour, it would be prejudicial for later married life, producing the effects of which I have already spoken.

881 178 177 Finally, to conclude such a delicate subject, let it be noted that at the present time the custom of such a rigorous fast for the female sex is observed in very few places: today the region is inhabited by the white race, which is making them understand that all this is superstition, because of the example of their daughters, who, in spite of the fact that they have done nothing of what has been said, live in perfect

/197 cont./

197 198 197 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently, and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Pomé after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where 226 there are large rivers. 462 Fishing is done by the women in the little streams, and the men assist them in the diversions of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Faiyenta.

/226/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and 88 not a boy, the time to give up the ó ó of his affirmative 195 answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother, 304 and other relatives make him understand that for this it is 301 necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of 555 the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip, 554 Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

192 1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ita, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

/[illegible]/

301 [304] The tombeta usually is a small round piece of tin with two little ears or hooks on the sides which serve to hold it in the pierced lip. The circle of the tombeta is hollow up to near the surface of the hooks; a little wax is put in it, and other ornaments, such as cornaline or little light-blue stones of little value, are set in the wax. What is somewhat valuable is the itogüi, a small green stone in one piece which fills the entire hole of the tombeta. I have one of these, and its stone is fixed in place with a little prong of the same tin. The tombetas are also of hollow cane and of wood, but never of stone, as some writers have stated (2).

2. Though tombeta literally means lip stone, this does not come from its being made of stone; the literal meaning comes from itogüi, which is a stone. The itogüi is also set in those of wood.

• 179 30 The tombeta, already described, is relatively new. Before Christians and missionaries came into their country the tombetas were of wood, and they were of the same form as the [illegible] one, with all the ornamentation, but most people used a piece of hollow cane, especially when they were working. [304] This is a little piece of cane cut at a node, which is thinner in the hole in order to be held in the pierced lip. In these there is neither ornament nor wax, because they are for the poor, and for the rich only when they are working.

301 [305] The itogüi had considerable value among the Indians, being worth a horse, a cow, a burro, etc., but, as I have already said, it was a relative value, since in Tarija, from where they brought them, their value was two bolivianos. From this it can be concluded that the itogüi is not found in [171] Chiriguano country. It owes its origin to the Incas or Quichuas /Quechua/, /[illegible]/ but it is the Chiriguano who work the tambeta, in which they set the itogüi, or green stone.

/237 cont./

648 It can be said with all certainty that the only laborer in
464 the four provinces of Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor, and Gran
466 Chaco is the Chiriguano, who is found even beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he also works, taken there by the authorities or by the owners of the lands, which they bought in ancient times for a trifle (1).

[425]

1. If one is to credit what the Indians say, in some places land was acquired by barefaced trickery /la raida/ at the time of Ferdinand VII: in other places, for three or four arrobas of cheese, and in the last ones, for a cow, a poncho, a few varas of cloth, or a few bottles of liquor given to the cacique.

• 178 Today the Chiriguano, very abject, in many places suffers
[169] in resignation what, according to the story, he did not want yesterday: in other places he is migrating the better part of the time, that is to say, when his presence is necessary for the general planting, to which of necessity the old people must devote themselves if they want to live without dying of hunger and in order to be able to welcome the migrants when they return for a few days to show off their new clothing, their work from other regions, to sell it immediately for very little, to slaughter some cattle of their own or of their elders, and to go back at once without even saying good-by.

Property Rights

648 The object of the present chapter is to describe the
[241] method of cultivating the land when the Indians lived alone in the country, before the whites had moved in among them: now they scarcely give them /238/ room to do their planting
177 as best they can. Nonetheless, since they keep them con-
648 tinually occupied, food and clothing are never lacking to anybody in a Christian's house, where the Indian gets them

/252 cont./

262 As very savory food there are also cicadas, ants, lizards, locusts, and some green worms which cause disgust just to name them. If a head of cattle dies and putrefaction has begun, the Chiriguano finds it excellent; give it to him and it is a grand gift, and that day is a carnival for him; he does not try to find out whether the animal died from the poison of a viper or rattlesnake or from rabies (1).

262
252

1. When Indians bring home the meat of dead cattle well into a state of putrefaction, they boil it in ollas and throw away the liquid, and in this way it loses much of its bad smell.

262
178 I do not know whether it is through superstition or because they are descendants of the Jews that this tribe formerly did not eat the flesh of the pig; although they like and hunt the wild boar or the peccary, they did not touch the domestic pig, but today almost all of them, with the exception of some women, eat it.

261
262 The Chiriguano suffers in times of hunger or scarcity of food, but he looks for food in the earth; this is very harmful food, which produces various ailments, such as consumption and dysentery. He looks for the potato of the serpentine arum, ex-
[252] tracts it, and, making a hole, heats it, throws the potatoes
[164] there, and covers it with ashes and embers, leaving them overnight; on the following day he and his family eat, but it gives them a bad stomach-ache, which makes them throw themselves down with their bellies to the ground until the pain abates; the same potato, raw, is efficaceous for killing worms in the galls of animals.

[222] Another food in times of scarcity is the Caraguata; this
[252] is a kind of aloe with leaves without the oily liquid; the edible part is the roots, which have a flavor like mandioca; it is considerable work to pull them out of the ground, where they are firmly attached, and the mealy substance is /253/ little enough; to eat it, it is roasted in the coals or under the ashes. When it is the time for fruits and want threatens, the Chiriguano

/262 cont./

527 are gathering together all the people, shouting like madmen and making known their great joy. The lord of the fiesta has arranged beforehand that the morning reception should take place in one location and the afternoon affair in another, and in this way not only is there time to prepare, but there is also food every day for the outsiders and for those who are not outsiders.

In the afternoon, at four o'clock more or less, they eat again with more enthusiasm than before, because their happiness is greater and then, it will be understood, ex abundantia musti os loquitur. But great friendship and harmony prevail; then they sing a little more, one by one, and when the sun sets there is a general rest (2).

2. From the afternoon oration until two in the morning there is complete silence; at that hour the song begins anew, with dancing and drinking. Today, since the voice of the cacique is little heeded, there is no schedule.

[622] [178]

535 184 173

Mbapa páure

This dance is similar to a quadrille; couples execute it by making turns through the streets of the town, both day and night. According to what the Indians of Ivu say, the Mbapa páure is not general for the Chiriguano race, but peculiar to certain regions, and it is not more than a hundred years old. They even say that it had its origin /263/ at the foot of the Itácua mountain range in Cordillera Province and then spread there up to Menbirái and Choreti Guasu.

When the war of the cacique Yaveáu took place, the Indians of Güiracoti, living on the left bank of the stream of Cuevo, fled to the left bank of the Parapiti River, where they stayed and learned this new dance and song. Thus, when they returned to their lands, when Yaveáu, through having avenged himself excessively, had pardoned and forgotten the affront he had received, they brought back the novelty and began to introduce it into their towns.

/263 cont./

527 273 The fiesta of the Ayarise is an annual one, and it is always understood that the Indians have drink; thus in the general fiestas it does not end in one day; /264/ it lasts a long time until the chicha bottled in the vessels outside comes to an end; when this is finished, they repair to the large pitchers indoors, which are in reserve, like the reserve corps in a war. After eight or ten 527 574 days the fiesta can be considered at an end, and then the ucau vaé with all his soldiers takes leave of the purumuncau vaé with thousands of thanks, congratulating him for the order which has been maintained, the joy which has reigned, and the abundance of food and drink prepared. On finishing the praises, the guest in turn invites his friend and all the people for a similar affair in his tribe, with the month and day immediately being set.

527 273 Thus does the Chiriguano fiesta end, leaving everyone content and satisfied. But it is repugnant to see them drink without resting; the surroundings of these places look as though they were flooded by rain, their bodies give off an unpleasant odor, their faces seem swollen, their eyes out of their sockets, their lips with the tembeta sag like a baby lamb's, and just to approach one of them or the place where they are drinking is the same as approaching a sewer, such is the fetidness! But the Chiriguano is very content and glories in the piglike state in which he finds himself, saying, Asagüipo, I am drunk, and when he is getting over his drunkenness, he confirms what a good state he was in. Poor beast! (1)

[178]

1. Formerly, the intoxication of the Chiriguano was almost never complete; today, with the use of liquor, he frequently loses consciousness. Would that this harmful drink could be eliminated! The mission Indians no longer glory in their drunkenness; they say that they have been drunk, but not as an honorable act.

[997] [177]

/267 cont./

541 177 [648] Don Antonio Menduiña, who had requested aid; he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers from Azero.

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival [178] is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of Arete, fiesta, through antonomasia, and all the old fiestas are [461] gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that [292] this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguaño works almost all year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him; for it is he gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy clothing for himself and his wife and children; and on those days all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put on /268/ during the other days of the year, neither for the Ayarise nor for the Mbapa páure.

In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between [532] blacks and whites; the men well dressed, and even the infidel women with garb adorned with gauze, fancy hats, and multicolored ribbon; the children cover their faces with masks which they have made beforehand by carving toborochi wood; young men prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others, such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the dancers and Agüeros /maskers/, for whom everything is allowed because it is carnival.

541 535 [527] By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one drinks and has fun, they make merry on the compadre and comadre days, and on Quinquagesima Saturday, all day, the maskers and dancers practice the dances that they call Aticu. [532] On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival, dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually mounted on a burro; the one who is thus disguised directs the fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

1. The principal man so disguised has subalterns,

StNordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

D. *Northern and Eastern Cultural Elements that occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.*

C
Ce
177

The Chiriguano and Chané have a number of cultural elements that clearly reveal their connection with their kinsmen in northern and eastern S. America. The area of their distribution stretches like a wedge from the more tropical northern Bolivia between the Andes and El Gran Chaco proper. Several of these cultural elements, moreover, have a distribution that induces us to assnme that they reached the region examined with the Arawaks, i. e. the Chané. One such is, for instance, the india-rubber ball game. Several of them, such as the hammock and the seat, were familiar to both Chiriguano and Chané before they migrated to their present habitat. Those cultural elements that we may with more or less certainty assume to have been known to the Chiriguano or the Chané, or to both, at the time of their immigration, I have collocated in the table (22). Of course these Indians have several other cultural elements with a similar origin, though this cannot be proved from the material at our disposal.

In Table 22 there is scarcely any reference to clothing and adornments, owing to the fact that the Chiriguano and Chané have learnt much in this respect from the civilization of the bronze age and from the Whites. It is a characteristic trait for the Indian women to have clung to an older type of garment, — the tipoy.

C
Ce
177
178

Most of the cultural elements the Chané and Chiriguano have kept from the time of their migration to these parts, are useful articles, such as household furniture and fishing tackle. But some of these things are of minor importance here, since their existence is not necessitated by external conditiosn: they are evidently suited to other natural conditions than those that obtain in these parts.

C
Ce
177

One can conceive that several of the cultural elements included in Table 22 did not reach the Chané and Chiri-

/159 cont./

In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities. 114 [64] [65] [273]

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either. 797 756

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the 114

415
531

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igüembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 114 It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant. [133] [137]

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things. 123 157 178 643 000

/170 cont./ Ce 173

The legendary figures and their experiences stimulate the imagination, are preserved and retold. The historical personalities and events are forgotten.

If one looks in Chané and Chiriguano houses, one finds many things preserved which are now no longer in use, /171/ but which they value as mementos of earlier times and often do not want to give up. For example, one sees handsome round pipes, "huiramimbi" (Ill. 80), which have undoubtedly been handed down from generation to generation. They were formerly used in connection with expeditions of war. Old Maringay had kept all kinds of things from olden times. It gave me great pleasure to rummage about in the old man's storage places. I wanted to buy something from him, but felt embarrassed to offer him money for his mementos.

Ce 523 [276] [72] c 523 123 126

I once found a bundle of fine, old, completely smoke-blackened arrow-points stuck into the walls. "Would you not like to sell them to me?" I asked my old friend hesitatingly. "You shall have three as presents," said Maringay. After this refusal I let him keep his cherished things.

Once I rode away from Vocopay's village in order to look up an old Chané who had an attractive old costume. After some hesitation he showed it to me. He had carefully wrapped it in other material. Like an enthusiastic museum official taking out an old gem, he unwrapped it carefully. One unmistakably saw how dear it was to him. Although I offered him a very high price, he did not want to sell it.

Ce 523 123 126 c

The fact that these Indians love their old keepsakes shows that they have a certain degree of culture. This is true only of the old people, however. The young ones are no longer like that; they sell everything without hesitation. What do they care about a worn-out old festival costume if they can get a red, fluttering scarf and trousers with jacket in exchange! The triumphal march of trousers across the world has also reached these valleys and plains.

Ce 523 178 c Ce [177]

The Chiriguano and Chané no longer carry on regular war with other Indian tribes. Occasionally, however, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians.

Ce 721 c [721]

/173 cont./

Under the influence of the whites, however, the Chané and Chiriguano are gradually changing their huts, and many Indians are already building huts that are identical with theirs.

No hut here has its original Indian form. The genuine Chiriguano huts (the original Chané huts are not known) were very large; up to 100 persons lived in one house, and the entire /174/ village consisted of only a few large huts (1). These

1. Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. -- Tucuman y Perú -- 1596. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Madrid, 1885. Vol. II. Page CIV.

evidently correspond to the large family houses well known in Brazil, which I saw in Bolivia only among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe from Lago Rojo-Aguado.

Even in Viedma's (2) time, at the end of the eighteenth

2. Viedma: loc. cit.

century, /Fig. 83 appears here/ however, they seem to have given up the original type of house and built smaller huts.

In many villages there belongs to each hut one or more maize granaries (Fig. 84a), in which maize, gourds, etc. are /175/ stored. These granaries are built on piles and are perhaps a reminder of the time when the Chiriguano and Chané lived in swampy regions. To each granary there belongs, as a rule, a ladder (Fig. 84b). Sometimes the granaries and the dwellings are built together into one house. /Fig. 84a appears here./ I saw such huts in the vicinity of Machareti and at Yatavéri, not far from Ivu. Not infrequently the granaries stand in the fields, far from the dwellings.

These villages are neat and clean. Huts and market place are swept daily and the refuse is burned.

The space in the huts is not too cramped. /176/ In each house, as a rule, there lives only one family, which, aside from the rest of the family members, sometimes consists of the husbands

/181/

Ce 462

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Decoration of calabashes	+		Raising animals. .	+	+
			Sewing	+	+
Building houses	+ (1)		Basketry	+	
Weaving	+ (2)	+	Day labor for the whites . . .	+	+ (3)
Spinning thread .	+				
Plaiting bands . .	+				

Ce [464]

Ce [342] [842]

1. On the Rio Parapiti the Chané women gathered the material for the roof, that is, long grass.

2. Only in the case of Maringay.

3. Not important, actually only on the Rio Parapiti.

Ce [198] If one compares this table with the one on page 94 /omitted in the translation/, one finds that heavy wood-carrying and the building of houses has been almost entirely transferred from the women to the men among the higher-standing Chané and Ce [171] Chiriguano. Strangely enough, certain industries, for example, the production of clay vessels, are women's work in almost every primitive Indian tribe. Similarly, the calabashes are decorated everywhere by the men, who also do all woodworking. The reason that the women too fish here is because a number of these Indians live on rivers with little water, in which only small fish live, and in catching them the courage and strength of the fisher are not put to any test.

C
Ce
/210 cont./
881
[302]
When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short, and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again.
Ce
Ce
[262]
Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize and meal. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."
C
881
123
In a Chané village, Aguarśti, I saw a girl who was sitting in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet, which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and
C
881
closet had disappeared.
P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection
e
[113]
1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.
C
[825]
with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has bitten the girl.
C
Ce
881
582
When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is marriageable.
Ce
852
304
[301]
Ce
[603]
/211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this. A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him
Ce
to bathe, so that [illegible] will become a proper man.
[262]
[191]
For one [illegible] the father may not consume anything, so that the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians do not like prattlers.
Ce
301
[885]
When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig. 79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise
C
[301]
and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the
[78]
Chiriguano only the old men now have the
Ce
[78]
tembeta.

/211 cont./

C 301/178 [304] C [578] C [186] Ee 301/177 C 301/314

Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

C [113]

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

Ee 583 584

If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

Ee 584 178

The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

Ee 585

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

Ee 591

/234/

Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

Ee
178
527
273
[538]
[805]

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Ee
273
415
527
531

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

Ee
531
[527]
[323]
[462]

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

Ee
[181]

Ce /239 cont./

535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
179 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[539] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

Ee The Chiriguano and Chané
532 always destroy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "añañya."

C It is strange what a great
Ce role the carnival now plays as a
541 festival among the Indians. This
177 undoubtedly comes from the fact
[464] that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians who work for them are given a few days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already disappeared. Nevertheless one still sees women in home-woven clothing

C with necklaces of chrysocolla and
Ce turquoise. I never saw used, however,
[178] the silver diadem and the silver
C pins which belong to the festive attire.
412 One often sees the men's blue
237 costumes (Fig. 81) with silver chest ornaments preserved in the huts by the old people, but they are not used for the festivals.

Ce Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
535 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
527 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
273
533

A B

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

seen any Chiriguano using this typical ancient Andean garment. Ponchos of the cloak type, and robes of the kind used by the Chaco Indians, on the other hand, I have seen worn by the Chiriguano men, who put them on against cold and wet. Formerly the Chiriguano men dressed in the »chiripa», which was a rectangular skirt that was fastened in front to a cord tied round the waist, then passed between the legs, and fixed to the cord above the buttocks. One may still see, here and there, some small boy wearing nothing but this primitive garment. On their heads the men often wear a broad, red turbanlike frontlet (fig. 194), and, when setting out on long marches, they put on their feet sandals, the straps of which bear distinct resemblance to straps on sandals that have been found in ancient graves on Puna de Jujuy.[1]

Fig. 195. Chiriguano boy with long flowing hair. San Lucas, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

The women also possess sandals, but, like the men, generally walk about barefooted. The women's clothing consists of a loose-fitting, tubular garment made of woollen, or cotton, stuff. It is called »tipoy». The upper part of it is pinned together over the shoulders by means of cactus spines or metal pins, in the manner seen in fig. 190, which leaves the arms free, or the garment may be fastened under the armpits in the way the girl in fig. 194 is wearing it.

Nowadays the men mostly wear their hair bobbed, and with a frontal fringe (fig. 194), but I have seen boys, not fully grown, with long hair, hanging loose down (fig. 195). In former days all the men had long hair, which they gathered on the top of the head, where it was secured with a frontlet, a custom not yet quite discarded in some out-of-the-way parts of the country. The women let their hair grow long, give it a centre parting on the top of the head (fig. 190), plait it into tresses and tie it up, or allow it to hang loose. One may sometimes see girls with short hair (fig. 194), but in such cases the hair has been cut short as a sign that its owner has entered upon her first menstruation. On the death of a near relative it is also the custom of the women to cut off their hair.

Fig. 196. Wooden comb. Chiriguano. Bolivia. ½. Rikem. 03. 3. 899.

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), fig. 13; von Rosen (1), fig. 84.

1 [footnote 1 appears on p. 200 -- An.]

[p. 105]

CHAPTER VIII.

The Chiriguanos (2).

Industries. Cultivated plants. Hunting. Fishing. Vessels for food and drink. Implements and utensils. Music and dancing. Social order. Customs governing marriages, childbearing, illnesses, death and burial. Character and temperament. Belief in metempsychosis.

The Chiriguano are mainly an agricultural people, but they also do a certain amount of hunting and fishing. Maize is the most important of their cultivated plants, and it is very extensively grown by them. Many other Indian domestic plants are also cultivated, viz. pumpkins, sweet potatoes, beans, mani, cactus with edible fruit (Opuntia), tobacco, cotton, uruku (Bixa orellana), and a reed plant (Arundo donax) for making arrow-shafts. Of imported cultivated plants grown by the Chiriguano, I have seen melons, water melons, sugar cane and oranges. According to Nordenskiöld, they also grow figs and millet,[1] these latter of course also having been introduced by the whites. Nowadays, European spades and hoes are used for loosening the soil. Among wild-growing food plants the algarrobo tree (Prosopis alba) is, to the Chiriguanos, the most important one. The Indians also prepare from the fruit of this tree an intoxicating drink to which they are much addicted.

The Chiriguano larder does not to any great extent depend on hunting the game, but formerly hunting must certainly have been an important source of subsistence. Snaring is, nowadays, the only method of hunting employed by the Chiriguano. The long-bow, the pellet-bow, slings, bird-nets and clubs are still occasionally used in hunting.

In olden times the Indians were good shots with the bow and arrow, and, according to Lizarraga, they then used bows the height of a man.

[1] Nordenskiöld (II), pp. 23 and 24.

/3 cont./ Although many primordial customs of the Chiriguano have been lost because of the influence of the missions, there have nevertheleu been preserved a sufficient number of native objects to make a relatively complete ethnological collection among these Indians.

The Izozó, having abandoned their homes in the regions of the lower Parapití River during the Chaco War, had been provisionally moved to the environs of the fort of Toledo and the fort "15 de Agosto," where they were living in ranchos abandoned by the soldiers. In the environs of the forts they had scratched out large fields for their plantings, but, because of the great drought, they had had no chance to plant, with the result that part of them had already returned to the western region when I was in these forts. When I began my return from Macharetí, a large part of them were near the fort of Carandayty. According to the data kindly given me by the Toledo military authorities, the number of Izozó who had come to Toledo and "15 de Agosto" up to June 30, 1935, reached 1,647 adults, 724 minors, and 122 small children, a total of 2,493 souls. On August 24, the end of my stay in Toledo, there were in this fort and in "15 de Agosto" only 503 adults, 141 minors, and 26 small children, most of them having returned to the west by this time.

These Izozó Indians, who speak a dialect of the Guaraní language, indignantly reject the name Chiriguano. They say that they are Guaraní and Paraguayans and that their name is Izozó. Up to now I have not seen this name in ethnological literature and it does not appear in Moreno's work, Cuestión de Límites con Bolivia /Question of Boundaries with Bolivia/, Vol. II. Only on the map of Bolivia drawn by the engineer Franz Germann (Hamburg, 1904) is there noted between the Rio Grande and the Rio Parapití the name "Izozeños." The Izozó near Toledo told me that their homes were in the region of the estuaries of the lower Parapití. Since these Indians rejected not only the name Chiriguano but also the name Chané

/11 cont./

C. Gi 175 178 167

The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C 178 [126]

The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gh 177 174 C [113]

As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

/15 cont./

342 171 "In 1627 the Jesuits found near Yapeyú a Guaraní aldea with four houses in which some 100 Indians lived. They found identical dwellings in San Ignacio and nearby regions. These houses were quadrangular and extremely long, often in excess of 50 meters."

361 177 178 Even during the time of their independence the Chiriguano had departed from the primordial construction of their towns, which had served in the first place for defense, since at the end of the 18th century Viedma describes their houses as "a few small ranchos made of cane" (61).

[113] 61. Viedma, Francisco de: Descripción de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra /Description of the Province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra/, Colección Angelis, Vol. 3, Buenos Aires, 1836, written 1793, p. 181. Cited by Nordenskiöld.

000 Photographs of Chiriguano Towns (ténta) and Houses (o)

I.C. 353. Chiriguano town, Machareti (Fig. 1).
I.C. 355. Scene in the town of Machareti (Fig. 17).
I.C. 356. Chiriguano in front of their house in Machareti (Fig. 14).
I.C. 357. Chiriguano storehouse in Machareti (Fig. 16).
I.C. 358. Chiriguano boys in front of their rancho in Machareti (Fig. 15).

361 [197] [363] [177] [343] The Chiriguano town of Machareti was built in its present form by Franciscan missionaries, with wide, parallel, and right-angled streets, following the common form of old Spanish colonies, since their construction is not a product of the indigenous Chiriguano culture. But in parts, the houses and primarily the maize storehouses built on posts, correspond to the houses of other Chiriguano towns, on which we have information from Erland Nordenskiöld and Eric v. Rosen (62).

62. Nord. 1, pp. 173, 176. Nord. 2, pp. 1-3. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 191 and 192, Figs. 188-192.

/22 cont./

352 The Chiriguano generally sleeps on a kind of cot (catre),
513 that is, a bed frame made of cane. Such beds, which in
[251] addition to their own purpose also serve for drying maize, have been represented in drawings by Eric v. Rosen (95), Erland

95. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 190.

[174] v. Nordenskiöld (96), and Métraux (97). No doubt /22/ the
[178]

96. Nord. 2, Fig. 2.

97. Métraux 1, Fig. 125, p. 470.

cold climate of the region to which the Chiriguano had emigrated made them abandon the use of the hammock for sleeping, not very practical for such a climate, and replace it with the cot, which was already common among the tribes of those
[232] regions. Lacking a cot, the Chiriguano sleep on the ground.
[324] In that case they use for a bed large mats made of cane or palm
[126] leaves, or also hides (98). I acquired from the Chiriguano one
[324]

98. Nord. 1, p. 177. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 200. Métraux 1, p. 470.

such mat plaited out of palm leaves (Fig. 96).

Chiriguano Mat (tupa) in the Collection

I. A. 540. Length 1.75 m. Width 1.50 m. (Fig. 96).

352 In some Chiriguano houses I also saw wooden benches
[7] (apika), but unfortunately I could not acquire a specimen.
[126] Those benches in the form of a sled are very similar to the kind of benches that are very common among the Indians of Brazil (99) and those that we also know from the ancient

[113] 99. Cariy /sic/ von den Steinen: Unter den

Chane SF8
Izozo

C
352
171
[113]

/23 cont./

Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/. Berlin. 1894. p. 286.

Peruvians (100). Nordenskiöld and Métraux show such

C
[113]

100. Max Schmidt Kunst und Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/. Berlin. 1929. p. 436.

Chiriguano teaches in drawings (101).

101. Nord. 1. Fig. 85. Métraux 1. pp. 471 and 472 and Fig. 129.

Painting and Deformations of the Body

C
Cc
291
302
198

As the use of clothing has increased among the Chiriguano and Chané, the custom of painting or tattooing the body has naturally lost importance and the remnants of such customs are too few to be able to say what they were in the past. Nor do we have data on this. I often saw Chiriguano and Izozó women and girls paint themselves with urucú, making colored spots on their faces. According to Nordenskiöld, men and women sometimes paint their faces, as well as their bodies, with red paint (102). Nordenskiöld also found tattooing on

Cc
302

C
302

102. Nord. 1. p. 303.

the arms of some women and one Chiriguano man (103). The

103. Nord 1. p. 303. Nord. 2. p. 63. Fig. 27.

custom of dyeing the teeth with dark blue was found by

St Schmidt--69 E-5 (1900) 1998 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF3

/37 cont./

Men's Hair Bands Woven out of Human Hair

Ce 30 439

These bands woven out of human hair correspond, with regard to their manufacture, to the bands that the Chiriguano and Chané make today in great numbers to sell to the whites. These "fajas," as they are commonly called today, represent an article eagerly sought by the whites who are in contact with these Indians, and especially by the soldiers, who wear them as a belt. One of the two Chiriguano men shown in Figure 6 wears such a faja as a belt, and, because we can surmise that today this is their principal use among the Chiriguano as well, we shall deal with them in the following chapter devoted to the description of clothing.

C 30 29 178

C 29 199

Straw Hat (hanáin of the Chiriguano

I. A. 504. Diameter 30 cm. Height 12 cm. (Fig. 99.)

The technique of this hat plaited out of palm-leaf fibers is not native since it is of modern manufacture. As Figure 9 shows, the Isoso men also wear such hats.

Ce [29] [199]

Caps Made with Crochet Hooks

I. A. 442 and 443. (Chiriguano.) Made of Wool. Height 15.5 cm. and 14 cm., resp.

These two crocheted wool caps, which I obtained from the Chiriguano in Macharetí, must also be considered as of modern manufacture.

Chane SF8
IZOZO

Ce 322 412 171 /28 cont./ The main difference between the Chané combs and the combs of the Chaco tribes is that the teeth of the latter are made of little sticks of cane, and the teeth of the former, of little sticks of any other kind of wood. The /29/ wooden teeth of the Izozó comb in our collection are between two flat little sticks of cane vertical to them, and on the handle end, between the little sticks whose lower parts form the teeth, shorter little sticks have been inserted, so that at the lower part of the comb there is a certain distance between the teeth. The lacing, consisting of cotton threads, covers the upper part of the comb as far as the edge, but also slightly covers the lower part which forms the teeth. The lacing is not secured with wax.

Ce 322 412

Ce [284]

With respect to hair care, we still must mention the data of Nordenskiöld and of Métraux (127) /see footnote 127 above/ to the effect that the Chiriguano and some of the Chané rub their hair with "Nyantéra" seed ("ñitira," according to Métraux), and the Chané of the Parapití with the rind of the mistol /Zizyphus mistol/, "yuag."

Ce Ce 302 824

From Father Lizárraga's description (128), we know that

Ce Ce 302 178 [171]

128. Moreno II, p. 101.

the Chiriguano and Chané in the past plucked out the hairs of the body, except from the head, as do most of the Indians of South America. Father Lazarraga /sic/ says that the Chiriguano plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes. This custom does not exist today, and the photographs of nude Chiriguano men shown by Lehmann-Nitsche (129) show that today as a general

129. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Fig.

rule they do not remove hair from the pubic regions. Also one meets today some middle-aged men who have mustaches, such as the cacique of the Izozó shown in Figure 10 and some of the Chiriguano men shown in drawings by Lehmann-Nitsche (130).

130. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Plates VIII-X.

C
Ce
412
301
302
178

/29 cont./

Because of this change the implement for plucking hair, consisting of small tweezers, formerly very common, has naturally lost a great part of its importance today, and similarly, in its transformed state as a chest ornament, it is rarer. I found such tweezers among the Mataco and the Churupí. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such tweezers or the corresponding chest ornament, called "boivera" also by the Chiriguano. Nordenskiöld describes these tweezers in detail (131),

131. Nord. 2, pp. 81 and 82.

and he adds that the Chiriguano also use small sticks of cane to pluck out hair.

C
412
301
171

The form of these tweezers made of metal corresponds to that of the tweezers known through finds made in the burials of the ancient Peruvians. Today these tweezers are normally made of any piece of tin plate or sheet iron, which, when provided with a cord, they use for chest ornaments, besides their original purpose. This custom of using tweezers as a chest ornament was very common among the ancient Peruvians. Among the latter's necklaces there are many that, apart from other things, consist of silver tweezers. It was customary among the ancient Peruvians that these enlarged tweezers, unsuitable for their original purpose, be transformed into a pure and distinctive ornament. The Museum of Ethnography in Berlin has such ornaments in the form of depilatory tweezers, made of copper, silver, or gold, in great number, one example of which is 52 centimeters in length (132). Therefore I suppose

C
301
[174]
C
[113]

132. Cf. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru, Berlin, 1929, pp. 83, 369, 397, and 399.

we must deduce that the Chiriguano custom of using as a chest ornament a silver ornament in the form of one of those tweezers is due to ancient Peruvian influence. There are several specimens of the "boiveras," now rare and doubtless most of the time carefully kept from the view of the whites, in

/32 cont./

C 291 I have already mentioned fajas, used today as belts by the Chiriguano men, in the chapter on cutting and combing the hair and head ornaments. I shall deal with their manufacture and decoration in the chapters on the technique of weaving and art.

Fajas (Izozó: kuakuá in the Collection

C Ce 291 [126] I. A. 428-441. (Chiriguano.)
I. A. 738, 803-807. (Izozó.)

Only the Izozó faja I. A. 738, shown in Figure 414, which measures 1.30 m. long and 3.7 cm. wide, differs with respect to the technique of its manufacture and its decoration, which we must attribute to outside influences, from the other fajas collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó. These correspond to one another quite minutely with respect to their dimensions, the weaving technique, and the ornamentation. Moreover, these Izozó fajas have been woven exclusively of cotton and the Chiriguano fajas have been woven exclusively of wool, with the exception of one (I. A. 434), whose warp contains not only cotton threads, but also wool threads. All these fajas are more than 2 m. long. The longest of the Chiriguano fajas measures 2.86 m.; the longest of the Izozó, 2.70 m. The width of the Chiriguano fajas varies between 8.5 and 16 cm., and that of the Izozó ones, between 10 cm. and 19.5 cm.

C Ce [178] The women and girls, much more than the men, have preserved their original garb, which consists of a "tipoy." As the photographs in Figures 3, 4, 8, 12, and 14 show, the modern shirt or jacket made of modern material has often been added to the tipoy, but has not replaced it; the wife and three daughters of the Izozó cacique shown in Figure 12 are wearing the tipoy, as are almost all the Chiriguano women shown in Figure 4. Certainly most of the time the tipoy is used as a skirt, the upper part being rolled over the hips like a long belt.

Chané SF8
Izozo

Ce 411 126

/40 cont./

I. A. 747. (Izozó.) Length 0.97 m. Iron point; its length 24.5 cm. Cane shaft. Remnants of feathering.

I. A. 748. " Length 0.94 m. Iron point; its length 23.5 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering. Fig. 37 f.)

I. A. 749. " Length 1.07 m. Iron point; its length 23.2 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering.

I. A. 750. " Length 0.835 m. Iron point; its length 17 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering. (Fig. 37h.)

I. A. 751. " Length 0.93 m. Iron point; its length 22.5 cm. Cane shaft. With feathering.

I. A. 752. " Length 0.92 m. Iron point; its length 27 cm. Cane shaft. With feathering.

I. A. 753. " Length 0.985 m. Iron point; its length 21.5 cm. Cane shaft. Perhaps with feathering.

C Ca 411 174 175

Of the seven Izozó bows, the first four on the list are good specimens made of hard wood and correspond in all details to the Chiriguano bows described by v. Rosen (187), except for

187. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 206, 208.

their length, which is a few centimeters less than these. This difference in length is easily explained by the fact these Chiriguano bows were collected by v. Rosen in 1901 and 1902. It would be difficult today to find still among the Chiriguano bows as long as those which v. Rosen acquired 35 years ago. From Lizarraga's statement that the Chiriguano bows were of the same height as the bowman, it is evident that the bows of these Indians were formerly even longer than those described by v. Rosen. If, following Lehmann-Nitsche's somatic measurements mentioned above, we set the average height of Chiriguano men at 1.63 m., there is still a difference of 18 cm. between this figure and that of 1.45 m., which is the length of the longest bow among those collected by v. Rosen. We must consider this shortening of the Chiriguano and Chané bow,

C [141]

Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
411
174
178
Ce
411

/40 cont./

steadily progressing, a consequence of its degeneration resulting from its gradually falling into disuse.

The form of all the bows collected among the Izozó is the same, discounting the insignificant differences with regard to their length. The wood of the bow, which is approximately 3 cm. wide, is flat on the side towards the string and convex on the opposite side. To better fasten the bowstring, each of them is provided at its ends with a quite marked narrowing and always considerably shorter at the upper end than at the lower end. /41/ Three of these Izozó bows show, when not flexed, the reflex form already mentioned by v. Rosen with respect to the Chiriguano bows. The bowstring, made of twisted strips of animal hide, is fastened in the common manner used by South American Indians. By means of a noose with a knot, it goes around the narrowing of the upper end of the bow, while the loop at the lower end is made so that it can either shorten or lengthen the bowstring as necessary. Cf. Fig. 37, a and b /see p. 90/. In all these bows a large part of the string is rolled up as a reserve around the wood of the bow. Bow I. A. 757, whose wood shows cracks on the side toward the string, has wood reinforcements in two places, one of them consisting of a wrapping with thread and the other a piece of the skin of a cow's tail, which has been slipped like a sleeve over the wood of the bow. Cf. Figure 37 /see p. 90/.

Ce
411
183
[237]
[284]
Ce
[237]

The three bows I. A. 758-760, made of light-colored wood, correspond in form to the others, but they are poorly made and appear to be cheap merchandise for trading. Bow I. A. 760 even has a cable wire in place of a string.

Ce
411

The small Chiriguano bow I. A. 518 is a bow made for children for shooting light arrows with a wire point, which have been enumerated in great number in the above list.

C
411
524

The length of the arrows I collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó is somewhat behind with respect to the length of the corresponding bows. The longest among them is a Chiriguano arrow for shooting birds, fitted with a club rather than a point, with a length of 1.11 m. Among the arrows fitted with iron

C
Ce
411
[223]

8: Schmidt--108 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
317
263

/45 cont./
the earth of the salt licks called "yukiu" (214).

214. Nord. 1, p. 189. See Métraux 1, pp. 359 and 360.

Making Fire

C
Ce
372

Native implements to make fire are little used today by the Chiriguano and Chané. At home fire can generally be obtained from some other piece of burning wood, and for other occasions they commonly provide themselves with modern matches. Moreover, as I have said, the Chiriguano and Chané are not great smokers. One fire-making tool which is still found among them is the strike-a-light. The specimen I acquired from the Chiriguano is different from the strike-a-light of the Chaco tribes in that the tinder consists of a quite thick cotton wick. According to Métraux (215),

C
Ce
[178]
[276]

C
Ce
[415]
[237]

215. Métraux 1, p. 253.

there is also found among them the common form of strike-a-light in which the tinder consists of the fuzz of the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) kept in a container made of a a cow horn or armadillo tail.

C
Ce
372
126

Fire-making Implements in the Collection

I. A. 516. (Fig. 40.)

a. Bag woven of cotton thread as a container for the implements.

b. Wick of cotton thread.

c. Receptacle for the lighted end of the wick, made of the nest of a species of wasp.

d. Piece of a modern metal file.

e. Pieces of flint.

Ce /56 cont./
323 paint on the rim, which is done with the resin of the palo santo
824 (Bulnesia sarmienti), which is spread over the surface of the
386 vessel after it has been baked (253).

253. Nord. 1, p. 246. Nord. 2, p. 144.
Métraux I, pp. 386 and 387.

Working of Stone and Metals

C
Ce
324 The manufacture of stone implements is not done among the Chiriguano and Chané. The same can be said with respect to
C
Ce the manufacture of metal implements, except that the Chiriguano
325 sometimes make their tembetá of tin themselves (254), while
301
439
177

254. Nord. 2, p. 171.

41 they ordinarily obtain their metal ornaments and implements from the mestizos and the whites.

Woodworking

C
322 Various objects made out of wood by the Chiriguano have
[41] already been mentioned above, such as house posts, ladders, plates, spoons, pipes, bows, arrow points, and also cuyas /vessels made out of gourds/ and calabashes. Among other objects made of wood we must also mention the mortar and pestle, various implements used in weaving, small sticks for making nets, large dishes used for keeping food, and flutes. Because the Chiriguano,
C
[177] when they work wood today, exclusively use modern tools ob-
[178] tained from the whites, they have not retained any of their native technique. /Plates XXII-XXV appear here./

Ce 283 171

/60 cont./

form, many of them being similar in form to the whorls of the ancient Peruvians. Cf. Figures 89 and 90 /see p. 147/.

P 285 178

The Technique of Plaiting

In a legend told to me by a Paressí Indian in Mato Grosso, the appearance of a new epoch is discussed. The young generation of the Parassís /Paressi/ complains to the grandfather that they have now forgotton the manufacture of the bottoms of their different baskets, that is, the beginning and thus the rudiment of that work. The Chiriguano can make the same complaint to their grandfathers. They have also forgotten, as a result of the appearance of a new era, that is, as a result of their contacts with the whites, most of the elements of the art of plaiting, and imitations of European merchandise or of the plaited objects of neighboring Indians, less cultivated than they, are only poor compensation.

C 285 178

C 285 171

Of the four principal types into which all the plaited objects of the Indians of South America can be classified with regard to their technique, which I have called in my publications which deal with them (259) "Stufengeflechte /step plaiting/,

259. Max Schmidt, Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde /Textbook for Ethnology/, Berlin, 1924, pp. 154-157.

Doppelfadengeflechte /double-thread plaiting/, Rohrstuhlgeflechte /caning/, and Geflechte in Spiralwulsttechnik /plaiting in coiling technique/," only the first two can be found among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó. It is surprising that the fourth type (Geflechte in Spiralwulsttechnik) of plaited objects does not exist among these Indians, because this technique was the most common one in the mountainous regions neighboring Chiriguano territory.

C 285 177 /62 cont./

The technique of the small bag I. A. 512, which has a cover and corresponds in form to a modern cigar case, is of no interest to us, because this is a product of modern manufacture.

C Ce 285 178 Baskets I. A. 551 (of the Chiriguano) and I. A. 677 (of the Izozó) are of special interest because they represent the product of a new era in which the primordial devices of the technique have been forgotten and therefore they have lost the typical forms of the products of those techniques. The making of this C 285 171 type of basket, which is widespread among the Indian tribes of South America, begins with the making of the bottom and ends at the upper edge of the basket where the free ends of the strips are /63/ fastened. If we compare the structure of the bottom of these Chiriguano baskets with the structure of corresponding baskets of other tribes of South American Indians, such as with the structure of the baskets of the Bacairí on the tributaries of the Xingú River (Mato Grosso, Brazil) or of the tribes of the Rio Negro, our attention is drawn to the great difference with respect to the conformity of the work. In my above-mentioned C 285 publications (265) I have described this kind of basket in more

C [113]

265. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien, loc. cit.; and Die technischen Veraussetzungen, pp. 157 and 158.

detail, and I have demonstrated that the special design which appears in two variations on the bottom of most of the baskets of this kind that are not yet degenerate is consistent with the technique, because only a bottom decorated in this way can be a proper beginning in order to form the walls of the basket. Moreover, there is the difficulty that for the fabrication of the four walls of one of these baskets one needs twice as many strips as the number of the free ends which come out of the plaited square or rectangle which forms the bottom of the basket. C Ce 285 Therefore, the Indians who still know exactly how to plait these baskets plait in the beginning a flat rectangular piece twice as large as the projected bottom of the basket. Then the four edges of this rectangle are folded upward, in this

/63 cont./

C
Ce
285

way serving as parts of the walls of the basket, the latter then being completed by plaiting the free ends of the strips with one another. By this device they manage to obtain a sufficient number of strips to form the walls of the basket. The Chiriguano and Chané of today are ignorant of this device and therefore they cannot make exact baskets of this kind. We do not know whether they gradually forgot the devices of their primordial plaiting technique under the influence of imported crafts or through the introduction of new ideas, or whether they may have imitated forms of baskets which they saw among other tribes of Indians without knowing the devices of the technique.

Ce
285
177
178

The bottoms and thus the rudiments of the two baskets I. A. 678 and 725a, shown in Figures 86a and 98b, are formed in a manner completely different from the bottoms of the two baskets described above. In making these baskets the Indians have availed themselves of the experience which they have had in the manufacture of the modern hat described above. Beginning the plaiting of these two baskets in the center of the bottom exactly corresponds to the beginning of making the hat, outside of the fact that the strips of the baskets, consisting of caranday palm leaflets, are wider and therefore the mesh is much larger. Where the side walls of the basket begin and more strips are needed than for the bottom, other strips are added, but, in contrast to the manufacture of the hat, by means of a kind of plaiting that joins the free ends of the original strips with the additional strips so that all together they are used to weave the sides of the basket. Also, the analogous baskets of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi valley described and shown in drawings by Métraux seem to be strongly influenced by modern techniques (266).

266. Métraux. I, pp. 454-457. Plates 58-61.

Ce
285

One type completely different from the baskets described above is shown in the Izozó baskets I. A. 679-686. The plaiting of these does not begin at the bottom like the plaiting of the other baskets, but at the upper edge, and it ends with the making of the bottom. I have minutely described this type of

/82 cont./

Ee 531 Figure 33b, which corresponds, as does also the form of this flute, completely to ancient Peruvian models. Also, the surface of the Chiriguano cane flute I.A. 494 (cf. Fig. 34a /see p. 89/) shows some incisings.

One of the tattooed decorations is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld, who found it on a woman's arm (310).

310. Nord. 1, Fig. 108.

Social Conditions among the Chiriguano and Chané

C Ce 114 With regard to the social conditions among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I am unable to add to the few data which we know on this subject because the situations in which I found myself when with these Indians were not appropriate for such investigations.

Ce 115 122 126 /83/ Among the Izozó whom I found in Toledo there were some who were designated as cacique. To one of these, who spoke Spanish perfectly, I owe the vocabulary of the Izozó language which I wrote down. I met the Chiriguano only in C 114 197 622 Machareti, where they had lived for a long time under the supervision of the missionaries and, at the time of my trip, under the chieftainship of one of their own fellows who exercised the functions of a commissioner /comisario/. Two other Chiriguano Indians whom I met in Machareti were identified as caciques.

Ee 129 In order to complete my statements about the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I must make a resumé of what we know from the literature regarding the social conditions of those Indians, referring to Moreno's statements, which are based on old documents, as well as those of v. Nordenskiöld, which are based upon his own investigations.

Ee 178 648 643 000 Naturally, many of the old Chiriguano and Chané social institutions have been lost since they lost their independence from the whites. Also, the power of the great caciques has diminished appreciably since they have been dependent on the whites. When Nordenskiöld

/86 cont./

C 178 565 648 CC [178] [648] [643] The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

C 565 554 643 511 433 any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such

C 184 433 432 178 [643] [461] [476] [464] a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 462 Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of

C [562] labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

/87 cont./

C 462 rope, making nets, plaiting mats and baskets, leatherwork, the manufacture of weapons, the decoration of cuyas and calabashes, and the building of houses. Only the following work is apportioned to women: carrying water, cooking, making fermented beverages, gathering fruits and roots, ceramics, making hammocks, spinning, and plaiting bands. The following work is apportioned to both sexes: fishing, with the difference that the women catch small fish in shallow water, while the men fish in deep water, planting and harvesting, cooking -- attributed in the preceding to the women -- in that men at times participate in the preparation of game, fetching firewood, which on most occasions is men's work, but among the Chané on the Parapití River women's as well, the raising of domestic animals, sewing and weaving, in that in some regions men also weave, although in general weaving is women's work. Children also participate, depending on their sex, in the respective work of their parents, particularly in the harvest (336) /there is no footnote bearing this number/, and in this way seeing and imitating, they learn from a very early age the work that they must do in later life.

Cp [462]

C 857 868 462

I have already mentioned in the chapter on towns and houses that Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of only a few houses, each of them inhabited by up to 100 persons. Today, as a general rule, only one family lives in each house, but often together with the husbands of the daughters, who live for a time before the nuptials and also during the first part of the marriage in the house of the mother-in-law (337). The Chiriguano clears

C 361 592 C 178 592 583 [591]

337. Nord. 1, p. 176.

a piece of ground for his daughter, one which the son-in-law can work, doing the planting and harvesting (338).

338. Métraux I, p. 345.

C 175 712 648 /89 cont./

only one way up, very narrow and steep, which, sown with thorny branches, made it more impenetrable. On the eminence of which they had entrenched the gate with stakes stuck into the ground."

Ce 178 648 721 Today the Chiriguano and Chané no longer make war upon other Indians, aside from the fact that the Chané on the Parapití occasionally go on expeditions against the Tsirakua Indians (357).

357. Nord. 1, p. 171.

Law

Ce 671 177 178 Because the white authorities intervene more and more in the original, juridical traditions of the Chiriguano and Chané, many of them no longer exist today and also, from the few data which Nordenskiöld gives regarding this matter as of 30 years ago, many do not now correspond to the facts.

Ce 627 With regard to penal law, we find among these Indians a mixture between the principle of the "vendetta" and the practice of penal law. Among the Chané on the Parapití, most crimes, and robbery in particular, were settled by means of the duel. Ce [685] In the case of theft, the one who has stolen and the one who has been robbed appear, each with his relatives, in the town square to fight each other. Only homicide, the seduction of a woman, and sorcery were decided by the great cacique as judge. Homicide, which formerly occurred among the Chané in the form of poisoning with poisoned chicha ("bád dyási"), and sorcery were punished by the burning of the criminal. The seducer of a woman lost his property (358). According to statements of the substitute great

Ce 692 648 68

358. Nord. 1, p. 232.

cacique of the Chané on the Itiyuru, it was the principal obligation of the cacique to avoid the vendetta by sending criminals to another region so that they would not be killed. Thus thieves, after having received 50 lashes, were sent to another town. A murderer was condemned to work up to half a year for the family

Ce 692 643 28

/89 cont./
of the deceased (359).

359. Noed. 1, p. 231.

C 421

Private property is highly respected among the Chiriguano. According to Métraux, even the closest relatives cannot make use of the property of one of them without his consent. The

C 423

possession of a piece of land is guaranteed to a Chiriguano by planting any plant on it or by clearing the circumference of the land required and making large slashes in the trees. When he selects a plot for his planting, the Chiriguano examines it carefully to determine that there are no traces of a previous planting (360).

360. Métraux 1, pp. 334 and 340.

C 241 476 [622]

After the land selected for the planting has been cleared, relatives and friends are called together to help with the work. Formerly, the cacique of the town also took part by keeping watch for the workers (361).

361. Métraux 1, p. 337.

/90/

Religion

C Ce 797 971 178 538

In their many years of activity the missions have naturally influenced notably the religious notions of the Chiriguano and Chané. Most of them today are Christians. Some still retain part of their primordial ideas, expressed in their legends. I shall limit myself here to referring the reader again to the Chané legends taken down by Nordenskiöld (362) and mentioned several times in the preceding.

362. Nord. 1, pp. 251-296.

/299 cont./

177 178 An analysis of Chiriguano culture (see Nordenskiöld, 10, pp. 196-213) makes manifest the heterogeneity which the history of the tribe caused to be suspected a priori. The pottery, basketry, weapons, and furniture almost constantly present disparate characteristics in which are expressed this play of influences, this intermixture of races and ideas of which the present-day culture of the Chiriguano is the product.

/300/ The ethnographer feels all the more at ease in his analysis when at every step history confirms or invalidates the findings to which his comparative work leads him. Thus he walks on firm ground, and the results he has acquired in this particular domain will justify his method when he uses it to solve problems whose data are less complete.

181 The Chiriguano, in more than one respect, deserve to hold a preponderant place in the ethnography of South America. They have played an important role in the history of Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina; their civilization has been brilliant and has maintained itself intact almost until our time; besides, they are remarkably endowed from the point of view of character and intelligence. To these qualifications they add that of having built up their civilization, so to say, before our very eyes and of offering to science a field where it moves with some sureness.

In order to understand the point of view I have tried to put forward in this introduction, it is indispensable to know, in its main lines, the early history of these Indians.

Chapter I

000 Historical Outline of the Formation of the Chiriguano Nation

/Eight lines of poetry in Spanish, from Barco Centenera, La Argentina, pp. 185-186, are omitted in the translation./

121 175 My intention is not to recount the history of the Chiriguano from the 16th century to today insofar as we can know it from official documents and chronicles. This work has been done and generally well done (Corrado; Kersten, pp. 66-69; Serrano y Sanz; Nordenskiöld, 7 and 8, pp. 45-58; Gandía, 2, pp. 25-58 and ib., 3, pp. 161-196; Outes, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.).

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Misque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

/329 cont./

CE 172 167 177 clearly Arawak by its technique and many a detail of its structure. It dates from an epoch when the Chané, newly come to the foot of the Andes, had not yet undergone the Andean influence of the populations of the Bolivian south (Chicha, Atacama, etc.).

CE 173 171 When they arrived among the Chané, the Guarani had a civilization nearly identical with that of their racial brothers, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, whose ethnography is so familiar to us, thanks to the old French and Portuguese chronicles. They differed little from their present-day cousins, the Kaingué /Caingua/ of Brazil and Paraguay, who are independent but impoverished Guarani.

CE 174 181 Upon contact with the superior Chané civilization, the Guarani adopted it as it was, introducing, however, some cultural elements of Paraguayan origin. From this fusion of the two nations was /330/ formed a center of acculturation which we can designate as Chané-Chiriguano civilization.

CE 177 It is through the medium of the Chané that so many aspects of Andean civilization still characterize Chiriguano culture. For how could we otherwise explain so strong an effect of Andean civilization on the Chiriguano at the time when that civilization was failing and disappearing, at least partially?

CE 177 178 The Chané, on the other hand, established for centuries near the Chicha and other Indians of the south of mountainous Bolivia, have, thanks to their trade relations, submitted to the attractions of the Andean civilization which has infiltrated among them, as among the other tribes of the Chaco, in the form of toilet objects, jewels, artistic motifs, games, words, and vices. It is these multiple contributions which give the Chané culture this Andean appearance which strikes every ethnographer used to the peoples of Brazil. But, having come from the great forests of the Amazon basin, these "Quichuaized /Quechuaized/" Arawak have faithfully kept until today furniture and utensils which betray this origin and tie them directly to their faraway relatives of the Guianas. The Chané civilization was and still is a mixed civilization formed of elements from different sources and often of opposing nature.

/378 cont./

412 114 171 178 The specimen I am publishing here was still giving good service to its owner, who gave it to me with regret and only for a large sum of money. The presence of the eared ax among the modern Chiriguano invalidates the allegation of Nordenskiöld (14, p. 170), who places it among the cultural elements which have completely disappeared in South America. It survived thanks to the prodigious conservatism of the Indians. I am convinced that several of the objects whose disappearance is attested to by Nordenskiöld will perhaps be found in some tribe now living, when we have more abundant ethnographic material from South America than we now have at our disposal.

412 171 Another very interesting peculiarity of this ax is the bent shape of the handle, to which the blade is securely fastened with leather thongs. The distribution of the bent-handled ax has been traced by Linné (2, p. 202). Few tribes of South America have continued to use it up to our day. They are the Colorado of Ecuador, the Tukano /Tucano/, Tariana, and other tribes of the /Plates XXII and XXIII appear here/ /378/ Catary-Uaupés, the Tehueiche, and the modern Quichua /Quechua/. Among the Indians of the Catary-Uaupés the tool lost all practical value and finally became a simple dance accessory (Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. I, Fig. 225, p. 350). /Fig. 51 appears here./

The bent ax has been found archeologically in Peru (Chuquitanta: Marques Valley near Lima) and in Cachinde in La Puna de Jujuy (Argentine Republic). The specimens from Peru are designated as being hoes, which is possible. However, I shall call attention to the fact that the Chiriguano specimen from Caipipendi is exclusively a carpenter's instrument, which the Indians use for cutting the pieces of wood from which they make their furniture or weapons. /Fig. 52 appears here./

Figure 51 shows how modern axes of the simple neolithic ax type can be hafted exactly like their stone prototypes. The similarity of this ax to the stone ones used up to today by the Guayaki extends to the somewhat arched shape of the handle and to its slightly swollen upper end (La Hitte, Plate IV, 9).

/79/

151 The banks of the Pilcomayo are difficult for the opening
• 151 of canals because they are quite high, but it must also be
115 admitted that the Indians do not concern themselves with
[133] progress, are not ambitious like the whites who have settled on its banks; the latter also, because of being few, poor, and of limited means, almost all prefer to get rich with little work and little outlay of money, for which reason they devote themselves to raising cattle and hogs, which thrive without much care or expense.

133 The Parapiti is the second river named; it contains less water than the first and in Pomabamba, where it begins, it is very insignificant, but ten leagues farther, or after it has crossed Curi Ridge, it already begins to be respectable, and in front of the town of San Juan del Piray it appears as a ferocious beast ready to do battle with a weaker adversary, like the Armado River, whose waters it stops or makes recede, just as a lackey halts in the presence and at the sight of his master.

This river runs from west to east with few digressions as far as Mariqui in Parapiti Canton, whence it goes north and from its beginning it crosses the central part of Chiriguano country. In San Juan del Piray the river is some 12 leagues from the Pilcomayo; both rivers could easily be joined to make them one, for which there was once a project, but it would cause much harm to agriculture, especially in Cordilleza Province, and the Pilcomayo would have the slight advantage of an increase in flow which would perhaps make it navigable from Villamontes to the Esteros.

In San Juan del Piray the Parapiti River receives as tributaries the Armado and the Piray rivers, and beyond San Pablo de Huacareta the waters of the river of Sauces and several others join it. Thus the Parapiti is a river of some consideration, and its bed is very dangerous at nearly every crossing because of the absolute lack of stone, especially from the Missions of San Antonio and San Francisco to Isoso Canton.

/15 cont./

433 241 sweet potatoes; cotton grows everywhere, tomatoes and garlic mature the year round, and in the gardens lettuce, cabbage, cauliflower, and peppers create the beauty of a spot, without taking into account the gastronomic advantages. Even the peach trees would yield fine fruits, but they suffer much from the black butterflies, which damage them before they ripen.

Without work the land will produce only briars and brambles, and /16/ as long as there are only Chiriguano and [157] [181] [185] cattle ranches here, progress will be slight and the population sparse, because the Indian has no ambition, and life is relatively inexpensive; the whites prosper by taking good care of their livestock, and no greater fertility can be obtained from the land because the holdings of a few families are very extensive and do not facilitate the residence of numerous renters, who do not always give good results nor do all come or ask to rent for farming alone. All of them want to get rich easily and quickly, and the best way is to raise stock, the result of which is that great areas of briars and brambles exist.

Flora

13 In the course of this hasty description I have noted that in Chiriguano country atmospheric changes are very sudden, but it has been noted that the region is quite fertile when it is watered by the rains or by irrigation ditches, because small rivers are plentiful, particularly in the mountainous region, and an occasional river of some size bathes the adjacent territories with its abundant waters.

There are many hills, pampas, and valleys, and for this reason every kind of climate may be found in this territory. [137] There are in fact oppressive heat, intense cold, and a temperate climate, thus making it possible to find land for every product from the lowly gourd to the savory chirimoya, from the ubiquitous maize to wheat, rice, and barley, from the mulberry /mora/, which grows spontaneously, to the rich grape, whose bunches reach weights of three and four libras.

/78/

Statistics

161 The tribe is in complete decadence and in a few more
162 years will be entirely lost. At the beginning of the nine-
[81] teenth century, that is, before the war of South American Independence, in the Tarija missions alone there were more than 23,000 souls, and nevertheless that number did not include any of the numerous towns existing between the two large Parapiti and Pilcomayo rivers or the Indians of Caipipendi, Choreti, Pipi, and others located south of Lagunillas. At that time, I can state that the Chiriguano numbered more than 200,000, inasmuch as, according to the statistics of Father Lozano, the adult men fit for war, without counting women and children, numbered from 25,000 to 35,000.

167 Although Father Lozano was referring to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the difference must have been slight, because at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not felt as there is today the emigration to the Argentine Republic, which began when the territory was opened to trade with the founding of towns of white Christians, which there are now in great number, up to the founding of large provinces with the names of Acero, Cordillera, and Gran Chaco, nor was there so much immorality as prevails today (1).

1. New laws have been made which make recruitment for Argentina impossible, and Dr. don Justo Padilla, the present national delegate from the Gran Chaco, at the present time does not allow the law to be merely written; he lets nobody through.

165 Epidemics, vagrancy, and emigration more than any-
161 thing, in addition to scarcity of provisions, are destroying this race, which is greatly needed and will be needed later for agriculture and cattle-raising in the provinces which have
000 been mentioned. Today there is already a need for farmers,

/113 cont./

165 [145] advanced age, and I have seen Indians with the head completely white, and others with a white the color of smoke or something smoked. In the performance of my ministry I have met and baptized many centenarians at the time of their death, and in the towns through which I have passed I have met several who fought in the Caraparí war and who witnessed the War of Independence.

273 276 [178] But today the Chiriguano has degenerated greatly; in somewhat distant times they did not know about either liquor or coca, and today both are general, and because of liquor and coca, the use of which they much abuse, they ruin their health and shorten their existence. Much youth disappears with the abuse of these substances, and as a general rule in the missions the best disappear, those who know some art or have some fortune; all that they earn, after buying their clothing (although not always), they invest in liquor and coca, and [165] [648] thus shorten their lives. I have seen towns where out of 40 or 50 young men of the same age there are scarcely two or three alive who will reach 50; it can thus be seen that the drunkenness produced by chicha is not so pernicious as that of liquor or alcohol, for which any tax imposed on them by the Supreme Government is never too much, and would that such a tax were higher, more general, and that it was not felt to be enough [142] [147] simply to write it out. In spite of this dissipated life, it is very rare that one encounters a bald Indian, which indicates great robustness (1).

1. I have known many large and small Chiriguano towns; I have only found three semibald persons.

Morality

181 At present the Chiriguano Indian differs slightly or not at all morally from the common mass of men. I mean that not all are good nor are all perverse; there are good ones and bad ones

181 /114/ the same as everywhere else, so that certain travelers who say Indians are very bad would be wrong, as would those who call them very good. A celebrated explorer said not long ago that he found more goodness in an Indian than in a white man and that it is enough to notice only with average attention the faces of the two to be sure of the relative morality of both; as a missionary I neither can nor should consign to these pages my judgment in this regard (1).

1. The same explorer approves of the resolute attitude of the Curuyuqui uprising, taking the point of view that they were fighting for their independence and for the recovery of their territory.

186 648 Before the conquest so gently carried out by the Catholic missionaries took place, it was extremely dangerous to enter their territory, even just in passing, and not too long ago it was difficult to pass through the Cuevo-Ibo countryside, where the Franciscan missionaries of Potosí founded their missions, as they had founded those of Tarija in other regions. There was reason for the danger to exist.

The Indian now knew the white man by his deeds; he called him and still does call him caray, that is, astute, greedy, oppressor, and owner of what belongs to other people; if then he looked with misgiving upon the caray and up to a certain point did not wish to have relations with him, it is because this extremely bad image had been formed, from which arose the idea of not wanting to have a bad neighbor in his territory, and he blocked his way in order that he might not come to like the fertility of the area. He was wise to the fact that after exploration comes reconnaissance, and from this rises the desire to possess, which sooner or later is put into execution, as has been the case (2).

[113]

2. Giannecchini. Expedición al Alto Paraguay, año 1883.

648 /115 cont./
178 obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

157 Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, incon-
181 stancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even
[847] suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They
[762] only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome
[461] by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family.
[186] But if near the carai /sic; see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

[533] They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of
[273] their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and
[178] cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not com-
[674] mon formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

[648]
[685]
[754]

1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge great secrecy so that the authorities will not make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/192 cont./

Adornments

000

/The first paragraph of this section, pp. 192-193, is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 193, and the remainder of p. 193 follows./

181 The Chiriguano, although they occupy a very lowly place in this corner of the world, although they have little in the way of grandeur and show to display and take pride in, follow the common tendency of humanity, almost as the beast follows its instincts. Without any fear of error, if the Chiriguano were to possess great riches, he would probably invest them in his vices and in the adornment of his body.

302 [292] [574] When the Chiriguano wants to make a formal visit, he washes his body, dresses in his best clothing, and paints his face with achiote powder. The preparation of achiote seeds has been described in the preceding pages in the discussion of the flora /see p. 32/. Here I add that in order for the Urucú to be fixed on the Indian's skin it is necessary that he first soften his face, or the part that he wants to paint or embellish, with palma Christi oil.

751 302 It has already been seen that the region is hot and that atmospheric changes are very sudden; a period of extreme heat can be followed by severe cold, and in these changes the Chiriguano's skin becomes chapped. To avoid this nuisance, men and women paint their faces and their feet with the cosmetic. [527] [758] They also use it during public drinking sessions, at banquets, and during the preparation of chicha in order to ward off the high heat, as well as during convalescence and after having recovered from smallpox (1).

1. Achiote powder with palma Christi oil is cool in hot weather and warm in cold weather. The neophytes in the missions no longer use it, or, if they do, it is sparingly and as a remedy. [178]

[text continues on p. 267]

/202 cont./

797 the second Chiriguano man and the second
793 Chiriguano woman; I have even made use of
871 this to condemn the vice of polygamy in my monthly instructions to the infidels.

/The last paragraph on p. 202 and the first paragraph on p. 203 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 203 follows./

621 It is very natural that the Chiriguano race should form a
59 family. Each tribe, or people, is an association of families.
603 They are made up of fathers and children, but many times they have at their head a grandfather and grandmother who are much respected but who never give any orders or manage things; instead they serve their children willingly as servants, the grandfather in bringing in firewood, planting, and weeding, and the grandmother in everything that a woman can do.

831 There does not seem to be any other race like the
867 Chiriguano in Bolivia, which like none other gives free rein to the passions, especially lewd ones. A maiden who commits a bad act is the pride of her mother, who is content with saying that now her daughter is a woman and ready for it. If a young man does similar things and his father finds out about it, he will ponder the act of his son and say, Cuimbae co, he is a man. This expression is heard frequently (1).

[797] 1. When the missionary attempts to reprehend or
[861] punish the sin of some Chiriguano boy, the father, the grandfather, or the cacique petitions for him, and the best words to lessen the punishment or to say that he deserves no punishment are: Cuimbae ma co, he is now a man.

181 Excessive corruption is the result, and, if the Toba race is distinguished by its inclination toward thievery, the Chiriguano are distinguished by their inclination toward lechery, as old and wise missionaries of the stature of Father Corrado and Father Giannecchini can testify. Let the reader consider that the

/214 cont./

845 I judge that they take away the lives of these unfortunates,
847 not to do them harm, but to do a highly philanthropic act for
732 them, since they would have even greater suffering were they to be left blind, crippled, lame, one-handed, mute, and deaf for the rest of their lives (2).

[171]
[734]

2. Similar philanthropic acts are still practiced among the Toba and other tribes; so that they will not suffer much and long, they also bury sick persons alive.

732 Today one sees an occasional deformed person, and these isolated cases are either due to parents not brave enough to kill /215/ their children or perhaps they can be attributed to illnesses contracted at an advanced age. As a conclusion to
●181 the present chapter, let it be noted that some have written things about which they know nothing, making the Chiriguano out to be ferocious wild animals without compassion, but a particular fact cannot be used to draw general conclusions. True explorers state, as I do, that in general the Chiriguano is humanitarian; he loves his relatives in life and in death, and they are astounded by the conduct of the whites, who upon the death of their relatives slaughter cattle, drink brandy, and play as if it were a fiesta (1).

000

1. The conduct of certain civilized persons should not be reproved by the world. Even in the most civilized nations there are benefit dances. They drink, dance, and do other things, while the poor or the sick suffer. The Catholic takes out his money and gives it away in secret, without ever bragging about it; this is the true way to help humanity.

/253 cont./

261 feed themselves with: algarroba pods, Hibope; chañar /a legume/,
262 Cumbaru; mistol /a fruit/, Yua; tusca, Hibopene; sour algarrobos, Hibope tayi; nopal fruits, Saini; or from the fig, Iva; the higuerilla /little fig/, Caicantina, the thistle /cardo/, Tapiacaru, and the ulala /a kind of cactus/, Ñancagüína (1).

[137] [132]

1. The fruits mentioned and many others are plentiful in the whole area, but in the Ivu region they are more plentiful; the years have now greatly changed; it does not rain as regularly as in times past and the crops are somewhat certain only at the foot of the mountain ranges.

• 181 Indubitably the Chiriguano, although superior to other nomadic tribes that surround them or border them, are very unfortunate and poor, but, on the other hand, their life is peaceful, they bother no one, and they do not wish to be bothered. When the Chiriguano Indian has food, he is the happiest being on earth; his savage bliss can today be envied by all the rulers and great of the world who live without knowing whether or not they will wake up on the morrow, in view of being surrounded by so many anarchistic dangers, so many bombs and dynamite that the obscure sects make explode, so many excesses that occur and are reported in the newspapers, and so many deaths that are taking place. Oh, this kind of savagery has not penetrated among these savages! That is why they sleep peacefully without fear, in the town, in the countryside, and in the forest, and they are happier than others; those who seek bliss on this earth may well envy these Indians.

/273 cont./

175 727 728 History tells us that the Chiriguano were not the first inhabitants of the region that they now occupy. Other savages had lived here, who handed over the territory by reason or right of the stronger. Subjugated by the number and valor of the invaders, some of them emigrated to perish, and others remained as vassals in their own land and little by little came to an end, leaving the Chiriguano masters of their land.

175 648 [101] In time the Incas tried to conquer this extensive territory, leaving behind innumerable marks of their tenacity, but they had to abandon this noble thought, contenting themselves with calling them with great contempt: Chiriguanos or Chirihuanos, cold excrement. 175 648 797 But however warlike or invincible a people or nation shows itself to be or is, its hour to succumb arrives. What was not achieved by the Incas or by the arms of the Spaniard here has been brought about by the patience of the missionary and the tenacity of the whites of Santa Cruz and 648 797 Tarija. Today the dread Chiriguano is subdued and bows his haughty head. He has been reduced to nothing, and one who does not live in the missions is the vassal of the white man, who has dominated him completely. It is the disposition of Providence, which subdues the proud and decrees that they experience, although much more gently, what they made the invaded ones experience. It seems that in the last war of [181] Curuyuquí, the Chiriguano learned his inferiority, but it cannot be denied that this race has been one of the most warlike that has existed here (2).

175 648 727 266 2. The Incas tried to conquer the Chiriguano in order to moderate their customs. The Chiriguano treated the Tapíi with great cruelty; according to what has been told by the natives of Parapiti, they fattened them in order to eat them later.

/298 cont./

797 nothing yet begun, but rather with a most evident deterioration
648 of the building and the gardens which the Franciscans of Tarija left behind so well arranged and so flourishing (1).

1. When the Tarairí Mission was established through the persuasive words of the missionary, it was attacked by neighboring tribes and by the warlike Huacayeños, who were located some 100 kilometers away. The Chiriguano missions were founded where there was no nucleus of whites.

The people of Tarairí were the first to see a Franciscan father in their territory, and they are the last to understand the material advantages that the mission brings to them. The people of Tigūipa, Machareti, Boicovo, Cuevo, and Ivu, and, finally, those of the two Parapiti missions, called San Antonio and San Francisco, came to realize that only the missionary could present their territorial rights before the Supreme Government and assist them in countering the ill will of some whites who, because they were too tyrannical, brought about the Curuyuqui uprising, in which the Indian was completely humiliated when he believed he would exterminate all the whites (2).

2. Through the suggestion of the missionary, the Indians of Itatiqui were assisted in their small territory by the Prefecture of Santa Cruz, before which proceedings for purchase were in process. Today they have been helped by the Supreme Government, which has proclaimed an edict for measuring and setting boundaries, but they have scarcely half a league left to them, despite having possessed from time immemorial three and a half leagues.

726 It has been seen in the course of these pages that the Indian
● 181 is formidable at the beginning of battle, but if victory does not come soon, he turns cowardly and flees.

000 /298 cont./
726 soon, he turns cowardly and flees. The eight-hour battle at
648 Curuyuqui, considering that the weapons were so unequal, can
●181 be regarded as a prodigious feat, because once the Chiriguano were so far from their towns, they had to resign themselves to winning or dying before falling prisoner.

Infidels

797 The adult Indian has no appreciation of religion, whatever
177 it may be. To be sure, first his ignorance and then, more than anything, his pride and laziness contributed to this, because he turns his back on anyone who tries to instruct him. Some of them come to the monthly instruction, but almost all are like those described by the royal Psalmist in that they have eyes but do not see, ears but do not hear, /299/ and a tongue but do not speak, do not sing praises, and do not worship their Creator (1).

1. It seems that the demon of luxury has them blind, deaf, and mute with regard to religion and worship and keeps them away from the Spirit of God.

It is not likely that the Chiriguano will ask for the founding of a mission, because he does not want anyone to disturb his peace and tranquility in his own land. He considers the mission an unbearable yoke for himself and for his children. It is almost useless, it is almost a waste of time, to speak to the Indian about the supernatural, to make him yield and accept the mission. He does not understand or wish to understand why animalis homo non percipit ea quae Dei sunt. Only when he sees himself persecuted with regard to his person, his family, and his property, only in order not to fall completely into slavery, only to free himself from the harassments which he receives from his fellow man, does he then ask for a mission with much insistence, until he obtains the end desired. This is also one of the ways that God uses to secure the redemption and salvation of an endless number of souls (2).

2. There are a number of Chiriguano families

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Aymara SF5

C
Ce
515
356
*171
181
A
[515]

		Cleanness of body	Cleanness in and round the abode	Care of household, belongings, weapons, ornaments, clothes	Skill in art.
Ashluslay	El Gran Chaco near Rio Pilcomayo	2	0	1	3
Atsahuaca	Peru, tropical forests	3	3	3	1
Aymara	Andean Plateau, cold climate	0	0	0	5
Baure	Plains and tropical forests, Mojos, Bolivia	5	5	4	—
Cavina	Plains and tropical forests, near Rio Beni, Bolivia	3	3	3	2
Chacobo	Plains and tropical forests, Mojos, Bolivia	4	5	5	1
Chama	Tropical forests, Rio Madidi, Bolivia	2	3	3	1
Chané (Itiyuro)		5	4	3	4
" (Parapiti)		4	4	3	3
Chimáne	Tropical forests. Bolivia	3	2	2	1
Chiriguano		5	4	3	4
Choroti	El Gran Chaco, near Rio Pilcomayo	2	0	1	2
Guarayú (mission)	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	3	3	—
Guarayú Pauserna	Tropical forests, Brazil	3	3	3	1
Huanyam	"	4	4	4	1
Huari	"	3	4	3	1
Mataco	El Gran Chaco	1	0	1	3
Mojo	Tropical forests and plains, Bolivia	5	5	4	—
Quichua	Andean Plateau	1	1	1	5
Tambopata-Guarayo	Tropical forests, Peru	3	3	3	1
Tapiete	El Gran Chaco	2	1	2	1
Toba	"	2	1	1	1
Yamiaca	Tropical forests, Peru	3	3	3	1
Yuracáre	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	3	3	3

C
302

There are still many of the old Chiriguano, who wear long hair. Young men and youths with long hair are only

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Maps of the geographical distribution of various kinds of ornamentation can scarcely be drawn up at present with the exception of a few very characteristic specimens, e. g. the spiral. This is found on earthen vessels from the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, and from the Chiriguano, but not from the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.

The colours used by the Chiriguano and the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro are black, red, brown and white. The white is caolin, the red, brown and black are obtained by pulverizing schists of these colours. The Chiriguano sometimes mix Urucu with oil. Vessels are probably painted with this mixture only after burning.

Pottery is undoubtedly the chief art practised by the Chiriguano and Chané. We may, indeed, assert that it is the only one that is still of very great importance to these Indians. It is an interesting fact that, though these tribes have been in close contact with missionaries and other Whites for nearly 400 years, and though their country has been flooded with European goods, their pottery has been influenced very little by foreign culture. It is still genuine Indian. This holds good not only of its shape, but to an equally great extent of its ornamentation. It shows how conservative the Indian is towards anything that cannot make easier for him the struggle for life. A cultivated plant can spread in a few years over a large part of a continent, whereas one will not take the trouble to adopt a foreign ornamentation or foreign types of household furniture. This does not imply that the pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané now has the appearance that it had 400 years ago. It has changed, as the Indians themselves told me, but the change has chiefly consisted in ringing the changes on old Indian patterns. How and how much it has changed, can only be proved archæologically. Unfortunately, I do not possess the archæological material. What I found in the country of these Indians probably goes very much further back in time than 400 years, and has very little in common with

/234/

Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

Ee 178 527 273 [538] [805]

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Ee 273 415 527 531

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

Ee 531 [527] [323] [462]

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

Ee [181]

846 [844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 756 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 763 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

●181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [931] Choroti, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a [171] rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 648 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 130.
[2] Nordenskiöld (16).

gave regular battle to the whites. This battle, in which about 5,000 Chiriguano Indians took part, was fought at Curuyqui, on the tableland of Boyuovis. The result of the struggle was long undecided, but the Indians were at length compelled to give way before the superior weapons of the whites. 181 648

According to a Chiriguano legend, man's soul, some time after corporeal death, comes to the abode of the great spirit Tumpà, where it enjoys to the full everything in which it delighted during its earthly existence. But no joy is permanent. When the soul has spent its allotted time with Tumpà, it is obliged to return to the world and there enter into the body of a fox. When the fox dies, the soul moves into a rat, and, when this animal dies, into a branch of an old tree in the forest. The tree ages, withers away and dies and, as the branch decays, the soul, too, gradually perishes. When the branch has finally become mould, the flame of the soul is extinguished for ever. 775

797

Fig. 232. A large wooden cross raised near the Franciscan mission for Chiriguano, at Aguayrenda. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[pp. 226-268 not processed]

/13 cont./

132 atmosphere immediately cools down and there begins a cold wind whose chill is increased as it passes through the region of hail, and since the maize stalks are still tender they are easily stricken. The hail that falls is big, the earth is churned up, and it kills birds, sheep, goats, and other animals, if they are unable to hide in the bushes or under thick trees, but this does not happen often nor every year.

[133] Earthquakes are most rare; I felt them twice during my stay in the region, in 1899 and 1909, but the wind is sometimes so strong that it seems to make the earth tremble; there is no doubt but that it tears up trees and strips them, ruins buildings, and dismantles tiled roofs. Foreigners in this [145] so hot and changeable climate soon age and turn gray, but the natives who are used to it from childhood, despite the vices of drinking and others to which they surrender, enjoy a relatively long and healthy life.

It can readily be understood from what has been said that here the seasons of the year follow a different order from that which is seen in the Old World. Despite the fact, then, that there are no more than two seasons, we always can and ought to consider the four, in order to follow the general rule of the universe which divides the year into four parts. Summer begins December 21, fall March 21, winter June 21, and spring September 21, but all of these come ahead of time, as anyone who has lived here can testify.

Fertility

133 The Aguaragüe range, which is found to the east and one
• 182 league from the Mission of San Buenaventura de Tvu, is the
311 last one in Chiriguano territory. Small towns and families of
312 these Indians are scattered here and there are still found east
361 of the said range some 15 leagues away, but beyond that /14/ there are none because the area is arid and dry. "Igüi utini vae," as they say, and the Chiriguano accustomed to planting maize, beans, and gourds cannot live where there is a scarcity of rain for his crops and water for his daily bath.

/14 cont./

341 The closer the traveler gets to the Gran Chaco, the less
342 water and the less fertility he finds: the very fields of Yvu
344 are patent proof, for crops are rarely abundant there. When the rains are torrential in other sections, they are sparse in Yvu: the farther to the west one travels from Aguaragüe, the more fertile is the land, because the hills and hillocks are more frequent and higher, water more abundant, and consequently the land more moist, which is necessary for agricultural production.

The fields are suitable for raising cows and horses, for the multiplication of sheep and pigs: the year when it fails to rain, however, there is lack of food for the livestock, as well as lack of water, the suffering is great, and numbers die near the waters which are found at some distance from the spots where there is feed, such as the slopes of the hills and the tops of the hillocks, abounding in tree leaves.

137 The countryside is clothed with grasses in the summer, but the region begins to turn beautiful in the spring and even earlier. The vigorous woods, dry and leafless during the cold months, begin to draw in verdant foliage at the beginning of the month of September, and in a few days nature is rejuvenated. Then it is very lovely to contemplate from some slight rise a broad pampa where there are carob trees, groves of catalpas or lapachos, the first green, the second red, and the third yellow and purple.

241 The territory is productive only in the rainy season, be-
● 152 cause the Chiriguano in general will not take the trouble to put
[132] in a good irrigation ditch when he can: he waits for it all from
[133] the high heavens. Miracles could have been worked on the banks of the rivers in times past: today it is difficult because they are very few and, like their grandparents, are satisfied with maize, a little sugar cane, and other delicacies, like sweet potatoes or batatas, mandioca, and peanuts.

241 Large-scale planting begins at the end of November or the
[221] beginning of December, after the country has been watered by two or three abundant rains. The maize grows very high and, when there is no lack of water, produces two or three ears on each stalk. The frijoles produce three crops. The sugar cane

C /17 cont./
343 mention the existence of such storehouses among these Indians,
171 and thus we must suppose that the Churupí adopted this style of house construction only recently and probably from the Matako, with whom they have many contacts. /18/ To com-
C 343 plete the data on the spread of houses built on posts, I shall
171 also mention my observations on my expeditions of 1901 and
Go 1910 to the Guató (73). Inside many houses, under the roof
342
[352]
[114]

73. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien /Indian Studies in Central Brazil/, Berlin, 1904, p. 178.

C
[113] and using long horizontal poles, these Indians build a platform which serves for storing various things. In this special arrange-
Go [182] ment of the Guató in building their houses, we find the rudiment of the true houses built on posts, and this is motivated by the great floods to which they were exposed even when they had been built in places higher than the marshy lands.

C We should not consider houses built on posts as a product
343 of the primordial culture of the Chaco tribes. It leaves as
174 the only center of its propogation the zone in the interior of the South American continent which we have mentioned, the center of the ancient culture of the Aruaco /Arawak/ of these
Ce regions, the territory of the Mojo. The Chané, who were later
343 subjugated by the Chiriguano and incorporated into their com-
174 munity, also belonged to this Aruaco culture. We must thus
171 surmise that houses built on posts, like those we still find today among the Chiriguano and some of the Chané, first originated in the Chané culture and later passed to the Chiriguano when the cultures of these two tribes were fused into a single one.

C No doubt the special construction of these storehouses has
Ce a different purpose today among the Chiriguano and the Chané
343 than it had in the beginning. According to Nordenskiöld, the
[182] Chané of the lower Parapití River, which is a typically marshy region, do not have such houses, while they are common among the Chiriguano and also among the former
Ob who live on solid ground not exposed to floods. Their purpose

C
Ce
343
182
171
231

/18 cont./ Their Purpose
today among the Chiriguano and Chané, as well as among the Matako and Churupí, is primarily to protect certain provisions against the numerous dogs and other domestic animals who are around in great number in every part of the town (74).

74. Concerning the question of the purpose of houses built upon posts with respect to damage by animals, cf. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 192-198.

C
Ce
433
224
226

Food and Drink. Manner of Eating and Drinking.

Hunting and fishing are not very important in the economy of the Chiriguano and Chané. Their territory has relatively few edible animals, and they are not very brave hunters (75).

75. Nord. 2, p. XVI.

C
Ce
224
262

Of animals that can be hunted, they eat the puma and the jaguar, while they scorn vultures, foxes, and the meat of monkeys, so craved by other Indians (76). One contribution

C
Ce
226
184

76. Nord. 1, p. 190.

to their subsistence which is worth mentioning is that from fishing, but only for the Chiriguano and Chané who live near the upper Pilcomayo River, since that river has excellent fishing. These Indians cannot make much use of fishing in the Rio Grande, because today this river can be held to be almost the frontier of their territory. The Parapití River has many fish, but they are very small. While the Chané today live in territories where for several months some fish are available, many Chiriguano towns are so far from the larger streams that fish does not enter into the diet of their inhabitants (77). With

000

77. Nord. 2, pp. XV and XVI.

/345 cont./

433 224 178 Outside these official expeditions they doubtless used to hunt for pleasure or simply to interrupt the monotony of their menu.

224 411 Quadrupeds were killed with arrows with lanceolate tips, originally of wood, today of iron (Plates VIII and IX, 2); small game, with arrows tipped with a barbed wooden rod [223] (Plate IX, 3-5). Birds were taken in traps or felled with a special arrow having a splayed ferrule (Plates X-XI).

224 [231] Anyone who has seen the little dogs of the Chiriguano Indians, with elongated /346/ muzzle, pointed ears, short hair, and arched tail will ask with surprise how animals so miserable, stupid, and snappish could have been trained to render service to man. Nevertheless, such seems to have been the case. For hunting the peccary, for example, the Indians employ the dogs, who track them and /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ force them to hide in their dens, from which they are smoked out and felled with blows of a stick when they try to run away. At least this is how the inhabitants of the village of Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) told me they had killed a peccary which they showed me at the time I was there.

433 224 184 For the modern Chiriguano, hunting has lost its reason for existing as an activity having an economic character, except perhaps /Plates VIII, IX, X, and XI appear here/ /347/ /Fig. 14 appears here/ for those of this nation who live in the region of the upper Pilcomayo. At least this is the im- [352] pression I had after examining their huts: the bedsteads or [412] wooden cots were often covered with peccary skins and the old deerhorn awls (Fig. 12) numerous enough to be able to be exchanged for a trifle. The relative abundance of these objects proves that among these Indians hunting has not been relegated /Fig. 15 appears here/ to the rank of a simple sport and that it keeps, at least in part, its past importance. [797] The contrast is striking if one then goes into the zone of the Franciscan missions: there, more peccary skins, more [411] perforators made of deerhorn, more ostrich feathers. In the villages of the upper Pilcomayo there is no cabin, poor as it may be, in which a bow and a bundle of arrows are not slipped

[Text Continues on P. 89]

/347 cont./

433 between the roof beams. Once out of this region the ethnog-
224 rapher will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire
184 these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him,
[411] they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an old man or crudely made specimens without any value other than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some rare lover of hunting.

224 The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendí
411 are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using
184 it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were intended, from what they told me, for killing the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.). They are long reeds armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate IX, 1). One must not conclude that the yakú, abundant as they may be, rep-
[433] resent an appreciable food resource. Besides, hunting is scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for
[126] fun. The Indian who gave up to me the handsomest lot of
[425] these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained to me, /348/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them without his consent.

857 Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shoot-
868 ing with a bow than ours. One can see them run around the
224 village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows (Plate XII, 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach. Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16 appears here./

223 Some Indians of the Caipipendí valley sold me large
[126] bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts. That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are certainly not numerous in this region; in a month's stay I
287 did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17
439 appears here/ feather dusters, which the Chiriguano sell in the

[Text continues on p. 91]

C
Ce
386
323
171

/387 cont./

This makes me think that glazing implies a technical process analogous to the one in use on the upper Pilcomayo.

Ce
C.I
323

The Chaco Indians draw crude decorations on their vessels with palo santo resin, which they apply after firing. According to Nordenskiöld (id. supra), the Chané of the Itiyuro probably use the same method to decorate some of their vessels with black designs.

C
323

After being painted, the vessel is put in the shade to dry for several days. It is only when the sides have acquired a certain hardness that the firing process is begun. The vessels are then taken to a spot where there is plenty of dead wood. A large quantity is collected, with which the vessels are covered from bottom to top. Generally, long pieces of bark are selected, which burn brightly.

They set fire to this pyramid of wood and, with a long pole, the /388/ potter watches to see that no brand burns directly against the walls, which would bring on a "shot of fire." When she ascertains that a vessel gives a metallic sound on being touched, she scatters the firebrands with her pole and, by rolling it, makes it go out of the fire.

It may happen that in the course of the firing a vessel may suffer some cracking. This is remedied by taking a little moist earth mixed with dung and applying it on the split while the vase is still hot. The fissure closes, but remains noticeable.

Classification of Chiriguano Pottery

C
415

The figures which illustrate this text, the plates published by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 155-162), and the diagram of Outes (3) give a better idea of the more common forms of this pottery than any description. However, a few remarks are called for.

C
[184]

Vessels with a subglobular belly surmounted by a low, wide neck flaring at the top constitute, without doubt, the most widespread type. (Plates XXXV-LVII.)

/388 cont./

415 184 The footed bowl or "compote" (Fig. 72) comes from the Caipipendí valley, the same as the vessel with ribbed belly of Plate XXVI, 2. These are the only specimens of this type that I found in the whole Chiriguano country.

415 184 532 Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic vessels are rare. Scarcely anywhere but in the Caipipendí valley is corn beer ordinarily served you in vessels shaped like a bull. Besides, their workmanship is careless. The admirable anthropomorphic vessel of Plate XXVI, 1 is an exceptional piece.

415 Twinned vessels (Plate XXVII, 3) and those which a constriction separates into two bodies (Figs. 74, 75, and Plate XXVII, 1) are very rare.

415 531 The motifs painted on Chiriguano vessels most often are of a purely geometric nature.

There are few exceptions to this rule. As an example of them, I shall give the large yambuí of Plate LII, 1, on the belly of which have been painted more or less stylized dogs, chickens, and toads; the yambuí of Figure 83, whose principal decoration is composed of a series of yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/, Penelope spec.); and finally several vessels in my collections, which I did not want to publish because of their completely Europeanized form. On one of them silhouettes of nandus are distinguishable (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 222) and on another have been drawn a man and woman whose hands are united by a red line (symbol of marriage, of love?).

I remember having seen on a jar in the Caipipendí valley /389/ nandus drawn with particular skill. I would gladly have bought that piece if it had been possible to arrange its transportation.

[178] The vessel of Figure 83 1 gives an excellent idea of what Chiriguano potters could do in the "realistic" genre if a long /Fig. 61 appears here/ tradition did not oblige them to limit themselves to the representation of geometric motifs.

1 [See P. 249, Category 116 - - Analyst]

/390 cont./

000 the tourists. In this respect Nordenskiöld (10, Fig. 28, p. 137)
Ce 415 was more fortunate than I: among the Chané of the Parapití
531 he was able to acquire a pot on which one distinguishes a nose
177 in relief and the organs of the face painted in a conventional
532 fashion, but in which the Andean influence is clearly reflected.

C 531 Each region, often even each village, has its special
415 style, and this varies again according to the fancy or skill
184 of each potter. The differences are often sufficiently accentuated to permit an ethnographer with some experience to recognize the provenance of each piece at first glance.

From the point of view of decorative style, the Chiriguano country is divided into three zones, whose characteristics are the following:

On the upper Pilcomayo the fundamental element of decoration is the spiral in the form of a couchant S which is combined with the volute of another color taking off from the apex of a triangle (see, for example: Plate XXXV; XXXVI, 1; XXXVII, 2; Plates XLVII-L, etc. /see pp. 211 ff. and pp. 226 ff./

This motif is arranged in parallel zones framed by geometric figures (festooned lines, alternate triangles, barbed strokes, etc. (see, for example: Plate XXXVII, 1 /see p. 213/; Plate XXXIX, 2, /see p. 215 /; Plate XL, 2 /see p. 216 /; Plate XLIV, 2 /see p. 220/. Rare are the pieces of this zone whose principal decoration does not consist of variously combined spirals. The style of the pottery I collected in the Igüembé valley differs only a little from that of the upper Pilcomayo: we find the same principal elements without, however, the spiral playing a predominant role (Plate XXXIX, 1; Plate XLI; Plate XLII, 2; XLVIII, 4; Plate LI, 1-3; LIV, 2).

C 531 The pottery made by the Chiriguano of the Ivu,
415 Macharetí, and Tarairí missions and by the Chané of the
184 Itiyuro reveals a special predilection for linear motifs standing out in black against a yellowish background. These are
Ce 531 ascending and descending lines which run around the belly of
415 the vessel forming large triangles, and something of a kind, which, in turn, end in Greek frets or spirals. The triangle

C /390 cont./
531 surmounted by a volute is a motif which appears often in this
415 region. Triangles with a solid surface combine to form either
184 denticulate bands or somewhat hourglass-shaped figures whose
Ce effect is pleasing to the eye (Plate XXXIX, 1: Plate XL, 2;
531 Plate XLI; Plate XLII, 1; Plate XLIII, 1; Plate LII; Plate LIV,
415 1 and 3-4; LVII, 3-4; LV, 1 and 3, etc.).

C Between the Chané vessels (Plate XXXVIII, 1; Plate
Ce LIII, 1-3) and the Chiriguano ones in the missions there are
531 some differences which have less to do with the choice of
415 motifs than with the manner in which they are treated. The
[323] Chané women have a purer taste and they evince greater
sureness /391/ of hand than the Chiriguano potters. One
senses clearly that the latter are only their pupils.

C It is difficult for me to say what decorative style might
531 have been in vogue in former times in the Caipipendí valley
415 (Plate LVII, 2; Plate LX, 4; and Fig. 72). Painted vessels
184 have become rare there, and the few examples I saw or acquired
were in very bad condition. As elsewhere, they were covered
with geometric figures: broken lines, triangles, /Fig. 62
appears here/ festooned bands, etc. The individuality of
Caipipendí pottery shows itself more in the form of some
vessels than in their decoration.

Ce Since I could not visit the Chané of the lower Parapití,
415 I have no idea of the characteristics of their pottery.
177 Nordenskiöld (10, p. 144), who was more favored than I,
[131] declares that their pottery presents only a few traces of Andean
[114] influence, and he explains this fact by their isolation and
[511] poverty.

C If now, instead of style, that is, the combination of
531 motifs, we consider the latter in themselves, /392/ a feeling
184 of unity will succeed our feeling of diversity. The same
identical designs are repeated over the whole of Chiriguano
territory, and only their relative frequency in a given area
and the importance attributed to them to the exclusion of the others
create these distinctions of style which I have tried /Fig. 63
appears here/ to define. Nevertheless, there are some decorative
elements which are limited to a certain region: the spiral is

/392 cont./

531 peculiar to the villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé
184 valley. The decoration made up of broken and asymmetric lines does not go beyond the zone of the Franciscan missions and the Itiyuro region.

323
415
291
516
142
302

Fig. 62. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is rolled between the palms of the hands. (Photographs taken by the author at Masaví, Igüembé Valley.)

[126]

/396 cont./

323 178 Without wishing to pass as a prophet, I think I can assign five years of life to the artistic pottery of the Chiriguano. Already it is becoming difficult to make collections of it, at least collections having aesthetic value.

323 415 531

Fig. 66. Fabrication of a large vat: when dry, the clay is polished with a well-polished stone. The purpose of this operation is to avoid all porosity in the surface of the vessel.

415 178 184 323 The state of decline and regression in which Chiriguano pottery is found explains perhaps the decided differences often existing in the pottery of the various regions inhabited by the Chiriguano. Artists being few, it is not surprising that their output varies little and that, because of this, the vessels of one village are all very much alike.

C /396 cont./
323
415
178
184

In former times when artists were not lacking, the number of motifs used within each group must have been larger, and in this variety was doubtless found many an element which today seems to have disappeared, only to be met in another zone. It is probable that an ethnographer who might have made a collection among the Chiriguano a century ago would have established a classification other than the one I have tried to outline here.

C
Ce
415
17

Comparative Study of the Basic Elements of the Painted Pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

1. The Problem of the Chincha Atacama Civilization

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians shows such strong affinities with that of the ancient Andean populations from the point of view of form as well as decoration that their relationship cannot be doubted.

These analogies are especially striking among certain pieces /397/ of pottery dug up in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and the ones still made by Chiriguano or Chané women. With an interval of four centuries the resemblance between the pottery of these two regions is still so pronounced that it had attracted the attention of Mr. Debenedetti (2, pp. 134, 149, note 1, and 156), even though he apparently had for his whole basis of comparison only a few rare pieces of very simple Chiriguano pottery collected in the Chaco and of such uncertain provenance that one of them was attributed to the Choroti. The latter in reality, have pottery of an entirely different type, although also influenced by the Andean civilization.

O
C
Ce
[648]
[439]

The affinities of Chiriguano pottery with certain pottery of the Quebrada de Humahuaca have been scientifically established by Nordenskiöld (10, p. 143). This scholar explains these surprising similarities very naturally by the influence the Indians of the Humahuaca region had on their immediate neighbors, the Chané or Chiriguano, and by the trade relations these peoples maintained.

C 415 171 PP 415

/412 cont./

18. To put an end to these comparisons, I shall call attention to two vessels (Fig. 78 a and b), one acquired in Ivu in the Chaco and the other in Tacna, and dating from the Inca period (Uhle, 4, Plate XXVIII, 2). A simple glance at the two figures permits the establishment of their perfect identity.

C Ce 415 171

In short, from these comparisons and the ones we made on the subject of pottery in common use, we can draw the following conclusions: Chiriguano and Chané pottery is, from the morphological point of view, closely related to that of the ancient populations of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina and therefore offers numerous points of contact with the Chincha-Atacama civilizations. It still keeps traces of strong Inca influences (footed vessel (baker-shaped /in English/), aryballoid jars, ornithomorphic and anthropomorphic vessels, bowls, etc.). The ancient Arawak ethnic substratum is manifested in this sphere by the survival of several special types of pottery (vessels in the form of beakers or bowls (compoteras), vessels with a ribbed belly, vessels with three connecting bodies, etc.).

C Ce [179] A [415]

C Ce G 415

The pottery in everyday use is clearly of Guarani inspiration and in its general features has remained identical to those of the ancient Guarani of Bolivia.

C 531 184

Comparative Study of the Principal Decorative Motifs of Chiriguano Pottery and That of the Neighboring Andean Peoples

The triangle with volute. In the region of the upper Pilcomayo the fundamental motif of pottery decoration is the triangle whose apex is prolonged in a volute or spiral (Plates XXXII-XXXIII,[1] 136-199). This decorative element is repeated to repletion on all the vessels I collected from the village of Saladito to the valley of Igüembé. Elsewhere it becomes less frequent and takes on a more rudimentary form, which can be considered as further developed or degenerated.

[1] [See pp. 200-201 -- Analyst]

/412 cont./

531 184 Even on the upper Pilcomayo this design occurs in many variations according to the place or the artists: on certain pieces the volute which prolongs the triangle is clearly drawn (Plate XXXV, 1; XXXVII, 2; XXXVIII,[1] 2; etc.); on others it is no more than a hook more or less closed (Plate XXXII, 137-151). This last case is more usual. Finally, the hook itself is drawn with so little care that it is transformed into the simple arc of a circle, then into a straight line prolonging one of the sides of the triangle (Fig. 78 a).

Some vessels, generally outside the upper Pilcomayo region, /Plates XXX-XXXIV appear here/ /413/ present the same motif, but instead of the hook or the spiral the potter has painted a fret element (Plate XLI, 2, and XLIII, 1; LIV, 1 and 4)[2] more or less well executed. Thus one can follow the evolution of the spiral to the fret by going from one point to another of Chiriguano territory.

Most often these triangles with a volute are arranged in two rows and face each other alternately. When such an arrangement occurs, the potter always takes care to draw, along the line forming the volute, a parallel line of a different color, which, after following the inflections of the volute, goes to join that of the facing triangle. The figure (Plate XXXIII,[3] 178-194) thus obtained is a double volute in the form of a couchant S. It is particularly characteristic of the pottery of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé valley. This double volute perhaps can be treated as an independent decorative element, witness the yambui of Plate XXXVI, 2, and LI, 3.

531 Sometimes, but rarely, the triangle with a double volute is replaced by an angle whose sides, by being drawn out, form a continuous line which unites these motifs to each other (Plate XXXVI, 1; XLVII, 3; LIII, 3).[4]

[171] The origin of this motif is lost in the night of time. It appears already very stylized on the vessels of the Tiahuanaco period, coming from Tiahuanaco itself (Posnansky, Plate III, Figs. E and F) and from the Mizque valley (Nordenskiöld, 5, p. 95, Fig. 40).

[1] [See pp. 211, 213 and 214 respectively--Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 217, 219 and 233 respectively--Analyst]
[3] [See p. 201--Analyst]
[4] [See pp. 212, 226 and 232 respectively--Analyst]

C /421 cont./

531 171 The spiral as an independent decorative element has a much less wide distribution than when it is combined with the triangle it surmounts. In the geographical area which interests us it is known only on some pieces from the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 41 and 42, pp. 72-73; Bregante, Figs. 176 and 179, pp. 170-171), on a calabash from Calama (Oyarzun, Fig. 10), from the Puna de Jujuy and from the valley of Yocavil (Ambrosetti, 4, Fig. 70, p. 68, and Fig. 69, p. 72, Vol. LIV), on a puco from Pabellon in the Santa Maria valley, Catamarca province (Outes, 1, p. 19, Fig. 13).

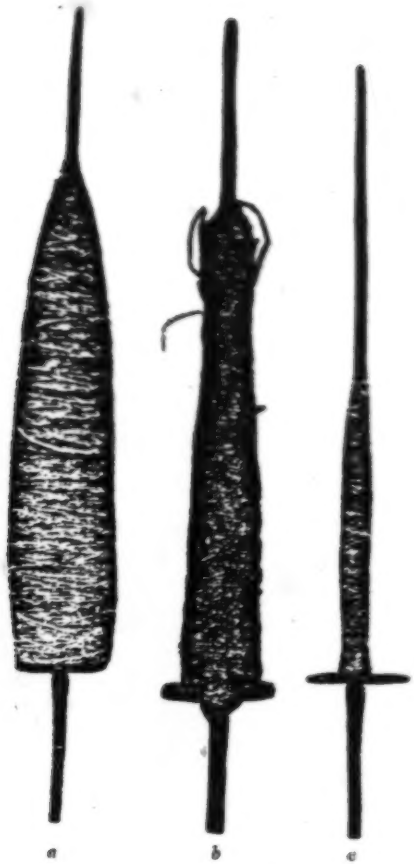
C 531 Angles, triangles, and zigzag lines (Plate XXX, 1-46, Plate XXXI, Figs. 71-108, 127). Nearly all the yambuí and yapepo which form my collections are decorated on the interior rim, at the base of the neck, or on the upper part of the belly with interlaced angles, with series of triangles painted on the surface, which form denticulate bands. This decorative theme, simple and a bit monotonous, varies from one specimen to the other, according to whether the field of the triangles is sprinkled or surrounded with dots, whether the apexes are joined by angles or arcs of a circle, or, finally, whether or not these triangles are bordered by a broken line which they face.

C [184] Triangles and zigzag lines only rarely constitute the fundamental decoration of vessels. On the upper Pilcomayo, the yambuí of Plate LIII, 4, is the only one exclusively decorated with triangular dots and parallel zigzag lines. Some pieces from Ivu and Caipipendí are characterized by the same simplicity.

C 531 171 A 531 172 At Tacna and Taltal the series of triangular dots constituted a motif particularly dear to the populations of the Chincha-Atacama period (Uhle, 4, Plate XVII, Fig. 4; Plate XVIII, Figs. 1, 2, and 4; Plate XIX; Fig. 1 a; Plate XXII, Fig. 4; Plate XXIII, Figs. 3 and 4 and Figs. 21 and 22, pp. 40-41).

/434 cont./

283
413



[171]
[184]

Fig. 89. a, b, c. Chiriguano spindles of the bakaïri /Bacairi/ type. Prov.: a, Tasiti; b, Tintapaw; c, Tasiti (upper Pilcomayo). These spindles are provided with a groove in the upper part which allows the thread to be fastened. The whorls of a and b are of terra cotta, that of c of wood. (1/4 nat. size.)

Ce 101 194 /443 cont./ the center of dispersion of the Arawak must be placed to the north of the Amazon, and before the Chiriguano invasion the Arawak tribe of the Chané was established over the whole extent of the territory now occupied by the former.

C 285 171 Beside this technique another exists, known to the Chiriguano since time immemorial and well before their great migration. The English-language ethnographers give it the name of twilled work. No other type of basketwork is so widespread. This technique is preponderant in all of tropical America from the Antilles to Paraguay and in the south stops at the Chaco. The Chiriguano are the only Indians of the Chaco among whom twilled work is in current use. This type of basketry used to exist on the coast of ancient Peru, but its importance there was not great and it appears only in work baskets.

C 285 184 Basketry in wicker work and that in twined work do not have an identical distribution among the Chiriguano. Baskets of the first kind are numerous in the villages of the upper Pilcomayo (Saladito, Salado Grande and Chico, Ibopeytí, and Yumbia) and go as far as the Ivu mission. They stop, or are rare, in the rest of the Chiriguano country, notably in the Caipipendí valley, where baskets of the second type (twilled work) predominate almost exclusively. These are widespread there, and the beauty of their workmanship, the embellishments with which they are provided, put them well above the basketwork of any other zone and even above that of tribes living in regions richer in palm trees.

C [126] In the huts of the upper Pilcomayo I collected several baskets in twilled work, but they were rare there and often incomplete and torn. I had the impression that they had arrived there by way of commercial exchanges. In any case, the Indians no longer plait baskets of this type, and it is possible that their disappearance has given value to the specimens of them which remain. That would explain the absence of any new specimen and the preservation of ancient baskets almost beyond usefulness. Be that as it may, at present the true center of basketry in twilled work is the Caipipendí valley, and that of the basketry of /444/ wicker work, the region of the upper Pilcomayo. Since the living conditions of the C [178] Chiriguano in the missions north and south of the Pilcomayo have undergone deep modifications, I do not know what the respective

/444 cont./

285 distribution of these two techniques must have been in former times.
● 184 We shall find this difficulty every time we consider the diffusion of a cultural element peculiar to these Indians.

285 Wicker work basketry has undergone strong European influence.
177 The agents have been the half-breeds of the department of Tarija, who live in constant contact with the Chiriguano. This foreign influence on the baskets belonging to this technique is manifested by modifications of the original forms and improvements of details, such as horseshoe handles.

285 Among the Chiriguano I did not find a single basket woven
171 with the technique called "in spirals" (coiled basketry /named in English/), although in olden times it was in use among the Andean populations who used to and still do live in contact with the Chiriguano. Basketwork "in spirals" has continued on the altiplano, as the basket of Fig. 103, which I bought in La Quiaca, proves.

Basketry in "Wicker Work"

285 Mason (p. 228) designates under the name of wicker basketry a type obtained with the following technique: a rigid framework composed of thick, solid elements is intercrossed by thinner, more flexible elements. In the course of this work I shall call warp the rigid elements of the framework, and the ones crossing them, woof. The woof passes alternately over and under each element of the warp. This technique is well known to us: it is that of our wicker baskets, trunks, and back baskets (see Fig. 105 /see p.295 /).

Because of its very simplicity we have a right to suppose that this technique is old. It is only a variety of checker work /named in English/, the most elementary of all the techniques. By checker work we understand the process which consists of interlacing flexible bands so as to obtain a checkerboard design. The only piece of basketry made with this technique that I know of in the region we are concerned with is a basket that Eric von Rosen

/460 cont./

Fans or Fire-blowers

C 372 184 [171]

Great was my surprise when upon arriving in the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo region I found fire fans identical with those of the Indians of Brazil and the Guianas. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 56) barely mentions them and insists on their rarity. The fact is explained by the absence of this cultural element in all the rest of the zone inhabited by the Chiriguano. In most of the villages they use old hats or fragments of baskets to fan the fire.

C 372 285

Plate LXXXV. $\frac{2}{1}$ Length, 28.5 centimeters; width, 31 centimeters. Provenance: Saladito.

The making of these fans is rather simple. The leaves composing them cross in a rhythm of two. On the edge the stalks have been bent back and, passing again across the fabric, are interlaced to form a pucker on each side. The free ends /Plates LXXXIII-LXXXV appear here/ /461/ have been plaited on top and one part passed into a split stick forming the handle (Fig. 117).

C [171] C [824]

An important remark must be made on the subject of these fans. They /Fig. 117 appears here/ differ little from the fans made of a single pinnate palm leaf, such as are found in Brazil and Paraguay. The Chiriguano, having no palm trees of this species in their new homeland, had to /Fig. 118 appears here/ adopt the palmate leaves of the karandaí. They replaced the petiole, which forms the handle, with the split stick to which I have alluded. (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 106 and 107, pp. 219-220.)

C 285 353 797 [824]

/462/

"Flowers"

On feast days the Chiriguano of the Franciscan missions decorate the church with artificial "flowers" which they make from leaves of karandaí palms. These decorations are of ancient origin and derive directly from the straw amusements /jeux/ still made by the Indians in various /Fig. 119 appears here/ regions of America, notably in the Guianas. The natives of the latter region often hang them in their houses where they perhaps

G 285 353

$\frac{3}{1}$ [See p. 322 -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 324]

/467 cont./

302 The women never cut their hair according to the custom of the other Indian women of the Chaco, so they have heads of long and remarkably soft hair. They gather their hair together [301] on the nape of the neck by means of a red or blue ribbon, which they knot on the forehead after passing it around the head (see Plate VI, 1 and 2 /see p. 73/).

302 515 524 412 388 Chiriguano women are extremely meticulous about their hair and wash it nearly every day. For soap they use flitira seeds.

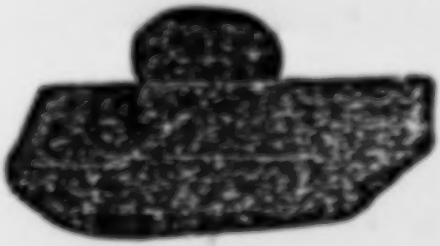


Fig. 122. Chiriguano stone mortar for crushing flitira seeds. Prov.: Ivo. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

which they crush in a little mortar (Fig. 122) especially intended for that use. The flitira seeds, rich in saponin, lather easily.

302 For me it was always a pleasant spectacle in the morning to see the women come back from the river with their hair twisted on the front of the head and fastened into a conical chignon. They would let it dry, then would begin to comb it slowly until it was soft and shining.

412 303 184 Two types of comb coexist among the Chiriguano. On the upper Pilcomayo in the Igüembé valley and in Ivo, they are carved out of a small board, and often the flat part which serves as the handle is cut out /468/ with art. In the Caipipendí valley and among the Chané, besides combs of the preceding type there are others composed of fine splinters of wood wedged between two splinters of bamboo and held in place by a clever plaiting of cotton thread forming a design.

Ac.Nino--233 M-3 (1895-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/170 cont./

Modern Houses

342 17 [264] [248]

A Chiriguano house offers nothing special in appearance, but even those of the mestizos who have settled in their country are of the same form and not rarely worse, because naturally since the mestizo is not very fond of physical labor, because he is not an Indian, it is necessary for him to call on the energy of the latter, and the native is not always inclined to lend him this or that service, from which it follows that their houses are inferior (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. I am speaking here of the houses that the mestizos or whites build in the countryside where they live: in the towns their houses are normal; they almost all have tile roofs, and there are also some which are white-washed.

342 [192] [184]

/171/ House in the Chiriguano language is called Ho, which is different from what they call Tapi, but. The latter are common in large towns and belong to the lazy people, wanderers, and even the poor. It must thus be understood that the construction of a Chiriguano house is a work of no small importance and care, if one considers that the Chiriguano is poor, so poor that he only has available an ax, a shovel, and a knife, and not always these. Because of the importance that I give to this construction, many who do not know these regions could believe that the houses are very fine, but there is nothing fine about them. None of them is beyond the rank of cabins.

342 335 496

I believe that it is indispensable to describe the way of constructing them and the elements available to the Chiriguano in order to carry this out. If the Indian has some luck in sheep, he pays some of his companions with sheep so that they will help him gather the principal timber, and should this wealth be lacking, he begins to cut and strip back in the woods by himself, selecting timber of good quality, straight and resistant to the action of water. The principal pieces are generally six posts

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 235]

/174 cont./

342 281 second frame, taking care that it is not very tight so that when it dries it will not warp. He attaches this hide from behind with thongs of the same material, and the result for them is a door de luxe, which could be envied even by some whites, who, in spite of the fact that they have hides, either cannot find anyone to work them for such a door, or who out of avarice and in order not to spend a few coins do not concern themselves with such a comfort (2).

342 322

2. Some of them make very crude doors with two pieces of thorny ceiba wood, which they work perfectly with a knife. No Chiriguano puts a window in his house.

Ancient Houses

342 177 178 Some of my readers perhaps may have believed that the house and its mode of construction just described go back to the origin of the race. /175/ This belief would be an error, because they must understand that the above-mentioned is the result of progress. The method of building houses like the present ones is relatively new; they learned it from the whites, especially from the inhabitants of the Santa Cruz area, where the houses all have galleries, this being noted even in the capital of the department, although they may be of much more importance and may be disappearing in the new buildings. But 184 in Monteagudo, Lagunillas, Charagua, and centers where the Chiriguano have their holdings, houses have gallaries.

These, in addition to giving the houses a better appearance, in addition to the indisputable utility, are a very great reinforcement and protection for the walls of the house, not allowing the torrential rains to wear away or demolish the plastering that 342 they do in all the houses. It is true that many houses of the 171 whites in their towns are of adobe, but when the timber is of superior quality it is almost preferable, because this material + REMAINS JOINED BETTER AND IS MORE COMPACT.

/184 cont./

323 the force of the heat and remains over the paintings like a
[237] binder, without which they would disappear the first time it was used. The Taragüirisi remains on the vessels like a light coat of rubber and the white of the Tovanti becomes opaque (2).

2. When a pot is slightly damaged, they heat it in the fire and on the inside and outside apply the Taragüirisi, and it is as good as before.

/185/ Textiles

286 Another important occupation of the Chiriguano woman
462 is weaving the Asoya for her husband, brother, or son, and the
[294] Cutama for herself. For this she prepares the wool or cotton, spins it opposite the way the mestizo and European women spin, and then bleaches it and finally dyes it.

286 In order to weave, they set up two tall, slender forked sticks in the house, with two sticks across, one above and one below, and arrange or place the threads vertically, and then sit on the ground and begin to run the woof through, thread by thread, which they hit with a pointed stick of soto wood called Piuca. This, to be sure, is time consuming, if the threads are fine, but, on the other hand, the work is very durable.

291 Ponchos, Asoya, are of two types, one of wool and one
286 of cotton; the first are common from the right bank of the
231 Parapiti River southward and the second from the left bank
249 northward, because in the first region sheep are plentiful, and
[184] in the second, cotton fields. Formerly, before the whites intro-
[177] duced cattle into the region, cotton was cultivated everywhere, and from its product the men were dressed for ceremonies in their Tíru and the women in the Mandu, which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

/197 cont./

301 562 [437] These are of ten-centavo or five-centavo pieces, but they try to have them all alike. From what has been said it can be seen that the necklaces that the women wear are modern, brought by traders, especially peddlers (2).

2. Today neither medios nor reales of pure silver are found, but the Chiriguano Indian women make their necklaces with medios and reales of nickel. These are satisfactory, but the former were better.

301 184 Modern necklaces are common and also worn by the neophytes, but they do not wear bracelets, which are suitable only for the infidels. They make a long string of small blue beads and wrap it around /198/ their wrists, taking care to be sure that each turn is tight and close to the previous one, and so on with the rest which follow.

291 301 186 177 The Chiriguano, because he is proud, does not lower himself to wearing the adornments of neighboring tribes which are inferior to him, but he does easily adapt himself to wearing the clothing and adornments of races which are superior to him. He does not lower himself to wearing bird feathers, to scarring his face and arms, to wearing wooden earrings, like the Toba and others, but he imitates and attempts to surpass his superiors, the whites, by dressing himself like them, the men wearing the fine hat and the women wearing the wool and silk manta, the young men the footwear and boot, and the maidens foreign earrings. Hence, tiny little girls at the moment they are born have the ear lobe pierced, so that in time, even before they begin to walk, the mother can put a pair of earrings on them, while none of the old women whom I know wears earrings in her ears. This is a sure sign that they never wore ornaments in them, and thus, if the modern Chiriguano women wear them, it is because they have seen women and maidens who came from civilized centers or were born there.

/209 cont./

843 Near the time of giving birth, she carries less weight,
262 prepares what is necessary, which consists of some cloth pads
415 and her new little olla in which to cook the maize which she
[753] must eat boiled. If the olla were old or used, the newborn would be subject to mal caduco, or epilepsy, and if a woman who has just given birth were to eat parched maize, her breasts would dry up and would not give milk for feeding the child.

844 At the time of giving birth the only person left in the house is the midwife; the others, even the husband, go out, but he returns as soon as the birth has taken place, in order to lend some help to his wife and the midwife, who alone cannot attend to the newborn child and its mother, who fights with her very life against the pains, for which she is consoled at the sight of the fruit of her womb, which for a moment makes her forget her present suffering.

They at once cover with sand every trace of the event, wrap up with bands, cloths, or other things the body of the woman who has just given birth, and lay her on the ground face down, making her rest on a bed which has little or no resemblance to such, but as every Chiriguano woman is strong, she puts up with this as though she were in a featherbed.

● 184 Throughout the whole world birth is a very dangerous thing,
846 and it is even here. The Chiriguano women also need considerable rest. When some old women were asked about the matter, they stated that childbirth formerly lasted almost two weeks, and they marvel that the neophytes get up so quickly, returning to their customary labors within eight days; they attribute this robustness to the lack of strict fasting in the years of puberty.

846 /210/ It is consequently an error to state that puerperae go to the lake or river to bathe from the second or third day, much less on the same day as the birth. Natural reason would not allow the latter. There might have been some extraordinary case in which some woman walked immediately after giving
[178] birth, but it would not cease to be an extraordinary case. The neophytes are abandoning the custom of their grandmothers and

/226 cont./

881 178 do not advise anyone of their puberty, even their mothers, and the consequences are sad in no few cases. They do not tell anyone because the older girls make fun of them.

163 582 A single thing is noted in the missions, and it is that the neophytes, when they get to the age of about 35, stop having children. Perhaps this is because they marry very young, at about 16 to 20 at the latest. If it is true that the Chiriguano 581 women of old were ready for marriage /227/ as soon as they came out of their hiding or fasting, the union which they contracted was certainly neither continuous nor for life with the same person. One or two months with one, then a rest until giving birth, afterwards again joining the same man, or perhaps she would seek out another if the first had become bored 797 with her or she with him. But this does not happen in the 581 missions; those who contract marriage do it for life, because it is a Catholic union and, as such, indissoluble, just as the natural marriage of the infidels would be, but the Chiriguano does not understand this, since in principle he wishes to be a hummingbird, coming to rest on many flowers and not stopping at any of them until he reaches a certain age.

881 785 184 In the districts where the fasting lasted for a year, such as in Cuevo, before the town of San Juan Bautista and the Santa Rosa Mission were founded, after the first rigorous month the maidens were made to eat meat and beans also, and they were even allowed to drink a little mild chicha, so that they would not become too weak or die. If the chicha had turned sour, it would be prejudicial for later married life, producing the effects of which I have already spoken.

881 178 177 Finally, to conclude such a delicate subject, let it be noted that at the present time the custom of such a rigorous fast for the female sex is observed in very few places; today the region is inhabited by the white race, which is making them understand that all this is superstition, because of the example of their daughters, who, in spite of the fact that they have done nothing of what has been said, live in perfect

/250 cont./

224 184 Although all the Indians are hunters, not all can or go to hunt; some stay in town to help the women put the jars /cántaros/ in the plaza, and others do not go because they have other food [231] available for their friends. Some of them have goats and sheep, [574] others even chickens and cows; these take pride in being able to offer their friends in the public plaza chicken soup, or one of lamb or kid, or a succulent roast of veal, since there is no doubt that anyone would prefer fresh meat to charqui or dried meat of wild animals.

Animals

231 From the little that has been said with reference to animals it can be deduced that the Chiriguano have some, and they are the horse, ass, mule, cow, sheep, goat, chicken, and dog; all of them have Spanish names, /251/ except the chicken, Uru, and the dog, Yáimba. It is possible that these last are native, that is, that the Chiriguano have always had them, since they have their own name in the language; but if one reflects a little some doubt rises in the mind. The chicken, so it seems to me, is called Uru by the Chiriguano because it has some resemblance to the turkey buzzard, which they call Urugũi and which is a species of crow. [177] The dog is called Yáimba in Chiriguano, no doubt because he is very faithful to his master, Ya, which really means owner-master, and Imba, beast, so that the dog turns out to be a special beast which, more than others, loves its owner or master, and I say this because other tribes who are neighbors of the Chiriguano and are in a complete state of savagery do not have the dog, from which it can be deduced that they acquired it when the Spaniards entered their country (1).

1. For my opinion to be complete and closer to the truth, the word Imba should have an h; nevertheless, I do not give this as more than an opinion. The literal meaning of the word Yáimba would be: beast of the owner.

/251 cont./

Other Comestibles

226 184 After this digression I return with an account of comestibles in order to end the chapter now. The Indian finds in everything goodness and sweetness for his molars. He is very eager for fish, but not all the tribes have it nearby; when they learn that there [437] is fish in abundance on the banks of the big rivers, they travel as far as 150 kilometers to barter; they take maize or meal and trade it for fish. Those who live on the river banks are valiant fishermen, with no distinction by sex; they fish with hooks, staying in the water for hours, but they know with great sensitivity when the fish has taken the bait into its stomach; others fish with nets, which they have in every size, as I have seen on the Parapiti River, as well as on the Pilcomayo, near the Pirapo toward the west (2).

[438] [435] [431] 2. The Indians who bring fish back to their tribes do business, selling them at 10 and 20 centavos each; they also eat them and present them to friends and relatives.

226 Others make large baskets of hollow cane, open at a single point, put them in the river, and the fish go in without being able to get out; these baskets are called Pari. Along the rivers I even saw two lines of rocks sticking out of the water and ending /252/ in an angle, where the water forms a small waterfall. There, at the angle, they put a big net or other apparatus and catch many fish. They call this apparatus Itapare; even the carcancho /a bird/ will place itself at the angle and have a breakfast of fresh fish.

Finally, at waterfalls eight or ten meters high, they place close by a big net which gets all the smaller or medium-sized fish, since the big ones go up and down easily, while the former fall into the net; in the places where the fish are small, they divert the course of the stream and thus manage to catch all those which are left without their element.

/262 cont./

527 are gathering together all the people, shouting like madmen and making known their great joy. The lord of the fiesta has arranged beforehand that the morning reception should take place in one location and the afternoon affair in another, and in this way not only is there time to prepare, but there is also food every day for the outsiders and for those who are not outsiders.

In the afternoon, at four o'clock more or less, they eat again with more enthusiasm than before, because their happiness is greater and then, it will be understood, ex abundantia musti os loquitur. But great friendship and harmony prevail; then they sing a little more, one by one, and when the sun sets there is a general rest (2).

2. From the afternoon oration until two in the morning there is complete silence; at that hour the song begins anew, with dancing and drinking. Today, since the voice of the cacique is little heeded, there is no schedule.

[622] [178]

535 184 173

Mbapa páure

This dance is similar to a quadrille; couples execute it by making turns through the streets of the town, both day and night. According to what the Indians of Ivu say, the Mbapa páure is not general for the Chiriguano race, but peculiar to certain regions, and it is not more than a hundred years old. They even say that it had its origin /263/ at the foot of the Itácua mountain range in Cordillera Province and then spread there up to Menbirái and Choreti Guasu.

When the war of the cacique Yaveáu took place, the Indians of Güiracoti, living on the left bank of the stream of Cuevo, fled to the left bank of the Parapiti River, where they stayed and learned this new dance and song. Thus, when they returned to their lands, when Yaveáu, through having avenged himself excessively, had pardoned and forgotten the affront he had received, they brought back the novelty and began to introduce it into their towns.

/263 cont./

535 Someone went to teach it in the towns located behind the
● 184 hill of Aguaragüe, and the towns located on the right bank of
173 the Cuevo River intended to introduce it, but, seeing the dismal consequences that resulted from it, they have abstained to this day, so that it is a fact that the Mbapa páure is now limited to the small towns of Caraguatarenta, Ñagua, and Caraguatagüe, and it is certain that it is neither heard nor seen in the large towns of Santa Rosa and Ivu, which are a few kilometers away (1).

[837]

1. In the towns where the Mbapa páure is sung, there are upset marriages, because the dance is between a man and woman holding hands, which does not happen in the Ayarise; therefore, or to avoid said upsets, many caciques do not allow it to be introduced into their area of jurisdiction.

The Music of the Mbapa páure

527
533
535 This is another piece of music which has been scored for a band by the Reverend Father Domingo F. Regini; it is much
[184] simpler than the ayarise, but the song and dance attract a great deal of attention, because they are not known in all the Chiriguano towns. It is a kind of carnival which lasts for a long time, but when the said time is over, nobody again remembers the Mbapa páure until a year has passed. Here are the words of
[539] the song: Tavia, Tavia -- Erecosiye mbapa páure -- Tirisoti, tirisoti -- Ancua chopi -- Chopi nano saraviyé -- Eh! Eh! Uetepeso, güeremeso -- Yagua tairari, yagua tairari -- Yurumbopi -- Yémanta -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. Explanation: Let us sing the mbapa paure, like the blackbird sings, let us sing until we are left with our mouths twisted and we are tired, even though it give us a pain in the chest, let us challenge even the jaguar, and let our mouths stretch. Eh! Eh!

/266 cont./

797
771

that the cacique had said with reference to their idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

574
576

/267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leaving the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu ndereé, I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma, I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tunpa reño eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

541
177

If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Lagunillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing. The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano [184] fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbapa páure, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe, in addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

[648]

1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Igüembe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Azero,

4: Nino--402 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/297/

Chapter Fourteen

Infidels and Neophytes of the Missions

Introduction

797
648

The continual revolts of the Chiriguano against the white race clearly demonstrate their aversion toward the Christian element, which they consider to be the effective cause of their misfortunes and of the almost total loss of their territory, of which not too long ago they considered themselves the legitimate owners and absolute rulers. It is as clear as the midday sun that the Christian, with the patience and constancy of an anchorite and in many circumstances risking his life, has gradually taken over the extensive region. Today there is no corner where an occasional Christian family is not living. In many places the Chiriguano tribe has completely disappeared, whether through epidemics or through loss of freedom; in some places a rather considerable nucleus exists under the control of a master, either because of the territory which it cultivates or because of a debt which has been contracted (1).

161
464
466
648

1. The caciques of the Curuyuqui war, in their ignorance, thought that they could recover the lost territory and, in revenge, take over most of the Republic.

797
648
[184]

The Indians located in the area to the left of the Pilcomayo River took only one thing into consideration when they resolutely refused to have a conversion mission founded; they only considered that behind the missionary would come those whom they considered invaders; they only understood that white Christians would gather behind or around the Cross, which Father Giannelli planted with considerable daring in the middle of the nineteenth century. But why is it that the Indians of Tarairí /298/ are still owners of their land? Because of the missionary, whom one faction, in its ignorance, wanted to leave when the destruction of the flourishing missions of San Francisco and San Antonio began, where six years ago building a new London was attempted, with almost

797
291
177

/309 cont./
in addition to the ordinary clothing, use a waist /corpiño/, hat, socks, and small rug /alfombrita/ in church (2). /Page 310 and

000

[184]
[492]

2. The place where they dress most elegantly is in the missions of the Parapiti Grande, especially the women, who even have saddles for traveling and for riding about on horseback.

the first paragraph on p. 311 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 311 follows./

Conclusion

797

In conclusion, let it be noted for a final time that the Bolivian nation and people have opened to commerce and industry the broad region described in the first chapter of this work. This is due to the Franciscan missionaries, whose labor dates from the year 1609; they faced all the dangers; they risked their lives in the forests, in the torrential rivers, on the summits of the hills, they suffered thirst, hunger, fatigue, cold and heat, they endured with resignation the calumny and persecution of the people without conscience who never failed to make them the target of their filthy mouths and tongues.

[648]

The work has been accomplished; previously nobody went among the Chiriguano without the risk of falling victim; today the entire region is one with more or less large towns, there are provincial capitals, cantons and vice-cantons; the merchant passes through the Chiriguano towns, sleeps, very highly esteemed, in their houses, and the whites themselves, scattered throughout the region, have every guarantee of safety. This is a real prodigy owing to the Religion of Jesus Christ, preached by the missionaries; it is one more proof of the fact that the Cross is constructive.

[177]

/312/ It is evident that the native element is disappearing because of the causes previously enumerated during the course of these lines (1).

000

1. If the present missions remain and new ones are founded in the centers that are left today,

C Ce 415 *171 [252] Only a few vessels are provided with ~~spouts~~ lips in rims which here seem to be an idea obtained by the Indians from the Whites.

Bowls with holes in the bottom which are used for steaming have already been mentioned in the foregoing. This applies also to bowls for the roasting of maize.

The Chané on the Rio Parapiti have small plates which they sometimes use in spinning. I have not seen the like elsewhere. Occasionally one sees, among the most civilized C Ce [177] Chiriguano and Chané, fire-pans for holding hot water. (Fig. 43,21). They must have obtained the idea from the Whites.

C Ce 323 The Chiriguano and Chané understand the art of painting earthenware before burning.[1]) I have already, in Part I, endeavoured to show the geographical distribution of this invention. Whether it was known to the Chané and Chiriguano before they settled in this tract cannot be decided. The pottery I found in the archaeological excavations at Caipipendi is unpainted.

C Ce [184] The Chané at Rio Itiyuro sometimes paint the edge of earthen vessels after burning with resin of palo santo. This is never seen among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Parapiti. As such painting is common among several tribes in the Chaco, it is possible that the Chané at Rio Itiyuro got the idea from there. The Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro often varnish the painted vessels after burning with a kind of gum called by the Chiriguano — »taragüirisi».

The Chiriguano and Chané also ornament their earthenware by finger-impressions. This method of ornamentation has an eastern extension in S. America. A map showing its distribution is published in Part I.

The ornamentation painted on earthenware is seen in the illustrations. The Chané at Rio Parapiti usually have very plain ornamentation.

C Ce [237] [1]) For this purpose brushes of Aguti hair are used. (See also WIENER P. 82).

[erratum corrected. See errata sheet p. 245.]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Maps of the geographical distribution of various kinds of ornamentation can scarcely be drawn up at present with the exception of a few very characteristic specimens, e. g. the spiral. This is found on earthen vessels from the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, and from the Chiriguano, but not from the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.

The colours used by the Chiriguano and the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro are black, red, brown and white. The white is caolin, the red, brown and black are obtained by pulverizing schists of these colours. The Chiriguano sometimes mix Urucu with oil. Vessels are probably painted with this mixture only after burning.

Pottery is undoubtedly the chief art practised by the Chiriguano and Chané. We may, indeed, assert that it is the only one that is still of very great importance to these Indians. It is an interesting fact that, though these tribes have been in close contact with missionaries and other Whites for nearly 400 years, and though their country has been flooded with European goods, their pottery has been influenced very little by foreign culture. It is still genuine Indian. This holds good not only of its shape, but to an equally great extent of its ornamentation. It shows how conservative the Indian is towards anything that cannot make easier for him the struggle for life. A cultivated plant can spread in a few years over a large part of a continent, whereas one will not take the trouble to adopt a foreign ornamentation or foreign types of household furniture. This does not imply that the pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané now has the appearance that it had 400 years ago. It has changed, as the Indians themselves told me, but the change has chiefly consisted in ringing the changes on old Indian patterns. How and how much it has changed, can only be proved archæologically. Unfortunately, I do not possess the archæological material. What I found in the country of these Indians probably goes very much further back in time than 400 years, and has very little in common with

5tNordenskiöld E-5,K(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
531
*171

The Chiriguano and Chané calabashes are ornamented with engraved, burnt-in and painted figures. The distribution of engraved ornamentation cannot, at present be as certained. As I maintained in Part I, pyrograving seems to be a culture-element of western origin. The art of painting calabashes with urucu mixed with oil is unknown to the Choroti and Ashluslay, as also to the other Indians whom I got to know personally, with the exception of the Pauserna.

C
Ce
[415]

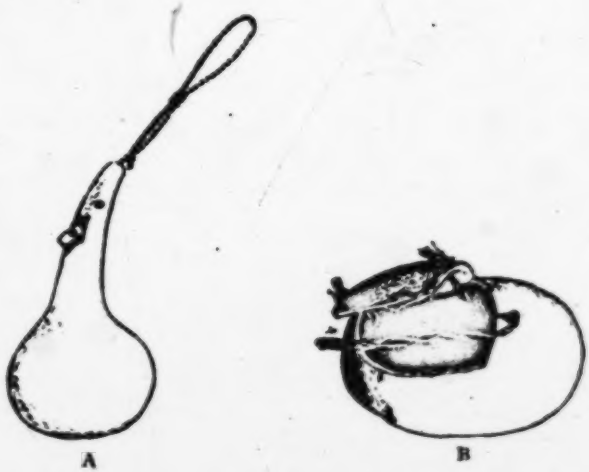


Fig. 30. A. Calabash with lid. Chané, Rio Parapiti. R. M. P. 55. 1/6.
B. » » » Chiriguano. R. M. E: 508. 1/6.

In the absence of sufficient comparative material from the Andine culture-area, I will not here seek to establish whence the Chiriguano and Chané got the ornamentation which adorns their calabashes, nor in what measure it has been independently elaborated by them. A calabash with engraved animal figures is reproduced here.

C
Ce
415
531
184

The Chané who dwell at Rio Parapiti have but little ornamentation on their calabashes, and that little is plain.

This contrasts with the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro and is certainly owing to the poverty of the first-mentioned.

Sometimes the Chiriguano and Chané calabashes are surrounded by a net for greater convenience of carrying. I have already dealt with these in the foregoing.

The stoppers of calabash-bottles are generally pieces of empty corn-cobs. These are now and then used also as stoppers for earthen-vessels. The Choroti and Ashluslay, as a rule, make use of wax, which material is little used by the Chiriguano and Chané.

Fig. 51. Calabash. Chiriguano. R. M. 323. 1/6.

000
C
648

/171 cont./
on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians. The Ashluslay also maintain, as my interpreter told me, that /172/ the Toba chief Taycolique, during his invasion of their territory in 1909, had several Chiriguano with him.

Ce
727

Batirayu said that in former times the Chané brought home the heads of their slain enemies and set them up on the plazas of the villages during festivals.

Ce
415
531

Fig. 82. Clay vessel of the Chané. 1/4.
Rio Parapiti.

/173/ Chapter Eleven

From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Everyday Life in the Chané and Chiriguano Huts

Ee
361
184
114

As a rule, I felt very comfortable in the huts of the Chané and Chiriguano. The life in these villages is exactly the same. If one describes one village, he has described almost all of them.

Ee
361
[162]

Like all the other Indians whom I visited south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, these Indians live in villages. Some of these villages are quite large and inhabited by several hundred persons. Often many villages lie close together. The huts, as a rule, lie around a market place on which sweetsop trees are occasionally planted for shelter in the rainy season. The market places serve as playgrounds and meeting places. The huts, in contrast to the round Choroti and Ashluslay huts, are square, and their doors, facing the village, are set in the gable. They are made of cane or wooden slats, with roofs of grass. Not infrequently they are plastered with earth.

Ee
[137]
Ee
342

/181 cont./

Branches of Subsistence

C
Ee

Fishing and hunting do not play an important role among the Chané and Chiriguano. As I have mentioned before, they are farmers, primarily maize farmers. These Indians live so exclusively on maize that for them all other food plays a subordinate role. The Indians living on the Rio Parapiti are an exception; they plant more sweet potatoes than maize, and these yield an excellent harvest in their country.

241 [226] [224] Ee [184]

/182/ The following plants are grown by the Chané and Chiriguano:

C Ee 241

Sweet potatoes.
Maize.
Squash (Cucurbita pepo Lin.).
Calabash fruits.
Beans of different varieties.
Cotton.
Urucú.
Tobacco.
Tuna (for example, at Yatavéri). Opuntia.
Millet.
Mandioca (rare).
Reed for arrow shafts (on the Rio Parapiti).

Ee [137] [177]

In the plantings of these Indians I saw neither ordinary potatoes nor bananas. The sweet potatoes, according to Batirayu's statements, were introduced at a late period by the whites. Tobacco-raising is insignificant. The Chané and Chiriguano are not great smokers. They mostly smoke cigarettes in maize leaves, seldom pipes (Fig. 88). Among them one need not give his pipe to a neighbor for further smoking.

Ee 276

It is strange how the use of tobacco differs among the Indian tribes. The Aymara and Quichua /Quechua/, who chew coca, very seldom smoke. They have no taste for it. The Chacobo and Atsahuaca, two tribes with whom I became acquainted on my travels, smoked just as little. When I offered a Chacobo a

Ee 276 171.

C Ce 231 /187 cont./ the Chiriguano and Chané have fewer horses, cows, donkeys, sheep, and goats than the Choroti and Ashluslay. On the other hand, they have more chickens and pigs. Sometimes one sees ducks, guinea fowl, and turkeys. In certain regions, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley, where the Indians are wealthy, they also have much livestock. C Ce [184] [556] The whites, unfortunately, try in every way to cheat them out of what they have. Thus, it is not uncommon for a white man or a white woman to come into a village with a few kegs of spirits and to leave Ee [439] it with a couple of the best cows of the Indians. The whites are richer, the Indians poorer.

C 227

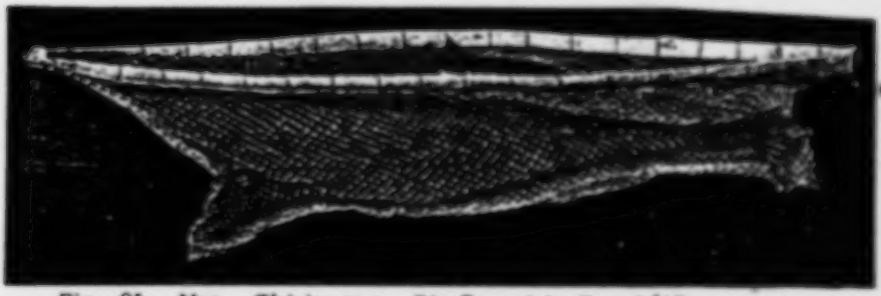


Fig. 91. Net. Chiriguano. Rio Parapiti. Ca. 1/12.

C Ce 231 171 The menagerie of tamed wild animals which one sees in the villages of the more primitive Indians is not to be found among /188/ these Indians. A parrot that talks a little Guarani, however, is not unusual in the huts.

Preparation of Food

C Ce 252 The dirt that we come across in the preparation of food and eating among the Choroti and Ashluslay is not found /Fig. 92a appears here/ among the Chané and Chiriguano. On the other hand, the dishes are Ee [262] terribly monotonous. They consist of maize in every possible form, cooked maize, roasted maize, maize bread baked in ashes, maize flour porridge, and /189/ steamed maize flour. The latter is prepared in an apparatus illustrated here (Fig. 92).

C /243 cont./
171 (Fig. 130) is typically Peruvian in form, as is the silver hair re-
291 mover, of which, however, I have no specimen. The festive
[539] costume of the man (Fig. 81) also seems to me to have a Peruvian
[413] cut. It is possible, however, that the influence of Peru did not
197 manifest itself among the Chiriguano until after the conquest of
the plateau by the Spanish.

C Boman (1) has proved that the Chiriguano, or more cor-
131
172
C
[113]

1. Boman: Antiquités de la Région Andine. Vols. 1-2. Paris, 1908.

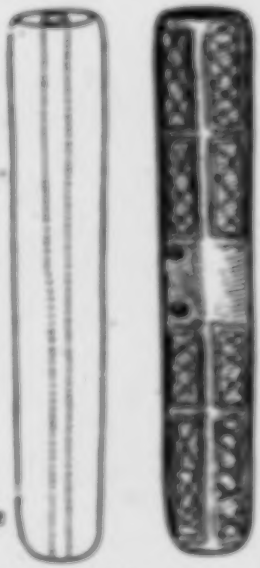


Fig. 120. Serire pipe. Chiriguano. 1/4.

rectly the Guarani tribe to which these Indians belong, formerly extended much farther south than they do now. He found there the grave urns so characteristic of them.

C The material culture of the Chané
Ce Indians does not, in general, differ very
171 much from the culture of the Chiriguano.
Ce The Chané, on the other hand, who are
[323] more isolated on the Rio Parapiti, have a completely independent pottery which we
C do not find again among the
[534 Chiriguano. If we compare the
534] remaining products of Chané
C and Chiriguano industry, we do
●[184] not find any greater differences than we find in the various Chiriguano villages themselves.

C For example, if one collects clay vessels in the Iguembe
323 valley and in the Caipipendi valley, both of which valleys are
184 occupied by Chiriguano, one inevitably finds that the pottery, though strongly related in ornamentation and form, nevertheless /244/ also varies locally. I have already spoken of the individual variations (p. 85).

Ea /344 cont./

28 Of the various industries, pottery stands particularly high
[323] among the Chiriguano and Chané (see the illustration). They
[53] are also skilled weavers and decorators of calabashes. Basketry
[184] occurs, but chiefly in the northern part of their region. Feather
work is no longer done at the present time. Only ropes and fish
Ea nets, and on the Rio Parapiti hammocks and carrying nets, are
[439] made with caraguata bast. The bags of this material, so characteristic of the Chaco tribes, are never made by the Chiriguano and Chané, but are occasionally acquired by trade between the tribes.

Ca Among the Chané on the Rio Itiyuso I followed the making
323

C
415
531

Fig. 121. Clay vessel. Chiriguano. Caipipendi valley. 1/4.

Ca
323 of pots. The clay is ground and mixed with pounded, fired
potsherds, so that the vessel does not fall apart during the firing.
Ca The clay vessels are built up out of rolls in customary Indian
[413] fashion. For smoothing a mussel shell or a maize cob without
[184] kernels, as well as a narrow little bamboo stick, is used. The
maize cobs make parallel, fine scratches (1). The bamboo stick

Ca
[172]

1. From similar scratches on clay vessels which one finds in archaeological diggings, one can see that the makers of the clay vessels had maize. I have seen this, for

C
Ce
343
182
171
231

/18 cont./ Their purpose today among the Chiriguano and Chané, as well as among the Matako and Churupí, is primarily to protect certain provisions against the numerous dogs and other domestic animals who are around in great number in every part of the town (74).

74. Concerning the question of the purpose of houses built upon posts with respect to damage by animals, cf. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 192-198.

C
Ce
433
224
226

Food and Drink. Manner of Eating and Drinking.

Hunting and fishing are not very important in the economy of the Chiriguano and Chané. Their territory has relatively few edible animals, and they are not very brave hunters (75).

75. Nord. 2, p. XVI.

C
Ce
224
262

Of animals that can be hunted, they eat the puma and the jaguar, while they scorn vultures, foxes, and the meat of monkeys, so craved by other Indians (76). One contribution

C
Ce
226
184

76. Nord. 1, p. 190.

to their subsistence which is worth mentioning is that from fishing, but only for the Chiriguano and Chané who live near the upper Pilcomayo River, since that river has excellent fishing. These Indians cannot make much use of fishing in the Rio Grande, because today this river can be held to be almost the frontier of their territory. The Parapití River has many fish, but they are very small. While the Chané today live in territories where for several months some fish are available, many Chiriguano towns are so far from the larger streams that fish does not enter into the diet of their inhabitants (77). With

77. Nord. 2, pp. XV and XVI.

/86 cont./

C 178 565 648 Ce [178] [648] [643] The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

C 565 554 643 511 433 any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such C 184 433 [433] 178 [643] [461] [476] [464] a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 462 Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of C [562] labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

/9/

157 The banks of the Pilcomayo are difficult for the opening
181 of canals because they are quite high, but it must also be
185 admitted that the Indians do not concern themselves with
[133] progress, are not ambitious like the whites who have settled on its banks; the latter also, because of being few, poor, and of limited means, almost all prefer to get rich with little work and little outlay of money, for which reason they devote themselves to raising cattle and hogs, which thrive without much care or expense.

133 The Parapiti is the second river named; it contains less water than the first and in Pomabamba, where it begins, it is very insignificant, but ten leagues farther, or after it has crossed Curi Ridge, it already begins to be respectable, and in front of the town of San Juan del Piray it appears as a ferocious beast ready to do battle with a weaker adversary, like the Armado River, whose waters it stops or makes recede, just as a lackey halts in the presence and at the sight of his master.

This river runs from west to east with few digressions as far as Mariqui in Parapiti Canton, whence it goes north and from its beginning it crosses the central part of Chiriguano country. In San Juan del Piray the river is some 12 leagues from the Pilcomayo; both rivers could easily be joined to make them one, for which there was once a project, but it would cause much harm to agriculture, especially in Cordillera Province, and the Pilcomayo would have the slight advantage of an increase in flow which would perhaps make it navigable from Villamontes to the Esteros.

In San Juan del Piray the Parapiti River receives as tributaries the Armado and the Piray rivers, and beyond San Pablo de Huacareta the waters of the river of Sauces and several others join it. Thus the Parapiti is a river of some consideration, and its bed is very dangerous at nearly every crossing because of the absolute lack of stone, especially from the Missions of San Antonio and San Francisco to Isoso Canton.

/15 cont./

433 241 sweet potatoes; cotton grows everywhere, tomatoes and garlic mature the year round, and in the gardens lettuce, cabbage, cauliflower, and peppers create the beauty of a spot, without taking into account the gastronomic advantages. Even the peach trees would yield fine fruits, but they suffer much from the black butterflies, which damage them before they ripen.

Without work the land will produce only briars and brambles, and /16/ as long as there are only Chiriguano and [157] [181] [185] cattle ranches here, progress will be slight and the population sparse, because the Indian has no ambition, and life is relatively inexpensive; the whites prosper by taking good care of their livestock, and no greater fertility can be obtained from the land because the holdings of a few families are very extensive and do not facilitate the residence of numerous renters, who do not always give good results nor do all come or ask to rent for farming alone. All of them want to get rich easily and quickly, and the best way is to raise stock, the result of which is that great areas of briars and brambles exist.

Flora

13 In the course of this hasty description I have noted that in Chiriguano country atmospheric changes are very sudden, but it has been noted that the region is quite fertile when it is watered by the rains or by irrigation ditches, because small rivers are plentiful, particularly in the mountainous region, and an occasional river of some size bathes the adjacent territories with its abundant waters.

There are many hills, pampas, and valleys, and for this reason every kind of climate may be found in this territory. [137] There are in fact oppressive heat, intense cold, and a temperate climate, thus making it possible to find land for every product from the lowly gourd to the savory chirimoya, from the ubiquitous maize to wheat, rice, and barley, from the mulberry /mora/, which grows spontaneously, to the rich grape, whose bunches reach weights of three and four libras.

C Ce /328 cont./
175
648
Ce
[172]

Chané of Santa Cruz province coming to ask for aid and protection from the Chiriguano who were tracking them down; in 1798 the Chané of the Itiyuro were still making incursions against the Chiriguano of the region of Itáu and destroyed that mission almost completely. (See Corrado, pp. 98 and 225; Tamajuncosa, p. 211.)

Ce /329/ The Chané tribe did not succumb to these hecatombs
648 or to slavery. It was able to maintain itself on two points of
128 its former territory: on the Itiyuro and the Parapití. Several
131 villages whose density is rather great still exist there. The
Ce Chané of the Itiyuro still number about 1,500. They all live
[162] in Argentine territory in the province of Salta. I do not have
[101] any statistics for the Chané population of the lower Parapití, but I know these Indians are still numerous there.

Ce Today the Chané are not distinguishable from the
191 Chiriguano by their material culture or their language. They
[101] speak Guarani, but use certain locutions and certain words which
C the Chiriguano say they do not understand and which are perhaps
[197] so many vestiges of their ancient Arawak speech. They have
Ce kept the latter as a secret language. Nordenskiöld (2, p. 157)
[198] was able to collect a short vocabulary of it among the Chané of the Parapití. As was supposed a priori, it is certainly an Arawak dialect closely related to Moxo-Mbaure.

Ce The modern Chané are no longer slaves, but their early
648 condition is still manifested in their relations with their former
186 masters. The Chiriguano always regard them with a certain
C scorn and a protective air, to which the Chané respond with
[186] open animosity. A Chiriguano would feel offended to be called
C Chané, and a Chané Chiriguano. The name by which the
[101] Chiriguano designate the Chané is always Tapii.

Ce Even if historic traditions or ethnic facts were not in agree-
192 ment to prove the existence in the western Chaco of an Arawak
167 population, archeology alone would suffice to teach it to us. At Tarupayu, Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 40-41) brought to light pottery

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Inca fortresses were visited by Nordenskiöld (1915 a, 1924 a), who described them under the names of Incallacta and Incahuasi. They bear witness to the accuracy of the various traditions concerning the *Guaraní* invasions, recorded by the chroniclers of Perú and of the Río de la Plata. C 175 648

Along the Andes, the *Chiriguano* found a peaceful *Arawakan* population, the *Chané*, a branch of the *Chané* or *Guana* tribe, which occupied the northern part of the Chaco along the Paraguay River. The western *Chané*, after centuries of close contact with the Andean cultures, had been deeply influenced by them. They dressed like their neighbors, the Andean *Chicha*, produced a pottery which resembled that of Southern Bolivia and of the valley of Humahuaca, wore metal ornaments, and used metal tools. The *Chané* fell easy prey to the *Guaraní*, who slaughtered and ate many of them and reduced the remaining population to a condition of serfdom. The *Guaraní* invaders, having brought few of their own women, however, took *Chané* wives. The fusion of these two tribes produced a civilization in which Andean, *Guaraní*, and some *Arawak* features were intimately blended. The *Chané* did not entirely lose their identity, however, for along the Parapetí River, in the Caipipendi Valley, on the Itiyuro River, and in the Province of Salta (Argentine), *Chané* villages survived under their own chiefs. But even these have adopted the *Guaraní* language and today cannot be distinguished from their conquerors. The *Chiriguano*, nevertheless, consider the *Chané* somewhat inferior, while the latter remember the forays and cannibalistic habits of their former masters. The *Chané* language, probably extinct now, was spoken by a few persons as late as 1908. C 648 175 C [177] C [266] C [186] C [197]

The number of *Chané* is said to have greatly exceeded that of the *Guaraní* invaders. They extended from the Río Grande (Guapay River) to the Argentine along the foothills of the Andes. At the beginning of the 17th century, according to Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, in the region of Machareti, 400 *Chiriguano* ruled over 5,000 *Chané*; in Charagua, 350 *Chiriguano* owned 4,000 *Chané* serfs; and on the Guapay River, 200 *Chiriguano* kept 1,000 *Chané* in subjection. C 175 648 162

The first White settlement in the land of the *Chiriguano* was the ephemeral town of Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded in 1564 on the upper Parapetí (Cordorillo) River by Manso and destroyed a short time later by the *Chiriguano*. In 1571 the *Chiriguano* attacked the *Chicha* and the natives of the Provinces of Condorillo and Barranca. To punish them for their "arrogance," the Viceroy of Perú, Francisco de Toledo, led an expedition against them. The Indians avoided battle and harassed the troops of the Viceroy until he was obliged to retreat in shameful defeat (1574). San Lorenzo de la Frontera, which became the modern Santa Cruz de la Sierra, was founded primarily to keep the *Chiriguano* at bay. C 175 648

The first attempt to convert the *Chiriguano* to Christianity was made in 1609, when two Franciscans, Augustín Sabio and Francisco Gonzalez, built a church in the valley of Salinas, but the reduction was soon abandoned because of Indian opposition. The Jesuit fathers founded a college in Tarija in 1690 and undertook the spiritual conquest of the *Chiriguano*. In 1691, Father Arce founded a mission in the valley of Tariquea, which lasted only 3 years; another mission, established on the Guapay River by Fathers Zea and Centeno, met the same fate. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Dominicans founded three missions in the valley of Chiquiscá, Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Miguel, and Santa Rosa, while the Augustins formed the Mission of Santa Clara in the valley of Salinas. In 1715, the Jesuits reestablished their ancient mission of Tariquea. In 1727, all the missions in the *Chiriguano* country were destroyed by the rebellion of the chief, Aruma, and his followers, who feared being taken into slavery. The revolt was crushed by an armed expedition sent from Santa Cruz and composed of Spaniards, "tame" *Chiriguano*, and *Chiquito* auxiliary troops. The *Chiriguano* had been aroused against the missions by the fear of being taken into slavery. C 175 797 648

/111 cont./

141 both men and women, and fair hair indicates either an
142 oddity or a clandestine affair. The forehead is rather small, as are also the languid, downcast eyes; the face is round, the nose flat, the mouth wide, the denture white as ivory, the chin short, and the lips rather thick. /112/ The
142 men do not wear beards, and anyone would believe that they
302 are beardless, but the main reason why they do not have one is that they pull out the hairs as they grow, and for this they have some tin tweezers with which they make all the hair disappear, and they do well, because otherwise, in view of their slovenliness, with long beards they would really be orangutans (1).

[186] 1. The Toba call the Chiriguano tigre face because of his round face, and the latter gets back at them by calling them horse face because of their long faces. In the missions the neophytes wear mustache and goatee.

141 They have a chest thrust forward, rather heavy
[291] shoulders and arms, normal-sized hands, and not very big feet, in spite of the fact that they grow as they will since they always go barefoot, especially the women, and not
147 all of them wear sandals /ojotas/. When they are enjoy-
[853] ing good health, they are very robust, and the women without the slightest bother will nurse two babes at their
[609] breasts. Whenever some white Christian woman is not able to nurse, she usually seeks out a Chiriguano woman to wet-nurse her child; this, in addition to being very advantageous because of the goodness of the blood, is also quite eco-
855 nomical. But it is true that most Indian women do not
[609] wish to take care of children other than their own; most
[466] of the time they agree to it with reluctance, or by force, this last occurring when the Indians are subject to a master.

181 /114/ the same as everywhere else, so that certain travelers who say Indians are very bad would be wrong, as would those who call them very good. A celebrated explorer said not long ago that he found more goodness in an Indian than in a white man and that it is enough to notice only with average attention the faces of the two to be sure of the relative morality of both; as a missionary I neither can nor should consign to these pages my judgment in this regard (1).

1. The same explorer approves of the resolute attitude of the Curuyuqui uprising, taking the point of view that they were fighting for their independence and for the recovery of their territory.

186 648 Before the conquest so gently carried out by the Catholic missionaries took place, it was extremely dangerous to enter their territory, even just in passing, and not too long ago it was difficult to pass through the Cuevo-Ibo countryside, where the Franciscan missionaries of Potosí founded their missions, as they had founded those of Tarija in other regions. There was reason for the danger to exist.

The Indian now knew the white man by his deeds; he called him and still does call him caray, that is, astute, greedy, oppressor, and owner of what belongs to other people; if then he looked with misgiving upon the caray and up to a certain point did not wish to have relations with him, it is because this extremely bad image had been formed, from which arose the idea of not wanting to have a bad neighbor in his territory, and he blocked his way in order that he might not come to like the fertility of the area. He was wise to the fact that after exploration comes reconnaissance, *and from this rises the desire to possess, which sooner or later* is put into execution, as has been the case (2).

[113]

2. Giannecchini. Expedición al Alto Paraguay, año 1883.

648 /115 cont./
178 obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

157 Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, incon-
181 stancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even
[847] suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They
[762] only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome
[461] by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family.
[186] But if near the carai /sic; see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

[533] They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of
[273] their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and
[178] cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not com-
[674] mon formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

[648] 1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge
[685] great secrecy so that the authorities will not
[754] make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/121 cont./

Love for the Home

574 152 When someone has been away from his town for a long time and returns, he is received with much love. He enters his house without saying a word, and if he arrives at night, to the question of "Who is it?" he merely answers "Checo," it's me, and then those in the house begin to cry or give shrieks of joy which may last for five minutes, and soon they give him something to eat and the [114] questions and answers begin. I witnessed this without being seen one night in Parapiti at the San Antonio Mission.

152 591 167 186 It is not rare that once in a while a smaller or greater proportion of Indians temporarily leave their town, either because of scarcity or in order to avoid the anger or ill will of the cacique. They then go away with considerable unhappiness, and they go into exile like Hagar /1?2/ with her son Ishmael when they were ordered out by the patriarch Abraham. They cry as they leave, they cry along the way, they cry upon arriving in the land that receives them, where, in spite of the good reception which has been prepared for them by other people, they do not find peace, and they always sigh for their home.

When they decide that in their former dwelling place things may have changed, or that the cacique who is responsible for their misfortune and exile may have disappeared from among the living, they return (1). In Yvu, where

1. The Indian Cayuguari, because of a crime committed in Machareti, fled with a group of Indian friends and relatives, settled quite far away to the northeast of Carandaiti, and, as the cacique whom he offended is still alive and as furthermore Cayuguari began a life of cattle rustling, he never returned to his town.

the war of Curuyuqui (1892) occurred when the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, all those Indians who had taken part in the uprising were wandering about in

/122 cont./

152 other towns, and they returned almost en masse, and the first
571 thing they did when they once again trod the soil of their home-
167 land was to cry. I witnessed the arrival of a cacique with
186 his large family. Men and women came loaded with their household goods and children. They arrived in poor condition, covered with dust and sweat (it was at the end of December), tired and sad, and when they saw their fellow countrymen and relatives happy and content under the paternal rule of the Catholic missionary, they put their burdens down on the ground, in the houses of others, and then there broke out the tears and the wails, thus arousing the consternation of all the inhabitants and the missionary (2).

2. Father Corrado relates an analogous case in his Historia de las Misiones de Tarija.

Poor unfortunates! In spite of the vices which dominate their corrupt nature, there is something noble in the Chiriguano race. Their fondness for their native place, for their home, is great. They will make any sacrifice to return and prefer to die of hunger and thirst. They will never abandon their town and their home, unless constrained by necessity, fear, or persecution.

Along the road from Yvu to Parapiti there is a town called Itatiqui, where not even drinking water can be found in the vicinity. Want is eternal there; the crops are miserable there; and they either beg for water or steal it from the lakes which are more than five kilometers from the town. Some six years ago there were about 120 families there, persecuted by some whites to whom they did not wish to be subjected. I tried to take them away to form a part of San Antonio Mission, but it was impossible to move them from the place.

They prefer to suffer hunger, thirst, vexations, and persecu-
799 tions there, but they do not abandon the place. They would re-
829 main there very happily /123/ if a small mission were built for
177 them, as they desire, which is somewhat difficult, considering the special circumstances of the place, since the civil and

/123 cont./

797 religious education of the boys and girls would not make much
829 progress because their parents are in continual movement. Some
177 effort at least has been made to help them by means of the property rights which they have in the territory, about three leagues long by half a league wide, and the plan was then to build them some small chapel, but I believe that these efforts will be left in the filing cabinet for centuries to come (1).

000

1. Today, instead of missions, they are building forts for the purpose of colonization. Doubtless the epoch of a new method of colonization has arrived, but nobody is ignorant of the fact that this costs the Republic millions, while the cost of a mission is relatively nothing, and the advantages and progress incomparable. What advances are there in Crevaux, in Guachalla, and other places? What buildings are there of note and stability? None. In a single hour the Toba or any other savage may destroy them by fire. Don Fernando Guachalla, the president-elect, said it well when he said that the best and cheapest method of colonizing is that of founding missions.

175 Before the Parapiti missions were organized, those Indians
511 suffered considerable misery, because the place was quite dry
[132] in the rainy season, and they had no means of planting along the banks of the river, since the few lands there were in the
[146] hands of the whites. Father Giannecchini passed through there in 1887 as an expeditionary to Paraguay, and when he saw them so poor and so reduced in number, he exhorted them to move to some mission, but they answered that it was not easy to leave the place where they had been born and had grown old.

/129 cont./

796 This same thing is not true with respect to the external
78 demonstrations of worship. The Chiriguano, like every savage
111 people, have no temples, priests, or ceremonial to regulate manifestations of worship. Does this also demonstrate that they completely lack external demonstrations of veneration of a god? It is not easy to give a categorical answer regarding this, because
[186] if it is the truth, as now seems to be the case, for I have not been able to discover any fact which shows the existence of that worship, this could be explained if we take into account the fact that the savage, because of his condition of isolation in the midst of the forest, is distrustful; he looks at the white man with suspicion. This is more than sufficient reason for him to hide his religious acts from the view of the latter.

Nobody could deny us the exactness and solid foundation of this observation, since it is a fact that civilized men, even among themselves, are ashamed to practice religious acts for human reasons, from whence comes the fact that they neither fulfill the duties of their religion nor come to the churches, and, what is worse, they make a show of a religious indifference which is very far from what in fact they feel.

Let us agree then that the Chiriguano does profess some religion, like all other peoples of the world.

This conclusion will be corroborated by what we are going to see in the following sections.

Divinities

796 That the Chiriguano have some divinities is undeniable, but it is very difficult to determine what character they have and to what category they belong according to the concepts of these savages. This is the reason why it is impossible to determine with certainty whether or not they /130/ profess polytheism or monotheism, when one considers the diversity of excellence, power, and pre-eminence which they attribute to their divinities.

/169 cont./

Towns

It is thus stated in the Holy Scriptures that man from the beginning began to build towns, and all the descendants of the first inhabitants of the earth have followed their example. 186 I believe that my readers have learned that the Chiriguano are different from the other natives who surround them; they consider the Toba and the Mataco to be very inferior, so inferior that they scorn and despise the ornaments and varied feathers that the latter use.

361 171 The Chiriguano also, as descendants of the first men, love society and like to live in company, in more or less large towns, in well-formed towns, with houses around a plaza, in contrast to other tribes which, in spite of being sociable, form towns as quickly as they disappear, according to need. Thus it happens that wherever they know that there is food, the Toba and the other nomadic races go there; if they are helping a missionary, they abandon him when the algarrobas, the chañar, and the mistol are ripe (2).

2. Polygamy in the world began with Lamec. From Ada, his first wife, he took Fael who lived in cabins; it seems that the nomadic tribes of America are descendants of his.

I have witnessed both cases, the first in the Tigüipa Mission, where on the right bank of its little river three tribes had gathered in 1905, making their miserable round huts with a few stakes, with branches covered with grass, in which men and women, old and young, and dogs covered with mange lived together. I witnessed the second in the mission of San Antonio del Pilcomayo in 1900 when, the algarrobas already being ripe, some 68 Mataco families disappeared, running off into the woods to seek a life of gifts and surrender themselves to drink and dishonesty, turning their backs on the religion which some of them had embraced.

/187 cont./

What did Adam obtain through his sin? Confusion and being thrown out of Paradise in order to be subjected to all the miseries of life. We have all inherited the pride of the first Adam, and this capital sin causes us to commit errors and more errors, causes the principle of humility to be lost, and causes the favored one to look with disdain on one who is inferior; only religion can remedy these evils, but Catholicism has not penetrated everywhere, and among the Chiriguano, formerly savages in every sense of the word, it is relatively new, for which reason the pride with which they deprecate their inferiors, looking at them disdainfully, is not altogether uprooted; they do not make use of their clothing and adornments, and they strive to appear equal to the whites, whom they consider superior (?).

> 2. The simplicity of dress of the American Catholic women when they go to church is worthy of all praise. Would that they always dressed in this way and that the fashion of hats had never appeared! In Europe they are so large that they bother the spectator in large gatherings, and in the daily services they interfere with the view of the holy ceremonies, and, consequently, they attend without piety.

Clothing

The Chiriguano wears his hair long and barely ever cuts the hair near the forehead, either for adornment or so that it may not interfere with his vision, because he does not tie it up like the women and the Quechua Indians. He wraps it around his head and ties it with a band that his wife, mother, or sister weaves for him. This band is called Yapicuana; it is 1.25 or 1.50 meters long and 5 centimeters more or less in width. It is of cotton or wool and comes in various colors, but at the present time most of them, where civilization has not sufficiently penetrated, use one of red baize, which they

/197 cont./

301 562 [437] These are of ten-centavo or five-centavo pieces, but they try to have them all alike. From what has been said it can be seen that the necklaces that the women wear are modern, brought by traders, especially peddlers (2).

2. Today neither medios nor reales of pure silver are found, but the Chiriguano Indian women make their necklaces with medios and reales of nickel. These are satisfactory, but the former were better.

301 184 Modern necklaces are common and also worn by the neophytes, but they do not wear bracelets, which are suitable only for the infidels. They make a long string of small blue beads and wrap it around /198/ their wrists, taking care to be sure that each turn is tight and close to the previous one, and so on with the rest which follow.

291 301 186 177 The Chiriguano, because he is proud, does not lower himself to wearing the adornments of neighboring tribes which are inferior to him, but he does easily adapt himself to wearing the clothing and adornments of races which are superior to him. He does not lower himself to wearing bird feathers, to scarring his face and arms, to wearing wooden earrings, like the Toba and others, but he imitates and attempts to surpass his superiors, the whites, by dressing himself like them, the men wearing the fine hat and the women wearing the wool and silk manta, the young men the footwear and boot, and the maidens foreign earrings. Hence, tiny little girls at the moment they are born have the ear lobe pierced, so that in time, even before they begin to walk, the mother can put a pair of earrings on them, while none of the old women whom I know wears earrings in her ears. This is a sure sign that they never wore ornaments in them, and thus, if the modern Chiriguano women wear them, it is because they have seen women and maidens who came from civilized centers or were born there.

/229 cont./

881 304 [821] For the piercing of the lip, a full moon is necessary, so that the open wound will not have bad results, will gradually get larger, and will not form a swelling. The boys who are ready for the tembeta must not be younger than seven years of age or older than 12. In the first case they would not be able to stand the pain, and in the second the piercing would be difficult because the lip would have hardened.

Thus, when the moon is at its maximum and the boy is of the proper age, he little by little becomes prepared for the operation. The mother and father prepare him with loving words, stimulating his vanity so that he may afterward be esteemed and loved by the girls. Then they make him understand the need for piercing his lip, so that everyone will know that he belongs to the noble Chiriguano race and is worthy of being a member of it; finally, they make him understand that only when he has the tembeta will the grandees of the nation respect him and treat him kindly (1). [186] [885]

[869] [171]

1. Christian mothers, to encourage their sons to endure suffering and even martyrdom itself, show them Heaven, an invisible dwelling place. The savage infidels encourage their children with earthly promises, such as the love of women; qui de terra est; de terra loquitur; this is the effect of ignorance.

The boy hears the nice things that his parents say to him as a deaf man hears music. What he considers more and what occupies all his concern is the pain that the opening of his lip is going to cause him. Nevertheless, he cannot hide or run away; he must submit to the operation in spite of his fear of it. In fact, before the full moon the father goes with his son to the house of the surgeon and tells him the reason for his visit, asking him to make his boy into a man. The surgeon-doctor makes an appointment for the next day or another one, and in the meantime he looks for a second boy to undergo the 304 881 769

/234 cont./

539 "Do you see those weapons in the corner there like useless objects? With them you can put an end to your misadventures if you know how to make use of them, as I shall tell you. Each of you select the ones which seem to be the best." They were arrows, bows, guns, and swords. The cleverer one looked first, and having observed that the guns were of heavy iron, as were the lances and swords, he selected the lighter ones, that is, the arrows and bows.

What was left for his companion to take? They were the only bows and arrows. Perhaps to his own regret and without having much choice, he resigned himself to what remained and took over the guns, lances, and swords. He worked all night to clean them of the rust which had spread over them, but when the sun rose everything was done and he had the satisfaction of seeing his weapons shine like new.

"With these arms," said the Agwara-Tunpa, "you will be hunters and must seek your livelihood, and with the same you will defend yourselves from danger, from predatory animals and from your enemies," and, turning to the one with bows and arrows, he added, "You will always be poorer than your companion because you had the indiscretion to decide in favor of the one of little use, because you have chosen the one of little value. The one with the guns will always be superior to you in everything, in intelligence, boldness, fortune, valor, and wealth; his food will always be better than yours, and consequently his clothing, and you will enjoy what is in his house only by serving him and helping him in his labors: from this moment on he will be superior to you, like another marvelous being; you will be taken into his house like a companion in distress and he will sometimes take pity on you because of the blessing which he has received today (1).

• [186]

1. They really believe what is told up to this point in the legend, that is, that they are inferior to the whites, but as a punishment, but by destiny: true fatalists.

Zamuco SK14
Tapiete SK13
Yanaiguas

/315 cont./

Z 648 921 Nothing is known about the origin of these wretched Indians because they run away from civilized people; nor do they allow the latter to occupy the region that they inhabit, because they kill treacherously by night or even by day. if they are superior in number.

Z 221 Perhaps in some distant day they can be reduced with the colonization of the territory, because it is supposed that they follow the dry course of the Parapiti River in order to be able to live, at least in winter, when the water in the lakes dries up.

Yanaiguas or Ñanaiguas

T 174 199 It is not true that the Ñanaiguas are Chiriguano in origin, for if this were so they would all speak something of the language. Those who understand it are rare, and those who speak it very rare; the latter have learned it from their dealings, not only with the Chiriguano, but also with certain whites to whom they have begun to lend their services.

T [illegible] T 131 Their territory is located between the Parapiti River and the stream of Cuevo, from 20° to 20° 32' latitude and from 63° to 63° 40' longitude.

T 181 199 648 They are not numerous, but are quite inoffensive and peaceful, for which reason it is easy to reduce them, and I do not believe the day is far off. In the region of these and other Indians, there are explorations going on today which will necessarily result in intercourse and subsequent civilization, given the peacefulness of the natives.

C 181 186 T 101 The Chiriguano have given the said name to these Indians. They call them Yanaiguas because they are dwellers in the forest, and this is a term of contempt, because, according to the Chiriguano, only wild animals live in the forest.

T 173 464 648 As I have said, these Indians are not like the previous ones, who run away from civilized people; they are already working with the whites, although not more than half a day, like the Toba and Mataco, and without the tenacity of the latter. They are often seen on the right bank of the Parapiti in little

/211 cont./

C 301 178 [304] C [578] C [186] Ee 301 177 C 301 314

Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

C [113] Ee 583 584

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

Ee 584 178

The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

Ee 585 Ee 591

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

C
Ce /84 cont./ The subjugated Chané were distributed among
175 the various social communities of the Chiriguano as subjects or
648 slaves. In the "Relación del Corregidor de Tomino Don Juan
162 Arce de Alvedia" in the year 1618, it is said that in the Province
[567] of Machareti, "which is Pilcomayo and its environs," there lived scarcely 400 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 5,000 Chané "to one 200, to another 100, to another 60, and in this way up to said number." In the Province of Charaguay 4,000 Chané were distributed in the same manner to the 350 Chiriguano of this province, and upwards of 1,000 Chané to the 200 Chiriguano of the Province of Guapay. As in other documents, in this one as well, there is mentioned the ill treatment which these subjects had to suffer from the Chiriguano and the hate which they had toward their oppressors (318). The Chiriguano

C
Ce
175
648
567
C
Ce
[186]

318. Moreno II, pp. 250 and 104.

scornfully called the Chané "tapií," while they themselves were called /85/ by the latter "cheya," that is, "my master" (319).

319. Moreno II, p. 254.

C
175 Although most of these subjects or slaves were made up of Chané,
648 there were also among them other Indians who had been subjugated
567 in the expeditions, for example, Chicha Indians (320), and among

Ce
[567]
[648]

320. Moreno II, p. 207.

the Chiriguano of Tendi also Guatuco Indians (321). According

321. Moreno II, p. 117.

to Techo (322), whose report was written in the second half of

322. According to Moreno II, pp. 236 and 237.

the 17th century, the Chiriguano customarily sold some of their slaves to the Spaniards.

/103 cont./
799 of the Indians (1).

[721]

1. This mission, because it was the first one north of the Pilcomayo, was the target of the Chiriguano and Toba, who repeatedly tried to destroy it; its elevation above sea level is 662 meters, and it is located at 21° 8' 27" south latitude and 62° 17' 4" west of the meridian of Greenwich.

4. Aguairenta. -- This mission was founded in the year 1849, and at the present time it is the oldest, because for a long time now Chimeo and the town of Itau have been elevated in rank to true Doctrinas /a curacy, also an Indian village newly consecrated to the Christian religion/. Three caciques of three parties joined together for the founding of Aguairenta, since each one wanted the missionary in his town. The distance which separates the Aguairenta mission from the one /104/ of Tarairi is more than 22 leagues by way of a quite level and wide road.

According to what has been described with some exaggeration and for not very good motives, Aguairenta is the queen of the plains, the muse of poets, and the contemplation of the wise men; it is certain that its panorama is quite delightful, as are its meadows, full of fragrance because of the many orange groves. It has abundant water, which makes the land fertile, but it is not found at any great distance.

[563] [191] [199] The settlers have been reduced to a few and are mixed with the whites; almost all speak the Spanish language well, and the customs and style of dress are like those of the mestizo settlers, in spite of the fact that an occasional one may be seen dressed in the old way (1).

1. By a decree of January 4, 1911, Aguairenta has been declared a headquarters for troops, who have had possession of the place since the end of 1910. Nevertheless the Government

/111 cont./
144 who conquered Mexico and Peru (1).
114
[113]

1. Guillermo Robertson. Historia de América desde el descubrimiento hasta antes de la Independencia /History of America from the Discovery to before Independence/. Travelers exaggerate their stories in order to attract more attention.

144 There are extensive areas where mixture of the two
[191] races was frequent, but it must be pointed out that in these
[142] areas the children of such have ceased to be Chiriguano, both because of the Spanish language, which they now speak perfectly, and the color, which is completely different; it is no longer parchment, as Father Corrado states, but a skin which is up to a certain point fine and velvetlike, so that for this class of persons who descend from white and Chiriguano the appropriate name is mestizo and not Chiriguano, and consequently the physical characteristics of the race have not changed. In these same areas families which have kept pure Chiriguano blood are not rare, and these families, or the individuals which make them up, have the same characteristics as other Chiriguano, without any noteworthy difference (?).

2. From the left bank of the Parapiti River northward this radical change is taking place, making the race disappear.

On the contrary, in the great Chiriguano centers, such as all the missions and a few other areas outside of them,
141 the physique of the native has not changed at all. As a
142 rule their stature does not reach one meter and 70 centimeters in men, and rare are the women who reach 1.60; the hair is black, glossy, and coarse, and very vigorous in

/139 cont./

Belief in the Future Life

775 This belief has suffered many more alterations than the previous one; nevertheless it reveals that even under the rude and ignorant nature of the poor Indian and the unfortunate Chiriguano there is in force the idea of the great philosopher, non omnis moriar, which so many materialists would have end with material life, doubtless in order to drown apparently the remorse of the gnawing worm which from time to time appears and unintentionally reminds us of the perversities which have been perpetrated (1).

[771] 1. It is difficult for the Chiriguano to understand spiritual matters, for which reason his ideas concerning the future life are purely material. Without revelation this dogma of faith is not understood.

When the soul of a Chiriguano leaves the body, it does not die. All, without realizing it or even suspecting it, have this idea of the immortality of the soul. Mourning and sentiments of grief, burial, and things that they put in the coffin when someone dies, with which I shall deal later, are related to this. Should someone ask them about this, they would answer, "Mahanu" How will it be? I don't know. In spite of this ignorance, in order to express their thoughts regarding the soul and its immortality, they admit that there are three places for souls: Tunparenta, Iboca, and Cuarasigüi, Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell.

[123] [191] I am going to deal with the three, rectifying what concerns Iboca, which belief I was acquainted with from the beginning of residence among the race and an account of which can be found in my little Nene, which was printed in the year 1905 to help Chiriguano children learn the Spanish or Castilian language.

The Tunparenta is literally the place of God, or his dwelling place, as the aflarenta is the dwelling place of the devil. I have already noted the fact that Tunpa is the source of good, of all virtue, of everything good: Tecocavi. With this idea that he has of God, the Chiriguano naturally concludes that God only

/155 cont./

773
821

As the Chiriguano had predicted, the jaguar very soon began to put into practice in the heights of the moon its natural inclination to kill and eat defenseless beings. Its peaceful, compassionate, and defenseless liberator lent itself marvelously to its voracity, and the tiger attacked it, but the moon came crying to the inhabitants of the earth, to the Chiriguano, calling them to its defense, if they did not wish to remain eternally in the dark (1).

1. If the eclipse is total, they believe that the jaguar has swallowed the moon whole; if it is partial, this is because it did not have time to swallow it.

The Indians, despite the bad deed that the moon had done against them, and more for their convenience than out of compassion, came out of their towns en masse, some with shouts others with whistling, and others with the horns of cows and bulls; they frightened off the Yagua rogũi, yellow jaguar, who out of fear of the Chiriguano, remembering what had happened to it, desisted from its intention, and since then, every time a lunar eclipse occurs, they do the same thing. The fabulous belief passes from the old to the young, from grandfathers to grandsons.

114
821

On a bright moonlit night the missionary was sleeping peacefully in the Ivu mission, and the moon was obscured by a total eclipse. This was during the month of June in 1909. The missionary did not know the language, and I was absent. The [191] children, who spoke a little Spanish, in their desire for the missionary to see the phenomenon of the eclipse, awakened him with a great uproar, shouting to him: Jaguar is eating moon (2).

2. They say nothing of the eclipse, total or partial, of the sun, doubtless because it occurs very rarely; the old people have but an obscure idea of this phenomenon.

/308 cont./

167
464
511

of the Argentine Republic for eight or ten years; they drink it all up and when they want to come back they scarcely bring back more than a knife and a small black garment /ternito/, which costs little.

If one asks the reason for this procedure, so strange for them themselves, they answer that in their town they could never save up ten or 15 bolivianos, because they spend them immediately on trifles for themselves and their families, while in the Argentine Republic they keep their money in the master's house and, when they come back, buy clothing and even animals, tools, saddles, and other items. There is some truth in this, but just as it is not completely true that here their money does not last, neither is it completely true that they bring clothing and other things from Argentina. Those who are a little careful and who are not lazy dress very well here, while the vice-ridden in Argentina let themselves be overcome by laziness and return as naked as they were before; they arrive, spend or waste, if they have anything, and finally go off to live as they please (2).

101
167

2. The Chiriguano Indians call the gauchos, or natives of Argentina, criollos /Creoles/; they apply the same name to those of their own race who settle there for many years.

797
871
191
177

The method of instruction as it is applied yields prodigious results in the girls, who, in addition to learning their letters and worship, learn in the schools the tasks proper to their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; certain mission schools for girls, for example, the one at San Antonio del Parapiti and the one at San José de Tigüipa arouse real admiration in visitors, both because of /illustration appears here/ /309/ the handiwork which is done in them and, in the former, because of the Spanish language, which from first to last they all speak with considerable perfection, since from the beginning the language of their parents has been absolutely prohibited for them in the school, even among themselves.

/309 cont./

797 Should this method be followed, in a few years nobody would
87 know that the mission Chiriguano belong to the race, because
868 little by little the parents would teach their children the Spanish
191 language, as I have already seen them do in the San Pascual de
177 Boicovo Mission, and, if the morality still leaves something to be desired, later perhaps by means of preaching, the advice of the missionary, and the example of those who are good, all will be corrected. Semen est verbum Dei; it does not fall upon completely sterile ground (1).

797
177

1. The San Pascual de Boicovo Mission is so advanced in every respect that application has been made for it to be promoted to the rank of parish. In language, clothing, and behavior they differ little from the whites.

797 Almost from the beginning the schoolgirls were forbidden
291 the use of the tipoy, being forced to dress in the same way as
177 the women residents of the nearby towns; today they are very accustomed to the said clothing and do not change it for any reason in the world in the missions; only those girls who run away and even practically denounce their religion dress in the tipoy again, like the infidels, in order not to be recognized. By means of the teaching of the Catholic religion, the learning of the national language, and the change in clothing, the transformation is continually taking place, until little by little the distinction between the races will disappear, by means of the union of their tastes.

What the missionaries have done for the clothing of the girls, they are also doing for that of the boys, trying to make it decent. For both boys and girls, so long as they reside in the schools, the missionary of each mission provides their clothing, having it brought from some departmental capital and distributing it free of charge twice and even three times a year, or when he sees the needs of each student. In this way, after they are married, they themselves work in order to continue dressing in the same fashion or better than when they were in school, since some also wear socks /botines/ and shoes, and there are a number of women who

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,½(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C
Ce
177
[191]

are chiefly used by the men. It is clear that the latter learnt more from the Whites than the women, for they came into contact with them to a far greater extent. Hence many of the men, but few of the women, learnt to speak Spanish.

C
Ce
291
177

All the Chiriguano and Chané men now clothe themselves more or less like the Whites, that is to say in shirt and trousers. Few have coats. You rarely see anyone with boots, and never anyone with stockings. Practically all the Chiriguano and Chané women still wear the tipoy. It is usually made of cloth bought from the Whites. But in some villages the women still have a predominance of home-woven tipoys. The clothes worn by the men, and which are of the same cut as those of the Whites, are not their own make, but are obtained ready-made in exchange for manual labour. The cloth for the women's tipoys, too, which they make up themselves, is as a rule earned in similar wise by the men. The Indians now obtain the implements for all these things from the Whites.

C
Ce
291
177

The agriculture of the Chiriguano and Chané has been very little affected by the Whites. As the banana cannot be cultivated here with any success, the Indians have not been able appreciably to improve their conditions of life by extensive planting of the cultivated plants introduced by the Whites. For some of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians, cattle-breeding has become of considerable importance.

C
Ce
177
[233]

Seventeen of the cultural elements included in the tables may be regarded as articles of luxury. These are games, musical instruments, etc.

The domestic industry of these Indians has been very little influenced in its development by the Whites, a fact on which I laid stress in speaking of their pottery, which has remained in a wonderful manner untouched by 400 years of intercourse with missionaries and others. I here repeat that even the instruction given in the mission schools in embroidery, lace-making and the like, has but very slightly affected the native domestic industry of the In-

/362 cont./

262 The Chiriguano call kumanara a leguminous plant, wild,
[252] which resembles the yuca and which can serve as food after being boiled. They resort to it only when pressed by hunger. The word designating this plant has a strange resemblance to
[192] the name of the batata in the Quichua dialects of Ecuador and northern Peru (Rivet, 3, pp. 583-590). It is perhaps a question of a Quichua word introduced into the Chiriguano language to designate a plant of which they did not have the equivalent in their original homeland. The case is nevertheless rare, and one can wonder if it is not a simple coincidence.

[222] Neither do the Chiriguano look down on honey, although they
[191] do not seek it with the passion of their cousins, the Kainguá. What I tasted among them was contained in thin honeycombs having the consistency of cardboard. It had a pleasant taste.

222 Any Indian who goes in search of honey (ei) must not make
784 his intention known to anyone and, if he is asked where he is going, he must answer: "To look for wood." If you do not take
[176] these precautions, the protecting spirit of the honey is warned of your plan and hides the honeycombs he guards (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 86).

222 The missionary Corrado (p. 43) assures us that grass-
114 hoppers, cicadas, the larvae of bees are that many delicious
[252] dishes for the Chiriguano. He adds that these insects are roasted. Nino (p. 247) reproduces the statements of his predecessor and completes the list of strange foods by adding /363/ ants, lizards, leaves of the cucurbitaceae, melted tallow, etc. Personally I
[111] have never seen the Chiriguano touch these dishes strange to our palates, but I am all the more inclined to believe these two missionaries that the tastes they indicate are actually those of the Indians in other regions.

262 Already in the 16th century the Chiriguano passed as snake
252 lovers, even of poisonous species. They cut off the head and tail, skinned them, and roasted pieces of them on live coals. They used to eat them with pimento. No doubt the Spaniards con-
[178] fused snakes with iguanas, which even today the Chiriguano justly like (Lizárraga, Vol. I, p. 260).

/480 cont./

75 Fig. 16) was present at an analogous treatment also practiced /481/ by a medicine woman on a child at Yumbia, not far from the Salado. She rubbed him and blew on his body (1).

[113] [192]

1. In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc. (p. 72), we find the word hunga translated "to rub, to massage" and the sentence Ñiyari Ñerungarunga tein, irói á Ñe with the following meaning: "My grandmother rubbed me enough, but I did not get well." The medicine women, add the authors of the dictionary, use the word hunga to express the act of rubbing with the hand any painful part of the body, especially the chest, without any remedy other than the saliva they spit on their hand. These women attribute a special virtue to saliva.

[827]

755 756 The sick boy's father told me that, once suffering from prolonged headaches, he had had recourse to a sorceress, an old woman with woolly hair, who was called the Samba. She sucked the place where the ache was localized and drew out worms from it. The half-breed got well, of course.

757 [825] In the toldería of Ñawirenda, where there was a child ill with fever, his mother had made him eat crushed garrapatas (ticks). The unfortunate child's lips were purple from it.

756 755 [121] I shall devote a special study to Chiriguano medicine men in a future volume of this Review. Meanwhile I shall limit myself to describing, according to the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano (pp. 166-167), the way in which these powerful personages customarily proceed when they are called to the bedside of a sick person. I am forced to have recourse to the observations made by another for lack of having been able to be present myself at the spectacle which Father Giannechini evokes with as much accuracy as vivacity. The great Chiriguano paye are now all in the Ivoka where they take

175 648 /72 cont./ The Inca Yupanqui
promoted many wars against the Chiriguano with the intention
[175] of conquering them for the Inca civilization, but his efforts were in vain because his army was always conquered by the ferocity of the Chiriguano, who also had in his favor the fact that this was his own land and as a result he knew it well enough to be able to play tricks on the Inca militia with ease.

It seems that the Incas in their insistence on civilizing the Chiriguano brought their armies to the frontier of Cordillera Province. In fact there exists along the top of the range which divides this province from that of Acero and from Sapirangui Canton a fortress of great size, all of it made out of well-set stones, called "Incahuasi," "house of the Inca," and gives this name to the whole range, whose elevation to the south was set up by the law of interdepartmental demarcation as the boundary between Santa Cruz and Chuquisaca, when in the year 1898, the law of settlement was negotiated.

• [192] Inca-huasi is a compound word of the Quichua /Quechua/ language; the Chiriguano language does not even have a word which resembles it; it is thus very probable that that fort was built by the Quechua and that, inasmuch as the forces were personally directed by the Inca, he should have ordered houses to be built along the whole top of the range, as can still be seen today (3).

3. The road from Camparicito to Monteagudo through Incahuasi is not an old one. Don Octavio Padilla had it opened.

174 195 169

It is also a verified historical fact that after the discovery of Brazil and other regions of South America, 4,000 Indians fled from Paraguay, because in the many wars which they had waged against the Portuguese, they had killed the leader. Fearing general destruction, they came into Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo River; in the Gran Chaco they found the region near the cordilleras occupied and inhabited by the ferocious Chiriguano. /illustration appears here/ /73/ but since they could easily make themselves

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 105]

/128 cont./

124 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not show Him homage in some way.

991 124 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find out with special care, constancy, and assiduousness what religion they profess and what type of worship they render to their divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

[115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion, and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt true, however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

[805] 191 [192] 1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the months by moons, and they have other very similar customs. It is very notable that they also have some Hebrew words.

577 991 /129/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is, natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts, since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

/130 cont./

What I am going to set down here will cast some light on this subject and will enlighten the intelligence of the studious man for its investigation.

From conversations with the true Chiriguanos it is impossible to form any idea of the supreme being that they accept. I say true Chiriguanos, by which I mean those who have had almost no contact with missionaries or whites. Today it is difficult to find one of these. Yet despite this, if one should ask the old people who live far from the missions, "Who made all that we see?" they answer, "Quia ñaipé?" Who can it be? "Who created us?" They answer "Ti! Ñáirusá á?" What do you mean? Do you not know? And they give a purely material explanation, as happened on an exploration and trip that I made several years ago in the company of other missionaries south of the canons or town of Huacaya, where I talked with an old cacique who had taken part in the war of 1875 against Iglesias and who, after the pacification, preferred to live outside the mission and planned to die there, because he is convinced that Indians who live in missions die earlier, just as, according to him, all of his companions from Boicovo have already died, which is not true, because they still are alive there, as old as he is (1).

> 1. The Indians have had and will continue to have the false and commonly held that baptism makes those who receive it die, because it is administered to men and women who are in immediate danger of death, and hence those who are old do not wish to be baptized when they are enjoying good health.

192 In the Chiriguano language we find the word Tuupa, which means "superior being" or "marvelous being." When for the first time they saw a large clock with its "tick, tock" and the pendulum making the hands move and giving energy to the hammer to strike the hours with its little bell or wire string, when they saw for the first time the photographic camera which reproduced the image of one or more of them, the clock and camera were Tuupa for the Chiriguanos. They applied this word to both things.

/130 cont./

192 and it is the one that they apply to anything that causes them wonder or admiration over something new.

176 192 SF10

It is the missionary and the Christians who have made it understood to the Indian that Tunpa means God, the maker of all things visible and invisible. Father Cárrado, one of the most illustrious Franciscan missionaries, who thoroughly understood the Chiriguano language, in which he wrote a brief but profound catechism, says clearly in a note on its first page that it cannot be stated /131/ that the word Tunpa means God, and he only puts it in his catechism because all the writers who have dealt with the Chiriguano race give the word Tunpa the meaning of God.

This Tunpa of which the Chiriguano cannot give a clear idea and which the missionaries and Christians explain as meaning the true God, Tunpaete ete (1), is for the Indian the source

[193]

1. The particle "Ete" in this language expresses the superlative degree. It is put after a noun, pronoun, adjective, or verb.

of all that is good, a living and material being, in contrast to another divinity. He makes it rain, he makes the algarrobas, maize, gourds, and everything edible ripen, he wards off sickness and all calamities, in spite of which all these kindnesses are still attributed to the sorcerers, men of flesh and blood like anyone else, who consequently have the name Tunpaete, for which reason I said that, for the Indian, Tunpa is a living physical being. If the missionary, as Columbus did, could announce in advance an eclipse or the appearance of a comet, for the Indian he is a Tunpa (1).

1. Several times I have announced beforehand eclipses of the moon. Last year, long before it became visible, I announced to the Indians the appearance of Halley's comet. This was sufficient for me to be called Tunpaete.

/132 cont./

793 purpose, thought up another supreme effort, making fall from the heavens torrential rains, Iporu (8). in order to destroy the Chiriguano

• [192]

2. I means water, and its pronunciation is gutteral and nasal; poru means to lend oneself /prestarse/; thus, Iporu is explained literallyt he lent himself to water /se prestó agua/.

race completely inundating all men in the waters.

He would have succeeded in destroying all the Chiriguano, but they in extremity and perhaps by advice from the true God, Tunpaete, found a large gourd, Choguao, put in it two small human beings, children of the same mother, male and female, cuimbae, cuña, and they let the little vessel float on the surface of the water.

The rain continued to fall in all its force. The waters rose over the surface of the land, rising to great heights, and drowned all the Chiriguano except the children in the Choguao, or large gourd, who were saved from the catastrophe. Later it ceased raining, and the waters dried up again, leaving a thoroughly filthy mud. The children came out of their receptacle, without which they would have died of cold and hunger.

It can be easily understood that the fish and their kind did not perish in the waters of the Iporu, and thus for a long time these had to be the food of the two human beings, but how to cook them, when even fire had disappeared? Before this happened, there was another compassionate being who did not permit the total loss of this good element. This being or second cause was the Cururu, toad (3).

[192]

3. The word Cururu should not be confused with Curu, which means mange. From Curu comes Cururuqui, salt which cures mange. The pacifiers of the war of 1892 wrote incorrectly Cururuyuqui.

[114]

/134 cont./

775 If one asks the Indians about this point, they answer that a woman has seen in her dreams the shade of her departed husband, or he that of his departed wife, and both, those of their children, relatives, or grandparents, for all of whom they have an excessive fondness, and it can be deduced from this that in the Chiriguano race there is a confused belief in the immortality of the soul, since, with regard to the body, they themselves can see that everything turns to dust and earth.

775 776 192 Some explorers and travelers have set down in writing that they call the soul Afia; the Indians also confirm these accounts, but they do not give the name Afia indiscriminately to all souls, but only to those which had a very bad death, such as suicide, and those who took a long time to die. But in no case would a mother call her child's soul Afia, nor would relatives use this term for their departed, because Afia means demon or evil spirit (1).

[123] 1. At times I have been called to pray near a person gravely ill, so that he might die sooner and thus be free of that spirit, which, according to them, is bad, but I made it understood to them that I would neither pray as they wished nor was the sick person evil because of taking a long time to die.

The true enemy of the Tuupa is the Afia, demon, but /135/ this latter word only means demon through use, just as iñ by the same use means soul. The Indians today give both terms the meaning that I attribute to them, and I still lean on the authority of Father Corrado, who in his catechism defines Afia as demon. Anñirenta, place of demons, Afia iñuna, the demon's companion, yaneñgle, our soul, iñgle, their soul. The Indians have great fear of a demon and souls possessed by demons; they say that they frequently see them at night, and when they have to walk in the shadows, they carry a burning firebrand (1).

775 776

[192] 1. Afia means phantom in Chiriguano; iñ means shade, cuarai iñ pe, in the shade. Missionaries should make them understand the true meaning.

/139 cont./

775 admits to His company good, virtuous people who are free of all evil, Mbia becocavi vaé, cuña becocavi vaé, a man or woman of good habits, /140/ excluding the wicked, murderers, and suicides, who become Afa, demons, or souls of the bad ones (1).

•[192]

1. Tuna means town and place: joined to another noun the T changes into R, which is why one says Tuparenta, Aferenta, Iventa, etc., or God's place, devil's place, and water place.

In order that the Chiriguano may go to the Tuparenta, even for the sole purpose of visiting his relatives, he must subject himself to four difficult tests, which, without help, directions, or advice, would be insuperable, from which can be seen the necessity for the sacrifice subjecting oneself to the arrangements of the Tuna and of following the wise teachings of a sagacious guide, for if a traveler needs one to pass through a mountainous or desert region, exposed to innumerable dangers, how much more logical is it that the man should also have one when dealing with knowledge by means of sacred books on the road to eternal life? From this the reader can deduce how much in error are the followers of Luther, Calvin, etc., who attempt to investigate the true meaning of the Bible only by the dictates of their conscience, and doing without the infallible mastery of the Church established by Christ in the person of St. Peter and his legitimate successors!

An old Chiriguano had lost his wife whom he loved with all his heart, for which reason his grief and pain were incalculable. As a result his life was in danger and he was about to die. At this a compassionate soul appeared to him and said: "Why are you crying so much? Why are you in such pain? No doubt you don't know the fate which has befallen your wife! Know that she is enjoying herself, that she is in a place of delight where all is pleasure and there is no suffering, where one drinks every day and there is always a fiesta, where there is no poverty, or cold, or heat, or sickness. Let us go so that you can see and stop crying. But I warn you that before going, like all, you too must pass the four tests, which you will overcome easily in my company."

/142 cont./

795 The Boca which I have mentioned is in a certain way similar to the purgatory of the Catholics, and in some ways similar to limbo, since the Indians state that souls which go there are in utter darkness, which is the same thing as not seeing God, and this alone constitutes great suffering. Other corporal and moral punishments do not exist there, but the darkness is perpetual (2).

2. In Boca, located southeast of IgSembe Canton, souls can be heard at night in continuous joy and bacchanalia with songs and dances. By day all is sepulchral silence, so they all say.

The Cuaraigñ, literally, under the sun, is for the Chiriguano the true hell, where is felt the true eternal fire which is represented by the sun, in the immediate vicinity of which it is impossible to remain, as the natural sciences, cosmology, demonstrate. According to the Chiriguano, those Indians who take the life of another, those who take other people's property, those who commit suicide, and those who commit sins contra naturam go to Cuaraigñ.

793 According to a famous explorer and ethnologist who not long ago passed through the region from Guachalla to the boundary which divides Bolivia from Peru in the northwest, there exists among the Chiriguano the idea or belief in the Tower of Babel, where the confusion of languages took place. According to that reference formerly there was but one language spoken, and, according to them, this was Quichua /Quechua/. The idea of creation, of the flood, of the confusion of languages, the method of counting the months by moons and the seasons by what they signify. /143/ and various Chiriguano words similar to Hebrew are powerful arguments to demonstrate the unity of the human race against the rationalists who are trying to show that there were men destroyed by the flood in America (1).

• [192 197]

1. The Chiriguano words ava, hae, hüü, and mahanu?, man, he, black, and what is it?, are similar to the Hebrew av, ael, hüm, and mahanu?, man or father, he, black, and what is that?

/170 cont./

Modern Houses

342 17 [464] [648]

A Chiriguano house offers nothing special in appearance, but even those of the mestizos who have settled in their country are of the same form and not rarely worse, because naturally since the mestizo is not very fond of physical labor, because he is not an Indian, it is necessary for him to call on the energy of the latter, and the native is not always inclined to lend him this or that service, from which it follows that their houses are inferior (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. I am speaking here of the houses that the mestizos or whites build in the countryside where they live; in the towns their houses are normal; they almost all have tile roofs, and there are also some which are white-washed.

342 [192] [184]

/171/ House in the Chiriguano language is called Ho, which is different from what they call Tapi, hut. The latter are common in large towns and belong to the lazy people, wanderers, and even the poor. It must thus be understood that the construction of a Chiriguano house is a work of no small importance and care, if one considers that the Chiriguano is poor, so poor that he only has available an ax, a shovel, and a knife, and not always these. Because of the importance that I give to this construction, many who do not know these regions could believe that the houses are very fine, but there is nothing fine about them. None of them is beyond the rank of cabins.

342 335 476

I believe that it is indispensable to describe the way of constructing them and the elements available to the Chiriguano in order to carry this out. If the Indian has some luck in sheep, he pays some of his companions with sheep so that they will help him gather the principal timber, and should this wealth be lacking, he begins to cut and strip bark in the woods by himself, selecting timber of good quality, straight and resistant to the action of water. The principal pieces are generally six posts

[Text Continues on P. 235]

/183 cont./
323 size, which they /184/ call Itaisi, with which the polishing of the pieces is completed (1).

1. The operations which they also perform with the shell and with the stone are for the purpose of giving fineness to the vessels and of closing any chinks.

[824] When they leave the piece which has been begun, they cover it with leaves of the Causíro, palma Christi, and at the time when they begin it again they dampen the edges with a small rag. This rag serves also for dampening the piece before polishing it with any of the above-mentioned tools. When it is finished and before it has been exposed to the air very long, they polish it with the Itaisi, and, when it is quite dry they fire it if it is not to have pictures on it.

531 Every painted piece of pottery is called Sacuarama. The
[192] paintings are white, black, and red. The white is called Tovanti, the black Itau, and the red Itaurucu. They grind
[237] up the three colors separately, dissolve them in water, and apply them with a slender feather from a chicken or other bird. The figures are varied; those of trees, animals, and men are rare; they are lines, unintelligible groupings. Without knowing it themselves, they follow a general system, and some of them make fine pieces, especially for storing water.

323 In order to fire them they select a still day, and a big
[843] piece is carried to the forest, because there is plenty of firewood there and also to avoid having pregnant women coming close to watch, because their presence, according to what they
[237] say, would make the vessel break. They pile firewood around it and light it, taking care that the fire does not go out before it is burning well; sometimes instead of firewood they also use dry cow-manure, and it seems that this is very good for even-
[237] ness of the baking. If the pot has paintings, they let it cool a little when they take it out of the fire and then quickly pass over the pictures the excrement of the Taragüirisi, which melts with

/227 cont./
881 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently,
178 and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection
177 of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where
226 there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the
462 little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Parirenta.

881 /228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and
[195] not a boy, the time to give up the ú ú of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man
[304] ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother,
[301] and other relatives make him understand that for this it is necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of
[885] the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip,
[554] Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

[192] 1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ita, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

/244 cont./

252 262 Gourds are eaten boiled, roasted, and in broth: the seed is enjoyed when roasted with maize meal, parched maize, or beans. They also eat them as broth, which they call Gūindaca mi quira, or grease of the gourd, to which they add chili pepper and salt, just as they do with beans cooked in ollas with the whole pod, which they call Sopirigua.

241 If the Chiriguano manages to plant a little maize beans /poroto/, and gourds, he is content and stops planting other, less important seeds. Few plant Yeti, sweet potato, Mandiporopi, mandioca, Tacuaneé, sugar cane, and Monduvi, peanut. They all plant watermelons and other melons; many plant figs and tunas, or nopal, and few cultivate orange trees, because this Indian has little patience for waiting on the ingratitude of certain plants which require much care and are very slow in yielding fruit (2).

[192] [177] 2. Names for watermelon /sandía/ and melon /melón/ do not exist in the Chiriguano language, which indicates that these fruits were introduced by the whites, from whom the Indians got them.

222 245 262 The nopal is very abundant in this area, rising to some three or four meters; its fruit is very exquisite, as everyone knows. Its cultivation is nil; it is enough to pluck off a branch of the main plant and bury it halfway, and its sweet fruit will ripen from the second year on. It is the plant that the Chiriguano value most.

245 Even the fig tree, which also needs little care, is cultivated. They call it Iva, as well as calling the nopal Saini, and both plants seem to be native, because they grow in hot places, and the name indicates that they have always had them. The fig tree requires more cultivation than the nopal, but this is relatively insignificant; they pull off a branch, plant it during the rainy season, and let it grow fully without pulling off any shoots (3).

439 3. Whites who live among the Indians are

from the Portuguese have kept its Asiatic shape, while the tribes that received it later have made pellet-bows more like their usual bows.

Von Rosen puts forward the supposition that the S. American pellet-bow may be an imitation of the European crossbow. This is supported by the fact that the pellet-rests on some S. American pellet-bows (fig. 8) and the pellet-rests on some European crossbows are very similar. This similarity is extremely noteworthy. Still, I deem it unlikely that Indians should have hit on the use of pellet-bows because they had seen Portuguese crossbows — especially as I am not aware that the Portuguese in S. America used bullets for their crossbows. In any case the pellet-bow in S. America would be a post-Columbian culture-element.

It is quite true that some Indians, e. g. the Choroti and Ashluslay have their own words for pellet-bow. But it is a common thing for some Indian tribes to have coined words to denote objects introduced by Europeans. On the other hand, it never happens that the Indians that still speak their own language lack native words for objects which are plainly pre-Columbian with them. It is therefore of primary importance for the settlement of the question as to whether the pellet-bow was introduced in post-Columbian times to note the fact that several tribes lack native words for the pellet-bow, calling it «bodoque»[1])

The Chané call it «boroque». I am not acquainted with any Chiriguano name for it. A circumstance that speaks in favour of the pellet-bow being a post-Columbian culture-element is the fact that these bows are unknown in Peru, in Central America, and in Mexico, that is to say, in the cultural zones proper. There are not many of the elaborate culture-elements in S. America that have been unknown to

[1]) From the Portuguese.

XX.

Musical instruments.

C
Ce
534

The Chiriguano and Chané have the following musical instruments: drums, flutes, whistles, and trumpets. Among the latter tribe I have also seen the panpipe and the musical bow. The panpipe may possibly occur among the Chiriguano too.

I have already, in Part I, dealt with the drum, the whistles, and the musical bow. The two former, I concluded, were Peruvian, the latter a post-Columbian culture-element.

C
Ce
[177]

When studying Indian musical instruments we must bear in mind that, in post-Columbian times, they have learnt a good deal from Whites and negroes.

C
Ce
[917]
[212]

At the mission stations the Indians are always instructed by the missionaries in music. At the Bolivian mission-stations it is not unusual to come across Indians who very well understand musical notation, though unable to read or write. At the Chiriguano mission stations there are full-blown musical bands.

C
[192]

A large drum is called by the Chiriguano «angiahuani», a ordinary drum «angia» or «angiarai». Like the Guarani Indians in Paraguay the Chiriguano call a mortar «angia». The Mataco sometimes make drums by stretching a skin over a wooden mortar. So too, if we are to be guided by the name, the Chiriguano drums must originally have appeared.

The long wooden-whistle (fig. 35 A) is very common among the Chiriguano and Chané, and often of great size; the round wooden whistle is more rare. Both are often elaborately carved.

/156 cont./ Ce 115
from the often vulgar, empty whites. Batirayu, however, is also an exceptional man, the makings of a great man, who is condemned to idleness.

Batirayu is a Chané. These Indians now speak the same language as the Chiriguano, namely, Guarani. Most of their customs and usages correspond to those of the Chiriguano, by whom they were probably subjugated. According to their origin, however, they are Arowaken /Arawak/ and hence the most southerly dwellers of this group, which had, and still has, a wide distribution in South America and on the Antilles.

C Ce 197 171 648 Ce 101

/157/ If I describe the Chané and the Chiriguano together here, it is because their material culture is so similar. Nevertheless, I have indicated in which tribe I made this or that observation; this is especially true for the religious domain, in which the Chané, at least on the Rio Parapiti, have kept many old conceptions which are unknown to the Chiriguano.

C Ce 128 171 771

Batirayu told me that a few of the Chané still knew some words of the old language of the tribe. He said that especially at the drinking bouts, when they are intoxicated, they give themselves airs by speaking the old Chané language, which otherwise has the character of a secret language.

Ce 197 554 273 Ce

In the company of Batirayu I set out for the village of "Huirapembe" where the Indians who knew Chané best were supposed to be found. It was not easy to draw their secrets out of them. Actually, only the youngest ones, who knew the least, were willing to tell me something (1). One old woman who was

124 197 114 M Ce

1.

	Chané	Chiriguano	Mojo
Water	úne	y	une
Maize	sopóro	ahuští	seponi
Fire	yucu	táta	yucu
Dog	tamúco	yaúmba	tamucu
Chicha (good)	liqui	cángui	itico
Rat	cóvo	angúya	cozo.

C 192 197

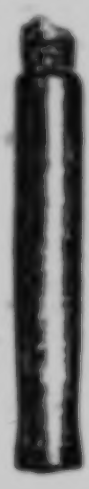
/482 cont./

756 Judging from this text, the Chiriguano sorcerer, like his
787 Tupinamba or Siberian colleague, put himself into a state of trance so that his spirit, free from corporeal bonds, could go to engage in battle with the soul of the evil-intentioned individual who is implacable against his patient.

778 The hupia, that is, the magical force, is indispensable to one who claims to be a good sorcerer. At least this is the meaning I give to this word translated in the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (p. 73) by: "remedy, antidote," but of which it is said that possession is indispensable to every medicine man. This word suffixed to any noun whatever expresses the faculty, the power, the facility to make or obtain the thing signified by the noun. Thus a dog trained to hunt deer is wazu-rupia (wazu deer), a warrior is tuwaiko-rupia (tuwaiko enemy), etc.

•[193]

237 Fig. 137. Calabash
415 containing snake fat.
757 Prov.: Saladito.
(About 1/2 nat. size.)



757 Remedies. 1. Snake fat (mboikira) is
[237] efficacious against leprosy. The Indians keep it in a small calabash sealed with wax (Fig. 137).

2. A little cotton impregnated with castor oil (yandi) and rubbed on the skin is an excellent liniment for rheumatism.

237 3. A similar virtue is attributed
302 to chicken fat (Fig. 138). In
[373] everyday life they resort to
[824] chicken fat or castor oil to
[415] anoint the body, which they
[237] then rub with roucou paste. Women generally have their

Fig. 138. Section of bamboo containing chicken fat. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/2 nat. size.)

/130 cont./

192 and it is the one that they apply to anything that causes them wonder or admiration over something new.

776 192 [197] It is the missionary and the Christian who have made it understood to the Indian that Tunpa means God, the maker of all things visible and invisible. Father Corrado, one of the most illustrious Franciscan missionaries, who thoroughly understood the Chiriguano language, in which he wrote a brief but profound catechism, says clearly in a note on its first page that it cannot be stated /131/ that the word Tunpa means God, and he only puts it in his catechism because all the writers who have dealt with the Chiriguano race give the word Tunpa the meaning of God.

This Tunpa of which the Chiriguano cannot give a clear idea and which the missionaries and Christians explain as meaning the true God, Tunpaete vae (1), is for the Indian the source

[193]

1. The particle "Ete" in this language expresses the superlative degree. It is put after a noun, pronoun, adjective, or verb.

of all that is good, a living and material being, in contrast to another divinity. He makes it rain, he makes the algarrobas, maize, gourds, and everything edible ripen, he wards off sickness and all calamities, in spite of which all these kindnesses are still attributed to the sorcerers, men of flesh and blood like anyone else, who consequently have the same Tunpaete, for which reason I said that, for the Indian, Tunpa is a living physical being. If the missionary, as Columbus did, could announce in advance an eclipse or the appearance of a comet, for the Indian he is a Tunpa (2).

2. Several times I have announced beforehand eclipses of the moon. Last year, long before it became visible, I announced to the Indians the appearance of Halley's comet. This was sufficient for me to be called Tunpaete.

/301 cont./

304 959 881 same operation, because he never takes one alone. There must always be two, four, six, eight, or ten (1).

1. In a town of 30 or 40 families there was usually never any lack of boys of the same age. The number of the boys to be pierced should never be an odd number: superstition and nothing else.

[801]

304 881 The boys appear for the operation on the designated day, led by their fathers and mothers. Meanwhile, other curious [985] persons gather there, men, women, boys, and girls, to see [114] and /301/ attend this solemn act, which, as I have learned, is not preceded by any day of fasting; thus what certain writers have said in this regard is wrong, as is the rest that refers to the person who does the operation, for whom the qualification of being an Ipayo, moreover, is not required for the imposition of the tembeta.

Before beginning the operation the surgeon authoritatively addresses those who are to be men, telling them to be valiant and strong in their pain, without letting their moans be heard or crying, because these are not the signs of a brave man, of a man who wears the tembeta, which is the sign of virility, of a man who must be able to face the dangers of war. Finally, [195] he orders them that it is time to give up the ö, ö in their answers, and in its place he orders them to replace it with Ta.

When this brief and eloquent discourse is over, the first boy stretches out on the ground or on a cot, and in order to give himself courage he says in a vibrant voice, Che ravi tayicutuca, may I be the first to be pierced, words which are greeted by the gathering with jubilation and at the same time with wonder, since they already know the pain that he is going to suffer (1).

[195] [193]

1. The Chiriguano Indian also uses the imperative to order himself, that is to say, his verbs still have the first person of the imperative mood, which indicates considerable arrogance.

/76 cont./

174 169 When experience showed them that they could settle in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen. 241 433 [461] The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every type of cereal; maize matures exuberantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hooks and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

433 241 511 [931] But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably. In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /77/ along some stream; plantings of this type are called socorro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

192 [101] By what has already been related it can easily be understood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guarayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guarayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

[194] [171] 1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

/?? cont./

199 "Conumi," lad. do not have an accent
194 on the i in Chiriguano, but they do in
171 Guaraní.

199 In past centuries the race, and therefore the language, em-
198 braced a great deal of territory, but today it is greatly
361 reduced, and I can state without danger of error that it is
162 still numerous in Caipipendi, Pipi, Choreti, Tacuto, Aratico,
and in the Potoí and Tarija missions; but in the former
places it is scattered among many little towns, while in the
latter it makes up respectable towns of 500, 1,000, and
2,000 souls (2).

2. Choreti Guasu is located on the left bank
of the Parapiti in Cordillera Province; it
almost forms a single town with Membirai,
and between the two of them they have
about 110 families.

199 Purity of language is now no longer found in any town
178 or in the missions, in the first because of living among
199 whites and continually emigrating to the Argentine Repub-
997 lic, and in the second, the missions, for a third reason,
instruction in Spanish, which the missionaries give the boys
and girls in the schools; thus, if the race is not finished first,
as is feared, because of the continual epidemics and
vagrancy, the language will soon be lost, and then the few
books that exist will only serve as an historical monument
for posterity, which will be able to recognize the merit and
labor of the missionaries who spread among them, the
Chiriguano, and poured out sweat with the sole purpose of
civilizing them in a Christian way (3).

3. There are a grammar, a Spanish-Chiriguano
dictionary, a catechism with its translation,
Father Corrado's masterpiece, a small
Chiriguano-Spanish "Nene" /"Infant"; the
work referred to is Nino's Nene Chiriguano/,
and many unpublished sermons.

/366 cont./

The second t of the word tuti is pronounced double (1).

1. In other places the salutation is different. They say Cutapiri or Agueri, good things, prosperity. But the other seems to me to be more in conformity with the universal salutation, as is done everywhere.

If the visitor is a person he knows, the host then says, Nde pe co? Is it thee? And the other answers, Chere, it is I, and then goes on to say Imoño pa ne? Are you living? Imoño ai, I am living. And he enters the house of his uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law, or whoever it may be, since it seems that the Chiriguano has relatives everywhere, and he would have them all over the world, if there were Chiriguano all over the world.

Often it is the cacique who receives strangers, if these come looking for him, as naturally happens, but any Indian at whose house he may come will at once say to him with all courtesy, Eyé, come in, if he is on foot, and Eqiyi, come down, if he is mounted. At once he presents him with the best seat that he has and begins the conversation; meanwhile the lady of the house puts at his disposal a large jar of chicha with the respective maté or tumbler, and, aided by her daughters, she prepares the best meal. The captain, or cacique, of Tiaúa prepared for me a maté of boiled corn with salt, ativivi, or very hot chili peppers, and hard-boiled eggs chopped into small pieces.

I noted the great cleanness of the food and the utensils, and then, as I have already said elsewhere, I had a long talk with the Indian, who was quite loquacious and frank, about various religious matters, and in conclusion he made me understand that he would not go to the Boicovo Mission or to the others, because prayer and baptism cause death; that my companions and I had made it not rain that night in order that we might not get wet, and that it is not God who created man, and, when asked who it was, he answered naturally and with astonishment, Ndicuaá á pa? Don't you know? (2) /Illustration appears here./

2. In the other place I did not set down everything

[Text Continues on P.362]

/271 cont./

call the carnival very noisy. There is nothing special about it and it lasts three days: /271/ some play the violin, and men and women sing the Alleluja. Couples hold hands as they walk through the streets. If both are women, they walk with their arms about each other's neck. They sing through the streets and in the houses and in front of them; in this latter case it is a sign of esteem for a family. The words are four: Oui ma Pasqua, alleluja, Easter has come, alleluja. Uruera yuma Tandeya, alleluja, Our Master came back to life, alleluja (1).

1. The song of Alleluja begins as follows: Santísima Trinidad /Most Holy Trinity/, oui ma pasqua Alleluja; alleluja, alleluja, alleluja, alleluja, alleluja, alleluja, etc. Uruera yuma-Tandeya, jumentaire; alleluja, alleluja, alleluja, alleluja, alleluja, alleluja, etc. The j of Oui is pronounced as though it were double.

/272/

Chapter Twelve

Offensive and Defensive War

Introduction

There is no people or nation in the world which has not experienced the horrors of a war more or less bloody, more or less prolonged, and more or less disastrous. Troy burns, and Aeneas, the founder of the Roman Empire, takes advantage of the confusion, avails himself of the very darkness as his shield, and saves himself. /The remainder of p. 272 and the first paragraph on p. 273 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 273. The remainder of p. 273 follows./

/225 cont./

881 When she goes out at night, her mother accompanies her,
867 but before this is done she receives a thousand pieces of ad-
593 vice and admonishment to walk slowly and very carefully, not to step on things that might injure her, such as excrement and other things that her enemies or evil spirits have scattered around the house, especially by the door and along the path which she must follow. The maiden listens and keeps quiet, absorbs everything, and does everything as well as or better than a Carthusian novice, because her mother has already filled her head with so many superstitions and has frightened her with too many dangers.

The father rarely concerns himself with his daughter during the fasting period; he only sees to it that she does not lack food and work. He rarely talks to her, but he loves her like
[574] his own eyes and soul. Other persons cannot address her, nor do her parents permit many and prolonged visits during that period; in addition everyone also knows that that house is now sacred and abstains as much as possible from frequenting it (1).

1. When an attempt was made to reorganize the S. Antonio Mission of Parapiti, the daughter of a prestigious Indian was keeping a strict fast. It was said of her that she could die, it was so strict. Hardly anyone could see her, and the poor girl in fact did die a short time later.

885 When the seclusion period decided on by her parents ends,
●195 the girl puts away her clothing of what we might call penitence, washes her face, combs her hair, now grown out, adorns her cheeks with the help of her friends, adorns her neck and throat with necklaces of beads, reales, or medios of silver, puts bracelets on her wrists, rings on her fingers, puts on her tipoi of drill or chintz, in various colors, and goes out in public in order that thus decked out she will arouse admiration and some young man may fall in love with her and ask for her to be his wife when it seems appropriate to him, because now she is no longer a child, but a woman who can carry out

/225 cont./

885 195 her duties /226/ serve her companion in whatever he may wish, and henceforth in her answers she ceases to use the ē ē which children use and adopts the ē ē suitable for women.

885 591 The young woman, in spite of being scarcely 13 years old when she comes out into public life, and despite a slight embarrassment which she feels when first presented to society as a woman ready and suitable for marriage, little by little begins to lose this misgiving, very natural in girls, and acquires frankness in answering quite clearly persons who may question her, whoever it may be, always staying within the limits of morality. What is immoral will cause astonishment in her and perhaps embarrassment at the beginning, but she soon becomes accustomed to it, because she hears it in the house, she hears it at the drinking bouts, during the gatherings and parties. From hearing a lot of this, it begins to cause pleasure in her, which brings on a continual and loud laughter, since day or night the women laugh long and loud. This is usually a sure sign that in a gathering or party there is some gallant present who is giving free rein to his tongue (1).

1. Missionaries who know the language of the Indians and who find themselves at the beginning in a new mission may be astonished by the frankness with which boys and girls of 12 or 13 years answer them.

[827] The men state that their wives are better at enduring hunger and thirst. They attribute this to the strict fasting which they undergo at puberty, but the women say that the neophytes are stronger than they, because they go out sooner after giving birth.

881 178 In none of the missions do the maidens follow the custom of their mothers at the time of puberty. When the first signs appear, the only thing conceded to them is some three days leave for rest, and so that her mother may tell her, as should be done in analogous circumstances, to hide what must be hidden. When this short leave ends, they return to school as before, and continue their work without any inconvenience (2).

2. Many of these maidens, out of modesty,

/227 cont./

881 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently,
178 and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection
177 of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where
226 there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the
462 little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Parirenta.

881 /228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and
[195] not a boy, the time to give up the ú ú of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother,
[304] and other relatives make him understand that for this it is
[301] necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of
[885] the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip,
[554] Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

[192] 1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ita, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

/229 cont./

304 759 881 same operation, because he never takes one alone. There must always be two, four, six, eight, or ten (2).

[801] 2. In a town of 30 or 40 families there was usually never any lack of boys of the same age. The number of the boys to be pierced should never be an odd number; superstition and nothing else.

304 881 The boys appear for the operation on the designated day, led by their fathers and mothers. Meanwhile, other curious [785] persons gather there, men, women, boys, and girls, to see [114] and /230/ attend this solemn act, which, as I have learned, is not preceded by any day of fasting; thus what certain writers have said in this regard is wrong, as is the rest that refers to the person who does the operation, for whom the qualification of being an Ipaye, sorcerer, is not required for the imposition of the tembeta.

Before beginning the operation the surgeon authoritatively addresses those who are to be men, telling them to be valiant and strong in their pain, without letting their moans be heard or crying, because these are not the signs of a brave man, of a man who wears the tembeta, which is the sign of virility, of [195] a man who must be able to face the dangers of war. Finally, he orders them that it is time to give up the ú, ú in their answers, and in its place he orders them to replace it with Ta.

When this brief and eloquent discourse is over, the first boy stretches out on the ground or on a cot, and in order to give himself courage he says in a vibrant voice, Che rani tayicutuca, may I be the first to be pierced, words which are greeted by the gathering with jubilation and at the same time with wonder, since they already know the pain that he is going to suffer (1).

[195] [193] 1. The Chiriguano Indian also uses the imperative to order himself, that is to say, his verbs still have the first person of the imperative mood, which indicates considerable arrogance.

Ce 834 171

/221 cont./

K. v. d. Steinen (1) and Koch-Grünberg (2) have pointed

1. K. v. d. Steinen: op. cit., p. 25.

C Ce [113]

2. Koch-Grünberg: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 133 /Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern (Two Years among the Indians), Berlin, 1909/.

out that even the women among the Indians on the Xingu and Rio Negro speak of sexual parts quite openly, as of something natural. The same is true among the Indians with whom I became acquainted. When I inquired about words touching on the most intimate things, even the women, indeed, the young girls, answered in the most natural manner.

Ce [124]

C Ce 195 834 838

There are words, however, which are prohibited. Such words among the Choroti are "ametché," which is an abusive word, "ictivähi," which designates homosexual intercourse, "huéle," which means onanism, and "tévi" among the Chané /222/ and Chiriguano, which has the same meaning as ictivähi. Here, too, the unnatural in sexual life is so shameful that it is not proper to speak of it.

C 834 838

There are also Indians who never want to speak about such things. This was true, for example, of a Chiriguano whom I had with me on my first trip on the Rio Parapiti. He even pretended that he had never heard such things mentioned. When I asked him about homosexuality among his countrymen, he feigned stupidity and said more or less: "Is that what the whites do?"

C [124]

Ce 538 831 [551] Ce [115] C [538] [831]

Among the Indians, as among ourselves, there are nevertheless some who take pleasure in telling obscene stories. Such a one was the old Chané Bóyra, he who had the abusive name yúruhuasu, big-mouth. The more disagreeable the things he related, the more old Bóyra enjoyed himself. Sometimes he told such things that even my friend Batirayu, who used to interpret, was quite embarrassed. The old Chiriguano Yambási was also one who could tell all kinds of obscene stories.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
291
482
*171

way. The tipoys are, as a rule, woven. Tipoys manufactured in hammock-technique I know of only from the Siriono and the Ararandeuára (Tembé). These latter are also used as bearing-bands. Probably this is also the case among the uncivilized Siriono. Tipoys in this technique are probably earlier in origin than the woven ones.

C
Ce
752
196
291
482

The word »tipoy» has also been used with another meaning, viz., for a band used to support an injured arm.[1]) A band or sling of the kind has exactly the same shape as an Indian bearing-band. Only once can I remember having seen an Indian with his arm in a sling like this. He was a Pauserna man.

»Tipoya» can also be interpreted »a kind of hammock».[2])

C
Ce
352
854
482
*171

The question is if the hammock has not also been suggested by the bearing-band. In the first place we must remember that Indians also in different parts where the hammock is unknown, are careful not to put their babies on the ground. Thus, the Yuracáre and the Chimáne who have no hammocks, use cradles of bark-cloth in which they suspend their babies. When the Mosetene woman goes to work in the fields with her baby, she puts it into a bearing-bag which she hangs up in a tree. COMINGES[3]) mentions that he saw among the Guaná Indians, who seldom use hammocks, a child which the mother had placed in a bag slung like a hammock. So it does not seem so very unreasonable to suppose that Indian women tried to use the bearing-band in the same way when the child had to be

[1]) [2]) I here give BRAZ DA COSTA RUBIM'S definition of the word TIPOIA »Do guarani tupoi, vestido de mulher. Tira larga tecida com palha de miritizeiro; grande camiza sem mangas feita do entrecasco de certas arvores de enlaçada e estopenta fibra; o lenço o tiracolo para descansar o braço; serpentina de rede carregada por dous homens.»

[3]) »En uno de éstos una mujer joven que parecía una criatura, pero que, acabando de dar el pecho á un niño completamente desnudo, y colocándole en una bolsa de red, que á manera de hamaca pendía de las *lacuarzas* del techo.» P. 192.

[text continues on p. 68]

/300 cont./

080 and id., 1, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.).
E 174 I shall limit myself to tracing here, in their main lines, the
121 characteristics of the great Guarani migration which ended in the formation of the Chiriguano tribe.

C 101 The Chiriguano Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani
174 linguistic family. A branch separated from the great Guarani
[199] nation or, more exactly, a swarm separated from the whole group of tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil called Guarani, they came to establish themselves at the foot of the Andes at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century after crossing the Chaco plains.

G 174 /301/ The causes of this great movement, which swept
167 along so many thousands of Guarani toward the frontiers of the Inca
439 Empire, are explained by the singular attraction which metal ob-
[177] jects, clothes, in a word everything that can make life easier and more beautiful, exerted and continue to exert on the Indians. The Guarani of Paraguay and the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had known for a long time about Peru and its riches. From there they used to receive bronze instruments and ornaments of silver and sometimes also of gold (1). At the same time as these objects,

1. On the trade relations between the peoples of the Andes and the tribes of the Chaco, Paraguay, and Brazil, cf. Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 255-259.

confused descriptions reached them of these mountain peoples, so strange, who lived in stone huts, had "deer with long hair" at their service, and who decorated their persons with brilliant jewels.
G [487] Bronze axes, necklaces, bracelets, breastplates, diadems, and goblets of silver reached them by a trade route whose exact position is unknown, but which probably used to pass through the
Ce 175 northern Chaco. The Chané /Chane/ who lived in direct contact
437 with the populations of the Inca Empire and traded with them,
439 played the role of brokers, and with them as middlemen these tools and ornaments reached Paraguay, passing from hand to hand (2).

2. Hernández, p. 322: "They were asked of what race are those who have the silver and the

C /327 cont./
G they have not done it any more for some years and sell them
175 to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in
567 exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell
72 them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity
[266] is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make
[439] war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their
C lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there
G are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of
175 cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as
556 much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses
721 saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of
727 weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the
C disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed
G many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up
175 arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this
648 kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish
721 and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of
C Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)
Ce
175 "The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and
101 Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses
181 can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but
648 foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the
C same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians
[361] toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind
[197] these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is
Ce called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These
[131] Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the
C Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000
175 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these
727 plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a
266 few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these
648
567
Ce
648
175
[161]

C Ce 175 648 Ce [1921]

/328 cont./

Chané of Santa Cruz province coming to ask for aid and protection from the Chiriguano who were tracking them down; in 1798 the Chané of the Itiyuro were still making incursions against the Chiriguano of the region of Itáu and destroyed that mission almost completely. (See Corrado, pp. 98 and 225; Tamajuncosa, p. 211.)

Co 648 178 131 Ce [162] [101]

/329/ The Chané tribe did not succumb to these hecatombs or to slavery. It was able to maintain itself on two points of its former territory: on the Itiyuro and the Parapití. Several villages whose density is rather great still exist there. The Chané of the Itiyuro still number about 1,500. They all live in Argentine territory in the province of Salta. I do not have any statistics for the Chané population of the lower Parapití, but I know these Indians are still numerous there.

Ce 191 [101] C [197] Ce [198]

Today the Chané are not distinguishable from the Chiriguano by their material culture or their language. They speak Guarani, but use certain locutions and certain words which the Chiriguano say they do not understand and which are perhaps so many vestiges of their ancient Arawak speech. They have kept the latter as a secret language. Nordenskiöld (2, p. 157) was able to collect a short vocabulary of it among the Chané of the Parapití. As was supposed a priori, it is certainly an Arawak dialect closely related to Moxo-Mbaure.

Ce 648 186 C [186] C [101]

The modern Chané are no longer slaves, but their early condition is still manifested in their relations with their former masters. The Chiriguano always regard them with a certain scorn and a protective [illegible] to which the Chané respond with open animosity. A [illegible]riguano would feel offended to be called Chané, and a Chané Chiriguano. The name by which the Chiriguano designate the Chané is always Tapii.

Ce 192 167

Even if historic traditions or ethnic facts were not in agreement to prove the existence in the western Chaco of an Arawak population, archeology alone would suffice to teach it to us. At Tarupayu, Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 40-41) brought to light pottery

G4 /439 cont./
285 p. 171 and Map 21). Their baskets being in bad shape, the
482 Guarayú wanted to make some new ones and were very an-
[824] noyed not to find in the region into which they had come the
palm trees with pinnate leaves which they were in the habit
C of using for this purpose. Now, Guarayú and Chiriguano are
G4 brothers in race and language and emigrated at the same period
285 from Paraguay to settle in the vicinity of the Andes. When leav-
482 ing their country of origin, both were acquainted with this
174 type of basket used by their ancestors, the Guarani, the Tupinamba
824 of the Brazilian coast, /440/ and still favored among their first
[144] cousins from Paraguay, the Kainguá (Métraux, 2, p. 206).
[199] The disappearance of this cultural element among the Chiriguano
is due solely to the lack of appropriate raw materials.

C In order to make up for the absence of back baskets, indis-
179 pensable to a farming people /Fig. 98 appears here/ the
482 Chiriguano borrowed from their neighbors in the Chaco, either
the Mataco or the Choroti, the carrying nets (in Chiriguano:
añapoka) whose use is so widespread among the latter and is so
characteristic of their civilization. Carrying nets today are in
general use among the Chiriguano, and in every village each
family has at /Fig. 99 appears here/ least one (Figs. 98 and 99).
C In spite of this wide diffusion, the Chiriguano añapoka betrays
[171] its origin by its form and technique (see Figs. 100 and 101 /see
pp. 283 -285/), which are both found in the tribes we have just
C enumerated (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208, Technique I). Although
[286] considerably more advanced on the way to civilization than the
seminomadic tribes of the Chaco, the Chiriguano do not by any
means equal them /441/ in the art of making nets. The añapoka
I collected cannot be compared with the deep bags which the
C Matako or the Choroti, for example, make for the same purpose.
[563] In the village of Machareti, where Toba live with Chiriguano,
[439] it is the former who furnish the latter with the /Fig. 100 appears
here/ carrying nets they need (see Fig. 99 /see p.282/) (1).

C 1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 163, Fig. 49 A) gives
286 the detail of the technique of a Chiriguano
482 carrying net. This technique is not found on any
171

[TEXT Continues on P. 283]

/69 cont./

174 In support of the aforesaid is the language, which differs
•197 little from Guaraní, spoken in the Republic of Paraguay, in various parts of Brazil, and even in Corrientes, and language is an irrefutable argument for one or more nations, but inasmuch as this language is very reduced in the latter places, and it was general in the former (Paraguay) until a rather recent period, it might well be concluded that the Chiriguano originated in Paraguay.

648 This Nation is attempting in our times to enlarge or ex-
797 tend its domain into the territories occupied by the Chiriguano, especially as far as degree 22, where almost all of the missions are located, including those of Parapiti Grande, which are located at 19°58' latitude south of the meridian of Paris. Bolivian diplomacy has powerful arguments to uphold its rights, with the support of the missions, principally those of Parapiti, whose first founding goes back to the eighteenth century. The Franciscan Father Narciso Llamedo built there a moral and a physical edifice, whose vestiges can still be seen today, by authority of the Most Illustrious Archbishop of Chuquisaca and supported by the Royal Audiencia of Charcas. Neither the Chiriguano language nor the invasion of this race gives any right to Paraguay, because all authors and explorers are in agreement that this race did not exist here before the thirteenth century. In the fifteenth century the Chiriguano were visited by the Inca Yupanqui with a large force of men from Cuzco. Later, in the sixteenth century, the resident viceroy of Lima vainly attempted to humiliate the pride of this race, and finally everyone sees that the Bolivian Nation has exercised full authority here since before and after the war of Independence, and that the missions have progressed and are progressing in the shadow of the Bolivian flag, which has always waved in these remote lands.

174 Someone might observe and say: Why, when the Chiriguano
/70/ emigrated from Paraguay, did they not settle on the banks of the Pilcomayo and on the immense pampas of the Gran Chaco? At first glance this question constitutes a grave embarrassment to one who does not know the race, but it is easy to answer it satisfactorily. All barbarous tribes remain in

174 /73 cont./
175 understood, because they spoke the same language with slight
167 differences, they joined them, and from that moment the number of the Chiriguano was increased (1).

1. These 4,000 Indians were not of the Guaraní race; they had gone to settle in Paraguay and had learned that language imperfectly; they were called Carius and had killed Captain García.

The 4,000 Indians who fled from Paraguay because of the continual relations that they had had with the Portuguese had, at the time when they formed an alliance with the Chiriguano, a slight tincture of superficial civilization, just as in Mexico the Indians of Tlascala had learned it from Hernán Cortes and other Spaniards. As a result of this trace of civilization they had begun to use some clothing to cover, in principle, the most delicate part of the body; they had stopped eating the flesh of their enemies and prisoners and were more humanitarian in their dealings.

[266] Having established their abode and formed a single
[171] tribe with the Chiriguano, they introduced their kind and humanitarian customs among their ferocious friends, who softened slightly their haughtiness and pride, imitated their allies in the manner of dress, and began to abandon the barbarous custom of cannibalism, because of which they are distinguished today, and even for a long time before, from the Toba, Mataco, Tapiete, and Sirionó (2).

[197]

2. The Tapiete speak the Chiriguano language with a certain difference, and the Sirionó, it is believed, were ancient Chiriguano, because their language is somewhat similar.

175 The Chiriguano, thus united, continued to multiply
[161] much more and to extend their dominions into the different departments of the Audiencia, the possession of which they now had in lesser degree. Before a century had passed after the

/76 cont./

194 169 When experience showed them that they could settle in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen. 241 433 [461] The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every type of cereal; maize matures exubesantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hooks and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

433 241 511 [731] But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably. In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /77/ along some stream; plantings of this type are called socorro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

● 197 [101] By what has already been related it can easily be understood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guarayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guarayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

[194] [171] 1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

/77 cont./

199 194 171 "Conumi," lad. do not have an accent on the i in Chiriguano, but they do in Guaraní.

199 178 361 162 In past centuries the race, and therefore the language, embraced a great deal of territory, but today it is greatly reduced, and I can state without danger of error that it is still numerous in Caipipendi, Pipi, Choreti, Tasete, Aratico, and in the Potosí and Tarija missions; but in the former places it is scattered among many little towns, while in the latter it makes up respectable towns of 500, 1,000, and 2,000 souls (2).

2. Choreti Guasu is located on the left bank of the Parapiti in Cordillera Province; it almost forms a single town with Membirai, and between the two of them they have about 110 families.

199 178 199 997 Purity of language is now no longer found in any town or in the missions, in the first because of living among whites and continually emigrating to the Argentine Republic, and in the second, the missions, for a third reason, instruction in Spanish, which the missionaries give the boys and girls in the schools; thus, if the race is not finished first, as is feared, because of the continual epidemics and vagrancy, the language will soon be lost, and then the few books that exist will only serve as an historical monument for posterity, which will be able to recognize the merit and labor of the missionaries who spread among them, the Chiriguano, and poured out sweat with the sole purpose of civilizing them in a Christian way (3).

3. There are a grammar, a Spanish-Chiriguano dictionary, a catechism with its translation, Father Corrado's masterpiece, a small Chiriguano-Spanish "Nene" /"Infant"; the work referred to is Nino's Nene Chiriguano/, and many unpublished sermons.

/142 cont./

795 The Boca which I have mentioned is in a certain way similar to the purgatory of the Catholics, and in some ways similar to limbo, since the Indians state that souls which go there are in utter darkness, which is the same thing as not seeing God, and this alone constitutes great suffering. Other corporal and moral punishments do not exist there, but the darkness is perpetual (2).

> 2. In Boca, located southeast of Igüembe Canton, souls can be heard at night in continuous joy and bacchanalia with songs and dances. By day all is sepulchral silence, so they all say.

The Curasigñ, literally, under the sun, is for the Chiriguano the true hell, where is felt the true eternal fire which is represented by the sun, in the immediate vicinity of which it is impossible to remain, as the natural sciences, cosmology, demonstrate. According to the Chiriguano, those Indians who take the life of another, those who take other people's property, those who commit suicide, and those who commit sins contra naturam go to Curasigñ.

793 According to a famous explorer and ethnologist who not long ago passed through the region from Guachalla to the boundary which divides Bolivia from Peru in the northwest, there exists among the Chiriguano the idea or belief in the Tower of Babel, where the confusion of languages took place. According to that reference formerly there was but one language spoken, and, according to them, this was Quichua /Quechua/. The idea of creation, of the flood, of the confusion of languages, the method of counting the months by moons and the seasons by what they signify. /143/ and various Chiriguano words similar to Hebrew are powerful arguments to demonstrate the unity of the human race against the rationalists who are trying to show that there were men destroyed by the flood in America (1).

[192] [197]

> 1. The Chiriguano words ava, hag, húú, and mahanu?, man, he, black, and what is it?, are similar to the Hebrew av, ael, húm, and mahanu?, man or father, he, black, and what is that?

C Ce 567 Ce 85 195 648 167 131 C Ce 197 Ce 464 167 191 Ce 177 648 464 133

/314 cont./

They were the slaves of the Chiriguano and formerly lived in the immediate area of the region presently occupied by the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, from where they had to emigrate upon the arrival of the Spaniards who founded said city.

These Indians speak the Chiriguano language with slight differences in pronunciation, and they have some peculiar words, but they understand one another perfectly.

They are completely pacified and go continually to the haciendas of the Argentine Republic; almost all of them know the Spanish language, especially the men; they dress decently and help the industrialists who have settled there and who are the owners of the land.

In olden times the Isoseños or Tapúi were very poor and lazy, but today their condition has improved because white Christians from Santa Cruz have settled among them, to whom they lend important services in cattle raising and agriculture, but the latter is very limited because in the best season the principal region of Isoso is flooded by the continual overflowing of the Parapiti River.

Sirácuas or Empelotos

Z 101 342 291 Z 101 161 197 Z 131

These human beings are called Sirácuas because they open deep holes in the ground in the form of caves with a wooden spatula and rest therein; they are called Empelotos because both the men and the women go about naked.

Rarely do they let themselves be seen and only by chance; they are few, there may be as many as 1,600; the language they speak is unknown, and so they are in a completely savage state.

/315/ Their residence is the thickest part of the woods and at a short distance from Isoso between 19° to 20° latitude and 65° 50' to 64° 10' longitude.

SvNordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

Introduction.

C
Ce
114

In Part I of this work I sought by a new method to analyse the material culture of two Indian tribes the Choroti and Ashluslay. In the introduction to the aforesaid work I explained the method employed. In Part 2 I have sought by the same method to make an ethno-geographical analysis of the civilization of two other Indian tribes. These are the Chiriguano and Chané, who dwell in the southernmost part of Bolivia and northernmost Argentina. The Chiriguano are Guarani Indians, while the Chané are Guaranized Arawaks[1]). They thus belong to two of the most important tribal groups in all America. Their civilisation is already well known, thanks to the missionaries who have worked and still work among them. Their works are referred to in the bibliography. The most important are those by CORRADO and NINO. DEL CAMPANA wrote a monograph on the Chiriguano based on information supplied by missionaries. We also find mention of the Chiriguano in many older works. The information they give us of their manners and customs is unfortunately scanty. It is, indeed, only in LIZÁRRAGA, CHOMÉ, VIEDMA, LOZANO and one or two of the LITTERAE ANNUEA that we find any useful matter.

C
Ce
[101]
[131]
[187]

C
.114

SERRANO Y SANZ wrote an excellent work on the post-Columbian history of the Chiriguano. OUTES has written about their pottery. LEHMANN-NITSCHE has dealt with their physical anthropology. Works on their languages have been published by several missionaries. I visited these

[1]) Vide NORDENSKIÖLD (8).

/156 cont./ Ce 115

from the often vulgar, empty whites. Batirayu, however, is also an exceptional man, the makings of a great man, who is condemned to idleness.

Batirayu is a Chané. These Indians now speak the same language as the Chiriguano, namely, Guarani. Most of their customs and usages correspond to those of the Chiriguano, by whom they were probably subjugated. According to their origin, however, they are Arowaken /Arawak/ and hence the most southerly dwellers of this group, which had, and still has, a wide distribution in South America and on the Antilles. Ce 197 171 648 Ce 101

/157/ If I describe the Chané and the Chiriguano together here, it is because their material culture is so similar. Nevertheless, I have indicated in which tribe I made this or that observation; this is especially true for the religious domain, in which the Chané, at least on the Rio Parapiti, have kept many old conceptions which are unknown to the Chiriguano. Ce 128 171 771

Batirayu told me that a few of the Chané still knew some words of the old language of the tribe. He said that especially at the drinking bouts, when they are intoxicated, they give themselves airs by speaking the old Chané language, which otherwise has the character of a secret language. Ce 197 554 273 Ce

In the company of Batirayu I set out for the village of "Huirapembe" where the Indians who knew Chané best were supposed to be found. It was not easy to draw their secrets out of them. Actually, only the youngest ones, who knew the least, were willing to tell me something (1). One old woman who was Ce 124 197 119 14 Ce

1.

	Chané	Chiriguano	Mojo
Water	ñoe	y	une
Maize	sopóro	abuáti	seponi
Fire	yucu	táta	yucu
Dog	tamóco	yaúmba	tamucu
Chicha (good)	liqui	cángui	itico
Rat	côvo	angíya	cono.

C 192 197

C 114 /2 cont./ outside of the Toba, whom I met
Ee only in passing. I got to know on this journey the Chiriguano
[199] and the Izoseñ, who, like the former, speak a dialect of the Guaraní language: the Tapieté, Churupí, Mataco, and Chorote. All of these Indian tribes are not unknown in ethnological literature. On Chiriguano history we are oriented
C 195 through old documents from even the first years of the Spanish
114 conquest, and we owe to the Franciscan missionaries, who
199 have taught among them for a long time, quite important ethnological publications. The Churupí have been studied
A 114 minutely under the name Ashluslay by Erland Nordenskiöld,
101 and the Oblates of Immaculate Mary in Estero and Lake Escalante are striving intensively to make ethnological investigations. I have proposed to deal with all of these tribes
C 121 systematically. This survey will be made on the basis of the results of my journey, and I begin in this first publication with the Chiriguano and Izoseñ.

General Information

C 114 As I said in the introduction to this work, I first met the
361 Chiriguano in Macharetí and the Izoseñ in the area around the fort of Toledo and in the fort "15 de Agosto," several kilometers from the former two.

C 361 Figure 1 presents a view of Macharetí, a Chiriguano town
[632] created in its present form by the Franciscan missions. When
199 the Paraguayan army retook Macharetí, it had already been abandoned by the Padres, and now a Chiriguano, in the role of commissioner /comisario/, is the chief of the town, there also being a few caciques. The houses, more or less in the
C [342] form of modern ranchos (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 /see p.40 /), are
[363] on both sides of wide streets which run parallel and at right angles, as in most of the towns of the former Spanish colonies.
C [731] When I was present in Macharetí, there was great need /3/ among these Indians because of the severe drought which had ruined their plantings, which were some distance from the
C [342] town. At the side of the ranchos are often found deposits which were structures of native houses built on sticks. Although
000 3/6 [See P. 8 -- Analyst]

Chane SF8
I2020

/3 cont./

Ce 101 or Tapyi /Tapii/, it was not possible from what they said to ascertain with which of the tribes known to ethnology they can be identified. The Chiriguano call themselves "Mbya." [101] If the Izozó were a part of them, they would have called themselves by this name. No doubt they are Chané and that part of the Ce 101 19 latter which once had their homes in the Izozó River region, taking the name of this river for their own. Their culture, as demonstrated by the objects I collected among them, confirms this opinion. There are some differences between the objects collected among the Izozó and the Chiriguano in Macharetí, either with regard to the decorations of the baked clay vessels or with regard to the making of the nets. But in principle it is not possible to decide whether these differences might not be only local differences. In general the culture of 171 172 128 648 the Chiriguano was diffused in this way throughout the tribes successively subjugated by them, which is why it is proper to deal below with the aspects of the culture of the Chiriguano of Macharetí together with that of the Izozó.

Ce 101 19

Influences on the Culture of the Chiriguano and Izozó, Taken from Historical Data

Ce [199] At the present time the Chiriguano and Chané form a cultural entity which can be designated as the culture of the Chiriguano, because the Guaraní language of the Chiriguano came to be the common language of the whole group. The Izozó also belong to this ethnic entity. Thus it is necessary to consider this entity /4/ as being formed of completely different tribes. It is also necessary to conceive of their culture as the product of the fusion of very heterogeneous cultural elements. Nordenskiöld deals with this question in one of his books (1)

Ce [113]

1. Erland Nordenskiöld: The changes in the material culture of two Indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative Ethnological Studies. 2. Göteborg, 1920. Cited in the following: Nord. 2.

/90 cont./

The Language

C Ce 197 I have already mentioned above that the Chané originally spoke a language different from that of the Chiriguano, but that during the long period of their captivity they adopted the latter's language. A cacique of the Chané of the Parapití, named Ce 198 Batirayu, told Nordenskiöld that some of the Chané still knew a few words of their original language and that today it had the Ce 195 nature of a secret language. Thus there are still often employed invectives of the original Chané language, such as "karitimisóyti," which the Indians translated as equivalent to "son of a whore." Ce 533 197 Songs in the original language can also be found for example, "siparakinánoye, siparakinánoye, siparakinánoye, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya," which they cannot translate, however. Ce 114 197 Nordenskiöld, with much effort and patience, was able to take down six words of the original Chané language in the town of Huirapembe on the Parapití, where a few Chané Indians who still knew their original language were said to be living. From Ce [174] the comparison of these six words with the corresponding words of the Mojo language, a great similarity was apparent; thus there can be no doubt /91/ but that the Chané originally belonged to the Aruaco /Arawak/ linguistic group (366).

366. Nord. 1, p. 157.

M C 104 197

Translation	Original Chané	Mojo (367)
Water	úne	une
Maize	sopóro	soponi
Fire	yucu	yucu
Dog	tamúco	tamucu
Good	liqui	itico
Mouse	cóvo	cozo

Ce M [113] 367. According to Father Pedro Marban, Arte de la lengua Moxa con su vocabulario y cathecismo /Art of the Mojo Language with its Vocabulary and Catechism/. Republished by Julio Platzmann, facsimile edition, Leipzig, 1894.

/278 cont./

726 727 Then they enter the houses, pillage anything of value they find, break all the clay vessels, pour out all the chicha, without taking any for fear that it may be poisoned, and, finally, before the eyes of the women and children prisoners, set fire to the town, which burns until it is reduced to ashes.

[203] As soon as victory has been declared by the invaders, the cacique orders that one of the horsemen take the happy news to their town, so that the women can rejoice and finish the fermentation of the chicha. Meanwhile, when the pillaging is over and the houses reduced to ashes, they divide among all of them the women, girls, and children, and take them triumphantly back to the town. Some lancers lopped from their victims some heads of the men - killed in the combat, which will serve as trophies of war.

/279/ After the Victory

727 524 857 The victors are received with extraordinary joy, and then all glances are first fixed on the heads that are on the tips of their lances; they insult them and jeer them with much cruelty, hang them from some tree in the town or in the plaza, and there they stay as toys for the little boys, who set up games using them as targets to learn the use of the arrow and be good shots, and when they have become tired of seeing them there, they take them down, tie them to strings, and drag them through the streets, attracting everybody's attention with their shouting and games. They are thus very inhumane, and their parents watch with pleasure what their children are doing (1).

1. After or during the war of Curuyuqui, they brought to the town the head of the Indian Chabuco, and they did more or less what I have said, with slight differences.

/67 cont./

Origin

212 The Chiriguano tribe has no written language, for which reason it is difficult to determine exactly its origin, the place from which it came, and the time the immigration took place. They admire our modern paper, which they call "Tunpapire," skin of God, and they say that we are fortunate because by means of this we are able to make our thoughts and wishes known to friends and relatives at great distances. What then would they say if they had the faintest idea of the telegraph and the telephone and so many other modern inventions, such as that of flying through the air, in this twentieth century, which quite justly might be called: century of the globes?

773 They recount that "Aguara Tunpa," Fox-God, tried to destroy the work of the true God by killing all men. To achieve this end he made use of the "Iguasu," big water; he then opened the gates or shores of the seas and flooded the whole land; the waters of the earth's surface called those of the sky "Iporu," flood, and thus the human race perished. But before there took place the total destruction of the Chiriguano, to whom humanity was confined, a woman took her two children, a male and a female, put them in a "Choguáo," big gourd, left them to the mercy of the waters, and, when these went down, they found themselves in Paraguay, where they again multiplied (1).

1. The two children, after disembarking, did not perish from the cold, because the "Cururu," toad, took pity on them, bringing them fire in his mouth, for which reason the true Chiriguano never hunts this inoffensive animal.

173 I have said that they do not have writing, but, on the other hand, they do have a kind of oral tradition, "Miani," which is transmitted from father to son. This tradition is also wrapped in a veil of confusion, however, because they

/138 cont./

993 the disobedience that was his sin, and the confusion which the guilt caused in him, with its consequent reprehension (1).

1. This story lacks the promise of a Savior, a most important fact, to be sure, but it should be kept in mind that this is a centuries-old tradition. The Indian is ignorant and only sees material things.

It can clearly be seen that this account, with only a slight difference, follows the story told by Moses in the first chapters of the Bible and adds even more to the proof that the inhabitants of the Americas came from and are descendants of the first man, a fact which so many enemies of Religion make efforts to deny. It also proves the unity of our race or species against Darwin, who would have it descend through evolution until it is related to the orangutan (2).

2. Hernán Cortes visited the Emperor Moctesuma during his first visit to Mexico. The latter assured him that they descended from other very ancient men, similar to the Spaniards, whom they called brothers.

It is easy to see that the Chiriguano tradition just related has been altered slightly, and that they attribute the reconstruction of the race to it, which, according to the Bible, is in fact the creation or formation of the first man. Centuries have passed since the universal flood and even more since the creation of the first man. The Chiriguano race is ignorant, has no books, no writing. It is descended from the Guaraní, who always lived apart from civilization. It could never be subjugated by the Incas, and thus it is not strange that the said tradition regarding creation might have changed until it is believed to be a second creation. Instead it is strange that /139/ up to now it has been preserved so clearly and with so few differences. I confess that when I first heard it I could not but be surprised and amazed, and I present it for the consideration of my readers just as I heard it.

[212] [174]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5, (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XX.

Musical instruments.

C
Ce
534 The Chiriguano and Chané have the following musical instruments: drums, flutes, whistles, and trumpets. Among the latter tribe I have also seen the panpipe and the musical bow. The panpipe may possibly occur among the Chiriguano too.

I have already, in Part I, dealt with the drum, the whistles, and the musical bow. The two former, I concluded, were Peruvian, the latter a post-Columbian culture-element.

C
Ce
[177] When studying Indian musical instruments we must bear in mind that, in post-Columbian times, they have learnt a good deal from Whites and negroes.

C
Ce
[197] [212] At the mission stations the Indians are always instructed by the missionaries in music. At the Bolivian mission-stations it is not unusual to come across Indians who very well understand musical notation, though unable to read or write. At the Chiriguano mission stations there are full-blown musical bands.

C
[192] A large drum is called by the Chiriguano »angúahuasi», a ordinary drum »angúa» or »angúarai». Like the Guarani Indians in Paraguay the Chiriguano call a mortar »angúa». The Mataco sometimes make drums by stretching a skin over a wooden mortar. So too, if we are to be guided by the name, the Chiriguano drums must originally have appeared.

The long wooden-whistle (fig. 35 A) is very common among the Chiriguano and Chané, and often of great size; the round wooden whistle is more rare. Both are often elaborately carved.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

small Indian tribes in the woods north of the Rio Camaquam at the end of the decade 1870—80. The perforated top bowl contained maize, the pot under it boiling water. Ce 252 415

I cannot at present tell whence the Chiriguano and the Chané got this cultural element. Besides among these Indians, I have also seen steam-cooking-pots of the same kind among the Mataco-Vejos, who live close to the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro. 171*

The Chiriguano and the Chané have special bowls for roasting maize (fig. 16). I have only seen bowls of the same shape among the Mataco-Vejos. The roasting of maize is commonly practised among the majority of Indians who grow this plant, which is of such great importance to many tribes.

The Chiriguano and the Chané do not know of the babracot. They only use the wooden spit. It is often cleft, as is also the case among the Choroti and the Ashluslay. As the kinsmen of the Chané in Northern Bolivia and the kinsmen of the Chiriguano on the coast of Brazil use the babracot, the question arises: »Why is it not used here?» I suppose this is because the hunting is of no great importance, the fishing not very good, and the fish caught small or, at least, rarely of any size. Ce 252 171* Ce [22]

Pit-ovens are unknown here. When chicha is being made, great pot-spades are used. They are either wooden (fig. 17 A) or made of the hafted shoulderblade of some large mammal. I suppose all Indians who cook their food use something to stir it with. Usually, however, only a plain stick is used. Pot spades of the kind shown here are in use among the Mataco-Vejos, who live near the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro and the Guató[1]) on the upper Rio Paraguay. It is not unlikely at all that the latter have had them from the Chané, for we know from accounts of very early discoverers, that some of the Chané settled on the upper Ce 412 252 [273] Ce [171]* Ce [175] [361]

[1]) Max Schmidt (3), P. 205.

/334 cont./

241 Before taking possession of a new plot of land the
423 Chiriguano is always careful to make sure that there is no trace
243 of previous cultivation. Otherwise the former owner or his
[685] descendants would have the right to lodge a complaint against him to the chief of the village.

[824] The Chiriguano makes known his new property right by planting any edible plant before the rainy season, for example, the large squash (zindako-wasu) which spreads everywhere and is not smothered by the underbrush. He can equally well insure possession of the chosen terrain by knocking down the underbrush all around and making big gashes in the trees (1).

[171] 1. Compare this manner of insuring property rights with the method observed by the Caxinawa /Cashinawa/ in the same circumstances: "I saw (an Indian is speaking) rising ground which is suitable for a planting. I am going to make a planting for this summer. I broke many branches on this hill to mark this excellent place. No one can make his clearing on this hill. This hill is excellent; do not go there to make your planting." (Abreu, p. 69.)

241 In the middle of the dry season, say, in August, the
243 Indian, with a long stick sharp on both sides, fells the underbrush which encumbers his future field and sets fire to it. This operation has the further advantage of fertilizing the soil, thanks to the bed of ashes, which is a rather good fertilizer.

The cultivated fields are usually cleaned up after the harvest.
[231] The domestic animals, who feed there with little expense, are first let out there, and then the fields are set afire.

[221] Sowing takes place in the month of November when the first rainstorms have softened the soil. This time is announced by
[821] the appearance of the Pleiades (itsu) above the horizon early in the morning.

276
756
[824]
[113]

/339 cont./
consumption was limited (1).

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

[249]

When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.

[755]

We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

[789]

243
221
[114]

At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the Indians of the Caruruti region in Caipipendi valley. From the end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6).[1]

[351]

243
221
123
[421]

This temporary migration of the whole population of a village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

[1] [Fig 6 appears on p. 69-- Analyst]

/349 cont./

556 tendency to estimate the value of objects in cows. For example,
[435] a loom with a nearly finished poncho was offered to me "for
[437] a cow," and the owner of the loom could not understand that
it was difficult for me to convert the exchange into money.

262 Charqui, or meat dried in the sun, most often replaces
[251] fresh meat in the menus of our Indians. It is not a question
of preference, but of necessity. Charqui is cheap and is
bought in any estancia.

Fishing

221 When I went through the Chiriguano villages of the upper
226 Pilcomayo and the Parapití, the rivers were in flood, the corn was
ripening in the fields, and no Indian wanted to let the parrots
eat his corn in order to go to catch fish at the risk of getting him-
self carried off by the current. If I had come back to these
same villages in July or August, the scene would have been
completely different. The rivers would have been only thin
trickles of water, and in every direction I should have per-
ceived men /350/ and women busy fishing. The fishing season
would have been at its height.

[178] The Chiriguano, having come from a country rich in
watercourses, have in this respect preserved the traditions of
their ancestors of the Paraná or the Paraguay.

226 Some, equipped with large landing nets (Fig. 18), form
barriers against the current and advance, gathering the fish as if
[227] with a spoon. Then they grab them and attach them to their
[482] belts, after /Fig. 18 appears here/ threading them on a cord
by means of a wooden needle (Fig. 19). Others lie in wait for
a fish in the water and, as it goes by, impale it with an arrow
equipped with several points (Fig. 20) or simply with two long,
barbed wooden rods. Some, with the help of stone barriers,
try to make the fish converge toward the opening of a wicker
trap (1). Sometimes a group of individuals turn aside a

1. Compare Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260): "in summer (the Chiriguano) divert a stretch of the river; they leave the fish in the drained

/8 cont./

133 The rivers which bathe the Chiriguano region are four: the Pilcomayo, the Parapiti, the Grande or Guapay River, and the Acero. The Pilcomayo begins in the northwest of Potosí Department and crosses Chiriguano country in the southeast. Its water, sweet and clear up to the southern part of [135] Igüembe Canton, is somewhat salty in Huacaya and Villamontes, because to the southeast of Ibopeiti it receives as a tributary the Salado River with its rather abundant waters; these waters are quite salty, because they pass through the salt flats of O'Connor Province. Its bed is wide and shallow, but its flow is very abundant from December to April, because this is the rainy season. If in Villamontes the Germans or others open the great canal proposed by the Supreme Government, the navigation of this river up to the estuaries /esteros/ of the P. Patiño, even in small boats, will be made nearly impossible, because there will not be enough water for it.

136 In the Pilcomayo fish are abundant: bagre, shad /sábalo/, and dorado; some of the latter are very large, up to a meter and a half in length. The first freshets of the rainy season wash up and kill many fish, leaving them stretched out on the ground on both banks or piling them up like stones or firewood. Then 226 the Chiriguano Indians, the Toba, and Mataco fill their houses, and dogs and crows come there by the thousands and stuff themselves, while the air is full of unbearable miasmas.

[221] The most satisfactory and safest season for fishing is from the May cold until the end of July and in certain years up to [251] the middle of August; then all the Indians are fishermen; they fish for themselves and for trading; they open the fish though the middle vertically and dry it in the sun. If nobody goes [438] there to barter, they go off to sell it at 20 centavos apiece, [435] but generally during the fishing season the tribes far from the rivers go to the banks of same, taking maize or parched meal and bringing back abundant fish. /Illustration appears here./

/14 cont./

311 The closer the traveler gets to the Gran Chaco, the less
317 water and the less fertility he finds; the very fields of Yvu
241 are patent proof, for crops are rarely abundant there. When the rains are torrential in other sections, they are sparse in Yvu; the farther to the west one travels from Aguaragüe, the more fertile is the land, because the hills and hillocks are more frequent and higher, water more abundant, and consequently the land more moist, which is necessary for agricultural production.

The fields are suitable for raising cows and horses, for the multiplication of sheep and pigs; the year when it fails to rain, however, there is lack of food for the livestock, as well as lack of water, the suffering is great, and numbers die near the waters which are found at some distance from the spots where there is feed, such as the slopes of the hills and the tops of the hillocks, abounding in tree leaves.

137 The countryside is clothed with grasses in the summer, but the region begins to turn beautiful in the spring and even earlier. The vigorous woods, dry and leafless during the cold months, begin to dress in verdant foliage at the beginning of the month of September, and in a few days nature is rejuvenated. Then it is very lovely to contemplate from some slight rise a broad pampa where there are carob trees, groves of catalpas or lapachos, the first green, the second red, and the third yellow and purple.

241 The territory is productive only in the rainy season, be-
182 cause the Chiriguano in general will not take the trouble to put
[132] in a good irrigation ditch when he can; he waits for it all from
[133] the high heavens. Miracles could have been worked on the banks of the rivers in times past; today it is difficult because they are very few and, like their grandparents, are satisfied with maize, a little sugar cane, and other delicacies, like sweet potatoes or batatas, mandioca, and peanuts.

241 Large-scale planting begins at the end of November or the
[221] beginning of December, after the country has been watered by two or three abundant rains. The maize grows very high and, when there is no lack of water, produces two or three ears on each stalk. The frijoles produce three crops. The sugar cane

/60 cont./

223 River, he tied inflammable material to the horns of 2,000 oxen, lighted it, and drove the oxen up to the heights, thus managing to get through and gain a victory over the Roman army, which, believing the oxen to be enemies running in every direction, abandoned the narrow pass to defend other positions and was defeated the next day. In the above-mentioned months young men and children sleep little at [221] [262] night in order to go hunting for doves and to have a delicious meal the next day with their families, since the slaughter of doves and other little birds which are unfortunate enough to sleep near them is great.

*136 PATO /duck/. -- Where there are lakes or ponds there are innumerable ducks of many sizes and colors; some are so large that they seem to be geese. There are black, white, [262] pink, and brown ones; the last are fat and delicious. The Chiriguano eats the meat of the duck, but he does not pursue [223] it, because he finds this so difficult. When he can, he hunts [222] it, but more because this web-footed bird puts or deposits its eggs on the shores of a lake, on top of the grass or hidden among the reeds which grow near lakes; these are /61/ avidly sought by young and old, men and women, because the water is not deep in these places. The duck is called "Ipe" in Chiriguano which is, literally in the water, since lake is called "Ipa," or wide or extended water.

PAVA /turkey/. -- They have their favorite places and do not go far from them; they will be found there exactly at sunrise and before nightfall. They reveal themselves when a hunter or anyone else approaches, because they immediately begin to cackle and to fly from tree to tree in fear, which causes a disagreeable noise. The turkeys are as big as a large chicken, with quite a long tail and black feathers. *[325] There are two kinds: the larger one is called "Yacu" and is found in abundance from the right bank of the stream Cuevo; the others are called charatas by the whites, "Anancua" in Chiriguano. These are numerous from the left bank of the Parapiti River in the province of Lagunillas.

/160 cont./

574 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accomodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

574 178 [431] [273] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he asks nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretasted liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 527 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quiriquinchos, /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

622 224

273 824 191

2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

[Text Continues on P. 221]

/173 cont./

342 824 element and that of the hollow cane are due to the abundance of cattle, which destroy even the straw for harnesses.

342 574 [476] [831] When the placement of the roof has been completed, they all come down and gather in the hut of the friend, who, as a reward or payment for the service rendered, offers them a cup of chicha, and they drink this amidst jokes and crudities, at times very heavy, especially should maidens or women of 30 years or older who do not keep quiet pass by. But as the people know each other well and are friends, the greatest harmony reigns, and, when everything is finished, they take leave of the owner, thanking him for his gifts, and he shows them his gratitude for the services which they have rendered (2).

2. The workers only ask for chicha in recompense, but if the owner has beans or gourds cooked for them in a stew with considerable stimulant in the form of chili pepper, arivivi, it is a feast or carnival for all.

342 312 [22] The rest of the work is done with less haste and at a more opportune time. In fact, most wait until the rainy season to do it, for then water is abundant, and this to be sure deserves the approbation of all because it is more economical and easier. Thus, taking into consideration the laziness of the Indian man [44] and the tasks which the Chiriguano woman has, it would be expensive and quite tiresome to bring the water on their shoulders from great distances, which is avoided during the rainy season. [356] Then during each shower not only is the construction of the walls of the new houses done, but also the repair of those which have come apart during the year, and it is very amusing to see from a distance the women around the houses with their sleeves rolled up or with the tipoy down to the waist, making holes in the wet ground with shovel or hoe, pouring a little water in, kneading the earth, forming large balls of it, and putting it between the canes which are already attached.

/239 cont./

Old Method of Farming

241 In planting the fields which are already old, they use the same method of applying fire to the weeds and stubble that are left after the harvest: this method is even coming to be practiced by the whites and the mestizos. As far as fertilizing the land, the Chiriguano does not worry about it, because the lands are virgin and the Indian hardly plants maize on a large scale, and, if it rains regularly until the grain has become hard, the crop is abundant and the farmer has enough to eat and an abundance of chicha to drink, which is what he wants.

412 Formerly the ava had nothing but a wooden shovel and a stone ax, which is hard to find today. He obtained his livelihood with these insignificant tools: the ax served him for cutting trees and bushes and the spade for pulling up all the grass and brush. The spade was like those used by bakers for [324] putting bread in the oven: it was of uxo wood and was at- [239] tached to a rather long handle with bejuco vines or strips of toborochi bark: the handle was always long, because the Indian /240/ neither knew nor does he now know how to bend his back at his farm chores: these spades were also made from the shoulder blade of cattle, horses, or asses (1).

000

1. Baron don Erland Nordenskiold, in addition to the pots from various regions of Bolivia, sent to the Swedish museum pots made by the Chiriguano, wooden spades, and stone axes.

241 Planting was usually done in the month of November, [221] after the ground had received at least two rains. Then the Indian would first destroy with his spade the small amount of grass that had come up, and then he would notify his friends and relatives so that they might help him to plant on the day indicated. The cacique took part in the general [476] planting, ordering that those under him should help one [534] another: thus, early on the said day, at daybreak, they would

/356 cont./

24| enough for this. Although there are good fences, there are better
231 and braver bulls or calves, who with their horns are capable of
177 opening iron gates, opening the way to all their females, whom they then call with much affection with their prolonged bellows (2).

> 2. The harmful cattle even become ferocious: if a man alone tries to chase them out of the field without the help of good dogs, he will be charged.

24| The harvest marks for the Chiriguano the time of the year
22| that he calls Mbaepiro, which literally means a dry thing or things, and everyone will understand that this corresponds to autumn, in which season the trees and every bush take off their beauty and raiment. Men and women then are busy carrying in
[343] what the land has produced for them: the maize crop is kept in the plot itself, in a kind of house of sticks called Abatío, maize house, and the woman little by little, as needed, brings it to the town for the daily meal and for the preparation of chicha (3).

> 3. If the harvest of grounds is not abundant, they put them on the maize in the same shed, if they do not build another: the bean crop is brought immediately to the tribe or town.

529 /357/ After this the Chiriguano spends his time in idleness, drinking here today, there tomorrow, visiting with some, playing with others, enjoying, in sum, with almost no work, a better
221) life than the greatest ruler in the world. The harvest is cut between May and June, and after it the libations in honor of the belly god begin. As the desire to drink is extraordinary, before having the general libation, the families, one by one, begin to make a small quantity of chicha to be drunk among a few friends and relatives.

/362 cont./

262 The Chiriguano call kumanara a leguminous plant, wild,
[252] which resembles the yuca and which can serve as food after being boiled. They resort to it only when pressed by hunger. The word designating this plant has a strange resemblance to
[192] the name of the batata in the Quichua dialects of Ecuador and northern Peru (Rivet, 3, pp. 583-590). It is perhaps a question of a Quichua word introduced into the Chiriguano language to designate a plant of which they did not have the equivalent in their original homeland. The case is nevertheless rare, and one can wonder if it is not a simple coincidence.

[222] Neither do the Chiriguano look down on honey, although they
[171] do not seek it with the passion of their cousins, the Kainguá. What I tasted among them was contained in thin honeycombs having the consistency of cardboard. It had a pleasant taste.

222 Any Indian who goes in search of honey (ei) must not make
784 his intention known to anyone and, if he is asked where he is going, he must answer: "To look for wood." If you do not take
[176] these precautions, the protecting spirit of the honey is warned of your plan and hides the honeycombs he guards (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 86).

222 The missionary Corrado (p. 43) assures us that grass-
114 hoppers, cicadas, the larvae of bees are that many delicious
[252] dishes for the Chiriguano. He adds that these insects are roasted. Nino (p. 247) reproduces the statements of his predecessor and completes the list of strange foods by adding /363/ ants, lizards, leaves of the cucurbitaceae, melted tallow, etc. Personally I
[171] have never seen the Chiriguano touch these dishes strange to our palates, but I am all the more inclined to believe these two missionaries that the tastes they indicate are actually those of the Indians in other regions.

262 Already in the 16th century the Chiriguano passed as snake
252 lovers, even of poisonous species. They cut off the head and tail, skinned them, and roasted pieces of them on live coals. They used to eat them with pimento. No doubt the Spaniards con-
[178] fused snakes with iguanas, which even today the Chiriguano justly like (Lizárraga, Vol. I, p. 260).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The migrations, wars, and the religious conversion of the *Chiriguano* have been the subjects of many historical monographs. The most important of these are by Corrado (1884), Serrano y Sanz (1898), Dominguez (1918), Gandia (1929 a, and b), Métraux (1930 b), Coni (1925), Moreno (1929), and Finot (1939). The Jesuit missionary work among the *Chiriguano* has been described by Lozano (1941) and Muriel (1918).

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

As today *Chiriguano* and *Chané* share in the same culture, the following data may apply to both tribes.

Farming.—The *Chané*, conquered by the *Chiriguano*, were proficient farmers who, though practicing a tropical type of agriculture, were probably acquainted with many of the methods of cultivation of the Andean area. The *Chiriguano* adopted their traditions. The new habitat of the *Chiriguano* did not offer the same resources for hunting and fishing as had their homeland. Therefore, these Indians depend on farming to a larger extent than any other *Tupi-Guarani tribe*. The basis of their livelihood is maize, of which they have 11 varieties, all related to those of Paraguay. Then follow in order of importance: Pumpkins, beans (11 varieties), sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, peanuts, and some Barbary figs (*Opuntia* sp). Sweet potatoes were grown on a large scale by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

These Indians also raise cotton, tobacco, urucú, and, in the Parapeti region, reeds for arrow shafts (*Arundo donax*). Plants of the Old World adopted by the *Chiriguano* include melons, watermelons, oranges, sugarcane, and sorghum.

Chiriguano men clear the fields and surround them with a tall fence as a protection against the inroads of wild or domesticated animals, a task which is considered to be particularly strenuous. They also till the soil, but at harvest time they are assisted by the women and children. The latter, armed with slings, drive away the parakeets and other birds which prey on the crops. Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 183) observed that among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro region, large maize fields were tended by men while pumpkins and beans were raised by the women.

Collecting wild food.—When their crops fail, the *Chiriguano* subsist on the same species of pods and fruits as those collected by the Chaco Indians: Algarrobo, tusca, mistol, caraguatá, and other plant foods.

Hunting.—Hunting is a very secondary economic activity, at least in modern times. Peccaries, which are the main game animal, are hunted with specially trained dogs and killed with bows and arrows or with clubs. Rheas, which are abundant in the Chaco plains, are caught with bolas. Pigeons are captured with clap nets. Special arrows with two points are used for hunting yacu birds (*Penelope* sp.).

/28 cont./

137 There is another small caraguata which invades wide areas
824 of land, preventing any animal from entering there, because
it has spines on the bottoms of the leaves. In times of scarcity
[262] its root is food for the poor Chiriguano; the root contains a
little starch which has the taste of mandioca, but it requires
[283] great effort to pull it up. The leaf of this tilandsia is also good
for making cord.

Finally, there is a third one which flourishes abundantly in trees and on the rocks of the hills, but which has no peculiar properties; it is large because of its leaves, which measure up to one meter in length. The plant is thick, the leaf fleshy, and it is used to decorate the streets with arches during processions. The aloe is similar to the second type of tilandsia, but aloe leaves are wide and thick, full of juice, while those of the tilandsia are slender, arched, and dry. The aloe is not abundant; only an occasional shrub or plant is found.

244 /29/ TOMATO. -- This plant which produces fruits so pleasant and useful to the culinary art flourishes exuberantly in these lands; the fruit from each plant is abundant and is produced the year round when some care is taken to protect the plant from the cold or from the light frosts which customarily
[237] fall in June and July. To do this it suffices to pile up dry cow dung in two or three places in the tomato patch and set them
[177] afire. True tomato plants are also found in the woods, but it is presumed that some bird must have carried the seed to such places; the tomato is a plant which has been brought into the Chiriguano country, as is the case with the onion, the sweet potato, and the cabbage.

● 222 In the woods there is a kind of tomato in the wild state, which is somewhat similar in appearance and taste, but which is quite different from the true one; it is picked green and allowed to ripen in a room on top of a piece of wood; in a
[244] few days it turns red, which is a sign that it is ripe. The chili pepper also produces abundantly and with little care; it is a plant which lasts up to three years if care is taken to prune it, and the second and third years the fruits are very hot. Another kind of small, round chili pepper abounds in the woods and bears spontaneously; it is called arivivi by the whites and "quii rai" by the Chiriguano. It is hot, and some cure sickness,

222 /29 cont./ It is hot, and some cure sickness,
[957] or inflammation of the eyes, with it. Nevertheless, one should not confuse this little plant with another similar one whose fruits lack flavor and which is called by the Chiriguano "Aguara quii," which is to say, literally, chili pepper, of the fox. The best way not to confuse it is to taste the fruit; it is found everywhere.

243 TRIGO /wheat/. -- The Eternal Creator of all things in his bounty and mercy arranged that this small plant, necessary in every aspect, should yield its fruit in every region inhabited by man; thus, in spite of the excessive heat, it is harvested here in abundance, and the farmer is not robbed of his hopes if he takes care to irrigate the field opportunely. Barley also flourishes in irrigated lands, but the cultivation of both has been abandoned for reasons already expounded in these pages and also because birds greatly bother both crops, as also happens in the rice paddies, which will be found empty if they are left to the discretion of our flying friends.

[824] There also thrives together with maize, or in other places,
[412] the wheat called Guinea, or sweet sorghum, which the Chiriguano call "Tricu" and which is indigenous; it is sweet, matures with maize, and they suck it, as well as the panicled sorghum, which is a kind of sorghum /30/ without sweetness and used for making brooms for sweeping. The seed of both plants is liked by birds.

137 VID /grapevine/. -- Farther on I have said that this plant
824 pre-eminently required for the Sacrifice, like wheat, thrives quite vigorously in this region. I add here that in the woods
[262] there is a tree with small leaves and unimportant wood, which rises up to some eight meters above the ground and whose fruit is the size of an olive, has a dark coffee color and a flavor like that of the grape, matures in the month of February, is edible, and is called "Ivaviyu" in Chiriguano. Also in the wild state is the native grape with its twining trunk. Its fruits are like a bunch of grapes; they are white and some even black, and they are good for the manufacture of brandy.

/43 cont./

*136 There are wasps, and they are of several classes, but the yellow or red ones are the most vicious; there are bees in the trees, in the roofs, in the walls, and in the ground, and all of them make hives in order to make honey and wax, but the best honey is that of the bees called señoritas. Both things, that is, honey and wax, are known as beneficial by the Indians, but they devote themselves to this very little, because they consider it the work of lowly and poor people, and the Chiriguano does not like to consider himself such. Wax is seldom gathered, even in times of scarcity, nor does the neophyte or new Christian work at earning his living by looking for beeswax.

222 237 [461] 237 464

A spider bite almost always produces bad consequences, which can be avoided by the use of ammonia; this is another plentiful insect. In the rainy season they extend their webs from one tree to another, obstructing the road, no matter how wide it may be, and frequently travelers who are out at night or who get up early are bothered by these webs, which stick to their faces and clothing, /44/ just as the spiders themselves, which are so loathsome, not infrequently catch hold. The bite of those that live in the forest, they state, is not poisonous.

*136 *825 [959]

All spiders are called "Yanduti" in Chiriguano, and the web, "Yanduti nupa," or spider's bed; from the web of the forest spiders the children make nets for catching birds or for their games. When wet they are quite elastic. The true tarantula, which the whites call apasanca and the Indians "Yanduti huasu," is quite ugly because of its fuzz, eight legs, and two arms. The natives state that it is poisonous, but its bite is not fatal. They almost never come out by twos, but upon killing one and wanting to know if it has a companion, it is enough to burn the dead one in order to cause the live one to come out the moment it smells the odor. The apasancas, or tarantulas, come out when it is about to rain and do not make a good impression. The natural enemy of spiders, including the tarantula, is another flying insect the size of an acorn, which the people of Santa Cruz call

[859]

/60 cont./

223 River, he tied inflammable material to the horns of 2,000 oxen, lighted it, and drove the oxen up to the heights, thus managing to get through and gain a victory over the Roman army, which, believing the oxen to be enemies running in every direction, abandoned the narrow pass to defend other positions and was defeated the next day. In the above-mentioned months young men and children sleep little at [221] [262] night in order to go hunting for doves and to have a delicious meal the next day with their families, since the slaughter of doves and other little birds which are unfortunate enough to sleep near them is great.

*136 PATO /duck/. -- Where there are lakes or ponds there are innumerable ducks of many sizes and colors; some are so large that they seem to be geese. There are black, white, pink, and brown ones; the last are fat and delicious. The [262] Chiriguano eats the meat of the duck, but he does not pursue it, because he finds this so difficult. When he can, he hunts [223] it, but more because this web-footed bird puts or deposits its [222] eggs on the shores of a lake, on top of the grass or hidden among the reeds which grow near lakes; these are /61/ avidly sought by young and old, men and women, because the water is not deep in these places. The duck is called "Ipe" in Chiriguano which is, literally in the water, since lake is called "Ipa," or wide or extended water.

PAVA /turkey/. -- They have their favorite places and do not go far from them; they will be found there exactly at sunrise and before nightfall. They reveal themselves when a hunter or anyone else approaches, because they immediately begin to cackle and to fly from tree to tree in fear, which causes a disagreeable noise. The turkeys are as big as a large chicken, with quite a long tail and black feathers. *[825] There are two kinds: the larger one is called "Yacu" and is found in abundance from the right bank of the stream Cuevo; the others are called charatas by the whites, "Anancua" in Chiriguano. These are numerous from the left bank of the Parapiti River in the province of Lagunillas.

/244 cont./

252 262 Gourds are eaten boiled, roasted, and in broth; the seed is enjoyed when roasted with maize meal, parched maize, or beans. They also eat them as broth, which they call Güindaca mi quira, or grease of the gourd, to which they add chili pepper and salt, just as they do with beans cooked in ollas with the whole pod, which they call Sopirigua.

241 If the Chiriguano manages to plant a little maize beans /poroto/, and gourds, he is content and stops planting other, less important seeds. Few plant Yeti, sweet potato, Mandiporopi, mandioca, Tacuaneé, sugar cane, and Monduvi, peanut. They all plant watermelons and other melons; many plant figs and tunas, or nopal, and few cultivate orange trees, because this Indian has little patience for waiting on the ingratitude of certain plants which require much care and are very slow in yielding fruit (2).

[192] [177] 2. Names for watermelon /sandía/ and melon /melón/ do not exist in the Chiriguano language, which indicates that these fruits were introduced by the whites, from whom the Indians got them.

222 245 262 The nopal is very abundant in this area, rising to some three or four meters; its fruit is very exquisite, as everyone knows. Its cultivation is nil; it is enough to pluck off a branch of the main plant and bury it halfway, and its sweet fruit will ripen from the second year on. It is the plant that the Chiriguano value most.

245 Even the fig tree, which also needs little care, is cultivated. They call it Iva, as well as calling the nopal Saini, and both plants seem to be native, because they grow in hot places, and the name indicates that they have always had them. The fig tree requires more cultivation than the nopal, but this is relatively insignificant; they pull off a branch, plant it during the rainy season, and let it grow fully without pulling off any shoots (3).

439 3. Whites who live among the Indians are

/252 cont./

262 As very savory food there are also cicadas, ants, lizards, locusts, and some green worms which cause disgust just to name them. If a head of cattle dies and putrefaction has begun, the Chiriguano finds it excellent; give it to him and it is a grand gift, and that day is a carnival for him; he does not try to find out whether the animal died from the poison of a viper or rattlesnake or from rabies (1).

262
252

1. When Indians bring home the meat of dead cattle well into a state of putrefaction, they boil it in ollas and throw away the liquid, and in this way it loses much of its bad smell.

262
178 I do not know whether it is through superstition or because they are descendants of the Jews that this tribe formerly did not eat the flesh of the pig; although they like and hunt the wild boar or the peccary, they did not touch the domestic pig, but today almost all of them, with the exception of some women, eat it.

261
262 The Chiriguano suffers in times of hunger or scarcity of food, but he looks for food in the earth; this is very harmful food, which produces various ailments, such as consumption and
[252] dysentery. He looks for the potato of the serpentine arum, ex-
[164] tracts it, and, making a hole, heats it, throws the potatoes there, and covers it with ashes and embers, leaving them overnight; on the following day he and his family eat, but it gives them a bad stomach-ache, which makes them throw themselves down with their bellies to the ground until the pain abates; the same potato, raw, is efficaceous for killing worms in the galls of animals.

[222] Another food in times of scarcity is the Caraguata; this
[252] is a kind of aloe with leaves without the oily liquid; the edible part is the roots, which have a flavor like mandioca; it is considerable work to pull them out of the ground, where they are firmly attached, and the mealy substance is /253/ little enough; to eat it, it is roasted in the coals or under the ashes. When it is the time for fruits and want threatens, the Chiriguano

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,1/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c ce 133 226 shall see that the methods of fishing differ somewhat in the different rivers. At the Rio Pilcomayo the Indians must always have found a good supply of food. As many Chiriguano live by very insignificant streams they never have the opportunity of fishing. The Chané all live in places c ce where they are able to procure fish during some part [361] of the year at least.

c ce 224 Big game is scarce in the land of the Chiriguano and Chané. Nor are these Indians keen huntsmen. One seldom sees game that has been killed by them in their huts. c ce The great flocks of fat pigeons that settle in their fields are [223] for the most part left unmolested.

c ce 241 243 As we shall see in the following the Chiriguano and Chané live mostly by tilling the ground. Owing to the comparative dryness of their land maize is cultivated more than anything else. It is the ease with which this plant can be grown here, that makes the land of the Chiriguano and Chané a good land to dwell in.

c ce 222 The fruit of the carob-tree (algarrobo) is the most important wild fruit. Probably no careful study has ever been made of the climatic conditions of the Chiriguano and c ce Chané country. It is situated in the tropics, north of the 132 tropic of Capricorn and the traveller there of course suffers more from heat than cold. In May and June especially, however, when there is a strong south wind, it is agreeable to have a well built house, warm clothes and a snug bed. The rains begin in December and leave off in April or May. ce It sometimes happens that there is little or no rain and then [244] the crops are a failure. They are often destroyed by grasshoppers.

/345 cont./

433 224 178 Outside these official expeditions they doubtless used to hunt for pleasure or simply to interrupt the monotony of their menu.

224 411 Quadrupeds were killed with arrows with lanceolate tips, originally of wood, today of iron (Plates VIII and IX, 2); small game, with arrows tipped with a barbed wooden rod [223] (Plate IX, 3-5). Birds were taken in traps or felled with a special arrow having a splayed ferrule (Plates X-XI).

224 [231] Anyone who has seen the little dogs of the Chiriguano Indians, with elongated /346/ muzzle, pointed ears, short hair, and arched tail will ask with surprise how animals so miserable, stupid, and snappish could have been trained to render service to man. Nevertheless, such seems to have been the case. For hunting the peccary, for example, the Indians employ the dogs, who track them and /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ force them to hide in their dens, from which they are smoked out and felled with blows of a stick when they try to run away. At least this is how the inhabitants of the village of Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) told me they had killed a peccary which they showed me at the time I was there.

433 224 184 For the modern Chiriguano, hunting has lost its reason for existing as an activity having an economic character, except perhaps /Plates VIII, IX, X, and XI appear here/ /347/ /Fig. 14 appears here/ for those of this nation who live [352] in the region of the upper Pilcomayo. At least this is the im- [412] pression I had after examining their huts: the bedsteads or wooden cots were often covered with peccary skins and the old deerhorn awls (Fig. 12) numerous enough to be able to be exchanged for a trifle. The relative abundance of these objects proves that among these Indians hunting has not been relegated /Fig. 15 appears here/ to the rank of a simple sport and that it keeps, at least in part, its past importance. [797] The contrast is striking if one then goes into the zone of the Franciscan missions: there, more peccary skins, more [411] perforators made of deerhorn, more ostrich feathers. In the villages of the upper Pilcomayo there is no cabin, poor as it may be, in which a bow and a bundle of arrows are not slipped

[Text Continues on P. 89]

411
284

223
231

Fig. 14. Hunting arrow. Chiriguano. The point is formed by an iron rod to which a nail has been fastened to form a barb. This point is held in the shaft by means of a wooden peg. Prov.: Ñawirenda. (1/4 nat. size.)

Fig. 15. Upper tip of a lorero (long wand with a noose at the end, with which the Chiriguano catch wild parrots they have attracted by means of tame ones). Prov.: Ivu. (1/3 nat. size.)

/347 cont./

433 between the roof beams. Once out of this region the ethnog-
224 rapher will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire
184 these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him,
[411] they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an old man or crudely made specimens without any value other than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some rare lover of hunting.

224 The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendí
411 are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using
184 it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were intended, from what they told me, for killing the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.). They are long reeds armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate IX, 1). One must not conclude that the yakú, abundant as they may be, rep-
[433] resent an appreciable food resource. Besides, hunting is scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for
[126] fun. The Indian who gave up to me the handsomest lot of
[425] these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained to me, /348/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them without his consent.

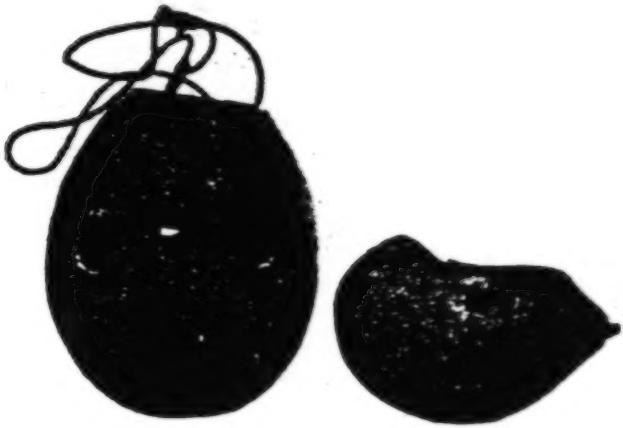
857 Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shoot-
868 ing with a bow than ours. One can see them run around the
224 village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows (Plate XII, 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach. Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16 appears here./

● 223 Some Indians of the Caipipendí valley sold me large
[126] bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts. That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are certainly not numerous in this region; in a month's stay I
287 did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17
439 appears here/ feather dusters, which the Chiriguano sell in the

[Text continues on p. 91]

231
223

Fig. 16. Perch with troughs for tame parrots which the Chiriguano use for catching wild ones. Prov.: Ñawirenda. (1/10 nat. size.)



231
415
825

Fig. 17. Perforated calabashes in which the Chiriguano put chicks to protect them from birds of prey. Prov.: a. Carurutí; b. Ibopeytí. (1/4 nat. size.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The migrations, wars, and the religious conversion of the *Chiriguano* have been the subjects of many historical monographs. The most important of these are by Corrado (1884), Serrano y Sanz (1898), Domínguez (1918), Gaulia (1929 a, and b), Métraux (1930 b), Coni (1925), Moreno (1929), and Finot (1939). The Jesuit missionary work among the *Chiriguano* has been described by Lozano (1941) and Muriel (1918).

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

As today *Chiriguano* and *Chané* share in the same culture, the following data may apply to both tribes.

Farming.—The *Chané*, conquered by the *Chiriguano*, were proficient farmers who, though practicing a tropical type of agriculture, were probably acquainted with many of the methods of cultivation of the Andean area. The *Chiriguano* adopted their traditions. The new habitat of the *Chiriguano* did not offer the same resources for hunting and fishing as had their homeland. Therefore, these Indians depend on farming to a larger extent than any other *Tupí-Guaraní tribe*. The basis of their livelihood is maize, of which they have 11 varieties, all related to those of Paraguay. Then follow in order of importance: Pumpkins, beans (11 varieties), sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, peanuts, and some Barbary figs (*Opuntia* sp). Sweet potatoes were grown on a large scale by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

These Indians also raise cotton, tobacco, urucú, and, in the Parapeti region, reeds for arrow shafts (*Arundo donax*). Plants of the Old World adopted by the *Chiriguano* include melons, watermelons, oranges, sugarcane, and sorghum.

Chiriguano men clear the fields and surround them with a tall fence as a protection against the inroads of wild or domesticated animals, a task which is considered to be particularly strenuous. They also till the soil, but at harvest time they are assisted by the women and children. The latter, armed with slings, drive away the parakeets and other birds which prey on the crops. Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 183) observed that among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro region, large maize fields were tended by men while pumpkins and beans were raised by the women.

Collecting wild food.—When their crops fail, the *Chiriguano* subsist on the same species of pods and fruits as those collected by the Chaco Indians: Algarrobo, tusca, mistol, caraguatá, and other plant foods.

Hunting.—Hunting is a very secondary economic activity, at least in modern times. Peccaries, which are the main game animal, are hunted with specially trained dogs and killed with bows and arrows or with clubs. Rheas, which are abundant in the Chaco plains, are caught with bolas. Pigeons are captured with clap nets. Special arrows with two points are used for hunting yacu birds (*Penelope* sp.).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 226

Fishing.—Fishing is worth while only for those *Chiriguano* and *Chané* who live along the upper Pilcomayo or Bermejo Rivers and, to lesser extent, for the *Chané* of the Parapetí and Itiyuro Rivers. Methods of fishing vary somewhat with the regions. Along the Pilcomayo River, fish are caught with iron hooks, with dipnets, similar to those of the Chaco Indians, with the bow and arrow, and with long two-pronged spears. Fishing baskets are used in combination with stone dams (fig. 57).

C Ce [171]

C 226

FIGURE 57.—*Chiriguano* fish dam in the Pilcomayo River. *A* is entrance; *B* are pockets where fish are caught. (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1920, fig. 14.)

Ce 226 [462]

Among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro, fishing is done almost exclusively by women and children. They use hooks, but more often they capture fish in small ponds which they cut from the main stream by means of weirs. They also catch small fish in narrow-necked gourds into which they place chicha dregs as a bait. The *Chané* of the Parapetí scoop fish with nets or shoot them with arrows tipped with a bundle of cactus thorns (Nordenskiöld, 1912, pp. 184–185).

C 231

Domesticated animals.—Modern *Chiriguano* raise sheep, cattle, horses, and chickens. Their dogs are so completely mongrel that their European or Indian origin cannot be ascertained. The *Chiriguano* were probably acquainted with chickens when they arrived in their present territory, for they use a *Guaraní* term for them. Pets are not numerous in their villages; most of them are parrots which were captured by means of a noose attached to the end of a long pole. In order to approach the wild birds, the Indians use tame parrots and decoys.

C [223]

C 252

Cooking.—Maize is prepared in a great many ways. The grains are eaten on the cob, roasted in special pans, boiled in water, or ground into flour, which is served with every meal. One method of preparing maize flour is to steam it in a perforated bowl.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 372

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

C 411

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

C [223] Ce [226] [411] [824]

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

Ce 411 824

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

C 411 [191] [178]

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

Ce [411] Ce [824]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

C 621 613 596 594

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

C 622 [643]

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

C 623 756 357 565 622

/52 cont./

*136 uprising, should this pair of owls start to sing on occasion in
*825 a town or near the house of some whites. The second is called "Surumucucu," because its cry sounds like this. Neither of the two is harmful. They are plentiful where there are trees; the first eats bats, toads, and mice, for which reason it is not attractive to the Chiriguano, but it is a very
● [223] pretty bird, and its feathers are like the finest velvet. The
[262] second is good food for the Indians, who hunt it on bright moonlit nights.

CARDINAL. -- A little bird the size of a swallow, with a red crest, ash-gray feathers, and a white breast. The region of the cardinals begins in Parapiti Grande; occasionally a pair of them appear in some part of Yvu, and there are also some in the countryside of Carandaiti. I have seen them in both places, as I have also seen flocks of 15 to 20 in Parapiti. It has no peculiarity other than its crest and its song at certain
[439] times of the day. The Chiriguano Indians of Parapiti and some Tapii of Isoso try to catch this little bird alive and take it to the interior of the Republic, to Sucre or Potosí, to sell or trade it /53/ for used clothing; in this sense it is a small, lucrative business.

*136 CARPINTERO or PICAMADEROS /woodpecker/. -- This
*[825] is a black bird with a fiery red crest, and it is called "Arapatuare" in Chiriguano. When it flies away in fright, it makes a loud noise with its wings, is fast, and flies in a straight line. It is the continual desire of this little creature the size of a rondón to clamber tirelessly about dry and hollow trees, beating on them with its hard beak in order to make come out and to eat the insects that they contain. Sometimes the traveler, upon hearing these noises in the woods, believes that someone is cutting firewood and doing carpentry, or is inclined to believe, from the prolonged rattling of a hollow, dry tree being struck by the woodpecker, that it is about to fall, if he does not know that it is being pecked by this little bird. Both of these things have happened to me on occasion.
[223] The Chiriguano does not waste time hunting the woodpecker, because it is a semisolitary bird, and scarcely three or four
[859] are found together in one place. Only the children hunt them for fun and in order to learn to be accurate in the handling of bow and arrow.

/54 cont./

#136 are somewhat grown. the condors have another procedure when the former are far from their mothers: two or three condors together push them toward some precipice. beating them with their wings. and. as they cannot escape. they run from side to side at the edge of the precipice and easily slip and fall into it. where. if they are not killed. they are left unable to run. either because they may have injured their legs or because the place they fell into is too narrow. The birds that did this then come down. as do others that see it. and they strike the animal repeatedly with their cruel wings and beaks and make an excellent lunch or supper of it. returning the next day to finish and to look for other careless calves.

[223] Nobody hunts condors. because they have no charm for either the Indians or the whites: the latter. of course. must defend their cattle when the condor is harmful. the same as is done with the jaguar. It is difficult to kill the latter because of its boldness and ferocity. and it is just as difficult to kill the former. because it will take flight at once. since it knows instinctively when it has done some notable harm. Nevertheless. as the number of cattle is great everywhere. the damage that these two creatures do is not great since it is not done to a single owner.

#136 CHUÑA /South American crane/. -- Some say that this
#825 semiflying bird is the "snake hunter." that is. the bird which
[228] hunts and feeds on vipers and snakes. but it seems that they are not correct. since the Chiriguano who constantly hunt it to eat its meat insist that its food is not snakes. but other small animals. such as beetles. locusts. crickets. and other insects. from which it can be deduced that the others are in error. The Indians from the right bank of the Parapiti southward call this bird "Sariama." and from the left northward the Indians and whites call it "Socori." as it is called in Guarayos.

#136 The chuña has long red legs. ash-gray feathers. and a crest: it runs across the pampas and low hills a great deal and also flies sometimes. especially when it is pursued. It sings in the morning /55/ and in the evening. They are in every section. but not abundantly: they generally go in the company

/55 cont./

*136 of a mate. and at the most there are three of them. Both sing at the same time. The female begins. and then the male continues. the song thus being prolonged for some four or five minutes. It is a very strange song or cry. They say

* [825] that these birds announce the approach of wind or rain. and. if it is cloudy. they foretell the approach of clear or cloud-

• [223] less weather. Hunters who do not have the help of good dogs can only capture this bird with difficulty. because it runs and flies when hard pressed.

GARZA /heron/. -- This is a rather large. but light bird. It has a thick and somewhat long beak. flies little. and its locale is the lakes. ponds. and banks of rivers. where it finds

* [825] its food. There are two kinds. one completely white. very white. for which reason the Chiriguano call it "Guirauri. " or white bird. and the other is ash-gray and stays in the same places.

[223] The Chiriguano do not hunt them. because they have very little meat.

GALLINAZO /buzzard/. -- This is a black bird.and repugnant to the sight. especially because of its bald head and neck: it feeds on the carcasses of dead animals. even a human body. nor does it refuse the chance to rip out the entrails and kill calves. lambs. and newborn suckling pigs. which it finds asleep and at a distance from their mothers. In the first instance it continues an excellent purifier of the air by making all the miasmas which come from the carrion disappear. because when there is any they finish it off in a few hours. for when it is abundant many of them gather. The buzzards discover dead animals and cattle killed by the jaguar: there are usually some turkey buzzards over the cattle and sheep corrals. where. despite the cleaning that they do. they sooner or later cause some damage.

[223] The Indian rarely hunts the buzzard. because its meat is

[262] tough and strong-smelling. He does. however. kill it oc-

*825 casionally as a remedy. The warm blood of this animal is

757 of some use in curing his double chin /papada/. or that of his daughter. who may be ashamed of such a protuberance. For this purpose the blood is placed on a strip of linen and tied around the throat. They state that it does have some effect. but this must have to do with incipient double-chins of a few ounces.

/57 cont./

*136 saddle their horses as if they were going out to hunt wild beasts.

*136 *825 Other Christians and Chiriguano also defend their fields from parrots in a different way. They kill two or three dogs, or, lacking these, goats or old sheep, put them in the tops of trees a certain distance apart in the fields, and the parrots will not even come close to them. Let my readers not believe, however, that parrots are afraid of corpses, as some or most people believe around here; what they are running away from are the buzzards, who flutter about their meal or who sit in the said trees, attracted by the bait, for which reason one must take the precaution of placing the bait where the buzzards cannot reach it with their beaks or where it is not easy for them to roost. Thus some become tired and others arrive, the maize ripens, dries, and the parrots will go on their way or go to eat the seed of the soto, which is also abundant at farming time. Nevertheless, most people prefer to have their children in the fields to shout continuously to scare off the parrots or to shoot arrows and throw stones at them. [862] Even the adult Chiriguano engage in this work, because the meat of the parrot is very delicious, in spite of the fact that some are very tough, and they prefer it to any other bird, wild or domesticated. /58/ In order to catch talking parrots [223] alive, they tie up a tame one, and they capture with traps the companions who approach the prisoner.

*136 HORNERO. -- This little bird is called "Tiantía" in Chiriguano. It is red in color and is the size of the gorrión /a Spanish bird some 12 centimeters long from head to tail/. It is tame and not easily frightened, doubtless because nobody chases it. It is called hornero /baker/ because of the structure of its nest. What an admirable thing that so small a bird should make with its beak a true oven in miniature! When it has just rained, the little mason then begins to make its house, but if the rain is late, it flies to the shores of rivers, rapids, or lakes and gathers the necessary material. It is not satisfied with an old house; it wants a new one every year. For this reason certain trees or their branches are full of these ovens.

/59 cont./

*136 MATICO. -- This is a very pretty little bird with three colors: yellow, red, and black. The first color predominates. It is easily tamed, but its song is not varied. It is amusing to put it in front of a mirror, especially if it is a male. It will ruffle up, sing vigorously, and charge at its reflected figure, believing it to be its competitor. As far as the right bank of the Parapiti River, beyond the last ridge of the Andes, which is called Aguaragüe, not a single one is seen. They begin to be seen on the left bank precisely at the San Francisco Mission. The San Antonio del Parapiti Mission, located on the same bank, is scarcely 5,490 meters away from the San Francisco one, and nevertheless nobody sees a matico around it. Either it cannot find adequate food there, or the cold of the mornings may be felt more because the mountains are very close. The Chiriguano and Tapii catch the matico alive and take it far away to sell it. [223] [439]

MIRLO /blackbird/. -- This type of bird is not numerous in the region nor is it found everywhere. It likes to stay where there are streams of water so that it can sing to its satisfaction. It is shiny black and somewhat large. It sings strongly and very well after the sun rises and before this heavenly body sets. The clear, loud song of this bird, which can be heard at a great distance, is a delight to the traveler. The whites call it chivango.

MURCIÉLAGO /bat/. -- Bats are abundant in the hot season and are very repugnant; they establish their domain in certain buildings with a straw roof or in a similar place, dirtying everything with their droppings and causing true loathing. Churches which have paneled ceilings and which have no screens or gratings in their windows are full of these repugnant animals, and wherever they dwell there is little cleanness. At night they bite every kind of animal and even a sleeping man. There are two types of them, one small and the other large.

/59 cont./

*825 773 The Chiriguano Indian has a confused idea about the end of the world, which he calls "ara iyapi," a temporal term. At that time, he says, "andira guasu," a large bat, will appear, will eat us up, and everything will come to an end. The lechuza and the buho are enemies of the bat, and they kill it not just for the sake of killing, but because it is delicious food for them.

*136 *[825] PALOMA /dove/. -- There are four types, to wit: torcaces /wild pigeons/, monteñas, ulinchas, and tórtolas /turtledoves/, whose respective names in /60/ Chiriguano are "picasu, picasúi, picui, yeruti." The large ones go in flocks which obscure the sun in the season and after the maize harvest in May, June, July, and August. The middle-sized ones are called monteñas, because their regular abode is in the thickets; they too are numerous and perhaps more delicious than the first. They are as sociable as the torcaces, and they fly in very large flocks. The ulinchas, which are very small, are much more abundant and delicious; they approach houses and even come into the patios. They look for trees with full tops to sleep in. The last-named, as I have already said, are a kind of turtledove and go in pairs. Their song is very sad.

• 223 To catch the torcaces the Indian climbs a tree where they roost in numbers and sets and ties one which he has caught alive; he makes a kind of oven with straw, open underneath, and hides there. He carries arrows and waits for the torcaces to come to visit their companion, and, if they do not see the enemy who is hidden there, they are wounded and many fall, until the Indian runs out of arrows. The same thing is done on the ground where they come down to drink.

They kill the monteñas and ulinchas at night. Both children and adults go about with torches of fire, the latter blinds them, they fall, and they kill them with clubs. In May and June in certain pampas and low hills, a spectator may think he is witnessing the strategy which Hannibal used against Fabius Maximus, when, in order to make his way through the narrow pass of Casilino Valley near the Volturno

/60 cont./

• 223 River, he tied inflammable material to the horns of 2,000 oxen, lighted it, and drove the oxen up to the heights, thus managing to get through and gain a victory over the Roman army, which, believing the oxen to be enemies running in every direction, abandoned the narrow pass to defend other positions and was defeated the next day. In the above-mentioned months young men and children sleep little at night in order to go hunting for doves and to have a delicious meal the next day with their families, since the slaughter of doves and other little birds which are unfortunate enough to sleep near them is great.

[221] [262]

*136 PATO /duck/. -- Where there are lakes or ponds there are innumerable ducks of many sizes and colors; some are so large that they seem to be geese. There are black, white, pink, and brown ones; the last are fat and delicious. The Chiriguano eats the meat of the duck, but he does not pursue it, because he finds this so difficult. When he can, he hunts it, but more because this web-footed bird puts or deposits its eggs on the shores of a lake, on top of the grass or hidden among the reeds which grow near lakes; these are /61/ avidly sought by young and old, men and women, because the water is not deep in these places. The duck is called "Ipe" in Chiriguano which is, literally in the water, since lake is called "Ipa," or wide or extended water.

[262] [223] [222]

PAVA /turkey/. -- They have their favorite places and do not go far from them; they will be found there exactly at sunrise and before nightfall. They reveal themselves when a hunter or anyone else approaches, because they immediately begin to cackle and to fly from tree to tree in fear, which causes a disagreeable noise. The turkeys are as big as a large chicken, with quite a long tail and black feathers. There are two kinds: the larger one is called "Yacu" and is found in abundance from the right bank of the stream Cuevo; the others are called charatas by the whites, "Anancua" in Chiriguano. These are numerous from the left bank of the Parapiti River in the province of Lagunillas.

*[825]

/61 cont./

*136 Both types are very delicious, but the charata is best.
[231] Charatas are easily domesticated when small. The male is very ferocious in the domesticated state, attacks everybody, even the people of the house. The charatas make a great racket before sunrise with their strong and repugnant cackling. Cuevo is some 20 leagues from Parapiti and a little more than two from the Yvu Mission; a charata is neither seen nor heard in the former region or in its vicinity, but an occasional pair of them is found in the latter, and as one goes north from this mission toward Parapiti, the number of these birds increase.

*[825] PELICAN. -- This bird is called "Tanga" in Chiriguano, because when it sings it seems to be saying, "Tangá, Tinguí, Tangá." River banks and lake shores are its locale. There it finds its food. It feeds on newly born toads, which have a little tail, and it also eats small fish. It sleeps in trees and flies perfectly in spite of its size. It flies at a great height, and along its way it sings every so often, and the Indians say that when the pelican sings rain is near. This bird is not numerous; they always go by twos and sometimes threes.
[262] Their meat is good to the Chiriguano.

PERDIZ /partridge/. -- This type of bird is not lacking either in the Chiriguano area. Partridges are of three types, each larger than the other. They live in the pampas, in the woods, and in the hills. In the idiom the true partridge is called "Inambu," the second, which has a preference for the hills, is called "Guáico," and it whistles like muleteers who are driving asses. The third, which is the codorniz /quail/, is called /62/ "Inambu tindi." There is a fourth large partridge, which is like the first, but red in color, and for this reason is called "Inambu pinta," but the guáico is the
[223] largest of them all. The Indians hunt all of them with the help of dogs trained for this purpose.

PICAFLOR /hummingbird/. -- Many of these birds are seen, but it seems that there is only one species here. These are the smallest ones, and in Chiriguano the picaflor is called "Chino." It can hang its nest on any little branch of a tree and also in the straw or hollow cane of the roofs. It is only

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c ce 133 226 shall see that the methods of fishing differ somewhat in the different rivers. At the Rio Pilcomayo the Indians must always have found a good supply of food. As many Chiriguano live by very insignificant streams they never have the opportunity of fishing. The Chané all live in places where they are able to procure fish during some part of the year at least.

c ce [361]

Big game is scarce in the land of the Chiriguano and Chané. Nor are these Indians keen huntsmen. One seldom sees game that has been killed by them in their huts. The great flocks of fat pigeons that settle in their fields are for the most part left unmolested.

c ce 224 c ce [223]

As we shall see in the following the Chiriguano and Chané live mostly by tilling the ground. Owing to the comparative dryness of their land maize is cultivated more than anything else. It is the ease with which this plant can be grown here, that makes the land of the Chiriguano and Chané a good land to dwell in.

c ce 241 243

The fruit of the carob-tree (algarrobo) is the most important wild fruit. Probably no careful study has ever been made of the climatic conditions of the Chiriguano and Chané country. It is situated in the tropics, north of the tropic of Capricorn and the traveller there of course suffers more from heat than cold. In May and June especially, however, when there is a strong south wind, it is agreeable to have a well built house, warm clothes and a snug bed. The rains begin in December and leave off in April or May. It sometimes happens that there is little or no rain and then the crops are a failure. They are often destroyed by grasshoppers.

c ce 222 c ce 132 c ce [241]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

IV.

Hunting Equipment.

C
Ce
411
[224]
C
[223]

The Chiriguano and the Chané are not keen huntsmen. They are rarely seen out hunting. Their hunting-weapons are the bow and arrow, the pellet-bow, clubs, slings, and snares, all of their own manufacture. The Chiriguano have bird-nets too, and formerly they had the bola as well. The Chiriguano and the Chané have no weapons exclusively used in warfare. Formerly they had lances[1]).

Ce
411

The bow and arrow are going quite out of use among these Indians except for fishing and as a weapon for boys. The degenerate type of bow now seen among the Chané and Chiriguano is certainly not original. According to LIZARRAGA[2]) the Chiriguano used to have bows of a man's height. It is of great interest to learn from LIZÁRRAGA that the Chiriguano used to protect their left wrist with a small piece of wood to prevent the skin being grazed by the bow-string. Something similar occurs among the Ashluslay (see Part I. P. 42).

C
[714]

C
Ce
411
[137]
[824]
[171]*

Their arrows are very like those used by the Choroti and Ashluslay. The arrow shafts are of the same kind of reed[3]). At the Rio Parapiti this plant, which grows abundantly beside the Rio Pilcomayo is cultivated by the Indians. On the Rio Parapiti there is a place called Ouivarenda, which means »where there is chuchio.» This plant, the *Gynerium* sp. whose seed-stalks so many Indian tribes use

[1]) CHOMÉ P. 331.

[2]) P. 328.[4] »Andan desnudos y quando mucho qual ó qual tiene una camisetilla hasta el ombligo; . . . son grandes flecheros; sus armas son arco y flecha; el arco tan grande como el mismo que lo tira, y porque la cuerda no lastime la mano izquierda, en la muñeca encajan un trocillo de madera y allí da la cuerda».

[3]) *Arundo donax.*

[4] [Errata: this should read "See Serrano y Sanz P. 328."
(errata sheet, Cat. 116, P. 245 -- Analyst.]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

of the Choroti and Ashluslay. As far as I know they are only used for hunting peccary. These animals are brought to bay by dogs and killed with clubs. I do not venture to say where this most primitive kind of club originated.

Ee 441 [224]

Fig. 9.

Fig. 11.

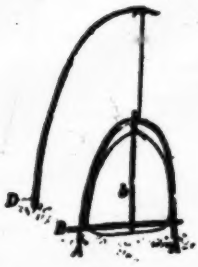


Fig. 12.

Fig. 10.

Ee 441 223 224

Fig. 9. Club of hard wood. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 580. $^1/_8$.
" 10. Parrot-snare. Chané, Rio Parapiti. R. M. P. $^1/_{11}$.
" 11. Parrot-snare made of a piece of twine and a feather. The specimen depicted is from the Tapiete. R. M. I. 267. $^1/_2$.
" 12. Snare. Chané, Rio Itiyuro.

Ee [287]

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
223

At least three kinds of bird snares are used. One is a snare fixed onto a long rod (fig. 10).

It is used in the following way: A tame parrot is tied to a thick bush in which the hunter is concealed. When the wild parrots, which have been decoyed by the confined parrot, settle in the bush, they are snared by the Indian hidden there. I have seen similar rod-snares among the Chané and the Tapiete. According to GUMILLA[1]) snares of this kind were used for quail-hunting on the Llanos de Casanàre, in Chìre and Tocaria, at Neyva and Vaguè and at the Rio Tercero between Buenos Aires and Tucumau.

C
Ce
* [171]

According to GUMILLA, HERRERA[2]) speaks of these snares being used in hunting parrots in Cuba. According to MARTIUS[3]) Indian boys in Brazil used these snares. Unfortunately he does not mention in what tribe or tribes he saw them. DE PAULA SOUZA[4]) speaks of the same kind of snare from the Caingang, VASCONCELLOS[5]) from Indians on the Brazilian coast, and AMBROSETTI from the Cainguá[6]).

C
Ce
223
* 171

Another bird snare found among the Chané is the one depicted here (fig. 12). Snares constructed on the same or a similar principle I have seen among the Choroti. KOCH-GRÜNBERG[7]) depicts similar snares, in use among the Indians by the Rio Caiarý in northwestern Brazil, and AMBROSETTI from the Cainguá[8]). It is certain that similar snares are found among many other Indians, though they have not been studied particularly. As I have already mentioned in the first part of this book I will in time describe what I have collected in the way of snares and traps during

[1]) T. 2, P. 299.
[2]) Decada I, lib. 9, cap. 4.
[3]) (1) P. 669.
[4]) P. 744.
[5]) P. LXXVIIII.
[6]) (7) P. 728.
[7]) (2) Vol. I, p. 227.
[8]) (7) P. 730.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,f (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
102
223
224
171
S
102
223
224

Jamaica
Guadeloupe
Martinique
Barbados
Curacao
Tobago
Trinidad
Cartagena
Caracas
Ciudad Bolivar
Kaieteur
Kaieteur
Jurumu Falls
Cerro de Pasco
Ocaña T.2. p. 291
Suarez de Ceperda p. 317
Bogota
Jornada de Omagua y Dorado p. 448
Ortiguera p. 370
Castellanos p. 157
Quito
Iquitos
Rio Negro
Rio Branco
Rio Madeira
Rio Tapajoz
Rio Xingu
Rio Tocantins
Rio Araguaya
Rio Sao Francisco
Rio Paraguay
Rio Paraná
Rio Uruguay
Rio Parana
Rio Pilcomayo
Rio Bermejo
Rio Salado
Rio Colorado
Rio Negro
Rio Chubut
Rio Santa Cruz
Rio Gallegos
Rio Chico
Rio Deseado
Rio Chico
Rio Chubut
Rio Negro
Rio Colorado
Rio Salado
Rio Bermejo
Rio Pilcomayo
Rio Parana
Rio Uruguay
Rio Paraná
Rio Paraguay
Rio Sao Francisco
Rio Tocantins
Rio Araguaya
Rio Xingu
Rio Tapajoz
Rio Madeira
Rio Branco
Rio Negro
Rio Uaupes
Rio Vaupes
Rio Guaviare
Rio Meta
Rio Ucayali
Rio Pachitea
Rio Pastaza
Rio Napo
Rio Putumayo
Rio Caquetá
Rio Yapura
Rio Jurua
Rio Purus

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
223
*171
C
Ce
223
224
*171
114

my travels. Though rather an extensive collection, it is quite insufficient for comparative researches.

The bird-nets used for hunting, occasionally found among (4) the Chiriguano, are of great interest (fig. 13 and map 4). I have not seen hunting nets elsewhere. Bird-nets are mentioned by several writers from the Alakaluf. These Indians and the Chonos were also acquainted with seal-nets. The statements in literature about these nets are to be found in COOPER'S[1]) excellent work. CREVAUX speaks of hunting nets from (4S) the Miraña[2]). UHLE[3]) mentions finds of the kind in Atacama. JOYCE[4]) speaks of nets that were used for hunting deer and birds on the coast of Peru. He depicts a very interesting earthenware vessel found at Trujillo representing a deer-hunt in which the huntsmen used the throwing stick and the hunting net. COBO[5]) speaks of bird-nets from the Inca. PALOMINO[6]) mentions nets used for deer-hunting from Chuquimayo in northern Peru. Hunting-nets are also mentioned by ORTIGUERA[7]) and by the author of Jornada de Omagua y Dorado[8]) from the Aruaquinos on the Amazon. From what OVIEDO Y VALDES[9]) says, the Indians also used hunting nets on the Rio Orinoco. GOMARA[10]) mentions nets from Cumaná in which ant-eaters were caught.

---

[1]) P. 190.

[2]) After DENIKER (2) P. 640. «Quoique vivant sur les bords de rivières poissoneuses, ils ne pêchent point et se bornent à chasser comme les anciens Quichua à l'aide de filets tendus entre les arbres, dans lesquels ils poussent, à force de cris et de gestes, les bêtes effarouchées.»

[3]) (5) P. 100.

[4]) (1) P. 124.

[5]) T. 4, P. 225.

[6]) P. XLVIII.

[7]) P. 370.

[8]) P. 448.

[9]) T. 2, P. 221. «Toman codorniçes y conexos y tórtolas en mucha cantidad con laços y redes: assi tambien zorras y raposos, como muchos puercos salvajes de los que llaman *vaquiras*.»

[10]) P. 206.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

SUAREZ DE CEPEDA[1]) in his most interesting treatise on the Colima-Indians in Columbia, tells us that they tried to catch comets, which they imagined to be birds, with nets which they placed in their fields. This seems to prove that these Indians knew the use of bird nets. CASTELLANOS[2]) states that the Indians in the valley of the Patia (in southern Columbia) tried to catch the Spaniards' horses with nets. Most all of these authors who speak of the hunting net belong to the sixteenth century. This should give those who are doing work like mine some food for reflection. It proves how perfectly indispensable this old literature is as a means of learning the ethnology of the S. American Indians. *How imperfect a map of this kind would have been without the old literature!* One may ask why hunting nets are so scarce now. This is apparently owing to the fact that in most places where hunting nets have been in use the Indians have lost their original civilization. The above authors not having given us a detailed description of the nets, we do not know if they resemble those used by the Chiriguano. We are not even always told what was caught in these hunting nets.

C
ce
223
224
171*
114

The deer-nets used on the Peruvian coast were of course considerably larger than the nets used here. Their shape also was quite different. The Chiriguano nets are clap-nets and are used in the following way. The net is spread on the ground at a spot where there are plenty of pigeons. The pigeons are decoyed with maize to settle between the two halves of the net. A string runs from the net to a fowler

C
223

---

[1]) P. 517. »Los rrayos que se estienden y esparcen de la cola ó cabeça de la cometa dizen que son plumas y pelos del paxaro que yendo bolando las vá despidiendo para fin de las cosas que viene á acabar: y para mitigar y rregalar la yra de la furia atajando por algun buen medio ..... y en sus labranças arman unas rredes de hilo muy de proposito estas dizen que son para enrredar y caçar en ellas la pobre cometa.»

[2]) P. 457.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
223

hidden behind a bush or the like. With a pull of the string the man makes the net fall upon the maize-eating pigeons.

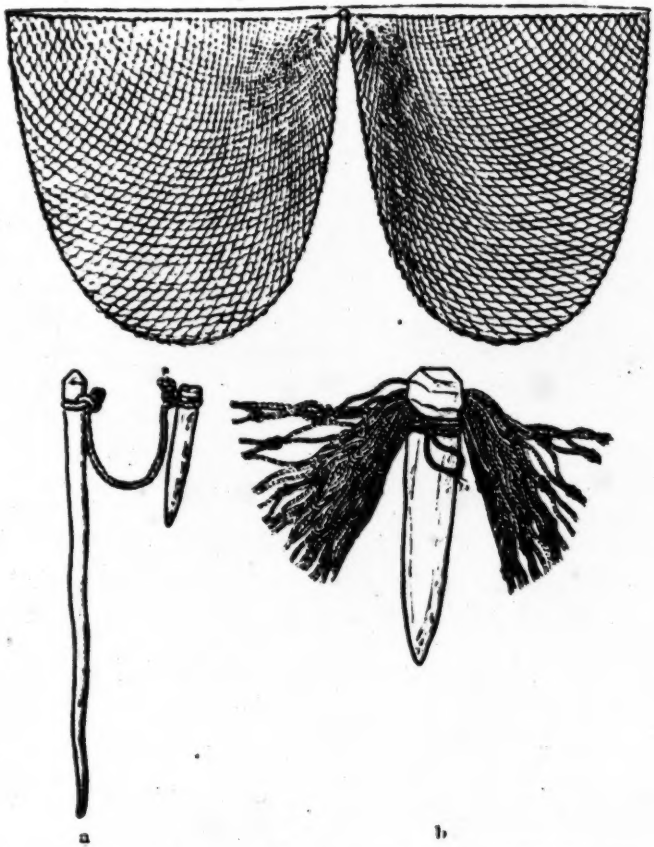


Fig. 13. Bird-net. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. R. M. E. 666. Breadth 385 cm.
a = Sticks fixed at sides of bird net. 1/12. b = Middle part of bird net. 1/4.

C
Ce
223
224
*171

Deer nets were stretched between poles, as is plainly seen in the picture on the vessel reproduced by JOYCE. The nets mentioned by GOMARA from Cumaná as well as those

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee 223 224 171

used by the Colima Indians to catch the »Comet-bird» were obviously also fixed nets.

We cannot prove that the different kinds of hunting-nets are of the same origin. Judging by the general distribution of the hunting-net in S. America, it is, however, likely that the Chiriguano learnt their use from the western culture zone. As has already been mentioned, COBO says that bird-nets occurred among the Inca.

/183 cont./

The Chané and the Chiriguano are not great hunters. Perhaps in former times there was more hunting. Their hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow. For hunting wild pigs they use clubs; for ostrich hunts the boleadora /bola/, "churima," was formerly used. Snares and bird nets are also found. In former times the hunters wore /184/ a costume of leather cut in imitation of a European cut, obviously copied from the Spaniards (1). This

1. Viedma already mentions this costume, p. 181.

was not permitted to hang in the house. Formerly, also among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, no meat could be cooked in the house; rather, this had to be done a short distance away. Boys are, of course, eager hunters of small birds. Like the men, they sometimes use clay-projectile bows.

There are hunting dogs specially trained for hunting wild pigs. In a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro I saw how all the dogs had a red cross painted on their heads, so that they would not be bitten by a mad dog running about in the vicinity. It was truly amusing to see how these heathen Chané protected their dogs against rabies with the sign of the cross.

Batirayu told me that Chané men, when they go hunting, are not permitted to sleep with their wives the night before.

Fishing is carried on differently in the various rivers.

In the Rio Itiyuro women and children almost exclusively do the fishing. There are only small fish there too. I saw three methods of fishing there. Angling, fishing with calabashes, and fishing by damming up pools. The fishhooks consist of bent needles obtained from the whites. Floats and sinkers are not used.

Fishing with calabashes is done in the following way. Several bunches of leaves, which give shade, are stuck in the bottom of the river, and in front of each of these is placed a calabash (Fig. 90) with sour, ground maize (residue from beer brewing). The fish gather in the calabashes, which are taken out from time to time by the women. The latter creep toward the calabash, quickly place a hand over the opening, lift /185/ it up, and then empty the contents into pits along the river bank.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

All arrow-shafts have the forepart strengthened by a waxed lashing of 411 bast or string, of a width from 5 to 11 cm. The rear end of the shaft is generally also reinforced with a waxed lashing, applied immediately above the string notch. This latter lashing is usually about 1 cm wide. In those of the arrows here reproduced that seem to be without notch-end lashing, this has become detached, except in the case of the arrow in fig. 40, which never was provided with a lashing of this kind.

I have mentioned in the foregoing that the Chiriguano cultivate a kind of reed plant (Arundo donax) in order to obtain therefrom a suitable material for making arrow-shafts. In making a reed into an arrow-shaft, the arrow-head is fitted to the thicker end of the reed (the lower part of the growing reed), because in this way, when the arrow is being discharged, the joints glide more easily over the bow stave than if the thinner end of the reed were turned to the front. The reed joints are, moreover, smoothed down with some sharp instrument in order to lessen the friction between arrow and stave. Arrow-shafts of a certain very light kind of wood are used by the Chiriguano of San Luis. Such wooden shafts I only saw on the long bird and fish arrows. I have never observed either arrow poison, or feathering on arrows, among the Chiriguano, but Nordenskiöld has seen feathered Chiriguano arrows.[1]

For bird-shooting the Chiriguano use arrows with club-shaped, wooden heads. The striking-face of this blob-head is usually slightly conical, and sometimes given a small, cylindrical projection (fig. 212). This type of arrow-head has been constructed for the purpose of preventing the arrow — if it misses its object — from fixing itself in the stem or branch of a tree, and of making it instead drop to the ground. As birds frequently are sitting high aloft in the trees, the hunter would not have much chance of recovering his arrow, on missing his bird,

[824]

2230
411

Fig. 206. 03. 3. 902. Fig. 207. 03. 3. 903. Arrows with lanceolate iron heads, and reed shafts. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. 1/6. Riksm.

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 26.

[Text continues on p. 212]

7: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

411
223

if the arrow had not been given such a blob-shaped head. The force with which this lumpy head strikes its object, is sufficient to kill a middling-sized bird, provided the range is not too wide. The projection is intended for penetrating the feathers of the bird, so that the arrow shall not glance off the smooth plumage if the arrow should strike the bird at too acute an angle. These lumpy-headed arrows do not, as a rule, pierce the skin of the animal hit, which may be of advantage in killing small game.

411
177
174

The pellet-bow is also used by the Chiriguano. Whether it forms a constituent part of South American culture, or whether it has been introduced from India or Europe, is a question not conclusively settled. For my part I consider it probable that also in South America this weapon is an independent invention, but that the type (especially as regards its chambering) possibly may have been subjected to influence from the *European* pellet-throwing crossbow.[1] The fact of the pellet-bow being, apparently, of more common occurrence on the Chaco than elsewhere, may be explained from proximity to the Andes, and influence from Andean civilization. Within the area of ancient Peruvian culture, the stone sling was the most important distance weapon, and we may be quite sure that the nations then inhabiting the wooded spurs of the eastern Andes got to know the stone slings of the mountain folk. In forest regions, however, slings are unpractical weapons, as, in the whirling preliminary to the throw, they are apt to get caught in tree branches. The idea of using pebbles as projectiles instead of arrows, has however been adopted by the forest-dwelling tribes, who have tried to convert it into shooting with the bow. A stone that has been shot away does not need to be retrieved, but the loss of an arrow is always a serious matter! To my mind, it is in this manner that the pellet-bow of South America has originated. In districts where there are no stones, as for instance the greater part of the Chaco, clay pellets are used instead of stones.

As an argument in support of the view that the pellet-bow is not originally a South American weapon, it has been pointed out that it is not found in Peru, Central America, or Mexico. Its absence in Peru is easily explained, as this country is in its greater part almost entirely treeless, so that here the stone sling would be a weapon so infinitely superior to the pellet-bow that the use of the latter would be purpose-

[1] For discussion of this matter, vide: Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 50—53. von Rosen (6), pp. 174—180. Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 28—30.

/39 cont./

C Ce 231 Tamed wild animals are rarely found inside their houses, except that they do have some parrots (182) /see footnote 182 above/.

Hunting

C Ce 224 [433] [411] [439] We have explained before that, because of the lack of animals that can be eaten in the territory of the Chiriguano and Chané, hunting is secondary among their means of subsistence, and in accordance with this we know through old documents that the feathers for their arrows were introduced to the Chiriguano by other Indian tribes who were their tributaries (183). The raising of domestic livestock gives them a

C Ce [231]

183. Moreno II, 121.

C 224 greater opportunity to obtain animal foodstuffs. In accordance with the fact that the Chiriguano, at least today, are not first-class hunters, the most common method of hunting among them is the use of traps (184). Nordenskiöld describes three

C 223

184. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 205.

different kinds of traps, all three of which are used for catching birds (185). The first kind consists of a simple noose and is used

185. Nord. 2, pp. 32, 33, and 85, Fig. 10, 12, and 13.

C [171] with the help of calls. The second kind, which is common among various other tribes of Indians, is used, for example, also by the Kaingua /Caingua/. The third kind consists of a net made in two parts and fixed to the ground by means of stakes. In one of the Chané legends recorded by Nordenskiöld, a trap for catching doves is mentioned (186).

Ce [173] [223]

186. Nord. 1, p. 279.

Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
411
174
175

/40 cont./

steadily progressing, a consequence of its degeneration resulting from its gradually falling into disuse.

Ce
411

The form of all the bows collected among the Izozó is the same, discounting the insignificant differences with regard to their length. The wood of the bow, which is approximately 3 cm. wide, is flat on the side towards the string and convex on the opposite side. To better fasten the bowstring, each of them is provided at its ends with a quite marked narrowing and always considerably shorter at the upper end than at the lower end. /41/ Three of these Izozó bows show, when not flexed, the reflex form already mentioned by v. Rosen with respect to the Chiriguano bows. The bowstring, made of twisted strips of animal hide, is fastened in the common manner used by South American Indians. By means of a noose with a knot, it goes around the narrowing of the upper end of the bow, while the loop at the lower end is made so that it can either shorten or lengthen the bowstring as necessary. Cf. Fig. 37, a and b /see p. 90/. In all these bows a large part of the string is rolled up as a reserve around the wood of the bow. Bow I. A. 757, whose wood shows cracks on the side toward the string, has wood reinforcements in two places, one of them consisting of a wrapping with thread and the other a piece of the skin of a cow's tail, which has been slipped like a sleeve over the wood of the bow. Cf. Figure 37 /see p. 90/.

Ce
411
183
[237]
[284]

Ce
[237]

Ce
411

The three bows I. A. 758-760, made of light-colored wood, correspond in form to the others, but they are poorly made and appear to be cheap merchandise for trading. Bow I. A. 760 even has a cable wire in place of a string.

C
411
524

The small Chiriguano bow I. A. 518 is a bow made for children for shooting light arrows with a wire point, which have been enumerated in great number in the above list.

C
Ce
411
[223]

The length of the arrows I collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó is somewhat behind with respect to the length of the corresponding bows. The longest among them is a Chiriguano arrow for shooting birds, fitted with a club rather than a point, with a length of 1.11 m. Among the arrows fitted with iron

/245 cont./

241 115 The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields. "Captain" Kamapadri made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations, without sparing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I answered that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

243 The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano

(305)

1. Corrado (p. 150) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacras nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whose laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

433 125 228 178 I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano villages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game. It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo, chuña /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Métr. pp. 249-250).

(151)

/345 cont./

433 224 198 Outside these official expeditions they doubtless used to hunt for pleasure or simply to interrupt the monotony of their menu.

224 411 Quadrupeds were killed with arrows with lanceolate tips, originally of wood, today of iron (Plates VIII and IX. 2); small game, with arrows tipped with a barbed wooden rod [223] (Plate IX. 3-5). Birds were taken in traps or felled with a special arrow having a splayed ferrule (Plates X-XI).

224 [231] Anyone who has seen the little dogs of the Chiriguano Indians, with elongated /346/ muzzle, pointed ears, short hair, and arched tail will ask with surprise how animals so miserable, stupid, and snappish could have been trained to render service to man. Nevertheless, such seems to have been the case. For hunting the peccary, for example, the Indians employ the dogs, who track them and /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ force them to hide in their dens, from which they are smoked out and felled with blows of a stick when they try to run away. At least this is how the inhabitants of the village of Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) told me they had killed a peccary which they showed me at the time I was there.

433 224 184 For the modern Chiriguano, hunting has lost its reason for existing as an activity having an economic character, except perhaps /Plates VIII, IX, X, and XI appear here/ /347/ /Fig. 14 appears here/ for those of this nation who live [352] in the region of the upper Pilcomayo. At least this is the im- [412] pression I had after examining their huts: the bedsteads or wooden cots were often covered with peccary skins and the old deerhorn awls (Fig. 12) numerous enough to be able to be exchanged for a trifle. The relative abundance of these objects proves that among these Indians hunting has not been relegated /Fig. 15 appears here/ to the rank of a simple sport and that it keeps, at least in part, its past importance. [199] The contrast is striking if one then goes into the zone of the Franciscan missions: there, more peccary skins, more [411] perforators made of deerhorn, more ostrich feathers. In the villages of the upper Pilcomayo there is no cabin, poor as it may be, in which a bow and a bundle of arrows are not slipped

[Text Continues on p. 89]

/347 cont./

433 between the roof beams. Once out of this region the ethnog-
224 rapher will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire
184 these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him,
[411] they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an old man or crudely made specimens without any value other than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some rare lover of hunting.

224 The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendí
411 are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using
184 it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were intended, from what they told me, for killing the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.). They are long reeds armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate IX, 1). One must not conclude that the yaku, abundant as they may be, rep-
[433] resent an appreciable food resource. Besides, hunting is scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for
[126] fun. The Indian who gave up to me the handsomest lot of
[425] these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained to me, /348/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them without his consent.

857 Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shoot-
868 ing with a bow than ours. One can see them run around the
224 village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows (Plate XII, 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach. Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16 appears here./

223 Some Indians of the Caipipendí valley sold me large
[126] bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts. That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are certainly not numerous in this region; in a month's stay I
287 did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17
439 appears here/ feather dusters, which the Chiriguano sell in the

[Text continues on p. 91]

/348 cont./

287 half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade
439 brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as
[484] Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each
[435] feather duster.

224 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the
178 Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago,
231 those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep,
433 goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last
435 years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills
[464] of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in
[465] recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often
471 even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently
231 costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the
[435] means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

[262] 1. In former times they used to feel an un-
[178] conquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to
556 diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text Continues on p. 93]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The migrations, wars, and the religious conversion of the *Chiriguano* have been the subjects of many historical monographs. The most important of these are by Corrado (1884), Serrano y Sanz (1898), Dominguez (1918), Gandia (1929 a, and b), Métraux (1930 b), Coni (1925), Moreno (1929), and Finot (1939). The Jesuit missionary work among the *Chiriguano* has been described by Lozano (1941) and Muriel (1918).

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

As today *Chiriguano* and *Chané* share in the same culture, the following data may apply to both tribes.

Farming.—The *Chané*, conquered by the *Chiriguano*, were proficient farmers who, though practicing a tropical type of agriculture, were probably acquainted with many of the methods of cultivation of the Andean area. The *Chiriguano* adopted their traditions. The new habitat of the *Chiriguano* did not offer the same resources for hunting and fishing as had their homeland. Therefore, these Indians depend on farming to a larger extent than any other *Tupí-Guaraní tribe*. The basis of their livelihood is maize, of which they have 11 varieties, all related to those of Paraguay. Then follow in order of importance: Pumpkins, beans (11 varieties), sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, peanuts, and some Barbary figs (*Opuntia* sp). Sweet potatoes were grown on a large scale by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

These Indians also raise cotton, tobacco, urucú, and, in the Parapeti region, reeds for arrow shafts (*Arundo donax*). Plants of the Old World adopted by the *Chiriguano* include melons, watermelons, oranges, sugarcane, and sorghum.

Chiriguano men clear the fields and surround them with a tall fence as a protection against the inroads of wild or domesticated animals, a task which is considered to be particularly strenuous. They also till the soil, but at harvest time they are assisted by the women and children. The latter, armed with slings, drive away the parakeets and other birds which prey on the crops. Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 183) observed that among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro region, large maize fields were tended by men while pumpkins and beans were raised by the women.

Collecting wild food.—When their crops fail, the *Chiriguano* subsist on the same species of pods and fruits as those collected by the Chaco Indians: Algarrobo, tusca, mistol, caraguatá, and other plant foods.

Hunting.—Hunting is a very secondary economic activity, at least in modern times. Peccaries, which are the main game animal, are hunted with specially trained dogs and killed with bows and arrows or with clubs. Rheas, which are abundant in the Chaco plains, are caught with bolas. Pigeons are captured with clap nets. Special arrows with two points are used for hunting yacu birds (*Penelope* sp.).

/31 cont./

Fauna

Quadrupeds

*136 *825 In this section I shall concern myself with a description of the quadrupeds, as the title indicates, and then, in the following sections, with other living beings. When dealing with them, I do not intend to make a complete list, so as not to make this little work too long; I shall therefore limit myself to a description of some of them.

AGOUTI-HUTIA. -- It seems that this quadruped rodent is peculiar to South America, but it is certain that it is found in the Chiriguano region, where they call it "Acuti." River banks and large permanent lakes are its most favored locale. [224] When pursued by hunters and dogs, it plunges in and swims under the water, fooling both by coming out on the opposite bank, where it quickly disappears into the woods. Its burrows have several entrances and exits, which are covered with leaves, while only one is left open; it has five toes on its feet; if some dangerous animal enters its burrow by the open door or entrance, it flees through any one of the others which are lightly covered.

Two other classes of agouti, live in the hills, woods, and pampas in this region and are very similar to the true one, but they have neither the same instincts nor the five toes on their feet; they have cloven hooves like lambs and get into planted fields, eat gourds and corn, and even feed on the husks of ulalas and other cacti; they are regarded as the archetype of thieves by the Chiriguano; thus, one compares a man or a woman who is light-fingered with the agouti, saying: "Mbuimonda acutí," thief like an agouti.

ANTA OR DANTA. -- This is the American tapir, unknown in other regions; it is the size of a year-old calf, does not have a hoof, but toes on all four feet, lives in the woods in a totally wild state, /32/ and it is ferocious, becoming enraged if it finds itself pursued. Otherwise it does not attack and feeds on grass and leaves; its meat is flavorful and plentiful. Its hide is tough and for this reason the jaguar is hardly able to slaughter it; it runs slowly, but tramples over everything,

/32 cont./

*136 bending or breaking every bush in its path. It is also a swimmer.
*825 Saddlemakers make from its hide headstalls and reins which
[281] are durable and hence highly valued. When the tapir is very small, it has a pelt like a fawn with yellow stripes and is easily domesticated. It is abundant near rivers and is very rare on the plains; few are found in the province of Acero. In the region of Cuevo and in others there are none at all, doubtless because these places are being settled by another type of man, that is to say, by whites, who can destroy them
[262] easily with the use of gunpowder. The Chiriguano like its meat very much, and they call this animal "Borevi."

ARDILLA /squirrel/. -- A climbing quadruped which looks for its food in the trees which it climbs and goes down very quickly. There are two classes of these, one large and red in color and the other smaller and dark, but both are very graceful, with a rather long tail almost as large as the body as far as the neck and covered with rather long and very soft hair. When they sleep, they cover themselves up and protect themselves from the cold, the dew, and even from the rain with this tail, which they keep horizontally along the length of the body in order to climb and descend more nimbly. They
[262] have very little meat, which is full of gristle, and, despite
[224] the fact that they are quite edible, the Indians hunt them very
[857] little; only the children hunt them for diversion and for practice in the use of the bow.

ARMADILLO. -- This animal, called "Tatu" by the Indians, is abundant. There are six types, which are: "Tatu," the generic name, or the true armadillo; "Taturapúa," balled armadillo; "Tatu rabucu," armadillo with hairs; "Tatu guasu," large armadillo; "Tatu acuti," a species of viscacha; "Anguya tutu," a species of large rat, but also with scales in common
[262] with the armadillo. For the Indians the flesh of all of them
[224] is edible, and the Indians of Yvu and Itatiqui continually go out hunting them. In dry places, like the pampas of the Gran Chaco, armadillos are more numerous; there they make their burrows under the ground in great lengths, making it dangerous to go on horseback through such places because the animals can sink in easily and at a gallop can break their legs, if they are not unlucky enough to crack their heads open. /Illustration appears here./

[Text Continues on P. 53]

/33/

*136 *825 The large armadillo is slightly less than one vara long; its burrow corresponds to its size and even more, and not infrequently the wild boar or peccary, when chased by hunters and dogs, finds a safe refuge in these holes. The meat of the large armadillo is not so good for civilized people, but that of the others is; I have eaten it many times. The fat softens the tumors and gristle in it. Armadillos feed on worms. [241] Nevertheless, the true armadillo is harmful to the maize fields when they are newly planted, because it searches out and eats the seeds; it is also very harmful in melon patches, of which it scarcely leaves a slender shred; when it gets into the melons, it does not allow any to ripen. [224] The Indians know well where the armadillo abounds; as soon as they finish planting the maize, on nights with a moon or without it, they go there and, helped by hunting dogs, kill them.

COBAYO /guinea pig/. -- This little animal is innocuous and plentiful everywhere. Its places are the fences, where it [262] hides with ease. It is similar to large rats without a tail; [237] its meat is very tasty, and bags in which smokers store tobacco, tinder, and flint are made from its skin. [224] When it sees a hunter or believes that danger is near, it hastens to hide in the thickness of the fences, but when the hunter hides, it is not long in coming out again in search of food, morning and evening, and then it is easy to kill with arrow or shotgun. The Chiriguano call it [231] "Aperea." There is another sort of multicolored guinea pig of the same size as the previous one, but this one is domesticated. The color of the true guinea pig is light brown.

CONEJO /rabbit/. A quadruped in the wild state, native to America, it is the size of a large cat. Its color is a shaded [224] white, and here there are none of any other color, but there [262] are in other parts of South America; its meat is delicious, and the Indians like it and hunt it; its form is the same as that of the domestic rabbit, and in the Chiriguano language it is called "Tapiti."

/33 cont./

*136 CORSO /deer/. -- This is found everywhere and is called
*825 "Huasu" by the Chiriguano and hurina by the whites; there are even white ones, the females without horns and the males with them; another type is called "huasucaca." Both feed off
[231] grass, and the little ones are pleasing with their hide dappled with light spots; they are easily domesticated while they are still nursing; for food, when they are domesticated, goat's or sheep's milk can be used. The huasucaca is very similar to the deer; both male and female have branched antlers when old, but /34/ their meat is not as good. They travel in herds.
[262] Hunters pursue both types because they have a lot of meat, for
[224] which reason they are called "huasu," which means "large." They hunt them with considerable work and with the help of dogs trained for the purpose, or, if they are hidden, they imitate their bleating or cracking sound, and when they come within bowshot, they do not miss in killing them. The
[281] Chiriguano tan the skin of these animals and make a jacket
[291] from it, which I shall discuss in its place, but today this de luxe Chiriguano garment is disappearing, nor do they tan leather any more; today they use these skins for their beds; it is nonetheless a perfect material for footwear because of its natural softness and smoothness.

*136 GAMO /fallow deer/. -- It seems that this class of animal is from the mountainous and temperate region; it is not found beyond Monteagudo, nor do the Indians here know it, but it used to be found and still is found in their former territory of Padilla, Tomina, Tarvita, etc. This is the fallow deer, the size of a goat, with cloven hoof, ash-gray in color, and quite a swift runner; it is herbivorous, quite edible, and goes in herds.

GUANACO. -- This is a kind of camel, from which it differs in size and because it does not have a hump. They are found in abundance at the top of the high hills of Potosí and other cold mountains; it thus seems that the hills and the cold must be congenial places and the only ones in which they can prosper. Nevertheless immense herds of this quadruped can be found in the pampas of the Gran Chaco, where the heat is oppressive and where there is nearly always a scarcity of water; it is easily domesticated and in this state is a real llama.

/34 cont./

*136 GATO /cat/. -- There are domestic ones, which are
*825 called "Minta," and there are wild ones, which are of two
kinds. One is called "Baracaya" and is very harmful to
● [224] chickens; at night it approaches dwellings in the country and
even in towns, and it beheads any chickens it can; its meat
is delicious and pleasant, and the Indians hunt it. The second
species is called "Eira," or "Yaguarundi," depending on the
locale; it is a species of small jaguar, slightly smaller than
a fox; it has light spots on its pelt, and it runs and climbs
trees very rapidly. It is not dangerous nor does it approach
[224] houses in towns. The Chiriguano hunt it only for the pelt,
which they sell at any price.

*136 JABALI /wild boar/. -- Nothing suits the jabalí better
*825 than forests and the slopes of hills where it is difficult to
224 penetrate. Therefore they multiply in the forests and form
immense herds; the beast is /35/ ferocious. It is a rare oc-
casion when one finds this type of quadruped, so similar to the
[262] domestic pig, in a solitary state. The Indians call it "Taitetu,"
and they like its delicious and pleasant meat, but they almost
never go out alone to hunt it, because it is a fearsome animal
and charges impetuously, and only with the aid of dogs do they
manage to kill some, and then the rest flee, but woe to the
hunter who finds himself alone! The way to save oneself is
to climb a tree which has a good trunk and better roots;
otherwise in their rage and with so many of them they will
tear it to pieces. If the hunter took the precaution of not
abandoning his bow and arrows, he can easily kill all the
jabalí he wants from that somewhat safe and sure place. When
this animal chases the hunter, the dog will stop the chase and
remain at some distance, because, without his master to de-
fend him, he becomes cowardly at the sight of the immense
tusks which sound like a hammer on an anvil.

*136 LEÓN /lion/. -- This is not the majestic beast of Africa,
*825 nor could it here be the king of the beasts. It is the puma,
and the Indians call it "Yaguapinta," or red jaguar, and in
fact it is quite similar to the jaguar in its features, so much
so that there is often a cross between the two animals, result-
ing in a neuter animal which is more ferocious and rapacious

/36 cont./

*136 pick eight or ten ears, remove almost all the husk, leaving a
*825 few leaves on each ear and tying them together like a saddle-bag, put them over the shoulder in such a way that they hang down the back and chest, and go on their way. Meanwhile the monkeys have observed it all, come down, perform the same operation, and go back up the trees, or to the rocks, happy and content, to eat the fruit of their accomplishments.

There are four classes of monkeys: black, white, yellow, and red. There is also an orangutan that the Indians call "Caraya," hence the place called Carayagua, cave of caraya or orangutan. Monkey meat is good, but the Chiriguano do not hunt it; they do kill them because they are harmful, and they catch the young alive for pets. The abilities of the monkey are already known.

OSO /bear/. -- There exists in this region the true bear, which the Indians call "Yaguapope" and the whites, jucumari. It has long hair which comes down from its head, covering its face so much that, in order to see well, it raises it with its hands. It is fearsome when irritated; it throws stones and strips branches from trees and uses them as a club; the jaguar can do nothing with this animal, and should it measure its strength and ability against it, it is unlikely that it would get
[224] out alive. It has excellent meat, and the Indians hunt it,
[262] but woe is he who dares to do so alone and whose arrow misses and wounds it slightly, since it will quickly charge and smother its enemy!

PECCARY. -- The peccary, called "Tayasu" by the Chiriguano, is similar to the wild boar /jabalí/; this animal is more fearsome than its fellow-creature and has the same instincts. Both quadrupeds feed off roots, mistol, chañar, algarroba, and such other fruits as there are in the forest; the hides of these animals are easily tanned, but the Indians scarcely even use them for their beds. The jaguar is the constant companion of the female peccary who have young, /37/ because when it can, it quite calmly and patiently catches one, but if it is not careful and the little animal grunts loudly enough to be heard, the mother and the males come to its defense, and if the jaguar values its life, prudence will advise it to climb a strong tree.

/37 cont./

000 to climb a strong tree. The young[1] are quickly domesticated
*136 and more than the domestic pig; they will not go away from
231 the person who was kind to them when they were little. One of these piglets was domesticated by the apprentice musicians of the Parapiti, was with them day and night without bothering them, and when they came out of the music hall to practice marches through the town, the peccary would go along in front of them, making a thousand faces and hopping about to the sound of the instruments.

*136 PORCUPINE. -- This small animal is not numerous, but
*825 it is found. It gets into chicken coops, which are generally located in trees. According to what I have heard, it is not harmful and merely likes the company of the hens at night, but the latter are afraid of it, as they are of any strange animal. Its skin is entirely covered with long, flexible quills, and when it sees itself pursued, it humps up and throws the said quills with so much force that they injure any part of the body. It
[224] is sometimes hunted because of the chickens, but not for eating. The Chiriguano call it "Cũii." If a dog bites it, it gets its mouth full of quills which cause pain.

TAMANDUA /anteater/. -- This is an innocuous wild animal which is easily domesticated. It has a very long, narrow snout, which it introduces into ant hills, and it takes its delicious lunch with its tongue, to which an infinity of ants stick. In the domesticated state it even feeds on milk, but it is painful to watch it sip this liquid drop by drop with its exceedingly slender tongue. Apparently males are unknown in this species of animal, and it seems that all of them belong to the female sex. It is very probable, however, that all the individuals of this species are members of both sexes, despite the fact that only the female sex is apparent in them.

The anteater, or tamandua, is inoffensive and does not
[224] bother the fields; rather it destroys ants. The Indian hunts it
[262] in order to eat it, because for him almost all meat is good, since he says that he is poor and thus avails himself of anything, even poisoned animals and those that have died of hydrophobia.

[1] [i.e., of the peccary. -Analyst]

/38 cont./

*136 true tiger of Africa; nevertheless it seems that both are equal in ferocity, but not in size and beauty; I have also seen the [224] African one. In spite of this the hide of the tiger, or jaguar, is most highly regarded here; there are cattle owners who will [435] give the killer of a jaguar quite a valuable fat cow. The ordinary price is from 30 to 40 duros.

224 The Indians kill the jaguar with arrows and with the help of good dogs, called tigreros; the white Christians have different methods, with bullets, strychnine, and traps. To kill by gunshot, one seeks fresh tracks and shows it to the best dog, who immediately sets off /39/ in pursuit, and the other dogs and the hunters follow the tigrero. If the jaguar climbs some tree, the tigrero dog will not go on until he discovers it; then he will begin to howl like one who is asking for help; the rest of the dogs arrive, the hunters arrive, and, seeing the animal up in the tree, they kill it with one or two shots; if it does not die then, once it is on the ground they finish killing it between hunters and dogs.

But the matter does not always end so easily; there are jaguars which tire out men and dogs by climbing up and down trees, running and stopping to face and kill some careless dog with a blow of his claws, and hiding in thickets where it is dangerous to approach and difficult to shoot at it accurately, and finally by scaling cliffs which are inaccessible to other animals. Thus the day often ends without anything achieved and with the jaguar fiercer than ever; it will stay away from that area for a few days, however, both in order to rest and so that it may avoid another unpleasant and dangerous encounter.

The second method of killing jaguars is with strychnine; the effects of this most powerful poison are well known. To accomplish this end the whites try to find out first where the animal has fresh meat, and there they put poison in the piece that it likes best, taking care not to handle the prey and to erase their tracks. But it is to be noted that some jaguars kill, eat a little bit, and leave the rest; for that reason it is not always certain that the jaguar will be killed by the use of poison. In addition, inasmuch as it has a very strong sense of smell, it is unlikely that it will return to the poisoned meat

/39 cont./

000 if it senses any danger; fear makes it very circumspect when it has done damage.

There is a third method of killing a jaguar, with traps. When it takes possession of a place, one must select a spot and a narrow path where it must necessarily pass without being able to go off to the side. Generally a path leading to a slain animal is sought; then at one side of the path a rifle is tied with the barrel pointed at the path. Somewhat ahead of the rifle there is put across the path a taut bejuco which the jaguar will push against to open the way, and at the rifle end a string of bejuco is run to the trigger, or, better, to the hammer, to which it is tied; with the rifle covered with leaves, the jaguar will not pay any attention to the bejuco, because it is accustomed to passing under it. When the beast arrives, unsuspecting, it pushes against the bejuco or cord, which in turn makes the hammer fall, the weapon discharges, and the beast falls mortally wounded, because the bullet enters it at the scapula or /40/ axilla. The bejuco must be placed at the height of the beast's chest; only thus is it infallible; the dogs themselves fall into this trap.

224 Finally, although it is rare, the jaguar can be killed with a dagger. One who has the courage for this does it with all serenity. Once the place where the beast has begun to be harmful is known, he will go in search of it with a poncho, a strong dagger, and a tigrero dog. This last is only necessary to find the place and stop the animal; as soon as this happens, the hunter wraps the poncho around his left arm, tucks in his sleeves and trouser legs, and resolutely approaches with dagger in hand. The jaguar then attacks at once, but the hunter lets it pass to one side, letting the same thing occur on the second and third charges so that it will tire a little. When it charges for the fourth or fifth time, he meets him head on, sticking his protected arm into the animal's mouth, and with his right hand, armed with the dagger, stabs it to the heart; the only thing that one needs is calm, valor, and dexterity, and anyone who does not have these qualities should not expose himself to the danger of death, nor should he even hunt the jaguar in the company of others, since this

* [805]

/40 cont./

224 animal is capable of distinguishing between the brave and
*[825] the cowardly, and the latter is the first to be attacked and consequently to be badly injured.

*825 Jaguar skin, as I have already said, has intrinsic value;
[554] it is used in saddleries for the bottom padding of saddles and
[281] for saddlebags; it is a luxury for persons of rank. The ani-
[757] mal has a quantity of fat, and this is a good remedy for
[439] rheumatism, aching bones, and other ailments; the Indians take it and sell it in the interior of the Republic and trade it for used clothing. It is to be noted, however, that they do falsify it, as they also falsify snake grease, because it can be understood that the killing of this ferocious animal is not a
[466] frequent thing. Rarely does the Chiriguano hunt the jaguar, and he is not always inclined to help the white man, but the latter forces his peons to do so, and they gather the fat and
[262] sell or present it to their friends or relatives. Jaguar meat is good food, although, to be sure, it smells wild, as does the skin, but this meat, if placed in salt water or brine overnight, loses its bad smell; they assert that this meat is like that of a cow.

*136 The male jaguar is quite large. I measured one, and it was two meters long from the tail, one meter high, and it weighed seven arrobas. The female is smaller; I measured one that had just been killed; from the tail it measured one meter and ten centimeters, was 75 centimeters high, and
[231] weighed four and a half arrobas. The female gives birth every three years, and the newborn cubs are always a pair, one male and one female; the mother is most dangerous when she has young /illustration appears here/ /41/ and defends them at any cost, but hunters first kill the mother and then try to catch the cubs alive; they almost always succeed and take them home to domesticate them, but this is an impossible job because they are jaguars forever; I have seen two of these cubs well chained but very bad. In general, cubs when taken away from their mother die in a few days either through lack of adequate food, which is milk, or also out of desperation upon finding themselves in the midst of beings foreign to their nature.

/41 cont./

*136 The Chiriguano hunts and kills the fox as a mischievous
*825 and harmful animal, but he does not eat its meat because
[224] it is very strong and lean; /42/ he does eat it occasionally,
[262] when he finds it to be fat, airing it so that it may lose its bad
odor; it is a common food of the Toba Indians. The children
[857] entertain themselves with this poor animal, catching it alive
and making it fight with the dogs, who kill it slowly.

*136 I here bring to an end this brief resumé of the principal
quadrupeds by size, ferocity, and special characteristics.
I have omitted the description of many because they are found
in other regions, and others because they do not offer anything
unusual for consideration. Rats are plentiful and in some years
invade the towns. There is no lack of female foxes /raposas/,
[231] which are easily domesticated; the ferret is rarely seen and is
very nervous and harmless, but it has the peculiarity of hunting
all the insects in a house.

Reptiles, Amphibians, Fish, and Insects

It is not necessary for me to dwell particularly and extensively on the types of living things indicated at the beginning of this section, because they are found in every region of the world; I shall describe the singular peculiarities of the known ones and the nature of some which are peculiar to this place and to South America.

*[825] Almost all the snakes here are poisonous because the place
[231] is very hot, but the most poisonous is the rattlesnake; it
operates rapidly with its fang, and only with immediate
cauterization can the patient free himself of its death-dealing
effects, while the boa, which is thick and long, is harmless,
so much so that some domesticate it and put it into their
cane fields so that it will scare off every harmful beast, even
the fox which, as we have seen, is the animal which does the
most damage to the sugar cane.

/160 cont./

574 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accomodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

574 178 [431] [273] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he asks nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretasted liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 527 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quiriquinchos, /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

622 224

273 824 191

2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

[Text Continues on P. 221]

/178 cont./

372 [773] children who had been saved from the Iporu, deluge of water, he also taught them the way never to lose it, by rubbing pieces of wood together forcefully.

224 372 The Chiriguano is quite a hunter, and no wild animal or bird escapes from his eye and hand. On these hunting trips he often needs fire. If he is very far from town and prepares to sleep alone in the forest or in open country, he lights his fire in the way just described, in order to have its company, to keep away the jaguar and the demon, and to light his cigar and prepare his roast.

Work

Cleanliness

356 [362] Many will perhaps come to the conclusion that Chiriguano houses, poorly built and worse maintained because of the continual fire which gives off smoke and ash, are very dirty, without cleanliness or neatness, but nothing is more incorrect. The [515] [302] Indian despite his savagery is clean, and especially for cleanness he pulls out his facial and body hair, bathes daily, and combs his hair often, getting rid of the little animals which might be in his thick hair. The Cuña, or Chiriguano woman, constantly thinks of the cleanliness of her house, gallery, and the ground in front, up to four meters in length and width (2).

[362] 2. All can see that some Chiriguanos, out of laziness, live in their own very old and dilapidated houses, open to the sun, wind, rain, and dust; in others that have a new roof, walls are lacking, thus exposing them to getting pneumonia, but there is no lack of cleanliness in any of them.

/190 cont./

292 The Chiriguano, when he is dressed in these skins, considers himself a grandee, and he is one before his companions and the caciques themselves. But from the beginning, even before it is even worn, such clothing gives off a very disagreeable odor, like that of the soles of shoes. Let the reader imagine what it must be like when it has been used for some time. It can easily be understood that the Chiriguano, when [296] wearing the doublet, has nothing else on his body, and that all of the sweat, etc. sticks to it, and it should be noted that the outfit is never washed, which adds to the smell.

[622] [297] /191/ The cacique Nambi of Ivu made his visits to the P.P.C.C. of Santa Rosa Mission to ask for a mission in his town, dressing himself in his old and filthy doublet before making the visit. He embraced the missionaries and talked quite close to them, the result being almost unbearable (1).

1. The outfit is completed by a pair of boots called Timainu, which literally means: companion of the shin bone. These are necessary for hunters so that they will not hurt their legs when they are pursuing wild animals. [224]

The illustration that I put at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 255/ will make the description of the Ambícuai more easily understood. There appear in it a young man and an old man standing, a woman sitting on a chair, and a young girl sitting on the ground. The old man dressed in a doublet is the cacique Güiraesa of Santa Rosa; the woman who is seated on the chair is his wife, the man on his right is his son Yandareca, and the girl is his Christian daughter, named Prisca.

[291] The Chiriguano who does not have a doublet is satisfied with his long poncho or with a blanket wrapped around his body down to his knees, but today it is rare that he cannot dress himself moderately well with some six varas of linen, [432] [439] which at the most will cost him two bolivianos. Today everything can be bought in the small retail stores (2).

2. The doublet is used today in some areas to

/249 cont./

Hunters

•224 So that there may be plenty of food at the public drinking, the men, as soon as they have finished the job of bringing in firewood, take their bows and arrows, and horses if they have any, and go hunting. The places are suitable for the purpose: some hunt Taitetu, wild boars; others pursue the Yandu, ostrich; many go in search of Picasuguasu, large pigeons, Yeruti, turtledoves, Picüi, little doves. They also hunt: Guazu, /250/ pygmy deer; Sariama, chuñas /cranes/; Ayuru, parrots; and Tatu, quiriquinchos /armadillos/ (1).

[262] 1. The armadillos are of several types: the meat of the Taturapúa, balled armadillo, is not good, because it feeds on carcasses; the meat of the rest is better than that of the pig /chancho/; it is not harmful like that of the latter.

[251] The hunters take some 15 or 20 days to return, but as they take game, they cut it open, clean it, and dry it in the sun, so that it will not spoil, because they do not carry salt, since they do not have it, for making jerky or charqui.

224 23 Almost all the Chiriguano are hunters, and the infinite number of dogs that they keep in their houses have the ability to pursue the wild boar, the quiriquincho /armadillo/, the ostrich, the chuña /crane/, or the pygmy deer. These dogs are almost like Old World wolves, with pointed ears and a curled tail; they are so skinny they look like harps, so bad with mestizos and whites that it seems that they have learned to hate them as their owners do, and they are so attached to the latter that they never leave their side. They go with them everywhere; it is not unusual to see an Indian who is going to the field followed or preceded by eight or ten dogs, who are falling down from being so thin, and yet, should they flush a pygmy deer or a chuña, they will not let it get away. To walk alone at night through a Chiriguano town is to expose oneself to being eaten alive by these hungry tigers who all gather when the first one barks.

/250 cont./

•224 184 Although all the Indians are hunters, not all can or go to hunt; some stay in town to help the women put the jars /cántaros/ in the plaza, and others do not go because they have other food available for their friends. Some of them have goats and sheep, others even chickens and cows; these take pride in being able to offer their friends in the public plaza chicken soup, or one of lamb or kid, or a succulent roast of veal, since there is no doubt that anyone would prefer fresh meat to charqui or dried meat of wild animals.

[231] [594]

Animals

231 From the little that has been said with reference to animals it can be deduced that the Chiriguano have some, and they are the horse, ass, mule, cow, sheep, goat, chicken, and dog; all of them have Spanish names, /251/ except the chicken, Uru, and the dog, Yáimba. It is possible that these last are native, that is, that the Chiriguano have always had them, since they have their own name in the language; but if one reflects a little some doubt rises in the mind. The chicken, so it seems to me, is called Uru by the Chiriguano because it has some resemblance to the turkey buzzard, which they call Urugñi and which is a species of cow. The dog is called Yáimba in Chiriguano, no doubt because he is very faithful to his master, Ya, which really means owner-master, and imba, beast, so that the dog turns out to be a special beast which, more than others, loves its owner or master, and I say this because other tribes who are neighbors of the Chiriguano and are in a complete state of savagery do not have the dog, from which it can be deduced that they acquired it when the Spaniards entered their country (1).

[199]

1. For my opinion to be complete and closer to the truth, the word imba should have an h; nevertheless, I do not give this as more than an opinion. The literal meaning of the word Yáimba would be beast of the owner.

shall see that the methods of fishing differ somewhat in the different rivers. At the Rio Pilcomayo the Indians must always have found a good supply of food. As many Chiriguano live by very insignificant streams they never have the opportunity of fishing. The Chané all live in places where they are able to procure fish during some part of the year at least.

Big game is scarce in the land of the Chiriguano and Chané. Nor are these Indians keen huntsmen. One seldom sees game that has been killed by them in their huts. The great flocks of fat pigeons that settle in their fields are for the most part left unmolested.

As we shall see in the following the Chiriguano and Chané live mostly by tilling the ground. Owing to the comparative dryness of their land maize is cultivated more than anything else. It is the ease with which this plant can be grown here, that makes the land of the Chiriguano and Chané a good land to dwell in.

The fruit of the carob-tree (algarrobo) is the most important wild fruit. Probably no careful study has ever been made of the climatic conditions of the Chiriguano and Chané country. It is situated in the tropics, north of the tropic of Capricorn and the traveller there of course suffers more from heat than cold. In May and June especially, however, when there is a strong south wind, it is agreeable to have a well built house, warm clothes and a snug bed. The rains begin in December and leave off in April or May. It sometimes happens that there is little or no rain and then the crops are a failure. They are often destroyed by grasshoppers.

Schmidt-Schiffel E-4,f (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

IV.

Hunting Equipment.

The Chiriguano and the Chané are not keen huntsmen. They are rarely seen out hunting. Their hunting-weapons are the bow and arrow, the pellet-bow, clubs, slings, and snares, all of their own manufacture. The Chiriguano have bird-nets too, and formerly they had the bola as well. The Chiriguano and the Chané have no weapons exclusively used in warfare. Formerly they had lances[7]).

The bow and arrow are going quite out of use among these Indians except for fishing and as a weapon for boys. The degenerate type of bow now seen among the Chané and Chiriguano is certainly not original. According to LIZARRAGA[8]) the Chiriguano used to have bows of a man's height. It is of great interest to learn from LIZÁRRAGA that the Chiriguano used to protect their left wrist with a small piece of wood to prevent the skin being grased by the bow-string. Something similar occurs among the Ashluslay (see Part I. P. 42).

Their arrows are very like those used by the Choroti and Ashluslay. The arrow shafts are of the same kind of reed[9]). At the Rio Parapiti this plant, which grows abundantly beside the Rio Pilcomayo is cultivated by the Indians. On the Rio Parapiti there is a place called Ouivarenda, which means «where there is chuchio.» This plant, the Gynerium sp. whose seed-stalks so many Indian tribes use

[7]) Cascado P. 331.

[8]) P. 308. «Andan desnudos y quando mucho qual ó qual tiene una camisetilla hasta el ombligo; . . . son grandes flecheros; sus armas son arco y flecha; el arco tan grande como el mismo que lo tira, y porque la cuerda no lastime la mano izquierda, en la muñeca enrajan un trozillo de madera y allí da la cuerda».

[9]) Arundo donax.

[Errata: this should read "See Sorrenti y Sana. P. 228." (4 errata sheet, Col. 116, P. 285 -- Arnold.)]

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

of the Choroti and Ashluslay. As far as I know they are only used for hunting peccary. These animals are brought to bay by dogs and killed with clubs. I do not venture to say where this most primitive kind of club originated.

Ee 441 [224]

Fig. 9.

Fig. 11.

Fig. 12.

Fig. 10.

C Ce 441 223 224

Fig. 9. Club of hard wood. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 380. 1/8.
» 10. Parrot-snare. Chané, Rio Parapiti. R. M. P. 1/11.
» 11. Parrot-snare made of a piece of twine and a feather. The specimen depicted is from the Tapiete. R. M. I. 267. 1/2.
» 12. Snare. Chané, Rio Itiyuro.

Ce [287]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
102
223
224
171
S
102
223
224

Map 4. The distribution of the hunting net.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
223
*171
C
Ce
223
224
*171
114

my travels. Though rather an extensive collection, it is quite insufficient for comparative researches.

The bird-nets used for hunting, occasionally found among (4) the Chiriguano, are of great interest (fig. 13 and map 4). I have not seen hunting nets elsewhere. Bird-nets are mentioned by several writers from the Alakaluf. These Indians and the Chonos were also acquainted with seal-nets. The statements in literature about these nets are to be found in COOPER'S[1]) excellent work. CREVAUX speaks of hunting nets from (4S) the Miraña[2]). UHLE[3]) mentions finds of the kind in Atacama. JOYCE[4]) speaks of nets that were used for hunting deer and birds on the coast of Peru. He depicts a very interesting earthenware vessel found at Trujillo representing a deer-hunt in which the huntsmen used the throwing stick and the hunting net. COBO[5]) speaks of bird-nets from the Inca. PALOMINO[6]) mentions nets used for deer-hunting from Chuquimayo in northern Peru. Hunting-nets are also mentioned by ORTIGUERA[7]) and by the author of Jornada de Omagua y Dorado[8]) from the Aruaquinos on the Amazon. From what OVIEDO Y VALDES[9]) says, the Indians also used hunting nets on the Rio Orinoco. GOMARA[10]) mentions nets from Cumaná in which ant-eaters were caught.

---

[1]) P. 190.

[2]) After DENIKER (2) P. 640. «Quoique vivant sur les bords de rivières poissonneuses, ils ne pêchent point et se bornent à chasser comme les anciens Quichua à l'aide de filets tendus entre les arbres, dans lesquels ils poussent, à force de cris et de gestes, les bêtes effarouchées.»

[3]) (5) P. 109.

[4]) (1) P. 124.

[5]) T. 4, P. 225.

[6]) P. XLVIII.

[7]) P. 370.

[8]) P. 448.

[9]) T. 2, P. 221. «Toman codorniçes y conexos y tórtolas en mucha cantidad con laços y redes: assi tambien zorras y raposos, como muchos puercos salvajes de los que llaman *vaquiras*.»

[10]) P. 206.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

SUAREZ DE CEPEDA[1]) in his most interesting treatise on the Colima-Indians in Columbia, tells us that they tried to catch comets, which they imagined to be birds, with nets which they placed in their fields. This seems to prove that these Indians knew the use of bird nets. CASTELLANOS[2]) states that the Indians in the valley of the Patia (in southern Columbia) tried to catch the Spaniards' horses with nets. Most all of these authors who speak of the hunting net belong to the sixteenth century. This should give those who are doing work like mine some food for reflection. It proves how perfectly indispensable this old literature is as a means of learning the ethnology of the S. American Indians. *How imperfect a map of this kind would have been without the old literature!* One may ask why hunting nets are so scarce now. This is apparently owing to the fact that in most places where hunting nets have been in use the Indians have lost their original civilization. The above authors not having given us a detailed description of the nets, we do not know if they resemble those used by the Chiriguano. We are not even always told what was caught in these hunting nets.

The deer-nets used on the Peruvian coast were of course considerably larger than the nets used here. Their shape also was quite different. The Chiriguano nets are clap-nets and are used in the following way. The net is spread on the ground at a spot where there are plenty of pigeons. The pigeons are decoyed with maize to settle between the two halves of the net. A string runs from the net to a fowler

[1]) P. 517. »Los rrayos que se estienden y esparcen de la cola ò cabeça de la cometa dizen que son plumas y pelos del paxaro que yendo bolando las vá despidiendo para fin de las cosas que viene á arabar: y para mitigar y rregalar la yra de la furia atajando por algun buen medio ..... y en sus labranças arman unas rredes de hilo muy de proposito estas dizen que son para enrredar y caçar en ellas la pobre cometa.»

[2]) P. 437.

SrNordenskiöld E-5/(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
223

hidden behind a bush or the like. With a pull of the string the man makes the net fall upon the maize-eating pigeons.

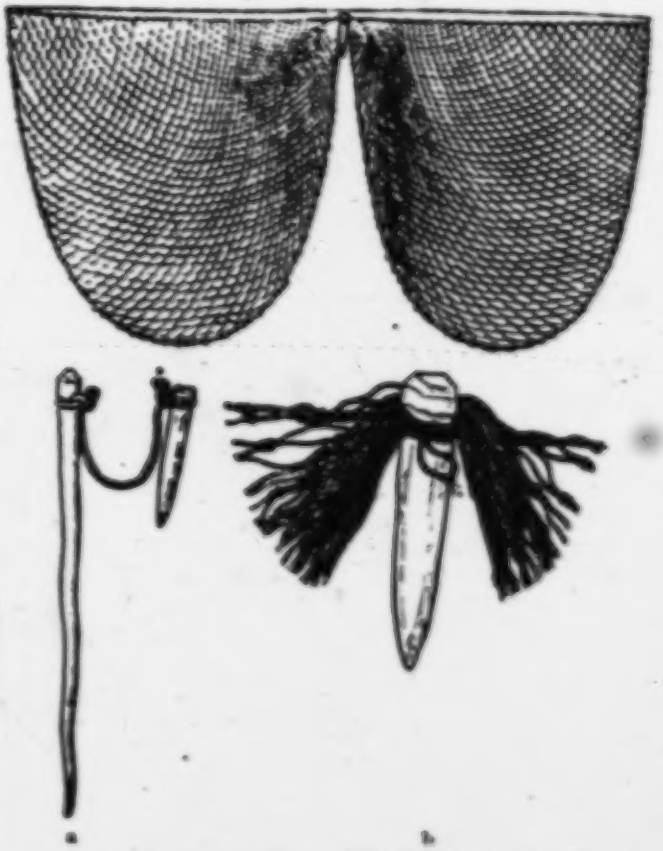


Fig. 13. Bird-net. Chiriguano. Calipendi. R. M. E. (20).
Breadth — 385 cm.
a — Sticks fixed at sides of bird net. 1/10. b — Middle part of bird net. 1/5.

C
ce
223
2214
217

Deer nets were stretched between poles, as is plainly seen in the picture on the vessel reproduced by JOYCE. The nets mentioned by GOMARA from Cumaná as well as those

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee 223 224 171

used by the Colima Indians to catch the »Comet-bird» were obviously also fixed nets.

We cannot prove that the different kinds of hunting-nets are of the same origin. Judging by the general distribution of the hunting-net in S. America, it is, however, likely that the Chiriguano learnt their use from the western culture zone. As has already been mentioned, COBO says that bird-nets occurred among the Inca.

/180 cont./ C Ce
the most common among the Chiriguano. Only those women who live with the whites and have adopted their manners and customs carry jugs on their heads. 512 482 [177]

Division of Labor between the Sexes C Ce

Here too, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, each sex, as a rule, has its specific work, as we see from the following table: 462 171

Table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Chané and Chiriguano.

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Fishing . . .	+	+ (1)	Gathering wild fruits and tubers		+
Hunting . . .	+		Ceramics . . .		+
Planting, clearing . .	+		Woodworking . .	+	
sowing . .	+	+	Knotting nets . .	+	
reaping . .	+	+	Plaiting rope . .	+	
Cooking	(2)	+	Plaiting mats . .	+	
Carrying wood . . .	+	+ (3)	Tying hammocks .		+
Carrying water . . .		+	Leather work . .	+	
Preparing intoxicating drinks		+	Making weapons .	+	

Ce

1. As a rule, the women fish in shallow water, the men in deep water. [226]

C Ce

2. Sometimes take part in the preparation of the hunting booty. [252] [224]

3. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. Ce [482]

/181 cont./

Branches of Subsistence

Fishing and hunting do not play an important role among the Chané and Chiriguano. As I have mentioned before, they are farmers, primarily maize farmers. These Indians live so exclusively on maize that for them all other food plays a subordinate role. The Indians living on the Rio Parapiti are an exception; they plant more sweet potatoes than maize, and these yield an excellent harvest in their country.

/182/ The following plants are grown by the Chané and Chiriguano:

Sweet potatoes.
Maize.
Squash (Cucurbita pepo Lin.).
Calabash fruits.
Beans of different varieties.
Cotton.
Urucú.
Tobacco.
Tuna (for example, at Yatavéri). Opuntia.
Millet.
Mandioca (rare).
Reed for arrow shafts (on the Rio Parapiti).

In the plantings of these Indians I saw neither ordinary potatoes nor bananas. The sweet potatoes, according to Batirayu's statements, were introduced at a late period by the whites. Tobacco-raising is insignificant. The Chané and Chiriguano are not great smokers. They mostly smoke cigarettes in maize leaves, seldom pipes (Fig. 88). Among them one need not give his pipe to a neighbor for further smoking.

It is strange how the use of tobacco differs among the Indian tribes. The Aymara and Quichua /Quechua/, who chew coca, very seldom smoke. They have no taste for it. The Chacobo and Atsahuaca, two tribes with whom I became acquainted on my travels, smoked just as little. When I offered a Chacobo a

/183 cont./

The Chané and the Chiriguano are not great hunters. Perhaps in former times there was more hunting. Their hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow. For hunting wild pigs they use clubs; for ostrich hunts the boleadora /bola/, "churima," was formerly used. Snares and bird nets are also found. In former times the hunters wore /184/ a costume of leather cut in imitation of a European cut, obviously copied from the Spaniards (1). This

1. Viedma already mentions this costume, p. 181.

was not permitted to hang in the house. Formerly, also among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, no meat could be cooked in the house; rather, this had to be done a short distance away. Boys are, of course, eager hunters of small birds. Like the men, they sometimes use clay-projectile bows.

There are hunting dogs specially trained for hunting wild pigs. In a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro I saw how all the dogs had a red cross painted on their heads, so that they would not be bitten by a mad dog running about in the vicinity. It was truly amusing to see how these heathen Chané protected their dogs against rabies with the sign of the cross.

Batirayu told me that Chané men, when they go hunting, are not permitted to sleep with their wives the night before.

Fishing is carried on differently in the various rivers.

In the Rio Itiyuro women and children almost exclusively do the fishing. There are only small fish there too. I saw three methods of fishing there. Angling, fishing with calabashes, and fishing by damming up pools. The fishhooks consist of bent needles obtained from the whites. Floats and sinkers are not used.

Fishing with calabashes is done in the following way. Several bunches of leaves, which give shade, are stuck in the bottom of the river, and in front of each of these is placed a calabash (Fig. 90) with sour, ground maize (residue from beer brewing). The fish gather in the calabashes, which are taken out from time to time by the women. The latter creep toward the calabash, quickly place a hand over the opening, lift /185/ it up, and then empty the contents into pits along the river bank.

[p.205]

CHAPTER VIII.

The Chiriguanos (2).

Industries. Cultivated plants. Hunting. Fishing. Vessels for food and drink. Intoxicants and stimulants. Music and dancing. Social order. Customs governing marriages, childbearing, illnesses, death and burial. Character and temperament. Belief in metempsychosis.

The Chiriguano are mainly an agricultural people, but they also do a certain amount of hunting and fishing. Maize is the most important of their cultivated plants, and it is very extensively grown by them. Many other Indian domestic plants are also cultivated, viz. pumpkins, sweet potatoes, beans, mani, cactus with edible fruit (Opuntia), tobacco, cotton, uruku (Bixa orellana), and a reed plant (Arundo donax) for making arrow-shafts. Of imported cultivated plants grown by the Chiriguano, I have seen melons, water melons, sugar cane and oranges. According to Nordenskiöld, they also grow figs and millet,[1] these latter of course also having been introduced by the whites. Nowadays, European spades and hoes are used for loosening the soil. Among wild-growing food plants the algarrobo tree (Prosopis alba) is, to the Chiriguanos, the most important one. The Indians also prepare from the fruit of this tree an intoxicating drink to which they are much addicted.

The Chiriguano larder does not to any great extent depend on hunting the game, but formerly hunting must certainly have been an important *source of subsistence*. Snaring is, nowadays, the 'only' method of hunting employed by the Chiriguano. The long-bow, the pellet-bow, slings, bird-nets and clubs are still occasionally used in hunting.

In olden times the Indians were good shots with the bow and arrow, and, according to Lizarraga, they then used bows the height of a man.

[1] Nordenskiöld (IV), pp. 23 and 24.

C
Ce
343
182
171
231

/18 cont./ Their Purpose
today among the Chiriguano and Chané, as well as among the Matako and Churupí, is primarily to protect certain provisions against the numerous dogs and other domestic animals who are around in great number in every part of the town (74).

74. Concerning the question of the purpose of houses built upon posts with respect to damage by animals, cf. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 192-198.

C
Ce
433
224
226

Food and Dink. Manner of Eating and Drinking.

Hunting and fishing are not very important in the economy of the Chiriguano and Chané. Their territory has relatively few edible animals, and they are not very brave hunters (75).

75. Nord. 2, p. XVI.

C
Ce
224
262

Of animals that can be hunted, they eat the puma and the jaguar, while they scorn vultures, foxes, and the meat of monkeys, so craved by other Indians (76). One contribution

C
Ce
226
184

76. Nord. 1, p. 190.

to their subsistence which is worth mentioning is that from fishing, but only for the Chiriguano and Chané who live near the upper Pilcomayo River, since that river has excellent fishing. These Indians cannot make much use of fishing in the Rio Grande, because today the river can be held to be almost the frontier of their territory. The Parapití River has many fish, but they are very small. While the Chané today live in territories where for several months some fish are available, many Chiriguano towns are so far from the larger streams that fish does not enter into the diet of their inhabitants (77). With

77. Nord. 2, pp. XV and XVI.

/39 cont./

C Ce 231 Tamed wild animals are rarely found inside their houses, except that they do have some parrots (182) /see footnote 182 above/.

Hunting

C Ce 224 [433] [411] [439] We have explained before that, because of the lack of animals that can be eaten in the territory of the Chiriguano and Chané, hunting is secondary among their means of subsistence, and in accordance with this we know through old documents that the feathers for their arrows were introduced to the Chiriguano by other Indian tribes who were their tributaries (183). The raising of domestic livestock gives them a

C Ce [231]

183. Moreno II, 121.

C 224 greater opportunity to obtain animal foodstuffs. In accordance with the fact that the Chiriguano, at least today, are not first-class hunters, the most common method of hunting among them is the use of traps (184). Nordenskiöld describes three

C 223

184. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 205.

different kinds of traps, all three of which are used for catching birds (185). The first kind consists of a simple noose and is used

185. Nord. 2, pp. 32, 33, and 85, Fig. 10, 12, and 13.

C [191] with the help of calls. The second kind, which is common among various other tribes of Indians, is used, for example, also by the Kaingua /Caingua/. The third kind consists of a net made in two parts and fixed to the ground by means of stakes. In one of the Chané legends recorded by Nordenskiöld, a trap for catching doves is mentioned (186).

Ce [993] [223]

186. Nord. 1, p. 279.

/48/

Macana in the Collection

411
[126] I. A. 517. (Chiriguano.) Length 64 cm. (Fig. 38).

[171] The wooden macana, acquired from the Chiriguano, is provided at its upper end with a broadening distinctly delimited from the handle (cf. Fig. 38) and in that respect corresponds to the macanas that we know from various Chaco tribes, for example, the Toba, but it does not correspond to the Chiriguano macana shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (197).

197. Nord. 2, Fig. 9.

The latter is about the same length, but it does not show the clear broadening at the handle, its upper end being only slightly broader. According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano [224] do not use these macanas except for hunting pigs (198).

198. Nord. 1, p. 183.

[126] Slings (tamomboka) in the Collection

I. A. 508 Chiriguano. Length of the middle part of net 15 cm.
I. A. 509 " " " " " " 14 cm. (Fig. 36b.)

The two slings acquired from the Chiriguano seem to be [286] exactly alike. They consist of a middle part made with the net technique with caraguata-fiber string which terminates at [284] each end with a cord. One of these two cords ends in a simple knot and the other in a small loop. These slings are like the Chané ones shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld, while the manufacture of the middle part of the Chiriguano sling shown by Nordenskiöld is different (199). The Chiriguano in contact

199. Nord. 2, Fig. 7, A.

C 411 197 /43 cont./ The Chiriguano in Contact with the Quichua /Quechua/ also use another type of sling made of wool (200).

200. Métraux 1, p. 342 and Plate VII.

C 224 [411] According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano also formerly used the bola, called "churima," by them, for hunting the ostrich (201).

201. Nord. 1, p. 183.

C [231] We must still mention that the Chiriguano train their dogs for hunting, especially for hunting pigs (202).

202. Nord. 2, p. 31. Métraux 1, p. 346.

Fishing

C 433 226 Because, as I have already mentioned, there is no opportunity for fishing in any part of the Chiriguano territory and also the large rivers which are in their territory, except for the upper Pilcomayo River, do not offer any fish other than very small ones, fishing has only secondary importance in the economy of most of the Chiriguano, although they utilize every chance they have to fish.

C 227 Among the Chiriguano in Machareti I did not see any fishing equipment outside of the small arrows with wire points, which are occasionally used for fishing. But among the Izozó Ce 126 I acquired such a piece of equipment, which consists of a 227 net bag that is closed at the top with two sticks of cane attached to the upper edge. (Cf. Figure 39.)

/76 cont./

The Working of Skins and Leather Tanning

Ee 28 [824] [177]

The Chiriguano and Chané know the art of tanning leather, and they use for that the bark of the "Piptadenia" and other trees. No doubt they obtained the knowledge of this craft from the whites. They use not only tanned leather, but also strips of animal skin for the making of sundry objects (279), but the

279. Nord. 2, p. 165.

Ee 224 [292] 177

craft of working leather and skins is not an important one. It is said that formerly the Chiriguano, when they went hunting, wore leather clothing conforming to the European style (280).

280. Nord. 1, p. 184. Nord. 2, pp. 60 and 61. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

Ee 281 294

Beyond that, leather is not used for making clothing, except to make sandals (281). The men's modern custom of wearing

Ee 291 177

281. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23.

a leather belt must be attributed to the influence of the whites. Without counting its application to the making of bridles and saddles for horses and asses, either draft or saddle animals, on which we have no data, strips cut from leather or from animal skins are used in the form of straps, principally to transport or hanging up some object. In place of the common vegetable-fiber cords, leather straps are often put on the nets for carrying burdens, on hammocks, and also on the hoops mentioned above, in which they keep things. The band of the Chiriguano net for carrying burdens I. A. 564 consists of an untanned cowhide strap. See Figure 134 /see p. 209/. The Isoso vessel I. A. 617 has a leather strap attached to its handles. The strings of the bows for shooting arrows are strips of animal skin, and the Chiriguano net I. A. 573 is made of cowhide strips.

Ee 281 [492]

Ee [281]

226

226 FISHING--species caught (e. g., fish, shellfish); gathering of marine fauna; fishing methods and techniques (e. g., hook and line, nets, poison); description and use of traps and weirs; special elaborations (e. g., fishing for sport); economic importance of fishing; organization of labor and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; fishing for sport; regulation (e. g., licenses); etc.

See also:

Native farm . . . . . 130 Net manufacture 986
Manufacture of poisons . . . . . 670 Guns 801

/349 cont./

556 [435] [437] tendency to estimate the value of objects in cows. For example, a loom with a nearly finished poncho was offered to me "for a cow," and the owner of the loom could not understand that it was difficult for me to convert the exchange into money.

262 [251] Charqui, or meat dried in the sun, most often replaces fresh meat in the menus of our Indians. It is not a question of preference, but of necessity. Charqui is cheap and is bought in any estancia.

Fishing

221 226 When I went through the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Parapití, the rivers were in flood, the corn was ripening in the fields, and no Indian wanted to let the parrots eat his corn in order to go to catch fish at the risk of getting himself carried off by the current. If I had come back to these same villages in July or August, the scene would have been completely different. The rivers would have been only thin trickles of water, and in every direction I should have perceived men /350/ and women busy fishing. The fishing season would have been at its height.

[178] The Chiriguano, having come from a country rich in watercourses, have in this respect preserved the traditions of their ancestors of the Paraná or the Paraguay.

226 Some, equipped with large landing nets (Fig. 18), form barriers against the current and advance, gathering the fish as if [229] [482] with a spoon. Then they grab them and attach them to their belts, after /Fig. 18 appears here/ threading them on a cord by means of a wooden needle (Fig. 19). Others lie in wait for a fish in the water and, as it goes by, impale it with an arrow equipped with several points (Fig. 20) or simply with two long, barbed wooden rods. Some, with the help of stone barriers, try to make the fish converge toward the opening of a wicker trap (1). Sometimes a group of individuals turn aside a

1. Compare Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260): "in summer (the Chiriguano) divert a stretch of the river; they leave the fish in the drained

/350 cont./

C 226

arm of the river: in waist-deep water they enter it with their bows and arrows and shoot them there, and any that escape the arrow the women go after with nets into which they fall."
/Translated from the Spanish./

C 229

C [283]

Fig. 18. Landing net of cotton thread (puiss). Chiriguano. Prov.: Ibopeyti. (1/19 nat. size.)

C 226 watercourse, leaving the fish dry, and catch them by hand or
C [229] with a sieve (?). Iron fishhooks are equally popular: the

Ce 226

2. Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 184-185) describes a curious way of catching fish which is in use among the Chané of the Itiyuro River. They set branches in the water, which give shade and attract the fish. They also put there a calabash with some scraps of corn. The fish enter the calabash, whose neck is narrow. When several fish have gone in, the women close the orifice of the calabash with the hand and pull it up to the surface.

/351/

226 /Figs. 19-22 appear here/ /352/ Chiriguano attach them to the
[227] end of long cords. A spear with one or two points serves to harpoon the enormous surubí which goes within their reach
[481] (Fig. 21). It goes without saying that the Chiriguano are
262 marvelous swimmers.
439

The Chiriguano like fish (1). If they live far from the

226
195
229
481

1. The skill of the Chiriguano at fishing had already attracted the attention of the ancient chroniclers. Acosta (Vol. I, p. 336) reports that he had a chance to see them handle the spear, a specimen of which is reproduced here in Figure 21. "Some Chiriguanas plunged under the water and, swimming with admirable speed, followed the fish, and with some fish spears, or harpoons, which they carried in the right hand, swimming only with the left, they struck the fish; and, spearing it thus, they came up, so that they certainly seemed to be more fish than men of the land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Rosen (1, Fig. 215, p. 213) represents a Chiriguano holding one of these two-pointed spears in his hand.

262 Pilcomayo and cannot get any directly, they buy it from the
439 Toba or the Matako, who are good fishermen and in addition have the advantage of living on the very banks of the lower Pilcomayo.

In the dry season one can see near Pilcomayo a continual
[482] coming and going of Chiriguano, bent under the weight of their nets full of ears of corn that they are going to barter for fresh
[464] or dried fish. They would not hesitate, it appears, to travel 150 kilometers to feast on it (Nino, p. 251).

2:Métraux E-S (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fishing.—Fishing is worth while only for those *Chiriguano* and *Chané* who live along the upper Pilcomayo or Bermejo Rivers and, to lesser extent, for the *Chané* of the Parapetí and Itiyuro Rivers. Methods of fishing vary somewhat with the regions. Along the Pilcomayo River, fish are caught with iron hooks, with dipnets, similar to those of the Chaco Indians, with the bow and arrow, and with long two-pronged spears. Fishing baskets are used in combination with stone dams (fig. 57).

FIGURE 57.—*Chiriguano* fish dam in the Pilcomayo River. *A* is entrance; *B* are pockets where fish are caught. (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1930, fig. 14.)

Among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro, fishing is done almost exclusively by women and children. They use hooks, but more often they capture fish in small ponds which they cut from the main stream by means of weirs. They also catch small fish in narrow-necked gourds into which they place chicha dregs as a bait. The *Chané* of the Parapetí scoop fish with nets or shoot them with arrows tipped with a bundle of cactus thorns (Nordenskiöld, 1912, pp. 184–185).

Domesticated animals.—Modern *Chiriguano* raise sheep, cattle, horses, and chickens. Their dogs are so completely mongrel that their European or Indian origin cannot be ascertained. The *Chiriguano* were probably acquainted with chickens when they arrived in their present territory, for they use a *Guaraní* term for them. Pets are not numerous in their villages; most of them are parrots which were captured by means of a noose attached to the end of a long pole. In order to approach the wild birds, the Indians use tame parrots and decoys.

Cooking.—Maize is prepared in a great many ways. The grains are eaten on the cob, roasted in special pans, boiled in water, or ground into flour, which is served with every meal. One method of preparing maize flour is to steam it in a perforated bowl.

/8 cont./

133 The rivers which bathe the Chiriguano region are four: the Pilcomayo, the Parapiti, the Grande or Guapay River, and the Acero. The Pilcomayo begins in the northwest of Potosí Department and crosses Chiriguano country in the southeast. Its water, sweet and clear up to the southern part of [135] Igüembe Canton, is somewhat salty in Huacaya and Villamontes, because to the southeast of Ibopeiti it receives as a tributary the Salado River with its rather abundant waters; these waters are quite salty, because they pass through the salt flats of O'Connor Province. Its bed is wide and shallow, but its flow is very abundant from December to April, because this is the rainy season. If in Villamontes the Germans or others open the great canal proposed by the Supreme Government, the navigation of this river up to the estuaries /esteros/ of the P. Patiño, even in small boats, will be made nearly impossible, because there will not be enough water for it.

136 In the Pilcomayo fish are abundant: bagre, shad /sábalo/, and dorado; some of the latter are very large, up to a meter and a half in length. The first freshets of the rainy season wash up and kill many fish, leaving them stretched out on the ground on both banks or piling them up like stones or firewood. Then • 226 the Chiriguano Indians, the Toba, and Mataco fill their houses, and dogs and crows come there by the thousands and stuff themselves, while the air is full of unbearable miasmas.

[221] The most satisfactory and safest season for fishing is from [251] the May cold until the end of July and in certain years up to the middle of August; then all the Indians are fishermen; they fish for themselves and for trading; they open the fish though the middle vertically and dry it in the sun. If nobody goes [438] there to barter, they go off to sell it at 20 centavos apiece. [435] but generally during the fishing season the tribes far from the rivers go to the banks of same, taking maize or parched meal and bringing back abundant fish. /Illustration appears here./

/227 cont./

881 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently,
178 and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection
177 of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where
226 there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the
462 little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Parirenta.

881 /228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and
[195] not a boy, the time to give up the ú ú of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man
[304] ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother,
[301] and other relatives make him understand that for this it is necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of
[885] the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip,
[554] Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

[192] 1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ita, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

/251 cont./

Other Comestibles

226 184 After this digression I return with an account of comestibles in order to end the chapter now. The Indian finds in everything goodness and sweetness for his molars. He is very eager for fish, [437] but not all the tribes have it nearby; when they learn that there is fish in abundance on the banks of the big rivers, they travel as far as 150 kilometers to barter; they take maize or meal and trade it for fish. Those who live on the river banks are valiant fishermen, with no distinction by sex; they fish with hooks, staying in the water for hours, but they know with great sensitivity when the fish has taken the bait into its stomach; others fish with nets, which they have in every size, as I have seen on the Parapiti River, as well as on the Pilcomayo, near the Pirapo toward the west (2).

[438] [435] [431] 2. The Indians who bring fish back to their tribes do business, selling them at 10 and 20 centavos each; they also eat them and present them to friends and relatives.

226 Others make large baskets of hollow cane, open at a single point, put them in the river, and the fish go in without being able to get out; these baskets are called Pari. Along the rivers I even saw two lines of rocks sticking out of the water and ending /252/ in an angle, where the water forms a small waterfall. There, at the angle, they put a big net or other apparatus and catch many fish. They call this apparatus Itapare; even the carcancho /a bird/ will place itself at the angle and have a breakfast of fresh fish.

Finally, at waterfalls eight or ten meters high, they place close by a big net which gets all the smaller or medium-sized fish, since the big ones go up and down easily, while the former fall into the net; in the places where the fish are small, they divert the course of the stream and thus manage to catch all those which are left without their element.

Some Choroti live near Yacuiba. In nearly all of the Chiriguano territory there are Mestizos and Whites. There are also several large missionary stations in their territory. Some few Chiriguano live in the village of Sta Rosa to the north of Sta Cruz de la Sierra. Some Chiriguano who sought refuge in central Chaco after their last rebellion, live there still. They are the only tribe of Chiriguano-Indians who are quite independent of the Whites. C 101 162 131 [199]

The country which is inhabited by the Chiriguano and partly by the Chané is a border land between the Andine mountains and the great plain of the Chaco. It is in the valleys between the outermost mountain ridges towards the Chaco and on the plain to the east of them that the Chiriguano and the Chané live. The land of the Chiriguano and Chané-Indians is not a real country of primeval forests. There are some great forests, but on the whole it is sparsely wooded, in places even very poorly wooded. The supply of water is the governing condition for settlement in the land of these Indians. It may be said that wherever there is access to water there the country is inhabited, at any rate as regards the region south of the Rio Grande, one of the great rivers that run through their territory There need not be a great supply of water for the Indians to find the country inhabitable. All that is necessary is sufficient drinking-water for man and beast, as at Itatique and in the Caipipendi valley near Rio Parapiti. C Ce 131 133 C Ce 361 312

The biggest rivers running through the territory of the Chiriguano and the Chané are the Rio Grande, the Rio Parapiti and above all the Rio Pilcomayo. The Rio Grande may now almost be considered the boundary river of these tribes towards the north, and is of but little importance to them. The Rio Parapiti is a strange river. While well supplied with water in the mountains it is almost shrinks to nothing in the plains during the dry season. During the rains it is very full of water and may be dangerous to ford. Fish are plentiful only in the Rio Pilcomayo, and we C Ce 133 C Ce [226]

8:Nordenskiöld E-S/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
CE
133
226

shall see that the methods of fishing differ somewhat in the different rivers. At the Rio Pilcomayo the Indians must always have found a good supply of food. As many Chiriguano live by very insignificant streams they never have the opportunity of fishing. The Chané all live in places where they are able to procure fish during some part of the year at least.

C
CE
[361]

C
CE
224

Big game is scarce in the land of the Chiriguano and Chané. Nor are these Indians keen huntsmen. One seldom sees game that has been killed by them in their huts. The great flocks of fat pigeons that settle in their fields are for the most part left unmolested.

C
CE
[223]

C
CE
241
243

As we shall see in the following the Chiriguano and Chané live mostly by tilling the ground. Owing to the comparative dryness of their land maize is cultivated more than anything else. It is the ease with which this plant can be grown here, that makes the land of the Chiriguano and Chané a good land to dwell in.

C
CE
222

The fruit of the carob-tree (algarrobo) is the most important wild fruit. Probably no careful study has ever been made of the climatic conditions of the Chiriguano and Chané country. It is situated in the tropics, north of the tropic of Capricorn and the traveller there of course suffers more from heat than cold. In May and June especially, however, when there is a strong south wind, it is agreeable to have a well built house, warm clothes and a snug bed. The rains begin in December and leave off in April or May. It sometimes happens that there is little or no rain and then the crops are a failure. They are often destroyed by grasshoppers.

C
CE
132

C
CE
[241]

Nordenskiöld E-S(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
IF10 Chiriguano IF10
Chaco IF8

C
ce
441
[824]

for arrow shafts has been completely destroyed by cattle along the Rio Parapiti. Formerly the Chané made the shafts for their arrows of »chuchio».

The arrow points are made of hard wood and sometimes of iron. Arrows with several tips are used for fishing and sometimes also for shooting birds. Arrow-tips made of cactus spikes are used by some Chirignano for fishing. Some characteristic types of arrows are depicted here (fig. 6). Some arrows are feathered to guide the flight. The feathers are fixed in the way that MEYER calls »Peruvian cemented feathering». The feathers are quite small as on Chaco arrows generally. Arrows with thickened heads (bird arrows) are very common. Some of them have the shape we see depicted here (fig. 6 E). This type does not occur among any of the other tribes I got to know during my travels, but they are common among several peoples living in the east, e. g. the Caingué, Guató, and Bororó, and in the northern part of S. America, among the Trio, Guahibo and others. They have most likely been introduced here by the Chirignano. It is not probable that they have come from the Arawaks for, as a rule, they do not use blunt bird-arrows. In Part I I have published a map (No. 3) showing the distribution of the bird-arrow in S. America. Later on I will deal with arrows particularly used for fishing. The Chirignano and Chané sometimes use a special kind of bast to bind round the arrow where the point is inserted in the shaft. The same kind of bast is not met with among the Choroti and Ashluslay or among the other Chaco tribes I have got to know. It occurs, however, among the Caingué.

C
[824]
[226]

C
ce
*[171]

C
[171]

C
ce
[283]
*[171]

In part I I have already published a map showing the distribution of the sling in S. America. I have nothing to add to this which cannot be seen in the subjoined drawings (fig. 7).

The pellet-bow is rather common among the Chirignano and also among the Chané. It is chiefly used by boys and youths. I wish here to make a few additions to what I have said about the pellet-bow in Part I.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

V.

Fishing tackle.

C
Ce
226

Three methods of fishing are known to the Chiriguano and Chané with, moreover, a northerly distribution. These methods are the use of the fish-spear or fishgig, the use of many pointed arrows, and fishing with poison.

C
Ce
*191
114
226
411

I have not seen the fishspear among the Chiriguano. ERIC VON ROSEN[1]), however, depicts one from this tribe which is preserved in the Riksmuseum in Stockholm. Something like it from these Indians is mentioned by ACOSTA[2]).

The Guarayú[3]) spear eels with two single-pointed spears of »chonta». According to EDER[4]) the Mojo used fish-spears with three points. They did their spearing by torchlight and fixed the torches in the prow of their canoes. According to FREIREISS[5]) the Coroados had double-pointed fish-spears. KOCH-GRÜNBERG[6]) mentions triple-pointed fish-gigs from the Huhúteni and other Indians in northwestern Brazil. The Indians in the northwest of Brazil also fish by torchlight. The Indians at Lago Titicaca[7]) use triple-point-

C
Ce
226
*191
411

[1]) (1) Pl. XIV.

[2]) T. I, P. 236 »Otro género de pesca vi, á que me llevó el Virey Don Francisco de Toledo; verdad es, que no era en mar, sino en un rio, que llaman el Rio Grande, en la Provincia de los Charcas, donde unos Chiriguanas se zabullian debajo del agua, y nadando con admirable presteza seguian los peces, y con unas fiscas, ó harpones que llevaban en la mano derecha, nadando solo con la izquierda herian el pescado, y así atrevesado lo sacaban arriba, que cierto parecian ellos ser mas peces, que hombres de la tierra.»

[3]) NORDENSKIÖLD (9) P. 177.

[4]) P. 301.

[5]) P. 271.

[6]) (2) T. 2, P. 34, Fig. 9. See also WHIPPEN P. 113.

[7]) NEVEU-LEMAIRE P. 75.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce ed poles *that are used both as fish spears and to punt their*
226 *rafts along.*
411
171 It is not unlikely at all that it is the multi-pointed pole which has suggested the fish spear. These poles are multi-pointed in order that they may be used in swamps, to punt their canoes along. It was natural that the Indians should try with these poles to have a thrust at any fish they might see. Then, if they migrated to a district where many-pointed poles were no longer needed, these poles lived on as fishspears.

C
226 As I have already mentioned the Chiriguano shoot fish
411 with a bow and arrow. For this purpose they sometimes, though not always, use many-pointed arrows. I have seen two different types which are depicted here (fig. 15). One has two wooden points, the other which was used at Rio Parapiti for shooting small fish, has many points of cactus spikes. Two or three-pointed arrows used for shooting fish are spread in South America chiefly in the water region of the Amazon, as indicated on map 5 and table 4.

Ce I have not visited any Chané who live where they are
226 able to use this method of fishing. Among the arrows in
411 my collection there are no multipointed ones that came from them.

As seen from map 5 and table 4, the many-pointed fish-arrow seems to be a cultural element that came to the Chiriguano from the north part of S. America, most likely from Mojos. I have seen the harpoon arrow neither among the Chiriguano nor the Chané.

Table 4.

C
Ce *The following tribes use multi-pointed fishing-arrows. Map 5.*
102
226 4. Chiriguano, Fig. 15. Two or many points.
411 31. Trio, Goeje (1) Pl. V. Fig. 9. Three-pointed.
171 33. Campa, Therese v. Bayern (2) Vol. 2, Pl. 1,7 Four-pointed.
S
102
226

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
226
911
171
S
102
226

41. Pauserna, Two-pointed.
43. Huanyam, Three-pointed.
47 a. Patamona, THULIN G. M. Three-pointed.
48. Indians Northwestern Brazil. KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) T. 2. P. 230. Two-pointed.
Not on the map Schakaja—Rio Orinoco. RATZEL Vol. 1. Pl. 24. Three-pointed.
55. Indians, coast of Guiana. STEDMAN T. 2, P. 100; BARRERE P. 169; QUANDT. Fig. 6. Three to five pointed.
63. Yamiaca, Four-pointed. For bird-shooting. Probably also used for fishing.
64. Huari, Two or three-pointed. Nambicuara, ROQUETTE-PINTO (2) P. 184. Two, three and four-pointed.
70. Piro, Upper Rio Purus. KOCH-GRÜNBERG, Communicated by letter.
V3. Caripou, MOCQUET Fig. CC. Three-pointed.
6X. Tambopata-Guarayo. Three-pointed.
2M. Wapisiana. FARABEE Fig. 13. Three-pointed.

C
Ce
226

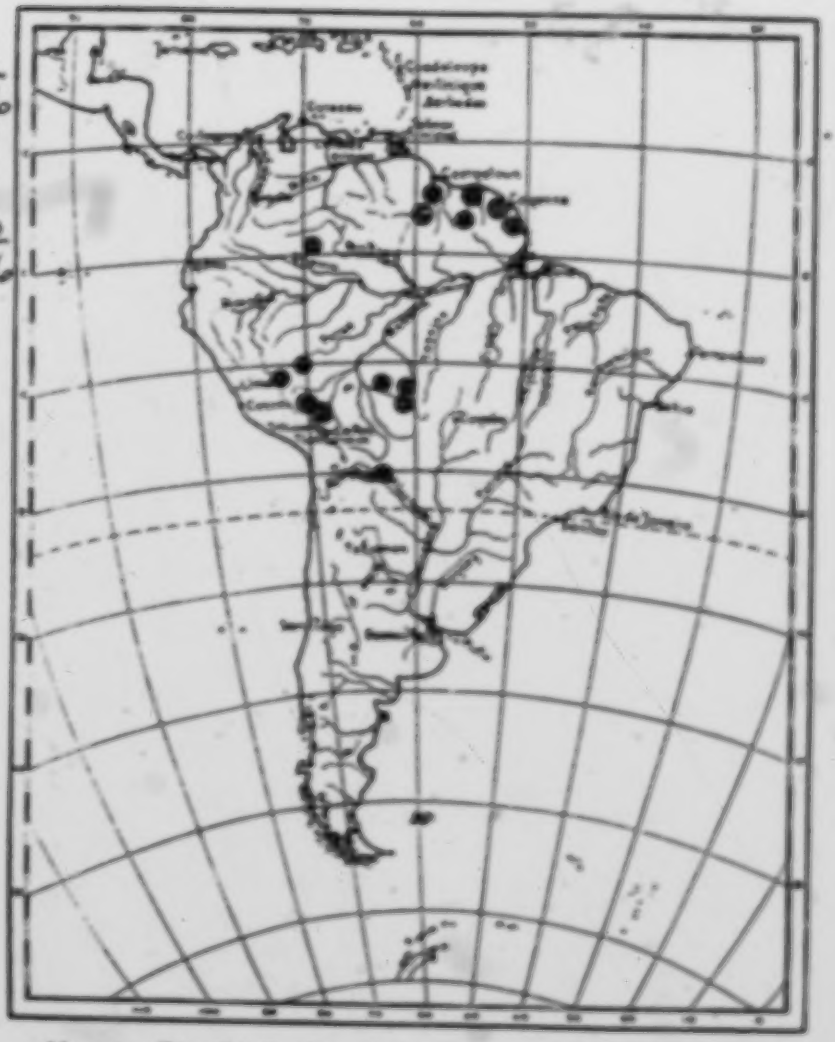
I have not seen these Indians fish with poison. At the Upper Rio Pilcomayo, however, I heard in 1913 that the Chiriguano know how to poison the water with a certain kind of bark as a means of catching fish. A great number of plants are used by S. American Indians for this purpose, particularly in the basin of the Amazon.[1]) On the map and table, I have endeavoured in some measure to elucidate the distribution of this fishing-method. Curiously enough KARL V. D. STEINEN did not see this method of fishing among the Indians tribes at the upper Rio Xingu.[2]) I have neither seen it myself nor heard of it among the Indians in El Gran Chaco. Nor does MAX SCHMIDT mention fishing with poison from the Guató.

---

[1]) See further KOCH-GRÜNBERG (1) T. 2.
[2]) (3) P. 235.

SchNordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF9
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
226
411
171
S
102
226



Map. 5. The distribution of the multi-pointed fishing arrow.

Schwabenschiffel E-4,5(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chirignano SF10
Chano SF1
South American Indians 53

Table 5.

Fishing with poison. Map 6.

C
CE
226 4. Chirignano.
171 10. Araucanians, Molina P. 188; Guevara (1) P. 90.
102 13. Karajá, Krause P. 250.
5 15. Kayapó, Krause P. 386.
102 18. Quichua, Cobo T. 4. P. 227.
226 21. Caingná, Ambrosetti (7) P. 728.
23. Churipa.
24. Chimáne.
25. Mojo, Eder P. 303–304.
30. Guyaqui, Ambrosetti (7) P. 728.
31. Rouhouyennes, Crevaux. P. 267, 269.
33. Campa, Grandidier P. 142.
34. Jivaro, Rivet (1) P. 57.
37. Motilon, Bolinder (2) P. 36.
38. Tupí, Varnhagen P. LXXVIII.
40. Guarayú, In the missions.
45. Botocud-Indians, Wied P. 51.
47. Patamona, Thylin; Wapisiana, Farabee P. 59.
48. Indians northwestern Brazil, Koch-Grünberg (2) T. 2. P. 48. with literature.
49. Aruana, Ambrosetti (2) P. 141.
51. Sirionó, Herzog P. 79.
55. Indians Coast of Guiana, Bury P. 358; Stedman T. 2. P. 119.
58. Cavina, Tumupasa, cultivate plants for their poison.
61. Indians Rio Vaupés and Rio Içá, Wheeler P. 113.
62. Chacobo.
74. Tamanaco, Gilij. P. 325.
77. Tapirapé, Krause P. 407.
79. Guinau and Yekuaná, Phot. Koch-Grünberg.
90. Chipaya and Curuahé, Snethlage P. 77.
94. Chiquitos, Fernandez P. 46.
99. Cunanagoto, Caulin, P. 90.

Schwedenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

6 P. Aguarunas, QUINTANILLA P. 79; HABICH P. 172. C
IX. Colorado, RIVET (1) P. 57. Ce 226
IX. Paez, UNCOMCHEA (2) P. 77. 171 *
7 F. Half civilized Indians, Lower Tapajos, BATES P. 200. 102
4 I. Cazimará, ARRUT P. 36. S
7 S. Arawaks, IM THURN P. 234. 102
8 S. Indians Orinoco, GUMILLA T. 1, P. 322. 226
9 S. Mayuas, CHANTRE Y HERRERA P. 106; SAABEDRA P. CXLVII.
1 T. Lens, WEDDEL P. 448.
4 T. Indians at Sebapaja, near Moyobamba, HERNDON P. 165.
3 T. Aowqua, Oyapoc, Guiana, FAUQUE P. 318.
4 T. Indians Rio Uçayali, CASTELNAU Vol. 4. P. 446—447.
X 7. Indians Rio Amazonas, ACUÑA P. 71.
1 Indians Paraguay, DOBRIZHOFFER T. 1, P. 344.
004. " Rio Cassiare, RIVERO P. 8[1]).
005. " Rio Negro, RIBEIRO DE SAMPAYO. P. 21[1]).

The Chiriguano and the Chané fish with dip-nets both in the Rio Parapiti and in the Rio Pilcomayo. Those used in the Rio Parapiti are small and the meshes fine, as only small fish occur there. They seem to be dwarfed specimens of the big nets used in the Rio Pilcomayo. I know too little about the distribution of different types of nets in S. America to try to show their geographical distribution. Dip-nets like those used by the Chiriguano and Chané I have only seen among the Choroti, Ashluslay, Mataco, [71]* Toba and Tapiete.

C Ce 226

C Ce

On the Upper Rio Pilcomayo the Chiriguano build great dams of stone in which they catch fish when the fish are making their way up the river. Such damming contrivances are also mentioned by CORNEJO[2]) from the Chiriguano

C 226

[1]) After PAUSCHKE. Communicated by letters.
[2]) P. 66.

3:Nordenskiöld E-5,y(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

who dwelt on the Upper Rio Bermejo beyond Centa. The Figure 14 shows us the construction of one of these dams. NIXON[1]) speaks of a large kind of trap, the «pari», used by the Chiriguano. I have not come across any of them in my travels. The Caingang[2]) call big traps «pari», as do also the Apiacá[3]).

I have seen the Chané at Rio Itiyuro fishing with calabashes and also employing the method of making dams.[4]) Fishing with calabashes proceeds as follows: A number of leafy boughs are stuck into the bottom of the stream to form a shadow and in front of each one of them a calabash containing sour ground maize offal from the chicha brewing is placed. The fish enter the calabash, which is emptied now and then by the women. I have not seen this method of fishing in any other place.

The Chiriguano and Chané also fish with hooks which they now get from the Whites. They use neither floats nor sinkers.

Among present-day Indians I have seen an original fishhook from the Tamboqata-Guarayo. That the fishhook in S. America is of pre-Columbian origin is known by the numerous finds of fish-hooks on the coast of Peru and Chili made by UHLE and others. Among the Chiriguano the fish-hook is certainly also a pre-Columbian cultural element. This is apparent from the fact that they, as well as the Tupi Indians on the coast of Brazil, call the fish-hook «Pinda», which word is plainly identical with the Quichua or Incan name for fish-hook, «Pinta». From this it appears that the Chiriguano and Chané probably learned the use of fish-hooks from the western region of civilization.

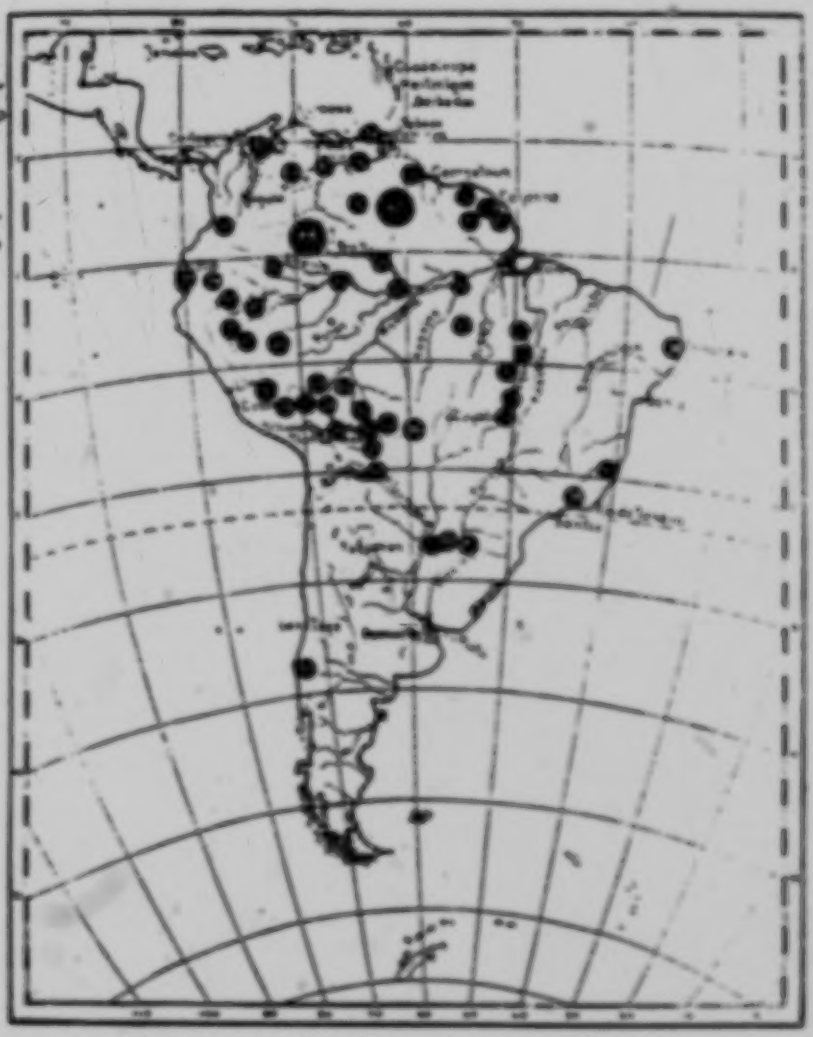
It is also known that the first Conquistadores brought fish-hooks for barter, so it is most likely that many Indian

[text continues on p. 46]

[1]) P. 251.
[2]) AMBROSETTI (1) P. 398.
[3]) PLOMERICK P. 276.
[4]) See NORDENSKIÖLD (8 a) P. 171.

Schwabenfeld E-6 (1908-1909, 1912) 1900
SF10 Chirguano SF11
Chaco SF8
South American Indians S3

C
ce
102
226
171
S
102
226



Map. 6. The distribution of fishing with poison

tribes have learnt this method of fishing from the whites. As mentioned above, I consider the fish-hook I found among the Tambequita - Guayaqui[1]) to be of original Indian type. Something similar is also mentioned by FIGUEIRA from the Mainas[2]). Fish-hooks of bone occur among the Indians at the Rio Napo. The Uitoto use hooks of wood or palm-spikes.[3]) In rivers where the palometas (Serrosalmo) occurs, fishing with hooks of an inferior material is almost impossible, as these voracious fish bite through a hook with their sharp teeth as easily as they would a line.

Fig. 19. Dam of stone from the Upper Rio. Pilcomayo.
A — Entrance. B — Pocket where the fish are caught.

The Chiriguano on the Rio Pilcomayo use a wooden needle with a line to pull up fish that they have caught. Such needles are also known from the Chunuti, Ashluslay, Toba, Mataco and Lengua.

[1]) (cf. Fig. 18.
[2]) P. [illegible].
[3]) Wallaschek P. [illegible] (See also WALLASCHEK P. [illegible])

In the following table I have endeavoured to show the distribution of different methods of fishing that I have seen among the Indian tribes visited by me.

Table 6.

Methods of Fishing.

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ashuslay	+	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
Ayoreo	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
Mashoreno	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Caribs	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cayahabi	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chamba	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Choroti	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chiriguano	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
Chiriguano	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chiriguano	+	+	+	—	+	—	—	+	+	—	+
Chorotti	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
Chunupi	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Guaraya (Bilabos)	+	+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
" Tacuarita	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	+
Guaycuru	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	+
Ilhot	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+
Ilutaro	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
Ishiro	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tachapata Guaraya	+	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	+
Tapiete	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
Toba	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
Tonkawa	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+
Tonorio	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

The Chiriguano and Chaná, with the exception of those who live at the Rio Pilcomayo, give the impression of being fishermen without any water to fish in. When there are

[illegible] See Part I. P. [illegible]
[illegible] of different kinds.

When there are plenty of fish in the Pilcomayo, there is a great trade in dried fish in that part of the country. The Indians tramp long distances in order to fish or get fish by barter.[1] In places where the fish are so small that they rarely exceed the length of a finger, as in Rio Itiyuro, the fishing, done by women and children, still forms no small part of the diet of the people[2]. It is not surprising that the Chiriguano and Chané are eager fishermen, for no doubt both tribes come from well-wooded tracts of the country where fish is abundant.

a

b

Fig. 13. Points of arrows for fishing. Chiriguano.
a – R. M. E. 6.06. 2/3 b – R. M. E. 6.07. 1/4

[1] Dalton: Descubrimiento del Gran-Chaco, P. 151: «Del pescado es muy diestro, mas no todas las tribus lo tienen cerca, éstas, cuando saben que en las orillas de los grandes ríos hay en abundancia, caminan hasta ciento cincuenta kilómetros para hacer el cambalache: llevan maíz ó harina y lo cambian por pescado.»

[2] This is where they get their very clean habits and their superbness in bathing every day.

Schwabenkiste E-8/4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1909
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
Ce
177

guano until they had settled in their present territory, let us say by trade or other connections with the tribes living in N. E. Bolivia. I will not assert that this is impossible, but I am of opinion that it cannot apply to most of these cultural elements. In any case it does not apply to such cultural elements as rubber balls, certain kinds of basket work of palm-leaves, and hammocks, which clearly overstepped the natural confines as a result of emigration. The rubber for the balls must be procured from the north, and suitable palm-leaves for basket-work is not to be found locally. The hammock is not the kind of bed best suited to this part of the continent.

C
Ce
177
241

Mandioca is now cultivated only as a rarity by the Chiriguano and Chané. It is highly probable that, before they settled in their present habitat, this plant was of considerable importance to them. Neither the Chiriguano nor the Chané depended so largely on maize before they came to the parts they now inhabit. Here they have an excellent soil for growing maize.

C
Ce
177
226

Fish and game are now certainly of less importance to these Indians than they used to be. I mentioned earlier that the Chiriguano and Chané now make the impression of fishermen without water to fish in. A method of fishing which is of no little importance to the kinsmen of these Indians, is fishing with poison. In these parts it is rare, but occurs, at least among the Chiriguano.

C
Ce
177
224

«Chuchio» (*Gynerium* sp.) was formerly the plant that yielded at least the material for the arrows of the Chané Indians. As it has now been uprooted, its place is taken by another growth of grass, *Arundo donax*. It was not until post-Columbian times that this reed, which is used by the Chiriguano, Chané, and all the Chaco tribes for the shafts of their arrows and for other purposes, was introduced into S. America, where now, not least in El Gran Chaco, it has an exceedingly widespread distribution. (I ought to have pointed this out in the First Part of the pre-

[text continues on p. 212]

/180 cont./

the most common among the Chiriguano. Only those women who live with the whites and have adopted their manners and customs carry jugs on their heads.

Division of Labor between the Sexes

Here too, as among the Chorotí and Ashluslay Indians, each sex, as a rule, has its specific work, as we see from the following table:

Table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Chaná and Chiriguano.

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Fishing . . .	+	+ (1)	Gathering wild fruits and tubers		+
Hunting . . .	+		Ceramics . . .		+
Planting, clearing . .	+		Woodworking . .	+	
sowing . .	+	+	Knotting nets . .	+	
reaping . .	+	+	Plaiting rope . .	+	
Cooking	(2)	+	Plaiting mats . .	+	
Carrying wood . . .	+	+ (3)	Tying hammocks .		+
Carrying water . . .		+	Leather work . .	+	
Preparing intoxicating drinks		+	Making weapons .	+	

1. As a rule, the women fish in shallow water, the men in deep water.

2. Sometimes take part in the preparation of the hunting booty.

3. Among the Chaná on the Río Parapití.

6: Nordenskiöld--35 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 5F10 Chiriguano 5F/10
Chane 5F8

/181 cont./

Branches of Subsistence

Fishing and hunting do not play an important role among the Chané and Chiriguano. As I have mentioned before, they are farmers, primarily maize farmers. These Indians live so exclusively on maize that for them all other food plays a subordinate role. The Indians living on the Río Parapití are an exception; they plant more sweet potatoes than maize, and these yield an excellent harvest in their country.

/182/ The following plants are grown by the Chané and Chiriguano:

- Sweet potatoes.
- Maize.
- Squash (*Cucurbita pepo* Lin.).
- Calabash fruit.
- Beans of different varieties.
- Cotton.
- Urucú.
- Tobacco.
- Tuna (for example, at Yatavéti). Opuntia.
- Millet.
- Mandioca (pare).
- Reed for arrow shafts (on the Río Parapití).

In the plantings of these Indians I saw neither ordinary potatoes nor bananas. The sweet potatoes, according to Betanzos's statements, were introduced at a late period by the whites. Tobacco-raising is insignificant. The Chané and Chiriguano are not great smokers. They mostly smoke cigarettes in maize leaves, seldom pipes (Fig. 88). Among them one need not give his pipe to a neighbor for further smoking.

It is strange how the use of tobacco differs among the Indian tribes. The Aymara and Quichua /Quechua/, who chew coca, very seldom smoke. They have no taste for it. The Chacobo and Atsahuaca, two tribes with whom I became acquainted on my travels, smoked just as little. When I offered a Chacobo a

/183 cont./

The Chaõõ and the Chiriguano are not great hunters. Perhaps in former times there was more hunting. Their hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow. For hunting wild pigs they use clubs; for ostrich hunts the boleadora /bola/, "churima," was formerly used. Snares and bird nets are also found. In former times the hunters wore /184/ a costume of leather cut in imitation of a European cut, obviously copied from the Spaniards (1). This

1. Vinduna already mentions this costume, p. 181.

was not permitted to hang in the house. Formerly, also among the Chaõõ on the Rio Paraguay, no meat could be cooked in the house; rather, this had to be done a short distance away. Boys are, of course, eager hunters of small birds. Like the men, they sometimes use clay-projectile bows.

There are hunting dogs specially trained for hunting wild pigs. In a Chaõõ village on the Rio Itiyuro I saw how all the dogs had a red cross painted on their heads, so that they would not be bitten by a mad dog running about in the vicinity. It was truly amusing to see how these heathen Chaõõ protected their dogs against rabies with the sign of the cross.

Betirayu told me that Chaõõ men, when they go hunting, are not permitted to sleep with their wives the night before.

Fishing is carried on differently in the various rivers.

In the Rio Itiyuro women and children almost exclusively do the fishing. There are only small fish there too. I saw three methods of fishing there. Angling, fishing with calabashes, and fishing by damming up pools. The fishhooks consist of bent needles obtained from the whites. Floats and sinkers are not used.

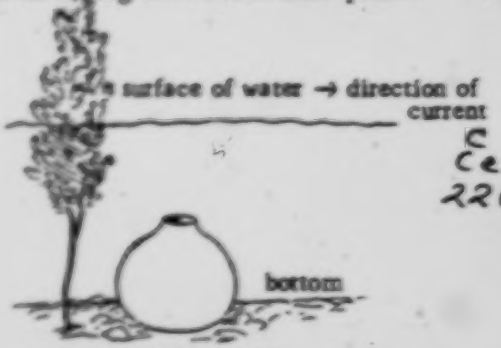
Fishing with calabashes is done in the following way. Several bunches of leaves, which give shade, are stuck in the bottom of the river, and in front of each of these is placed a calabash (Fig. 90) with sour, ground maize (residue from beer brewing). The fish gather in the calabashes, which are taken out from time to time by the women. The latter creep toward the calabash, quickly place a hand over the opening, lift /185/ it up, and then empty the contents into pits along the river bank.

/186 cont./ Ee

Another method of fishing often used in the aforementioned 226
river is to dam up longish pools in the sand, in which fish gather. After the water is emptied out of the pools, the fish are caught. Sometimes the pond is made to terminate in a channel closed off with a scoop net /Kescher/, from which the fish cannot escape. Ee

All the fishing that I saw on the Rio Itiyuro was done during [132]
the dry season, on hot, sunny days.

On the upper Rio Pilcomayo the Chiriguano fish with fishhooks C 226
obtained from the whites, with nets similar to the dip nets of [177]
the Choroti, though smaller, and by shooting the fish with bow [411]
and arrow. The arrows used for fishing have two or more points.



Ee 226

Fig. 90. Fishing with calabash.
Rio Itiyuro.

On the Rio Parapiti I saw Chané and Chiriguano fishing with C
a net of the type illustrated here (Fig. 91). In shooting fish, the [411]
Chiriguano there use arrows with many fine points.

In these last-named rivers the men always fish in deeper water with nets and with bow and arrow, whereas the women are content to catch small fish where the water is dammed when the river is half dry. Ee

Not infrequently the Indians undertake long journeys in order to 226
fish. Thus, the Chané sometimes during the /186/ dry season 484
visit the swamps "Madrejones" in which the Rio Parapiti disappears. [33]

/186 cont./

It is strange that peoples who fish so much are acquainted with so little fishing gear. In my description of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we have already become familiar with this deficiency. C Ce 226

On the Rio Pilcomayo, Moberg and the author once wanted to give the Indians the benefit of our fishing experience and constructed a weir of which we were not a little proud. We set it out, firmly convinced that in the morning it would be full of fish. All we caught was wood and refuse of all sorts, and I cannot deny that the Indians ridiculed us a bit. Ee 226 123 C Ce 226

The reason for the poverty of these Indians with regard to fishing gear is not a lack of ideas, but a different one. There are, quite simply, few fishing methods suitable for these waters. Setting out a net at night is not feasible, for if a palometa fish gets into the net it immediately cuts it in two with its knife-sharp teeth. Fishing with a hook where there are such fish is also not enticing, for they bite off the hooks as easily as the lines, if these are not made of good material. In these tropical waters the fishing gear also rots more quickly than among us and thus should not be left in the water all night. C Ce 484 501

The Chiriguano and Chané have no vessels. On the other hand, they are extraordinary waders, and to wade in the rivers here during the rainy period is not exactly a small matter. If, however, one has the assistance of one of these Indians, one can cross if it is possible at all.

As an oddity I might mention that during my entire journey I never saw a native white or mestizo fishing. In Bolivia it is not refined to eat fresh fish. On the Rio Pilcomayo /187/ the officers of the military post almost never ate the delicious, fresh, salmon-like fish from the river, but preferred canned salmon from Alaska. Since this is very old by the time it reaches Bolivia, it tastes dreadful. Fishing with a hook is also the only method of fishing that the Indians learned from the whites. C Ce [226] [177]

As for domestic animals, the dog is the only one that the Chiriguano and Chané did not get from the whites. These dogs now seem to me to have a strong mixture of foreign blood. They always have names, for example, tirupotchi (old garment), /Fig. 91 appears here/ chapikáyu (yellow eyebrows). As a rule, Ee 231 [177] [552]

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

[P. 205]

CHAPTER VIII.

The Chiriguanos (2).

Industries. Cultivated plants. Hunting. Fishing. Vessels for food and drink. Intoxicants and stimulants. Music and dancing. Social order. Customs governing marriages, childbearing, illnesses, death and burial. Character and temperament. Belief in metempsychosis.

The Chiriguano are mainly an agricultural people, but they also do a certain amount of hunting and fishing. Maize is the most important of their cultivated plants, and it is very extensively grown by them. Many other Indian domestic plants are also cultivated, viz. pumpkins, sweet potatoes, beans, mani, cactus with edible fruit (Opuntia), tobacco, cotton, uruku (Bixa orellana), and a reed plant (Arundo donax) for making arrow-shafts. Of imported cultivated plants grown by the Chiriguano, I have seen melons, water melons, sugar cane and oranges. According to Nordenskiöld, they also grow figs and millet,[1] these latter of course also having been introduced by the whites. Nowadays, European spades and hoes are used for loosening the soil. Among wild-growing food plants the algarrobo tree (Prosopis alba) is, to the Chiriguanos, the most important one. The Indians also prepare from the fruit of this tree an intoxicating drink to which they are much addicted.

The Chiriguano larder does not to any great extent depend on hunting the game, but formerly hunting must certainly have been an important source of subsistence. Snaring is, nowadays, the 'only' method of hunting employed by the Chiriguano. The long-bow, the pellet-bow, slings, bird-nets and clubs are still occasionally used in hunting.

In olden times the Indians were good shots with the bow and arrow, and, according to Lizarraga, they then used bows the height of a man.

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 23 and 24.

Fig. 215. A Chiriguano Indian with a fish spear. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

less. For the rest, the pellet-shooting long-bow is, compared with the pellet-shooting crossbow of the Old World, in any case a pretty poor weapon, both for war purposes and for hunting, which may explain its inconsiderable distribution even in well-wooded districts. Where this weapon nowadays occurs, it is only used for killing small birds, for target practice, and as a toy.

Fishing is carried on in the water courses with which the country is sparingly supplied. The Indians use hooks, nets, fish traps and weirs. These fishing methods are, however, almost exclusively used for fishing in rivers or largish bodies of water. In shallow streams and rivulets, the fish are shot with arrows, or speared with a two-pronged fish-gig. Fishing with poison is also said to be made use of.[1]

A fish trap consists of a large, bottle-shaped calabash, wide in its lower part, but with a narrow neck. The trap, which is placed under the lee of a few boughs stuck into the river bottom, must not be set in deeper water than makes it possible for a wading person to reach the neck of the calabash. Ground bait, consisting of crushed, sour, maize, is put into the calabash. The fish will then collect inside the calabash, and the fisherman has only to carefully raise the trap out of the water. In the sandy river banks ponds are dug, and connected by a small channel with the river. When fish have collected in the ponds, the connecting channel is blocked up, the pond emptied of water, and the fish gathered up.[2]

Fig. 216. Detail of the fish spear in fig. 215. The prongs are of hard wood. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. 1/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 904.

Among the Chiriguano Indians I visited, fish-shooting was a common practice. For this they used their smallest and weakest hunting bows. But it is also possible that those light bows I saw being used for shooting fish with, were exclusively employed for that purpose. If so, then the bow in fig. 202 is a fish bow. The arrows are long, and are usually provided with

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 40.
[2] Nordenskiöld (18), pp. 170 and 171.

411 [226] two barbed prongs made of some hard wood (figs. 213 and 214). The arrow in fig. 210, which has only one prong, is used both in hunting and [824] for fish-shooting. The Chiriguano also use fish arrows pointed with a number of cactus spines.[1]

The fish spear has in later times become a very scarce implement with the Chiriguano. The only specimen obtained, as far as I know, is the one brought home by me, and now belonging to the Riksmuseum in Stockholm (figs. 215 and 216). Erland Nordenskiöld, who has compiled [114] a map of the distribution of the fish spear in South America, has been kind enough to inform me that the only mention he has come across in the literature, concerning its occurrence among the Chiriguano, is to be found in the account of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's unsuccessful expedition against these Indians.[2]

The fish spear I came upon among the Chiriguano in the neighbourhood of San Luis, has a 260 cm long shaft, made of some light kind of wood, very free from knots,[3] at one end of which two barbed wooden prongs are lashed on by means of a thin leather thong. The full lengths of the prongs are, respectively, 32.1 and 31.5 cm, and they project 20.2 cm from the shaft. One of the points has, however, been of a somewhat greater length, but has got blunted off. Both points have seven barbs on their outer sides. To ensure a perfectly firm fastening of the prongs, the fore end of the shaft has been wrapped with a piece of cloth, and over this the prongs have been lashed on.

323 I have already enumerated the various kinds of Chiriguano household [462] furniture. Among them, clay vessels hold a very important place. The Chiriguano are clever potters. It is only the women, though, who work at this industry.

In fig. 217 we see a potter's workshop, with a number of finished and unfinished pieces of earthenware. At the hut entrance is sitting a woman, who, with a piece of stick, is giving a finish to a large pot, which has been built up of rolls of clay, and is still unburnt.

[126] In figs. 218—225 I have reproduced some typical Chiriguano clay vessels that I collected at Aguayrenda. These vessels are particularly well made. The peculiar rim warts seen on the hanging vessel in fig. 225,

---

[1] Nordenskiöld (18), fig. 15 a.

[2] Acosta (1), Part I, Chap. XV.

[3] Unfortunately, during its transportation home, the handle was, unknown to me, cut into two parts.

C
Ce
343
182
171
231

/18 cont./ Their Purpose
today among the Chiriguano and Chané, as well as among the Matako and Churupí, is primarily to protect certain provisions against the numerous dogs and other domestic animals who are around in great number in every part of the town (74).

74. Concerning the question of the purpose of houses built upon posts with respect to damage by animals, cf. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 192-198.

C
Ce
433
224
226

Food and Drink. Manner of Eating and Drinking.

Hunting and fishing are not very important in the economy of the Chiriguano and Chané. Their territory has relatively few edible animals, and they are not very brave hunters (75).

75. Nord. 2, p. XVI.

C
Ce
224
262

Of animals that can be hunted, they eat the puma and the jaguar, while they scorn vultures, foxes, and the meat of monkeys, so craved by other Indians (76). One contribution

C
Ce
226
184

76. Nord. 1, p. 190.

to their subsistence which is worth mentioning is that from fishing, but only for the Chiriguano and Chané who live near the upper Pilcomayo River, since that river has excellent fishing. These Indians cannot make much use of fishing in the Rio Grande, because today this river can be held to be almost the frontier of their territory. The Parapití River has many fish, but they are very small. While the Chané today live in territories where for several months some fish are available, many Chiriguano towns are so far from the larger streams that fish does not enter into the diet of their inhabitants (77). With

77. Nord. 2, pp. XV and XVI.

C 411 177 /43 cont./ The Chiriguano in contact with the Quichua /Quechua/ also use another type of sling made of wool (200).

200. Métraux 1, p. 342 and Plate VII.

C 224 [411] According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano also formerly used the bola, called "churima," by them, for hunting the ostrich (201).

201. Nord. 1, p. 183.

C [231] We must still mention that the Chiriguano train their dogs for hunting, especially for hunting pigs (202).

202. Nord. 2, p. 31. Métraux 1, p. 346.

Fishing

C 433 226 Because, as I have already mentioned, there is no opportunity for fishing in any part of the Chiriguano territory nd also the large rivers which are in their territory, except for the upper Pilcomayo River, do not offer any fish other than very small ones, fishing has only secondary importance in the economy of most of the Chiriguano, although they utilize every chance they have to fish.

C 227 Among the Chiriguano in Machareti I did not see any fishing equipment outside of the small arrows with wire points, which are occasionally used for fishing. But among the Izozó CE 126 227 I acquired such a piece of equipment, which consists of a net bag that is closed at the top with two sticks of cane attached to the upper edge. (Cf. Figure 39.)

8: Schmidt--105 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

CE 227 126

/41/

Fishing Implements in the Collection

I. A. 764. Fishing implement (Izozó). Length of the sticks 73.5 cm. Width of the net 24 cm. (Fig. 39).

I. A. 795-801. Net bags for implements like I. A. 764 (Izozó).

C CE 227

Because of the flexibility of the two cane sticks attached to the upper edge of the net bag, the bag can be made to open by tension on the two sticks of cane. The opening thus made closes quickly when the tension ends. Such an implement of the Chiriguano of the Parapití is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (203).

C 227

203. Nord. 1, Fig. 91.

C CE 226

Among the other methods of fishing I shall mention, following v. Rosen and v. Nordenskiöld, the following: First, fishing by means of a gourd placed on the bottom of the river in the shade of a branch which is attached to the bottom near it. When the fish attracted by acidified maize have gathered inside the gourd, its opening is quickly closed with the hand (204). In addition the Indians of the Itiyuru River make

204. Nord. 1, p. 194 and Fig. 90.

oblong pools by building dikes (205), and those of the upper

205. Nord. 1, p. 185.

Pilcomayo River build large stone dikes for fishing (206). It

206. Nord. 2, pp. 43 and 44.

is said that on this river they use the bark of a particular tree to poison the water (207). They also fish with hooks, which

207. Nord. 2, p. 40.

C
Ce
226
[439]
[171]

/44 cont./The also fish with hooks, which today they obtain from the whites. But it may be that the hook is an implement of their ancient culture (208). In

208. Nord. 2, p. 44.

addition, they fish by means of deep nets like those of the neighboring Chaco tribes, such as the Chorote, the Churupí, the Matako, and the Toba (209). They also fish with arrows

209. Nord. 2, p. 43. Métraux I, p. 350, Fig. 80.

and formerly with spears with two points. On his trip in 1901-1902, v. Rosen acquired one specimen of these spears from the Chiriguano, which he has described and shown in a sketch (210).

210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 214 and Fig. 216.

C
Ce
227
411

Among the Chiriguano and Chané arrows specifically for fishing, we must distinguish two different kinds, one for larger fish, with two dentate wooden points (211), and the other for

211. Nord. 2, Fig. 15b. V. Rosen, op. cit., Figs. 213 and 214.

small fish, provided at the upper end of the shaft with a large number of cactus spines (212).

212. Nord. 7, Fig. 15a.

/349 cont./

556 tendency to estimate the value of objects in cows. For example,
[435] a loom with a nearly finished poncho was offered to me "for
[439] a cow," and the owner of the loom could not understand that it was difficult for me to convert the exchange into money.

262 Charqui, or meat dried in the sun, most often replaces
[251] fresh meat in the menus of our Indians. It is not a question of preference, but of necessity. Charqui is cheap and is bought in any estancia.

Fishing

221 When I went through the Chiriguano villages of the upper
226 Pilcomayo and the Parapití, the rivers were in flood, the corn was ripening in the fields, and no Indian wanted to let the parrots eat his corn in order to go to catch fish at the risk of getting himself carried off by the current. If I had come back to these same villages in July or August, the scene would have been completely different. The rivers would have been only thin trickles of water, and in every direction I should have perceived men /350/ and women busy fishing. The fishing season would have been at its height.

[196] The Chiriguano, having come from a country rich in watercourses, have in this respect preserved the traditions of their ancestors of the Paraná or the Paraguay.

226 Some, equipped with large landing nets (Fig. 18), form barriers against the current and advance, gathering the fish as if
[229] with a spoon. Then they grab them and attach them to their
[482] belts, after /Fig. 18 appears here/ threading them on a cord by means of a wooden needle (Fig. 19). Others lie in wait for a fish in the water and, as it goes by, impale it with an arrow equipped with several points (Fig. 20) or simply with two long, barbed wooden rods. Some, with the help of stone barriers, try to make the fish converge toward the opening of a wicker trap (1). Sometimes a group of individuals turn aside a

1. Compare Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260): "in summer (the Chiriguano) divert a stretch of the river; they leave the fish in the drained

/see Plate./

C 226

arm of the river; in waist-deep water they enter it with their bows and arrows and shoot them there, and any that escape the arrow the women go after with nets into which they fall."
/Translated from the Spanish./

C 229

C [183]

Fig. 18. Landing net of cotton thread (puisa). Chiriguano. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/19 nat. size.)

C 226 C [229] watercourse, leaving the fish dry, and catch them by hand or with a sieve (?). Iron fishhooks are equally popular: the

Ce 226

2. Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 184-185) describes a curious way of catching fish which is in use among the Chané of the Itiyuro River. They set branches in the water, which give shade and attract the fish. They also put there a calabash with some scraps of corn. The fish enter the calabash, whose neck is narrow. When several fish have gone in, the women close the orifice of the calabash with the hand and pull it up to the surface.

/351/

226 /Figs. 19-22 appear here/ /352/ Chiriguano attach them to the
[227] end of long cords. A spear with one or two points serves to harpoon the enormous surubú which pass within their reach
[481] (Fig. 21). It goes without saying that the Chiriguano are marvelous swimmers.

262 439 The Chiriguano like fish (1). If they live far from the

226 195 227 481 1. The skill of the Chiriguano at fishing had already attracted the attention of the ancient chroniclers. Acosta (Vol. I, p. 236) reports that he had a chance to see them handle the spear, a specimen of which is reproduced here in Figure 21. "Some Chiriguanas plunged under the water and, swimming with admirable speed, followed the fish, and with some fish spears, or harpoons, which they carried in the right hand, swimming only with the left, they struck the fish; and, spearing it thus, they came up, so that they certainly seemed to be more fish than men of the land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Rosen (1, Fig. 215, p. 213) represents a Chiriguano holding one of these two-pointed spears in his hand.

262 439 Pilcomayo and cannot get any directly, they buy it from the Toba or the Matako, who are good fishermen and in addition have the advantage of living on the very banks of the lower Pilcomayo.

[482] In the dry season one can see near Pilcomayo a continual coming and going of Chiriguano, bent under the weight of their nets full of ears of corn that they are going to barter for fresh
[484] or dried fish. They would not hesitate, it appears, to travel 150 kilometers to feast on it (Nino, p. 251).

• 227 [290] [296]

← 252

Fig. 19. Wooden needle (timoya) with which the Chiriguano thread the fish they have caught in order to be able to carry them more conveniently around the waist. Prov.: Tintapew. (1/3 nat. size.)

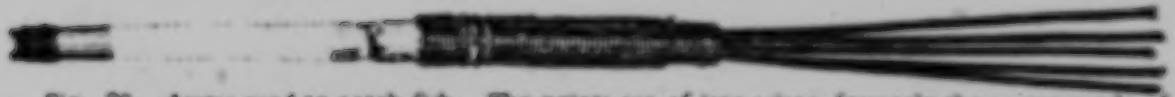


Fig. 20. Arrow used to catch fish. The points are of iron wire; formerly they were made of cactus spines. Prov.: Pípi. (1/2 nat. size.)

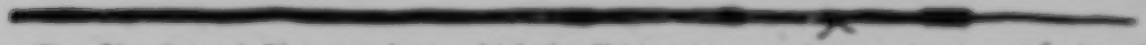


Fig. 21. Spear 4.70 meters long, which the Chiriguano use to harpoon large surubí when the latter swim within their reach. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/33 nat. size.)

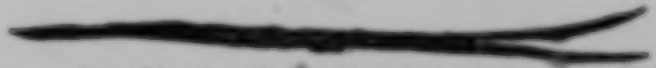


Fig. 22. Spit for roasting fish. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/7 nat. size.)

/27 cont./

[37 324 262] which is purple when mature and opens into three sections when ripe. It has an insipid sweetness, but one which both whites and Chiriguano like. The color is a bright purple. It is abundant, and in certain years of scarcity it is a resource for human life in the months of February and March. In Chiriguano it is called "Necoglina." The cangari is another cactus, taller than the preceding ones, which also has its congenial land. /28/ since it is not found everywhere. It is admirable for its tall, striated leaves or branches, ash-gray and armed with spines; its fruit is very pleasant and also sought [342 159] by foxes. The trunk is soft like that of all cacti; nevertheless doors are made of this wood and are durable enough. The pulp of the trunk is used medicinally to cure liver ailments, etc. They say that it is even good for goiter. There is another species of cactus which grows to some 20 or 25 centimeters; it is round and thick, striated and armed with spines. In Chiriguano it is called "Zipupe." The children, as we shall [524] see, make wheels by cutting off its spines, and, making it roll, they use it as targets for their arrows. Finally, there is another which is trailing and long, covering the ground where it grows and making the place impenetrable. This has and [262] produces a very delicious fruit which is called "Tapiacaro" in Chiriguano.

TILANDSIA. -- This plant is known to the Chiriguano by the name of "Caraguata guasu." Its special place is the [342 283 492] hills, and among them it has some more congenial to it; it grows well enough, and its leaves are extraordinarily broad and long and ash-gray in color; in the middle there is a thick stalk which rises quite high and is good wood for house rafters; from the crushed leaves they make cord and from these are made first-rate halters for tying up animals in the rainy season. [286 171 482 229] The Toba and even the Chiriguano make a kind of net which they call chipa or "allapoca," which is very useful, inasmuch as the women can carry any weight in a bag of that kind; from the same they make nets so as to be able to fish in the rivers, and these are pieces of work which would attract attention in any part of the Old World.

Schmelzwaffen 2-4(1904-1906, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

plenty of fish in the Pilcomayo, there is a great trade in dried fish in that part of the country. The Indians tramp long distances in order to fish or get fish by barter.[1] In places where the fish are so small that they rarely exceed the length of a finger, as in Rio Itiyuro, the fishing, done by women and children, still forms no small part of the diet of the people[2]. It is not surprising that the Chiriguano and Chaco are eager fishermen, for no doubt both tribes come from well-watered tracts of the country where fish is abundant.

a

b

Fig. 13. Points of arrows for fishing. Chiriguano.
a = R. M. E. 628. $^{3}/_{4}$; b = R. M. E. 627. $^{3}/_{4}$

[1] Padre Bernardino de Nino says, P. 251: «Del pescado es muy diverso, mas no todos los tribus lo tienen cerca, éstas, cuando saben que en las orillas de los grandes rios hay en abundancia, caminan hasta ciento cincuenta kilómetros para hacer el cambalache: llevan maiz ó harina y la cambian por pescado.»

[2] This is where they get their very clean habits and their eagerness to bath every day.

C /187 cont./
Ce the Chiriguano and Chané have fewer horses, cows, donkeys, sheep,
231 and goats than the Choroti and Ashluslay. On the other hand, they have more chickens and pigs. Sometimes one sees ducks, guinea fowl,
Ee and turkeys. In certain regions, as, for example, in the Caipipendi
[184] valley, where the Indians are wealthy, they also have much livestock.
[556] The whites, unfortunately, try in every way to cheat them out of what they have. Thus, it is not uncommon for a white man or a white
Ee woman to come into a village with a few kegs of spirits and to leave
[439] it with a couple of the best cows of the Indians. The whites are richer, the Indians poorer.

C
227

Fig. 91. Net. Chiriguano. Rio Parapiti. Ca. 1/12.

C The menagerie of tamed wild animals which one sees in the villages
Ce of the more primitive Indians is not to be found among /188/ these Indians.
231 A parrot that talks a little Guarani, however, is not unusual in the huts.
171

Preparation of Food

C The dirt that we come across in the preparation of food and eating
Ce among the Choroti and Ashluslay is not found /Fig. 92a appears here/
252 among the Chané and Chiriguano. On the other hand, the dishes are
Ee terribly monotonous. They consist of maize in every possible form,
[262] cooked maize, roasted maize, maize bread baked in ashes, maize flour porridge, and /189/ steamed maize flour. The latter is prepared in an apparatus illustrated here (Fig. 92).

Fig. 215. A Chiriguano Indian with a fish spear. San Luis, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

less. For the rest, the pellet-shooting long-bow is, compared with the pellet-shooting crossbow of the Old World, in any case a pretty poor weapon, both for war purposes and for hunting, which may explain its inconsiderable distribution even in well-wooded districts. Where this weapon nowadays occurs, it is only used for killing small birds, for target practice, and as a toy.

Fishing is carried on in the water courses with which the country is sparingly supplied. The Indians use hooks, nets, fish traps and weirs. These fishing methods are, however, almost exclusively used for fishing in rivers or largish bodies of water. In shallow streams and rivulets, the fish are shot with arrows, or speared with a two-pronged fish-gig. Fishing with poison is also said to be made use of.[1]

A fish trap consists of a large, bottle-shaped calabash, wide in its lower part, but with a narrow neck. The trap, which is placed under the lee of a few boughs stuck into the river bottom, must not be set in deeper water than makes it possible for a wading person to reach the neck of the calabash. Ground bait, consisting of crushed, sour, maize, is put into the calabash. The fish will then collect inside the calabash, and the fisherman has only to carefully raise the trap out of the water. In the sandy river banks ponds are dug, and connected by a small channel with the river. When fish have collected in the ponds, the connecting channel is blocked up, the pond emptied of water, and the fish gathered up.[2]

Fig. 216. Detail of the fish spear in fig. 215. The prongs are of hard wood. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. 1/6. Riksm. 03. 3. 904

Among the Chiriguano Indians I visited, fish-shooting was a common practice. For this they used their smallest and weakest hunting bows. But it is also possible that those light bows I saw being used for shooting fish with, were exclusively employed for that purpose. If so, then the bow in fig. 202 is a fish bow. The arrows are long, and are usually provided with

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 40.
[2] Nordenskiöld (18), pp. 170 and 171.

C 411 197 /43 cont./ The Chiriguano in contact with the Quichua /Quechua/ also use another type of sling made of wool (200).

200. Métraux 1, p. 342 and Plate VII.

C 224 [411] According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano also formerly used the bola, called "churima," by them, for hunting the ostrich (201).

201. Nord. 1, p. 183.

C [231] We must still mention that the Chiriguano train their dogs for hunting, especially for hunting pigs (202).

202. Nord. 2, p. 31. Métraux 1, p. 346.

Fishing

C 433 226 Because, as I have already mentioned, there is no opportunity for fishing in any part of the Chiriguano territory nd also the large rivers which are in their territory, except for the upper Pilcomayo River, do not offer any fish other than very small ones, fishing has only secondary importance in the economy of most of the Chiriguano, although they utilize every chance they have to fish.

C ● 227 Among the Chiriguano in Machareti I did not see any fishing equipment outside of the small arrows with wire points, which are occasionally used for fishing. But among the Izozó Ce 126 227 I acquired such a piece of equipment, which consists of a net bag that is closed at the top with two sticks of cane attached to the upper edge. (Cf. Figure 39.)

8: Schmidt--105 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce 227 126

Fishing Implements in the Collection

I. A. 764. Fishing implement (Izozó). Length of the sticks 73.5 cm. Width of the net 24 cm. (Fig. 39).

I. A. 795-801. Net bags for implements like I. A. 764 (Izozó).

C Ce 227

Because of the flexibility of the two cane sticks attached to the upper edge of the net bag, the bag can be made to open by tension on the two sticks of cane. The opening thus made closes quickly when the tension ends. Such an implement of the Chiriguano of the Parapití is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (203).

C 227

203. Nord. 1, Fig. 91.

C Ce 226

Among the other methods of fishing I shall mention, following v. Rosen and v. Nordenskiöld, the following: First, fishing by means of a gourd placed on the bottom of the river in the shade of a branch which is attached to the bottom near it. When the fish attracted by acidified maize have gathered inside the gourd, its opening is quickly closed with the hand (204). In addition the Indians of the Itiyuru River make

204. Nord. 1, p. 194 and Fig. 90.

oblong pools by building dikes (205), and those of the upper

205. Nord. 1, p. 185.

Pilcomayo River build large stone dikes for fishing (206). It

206. Nord. 2, pp. 43 and 44.

is said that on this river they use the bark of a particular tree to poison the water (207). They also fish with hooks, which

207. Nord. 2, p. 40.

C
Ce
226
[439]
[171]

/44 cont./The also fish with hooks, which today they obtain from the whites. But it may be that the hook is an implement of their ancient culture (208). In

208. Nord. 2, p. 44.

addition, they fish by means of deep nets like those of the neighboring Chaco tribes, such as the Chorote, the Churupí, the Matako, and the Toba (209). They also fish with arrows

209. Nord. 2, p. 43. Métraux I, p. 350, Fig. 80.

and formerly with spears with two points. On his trip in 1901-1902, v. Rosen acquired one specimen of these spears from the Chiriguano, which he has described and shown in a sketch (210).

210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 214 and Fig. 216.

C
Ce
227
411

Among the Chiriguano and Chané arrows specifically for fishing, we must distinguish two different kinds, one for larger fish, with two dentate wooden points (211), and the other for

211. Nord. 2, Fig. 15b. V. Rosen, op. cit., Figs. 213 and 214.

small fish, provided at the upper end of the shaft with a large number of cactus spines (212).

212. Nord. 2, Fig. 15a.

//74/

Ce 286 352 126

Nets of the Collection That Are Made with the Technique Called "Knotentechnik" in German, Using the Knot Called Reef Knot in English

I. A. 360. Hammock (276) (Chané of the Parapití). Caraguata.

276. Gift of Mr. Teodoro Rojas.

Length 3.20 m. (Fig. 102c.)

I. A. 766. Hammock (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 1.80 m.

C I. A. 794. " " " " 2.70 m.

Ce 286 415 482 126

I. A. 446. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Wool. Lgth 1.05 m.

I. A. 447. " " " " " " " 0.75 m.

I. A. 561-564, 567, 569-571. Nets for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length between 1.50 and 0.50 m. (I. A. 567, Figs. 134 and 143; I. A. 568, Fig. 144.)

I. A. 767-787; 790-792. Nets for carrying loads (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 1.60 m. and 0.65 m. (I. A. 768, Figs. 133 and 142; I. A. 772, Fig. 135.)

Ce 415 286 126

I. A. 785. Bag (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 0.82 m. Height 0.48 m.

I. A. 788 " " " " 0.62 m. " 0.62 m. (Fig. 136.)

I. A. 793. Quadrangular net (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 0.90 m.

Ce [227]

I. A. 764. Implement for fishing with net (Izozó). Length 73.5 cm. (Fig. 39.)

I. A. 795-801. Nets for implements such as I. A. 764 (Izozó). Caraguata.

C 411 286

I. A. 508. Sling (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length 15 cm.

I. A. 509. " " " " 14 cm.

C Ce 286 352 227 136

From the large size of the mesh of nets I. A. 360, 766, and 794, it follows that they are hammocks. Because in Chiriguano and Chané territory there are generally no fish except small ones, nets for fishing must have considerably smaller meshes.

C Ce 415 286 482 [283]

Of the Chiriguano nets for carrying loads, two are made of wool and one of these has a band like most such nets from the Izozó. The rest of these nets from the Chiriguano and the Izozó are made of caraguata thread. Some of them have a rather small mesh, but among those of the Izozó those with big mesh are the rule.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,-1 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

VI.

Domestic Animals.

Apart from the dog, the Chiriguano and Chané keep only European domestic animals. There is now no genuinely Indian breed of dogs here. Cattle-breeding is of some importance in certain parts, especially in the Caipipendi valley. Milking the cows is not understood. Some of these Indians keep large numbers of sheep and the women spin the wool and weave woollen stuffs. It is not known if they had wool in the pre-Columbian period, as it has not been ascertained whether these Indians kept llamas or not. Poultry are of great importance to the Chiriguano and Chané. The Indians in South-America were exceedingly quick to learn the art of poultry-keeping, thus, when CABOT touched the south coast of Brazil in 1526, he got plenty of hens from the Indians by barter.[1]) The Chiriguano and Chané have but few horses. They are not nearly such good equestrians as, for instance the Toba.

I have in my collection a riding whip stock made by the Chané. DEL CAMPANA depicts a very primitive saddle from the Chiriguano. I have seen similar saddles among the Toba Indians.

When these Indians acquired the European domestic animals, the chase must have lost in importance for them. They obtained their meat in another way. The possession of cattle compelled them to enclose their tilled ground, or to have it far removed from the pastures.

---

[1]) MEDINA (2) T. 1, P. 438.

/334 cont./

241 Before taking possession of a new plot of land the
423 Chiriguano is always careful to make sure that there is no trace
243 of previous cultivation. Otherwise the former owner or his
[685] descendants would have the right to lodge a complaint against him to the chief of the village.

[824] The Chiriguano makes known his new property right by planting any edible plant before the rainy season, for example, the large squash (gindako-wasu) which spreads everywhere and is not smothered by the underbrush. He can equally well insure possession of the chosen terrain by knocking down the underbrush all around and making big gashes in the trees (1).

[191] 1. Compare this manner of insuring property rights with the method observed by the Caxinawa /Cashinawa/ in the same circumstances: "I saw (an Indian is speaking) rising ground which is suitable for a planting. I am going to make a planting for this summer. I broke many branches on this hill to mark this excellent place. No one can make his clearing on this hill. This hill is excellent; do not go there to make your planting." (Abreu, p. 69.)

241 In the middle of the dry season, say, in August, the
243 Indian, with a long stick sharp on both sides, fells the underbrush which encumbers his future field and sets fire to it. This operation has the further advantage of fertilizing the soil, thanks to the bed of ashes, which is a rather good fertilizer.

The cultivated fields are usually cleaned up after the harvest.
[231] The domestic animals, who feed there with little expense, are first let out there, and then the fields are set afire.

[221] Sowing takes place in the month of November when the first rainstorms have softened the soil. This time is announced by
[821] the appearance of the Pleiades (itšu) above the horizon early in the morning.

/345 cont./

433 224 178 Outside these official expeditions they doubtless used to hunt for pleasure or simply to interrupt the monotony of their menu.

224 411 Quadrupeds were killed with arrows with lanceolate tips, originally of wood, today of iron (Plates VIII and IX, 2); small game, with arrows tipped with a barbed wooden rod [223] (Plate IX, 3-5). Birds were taken in traps or felled with a special arrow having a splayed ferrule (Plates X-XI).

224 [231] Anyone who has seen the little dogs of the Chiriguano Indians, with elongated /346/ muzzle, pointed ears, short hair, and arched tail will ask with surprise how animals so miserable, stupid, and snappish could have been trained to render service to man. Nevertheless, such seems to have been the case. For hunting the peccary, for example, the Indians employ the dogs, who track them and /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ force them to hide in their dens, from which they are smoked out and felled with blows of a stick when they try to run away. At least this is how the inhabitants of the village of Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) told me they had killed a peccary which they showed me at the time I was there.

433 224 184 For the modern Chiriguano, hunting has lost its reason for existing as an activity having an economic character, except perhaps /Plates VIII, IX, X, and XI appear here/ /347/ /Fig. 14 appears here/ for those of this nation who live [352] in the region of the upper Pilcomayo. At least this is the im- [412] pression I had after examining their huts: the bedsteads or wooden cots were often covered with peccary skins and the old deerhorn awls (Fig. 12) numerous enough to be able to be exchanged for a trifle. The relative abundance of these objects proves that among the Indians hunting has not been relegated /Fig. 15 appears here/ to the rank of a simple sport and that it keeps, at least in part, its past importance. [797] The contrast is striking if one then goes into the zone of the Franciscan missions: there, more peccary skins, more [411] perforators made of deerhorn, more ostrich feathers. In the villages of the upper Pilcomayo there is no cabin, poor as it may be, in which a bow and a bundle of arrows are not slipped

[Text Continues on P. 89]

411
284

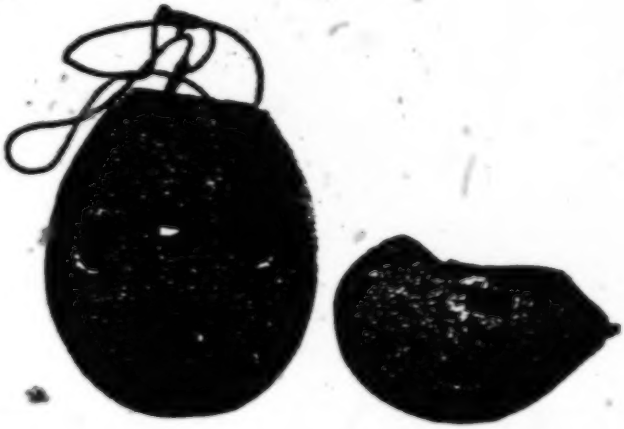
223
231

Fig. 14. Hunting throw. Chiriguano. The point is formed by an iron rod to which a nail has been fastened to form a barb. This point is held in the shaft by means of a wooden peg. Prov.: - Nawirendo. (1/4 nat. size.)

Fig. 15. Upper tip of a lorero (long wand with a noose at the end, with which the Chiriguano catch wild parrots they have attracted by means of tame ones). Prov.: Ivu. (1/3 nat. size.)

231
223

Fig. 16. Perch with troughs for tame parrots which the Chiriguano use for catching wild ones. Prov.: Ñawirenda. (1/10 nat. size.)



231
415
825

Fig. 17. Perforated calabashes in which the Chiriguano put chicks to protect them from birds of prey. Prov.: a, Carurutí; b, Ibopeytí. (1/4 nat. size.)

/348 cont./

287 half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade
439 brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as
[484] Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each
[435] feather duster.

224 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the
178 Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago,
231 those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep,
433 goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last
435 years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills
[464] of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in
[465] recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often
471 even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently
231 costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the
[435] means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

[262] 1. In former times they used to feel an un-
[178] conquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to
556 diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text Continues on p. 93]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fishing.—Fishing is worth while only for those *Chiriguano* and *Chané* who live along the upper Pilcomayo or Bermejo Rivers and, to lesser extent, for the *Chané* of the Parapeti and Itiyuro Rivers. Methods of fishing vary somewhat with the regions. Along the Pilcomayo River, fish are caught with iron hooks, with dipnets, similar to those of the Chaco Indians, with the bow and arrow, and with long two-pronged spears. Fishing baskets are used in combination with stone dams (fig. 57).

FIGURE 57.—*Chiriguano* fish dam in the Pilcomayo River. *A* is entrance; *B* are pockets where fish are caught. (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1930, fig. 14.)

Among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro, fishing is done almost exclusively by women and children. They use hooks, but more often they capture fish in small ponds which they cut from the main stream by means of weirs. They also catch small fish in narrow-necked gourds into which they place chicha dregs as a bait. The *Chané* of the Parapeti scoop fish with nets or shoot them with arrows tipped with a bundle of cactus thorns (Nordenskiöld, 1912, pp. 184–185).

Domesticated animals.—Modern *Chiriguano* raise sheep, cattle, horses, and chickens. Their dogs are so completely mongrel that their European or Indian origin cannot be ascertained. The *Chiriguano* were probably acquainted with chickens when they arrived in their present territory, for they use a *Guaraní* term for them. Pets are not numerous in their villages; most of them are parrots which were captured by means of a noose attached to the end of a long pole. In order to approach the wild birds, the Indians use tame parrots and decoys.

Cooking.—Maize is prepared in a great many ways. The grains are eaten on the cob, roasted in special pans, boiled in water, or ground into flour, which is served with every meal. One method of preparing maize flour is to steam it in a perforated bowl.

/9 cont./

133 At this point the river disappears completely from the
[312] month of June to December or January, forcing the farmers
[231] to make great excavations in its bed in order to be able to water their livestock; they have to go down to five meters in certain places. The course of the now dry river is easily seen, because in the season of great floods it leaves on the bank all the trash which it drags along and in its bed all the sand; the waters reappear to form the San Miguel River in the province of Velasco.

133 /10/ The benefit that agriculture and cattle raising draws
312 from the Parapiti is indisputable; without it the existence of Parapiti and Isoso cantons would be almost impossible. All the wealth of both areas would disappear, there would be no livestock, sugar plantations, or rice fields as there are now on both banks, which lend themselves marvelously to the opening of canals and irrigating the sugar-cane fields which abound there. Nevertheless, the extraordinary floods of certain years do much damage, making plantations and their equipment disappear almost completely.

136 This river contains few fish; there are only bagre and shad and others of little value; the big dorados do not exist and there are only a few small ones in its tributary, the Piray River, but strangely they do not enter the Parapiti; at the confluence they go back. Below the San Francisco Mission the fish disappear, because the water diminishes until it almost all disappears near Mariqui.

24| In Isoso maize is planted in the month of June in order to
31| harvest the crop before the beginning of the big floods which
312 inundate it all, and during the rainy season they are content to sow frijoles, gourds, melons, and watermelon far from the riverbed, but fruit is not always produced, since the region is rather arid. The waters of this river are quite sweet, and this must be one reason why agriculture is very vigorous on its banks, as any traveler can see.

/33/

*136 *825 The large armadillo is slightly less than one vara long; its burrow corresponds to its size and even more, and not infrequently the wild boar or peccary, when chased by hunters and dogs, finds a safe refuge in these holes. The meat of the large armadillo is not so good for civilized people, but that of the others is: I have eaten it many times. The fat softens the tumors and gristle in it. Armadillos feed on worms. Nevertheless, the true armadillo is harmful to the maize fields [241] when they are newly planted, because it searches out and eats the seeds: it is also very harmful in melon patches, of which it scarcely leaves a slender shred: when it gets into the melons, it does not allow any to ripen. The Indians know well [224] where the armadillo abounds: as soon as they finish planting the maize, on nights with a moon or without it, they go there and, helped by hunting dogs, kill them.

COBAYO /guinea pig/. -- This little animal is innocuous and plentiful everywhere. Its places are the fences, where it [262] hides with ease. It is similar to large rats without a tail; [237] its meat is very tasty, and bags in which smokers store tobacco, tinder, and flint are made from its skin. When it sees a hunter [224] or believes that danger is near, it hastens to hide in the thickness of the fences, but when the hunter hides, it is not long in coming out again in search of food, morning and evening, and then it is easy to kill with arrow or shotgun. The Chiriguano call it "Aperea." There is another sort of multicolored guinea pig [231] of the same size as the previous one, but this one is domesticated. The color of the true guinea pig is light brown.

CONEJO /rabbit/. A quadruped in the wild state, native to America, it is the size of a large cat. Its color is a shaded [224] white, and here there are none of any other color, but there [262] are in other parts of South America: its meat is delicious, and the Indians like it and hunt it: its form is the same as that of the domestic rabbit, and in the Chiriguano language it is called "Tapiti."

/33 cont./

*136 CORSO /deer/. -- This is found everywhere and is called
*825 "Huasu" by the Chiriguano and hurina by the whites; there are even white ones, the females without horns and the males with them; another type is called "huasucaca." Both feed off
● [231] grass, and the little ones are pleasing with their hide dappled with light spots; they are easily domesticated while they are still nursing; for food, when they are domesticated, goat's or sheep's milk can be used. The huasucaca is very similar to the deer; both male and female have branched antlers when old, but /34/ their meat is not as good. They travel in herds.
[262] Hunters pursue both types because they have a lot of meat, for
[224] which reason they are called "huasu," which means "large." They hunt them with considerable work and with the help of dogs trained for the purpose, or, if they are hidden, they imitate their bleating or cracking sound, and when they come within bowshot, they do not miss in killing them. The
[281] Chiriguano tan the skin of these animals and make a jacket
[291] from it, which I shall discuss in its place, but today this de luxe Chiriguano garment is disappearing, nor do they tan leather any more; today they use these skins for their beds; it is nonetheless a perfect material for footwear because of its natural softness and smoothness.

*136 GAMO /fallow deer/. -- It seems that this class of animal is from the mountainous and temperate region; it is not found beyond Monteagudo, nor do the Indians here know it, but it used to be found and still is found in their former territory of Padilla, Tomina, Tarvita, etc. This is the fallow deer, the size of a goat, with cloven hoof, ash-gray in color, and quite a swift runner; it is herbivorous, quite edible, and goes in herds.

GUANACO. -- This is a kind of camel, from which it differs in size and because it does not have a hump. They are found in abundance at the top of the high hills of Potosí and other cold mountains; it thus seems that the hills and the cold must be congenial places and the only ones in which they can prosper. Nevertheless immense herds of this quadruped can be found in the pampas of the Gran Chaco, where the heat is oppressive and where there is nearly always a scarcity of water; it is easily domesticated and in this state is a real llama.

/37 cont./

000 to climb a strong tree. The young[1] are quickly domesticated
*136 and more than the domestic pig: they will not go away from
● 231 the person who was kind to them when they were little. One of these piglets was domesticated by the apprentice musicians of the Parapiti, was with them day and night without bothering them, and when they came out of the music hall to practice marches through the town, the peccary would go along in front of them, making a thousand faces and hopping about to the sound of the instruments.

*136 PORCUPINE. -- This small animal is not numerous! but
*825 it is found. It gets into chicken coops, which are generally located in trees. According to what I have heard, it is not harmful and merely likes the company of the hens at night, but the latter are afraid of it, as they are of any strange animal. Its skin is entirely covered with long, flexible quills, and when it sees itself pursued, it humps up and throws the said quills with so much force that they injure any part of the body. It
[224] is sometimes hunted because of the chickens, but not for eating. The Chiriguano call it "Cihi." If a dog bites it, it gets its mouth full of quills which cause pain.

TAMANDUA /anteater/. -- This is an innocuous wild animal which is easily domesticated. It has a very long, narrow snout, which it introduces into ant hills, and it takes its delicious lunch with its tongue, to which an infinity of ants stick. In the domesticated state it even feeds on milk, but it is painful to watch it sip this liquid drop by drop with its exceedingly slender tongue. Apparently males are unknown in this species of animal, and it seems that all of them belong to the female sex. It is very probable, however, that all the individuals of this species are members of both sexes, despite the fact that only the female sex is apparent in them.

The anteater, or tamandua, is inoffensive and does not
[224] bother the fields: rather it destroys ants. The Indian hunts it
[262] in order to eat it, because for him almost all meat is good, since he says that he is poor and thus avails himself of anything, even poisoned animals and those that have died of hydrophobia.

[1] [i.e., of the peccary. -Analyst]

/40 cont./

224 animal is capable of distinguishing between the brave and
*[825] the cowardly, and the latter is the first to be attacked and consequently to be badly injured.

*825 Jaguar skin, as I have already said, has intrinsic value: it is used in saddleries for the bottom padding of saddles and
[954] for saddlebags: it is a luxury for persons of rank. The ani-
[284] mal has a quantity of fat, and this is a good remedy for
[759] rheumatism, aching bones, and other ailments: the Indians
[439] take it and sell it in the interior of the Republic and trade it for used clothing. It is to be noted, however, that they do falsify it, as they also falsify snake grease, because it can be understood that the killing of this ferocious animal is not a
[466] frequent thing. Rarely does the Chiriguano hunt the jaguar, and he is not always inclined to help the white man, but the latter forces his peons to do so, and they gather the fat and
[262] sell or present it to their friends or relatives. Jaguar meat is good food, although, to be sure, it smells wild, as does the skin, but this meat, if placed in salt water or brine overnight, loses its bad smell: they assert that this meat is like that of a cow.

*136 The male jaguar is quite large. I measured one, and it was two meters long from the tail, one meter high, and it weighed seven arrobas. The female is smaller: I measured one that had just been killed: from the tail it measured one meter and ten centimeters, was 75 centimeters high, and weighed four and a half arrobas. The female gives birth
[231] every three years, and the newborn cubs are always a pair, one male and one female: the mother is most dangerous when she has young /illustration appears here/ /41/ and defends them at any cost, but hunters first kill the mother and then try to catch the cubs alive: they almost always succeed and take them home to domesticate them, but this is an impossible job because they are jaguars forever: I have seen two of these cubs well chained but very bad. In general, cubs when taken away from their mother die in a few days either through lack of adequate food, which is milk, or also out of desperation upon finding themselves in the midst of beings foreign to their nature.

/45 cont./

*136 The Chiriguano hunts and kills the fox as a mischievous
*825 and harmful animal, but he does not eat its meat because
[224] it is very strong and lean: /45/ he does eat it occasionally,
[262] when he finds it to be fat, airing it so that it may lose its bad
[867] odor: it is a common food of the Toba Indians. The children
entertain themselves with this poor animal, catching it alive
and making it fight with the dogs, who kill it slowly.

*136 I here bring to an end this brief resumé of the principal
quadrupeds by size, ferocity, and special characteristics.
I have omitted the description of many because they are found
in other regions, and others because they do not offer anything
unusual for consideration. Rats are plentiful and in some years
invade the towns. There is no lack of female foxes /zorras/,
• [231] which are easily domesticated: the ferret is rarely seen and is
very nervous and harmless, but it has the peculiarity of hunting
all the insects in a house.

Reptiles, Amphibians, Fish, and Insects

It is not necessary for me to dwell particularly and ex-
tensively on the types of living things indicated at the beginning
of this section, because they are found in every region of the world:
I shall describe the singular peculiarities of the known ones and
the nature of some which are peculiar to this place and to
South America.

Almost all the snakes here are poisonous because the place
*[825] is very hot, but the most poisonous is the rattlesnake: it
[231] operates rapidly with its fang, and only with immediate
cauterization can the patient free himself of its death-dealing
effects, while the boa, which is thick and long, is harmless,
so much so that some domesticate it and put it into their
cane fields so that it will scare off every harmful beast, even
the fox which, as we have seen, is the animal which does the
most damage to the sugar cane.

/91 cont./

* 136 Both types are very delicious, but the charata is best.
● [131] Charatas are easily domesticated when small. The male is very ferocious in the domesticated state, attacks everybody, even the people of the house. The charatas make a great racket before sunrise with their strong and impugnant cackling. Cuevo is some 30 leagues from Paraguay and a little more than two from the Tvo Missions; a charata is neither seen nor heard in the former region or in its vicinity, but an occasional pair of them is found in the latter, and as one goes north from this mission toward Paraguay, the number of these birds increase.

* [125] PELICAN. -- This bird is called "Tanga" in Chiriguano, because when it sings it seems to be saying, "Tangá, Tingá, Tangá." River banks and lake shores are its locale. There it finds its food. It feeds on newly born toads, which have a little tail, and it also eats small fish. It sleeps in trees and flies perfectly in spite of its size. It flies at a great height, and along its way it sings every so often, and the Indians say that when the pelican sings rain is near. This bird is not numerous; they always go by twos and sometimes threes. [122] Their meat is good to the Chiriguano.

PERDIZ /partridge/. -- This type of bird is not lacking either in the Chiriguano area. Partridges are of three types, each larger than the other. They live in the pampas, in the woods, and in the hills. In the idiom the true partridge is called "Inambu," the second, which has a preference for the hills, is called "Guáico," and it whistles like muleteers who are driving asses. The third, which is the codornis /quail/, is called /92/ "Inambu tuch." There is a fourth large partridge, which is like the first, but red in color, and for this reason is called "Inambu pinta," but the guáico is the [123] largest of them all. The Indians hunt all of them with the help of dogs trained for this purpose.

PICAFLOR /hummingbird/. -- Many of these birds are seen, but it seems that there is only one species here. These are the smallest ones, and in Chiriguano the picaflor is called "Chino." It can hang its nest on any little branch of a tree and also in the straw or hollow cane of the roofs. It is only

/63 cont./

439 171 them in the area around the place called Basilio, and they take them in cages to the Argentine Republic.

*136 TOUCAN. -- A very unusual bird because of its long beak, which is almost as long as its body. This beak is yellow, red, and black, but very light; otherwise, since it is so large, it would be difficult to hold up. One who for the *[825] first time sees a toucan, called "Tunca" in Chiriguano, thinks that it is carrying an ear of maize in its beak. Toucans go in large flocks and have their favorite places; I know only [757] one variety of them. It is said that the beak, when ground up *[825] and taken in water, stops the flow of blood. It seems that the toucan only lives in hot climates. If it is taken to other places, it dies.

URRACA /magpie/. -- This flying creature is rather large and abundant. There are several species of them, • [231] differentiated by their plumage. It is easily domesticated, and it is useful in the houses, because it kills all of the bugs or insects which multiply in them, but its size is no larger than that of the toucan. It is as restless and noisy in the houses as it is in the woods.

121 I here put an end to this brief description of the land inhabited by the Chiriguano and what is contained therein. All will understand that I did not attempt to discover and describe minutely each and every one of the plants, each and every one of the quadrupeds, amphibians, and insects, each and every one of the birds, but only those which seemed to me to be of the most importance. If it seems to my readers to be too much, or too little, they will be so kind as to excuse my faults; meanwhile, I am going to begin the real ethnography, which will be somewhat long so that it may be clearer and more pleasant. /64/ /Illustration appears here./

/144 cont./

Genii

776 171 Where ignorance dominates, superstition is the result, I imagine, since all the tribes adjacent to the Chiriguano must believe in the existence of genii or owners of certain places who, not to offend anybody, are even accepted by some members of the white race, especially when dealing with buried treasures. This is not the least strange, since before the arrival of Christ all humanity, except for the Hebrews, believed in this, and even today in those places where the light of the Gospel has not penetrated a belief in genii prevails, even among enlightened people, because only the Gospel dissipates /illustration appears here/ /145/ the mists from the soul and destroys error, consequences of the fall of the first man.

778 776 In Chiriguano the tutelar genii of a place are called Iya, owner in the literal sense. If the Chiriguano pass by places where there is some genie, they find it difficult to approach, and if one asks them where there might be some limestone or gypsum, they will not tell for fear of the Iya, who would take revenge by killing the Chiriguano who caused the place watched over by the genie to be discovered. If something useful must be taken from such a place, they do it with the permission of the Iya (1).

[278] [317] [231]

1. The presence of the Iya in places where petroleum is found is undeniable for the Chiriguano. They will take what is absolutely necessary of this liquid to cure the sores of their horses, cows, etc.

135 When the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, the missionary made every effort to try to find gypsum and limestone, but no Indian was willing to tell where it was abundant. Nevertheless, by chance, while the foundations of the church were being built, it was discovered that many of the stones being used were of hydraulic lime, an abundant vein of which was found about 300 meters from the church itself on top of a hill. Gypsum up to today has not been found in the areas thereabouts for the same reason, but there are signs of its presence. In

/184 cont./

323 the force of the heat and remains over the paintings like a
[237] binder, without which they would disappear the first time it was used. The Taragüirisi remains on the vessels like a light coat of rubber and the white of the Tovanti becomes opaque (2).

2. When a pot is slightly damaged, they heat it in the fire and on the inside and outside apply the Taragüirisi, and it is as good as before.

/185/ Textiles

286 Another important occupation of the Chiriguano woman
462 is weaving the Asoya for her husband, brother, or son, and the
[294] Cutama for herself. For this she prepares the wool or cotton, spins it opposite the way the mestizo and European women spin, and then bleaches it and finally dyes it.

286 In order to weave, they set up two tall, slender forked sticks in the house, with two sticks across, one above and one below, and arrange or place the threads vertically, and then sit on the ground and begin to run the woof through, thread by thread, which they hit with a pointed stick of soto wood called Piuca. This, to be sure, is time consuming, if the threads are fine, but, on the other hand, the work is very durable.

291 Ponchos, Asoya, are of two types, one of wool and one
286 of cotton; the first are common from the right bank of the
● 231 Parapiti River southward and the second from the left bank
249 northward, because in the first region sheep are plentiful, and
[184] in the second, cotton fields. Formerly, before the whites intro-
[177] duced cattle into the region, cotton was cultivated everywhere, and from its product the men were dressed for ceremonies in their Tíru and the women in the Mandu, which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

/241 cont./

Modern Farming and Seeds

241 177 [407] Today planting with the spade is disappearing, and if this tool is necessary for weeding, an iron one has been substituted. The plow has become general, as have the yoke and oxen, and in the missions even boys of 12 break in oxen two and a half years old. They first do the planting for the mission, then for themselves and their fathers, and finally they help those who have no sons; the missionary provides them with young oxen, plowshares, and even halters when they are very poor.

The neophytes in most of the Potosí missions have learned to perfection this new method of farming, and they are so advanced that they are competitive with and even superior to many mestizo farmers. The older ones teach the younger ones, fathers teach their sons, and the latter as well as the former manufacture plow and yoke out of selected wood with all the perfection that these implements require. It is satisfying to see upon a farm 40 or 50 yokes of oxen, directed and driven by young men and boys who yesterday were like their grandparents! The whites themselves do their planting on a large scale, aided by these Chiriguano, who receive in exchange double daily wages (1).

[868] [409] [231] 46

1. A peon plowman is not obliged to bring oxen; it is the white who waits for him with the yoke hitched. If a peon brings his own, he earns up to triple daily wages, because they are worth exactly three strong peons, the two oxen and the man who drives them. Thus it is not much to pay him triple.

243 262 Today it seems to me that there must not be another country where the different types of maize thrive better. This is the principal element, the daily food, not only of the Chiriguano tribe, but of all those who inhabit most of Bolivia. Here in particular, when there is no harvest, its lack is greatly felt by whites and blacks, that is to say, by mestizos and by Chiriguano.

/249 cont./

Hunters

224 So that there may be plenty of food at the public drinking, the men, as soon as they have finished the job of bringing in firewood, take their bows and arrows, and horses if they have any, and go hunting. The places are suitable for the purpose: some hunt Taitetu, wild boars; others pursue the Yandu, ostrich; many go in search of Picasuguasu, large pigeons, Yeruti, turtledoves, Picúi, little doves. They also hunt: Guasu, /250/ pygmy deer; Sariama, chuñas /cranes/; Ayuru, parrots; and Tatu, quiriquinchos /armadillos/ (1).

[262] 1. The armadillos are of several types; the meat of the Taturapúa, balled armadillo, is not good, because it feeds on carcasses; the meat of the rest is better than that of the pig /chancho/; it is not harmful like that of the latter.

[251] The hunters take some 15 or 20 days to return, but as they take game, they cut it open, clean it, and dry it in the sun, so that it will not spoil, because they do not carry salt, since they do not have it, for making jerky or charqui.

224 23 Almost all the Chiriguano are hunters, and the infinite number of dogs that they keep in their houses have the ability to pursue the wild boar, the quiriquincho /armadillo/, the ostrich, the chuña /crane/, or the pygmy deer. These dogs are almost like Old World wolves, with pointed ears and a curled tail; they are so skinny they look like harps, so bad with mestizos and whites that it seems that they have learned to hate them as their owners do, and they are so attached to the latter that they never leave their side. They go with them everywhere; it is not unusual to see an Indian who is going to the field followed or preceded by eight or ten dogs, who are falling down from being so thin, and yet, should they flush a pygmy deer or a chuña, they will not let it get away. To walk alone at night through a Chiriguano town is to expose oneself to being eaten alive by these hungry tigers who all gather when the first one barks.

/250 cont./

224 184 Although all the Indians are hunters, not all can or go to hunt; some stay in town to help the women put the jars /cántaros/ in the plaza, and others do not go because they have other food available for their friends. Some of them have goats and sheep, [231] [574] others even chickens and cows; these take pride in being able to offer their friends in the public plaza chicken soup, or one of lamb or kid, or a succulent roast of veal, since there is no doubt that anyone would prefer fresh meat to charqui or dried meat of wild animals.

Animals

231 From the little that has been said with reference to animals it can be deduced that the Chiriguano have some, and they are the horse, ass, mule, cow, sheep, goat, chicken, and dog; all of them have Spanish names, /251/ except the chicken, Uru, and the dog, Yáimba. It is possible that these last are native, that is, that the Chiriguano have always had them, since they have their own name in the language; but if one reflects a little some doubt rises in the mind. The chicken, so it seems to me, is called Uru by the Chiriguano because it has some resemblance to the turkey buzzard, which they call Urugüi and which is a species of crow. The dog is called Yáimba in Chiriguano, no doubt because he [177] is very faithful to his master, Ya, which really means owner-master, and Imba, beast, so that the dog turns out to be a special beast which, more than others, loves its owner or master, and I say this because other tribes who are neighbors of the Chiriguano and are in a complete state of savagery do not have the dog, from which it can be deduced that they acquired it when the Spaniards entered their country (1).

1. For my opinion to be complete and closer to the truth, the word Imba should have an h; nevertheless, I do not give this as more than an opinion. The literal meaning of the word Yáimba would be: beast of the owner.

/255 cont./

those of certain peoples who, without going further, are close to those who know nothing about civilization, whose morals, compared with those of these unfortunates, are far lower because of their refinement (2).

2. Some moderns would have civilization consist of purely material education without attending to the yearnings of the heart; for them it is all the same whether man dresses or goes naked.

527 In the course of this chapter my readers will learn that I can be little mistaken in what I stated above, and they will also learn that even the Chiriguano have fiestas, which they call Arete, which /256/ are celebrated neither for saints, emperors, nor kings, nor are they celebrated in a disorderly fashion, nor do they allow themselves to be disemboweled by a bull, as sometimes happens to mestizos or Spaniards; much less are they celebrated for open abandonment to luxury; they are celebrated only in order to drink and stuff oneself, and to enjoy the fruit of the labor involved in the planting of the maize, to have a few days of general rejoicing, to drink, in sum, like good brothers (1).

[526] 1. In the general drinking a certain immorality in their words is to be lamented, and they sometimes test their strength and valor with pugilism.

Before the Fiesta

241 231 177 Before the white race entered the region, cattle were almost unknown and the few that the Indians had were tame, nor had they taken to their hearts the desire for maize as they do now; thus the Chiriguano easily did his planting and weeding in less than a month, leaving the rest to God, but I speak badly, to the good sorcerer, the sun, and the rain. Today if he does not put a fence around his planting, the cattle of the Christians and the Indians very soon reach the crop, and a little carelessness is

/256 cont./

241 enough for this. Although there are good fences, there are better
231 and braver bulls or calves, who with their horns are capable of
177 opening iron gates, opening the way to all their females, whom they then call with much affection with their prolonged bellows (2).

2. The harmful cattle even become ferocious; if a man alone tries to chase them out of the field without the help of good dogs, he will be charged.

241 The harvest marks for the Chiriguano the time of the year
221 that he calls Mbaepiro, which literally means a dry thing or things, and everyone will understand that this corresponds to autumn, in which season the trees and every bush take off their beauty and raiment. Men and women then are busy carrying in
[343] what the land has produced for them; the maize crop is kept in the plot itself, in a kind of house of sticks called Abatío, maize house, and the woman little by little, as needed, brings it to the town for the daily meal and for the preparation of chicha (3).

3. If the harvest of gourds is not abundant, they put them on the maize in the same shed, if they do not build another; the bean crop is brought immediately to the tribe or town.

527 /257/ After this the Chiriguano spends his time in idleness, drinking here today, there tomorrow, visiting with some, playing with others, enjoying, in sum, with almost no work, a better life than the greatest ruler in the world. The harvest is cut be-
[221] tween May and June, and after it the libations in honor of the belly god begin. As the desire to drink is extraordinary, before having the general libation, the families, one by one, begin to make a small quantity of chicha to be drunk among a few friends and relatives.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,-1 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

VI.

Domestic Animals.

Apart from the dog, the Chiriguano and Chané keep only European domestic animals. There is now no genuinely Indian breed of dogs here. Cattle-breeding is of some importance in certain parts, especially in the Caipipendi valley. Milking the cows is not understood. Some of these Indians keep large numbers of sheep and the women spin the wool and weave woollen stuffs. It is not known if they had wool in the pre-Columbian period, as it has not been ascertained whether these Indians kept llamas or not. Poultry are of great importance to the Chiriguano and Chané. The Indians in South-America were exceedingly quick to learn the art of poultry-keeping, thus, when CABOT touched the south coast of Brazil in 1526, he got plenty of hens from the Indians by barter.[1]) The Chiriguano and Chané have but few horses. They are not nearly such good equestrians as, for instance the Toba.

C
Ce
23
[177]

I have in my collection a riding whip stock made by the Chané. DEL CAMPANA depicts a very primitive saddle from the Chiriguano. I have seen similar saddles among the Toba Indians.

C
Ce
492

When these Indians acquired the European domestic animals, the chase must have lost in importance for them. They obtained their meat in another way. The possession of cattle compelled them to enclose their tilled ground, or to have it far removed from the pastures.

C
Ce
177
[31]
[244]

---

[1]) MEDINA (2) T. 1, P. 438.

/186 cont./

It is strange that peoples who fish so much are acquainted with so little fishing gear. In my description of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we have already become familiar with this deficiency. C Ce 226

On the Rio Pilcomayo, Moberg and the author once wanted to give the Indians the benefit of our fishing experience and constructed a weir of which we were not a little proud. We set it out, firmly convinced that in the morning it would be full of fish. All we caught was wood and refuse of all sorts, and I cannot deny that the Indians ridiculed us a bit. Ee 226 123

The reason for the poverty of these Indians with regard to fishing gear is not a lack of ideas, but a different one. There are, quite simply, few fishing methods suitable for these waters. Setting out a net at night is not feasible, for if a palometa fish gets into the net it immediately cuts it in two with its knife-sharp teeth. Fishing with a hook where there are such fish is also not enticing, for they bite off the hooks as easily as the lines, if these are not made of good material. In these tropical waters the fishing gear also rots more quickly than among us and thus should not be left in the water all night. C Ce 226

The Chiriguano and Chané have no vessels. On the other hand, they are extraordinary waders, and to wade in the rivers here during the rainy period is not exactly a small matter. If, however, one has the assistance of one of these Indians, one can cross if it is possible at all. C Ce 484 501

As an oddity I might mention that during my entire journey I never saw a native white or mestizo fishing. In Bolivia it is not refined to eat fresh fish. On the Rio Pilcomayo /187/ the officers of the military post almost never ate the delicious, fresh, salmon-like fish from the river, but preferred canned salmon from Alaska. Since this is very old by the time it reaches Bolivia, it tastes dreadful. Fishing with a hook is also the only method of fishing that the Indians learned from the whites. C Ce [226] [177]

As for domestic animals, the dog is the only one that the Chiriguano and Chané did not get from the whites. These dogs now seem to me to have a strong mixture of foreign blood. They always have names, for example, tirupotchi (old garment), /Fig. 91 appears here/ chapikáyu (yellow eyebrows). As a rule, Ee 231 [177 552]

C Ce 231 /187 cont./

the Chiriguano and Chané have fewer horses, cows, donkeys, sheep, and goats than the Chooti and Ashluslay. On the other hand, they have more chickens and pigs. Sometimes one sees ducks, guinea fowl, and turkeys. In certain regions, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley, where the Indians are wealthy, they also have much livestock. The whites, unfortunately, try in every way to cheat them out of what they have. Thus, it is not uncommon for a white man or a white woman to come into a village with a few kegs of spirits and to leave it with a couple of the best cows of the Indians. The whites are richer, the Indians poorer.

C Ce [184] [556] Ee [439]

C 227

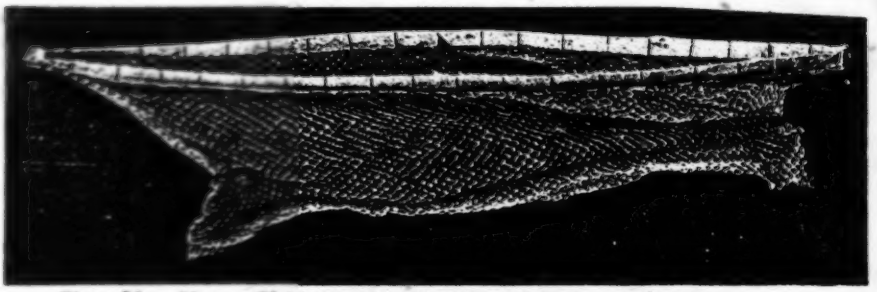


Fig. 91. Net. Chiriguano. Rio Parapiti. Ca. 1/12.

C Ce 231 171

The menagerie of tamed wild animals which one sees in the villages of the more primitive Indians is not to be found among /188/ these Indians. A parrot that talks a little Guarani, however, is not unusual in the huts.

Preparation of Food

C Ce 252

The dirt that we come across in the preparation of food and eating among the Choroti and Ashluslay is not found /Fig. 92a appears here/ among the Chané and Chiriguano. On the other hand, the dishes are terribly monotonous. They consist of maize in every possible form, cooked maize, roasted maize, maize bread baked in ashes, maize flour porridge, and /189/ steamed maize flour. The latter is prepared in an apparatus illustrated here (Fig. 92).

Ee [262]

C
Ce
343
182
171
231

/18 cont./ Their Purpose
today among the Chiriguano and Chané, as well as among the Matako and Churupí, is primarily to protect certain provisions against the numerous dogs and other domestic animals who are around in great number in every part of the town (74).

74. Concerning the question of the purpose of houses built upon posts with respect to damage by animals, cf. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 192-198.

C
Ce
433
224
226

Food and Drink. Manner of Eating and Drinking.

Hunting and fishing are not very important in the economy of the Chiriguano and Chané. Their territory has relatively few edible animals, and they are not very brave hunters (75).

75. Nord. 2, p. XVI.

C
Ce
224
262

Of animals that can be hunted, they eat the puma and the jaguar, while they scorn vultures, foxes, and the meat of monkeys, so craved by other Indians (76). One contribution

C
Ce
226
184

76. Nord. 1, p. 190.

to their subsistence which is worth mentioning is that from fishing, but only for the Chiriguano and Chané who live near the upper Pilcomayo River, since that river has excellent fishing. These Indians cannot make much use of fishing in the Rio Grande, because today this river can be held to be almost the frontier of their territory. The Parapití River has many fish, but they are very small. While the Chané today live in territories where for several months some fish are available, many Chiriguano towns are so far from the larger streams that fish does not enter into the diet of their inhabitants (77). With

77. Nord. 2, pp. XV and XVI.

231 /18 cont./ With
262 respect to the eating of meat, the Chiriguano depend on their livestock, which, however, according to Nordenskiöld, since they omit the raising of pigs and chickens, is not so numerous as the livestock of the Chorote and the Churupí. They do not
262 eat the flesh of asses, horses, /19/ and dogs (78). Although
241

78. Nord. 1, p. 190.

we do not have exact data on the amount of meat that their livestock yields, we can suppose that it is not very great, and thus these Indians depend principally on vegetable foods, that is, on the products of their agriculture. We should say that, in comparison with maize, all other foodstuffs have almost no importance, except among the Indians of the Parapití, among whom the sweet potato is the most important food (79).

79. Nord. 1, p. 181.

261 In times of shortage they eat various wild plants, principally
273 the sweet pods of the algarroba (November-December), which, coarsely chopped up with water, they allow to ferment in order to produce a kind of chicha which has inebriating qualities (80).

80. Nord. 1, p. 236. Métraux I, pp. 361 and 362.

262 Since meals consist principally of maize, they are very
252 monotonous, although the maize is eaten by them in many different forms, either boiled or parched, or as a flour cooked in steam, as a fried maize-cake, in embers /rescoldo/, or as a soft maize-pudding (81). Meat is eaten roasted or boiled,

81. Nord. 1, pp. 188 and 189. Métraux I, pp. 356-358.

263 together with maize. Cooking salt is used at meals. While
317 previously salt (dyúki) was obtained from mines or extracted
439 from earth from salt licks /barreros/, today it is obtained

/38 cont./

Ce 412 773

of the Indians of South America who have agriculture. In one of these legends it is said that (177) Tunpa, after having

177. Nord. 1, p. 260.

created the grandparents of the Avás (Chiriguano) and Chané, gave them a wooden spade and a long carved stick, called "carumpa," and bows and arrows so that they might feed themselves with these implements. In the other legend it is told that the jaguar goes to get the punches when the fox wants to help him plant his field (178). From the indications

C 412

178. Nord. 1, p. 289.

by Métraux mentioned in the foregoing, it follows that the Chiriguano still use such an implement in their agriculture.

C Ce 241 73

The Chiriguano in Machareti had some plantings near their town, but, because of the extraordinary drought at that time, these had produced nothing. The Izozó near Toledo had cleared large areas, but were unable to plant for the same reason. According to Nordenskiöld (179), the large

C Ce 241

179. Nord. 1, p. 183.

plantings of the Chiriguano and the Chané are often far from their towns and are enclosed by thickets.

The Raising of Livestock

C Ce 231

Of the domestic animals native to South America, the Chiriguano and the Chané have the South American dog, which today is mixed with the blood of European dogs (180).

180. Nord. 1, p. 187. Nord. 2, p. 49.

/38 cont./

C 23 179 194 Because the ancient Peruvians raised various breeds of dogs, we can assume that the Chiriguano received the dog as a domestic animal from the ancient Peruvians. We can assume the same with regard to the duck, which was also raised by the ancient Peruvians. Therefore I do not include the duck among the C [114] domestic animals that these Indians received from the whites, as Nordenskiöld does. We do not know whether the Chiriguano in times past might have raised the llama. From the fact that guanacos exist in the territory located between the Parapití and the Rio Grande, we can deduce that the raising of that other species of Euchenia might have been possible in that country.

C [175] [648] The Chiriguano very early received such European domestic animals as the horse, the ass, the cow, sheep, goats, hogs, and chickens, which they captured in great quantities in their continual raids on the Spanish settlers. In 16th century documents there are repeated complaints about the extensive stealing of livestock by these Indians. Today the Chiriguano C Ce 49 41 48 361 and Chané do not have many horses, and they have never had the /39/ pronounced character of a nation of horsemen. The true weapons of war were formerly a long bow and arrows which were also long, which cannot be used by a mounted horseman, in addition to which their homes were formerly in the hills in C Ce 231 regions which the Spaniards could not enter on horseback. In certain parts of their territory the raising of cattle has some importance (181). More general is the raising of sheep, pigs,

181. See Métraux I, p. 340.

and chickens. Today one sometimes also finds among them guinea hens and turkeys (182).

182. Nord. 1, p. 137.

/39 cont./

Ee 231 Tamed wild animals are rarely found inside their houses, except that they do have some parrots (182) /see footnote 182 above/.

Hunting

Ee 224 [433] [411] [439] We have explained before that, because of the lack of animals that can be eaten in the territory of the Chiriguano and Chané, hunting is secondary among their means of subsistence, and in accordance with this we know through old documents that the feathers for their arrows were introduced to the Chiriguano by other Indian tribes who were their tributaries (183). The raising of domestic livestock gives them a

Ee [231]

183. Moreno II, 121.

C 224 greater opportunity to obtain animal foodstuffs. In accordance with the fact that the Chiriguano, at least today, are not first-class hunters, the most common method of hunting among them is the use of traps (184). Nordenskiöld describes three

C 223

184. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 206.

different kinds of traps, all three of which are used for catching birds (185). The first kind consists of a simple noose and is used

185. Nord. 2, pp. 32, 33, and 85, Fig. 10, 12, and 13.

C [191] with the help of calls. The second kind, which is common among various other tribes of Indians, is used, for example, also by the Kaingua /Caingua/. The third kind consists of a net made in two parts and fixed to the ground by means of stakes. In one Ee [913] [223] of the Chané legends recorded by Nordenskiöld, a trap for catching doves is mentioned (186).

186. Nord. 1, p. 279.

C 411 197 /43 cont./ The Chiriguano in contact with the Quichua /Quechua/ also use another type of sling made of wool (200).

200. Métraux 1, p. 342 and Plate VII.

C 224 [411] According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano also formerly used the bola, called "churima," by them, for hunting the ostrich (201).

201. Nord. 1, p. 183.

C [231] We must still mention that the Chiriguano train their dogs for hunting, especially for hunting pigs (202).

202. Nord. 2, p. 31. Métraux 1, p. 346.

Fishing

C 433 226 Because, as I have already mentioned, there is no opportunity for fishing in any part of the Chiriguano territory nd also the large rivers which are in their territory, except for the upper Pilcomayo River, do not offer any fish other than very small ones, fishing has only secondary importance in the economy of most of the Chiriguano, although they utilize every chance they have to fish.

C 227 Among the Chiriguano in Machareti I did not see any fishing equipment outside of the small arrows with wire points, which are occasionally used for fishing. But among the Izozó CE 126 227 I acquired such a piece of equipment, which consists of a net bag that is closed at the top with two sticks of cane attached to the upper edge. (Cf. Figure 39.)

/484/

412 However, these awls are too abundant in each village for their use to be only sacred. It is probable that the Chiriguano use them as a simple tool for solely secular purposes.

[174] At Tilcara, Debenedetti (2, Fig. 176, p. 202) discovered specimens made of deerhorn identical with our Chiriguano examples.

824 757 8. I have in my collections seeds whose virtues are multiples they are an excellent remedy for skin eruptions, ulcers, and toothaches.

9. For stomach-ache the Chiriguano recommend the absorption of particles of wood (mbotpinda).

232 824 10. Certain seeds (of a graminaceous plant?) when crushed give a paste or powder with which they treat animals whose sores are attacked by worms.

11. When cows' hooves tend to work loose, they bathe them with fragments of limestone (itakwi).

757 237 12. Fat extracted from a cow's foot is an effective ointment for cases of rheumatism.

13. The beak of the toucan is said to enjoy great medicinal properties. They grate it and drink in water the powder which comes from it (Campana, 111).

Stitches in the side and dysentery are treated with a piece of armadillo shell burned, ground, and dissolved in water, which the patient drinks.

757 [114] In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (passim) and Nino's book (pp. 289-290) is found many a very interesting piece of information on the pharmacopoeia of the Chiriguano. I shall summarize them in order to complete my own observations.

757 164 1. The oil which floats on kiwi, when it is done, is a good remedy for headaches.

2. Salt, ground and drunk mixed with the urine of a small child, quiets stomach pains.

[824] 3. Rheumatism is doctored by applying on the ailing part a branch of ulali (tankawina) from which the thorns have been removed and which has been heated.

C
Ce
177
[191]

are chiefly used by the men. It is clear that the latter learnt more from the Whites than the women, for they came into contact with them to a far greater extent. Hence many of the men, but few of the women, learnt to speak Spanish. All the Chiriguano and Chané men now clothe themselves more or less like the Whites, that is to say in shirt and trousers. Few have coats. You rarely see anyone with boots, and never anyone with stockings. Practically all the Chiriguano and Chané women still wear the tipoy. It is usually made of cloth bought from the Whites. But in some villages the women still have a predominance of home-woven tipoys. The clothes worn by the men, and which are of the same cut as those of the Whites, are not their own make, but are obtained ready-made in exchange for manual labour. The cloth for the women's tipoys, too, which they make up themselves, is as a rule earned in similar wise by the men. The Indians now obtain the implements for all these things from the Whites.

C
Ce
241
177

The agriculture of the Chiriguano and Chané has been very little affected by the Whites. As the banana cannot be cultivated here with any success, the Indians have not been able appreciably to improve their conditions of life by extensive planting of the cultivated plants introduced by the Whites. For some of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians, cattle-breeding has become of considerable importance.

C
Ce
177
[235]

Seventeen of the cultural elements included in the tables may be regarded as articles of luxury. These are games, musical instruments, etc.

The domestic industry of these Indians has been very little influenced in its development by the Whites, a fact on which I laid stress in speaking of their pottery, which has remained in a wonderful manner untouched by 400 years of intercourse with missionaries and others. I here repeat that even the instruction given in the mission schools in embroidery, lace-making and the like, has but very slightly affected the native domestic industry of the In-

/363 cont./

234 To end up, one could still cite among Chiriguano food
262 the cheese they make in some villages. Each time they butcher they take care to keep the abomasus in order to make
[177] milk separate. Chiriguano cheeses are of the same quality as those of the half-breeds, who for once have taught something
[272] to our Indians. I shall add that I have never seen a Chiriguano drink milk.

312 The problem of water does not come up for the Chiriguano
133 as for the other Indians of the Chaco. Numerous rivers cross their territory, and several of them are large enough not to dry up even in the middle of the dry season. These watercourses form innumerable quebradas, gorges or valleys, which give its characteristic aspect to the country inhabited by our Indians.
[361] Sometimes villages are built near springs or small lakes, like the Ivu mission, which is provided with plenty of water.

312 When I crossed the Caipipendí valley, the river which occupies the bottom was nearly dry. The Indians had scooped out small wells about one meter in depth in the sand of its bed. They had surrounded them with slabs of stone to prevent any caving in and to preserve the water which accumulated in them from the heat of the sun. In this same valley, in a village situated on top of a hill, the Indians had dug a cistern four to five meters in diameter in which rain water had collected.

271 The Chiriguano have found a way to purify the muddy
312 water they often have to drink. They crush caraguatá leaves
824 between two stones, then steep them in the water, and all its impurities settle as a result of the action of the juice of this plant.

264 The Chiriguano do not eat at set times. They make a rather substantial breakfast very early in the morning and again take some food toward the middle of the day. In the evening
[562] about six o'clock they make a kind of dinner. Since the men are served first, then the women and children, it follows that the meals drag out in length. At any moment of the day one
[415] can see someone eating. The food /364/ is presented to each one in a calabash or terra-cotta bowl which each holds on his knees. They pick up the pieces with their fingers but imbibe liquids with a wooden spoon (Figs. 42 and 43). After eating, they wash their hands. I have seen some rinse out their mouths.

/341 cont./

241 115 ladder, that is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps. Captain Karnapadyú's chacra /cultivated clearing/ was about 200 meters by 70 meters in size. At the edge stood a small wooden hut covered with straw.

The "Captain" began by showing me some manioc plants and had me cross a large square sown exclusively with beans and gourds /citronilles/. The corn fields came next. They were divided in two by a second hedge formed of trunks and thorns. Squash /courges/ grew between the rows of corn. After the maïzal /field of corn/ followed a second expanse covered with beans, squash, and melons, which Karnapadyú told me belonged to his daughter. Here and there rose several stalks of sorghum. A new cornfield was opposite the

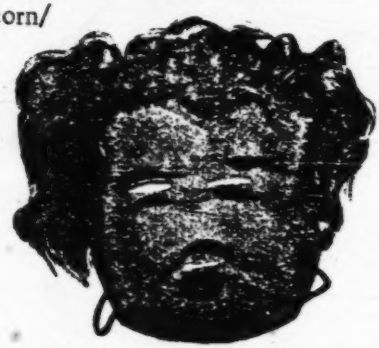


Fig. 8. Mask (tovaraanga) carved out of a calabash and provided with hair and eyebrows of horsehair. It was hung up in a planted field where it was serving as a scarecrow. Prov.: Cururutí. (1/5 nat. size.)

241 532 322 ● 237

241 115 [322] [415] [824] first, and another cabin rose at its edge. In both of these properties the only plants cultivated for their manufacturing value were the cucurbitaceous ones from which the Indians make their cups and bottles.

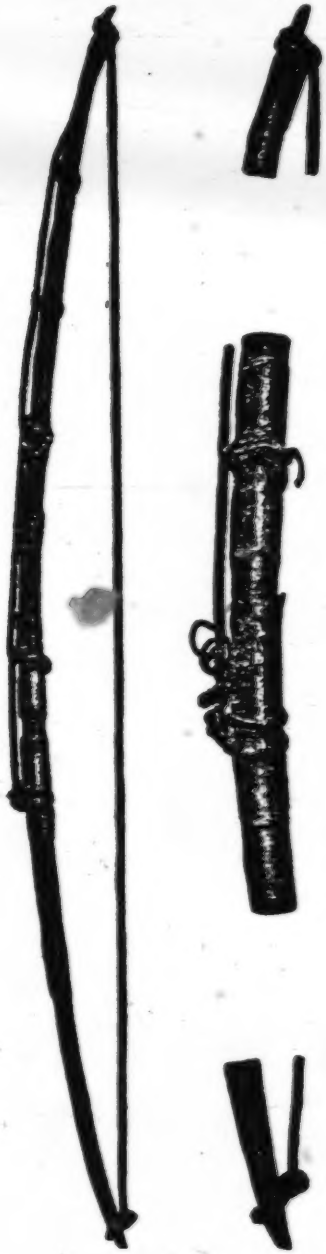
Next, on the opposite cliff, I visited the chacra of another Indian of the same village. A steeper and more difficult road than the first led to it. The plantation was lower down a hill on which a little hut was perched. These fields were almost solely covered with corn among whose stalks grew squash. As before, the maïzales were preceded by plantings of beans and squash.

1: Métraux--82 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
412
237

C
[304]

Fig. 12. Deerhorn awl (wasu-pirasa). Formerly the Chiriguano used them to pierce the lower lip of their children. Prov.: Saladito. (1/2 nat. size.)



Ce
411

Ce
[284]

Fig. 13. Bow of the Chané Indians. Outside surface semicircular; inside surface flat. The bow is reinforced with casings of deerskin (?). Prov.: Tuyuntí (Salta Prov., Argentine Rep.). (1/7 nat. size.)

/365 cont./

273 The preparation of chicha is not play; it is necessary not only /366/ to grind an enormous quantity of corn, but again to go
484 ceaselessly to get water, often at a great distance. At Cururuti
482 the nearest potable water was at the bottom of a ravine of particu-
273 larly difficult access. The women were constantly going there with an iru (Plate XVII, 1),[1] which they carried on their backs in a net (añapoka) held on the forehead by a strap. They would fill

462
516
273
291
415
412

Fig. 31. Woman sifting corn which she has just ground in the mortar beside her. This flour is to be roasted, then chewed to serve as ferment for kāwi. Cururuti. (Photo. A. M.)

484 the jug and, loading it with difficulty, would go back up the
482 steep slope doubled over under the weight. So as not to lose any
273 time, these hard-working creatures would take along a calabash full of ground corn which they continually chewed.

273 The ground corn is cooked in water and constantly stirred
412 with flat sticks whose edges used to be cut out with a certain
[178] artistic care in olden days (Fig. 32). Today a kind of oar (Fig.
[237] 33) or the scapula of an ox (Fig. 34) fastened to a long handle
[531] replaces the ancient utensils in which was manifested so well the Chiriguano tendency to decorate even the most humble objects.

[1] [For plate XVII, See category 116, P. 127-- Analyst]

/367 cont./

273
462

The umopirai is added to the kāwi, which from this moment on is subjected to intense cooking. A large, bright fire is lighted around the vat containing it and burns day and night; the women go to stir it from time to time to keep it from sticking.

At night the village of Carurutí has a strange look: over the open square in front of the huts high flames rise, against which are outlined in black the silhouettes of the women who, busy and hard-working, do not take time to sleep. The next morning the fire is allowed to go out and the kāwi to cool. It is then decanted into vessels of smaller dimensions, and all the women, including little girls, assemble to take handfuls of the marc and chew it, one trying to outdo the other. These balls, sticky with saliva, are spit back into the vessel. A rather large amount of cold water is added to the kāwi, and right afterward comes the bottling, if I may so express myself. The kāwi is strained through a very fine-meshed sieve. The marc, or siripi, /368/ is thrown away or used again. The beer, or pale wine, is distributed into vessels which are carefully closed with a calabash or bowl, and this liquid is left to ferment for two or three days. So that it may be completely protected from the air, the line of contact between the vessel and its cover is smeared with clay.

273
412

Fig. 33. Oar for stirring kāwi during cooking. Prov.: Pípi. (1/9 nat. size.)

Fig. 34. Shovel ending in an ox scapula which the Chiriguano use for stirring kāwi. Prov.: Pípi. (1/10 nat. size.)

[237]

/374 cont./

415 surmounted by two nipples, remains of stylized ears. These protuberances can be perforated and allow a suspension cord to pass through, which permits hooking the bowl to a beam of the hut (Fig. 41).

Spoons

412 171 172 Spoons are very common among the Chiriguano. Their form connects them closely to those which have been made known to us by the excavations carried out on the Bolivian altiplano and in northwestern Argentina. It is among the ancient populations of this region that we must seek the origin of this cultural element (on this subject see Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 91-92), of which the Chiriguano have faithfully kept the primitive aspect and even certain peculiarities such as the indentations of the handle which /Plates XIX-XXI appear here/ /375/ are seen on one of our specimens and on one discovered in the Puna de Jujuy (Pucara de Rinconada) by Boman (2, Vol. II, Plate LIX, Fig. 142).

412 237 824 Beside these spoons, whose use spread under the influence of the civilized peoples of the west, the Chiriguano kept the most rudimentary forms of this utensil: the valves of a fresh-water mollusk (anodonta) (in Chiriguano: inta) are often used by them to eat liquid dishes; the shell of the fruit of a bignoniacea (?) opened lengthwise also appears in the north of the Chiriguano territory as the survival of a time when spoons were still unknown to them (Fig. 44).

412 [171] Some small calabashes, ovoid or round, with a jutting peduncle, can, after being cut through the middle, replace wooden spoons to advantage (Fig. 45). It was in this natural form that the spoon spread in tropical America where Andean influence did not make itself felt. The Chiriguano do not disdain using these half-calabashes to dip into the bean pot or the meat broth. Calabashes like the one of Figure 46 /see p. 139/ take the place of ladles.

/383 cont./

323 Chiriguano woman will never be seen making one single vessel at a time: since before continuing she must wait until each one of the parts making up the piece of pottery is dry, she occupies this interval by beginning another vessel, which will dry while she works on the first one again.

415
531

Figs. 57-58. Vessels (yapepó). The rolls of clay of which they are composed are still apparent and constitute a rudimentary ornamentation. No. 57 comes from Carurutí, No. 58 from Yacuiba. (1/4 nat. size.)

323 /384/ When she judges that the bottom has taken on some firmness, she rolls between her hands a roll to which she tries to give a regular diameter. Then she applies it on the base, forming a perfect circle. She cuts off the part which extends beyond the junction point. Next she flattens the roll with her hand, the compression being made from inside to outside, with the back of the left hand and the right palm. When the whole periphery has thus been raised, she evens off the edge, filling all the depressions with pieces [824] of wet earth. Then she smooths the outside of the vessel with a [412] stripped ear of corn and a splinter of bamboo. These two instruments are placed beside her and frequently dipped in water so that the earth [237] does not stick to them. The inside surfaces are polished with the valve of a shell (anodonta) (Plate XXIV, 2). The raw clay, once it is shaped, is supple and resistant like leather. Vessels can be

C 323 /384 cont./

made only in the sunshine. One day when rain threatened to fall, the women hurried to grab the vessel they were in the act of making and to carry it into the hut. It was swinging on all sides during this moving, but did not break at all.

From base to neck the vessel is constructed in the same fashion, the number of rolls superposed varying with the size of the vessel but never being very large. The handles are added last. Some are twisted and have been obtained in the following manner: a long, thin roll is bent in two and rolled on itself.

When finished, the vessel is put to dry. After it has hardened, the potter rubs it on the inside with a shining, polished stone (tankua or ita-nkua) (Plate XXIV, 3-4) until the surface is rendered shiny as /Plate XXIV appears here/ /385/ if glazed. The purpose of this operation is to avoid porosity of the inner wall of the vessel, which without that would be too permeable. The exterior of ordinary vessels is left as is. Vessels that are to be painted are apparently also polished on the outside. The polishing of the vessel is done over several days and slowly. The potter does it with great care (see Fig. 66).

C [237] [413] If the vessel is to be painted, the color is applied with a brush made of agouti hair or feathers held together in a tuft with wax (Plate XXIV, 1).

C Ce 386 The coloring materials used by the Chiriguano and Chané are of mineral and vegetable origin. The first are taken from rocks, of which I have had samples examined petrographically and chemically.

Chemical analysis gave the following results: the yellow samples contain clay (aluminum silicate and calcium carbonate) and iron in the form of hydrated oxide; the reds are of the same composition but contain less hydrated iron oxide and more iron oxide. In a specimen of yellow-brown ocher the iron oxide is abundant. In another, hard and compact, of a red-violet tint, the iron is almost entirely in the state of anhydrous oxide.

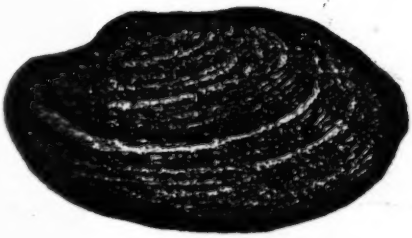
The yellow, red, and dark-yellow ochers, when heated in a test tube, change color and become dark red, with the exception of the violet specimen which remains invariable.

[Text Continues on P. 154]

Plate XXIV

323
237
[413]

1.



2

323
412

3

4

323
237

5

Accessories of a Chiriguano potter. -- 1. Brush made of feathers held together with wax. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (Nat. size.) -- 2. Valve of a fresh-water mollusk (inta), used to smooth the inside surface of the vessels. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/2 nat. size.) -- 3 and 4. Stones used for polishing the exterior and interior surfaces of vessels before firing (intankua). These two stones were found inside a funerary urn in Cararutí. (2/3 nat. size.) -- 5. Excrescence formed by an insect on the branches of trees of resinous species, which the Chiriguano utilize for tracing out black and shiny figures on their vessels (tarawirisi). Prov.: Ibopytí. (± nat. size.)

C
Ce
386

/385 cont./

Two gray minerals are silicates of aluminum and calcium with traces of iron. They are almost pure clays.

A jet-black mineral is a calcareous manganese-bearing complex (manganese dioxide in the form of oxide crossed by veins of calcite).

Petrographically, these samples are some yellow ochers very compact (manganese-bearing, quartzose) or somewhat sandy, some very sandy red ochers, and finally slightly sandy clays.

The ochers all give a red color, pyrolusite (?) furnishes black, and the pure clays the yellowish white on which red and black motifs stand out (1).

1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 145): "The colours used by the Chiriguano and the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro are black, red, brown and white. The white is caolin, the red, brown and black are obtained by pulverizing schists of these colours." /cited in English./

C
323

Colors of mineral origin are applied on the walls of the dried and polished vessel before firing.

C
323
237

Most of the vessels from the upper Pilcomayo are distinctive because of motifs of a glossy, solid black which the Indians obtain by rubbing, shortly after firing, with a resinous excrescence looking like a white muff, which a kind of cochineal (?) forms around /386/ mimosa branches (in Chiriguano: iskayanti) and in which she deposits eggs (Plate XXIV, 5).

According to Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 200), who was the first to note the use of this material, it was a question of the viscous saliva of an ant (?) which sticks to the trees. The /Fig. 59 appears here/ Chiriguano potters would use it to paint their vessels after mixing it with roucou. In reality, this information is inexact. The resinous muff is not made of saliva but a kind of manna or lac. It is rubbed directly against the sides of the vessel to produce the solid, glossy black of certain motifs.

/433 cont./

283
291
516
142

Fig. 87. Chiriguano woman getting ready to spin. Carurutí. (Photo. A. M.)

286 The reed of our European looms is replaced here by an /Fig. 88 appears here/ interlacing of threads which grasp one thread of the warp, then the other, alternately.

286 413 The woof is passed through with the help of a shuttle whose motion back and forth is facilitated by a weaver's sword (iwirapé) which separates the warp threads. This latter instrument is used to tighten the cloth each time the woof has passed through. A [237] mammalian metatarsal bone sharpened to a point (Fig. 92) or a small pointed or spindle-shaped stick (Figs. 93 and 94) permits

C /436 cont./
286
531
179
000

Modern Chiriguano fabrics show almost no originality. They are generally plain, and, if they present some linear motifs, these are servilely copied from models coming from the Andean region. The Quichua /Quechua/ fabrics, prototypes of those of

C
286
413

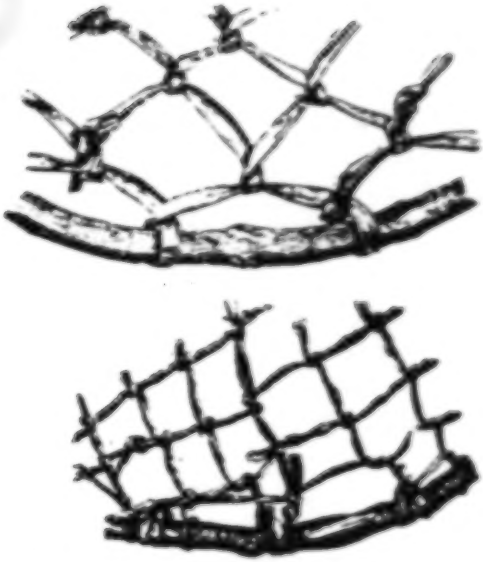
C
[237]

Fig. 92. Metatarsal bone of a mammal, carved in the shape of a dagger, which the Chiriguano women utilize to cross and then tighten the warp threads. Prov.: Ivu. (1/2 nat. size.)

Figs. 93-94. Awls (kiruna) for crossing and then tightening the warp threads. Prov.: Salado Grande. (2/5 nat. size.)

M.Q.
286 The Quichua /Quechua/ fabrics, prototypes of those of
531 the Chiriguano, are nevertheless of better quality and greater richness of ornamentation. In addition to purely geometric designs they are often decorated with small figures representing animals or human beings.

352
286



414
239

Fig. 127. Sketch indicating the technique of the hoops of the type of the one in Figure 126.

Fig. 128. Deer foot dried in the sun to serve as a hook for hanging. Prov.: Saladito. (About 1/5 nat. size.)

352

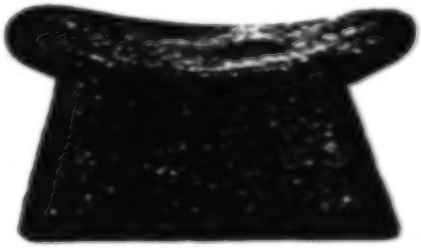


Fig. 129. Double-runnered bench. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (About 1/7 nat. size.)

/471 cont./

353 and 127). Everything in the world can be found there: small vessels, baskets, boxes, packages carefully wrapped in cloth, in short, a thousand little objects which the Chiriguano women regard as their treasure. From the roof hang hooks from which [414] are suspended household effects or supplies. These hooks are [237] generally of wood, but there are some also which are formed by a deer foot bent back and dried in the sun (Fig. 128).

Every chink in the walls is transformed into a hiding-place where the women put their scissors, the men their knives or combs. /472/ Bows and arrows are slipped between the struts of the roof.

In some huts whose walls are plastered with earth, the Indians arrange niches in the shape of swallows' nests, which serve as rudimentary cupboards. Might there be in that a distant remembrance of the niches so characteristic of Inca houses? It is possible.

352 The inhabitants of each hut sit on the cots or on /Figs. 516 130-132 appear here/ chairs with backs very well copied from [199] those of the creoles. The women generally squat on the ground. [198] On the upper Pilcomayo, one still finds benches with two seats (Fig. 129), a cultural element which the Chiriguano inherited from their ancestors of the Amazon basin.

356 The fire for cooking is lighted in the middle of the hut. [354] Chiriguano dwellings are clean. I have never caught fleas or other vermin there as I have in the ranchos of creoles or half-breeds. The women sweep their huts at least once a day. One is rarely disturbed there by mice (Fig. 132).

415
237

Fig. 130. Armadillo shell (tatu-pire) in which Chiriguano women keep objects for needlework, small pieces of cloth, etc. Prov.: Saladito. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

412
824

Fig. 131. Bull's testicle (toro-upía) which the Chiriguano hang up in their huts as a small container. Prov.: Saladito. (About 1/7 nat. size.)

415
237

Fig. 132. Broom made of karandaí leaves (tupisa). Prov.: Yumbía (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/4 nat. size.)

/482 cont./

756 Judging from this text, the Chiriguano sorcerer, like his
787 Tupinamba or Siberian colleague, put himself into a state of trance so that his spirit, free from corporeal bonds, could go to engage in battle with the soul of the evil-intentioned individual who is implacable against his patient.

778 The hupia, that is, the magical force, is indispensable to one who claims to be a good sorcerer. At least this is the meaning I give to this word translated in the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (p. 73) by: "remedy, antidote," but of which it is said that possession is indispensable to every medicine man. This word suffixed to any noun whatever expresses the faculty, the power, the facility to make or obtain the thing signified by the noun. Thus a dog trained to hunt deer is wazu-rupia (wazu deer), a warrior is tuwallo-rupia (tuwallo enemy), etc.

[193]

●237 Fig. 137. Calabash
415 containing snake fat.
757 Prov.: Saladito.
(About 1/2 nat. size.)

Fig. 138. Section of bamboo containing chicken fat. Prov.: Caipipendi. (1/2 nat. size.)

757 Remedies. 1. Snake fat (mbolitra) is
[237] efficacious against leprosy. The Indians keep it in a small calabash sealed with wax (Fig. 137).

2. A little cotton impregnated with castor oil (yandi) and rubbed on the skin is an excellent liniment for rheumatism.

[237] 3. A similar virtue is attributed
302 to chicken fat (Fig. 138). In
[237] everyday life they resort to
[824] chicken fat or castor oil to
[415] anoint the body, which they
[237] then rub with roucou paste.
Women generally have their

/402 cont./

302 faces and legs oiled in this way, which gives them a very strange reddish and shiny hue. This custom, which was already [191] noted /403/ in the sixteenth century among the Tupinamba of [198] the Brazilian coast, is tending to fall into disuse.

Roucou in paste form is kept in a small corn-husk bag (Fig. 302 139). /Fig. 139 appears here/ as is kalasapa, a substance com- 386 posed of a mixture of roucou and pounded aroma seeds, which [415] gives a violet color.

757 4. Jaguar fat (yaguapira) cures any "leprosy" (karaña) if 237 one rubs oneself with it after heating it.

5. Iguana fat makes cramps go away and heals wounds. [152] Its use is external.

6. The dried penis of a fox makes toothaches and earaches go away. For that it suffices to touch the ailing part with the end /Fig. 140 appears here/ of this member. The Indians consider it very malodorous and touch it only with repugnance. [415] To avoid this inconvenience they provide it with a handle and shut it up in a bamboo case (Fig. 141).

7. Deerhorn heated and /Fig. 141 appears here/ applied against the neck will cure a stiff neck. The medical use of [172] deer (wasu) horns explains the frequent presence of the horns of this animal in the archeological strata of the neighboring Andean regions. Some have thus been found in the ruins of the Alfarcito, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 21), at Tilcara (Debenedetti, 5, p. 222), at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 235, p. 453), and at Tastil (Boman, 7, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, Fig. 78 f).

858 Horns adhering to a fragment of the skull and whose use 300 could only have been magical or medical must be distinguished 237 from the ones which the Indians work into awls. These in- 412 struments still have a ritual use and are reserved for piercing the lower lip of children when they are old enough to wear the labret. At least this is what Campana (p. 80) informs us. Besides, the Indians all have confirmed this detail to me. [171] Formerly, the Tupinamba of Brazil practiced this operation with an awl of the same nature (see Métraux, 3, p. 105).

Jt Métraux--364 E-5 (1959) 1930 SP10 Chiriguano SP10

824
302
415
386

Fig. 139. Small bag made of corn husks, containing roucou paste. Prov.: Salado grande (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

Fig. 140. Calabash containing roucou seeds. Prov.: Caipipendi. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

415
237
959

Fig. 141. Case containing a fox penis (aguara-kankuy). Prov.: Ibapeyti. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

/484/

412 However, these awls are too abundant in each village for their use to be only sacred. It is probable that the Chiriguano use them as a simple tool for solely secular purposes.

[172] At Tilcara, Debenedetti (2, Fig. 176, p. 232) discovered specimens made of deerhorn identical with our Chiriguano examples.

824 757 8. I have in my collections seeds whose virtues are multiple: they are an excellent remedy for skin eruptions, ulcers, and toothaches.

9. For stomach-ache the Chiriguano recommend the absorption of particles of wood (mboipinda).

232 [824] 10. Certain seeds (of a graminaceous plant?) when crushed give a paste or powder with which they treat animals whose sores are attacked by worms.

11. When cows' hooves tend to work loose, they bathe them with fragments of limestone (itakwi).

757 239 12. Fat extracted from a cow's foot is an effective ointment for cases of rheumatism.

13. The beak of the toucan is said to enjoy great medicinal properties. They grate it and drink in water the powder which comes from it (Campana, 111).

Stitches in the side and dysentery are treated with a piece of armadillo shell burned, ground, and dissolved in water, which the patient drinks.

757 [114] In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (passim) and Nino's book (pp. 288-290) is found many a very interesting piece of information on the pharmacopoeia of the Chiriguano. I shall summarize them in order to complete my own observations.

757 164 1. The oil which floats on kiwi, when it is done, is a good remedy for headaches.

2. Salt, ground and drunk mixed with the urine of a small child, quiets stomach pains.

[824] 3. Rheumatism is doctored by applying on the ailing part a branch of ulala (Bankawina) from which the thorns have been removed and which has been heated.

164 /484 cont./
757
824 4. To stop dysentery, one must drink a decoction made of corn and watermelon seeds ground together.

[237] 5. Stitches in the side are treated by drinking a fragment of armadillo shell ground up and by rubbing the ailing place with a portion of this same calabash heated.

6. Tumors and swellings of the throat or knee are made to disappear by applying on the sore region the leaves of a shrub called urukuna, heated in a pot. Another herb (yundurimbiu) has the same virtue.

/485/ Urukuna leaves put in compresses on the skull dissipate headaches, protect one from congestion, and cure erysipelas. The leaves of yandipa (hediondilla) have all the virtues of urukuna.

7. Hemorrhages are stopped by means of latex or the roasted leaf of the liana supuapempe.

8. Kaa-upaya is an efficacious herb in cases of stomach ailments; and soto root cures pains in the feet (rheumatism?).

9. Guaya is a liana which cures any swelling in the side.

[753] [821] 10. Goiter, rare among the Indians, is attributed by them to the sun. They treat it with tutía, a yellow fruit which reminds one of an apple, or by putting around the neck compresses of the blood of the gallinazo, carancho, or bandurria, kinds of vultures.

11. Ophthalmia or conjunctivitis is doctored with drops extracted from the bark of the algarrobillo or with the glue taken from the bud of the membiría plant. The leaves of yandi-wope are excellent for cases of ophthalmia.

12. A variety of caraguatá makes diarrhea stop.

13. The flower káa-ro (bitter herb) cures skin eruptions and is as good for malaria.

14. The herb inái (tooth of water) is a remedy against whooping cough, which can also be treated with an infusion made of boiled or roasted wasps and drunk warm.

15. Tingi bark attached around the belly is excellent for fighting dropsy, as are the leaves of the asuru (palo de india), a tree reminiscent of laurel, or the herb kaa-paye, taken as an infusion.

164 /485 cont./

757 16. Gonorrhea is treated with the boiled root of the
824 mistol and tapir fat.

[237] 17. Earaches pass away if drops of chicken, beetle, and cicada fat are poured into the auditory canal.

18. The root of chirimoya del monte (aratibu) is a good antidote if one feels poisoned.

752 19. Snake bites lose their seriousness if one applies some
824 of the herb uruuru, guaje, tobacco, or nicotine on the wound.

The sap of the liana isipo-poro-mboyi, although poisonous, nonetheless constitutes an excellent antidote for the same cases.

752 20. By putting melted wax on the wound, you do not risk
237 dying when a mad dog has bitten you.

21. Wounds produced by a sharp instrument heal if burned chicken feathers are spread on them.

757 22. It suffices for a woman to drink the powder of a shell in water to put her fallen uterus back in place.

/486/

757 23. The red leaves of the añankamisa, iwira-ro (quebracho
824 cacha) bark, the woody plant toba-pitše, taken as infusions, are as many remedies for fever.

[752] 24. Compresses of kaa-ruruntirái make abscesses burst.

25. In case of constipation it is good to drink the latex of the kaa-si (cardencha, lechetresna).

752 26. After any serious fall one must drink water in which
757 one has made an infusion of a sort of vervain (kaimberai)
824 pounded beforehand. The consequences of the shock will not be felt if one applies on the sore regions poultices made with this same plant carefully ground.

27. Recommended for spreading on sprains are cara guatá leaves or a thick glue obtained by boiling the bark of iwira-pitiyu-wasu. This substance is equally good for fractures.

757 28. The Chiriguano chew the bark of iwira-pitiyu-wasu to make
824 their violent toothaches stop and to make their teeth more solid.

29. A cataract is doctored in the following way: One boils kuruwa leaves and bathes the patient's head with this infusion.
[237] Then one takes the gall from the dorado fish with pincers or

/486 cont./

757 824 237 some similar object and rubs the sick person's eyes with it until the cataract comes off.

30. The tannin contained in kurupáî bark is a disinfectant which hastens the healing of wounds.

752 757 824 31. The leaves of kurupaîraî (small sébil), squeezed and put into compresses on a tumor, act in a lenitive way.

757 824 [302] 32. The plant wambero (kind of purslane) is a laxative. It has a scarlet flower which girls dry and pulverize to be able to color their cheeks red.

33. Iwowi bark, pounded and roasted, is a good remedy for any pain affecting the limbs. The ash taken from the pips of this [752] tree hastens the healing of wounds.

34. Powdered inái seeds make teeth fall out.

35. The root of the isipo-poro-mboyi, ground and kneaded with salt and tallow, is an emollient which is spread on tumors.

36. When they feel pains in the limbs, the Chiriguano apply on the ailing part a poultice made of iva-wasu roots, crushed and roasted.

37. The seeds of the yandi-wasu, taken in doses of two or three, are a good emetic.

38. The sarái is a tree reminiscent of our walnut tree. Its inner bark yields a powder which is spread on skin eruptions.

39. A climbing plant called kaa-ruwa is supposed to have medicinal properties. /487/ It is taken in the form of an infusion, or poultices are made with it after it is pounded.

40. Another climbing plant, the kaa-tai (barba de chivato) is a very active caustic which can produce burns if the compresses made with its flowers, leaves, and twigs ground together and mixed with water are kept on too long. If the hands are rubbed with this plant, they become numb.

41. The roots of the shrub mboipina, well cooked, yield a broth which combats atrophy.

757 825 42. A species of bug (tambeyùa) is used in the native pharmacopoeia as a caustic.

757 271 43. The Chiriguano have great faith in the virtue of hot water. Every sick Indian has beside him a small vessel the size of an egg, full of hot water. Those who are attending him

/28 cont./

139 There is another small caraguata which invades wide areas
824 of land, preventing any animal from entering there, because it has spines on the bottoms of the leaves. In times of scarcity
[262] its root is food for the poor Chiriguano; the root contains a little starch which has the taste of mandioca, but it requires
[283] great effort to pull it up. The leaf of this tilandsia is also good for making cord.

Finally, there is a third one which flourishes abundantly in trees and on the rocks of the hills, but which has no peculiar properties; it is large because of its leaves, which measure up to one meter in length. The plant is thick, the leaf fleshy, and it is used to decorate the streets with arches during processions. The aloe is similar to the second type of tilandsia, but aloe leaves are wide and thick, full of juice, while those of the tilandsia are slender, arched, and dry. The aloe is not abundant; only an occasional shrub or plant is found.

244 /29/ TOMATO. -- This plant which produces fruits so pleasant and useful to the culinary art flourishes exuberantly in these lands; the fruit from each plant is abundant and is produced the year round when some care is taken to protect the plant from the cold or from the light frosts which customarily
[237] fall in June and July. To do this it suffices to pile up dry cow dung in two or three places in the tomato patch and set them
[177] afire. True tomato plants are also found in the woods, but it is presumed that some bird must have carried the seed to such places; the tomato is a plant which has been brought into the Chiriguano country, as is the case with the onion, the sweet potato, and the cabbage.

222 In the woods there is a kind of tomato in the wild state, which is somewhat similar in appearance and taste, but which is quite different from the true one; it is picked green and allowed to ripen in a room on top of a piece of wood; in a
[244] few days it turns red, which is a sign that it is ripe. The chili pepper also produces abundantly and with little care; it is a plant which lasts up to three years if care is taken to prune it, and the second and third years the fruits are very hot. Another kind of small, round chili pepper abounds in the woods and bears spontaneously; it is called arivivi by the whites and "quii rai" by the Chiriguano. It is hot, and some cure sickness,

/33/

*136 The large armadillo is slightly less than one vara long;
*825 its burrow corresponds to its size and even more, and not infrequently the wild boar or peccary, when chased by hunters and dogs, finds a safe refuge in these holes. The meat of the large armadillo is not so good for civilized people, but that of the others is; I have eaten it many times. The fat softens the tumors and gristle in it. Armadillos feed on worms.
[241] Nevertheless, the true armadillo is harmful to the maize fields when they are newly planted, because it searches out and eats the seeds; it is also very harmful in melon patches, of which it scarcely leaves a slender shred; when it gets into the
[224] melons, it does not allow any to ripen. The Indians know well where the armadillo abounds; as soon as they finish planting the maize, on nights with a moon or without it, they go there and, helped by hunting dogs, kill them.

COBAYO /guinea pig/. -- This little animal is innocuous and plentiful everywhere. Its places are the fences, where it
[262] hides with ease. It is similar to large rats without a tail;
[237] its meat is very tasty, and bags in which smokers store tobacco, tinder, and flint are made from its skin. When it sees a hunter
[224] or believes that danger is near, it hastens to hide in the thickness of the fences, but when the hunter hides, it is not long in coming out again in search of food, morning and evening, and then it is easy to kill with arrow or shotgun. The Chiriguano call it
[231] "Aperea." There is another sort of multicolored guinea pig of the same size as the previous one, but this one is domesticated. The color of the true guinea pig is light brown.

CONEJO /rabbit/. A quadruped in the wild state, native to America, it is the size of a large cat. Its color is a shaded
[224] white, and here there are none of any other color, but there
[262] are in other parts of South America; its meat is delicious, and the Indians like it and hunt it; its form is the same as that of the domestic rabbit, and in the Chiriguano language it is called "Tapiti."

/37 cont./

*136 Tamandua meat is rather strong; it smells of ants, and they
*825 use its hide for their beds. This, that is, the leather, is
[237] medicinal when applied to the hips when they ache; it cures
[757] quite rapidly. It is called "Tami."

*136 TIGRE /jaguar/. -- Here we have the animal which is the king of the forests in the Chiriguano region /38/ and elsewhere. A fearsome animal because of its strength, speed, and cunning, fearsome because of its fangs and claws, fearsome, in fine, because it will resolutely attack every animal when it is hungry or is pursued and wounded. This king of the forest walks, runs, and leaps, climbs trees, scales cliffs, or crosses rivers, as circumstances dictate, for its own preservation. Wild and domestic animals, small and large, birds and reptiles, and the very fish flee and hide from the sight of this ferocious beast; man himself is often left the victim of its claws and fangs, and one experience is sufficient for it to continue attacking man. If the jaguar starts on calves, generally these are its daily diet; if it tries the meat of the ass, this will be its lunch, its supper, and its everything. Only with the bull, when it pits its strength against this powerful animal, does it always get the worst of it.

When the jaguar takes possession of a region and begins to fell cattle, horses, or burros, it is necessary to kill it or drive it away by pursuit, because it is so bold that it will fearlessly enter corrals near houses and kill the calves that it wants, being content with sucking their blood, but should it not have time for so much, it will pick up the first one and carry it off a short distance and calmly have its way. It seems that this animal knows the dominion it holds over the rest, including man himself. Should one meet it on any road, it does not flee, but calmly continues on its way, and then prudence dictates that the man stop, not be afraid, and speak loudly, and then the animal will go off into the woods; I have had this experience and others the same, but should one not behave in this way and is without weapons and good dogs, he exposes himself to being its victim.

The Indians call it "Yagua," and it is the jaguar of Spanish-speaking people; similar to the panther, it is not the

/43 cont./

*136 There are wasps, and they are of several classes, but the yellow or red ones are the most vicious; there are bees in the trees, in the roofs, in the walls, and in the ground, and all of them make hives in order to make honey and wax, but the best honey is that of the bees called señoritas. Both things, 222 237 that is, honey and wax, are known as beneficial by the Indians, [461] but they devote themselves to this very little, because they consider it the work of lowly and poor people, and the Chiriguano does not like to consider himself such. Wax is 237 464 seldom gathered, even in times of scarcity, nor does the neophyte or new Christian work at earning his living by looking for beeswax.

*136 A spider bite almost always produces bad consequences, *825 which can be avoided by the use of ammonia; this is another [959] plentiful insect. In the rainy season they extend their webs from one tree to another, obstructing the road, no matter how wide it may be, and frequently travelers who are out at night or who get up early are bothered by these webs, which stick to their faces and clothing, /44/ just as the spiders themselves, which are so loathsome, not infrequently catch hold. The bite of those that live in the forest, they state, is not poisonous.

All spiders are called "Yanduti" in Chiriguano, and the [859] web, "Yanduti nupa," or spider's bed; from the web of the forest spiders the children make nets for catching birds or for their games. When wet they are quite elastic. The true tarantula, which the whites call apasanca and the Indians "Yanduti huasu," is quite ugly because of its fuzz, eight legs, and two arms. The natives state that it is poisonous, but its bite is not fatal. They almost never come out by twos, but upon killing one and wanting to know if it has a companion, it is enough to burn the dead one in order to cause the live one to come out the moment it smells the odor. The apasancas, or tarantulas, come out when it is about to rain and do not make a good impression. The natural enemy of spiders, including the tarantula, is another flying insect the size of an acorn, which the people of Santa Cruz call

237
293

Picture of the Yandugua or Parasol

/51 cont./

*13 *825 [262] [232] [293] [757]

Its meat is excellent, and I have eaten it on numerous occasions. The Indians go to hunt the ostrich to prepare for their bacchanalias; they trade their feathers or keep them, and with five of them make the "Yandugua," a kind of parasol of which I shall speak in its place. The fat is a most efficaceous remedy for the side, rheumatism, and ailments of the hips in men and animals, for coldness of the members, and for removing thorns by anointing with it the part opposite the place where the thorn has penetrated.

BANDURRIA. -- This is a bird which the Indians call "Toté" because this is the sound of its song. It has a long beak, long red legs, red and ash-colored feathers, /52/ and a long neck. It feeds on little worms and insects and is generally found in open fields and banks of rivers and lakes. The meat is like that of guinea fowl, but very tough, although if the outer skin is taken off before boiling or roasting it, it can be cooked easily.

The bandurria resembles the crane somewhat, but it is stationary, abounds everywhere, and is not solitary, but neither do they gather together much. A flock is composed at the most of some 12 or 15, and frequently one finds a single pair. If one of these is caught, its companion will fly away immediately, but will come back two or three times to find out what has happened. In this way it is easy for the hunter to kill both. The bandurria has a highly developed instinct, and when the hunter approaches, it quickly flies. When there are many, they fly like cranes, with one out in front to break the air. They do not fly very high and generally sleep in a hole in the rocks, where it is easy to hunt them after sunset.

BUHO /owl/. -- This is a large nocturnal bird like a condor and whitish in color; there are two kinds, the second is smaller and black, ash-gray with a white collar; the Chiriguano call the first one "Yancuruntu," because when it sings it seems to articulate this word. The female of the Yancuruntu answers "Yaparapití," which in Spanish means "matemos" /let us kill/, from which the whites are inclined to jump to conclusions and start rumors that the Chiriguano are thinking about an

/55cont./

*825 757 and not those veterans of several arrobas like gourds in the form of saddlebags, which are seen in abundance around Pozuelos, Piray, San Juan, and Pomabamba.

*136 *825 There is another large bird with the same instincts as the buzzard, called carcancho by the whites and "Caracara" by the Indians. It does not, however, kill calves; it does hunt and kill little lambs, suckling pigs, and chickens, disregarding with boldness and dissimulation the brood hen. /56/ This shameless, fearless bird is abundant everywhere and is capable of getting into kitchens and sticking its beak into the ollas; but its favorite spot is the corral, where it scratches about, looks for things, and eats, and like the most natural thing in the world it will pull out the entrails of a sleeping lamb or at the least blind it in one eye. The rascal gets into the nests of smaller birds and steals eggs or kills the young to eat them. All in all, it is a sad and ugly neighbor, with the result that all are its enemies, and some birds chase it out of their nests. Such is the practice of the bird that the Chiriguano call "Guirapipasa"; another called "Suiriri" gets on the shoulders of the carcancho and pecks it until it runs long distances.

[757] The Indians assert that carcancho fat is an efficacious remedy for the vision, and that they used it before modern medicines, which turned out to be more efficaceous and [262] active, were introduced. They eat its meat if it is fat. The [237] feathers of the carcancho and the buzzard are very strong, and [411] they put them on the ends of their arrows, so that they will not turn aside when they are shot and consequently will hit the mark better.

*136 GOLONDRINA /swallow/. -- The heat is altogether too [132] much at certain times of the year, with the thermometer in the shade up to 32° and in the sun up to 60°, but let it not be believed that this state of heat is the normal thing. There are months of the year, and in these months there are weeks and days, in which it is difficult to endure the cold, which is most intense in June and parts or all of July. As a result of this, the swallow, even here, is a pilgrim, emigrating at the end of April and returning at the beginning of October. There are some entirely black, and there are some with white breasts. The

/180 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it; most of them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have [513] this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they [178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and to have cots like the whites use; the open part of the latter [237] is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred; in the Ivú Mission almost all make them of this material.

574 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either; 57 when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on 516 the ground; nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For 352 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of 322 wood and called Apica. [574] There are some with two places and up to four with their respective dividers; there are some for [412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter [438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like [439] those of the whites; they make the latter for their own use [824] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharrosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel. 352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks, Quiha ó inni, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/181 cont./

462 bulls, deer, etc. If all this carving were woman's work, it
415 would have but one name, Sacuarama, but since it is man's
531 work, each figure has the name of the quadruped, biped, or reptile that it represents (2).

[825] 2. Thus they say Machuru haangaño, figure of a lizard, Yaimba haangaño, figure of a dog. Even the men call the figure of a jaguar or a dove: Sacuarama.

/182/ With this second task the work can be considered finished. Days or weeks are employed depending on the greater or lesser quantities of the matés. They now color all the
[386] etched figures with ground charcoal and paint the empty spaces
[237] with Urucú, achiote, making them firm with the Taragüirisi, which is abundant everywhere, then singeing them in the flame of the fire so that the pictures will never lose their shine and luster or the painting of carbon and urucú come off (1).

● 237
323
825

1. The Taragüirisi is a species of ant which is common in cold weather. Its length is not over half a centimeter and its thickness three. It moves about the small branches of certain small trees, where it leaves its speckled whitish excrement. All potters provide themselves with an abundance of this material.

Pottery

323
[462] I shall now go on to consider women's work, limiting
[317] myself to the most important, such as clay vessels and textiles.
[484] For the former the Chiriguano woman provides herself beforehand with the best clay, which she knows very well and even brings from long distances, if it is not found in the territory of the tribe. Naturally the potter not only wishes to avoid the loss of her labor, but also, insofar as she can, she wishes to

/183 cont./
323 size, which they /184/ call Itaisi, with which the polishing of the pieces is completed (1).

1. The operations which they also perform with the shell and with the stone are for the purpose of giving fineness to the vessels and of closing any chinks.

[824] When they leave the piece which has been begun, they cover it with leaves of the Causíro, palma Christi, and at the time when they begin it again they dampen the edges with a small rag. This rag serves also for dampening the piece before polishing it with any of the above-mentioned tools. When it is finished and before it has been exposed to the air very long, they polish it with the Itaisi, and, when it is quite dry they fire it if it is not to have pictures on it.

531 Every painted piece of pottery is called Sacuarama. The
[192] paintings are white, black, and red. The white is called Tovanti, the black Itau, and the red Itaurucu. They grind
● [237] up the three colors separately, dissolve them in water, and apply them with a slender feather from a chicken or other bird. The figures are varied; those of trees, animals, and men are rare; they are lines, unintelligible groupings. Without knowing it themselves, they follow a general system, and some of them make fine pieces, especially for storing water.

323 In order to fire them they select a still day, and a big
[843] piece is carried to the forest, because there is plenty of firewood there and also to avoid having pregnant women coming close to watch, because their presence, according to what they
[237] say, would make the vessel break. They pile firewood around it and light it, taking care that the fire does not go out before it is burning well; sometimes instead of firewood they also use dry cow-manure, and it seems that this is very good for even-
[237] ness of the baking. If the pot has paintings, they let it cool a little when they take it out of the fire and then quickly pass over the pictures the excrement of the Taragüirisi, which melts with

/184 cont./

323 the force of the heat and remains over the paintings like a
[237] binder, without which they would disappear the first time it was used. The Taragüirisi remains on the vessels like a light coat of rubber and the white of the Tovanti becomes opaque (2).

2. When a pot is slightly damaged, they heat it in the fire and on the inside and outside apply the Taragüirisi, and it is as good as before.

/185/ Textiles

286 Another important occupation of the Chiriguano woman
462 is weaving the Asoya for her husband, brother, or son, and the
[294] Cutama for herself. For this she prepares the wool or cotton, spins it opposite the way the mestizo and European women spin, and then bleaches it and finally dyes it.

286 In order to weave, they set up two tall, slender forked sticks in the house, with two sticks across, one above and one below, and arrange or place the threads vertically, and then sit on the ground and begin to run the woof through, thread by thread, which they hit with a pointed stick of soto wood called Piuca. This, to be sure, is time consuming, if the threads are fine, but, on the other hand, the work is very durable.

291 Ponchos, Asoya, are of two types, one of wool and one
286 of cotton; the first are common from the right bank of the
231 Parapiti River southward and the second from the left bank
249 northward, because in the first region sheep are plentiful, and
[184] in the second, cotton fields. Formerly, before the whites intro-
[177] duced cattle into the region, cotton was cultivated everywhere, and from its product the men were dressed for ceremonies in their Tíru and the women in the Mandu, which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

/219 cont./

868 to his mother with satisfaction and then tells his companions about it.

/220/ There are also men who teach boys the way to be quick in fights and even the way to dodge enemy arrows, as well as bullets. The man who teaches this is called Puruncanise, or man who scratches. He is the terror of the boys in the town where he lives. The method he uses is to run after the boys, and woe to the one who out of weakness or carelessness lets himself be caught! In the hands of the puruncanise he suffers the martyrdom of being scratched all over his body with long fingernails, which he lets grow on purpose, in addition to the blame he gets for letting himself be caught by an old man. In a second race it is not likely that the boy being taught will let himself be caught (1).

868 554 463

868 856 239

1. Those who are older have the calf of the leg scratched with the tooth of the Acuti /agouti/ by another of the art. A lot of blood comes out of this, and upon recovering, they say that they are very good at running and can resist fatigue much more than those who did not allow themselves to be scratched.

882 When all the boys of the tribe have received practical lessons from such a neighbor, they indeed may be ready for war, because skill consists in knowing how to shoot in order to injure and also how to dodge the enemy arrow. The Indians [554] who know such strategy are called Queremba by their companions.

721 726 797 In the last war of Curuyuqui, the Indians attacked the Santa Rosa Mission while Colonel don Tomás Frías was there. He chose as a target an Indian Queremba who seemed to be the chief of the company and lost some eight or ten bullets without having the pleasure of felling him. Almost all the Indians learn this way of fighting; hence their combats do not last long. That of Curuyuqui lasted eight hours because they were sheltered in trenches.

/239 cont./

Old Method of Farming

241 In planting the fields which are already old, they use the same method of applying fire to the weeds and stubble that are left after the harvest; this method is even coming to be practiced by the whites and the mestizos. As far as fertilizing the land, the Chiriguano does not worry about it, because the lands are virgin and the Indian hardly plants maize on a large scale, and, if it rains regularly until the grain has become hard, the crop is abundant and the farmer has enough to eat and an abundance of chicha to drink, which is what he wants.

412 Formerly the ava had nothing but a wooden shovel and a stone ax, which is hard to find today. He obtained his livelihood with these insignificant tools; the ax served him for cutting trees and bushes and the spade for pulling up all the grass and brush. The spade was like those used by bakers for [824] putting bread in the oven; it was of soto wood and was at- [239] tached to a rather long handle with bejuco vines or strips of toborochi bark; the handle was always long, because the Indian /240/ neither knew nor does he now know how to bend his back at his farm chores; these spades were also made from the shoulder blade of cattle, horses, or asses (1).

000

1. Baron don Erland Nordenskiold, in addition to the pots from various regions of Bolivia, sent to the Swedish museum pots made by the Chiriguano, wooden spades, and stone axes.

241 Planting was usually done in the month of November, [221] after the ground had received at least two rains. Then the Indian would first destroy with his spade the small amount of grass that had come up, and then he would notify his friends and relatives so that they might help him to plant on the day indicated. The cacique took part in the general [476] planting, ordering that those under him should help one [534] another; thus, early on the said day, at daybreak, they would

/274 cont./

Offensive War and Weapons

643 When a tribe was preparing to attack another, if it foresaw
701 that it would last longer than usual, and the cacique judged that
705 more preparations were required, in his position as supreme chief or captain general he would commission subalterns called Queremba, experts, to inspect all the armament available, and if the report of these chiefs was not satisfactory, a general order was given to make up and repair all the deficiencies as quickly as possible.

411 The bows and arrows were made in the public plaza or out-
824 side each house; the wood which was to serve for bows was different from that for arrows. War bows measured /275/ a meter
[283] and a half more or less, and to shoot one they used a twisted cord made of pygmy-deer hide, which was both light and strong. The wood that they use even today for hunting bows is called Igũrapitiragua.

The arrows are made of different kinds of wood, but the most common are Ovei, guayancansillo /a kind of guaicum/, Yaguasíi, tola, and Igũrane, smelly wood. This last is very poisonous, and the tribe that uses it must be a very bad enemy of his opponent, because whoever is wounded with these arrows will recover only with difficulty, and the wound is a continual suppuration of illness, which slowly consumes him, almost without any hope of his being able to be helped and to enjoy life once more with his companions.

Every arrow ends in a point, and on both sides it has its edges the opposite way so that when it enters the flesh it is difficult to remove, and one who does not know how to remove it can produce a greater wound than the one the arrow made when it entered.
[283] The arrow is inserted into a little piece of hollow cane, one
[239] meter long, where it is securely attached with string made of toborochi bark, and the string is covered with a little bit of wax (1).

1. At the end of the cane, with the same string and wax, many attach a feather of a falcon or of a carcancho, not for decoration, but so that the shot may be more accurate. The feathers of these birds are more resistant than others.

164 757 /386 cont./ From this and other causes come the many skin diseases which do not let them sleep. The itch is cured with saltpeter found in the dry stream beds. They call it Curuyuqui, or salt for curing the itch. but that remedy does not always produce its effect. The itch principally attacks those of few years, and nursing infants catch it from their mothers. Lepers are cured very [237] efficaciously by means of hot cow dung, and it is enough to apply it two or three times for a cure within three days without any further remedy, but they do not resign themselves easily to using this repugnant but efficacious remedy.

164 Smallpox and measles are epidemics which appear from time to time; for this reason I do not put them in the list of endemic diseases like the former ones. The Chiriguano runs from smallpox as a person with hydrophobia does from water, since through experience he knows that anyone who gets it has a hard time being saved from a horrible death. When it enters a town, it sows fear and desolation. Sick people resign themselves to death, and the healthy ones flee in terror to other tribes. It seems that it is not easy to attack smallpox directly, and up to now only vaccination has better effects (2).

797 164

2. When smallpox breaks out, the missionaries go wherever their ministry is needed, like doctors and priests. Up to now none of them has caught it, perhaps because they are vaccinated or because they have different blood.

In 1909 the town of Cuevo, which is about eight kilometers from Yvu, was decimated by smallpox. I vaccinated all the people of Yvu and those who were not residents there. But the vaccine did not take in all of them, as occasionally happens. Nevertheless, few got sick and only two died. The remedy that I administered after the initial fever had begun was rather strong wine vinegar. The sickness ran its course only in those who had not drunk the /287/ vinegar or who had not been able to retain it in the stomach. I administered one cup every six hours three times, and it was enough for this terrible illness, which would cause so many deaths in Cuevo, to pass almost unperceived in the San Buenaventura Mission (1).

1. More people became sick and died in the

Ec 352 received from their kinsfolk at Mojos, or they may even have brought it with them when they migrated to their present abode. Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané commonly use chairs of the type they have learned from the whites. They are made by themselves in the missions.

[171] Ec [171]

I have a rush mat from the Chané. Both the Chiriguano and the Chané have skin mats. I have already spoken of such mats in Part I of this work. The skin mat is naturally a southern culture-element.

[237] Ec

The Chiriguano and Chané keep their belongings either hung from the ceiling or else on the floor. Clothes and other fragile things are often kept in large earthen vessels — a method of keeping one's belongings which I have not seen anywhere else. Gumpf says that the Ivrus kept their clothes in a similar way.

Ec 353

[171] [415] Ec

It is very common among the Chiriguano and Chané to fix wooden hooks in the roof of their huts on which to hang their belongings (fig. 4). Elsewhere I have only seen these hooks among the Churipa. In the Gothenburg Museum there is a collection by Lindwall and Tuxen of hooks made by Indian tribes on the Rawlins. The only mention of them that I am aware of in literature on the subject is from the Arawacians.[1] Small articles of this kind are, of course, easily overlooked, wherefore it is not at present possible to draw a map of their distribution. This is to be regretted, as the distribution of such small objects would offer points of great interest. It seems to me not unlikely that the wooden hook is an Andine culture-element. Within my sphere of work the hook does not occur among other Indians than those mentioned here.

353 Ec 415 171

Small articles are kept by the Chiriguano and Chané in cloth and leather bags, wooden boxes, baskets, armadillo scales, the scrotum of bulls, and in calabashes with or without lids.

[1] Gumpf Vol. 2, P. 171.
[2] Lindwall (1) P. 358.

[Text continues on P.22]

C
Ce
.353
415

I have not seen wooden boxes anywhere else, and scarcely think they are genuinely Indian. I shall return to the subject of baskets.

C
Ce
415
237
a 171

Except among the Chiriguano and the Chaná, I have only seen the scales of the armadillo used as boxes among the Mataco, and there only as a curiosity. They are, however, known from the Guyaquí[1], from the Indians of Rawiscar[2] and from Indians in N. W. Brazil[3]. The seven baskets of armadillo scales which are sold in the curiosity-shops of Buenos Aires probably hail from Paraguay, and it is not impossible that here, too, we have to do with an original Indian idea.

Ce
237
278
415

The fat of various animals which is used for healing is usually kept by the Chiriguano and Chaná in shells, especially those of the *Boreus oblongus*.

I shall return to the subject of calabashes.

C
352

Fig. 3. Seat of wood from the Chiriguano. C. M. 13. c. 178. $\frac{1}{10}$

C
942

Fig. 4. Wooden hook. Chiriguano. N. M. O. 1900. $\frac{1}{10}$

[1] Krause fig. 13
[2] C. M.
[3] Koch-Grünberg (4)

Schmelzschrift E-4,(1909-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C
Ce
534
217

Flutes of several kinds are found among the Chiriguano and Chané, and they are here depicted. They are always made of reeds and never of bone (fig. 36).

C
Ce
534
177
v.(1)

Some of the Chiriguano and Chané flutes are not genuinely Indian. This is evidently the case with side-blown flutes with six carefully fitted holes. The like are not found among outlying tribes, nor, what is very important, have they been found in old excavations on the coast of Peru. No such flute is found among the 26 flutes depicted by MEAD from the coast of Peru. Nor are flutes of this kind found among the Chorotí and Ashluslay. All the old Peruvian flutes are blown from the end, and the holes seem to be placed very arbitrarily. I have in my collections side-blown flutes from the Yuracáre, Chimíne, Itonama, Cavina, and Tapiete as well as from the Chiriguano and Chané. They are also found among the Caingué. Everywhere they have six holes.[1]) They are never found among absolutely outlying tribes. Endblown flutes are undoubtedly pre-Columbian. All the flutes from the Peruvian coast described by MEAD are end-blown flutes. Three of them are made of reed, one of a calabash, the others of bone. Various kinds of end-blown flutes are very widely distributed in S. America. I have such flutes from the Chiriguano, Chané, Mataco, Toba, Tapiete, Ashluslay, Chorotí, Yuracáre, and Huaxí.

---

[1]) A flute of this kind is called by the Chané «kéna». Speaking of the Quichua musical instruments CIEZA says (IV. P. 128) «Quena — quena es una caña sin cuerpo flauta para cantar endechas.» The Cavina call a dance at which they play with flutes and drums «kena-kema». (FORNERONE (11) P. 480.) CABEZA, when mentioning the Quichua musical instruments, says that they, and especially the mestizos, have their small flutes which they call «quena»... (P. 178). I presume that the Chané took over from the mestizos not only the side-blown flute but also its name «quena» which the latter in their turn had obtained from the Quichua language. How the Quichua came to apply the word «quena» to a musical instrument which was originally unknown to them, I do not know.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

As I said in Part I the flutes in different parts of S. America are too little known for me to venture to express any opinion as to the source whence the Chiriguano and Chané got the end-blown flute.

Both the Chiriguano and Chané possess trumpets made of cowhorn. From the former I also have an old trumpet made from a calabash (Fig. 37 B) which I acquired at Caipipendi. I do not know whether this was ever provided with a mouthpiece. The Chané Indians have on their cowhorns mouthpieces of reed with lips (See Fig. 50. Part I). I have not seen these mouthpieces among the Chiriguano; they blow the cowhorns from the end without a mouthpiece. Most likely the Indians learned from the Whites to use mouthpieces of the aforementioned type.

Trumpets are very wide-spread in S. America, and it is interesting to notice the distribution of trumpets blown from the side and those blown from the end. The pre-Columbian date of the latter is certain, while that of the former is very doubtful. Map 10 indicates the distribution of these two types of trumpet.

Thus we see that side-blown trumpets occur especially in the basin of the Amazon,[1]) in the region where negro influence has been and is very great, and I do not think it impossible that the Indians have learnt to use such trumpets from the negroes. When negro slaves were brought to S. America, they naturally introduced many African ideas. Runaway slaves frequently sought refuge among the Indians. In Matto Grosso, for instance, it is probable that negroes had been in touch with Indians who had not yet seen Whites. From them the Indians would be able to learn a good deal.

When making a trumpet of an antelope horn or the tusk of an elephant, it is quite natural to make a hole in the

[text continues on p. 122]

[1]) From civilized Indians at Tupiza in Bolivia CHERVIN mentions side-blown trumpets which, it is quite certain, were introduced by the Whites at a late date.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Bush Negroes SR8
C
534
237
531
B
534

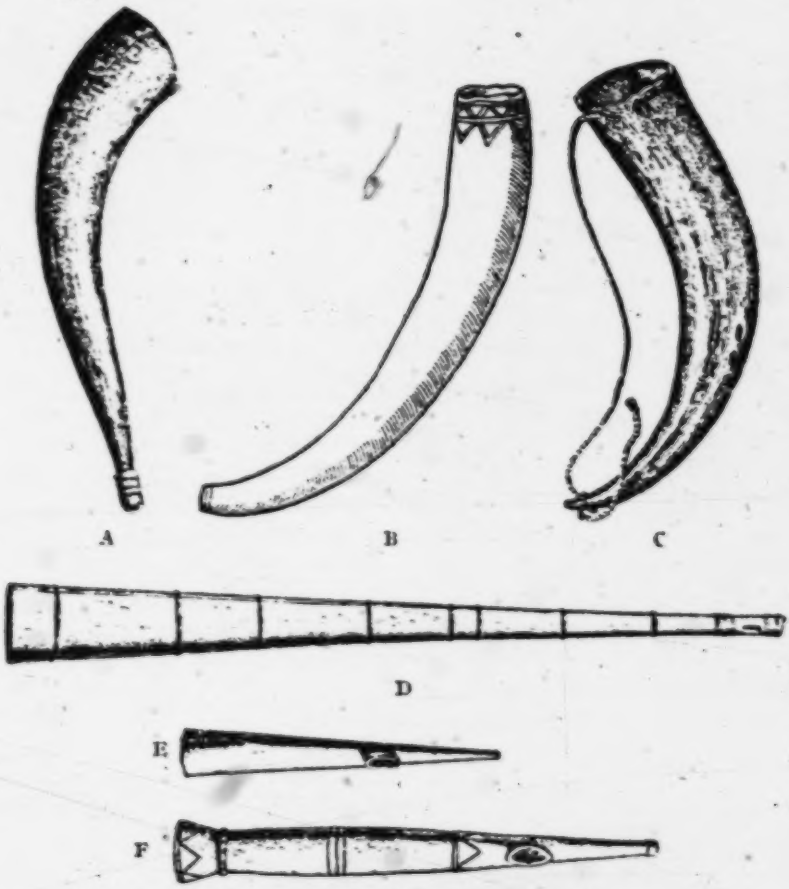


Fig. 37. A. End-blown trumpet made of cowhorn. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 97. 1/3.
B. End-blown-trumpet made from a calabash. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 511. 1/6
C. Side-blown trumpet made of cowhorn. British Guiana. Collection of LILJEWALCH—THULIN. G. M. 12. 1. 50. 1/6.
D. Side-blown trumpet made of wood. Parentintin(?), Brazil. R. M.
E. Side-blown trumpet made of tin-plate. Bush-negroes. Surinam. Collection of BARON KLINCKOWSTRÖM. R. M. K. 204. 1/8.
F. Side-blown trumpet made of wood. Bushnegroes. Surinam. Collection of KLINCKOWSTRÖM. R. M. K. 69. 1/8.

C Ce 415 *171 [252] Only a few vessels are provided with ~~spouts~~ tips in rims which here seem to be an idea obtained by the Indians from the Whites.

Bowls with holes in the bottom which are used for steaming have already been mentioned in the foregoing. This applies also to bowls for the roasting of maize.

The Chané on the Rio Parapiti have small plates which they sometimes use in spinning. I have not seen the like elsewhere. Occasionally one sees, among the most civilized C Ce [177] Chiriguano and Chané, fire-pans for holding hot water. (Fig. 43,21). They must have obtained the idea from the Whites.

C Ce 323 The Chiriguano and Chané understand the art of painting earthenware before burning.[1]) I have already, in Part I, endeavoured to show the geographical distribution of this invention. Whether it was known to the Chané and Chiriguano before they settled in this tract cannot be decided. The pottery I found in the archaeological excavations at Caipipendi is unpainted.

C Ce [184] The Chané at Rio Itiyuro sometimes paint the edge of earthen vessels after burning with resin of palo santo. This is never seen among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Parapiti. As such painting is common among several tribes in the Chaco, it is possible that the Chané at Rio Itiyuro got the idea from there. The Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro often varnish the painted vessels after burning with a kind of gum called by the Chiriguano — staragüirisi.

The Chiriguano and Chané also ornament their earthenware by finger-impressions. This method of ornamentation has an eastern extension in S. America. A map showing its distribution is published in Part I.

The ornamentation painted on earthenware is seen in the illustrations. The Chané at Rio Parapiti usually have very plain ornamentation.

C Ce [237]

[1]) For this purpose brushes of Aruti hair are used. (See also WIENER P. 82).

[erratum corrected, see errata sheet p. 245.]

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

This contrasts with the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro and is certainly owing to the poverty of the first-mentioned.

Sometimes the Chiriguano and Chané calabashes are surrounded by a net for greater convenience of carrying. I have already dealt with these in the foregoing.

The stoppers of calabash-bottles are generally pieces of empty corn-cobs. These are now and then used also as stoppers for earthen-vessels. The Choroti and Ashluslay, as a rule, make use of wax, which material is little used by the Chiriguano and Chané.

Fig. 51. Calabash. Chiriguano. R. M. 323. 1/6.

Ee /216 cont./
754 They also sometimes believe that they are bewitched by the
/177 Indians. A colonist, Gutierrez, flogged an Indian. The latter bewitched him, so that he became ill. Inside his stomach it sounded like the croaking of a frog.

C The medicine men try to discover the bewitcher with smoke.
Ce I did not see how this was done. The bewitcher, if he or she is
755 discovered, is killed.
754

000 /217/ In the following I shall speak about the connection of the medicine men with the great spirits.

Ee There seems to be no difference in the appearance and
755 the method of the medicine men among the Choroti and
756 Ashluslay and among the Chané and Chiriguano. It is the same
[7] sucking out of foreign objects that have entered the body through
Ee bewitchment. Among the latter the medicine men are more
[177] secretive than among the former. Perhaps their contact with the whites has had the effect that they themselves are beginning to doubt their art.

Ee There is a difference, however, in the common remedies.
757 The first-named Indian tribes obtain their remedies, as a rule,
[171] from the vegetable kingdom. They boil decoctions of certain
Ee plants. The Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, except
[237] for certain plants, use animal remedies. Thus, on the Rio
Ce Itiyuro, the Chané use the fat of herons for swellings, wild pig
757 fat for fever, jaguar fat for pains in the bones, and toucan beaks
237 for female hemorrhages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the fat of the ostrich for chest pains, of the iguana lizard for conjunctivitis, of the chicken for everything, and maize beer for colds. I saw fat applied exclusively for external use.

Ce The Chané Indian is remarkable with regard to aseptic
752 treatment. I saw several times how they treat wounds in accordance with a most modern method, namely, with boiled water. This is different from the whites' use of pig excrement and the fresh urine of human beings, along with salt, for the same purpose. The reason that these Indians are familiar with such a modern
Ce method is undoubtedly their great cleanliness. They are used to
[515] washing themselves constantly. They probably hit upon the idea

C Ce 273 [412] [237]

The pots are stirred with large
/237 cont./ wooden spatulas (Fig. 118a) or with shoulderblades provided with handles (Fig. 118b). It is the pride of every woman to brew good beer, "cangui," and much beer. Indeed, they are /238/ indefatigably busy. One sees them working all day, and even at night they are busy cooking and grinding. No family may refrain from making cangui.

The use of saliva may perhaps seem unsanitary. At first I thought this too, but soon I was so hardened that the cangui prepared with saliva-yeast in Indian fashion tasted better to me

Ce 273 415

Fig. 117. Cooking maize beer. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

than that brewed by the whites in a civilized way.

C Ce 273

Connoisseurs, not only Indians, are said to be of the same opinion as I. It is important, however, that the cangui be drunk cold; it is unpalatable lukewarm. When it has stood for a long time, it is somewhat intoxicating, but not as much so as algarroba beer.

C Ce 273 574 576

There is a great deal of ceremony connected with cangui drinking. In front, on benches and stools (Fig. 85), sit the men, and behind them, on the ground, the women. The older ladies are given the best places. The hostess brings in the cangui in her

Ce /239 cont./
535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
177 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[534] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

Ee The Chiriguano and Chané
532 always destroy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "añañya."

C It is strange what a great
Ce role the carnival now plays as a
541 festival among the Indians. This
177 undoubtedly comes from the fact
[464] that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians who work for them are given a few days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already disappeared. Nevertheless one still sees women in home-woven clothing

C with necklaces of chrysocolla and
Ce turquoise. I never saw used, however,
[178] the silver diadem and the silver
C pins which belong to the festive attire.
412 One often sees the men's blue
237 costumes (Fig. 81) with silver chest ornaments preserved in the huts by the old people, but they

Ce are not used for the festivals.
535 Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
527 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
273 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
533

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

352 [114] been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks [171] made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, [513] however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of 353 considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly 415 array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize [531] beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

[352] → [291] [302] [411] [415] ←

Fig. 194. Man and young woman. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[237] [824] → 354 →

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this im- 356 possible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

291 The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of [177] European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 163 and fig. 85 (12), pp. 15 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 59.

/16 cont./

342 A special feature of Chiriguano houses and where they differ from those of the common ranchos of white residents is that the two oblique sides of the roof descend almost to the ground, passing far beyond the wall. Machareti houses also show this special feature. (Cf. Fig. 14 /see p.40/.) The result of this roof construction is that the entrance (ōkye) is on [285] the gable side. To shut the entrance they use reed mats or [237] cowhides (65). Widely influenced by the whites, the Chiriguano [177]

65. Métraux I, p. 469.

and the Chané continually vary the style of their houses, and, according to Nordenskiöld (66), today many of them are al-

66. Nord. 1, p. 173.

ready building houses identical with those of the whites.

343 In addition to the houses used for dwellings, the Chiriguano and some of the Chané have houses built on posts for storehouses (avatió). Also in Machareti such houses were commonly found beside the dwellings. Figure 16 /see p. 41 / shows such a [417] storehouse. A ladder, which consists of a post provided with notches, leads to the platform (on the right in the figure). These storehouses serve primarily as places to keep the maize crop and other produce. The space under the platform serves for storing various other things. Nordenskiöld saw such houses built on posts, whose upper part served in general for storage, while the lower part was utilized as a dwelling (67). Often those

67. Nord. 1, p. 175; Nord. 2, p. 3.

storehouses are near the plantings far from the dwellings (68).

68. Nord. 1, p. 173.

[335] As shown in Figure 16, the frame for these storehouses consists of ten vertical posts of different lengths, bifurcated at their upper ends to support the horizontal posts that form the base for

/22 cont./

352 513 [251] The Chiriguano generally sleeps on a kind of cot (catre), that is, a bed frame made of cane. Such beds, which in addition to their own purpose also serve for drying maize, have been represented in drawings by Eric v. Rosen (95), Erland

95. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 190.

[174] [178] v. Nordenskiöld (96), and Métraux (97). No doubt /23/ the

96. Nord. 2, Fig. 2.

97. Métraux 1, Fig. 125, p. 470.

cold climate of the region to which the Chiriguano had emigrated made them abandon the use of the hammock for sleeping, not very practical for such a climate, and replace it with the cot, which was already common among the tribes of those regions. Lacking a cot, the Chiriguano sleep on the ground. In that case they use for a bed large mats made of cane or palm leaves, or also hides (98). I acquired from the Chiriguano one

[232] [824] [126] [824]

98. Nord. 1, p. 177. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 200. Métraux 1, p. 470.

such mat plaited out of palm leaves (Fig. 95).

Chiriguano Mat (túpa) in the Collection

I. A. 540. Length 1.75 m. Width 1.50 m. (Fig. 95).

352 17 [126] In some Chiriguano houses I also saw wooden benches (apika), but unfortunately I could not acquire a specimen. Those benches in the form of a sled are very similar to the kind of benches that are very common among the Indians of Brazil (99) and those that we also know from the ancient

[113] 99. Carly /sic/ von den Steinen: Unter den

C
Ce /34 cont./
756 most other Indians of South America, there is a professional
171 physician who is charged with the treatment of the sick, this
treatment in most cases consisting of sorcery among these
C Indians too. The physician attempts to dispel the evil by
Ce sucking out foreign objects which have penetrated the body of
755 the bewitched sick person. In addition to such treatment,
757 remedies are used among the Chiriguano and Chané, which,
[824] in addition to those made of plant substances, include the
[237] fat of various animals applied externally for different illnesses.
Ce The Chané treat wounds with boiling water.
752

Burial among the Chiriguano and Chané who live outside
C the missions is generally still done in urns, according to
Ce primordial custom. According to Nordenskiöld (149), the
764
415

149. Nord. 1, p. 208.

large pots in which chicha is prepared are also used as funeral urns, and another pot is used to close the urn. Often the dying person, even before being completely dead, or soon after death, is crammed into the urn in a squatting position. A calabash of water is placed with the dead person in the urn,
C which is buried within the house. Commonly the house, after
Ce the burial, is abandoned for some time, but is occupied again
768 later. Such a funeral urn of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi
C Valley is shown in a drawing by Erland Nordenskiöld (150).
764
415

150. Nord. 1, Fig. 113.

Up to half of the urn, which is provided with a cover, is disenterred. Nordenskiöld's statement that the Chiriguano use the same pots which serve for the preparation of meals as funeral urns is significant. From that we can deduce that a funeral urn found in other regions might also have served, during the lifetime of the dead person buried in it, some other purpose related to the economy of those Indians.

Chane SF8
Izozo

/41 cont./

C Ce 411 points, one Izozó specimen reaches a length of 1.07 m., and a Chiriguano specimen, a length of 1 m. This is the opposite of the observations that v. Rosen made about Chiriguano arrows, that they were as large or even larger than the bows.

C Ce [524] Without counting the Chiriguano arrows fitted with wire points, which no doubt are used only by children for shooting at fish or birds and which are often made with wooden shafts, Ce [249] [824] arrow shafts are universally made of cane, taken from the plant Arundo donax, which, as I have already mentioned above, is cultivated by the Chané of the Parapití River. Ce 41 [824] According to Nordenskiöld, the Chané formerly also used the Ubá (Cymnerium sp.), which they call "chochio" (188). The

188. Nord. 2, p. 26.

arrows collected among the Izozó are provided with iron points. Nordenskiöld also shows in drawings Chané arrows fitted with wooden points in the form of a lancet or dentate (189).

189. Nord. 2, Fig. 6. A and C.

C Ce 411 Among the Chiriguano arrows in the collection, there are two fitted with iron points, one fitted with a dentate wooden point, one such wooden point without a shaft, and two arrows for bird hunting that are fitted with a club instead of a point. The Chiriguano arrows fitted with iron points correspond throughout to the Izozó ones with respect to form and material. C Ce [284] The iron point is joined to the shaft by means of a piece of split wood and a wrapping of cord made from special tree bark and fastened with wax. The lower end of the cane shaft has a groove over which the end of the arrow is also fastened by a wrapping of the same cord secured with wax.

C Ce 411 237 /42/ Some Chiriguano and Izozó arrows have feathering, others do not. While the feathering was lost on some of the arrows that do not have it now, as can be discerned from the remnants of wax which had served for attaching it, other arrows show clearly that they never had feathering. If there is feathering, the feather parts attached by means of wrapping with cord C Ce [284] [171] and wax are small, as are those of most of the Chaco tribes.

C
Ce
411
237
C
411
[284]

/42 cont./

and wax are small, as are those of most of the Chaco tribes. In the diagram made by Hermann Meyer for the various types of South American arrows, the feathering of the Chiriguano and Chané arrows corresponds to those that this writer calls "Peruanische Pechfiederung" /Peruvian pitch-feathering/. The Chiriguano arrow provided with a dentate wooden point differs from the other arrows in that its point is attached directly to the shaft without interposing a special piece of wood. Otherwise, the form of its shaft, provided in this case with feathering, corresponds to the form of the arrow shafts fitted with iron points. V. Rosen (190), v. Nordenskiöld (191), and

190. V. Rosen, op. cit., Figs. 206-214.

191. Nord. 2, Fig. 6 B.

Métraux (192) show in drawings different types of Chiriguano

192. Métraux I, Plates 8 and 9.

arrows fitted with wooden points.

Métraux often found among the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley arrows fitted with two dentate wooden points, which the young men used especially for shooting jacus (193).

193. Métraux I, p. 347 and Plate IX, N. 1.

Of the two Chiriguano bird-hunting arrows fitted with a club at the upper end instead of a point (sõngo), only one specimen, I. A. 534, can be considered typical. As I have already mentioned, it is the longest arrow in the collection. The other arrow for hunting birds, much shorter and badly made, doubtless was used only by boys. The form of the clubs of these two arrows (cf. Fig. 37e) is the same and also corresponds to the form of the arrows of this kind shown in

C
411 /42 cont./
drawings by v. Rosen and v. Nordenskiöld (194). This club is

C
411
284

194. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 212. Nord. 2, Fig. 6, D and E.

fastened directly on the inside of the upper part of the shaft. The shaft of the larger arrow is made of the same cane as that of the other arrows, and that of the smaller arrow is light wood. The binding on the upper part and also on the lower part of
C
[237] the shaft of the longer arrow consists of cotton thread secured with wax. The two arrows have feathering and have the same groove at the bottom end of the shaft. Several specimens of Chiriguano bird-hunting arrows whose clubs show different forms are shown in drawings by Métraux (195).

195. Métraux I, Plates X-XI.

C
Ca
411
174
[283]

The special form of the club of the arrows for shooting birds (cf. Fig. 37e) and the special method of binding the shaft with a cord of tree bark and the length which these arrows formerly had lead us to the conclusion that this type of arrow, equally common today among the Chiriguano and Chané, is the ancient form of arrow that the Chiriguano brought from their native soil to the west. I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano and Chané bows and arrows were formerly much longer. But we can also assume that these implements of the hunt and weapons of war, in accordance with their greater importance, were formerly better made than they are today.

C
Ca
411
524

According to Nordenskiöld, only rarely does the bodoque, the bow for shooting balls, appear among the Chiriguano and Chané, and it is only used by youths and boys (196).

196. Nord. 2, p. 26.

C 317 263

/45 cont./
the earth of the salt licks called "yukiu" (214).

214. Nord. 1, p. 189. See Métraux 1, pp. 359 and 360.

Making Fire

C Ee 372

Native implements to make fire are little used today by the Chiriguano and Chané. At home fire can generally be obtained from some other piece of burning wood, and for other occasions they commonly provide themselves with modern matches. Moreover, as I have said, the Chiriguano and Chané are not great smokers. One fire-making tool which is still found among them is the strike-a-light. The specimen I acquired from the Chiriguano is different from the strike-a-light of the Chaco tribes in that the tinder consists of a quite thick cotton wick. According to Métraux (215),

C Ee [178] [276]

C Ee [415] [237]

215. Métraux 1, p. 253.

there is also found among them the common form of strike-a-light in which the tinder consists of the fuzz of the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) kept in a container made of a a cow horn or armadillo tail.

C Ee 372 126

Fire-making Implements in the Collection

I. A. 516. (Fig. 40.)

a. Bag woven of cotton thread as a container for the implements.

b. Wick of cotton thread.

c. Receptacle for the lighted end of the wick, made of the nest of a species of wasp.

d. Piece of a modern metal file.

e. Pieces of flint.

C
Ce
372
[415
239]

/45 cont./

A small nest of a species of wasp serves as a container for the lighted end of the wick. The fire is produced by striking a flint with a piece of a modern metal file.

Ce
372
973

In a Chané legend recorded by Nordenskiöld (216), it

216. Nord. 1, p. 252.

turns out that the Chané formerly produced fire by rubbing one little stick upon another. According to this legend, two boys and a girl received fire from an old man, who is the sun. The bird Huapi advised them to take good care of the fire. Should it once go out, they would have to make new fire with the "tata," which is the /46/ implement for making fire by rubbing two sticks together. The cacique of the Izozó, when I asked him about this implement, also knew it well and called it by its name in Guaraní. Nordenskiöld once saw a Chiriguano who had no matches with him make a fire with such an implement (217).

Ce
392
C
392

217. Nord. 1, p. 50. Cf. Métraux 1, p. 354.

Ceramics

C
Ce
445
114

The great development of ceramics among the Chiriguano and Chané, the very great variety of forms of their diverse vessels and their ornamentation have long excited the interest of ethnologists. Nordenskiöld, who gives the number of variations in the forms of the vessels of these Indians as more than 50, has published a great many of them in outline and also presents the ornamentation of many of them in sketches (218). Eric v. Rosen has also shown numerous

218. Nord. 1, Figs. 77; 78; 82; 92; 113; 117; 121, and Plate 19. Nord. 2, Figs. 38-48.

Plate XIV

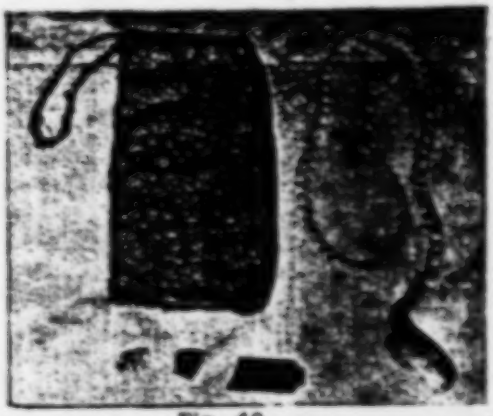


Fig. 40

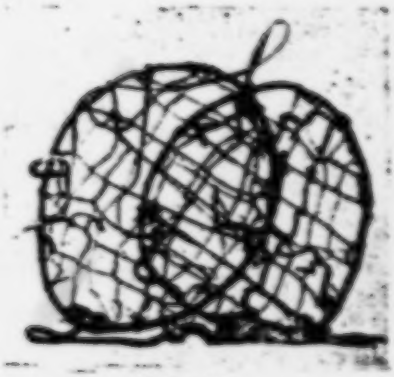


Fig. 41

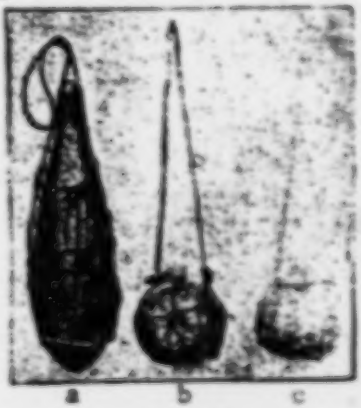


Fig. 42

Fig. 43

/The captions are on p. 117./

& Schmidt--117 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XIV and XV./

C 372 415

Fig. 40. (I. A. 516) Implements for making fire (Chiriguano):
a (I. A. 516a), bag as receptacle for the implements, length 16 cm., width 8.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 516b), cotton wick, length 62 cm.;
c (I. A. 516c), receptacle for the end of the wick, nest of a species of wasp, length 4.2 cm.;
d (I. A. 516d), piece of a metal file, length 4 cm.
e, flint.

C [237]

C 415 285

Fig. 41. (I. A. 583) A pair of hoops for storing goods (Chiriguano), diameter 43 cm.

Cc 415

Fig. 42. Calabashes for carrying water (Izozó):
a (I. A. 661), height 49.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 667), height 16 cm.;
c (I. A. 665), height 17.5 cm., made out of the fruit of the tree Crescentia Cuyeta /Crescentia cujete/.

Cc [824]

C 285 796

Fig. 43. Objects plaited out of palm leaves, used in religious festivities (Chiriguano):
a (I. A. 1439), length 72 cm.;
b (I. A. 1440), length 37 cm.

C 415

Plate XV. Baked clay vessels for cooking foods (Chiriguano).

Fig. 44 (I. A. 414). -- Height 24 cm.
Fig. 45 (I. A. 418). -- Height 23.5 cm.
Fig. 46 (I. A. 413). -- Height 26 cm.
Fig. 47 (I. A. 419). -- Height 22 cm.
Fig. 48 (I. A. 412). -- Height 12 cm.
Fig. 49 (I. A. 417). -- Height 22 cm.

/55 cont./

323 Data on the thickness of Chiriguano vessels have been given by Oates in his publication which we have mentioned. According to him, "the walls of the vessels, in general, do not show great thickness: in those of larger size, they are from 15 to 20 millimeters; in the medium ones, they do not exceed 8 millimeters; in the small ventricose jars, they vary between 7 and 4 millimeters. As an exception to those, Oates mentions a small vessel with a height of approximately 6 centimeters and a maximum diameter of 12 centimeters, which is relatively thick, since its side walls are from 7 to 9 millimeters and the bottom reaches 15 millimeters (264).

264. Oates, op. cit., p. 128.

323 531 A large part of the vessels are provided, even before being baked, with handles or with different kinds of decoration on their surface. The surface of the neck of the vessels intended for cooking is decorated with sunken ornamentation by impressions made with the finger. Rings of clay are put on the surface of some vessels, as is shown by the piece of baked clay from a Chané vessel shown in a drawing by Lizné (265), or the surface

265. Lizné, Fig. 21. Nord. 1, p. 265.

is provided with small additions. Cf. the vessel shown in Fig. 44 /see p. 116/. The finer vessels are painted before the firing. The designs are applied in white, red, dark brown, and black (266).

266. Nord. 1, p. 266.

The white color in general is the background color, on top of which are applied /56/ the other colors. For that tiny brushes made of agouti hair or of feathers held together with wax are used (267). The white color is an earth paint (kaolin), the red,

413 239 ORG

267. Métraux I, p. 265.

Chané SF6

/77 cont./

C 412 192

Spatulas for Stirring Foods, Which Are in the Collection

I.A. 561. (Chiriguano) Length 49.5 cm.
I.A. 569. " " 56.5 cm. (Fig. 21)
I.A. 571. " " 114 cm. (Fig. 70b.)
I.A. 577. " " 98 cm.
I.A. 578. " " 62 cm. (Fig. 36a.)
I.A. 579. " " 66.5 cm.

C 412 [531] [1-8]

These wooden spatulas for stirring are used by the Chiriguano and Chané for stirring the bubbling crock of maize when it is being fermented. Some of these spatulas have decorations on their handles similar to those of the corresponding spatulas of the Guaraní Indians. Nordenskiöld shows in a sketch such a Chiriguano spatula with a zigzag decoration (702), and beside

C 412 [531] 257

702. Nord. 2. Fig. 17 A.

is (703) another form of these utensils, from the Chiriguano.

703. Nord. 2. Fig. 17 B.

which consists of the shoulder blade of a large mammal, attached to a wooden handle (704).

704. Nord. 2. p. 55. See Métraux 1. Figs. 33 and 34.

The Making of Fermented Drinks

C 273

Concerning the making of maize chicha, that is, the national drink of the Chiriguano, Nordenskiöld says the following (705):

705. Nord. 1. p. 237.

C [412] Now the maize is /78/ ground up in large mortars, then sifted and boiled in large pots with water. A part of this mash,

C 293

/78 cont./

removed from the pot, chewed up and well mixed with saliva, is then mixed back in with the rest. Then it is strained and ferments in large open pots, at moderate heat. By means of large wooden spatulas or mammals' shoulder blades fitted with wooden handles, the mash is mixed in the pot. We find a more detailed description of this process in the publication by Métraux (787).

C [412] [237]

787. Métraux I, pp. 365-369.

C Ce 251

The Preservation of Foodstuffs

Concerning the method of preserving foodstuffs, we know that the Chiriguano and Chané dry fish for future use, when fish are abundant (788). According to Nino (289), formerly meat

788. Nord. 1, p. 189.

C [113]

789. Nino, F. Bernardino de: Etnografía Chiriguana. La Paz, 1912, pp. 249 and 250. According to Métraux.

from hunting was preserved for the great fiestas by drying it in the sun, without using salt. Even today, when a bovine animal is slaughtered, part of the meat is preserved by drying it in the sun (790).

790. Métraux I, p. 356.

C Ce 501

Transport

The Chiriguano and Chané, in contrast to the Ñatines-Guaraní, do not have boats (791). Concerning means of

C 112

791. Nord. 1, p. 186.

/79 cont./

C
Ce
482
171
413

We must still note that the Chiriguano and Chané transport fish in the same way as the neighboring tribes of the Chaco, by stringing them on a cord provided with a big wooden needle (295).

295. Nord. 2, p. 46.

Implements for Storing Objects

C
Ce
352
353
415

Most of the objects that serve for storing things have also been mentioned in preceding chapters, such as the various kinds of baskets and the wooden hoops which are hung in the houses for storing sundry things in them. The net bag and the carrying net do not serve only for carrying, but also for storing things in them. Baked clay vessels are not only used for storing liquids, but are also used for storing many other things which have a special value or are old memorabilia of the family (296). Furthermore,

296. Nord. 1, p. 179.

C
Ce
[237]

they put up special hooks for hanging various things in the houses. Such a hook is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (297),

297. Nord. 1, p. 177 and Fig. 86.

and Métraux shows such a hook made of a deer's leg (298).

298. Métraux I, Fig. 128.

Art

C
534
126

Flutes and a Whistle in the Collection

I.A. 491. Flute, "sereré" (Chirig.). Wood. Lgth. 17 cm. Width 2.7 cm. (Fig. 33b.)

I.A. 492. " " " " " 20 cm. Width 3.5 cm. (Fig. 33a.)

I.A. 493. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Length 43 cm.

/80 cont./

Ce 534 The double whistle I.A. 495 consists of two pieces of cane joined together in the manner of Panpipes. In contrast to the flutes described in the preceding, the two tubes of these whistles have lips. One, which has four holes for making the sounds vary, measures 33.5 cm., and the other, which does not have such holes, is only 7 cm. long. A whistle of this kind, but not double, is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (303).

303. Nord. 2, Fig. 36b.

In addition to these musical instruments, Nordenskiöld describes a few others that he saw among the Chiriguano and Ce [191] Chané. Among them can also be found those round flutes which are used by many tribes of the Chaco and one of which is shown in a sketch by Nordenskiöld (304). They also have large

304. Nord. 2, Fig. 35.

trumpets, which the Chiriguano call "angùahuasi," while the common trumpet is called by the same name as is the mortar, "angúa" or "angúarai." One can also find trumpets made out of a cow's horn or a calabash, which are blown at the upper end (305). Ce [237] [324]

305. Nord. II, p. 119, Fig. 37 A and B.
Métraux I, p. 337, Fig. 35.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Panpipes, which consist of several flutes joined together, are rarely found among these Indians (306).

306. Nord. 2, p. 126.

Ce 415 532 Plastic art is little developed among the Chiriguano and Chané. On rare occasions we find plastic art in the form of animals in the forms of the baked clay pottery of the Chiriguano (307).

307. Nord. 2, Fig. 41, N. 4, and Fig. 45, N. 20.

/87 cont./

C 881 [302] The girl is nubile when, after the first menstruation, she has undergone a certain ceremony, which lasts until her hair, cut short, has grown out again to medium length. This ceremony of the girls, which is called "yimundia," consists of her being put in a kind of separate room inside the house. Until the following menstruation, she must stay on a diet and she must not eat anything but cooked maize and meal (339). Only in the

C [262]

339. Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

company of her mother may she temporarily leave the separate room to bathe and to take care of her other needs (340).

340. Nord. 1, p. 210.

C 881 304 We also learn from Nordenskiöld that the Chané boys from 10 to 12 years of age must also undergo certain ceremonies, which consist in having a man who is particularly expert in such matters pierce the lower lip (341) and put a small stick through the hole,

C [413] [237]

341. According to Métraux I, pp. 346 and 347 and Fig. 12, the Chiriguano formerly used for that purpose punches made of horn.

and his grandfather puts deep wounds in his body so that he may be valiant in battle and in hunting and takes him out in the morning, when it is cold, to bathe (342).

342. Nord. 1, p. 211.

C Ce 887 848 Chiriguano and Chané girls are watched over by their mothers /88/ until their marriage (343), and illegitimate children are

343. Nord. 1, p. 179.

/333 cont./

Chapter II

Agriculture

241 The Chiriguano, like the Guarani and the Chané, their ancestors, are excellent farmers, and the working of the soil represents their principal occupation and their great concern. 243 For them corn is of prime importance; it constitutes the basis [273] of their diet, for it enters into the preparation of most of their dishes and in addition gives them their preferred drink, chicha or kīwi.

[132] The sandy lands of the western Chaco and its climate, [134] hot and dry a great part of the year, but also rainy during the summer months, seem to be particularly suitable for this grain. I have never seen such beautiful fields of corn anywhere. The ears are large, well filled out /334/ with kernels, and extremely tasty. The Bolivian half-breeds and settlers who are coming in greater and greater numbers to take the place of the Indians devote themselves like them to the growing of corn, which, with cattle-raising, is their main resource.

114 My trip to the Chaco, which took place from the month 243 of February to the month of June, did not give me a chance to [101] be present at the sowing which is done at the beginning of the rainy season. For many details I shall therefore be forced to [127] refer to Corrado (pp. 42 and 48), Campana (pp. 96-98), Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 181-184, and 10, pp. 23-24), to Nino (pp. 237-241), and Rosen (1, p. 205).

241 When a Chiriguano wishes to cultivate a new piece of 243 ground for himself and his family, he scours the environs of his village looking for a spot which may suit him and which is, in addition, easily irrigable. This condition is generally fulfilled by the lands at the foot of a hill or rising ground. The rain water which pours down there assures them of fertility.

/334 cont./

241 Before taking possession of a new plot of land the
423 Chiriguano is always careful to make sure that there is no trace
243 of previous cultivation. Otherwise the former owner or his
[685] descendants would have the right to lodge a complaint against him to the chief of the village.

[824] The Chiriguano makes known his new property right by planting any edible plant before the rainy season, for example, the large squash (gindako-wasu) which spreads everywhere and is not smothered by the underbrush. He can equally well insure possession of the chosen terrain by knocking down the underbrush all around and making big gashes in the trees (1).

[191] 1. Compare this manner of insuring property rights with the method observed by the Caxinawa /Cashinawa/ in the same circumstances: "I saw (an Indian is speaking) rising ground which is suitable for a planting. I am going to make a planting for this summer. I broke many branches on this hill to mark this excellent place. No one can make his clearing on this hill. This hill is excellent; do not go there to make your planting." (Abreu, p. 69.)

241 In the middle of the dry season, say, in August, the
243 Indian, with a long stick sharp on both sides, fells the underbrush which encumbers his future field and sets fire to it. This operation has the further advantage of fertilizing the soil, thanks to the bed of ashes, which is a rather good fertilizer.

The cultivated fields are usually cleaned up after the harvest.
[231] The domestic animals, who feed there with little expense, are first let out there, and then the fields are set afire.

[221] Sowing takes place in the month of November when the first
[821] rainstorms have softened the soil. This time is announced by the appearance of the Pleiades (itšu) above the horizon early in the morning.

/334 cont./

241 The Chiriguano who is getting ready to sow takes care
243 to hoe his field and to rid it of all weeds. For this he uses
/335/ a shovel, which I shall describe, in part from Campana
243 (p. 98), not having seen this instrument whole.
241 The shovels (sipe of the Chiriguano, even not so long
412 ago, were entirely of wood, preferably wood of the urundei
[824] (Astronium urundeuva F. Allemao) or of the palm siripa. Although narrower and longer, they resembled those of our bakers. The edges were straight, almost parallel, and only the cutting edge was slightly rounded at the sides. Toward the top they ended in a point, a
[824] kind of embryonic handle, which was lengthened by a stick to which it was attached with ties made of churqui (Nilotica farnesiana), of lianas, or toboroši fibers. The two shovels examined by Campana measured 70 centimeters in length and 15 in width; one of them, however, was less wide at the top than at the bottom by several centimeters (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Shovel (sipe) made of wood, without its handle, formerly in use among the Chiriguano (from Campana, Pl. VIII, Fig. 1).

If the Chiriguano have abandoned the ancient wooden shovel, they have nevertheless faithfully kept the long handle to which it was attached and which permitted them to work the soil without having to bend over. A remark of psychological order becomes necessary in this regard. The Chiriguano
[439] could well have acquired in the Syrians' stores, where they are available, shovels already provided with handles and ready to use. If they felt the need to modify the handle and to give it the traditional form, it is because it did *not correspond to the movements and position of the body and* hands which an age-old tradition had ingrained.

In each human group all manual labor requires certain set gestures to which, to a certain extent, the tools are adapted. This explains the variations these exhibit from country to country and even from tribe to tribe. With regard to this, Professor

241
412
243
[464]

Mauss used to cite to us the following example: during the great war the French soldiers did not much like using English shovels different from their own, and vice versa. The Chiriguano I have seen laboring on military roads in Bolivia handle our shovels exactly like any European laborer; but back home, when it is a question of working a field, they return immediately to the ancestral gestures and are constrained to adapt the form of their instruments to them.

The handle fits into a handgrip carved out of a small block of wood and set in with the greatest care. The latter generally takes the shape of a crescent on which the hand rests comfortably. The handgrips with an elegant curve, which gave an aesthetic character to the ancient spades, have become very rare. In the course of /336/ my trip I was able to acquire only two shovel handles which were provided with them. One comes from Ibopeytí (Fig. 3) and the other was made for me by an old Indian of the Ivu mission. The workmanship of this latter specimen is careless, but it reproduces fairly faithfully the ancient models (Fig. 4).

[126]

241
412
172
243

The use of the shovel among the Chiriguano probably dates back only three or four centuries. This instrument was unknown in ancient Paraguay where our Indians came from. The borrowing which could be presumed a priori has been confirmed by the discovery in the Quebrada de Humahuaca of wooden shovels similar in every detail to the ones I

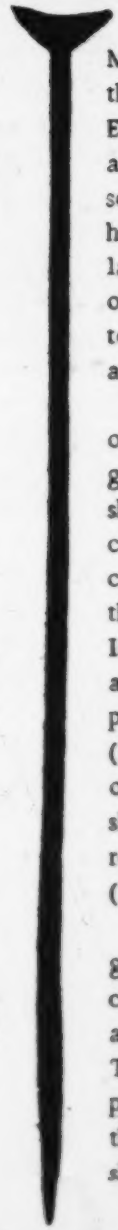


Fig. 3. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/11 nat. size.)

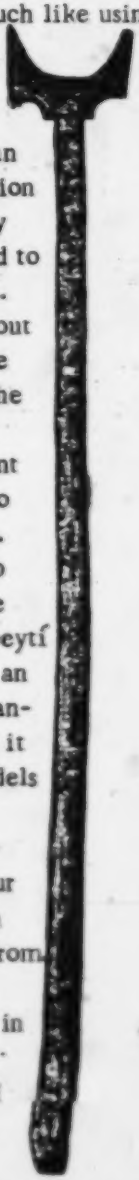


Fig. 4. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ivu. (1/8 nat. size.)

/336 cont./

241 412 172 243 have described here. These finds were made in the ruins of the Alfarcito and of the Pukará de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 4, Fig. 17 and p. 32) and at the Huerta in the same Quebrada de Humahuaca. Numerous wooden shovels have been dug up at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Figs. 236-237, pp. 457-458), and Ambrosetti supposes with justification that they were hafted like those of the modern Chiriguano. Debenedetti (1, p. 35) obtained a specimen of this instrument at Kipón in Salta province.

[171] This type of shovel is particularly well represented in the archeological material of the Chilean coast. Numerous specimens have been found in Calama, Chiuchiu, and Pica in Tarapaca province (Boman, 2, Vol. II, pp. 731-732 and Plate LXVIII a; and Uhle, 3, pp. 15-16 and Plate I).

[171] The half-breeds and Indians of the Bolivian altiplano still work the earth today with a spade which in no way differs from that of their ancestors; moreover, it shows great similarity /337/ to the wooden shovel of the ancient Chiriguano (Chervin, p. 216, Fig. 120).

241 412 171 243 Nordenskiöld (9, pp. 30-32), studying the distribution of this cultural element, established that it was peculiar to the Andean zone and the adjoining regions. The Chiriguano shovel nonetheless has a characteristic feature for which we should look in vain on all the specimens found inside the boundaries of the Inca Empire: this is the crescent-shaped handgrip. It corresponds quite precisely to the crutches terminating the oars in use among the tribes of Brazil, Paraguay, and the Guianas and on which the paddler puts his hand flat.

241 412 174 243 The Chiriguano formerly lived in a region rich in rivers and streams, and they probably made use of paddles of this type to go up or down them. Once settled at the foot of the Andes, the resemblance between their former /Fig. 5 appears here/ oars and the shovels they saw in the hands of the Chané or the Chicha must have struck them; and they naturally sought to adapt to the new instruments this detail of structure whose convenience paddling had shown them. Such a hypothesis is not too adventuresome, for do we not have in the Chaco some shovels which have exactly the appearance of oars? (On this subject see the Ashluslay shovel published by Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 30, Fig. 1.)

/338 cont./

243 476 178 The sad state of decline in which the Chiriguano are at present has put an end to collective work, and it is only rarely that sowing is done in common. Each one must provide for his needs without any assistance other than that of his near relatives.

342

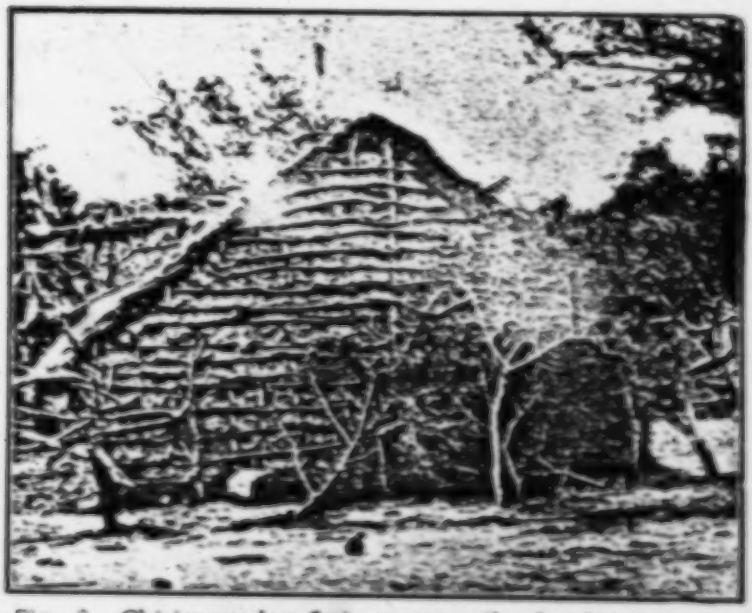


Fig. 6. Chiriguano hut (ho), temporarily abandoned by its inhabitants, who have gone to work in the fields. Caipipendí. (Photo. A. M.)

• 241 The Chiriguano cultivate the following plants:
Corn (avati): 11 varieties;
Beans (kumanda): 11 varieties;
Squash (andai and grindaka-wasu): 5 varieties;
Sweet potatoes (yeti): 6 varieties;
Yucca or sweet manioc (mandio) (Manihot utilisima Pohl);
Groundnuts (manduvi);
Pimento /peppers/ (kii) (Capsicum), very rarely cultivated;

/338 cont./

241 Sorghum (triku) (Sorghum sacchariferum) (1):

[262] 1. Sorghum is cultivated only on a very small scale. It is a delicacy that the Chiriguano reserve for children, who suck its stalk.

/339/ Sugar cane;
Melons;
Watermelons (sandias);
Prickly pear (saini) (Opuntia spec.);
Fig trees;
Orange trees (in the missions).

[179] The Chiriguano cultivate only on a very small scale the plants which, like sorghum, sugar cane, fig trees, and orange trees, have been introduced by the Europeans. Of these only melons enjoy general favor.

248 They always devote some parts of their fields to the cultivation of plants of value only for their arts and manufactures. These are: cotton plants (mandiyú), cucurbitaceous plants (iá) which grow on the ground next to their squash and furnish the containers they need, roucou (urukú), which scarcely exists except in the northern part of their habitat, and finally a species of reed (Arundo donax) with which they make the shafts of their arrows.

249 They also plant tobacco (pẽtĩ), but I have never seen any in their fields. According to Nordenskiöld (10, p. 25), its [276] cultivation is insignificant and rare. The Chiriguano are not [123] great smokers, and the numerous packs of cigarettes I took along for them found only a few devotees. Among the Toba, Matako /Mataco/, or Chorotí /Choroti/ my stocks would have been exhausted in the wink of an eye, for these Indians love tobacco more than anything in the world.

276 The use of tobacco among the ancient Chiriguano, as among 756 their ancestors in Paraguay or Brazil, was reserved for the 824 medicine men for their magical operations. Their use made [178] of it a plant endowed with "mystical" virtues, and its

/340 cont./

421 Property is a sacred thing among the Chiriguano, and the nearest relatives cannot dispose of their belongings without their formal consent.

241 115 123 At the time of my stay in Carurutí, I once asked my old friend "Captain" Karnapadyú to take me to his field. He was very

249 407 797 142 291

Fig. 7. Mill for grinding sugar cane at the Ivu mission. (Photo. A. M.)

241 115 [123] touched by /Plate VI appears here/ /341/ the interest that my wish implied and in an instant showed himself ready to do the honors.

His field was about 700 meters from the village on top of one of the cliffs which border the "quebrada" /ravine/ of Carurutí. Access to it was by a steep path across fallen rocks. The entrance [35] to the field was closed by a hedge composed of tree trunks and [417] thorny shrubs which we climbed over with the help of an Indian-style ladder, That is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps.

[Text continues on p. 74]

/341 cont./

241 115 ladder, that is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps. Captain Karnapadyú's chacra /cultivated clearing/ was about 200 meters by 70 meters in size. At the edge stood a small wooden hut covered with straw.

The "Captain" began by showing me some manioc plants and had me cross a large square sown exclusively with beans and gourds /citronilles/. The corn fields came next. They were divided in two by a second hedge formed of trunks and thorns. Squash /courges/ grew between the rows of corn. After the maízal /field of corn/ followed a second expanse covered with beans, squash, and melons, which Karnapadyú told me belonged to his daughter. Here and there rose several stalks of sorghum. A new cornfield was opposite the

241 532 322 237

Fig. 8. Mask (tovaraanga) carved out of a calabash and provided with hair and eyebrows of horsehair. It was hung up in a planted field where it was serving as a scarecrow. Prov.: Cururutí. (1/5 nat. size.)

241 115 [322] [415] [624] first, and another cabin rose at its edge. In both of these properties the only plants cultivated for their manufacturing value were the cucurbitaceous ones from which the Indians make their cups and bottles.

Next, on the opposite cliff, I visited the chacra of another Indian of the same village. A steeper and more difficult road than the first led to it. The plantation was lower down a hill on which a little hut was perched. These fields were almost solely covered with corn among whose stalks grew squash. As before, the maízales were preceded by plantings of beans and squash.

/345 cont./

241 The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields.
115 "Captain" Karnapadyú made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations, without sparing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I answered that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

243 The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for
593 her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of
583 it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano
606
[585]

1. Corrado (p. 155) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacras nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whose laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

433
224 I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano vil-
178 lages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game. It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo,
[251] chuña /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Nino, pp. 249-256).

/462 cont./

Chapter X

Masks

532 796 [122] The handsome masks, whose description I shall give further on, are worn during the carnival festivities. Difficulties with the Bolivian authorities kept me from arriving in the Chiriguano villages at the time when they were taking place. When I finally found myself among my Chiriguano friends, they had emptied the last vats of kiwi and were /463/ in their normal state. Thanks to the closeness of the feast I was able [126] [241] to collect the masks published here; ordinarily they are destroyed or used in the fields as scarecrows.

115 My host, Mr. Alberto Torrejon, who lives at Ibopeyti on the upper Pilcomayo in an Indian village, gave me some very interesting details about the ceremonies and merrymaking in which he had just participated. I transcribe them as given.

796 995 989 At my approach of any festival, the carnival, for example, the first act consists in causing the souls of the dead to flee. If this precaution is not taken, the widows and relatives of the deceased will have to abstain from taking part. For the purpose of purifying the air, a drum is beaten, and the whole family /Fig. 120 appears here/ which has lost a member weeps and shouts. When the spirits have cleared out, the drum, in a joyful rhythm, gives the signal for merrymaking.

796 The festival is opened by a man and a woman who, with a stick decorated with flowers in hand, advance toward the middle of the square, followed by all the inhabitants in a long chain. When they have arrived at the middle of the area extending between the huts, the couple plants this sign, thus giving the signal for the festival.

[535] The chain breaks up and small groups form to dance in a ring. Their dance consists in advancing and retreating in triple time to the sound of flutes and drums.

/464 cont./

Eyu ãkuama	Come and kiss me
Ermireko mi	My little wife
Diyuru emesie	Give me thy mouth
Tuila dipota	I love thee much
Ãe ongo pe	With my heart
Ime deresa ikavi	Thou hast pretty eyes
Ime diyuro miairay	Thou hast a little mouth
Tuila dipota	I love thee much
Pairamo aypuru deve.	For that I am going to ask for thee.

During this time young or old men with their faces covered by a mask (aflowasu) run here and there, force the people to dance by blows of a stick, play tricks on them, and address jokes to them.

The feast lasts as long as there is kĩwi or alcohol. At the moment when it is on the point of ending, a final ceremony takes place. The rite of going out is similar to the rite of entering: the couple who planted the flowery stick tear it from the ground and go out of the village, followed by the afiawasu and all those who took part in the festival. The procession advances to a certain distance from the village to the sound of the flutes and drums. They throw away the masks and throw stones while shouting. The carnival is finished and everyone goes home. Some take along their new wife, for it is at this moment that most marriages are celebrated.

The carnival festivity such as I have just described involves only a few elements borrowed from the half-breeds or creoles, outside of the coincidence of date. This is an ancient feast of a purely agricultural character, which the Chiriguano have acquired the habit of celebrating at the same time as the Bolivian carnival. Besides, the Indians of Ibopeyti are pagans.

The masked men are supposed to represent the spirits of the dead, as their name indicates (afiar spirit; wasu: great). As in the festivals of the Guianas and Central America, they come in numbers /Plate LXXXVI appears here/ /465/ to insure for their

[Text continues on p. 329]

C /465 cont./
796 descendants or relatives the fertility of the fields and the
24 abundance of the future harvest. These masked festivals have
[171] their counterpart in the famous ceremonies of the populations of
C the Negro River, the details of which Koch-Grünberg has made
[177] known to us. Besides, it is probable that the Chiriguano borrowed these ceremonies, and especially the masks, from the
A Chané. It is the racial brothers of the Chané, the Arawak of
796 the Negro River, who celebrate these festivals with the most
241 splendor. The Chané of the Parapití still accord to these ancient
Ce rites more importance than the Chiriguano, and their masks
796 crowned with immense tufts of feathers are, it appears, more
24 sumptuous than those of their old Guarani enemies.
532

In the missions the carnival has lost its purely pagan
C significance and has become contaminated with usages which
796 the Chiriguano have borrowed from the half-breeds. Nino
[177] (pp. 267-270) gives a good description of them, of which I
[177] shall summarize the principal features.

C The festival is directed by a personage wearing an old-
[532] man mask. He stops at each corner of the square, recommending peace and harmony to all.

Then they give themselves over to different games: masked personages scatter bean pods or corn bran upon the dancers.

Young men, masked but almost entirely naked, daub
C themselves with mud and try to soil all those who have new
[177] garments. These two customs can have only a Bolivian origin.

Individuals who are also masked mime a combat between
C a jaguar and a bull which is finally put to death by a fanciful
796 butcher. Then they pass on to the pleasures of the dance. "The
532 dancers form a large circle by joining hands and dance thus
[536] three times. Three times also they squat down, and three more times they pass under the extended arms of a couple of the same circle, and finally the same number of times they press against one another, forming a big mass, their faces turned toward the outside and their hands folded. They remain in this position until another couple dances around them. These do not hold each other by the hand. The man chases the woman and tries to grab her. She avoids him and goes to hide in the middle of the others."

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

The migrations, wars, and the religious conversion of the *Chiriguano* have been the subjects of many historical monographs. The most important of these are by Corrado (1884), Serrano y Sanz (1898), Domínguez (1918), Gandía (1929 a, and b), Métraux (1930 b), Cosi (1925), Moreno (1929), and Finot (1939). The Jesuit missionary work among the *Chiriguano* has been described by Lozano (1941) and Muriel (1918).

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

As today *Chiriguano* and *Chané* share in the same culture, the following data may apply to both tribes.

Farming.—The *Chané*, conquered by the *Chiriguano*, were proficient farmers who, though practicing a tropical type of agriculture, were probably acquainted with many of the methods of cultivation of the Andean area. The *Chiriguano* adopted their traditions. The new habitat of the *Chiriguano* did not offer the same resources for hunting and fishing as had their homeland. Therefore, these Indians depend on farming to a larger extent than any other *Tupi-Guarani tribe*. The basis of their livelihood is maize, of which they have 11 varieties, all related to those of Paraguay. Then follow in order of importance: Pumpkins, beans (11 varieties), sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, peanuts, and some Barbary figs (*Opuntia* sp). Sweet potatoes were grown on a large scale by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

These Indians also raise cotton, tobacco, urucú, and, in the Parapeti region, reeds for arrow shafts (*Arundo donax*). Plants of the Old World adopted by the *Chiriguano* include melons, watermelons, oranges, sugarcane, and sorghum.

Chiriguano men clear the fields and surround them with a tall fence as a protection against the inroads of wild or domesticated animals, a task which is considered to be particularly strenuous. They also till the soil, but at harvest time they are assisted by the women and children. The latter, armed with slings, drive away the parakeets and other birds which prey on the crops. Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 183) observed that among the *Chané* of the Izíyuro region, large maize fields were tended by men, while pumpkins and beans were raised by the women.

Collecting wild food.—When their crops fail, the *Chiriguano* subsist on the same species of pods and fruits as those collected by the Chaco Indians: Algarrobo, tuna, mistol, caraguatá, and other plant foods.

Hunting.—Hunting is a very secondary economic activity, at least in modern times. Peccaries, which are the main game animal, are hunted with specially trained dogs and killed with bows and arrows or with clubs. Rheas, which are abundant in the Chaco plains, are caught with bolas. Pigeons are captured with clap nets. Special arrows with two points are used for hunting yacu birds (*Penelope* sp.).

/6 cont./

133 comfortable to go down as to go up. If an occasional short
• [241] section be excepted. The hill of Padilla attracts the attention of
[341] all: there grow and ripen well both potatoes and maize, and
the hill is sprinkled on both sides with houses of all sizes.
From January to May the fields give it a quite picturesque and
pleasing appearance as it rises some 2,340 meters above sea
level, for which reason no doubt it is unfrowned with the trees
which are found nearby growing exuberantly on the plain toward
Montenegro along the rivulet called Limón.

Next come the hills called Huacangui, Barrón, and
Casadero, the first two found on the right bank and the
latter on the left bank of the Acero River, which touches the
slopes of the last named: the trees have no peculiarity, only
that they are tree covered, rather high, and the road through
[136] them is very bad. Casadero Hill abounds in jaguars, and it
is the same hill which must be crossed or climbed in order to
go from San Juan del Pizay to San Pablo de Huacaretá: before
one climbs this hill near San Juan, there is another small one
called Ñañoloma, which attracts the attention of all because
it is very narrow, low, and straight: it is a straight line which
rises in the middle of the valley and continues without ending
to the southeast: the Pizay and Parapiti rivers wash the base
of Ñañoloma.

/7/ Montenegro has a somewhat irregular plain, but it
is not interrupted by hills until three leagues away, that is, at
the Parapiti River in Matara, where there is another hill re-
nowned only because it is a road and an extremely bad one.
The Parapiti River bathes it at its base, and along the river
itself the way is very boldly opened through the hard rock,
forming a waterfall there: this same hill must be climbed to
leave Ingre Caiton, as well as Iglombe, where the passage
is also quite rough.

133 From Matara to Ivo there are hills and rises of little im-
193 portance, if one makes an exception of the hills of Iraseni,
648 Saraveta, and Incahuasi, which last separates the province
of Acero from that of Cordillera; on Incahuasi there are an
infinite number of ruins of fortresses and houses, which, ac-
cording to what they say and the name Incahuasi, "Inca's House,"
was an encampment of Quechua Indians, when, at the orders

/9 cont./

133 [312] [234] At this point the river disappears completely from the month of June to December or January, forcing the farmers to make great excavations in its bed in order to be able to water their livestock; they have to go down to five meters in certain places. The course of the new dry river is easily seen, because in the season of great floods it leaves on the bank all the trash which it drags along and in its bed all the sand; the waters reappear to form the San Miguel River in the province of Velasco.

133 312 /10/ The benefit that agriculture and cattle raising draws from the Paraguay is indisputable; without it the existence of Paraguay and Iano cantons would be almost impossible. All the wealth of both areas would disappear, there would be no livestock, sugar plantations, or rice fields as there are now on both banks, which lend themselves marvelously to the opening of canals and irrigating the sugar-cane fields which abound there. Nevertheless, the extraordinary floods of certain years do much damage, making plantations and their equipment disappear almost completely.

136 This river contains few fish; there are only bagre and shad and others of little value; the big dorados do not exist and there are only a few small ones in its tributary, the Pizay River, but strangely they do not enter the Paraguay; at the confluence they go back. Below the San Francisco Mission the fish disappear, because the water diminishes until it almost all disappears near Mariqui.

• 24 31 312 In Iano maize is planted in the month of June in order to harvest the crop before the beginning of the big floods which inundate it all, and during the rainy season they are content to sow frijoles, gourds, melons, and watermelons far from the riverbed, but fruit is not always produced, since the region is rather arid. The waters of this river are quite sweet, and this must be one reason why agriculture is very vigorous on its banks, as any traveler can see.

/14 cont./

341 The closer the traveler gets to the Gran Chaco, the less
342 water and the less fertility he finds: the very fields of Yvu
344 are patent proof, for crops are rarely abundant there. When the rains are torrential in other sections, they are sparse in Yvu; the farther to the west one travels from Aguaragüe, the more fertile is the land, because the hills and hillocks are more frequent and higher, water more abundant, and consequently the land more moist, which is necessary for agricultural production.

The fields are suitable for raising cows and horses, for the multiplication of sheep and pigs: the year when it fails to rain, however, there is lack of food for the livestock, as well as lack of water, the suffering is great, and numbers die near the waters which are found at some distance from the spots where there is feed, such as the slopes of the hills and the tops of the hillocks, abounding in tree leaves.

139 The countryside is clothed with grasses in the summer, but the region begins to turn beautiful in the spring and even earlier. The vigorous woods, dry and leafless during the cold months, begin to dress in verdant foliage at the beginning of the month of September, and in a few days nature is rejuvenated. Then it is very lovely to contemplate from some slight rise a broad pampa where there are carob trees, groves of catalpas or lapachos, the first green, the second red, and the third yellow and purple.

241 The territory is productive only in the rainy season, be-
142 cause the Chiriguano in general will not take the trouble to put
[132] in a good irrigation ditch when he can; he waits for it all from
[133] the high heavens. Miracles could have been worked on the banks of the rivers in times past; today it is difficult because they are very few and, like their grandparents, are satisfied with maize, a little sugar cane, and other delicacies, like sweet potatoes or batatas, mandioca, and peanuts.

241 Large-scale planting begins at the end of November or the
[221] beginning of December, after the country has been watered by two or three abundant rains. The maize grows very high and, when there is no lack of water, produces two or three ears on each stalk. The frijoles produce three crops. The sugar cane

/14 cont./

241 grows up to two meters and even more, the mandioca /15/ produces one arroba per plant, and the sweet potato even more because a single plant can spread and extend eight or ten meters, being productive in every root put in the ground, just so it is suitably covered with earth there.

311 The fertility of the region which I describe cannot be doubted, but the inhabitants do not cultivate it. If in this area there were persons who liked to work, the land would produce more; for this is of no use to mestizo people either, since he who was a peon in Sucre or Tarija wants to be a gentleman here because he is not a Chiriguano, as a result of which the very banks of the rivers, those shores of the Parapiti and Río Grande which appear to be beckoning the farmer, remain almost uncultivated. Ticucha Canton is another area where a colony of foreigners would work miracles, planting vineyards and fruit trees and so many other products that could be developed there; the same could be said of so many other sites.

[245] It seems that the grape does not grow in certain places, but this is because it has not been tried. Not long ago the missionary padre of San Antonio del Parapiti planted some 200 vine stocks. Who would believe it? Within six months some plants yielded quite ripe fruit, and the plants developed in an extraordinary fashion. In nearly all the missions there is cultivation of the vineyard and in Charagua it is on a large scale through the work of foreigners; therefore what is needed are thinking men and good farmers in order to make these beautiful lands productive, especially along the river banks, where sugar-cane plantations, banana plantations, coffee fields, vineyards, and so many other things that are productive here could be established.

433 241 From the foot of Padilla Hill the forest is very vigorous and continues so to the east until it ends at Aguaragüe. Fig trees yield with little cultivation, the nopal with none at all since it flourishes on hillocks and hills and, such an agreeable and refreshing fruit, is the principal occupant. Chirimoyas, oranges, lemons, and guavas also grow, as well as onions and

/15 cont./

433 241 sweet potatoes; cotton grows everywhere, tomatoes and garlic mature the year round, and in the gardens lettuce, cabbage, cauliflower, and peppers create the beauty of a spot, without taking into account the gastronomic advantages. Even the peach trees would yield fine fruits, but they suffer much from the black butterflies, which damage them before they ripen.

Without work the land will produce only briars and brambles, and /16/ as long as there are only Chiriguano and [157] cattle ranches here, progress will be slight and the population [181] sparse, because the Indian has no ambition, and life is rela- [185] tively inexpensive; the whites prosper by taking good care of their livestock, and no greater fertility can be obtained from the land because the holdings of a few families are very extensive and do not facilitate the residence of numerous renters, who do not always give good results nor do all come or ask to rent for farming alone. All of them want to get rich easily and quickly, and the best way is to raise stock, the result of which is that great areas of briars and brambles exist.

Flora

13 In the course of this hasty description I have noted that in Chiriguano country atmospheric changes are very sudden, but it has been noted that the region is quite fertile when it is watered by the rains or by irrigation ditches, because small rivers are plentiful, particularly in the mountainous region, and an occasional river of some size bathes the adjacent territories with its abundant waters.

There are many hills, pampas, and valleys, and for this reason every kind of climate may be found in this territory. [137] There are in fact oppressive heat, intense cold, and a temperate climate, thus making it possible to find land for every product from the lowly gourd to the savory chirimoya, from the ubiquitous maize to wheat, rice, and barley, from the mulberry /mora/, which grows spontaneously, to the rich grape, whose bunches reach weights of three and four libras.

/33/

*136 *825 The large armadillo is slightly less than one vara long: its burrow corresponds to its size and even more, and not infrequently the wild boar or peccary, when chased by hunters and dogs, finds a safe refuge in these holes. The meat of the large armadillo is not so good for civilized people, but that of the others is; I have eaten it many times. The fat softens the tumors and gristle in it. Armadillos feed on worms. [241] Nevertheless, the true armadillo is harmful to the maize fields when they are newly planted, because it searches out and eats the seeds; it is also very harmful in melon patches, of which it scarcely leaves a slender shred; when it gets into the [224] melons, it does not allow any to ripen. The Indians know well where the armadillo abounds; as soon as they finish planting the maize, on nights with a moon or without it, they go there and, helped by hunting dogs, kill them.

COBAYO /guinea pig/. -- This little animal is innocuous and plentiful everywhere. Its places are the fences, where it [262] hides with ease. It is similar to large rats without a tail; [237] its meat is very tasty, and bags in which smokers store tobacco, tinder, and flint are made from its skin. When it sees a hunter [224] or believes that danger is near, it hastens to hide in the thickness of the fences, but when the hunter hides, it is not long in coming out again in search of food, morning and evening, and then it is easy to kill with arrow or shotgun. The Chiriguano call it "Aperea." [231] There is another sort of multicolored guinea pig of the same size as the previous one, but this one is domesticated. The color of the true guinea pig is light brown.

CONEJO /rabbit/. A quadruped in the wild state, native to America, it is the size of a large cat. Its color is a shaded [224] white, and here there are none of any other color, but there [262] are in other parts of South America; its meat is delicious, and the Indians like it and hunt it; its form is the same as that of the domestic rabbit, and in the Chiriguano language it is called "Tapiti."

/70 cont./

174 idleness and laziness and in indolence and are content with what nature provides for them to live on and subsist: this is the practice of the savages to the north of Santa Cruz, thus the Toba, Mataco, Choriti, and others who do not bother with planting and are content with only hunting, fishing, roots, and wild fruits, which, when they begin to turn yellow, are greeted by the Toba and Mataco with the "Pimpin," a kind of small drum, so that they may mature faster and better.

174 241 311 But the Chiriguano, in spite of being indolent, a recent émigré, like his neighbors, is not so much so as the other tribes, since he joined the Cariou. In addition to liking to fish and hunt, he does not fail to make his plantings of maize on a large scale, where he uses his energies in order to profit from his sweat later by converting it into "Atipũi," parched maize, "Atiruru," mote or boiled maize, "Aticũi," meal, "Muyape," bread, "Cangũi," or chicha, etc., dishes that the Toba and others know only in the house or larder of the Chiriguano. In order to obtain this class of foodstuffs, the banks of the Pilcomayo were not sufficient for a very large tribe; in addition, the other tribes which were hidden in the woods along that stretch must have devastated their fields, or their owners must have been in a continual state of uneasiness. Neither could they have obtained it on the pampas of the Gran Chaco, because the cooling action of the rains is scarce there, and, moreover, the soil in many places is like an immense sieve because of the holes made by the quiriquinchos /armadillos/, balled armadillos, and others of the species, which nest there and have built their subterranean towns (1).

1. The Toba began to plant maize and beans when they came under the control of the Franciscan fathers at the San Francisco dey Pilcomayo Mission, now Villamontes; today they plant very little.

/70 cont./

174 Consequently it was very natural that the race which
241 was emigrating from Paraguay should seek out for its needs
311 better lands which would permit it to make good use of its natural inclination to cultivate "Abati," maize, "Gilindaca," gourds, and "Cumanda," beans, because from the names that they give to all of these vegetables, it can be deduced that they did not get to know them after the discovery of America, but long before; and the same is true for the domestic animals, "Yaimba," dog, "Uru," /71/ chicken, "Minta," cat. What is certain is that the Chiriguano race
174 has been distinguished and is distinguished from the others
248 which still remain in the savage state, and the Toba, as
253 well as the Mataco and the Choroti, regard the Chiriguano as nobles and masters, and they serve them in exchange for maize and other things, and there has never been a natural marriage involving a Chiriguano man or woman with the tribes named (1).

> 1. The Toba are more intelligent and more easily reduced than the Mataco; the latter were also exposed to the missionaries of San Antonio del Pilcomayo, located on its right bank.

The Toba have generally assisted their masters in wars and have lived for long periods among them, especially in the time of good and abundant crops. They did this before the missionaries opened Cuevo and Ivo to trade with the founding of the Santa Rosa and San Buenaventura missions, and they still do in the Franciscan missions of Macharetí, Tigüipa, and Tariari, because they are near these tribes.

174 The places that the Chiriguano selected for their resi-
169 dence after the migration were the mountainous one and the one visited by frequent rains, necessary so as not to lose the fruit of their labor, and in fact we do not see this race settled in places away from the mountain range, nor in impenetrable forest, good only for those tribes in a state of

/76 cont./

174 167 When experience showed them that they could settle in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen. 241 433 [461] The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every type of cereal; maize matures exuberantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hooks and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

433 241 511 [131] But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably. In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /77/ along some stream; plantings of this type are called socorro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

192 [101] By what has already been related it can easily be understood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guarayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guarayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

[194] [171] 1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

/181 cont./

524 gallery two cords, tying at the ends a piece of cowhide 80 centimeters long by 30 in width, hanging about 60 centimeters above the ground. This is called Sabiuca, swing, and here the little boys and girls swing and rock.

562 Women sit on the ground in their houses and observe the
524 same custom when they go visiting. The man waits until he
576 is told where he should sit and always receives the best seat.
516 The woman does not wait; she knows her place; she arrives, does not greet anyone, leaves her bundle in a corner, if she has one, and then squats down in such a way that from near or far many women squatting like this look like so many carronades /camaretas/ ready to go off.

Matés

462 In the furnishings of Chiriguano houses a preferred place
241 is occupied by the matés, made of gourds divided vertically
415 through the middle. This is man's work; he plants them and
322 cultivates them in his field, and when they are mature they are brought to the house where they are allowed to dry in the shade and also in the sun. Some three months are needed for this or even more, depending on the season. Nevertheless, they are watched throughout to see whether a fingernail will penetrate the skin. When the fingernail will not penetrate, the gourds are ripe. Then they remove the first skin, split them, extract and completely remove the pulp, keep the seeds for the new planting, and, when they are clean, they let them dry for a few days.

462 They are put in a separate place, and a second operation
415 begins. With his Chiriguano patience, with a knife or other
531 instrument, the Indian begins to engrave whatever figures occur to him, such as tree branches, circles with grains of sand, squares, figures of jaguars, doves, lizards, dogs, chickens,

/237 cont./

648 It can be said with all certainty that the only laborer in
464 the four provinces of Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor, and Gran
466 Chaco is the Chiriguano, who is found even beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he also works, taken there by the authorities or by the owners of the lands, which they bought in ancient times for a trifle (1).

[425]

1. If one is to credit what the Indians say, in some places land was acquired by barefaced trickery /leva raida/ at the time of Ferdinand VII; in other places, for three or four arrobas of cheese, and in the last ones, for a cow, a poncho, a few varas of cloth, or a few bottles of liquor given to the cacique.

178 Today the Chiriguano, very abject, in many places suffers
[169] in resignation what, according to the story, he did not want yesterday; in other places he is migrating the better part of the time, that is to say, when his presence is necessary for the general planting, to which of necessity the old people must devote themselves if they want to live without dying of hunger and in order to be able to welcome the migrants when they return for a few days to show off their new clothing, their work from other regions, to sell it immediately for very little, to slaughter some cattle of their own or of their elders, and to go back at once without even saying good-by.

Property Rights

648 The object of the present chapter is to describe the
[241] method of cultivating the land when the Indians lived alone in the country, before the whites had moved in among them; now they scarcely give them /238/ room to do their planting
177 as best they can. Nonetheless, since they keep them con-
648 tinually occupied, food and clothing are never lacking to anybody in a Christian's house, where the Indian gets them

/238 cont./

177 648 for himself, for his children, and for his wife (1).

1. Perhaps without intending to do so, the whites have done and are doing a work of charity for the Indian, that of moralizing him somewhat through work, during which he neither gets drunk nor thinks of trifles, etc. Only in some places a little moderation is needed in order not to discourage him.

241 773 776 It was also the Aguara-Tunga who taught the Chiriguano the cultivation of land, since, seeing that he had not been able to remedy his misery and needs by handing over the bows and arrows, he once again visited his poor hut, and seeing him thin and emaciated, he gave him all kinds of seed so that he might make them bear fruit, teaching him the method of burying them and advising him also of the way and the time for pulling out the weeds with a wooden, because he would have seemed bad before his enemy and before the Indian himself if he had not completed his philanthropical work, after criticizing so much the true friend of Chiriguano humanity (2).

2. The Aguara-Tunga, For God, did not tell him that the seeds could be eaten right away, because in that way they would have been lost immediately. After they had germinated, he advised that when they were ripe, he could have food for himself and for his family.

423 Every Chiriguano has a small plot of cultivated land, sufficient for himself and for his family. Nobody had previously entered the area in which the Indians live, so that nobody disputed their property rights, as they should not be disputed today, because they are the owners ab immemorabili, and no individual could have sold what belonged to the community.

/228 cont./

423 311 To acquire possession of a small plot of land, the Chiriguano selects beforehand the part that he likes best in the region, which he judges to be wet enough because it is on the slopes of ridges or hills or because water collects there in the rainy season. Naturally, the site which he intends to cultivate must have no signs of previous cultivation, because if there were any the owner or his descendants, even though at some distance, would immediately place a claim before the competent authority, the cacique.

423 [241] If the plot has not been tilled, he can be sure of not being disturbed, and before the rainy season ends he plants on it anything /229/ which will be visible, such as the Gilindacaguasu, a large gourd which spreads a great deal, invades everything, and is not easily strangled by weeds. Another way to acquire property is to break all the bushes around the site, or, finally, to make cuts with his ax on the largest trees.

No one can lay claim to a place that belongs to the community of the Indians, where anyone has worked, and the one 241 who made the prior signs is regarded as the owner. The rainy season passes, the cold comes and dries up the grass and the leaves of the trees: before August ends, the Indian sets fire to the whole new plot, which consumes the grass and the brambles and makes useless the larger trees. All the ashes [461] that are left are fertilizer for the land, and the fire has destroyed all the seeds of the weeds and brush, so that the first planting which is done on the new plot is almost free of weeds, which saves labor for the lazy Chiriguano (1).

1. The old Indians still do some work in order not to have many weeds in their fields, but the modern ones are little concerned about it now in many areas. Moreover, the cattle do not leave any time, invading everything and eating up the pasturage in a short time. It is very sensible to prohibit the burning of the fields after the harvest.

/239 cont./

Old Method of Farming

241 In planting the fields which are already old, they use the same method of applying fire to the weeds and stubble that are left after the harvest; this method is even coming to be practiced by the whites and the mestizos. As far as fertilizing the land, the Chiriguano does not worry about it, because the lands are virgin and the Indian hardly plants maize on a large scale, and, if it rains regularly until the grain has become hard, the crop is abundant and the farmer has enough to eat and an abundance of chicha to drink, which is what he wants.

412 Formerly the ava had nothing but a wooden shovel and a stone ax, which is hard to find today. He obtained his livelihood with these insignificant tools; the ax served him for cutting trees and bushes and the spade for pulling up all the grass and brush. The spade was like those used by bakers for putting bread in the oven; it was of soto wood and was attached to a rather long handle with bejuco vines or strips of tuberachi bark; the handle was always long, because the Indian /240/ neither knew nor does he now know how to bend his back at his farm chores; these spades were also made from the shoulder blade of cattle, horses, or asses (1).

[324] [239]

1. Baron don Erland Nordenskiold, in addition to the pots from various regions of Bolivia, sent to the Swedish museum pots made by the Chiriguano, wooden spades, and stone axes.

241 Planting was usually done in the month of November, after the ground had received at least two rains. Then the Indian would first destroy with his spade the small amount of grass that had come up, and then he would notify his friends and relatives so that they might help him to plant on the day indicated. The cacique took part in the general planting, ordering that those under him should help one another; thus, early on the said day, at daybreak, they would

[242] [496] [534]

/240 cont./

241 [476] [534] go to the plot, waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by means of the Huacananti, cow's horn.

The method of planting is very simple. When the land is soft, the planter makes a small hole with his spade, using two or three blows, then pushes the spade forward, throws in two or three grains of seed and covers them. Then, without moving he makes another hole to the right, horizontal to the first, and a third to the left, performing the same operation as in the first, after which he takes a step and continues as before until he finishes. With many working, the planting of a plot is soon finished.

241 461 512 The Indian does not work beyond midday, and he tries to finish the job before leaving it in order not to return; therefore that the work sometimes lasts until two in the afternoon. Then the owner and his companions stop, return to the town, where they are awaited with plenty of food and chicha, which the former has ordered prepared, if the previous harvests were abundant (2).

[273] [262] 2. In any case, if there were a lack of chicha, because of previous scarcity, and mead made from algarrobas, the housewife should still wait for the planters with food mixed with some meat and plenty of chili peppers.

241 476 They formerly continued in this fashion until the planting of a tribe was completed; one day on one's own plot and another on that of a companion, and even the cacique did the same; today this is difficult to manage, because now they are not so close. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity, if someone prepares chicha for those who may wish to help him in planting or weeding, they leave or refuse money for a few mates or /241/ glasses of this much desired liquor. Even the whites get peons more easily this way.

/241 cont./

Modern Farming and Seeds

241 177 [407] Today planting with the spade is disappearing, and if this tool is necessary for weeding, an iron one has been substituted. The plow has become general, as have the yoke and oxen, and in the missions even boys of 12 break in oxen two and a half years old. They first do the planting for the mission, then for themselves and their fathers, and finally they help those who have no sons; the missionary provides them with young oxen, plowshares, and even halters when they are very poor.

The neophytes in most of the Potosí missions have learned to perfection this new method of farming, and they are so advanced that they are competitive with and even superior to many mestizo farmers. The older ones teach the younger ones, fathers teach their sons, and the latter as well as the former manufacture plow and yoke out of selected wood with all the perfection that these implements require. It is satisfying to see upon a farm 40 or 50 yokes of oxen, directed and driven by young men and boys who yesterday were like their grandparents! The whites themselves do their planting on a large scale, aided by these Chiriguano, who receive in exchange double daily wages (1).

[868] [409] [231] 46

1. A peon plowman is not obliged to bring oxen; it is the white who waits for him with the yoke hitched. If a peon brings his own, he earns up to triple daily wages, because they are worth exactly three strong peons, the two oxen and the man who drives them. Thus it is not much to pay him triple.

243 222 Today it seems to me that there must not be another country where the different types of maize thrive better. This is the principal element, the daily food, not only of the Chiriguano tribe, but of all those who inhabit most of Bolivia. Here in particular, when there is no harvest, its lack is greatly felt by whites and blacks, that is to say, by mestizos and by Chiriguano.

/344 cont./

252 262 Gourds are eaten boiled, roasted, and in broth: the seed is enjoyed when roasted with maize meal, parched maize, or beans. They also eat them as broth, which they call Gilindaca mi quira, or grease of the gourd, to which they add chili pepper and salt, just as they do with beans cooked in ollas with the whole pod, which they call Soyirigua.

•241 If the Chiriguano manages to plant a little maize beans /porono/, and gourds, he is content and stops planting other, less important seeds. Few plant Yeti, sweet potato, Mandioropi, mandioca, Tacuaneé, sugar cane, and Mondovi, peanut. They all plant watermelons and other melons: many plant figs and tunas, or nopal, and few cultivate orange trees, because this Indian has little patience for waiting on the ingratitude of certain plants which require much care and are very slow in yielding fruit (7).

[192] [199] 2. Names for watermelon /sandía/ and melon /melón/ do not exist in the Chiriguano language, which indicates that these fruits were introduced by the whites, from whom the Indians got them.

222 285 262 The nopal is very abundant in this area, rising to some three or four meters: its fruit is very exquisite, as everyone knows. Its cultivation is nil: it is enough to pluck off a branch of the main plant and bury it halfway, and its sweet fruit will ripen from the second year on. It is the plant that the Chiriguano value most.

245 Even the fig tree, which also needs little care, is cultivated. They call it Iva, as well as calling the nopal Saini, and both plants seem to be native, because they grow in hot places, and the name indicates that they have always had them. The fig tree requires more cultivation than the nopal, but this is relatively insignificant: they pull off a branch, plant it during the rainy season, and let it grow fully without pulling off any shoots (3).

439 3. Whites who live among the Indians are

/344 cont./

439 occupied in other, more lucrative trades: they rarely plant fig trees and sapal, and this benefits the Chiriguano, who sells both fruits, receiving money, meat, or charqui from the white man.

•241 When any of this planting is done, all the desire of the Chiriguano is that it yields: he fervently beseeches the favor of heaven, /243/ or the sorcerer, masters or the rain, that there may not be a lack of the necessary moisture, and he, with his own hands, sees to it that the planting is quite free of all weeds.

Use of the Ripe Produce

262 252 If the weather is favorable and the Indian has taken care of the planting, the reward of his little bit of sweat will not make him wait long. In exactly three months, or even before, he can already begin to savor Abaríqui, tender maize, which the mestizos call charla. The first of these ears are eaten roasted and almost never boiled, because they say that prepared in the latter fashion they are tasteless. They go on to say that roasted charla must be cooked only a little in order not to lose its ability to farten, and if it is roasted under ashes with the whole husk, it is almost as sweet as sugar. How well, dear reader, do my Indians know what is good for the body, and how they know the way to get fat and what is most pleasing to the palate! They are good gourmets despite their poverty! It seems that they belong to the abdominals described by Father Sal.

When the charla is somewhat more mature, they eat it with more pleasure, and then they also very nicely prepare tumbérai, humitas/small cakes made of tender maize and sugar/. The method is very simple: instead of a knife or spoon to pull off the kernels, the young Chiriguano girl or old woman, pretty or ugly, with good teeth or bad ones, uses them instead of a mortar and pestle to grind it: it is done with the teeth very

/TS6 cont./

those of certain peoples who, without going further, are close to those who know nothing about civilization, whose morals, compared with those of these unfortunates, are far lower because of their refinement (?).

> 2. Some moderns would have civilization consist of purely material education without attending to the yearnings of the heart; for them it is all the same whether man dresses or goes naked.

SF7 In the course of this chapter my readers will learn that I can be little mistaken in what I stated above, and they will also learn that even the Chiriguano have fiestas, which they call Arete, which /TS6/ are celebrated neither for saints, emperors, nor kings, nor are they celebrated in a disorderly fashion, nor do they allow themselves to be disembowled by a bull, as sometimes happens to mestizos or Spaniards; much less are they celebrated for open abandonment to luxury; they are celebrated only in order to drink and stuff themself, and to enjoy the fruit of the labor involved in the planting of the maize, to have a few days of general rejoicing, to drink, in sum, like good brothers (1).

SF4

> 1. In the general drinking a certain immorality in their words is to be lamented, and they sometimes test their strength and valor with pugilism.

Before the Fiesta

SF1 SF2 SF3

Before the white race entered the region, cattle were almost unknown and the few that the Indians had were tame, nor had they taken to their hearts the desire for maize as they do now; thus the Chiriguano easily did his planting and weeding in less than a month, leaving the rest to God, but I speak badly, to the good sincere, the sun, and the rain. Today if he does not put a fence around his planting, the cattle of the Christians and the Indians very soon reach the crop, and a little carelessness is

/256 cont./

241 enough for this. Although there are good fences, there are better
231 and braver bulls or calves, who with their horns are capable of
177 opening iron gates, opening the way to all their females, whom they then call with much affection with their prolonged bellows (2).

2. The harmful cattle even become ferocious: if a man alone tries to chase them out of the field without the help of good dogs, he will be charged.

241 The harvest marks for the Chiriguano the time of the year
221 that he calls Mbaepiro, which literally means a dry thing or things, and everyone will understand that this corresponds to autumn, in which season the trees and every bush take off their beauty and raiment. Men and women then are busy carrying in
[343] what the land has produced for them: the maize crop is kept in the plot itself, in a kind of house of sticks called Ahatío, maize house, and the woman little by little, as needed, brings it to the town for the daily meal and for the preparation of chicha (3).

3. If the harvest of gourds is not abundant, they put them on the maize in the same shed, if they do not build another; the bean crop is brought immediately to the tribe or town.

529 /257/ After this the Chiriguano spends his time in idleness, drinking here today, there tomorrow, visiting with some, playing with others, enjoying, in sum, with almost no work, a better
[221] life than the greatest ruler in the world. The harvest is cut between May and June, and after it the libations in honor of the belly god begin. As the desire to drink is extraordinary, before having the general libation, the families, one by one, begin to make a small quantity of chicha to be drunk among a few friends and relatives.

shall see that the methods of fishing differ somewhat in the different rivers. At the Rio Filomayo the Indians must always have found a good supply of food. As many Chiriguano live by very insignificant streams they never have the opportunity of fishing. The Chané all live in places where they are able to procure fish during some part of the year at least.

Big game is scarce in the land of the Chiriguano and Chané. Nor are these Indians keen huntsmen. One seldom sees game that has been killed by them in their huts. The great flocks of fat pigeons that settle in their fields are for the most part left unmolested.

As we shall see in the following the Chiriguano and Chané live mostly by tilling the ground. Owing to the comparative dryness of their land maize is cultivated more than anything else. It is the ease with which this plant can be grown here, that makes the land of the Chiriguano and Chané a good land to dwell in.

The fruit of the carob-tree (algarrobo) is the most important wild fruit. Probably no careful study has ever been made of the climatic conditions of the Chiriguano and Chané country. It is situated in the tropics, north of the tropic of Capricorn and the traveller there of course suffers more from heat than cold. In May and June especially, however, when there is a strong south wind, it is agreeable to have a well built house, warm clothes and a snug bed. The rains begin in December and leave off in April or May. It sometimes happens that there is little or no rain and then the crops are a failure. They are often destroyed by grasshoppers.

with Amazonian Collection S

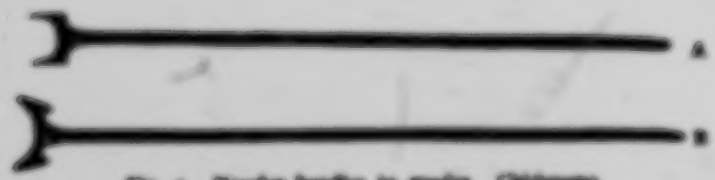


Fig. 1. Wooden handles to spades. Chiriguano.
1/10 A. Private collection. B — R. M. S. Ohs.

III.

Tillage and tillage implements.

Vegetable food is of great importance to the majority of Indians. This is most specially so with the Chiriguano and Chaco. To the former, as well as to those of the latter tribe who dwell on the Rio Bityum, maize is of extraordinary importance. The Chiriguano and Chaco belong to Wissler's «maize-area» or «area of intensive agriculture». Wissler divides S. America into three great food areas: area of intensive agriculture, manioc area, and guanaco area. Another division would be more correct, viz. —

1) Area of intensive agriculture.
2) Area of manioc and fishing.
3) Area of wild seeds and fishing. 3) Gran Chaco.
4) Guanaco area.

There will, of course, be in addition a number of small areas with special conditions of life, as in the extreme south of S. America.

The Chiriguano grow 11 kinds of maize[1]), 11 varieties of beans[1]), 11 kinds of calabashes[1]), of which 3 are edible, sweet potatoes, manifiocs, sugar-cane, maní, arrow, tobacco,

[1]) According to Ibarr Pp. 141 ....

C
241

water-melons, melons, figs, tuna[1], oranges, cotton, millet, and reeds for arrow-shafts.

Ce.
241
[245]
C
Ce.
[249]
C
Ce.
[177]
[262]

Bananas are not cultivated. Among the Chané at the Rio Parapiti the sweet-potato is the most important cultivated plant. Of the plants mentioned, the sugar-cane, the melon, the watermelon, the fig, the orange and the millet are not American. All these cultivated plants which have been introduced by Europeans are of slight importance to the Indians. I have never seen manihota cultivated, but I have heard that it is to be met with in the fields of these Indians. As a staple food of the people it is of no importance here.

C
Ce.
912
177

Iron spades bought from the Whites are the tools employed nowadays. Very occasionally one still sees wooden spades. In Part I I have published a map of the geographical distribution of the spade.

The spade in S. America is evidently a western element of culture, i. e. the idea of fitting on a more or less broad blade to the lower part of the digging-stick is plainly derived from the western area of civilization.

Whence the Chiriguano get the idea of the shapely handles I do not know. They are too shapely for the art to have been derived from the Whites. They have obviously a long evolution behind them, and it is very probable that they had their origin in the Mountain area of civilization.

Hoes with iron blades occur. The Indians have got them from the Whites. I have not seen any primitive hoes, although we are here on the border of the area of distribution of the genuine American hoe[2].

The Chiriguano and Chané use a small implement for removing the corn from the corn-cobs which I have described in Part I. P. 32.

---

[1] Cactus.

[2] It is incorrect to affirm, as Wissler does, (P. 17) that the hoe was unknown in S. America. Incas had hoes and they are found still among the Quichua.

C
Ce.
[179]

Schmelzschriftd II-8,-4(1908-1909. 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

VI.

Domestic Animals.

Apart from the dog, the Chiriguano and Chané keep only European domestic animals. There is now no genuinely Indian breed of dogs here. Cattle-breeding is of some importance in certain parts, especially in the Caipipendi valley. Milking the cows is not understood. Some of these Indians keep large numbers of sheep and the women spin the wool and weave woollen stuffs. It is not known if they had wool in the pre-Columbian period, as it has not been ascertained whether these Indians kept llamas or not. Poultry are of great importance to the Chiriguano and Chané. The Indians in South-America were exceedingly quick to learn the art of poultry-keeping, thus, when CABOT touched the south coast of Brazil in 1526, he got plenty of hens from the Indians by barter.[1] The Chiriguano and Chané have but few horses. They are not nearly such good equestrians as, for instance the Toba.

C Ce 23 [177]

I have in my collection a riding whip stock made by the Chané. DEL CAMPANA depicts a very primitive saddle from the Chiriguano. I have seen similar saddles among the Toba Indians.

C Ce 482

When these Indians acquired the European domestic animals, the chase must have lost in importance for them. They obtained their meat in another way. The possession of cattle compelled them to enclose their tilled ground, or to have it far removed from the pastures.

C Ce 177 [231] [241]

---

[1] MENDES (2) T. 1. P. 158.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,v(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177
[191]

are chiefly used by the men. It is clear that the latter learnt more from the Whites than the women, for they came into contact with them to a far greater extent. Hence many of the men, but few of the women, learnt to speak Spanish.

C
Ce
291
177

All the Chiriguano and Chané men now clothe themselves more or less like the Whites, that is to say in shirt and trousers. Few have coats. You rarely see anyone with boots, and never anyone with stockings. Practically all the Chiriguano and Chané women still wear the tipoy. It is usually made of cloth bought from the Whites. But in some villages the women still have a predominance of home-woven tipoys. The clothes worn by the men, and which are of the same cut as those of the Whites, are not their own make, but are obtained ready-made in exchange for manual labour. The cloth for the women's tipoys, too, which they make up themselves, is as a rule earned in similar wise by the men. The Indians now obtain the implements for all these things from the Whites.

C
Ce
241
177

The agriculture of the Chiriguano and Chané has been very little affected by the Whites. As the banana cannot be cultivated here with any success, the Indians have not been able appreciably to improve their conditions of life by extensive planting of the cultivated plants introduced by the Whites. For some of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians, cattle-breeding has become of considerable importance.

C
Ce
177
[233]

Seventeen of the cultural elements included in the tables may be regarded as articles of luxury. These are games, musical instruments, etc.

The domestic industry of these Indians has been very little influenced in its development by the Whites, a fact on which I laid stress in speaking of their pottery, which has remained in a wonderful manner untouched by 400 years of intercourse with missionaries and others. I here repeat that even the instruction given in the mission schools in embroidery, lace-making and the like, has but very slightly affected the native domestic industry of the In-

SNordenskiöld E-5/4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chaco SF8

C
Ce
177

guano until they had settled in their present territory, let us say by trade or other connections with the tribes living in N. E. Bolivia. I will not assert that this is impossible, but I am of opinion that it cannot apply to most of these cultural elements. In any case it does not apply to such cultural elements as rubber balls, certain kinds of basket work of palm-leaves, and hammocks, which clearly overstepped the natural confines as a result of emigration. The rubber for the balls must be procured from the north, and suitable palm-leaves for basket-work is not to be found locally. The hammock is not the kind of bed best suited to this part of the continent.

C
Ce
177
241 ●

Mandioca is now cultivated only as a rarity by the Chiriguano and Chané. It is highly probable that, before they settled in their present habitat, this plant was of considerable importance to them. Neither the Chiriguano nor the Chané depended so largely on maize before they came to the parts they now inhabit. Here they have an excellent soil for growing maize.

C
Ce
177
226

Fish and game are now certainly of less importance to these Indians than they used to be. I mentioned earlier that the Chiriguano and Chané now make the impression of fishermen without water to fish in. A method of fishing which is of no little importance to the kinsmen of these Indians, is fishing with poison. In these parts it is rare, but occurs, at least among the Chiriguano.

C
Ce
177
824

»Chuchio» (*Gynerium* sp.) was formerly the plant that yielded at least the material for the arrows of the Chané Indians. As it has now been uprooted, its place is taken by another growth of grass, *Arundo donax*. It was not until post-Columbian times that this reed, which is used by the Chiriguano, Chané, and all the Chaco tribes for the shafts of their arrows and for other purposes, was introduced into S. America, where now, not least in El Gran Chaco, it has an exceedingly widespread distribution. (I ought to have pointed this out in the First Part of the pre-

[text continues on p. 212]

/152 cont./
earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other 123
fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout. 439
There are always two villages in these mission stations, 437
one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt 361
more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more 797
fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent.

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through 133
which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected [135]
mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco. The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The wood- 137
land, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monoto- 241
nous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the droughts seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge 731
swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the 136
woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds.

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting 114
Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti.

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the 133
/153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand. If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of 137
bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti.

/181 cont./

Branches of Subsistence

Fishing and hunting do not play an important role among the Chané and Chiriguano. As I have mentioned before, they are farmers, primarily maize farmers. These Indians live so exclusively on maize that for them all other food plays a subordinate role. The Indians living on the Rio Parapiti are an exception: they plant more sweet potatoes than maize, and these yield an excellent harvest in their country.

/182/ The following plants are grown by the Chané and Chiriguano:

- Sweet potatoes.
- Maize.
- Squash (Cucurbita pepo Lin.).
- Calabash fruits.
- Beans of different varieties.
- Cotton.
- Urucú.
- Tobacco.
- Tuna (for example, at Yatavéri). Opuntia.
- Millet.
- Mandioca (rare).
- Reed for arrow shafts (on the Rio Parapiti).

In the plantings of these Indians I saw neither ordinary potatoes nor bananas. The sweet potatoes, according to Batirayu's statements, were introduced at a late period by the whites. Tobacco-raising is insignificant. The Chané and Chiriguano are not great smokers. They mostly smoke cigarettes in maize leaves, seldom pipes (Fig. 88). Among them one need not give his pipe to a neighbor for further smoking.

It is strange how the use of tobacco differs among the Indian tribes. The Aymara and Quichua /Quechua/, who chew coca, very seldom smoke. They have no taste for it. The Chacobo and Amahuaca, two tribes with whom I became acquainted on my travels, smoked just as little. When I offered a Chacobo a

When I offered a

/182 cont./ Chacobo a

cigarette, he took only a few puffs, kept the smoke in his mouth for a few seconds, and then threw the cigarette away. Nevertheless, the Chacobo plant tobacco, but use it exclusively as a remedy. If a Chacobo gets a "boro," a fly larva, "Dermatomya," under his skin, he covers the fly larva's entry spot with tobacco powder and is then able to squeeze out the dead larva in a few hours. The Choroti and Ashluslay are passionate smokers. /183/ For them smoking is one of the greatest enjoyments of life. These contrasts are quite strange.

The Chiriguano and the Chané have extensive plantings which, in contrast to the clearings of the Choroti and Ashluslay in the wilderness, are well tended. In former times they used spades made of hard wood with attractive handles (Fig. 89), but these have now gone out of use and have been entirely supplanted by iron spades. Not infrequently the fields lie far from the villages, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley. This is due to the fact that water is not available throughout the year everywhere in the vicinity of the plantings.

As has been mentioned, the produce obtained is stored in granaries built on piles (Fig. 84), so that it will be at least somewhat protected from rats, moisture, etc. These granaries are seen everywhere, except among the Chané on the Rio Pilcomayo.

The fields are fenced in with fences built brush-shaped, which are often difficult to climb over. There is no fertilization of the fields. On the other hand, a field that has been exhausted is left to lie fallow.

The time of sowing is determined by the position of the Pleiades, "ychu." When this passes across the horizon very early in the morning, it is sowing time. When the rainy season begins, everything must be sowed.

The men clear and sow. Everyone helps with the harvest, men, women, and children. Among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley the men sowed the maize, that is, they took care of the larger plantings, whereas the women were gardeners and planted gourds, beans, etc.

D 276 249 797
C Ca 276 171
Ec 241 [412] [77]
C Ca [342]
C Ca 251 343
Ec 241
C Ca [82]
Ca 241 462
C [241] [462]

Ce /294 cont./
821 "yánduinyaka," the head of the ostrich; the two largest stars in Centaurus are "yánduipoy," necklace of the ostrich; Venus is called "coemilla," morning; Orion with the sword "húirayúasa" (birds meet). Another constellation is "huázupucu," roebuck horn; another, "borévi," tapir. They call the Pleiades "ychu," but they do not know the meaning of the name, and this is the most important constellation of all.

Ce If one sits with the Indians in their huts, they can indi-
821 cate the position of the most important constellations in the sky without seeing them. They know their position at all times of the year.

Ce The starry sky is not only the watch and the compass of
821 the Indians. It is also their calendar. In this the Pleiades
805 play an especially important part here, as among other Indians.
Ce When they first /296/ become visible on the horizon at dawn,
[241] the proper time has come for the sowing of maize. The fact that this relatively unimportant constellation plays such an important role in the astronomy of the Indians has given rise to fantastic speculations about Babylonian influence.

Ce If one asks Indians about the size of the stars and their
821 distance from us, they stand there perplexed and prefer not to answer at all. They understand, however, that they must be far away.

C The stars do not play an important role in the legends.
821 The Chiriguano chief Maringay, however, said there was once
773 a brother who was playing with his little sister. They tried to catch each other, they sang and jumped. Now they are sitting in the firmament as two stars.

Two clusters of stars in the southern part of the southern firmament are the ashes of an old man and an old woman, a Chiriguano once told me. It was an evening in August.

Ce In legends, the sun is a man and the moon a woman.
[821] The Chané children stole fire from an old man, the sun, and the
[773] two-headed Yahuéte hid under the tiru of the moon-woman when he was being pursued by the son of the armadillo-god.

The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between these culturally allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against the whites (in 1890), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are still remaining.

The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly gourd plants and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group, the Chiriguano being counted with the Guarani group, whilst the Chané are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija valley.[1] Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which is Guarani. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches of Rio Parapiti.[2] The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means »dirt people» was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word »guano» is the name for the well-known bird manure-found on the coast of Peru and Chile. It seems however unfair indeed that the Chiriguano, who, in contradistinction to the Puna and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal name.

---

[1] de Matienzo (1), p. 150. Nordenskiöld (18).
[2] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 156.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

[p. 205]

CHAPTER VIII.

The Chiriguanos (2).

Industries. Cultivated plants. Hunting. Fishing. Vessels for food and drink. Intoxicants and stimulants. Music and dancing. Social order. Customs governing marriage, childbearing, illnesses, death and burial. Character and temperament. Belief in metempsychosis.

The Chiriguano are mainly an agricultural people, but they also do a certain amount of hunting and fishing. Maize is the most important of their cultivated plants, and it is very extensively grown by them. Many other Indian domestic plants are also cultivated, viz. pumpkins, sweet potatoes, beans, mani, cactus with edible fruit (Opuntia), tobacco, cotton, uruku (Bixa orellana), and a reed plant (Arundo donax) for making arrow-shafts. Of imported cultivated plants grown by the Chiriguano, I have seen melons, water melons, sugar cane and oranges. According to Nordenskiöld, they also grow figs and millet,[1] these latter of course also having been introduced by the whites. Nowadays, European spades and hoes are used for loosening the soil. Among wild-growing food plants the algarrobo tree (Prosopis alba) is, to the Chiriguanos, the most important one. The Indians also prepare from the fruit of this tree an intoxicating drink to which they are much addicted.

The Chiriguano larder does not to any great extent depend on hunting the game, but formerly hunting must certainly have been an important source of subsistence. Snaring is, nowadays, the only method of hunting employed by the Chiriguano. The long-bow, the pellet-bow, slings, bird-nets and clubs are still occasionally used in hunting.

In olden times the Indians were good shots with the bow and arrow, and, according to Lizarraga, they then used bows the height of a man.

[1] Nordenskiöld (18), pp. 23 and 24.

231 /18 cont./ with
262 respect to the eating of meat, the Chiriguano depend on their livestock, which, however, according to Nordenskiöld, since they omit the raising of pigs and chickens, is not so numerous as the livestock of the Chorote and the Churupí. They do not
262 eat the flesh of asses, horses, /18/ and dogs (78). Although
241

78. Nord. 1, p. 190.

we do not have exact data on the amount of meat that their livestock yields, we can suppose that it is not very great, and thus these Indians depend principally on vegetable foods, that is, on the products of their agriculture. We should say that, in comparison with maize, all other foodstuffs have almost no importance, except among the Indians of the Parapití, among whom the sweet potato is the most important food (79).

79. Nord. 1, p. 181.

261 In times of shortage they eat various wild plants, principally
273 the sweet pods of the algarroba (November-December), which, coarsely chopped up with water, they allow to ferment in order to produce a kind of chicha which has inebriating qualities (80).

80. Nord. 1, p. 226. Métraux I, pp. 361 and 362.

262 Since meals consist principally of maíze, they are very
252 monotonous, although the maize is eaten by them in many different forms, either boiled or parched, or as a flour cooked in steam, as a fried maize-cake, in embers /rescoldo/, or as a soft maize-pudding (81). Meat is eaten roasted or boiled.

81. Nord. 1, pp. 188 and 189. Métraux I, pp. 356-358.

263 together with maize. Cooking salt is used at meals. While
317 previously salt (dyúki) was obtained from mines or extracted
459 from earth from salt licks /barreros/, today it is obtained

Ee
524
199

/37 cont./

These Indians received two games of chance from the whites, the game of dice, which they call by the Spanish name "dado," and the game with a cow's leg bone, which they call "taba."

Agriculture

C
Ce
241

I have already explained in the chapter on food and drink that the cultivation of maize as an agricultural product is common, and among the Chané of the Parapití the cultivation of the sweet potato. Mandioca is only cultivated rarely and has no importance in the economy of these Indians. Various species of beans are planted, also one species of cactus, some gourds which have edible fruits, and also a little tobacco. In addition to these edible or stimulating native plants that are cultivated, there are some others received from the whites, but these have little importance in the economy of these Indians. According to Nordenskiöld (171), they are the following: sugar

Ee
241
199

171. Nord. 7, pp. 23 and 24.

cane, peanuts, watermelon, muskmelon, figs, oranges and millet, and Métraux also mentions the pepper among them (172).

172. Métraux 1, pp. 338 and 339.

C
Ce
241
(415)
(383)
(386)

In addition to these edible or stimulating plants, there are cultivated various species of gourds whose fruits are not edible but are used to make containers, cotton for making thread, urucú for obtaining red dye, and, among the Indians of the Parapití, also a species of cane, Harundo Donax /Arundo donax/, which grows wild in great quantity on the banks of the Pilcomayo, but not on those of the Parapití River.

/37 cont./

Ce 241 The sort of agriculture which these Indians commonly practice is that which we can define with the term "el rozado" /the clearing/, which best corresponds to the technical German word "Waldrodung," which is used for this concept. A piece of woodland is cleared, and the land cultivated in this manner is planted as many times as possible until it is exhausted. According to Métraux (173), the place intended

Ce [412]

173. Métraux 1, p. 334.

for planting is first cleared of underbrush, which is cut with a large stick edged on both sides, and this is burned on the site. Métraux /38/ has also compiled from the literature the respective statements on the method of planting maize (174).

174. Métraux 1, p. 337.

Ce [412] [177] Almost all the implements used for this cultivation, such as spades and iron hoes, have been obtained from the whites. The wooden spade, which the Chiriguano doubtless received from the culture of the ancient Peruvians and which was formerly universally used by them, is very rare today (175).

Ce 412 [177]

175. Nord. 1, p. 188. Métraux 1, pp. 335 and 336.

According to Nordenskiöld, these spades were made of a hard wood and had an artificially formed handle. Two such spade handles with a special handhold at the upper end are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and two similar ones by Métraux (176).

176. Nord. 1, Fig. 89. Métraux 1, p. 336, Figs. 3 and 4.

Ce 412 173 In the Chané legends written down by Nordenskiöld, there is also mentioned, in addition to the spade, the wooden punch, which is a very common agricultural implement among most

/38 cont./

Ce 412 773

of the Indians of South America who have agriculture. In one of these legends it is said that (177) Tunpa, after having

177. Nord. 1, p. 260.

created the grandparents of the Avás (Chiriguano) and Chané, gave them a wooden spade and a long carved stick, called "carumpa," and bows and arrows so that they might feed themselves with these implements. In the other legend it is told that the jaguar goes to get the punches when the fox wants to help him plant his field (178). From the indications

C 412

178. Nord. 1, p. 269.

by Métraux mentioned in the foregoing, it follows that the Chiriguano still use such an implement in their agriculture.

C Ce 241 73

The Chiriguano in Macharetí had some plantings near their town, but, because of the extraordinary drought at that time, these had produced nothing. The Izozó near Toledo had cleared large areas, but were unable to plant for the same reason. According to Nordenskiöld (179), the large

C Ce 241

179. Nord. 1, p. 183.

plantings of the Chiriguano and the Chané are often far from their towns and are enclosed by thickets.

The Raising of Livestock

C Ce 231

Of the domestic animals native to South America, the Chiriguano and the Chané have the South American dog, which today is mixed with the blood of European dogs (180).

180. Nord. 1, p. 187. Nord. 2, p. 49.

Ce 692 643 28

/89 cont./
of the deceased (359).

359. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 421

Private property is highly respected among the Chiriguano. According to Métraux, even the closest relatives cannot make use of the property of one of them without his consent. The

C 423

possession of a piece of land is guaranteed to a Chiriguano by planting any plant on it or by clearing the circumference of the land required and making large slashes in the trees. When he selects a plot for his planting, the Chiriguano examines it carefully to determine that there are no traces of a previous planting (360).

360. Métraux I, pp. 334 and 340.

C •241 496 [622]

After the land selected for the planting has been cleared, relatives and friends are called together to help with the work. Formerly, the cacique of the town also took part by keeping watch for the workers (361).

361. Métraux I, p. 337.

/90/

Religion

C Ce 797 971 178 538

In their many years of activity the missions have naturally influenced notably the religious actions of the Chiriguano and Chané. Most of them today are Christians. Some still retain part of their primordial ideas, expressed in their legends. I shall limit myself here to referring the reader again to the Chané legends taken down by Nordenskiöld (362) and mentioned several times in the preceding.

362. Nord. 1, pp. 251-296.

/333 cont./

Chapter II

Agriculture

241 The Chiriguano, like the Guarani and the Chané, their ancestors, are excellent farmers, and the working of the soil represents their principal occupation and their great concern.
243 For them corn is of prime importance: it constitutes the basis
[273] of their diet, for it enters into the preparation of most of their dishes and in addition gives them their preferred drink, chicha or kiwi.

[132] The sandy lands of the western Chaco and its climate,
[134] hot and dry a great part of the year, but also rainy during the summer months, seem to be particularly suitable for this grain. I have never seen such beautiful fields of corn anywhere. The ears are large, well filled out /334/ with kernels, and extremely tasty. The Bolivian half-breeds and settlers who are coming in greater and greater numbers to take the place of the Indians devote themselves like them to the growing of corn, which, with cattle-raising, is their main resource.

114 My trip to the Chaco, which took place from the month
243 of February to the month of June, did not give me a chance to
[101] be present at the sowing which is done at the beginning of the rainy season. For many details I shall therefore be forced to
[229] refer to Cierado (pp. 42 and 44), Campana (pp. 96-98), Boebenhöffel (2, pp. 101-104, and 10, pp. 23-26), to Nino (pp. 237-241), and Rosen (1, p. 203).

241 When a Chiriguano wishes to cultivate a new piece of
243 ground for himself and his family, he scours the environs of his village looking for a spot which may suit him and which is, in addition, easily irrigable. This condition is generally fulfilled by the lands at the foot of a hill or rising ground. The rain water which pours down there assures them of fertility.

/[illegible] cong./

[24] [90] [293] [48] Before taking possession of a new plot of land the Chiriguano is always careful to make sure that there is no trace of previous cultivation. Otherwise the former owner or his descendants would have the right to lodge a complaint against him to the chief of the village.

[92] The Chiriguano makes known his new property right by planting any edible plant before the rainy season, for example, the large squash (gindaiv-cong) which spreads everywhere and is not smothered by the underbrush. He can equally well insure possession of the chosen terrain by knocking down the underbrush all around and making big gashes in the trees (1).

[91]

> 1. Compare this manner of insuring property rights with the method observed by the Cosinewa /Cashinawa/ in the same circumstances: "I saw (an Indian is speaking) rising ground which is suitable for a planting. I am going to make a planting for this summer. I broke many branches on this hill to mark this excellent place. No one can make his clearing on this hill. This hill is excellent; do not go there to make your planting." (Abreu, p. 69.)

[24] [293] In the middle of the dry season, say, in August, the Indian, with a long stick sharp on both sides, fells the underbrush which encumbers his future field and sets fire to it. This operation has the further advantage of fertilizing the soil, thanks to the bed of ashes, which is a rather good fertilizer.

The cultivated fields are usually cleaned up after the harvest. [234] The domestic animals, who feed there with little expense, are first let out there, and then the fields are set afire.

[221] Sowing takes place in the month of November when the first rainstorms have softened the soil. This time is announced by [921] the appearance of the Pleiades (ifiru) above the horizon early in the morning.

/334 cont./

241 The Chiriguano who is getting ready to sow takes care
243 to hoe his field and to rid it of all weeds. For this he uses
/335/ a shovel, which I shall describe, in part from Campana
243 (p. 98), not having seen this instrument whole.

241 The shovels (sipe of the Chiriguano, even not so long
418 ago, were entirely of wood, preferably wood of the urundei
[824] (Astronium urundeuva F. Allemao) or of the palm siripe. Although narrower and longer, they resembled those of our bakers. The edges were straight, almost parallel, and only the cutting edge was slightly rounded at the sides. Toward the top they ended in a point, a
[824] kind of embryonic handle, which was lengthened by a stick to which it was attached with ties made of churqui (Nilotica farnesiana), of lianas, or toborochi fibers. The two shovels examined by Campana measured 70 centimeters in length and 15 in width; one of them, however, was less wide at the top than at the bottom by several centimeters (Fig. ?).

Fig. ?. Shovel (sipe) made of wood, without its handle, formerly in use among the Chiriguano (from Campana, Pl. VIII, Fig. 1).

If the Chiriguano have abandoned the ancient wooden shovel, they have nevertheless faithfully kept the long handle to which it was attached and which permitted them to work the soil without having to bend over. A remark of psychological order becomes necessary in this regard. The Chiriguano
[439] could well have acquired in the Syrians' stores, where they are available, shovels already provided with handles and ready to use. If they felt the need to modify the handle and to give it the traditional form, it is because it did not correspond to the movements and position of the body and hands which an age-old tradition had ingrained.

In each human group all manual labor requires certain gestures to which, to a certain extent, the tools are adapted. This explains the variations these exhibit from country to country and even from tribe to tribe. With regard to this, Professor

241
412
243
[144]

Mons used to cite to us the following examples: during the great war the French soldiers did not much like using English shovels different from their own, and vice versa. The Chiriguano I have seen laboring on military roads in Bolivia handle our shovels exactly like any European laborer; but back home, when it is a question of working a field, they return immediately to the ancestral gestures and are constrained to adapt the form of their instruments to them.

The handle fits into a handgrip carved out of a small block of wood and set in with the greatest care. The latter generally takes the shape of a crescent on which the hand rests comfortably. The handgrips with an elegant curve, which gave an aesthetic character to the ancient spades, have become very rare. In the course of /336/ my trip I was able to acquire only two shovel handles which were provided with them. One comes from Ibopeyti (Fig. 3) and the other was made for me by an old Indian of the Ivu mission. The workmanship of this latter specimen is careless, but it reproduces fairly faithfully the ancient models (Fig. 4).

[126]

241
412
172
243

The use of the shovel among the Chiriguano probably dates back only three or four centuries. This instrument was unknown in ancient Paraguay where our Indians came from. The borrowing which could be presumed a priori has been confirmed by the discovery in the Quebrada de Humahuaca of wooden shovels similar in every detail to the ones I

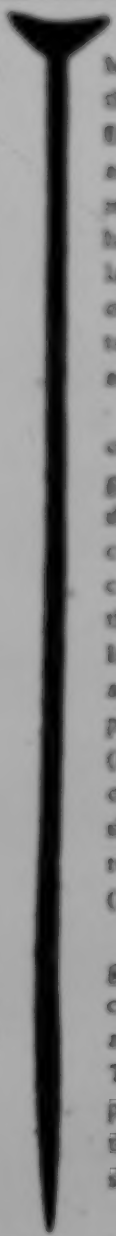


Fig. 3. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ibopeyti. (1/11 nat. size.)

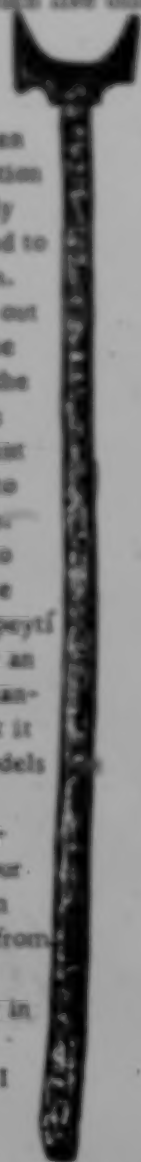


Fig. 4. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ivu. (1/8 nat. size.)

/336 cont./

241 have described here. These finds were made in the ruins of
412 the Alfarcito and of the Pukará de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 4,
172 Fig. 17 and p. 32) and at the Huerta in the same Quebrada de
243 Humahuaca. Numerous wooden shovels have been dug up at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Figs. 236-237, pp. 457-458), and Ambrosetti supposes with justification that they were hafted like those of the modern Chiriguano. Debenedetti (1, p. 35) obtained a specimen of this instrument at Kipón in Salta province.

[171] This type of shovel is particularly well represented in the archeological material of the Chilean coast. Numerous specimens have been found in Calama, Chiuchiu, and Pica in Tarapaca province (Boman, 2, Vol. II, pp. 731-732 and Plate LXVIII a; and Uhle, 3, pp. 15-16 and Plate I).

[171] The half-breeds and Indians of the Bolivian altiplano still work the earth today with a spade which in no way differs from that of their ancestors; moreover, it shows great similarity /337/ to the wooden shovel of the ancient Chiriguano (Chervin, p. 216, Fig. 120).

241 Nordenskiöld (9, pp. 30-32), studying the distribution
412 of this cultural element, established that it was peculiar to
171 the Andean zone and the adjoining regions. The Chiriguano
243 shovel nonetheless has a characteristic feature for which we should look in vain on all the specimens found inside the boundaries of the Inca Empire: this is the crescent-shaped handgrip. It corresponds quite precisely to the crutches terminating the oars in use among the tribes of Brazil, Paraguay, and the Guianas and on which the paddler puts his hand flat.

241 The Chiriguano formerly lived in a region rich in rivers and
412 streams, and they probably made use of paddles of this type to
174 go up or down them. Once settled at the foot of the Andes,
243 the resemblance between their former /Fig. 5 appears here/ oars and the shovels they saw in the hands of the Chané or the Chicha must have struck them; and they naturally sought to adapt to the new instruments this detail of structure whose convenience paddling had shown them. Such a hypothesis is not too adventuresome, for do we not have in the Chaco some shovels which have exactly the appearance of oars? (On this subject see the Ashluslay shovel published by Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 30, Fig. 1.)

/337 cont./

243 [476] [534] [622] Once their fields are free of weeds, the Chiriguano call together relatives and friends. On the date agreed upon, all go to the fields early in the morning, after waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by blowing into cow horns, which for them take the place of horns (in Chiriguano: waka-ranti) (Fig. 5), each trying to outdo the other. In olden days the village chief used to take part in the sowing and watched to make sure that all helped one another.

[534] [321] Fig. 5. Cow horn (waka-ranti) which the Chiriguano use for a horn. The end is carved into a mouthpiece. Prov.: Ibopeyti. (1/5 nat. size.)

Sowing is done in a very simple way. If the ground is soft, the Indian sticks his shovel vertically into the soil, after giving two or three thrusts in order to push it in as far as possible. He enlarges the slit by pushing his shovel forward without drawing it out and slips two or three kernels of corn into the opening. Without changing position he makes two or three similar holes on his right and left, takes a step forward and begins again. The plants thus grow in a certain alignment /338/ which is far from perfect. Since several work at a time, the job is done quickly. At noon, or about two o'clock in the afternoon at the latest, they have finished their task and go back to the village where the chicha or kāwi, which the owner of the field has had prepared for his helpers, awaits them [461] [293]

/338 cont./

243 476 178 The sad state of decline in which the Chiriguano are at present has put an end to collective work, and it is only rarely that sowing is done in common. Each one must provide for his needs without any assistance other than that of his near relatives.

342

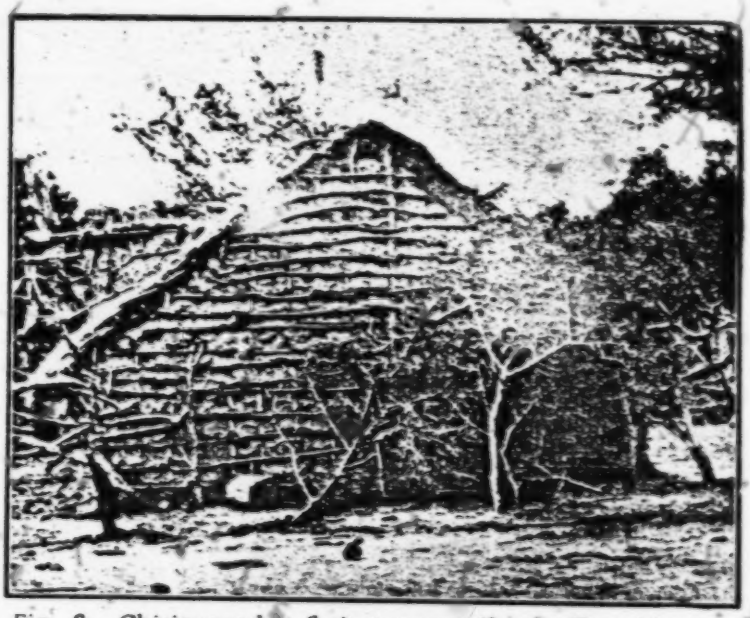


Fig. 6. Chiriguano hut (ho), temporarily abandoned by its inhabitants, who have gone to work in the fields. Caipipendí. (Photo. A. M.)

241

The Chiriguano cultivate the following plants:
Corn (avati): 11 varieties;
Beans (kumanda): 11 varieties;
Squash (andai and grindaka-wasu): 5 varieties;
Sweet potatoes (yeti): 6 varieties;
Yucca or sweet manioc (mandio) (Manihot utilisima Pohl);
Groundnuts (manduvi);
Pimento /peppers/ (kîi) (Capsicum), very rarely cultivated;

/339 cont./
consumption was limited (1).

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.

We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the Indians of the Caruruti region in Caipipendi valley. From the end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6).[1]

This temporary migration of the whole population of a village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

[1] [Fig 6 appears on p. 69--Analyst]

/341 cont./

243 Parrots are veritable plagues for agriculture in the Chaco
825 and cause great damage. In order to fight their voracious
532 bands the Chiriguano make scarecrows by attaching to the tip of flexible poles the masks they wear during the carnival festivities and which they have no use for afterward (Fig. 8). It is the need to be constantly /342/ on the watch to repulse the intrusion of these formidable bands of plunderers which obliges the Indians to come and live in their fields as soon as the corn ripens. The children and young people have the task of frightening off by their shouts these insatiable marauders. As soon as they see or hear a flock of parrots, they emit a long modulation which, it seems, has the effect of scaring them. If
243 the parrots come too near or perch on the fields, the Indians
411 make them flee by bombarding them with stones with their slings. They have two kinds of these. Wherever the Chiriguano
[179] are in direct contact with the Quichua /Quechua/, these slings are of wool (Plate VII, 1 and 2); elsewhere, especially in the Caipipendí valley, they are of vegetable fibers and made according to the net technique (Plate VII, 3). No doubt the Chiriguano borrowed this weapon from the Andean populations. To be convinced of this it suffices to compare the slings of the Indians and half-breeds of the department of Tarija with that of the Chiriguano (Rosen, 1, Fig. 267, p. 261).

[825] Another means of scattering the birds is to stretch a string above the fields. I do not know the effect that this measure can have on them.

243 The fields of the Chiriguano Indians are always surrounded
825 by a high, thick hedge which protects them from animals, wander-
[351] ing cows and horses, which could get in and play havoc with them. Grasshoppers sometimes do them much harm. In the Caipipendí valley I saw a field in which they were swarming and which seemed to have been abandoned for this reason (1).

1. When grasshoppers are particularly numerous, the Chiriguano dig ditches which they make them go into and in which they bury them. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 83.)

/342 cont./

243 462 [482] Wives accompany their husbands to the fields. They spend the day there spinning, sewing, grilling ears of corn, or roasting manioc. In the evening, if they return to the village, the wife comes back bent under the weight of her añapoka, or carrying-net, full of ears of corn. Sometimes the men help [492] them. Those who have donkeys and horses use them as beasts of burden.

482 Transport of corn is done generally with the help of the carrying-net, but makeshifts let them do without it in case of necessity. The ears of corn are held together in bundles by means of leaves which encompass them and are suspended from a flexible switch bent in the shape of a figure eight. When the two loops are balanced, one can raise them by grasping them by the middle.

251 In the village the ears are either stored in granaries on piles, to which steps cut in a tree trunk (Fig. 9) lead, or kept in the hut where a special corner has been made into a compartment. A tree trunk tipped with a natural fork may serve /Plate VII appears here/ /343/ as a storage place for corn. The ears, tied into bundles, are piled between the two branches of the fork (Fig. 10).

243 789 Formerly, before their dreadful decline began, the Chiriguano had recourse to magical ceremonies to hasten the ripening of corn and to avoid drought or too great an abundance of rain. /Fig. 9 appears here./

When the sun threatened to burn the harvest, they had one or several medicine men come who were charged with bringing the recalcitrant clouds. Provided with a cigar, they went around the fields blowing the smoke in every direction (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 167). The symbolism of this rite of homeopathic magic is clear: the smoke represents the clouds which the ipaye is to gather.

[526] [178] The game of mboto represents the survival of a magical ceremony having to do with the growth of corn and its maturing.

[Text Continues on P. 78]

344/

526 178 243 789 In the Chiriguano missions or in the villages of the Caipipendí valley one finds on the large village plaza /Fig. 10 appears here/ an abundance of onion-like objects made of leaves of corn folded together (Fig. 11). Children throw them to each other with the flat of the hand and try to catch them again before they fall to the ground. A hurried traveler would see in this

343 251

Fig. 9. Corncrib on piles (avatió). Ivu. (Photo. A.M.)

526 178 243 789 game only an Indian form of our court tennis or a rudimentary tennis. Actually, this is certainly the present significance of this amusement. In olden days the meaning was not the same, as I learned in the Machareti mission. Only a few years ago mbotó was played only at the time when the corn was beginning to ripen. The children formed a circle and threw this kind of shuttlecock to one another. If by chance one of them let it fall through inadvertance or awkwardness, he left the place

/344 cont./

526 immediately, chased by his comrades who pulled his hair
178 energetically. The awkward player who threw the ball in such
243 a way that his partner could not catch it was in the same
789 category as the one who let it fall, on condition, however, that his opposite number had not made the gesture of catching it. Once the corn was ripe, they stopped playing mboto.

526 171 [179]

The game of mboto has a wide distribution in South America, but it is limited to the populations of the Amazonian basin and the Guianas. Doubtless the Chiriguano introduced it into the Chaco (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 168).

417 251 824 Fig. 10: Forked tree on which the Chiriguano pile corn inside their huts. This device may have given rise to the corncribs on piles.

526 789 243 This game without any doubt derives from a magical rite whose object was to promote the beneficial course of the sun and to oblige it to shine without interruption to make the corn ripen. The straw shuttlecock represents the sun. The period when this game is played and the meaning the Chiriguano attach to it make my hypothesis a very likely one. Preuss demonstrated that in all of Central America and even in North America the /345/ tennis game arose out of a magical operation intended to influence the sun.

Fig. 11. Straw shuttlecock (mboto), accessory for the game of the same name. Prov.: Cururuti (1/3 nat. size.)

/345 cont./

241 115 The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields. "Captain" Karnapadyú made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations, without sparing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I answered that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

243 593 583 606 The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano

[585] 1. Corrado (p. 155) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacras nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whose laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

433 224 178 I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano villages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game. It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo, [251] chuña /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Nino, pp. 249-258).

/364 cont./

273 life of the individual or the community is associated with this beverage. The divine principle which kãwi has in it does not take away its secular character; and, while one gets drunk on it during the festivals, nothing prevents washing down meals with it at the time when the corn ripens. As a sign of [594] hospitality every stranger is invited to empty a calabash full [596] of it: and the compliments he addresses to the wife of his host fill his heart with pride.

527 The Indians always appreciated the liking I showed 273 /Plate XIV appears here/ /365/ for kãwi, and my old friend [123] Karnapadyũ did not fail to recall the big vats full to the brim to persuade one to return to celebrate Easter with them, or, if you like, the corn harvest, since these two dates coincide more or less. Such promises /Fig. 29 appears here/ could not remain without effect, and Karnapadyũ was not at all surprised to see me arrive shortly before the festival.

The greatest animation prevailed in the village of Caruruti, formerly so calm. Men came and went, bending under enormous loads of wood. All the urns were lined up in front of the huts and buried to a third of their height (Plate XIV, 1). 527 For a long time big piles of corn had already been heaped up 273 in the village, which all, big and small, men and women, 243 /Fig. 30 appears here/ were actively engaged in husking. [412] Some used their fingers, others knives or a pointed stick. Not [413] one had thought of the so practical instrument used by their ancestors: a small wooden peg with a leather loop to put two fingers through. It is curious to note that such a simple object fell into disuse: an old man still sold me a specimen made of iron but a close copy, so to speak, of the wooden prototype, of which it reproduced the smallest details (Fig. 29).

273 Now the hardest work begins: the grinding of the kernels. Day and night the dry noise of the pestles crushing the corn [461] resounds in the village. Often, to get the chore over more quickly, three women group around the same mortar and with surprising speed raise and pound their pestle without a single [415] error in rhythm interrupting their laborious work. Once ground, the corn is sifted in an urumpesa or large-meshed sieve (Fig. 31). The rather coarse flour is poured into large urns filled with water.

1: Métraux--116 E-5 (1929) 930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

413
243

Fig. 29. Iron peg with leather handle used for husking ears of corn. Chiriguano. Prov.: Saladito. (1/2 nat. size.)

412
824

Fig. 30. Chiriguano mortar (anguá) made of urundey wood (Astronium urundeuva Fr. Allemao), with its pestle. The lower, recessed part is buried in the ground. Prov.: Ivu. (1/15 nat. size.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The migrations, wars, and the religious conversion of the *Chiriguano* have been the subjects of many historical monographs. The most important of these are by Corrado (1884), Serrano y Sanz (1898), Domínguez (1918), Gandía (1929 a, and b), Métraux (1930 b), Coni (1925), Moreno (1929), and Finot (1939). The Jesuit missionary work among the *Chiriguano* has been described by Lozano (1941) and Muriel (1918).

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

As today *Chiriguano* and *Chané* share in the same culture, the following data may apply to both tribes.

Farming.—The *Chané*, conquered by the *Chiriguano*, were proficient farmers who, though practicing a tropical type of agriculture, were probably acquainted with many of the methods of cultivation of the Andean area. The *Chiriguano* adopted their traditions. The new habitat of the *Chiriguano* did not offer the same resources for hunting and fishing as had their homeland. Therefore, these Indians depend on farming to a larger extent than any other *Tupi-Guarani tribe*. The basis of their livelihood is maize, of which they have 11 varieties, all related to those of Paraguay. Then follow in order of importance: Pumpkins, beans (11 varieties), sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, peanuts, and some Barbary figs (*Opuntia* sp). Sweet potatoes were grown on a large scale by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

These Indians also raise cotton, tobacco, urucú, and, in the Parapeti region, reeds for arrow shafts (*Arundo donax*). Plants of the Old World adopted by the *Chiriguano* include melons, watermelons, oranges, sugarcane, and sorghum.

Chiriguano men clear the fields and surround them with a tall fence as a protection against the inroads of wild or domesticated animals, a task which is considered to be particularly strenuous. They also till the soil, but at harvest time they are assisted by the women and children. The latter, armed with slings, drive away the parakeets and other birds which prey on the crops. Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 183) observed that among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro region, large maize fields were tended by men while pumpkins and beans were raised by the women.

Collecting wild food.—When their crops fail, the *Chiriguano* subsist on the same species of pods and fruits as those collected by the Chaco Indians: Algarrobo, tusca, mistol, caraguatá, and other plant foods.

Hunting.—Hunting is a very secondary economic activity, at least in modern times. Peccaries, which are the main game animal, are hunted with specially trained dogs and killed with bows and arrows or with clubs. Rheas, which are abundant in the Chaco plains, are caught with bolas. Pigeons are captured with clap nets. Special arrows with two points are used for hunting yacu birds (*Penelope* sp.).

222 [957] /29 cont./ IT is hot, and some cure sickness, or inflammation of the eyes, with it. Nevertheless, one should not confuse this little plant with another similar one whose fruits lack flavor and which is called by the Chiriguano "Aguara quii," which is to say, literally, chili pepper, of the fox. The best way not to confuse it is to taste the fruit; it is found everywhere.

243 TRIGO /wheat/. -- The Eternal Creator of all things in his bounty and mercy arranged that this small plant, necessary in every aspect, should yield its fruit in every region inhabited by man; thus, in spite of the excessive heat, it is harvested here in abundance, and the farmer is not robbed of his hopes if he takes care to irrigate the field opportunely. Barley also flourishes in irrigated lands, but the cultivation of both has been abandoned for reasons already expounded in these pages and also because birds greatly bother both crops, as also happens in the rice paddies, which will be found empty if they are left to the discretion of our flying friends.

[824] [412] There also thrives together with maize, or in other places, the wheat called Guinea, or sweet sorghum, which the Chiriguano call "Tricu" and which is indigenous; it is sweet, matures with maize, and they suck it, as well as the panicled sorghum, which is a kind of sorghum /30/ without sweetness and used for making brooms for sweeping. The seed of both plants is liked by birds.

137 824 [262] VID /grapevine/. -- Farther on I have said that this plant pre-eminently required for the Sacrifice, like wheat, thrives quite vigorously in this region. I add here that in the woods there is a tree with small leaves and unimportant wood, which rises up to some eight meters above the ground and whose fruit is the size of an olive, has a dark coffee color and a flavor like that of the grape, matures in the month of February, is edible, and is called "Ivaviyu" in Chiriguano. Also in the wild state is the native grape with its twining trunk. Its fruits are like a bunch of grapes; they are white and some even black, and they are good for the manufacture of brandy.

/241 cont./

Modern Farming and Seeds

241 177 [407] Today planting with the spade is disappearing, and if this tool is necessary for weeding, an iron one has been substituted. The plow has become general, as have the yoke and oxen, and in the missions even boys of 12 break in oxen two and a half years old. They first do the planting for the mission, then for themselves and their fathers, and finally they help those who have no sons: the missionary provides them with young oxen, plowshares, and even halters when they are very poor.

The neophytes in most of the Potosí missions have learned to perfection this new method of farming, and they are so advanced that they are competitive with and even superior to many mestizo farmers. The older ones teach the younger ones, fathers teach their sons, and the latter as well as the former manufacture plow and yoke out of selected wood with all the perfection that these implements require. It is satisfying to see upon a farm 40 or 50 yokes of oxen, directed and driven by young men and boys who yesterday were like their grandparents! The whites themselves do their planting on a large scale, aided by these Chiriguano, who receive in exchange double daily wages (1).

[868] [407] [231] 46

1. A peon plowman is not obliged to bring oxen; it is the white who waits for him with the yoke hitched. If a peon brings his own, he earns up to triple daily wages, because they are worth exactly three strong peons, the two oxen and the man who drives them. Thus it is not much to pay him triple.

243 262 Today it seems to me that there must not be another country where the different types of maize thrive better. This is the principal element, the daily food, not only of the Chiriguano tribe, but of all those who inhabit most of Bolivia. Here in particular, when there is no harvest, its lack is greatly felt by whites and blacks, that is to say, by mestizos and by Chiriguano.

Schwedenschiffe 1-4/5(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

shall see that the methods of fishing differ somewhat in the different rivers. At the Rio Pilcomayo the Indians must always have found a good supply of food. As many Chiriguano live by very insignificant streams they never have the opportunity of fishing. The Chané all live in places where they are able to procure fish during some part of the year at least.

Big game is scarce in the land of the Chiriguano and Chané. Nor are these Indians keen huntsmen. One seldom sees game that has been killed by them in their huts. The great flocks of fat pigeons that settle in their fields are for the most part left unpolested.

As we shall see in the following the Chiriguano and Chané live mostly by tilling the ground. Owing to the comparative dryness of their land maize is cultivated more than anything else. It is the ease with which this plant can be grown here, that makes the land of the Chiriguano and Chané a good land to dwell in.

The fruit of the carob-tree (algarrobo) is the most important wild fruit. Probably no careful study has ever been made of the climatic conditions of the Chiriguano and Chané country. It is situated in the tropics, north of the tropic of Capricorn and the traveller there of course suffers more from heat than cold. In May and June especially, however, when there is a strong south wind, it is agreeable to have a well built house, warm clothes and a snug bed. The rains begin in December and leave off in April or May. It sometimes happens that there is little or no rain and then the crops are a failure. They are often destroyed by grasshoppers.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

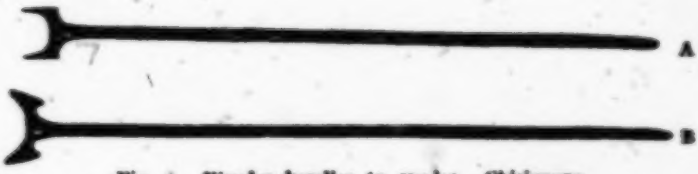


Fig. 5. Wooden handles to spades. Chiriguano.
1/18. A — Private collection. B — R. M. E. 680.

C 442

III.

Tillage and tillage implements.

C Ce 241 262

Vegetable food is of great importance to the majority of Indians. This is most specially so with the Chiriguano and Chané. To the former, as well as to those of the latter tribe who dwell on the Rio Itiyuro, maize is of extraordinary importance. The Chiriguano and Chané belong to WISSLER's »maize-area» or »area of intensive agriculture». WISSLER divides S. America into three great food areas: area of intensive agriculture, manioc area, and guanaco area. Another division would be more correct, viz. —

C Ce [243]
S 22

1) Area of intensive agriculture.
2) Area of manioc and fishing.
3) Area of wild seeds and fishing. El Gran Chaco.
4) Guanaco area.

There will, of course, be in addition a number of small areas with special conditions of life, as in the extreme south of S. America.

The Chiriguano grow 11 kinds of maize[1]), 11 varieties of beans[1]), 12 kinds of calabashes[1]), of which 5 are edible, sweet potates, mandioca, sugar-cane, mani, urucu, tobacco,

C 241

[1]) According to NINO Pp. 241 . . . .

/154 cont./

One might be surprised that a person would want to live in this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter their valuables for maize.

For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians.

The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy season it probably rains there too.

From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a /155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Batirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio

/160 cont./

The region settled by the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is really very extensive. It is varied in nature, from luxuriant virgin forests to extremely arid valleys and plains poor in vegetation. It is in part very mountainous, but the Chiriguano and Chané are not mountain people. They stay down in the valleys and do not climb up to the peaks and plateaus, like the Quichua Indians.

Animal life in these regions is poor, in fact, very poor. A hunting people could never live there. Now and then a roebuck, a wild pig, a few ostriches, that is all one sees in the way of big game. Bird life, too, is very poor. /161/ The number of lakes is very small, and they are no larger than what we would call pools in Europe. On the Rio Parapiti one sees quite a large number of white egrets (1), famous for

1. Ardea.

their valuable feathers. With regard to wood fowl, only the chicken called "pavas" (2) contributes to the diet. Occasionally

2. Penelope.

one sees a large-billed "toucan" (3). Sleek pigeons, fattened

3. Rhamphastus.

on maize, often live in masses in the fields of the Indians. In the Rio Pilcomayo there is a great abundance of fish, in the little rivers the fish are small and poor. The Indians who live in these regions have to be farmers, and they are maize farmers to the highest degree. For them maize is food, drink, pleasure, everything!

I have no adventures to report from among these Indians. Everyone may travel unharmed among them. The greatest sorrow of the ethnographer is that he is unable to collect all the interesting and old things that he sees there. One cannot take everything home.

/21 cont./

137 GUAYABO /guava/. -- This fruit-bearing tree is found
82 wild and cultivated; it is of medium size, and the fruit, when
[245] ripe, is yellow on the outside and purple on the inside, and its bittersweet flavor is very pleasant and laxative. The green fruit and the roots are astringent; the Chiriguano know it by the same name. The wood has no use at all, and even if it
[262] did, the Indians would not use it because it produces edible fruit. They regret it when any of these trees and others, like the algarrobo, are destroyed.

GÜEMBE. -- This plant thrives on the trunks of high trees, where it puts its root, and others which penetrate the ground
[492] hang down from there. The roots and lianas are dark in color; very strong and durable halters are made from its bark; it is not found everywhere. One encounters it from the left bank of the Parapiti River; its fruit is similar to that of maize, for which reason it is called maize of the air, and it is edible.

HIGUERA AMERICANA /American fig/. -- This is the
[262] guapoy of the Chiriguano and the biboui of the populace; although the fruit is rather sour, it is edible. Bats like it, and it
[797] is annoying to have this tree near the dwellings; it has a milky juice like the common fig tree, which, applied to wounds, heals them. In addition to the above fig tree, there is the
[245] common one which flourishes with very little care, in the towns,
[439] especially the Mission one; it is widely cultivated by the
[431] natives and its fruit is used by them for gifts and trade with the whites.

●244 MANDIOCA. -- This plant is called "Mandio" or "Mandiporogo" by the Chiriguano Indians. A little book written by a Jesuit missionary of the old Paraguay missions relates that this plant was left to those Indians by Saint Thomas the Apostle who, according to their tradition, came here to preach the doctrine of the Redeemer. Mandioca is
[252] an excellent food and very digestible; it is eaten boiled,
[262] roasted, and fried in lard. It is a plant cultivated by whites and by Indians.

/28 cont./

137 There is another small caraguata which invades wide areas
824 of land, preventing any animal from entering there, because it has spines on the bottoms of the leaves. In times of scarcity
[262] its root is food for the poor Chiriguano; the root contains a little starch which has the taste of mandioca, but it requires
[283] great effort to pull it up. The leaf of this tilandsia is also good for making cord.

Finally, there is a third one which flourishes abundantly in trees and on the rocks of the hills, but which has no peculiar properties; it is large because of its leaves, which measure up to one meter in length. The plant is thick, the leaf fleshy, and it is used to decorate the streets with arches during processions. The aloe is similar to the second type of tilandsia, but aloe leaves are wide and thick, full of juice, while those of the tilandsia are slender, arched, and dry. The aloe is not abundant; only an occasional shrub or plant is found.

● 244 /29/ TOMATO. -- This plant which produces fruits so pleasant and useful to the culinary art flourishes exuberantly in these lands; the fruit from each plant is abundant and is produced the year round when some care is taken to protect the plant from the cold or from the light frosts which customarily
[237] fall in June and July. To do this it suffices to pile up dry cow dung in two or three places in the tomato patch and set them
[177] afire. True tomato plants are also found in the woods, but it is presumed that some bird must have carried the seed to such places; the tomato is a plant which has been brought into the Chiriguano country, as is the case with the onion, the sweet potato, and the cabbage.

222 In the woods there is a kind of tomato in the wild state, which is somewhat similar in appearance and taste, but which is quite different from the true one; it is picked green and allowed to ripen in a room on top of a piece of wood; in a
[244] few days it turns red, which is a sign that it is ripe. The chili pepper also produces abundantly and with little care; it is a plant which lasts up to three years if care is taken to prune it, and the second and third years the fruits are very hot. Another kind of small, round chili pepper abounds in the woods and bears spontaneously; it is called arivivi by the whites and "quii rai" by the Chiriguano. It is hot, and some cure sickness,

/242 cont./

The seventh type has no peculiarity. It is called Cachinchi, which in the language means curly, and it actually is; the kernel is rather small at the end, but not at the beginning, and in the middle it is very soft; it contains considerable saccharine, and they use it for parched maize. They also have the Abati guayeta, then the Abati chore, which they use for parched meal, and finally they have the Saimpini, gray, very good for parched maize because of its softness (2).

[177] 2. It appears that formerly these Indians did not have the Abati guayeta. It is very probable that it was introduced after the Conquest, or as soon as they had any relations with the whites.

262 Maize is a very common food for the Chiriguano Indian, and he eats it in different ways, but in times of plenty one tires of eating the same thing, like the Hebrews, who in the desert had become tired of eating manna. They remedy this difficulty with the Intina, side dishes /companage.

The first, Abati tina, is the Cumanda, French bean /alubia/; there are also 11 types of French beans, or [263] cumanda. All are eaten with salt or without /243/ it, with maize meal, with parched maize, or without them. Here they are; Cumanda háigũe, bean with a yellow kernel; Cumanda sacuayu, which literally means bean with yellow eye; Cumanda úú, black bean; Cumanda gũiraya, which literally means bean owner of the trees, because it is a climber; Cumandandi, white bean; Cumanda pucu, long bean with red kernel; Cumanda mi, small bean. This one is not small because of its grain, but because of the plant, and it is the one that the whites call yellow poroto; Cumandansi, sour bean; Cumanda guasu, large bean, it is because the plant is very thick. There is another called Gũira rupía because it resembles birds' eggs, and, finally, there is Saimpino, which is similar to the gray egg-colored maize (1).

● 244 1. The Cumanda guasu, or large bean, is the

/243 cont./

244 one preferred by the Chiriguano, and he has good reason, as it is quite edible, the least damaging to health, in addition to being the seed which is most resistant to drought. It is very abundant, and as many as four harvests can be taken from it.

262 The Chiriguano plants whatever type of beans /judías/
252 he has or can obtain from his neighbors or companions when
[244] he runs short, because only in the case of maize, which he prefers to eat parched and not boiled, does he plant several varieties. All beans /alubia/ are good to the Indian because of the use that he makes of them, which is to boil them and eat them, to roast them under hot ashes with their pods, or, by making a hole in the ground, to heat it and burying the pods there so that they will cook.

244 If the Chiriguano frequently lacks beans to mix with the maize, it is unlikely that he will be without gourds, which grow with little cultivation and which are so resistant to drought; it is also extremely easy for him to plant this food, so much so that women and children devote themselves to it, because not many plants are needed in a plot for an abundant harvest.

244 Twelve classes of gourds are known, but only five are
262 edible; the other seven are used for matés. The edible ones
[415] are the following: Andai, Gũindaca guasu, Gũindaca mi, Gũindaca mi guasu, yiquisigua; the latter has an edible interior and the exterior is useful for domestic purposes, to keep
249 any object in its hard shell. The gourds that serve for matés are Iá, true maté; Iá pua, round maté; Iámpe, flattened maté; /244/ Iá guasu, large maté; Iá-rai, small maté, Iá pucú, long maté, and Iá pani, twisted maté (1).

1. The Indian does not include in the number of gourds the one the two children used to free themselves from the deluge of water because it was a miraculous one.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
241

water-melons, melons, figs, tuna[1]), oranges, cotton, millet, and reeds for arrow-shafts.

C
Ce
241
[245]
C
Ce
[244]
C
Ce
[177]
[262]

Bananas are not cultivated. Among the Chané at the Rio Parapiti the sweet-potato is the most important cultivated plant. Of the plants mentioned, the sugar-cane, the melon, the watermelon, the fig, the orange and the millet are not American. All those cultivated plants which have been introduced by Europeans are of slight importance to the Indians. I have never seen mandioca cultivated, but I have heard that it is to be met with in the fields of these Indians. As a staple food of the people it is of no importance here.

C
Ce
412
177

Iron spades bought from the Whites are the tools employed nowadays. Very occasionally one still sees wooden spades. In Part I I have published a map of the geographical distribution of the spade.

The spade in S. America is evidently a western element of culture, i. e. the idea of fitting on a more or less broad blade to the lower part of the digging-stick is plainly derived from the western area of civilization.

Whence the Chiriguano got the idea of the shapely handles I do not know. They are too shapely for the art to have been derived from the Whites. They have obviously a long evolution behind them, and it is very probable that they had their origin in the Mountain area of civilization.

Hoes with iron blades occur. The Indians have got them from the Whites. I have not seen any primitive hoes, although we are here on the border of the area of distribution of the genuine American hoe[2]).

The Chiriguano and Chané use a small implement for removing the corn from the corn-cobs which I have described in Part I. P. 32.

---

[1]) Opuntia.

[2]) It is incorrect to affirm, as Wissler does, (P. 27) that the hoe was unknown in S. America. Incas had hoes and they are found still among the Quichua.

C
Ce
[114]

T /360 cont./
175 their four fingers from the earthen dish or other vessel in
264 which they keep it, even though they throw it from rather far away, nevertheless they put it so accurately into their mouths that they do not drop a single bit. So that some of us Frenchmen, wishing to imitate them, thought we would eat it in that fashion, and not being at all trained for that like them, instead of throwing it in our mouths, we discharged it on our cheeks and floured our whole face; /361/ consequently unless those principally who wore beards would have wanted to be accoutered as players of farces, we were constrained to take it with spoons" (Léry, Vol. I, pp. 143-144).

T This comparison permitted me to suppose that roasted
262 corn flour has simply replaced the "farinha" of the Brazilians.
252 As we know, the pulp of manioc tubers, after being carefully
264 squeezed in the tipiti, or trough, was roasted on a terra-cotta slab and changed into dry flour, with which the Tupinamba
C accompanied all their meals. The Chiriguano think the same
262 way about atši: they say that corn flour, in order to be eaten,
264 must have an accompaniment, an intina. To my way of think-
176 ing, atši and muínti are two substitutes for manioc flour that the Chiriguano invented or adapted after emigrating into a
C land where bitter manioc was unknown. Neither the other tribes
[171] of the Chaco nor the Quichua eat corn in this form, and, to my knowledge at least, there is no doubt that the Chiriguano introduced these two dishes into the country, without counting a goodly number of the ones which have been enumerated.

C The only fruits that the Chiriguano consume on a large
262 scale are the prickly pear or tuna (Opuntia), which are seen
C in all their villages. They also plant some fig and orange
[245] trees when they are under mission influence. They are also
[197] great lovers of melons, of sandias (watermelons), and when they have eaten one of these which has pleased them particularly, they keep the seed. They love sugar cane with a passion. Sorghum is especially meant for the children, for whom these graminaceae are a veritable sweetmeat. They suck the juice, which is as sweet as that of sugar cane.

/14 cont./

241 grows up to two meters and even more, the mandioca /15/ produces one arroba per plant, and the sweet potato even more because a single plant can spread and extend eight or ten meters, being productive in every root put in the ground, just so it is suitably covered with earth there.

311 The fertility of the region which I describe cannot be doubted, but the inhabitants do not cultivate it. If in this area there were persons who liked to work, the land would produce more; for this is of no use to mestizo people either, since he who was a peon in Sucre or Tarija wants to be a gentleman here because he is not a Chiriguano, as a result of which the very banks of the rivers, those shores of the Parapiti and Río Grande which appear to be beckoning the farmer, remain almost uncultivated. Ticucha Canton is another area where a colony of foreigners would work miracles, planting vineyards and fruit trees and so many other products that could be developed there; the same could be said of so many other sites.

[245] It seems that the grape does not grow in certain places, but this is because it has not been tried. Not long ago the missionary padre of San Antonio del Parapiti planted some 200 vine stocks. Who would believe it? Within six months some plants yielded quite ripe fruit, and the plants developed in an extraordinary fashion. In nearly all the missions there is cultivation of the vineyard, and in Charagua it is on a large scale through the work of foreigners; therefore what is needed are thinking men and good farmers in order to make these beautiful lands productive, especially along the river banks, where sugar-cane plantations, banana plantations, coffee fields, vineyards, and so many other things that are productive here could be established.

433 241 From the foot of Padilla Hill the forest is very vigorous and continues so to the east until it ends at Aguaragüe. Fig trees yield with little cultivation, the nopal with none at all since it flourishes on hillocks and hills and, such an agreeable and refreshing fruit, is the principal occupant. Chirimoyas, oranges, lemons, and guavas also grow, as well as onions and

824 /16 cont./
137
[114] I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it through experience and careful reading; when describing certain plants, I shall also make note of the use made of the bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall, straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood borer does not damage it; it is much used here in the construction of upper roofs, especially for the braches or trusses on which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its
[342] wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less
[492] value; it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows, but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to
[296] make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears
[515] and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the face free of blemishes; here it is known by the name "timboy."

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. moniliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which reason drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it.
[372] It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns, from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatane," fire that smells; the wood is yellow.

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of
[342] trees of this class here and there; it is the most abundant tree,
[281] the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does not eat it; the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites; the latter call it sebil and the former "Curupau."

● 245 ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in
137 fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters,
824 its leaves are dark green; it produces abundant fruit in a sort of pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds, which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They
[302] serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces
[303]
[439]

245 /17 cont./
137 and feet with them, as will be seen; for this last purpose it is
824 prepared beforehand, many pods being boiled in an olla, and
[302] pastes of every size are made from the decoction, depending
[303] on the value that they wish them to have; it is traded by
[439] Chiriguanos and whites.

137 The Bixa orellana, or "Urucu," as the Indians call it, is
824 a plant of high value for the Chiriguano; he will travel far to obtain a small amount in the towns or places where it is prepared.

ALGARROBO. -- The place where this extraordinarily large tree abounds is in the pampas; thus in the plain of "Curuyuqui" of Yvu Mission, Isoso, Parapiti, and the Gran Chaco it is found forming forests. It is very bulky and has
[342] long branches which on some touch the ground; its trunk is
[415] thick and not always erect, the wood is excellent, similar to oak in spite of being dark, and it is much used for making tuns, door and window casings, and even for barrels. In
[262] Chiriguano this tree is called /18/ "Ivopei," and the "Ivope"
[273] pod is long, compressed, and yellow; when it is ripe, it is sweet and much sought after by livestock and by the Chiriguano; it is their food and drink in times of scarcity as well as other times, and the mead that they make is extremely intoxicating. On the bank of the Pilcomayo even the whites eat this pod; the Toba, Choroti, Mataco, and others hold their orgies when the algarrobo ripens.

ALGARROBO CHICO. -- This is a smaller tree than the previous one, even its fruit is smaller, speckled in color, and sweeter than the true algarrobo, but not as abundant as the
[262] first. As the pods are small and the seeds within abundant, it is not highly thought of among the Chiriguano; they only eat it out of necessity or as a tidbit; the wood is not valued very highly because undoubtedly there are others that are better. In Chiriguano it is called "Ivope rai."

ALGARROBO AGRIO. -- This is also small, and it is called
[262] "sour" because the flavor of the pods really is sour. In times of scarcity it is also food for the Chiriguano; the pods are small, and the tree has its congenial sites. The Chiriguano Indians call it "Ivopetayi."

/19 cont./

137 in dry places; when dampness penetrates it, it is destroyed in a
824 few years, as experience has shown. The bark that is found
[757] under the first layer is split, washed in tepid water, and left to steep overnight; it cures intermittent fever. The Argentinians call it cacha, the whites quebracho, and the Chiriguano "Igüiraro."

AZUFAIFO /jujube tree/. -- This is abundant hereabouts
[262] and is a tree of medium size. Its wood is not valued very highly, but the fruit, the size of a grape seed and of a dark coffee color, is a great resource in times of scarcity for the poor Chiriguano. It ripens in January and February and is liked even by cattle and by sheep and pigs. The whites call it mistol and the Chiriguano "Yuá."

• 245 BANANA TREE. -- Cultivated in orchards and well fenced-in fields, it forms a grove, and each plant yields or produces a cluster, very large on some of them. When the ripe cluster is removed, the plant that produced it must be cut in order that the others may produce their own. There are several
[262] varieties, large and small, the latter very sweet and eaten as fruit, and the former only when boiled and roasted; the whites call them plátano, and the Chiriguano "Pacoba."

137 BIGONIA ACUOSA. -- This is a tiny little bush one vara
824 in height, which under the ground has a large root like a
[271] watermelon and even larger; it contains much pulp which, when squeezed, yields potable water and is used for it in times of scarcity. The Chiriguano call it "Sipoi."

[342] CATALPA. -- This is a large tree and fairly strong. Its wood is used in the construction of houses. The color of the /20/ wood is dark, but when it is newly cut it is somewhat
[515] green. Its flowers are purple, and the Chiriguano chew them to whiten their teeth; they are bitter and because of this the tree is called "Tayi," or bitter, in Chiriguano, the whites call it lapacho.

CEIBA. -- A large tree with deformed trunk, and furnished with sharp points, broad leaves, and large, white flowers which produce a material similar to cotton without fibers, for which reason it is smoother and shinier; it is used for mattresses
[322] and pillows and candle wicks. The wood is spongy and not at
[415] all hard; from it are made troughs to hold water from year to year and in this way they are not soon damaged. Its ashes

/21 cont./

137 GUAYABO /guava/. -- This fruit-bearing tree is found
824 wild and cultivated; it is of medium size, and the fruit, when
[245] ripe, is yellow on the outside and purple on the inside, and
its bittersweet flavor is very pleasant and laxative. The green
fruit and the roots are astringent; the Chiriguano know it by
the same name. The wood has no use at all, and even if it
[262] did, the Indians would not use it because it produces edible fruit.
They regret it when any of these trees and others, like the
algarrobo, are destroyed.

GÜEMBE. -- This plant thrives on the trunks of high trees,
where it puts its root, and others which penetrate the ground
[492] hang down from there. The roots and lianas are dark in color;
very strong and durable halters are made from its bark; it is
not found everywhere. One encounters it from the left bank
of the Parapiti River; its fruit is similar to that of maize, for
which reason it is called maize of the air, and it is edible.

HIGUERA AMERICANA /Amerigan fig/. -- This is the
[262] guapoy of the Chiriguano and the bibosi of the populace; al-
though the fruit is rather sour, it is edible. Bats like it, and it
[757] is annoying to have this tree near the dwellings; it has a milky
juice like the common fig tree, which, applied to wounds,
heals them. In addition to the above fig tree, there is the
[245] common one which flourishes with very little care, in the towns,
[439] especially the Mission ones, it is widely cultivated by the
[431] natives and its fruit is used by them for gifts and trade with the
whites.

244 MANDIOCA. -- This plant is called "Mandio" or
"Mandiporopi" by the Chiriguano Indians. A little book
written by a Jesuit missionary of the old Paraguay missions
relates that this plant was left to those Indians by Saint
Thomas the Apostle who, according to their tradition, came
here to preach the doctrine of the Redeemer. Mandioca is
[252] an excellent food and very digestible; it is eaten boiled,
[262] roasted, and fried in lard. It is a plant cultivated by whites
and by Indians.

/22 cont./

137 824 is manufactured. On the slopes of the hills is also found the blackberry /zarzamora/, whose fruit is so pleasant to the palate, but whose thorn, which is like a cat's claw, is quite dangerous and barbed. The mulberry in Chiriguano is called "Tatayigua."

245 NARANJO /orange/. -- Neither the orange nor the lemon are native to the Chiriguano region, but they flourish greatly and grow to some height. Where it is easy to open irrigation ditches and possible to irrigate orange and lemon trees, they produce large, juicy fruit, the former being very sweet and the sourness of the latter being mild. The citron tree flourishes and is a plant imported here; its fruits are as big as gourds. The Chiriguano cultivate the orange tree here and there, but the whites cultivate it on a large scale; I know of some /23/ rather large orange groves, and they exist in nearly all the missions.

137 824 NOGAL. -- This tree of extraordinary height is only found wild; the leaves are very small and somewhat like those of the true nogal; the fruit is edible, but its shell is hard to crack. [258] The flavor and characteristics are the same as those of walnuts, so that oil, which is used instead of that from the olive, can be extracted from them. The wood is rather dark and good [322] for carpentry and cabinetwork, but it is inferior to that of the true nogal, which is found in the cultivated state where there [386] is sufficient moisture; a dark coffee-colored dye is prepared from the leaves, the bark of the trunk, or the roots, for dyeing wool, for staining other woods, and for printing ink.

NOPAL. -- This is the fruit-bearing plant which is most abundant in the region and which is found everywhere without any cultivation, for which reason it is most highly regarded by the Chiriguano, who is naturally lazy. But since it is sought [245] by the cattle, it is beginning to disappear or, more exactly, it is not found very much in the woods and clearings, but the Indian still cultivates it because it flourishes easily without need of irrigation and multiplies without the need of planting other shoots. It is convenient for the laziness of the Indian; the yellow flowers come out around each spathe and the fruit matures there as well; it is full of small seeds and sweet pulp, pleasant and refreshing. Some trees are covered with long

/24 cont./

245 PAPAYO. -- This tree is neither native like the palma Christi, nor is it found wild like the latter. It is grown in orchards or in well-fenced fields, grows very fast, and produces fruit one year after being planted. Its trunk is straight, soft, and hollow; some have two or three branches and rise up to four meters high. The fruit is refreshing, yellow, with a smooth skin, of the size and shape of a small melon, even the flavor being somewhat similar, but it is more digestible. Many fruits are bunched around the trunk and are also found here and there at each leaf, but always attached to the trunk. The plants which produce the fruit are the good ones, and they call them "females." There are others which they call "males," but their fruits are useless and are not attached to the trunk, but rather hang from it like streamers. It is useless to pick them. To have a good papayo tree they assert that, in transplanting one, it is necessary to take the precaution of always putting or burying two plants in each hole, one of which will always be a female, and the one which turns out to be male will be pulled out. I do not know if this is true, but I did it this way in January of this year. The fruit contains many seeds which, [757] when ground and drunk in an emulsion, are good for getting rid of worms. The fruit and the tree have a resinous milk. [252] Therefore, in order for the fruit to be good and digestible, it is better to cut off the ends and make about five or six vertical cuts so that this resin may come out; by the next day /illustration appears here/ /25/ it is already very pleasant. It is nevertheless best to take the precaution of letting them begin to ripen on the plant itself; in this condition, uncut, they will last up to six days without going bad; then they can easily be transported great distances.

137 824 [252] [262] PASSION FLOWER. -- This is a climber which is found on fences, clothing them in the rainy season with abundant foliage, as does the "supua," whose fruit is edible and good roasted or boiled, as is the leaf. The fruit of the passion flower is of the size of an apple and just as smooth, the skin is thin and the inside is found to be covered with a white, stringy membrane. When this is broken, the seeds of the fruit come

[Text Continues on P. 43]

4: Nino--42 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

•245

A Papaya Plant

/45 cont./

*136 Ants are a constant plague for the fields of maize which
*825 they destroy completely when they germinate; they are also
● 245 a plague for gardens and grapevines, which in certain years wasps and black butterflies also greatly damage; they damage the grape when it is ripening. The latter can only be killed and destroyed by placing honey in bowls, where they die during the night by the thousands. The former are destroyed only by burning, thus destroying the bunches of grapes in which they have lodged. In Chiriguano ants are called "Tasi," and the black butterfly is called "Covocovo."

*136 Locusts and worms do not constitute a constant plague.
*825 The former come in certain years, and the latter appear when, in November, there are many white butterflies which place their eggs in the grass. Worms generally travel by night, in the early morning, and in the afternoon, and flying locust from ten o'clock until four or five in the afternoon; wherever its larva goes, the fields are left as though they had been swept. The larva does not retreat, nor does it deviate from its course; it goes eastward and toward the hills, crossing pampas and climbing mountains. If one stops them on their way, they are able to remain for a month in the same spot. Their number can only be reduced by killing them in the ditches; nevertheless, when the maize plants are about 60 centimeters high, the larvae pass under them without doing great damage, and in this case it is best to let them pass and hurry them slightly. With daily struggle one can manage to defend a field against the larvae, even though they may be countless but to defend it against the worm is impossible.

*136 The locust is white and red; the latter is called "Tucupinta,"
*[825] the former "Tucunti," in Chiriguano. The white one appears at the end of October or at the beginning of November, and its passage through a region is not rapid; it will remain for days and weeks flying from south to north and vice versa, until it has deposited its eggs, which are put in the ground by the female, assisted by the male. They consist of a little cylinder about three centimeters long which contains up to a hundred eggs. Once the tube is put in the ground, the hole is closed with a yellow humor which comes out of the

/244 cont./

252 262 Gourds are eaten boiled, roasted, and in broth; the seed is enjoyed when roasted with maize meal, parched maize, or beans. They also eat them as broth, which they call Gilindaca mi quira, or grease of the gourd, to which they add chili pepper and salt, just as they do with beans cooked in ollas with the whole pod, which they call Sopirigua.

241 If the Chiriguano manages to plant a little maize beans /poroto/, and gourds, he is content and stops planting other, less important seeds. Few plant Yeti, sweet potato, Mandiporopi, mandioca, Tacuanee, sugar cane, and Monduvi, peanut. They all plant watermelons and other melons; many plant figs and tunas, or nopal, and few cultivate orange trees, because this Indian has little patience for waiting on the ingratitude of certain plants which require much care and are very slow in yielding fruit (2).

[192] [197] 2. Names for watermelon /sandía/ and melon /melón/ do not exist in the Chiriguano language, which indicates that these fruits were introduced by the whites, from whom the Indians got them.

222 245 262 The nopal is very abundant in this area, rising to some three or four meters; its fruit is very exquisite, as everyone knows. Its cultivation is nil; it is enough to pluck off a branch of the main plant and bury it halfway, and its sweet fruit will ripen from the second year on. It is the plant that the Chiriguano value most.

245 Even the fig tree, which also needs little care, is cultivated. They call it Iva, as well as calling the nopal Saini, and both plants seem to be native, because they grow in hot places, and the name indicates that they have always had them. The fig tree requires more cultivation than the nopal, but this is relatively insignificant; they pull off a branch, plant it during the rainy season, and let it grow fully without pulling off any shoots (3).

439 3. Whites who live among the Indians are

/338 cont./

241 Sorghum (triku) (Sorghum sacchariferum) (1):

[262] 1. Sorghum is cultivated only on a very small scale. It is a delicacy that the Chiriguano reserve for children, who suck its stalk.

/339/ Sugar cane:
Melons:
Watermelons (sandias):
Prickly pear (saini) (Opuntia spec.):
Fig trees:
Orange trees (in the missions).

[199] The Chiriguano cultivate only on a very small scale the plants which, like sorghum, sugar cane, fig trees, and orange trees, have been introduced by the Europeans. Of these only melons enjoy general favor.

248 They always devote some parts of their fields to the cultivation of plants of value only for their arts and manufactures. These are: cotton plants (mandiyú), cucurbitaceous plants (iá) which grow on the ground next to their squash and furnish the containers they need, roucou (urukú), which scarcely exists except in the northern part of their habitat, and finally a species of reed (Arundo donax) with which they make the shafts of their arrows.

249 They also plant tobacco (pĕtĭ), but I have never seen any in their fields. According to Nordenskiöld (10, p. 25), its cultivation is insignificant and rare. The Chiriguano are not great smokers, and the numerous packs of cigarettes I took along for them found only a few devotees. Among the Toba, Matako /Mataco/, or Chorotí /Choroti/ my stocks would have been exhausted in the wink of an eye, for these Indians love tobacco more than anything in the world.

[276] [123]

276 The use of tobacco among the ancient Chiriguano, as among their ancestors in Paraguay or Brazil, was reserved for the medicine men for their magical operations. Their use made of it a plant endowed with "mystical" virtues, and its

756 824 [178]

/338 cont./

241 Sorghum (triku) (Sorghum saccharíferum) (1):

[242] 1. Sorghum is cultivated only on a very small scale. It is a delicacy that the Chiriguano reserve for children, who suck its stalk.

/339/ Sugar cane:
Melons:
Watermelons (sandia):
Prickly pear (saini) (Opuntia spec.):
Fig trees:
Orange trees (in the missions).

[177] The Chiriguano cultivate only on a very small scale the plants which, like sorghum, sugar cane, fig trees, and orange trees, have been introduced by the Europeans. Of these only melons enjoy general favor.

248 They always devote some parts of their fields to the cultivation of plants of value only for their arts and manufactures. These are: cotton plants (mandiyú), cucurbitaceous plants (iá) which grow on the ground next to their squash and furnish the containers they need, roucou (urukú), which scarcely exists except in the northern part of their habitat, and finally a species of reed (Arundo donax) with which they make the shafts of their arrows.

●249 They also plant tobacco (pétí), but I have never seen any in their fields. According to Nordenskiöld (10, p. 25), its cultivation is insignificant and rare. The Chiriguano are not [276] [123] great smokers, and the numerous packs of cigarettes I took along for them found only a few devotees. Among the Toba, Matako /Mataco/, or Chorotí /Choroti/ my stocks would have been exhausted in the wink of an eye, for these Indians love tobacco more than anything in the world.

276 The use of tobacco among the ancient Chiriguano, as among 756 their ancestors in Paraguay or Brazil, was reserved for the 824 medicine men for their magical operations. Their use made [178] of it a plant endowed with "mystical" virtues, and its

/339 cont./
consumption was limited (1).

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.

We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the Indians of the Caruruti region in Caipipendi valley. From the end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6).[1]

This temporary migration of the whole population of a village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

[1] [Fig 6 appears on p. 69-- Analyst]

/340 cont./

421 Property is a sacred thing among the Chiriguano, and the nearest relatives cannot dispose of their belongings without their formal consent.

241 115 123 At the time of my stay in Carurutí, I once asked my old friend "Captain" Karnapadyú to take me to his field. He was very

249 407 797 142 291

Fig. 7. Mill for grinding sugar cane at the Ivu mission. (Photo. A. M.)

241 115 [123] touched by /Plate VI appears here/ /341/ the interest that my wish implied and in an instant showed himself ready to do the honors.

His field was about 700 meters from the village on top of one of the cliffs which border the "quebrada" /ravine/ of Carurutí. Access to it was by a steep path across fallen rocks. The entrance [351] to the field was closed by a hedge composed of tree trunks and [417] thorny shrubs which we climbed over with the help of an Indian-style ladder, That is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps.

[Text continues on p. 74]

/26 cont./

137 824 SOTO. -- This gigantic tree is found everywhere from the province of Tomina, but there are places where it is more abundant. In the spring, when the budding begins, its leaves are red, and later they turn green. In the autumn its fruit, which the parrots like, are red and are in bunches like cherries. Seen from a distance by a European, he thinks they are cherries. The wood of the soto is strong and does not rot; in dampness or in water it is better than iron, since it does not deteriorate. [342] It is very widely used in the construction of houses, especially when they are of frame construction. A great deal of tannin, which the Europeans use in tanneries, is extracted from the soto. It is called palo cuchi by the whites here and "Urundei" by the Chiriguano.

• 249 TOBACCO. -- An annual plant which flourishes everywhere, but only the whites cultivate it on a large scale, especially in Sapirangui and Chiquiacá, whose products have some fame. Even an occasional Indian cultivates it for his own use and to give to his friends. There is another similar plant, and, when he lacks real tobacco, the Indian deceives himself with its leaves. The true tobacco is called "peenti" in Chiriguano, and the other "huacapeenti," which, literally explained, means "cow tobacco." 276 In Bolivia there is considerable consumption of tobacco wrapped in paper or maize husks; rarely does one see cigars of pure tobacco, like the Havanas and others; the Chiriguano smokes a lot and acquires the habit at a tender age. [857] Children of four years of age have already begun to smoke; [562] women also smoke.

137 824 TACUARA. -- In the past when there were no cattle, the tacuara, or hollow cane, was very abundant; vestiges still remain of some immense canebrakes, but the plant has been [435] reduced almost to the cultivated one, with the result that what was previously found in the forest at the disposal of the first occupant is found today in the possession of private parties, and anyone who is planning to build a dwelling must pay for hollow cane at the rate of 80 centavos per hundred, and the worst of it is that it is not found everywhere. This lack is made up for by small rods from trees, but these are neither as light nor always

/26 cont./

137 824 as straight as cane. Beyond Santa Cruz there are still groves; in addition there are groves of another cane called "Bambú," which is the best known, and in Chiriguano it is called "Tacuarembo." It rises to a height of about 15 meters and is [417] used for making /27/ ladders and scaffolding in construction because it is light and strong. The shoots are tender and con- • 249 tain a sugary substance highly regarded by the Indians; it is not sought much today, because there are abundant plantings of sugar cane, which is of great utility for the production of sugar and alcohol. This last thrives with great ease and little work. Planting is done in two ways, making furrows and burying it or planting cuttings. The former is the better method where the 137 824 freshets of the rivers do not penetrate. On the slopes and tops of hills which contain water there is another sort of slender cane, very strong and heavy, which is not hollow like the other classes and is called caña brava by the whites, and [285] "Tacuarembo" by the Chiriguano. They use it for weavers' [513] reeds and for sleeping cots.

TAMARIND. -- This beautiful and useful tree is not native, but it thrives with enough care and grows to a respectable height; the fruit that it produces is abundant, consisting of abundant pods more or less the size of chick-pea pods; the pulp is blackish and pleasant to the taste, but it is bad for [757] the teeth. It is astringent and is administered as medicine for intestinal inflammations, especially to children. It is also [272] a good tonic drink on excessively hot days; it is prepared with sugar, water, and a little of its pulp. The tree is rather sensitive to cold, and the flowers wilt easily with the south wind. For this reason the whites plant it in their patios, which are surrounded by the living quarters.

TARINGUI. -- The name of this tree is Chiriguano. The taringui is found in some regions, but not in others. It is of the cactus variety, rises up to six meters, its branchage is abundant and close, which gives a fine shade against the blazing rays of the sun. Its branches or leaves are striated and armed with spines; the fruit is tiny, but sweet and otherwise pleasant, and much liked by foxes, who only get it when it falls from the tree. The ulala or opuntia is smaller than the taringui, its leaves have the same form, the color is ash-gray and they are less a abundant, or, more properly, few. The fruit is a smooth berry

/184 cont./

323 the force of the heat and remains over the paintings like a
[237] binder, without which they would disappear the first time it was used. The Taragüirisi remains on the vessels like a light coat of rubber and the white of the Tovanti becomes opaque (2).

2. When a pot is slightly damaged, they heat it in the fire and on the inside and outside apply the Taragüirisi, and it is as good as before.

/185/ Textiles

286 Another important occupation of the Chiriguano woman
462 is weaving the Asoya for her husband, brother, or son, and the
[294] Cutama for herself. For this she prepares the wool or cotton, spins it opposite the way the mestizo and European women spin, and then bleaches it and finally dyes it.

286 In order to weave, they set up two tall, slender forked sticks in the house, with two sticks across, one above and one below, and arrange or place the threads vertically, and then sit on the ground and begin to run the woof through, thread by thread, which they hit with a pointed stick of soto wood called Piuca. This, to be sure, is time consuming, if the threads are fine, but, on the other hand, the work is very durable.

291 Ponchos, Asoya, are of two types, one of wool and one
286 of cotton; the first are common from the right bank of the
231 Parapiti River southward and the second from the left bank
249 northward, because in the first region sheep are plentiful, and
[184] in the second, cotton fields. Formerly, before the whites intro-
[177] duced cattle into the region, cotton was cultivated everywhere, and from its product the men were dressed for ceremonies in their Tíru and the women in the Mandu, which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

/243 cont./

244 one preferred by the Chiriguano, and he has good reason, as it is quite edible, the least damaging to health, in addition to being the seed which is most resistant to drought. It is very abundant, and as many as four harvests can be taken from it.

262 252 [244] The Chiriguano plants whatever type of beans /judías/ he has or can obtain from his neighbors or companions when he runs short, because only in the case of maize, which he prefers to eat parched and not boiled, does he plant several varieties. All beans /alubia/ are good to the Indian because of the use that he makes of them, which is to boil them and eat them, to roast them under hot ashes with their pods, or, by making a hole in the ground, to heat it and burying the pods there so that they will cook.

244 If the Chiriguano frequently lacks beans to mix with the maize, it is unlikely that he will be without gourds, which grow with little cultivation and which are so resistant to drought; it is also extremely easy for him to plant this food, so much so that women and children devote themselves to it, because not many plants are needed in a plot for an abundant harvest.

244 262 [415] Twelve classes of gourds are known, but only five are edible; the other seven are used for matés. The edible ones are the following: Andai, Güindaca guasu, Güindaca mi, Güindaca mi guasu, yiquisigua; the latter has an edible interior and the exterior is useful for domestic purposes, to keep
● 249 any object in its hard shell. The gourds that serve for matés are Iá, true maté; Iá pua, round maté; Iámpe, flattened maté; /244/ Iá guasu, large maté; Iá-rai, small maté, Iá pucú, long maté, and Iá pani, twisted maté (1).

1. The Indian does not include in the number of gourds the one the two children used to free themselves from the deluge of water because it was a miraculous one.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
362
171*
283

RUTH HAEBLER, a pupil of MAX SCHMIDT, has endeavoured to shew that this is not correct. After examining a number of hammocks in German museums, she arrived at the conclusion that, in the majority of these, both palm-fibre and cotton had been used — palmfibre for the warp and cotton for the woof — and that the notion that the Arawaks have hammocks of palm-fibre only, while Caribs have only cotton hammocks, is wrong. For the rest, hammocks of mixed materials are also mentioned by PATER SCHMIDT, who thus devoted attention to this matter when he was investigating hammocks. ROTH, too, mentions from Guiana hammocks of bast with a woof of cotton. The fact really is that all the hammocks described as having a bast warp and cotton woof are from the Upper Xingú or from Guiana tracts, where there dwell Arawaks, Caribs and Tupi. If we study the appended map and table, which are based on very extensive material, we shall find that, within an immense region about the Amazon, the Indians use hammocks of palm-fibre exclusively, and that in the rest of S. America it is more especially the least civilized tribes, e. g. Siriono, Huari, Waika and others, who use bast or palm-fibre hammocks exclusively. On the coast of Brazil, the more civilized Tupi had cotton hammocks, while the less civilized tribes used palm-fibre. I would consequently account for the distribution of hammocks of different materials in the following way: — Originally the Indians in the whole of tropical S. America had hammocks of palm-fibre or bast exclusively. When the art of cultivating cotton spread from the west, many tribes began to use cotton hammocks or, in some districts, hammocks of palm-fibre with a cotton woof. Where cotton-growing remained unknown, or was inconsiderable, as among the Arawaks of N W Brazil, hammocks made entirely of palm-fibre were still used.

Which tribes spread the knowledge of cotton growing? Certainly not the Arawaks, who within large tracts

C
Ce
[249]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
352
249
*171
283

do not even spin. It must, above all, have been the Tupi - Guarani. They are known for their manufacture of cotton hammocks. The Omagua who dwell (have dwelt?) in a tract where they and the Cocama are the only Tupi Indians, use hammocks both of palm-fibre and of cotton. All the neighbouring tribes have nothing but palm-fibre hammocks. Some Tupi at the Upper Xingú use palm-fibre hammocks with a woof of cotton. RUTH HAEBLER mentions two hammocks of bast from the Cainguá. Otherwise, the Tupi tribes use cotton hammocks, as has been pointed out by PATER SCHMIDT. The Caribs, too, have undoubtedly contributed to the spread of cotton-growing and the use of cotton hammocks, for it is very evident that in Guiana especially, they have used, and still use, cotton in their hammocks far more than the Arawaks. The distribution of cotton hammocks in S. America cannot be properly understood except in connection with the general history of the cultivation of cotton. It is highly probable that it was from the western area of civilization in S. America that the knowledge of cotton-growing spread over a

C
Ce
[174]

considerable part of the continent. It is very likely that, in post-Columbian times, the practice of growing cotton has spread to a good many tribes who formerly were ignorant of it. We must remember that cotton has been grown at such mission-stations as in Mojos on a very large scale.

C
Ce
352
249
*171

It must also be remembered that the history of the cultivation of cotton is of especial interest, because the cotton bush is one of the few cultivated plants that in pre-Columbian time were common to both the Old and New World. Consequently, it would be very interesting if we could prove that cotton was first used in S. America within the old culture areas, and there only after the Indians had reached a comparatively high state of civilization.

C
Ce
352
*171
[554]

It is not quite right to say that the hammock was not used within the culture-area of the west. It was used — not as a bed, but as a litter for persons of rank. This is

7,Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

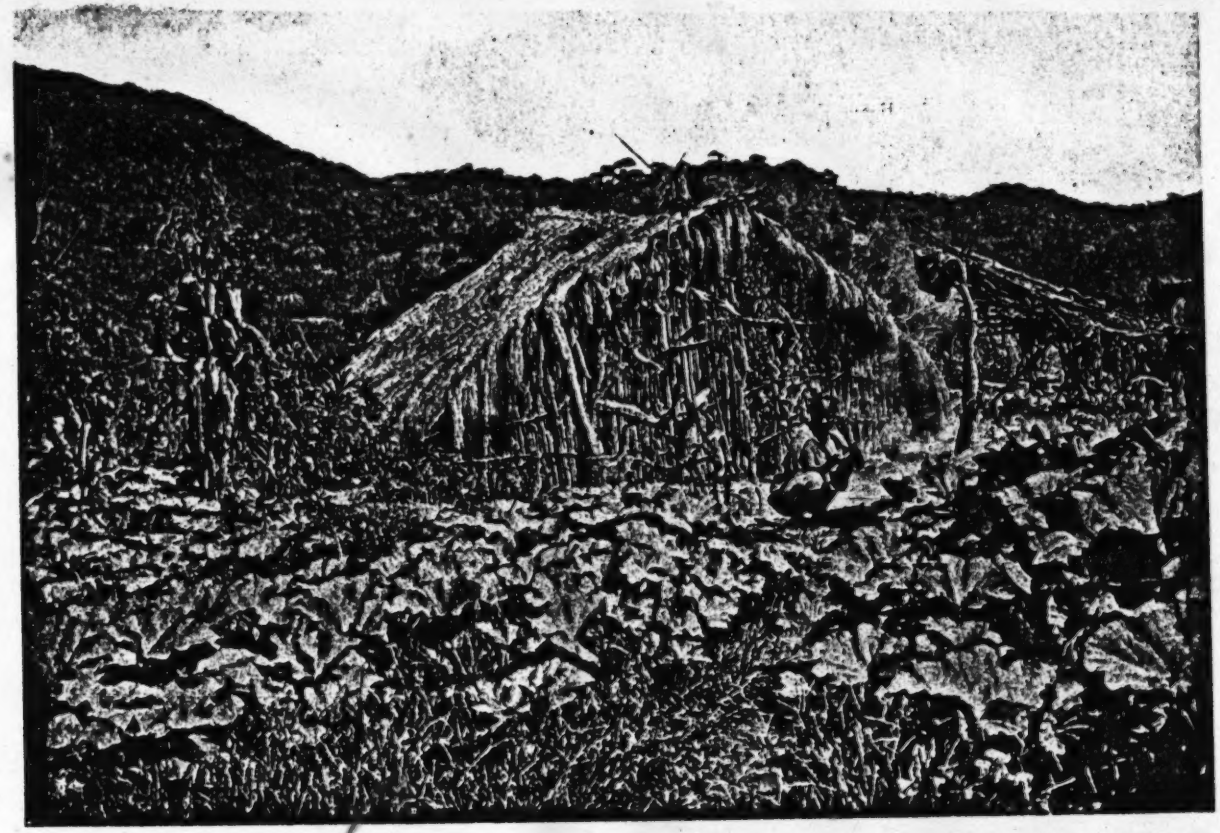


Fig. 189. Woman at a cooking-fire in front of her hut. In the foreground a gourd-patch; to the right an open cooking shed, the roof of which was used as a rough pantry. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

249 343 516 133 252

C. Ce 415 /21 cont./

The largest of these calabashes measures 50 cm. and the smallest 7.5 cm.

Stimulants

Ce 276 The Izozó whom I found in Toledo were not smokers. They attached no importance to the tobacco and pipes that I offered them. I acquired from the Chiriguano a simple wooden pipe, straight in shape, of the kind commonly used among the tribes of the Chaco, but I have seen no other pipes among them; neither have I seen them smoking.

C 276 [126]

C [126]

Pipe (cachimbo) in the Collection

I. A. 740. Chiriguano. Length 10.5 cm. (Fig. 23.)

C Ce 249 276 According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano and the Chané plant tobacco, but its planting is not significant and they are not great smokers. If they smoke, they ordinarily use cigarettes, with a wrapper made out of a maize leaf, and only rarely use pipes (87). This explains the very uncharacteristic form of the

C 276

87. Nord. I, p. 182. Cf. Métraux I, p. 339.

pipe that I found among the Chiriguano. A pipe of very different shape, with a special handle in front of the tobacco bowl, is represented in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (88). According to

C [177]

88. Nord. I, p. 179. Fig. 88.

the same author, the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua have received from the latter the custom of chewing coca.

/342 cont./

243 Wives accompany their husbands to the fields. They
462 spend the day there spinning, sewing, grilling ears of corn, or
[482] roasting manioc. In the evening, if they return to the village, the wife comes back bent under the weight of her añapoka, or carrying-net, full of ears of corn. Sometimes the men help
[492] them. Those who have donkeys and horses use them as beasts of burden.

482 Transport of corn is done generally with the help of the carrying-net, but makeshifts let them do without it in case of necessity. The ears of corn are held together in bundles by means of leaves which encompass them and are suspended from a flexible switch bent in the shape of a figure eight. When the two loops are balanced, one can raise them by grasping them by the middle.

● 251 In the village the ears are either stored in granaries on piles, to which steps cut in a tree trunk (Fig. 9) lead, or kept in the hut where a special corner has been made into a compartment. A tree trunk tipped with a natural fork may serve /Plate VII appears here/ /343/ as a storage place for corn. The ears, tied into bundles, are piled between the two branches of the fork (Fig. 10).

243 Formerly, before their dreadful decline began, the
789 Chiriguano had recourse to magical ceremonies to hasten the ripening of corn and to avoid drought or too great an abundance of rain. /Fig. 9 appears here./

When the sun threatened to burn the harvest, they had one or several medicine men come who were charged with bringing the recalcitrant clouds. Provided with a cigar, they went around the fields blowing the smoke in every direction (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 167). The symbolism of this rite of homeopathic magic is clear: the smoke represents the clouds which the ipaye is to gather.

[526] The game of mboto represents the survival of a magical
[178] ceremony having to do with the growth of corn and its maturing.

[Text Continues on P. 78]

/341/

526 In the Chiriguano missions or in the villages of the Cai-
178 pipendí valley one finds on the large village plaza /Fig. 10
243 appears here/ an abundance of onion-like objects made of leaves
789 of corn folded together (Fig. 11). Children throw them to each other with the flat of the hand and try to catch them again before they fall to the ground. A hurried traveler would see in this

343
251

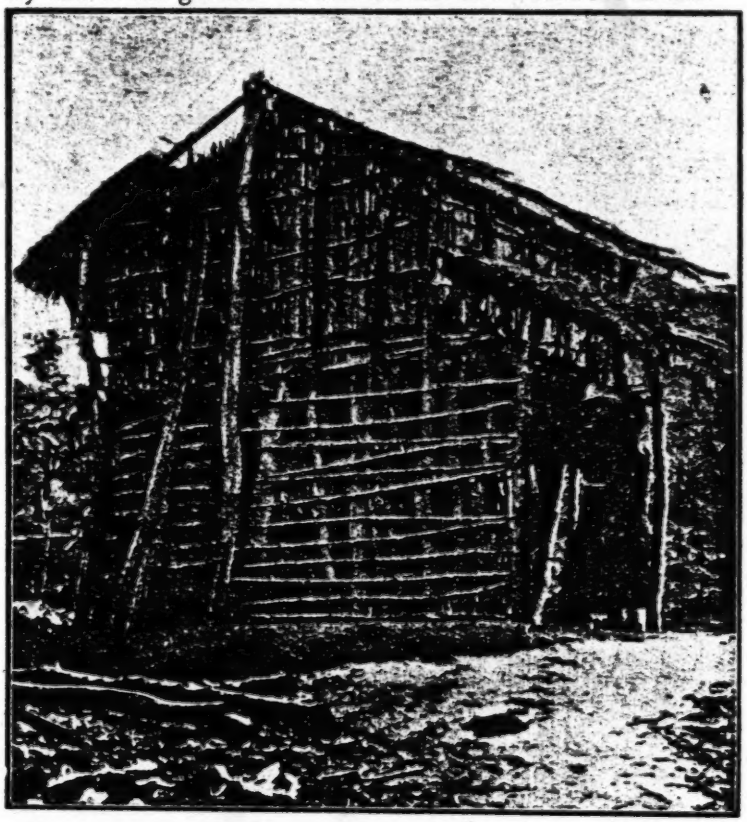


Fig. 9. Corncrib on piles (avatió). Ivu. (Photo. A.M.)

526 game only an Indian form of our court tennis or a rudimentary
178 tennis. Actually, this is certainly the present significance of
243 this amusement. In olden days the meaning was not the same,
789 as I learned in the Machareti mission. Only a few years ago mboto was played only at the time when the corn was beginning to ripen. The children formed a circle and threw this kind of shuttlecock to one another. If by chance one of them let it fall through inadvertance or awkwardness, he left the place

/344 cont./

526 immediately, chased by his comrades who pulled his hair
178 energetically. The awkward player who threw the ball in such
243 a way that his partner could not catch it was in the same
789 category as the one who let it fall, on condition, however, that his opposite number had not made the gesture of catching it. Once the corn was ripe, they stopped playing mboto.

526
171
→

[179]
→

The game of mboto has a wide distribution in South America, but it is limited to the populations of the Amazonian basin and the Guianas. Doubtless the Chiriguano introduced it into the Chaco (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 168).

417
●251
824

Fig. 10. Forked tree on which the Chiriguano pile corn inside their huts. This device may have given rise to the corncribs on piles.

526 This game without any doubt derives
789 from a magical rite whose object was to pro-
243 mote the beneficial course of the sun and to oblige it to shine without interruption to make the corn ripen. The straw shuttlecock represents the sun. The period when this game is played and the meaning the Chiriguano attach to it make my hypothesis a very likely one. Preuss demonstrated that in all of Central America and even in North America the /345/ tennis game arose out of a magical operation intended to influence the sun.

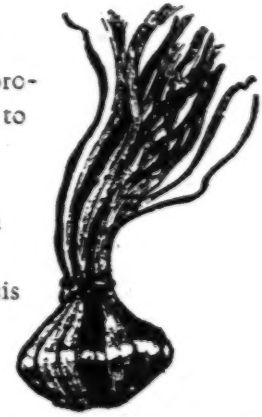


Fig. 11. Straw shuttlecock (mboto), accessory for the game of the same name. Prov.: Carurutí. (1/3 nat. size.)

/345 cont./

241 The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields.
115 "Captain" Karnapadyú made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations, without sparing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I answered that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

243 The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for
593 her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of
583 it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano
606

[585]

1. Corrado (p. 155) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacras nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whose laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

433
224 I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano vil-
178 lages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game. It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo,
[251] chuña /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Nino, pp. 249-258).

/349 cont./

556 tendency to estimate the value of objects in cows. For example,
[435] a loom with a nearly finished poncho was offered to me "for
[439] a cow," and the owner of the loom could not understand that it was difficult for me to convert the exchange into money.

262 Charqui, or meat dried in the sun, most often replaces
[251] fresh meat in the menus of our Indians. It is not a question of preference, but of necessity. Charqui is cheap and is bought in any estancia.

Fishing

221 When I went through the Chiriguano villages of the upper
226 Pilcomayo and the Parapití, the rivers were in flood, the corn was ripening in the fields, and no Indian wanted to let the parrots eat his corn in order to go to catch fish at the risk of getting himself carried off by the current. If I had come back to these same villages in July or August, the scene would have been completely different. The rivers would have been only thin trickles of water, and in every direction I should have perceived men /350/ and women busy fishing. The fishing season would have been at its height.

[178] The Chiriguano, having come from a country rich in watercourses, have in this respect preserved the traditions of their ancestors of the Paraná or the Paraguay.

226 Some, equipped with large landing nets (Fig. 18), form barriers against the current and advance, gathering the fish as if
[227] with a spoon. Then they grab them and attach them to their
[482] belts, after /Fig. 18 appears here/ threading them on a cord by means of a wooden needle (Fig. 19). Others lie in wait for a fish in the water and, as it goes by, impale it with an arrow equipped with several points (Fig. 20) or simply with two long, barbed wooden rods. Some, with the help of stone barriers, try to make the fish converge toward the opening of a wicker trap (1). Sometimes a group of individuals turn aside a

1. Compare Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260): "in summer (the Chiriguano) divert a stretch of the river; they leave the fish in the drained

/352 cont./

C 252 The fish begins by being opened and cleaned and only then is it boiled or roasted. In this last case it is inserted between the two branches of a switch split for three quarters of its length (Fig. 22). So that the latter does not open completely, the lower part is fastened securely with bands of bark, and so that the fish does not fall out once it is inserted in the interstice, the upper part. Among their ancestors, the Guarani, G [252] such a spit would have been superfluous, because to grill the product of their fishing or hunting they used to construct C [251] [262] buccans. Our Chiriguano also eat fish dried in the sun and enjoy it in this form combined with some corn dish.

/353/

Chapter IV

Cooking

Fire

C 372 177 The modern Chiriguano more and more use matches of Bolivian make, but their poor quality has contributed to maintaining the popularity of the tinderbox. That of the Chiriguano, borrowed recently from the white men, is composed of a flint and a piece of iron with which they make sparks fly, which fall on a little wild cotton (the one which the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) produces). This tow (tata rimbiuna) is kept in a small receptacle made from the end of a cow horn or an armadillo tail. /Figs. 23 and 24 appear here./ It is hermetically sealed by a wooden disk, which a small cord passing inside the capsule and coming out through a hole at the tip of the horn or tail allows to be put back in place with a single motion. This ingenious contrivance is not, however, of Indian invention; I saw it adapted to the tinderboxes of the creoles in the Argentine Republic. Some Chiriguano make cloth wicks which at first sight would seem C [415] [281] to have been produced in one of our factories. The tinderbox with its accessories is carefully kept in small bags of deerskin, wildcat, iguana, etc. (Figs. 23 and 24).

/8 cont./

133 The rivers which bathe the Chiriguano region are four: the Pilcomayo, the Parapiti, the Grande or Guapay River, and the Acero. The Pilcomayo begins in the northwest of Potosí Department and crosses Chiriguano country in the southeast. Its water, sweet and clear up to the southern part of [135] Igüembe Canton, is somewhat salty in Huacaya and Villamontes, because to the southeast of Ibopeiti it receives as a tributary the Salado River with its rather abundant waters; these waters are quite salty, because they pass through the salt flats of O'Connor Province. Its bed is wide and shallow, but its flow is very abundant from December to April, because this is the rainy season. If in Villamontes the Germans or others open the great canal proposed by the Supreme Government, the navigation of this river up to the estuaries /esteros/ of the P. Patiño, even in small boats, will be made nearly impossible, because there will not be enough water for it.

136 In the Pilcomayo fish are abundant: bagre, shad /sábalo/, and dorado; some of the latter are very large, up to a meter and a half in length. The first freshets of the rainy season wash up and kill many fish, leaving them stretched out on the ground on both banks or piling them up like stones or firewood. Then 226 the Chiriguano Indians, the Toba, and Mataco fill their houses, and dogs and crows come there by the thousands and stuff themselves, while the air is full of unbearable miasmas.

[221] The most satisfactory and safest season for fishing is from the May cold until the end of July and in certain years up to [251] the middle of August; then all the Indians are fishermen; they fish for themselves and for trading; they open the fish though the middle vertically and dry it in the sun. If nobody goes [438] there to barter, they go off to sell it at 20 centavos apiece, [435] but generally during the fishing season the tribes far from the rivers go to the banks of same, taking maize or parched meal and bringing back abundant fish. /Illustration appears here./

/178 cont./

353 [356] Chiriguano towns attract the attention of all travelers and explorers because of the cleanliness which reigns in their houses, which, despite having a notable quantity of furnishings, are well kept up through the assiduous work of the mistress of the house. [415] [352] Jars with wide mouths are in the corners; those with narrow mouths, in which the chicha must ferment, lean vertically against the walls; the plates and spoons are on small triangular tables of hollow cane in the corners; small ollas are placed inside the empty large pots, and these in times of abundance, and even in times of scarcity, are full, some with shelled maize, others with beans and gourd seeds, and others with wool and cotton for making ponchos, blankets, or outer garments.

[824] [251] /179/ Above, at an appropriate height, they hang a mat of hollow cane or little sticks well tied together well with Ivi, or ceiba, and there they put other trifles or small things, when they do not have anything else to put there, such as cheeses and charqui, or dried meat. The mat is usually hung on one side of the house on one of the rafters by means of thongs of cowhide or other material. They are placed there so as not to be in the way of those who must pass beneath (1).

[824]

1. The Ivi is a species of ceiba, samuu, but it does not have points like the latter. There is another called Cuari or Tayipiruru, which is very straight, has very strong fibers, and is only cut at the branches in order to pull off the bark. A fourth type of ceiba is called Iviru guasu: it is large and smooth. Each type has its congenial place, like every tree.

Finally, in the corners of the house or where it is most convenient, up high, they put one or more cords, which form an angle from one wall to the other, and there each member of the family puts his own clothing and the men hang the harness of their beasts of burden. Today the Chiriguano who are not lazy are not so poor, and when one enters a house one is amazed by all the abundance of furnishings so well arranged.

/349 cont./

Hunters

224 So that there may be plenty of food at the public drinking, the men, as soon as they have finished the job of bringing in firewood, take their bows and arrows, and horses if they have any, and go hunting. The places are suitable for the purpose: some hunt Taitetu, wild boars; others pursue the Yandu, ostrich; many go in search of Picanuguam, large pigeons. Teruti, turtledoves, Picüi, little doves. They also hunt Guasu, /250/ pygmy deer; Sariama, chuñas /cranes/; Ayuru, parrots; and Tatu, quiriquinchos /armadillos/ (1).

[262] 1. The armadillos are of several types: the meat of the Taturapia, balled armadillo, is not good, because it feeds on carcasses; the meat of the rest is better than that of the pig /chancho/; it is not harmful like that of the latter.

• [251] The hunters take some 15 or 20 days to return, but as they take game, they cut it open, clean it, and dry it in the sun, so that it will not spoil, because they do not carry salt, since they do not have it, for making jerky or charqui.

224 Almost all the Chiriguano are hunters, and the infinite number
231 of dogs that they keep in their houses have the ability to pursue the wild boar, the quiriquincho /armadillo/, the ostrich, the chuña /crane/, or the pygmy deer. These dogs are almost like Old World wolves, with pointed ears and a curled tail; they are so skinny they look like harps, so bad with mestizo, and whites that it seems that they have learned to hate them as their owners do, and they are so attached to the latter that they never leave their side. They go with them everywhere; it is not unusual to see an Indian who is going to the field followed or preceded by eight or ten dogs, who are falling down from being so thin, and yet, should they flush a pygmy deer or a chuña, they will not let it get away. To walk alone at night through a Chiriguano town is to expose oneself to being eaten alive by these hungry tigers who all gather when the first one barks.

C
Ce
352
191

/177 cont./one also sees hammocks in the huts but they are not common. The hammock is native to tropical South America, but it disappears toward the south and in the mountains, for there it is too cold to use it. /Figs. 85 and 86 appear here./

Ce
343
419

Fig. 84a. Maize granary. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

C
Ce
352
353
[251]

From the roof of the hut, on hooks and racks, hang clothing and provisions, medicine, and other things. Here the men also keep their bows and arrows, their drums, and similar things. Maize ears are hung by liana loops.

When I offered a

/182 cont./ Chacobo a

cigarette, he took only a few puffs, kept the smoke in his mouth for a few seconds, and then threw the cigarette away. Nevertheless, the Chacobo plant tobacco, but use it exclusively as a remedy. If a Chacobo gets a "boro," a fly larva, "Dermatomya," under his skin, he covers the fly larva's entry spot with tobacco powder and is then able to squeeze out the dead larva in a few hours. The Choroti and Ashluslay are passionate smokers. /183/ For them smoking is one of the greatest enjoyments of life. These contrasts are quite strange.

The Chiriguano and the Chané have extensive plantings which, in contrast to the clearings of the Choroti and Ashluslay in the wilderness, are well tended. In former times they used spades made of hard wood with attractive handles (Fig. 89), but these have now gone out of use and have been entirely supplanted by iron spades. Not infrequently the fields lie far from the villages, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley. This is due to the fact that water is not available throughout the year everywhere in the vicinity of the plantings.

As has been mentioned, the produce obtained is stored in granaries built on piles (Fig. 84), so that it will be at least somewhat protected from rats, moisture, etc. These granaries are seen everywhere, except among the Chané on the Rio Pilcomayo.

The fields are fenced in with fences built brush-shaped, which are often difficult to climb over. There is no fertilization of the fields. On the other hand, a field that has been exhausted is left to lie fallow.

The time of sowing is determined by the position of the Pleiades, "ychu." When this passes across the horizon very early in the morning, it is sowing time. When the rainy season begins, everything must be sowed.

The men clear and sow. Everyone helps with the harvest, men, women, and children. Among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley the men sowed the maize, that is, they took care of the larger plantings, whereas the women were gardeners and planted gourds, beans, etc.

/189 cont./

Meat is cooked with maize as a soup or roasted. Before it is placed in the pot, it is washed clean. Fish are roasted over the fire in clamps /Klammern/ or in maize leaves. The small fish which I saw prepared in this way are taken out only when they are eaten. If there are many fish, they are dried for future use.

Especially in times of famine, various /Fig. 92b appears here/ wild plants are also eaten. Salt, which is now bought from the whites, is used for food. In former times it was fetched from the rock-salt pits on the San Luis, on the way from the city of Tarija to the Chaco, or salt was made from saliferous earth, "yukin." The earth mixed with salt was placed in a bowl of water, sank to the bottom, and the salt water was used.

Fig. 92a. Steaming apparatus. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

Women and men eat separately. At home the men usually eat first and then the women and children. The Indians want to be left alone when they are eating. It is therefore extremely ill-mannered to speak to them during this important activity.

/190/ As far as I saw, they do not eat out of a common dish, but each one eats out of his bowl. After meals they rinse their mouths and wash their hands by spitting the rinse water over their fingers.

/22 cont./

352 The Chiriguano generally sleeps on a kind of cot (catre),
513 that is, a bed frame made of cane. Such beds, which in
addition to their own purpose also serve for drying maize, have
[251] been represented in drawings by Eric v. Rosen (95), Erland

95. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 190.

[174] v. Nordenskiöld (96), and Métraux (97). No doubt /23/ the
[178]

96. Nord. 2, Fig. 2.

97. Métraux 1, Fig. 125, p. 470.

cold climate of the region to which the Chiriguano had emigrated made them abandon the use of the hammock for sleeping, not very practical for such a climate, and replace it with the cot, which was already common among the tribes of those
[232] regions. Lacking a cot, the Chiriguano sleep on the ground.
[824] In that case they use for a bed large mats made of cane or palm
[126] leaves, or also hides (98). I acquired from the Chiriguano one
[824]

98. Nord. 1, p. 177. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 200. Métraux 1, p. 470.

such mat plaited out of palm leaves (Fig. 95).

Chiriguano Mat (tupa) in the Collection

I. A. 540. Length 1.75 m. Width 1.50 m. (Fig. 95).

352 In some Chiriguano houses I also saw wooden benches
17 (apika), but unfortunately I could not acquire a specimen.
[126] Those benches in the form of a sled are very similar to the
kind of benches that are very common among the Indians of
Brazil (99) and those that we also know from the ancient

[113] 99. Cariy /sic/ von den Steinen: Unter den

/78 cont./

C 273 removed from the pot, chewed up and well mixed with saliva, is then mixed back in with the rest. Then it is strained and ferments in large open pots, at moderate heat. By means of C [412] [237] large wooden spatulas or mammals' shoulder blades fitted with wooden handles, the mash is stirred in the pot. We find a more detailed description of this process in the publication by Métraux (287).

287. Métraux I, pp. 365-369.

C Ce 251

The Preservation of Foodstuffs

Concerning the method of preserving foodstuffs, we know that the Chiriguano and Chané dry fish for future use, when fish are abundant (288). According to Niño (289), formerly meat

288. Nord. 1, p. 189.

C [113]

289. Niño, F. Bernardino de: Etnografía Chiriguana, La Paz, 1912, pp. 249 and 250. According to Métraux.

from hunting was preserved for the great fiestas by drying it in the sun, without using salt. Even today, when a bovine animal is slaughtered, part of the meat is preserved by drying it in the sun (290).

290. Métraux I, p. 356.

C Ce 501

Transport

The Chiriguano and Chané, in contrast to the Itatines-Guarayús, do not have boats (291). Concerning means of

291. Nord. 1, p. 186.

/327 cont./

brutal people butcher them. The Chané are so subject to the Chiriguana that it is enough for them to see a Chiriguana to sit down without resisting, allowing the Chiriguana to do what they like with them. The Chiriguana take them along like flocks of sheep. They eat the ones they want and use the others for work in their houses and fields. If they want to eat one, they only tell him to go and wash in the river and he does it without talking back. He comes back naked; the Chiriguana command their children to take bows and arrows, and the poor Chané tries /328/ to escape the arrows without, however, daring to flee from the spot until he dies riddled with arrows, to the great joy of all who look at him. They cut him in pieces and eat him either grilled or roasted, with corn and much ají /peppers/. For war they use Chané who they think are brave and robust. They treat them according to their barbaric customs and put them in front of themselves; if they do not fight well, they kill them with arrow shots from behind." (Lizarraga, Vol. I, pp. 259-260.)

Last year, going from Cuevo to Igüembé, I had taken a Chiriguano guide who spoke Spanish fairly well and who had lived among the Chané in childhood. He told me in his own way about these wars of former days. His involved narrative recalls that of the Spanish monk. Later I sojourned for some time among the Chané who in their turn alluded to their fights with the Chiriguano and to the cannibalistic customs of the latter. "The Tapui are not the Ava. In times past they used to fight against the Ava." The Ava used to take the women and keep them in captivity. They used to marry the captives. From the sons of the Ava issued the Tapui, they are sons of the women they carried away. The Chané are sons of the captives. When the Chané talk together, it is with words that one does not understand. Formerly the Karai (Whites) used to fight the Ava around Cochabamba. The Karai pursued them to the lower part and left them in Paraguay. The Paraguayans are sons of the ancient Ava. In olden days the Ava used to eat the Tapuí when they made war against them. "The Ava used to eat us," the Chané would say, "and that is why we detest them."

Fig. 19. Wooden needle (timosa) with which the Chiriguano thread the fish they have caught in order to be able to carry them more conveniently around the waist. Prov.: Tintapaw. (1/3 nat. size.)

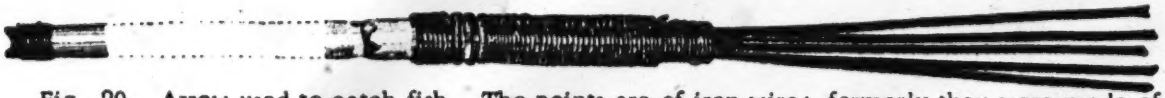


Fig. 20. Arrow used to catch fish. The points are of iron wire; formerly they were made of cactus spines. Prov.: Pípi. (1/2 nat. size.)

Fig. 21. Spear 4.70 meters long, which the Chiriguano use to harpoon large surubú when the latter swim within their reach. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/33 nat. size.)

Fig. 22. Spit for roasting fish. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/7 nat. size.)

C
252 /352 cont./

The fish begins by being opened and cleaned and only then is it boiled or roasted. In this last case it is inserted between the two branches of a switch split for three quarters of its length (Fig. 22). So that the latter does not open completely, the lower part is fastened securely with bands of bark, and so that the fish does not fall out once it is inserted in the interstice, the upper part. Among their ancestors, the Guarani, such a spit would have been superfluous, because to grill the product of their fishing or hunting they used to construct buccans. Our Chiriguano also eat fish dried in the sun and enjoy it in this form combined with some corn dish.

G [252]
C [251] [262]

/353/ Chapter IV

Cooking

Fire

C 372 177

The modern Chiriguano more and more use matches of Bolivian make, but their poor quality has contributed to maintaining the popularity of the tinderbox. That of the Chiriguano, borrowed recently from the white men, is composed of a flint and a piece of iron with which they make sparks fly, which fall on a little wild cotton (the one which the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) produces). This tow (tata rimbiuna) is kept in a small receptacle made from the end of a cow horn or an armadillo tail. /Figs. 23 and 24 appear here./ It is hermetically sealed by a wooden disk, which a small cord passing inside the capsule and coming out through a hole at the tip of the horn or tail allows to be put back in place with a single motion. This ingenious contrivance is not, however, of Indian invention; I saw it adapted to the tinderboxes of the creoles in the Argentine Republic. Some Chiriguano make cloth wicks which at first sight would seem to have been produced in one of our factories. The tinderbox with its accessories is carefully kept in small bags of deerskin, wildcat, iguana, etc. (Figs. 23 and 24).

C [415] [281]

262 /355 cont./ Women could eat, without
[562] harm, parrot, a heavy and stupid bird. In their misogyny the Chiriguano doubtless figured that that would not change their nature in any way. (Campana, p. 92.)

● 252 Cooking is not a secondary activity; it is an important form /Fig. 26 appears here/ of the material culture and an excellent index for judging the cultural level of a human group. The art of preparing dishes reveals as well as any tool the faculties of invention and taste. In South America one can very well classify the tribes according to the more or less great variety of their dishes and the care they take in preparing them. This hierarchy would certainly correspond to that of the cultural elements.

[171] In the Chaco, Chiriguano cooking stands in contrast by its variety, its /356/ taste, and its cleanness to that of the more primitive tribes like the Toba or the Matako.

Before passing on to the study of the utensils used by the Chiriguano housewives, it is fitting to describe their menus.

When the Chiriguano kill a cow, goat, or sheep, the meat is boiled in water, roasted on a spit, or dried in the sun (charqui). They are especially partial to the head of the animal they kill, and they eat it boiled after skinning it. The pieces of meat are cleaned carefully before being cooked; and the tripe, for example, which is a delicacy, is taken out beforehand.

Corn is prepared in various ways. If the ears are tender and green, they are boiled in water or grilled over the fire or under the ashes.

When the corn is still in this state, the women prepare simbikuai or humitas (in Spanish). They bite with an appetite into the still tender ears, chew the kernels for a long time, and spit them into a calabash. This white mash saturated with saliva is wrapped in corn leaves and put under the ashes.

[415] The Chiriguano give the name of atipíi to kernels of corn roasted in a special bowl called tapuipe (Plate XIII, 3) or in large potsherds, which tend more and more to replace the primitive utensil appropriate for this use. The atipíi requires

/356 cont./

• 252 no preparation other than constant stirring in order not to be burned. This food takes the place of bread for the Chiriguano, who like to munch these crunchy and appetizing kernels. They provide themselves with it when they go on a trip.

Atipíi pounded in a mortar and passed through a sieve gives atši, a brownish flour which has an excellent taste. Atši is also prepared differently: kernels of corn are reduced to a flour which is roasted in a terra-cotta roaster or in a wide potsherd. According to Nino (p. 246), the name atikúi would be given to the kernels of roasted corn made into flour after being put through a sieve and ground until pulverized. The same missionary reserves the term atši for roasted flour obtained from the residue left by kernels which have been treated in the following way: after letting them soak in water all night, they are poured into a sieve the next morning. When the water has drained off, they are pounded in a mortar. This flour is now sifted, then roasted; cooked in water, it is the dish the Chiriguano call muintí or huinti. Atši then would be made with the residue from the muinti flour, which is ground again, then roasted like it, but first mixed with salt or pimento. I
[122] have often eaten roasted corn flour which the Indians told me was atši, but I could never tell that it was seasoned. The Chiriguano give the name abatikure to the corn bran.

This is how muintimimo is prepared: kernels of corn are /Plate XIII appears here/ /357/ put to soak all night. The next morning they are ground and sifted in an urumpé (sieve with very fine mesh). The flour is poured into a muitero
[415] (Plate XIII, 1 and 2). This utensil is a terra-cotta basin whose bottom is pierced with holes like a skimmer (1). The flour is

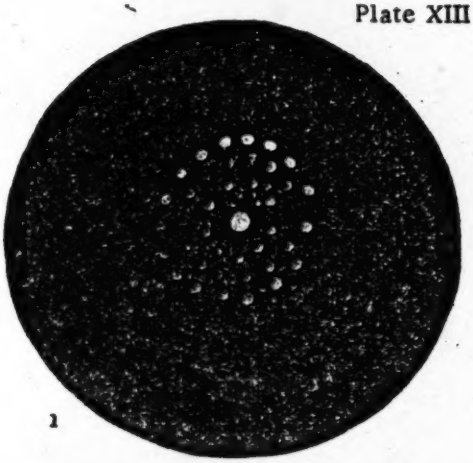
[171]
[114]

1. Linné (2, Map 1, p. 23) has given us the distribution of vessels with perforated bottoms throughout America. The enumeration he makes of them is very complete; yet it lacks mention of La Rioja in the Argentine Republic where Boman (5, p. 17) discovered fragments of vessels whose bases were entirely perforated like a sieve.

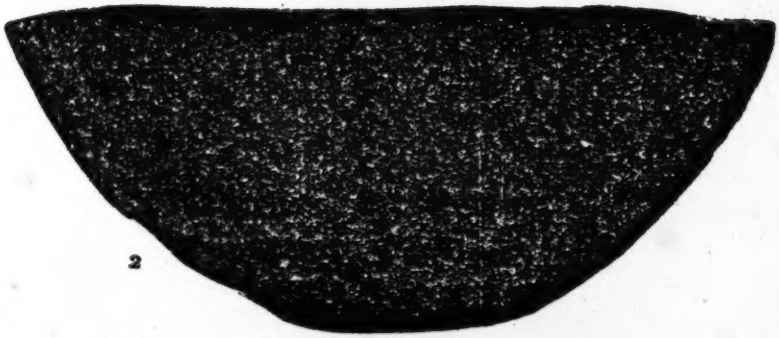
[Text continues on p. 104]

415
252

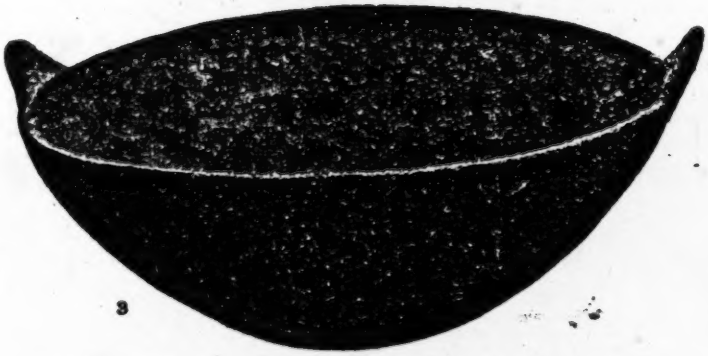
Plate XIII



1



2



3

1 and 2 Basin with perforated bottom for preparing muintimimo, flour cooked in steam. Prov.: Ivu. (1/4 nat. size.) -- 3. Basin for roasting corn kernels or flour (tapuipe). Prov.: Saladito. (1/4 nat. size.)

/357 cont./

252 covered with the bran. The muitero is then placed on the opening of a pot full of water and the whole put on the fire. The rising steam goes through the holes of the muitero and cooks the corn while saturating it with moisture. So that the steam will not escape at the sides, the line of contact between the edges of the muitero and the neck of the vessel is smeared with clay.

I have given the recipe for this dish according to Nino (p. 246), for I have never been present at its preparation. The Chiriguano themselves must have forgotten it: I do not remember having seen more than two muitero during my whole trip: one at Yumbía and the other at Ivu. Since it is im-
[178] possible to prepare muintimimo without this basin, one must suppose that the Chiriguano of the decline have forgotten even the taste of one of the most original dishes of their cuisine.

At Ivu the Chiriguano had me taste kãwi-rai (little kãwi), a kind of gruel made with kernels of corn softened by a more or less long soaking in water, then pounded and rid of the bran. This gruel is cooked in water and eaten cold. It is
[273] sometimes left to ferment for several days and from that has doubtless come its name of "little corn beer."

The Indians make flat corn cakes (muyape) (2), which are

2. The corn fritters that I saw roasted in a frying pan at Pípi were doubtless muyape cakes. Unfortunately, I was not able to learn their name.

mentioned in the myths I have collected, but which I myself have never had a chance to taste. Avatindi, or white corn, is softened in water, pounded, then kneaded with salt and pimento and the dough shaped into flat cakes which are cooked under the ashes. When they are supposed to be done, they are pulled out from beneath the glowing embers and washed with water, and they finally have a kind of bread with a pleasant taste.

/357 cont./

252 A rudimentary way of preparing corn, but also little valued, consists of boiling the kernels in water for a long time until they have become soft (atiruru) (3).

262
881
765
846

3. Atiruru is a dish whose consumption is intimately associated with the observance of magico-religious prohibitions. It is the only permissible nourishment for girls when they have their first menstrual periods, for people in mourning, and for women for a period of ten days after giving birth (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 14).

252 /358/ The Chiriguano make a broth with corn flour (api)
262 and meat, which is not bad.

They do not use haphazardly the 11 varieties of corn which they cultivate. Each, according to its properties, is intended for the preparation of a definite dish. Yellow corn (avati-hendi-vaé or avati-iyu-vaé) serves for making chicha or corn beer; white corn (avati-ndi) is roasted, as is avati-kanana. The corn called katšintši, or crinkled corn, is generally roasted, as are avati-tšore and avati-saimpini (gray corn), which are intended to be roasted and made into flour.

262 Avati-rai, or small corn, is planted only in times of scarcity when the harvest has been bad. Of small stature, it yields only one ear of reduced size, but has the advantage of growing fast (Nino, pp. 241-242).

A Chiriguano's meal in normal times is not made up exclusively of corn, even if this grain figures in all his menus. The popularity which corn has is also shared by beans, or kumanda. The Chiriguano cultivate 11 varieties of them also.

The Chiriguano eat beans either dry or fresh. In the
[252] latter case they are cooked in the pod in water or under ashes.
[263] Beans boiled in the pod are seasoned with pimento. Then one has the dish called sopiriwa.

/358 cont./

252 In order to shell dry beans, the women make a big pile of them which they put on a hide; then, sitting down beside it, they hammer them with a stick as if with a flail. The seeds are loosened, and to separate them from the pod they take handfuls which they winnow (Fig. 27). They carry out this operation several times until not a single seed is left sticking to the pods. Next they collect them into a pile with a small broom and rid them of all impurities by shaking them in a sieve. The shelled beans are kept in vessels.

At Carurutí every morning I was offered a dish of beans cooked in the following way: a handful of beans, with a little water, was put on the fire in an improvised frying pan formed out of a large potsherd. In an instant the water was evaporating and the beans beginning to smoke; this was the moment to take them off and serve them.

The underground oven, which among other American tribes is used almost exclusively for cooking meat, has been adapted by the Chiriguano to a more humble use: in a hole which they make in the ground and which they have first heated, they bury fresh beans and leave them until they are done (Nino, p. 243).

262 After beans in order of importance come squash or gourds
252 (andai ankú, and ginda). The Indians boil them or roast them
under ashes. In the first case they season them with pimento
[263] or salt to make gindaka-mikira, or squash fat. The /359/
seeds are also roasted and eaten with corn flour, atipíi, or beans.

The Indians of the Caipipendí valley sometimes, but rarely, ate sweet manioc tubers. They boiled them in water or roasted them under ashes.

Sweet potatoes or camote (in Chiriguano: yetí) are roasted or boiled. They were served to me only two or three times.
/Fig. 27 appears here./

263 The Chiriguano like condiments and season all their vegetables with them; in the bean pot they put pimento, which with them occurs in the form of extremely strong small oval fruits, green and red. I have also seen ground red pimento. In the villages where the Indians use crystallized salt, they break it into small

/359 cont./

263 pieces which are put near the fire to make them melt little by little. The cooks dip them from time to time into the soup, then take them out. If the salt is taken from salt marshes or from water by evaporation, /360/ they mold it into large balls which are scooped out as needed (Fig. 28).

●252
291
516

Fig. 27. Young Chiriguano woman winnowing beans. Carurutí. (Photo. A. M.)

317
263 The major part of the salt exploited in Chiriguano country comes from a mine situated in the San Simon region, between San Luis (Entre Rios) and the Salado River, in the department of Tarija. The Indians flock there from all directions with droves of donkeys which set out again loaded with big blocks of crystallized salt afterward cut into small pieces.

[484]
[492]

/361 cont./

262
252 Among the foods that nature gives them spontaneously can be counted the caraguatá, whose mealy roots, roasted on embers or under ashes, remind one a little of manioc tubers.

The pods of a mimosaceae (?), which remind one of large beans and for this reason are called iwira-kumanda, were pointed out to me as being edible. I have found this information confirmed in an article by Campana (p. 97), who adds that these fruits have a bitter taste which they lose only after several repeated cookings.

To this list must be added the fruits of the algarroba, mistol, tusca, bitter algarroba, ulala, higuerilla, etc. Chañar fruit can also help them to stand famine. Since they are sweet, they can be eaten raw, cooked, or in the form of bread after being pounded in a mortar.

In Father D. Giannechini's Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., one finds enumerated a large number of plants which grow wild and which the Chiriguano eat by necessity or to vary their menus. These are:

/362/ The roots of the kaaratiro, red and stringy outside but white inside. They are edible and even pleasant tasting after being cooked in three waters (p. 18).

The watery tubers, of the size of a small onion, which the Chiriguano call iwía and of which the children are very fond. One belief has it that the spirit inhabiting this plant hides it from those who look for it if they do not observe silence or if they point at it (p. 80).

The fruit of the shrub iwira-rorai (p. 82).

The tubers of a kind of wild yuca which they call, like the cultivated species, mandío or mandionsi. This is a bitter plant, prickly and poisonous. To eat this root they cut it in pieces and cook it in several waters to make it lose its sharpness and its poison (p. 99).

A kind of wild potato known by the name mangara which the Chiriguano dig up and eat in times of scarcity. This tuber is edible only after being boiled in several waters (p. 100).

The herb monki would be equally edible (p. 133).

A certain liana (supúa) whose leaves can be eaten if other food is lacking (p. 193).

/362 cont./

262 The Chiriguano call kumanara a leguminous plant, wild,
[252] which resembles the yuca and which can serve as food after being boiled. They resort to it only when pressed by hunger. The word designating this plant has a strange resemblance to
[192] the name of the batata in the Quichua dialects of Ecuador and northern Peru (Rivet, 3, pp. 583-590). It is perhaps a question of a Quichua word introduced into the Chiriguano language to designate a plant of which they did not have the equivalent in their original homeland. The case is nevertheless rare, and one can wonder if it is not a simple coincidence.

[222] Neither do the Chiriguano look down on honey, although they
[191] do not seek it with the passion of their cousins, the Kainguá. What I tasted among them was contained in thin honeycombs having the consistency of cardboard. It had a pleasant taste.

222 Any Indian who goes in search of honey (ei) must not make
784 his intention known to anyone and, if he is asked where he is going, he must answer: "To look for wood." If you do not take
[196] these precautions, the protecting spirit of the honey is warned of your plan and hides the honeycombs he guards (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 86).

222 The missionary Corrado (p. 43) assures us that grass-
114 hoppers, cicadas, the larvae of bees are that many delicious
[252] dishes for the Chiriguano. He adds that these insects are roasted. Nino (p. 247) reproduces the statements of his predecessor and completes the list of strange foods by adding /363/ ants, lizards, leaves of the cucurbitaceae, melted tallow, etc. Personally I
[171] have never seen the Chiriguano touch these dishes strange to our palates, but I am all the more inclined to believe these two missionaries that the tastes they indicate are actually those of the Indians in other regions.

262 Already in the 16th century the Chiriguano passed as snake
252 lovers, even of poisonous species. They cut off the head and tail, skinned them, and roasted pieces of them on live coals. They used to eat them with pimento. No doubt the Spaniards con-
[178] fused snakes with iguanas, which even today the Chiriguano justly like (Lizárraga, Vol. I, p. 260).

/456 cont./

285 A half-finished hat (Fig. 113) which I was able to acquire
294 at Caruruti shows well the process of fabrication. The basket-maker begins by making the crown of the hat, interlacing 36 tigellas and shortly afterward adding other supplementary stalks whose ends are seen protruding. When the hat is finished, all those projecting beyond the fabric are cut off. The rhythm of the crossing elements is twofold.

285 Figure 114. Length, 10 centimeters; width, 8 centi-
296 meters. Provenance: Caruruti.

This cigarette case faithfully imitates the ones the Chiriguano have seen in the hands of half-breeds or creoles. Nevertheless, its technique is interesting, for it is purely indigenous. The /Plate LXXXI appears here/ /457/ tigellas of karandaí leaves cross in a twofold rhythm.

The Chiriguano are not great smokers and it is rare to find cigarettes among them, so that these cases seem to me to be made for amusement rather than for their practical utility.

Sieves

415 There is no Chiriguano housewife who does not have at
● 252 her disposal at least two sieves. The importance of this kitchen utensil corresponds to the considerable role of corn
[262] flour in their food. Of the 12 different dishes that the Chiriguano prepare from this grain, there are six or seven in which it appears in the form of flour. Kiwi itself is made with corn pounded in a mortar and then passed through a sieve. Sieves serve also for cleaning beans and ridding them of the stones and dust accompanying them. Finally, sieves are used for straining kiwi after cooking and for separating the liquid, which is to ferment, from the marc or temiñu. They can also be used as simple baskets, and I have seen some holding cotton seeds.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fishing.—Fishing is worth while only for those *Chiriguano* and *Chané* who live along the upper Pilcomayo or Bermejo Rivers and, to lesser extent, for the *Chané* of the Parapetí and Itiyuro Rivers. Methods of fishing vary somewhat with the regions. Along the Pilcomayo River, fish are caught with iron hooks, with dipnets, similar to those of the Chaco Indians, with the bow and arrow, and with long two-pronged spears. Fishing baskets are used in combination with stone dams (fig. 57).

FIGURE 57.—*Chiriguano* fish dam in the Pilcomayo River. *A* is entrance; *B* are pockets where fish are caught. (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1928, fig. 14.)

Among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro, fishing is done almost exclusively by women and children. They use hooks, but more often they capture fish in small ponds which they cut from the main stream by means of weirs. They also catch small fish in narrow-necked gourds into which they place chicha drops as a bait. The *Chané* of the Parapetí scoop fish with nets or shoot them with arrows tipped with a bundle of cactus thorns (Nordenskiöld, 1912, pp. 184–185).

Domesticated animals.—Modern *Chiriguano* raise sheep, cattle, horses, and chickens. Their dogs are so completely mongrel that their European or Indian origin cannot be ascertained. The *Chiriguano* were probably acquainted with chickens when they arrived in their present territory, for they use a *Guarani* term for them. Pets are not numerous in their villages; most of them are parrots which were captured by means of a noose attached to the end of a long pole. In order to approach the wild birds, the Indians use tame parrots and decoys.

Cooking.—Maize is prepared in a great many ways. The grains are eaten on the cob, roasted in special pans, boiled in water, or ground into flour, which is served with every meal. One method of preparing maize flour is to steam it in a perforated bowl.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

252 415 412 269 *Chiriguano* mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the barbecue is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. [319 265] Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 592 **Dwellings.**—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

361 178 [343 712] The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their wooden or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 177 **Clothing.**—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

/20 cont./ its ashes
137 are good for the manufacture of soap, the bark is an emetic.
824 The whites call it toborochi and the Chiriguano "Samuú."
[388] There are several varieties and all of them are utilized to
[757] some degree or other.

[322] CEIBO. -- This tree is smaller than the former, but its
[415] wood is much superior, very fibrous, and rather light in weight, being used to make troughs which are very durable since they neither split nor are eaten by wood borers. It is very pretty when
[262] it blooms; the flowers are fiery red and good for salads. The Chiriguano call it "Suinandi."

DRAGO /dragon tree/. -- A tall tree, straight and quite thick; the wood is strong and useful. If an incision is made
[757] in the tree, a very red resin comes out; its bark is the best for making the teeth hard and for curing scurvy. The gum called "dragon's blood" is extracted from this tree. The whites call it tipa and the Chiriguano "Güirapitiyu guasu."

ENEA /cattail/. -- An aquatic plant which abounds in certain ponds and pools formed by the water of rivers which flow away from the main stream; the Indians use it for roofing their houses, muleteers for packsaddles, and others for mats in the dwellings, on which they also have their bedding for sleeping. This is the totora or matara of the whites and the "Caipempe" of the Chiriguano.

[262] ESTORAQUE /storax/. -- This is a very large tree of the forest; it has whitish flowers and yellow fruit the size of a fig, which is edible and a favorite of parrots and monkeys; the Chiriguano eat it as a fruit and call it "Aguai."

GARGATEA or CARICA MAMAYA. -- This tree is not very abundant nor is it found in every section. It is of normal size, with a straight trunk and smooth bark softer than the fig tree; the wood is soft and is of no use at all, being similar to that of the ceiba, or toborochi. Its leaves are like those of the fig
[262] tree, and the fruit is of the /21/ same size and form, but
[252] yellow; it is edible and good when boiled or roasted, if eaten raw, it hurts the mouth. In Chiriguano it is called "Caincantina."

/21 cont./

137 GUAYABO /guava/. -- This fruit-bearing tree is found
824 wild and cultivated; it is of medium size, and the fruit, when
[245] ripe, is yellow on the outside and purple on the inside, and
its bittersweet flavor is very pleasant and laxative. The green
fruit and the roots are astringent; the Chiriguano know it by
the same name. The wood has no use at all, and even if it
[262] did, the Indians would not use it because it produces edible fruit.
They regret it when any of these trees and others, like the
algarrobo, are destroyed.

GÜEMBE. -- This plant thrives on the trunks of high trees,
where it puts its root, and others which penetrate the ground
[492] hang down from there. The roots and lianas are dark in color;
very strong and durable halters are made from its bark; it is
not found everywhere. One encounters it from the left bank
of the Parapiti River; its fruit is similar to that of maize, for
which reason it is called maize of the air, and it is edible.

HIGUERA AMERICANA /Amerigan fig/. -- This is the
[262] guapoy of the Chiriguano and the bibosi of the populace; al-
though the fruit is rather sour, it is edible. Bats like it, and it
[757] is annoying to have this tree near the dwellings; it has a milky
juice like the common fig tree, which, applied to wounds,
heals them. In addition to the above fig tree, there is the
[245] common one which flourishes with very little care, in the towns,
[439] especially the Mission ones, it is widely cultivated by the
[431] natives and its fruit is used by them for gifts and trade with the
whites.

244 MANDIOCA. -- This plant is called "Mandio" or
"Mandiporopi" by the Chiriguano Indians. A little book
written by a Jesuit missionary of the old Paraguay missions
relates that this plant was left to those Indians by Saint
Thomas the Apostle who, according to their tradition, came
here to preach the doctrine of the Redeemer. Mandioca is
[252] an excellent food and very digestible; it is eaten boiled,
[262] roasted, and fried in lard. It is a plant cultivated by whites
and by Indians.

/24 cont./

245 PAPAYO. -- This tree is neither native like the palma Christi, nor is it found wild like the latter. It is grown in orchards or in well-fenced fields, grows very fast, and produces fruit one year after being planted. Its trunk is straight, soft, and hollow; some have two or three branches and rise up to four meters high. The fruit is refreshing, yellow, with a smooth skin, of the size and shape of a small melon, even the flavor being somewhat similar, but it is more digestible. Many fruits are bunched around the trunk and are also found here and there at each leaf, but always attached to the trunk. The plants which produce the fruit are the good ones, and they call them "females." There are others which they call "males," but their fruits are useless and are not attached to the trunk, but rather hang from it like streamers. It is useless to pick them. To have a good papayo tree they assert that, in transplanting one, it is necessary to take the precaution of always putting or burying two plants in each hole, one of which will always be a female, and the one which turns out to be male will be pulled out. I do not know if this is true, but I did it this way in January of this year. The fruit contains many seeds which, [757] when ground and drunk in an emulsion, are good for getting rid of worms. The fruit and the tree have a resinous milk. [252] Therefore, in order for the fruit to be good and digestible, it is better to cut off the ends and make about five or six vertical cuts so that this resin may come out; by the next day /illustration appears here/ /25/ it is already very pleasant. It is nevertheless best to take the precaution of letting them begin to ripen on the plant itself; in this condition, uncut, they will last up to six days without going bad; then they can easily be transported great distances.

137 824 [252] [262] PASSION FLOWER. -- This is a climber which is found on fences, clothing them in the rainy season with abundant foliage, as does the "supua," whose fruit is edible and good roasted or boiled, as is the leaf. The fruit of the passion flower is of the size of an apple and just as smooth, the skin is thin and the inside is found to be covered with a white, stringy membrane. When this is broken, the seeds of the fruit come

[TEXT Continues on P. 43]

/243 cont./

244 one preferred by the Chiriguano, and he has good reason, as it is quite edible, the least damaging to health, in addition to being the seed which is most resistant to drought. It is very abundant, and as many as four harvests can be taken from it.

262 252 [244] The Chiriguano plants whatever type of beans /judías/ he has or can obtain from his neighbors or companions when he runs short, because only in the case of maize, which he prefers to eat parched and not boiled, does he plant several varieties. All beans /alubia/ are good to the Indian because of the use that he makes of them, which is to boil them and eat them, to roast them under hot ashes with their pods, or, by making a hole in the ground, to heat it and burying the pods there so that they will cook.

244 If the Chiriguano frequently lacks beans to mix with the maize, it is unlikely that he will be without gourds, which grow with little cultivation and which are so resistant to drought; it is also extremely easy for him to plant this food, so much so that women and children devote themselves to it, because not many plants are needed in a plot for an abundant harvest.

244 262 [415] Twelve classes of gourds are known, but only five are edible; the other seven are used for matés. The edible ones are the following; Andai, Güindaca guasu, Güindaca mi, Güindaca mi guasu, yiquisigua; the latter has an edible interior and the exterior is useful for domestic purposes, to keep 249 any object in its hard shell. The gourds that serve for matés are Iá, true maté; Iá pua, round maté; Iámpe, flattened maté; /244/ Iá guasu, large maté; Iá-rai, small maté, Iá pucú, long maté, and Iá pani, twisted maté (1).

1. The Indian does not include in the number of gourds the one the two children used to free themselves from the deluge of water because it was a miraculous one.

/244 cont./

252 262 Gourds are eaten boiled, roasted, and in broth; the seed is enjoyed when roasted with maize meal, parched maize, or beans. They also eat them as broth, which they call Güindaca mi quira, or grease of the gourd, to which they add chili pepper and salt, just as they do with beans cooked in ollas with the whole pod, which they call Sopirigua.

241 If the Chiriguano manages to plant a little maize beans /poroto/, and gourds, he is content and stops planting other, less important seeds. Few plant Yeti, sweet potato, Mandiporopi, mandioca, Tacuaneé, sugar cane, and Monduvi, peanut. They all plant watermelons and other melons; many plant figs and tunas, or nopal, and few cultivate orange trees, because this Indian has little patience for waiting on the ingratitude of certain plants which require much care and are very slow in yielding fruit (2).

[192] [177] 2. Names for watermelon /sandía/ and melon /melón/ do not exist in the Chiriguano language, which indicates that these fruits were introduced by the whites, from whom the Indians got them.

222 245 262 The nopal is very abundant in this area, rising to some three or four meters; its fruit is very exquisite, as everyone knows. Its cultivation is nil; it is enough to pluck off a branch of the main plant and bury it halfway, and its sweet fruit will ripen from the second year on. It is the plant that the Chiriguano value most.

245 Even the fig tree, which also needs little care, is cultivated. They call it Iva, as well as calling the nopal Saini, and both plants seem to be native, because they grow in hot places, and the name indicates that they have always had them. The fig tree requires more cultivation than the nopal, but this is relatively insignificant; they pull off a branch, plant it during the rainy season, and let it grow fully without pulling off any shoots (3).

439 3. Whites who live among the Indians are

/244 cont./

439 occupied in other, more lucrative trades; they rarely plant fig trees and nopal, and this benefits the Chiriguano, who sells both fruits, receiving money, meat, or charqui from the white man.

241 When any of this planting is done, all the desire of the Chiriguano is that it yield; he fervently beseeches the favor of heaven, /245/ or the sorcerers, masters or the rain, that there may not be a lack of the necessary moisture, and he, with his own hands, sees to it that the planting is quite free of all weeds.

Use of the Ripe Produce

262
252 If the weather is favorable and the Indian has taken care of the planting, the reward of his little bit of sweat will not make him wait long. In exactly three months, or even before, he can already begin to savor Abatíqui, tender maize, which the mestizos call choclo. The first of these ears are eaten roasted and almost never boiled, because they say that prepared in the latter fashion they are tasteless. They go on to say that roasted choclo must be cooked only a little in order not to lose its ability to fatten, and if it is roasted under ashes with the whole husk, it is almost as sweet as sugar. How well, dear reader, do my Indians know what is good for the body, and how they know the way to get fat and what is most pleasing to the palate! They are good gourmets despite their poverty! It seems that they belong to the abdominals described by Father Saj.

When the choclo is somewhat more mature, they eat it with more pleasure, and then they also very nicely prepare Simbícuai, humitas/small cakes made of tender maize and sugar/. The method is very simple: instead of a knife or spoon to pull off the kernels, the young Chiriguano girl or old woman, pretty or ugly, with good teeth or bad ones, uses these instead of a mortar and pestle to grind it; it is done with the teeth very

/245 cont./

252
262

clean, and, of course, in view of the chewing the choclo turns out well seasoned with the clean, white saliva of the old or young women. Then they wrap up the chewed matter in green husks, tie it up, put it under the ashes, and, when it is cooked, they eat it as if it were a very delicate victual, and let it be noted that if the Chiriguano humita were not made thus, it would turn out tasteless for lack of sauce and salt, which things they make up for by means of the above-mentioned procedure (1).

1. The whites here and elsewhere make humitas, grinding up choclo in a mortar and mixing in cheese, curds, meat, and other ingredients; but the Indian follows his old way without adding anything other than saliva to it.

The season of fresh maize lasts some three months, because the Chiriguano, accustomed to heavy food, eats it as fresh even when it is very ripe. When the choclo season ends, the woman gathers a few ears of abatindi or /246/ saimpino, husks them, sits down near the fire, where she has put her potsherd or clay vessel, and she tosses the maize there to parch, stirring it with a little stick or with the cob of the maize itself, being careful not to overcook it, so that it may not lose its substance. They eat very little boiled maize, Atiruro, and even the parched corn, Atipíi, must be accompanied by its Intina, side dish, which should be something unusual (1).

1. For their side dishes they make use of beans, gourds, meat, fish, empanizado, large Isaú ants, cicadas, lizards, worms, melted tallow, honey, gourd leaves, wild herbs such as the Mandió, and locusts, whose appearance sometimes makes him happy because now he has it for his roasted maize.

/246 cont./

252
262

It is not likely that in times of abundance the Indian will resign himself to always eating maize in the same fashion, both because he becomes tired of it and because there are also old people who are toothless and cannot eat parched maize very well. To avoid both things, the Chiriguano mind has found various ways to prepare maize dishes, in addition to those already noted. He savors with satisfaction Aticúi, meal; to make it, the Indian woman, after having been huddled for a long time near the fire, takes her pestle, tosses a quantity of parched maize into the mortar and grinds; then she sifts the ground maize in a fine palm sieve and grinds it all up again, so that the aticúi, which the whites call pito, may be palatable enough.

As easily as she prepares aticúi, she also makes Muinti, which is the seventh way of eating maize. For this she puts a small number of kernels in water and lets them soak overnight; in the morning she takes them out and puts them in a sieve so that all the water may run off. She then proceeds to grind them little by little and once finished, sifts it and parches it as she did the meal. From the remains from grinding the muinti, called Abaticure, named arrocillo by the whites, she prepares Achi. To make it, she grinds the arrocillo again, puts salt and chili pepper in the meal, and parches it.

The ninth way of using maize is a little more complicated. It is frequent, but not usual. It is called Muintimimo. To make it, kernels are steeped and ground early in the morning and then sifted in a fine sieve; next one prepares a plate which has small holes for the purpose, and the ground meal, which is covered with bran, is put on it; finally, the plate is put on an olla of boiling water, its edges sealed with /247/ a paste of ashes so that the steam may not escape, and then it is left to cook by steaming (1).

1. To see if it is ready, she taps on the bran with her fingers, and, if it sounds like cooked bread, it is a sign that it is time to remove it from the olla, throw away the bran, eat what is wanted, and save the rest.

/247 cont./

252 262 Infrequently the Indian drinks a broth of ground maize, Hapi; when he does not have meat, he uses beans and gourds for his broth. If he does not have these either, he prefers Cagüí rai, which he prepares by soaking and grinding the maize, removing the bran, and cooking it. They also chew it sometimes, let it ferment, and eat it when it is ready; anyone who sees this last food could not help but be disgusted, but for them it is a very excellent dish.

The twelfth and last way of eating maize is Muyape, [263] bread. The preparation is the same as that of the Hebrews when they eat unleavened bread, but the Chiriguano put salt and chili pepper in it; after it is kneaded, they cover it with ashes and fire and let it cook well; when it is done, they take it out, wash it with water until the ashes which have stuck to it are gone, and, well washed, it has the color of bread, which invites both big and small to savor it; it is what the Indian likes best, and the women make it frequently in times of plenty. Its odor and taste are very pleasant, especially when just made.

273

Cangüí — Chicha

All the ability of a wife consists of knowing how to make chicha well, the delicious cangüí of the Chiriguano, who is capable of walking a hundred kilometers or more to drink it, when invited with all the rules of native diplomacy. Cangüí is his coffee, his soup, his wine, his food, his drink, his everything. In a certain way it is his God, and I am sure that many would renounce heaven for chicha, because they know almost nothing of what heaven is, and, on the other hand, they know that chicha is a sweet thing which gladdens the heart and leads to conversation and singing; therefore, every Chiriguano woman must take special care from even before puberty to learn well the method of preparing it. Here it is (2).

[177] 2. The method of making the chicha which the whites call arrope is somewhat different, but the Chiriguano Indians do not use it and learned of it only recently.

/252 cont./

262 As very savory food there are also cicadas, ants, lizards, locusts, and some green worms which cause disgust just to name them. If a head of cattle dies and putrefaction has begun, the Chiriguano finds it excellent; give it to him and it is a grand gift, and that day is a carnival for him; he does not try to find out whether the animal died from the poison of a viper or rattlesnake or from rabies (1).

262
252

1. When Indians bring home the meat of dead cattle well into a state of putrefaction, they boil it in ollas and throw away the liquid, and in this way it loses much of its bad smell.

262 I do not know whether it is through superstition or because they
178 are descendants of the Jews that this tribe formerly did not eat the flesh of the pig; although they like and hunt the wild boar or the peccary, they did not touch the domestic pig, but today almost all of them, with the exception of some women, eat it.

261 The Chiriguano suffers in times of hunger or scarcity of food,
262 but he looks for food in the earth; this is very harmful food, which produces various ailments, such as consumption and
[252] dysentery. He looks for the potato of the serpentine arum, ex-
[164] tracts it, and, making a hole, heats it, throws the potatoes there, and covers it with ashes and embers, leaving them overnight; on the following day he and his family eat, but it gives them a bad stomach-ache, which makes them throw themselves down with their bellies to the ground until the pain abates; the same potato, raw, is efficaceous for killing worms in the galls of animals.

[222] Another food in times of scarcity is the Caraguata; this
[252] is a kind of aloe with leaves without the oily liquid; the edible part is the roots, which have a flavor like mandioca; it is considerable work to pull them out of the ground, where they are firmly attached, and the mealy substance is /253/ little enough; to eat it, it is roasted in the coals or under the ashes. When it is the time for fruits and want threatens, the Chiriguano

/284 cont./

000 The philosopher Foción said that he who has the fewest desires to satisfy is the happiest man on earth. This is a truth based on experience, but it is not true happiness; it is part of it, because complete happiness is not attained here.

The true Chiriguano dressed in the old way and his wife with her tipoy must have been the happiest beings on earth, but as they are children of the first man, they also inherited affliction, pain, and death. These three things are almost always the consequence of illness, and they come from the intemperate life that I have described, just as they also come from the drinking and eating.

515 751 The Chiriguano takes no care of his person, although he loves life, which he would like to be eternal, however much he may walk dragging himself along. His foodstuffs are not at all [262] hygienic; he eats /illustration appears here/ /285/ often and with [252] too much greed rotten meat, vegetables, and maize itself, which [271] he parches but never cooks completely. The water he drinks is not always clear or free of microbes and small worms that are visible; [273] the very chicha that is manufactured with such elaborate effort and care is drunk still sour, and, finally, shelter is unimportant. In periods of great heat he lies on the ground, taking on his back the burning rays of the sun; he protects himself little in the abrupt changes of temperature, and if he gets wet in the rain or has taken a voluntary bath of cold water or water heated by the sun, he lets his clothes dry on his body; from these come the illnesses that I shall presently enumerate, illnesses that he suffers from, which make him unhappy and then carry him to the grave.

753 821 The rainbow that God gave to Noah as a sign that He would not flood humanity again with the waters of a new deluge is a sad sign for the Chiriguano. If this so natural phenomenon appears in a town and begins in front of or over a house, when it disappears it does not end or turn to nothing but hides itself in the belly of one of the residents, who in time will get sick and die of dropsy, from which it follows that this illness, which is rare among them, is caused by the rainbow (1).

1. Another natural phenomenon is the whirlwind,

[TEXT Continues on p. 385]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Aymara SF5

C
Ce
415
171*

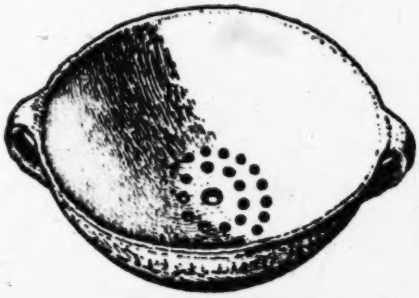


Fig. 16 a. Upper part of the steaming apparatus. The specimen given here is from the Mataco-Vejos, who learnt to use it from the Chané. R. M. M. 1022.

IX.

Utensils used in preparing and consuming food.

C
Ce
415
171*
[412]

The Chiriguano and the Chané have large wooden mortars with long wooden pestles. Hand-mills of stone or any other material are never used. The geographical distribution of the mortar has already been dealt with in the first volume (map 10). Evidently the wooden mortar has come to the Chiriguano and Chané from the east. It is a northern and eastern element of S. American culture. Among the Chiriguano one sometimes sees mortars hollowed out in stumps of trees. It is obvious that the Whites did not introduce the mortar here from the fact that it was mentioned by such early author as SCHMIDEL from the Syeberis in North Chaco.

C
Ce
252
415
171*
A
[415]

Both the Chiriguano and the Chané sift and strain through a round basket, the »urupé» (fig. 52). The following table shows us how sifting and straining is done by the tribes I have visited. Some tribes use four-sided sieves and strainers.

SeNordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Aymara SE5

C
Ce
252
415
*171
A
[415]

Table 7.

	A net-bag	Yuracáre type[1])	Square Sieve	Urupé	Through coarse cloth
Ashluslay	—	—	—	—	—
Atsahuaca	?	?	?	—	—
Aymara	—	—	—	—	+
Cavina	?	?	—	—	—
Chacobo			—	—	—
Cháma	?	?	—	—	—
Chané	+	—	—	—	—
Chimáne	—	—	+	+	—
Chiriguano	—	—	—	+	—
Choroti	+	—	—	—	—
Guarayú (mission)	—	—	—	+	—
» Pauserna	—	—	—	?	—
Huanyam	—		+	—	—
Huari	—	—	—	+[1])	—
Mataco	+	—	—	—	—
Quichua	—	—	—	—	+
Tambopata-Guarayo	?	?	—	—	—
Tapiete	+	—	—	—	—
Toba	+	—	—	—	—
Yamiaca	?	?	—	—	—
Yuracáre	—	+	—	—	—
Itonama	—	—	—	—	—
Baure	—	—	—	—	—

From the literature I know of the urupé from the Paressi[2]), the Indians of the upper Rio Xingú[3]), the In-

[1]) Not obtained.
[2]) See Nordenskiöld (9) Fig. 32.
[3]) Max Schmidt (4) P. 209.
[4]) Max Schmidt (3) P. 350.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

dians of the Roraima district,[1]) the Indians of northwestern Brazil,[2]) the Maquiritare[3]) and the Uitoto.[4])

C
Ce
445
171 *
252

Ce
252
415

Fig. 16 b. Steaming apparatus. Chané, Rio Itiyuro.

C
Ce
252
415
171*

The Urupé is obviously a northern cultural element. It is certainly not from the western culture zone. GARCILASSO[5]) says that the Inca sifted through cloth, or rather

[1]) G. M.
[2]) KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) Vol. 2, P. 217.
[3]) R. M.
[4]) WHIPPEN Pl. XXII.
[5]) GARCILASSO Libro VIII. Chap. IX.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee 252 445 *171 [412]

that they fanned the flour. They had no proper sieves. As we have seen from the table, the Chaco tribes have no basket-sieves, but use bag-nets instead.

Mandioca-graters do not occur among the Chiriguano and the Chané.

Ee 252 445 273

Of course the Chiriguano and the Chané cook their food in earthern ware. Maize-beer »Chicha», their chief food, is boiled in large vessels. It is only with great difficulty that these can be moved from one place to another[1]). Some of the Chiriguano occasionally allow the maize-beer to ferment in hollow stumps of the bottle-tree.

Ee 252 445

The steam cooking-pot shown here (fig. 16) is of very great interest. It is used by the Chané and Chiriguano in cooking a certain dish of maize, the »huintimimmo».[2])

I have seen this contrivance being used as shown by the illustration, but I have, unfortunately, not tasted the maize-dish that was cooked in it.

Ee 252 445 *171

In literature dealing with other parts of S. America I have only found this steam cooking pot mentioned by ULLRICH[3]) from the Rio Grande do Sul (Munizip Pelotas).

He there found pieces of »Siebtöpfen» and says that they were used on the top of a cooking-pot. ULLRICH[3]) tells us that these steam-cooking-pots were used by the

Ee [172] [437]

[1]) When fragments of very large and heavy earthenware vessels are found in archæological excavations one may, as a rule, presume that they originate from a permanently settled tribe. It may be assumed with perfect certainty that these very large vessels were made at the spot where they are found. Small earthen pots may, however, have been bartered from some other tribe. This is naturally of a certain interest if we wish to distinguish between native and imported pottery found in archæological excavations. — Some of the Chiriguano at the Rio Parapiti make only the big common clay vessels themselves and get the small, painted pots by barter from other Chiriguano Indians.

[2]) CORRADO when speaking of different dishes of maize says that »*huintimimmo*, especie de torta muy tierna hecha con harina de maiz humedecida y blandamente dispuesta en una tortera agujereada y cocida con baho del agua caliente.» P. 42.

[3]) P. 500.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

small Indian tribes in the woods north of the Rio Camaquam at the end of the decade 1870—80. The perforated top bowl contained maize, the pot under it boiling water.

I cannot at present tell whence the Chiriguano and the Chané got this cultural element. Besides among these Indians, I have also seen steam-cooking-pots of the same kind among the Mataco-Vejos, who live close to the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro.

The Chiriguano and the Chané have special bowls for roasting maize (fig. 16). I have only seen bowls of the same shape among the Mataco-Vejos. The roasting of maize is commonly practised among the majority of Indians who grow this plant, which is of such great importance to many tribes.

The Chiriguano and the Chané do not know of the babracot. They only use the wooden spit. It is often cleft, as is also the case among the Choroti and the Ashluslay. As the kinsmen of the Chané in Northern Bolivia and the kinsmen of the Chiriguano on the coast of Brazil use the babracot, the question arises: «Why is it not used here?» I suppose this is because the hunting is of no great importance, the fishing not very good, and the fish caught small or, at least, rarely of any size.

Pit-ovens are unknown here. When chicha is being made, great pot-spades are used. They are either wooden (fig. 17 A) or made of the hafted shoulderblade of some large mammal. I suppose all Indians who cook their food use something to stir it with. Usually, however, only a plain stick is used. Pot spades of the kind shown here are in use among the Mataco-Vejos, who live near the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro and the Guató[1]) on the upper Rio Paraguay. It is not unlikely at all that the latter have had them from the Chané, for we know from accounts of very early discoverers, that some of the Chané settled on the upper

[1]) Max Schmidt (1). P. 205.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce
Ce
412
252
Ce
[149]
[361]

Rio Paraguay after Garcias marauding expedition, not far from the tract where the Guató now live.

A potspade of the same type from the Yulámaua along the Rio Querarý is shown in an illustration by Koch-Grünberg.[1]) I have not seen the shoulderblade potspade in any other tribe.

Ce
412
252
*171

Similar spades, said to have been used for agricultural purposes, are mentioned by St. Cricq[2]) from the Conibo.

C
Ce
412
415
264
177

Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané for the most part eat their food with metal spoons which they have got from the Whites. They have, however, wooden spoons as well. They generally eat from earthenware bowls of their own make. They seldom have wooden bowls. I have already treated of the distribution of the wooden bowl and the wooden spoon. (Part 1 map 12 and 13.) They are features of western civilization. Calabash bowls are universally used by the Chiriguano and Chané as drinking vessels, particularly for chicha.

C
415
177

Silver bowls — »Cagua» — are occasionally seen at the Chiriguano festivals. These bowls, which are shaped like cloven calabashes, are often furnished with small ears and are made by mestizo smiths to suit the Indian taste.

C
Ce
415
[439]

There is in my collection a calabash bowl that has been turned into a ladle by means of a handle. It is from the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro. I have also procured some bowls made of the fruit of the calabash tree from the Chiriguano. The Indians get them from Sta Cruz de la Sierra, for, as far as I know, the calabash-tree is not cultivated within their own area.

C
Ce
372
137
*171

Fire-fans of plaited palm leaves are used, though they are rather uncommon. These fire-fans belong to the cultural elements which have come to the Chiriguano and the Chané from the north and east. Later on, when writing about the Indians in northeastern Bolivia, who have sev-

[1]) T. 2. P. 209.
[2]) P. 287

C Ce 415 +171 [252] Only a few vessels are provided with ~~spouts~~ lips or rims which here seem to be an idea obtained by the Indians from the Whites.

Bowls with holes in the bottom which are used for steaming have already been mentioned in the foregoing. This applies also to bowls for the roasting of maize.

The Chané on the Rio Parapiti have small plates which they sometimes use in spinning. I have not seen the like elsewhere. Occasionally one sees, among the most civilized Chiriguano and Chané, fire-pans for holding hot water. (Fig. 43.21). They must have obtained the idea from the Whites.

C Ce [177]

C Ce 323 The Chiriguano and Chané understand the art of painting earthenware before burning.[1]) I have already, in Part I, endeavoured to show the geographical distribution of this invention. Whether it was known to the Chané and Chiriguano before they settled in this tract cannot be decided. The pottery I found in the archaeological excavations at Caipipendi is unpainted.

C Ce [184] The Chané at Rio Itiyuro sometimes paint the edge of earthen vessels after burning with resin of palo santo. This is never seen among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Parapiti. As such painting is common among several tribes in the Chaco, it is possible that the Chané at Rio Itiyuro got the idea from there. The Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro often varnish the painted vessels after burning with a kind of gum called by the Chiriguano — staragüirisi.

The Chiriguano and Chané also ornament their earthenware by finger-impressions. This method of ornamentation has an eastern extension in S. America. A map showing its distribution is published in Part I.

The ornamentation painted on earthenware is seen in the illustrations. The Chané at Rio Parapiti usually have very plain ornamentation.

C Ce [257]

[1]) For this purpose brushes of Aguti hair are used. (See also WEIGERS p. 82).

[erratum corrected. See errata sheet p. 245.]

/180 cont./
the most common among the Chiriguano. Only those women who live with the whites and have adopted their manners and customs carry jugs on their heads.

Ec
512
482
[177]

Division of Labor between the Sexes

Ec

Here too, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, each sex, as a rule, has its specific work, as we see from the following table:

482
171

Table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Chané and Chiriguano.

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Fishing . . .	+	+ (1)	Gathering wild fruits and tubers		+
Hunting . . .	+		Ceramics . . .		+
Planting, clearing . .	+		Woodworking . .	+	
sowing . .	+	+	Knotting nets . .	+	
reaping . .	+	+	Plaiting rope . .	+	
Cooking	(2)	+	Plaiting mats . .	+	
Carrying wood . . .	+	+ (3)	Tying hammocks .		+
Carrying water . . .		+	Leather work . .	+	
Preparing intoxicating drinks		+	Making weapons .	+	

Ec
[226]

1. As a rule, the women fish in shallow water, the men in deep water.

Ec
[252]
[224]

2. Sometimes take part in the preparation of the hunting booty.

Ec
[482]

3. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.

/183 cont./

The Chaná and the Chiriguano are not great hunters. Perhaps in former times there was more hunting. Their hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow. For hunting wild pigs they use clubs; for ostrich hunts the boleadora /bola/, "churima," was formerly used. Snares and bird nets are also found. In former times the hunters wore /184/ a costume of leather cut in imitation of a European cut, obviously copied from the Spaniards (1). This

1. Viedma already mentions this costume, p. 181.

was not permitted to hang in the house. Formerly, also among the Chaná on the Río Paraná, no meat could be cooked in the house; rather, this had to be done a short distance away. Boys are, of course, eager hunters of small birds. Like the men, they sometimes use clay-projectile bows.

There are hunting dogs specially trained for hunting wild pigs. In a Chaná village on the Río Ituyuro I saw how all the dogs had a red cross painted on their heads, so that they would not be bitten by a mad dog running about in the vicinity. It was truly amusing to see how these heathen Chaná protected their dogs against rabies with the sign of the cross.

Baitayu told me that Chaná men, when they go hunting, are not permitted to sleep with their wives the night before.

Fishing is carried on differently in the various rivers.

In the Río Ituyuro women and children almost exclusively do the fishing. There are only small fish there too. I saw three methods of fishing there. Angling, fishing with calabashes, and fishing by damming up pools. The fishhooks consist of bent needles obtained from the whites. Floats and sinkers are not used.

Fishing with calabashes is done in the following way. Several bunches of leaves, which give shade, are stuck in the bottom of the river, and in front of each of these is placed a calabash (Fig. 90) with sour, ground maize (residue from beer brewing). The fish gather in the calabashes, which are taken out from time to time by the women. The latter creep toward the calabash, quickly place a hand over the opening, lift /185/ it up, and then empty the contents into pits along the river bank.

C Ce 231 /187 cont./ the Chiriguano and Chané have fewer horses, cows, donkeys, sheep, and goats than the Choroti and Ashluslay. On the other hand, they have more chickens and pigs. Sometimes one sees ducks, guinea fowl, and turkeys. In certain regions, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley, where the Indians are wealthy, they also have much livestock. Ce [184] [556] The whites, unfortunately, try in every way to cheat them out of what they have. Thus, it is not uncommon for a white man or a white woman to come into a village with a few kegs of spirits and to leave it with a couple of the best cows of the Indians. Ce [439] The whites are richer, the Indians poorer.

C 229

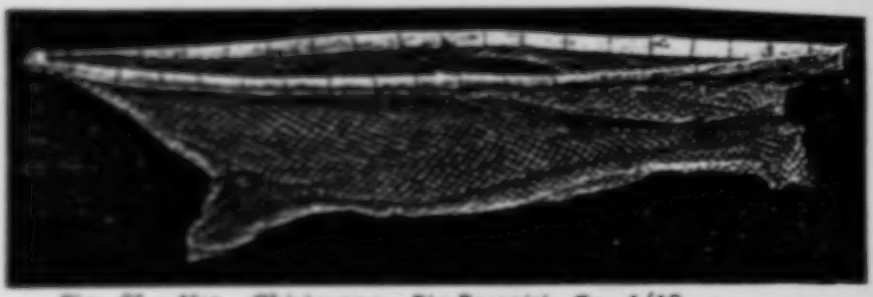


Fig. 91. Net. Chiriguano. Rio Parapiti. Ca. 1/12.

C Ce 231 171 The menagerie of tamed wild animals which one sees in the villages of the more primitive Indians is not to be found among /188/ these Indians. A parrot that talks a little Guarani, however, is not unusual in the huts.

Preparation of Food

C Ce 252 The dirt that we come across in the preparation of food and eating among the Choroti and Ashluslay is not found /Fig. 92a appears here/ among the Chané and Chiriguano. On the other hand, the dishes are terribly monotonous. Ce [262] They consist of maize in every possible form, cooked maize, roasted maize, maize bread baked in ashes, maize flour porridge, and /189/ steamed maize flour. The latter is prepared in an apparatus illustrated here (Fig. 92).

/189 cont./

Meat is cooked with maize as a soup or roasted. Before it is placed in the pot, it is washed clean. Fish are roasted over the fire in clamps /Klammern/ or in maize leaves. The small fish which I saw prepared in this way are taken out only when they are eaten. If there are many fish, they are dried for future use.

Especially in times of famine, various /Fig. 92b appears here/ wild plants are also eaten. Salt, which is now bought from the whites, is used for food. In former times it was fetched from the rock-salt pits on the San Luis, on the way from the city of Tarija to the Chaco, or salt was made from saliferous earth, "yukiu." The earth mixed with salt was placed in a bowl of water, sank to the bottom, and the salt water was used.

Women and men eat separately. At home the men usually eat first and then the women and children. The Indians want to be left alone when they are eating. It is therefore extremely ill-mannered to speak to them during this important activity.

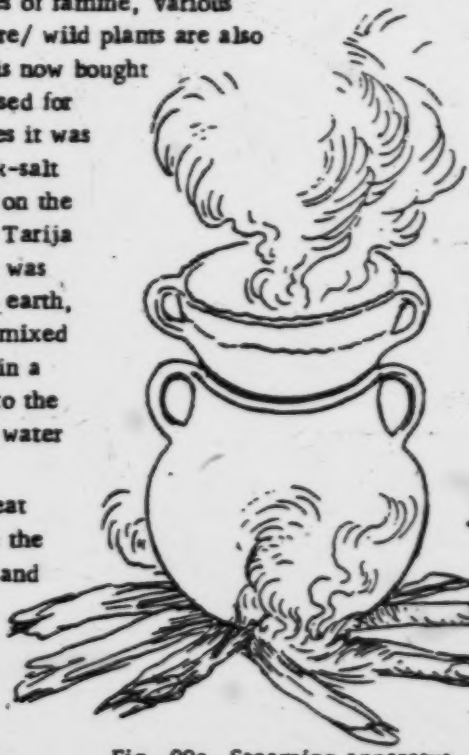


Fig. 92a. Steaming apparatus. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

/190/ As far as I saw, they do not eat out of a common dish, but each one eats out of his bowl. After meals they rinse their mouths and wash their hands by spitting the rinse water over their fingers.

7: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

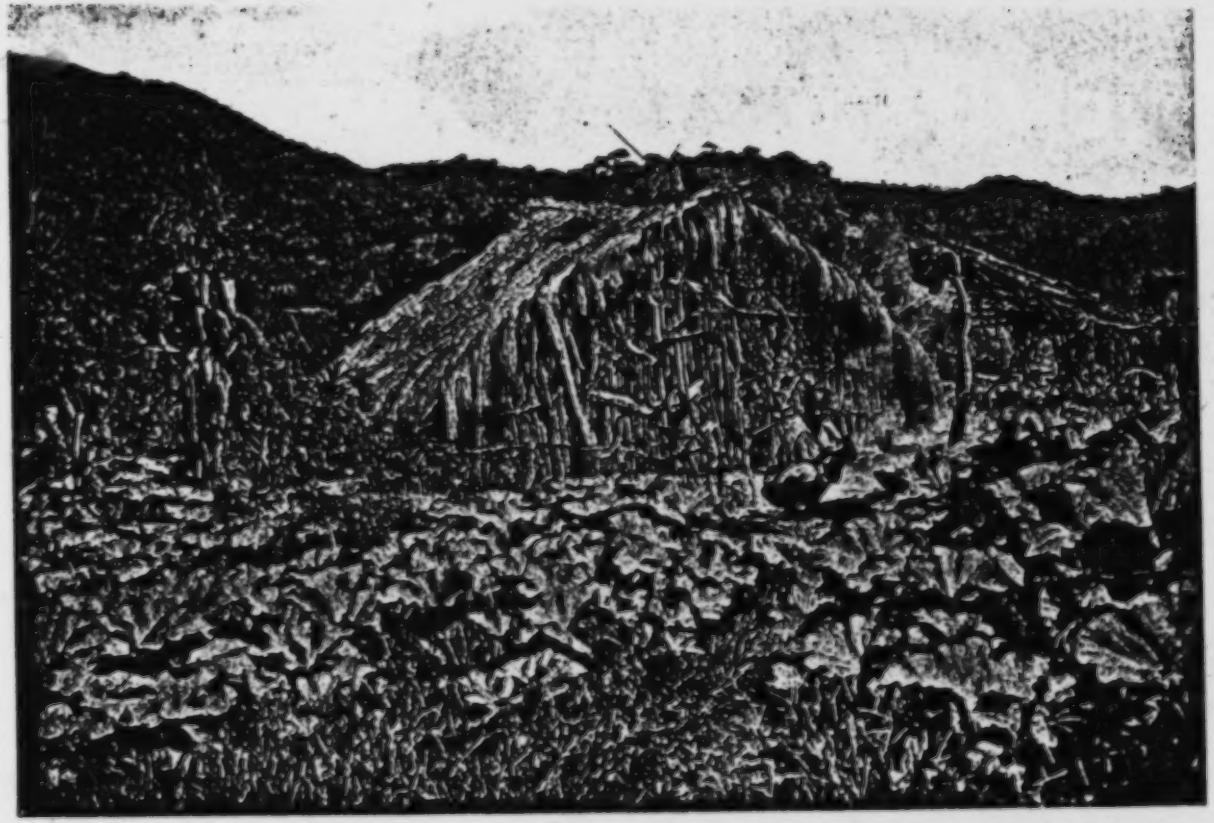


Fig. 189. Woman at a cooking-fire in front of her hut. In the foreground a gourd-patch; to the right an open cooking shed, the roof of which was used as a rough pantry. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

349
342
516
133
250

experiment carried out at Rockelstad in the summer of 1919[1], the »stone-age men» soon found themselves compelled to build a »lave» so that the goats should not damage such foodstuffs and implements as had to be kept outside the hut.[2] 342 343 825 171

It is my belief that the »lave» has also supplied the idea of building dwelling-houses on pole-supports. Wherever people in a certain stage of civilization have found themselves settled on solid ground, they have had need of raised food-platforms, partly for keeping their foodstuffs safe from damage on the part of domestic as well as noxious animals, partly for the purpose of drying, smoking or roasting the food (see pp. 38, 47 and 48). If such a people, living on the edge of a lake or a swamp, had wished — for defensive purposes or some other reason — to build their dwelling-huts or other buildings in the water, then, if the bottom of the lake afforded good holding for piles, such buildings would have been constructed in the same way as the food-platforms or pole-supported granaries previously employed on firm ground (compare fig. 28 with fig. 115). Where the people in question has been lacking in sufficient skill to construct large pile-buildings in the water, or if the lake bottom was unsuited to this mode of construction, then huts were built on rafts or quagmire islands, after the manner of the swamp dwellers of Alvastra and Bangweolo.[3] 174

The furnishing of the Chiriguano huts is exceedingly plain. The fire-place, which forms a very necessary heating centre at night during the cold season, consists of a few stones serving as supports for the cooking pots. There is no hole in the roof for letting out the smoke, which has to find its way out through the doorway or through fissures in the walls. As a rule, the food is generally cooked on a fire outside the hut (fig. 189). 354 [252]

Bedsteads of the type seen in fig. 190 are to be found in nearly every hut. These bed frames are made of laths or reeds, and are covered with skins. Nordenskiöld states as his opinion that the idea of these bedsteads has not been borrowed from the civilization of the whites.[4] In the analytical treatise he has written upon this question he adduces conclusive arguments for his opinion, as it seems to me. In Central Africa, one finds bedsteads that are very similar to the Indian ones,[5] and that certainly have not 352 114 [171]

[1] Klein, pp. 88—89.
[2] Klein (1).
[3] For lake- and marsh dwelling-places in different parts of the world, see Montelius (1).
[4] Nordenskiöld (18), pp. 8—12.
[5] von Rosen (6), p. 403.

231 /18 cont./ with
262 respect to the eating of meat, the Chiriguano depend on their livestock, which, however, according to Nordenskiöld, since they omit the raising of pigs and chickens, is not so numerous as the livestock of the Chorote and the Churupí. They do not
262 241 eat the flesh of asses, horses, /19/ and dogs (78). Although

78. Nord. 1, p. 190.

we do not have exact data on the amount of meat that their livestock yields, we can suppose that it is not very great, and thus these Indians depend principally on vegetable foods, that is, on the products of their agriculture. We should say that, in comparison with maize, all other foodstuffs have almost no importance, except among the Indians of the Parapití, among whom the sweet potato is the most important food (79).

79. Nord. 1, p. 181.

261 In times of shortage they eat various wild plants, principally
273 the sweet pods of the algarroba (November-December), which, coarsely chopped up with water, they allow to ferment in order to produce a kind of chicha which has inebriating qualities (80).

80. Nord. 1, p. 236. Métraux I, pp. 361 and 362.

262 Since meals consist principally of maize, they are very
● 252 monotonous, although the maize is eaten by them in many different forms, either boiled or parched, or as a flour cooked in steam, as a fried maize-cake, in embers /rescoldo/, or as a soft maize-pudding (81). Meat is eaten roasted or boiled,

81. Nord. 1, pp. 188 and 189. Métraux I, pp. 356-358.

263 together with maize. Cooking salt is used at meals. While
317 previously salt (dyúki) was obtained from mines or extracted
437 from earth from salt licks /barreros/, today it is obtained

C
Ce
415
[126]

/48/ ./

2. Vessels Intended for Frying Maize, from the Collection

I. A. 400 (Chirig.). Ht. 14 cm. Max. dia. 33 cm. (Fig. 53a).
I. A. 592 (Izozó). " 10 cm. " " 21.5 cm.

These two vessels are very similar to each other. Both have two small handles on the rim. They differ from one another only in that the division between the flat base and the wall of the Izozó pot is more marked than on the Chiriguano vessel. A vessel very similar to the two described above and from the Chané on the Itiyuru River is shown in a drawing by Erland Nordenskiöld (223). Because Nordenskiöld states that

223. Nord. 2, p. 53 and Fig. 43, N. 23.

this vessel was intended for frying /fritar/ maize, I also consider the two similar vessels in the collection to have been used for that end.

C
415

3. Vessel for Steaming Maize Meal, from the Collection

C
[126]

I. A. 422 (Chiriguano). Height 12.5 cm. Max. dia. 23 cm. (Fig. 52.)

This vessel has some round holes in the bottom, one of which is in the center and the rest in two concentric circles around the central one. According to Nordenskiöld (224),

C
415
252

224. Nord. 2, Fig. 43, N. 22.

who shows in a drawing a vessel very similar to this one, these plates with holes in the bottom are used for steaming the maize meal with which they prepare a dish that they call in Chiriguano "huintimimimo." To do this, they put the plate with the maize meal on the aperture at the top of a pot in which they boil water (225).

225. See Métraux I, p. 357 and (Plate 13) N. 1 and 2.

/57/

Grinding the Raw Materials

C Ce 252 412 For grinding raw materials, principally for grinding corn, the Chiriguano and Chané use large wooden mortars with long pestles (255). Such a wooden mortar is shown in Figure 15 and

255. Nord. 1, p. 51. Métraux 1, p. 365, Fig. 30.

C Ce 412 [171] another one by Nordenskiöld (256). Stone mills are not used by

256. Nord. 1, Fig. 116.

these Indians, although this implement was used, except for the Chaco tribes, by all the tribes whom the Chiriguano had as neighbors after their migration to the west. According to Métraux, a C [515] [388] small stone mill is used only for grinding the seeds of a plant which the Chiriguano use as soap for washing their hair. Such a stone mill is shown in a drawing by Métraux (257).

257. Métraux I, p. 467, Fig. 122.

C 412 171 174 Because the wooden mortar is common even today among the Kainguá /Caingua/, who also belong to the Guaraní linguistic group, and is also mentioned for the ancient Tupinambá /Tupinamba/ of the eastern coast of Brazil, we can assume that the Chiriguano brought this cultural possession from their native land.

C 262 252 412 [171] The fact that mandioca is not important in the economy of these Indians explains why they do not use the wooden grater, the application of which is diffused among so many other Indian tribes of South America who cultivate this nourishing root.

Making Cord and Thread

C Ce 283 The thread that the Chiriguano and Chané make out of wool or cotton is spun by means of the spindle, while that made of caraguata is twisted by hand. We have no information on the way this caraguata thread is twisted.

/76 cont./

C
Ce
252
[415]
[412]

On the Cooking of Meals

Most of the Chiriguano and Chané utensils used /Plates XXXVI-XXXVII appear here/ /77/ for cooking meals have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters, such as pots for cooking food and for fermenting chicha, dishes with holes in the center of the bottom for steaming maize meal, vessels for frying /fritar/ maize, wooden mortars with their pestles, and sieves. For frying /fritar/ meat or fish, the Chiriguano and Chané do not use the quadrangular or triangular stands which are so common among other South American Indians, but instead simple wooden spits (282). Also, as we have already said, the grater for grating mandioca roots is not found among these Indians.

C
Ce
[171]
C
Ce
[412]

282. Nord. 2, p. 55. Métraux I, p. 352 and Figure 22.

Ee
Ce
[415]
[412]

We have yet to mention two other utensils used by the Chiriguano and Chané for fixing their meals, the large wooden dish and the spatula for stirring foods or drinks when they are boiling or fermenting.

C
415
126

Large Wooden Dishes (Platters) in the Collection

I. A. 574. (Chirig.) Lgth 0.83 m. Width 0.39 m. (Fig. 19.)
I. A. 575. " " 1 m. " 0.325 m.

Unfortunately I did not obtain data regarding the special use of these large wooden dishes which I acquired from the Chiriguano in Machareti. As Fig. 19 shows, these large wooden dishes are provided with the same handles as the smaller wooden dishes which serve as vessels for eating.

/22 cont./

137 824 is manufactured. On the slopes of the hills is also found the blackberry /zarzamora/, whose fruit is so pleasant to the palate, but whose thorn, which is like a cat's claw, is quite dangerous and barbed. The mulberry in Chiriguano is called "Tatayigua."

245 NARANJO /orange/. -- Neither the orange nor the lemon are native to the Chiriguano region, but they flourish greatly and grow to some height. Where it is easy to open irrigation ditches and possible to irrigate orange and lemon trees, they produce large, juicy fruit, the former being very sweet and the sourness of the latter being mild. The citron tree flourishes and is a plant imported here; its fruits are as big as gourds. The Chiriguano cultivate the orange tree here and there, but the whites cultivate it on a large scale; I know of some /23/ rather large orange groves, and they exist in nearly all the missions.

137 824 NOGAL. -- This tree of extraordinary height is only found wild; the leaves are very small and somewhat like those of the true nogal; the fruit is edible, but its shell is hard to crack. [258] The flavor and characteristics are the same as those of walnuts, so that oil, which is used instead of that from the olive, can be extracted from them. The wood is rather dark and good [322] for carpentry and cabinetwork, but it is inferior to that of the true nogal, which is found in the cultivated state where there [386] is sufficient moisture; a dark coffee-colored dye is prepared from the leaves, the bark of the trunk, or the roots, for dyeing wool, for staining other woods, and for printing ink.

NOPAL. -- This is the fruit-bearing plant which is most abundant in the region and which is found everywhere without any cultivation, for which reason it is most highly regarded by the Chiriguano, who is naturally lazy. But since it is sought [245] by the cattle, it is beginning to disappear or, more exactly, it is not found very much in the woods and clearings, but the Indian still cultivates it because it flourishes easily without need of irrigation and multiplies without the need of planting other shoots. It is convenient for the laziness of the Indian; the yellow flowers come out around each spathe and the fruit matures there as well; it is full of small seeds and sweet pulp, pleasant and refreshing. Some trees are covered with long

/252 cont./

262 As very savory food there are also cicadas, ants, lizards, locusts, and some green worms which cause disgust just to name them. If a head of cattle dies and putrefaction has begun, the Chiriguano finds it excellent; give it to him and it is a grand gift, and that day is a carnival for him; he does not try to find out whether the animal died from the poison of a viper or rattlesnake or from rabies (1).

262
252

1. When Indians bring home the meat of dead cattle well into a state of putrefaction, they boil it in ollas and throw away the liquid, and in this way it loses much of its bad smell.

262
178 I do not know whether it is through superstition or because they are descendants of the Jews that this tribe formerly did not eat the flesh of the pig; although they like and hunt the wild boar or the peccary, they did not touch the domestic pig, but today almost all of them, with the exception of some women, eat it.

261
262 The Chiriguano suffers in times of hunger or scarcity of food, but he looks for food in the earth; this is very harmful food, which produces various ailments, such as consumption and dysentery. He looks for the potato of the serpentine arum, ex-
[252] tracts it, and, making a hole, heats it, throws the potatoes
[164] there, and covers it with ashes and embers, leaving them overnight; on the following day he and his family eat, but it gives them a bad stomach-ache, which makes them throw themselves down with their bellies to the ground until the pain abates; the same potato, raw, is efficaceous for killing worms in the galls of animals.

[222] Another food in times of scarcity is the Caraguata; this is a kind of aloe with leaves without the oily liquid; the edible
[252] part is the roots, which have a flavor like mandioca; it is considerable work to pull them out of the ground, where they are firmly attached, and the mealy substance is /253/ little enough; to eat it, it is roasted in the coals or under the ashes. When it is the time for fruits and want threatens, the Chiriguano

/253 cont./

261 feed themselves with: algarroba pods, Hibope; chañar /a legume/,
262 Cumbaru; mistol /a fruit/, Yua; tusca, Hibopene; sour algarrobos, Hibope tayi; nopal fruits, Saini; or from the fig, Iva; the higuerilla /little fig/, Caicantina, the thistle /cardo/, Tapiacaru, and the ulala /a kind of cactus/, Ňancagüína (1).

[137] [132]

1. The fruits mentioned and many others are plentiful in the whole area, but in the Ivu region they are more plentiful; the years have now greatly changed; it does not rain as regularly as in times past and the crops are somewhat certain only at the foot of the mountain ranges.

181 Indubitably the Chiriguano, although superior to other nomadic tribes that surround them or border them, are very unfortunate and poor, but, on the other hand, their life is peaceful, they bother no one, and they do not wish to be bothered. When the Chiriguano Indian has food, he is the happiest being on earth; his savage bliss can today be envied by all the rulers and great of the world who live without knowing whether or not they will wake up on the morrow, in view of being surrounded by so many anarchistic dangers, so many bombs and dynamite that the obscure sects make explode, so many excesses that occur and are reported in the newspapers, and so many deaths that are taking place. Oh, this kind of savagery has not penetrated among these savages! That is why they sleep peacefully without fear, in the town, in the countryside, and in the forest, and they are happier than others; those who seek bliss on this earth may well envy these Indians.

/287 cont./

797
164

Santa Rosa Mission, but the use of the vinegar, which I began to administer later, made the mortality stop.

Measles usually attacks children, as does diarrhea, and because they are very delicate it is difficult to treat them, for which reason almost all of them succumb. Lemon and vinegar are efficacious remedies for both illnesses; in many cases I have administered camomile with good results. Diarrhea in infants comes from a scarcity of food, for then the mothers eat very hot things, such as the fruit or potato of serpentine arum, algarrobas, and other wild plants, as a result of which the infants drink the very hot milk, which damages their bellies and produces inflammation (2).

164
261

[757]

2. There exists near or around the lakes a herbaceous plant called pazote, and by the Indians and whites páico. A tisane made from this herb is efficacious against smallpox and measles.

Dysentery occurs in older people, and an occasional case of it shows up even in children. The cause of this illness is the very poor diet in times of want, when they eat wild roots and fruits. Here there is a very effective remedy, which the whites call meloncillo and the Indians Ñurantimbucu. This is a thorny bush with long thorns, from which its name comes. At the time when it buds, or in the springtime, its thorns are slightly purple, and its roots are the remedy. They are boiled and the patient is given this water to drink for a week. The eye sickness attacks all, big and small, without distinction and is so bad that some lose their sight completely or are left with only one eye. In the missions this is treated with white lead or lead acetate, and it suffices to apply it two or three times to bring about a complete cure.

164
757

[797]

164

The convulsive cough, or whooping cough, is another illness which attacks children up to ten years old, causing many deaths. It shows up in the cold months and even in the rainy season, sometimes attacking grown-ups, among whom it does not cause death. There is in the hills a yellow flower which around here is called

[757]

Ee 531 177

/236 cont./

The younger generation, I fear, will prefer German porcelain and enamelware, and with that the Chiriguano and Chané art will become part of the many fine and beautiful things that will disappear before the brutal civilization of the white man. In many villages one is already obliged to rummage around in the corners of the huts if one wishes to find vessels painted with a sure hand and natural taste. The worst thing, however, is that the whites are beginning to take pleasure in the clay vessels of the Indians. This brings about mass production. For the whites everything is good enough, it need be neither beautiful nor well done. They do not want the tasteful and simple, but the garnish and strange, "curiosidades," as the Creole says. Our museums must beware of these curiosities, for they give a mistaken idea of what is truly Indian.

Ee 273

The women brew beer for the festival. This is supposed to be made with maize (preferably yellow or white), and only the poor Chané on the Rio Parapiti must often content themselves with beer made out of sweet potatoes. If algarroba is available, beer is also brewed from this fruit. "It is good and intoxicates so nicely," say the Indians.

Ee 527 261 433

/237/ If the maize harvest is abundant, there is joy in the villages; then there is food and drink in every hut. If the maize crop has failed, there is no joy, stomachs are empty, and it is quiet on the festival plaza. If the granaries are full of maize, the Indian is proud and does not care about whites, suppression, and trouble. If the barn is empty, he is subservient and morose.

Ee 273

After the women have fetched the maize from the granaries and the men have brought wood and the women water, /Fig. 117 *appears here,/ the brewing commences. First the maize is pounded in* large mortars. Day and night one hears the busy women pounding. The pounded maize is sifted and then mixed with water in huge clay vessels and boiled. Then a portion is taken out, chewed, and mixed well with saliva. This is then poured into the rest and, after it has been strained, must ferment in large open vessels with a little heat. The pots are stirred with large wooden spatulas

231 /18 cont./ With
262 respect to the eating of meat, the Chiriguano depend on their livestock, which, however, according to Nordenskiöld, since they omit the raising of pigs and chickens, is not so numerous as the livestock of the Chorote and the Chunupí. They do not
262 eat the flesh of asses, horses, /19/ and dogs (78). Although
241

78. Nord. 1, p. 190.

we do not have exact data on the amount of meat that their livestock yields, we can suppose that it is not very great, and thus these Indians depend principally on vegetable foods, that is, on the products of their agriculture. We should say that, in comparison with maize, all other foodstuffs have almost no importance, except among the Indians of the Parapití, among whom the sweet potato is the most important food (79).

79. Nord. 1, p. 181.

●261 In times of shortage they eat various wild plants, principally
273 the sweet pods of the algarroba (November-December), which, coarsely chopped up with water, they allow to ferment in order to produce a kind of chicha which has inebriating qualities (80).

80. Nord. 1, p. 236. Métraux I, pp. 361 and 362.

262 Since meals consist principally of maize, they are very
252 monotonous, although the maize is eaten by them in many different forms, either boiled or parched, or as a flour cooked in steam, as a fried maize-cake, in embers /rescoldo/, or as a soft maize-pudding (81). Meat is eaten roasted or boiled,

81. Nord. 1, pp. 188 and 189. Métraux I, pp. 356-358.

263 together with maize. Cooking salt is used at meals. While
317 previously salt (dyúki) was obtained from mines or extracted
457 from earth from salt licks /barreros/, today it is obtained

/338 cont./

241 Sorghum (triku) (Sorghum saccharíferum) (1):

[262] 1. Sorghum is cultivated only on a very small scale. It is a delicacy that the Chiriguano reserve for children, who suck its stalk.

/339/ Sugar cane:
Melons:
Watermelons (sandías):
Prickly pear (saini) (Opuntia spec.):
Fig trees:
Orange trees (in the missions).

[179] The Chiriguano cultivate only on a very small scale the plants which, like sorghum, sugar cane, fig trees, and orange trees, have been introduced by the Europeans. Of these only melons enjoy general favor.

248 They always devote some parts of their fields to the cultivation of plants of value only for their arts and manufactures. These are: cotton plants (mandiyú), cucurbitaceous plants (iá) which grow on the ground next to their squash and furnish the containers they need, roucou (urukú), which scarcely exists except in the northern part of their habitat, and finally a species of reed (Arundo donax) with which they make the shafts of their arrows.

249 They also plant tobacco (pétí), but I have never seen any in their fields. According to Nordenskiöld (10, p. 25), its [276] cultivation is insignificant and rare. The Chiriguano are not [123] great smokers, and the numerous packs of cigarettes I took along for them found only a few devotees. Among the Toba, Matako /Mataco/, or Chorotí /Chorotí/ my stocks would have been exhausted in the wink of an eye, for these Indians love tobacco more than anything in the world.

276 The use of tobacco among the ancient Chiriguano, as among 756 their ancestors in Paraguay or Brazil, was reserved for the 824 medicine men for their magical operations. Their use made [178] of it a plant endowed with "mystical" virtues, and its

/348 cont./

289 439 [484] [435] half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

294 178 231 433 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago, those who /Plate XII appears here/ /348/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 435 [464] [465] The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

471 23 [435]

[262] [198] 1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is disappearing nowadays (Nino, p. 202).

556 they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows: and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Nawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text continues on p. 93]

/349 cont./

556 [435] [439] tendency to estimate the value of objects in cows. For example, a loom with a nearly finished poncho was offered to me "for a cow," and the owner of the loom could not understand that it was difficult for me to convert the exchange into money.

262 [251] Charqui, or meat dried in the sun, most often replaces fresh meat in the menus of our Indians. It is not a question of preference, but of necessity. Charqui is cheap and is bought in any estancia.

Fishing

221 226 When I went through the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Parapití, the rivers were in flood, the corn was ripening in the fields, and no Indian wanted to let the parrots eat his corn in order to go to catch fish at the risk of getting himself carried off by the current. If I had come back to these same villages in July or August, the scene would have been completely different. The rivers would have been only thin trickles of water, and in every direction I should have perceived men /350/ and women busy fishing. The fishing season would have been at its height.

[196] The Chiriguano, having come from a country rich in watercourses, have in this respect preserved the traditions of their ancestors of the Paraná or the Paraguay.

226 Some, equipped with large landing nets (Fig. 18), form barriers against the current and advance, gathering the fish as if with a spoon. Then they grab them and attach them to their [229] [482] belts, after /Fig. 18 appears here/ threading them on a cord by means of a wooden needle (Fig. 19). Others lie in wait for a fish in the water and, as it goes by, impale it with an arrow equipped with several points (Fig. 20) or simply with two long, barbed wooden rods. Some, with the help of stone barriers, try to make the fish converge toward the opening of a wicker trap (1). Sometimes a group of individuals turn aside a

1. Compare Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 280): "in summer (the Chiriguano) divert a stretch of the river: they leave the fish in the drained

/351/
226 /Figs. 19-22 appear here/ /352/ Chiriguano attach them to the
[227] end of long cords. A spear with one or two points serves to harpoon the enormous surubí which pass within their reach
[481] (Fig. 21). It goes without saying that the Chiriguano are marvelous swimmers.
262 439 The Chiriguano like fish (1). If they live far from the

226 195 227 481

1. The skill of the Chiriguano at fishing had already attracted the attention of the ancient chroniclers. Acosta (Vol. I, p. 236) reports that he had a chance to see them handle the spear, a specimen of which is reproduced here in Figure 21. "Some Chiriguanas plunged under the water and, swimming with admirable speed, followed the fish, and with some fish spears, or harpoons, which they carried in the right hand, swimming only with the left, they struck the fish; and, spearing it thus, they came up, so that they certainly seemed to be more fish than men of the land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Rosen (1, Fig. 215, p. 213) represents a Chiriguano holding one of these two-pointed spears in his hand.

262 439 Pilcomayo and cannot get any directly, they buy it from the Toba or the Matako, who are good fishermen and in addition have the advantage of living on the very banks of the lower Pilcomayo.

[482] In the dry season one can see near Pilcomayo a continual coming and going of Chiriguano, bent under the weight of their
[484] nets full of ears of corn that they are going to barter for fresh or dried fish. They would not hesitate, it appears, to travel 150 kilometers to feast on it (Nino, p. 251).

/352 cont./

C 252 The fish begins by being opened and cleaned and only then is it boiled or roasted. In this last case it is inserted between the two branches of a switch split for three quarters of its length (Fig. 22). So that the latter does not open completely, the lower part is fastened securely with bands of bark, and so that the fish does not fall out once it is inserted in the interstice, the upper part. Among their ancestors, the Guarani, G [252] such a spit would have been superfluous, because to grill the product of their fishing or hunting they used to construct C [251] buccans. Our Chiriguano also eat fish dried in the sun and [262] enjoy it in this form combined with some corn dish.

/353/

Chapter IV

Cooking

Fire

C 372 177 The modern Chiriguano more and more use matches of Bolivian make, but their poor quality has contributed to maintaining the popularity of the tinderbox. That of the Chiriguano, borrowed recently from the white men, is composed of a flint and a piece of iron with which they make sparks fly, which fall on a little wild cotton (the one which the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) produces). This tow (tata rimbiuna) is kept in a small receptacle made from the end of a cow horn or an armadillo tail. /Figs. 23 and 24 appear here./ It is hermetically sealed by a wooden disk, which a small cord passing inside the capsule and coming out through a hole at the tip of the horn or tail allows to be put back in place with a single motion. This ingenious contrivance is not, however, of Indian invention; I saw it adapted to the tinderboxes of the creoles in the Argentine Republic. Some Chiriguano make cloth wicks which at first sight would seem C [415] to have been produced in one of our factories. The tinderbox [281] with its accessories is carefully kept in small bags of deerskin, wildcat, iguana, etc. (Figs. 23 and 24).

/354 cont./

372 small stick was too short to be handled with ease, he fastened it securely to another stick by means of vegetable fibers (embira) (Fig. 25). This done, he sat down on the ground, pressing the soles of his feet on the small cupped stick, and imparted with the palms of the hands a rotating movement to the other stick. The glowing sawdust which was detached by the effect of the friction fell on dried dung placed near the gadget to serve as tinder, which, at the end of a rather short time, began to catch fire.

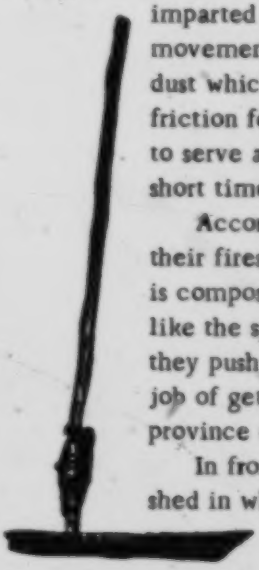
354

According to the season, the Chiriguano light their fires inside the hut or outside. The hearth is composed of long branches which they lay out like the spokes of a wheel. As the ends burn, they push them closer to the central fire. The job of getting the dead wood falls within the province of the men (Fig. 26).

[462] [313]

343

In front of the huts they often erect a little shed in which the women do the cooking. The



[372] ← Fig. 25. Ancient apparatus for making fire, reconstructed by a modern Chiriguano. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/6 nat. size.)

roof of this shelter serves as a shelf for putting provisions and utensils on.

Preparation of Food

262 The modern Chiriguano do not seem to observe any food prohibitions, at least in daily life, for the custom of fasting, for women at the time of puberty and for men upon the birth of a child, is not yet lost. In olden days certain animals /355/ were taboo (1). The men of a few villages thus reserved for themselves

[789] [825]

[775]

1. In order not to kill one of their dead relatives transformed into a fox, the Chiriguano

/355 cont./

142
291
351
372

Fig. 26 Chiriguano woman lighting a fire. Upper Pilcomayo. (Photo. A. M.)

262
[975] do not hunt nor eat this animal (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 3).

[756] Medicine men cannot under any circumstances eat pimento. If a man refuses to taste this condiment, one can be sure he is a magician (id., p. 184).

[765] Grilled corn is strictly forbidden for persons in mourning, whose tears would dry up if they ate this dish.

[825] the exclusive right to eat deer meat, which thus instilled in them
[789] the agility and suppleness of this animal. Women could eat, without

262 /355 cont./ Women could eat, without
[562] harm, parrot, a heavy and stupid bird. In their misogyny the Chiriguano doubtless figured that that would not change their nature in any way. (Campana, p. 92.)

252 Cooking is not a secondary activity; it is an important form /Fig. 26 appears here/ of the material culture and an excellent index for judging the cultural level of a human group. The art of preparing dishes reveals as well as any tool the faculties of invention and taste. In South America one can very well classify the tribes according to the more or less great variety of their dishes and the care they take in preparing them. This hierarchy would certainly correspond to that of the cultural elements.

[171] In the Chaco, Chiriguano cooking stands in contrast by its variety, its /356/ taste, and its cleanness to that of the more primitive tribes like the Toba or the Matako.

Before passing on to the study of the utensils used by the Chiriguano housewives, it is fitting to describe their menus.

When the Chiriguano kill a cow, goat, or sheep, the meat is boiled in water, roasted on a spit, or dried in the sun (charqui). They are especially partial to the head of the animal they kill, and they eat it boiled after skinning it. The pieces of meat are cleaned carefully before being cooked; and the tripe, for example, which is a delicacy, is taken out beforehand.

Corn is prepared in various ways. If the ears are tender and green, they are boiled in water or grilled over the fire or under the ashes.

When the corn is still in this state, the women prepare simbikuai or humitas (in Spanish). They bite with an appetite into the still tender ears, chew the kernels for a long time, and spit them into a calabash. This white mash saturated with saliva is wrapped in corn leaves and put under the ashes.

[415] The Chiriguano give the name of atipíi to kernels of corn roasted in a special bowl called tapuipe (Plate XIII, 3) or in large potsherds, which tend more and more to replace the primitive utensil appropriate for this use. The atipíi requires

/357 cont./

252 A rudimentary way of preparing corn, but also little valued, consists of boiling the kernels in water for a long time until they have become soft (atiruru) (3).

262 881 765 846

3. Atiruru is a dish whose consumption is intimately associated with the observance of magico-religious prohibitions. It is the only permissible nourishment for girls when they have their first menstrual periods, for people in mourning, and for women for a period of ten days after giving birth (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 14).

252 262 /358/ The Chiriguano make a broth with corn flour (api) and meat, which is not bad.

They do not use haphazardly the 11 varieties of corn which they cultivate. Each, according to its properties, is intended for the preparation of a definite dish. Yellow corn (avati-hendi-vaé or avati-iyu-vaé) serves for making chicha or corn beer; white corn (avati-ndi) is roasted, as is avati-kanana. The corn called katlintli, or crinkled corn, is generally roasted, as are avati-tlore and avati-saimpini (gray corn), which are intended to be roasted and made into flour.

262 Avati-rai, or small corn, is planted only in times of scarcity when the harvest has been bad. Of small stature, it yields only one ear of reduced size, but has the advantage of growing fast (Nino, pp. 241-242).

A Chiriguano's meal in normal times is not made up exclusively of corn, even if this grain figures in all his menus. The popularity which corn has is also shared by beans, or kumanda. The Chiriguano cultivate 11 varieties of them also.

The Chiriguano eat beans either dry or fresh. In the [252 263] latter case they are cooked in the pod in water or under ashes. Beans boiled in the pod are seasoned with pimento. Then one has the dish called sapiriwa.

/358 cont./

252 In order to shell dry beans, the women make a big pile of them which they put on a hide; then, sitting down beside it, they hammer them with a stick as if with a flail. The seeds are loosened, and to separate them from the pod they take handfuls which they winnow (Fig. 27). They carry out this operation several times until not a single seed is left sticking to the pods. Next they collect them into a pile with a small broom and rid them of all impurities by shaking them in a sieve. The shelled beans are kept in vessels.

At Carurutí every morning I was offered a dish of beans cooked in the following way: a handful of beans, with a little water, was put on the fire in an improvised frying pan formed out of a large potsherd. In an instant the water was evaporating and the beans beginning to smoke; this was the moment to take them off and serve them.

The underground oven, which among other American tribes is used almost exclusively for cooking meat, has been adapted by the Chiriguano to a more humble use: in a hole which they make in the ground and which they have first heated, they bury fresh beans and leave them until they are done (Nino, p. 243).

262 After beans in order of importance come squash or gourds
252 (andai ankú, and ginda). The Indians boil them or roast them
[263] under ashes. In the first case they season them with pimento or salt to make gindaka-mikira, or squash fat. The /359/ seeds are also roasted and eaten with corn flour, atipíi, or beans.

The Indians of the Caipipendí valley sometimes, but rarely, ate sweet manioc tubers. They boiled them in water or roasted them under ashes.

Sweet potatoes or camote (in Chiriguano: yeti) are roasted or boiled. They were served to me only two or three times.

/Fig. 27 appears here./

263 The Chiriguano like condiments and season all their vegetables with them; in the bean pot they put pimento, which with them occurs in the form of extremely strong small oval fruits, green and red. I have also seen ground red pimento. In the villages where the Indians use crystallized salt, they break it into small

T /360 cont./
195 their four fingers from the earthen dish or other vessel in
264 which they keep it, even though they throw it from rather far away, nevertheless they put it so accurately into their mouths that they do not drop a single bit. So that some of us Frenchmen, wishing to imitate them, thought we would eat it in that fashion, and not being at all trained for that like them, instead of throwing it in our mouths, we discharged it on our cheeks and floured our whole face; /361/ consequently unless those principally who wore beards would have wanted to be accoutered as players of farces, we were constrained to take it with spoons" (Léry, Vol. I, pp. 143-144).

T This comparison permitted me to suppose that roasted
262 corn flour has simply replaced the "farinha" of the Brazilians.
252 As we know, the pulp of manioc tubers, after being carefully
264 squeezed in the tipiti, or trough, was roasted on a terra-cotta slab and changed into dry flour, with which the Tupinamba accompanied all their meals. The Chiriguano think the same
C ● 262 way about atĩi: they say that corn flour, in order to be eaten,
264 must have an accompaniment, an intina. To my way of think-
176 ing, atĩi and muĩnti are two substitutes for manioc flour that the Chiriguano invented or adapted after emigrating into a
C land where bitter manioc was unknown. Neither the other tribes
[171] of the Chaco nor the Quichua eat corn in this form, and, to my knowledge at least, there is no doubt that the Chiriguano introduced these two dishes into the country, without counting a goodly number of the ones which have been enumerated.

C The only fruits that the Chiriguano consume on a large
262 scale are the prickly pear or tuna (Opuntia), which are seen
C in all their villages. They also plant some fig and orange
[245] trees when they are under mission influence. They are also
[197] great lovers of melons, of sandias (watermelons), and when they have eaten one of these which has pleased them particularly, they keep the seed. They love sugar cane with a passion. Sorghum is especially meant for the children, for whom these graminaceae are a veritable sweetmeat. They suck the juice, which is as sweet as that of sugar cane.

/361 cont./

262
252 Among the foods that nature gives them spontaneously can be counted the caraguatá, whose mealy roots, roasted on embers or under ashes, remind one a little of manioc tubers.

The pods of a mimosaceae (?), which remind one of large beans and for this reason are called iwira-kumanda, were pointed out to me as being edible. I have found this information confirmed in an article by Campana (p. 97), who adds that these fruits have a bitter taste which they lose only after several repeated cookings.

To this list must be added the fruits of the algarroba, mistol, tusca, bitter algarroba, ulala, higuerilla, etc. Chañar fruit can also help them to stand famine. Since they are sweet, they can be eaten raw, cooked, or in the form of bread after being pounded in a mortar.

In Father D. Giannechini's Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., one finds enumerated a large number of plants which grow wild and which the Chiriguano eat by necessity or to vary their menus. These are:

/362/ The roots of the kaaratiro, red and stringy outside but white inside. They are edible and even pleasant tasting after being cooked in three waters (p. 18).

The watery tubers, of the size of a small onion, which the Chiriguano call iwía and of which the children are very fond. One belief has it that the spirit inhabiting this plant hides it from those who look for it if they do not observe silence or if they point at it (p. 80).

The fruit of the shrub iwira-rorai (p. 82).

The tubers of a kind of wild yuca which they call, like the cultivated species, mandío or mandionsi. This is a bitter plant, prickly and poisonous. To eat this root they cut it in pieces and cook it in several waters to make it lose its sharpness and its poison (p. 99).

A kind of wild potato known by the name mangara which the Chiriguano dig up and eat in times of scarcity. This tuber is edible only after being boiled in several waters (p. 100).

The herb monki would be equally edible (p. 133).

A certain liana (supúa) whose leaves can be eaten if other food is lacking (p. 193).

/362 cont./

262 [252] The Chiriguano call kumanara a leguminous plant, wild, which resembles the yuca and which can serve as food after being boiled. They resort to it only when pressed by hunger. The word designating this plant has a strange resemblance to [192] the name of the batata in the Quichua dialects of Ecuador and northern Peru (Rivet, 3, pp. 583-590). It is perhaps a question of a Quichua word introduced into the Chiriguano language to designate a plant of which they did not have the equivalent in their original homeland. The case is nevertheless rare, and one can wonder if it is not a simple coincidence.

[222] [191] Neither do the Chiriguano look down on honey, although they do not seek it with the passion of their cousins, the Kaingué. What I tasted among them was contained in thin honeycombs having the consistency of cardboard. It had a pleasant taste.

222 784 Any Indian who goes in search of honey (ei) must not make his intention known to anyone and, if he is asked where he is [176] going, he must answer: "To look for wood." If you do not take these precautions, the protecting spirit of the honey is warned of your plan and hides the honeycombs he guards (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 86).

222 114 The missionary Corrado (p. 43) assures us that grasshoppers, cicadas, the larvae of bees are that many delicious [252] dishes for the Chiriguano. He adds that these insects are roasted. Nino (p. 247) reproduces the statements of his predecessor and completes the list of strange foods by adding /363/ ants, lizards, leaves of the cucurbitaceae, melted tallow, etc. Personally I [191] have never seen the Chiriguano touch these dishes strange to our palates, but I am all the more inclined to believe these two missionaries that the tastes they indicate are actually those of the Indians in other regions.

262 252 Already in the 16th century the Chiriguano passed as snake lovers, even of poisonous species. They cut off the head and tail, skinned them, and roasted pieces of them on live coals. They used to eat them with pimento. No doubt the Spaniards con- [198] fused snakes with iguanas, which even today the Chiriguano justly like (Lizárraga, Vol. I, p. 260).

/363 cont./

234 To end up, one could still cite among Chiriguano food
262 the cheese they make in some villages. Each time they
butcher they take care to keep the abomasus in order to make
[199] milk separate. Chiriguano cheeses are of the same quality as
those of the half-breeds, who for once have taught something
[292] to our Indians. I shall add that I have never seen a Chiriguano
drink milk.

312 The problem of water does not come up for the Chiriguano
133 as for the other Indians of the Chaco. Numerous rivers cross
their territory, and several of them are large enough not to dry
up even in the middle of the dry season. These watercourses
form innumerable quebradas, gorges or valleys, which give
its characteristic aspect to the country inhabited by our Indians.
[361] Sometimes villages are built near springs or small lakes, like
the Ivu mission, which is provided with plenty of water.

312 When I crossed the Caipipendí valley, the river which
occupies the bottom was nearly dry. The Indians had scooped
out small wells about one meter in depth in the sand of its
bed. They had surrounded them with slabs of stone to prevent
any caving in and to preserve the water which accumulated in
them from the heat of the sun. In this same valley, in a village
situated on top of a hill, the Indians had dug a cistern four to
five meters in diameter in which rain water had collected.

291 The Chiriguano have found a way to purify the muddy
312 water they often have to drink. They crush caraguatá leaves
824 between two stones, then steep them in the water, and all its
impurities settle as a result of the action of the juice of this plant.

264 The Chiriguano do not eat at set times. They make a
rather substantial breakfast very early in the morning and again
take some food toward the middle of the day. In the evening
[562] about six o'clock they make a kind of dinner. Since the men
are served first, then the women and children, it follows that
the meals drag out in length. At any moment of the day one
[415] can see someone eating. The food /364/ is presented to each
one in a calabash or terra-cotta bowl which each holds on his
knees. They pick up the pieces with their fingers but imbibe
liquids with a wooden spoon (Figs. 42 and 43). After eating,
they wash their hands. I have seen some rinse out their mouths.

/456 cont./

285 294 A half-finished hat (Fig. 113) which I was able to acquire at Carurutí shows well the process of fabrication. The basket-maker begins by making the crown of the hat, interlacing 36 tigellas and shortly afterward adding other supplementary stalks whose ends are seen protruding. When the hat is finished, all those projecting beyond the fabric are cut off. The rhythm of the crossing elements is twofold.

285 276 Figure 114. Length, 10 centimeters; width, 8 centimeters. Provenance: Carurutí.

This cigarette case faithfully imitates the ones the Chiriguano have seen in the hands of half-breeds or creoles. Nevertheless, its technique is interesting, for it is purely indigenous. The /Plate LXXXI appears here/ /457/ tigellas of karandaí leaves cross in a twofold rhythm.

The Chiriguano are not great smokers and it is rare to find cigarettes among them, so that these cases seem to me to be made for amusement rather than for their practical utility.

Sieves

415 252 There is no Chiriguano housewife who does not have at her disposal at least two sieves. The importance of this kitchen utensil corresponds to the considerable role of corn [262] flour in their food. Of the 12 different dishes that the Chiriguano prepare from this grain, there are six or seven in which it appears in the form of flour. Kãwi itself is made with corn pounded in a mortar and then passed through a sieve. Sieves serve also for cleaning beans and ridding them of the stones and dust accompanying them. Finally, sieves are used for straining kãwi after cooking and for separating the liquid, which is to ferment, from the marc or temiñu. They can also be used as simple baskets, and I have seen some holding cotton seeds.

/2 cont./

121 elegant or labored, natural or stilted, which can be observed in one book by a single author. But the fact is that I can only write it here, since only the Indians are able to smooth out the difficulties which naturally will arise in the course of these pages.

I am familiar with almost the entire region inhabited by the Chiriguano, with the exception of a few small areas, but this is of little importance, as much because they are not of historical importance as because I have obtained data about them which show them to be like the rest. It would even be easy to make a map of the region, but I am embarrassed to say that I am not competent to do this.

General View

133 The region which the Chiriguano Indians occupy today is composed of many little valleys /cañadas/ which run from north to south; they are separated by mountain ridges which vary in size, height, precipitous slopes, deep gorges, and incalculable depths. Its length is quite considerable, while its breadth is not over 180 kilometers. The mountains rise to 3,000 meters and more above sea level, but at that altitude there is no longer any vestige of forest, while at 1,200 meters the woods are exuberant.

In the midst of the valleys low hills cross in every direction, and there are some which from a distance look like larger hills or on their way to becoming such; others are completely isolated and quite small, but they attract the attention of the traveler because of their conical shape, like the traditional "Tunparepoti", located at the beginning of the pampas of Yvu. There is no hill which does not make room
• [262] upon its breast for a multitude of trees of every size and description, like a grove, and /3/ another multitude of vines like the bejuco and low-lying plants of the cactus family, which the Indian uses by eating their fruit, whose combined acrideness and sweetness would make them please and be preferred by the most aristocratic lady of the city of Paris.

/17 cont./

245 137 824 [302] [303] [439]

and feet with them, as will be seen; for this last purpose it is prepared beforehand, many pods being boiled in an olla, and pastes of every size are made from the decoction, depending on the value that they wish them to have; it is traded by Chiriguanos and whites.

137 824

The Bixa orellana, or "Urucu," as the Indians call it, is a plant of high value for the Chiriguano; he will travel far to obtain a small amount in the towns or places where it is prepared.

ALGARROBO. -- The place where this extraordinarily large tree abounds is in the pampas; thus in the plain of "Curuyuqui" of Yvu Mission, Isoso, Parapiti, and the Gran Chaco it is found forming forests. It is very bulky and has long branches which on some touch the ground; its trunk is thick and not always erect, the wood is excellent, similar to oak in spite of being dark, and it is much used for making tuns, door and window casings, and even for barrels. In Chiriguano this tree is called /18/ "Ivopei," and the "Ivope" pod is long, compressed, and yellow; when it is ripe, it is sweet and much sought after by livestock and by the Chiriguano; it is their food and drink in times of scarcity as well as other times, and the mead that they make is extremely intoxicating. On the bank of the Pilcomayo even the whites eat this pod; the Toba, Choroti, Mataco, and others hold their orgies when the algarrobo ripens.

[342] [415] [262] [273]

ALGARROBO CHICO. -- This is a smaller tree than the previous one, even its fruit is smaller, speckled in color, and sweeter than the true algarrobo, but not as abundant as the first. As the pods are small and the seeds within abundant, it is not highly thought of among the Chiriguano; they only eat it out of necessity or as a tidbit; the wood is not valued very highly because undoubtedly there are others that are better. In Chiriguano it is called "Ivope rai."

[262]

ALGARROBO AGRIO. -- This is also small, and it is called "sour" because the flavor of the pods really is sour. In times of scarcity it is also food for the Chiriguano; the pods are small, and the tree has its congenial sites. The Chiriguano Indians call it "Ivopetayi."

[262]

/18 cont./

137 824 ALGARROBO NEGRO. -- Among the Indians this is called "Ivopene," and the whites call it tusca; it multiplies and grows very fast. Sometimes 20 or 30 newly sprouted plants can be counted around a single cake of cow dung, which indicates that the cattle eat it in abundance, and where it does not already exist they sow it with their bowels. It grows to a height of some three meters and is very thorny, which makes it difficult to travel through places where it is abundant; when there is no other food it is one of the Chiriguano's resources. [262]

[322] ALGAROBILLA. -- The wood of this plant, which the Chiriguano call "Iguirayepiro," is black and very good for cabinetmakers; it is a species of ebony and is strong. Implements of war and those for fiestas of the tribes are made of this wood; its trunk is twisted, and it rarely has a single trunk; the flowers are yellow and the berries much sought after, by goats, but it makes them abort.

ALGODONERO /cottonwood/. -- This is a leafy tree with many branches; it grows to a height of two meters, has yellow flowers and a white boll when it is ripe, which is then picked, dried in the sun, the material pulled away from the seeds and cleaned. The "mandiyu" cotton is very useful; hammocks, ponchos, saddlebags, and sacks are made with it; it would even be easy to manufacture macana, but this is not done because what comes from outside is very cheap and /19/ showier, even though it is not as strong as the other. Its [157] leaves used as a poultice are anticancerous, and its seeds in the form of a pomade work against herpes and skin eruptions; oil for lighting can be extracted from the seeds.

ANNONA. -- The annona is a bush which grows to barely one meter; it has congenial places, the pampas, which have soil mixed with sand. In the said pampas it thrives in abundance, but it is even found in other places. The ripe fruit is red and like the pineapple in shape, but the pulp and seeds are like the chirimoya, as is the flavor of the pulp. Before it ripens, even the skin is very similar to that of the chirimoya. The Chiriguano call it "Asrico."

ASPIDOSPERMO BLANCO. -- This tree is of great size and it is abundant almost everywhere; the wood is white and good

/19 cont./

137 824 [859] in dry places: when dampness penetrates it, it is destroyed in a few years, as experience has shown. The bark that is found under the first layer is split, washed in tepid water, and left to steep overnight: it cures intermittent fever. The Argentinians call it cacha, the whites quebracho, and the Chiriguano "Iqiiram."

AZUFAIFO /jujube tree/. -- This is abundant hereabouts [262] and is a tree of medium size. Its wood is not valued very highly, but the fruit, the size of a grape seed and of a dark coffee color, is a great resource in times of scarcity for the poor Chiriguano. It ripens in January and February and is liked even by cattle and by sheep and pigs. The whites call it mistol and the Chiriguano "Tuá."

245 BANANA TREE. -- Cultivated in orchards and well fenced-in fields, it forms a grove, and each plant yields or produces a cluster, very large on some of them. When the ripe cluster is removed, the plant that produced it must be cut in order that the others may produce their own. There are several [262] varieties, large and small, the latter very sweet and eaten as fruit, and the former only when boiled and roasted: the whites call them plátano, and the Chiriguano "Pacoba."

137 824 BEGONIA ACUOSA. -- This is a tiny little bush one vara in height, which under the ground has a large root like a [871] watermelon and even larger: it contains much pulp which, when squeezed, yields potable water and is used for it in times of scarcity. The Chiriguano call it "Siqui."

[342] CATALPA. -- This is a large tree and fairly strong. Its wood is used in the construction of houses. The color of the /70/ wood is dark, but when it is newly cut it is somewhat [515] green. Its flowers are purple, and the Chiriguano chew them to whiten their teeth: they are bitter and because of this the tree is called "Tari," or bitter. In Chiriguano, the whites call it lapacho.

CEIBA. -- A large tree with deformed trunk, and furnished with sharp points, broad leaves, and large, white flowers which produce a material similar to cotton without fibers, for which reason it is smoother and shinier: it is used for mattresses [322] and pillows and candle wicks. The wood is spongy and not at all hard: from it are made troughs to hold water from year [415] to year and in this way they are not soon damaged. Its sides

/20 cont./ ETS Oakes

are good for the manufacture of soap. the bark is an emetic. The whites call it tabaschi and the Chiriguano "Samuú." There are several varieties and all of them are utilized to some degree or other.

CEDRO. -- This tree is smaller than the former. but its wood is much superior. very fibrous. and rather light in weight. being used to make troughs which are very durable since they neither split nor are eaten by wood bores. It is very pretty when it blooms: the flowers are fiery red and good for salads. The Chiriguano call it "Itaiaudi."

DRAGO /dragon tree/. -- A tall tree. straight and quite thick: the wood is strong and useful. If an incision is made in the tree. a very red resin comes out: its bark is the best for making the teeth hard and for curing scurvy. The gum called "dragon's blood" is extracted from this tree. The whites call it tipa and the Chiriguano "Ollapitiya guasu."

ENEA /cattail/. -- An aquatic plant which abounds in certain ponds and pools formed by the water of rivers which flow away from the main stream: the Indians use it for roofing their houses. mattresses for packsaddles. and others for mats in the dwellings. on which they also have their bedding for sleeping. This is the totora or matara of the whites and the "Caipenge" of the Chiriguano.

ESTORAQUE /ceiba/. -- This is a very large tree of the forest: it has whitish flowers and yellow fruit the size of a fig. which is edible and a favorite of parrots and monkeys: the Chiriguano eat it as a fruit and call it "Aguai."

GARGATEA or CARECA MANSATA. -- This tree is not very abundant nor is it found in every section. It is of normal size. with a straight trunk and smooth bark rather than the fig tree: the wood is soft and is of no use at all. being similar to that of the ceiba. or tabaschi. Its leaves are like those of the fig tree. and the fruit is of the /TU/ same size and form. but yellow: it is edible and good when boiled or roasted. If eaten raw. it hurts the mouth. In Chiriguano it is called "Caincantina."

/21 cont./

137 GUAYABO /guava/. -- This fruit-bearing tree is found
824 wild and cultivated; it is of medium size, and the fruit, when
[245] ripe, is yellow on the outside and purple on the inside, and
its bittersweet flavor is very pleasant and laxative. The green
fruit and the roots are astringent; the Chiriguano know it by
the same name. The wood has no use at all, and even if it
[262] did, the Indians would not use it because it produces edible fruit.
They regret it when any of these trees and others, like the
algarrobo, are destroyed.

GÜEMBE. -- This plant thrives on the trunks of high trees,
where it puts its root, and others which penetrate the ground
[492] hang down from there. The roots and lianas are dark in color;
very strong and durable halters are made from its bark; it is
not found everywhere. One encounters it from the left bank
of the Parapiti River; its fruit is similar to that of maize, for
which reason it is called maize of the air, and it is edible.

HIGUERA AMERICANA /American fig/. -- This is the
[262] guapoy of the Chiriguano and the bibosi of the populace; al-
though the fruit is rather sour, it is edible. Bats like it, and it
[797] is annoying to have this tree near the dwellings; it has a milky
juice like the common fig tree, which, applied to wounds,
heals them. In addition to the above fig tree, there is the
[245] common one which flourishes with very little care, in the towns,
[439] especially the Mission ones, it is widely cultivated by the
[431] natives and its fruit is used by them for gifts and trade with the
whites.

244 MANDIOCA. -- This plant is called "Mandio" or
"Mandiporopi" by the Chiriguano Indians. A little book
written by a Jesuit missionary of the old Paraguay missions
relates that this plant was left to those Indians by Saint
Thomas the Apostle who, according to their tradition, came
here to preach the doctrine of the Redeemer. Mandioca is
[252] an excellent food and very digestible; it is eaten boiled,
[262] roasted, and fried in lard. It is a plant cultivated by whites
and by Indians.

/24 cont./

245 PAPAYO. -- This tree is neither native like the palma Christi, nor is it found wild like the latter. It is grown in orchards or in well-fenced fields, grows very fast, and produces fruit one year after being planted. Its trunk is straight, soft, and hollow; some have two or three branches and rise up to four meters high. The fruit is refreshing, yellow, with a smooth skin, of the size and shape of a small melon, even the flavor being somewhat similar, but it is more digestible. Many fruits are bunched around the trunk and are also found here and there at each leaf, but always attached to the trunk. The plants which produce the fruit are the good ones, and they call them "females." There are others which they call "males," but their fruits are useless and are not attached to the trunk, but rather hang from it like streamers. It is useless to pick them. To have a good papayo tree they assert that, in transplanting one, it is necessary to take the precaution of always putting or burying two plants in each hole, one of which will always be a female, and the one which turns out to be male will be pulled out. I do not know if this is true, but I did it this way in January of this year. The fruit contains many seeds which, [251] when ground and drunk in an emulsion, are good for getting rid of worms. The fruit and the tree have a resinous milk. [252] Therefore, in order for the fruit to be good and digestible, it is better to cut off the ends and make about five or six vertical cuts so that this resin may come out; by the next day /illustration appears here/ /25/ it is already very pleasant. It is nevertheless best to take the precaution of letting them begin to ripen on the plant itself; in this condition, uncut, they will last up to six days without going bad; then they can easily be transported great distances.

137 824 [252] [262] PASSION FLOWER. -- This is a climber which is found on fences, clothing them in the rainy season with abundant foliage, as does the "ugua," whose fruit is edible and good roasted or boiled, as is the leaf. The fruit of the passion flower is of the size of an apple and just as smooth, the skin is thin and the inside is found to be covered with a white, stringy membrane. When this is broken, the seeds of the fruit come

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 43]

/27 cont./

[137] which is purple when mature and opens into three sections
[824] when ripe. It has an insipid sweetness, but one which both
[262] whites and Chiriguano like. The color is a bright purple. It is abundant, and in certain years of scarcity it is a resource for human life in the months of February and March. In Chiriguano it is called "Nacaglina." The cazapari is another cactus, taller than the preceding ones, which also has its congenial land, /28/ since it is not found everywhere. It is admirable for its tall, striated leaves or branches, ash-gray and armed with spines; its fruit is very pleasant and also sought
[342] by foxes. The trunk is soft like that of all cacti; nevertheless
[159] doors are made of this wood and are durable enough. The pulp of the trunk is used medicinally to cure liver ailments, etc. They say that it is even good for goiter. There is another species of cactus which grows to some 20 or 25 centimeters; it is round and thick, striated and armed with spines. In Chiriguano it is called "Zipepe." The children, as we shall
[524] see, make wheels by cutting off its spines, and, making it roll, they use it as targets for their arrows. Finally, there is another which is trailing and long, covering the ground where it grows and making the place impenetrable. This has and
[262] produces a very delicious fruit which is called "Tapiacaro" in Chiriguano.

TILANDSIA. -- This plant is known to the Chiriguano by the name of "Caraguata guazu." Its special place is the
[342] hills, and among them it has some more congenial to it; it
[283] grows well enough, and its leaves are extraordinarily broad
[492] and long and ash-gray in color; in the middle there is a thick stalk which rises quite high and is good wood for house rafters; from the crushed leaves they make cord and from these are made first-rate halters for tying up animals in the rainy season. The Tobo and even the Chiriguano make a kind of net which
[286] they call chipa or "allapoca," which is very useful, inasmuch
[171] as the women can carry any weight in a bag of that kind; from
[482] the same they make nets so as to be able to fish in the rivers.
[229] and these are pieces of work which would attract attention in any part of the Old World.

/28 cont./

139 There is another small caraguata which invades wide areas
824 of land, preventing any animal from entering there, because
it has spines on the bottoms of the leaves. In times of scarcity
• [242] its root is food for the poor Chiriguano: the root contains a
little starch which has the taste of mandioca, but it requires
[243] great effort to pull it up. The leaf of this tilandsia is also good
for making cord.

Finally, there is a third one which flourishes abundantly in trees and on the rocks of the hills, but which has no peculiar properties: it is large because of its leaves, which measure up to one meter in length. The plant is thick, the leaf fleshy, and it is used to decorate the streets with arches during processions. The aloe is similar to the second type of tilandsia, but aloe leaves are wide and thick, full of juice, while those of the tilandsia are slender, arched, and dry. The aloe is not abundant; only an occasional shrub or plant is found.

244 /29/ TOMATO. -- This plant which produces fruits so pleasant and useful to the culinary art flourishes exuberantly in these lands: the fruit from each plant is abundant and is produced the year round when some care is taken to protect the plant from the cold or from the light frosts which customarily
[237] fall in June and July. To do this it suffices to pile up dry cow dung in two or three places in the tomato patch and set them
[197] afire. True tomato plants are also found in the woods, but it is presumed that some bird must have carried the seed to such places: the tomato is a plant which has been brought into the Chiriguano country, as is the case with the onion, the sweet potato, and the cabbage.

222 In the woods there is a kind of tomato in the wild state, which is somewhat similar in appearance and taste, but which is quite different from the true one: it is picked green and allowed to ripen in a room on top of a piece of wood: in a
[244] few days it turns red, which is a sign that it is ripe. The chili pepper also produces abundantly and with little care: it is a plant which lasts up to three years if care is taken to prune it, and the second and third years the fruits are very hot. Another kind of small, round chili pepper abounds in the woods and bears spontaneously: it is called arivivi by the whites and "quii rai" by the Chiriguano. It is hot, and some cure sickness.

222 [197] /29 cont./ It is hot, and some cute sickness, or inflammation of the eyes. with it. Nevertheless. one should not confuse this little plant with another similar one whose fruits lack flavor and which is called by the Chiriguano "Aguara quii." which is to say. literally. chili pepper. of the fox. The best way not to confuse it is to taste the fruit; it is found everywhere.

243 TRIGO /wheat/. -- The Eternal Creator of all things in his bounty and mercy arranged that this small plant. necessary in every aspect. should yield its fruit in every region inhabited by man; thus. in spite of the excessive heat. it is harvested here in abundance. and the farmer is not robbed of his hopes if he takes care to irrigate the field opportunely. Barley also flourishes in irrigated lands. but the cultivation of both has been abandoned for reasons already expounded in these pages and also because birds greatly bother both crops. as also happens in the rice paddies. which will be found empty if they are left to the discretion of our flying friends.

[824] [412] There also thrives together with maize. or in other places. the wheat called Guinea. or sweet sorghum. which the Chiriguano call "Tricu" and which is indigenous; it is sweet. matures with maize. and they suck it. as well as the panicled sorghum. which is a kind of sorghum /30/ without sweetness and used for making brooms for sweeping. The seed of both plants is liked by birds.

139 824 VID /grapevine/. -- Farther on I have said that this plant pre-eminently required for the Sacrifice. like wheat. thrives quite vigorously in this region. I add here that in the woods [262] there is a tree with small leaves and unimportant wood. which rises up to some eight meters above the ground and whose fruit is the size of an olive. has a dark coffee color and a flavor like that of the grape. matures in the month of February. is edible. and is called "Ivaviyu" in Chiriguano. Also in the wild state is the native grape with its twining trunk. Its fruits are like a bunch of grapes; they are white and some even black. and they are good for the manufacture of brandy.

/30 cont./

137 824 276 YERBA DEL DIABLO. -- This is the datura which is so abundant in the countryside and fields and which is a real plague. It rises to one meter in height, has branches, broad leaves, white flowers, and fruit armed with spines which, when dry, are enough to draw blood. The leaves and seeds make one lose one's memory. In this respect I remember one incident when an Indian woman absent-mindedly or out of ignorance covered an olla of hot food with datura leaves; half an hour later she ate it and it gave her a bad headache and a short spell of vertigo. Her little granddaughter, a schoolgirl about six years old, ate some also, and she suffered a complete loss of memory and all her actions were those of a demented person, a state which lasted some 24 hours. It seems that the Chiriguano [757] do not know that this plant and its seeds and leaves are poisonous; the latter, dried, are medicinal, alleviate the effects of asthma, and are prescribed for asthmatic Indians. Christians know it by the name of chamico, and the Indians by that of "caazi," that is, painful herb.

137 824 SAPALLO /squash/. -- There are eleven species of this creeping plant, which I shall discuss in another chapter, only adding that watermelon and melon also grow here, as well as the cucumber and the beet. The "curugua" and the "curuguami" [262] of the Chiriguano are plants which are similar to the sapallo, but they climb trees and produce there an oblong, sweet, and fragrant fruit; when one enters a house, it is immediately evident if there are curugua fruits there; they are edible both green and ripe, but they are preferable in the ripe state.

I shall forgo describing many trees and plants whose [342] medicinal virtues are known; I shall take up others when dealing with medicines; however, before I forget it, I shall note here at the end of the flora that a region where /31/ there are damp places abounds in secular cedars, whose wood is used in carpentry for doors, windows, tables, etc. So that it may not be subject to rot, it is necessary to get mature plants whose color is light red; the whitish one is attacked by the wood borer; the odor of the wood is narcotic, and this property keeps away insects; its odor is similar to that of the cedar of Lebanon, and for this reason the conquistadors gave the name of cedar to this tree which the Chiriguano call "Igüirane," or stinking stick.

/32 cont./

*136 bending or breaking every bush in its path. It is also a swimmer.
*825 Saddlemakers make from its hide headstalls and reins which
[281] are durable and hence highly valued. When the tapir is very small, it has a pelt like a fawn with yellow stripes and is easily domesticated. It is abundant near rivers and is very rare on the plains; few are found in the province of Acero. In the region of Cuevo and in others there are none at all, doubtless because these places are being settled by another type of man, that is to say, by whites, who can destroy them easily with the use of gunpowder. The Chiriguano like its
● [262] meat very much, and they call this animal "Borevi."

ARDILLA /squirrel/. -- A climbing quadruped which looks for its food in the trees which it climbs and goes down very quickly. There are two classes of these, one large and red in color and the other smaller and dark, but both are very graceful, with a rather long tail almost as large as the body as far as the neck and covered with rather long and very soft hair. When they sleep, they cover themselves up and protect themselves from the cold, the dew, and even from the rain with this tail, which they keep horizontally along the length of the body in order to climb and descend more nimbly. They
[262] have very little meat, which is full of gristle, and, despite
[224] the fact that they are quite edible, the Indians hunt them very
[857] little; only the children hunt them for diversion and for practice in the use of the bow.

ARMADILLO. -- This animal, called "Tatu" by the Indians, is abundant. There are six types, which are: "Tatu," the generic name, or the true armadillo; "Taturapúa," balled armadillo; "Tatu rabucu," armadillo with hairs; "Tatu guasu," large armadillo; "Tatu acuti," a species of viscacha; "Anguya tutu," a species of large rat, but also with scales in common
[262] with the armadillo. For the Indians the flesh of all of them
[224] is edible, and the Indians of Yvu and Itatiqui continually go out hunting them. In dry places, like the pampas of the Gran Chaco, armadillos are more numerous; there they make their burrows under the ground in great lengths, making it dangerous to go on horseback through such places because the animals can sink in easily and at a gallop can break their legs, if they are not unlucky enough to crack their heads open. /Illustration appears here./

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 53]

/33/

*136 The large armadillo is slightly less than one vara long;
*825 its burrow corresponds to its size and even more, and not infrequently the wild boar or peccary, when chased by hunters and dogs, finds a safe refuge in these holes. The meat of the large armadillo is not so good for civilized people, but that of the others is; I have eaten it many times. The fat softens the tumors and gristle in it. Armadillos feed on worms.
[241] Nevertheless, the true armadillo is harmful to the maize fields when they are newly planted, because it searches out and eats the seeds; it is also very harmful in melon patches, of which it scarcely leaves a slender shred; when it gets into the
[224] melons, it does not allow any to ripen. The Indians know well where the armadillo abounds; as soon as they finish planting the maize, on nights with a moon or without it, they go there and, helped by hunting dogs, kill them.

COBAYO /guinea pig/. -- This little animal is innocuous and plentiful everywhere. Its places are the fences, where it
[262] hides with ease. It is similar to large rats without a tail;
[237] its meat is very tasty, and bags in which smokers store tobacco, tinder, and flint are made from its skin. When it sees a hunter
[224] or believes that danger is near, it hastens to hide in the thickness of the fences, but when the hunter hides, it is not long in coming out again in search of food, morning and evening, and then it is easy to kill with arrow or shotgun. The Chiriguano call it
[231] "Aperea." There is another sort of multicolored guinea pig of the same size as the previous one, but this one is domesticated. The color of the true guinea pig is light brown.

CONEJO /rabbit/. A quadruped in the wild state, native to America, it is the size of a large cat. Its color is a shaded
[224] white, and here there are none of any other color, but there
[262] are in other parts of South America; its meat is delicious, and the Indians like it and hunt it; its form is the same as that of the domestic rabbit, and in the Chiriguano language it is called "Tapiti."

/33 cont./

*136 CORSO /deer/. -- This is found everywhere and is called
*825 "Huasu" by the Chiriguano and hurina by the whites; there are even white ones, the females without horns and the males with them; another type is called "huasucaca." Both feed off
[231] grass, and the little ones are pleasing with their hide dappled with light spots; they are easily domesticated while they are still nursing; for food, when they are domesticated, goat's or sheep's milk can be used. The huasucaca is very similar to the deer; both male and female have branched antlers when old, but /34/ their meat is not as good. They travel in herds.
[262] Hunters pursue both types because they have a lot of meat, for
[224] which reason they are called "huasu," which means "large." They hunt them with considerable work and with the help of dogs trained for the purpose, or, if they are hidden, they imitate their bleating or cracking sound, and when they come
[281] within bowshot, they do not miss in killing them. The
[291] Chiriguano tan the skin of these animals and make a jacket from it, which I shall discuss in its place, but today this de luxe Chiriguano garment is disappearing, nor do they tan leather any more; today they use these skins for their beds; it is nonetheless a perfect material for footwear because of its natural softness and smoothness.

*136 GAMO /fallow deer/. -- It seems that this class of animal is from the mountainous and temperate region; it is not found beyond Monteagudo, nor do the Indians here know it, but it used to be found and still is found in their former territory of Padilla, Tomina, Tarvita, etc. This is the fallow deer, the size of a goat, with cloven hoof, ash-gray in color, and quite a swift runner; it is herbivorous, quite edible, and goes in herds.

GUANACO. -- This is a kind of camel, from which it differs in size and because it does not have a hump. They are found in abundance at the top of the high hills of Potosí and other cold mountains; it thus seems that the hills and the cold must be congenial places and the only ones in which they can prosper. Nevertheless immense herds of this quadruped can be found in the pampas of the Gran Chaco, where the heat is oppressive and where there is nearly always a scarcity of water; it is easily domesticated and in this state is a real llama.

/34 cont./

*136 *825 GATO /cat/. -- There are domestic ones, which are called "Minta," and there are wild ones, which are of two kinds. One is called "Baracaya" and is very harmful to [224] chickens: at night it approaches dwellings in the country and even in towns, and it beheads any chickens it can: its meat is delicious and pleasant, and the Indians hunt it. The second species is called "Eira," or "Yaguarundi," depending on the locale: it is a species of small jaguar, slightly smaller than a fox: it has light spots on its pelt, and it runs and climbs trees very rapidly. It is not dangerous nor does it approach [224] houses in towns. The Chiriguano hunt it only for the pelt, which they sell at any price.

*136 *825 224 JABALI /wild boar/. -- Nothing suits the jabalí better than forests and the slopes of hills where it is difficult to penetrate. Therefore they multiply in the forests and form immense herds: the beast is /35/ ferocious. It is a rare occasion when one finds this type of quadruped, so similar to the • [262] domestic pig, in a solitary state. The Indians call it "Taitetu," and they like its delicious and pleasant meat, but they almost never go out alone to hunt it, because it is a fearsome animal and charges impetuously, and only with the aid of dogs do they manage to kill some, and then the rest flee. But woe to the hunter who finds himself alone! The way to save oneself is to climb a tree which has a good trunk and better roots: otherwise in their rage and with so many of them they will tear it to pieces. If the hunter took the precaution of not abandoning his bow and arrows, he can easily kill all the jabalí he wants from that somewhat safe and sure place. When this animal chases the hunter, the dog will stop the chase and remain at some distance, because, without his master to defend him, he becomes cowardly at the sight of the immense tusks which sound like a hammer on an anvil.

*136 *825 LEÓN /lion/. -- This is not the majestic beast of Africa, nor could it here be the king of the beasts. It is the puma, and the Indians call it "Yaguapinta," or red jaguar, and in fact it is quite similar to the jaguar in its features, so much so that there is often a cross between the two animals, resulting in a neuter animal which is more ferocious and rapacious

/36 cont./

*136 pick eight or ten ears, remove almost all the husk, leaving a
*825 few leaves on each ear and tying them together like a saddle-bag, put them over the shoulder in such a way that they hang down the back and chest, and go on their way. Meanwhile the monkeys have observed it all, come down, perform the same operation, and go back up the trees, or to the rocks, happy and content, to eat the fruit of their accomplishments.

There are four classes of monkeys: black, white, yellow, and red. There is also an orangutan that the Indians call "Caraya," hence the place called Carayagua, cave of caraya or orangutan. Monkey meat is good, but the Chiriguano do not hunt it; they do kill them because they are harmful, and they catch the young alive for pets. The abilities of the monkey are already known.

OSO /bear/. -- There exists in this region the true bear, which the Indians call "Yaguapope" and the whites, jucumari. It has long hair which comes down from its head, covering its face so much that, in order to see well, it raises it with its hands. It is fearsome when irritated; it throws stones and strips branches from trees and uses them as a club; the jaguar can do nothing with this animal, and should it measure its strength and ability against it, it is unlikely that it would get
[224] out alive. It has excellent meat, and the Indians hunt it,
[262] but woe is he who dares to do so alone and whose arrow misses and wounds it slightly, since it will quickly charge and smother its enemy!

PECCARY. -- The peccary, called "Tayasu" by the Chiriguano, is similar to the wild boar /jabalí/; this animal is more fearsome than its fellow-creature and has the same instincts. Both quadrupeds feed off roots, mistol, chañar, algarroba, and such other fruits as there are in the forest; the hides of these animals are easily tanned, but the Indians scarcely even use them for their beds. The jaguar is the constant companion of the female peccary who have young, /37/ because when it can, it quite calmly and patiently catches one, but if it is not careful and the little animal grunts loudly enough to be heard, the mother and the males come to its defense, and if the jaguar values its life, prudence will advise it to climb a strong tree.

/37 cont./

000 to climb a strong tree. The young[1] are quickly domesticated
*136 and more than the domestic pig; they will not go away from
231 the person who was kind to them when they were little. One of these piglets was domesticated by the apprentice musicians of the Parapiti, was with them day and night without bothering them, and when they came out of the music hall to practice marches through the town, the peccary would go along in front of them, making a thousand faces and hopping about to the sound of the instruments.

*136 PORCUPINE. -- This small animal is not numerous, but
*825 it is found. It gets into chicken coops, which are generally located in trees. According to what I have heard, it is not harmful and merely likes the company of the hens at night, but the latter are afraid of it, as they are of any strange animal. Its skin is entirely covered with long, flexible quills, and when it sees itself pursued, it humps up and throws the said quills with so much force that they injure any part of the body. It
[224] is sometimes hunted because of the chickens, but not for eating. The Chiriguano call it "Cifi." If a dog bites it, it gets its mouth full of quills which cause pain.

TAMANDUA /anteater/. -- This is an innocuous wild animal which is easily domesticated. It has a very long, narrow snout, which it introduces into ant hills, and it takes its delicious lunch with its tongue, to which an infinity of ants stick. In the domesticated state it even feeds on milk, but it is painful to watch it sip this liquid drop by drop with its exceedingly slender tongue. Apparently males are unknown in this species of animal, and it seems that all of them belong to the female sex. It is very probable, however, that all the individuals of this species are members of both sexes, despite the fact that only the female sex is apparent in them.

The anteater, or tamandua, is inoffensive and does not
[224] bother the fields; rather it destroys ants. The Indian hunts it
[262] in order to eat it, because for him almost all meat is good, since he says that he is poor and thus avails himself of anything, even poisoned animals and those that have died of hydrophobia.

[1] [i.e., of the peccary. -Analyst]

/40 cont./

224 animal is capable of distinguishing between the brave and
*[825] the cowardly, and the latter is the first to be attacked and consequently to be badly injured.

*825 Jaguar skin, as I have already said, has intrinsic value; it is used in saddleries for the bottom padding of saddles and
[554] for saddlebags; it is a luxury for persons of rank. The ani-
[281] mal has a quantity of fat, and this is a good remedy for
[757] rheumatism, aching bones, and other ailments; the Indians
[439] take it and sell it in the interior of the Republic and trade it for used clothing. It is to be noted, however, that they do falsify it, as they also falsify make grease, because it can be understood that the killing of this ferocious animal is not a
[466] frequent thing. Rarely does the Chiriguano hunt the jaguar, and he is not always inclined to help the white man, but the latter forces his peons to do so, and they gather the fat and
[267] sell or present it to their friends or relatives. Jaguar meat is good food, although, to be sure, it smells wild, as does the skin, but this meat, if placed in salt water or brine overnight, loses its bad smell; they assert that this meat is like that of a cow.

*136 The male jaguar is quite large. I measured one, and it was two meters long from the tail, one meter high, and it weighed seven arrobas. The female is smaller; I measured one that had just been killed; from the tail it measured one meter and ten centimeters, was 75 centimeters high, and weighed four and a half arrobas. The female gives birth
[231] every three years, and the newborn cubs are always a pair, one male and one female; the mother is most dangerous when she has young /illustration appears here/ /41/ and defends them at any cost, but hunters first kill the mother and then try to catch the cubs alive; they almost always succeed and take them home to domesticate them, but this is an impossible job because they are jaguars forever; I have seen two of these cubs well chained but very bad. In general, cubs when taken away from their mother die in a few days either through lack of adequate food, which is milk, or also out of desperation upon finding themselves in the midst of beings foreign to their nature.

/41 cont./

*136 The Chiriguano hunts and kills the fox as a mischievous
*825 and harmful animal, but he does not eat its meat because
[224] it is very strong and lean: /42/ he does eat it occasionally,
[262] when he finds it to be fat, airing it so that it may lose its bad
[859] odor: it is a common food of the Toba Indians. The children entertain themselves with this poor animal, catching it alive and making it fight with the dogs, who kill it slowly.

*136 I here bring to an end this brief resumé of the principal quadrupeds by size, ferocity, and special characteristics. I have omitted the description of many because they are found in other regions, and others because they do not offer anything unusual for consideration. Rats are plentiful and in some years invade the towns. There is no lack of female foxes /zaposas/,
[231] which are easily domesticated: the ferret is rarely seen and is very nervous and harmless, but it has the peculiarity of hunting all the insects in a house.

Reptiles, Amphibians, Fish, and Insects

It is not necessary for me to dwell particularly and extensively on the types of living things indicated at the beginning of this section, because they are found in every region of the world: I shall describe the singular peculiarities of the known ones and the nature of some which are peculiar to this place and to South America.

*[825] Almost all the snakes here are poisonous because the place
[231] is very hot, but the most poisonous is the rattlesnake: it operates rapidly with its fang, and only with immediate cauterization can the patient free himself of its death-dealing effects, while the boa, which is thick and long, is harmless, so much so that some domesticate it and put it into their cane fields so that it will scare off every harmful beast, even the fox which, as we have seen, is the animal which does the most damage to the sugar cane.

/42 cont./

*136 We can count among the amphibians the "Bokcurru," or snake toad, which is nothing but the water tarantula, but it is very poisonous here; it is found near lakes in the swamps. Frogs are found in small numbers in the center of the region; [262] they abound where there is water on the banks of rivers; only the Toba and other barbarians eat them; the Chiriguano do not. There is an infinity of "Cururu" toads in terms of size, color, and song, one being distinguished among all of them, the one that the whites call "Rococo" and that is heard continually and loudly at a distance of one kilometer at night in rainy weather and where there is water.

*136 *825 [197] [164] The toad is medicinal; one or two large ones are gently caught alive and, one after the other, applied /43/ to parts of the body affected by erysipelas, which is cured very efficaceously, with the animal being left dead, doubtless because with its cold belly it absorbs all the heat which the sick person has in the said painful parts; more than once I have seen erysipelas cured in this way. In rainy weather there are so many of them that it is impossible to sleep near the place where they gather to sing their discordant tattoo; at the end of a heavy shower is when the noise of the toads is most unbearable.

*136 Fish abound in the large rivers, where there are shad, bagre, and dorado; the latter reach a length of two meters, as I have seen, and are very palatable and drip blood like cow's meat. Then in the same rivers, streams, and permanent lakes, there is an infinity of small "pira" fish, which are good to the taste, and finally there is no lack of eels, "Chorinchi," 43 or the useful leeches, "Evoipe." Indians who live on the banks of rivers of great volume trade in fish; to be sure, they plant fields, but generally they do not harvest because of the lack of rain, but obtain maize in exchange for fish; dried shad tastes like cod and is worth 10 and 20 centavos.

*136 Insects are innumerable, but not as abundant and varied in their form, size, and color as they are in the region of the Beni, the Mojo, and others; they are a hundred times more numerous than all the quadrupeds and birds together; there are bothersome ones, like mosquitoes and zancudos /long-beaked mosquito/, and there are poisonous ones, which, however, rarely cause death.

/47 cont./

#136 Crickets abound in the fields and dwellings; they do little damage in the former and a great deal in the latter. Not even silk escapes their tiny mouths, but rather this seems to be the type of clothing or adornment which they most prefer. Sometimes they get into the chests of drawers in the sacristies and do irreparable damage, ruining the best sacred vestments.

[125] Another insect, which apparently has three names during its life cycle, to wit, polvorín /powder/ at first, colorada /red/ later, and garrapata /tick/ when big, is present in great numbers in the fields, meadows, and woods. It is dangerous in all three stages: it produces a smarting sensation, and if the affected person scratches himself, there then appear lesions which are only cured with difficulty and over a long period of time. Once I had them for three months, in spite of the medicine which I applied to them three times a day. The garrapata is easy to remove at first by pulling it off and trying to see to it that the head does not remain in the skin, but if it is well attached /48/ the affected part is anointed with grease or oil where the tick is attached, and it will come loose of its own accord; otherwise the pain and the trouble last for several months.

There are lizards of every size and color; the smallest ones are inoffensive, although they cause some fear, but they are the most useful because, like toads, they hunt insects in dwellings. In the woods there is a kind of lizard one meter long. It runs very fast; when it sees that it is being hunted and is cornered, it defends itself by biting, but it is not poisonous. [126] It lives in certain places and is hunted by the Indians, who eat it and assert that its flesh is tasty. In the large rivers there is the cayman, a species of crocodile, which is also found in the lakes with permanent water, but rarely. This is a very fearsome and dangerous amphibian, which is difficult to kill because it has very tough scales, but above all because the one shooting is almost at the same level as the animal; the bullet is fired horizontally, and it is natural that it should bounce away. Does this not perhaps also occur when children throw stones across the water? The cayman lives for months on end submerged in the water, and even submerged in the

/49 cont./

#136 The best remedy in both cases, in order not to damage either one or the other very much, is to leave them in peace and not take away from them the earth that they build with or extract; otherwise, the more one takes away from them the more they extract, often leaving the foundations and walls completely hollow. They say that foundations can be freed of this easily by burning gunpowder there or setting fire to petroleum. From year to year, or perhaps more often, these lice grow wings and fly away, not to return, but the larvae remain in the place.

To close this section I shall say something about three other types of insects, so that my readers may see that there is nothing lacking in the Chiriguano region. I am going to name them, with the leave of any delicate girl or genteel lad who by chance may read these lines. They are the flea, the louse, and the bedbug. The first are only abundant in the cold season, from May to August, when the south wind is strongest; the second are peculiar to dirty people, who kill them by prettily eating them for fun; the last nest in the beds, and the best way of getting rid of them for a long time is to place the infested bed for one or two days in the water of a stream where the current is strong or in a lake.

Birds

#136 262 If in the region which I am describing, tame and wild quadrupeds are abundant in town and forest, if there are innumerable insects which annoy man day and night, causing swellings, tumors, and even worse injuries, such as the occasional loss of an eye, if there is no lack of poisonous animals, such as the rattlesnake, if there are delicious and enormous dorados which are gifts to its consumers' stomaches, there is also an infinity of birds of every size, shape, and degree of beauty, which cross through the air, making the cool mornings joyful with their harmonious songs, fluttering above the buildings and resting happily thereon; they play about in the /50/ air, purifying it and providing the Chiriguano, as well as one who is not, exquisite food with their flesh, despite the fact that some of

/50 cont./

*136 them, if they do not destroy the entire field, do make the work
• [262] of the harvest somewhat lighter. I shall deal briefly with some of them.

*136 ÁGUILA /eagle/. -- The one that is known in this region
*825 is not the true or the real eagle: it is similar to it in form, but not in size. There are two types, one black and red and the other ash-gray. It always lives in the country, does not approach towns or country houses, and lives on dead vipers, locusts, crickets, little birds, lizards, and insects: it is not harmful to man or to his belongings, nor does he hunt it, with the result that it lives as it pleases. It is called "Gilirapinta" in Chiriguano.

AVESTRUZ /ostrich/. -- The region of the ostriches, which the Chiriguano call "Yandu," begins from Yvu. I have seen them here in the wild state, in Santa Rosa and Igllembre in the domesticated state. Nevertheless, if their region begins in Yvu, where they are abundant, it is in the Gran Chaco, there in the pampas of Carandaiti, where I have seen them as big as a lamb with a ribbon of black around the neck and chest. I have seen them in flocks of 10, 15, and 20, and some of them so tame and so near the road that it was very easy to kill them with a single shot from a shotgun, which, of course, attracted my attention, since on other occasions I have seen them alone, and they ran away like the wind when they heard only a human voice. When I asked for the explanation of this different attitude when they are alone and when they are together, my Chiriguano and other companions of his told me that they only gather together in the months of July and August for the propagation of the species, the same as they gather in fewer numbers in October or November, which indicates that they lay their eggs during two periods not very far apart.

The female ostrich is smaller than the male, her feathers are less colorful, and she does not have a collar like his either. She lays some 20 or 25 eggs in the month of September, which
! are the equivalent of 240 of those of a hen in weight and substance. Other eggs, in lesser number, are laid in the month of December, but not always, nor by all the females, but only the youngest. I measured and weighed one of these eggs: it

/50 cont./

*136 was 15 centimeters long and 28 and five millimeters in
*825 circumference: its weight was one libra and a half, equivalent to 12 chicken eggs that I also weighed. With one of these eggs a family of four or five Chiriguano can eat well.
•[242] They get these eggs both in times of scarcity and other times as well.

*136 The nests are found in September and December, and the male /illustration appears here/ /51/ is the one who sits on them, especially when two females deposit their 40 or 50 eggs in the same nest. While the male is getting thin on the nest giving necessary warmth to the eggs, they go off looking for another male to frolic again as they please in some
*[825] distant pampa. My Indian and all of those whom I asked about this matter state that it is the custom of all ostriches not to hatch one to three eggs that they lay: the female at the time when she lays them scratches about, prepares the place where the nest is to be, breaks up the earth with her beak, and covers the two or three reserve eggs with it. When the young begin to come out of the shell, the male breaks the spare eggs, and this attracts flies and other insects on which the newborn feed. How admirable is the Providence of God which has endowed every living being with a special instinct in order to fight for his own preservation!

The ostrich feeds on everything it finds, especially insects, field crops, and grasses: it cleans and refreshes its body with sand or earth which it picks up with its broad beak, runs very rapidly with the assistance of its wings, but never flies, because its wings are small and delicate and its body heavy. To catch or hunt it, dexterity is needed more than valor, because in its mad dashing it always swerves and dodges, especially when danger is near. If its flight were in a straight line and did not have the sudden and quick dodges, a good horse and a pretty good dog would soon catch up with it. This semiflying animal would be the king of birds if it flew. In the domestic state it can be harmful to careless people; it swallows everything it finds, even keys and money, and in a field of beans it will finish them off without letting them ripen. It will destroy everything in a garden. When captured alive in a wild state, it will attack and defend itself with painful pecks.

/91 cont./

Its meat is excellent, and I have eaten it on numerous occasions. The Indians go to hunt the ostrich to prepare for their bacchanalias; they trade their feathers or keep them, and with five of them make the "Tandugua," a kind of parasol of which I shall speak in its place. The fat is a most efficacious remedy for the side, rheumatism, and ailments of the hips in men and animals, for coldness of the members, and for removing thorns by anointing with it the part opposite the place where the thorn has penetrated.

SANDUMBIA. -- This is a bird which the Indians call "Tuá" because this is the sound of its song. It has a long beak, long red legs, red and ash-colored feathers, /92/ and a long neck. It feeds on little worms and insects and is generally found in open fields and banks of rivers and lakes. The meat is like that of guinea fowl, but very tough, although if the outer skin is taken off before boiling or roasting it, it can be cooked easily.

The bandurria resembles the crane somewhat, but it is stationary, abounds everywhere, and is not solitary, but neither do they gather together much. A flock is composed at the most of some 12 or 15, and frequently one finds a single pair. If one of these is caught, its companion will fly away immediately, but will come back two or three times to find out what has happened. In this way it is easy for the hunter to kill both. The bandurria has a highly developed instinct, and when the hunter approaches, it quickly flies. When there are many, they fly like cranes, with one out in front to break the air. They do not fly very high and generally sleep in a hole in the rocks, where it is easy to hunt them after sunset.

BUHO /owl/. -- This is a large nocturnal bird like a condor and whitish in color; there are two kinds, the second is smaller and black, ash-gray with a white collar; the Chiriguano call the first one "Yancurunto," because when it sings it seems to articulate this word. The female of the Yancurunto answers "Yaparapiri," which in Spanish means "matemos" /let us kill/, from which the whites are inclined to jump to conclusions and start rumors that the Chiriguano are thinking about an

/12 cont./

#136 #825 opening, should this pair of owls start to sing on occasion in a town or near the house of some whites. The second is called "Sarasoncoy," because its cry sounds like this. Neither of the two is harmful. They are plentiful where there are trees; the first eats bats, toads, and mice, for which reason it is not attractive to the Chiriguano, but it is a very pretty bird, and its feathers are like the finest velvet. The second is good food for the Indians, who hunt it on bright moonlit nights.

[223] [845]

CARDINAL. -- A little bird the size of a swallow, with a red crest, ash-gray feathers, and a white breast. The region of the cardinals begins in Parapiti Grande; occasionally a pair of them appear in some part of Ivu, and there are also some in the countryside of Cacondeiti. I have seen them in both places, as I have also seen flocks of 15 to 20 in Parapiti. It has no peculiarity other than its crest and its song at certain times of the day. The Chiriguano Indians of Parapiti and some Tapiti of Isoso try to catch this little bird alive and take it to the interior of the Republic, to Sucre or Potosí, to sell or trade it /33/ for used clothing; in this sense it is a small, lucrative business.

[839]

#136 #825 CARPINTERO or PICAMADEROS /woodpeckers/. -- This is a black bird with a fiery red crest, and it is called "Aseperuaro" in Chiriguano. When it flies away in fright, it makes a loud noise with its wings, is fast, and flies in a straight line. It is the continual desire of this little creature the size of a sandía to clamber tirelessly about dry and hollow trees, beating on them with its hard beak in order to make come out and to eat the insects that they contain. Sometimes the traveler, upon hearing these noises in the woods, believes that someone is cutting firewood and doing carpentry, or is inclined to believe, from the prolonged rattling of a hollow, dry tree being struck by the woodpeckers, that it is about to fall, if he does not know that it is being pecked by this little bird. Both of these things have happened to me on occasion. The Chiriguano does not waste time hunting the woodpecker, because it is a semisolitary bird, and scarcely three or four are found together in one place. Only the children hunt them for fun and in order to learn to be accurate in the handling of bow and arrow.

[223] [859]

/54 cont./

*136 are somewhat grown, the condors have another procedure when the former are far from their mothers: two or three condors together push them toward some precipice, beating them with their wings, and, as they cannot escape, they run from side to side at the edge of the precipice and easily slip and fall into it, where, if they are not killed, they are left unable to run, either because they may have injured their legs or because the place they fell into is too narrow. The birds that did this then come down, as do others that see it, and they strike the animal repeatedly with their cruel wings and beaks and make an excellent lunch or supper of it, returning the next day to finish and to look for other careless calves.

[223] Nobody hunts condors, because they have no charm for either the Indians or the whites: the latter, of course, must defend their cattle when the condor is harmful, the same as is done with the jaguar. It is difficult to kill the latter because of its boldness and ferocity, and it is just as difficult to kill the former, because it will take flight at once, since it knows instinctively when it has done some notable harm. Nevertheless, as the number of cattle is great everywhere, the damage that these two creatures do is not great since it is not done to a single owner.

*136 CHUÑA /South American crane/. -- Some say that this
*825 semiflying bird is the "snake hunter," that is, the bird which
[262] hunts and feeds on vipers and snakes, but it seems that they are not correct, since the Chiriguano who constantly hunt it to eat its meat insist that its food is not snakes, but other small animals, such as beetles, locusts, crickets, and other insects, from which it can be deduced that the others are in error. The Indians from the right bank of the Parapiti southward call this bird "Sariama," and from the left northward the Indians and whites call it "Socori," as it is called in Guarayos.

*136 The chuña has long red legs, ash-gray feathers, and a crest; it runs across the pampas and low hills a great deal and also flies sometimes, especially when it is pursued. It sings in the morning /55/ and in the evening. They are in every section, but not abundantly; they generally go in the company

/55 cont./

*136 of a mate, and at the most there are three of them. Both sing at the same time. The female begins, and then the male continues, the song thus being prolonged for some four or five minutes. It is a very strange song or cry. They say *[825] that these birds announce the approach of wind or rain, and, if it is cloudy, they foretell the approach of clear or cloud-[223] less weather. Hunters who do not have the help of good dogs can only capture this bird with difficulty, because it runs and flies when hard pressed.

GARZA /heron/. -- This is a rather large, but light bird. It has a thick and somewhat long beak, flies little, and its locale is the lakes, ponds, and banks of rivers, where it finds *[825] its food. There are two kinds, one completely white, very white, for which reason the Chiriguano call it "Guiranti," or white bird, and the other is ash-gray and stays in the same places. [223] The Chiriguano do not hunt them, because they have very little meat.

GALLINAZO /buzzard/. -- This is a black bird, and repugnant to the sight, especially because of its bald head and neck; it feeds on the carcasses of dead animals, even a human body, nor does it refuse the chance to rip out the entrails and kill calves, lambs, and newborn suckling pigs, which it finds asleep and at a distance from their mothers. In the first instance it constitutes an excellent purifier of the air by making all the miasmas which come from the carrion disappear, because when there is any they finish it off in a few hours, for when it is abundant many of them gather. The buzzards discover dead animals and cattle killed by the jaguar; there are usually some turkey buzzards over the cattle and sheep corrals, where, despite the cleaning that they do, they sooner or later cause some damage.

[223] The Indian rarely hunts the buzzard, because its meat is ●[262] tough and strong-smelling. He does, however, kill it oc-*825 casionally as a remedy. The warm blood of this animal is 757 of some use in curing his double chin /papada/, or that of his daughter, who may be ashamed of such a protuberance. For this purpose the blood is placed on a strip of linen and tied around the throat. They state that it does have some effect, but this must have to do with incipient double-chins of a few ounces.

/55cont./

*825 757 and not those veterans of several arrobas like gourds in the form of saddlebags, which are seen in abundance around Pozuelos, Piray, San Juan, and Pomabamba.

*136 *825 There is another large bird with the same instincts as the buzzard, called carcancho by the whites and "Caracara" by the Indians. It does not, however, kill calves; it does hunt and kill little lambs, suckling pigs, and chickens, disregarding with boldness and dissimulation the brood hen. /56/ This shameless, fearless bird is abundant everywhere and is capable of getting into kitchens and sticking its beak into the ollas; but its favorite spot is the corral, where it scratches about, looks for things, and eats, and like the most natural thing in the world it will pull out the entrails of a sleeping lamb or at the least blind it in one eye. The rascal gets into the nests of smaller birds and steals eggs or kills the young to eat them. All in all, it is a sad and ugly neighbor, with the result that all are its enemies, and some birds chase it out of their nests. Such is the practice of the bird that the Chiriguano call "Guirapipasa"; another called "Suiriri" gets on the shoulders of the carcancho and pecks it until it runs long distances.

[759] The Indians assert that carcancho fat is an efficacious remedy for the vision, and that they used it before modern medicines, which turned out to be more efficaceous and [262] active, were introduced. They eat its meat if it is fat. The [237] feathers of the carcancho and the buzzard are very strong, and [411] they put them on the ends of their arrows, so that they will not turn aside when they are shot and consequently will hit the mark better.

*136 GOLONDRINA /swallow/. -- The heat is altogether too [132] much at certain times of the year, with the thermometer in the shade up to 32° and in the sun up to 60°, but let it not be believed that this state of heat is the normal thing. There are months of the year, and in these months there are weeks and days, in which it is difficult to endure the cold, which is most intense in June and parts or all of July. As a result of this, the swallow, even here, is a pilgrim, emigrating at the end of April and returning at the beginning of October. There are some entirely black, and there are some with white breasts. The

/57 cont./

*136 saddle their horses as if they were going out to hunt wild beasts.

*136 *825 Other Christians and Chiriguano also defend their fields from parrots in a different way. They kill two or three dogs, or, lacking these, goats or old sheep, put them in the tops of trees a certain distance apart in the fields, and the parrots will not even come close to them. Let my readers not believe, however, that parrots are afraid of corpses, as some or most people believe around here; what they are running away from are the buzzards, who flutter about their meal or who sit in the said trees, attracted by the bait, for which reason one must take the precaution of placing the bait where the buzzards cannot reach it with their beaks or where it is not easy for them to roost. Thus some become tired and others arrive, the maize ripens, dries, and the parrots will go on their way or go to eat the seed of the soto, which is also abundant at farming time. Nevertheless, most people prefer to have their children in the fields to shout continuously to scare off the parrots or to shoot arrows and throw stones at them. [262] Even the adult Chiriguano engage in this work, because the meat of the parrot is very delicious, in spite of the fact that some are very tough, and they prefer it to any other bird, [223] wild or domesticated. /58/ In order to catch talking parrots alive, they tie up a tame one, and they capture with traps the companions who approach the prisoner.

*136 HORNERO. -- This little bird is called "Tiantía" in Chiriguano. It is red in color and is the size of the gorrión /a Spanish bird some 12 centimeters long from head to tail/. It is tame and not easily frightened, doubtless because nobody chases it. It is called hornero /baker/ because of the structure of its nest. What an admirable thing that so small a bird should make with its beak a true oven in miniature! When it has just rained, the little mason then begins to make its house, but if the rain is late, it flies to the shores of rivers, rapids, or lakes and gathers the necessary material. It is not satisfied with an old house; it wants a new one every year. For this reason certain trees or their branches are full of these ovens.

/58 cont./

*136 For the location of its oven, the little bird selects large secular trees, such as algarobos, quebrachos, and sotos, but the latter are the ones it prefers. It tries to make sure that the branches are strong and free of small branches. The oven is relatively large. On one side it leaves a high, narrow opening, extending the walls inward up to a certain point, so that when it is windy the rain will not penetrate its nest, which it places behind said wall. Thus its eggs and its young are completely sheltered. The wall of the opening is in the form of a spiral, which takes two turns and a bit more. The mud of the whole house is mixed with the excrement of a horse or burro, and the bed, or true nest, is made out of clean, loose wool.

In these ovens there is a second round, narrow opening to the right of the first, about five centimeters high, perhaps in order to escape from some danger, but it is easier to conjecture that this little window comes into play when some strange animal, for example, the mouse, takes possession of the first turn of the spiral, where the mouse himself will make a third opening to get out on that side. I conjecture this because the ovens which I am describing are not all alike; there are some with one, with two, and with three openings. Other birds, called taracuis, nest in the abandoned ovens and often dislodge the owner from its still new house.

MACAGUA. -- An animal or bird which is very common, but which is not numerous. Indians and whites call it by the name which precedes these lines, which makes one suppose that it does not exist in other places or is not known by this name. Its song is monotonous and long in the mornings and evenings, made up of a monosyllabic "guá guá guá," and it goes on in this fashion for hours and hours until it is tired. This bird is the size of a large dove, /59/ with whitish feathers on the breast and ash-gray ones above. I am of the opinion that this is the true snake-killer, because it catches snakes alive to eat; the latter are very afraid of it and flee upon seeing or hearing it. The Chiriguano does not eat its meat, with the result that it flies and sings as it pleases.

[262]

/60 cont./

223 River, he tied inflammable material to the horns of 2,000 oxen, lighted it, and drove the oxen up to the heights, thus managing to get through and gain a victory over the Roman army, which, believing the oxen to be enemies running in every direction, abandoned the narrow pass to defend other positions and was defeated the next day. In the above-
[221] mentioned months young men and children sleep little at
[262] night in order to go hunting for doves and to have a delicious meal the next day with their families, since the slaughter of doves and other little birds which are unfortunate enough to sleep near them is great.

*136 PATO /duck/. -- Where there are lakes or ponds there are innumerable ducks of many sizes and colors; some are so large that they seem to be geese. There are black, white, pink, and brown ones; the last are fat and delicious. The
[262] Chiriguano eats the meat of the duck, but he does not pursue
[223] it, because he finds this so difficult. When he can, he hunts
[222] it, but more because this web-footed bird puts or deposits its eggs on the shores of a lake, on top of the grass or hidden among the reeds which grow near lakes; these are /61/ avidly sought by young and old, men and women, because the water is not deep in these places. The duck is called "Ipe" in Chiriguano which is, literally in the water, since lake is called "Ipa," or wide or extended water.

PAVA /turkey/. -- They have their favorite places and do not go far from them; they will be found there exactly at sunrise and before nightfall. They reveal themselves when a hunter or anyone else approaches, because they immediately begin to cackle and to fly from tree to tree in fear, which causes a disagreeable noise. The turkeys are as big as a large chicken, with quite a long tail and black feathers.
*[825] There are two kinds: the larger one is called "Yacu" and is found in abundance from the right bank of the stream Cuevo; the others are called charatas by the whites, "Anancua" in Chiriguano. These are numerous from the left bank of the Parapiti River in the province of Lagunillas.

/61 cont./

*136 Both types are very delicious, but the charata is best.
[231] Charatas are easily domesticated when small. The male is very ferocious in the domesticated state, attacks everybody, even the people of the house. The charatas make a great racket before sunrise with their strong and repugnant cackling. Cuevo is some 20 leagues from Parapiti and a little more than two from the Yvu Mission; a charata is neither seen nor heard in the former region or in its vicinity, but an occasional pair of them is found in the latter, and as one goes north from this mission toward Parapiti, the number of these birds increase.

*[825] PELICAN. -- This bird is called "Tanga" in Chiriguano, because when it sings it seems to be saying, "Tangá, Tinguí, Tangá." River banks and lake shores are its locale. There it finds its food. It feeds on newly born toads, which have a little tail, and it also eats small fish. It sleeps in trees and flies perfectly in spite of its size. It flies at a great height, and along its way it sings every so often, and the Indians say that when the pelican sings rain is near. This bird is not numerous; they always go by twos and sometimes threes.
[262] Their meat is good to the Chiriguano.

PERDIZ /partridge/. -- This type of bird is not lacking either in the Chiriguano area. Partridges are of three types, each larger than the other. They live in the pampas, in the woods, and in the hills. In the idiom the true partridge is called "Inambu," the second, which has a preference for the hills, is called "Guáico," and it whistles like muleteers who are driving asses. The third, which is the codorniz /quail/, is called /62/ "Inambu tindi." There is a fourth large partridge, which is like the first, but red in color, and for this reason is called "Inambu pinta," but the guáico is the
[223] largest of them all. The Indians hunt all of them with the help of dogs trained for this purpose.

PICAFLOR /hummingbird/. -- Many of these birds are seen, but it seems that there is only one species here. These are the smallest ones, and in Chiriguano the picaflor is called "Chino." It can hang its nest on any little branch of a tree and also in the straw or hollow cane of the roofs. It is only

/158 cont./

000 361 or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances. The only large town that I found on my travels is Membirai, which is joined to Choreti guasu on the left bank of the Parapiti. I know Caipipendi, [114] [62] where I often slept; the Indians are many, but they live in different places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (2).

797 619 361

2. The beautiful Santa Rosa Mission was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place shown them by the missionary. In Yumbía there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique

622

Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /159/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple; when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the sorcerer to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

[631] [643]

1. In each tribe there is but one cacique; many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

[262] [273] At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep or rest in their homes, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

/159 cont./

622 may be general rejoicing with the drinking of the pretasted
[262] Cangũi, chicha, squash and beans to eat together with Aticũi,
[273] meal, and Atipíi, parched corn. In his prolonged discourse he recommends union in labor so that it may soon be finished, since the field of the cacique is planted first and then those of the rest, with all of them helping one another. When I came to the missions, the soldiers of the cacique Gũiraesa still did it in this way. I shall speak of this cacique and his family in another chapter.

622 The cacique also arbitrates the arguments which frequently
692 arise in the planting season, since even among these people there reigns covetousness of the property of others, should it be good and free of brush; he settles family disputes, admonishing the parents and also their children. If a theft occurs, it is also he who makes claims before the cacique of the neighboring tribe, but if this should occur within his own, he will summarily administer justice. His sentence is absolute and in general not subject to appeal (2).

[799] 2. There are several caciques in the missions, because they are made up of several tribes. The missionary governs them all, with the result that the authority of the caciques is almost nominal.

721 It frequently happens that, as a result of some affront done to some woman of a tribe, a bloody war begins, which assumes the characteristics of a regional one. This happened during the
[643] 1850's in the Cuevo region. The cacique Gũiracoti tried without
[837] success to have relations with the wife of Yaveau, cacique of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo. In revenge the offended man disposed of a head of cattle belonging to /160/ Gũiracoti; hostilities were then declared and each cacique prepared for war.

/207 cont./

462 The woman among the Chiriguano is a true slave, and
562 the man her master. His work for the family is limited to planting and weeding, as well as fetching the necessary fire-
[517] wood. In addition, /208/ as a diversion and pastime, he takes his bow and arrow, goes out into the countryside and hunts, or fishes in a nearby river, spending the rest of his time talking with his friends, recounting exploits, telling stories, Miani, playing cards and throwing dice, even going so far as to bet the tipoy or cutama of his wife.

She, on the contrary, is the work horse of the house. She
[482] carries the maize with her Añapoca, a kind of net, goes to
[515] the spring and carries on her shoulders and over long distances some 50 libras of water, prepares food, makes chicha, cleans her house, spins, weaves ponchos, makes ollas, cares for her children, raises animals such as pigs, chickens, sheep, and goats, makes cheese if she has cows, and, as if all this were not enough, in the afternoon she sits down next to her lazy husband, releases his healthy hair, and as a distraction goes looking through that labyrinth for the insects which nest there,
• [262] without feeling any disgust. I am not talking about killing them, but about doing away with some with her teeth and making a snack out of others, a very simple thing for these women.

562 Everything is permitted for the man. He can play upon
593 words and make lascivious jokes with other women, but this is not permitted for the wife, nor can she even cast a sidelong glance, which would be enough to cause her to be maltreated and divorced. How many things there are in nature! It is painful to see a mother with her four or five little ones abandoned to suffer hunger and despair, while the rascal of a husband with no just cause at all goes happily off with another, giving her the little that he earns and then getting rid of her at the first chance (1).

593 1. When the man turns out to be too lazy, it
586 is the woman who leaves him, going off with another, and the children go with her, because

/209 cont./

843 Near the time of giving birth, she carries less weight,
262 prepares what is necessary, which consists of some cloth pads
415 and her new little olla in which to cook the maize which she
[153] must eat boiled. If the olla were old or used, the newborn would be subject to mal caduco, or epilepsy, and if a woman who has just given birth were to eat parched maize, her breasts would dry up and would not give milk for feeding the child.

844 At the time of giving birth the only person left in the house is the midwife; the others, even the husband, go out, but he returns as soon as the birth has taken place, in order to lend some help to his wife and the midwife, who alone cannot attend to the newborn child and its mother, who fights with her very life against the pains, for which she is consoled at the sight of the fruit of her womb, which for a moment makes her forget her present suffering.

They at once cover with sand every trace of the event, wrap up with bands, cloths, or other things the body of the woman who has just given birth, and lay her on the ground face down, making her rest on a bed which has little or no resemblance to such, but as every Chiriguano woman is strong, she puts up with this as though she were in a featherbed.

184 Throughout the whole world birth is a very dangerous thing,
846 and it is even here. The Chiriguano women also need considerable rest. When some old women were asked about the matter, they stated that childbirth formerly lasted almost two weeks, and they marvel that the neophytes get up so quickly, returning to their customary labors within eight days; they attribute this robustness to the lack of strict fasting in the years of puberty.

846 /210/ It is consequently an error to state that puerperae go to the lake or river to bathe from the second or third day, much less on the same day as the birth. Natural reason would not allow the latter. There might have been some extraordinary case in which some woman walked immediately after giving
[178] birth, but it would not cease to be an extraordinary case. The neophytes are abandoning the custom of their grandmothers and

/211 cont./

853 There is no special food or more abundant food for
262 mothers after childbirth. She who gives her breasts to her little one eats little and extremely poorly. Her ordinary food is parched maize, parched maize meal, bread made of the same, herbs, beans, gourds, other things of this nature, and rarely a little purchased beef, other meat from animals that died from sickness, lack of pasture, or snake bite, and, finally, game or chicken. In spite of this extremely bad food, milk is abundant in her breasts; the children are almost always hanging from them and sucking and never seem to dry them up, which indicates that they are excellent nursers.

648 Mestizo or white mothers who sometimes have little or
464 no breast milk because of sickness or some accident make
853 contracts with Chiriguano mothers, pay them well, and treat them better, but it seems that continued good and satisfactory nursing harms them, /212/ it also being prejudicial to the breast as well as to both newborn babies, the weaker child succumbing first (1).

1. Naturally the Chiriguano women refuse to be wet nurses for white children, because they abhor them. When through experience they learn of the sad consequences, communicated by others, they resist even more and only do it when force or the right of the stronger prevails.

845 Twins

[63] Multiple births are rare, and those of two children are
[65] frequent. In the former case the newborn babies die very soon, and in the latter case one almost always lives, and many times
736 both live. When twins survive or through the death of the
603 mother a newborn child is left an orphan, it is very easy for the grandmother to care for one twin or the orphaned child.
[853] Although the old woman may have reached or passed 60, she
[824]

/223/

881 raised to the ceiling. They leave her there for a period of
[785] four days in strict fasting and, of course, without her opening her mouth to speak to anybody, not even to ask for necessary things, because if she should talk or ask for anything, misfortune would appear at once.

At the end of this first test, which the maiden has scarcely felt, they lower her on the fifth day, wash her head with potash of Ñetira, and shave off the adolescent girl's hair. Meanwhile in a corner of the house far from the door, they have prepared a wall like a corner piece, made out of slender sticks a meter and 50 centimeters high more or less.
[785] Wrapped in her tipoi or clean clothing, the unfortunate girl goes there, into her pen, and begins her strict fast, which they call Yicuacu, or hiding (1).

1. This rigorous way of life does not seem at all strange to the maidens, because before it comes their mothers have prepared them for it, and they believe in everything with blind faith.

The girl remains in her enclosure for a week without doing anything, with face to the wall in order not to see or talk to
[262] anybody. Her usual fare is boiled maize, Atiruru. Sometimes she also eats meat if there is any, but in very small quantities. She neither tastes nor desires other foods. Were she to eat parched maize, she would not be good at feeding her children when she has them, because her breasts would be
[271] dry all her life. Her usual beverage should be natural clear
[273] water. Were she to drink chicha, she would be barren, be-
[842] cause it contains alcohol and acridness, which would stop the effects of conception during her marriage.

881 When the week is over, the fasting continues, but less
868 harshly; her parents have obtained cotton or wool, have
867 prepared the spindle and wheel, with the little potsherd in
283 which they put a few ashes or sand so that the spindle will turn more easily. The mother hands over all this to her daughter, who begins to work and learns that she has been born for work.

/240 cont./

241 [476] [534] go to the plot, waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by means of the Huacananti, cow's horn.

The method of planting is very simple. When the land is soft, the planter makes a small hole with his spade, using two or three blows, then pushes the spade forward, throws in two or three grains of seed and covers them. Then, without moving he makes another hole to the right, horizontal to the first, and a third to the left, performing the same operation as in the first, after which he takes a step and continues as before until he finishes. With many working, the planting of a plot is soon finished.

241 461 512 The Indian does not work beyond midday, and he tries to finish the job before leaving it in order not to return; therefore that the work sometimes lasts until two in the afternoon. Then the owner and his companions stop, return to the town, where they are awaited with plenty of food and chicha, which the former has ordered prepared, if the previous harvests were abundant (2).

[273] [262] 2. In any case, if there were a lack of chicha, because of previous scarcity, and mead made from algarrobas, the housewife should still wait for the planters with food mixed with some meat and plenty of chili peppers.

241 476 They formerly continued in this fashion until the planting of a tribe was completed; one day on one's own plot and another on that of a companion, and even the cacique did the same; today this is difficult to manage, because now they are not so close. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity, if someone prepares chicha for those who may wish to help him in planting or weeding, they leave or refuse money for a few matés or /241/ glasses of this much desired liquor. Even the whites get peons more easily this way.

/241 cont./

Modern Farming and Seeds

241 177 [407] Today planting with the spade is disappearing, and if this tool is necessary for weeding, an iron one has been substituted. The plow has become general, as have the yoke and oxen, and in the missions even boys of 12 break in oxen two and a half years old. They first do the planting for the mission, then for themselves and their fathers, and finally they help those who have no sons; the missionary provides them with young oxen, plowshares, and even halters when they are very poor.

The neophytes in most of the Potosí missions have learned to perfection this new method of farming, and they are so advanced that they are competitive with and even superior to many mestizo farmers. The older ones teach the younger ones, fathers teach their sons, and the latter as well as the former manufacture plow and yoke out of selected wood with all the perfection that these implements require. It is satisfying to see upon a farm 40 or 50 yokes of oxen, directed and driven by young men and boys who yesterday were like their grandparents! The whites themselves do their planting on a large scale, aided by these Chiriguano, who receive in exchange double daily wages (1).

[868] [407] [231] 46

1. A peon plowman is not obliged to bring oxen; it is the white who waits for him with the yoke hitched. If a peon brings his own, he earns up to triple daily wages, because they are worth exactly three strong peons, the two oxen and the man who drives them. Thus it is not much to pay him triple.

243 262 Today it seems to me that there must not be another country where the different types of maize thrive better. This is the principal element, the daily food, not only of the Chiriguano tribe, but of all those who inhabit most of Bolivia. Here in particular, when there is no harvest, its lack is greatly felt by whites and blacks, that is to say, by mestizos and by Chiriguano.

/242 cont./

The seventh type has no peculiarity. It is called Cachinchi, which in the language means curly, and it actually is: the kernel is rather small at the end, but not at the beginning, and in the middle it is very soft; it contains considerable saccharine, and they use it for parched maize. They also have the Abati guayeta, then the Abati chore, which they use for parched meal, and finally they have the Saimpini, gray, very good for parched maize because of its softness (2).

[177] 2. It appears that formerly these Indians did not have the Abati guayeta. It is very probable that it was introduced after the Conquest, or as soon as they had any relations with the whites.

• 262 Maize is a very common food for the Chiriguano Indian, and he eats it in different ways, but in times of plenty one tires of eating the same thing, like the Hebrews, who in the desert had become tired of eating manna. They remedy this difficulty with the Intina, side dishes /companage.

The first, Abati tina, is the Cumanda, French bean /alubia/: there are also 11 types of French beans, or [263] cumanda. All are eaten with salt or without /243/ it, with maize meal, with parched maize, or without them. Here they are: Cumanda háigüe, bean with a yellow kernel; Cumanda sacuayu, which literally means bean with yellow eye; Cumanda ũũ, black bean; Cumanda güraya, which literally means bean owner of the trees, because it is a climber; Cumandandi, white bean; Cumanda pucu, long bean with red kernel; Cumanda mi, small bean. This one is not small because of its grain, but because of the plant, and it is the one that the whites call yellow poroto; Cumandanui, sour bean; Cumanda guasu, large bean, it is because the plant is very thick. There is another called Güira rupía because it resembles birds' eggs, and, finally, there is Saimpino, which is similar to the gray egg-colored maize (1).

244

1. The Cumanda guasu, or large bean, is the

/343 cont./

one preferred by the Chiriguano, and he has good reason, as it is quite edible, the least damaging to health, in addition to being the seed which is most resistant to drought. It is very abundant, and as many as four harvests can be taken from it.

The Chiriguano plants whatever type of beans /judías/ he has or can obtain from his neighbors or companions when he runs short, because only in the case of maize, which he prefers to eat parched and not boiled, does he plant several varieties. All beans /alubia/ are good to the Indian because of the use that he makes of them, which is to boil them and eat them, to roast them under hot ashes with their pods, or, by making a hole in the ground, to heat it and burying the pods there so that they will cook.

If the Chiriguano frequently lacks beans to mix with the maize, it is unlikely that he will be without gourds, which grow with little cultivation and which are so resistant to drought; it is also extremely easy for him to plant this food, so much so that women and children devote themselves to it, because not many plants are needed in a plot for an abundant harvest.

Twelve classes of gourds are known, but only five are edible; the other seven are used for matés. The edible ones are the following: Andai, Gũndaca guasu, Gũndaca mi, Gũndaca mi guasu, yiquisigua; the latter has an edible interior and the exterior is useful for domestic purposes, to keep any object in its hard shell. The gourds that serve for matés are Iá, true maté; Iá pua, round maté; Iámpe, flattened maté; /344/ Iá guasu, large maté; Iá-rai, small maté, Iá pucu, long maté, and Iá pani, twisted maté (1).

1. The Indian does not include in the number of gourds the one the two children used to free themselves from the deluge of water because it was a miraculous one.

/244 cont./

252 262 Gourds are eaten boiled, roasted, and in broth; the seed is enjoyed when roasted with maize meal, parched maize, or beans. They also eat them as broth, which they call Güindaca mi quira, or grease of the gourd, to which they add chili pepper and salt, just as they do with beans cooked in ollas with the whole pod, which they call Sopirigua.

241 If the Chiriguano manages to plant a little maize beans /poroto/, and gourds, he is content and stops planting other, less important seeds. Few plant Yeti, sweet potato, Mandiporopi, mandioca, Tacuaneé, sugar cane, and Monduvi, peanut. They all plant watermelons and other melons; many plant figs and tunas, or nopal, and few cultivate orange trees, because this Indian has little patience for waiting on the ingratitude of certain plants which require much care and are very slow in yielding fruit (2).

[192] [177] 2. Names for watermelon /sandía/ and melon /melón/ do not exist in the Chiriguano language, which indicates that these fruits were introduced by the whites, from whom the Indians got them.

222 245 262 The nopal is very abundant in this area, rising to some three or four meters; its fruit is very exquisite, as everyone knows. Its cultivation is nil; it is enough to pluck off a branch of the main plant and bury it halfway, and its sweet fruit will ripen from the second year on. It is the plant that the Chiriguano value most.

245 Even the fig tree, which also needs little care, is cultivated. They call it Iva, as well as calling the nopal Saini, and both plants seem to be native, because they grow in hot places, and the name indicates that they have always had them. The fig tree requires more cultivation than the nopal, but this is relatively insignificant; they pull off a branch, plant it during the rainy season, and let it grow fully without pulling off any shoots (3).

439 3. Whites who live among the Indians are

/244 cont./

439 occupied in other, more lucrative trades; they rarely plant fig trees and nopal, and this benefits the Chiriguano, who sells both fruits, receiving money, meat, or charqui from the white man.

241 When any of this planting is done, all the desire of the Chiriguano is that it yield; he fervently beseeches the favor of heaven, /245/ or the sorcerers, masters or the rain, that there may not be a lack of the necessary moisture, and he, with his own hands, sees to it that the planting is quite free of all weeds.

Use of the Ripe Produce

262 252 If the weather is favorable and the Indian has taken care of the planting, the reward of his little bit of sweat will not make him wait long. In exactly three months, or even before, he can already begin to savor Abatíqui, tender maize, which the mestizos call choclo. The first of these ears are eaten roasted and almost never boiled, because they say that prepared in the latter fashion they are tasteless. They go on to say that roasted choclo must be cooked only a little in order not to lose its ability to fatten, and if it is roasted under ashes with the whole husk, it is almost as sweet as sugar. How well, dear reader, do my Indians know what is good for the body, and how they know the way to get fat and what is most pleasing to the palate! They are good gourmets despite their poverty! It seems that they belong to the abdominals described by Father Saj.

When the choclo is somewhat more mature, they eat it with more pleasure, and then they also very nicely prepare Simbícuai, hufnitas/small cakes made of tender maize and sugar/. The method is very simple: instead of a knife or spoon to pull off the kernels, the young Chiriguano girl or old woman, pretty or ugly, with good teeth or bad ones, uses these instead of a mortar and pestle to grind it; it is done with the teeth very

/245 cont./

252
262

clean, and, of course, in view of the chewing the choclo turns out well seasoned with the clean, white saliva of the old or young women. Then they wrap up the chewed matter in green husks, tie it up, put it under the ashes, and, when it is cooked, they eat it as if it were a very delicate victual, and let it be noted that if the Chiriguano humita were not made thus, it would turn out tasteless for lack of sauce and salt, which things they make up for by means of the above-mentioned procedure (1).

> 1. The whites here and elsewhere make humitas, grinding up choclo in a mortar and mixing in cheese, curds, meat, and other ingredients; but the Indian follows his old way without adding anything other than saliva to it.

The season of fresh maize lasts some three months, because the Chiriguano, accustomed to heavy food, eats it as fresh even when it is very ripe. When the choclo season ends, the woman gathers a few ears of abatindi or /246/ saimpino, husks them, sits down near the fire, where she has put her potsherd or clay vessel, and she tosses the maize there to parch, stirring it with a little stick or with the cob of the maize itself, being careful not to overcook it, so that it may not lose its substance. They eat very little boiled maize. Atirure, and even the parched corn, Atipii, must be accompanied by its Intina, side dish, which should be something unusual (1).

> 1. For their side dishes they make use of beans, gourds, meat, fish, empanizado, large Isaú ants, cicadas, lizards, worms, melted tallow, honey, gourd leaves, wild herbs such as the Mandiñ, and locusts, whose appearance sometimes makes him happy because now he has it for his roasted maize.

/246 cont./

252
262

It is not likely that in times of abundance the Indian will resign himself to always eating maize in the same fashion, both because he becomes tired of it and because there are also old people who are toothless and cannot eat parched maize very well. To avoid both things, the Chiriguano mind has found various ways to prepare maize dishes, in addition to those already noted. He savors with satisfaction Aticú, meal: to make it, the Indian woman, after having been huddled for a long time near the fire, takes her pestle, tosses a quantity of parched maize into the mortar and grinds: then she sifts the ground maize in a fine palm sieve and grinds it all up again, so that the aticú, which the whites call pinu, may be palatable enough.

As easily as she prepares aticú, she also makes Muiani, which is the seventh way of eating maize. For this she puts a small number of kernels in water and lets them soak overnight: in the morning she takes them out and puts them in a sieve so that all the water may run off. She then proceeds to grind them little by little and once finished, sifts it and parches it as she did the meal. From the remains from grinding the muiani, called Abaticuru, named aracillo by the whites, she prepares Achi. To make it, she grinds the aracillo again, puts salt and chili pepper in the meal, and parches it.

The ninth way of using maize is a little more complicated. It is frequent, but not usual. It is called Maintimimo. To make it, kernels are steeped and ground early in the morning and then sifted in a fine sieve: next one prepares a plate which has small holes for the purpose, and the ground meal, which is covered with bran, is put on it: finally, the plate is put on an olla of boiling water, its edges sealed with /247/ a paste of ashes so that the steam may not escape, and then it is left to cook by steaming (1).

1. To see if it is ready, she taps on the bran with her fingers, and, if it sounds like cooked bread, it is a sign that it is time to remove it from the olla, throw away the bran, eat what is wanted, and save the rest.

/347 cont./

252 262 Infrequently the Indian drinks a broth of ground maize. Mapi: when he does not have meat, he uses beans and gourds for his broth. If he does not have these either, he prefers Cagüi rai, which he prepares by soaking and grinding the maize, removing the bran, and cooking it. They also chew it sometimes, let it ferment, and eat it when it is ready: anyone who sees this last food could not help but be disgusted, but for them it is a very excellent dish.

The twelfth and last way of eating maize is Moyape-
[263] bread. The preparation is the same as that of the Hebrews when they eat unleavened bread, but the Chiriguano put salt and chili pepper in it: after it is kneaded, they cover it with ashes and live and let it cook well; when it is done, they take it out, wash it with water until the ashes which have stuck to it are gone, and, well washed, it has the color of bread, which invites both big and small to savor it: it is what the Indian likes best, and the women make it frequently in times of plenty. Its odor and taste are very pleasant, especially when just made.

273 Cagüi — Chicha

All the ability of a wife consists of knowing how to make chicha well, the delicious cagüi of the Chiriguano, who is capable of walking a hundred kilometers or more to drink it, when invited with all the rules of native diplomacy. Cagüi is his coffee, his soup, his wine, his food, his drink, his everything. In a certain way it is his God, and I am sure that many would renounce heaven for chicha, because they know almost nothing of what heaven is, and, on the other hand, they know that chicha is a sweet thing which gladdens the heart and leads to conversation and singing; therefore, every Chiriguano woman must take special care from even before puberty to learn well the method of preparing it. Here it is (2).

[77] 2. The method of making the chicha which the whites call arrope is somewhat different, but the Chiriguano Indians do not use it and learned of it only recently.

/249 cont./

Hunters

224 So that there may be plenty of food at the public drinking, the men, as soon as they have finished the job of bringing in firewood, take their bows and arrows, and horses if they have any, and go hunting. The places are suitable for the purpose: some hunt Taitetu, wild boars; others pursue the Yandu, ostrich; many go in search of Picasuguasu, large pigeons, Yeruti, turtledoves, Picúi, little doves. They also hunt: Guasu, /250/ pygmy deer; Sariama, chuñas /cranes/; Ayuru, parrots; and Tatu, quiriquinchos /armadillos/ (1).

• [262] 1. The armadillos are of several types; the meat of the Taturapúa, balled armadillo, is not good, because it feeds on carcasses; the meat of the rest is better than that of the pig /chancho/; it is not harmful like that of the latter.

[251] The hunters take some 15 or 20 days to return, but as they take game, they cut it open, clean it, and dry it in the sun, so that it will not spoil, because they do not carry salt, since they do not have it, for making jerky or charqui.

224 231 Almost all the Chiriguano are hunters, and the infinite number of dogs that they keep in their houses have the ability to pursue the wild boar, the quiriquincho /armadillo/, the ostrich, the chuña /crane/, or the pygmy deer. These dogs are almost like Old World wolves, with pointed ears and a curled tail; they are so skinny they look like harps, so bad with mestizos and whites that it seems that they have learned to hate them as their owners do, and they are so attached to the latter that they never leave their side. They go with them everywhere; it is not unusual to see an Indian who is going to the field followed or preceded by eight or ten dogs, who are falling down from being so thin, and yet, should they flush a pygmy deer or a chuña, they will not let it get away. To walk alone at night through a Chiriguano town is to expose oneself to being eaten alive by these hungry tigers who all gather when the first one barks.

/252 cont./

262 As very savory food there are also cicadas, ants, lizards, locusts, and some green worms which cause disgust just to name them. If a head of cattle dies and putrefaction has begun, the Chiriguano finds it excellent; give it to him and it is a grand gift, and that day is a carnival for him; he does not try to find out whether the animal died from the poison of a viper or rattlesnake or from rabies (1).

262
252

1. When Indians bring home the meat of dead cattle well into a state of putrefaction, they boil it in ollas and throw away the liquid, and in this way it loses much of its bad smell.

262
178 I do not know whether it is through superstition or because they are descendants of the Jews that this tribe formerly did not eat the flesh of the pig; although they like and hunt the wild boar or the peccary, they did not touch the domestic pig, but today almost all of them, with the exception of some women, eat it.

261
262 The Chiriguano suffers in times of hunger or scarcity of food, but he looks for food in the earth; this is very harmful food, which produces various ailments, such as consumption and
[252] dysentery. He looks for the potato of the serpentine arum, ex-
[164] tracts it, and, making a hole, heats it, throws the potatoes there, and covers it with ashes and embers, leaving them overnight; on the following day he and his family eat, but it gives them a bad stomach-ache, which makes them throw themselves down with their bellies to the ground until the pain abates; the same potato, raw, is efficaceous for killing worms in the galls of animals.

[222] Another food in times of scarcity is the Caraguata; this
[252] is a kind of aloe with leaves without the oily liquid; the edible part is the roots, which have a flavor like mandioca; it is considerable work to pull them out of the ground, where they are firmly attached, and the mealy substance is /253/ little enough; to eat it, it is roasted in the coals or under the ashes. When it is the time for fruits and want threatens, the Chiriguano

/253 cont./

261 feed themselves with: algarroba pods, Hibope; chañar /a legume/,
262 Cumbaru; mistol /a fruit/, Yua; tusca, Hibopene; sour algarrobos, Hibope tayi; nopal fruits, Saini; or from the fig, Iva; the higuerilla /little fig/, Caicantina, the thistle /cardo/, Tapiacaru, and the ulala /a kind of cactus/, Ñancagüína (1).

[139] [132]

1. The fruits mentioned and many others are plentiful in the whole area, but in the Ivu region they are more plentiful; the years have now greatly changed; it does not rain as regularly as in times past and the crops are somewhat certain only at the foot of the mountain ranges.

181 Indubitably the Chiriguano, although superior to other nomadic tribes that surround them or border them, are very unfortunate and poor, but, on the other hand, their life is peaceful, they bother no one, and they do not wish to be bothered. When the Chiriguano Indian has food, he is the happiest being on earth; his savage bliss can today be envied by all the rulers and great of the world who live without knowing whether or not they will wake up on the morrow, in view of being surrounded by so many anarchistic dangers, so many bombs and dynamite that the obscure sects make explode, so many excesses that occur and are reported in the newspapers and so many deaths that are taking place. Oh, this kind of savagery has not penetrated among these savages! That is why they sleep peacefully without fear, in the town, in the countryside, and in the forest, and they are happier than others; those who seek bliss on this earth may well envy these Indians.

/284 cont./

000 The philosopher Focion said that he who has the fewest desires to satisfy is the happiest man on earth. This is a truth based on experience, but it is not true happiness; it is part of it, because complete happiness is not attained here.

The true Chiriguano dressed in the old way and his wife with her tipoy must have been the happiest beings on earth, but as they are children of the first man, they also inherited affliction, pain, and death. These three things are almost always the consequence of illness, and they come from the intemperate life that I have described, just as they also come from the drinking and eating.

515 751 The Chiriguano takes no care of his person, although he loves life, which he would like to be eternal, however much he may walk dragging himself along. His foodstuffs are not at all [262] hygienic; he eats /illustration appears here/ /285/ often and with [252] too much greed rotten meat, vegetables, and maize itself, which [271] he parches but never cooks completely. The water he drinks is not always clear or free of microbes and small worms that are visible; [273] the very chicha that is manufactured with such elaborate effort and care is drunk still sour, and, finally, shelter is unimportant. In periods of great heat he lies on the ground, taking on his back the burning rays of the sun; he protects himself little in the abrupt changes of temperature, and if he gets wet in the rain or has taken a voluntary bath of cold water or water heated by the sun, he lets his clothes dry on his body; from these come the illnesses that I shall presently enumerate, illnesses that he suffers from, which make him unhappy and then carry him to the grave.

753 821 The rainbow that God gave to Noah as a sign that He would not flood humanity again with the waters of a new deluge is a sad sign for the Chiriguano. If this so natural phenomenon appears in a town and begins in front of or over a house, when it disappears it does not end or turn to nothing but hides itself in the belly of one of the residents, who in time will get sick and die of dropsy, from which it follows that this illness, which is rare among them, is caused by the rainbow (1).

1. Another natural phenomenon is the whirlwind,

[TEXT Continues on p. 385]

/285 cont./

753
821

which rises continually to the sky in these interminable plains, taking behind it all of the trash that it finds along its way. It is called Cusumino, and, according to them, it causes pains in the feet, knees, and bones. When a whirlwind begins in a town, they try to cut it with a knife.

Illnesses and Remedies

164

The most common illnesses among the Chiriguano are the intermittent fevers that are endemic, tuberculosis or consumption, eye disease, convulsive coughing, diarrhea, dysentery, mange or itch, and tumors accompanied by a kind of leprosy that covers a large part of the body. The intermittent fevers appear at the time of the first rains and continue until the time of the fruits and fresh maize. These fevers are not fatal, but one who is attacked by them has a rather afflicted life. Their remedies are vegetal; 757 they boil quebracho or algarroba bark, and they drink this water, but it does not always have a salutary effect. /286/ If a small dose of quinine is administered during the intermittent fevers, they immediately get well (1).

1. They get well with a small dosage, perhaps because their bodies are not accustomed to the remedies of the apothecary. Another efficacious remedy for the intermittent fevers is bitter coffee or coffee with a little sugar.

164

The itch, tumors, and leprosy do not cause death. 262 Chiriguano food is almost always saltless. They are not careful 263 in selecting it, and stinking meat does not disgust them. Their 751 water is not always clear; they bathe at any hour and, after bathing, 515 do not dry their bodies. If it rains, they let the wet clothing dry 000 on their person. From this and other causes come the many skin

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C 442

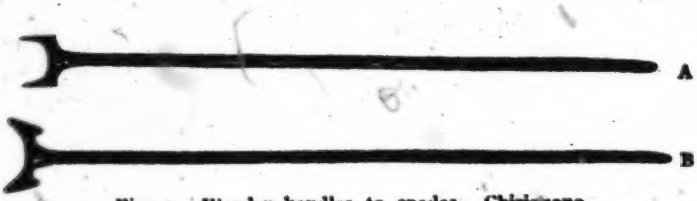


Fig. 5. Wooden handles to spades. Chiriguano.
1/18. A = Private collection. B = R. M. E. 680.

III.

Tillage and tillage implements.

C Ce 241 262

Vegetable food is of great importance to the majority of Indians. This is most specially so with the Chiriguano and Chané. To the former, as well as to those of the latter tribe who dwell on the Rio Itiyuro, maize is of extraordinary importance. The Chiriguano and Chané belong to WISSLER's »maize-area» or »area of intensive agriculture». WISSLER divides S. America into three great food areas: area of intensive agriculture, manioc area, and guanaco area. Another division would be more correct, viz. —

C Ce [243]

S 22

1) Area of intensive agriculture.
2) Area of manioc and fishing.
3) Area of wild seeds and fishing. El Gran Chaco.
4) Guanaco area.

There will, of course, be in addition a number of small areas with special conditions of life, as in the extreme south of S. America.

C 241

The Chiriguano grow 11 kinds of maize[1]), 11 varieties of beans[1]), 12 kinds of calabashes[1]), of which 5 are edible, sweet potates, mandioca, sugar-cane, mani, urucu, tobacco,

[1]) According to NINO Pp. 241 . . . .

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 241

water-melons, melons, figs, tuna[1]), oranges, cotton, millet, and reeds for arrow-shafts.

Ce 241 [245] C Ce [244] C Ce [177] [262]

Bananas are not cultivated. Among the Chané at the Rio Parapiti the sweet-potato is the most important cultivated plant. Of the plants mentioned, the sugar-cane, the melon, the watermelon, the fig, the orange and the millet are not American. All those cultivated plants which have been introduced by Europeans are of slight importance to the Indians. I have never seen mandioca cultivated, but I have heard that it is to be met with in the fields of these Indians. As a staple food of the people it is of no importance here.

C Ce 412 177

Iron spades bought from the Whites are the tools employed nowadays. Very occasionally one still sees wooden spades. In Part I I have published a map of the geographical distribution of the spade.

The spade in S. America is evidently a western element of culture, i. e. the idea of fitting on a more or less broad blade to the lower part of the digging-stick is plainly derived from the western area of civilization.

Whence the Chiriguano got the idea of the shapely handles I do not know. They are too shapely for the art to have been derived from the Whites. They have obviously a long evolution behind them, and it is very probable that they had their origin in the Mountain area of civilization.

Hoes with iron blades occur. The Indians have got them from the Whites. I have not seen any primitive hoes, although we are here on the border of the area of distribution of the genuine American hoe[2]).

The Chiriguano and Chané use a small implement for removing the corn from the corn-cobs which I have described in Part I. P. 32.

---

[1]) Opuntia.

C Ce [114]

[2]) It is incorrect to affirm, as Wissler does, (P. 27) that the hoe was unknown in S. America. Incas had hoes and they are found still among the Quichua.

5:Nordenskiöld E-54(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

When there are

c ce 226 439 plenty of fish in the Pilcomayo, there is a great trade in dried fish in that part of the country. The Indians tramp long distances in order to fish or get fish by barter.[1]) In places where the fish are so small that they rarely exceed the length of a finger, as in Rio Itiyuro, the fishing, done by c ce women and children, still forms no small part of the diet of [262] the people[2]). It is not surprising that the Chiriguano and Chané are eager fishermen, for no doubt both tribes come from well-watered tracts of the country where fish is abundant.

c 227

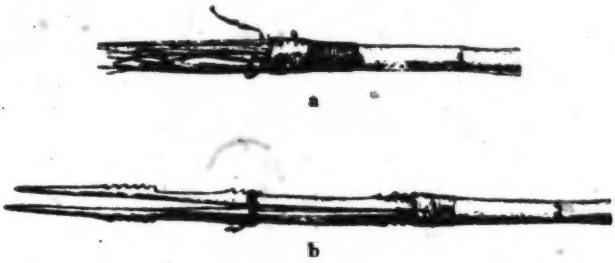


Fig. 15. Points of arrows for fishing. Chiriguano.
a = R. M. E. 618. 1/4; b = R. M. E. 627. 1/4

[1]) Padre BERNARDINO DE NINO says, P. 251: »Del pescado es muy deseoso, mas no todas las tribus lo tienen cerca, éstas, cuando saben que en las orillas de los grandes rios hay en abundancia, caminan hasta ciento c cincuenta kilómetros para hacer el cambalache: llevan maiz ó harina y la ce cambian por pescado.«

[515] [2]) This is where they got their very clean habits and their eagerness to bath every day.

/160 cont./

The region settled by the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is really very extensive. It is varied in nature, from luxuriant virgin forests to extremely arid valleys and plains poor in vegetation. It is in part very mountainous, but the Chiriguano and Chané are not mountain people. They stay down in the valleys and do not climb up to the peaks and plateaus, like the Quichua Indians.

Animal life in these regions is poor, in fact, very poor. A hunting people could never live there. Now and then a roebuck, a wild pig, a few ostriches, that is all one sees in the way of big game. Bird life, too, is very poor. /161/ The number of lakes is very small, and they are no larger than what we would call pools in Europe. On the Rio Parapiti one sees quite a large number of white egrets (1), famous for

1. Ardea.

their valuable feathers. With regard to wood fowl, only the chicken called "pavas" (2) contributes to the diet. Occasionally

2. Penelope.

one sees a large-billed "toucan" (3). Sleek pigeons, fattened

3. Rhamphastus.

on maize, often live in masses in the fields of the Indians. In the Rio Pilcomayo there is a great abundance of fish; in the little rivers the fish are small and poor. The Indians who live in these regions have to be farmers, and they are maize farmers to the highest degree. For them maize is food, drink, pleasure, everything!

I have no adventures to report from among these Indians. Everyone may travel unharmed among them. The greatest sorrow of the ethnographer is that he is unable to collect all the interesting and old things that he sees there. One cannot take everything home.

C /187 cont./
Ce the Chiriguano and Chané have fewer horses, cows, donkeys, sheep,
231 and goats than the Choroti and Ashluslay. On the other hand, they have more chickens and pigs. Sometimes one sees ducks, guinea fowl, and turkeys. In certain regions, as, for example, in the Caipipendi
Ce valley, where the Indians are wealthy, they also have much livestock.
[184] The whites, unfortunately, try in every way to cheat them out of
[556] what they have. Thus, it is not uncommon for a white man or a white woman to come into a village with a few kegs of spirits and to leave
Ee [439] it with a couple of the best cows of the Indians. The whites are richer, the Indians poorer.

C
227

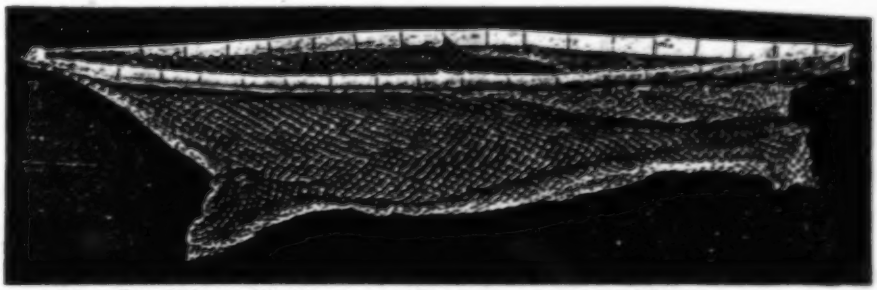


Fig. 91. Net. Chiriguano. Rio Parapiti. Ca. 1/12.

C
Ce The menagerie of tamed wild animals which one sees in the villages
231 of the more primitive Indians is not to be found among /188/ these Indians
171 A parrot that talks a little Guarani, however, is not unusual in the huts.

Preparation of Food

C
Ce The dirt that we come across in the preparation of food and eating
252 among the Choroti and Ashluslay is not found /Fig. 92a appears here/ among the Chané and Chiriguano. On the other hand, the dishes are
Ee terribly monotonous. They consist of maize in every possible form,
[262] cooked maize, roasted maize, maize bread baked in ashes, maize flour porridge, and /189/ steamed maize flour. The latter is prepared in an apparatus illustrated here (Fig. 92).

6: Nordenskiöld--59 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/206/

Chapter Twelve

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

From the Womb to the Grave

C Ce 843 Ce [123] Ee 844 Ee 846 Ce [171] Ce 846 262 Ce [125] c 846 262 Ee 171 846

The Chané and Chiriguano women work hard even during pregnancy, until they are to give birth. In Vocapoy's village there was a pregnant woman to whom I gave a pigeon that I shot. Vocapoy thereupon told me in great excitement that a pregnant woman must not eat pigeons. When a Chané or Chiriguano child comes into the world, it undoubtedly does not cause its mother much pain. These women are healthy and give birth easily, as do all Indian women who lead a healthy life and have never worn tight-fitting clothing. They also do not lie in childbed; instead, that must be done by the papa of the little one. Here, too, we come across this strange custom, the "couvade," which is known from so many Indian tribes. The husband is supposed to lie down for several days and observe a diet. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti he is permitted to eat only cooked maize and maize soup during the first few days, and later sweet potatoes as well. For several days he may not eat meat. For example, if he eats the meat of a goat, he will die, bleating as it does. The Chiriguano Indian Taco told me that he got his fat stomach because he did not observe this important custom. "I should have lain for five days and stayed on a diet," he said.

The custom of the couvade, as is well known, is very widespread in South America. Among the tribes with whom I am familiar it definitely occurs, aside from the /207/ Chiriguano and Chané, among the Choroti, Gûarayû, and Chacobo. K. v.d. Steinen (1), who describes this custom in detail from the Rio Xingu,

Ee [113]

1. Karl v. d. Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/. Berlin, 1894.

C
Ce /210 cont./
881
[302] When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short, and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again.
Ce Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her
[262] needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize and meal. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."
C
881 In a Chané village, Aguarâti, I saw a girl who was sitting
123 in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet, which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and
C closet had disappeared.
881 P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection

C
[113]

1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

C
[825] with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has bitten the girl.
C
Ce When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is
881 marriageable.
582 /211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his
Ce lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this.
852 A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie
304 down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in
[301] his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable
Ce hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him
[603] to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.
Ce For one day the father may not consume anything, so that
[262] the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians
[191] do not like prattlers.
Ce When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small
301 piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may
885] parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig. 79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise
C and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the
[301] Chiriguano only the old men now have the
[178] tembeta.
Ce
[178]

C
Ce
343
182
171
231

/18 cont./ Their Purpose
today among the Chiriguano and Chané, as well as among the Matako and Churupí, is primarily to protect certain provisions against the numerous dogs and other domestic animals who are around in great number in every part of the town (74).

74. Concerning the question of the purpose of houses built upon posts with respect to damage by animals, cf. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 192-198.

C
Ce
433
224
226

Food and Drink. Manner of Eating and Drinking.

Hunting and fishing are not very important in the economy of the Chiriguano and Chané. Their territory has relatively few edible animals, and they are not very brave hunters (75).

75. Nord. 2, p. XVI.

C
Ce
224
262

Of animals that can be hunted, they eat the puma and the jaguar, while they scorn vultures, foxes, and the meat of monkeys, so craved by other Indians (76). One contribution

C
Ce
226
184

76. Nord. 1, p. 190.

to their subsistence which is worth mentioning is that from fishing, but only for the Chiriguano and Chané who live near the upper Pilcomayo River, since that river has excellent fishing. These Indians cannot make much use of fishing in the Rio Grande, because today this river can be held to be almost the frontier of their territory. The Parapití River has many fish, but they are very small. While the Chané today live in territories where for several months some fish are available, many Chiriguano towns are so far from the larger streams that fish does not enter into the diet of their inhabitants (77). With

77. Nord. 2, pp. XV and XVI.

231 /18 cont./ with
262 respect to the eating of meat, the Chiriguano depend on their livestock, which, however, according to Nordenskiöld, since they omit the raising of pigs and chickens, is not so numerous as the livestock of the Chorote and the Churupí. They do not
262 eat the flesh of asses, horses, /19/ and dogs (78). Although
241

78. Nord. 1, p. 190.

we do not have exact data on the amount of meat that their livestock yields, we can suppose that it is not very great, and thus these Indians depend principally on vegetable foods, that is, on the products of their agriculture. We should say that, in comparison with maize, all other foodstuffs have almost no importance, except among the Indians of the Parapití, among whom the sweet potato is the most important food (79).

79. Nord. 1, p. 181.

261 In times of shortage they eat various wild plants, principally
273 the sweet pods of the algarroba (November-December), which, coarsely chopped up with water, they allow to ferment in order to produce a kind of chicha which has inebriating qualities (80).

80. Nord. 1, p. 236. Métraux I, pp. 361 and 362.

262 Since meals consist principally of maize, they are very
252 monotonous, although the maize is eaten by them in many different forms, either boiled or parched, or as a flour cooked in steam, as a fried maize-cake, in embers /rescoldo/, or as a soft maize-pudding (81). Meat is eaten roasted or boiled,

81. Nord. 1, pp. 188 and 189. Métraux I, pp. 356-358.

263 together with maize. Cooking salt is used at meals. While
317 previously salt (dyúki) was obtained from mines or extracted
439 from earth from salt licks /barreros/, today it is obtained

8: Schmidt--149 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Grinding the Raw Materials

C
Ce
252
412

For grinding raw materials, principally for grinding corn, the Chiriguano and Chané use large wooden mortars with long pestles (255). Such a wooden mortar is shown in Figure 15 and

255. Nord. 1, p. 51. Métraux I, p. 365. Fig. 30.

C
Ce
412
[171]

another one by Nordenskiöld (256). Stone mills are not used by

256. Nord. 1. Fig. 116.

these Indians, although this implement was used, except for the Chaco tribes, by all the tribes whom the Chiriguano had as neighbors after their migration to the west. According to Métraux, a small stone mill is used only for grinding the seeds of a plant which the Chiriguano use as soap for washing their hair. Such a stone mill is shown in a drawing by Métraux (257).

C
515
[388]

257. Métraux I, p. 467. Fig. 122.

C
412
171
174

Because the wooden mortar is common even today among the Kainguá /Caingua/, who also belong to the Guaraní linguistic group, and is also mentioned for the ancient Tupinambá /Tupinamba/ of the eastern coast of Brazil, we can assume that the Chiriguano brought this cultural possession from their native land.

C
282
252
412
[171]

The fact that mandioca is not important in the economy of these Indians explains why they do not use the wooden grater, the application of which is diffused among so many other Indian tribes of South America who cultivate this nourishing root.

Making Cord and Thread

C
Ce
283

The thread that the Chiriguano and Chané make out of wool or cotton is spun by means of the spindle, while that made of caraguata is twisted by hand. We have no information on the way this caraguata thread is twisted.

/87 cont./

C 88 [302] The girl is nubile when, after the first menstruation, she has undergone a certain ceremony, which lasts until her hair, cut short, has grown out again to medium length. This ceremony of the girls, which is called "yimundia," consists of her being put in a kind of separate room inside the house. Until the following menstruation, she must stay on a diet and she must not eat anything but cooked maize and meal (339). Only in the

C [262]

339. Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

company of her mother may she temporarily leave the separate room to bathe and to take care of her other needs (340).

340. Nord. 1, p. 210.

C 881 304 We also learn from Nordenskiöld that the Chané boys from 10 to 12 years of age must also undergo certain ceremonies, which consist in having a man who is particularly expert in such matters pierce the lower lip (341) and put a small stick through the hole,

C [113] [239]

341. According to Métraux I, pp. 346 and 347 and Fig. 12, the Chiriguano formerly used for that purpose punches made of horn.

and his grandfather puts deep wounds in his body so that he may be valiant in battle and in hunting and takes him out in the morning, when it is cold, to bathe (342).

342. Nord. 1, p. 211.

C 887 /88/ 848 Chiriguano and Chané girls are watched over by their mothers /88/ until their marriage (343), and illegitimate children are

343. Nord. 1, p. 179.

/357 cont./

252 A rudimentary way of preparing corn, but also little valued, consists of boiling the kernels in water for a long time until they have become soft (atiruru) (3).

262
881
765
846

3. Atiruru is a dish whose consumption is intimately associated with the observance of magico-religious prohibitions. It is the only permissible nourishment for girls when they have their first menstrual periods, for people in mourning, and for women for a period of ten days after giving birth (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 14).

252 /358/ The Chiriguano make a broth with corn flour (api)
262 and meat, which is not bad.

They do not use haphazardly the 11 varieties of corn which they cultivate. Each, according to its properties, is intended for the preparation of a definite dish. Yellow corn (avati-hendi-vaé or avati-iyu-vaé) serves for making chicha or corn beer; white corn (avati-ndi) is roasted, as is avati-kanana. The corn called katimfi, or crinkled corn, is generally roasted, as are avati-tiore and avati-saimpini (gray corn), which are intended to be roasted and made into flour.

262 Avati-rai, or small corn, is planted only in times of scarcity when the harvest has been bad. Of small stature, it yields only one ear of reduced size, but has the advantage of growing fast (Nino, pp. 241-242).

A Chiriguano's meal in normal times is not made up exclusively of corn, even if this grain figures in all his menus. The popularity which corn has is also shared by beans, or kumanda. The Chiriguano cultivate 11 varieties of them also.

The Chiriguano eat beans either dry or fresh. In the
[252] latter case they are cooked in the pod in water or under ashes.
[263] Beans boiled in the pod are seasoned with pimento. Then one has the dish called sopiriwa.

/358 cont./

252 In order to shell dry beans, the women make a big pile of them which they put on a hide: then, sitting down beside it, they hammer them with a stick as if with a flail. The seeds are loosened, and to separate them from the pod they take handfuls which they winnow (Fig. 27). They carry out this operation several times until not a single seed is left sticking to the pods. Next they collect them into a pile with a small broom and rid them of all impurities by shaking them in a sieve. The shelled beans are kept in vessels.

At Caruruti every morning I was offered a dish of beans cooked in the following way: a handful of beans, with a little water, was put on the fire in an improvised frying pan formed out of a large potsherd. In an instant the water was evaporating and the beans beginning to smoke: this was the moment to take them off and serve them.

The underground oven, which among other American tribes is used almost exclusively for cooking meat, has been adapted by the Chiriguano to a more humble use: in a hole which they make in the ground and which they have first heated, they bury fresh beans and leave them until they are done (Nino, p. 343).

262 After beans in order of importance come squash or gourds
252 (andai ankú, and ginda). The Indians boil them or roast them under ashes. In the first case they season them with pimento
[263] or salt to make gindaka-mikira, or squash fat. The /358/ seeds are also roasted and eaten with corn flour, atipli, or beans.

The Indians of the Caipipendi valley sometimes, but rarely, ate sweet manioc tubers. They boiled them in water or roasted them under ashes.

Sweet potatoes or camote (in Chiriguano yeti) are roasted or boiled. They were served to me only two or three times. /Fig. 27 appears here./

263 The Chiriguano like condiments and season all their vegetables with them: in the bean pot they put pimento, which with them occurs in the form of extremely strong small oval fruits, green and red. I have also seen ground red pimento. In the villages where the Indians use crystallized salt, they break it into small

/359 cont./

263 pieces which are put near the fire to make them melt little by little. The cooks dip them from time to time into the soup, then take them out. If the salt is taken from salt marshes or from water by evaporation, /360/ they mold it into large balls which are scooped out as needed (Fig. 70).

252
291
516

Fig. 27. Young Chiriguano woman winnowing beans. Caraguatí. (Photo. A. M.)

319
263

The major part of the salt exploited in Chiriguano country comes from a mine situated in the San Simon region, between San Luis (Entre Rios) and the Salado River, in the department of Tarija. The Indians flock there from all directions with droves of donkeys which set out again loaded with big blocks of crystallized salt afterward cut into small pieces.

/300 cont./

C 263 319 The Indians of Ihopeyti, although living in the neighborhood of the San Simon salt mine, consume it in the form of the big balls which I have just mentioned. Pulverized, it is a salt which reminds one of our table salt but coarser. The inhabitants of this village assured me that they used to find it near the Pilcomayo. That is very possible, for the rivers which flow in the region are very salty as their names indicate (Río Salado, Saladito, etc.). These rivers, which frequently overflow and often change their beds, must form here and there real salt marshes. The Chiriguano of Ivu and Macharetí collect the water from a salt spring, boil it, and by successive coolings obtain salt which they mold into balls (Campana, p. 89).

Fig. 28. Salt molded in a ball, ready to be consumed or exported. Prov.: Ihopeyti. (1/2 nat. size.)

C 263 The Chiriguano are parsimonious with their salt. I did not see them salt anything but dried beans; and when the latter are cooked in the pod, they are served that way without condiments, the same as corn or squash.

C 264 When a Chiriguano woman offers you a dish of beans or meat, she always puts some corn flour beside you. It is not easy to eat it according to the rules: the Indians take great pinches of it between their fingers and throw them into their mouths with marvelous dexterity. Upon seeing them so adroit, I thought of their ancestors from Brazil, the ancient Tupinamba and Guarani, who excited the hilarious admiration of the first navigators: "But however that may be, our Tououpinambaoults, men and women as well as children, being accustomed from childhood to eating it (manioc flour) completely dry instead of bread, are so used to and trained for that, that taking it with

T 175 264

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

252 415 412 264 *Chiriguano* mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks. [317] [263]

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 592 **Dwellings.**—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

361 178 [343] [712] The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 177 **Clothing.**—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

/242 cont./

The seventh type has no peculiarity. It is called Cachinchi, which in the language means curly, and it actually is; the kernel is rather small at the end, but not at the beginning, and in the middle it is very soft; it contains considerable saccharine, and they use it for parched maize. They also have the Abati guayeta, then the Abati chore, which they use for parched meal, and finally they have the Saimpini, gray, very good for parched maize because of its softness (2).

[177] 2. It appears that formerly these Indians did not have the Abati guayeta. It is very probable that it was introduced after the Conquest, or as soon as they had any relations with the whites.

262 Maize is a very common food for the Chiriguano Indian, and he eats it in different ways, but in times of plenty one tires of eating the same thing, like the Hebrews, who in the desert had become tired of eating manna. They remedy this difficulty with the Intina, side dishes /companage.

The first, Abati tina, is the Cumanda, French bean /alubia/; there are also 11 types of French beans, or [263] cumanda. All are eaten with salt or without /243/ it, with maize meal, with parched maize, or without them. Here they are; Cumanda háigũe, bean with a yellow kernel; Cumanda sacuayu, which literally means bean with yellow eye; Cumanda úú, black bean; Cumanda gũiraya, which literally means bean owner of the trees, because it is a climber; Cumandandi, white bean; Cumanda pucu, long bean with red kernel; Cumanda mi, small bean. This one is not small because of its grain, but because of the plant, and it is the one that the whites call yellow poroto; Cumandansi, sour bean; Cumanda guasu, large bean, it is because the plant is very thick. There is another called Gũira rupía because it resembles birds' eggs, and, finally, there is Saimpino, which is similar to the gray egg-colored maize (1).

244 1. The Cumanda guasu, or large bean, is the

/247 cont./

252 262 Infrequently the Indian drinks a broth of ground maize, Hapi; when he does not have meat, he uses beans and gourds for his broth. If he does not have these either, he prefers Cagüí rai, which he prepares by soaking and grinding the maize, removing the bran, and cooking it. They also chew it sometimes, let it ferment, and eat it when it is ready; anyone who sees this last food could not help but be disgusted, but for them it is a very excellent dish.

The twelfth and last way of eating maize is Muyape, [263] bread. The preparation is the same as that of the Hebrews when they eat unleavened bread, but the Chiriguano put salt and chili pepper in it; after it is kneaded, they cover it with ashes and fire and let it cook well; when it is done, they take it out, wash it with water until the ashes which have stuck to it are gone, and, well washed, it has the color of bread, which invites both big and small to savor it; it is what the Indian likes best, and the women make it frequently in times of plenty. Its odor and taste are very pleasant, especially when just made.

273 Cangüí — Chicha

All the ability of a wife consists of knowing how to make chicha well, the delicious cangüí of the Chiriguano, who is capable of walking a hundred kilometers or more to drink it, when invited with all the rules of native diplomacy. Cangüí is his coffee, his soup, his wine, his food, his drink, his everything. In a certain way it is his God, and I am sure that many would renounce heaven for chicha, because they know almost nothing of what heaven is, and, on the other hand, they know that chicha is a sweet thing which gladdens the heart and leads to conversation and singing; therefore, every Chiriguano woman must take special care from even before puberty to learn well the method of preparing it. Here it is (2).

[177] 2. The method of making the chicha which the whites call arrope is somewhat different, but the Chiriguano Indians do not use it and learned of it only recently.

/285 cont./

753 821 which rises continually to the sky in these interminable plains, taking behind it all of the trash that it finds along its way. It is called Cusumino, and, according to them, it causes pains in the feet, knees, and bones. When a whirlwind begins in a town, they try to cut it with a knife.

Illnesses and Remedies

164 The most common illnesses among the Chiriguano are the intermittent fevers that are endemic, tuberculosis or consumption, eye disease, convulsive coughing, diarrhea, dysentery, mange or itch, and tumors accompanied by a kind of leprosy that covers a large part of the body. The intermittent fevers appear at the time of the first rains and continue until the time of the fruits and fresh maize. These fevers are not fatal, but one who is attacked by them has a rather afflicted life. Their remedies are vegetal; 757 they boil quebracho or algarroba bark, and they drink this water, but it does not always have a salutary effect. /286/ If a small dose of quinine is administered during the intermittent fevers, they immediately get well (1).

1. They get well with a small dosage, perhaps because their bodies are not accustomed to the remedies of the apothecary. Another efficacious remedy for the intermittent fevers is bitter coffee or coffee with a little sugar.

164 The itch, tumors, and leprosy do not cause death. 262 Chiriguano food is almost always saltless. They are not careful 263 in selecting it, and stinking meat does not disgust them. Their 751 water is not always clear; they bathe at any hour and, after bathing, 515 do not dry their bodies. If it rains, they let the wet clothing dry 080 on their person. From this and other causes come the many skin

/189 cont./

Meat is cooked with maize as a soup or roasted. Before it is placed in the pot, it is washed clean. Fish are roasted over the fire in clamps /Klammern/ or in maize leaves. The small fish which I saw prepared in this way are taken out only when they are eaten. If there are many fish, they are dried for future use.

C Ce 252 C Ce [251]

Especially in times of famine, various /Fig. 92b appears here/ wild plants are also eaten. Salt, which is now bought from the whites, is used for food. In former times it was fetched from the rock-salt pits on the San Luis, on the way from the city of Tarija to the Chaco, or salt was made from saliferous earth, "yukin." The earth mixed with salt was placed in a bowl of water, sank to the bottom, and the salt water was used.

C Ce 263 ● 317 [439] ←

Women and men eat separately. At home the men usually eat first and then the women and children. The Indians want to be left alone when they are eating. It is therefore extremely ill-mannered to speak to them during this important activity.

Fig. 92a. Steaming apparatus. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

C Ce 264 ← C Ce [576] ← Ce [415] [252] → C Ce [415]

/190/ As far as I saw, they do not eat out of a common dish, but each one eats out of his bowl. After meals they rinse their mouths and wash their hands by spirting the rinse water over their fingers.

231 /18 cont./ with
262 respect to the eating of meat, the Chiriguano depend on their livestock, which, however, according to Nordenskiöld, since they omit the raising of pigs and chickens, is not so numerous as the livestock of the Chorote and the Churupí. They do not
262 eat the flesh of asses, horses, /19/ and dogs (78). Although
241

78. Nord. 1, p. 190.

we do not have exact data on the amount of meat that their livestock yields, we can suppose that it is not very great, and thus these Indians depend principally on vegetable foods, that is, on the products of their agriculture. We should say that, in comparison with maize, all other foodstuffs have almost no importance, except among the Indians of the Parapití, among whom the sweet potato is the most important food (79).

79. Nord. 1, p. 181.

261 In times of shortage they eat various wild plants, principally
273 the sweet pods of the algarroba (November-December), which, coarsely chopped up with water, they allow to ferment in order to produce a kind of chicha which has inebriating qualities (80).

80. Nord. 1, p. 236. Métraux I, pp. 361 and 362.

262 Since meals consist principally of maize, they are very
252 monotonous, although the maize is eaten by them in many different forms, either boiled or parched, or as a flour cooked in steam, as a fried maize-cake, in embers /rescoldo/, or as a soft maize-pudding (81). Meat is eaten roasted or boiled,

81. Nord. 1, pp. 188 and 189. Métraux I, pp. 356-358.

263 together with maize. Cooking salt is used at meals. While
317 previously salt (dyúki) was obtained from mines or extracted
439 from earth from salt licks /barreros/, today it is obtained

C /19 cont./
263 from the whites (82).
317
439

82. Nord. 1, p. 189. Métraux I, pp. 359 and 360.

C 273 Among beverages, besides water, which is scarce in cer-
[312] tain regions, chicha (ka'ui) made of maize, potatoes, or algarrobo deserves mention (83). Chicha made from yellow

83. Nord. 1, pp. 234 and 236. Métraux I, pp. 364 and 365.

Ce [273] or white maize is preferred. The chicha from potatoes by the Chané of the Parapití River is considered inferior.

C The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not eat from a
Ce common pot, but separately and from dishes. Because of this
264 their houses contain many dishes, which are normally made
415 of baked clay (nyá'e), but may also be of wood (sua) (84).

84. Cf. Nord. 1, p. 190.

C I collected various baked clay dishes among the Chiriguano
Ce and Chané (cf. Figs. 78-80 /see p. 143/), as well as two wooden
415 dishes, two examples of which the Museum already had, donated
[126] by Doña María F. de Casati. I shall deal with the baked clay dishes, along with the other baked clay vessels, in the chapter on pottery, and therefore enumerate here only the wooden plates in the collection.

C Wooden Dishes (sua) of the Chiriguano
415

I. A. 351. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Diam. 21 cm. Ht. 6 cm.
I. A. 352. (") " 15.5 cm. " 3.5 cm.
I. A. 496. (Max Schmidt trip.) Diam. 23 cm. Ht. 6 cm. (Fig. 18).
I. A. 497. (" " ") " 30 cm. " 6.5 cm. (Fig. 18a).

/44 cont./

Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

195 316 648 [167]

Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Maypurún, and we know that the Chiriguano possessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spurs of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

301 177 439

316

Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own

213. Nord. 1, p. 209.

statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

263 317 [439]

While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water

C 317 263

/45 cont./
the earth of the salt licks called "yukiu" (214).

214. Nord. 1, p. 189. See Métraux 1, pp. 359 and 360.

Making Fire

C Ce 372

Native implements to make fire are little used today by the Chiriguano and Chané. At home fire can generally be obtained from some other piece of burning wood, and for other occasions they commonly provide themselves with modern matches. Moreover, as I have said, the Chiriguano and Chané are not great smokers. One fire-making tool which is still found among them is the strike-a-light. The specimen I acquired from the Chiriguano is different from the strike-a-light of the Chaco tribes in that the tinder consists of a quite thick cotton wick. According to Métraux (215),

C Ce [178] [276]

C Ce [415] [237]

215. Métraux 1, p. 253.

there is also found among them the common form of strike-a-light in which the tinder consists of the fuzz of the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) kept in a container made of a a cow horn or armadillo tail.

C Ce 372 126

Fire-making Implements in the Collection

I. A. 516. (Fig. 40.)

a. Bag woven of cotton thread as a container for the implements.

b. Wick of cotton thread.

c. Receptacle for the lighted end of the wick, made of the nest of a species of wasp.

d. Piece of a modern metal file.

e. Pieces of flint.

C /360 cont./
263
317 The Indians of Ibopeytí, although living in the neighborhood of the San Simon salt mine, consume it in the form of the big balls which I have just mentioned. Pulverized, it is a salt which reminds one of our table salt but coarser. The inhabitants of this village assured me that they used to find it near the Pilcomayo. That is very possible, for the rivers which flow in the region are very salty as their names indicate (Río Salado, Saladito, etc.). These rivers, which frequently overflow and often change their beds, must form here and there real salt marshes. The Chiriguano of Ivu and Macharetí collect the water from a salt spring, boil it, and by successive coolings obtain salt which they mold into balls (Campana, p. 89).

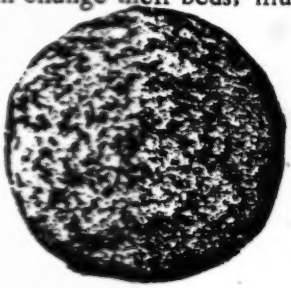


Fig. 28. Salt molded in a ball, ready to be consumed or exported. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/2 nat. size ±.)

C
263 The Chiriguano are parsimonious with their salt. I did not see them salt anything but dried beans; and when the latter are cooked in the pod, they are served that way without condiments, the same as corn or squash.

C
● 264 When a Chiriguano woman offers you a dish of beans or meat, she always puts some corn flour beside you. It is not easy to eat it according to the rules; the Indians take great pinches of it between their fingers and throw them into their mouths with marvelous dexterity. Upon seeing them so adroit, I thought of their ancestors from Brazil, the ancient Tupinamba and Guarani, who excited the hilarious admiration of the first navigators: "But however that may be, our Tououpinambaoults, men and women as well as children, being accustomed from childhood to eating it (manioc flour) completely dry instead of bread, are so used to and trained for that, that taking it with

T
175
264

T /360 cont./
175 their four fingers from the earthen dish or other vessel in
264 which they keep it, even though they throw it from rather far away, nevertheless they put it so accurately into their mouths that they do not drop a single bit. So that some of us Frenchmen, wishing to imitate them, thought we would eat it in that fashion, and not being at all trained for that like them, instead of throwing it in our mouths, we discharged it on our cheeks and floured our whole face; /361/ consequently unless those principally who wore beards would have wanted to be accoutered as players of farces, we were constrained to take it with spoons" (Léry, Vol. I, pp. 143-144).

T This comparison permitted me to suppose that roasted
262 corn flour has simply replaced the "farinha" of the Brazilians.
252 As we know, the pulp of manioc tubers, after being carefully
264 squeezed in the tipiti, or trough, was roasted on a terra-cotta slab and changed into dry flour, with which the Tupinamba accompanied all their meals. The Chiriguano think the same
C way about atši: they say that corn flour, in order to be eaten,
262 must have an accompaniment, an intina. To my way of think-
264 ing, atši and muínti are two substitutes for manioc flour that
176 the Chiriguano invented or adapted after emigrating into a
C land where bitter manioc was unknown. Neither the other tribes
[171] of the Chaco nor the Quichua eat corn in this form, and, to my knowledge at least, there is no doubt that the Chiriguano introduced these two dishes into the country, without counting a goodly number of the ones which have been enumerated.

C The only fruits that the Chiriguano consume on a large
262 scale are the prickly pear or tuna (Opuntia), which are seen
C in all their villages. They also plant some fig and orange
[245] trees when they are under mission influence. They are also
[097] great lovers of melons, of sandias (watermelons), and when they have eaten one of these which has pleased them particularly, they keep the seed. They love sugar cane with a passion. Sorghum is especially meant for the children, for whom these graminaceae are a veritable sweetmeat. They suck the juice, which is as sweet as that of sugar cane.

/363 cont./

234 To end up, one could still cite among Chiriguano food
262 the cheese they make in some villages. Each time they
butcher they take care to keep the abomasus in order to make
[177] milk separate. Chiriguano cheeses are of the same quality as
those of the half-breeds, who for once have taught something
[272] to our Indians. I shall add that I have never seen a Chiriguano
drink milk.

312 The problem of water does not come up for the Chiriguano
133 as for the other Indians of the Chaco. Numerous rivers cross
their territory, and several of them are large enough not to dry
up even in the middle of the dry season. These watercourses
form innumerable quebradas, gorges or valleys, which give
its characteristic aspect to the country inhabited by our Indians.
[361] Sometimes villages are built near springs or small lakes, like
the Ivu mission, which is provided with plenty of water.

312 When I crossed the Caipipendí valley, the river which
occupies the bottom was nearly dry. The Indians had scooped
out small wells about one meter in depth in the sand of its
bed. They had surrounded them with slabs of stone to prevent
any caving in and to preserve the water which accumulated in
them from the heat of the sun. In this same valley, in a village
situated on top of a hill, the Indians had dug a cistern four to
five meters in diameter in which rain water had collected.

271 The Chiriguano have found a way to purify the muddy
312 water they often have to drink. They crush caraguatá leaves
824 between two stones, then steep them in the water, and all its
impurities settle as a result of the action of the juice of this plant.

264 The Chiriguano do not eat at set times. They make a
rather substantial breakfast very early in the morning and again
take some food toward the middle of the day. In the evening
[562] about six o'clock they make a kind of dinner. Since the men
are served first, then the women and children, it follows that
the meals drag out in length. At any moment of the day one
[415] can see someone eating. The food /364/ is presented to each
one in a calabash or terra-cotta bowl which each holds on his
knees. They pick up the pieces with their fingers but imbibe
liquids with a wooden spoon (Figs. 42 and 43). After eating,
they wash their hands. I have seen some rinse out their mouths.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

252 415 412 264 [3 7 263]

Chiriguano mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 592

Dwellings.—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

361 178 [343] [712]

The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

352

Household furniture.—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 177

Clothing.—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

SvNordenskiöld E-Sy(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chané SP8

Ce
Ce
442
252
Ce
[99]
[361]

Rio Paraguay after Garcias maranding expedition, not far from the tract where the Guató now live.

A potspade of the same type from the Yulimana along the Rio Querary is shown in an illustration by Koch-Grünberg.[1]) I have not seen the shoulderblade potspade in any other tribe.

Ce
442
252
*171

Similar spades, said to have been used for agricultural purposes, are mentioned by St. Cruz[2]) from the Conibo.

C
Ce
442
415
264
177

Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané for the most part eat their food with metal spoons which they have got from the Whites. They have, however, wooden spoons as well. They generally eat from earthenware bowls of their own make. They seldom have wooden bowls. I have already treated of the distribution of the wooden bowl and the wooden spoon. (Part 1 map 12 and 13.) They are features of western civilization. Calabash bowls are universally used by the Chiriguano and Chané as drinking vessels, particularly for chicha.

C
415
177

Silver bowls — »Cagua» — are occasionally seen at the Chiriguano festivals. These bowls, which are shaped like cloven calabashes, are often furnished with small ears and are made by mestizo smiths to suit the Indian taste.

C
Ce
415
[439]

There is in my collection a calabash bowl that has been turned into a ladle by means of a handle. It is from the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro. I have also procured some bowls made of the fruit of the calabash tree from the Chiriguano. The Indians get them from Sta Cruz de la Sierra, for, as far as I know, the calabash-tree is not cultivated within their own area.

C
Ce
372
137
*171

Fire-fans of plaited palm leaves are used, though they are rather uncommon. These fire-fans belong to the cultural elements which have come to the Chiriguano and the Chané from the north and east. Later on, when writing about the Indians in northeastern Bolivia, who have sev-

[1]) T. 2. P. 209.
[2]) P. 287

/179 cont./
ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla, and many other things.

It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all night, as in a Choroti or Ashluslay village. The young men and the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they

Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2.

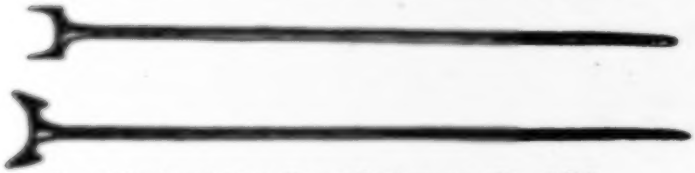


Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

are not busy brewing maize for a festival.

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, the men somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a truly refreshing bath.

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Rio Itiyuro the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Rio Parapiri in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also

/189 cont./ C Ee 252

Meat is cooked with maize as a soup or roasted. Before it is placed in the pot, it is washed clean. Fish are roasted over the fire in clamps /Klammern/ or in maize leaves. The small fish which I saw prepared in this way are taken out only when they are eaten. If there are many fish, they are dried for future use. Ee [251]

Especially in times of famine, various /Fig. 92b appears here/ wild plants are also eaten. Salt, which is now bought from the whites, is used for food. In former times it was fetched from the rock-salt pits on the San Luis, on the way from the city of Tarija to the Chaco, or salt was made from saliferous earth, "yukiu." The earth mixed with salt was placed in a bowl of water, sank to the bottom, and the salt water was used. C Ee 263 317 [439]

Fig. 92a. Steaming apparatus. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

Women and men eat separately. At home the men usually eat first and then the women and children. The Indians want to be left alone when they are eating. It is therefore extremely ill-mannered to speak to them during this important activity. C Ee 264 Ee [574] Ee [415] [252] Ee [415]

/190/ As far as I saw, they do not eat out of a common dish, but each one eats out of his bowl. After meals they rinse their mouths and wash their hands by spitting the rinse water over their fingers.

6: Nordenskiöld--42 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane SF8
C
Ce
264
Ee
574
Ce
[123]

/190 cont./

It seemed to me that true mealtimes were observed here, the first of which was in the morning, the second in the middle of the day, and the third at sundown.

If they have an abundance of food in the house, they also invite in the neighboring households. A visiting Indian is very hospitably received. He need not leave without having received maize beer or food. In the Chané villages on the Río Parapití the Indians always served me a bowl of sweet potatoes when I visited them.

Ce
415
171

Fig. 92b. Upper clay-vessel. The specimen illustrated here is from the Matacco-Vejos, who learned how to use it from the Chané. 1/4.

Ce
262
Ee
461
462

The Chané do not eat donkeys, mules, horses, dogs, foxes, vultures, or monkeys. On the other hand, puma and jaguar are regarded as edible.

Even if the women in the villages are not cooking, brewing, or tending their little ones, they are nevertheless always busy. At least one almost never sees the older ones among them without an occupation. They spin, make clay vessels, weave. I learned to appreciate these women; I admired their loving care of the children, their industry, their maintenance of the home, their skill, and their taste.

C Ec 174 515

/304 cont./

and Matacco, who still in part dress in fur cloaks, seem to me, like the Fueglans and Patagonians, to have immigrated to the Chaco from the cold pampas in the south where washing was extremely unpleasant, whereas the Chiriguano and Chaná come from the north, out of the warm, humid, virgin forests, from the great rivers, where bathing was always pleasant and refreshing. Now, where /Fig. 109 appears here/ they live under the same climatic conditions, the former have preserved their dirt, the latter their cleanliness.

Ec

●264 171 515

Im Thurn (1) reports that the Indians in Guiana bathe

1. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883.

C 304

Fig. 108.
Woman's tattooed arm. Chiriguano.
Itapembia.

C Ec 264 171 515

immediately after eating, without any harm to them. I often observed the same thing here.

C Ec 515 824 Ec 302 442

The Chiriguano and various Chaná shampoo the head with the seeds of "ayantira," which they grind. For the same purpose the Chaná on the Rio Paraguay use the bark of the mimol /Zizyphus mimol Griseb./. "yáag." The nails, and /204/ not least the toenails, are also very carefully tended. For combing they use combs carved in wood or made out of sticks of cane tied together.

St Schmidt--46 E-5 (1905) 1906 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaná SF 5

C 263 317 499

/19 cont./
from the whites (82).

82. Nord. 1. p. 189. Métraux I. pp. 359 and 360.

C 273 [312]

Among beverages, besides water, which is scarce in certain regions, chicha (ka'ui) made of maize, potatoes, or algarrobo deserves mention (83). Chicha made from yellow

83. Nord. 1. pp. 794 and 796. Métraux I. pp. 364 and 365.

Ce [293]

or white maize is preferred. The chicha from potatoes by the Chané of the Parapití River is considered inferior.

Ce 264 415

The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not eat from a common pot, but separately and from dishes. Because of this their houses contain many dishes, which are normally made of baked clay (nyá'e), but may also be of wood (nua) (84).

84. Cf. Nord. 1. p. 190.

Ce 415 [126]

I collected various baked clay dishes among the Chiriguano and Chané (cf. Figs. 79-80 /see p. 143/), as well as two wooden dishes, two examples of which the Museum already had, donated by Doña María F. de Casati. I shall deal with the baked clay dishes, along with the other baked clay vessels, in the chapter on pottery, and therefore enumerate here only the wooden plates in the collection.

C 415

Wooden Dishes (nua) of the Chiriguano

I. A. 351. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Diam. 21 cm. Ht. 5 cm.
I. A. 352. (") " 15.5 cm. " 3.5 cm.
I. A. 496. (Max Schmidt trip.) Diam. 23 cm. Ht. 6 cm. (Fig. 18).
I. A. 497. (" " ") " 30 cm. " 6.5 cm. (Fig. 18a).

Ce 415 /51 cont./ These vessels have a globular form and are provided with a handle. The bottom of three of them is clearly distinct from the belly, forming a foot. Ce [534] Two of them have designs on the surface; the others are without designs.

C 415 [124]

8. Vessels Used as Receptacles for Food, from the Collection

I. A. 394. Chiriguano. Height 17.5 cm. Aperture 44 cm.
I. A. 401. " " 11.5 cm. " 30 cm.

C [264] Two of the baked clay dishes that I obtained from the Chiriguano in Machareti seem to me to be too big to be considered as dishes for eating, because Nordenskiöld states that (228) the Chiriguano do not eat from a common dish, but

228. Nord. 1, p. 190.

rather each one has his own separate dish. We can assume that these are vessels used as food containers or serving dishes for food before it is placed on the individual dishes.

C [531] The two dishes are without designs. The flat bottom is well distinguished from the wall, which widens upward. The dish I. A. 401 has a rather wide rim which has two handles. Cf. Fig. 33b /see p. 118/.

9. Vessels Used for Storing Objects

C Ce 415 [191] In contrast to the other Indians, the Chiriguano and Chané use vessels for keeping anything of value. I did not receive from the Indians any indication /52/ that any of the vessels I brought from them belonged particularly to this type. Therefore I refer here to a vessel shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld with the caption "For keeping knicknacks in" /cited in English/ (229).

229. Nord. 2, p. 156 and Fig. 45, N. 19.

/52 cont./

Ce
415

Nordenskiöld says in another place that the mistress of the house keeps all the family's valuable things, such as clothing, ornaments, silver plates, turquoise or chrysocolla necklaces, and many other things, in these vessels (230).

230. Nord. 1, p. 179.

Ce
415
126

10. Dishes for Eating (nyá e), from the Collection

I. A. 388	Chirig.	Height	6.5 cm.	Aperture	21 cm. (Fig. 79a)
I. A. 389	"	"	8 cm.	"	23.5 cm. (Fig. 79b)
I. A. 390	"	"	5.2 cm.	"	15 cm.
I. A. 391	"	"	4 cm.	"	13 cm.
I. A. 406	"	"	9 cm.	"	25 cm. (Fig. 78a)
I. A. 586	Izozó	"	13 cm.	"	25.5 cm. (Fig. 76b)
I. A. 591	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	16.5 cm.
I. A. 594	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	21 cm.
I. A. 595	"	"	9 cm.	"	20 cm. (Fig. 80a)
I. A. 598	"	"	13.2 cm.	"	25 cm.
I. A. 612	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	19 cm.
I. A. 613	"	"	8 cm.	"	21 cm. (Fig. 80c)
I. A. 614	"	"	9 cm.	"	22 cm.
I. A. 615	"	"	10.5 cm.	"	27.5 cm.
I. A. 616	"	"	10.5 cm.	"	22 cm.
I. A. 618	"	"	10 cm.	"	18.5 cm.
I. A. 620	"	"	15.5 cm.	"	15 cm.

Ce
415
[264]
[531]

Because every Chiriguano and Chané, as already mentioned, eats from his own dish, such baked clay dishes are found in great number in the houses of these Indians. Many of them that are intended for ordinary use do not have designs, while others, used on the occasion of fiestas, have designs on their outer surface or on the upper rim of the interior surface, or are provided with small additions.

/314 cont./

Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land,

C
Ce
175
648
[797]

/325 cont./
of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguano: as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 16th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 15th century.

C
175
72
167
Ce
175
648
C
[266]
Ce
[113]

The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had done with his companions and several women. He was able to escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

C
G
175
72
567
Ce
175
648

In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later; "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

/326 cont./

C G 175 567 72 Ce 175 648

go in search of metal? The aforesaid Indian answered: "They do not understand that I am only telling them that they can go to the country of the Chané in nine days." While they were speaking with this Indian, the aforesaid Cheroçe, chief of the Chané, was conversing with a woman of his tribe who as a girl had been kidnapped by these Indians whose chief had taken her as his wife. She said that it was correct that from the last houses of the aforesaid Guarani only four days were required to go as far as Ytapua and that from there, according to what Cheroçe claimed, one could go to his country in three days. He knew the way very well, for he had been brought up over there, but up to the present he had had no news of his country. (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

These facts prove that well before García's adventure the Guarani raided the Chané territory and were already beginning to make slaves of its inhabitants.

C G 175 567 72

"When Guarani bands arrived on the slopes of the Andes, each one tried to occupy as strong a position as possible on the most craggy points. From there they began to make pitiless war on the natives of the region, treating them with such cruelty that they spared nobody and made their fodder of the unfortunates they captured. They made themselves so fearsome that numerous villages submitted to them without violence. With the slaves they took to serve them and with all the women by whom they had children they populated these frontiers, each one choosing the region which seemed best to him. These Indians are the ones we call Chiriguana in Peru today; they originate from the Guarani. They never went out from this country, either because of the great hardships and risks of the road or in order to keep in their power this land which they found consonant with their nature and taste. It is indeed very fertile, with large and marvelous valleys which are warm rather than cold; and it is crossed by deep rivers coming from the neighboring province of Charcas. In possession of this land, they made numerous /327/ warlike expeditions in it, ruining the plains to the north, the south, and the east. They killed more than 100,000 Indians. In the beginning they used to eat them in the feasts and drinking bouts which they celebrated, but

C G [266] [439]

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

C 175 /327 cont./
727 brutal people butcher them. The Chané are so subject to the
567 Chiriguana that it is enough for them to see a Chiriguana to sit
266 down without resisting, allowing the Chiriguana to do what they
648 like with them. The Chiriguana take them along like flocks of
Ce 648 sheep. They eat the ones they want and use the others for work
175 in their houses and fields. If they want to eat one, they only tell him to go and wash in the river and he does it without talking back. He comes back naked; the Chiriguana command their children to take bows and arrows, and the poor Chané tries /328/ to escape the arrows without, however, daring to flee from the spot until he dies riddled with arrows, to the
C great joy of all who look at him. They cut him in pieces and
[252] eat him either grilled or roasted, with corn and much ají
C /peppers/. For war they use Chané who they think are brave
Ce and robust. They treat them according to their barbaric
[726] customs and put them in front of themselves; if they do not fight well, they kill them with arrow shots from behind." (Lizarraga, Vol. I, pp. 259-260.)

C Last year, going from Cuevo to Igüembé, I had taken a
173 Chiriguano guide who spoke Spanish fairly well and who had
721 lived among the Chané in childhood. He told me in his own
727 way about these wars of former days. His involved narrative
648 recalls that of the Spanish monk. Later I sojourned for some
Ce time among the Chané who in their turn alluded to their fights
648 with the Chiriguano and to the cannibalistic customs of the
173 latter. "The Tapui are not the Ava. In times past they used to
186 fight against the Ava." The Ava used to take the women and
C keep them in captivity. They used to marry the captives.
[266] From the sons of the Ava issued the Tapui, they are sons of the women they carried away. The Chané are sons of the captives. When the Chané talk together, it is with words that one does not understand. Formerly the Karai (Whites) used to fight the Ava around Cochabamba. The Karai pursued them to the lower part and left them in Paraguay. The Paraguayans are
C sons of the ancient Ava. In olden days the Ava used to eat
[266] the Tapuí when they made war against them. "The Ava used to eat us," the Chané would say, "and that is why we detest them."

C
266
648
173
727
Ce
648
175

/328 cont./

The Chané confirmed to me the sayings of my informant and assured me that the Chiriguano used to eat them in times past (1).

C
175
266
721
727
648
Ce
648
175

1. Matienzo (pp. 166-167) expresses himself on the subject of the Chiriguano and the Chané in almost the same words as Lizárraga: "In the land there is a province of the Charcas and close to the city there are some immigrant Indians who are said to be chiriguanaes, warlike people, very cruel, indomitable, and they eat human flesh, live in the cordilleras, have no occupation other than fighting and killing and eating Indians and using them as slaves; they go out at night to plunder on the plains which are near the cordilleras, where some Indians subject to their sovereignty live, and they seize them by the thousand and two thousands and eat them and have others to fatten for eating, and others to serve as slaves; these Indians, out of fear of the chiriguanaes, fled from their land, which had some very beautiful and fertile valleys, thirty and forty leagues from the city of the Plata, and went to some plains and deserts which were customarily deserted because of the lack of water; they live entirely on yucas and cardoons, are more than eighty thousand, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. The deserts under discussion here and where the Chané took refuge are none other than those of the lower Parapití where numerous Chané now live, in spite of the poverty of this arid region.

Ce
[131]

C
Ce
175
648

It is not at all surprising that the Chiriguano have kept alive the memory of their struggles with the Chané. These ended only in the last years of the 18th century. In 1745 we see the

Ce 178 439 323 [177] /331 cont./

The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C G 177 178 342 596

Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

G 177 178 266

C 17

Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C 105 175

The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

C [167]

They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

/398 cont./

175
648
[266]
[443]

acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even 'had public meat markets for human flesh.' " /Translated from the Spanish./

175
179
648
[567]
[126]

Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII, 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

437
439

Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

121
172

Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text continues on p. 173]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Inca fortresses were visited by Nordenskiöld (1915 a, 1934 a), who described them under the names of Incallacta and Incahuasi. They bear witness to the accuracy of the various traditions concerning the *Guaraní* invasions, recorded by the chroniclers of Perú and of the Río de la Plata.

Along the Andes, the *Chiriguano* found a peaceful *Arawakan* population, the *Chané*, a branch of the *Chané* or *Guana* tribe, which occupied the northern part of the Chaco along the Paraguay River. The western *Chané*, after centuries of close contact with the Andean cultures, had been deeply influenced by them. They dressed like their neighbors, the Andean *Chicha*, produced a pottery which resembled that of Southern Bolivia and of the valley of Humahuaca, wore metal ornaments, and used metal tools. The *Chané* fell easy prey to the *Guaraní*, who slaughtered and ate many of them and reduced the remaining population to a condition of serfdom. The *Guaraní* invaders, having brought few of their own women, however, took *Chané* wives. The fusion of these two tribes produced a civilization in which Andean, *Guaraní*, and some *Arawak* features were intimately blended. The *Chané* did not entirely lose their identity, however, for along the Parapetí River, in the Caipipendi Valley, on the Itiyuro River, and in the Province of Salta (Argentine), *Chané* villages survived under their own chiefs. But even these have adopted the *Guaraní* language and today cannot be distinguished from their conquerors. The *Chiriguano*, nevertheless, consider the *Chané* somewhat inferior, while the latter remember the forays and cannibalistic habits of their former masters. The *Chané* language, probably extinct now, was spoken by a few persons as late as 1908.

The number of *Chané* is said to have greatly exceeded that of the *Guaraní* invaders. They extended from the Río Grande (Guapay River) to the Argentine along the foothills of the Andes. At the beginning of the 17th century, according to Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, in the region of Machareti, 400 *Chiriguano* ruled over 5,000 *Chané*; in Charagua, 350 *Chiriguano* owned 4,000 *Chané* serfs; and on the Guapay River, 200 *Chiriguano* kept 1,000 *Chané* in subjection.

The first White settlement in the land of the *Chiriguano* was the ephemeral town of Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded in 1564 on the upper Parapetí (Cordorillo) River by Manso and destroyed a short time later by the *Chiriguano*. In 1571 the *Chiriguano* attacked the *Chicha* and the natives of the Provinces of Condorillo and Barranca. To punish them for their "arrogance," the Viceroy of Perú, Francisco de Toledo, led an expedition against them. The Indians avoided battle and harassed the troops of the Viceroy until he was obliged to retreat in shameful defeat (1574). San Lorenzo de la Frontera, which became the modern Santa Cruz de la Sierra, was founded primarily to keep the *Chiriguano* at bay.

The first attempt to convert the *Chiriguano* to Christianity was made in 1609, when two Franciscans, Augustín Sabio and Francisco Gonzalez, built a church in the valley of Salinas, but the reduction was soon abandoned because of Indian opposition. The Jesuit fathers founded a college in Tarija in 1690 and undertook the spiritual conquest of the *Chiriguano*. In 1691, Father Arce founded a mission in the valley of Tariquea, which lasted only 3 years; another mission, established on the Guapay River by Fathers Zea and Centeno, met the same fate. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Dominicans founded three missions in the valley of Chiquiacá, Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Miguel, and Santa Rosa, while the Augustins formed the Mission of Santa Clara in the valley of Salinas. In 1715, the Jesuits reestablished their ancient mission of Tariquea. In 1727, all the missions in the *Chiriguano* country were destroyed by the rebellion of the chief, Aruma, and his followers, who feared being taken into slavery. The revolt was crushed by an armed expedition sent from Santa Cruz and composed of Spaniards, "tame" *Chiriguano*, and *Chiquito* auxiliary troops. The *Chiriguano* had been aroused against the missions by the fear of being taken into slavery.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

000 C 726 C [727]

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

C 727 266 C 567 727

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

C 534 177 Ce 534

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

C 535

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

C 273 628 527

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

C 276

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

C 273 462

/71 cont./

174 complete savagery (2).
167

2. Cayuguari, with some 30 Chiriguano, went to the desert to live among the savages to the east of Carandaiti.

174 In addition to Chiriguano tradition and the fable of the
175 Aguara-Tunpa, from which we understand that the race with
167 which I am dealing originated in Paraguay, there are ecclesiastical and secular authors who support my opinion. Among the first stand out the Franciscan missionaries Cardús and Martarelli, and the most eminent among them is the Most Reverend Father Corrado, who in his history of the school and missions of Tarija asserts that the most probable opinion is that the Chiriguano came from Paraguay, despite the fact that the Guaraní language is scattered through many parts of Brazil and some parts of the Argentine Republic, since, as we have just finished saying, language is a powerful argument in learning about the origin of a tribe, and it has already been said that Guaraní is generally spoken in Paraguay, so much so that it would not be an error to say /72/ that the Guaraní have gone to Brazil and to Argentina from the same Nation (1).

1. In the chapter "Religion and Beliefs" I shall discuss the fable of Aguara Tunpa more fully.

175 Among the secular authors we have the famous d'Orbigny. According to him, before the discovery of America by the immortal Genoese, the Chiriguano occupied the last ramifications of the Bolivian Andes, lived completely naked, were
000 cannibals, and were of Guaraní origin (2). The Inca Yupanqui

[567]
[266]

2. The Indians of Parapiti told me that the Tapii natives were their slaves, and that in the uprisings of the latter they ate their ringleaders and others.

174 /73 cont./
175 understood, because they spoke the same language with slight
167 differences, they joined them, and from that moment the number of the Chiriguano was increased (1).

1. These 4,000 Indians were not of the Guaraní race; they had gone to settle in Paraguay and had learned that language imperfectly; they were called Carius and had killed Captain García.

The 4,000 Indians who fled from Paraguay because of the continual relations that they had had with the Portuguese had, at the time when they formed an alliance with the Chiriguano, a slight tincture of superficial civilization, just as in Mexico the Indians of Tlascala had learned it from Hernán Cortes and other Spaniards. As a result of this trace of civilization they had begun to use some clothing to cover, in principle, the most delicate part of the body; they had stopped eating the flesh of their enemies and prisoners and were more humanitarian in their dealings.

[266] Having established their abode and formed a single
[171] tribe with the Chiriguano, they introduced their kind and humanitarian customs among their ferocious friends, who softened slightly their haughtiness and pride, imitated their allies in the manner of dress, and began to abandon the barbarous custom of cannibalism, because of which they are distinguished today, and even for a long time before, from the Toba, Mataco, Tapiete, and Sirionó (2).

[197]

2. The Tapiete speak the Chiriguano language with a certain difference, and the Sirionó, it is believed, were ancient Chiriguano, because their language is somewhat similar.

175 The Chiriguano, thus united, continued to multiply
[161] much more and to extend their dominions into the different departments of the Audiencia, the possession of which they now had in lesser degree. Before a century had passed after the

/273 cont./

175 727 728 History tells us that the Chiriguano were not the first inhabitants of the region that they now occupy. Other savages had lived here, who handed over the territory by reason or right of the stronger. Subjugated by the number and valor of the invaders, some of them emigrated to perish, and others remained as vassals in their own land and little by little came to an end, leaving the Chiriguano masters of their land.

175 648 [101] In time the Incas tried to conquer this extensive territory, leaving behind innumerable marks of their tenacity, but they had to abandon this noble thought, contenting themselves with calling them with great contempt: Chiriguanos or Chirihuanos, cold excrement. But however warlike or invincible a people or nation shows itself to be or is, its hour to succumb arrives. What was not achieved by the Incas or by the arms of the Spaniard here has been brought about by the patience of the missionary and the tenacity of the whites of Santa Cruz and Tarija. Today the dread Chiriguano is subdued and bows his haughty head. He has been reduced to nothing, and one who does not live in the missions is the vassal of the white man, who has dominated him completely. It is the disposition of Providence, which subdues the proud and decrees that they experience, although much more gently, what they made the invaded ones experience. It seems that in the last war of Curuyuqui, the Chiriguano learned his inferiority, but it cannot be denied that this race has been one of the most warlike that has existed here (2).

175 648 797 [181]

175 648 797 ●266 2. The Incas tried to conquer the Chiriguano in order to moderate their customs. The Chiriguano treated the Tapíi with great cruelty; according to what has been told by the natives of Parapiti, they fattened them in order to eat them later.

167 [464] /312 cont./Some years ago, did Taruirí, having learned from some Chiriguano that Brazilians were "cariñosos," that is, generous, had the idea of going to their country to find work, for which he hoped to be well paid. He banded together with 45 other Chiriguano before whom he held out the glittering fortune which awaited them in the country to the east. With this adventurous spirit and boldness which characterize the Guarani, they did not hesitate to take off toward the unknown. They first passed through Chané territory and followed the course of the Parapiti to the desert. There they rushed boldly into these unexplored regions, dried-up expanses, which separate the Izozoc from Chiquitos. They were all armed with bows and arrows to defend themselves from a possible attack by the Tsirakua, the tracks of whose squared-off sandals they often saw in the sand. No water, of course, but only sipóy roots, which permitted them to stand the thirst. After 12 days of walking, this band arrived at Chiquitos, then from there reached the Paraguay River and Corumbá. Taruirí was not a little surprised to find brothers there, "that is," he explained to me, "people who spoke my language, badly it is true, but who nevertheless made themselves understood." When I inquired discreetly as to the success of his business over there, Taruirí answered, shaking his head and in a tone shot through with sadness and disillusionment: "All that was only a lie," todo era engaño.

[271] [824]

Taruirí does not know and will never know that by doing this he accomplished an exploit that would be the pride and glory of an explorer. For him, it was a question of a simple trip, scarcely longer and more arduous than the one he undertook in the past to go to Argentina.

173 539 648 484 Does anyone want other modern examples of their spirit of adventure and of that ease with which the Guarani move about? I transcribe as such the curious tale told to me by the Indian Cipriano from the Ivu mission, who, confused as he may be, refers to definitely authentic facts:

/363 cont./

234 To end up, one could still cite among Chiriguano food
262 the cheese they make in some villages. Each time they
butcher they take care to keep the abomasum in order to make
[199] milk separate. Chiriguano cheeses are of the same quality as
those of the half-breeds, who for once have taught something
[272] to our Indians. I shall add that I have never seen a Chiriguano
drink milk.

312 The problem of water does not come up for the Chiriguano
133 as for the other Indians of the Chaco. Numerous rivers cross
their territory, and several of them are large enough not to dry
up even in the middle of the dry season. These watercourses
form innumerable quebradas, gorges or valleys, which give
its characteristic aspect to the country inhabited by our Indians.
[361] Sometimes villages are built near springs or small lakes, like
the Ivu mission, which is provided with plenty of water.

312 When I crossed the Caipipendí valley, the river which
occupies the bottom was nearly dry. The Indians had scooped
out small wells about one meter in depth in the sand of its
bed. They had surrounded them with slabs of stone to prevent
any caving in and to preserve the water which accumulated in
them from the heat of the sun. In this same valley, in a village
situated on top of a hill, the Indians had dug a cistern four to
five meters in diameter in which rain water had collected.

• 271 The Chiriguano have found a way to purify the muddy
312 water they often have to drink. They crush caraguatá leaves
824 between two stones, then steep them in the water, and all its
impurities settle as a result of the action of the juice of this plant.

264 The Chiriguano do not eat at set times. They make a
rather substantial breakfast very early in the morning and again
take some food toward the middle of the day. In the evening
• [562] about six o'clock they make a kind of dinner. Since the men
are served first, then the women and children, it follows that
the meals drag out in length. At any moment of the day one
[415] can see someone eating. The food /364/ is presented to each
one in a calabash or terra-cotta bowl which each holds on his
knees. They pick up the pieces with their fingers but imbibe
liquids with a wooden spoon (Figs. 42 and 43). After eating,
they wash their hands. I have seen some rinse out their mouths.

/486 cont./

757 824 257 some similar object and rub the sick person's eyes with it until the cataract comes off.

30. The tannin contained in kurupai bark is a disinfectant

757 824 which hastens the healing of wounds.

31. The leaves of kirupaiwi (small sibil), squeezed and put into compresses on a tumor, act in a lenitive way.

757 824 [302] 32. The plant wambero (kind of purslane) is a laxative. It has a scarlet flower which girls dry and pulverize to be able to color their cheeks red.

33. Iwowi bark, pounded and roasted, is a good remedy for any pain affecting the limbs. The ash taken from the pips of this

[752] tree hastens the healing of wounds.

34. Powdered inai seeds make teeth fall out.

35. The root of the iaipo-poro-mbeyi, ground and kneaded with salt and tallow, is an emollient which is spread on tumors.

36. When they feel pains in the limbs, the Chiriguano apply on the ailing part a poultice made of ya-waso roots, crushed and roasted.

37. The seeds of the yandi-waso, taken in doses of two or three, are a good emetic.

38. The sarii is a tree reminiscent of our walnut tree. Its inner bark yields a powder which is spread on skin eruptions.

39. A climbing plant called kae-rowa is supposed to have medicinal properties. /487/ It is taken in the form of an infusion, or poultices are made with it after it is pounded.

40. Another climbing plant, the kas-tai (barba de chivato) is a very active caustic which can produce burns if the compresses made with its flowers, leaves, and twigs ground together and mixed with water are kept on too long. If the hands are rubbed with this plant, they become numb.

41. The roots of the shrub mbeiqina, well cooked, yield a broth which combats atrophy.

757 825 42. A species of bug (tamberia) is used in the native pharmacopoeia as a caustic.

757 271 43. The Chiriguano have great faith in the virtue of hot water. Every sick Indian has beside him a small vessel the size of an egg, full of hot water. Those who are attending him

/487 cont./

wet their finger and moisten his lips (Campana, p. 113). The patient must also drink this water.

Chiriguano medicine in the 18th century. A manuscript of the 18th century, written by Father Manuel Mingo and kept in the Library of the Collège de Tarija, contains information of the greatest interest on the way in which the Chiriguano used to doctor themselves when they were still independent. Here is the translation of the passage in question:

"The manner in which they doctor themselves in case of sickness is curious. Sometimes, when they feel sick, they go immediately to bathe inside their house in jars or a wooden basin. Sometimes they have several herbs applied, which they go to get in the fields or thickets. Sometimes also they allow an enema or clyster to be administered to them. This instrument (according to what I could see at Tariquea) is also very curious. It comes down to a small calabash or hollow gourd with a round opening on top and a small hole at the bottom. In the lower part one fastens or puts a hollow nozzle or a small hollow reed corresponding to the nozzle. One pours through the top (that is, through the large round opening arranged in the swollen part of the calabash) a broth of urine with salt. After that, the one who is acting as nurse or orderly blows hard through the upper part or from the top by pressing his lips to the opening or window of the calabash, and the force of the breath makes the liquid pass into the patient's intestines." (Fol. 107-108).

Nordenskiöld (14, pp. 184-185), who in a recent book went full length into the matter of the various instruments utilized by the American Indians for giving enemas, distinguishes two types: those which are provided with a rubber or leather bulb or a bladder, and those which amount to a simple tube. The one described for us with such a wealth of details by our missionary belongs to the second type, although /488/ exhibiting some similarities with the first. It can be considered as intermediate between the two.

/3 cont./

133 The lakes are natural, but not permanent; they are
[135] many and large; in some the water is very good, but from others not even the cattle /4/ drink, because it contains so
[132] much saltpeter. They all receive water from the sky, which sometimes falls with great force and fills them at a single time. White Christians are now making artificial lakes, especially in the Gran Chaco and in the vicinity of Caipipendi.
● 271 When water is completely lacking, the Indian scratches the
824 ground, looking for the root of the "uipoy," samolo, which is as large as a watermelon; he cuts it at the top, squeezes the pulp with his hand, it turns to water, and he drinks; thus the need is met, but when this drink is taken for a long period, it gives rise to sickness.

311 The land lends itself to farming and to cattle raising,
312 but both industries diminish in those years when the beneficial
433 action of the rains is scarce. Then the crops are lost, and the
132 cattle die from lack of food and from the great amounts of water that they drink from the rivers and lakes on whose banks they stay through lack of energy; nonetheless this rarely happens throughout the region, which, because of embracing a wide area, in one place or another receives showers which renew nature.

Extent and Area

131 The Chiriguano tribe or race was extremely numerous and
[161] thus once took in an extraordinarily large area; traces of these
[464] Indians are found in the vicinity of Tarija, and they may be found beyond Santa Cruz, where even today Chiriguano men and women are in larger part those in domestic service with the genteel families. Toward the capital of the Republic the Indians still remember that their grandparents used to live in Tacopaya and even beyond, in Talisco, included in the same district. Then they extended toward the Bermejo River and, finally, eastward to within a few leagues of Carandaiti, where the arid zone, inhabited by the Toba and other savages, begins.

/19 cont./

137 in dry places; when dampness penetrates it, it is destroyed in a
824 few years, as experience has shown. The bark that is found
[759] under the first layer is split, washed in tepid water, and left to steep overnight; it cures intermittent fever. The Argentinians call it cacha, the whites quebracho, and the Chiriguano "Iguiraro."

AZUFAIFO /jujube tree/. -- This is abundant hereabouts
[262] and is a tree of medium size. Its wood is not valued very highly, but the fruit, the size of a grape seed and of a dark coffee color, is a great resource in times of scarcity for the poor Chiriguano. It ripens in January and February and is liked even by cattle and by sheep and pigs. The whites call it mistol and the Chiriguano "Yuá."

245 BANANA TREE. -- Cultivated in orchards and well fenced-in fields, it forms a grove, and each plant yields or produces a cluster, very large on some of them. When the ripe cluster is removed, the plant that produced it must be cut in order that the others may produce their own. There are several
[262] varieties, large and small, the latter very sweet and eaten as fruit, and the former only when boiled and roasted; the whites call them plátano, and the Chiriguano "Pacoba."

137 BIGONIA ACUOSA. -- This is a tiny little bush one vara
824 in height, which under the ground has a large root like a
[271] watermelon and even larger; it contains much pulp which, when squeezed, yields potable water and is used for it in times of scarcity. The Chiriguano call it "Sipoi."

[342] CATALPA. -- This is a large tree and fairly strong. Its wood is used in the construction of houses. The color of the /20/ wood is dark, but when it is newly cut it is somewhat
[515] green. Its flowers are purple, and the Chiriguano chew them to whiten their teeth; they are bitter and because of this the tree is called "Tayi," or bitter, in Chiriguano, the whites call it lapacho.

CEIBA. -- A large tree with deformed trunk, and furnished with sharp points, broad leaves, and large, white flowers which produce a material similar to cotton without fibers, for which reason it is smoother and shinier; it is used for mattresses
[322] and pillows and candle wicks. The wood is spongy and not at
[415] all hard; from it are made troughs to hold water from year to year and in this way they are not soon damaged. Its ashes

/223/

881 raised to the ceiling. They leave her there for a period of
[785] four days in strict fasting and, of course, without her opening her mouth to speak to anybody, not even to ask for necessary things, because if she should talk or ask for anything, misfortune would appear at once.

At the end of this first test, which the maiden has scarcely felt, they lower her on the fifth day, wash her head with potash of Ñetira, and shave off the adolescent girl's hair. Meanwhile in a corner of the house far from the door, they have prepared a wall like a corner piece, made out of slender sticks a meter and 50 centimeters high more or less.
[785] Wrapped in her tipoi or clean clothing, the unfortunate girl goes there, into her pen, and begins her strict fast, which they call Yicuacu, or hiding (1).

> 1. This rigorous way of life does not seem at all strange to the maidens, because before it comes their mothers have prepared them for it, and they believe in everything with blind faith.

The girl remains in her enclosure for a week without doing anything, with face to the wall in order not to see or talk to
[262] anybody. Her usual fare is boiled maize, Atiruru. Sometimes she also eats meat if there is any, but in very small quantities. She neither tastes nor desires other foods. Were she to eat parched maize, she would not be good at feeding her children when she has them, because her breasts would be
[271] dry all her life. Her usual beverage should be natural clear
[273] water. Were she to drink chicha, she would be barren, be-
[842] cause it contains alcohol and acridness, which would stop the effects of conception during her marriage.

881 When the week is over, the fasting continues, but less
868 harshly; her parents have obtained cotton or wool, have
867 prepared the spindle and wheel, with the little potsherd in
283 which they put a few ashes or sand so that the spindle will turn more easily. The mother hands over all this to her daughter, who begins to work and learns that she has been born for work.

/284 cont./

000 The philosopher Focion said that he who has the fewest desires to satisfy is the happiest man on earth. This is a truth based on experience, but it is not true happiness; it is part of it, because complete happiness is not attained here.

The true Chiriguano dressed in the old way and his wife with her tipoy must have been the happiest beings on earth, but as they are children of the first man, they also inherited affliction, pain, and death. These three things are almost always the consequence of illness, and they come from the intemperate life that I have described, just as they also come from the drinking and eating.

515 751 [262] [252] [271] [273] The Chiriguano takes no care of his person, although he loves life, which he would like to be eternal, however much he may walk dragging himself along. His foodstuffs are not at all hygienic; he eats /illustration appears here/ /285/ often and with too much greed rotten meat, vegetables, and maize itself, which he parches but never cooks completely. The water he drinks is not always clear or free of microbes and small worms that are visible; the very chicha that is manufactured with such elaborate effort and care is drunk still sour, and, finally, shelter is unimportant. In periods of great heat he lies on the ground, taking on his back the burning rays of the sun; he protects himself little in the abrupt changes of temperature, and if he gets wet in the rain or has taken a voluntary bath of cold water or water heated by the sun, he lets his clothes dry on his body; from these come the illnesses that I shall presently enumerate, illnesses that he suffers from, which make him unhappy and then carry him to the grave.

753 821 The rainbow that God gave to Noah as a sign that He would not flood humanity again with the waters of a new deluge is a sad sign for the Chiriguano. If this so natural phenomenon appears in a town and begins in front of or over a house, when it disappears it does not end or turn to nothing but hides itself in the belly of one of the residents, who in time will get sick and die of dropsy, from which it follows that this illness, which is rare among them, is caused by the rainbow (1).

1. Another natural phenomenon is the whirlwind,

[TEXT Continues on p. 385]

/363 cont./

234 To end up, one could still cite among Chiriguano food
262 the cheese they make in some villages. Each time they
butcher they take care to keep the abomasus in order to make
[177] milk separate. Chiriguano cheeses are of the same quality as
those of the half-breeds, who for once have taught something
[272] to our Indians. I shall add that I have never seen a Chiriguano
drink milk.

312 The problem of water does not come up for the Chiriguano
133 as for the other Indians of the Chaco. Numerous rivers cross
their territory, and several of them are large enough not to dry
up even in the middle of the dry season. These watercourses
form innumerable quebradas, gorges or valleys, which give
its characteristic aspect to the country inhabited by our Indians.
[361] Sometimes villages are built near springs or small lakes, like
the Ivu mission, which is provided with plenty of water.

312 When I crossed the Caipipendí valley, the river which
occupies the bottom was nearly dry. The Indians had scooped
out small wells about one meter in depth in the sand of its
bed. They had surrounded them with slabs of stone to prevent
any caving in and to preserve the water which accumulated in
them from the heat of the sun. In this same valley, in a village
situated on top of a hill, the Indians had dug a cistern four to
five meters in diameter in which rain water had collected.

271 The Chiriguano have found a way to purify the muddy
312 water they often have to drink. They crush caraguatá leaves
824 between two stones, then steep them in the water, and all its
impurities settle as a result of the action of the juice of this plant.

264 The Chiriguano do not eat at set times. They make a
rather substantial breakfast very early in the morning and again
take some food toward the middle of the day. In the evening
[562] about six o'clock they make a kind of dinner. Since the men
are served first, then the women and children, it follows that
the meals drag out in length. At any moment of the day one
[415] can see someone eating. The food /364/ is presented to each
one in a calabash or terra-cotta bowl which each holds on his
knees. They pick up the pieces with their fingers but imbibe
liquids with a wooden spoon (Figs. 42 and 43). After eating,
they wash their hands. I have seen some rinse out their mouths.

/26 cont./

137 824 as straight as cane. Beyond Santa Cruz there are still groves; in addition there are groves of another cane called "Bambú," which is the best known, and in Chiriguano it is called "Tacuarembo." It rises to a height of about 15 meters and is [417] used for making /27/ ladders and scaffolding in construction 249 because it is light and strong. The shoots are tender and contain a sugary substance highly regarded by the Indians; it is not sought much today, because there are abundant plantings of sugar cane, which is of great utility for the production of sugar and alcohol. This last thrives with great ease and little work. Planting is done in two ways, making furrows and burying it or planting cuttings. The former is the better method where the 137 824 freshets of the rivers do not penetrate. On the slopes and tops of hills which contain water there is another sort of slender cane, very strong and heavy, which is not hollow like the other classes and is called caña brava by the whites, and [285] "Tacuarembo" by the Chiriguano. They use it for weavers' [513] reeds and for sleeping cots.

TAMARIND. -- This beautiful and useful tree is not native, but it thrives with enough care and grows to a respectable height; the fruit that it produces is abundant, consisting of abundant pods more or less the size of chick-pea pods; the pulp is blackish and pleasant to the taste, but it is bad for [157] the teeth. It is astringent and is administered as medicine for intestinal inflammations, especially to children. It is also [272] a good tonic drink on excessively hot days; it is prepared with sugar, water, and a little of its pulp. The tree is rather sensitive to cold, and the flowers wilt easily with the south wind. For this reason the whites plant it in their patios, which are surrounded by the living quarters.

TARINGUI. -- The name of this tree is Chiriguano. The taringui is found in some regions, but not in others. It is of the cactus variety, rises up to six meters, its branchage is abundant and close, which gives a fine shade against the blazing rays of the sun. Its branches or leaves are striated and armed with spines; the fruit is tiny, but sweet and otherwise pleasant, and much liked by foxes, who only get it when it falls from the tree. The ulala or opuntia is smaller than the taringui, its leaves have the same form, the color is ash-gray and they are less a abundant, or, more properly, few. The fruit is a smooth berry

/333 cont./

Chapter II

Agriculture

241 The Chiriguano, like the Guarani and the Chané, their ancestors, are excellent farmers, and the working of the soil represents their principal occupation and their great concern.
243 For them corn is of prime importance; it constitutes the basis
[273] of their diet, for it enters into the preparation of most of their dishes and in addition gives them their preferred drink, chicha or kāwi.

[132] The sandy lands of the western Chaco and its climate,
[134] hot and dry a great part of the year, but also rainy during the summer months, seem to be particularly suitable for this grain. I have never seen such beautiful fields of corn anywhere. The ears are large, well filled out /334/ with kernels, and extremely tasty. The Bolivian half-breeds and settlers who are coming in greater and greater numbers to take the place of the Indians devote themselves like them to the growing of corn, which, with cattle-raising, is their main resource.

114 My trip to the Chaco, which took place from the month
243 of February to the month of June, did not give me a chance to
[101] be present at the sowing which is done at the beginning of the rainy season. For many details I shall therefore be forced to
[127] refer to Corrado (pp. 42 and 48), Campana (pp. 96-98), Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 181-184, and 10, pp. 23-24), to Nino (pp. 237-241), and Rosen (1, p. 205).

241 When a Chiriguano wishes to cultivate a new piece of
243 ground for himself and his family, he scours the environs of his village looking for a spot which may suit him and which is, in addition, easily irrigable. This condition is generally fulfilled by the lands at the foot of a hill or rising ground. The rain water which pours down there assures them of fertility.

/337 cont./

243 Once their fields are free of weeds, the Chiriguano call
[476] together relatives and friends. On the date agreed upon, all
[534] go to the fields early in the morning, after waking each other
up with shouts, whistles, and by blowing into cow horns, which
for them take the place of horns (in Chiriguano: waka-ranti)
(Fig. 5), each trying to outdo the other. In olden days the
[622] village chief used to take part in the sowing and watched to
make sure that all helped one another.

[534]
[321]

Fig. 5. Cow horn (waka-ranti) which the Chiriguano use for a horn. The end is carved into a mouthpiece. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/5 nat. size.)

Sowing is done in a very simple way. If the ground is soft, the Indian sticks his shovel vertically into the soil, after giving two or three thrusts in order to push it in as far as possible. He enlarges the slit by pushing his shovel forward without drawing it out and slips two or three kernels of corn into the opening. Without changing position he makes two or three similar holes on his right and left, takes a step forward and begins again. The plants thus grow in a certain alignment /338/ which is far from perfect. Since several work at
[461] a time, the job is done quickly. At noon, or about two o'clock
in the afternoon at the latest, they have finished their task
[273] and go back to the village where the chicha or kāwi, which the
owner of the field has had prepared for his helpers, awaits them

/357 cont./

252 covered with the bran. The muitero is then placed on the opening of a pot full of water and the whole put on the fire. The rising steam goes through the holes of the muitero and cooks the corn while saturating it with moisture. So that the steam will not escape at the sides, the line of contact between the edges of the muitero and the neck of the vessel is smeared with clay.

I have given the recipe for this dish according to Nino (p. 246), for I have never been present at its preparation. The Chiriguano themselves must have forgotten it; I do not remember having seen more than two muitero during my whole trip: one at Yumbía and the other at Ivu. Since it is im-
[178] possible to prepare muintimimo without this basin, one must suppose that the Chiriguano of the decline have forgotten even the taste of one of the most original dishes of their cuisine.

At Ivu the Chiriguano had me taste kãwi-rai (little kãwi), a kind of gruel made with kernels of corn softened by a more or less long soaking in water, then pounded and rid of the bran. This gruel is cooked in water and eaten cold. It is
● [273] sometimes left to ferment for several days and from that has doubtless come its name of "little corn beer."

The Indians make flat corn cakes (muyape) (2), which are

2. The corn fritters that I saw roasted in a frying pan at Pípi were doubtless muyape cakes. Unfortunately, I was not able to learn their name.

mentioned in the myths I have collected, but which I myself have never had a chance to taste. Avatindi, or white corn, is softened in water, pounded, then kneaded with salt and pimento and the dough shaped into flat cakes which are cooked under the ashes. When they are supposed to be done, they are pulled out from beneath the glowing embers and washed with water, and they finally have a kind of bread with a pleasant taste.

/364 cont./

Fermented Beverages

293 Anyone who has traveled among the Chiriguano or the Chané has learned to prize corn beer, or kāwi. Few moments in the course of my expedition have left me more pleasant memories than the ones when, tired by a long stage, I would sit down in front of a hut and receive from the hands of the wife of the "captain" a calabash full of this liquid, slightly sharp and a little granular, which quenches thirst and allays hunger. The day when the Chiriguano stop making kāwi will be a sign that they have disappeared from the face of the earth, and perhaps this delicious drink will survive them as a creole speciality in which good nationalists will take pride.

[122] [123]

Father Corrado (p. 43) once heard from the mouth of a Chiriguano an admirable definition of the role of kāwi in the life of an Indian: "It is our father and our mother," said he. Indeed, it is the father of joy, the sign of plenty, the companion of the most beautiful moments of existence as well as the most tragic ones. It has within it a mysterious and mystic force which penetrates the individual, exalts him, and protects him against supernatural dangers. All festivals are reduced, in their essential part, to the consumption of kāwi; no collective enterprise is conceivable without their first drinking it from full jars (1). From birth to death, all that affects the

293 726

1. Even in the 16th century the Chiriguano, like the ancient Tupinamba, did not undertake any expedition of war without having celebrated a caouin or a vin /wine/, to express ourselves like the old French chroniclers; /a passage of poetry in Spanish from Barco Centenera, p. 262, is omitted in the translation/.

When the Chiriguano of Parapití and Caipipendí rose up in 1799, before the revolt they held great drinking festivals, during the course of which they decided on the plan of operations (Corrado, p. 254).

/364 cont./

● 273 life of the individual or the community is associated with this beverage. The divine principle which kāwi has in it does not take away its secular character; and, while one gets drunk on it during the festivals, nothing prevents washing down meals with it at the time when the corn ripens. As a sign of [574] hospitality every stranger is invited to empty a calabash full [576] of it; and the compliments he addresses to the wife of his host fill his heart with pride.

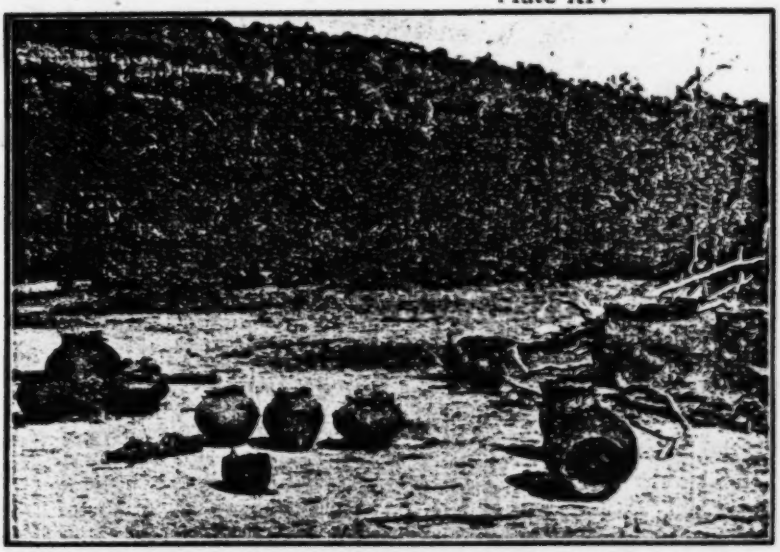
527 The Indians always appreciated the liking I showed 273 /Plate XIV appears here/ /365/ for kāwi, and my old friend [123] Karnapadyū did not fail to recall the big vats full to the brim to persuade one to return to celebrate Easter with them, or, if you like, the corn harvest, since these two dates coincide more or less. Such promises /Fig. 29 appears here/ could not remain without effect, and Karnapadyū was not at all surprised to see me arrive shortly before the festival.

The greatest animation prevailed in the village of Carurutí, formerly so calm. Men came and went, bending under enormous loads of wood. All the urns were lined up in front of the huts and buried to a third of their height (Plate XIV, 1). 529 For a long time big piles of corn had already been heaped up 273 in the village, which all, big and small, men and women, 243 /Fig. 30 appears here/ were actively engaged in husking. [412] Some used their fingers, others knives or a pointed stick. Not [413] one had thought of the so practical instrument used by their ancestors: a small wooden peg with a leather loop to put two fingers through. It is curious to note that such a simple object fell into disuse; an old man still sold me a specimen made of iron but a close copy, so to speak, of the wooden prototype, of which it reproduced the smallest details (Fig. 29).

273 Now the hardest work begins: the grinding of the kernels. Day and night the dry noise of the pestles crushing the corn [461] resounds in the village. Often, to get the chore over more quickly, three women group around the same mortar and with surprising speed raise and pound their pestle without a single [415] error in rhythm interrupting their laborious work. Once ground, the corn is sifted in an urumpesa or large-meshed sieve (Fig. 31). The rather coarse flour is poured into large urns filled with water.

Plate XIV

273
415



1. Vessels assembled in front of a hut and serving for the preparation of kãwi (chicha). Caruruti. (Photo. A. M.)

273
291
516
574
576

2. Women and children taking kàwi. The women are squatting on the ground on skins, while the men are seated on benches or chairs. Samirenda. (Photo. A. M.)

/365 cont./

273 The preparation of chicha is not play; it is necessary not only /366/ to grind an enormous quantity of corn, but again to go
484 ceaselessly to get water, often at a great distance. At Cururuti
482 the nearest potable water was at the bottom of a ravine of particu-
273 larly difficult access. The women were constantly going there with an îru (Plate XVII, 1),[1] which they carried on their backs in a net (añapoka) held on the forehead by a strap. They would fill

462
516
273
291
415
412

Fig. 31. Woman sifting corn which she has just ground in the mortar beside her. This flour is to be roasted, then chewed to serve as ferment for kāwi. Cururuti. (Photo. A.M.)

484 the jug and, loading it with difficulty, would go back up the
482 steep slope doubled over under the weight. So as not to lose any
273 time, these hard-working creatures would take along a calabash full of ground corn which they continually chewed.

273 The ground corn is cooked in water and constantly stirred
412 with flat sticks whose edges used to be cut out with a certain artistic care in olden days (Fig. 32). Today a kind of oar (Fig.
[178] 33) or the scapula of an ox (Fig. 34) fastened to a long handle
[237] replaces the ancient utensils in which was manifested so well the
[531] Chiriguano tendency to decorate even the most humble objects.

[1] [For plate XVII, See category 116, P. 127--Analyst]

/366 cont./

273 126 It is not so easy as one thinks to observe in detail the preparation of kāwi, and I am still at a loss to describe the stages in their exact sequence. This difficulty is due to the fact that kāwi is prepared over several days (generally three or four), and it is /Plate XV appears here/ /367/ difficult to be on the spot all the time so as not to miss any detail. Besides, as different families do not begin to prepare kāwi at the same time, confusion results; and it is hard to know at what point of the operation one finds oneself. Apparently I am not the only one to have come up against this obstacle, for it is enough to read the various descriptions devoted to this important occupation to become aware that they are far from agreeing. [114]

273 462 At the moment when the water is at the boiling point in the big vats, the burning pieces of wood and the live coals are scattered, and the corn flour is poured in, being stirred vigorously so that it will not form lumps. While this operation is performed, other women have pounded fine a certain quantity of corn, sifted it, winnowed it to rid it of any impurity, then roasted it in a large potsherd. As this flour is taken off the fire, the women chew part of it and spit this into a calabash. This paste impregnated with saliva is called temĭsu. According to Nino (p. 248), the Indian women mix the temĭsu with the corn broth which is cooking in the vats and with which they fill a pot. [412]

Fig. 37. Sticks for stirring the kāwi while it is cooking. No. 1 comes from Tigĭipa; No. 2 from Ivo; Nos. 3 and 4 from Sa[illegible] (upper Pilcomayo). ([illegible] nat. size.)

The woman who busies herself with this mixture (umopirai) allows it to fall back in from a certain height "to give it sweetness."

415
293

Plate XV

1. Large vessel (yambui) in which the Chiriguano make corn beer ferment. Prov.: Ivu. (1/5 nat. size.)

[964]

2. Large vat (yambui) for boiling ilwi. The Chiriguano bury their dead in similar urns. Prov.: Ivu. (1/7 nat. size.)

/367 cont./

273
462

The umopirai is added to the kāwi, which from this moment on is subjected to intense cooking. A large, bright fire is lighted around the vat containing it and burns day and night: the women go to stir it from time to time to keep it from sticking.

At night the village of Caturuti has a strange look: over the open square in front of the huts high flames rise, against which are outlined in black the silhouettes of the women who, busy and hard-working, do not take time to sleep. The next morning the fire is allowed to go out and the kāwi to cool. It is then decanted into vessels of smaller dimensions, and all the women, including little girls, assemble to take handfuls of the marc and chew it, one trying to outdo the other. These balls, sticky with saliva, are spit back into the vessel. A rather large amount of cold water is added to the kāwi, and right afterward comes the bottling, if I may so express myself. The kāwi is strained through a very fine-meshed sieve. The marc, or siripi, /368/ is thrown away or used again. The beer, or pale wine, is distributed into vessels which are carefully closed with a calabash or bowl, and this liquid is left to ferment for two or three days. So that it may be completely protected from the air, the line of contact between the vessel and its cover is smeared with clay.

273
412

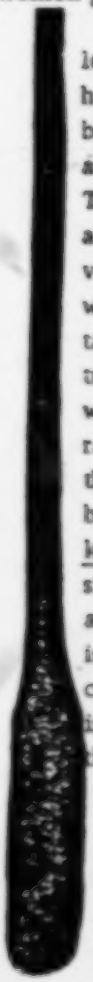


Fig. 33. Oar for stirring kāwi during cooking. Prov.: Pípi. (1/9 nat. size.)

Fig. 34. Shovel ending in an ox scapula which the Chiriguano use for stirring kāwi. Prov.: Pípi. (1/10 nat. size.)

[237]

C 293 /368 cont./

A certain variety of kĩwi is prepared by boiling it again after passing it through the sieve and "bottling" it only after letting it cool a second time.

Kĩwi is generally covered with a thick oily layer which the Indians are far from scorning. The mistress of the house takes the precaution of pouring a certain quantity of it into the vessels which do not have any.

In their descriptions of the preparation of kĩwi, Giannecchini and Nordenskiöld say nothing about the temiru, the umopirai, and, in general, a good many of the stages the corn goes through before being converted into beer. This silence is probably due to the very complexity of this operation, more than one detail of which certainly escaped them. The preparation of kĩwi is a tiring occupation which requires great effort. The Indians display a veritable science in its manufacture. It is easier to distill alcohol, and, in any case, this is a task demanding less physical activity. Perhaps centuries of groping were needed for arriving at determining the time of cooking, the proportions of roasted and chewed flour, the quality of the grain, etc. All that is the result of minute observations, many trials, and also much reflection. These considerations are intended to justify the remark made at the beginning of this chapter: a simple cooking recipe often tells as much about the civilization of a people as a perfected tool.

C 293 824 [171] ce [293] [824] [114]

/369/ The fruits of the mistol, chañar, or algarroba can give a chicha that the Chaco Indians like very much, but which the Chiriguano scorn. They have recourse to it only in case of scarcity. The Chané of the Izcoc, whom I could not visit, have the specialty of kĩwi from batatas. The Chiriguano also know how to make use of this tuber to prepare a fermented drink, but they judge it to be of inferior quality and declare that one must be a poor devil to take any. (Nordenskiöld, 2, p. 236) (1).

1. Barco Centenera (p. 315) already mentions the different types of chicha prepared by the Chiriguanos: "El vino de maiz y de algarroba.

/369 cont./

293
524

De Molles, y de murta bien cicado.
Seguro que bebian casi arroba.
Que media á cada cual le estaba dado."
/The wine of maize and of algarroba,
Of Molles, and of myrtle well worked;
It is certain that they drank almost
an arroba.
The measure which was given to each
one./

293
524
594
[123]
[114]

Kiwi is too respected a drink to be drunk in any old way. Etiquette requires one to comply with certain rules if the honor of participating in a drinking bout is done you. I sometimes had a chance to be invited to these festivities, and on such an occasion I was able to make the following observations which I am setting down just as I noted them in my field notebook: The men are seated in a circle on chairs or benches. The women squat behind them, on skins spread out on the ground. [554] The kiwi is brought in vessels shaped like bulls, and one of them is put down at the feet of the "captain." The girl who has brought it fills a small calabash and offers it to the "captain," who empties it. Next he serves me and gives the vessel back to her. He does the same with my neighbor, then with several of the guests. Then he hands the calabash to his wife and goes to sit down. The latter serves the rest of the men present.

A second vessel, brimming over with kiwi, is put this time before another Indian who perhaps is held in some esteem. He drinks first, then buries himself with his companions. Two large calabashes are then given over to the women, and from that moment on, the distribution no longer seems to follow any order. Men and women drink and serve their neighbors without obeying any rule of decorum other than not to forget other people. They acquit themselves perfectly in this duty of politeness, and nobody is neglected, not even the very small children, who take alarming quantities of kiwi.

/369 cont./

293 At Isoinvenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the
574 first one served is always the "captain." As before, the
576 vessel full of kiwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first
[558] bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The
latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it
on to his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they
always come back to the first person who received each one
and he finishes it. The men move from their places several
times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not
forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/
[558] ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of
flutes and violins.

When the supply of kiwi is exhausted in a village, they
get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere
to revel.

[498] Formerly the preparation of kiwi was accompanied by
[498] magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of
[502] daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the
women do not even take this precaution any more. However,
between Caraguatí and Caipipendí, I could still see several women
painted like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an
expression dear to Jean de Léry.

415 Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano
village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds
inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/
gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels
one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are
preparing corn beer.

Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a com-
[512] pletely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The
[515] latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements,
while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

/408 cont./

415 191 192 12. The ornithomorphic vessel of Figure 73 seems to have come from the hands of the ancient potters of the Isla de Tilcara who, several centuries ago, used to make analogous pieces, without a doubt servilely imitated by the Chané and the ancestors of the Chiriguano (see Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 139-141, p. 191). Boman (2, Vol. II, p. 786, Fig. 193) also publishes a bird-shaped vessel, perhaps of the pavo del monte (Penelope obscura, Vieill.?), found not far from the present-day village of Humahuaca and which, in addition to its general appearance, has in common with our specimen

415 531

Fig. 73. Ornithomorphic vessel. Chiriguano. Motifs: pink and green. Prov.: Tarairí. (1/3 nat. size.)

415 191 192 from Tarairí designs painted on the sides which represent the wings and tail.

The Chiriguano Indians of the Caipipendí valley and the Ivu mission still like to serve chicha in vessels to which they 415 532 give the appearance of a bull (Plate XXVIII, 7-9).[2] Llama- [193] shaped vessels have been discovered in the Quebrada de [192] Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 27, Fig. 14, and Odilia [191] Bregante, Fig. 132, p. 147). Perhaps these are the prototypes of the present-day Chiriguano specimens. Why suppose that [114] these receptacles had solely ritual usage, as Mr. Debenedetti thinks, when one sees the modern Chiriguano make an entirely secular use of them?

[2] [See p. 190 -- Analyst]

/463 cont./

796 The attraction of the carnival consists of the enormous
273 consumption of kāwi and alcohol which takes place then. Men
578 and women drink, one trying to outdo the other; and, under the influence of drink, old angers and secret hates are awakened and the most excited provoke each other and come to blows.

796
532

Fig. 120. Chiriguano Indians wearing masks. (Photo. by the R. P. H. Catinari.)

796
273 /464/ The "captain" must then call them to order and separate
578 the combatants.

Some people increase the tumult by blowing into their
796 sénéné (long whistles).
534

Sexual passions become aroused, and the men begin to
796 whirl around the women, whom they entreat, a calabash of
832 kāwi in the hand, while reciting to them in a singsong tone
786 pieces of verse of this type:
539

Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no	For me
Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no.	For me.

/464 cont./

Eyu šekuama	Come and kiss me
Šemireko mi	My little wife
Diyuru emesie	Give me thy mouth
Tuiša dipota	I love thee much
Šę songo pę	With my heart
Ime deresa ikavi	Thou hast pretty eyes
Ime diyuro misiray	Thou hast a little mouth
Tuiša dipota	I love thee much
Pairamo ayporu deve.	For that I am going to ask for thee.

During this time young or old men with their faces covered by a mask (añawasu) run here and there, force the people to dance by blows of a stick, play tricks on them, and address jokes to them.

The feast lasts as long as there is kāwi or alcohol. At the moment when it is on the point of ending, a final ceremony takes place. The rite of going out is similar to the rite of entering: the couple who planted the flowery stick tear it from the ground and go out of the village, followed by the añawasu and all those who took part in the festival. The procession advances to a certain distance from the village to the sound of the flutes and drums. They throw away the masks and throw stones while shouting. The carnival is finished and everyone goes home. Some take along their new wife, for it is at this moment that most marriages are celebrated.

The carnival festivity such as I have just described involves only a few elements borrowed from the half-breeds or creoles, outside of the coincidence of dates. This is an ancient feast of a purely agricultural character, which the Chiriguano have acquired the habit of celebrating at the same time as the Bolivian carnival. Besides, the Indians of Ibopeyti are pagans.

The masked men are supposed to represent the spirits of the dead, as their name indicates (aña: spirit; wasu: great). As in the festivals of the Guianas and Central America, they come in numbers /Plate LXXXVI appears here/ /465/ to insure for their

[Text Continues on p. 329]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

000 c 726 c [727]

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

c 727 266 c 567 727

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

c 534 177 cc 534

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

c 535

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

c 273 628 527

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

276

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

c 273 462

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

plicated affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large jars. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

Gambling.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the suka game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.[9] Another favorite dice game is called chukareta: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous taba game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

Games.—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapeti River, like so many Guiana tribes, played a ball game with rubber balls which they butted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

Chiriguano women had a game (itarapon) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tunpa, or Iandapoha ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaratunpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guaraní*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ana," the souls of the dead.

[9] The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 337).

245 /17 cont./
137 and feet with them, as will be seen; for this last purpose it is
824 prepared beforehand, many pods being boiled in an olla, and
[302] pastes of every size are made from the decoction, depending
[303] on the value that they wish them to have; it is traded by
[439] Chiriguanos and whites.

137 The Bixa orellana, or "Urucu," as the Indians call it, is
824 a plant of high value for the Chiriguano; he will travel far to obtain a small amount in the towns or places where it is prepared.

ALGARROBO. -- The place where this extraordinarily large tree abounds is in the pampas; thus in the plain of "Curuyuqui" of Yvu Mission, Isoso, Parapiti, and the Gran Chaco it is found forming forests. It is very bulky and has
[342] long branches which on some touch the ground; its trunk is
[415] thick and not always erect, the wood is excellent, similar to oak in spite of being dark, and it is much used for making tuns, door and window casings, and even for barrels. In
[262] Chiriguano this tree is called /18/ "Ivopei," and the "Ivope"
[273] pod is long, compressed, and yellow; when it is ripe, it is sweet and much sought after by livestock and by the Chiriguano; it is their food and drink in times of scarcity as well as other times, and the mead that they make is extremely intoxicating. On the bank of the Pilcomayo even the whites eat this pod; the Toba, Choroti, Mataco, and others hold their orgies when the algarrobo ripens.

ALGARROBO CHICO. -- This is a smaller tree than the previous one, even its fruit is smaller, speckled in color, and sweeter than the true algarrobo, but not as abundant as the
[262] first. As the pods are small and the seeds within abundant, it is not highly thought of among the Chiriguano; they only eat it out of necessity or as a tidbit; the wood is not valued very highly because undoubtedly there are others that are better. In Chiriguano it is called "Ivope rai."

ALGARROBO AGRIO. -- This is also small, and it is called
[262] "sour" because the flavor of the pods really is sour. In times of scarcity it is also food for the Chiriguano; the pods are small, and the tree has its congenial sites. The Chiriguano Indians call it "Ivopetayi."

/21 cont./

137 MARA or CAOBA /mahogany/. -- This tree is found in
824 all sections. It is a strong wood, but the white part at the
sides is subject to decay. It is rather heavy and hard and is
[42] [52] only used for door and window casings and even for tables.
The leaves are permanent, but not too good for shade. If the
[57] leaves are touched with some force in order to pick them, they
cause a skin eruption which disappears only when treated with
bees' honey; I cured myself this way twice.

37 /22/ MELOCOTÓN /peach tree/. -- This tree, native to
Persia, is quite productive in this region, but its fruit, severely
attacked by the black butterfly, does not reach maturity because
it always has worms. The apple tree grows in high places and
where the atmosphere is not so hot, but both of these are
orchard trees, not native ones, having been imported by the
whites, who cultivate them, which can also be said of the
quince tree.

137 MOLLE. -- This tree is not found in the central part of the
324 region and thus is not native here, being obtained only by
cultivation. The whites and the Missionaries have introduced
it into the towns with good results. It is found in abundance in
[57] the district under the jurisdiction of Padilla; it has permanent
[73] leaves, which are medicinal, as is the resin which comes from
the trunk; a cooling beverage, pleasant and similar to wine,
except that its odor is somewhat disagreeable, is made from
[57] the seeds. The eucalyptus is another tree which thrives
regularly here, but it has also been imported; its leaves, also
permanent, are very good medicine for the endemic fevers; its
trunk is an excellent wood. Neither tree has a name in
Chiriguano, from which it can be deduced that they have been
imported, like the grape vine, the common fig tree, the
peach, quince, etc.

MORA OR MORERA /mulberry/. -- This tree is found
wild from the left bank of the Parapiti River in Cordillera Province. It rises to a height of some 15 meters, is bulky with a
very leafy top, and the fruit is smaller than that of the cultivated mulberry; the wood is solid and compact like that of the
soto and has even better qualities; it is used for machines for
milling sugar cane, plantations of which are common from the
banks of the Parapiti River, where sugar of the highest quality

/113 cont./

165 [145] advanced age, and I have seen Indians with the head completely white, and others with a white the color of smoke or something smoked. In the performance of my ministry I have met and baptized many centenarians at the time of their death, and in the towns through which I have passed I have met several who fought in the Caraparí war and who witnessed the War of Independence.

273 276 [178] But today the Chiriguano has degenerated greatly; in somewhat distant times they did not know about either liquor or coca, and today both are general, and because of liquor and coca, the use of which they much abuse, they ruin their health and shorten their existence. Much youth disappears with the abuse of these substances, and as a general rule in the missions the best disappear, those who know some art or have some fortune; all that they earn, after buying their clothing (although not always), they invest in liquor and coca, and [165] [648] thus shorten their lives. I have seen towns where out of 40 or 50 young men of the same age there are scarcely two or three alive who will reach 50; it can thus be seen that the drunkenness produced by chicha is not so pernicious as that of liquor or alcohol, for which any tax imposed on them by the Supreme Government is never too much, and would that such a tax were higher, more general, and that it was not felt to be enough [142] [147] simply to write it out. In spite of this dissipated life, it is very rare that one encounters a bald Indian, which indicates great robustness (1).

1. I have known many large and small Chiriguano towns; I have only found three semibald persons.

Morality

181 At present the Chiriguano Indian differs slightly or not at all morally from the common mass of men. I mean that not all are good nor are all perverse; there are good ones and bad ones

648 /115 cont./
178 obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

157 Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, incon-
181 stancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even
[847] suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They
[762] only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome
[461] by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family.
[186] But if near the carai /sic; see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

[533] They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of
[273] their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and
[178] cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not com-
[674] mon formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

[648]
[685]
[754]

1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge great secrecy so that the authorities will not make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/158 cont./

000 or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances. The only large town
361 that I found on my travels is Membirai, which is joined to
Choreti guasu on the left bank of the Parapiti. I know Caipipendi,
[114] where I often slept; the Indians are many, but they live in dif-
[62] ferent places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (2).

797
619
361

2. The beautiful Santa Rosa Mission was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place shown them by the missionary. In Yumbía there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique

622

Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /159/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple; when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the sorcerer to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

[631]
[643]

1. In each tribe there is but one cacique; many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

[262] At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep
[273] or rest in their homes, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

/159 cont./

622 may be general rejoicing with the drinking of the pretasted
[262] Cangũ, chicha, squash and beans to eat together with Aticúí,
[273] meal, and Atipíí, parched corn. In his prolonged discourse he recommends union in labor so that it may soon be finished, since the field of the cacique is planted first and then those of the rest, with all of them helping one another. When I came to the missions, the soldiers of the cacique Gũiraesa still did it in this way. I shall speak of this cacique and his family in another chapter.

622 692 The cacique also arbitrates the arguments which frequently arise in the planting season, since even among these people there reigns covetousness of the property of others, should it be good and free of brush; he settles family disputes, admonishing the parents and also their children. If a theft occurs, it is also he who makes claims before the cacique of the neighboring tribe, but if this should occur within his own, he will summarily administer justice. His sentence is absolute and in general not subject to appeal (2).

[799] 2. There are several caciques in the missions, because they are made up of several tribes. The missionary governs them all, with the result that the authority of the caciques is almost nominal.

721 It frequently happens that, as a result of some affront done to some woman of a tribe, a bloody war begins, which assumes the characteristics of a regional one. This happened during the
[643] 1850's in the Cuevo region. The cacique Gũiracoti tried without
[837] success to have relations with the wife of Yaveau, cacique of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo. In revenge the offended man disposed of a head of cattle belonging to /160/ Gũiracoti; hostilities were then declared and each cacique prepared for war.

/160 cont./

574 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accomodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

574 178 [431] [273] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he asks nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretasted liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 529 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quiriquinchos, /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

622 224

293 824 191

2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

[Text Continues on P. 221]

/161 cont./

273
824
171

and the Mataco; thus the fruit of the chañar, mistol, and algarroba are used in the manufacture of chicha.

Subalterns

621
623

The cacique of a tribe is not alone in political, judicial, and administrative administration. In order to have a more correct administration, he, as sole and supreme authority, selects counselors and assistants, whom he seeks from among the most competent persons of the tribe. The primary advisors are whatever sorcerers there may be; these men are thus feared and hence respected by the people, who make use of them in sickness and calamity, both public and private.

621
624
554

Next in rank as counselors come other men to whom they give the name Igũira iya, owner of the stick or baton, according to the signification of the word and which corresponds in Spanish to hombre de mando ó autoridad /man in command or authority/. Thus they are the alcaldes, to whom the cacique hands over part of his authority with absolute subordination, so that through complaints, ineptitude, or other causes, the alcaldes are summarily dismissed and then others appointed. In each tribe there is a single alcalde who does everything, because the cacique, in his town, is better than an emperor, not having to lift a straw and spending his time in prolonged idleness.

/162/ The alcaldes in the tribes take charge of the rest of the settlers; in a search for peons they hear the sarcasms and recriminations of their fellows, and many times they definitely disobey them, even going so far as to insult them with: Mburubicha pa nde? Perhaps you are a cacique?" (1)

1. In the missions with many tribes there are as many caciques and alcaldes as there are tribes composing them. In this regard the custom of the Indians has been respected for a better and more honest administration.

/221 cont./

Private Life

593 888 The father and mother take great pains for the material or corporal well-being of their children, both male and female, and they in turn have affection for their parents. Nevertheless there is no lack of creatures with very bad inclinations, who forget their parents' goodness, forget the labors undertaken by the latter in caring for them in their tender years, and abandon them in their old age in the midst of their suffering and privations.

593 861 867 •273 The father and mother almost never address harsh words to their children; much less do they correct them with corporal punishment. The children attend the public drinking sessions in the company of their parents, and how strange it can seem to see father and son sometimes drunk together in the streets or in the plaza of the town! They see their fathers in other people's fields, taking advantage of the first fruits, and then the son does what he has seen. He hears his mother telling stories not at all clean, he sees acts not at all moral, he witnesses altercations in the house, hears his mother's jealousy, sees his father's bad deeds, and he thus will naturally follow the same path when he arrives at an age of competence and even before.

855 603 [581] If the woman is very young when she is married, as often happens, it is the grandparents who take care of the grandchildren so that the young daughter may have more time to enjoy herself, since in the beginning /222/ marriage is nothing but fun for the young people (1).

855 593 606 1. Young girls help their mothers in the care of their own children and in the preparation of chicha, knowing that the drunken husband will first hit her, or even his parents-in-law if they try to protect her.

/223/

881 raised to the ceiling. They leave her there for a period of
[785] four days in strict fasting and, of course, without her opening her mouth to speak to anybody, not even to ask for necessary things, because if she should talk or ask for anything, misfortune would appear at once.

At the end of this first test, which the maiden has scarcely felt, they lower her on the fifth day, wash her head with potash of Ñetira, and shave off the adolescent girl's hair. Meanwhile in a corner of the house far from the door, they have prepared a wall like a corner piece, made out of slender sticks a meter and 50 centimeters high more or less.
[785] Wrapped in her tipoi or clean clothing, the unfortunate girl goes there, into her pen, and begins her strict fast, which they call Yicuacu, or hiding (1).

1. This rigorous way of life does not seem at all strange to the maidens, because before it comes their mothers have prepared them for it, and they believe in everything with blind faith.

The girl remains in her enclosure for a week without doing anything, with face to the wall in order not to see or talk to
[262] anybody. Her usual fare is boiled maize, Atiruru. Sometimes she also eats meat if there is any, but in very small quantities. She neither tastes nor desires other foods. Were she to eat parched maize, she would not be good at feeding her children when she has them, because her breasts would be
[271] dry all her life. Her usual beverage should be natural clear water. Were she to drink chicha, she would be barren, be-
[273] cause it contains alcohol and acridness, which would stop the
[842] effects of conception during her marriage.

881 When the week is over, the fasting continues, but less
868 harshly; her parents have obtained cotton or wool, have
867 prepared the spindle and wheel, with the little potsherd in
283 which they put a few ashes or sand so that the spindle will turn more easily. The mother hands over all this to her daughter, who begins to work and learns that she has been born for work.

/240 cont./

241 [476] [534] go to the plot, waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by means of the Huacananti, cow's horn.

The method of planting is very simple. When the land is soft, the planter makes a small hole with his spade, using two or three blows, then pushes the spade forward, throws in two or three grains of seed and covers them. Then, without moving he makes another hole to the right, horizontal to the first, and a third to the left, performing the same operation as in the first, after which he takes a step and continues as before until he finishes. With many working, the planting of a plot is soon finished.

241 461 512 The Indian does not work beyond midday, and he tries to finish the job before leaving it in order not to return; therefore that the work sometimes lasts until two in the afternoon. Then the owner and his companions stop, return to the town, where they are awaited with plenty of food and chicha, which the former has ordered prepared, if the previous harvests were abundant (2).

[273] [262] 2. In any case, if there were a lack of chicha, because of previous scarcity, and mead made from algarrobas, the housewife should still wait for the planters with food mixed with some meat and plenty of chili peppers.

241 476 They formerly continued in this fashion until the planting of a tribe was completed: one day on one's own plot and another on that of a companion, and even the cacique did the same; today this is difficult to manage, because now they are not so close. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity, if someone prepares chicha for those who may wish to help him in planting or weeding, they leave or refuse money for a few matés or /241/ glasses of thin/much desired liquor. Even the whites get peons more easily this way.

/241 cont./

There are 11 varieties of maize planted by the Indians and their neighbors of the white race, the mestizos of Tarija and Santa Cruz. The maize used most for Chiriguano food is called Abati hendi vaé, or abati iyu vaé, shining or yellow maize: the kernel of this variety is actually a glowing yellow in color and /242/ from it they make parched meal and meal for the manufacture of chicha. The second variety which is used quite a lot is the Abatindi, or white maize; this is used for parched maize and also for parched meal; likewise used for this is the Abati canana, whose kernels are similar in color and form to the teeth or seeds of the pomegranate. Next the Abati hesanca vaé, or light maize, is quite highly esteemed (1).

> 1. The Abati hesanca vaé is known by the Tarija farmers under the name of pisangalla maize: others call it pearly or sugar maize, because it is the color of pearls and is sweeter than that of the other types.

[243] The Indians even plant the Abatiñi, or black maize, but it is not greatly esteemed, and when they make chicha from this maize its color is that of chocolate in milk. If the previous harvest was scarce or almost nil, the Indians at the first rains and others in damp places, which through antonomasia they call Maruiati, plant the Abatiuas, small maize. The plant does not rise more than one meter above the ground, its ear is one jemu /measure from thumb tip to forefinger tip when extended more or less, and its fruit ripens very quickly. They plant little of this in order not to lose the seed. Almost the same as this is the one they call Muruchu, shiny small one. It is the same color as the first variety, but it is not abundant: its ear has eight short rows.

/247 cont./

252 262 Infrequently the Indian drinks a broth of ground maize. Hapi: when he does not have meat, he uses beans and gourds for his broth. If he does not have these either, he prefers Cagüi rai, which he prepares by soaking and grinding the maize, removing the bran, and cooking it. They also chew it sometimes, let it ferment, and eat it when it is ready: anyone who sees this last food could not help but be disgusted, but for them it is a very excellent dish.

The twelfth and last way of eating maize is Muyape, [263] bread. The preparation is the same as that of the Hebrews when they eat unleavened bread, but the Chiriguano put salt and chili pepper in it: after it is kneaded, they cover it with ashes and fire and let it cook well; when it is done, they take it out, wash it with water until the ashes which have stuck to it are gone, and, well washed, it has the color of bread, which invites both big and small to savor it; it is what the Indian likes best, and the women make it frequently in times of plenty. Its odor and taste are very pleasant, especially when just made.

• 273 Cangüi — Chicha

All the ability of a wife consists of knowing how to make chicha well, the delicious cangüi of the Chiriguano, who is capable of walking a hundred kilometers or more to drink it, when invited with all the rules of native diplomacy. Cangüi is his coffee, his soup, his wine, his food, his drink, his everything. In a certain way it is his God, and I am sure that many would renounce heaven for chicha, because they know almost nothing of what heaven is, and, on the other hand, they know that chicha is a sweet thing which gladdens the heart and leads to conversation and singing: therefore, every Chiriguano woman must take special care from even before puberty to learn well the method of preparing it. Here it is (2).

[177] 2. The method of making the chicha which the whites call arrope is somewhat different, but the Chiriguano Indians do not use it and learned of it only recently.

/249/

•273 She prepares and grinds an amount of maize corresponding to the number of vessels she wishes to fill and then sifts it in a special sieve which has large holes, Unupesa: from this first job there is always left a kind of sifting, or arrocillo, that they call Abaticure, which, after being soaked and sifted, is again ground, after which they roast it a little on potsherds, chew it, and keep it in a vessel for a period of four to six hours. This is called Timiñii, chewed thing.

Meanwhile water has been collected, and the pot has been put on the fire and is near the boiling point: before it boils, the lighted firewood is taken away to stop its action: she throws into the pot the dry meal which she ground first and mixes it with the hot water, keeping it from becoming lumpy. Then she removes a small quantity of this mixture and puts it in a small vessel, into which she puts all the Timiñii, which mixture they call Umopirai. Having done all this, she stirs continually with a maté, bringing the liquid up to a certain height and letting it fall back into the vessel so that it will acquire the necessary sweetness. When the mixture has become quite sweet, she pours it all into the ollas which are on the fire, brings them to a boil, stirring it all continually for a period of 24 hours (1).

1. If the liquid were not made to fall from a certain height into the vessel, it would not be sweet at all. The spatula with which she stirs the liquid day and night is called Mbarpivaraca.

[412]

At the end of 24 hours, it is fully cooked: she removes the fire and takes out the thick liquid, putting it in other pots with a wide mouth. The women, both big and small, then sit down and begin to chew until the end (this operation may last some two hours). Then different ones pour water into it, strain all the ingredient in a very fine sieve, Cangli mbogua, and, once finished, bottle the clarified liquid in other pots with narrow mouths. The lid for these vessels is a small jar or a gourd, and, to seal it hermetically, they plaster it with a

293 /344 cont./
mortar of clay, and thus the fermentation works without interference and in a few days. When the fermentation is over, they carefully remove the clay and the lid, and the Cangili appears, covered with a good dose of oil, a sure sign that the chicha has been made perfectly (1).

1. When the weather is hot, the fermentation of the chicha works in three days, but in cold weather six or seven are needed.

Before beginning to drink it, the housewife collects and removes the oil /illustration appears here/ /349/ and fills the cups for the drinkers: she pours a few drops of this oil into each one. If this precaution were not taken, all of the oil would pour into a single cup, and the woman who had made the chicha would be deprived of the praises of all the hangers-on. When the Chiriguano woman wants the chicha to be better, when she wants Capirire, or or recooked chicha, after she has strained it, as has been said, she brings it to a boil again and, when it is cold, bottles it.

[302] Note that Chiriguano women who are getting ready to prepare chicha first anoint their faces and calves with palma Christi oil and over this put achiote paint and then begin the job. They say that with this cosmetic, they feel the heat of the fire less, but, be that as it may, it is certain that to see these women so painted in a house with a big fire and lots of smoke is the same as seeing the furies of hell; the resemblance is not remote.

In another chapter it will be seen that a lot of chicha is made for the fiestas celebrated after the harvest, but it should be noted here that food is prepared for this general drinking and the grand bowl is open to all in the plaza, where townmen and outsiders, men and women, gather into separate groups, because the European civilization of the mixed schools, mixed dances, mixed parties, mixed baths, etc., etc., which are true sewers of prostitution, has not arrived here (1).

[321] [576]

1. In fact, at the public gatherings the men drink at a decent distance away from the women: their conversations are crude, but do not exceed the limits, because the woman is at the compass of her husband.

/759 cont./

527 574 running, and at the end the mature women and the old women move calmly (1).

2. The first men and women enter the town where they have been invited, making an uproar like a thousand demons, in which they are joined by the startled dogs.

527 574 273 All the men and women gather in front of the house of the cacique, Paramonaco vaé, who bids them all welcome, thanks them for the honor that they are doing him, and there then takes place a quite ridiculous scene, which is greatly celebrated by the Indians. The host cacique has placed in front of his house a large vessel full of chicha, which sticks out of the ground at least a meter high. Well then, before the libation begins, they all jump from one side of the vessel to the other. This jump is called Uraughfampo in some places, and in others, Uyapiroa. As I have said, all of them jump, men and women, and especially the unmarried young men and women: some do it without any trouble, and others, particularly some of the girls, stumble because of their laughter and their tight clothing, fall to the ground, and this contretempts/760/ causes much hilarity. While this is going on, the older women and men arrive, and the fiesta begins.

527 273 There is nothing special in the beginning: it is only noteworthy that as the beverage has been prepared in honor of a particular person, he is served first and continually: he must accept some from all the men and women, for otherwise he would be impolite, and thus in a short time the guest's belly is like a swollen bomb and soon his face begins to look repulsive, just as all those of the retinue are not long in having the same appearance (1).

1. During the extraordinary drinking sessions, rare is the family that prepares Cagiraro, or recooked chicha, because it is very intoxicating and disturbs the animation of the guests and townspeople.

/369 cont./

529 293 554 562

The drinking continues for several hours, half in silence with a moderate and placid gathering, with the important men seated on benches or seats and some of their inferiors standing and others sitting on the ground, all of them separated from the women, and these latter, as I have already observed elsewhere, look like so many mortars. When the gathering is well attended, the sight is very pleasant, because anyone who has never seen it will be astonished by the variety of costumes and by the ornaments and cosmetics with which they adorn their faces and feet, and I have in fact seen some travelers stay for quite some time to contemplate this simple custom of those who are called the savages of Bolivia (2).

2. What a pity that there is no phonograph of such gatherings! The one taken in Santa Rosa is scarcely a simulacre, since at that time there was not even any chicha for those who formed the wheel or gathering for the dance to drink.

529 533 126

The Dance and Songs

By the time they are quite full, they begin the dancing and singing of the Ayarise. I do not give the Spanish words here, for the real meaning is not known: I could explain them with conjectures and by analogy with other, similar ones, as was done by Father Giannecchini, whose words the Italian del Campano transcribes in his book, but they themselves do not know the meaning. The notes of the Ayarise are written and printed here so that any band that so desires may have a pleasant piece for some capital plaza: risum teneatis amici. The band music was set down by a maestro of the Potosí missions in the year 1903 and touched up this year by the missionary Franciscan Father Domingo F. Regini.

/263 cont./

527 273 The fiesta of the Ayarise is an annual one, and it is always understood that the Indians have drink; thus in the general fiestas it does not end in one day; /264/ it lasts a long time until the chicha bottled in the vessels outside comes to an end; when this is finished, they repair to the large pitchers indoors, which are in reserve, like the reserve corps in a war. After eight or ten days the fiesta can be considered at an end, and then the ucau vaé with all his soldiers takes leave of the purumuncau vaé with thousands of thanks, congratulating him for the order which has been maintained, the joy which has reigned, and the abundance of food and drink prepared. On finishing the praises, the guest in turn invites his friend and all the people for a similar affair in his tribe, with the month and day immediately being set.

527 574

527 273 Thus does the Chiriguano fiesta end, leaving everyone content and satisfied. But it is repugnant to see them drink without resting; the surroundings of these places look as though they were flooded by rain, their bodies give off an unpleasant odor, their faces seem swollen, their eyes out of their sockets, their lips with the tembeta sag like a baby lamb's, and just to approach one of them or the place where they are drinking is the same as approaching a sewer, such is the fetidness! But the Chiriguano is very content and glories in the piglike state in which he finds himself, saying, Asagũipo, I am drunk, and when he is getting over his drunkenness, he confirms what a good state he was in. Poor beast! (1)

[178]

1. Formerly, the intoxication of the Chiriguano was almost never complete; today, with the use of liquor, he frequently loses consciousness. Would that this harmful drink could be eliminated! The mission Indians no longer glory in their drunkenness; they say that they have been drunk, but not as an honorable act.

[997] [172]

/284 cont./

600 The philosopher Focion said that he who has the fewest desires to satisfy is the happiest man on earth. This is a truth based on experience, but it is not true happiness; it is part of it, because complete happiness is not attained here.

The true Chiriguano dressed in the old way and his wife with her tipoy must have been the happiest beings on earth, but as they are children of the first man, they also inherited affliction, pain, and death. These three things are almost always the consequence of illness, and they come from the intemperate life that I have described, just as they also come from the drinking and eating.

515 751 The Chiriguano takes no care of his person, although he loves life, which he would like to be eternal, however much he may walk dragging himself along. His foodstuffs are not at all [262] hygienic; he eats /illustration appears here/ /285/ often and with [252] too much greed rotten meat, vegetables, and maize itself, which [271] he parches but never cooks completely. The water he drinks is not always clear or free of microbes and small worms that are visible; [273] the very chicha that is manufactured with such elaborate effort and care is drunk still sour, and, finally, shelter is unimportant. In periods of great heat he lies on the ground, taking on his back the burning rays of the sun; he protects himself little in the abrupt changes of temperature, and if he gets wet in the rain or has taken a voluntary bath of cold water or water heated by the sun, he lets his clothes dry on his body; from these come the illnesses that I shall presently enumerate, illnesses that he suffers from, which make him unhappy and then carry him to the grave.

753 821 The rainbow that God gave to Noah as a sign that He would not flood humanity again with the waters of a new deluge is a sad sign for the Chiriguano. If this so natural phenomenon appears in a town and begins in front of or over a house, when it disappears it does not end or turn to nothing but hides itself in the belly of one of the residents, who in time will get sick and die of dropsy, from which it follows that this illness, which is rare among them, is caused by the rainbow (1).

1. Another natural phenomenon is the whirlwind.

[TEXT Continues on p. 385]

/301 cont./

797 177 this time has hardly come, because the infidel in the Chiriguano missions does not leave followers, since his children have almost all been baptized. They are getting old and dying without being replaced.

797 763 177 Some of them are baptized in order to make the missionary happy and in order that the family will not suffer any blame, but several times it has happened that as a dying person who had no thought of being made a Christian breathed his last or gave almost no sign of life, the relatives hastily called. Finally, others [764] accept and profess being Christians so that the missionary will permit or tolerate the burial of the body in their own home, and this is the first thing that the sick person asks for after being catechized, for which reason many difficulties are encountered. When it is hinted to the sick person /302/ that he must repent, he either denies completely that he is guilty before God or he does not abhor his past actions. All of these difficulties occur at the beginning of a mission; everything changes with the passage of time, and there is scarcely any which is not in the end easily overcome (1).

797 177

1. When a mission is founded, it is ordered that the missionary be told about sick people so that he can comply with the charity of Christ, to make them know the truth, the reward or punishment which awaits them in eternity. For just this reason he reprimands those who hide the sick. When the latter explicitly refuse to be baptized, and the missionary does not manage to convince them of the error, he leaves them. Such cases have occurred.

• 293 For the Indian infidel, drunkenness is a very honorable act, an action which indicates greatness, friendship, and benevolence, and he glories in it, saying clearly and with great satisfaction, Asagüipo ma, I have got drunk. They say it to anybody and appear before anybody in this state. Nevertheless, [799] when corrected and admonished by the missionary, if they do not hide it when he is inspecting the town, at least they avoid appearing at the mission house.

/303 cont./

362 B56 797 What the Chiriguano thinks least about is his house; it is very hard to find one who makes a comfortable one. If he does begin to build one, he is a long time finishing it, if indeed he ever does, and if it falls into ruins, he bothers little about repairs; when it rains, the house fills up with water and becomes a mud-hole, but he and the family are there sleeping and snoring like dormice. To make them renovate their villages, it is almost always necessary to threaten them and promise punishment and at times apply it, so that what happened in the fable of the toads will not occur.

461 293 The Indian is always ready to drink; if for this it is necessary to pile up firewood and carry it from great distances, no one shirks; everyone shakes off his natural laziness with great enthusiasm. Both men and women then become quite active for ten days or two weeks, in order then to drink for six days or more, during which their faces become repugnant, both because of the cosmetics with which they think they beautify themselves and because of their state of half or total drunkenness. Then they talk of many things, and then finally some of them remember about collecting from others, and quarrels arise from this, and to stop these and also to put an end to the idleness the missionary must firmly intervene. If the Indians had a good crop of maize and the drinking bout were prohibited entirely or in part they would organize them in the fields where they plant, and then worse things would happen.

797 293 Chicha by itself does not cause much damage in their stomachs, and they easily bear up for several days without more than a half-inebriation; the bad thing now is a scandalously widespread abuse of alcohol, which very soon intoxicates them until they are senseless and do not even know that they are alive. The missionary is vigilant in his enforcement of the rules, but it seems that they are members of a secret sect, and they tell him only when it is all over, or when they wish to avenge some grievance.

/304 cont./

797 and our Holy Mother Church (?).
871
197

2. The children know how to pray much better in the missions than in other centers, because in every mission there are two teaching establishments, one for boys and one for girls.

The youth grow up under the punctilious care of the missionary, who, by example and word, imbues their hearts with every goodness and love of holy and moral things, and moreover he makes them avoid, insofar as possible, all contact with the old people, managing it so that they see nothing, especially at night, not allowing them to sleep in their houses, except in case of illness and mourning, but it is not easy to avoid it altogether, because three times a day the children go down to the town to eat in their homes, and at fiesta time they are given a holiday, /305/ which they use in hunting birds or in bringing in firewood and foodstuffs (1).

1. The girls receive a more polished education under the uninterrupted vigilance and care of preceptoresses, who teach them, in addition to theoretical-practical religion, all the chores of their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; the vestments and chasubles for use in the solemnities are the work of those girls.

797 What is most ruinous to young neophytes are certain whites
197 of the neighboring cantons, whose profession it is to sell liquor
293 and coca, which they secretly bring into the missions at times of celebration, during which even those of the race enter into the same trade, because they have seen that it is a very lucrative business.

167 In addition many of them emigrate temporarily to the
593 establishments of the Argentine Republic, where, with the excuse
578 that they are going to earn a great deal with a little work, they lead too free a life, drink liquor like water, and become accustomed to drunkenness; then the first thing that they buy is an outside

5tNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee 252 445 *171 [412]

that they fanned the flour. They had no proper sieves. As we have seen from the table, the Chaco tribes have no basket-sieves, but use bag-nets instead.

Mandioca-graters do not occur among the Chiriguano and the Chané.

Ee 252 445 273

Of course the Chiriguano and the Chané cook their food in earthern ware. Maize-beer »Chicha», their chief food, is boiled in large vessels. It is only with great difficulty that these can be moved from one place to another[1]). Some of the Chiriguano occasionally allow the maize-beer to ferment in hollow stumps of the bottle-tree.

Ee 252 445

The steam cooking-pot shown here (fig. 16) is of very great interest. It is used by the Chané and Chiriguano in cooking a certain dish of maize, the »huintimimmo».[2])

I have seen this contrivance being used as shown by the illustration, but I have, unfortunately, not tasted the maize-dish that was cooked in it.

Ee 252 445 *171

In literature dealing with other parts of S. America I have only found this steam cooking pot mentioned by ULLRICH[3]) from the Rio Grande do Sul (Munizip Pelotas).

He there found pieces of »Siebtöpfen» and says that they were used on the top of a cooking-pot. ULLRICH[3]) tells us that these steam-cooking-pots were used by the

Ee [172] [437]

[1]) When fragments of very large and heavy earthenware vessels are found in archæological excavations one may, as a rule, presume that they originate from a permanently settled tribe. It may be assumed with perfect certainty that these very large vessels were made at the spot where they are found. Small earthen pots may, however, have been bartered from some other tribe. This is naturally of a certain interest if we wish to distinguish between native and imported pottery found in archæological excavations. — Some of the Chiriguano at the Rio Parapiti make only the big common clay vessels themselves and get the small, painted pots by barter from other Chiriguano Indians.

[2]) CORRADO when speaking of different dishes of maize says that »el *huintimimmo*, especie de torta muy tierna hecha con harina de maiz humedecida y blandamente dispuesta en una tortera agujerada y cocida con baho del agua caliente.» P. 42.

[3]) P. 500.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

small Indian tribes in the woods north of the Rio Camaquam at the end of the decade 1870—80. The perforated top bowl contained maize, the pot under it boiling water. C Ee 252 415

I cannot at present tell whence the Chiriguano and the Chané got this cultural element. Besides among these Indians, I have also seen steam-cooking-pots of the same kind among the Mataco-Vejos, who live close to the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro. 171*

The Chiriguano and the Chané have special bowls for roasting maize (fig. 16). I have only seen bowls of the same shape among the Mataco-Vejos. The roasting of maize is commonly practised among the majority of Indians who grow this plant, which is of such great importance to many tribes.

The Chiriguano and the Chané do not know of the babracot. They only use the wooden spit. It is often cleft, as is also the case among the Choroti and the Ashluslay. As the kinsmen of the Chané in Northern Bolivia and the kinsmen of the Chiriguano on the coast of Brazil use the babracot, the question arises: »Why is it not used here?» I suppose this is because the hunting is of no great importance, the fishing not very good, and the fish caught small or, at least, rarely of any size. Ee 252 171* C Ee [22]

Pit-ovens are unknown here. When chicha is being made, great pot-spades are used. They are either wooden (fig. 17 A) or made of the hafted shoulderblade of some large mammal. I suppose all Indians who cook their food use something to stir it with. Usually, however, only a plain stick is used. Pot spades of the kind shown here are in use among the Mataco-Vejos, who live near the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro and the Guató[1]) on the upper Rio Paraguay. It is not unlikely at all that the latter have had them from the Chané, for we know from accounts of very early discoverers, that some of the Chané settled on the upper Ee 412 252 [273] Ee [171]* Ce [175] [361]

[1]) Max Schmidt (3). P. 205.

/154 cont./

One might be surprised that a person would want to live in this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter their valuables for maize. 13 243 273 556 437 731

For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians. 126

The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy season it probably rains there too. 133 132

From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a /155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. 114 [342]

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Batirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio 133

/157 cont./ One old woman who was supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by ethnographers either, the promise of the old woman was not very friendly. Ca 124 197 123 Ca

The Chané use their old language for many expressions that are abusive, for example, karitimisóyti, which they translate as son of a w---e. An invitation to coitus is called pocóne. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for example, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, which they did not know how to translate. 195 197 Ca [533] C

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief Taruiri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Taruiri I also visited another chief, Yumbey, an old worthy who was always embracing me and saying: "I am Yumbay." /Fig. 77 appears here./ "Yes, the great, mighty Yumbay," I chimed in, which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered. 114 126 C [123]

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the mission at Ivu. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region, Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spreading into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in Ivu died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged frightfully among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix. Around this the other swine could get drunk and /159/ continue to drink obligo (1) until they were finally lying on the table. C 197 164 114 133 312 C [641] C [373]

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the latter must drink up. C [576]

/160 cont./

The region settled by the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is really very extensive. It is varied in nature, from luxuriant virgin forests to extremely arid valleys and plains poor in vegetation. It is in part very mountainous, but the Chiriguano and Chané are not mountain people. They stay down in the valleys and do not climb up to the peaks and plateaus, like the Quichua Indians.

Animal life in these regions is poor, in fact, very poor. A hunting people could never live there. Now and then a roebuck, a wild pig, a few ostriches, that is all one sees in the way of big game. Bird life, too, is very poor. /161/ The number of lakes is very small, and they are no larger than what we would call pools in Europe. On the Rio Parapiti one sees quite a large number of white egrets (1), famous for

1. Ardea.

their valuable feathers. With regard to wood fowl, only the chicken called "pavas" (2) contributes to the diet. Occasionally

2. Penelope.

one sees a large-billed "toucan" (3). Sleek pigeons, fattened

3. Rhamphastus.

on maize, often live in manes in the fields of the Indians. In the Rio Pilcomayo there is a great abundance of fish, in the little rivers the fish are small and poor. The Indians who live in these regions have to be farmers, and they are maize farmers to the highest degree. For them maize is food, drink, pleasure, everything!

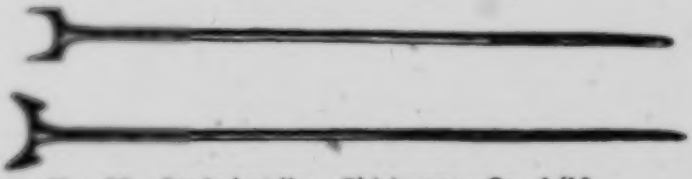
I have no adventures to report from among these Indians. Everyone may travel unharmed among them. The greatest sorrow of the ethnographer is that he is unable to collect all the interesting and old things that he sees there. One cannot take everything home.

/178 cont./ C
ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and Ce
chrysocolla, and many other things. 415 556

It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all C Ce
night, as in a Choroti or Ashluslay village. The young men and 512
the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. 836
The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their
mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen C Ce
callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Choroti and 512
Ashluslay. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they 264 273

C 276

Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2.



C 412

Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

Ee 512 264 273 533 765

are not busy brewing maize for a festival.

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, Ee
the men somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first 515
thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a 512
truly refreshing bath. Ee

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Rio Itiyuro 512
the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Rio 482
Parapiti in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also

/214 cont./

581 This Jesuit priest describes the marriages of the Chiriguano, however, as very loose.

581 With marriage, life begins in earnest for these Indians. It consists of work and drinking maize beer. I have already 273 described their work somewhat; I shall discuss their drinking bouts below.

165 The life of the Indian men and women passes more quickly

142 291 516

Fig. 112. Old woman. Rio Itiyuro.
Her grandsons were about 18 years old and younger.

165 than that of whites. The age of the Indian is very difficult to determine when one has no definite figures to go by. Maringay told me that he was the oldest of his tribe, that none of his contemporaries was living any more. The whites said that Maringay was over 100 years old. This is exaggerated, however. As a newly married /215/ youth 16-20 years old, Maringay visited

/234/

Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

Ee 178 527 273 [538] [805]

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Ee 273 415 527 531

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

Ee 531 [527] [323] [462]

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

Ee [811]

Ee 531 177

/236 cont./

The younger generation, I fear, will prefer German porcelain and enamelware, and with that the Chiriguano and Chaná art will become part of the many fine and beautiful things that will disappear before the brutal civilization of the white man. In many villages one is already obliged to rummage around in the corners of the huts if one wishes to find vessels painted with a sure hand and natural taste. The worst thing, however, is that the whites are beginning to take pleasure in the clay vessels of the Indians. This brings about mass production. For the whites everything is good enough, it need be neither beautiful nor well done. They do not want the tasteful and simple, but the garish and strange, "curiosidades," as the Creole says. Our museums must beware of these curiosities, for they give a mistaken idea of what is truly Indian.

Ee 273

The women brew beer for the festival. This is supposed to be made with maize (preferably yellow or white), and only the poor Chaná on the Río Parapití must often content themselves with beer made out of sweet potatoes. If algarrobo is available, beer is also brewed from this fruit. "It is good and intoxicates so nicely," say the Indians.

Ee 527 261 433

/237/ If the maize harvest is abundant, there is joy in the villages; then there is food and drink in every hut. If the maize crop has failed, there is no joy, stomachs are empty, and it is quiet on the festival plaza. If the granaries are full of maize, the Indian is proud and does not care about whites, suppression, and trouble. If the barn is empty, he is subservient and morose.

Ee 273

After the women have fetched the maize from the granaries and the men have brought wood and the women water, /Fig. 117 appears here/ the brewing commences. First the maize is pounded in large mortars. Day and night one hears the busy women pounding. The pounded maize is sifted and then mixed with water in huge clay vessels and boiled. Then a portion is taken out, chewed, and mixed well with saliva. This is then poured into the rest and, after it has been strained, must ferment in large open vessels with a little heat. The pots are stirred with large wooden spatulas

C
Ce
273
[812]
[237]

The pots are skimmed with large
/237 cont./ wooden spatulas
(Fig. 118a) or with shoulderblades provided with handles (Fig. 118b). It is the pride of every woman to brew good beer, "cangui," and much beer. Indeed, they are /238/ indefatigably busy. One sees them working all day, and even at night they are busy cooking and grinding. No family may refrain from making cangui.

The use of saliva may perhaps seem unnecessary. At first I thought this too, but soon I was so hardened that the cangui prepared with saliva-yeast in Indian fashion tasted better to me

Ce
273
815

Fig. 117. Cooking maize beer. Chaco.
Río Bilyara.

than that brewed by the whites in a civilized way.

Ce
273

Connisseurs, not only Indians, are said to be of the same opinion as I. It is important, however, that the cangui be drunk cold; it is unpalatable lukewarm. When it has stood for a long time, it is somewhat intoxicating, but not as much so as algarroba beer.

C
Ce
273
879
896

There is a great deal of ceremony connected with cangui drinking. In front, on benches and stools (Fig. 83), sit the men, and behind them, on the ground, the women. The older ladies are given the best places. The hostess brings in the cangui in her

/238 cont./
fluent clay vessels, "yambey," and places these in front of her guests (Fig. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chieh as well. Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred. It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me: "You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize beer with us." When Mashong returned home from the hunt laden with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the happy hunters and welcomed him with a calabash of maize beer. /238/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen in these villages.

At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were handing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.

Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).

Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy said the idea for them had originally come from the whites. Barrapo, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Rio Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which

Ca /239 cont./

535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
179 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[539] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

Ea The Chiriguano and Chané
532 always destroy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "añañya."

E It is strange what a great
Ca role the carnival now plays as a
541 festival among the Indians. This
177 undoubtedly comes from the fact
[464] that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians who work for them are given a few days off at that time.

Ea Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already disappeared. Nevertheless one still sees women in home-woven clothing
E with necklaces of chrysocolla and
Ca turquoise. I never saw used, however,
[178] the silver diadem and the silver
E pins which belong tothe festive attire.
912 One often sees the men's blue
237 costumes (Fig. 81) with silver chest ornaments preserved in the huts by the old people, but they are not used for the festivals.

A B

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ca Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
555 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
527 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
273
533

6: Nordenskiöld--91 E-5 (1908-1909),1912 SP10 Chiriguano SP 10
Chane SP8

Ce
527
533
535
273

/240 cont./
and beating time with their feet. The women walked slowly up and down in time with the song, outside the circle of men.

Ea
291
177

Among the Chané and Chiriguano the entire of the white man is replacing everything old and beautiful, and of my many old friends among the chiefs of these Indians only Maringey scorns the rags of the whites.

Ce
273
177
527

Liquor is being introduced more and more among these Indians, and the ceremonial, pleasant maize-beer festivals are turning into crude drinking bouts.

e
532
535

Fig. 119. Dance mask.
Chiriguano. Tacuibe. 1/6.

Ce
578
273
177

I shall never forget a night in Vocapoy's village. The /241/ men had gone to the Christians to drink liquor. When they came back, harsh words fell and knives were displayed. The liquor would have claimed bloody sacrifices if the courageous women, with firebrands from the maize-beer boiling, had not thrown themselves between the quarreling men and, after separating them, taken them home with soothing words of flattery.

6: Nordenskiöld--92 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 5910 Chiriguano SF 10
Chapter Sixt

/242/

650

Chapter Sixteen

On the Life of the Chaná and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Art and Industry

C
Ca
295
323
177

The Chiriguano and Chaná are tribes whose art-industry is on a very high level. If one visits one of the huts of the white settlers in these regions, one will not see many products of native industry, not much of their own culture. I know of absolutely nothing that these people are capable of doing which can compare with the pottery and the weaving technique of the Indians. One thing is certain, the more "civilized" the Indians become, the less they accomplish in the way of art and industry. They do not learn much more from the whites than how to make and drink liquor. Indian art-industry is gradually disappearing here, the more the Indians come in contact with the whites, but it is not transformed. It remains largely purely Indian until its final destruction. One industry, however, is now in the hands of the whites, namely, the metal industry. The silver ornaments which, for example, the Chiriguano and Chaná use are made by the smiths in the villages of the mountain regions. The half-white or Quichua /Quechua/ Indian population which we come across in the mountain west of the land of the Chiriguano and Chaná Indians is quite skilled artistically. The weaving technique in particular is very highly developed there. The Chiriguano and Chaná undoubtedly learned a great deal from the west.

C
Ca
[271]
C
Ca
525
171
439
650
Ca
C
534
171
291
413

Thus we find the serfre pipe (Fig. 130) characteristic of the Chiriguano in collections from the coast of Peru (1). /Plate

1. Serfre also occur among the Lengua, Ashluslay, Chiriguano, Chaná, Chulupa, and Toaschre.

It appears here/ /243/ the pin for fastening women's clothing

[A Flute-like musical instrument--Analyst]
[Text continues on p. 94]

Ec. 648 [466]

/301 cont./

Thus, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this

C 415 531

Fig. 133. Clay vessel. - 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

Ec. 648

way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

Ec. 648 466 965 167 925

/302/ The uncertainty and the oppressive wage conditions under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but forever.

Ec. 648 273 277

If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference between drinking maize beer and liquor.

Ee 648 273 177

/302 cont./

An Indian who has become intoxicated on native beverages is never as eager for quarrels and brawls as one who has tasted the infernal soup of the whites. Besides the fact that liquor damages the moral life and health of the Indians, it ruins them completely. I have seen with my own eyes how an Indian can give away his best cow for a keg of spirits.

Distilling for private consumption is still permitted in Bolivia. It should be forbidden, and likewise that anyone may sell alcohol any place he wishes.

Ee 648 177

The Bolivian military law that forces the Indian to perform military duty is quite unreasonable. It is very seldom enforced, to be sure, but when it is, and when the authorities come to get a young man for military service, he himself and all the other Indians of the region along with him are beside themselves with fright. One cannot demand that the Indians take part in the defense of the fatherland before they have the same rights as other citizens and know what their fatherland is.

It is unjust to demand that they should help to defend Bolivia, to defend the whites, who, according to their ideas, have stolen their land from them. The Chiriguano and Chané likewise love their country, but their fatherland is only the valleys and forests in which their fathers made clearings and their mothers painted clay vessels for the festivals.

Ee [484]

During the period of development which Bolivia is now experiencing, /303/ it is important to make use of Indian labor even here in the land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians.

In spite of their unique culture, I have no great hopes for the future of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians. They will, however, become incorporated as an important element of the mestizo race, which in the future will be the sole rulers of the xerophytic forests of the Parapiti valley and the last spurs of the Andes toward El Gran Chaco.

Gradually they will probably forget their legends about Tanutunpa and Aguaratunpa and the other gods.

342
142
291
302
352
273

Fig. 190. Woman in front of her hut. In the foreground a bedstead on which lies chewed maize; this maize is used in the preparation of «chicha», an intoxicating beverage. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

342
361
417

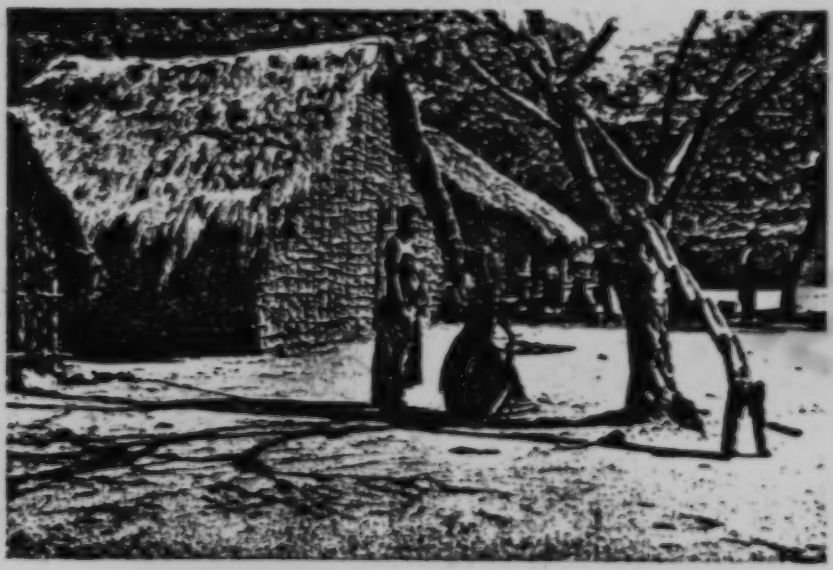


Fig. 191. Huts in the periphery of the circular market-place in the Chiriguano village of Ibitibi. In right foreground, a ladder used on going to the pile-barns for maize. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[P. 194 is blank]

[p. 205]

CHAPTER VIII.

The Chiriguanos (2).

Industries. Cultivated plants. Hunting. Fishing. Vessels for food and drink. Intoxicants and stimulants. Music and dancing. Social order. Customs governing marriages, childbearing, illnesses, death and burial. Character and temperament. Belief in metempsychosis.

The Chiriguano are mainly an agricultural people, but they also do a certain amount of hunting and fishing. Maize is the most important of their cultivated plants, and it is very extensively grown by them. Many other Indian domestic plants are also cultivated, viz. pumpkins, sweet potatoes, beans, mani, cactus with edible fruit (Opuntia), tobacco, cotton, uruku (Bixa orellana), and a reed plant (Arundo donax) for making arrow-shafts. Of imported cultivated plants grown by the Chiriguano, I have seen melons, water melons, sugar cane and oranges. According to Nordenskiöld, they also grow figs and millet,[1] these latter of course also having been introduced by the whites. Nowadays, European spades and hoes are used for loosening the soil. Among wild-growing food plants the algarrobo tree (Prosopis alba) is, to the Chiriguanos, the most important one. The Indians also prepare from the fruit of this tree an intoxicating drink to which they are much addicted.

The Chiriguano larder does not to any great extent depend on hunting the game, but formerly hunting must certainly have been an important source of subsistence. Snaring is, nowadays, the 'only' method of hunting employed by the Chiriguano. The long-bow, the pellet-bow, slings, bird-nets and clubs are still occasionally used in hunting.

In olden times the Indians were good shots with the bow and arrow, and, according to Lizarraga, they then used bows the height of a man.

[1] Nordenskiöld (19), pp. 23 and 24.

[P. 216 is blank]

323 counterparts of which are found on many ancient Peruvian clay vessels, have been more fully described by me in »En förgången värld».[1] The cord by which this vessel was suspended passed round the edge, and then upwards, between the points of the rim warts. At each wart a hole has been pierced through the rim of the vessel, but these perforations are so very small that they cannot very well have been used for fixing any string by which to hang up the vessel.

Besides the clay pots here reproduced — often graceful of shape and beautifully painted — there are also plain, unpainted clay vessels for cooking and other kitchen purposes. Chiriguano ceramics are of an exceedingly great variety as to form, and many of the shapes are identical with those of clay vessels found in ancient Indian graves and in the ground of ancient dwelling-sites in those regions of the Andes that border on the present Chiriguano country.

824 415 Next to clay vessels, bottles and bowls made of calabash may be said to predominate among the household furniture of the Chiriguano. The bowls are often provided with pokerwork ornament (fig. 226).

273 On festivals — and also usually, though not always — the Chiriguano drink an intoxicating liquor (»chicha», in Chiriguano: »cangui»), which they prepare from maize. In [415] huge wooden mortars the maize is [531] pounded to flour, which is poured into large clay vessels filled with → water. This mixture is made to boil, and when it has cooled down, lumps of chewed maize dough are put into it to produce fermentation. These masticated mouthfuls of maize are usually allowed to dry in the sun, before use, and are then frequently spread on a [114] bedstead (fig. 190). This method of preparing maize beer naturally

Fig. 218. A jug for holding maize beer. Earthenware. Bottom part and inside unpainted. The rest painted brownish yellow, with ornaments in dark brown (marked in black) and red (marked in thin lines). Chiriguano. Agueyrenda, Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 837.

[1] von Rosen (I), p. 344 et seq.

273
[114] strikes one as particularly disgusting, and therefore, after I had got to know how the brew was made, I could never again bring myself to drink this beverage, which in itself is rather palatable. As I have already mentioned, an intoxicating liquor is also made from the fruit of the algarrobo tree. The beer made by the Chiriguano is very highly prized by them. But, on the other hand, it does not appear that tobacco is used

276

415
531

Fig. 219. A jug for maize beer. 1/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 803.

Fig. 220. A maize beer decanter. 1/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 835.

Fig. 221. A maize beer bowl. 1/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 830.

Fig. 222. A maize beer bowl with four holes through the rim, in which strings can be fixed. 1/4. Riksm. (No catalogue number.)

Painted earthenware vessels. The ground-colour of the vessels in figs. 219 and 220 is yellowish-white; of those in figs. 221 and 222, a brownish-yellow. The ornamentation is in dark brown (here marked quite black) and red (marked with fine lines). The inner sides and bottoms of the vessels are unpainted. Chiriguano. Aguayrenda, Bolivia.

231 /18 cont./ with
262 respect to the eating of meat, the Chiriguano depend on their livestock, which, however, according to Nordenskiöld, since they omit the raising of pigs and chickens, is not so numerous as the livestock of the Chorote and the Churupí. They do not
262 241 eat the flesh of asses, horses, /19/ and dogs (78). Although

78. Nord. 1. p. 190.

we do not have exact data on the amount of meat that their livestock yields, we can suppose that it is not very great, and thus these Indians depend principally on vegetable foods, that is, on the products of their agriculture. We should say that, in comparison with maize, all other foodstuffs have almost no importance, except among the Indians of the Parapití, among whom the sweet potato is the most important food (79).

79. Nord. 1. p. 181.

261 In times of shortage they eat various wild plants, principally
● 273 the sweet pods of the algarroba (November-December), which, coarsely chopped up with water, they allow to ferment in order to produce a kind of chicha which has inebriating qualities (80).

80. Nord. 1. p. 236. Métraux I. pp. 361 and 362.

262 Since meals consist principally of maize, they are very
252 monotonous, although the maize is eaten by them in many different forms, either boiled or parched, or as a flour cooked in steam, as a fried maize-cake, in embem /rescoldo/, or as a soft maize-pudding (81). Meat is eaten roasted or boiled,

81. Nord. 1. pp. 188 and 189. Métraux I. pp. 356-358.

263 together with maize. Cooking salt is used at meals. While
317 previously salt (dyúki) was obtained from mines or extracted
459 from earth from salt licks /barreros/, today it is obtained

C /19 cont./
263 from the whites (82).
317
439

82. Nord. 1, p. 189. Métraux I, pp. 359 and 360.

C Among beverages, besides water, which is scarce in cer-
273 tain regions, chicha (ka'ui) made of maize, potatoes, or
[312] algarrobo deserves mention (83). Chicha made from yellow

83. Nord. 1, pp. 234 and 236. Métraux I, pp. 364 and 365.

Ce
[273] or white maize is preferred. The chicha from potatoes by the Chané of the Parapití River is considered inferior.

C The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not eat from a
Ce common pot, but separately and from dishes. Because of this
264 their houses contain many dishes, which are normally made
415 of baked clay (nyá'e), but may also be of wood (sua) (84).

84. Cf. Nord. 1, p. 190.

C
Ce I collected various baked clay dishes among the Chiriguano
415 and Chané (cf. Figs. 78-80 /see p. 142/), as well as two wooden
[126] dishes, two examples of which the Museum already had, donated by Doña María F. de Casati. I shall deal with the baked clay dishes, along with the other baked clay vessels, in the chapter on pottery, and therefore enumerate here only the wooden plates in the collection.

C Wooden Dishes (sua) of the Chiriguano
415

I. A. 351. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Diam. 21 cm. Ht. 6 cm.
I. A. 352. (") " 15.5 cm. " 3.5 cm.
I. A. 496. (Max Schmidt trip.) Diam. 23 cm. Ht. 6 cm. (Fig. 18).
I. A. 497. (" " ") " 30 cm. " 6.5 cm. (Fig. 18a).

Chane SF8
Izozo

/50 cont./

C
415
126

6. Vessels Intended for Serving Chicha, from the Collection

I. A. 347 (226)	Chir.	Ht. 18.3 cm.	Max. dia. 15.3 cm.	Apert. 10 cm. (Fig. 65)
I. A. 348 (226)	Chir.	Ht. 14.5 cm.	Max. dia. 14.7 cm.	Apert. 8 cm.
I. A. 349 (226)	"	Ht. 18.5 cm.	Max. dia. 18.2 cm.	" 5.2 cm.
I. A. 371	"	" 20	" " " 21.3	" " 8.5 cm.
I. A. 379	"	" 18.5	" " " 16	" " 6 cm.
I. A. 380	"	" 20	" " " 18.3	" " 8.5 cm. (Fig. 82a)
I. A. 382	"	" 18	" " " 14	" " 7 cm. (Fig. 82b)
I. A. 385	"	" 20.5	" " " 21.7	" " 9 cm.
I. A. 402	"	" 22	" " " 15.5	" " 12 cm.
I. A. 403	"	" 17.5	" " " 14.5	" " 14 cm. (Fig. 84)
I. A. 404	"	" 20	" " " 21.5	" " 9 cm. (Fig. 74a)
I. A. 405	"	" 19	" " " 19	" " 7 cm.
I. A. 587	Izozó	" 18	" " " 16.2	" " 12 cm.
I. A. 588	"	" 14	" " " 14.3	" " 12 cm.
I. A. 590	"	" 13	" " " 12.8	" " 12.5 cm.
I. A. 609	"	" 14	" " " 12.5	" " 12 cm.
I. A. 623	"	" 20.5	" " " 18	" " 12.5 cm. (Fig. 6C)

Ce
415
126

/Fn. 226, which appears on p. 122, reads:
Donated by D. María F. de Casati./

C
Ce
415
527
273

The Chiriguano and Chané use vessels like those mentioned above in the chicha festivities, taking the chicha from the large pots by means of them and filling the cuyas /gourd vessels/ or baked clay cups that they pass among those present at the fiesta.

/77 cont./

C 412 126

Spatulas for Stirring Foods, Which Are in the Collection

I.A. 501. (Chiriguano) Length 49.5 cm.
I.A. 509. " " 74.5 cm. (Fig. 21)
I.A. 576. " " 114 cm. (Fig. 20b.)
I.A. 577. " " 93 cm.
I.A. 578. " " 62 cm. (Fig. 20a.)
I.A. 579. " " 66.5 cm.

C CS 412 [531] {171}

These wooden spatulas for stirring are used by the Chiriguano and Chané for stirring the bubbling crock of maize when it is being fermented. Some of these spatulas have decorations on their handles similar to those of the corresponding spatulas of the Guató Indians. Nordenskiöld shows in a sketch such a Chiriguano spatula with a zigzag decoration (283), and beside

C 412 531 237

283. Nord. 2. Fig. 17 A.

it (284) another form of these utensils, from the Chiriguano.

284. Nord. 2. Fig. 17 B.

which consists of the shoulder blade of a large mammal, attached to a wooden handle (285).

285. Nord. 2. p. 55. See Métraux I. Figs. 32 and 34.

The Making of Fermented Drink

C ●273

Concerning the making of maize chicha, that is, the national drink of the Chiriguano, Nordenskiöld says the following (286):

286. Nord. 1. p. 237.

C {412} First the maize is /78/ ground up in large mortars, then sifted and boiled in large pots with water. A part of this mash,

/78 cont./

C 293 removed from the pot, chewed up and well mixed with saliva, is then mixed back in with the rest. Then it is strained and ferments in large open pots, at moderate heat. By means of C [412] large wooden spatulas or mammals' shoulder blades fitted with [239] wooden handles, the mash is mixed in the pot. We find a more detailed description of this process in the publication by Métraux (787).

787. Métraux I, pp. 365-369.

C Ce 251

The Preservation of Foodstuffs

Concerning the method of preserving foodstuffs, we know that the Chiriguano and Chané dry fish for future use, when fish are abundant (788). According to Niño (789), formerly meat

788. Nord. 1, p. 189.

C [113]

789. Niño, F. Bernardino de: Etnografía Chiriguana. La Paz, 1912, pp. 749 and 750. According to Métraux.

from hunting was preserved for the great fiestas by drying it in the sun, without using salt. Even today, when a bovine animal is slaughtered, part of the meat is preserved by drying it in the sun (790).

790. Métraux I, p. 356.

C Ce 501

Transport

The Chiriguano and Chané, in contrast to the Ratines-Guarayús, do not have boats (791). Concerning means of

291. Nord. 1, p. 186.

/159 cont./
In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Sparse and beer were consumed in quantities. 114 [65] [275]

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either. 797 756

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the 114

415
531

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. /6.

Iglombe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 114
It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant. [133] [137]

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things. 123 157 172 643 000

/339 cont./

241 Sorghum (triko) (Sorghum saccharíferum) (1):

[262] 1. Sorghum is cultivated only on a very small scale. It is a delicacy that the Chiriguano reserve for children, who suck its stalk.

/339/ Sugar cane:
Melons:
Watermelons (sandías):
Prickly pear (saini) (Opuntia spec.):
Fig trees:
Orange trees (in the missions).

[199] The Chiriguano cultivate only on a very small scale the plants which, like sorghum, sugar cane, fig trees, and orange trees, have been introduced by the Europeans. Of these only melons enjoy general favor.

248 They always devote some parts of their fields to the cultivation of plants of value only for their arts and manufactures. These are cotton plants (mandiyũ), cucurbitaceous plants (iã) which grow on the ground next to their squash and furnish the containers they need, roucou (urubũ), which scarcely exists except in the northern part of their habitat, and finally a species of reed (Arundo donax) with which they make the shafts of their arrows.

249 They also plant tobacco (pẽti), but I have never seen any in their fields. According to Nordenskiöld (10, p. 25), its [276] [123] cultivation is insignificant and rare. The Chiriguano are not great smokers, and the numerous packs of cigarettes I took along for them found only a few devotees. Among the Toba, Matako /Mataco/, or Chorotí /Choroti/ my stocks would have been exhausted in the wink of an eye, for these Indians love tobacco more than anything in the world.

276 The use of tobacco among the ancient Chiriguano, as among 756 their ancestors in Paraguay or Brazil, was reserved for the 824 medicine men for their magical operations. Their use made [198] of it a plant endowed with "mystical" virtues, and its

/329 cont./
consumption was limited (1).

1. Father Giannechini (Dizionario Chiriguano-Spagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.

We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the Indians of the Cururú region in Caipipendí valley. From the end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /360/ end of the harvest. The house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6).[1]

This temporary migration of the whole population of a village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

[1] [Fig 6 appears on p. 69 -- Analyst]

Fig. 55. Mold for making tin labrets (tembeta, ajua). Pueblo Tumbín. (1/7 nat. size.)

Mold for Tembetas

The tembeta, or labrets, of the Chiriguano are of tin. They make them themselves with the rod of the mold pictured here (Fig. 55). It is a calabash into which the line of the labret have been hollowed out, while the thicker central part of the ornament corresponds to the end of a stick going through the calabash. The cavity produced in the central part of the labret is then filled with wax into which glass or turquoise beads are incrusted. These come from ancient burial-places and are sold to the Chiriguano by the half-breeds of Tarija.

Balances

The Chiriguano of the upper Pilcomayo and the Iglembé valley prize coca quite as much as the Quichua of the altiplano. Besides, it is from them that they get this vice. The fact is known and does not need to be demonstrated. This custom

/380 cont./
spread among the Chiriguano recently for it has not yet spread throughout the territory they inhabit. The Chiriguano who live far removed from the half-breed or Indian populations of the Cordillera are not "coqueros," and only rarely does one meet among them some old man who accepts a quid of coca.

Iva is the last point toward the east and north where I could distribute my supply of coca to advantage. Nordenskiöld (15, pp. 89-91) sought to demonstrate that the custom of blackening the teeth went along cheek by jowl with that of chewing coca and derived from it. As a matter of fact, this habit has a very marked western distribution and follows the zone of coca cultivation.

The Chiriguano mix each quid of coca with the ashes reaped from a tree (ziala) whose scientific name I do not know. These ashes (tanimbo), which corresponds to the Ilicta of the Quichua, are contained in a small leather bag.

Coca is a luxury commodity which the Quichua Indians or half-breeds come to sell to the Chiriguano. To avoid all argument and all fraud on the part of unscrupulous sellers, the Chiriguano have recourse to balances of their own making. They fabricate them with /381/ two calabashes cut in half to serve as scales (Figs. 54 and 55). The balance with scales was in use in pre-Hispanic times /Fig. 54 appears here/ in the ancient Inca Empire (see Nordenskiöld, 16) and so I believed at first that among the Chiriguano it represented a survival of /Fig. 55 appears here/ the Andean influence, whose importance we shall see further on. Among the Chiriguano, however, this object is designated by the Spanish name /382/ mbalanza, which seems to indicate that they borrowed it from the half-breeds. The latter and the Quichua use them in their commercial transactions, but especially for weighing the precious coca. Perhaps it was the same in prehistoric times. There is nothing to prove that only metals were weighed, as has been supposed with respect to these ancient scales.

For weights the Chiriguano use old Bolivian silver coins and express measures according to the old Spanish system. By a tacit convention a coin worth two modern sous is the equivalent of one ounce.

/456/

285 Plate LXXX, Figures 1 and 2. Height, 8 centimeters; width, 12 centimeters. Provenance: Caruruti.

The fine strips of palm leaves which make up this basket are wider and more brittle than the ones constituting the preceding one of identical shape but different technique. The fibers, instead of radiating from a single center, simply cross, following the rhythm which Figure 2 of the same plate permits examining.

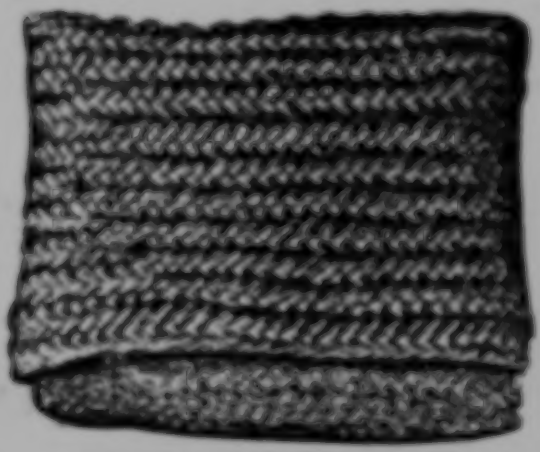


Fig. 114. Chiriguano cigarette case in twilled work. Prov.: Caruruti. (2/3 nat. size.)

[296]

Fig. 113. Hat of the type of Figure 112 in the process of being made. (About 1/6 nat. size.)

[291]
[294]

Figure 112. Height, 10 centimeters; diameter, 36 centimeters. Provenance: Caruruti.

This hat is made exactly according to the technique of the baskets of Plate LXXVIII and Figs. 110 and 111.

/456 cont./

285 A half-finished hat (Fig. 113) which I was able to acquire
294 at Caruruti shows well the process of fabrication. The basket-maker begins by making the crown of the hat, interlacing 36 tigellas and shortly afterward adding other supplementary stalks whose ends are seen protruding. When the hat is finished, all those projecting beyond the fabric are cut off. The rhythm of the crossing elements is twofold.

285 Figure 114. Length, 10 centimeters; width, 6 centi-
296 meters. Provenance: Caruruti.

This cigarette case faithfully imitates the ones the Chiriguano have seen in the hands of half-breeds or creoles. Nevertheless, its technique is interesting, for it is purely indigenous. The /Plate LXXXI appears here/ /457/ tigellas of karandai leaves cross in a twofold rhythm.

The Chiriguano are not great smokers and it is rare to find cigarettes among them, so that these cases seem to me to be made for amusement rather than for their practical utility.

Sieves

415 There is no Chiriguano housewife who does not have at
252 her disposal at least two sieves. The importance of this kitchen utensil corresponds to the considerable role of corn
[262] flour in their food. Of the 12 different dishes that the Chiriguano prepare from this grain, there are six or seven in which it appears in the form of flour. KÊwi itself is made with corn pounded in a mortar and then passed through a sieve. Sieves serve also for cleaning beans and ridding them of the stones and dust accompanying them. Finally, sieves are used for straining kÊwi after cooking and for separating the liquid, which is to ferment, from the marc or temiñu. They can also be used as simple baskets, and I have seen some holding cotton seeds.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

000 c 726 c [727]

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

c 727 66 c 567 727

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

c 534 177 c c 534

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

c 535

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

c 273 628 527

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

c 276

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

c 273 462

/26 cont./

137 824 SOTO. -- This gigantic tree is found everywhere from the province of Tomina, but there are places where it is more abundant. In the spring, when the budding begins, its leaves are red, and later they turn green. In the autumn its fruit, which the parrots like, are red and are in bunches like cherries. Seen from a distance by a European, he thinks they are cherries. The wood of the soto is strong and does not rot; in dampness or in water it is better than iron, since it does not deteriorate. [342] It is very widely used in the construction of houses, especially when they are of frame construction. A great deal of tannin, which the Europeans use in tanneries, is extracted from the soto. It is called palo cuchi by the whites here and "Urundei" by the Chiriguano.

249 TOBACCO. -- An annual plant which flourishes everywhere, but only the whites cultivate it on a large scale, especially in Sapirangui and Chiquiacá, whose products have some fame. Even an occasional Indian cultivates it for his own use and to give to his friends. There is another similar plant, and, when he lacks real tobacco, the Indian deceives himself with its leaves. The true tobacco is called "peenti" in Chiriguano, and the other "huacapeenti," which, literally explained, means "cow tobacco." In Bolivia there is considerable consumption ● 276 of tobacco wrapped in paper or maize husks; rarely does one see cigars of pure tobacco, like the Havanas and others; the Chiriguano smokes a lot and acquires the habit at a tender age. [857] Children of four years of age have already begun to smoke; [562] women also smoke.

137 824 TACUARA. -- In the past when there were no cattle, the tacuara, or hollow cane, was very abundant; vestiges still remain of some immense canebrakes, but the plant has been re- [435] duced almost to the cultivated one, with the result that what was previously found in the forest at the disposal of the first occupant is found today in the possession of private parties, and anyone who is planning to build a dwelling must pay for hollow cane at the rate of 80 centavos per hundred, and the worst of it is that it is not found everywhere. This lack is made up for by small rods from trees, but these are neither as light nor always

/30 cont./

137 824 276 YERBA DEL DIABLO. -- This is the datura which is so abundant in the countryside and fields and which is a real plague. It rises to one meter in height, has branches, broad leaves, white flowers, and fruit armed with spines which, when dry, are enough to draw blood. The leaves and seeds make one lose one's memory. In this respect I remember one incident when an Indian woman absent-mindedly or out of ignorance covered an olla of hot food with datura leaves; half an hour later she ate it and it gave her a bad headache and a short spell of vertigo. Her little granddaughter, a schoolgirl about six years old, ate some also, and she suffered a complete loss of memory and all her actions were those of a demented person, a state which lasted some 24 hours. It seems that the Chiriguano [757] do not know that this plant and its seeds and leaves are poisonous; the latter, dried, are medicinal, alleviate the effects of asthma, and are prescribed for asthmatic Indians. Christians know it by the name of chamico, and the Indians by that of "caazi," that is, painful herb.

137 824 SAPALLO /squash/. -- There are eleven species of this creeping plant, which I shall discuss in another chapter, only adding that watermelon and melon also grow here, as well as the cucumber and the beet. The "curugua" and the "curuguami" [262] of the Chiriguano are plants which are similar to the sapallo, but they climb trees and produce there an oblong, sweet, and fragrant fruit; when one enters a house, it is immediately evident if there are curugua fruits there; they are edible both green and ripe, but they are preferable in the ripe state.

I shall forgo describing many trees and plants whose [342] medicinal virtues are known; I shall take up others when dealing with medicines; however, before I forget it, I shall note here at the end of the flora that a region where /31/ there are damp places abounds in secular cedars, whose wood is used in carpentry for doors, windows, tables, etc. So that it may not be subject to rot, it is necessary to get mature plants whose color is light red; the whitish one is attacked by the wood borer; the odor of the wood is narcotic, and this property keeps away insects; its odor is similar to that of the cedar of Lebanon, and for this reason the conquistadors gave the name of cedar to this tree which the Chiriguano call "Igüirane," or stinking stick.

/113 cont./

165 [145] advanced age, and I have seen Indians with the head completely white, and others with a white the color of smoke or something smoked. In the performance of my ministry I have met and baptized many centenarians at the time of their death, and in the towns through which I have passed I have met several who fought in the Caraparí war and who witnessed the War of Independence.

273 276 [178] But today the Chiriguano has degenerated greatly; in somewhat distant times they did not know about either liquor or coca, and today both are general, and because of liquor and coca, the use of which they much abuse, they ruin their health and shorten their existence. Much youth disappears with the abuse of these substances, and as a general rule in the missions the best disappear, those who know some art or have some fortune; all that they earn, after buying their clothing (although not always), they invest in liquor and coca, and [165 648] thus shorten their lives. I have seen towns where out of 40 or 50 young men of the same age there are scarcely two or three alive who will reach 50; it can thus be seen that the drunkenness produced by chicha is not so pernicious as that of liquor or alcohol, for which any tax imposed on them by the Supreme Government is never too much, and would that such a tax were higher, more general, and that it was not felt to be enough simply to write it out. In spite of this dissipated life, it is [142 147] very rare that one encounters a bald Indian, which indicates great robustness (1).

1. I have known many large and small Chiriguano towns; I have only found three semibald persons.

Morality

181 At present the Chiriguano Indian differs slightly or not at all morally from the common mass of men. I mean that not all are good nor are all perverse; there are good ones and bad ones

/177 cont./

Fire

354
372 In conical houses as well as in those of rectangular form, ancient as well as modern, a fire burned, and still burns, night and day; it is never extinguished, but should this happen, the way to relight it is to borrow it from the neighbors. If all the 372 177 178 inhabitants of a tribe have temporarily emigrated to a place which is not far away, as happens at the time of general planting, at the end of the harvest, and upon returning to town, they come back bringing their fire with them, as I have seen on repeated occasions. But as today civilization has penetrated [435] and the match has become common, even the Chiriguano will save up one medio, or ten centavos, to buy such a useful [276] combustible, which they use very sparingly, because in their hands this is now a luxury and lends them an air when in a gathering of companions they can bring out and show their box of matches while lighting a maize-husk cigar.

372 When a fire happens to go out in a place where it is difficult to get it from distant houses, the Chiriguano is not too worried. The man is almost never without a flint, tinder, and a piece of steel; these implements are used to obtain new fire. The tinder is prepared by them from a boll of wild cotton or the flower of the samuu, which they reduce into a skein of thread and put into a cow's horn, which they clear at the wider end, fitting to it a wooden stopper that they keep down with a small wire or agave string; inside the tinder box it extends to the other end, where they make a small hole in order to be able to pull the wire or string and keep the top on tight.

The Indian who does not have all this apparatus does not worry much either. If his fire happens to go out, he makes a small conical hole in a piece of well-dried wood, in which he violently spins a small cylindrical stick, also dry, which does not take long to get hot and then to give off sparks of fire, to which he then applies the tinder, which consists of the dry pith either of the agave or of the /178/ maguey, which when it has taken fire will light any other combustible material (1).

[173] 1. When the toad handed over fire to the two

5:Nordenskiöld E-5/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c 276

Fig. 18. Tobacco-pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/3. R. M. E. 312.

X.

Narcotics.

c ce 276

The Chiriguano and Chané are not great smokers like the Choroti and Ashluslay. They are most addicted to the cigarette, and seldom smoke a pipe. Only a few of the former who live on the territory adjoining the Quichua chew coca, which, so far as I know, they do not cultivate themselves. It is a well known fact that the habit of chewing coca is a western culture-element.

I have given an account in Part I of the geographical distribution of the tobacco-pipe (map 14).

c ce * [171]

The type of pipe depicted here, on which the bowl is fixed near the middle of the stem and which, by the by, is very convenient to handle, seems to me to have a south-westerly distribution in S. America.[1]) During my archaeological excavations at Caipipendi I found similar pipes of burnt clay. The front stem of these latter pipes has no hole for the finger. This hole is a little refinement which I have seen nowhere ex[illegible] among the Chiriguano. Quite simple pipes are also found among the Chiriguano, consisting of a bowl with a straight stem behind and no front stem. From the Chané I have one single pipe. This is evidently quite modern. In drawing Map 14 in Part I. I have not taken this pipe into account, as its origin is somewhat uncertain.

---

[1]) Nordenskiöld (3 b) P. 295. See also Uhle (10) P. 48. (a pipe from Taltal).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5/1 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
South American Indians 53

C 302 171* 102 S 102 302

á dientes y labios para conservarlos así más lustrosos. Causa grima el ver cómo refriegan los labios con lo más áspero de la hoja del maiz para quitar el tinte antiguo hasta desollarlos, y echar sangre para que de esta manera asiente mejor el nuevo, y brille más por fresco y reciente.»

IX. Colorado, RIVET (3) P. 188.

(70.) Manobamba (Yanaximes), BALBOA Chap. 8; SARMIENTO P. 96. «Conquisto TOPA INGA y sus capitanes desta vez cuatro grandes naciones. La primera fué la de los indios llamados Opataries y la otra llamado Manosuyo y la tercera se dice de los Manaries o Yanaximes que quiere decir los de las bocas negras.» Yana = black, simi = mouth. Near Cuzco, not marked on the map. Possibly identical with Piro (70).

C 302 276 171*

BOLINDER, who has observed that the Ijca's teeth are stained black by their chewing coca and lime,[1]) has advanced the opinion that the staining of teeth among the Cumanogoto may not have been purposely done, but caused by the lime that was chewed with coca. I believe that BOLINDER may be right in this supposition. As early a writer as RUIZ BLANCO[2]), who lived in many years in Cumaná, considered that the lime chewed with coca was the cause of blackened teeth.

In N. Peru[3]), where lime is chewed with coca, the Indians have black teeth. In the rest of Peru, where coca is chewed with the ashes of quinua-haulm and other plants, the Indians' teeth do not get black from coca chewing. This corroborates the assumption of BOLINDER that the teeth of the Cumanogoto were blackened by the lime they chew-

[1]) (4) P. 122.

[2]) P. 52.

[3]) «Without doubt the lime destroys the teeth and consequently the Peruvian «coqueros» have disgustingly black and carious rows of teeth.» POEPPIG Vol. 2, P. 253.

SvNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

302 ed with coca. The teeth of the Paez were also blackened
276 by coca-chewing. Most likely this holds good of the Goa-
*171 jiro too. We ought, therefore, to distinguish between two regions, viz., one where the Indians get black teeth by chewing coca-leaves with lime, and another where they purposely stain their teeth blue or black. The latter must be renewed after a time. the former, which is the result of coca-chewing with lime, lasts for life.

302 It is difficult to explain the geographical distribution
174 of the custom of staining the teeth. Perhaps the unintentional staining of the teeth is the original one, and has given
*171 rise to the intentional staining. One might suppose that the Indians who saw the »nice», black teeth of the coca-chewers wanted to appropriate the fashion, though they were not coca-chewers themselves, and consequently they stained their teeth dark.

That coca-chewers in Cumaná considered it elegant to have black teeth is obvious from what MARTYR says: »They contemptuously call the Spaniards »women and children» because the latter like to have white teeth.» »Women» is not exactly a title of honour among Indians.

One might imagine that staining the teeth was once fashionable within the civilized area of the Andes and that the custom has lived on in the border land after it dropped out of fashion in the place from which it originated. Staining the teeth is not a Guarani custom, so it must have
[171] been only when the Chiriguano Indians reached their present place of abode that they learnt the custom.

It may also be assumed that the coca used to be chewed with lime all over the old civilized western area. If this is so, we ought to be able to prove it archaeologically, but, as far as I know, none of the skulls found in Peru or Bolivia have had teeth blackened and destroyed by using lime with the coca.

It is, however, a striking fact that intentional blackening of the teeth does not occur far from the Andine region

6: Nordenskiöld--22 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF 8

Ee
276
531

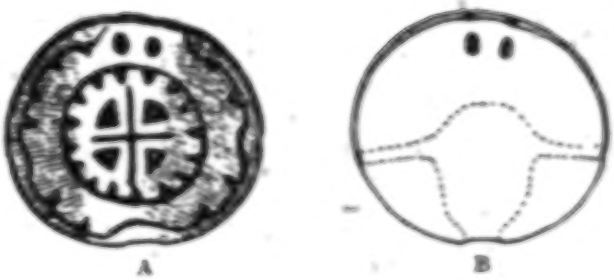


Fig. 80a. Pipe. "Huiramimbi." Tihulpa. b. Shows a lg cross-section. 2/3.

ce
292

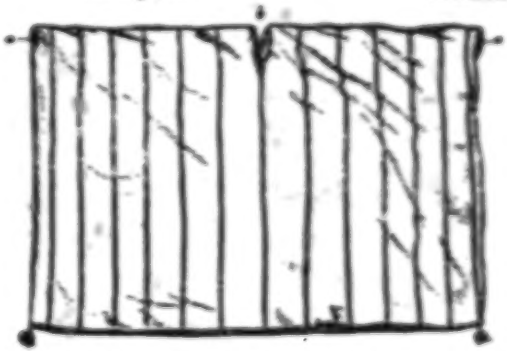


Fig. 81. Festive attire for men. "Tirucumbai." Chané. Río Parapiti. 1/22.

b = opening for the head. a = armholes.

/170 cont./

The legendary figures and their experiences stimulate the imagination, are preserved and retold. The historical personalities and events are forgotten. Ce 173

If one looks in Chané and Chiriguano houses, one finds many things preserved which are now no longer in use, /171/ but which they value as mementos of earlier times and often do not want to give up. For example, one sees handsome round pipes, "huiramimbi" (Ill. 80), which have undoubtedly been handed down from generation to generation. They were formerly used in connection with expeditions of war. Old Maringay had kept all kinds of things from olden times. It gave me great pleasure to rummage about in the old man's storage places. I wanted to buy something from him, but felt embarrassed to offer him money for his mementos. Ee 523 Ee [276] [721] c 523 123 126

I once found a bundle of fine, old, completely smoke-blackened arrow-points stuck into the walls. "Would you not like to sell them to me?" I asked my old friend hesitatingly. "You shall have three as presents," said Maringay. After this refusal I let him keep his cherished things.

Once I rode away from Vocopay's village in order to look up an old Chané who had an attractive old costume. After some hesitation he showed it to me. He had carefully wrapped it in other material. Like an enthusiastic museum official taking out an old gem, he unwrapped it carefully. One unmistakably saw how dear it was to him. Although I offered him a very high price, he did not want to sell it. Ce 523 123 126 c

The fact that these Indians love their old keepsakes shows that they have a certain degree of culture. This is true only of the old people, however. The young ones are no longer like that; they sell everything without hesitation. What do they care about a worn-out old festival costume if they can get a red, fluttering scarf and trousers with jacket in exchange! The triumphal march of trousers across the world has also reached these valleys and plains. Ce 523 178 Ee [177]

The Chiriguano and Chané no longer carry on regular war with other Indian tribes. Occasionally, however, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians. Ce 721 c [721]

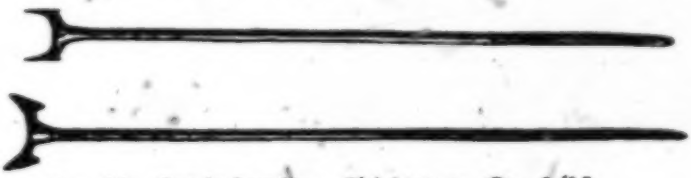
/179 cont./ C Ce 415 556
ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla, and many other things.

It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all night, as in a Choroti or Ashluslay village. The young men and the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they

C Ce 512 836 C Ce 512 264 273

C 276

Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2.



C 412

Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

are not busy brewing maize for a festival. C Ce 512 264 273 533 765

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, the men somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a truly refreshing bath. Ce 515 512

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Rio Itiyuro the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Rio Parapiti in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also Ce 512 482

/181 cont./

Branches of Subsistence

Fishing and hunting do not play an important role among the Chané and Chiriguano. As I have mentioned before, they are farmers, primarily maize farmers. These Indians live so exclusively on maize that for them all other food plays a subordinate role. The Indians living on the Rio Parapiti are an exception; they plant more sweet potatoes than maize, and these yield an excellent harvest in their country.

/182/ The following plants are grown by the Chané and Chiriguano:

- Sweet potatoes.
- Maize.
- Squash (Cucurbita pepo Lin.).
- Calabash fruits.
- Beans of different varieties.
- Cotton.
- Urucú.
- Tobacco.
- Tuna (for example, at Yatavéri). Opuntia.
- Millet.
- Mandioca (rare).
- Reed for arrow shafts (on the Rio Parapiti).

In the plantings of these Indians I saw neither ordinary potatoes nor bananas. The sweet potatoes, according to Batirayu's statements, were introduced at a late period by the whites. Tobacco-raising is insignificant. The Chané and Chiriguano are not great smokers. They mostly smoke cigarettes in maize leaves, seldom pipes (Fig. 88). Among them one need not give his pipe to a neighbor for further smoking.

It is strange how the use of tobacco differs among the Indian tribes. The Aymara and Quichua /Quechua/, who chew coca, very seldom smoke. They have no taste for it. The Chacobo and Ansahuaca, two tribes with whom I became acquainted on my travels, smoked just as little. When I offered a Chacobo a

When I offered a

/182 cont./ Chacobo a

cigarette, he took only a few puffs, kept the smoke in his mouth for a few seconds, and then threw the cigarette away. Nevertheless, the Chacobo plant tobacco, but use it exclusively as a remedy. If a Chacobo gets a "boto," a fly larva, "Dermatomya," under his skin, he covers the fly larva's entry spot with tobacco powder and is then able to squeeze out the dead larva in a few hours. The Choroti and Ashluslay are passionate smokers. /183/ For them smoking is one of the greatest enjoyments of life. These contrasts are quite strange.

The Chiriguano and the Chané have extensive plantings which, in contrast to the clearings of the Choroti and Ashluslay in the wilderness, are well tended. In former times they used spades made of hard wood with attractive handles (Fig. 89), but these have now gone out of use and have been entirely supplanted by iron spades. Not infrequently the fields lie far from the villages, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley. This is due to the fact that water is not available throughout the year everywhere in the vicinity of the plantings.

As has been mentioned, the produce obtained is stored in granaries built on piles (Fig. 84), so that it will be at least somewhat protected from rats, moisture, etc. These granaries are seen everywhere, except among the Chané on the Rio Pilcomayo.

The fields are fenced in with fences built brush-shaped, which are often difficult to climb over. There is no fertilization of the fields. On the other hand, a field that has been exhausted is left to lie fallow.

The time of sowing is determined by the position of the Pleiades, "ychu." When this passes across the horizon very early in the morning, it is sowing time. When the rainy season begins, everything must be sowed.

The men clear and sow. Everyone helps with the harvest, men, women, and children. Among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley the men sowed the maize, that is, they took care of the larger plantings, whereas the women were gardeners and planted gourds, beans, etc.

273
[114] strikes one as particularly disgusting, and therefore, after I had got to know how the brew was made, I could never again bring myself to drink this beverage, which in itself is rather palatable. As I have already mentioned, an intoxicating liquor is also made from the fruit of the algarrobo tree. The beer made by the Chiriguano is very highly prized by them. But, on the other hand, it does not appear that tobacco is used

276

415
531

Fig. [illegible]. A jug for maize beer. ⅓. Bikum. eg. 3. 893.

Fig. [illegible]. A maize beer dipper. ⅓. Bikum. eg. 3. 893.

Fig. [illegible]. A maize beer bowl. ⅓. Bikum. eg. 3. 892.

Fig. [illegible]. A maize beer bowl with four holes through the rim, to which strings can be fixed. ⅓. Bikum. (No catalogue number.)

Painted earthenware vessels. The ground-colour of the vessels in figs. [illegible] and [illegible] is yellowish-white, of those in figs. [illegible] and [illegible], a brownish-yellow. The ornamentation is in dark brown (here marked with black) and red (marked with fine lines). The inside colour and bottoms of the vessels are unpainted.
Chiriguano. Agapitanda. Bolivia.

415
531
→
276
←
534
←

by them to any considerable extent; I myself never saw any Chiriguano smoking.

The Chiriguano are very fond of music and dancing. Their musical instruments consist of a kind of primitive trumpets of cow-horn, reed flutes, whistles and drums.

An interesting Chiriguano whistling pipe is here reproduced, in fig. 227. It consists of a flat piece of some hard and heavy wood; is 18.5 cm long, 3.0 cm wide, and has a section as set out in the figure. It has, pierced through its longitudinal axis, a tubular perforation, 7 to 9 mm in diameter, and open at both ends, running from end to end of the instrument. In the centre of its upper edge there are two, somewhat smaller, holes through which is threaded the string which allows of the pipe being worn round the neck as a breast ornament. The carrying cord running through two holes, side by side, probably indicates that the pipe was meant to hang horizontally on the breast. If there had been only one hole for the cord, the pipe would have tilted one way or the other, like the beam of a pair of scales. The pipe is designed for blowing on in the

Fig. 225. Food bowl of earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. The rest of it painted yellowish white, with ornaments painted in dark brown (marked black) and red (represented by thin lines). Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 5/6. Riksm. 03. 3. 846.

Fig. 226. Sleeping bowl, for keeping small articles. Earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. The rest painted yellowish white, with ornaments in dark brown. Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 5/6. Riksm. 03. 3. 843.

[301]
←

Fig. 227. Sleeping bowl, for keeping small articles. Earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. Otherwise painted yellowish white, with ornaments in dark brown (marked black) and red (represented by thin lines). Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 5/6. Riksm. 03. 3. 844.

Plate VIII

415

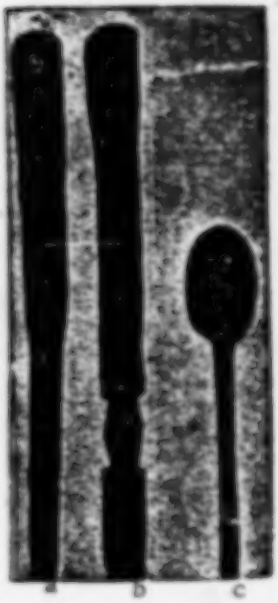
a b

Fig. 18

412 →

415 ←

Fig. 19



a b c

Fig. 20

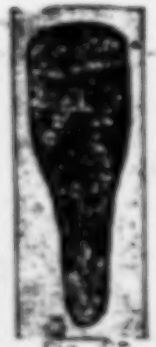


Fig. 21

Fig. 22

296

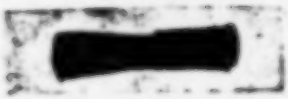


Fig. 23

/The captions are on p. 32./

8: Schmidt--52 E-5 (1934) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates VIII and IX./

Plate VIII

C 415

Fig. 18. a (I. A. 497): wooden dish (Chiriguano), diam. 30 cm.
b (I. A. 496): wooden dish (Chiriguano), diam 23 cm.

Fig. 19. (I. A. 574.) Wooden platter (Chiriguano), length 63 cm.

C 412

Fig. 20. a (I. A. 578), b (I. A. 576): wooden spatulas for stirring foods and drinks (Chiriguano), length 66.5 cm. and 114 cm.
c (I. A. 498): wooden spoon (Chiriguano), length 42.5 cm.

Fig. 21. (I. A. 502.) Spatula for stirring foods and drinks (Chiriguano), length 24.5 cm.

C

Fig. 22. (I. A. 499.) Wooden spoon (Chiriguano), length 16 cm.

• 276

Fig. 23. (I. A. 511.) Wooden pipe (Chiriguano), length 10.5 cm.

Plate IX

C 415

Fig. 24. (I. A. 457.) Decorated cuya (Chiriguano), length 23 cm.

Ce [415]

Fig. 25. a (I. A. 666): cuya with sewing (Izozó), length 19.5 cm.
b (I. A. 460): decorated cuya (Chiriguano), length 20 cm.

Fig. 26. Decorated cuyas (Chiriguano): a (I. A. 452), length 10 cm.; b (I. A. 456), length 11.5 cm.;
c (I. A. 454), length 5.7 cm.; d (I. A. 458), length 15 cm.; e (I. A. 451), length 14 cm.

C
Cc
415

/21 cont./

The largest of these calabashes measures 50 cm. and the smallest 7.5 cm.

Stimulants

C
296

The Iaoaó whom I found in Toledo were not smokers. They attached no importance to the tobacco and pipes that I offered them. I acquired from the Chiriguano a simple wooden pipe, straight in shape, of the kind commonly used among the tribes of the Chaco, but I have seen no other pipes among them: neither have I seen them smoking.

296
[126]

C
[126]

Pipe (cachimbo) in the Collection

I. A. 740. Chiriguano. Length 20.5 cm. (Fig. 22.)

C
Cc
249
296

According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano and the Chané plant tobacco, but its planting is not significant and they are not great smokers. If they smoke, they ordinarily use cigarettes, with a wrapper made out of a maize leaf, and only rarely use pipes (87). This explains the very uncharacteristic form of the

296

87. Nord. I. p. 182. Cf. Métraux I. p. 329.

pipe that I found among the Chiriguano. A pipe of very different shape, with a special handle in front of the tobacco bowl, is represented in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (88). According to

[177]

88. Nord. I. p. 179. Fig. 38.

the same author, the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua have received from the latter the custom of chewing coca.

C 317 263

/43 cont./
the earth of the salt lacks called "yuhto" (214).

214. Nord. 1, p. 185. See Métraux 1, pp. 359 and 360.

Making Fire

Ee 372

Native implements to make fire are little used today by the Chiriguano and Chané. At home fire can generally be obtained from some other piece of burning wood, and for other occasions they commonly provide themselves with modern matches. Moreover, as I have said, the Chiriguano and Chané are not great smokers. One fire-making tool which is still found among them is the strike-a-light. The specimen I acquired from the Chiriguano is different from the strike-a-light of the Chaco tribes in that the tinder consists of a quite thick cotton wick. According to Métraux (215),

Ee (178) (276)

215. Métraux 1, p. 350.

there is also found among them the common form of strike-a-light in which the tinder consists of the fuzz of the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) kept in a container made of a a cow horn or armadillo tail.

Ee 371 126

Fire-making Implements in the Collection

E.A. 516. (Fig. 40.)

a. Bag woven of cotton thread as a container for the implements.

b. Wick of cotton thread.

c. Receptacle for the lighted end of the wick, made of the nest of a species of wasp.

d. Piece of a modern metal file.

e. Pieces of flint.

/117 cont./

829 clothing in payment for the service. Let the reader imagine
797 how the poor father, who had nothing, felt when he heard
177 such a petition (1)!

1. Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Vices and Their Consequences

883 It seems to be and is an unfortunate truth that in this
842 tribe, once so numerous, there is no lack of coquettish girls, who, if they restrained themselves from flirting any more, would not be so bad. The unfortunate thing is that these poor girls, in order to enjoy mundane pleasures and drink to the depths the dregs of corruption, or also in order not to have the nuisance of nursing children and training
[756] them, have recourse to a very simple thing. They consult
[278] the old women who bear the name of sorcerers, and these
[885] show them the remedy, which consists of a drink that they extract from certain plants or herbs which almost all the Chiriguano women and Indian sorcerers know wonderfully well.

883 /118/ These unfortunate girls, usually orphans, once the
786 period of puberty is over, drink this venomous beverage,
[881] suffer a great deal, if indeed they do not die, and are
[842] sterilized, and they then give themselves up to orgies at the time of general drinking, which is the most terrible thing that you can imagine, because at them morality is offended by words and very licentious stories, by raucous laughter and giggling by men and women, by their glances, and finally by their acts, although these take place at a
797 suitable distance from the said gathering.

/144 cont./

Genii

776 171 Where ignorance dominates, superstition is the result, I imagine, since all the tribes adjacent to the Chiriguano must believe in the existence of genii or owners of certain places who, not to offend anybody, are even accepted by some members of the white race, especially when dealing with buried treasures. This is not the least strange, since before the arrival of Christ all humanity, except for the Hebrews, believed in this, and even today in those places where the light of the Gospel has not penetrated a belief in genii prevails, even among enlightened people, because only the Gospel dissipates /illustration appears here/ /145/ the mists from the soul and destroys error, consequences of the fall of the first man.

778 776 In Chiriguano the tutelar genii of a place are called Iya, owner in the literal sense. If the Chiriguano pass by places where there is some genie, they find it difficult to approach, and if one asks them where there might be some limestone or gypsum, they will not tell for fear of the Iya, who would take revenge by killing the Chiriguano who caused the place watched over by the genie to be discovered. If something useful must be taken from such a place, they do it with the permission of the Iya (1).

[298] [317] [231]

1. The presence of the Iya in places where petroleum is found is undeniable for the Chiriguano. They will take what is absolutely necessary of this liquid to cure the sores of their horses, cows, etc.

135 When the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, the missionary made every effort to try to find gypsum and limestone, but no Indian was willing to tell where it was abundant. Nevertheless, by chance, while the foundations of the church were being built, it was discovered that many of the stones being used were of hydraulic lime, an abundant vein of which was found about 300 meters from the church itself on top of a hill. Gypsum up to today has not been found in the areas thereabouts for the same reason, but there are signs of its presence. In

/151 cont./

755 Men sorcerers use in their cures, in addition to the cigar, the
756 tupicho. But what the tupicho consists of is difficult to determine. There are sorcerers who use for it a little round stone with some designs on it; according to what I saw in the San Pascual Mission, others use a long bone likewise bearing designs, and, as I saw in Caipipendi and other places, others make do with words alone. The value of the tupicho is not known, but the Indians have much fear of it. I could tell stories about this.

Sorceress Curers

756 There is no doubt about the existence of female curers and sorcereresses, who, like the men, are feared in the tribe, because it is easier for them to administer some slow or violent poison in drinks. They are designated by the name Cuña ipaye, sorceress (2).

> 2. I know several women who are curers and sorceresses at the same time; at least they are considered as such by the Indians of the tribe.

Generally these women are the daughters of sorcerers, but this does not prevent others from being one also. They cure sick men or women with wild herbs, tree bark, and roots which they dig out of the ground. They are in this case true curers, as are certain women among the whites.

756 There are others, and plenty of them; it can be said that
844 every old mother is one for her young daughters. They serve
759 as midwives; they help their daughters and other women in their deliveries. Some of them are so skilled that they are accepted by the women whom the Indians call ladies. During the time when I was living among the Chiriguano, I saw only three die in childbirth.

756 The only thing which is deplorable among these curers is the
278 use of Mbayachi, a poison that they administer with much dissimula-
682 tion, mixing it with chicha and giving it to persons whom they hate, immediately washing or hiding the gourd, glass, or cup in which they administered it to the patient.

/151 cont./

756 278 682 Mbayachi works quite slowly because in general /152/ the sorceress who administers it is careful to infuse in the drink a small quantity so as to avoid its being discovered by the relatives, but if the hated person has none, or the ones he has are very distant in degree or are of little worth, she gives him a strong dose which dispatches him to eternity in a few hours.

The patient who has had the misfortune to drink the poison begins to feel the effect at once: stomach pains, retching, and other known effects. The poison is consumed little by little, and he remains in this state for two or three years, leading a most painful existence, which is shared by the members of the family in their sadness, as they experience all of the burden of the long illness.

Mbayachi is nothing but a poison, and inasmuch as it can be administered among civilized peoples, there is no reason whatsoever to deny that savages can administer it, since they do not fear human or divine laws, take vengeance as a holy thing, and are only with great difficulty discovered (1).

[627] [628] 1. The Indian is not content until he has taken revenge on his enemy; when he achieves it, he says: ayepi ma hese, I have avenged myself on him.

Way to Obtain the Poison

756 278 The way to provide oneself with poison is as follows, according to what Guarerai says: The sorceress goes out into the country without telling anyone her purpose. She takes with her a receptacle which generally consists of a little clay jar perforated in the upper part. She goes into the dense woods or forest, where nobody can discover her, covers up her ears and nostrils with cotton and her hands with rags, and undresses completely, so that nothing may disturb her in her work.

/152 cont./

756 Then she[1] waits for some viper to come into sight, and, if
278 it is long in coming, she makes it appear by imitating its hiss.
825 When she sees it, she does not run away or become frightened, but instead, with all the calm in the world, she kills it with a stick, or better with a piece of hollow cane, hangs it from a low bush, and then, from the head down, pours over it chicha oil, which mixes with the venom secreted by the viper. She applies the little jar to the tip of the tail and collects the first venom (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. She cuts off the tip of the tail so that the poison is not left inside the body of the snake. The oil serves to agglomerate the poison and to facilitate the draining.

/153/ If it turns out to be very little, she calls another viper, imitating its hiss, and sometimes as many as five of them come, and she does with them what she did with the first one, until she has obtained enough. She works at this for four or five days; she goes very early and returns late, and when the operation is over, she buries the dead snakes, erases her tracks, gets dressed again, hiding the little jar in her breast, and returns to town as fresh as can be, carrying on her shoulders, and hung from her head a sling full of stems or tree roots, or, if they are in season, algarrobas or some other fruit; the latter are preferred.

756 Venom thus prepared is very pernicious, and in order to
278 administer it in a small dose, it suffices to dampen in it the end of a straw and wash it in the gourd of chicha which the enemy is invited to take. Sorceresses prepare the best chicha, which is called Copiriru, recooked chicha, and, since the Chiriguano is a glutton, he easily falls into the trap, under the pretext of a reconciliation. The method used by the sorceresses to obtain the venom has been discovered because on occasion they have broken the ties of friendship with some intimate friend or kinship with some sister, who knew the secret (1).

1. Sorceresses who possess venom are known; one who wishes to take revenge on an enemy

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 210]

[1 [i.e., the sorceress.-Analyst]

/153 cont./

756
278

and does not know how to do it goes to the sorceresses, pays them, and obtains it.

This seems to be a fable which in itself does not merit any importance, as indeed it is not given any by Father Giannecchini, who does not deny it in his writings, as Señor del Campano states. Poison exists among the Chiriguano. They do not extract it from chamico, which is a species of datura, nor do they extract it from other plants or herbs. The sorcerers reveal nothing; the young people do not know about it, and the few old people who are alive only tell what has been said above. Be that as it may, this is a belief of the tribe, and as such I have told it.

Lunar Eclipse

821

One night while waiting for a lunar eclipse, I found myself in conversation with the cacique Anduari of the mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu, and I was reminded of something which I remembered regarding this phenomenon which was about to occur on the moon. Chiriguano towns are true hells during an eclipse, because of the shouts, cries, whistles, and every warlike instrument which they use to make noise. When I came to the missions, /154/ the war of Curuyuqui had just happened, and when I heard so much and such an extraordinary hubbub on the night of an eclipse, I believed that it was a new uprising, as was also believed by the inhabitants of Cuevo, who came out armed to find out the cause of so much noise (1).

[114]
[648]

301
533
114

1. The Italian professor Mantegazza states that the Chiriguano, in order to whistle loudly, take out the tembeta or button which they have in their lower lip. This is incorrect and denied by all; what the renowned anthropologist refers to must be a special case, since they cannot even drink without the button.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5)(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
353
415

I have not seen wooden boxes anywhere else, and scarcely think they are genuinely Indian. I shall return to the subject of baskets.

C
Ce
415
237
* 171

Except among the Chiriguano and the Chané, I have only seen the scales of the armadillo used as boxes among the Mataco, and there only as a curiosity. They are, however, known from the Guyaqui[1]), from the Indians of Roraima[2]) and from Indians in N. W. Brazil[3]). The sewn baskets of armadillo scales which are sold in the curiosity-shops of Buenos Aires probably hail from Paraguay, and it is not impossible that here, too, we have to do with an original Indian idea.

Ce
237
278
415

The fat of various animals which is used for healing is usually kept by the Chiriguano and Chané in shells, especially those of the *Borus oblongus*.

I shall return to the subject of calabashes.

C
352

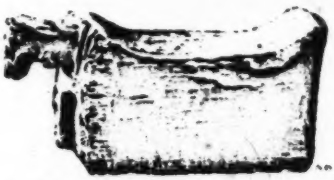


Fig. 3. Seat of wood from the Chiriguano. G. M. 15. 1. 178. 1/6

C
412

Fig. 4. Woolen hook. Chiriguano. R. M. B. 600. 1/6

[1]) Kunike fig. 15.
[2]) G. M.
[3]) Koch-Grünberg (2).

Ee /244 cont./

28 Of the various industries, pottery stands particularly high
[323] among the Chiriguano and Chané (see the illustrations). They
[531] are also skilled weavers and decorators of calabashes. Basketry
[184] occurs, but chiefly in the northern part of their region. Feather
work is no longer done at the present time. Only ropes and fish
Ee nets, and on the Rio Parapiti hammocks and carrying nets, are
[439] made with caraguata bast. The bags of this material, so characteristic of the Chaco tribes, are never made by the Chiriguano and Chané, but are occasionally acquired by trade between the tribes.

Ce 323 Among the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro I followed the making

C 415 531

Fig. 121. Clay vessel. Chiriguano. Caipipendi valley. 1/4.

Ce 323 of pots. The clay is ground and mixed with pounded, fired potsherds, so that the vessel does not fall apart during the firing.
Ce The clay vessels are built up out of rolls in customary Indian
[413] fashion. For smoothing a mussel shell or a maize cob without
[804] kernels, as well as a narrow little bamboo stick, is used. The maize cobs make parallel, fine scratches (1). The bamboo stick

Ce [172]

1. From similar scratches on clay vessels which one finds in archaeological diggings, one can see that the makers of the clay vessels had maize. I have seen this, for

C 252 /352 cont./

The fin begins by being opened and cleaned and only then is it boiled or roasted. In this last case it is inserted between the two branches of a switch split for three quarters of its length (Fig. 22). So that the latter does not open completely, the lower part is fastened securely with bands of bark, and so that the fish does not fall out once it is inserted in the interstice, the upper part. Among their ancestors, the Guarani, such a spit would have been superfluous, because to grill the product of their fishing or hunting they used to construct buccans. Our Chiriguano also eat fish dried in the sun and enjoy it in this form combined with some corn dish.

G [252] C [251] [262]

/353/

Chapter IV

Cooking

Fire

C 372 177

The modern Chiriguano more and more use matches of Bolivian make, but their poor quality has contributed to maintaining the popularity of the tinderbox. That of the Chiriguano, borrowed recently from the white men, is composed of a flint and a piece of iron with which they make sparks fly, which fall on a little wild cotton (the one which the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) produces). This tow (tata rimbiuna) is kept in a small receptacle made from the end of a cow horn or an armadillo tail. /Figs. 23 and 24 appear here./ It is hermetically sealed by a wooden disk, which a small cord passing inside the capsule and coming out through a hole at the tip of the horn or tail allows to be put back in place with a single motion. This ingenious contrivance is not, however, of Indian invention; I saw it adapted to the tinderboxes of the creoles in the Argentine Republic. Some Chiriguano make cloth wicks which at first sight would seem to have been produced in one of our factories. The tinderbox with its accessories is carefully kept in small bags of deerskin, wildcat, iguana, etc. (Figs. 23 and 24).

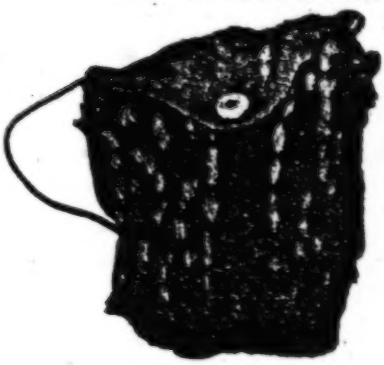
C [415] [281]

/353 cont./

372 [171] In former times the Chiriguano made fire exactly like all the Indians of South America, by rubbing two sticks one against /354/ each other. One of my friends from Cururutí reconstructed one of these devices for me in the hope of surprising me and getting a good price for it. He took two sticks of tata iwira, or fire wood (1), cut one of them lengthwise

[824] 1. According to Father D. Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 91), the Chiriguano might use, for obtaining fire by rotation, sticks made from the wood of a red liana whose

415 281 372



415 281

Fig. 23. Small deerskin bag in which a Chiriguano used to carry a tinderbox and its accessories. Prov.: Pípi. (1/3 nat. size.)

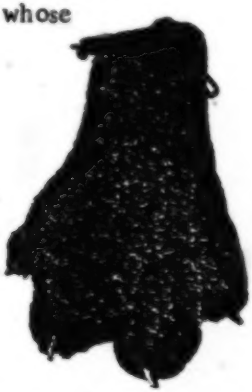


Fig. 24. Puma paw (yagua-pintaipo) made into a bag. Prov.: Saladito. (1/4 nat. size.)

372 [824] flower has five yellow petals with a red spot on one of them. The Chiriguano name for this plant is isipo-pinta.

and provided one of its sides with two cups along which he contrived a perpendicular groove. These two little furrows were intended to conduct the glowing sawdust onto the tinder placed on the ground. /Fig. 25 appears here./ The other stick was slightly sharpened to allow it to go into the cups. Since this

824 /16 cont./
137
[114] I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it through experience and careful reading; when describing certain plants, I shall also make note of the use made of the bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall, straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood borer does not damage it; it is much used here in the construction of upper roofs, especially for the braches or trusses on which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its
[342] wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less
[492] value; it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows, but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to
[296] make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears
[515] and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the face free of blemishes; here it is known by the name "timboy."

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. moniliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which reason drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it.
[372] It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatane," fire that smells; the wood is yellow.

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of
[342] trees of this class here and there; it is the most abundant tree,
[281] the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does not eat it; the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites; the latter call it sebil and the former "Curupau."

245 ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in
137 fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters,
824 its leaves are dark green; it produces abundant fruit in a sort of pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds, which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They
[302] serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces
[303]
[439]

/32 cont./

*136 bending or breaking every bush in its path. It is also a swimmer.
*825 Saddlemakers make from its hide headstalls and reins which
[281] are durable and hence highly valued. When the tapir is very small, it has a pelt like a fawn with yellow stripes and is easily domesticated. It is abundant near rivers and is very rare on the plains; few are found in the province of Acero. In the region of Cuevo and in others there are none at all, doubtless because these places are being settled by another type of man, that is to say, by whites, who can destroy them easily with the use of gunpowder. The Chiriguano like its
[262] meat very much, and they call this animal "Borevi."

ARDILLA /squirrel/. -- A climbing quadruped which looks for its food in the trees which it climbs and goes down very quickly. There are two classes of these, one large and red in color and the other smaller and dark, but both are very graceful, with a rather long tail almost as large as the body as far as the neck and covered with rather long and very soft hair. When they sleep, they cover themselves up and protect themselves from the cold, the dew, and even from the rain with this tail, which they keep horizontally along the length of the body in order to climb and descend more nimbly. They
[262] have very little meat, which is full of gristle, and, despite
[224] the fact that they are quite edible, the Indians hunt them very
[857] little; only the children hunt them for diversion and for practice in the use of the bow.

ARMADILLO. -- This animal, called "Tatu" by the Indians, is abundant. There are six types, which are: "Tatu," the generic name, or the true armadillo; "Taturapúa," balled armadillo; "Tatu rabucu," armadillo with hairs; "Tatu guasu," large armadillo; "Tatu acuti," a species of viscacha; "Anguya tutu," a species of large rat, but also with scales in common
[262] with the armadillo. For the Indians the flesh of all of them
[224] is edible, and the Indians of Yvu and Itatiqui continually go out hunting them. In dry places, like the pampas of the Gran Chaco, armadillos are more numerous; there they make their burrows under the ground in great lengths, making it dangerous to go on horseback through such places because the animals can sink in easily and at a gallop can break their legs, if they are not unlucky enough to crack their heads open. /Illustration appears here./

[TEXT Continues on P. 53]

/33 cont./

*136 CORSO /deer/. -- This is found everywhere and is called
*825 "Huasu" by the Chiriguano and hurina by the whites: there are even white ones, the females without horns and the males with them: another type is called "huasucaca." Both feed off
[231] grass, and the little ones are pleasing with their hide dappled with light spots: they are easily domesticated while they are still nursing: for food, when they are domesticated, goat's or sheep's milk can be used. The huasucaca is very similar to the deer: both male and female have branched antlers when old, but /34/ their meat is not as good. They travel in herds.
[262] Hunters pursue both types because they have a lot of meat, for
[224] which reason they are called "huasu," which means "large." They hunt them with considerable work and with the help of dogs trained for the purpose, or, if they are hidden, they imitate their bleating or cracking sound, and when they come within bowshot, they do not miss in killing them. The
[281] Chiriguano tan the skin of these animals and make a jacket
[291] from it, which I shall discuss in its place, but today this de luxe Chiriguano garment is disappearing, nor do they tan leather any more: today they use these skins for their beds: it is nonetheless a perfect material for footwear because of its natural softness and smoothness.

*136 GAMO /fallow deer/. -- It seems that this class of animal is from the mountainous and temperate region: it is not found beyond Monteagudo, nor do the Indians here know it, but it used to be found and still is found in their former territory of Padilla, Tomina, Tarvita, etc. This is the fallow deer, the size of a goat, with cloven hoof, ash-gray in color, and quite a swift runner: it is herbivorous, quite edible, and goes in herds.

GUANACO. -- This is a kind of camel, from which it differs in size and because it does not have a hump. They are found in abundance at the top of the high hills of Potosí and other cold mountains: it thus seems that the hills and the cold must be congenial places and the only ones in which they can prosper. Nevertheless immense herds of this quadruped can be found in the pampas of the Gran Chaco, where the heat is oppressive and where there is nearly always a scarcity of water: it is easily domesticated and in this state is a real llama.

/40 cont./

224 animal is capable of distinguishing between the brave and
*[225] the cowardly, and the latter is the first to be attacked and consequently to be badly injured.

*225 Jaguar skin, as I have already said, has intrinsic value;
[226] it is used in saddleries for the bottom padding of saddles and
[227] for saddlebags; it is a luxury for persons of rank. The ani-
[228] mal has a quantity of fat, and this is a good remedy for
[229] rheumatism, aching bones, and other ailments; the Indians
[230] take it and sell it in the interior of the Republic and trade it for used clothing. It is to be noted, however, that they do falsify it, as they also falsify snake grease, because it can be understood that the killing of this ferocious animal is not a
[232] frequent thing. Rarely does the Chiriguano hunt the jaguar, and he is not always inclined to help the white man, but the latter forces his peons to do so, and they gather the fat and
[233] sell or present it to their friends or relatives. Jaguar meat is good food, although, to be sure, it smells wild, as does the skin, but this meat, if placed in salt water or brine overnight, loses its bad smell; they assert that this meat is like that of a cow.

*136 The male jaguar is quite large. I measured one, and it was two meters long from the tail, one meter high, and it weighed seven arrobas. The female is smaller; I measured one that had just been killed; from the tail it measured one meter and ten centimeters, was 75 centimeters high, and weighed four and a half arrobas. The female gives birth
[231] every three years, and the newborn cubs are always a pair, one male and one female; the mother is most dangerous when she has young /illustration appears here/ /41/ and defends them at any cost, but hunters first kill the mother and then try to catch the cubs alive; they almost always succeed and take them home to domesticate them, but this is an impossible job because they are jaguars forever; I have seen two of these cubs well chained but very bad. In general, cubs when taken away from their mother die in a few days either through lack of adequate food, which is milk, or also out of desperation upon finding themselves in the midst of beings foreign to their nature.

/173 cont./

342 The canes, or sticks, are attached in the same way as in the roof, with the difference that for the walls they are put in double order, outside and inside, so that they can serve as a support for the dampened earth, which in the end is like a large bag, long and tall, around the house. This other work [462] is done by the Indian men, engaged beforehand by the promise of chicha; next they too dig in the wet soil /174/ dampened by the rain or by water, and help the women in the operation of forming the walls.

With such simplicity, the four walls are raised in a single day, everything being completed; at the present time almost all houses have a gallery where the men and women always sit to enjoy the cool of the mornings and the evenings in friendly gatherings, a gallery which is even used for sleeping on excessively hot nights, especially when inside there is an abundance of vinchucas and other insects (1).

346
476

1. In Parapiti a school for 150 girls was built and finished in 12 hours; nothing had been prepared for this building; it was planned the day before and done at once by all the inhabitants.

342 With the erection of the gallery, the house is completely finished, and the Indian content and satisfied. In present-day buildings care is taken to place the door, or entry, at one end of the house which corresponds to the gallery, and many have two, one in front of the other, in order to have a way to the patio which they make with a fence of thorns for greater comfort.

342 The doors are of cane, which they tie together like mats, 28 but vertically, with ceiba bark or with cowhide thongs, which [322] are more durable indoors. If an Indian can get a cowhide, [824] he makes a door of Guayapa wood, or, as the whites call it, zacharrosa, or another soft wood, which he puts in a hole left in the construction; he makes another frame with its hinges made of the same wood, soaks the hide, and fastens it in this

/174 cont./

342 281 second frame, taking care that it is not very tight so that when it dries it will not warp. He attaches this hide from behind with thongs of the same material, and the result for them is a door de luxe, which could be envied even by some whites, who, in spite of the fact that they have hides, either cannot find anyone to work them for such a door, or who out of avarice and in order not to spend a few coins do not concern themselves with such a comfort (2).

342 322

2. Some of them make very crude doors with two pieces of thorny ceiba wood, which they work perfectly with a knife. No Chiriguano puts a window in his house.

Ancient Houses

342 177 178 Some of my readers perhaps may have believed that the house and its mode of construction just described go back to the origin of the race. /178/ This belief would be an error, because they must understand that the above-mentioned is the result of progress. The method of building houses like the present ones is relatively new: they learned it from the whites, especially from the inhabitants of the Santa Cruz area, where the houses all have galleries, this being noted even in the capital of the department, although they may be of much more importance and may be disappearing in the new buildings. But 184 in Monteagudo, Lagunillas, Charagua, and centers where the Chiriguano have their holdings, houses have galleries.

Those, in addition to giving the houses a better appearance, in addition to the indisputable utility, are a very great reinforcement and protection for the walls of the house, not allowing the torrential rains to wear away or demolish the plastering that 342 they do in all the houses. It is true that many houses of the 171 whites in their towns are of adobe, but when the timber is of + superior quality it is almost preferable, because this material REMAINS JOINED BETTER AND IS MORE COMPACT

/189 cont./

291 Clothing in the fashion of Adam is still seen everywhere. In the towns the men, and almost everywhere the women, are at least dressed from the waist to below the knee, because for work or for coolness the Catama or Ipoy, which can cover them up to the shoulders, is allowed to fall to the waist, the rest being left visible.

Gala Dress

292

For the ancient Chiriguano, the Ambícual, doublet, was fine and festive clothing. This single name includes the Guaugi tangas, bar, the Ambícual, sagum or frock coat, and the Guaugi timbiac, breeches. Because the doublet is an object of luxury, they do not all wear it, its use being limited to the grandees or caciques, to rich men, and to sorcerers. It is made entirely of tanned skins, which are those of the wild boar, peccary, or pygmy deer. They are tanned with the bark of the Cuapas, the astringent acacia or anil, which contains a great deal of tannin.

(564)

292 28 (824)

126 297 297

Skillful men are needed to make a complete doublet like the one made in the Santa Rosa Mission by the Indian Cachupari, which, when taken to the Turin expedition, was acquired by the Florence Museum, along with the skull that I acquired in Curuguati and other objects, such as the Tandugua, a kind of parasol of ostrich feathers, etc., objects which the missionaries of Potosí sent along with the missionaries of Tarija (2).

2. The missionary who was charged with taking all the things to the exposition and leading the Chiriguano of both sexes, as the program directed, was the late Franciscan Father Doroteo Giannecchini.

/120/

291 294 The crown of the hat is made of four oval parts, as is the brim which surrounds it, sewed with fine cords of the same material, and the edge of the brim is turned upward. The hat has a band of the same material sewed to both sides at the temples to hold it to the throat; a knot or a ring on the band can be used to tighten it.

292 281 The Ambiroai, which lends its name to the whole outfit, is a perfect cassock, but its form is entirely Chiriguano, for it does not hinder the movement of the arms. Its cut is not straight, and both parts are made fast at the chest with two leather straps, which are run through the holes on the opposite side. The cassock in back ends in two points, where there is a kind of ornamentation of the same leather, which consists of short, fine strips, like a tassel. The sleeves are wide, as is the whole garment, and are attached to the shoulder, being open at the armpit so as not to impede the movement of the arms, either in hunting or in war, where the gauchos also wear it. In fact, in the photograph taken in Santa Rosa to be sent to the expedition, a hunter and a warrior dressed in this doublet appear outside the circle. In the middle there is a Chiriguano woman with her crown and adornments as queen of the fiesta, who offers chicha to all who are enjoying themselves (1).

[124] 529 554 557 562

1. The queen is the one who serves the dancers as mistress and patroness of the fiesta. This photograph or figure will not be reproduced in the chapter dealing with fiestas because I could not obtain it.

[125]

292 [281] The Tinbian, breeches, is also of leather and is made of four pieces, wider from the waist to the sacrum and narrower from the thigh to the bottom. It is quite wide and comes to the ankle. It is rougher than the rest, but more valued, and they will give anything to have even a single pair. This garment is tied at the waist with a belt or with two strings which are sewed across the entire width of the garment itself.

/191 cont./

291 [256] Others who are not hunters, and hunters themselves when they are not engaged in this activity, fasten the breeches at the waist with a belt that they call Cuacuá: their wives weave it: it is made of wool and painted in various colors. They all have one, except some of the old men.

415 [234] [192] Another of their conveniences is the Urupucu, long bag in its literal translation. The Urupucu seems to be the Chiriguano's own: it is of tanned wild boar or pygmy deer hide, narrow at its opening, which they close with a little cord, gathering the opening: they sew around, and through the seam they pass the cord, which is rather long so that it can hang from one shoulder and be passed to the opposite armpit like a bowman's carcasia. This bag is used as a container for carrying provisions on a trip. In it they put boiled meal, parched corn and charqui. This is done by warriors, hunters, and travelers, and, well secured, as has been explained, it is never lost.

415 [194] 312 Finally, there is no lack of another convenience for carrying water. In order not to experience the effects of burning thirst, he has a type of gourd with a hard shell like that of the matés: he empties it, removing the pulp and seeds, making a hole in the middle, puts it in a kind of net of cords, leaving one or two larger meshes near the hole placed at the top, where the Chiriguano himself makes a small circle, fills it with water, stops it up with a maize cob, and during a trip uses it sparingly, if he has foresight, or else he may not have it when he needs it more (2).

2. The Indians who are governed by corregidors in the region of the Gran Chaco traveled with their respective tarí or tutuma on their expeditions to the desert of Paraguay.

8:Nordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
283

Their spindles are of the Bakaïri type with a knob. (See Part. I map 35). The spindle discs are sometimes of stone. The Chané at Rio Parapiti sometimes use when spinning a small earthen plate made for the purpose, on which the spindle is whirled.

The preparing of leather.

C
Ce
281
177
171*

The Choroti and Ashluslay have no knowledge of tanning, where as the Chiriguano, Chané, Toba and Tapiete have. They use the bark of Piptadenia and other trees.

These Indians have, in all likelihood, learnt the art of tanning from the Whites who, in these tracts, are more skilled in leatherwork than in any other trade. Tanning seems to be unknown to all Indians in S. America who are either untouched or but slightly influenced by White civilization.

The carving and ornamentation of calabashes.

C
Ce
415
322

The Chiriguano Indians, as well as the Chané make very great use of calabashes. They are used as receptacles for water and maize-beer; as boxes, humming-tops, bowls and, above all, as drinking-vessels. At festivals maize-beer is handed round in elaborately ornamented calabashes.

Sometimes the calabashes are provided with lids. These are so made that lid and box are of the same fruit. Now and then star-shaped lids occurs. Lids with a shutting arrangement of the type shown in Fig. 50 A are characteristic of these Indians.

I published in Part I a map showing the distribution of calabashes with lids. From this map we see that these are probably a culture-element which the Indians east of the Andes received from the western area of civilization.

I scarcely think, at any rate, that the star-shaped lids can be cut out so as to fit tight on the box, save with a metal tool. It could hardly be done with a stone or bone implement.

Ee /247 cont. /

531 The Chiriguano and Chané men are clever in the deco-
322 ration of calabashes (Fig. 126), carve attractive pipes (Fig.
281 120), and know how to tan leather, which they probably learned
177c from the whites.

Ee Among these Indians one does not see much in the way
532 of plastic representations of animal and human figures. The
clay /248/ vessels sometimes have animal shapes. The
C Chané women on the Rio Parapiti fashioned lumpy little dolls
[126] out of wax for their children (Fig. 105). Some of the clay
[437] vessels are painted with animal figures. A vessel from the Rio

Ee 285 →

C 285 ←

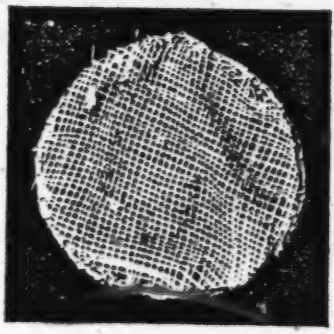


Fig. 124.
Sieve. Rio Parapiti.
1/8.

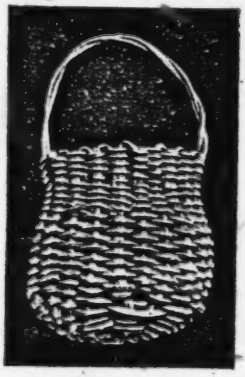


Fig. 125. Basket
Chiriguano.
Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ee
532 Itiyuro, which I acquired through barter, is adorned with tree
figures. Occasionally one sees clay vessels in the shape of fruits.

Ee I saw drawings representing human beings and animals
[353] on the walls in a few Chané huts and on a few Chiriguano
Ee calabashes from the Caipipendi valley.

285 As for basket work, the sieves are so popular among the
[439] whites that through trade they are being distributed far beyond
the Chiriguano and Chané region. Otherwise the Chané and
Chiriguano make few baskets. We find basket work in quantities
only among the Indians where the matching-leaved palms begin,
and that is at Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

/76 cont./

The Working of Skins and Leather Tanning

C
Cc
28
[824]
[177]

The Chiriguano and Chané know the art of tanning leather, and they use for that the bark of the "Piptadenia" and other trees. No doubt they obtained the knowledge of this craft from the whites. They use not only tanned leather, but also strips of animal skin for the making of sundry objects (279), but the

279. Nord. 2, p. 165.

C
224
292
177

craft of working leather and skins is not an important one. It is said that formerly the Chiriguano, when they went hunting, wore leather clothing conforming to the European style (280).

280. Nord. 1, p. 184. Nord. 2, pp. 60, and 61. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

C
281
294

Beyond that, leather is not used for making clothing, except to make sandals (281). The men's modern custom of wearing

C
291
177

281. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23.

a leather belt must be attributed to the influence of the whites. Without counting its application to the making of bridles and saddles for horses and asses, either draft or saddle animals, on which we have no data, strips cut from leather or from animal skins are used in the form of straps, principally to transport or hanging up some object. In place of the common vegetable-fiber cords, leather straps are often put on the nets for carrying burdens, on hammocks, and also on the hoops mentioned above, in which they keep things. The band of the Chiriguano net for carrying burdens I. A. 564 consists of an untanned cowhide strap. See Figure 134 /see p. 200/. The Izozó vessel I. A. 617 has a leather strap attached to its handles. The strings of the bows for shooting arrows are strips of animal skin, and the Chiriguano net I. A. 573 is made of cowhide strips.

C
281
[492]

Cc
[281]

/350 cont./

C 226

arm of the river; in waist-deep water they enter it with their bows and arrows and shoot them there, and any that escape the arrow the women go after with nets into which they fall."
/Translated from the Spanish./

C 227

C [283]

Fig. 18. Landing net of cotton thread (puisa). Chiriguano. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/19 nat. size.)

C 226 C [227] watercourse, leaving the fish dry, and catch them by hand or with a sieve (2). Iron fishhooks are equally popular: the

Ce 226

2. Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 184-185) describes a curious way of catching fish which is in use among the Chané of the Itiyuro River. They set branches in the water, which give shade and attract the fish. They also put there a calabash with some scraps of corn. The fish enter the calabash, whose neck is narrow. When several fish have gone in, the women close the orifice of the calabash with the hand and pull it up to the surface.

/433 cont./

283
291
516
142

Fig. 87. Chiriguano woman getting ready to spin. Cururutí. (Photo. A. M.)

286 The reed of our European looms is replaced here by an /Fig. 88 appears here/ interlacing of threads which grasp one thread of the warp, then the other, alternately.

286 413 The woof is passed through with the help of a shuttle whose motion back and forth is facilitated by a weaver's sword (iwirapé) which separates the warp threads. This latter instrument is used to tighten the cloth each time the woof has passed through. A [237] mammalian metatarsal bone sharpened to a point (Fig. 92) or a small pointed or spindle-shaped stick (Figs. 93 and 94) permits

/433 cont./

283
859
291
516
342

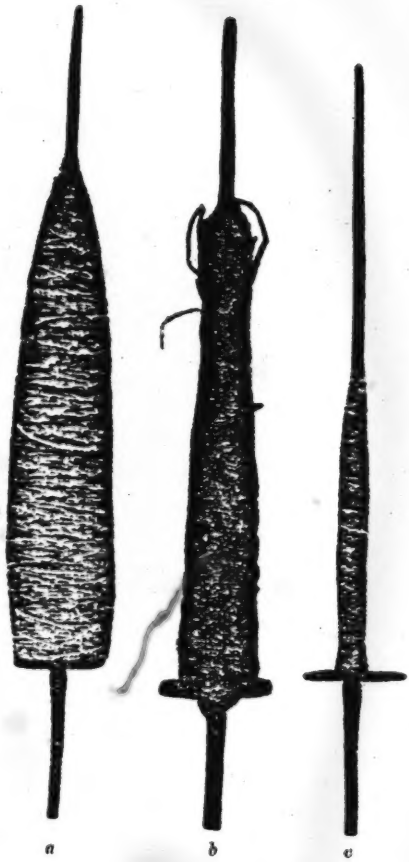
Fig. 88. Chiriguano girls spinning. Masaví (Igüembé Valley). (Photo. A. M.)

286
413

moving the front /434/ warp threads back each time they have been crossed with the help of the reed. The woman who has just passed the woof through grasps this dagger firmly and with a sharp blow raises the threads of the warp after pulling on the reed. Difficult jobs, probably the execution of some /Fig. 89 appears here/ complicated figures, are accomplished with a wooden needle, which unfortunately I never saw used.

/434 cont./

283
413



[171]
[184]

Fig. 89. a, b, c. Chiriguano spindles of the bakaiři /Bacairi/ type. Prov.: a, Tasiti; b, Tintapaw; c, Tasiti (upper Pilcomayo). These spindles are provided with a groove in the upper part which allows the thread to be fastened. The whorls of a and b are of terra cotta, that of c of wood. (1/4 nat. size.)

353
283
413

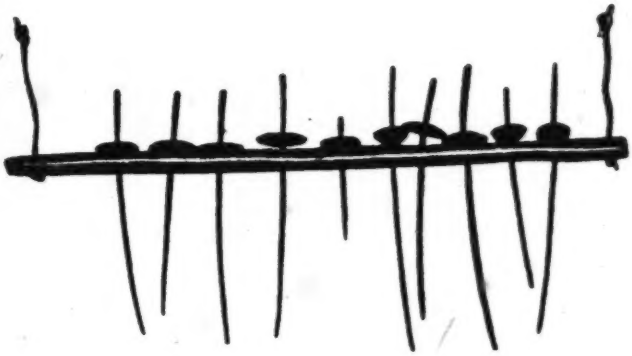


Fig. 90. Drawing indicating how the spindles are arranged inside a Chiriguano hut. They are threaded into the holes made along a bamboo which is hung against the walls of the habitation. (1/9 nat. size.)

286

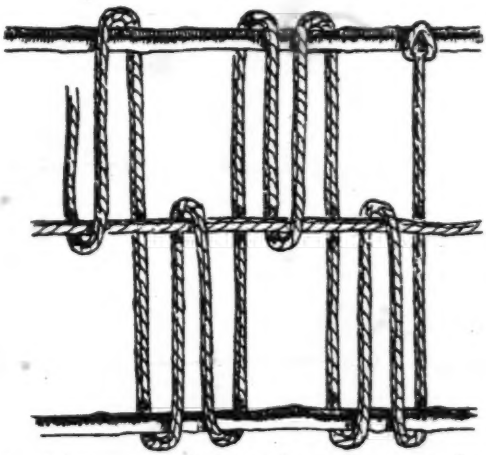


Fig. 91. Diagram indicating how the warp threads are arranged on a Chiriguano loom of the "Arawak type" (from Nordenskiöld).

/458 cont./

285 I was present at the making of a sieve at Carurutí in the
[824] Caipipendí valley. Here is what I noted about it: "The raw material is furnished by the leaves of the karandaí palm (Copernicia australis), which is cut into fine strips. The plaiting is done very simply: they form a square by crossing at right angles the elements of the woof and warp, following the rhythm of 1 (one element over, the other under, etc.) In order to slip in the woof elements, it suffices to raise each time all the strips

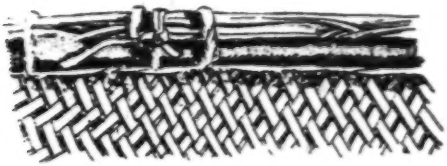


Fig. 115. Detail of the rim of the sieve of Plate LXXXIV, 2.

of the warp which have already been crossed by the woof. When the sieve is plaited, they choose a straight, flexible branch and carefully split it in two. Each of the two halves is bent into a circle so that one of the hoops can fit into the other. The unplaited elements of the warp and woof are inserted between the two hoops (see Fig. 115), then securely tied. Since the hoops have a diameter a little smaller than the width of the woven square, the result is that when it is fastened into the circle, it bulges out. All the ends which stick out are cut off."

285 The string used to attach the sieve to the hoops is made in the
283 following manner: "The bark of a tree (embira) is taken off in wide, long strips, in turn divided into finer lengths. They take two of these lengths, moisten them with saliva, and roll them on the right calf, each one separately, then the two together. When the cord must be of a certain length, they have to add new pieces. These splices must be made without changing the diameter of the cord and without any gaps. For that they are always careful

/458 cont./

285 to roll together two strands of unequal length. When one of them
● 283 has been rolled to the end, another is added. Any possibility of breaking is thus avoided. The movement of the hand is downward when they form a strand, and upward and downward when they roll the strands together to make the cord. The cord, at first fine, grows thicker, but slowly."

285 Plate LXXXII. Diameter: 43 centimeters. Provenance: Igüembé valley. /Plate LXXXII appears here./

/459/ This urumpé is a remarkable specimen from every point of view. The elements composing it cross according to a binary rhythm, that is, each

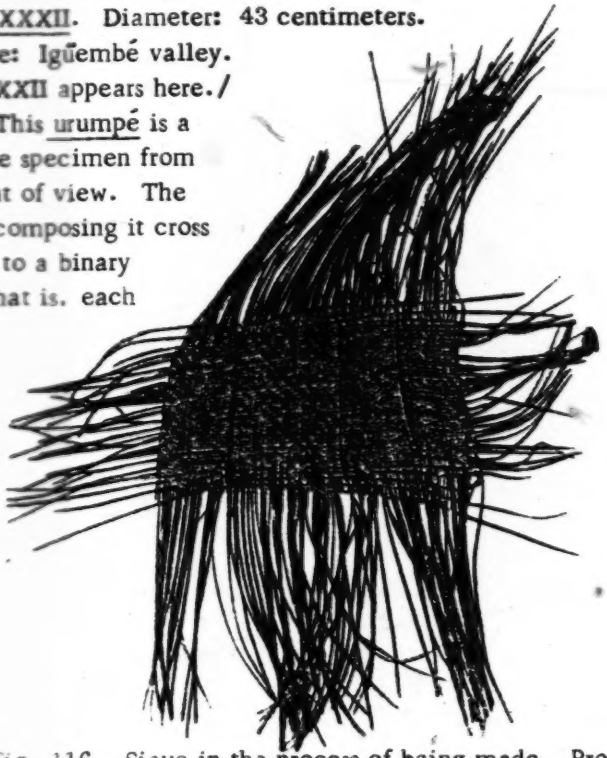


Fig. 116. Sieve in the process of being made. Prov.: Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/4 nat. size.)

element of the woof passes under or over two elements of the warp. Darker stalks alternate by sections with lighter ones and form gray and light-colored bands which run parallel and cross at right angles.

It will be noticed that, having arrived at the vertical diameter, the elements of the woof, which until then had obeyed a binary rhythm, change it abruptly. The first time, the stalk crosses over; the second, it passes under three elements of the warp;

[TEXT Continues on P. 318]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

are based on a triangle surmounted by a scroll, which is multiplied in countless variations. C 323 [531]

Women potters (pl. 41, *top, left,* and *bottom, left*) tempered the clay with crushed potsherds and built up their vases by coiling. They painted them with several kinds of ocher and with black obtained from rosin. C [462] [386]

Spinning and weaving.—Among the *Chiriguano,* wool is more commonly used than cotton for textiles, but *Chané* fabrics are generally of cotton. The fibers are spun with a drop spindle weighted with a clay whorl (pl. 42, *center*). Although garments are in part Andean in shape, the loom remains of the vertical type. Formerly, indigo was the favorite native dye; today aniline dyes have entirely replaced it. The ornamentation of the fabrics is limited to a few stripes. C C 286 283 171 386 [531]

Netting.—Fishing nets and carrying nets are made by means of a wooden gage in a reef-knot technique. C 285

Basketry.—Fans, round baskets with overlapping lids, and sieves are twilled with palm leaves in the best Guiana fashion, but wickerwork basketry is very common. No large baskets for carrying or storing food are made.

Gourds.—The painted, incised, or fire-engraved (fig. 61) gourds (*Lagenaria siceraria*) used as cups are, after pottery, the best expressions of *Chiriguano* art. The motifs are mainly geometrical, with occasional realistic representations. C 415 531

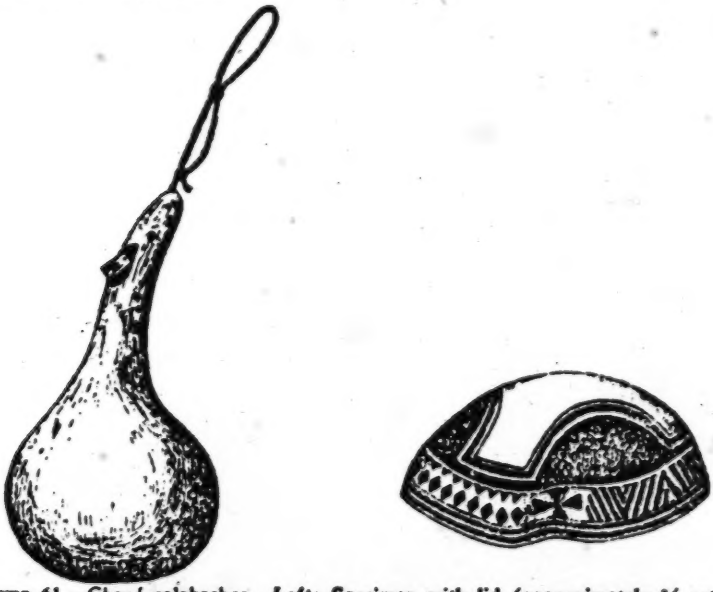


FIGURE 61.—*Chané* calabashes. *Left:* Specimen with lid (approximately ¼ actual size). *Right:* Pyrograved specimen (approximately ⅓ actual size). (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1920, fig. 50 and Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 62.)

291
854

●283
516
291

343

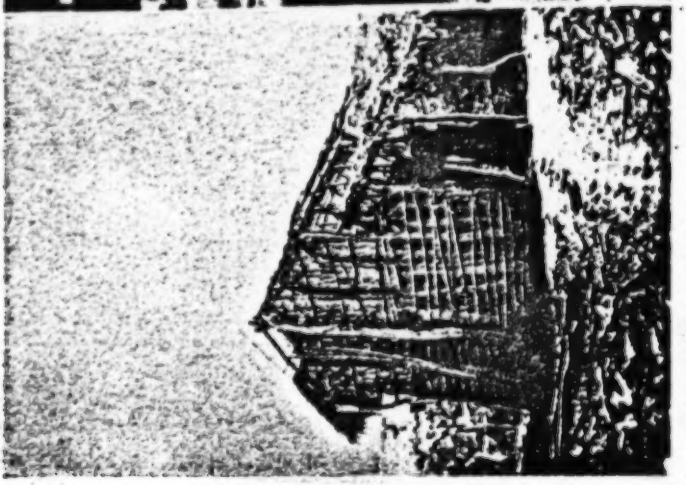


PLATE 42.—Chiriguano Indians. *Left:* Granary on piles. *Center:* Woman spinning. *Right:* Woman and child. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[End Plate 2]

/27 cont./

137 824 [262] which is purple when mature and opens into three sections when ripe. It has an insipid sweetness, but one which both whites and Chiriguano like. The color is a bright purple. it is abundant, and in certain years of scarcity it is a resource for human life in the months of February and March. In Chiriguano it is called "Ñacagüina." The carapari is another cactus, taller than the preceding ones, which also has its congenial land. /28/ since it is not found everywhere. It is admirable for its tall, striated leaves or branches, ash-gray and armed with spines; its fruit is very pleasant and also sought [342] by foxes. The trunk is soft like that of all cacti; nevertheless [757] doors are made of this wood and are durable enough. The pulp of the trunk is used medicinally to cure liver ailments, etc. They say that it is even good for goiter. There is another species of cactus which grows to some 20 or 25 centimeters; it is round and thick, striated and armed with spines. In Chiriguano it is called "Zipepe." The children, as we shall [524] see, make wheels by cutting off its spines, and, making it roll, they use it as targets for their arrows. Finally, there is another which is trailing and long, covering the ground where it grows and making the place impenetrable. This has and [262] produces a very delicious fruit which is called "Tapiacaru" in Chiriguano.

TILANDSIA. -- This plant is known to the Chiriguano [342] by the name of "Caraguata guasu." Its special place is the hills, and among them it has some more congenial to it; it [283] grows well enough, and its leaves are extraordinarily broad [492] and long and ash-gray in color; in the middle there is a thick stalk which rises quite high and is good wood for house rafters; from the crushed leaves they make cord and from these are made first-rate halters for tying up animals in the rainy season. [286] The Toba and even the Chiriguano make a kind of net which [171] they call chipa or "añapoca," which is very useful, inasmuch [482] as the women can carry any weight in a bag of that kind; from [227] the same they make nets so as to be able to fish in the rivers, and these are pieces of work which would attract attention in any part of the Old World.

/28 cont./

139 There is another small caraguata which invades wide areas
824 of land, preventing any animal from entering there, because
it has spines on the bottoms of the leaves. In times of scarcity
[262] its root is food for the poor Chiriguano; the root contains a
little starch which has the taste of mandioca, but it requires
[283] great effort to pull it up. The leaf of this tilandsia is also good
for making cord.

Finally, there is a third one which flourishes abundantly in trees and on the rocks of the hills, but which has no peculiar properties; it is large because of its leaves, which measure up to one meter in length. The plant is thick, the leaf fleshy, and it is used to decorate the streets with arches during processions. The aloe is similar to the second type of tilandsia, but aloe leaves are wide and thick, full of juice, while those of the tilandsia are slender, arched, and dry. The aloe is not abundant; only an occasional shrub or plant is found.

244 /29/ TOMATO. -- This plant which produces fruits so pleasant and useful to the culinary art flourishes exuberantly in these lands; the fruit from each plant is abundant and is produced the year round when some care is taken to protect the plant from the cold or from the light frosts which customarily
[237] fall in June and July. To do this it suffices to pile up dry cow dung in two or three places in the tomato patch and set them
[197] afire. True tomato plants are also found in the woods, but it is presumed that some bird must have carried the seed to such places; the tomato is a plant which has been brought into the Chiriguano country, as is the case with the onion, the sweet potato, and the cabbage.

222 In the woods there is a kind of tomato in the wild state, which is somewhat similar in appearance and taste, but which is quite different from the true one; it is picked green and allowed to ripen in a room on top of a piece of wood; in a
[244] few days it turns red, which is a sign that it is ripe. The chili pepper also produces abundantly and with little care; it is a plant which lasts up to three years if care is taken to prune it, and the second and third years the fruits are very hot. Another kind of small, round chili pepper abounds in the woods and bears spontaneously; it is called arivivi by the whites and "quii rai" by the Chiriguano. It is hot, and some cure sickness.

/172 cont./

342 824 The hardest part is finished with the previous operation: a short rest is taken, and then the owner of the new building must obtain enough hollow cane, engaging for this purpose Indians who have horses. But if the cane is very far away and has owners to boot, he gathers long sticks of astringent acacia or sebil and puts them horizontally every 15 centimeters on top of the rafters with the same above-mentioned lianas. Some [283] people, to tie the cane or sticks, use thin cords made from cowhide, but this, in addition to being more expensive, is less durable than bejuco (1).

[137] [178] [423]

1. Before the whites settled in Chiriguano country, hollow cane was abundant and had no owners; at the present time it cannot be found, and, if there is any, it is in private hands and must be bought.

Generally, before the walls are begun the house is covered with capíi, red straw, or, should this not be available, with capiáncua, straw for harnesses of beasts of burden, which is of inferior quality and very soon frays to pieces with the rain, sun, and strong winds, while the capíi may last for more than ten years.

[476] If it can be obtained by staying for a few days in a place where it is plentiful, he pulls it up there and reduces it to rather large handfuls; the gathering is done in several days, engaging Indians who own horses. When the material is in the town, he rests for a few days or weeks; he informs or invites those who wish to take part, in particular those who are closest to him by kinship or friendship. These then go about tying the capíi be- [354] tween two horizontal canes toward the side of the roots, forming long, narrow lines, and when they are so placed, they attach them horizontally, beginning at the bottom and working /173/ upward or toward the ridgepole, where they leave a large vent to let out the eternal smoke of their inextinguishable fires (1).

1. Now the red straw is disappearing almost completely; the destruction of this necessary

/222/

[881] raised to the ceiling. They leave her there for a period of
[785] four days in strict fasting and, of course, without her opening her mouth to speak to anybody, not even to ask for necessary things, because if she should talk or ask for anything, misfortune would appear at once.

At the end of this first test, which the maiden has scarcely felt, they lower her on the fifth day, wash her head with potash of Netira, and shave off the adolescent girl's hair. Meanwhile in a corner of the house far from the door, they have prepared a wall like a corner piece, made out of slender sticks a meter and 50 centimeters high more or less.
[785] Wrapped in her tipoi or clean clothing, the unfortunate girl goes there, into her pen, and begins her strict fast, which they call Ticuacu, or hiding (1).

> 1. This rigorous way of life does not seem at all strange to the maidens, because before it comes their mothers have prepared them for it, and they believe in everything with blind faith.

The girl remains in her enclosure for a week without doing anything, with face to the wall in order not to see or talk to
[262] anybody. Her usual fare is boiled maize, Atiuru. Sometimes she also eats meat if there is any, but in very small quantities. She neither tastes nor desires other foods. Were she to eat parched maize, she would not be good at feeding her children when she has them, because her breasts would be dry all her life. Her usual beverage should be natural clear
[291] water. Were she to drink chicha, she would be barren, be-
[273] cause it contains alcohol and acridness, which would stop the
[842] effects of conception during her marriage.

[881] When the week is over, the fasting continues, but less
[868] harshly: her parents have obtained cotton or wool, have
[867] prepared the spindle and wheel, with the little potsherd in
[283] which they put a few ashes or sand so that the spindle will turn more easily. The mother hands over all this to her daughter, who begins to work and learns that she has been born for work.

/223 cont./

881 The young girl receives her mother's injunctions without
868 uttering a word, without making any comment, respects the
867 advice and admonishments in the same silence and more that
•283 that of a mute, because she hears and keeps quiet without making any movement at all, without raising her eyes or moving her head. She begins her work as soon as her mother withdraws: she combs the wool or cotton with her fingers, cleans it of /224/ whatever dirt it may contain, and begins to spin, a duty learned from early childhood (1).

[785]

1. The maiden who fasts can only work in the place where she is enclosed; therefore she cannot help her mother even to clean the house.

881 When her mother sees that she has enough to make some
868 small article, she directs the weaving, and the first thing
867 that is made is the Hapicuata for her father and then anetbol
286 for her mother, with which they are very happy, and even their friends congratulate them on the work of the daughter, for whom they, of course, profess sympathy and respect as a sacred person, because she is in the period of fasting or hiding, since both things are done when these maidens reach puberty (2).

2. The same word, Yicuaca, is used for the fasts ordered by the Church for neophytes. There is no other word in the language.

881 During the first month or first moon, Yai, the seclusion
885 or hiding is the most rigorous, because the symptoms of puberty should manifest themselves two times in order that they may be considered true ones, that is to say, the Chiriguano do not believe that a woman is ready for marriage until after it has been ascertained that her menstruation is regular. This, which for women is their relief and their health, is called Hugñi in adults, but for pubescent girls the first as well as the second is called, as I have already said, Yimundía.

4z Міан--268 М-9 (1000-1011) 1013 SP10 Chirigwane SP10

412
411
594
283
352

Вочь аппочь etc. /see p.382 for additional explanations/.

/274 cont./

Offensive War and Weapons

643 When a tribe was preparing to attack another, if it foresaw
701 that it would last longer than usual, and the cacique judged that
705 more preparations were required, in his position as supreme chief or captain general he would commission subalterns called Quereimba, experts, to inspect all the armament available, and if the report of these chiefs was not satisfactory, a general order was given to make up and repair all the deficiencies as quickly as possible.

411 The bows and arrows were made in the public plaza or out-
824 side each house: the wood which was to serve for bows was different from that for arrows. War bows measured /275/ a meter
[183] and a half more or less, and to shoot one they used a twisted cord made of pygmy-deer hide, which was both light and strong. The wood that they use even today for hunting bows is called Iglirapitiragua.

The arrows are made of different kinds of wood, but the most common are Ovei, guayancamillo /a kind of guaicum/, Yaguasli, tola, and Iglirane, smelly wood. This last is very poisonous, and the tribe that uses it must be a very bad enemy of his opponent, because whoever is wounded with these arrows will recover only with difficulty, and the wound is a continual suppuration of illness, which slowly consumes him, almost without any hope of his being able to be helped and to enjoy life once more with his companions.

Every arrow ends in a point, and on both sides it has its edges the opposite way so that when it enters the flesh it is difficult to remove, and one who does not know how to remove it can produce a greater wound than the one the arrow made when it entered.
[183] The arrow is inserted into a little piece of hollow cane, one
[231] meter long, where it is securely attached with string made of toborochi bark, and the string is covered with a little bit of wax (1).

1. At the end of the cane, with the same string and wax, many attach a feather of a falcon or of a carcancho, not for decoration, but so that the shot may be more accurate. The feathers of these birds are more resistant than others.

4: Nino--382 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/283/

Explanation of the Preceding Illustration /see p. 368/

412
411
534
283
352

1. Wooden spade for work.
2. Spade handle.
3. Bull's horn for blowing.
4. Implement for stirring food.
5, 6. Chiriguano spindles.
7. Chair or seat with two spaces for children.
8. A bow for adults.
9. Arrow with iron point.
10, 11, 12. Arrows with wooden point.
13. Bow for young people.
14. Arrow with two points for hunting and fishing.
15. "Songo," or arrow with rounded point for hunting small birds.
16. Bow for boys.
17, 18. Arrows for boys.

/284/

Chapter Thirteen

Illnesses, Remedies, Death, and Mourning

Introduction

One moment of reflection suffices for a man to understand that there is no true happiness on earth; he who can glory in being happy in this world finds many sorrows: unsatisfied desires, unexecuted orders, unfinished projects. The careless execution of injunctions constitutes thorns for the heart of the man who could call himself blessed. He would like everything to go along as he desires, and when this does not happen he suffers, and if he does not express his suffering he suffers much more (1).

> 1. It is a great relief for a man to be able to communicate his sufferings to a sincere friend, but it is difficult to find such, because he who has a friend has a treasure, and the treasure is a rare thing.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
352
*171
102
9
10e
352

61. The Apaporis Indians, WHIFFEN P. 47.
71. Sipibo, STEINEN (5) P. 75.
94. Chiquitos, *Litterae Societatis Jesu* 1594—1595. P. 754; BURGOS P. 343. The men have hammocks, the women platform beds. This implies that fixed bedstead here are more original than hammocks.
95. Chibcha, OVIEDO T. 2. P. 407.
IV. Guaná (Arawaks), AZARA (1) T. 2, P. 89.
3 H. Indians on the coast of Ecuador, BENZONI P. 245.
4 H. Camacans, MARTIUS (1) P. 345.
6 V. Guaná, COMINGES P. 178.
7 V. Indians of Chuquimayo, PALOMINO P. XLIX. He made his journey in 1549.
8 M. Indians (Chamas), Sierra de Merida. SALAS P. 262.
9 P. Xevero, CHANTRE y HERRERA P. 143. Mainas, SAABEDRA P. CXLIV. »duermen en barbacoas ó cañizos con toldos.»

C
Ce
352
*171
283

In the regions I visited it was only the Siriono, Huanyam and Huari who had hammocks of palm-fibre or bast. The other tribes who employ this form of bed have hammocks of cotton. The Chané hammocks are of cotton or caraguata[1])[2]). The Chiriguano have hammocks of cotton, occasionally of wool. IM THURN and K. V. D. STEINEN had already pointed out that, while cotton hammocks appear to be a Carib culture-element, the palm-fibre hammock is of Arawak origin. PATER SCHMIDT then thoroughly investigated the distribution of hammocks of various materials, confirming the theories of IM THURN and K. V. D. STEINEN and shewing, moreover, that the Guarani peoples, as a rule, have cotton hammocks.

---

[1]) In net-technique.

[2]) Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. P. CIV The author speaks of two kind of hammocks from these Indians. Probably one of them were of Caraguatá. I am not quiet sure if he speaks of the Chané or the Chiriguano or of both »hincan muy grandes palos y de ellos cuelgan sus hamacas, que son unas mantas grandes ó tejidos de algodon ó hechas de red.»

5iNordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
352
171*
283

RUTH HAEBLER, a pupil of MAX SCHMIDT, has endeavoured to shew that this is not correct. After examining a number of hammocks in German museums, she arrived at the conclusion that, in the majority of these, both palm-fibre and cotton had been used — palmfibre for the warp and cotton for the woof — and that the notion that the Arawaks have hammocks of palm-fibre only, while Caribs have only cotton hammocks, is wrong. For the rest, hammocks of mixed materials are also mentioned by PATER SCHMIDT, who thus devoted attention to this matter when he was investigating hammocks. ROTH, too, mentions from Guiana hammocks of bast with a woof of cotton. The fact really is that all the hammocks described as having a bast warp and cotton woof are from the Upper Xingú or from Guiana tracts, where there dwell Arawaks, Caribs and Tupi. If we study the appended map and table, which are based on very extensive material, we shall find that, within an immense region about the Amazon, the Indians use hammocks of palm-fibre exclusively, and that in the rest of S. America it is more especially the least civilized tribes, e. g. Siriono, Huari, Waika and others, who use bast or palm-fibre hammocks exclusively. On the coast of Brazil, the more civilized Tupi had cotton hammocks, while the less civilized tribes used palm-fibre. I would consequently account for the distribution of hammocks of different materials in the following way: — Originally the Indians in the whole of tropical S. America had hammocks of palm-fibre or bast exclusively. When the art of cultivating cotton spread from the west, many tribes began to use cotton hammocks or, in some districts, hammocks of palm-fibre with a cotton woof. Where cotton-growing remained unknown, or was inconsiderable, as among the Arawaks of N W Brazil, hammocks made entirely of palm-fibre were still used.

Which tribes spread the knowledge of cotton growing? Certainly not the Arawaks, who within large tracts

C
Ce
[249]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
352
249
*171
283

do not even spin. It must, above all, have been the Tupi - Guarani. They are known for their manufacture of cotton hammocks. The Omagua who dwell (have dwelt?) in a tract where they and the Cocama are the only Tupi Indians, use hammocks both of palm-fibre and of cotton. All the neighbouring tribes have nothing but palm-fibre hammocks. Some Tupi at the Upper Xingú use palm-fibre hammocks with a woof of cotton. RUTH HAEBLER mentions two hammocks of bast from the Cainguá. Otherwise, the Tupi tribes use cotton hammocks, as has been pointed out by PATER SCHMIDT. The Caribs, too, have undoubtedly contributed to the spread of cotton-growing and the use of cotton hammocks, for it is very evident that in Guiana especially, they have used, and still use, cotton in their hammocks far more than the Arawaks. The distribution of cotton hammocks in S. America cannot be properly understood except in connection with the general history of the cultivation of cotton. It is highly probable that it was from the western area of civilization in S. America that the knowledge of cotton-growing spread over a considerable part of the continent. It is very likely that, in post-Columbian times, the practice of growing cotton has spread to a good many tribes who formerly were ignorant of it. We must remember that cotton has been grown at such mission-stations as in Mojos on a very large scale.

C
Ce
[174]

C
Ce
352
249
*171

It must also be remembered that the history of the cultivation of cotton is of especial interest, because the cotton bush is one of the few cultivated plants that in pre-Columbian time were common to both the Old and New World. Consequently, it would be very interesting if we could prove that cotton was first used in S. America within the old culture areas, and there only after the Indians had reached a comparatively high state of civilization.

C
Ce
352
*171
[554]

It is not quite right to say that the hammock was not used within the culture-area of the west. It was used — not as a bed, but as a litter for persons of rank. This is

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
283
352
*171
S
102
352

Map 3. Distribution of the hammock.

Hammock used as a bed.

● = of cotton, □ = of palmfibres or bast, ■ = warp of cotton, woof of bast,
■ = warp of palmfibres, woof of cotton, ■ = either of cotton, palmfibres or bast

▲ = *Hammock used as a litter.*

SiNordamerikaRM E-54(1909-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chirignano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3
[P. 18]
C
CC
283
352
*171
S
352
102

Table 3.

The distribution of the hammoch.

Map. 3.

Number on the map.	Names of the tribes		Cotton	Warp of cotton. Woof of bast	Warp of palmfibres Woof of cotton	Palmfibres or bast		
4	Chiriguano	Southern Bolivia	+	—	—	—?	Tupi	Also of Wool. R. M. E. 1056.
5	Chané	»	R. M. P. 126	—	—		Arawak	
8	Lengua	El Gran Chaco	—	—	—	+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
11	Chamacoco	»	—	—	—	+		»
20	Paressi		+	—	—	+	Arawak	RUTH HAEBLER P. 14.
21	Caingué	Misiones	+ [1])	—	—	+	Tupi	» »
23	Churápa	Bolivia	G. M. Tj. 78	—	—	—		R. M. Tj. 72.
25	Mojo	»	+	—	—	—	Arawak	Private Collection.
28	Bakairi	Matto Grosso	+	—	+	—	Carib	RUTH HAEBLER P. 14.
»	Kustenau	»	+	—	+	—	Arawak	» »
»	Auetö	»	—	—	+	—	Tupi	» »
»	Kamayura	»	—	—	+	—	»	» »
»	Mehinakû	»	—	—	+	—	Arawak	» »
»	Trumai	»	—	—	+	—		» »
31	Ojana, Trio	Guiana	+	—	—	+	Carib	GOEJE (1) P. 21.
35	Chimila	Colombia	G.M.16.3.30	—	—	—		BOLINDER (4) P. 51.
36	Ijca and Köggaba	»	—	—		G.M16.3.783		»
38	Tupinambá, Tupinikin, Carios	Coast of Brazil	+	—	—	G.M. 15.3.58 —	Tupi	PIGAFETTA P. 8, STADEN T. 2, P. 8; d'ABBEVILLE P. 203; PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064
39	Goijiro	Colombia	—	—	—	+	Arawak	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1070.
40	Guarayû (Guarayos)	Bolivia	G. M. G. 100	—	—	—	Tupi	
41	Guarayû (Pauserna)	Matto Grosso	G.M15.1.844	—	—	—	»	
42	Caripuna	Rio Madeira	—	—	—	+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1068.
43	Huanyam	Rio Guaporé	—	GM.15.1.601	—	G. M. 15. 1. 601		
47	Macusi	Guiana	+		+		Carib	THULIN. Orally communicated. PATER SCHMIDT P 1067, FARABEE, P. 24.

C
Ce
283
352
*141
S
192
352

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

[p.19]

South American Indians 53

»	Patamona	»	G.M. 121 A8-46, 121-122	—	—		»	Thulin	
6	Arecuna	»	+	—	—	—	»	»	
»	Wapisiana	»	+	—	—	—	Arawak	RUTH HAEBLER P. 14.[1])	
48	Hianacoto	N. W. Brazil	—	—	—	+	Carib	»	»
	Sîusi	»	—	—	—	+	Arawak	»	»
	Uaupé	»	—	—	—	+		»	»
	Baré	»	—	—	—	+	Arawak	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1068.	
	Kobéua	»	—	—	—	+		»	»
51	Siriono	Bolivia	—	—	—	G.M. 8. 3—4	—	Carib	MOCQUET, P. 116,, GRILLET et BECHAMEL P. 165[2])
55	True Carib	Guiana	+	—	—	—	Tupi	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.	
56	Mundrucú	Rio Tapajos	+	—	—	—	»	»	»
60	Apiacá	»	+	—	—	—			
61	Uitoto, Boro, Karahone[4]) etc.	Rio Putumayo and Rio Yapurá	—	—	—	+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069; WHIPPEN P. 97.	
»									
62	Chacobo	Bolivia	R.M.Ch. 180	—	—	—			
63	Yamiaca	Peru	R. M. 05. 16. 430	—	—	—			
64	Huari	Matto Grosso	—	—	—	G.M. 15. 1. 416			
65	Baure	Bolivia	+	—	—	—	Arawak		
68	Omagua	Upper Amazonas	+	—	—	+	Tupi	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.	
69	Ipurina	Rio Purus	—	—	—	+	Arawak	RUTH HAEBLER P. 14; Also of bark. PATER SCHMIDT P. 1070.	
75	Augaité	El Gran Chaco	—	—	—	+		COMINGES P. 124.	
77	Tapirapé	Near Rio Araguaya	+?	—	—	—	Tupi	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.	
79	Yekuaná	Rio Merevari	+	—	—	—	Carib	RUTH HAEBLER. P. 14.	
90	Acipoya, Curuahé	Between R. Xingú and Rio Tapajos	+	—	—	—	Tupi	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.	
94	Chiquitos	Bolivia	+	—	—	—		My own observations.	
97	Puri	Near Coast of Brazil	—	—	—	+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1068.	
99	Cumanagoto	Coast of Venezuela	+	—	—	—	Carib	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069 (After RUIZ BLANCO), BENZONI P. 10.	
4A	Tauaré	Upper Rio Purus	+	—	—	—		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.	
7A	Achagua	Venezuela	-	—	—	+	Arawak	» P. 1068.	

[1]) »Algunos pocos tienen pequeñas y estrechas hamacas de algodon que tejen, las que usan mas bien de asientos ó cunas para las criaturas que de camas.» AMBROSETTI (7) P. 607.

[2]) »Very small hammocks are made of one piece of bark tied at the ends with a rope. FARABEE, P. 20.

[3]) »Tous les Hamacs . . . qui se font depuis la Riviere des Amazones jusques à Orenoc sont de cotton». See also H. TEN KATE. P. 106.

[4]) Carib.

C
Ce
283
352
*171
S
102
352

Schwedenskiöld E-8(1908-1909, 1915) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
[p.20]
South American Indians S3

Table 3.

The distribution of the hammock

Map 3.

Number on the map.	Names of the tribes.		Cotton	Warp of cotton. Woof of bast.	Warp of palmfibres Woof of cotton.	Palmfibres or bast.		
1B	Ticuna	Upper Amazonas	—	—	—	+		Pater Schmidt P. 1068.
7C	Itonama	Bolivia	+	—	—	—		Pater Schmidt; My own observations.
6E	Indians of	S:a Marta	+	—	—	—		Oviedo T. 2, P. 354.
1H	Wayanasses	Ilha Grande, South of Rio de Janeiro	—	—	—	+		Knivet P. 1228.
2H	Indians	Rio Amazonas	—	—	—	+		(Texeira) P. 445.
6H	Pacaguara	Bolivia	—	—	—	+		Armentia (2) P. 125.
7H	Indians	Upper Rio Opon	+	—	—	—		Aguado (1) T. 1, P. 212.
8H	»	Northern Venezuela	+	—	—	—		Simon (1) P. 583.
4L	Caxinauá	Rio Yuruá	+	—	—	—		Ruth Haebler P. 14, Capistrano de Abreu P. 35.
6M	Toromona	Bolivia	+	—	—	—		Ruth Haebler. P. 14.
7M	Guashiguas	Venezuela	+	—	—	—		Aguado (2) T. 1. P. 242.
9M	Schirianá	Rio Uraricuera	—	—	+	—		Koch-Grünberg (4) T. 1. P. 172.
1N	Waika	Rio Uraricuera	—	—	—	+		Koch-Grünberg (4) P. 201.
2N	Pauschiána	Near Rio Branco	—	—	—	+	Arawak?	Koch-Grünberg (4) T. 1. P. 14.
3N	Uainuma	Rio Yapurá	—	—	—	+	Carib	Pater Schmidt P. 1069.
4N	Yanaperi	Near Rio Branco	—	—	—	+	Carib	Pater Schmidt P. 1069.
5N	Indians	Rio Mapuera	—	—	—	+		O. Coudreau P. 89.
6N	Indians	Near Cartagena	+	—	—	—		Simon (2) T. 4. P. 26.
5P	Xarayes	Lago Xarayes	+	—	—	—		Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca T. 1. P. 300.
7P	Oyampi	French Guiana	+	—	—	—	Tupi	Crevaux. P. 213;
1S	Mura	Rio Madeira	—	—	—	+		Pater Schmidt P. 1068.
2S	Maïacari	Eastern Brazil	—	—	—	+		» »
3S	Maopityan	Southern Guiana	—	—	—	+	Carib	» P. 1069.
4S	Miraña	Upper Amazonas	—	—	—	+		P. 1068.

C
Ce
283
352
+171
5
102
352

ScNordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

[p.21]

South American Indians 53

5S Pimenteira and

	Kariri	Eastern Brazil	+	—	—	+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
7S	Arawaks	Coast of Guiana	—	—	+	+	Arawak	» P. 1068. ROTH (3) P. 35. GRILLET et BECHAMEL P. 172.[1])
V3	Caripou	Yapoco, Guiana	—	—	—	+		MOCQUET P. 81.
V8	Peba	Upper Amazonas	—	—	—	+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1068.
IV	Guaná (Arawaks)	Rio Paraguay	—	—	—	+	Arawak	» P. 1069.
6V	Guaná	El Gran Chaco	+	—	—	—		COMINGES P. 236.
XI	Yamamadi	Rio Purus	—	—	—	+	Arawak	RUTH HAEBLER P. 14. Also of bark. PATER SCHMIDT P. 1070.
X4	Payaguá	Rio Paraguay	—	—	—	+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
8X	Warrau	Delta of Orinoco	+	—	—	G. M. 12. 1. 302		PLASSARD P. 591.
X	Yuruna	Rio Xingú	+	—	—	—	Tupi	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
47	Porokoto		+	—	—	—	Carib	» »
28	Asurinikim	Upper Xingú	+	—	—	—		» »
18	Incas	Peru	?	—	—	—		PIZARRO P. 379[2]) XERRE P. 89.[4])
100	Arebato	Rio Caura	+	—	—	—	Arawak	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
101	Gamacan-Mongoya	Coast of Brazil	+	—	—	—		» »
Not on the map	Chama[3])	Bolivia	G. M. 15. 1. 1367	—	—	—		
»	Uašmiri		—	—	—	+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
102	Guayupe	Llanos de Venezuela	+	—	—	+		AGUADO (1) T. 1. P. 791.
103	Indians, Ancerma	Columbia	—	—	—	—		CIEZA DE LEON (1) P. 64, To carry the chiefs.
Not on the map	Yaro (Chana)	Rio Uruguay	—	—	—	—		SEPP P. 51.
8N	Zaparo	Ecuador	—	—	—	+		CASTRUCCI P. 34. KARSTEN.

[1]) »Les Aroüagues les Araotes, et la pluspart des autres Nations, qui sont vers la riviere d'Orenoque font leurs lits de fil de Pite.» See also H. TEN KATE P. 106.

[2]) Among these Indians I found only one small hammock that they have got from some other tribe. The Chama sleep on the floor with blankets of bark-cloth.

[3]) PEDRO PIZARRO says speaking of the principal woman: »Traianlas en hombros, unas en andas, otras en hamacas. Hamacas son unas mantas atadas en unas cañas muy gruesas de grosor de un brazo y mas, por muy buen arte puestas, y alli iban echadas las señoras con cobertores encima.»

[4]) »Traianle muchos indios sobre los hombros en alto y tras desta venian otras dos literas y dos hamacas.»

[5]) Also many other tribes in Mainas had hammocks of palmfibres CHANTRE Y HERRERA P. 67.

5:Nordenskiöld E-S)(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
441
[824]

for arrow shafts has been completely destroyed by cattle along the Rio Parapiti. Formerly the Chané made the shafts for their arrows of »chuchio».

The arrow points are made of hard wood and sometimes of iron. Arrows with several tips are used for fishing and sometimes also for shooting birds. Arrow-tips made of cactus spikes are used by some Chiriguano for fishing. Some characteristic types of arrows are depicted here (fig. 6). Some arrows are feathered to guide the flight. The feathers are fixed in the way that MEYER calls »Peruvian cemented feathering». The feathers are quite small as on Chaco arrows generally. Arrows with thickened heads (bird arrows) are very common. Some of them have the shape we see depicted here (fig. 6 E). This type does not occur among any of the other tribes I got to know during my travels, but they are common among several peoples living in the east, e. g. the Cainguá, Guató, and Bororó, and in the northern part of S. America, among the Trio, Guahibo and others. They have most likely been introduced here by the Chiriguano. It is not probable that they have come from the Arawaks for, as a rule, they do not use blunt bird-arrows. In Part I I have published a map (No. 3) showing the distribution of the bird-arrow in S. America. Later on I will deal with arrows particularly used for fishing. The Chiriguano and Chané sometimes use a special kind of bast to bind round the arrow where the point is inserted in the shaft. The same kind of bast is not met with among the Choroti and Ashluslay or among the other Chaco tribes I have got to know. It occurs, however, among the Cainguá.

C
[824]
[226]

C
Ce
*[171]

C
[171]

C
Ce
[283]
*[171]

In part I I have already published a map showing the distribution of the sling in S. America. I have nothing to add to this which cannot be seen in the subjoined drawings (fig. 7).

The pellet-bow is rather common among the Chiriguano and also among the Chané. It is chiefly used by boys and youths. I wish here to make a few additions to what I have said about the pellet-bow in Part I.

8:Nordenskiöld E-4,4(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XXIII.

Various kinds of handicraft besides pottery.

Knitting-technique.

C
Ce
286 Respecting the occurrence of different kinds of knitting technique among the Chiriguano and Chané I have little to add beyond what was mentioned in the English edition of Part I of this work.

C
Ce
286
352
171 The hammock-netting is the usual technique which gives the so-called barred hammocks (See Part I) which are widely distributed in all S. America north of El Gran Chaco. They are found almost universally where hammocks occur. Occasionally one sees among the Chiriguano and Chané bags knitted in the technique which in Part I I denoted by No 5. These bags are never made by themselves, but are obtained from the Mataco, Tapiete, or some other Chaco tribe. During my archaeological excavations at Igüembe I found a piece of pottery with impressions of knitting evidently done in this technique.

C
Ce
284
286
283 The carrying-nets and most dip-nets of the Chiriguano and Chané are made with reef-knots. The Chiriguano have also dip-nets knitted with sheet-knots. For carrying-nets and dip-nets they Chiriguano and Chané generally use caraguatá bast. »Yuchan» is seldom used[1])

Spinning.

C
Ce
283 Regarding the spinning of the Chiriguano and Chané there is little to add beyond what I mentioned in Part I.

[1]) *Chevisia insignes.*

Schwedenskjöld E-S/f (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
283

Their spindles are of the Bakairi type with a knob. (See Part. I map 35). The spindle discs are sometimes of stone. The Chané at Rio Parapiti sometimes use when spinning a small earthen plate made for the purpose, on which the spindle is whirled.

The preparing of leather.

C
Ce
281
177
171*

The Choroti and Ashluslay have no knowledge of tanning, where as the Chirignano, Chané, Toba and Tapiete have. They use the bark of Piptadenia and other trees.

These Indians have, in all likelihood, learnt the art of tanning from the Whites who, in these tracts, are more skilled in leatherwork than in any other trade. Tanning seems to be unknown to all Indians in S. America who are either untouched or but slightly influenced by White civilization.

The carving and ornamentation of calabashes.

C
Ce
415
322

The Chirignano Indians, as well as the Chané make very great use of calabashes. They are used as receptacles for water and maize-beer; as boxes, humming-tops, bowls and, above all, as drinking-vessels. At festivals maize-beer is handed round in elaborately ornamented calabashes.

Sometimes the calabashes are provided with lids. These are so made that lid and box are of the same fruit. Now and then star-shaped lids occurs. Lids with a shutting arrangement of the type shown in Fig. 50 A are characteristic of these Indians.

I published in Part I a map showing the distribution of calabashes with lids. From this map we see that these are probably a culture-element which the Indians east of the Andes received from the western area of civilization.

I scarcely think, at any rate, that the star-shaped lids can be cut out so as to fit tight on the box, save with a metal tool. It could hardly be done with a stone or bone implement.

8: Schmidt--92 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
524
177

/37 cont./

These Indians received two games of chance from the whites, the game of dice, which they call by the Spanish name "daro," and the game with a cow's leg bone, which they call "taba."

Agriculture

C
Ce
241

I have already explained in the chapter on food and drink that the cultivation of maize as an agricultural product is common, and among the Chané of the Parapití the cultivation of the sweet potato. Mandioca is only cultivated rarely and has no importance in the economy of these Indians. Various species of beans are planted, also one species of cactus, some gourds which have edible fruits, and also a little tobacco. In addition to these edible or stimulating native plants that are cultivated, there are some others received from the whites, but these have little importance in the economy of these Indians. According to Nordenskiöld (171), they are the following: sugar

C
Ce
241
177

171. Nord. 2, pp. 23 and 24.

cane, peanuts, watermelon, muskmelon, figs, oranges and millet, and Métraux also mentions the pepper among them (172).

172. Métraux 1, pp. 338 and 339.

C
Ce
241
[415]
[283]
[386]

In addition to these edible or stimulating plants, there are cultivated various species of gourds whose fruits are not edible but are used to make containers, cotton for making thread, urucú for obtaining red dye, and, among the Indians of the Parapití, also a species of cane, Harundo Donax /Arundo donax/, which grows wild in great quantity on the banks of the Pilcomayo, but not on those of the Parapití River.

C
411 /42 cont./
drawings by v. Rosen and v. Nordenskiöld (194). This club is

C
411
284 194. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 212. Nord. 9.
Fig. 6. D and E.

fastened directly on the inside of the upper part of the shaft. The shaft of the larger arrow is made of the same cane as that of the other arrows, and that of the smaller arrow is light wood. The binding on the upper part and also on the lower part of
C
[239] the shaft of the longer arrow consists of cotton thread secured with wax. The two arrows have feathering and have the same groove at the bottom end of the shaft. Several specimens of Chiriguano bird-hunting arrows whose clubs show different forms are shown in drawings by Métraux (195).

195. Métraux I. Plates X-XI.

C
Ca
411
174
[283] The special form of the club of the arrows for shooting birds (cf. Fig. 37e) and the special method of binding the shaft with a cord of tree bark and the length which these arrows formerly had lead us to the conclusion that this type of arrow, equally common today among the Chiriguano and Chané, is the ancient form of arrow that the Chiriguano brought from their native soil to the west. I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano and Chané bows and arrows were formerly much longer. But we can also assume that these implements of the hunt and weapons of war, in accordance with their greater importance, were formerly better made than they are today.

C
Ca
411
524 According to Nordenskiöld, only rarely does the yokoque, the bow for shooting balls, appear among the Chiriguano and Chané, and it is only used by youths and boys (196).

196. Nord. 9, p. 26.

R Schmidt--136 E-6 (1901) 1908 EP10 Chiriguano EP.1
Shelf 578
28.20

C
764
415

/33 cont./

described by him there is one which is 93 cm. high and has an aperture at the top 70 cm. in diameter. Another is 110 cm. high and its maximum diameter measures 85 cm. In 1941, in Capirendá, Wedell found such vessels with a height of 130 cm. and a maximum diameter of 100 cm. for the wall of the belly.

C
415
126

35. Various Vessels with No Indication Regarding Their Purpose, from the Collection

L.A. 410 (Chirig.). Ht. 14.5 cm. Max. dia. 8 cm. Apert. 5 cm. (Fig. 81b).

L.A. 411 ("). Ht. 13.5 cm. Length 21 cm. (Fig. 81a).

C
415
126

L.A. 597 (Isoré). " 16.5 cm. Max. dia. 16.7 cm. Apert. 15 cm. (Fig. 7f).

L.A. 599 (") " 9 cm. " " 13 cm. " 10 cm. (Fig. 7le).

C
C
415
177

We have no evidence regarding the purpose of these four vessels which are different in form from the other types of vessels. We must regard the small, double vessel L.A. 411 (cf. Fig. 81a /see p.144/) as a special result of the mixture of various, but different cultural elements. The way in which the two small dishes are joined to form a double vessel /34/ corresponds to ancient Peruvian models, while the form of the handle, fitted with a ring, is doubtless an addition of European origin. The whole has the form of a salt cellar and was perhaps made to be sold to the whites for this purpose. We must also consider the vessel L.A. 410 (cf. Fig. 81b /see p. 141/) as merchandise, while the two vessels L.A. 597 and 599 seem to be manufactured for some use in festivities.

C
[439]

Baked Clay Spindle Whorls

C
Q
283
323

The spindle whorls collected among the Chiriguano and Isoré are of baked clay or wood, and the Chiriguano also have some spindles with stone whorls. Because I shall deal with spindle whorls in the chapter on spinning, I wish only to

Sr Schmidt--137 E-6 (1950) 1000 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
12020

/94 cont./

point out here a difference between the baked clay whorls of the Izozó and those of the Chiriguano with regard to their manufacture. The whorls of the latter are made of pieces of clay from any broken vessel. . by filing them round and perforating them in the center, while the whorls of the Izozó consist of a small disk with different variations in form, also perforated in the center, but made of baked clay especially for that purpose.

Concerning the pottery technique of the Chiriguano and the Chané, we are well instructed by the data given by Nordenskiöld, S. Linné, Métraux (336), and Campana (337).

336. Nord. 1. pp. 364 and 365. S. Linné The Technique of South American Ceramics. Göteborg, 1925. Métraux 1. pp. 382-384.

337. Campana (Domínico del). "Notizie inorno ai Cirignani /Information concerning the Chiriguano/." Archiv per l'antropologia e la etnologia. Florence. Vol. 37 (1907). p. 382.

Especially noteworthy among these is the description of the manufacture of baked clay vessels by the Chané on the Bityuro River, which Nordenskiöld studied in its entire procedure. In the book written by Linné, entitled The Technique of South American Ceramics, we find, in addition to the systematic arrangement of the observations made by Nordenskiöld among the Chiriguano and Chané, important data on the results of chemical analyses and microscopic observations which Linné made on the vessels of these Indians. According to this information, the procedure for manufacturing these vessels is the following:

The first condition for the manufacture of baked clay vessels is the availability of suitable clay which has sufficient plasticity so that the vessel can be modeled and fired without being broken. Only a clay with special qualities can meet

Dr Schmidt--148 E-5 (1935) 1938 SFto Chirigwano SFtO
Chaire SFB
Ezozo

Plate XXIV

Ce
283

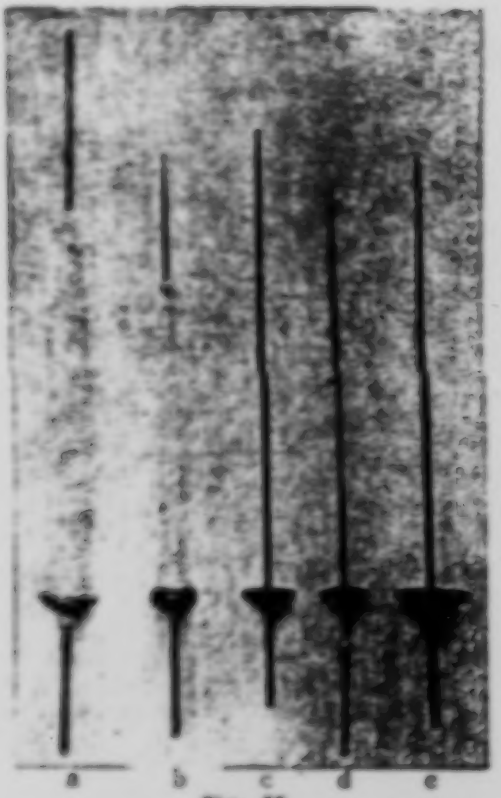


Fig. 85

C
[283]
→

Ce
245
283

Fig. 85

/The [illegible] are on p. 148./

8: Schmidt--147 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo.

Plate XXV

C
283
322

C
283
323

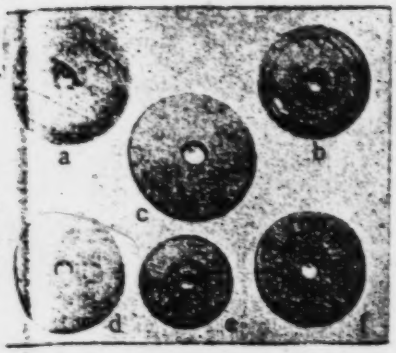


Fig. 87

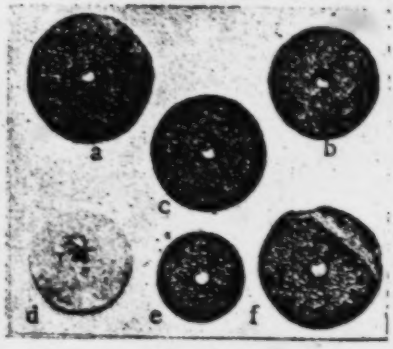


Fig. 88

Ce
283
323

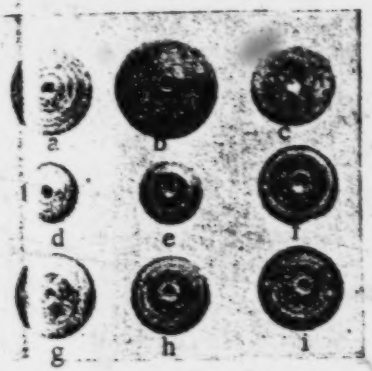


Fig. 89

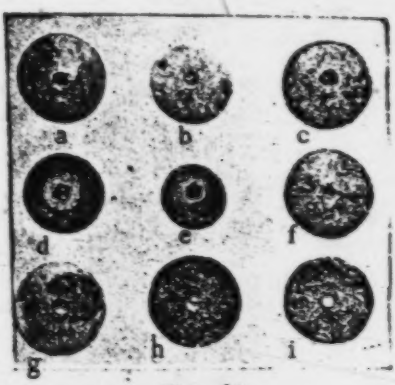


Fig. 90

C
Ce
286
413

a
b
c
d
e

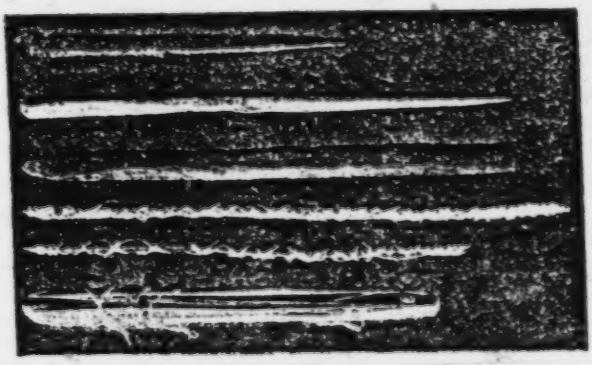


Fig. 91

/The captions are on p. 148./

8: Schmidt--148 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XXIV and XXV./

C
Ce
283

Plate XXIV

Fig. 85. Spindles, a-d (Izozó), e Chiriguano):
a (I.A. 724), length 51 cm.; b (I.A. 703), length 41 cm.; c (I.A. 716), length 41 cm.; d (I.A. 691), length 40.5 cm.; e (I.A. 475), length 42 cm.

Ce
285
283

Fig. 86. (I.A. 725 a and b) Basket (height 12 cm.), cotton seeds, raw cotton, and a spindle with thread, and a ball of cotton thread (Izozó).
b (I.A. 726), ball of cotton thread (Izozó), dia. 8.5 cm.

C
283
322

Plate XXV

Fig. 87. Wooden spindle whorls (Chiriguano): a (I.A. 478), dia. 6 cm.; b (I.A. 474), dia. 5.2 cm.; c (I.A. 480), dia. 6 cm.; d (I.A. 471), dia. 5.3 cm.; e (I.A. 479), dia. 4.3 cm.; f (I.A. 477), dia. 5.2 cm.

C
283
323

Fig. 88. Spindle whorls, a-c of baked clay, e-f of stone (Chiriguano): a (I.A. 486), dia. 6.2 cm.; b (I.A. 487), dia. 5.3 cm.; c (I.A. 483), dia. 5.3 cm.; d (I.A. 481), dia. 4.8 cm.; e (I.A. 482), dia. 4.2 cm.; f (I.A. 484), dia. 5.7 cm.

Ce
283
323

Fig. 89. Baked clay spindle whorls (Izozó): a (I.A. 705), dia. 4.7 cm.; b (I.A. 687), dia. 5.2 cm.; c (I.A. 700), dia. 4 cm.; d (I.A. 702), dia. 3 cm.; e (I.A. 696), dia. 3 cm.; f (I.A. 690), dia. 4 cm.; g (I.A. 692), dia. 4.5 cm.; h (I.A. 689), dia. 4 cm.; i (I.A. 695), dia. 4.2 cm.

Fig. 90. Baked clay spindle whorls (Izozó): a (I.A. 724), dia. 4 cm.; b (I.A. 708), dia. 3.8 cm.; c (I.A. 709), dia. 4.3 cm.; d (I.A. 721), dia. 3.7 cm.; e (I.A. 722), dia. 3.3 cm.; f (I.A. 720), dia. 4.4 cm.; g (I.A. 711), dia. 4.3 cm.; h (I.A. 713), dia. 4.2 cm.; i (I.A. 710), dia. 4 cm.

C
Ce
286
413

Fig. 91. Implements for weaving: a (I.A. 500), implement for arranging the warp threads (Chiriguano), length 20.5 cm.; b (I.A. 674), implement for arranging the warp threads (Izozó), length 30 cm.; c (I.A. 673), wooden sword for weaving (Izozó), length 30 cm.; d (I.A. 727), shuttle with cotton thread (Izozó), length 33.3 cm.; e (I.A. 728), shuttle with cotton thread (Izozó), length 27 cm.; (I.A. 513) reel (Chiriguano), length 25 cm.

8: Schmidt--149 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Grinding the Raw Materials

C
Ce
252
412

For grinding raw materials, principally for grinding corn, the Chiriguano and Chané use large wooden mortars with long pestles (255). Such a wooden mortar is shown in Figure 15 and

255. Nord. 1, p. 51. Métraux I, p. 365, Fig. 30.

C
Ce
412
[171]

another one by Nordenskiöld (256). Stone mills are not used by

256. Nord. 1, Fig. 116.

these Indians, although this implement was used, except for the Chaco tribes, by all the tribes whom the Chiriguano had as neighbors after their migration to the west. According to Métraux, a small stone mill is used only for grinding the seeds of a plant which the Chiriguano use as soap for washing their hair. Such a stone mill is shown in a drawing by Métraux (257).

C
[515]
[388]

257. Métraux I, p. 467, Fig. 122.

C
412
171
174

Because the wooden mortar is common even today among the Kainguá /Caingua/, who also belong to the Guaraní linguistic group, and is also mentioned for the ancient Tupinambá /Tupinamba/ of the eastern coast of Brazil, we can assume that the Chiriguano brought this cultural possession from their native land.

C
262
252
412
[171]

The fact that mandioca is not important in the economy of these Indians explains why they do not use the wooden grater, the application of which is diffused among so many other Indian tribes of South America who cultivate this nourishing root.

Making Cord and Thread

C
Ce
283

The thread that the Chiriguano and Chané make out of wool or cotton is spun by means of the spindle, while that made of caraguata is twisted by hand. We have no information on the way this caraguata thread is twisted.

/57 cont./

Ce
Ce
283

The direction in which the threads are twisted by these Indians is generally to the left, while the two skeins which generally make up each thread are usually twisted to the right. See the two sketches shown in Figure 137 /see p.201/. The rather heavy cotton cord stretched out on the loom shown in Figure 104 /see p.176/, used for stretching the warp, is twisted to the right, but it consists of three special threads twisted to the left, which in turn are each made up of two skeins twisted to the right. The strings for the bows for shooting arrows, made of only one skein of animal hide, are twisted to the right. The rule is that all threads, whether they be caraguata threads made by hand or wool or cotton threads made with the spindle, are twisted to the left, made up of two skeins twisted to the right. In examining many threads of the Chiriguano and the Izozó, I found only two exceptions to this rule. Of the two threads wound together on the reel I.A. 413 /I.A. 513 in Fig. 91, p.147/ and each made of two skeins, one is twisted to the right and the other to the left, and the thick wool threads of the warp of the plaited hammock I.A. 448 are twisted to the right, being made of two skeins twisted to the left.

Ce
283
126

Thread in the Collection

I.A. 675. Caraguata thread (Izozó).

/58/

I.A. 676. Ball of cotton thread (Izozó). Dia. 9 cm.

I.A. 726. " " " " " " 9.5 cm. (Fig. 86b).

Ce
Ce
283
126

In addition to the large number of spindles from the Chiriguano and the Izozó, I obtained from these Indians a small basket which contains the raw material needed for spinning cotton thread and a spindle wrapped with cotton thread which is connected to a ball of thread of this material.

Ce
283
285
126

Implements and Raw Material for Spinning, from the Collection

I.A. 725.

a. Basket (Izozó), length 27 cm., height 12 cm., cotton seeds and raw cotton. (Fig. 86a.)

CE 283 323 126

/58 cont./

b. Spindle provided with a whorl of baked clay. Length of the stick 46 cm. Diameter of the whorl 4.2 cm. Ball of cotton thread. (Fig. 86a.)

C 126 283 32

I.A. 470.	Spindle (Chir.).	Lgth.	44.5 cm.	Wooden whorl,	dia. 4.8 cm.
I.A. 471.	" "	"	36.5 cm.	" "	5.3 cm.
(Fig. 87d)					
I.A. 472.	" "	"	39 cm.	" "	6 cm.
I.A. 473.	" "	"	34.5 cm.	" "	5,7 cm.
I.A. 474.	" "	"	38 cm.	" "	5.3 cm.
(Fig. 87b)					
I.A. 475.	" "	"	40.5 cm.	" "	5.8 cm.
(Fig. 85e)					
I.A. 476.	" "	"	42.7 cm.	" "	6.5 cm.
I.A. 477.	" "	"	38.5 cm.	" "	5.2 cm.
(Fig. 87f)					
I.A. 478.	" "	"	42 cm.	" "	6 cm.
(Fig. 87a)					
I.A. 479.	" "	"	25.5 cm.	" "	4.3 cm.
(Fig. 87e)					
I.A. 480.	" "	"	32.3 cm.	" "	6 cm.
(Fig. 87c)					
I.A. 481.	" "	"	40 cm.	Stone whorl	4.8 cm.
(Fig. 88d)					
I.A. 482.	" "	"	25.5 cm.	" "	4.2 cm.
(Fig. 88e)					
I.A. 483.	" "	"	37 cm.	Baked clay whorl	5.3 cm.
(Fig. 88c)					
I.A. 484.	" "	"	42 cm.	Stone whorl	5.7 cm.
(Fig. 88f)					
I.A. 485.	" "	"	31 cm.	Baked clay whorl	4 cm.
I.A. 486.	" "	"	35.7 cm.	" "	" 6.2 cm.
(Fig. 88a)					
I.A. 487	" "	"	30 cm.	" "	" 5.3 cm.
(Fig. 88b)					
I.A. 488.	" "	"	? cm.	" "	" 5. cm.
I.A. 489.	" "	"	35.5 cm.	Wooden whorl	5.5 cm.
I.A. 687.	" Izozó)	"	43 cm.	Wooden whorl	5.2 cm.
(Fig. 89b)					

CE 126 283 322

Ce 126 283 323

/59 cont./

I.A. 711. (Fig. 90g)	Spindle (Izozó).	Lgth.	36.2 cm.	Clay whorl,	dia.	4.3 cm.
I.A. 712.	"	"	"	33.5 cm.	"	"	"	4.2 cm.
I.A. 713. (Fig. 90h)	"	"	"	43.5 cm.	"	"	"	4.2 cm.
I.A. 714.	"	"	"	46 cm.	"	"	"	4 cm.
I.A. 715.	"	"	"	43.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.8 cm.
I.A. 716. (Fig. 85c)	"	"	"	41 cm.	"	"	"	3.8 cm.
I.A. 717.	"	"	"	42.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.5 cm.
I.A. 718.	"	"	"	36 cm.	"	"	"	3.3 cm.
I.A. 719.	"	"	"	36.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.7 cm.
I.A. 720. (Fig. 90f)	"	"	"	41.2 cm.	"	"	"	4.4 cm.
I.A. 721. (Fig. 90d)	"	"	"	34.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.7 cm.
I.A. 722. (Fig. 90e)	"	"	"	38.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.3 cm.
I.A. 723.	"	"	"	40.5 cm.	"	"	"	3.5 cm.
I.A. 724. (Figs. 85a and 90a)	"	"	"	51 cm.	"	"	"	4 cm.

C Ce 283 171

The spindles that I obtained from the Chiriguano and Izozó are the type of spindle, very common among the Indians of South America, that Nordenskiöld calls "Bakairí type" in contrast to the "Bororo type," this nomenclature being based on the first description of these two types of spindles by Carl von den Steinen, who found them among the Bakairí /Bacairi/ on the one hand and among the Bororó on the other (258). In contrast with the

C Ce [113]

258. Carl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, Berlin, 1894, pp. 238 and 488. Nord. 2, p. 196. Otto Frödin and Erland Nordenskiöld, Zwirnen und Spinnen bei Indianern Südamerikas /Twining and

C
Ce
283
17
[113]

/59 cont./

Spinning among South American Indians/,
Göteborg, 1910.

"Bororo type," the "Bacairí type" of spindle is held in a vertical position when used for spinning and has a small enlargement in the form of a knob at the upper end of the stick. In spinning, the prepared thread winds around the upper piece of the stick. The material of the Chiriguano and Izozó whorls is baked clay (that of the Chiriguano, pieces of broken baked clay vessels, filed), wood, or, rarely, among the Chiriguano, stone.

Ce
[32]

Ce
283

From the measurements mentioned above, it seems that the Chiriguano whorls usually have a rather larger diameter than the spindle whorls of the Izozó. The longest stick in the collection (from the Izozó) measures 54.5 cm.; the shortest (from the Chiriguano), 25.5 cm.

As I have already mentioned, all the sticks of the Chiriguano and Izozó spindles are fitted at the upper end with an enlargement in the form of a knob. Most of the spindle sticks in addition have an enlargement in the lower part, directly under the place where the whorl is put, so as to prevent the whorl from coming down the stick when the spindle is in a vertical position. Many spindles have a wrapping of cotton or raw wool directly under the whorl in order to make the whorl secure.

The form of the whorls shows many variations. I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano whorls are generally larger than those of the Izozó. They are also more uniform. The two sides of the baked clay of the Chiriguano are simply flat and smooth, which results from their origin as pieces of broken baked clay vessels to which the Chiriguano give the form of a disk by filing them and which they perforate in the center. The stone whorls of the Chiriguano /60/ and most of the wooden whorls also show the same form. But among the latter there are also some (cf. Fig. 87 /see p. 147/) which are similar to the more complicated forms of the Izozó whorls, although they differ from the latter in their greater size.

Ce
283
[171]

Among the Izozó whorls only two have two flat sides like the Chiriguano whorls. The other Izozó whorls, not only those of baked clay but also the wooden ones, show great variation in

/73 cont./

The Technique of Making Nets

C Ce 286

The technique of making nets is widespread among the Chiriguano and Chané and is used to make various objects, such as fishnets, hammocks, nets for carrying burdens, bags, and slings. The material used for making these nets generally consists of threads made of caraguata fibers. In the collection there are two Chiriguano burden-carrying nets made of woolen threads and another one made of strips of cowhide.

C Ce [283] [824] C [482]

The common technique of making nets among the Chiriguano and the Chané is the technique called "Knotentechnik," in German, using the knot called the reef knot in English. Figure 138, a and b, shows such a "reef knot," and Figure 142 shows the technique of making nets with this "reef knot." According to Nordenskiöld (275), the Chiriguano and Chané use small

C Ce [284]

275. Nord. 3, p. 207.

rectangular boards for making their nets, like those with which we are familiar from many other tribes of South America. Unfortunately, I did not acquire such a board from the Chiriguano or from the Izozó. By continually wrapping the first board with a thread the simple loops which are shown in the diagram (Figure 142) in the upper row are formed. The thread, after having reached the other end of the board, are wrapped continuously in the opposite direction around a second board, being connected each time, with a knot, with the loops of the thread wrapped around the first board. If the thread has been looped in the manner described, until it gets to the first loop of the first row, the first board can be removed to serve in the formation of the third row of the meshes of the net, which is made in the same way as the second, but in the opposite direction. It is clear that nets made with this technique, in their simplest and least complicated form, must have a rectangular form, and this form is typical of all of the nets of the Chiriguano and Izozó, while various other South American tribes, for example, the Bakairí /Bacairi/, who formerly lived on the tributaries of the Xingú River (in Mato Grosso), make triangular nets.

C Ce [171]

/74/

Ce 286 352 126

Nets of the Collection That Are Made with the Technique Called "Knotentechnik" in German, Using the Knot Called Reef Knot in English

I.A. 360. Hammock (276) (Chané of the Parapití). Caraguata.

276. Gift of Mr. Teodoro Rojas.

Length 3.20 m. (Fig. 102c.)

I.A. 766. Hammock (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 1.80 m.

C I.A. 794. " " " " 2.70 m.

Ce 286 415 482 126

I.A. 446. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Wool. Lgth 1.05 m.

I.A. 447. " " " " " " " 0.75 m.

I.A. 561-564, 567, 569-571. Nets for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length between 1.50 and 0.50 m. (I.A. 567, Figs. 134 and 143; I.A. 568, Fig. 144.)

I.A. 767-787; 790-792. Nets for carrying loads (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 1.60 m. and 0.65 m. (I.A. 768, Figs. 133 and 142; I.A. 772, Fig. 135.)

Ce 415 286 126

I.A. 785. Bag (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 0.82 m. Height 0.48 m.

I.A. 788 " " " " 0.62 m. " 0.62 m. (Fig. 136.)

I.A. 793. Quadrangular net (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 0.90 m.

Ce [227]

I.A. 764. Implement for fishing with net (Izozó). Length 73.5 cm. (Fig. 39.)

I.A. 795-801. Nets for implements such as I.A. 764 (Izozó). Caraguata.

C 411 286

I.A. 508. Sling (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length 15 cm.

I.A. 509. " " " " 14 cm.

C Ce 286 352 227 136

From the large size of the mesh of nets I.A. 360, 766, and 794, it follows that they are hammocks. Because in Chiriguano and Chané territory there are generally no fish except small ones, nets for fishing must have considerably smaller meshes.

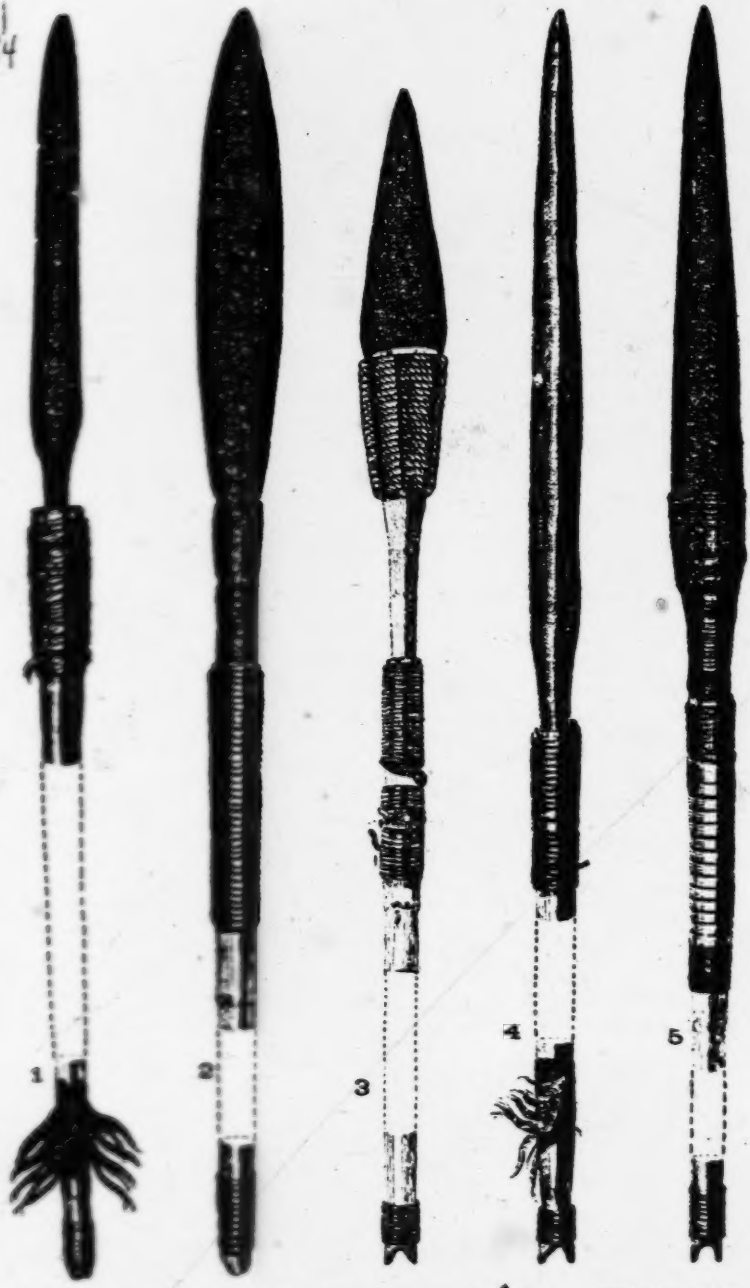
C Ce 415 286 482 [283]

Of the Chiriguano nets for carrying loads, two are made of wool and one of these has a band like most such nets from the Izozó. The rest of these nets from the Chiriguano and the Izozó are made of caraguata thread. Some of them have a rather small mesh, but among those of the Izozó those with big mesh are the rule.

1: Métraux--83 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate VIII

411
284



Arrows for war or hunting large game (huî iya). Chiriguano. The tip is an iron blade, except for No. 4 which ends in a slender piece of wood. Nos. 1, 3, and 4 come from Ivu; No. 2 from Tigüipa, and No. 5 from Pípi. (1, 2, 5 are 1/2 nat. size; 3 and 4, 1/3 nat. size.)

● 284
411

Plate IX

/Caption on following page./

Plate X

411
2864

Arrows with splayed ferrule for felling birds or small mammals (songo). No. 1 comes from Ivu, No. 2 from Tintapaw, No. 3 from Tiwiraití (upper Pilcomayo), and No. 4 from Caipipendí. (1/2 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--87 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XI

411
284

Arrows with splayed ferrule for felling birds or small mammals (songo). Nos. 1 and 3 come from Ivu, Nos. 2 and 4 from Caipipendí. (1/3 nat. size.)

411
284

223
231

Fig. 14. Hunting arrow. Chiriguano. The point is formed by an iron rod to which a nail has been fastened to form a barb. This point is held in the shaft by means of a wooden peg. Prov.: Nawirende. (1/4 nat. size.)

Fig. 15. Upper tip of a lorero (long wand with a noose at the end, with which the Chiriguano catch wild parrots they have attracted by means of tame ones). Prov.: Ivu. (1/3 nat. size.)

411
284

Plate XII

Arrows with splayed ferrule for felling birds or small mammals (songo). Nos. 1 and 3 come from Iva. Nos. 2 and 4 from Caipipendí. (1/2 nat.

227
[482]
• [284]
252

Fig. 19. Wooden needle (timosa) with which the Chiriguano thread the fish they have caught in order to be able to carry them more conveniently around the waist. Prov.: Tintapaw. (1/3 nat. size.)

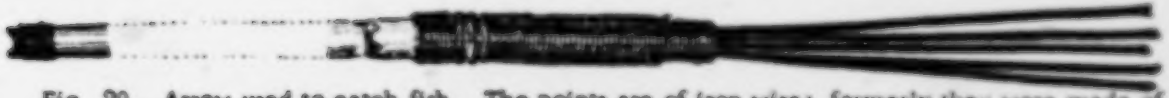


Fig. 20. Arrow used to catch fish. The points are of iron wire: formerly they were made of cactus spines. Prov.: Pípi. (1/2 nat. size.)

Fig. 21. Spear 4.70 meters long, which the Chiriguano use to harpoon large surubú when the latter swim within their reach. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/33 nat. size.)

Fig. 22. Spit for roasting fish. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/7 nat. size.)

Plate XXI

415
284

1

2

1. Calebash used as a mug. Prov.: Ñeuiwende. (1/2 nat. size.)
2. Calebash with star-shaped lid and automatic closing. Prov.: Caranti. (1/2 nat. size.)

3

3. Flat calebash suspended by means of leather thongs. Prov.: Tarairi. (2/3 nat. size.)
4. Calebash enclosed in strips of wambé bark. Prov.: Saladino. (1/2 nat. size.)

1: Bérrum--149 E-6 (1929) 1930 BF10 Chirigwano BF10

U/2 384 (71)

Plate XXIII

...ium blade has the form of the T-shaped axes of ancient Peru. From: ...(1/2 nat. size.)

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Le
284
411

Fig. 6. Types of arrows from the Chiriguano and Chané. Shafts of reed, points of wood. 1/4.

A = Chané, Rio Itiyuro. R. M. H. 61. B = Chiriguano. R. M. E. 655.
C = Chané. Rio Itiyuro. R. M. H. 36. D = Chiriguano. R. M. E. 620.
E = Chiriguano. R. M. E. 622.

E.Nordenskiöld E-5,+(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XXIII.

Various kinds of handicraft besides pottery.

Knitting-technique.

C
Ce
286

Respecting the occurrence of different kinds of knitting technique among the Chiriguano and Chané I have little to add beyond what was mentioned in the English edition of Part I of this work.

C
Ce
286
352
*171

The hammock-netting is the usual technique which gives the so-called barred hammocks (See Part I) which are widely distributed in all S. America north of El Gran Chaco. They are found almost universally where hammocks occur. Occasionally one sees among the Chiriguano and Chané bags knitted in the technique which in Part I I denoted by No 5. These bags are never made by themselves, but are obtained from the Mataco, Tapiete, or some other Chaco tribe. During my archaeological excavations at Igüembe I found a piece of pottery with impressions of knitting evidently done in this technique.

C
Ce
284
286
283

The carrying-nets and most dip-nets of the Chiriguano and Chané are made with reef-knots. The Chiriguano have also dip-nets knitted with sheet-knots. For carrying-nets and dip-nets they Chiriguano and Chané generally use caraguatá bast. »Yuchan» is seldom used[1])

Spinning.

C
Ce
283

Regarding the spinning of the Chiriguano and Chané there is little to add beyond what I mentioned in Part I.

[1]) *Choeisia insignes.*

411 unsuited to wooden bows, although, on the other hand, it is useful in the case of built-up bows, and bows made of horn.[1]

411 For the purpose of fastening the string, the staves have been given
284 neck-shaped ends, one of which often is longer than the other (fig. 205, a and b). The string, which consists of twisted rawhide, is fastened to the shorter neck end with a knot (fig. 205, a), or a loop, then wound round the other neck end, in the way seen in fig. 205, b. When not in use, the string is slackened on the bow. When the bow is to be used, the stave is stood on the ground, for purchase, when it can be bent as much as is desired, and then the slip-knot (fig. 205, b) is pulled tight. When the bow is strung taut, the slip-knot is locked, so that, when unstringing the bow, one compresses it against the ground in order to slacken the string; the slip-knot is then easily loosened, and the string lengthened as required. When the bow is not being used for shooting, this way of treating it rests the stave, and tends to preserve its elasticity. In shooting, the bow is held with the string-wound part downwards (see figs. 201 and 202).

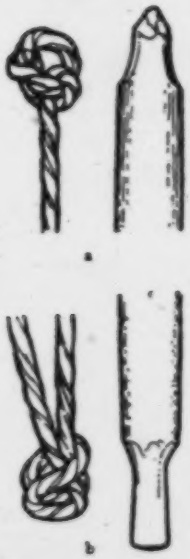


Fig. 205. String sites, and string-end loops of longbow shown in fig. 202. 2/3.

411 The arrows are long, sometimes as long — or even longer — than the bows. As to their size, and other particulars, this may be seen from figs. 206—214, and the table on p. 211.

In the lancet-shaped heads of arrows of the types seen in figs. 206 and 207, the tang is pushed into a wooden arrow-head socket, the forepart of which is cleft. The rear end of the socket is fitted into the hollow fore end of the reed shaft. The socket is wound with string, so that its cleft part is kept tightly pressed against the tang, which latter often is smeared with beeswax, so as to make it stick firmly in the cleft. In order to give an increased firmness to the string-lashing, this is also heavily waxed, and so is the part of the socket that is fitted in the shaft. Iron arrow-heads
[177] of this type have probably been copied from the lanceolate wooden arrow-heads that are still in use among the Chanés.[2]

[1] Longman and Walrond (1), pp. 48—49.
[2] Vide arrow-head, fig. 6 A, Nordenskiöld (12).

[P. 210]

411
284

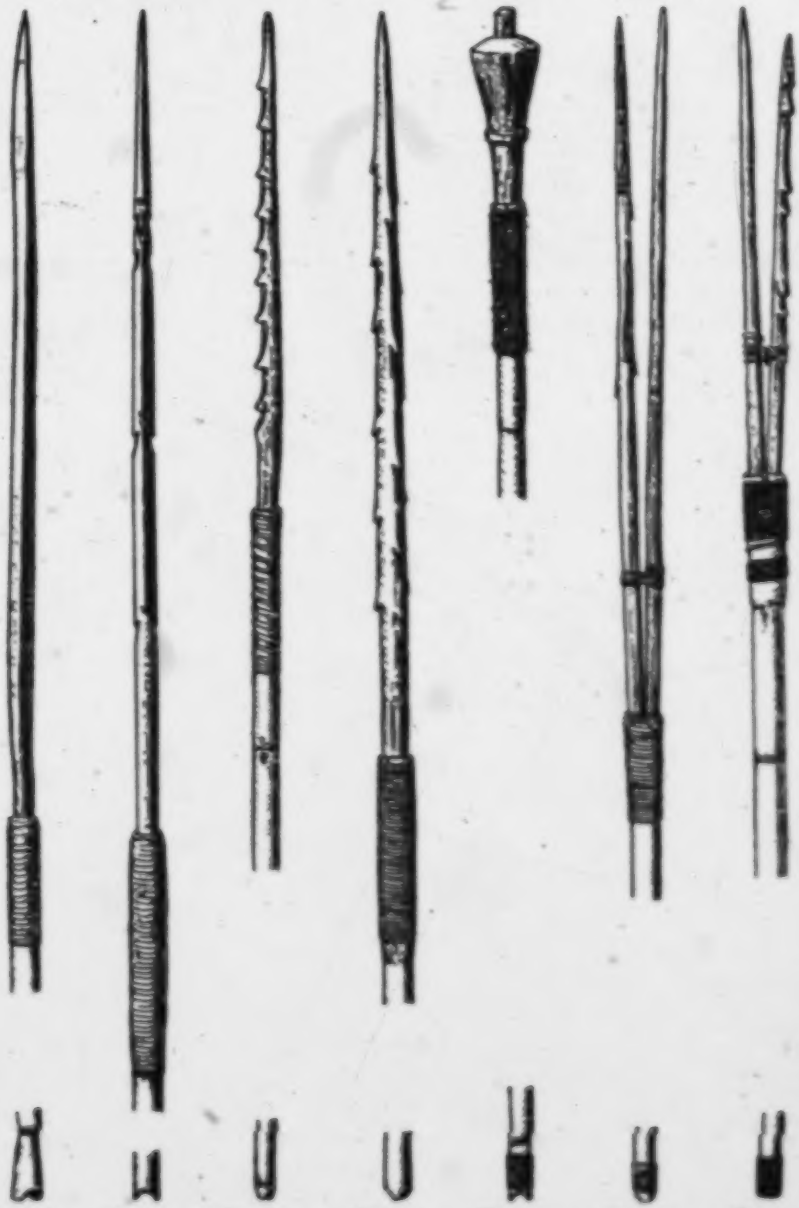


Fig. 208. 03. 3. 857. Fig. 209. 03. 3. 848. Fig. 210. 03. 3. 864. Fig. 211. 03. 3. 862. Fig. 212. 03. 3. 873. Fig. 213. 03. 3. 880. Fig. 214. 03. 3. 893.

Arrows with points of hard, heavy wood, and shafts of reed. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. 2/3. Rikan.

Arrows for fish-shooting, with two-pronged points of hard, heavy wood, and reed shafts. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. 2/3. Rikan.

Chane SF8
Izozo

/41 cont./

C Ce 411 points, one Izozó specimen reaches a length of 1.07 m., and a Chiriguano specimen, a length of 1 m. This is the opposite of the observations that v. Rosen made about Chiriguano arrows, that they were as large or even larger than the bows.

C Ce [524] Without counting the Chiriguano arrows fitted with wire points, which no doubt are used only by children for shooting at fish or birds and which are often made with wooden shafts, Ce [249] [824] arrow shafts are universally made of cane, taken from the plant Arundo donax, which, as I have already mentioned above, is cultivated by the Chané of the Parapití River. Ac- Ce 41 [824] cording to Nordenskiöld, the Chané formerly also used the Uhá (Cymnerium sp.), which they call "chochio" (188). The

188. Nord. 2, p. 26.

arrows collected among the Izozó are provided with iron points. Nordenskiöld also shows in drawings Chané arrows fitted with wooden points in the form of a lancet or dentate (189).

189. Nord. 2, Fig. 6. A and C.

C Ce 411 Among the Chiriguano arrows in the collection, there are two fitted with iron points, one fitted with a dentate wooden point, one such wooden point without a shaft, and two arrows for bird hunting that are fitted with a club instead of a point. The Chiriguano arrows fitted with iron points correspond throughout to the Izozó ones with respect to form and material. C Ce [284] The iron point is joined to the shaft by means of a piece of split wood and a wrapping of cord made from special tree bark and fastened with wax. The lower end of the cane shaft has a groove over which the end of the arrow is also fastened by a wrapping of the same cord secured with wax.

Ee 411 237 /42/ Some Chiriguano and Izozó arrows have feathering, others do not. While the feathering was lost on some of the arrows that do not have it now, as can be discerned from the remnants of wax which had served for attaching it, other arrows show clearly that they never had feathering. If there is feather- Ee [284] [171] ing, the feather parts attached by means of wrapping with cord and wax are small, as are those of most of the Chaco tribes.

/42 cont./

000
C
Ce
411
237
C
411
[284]

and wax are small, as are those of most of the Chaco tribes. In the diagram made by Hermann Meyer for the various types of South American arrows, the feathering of the Chiriguano and Chané arrows corresponds to those that this writer calls "Peruanische Pechfiederung" /Peruvian pitch-feathering/. The Chiriguano arrow provided with a dentate wooden point differs from the other arrows in that its point is attached directly to the shaft without interposing a special piece of wood. Otherwise, the form of its shaft, provided in this case with feathering, corresponds to the form of the arrow shafts fitted with iron points. V. Rosen (190), v. Nordenskiöld (191), and

190. V. Rosen, op. cit., Figs. 206-214.

191. Nord. 2, Fig. 6 B.

Métraux (192) show in drawings different types of Chiriguano

192. Métraux I, Plates 8 and 9.

arrows fitted with wooden points.

Métraux often found among the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley arrows fitted with two dentate wooden points, which the young men used especially for shooting jacus (193).

193. Métraux I, p. 347 and Plate IX, N. 1.

Of the two Chiriguano bird-hunting arrows fitted with a club at the upper end instead of a point (sõngo), only one specimen, I. A. 534, can be considered typical. As I have already mentioned, it is the longest arrow in the collection. The other arrow for hunting birds, much shorter and badly made, doubtless was used only by boys. The form of the clubs of these two arrows (cf. Fig. 37e) is the same and also corresponds to the form of the arrows of this kind shown in

C
411 /42 cont./
drawings by v. Rosen and v. Nordenskiöld (194). This club is

C
411
●284 194. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 212. Nord. 2, Fig. 6, D and E.

fastened directly on the inside of the upper part of the shaft. The shaft of the larger arrow is made of the same cane as that of the other arrows, and that of the smaller arrow is light wood. The binding on the upper part and also on the lower part of
C
[239] the shaft of the longer arrow consists of cotton thread secured with wax. The two arrows have feathering and have the same groove at the bottom end of the shaft. Several specimens of Chiriguano bird-hunting arrows whose clubs show different forms are shown in drawings by Métraux (195).

195. Métraux I, Plates X-XI.

C
Ca
411
174
[283] The special form of the club of the arrows for shooting birds (cf. Fig. 37e) and the special method of binding the shaft with a cord of tree bark and the length which these arrows formerly had lead us to the conclusion that this type of arrow, equally common today among the Chiriguano and Chané, is the ancient form of arrow that the Chiriguano brought from their native soil to the west. I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano and Chané bows and arrows were formerly much longer. But we can also assume that these implements of the hunt and weapons of war, in accordance with their greater importance, were formerly better
C
Ca made than they are today.
411
524 According to Nordenskiöld, only rarely does the podoque, the bow for shooting balls, appear among the Chiriguano and Chané, and it is only used by youths and boys (196).

196. Nord. 2, p. 26.

/-8/

Macana in the Collection

411 [126] I. A. 517. (Chiriguano.) Length 64 cm. (Fig. 38).

[191] The wooden macana, acquired from the Chiriguano, is provided at its upper end with a broadening distinctly delimited from the handle (cf. Fig. 38) and in that respect corresponds to the macanas that we know from various Chaco tribes, for example, the Toba, but it does not correspond to the Chiriguano macana shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (197).

197. Nord. 2, Fig. 9.

The latter is about the same length, but it does not show the clear broadening at the handle, its upper end being only slightly broader. According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano [224] do not use these macanas except for hunting pigs (198).

198. Nord. 1, p. 183.

[126] Slings (tamomboka) in the Collection

I. A. 508. Chiriguano. Length of the middle part of net 15 cm.
I. A. 509. " " " " " " 14 cm. (Fig. 36b.)

The two slings acquired from the Chiriguano seem to be exactly alike. They consist of a middle part made with the [286] net technique with caraguata-fiber string which terminates at each end with a cord. One of these two cords ends in a simple [284] knot and the other in a small loop. These slings are like the Chané ones shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld, while the manufacture of the middle part of the Chiriguano sling shown by Nordenskiöld is different (199). The Chiriguano in contact

199. Nord. 2, Fig. 7, A.

8: Schmidt--193 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

/73 cont./

The Technique of Making Nets

C
Ce
286

The technique of making nets is widespread among the Chiriguano and Chané and is used to make various objects, such as fishnets, hammocks, nets for carrying burdens, bags, and slings. The material used for making these nets generally consists of threads made of caraguata fibers. In the collection there are two Chiriguano burden-carrying nets made of woolen threads and another one made of strips of cowhide.

C
Ce
[283]
[824]
C
[482]

The common technique of making nets among the Chiriguano and the Chané is the technique called "Knotentechnik," in German, using the knot called the reef knot in English. Figure 138, a and b, shows such a "reef knot," and Figure 142 shows the technique of making nets with this "reef knot." According to Nordenskiöld (275), the Chiriguano and Chané use small

C
Ce
[284]

275. Nord. 3, p. 207.

rectangular boards for making their nets, like those with which we are familiar from many other tribes of South America. Unfortunately, I did not acquire such a board from the Chiriguano or from the Izozó. By continually wrapping the first board with a thread the simple loops which are shown in the diagram (Figure 142) in the upper row are formed. The thread, after having reached the other end of the board, are wrapped continuously in the opposite direction around a second board, being connected each time, with a knot, with the loops of the thread wrapped around the first board. If the thread has been looped in the manner described, until it gets to the first loop of the first row, the first board can be removed to serve in the formation of the third row of the meshes of the net, which is made in the same way as the second, but in the opposite direction. It is clear that nets made with this technique, in their simplest and least complicated form, must have a rectangular form, and this form is typical of all of the nets of the Chiriguano and Izozó, while various other South American tribes, for example, the Bakairí /Bacairi/, who formerly lived on the tributaries of the Xingú River (in Mato Grosso), make triangular nets.

C
Ce
[171]

/74 cont./

000 small mesh, but among those of the Izozó those with big mesh
Ce 286 415 482 are the rule. Thus the mesh of the Izozó nets used for carrying the large water jars is also very large. Most of these Izozó nets have a special band that goes over the forehead of the bearer. The structure of these bands, which are made of caraguata, wool, or cotton, have already been described by us in the chapter on weavings. Cf. Figure 133 /see p. 200/ and the diagram shown in Figure 125 /see p. 190/.

Ce 286 415 [126] The collection has two net bags from the Izozó which are made in such a way that the whole rectangular net is folded in the middle and the pieces which are on top of one another are laced together with a thread on the two longitudinal sides.

Ce 286 227 Ce [411] [224] In the way described in the foregoing they also make the net of the fishing implement I.A. 764 described in the chapter on fishing and shown in Figure 39. Because this implement is used to catch small fish, the net has very small mesh. The slings described among the hunting implements are also made in the same way.

/75/

C 286 415 482 [126]

Burden-carrying Net Made by the Technique Called "Knotentechnik" in German, But Using the Knot Called "Sheet Knot" in English from the Collection

I.A. 573. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Strips of animal hide. Length 0.85 m.

C [284] This net is made like the nets described in the foregoing, made of knots, but the knot used is the type called "sheet knot" in English and "Schotenstich" in German. This knot is shown in Figure 138, c and d. According to Nordenskiöld (277), the

277. Nord. R. p. 384.

Chiriguano also have fishing nets which are made using this type of knot.

/75 cont./

286 415 482 [126]

Nets in the Collection That Are Made with Loops and without the Use of Knots

I. A. 555-566. Net for carrying loads (Chirig.). Lgth. 0.93 m. 1.80 m.
I. A. 567. " " " " " " 1.15 m. (Figs. 134 and 143.)
I. A. 568. " " " " " " 1.20 m. (Fig. 144.)

286 254 415 482

From the Chiriguano I obtained several nets for carrying burdens, which are made without using knots, by connecting the thread in the fashion illustrated by Figures 143 and 144 and which is common among many tribes of the Chaco, as happens among the Tapieté, Matako /Mataco/, Toba, Chorote /Choroti/, and Churupí /Chulupi/.

The great number of nets that I acquired from the Izozó are made with knots without exception, and we must therefore assume that these Indians are not familiar with or do not use the technique of making nets with simple loops and without applying knots, and that this technique, called "Schlingtechnik" in German, is used only by the Chiriguano or a part of them. Nordenskiöld does not mention this technique among the Chiriguano, and in the synoptic outline in which the several techniques of making nets are illustrated the Chiriguano are not mentioned in Column 5 among the Indian tribes which use the technique of making nets without applying knots. Of the burden-carrying nets made of caraguata thread that I acquired from the Chiriguano, ten are made without knots being applied, by the technique called "Schlingtechnik," and only seven by applying knots by the technique called "Knotentechnik." We can therefore assume that this part of the Chiriguano at least uses the technique of making nets without applying knots, although this opinion is contrary to that of Nordenskiöld, who says (278) that

286 254 114 177

278. Nord. 2, p. 116.

all of the nets made by this technique found among the Chiriguano and the Chané were acquired from the Chaco Indians.

/439/

Chapter IX

Basketry and Its Techniques

1. General Considerations

C Ce 285 [171] Basketry is far from being as abundantly represented among the Chiriguano and the Chané as among the Indian tribes of the Amazon basin or the Guianas. The secondary role it plays in their industry is due to the nature of the soil where they live and the climate they enjoy. Palm trees with pinnate leaves are lacking, to my knowledge at least, over the whole extent of their territory; as for the ones whose leaves open like fans, if they are numerous in certain places, their occurrence is far from being uniform. The palms which the Chiriguano Indians call karandaí (Copernicia australis) form veritable groves here and there, whereas over vast regions they are lacking or appear only sparsely. I saw a considerable number of them between San Luis and the Saladito River, and I have crossed some large palm groves between Yacuiba and Villamontes, on the Pilcomayo, and south of the Parapití River, going from Cuevo to Pipi. I noted, moreover, that the distribution of the karandaí coincided with that of a certain type of basketry (twilled work /named in English/), for which the Indians use these leaves.

C Ce 137 Gu [285] [482] →

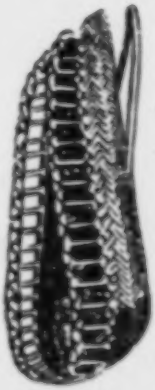


Fig. 97. Back basket used by the Guarayú Indians for transporting heavy loads (from Nordenskiöld).

C [824] [137] [285]

Nordenskiöld (10, p. 169) recounts an anecdote which illustrates well the influence the environment exerts on this industry. At the time of one of his trips into the Chaco, the scholar was accompanied by several Guarayú Indians, who followed him as far as Chiriguano country. The Guarayú customarily load their baggage and the products of their fields into back baskets of a special type (see Fig. 97) which have a wide distribution in tropical America, from the Guianas to Paraguay (Nordenskiöld 11, p. 171 and Map 21).

Gu 285 482 Gu [171]

Gu 285 482 [824] /439 cont./

p. 171 and Map 21). Their baskets being in bad shape, the Guarayú wanted to make some new ones and were very annoyed not to find in the region into which they had come the palm trees with pinnate leaves which they were in the habit of using for this purpose. Now, Guarayú and Chiriguano are brothers in race and language and emigrated at the same period from Paraguay to settle in the vicinity of the Andes. When leaving their country of origin, both were acquainted with this type of basket used by their ancestors, the Guarani, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, /440/ and still favored among their first cousins from Paraguay, the Kainguá (Métraux, 2, p. 206). The disappearance of this cultural element among the Chiriguano is due solely to the lack of appropriate raw materials.

C Gu 285 482 174 824 [144] [197]

In order to make up for the absence of back baskets, indispensable to a farming people /Fig. 98 appears here/ the Chiriguano borrowed from their neighbors in the Chaco, either the Mataco or the Choroti, the carrying nets (in Chiriguanoz aflapoka) whose use is so widespread among the latter and is so characteristic of their civilization. Carrying nets today are in general use among the Chiriguano, and in every village each family has at /Fig. 99 appears here/ least one (Figs. 98 and 99). In spite of this wide diffusion, the Chiriguano aflapoka betrays its origin by its form and technique (see Figs. 100 and 101 /see pp. 283 -285/), which are both found in the tribes we have just enumerated (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208, Technique I). Although considerably more advanced on the way to civilization than the seminomadic tribes of the Chaco, the Chiriguano do not by any means equal them /441/ in the art of making nets. The aflapoka I collected cannot be compared with the deep bags which the Matako or the Choroti, for example, make for the same purpose. In the village of Machareti, where Toba live with Chiriguano, it is the former who furnish the latter with the /Fig. 100 appears here/ carrying nets they need (see Fig. 99 /see p. 282/) (1).

C 177 482 C [171] C [286] C [563] [439]

1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 163, Fig. 49 A) gives the detail of the technique of a Chiriguano carrying net. This technique is not found on any

C 286 482 171

[Text continues on p. 283]

/441 cont./

194 177 286 482 [439] Everything thus leaves us to suppose that, in the early period of their settling on the western confines of the Bolivian Chaco, the Chiriguano procured by barter the carrying nets intended to replace the back baskets they had used until then. It was only later that they learned to make them themselves, adopting only the simplest and easiest of techniques besides. Thanks to this example we can catch alive the causes which have motivated the adoption of a new cultural element after the disappearance of another which rendered the same services. For that, two factors have come into play, the physical environment and the ethnic one. There was adaptation and borrowing at the same time. This fact also proves that a relatively civilized people never hesitates to appropriate the inventions of more barbaric tribes when they find some advantage in it.

●285 19 The present poverty of the basketwork industry among the Chiriguano does not imply that it is insignificant and worthless. Perhaps before the decline of this nation it was more widely represented in each village. I was able to observe that the disappearance of basketwork /442/ went along with the influence of the white men. But, for the reasons I have given above, I do not believe that at any time there could have been found among the Chiriguano that abundance of objects made of basketwork which travelers noted among the Indians of Guiana or the Amazon basin. Formerly, when the ancestors of the Chiriguano were still living in Paraguay and Brazil, they possessed basketwork identical with that of the tribes inhabiting the regions I have alluded to. Proof of it is furnished by the survival among the modern Chiriguano of various types of baskets, fire fans, and sieves, of which we find /Fig. 101 appears here/ the exact equivalent only in Guiana and the Amazon basin. As we shall ascertain in the course of this study, the identity between these two ethnic areas is perfect from this point of view. The only difficulty is to know whether in this case it is a matter of the remains of an industry peculiar to the Chané Indians of Arawak origin, whose influence upon the Chiriguano was considerable, or whether this basketwork only continues that of the ancient Guarani emigrants. In my opinion the question does not need to be asked. The basketwork of the

C /442 cont./ The basketwork of the
285 ancient Guarani or Tupinamba did not differ essentially in tech-
171 nique, form, or processes of ornamentation from the basketwork
174 of the north of southern America (Métraux, 2, pp. 249-255). It must have offered more than one point of similarity with that of the Chané, and we must consider the modern basketwork of the Chiriguano the heir of the basketwork common to these two /443/ nations. Let us notice in passing that the basketwork of the populations of tropical America has a certain unity. Nevertheless,

C
284

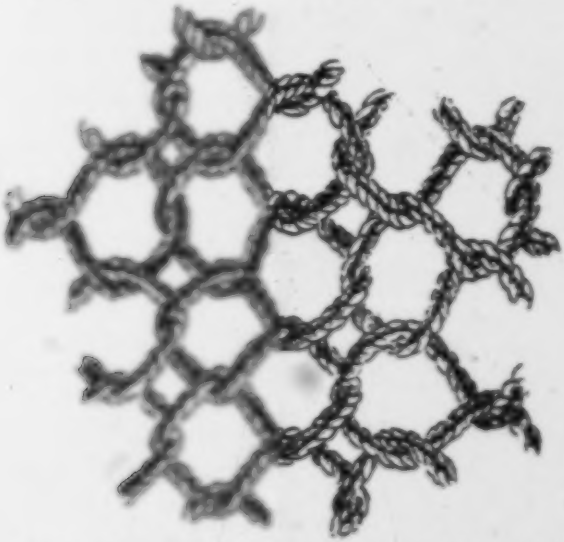


Fig. 101. Technique of the net of Fig. 99 (Technique V, according to Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208).

C
285 it was in the Guianas that it reached perfection.
171 After their great migration to the foot of the Andes, the
174 Chiriguano seem to have adopted basketwork of a new technique, which doubtless was unknown to their ancestors and racial brothers in Paraguay and Brazil. This technique is characteristic of all the baskets I am putting under the heading of wicker work /named in English/ in the following pages. As we shall see,
C
285 this technique also exists in the Guianas, and it is possible that
171 it was brought into the Bolivian Chaco by the Arawak nation
174 of the Chané. The center of dispersion of the Arawak must be

Ce 101 194 /443 cont./ the center of dispersion of the Arawak must be placed to the north of the Amazon, and before the Chiriguano invasion the Arawak tribe of the Chané was established over the whole extent of the territory now occupied by the former.

C 285 171 Beside this technique another exists, known to the Chiriguano since time immemorial and well before their great migration. The English-language ethnographers give it the name of twilled work. No other type of basketwork is so widespread. This technique is preponderant in all of tropical America from the Antilles to Paraguay and in the south stops at the Chaco. The Chiriguano are the only Indians of the Chaco among whom twilled work is in current use. This type of basketry used to exist on the coast of ancient Peru, but its importance there was not great and it appears only in work baskets.

C 285 184 Basketry in wicker work and that in twined work do not have an identical distribution among the Chiriguano. Baskets of the first kind are numerous in the villages of the upper Pilcomayo (Saladito, Salado Grande and Chico, Ibopeytí, and Yumbia) and go as far as the Ivu mission. They stop, or are rare, in the rest of the Chiriguano country, notably in the Caipipendí valley, where baskets of the second type (twilled work) predominate almost exclusively. These are widespread there, and the beauty of their workmanship, the embellishments with which they are provided, put them well above the basketwork of any other none and even above that of tribes living in regions richer in palm trees.

C [126] In the huts of the upper Pilcomayo I collected several baskets in twilled work, but they were rare there and often incomplete and torn. I had the impression that they had arrived there by way of commercial exchanges. In any case, the Indians no longer plait baskets of this type, and it is possible that their disappearance has given value to the specimens of them which remain. That would explain the absence of any new specimen and the preservation of ancient baskets almost beyond usefulness. Be that as it may, at present the true center of basketry in twilled work is the Caipipendí valley, and that of the basketry of /446/ wicker work, the region of the upper Pilcomayo. Since the living conditions of the

C [178] Chiriguano in the missions north and south of the Pilcomayo have undergone deep modifications, I do not know what the respective

/444 cont./

285 184 distribution of these two techniques must have been in former times. We shall find this difficulty every time we consider the diffusion of a cultural element peculiar to these Indians.

285 199 Wicker work basketry has undergone strong European influence. The agents have been the half-breeds of the department of Tarija, who live in constant contact with the Chiriguano. This foreign influence on the baskets belonging to this technique is manifested by modifications of the original forms and improvements of details, such as horseshoe handles.

285 191 Among the Chiriguano I did not find a single basket woven with the technique called "in spirals" (coiled basketry /named in English/), although in olden times it was in use among the Andean populations who used to and still do live in contact with the Chiriguano. Basketwork "in spirals" has continued on the altiplano, as the basket of Fig. 103, which I bought in La Quiaca, proves.

Basketry in "Wicker Work"

285 Mason (p. 228) designates under the name of wicker basketry a type obtained with the following technique: a rigid framework composed of thick, solid elements is intercrossed by thinner, more flexible elements. In the course of this work I shall call warp the rigid elements of the framework, and the ones crossing them, woof. The woof passes alternately over and under each element of the warp. This technique is well known to us: it is that of our wicker baskets, trunks, and back baskets (see Fig. 105 /see p.295 /).

Because of its very simplicity we have a right to suppose that this technique is old. It is only a variety of checker work /named in English/, the most elementary of all the techniques. By checker work we understand the process which consists of interlacing flexible bands so as to obtain a checkerboard design. The only piece of basketry made with this technique that I know of in the region we are concerned with is a basket that Eric von Rosen

/644 cont./

285 (1, Fig. 134, p. 172) obtained from some Chawai who were
[114] camping near Tatawenda. I share the opinion of this explorer, who considers this object as of Chiriguano origin.

In spite of its simple and archaic character, basketry in
[171] wicker work is rare in South America. According to Nordenskiöld (10, p. 171, and 11, p. 198), it is found among the Aracuan, Tucakare, Atsawaka, Tambopata Guayvi (Chama), Tomiaka, and the Indians of Guiana, in particular those of the Roraima region.

/443/

102
151
285

Map 1. showing the distribution of the technique called wicker work

1: Métraux--290 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/446/

Table for Map 1

Distribution of the basketry technique called "wicker work"

1911 285

Numbers on the map	Tribes	Authors	Remarks
1	Chiriguano and Chané		
2	Diaguite	Museo de Tucumán No. 306	Some impressions on the base of a vessel enabled me to discover the existence of this technique in this geographical area.
3	Araucan of Chile	Latcham, p. XXXV (1)	
4	Araucan of Argentina	National Museum of Buenos Aires (Palavecino Collection).	
5	Yurakare	Nordenskiöld, 11, Fig. 30, p. 128.	
6	Atoawaka, Tambopata-Guarayú	Nordenskiöld, 11, p. 198.	
7	Palikur	Nimuendajú, Fig. 23, p. 49.	
8	Siuní and Kauá of the Alary River	Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 142 a-d, p. 221.	
9	Patamona, Makusi, Arekuna	Roth, p. 140, Pl. 105 B and C.	
10	Arawak	Roth, Pl. 104 B.	

[113]

1. Latcham, R. E., "Ethnology of the Araucanos," in The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 34, London, 1904, cited from Nordenskiöld, 10, p. 171.

/446 cont./

285 171 This information needs to be completed. The technique called wicker work was apparently known to the ancient Diaguite. A vessel from one of the Andean valleys in Tucuman province bears imprinted on its base impressions left by a tray or basket in wicker work, upon which the potter had placed this receptacle when the clay was still soft (Fig. 102). This discovery did not surprise me: already, and for a long time, I had supposed that this manner of plaiting baskets was not foreign to the peoples of the Andes. How otherwise could one explain the occurrence of wicker work among the half-breeds and Indians of Tarija department, the Araucan and Chiriguano Indians of the upper Pilcomayo?

Guiana forms a second area of dispersion of this technique without, however, its being very common there. The small bags in which the Patamona put the cotton with which they provide the arrows of their /447/ blowguns before blowing them are in wicker work, the same as the pegalls with the so-called "armadillo" motifs of the Arawak, Patamona, and Makuši /Macusi/. The baskets in the form of carafes or bottles of the Siusí /Siusi/ and Kauá /Caua/ of the Aiary River are also good examples of this technique. (On the modalities and distribution of this technique, see Roth, p. 140 and Plates 104, 105, and 106, and pp. 329-331.)

The distribution of this technique is wider in North America. It is known to the Indians of eastern Canada and abounds in /Fig. 102 appears here/ southern Mexico and in Central America. It appears scattered here and there on the Pacific Coast and in the interior basin.

Most of the fish weirs, the enclosures for stopping game during hunting drives, and the coarse baskets serving for the transport of numerous objects are made in this technique.

285 323 If one examines the baskets of this type among the Chiriguano, one will doubtless be struck by the fact that several of them assume the form of pottery pieces. This resemblance is further accentuated by the fact that some (see Plate LXXV, 2 /see p. 299/) are provided with lateral handles in imitation of vessels. The interplay between these two industries is evident.

/448/

285 The horseshoe handles which surmount some of these baskets
191 /Plate LXXV, 1 and 3/ seem to me to come from imitation of
192 European or half-breed basketwork. Among the half-breeds of the eastern slopes of the Andes I found baskets which had exact replicas among the Chiriguano (see, for example, Fig. 108 /see p. 302 /) and attested eloquently to the borrowing of the latter.

285
191

Fig. 102. Base of a vessel from the mountainous region of Tucumán Province, and bearing the impressions of a tray or basket in wicker work, on which it rested during its manufacture.

Besides, the Chiriguano give the Spanish name of canastos to baskets of European form /Fig. 103 appears here./

Among the baskets in wicker work there are some (Plate LXXV 4) which in form and technique are singularly reminiscent of the baskets of Brazilian Guiana which Koch-Grünberg (2. Vol. II p. 221, Fig. 242 a, b, c) compares to carafes. (Cf. also Roth Plate 104, Fig. C.)

2 [See p. 299--Analyst]

/448 cont./

Description of baskets in "wicker work"

• 285

Figure 104. Length, 20 centimeters; width, 14 centimeters; height, 14.5 centimeters. Provenance: Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo region).

This little basket was made by the technique called wicker work, that is, the woody stems constituting it were intermingled in such a way that the elements of the woof pass alternately above and below those of the warp. There are ten of the latter: four go in the transverse direction and six in the longitudinal. They are crossed over and held by the stalks of the woof. Plate LXXIII gives a very exact idea of the technique I have just tried to define.

[415] →

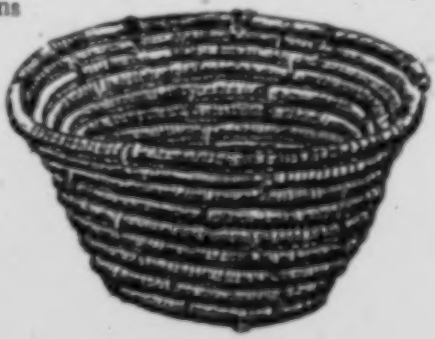


Fig. 103. Small basket in spiral basketry (coiled basketry). Bought at La Quiaca. (2/3 nat. size.)

The fibrous stalks which constituted the warp and went far beyong the rim of the basket were bent back in an arc and fastened into the fabric. They were slipped into it beside another element of the warp after /449/ crossing the neighboring element (see Fig. 105 /see p.295 /). Because of this, the little sides of the basket seen in Figs. 104 and 105 seem to be formed by a warp of which each element is double. The rim is regular and strong.

The basket is provided with a suspension cord of vegetable fibers. I do not know the scientific or common name of the plant from which the stalks used in the plaiting of this basket were taken. They are flat, regular, and rectangular in cross-section.

/449 cont./

285 Nordenskiöld (10, Fig. 53 B) published a basket of analogous shape and identical technique.

Plate LXXIV, Figure 1. Height, 16 centimeters; maximum diameter, 14 centimeters. Provenance: Saladito (upper Pilcomayo).

The warp is composed of 12 element; crossing one another at the base in the shape of a quadrilateral, that is, in groups of three (see Plate LXXVI, 1 /see p.300 /). The woof, like the warp,

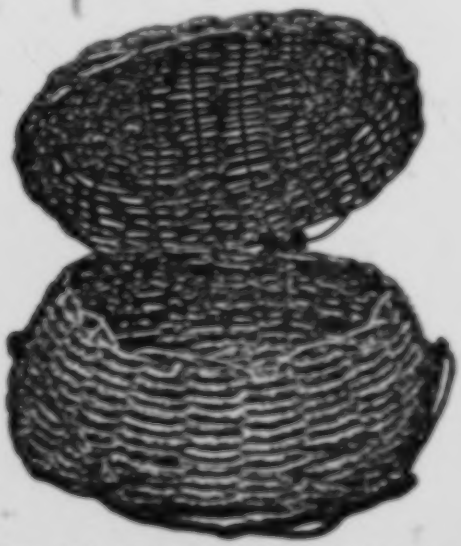


Fig. 104. Basket in wicker work with cover. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/3.5 nat. size.)

is made of fibrous, flat, thin strips. The ends of the warp which passed beyond the rim have been folded back and slipped into the fabric.

Plate LXXIV, Figure 2. Height, 16 centimeters; maximum diameter, 18 centimeters. Provenance: Ivu.

The technique of this basket is identical with that of the preceding specimen. Only the raw material is different. The rigellas composing it are very thin and lend themselves less well to regularity of the /450/ fabric. For this reason the elements of

[See p. 298-- Analysis]

/450 cont./

●285 the warp are double. It is composed of 32 tigellas arranged in pairs, which, in reality, gives 16 elements. They cross at the base, forming an octagon somewhat like Plate LXXVI. 2.

Plate LXXIV, Figure 3. Height, 13.5 centimeters; diameter, 11 centimeters. Provenance: Ivu.

The framework of this basket is made of uneven, coarse stalks. The base is composed of fine, close-woven tigellas. Some stalks of the warp have been split, then spread to form two distinct

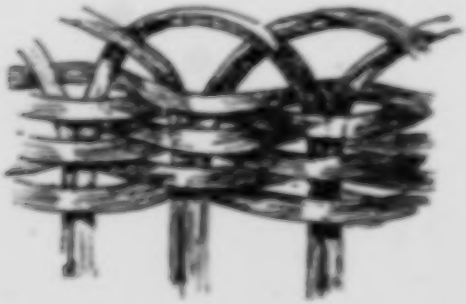


Fig. 105. Detail of the technique of the rim of the basket of Figure 104.

elements (see Fig. 106 /see p.301 /).

Plate LXXIV, Figure 4. Height, 13.5 centimeters; diameter, 11 centimeters. Provenance: Tintapaw (Alto Pilcomayo).

This basket is identical with the one we have just described, except that the rough and brittle stalks make a thick, coarse fabric.

Plate LXXV, Figure 1.[1] Height, 19 centimeters; diameter, 18 centimeters. Provenance: Timboy (region of the Saladito River).

This basket differs from the preceding ones only by the shape of the horseshoe handle surmounting it. This is composed of twisted fibers exactly as in our household baskets. There are 12 warp elements, arranged in groups of three, radiating from the base and forming a quadrangular figure as in Plate LXXVI. 1.[2] Some stalks of the woof have been dyed pink.

[1] [See P.299 -- Analysis]
[2] [See P. 300 -- Analysis]

/450 cont./

285 Plate LXXV, Figure 2. Height, 16 centimeters; maximum diameter, 17.5 centimeters. Provenance: Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo).

This basket deserves a place apart by virtue of its general shape, the handles it has, and the care with which it was plaited.

The handles with which it is provided are formed by an element of the woof which, after making the round of the warp, takes off from it to pass three times, perpendicularly, under the framework of the basket. /Plates LXXIII-LXXVI appear here./

/451/ The handle thus obtained is reinforced by a supplementary tigella which laces among the elements just as the woof does (see Fig. 107 /see p.301 /). Plate /Fig. 106 appears here/ LXXVI, 2, shows us the fashion in which the basket-maker proceeded in order to group the warp elements, which are 15 in number.

Plate LXXV, Figure 3. /Fig. 107 appears here./ Height, 16 centimeters; maximum diameter, 15 centimeters. Provenance: Ñawirenda (mouth of the Salado River).

The framework is composed of flat, brittle stalks always going in groups of two. The added handle is made of twisted fibers. [177] The general form of this basket betrays European influence.

Plate LXXV, Figure 4. Height, 15 centimeters; diameter, 12 centimeters. Provenance: Ñawirenda (mouth of the Salado River).

The warp is formed of flat, thin elements wider than those of the woof. The handles /452/ are added on. They are formed by a stalk coiled on itself and passing three times under the woof elements. One stalk interlaces there exactly as the woof interlaces with the warp. /Fig. 108 appears here./

Plate LXXVII, Figure 1.* Height, 8 centimeters; diameter, 16 centimeters. Provenance: Ibopeytí (upper Pilcomayo). /Fig. 109 appears here./

This little, slightly rounded basket is remarkable for its rigidity and strength. The technique is still the same as we have examined thus far. The warp is composed of 15 elements arranged at the base exactly as on Plate LXXVI, 1.

Plate LXXVII, Figure 2. Height, 9 centimeters; width, 11 centimeters. Provenance: Tintapaw (mouth of the Salado River, upper Pilcomayo).

* [See p. 304-- Analyst]

1: Métraux--297 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

285
415

Plate LXXIII

Base of the basket of Fig. 104, indicating the detail of its technique.

I: Métraux--298 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate LXXIV

285
415

Chiriguano baskets in wicker work. Prov.: 1. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2 and 3. Ivu; 4. Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

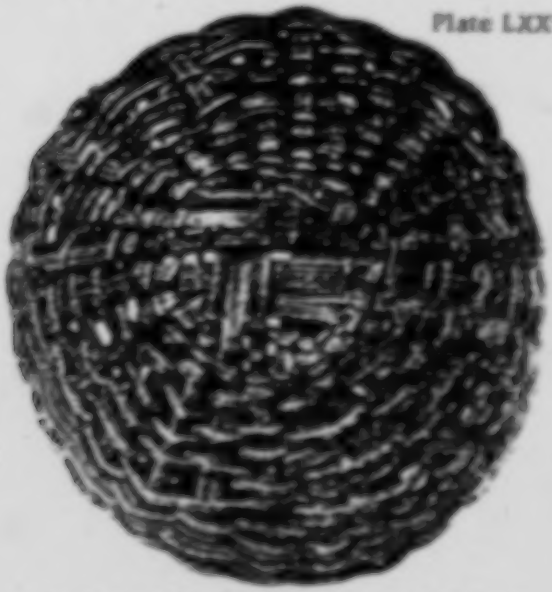
1: Métraux--299 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF

●285
415

Plate LXXV

Chiriguano baskets. Prov.: 1. Timboy (upper Pilcomayo) and 2. Ibopeyti; 3. Nuimenda (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

285
415



1. Base of the basket of Plate LXXIV, 1.

2. Base of the basket of Plate LXXV, 2.

285
415

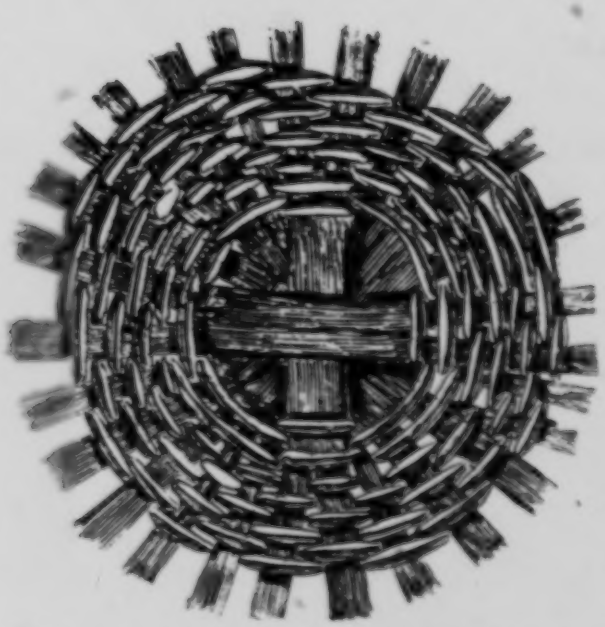


Fig. 106. Detail of the technique of the bottom of of the basket of Plate LXXIV, 3.

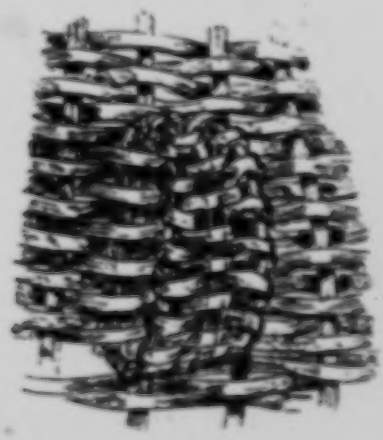
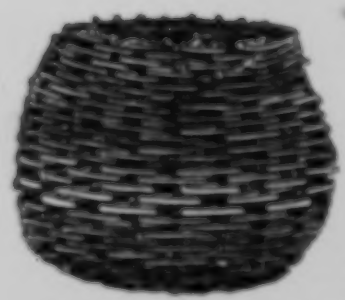


Fig. 107. Detail of the handle of the basket of Plate LXXV, 7.

1: Métraux--302 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

285
415

Fig. 108. Basket in wicker work in imitation of those of the half-breeds. Prov.: Ivu. (About 1/4 nat. size.)



[524]

Fig. 109. Miniature basket (child's toy). (Nat. size.)

/452 cont./

285 This small basket is closely related to the preceding one in its technique. The warp is made of four fibrous bands which cross in octagons and are then divided into three /Plate LXXVII appears here/ /453/ or two diverging elements which form the warp (see Fig. 106 /see p. 301/).

Figure 108. Height, 12 centimeters; maximum diameter, 28 centimeters. Provenance: Ivu.

[199] There is no doubt that this basket is a pure and simple imitation of European ones. I have seen baskets identical from the point of view of form and technique among the half-breeds of the department of Tarija.

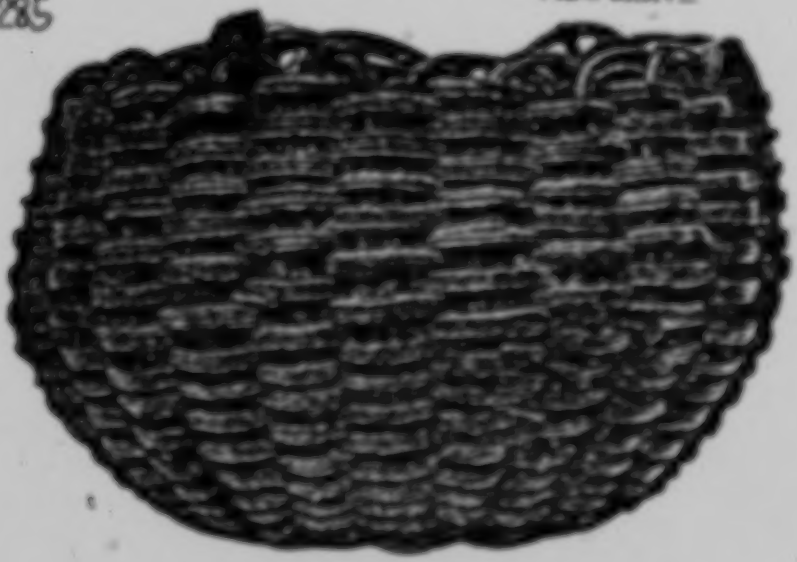
3. Basketry in "Twilled Work"

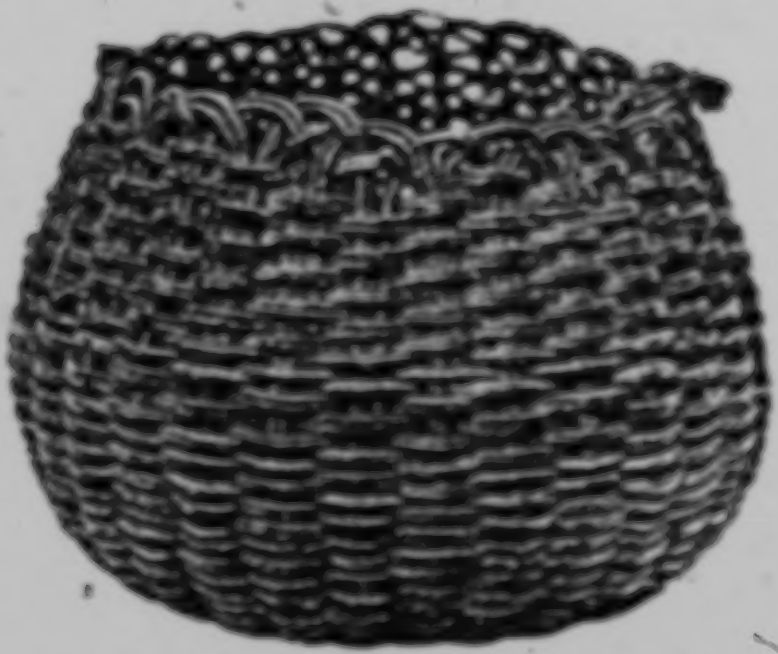
The term twilled work designates the basketry technique in which the woof elements pass over two or several elements of the warp so as to produce with the contexture of the fabric diagonal motifs and an infinity of others all based on the changes of rhythm in the number of the warp elements which have been skipped over (Mason, p. 224).

285 191 In the pages where I dealt with wicker work I have already had occasion to note the affinities which not only the technique but coin the form of Chiriguano baskets offer with those from Guiana. The analogy is still more striking with twilled baskets. We have among the Chiriguano the exact counterpart of the famous telescope baskets or pegall of Guiana. These are rectangular baskets in two parts, one fitting into the other and shutting hermetically (Plates LXXVII, LXXX, and Figs. 110 and 111). Nordenskiöld (10, p. 173) has given us a map indicating the distribution of baskets provided with a cover into which they fit more or less completely. These "telescope" baskets are particularly abundant north of the Amazon. I suspect that the famous haramono of the Tupinambá, in which the latter put their feathers, must have belonged to this type. Among the Tupi-Guarani, the only one where this type of closure has been noted are the Guayakí, Paraguna, Mashí /Mawi/, and Oyampi (Métraux, 2, p. 253).

[See pp. 309 & 309 respectively -- Analysis]

285





Chiriguano baskets in wicker work. From: 1. Zapoyití (upper Pilcomayo); 2. Tímayaw (upper Pilcomayo). (1/3 nat. size.)

/450 cont./

285 [531] [191]

Another point of contact between the basketry of the Chiriguano and that of the Indians of the east and north of South America is the occurrence of baskets in twilled work in which elements of two colors are combined, following a changing rhythm, to produce geometric figures. The basket of Plate LXXVIII, with the frets standing out in black on the sides, is representative of this form of art, which, in the Guianas, done with a lively brilliance.

Baskets of the pegall or "telescope" type are divided into two categories according to the principle of their plaiting. To make one kind (Plate LXXIX and Fig. 111), the basket-maker began by crossing the warp elements with one another in such a way that they radiate from a single center. Then he interlaced according to a binary rhythm the rigellas which /456/ left the common center like so many rays. Baskets of the second category have been plaited by intermingling the elements of the warp and weft at right angles so as to make the bottom without any precise point from which the elements come away (Plate LXXX, 7). The photographs (Plate LXXIX and LXXX, 7) show what I mean better than any description.

[514] The stalks which serve for the fabrication of baskets in twilled work are taken from the leaves of the bacaba palm Cocornicia cerifera Mart. or Cocornicia australis. The leaves are cut into fine strips and refined by immersion.

Sieves and fine fans belong in the basketry called twilled, but I shall deal with them in a separate chapter.

Descriptions of baskets in "twilled work"

Plate LXXVIII, Figures 1 and 2. Height, 7 centimeters; diameter, 17.5 centimeters. Pirmenatoes Carapanaú.

This basket belongs to the category of those called "telescopes" or /Fig. 110 appears from/ pegall of Guiana. Plate LXXIX which shows us the detail of its upper surface also indicates its technique with sufficient clarity so that no diagram is necessary. The warp is composed of 32 flexible elements, radiating from a central center. They begin by interlacing for two rounds then.

[see P. 309 - Analysis]

/414 cont./

285 the basket-maker having introduced black-colored strips into the fabric, these in turn go to cross /Plates LXXVIII-LXXX appear here/ /444/ the first and permit obtaining the figures seen in Plate LXXVIII, 1 and 2.

Figure 110. Height, 14 centimeters; diameter, 36 centimeters. Pavamamoi Caipipoldi. /Fig. 111 appears here./

This large basket is exactly like the preceding one from a technical and decorative point of view. Unfortunately, the dark strips are scarcely distinguishable from the others, whether their color has been rubbed off or whether they have always been thus. The detail of one of the sides is represented on Plate LXXXI, 1. /Fig. 112 appears here./

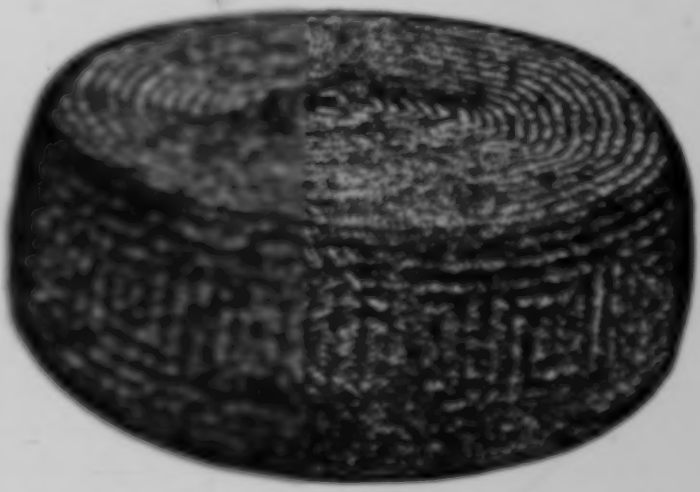


Fig. 110. Circular basket in twilled work. Prov.: Caipipoldi. (About 1/8.5 nat. size.)

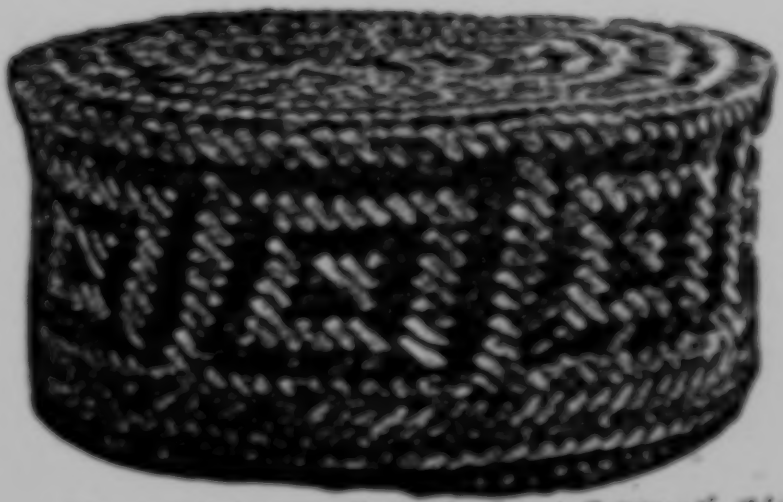
Figure 111. Height, 9 centimeters; width, 12 centimeters. Pavamamoi Caipoldi.

This basket goes in the same category as those we have just examined, except that it does not show any motif originating from an interlacing of dark and light stalks.

1: Métraux--207 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate LXXVIII

285
531



Chiriguano basket in new Tipi work. From Capipendi. (1/3 nat. size.)

1: Mètreux--200 E-5 (1920) 1990 SF10 Chirigueto SF10

Plate LXXIX

285

Forum of the basket of Plate LXXVII.

285

1. Basket of the tatacoapa type in twilled work. Pinus Calipensis.

2. Details of the technique of this basket.

Ir Máimuo--210 0-5 (1970) 1980 0P10 Chirigumo 0P10

285

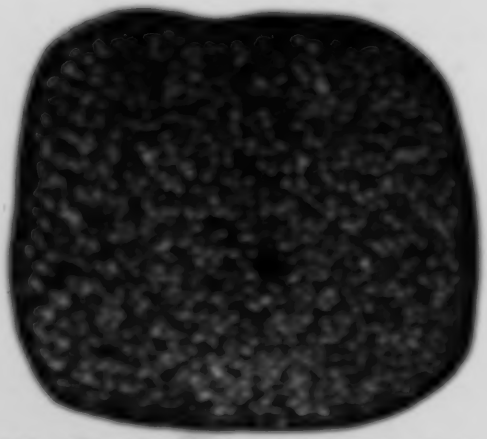


Fig. 111. Circular holder of the "telescope" type in twilled work. Prov.: Caipuonaí. (About 1/7 nat. size.)

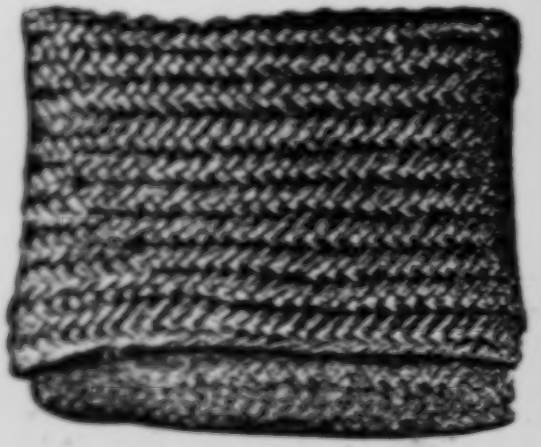
285
291

Fig. 117. Hat in twilled work. Prov.: Canauaí. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

/456/

285 Plate LXXX, Figures 1 and 2. Height, 8 centimeters; width, 12 centimeters. Provenance: Caruruti.

The fine strips of palm leaves which make up this basket are wider and more brittle than the ones constituting the preceding one of identical shape but different technique. The fibers, instead of radiating from a single center, simply cross, following the rhythm which Figure 2 of the same plate permits examining.



[296]

Fig. 114. Chiriguano cigarette case in twilled work. Prov.: Caruruti. (2/3 nat. size.)

Fig. 113. Hat of the type of Figure 112 in the process of being made. (About 1/6 nat. size.)

[291] [294]

Figure 112. Height, 10 centimeters; diameter, 36 centimeters. Provenance: Caruruti.

This hat is made exactly according to the technique of the baskets of Plate LXXVIII and Figs. 110 and 111.

/456 cont./

285 294 A half-finished hat (Fig. 113) which I was able to acquire at Carurutí shows well the process of fabrication. The basket-maker begins by making the crown of the hat, interlacing 36 tigellas and shortly afterward adding other supplementary stalks whose ends are seen protruding. When the hat is finished, all those projecting beyond the fabric are cut off. The rhythm of the crossing elements is twofold.

285 276 Figure 114. Length, 10 centimeters; width, 8 centimeters. Provenance: Carurutí.

This cigarette case faithfully imitates the ones the Chiriguano have seen in the hands of half-breeds or creoles. Nevertheless, its technique is interesting, for it is purely indigenous. The /Plate LXXXI appears here/ /457/ tigellas of karandaí leaves cross in a twofold rhythm.

The Chiriguano are not great smokers and it is rare to find cigarettes among them, so that these cases seem to me to be made for amusement rather than for their practical utility.

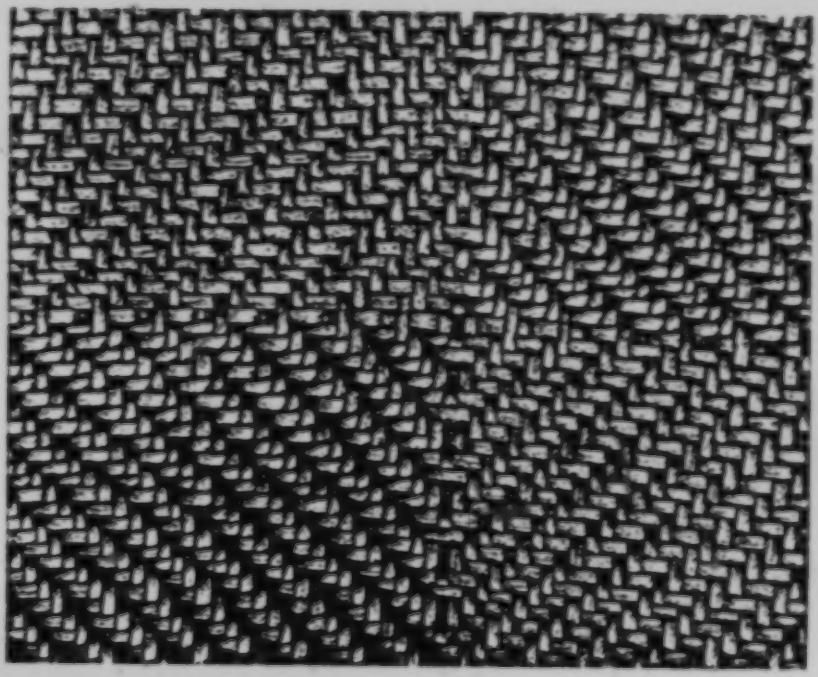
Sieves

415 252 There is no Chiriguano housewife who does not have at her disposal at least two sieves. The importance of this kitchen utensil corresponds to the considerable role of corn [262] flour in their food. Of the 12 different dishes that the Chiriguano prepare from this grain, there are six or seven in which it appears in the form of flour. Kāwi itself is made with corn pounded in a mortar and then passed through a sieve. Sieves serve also for cleaning beans and ridding them of the stones and dust accompanying them. Finally, sieves are used for straining kāwi after cooking and for separating the liquid, which is to ferment, from the marc or temišu. They can also be used as simple baskets, and I have seen some holding cotton seeds.

Plate LXXXI

285

1. Details of the technique of the basket of Figure 110.



2. Details of the technique of the sieve of Plate LXXXI.

/457 cont./

C 415 285 Sieves are of two kinds. The first category includes those whose meshes are close together and composed of fine strips of karandaí leaves intercrossing in a binary rhythm. Sieves of this type belong in the basketwork called twilled. The Chiriguano give them the name of urumpé and use them in preference to the others, whose usage is limited.

The second category includes sieves with wide meshes. The strips forming them cross in checkerwork, that is, the woof passes alternately under, then over, an element of the warp. The Chiriguano designate sieves of this type by the name of urumpesa, and they use them for sifting ground corn when they wish to obtain a coarse flour.

E 415 285 191 Some of these sieves are real works of art, but they cannot be compared with the magnificent specimens from Guiana, on which the alternation of the black and white elements produce geometric figures of the handsomest effect. It is probable that formerly the Chiriguano had identical sieves, as can be supposed from the one on Plate LXXXII, which is composed of a warp and a woof whose gray and white elements are arranged in such a way as to form dark and light bands on which concentric squares stand out.

C 415 171 The sieve is widespread in all of tropical America, where it is used not only for corn flour but also for that which the natives make from bitter manioc. It is unknown to the primitive populations of the Chaco, who have not even felt the need to borrow it from the Chiriguano or Chané. The populations of the Inca Empire /458/ did not know its use. The urumpé is a utensil common to nearly all the Tupi-Guarani tribes: it has been described or noted among the Tupinamba, the Guarani, the Kaingua /Caingua/, the Guarayú, the Pauserna, the Apiaká /Apiaca/, and the Parintintin. The Chiriguano must therefore have taken along with them when they emigrated from Paraguay, which does not exclude the fact that they may also have found it in use among the Chané.

C [174]

/458 cont./

285 I was present at the making of a sieve at Carurutí in the Caipipendí valley. Here is what I noted about it: "The raw
[824] material is furnished by the leaves of the karandaí palm (Copernicia australis), which is cut into fine strips. The plaiting is done very simply: they form a square by crossing at right angles the elements of the woof and warp, following the rhythm of 1 (one element over, the other under, etc.) In order to slip in the woof elements, it suffices to raise each time all the strips

Fig. 115. Detail of the rim of the sieve of Plate LXXXIV, 2.

of the warp which have already been crossed by the woof. When the sieve is plaited, they choose a straight, flexible branch and carefully split it in two. Each of the two halves is bent into a circle so that one of the hoops can fit into the other. The unplaited elements of the warp and woof are inserted between the two hoops (see Fig. 115), then securely tied. Since the hoops have a diameter a little smaller than the width of the woven square, the result is that when it is fastened into the circle, it bulges out. All the ends which stick out are cut off."

285 The string used to attach the sieve to the hoops is made in the
283 following manner: "The bark of a tree (embira) is taken off in wide, long strips, in turn divided into finer lengths. They take two of these lengths, moisten them with saliva, and roll them on the right calf, each one separately, then the two together. When the cord must be of a certain length, they have to add new pieces. These splices must be made without changing the diameter of the cord and without any gaps. For that they are always careful

/458 cont./

285 283 to roll together two strands of unequal length. When one of them has been rolled to the end, another is added. Any possibility of breaking is thus avoided. The movement of the hand is downward when they form a strand, and upward and downward when they roll the strands together to make the cord. The cord, at first fine, grows thicker, but slowly."

285 Plate LXXXII. Diameter: 43 centimeters. Provenance: Igüembé valley.

/Plate LXXXII appears here./

/459/ This urumpé is a remarkable specimen from every point of view. The elements composing it cross according to a binary rhythm, that is, each

Fig. 116. Sieve in the process of being made. Prov.: Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/4 nat. size.)

element of the woof passes under or over two elements of the warp. Darker stalks alternate by sections with lighter ones and form gray and light-colored bands which run parallel and cross at right angles.

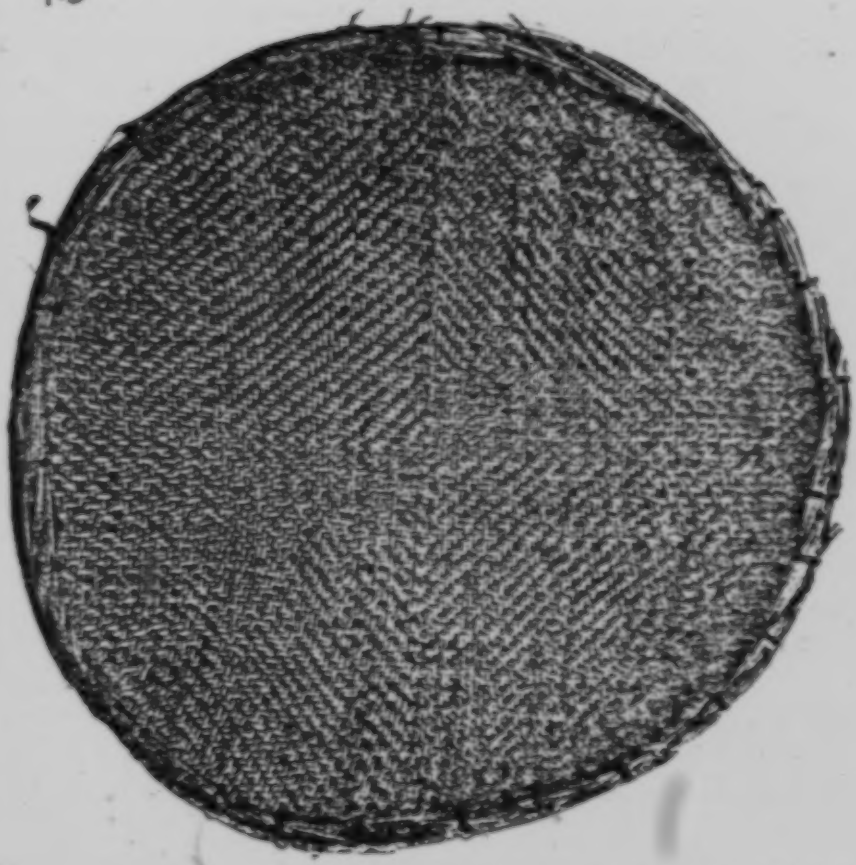
It will be noticed that, having arrived at the vertical diameter, the elements of the woof, which until then had obeyed a binary rhythm, change it abruptly. The first time, the stalk crosses over; the second, it passes under three elements of the warp:

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P 318]

1: Métraux--317 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

285
415

Plate LXXXII



Sieve (urumpé). Prov.: Igüembé Valley. (1/3.5 nat. size.)

/459 cont./

285 the third, it again passes under one single element, then again three elements are crossed over, then only one, to recommence passing under three elements, then again under one. This new rhythm continues along the whole length of the vertical and horizontal diameter and permits the formation of the sides with concentric squares (see Plate LXXXI, 2 /see p. 313/).

/460/ Plate LXXXIII, Figure 1.[2] Diameter: 43 centimeters. Provenance: Ivu.

The technique and decorative process are exactly the same as for the preceding specimen, with the exception, however, of the alternation of the dark and light fibrous bands.

Plate LXXXIII, Figure 2. Diameter: 33 centimeters. Provenance: San Luis region.

This urumpé is made according to the same principle as the other sieves, but it does not involve the change of rhythm along the two diameters. Consequently, it does not appear to be embellished with any geometric motif. The warp and woof elements always cross in pairs.

Plate LXXXIV, Figure 1.[2] Diameter: 42 centimeters. Provenance: Saladito.

The urumpesa are distinguished from the urumpé not only by the greater width of the fibrous strips composing the fabric but also by the technique of this fabric. The woof elements cross regularly those of the warp, passing now under, now over, but each time they cross only one single element. This technique is the one Mason calls checker work.

The intervals between the elements are also larger and facilitate the passage of big kernels of corn.

Plate LXXXIV, Figure 2. Diameter: 40 centimeters. Provenance: Saladito.

The principle of the technique is the same as for the preceding sieve, with the one exception that the warp and woof elements are very wide.

[2] [See P 320--Analyst]
[2] [See P 321--Analyst]

/460 cont./

Fans or Fire-blowers

C 372 184 [171]

Great was my surprise when upon arriving in the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo region I found fire fans identical with those of the Indians of Brazil and the Guianas. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 56) barely mentions them and insists on their rarity. The fact is explained by the absence of this cultural element in all the rest of the zone inhabited by the Chiriguano. In most of the villages they use old hats or fragments of baskets to fan the fire.

C 372 285

Plate LXXXV. Length, 28.5 centimeters; width, 31 centimeters. Provenance: Saladito.

The making of these fans is rather simple. The leaves composing them cross in a rhythm of two. On the edge the stalks have been bent back and, passing again across the fabric, are interlaced to form a pucker on each side. The free ends /Plates LXXXIII-LXXXV appear here/ /461/ have been plaited on top and one part passed into a split stick forming the handle (Fig. 117).

C [171]

An important remark must be made on the subject of these fans. They /Fig. 117 appears here/ differ little from the fans made of a single pinnate palm leaf, such as are found in Brazil and Paraguay. The Chiriguano, having no palm trees of this species in their new homeland, had to /Fig. 118 appears here/ adopt the palmate leaves of the *karandaí*. They replaced the petiole, which forms the handle, with the split stick to which I have alluded. (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 106 and 107, pp. 219-220.)

C [824]

C 285 353 797 [824]

/462/

"Flowers"

On feast days the Chiriguano of the Franciscan missions decorate the church with artificial "flowers" which they make from leaves of *karandaí* palms. These decorations are of ancient origin and derive directly from the straw amusements /*jeux*/ still made by the Indians in various /Fig. 119 appears here/ regions of America, notably in the Guianas. The natives of the latter region often hang them in their houses where they perhaps

G 285 353

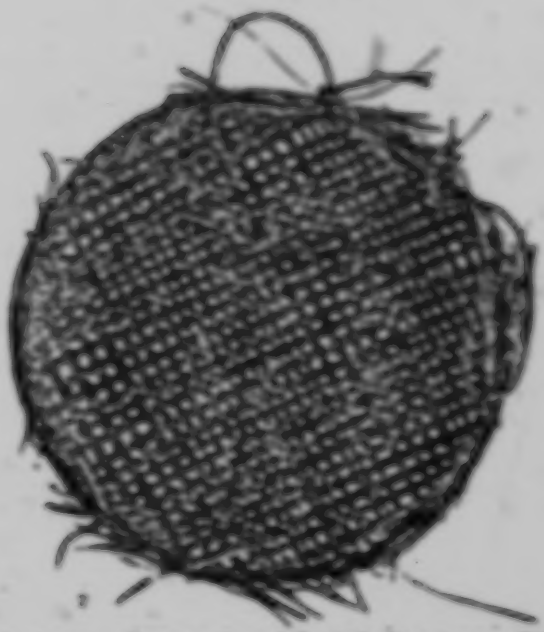
[See p. 322 --Analyst]
[Text continues on p. 324]

285
#15

Chiriguano sieves (urumpá). Prov.: 1. Ivu; 2. San Luis (Tarija department). (Scale, No. 1, 1/5; No. 2, 1/4 approximate nat. size.)

285
415

Plate LXXXIV



Large-mesh sieves. Prov.: 1 and 2. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo).
(About 1/5 nat. size.)

1: Méraux--S22 E-5 (1929) 1929 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
2285
3892

Plate LXXXV

Fan or fire-blower of plaited palm leaves. Prov.: Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (1/3 nat. size.)

Lt Métraux--323 E-5 (1979) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guana SR1

C
285
372

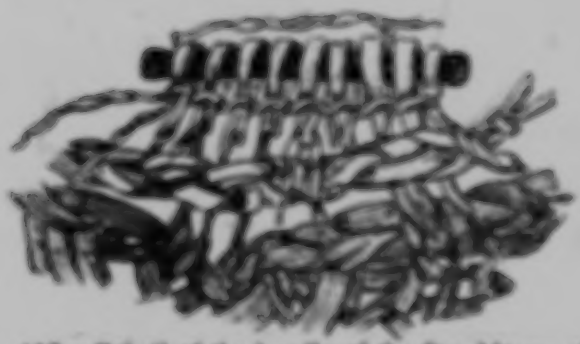


Fig. 117. Detail of the handle of the fire-blower of Plate LXXXV.

C
G
285
353
776

Fig. 118. "Flower," ornament made of plaited palm leaves, which the Chiriguano have blessed and with which they decorate their huts. The technique of this object is very ancient and is found also in Guiana. (1/4 nat. size.)

Cr 285 353

/402 cont /

serve as amulets, and, in any case, as ornaments. (Roth, pp. 497-499, Figs. 341-344 and p. 770; Koch-Grünberg, 3, Vol. II, p. 344.) In the same way the Chiriguano Indians decorate their huts with these figures, which they take care to have blessed. Exactly as in Europe they keep palm branches as lucky charms. Rosen (1, p. 61, Fig. 51) publishes a similar straw ornament which he found among the Chorotí and which was pointed out to him as an ornament worn on the forehead. This explorer suspects the exactitude of this information and supposes that a ritual object is concerned. In reality, it is only a "flower," which the Chorotí described by Rosen probably received or bought in some Chiriguano mission. It is enough to compare the figure of it that he gives us and our in order to be convinced of this.

Cr 285 301

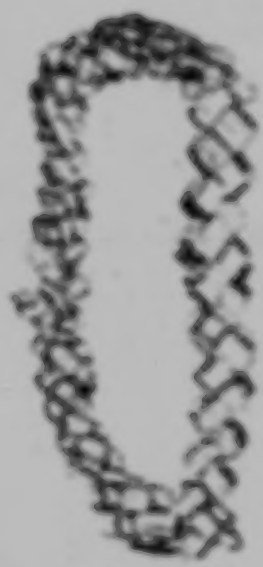


Fig. 119. Wreath of plaited palm leaves (amusement or ornament?). Ashluslay. Prov.: Estero Patiño. (1/6 nat. size.)

A 285 301

Figures made of palm leaves are not, however, unknown to the other Indians of the Chaco. The Ashluslay sold me a headdress braided according to this principle (Fig. 119) and Rosen (1, Fig. 44, p. 46) reproduces an identical head-ornament which he bought from a Chorotí tribe.

A Cr 285 191

2:Méfreux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chano SF.8

are based on a triangle measured by a scroll, which is multiplied in creative variations.

Women potters (pl. 41, top, left, and bottom, left) conquered the clay with crushed potsherds and built up their ware by coiling. They painted them with several kinds of ocher and with black obtained from resin.

Spinning and weaving.—Among the Chiriguano, wool is more commonly used than cotton for textiles, but Chané fabrics are generally of cotton. The fibers are spun with a drop spindle weighted with a clay wheel (pl. 42, center). Although garments are in part fashion in shape, the loom remains of the vertical type. Formerly, indigo was the favorite native dye; today aniline dyes have entirely replaced it. The ornamentation of the fabrics is limited to a few stripes.

Netting.—Fishing nets and carrying nets are made by means of a wooden gage in a reed-knot technique.

Basketry.—Fine, round baskets with overlapping lids, and sieves are crafted with palm leaves in the best Guiana fashion, but wickerwork basketry is very common. No large baskets for carrying or storing food are made.

Gourds.—The painted, incised, or fire-engraved (fig. 60) gourds (*Lagenaria siceraria*) used as cups are, after pottery, the best representatives of Chiriguano art. The motifs are mainly geometrical, with occasional realistic representations.

FIGURE 60.—Chané calabashes. *Left:* Specimen with lid (approximately ½ actual size). *Right:* Pyrograved specimen (approximately ⅓ actual size). (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1930, fig. 30 and Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 62.)

/31 cont./

as straight as cane. Beyond Santa Cruz there are still groves; in addition there are groves of another cane called "Bambú," which is the best known, and in Chiriguano it is called "Tacuarembó." It rises to a height of about 15 meters and is used for making /32/ ladders and scaffolding in construction because it is light and strong. The shoots are tender and contain a sugary substance highly regarded by the Indians; it is not sought much today, because there are abundant plantings of sugar cane, which is of greater utility for the production of sugar and alcohol. This last thrives with great ease and little work. Planting is done in two ways, making furrows and burying it or planting cuttings. The former is the better method where the freshets of the rivers do not penetrate. On the slopes and tops of hills which contain water there is another sort of slender cane, very strong and heavy, which is not hollow like the other classes and is called caña brava by the whites, and "Tacuarembó" by the Chiriguano. They use it for weavers' reeds and for sleeping cots.

TAMARINDO. -- This beautiful and useful tree is not native, but is thrives with enough care and grows to a respectable height; the fruit that it produces is abundant, consisting of abundant pods more or less the size of chick-pea pods; the pulp is blackish and pleasant to the taste, but it is bad for the teeth. It is astringent and is administered as medicine for intestinal inflammations, especially to children. It is also a good tonic drink on excessively hot days; it is prepared with sugar, water, and a little of its pulp. The tree is rather sensitive to cold, and the flowers wilt easily with the south wind. For this reason the whites plant it in their patios, which are surrounded by the living quarters.

TARINGUI. -- The name of this tree is Chiriguano. The taringui is found in some regions, but not in others. It is of the cactus variety, rises up to six meters, its branchage is abundant and close, which gives a fine shade against the blazing rays of the sun. Its branches or leaves are striated and armed with spines; the fruit is tiny, but sweet and otherwise pleasant, and much liked by foxes, who only get it when it falls from the tree. The piala or opuntia is smaller than the taringui, its leaves have the same form, the color is ash-gray and they are less a abundant, or, more properly, few. The fruit is a smooth berry

/187 cont./

301 302 [199] buy in the stores, as active since the founding of the missions. The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Tapuvate /166/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts in the presence of his companions (?).

[199] [114] [121]

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbia had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 294 285 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter is woven by them themselves with palm leaves. Carandaiti they bring them from the places where they are abundant. Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by old 292 554 Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (?).

291 302 304 178

2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap, the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in few places now, and the straw hat is being

593
586

/208 cont./

love can accomplish much, and they really love their children, without making much outward show of this.

Finally, the man, whenever he wishes, can dismiss his wife with great ease. He does it with contempt, in biting words, calling her Cuña pukiti, bad woman, Cuña imuquave, lazy woman, good only for lighting the fire. No one could endure such scenes for an hour, and she understands that the rascal has won the love of another, younger woman.

515 When a mother goes to the spring or river, she takes her son or daughter with her, bathes herself and also her child, and then grinds up some grains of Ñetura, a kind of panach, leaving her hair and that of her daughter clean and shiny. The bath is daily, but the washing of the hair with Ñetura is not.

/206/ Pregnancy and Birth

843 When a woman finds herself pregnant, she does not give up her customary chores, but goes to the field as usual and fetches from there heavy loads of maize and other things. 482 They use for this, as I have already stated, a kind of close-
● 285 woven net which the Toba make with the bark of the caraguata
[171] or maguey. Those made by the Chiriguano are like the wooden fruit-baskets /chipas/. They are open on top, where they have an easily untied cord, in the middle of which there is a wide band for holding the weight with the forehead (1).

482

1. The Chiriguano woman lets all the weight of the load she is carrying rest on her spinal column, etc., holding it with her forehead. If the water is some distance away, she does the same; if not, she carries the vessel vertically on her left shoulder, or on her head, where she places a pad of rags.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5, (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Basket-work.

C
Ce
285
171

In contrast to what is the case among the Choroti and Ashluslay, a good deal of basket-work is found among the Chiriguano and Chané, though less than among the tribes of N. E. Bolivia — this being due to the lack of suitable basket-making material.

There is unfortunately no complete work[1]) on different types of baskets and different kinds of basket-technique embracing the whole of S. America. Such a work cannot

Ce
[415]

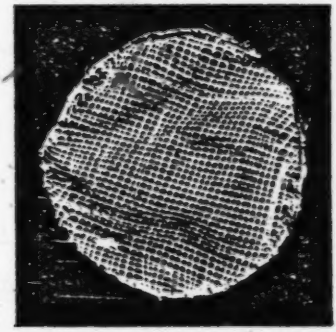


Fig. 52 Sieve. Chané, Rio Parapiti. G. M. P. 114. 1/8.

be accomplished without access to a number of the great museum-collections. It is not, of course, from the Chaco nor, as a rule, from the west, that the Chiriguano and Chané received their basket-types and various kinds of basket-technique, but from the north. Baskets of grass, built up spirally, which seem to be very characteristic of the western area of civilization, are not found here at all[2]) Neither the

000

[1]) Mason had far too little material from S. America at his disposal.

[2]) This technique, the so-called »Coiled basketry» has a much wider distribution than is indicated on Wissler's map. Very rarely one sees these baskets among the Mataco. They are very common at Arica on the coast of Chile.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Neither the Chiriguano nor Chané have carrying-baskets. They have carrying-nets instead. C Ce 285 482

In Part I I related how, in the year 1909, I came with some Guarayú Indians to the Chané and Chiriguano country. As there was no palm with parapinnate leaves, they were unable to make themselves new carrying-baskets instead of their old ones which were worn out. Should their tribe, for any reason, be compelled to emigrate to the Chiriguano and Chané country, they must alter their type of carrying-basket. It is quite possible that something similar has befallen the Chiriguano and Chané. They did not find suitable material for basket-making and so they learnt from the original inhabitants to make and use carrying-nets. Of the carrying-nets used by neighbouring tribes, those used by the Chiriguano and Chané most resemble those found among the Yuracáre. C Ce 174 285 482

In N. E. Bolivia, where palms abound, the Indians often make baskets for occasional use of a single palm-leaf. The whole basket thus consists of one palm-leaf. MAX SCHMIDT has given a minute description of such baskets. They occur among the Chané on the lower Rio Parapiti and, more rarely, among the Chiriguano. It is, at present, impossible to define the distribution of such baskets, since the majority of explorers have paid them no attention. There is a considerable difference of make in different places. In my collections I possess such baskets from the Chimáne, Ixiama, Cavina, Huanyam, Itonama, Pauserna, Churápa, Yuracáre, Siriono, Guarayú and Chacobo, as well as from the Chané and Chiriguano. It can be said that, practically speaking, they were used by all the Indians whose acquaintance I made on my travels excepting the Choroti, Ashluslay, Toba, Tapiete, Mataco, Quichua and Aymara. C Ce 285 171*

The »Urupé» is a type of basket which I have already dealt with in the foregoing, and I beg to refer to what I said there.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

285
415

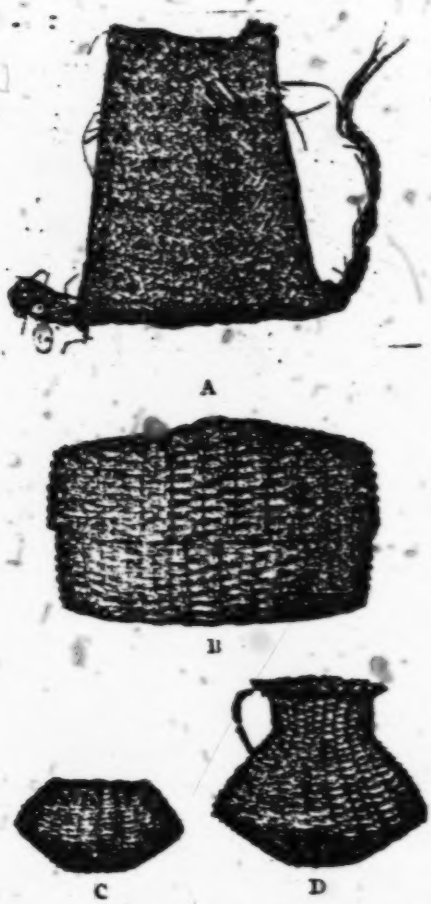


Fig. 53. Baskets from the Chiriguano.

A = R. M. E. 885.
B = » » » 507.
C = » » » 174.
D = » » » 542.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5/4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

A basket-making technique sometimes seen among the Chiriguano is the one reproduced in Fig. 54. Otherwise, I only know it from the Yuracáre and Atsahuaca. We are also acquainted with it from the Araucanians[1]), and from several tribes in N. W. Brazil.[2]) The THULIN-LILJEWALCH collection in the Gothenburg Museum has several baskets in this technique from Indians at Roraima in Guiana.

C
285
171*

Fig. 54. The technique of a basket plaited like R. M. E. 507, 174, 542.

The Chiriguano and Chané (at Rio Parapiti) possess baskets with overlapping lids. This type of lid seems to have a northern extension in S. America. The baskets I have seen from the western area of civilization, are from excavations on the coast of Peru. They have lids which are opened like the lid of an ordinary cigar-box. The distribution of baskets with lids may be seen from the map 14 and from the table below. Such baskets are not mentioned by MAX SCHMIDT from Guató, nor from the tribes on the upper Rio Xingú.

C
Ce
285
171*

---

[1]) LATCHAM (1) Plate XXXV.
[2]) KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) Vol. 2, Fig. 142—143.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5, (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

Table 17.

Baskets with lids. Map 14.

Baskets with overlapping lids.

C
Ce
285
*171
S
102
285

4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 545. (common).
5. Chané, R. M. P. 208. (rare).
6. Mataco, R. M. M. 434. (Only one).
13. Karajá, KRAUSE Pl. 57, Fig. 16.
23. Yuracáre, G. M. 13. 1. 641.
24. Chimáne, G. M. 15. 1. 1018.
25. Mojo.
31. Ojana, Trio, GOEJE (1) Pl. VIII. Fig. 1, 7, 8.
32. Atsahuaca, R. M. 05. 16. 444.
36. Ijca, BOLINDER (4)
37. Motilon, » (2)
38? Tupinamba, LERY P. 358.
40. Guarayos (Guarayú). R. M. G. 83.
41. Pauserna, G. M. 15, 1. 863.
47. Indians Roraima, G. M. 12. 1. 128.
48. Indians Northwestern Brazil. KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2), Vol. 1, Fig. 74, 174.
54. Guahivo, R. M. (H. M. K. II. 31.)
55. Caribs, Coast of Guiana, STEDMAN Vol. 2, P. 121; BARRERE P. 138.
62. Chacobo, R. M. Ch. 112.
7 p. Oyampi, CREVAUX P. 202.
7 S. Arawaks, Coast of Guiana.
8 F. Indians Bogota, UHLE (1) T. 2, Pl. 8.
9 F. Indians Andaqui, UHLE (1) T. 2, Pl. 8.
V5. Maquiritare, R. M. (H. M. K. I. 72).
5 M. Sebondoy, Pasto } UHLE (1) T. 2, Pl. 8.
3 L. Otavalo, Ecuador }
3 L. Cayambe, Ecuador. M. C. (H. 1034, H. 1035).
2 L. Yumbo, Indians Rio Napo. Museum Stuttgart (L. 1455/10 a—b).

StNordenskiöld E-5 μ (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
285
171*
S
102
285

Map. 14. The distribution of baskets with lids.

● = Baskets with overlapping lids.

○ = Baskets with lids which are opened like an ordinary cigar-box.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
285
*171
S
102
285

X 3. Piaroa Rio Ventuari. Communication by letter from Prof. KOCH-GRÜNBERG.

Baskets with lids which are opened like an ordinary cigar-box.

A. Graves on the Peruvian Coast. G. M. Very common in all collections of peruvian antiquities.

C
Ce
285
531

Some baskets from the Chiriguano have shapes which make them look like imitations of earthen vessels. (Fig. 53 C and D) Sometimes they even have an ear. Chiriguano and Chané baskets are very seldom ornamented.

Metal-work.

C
325
301

The only metal-work now occurring here is that the Chiriguano sometimes make their tembetas (lip-buttons) of tin themselves. Whether the Chiriguano and Chané, before coming into contact with the Whites, themselves performed metal-work, I cannot say.

Stone-work.

C
Ce
324

The Chiriguano and Chané do not now work stone.

Wood-work.

C
Ce
322
412
177

For their wood-work the Chiriguano and Chané now use exclusively tools obtained from the Whites.

Weaving.

C
Ce
286

Among the Chiriguano I saw two types of loom; among the Chané only one.

The loom found among the Chiriguano and Chané is characterized by the completed product forming a ring (seamless) N. B. if so desired. The warp is set up as shown in the outline drawing, (Fig. 55,3) and in the sketch of a band-loom from the Chané. (Fig. 55,1). When the ring is

[text continues on p. 176]

5:Nordenskiöld E-S,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177
824

sent work.) It follows that these Indians used other material for their arrows in pre-Columbian days. The Choroti and Ashluslay probably had wooden shafts to their arrows, as Chuchio does not, and probably never did grow in their country. Before *Arundo donax* grew in the Chaco it must have been difficult in many places to find material for flutes, etc. Even in the country of the Chiriguano and Chané there were reeds only in certain parts, so that the introduction of *Arundo donax* may have been of importance for other things than the material for arrows.

C
Ce
177
285

The difficulty of getting suitable material for basket-making has resulted in the baskets being of less importance to the Indians of the district under examination than to the Arawaks and Guarani-tribes elsewhere. Presumably the Chiriguano and Chané used to have carrying-baskets, which were supplanted by carrying-nets of Caraguatá or Yuchan.

C
Ce
174
[343]
[515]

Pile-barns are probably a reminiscence from a time when the Chané lived in swampy parts.

I have already pointed out that the great cleanliness of the Chané and Chiriguano shows that they immigrated to their present habitat from warmer, well-watered parts.

C
Ce
177

There are not many cultural elements of which we can say with absolute certainty that they were brought by the Chiriguano, and not by the Chané. Such are, however, urn-burials and »tembeta» of the kind now in use. This is not precluded by the fact that these cultural elements were originally western. Finger-mark ornamention, the wooden mortar, and certain bird-arrows, spindles of the Bakaïri type with a little knob on the top of the stick, are also cultural elements with such a distribution that we can assume that they were originally more intimately connected with the Chiriguano than with the Chané. Further comparative investigations, and access to an extensive quantity of the necessary material will doubtless enable us, from a study of the minor details in the external form of

/242/

000

Chapter Sixteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

C
Ce
285
323
177

Art and Industry

The Chiriguano and Chané are tribes whose art-industry is on a very high level. If one visits one of the huts of the white settlers in these regions, one will not see many products of native industry, not much of their own culture. I know of absolutely nothing that these people are capable of doing which can compare with the pottery and the weaving technique of the Indians. One thing is certain, the more "civilized" the Indians become, the less they accomplish in the way of art and industry. They do not learn much more from the whites than how to make and drink liquor. Indian art-industry is gradually disappearing here, the more the Indians come in contact with the whites, but it is not transformed. It remains largely purely Indian until its final destruction. One industry, however, is now in the hands of the whites, namely, the metal industry. The silver ornaments which, for example, the Chiriguano and Chané use are made by the smiths in the villages of the mountain regions. The half-white or Quichua /Quechua/ Indian population which we come across in the mountains west of the land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is quite skilled artistically. The weaving technique in particular is very highly developed there. The Chiriguano and Chané undoubtedly learned a great deal from the west.

C
Ce
[273]

C
Ce
325
171
439
000

Ee
286
171

C
534
171
291
413

Thus we find the Serére pipe[2] (Fig. 120) characteristic of the Chiriguano in collections from the coast of Peru (1); /Plate

1. Serére also occur among the Lengua, Ashluslay, Chiriguano, Chané, Churápa, and Yuracáre.

19 appears here/ /243/ the pin for fastening women's clothing

2 [A flute-like musical instrument--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 94]

Ee /247 cont./

531 The Chiriguano and Chané men are clever in the deco-
322 ration of calabashes (Fig. 126), carve attractive pipes (Fig.
281 120), and know how to tan leather, which they probably learned
177c from the whites.

Ee Among these Indians one does not see much in the way
532 of plastic representations of animal and human figures. The
C clay /248/ vessels sometimes have animal shapes. The
[126] Chané women on the Rio Parapiti fashioned lumpy little dolls
[437] out of wax for their children (Fig. 105). Some of the clay vessels are painted with animal figures. A vessel from the Rio

Ee 285 →

C •285 ←

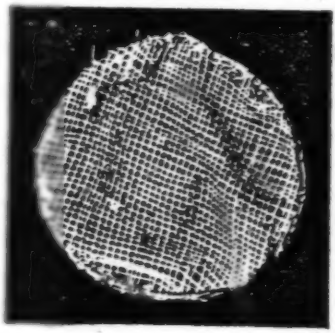


Fig. 124.
Sieve. Rio Parapiti.
1/8.

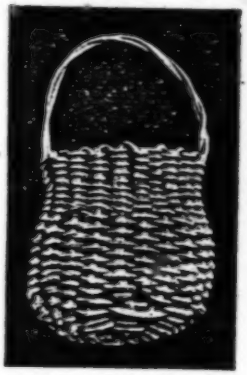


Fig. 125. Basket
Chiriguano.
Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ee 532 Itiyuro, which I acquired through barter, is adorned with tree figures. Occasionally one sees clay vessels in the shape of fruits.

Ee [353] I saw drawings representing human beings and animals on the walls in a few Chané huts and on a few Chiriguano calabashes from the Caipipendi valley.

Ee 285 [439] As for basket work, the sieves are so popular among the whites that through trade they are being distributed far beyond the Chiriguano and Chané region. Otherwise the Chané and Chiriguano make few baskets. We find basket work in quantities only among the Indians where the matching-leaved palms begin, and that is at Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

Ee /248 cont./

439 When we present a collection from the Chiriguano and Chané,
177 we must not forget that, through trade between the tribes, they have obtained many things from the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Tapiete; otherwise we would have a mistaken conception of the
Ee great difference /249/ between the material culture of the Chaco tribes named here and the Chiriguano and Chané.

171 If we compare the material culture of the Choroti and Chané
Ee with that of the Choroti and Ashluslay likewise described here,
[285] we must remember the following. The Chiriguano and Chané produce basket work -- the
C Choroti and Ashluslay never.
Ee The former know how to paint
[323] clay vessels before firing,
Ee which is unknown to the latter.
[286] The Chiriguano and Chané never make bags out of
C
[415] →
[531]

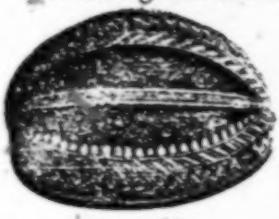


Fig. 126.
Decorated calabash bowl.
Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/5.

caraguata, etc. If, moreover, we compare all the products made by the Chané and Chiriguano with those of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we find that most of them are entirely differ-
C ent. The Chaco Indians probably learned how to make certain
[177] things, such as the serére (Fig. 120) and huiramimbi pipes (Figs. 36 /omitted in the translation/ and 80), from the Chiriguano,
Ee but this is relatively insignificant.

177 We see here how two cultures can exist side by side for hundreds of years without mingling.

Ee If we follow the Rio Pilcomayo down toward the mountains,
101 we first come across the Quichua /Quechua/ culture, then come the Chiriguano and Chané, and after that the Chaquensic /Chaco/ culture which embraces equally the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Ashluslay, as well as the Lengua and other tribes in the Paraguay Chaco. These three cultures are entirely different.

/16 cont./

342 A special feature of Chiriguano houses and where they differ from those of the common ranchos of white residents is that the two oblique sides of the roof descend almost to the ground, passing far beyond the wall. Machareti houses also show this special feature. (Cf. Fig. 14 /see p.40/.) The result of this roof construction is that the entrance (ōkye) is on the gable side. To shut the entrance they use reed mats or cowhides (65). Widely influenced by the whites, the Chiriguano

[285] [237] [177]

65. Métraux I, p. 469.

and the Chané continually vary the style of their houses, and, according to Nordenskiöld (66), today many of them are al-

66. Nord. 1, p. 173.

ready building houses identical with those of the whites.

343 In addition to the houses used for dwellings, the Chiriguano and some of the Chané have houses built on posts for storehouses (avatió). Also in Machareti such houses were commonly found beside the dwellings. Figure 16 /see p. 41/ shows such a storehouse. A ladder, which consists of a post provided with notches, leads to the platform (on the right in the figure). These storehouses serve primarily as places to keep the maize crop and other produce. The space under the platform serves for storing various other things. Nordenskiöld saw such houses built on posts, whose upper part served in general for storage, while the lower part was utilized as a dwelling (67). Often those

[417]

67. Nord. 1, p. 175; Nord. 2, p. 3.

storehouses are near the plantings far from the dwellings (68).

68. Nord. 1, p. 173.

[335] As shown in Figure 16, the frame for these storehouses consists of ten vertical posts of different lengths, bifurcated at their upper ends to support the horizontal posts that form the base for

8: Schmidt--115 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XIV

C
372
415

Fig. 40

C
415
286

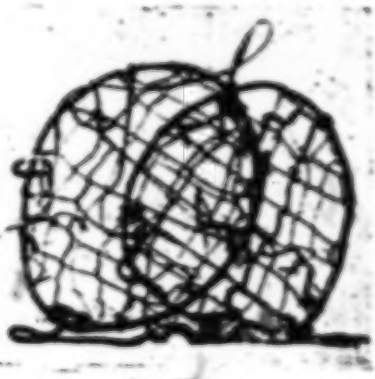


Fig. 41

C
415
284

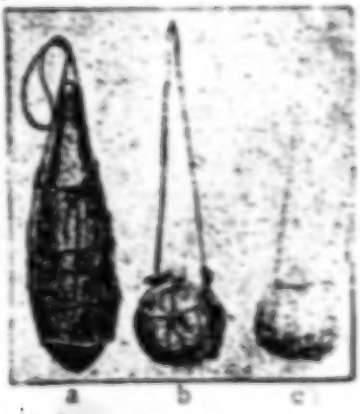


Fig. 42

C
285
796

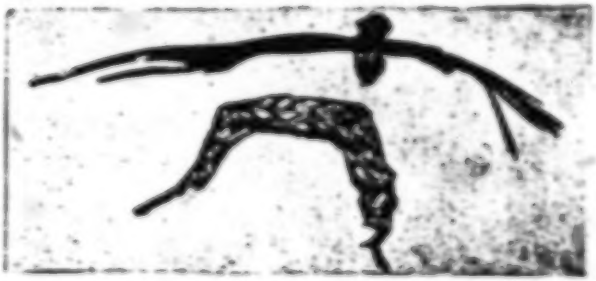


Fig. 43

/The captions are on p. 117./

ft Schmidt--117 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XIV and XV./

C
372
415

Fig. 40. (I. A. 516) Implements for flaking fire (Chiriguano):
a (I. A. 516a), bag as receptacle for the implements, length 16 cm., width 8.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 516b), cotton wick, length 62 cm.;
c (I. A. 516c), receptacle for the end of the wick, nest of a species of wasp, length 4.2 cm.;
d (I. A. 516d), piece of a metal file, length 4 cm.
e, flints.

C
[237]

C
415
285

Fig. 41. (I. A. 583) A pair of hoops for storing goods (Chiriguano), diameter 43 cm.

Ce
415

Fig. 42. Calabashes for carrying water (Isoso):
a (I. A. 661), height 49.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 662), height 16 cm.;
c (I. A. 665), height 17.5 cm., made out of the fruit of the tree Crescentia Cujeta /Crescentia cujete/.

Ce
[824]

C
285
796

Fig. 43. Objects plaited out of palm leaves, used in religious festivities (Chiriguano):
a (I. A. 1439), length 72 cm.;
b (I. A. 1440), length 37 cm.

C
415

Plate XV. Baked clay vessels for cooking foods (Chiriguano).

Fig. 44 (I. A. 414). -- Height 24 cm.
Fig. 45 (I. A. 418). -- Height 23.5 cm.
Fig. 46 (I. A. 413). -- Height 26 cm.
Fig. 47 (I. A. 419). -- Height 22 cm.
Fig. 48 (I. A. 412). -- Height 12 cm.
Fig. 49 (I. A. 417). -- Height 22 cm.

R: Schmidt--155 E-5 (1905) 1906 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo
Paressi SP19

Ce 283 191

/80 cont./

form, many of them being similar in form to the whorls of the ancient Peruvians. Cf. Figures 89 and 90 /see p. 147/.

P 285 198

The Technique of Plaiting

In a legend told to me by a Paresí Indian in Mato Grosso, the appearance of a new epoch is discussed. The young generation of the Paramín /Paresí/ complains to the grandfather that they have now forgotten the manufacture of the bottoms of their different baskets, that is, the beginning and thus the rudiment of that work. The Chiriguano can make the same complaint to their grandfathers. They have also forgotten, as a result of the appearance of a new era, that is, as a result of their contacts with the whites, most of the elements of the art of plaiting, and imitations of European merchandise or of the plaited objects of neighboring Indians, less cultivated than they, are only poor compensation.

C 285 198

C 285 191

Of the four principal types into which all the plaited objects of the Indians of South America can be classified with regard to their technique, which I have called in my publications which deal with them (259) "Stufengeflechte /step plaiting/,

259. Max Schmidt, Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde /Textbook for Ethnology/, Berlin, 1924, pp. 154-157.

Doppelfadengeflechte /double-thread plaiting/, Rohrstuhlgeflechte /caning/, and Geflechte in Spiralwulsttechnik /plaiting in coiling technique/," only the first two can be found among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó. It is surprising that the fourth type (Geflechte in Spiralwulsttechnik) of plaited objects does not exist among these Indians, because this technique was the most common one in the mountainous regions neighboring Chiriguano territory.

/60 cont./

C 285 Plaited objects of the first type are made in such a way that the strips of one group are plaited with the strips of another group vertical to the first one, in such a way that the strips of the first group pass alternately a certain number of the strips of the second group and are passed by them, and in such a way that the meshes which go in the same direction form lines of steps. The number of the strips passed each time by one strip of the other group is generally three or two at a time, but there are cases in which only one strip is passed each time.

C [126] [513] [415] [291] Among the plaited objects of this type, I obtained from the Chiriguano a large sleeping mat, small flat baskets /canastillas/, sieves, a quadrangular basket /cesta/, and a hat, and from the Izozó small flat baskets /canastillas/ similar to those of the Chiriguano and two different kinds of baskets /cestas/. In addition, the Chiriguano and Chané also infrequently use fans for fanning the fire (tapèkua) plaited out of palm leaves (260).

Cc [415] [126]

C Cc 285 372

260. Nord. 1, p. 56.

Métraux has described and shown in a drawing such a fan for fanning the fire. This fan is plaited out of the leaves of the caranday palm in the "Stufengeflechte" style, in such a way that strips of the first group pass alternately two strips of the second group and are /Plates XXVI-XXVII appear here/ /61/ passed by them. The leaflets, separated from the stem, enlace a stick which, forming the upper edge of the fan, replaces the stem of the pinnate leaves of other palms which are used by other tribes of South American Indians in the manufacture of plaited fans (261).

Cc [824]

261. Métraux I, pp. 460 and 461 and Plate 85.

8: Schmidt--157 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaqe SF8
Izozo

Plate XXVI

Ce 285
C 285
C 285

Fig. 92

Fig. 93

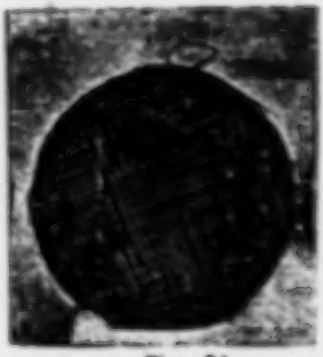


Fig. 94

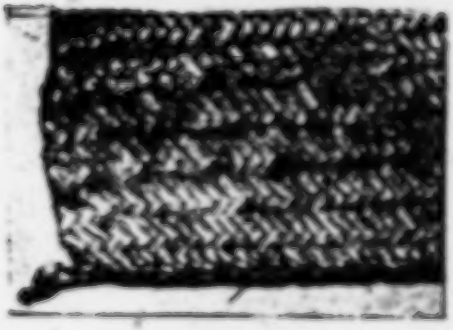


Fig. 95

/The captions appear on p. 159./

R: Schmidt--156 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
12020

Ce 285

Fig. 96

Fig. 97

Ce 285 ←
C 291
285 →

Fig. 98

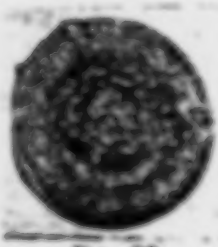


Fig. 99

Ce 285 ←
C 285 →

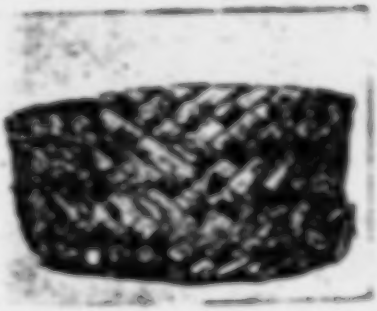


Fig. 100

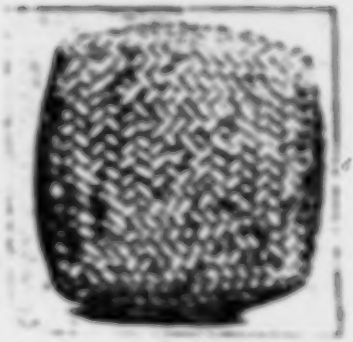


Fig. 101

/The captions appear on p. 159./

Fr Schmidt--139 E-S (1938) 1256 1910 Chiriguano 1910
Chaco 575
Bolivia

/Captions for Plates XXVI and XXVII/

Plate XXVI. Plaited objects.

Ca 285
C 285

Fig. 92. Flat baskets /canastillas/:
a (I.A. 746) (Ianoi), diameter 46 cm.;
b (I.A. 341) (Chiriguano), diameter 39 cm.

Fig. 93. (I.A. 346) Flat basket /canastilla/ (Chiriguano), diameter 32 cm.

Fig. 94. (I.A. 343) Sieve (Chiriguano), diameter 39 cm.

Fig. 95. (I.A. 340) Mat plaited out of caranday leaves (Chiriguano), length 1.72 m.

Plate XXVII. Plaited objects.

Ca 285

Fig. 96. (I.A. 681) Basket /cesta/ (Ianoi), length 27 cm.

Fig. 97. (I.A. 683) Basket /cesta/ (Ianoi), length 36 cm.

Fig. 98. Bottoms of baskets /cestas/ (Ianoi):
a (I.A. 677), length 33 cm.;
b (I.A. 678), length 28 cm.

C 285 291

Fig. 99. (I.A. 354) Interior surface of a hat (Chiriguano), diameter 30 cm.

Ca 285

Fig. 100. (I.A. 677) Basket /cesta/ (Ianoi), length 33 cm.

C 285

Fig. 101. (I.A. 351) Bottom of a basket /cesta/ (Chiriguano), length 32 cm.

6; Schmidt--160 8-8 (1936) 1936 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Clane SF8
32020

/51 cont./

C 126 285

Plaited Objects of the First Type (Stufengeflechte) in the Collection

I.A. 540.	Mat (Chir.)	Lgth.	1.72 m.	Width	1.50 m.	(Fig. 90)
I.A. 541.	Flat basket (Chir.).		Dia.	39 cm.		(Fig. 95b.)
I.A. 542.	" " "		"	42 cm.		
I.A. 543.	" " "		"	43 cm.		
I.A. 544.	" " "		"	30 cm.		
I.A. 545.	" " "		"	32 cm.		
I.A. 546.	" " "		"	35 cm.		(Fig. 93.)
I.A. 744.	" " (Isoseé)		"	36 cm.		
I.A. 745.	" " "		"	37 cm.		
I.A. 746.	" " "		"	46 cm.		(Fig. 95a.)
I.A. 547.	Sieve (Chiriguano).		"	38 cm.		
I.A. 548.	" "		"	39 cm.		(Fig. 94.)
I.A. 549.	" " "		"	39 cm.		
I.A. 551.	Basket "		Lgth.	35 cm.	Ht. 16 cm.	(Fig. 101)
I.A. 677.	" (Isoseé)		"	33 cm.	" 16.5 cm.	(Figs. 98a.100)
I.A. 678.	" "		"	26 cm.	" 14 cm.	(Fig. 98b)
I.A. 725.a.	" "		"	27 cm.	" 13 cm.	(Fig. 86a)
I.A. 679.	" "		"	21 cm.	" 22 cm.	
I.A. 680.	" "		"	39 cm.	" 21 cm.	
I.A. 681.	" "		"	27 cm.	" 23 cm.	(Fig. 97).
I.A. 682.	" "		"	21 cm.	" 26 cm.	
I.A. 683.	" "		"	30 cm.	" 21 cm.	(Fig. 97)
I.A. 684.	" "		"	50 cm.	" 29 cm.	
I.A. 685.	" "		"	44 cm.	" 30 cm.	
I.A. 686.	" "		"	46 cm.	" 34 cm.	
I.A. 517.	Small bag with cover (Chir.)			"	9.5 cm.	
I.A. 554.	Hat (Chiriguano).	Ht. 12 cm.	Dia.	39 cm.		(Fig. 99.)

Ca [285] Ca 285 126 C 285 [291]

The material of the plaited objects that I have mentioned above consists of strips of palm leaves or strips of cane, and that of the Chiriguano basket I.A. 551, of strips of wood. Because these Indians do not have palms with pinnate leaves available, they must use the peltate leaves of the caranday, from which comes the difference between the plaited objects of these Indians and those of other tribes.

C [529]

/61 cont./

080 GO 285 171 824 GO 285 [824]

of other tribes. For example, the Guató Indians make mats similar to the mat collected among the Chiriguano, as well as baskets similar to one type of basket from the Izozó, from the large pinnate leaves of the acurí palm (Cocos schizophylla Mart.). The stem or stems of these, from which go the leaflets that form the plaiting, form the upper edge of the mat or baskets. With regard to the caranday palm, it is necessary to detach the leaflets from the stem in order to place them in the position necessary for plaiting them with one another. Therefore the upper edge is formed like a braid to which the leaves are attached in order to be able to proceed to plait from this rudiment. The lower edge is also formed like a braid, which joins the free ends of the strips and terminates in two ends, one at each /62/ side, which project beyond the side edges of the mat. The mat is plaited in such a way that one strip passes two of the other group each time. The decoration is made up of simple stripes parallel to the upper edge of the mat.

C Ce 285 531

The small flat baskets of the Chiriguano and Izozó are, in general, similar in form and dimensions. These are plaited with strips of cane and, at their outer edge, have a wooden hoop. Like the mat which has been mentioned, they are plaited in such a way that one strip of one group always passes two strips of the other group, and therefore the surface shows the same ornamentation, which consists of parallel stripes and is typical of all objects plaited in this way. In this ornamentation of the flat baskets there is one difference in that on some of them the entire surface is always filled with parallel lines, all going in the same direction (cf. Fig. 546 /see p. 157/), while the decoration of most of these small baskets consists of concentric squares (cf. Fig. 92 a and b /see p. 157/) formed by the combination of four surface units, two of which show parallel lines in the direction vertical to that of the parallel lines of the other two units. With regard to the details of the formation of such decoration by the technique itself, I refer to my publications regarding this matter (262).

C Ce [113]

262. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien /Indian Studies in Central

C /62 cont./
Ce
285
531
[113]

Brazil/, Berlin, 1905, pp. 330 ff.; and Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas/ The Technical Bases for the Ornamentation of the Natives of South America/.

C
285
[126]

The three sieves that I obtained from the Chiriguano correspond to the flat baskets described above with respect to their exterior form and to the rudiment of the plaiting. They differ from the latter only in that their strips are a certain distance apart and in that one strip of one group always passes only one of the other group, with the result that the ornamentation of the surface consisting of parallel lines which is shown in the little baskets is not produced. These sieves are also provided with handles like the flat baskets of the Chiriguano. A sketch of a Chané sieve shown by Nordenskiöld shows that these Indians also use such sieves (263). Flat baskets and sieves analogous to

Ce
[285]

263. Nord. 1, Fig. 124.

those mentioned are described by Métraux and shown by him in drawings (264).

264. Métraux I, pp. 457-460, Plates 83, 84.

C
285
291
294
[177]

The technique of the Chiriguano hat (I.A. 554) is not original, but no doubt was received from the whites and perhaps was directly taught to the Indians in the missions. For us the technique of this hat is without interest, except for the fact that this technique is also applied by the Izozó to the making of a type of basket, a specimen of which is shown in Figure 98b /see p. 158/. The manufacture of the hat begins at the center, and the strips, the beginning of which is plaited, are augmented by the addition of other strips. See Figure 99 /see p. 158/. The style of plaiting is like that of all the other objects of this kind among the Chiriguano and Chané, so that one strip of one group always passes two strips of the other group.

Ce
[285]

Ce
[285]

C /62 cont./
285 The technique of the small bag I. A. 512, which has a
177 cover and corresponds in form to a modern cigar case, is of no interest to us, because this is a product of modern manufacture.

C Baskets I. A. 551 (of the Chiriguano) and I. A. 677 (of the
Ce Izozó) are of special interest because they represent the product
285 of a new era in which the primordial devices of the technique
178 have been forgotten and therefore they have lost the typical
C forms of the products of those techniques. The making of this
285 type of basket, which is widespread among the Indian tribes of
171 South America, begins with the making of the bottom and ends at the upper edge of the basket where the free ends of the strips are /63/ fastened. If we compare the structure of the bottom of these Chiriguano baskets with the structure of corresponding baskets of other tribes of South American Indians, such as with the structure of the baskets of the Bacairí on the tributaries of the Xingú River (Mato Grosso, Brazil) or of the tribes of the Rio Negro, our attention is drawn to the great difference with
C respect to the conformity of the work. In my above-mentioned
285 publications (265) I have described this kind of basket in more
C
[113]

265. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien, loc. cit.; and Die technischen Veraussetzungen, pp. 157 and 158.

detail, and I have demonstrated that the special design which appears in two variations on the bottom of most of the baskets of this kind that are not yet degenerate is consistent with the technique, because only a bottom decorated in this way can be a proper beginning in order to form the walls of the basket. Moreover, there is the difficulty that for the fabrication of the four walls of one of these baskets one needs twice as many strips as the number of the free ends which come out of the plaited square or rectangle which forms the bottom of the basket.
C Therefore, the Indians who still know exactly how to plait
Ce these baskets plait in the beginning a flat rectangular piece
285 twice as large as the projected bottom of the basket. Then the four edges of this rectangle are folded upward, in this

/63 cont./

way serving as parts of the walls of the basket, the latter then being completed by plaiting the free ends of the strips with one another. By this device they manage to obtain a sufficient number of strips to form the walls of the basket. The Chiriguano and Chané of today are ignorant of this device and therefore they cannot make exact baskets of this kind. We do not know whether they gradually forgot the devices of their primordial plaiting technique under the influence of imported crafts or through the introduction of new ideas, or whether they may have imitated forms of baskets which they saw among other tribes of Indians without knowing the devices of the technique.

The bottoms and thus the rudiments of the two baskets I. A. 678 and 725a, shown in Figures 86a and 98b, are formed in a manner completely different from the bottoms of the two baskets described above. In making these baskets the Indians have availed themselves of the experience which they have had in the manufacture of the modern hat described above. Beginning the plaiting of these two baskets in the center of the bottom exactly corresponds to the beginning of making the hat, outside of the fact that the strips of the baskets, consisting of caranday palm leaflets, are wider and therefore the mesh is much larger. Where the side walls of the basket begin and more strips are needed than for the bottom, other strips are added, but, in contrast to the manufacture of the hat, by means of a kind of plaiting that joins the free ends of the original strips with the additional strips so that all together they are used to weave the sides of the basket. Also, the analogous baskets of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi valley described and shown in drawings by Métraux seem to be strongly influenced by modern techniques (266).

266. Métraux. I, pp. 454-457. Plates 58-61.

One type completely different from the baskets described above is shown in the Izozó baskets I. A. 679-686. The plaiting of these does not begin at the bottom like the plaiting of the other baskets, but at the upper edge, and it ends with the making of the bottom. I have minutely described this type of

/65 cont./

415 Wooden Hoops for Storing Possessions, in the Collection

[126] I. A. 580. A pair of hoops (Chiriguano). Diameter 53 cm.
I. A. 581. " " " " " " 51 cm.
I. A. 582. " " " " " " 46 cm.
I. A. 583. " " " " " " 43 cm. (Fig. 41).
I. A. 584. One hoop " " 48 cm.

In the Chiriguano houses in Macharete I found hanging wooden hoops, which, usually in pairs, served for storing various possessions of the Indians. The circular area of the hoops is filled in with strips of cane that are stretched across the hoop and interwoven as Figure 41 shows. The hoops are provided with strings or strips of leather in order to be hung in the houses (268).

[285]

268. See Métraux I, p. 471, Figs. 126 and 127.

285 Modern Plaited Objects in the Collection

126 I. A. 503. Basket (Chiriguano). Diam. 18 cm. Height 12.5 cm.
I. A. 550. " " " 27 cm. " 13 cm.
I. A. 552. " " " 31 cm. " 23 cm.
I. A. 553 Flat basket " " 56 cm. " 16 cm.

/66/ I obtained from the Chiriguano some baskets whose technique is completely different from the technique of the baskets described above. They are so similar to the baskets commonly used by the Paraguayans that we must consider them products of an absolutely modern craft, and it is not necessary for us to deal with their technique. Nordenskiöld and Métraux show in sketches and describe such baskets of the Chiriguano, among which some have handles and others lids (269).

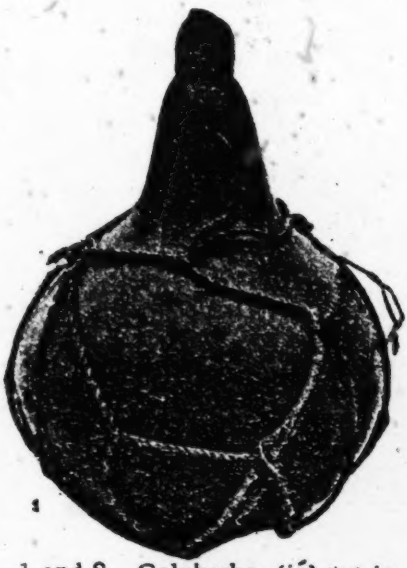
[171]

285

269. Nord. 2, p. 171 and Figs. 53 and 51. Métraux I, pp. 444-453, Plates 73-77.

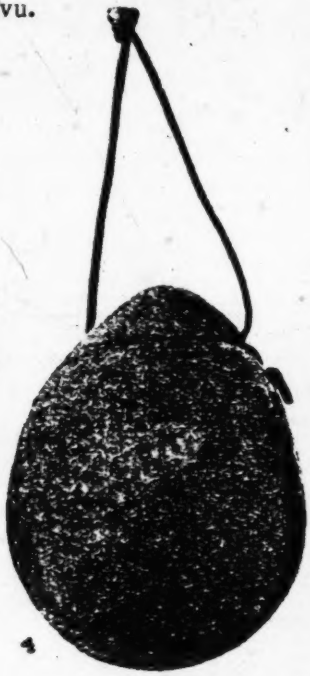
415
286
824

Plate XX



1 and 2. Calabashes (iá) put in a net in order to be transported or hung in the hut. Prov.: Saladito and Ivu. (1/3 nat. size.)

415
824



3. Calabash with lid cut out in star shape. Prov.: Saladito. (1/3 nat. size.) 4. Calabash with automatic closing. Prov.: Ivu. (About 2/5 nat. size.)

/375 cont./

Calabashes

415 In each Chiriguano village calabashes are as abundant as pottery (see Fig. 47 /see p. 139 /). The huts are full of them. They are of every shape and size, from the spoons we spoke of to the big basins in which the kāwi is distributed on feast days.

[286] The calabashes which are ovoid or gourd-shaped are generally enveloped in a kind of rudimentary net of vegetable fibers or leather thongs, which allows them to be carried in the hand or hung (1). In them is put either water, or grain

415
286
171

1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 97) has given the list of the South American tribes who put their calabashes inside a net to carry or hang them. This contrivance is widespread on the continent and its distribution is certainly greater than that indicated by Nordenskiöld, but travelers generally take only slight interest in such details, which are nevertheless important. The Kaingúa of Paraguay encompass their calabashes with wembé bark just like the Chiriguano (see Ambrosetti, 2, p. 716).

415 and seed, or roasted flour, or finally roucou or kalasapa powder saved for feast days (Plate XX, 1 and 2; Plate XXI, 3 and 4).

[322] Some calabashes are provided with a lid which the Indians make by cutting a calotte with star-shaped edges in the still green fruit, and this then forms a hermetic closing. The lid is fastened on by means of a small cord which, when pulled, suffices to close the calabash /376/ (Plate XX, 4 and Plate XXI, 2). Gourds whose opening is small in diameter receive a fragment of a shelled ear of corn as a stopper. /Figs. 42-47 appear here./

[12] Painted, pyrographed, or incised calabashes will be the object of a special study.

412
322
824

Figs. 42-43. Wooden spoons (karuha or iwira-karu). No. 42 comes from Caruruti and 43 from Nawirenda. (1/4 nat. size.)

Fig. 44. A bignoniaceous or an asclepiadaceous fruit whose shell cut in half is utilized by the Chiriguano as a cup or spoon. Prov.: Caipipendí. (2/5 nat. size.)

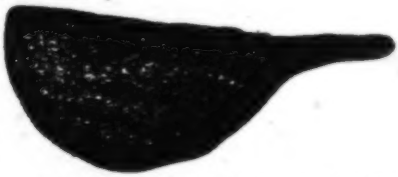


Fig. 45. Calabash cut in half to serve as a spoon. Prov.: Macharetí. (1/4 nat. size.)

236
824
→

Fig. 46. Ladle carved out of a calabash. Prov.: Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). (1/7 nat. size.)

412
322
824
←

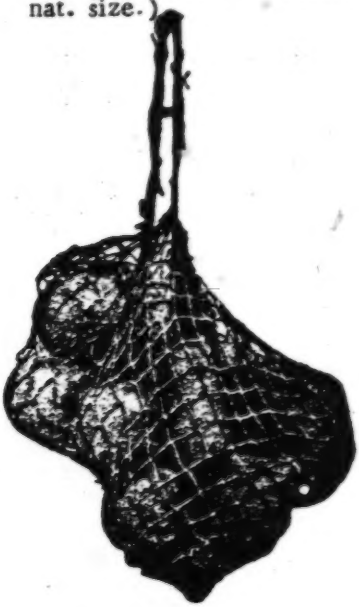


Fig. 47. Reserve calabashes hanging in a net inside a Chiriguano hut. Ibopeytí.

/431 cont./

Chapter VIII

Weaving

286 [177] Weaving is a very widespread industry among the Chiriguano. Unfortunately, at the present time its products are commonplace and, since they have been using aniline dyes (1), often very ugly.

386 824

1. The Chiriguano used to extract blue dye from a plant they call kaa-howi, that is to say, "blue grass." They also used to grow it. In order to color their tiru (large sleeveless bag slipped on over the tipoy, of the same shape but less ample), they dipped them into a decoction of this grass. Sometimes also they used to add coloring woods, such as palo soto or quebracho, to this bouillon. The leaves of a tree which easily reaches a height of eight to ten meters, the iwira kaa-howi, also furnish a blue dye, but for that they must be young and the tree must be in bloom.

With piari, black resin which exudes from the trunk of the algarroba (Prosopis), Chiriguano women blacken the tiru which they had dyed blue. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc., pp. 16-17 and 173.)

286 [291] [177] Most of their ponchos are copied from those of the Bolivian half-breeds.

/432/ The type of loom prevalent among the Chiriguano is the one which has been given the name Arawak loom. Plate LXXII 2/1 gives an idea of it. Two forked sticks are set in the ground. They support two /Fig. 87 appears here/ parallel crossbars, one of which, the lower one, is a pestle of hard and heavy wood. The warp threads are rolled around them, but at each circuit turn back on themselves after going over a /433/ small cord stretched parallel to the ground. Once the cloth is finished, this string is removed, and in an instant the piece of cloth, which until then formed an endless band, opens up (Fig. 91).[2/1]

2/1 [See P. 214--Analyst]
2/1 [See P 275 -- Analyst]

/433 cont./

283
291
516
142

Fig. 87. Chiriguano woman getting ready to spin. Cururutí. (Photo. A. M.)

286 The reed of our European looms is replaced here by an /Fig. 88 appears here/ interlacing of threads which grasp one thread of the warp, then the other, alternately.

286 413 The woof is passed through with the help of a shuttle whose motion back and forth is facilitated by a weaver's sword (iwirapé) which separates the warp threads. This latter instrument is used to tighten the cloth each time the woof has passed through. A [239] mammalian metatarsal bone sharpened to a point (Fig. 92) or a small pointed or spindle-shaped stick (Figs. 93 and 94) permits

/433 cont./

283
857
291
516
342

Fig. 88. Chiriguano girls spinning. Masaví (Igüembé Valley). (Photo. A. M.)

286 413 moving the front /434/ warp threads back each time they have been crossed with the help of the reed. The woman who has just passed the woof through grasps this dagger firmly and with a sharp blow raises the threads of the warp after pulling on the reed. Difficult jobs, probably the execution of some /Fig. 89 appears here/ complicated figures, are accomplished with a wooden needle, which unfortunately I never saw used.

/434 cont./

286 171 The Chiriguano have their loom in common with many tribes of tropical America, and they doubtless were already acquainted with it in Paraguay, at least in a more rudimentary form. In some Chiriguano villages looms of the Inca or Quichua /Quechua/ type, that is to say, horizontal ones, can be seen. The warp is then fastened to a small cord along a piece of wood and the cloth is rolled around as it is produced.

286 294 Headbands and belts are woven with looms of a type similar to the one just described. The warp threads are fastened to a loop of cotton attached to a hut post. As the fabric is made it is rolled around two small sticks or two ears of corn attached to the lower end of the warp (for this type of loom, see Nordenskiöld, 10, Fig. 4, p. 175).

291 30 I am reproducing in Fig. 95 a tsumbi headband. These ornaments have now become very rare, and only a few old men still wear them. Our specimen is dyed with natural colors.

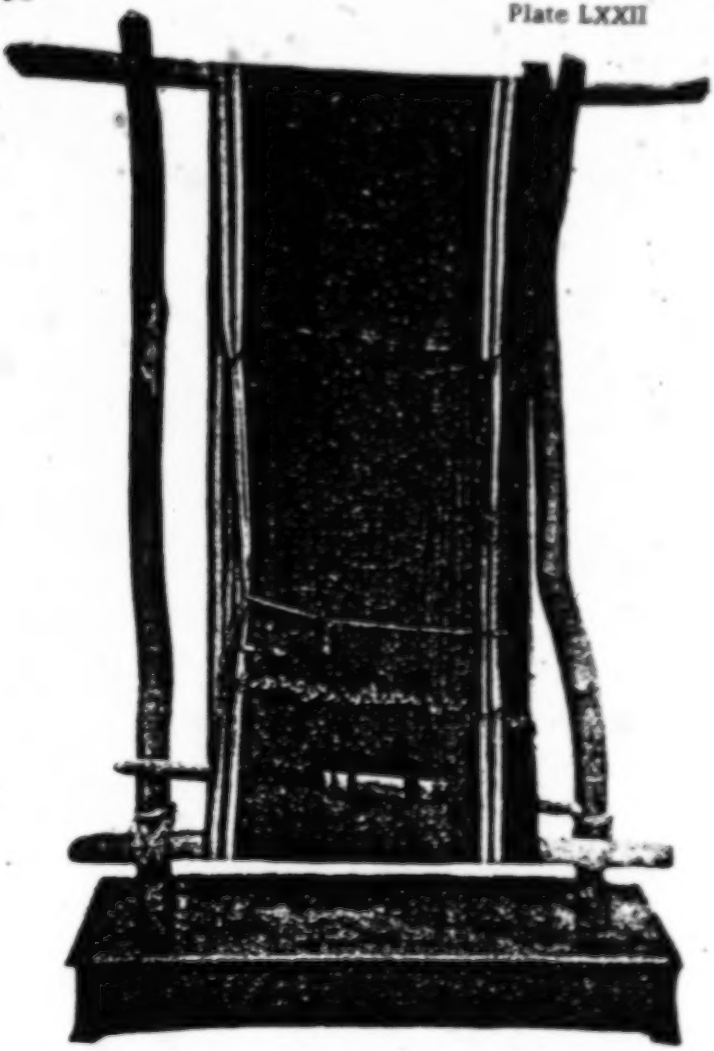
291 [178] Every Indian woman who lives outside the influence of the missions still wears the tipoy, that is, a kind of long sheath which they fasten on the shoulder nowadays with a safety pin and formerly /Plate LXXII appears here/ /435/ with a thorn. In olden times [286] these tipoy were woven by the Indian women on looms of the Arawak type. They were of cotton and dyed blue-black. /Fig. 90 appears here./ Today it is almost impossible to find a woman [439] whose tipoy is not made of chamalote, a kind of cheap cotton cloth which the Syrians and half-breeds sell at a high price to our Indians. In the Caipipendí valley /Fig. 91 appears here/ I met two old women who still kept the tipoy of olden times. They would not give it up to me for any price. At Carurutí, an old fellow desirous [126] of striking a good bargain sold me his wife's at a very /436/ high price in order to buy brandy for himself. It was very necessary to celebrate Easter fittingly.

[178] The shirts (tiru-kumbaè) which the men formerly sported exist no more except in the memory of the old men.

[See p. 278--Analyst]

•286

Plate LXXII



Chiriguano loom of the type called "Arawak." Prov.: Ivu.
(1/14 nat. size.)

353
283
413

Fig. 90. Drawing indicating how the spindles are arranged inside a Chiriguano hut. They are threaded into the holes made along a bamboo which is hung against the walls of the habitation. (1/9 nat. size.)

• 286

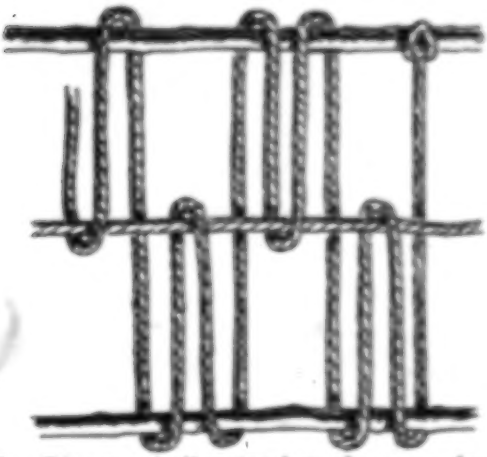


Fig. 91. Diagram indicating how the warp threads are arranged on a Chiriguano loom of the "Arawak type" (from Nordenskiöld).

C
286
551
199

/436 cont./

Modern Chiriguano fabrics show almost no originality. They are generally plain, and, if they present some linear motifs, these are servilely copied from models coming from the Andean region. The Quechua /Quechua/ fabrics, prototypes of those of

C
284
413

C
[239]

Fig. 92. Metatarsal bone of a mammal, carved in the shape of a dagger, which the Chiriguano women utilize to cross and then tighten the warp thread. Prov.: Ivo. (1/2 nat. size.)

Figs. 93-94. Awls (kauna) for crossing and then tightening the warp threads. Prov.: Salado Grande. (2/3 nat. size.)

MG
286
551

The Quechua /Quechua/ fabrics, prototypes of those of the Chiriguano, are nevertheless of better quality and greater richness of ornamentation. In addition to purely geometric designs they are often decorated with small figures representing animals or human beings.

Tupi-Guarani SL6
Tupinamba SO9
Guarani SM4
Chane SF8

/436 cont./

000 animals or human beings. There is nothing like that among the
C Chiriguano. The simplicity /437/ of their fabrics forms a striking
286 contrast with the richness and variety of the decoration of their
53 pottery. Their inferiority in this respect is far from corresponding
17 to the skillfulness which is their wont in all their activities. It is
C enough to see the admirable pieces of work executed by little
286 Chiriguano girls in the missions to realize what they would have
174 been capable of if historic traditions had not held them away
857 from this art. Their distant Tupi-Guarani ancestors were
T-G acquainted with only rudimentary forms of weaving, and it can
286 be asserted that /Fig. 95 appears here/ this industry remained
174 foreign to all the Tupi tribes which did not undergo the influence
T of a nation more civilized than they. The Tupinamba of the
286 Brazilian coast apparently practiced only the double-thread
174 technique (Doppelfadentechnick) by means of which they used
G to make their hammocks. The ancient chroniclers note the use
286 of the tipoy among the ancient Guarani of Paraguay, which is an
[175] indication of the existence of weaving among that subdivision
[291] of the Tupi family. Their present-day descendants, the Kaingua
/Caingua/, could pass for good weavers to judge by the fineness
G of the several fabrics which have been collected among them.
[291] These are for the most part wide belts which they pass between
their legs and knot around their loins. In reality, weaving is in
its beginnings among them. /438/ as is shown by their loom. It
is only a simple frame around which the warp threads are coiled.
The woof is passed through, thread after thread, as in darning.

C No doubt it was the Chané who taught the Chiriguano to weave,
CC and as they had probably not reached a /Fig. 96 appears here/
286 very high level in this art, they could only transmit to their
177 successors and suzerains, the Chiriguan, a still little-developed
technique, which the latter have scarcely improved on.

/438 cont./

323
286
171

The contrast between a highly evolved pottery and a still rudimentary art of weaving is characteristic of the Indians of the tropical and subtropical regions of South America, at least for those who can pass for being relatively civilized, such as the Arawak and the Karib /Carib/.

291
301

Fig. 95. Headband (tsumbi). Prov.: Yumbía. (1/5 nat. size.)

/439 cont./

p. 171 and Map 21). Their baskets being in bad shape, the Guarayú wanted to make some new ones and were very annoyed not to find in the region into which they had come the palm trees with pinnate leaves which they were in the habit of using for this purpose. Now, Guarayú and Chiriguano are brothers in race and language and emigrated at the same period from Paraguay to settle in the vicinity of the Andes. When leaving their country of origin, both were acquainted with this type of basket used by their ancestors, the Guarani, the Tupinambo of the Brazilian coast, /440/ and still favored among their first cousins from Paraguay, the Kaingué (Métraux, 2, p. 306). The disappearance of this cultural element among the Chiriguano is due solely to the lack of appropriate raw materials.

In order to make up for the absence of back baskets, indispensable to a farming people /Fig. 99 appears here/ the Chiriguano borrowed from their neighbors in the Chaco, either the Mataco or the Choroti, the carrying nets (in Chiriguano alapoka) whose use is so widespread among the latter and is so characteristic of their civilization. Carrying nets today are in general use among the Chiriguano, and in every village each family has at /Fig. 99 appears here/ least one (Figs. 98 and 99). In spite of this wide diffusion, the Chiriguano alapoka betrays its origin by its form and technique (see Figs. 100 and 101 /see pp. 282 -285/), which are both found in the tribes we have just enumerated (Nordenskiöld, 8, p. 206, Technique I). Although considerably more advanced on the way to civilization than the seminomadic tribes of the Chaco, the Chiriguano do not by any means equal them /441/ in the art of making nets. The alapoka I collected cannot be compared with the deep bags which the Mataco or the Choroti, for example, make for the same purpose. In the village of Macharetí, where Toba live with Chiriguano, it is the former who furnish the latter with the /Fig. 100 appears here/ carrying nets they need (see Fig. 99 /see p.282/) (1).

1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 163, Fig. 49 A) gives the detail of the technique of a Chiriguano carrying net. This technique is not found on any

[Text continues on p. 283]

Tr Métraux--202 B-5 (1939) 1930 SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Toba SI12

C
28L
482

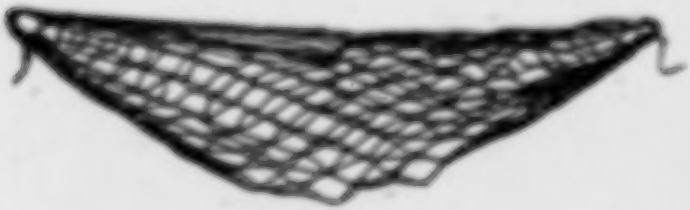


Fig. 98. Carrying net (alapoia) of the Chiriguano Indians. It is held on the forehead by a strap which is not shown in the photograph. Caraguatí. (About 1/10 nat. size.)

C
I
28L
482

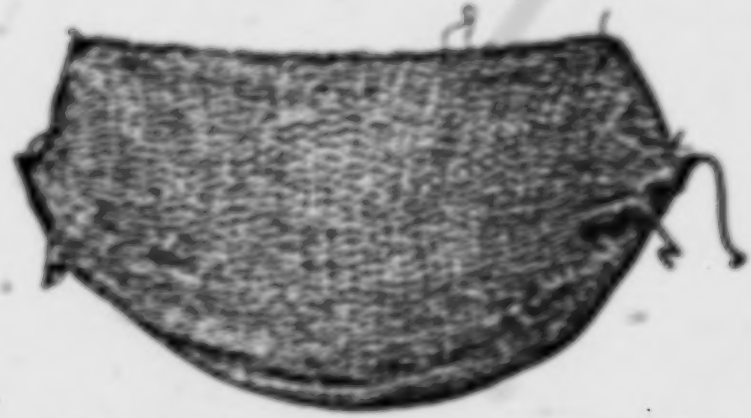


Fig. 99. Toba carrying net used by the Chiriguano Indians of the Macharetí mission. (About 1/10 nat. size.)

/441 cont./

286
482

Fig. 100. Technique of the net of Fig. 98 (Technique I, according to Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208).

286 /fn. 1 cont./ of the *alapoke* I brought back
482 from the Chaco. I suppose it is a question of
171 a carrying net which the Chiriguano might have bought from Choroti, who, with the Ashluslay and the Matako, seem to be the only ones to use this technique. The technique we show in Fig. 101 is known to the Ashluslay, the Choroti, and the Tapiete. Nordenskiöld (9, p. 208) does not mention it among the Toba, where it nevertheless exists, as the *alapoka* of Fig. 99 testifies.

/441 cont./

174 177 286 482 [439] Everything thus leaves us to suppose that, in the early period of their settling on the western confines of the Bolivian Chaco, the Chiriguano procured by barter the carrying nets intended to replace the back baskets they had used until then. It was only later that they learned to make them themselves, adopting only the simplest and easiest of techniques besides. Thanks to this example we can catch alive the causes which have motivated the adoption of a new cultural element after the disappearance of another which rendered the same services. For that, two factors have come into play, the physical environment and the ethnic one. There was adaptation and borrowing at the same time. This fact also proves that a relatively civilized people never hesitates to appropriate the inventions of more barbaric tribes when they find some advantage in it.

285 17 The present poverty of the basketwork industry among the Chiriguano does not imply that it is insignificant and worthless. Perhaps before the decline of this nation it was more widely represented in each village. I was able to observe that the disappearance of basketwork /442/ went along with the influence of the white men. But, for the reasons I have given above, I do not believe that at any time there could have been found among the Chiriguano that abundance of objects made of basketwork which travelers noted among the Indians of Guiana or the Amazon basin. Formerly, when the ancestors of the Chiriguano were still living in Paraguay and Brazil, they possessed basketwork identical with that of the tribes inhabiting the regions I have alluded to. Proof of it is furnished by the survival among the modern Chiriguano of various types of baskets, fire fans, and sieves, of which we find /Fig. 101 appears here/ the exact equivalent only in Guiana and the Amazon basin. As we shall ascertain in the course of this study, the identity between these two ethnic areas is perfect from this point of view. The only difficulty is to know whether in this case it is a matter of the remains of an industry peculiar to the Chané Indians of Arawak origin, whose influence upon the Chiriguano was considerable, or whether this basketwork only continues that of the ancient Guarani emigrants. In my opinion the question does not need to be asked. The basketwork of the

C /442 cont./ The basketwork of the
285 ancient Guarani or Tupinamba did not differ essentially in tech-
171 nique, form, or processes of ornamentation from the basketwork
174 of the north of southern America (Métraux, 2, pp. 249-255). It must have offered more than one point of similarity with that of the Chané, and we must consider the modern basketwork of the Chiriguano the heir of the basketwork common to these two /443/ nations. Let us notice in passing that the basketwork of the populations of tropical America has a certain unity. Nevertheless,

C
286

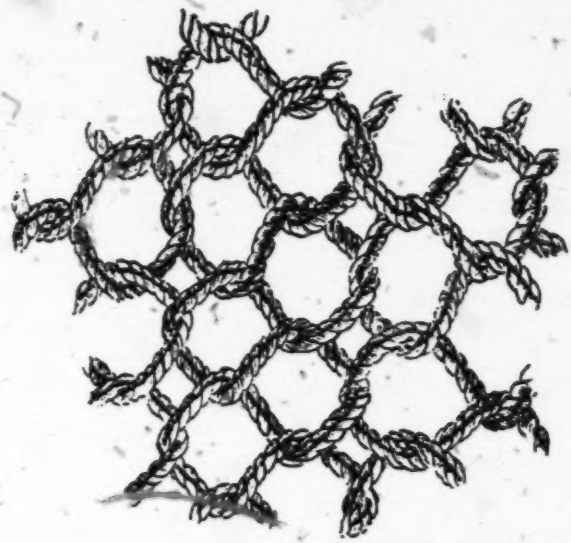


Fig. 101. Technique of the net of Fig. 99 (Technique V, according to Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208).

C it was in the Guianas that it reached perfection.
285 After their great migration to the foot of the Andes, the
171 Chiriguano seem to have adopted basketwork of a new technique,
174 which doubtless was unknown to their ancestors and racial brothers in Paraguay and Brazil. This technique is characteristic of all the baskets I am putting under the heading of wicker work /named in English/ in the following pages. As we shall see,
Ce [285] this technique also exists in the Guianas, and it is possible that
[171] it was brought into the Bolivian Chaco by the Arawak nation
[174] of the Chané. The center of dispersion of the Arawak must be

/468 cont./

412 171 At La Paya, Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 254, p. 484) discovered combs cut out of a small wooden board and some composite combs. Instead of simply recording the coexistence of two different types of combs /Plate LXXXVII appears here/ /469/ in the same place, a very natural phenomenon by reason of the heterogeneous character of the culture of La Paya, Ambrosetti puts forth the strange hypothesis that these combs served for carding wool, without taking the trouble to inquire whether this instrument was known in pre-Columbian times.

303 322 467 412 The making of combs, like all wood carving, is an essentially masculine job.

412 174 The table on Plate LXXXVII indicates my idea of the morphological evolution of the different forms of combs which I have collected.

Chapter XII

Furniture

352 [114] Since the diverse cultural elements which constitute the furniture of the Chiriguano have been completely studied by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 8-22), I shall limit myself to mentioning them here, insisting only on several details. /Fig. 124 appears here./ /See p. 338./

[342] Let us enter a Chiriguano hut. The door we open is a kind of screen of reeds or a cowhide hardened in the sun. Daylight penetrates the interior through this opening. The only important [513] piece of furniture is a wooden cot (Fig. 125), a kind of bedstead generally occupied by two persons between whom one or two children come /470/ to slip in somehow or other. Nor do the Chiriguano hesitate to sleep on the ground on an oxhide, which they spread out in front of their house. On the upper Pilcomayo, in nearly all the huts one can /Fig. 125 appears here/ /See p. 339./ see one or two hammocks which serve either as seats during the day [286] [177] or as cradles for small children. Their technique, that of the double thread (Doppelfadentechnik), continues an old Guarani

[Text Continues on P. 338]

/470 cont./

352 [286] [177] and Arawak tradition. Some hammocks, not many, are crudely woven. The threads which /Fig. 126 appears here/ compose them are of wool; formerly they were doubtless of cotton (Plate XXXVIII).

352 854 754 It is a delicate business to persuade a Chiriguano mother to sell you the hammock of her nursling. She fears that an /Plate LXXXVIII appears here/ /471/ evil-intentioned person will profit by the fact that the fabric is impregnated with urine, in order to indulge in magical practices which would make the new-born child die.

342 351

Fig. 124. Chiriguano hut. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (Photo. A. M.)

353 [415] Along the walls are lined up vessels of all dimensions which /Figs. 127 and 128 appear here/ are kept there for the drinking feasts; some contain seed, others serve as linen cupboards or provision bags. On the walls, generally in the four [352] corners, hang reed screens or hoops made of palm leaves /Fig. 129 appears here/ which take the place of shelves (Figs. 126 and 127).

[TEXT Continues on P. 342]

352

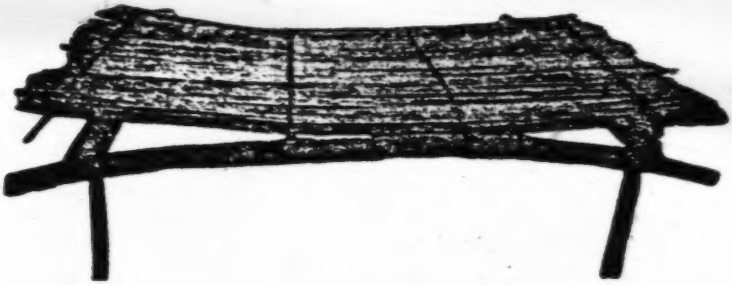


Fig. 125. Wooden cot (catre), Chiriguano Indian bed. Prov.: Ivu. (About 1/6 nat. size /sic/.)

[286]

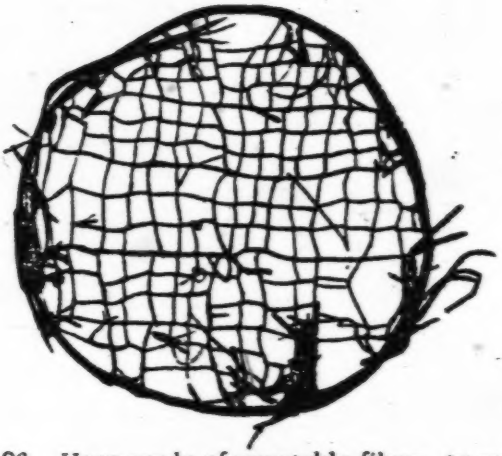
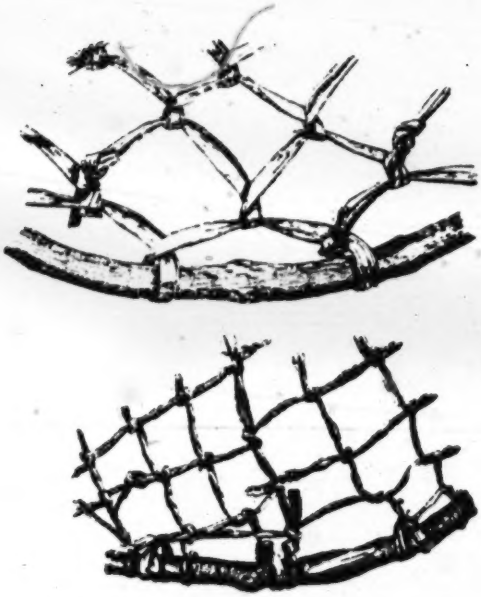


Fig. 126. Hoop made of vegetable fibers, to serve as a shelf. (About 1/8 nat. size.)

352
286



414
239

Fig. 127. Sketch indicating the technique of the hoops of the type of the one in Figure 126.

Fig. 128. Deer foot dried in the sun to serve as a hook for hanging. Prov.: Saladito. (About 1/5 nat. size.)

352

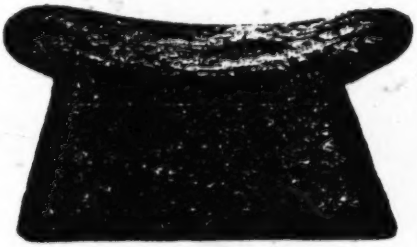


Fig. 129. Double-runnered bench. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (About 1/7 nat. size.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8

are based on a triangle surmounted by a scroll, which is multiplied in countless variations. C 323 [531]

Women potters (pl. 41, *top, left,* and *bottom, left*) tempered the clay with crushed potsherds and built up their vases by coiling. They painted them with several kinds of ocher and with black obtained from rosin. C [462 386]

Spinning and weaving.—Among the *Chiriguano,* wool is more commonly used than cotton for textiles, but *Chané* fabrics are generally of cotton. The fibers are spun with a drop spindle weighted with a clay whorl (pl. 42, *center*). Although garments are in part Andean in shape, the loom remains of the vertical type. Formerly, indigo was the favorite native dye; today aniline dyes have entirely replaced it. The ornamentation of the fabrics is limited to a few stripes. C Cc 286 ● 283 171 386 [531]

Netting.—Fishing nets and carrying nets are made by means of a wooden gage in a reef-knot technique. C 285

Basketry.—Fans, round baskets with overlapping lids, and sieves are twilled with palm leaves in the best Guiana fashion, but wickerwork basketry is very common. No large baskets for carrying or storing food are made.

Gourds.—The painted, incised, or fire-engraved (fig. 61) gourds (*Lagenaria siceraria*) used as cups are, after pottery, the best expressions of *Chiriguano* art. The motifs are mainly geometrical, with occasional realistic representations. C 415 531

FIGURE 61.—*Chané* calabashes. *Left:* Specimen with lid (approximately ¼ actual size). *Right:* Pyrograved specimen (approximately ⅓ actual size). (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1920, fig. 50 and Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 62.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1819 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

/27 cont./

137 which is purple when mature and opens into three sections
824 when ripe. It has an insipid sweetness, but one which both
[262] whites and Chiriguano like. The color is a bright purple, it is abundant, and in certain years of scarcity it is a resource for human life in the months of February and March. In Chiriguano it is called "Ñacagüina." The carapari is another cactus, taller than the preceding ones, which also has its congenial land, /28/ since it is not found everywhere. It is admirable for its tall, striated leaves or branches, ash-gray and armed with spines; its fruit is very pleasant and also sought
[342] by foxes. The trunk is soft like that of all cacti; nevertheless
[757] doors are made of this wood and are durable enough. The pulp of the trunk is used medicinally to cure liver ailments, etc. They say that it is even good for goiter. There is another species of cactus which grows to some 20 or 25 centimeters; it is round and thick, striated and armed with spines. In Chiriguano it is called "Zipepe." The children, as we shall
[524] see, make wheels by cutting off its spines, and, making it roll, they use it as targets for their arrows. Finally, there is another which is trailing and long, covering the ground where it grows and making the place impenetrable. This has and
[262] produces a very delicious fruit which is called "Tapiacaru" in Chiriguano.

TILANDSIA. -- This plant is known to the Chiriguano
[342] by the name of "Caraguata guasu." Its special place is the
[283] hills, and among them it has some more congenial to it; it grows well enough, and its leaves are extraordinarily broad
[492] and long and ash-gray in color; in the middle there is a thick stalk which rises quite high and is good wood for house rafters; from the crushed leaves they make cord and from these are made first-rate halters for tying up animals in the rainy season.
[286] The Toba and even the Chiriguano make a kind of net which
[171] they call chipa or "añapoca," which is very useful, inasmuch
[482] as the women can carry any weight in a bag of that kind; from
[227] the same they make nets so as to be able to fish in the rivers, and these are pieces of work which would attract attention in any part of the Old World.

/184 cont./

323 the force of the heat and remains over the paintings like a
[237] binder, without which they would disappear the first time it was used. The Taragüirisi remains on the vessels like a light coat of rubber and the white of the Tovanti becomes opaque (2).

2. When a pot is slightly damaged, they heat it in the fire and on the inside and outside apply the Taragüirisi, and it is as good as before.

/185/ Textiles

286 Another important occupation of the Chiriguano woman
462 is weaving the Asoya for her husband, brother, or son, and the
[294] Cutama for herself. For this she prepares the wool or cotton, spins it opposite the way the mestizo and European women spin, and then bleaches it and finally dyes it.

286 In order to weave, they set up two tall, slender forked sticks in the house, with two sticks across, one above and one below, and arrange or place the threads vertically, and then sit on the ground and begin to run the woof through, thread by thread, which they hit with a pointed stick of soto wood called Piuca. This, to be sure, is time consuming, if the threads are fine, but, on the other hand, the work is very durable.

291 Ponchos, Asoya, are of two types, one of wool and one
286 of cotton; the first are common from the right bank of the
231 Parapiti River southward and the second from the left bank
249 northward, because in the first region sheep are plentiful, and
[184] in the second, cotton fields. Formerly, before the whites intro-
[177] duced cattle into the region, cotton was cultivated everywhere, and from its product the men were dressed for ceremonies in their Tíru and the women in the Mandu, which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

/185 cont./

291 The Cutama, which I have mentioned, has been replaced
● 286 by the Tipoi of the same form as the former, but made of
[178] chintz, blue drill, linen, merino wool, or corduroy; they also weave covers for their beds, but these are without colors, and an occasional man has a crude loom, like those they use in Europe with a comb, manufactured by themselves (1).

291

1. The Mandu is attached to both shoulders by means of two large silver pins which correspond to the luxury of the garment; on ordinary days they pin the Tipoi with large thorns, but these have been replaced by needles, pins, and metal clasps.

462 Other tasks of the women are carrying water, maize, and field produce for the kitchen and making chicha and algarroba mead, which we shall discuss below, putting an end to this chapter for now.

000 /186/

Chapter Seven

Chiriguano Clothing and Adornments

Introduction

/The first paragraph on p. 186 is omitted in the translation. Page 186 continues as follows./

Clothing, which should remind us of the fall of our first parents, their misfortunes, their sufferings, hardships, and their death, our hardships, misfortunes, and death as a consequence of that disobedience, is today used as an object of extraordinary luxury. All of humanity has converted clothing into an object of vanity, and there is no nation, no tribe, however abject it might be or might consider itself, which has not abused or is not abusing clothing and adornments. /The last paragraph on p. 186 and the first paragraph on p. 187 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 187. The remainder of page 187 follows./

/187 cont./

000 What did Adam obtain through his sin? Confusion and being thrown out of Paradise in order to be subjected to all the [186] miseries of life. We have all inherited the pride of the first Adam, and this capital sin causes us to commit errors and more errors, causes the principle of humility to be lost, and causes the favored one to look with disdain on one who is inferior; only religion can remedy these evils, but Catholicism has not penetrated everywhere, and among the Chiriguano, formerly savages in every sense of the word, it is relatively new, for which reason the pride with which they deprecate their inferiors, looking at them disdainfully, is not altogether uprooted; they do not make use of their clothing and adornments, and they strive to appear equal to the whites, whom they consider superior (?).

> 2. The simplicity of dress of the American Catholic women when they go to church is worthy of all praise. Would that they always dressed in this way and that the fashion of hats had never appeared! In Europe they are so large that they bother the spectator in large gatherings, and in the daily services they interfere with the view of the holy ceremonies, and, consequently, they attend without piety.

Clothing

302

The Chiriguano wears his hair long and barely ever cuts the hair near the forehead, either for adornment or so that it may not interfere with his vision, because he does not tie it
301 up like the women and the Quechua Indians. He wraps it
302 around his head and ties it with a band that his wife, mother,
● [286] or sister weaves for him. This band is called Yapicuana; it is 1.25 or 1.50 meters long and 5 centimeters more or less in
[177] width. It is of cotton or wool and comes in various colors, but at the present time most of them, where civilization has not sufficiently penetrated, use one of red baize, which they

/192 cont./

291 [286] Others who are not hunters, and hunters themselves when they are not engaged in this activity, fasten the breeches at the waist with a belt that they call Cuacuá; their wives weave it; it is made of wool and painted in various colors. They all have one, except some of the old men.

415 [281] [482] Another of their conveniences is the Urupucu, long bag in its literal translation. The Urupucu seems to be the Chiriguano's own; it is of tanned wild boar or pygmy deer hide, narrow at its opening, which they close with a little cord, gathering the opening; they sew around, and through the seam they pass the cord, which is rather long so that it can hang from one shoulder and be passed to the opposite armpit like a horseman's escarsela. This bag is used as a container for carrying provisions on a trip. In it they put boiled meal, parched corn and charqui. This is done by warriors, hunters, and travelers, and, well secured, as has been explained, it is never lost.

415 484 312 Finally, there is no lack of another convenience for carrying water. In order not to experience the effects of burning thirst, he has a type of gourd with a hard shell like that of the matés; he empties it, removing the pulp and seeds, making a hole in the middle, puts it in a kind of net of cords, leaving one or two larger meshes near the hole placed at the top, where the Chiriguano himself makes a small circle, fills it with water, stops it up with a maize cob, and during a trip uses it sparingly, if he has foresight, or else he may not have it when he needs it more (2).

2. The Indians who are governed by corregidors in the region of the Gran Chaco traveled with their respective tarí or tutuma on their expeditions to the desert of Paraguay.

/194 cont./

302 The flower of the Guambero, purslane, has the same properties as the carasapa, but it is little used, and they content themselves with just sticking the leaves on their faces, and this only at carnival time, the result being a gay set of dancers. Finally, the Indians have a fourth cosmetic, which they call Mboiurucu, or achiote of the viper. It is red, and they assert that it is food for the viper, hence its name. They use it by rubbing it on their cheeks, which makes them a bright red.

292 [527] [178] As noted above, the ancient Chiriguano man, Ava, and the Chiriguano woman of long ago, Cuña, at solemn fiestas and on days /195/ of general rejoicing, after having adorned their faces and washed their persons, wore the tiru and the mandu, respectively (1).

> 1. If the Indian dressed in a tiru does not have breeches, guasupi timbiao, he wraps his body from the waist down with a shorter poncho which comes to the calf. It is also of cotton, and the women weave it. It is called Tirupeé, or sheath that warms, "alias" wrap /abrigo/.

[286] [462]

The Tiru is a kind of long poncho, from which it differs because of the two openings that it has near the wrists; the hands are put into said openings and remain free for movement, and, the tiru fastened to the wrists, nothing impedes the motion of the one wearing it. It is spun and woven by the women, and the raw material is cotton. The tiru differs in color, some are black, others dark red, and others blue. The first color is obtained with black mud, Tuñúú, mixed with the resin of the algarroba, Piari; the second, with sotillo bark, Urundeibusu; and the third, with wild indigo, Caogũi (2).

[286] 292 386 [824]

> 2. Today this is all purchased commercially, and the indigo plant, which is abundant in certain places, is ignored. They buy the indigo and the other colors, just as they buy for their poncho and their tipoi.

[437] [178]

/223 cont./

881 The young girl receives her mother's injunctions without
868 uttering a word, without making any comment, respects the
867 advice and admonishments in the same silence and more than
283 that of a mute, because she hears and keeps quiet without making any movement at all, without raising her eyes or moving her head. She begins her work as soon as her mother withdraws; she combs the wool or cotton with her fingers, cleans it of /224/ whatever dirt it may contain, and begins to spin, a duty learned from early childhood (1).

[785]

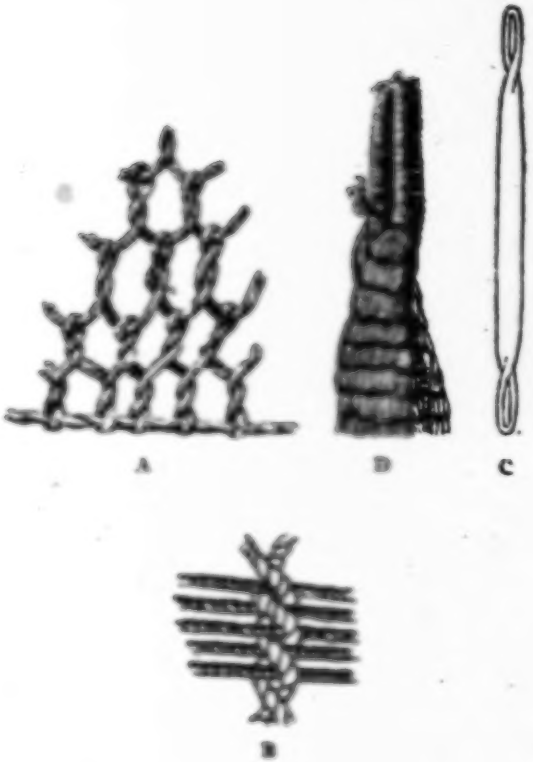
1. The maiden who fasts can only work in the place where she is enclosed; therefore she cannot help her mother even to clean the house.

881 When her mother sees that she has enough to make some
868 small article, she directs the weaving, and the first thing
867 that is made is the Hapicuana for her father and then another
286 for her mother, with which they are very happy, and even their friends congratulate them on the work of the daughter, for whom they, of course, profess sympathy and respect as a sacred person, because she is in the period of fasting or hiding, since both things are done when these maidens reach puberty (2).

2. The same word, Yicuacu, is used for the fasts ordered by the Church for neophytes. There is no other word in the language.

881 During the first month or first moon, Yasi, the seclusion
885 or hiding is the most rigorous, because the symptoms of puberty should manifest themselves two times in order that they may be considered true ones, that is to say, the Chiriguano do not believe that a woman is ready for marriage until after it has been ascertained that her menstruation is regular. This, which for women is their relief and their health, is called Hugüi in adults, but for pubescent girls the first as well as the second is called, as I have already said, Yimundía.

C
Ce
286 ●
482



C
286
352

Fig. 49 A. Technique in a carrying-net. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 51. 1/2
B. Technique in the hammocks Chiriguano. R. M. E. 1056. 1/3.
C. Frontlet to a carrying-net. Chané. Rio Parapiti. R. M. P. 117.
D. Technique in C.

SchOrdenskiöld E-4,4(1908-1909, 1912) 1910
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

XXIII.

Various kinds of handicraft besides pottery.

Knitting-technique.

C
Ce
286 Respecting the occurrence of different kinds of knitting technique among the Chiriguano and Chané I have little to add beyond what was mentioned in the English edition of Part I of this work.

C
Ce
286
352
171 The hammock-netting is the usual technique which gives the so-called barred hammocks (See Part I) which are widely distributed in all S. America north of El Gran Chaco. They are found almost universally where hammocks occur. Occasionally one sees among the Chiriguano and Chané bags knitted in the technique which in Part I I denoted by No 5. These bags are never made by themselves, but are obtained from the Mataco, Tapiete, or some other Chaco tribe. During my archaeological excavations at Igüembe I found a piece of pottery with impressions of knitting evidently done in this technique.

C
Ce
284
286
283 The carrying-nets and most dip-nets of the Chiriguano and Chané are made with reef-knots. The Chiriguano have also dip-nets knitted with sheet-knots. For carrying-nets and dip-nets they Chiriguano and Chané generally use caraguatá bast. »Yuchan» is seldom used[1])

Spinning.

C
Ce
283 Regarding the spinning of the Chiriguano and Chané there is little to add beyond what I mentioned in Part I.

[1]) *Chorisia insignis.*

C 374
Ce X 3. Piaroa Rio Ventuari, Communication by letter from
285 Prof. Koch-Grünberg.
*171
S
102
285

Baskets with lids which are opened like an ordinary cigar-box.

A. Graves on the Peruvian Coast. G. M. Very common in all collections of peruvian antiquities.

C
Ce Some baskets from the Chiriguano have shapes which
285 make them look like imitations of earthen vessels. (Fig.
531 53 C and D) Sometimes they even have an ear. Chiriguano and Chané baskets are very seldom ornamented.

Metal-work.

C The only metal-work now occurring here is that the
325 Chiriguano sometimes make their tembetas (lip-buttons)
309 of tin themselves. Whether the Chiriguano and Chané, before coming into contact with the Whites, themselves performed metal-work, I cannot say.

Stone-work.

C
Ce The Chiriguano and Chané do not now work stone.
324

Wood-work.

C
Ce For their wood-work the Chiriguano and Chané now
322 use exclusively tools obtained from the Whites.
412
177

Weaving.

C Among the Chiriguano I saw two types of looms; among
Ce the Chané only one.
286 The loom found among the Chiriguano and Chané is characterized by the completed product forming a ring (seamless) N. B. if so desired. The warp is set up as shown in the outline drawing. (Fig. 55.a) and in the sketch of a hand-loom from the Chané. (Fig. 55.c). When the ring is

[text continues on p. 176]

C
Ce
286 ●

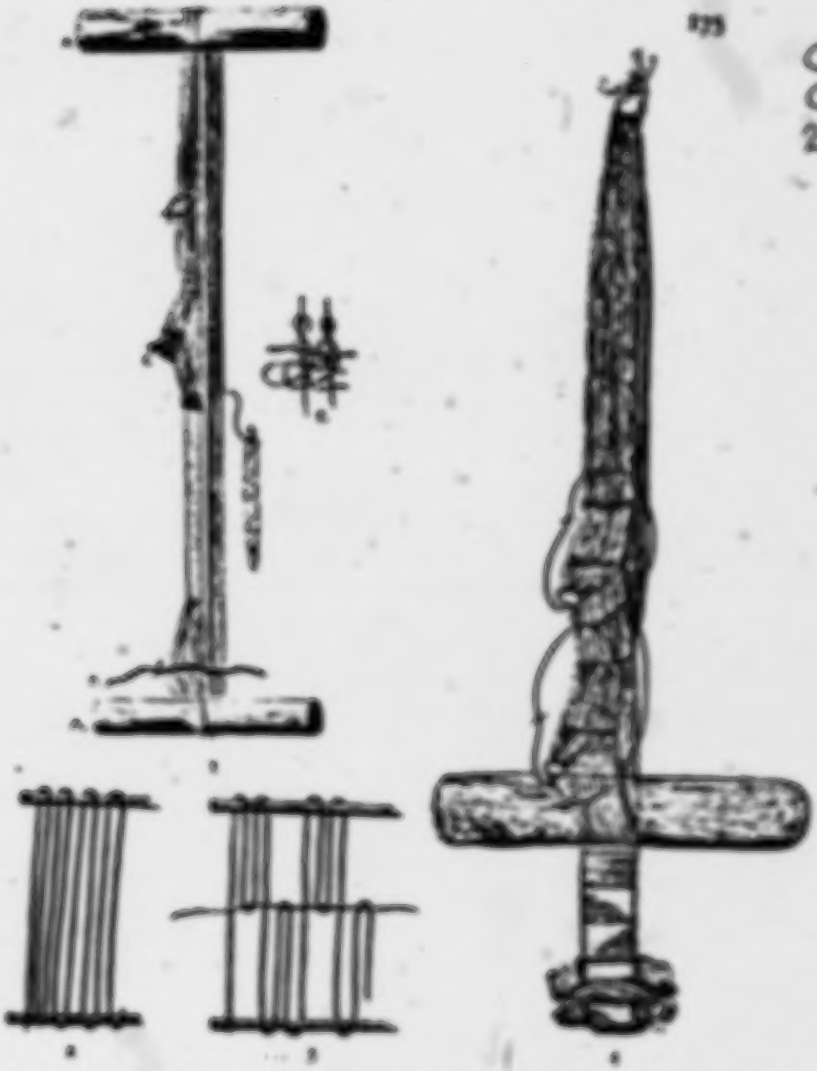


Fig. 33. 1. Sketch of a hand-loom from the Chaos, Rio Pampitil. R. M. P. 300. $\frac{1}{10}$
2. Outline drawing showing how the warp is set up in the loom from the Cocoyes and many other tribes.
3. Outline drawing showing how the warp is set up in the loom fig. 33, 1.
4. Hand-loom from the Chirigumas. G. M. 13, 1. 358. $\frac{1}{10}$

Schwabenbibl. E-4,[illegible]-1995, 1929, 1989
SF10 Chirigoano SF10
Chano SF8

C completed, it is opened by drawing out the string B, a piece
Co of cloth being thus obtained which nowhere needs hemming.
286 If the string B is allowed to remain and is woven into the
cloth, the ring-shape is retained and it can also be used
as a tipoy. (Fig. 22). This is a particularly ingenious way
C of setting up the warp. I have beaus warped in this wise
Co from the Chaná, Chiriguano, Mataco, Vacacico and Chorote.
286 In BOLZONI's collection there is a loom from the Ijca Indians on which the warp is also set up in this way. The
171 string B is, however, replaced by a stick. There are also looms on which the warp is set up as depicted in the schematic illustration (Fig. 23.c) i. e. the completed work must be in the shape of a ring, unless the threads are cut off. I have looms warped thus from the Guayakí (Paraguay) and the Tonkawa Indians. Here belongs also the loom described by MAX SCHMIDT from Pirawi-Kabiñi, as also a loom from N. W. Brazil described by KOCH-GRÜNBERG.

There are unfortunately too few descriptions of looms from the S. American Indians to render it possible to draw up satisfactory maps of the distribution of different types. The map 13 here appended is intended to show the distribution of looms on which the warp is set up in such wise that the completed work forms a ring, or can form one if it is desired. According to information kindly supplied by MAX SCHMIDT, there are no looms on which the warp is set up in such wise that the completed work is ring-shaped in the extensive collections from pre-Columbian Peru at the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin. When writing Part I of this work, I thought, like MAX SCHMIDT, that looms whose completed product is ring-shaped were an Arawak culture-element. In order to prove this, a larger material of looms is needed than has hitherto been collected. It is, however, likely that this kind of loom is now only found in northern S. America and, further south, only east of the Andes. Looms warped so that the completed work must form a ring appear to have a more entirely distribution than those

Schwabenschiffe 1-2, 5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
8710 Chiriguano 8710
Chano 878
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
286
171*

warped so that the completed work may form a ring or not according as it is desired.

Table 18.

Arawak-loom. Map. 15.

C
Ce
102
286
171*
S
102
286

2. Ashluslay. Photo in my collection. G. M.
4. Chiriguano, R. M. H. 1037.
5. Chané, R. M. P. 344.
6. Mataco, R. M. M. 1230.
8. Lengua, Grubb P. 67.
20. Pareni, Max Schmidt (4) P. 214.
21. Caingué, Ambrosetti (7) P. 711.
22. Yuracáre, R. M. V. 598.
31. Emerillon. Goeje (1). Pl. XVI.
36. Ijca, Bolinder (4) P. 149.
37. Motilon, Bolinder (4) P. 149.
41. Panserna, G. M. 15. 1. 806.
48. Indians Northwestern Brazil. Koch-Grünberg (1) Bd (2) P. 211.
62. Chacobo, R. M. Ch. 178.
65. Bauré, R. M. C—B. 33.
IV. Tereno, Max Schmidt (4) P. 214.*)
1 C. Pues. Pittier de Fabrega Pl. VI.
2 M. Wapiniana. Farabee Pl. VII.

C
Ce
286
171*

The loom only occurring among the Chiriguano is a hand-loom which is depicted here. This loom is much more akin to the usual Peruvian loom and must be regarded as a western culture-element. (See fig. 55.4.) East of the Andes the Peruvian loom is unknown except among the Mataco.*)

Appertaining to the loom outfit of the Chiriguano and Chané are weaving-implements of bone and wood (fig. 56).

*) Cadavid, Boletín (2) P. 107. Warp set up as in the loom fig. 55. 1.

*) See Part 1. Fig. 62.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
286
*171

Weaving-bodkins of bone are found among the Quichua. LEHMANN-NITSCHE depicts one from Puna de Jujuy[1]) and I found one in an excavation at Ollachea,[2]) Peru. COBO[3]) mentions their use by the Incas.

C
Ce
286
531
Ce
[177]

The large fabrics woven by the Chiriguano and Chané are not adorned with figures. On the other hand, it is not rare to see ribbons with woven human figures and other ornaments (fig. 57). The Chané on the Rio Parapiti are said to have learnt these ornaments from a Quichua woman who had immigrated to these parts. The Chiriguano girls are never seen to wear the ornaments they have learnt to embroider at the mission schools. These are flowers and the like, generally European ones, which interest the Indians very little, and are too strange for their fancy. This does not prevent the work they do at the mission schools being excellently done. At the mission schools the Indian girls also sew and crochet lace. But they never make these things once they have left school.

C
797
871
531
286
177

C
Ce.
286

Fig. 56. Weaving-implement of wood. A and B from the Chiriguano. C from the Chané.

A = R. M. E. 48. 1/4. B = R. M. E. 146. 1/4. C = R. M. P. 21. 1/4.

---

1) Pl. IV. C5.

2) (3) Pl. 3. Fig. 12.

3) »Van apretando y tupiendo la tela con un hueso puntiagudo y liso» .... COBO T. 4, p. 204. COBO gives a description of the Peruvian loom. P. 203.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
286
171*
S
102
286

Map. 15. The distribution of the »Arawak» loom.

● = Warp set up as shown in fig. 55.a.
■ = » » » » » » » 55.b.
● = It is not exactly known how the warp is set up.

/242/

000

Chapter Sixteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Art and Industry

C
Ce
285
323
177

The Chiriguano and Chané are tribes whose art-industry is on a very high level. If one visits one of the huts of the white settlers in these regions, one will not see many products of native industry, not much of their own culture. I know of absolutely nothing that these people are capable of doing which can compare with the pottery and the weaving technique of the Indians. One thing is certain, the more "civilized" the Indians become, the less they accomplish in the way of art and industry. They do not learn much more from the whites than how to make and drink liquor. Indian art-industry is gradually disappearing here, the more the Indians come in contact with the whites, but it is not transformed. It remains largely purely Indian until its final destruction. One industry, however, is now in the hands of the whites, namely, the metal industry. The silver ornaments which, for example, the Chiriguano and Chané use are made by the smiths in the villages of the mountain regions. The half-white or Quichua /Quechua/ Indian population which we come across in the mountains west of the land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is quite skilled artistically. The weaving technique in particular is very highly developed there. The Chiriguano and Chané undoubtedly learned a great deal from the west.

C
[273]

C
Ce
325
171
439
000

Ee
289
149
C
534
171
291
413

Thus we find the serére pipe[2] (Fig. 120) characteristic of the Chiriguano in collections from the coast of Peru (1); /Plate 19 appears here/ /243/ the pin for fastening women's clothing

1. Serére also occur among the Lengua, Ashluslay, Chiriguano, Chané, Churápa, and Yuracáre.

2 [A flute-like musical instrument--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 94]

Ce /245 cont./
323 The coarser vessels, as well as all cooking vessels, are
531 decorated with only finger imprints and clay loops put on them.
ce The finer vessels are subsequently painted (see Pl. 19 /see p. 93/).
[237] /246/ With a brush made of agouti hairs (1) the decorations are
[413]

1. Dasyprocta.

Ce
[386] painted in white, dark brown, and black. The white pigment
is a kind of earth (kaolin); the others are made out of slate and
Ce sandstone. They paint freehand and compose the decorations from
323 memory, not from models. Wood, maize cobs, and cow excre-
ment are heaped around the vessel. The fuel is lighted and must
burn with a vigorous fire for a quarter of an hour or, if the vessel
Ce is large, even longer (Fig. 122).
[314] If the vessel has been painted, it is varnished with resin,
[824] "taraviruti," which is collected from a Mimosoideae, and with
resin from the palo santo (see p. 93 /untranslated; Palosanto is
identified there as Bulnesia Sarmienti/). The former gives a
yellowish polish; the latter looks like greenish-black glaze.
Ce When a pot is made, it is baptized before it has cooled,
[789] so that water will boil rapidly in it.
C In Maringay's village individual vessels were painted
531 with a mixture of urucú or some other color and a vegetable fat.
323 I was unable to see how this latter was prepared.
386 The Chiriguano and Chané women are skillful weavers.
Ee The material for the Indian weaving is, as a rule, cotton and
●286 sometimes sheep wool.
Ee Since large quantities of cloth are imported by the whites,
[439] native weaving is disappearing more and more. Thus, I did
[177] not see any looms among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley, and
native woven goods were very rare.
Ee As a rule, all the weaving of these Indians is without
286 ornamentation, or else this is very simple. The girls in the
531 missions learn from the monks how to embroider all kinds of
[797] flowers, such as roses, violets, etc. They do this superbly.

Ee
286
531
[797]

/246 cont./

Strangely enough, after they leave the sewing class, the Indian women cease to use these decorations. It would be better if the missionaries taught the Indian children /247/ decorations connected with their imaginative life. The results of their work would then be entirely different.

Ce
286
532
177

A couple of generations ago a few Chané women learned from a Quichua woman how to weave decorations which

C
286
531

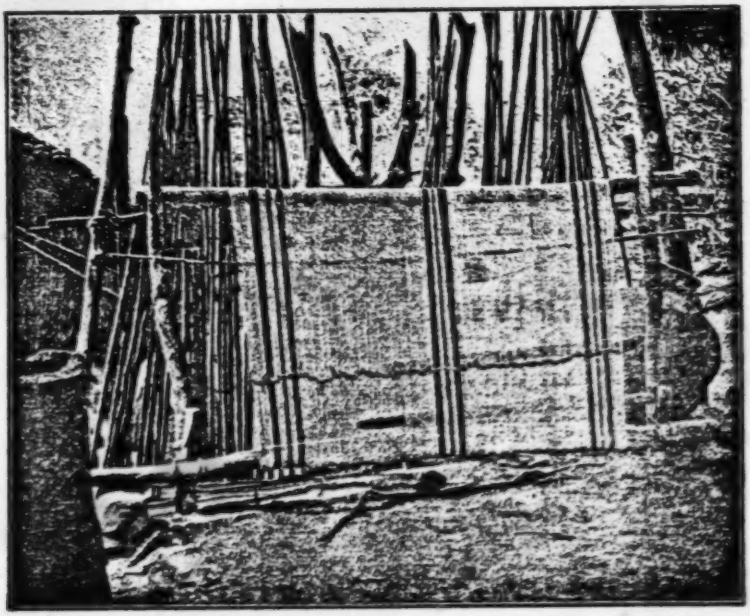


Fig. 123. Loom. Chiriguano.
Tihuīpa.

Ce
286
532
[171]

one still sees on various Chané fabrics. They were stylized animals and human beings. Plant ornamentation does not make much impression on the Indian women. Animal and human figures stimulate their imagination, and they teach them to their children.

Ee /248 cont./
439
177 When we present a collection from the Chiriguano and Chané, we must not forget that, through trade between the tribes, they have obtained many things from the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Tapiete; otherwise we would have a mistaken conception of the
Ee great difference /249/ between the material culture of the Chaco tribes named here and the Chiriguano and Chané.
171 If we compare the material culture of the Choroti and Chané
Ee with that of the Choroti and Ashluslay likewise described here,
[285] we must remember the following. The Chiriguano and Chané produce basket work -- the
c Choroti and Ashluslay never.
Ee The former know how to paint
[323] clay vessels before firing,
Ee which is unknown to the latter.
[286] The Chiriguano and Chané
c never make bags out of
[415] →
[531]

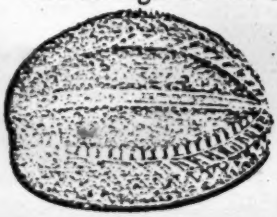


Fig. 126.
Decorated calabash bowl.
Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/5.

caraguata, etc. If, moreover, we compare all the products made by the Chané and Chiriguano with those of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we find that most of them are entirely differ-
c ent. The Chaco Indians probably learned how to make certain
[177] things, such as the serére (Fig. 120) and huiramimbi pipes (Figs. 36 /omitted in the translation/ and 80), from the Chiriguano,
Ee but this is relatively insignificant.
177 We see here how two cultures can exist side by side for hundreds of years without mingling.
Ee If we follow the Rio Pilcomayo down toward the mountains,
101 we first come across the Quichua /Quechua/ culture, then come the Chiriguano and Chané, and after that the Chaquensic /Chaco/ culture which embraces equally the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Ashluslay, as well as the Lengua and other tribes in the Paraguay Chaco. These three cultures are entirely different.

C /22 cont./
352 Hammocks (Chiriguano: kía; Izozó: iní) in the Collection
[126]

I. A. 448. Chiriguano. Wool. Length 230 cm. Width 75 cm. (Fig.102b).
I. A. 449. " " " 105 cm. " 60 cm.
I. A. 450. " " " 285 cm. " 60 cm. (Fig. 102a).
Ce I. A. 360. Gift of Mr. Teodoro Rojas. (Chané of the Parapití.)
[126] From Caraguatá. Length 320 cm. (Fig. 102c).
[352]

C The hammocks that I acquired among the Chiriguano in
352 Machareti were all made of wool, as were the hammocks that
286 Métraux saw among the Chiriguano (92). According to

92. Métraux I, p. 470.

Nordenskiöld (93), Chiriguano hammocks are commonly made

93. Nord. 2, p. 12.

C of cotton and only incidentally of wool. Of the three large
286 hammocks in the collection, two (I. A. 448 and 449) were
352 plaited with the technique very common among the Indians of
126 South America, which in my publication on the Guarayú, which appeared in this same journal, I called "double thread plaiting" (Doppelfadengeflecht) (94), while one (I. A. 450) shows the

94. Cf. Fig. 102b /see p.174/.

Ce structure of a piece of weaving. (Cf. Fig. 102a) From the
286 Chané the Museum's collection has hammock I. A. 360, which
352 Mr. Teodoro Rojas acquired among the Indians of the Parapití
[126] River and presented to the Museum. (Fig. 102c.) This hammock was made of caraguata fibers and with a netting technique. According to Nordenskiöld, in addition to such hammocks of caraguata fiber the Chané have others made of cotton, on the technique of which we have no information.
C With regard to the details of these Chiriguano and Chané
Ce hammocks, I refer to the chapters dedicated to the description
286 of the technique of plaiting and the technique of preparing netting.
352

8: Schmidt--77 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/31 cont./

C
Ce
291

is brought over the head so that the slit is in the direction of the middle axis of the human body and the middle of the poncho across the shoulders, one part hanging in front and the other behind. Thus the distance between the lower edge of the poncho and the shoulders of the man who is wearing the poncho corresponds to half the length of the poncho when stretched out. Only in the case of two of the Izozó woolen ponchos is half the length equal to the width. I shall deal with the manufacture and decoration of these ponchos in the chapters on the technique of weaving and art.

Ce
29
286
513
126

The Chané of the Parapití River still often wear mantas woven of wool, which they also use to sleep on or to cover themselves with when they are sleeping (138). I have acquired

138. See Nord. 1, p. 202.

nine of these mantas from the Izozó, four of which had been made from ponchos, the slit in the center of them having been closed by sewing. Among the other four mantas which had been made as mantas from the first, the relationship between the length and the width can vary greatly. There are some nearly square and others three times as long as they are wide. From the Chiriguano in Machareti I obtained only one piece of woven material which corresponds to these mantas, and it was already much mended.

C
291
286
296

Mantas in the Collection

C
Ce
29
126

I. A. 585.	(Chiriguano.)	Of cotton.	Length	1.38 m.	Width	1.27 m.
I. A. 816.	(Izozó)	Of wool.	"	2.20 m.	"	0.60 m.
I. A. 817.	"	"	"	1.80 m.	"	1.20 m.
I. A. 818.	"	"	"	0.68 m.	"	0.60 m.
/32/						
I. A. 824.	"	"	"	1.22 m.	"	1.30 m.
I. A. 826.	"	"	"	1.28 m.	"	0.44 m.
I. A. 827.	"	"	"	1.40 m.	"	0.92 m.
I. A. 828.	"	"	"	1.56 m.	"	1.66 m.
I. A. 829.	"	"	"	1.27 m.	"	1.25 m.
I. A. 831.	"	"	"	1.74 m.	"	1.24 m.

/28/

Macana in the Collection

411 [126] I. A. 517. (Chiriguano.) Length 64 cm. (Fig. 38).

[191] The wooden macana, acquired from the Chiriguano, is provided at its upper end with a broadening distinctly delimited from the handle (cf. Fig. 38) and in that respect corresponds to the macanas that we know from various Chaco tribes, for example, the Toba, but it does not correspond to the Chiriguano macana shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (197).

197. Nord. 2, Fig. 9.

The latter is about the same length, but it does not show the clear broadening at the handle, its upper end being only slightly broader. According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano [224] do not use these macanas except for hunting pigs (198).

198. Nord. 1, p. 183.

Slings (tamomboka) in the Collection

[126]

I. A. 508. Chiriguano. Length of the middle part of net 15 cm.
I. A. 509. " " " " " " 14 cm. (Fig. 36b.)

The two slings acquired from the Chiriguano seem to be exactly alike. They consist of a middle part made with the [286] net technique with caraguata-fiber string which terminates at each end with a cord. One of these two cords ends in a simple [284] knot and the other in a small loop. These slings are like the Chané ones shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld, while the manufacture of the middle part of the Chiriguano sling shown by Nordenskiöld is different (199). The Chiriguano in contact

199. Nord. 2, Fig. 7, A.

Plate XIV

C
372
415

a b

C
[237]

e c

d

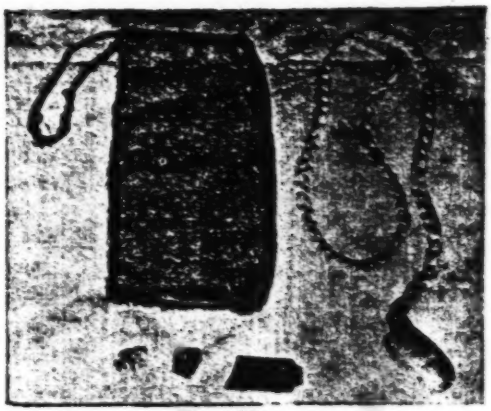


Fig. 40

C
415
286

C2.
415
284

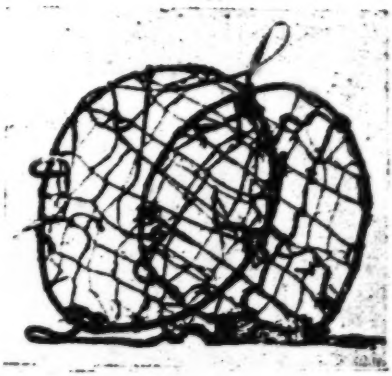
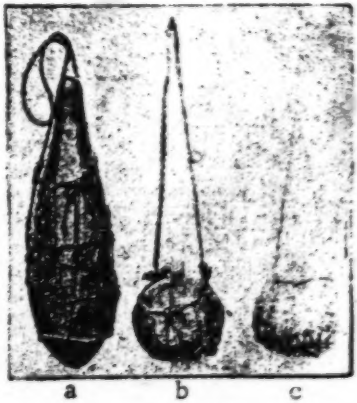


Fig. 41



a b c

Fig. 42

C
285
796

a

b

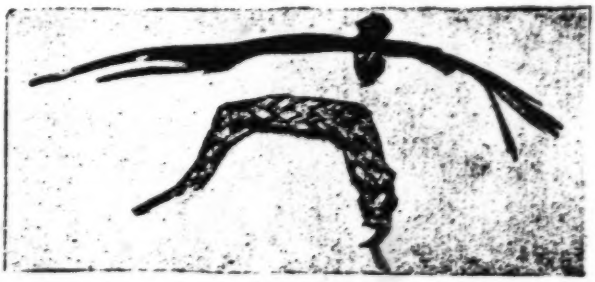


Fig. 43

/The captions are on p. 117./

8: Schmidt--147 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo.

Plate XXV

C
283
322

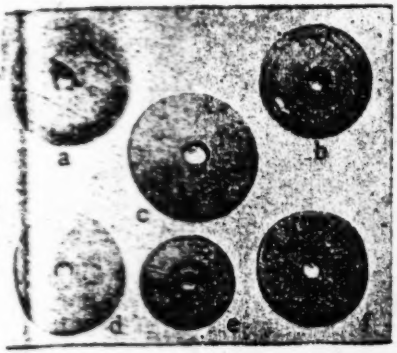


Fig. 87

C
283
323

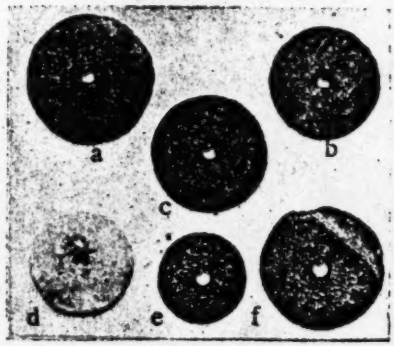


Fig. 88

Ce
283
323

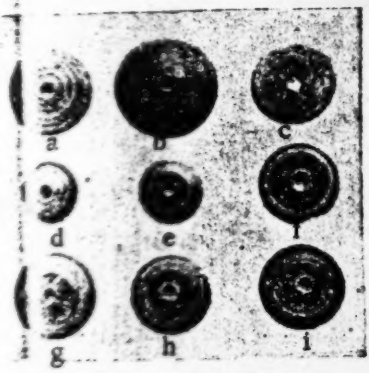


Fig. 89

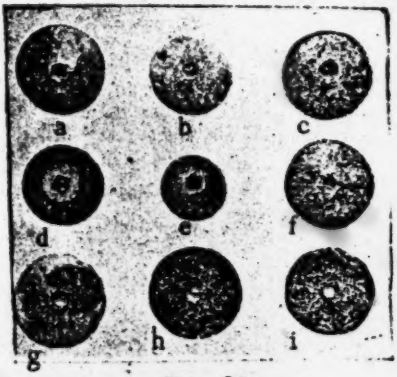


Fig. 90

C
Ce
286
413

a
b
c
d
e

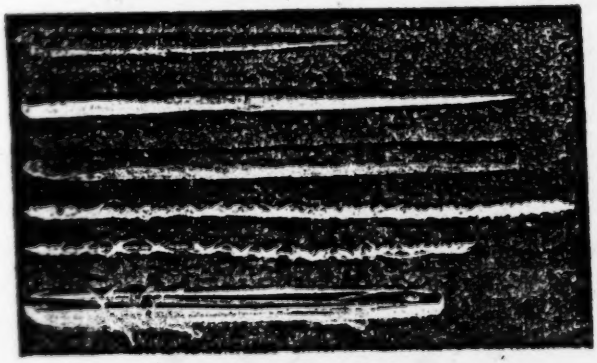


Fig. 91

/The captions are on p. 148./

Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XXIV and XXV./

C
Ce
283

Plate XXIV

Fig. 85. Spindles, a-d (Izozó), e Chiriguano):
a (I.A. 724), length 51 cm.; b (I.A. 703), length 41 cm.; c (I.A. 716), length 41 cm.; d (I.A. 691), length 40.5 cm.; e (I.A. 475), length 42 cm.

Ce
285
283

Fig. 86. (I.A. 725 a and b) Basket (height 12 cm.), cotton seeds, raw cotton, and a spindle with thread, and a ball of cotton thread (Izozó).
b (I.A. 726), ball of cotton thread (Izozó), dia. 8.5 cm.

C
283
322

Plate XXV

Fig. 87. Wooden spindle whorls (Chiriguano): a (I.A. 478), dia. 6 cm.; b (I.A. 474), dia. 5.2 cm.; c (I.A. 480), dia. 6 cm.; d (I.A. 471), dia. 5.3 cm.; e (I.A. 479), dia. 4.3 cm.; f (I.A. 477), dia. 5.2 cm.

C
283
323

Fig. 88. Spindle whorls, a-c of baked clay, e-f of stone (Chiriguano): a (I.A. 486), dia. 6.2 cm.; b (I.A. 487), dia. 5.3 cm.; c (I.A. 483), dia. 5.3 cm.; d (I.A. 481), dia. 4.8 cm.; e (I.A. 482), dia. 4.2 cm.; f (I.A. 484), dia. 5.7 cm.

Ce
283
323

Fig. 89. Baked clay spindle whorls (Izozó): a (I.A. 705), dia. 4.7 cm.; b (I.A. 687), dia. 5.2 cm.; c (I.A. 700), dia. 4 cm.; d (I.A. 702), dia. 3 cm.; e (I.A. 696), dia. 3 cm.; f (I.A. 690), dia. 4 cm.; g (I.A. 692), dia. 4.5 cm.; h (I.A. 689), dia. 4 cm.; i (I.A. 695), dia. 4.2 cm.

Fig. 90. Baked clay spindle whorls (Izozó): a (I.A. 724), dia. 4 cm.; b (I.A. 708), dia. 3.8 cm.; c (I.A. 709), dia. 4.3 cm.; d (I.A. 721), dia. 3.7 cm.; e (I.A. 722), dia. 3.3 cm.; f (I.A. 720), dia. 4.4 cm.; g (I.A. 711), dia. 4.3 cm.; h (I.A. 713), dia. 4.2 cm.; i (I.A. 710), dia. 4 cm.

C
Ce
● 286
413

Fig. 91. Implements for weaving: a (I.A. 500), implement for arranging the warp threads (Chiriguano), length 20.5 cm.; b (I.A. 674), implement for arranging the warp threads (Izozó), length 30 cm.; c (I.A. 673), wooden sword for weaving (Izozó), length 30 cm.; d (I.A. 727), shuttle with cotton thread (Izozó), length 33.3 cm.; e (I.A. 728), shuttle with cotton thread (Izozó), length 27 cm.; (I.A. 513) reel (Chiriguano), length 25 cm.

/63 cont./

Ce 285 basket, which appears among many other Indian tribes of South America, in dealing with the corresponding baskets of the Guató Indians, and I refer here to the pertinent descriptions and diagramatic sketches made to explain the manufacture of this type of basket (267).

Ce [113]

267. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien, pp. 221-227.

GO 824 285 Because the Guató use the pinnate leaves of the acurí palm as /64/ material for these baskets, they are able to leave the leaflets needed for plaiting the basket attached to the stem, which thus forms the upper edge of the basket. The Izozó, not Ce 285 [824] having pinnate palm leaves available, have to use the peltate leaves of the caranday. They must remove the leaflets of these in order to use them for the making of baskets. Therefore these baskets begin at the upper edge with a kind of braid, which unites the separate leaflets for plaiting the walls of the basket. As Figures 96 and 97 show, this braid begins and ends with a knot. These two knots are found at the side of the basket or at the middle of the wall and are in most cases tied with a thread wrapping to prevent an interruption of the rim at that place. The strips coming out of the braid are interwoven in such a way that a sleeve form results, the opening of which, below, is closed by a double braid whose two ends at the two sides of the basket pass through the wall and come out again on the outside of the wall, each one ending in a knot. The ends of the braids of the bottom of basket I. A. 683 (cf. Figure 97 /see p. 158/ form at the same time the handle of the basket. The handles of other baskets of this kind consist of a string or a strip of leather.

C Ce 286 [301] Braids like or similar to those which sometimes form the handles of the baskets described above are used by the Chiriguano and the Izozó in other cases as well, such as sometimes in the fringes of the fajas and especially for making the middle section of the women's hair bands previously mentioned.

C
Ce
286

/64 cont./

There may be variations in these braids according to the difference in the number of skeins plaited and the number of strips which are passed each time by one strip of the braid, as Figures 139-141 show /see p.201/. The greater the number of skeins in the braid, the more the form of one string of the braid takes on the appearance of a band. Cf. Figure 32 a and b /see p. 62/.

Ce
Ce
[171]

To the second of the four kinds of plaited objects into which all the plaited objects of the South American Indians can be classified belong those which are plaited in such a way that one row of sticks, threads, or similar things are united so that a double thread passes the row, continuously or at certain intervals, and in such a way that the two individual threads of the double thread encircle in each rotation one or more of the little sticks or threads of the row.

C
126
352
513
286

Among the objects plaited by this technique there are two Chiriguano hammocks and one Izozó saddle covering in the collection.

Ce
492
286
126

Objects Plaited with Double Thread, from the Collection

I. A. 448. Hammock (Chirig.). Wool. Lgth. 2.60 m. Width 0.75 m. (Fig. 102b and 109.)
I. A. 449. Hammock " " " 2.05 m. " 0.60 m. (Fig. 110.)
I. A. 844. Saddle covering (Izozó) " 1.21 m. " 0.57 m. (Fig. 103b and 129.)

C
352
286

The threads of the hammocks mentioned above are made of wool and that applies not only to the warp threads but also to the double threads. The manufacture of these hammocks is explained in two schematic drawings shown in Figures 109 and 110 /see Figs. 127 and 128, p.190/. The diagram in Figures 109 /Fig. 127/ shows the place in hammock I. A. 448 where the double thread begins to pass through the row of warp threads. The arrangement of the warp threads can be explained only by the manner in which a warp of one continuous thread was made first and in the form of a sleeve, /65/ as the warp of weavings done on a loom

C 352 286

/65 cont./

is made. The double threads, when they pass through the warp threads, encircle with each loop caused by their rotation one thread of the front side of the warp and one thread of the back of the warp. Only at the side edge do they encircle, as Figure 109 /Fig. 127/ shows, three or four threads with each loop. The double thread which begins at the right side of the diagram runs through the entire width of the warp in the way shown in the diagram. When it arrives at the other side, the double thread does not turn around to pass through the warp in the opposite direction, but its ends are fastened, and at set distances other double threads pass through the warp in the same way as the first. Hammock I. A. 449 shows the same arrangement of threads and warp, and the double thread passes through the warp in the same manner, except that at the side edge too it encircles only two threads of the warp, and in this case too one thread of the front side of the warp and one thread of the back side of it. See the diagram shown in Figure 110 /Fig. 128/.

Ce 492 286

The Izozó saddle cover mentioned above shows a peculiarity inasmuch as the double threads are compressed, one beside the other, in such a way that they form a compact material in which the warp threads disappear under the double threads. Likewise in this saddle cover two warp threads are encircled by each loop of the double thread, and more threads only at the two sides. But one difference from the hammocks plaited with double thread is that the double thread, after having passed through the warp threads from one side to the other side, returns in the opposite direction, passing through the warp threads. Another peculiarity is that each of the consecutive rows of the mesh of the double thread shows an opposite direction each time, as a result of which there appears a kind of decoration on the surface, consisting of stripes. As the diagram in Figure 111 /Fig. 129; see p.190/ shows this peculiarity is produced by the special way in which the outer warp threads are encircled by the double thread.

/66 cont./

P
Cs
286
191

The Technique of Weaving

On the occasion of the publication of a Paressí-Kabichí /Paressi-Cabishi/ loom (270), I called attention to the great

P
[113]

270. Max Schmidt, Die Paressi-Kabichí, Ethnologische Ergebnisse der Expedition zu den Quellen des Jauru und Juruena in Jahre 1910 /The Paressi-Cabishi, Ethnological Results of the Expedition to the Headwaters of the Jauru and Juruena in the Year 1910/, Baessler-Archiv., Vol. IV, No. 4/5, 1914, pp. 214 and 215.

similarity among all the looms known up to now among the Aruaco /Arawak/ tribes. The loom that I obtained from the Izozó corresponds in form and construction to the Paressí-Kabichí loom described and shown in a sketch by me, but it demonstrates, discounting some insignificant anomalies, a perfection which Nordenskiöld has already mentioned (271).

271. Nord. 2, pp. 174-176.

Cs
286
126

Loom and Other Implements for Weaving, from the Collection

I.A. 500. Wooden bodkin for arranging the warp threads (Chiriguano). Length 20.5 cm. (Fig. 91a.)

I.A. 513. Reel (Chiriguano). Length 25 cm. (Fig. 91f.)

Cs
286
126

I.A. 741. Loom (Izozó). Height 1.19 m. Length of the upper horizontal bar 56 cm. Length of the lower horizontal bar 57 cm. Height of the warp 83 cm. Width of the warp 25 cm. Length of the shuttle 28 cm. Length of the two swords for weaving 44.5 and 41.5 cm. (Fig. 104.)

I.A. 727.	Shuttle	(Izozó).	Lgth.	33.3	cm.	(Fig. 91d.)
I.A. 728.	"	"	"	27	cm.	(Fig. 91e.)
I.A. 671.	Sword for weaving	"	"	38	cm.	
I.A. 672.	" " "	"	"	45	cm.	
I.A. 673.	" " "	"	"	30	cm.	(Fig. 91c.)

Chane SF8
Izozo
Paressi; SP19

CE 286 126 /66 cont./

I. A. 674. Bodkin for arranging the warp threads (Izozó). Lgth. 30 cm. (Fig. 91b.)

I. A. 742. Sword for weaving (Izozó). Length 123 cm.

I. A. 743. " " " " " 128 cm.

Before describing the Izozó loom mentioned in the preceding list and shown in Figure 104, we must emphasize that in this case we are dealing with a very small one. Ordinarily Izozó and Chiriguano looms are considerably larger, as has already been shown by the length and width of their fabrics. But I had to be content with a small one, because most of the larger Izozó looms were mounted on trees, a vertical post of the loom being formed by a tree trunk, and because at the beginning of my trip I was unable to carry objects too large and difficult to transport. A large Chané loom is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (272).

C [286]

272. Nord. 1, Fig. 123.

CE 286

As Figure 104 shows, the frame of the Izozó loom is formed by two vertical poles and two horizontal ones. The vertical poles are provided /67/ at their upper ends with forks and are set in the ground at a certain distance from each other. The upper horizontal pole is placed in the two forks of the vertical poles, and the lower horizontal is secured to them, at a short distance from the ground, by a binding.

P 286

On the Paressi-Kabichí looms the warp is made simply by rolling one thread continually around the two horizontal poles. As a result, the warp, when ready, encircles the two horizontal posts like a ring, half of which is on the front side of the loom and the other half on the back part. From the construction of a warp formed in such a way, certain conditions of the form of the fabrics made with such a loom result. If the entire warp is utilized by transforming the entire ring of the threads of the warp, by weaving, into a single piece, this fabric necessarily also has the form of a ring or of a sleeve, like, for example, Paressi-Kabichí tipoys. But when one wishes to make a flat fabric, for example,

Chané SF5
Izozo
Paressi SF19

/67 cont./

P 286 a band. it is necessary to leave one part of the warp threads free and to cut them at that place. The fabric formed in this way has the disadvantage that it is necessary to secure the woof at both ends in some way. On the Chané-Izozó and Chiriguano looms this disadvantage is avoided by the ingenious device illustrated C Ce 986 in the diagram shown in Figure 105. The warp on this loom is not formed in such a way that the thread which forms it is simply rolled around the two horizontal poles of the loom frame. As Figure 105 shows, a string is extended between the two vertical poles at the place where the woof is to start. The thread which forms the warp first passes this extended string, passes the lower horizontal pole and then to the upper horizontal pole, again passes to the extended thread, going around it and returning to the upper horizontal pole, and thus as before until, after having already once bound the extended thread, it is fixed into the weave. Also in this case the prepared warp forms a ring, and thus the Chiriguano and Chané can manufacture with their loom, like the Paresi-Kabichí, fabrics in the form of a sleeve without a seam, of which the tipoy, so common among the women, is an example. But, as the diagram also shows, such a ring can be opened at will by removing the extended string, the result being a flat fabric whose four edges are secured by the manipulation of the same weaving operation. From the fact that the threads of the fringes of the Chiriguano and Izozó fajas end in loops, it follows also that the fajas of these Indians were woven with such a loom provided with the extended string, which was later removed.

P Ce 286 Instead of the small stick that the Paresi-Kabichí pass between the odd and even threads of the warp in order to arrange its "normal formation" so that the even threads are below and the odd threads are above, or vice versa, Izozó looms have a twisted string of caraguata fibers which passes through the warp in the same way and is secured at both ends to the vertical poles of the loom.

Chane SF8
Zoro
Payess. SF19

/87 cont./

P Ce 286 In order to be able to form easily by a single manipulation the second formation of the warp threads, in which the even threads, which were below in the normal formation are brought up, passing the odd threads, the mechanism represented by the diagram in Figure 106 is constructed. As this figure shows, this mechanism consists of small loops of cotton thread which encircle the even threads of the warp and are tied to one another. This Iosoó mechanism is different from the corresponding one of the Pareui-Kabichí loom, in that it is not provided, like the latter, with a small stick which serves to join the aforementioned loops to one another.

Ce 286 /88/ By pulling the warp its position can be varied so that the part of the warp which is being worked is always at the proper height and on the front side of the loom. This can also be effected by moving the lower horizontal pole of the loom frame, which the warp threads are always pulling.

In order to be able to pass the woof thread alternately through the two divisions of the warp threads formed by the string and loops mentioned in the foregoing, these divisions are opened by means of a kind of wooden sword, of which the collection has five specimens in addition to the two which go with the loom. Two of these measure more than a meter, since they are intended for working with much larger looms than the one shown in Figure 104. This implement at the same time is used to fix the woof thread to the finished part of the woven material after it has passed through the warp.

The shuttle, by means of which the woof thread is passed through the two divisions of the warp threads alternately from left to right and from right to left, consists of a simple little stick on which the thread is wrapped. In the list of objects in the collection, two specimens of such shuttles from the Iosoó are mentioned, in addition to the one which belongs to the loom. See Figures 91 d and e.

C Ce 286 126 In addition to these implements I acquired two others in the form of a bodkin and made of wood, which are used to arrange the warp threads. One of these is from the Chiriguano, and the other from the Iosoó. Combs, which were used by the ancient Peruvian for this purpose, are not used by the Chiriguano or the Chané.

In Schmidt--173 E-5 (1930) 1958 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/50 cont./

Ce 286 197

In addition to this usual type of loom, there can also be found among the Chané and Chiriguano other special types which correspond to the ancient Peruvian types of looms for weaving bands. The fact that the mechanism of these looms makes possible the formation of more divisions of the warp threads, makes more variations in the ornamentation possible. Niedermichfld shows such a Chiriguano loom in a drawing (773). No doubt this kind

773. Nied. 2. Fig. 35, N. 4.

of loom is a product of the influence of the culture of the ancient Peruvians.

C Ce 286

For different purposes, very different weavings, most of which have already been mentioned in the chapter on clothing, can be made with a loom provided with a warp in the form of a ring as described above. With regard to the measurements of these fabrics, I refer the reader to what I have already said in this respect. The material of all of these woven fabrics consists of cotton or wool threads.

C Ce 291 301 126

Woven Goods Made on the Loom Provided with a Warp in the Form of a Ring, from the Collection

1. Tipoys. I.A. 691, 692, and 930 (Isoná) (I.A. 691, Fig. 114).
2. Ponchos. I.A. 493-497 (Chiriguano) (I.A. 496, Fig. 118).
   I.A. 809-810, 812-815, 819, 829-831, 830, 831, 833-836 (Isoná) (I.A. 833, Fig. 117).
3. Mantas. I.A. 585 (Chiriguano).
   I.A. 816-818, 832-839 (Isoná) (I.A. 818, Fig. 130).
4. Bands of cotton for men's hair. I.A. 659-660 (Isoná) (I.A. 659, Fig. 30b and 108; I.A. 655, Fig. 30c and 109; I.A. 656, Fig. 30d and 110; I.A. 660, Fig. 30a and 107).

Ce 301 126 286

/Plates XXVIII-XXXI appear here./

/55/

Ce 301 126

5. Bands of human hair for men's hair. I.A. 739 and 765 (Isoná) (I.A. 739, Fig. 31 and 111).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 180]

Ft Belvoir--174 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriquano SF10
Chane SF8
I2020

C
352
286

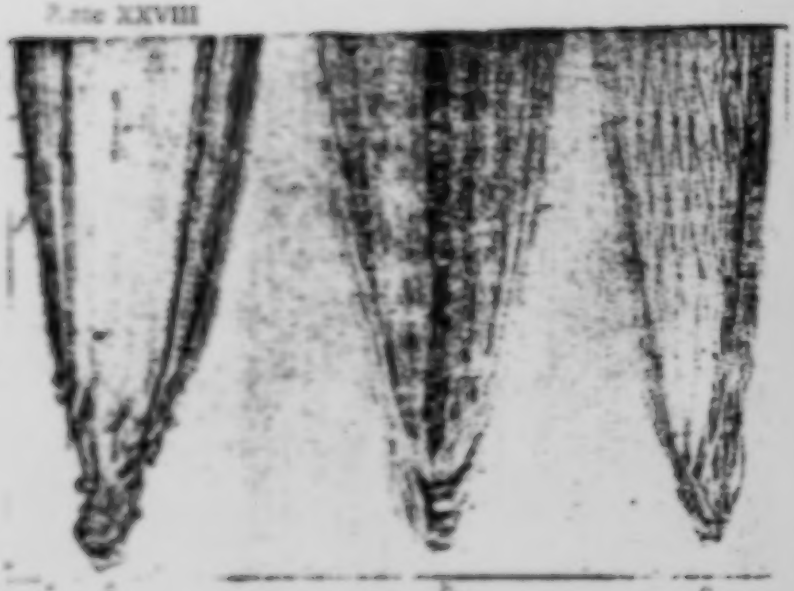


Fig. 102

Ce
897
286

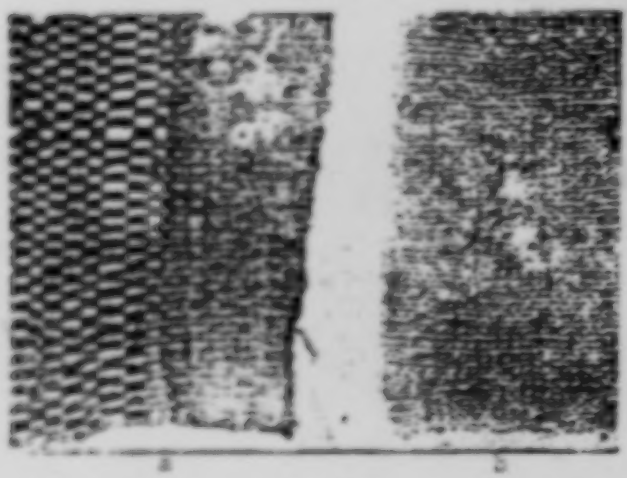


Fig. 103

/The captions appear on p. 175./

8: Schmidt--175 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plate XXVIII/

Plate XXVIII

C
352
286

Fig. 102. Hammocks:

a (I. A. 450), hammock of wool, woven (Chiriguano), length 2.85 m.;

b (I. A. 448), hammock of wool, plaited (Chiriguano), length 2.60 m.;

c (I. A. 360), hammock of caraguata, made with netting technique (Izozó), length 3.20 m.

Ce
492
286

Fig. 103. Saddle covers (Izozó):

a (I. A. 843), woven saddle cover, length 1.42 m., width 0.62 m.

b (I. A. 844), saddle cover plaited with "double thread," length 1.21 m., width 0.57 m.

8: Schmidt--177 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguanc SF10
Chane SF8
I2020

ce
286

Plate XXX

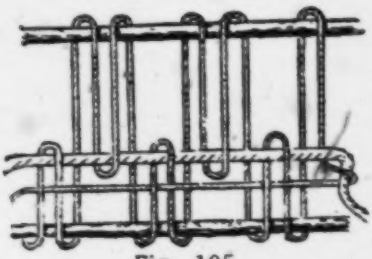


Fig. 105

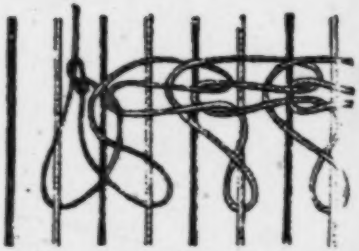


Fig. 106

Ce
301
286

Fig. 107

Fig. 108

Fig. 109

Fig. 110

C
Ce
301
286
415

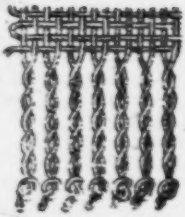


Fig. 111

Fig. 112

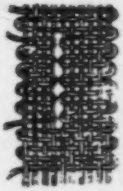


Fig. 113

/The captions appear on p. 179./

C
Ce /69 cont./
291 6. Fajas. I.A. 428-441 (Chiriguano) (I.A. 423, Figs. 119b
126 and 123; I.A. 430, Fig. 124; I.A. 436, Figs. 119a and 121).
I.A. 803-807 (Izozó) (I.A. 803, Figs. 119c and 122).

Ce 7. Saddle covers.
492 I.A. 842 (Izozó). Of wool. Length 0.69 m. Width
126 0.67 m.
I.A. 843 " " " 1.42 m. "
0.62 m. (Figs. 103a and 126.)

C 8. Carrying bag (Chiriguano). Of wool. Length 1.07 m. Width
415 0.45 m. (Fig. 131a.)
126
[492] 9. Double bags for carrying loads on asses or horses.
I.A. 445. (Chirig.) Wool. Entire lgth. 92 cm. Width 37 cm. (Figs. 115 and 131b.)

Ce
492 I.A. 811. (Izozó) Wool. Entire lgth. 93 cm. Width 46.5 cm. (Fig. 132.)
415 I.A. 821. " Cotton. " " 94 cm. " 40 cm.
126 I.A. 822. " " " " 106 cm. " 36 cm.
I.A. 839. " " " " 97 cm. " 35 cm.
I.A. 840. " " " " 104 cm. " 36 cm.
I.A. 841. " Wool " " 92 cm. " 46 cm.

Ce Of the three tipoys in the collection acquired from the Izozó,
291 one (I.A. 820) consists of a fabric in the form of a sleeve made
286 with the warp in this form. The woolen tipoy (I.A. 832) was lengthened by sewing together two such woven pieces, one beside the other. The structure of the weaving clearly shows the thread which was extended between the two vertical poles of the loom before making the warp, and which remained in the cloth. Tipoy I.A. 838 is not typical and consists of a flat piece of weaving whose two facing edges were sewed together.

C With regard to the making of ponchos, we must mention
Ce that those of the Chiriguano consist of two pieces of woven ma-
291 terial sewed to each other in the direction of the slit of the
286 poncho, while Izozó ponchos most often consist of a single piece of weaving made across the entire width of the loom and therefore do not show a seam in the middle part such as Chiriguano ponchos show. From the stiff edges in the direction of the woof, it can clearly be seen that the special mechanism

/69 cont./

C
Ce
291
286

of the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, which consists of the thread extended between the two vertical poles of the loom, was used. After finishing the work of weaving, the thread was taken out of the woven piece to transform it into a flat piece.

The slit in the ponchos woven in one piece is not made by cutting the cloth after it has been finished, but is formed in the very act of weaving. As the diagram represented in Figure 113 shows, the slit is made in such a way that in the part of the warp in which the slit is made the woof thread does not pass through the entire warp, but returns when it has passed half of it, to pass through the following division of the warp threads in the opposite direction. The result of this method of weaving is that the slit of the poncho is provided with a firm edge. We must still mention the peculiarity of the Chiriguano and Izozó ponchos, whose four sides are folded and sewed to the rest of the weaving. For that reason the ponchos of these Indians have round edges. Cf. Figures 117 and 118 /see p.187/.

Ce
291
286

Of the Izozó mantas, only one consists of two pieces of weaving sewed together. Some others have been formed from ponchos by sewing up their slits.

Ce
301
286

/70/ The men's hair bands also clearly show that they were woven on a loom like the one which we have described above and which was fitted with the thread extended between the two vertical poles of the loom. Except for only one of these bands (I. A. 659), the fringes of the rest of them all end in loops of thread in such a way that it is not possible that the warp, previously in the shape of a ring, might have later been cut. The loops of free thread at the two ends of these bands can be secured in a very different manner, as is shown by the diagrams in Figures 107-110.

The manufacture of the two men's hair bands woven of human hair and similar in form to the fajas is the same as that of the cotton bands, in addition to which the loops of the free threads are secured in a simpler manner. Cf. the diagram shown in Figure 111 /see p. 177/.

C
Ce /70 cont./
291
286 The manufacture of the fajas of wool or cotton is like that of the men's hair bands woven of human hair. The manner of securing the loops of the free threads at the end of the fajas is also in general the same, as Figure 111 shows, except only that the fringes consist of more than one of these loops, with the result that they form thicker, twisted threads, which end in knots.

Ce
492
286 Of the two saddle covers, one (I. A. 842) is woven in the ordinary fashion of mantas, while the other, I. A. 843, shows in its manufacture the peculiarity that each time two woof threads pass through the same division of warp threads this is done in such a way that one of these two woof threads passes through the division from left to right, and the other from right to left. The diagram shown in Figure 126 shows the course of this double woof thread and also shows how in this way they manage to make the edge of the piece of weaving firmer than it would have been had the two woof threads passed through the division of warp threads in the same direction.

C
415
286 The weaving from which the Chiriguano bag I. A. 444 was made was not made up of a fabric in the form of a manta. By sewing up the two narrower sides, there was first made a piece in the form of a sleeve, from which the bag was made by sewing the edges together, leaving only one part open for the opening.

The double bags mentioned above are made of a flat fabric of either wool or cotton thread, by folding over the two ends and sewing the edges together. The diagram shown in Figure 112 shows the flat fabric before the edges are sewed. All the outside edges of the material are secured by the process of weaving itself, since the fabric is first made in the form of a sleeve and then changed into a flat piece by removing the thread which was extended between the two vertical poles of the loom. Also, the edges, indicated in the diagram by EF, GH, EI, GL, FK, and HM, are secured by the weaving process, which was managed by passing the woof thread through the divisions of the warp, only by parts in the way we know for making the slit in ponchos. Only in those places indicated on the diagram as JL and MK are the warp threads cut in such a way that these sides of the piece

C /70 cont./
415
286 of weaving are not secured by the weaving process itself. In order to change the piece of weaving described in the foregoing into the double bag, its two ends are folded over at the dotted lines in the diagram, with the result that points A, B, C, and D are placed on top of points A/, B/, C/, and D/. Then the edges which are placed one on top of the other (OA/, QB/, PD/, and RC/) /71/ are sewed together. The parts EILG and FKMH are doubled in the opposite direction to form the tops of the double bag.

C
Ce
286
531
171
In accordance with the simple mechanism of the loom with which the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó make their textiles, the possibilities of producing variations in the ornamentation of these are very limited. The variations in ornamentation of the weavings of the Chaco tribes, such as, in particular, those of the Churupí /Chulupi/, which consist of frets, zigzags, rhombuses, and many other figures, are not found among the ornamentations of the weavings of the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
Ce
286
531
[177]
Because today the woven goods of these Indians, especially the fajas and the ponchos, are often woven with imported thread or, if they are woven with native wool or cotton thread, these are often dyed with imported dyes, the different colors of the ornamentation on the surface of these weavings have no ethnological importance.

The ornamentation is formed exclusively by the warp threads, due to the fact that the distance between the warp threads is much less than the distance between the wax threads, so that the meshes of the woof disappear completely under those of the warp. Because, outside of that, the formation of the divisions of the warp threads is done by a single mechanism of loops, it can consist only of raising and lowering alternately the even and odd warp threads, for which reason the ornamentation still cannot be influenced by the process of the operation of weaving itself. The structure of this kind of weaving is necessarily such that in the direction of the woof thread, thus vertical to the direction of the warp threads, a row of the meshes formed by the odd warp threads is alternated each time with a row of the meshes formed by the even warp threads. Thus

C
Ce
286
531

/71 cont./

in Figures 120-124 the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, and eleventh horizontal rows are formed by the meshes of the odd warp threads, numbers 1, 3, 5, and so forth, while the second, fourth, sixth, eighth, and tenth horizontal rows are formed by the meshes of the even threads of the warp, and so forth. The result of this is that all of those odd rows in the direction of the woof are like one another in structure and color, and similarly all of the even rows are like one another in the direction of the woof. Therefore the ornamentation of these weavings can only consist of continual repetition of the ornamentation set by the first two rows in the direction of the woof.

These considerations show that the only possibility of providing these weavings with different ornamentation is by varying the color of the warp threads.

The simplest ornamentation that can be done in this manner consists of simple stripes in the longitudinal direction, that is, in the direction of the warp threads. The unfinished weaving on the loom shown in Figure 104 and the manta I.A. 818 have such a decoration of simple stripes. Figure 120 shows that these stripes in the longitudinal direction are produced in such a way that at certain intervals the color of the warp threads is changed. In addition to these longitudinal stripes and in varying combinations with them, transverse stripes appear as ornamentation in these weavings. Cf. Figures 121-124 /see p. 188/. These are produced in such a way that two threads of different color alternate each time among the warp threads. Thus it comes about that the row of meshes formed by the odd warp threads are different in color from the row of meshes formed by the even threads of the warp. If a single thread of the warp has a color different /72/ from the color of the adjacent threads, dots appear in the ornamentation, as Figure 121 shows.

From the above explanations it can be seen that all the ornamentation in these weavings of the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó is produced exclusively by the arrangement of warp threads of different colors. The process of weaving is absolutely indifferent to the ornamentation set in the beginning by the arrangement of the warp threads.

Ce 286 415 301 126

/72 cont./

Weavings Made on a Special Loom, from the Collection

I.A. 737. Bag (Izozó). Wool. Hgt. 21 cm. Width 22 cm. (Fig. 116.)
I.A. 738. Band " " Length 1.3 cm. " 3.7 cm. (Fig. 115.)

C Ce 286 17

Because of the contacts that the Chiriguano and the Chané had for a long time with the culture of the ancient Peruvians, it is surprising that the highly developed technique of the latter should not have had more influence on the weaving technique of these Indians. The fact is that the Chiriguano even today make most of their weavings with the typical loom of the Aruaco and with the warp in the form of a ring, which they doubtless received from the Chané. Besides these ordinary looms, the forms of looms that they received directly or indirectly from the technique of the ancient Peruvians are of little importance.

Ce 286 171

The two Izozó weavings mentioned above, and in particular bag I.A. 737, are weavings that are exactly like the weavings produced to this day by the Quichua /Quechua/ and also the typical weavings of the last period of the Inca Empire.

In order to explain the appearance of such weavings among the Chané of the Parapití, we have an interesting observation by Nordenskiöld. The Indians told that author that they had learned that technique of weaving directly from a Quichua woman who had emigrated into their territory (274).

Ce [177]

274. Nord. 2, p. 178.

C 286 [177]

The Chiriguano loom for weaving bands and shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld shows that the Chiriguano also learned to weave in the way of the ancient Peruvians (273) /fn. 273, which appears on p. 173, reads: Nord. 2, Fig. 55, N. 4./. In contrast to the manner of weaving described in the preceding, these weavings are made in such a way that the thread of the woof passes alternately through the threads of the front side of the warp and those of the back side. In addition to this, a double mechanism for the divisions of the warp threads makes possible many more variations in the ornamentation.

C /72 cont./

286 352 126

Weavings Made without a Special Mechanism for Making the Divisions of the Threads of the Warp, from the Collection

I.A. 450. Hammock (Chirig.) of wool. Lgth 2.85 m. Width 0.60 m. (Fig. 102a.)

Ce 286 415 126 482

I.A. 768. Carrying net provided with a woven caraguata band (Izozó). Length of band 49 cm. (Figs. 125 and 133.)

I.A. 802. Band for a carrying net (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 49 cm.

C Ce 286 [415 482 352]

With regard to their exterior structure too, the bands with which many of the carrying nets (of the Izozó and some of the Chiriguano ones) and one Chiriguano hammock are provided are similar to the weavings. But these /Plates XXXII-XXXV appear here/ /73/ objects are made without any special mechanism for making the divisions of the warp threads.

Figure 125 shows the structure of the band of the net I.A. 768. (Cf. Fig. 133 /see p.200/.) The diagram shows the way in which these bands are made. First the longitudinal threads are stretched in a way similar to the manner of stretching the warp threads of common weavings between the horizontal poles of the frame of the loom, but without using the special thread extended between the two vertical poles of the loom. Then they pass a transverse thread, which corresponds to the woof thread of common weavings, through the two rows of longitudinal threads alternately from the right to the left and from the left to the right, in such a way that this thread is left alternately under one thread of the back row of longitudinal threads and on top of one thread of the front row. Thus the manufacture of these bands and of hammock I.A. 450 is different from that of common weavings principally in the fact that the woof thread passes simultaneously through the threads of the front side and of the back side of the warp. Sundry irregularities in the course of the threads of the warp show that weavings of this kind have been made without using a mechanism for making the divisions of the warp threads.

8: Schmidt--187 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
I2020

Plate XXXII

CE
286
291
531

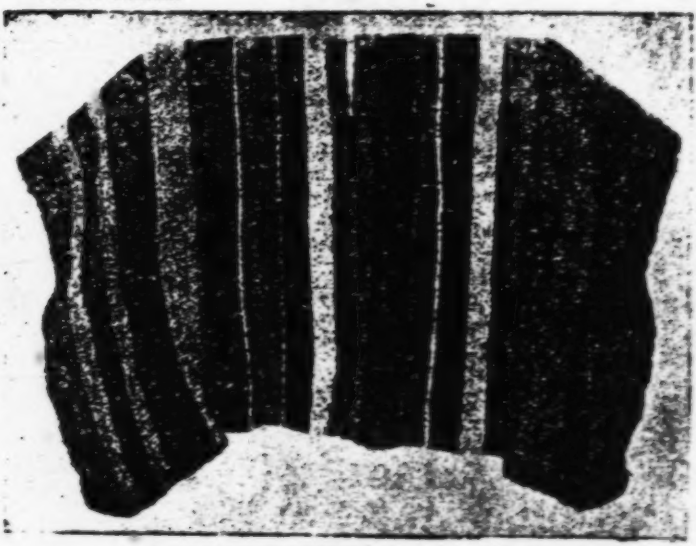


Fig. 117

C
286
291
531

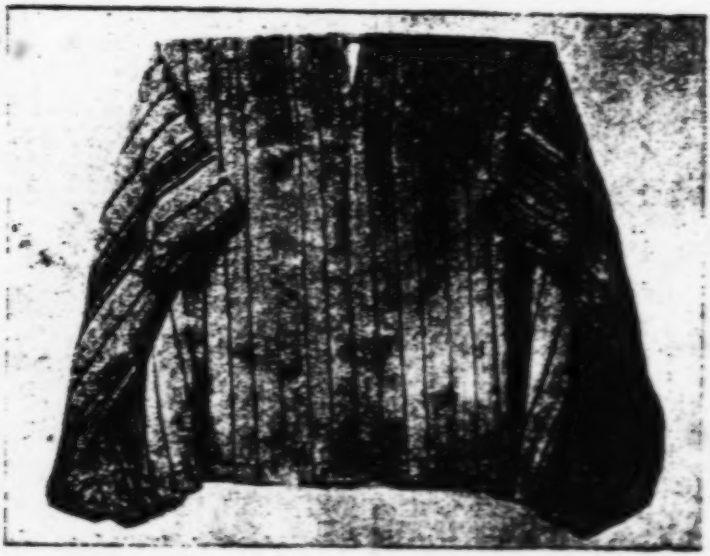


Fig. 118

/The captions appear on p. 189./

8: Schmidt--188 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Iz020

C
Ce
286
291
531

Plate XXXIII

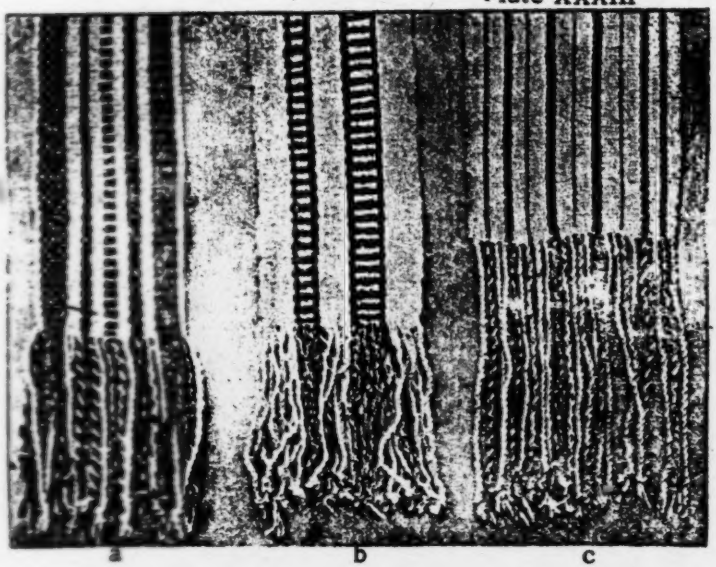


Fig. 119

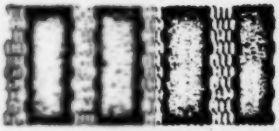


Fig. 120

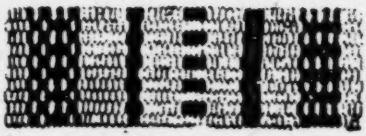


Fig. 121

Fig. 122

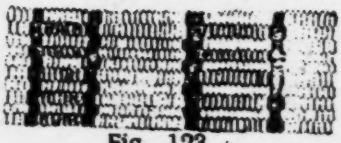


Fig. 123

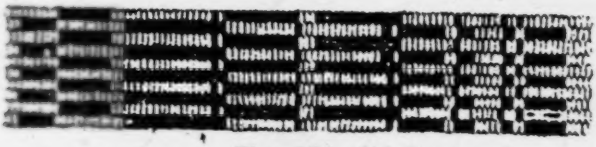


Fig. 124

/The captions are on p. 189./

8: Schmidt--189 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
286
291
581

/Captions for Plates XXXII and XXXIII/

Plate XXXII. Woven ponchos, of wool.

Fig. 117. (I. A. 823) (Izozó) Width 1.30 m. Length 1.40 m.
Fig. 118. (I. A. 426) (Chiriguano) Width 1.39 m. Length 1.68 m.

Plate XXXIII.

Fig. 119. Woven fajas:
a (I. A. 436), of wool (Chiriguano), length 2.86 m., width 9 cm.;
b (I. A. 428), of wool (Chiriguano), length 2.58 m., width 11.5 cm.;
c (I. A. 803), of cotton (Izozó), length 2.58 m., width 15 cm.

Fig. 120. Ornamentation of the manta I. A. 818 (Izozó).
Fig. 121. Ornamentation of the faja I. A. 436 (Chiriguano).
Fig. 122. Ornamentation of the faja I. A. 803 (Izozó).
Fig. 123. Ornamentation of the faja I. A. 436 (Chiriguano).
Fig. 124. Ornamentation of the faja I. A. 430 (Chiriguano).

Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XXXIV

Ce
286

C
[286]

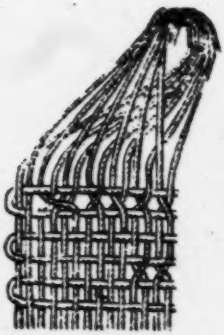


Fig. 125

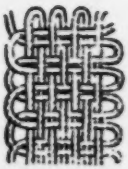


Fig. 126

Fig. 127

C
[286]

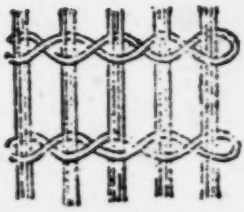


Fig. 128

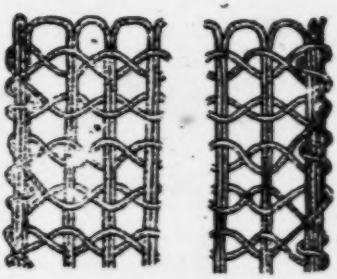


Fig. 129

Ce
415
284

a

b

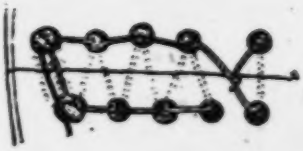


Fig. 130

/The captions are on p. 192./

8: Schmidt--191 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane S 8
Izozo

Plate XXXV

C
415
286
531
[482]

a

C
[492]

b

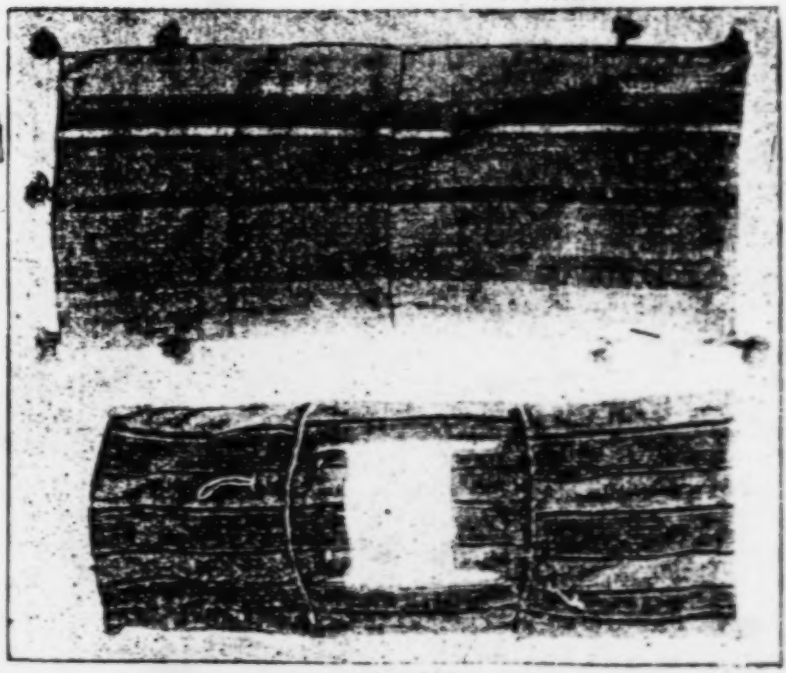


Fig. 131

Ce
415
286
531
492

Fig. 132

/The captions are on p. 192./

Ce 286 /Plate XXXIV. Diagrams to illustrate the techniques of weaving, plaiting with "double thread," and sewing.

Fig. 125. Diagram to illustrate the technique of weaving, from the band of the net for carrying loads I. A. 768. Cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 200/ (Izozó).

Fig. 126. Diagram to illustrate the technique of weaving, from the saddle cover I. A. 843 (Izozó). Cf. Fig. 103a /see p. 174/

C 286 Fig. 127. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the hammock I. A. 448 (Chiriguano). Cf. Fig. 102b /see p. 174/.

Fig. 128. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the hammock I. A. 449 (Chiriguano).

Ce 286 Fig. 129. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the saddle cover I. A. 844 (Izozó). Cf. Fig. 103b /see p. 174/.

Ce 284 415 Fig. 130. Diagram to illustrate the technique of sewing two cuyas:
a (I. A. 666) (Izozó);
b (I. A. 667) (Izozó).

C 531 415 286 [482] [492] Plate XXXV. Woven bags, of wool.

Fig. 131. a (I. A. 444) Woolen bag for carrying loads (Chiriguano), length 1.07 m., width 0.45 m.
b (I. A. 445) Double bag for loading horses (Chiriguano), entire length 92 cm., width 37 cm.

Ce 415 286 492 531 Fig. 132. (I. A. 811) Double bag for loading horses (Izozó), entire length 93 cm., width 46.5 cm.

8: Schmidt--198 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

/73 cont./

The Technique of Making Nets

C
Ce
286

The technique of making nets is widespread among the Chiriguano and Chané and is used to make various objects, such as fishnets, hammocks, nets for carrying burdens, bags, and slings. The material used for making these nets generally consists of threads made of caraguata fibers. In the collection there are two Chiriguano burden-carrying nets made of woolen threads and another one made of strips of cowhide.

C
Ce
[283]
[324]
C
[482]

The common technique of making nets among the Chiriguano and the Chané is the technique called "Knotentechnik," in German, using the knot called the reef knot in English. Figure 138, a and b, shows such a "reef knot," and Figure 142 shows the technique of making nets with this "reef knot." According to Nordenskiöld (275), the Chiriguano and Chané use small

C
Ce
[284]

275. Nord. 3, p. 207.

rectangular boards for making their nets, like those with which we are familiar from many other tribes of South America. Unfortunately, I did not acquire such a board from the Chiriguano or from the Izozó. By continually wrapping the first board with a thread the simple loops which are shown in the diagram (Figure 142) in the upper row are formed. The thread, after having reached the other end of the board, are wrapped continuously in the opposite direction around a second board, being connected each time, with a knot, with the loops of the thread wrapped around the first board. If the thread has been looped in the manner described, until it gets to the first loop of the first row, the first board can be removed to serve in the formation of the third row of the meshes of the net, which is made in the same way as the second, but in the opposite direction. It is clear that nets made with this technique, in their simplest and least complicated form, must have a rectangular form, and this form is typical of all of the nets of the Chiriguano and Izozó, while various other South American tribes, for example, the Bakairí /Bacairi/, who formerly lived on the tributaries of the Xingú River (in Mato Grosso), make triangular nets.

Ce
[171]

8: Schmidt--194 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF 0 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

/74/

Ce 286 352 126

Nets of the Collection That Are Made with the Technique Called "Knotentechnik" in German, Using the Knot Called Reef Knot in English

I. A. 360. Hammock (276) (Chané of the Parapití). Caraguata.

276. Gift of Mr. Teodoro Rojas.

Length 3.20 m. (Fig. 102c.)

I. A. 766. Hammock (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 1.80 m.

C Ce 286 415 482 126

I. A. 794. " " " " 2.70 m.

I. A. 446. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Wool. Lgth 1.05 m.

I. A. 447. " " " " " " " 0.75 m.

I. A. 561-564, 567, 569-571. Nets for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length between 1.50 and 0.50 m. (I. A. 567, Figs. 134 and 143; I. A. 568, Fig. 144.)

I. A. 767-787; 790-792. Nets for carrying loads (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 1.60 m. and 0.65 m. (I. A. 768, Figs. 133 and 142; I. A. 772, Fig. 135.)

Ce 415 286 126

I. A. 785. Bag (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 0.82 m. Height 0.46 m.

I. A. 788 " " " " 0.62 m. " 0.62 m. (Fig. 136.)

I. A. 793. Quadrangular net (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 0.90 m.

Ce [227]

I. A. 764. Implement for fishing with net (Izozó). Length 72.5 cm. (Fig. 32.)

I. A. 795-801. Nets for implements such as I. A. 764 (Izozó). Caraguata.

C 411 286

I. A. 508. Sling (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length 15 cm.

I. A. 509. " " " " 14 cm.

C Ce 286 352 227 136

From the large size of the mesh of nets I. A. 360, 766, and 794, it follows that they are hammocks. Because in Chiriguano and Chané territory there are generally no fish except small ones, nets for fishing must have considerably smaller meshes.

C Ce 415 286 482 [283]

Of the Chiriguano nets for carrying loads, two are made of wool and one of these has a band like most such nets from the Izozó. The rest of these nets from the Chiriguano and the Izozó are made of caraguata thread. Some of them have a rather small mesh, but among those of the Izozó those with big mesh are the rule.

/74 cont./

small mesh, but among those of the Izonó those with big mesh are the rule. Thus the mesh of the Izonó nets used for carrying the large water jars is also very large. Most of these Izonó nets have a special band that goes over the forehead of the bearer. The structure of these bands, which are made of caraguata, wool, or cotton, have already been described by us in the chapter on weavings. Cf. Figure 123 /see p. 200/ and the diagram shown in Figure 125 /see p. 190/.

The collection has two net bags from the Izonó which are made in such a way that the whole rectangular net is folded in the middle and the pieces which are on top of one another are laced together with a thread on the two longitudinal sides.

In the way described in the foregoing they also make the net of the fishing implement I.A. 784 described in the chapter on fishing and shown in Figure 39. Because this implement is used to catch small fish, the net has very small mesh. The slings described among the hunting implements are also made in the same way.

/75/

Burden-carrying Net Made by the Technique Called "Knotentechnik" in German, But Using the Knot Called "Sheet Knot" in English from the Collection

I.A. 573. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Strips of animal hide. Length 0.85 m.

This net is made like the nets described in the foregoing, made of knots, but the knot used is the type called "sheet knot" in English and "Schotenstich" in German. This knot is shown in Figure 138, c and d. According to Nordenskiöld (277), the

277. Nord. 2, p. 194.

Chiriguano also have fishing nets which are made using this type of knot.

/75 cont./

Nets in the Collection That Are Made with Loops and without the Use of Knots

I.A. 555-566.	Net for carrying loads (Chirig.).						Lgth.	0.90 m. 1.80 m.
I.A. 567.	"	"	"	"	"	"		1.15 m. (Figs. 134 and 145.)
I.A. 568.	"	"	"	"	"	"		1.70 m. (Fig. 144.)

From the Chiriguano I obtained several nets for carrying burdens, which are made without using knots, by connecting the thread in the fashion illustrated by Figures 143 and 144 and which is common among many tribes of the Chaco, as happens among the Tapiété, Matako /Mataco/, Toba, Choroti /Chorotí/, and Chorupí /Chulupí/.

The great number of nets that I acquired from the Izoció are made with knots without exception, and we must therefore assume that these Indians are not familiar with or do not use the technique of making nets with simple loops and without applying knots, and that this technique, called "Schlingen-knüpf" in German, is used only by the Chiriguano or a part of them. Nordenskiöld does not mention this technique among the Chiriguano, and in the synoptic outline in which the several techniques of making nets are illustrated the Chiriguano are not mentioned in Column 5 among the Indian tribes which use the technique of making nets without applying knots. Of the burden-carrying nets made of caraguata thread that I acquired from the Chiriguano, ten are made without knots being applied, by the technique called "Schlingentechnik," and only seven by applying knots by the technique called "Knotentechnik." We can therefore assume that this part of the Chiriguano at least uses the technique of making nets without applying knots, although this opinion is contrary to that of Nordenskiöld, who says (278) that

278. Nord. 2, p. 116.

all of the nets made by this technique found among the Chiriguano and the Chané were acquired from the Chaco Indians.

Chart SF8
Z6020

Plate XXXVI

Fig. 132

Fig. 134

Fig. 136

Fig. 138

[The text continues on p. 202.]

Ce 286

Plate XXXVII

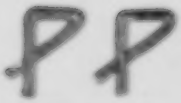


Fig. 137

Fig. 138

Ce 286

Fig. 141

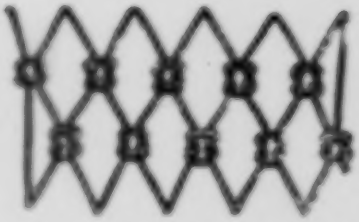


Fig. 142

Ce 286

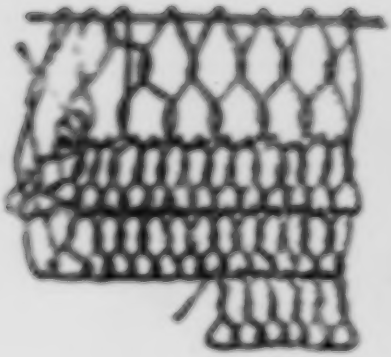


Fig. 143

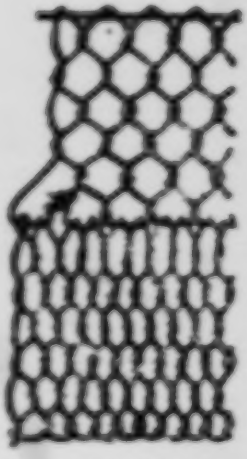


Fig. 144

/The captions are on p. 202./

Ce 286 415 482 /Captions for Plates XXXVI and XXXVII/

Fig. 133. (I. A. 768) Net for carrying loads, made with the technique using knots (Izozó). Length 1.33 m. Cf. Figs. 125 /see p. 190/ and 142 /see p. 201/.

C 286 415 482 Fig. 134. (I. A. 567) Net for carrying loads, made with the technique without knots (Chiriguano). Length 1.15 m. Cf. Fig. 143 /see p. 201/.

Ce 286 415 [482] Fig. 135. (I. A. 772) Net for carrying loads, made with the technique using knots (Izozó). Length 1.18 m.

Fig. 136. (I. A. 788) Bag made with the netting technique using knots (Izozó). Height 0.62 m. Length 0.62 m.

Plate XXXVII.

C Ce 286 Fig. 137. Diagrams of twisted threads: a, twisted to the right; b, twisted to the left.

Fig. 138. Diagram of the two different knots applied in the making of nets: a and b, "reef knot"; c and d, "sheet knot."

Ce 286 Figs. 139-141. Diagrams of the plaited middle parts of three cotton bands for women's hair (Izozó): Fig. 139 (I. A. 649); Fig. 140 (I. A. 652); Fig. 141 (I. A. 646).

Fig. 142. Diagram of the technique of the net for carrying loads I. A. 768, using the knot called "reef knot" (Izozó). Cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 200/.

C 286 Fig. 143. Diagram of the technique of the net for carrying loads I. A. 567, made only with loops, without knots (Chiriguano).

Fig. 144. Diagram of the technique of the net for carrying loads I. A. 568, made only with loops, without knots (Chiriguano).

C Ce 482 489 492 /78 cont./ concerning means of transport by land we do not have any evidence except through the sundry implements which serve for carrying burdens. We can assume from the form of the double bags mentioned in the chapter on weaving that they use their horses and burros to transport loads.

C Ce 286 415 482 [484] The objects used to transport burdens have already been mentioned in preceding chapters. Among them the most general is the carrying net, which often has a band. By means of it burdens are carried on long trips or the fruits of the harvest are brought in from the fields to the houses, or water is brought, often from a distance, to the dwellings. The carrying net is used in such a way that the band goes across the forehead of the bearer so that the weight of the burden rests on his back (292).

292. See Nord. 2, p. 95.

Nordenskiöld has published a photograph of a woman who is carrying a load in her net (293).

293. Nord. 1, Fig. 87.

C Ce 415 482 [854] Baskets are not used by the Chiriguano and Chané for carrying loads; they are used among these Indians only to store things. Neither is any special band used to carry infants; rather they are carried in a fold of the tipoy.

Only if water is near the house are water jugs sometimes carried on the shoulder without a net, but not on top of the head. C Ce [177] This latter appears only in the cases where the Indians are directly influenced by the whites, as happens in the missions (294).

294. Nord. 2, p. 95.

C Ce [484] For carrying small amounts of water when traveling, these Indians also use calabashes enlaced with string, or small baked clay vessels /79/ provided with a string or a leather strap, such as, for example, the vessel I. A. 617 shown in Figure 56b.

/347 cont./

433 224 184 [411] between the roof beams. Once out of this region the ethnographer will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him, they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an old man or crudely made specimens without any value other than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some rare lover of hunting.

224 411 184 The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendí are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were intended, from what they told me, for killing the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.). They are long reeds armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate IX, 1). One must not conclude that the yakú, abundant as they may be, represent an appreciable food resource. Besides, hunting is [433] scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for [126] fun. The Indian who gave up to me the handsomest lot of [425] these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained to me, /348/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them without his consent.

857 868 224 Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shooting with a bow than ours. One can see them run around the village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows (Plate XII, 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach. Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16 appears here./

223 [126] Some Indians of the Caipipendí valley sold me large bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts. That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are certainly not numerous in this region; in a month's stay I 287 did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17 439 appears here/ feather dusters, which the Chiriguano sell in the

[Text continues on p. 91]

/348 cont./

287 439 [484] [435] half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

224 178 231 433 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago, those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 435 [464] [465] The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently 471 23 [435] costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

[262] [198] 1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to 556 diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text continues on p. 93]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee 441 [224]

of the Choroti and Ashluslay. As far as I know they are only used for hunting peccary. These animals are brought to bay by dogs and killed with clubs. I do not venture to say where this most primitive kind of club originated.

C Ce 441 223 224

Fig. 9.

Fig. 11.

Fig. 12.

Fig. 10.

Fig. 9. Club of hard wood. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 580. $^1/_8$.
» 10. Parrot-snare. Chané, Rio Parapiti. R. M. P. $^1/_{11}$.
» 11. Parrot-snare made of a piece of twine and a feather. The specimen depicted is from the Tapiete. R. M. L. 267. $^1/_2$.
» 12. Snare. Chané, Rio Itiyuro.

Ce [287]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
301
*171

tembeta one sees a point projecting slantwise more or less beyond the lip in a downward direction. The cross-piece which prevents the lip-button from slipping out does not broaden into a flat disc approximately following the shape of the chin. Length, shape and material may vary considerably.

C
Ce
301
287

The oldest type of lip ornament probably consisted of feathers, etc., fixed in a hole in the underlip. To keep this hole extended, it was ordinarily filled by a wooden plug or the like. This consisted, like the everyday tembeta of the Chiriguano and Chané, of a plain wooden cylinder. This shape was subsequently changed and more ornamental material substituted for the wood. Some tribes merely made the wooden plug bigger and bigger, e. g. the Suyá[1]), Botokuds[2]) and Lengua.[3]) As a rule it was, no doubt, not very hard to make the wooden plug stay in the hole. *When it was exchanged for more ornamental material such as resin, and, above all, stone, it became necessary to give the tembeta such a shape as would prevent it slipping through the hole.* The Chiriguano Indian wooden tembeta is merely cylindrical; the heavy metal tembeta is cap-shaped.

C
Ce
301
*171

The Huari tembetas of wood are likewise cylindrical. The upper part of the smoother tembeta of resin is made thicker, so that it cannot slip through the hole.

The Chiriguano and Chané evidently have a very specialized form of tembeta which would appear to be fairly late. Its distribution over the continent of America does not, however, support this view. The type is found in Mexico and N. America as well as in S. America. The question arises whether we may not, in this case, imagine a parallel evolution. Wherever the attempt has been made to make tembetas of heavier material than wood, *it has been found necessary to make them more or less T-shaped.* It is in

[1]) Karl von den Steinen (2).
[2]) Wied.
[3]) Azara (2) P. 391.

1: Old Chiriguano of Yumbía (Upper Pilcomayo). Note the enormous labret and the head band.

2: Karnapadyú. "captain" of the Carurutí region near the middle course of the Parapití River. (Photo. A. M.)

142 301 302

142 291 554 302 643

1: Métraux--29 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142 •291 516

Plate III

2. Type of Chiriguano Indian from the Igüembé Valley. (Photo. A. M.)

643 142 291 516

1. Mandepoia, the most illustrious Chiriguano chief of the past century. His authority extended not only over the village of Macharetí, where he lived, but over vast expanses of the Chaco. Photo. by the R. P. Honorato Catinari.)

C G /314 cont./
175 Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be
167 to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

C G Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the pre-
175 ceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the
167 Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to
721 attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them
726 by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the
I authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the
726, frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the
C G Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani
[727] withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

I Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place
[712] during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

C G The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the
175 same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).
721
726

I 1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110:
726 "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this
901 war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a
C mountain people, naked, and who eat human
G flesh and have a public slaughter house for it,
[291] joined together and, coming out from the
[266] harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuscotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land.

142
554
643
177

1. Santos Airedyú, the last "capitan grande" of the still independent Chiriguano Indians. Airedyú is completely assimilated to civilization and lives like a rich Bolivian farmer. He is a man of great character. (Photo. A. M.)

142
291
797

2. Group of Chiriguano in a Franciscan mission. (Photo by the R. P. Honorato Catinari.)

142
291
302
481
516

Fig. 1. Old Indian from the Santa Rosa Mission (Photo. by the Reverend Father Honorati Cattinari).

142
212
301
302

Plate V

2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the village of Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo). She has put on her festival clothes and sports her most beautiful necklaces. (On her chest, necklace of silver coins.) (Photo. A. M.)

142
291
302
301
295

1. Inset: Chiriguano Indian girl from the region of Cheruti (near the middle course of the Parapiti River). Her hair is cut short as a sign of mourning for the death of an aunt. (Photo. A. M.)

12 Métraux - 50 E-5 (1929) 1500 SF 10 Chiriguano SF 10

/340 cont./

421 Property is a sacred thing among the Chiriguano, and the nearest relatives cannot dispose of their belongings without their formal consent.

241 115 123 At the time of my stay in Caraguatí, I once asked my old friend "Captain" Kamapadyú to take me to his field. He was very

249 407 297 142 291

Fig. 7. Mill for grinding sugar cane at the Ivo mission. (Photo. A. M.)

241 115 (123) touched by /Plate VI appears here/ [241] the interest that my wish implied and in an instant showed himself ready to do the honors.

His field was about 700 meters from the village on top of one of the cliffs which border the "quebrada" /ravine/ of Caraguatí. Access to it was by a steep path across fallen rocks. The entrance to the field was closed by a hedge composed of tree trunks and (361) (417) thorny shrubs which we climbed over with the help of an Indian-style ladder, that is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 94]

Plate VI

1. Young Chiriguano, daughter of the "capitan grande" Kerupedrí. Her cheeks are painted with halaugu powder.

2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the Caranaí region, considered a beauty by the Indians. (Photo. A. M.)

/265 cont./

Fig. 36. Chiriguano woman lighting a fire. Upper Pilcomayo. (Photo. A. M.)

do not hunt nor eat this animal (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 3)

Medicine men cannot under any circumstances eat pimenta. If a man refuses to taste this condiment, one can be sure he is a magician (Id., p. 184).

Grilled corn is strictly forbidden for persons in mourning, whose tears would dry up if they ate this dish.

the exclusive right to eat deer meat, which thus instilled in them the agility and suppleness of this animal. Women could eat, without

/359 cont./

263 pieces which are put near the fire to make them melt little by little. The cooks dip them from time to time into the soup, then take them out. If the salt is taken from salt marshes or from water by evaporation, /360/ they mold it into large balls which are scooped out as needed (Fig. 28).

252
•291
516

Fig. 27. Young Chiriguano woman winnowing beans. Caruruti. (Photo. A. M.)

317
263

The major part of the salt exploited in Chiriguano country comes from a mine situated in the San Simon region, between San Luis (Entre Rios) and the Salado River, in the department of Tarija. The Indians flock there from all directions with droves of donkeys which set out again loaded with big slabs of crystallized salt afterward cut into small pieces.

[494]
[412]

Plate XIV

273
415

Vessels assembled in front of a hut and serving for the preparation of kāwi (chicha). Caruruti. (Photo. A. M.)

273
291
516
574
576

2. Women and children taking kàwi. The women are squatting on the ground on skins, while the men are seated on benches or chairs Samirenda. (Photo. A. M.)

/365 cont./

273 The preparation of chicha is not play; it is necessary not only /366/ to grind an enormous quantity of corn, but again to go
484 ceaselessly to get water, often at a great distance. At Cururuti
482 the nearest potable water was at the bottom of a ravine of particu-
273 larly difficult access. The women were constantly going there with an îru (Plate XVII, 1),[1] which they carried on their backs in a net (añapoka) held on the forehead by a strap. They would fill

462
516
273
291
415
412

Fig. 31. Woman sifting corn which she has just ground in the mortar beside her. This flour is to be roasted, then chewed to serve as ferment for kāwi. Cururuti. (Photo. A. M.)

484 the jug and, loading it with difficulty, would go back up the
482 steep slope doubled over under the weight. So as not to lose any
273 time, these hard-working creatures would take along a calabash full of ground corn which they continually chewed.

273 The ground corn is cooked in water and constantly stirred
412 with flat sticks whose edges used to be cut out with a certain
[198] artistic care in olden days (Fig. 32). Today a kind of oar (Fig.
[239] 33) or the scapula of an ox (Fig. 34) fastened to a long handle
[531] replaces the ancient utensils in which was manifested so well the Chiriguano tendency to decorate even the most humble objects.

[1] [For plate XVII, See category 116, P. 127--Analyst]

/383 cont./

323 long time with the clay. This paste must have all the impurities removed, which is done in the course of the kneading (Fig. 56).

323
342
291
516
351

Fig. 56. Fabrication of a vessel: the clay, after being mixed with pulverized potsherds, is kneaded. (Photographs taken by the author at Masaví in the Igüembé Valley.)

323 When the potter has obtained an elastic and sticky paste, she molds the base of a vessel, which she puts either on a piece of cloth or a small board. The foundation of the future receptacle looks like a disk raised on its periphery. A

/386 cont./

323 The paintings on some vessels produce a particularly successful /387/ effect, thanks to the alternation of brilliant.

323
342
351
516
415
●291

Fig. 59. Fabrication of a vessel: the inside surface is polished after being flattened with the hand.

323 solid red with black of the same nature. The first of these colors
[386] is taken from the famous roucou, whose oily paste is mixed with resin, kneaded into a loaf, and melted on the hot walls of the vessel.

/389 cont./

415 531 The plant kingdom hardly inspires Chiriguano artists. The vessel of Plate LII, Fig. 3, is the only one whose decoration is clearly phytomorphic: and again in this case I am not sure that

323 516 342 291 415

Fig. 61. Fabrication of a vessel: the exterior surface is smoothed with a chip of bamboo after being flattened with the hand.

415 531 a European model did not serve as an intermediary between nature and the picture the potter portrayed.

[126] [179] /390/ Among the 200 vessels I collected in Chiriguano country there is not one that includes a figuration of the human face, with the exception of the one to which I have alluded, whose form betrays the desire to satisfy the stupid puerility of THE TOURISTS.

/392 cont./

531 peculiar to the villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé
184 valley. The decoration made up of broken and asymmetric lines does not go beyond the zone of the Franciscan missions and the Itiyuro region.

323
415
• 291
516
142
302

Fig. 62. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is rolled between the palms of the hands. (Photographs taken by the author at Masaví, Igüembé Valley.)

[126]

/392 cont./

323
415
291
516
142
302

Fig. 63. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is ready to be superposed on the preceding one.

/396 cont./

291
323
415
531

Fig. 65. Fabrication of a large vatt the potter impresses her thumbnail into the still soft clay to obtain a regular design.

463
323
178
439
[126]
[123]

In some villages there are no more potters. The inhabitants of the toldería of Ibopeytí, for example, have to import the painted vessels they need to celebrate festivals. When I wanted to acquire them, it was generally objected that they had been bought and often at a very high price. "You go away and leave us without vessels," they often used to say to me as a half-joking, half-sad good-by after my raids.

/431 cont./

Chapter VIII

Weaving

286 Weaving is a very widespread industry among the Chiriguano.
[199] Unfortunately, at the present time its products are commonplace and, since they have been using aniline dyes (1), often very ugly.

286
824

1. The Chiriguano used to extract blue dye from a plant they call kaa-howi, that is to say, "blue grass." They also used to grow it. In order to color their tiru (large sleeveless bag slipped on over the tipoy, of the same shape but less ample), they dipped them into a decoction of this grass. Sometimes also they used to add coloring woods, such as palo soto or quebracho, to this bouillon. The leaves of a tree which easily reaches a height of eight to ten meters, the iwira kaa-howi, also furnish a blue dye, but for that they must be young and the tree must be in bloom.

With piari, black resin which exudes from the trunk of the algarroba (Prosopis), Chiriguano women blacken the tiru which they had dyed blue. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc., pp. 16-17 and 173.)

286 Most of their ponchos are copied from those of the Bolivian half-
[291] breeds.
[199]

/432/ The type of loom prevalent among the Chiriguano is the one which has been given the name Arawak loom. Plate LXXII $\frac{1}{A}$ gives an idea of it. Two forked sticks are set in the ground. They support two /Fig. 87 appears here/ parallel crossbars, one of which, the lower one, is a pestle of hard and heavy wood. The warp threads are rolled around them, but at each circuit turn back on themselves after going over a /433/ small cord stretched parallel to the ground. Once the cloth is flat bed, this string is removed, and in an instant the piece of cloth, which until then formed an endless band, opens up (Fig. 91).[2]

[2] [see p. 244--Analysis]
[3] [see p. 245 -- Analysis]

/433 cont./

283
29
5
142

Fig. 97. Chiriguano woman getting ready to spin. Caraguí. (Photo. A. M.)

286 The reed of our European looms is replaced here by an /Fig. 60 appears here/ interlacing of threads which grasp one thread of the warp, then the other, alternately.

286 413 The woof is passed through with the help of a shuttle whose motion back and forth is facilitated by a weaver's sword (iwiagá) which separates the warp threads. This latter instrument is used to tighten the cloth each time the woof has passed through. A [239] mammalian metatarsal bone sharpened to a point (Fig. 95) or a small pointed or spindle-shaped stick (Figs. 93 and 94) permits

/433 cont./

Fig. 68. Chiriguano girls spinning. Masaví (Igüembé Valley). (Photo. A. M.)

moving the front /434/ warp threads back each time they have been crossed with the help of the reed. The woman who has just passed the woof through grasps this dagger firmly and with a sharp blow raises the threads of the warp after pulling on the reed. Difficult jobs, probably the execution of some /Fig. 9/ appears here/ complicated figures, are accomplished with a wooden needle, which unfortunately I never saw used.

/434 cont./

286 The Chiriguano have their loom in common with many tribes
171 of tropical America, and they doubtless were already acquainted with it in Paraguay, at least in a more rudimentary form. In some Chiriguano villages looms of the Inca or Quichua /Quechua/ type, that is to say, horizontal ones, can be seen. The warp is then fastened to a small cord along a piece of wood and the cloth is rolled around as it is produced.

286 Headbands and belts are woven with looms of a type similar
294 to the one just described. The warp threads are fastened to a loop of cotton attached to a hut post. As the fabric is made it is rolled around two small sticks or two ears of corn attached to the lower end of the warp (for this type of loom, see Nordenskiöld, 10, Fig. 4, p. 175).

29 I am reproducing in Fig. 95 a tsumbi headband. These orna-
30 ments have now become very rare, and only a few old men still wear them. Our specimen is dyed with natural colors.

29 Every Indian woman who lives outside the influence of the
[178] missions still wears the tipoy, that is, a kind of long sheath which they fasten on the shoulder nowadays with a safety pin and formerly
[286] /Plate LXXII appears here/ /435/ with a thorn. In olden times these tipoy were woven by the Indian women on looms of the Arawak type. They were of cotton and dyed blue-black. /Fig.
[439] 90 appears here./ Today it is almost impossible to find a woman whose tipoy is not made of chamalote, a kind of cheap cotton cloth which the Syrians and half-breeds sell at a high price to our Indians. In the Caipipendí valley /Fig. 91 appears here/ I met two old women who still kept the tipoy of olden times. They would not
[186] give it up to me for any price. At Caruruti, an old fellow desirous of striking a good bargain sold me his wife's at a very /436/ high price in order to buy brandy for himself. It was very necessary to celebrate Easter fittingly.

[178] The shirts (tiru-kumbaè) which the men formerly sported exist no more except in the memory of the old men.
[See p. 298--Analyst]

/438 cont./

323 The contrast between a highly evolved pottery and a still
286 rudimentary art of weaving is characteristic of the Indians
171 of the tropical and subtropical regions of South America, at least for those who can pass for being relatively civilized, such as the Arawak and the Karib /Carib/.

291
301

Fig. 95. Headband (tsumbi). Prov.: Yumbía. (1/5 nat. size.)

•291

Fig. 16. Knitted wool cap (ombairy). Prov.: Nawirenda. This headdress is a unique piece and it may not be Chiriguano. (1/3 nat. size.)

[114]

285

Fig. 111. Circular basket of the "telescope" type in twilled work. From: Caiguenoé. (About 1/7 nat. size.)

285
291

Fig. 117. Hat in twilled work. From: Caiguenoé. (About 1/5 nat. size.)

/108/

285 Plate LXXX, Figure 1 and 2. Height, 8 centimeters; width, 12 centimeters. Provenance: Caruruti.

The fine strips of palm leaves which make up this basket are wider and more brittle than the ones constituting the preceding one of identical shape but different technique. The fibers, instead of radiating from a single center, simply cross, following the rhythm which Figure 2 of the same plate permits examining.

Fig. 110. Chiriguano cigarette case in twilled work. Prov.: Caruruti. (2/3 nat. size.)

Fig. 111. Hat of the type of Figure 112 in the process of being made. (About 1/6 nat. size.)

Figure 112. Height, 10 centimeters; diameter, 36 centimeters. Provenance: Caruruti.

This hat is made exactly according to the technique of the baskets of Plate LXXVIII and Figs. 110 and 111.

1: Métraux--352 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Tupinamba SO?

/466 cont./

Chapter XV

Comb

C 302 G T [302] C [197]

Formerly, at the time when they carried out the conquest of their present territory, the Chiriguano wore a tonsure after the fashion of their relatives in Paraguay and the coast of Brazil, the Guarani and Tupinamba, who shaved the whole anterior part of the skull with a bamboo chip /467/ (see Métraux, 2, pp. 181-185) (1). Later, probably under the influence of the

1. Annuae litterae, page 407: "Cultus eorum singularis valde, coronis in modum nostrorum Sacerdotum stuntur, reliqui vero capilli ad ulnam circiter dimidiam pendent a tergo: corpora utplurimum variis depingunt coloribus."

(Their appearance [to the Chiriguano] is truly singular. They make use of a tonsure similar to that of our priests, and others let their hair hang down their backs to the length of an aune and a half. They dye their bodies with various colors.)

Chané or the Quichua /Quechua/, the Chiriguano abandoned the tonsure and let their hair grow, letting it fall over the nape of the neck and the back. They were content to cut it on the forehead from one temple to the other.

C 302 198

This hair style, still common in the last century, is tending to disappear in turn. The only ones who have remained faithful to it are a few old men and the inhabitants of several villages lost in the valleys of the upper Pilcomayo.

C [291] [248]

The Chiriguano who continue to observe the old style knot their long hair around their heads and hide it under a hat or a kind of turban when they go to work among the white men, for fear of being ridiculed.

/474 cont./

524 already allows us to establish some very curious facts. Thus among
191 the string figures I have brought together, three are exactly like figures from various tribes of the upper Negro River and the Guianas. The first is the one the Chiriguano call "full moon" (yauwau) (Plate LXXXIX, 2) and we find it again among the Sioui of the Alary River under the name of "tapir im-flies" (Koch-Grünberg, ?

291
524

Fig. 125. Indian executing the string figure called "snake design" (mboi-kwatia). Cerrado. (Photo A.M.)

524 Vol. I, Fig. 69 c, p. 122), among the Tukano /Tucano/ designated
191 as being a "tapir with its four feet," and among the Bororo simply as "a tapir" (id., Vol. I, p. 255, and Vol. II, Fig. 72, p. 121).

Our "star" (yasi-tata) (Plate LXXXIX, 1) is interpreted as a "spider" by the Sioui (id., Vol. I, Fig. 69 g, p. 122) and the Kaberia (id., Fig. 72, p. 121), but the Wapiana /Wapishana/ see a "star" in this figure, exactly like the Chiriguano (cf. Roth, Fig. 207, p. 512).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

250 615 712 264 [318] [365]

Chiriguano mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the east of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the bakeoven is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND DWELLINGS

342 178 592

Dwellings.—Until the 17th century, the Chiriguano built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1908, p. 152). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

361 178 [348] 592 [712]

The earliest villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient Chiriguano villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

362

Household furniture.—The Chiriguano sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their wooden or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical Chiriguano hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few exceptional specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of ware.

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

291 177

Clothing.—Chiriguano men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the Quechua after the Chiriguano migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, Chiriguano horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano women still dress in tipoys, a long, sacklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, right). Some tipoys (ties) are so long that they need to be folded. 291

Anciently, Chiriguano men shaved their foreheads, as did the Guarani of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband. 302 412

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a twisted fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

Body painting.—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass. 302 178

Ornaments.—The distinctive ornament of the Chiriguano, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 39, *c*). Originally, labrets were made of resin, as were those of the Guarani of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip. 301 178

Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean women headdrs studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 39, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the Chiriguano in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads. 301 177 [439]

Miscellaneous.—The Chiriguano have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout Chiriguano territory. 515 829

Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers. 302

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The rivers in Chiriguano territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River. 501

291
323
516

769
415

323
516
291

PLATE 61.—Chiriguano pottery and urn burials. *Top, left:* and *bottom:* Pottery making. *Top, right:* Urn burials at Caipipendi, Chaco, Bolivia. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[End Plate 2]

291
854

283
516
291

343

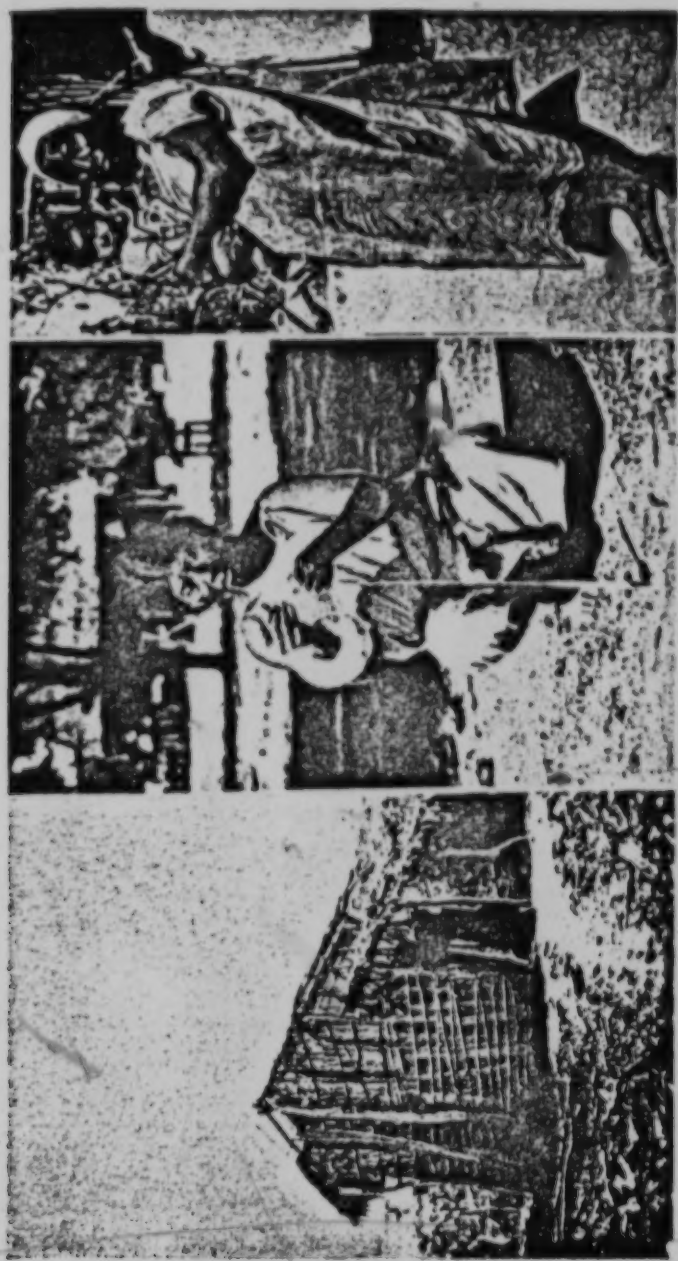


PLATE 42.—Chiriguano Indians. *Left*: Granary on piles. *Center*: Woman spinning. *Right*: Woman and child. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[End Plate 2]

4a IIIm—18 M-3 (1888-1911) 1919 SPIS Chandigarh SPIS

5126
4221
4224

/Plate facing p. 1/

Group of Indian men and women working at different jobs.

4: Nino--52 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguanc
Tapiete Sk13

142
291

Group of Tapiete Indians

/33 cont./

*136 CORSO /deer/. -- This is found everywhere and is called
*825 "Huasu" by the Chiriguano and hurina by the whites; there are even white ones, the females without horns and the males with them; another type is called "huasucaca." Both feed off
[231] grass, and the little ones are pleasing with their hide dappled with light spots; they are easily domesticated while they are still nursing; for food, when they are domesticated, goat's or sheep's milk can be used. The huasucaca is very similar to the deer; both male and female have branched antlers when old, but /34/ their meat is not as good. They travel in herds.
[262] Hunters pursue both types because they have a lot of meat, for
[224] which reason they are called "huasu," which means "large." They hunt them with considerable work and with the help of dogs trained for the purpose, or, if they are hidden, they imitate their bleating or cracking sound, and when they come
[281] within bowshot, they do not miss in killing them. The Chiriguano tan the skin of these animals and make a jacket
[291] from it, which I shall discuss in its place, but today this de luxe Chiriguano garment is disappearing, nor do they tan leather any more; today they use these skins for their beds; it is nonetheless a perfect material for footwear because of its natural softness and smoothness.

*136 GAMO /fallow deer/. -- It seems that this class of animal is from the mountainous and temperate region; it is not found beyond Monteagudo, nor do the Indians here know it, but it used to be found and still is found in their former territory of Padilla, Tomina, Tarvita, etc. This is the fallow deer, the size of a goat, with cloven hoof, ash-gray in color, and quite a swift runner; it is herbivorous, quite edible, and goes in herds.

GUANACO. -- This is a kind of camel, from which it differs in size and because it does not have a hump. They are found in abundance at the top of the high hills of Potosí and other cold mountains; it thus seems that the hills and the cold must be congenial places and the only ones in which they can prosper. Nevertheless immense herds of this quadruped can be found in the pampas of the Gran Chaco, where the heat is oppressive and where there is nearly always a scarcity of water; it is easily domesticated and in this state is a real llama.

4: Niso--63, M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 #710 Chirigano #10

782
142
291

Agricultural Industry of the Missions

4: Nino--104 M-3 (1880-1911) 1912 SP10 Chirigoano
Tapiete 5413

142
291
302

Man of the Tapiete race on the Pilcomayo River between Guachalla and Estero de Patiño.

4a Box 148 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

162
741
301
302
516

Group of Chiriguano Women

/111 cont./

141 both men and women, and fair hair indicates either an
142 oddity or a clandestine affair. The forehead is rather small, as are also the languid, downcast eyes; the face is round, the nose flat, the mouth wide, the denture white as ivory, the chin short, and the lips rather thick. /112/ The
142 men do not wear beards, and anyone would believe that they
302 are beardless, but the main reason why they do not have one is that they pull out the hairs as they grow, and for this they have some tin tweezers with which they make all the hair disappear, and they do well, because otherwise, in view of their slovenliness, with long beards they would really be orangutans (1).

[186] 1. The Toba call the Chiriguano tigre face because of his round face, and the latter gets back at them by calling them horse face because of their long faces. In the missions the neophytes wear mustache and goatee.

141 They have a chest thrust forward, rather heavy
[291] shoulders and arms, normal-sized hands, and not very big feet, in spite of the fact that they grow as they will since they always go barefoot, especially the women, and not
147 all of them wear sandals /ojotas/. When they are enjoy-
[853] ing good health, they are very robust, and the women without the slightest bother will nurse two babes at their
[609] breasts. Whenever some white Christian woman is not able to nurse, she usually seeks out a Chiriguano woman to wet-nurse her child; this, in addition to being very advantageous because of the goodness of the blood, is also quite eco-
855 nomical. But it is true that most Indian women donot
[609] wish to take care of children other than their own; most
[466] of the time they agree to it with reluctance, or by force, this last occurring when the Indians are subject to a master.

/112 cont./

142 The Chiriguano at the time of birth has a color which is difficult to define, but, and let nobody laugh at this, his color is that of newborn mice, and as he grows the color changes until it is that of sunburnt parchment. The causes [149] of this change are the tropical heat, the sudden winds and changes, and the burning sun, to the action of which they expose themselves with untoward pleasure, with no bother and without fear, even should they be but tender infants.

44 147 From this it can easily be deduced that the Indian does not fear the canicular sun, or heat either: he works on the •[291] hottest days without shirt, trousers, or anything which re- [516] sembles these: he stretches out full length, very content, receiving on his back the rays of the fiery sun, and nothing daunts him. But when the north wind changes to the south and consequently the cold begins and the frost comes, he is very cowardly, and it is hard to make him work well and happily: in such cases it is easier to suspend the work for a few days, not to pay the laborers anything at all, and not to get uselessly angry: but this can only be done when the suspension does not have any bad effects (?). /Illustration appears here./

2. It is not only the Chiriguano Indian who hates the cold, but also the other races of America, such as, for example, the Quichua /Quechua/, according to what the historian Robertson says.

165 /113/ Life Span

The Chiriguano normally lives a good many years: he is little affected by heat, cold, and the inconstancy of the climate, nor by drunkenness and self-indulgence, to which capital vices he abandons himself from a tender age. Some [145] reach and pass 100 years, judging their longevity by their hair, since their hair does not turn white except at a very

[Text Continues on P. 156]

Group of Caciques from the Ivo Mission

/186 cont./

323 the force of the heat and remains over the paintings like a
[230] binder, without which they would disappear the first time it was used. The Tovaglíria remains on the vessels like a light coat of rubber and the white of the Tovanti becomes opaque (2).

> 2. When a pot is slightly damaged, they heat it in the fire and on the inside and outside apply the Tovaglíria, and it is as good as before.

/187/ Textiles

28/ Another important occupation of the Chiriguano woman
28/ is weaving the Aunco for her husband, brother, or son, and the
[249] Cotoma for herself. For this she prepares the wool or cotton, spins it opposite the way the mestizo and European women spin, and then bleaches it and finally dyes it.

28 In order to weave, they set up two tall, slender forked sticks in the house, with two sticks across, one above and one below, and arrange or place the threads vertically, and then sit on the ground and begin to run the woof through, thread by thread, which they hit with a pointed stick of soto wood called Pinca. This, to be sure, is time consuming, if the threads are fine, but, on the other hand, the work is very durable.

• 241 Ponchos, Aunco, are of two types, one of wool and one
286 of cotton; the first are common from the right bank of the
231 Parapiti River southward and the second from the left bank
249 northward, because in the first region sheep are plentiful, and
[184] in the second, cotton fields. Formerly, before the whites intro-
[199] duced cattle into the region, cotton was cultivated everywhere, and from its product the men were dressed for ceremonies in their Tíru and the women in the Mandu, which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

4: Nino--254 M-3 (1880-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/185 cont./

291 The Cutama, which I have mentioned, has been replaced by the Tipoi of the same form as the former, but made of chintz, blue drill, linen, merino wool, or corduroy; they also weave covers for their beds, but these are without colors, and an occasional man has a crude loom, like those they use in Europe with a comb, manufactured by themselves (1).

291

1. The Mandu is attached to both shoulders by means of two large silver pins which correspond to the luxury of the garment; on ordinary days they pin the Tipoi with large thorns, but these have been replaced by needles, pins, and metal claps.

462 Other tasks of the women are carrying water, maize, and field produce for the kitchen and making chicha and algarroba mead, which we shall discuss below, putting an end to this chapter for now.

/186/

Chapter Seven

Chiriguano Clothing and Adornments

Introduction

/The first paragraph on p. 186 is omitted in the translation. Page 186 continues as follows./

Clothing, which should remind us of the fall of our first parents, their misfortunes, their sufferings, hardships, and their death, our hardships, misfortunes, and death as a consequence of that disobedience, is today used as an object of extraordinary luxury. All of humanity has converted clothing into an object of vanity, and there is no nation, no tribe, however abject it might be or might consider itself, which has not abused or is not abusing clothing and adornments. /The last paragraph on p. 186 and the first paragraph on p. 187 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 187. The remainder of page 187 follows./

4c Nino--256 M-2 (1880-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
302
516
622
352
411

Cacique Güirassa with His Family

/187 cont./

301 buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions.
302 The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicuana
[197] /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts in the presence of his companions (1).

[797] [114] [121]

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbía had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter
294 is woven by them themselves with palm leaves, Carandai;
285 they bring them from the places where they are abundant, Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect
292 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older
554 Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (2).

291 2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap,
302 the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of
304 long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in
178 few places now, and the straw hat is being

/188 cont./

291 302 304 178

replaced by the cloth one, although it costs a great deal; the customs of yesteryear are now disappearing, and those of today, or of the whites, are penetrating rapidly.

302 412 [831]

For the Chiriguano virility consists of a vigorous head of hair; nevertheless, although he prizes hair on his head, he never allows any other hair on his body, except that of the eyelashes and eyebrows, which he forms into arches. He pulls out the rest of the hair on his face and body with his Tendivaha poha, or tweezers. These consist of some little pieces of tin or a piece of cane slit down the middle, and sometimes a knife. With great patience and bit by bit he pulls out or cuts off all the hair that appears on his chin, thus looking like another woman. Others who are called /illustration appears here/ /189/ rich pull out their hair with thin pieces of silver, which they call Mboivera (1).

302

1. During my stay in the territory I saw only one Indian who had a thick beard, but because of this uncleanliness he was considered disgusting. When the hairs grew, he cut them with scissors. Today the young men are beginning to wear mustaches and goatees, and many shave with razors.

[178]

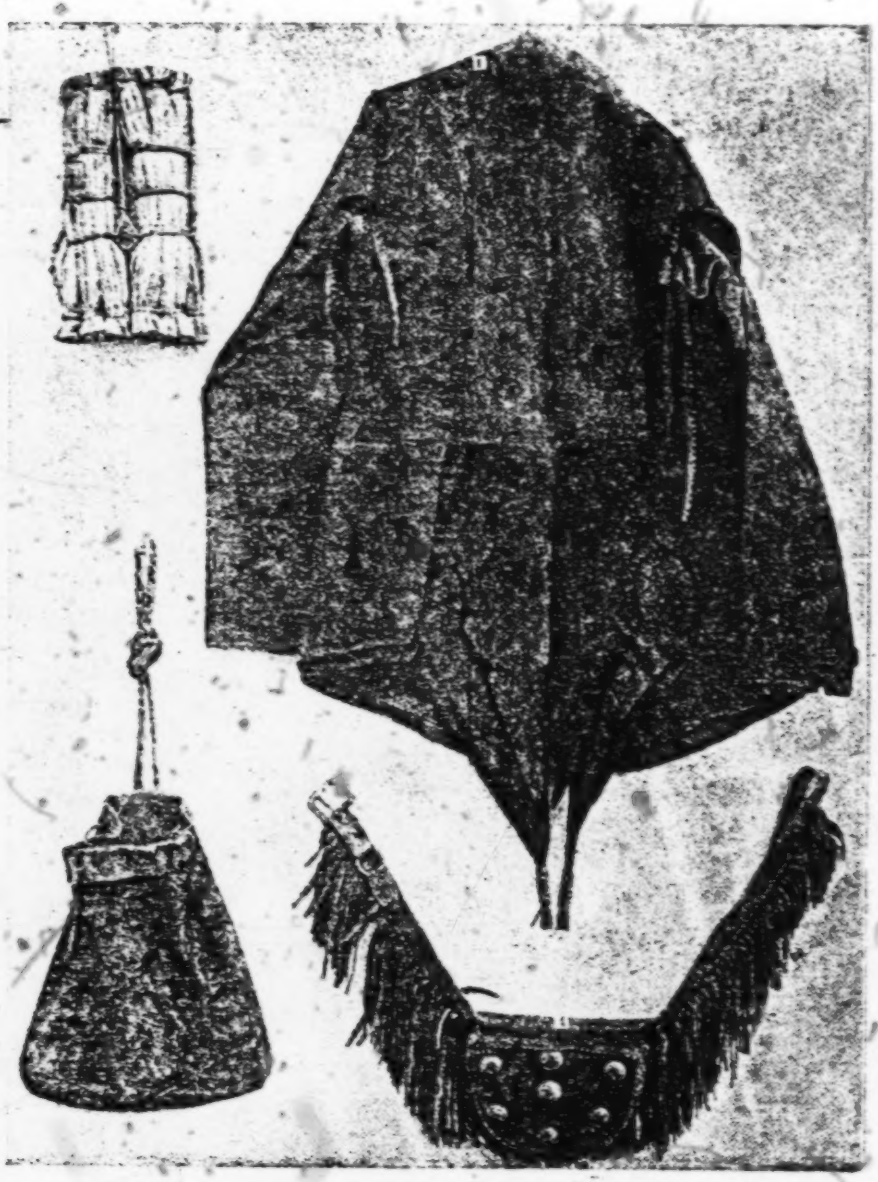
291 [171]

The ancient Chiriguano clothing was very simple and too immoral, as is still seen among those Indians where the civilization of the Cross has not penetrated, such as the Chacobo north of Santa Cruz and others in the Bolivian Chaco. Boys go about naked until the age of ten or twelve, and girls up to seven, at which age they are content to cover the most delicate part of the body because of a trace of modesty which exists among them. Even grown men make use of this most simple garment when they are in the country busy at work or when they are returning to town loaded with firewood or food.

[Text continues on P. 260]

4: Nino--259 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

291
415
492



Chiriguano saddle or seat, sagum, bag, belt

/189 cont./

291 Clothing in the fashion of Adam is still seen everywhere. In the towns the men, and almost everywhere the women, are at least dressed from the waist to below the knee, because for work or for coolness the Cutama or tipoy, which can cover them up to the shoulders, is allowed to fall to the waist, the rest being left visible.

Gala Dress

292

For the ancient Chiriguano, the Ambícuai, doublet, was fine and festive clothing. This single name includes the Guasupi cangao, hat, the Ambícuai, sagum or frock coat, and
[554] the Guasupi timbiao, breeches. Because the doublet is an object of luxury, they do not all wear it, its use being limited to the grandees or caciques, to rich men, and to sorcerers.
292 It is made entirely of tanned skins, which are those of the wild
28 boar, peccary, or pygmy deer. They are tanned with the
[824] bark of the Curupau, the astringent acacia or sevil, which contains a great deal of tannin.

126 Skillful men are needed to make a complete doublet like
291 the one made in the Santa Rosa Mission by the Indian
797 Cachupari, which, when taken to the Turin exposition, was acquired by the Florence Museum, along with the skull that I acquired in Curuyuqui and other objects, such as the Yandugua, a kind of parasol of ostrich feathers, etc., objects which the missionaries of Potosí sent along with the missionaries of Tarija (2).

2. The missionary who was charged with taking all the things to the exposition and leading the Chiriguano of both sexes, as the program directed, was the late Franciscan Father Doroteo Giannecchini.

/190/

291 294 The crown of the hat is made of four oval parts, as is the brim which surrounds it, sewed with fine cords of the same material, and the edge of the brim is turned upward. The hat has a band of the same material sewed to both sides at the temples to hold it to the throat; a knot or a ring on the band can be used to tighten it.

292 281 The Ambícuai, which lends its name to the whole outfit, is a perfect cassock, but its form is entirely Chiriguano, for it does not hinder the movement of the arms. Its cut is not straight, and both parts are made fast at the chest with two leather straps, which are run through the holes on the opposite side. The cassock in back ends in two points, where there is a kind of ornamentation of the same leather, which consists of short, fine strips, like a tassel. The sleeves are wide, as is the whole garment, and are attached to the shoulder, being open at the armpit so as not to impede the movement of the arms, either in hunting or in war, where the grandees also wear it. In fact, in the photograph taken in Santa Rosa to be [126] sent to the exposition, a hunter and a warrior dressed in this doublet appear outside the circle. In the middle there is a 527 554 Chiriguano woman with her crown and adornments as queen 562 of the fiesta, who offers chicha to all who are enjoying themselves (1).

1. The queen is the one who serves the dancers as mistress and patroness of the fiesta. This [128] photograph or figure will not be reproduced in the chapter dealing with fiestas because I could not obtain it.

292 [281] The Timbiao, breeches, is also of leather and is made of four pieces, wider from the waist to the sacrum and narrower from the thigh to the bottom. It is quite wide and comes to the ankle. It is rougher than the rest, but more valued, and they will give anything to have even a single pair. This garment is tied at the waist with a belt or with two strings which are sewed across the entire width of the garment itself.

/190 cont./

292 The Chiriguano, when he is dressed in these skins, considers himself a grandee, and he is one before his companions and the caciques themselves. But from the beginning, even before it is even worn, such clothing gives off a very disagreeable odor, like that of the soles of shoes. Let the reader imagine what it must be like when it has been used for some time. It can easily be understood that the Chiriguano, when [296] wearing the doublet, has nothing else on his body, and that all of the sweat, etc. sticks to it, and it should be noted that the outfit is never washed, which adds to the smell.

[622] [797] /191/ The cacique Nambi of Ivu made his visits to the P.P.C.C. of Santa Rosa Mission to ask for a mission in his town, dressing himself in his old and filthy doublet before making the visit. He embraced the missionaries and talked quite close to them, the result being almost unbearable (1).

1. The outfit is completed by a pair of boots called Timainu, which literally means: com- [224] panion of the shin bone. These are necessary for hunters so that they will not hurt their legs when they are pursuing wild animals.

The illustration that I put at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 258/ will make the description of the Ambícuai more easily understood. There appear in it a young man and an old man standing, a woman sitting on a chair, and a young girl sitting on the ground. The old man dressed in a doublet is the cacique Güiraesa of Santa Rosa; the woman who is seated on the chair is his wife, the man on his right is his son Yandareca, and the girl is his Christian daughter, named Prisca.

[291] The Chiriguano who does not have a doublet is satisfied with his long poncho or with a blanket wrapped around his body down to his knees, but today it is rare that he cannot dress himself moderately well with some six varas of linen, [432] which at the most will cost him two bolivianos. Today every- [439] thing can be bought in the small retail stores (2).

2. The doublet is used today in some areas to

/191 cont./

292 make people laugh at the carnival. The same thing can be said of other antiquities.
[562] I have placed in this chapter the method for making it, as well as the one for the hat, because it is work from which only the man benefits and both are counted among his garments.

Conveniences

463 In the course of the previous pages it has been seen that the Chiriguano is hunter, warrior, and also sorcerer. The first and second categories contain many, and the third one fewer, and this is easily understood, because a knowledge of medicinal herbs is needed and, more than this, the art of knowing how to deceive with prattling, which is not for all.

463 The three classes wear a belt with a bag which hangs from
● 291 it. The belt is called "Bosa," doubtless because it has a bolsa
415 /bag/. In this those of the first and second category put tobacco, maize husks, and flint, tinder, and steel for making fire, and sorcerers add to these things the implements of their profession, which /192/ are the Mbaecagüe, a piece of bone, the Itarapí, a round stone, both of which are necessary for the cures... miraculous ones (1).

[177] 1. The Bosa does not seem to be of Chiriguano origin. Anduari doubts that it was introduced by the Argentinians or by the Tarijeños /people of Tarija/, but it seems to me that it was the former who introduced it, because it is similar to the one used by the gaucho.

/192 cont./

291 [286] Others who are not hunters, and hunters themselves when they are not engaged in this activity, fasten the breeches at the waist with a belt that they call Cuacuá; their wives weave it; it is made of wool and painted in various colors. They all have one, except some of the old men.

415 [281] [482] Another of their conveniences is the Urupucu, "long bag in its literal translation." The Urupucu seems to be the Chiriguano's own; it is of tanned wild boar or pygmy deer hide, narrow at its opening, which they close with a little cord, gathering the opening; they sew around, and through the seam they pass the cord, which is rather long so that it can hang from one shoulder and be passed to the opposite armpit like a horseman's escarsela. This bag is used as a container for carrying provisions on a trip. In it they put boiled meal, parched corn and charqui. This is done by warriors, hunters, and travelers, and, well secured, as has been explained, it is never lost.

415 484 312 Finally, there is no lack of another convenience for carrying water. In order not to experience the effects of burning thirst, he has a type of gourd with a hard shell like that of the matés; he empties it, removing the pulp and seeds, making a hole in the middle, puts it in a kind of net of cords, leaving one or two larger meshes near the hole placed at the top, where the Chiriguano himself makes a small circle, fills it with water, stops it up with a maize cob, and during a trip uses it sparingly, if he has foresight, or else he may not have it when he needs it more (2).

2. The Indians who are governed by corregidors in the region of the Gran Chaco traveled with their respective tarí or tutuma on their expeditions to the desert of Paraguay.

/197 cont./

301 562 [437] These are of ten-centavo or five-centavo pieces, but they try to have them all alike. From what has been said it can be seen that the necklaces that the women wear are modern, brought by traders, especially peddlers (2).

> 2. Today neither medios nor reales of pure silver are found, but the Chiriguano Indian women make their necklaces with medios and reales of nickel. These are satisfactory, but the former were better.

301 184 Modern necklaces are common and also worn by the neophytes, but they do not wear bracelets, which are suitable only for the infidels. They make a long string of small blue beads and wrap it around /198/ their wrists, taking care to be sure that each turn is tight and close to the previous one, and so on with the rest which follow.

291 301 186 177 The Chiriguano, because he is proud, does not lower himself to wearing the adornments of neighboring tribes which are inferior to him, but he does easily adapt himself to wearing the clothing and adornments of races which are superior to him. He does not lower himself to wearing bird feathers, to scarring his face and arms, to wearing wooden earrings, like the Toba and others, but he imitates and attempts to surpass his superiors, the whites, by dressing himself like them, the men wearing the fine hat and the women wearing the wool and silk manta, the young men the footwear and boot, and the maidens foreign earrings. Hence, tiny little girls at the moment they are born have the ear lobe pierced so that in time, even before they begin to walk, the m[illegible] can put a pair of earrings on them, while none of the old women whom I know wears earrings in her ears. This is a sure sign that they never wore ornaments in them, and thus, if the modern Chiriguano women wear them, it is because they have seen women and maidens who came from civilized centers or were born there.

4: Nino--321 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
302
516
412

Group of Indian Workers

4: Nino--384 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano
Chorotí SK6

291
516
301

Group of Chorotí Indians

4: Nino--401 M-3 (1888-1911) 1913 SF10 Chihuahua SF10

F127
.H8
H2
1913
c.1

Girls' School of San Pascual Mission

/309 cont./

797 87 868 191 177 Should this method be followed, in a few years nobody would know that the mission Chiriguano belong to the race, because little by little the parents would teach their children the Spanish language, as I have already seen them do in the San Pascual de Boicovo Mission, and, if the morality still leaves something to be desired, later perhaps by means of preaching, the advice of the missionary, and the example of those who are good, all will be corrected. Semen est verbum Dei; it does not fall upon completely sterile ground (1).

797 177

1. The San Pascual de Boicovo Mission is so advanced in every respect that application has been made for it to be promoted to the rank of parish. In language, clothing, and behavior they differ little from the whites.

797 291 177 Almost from the beginning the schoolgirls were forbidden the use of the tipoy, being forced to dress in the same way as the women residents of the nearby towns; today they are very accustomed to the said clothing and do not change it for any reason in the world in the missions; only those girls who run away and even practically denounce their religion dress in the tipoy again, like the infidels, in order not to be recognized. By means of the teaching of the Catholic religion, the learning of the national language, and the change in clothing, the transformation is continually taking place, until little by little the distinction between the races will disappear, by means of the union of their tastes.

What the missionaries have done for the clothing of the girls, they are also doing for that of the boys, trying to make it decent. For both boys and girls, so long as they reside in the schools, the missionary of each mission provides their clothing, having it brought from some departmental capital and distributing it free of charge twice and even three times a year, or when he sees the needs of each student. In this way, after they are married, they themselves work in order to continue dressing in the same fashion or better than when they were in school, since some also wear socks /botines/ and shoes, and there are a number of women who

/309 cont./

797 291 177

in addition to the ordinary clothing, use a waist /corpiño/, hat, socks, and small rug /alfombrita/ in church (2). /Page 310 and

000

[184] [492]

2. The place where they dress most elegantly is in the missions of the Parapiti Grande, especially the women, who even have saddles for traveling and for riding about on horseback.

the first paragraph on p. 311 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 311 follows./

Conclusion

797

In conclusion, let it be noted for a final time that the Bolivian nation and people have opened to commerce and industry the broad region described in the first chapter of this work. This is due to the Franciscan missionaries, whose labor dates from the year 1609; they faced all the dangers; they risked their lives in the forests, in the torrential rivers, on the summits of the hills, they suffered thirst, hunger, fatigue, cold and heat, they endured with resignation the calumny and persecution of the people without conscience who never failed to make them the target of their filthy mouths and tongues.

[648]

The work has been accomplished; previously nobody went among the Chiriguano without the risk of falling victim; today the entire region is one with more or less large towns, there are provincial capitals, cantons and vice-cantons; the merchant passes through the Chiriguano towns, sleeps, very highly esteemed, in their houses, and the whites themselves, scattered throughout the region, have every guarantee of safety. This is a real prodigy owing to the Religion of Jesus Christ, preached by the missionaries; it is one more proof of the fact that the Cross is constructive.

[177] /312/ It is evident that the native element is disappearing because of the causes previously enumerated during the course of these lines (1).

000

1. If the present missions remain and new ones are founded in the centers that are left today,

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 H (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

XI.

Dress.

Ee 291 [1773]

The Chiriguano and the Chané men of the present day wear European clothes which they buy at the stores, get at the missions, or, more often still, when working at the sugar factories in northern Argentine. The native garments, the loin-cloth (chiripa) (fig. 19) and the ponchoshirt are still occasionally seen. The loin-cloth is a rectangular piece of cloth which is passed between the legs and kept in place back and front by being tucked into the belt. The geographical distribution of the loin-cloth in S. America it is almost useless to endeavour to show on the map, as in many places it would not be possible to say if it was native Indian or not. Among the tribes visited by me, with the exception of the Chirignano and the Chané, I have only seen it among the Tapiete. I have a piece of cloth from the Tsirakua that may have been a chiripa. I found a doll in a mound in Mojos which most likely represents a man with a chiripa. That it is a very old cultural element is obvious from the fact that the curious mummies found by Uhle[1]) at Arica and belonging to the oldest culture periods there, wore the chiripa. In the museum at Gothenburg[2]) we have a mummy of the kind, found by Skottsberg at Arica, which wears a chiripa. This chiripa is not woven, but is netted.

Ee 291 171*

The Poncho-shirt which I dealt with in detail in the first part of this book is undoubtedly a cultural element which has come to the Chiriguano and the Chané from the civilized zone in the west. (See map 16 in Part I.)

[1]) (6)
[2]) G. M.

Schwabenskiöld E-4/(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF6

C
Ce
39/
171

On very rare occasions one sees clothes of tanned skin worn by the men. As far back as Cronau[9]) these skin clothes

Ce
[142]
[302]

Fig. 19. Chanfloy in «chirigua». Río Pilcomayo.

C
Ce
177
146

were mentioned. I have obtained a costume of the kind consisting of a coat, breeches, and a hat. They are

9) P. 330.

Schwedenfeld E-S,5 (1906-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

of European cut and have most certainly come from the Whites. According to Nimuf) they were also sometimes made by the Indians themselves. I do not think this is the case with the costume I have collected.

Fig. 20. Chanéwoman in Tipoy. Río Paraguái.

The «tipoy» is the typical dress of the Chiriguano and Chané women. It is a sack of cotton or wool open at both ends and woven without seam. The tipoy for every day wear is of normal length. (Fig. 21) On festive oc-

[1] P. 180.

Schwedenkiffel E-G-(1909-1910, 1912) 1910
1910 Chiriguano 1910
Chaco 1910

Ee 291 B5 41x

Fig. 11. Chaco woman in Tipoy that is also used as a bearing-band.

Rio Pilcomayo.

Ee 292

On festive occasions they use a very long tipoy of cotton that has to be worn double.

Ee 291 171x

In Part I I have mentioned the tipoy, which is always a woman's garment, from the above mentioned tribes, [i.e. Chaco and Chiriguano women. - Ann'ed]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

and from the Ashluslay, Guarayú-Pauserna, Siriono, Guarayú (mission) Gorocotoques, Mojo, Carios-Tupinambá, Quichua, Paressi-Kabiši, Chiquitos, Guarani in Paraguay, Xarayes, Guayaná and Payaguá. Occasionally they occur among the Mataco as well. BARBOSA RODRIGUES mentions the tipoy from the Tembé. Judging by LANGE's photographs the Ararandeuara girls seem to wear small tipoys in ordinary hammock technique.

Those from the Quichua do not, however, correspond to others whose style we know, for the former used to be open on one side and only seem to have been sewn up under the influence of European ideas of modesty. Consequently I was rash in concluding that the tipoy was an original feature of western civilization, as I did in the first part of this book. Most likely it is of quite a different origin.

When the Chiriguano and Chané women used the tipoy as a garment, they did not, as we shall see below, get the idea from the mountains or from the Whites. It is, however, certain that the Whites and at an earlier date the Mountain-culture Indians may have influenced them to make the tipoy longer and more »seemly». Contact with other people wearing clothes has made it fashionable to be clothed.

My attempts to investigate the distribution of the tipoy in northern S. America has caused me a lot of trouble. Descriptions of Indian apparel by early authors are, unfortunately, not as detailed as might be desired. OVIEDO mentions a woman's dress »saya» from the region of Lake Maracaibo, woven without seam »sin costura», which may have been a tipoy.

In a narrative of PEDRO TEXEIRA's journey up the Amazon[1]) we read that almost every tribe goes naked, the men completely, the women above the waist, covering the rest

[1]) T. XIII, P. 437.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
291
114
*171

of the body with a garment resembling a »pampanilla». This may mean the tipoy, but also something else[1]).

C
Ce
291
854
*171
482

As MAX SCHMIDT[2]) has pointed out, the Paressi make their tipoys and their bearing-bands (to carry the children) in exactly the same way. The bearing-bands used by these Indians are identical with the tipoys in both shape and material. They differ from the latter only in being somewhat longer in proportion to their width. STADEN[3]) speaks of the »typpoy» as a garment. In an anonymous early description, also from the coast of Brazil, printed in PURCHAS[4]), the bearing-band is called »tupiya». The same word is thus used by the Guarani-speaking Indians on the coast of Brazil both for the bearing-band and the female dress. In some parts the same article has, indeed, been used both as a bearing-band for children and a woman's garment. According to BARBOSA RODRIGUES[5]) it would seem to be so among the Tembé Indians. The bearing-band does not occur among the Chiriguano and Chané; they carry the child cradled in the tipoy.

Ce
Ce
291
482
*171

I do not consider it too bold to assume that the tipoy and the bearing-band have the same origin, and that the one has suggested the other. In all likelihood, the bearing-

[1]) It is obvious from the following quotation from OVIEDO (T. 2, P. 271), where he tells of the female apparel of the Bubores living near Lake Maracaibo that the »Pampanilla» also might mean a small piece of cloth covering the genitals. »y las mugeres una pampanilla ó pedaço de algodon texido tan ancho como un palmo colgando delante de sus vergüenças».

[2]) (4) P. 218.

[3]) T. 2, P. 3. »/derselbigen wilden weiber machen dinger von baumwollen garn/ wie ein Sack vnden unnd oben offen/ die ziehen sie an/ und heyssen auff ire sprache Typpoy».

[4]) P. 1391.

[5]) (2) P. 42. »As mulheres..... usam uma facha larga de algodão tecido branca ou tinta de urucu, passada a tiracollo sobre o hombre direito, que pendendo sobre o corpo, encobre-lhes a parte vergonhosa e serve para nella trazerem constantemente filhos. Dão a esta facha o nome de *tupóy*»

StNordenskiöld E-5/4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce
291
171
482

band, which has a much wider distribution, is the original. For some reason it was occasionally worn as a shirt and, finally, in some places, this became the custom. Out of the short skirt resembling the bearing-band has probably developed the long tipoy now worn by the Chiriguano and

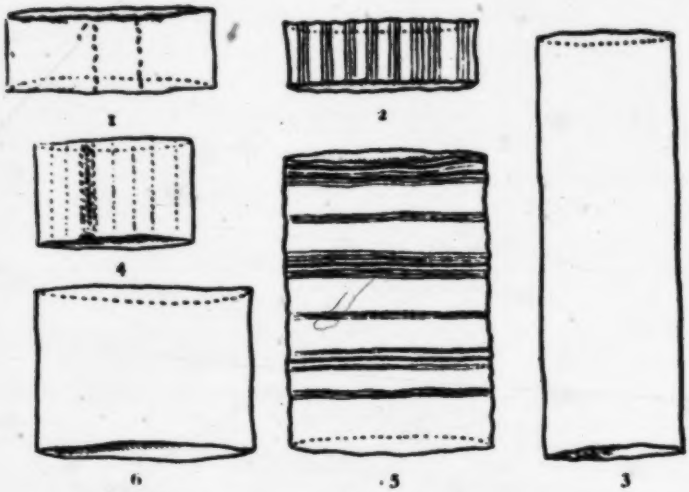


Fig. 22. Bearing-bands and »tipoys.»

1) G. M. 15. 1. 539. Bearing-band of bark-cloth. Huanyam.
2) R. M. G. 97. Bearing-band made of cotton in hammock-technique. Guarayú (mission).
3) G. M. 13. 1. 554. »Tipoy»-woven of cotton without seam. Chiriguano.
4) G. M. 12. 1. 64. Bearing-band of cotton, plaited. Patamona, British Guiana.
5) R. M. P. 130. »Tipoy» woven of cotton without seam. Chané.
6) G. M. 15. 1. 849. » » » » » » Guarayú.

Chané. The shape is still the same as that of the bearing-band; only the proportion between length and breadth has been changed (fig. 22). The bearing-bands used by S. American Indians are either made of bark-cloth, plaited in the ordinary hammock-technique, or made in some other

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
291
482
*171

way. The tipoys are, as a rule, woven. Tipoys manufactured in hammock-technique I know of only from the Siriono and the Ararandeuára (Tembé). These latter are also used as bearing-bands. Probably this is also the case among the uncivilized Siriono. Tipoys in this technique are probably earlier in origin than the woven ones.

C
Ce
352
196
291
482

The word »tipoy» has also been used with another meaning, viz., for a band used to support an injured arm.[1]) A band or sling of the kind has exactly the same shape as an Indian bearing-band. Only once can I remember having seen an Indian with his arm in a sling like this. He was a Pauserna man.

»Tipoya» can also be interpreted »a kind of hammock».[2])

C
Ce
352
854
482
*171

The question is if the hammock has not also been suggested by the bearing-band. In the first place we must remember that Indians also in different parts where the hammock is unknown, are careful not to put their babies on the ground. Thus, the Yuracáre and the Chimáne who have no hammocks, use cradles of bark-cloth in which they suspend their babies. When the Mosetene woman goes to work in the fields with her baby, she puts it into a bearing-bag which she hangs up in a tree. COMINGES[3]) mentions that he saw among the Guaná Indians, who seldom use hammocks, a child which the mother had placed in a bag slung like a hammock. So it does not seem so very unreasonable to suppose that Indian women tried to use the bearing-band in the same way when the child had to be

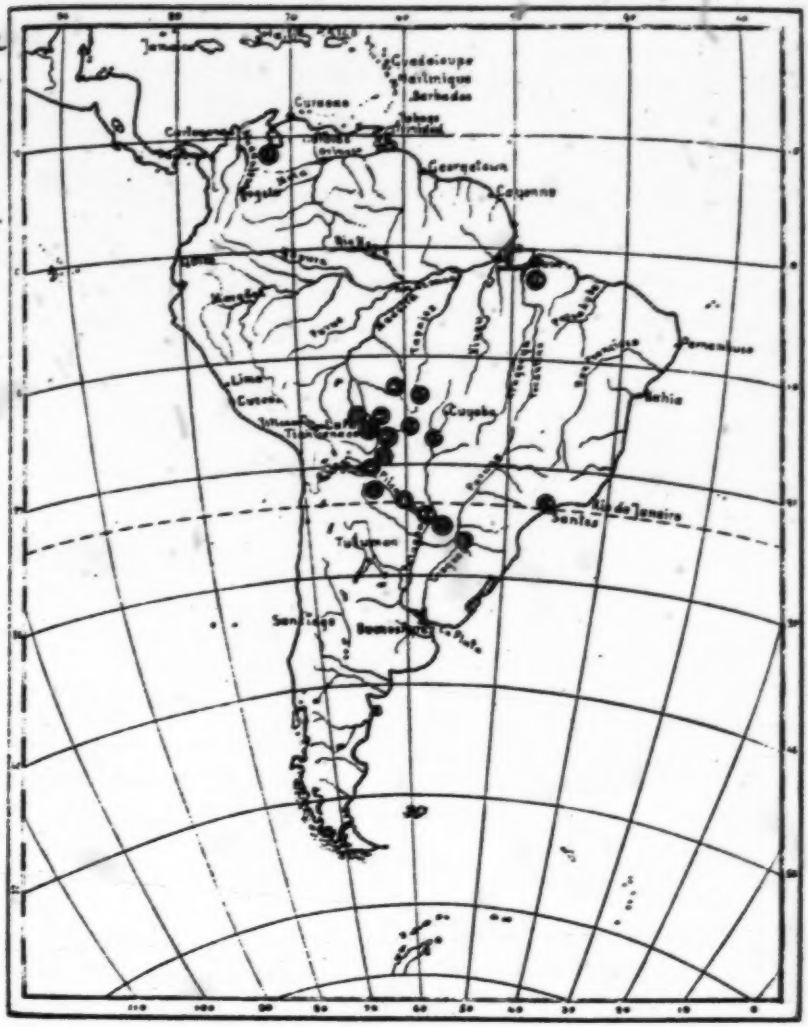
[1]) [2]) I here give BRAZ DA COSTA RUBIM's definition of the word TIPOIA »Do guarani tupoi, vestido de mulher. Tira larga tecida com palha de miritizeiro; grande camiza sem mangas feita do entrecasco de certas arvores de enlaçada e estopenta fibra; o lenço o tiracolo para descansar o braço; serpentina de rede carregada por dous homens.»

[3]) »En uno de éstos una mujer joven que parecía una criatura, pero que, acabando de dar el pecho á un niño completamente desnudo, y colocándole en una bolsa de red, que á manera de hamaca pendía de las *incuarsa* del techo.» P. 192.

[text continues on p. 68]

S.Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
ce
102
291
*171
S
102
291



Map. 7. The distribution of the Tipoy.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
352
854
482
*171

put down and they feared the snakes. The Guarayú have bearing-bands which are made in the very same technique as most hammocks. Such bearing-bands were also used by the Carios[1]) in Southern Brazil.

Table 8.

The distribution of the tipoy. Map. 7.

C
Ce
291
*171
102
S
102
291

2. Ashluslay, G. M. Woven without seam. Wool.
4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 8. Woven without seam. Wool or Cotton.
5. Chané, R. M. P. 130. Woven without seam. Wool or Cotton.
6. Mataco, R. M. M. 166. Woven without seam. Wool.
20. Paressi, MAX SCHMIDT (4) P. 217. Woven without seam. Cotton.
25. Mojo, CASTILLO P. 324.
38. Carios, STADEN.
40. Guarayú (Guarayos).
41. Guarayú (Pauserna), G. M. Woven without seam, cotton
45. Gorocotoque, SCHMIDEL (1) P. 264.
51. Siriono. Made in hammock technique.
94. Chiquito, BURGOS P. 341.
98. Ararandeuára. (Tembé). I have gathered from LANGE's photographs that Ararandeuára-girls wear quite short Tipoy in ordinary hammock technique; BARBOSA-RODRIGUES (2) P. 42.
I. Guarani, Paraguay. AZARA (2) P. 416.
5 P. Xarayes, NÚNEZ CABEZA DE VACA. T. 1, P. 300.
X 4. Payaguá. AZARA (2) P. 360.
I F. Indians near Lake Maracaibo. OVIEDO Vol. 2, P. 285. »Tomaron unas indias vestidas unas sayas texidas sin costura, que les tomaba desde la cabeza hasta los pies, e unos capillos como de frayles».

[1]) STADEN (2) Fig. P. 153.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Both men and women among the Chiriguano and Chané have sandals which, however, they seldom wear. In Part I of this work I have given an account of the geographical distribution of sandals in S. America. Obviously sandals are a cultural element which the Chiriguano and Chané have got from the area of civilization in the west.

A pair of sandals with fastenings differing from the usual kind are depicted here. A sandal with very similar binding but of another shape is described and depicted by ERIC VON ROSEN[1]) in his recent, splendid work.

The Chiriguano and Chané wear girdles which as a rule are woven, though they are sometimes made of leather. As I pointed out in Part I, the woven girdle belongs to the western cultural elements and the leather belts to the southern. The leather girdles worn by the Chiriguano and Chané are provided with pockets and sometimes ornamented with coins, and are consequently imitations of the gorgeous cincture worn by the Argentine gauchos. NINO[2]) is of the same opinion, and he points out that they are called »bosa» (from the Spanish word »bolsa»[3]) owing to their being provided with a pocket.

As already mentioned in Part I the woven »head-band» or frontlet also belongs to the dress of the Chiriguano and Chané-men. The frontlet is certainly a western culture-element.

Chiriguano and Chané shirts and ceremonial tipoys are of native make and are often dyed blue with indigo. The frontlets are blue or red. Chiriguano and Chané women wear a kind of hair-band with tassels which they most likely learned to make in the missions.

[1]) (4) Fig. 84, P. 127.

[2]) P. 191.

[3]) »Bolsa» is »bosa» in the Chriguano languages as these Indians do not pronounce l.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce
291
177

The Chané men at the Rio Parapiti occasionally wear straw hats plaited by themselves. They most certainly borrowed the idea from the Whites.

C
291

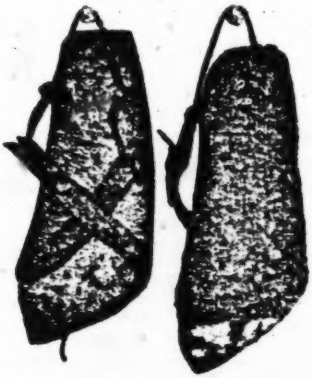


Fig. 23. Sandals of leather. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 63.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177
[191]

are chiefly used by the men. It is clear that the latter learnt more from the Whites than the women, for they came into contact with them to a far greater extent. Hence many of the men, but few of the women, learnt to speak Spanish. All the Chiriguano and Chané men now clothe themselves more or less like the Whites, that is to say in shirt and trousers. Few have coats. You rarely see anyone with boots, and never anyone with stockings. Practically all the Chiriguano and Chané women still wear the tipoy. It is usually made of cloth bought from the Whites. But in some villages the women still have a predominance of home-woven tipoys. The clothes worn by the men, and which are of the same cut as those of the Whites, are not their own make, but are obtained ready-made in exchange for manual labour. The cloth for the women's tipoys, too, which they make up themselves, is as a rule earned in similar wise by the men. The Indians now obtain the implements for all these things from the Whites.

C
Ce
291
177

C
Ce
241
177

The agriculture of the Chiriguano and Chané has been very little affected by the Whites. As the banana cannot be cultivated here with any success, the Indians have not been able appreciably to improve their conditions of life by extensive planting of the cultivated plants introduced by the Whites. For some of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians, cattle-breeding has become of considerable importance.

C
Ce
177
[233]

Seventeen of the cultural elements included in the tables may be regarded as articles of luxury. These are games, musical instruments, etc.

The domestic industry of these Indians has been very little influenced in its development by the Whites, a fact on which I laid stress in speaking of their pottery, which has remained in a wonderful manner untouched by 400 years of intercourse with missionaries and others. I here repeat that even the instruction given in the mission schools in embroidery, lace-making and the like, has but very slightly affected the native domestic industry of the In-

6: Nordenskiöld--52 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF 8
S-Am. Indians S3
Chaco Indians SK4

C
Ce
CI
524
526
171

/198 cont./

The games and toys are of great interest from the anthropogeographical point of view. We do not find the majority of them outside the Chaco and the adjacent regions of South America. On the other hand, we find them in North America. Consequently I have /199/ /Ill. 104 appears here/ /200/ come to the conclusion (1)

1. See also Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie, 1910. Nos. 3 and 4.

that the games and toys are vestiges from a time when the cultural exchange between North and South America was greater than now, or, more correctly, that traces of a cultural stream coming from the north extended down as far as Argentina. A peculiar similarity also exists between the types of tobacco pipes that one finds in southern South America and in /Fig. 105 appears here/ North America. The tripod pottery which I found in my excavations in eastern Bolivia, in Mojos, also points to influences from the north.

S
276
171
S
323
171
172

Everyday Clothing

C
Ce
291
177

In the villages in which the influence of the whites has not driven out the old attire, the Chané and Chiriguano women wear a sack-shaped garment, "tiru" (Fig. 106). This, as the photographs show, may be worn in various ways. In former times the tiru does not seem to have had its present shape. Viedma (2) says

2. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181.

the /201/ Chiriguano women merely had a piece of fabric around their hips. Undoubtedly, under the influence of the "moral" Christians, the costume developed so that it became "more decent." /Fig. 106 appears here./

Ee 301 /201 cont./

As for native ornaments, one sees necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla beads and of black seeds.

Ee 301 172 [439] Ee [435] According to their own statements, the Indians find the stone beads in the ground where there are old dwellings and graves. The mestizos in the Tarija valley, who find a great many of these beads in their fields, sell them to the Chiriguano /202/ and Chané at high prices. In former times a necklace of these beads was paid for with a horse.

Ee 524

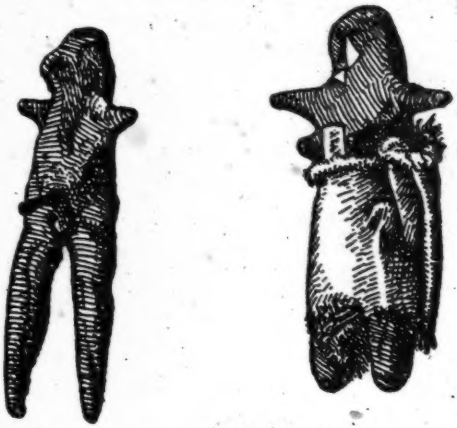


Fig. 105. Wax dolls. 1/1. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

Ee 302 The Chané and Chiriguano women wear the hair medium long, parted in the middle of the forehead, and sometimes tied at the nape of the neck or on the head with a band.

Ee 291 177 Ee 291 171 C 302 The men now all wear European attire. At /Fig. 107 appears here/ work, however, one not infrequently sees them in only a piece of fabric protecting the sexual parts. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, coats resembling those with which we became familiar among the Choroti and Ashluslay were very common. The older men, as well as the younger ones in the Chiriguano villages on the upper Rio Pilcomayo, wear the hair long, wound around the head, and held together, as a rule, with a red or blue band. Toward the front the hair is cut off; thus they have forelocks /203/ and a lock in front of each ear. The

/214 cont./

577 entirely untouched by the civilization of the whites, an opinion
831 which I shall reproduce here verbatim:
175

"Ce qui m'a fort surpris, c'est que dans la licence où ils vivent, je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'il échappat à aucun homme la moindre action indécente à l'egard des femmes, et jamais je n'ai oui sortir de leur bouche aucune parole tant soit peu déshonnête

643
291
415
142
352
516

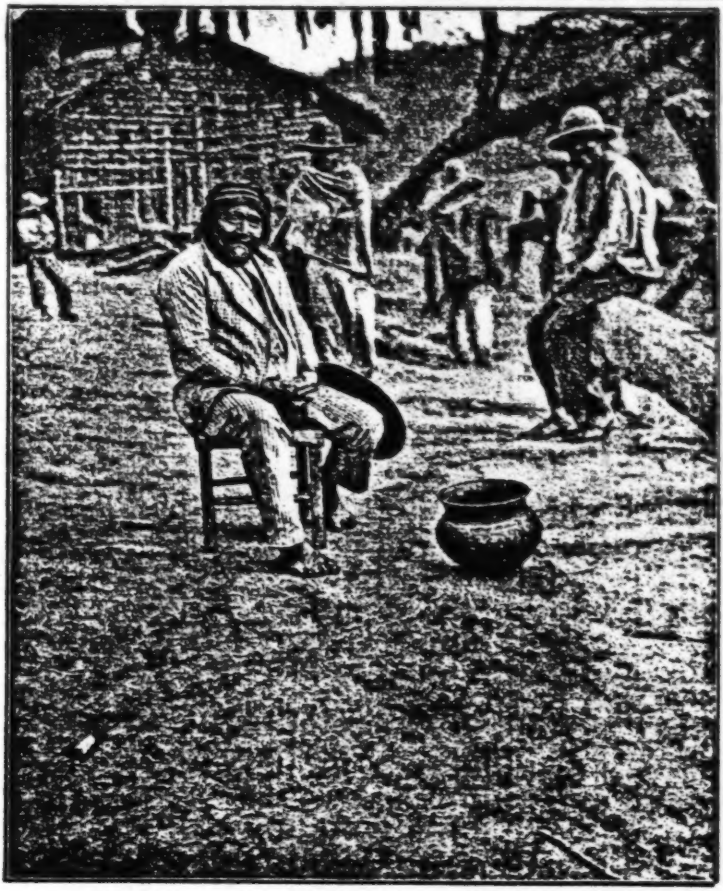


Fig. 111. The Chiriguano chief Mandepora.

577 /What surprised me very much is that in the freedom in which
831 they live I never noticed the slightest indecent behavior on the
175 part of any man with regard to women, and never did I hear from their lips any word that was the least bit immodest/."

/214 cont./

581 This Jesuit priest describes the marriages of the Chiriguano, however, as very loose.

581 273 With marriage, life begins in earnest for these Indians. It consists of work and drinking maize beer. I have already described their work somewhat; I shall discuss their drinking bouts below.

165 The life of the Indian men and women passes more quickly

142 291 516

Fig. 112. Old woman. Rio Itiyuro.
Her grandsons were about 18 years old and younger.

165 than that of whites. The age of the Indian is very difficult to determine when one has no definite figures to go by. Maringay told me that he was the oldest of his tribe, that none of his contemporaries was living any more. The whites said that Maringay was over 100 years old. This is exaggerated, however. As a newly married /215/ youth 16-20 years old, Maringay visited

Ce
527
533
535
273

/240 cont./
and beating time with their feet. The women walked slowly up and down in time with the song, outside the circle of men.

Ee
291
177

Among the Chané and Chiriguano the attire of the white man is replacing everything old and beautiful, and of my many old friends among the chiefs of these Indians only Maringay scorns the rags of the whites.

e
ce
273
177
527

Liquor is being introduced more and more among these Indians, and the ceremonial, pleasant maize-beer festivals are turning into crude drinking bouts.

c
532
535

Fig. 119. Dance mask.
Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/6.

ce
578
273
177

I shall never forget a night in Vocapoy's village. The /241/ men had gone to the Christians to drink liquor. When they came back, harsh words fell and knives were displayed. The liquor would have claimed bloody sacrifices if the courageous women, with firebrands from the maize-beer boiling, had not thrown themselves between the quarreling men and, after separating them, taken them home with soothing words of flattery.

6: Nordenskiöld--92 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chapie SF8

/242/

000

Chapter Sixteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

C
Ce

Art and Industry

285
323
177

The Chiriguano and Chané are tribes whose art-industry is on a very high level. If one visits one of the huts of the white settlers in these regions, one will not see many products of native industry, not much of their own culture. I know of absolutely nothing that these people are capable of doing which can compare with the pottery and the weaving technique of the Indians. One thing is certain, the more "civilized" the Indians become, the less they accomplish in the way of art and industry. They do not learn much more from the whites than how to make and drink liquor. Indian art-industry is gradually disappearing here, the more the Indians come in contact with the whites, but it is not transformed. It remains largely purely Indian until its final destruction. One industry, however, is now in the hands of the whites, namely, the metal industry. The silver ornaments which, for example, the Chiriguano and Chané use are made by the smiths in the villages of the mountain regions. The half-white or Quichua /Quechua/ Indian population which we come across in the mountains west of the land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is quite skilled artistically. The weaving technique in particular is very highly developed there. The Chiriguano and Chané undoubtedly learned a great deal from the west.

C
Ce
[273]

C
Ce
325
171
439
000

Ee
288
177
C
534
171
291
413

Thus we find the serére pipe[2] (Fig. 120) characteristic of the Chiriguano in collections from the coast of Peru (1); /Plate 19 appears here/ /243/ the pin for fastening women's clothing

1. Serére also occur among the Lengua, Ashluslay, Chiriguano, Chané, Churúpa, and Yuracáre.

2 [A flute-like musical instrument--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 94]

C /243 cont./
171 (Fig. 130) is typically Peruvian in form, as is the silver hair re-
●291 mover, of which, however, I have no specimen. The festive
[539] costume of the man (Fig. 81) also seems to me to have a Peruvian
[913] cut. It is possible, however, that the influence of Peru did not
197 manifest itself among the Chiriguano until after the conquest of
e the plateau by the Spanish.
131 Boman (1) has proved that the Chiriguano, or more cor-
172
a
[113]

1. Boman: Antiquités de la Région Andine. Vols. 1-2, Paris, 1908.

Fig. 120. Serére pipe. Chiriguano. 1/4.

rectly the Guarani tribe to which these Indians belong, formerly extended much farther south than they do now. He found there the grave urns so characteristic of them.

C
Ce
171 The material culture of the Chané Indians does not, in general, differ very
Ce much from the culture of the Chiriguano.
[323] The Chané, on the other hand, who are more isolated on the Rio Parapiti, have a completely independent pottery which we
C do not find again among the
[534] Chiriguano. If we compare the
534 remaining products of Chané
-C and Chiriguano industry, we do
[184] not find any greater differences than we find in the various Chiriguano villages themselves.

C For example, if one collects clay vessels in the Iguembe
323 valley and in the Caipipendi valley, both of which valleys are
184 occupied by Chiriguano, one inevitably finds that the pottery, though strongly related in ornamentation and form, nevertheless /244/ also varies locally. I have already spoken of the individual variations (p. 85).

/287 cont./

The Man Who Killed Añatunpa.

539 [11 5]

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Tambáti on the Rio Grande.

Añatunpa devoured all the human beings that he could catch. A man came along who was carrying wood to Añatunpa's cave. "Come, let's play!" said Añatunpa.

/288/ "What kind of a game?" said the man.

"You shall give me a blow on the forehead with an ax, and if I do not die, I shall hit you," said Añatunpa.

Añatunpa stood up straight, offered his forehead to the man, and the latter hit him directly in the middle of it. Since Añatunpa's forehead was as hard as iron, this did not affect him. Añatunpa now gave the man a blow on the forehead, killed him, and tossed

• 291 177 531 301

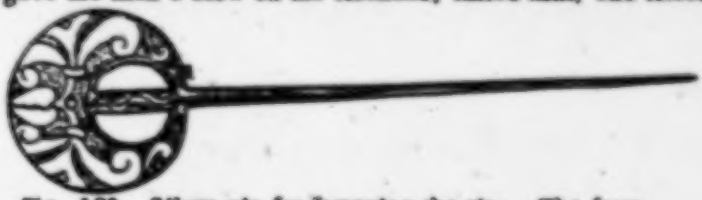


Fig. 130. Silver pin for fastening the tiru. The form Indian, the ornamentation Spanish. Chiriguano. Parapiti, 1/3.

539 him to Dyóri, who devoured him.

On another occasion another man came to Añatunpa's cave. Añatunpa proposed the same game to him. Then a fly, "Mbéru," called to him not to hit him on the forehead, but in the nape of the neck. When Añatunpa, with eyes closed, stood up to receive the blow, the man went behind him, struck him in the nape of the neck, and Añatunpa fell down dead. Dyóri asked him how he was able to kill Añatunpa. The man told him what Mbéru had said.

"Very good," said Dyóri.

342
142
● 291
302
352
273

Fig. 190. Woman in front of her hut. In the foreground a hollowed-out which has chewed maize; this maize is used in the preparation of *vichiko*, an intoxicating beverage. Chiriguano, San Luis, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

342
361
417

Fig. 191. Hut in the periphery of the circular market-place in the Chiriguano village of Itiki. In right foreground, a ladder used on going to the pile-house for maize. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

(195) [P. 194 is blank]

been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs, arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

Fig. 194. Man and young woman, Chiriguano. San Luis, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this impossible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 183 and fig. 83 (18), pp. 13 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 30.

291 [571]

seen any Chiriguano using this typical ancient Andean garment. Ponchos of the cloak type, and robes of the kind used by the Chaco Indians, on the other hand, I have seen worn by the Chiriguano men, who put them on against cold and wet. Formerly the Chiriguano men dressed in the «chiripa», which was a rectangular skirt that was fastened in front to a cord tied round the waist, then passed between the legs, and fixed to the cord above the buttocks. One may still see, here and there, some small boy wearing nothing but this primitive garment. On their heads the men often wear a broad, red, turbanlike headlet (fig. 194), and, when setting out on long marches, they put on their feet sandals, the straps of which bear distinct resemblance to straps on sandals that have been found in ancient graves on Puna de Jujuy.[1]

(142) (302)

Fig. 193. Chiriguano boy with long flowing hair. The Lion Rubina, Photo. E. v. R.

The women also possess sandals, but, like the men, generally walk about barefooted. The women's clothing consists of a loose-fitting, tubular garment made of woollen, or cotton, stuff. It is called «ripoy». The upper part of it is pinned together over the shoulders by means of cactus spines or metal pins, in the manner seen in fig. 190, which leaves the arms free, or the garment may be fastened under the armpits in the way the girl in fig. 194 is wearing it.

Nowadays the men mostly wear their hair bobbed, and with a frontal fringe (fig. 194), but I have seen boys, not fully grown, with long hair, hanging loose down (fig. 195). In former days all the men had long hair, which they gathered on the top of the head, where it was secured with a headlet, a custom not yet quite discarded in some out-of-the-way parts of the country. The women let their hair grow long, give it a centre parting on the top of the head (fig. 196), plait it into tresses and tie it up, or allow it to hang loose. One may sometimes see girls with short hair (fig. 194), but in such cases the hair has been cut short as a sign that its owner has entered upon her first menstruation. On the death of a near relative it is also the custom of the women to cut off their hair.

302 [178]

[412]

[811]

Fig. 196. Wooden comb. Chiriguano. Rubina. The Lion. Photo. E. v. R.

[765]

[1] Nordenskiöld (18), fig. 19; von Rosen (1), fig. 8a.

[footnote appears on p. 200 - - 4n.]

Fig. 215. A Chiriguano Indian with a fish spear. San Luis, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

less. For the rest, the pellet-shooting long-bow is, compared with the pellet-shooting crossbow of the Old World, in any case a pretty poor weapon, both for war purposes and for hunting, which may explain its inconsiderable distribution even in well-wooded districts. Where this weapon nowadays occurs, it is only used for killing small birds, for target practice, and as a toy.

Fishing is carried on in the water courses with which the country is sparingly supplied. The Indians use hooks, nets, fish traps and weirs. These fishing methods are, however, almost exclusively used for fishing in rivers or largish bodies of water. In shallow streams and rivulets, the fish are shot with arrows, or speared with a two-pronged fish-gig. Fishing with poison is also said to be made use of.[1]

A fish trap consists of a large, bottle-shaped calabash, wide in its lower part, but with a narrow neck. The trap, which is placed under the lee of a few boughs stuck into the river bottom, must not be set in deeper water than makes it possible for a wading person to reach the neck of the calabash. Ground bait, consisting of crushed, sour, maize, is put into the calabash. The fish will then collect inside the calabash, and the fisherman has only to carefully raise the trap out of the water. In the sandy river banks ponds are dug, and connected by a small channel with the river. When fish have collected in the ponds, the connecting channel is blocked up, the pond emptied of water, and the fish gathered up.[2]

Fig. 216. Detail of the fish spear in fig. 215. The prongs are of hard wood. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. 1/6. Rhom. 05.3.904.

Among the Chiriguano Indians I visited, fish-shooting was a common practice. For this they used their smallest and weakest hunting bows. But it is also possible that those light bows I saw being used for shooting fish with, were exclusively employed for that purpose. If so, then the bow in fig. 202 is a fish bow. The arrows are long, and are usually provided with

[1] [illegible] (III), p. 40.
[2] [illegible] (III), pp. 170 and 171.

Plate II

291
516

Fig. 3
(I. C. 354) -- Chiriguano in Machareti

142
291
516
302

Fig. 4
(I.C. 359) -- Chiriguano women in Machareti

Plate III

142
291
302
516
854
←

142
291
516
→

Fig. 5
(I.C. 360)--Chiriguano women with babies in Machareti

Fig. 6
(I.C. 355)--Chiriguano men in Machareti

142
291
516

Fig. 7
(I.C. 361)--Chiriguano boys in Machareti

Fig. 8
(I.C. 362)--Chiriguano children in Machareti

Plate VI

342
352
516
291

Fig. 14
(I.C. 356) -- Chiriguano women and children in front of their house in Machareti

291
516

Fig. 15
(I.C. 358) -- Chiriguano in the town of Machareti

Plate VII

343
335

Fig. 16
(I.C. 357) -- Chiriguano storehouse built on posts in Machareti

291
412
415

Fig. 17
(I.C. 355) -- Scene in the Chiriguano town of Machareti. Boy dressed in a poncho. Large baked clay vessels and a mortar.

C
352
171
[113]

/23 cont./

Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, Berlin, 1894, p. 286.

Peruvians (100). Nordenskiöld and Métraux show such

C
[113]

100. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/, Berlin, 1929, p. 436.

Chiriguano benches in drawings (101).

101. Nord. 1, Fig. 85. Métraux 1, pp. 471 and 472 and Fig. 129.

C
Ce
291
302
178

Painting and Deformations of the Body

As the use of clothing has increased among the Chiriguano and Chané, the custom of painting or tattooing the body has naturally lost importance and the remnants of such customs are too few to be able to say what they were in the past. Nor do we have data on this. I often saw Chiriguano and Izozó women and girls paint themselves with urucú, making colored spots on their faces. According to Nordenskiöld, men and women sometimes paint their faces, as well as their bodies, with red paint (102). Nordenskiöld also found tattooing on

C
Ce
302

C
302

102. Nord. 1, p. 203.

the arms of some women and one Chiriguano man (103). The

103. Nord 1, p. 203. Nord. 2, p. 83, Fig. 27.

custom of dyeing the teeth with dark blue was found by

/27 cont./

Men's Hair Bands Woven out of Human Hair

C
Ce
301
439

These bands woven out of human hair correspond, with regard to their manufacture, to the bands that the Chiriguano and Chané make today in great numbers to sell to the whites. These "fajas," as they are commonly called today, represent an article eagerly sought by the whites who are in contact with these Indians, and especially by the soldiers, who wear them as a belt. One of the two Chiriguano men shown in Figure 6 wears such a faja as a belt, and, because we can surmise that today this is their principal use among the Chiriguano as well, we shall deal with them in the following chapter devoted to the description of clothing.

C
301
291
178

C
291
177

Straw Hat (kandáo of the Chiriguano

I. A. 554. Diameter 30 cm. Height 12 cm. (Fig. 99.)

The technique of this hat plaited out of palm-leaf fibers is not native since it is of modern manufacture. As Figure 9 shows, the Izozó men also wear such hats.

Ce
[291]
[177]

Caps Made with Crochet Hooks

I. A. 442 and 443. (Chiriguano.) Made of Wool. Height 15.5 cm. and 14 cm., resp.

These two crocheted wool caps, which I obtained from the Chiriguano in Machareti, must also be considered as of modern manufacture.

/29 cont./

301 [439] European museums. These are not made by the Chiriguano themselves, but by their mestizo neighbors and sold to the Indians. The external form is still that of tweezers, much enlarged. But the boivera of today, discounting its size, also cannot be used for plucking hair because the two parts /30/ of its lower edge have been soldered. The fact that the decoration of the surface is not still primordial is explained by the fact that the Chiriguano are not the makers of these ornaments.

291

Clothing and Adornment

From the 16th century we have the brief description of the Chiriguano by Bishop Lizarraga (133) where, among other

[113]

133. Lizarraga: "Descripción et población de las Indias /Description and population of the Indies/." In Moreno II, p. 101.

things, it is said: "They go about naked or at the most sometimes have a short shirt /camisatilla/ down to the navel." We can assume that this statement by the Bishop as of that time refers only to the Chiriguano men, because it is likely that by the time of their immigration the Chiriguano women were wearing a garment which covered their genital organs, as we know the Guaraní women of the ancient Province of Uruguay did (134). It is likely that this garment had the same form as

174 291

[171]

134. Serrano, op. cit., pp. 123 and 124.

the "tipoy," which is a garment in the form of a poncho without sewing and which even today is very common among Chiriguano and Chané women, as well as among various other Indian tribes of South America.

/30 cont./

Ce 291 177 C [291] [177]

The Chiriguano and Chané men whom I saw were dressed in the European manner, as, according to Nordenskiöld, is the common custom among them today (135). Yet many

135. Nord. 2, p. 59.

Izozó men whom I met in Toledo did not have such complete European clothing. Several of them had no shirt, and various others, especially young men and boys, went about without trousers. But no doubt such a state was only temporary, a result of the exceptional condition of the Izozó transplanted from their usual districts to Toledo. When I passed out clothing to these Indians in Toledo, all of those who were lacking garments presented themselves. On the following day this scarcity was more evident among those attracted by the donations made on the day previous. Most of the boys appeared trouserless then, because they had seen that those who had not had such an article of clothing had been favored on the day before.

Ce [123]

C Ce 291

Of the native garments the men still use the one called "chiripá," the poncho, and the simple manta. According to Nordenskiöld (136), they sometimes still wear a "tirucumbai"

136. Nord. 2, p. 59.

shirt, which consists of a poncho whose two sides have been sewed together up to the arms.

The chiripá consists of a quadrangular piece of material which passes between the legs and whose two ends are stuffed, before and behind, into a belt. Worn in this way, the chiripá covers the genital organs. Figure 11 shows an Izozó boy dressed in such a chiripá. Nordenskiöld also shows a drawing of a Chané boy dressed in a chiripá (137). According to

137. Nord. 1, Fig. 110.

this author, the chiripá is also often used by the Chiriguano and Chané men when they are working.

/30 cont./

C
Ce
291
[439]
[126]

The poncho is a garment in common use even today among Chiriguano and Chané men and boys during the cold season. Figure 17 shows a Chiriguano boy wearing a poncho. Because ponchos today, like the fajas, are an article eagerly sought by the whites and are often made to be sold commercially, I tried to collect only ponchos worn by the Indians themselves.

C
Ce
291
126

/31/ Ponchos (asó'ia) in the Collection

I. A. 423.	(Chiriguano.)	Of wool.	Length	1.45 m.	Width	1.14 m.
I. A. 424.	"	"	"	1.70 m.	"	1.46 m.
I. A. 425.	"	"	"	1.65 m.	"	1.32 m.
I. A. 426.	"	"	"	1.68 m.	"	1.39 m.
						(Fig. 117.)
I. A. 427.	"	Of cotton.	"	1.36 m.	"	1.95 m.
I. A. 808.	(Izozó)	Of cotton.	"	1.46 m.	"	1.35 m.
I. A. 809.	"	Of wool.	"	1.42 m.	"	1.09 m.
I. A. 110	"	"	"	1.62 m.	"	1.38 m.
I. A. 812	"	"	"	1.16 m.	"	1.17 m.
I. A. 813.	"	"	"	1.16 m.	"	0.78 m.
I. A. 814.	"	"	"	1.36 m.	"	0.68 m.
I. A. 815.	"	"	"	1.28 m.	"	0.64 m.
I. A. 819.	"	Of cotton.	"	1.26 m.	"	1.10 m.
I. A. 823.	"	Of wool.	"	1.40 m.	"	1.30 m.
						(Fig. 116.)
I. A. 825.	"	"	"	1.50 m.	"	1.22 m.
I. A. 830.	"	"	"	1.40 m.	"	0.97 m.
I. A. 833.	"	Of cotton.	"	1.56 m.	"	1.25 m.
I. A. 834.	"	"	"	1.26 m.	"	0.93 m.
I. A. 835.	"	"	"	1.42 m.	"	1.21 m.
I. A. 836.	"	"	"	1.08 m.	"	0.71 m.
I. A. 837.	"	"	"	0.96 m.	"	0.78 m.

C
Ce
291

In order to explain the above-mentioned measurements we must say that the measurements of length refer to the entire length of the poncho when stretched out. As Figure 17 shows, the poncho is used in such a way that the slit, being in its center,

/31 cont./

C
Ce
291

is brought over the head so that the slit is in the direction of the middle axis of the human body and the middle of the poncho across the shoulders, one part hanging in front and the other behind. Thus the distance between the lower edge of the poncho and the shoulders of the man who is wearing the poncho corresponds to half the length of the poncho when stretched out. Only in the case of two of the Izozó woolen ponchos is half the length equal to the width. I shall deal with the manufacture and decoration of these ponchos in the chapters on the technique of weaving and art.

Ce
29
286
513
126

The Chané of the Parapití River still often wear mantas woven of wool, which they also use to sleep on or to cover themselves with when they are sleeping (138). I have acquired

138. See Nord. 1, p. 202.

nine of these mantas from the Izozó, four of which had been made from ponchos, the slit in the center of them having been closed by sewing. Among the other four mantas which had been made as mantas from the first, the relationship between the length and the width can vary greatly. There are some nearly square and others three times as long as they are wide.

C
291
286
296

From the Chiriguano in Machareti I obtained only one piece of woven material which corresponds to these mantas, and it was already much mended.

Mantas in the Collection

C
Ce
29
126

I. A. 585.	(Chiriguano.)	Of cotton.	Length	1.38 m.	Width	1.27 m.
I. A. 816.	(Izozó)	Of wool.	"	2.20 m.	"	0.60 m.
I. A. 817.	"	"	"	1.80 m.	"	1.20 m.
I. A. 818.	"	"	"	0.68 m.	"	0.60 m.
/32/						
I. A. 824.	"	"	"	1.22 m.	"	1.30 m.
I. A. 826.	"	"	"	1.28 m.	"	0.44 m.
I. A. 827.	"	"	"	1.40 m.	"	0.92 m.
I. A. 828.	"	"	"	1.56 m.	"	1.66 m.
I. A. 829.	"	"	"	1.27 m.	"	1.25 m.
I. A. 831.	"	"	"	1.74 m.	"	1.24 m.

Chane SF8
Izozo

/32 cont./

C 291 I have already mentioned fajas, used today as belts by the Chiriguano men, in the chapter on cutting and combing the hair and head ornaments. I shall deal with their manufacture and decoration in the chapters on the technique of weaving and art.

Fajas (Izozó: kuakuá in the Collection

Ee 291 [126] I. A. 428-441. (Chiriguano.)
I. A. 738, 803-807. (Izozó.)

Only the Izozó faja I. A. 738, shown in Figure 414, which measures 1.30 m. long and 3.7 cm. wide, differs with respect to the technique of its manufacture and its decoration, which we must attribute to outside influences, from the other fajas collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó. These correspond to one another quite minutely with respect to their dimensions, the weaving technique, and the ornamentation. Moreover, these Izozó fajas have been woven exclusively of cotton and the Chiriguano fajas have been woven exclusively of wool, with the exception of one (I. A. 434), whose warp contains not only cotton threads, but also wool threads. All these fajas are more than 2 m. long. The longest of the Chiriguano fajas measures 2.86 m.; the longest of the Izozó, 2.70 m. The width of the Chiriguano fajas varies between 8.5 and 16 cm., and that of the Izozó ones, between 10 cm. and 19.5 cm.

C Ee [178] The women and girls, much more than the men, have preserved their original garb, which consists of a "tipoy." As the photographs in Figures 3, 4, 8, 12, and 14 show, the modern shirt or jacket made of modern material has often been added to the tipoy, but has not replaced it; the wife and three daughters of the Izozó cacique shown in Figure 12 are wearing the tipoy, as are almost all the Chiriguano women shown in Figure 4. Certainly most of the time the tipoy is used as a skirt, the upper part being rolled over the hips like a long belt.

/32 cont./

Ce
Ce
291 The cacique's wife and the eldest daughter shown in Figure 12 wear the upper part of the tipoy over one shoulder. The oldest woman shown in Figure 14 wears the tipoy in the old fashion, securing it with pins or cactus thorns above the two shoulders (139),

139. Cf. v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 201.

so that two openings remain, through which the two arms can pass. Photographs shown by Nordenskiöld (140) and v. Rosen

140. Nord. 1, Fig. 106.

show that there are still other variations in the way of wearing the tipoy.

Ce
291 I obtained from the Izozó three of their tipoys, two of
126 which were woven of cotton and one of wool.

Tipoys in the Collection

I. A. 820.	Izozó	Of cotton.	Length	1.26 m. (Fig. 113.)
I. A. 832.	"	Of wool.	"	1.61 m.
I. A. 838.	"	Of cotton.	"	1.37 m.

Ce
Ce
291 /33/ One special feature of these tipoys of the Chané-Izozó and also of the Chiriguano in comparison with all the tipoys that we know from other tribes is their great size, and we can doubt that these tipoys were so large in past times.

Ce
[114] The indication by Viedma (144) that the Chiriguano women

144. Viedma, op. cit., p. 134. According to Nordenskiöld.

wore only a piece of cloth around their hips implies the opposite answer. I shall concern myself with the manufacture and the decoration in the chapters on the technique of weaving and art.

C 301 [126] /33 cont./

Ring (moākaregua) in the Collection

I.A. 1321. (Chiriguano.) Gift of Father Ayala Solis. Diam. 2cm.

Finally I shall mention here a ring obtained by Father Ayala Solis from the Chiriguano and donated by him to the Museo de Historia y Etnografía del Paraguay. The ring was made of metal from a cartridge shell.

Ce 291 The cacique of the Izozó shown in Figure 12 wears sandals (Chir.: mbipása. Izozó: pɨapá). Generally the men and women go around barefoot. But both sexes use sandals if they are to walk on stony or thorny ground (146).

146. Nord. 1, p. 203. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 207.

C ●291 17 The region of distribution of the sandal in South America leads us to assume that the Chiriguano did not first receive this item from the whites, but earlier, and that it came from the culture of the ancient Peruvians (147).

147. Cf. Nord. 2, p. 69.

Treatment of Illnesses and Burial

Ce 743 Ce [114] C [114] C Ce 756 171 In the Indian settlement in Toledo there was arranged a small hospital in which the sick Izozó were receiving medical treatment. For that reason I did not have the chance to make investigations among them about the native treatment of the illnesses of these Indians. Nor did I have the chance to make such investigations in Machareti. Therefore, I refer to the investigations /34/ Nordenskiöld and Métraux made on this subject (148), and I wish only to

148. Nord. 1, pp. 216 and 217. Métraux 1, pp. 480-488.

mention here that among the Chiriguano and Chané, as among

/60 cont./

C 285 Plaited objects of the first type are made in such a way that the strips of one group are plaited with the strips of another group vertical to the first one, in such a way that the strips of the first group pass alternately a certain number of the strips of the second group and are passed by them, and in such a way that the meshes which go in the same direction form lines of steps. The number of the strips passed each time by one strip of the other group is generally three or two at a time, but there are cases in which only one strip is passed each time.

C [126] [513] [415] [291] Among the plaited objects of this type, I obtained from the Chiriguano a large sleeping mat, small flat baskets /canastillas/, sieves, a quadrangular basket /cesta/, and a hat, and from the Izozó small flat baskets /canastillas/similar to those of the Chiriguano and two different kinds of baskets /cestas/. In addition, the Chiriguano and Chané also infrequently use fans for fanning the fire (tapèkua) plaited out of palm leaves (260).

Ce [415] [126]

C Ce 285 372

260. Nord. 1, p. 56.

Métraux has described and shown in a drawing such a fan for fanning the fire. This fan is plaited out of the leaves of the caranday palm in the "Stufengeflechte" style, in such a way that strips of the first group pass alternately two strips of the second group and are /Plates XXVI-XXVII appear here/ /61/ passed by them. The leaflets, separated from the stem, enlace a stick which, forming the upper edge of the fan, replaces the stem of the pinnate leaves of other palms which are used by other tribes of South American Indians in the manufacture of plaited fans (261).

C Ce [824]

261. Métraux I, pp. 460 and 461 and Plate 85.

Plate XXVII

Ce 285

Fig. 96

Fig. 97

Ce 285 ←
C 291 285 →

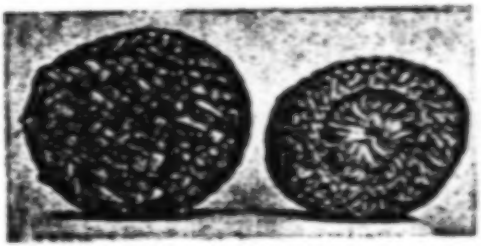


Fig. 98

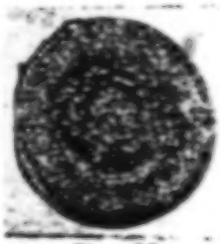


Fig. 99

Ce 285 ←
C 285 →

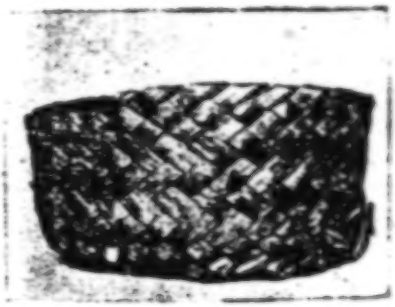


Fig. 100

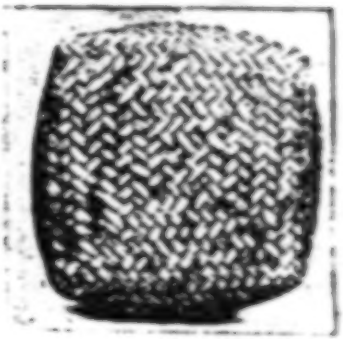


Fig. 101

/The captions appear on p. 159./

/Captions for Plates XXVI and XXVII/

Plate XXVI. Plaited objects.

Ce 285 Fig. 92. Flat baskets /canastillas/:
a (I. A. 746) (Izozó), diameter 46 cm.;
C 285 b (I. A. 541) (Chiriguano), diameter 39 cm.

Fig. 93. (I. A. 546) Flat basket /canastilla/ (Chiriguano), diameter 32 cm.

Fig. 94. (I. A. 548) Sieve (Chiriguano), diameter 39 cm.

Fig. 95. (I. A. 540) Mat plaited out of caranday leaves (Chiriguano), length 1.72 m.

Plate XXVII. Plaited objects.

Ce 285 Fig. 96. (I. A. 681) Basket /cesta/ (Izozó), length 27 cm.

Fig. 97. (I. A. 683) Basket /cesta/ (Izozó), length 26 cm.

Fig. 98. Bottoms of baskets /cestas/ (Izozó):
a (I. A. 677), length 33 cm.;
b (I. A. 678), length 28 cm.

C 285 291 Fig. 99. (I. A. 554) Interior surface of a hat (Chiriguano), diameter 30 cm.

Ce 285 Fig. 100. (I. A. 677) Basket /cesta/ (Izozó), length 33 cm.

C 285 Fig. 101. (I. A. 551) Bottom of a basket /cesta/ (Chiriguano), length 32 cm.

/61 cont./

C 126 285

Plaited Objects of the First Type (Stufengeflechte) in the Collection

I. A. 540. Mat (Chir.) Lgth. 1.72 m. Width 1.50 m. (Fig. 95)
I. A. 541. Flat basket (Chir.). Dia. 39 cm. (Fig. 92b.)
I. A. 542. " " " " 42 cm.
I. A. 543. " " " " 43 cm.
I. A. 544. " " " " 38 cm.
I. A. 545. " " " " 33 cm.
I. A. 546. " " " " 32 cm. (Fig. 93.)
Ce [285] I. A. 744. " " (Izozó) " 36 cm.
I. A. 745. " " " " 37 cm.
I. A. 746. " " " " 46 cm. (Fig. 92a.)
I. A. 547. Sieve (Chiriguano). " 38 cm.
I. A. 548. " " " 39 cm. (Fig. 94.)
I. A. 549. " " " 39 cm.
Ce 285 126 I. A. 551. Basket " Lgth. 32 cm. Ht. 16 cm. (Fig. 101)
I. A. 677. " (Izozó) " 33 cm. " 16.5 cm. (Figs. 98a,100)
I. A. 678. " " " 28 cm. " 14 cm. (Fig. 98b)
I. A. 725. a. " " " 27 cm. " 12 cm. (Fig. 86a)
I. A. 679. " " " 21 cm. " 22 cm.
I. A. 680. " " " 39 cm. " 31 cm.
I. A. 681. " " " 27 cm. " 23 cm. (Fig. 96).
I. A. 682. " " " 31 cm. " 26 cm.
I. A. 683. " " " 26 cm. " 21 cm. (Fig. 97)
I. A. 684. " " " 55 cm. " 29 cm.
I. A. 685. " " " 44 cm. " 30 cm.
C 285 I. A. 686. " " " 46 cm. " 24 cm.
I. A. 512. Small bag with cover (Chir.) " 9.5 cm.
[291] I. A. 554. Hat (Chiriguano). Ht. 12 cm. Dia. 30 cm. (Fig. 99.)

The material of the plaited objects that I have mentioned above consists of strips of palm leaves or strips of cane, and that of the Chiriguano basket I. A. 551, of strips of wood. Because these Indians do not have palms with pinnate leaves available, they must use the peltate leaves of the caranday, from which comes the difference between the plaited objects of these Indians and those of other tribes.

C [824]

Chane SF8
I2020

C
Ca
285
531
[113]

/62 cont./

Brazil/. Berlin, 1905, pp. 330 ff.; and Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas/ The Technical Bases for the Ornamentation of the Natives of South America/.

C
285
[126]

The three sieves that I obtained from the Chiriguano correspond to the flat baskets described above with respect to their exterior form and to the rudiment of the plaiting. They differ from the latter only in that their strips are a certain distance apart and in that one strip of one group always passes only one of the other group, with the result that the ornamentation of the surface consisting of parallel lines which is shown in the little baskets is not produced. These sieves are also provided with handles like the flat baskets of the Chiriguano. A sketch of a Chané sieve shown by Nordenskiöld shows that these Indians also use such sieves (263). Flat baskets and sieves analogous to

Ce
[285]

263. Nord. 1, Fig. 134.

those mentioned are described by Métraux and shown by him in drawings (264).

264. Métraux I, pp. 457-460, Plates 83, 84.

C
285
291
294
[177]

The technique of the Chiriguano hat (I.A. 554) is not original, but no doubt was received from the whites and perhaps was directly taught to the Indians in the missions. For us the technique of this hat is without interest, except for the fact that this technique is also applied by the Ituzó to the making of a type of basket, a specimen of which is shown in Figure 98b /see p. 158/. The manufacture of the hat begins at the center, and the strips, the beginning of which is plaited, are augmented by the addition of other strips. See Figure 99 /see p. 158/. The style of plaiting is like that of all the other objects of this kind among the Chiriguano and Chané, so that one strip of one group always passes two strips of the other group.

Ce
[285]
Ce
[285]

/68 cont./

C Ce 286 124 177 In addition to this usual type of loom, there can also be found among the Chané and Chiriguano other special types which correspond to the ancient Peruvian types of looms for weaving bands. The fact that the mechanism of these looms makes possible the formation of more divisions of the warp threads, makes more variations in the ornamentation possible. Nordenskiöld shows such a Chiriguano loom in a drawing (272). No doubt this kind

272. Nord. 2, Fig. 55, N. 4.

of loom is a product of the influence of the culture of the ancient Peruvians.

C Ce 286 For different purposes, very different weavings, most of which have already been mentioned in the chapter on clothing, can be made with a loom provided with a warp in the form of a ring as described above. With regard to the measurements of these fabrics, I refer the reader to what I have already said in this respect. The material of all of these woven fabrics consists of cotton or wool threads.

C Ce 291 286 126

Woven Goods Made on the Loom Provided with a Warp in the Form of a Ring, from the Collection

1. Tipoys. I.A. 820, 832, and 838 (Iaouê) (I.A. 820, Fig. 114).
2. Ponchos. I.A. 423-427 (Chiriguano) (I.A. 426, Fig. 118).
   I.A. 808-810, 812-815, 819, 829-831, 830, 831, 833-836 (Iaouê) (I.A. 833, Fig. 117).
3. Mantas. I.A. 565 (Chiriguano).
   I.A. 816-818, 825-829 (Iaouê) (I.A. 818, Fig. 120).
4. Bands of cotton for men's hair. I.A. 652-660 (Iaouê) (I.A. 653, Figs. 30b and 108; I.A. 655, Figs. 30c and 109; I.A. 656, Figs. 30d and 110; I.A. 660, Figs. 30a and 107).

Ce 301 126 286

/Plates XXVIII-XXXI appear here./

Ce 301 126 /69/

5. Bands of human hair for men's hair. I.A. 739 and 765 (Iaouê) (I.A. 739, Figs. 31 and 111).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 180]

Chaco SF3
Th030

C
Ce
291
126

/59 cont./

6. Fajas. I.A. 428-441 (Chiriguano) (I.A. 433. Figs. 119b and 122; I.A. 430. Fig. 124; I.A. 436. Figs. 119a and 121).
I.A. 803-807 (Isoseó) (I.A. 803. Figs. 119c and 122).

Cs
427
126

7. Saddle covers.
I.A. 842 (Isoseó). Of wool. Length 0.69 m. Width 0.87 m.
I.A. 843 " " " 1.42 m. " 0.62 m. (Figs. 103a and 126.)

C
415
126

8. Carrying bag (Chiriguano). Of wool. Length 1.07 m. Width 0.45 m. (Fig. 131a.)

Cs
492

9. Double bags for carrying loads on asses or horses.
I.A. 445. (Chirig.) Wool. Entire lgth. 92 cm. Width 37 cm. (Figs. 115 and 131b.)

Cs
492
415
126

I.A. 811.	(Isoseó)	Wool.	Entire lgth.	93 cm.	Width	46.5	cm. (Fig. 132.)
I.A. 821.	"	Cotton.	"	" 94 cm.	"	40	cm.
I.A. 822.	"	"	"	" 108 cm.	"	38	cm.
I.A. 839.	"	"	"	" 97 cm.	"	35	cm.
I.A. 840.	"	"	"	" 104 cm.	"	36	cm.
I.A. 861.	"	Wool	"	" 92 cm.	"	48	cm.

Ce
291
126

Of the three tipoys in the collection acquired from the Isoseó, one (I.A. 830) consists of a fabric in the form of a sleeve made with the warp in this form. The woolen tipoy (I.A. 837) was lengthened by sewing together two such woven pieces, one beside the other. The structure of the weaving clearly shows the thread which was extended between the two vertical poles of the loom before making the warp, and which remained in the cloth. Tipoy I.A. 838 is not typical and consists of a flat piece of weaving whose two facing edges were sewed together.

C
Ce
291
126

With regard to the making of ponchos, we must mention that those of the Chiriguano consist of two pieces of woven material sewed to each other in the direction of the slit of the poncho, while Isoseó ponchos most often consist of a single piece of weaving made across the entire width of the loom and therefore do not show a seam in the middle part such as Chiriguano ponchos show. From the stiff edges in the direction of the wool, it can clearly be seen that the special mechanism

/69 cont./

C
Ce
291
286

of the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, which consists of the thread extended between the two vertical poles of the loom, was used. After finishing the work of weaving, the thread was taken out of the woven piece to transform it into a flat piece.

The slit in the ponchos woven in one piece is not made by cutting the cloth after it has been finished, but is formed in the very act of weaving. As the diagram represented in Figure 113 shows, the slit is made in such a way that in the part of the warp in which the slit is made the woof thread does not pass through the entire warp, but returns when it has passed half of it, to pass through the following division of the warp threads in the opposite direction. The result of this method of weaving is that the slit of the poncho is provided with a firm edge. We must still mention the peculiarity of the Chiriguano and Izozó ponchos, whose four sides are folded and sewed to the rest of the weaving. For that reason the ponchos of these Indians have round edges. Cf. Figures 117 and 118 /see p.187/.

Ce
291
286

Of the Izozó mantas, only one consists of two pieces of weaving sewed together. Some others have been formed from ponchos by sewing up their slits.

Ce
301
286

/70/ The men's hair bands also clearly show that they were woven on a loom like the one which we have described above and which was fitted with the thread extended between the two vertical poles of the loom. Except for only one of these bands (I. A. 659), the fringes of the rest of them all end in loops of thread in such a way that it is not possible that the warp, previously in the shape of a ring, might have later been cut. The loops of free thread at the two ends of these bands can be secured in a very different manner, as is shown by the diagrams in Figures 107-110.

The manufacture of the two men's hair bands woven of human hair and similar in form to the fajas is the same as that of the cotton bands, in addition to which the loops of the free threads are secured in a simpler manner. Cf. the diagram shown in Figure 111 /see p. 177/.

C
Ce /70 cont./
●291 The manufacture of the fajas of wool or cotton is like that
286 of the men's hair bands woven of human hair. The manner of securing the loops of the free threads at the end of the fajas is also in general the same, as Figure 111 shows, except only that the fringes consist of more than one of these loops, with the result that they form thicker, twisted threads, which end in knots.

Ce Of the two saddle covers, one (I. A. 842) is woven in the
492 ordinary fashion of mantas, while the other, I. A. 843, shows
286 in its manufacture the peculiarity that each time two woof threads pass through the same division of warp threads this is done in such a way that one of these two woof threads passes through the division from left to right, and the other from right to left. The diagram shown in Figure 126 shows the course of this double woof thread and also shows how in this way they manage to make the edge of the piece of weaving firmer than it would have been had the two woof threads passed through the division of warp threads in the same direction.

C The weaving from which the Chiriguano bag I. A. 444 was
415 made was not made up of a fabric in the form of a manta. By
286 sewing up the two narrower sides, there was first made a piece in the form of a sleeve, from which the bag was made by sewing the edges together, leaving only one part open for the opening.

The double bags mentioned above are made of a flat fabric of either wool or cotton thread, by folding over the two ends and sewing the edges together. The diagram shown in Figure 112 shows the flat fabric before the edges are sewed. All the outside edges of the material are secured by the process of weaving itself, since the fabric is first made in the form of a sleeve and then changed into a flat piece by removing the thread which was extended between the two vertical poles of the loom. Also, the edges, indicated in the diagram by EF, GH, EI, GL, FK, and HM, are secured by the weaving process, which was managed by passing the woof thread through the divisions of the warp, only by parts in the way we know for making the slit in ponchos. Only in those places indicated on the diagram as JL and MK are the warp threads cut in such a way that these sides of the piece

8: Schmidt--187 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
I2020

Plate XXXII

C
286
291
531

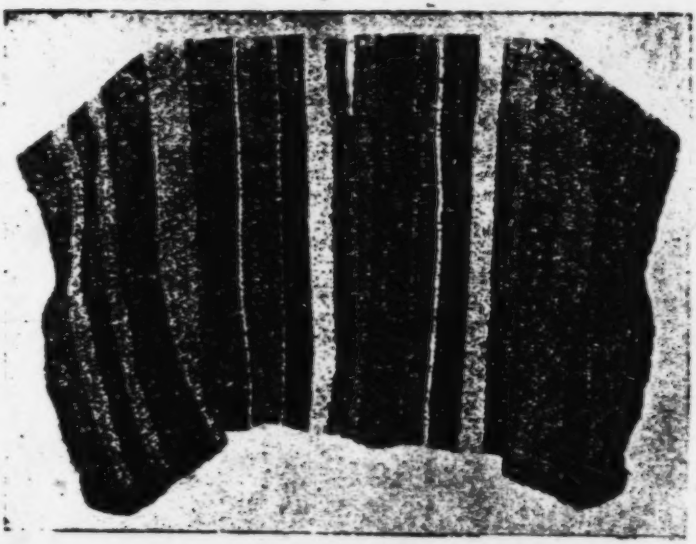


Fig. 117

C
286
291
531

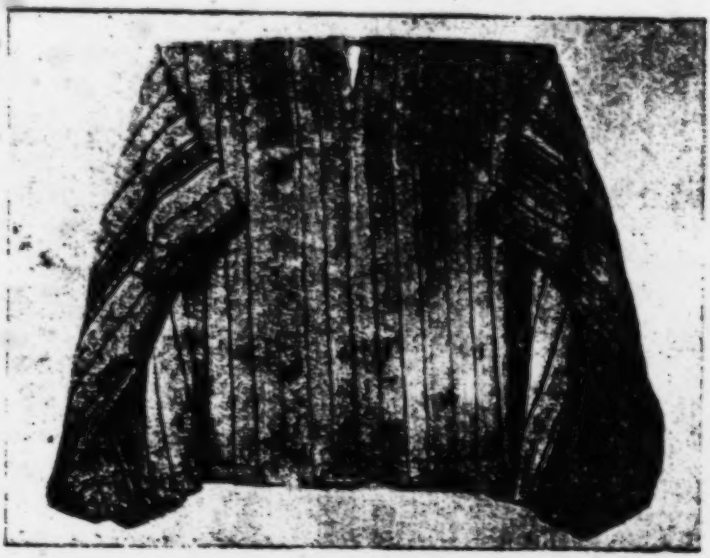


Fig. 118

/The captions appear on p. 189./

8: Schmidt--188 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
286
291
531

Plate XXXIII

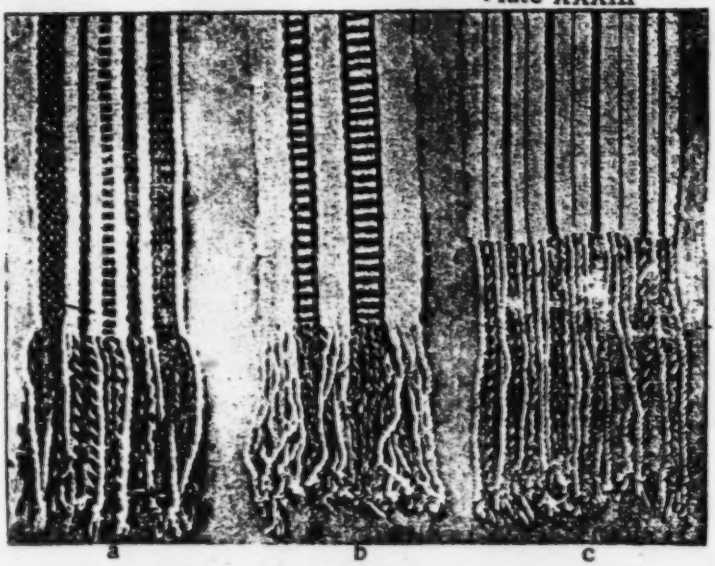


Fig. 119

Fig. 120

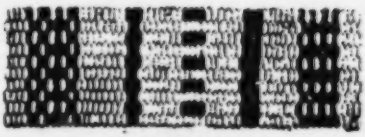


Fig. 121

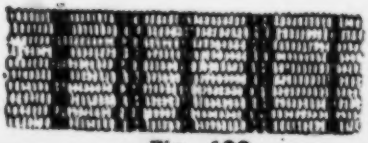


Fig. 122

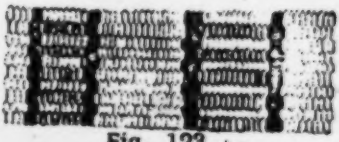


Fig. 123

Fig. 124

/The captions are on p. 189./

8: Schmidt--189 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
286
291
581

/Captions for Plates XXXII and XXXIII/

Plate XXXII. Woven ponchos, of wool.

Fig. 117. (I. A. 823) (Izozó) Width 1.30 m. Length 1.40 m.
Fig. 118. (I. A. 426) (Chiriguano) Width 1.39 m. Length 1.68 m.

Plate XXXIII.

Fig. 119. Woven fajas:
a (I. A. 436), of wool (Chiriguano), length 2.86 m., width 9 cm.;
b (I. A. 428), of wool (Chiriguano), length 2.58 m., width 11.5 cm.;
c (I. A. 803), of cotton (Izozó), length 2.58 m., width 15 cm.

Fig. 120. Ornamentation of the manta I. A. 818 (Izozó).
Fig. 121. Ornamentation of the faja I. A. 436 (Chiriguano).
Fig. 122. Ornamentation of the faja I. A. 803 (Izozó).
Fig. 123. Ornamentation of the faja I. A. 436 (Chiriguano).
Fig. 124. Ornamentation of the faja I. A. 430 (Chiriguano).

/76 cont./

C
Ce
281
[824]
[177]

The Working of Skins and Leather Tanning

The Chiriguano and Chané know the art of tanning leather, and they use for that the bark of the "Piptadenia" and other trees. No doubt they obtained the knowledge of this craft from the whites. They use not only tanned leather, but also strips of animal skin for the making of sundry objects (279), but the

279. Nord. 2, p. 165.

C
224
292
177

craft of working leather and skins is not an important one. It is said that formerly the Chiriguano, when they went hunting, wore leather clothing conforming to the European style (280).

280. Nord. 1, p. 184. Nord. 2, pp. 60, and 61. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

C
281
294

Beyond that, leather is not used for making clothing, except to make sandals (281). The men's modern custom of wearing

C
291
177

281. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23.

a leather belt must be attributed to the influence of the whites. Without counting its application to the making of bridles and saddles for horses and asses, either draft or saddle animals, on which we have no data, strips cut from leather or from animal skins are used in the form of straps, principally to transport or hanging up some object. In place of the common vegetable-fiber cords, leather straps are often put on the nets for carrying burdens, on hammocks, and also on the hoops mentioned above, in which they keep things. The band of the Chiriguano net for carrying burdens I. A. 564 consists of an untanned cowhide strap. See Figure 134 /see p. 200/. The Izozó vessel I. A. 617 has a leather strap attached to its handles. The strings of the bows for shooting arrows are strips of animal skin, and the Chiriguano net I. A. 573 is made of cowhide strips.

C
281
[492]

Ce
[281]

/187 cont./

301 buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions.
302 The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicuana
[177] /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts in the presence of his companions (1).

[797] [114] [121]

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbía had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter
294 is woven by them themselves with palm leaves, Carandai;
285 they bring them from the places where they are abundant, Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect
292 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older
554 Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (2).

291 2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap,
302 the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of
304 long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in
178 few places now, and the straw hat is being

/189 cont./

291 Clothing in the fashion of Adam is still seen everywhere. In the towns the men, and almost everywhere the women, are at least dressed from the waist to below the knee, because for work or for coolness the Cutama or tipoy, which can cover them up to the shoulders, is allowed to fall to the waist, the rest being left visible.

Gala Dress

•292

For the ancient Chiriguano, the Ambícuai, doublet, was fine and festive clothing. This single name includes the Guasupi cangao, hat, the Ambícuai, sagum or frock coat, and
[554] the Guasupi timbiao, breeches. Because the doublet is an object of luxury, they do not all wear it, its use being limited to the grandees or caciques, to rich men, and to sorcerers.
292 It is made entirely of tanned skins, which are those of the wild
28 boar, peccary, or pygmy deer. They are tanned with the
[824] bark of the Curupau, the astringent acacia or sevil, which contains a great deal of tannin.

126 Skillful men are needed to make a complete doublet like
291 the one made in the Santa Rosa Mission by the Indian
797 Cachupari, which, when taken to the Turin exposition, was acquired by the Florence Museum, along with the skull that I acquired in Curuyuqui and other objects, such as the Yandugua, a kind of parasol of ostrich feathers, etc., objects which the missionaries of Potosí sent along with the missionaries of Tarija (2).

2. The missionary who was charged with taking all the things to the exposition and leading the Chiriguano of both sexes, as the program directed, was the late Franciscan Father Doroteo Giannecchini.

/190/

291 The crown of the hat is made of four oval parts, as is
294 the brim which surrounds it, sewed with fine cords of the same material, and the edge of the brim is turned upward. The hat has a band of the same material sewed to both sides at the temples to hold it to the throat; a knot or a ring on the band can be used to tighten it.

292 The Ambícuai, which lends its name to the whole outfit,
281 is a perfect cassock, but its form is entirely Chiriguano, for it does not hinder the movement of the arms. Its cut is not straight, and both parts are made fast at the chest with two leather straps, which are run through the holes on the opposite side. The cassock in back ends in two points, where there is a kind of ornamentation of the same leather, which consists of short, fine strips, like a tassel. The sleeves are wide, as is the whole garment, and are attached to the shoulder, being open at the armpit so as not to impede the movement of the arms, either in hunting or in war, where the grandees also wear it. In fact, in the photograph taken in Santa Rosa to be
[126] sent to the exposition, a hunter and a warrior dressed in this doublet appear outside the circle. In the middle there is a
527 Chiriguano woman with her crown and adornments as queen
554 of the fiesta, who offers chicha to all who are enjoying them-
562 selves (1).

1. The queen is the one who serves the dancers as mistress and patroness of the fiesta. This
[128] photograph or figure will not be reproduced in the chapter dealing with fiestas because I could not obtain it.

292 The Timbiao, breeches, is also of leather and is made
[281] of four pieces, wider from the waist to the sacrum and narrower from the thigh to the bottom. It is quite wide and comes to the ankle. It is rougher than the rest, but more valued, and they will give anything to have even a single pair. This garment is tied at the waist with a belt or with two strings which are sewed across the entire width of the garment itself.

/190 cont./

•292 The Chiriguano, when he is dressed in these skins, considers himself a grandee, and he is one before his companions and the caciques themselves. But from the beginning, even before it is even worn, such clothing gives off a very disagreeable odor, like that of the soles of shoes. Let the reader imagine what it must be like when it has been used for some time. It can easily be understood that the Chiriguano, when [296] wearing the doublet, has nothing else on his body, and that all of the sweat, etc. sticks to it, and it should be noted that the outfit is never washed, which adds to the smell.

[622] /191/ The cacique Nambi of Ivu made his visits to the [197] P.P.C.C. of Santa Rosa Mission to ask for a mission in his town, dressing himself in his old and filthy doublet before making the visit. He embraced the missionaries and talked quite close to them, the result being almost unbearable (1).

1. The outfit is completed by a pair of boots called Timainu, which literally means: com- [224] panion of the shin bone. These are necessary for hunters so that they will not hurt their legs when they are pursuing wild animals.

The illustration that I put at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 255/ will make the description of the Ambícuai more easily understood. There appear in it a young man and an old man standing, a woman sitting on a chair, and a young girl sitting on the ground. The old man dressed in a doublet is the cacique Güiraesa of Santa Rosa; the woman who is seated on the chair is his wife, the man on his right is his son Yandareca, and the girl is his Christian daughter, named Prisca.

[291] The Chiriguano who does not have a doublet is satisfied with his long poncho or with a blanket wrapped around his body down to his knees, but today it is rare that he cannot dress himself moderately well with some six varas of linen, [432] which at the most will cost him two bolivianos. Today every- [437] thing can be bought in the small retail stores (2).

2. The doublet is used today in some areas to

/191 cont./

•292 make people laugh at the carnival. The same thing can be said of other antiquities.
[562] I have placed in this chapter the method for making it, as well as the one for the hat, because it is work from which only the man benefits and both are counted among his garments.

Conveniences

463 In the course of the previous pages it has been seen that the Chiriguano is hunter, warrior, and also sorcerer. The first and second categories contain many, and the third one fewer, and this is easily understood, because a knowledge of medicinal herbs is needed and, more than this, the art of knowing how to deceive with prattling, which is not for all.

463 The three classes wear a belt with a bag which hangs from
291 it. The belt is called "Bosa," doubtless because it has a bolsa
415 /bag/. In this those of the first and second category put tobacco, maize husks, and flint, tinder, and steel for making fire, and sorcerers add to these things the implements of their profession, which /192/ are the Mbaecagüe, a piece of bone, the Itarapúa, a round stone, both of which are necessary for the cures... miraculous ones (1).

[177] 1. The Bosa does not seem to be of Chiriguano origin. Anduari doubts that it was introduced by the Argentinians or by the Tarijeños /people of Tarija/, but it seems to me that it was the former who introduced it, because it is similar to the one used by the gaucho.

/192 cont./

Adornments

000

/The first paragraph of this section, pp. 192-193, is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 193, and the remainder of p. 193 follows./

181 The Chiriguano, although they occupy a very lowly place in this corner of the world, although they have little in the way of grandeur and show to display and take pride in, follow the common tendency of humanity, almost as the beast follows its instincts. Without any fear of error, if the Chiriguano were to possess great riches, he would probably invest them in his vices and in the adornment of his body.

302 When the Chiriguano wants to make a formal visit, he [292] washes his body, dresses in his best clothing, and paints his [574] face with achiote powder. The preparation of achiote seeds has been described in the preceding pages in the discussion of the flora /see p. 32/. Here I add that in order for the Urucú to be fixed on the Indian's skin it is necessary that he first soften his face, or the part that he wants to paint or embellish, with palma Christi oil.

751 It has already been seen that the region is hot and that 302 atmospheric changes are very sudden; a period of extreme heat can be followed by severe cold, and in these changes the Chiriguano's skin becomes chapped. To avoid this nuisance, men and women paint their faces and their feet with the cosmetic. [527] They also use it during public drinking sessions, at banquets, and [758] during the preparation of chicha in order to ward off the high heat, as well as during convalescence and after having recovered from smallpox (1).

1. Achiote powder with palma Christi oil is cool in hot weather and warm in cold [178] weather. The neophytes in the missions no longer use it, or, if they do, it is sparingly and as a remedy.

[text continues on p. 267]

/194 cont./

302 The flower of the Guambero, purslane, has the same properties as the carasapa, but it is little used, and they content themselves with just sticking the leaves on their faces, and this only at carnival time, the result being a gay set of dancers. Finally, the Indians have a fourth cosmetic, which they call Mboiurucu, or achiote of the viper. It is red, and they assert that it is food for the viper, hence its name. They use it by rubbing it on their cheeks, which makes them a bright red.

● 292 [527] [178] As noted above, the ancient Chiriguano man, Ava, and the Chiriguano woman of long ago, Cuña, at solemn fiestas and on days /195/ of general rejoicing, after having adorned their faces and washed their persons, wore the tiru and the mandu, respectively (1).

> 1. If the Indian dressed in a tiru does not have breeches, guasupi timbiao, he wraps his body from the waist down with a shorter poncho which comes to the calf. It is also of cotton, and the women weave it. It is called Tirupeé, or sheath that warms, "alias" wrap /abrigo/.

[286] [462]

The Tiru is a kind of long poncho, from which it differs because of the two openings that it has near the wrists; the hands are put into said openings and remain free for movement, and, the tiru fastened to the wrists, nothing impedes the motion of the one wearing it. It is spun and woven by the women, and the raw material is cotton. The tiru differs in color, some are black, others dark red, and others blue. The first color is obtained with black mud, Tuñúú, mixed with the resin of the algarroba, Piari; the second, with sotillo bark, Urundeibusu; and the third, with wild indigo, Caogũi (2).

[286] 292 386 [824]

> 2. Today this is all purchased commercially, and the indigo plant, which is abundant in certain places, is ignored. They buy the indigo and the other colors, just as they buy for their poncho and their tipoi.

[437] [178]

/195 cont./

292 The black tiru is first dyed with sotillo bark, and then they
386 immerse it in a vessel which has well-steeped black mud and
824 algarroba resin. After some time they wash it and dry it out, leaving the permanent color. The dark red is made with only boiled sotillo bark. Finally, to dye with indigo they crush this leaf and expose it to the sun's rays, then they crush it again in the same way, after which they put it in a large earthenware vessel with water, in which the tiru is immersed and comes out a light blue, but, if they want it to be like the blue of drill, it is necessary to boil the indigo.

In order to dye everything red they also use a species of onion that they call Tunpaipi, which literally translated, means feet of God and is abundant in the fields, and another
292 one called Chapi, which is found in the hills. Everything said about the tiru is applicable to the mandu of the women, with the sole difference that this is open at both ends and is attached to the shoulders with two enormous silver needles that they call Yu guasu, big needles, which are also disappearing.

When a woman is occupied with domestic and other work,
301 she ties her hair up tightly with a band, Apicuá, /196/ of cotton
302 or wool, so that it will not inconvenience her at her tasks, but
[522] when there is a fiesta, she washes her person, washes her head,
[515] combs her heavy and shining hair, and lets it loose, flowing over her body as far down as it will go (1).

[178]

1. The young women today put up their hair like the white women, making braids through which they draw a band that they call Añopea, braided cord. The hair fastened in the old way was like a baton, since not a hair was to be seen, even horizontally, all of it being covered by the band, añopea.

292
527
SF11

Chiriguano carnival. "The Fight of the Bull with the Jaguar."

4: Nimf--361 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/267 cont./

541 177 648 Don Antonio Menduiña, who had requested aid; he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers from Azero.

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of [178] Arete, fiesta, through antonomasia, and all the old fiestas are gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that [461] [292] this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguano works almost all year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him; for it is he gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy clothing for himself and his wife and children; and on those days all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put on /268/ during the other days of the year, neither for the Ayarise nor for the Mbapa páure.

In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between [532] blacks and whites; the men well dressed, and even the infidel women with garb adorned with gauze, fancy hats, and multicolored ribbon; the children cover their faces with masks which they have made beforehand by carving toborochi wood; young men prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others, such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the dancers and Agüeros /maskers/, for whom everything is allowed because it is carnival.

541 535 [527] By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one drinks and has fun, they make merry on the compadre and comadre days, and on Quinquagesima Saturday, all day, the maskers and dancers practice the dances that they call Aticu. On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival, [532] dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually mounted on a burro; the one who is thus disguised directs the fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

1. The principal man so disguised has subalterns.

/270 cont./

535 541 times in different locations (1).

1. At the carnival, during the three days, there are women who dress like men and men who dress like women, but both cover their faces well so as not to be recognized; this was also taught them by the white man.

[292] [562] [177]

[152] On the second circuit all the Agüeros, the masked ones, a mestizo term, ask from house to house for provisions, and they accept everything, even bean pods and watermelon rinds, and on the third circuit, which is the farewell, there begins the wailing of big and small masked persons, laden with provisions and scraps; these weepers really make the old people and others cry, because some of them are thinking of their departed ones who are not present at this festivity which is ending, and others perhaps because they think they will not get to see another carnival. I questioned an old man who was really crying, and he gave me the preceding answer. When the last circuit ends with the drums muffled as a sign of sorrow, all of them, riders, dancers, and agüeros, go out of the town and go to a place where they throw away the masks and immediately go to the river, or a spring, to wash their hands and faces a little (2).

535 541 177

2. All of the foregoing games in Ivo were taught them by the same white man whom I have mentioned, and in the beginning he taught them by demonstration, causing astonishment, particularly in the women and the old persons; many of the said games are immoral, especially the circles and the masked group.

796 177

Easter

Forty days later the Chiriguano has another fiesta, that of the Pascua de Resurrección /Easter/, which was introduced by the whites; the old Indians call it nice because it is quiet, as they call the carnival very noisy.

/275 cont./

411 [492] Warriors on horseback, in addition to having bows and arrows, use the lance: it is a piece of a knife or of iron tied to the tip of a stick: note that each warrior, according to what they say, cannot carry more than a dozen arrows, because they are heavy. 534 722 In order to inspire terror and fright in the attack they make on the enemy town, they use the Ig̃ramimbi, a wooden musical instrument, the Senone, and the Huacanani, or cow's horn (2).

> 2. The first is round, and it is very hard to pierce it, and the second is long. Both are of good wood, and they engrave figures and signs on them. They hang them from the neck by means of a cord. The wood is like ebony.

722 While some of them are preparing the bows and arrows, the braver men do not remain idle, nor do the women: the latter prepare the necessary provisions and even the chicha to celebrate the triumph, if they win it, and the former encourage the more cowardly ones, showing their ability as guerreros in the streets and the plaza, animating them all, making them understand that triumph depends on them and that it is necessary to triumph at all costs if they do not wish to be subjected to the harsh condition of the conquered, thus losing everything, wife, children, honor, and property.

722 904 /276/ When all the weapons are ready, those of the cavalry saddle their horses, putting the arrows on the right side, so that they can easily get them in case of urgency, because it is characteristic of the cavalry to yell insults at the enemy and to sow confusion on the battlefield with shouts and the noise of the ig̃ramimbi, huacanani, and porongo. Then, all of them, foot soldiers, horsemen, and guerreros, don their garb, some the jacket /coleto/, others armor of garabato, and they put on the [292] [714] [411] [302] back of the left hand a strap of pygmy-deer hide, so that they will not hurt themselves when they shoot the bow, and, finally, they all color their faces and arms with ground charcoal dampened in water. Let the reader consider if this army of demons would not frighten even the dead!

726 But before the combat begins one or two of the bravest men go out of the camp at the cacique's order to reconnoiter the field
[325] or enemy town. The scouts enter the enemy town with every precaution, imitating, on the one hand, the noise of the fox, on the other the call of the Tancurunto, owl, and, finally, that of the Surumucuru. If no one discovers the presence of these scouts, the combat when it comes is terrible, but, if they are discovered, the alarm signal is given, and the fight begins at once, into which the ones invaded throw themselves with their naked bodies, and they may easily come out victorious, throwing back the enemy in their formidable charge (1).

> 1. From this the whites deduce and believe that the Indians are preparing for war against them when they hear the Tancurunto, owl, in their houses in the country.

The scouts, if they are not discovered, leave the town with much caution, return without delay to the camp, and report to the cacique the state of the enemy, and all listen with great interest to this account. The cacique thanks the scouts for their valor, intrepidity, and daring and once more charges all to be careful and brave in the coming attack. Then he orders silence, and they all rest without sleeping, each group talking in very low voices so that nobody will sense their presence.

726 Before the hour of combat comes, the cacique and the
914 quereimbe order the preparations: the riders saddle their horses
292 and come up to the infantry soldiers, who tighten their bows and put on their wrist the deerhide guard, fasten their aprons or girdles at the waist to cover the most delicate part of the body, some of them put on the armor, Ayo, made of tree bark, others the Tiro, lifted to the waist, and all of them put on ostrich feathers, chicken feathers, or macaw beads around their faces so that they can recognize one another in the heat of battle, not wound one another, and assist one another in case one or more of them is surrounded by the enemy.

/294 cont./

965 589 If it is a woman who is widowed, it is the law of the race that she must observe mourning for a period of one year, without it being permitted to shorten this period for any pretext whatsoever. After having wept for her departed husband for a whole [302] day and after the burial is over, as has been said, she cuts off her hair and deposits it on the grave, where it remains for a long time, which I have not established exactly. This is the best 589 965 597 302 offering that a widow can make to her late husband, and whether or not she loved him, it is a law which she must observe: otherwise she would incur the scorn of the people of the town, who would wonder at her conduct, she would lose her reputation, and the relatives of the deceased would resent it very much: they would take the children whom she loves so much away from her, and it would be hard for her to remarry.

965 589 As a sign of mourning, a loving widow, as well as one who is not, finds the dirtiest and most ragged piece of cloth that she [292] has in the house and puts it on her head: she wears this during the entire period of her widowhood. One who arrives in a Chiriguano town for the first time will wonder about this piece of apparel and ask about its significance, because there is always some woman who is wearing mourning for her husband, her son, or her brother, if it is not for her father or mother. Finally, the widow is condemned to cry day and night for one long year, and one who does not cry as she should incurs the wrath of the relatives of the dead man. When I was a missionary in Santa Rosa, the cacique Yaritu died of nothing less than malignant smallpox. The widow cried for him so much and so loudly at the beginning that very soon she became hoarse. Nonetheless, the relatives complained of her actions, accusing her of little love (2).

2. The weeping during mourning is done by the woman four times a day, at sunrise, noon, sunset, and at some time around midnight. At this last hour it is very sad.

/295/

If while asleep they sometimes dream of the dead one, very soon the widow, or whoever the dreamer is, gets up and makes a commotion, which lasts for several minutes. Also, when one

/295 cont./

765 589 When the year of mourning ends, the widow continues her silence until one of the relatives of the deceased visits her with all respect as a person worthy of veneration, because she has wept much and with grief for the dead; he tells her that this is now enough, that she can go out and again appear at the public drinkings, since this visit takes place two or three days before some general drinking affair. The widow makes them ask her many times and once more reflects on the virtues /296/ and greatness of the husband she has lost through death; she curses the bad sorcerers and poisons, finally consenting to stop mourning, leave the house, and take part in the coming fiesta (1).

1. During the year of mourning the widows are continually cloistered in their homes, coming out only when they have to; they go to the spring for water and to the field for food.

[302] [301] [292] During the year the hair has grown out at least some 30 centimeters; she then removes the rag from her head, combs her hair carefully, puts the well-known cosmetic on her face and feet, adorns her neck and arms with necklaces and bracelets, dresses in her best tipoy, and goes out with some woman friend. In this first appearance she does not take part in the dancing or singing, so that all may know that she still feels the absence of her husband, and all respect her silence. Only afterwards does her public life begin anew, like the rest, that is, she sings and dances as before.

587 589 A few weeks later, if someone should ask her to be his wife, she will probably consent, if she is still young and has small children, because the reader can imagine the suffering of a widow, 797 who must seek food for herself and her little ones. Oh, how often have silent tears run down my face on seeing the tears of 736 widows and fatherless children who, for lack of food, not knowing whom to ask for aid, have come to the missionary or to one superior to them to ask for help! How could one deny it? Only a heart of bronze could have done so.

Ee 291 854 482

Fig. 21. Chanéwoman in Tipoy that is also used as a bearing-band.

Rio Parapiti.

On festive occasions they use a very long tipoy of cotton that has to be worn double.

Ee 292

In Part I I have mentioned the tipoy, which is always a woman's garment, from the above mentioned tribes, [i.e., Chane and Chiriguano women. - Analyst]

Ee 291 171 x

5:Nordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
291

Both men and women among the Chiriguano and Chané have sandals which, however, they seldom wear. In Part I of this work I have given an account of the geographical distribution of sandals in S. America. Obviously sandals are a cultural element which the Chiriguano and Chané have got from the area of civilization in the west.

C
Ce
[177]

A pair of sandals with fastenings differing from the usual kind are depicted here. A sandal with very similar binding but of another shape is described and depicted by ERIC VON ROSEN[1]) in his recent, splendid work.

C
Ce
[114]

The Chiriguano and Chané wear girdles which as a rule are woven, though they are sometimes made of leather. As I pointed out in Part I, the woven girdle belongs to the western cultural elements and the leather belts to the southern. The leather girdles worn by the Chiriguano and Chané are provided with pockets and sometimes ornamented with coins, and are consequently imitations of the gorgeous cincture worn by the Argentine gauchos. NINO[2]) is of the same opinion, and he points out that they are called »bosa» (from the Spanish word »bolsa»[3]) owing to their being provided with a pocket.

C
Ce
291
177

As already mentioned in Part I the woven »head-band» or frontlet also belongs to the dress of the Chiriguano and Chané-men. The frontlet is certainly a western culture-element.

C
Ce

Chiriguano and Chané shirts and ceremonial tipoys are of native make and are often dyed blue with indigo. The frontlets are blue or red. Chiriguano and Chané women wear a kind of hair-band with tassels which they most likely learned to make in the missions.

[386]
[292]
[177]
[177]

[1]) (4) Fig. 84. P. 127.

[2]) P. 191.

[3]) »Bolsa» is »bosa» in the Chriguano languages as these Indians do not pronounce l.

8:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XV.

Ornaments and Knick-knacks.

C
Ce
301
177

Nowadays the Chiriguano and the Chané have but few personal adornaments. This is perhaps to a certain extent owing to their long intercourse with Whites. Feather-ornaments, pierced teeth, and such things are not seen. I have already described the »boivéra». The embellishments on these silver ornaments, especially the Swastika are, I think, not genuine Indian. In South America I know of the Swastika on pottery from the Mizque valley[1]), from Tiahuanaco[2]) and from Ica[3]) and Cajamarca[4]) in Peru. An ornament which most certainly originates from the civilized mountain region is the »topu» or breast-pin, which is peculiar to this region. An embellished one of silver is shown here (fig. 29 a). It was most likely made by a Mestiz smith. Necklaces worn by Chiriguano and Chané women are most often of glass beads, but one now and then sees ornaments of pieces of shells, turquoise and, other green and blue stones, black seeds and coral. The stones are said originally to have been found in the ground, especially in the Tarija valley.

C
Ce
[531]
* [171]

C
292
301
[177]

A very rare ornament is the head-dress depicted here (fig. 28). It was formerly worn by Chiriguano women on festive occasions. Even if it is now made of a material which the Indians have had from the Whites, it is quite

[1]) Nordenskiöld (11) Fig. 37.
[2]) Posnansky Fig. 39.
[3]) Max Schmidt (7) Fig. 34.
[4]) M. C. A. 176.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

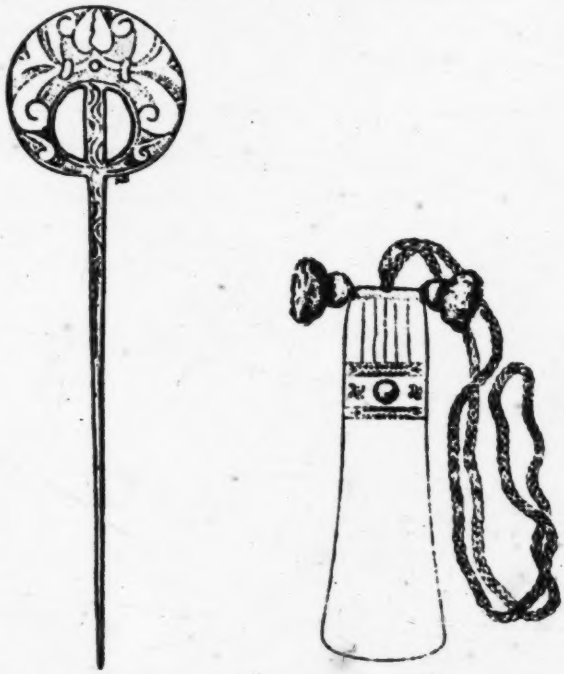
[P. 93]

●292
301

Fig. 28. Head-dress for women. Made of stuff, tufts of yarn and tin. Chirignano, Caipipendi, R. M. E. 32.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

possible that the original idea was Indian and in that case came from the civilized mountain region. The frontlet was there a mark of distinction[1]).



a b

Fig. 29. a. Silver pin used for fastening the »Tipoy». The shape Indian, embellishment Spanish. Chiriguano, Rio Parapiti. In Mr HERNMARCK's private collection. 1/3.
b. Breast-plate of silver »Bolvéra». Chiriguano, Caipipendi. In my private collection. 1/3.

[1]) »Algunas cuñas usan en esta circunstancia ceñir la cabeza con una especie de corona de color rojo, por detras de la cual penden varios cordones que rematan en una borla. Este adorno, de que usan solo algunas y esclusivamente en el a r e t e, no deja de darles cierta gracia.» CORRADO P. 44.

/183 cont./

The Chané and the Chiriguano are not great hunters. Perhaps in former times there was more hunting. Their hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow. For hunting wild pigs they use clubs; for ostrich hunts the boleadora /bola/, "churima," was formerly used. Snares and bird nets are also found. In former times the hunters wore /184/ a costume of leather cut in imitation of a European cut, obviously copied from the Spaniards (1). This

1. Viedma already mentions this costume, p. 181.

was not permitted to hang in the house. Formerly, also among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, no meat could be cooked in the house; rather, this had to be done a short distance away. Boys are, of course, eager hunters of small birds. Like the men, they sometimes use clay-projectile bows.

There are hunting dogs specially trained for hunting wild pigs. In a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro I saw how all the dogs had a red cross painted on their heads, so that they would not be bitten by a mad dog running about in the vicinity. It was truly amusing to see how these heathen Chané protected their dogs against rabies with the sign of the cross.

Batirayu told me that Chané men, when they go hunting, are not permitted to sleep with their wives the night before.

Fishing is carried on differently in the various rivers.

In the Rio Itiyuro women and children almost exclusively do the fishing. There are only small fish there too. I saw three methods of fishing there. Angling, fishing with calabashes, and fishing by damming up pools. The fishhooks consist of bent needles obtained from the whites. Floats and sinkers are not used.

Fishing with calabashes is done in the following way. Several bunches of leaves, which give shade, are stuck in the bottom of the river, and in front of each of these is placed a calabash (Fig. 90) with sour, ground maize (residue from beer brewing). The fish gather in the calabashes, which are taken out from time to time by the women. The latter creep toward the calabash, quickly place a hand over the opening, lift /185/ it up, and then empty the contents into pits along the river bank.

Ce /239 cont./
535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
177 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[534] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

The Chiriguano and Chané
Ee always destroy the masks after the
532 carnival. They are either burned
177 or thrown into the river. The Chané
541 call the masks "añañya."
535

It is strange what a great
C role the carnival now plays as a
Ce festival among the Indians. This
541 undoubtedly comes from the fact
177 that the whites distribute great quanti-
[464] ties of spirits there and that the Indians
who work for them are given a few
days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
● 292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already
disappeared. Nevertheless one still
sees women in home-woven clothing
C with necklaces of chrysocolla and
Ce turquoise. I never saw used, however,
[178] the silver diadem and the silver
C pins which belong to the festive attire.
412 One often sees the men's blue
237 costumes (Fig. 81) with silver
chest ornaments preserved in the
huts by the old people, but they
Ce are not used for the festivals.
535 Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
527 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
273 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
533

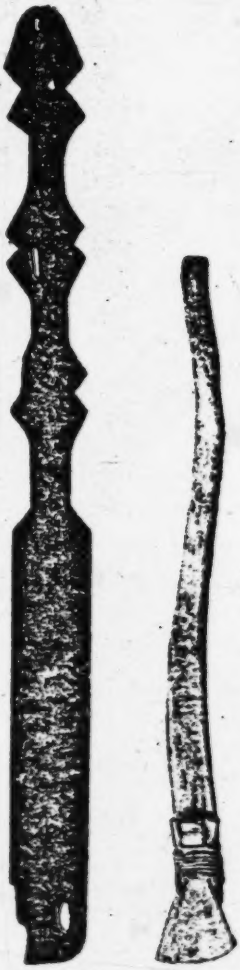


Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

/76 cont./

The Working of Skins and Leather Tanning

C Ce 281 [824] [177]

The Chiriguano and Chané know the art of tanning leather, and they use for that the bark of the "Piptadenia" and other trees. No doubt they obtained the knowledge of this craft from the whites. They use not only tanned leather, but also strips of animal skin for the making of sundry objects (279), but the

279. Nord. 2, p. 165.

C 224 292 177

craft of working leather and skins is not an important one. It is said that formerly the Chiriguano, when they went hunting, wore leather clothing conforming to the European style (280).

280. Nord. 1, p. 184. Nord. 2, pp. 60, and 61. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

C 281 294

Beyond that, leather is not used for making clothing, except to make sandals (281). The men's modern custom of wearing

C 291 177

281. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23.

a leather belt must be attributed to the influence of the whites. Without counting its application to the making of bridles and saddles for horses and asses, either draft or saddle animals, on which we have no data, strips cut from leather or from animal skins are used in the form of straps, principally to transport or hanging up some object. In place of the common vegetable-fiber cords, leather straps are often put on the nets for carrying burdens, on hammocks, and also on the hoops mentioned above, in which they keep things. The band of the Chiriguano net for carrying burdens I. A. 564 consists of an untanned cowhide strap. See Figure 134 /see p. 209/. The Izozó vessel I. A. 617 has a leather strap attached to its handles. The strings of the bows for shooting arrows are strips of animal skin, and the Chiriguano net I. A. 573 is made of cowhide strips.

C 281 [492]

Ce [281]

239
293

Picture of the Yandugua or Parasol

/51 cont./

*136 *825 [262] [232] [293] [157]

Its meat is excellent, and I have eaten it on numerous occasions. The Indians go to hunt the ostrich to prepare for their bacchanalias; they trade their feathers or keep them, and with five of them make the "Yandugua," a kind of parasol of which I shall speak in its place. The fat is a most efficaceous remedy for the side, rheumatism, and ailments of the hips in men and animals, for coldness of the members, and for removing thorns by anointing with it the part opposite the place where the thorn has penetrated.

BANDURRIA. -- This is a bird which the Indians call "Toté" because this is the sound of its song. It has a long beak, long red legs, red and ash-colored feathers, /52/ and a long neck. It feeds on little worms and insects and is generally found in open fields and banks of rivers and lakes. The meat is like that of guinea fowl, but very tough, although if the outer skin is taken off before boiling or roasting it, it can be cooked easily.

The bandurria resembles the crane somewhat, but it is stationary, abounds everywhere, and is not solitary, but neither do they gather together much. A flock is composed at the most of some 12 or 15, and frequently one finds a single pair. If one of these is caught, its companion will fly away immediately, but will come back two or three times to find out what has happened. In this way it is easy for the hunter to kill both. The bandurria has a highly developed instinct, and when the hunter approaches, it quickly flies. When there are many, they fly like cranes, with one out in front to break the air. They do not fly very high and generally sleep in a hole in the rocks, where it is easy to hunt them after sunset.

BUHO /owl/. -- This is a large nocturnal bird like a condor and whitish in color; there are two kinds, the second is smaller and black, ash-gray with a white collar; the Chiriguano call the first one "Yancuruntu," because when it sings it seems to articulate this word. The female of the Yancuruntu answers "Yaparapiti," which in Spanish means "matemos" /let us kill/, from which the whites are inclined to jump to conclusions and start rumors that the Chiriguano are thinking about an

/261/

The Music for the Ayarise

527
535
533
[293]

The signal for the dancing and singing is given by the host, who first makes a short speech to the maestro, who is carrying in his hands a Yandugua, a kind of parasol or umbrella made of ostrich feathers fastened around a long, straight piece of hollow cane. All the feathers have their natural curve outward (1).

[293]
[126]

1. The Yandugua in the Florence museum was purchased in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission by the Reverend Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi, tireless missionary of Potosí.

See the picture on page 77.

527
535

After the speech that the maestro and dancers listen to as if it were a Good Friday sermon in church, the singing and the dance begin. The maestro keeps time with his yandugua, the men dance by moving their feet from the knee, striking the ground without moving from the place they occupy, and the women behind the men with a maté in hand, full of chicha or not. The women take one step backward and another forward, and, not staying in the same place, they walk in time around the men with the formality and exactness of priestesses and hold hands with the other hand, two by two.

527
533

The larger the number of dancers, the more noise they make; there is no staying near them, because the men sing too loud. At a distance, to a person who is used to these songs, they seem relatively pleasant, but at night when one hears them for the first time and does not know what they contain, a thousand things will pass through the mind. Here are the verses of the Ayarise:

[539]

Ayarise, rise -- Mborisese, sese -- Rosa yainde -- Imbaragüe -- Yuma chúrere -- Yuma chuépa -- Soro poco -- Eh! Eh! -- Saisá -- saisá -- Cururu hetesimi pinte -- Hevi sunzu -- Iparanta tapiti -- Cha machá imbarayu -- Imbará, boteriyu -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. It is perhaps appropriate and my readers may like

/261 cont./

527 533 539 to know the approximate meaning of the Ayarise, and so I put it in this note: "Let us sing, companions -- let us keep on singing -- with our women -- and orphans -- we are all here -- singing and dancing -- I know and I like this song -- The toad and the green frog stop -- and the rabbit makes an effort -- I am tired -- I stop and go off. Eh! Eh!

529 535 533 The Chiriguano can sing all day with these few verses, as in fact they do, but with rests. In order to finish the song all together and rest and drink for a long while, the men make a great stamp on the ground with one foot in time /262/ and a shout out of time, and everything stops with a special resounding and prolonged laughter of the women dancers.

Without leaving the circle of the singing and dancing, the lord of the fiesta has the dancers served abundant drink, which they partake of to their satisfaction in order to begin the Ayarise again as they were doing before, always at the command of the Purumuncau vaé and under the direction of the maestro, who does not put down his Yandugua (1).

• [293] 1. There is one maestro of the ayarise, and he always has his yandugua, but this does not prohibit others from having one; there may be as many as ten in one dance, and they serve as parasols when the heat is very oppressive. The Indian Guarerai of Ivu had six and he lent them out during the solemn fiestas of the town.

527 The dancing and singing of the ayarise continues in this fashion until nine or ten in the morning; then the banquet is prepared in the public plaza, where they choose the cleanest place. There men and women sit down in separate places, and at once they bring from the houses the food, which has been prepared upon plates, where there is broth mixed with meat well seasoned with salt and chili peppers. Meanwhile two enthusiasts of the town

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ä, ä."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1809 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock over the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to exert a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

Schwabenbibliothek 2-4,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XXVI

Symbols of authority and dignity.

C
C22 According to Cunnanof) the Chiriguano chief was
301 distinguished by a tuft of hair on his head the »yattira«
*213 and earrings of green stones. At feasts the chief carried a pole with a bunch of ostrich feathers at the end of it, the »yandugua«, and a carved stick the »iguirape«. I have
C2 only seen the »yandugua«. Among the Chané I have seen
622 plain sticks that formed some kind of symbol of authority for the chiefs.

C
C4 I have neither seen nor heard of any symbols of authority among any other Indians than the Chané, Chiriguano,
554 Quichua and Aymara, and also, at the missions, among the
*171 Guarayos, Mosetene and Cavina. Among the Aymara and Quichua the staff, usually silver mounted, is a symbol of authority carried by Indian officials in the villages. It is the same at the missions among the tribes mentioned and also among the Chiriguano. Lozano[8]) states that the Spaniards at the end of the seventeenth century solemnly pre-
C sented a staff to a Chiriguano chief, Cambichuri, as a sym-
[641] bol of authority. Cardenas[9]) relates from his visit to the Oyampi that the chief carried a staff in his hand, for all over Guiana the staff is »le signe de commandement«. Koch-Grünberg[10]) speaks of the staff as a symbol of authority for chiefs in northwest Brazil. Gilij[11]) says that the

[8]) P. 45.
[9]) P. [illegible].
[9]) P. [illegible].
[10]) I P. [illegible], Fig. [illegible]; P. [illegible], Fig. 175.
[11]) T. 2 P. [illegible].

Ee 831 /227 cont./

The Indians regard the natural aspect of sexual life very differently from the way we view it as a rule. We do not find among these people all the corruption which is in civilized society, but various things are to be found here already. As far as homosexuality in particular is concerned, conditions among primitive peoples, as is known, show that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than in our hypercivilization.

Ee 838

/228/

Chapter Fourteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Chiefs and Laws

Ee 622 643 [171]

The chiefs have an entirely different position among the Chané and Chiriguano than among the Ashluslay and Choroti. They have considerable power. Among the chiefs there are the great chiefs, who rule over several villages, and the village chiefs, who have command over only one village or a part of one. Among the great chiefs whom I met, the noteworthy ones are the old woman Vuŷyruyi, the chief over the Chané villages on the Rio Itiyuro, Taruiri, who rules over most of the Caipipendi valley, Mandepora (Fig. 111), who in former times had considerable power in and around Machareti, and Maringay in the Iguembe valley.

Ee 643

Ee 622 293 643 [302] [302]

Nowadays the chiefs have no symbol of their office other than silver-mounted sticks. According to Corrado, they formerly wore a large tuft of hair on the head, "yantira," as well as green stones which hung at their ears. At the festivals and dances they had the right to use the "yandugua," a rod decorated with a bunch of ostrich feathers, and "iguirape," a staff carved with peculiar figures. Of these I was able to acquire only a yandugua. I did not even see the rest.

Ee 692 555 643

The office of chief seems to be hereditary as a rule. Capability and the art of using words well are required, however.

/86 cont./

CE 643 of her late brother and predecessor, as already mentioned, took her place in her duties. The one predestined for the office of cacique cannot begin his functions if he does not have ability and skill in discussion. The great cacique in the Caipipendi valley was considered incapable because of continual drunkenness, and he was replaced in his functions by one of his relatives (327). In

327. Nord. 1, p. 230.

the Chané towns on the Itiyuru the ordinary caciques too belong to Hinu Parava's family (328).

328. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 129.

CE 643 301 302 293 As a symbol of chieftainship Nordenskiöld observed staffs decorated with silver and the so-called "Yandagua," which consists of a long rod adorned with a tuft of ostrich feathers and is carried by caciques at fiestas and dances. According to Corrado, the caciques formerly wore as a symbol of their office a large lock of hair on top of the head, which they called "yamira," and green stones as pendants in the ear lobes, and at the fiestas, in addition to the "yandagua" mentioned above, the "iguirige," which was a staff carved with figures (329).

329. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 756 643 622 At the side of the caciques a special position is held by the sorcerers, among whom the Chiriguano distinguish two kinds, the "ipáye," who are good and who can undo spells, and the "ipáyepótchi," who can undo spells, but who also cast them. The sorcerer is also above all the doctor who has the obligation of curing the sick (330). In general the occupation of sorcerer is separate

330. Nord. 1, p. 216.

from that of cacique. Only in Ivu did Nordenskiöld observe a case where a Chiriguano cacique was a sorcerer at the same time (331).

331. Nord. 1, p. 230.

/436 cont./

28 [197] The Chiriguano have their loom in common with many tribes of tropical America, and they doubtless were already acquainted with it in Paraguay, at least in a more rudimentary form. In some Chiriguano villages looms of the Inca or Quichua /Quechua/ type, that is to say, horizontal ones, can be seen. The warp is then fastened to a small cord along a piece of wood and the cloth is rolled around as it is produced.

28 [198] Headbands and belts are woven with looms of a type similar to the one just described. The warp threads are fastened to a loop of cotton attached to a hot post. As the fabric is made it is rolled around two small sticks or two ears of corn attached to the lower end of the warp (for this type of loom, see Nordenskiöld, 16, Fig. 4, p. 171).

29 [30] I am reproducing in Fig. 89 a *tumbi* headband. These ornaments have now become very rare, and only a few old men still wear them. Our specimen is dyed with natural colors.

29 [198] Every Indian woman who lives outside the influence of the missions still wears the *tipoy*, that is, a kind of long sheath which they fasten on the shoulder nowadays with a safety pin and formerly [280] /Plate LXXII appears here/ /436/ with a thorn. In olden times these *tipoy* were woven by the Indian women on looms of the Arawak type. They were of cotton and dyed blue-black. /Fig. [439] 90 appears here./ Today it is almost impossible to find a woman whose *tipoy* is not made of *chamalote*, a kind of cheap cotton cloth which the Syrians and half-breeds sell at a high price to our Indians. In the Caipipendi valley /Fig. 91 appears here/ I met two old women who still kept the *tipoy* of olden times. They would not give it up to me for any price. At Carandi, an old fellow desirous [124] of striking a good bargain sold me his wife's at a very /436/ high price in order to buy brandy for himself. It was very necessary to celebrate Easter fittingly.

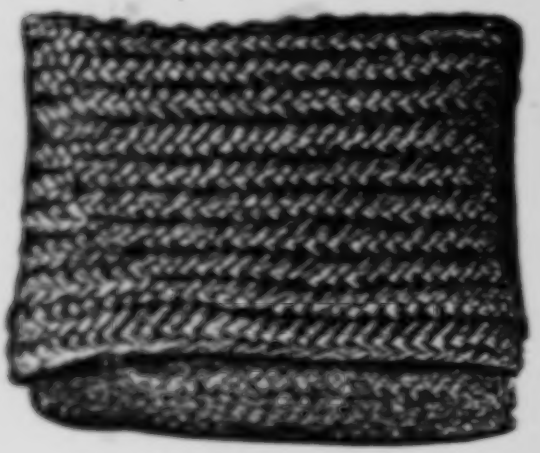
[198] The skirts (*tipo-kumbai*) which the men formerly sported exist no more except in the memory of the old men.

(See p. 878--Analysis)

/456/

285 Plate LXXX, Figures 1 and 2. Height, 8 centimeters; width, 13 centimeters. Provenance: Caruruti.

The fine strips of palm leaves which make up this basket are wider and more brittle than the ones constituting the preceding one of identical shape but different technique. The fibers, instead of radiating from a single center, simply cross, following the rhythm which Figure 2 of the same plate permits examining.



286

Fig. 114. Chiriguano cigarette case in twilled work. Prov.: Caruruti. (2/3 nat. size.)

Fig. 113. Hat of the type of Figure 112 in the process of being made. (About 1/6 nat. size.)

291 294

Figure 112. Height, 10 centimeters; diameter, 36 centimeters. Provenance: Caruruti.

This hat is made exactly according to the technique of the baskets of Plate LXXVIII and Figs. 110 and 111.

/456 cont./

285 A half-finished hat (Fig. 113) which I was able to acquire
294 at Carurutí shows well the process of fabrication. The basket-maker begins by making the crown of the hat, interlacing 36 tigellas and shortly afterward adding other supplementary stalks whose ends are seen protruding. When the hat is finished, all those projecting beyond the fabric are cut off. The rhythm of the crossing elements is twofold.

285 Figure 114. Length, 10 centimeters; width, 8 centi-
276 meters. Provenance: Carurutí.

This cigarette case faithfully imitates the ones the Chiriguano have seen in the hands of half-breeds or creoles. Nevertheless, its technique is interesting, for it is purely indigenous. The /Plate LXXXI appears here/ /457/ tigellas of karandaí leaves cross in a twofold rhythm.

The Chiriguano are not great smokers and it is rare to find cigarettes among them, so that these cases seem to me to be made for amusement rather than for their practical utility.

Sieves

415 There is no Chiriguano housewife who does not have at
252 her disposal at least two sieves. The importance of this kitchen utensil corresponds to the considerable role of corn
[262] flour in their food. Of the 12 different dishes that the Chiriguano prepare from this grain, there are six or seven in which it appears in the form of flour. Kãwi itself is made with corn pounded in a mortar and then passed through a sieve. Sieves serve also for cleaning beans and ridding them of the stones and dust accompanying them. Finally, sieves are used for straining kãwi after cooking and for separating the liquid, which is to ferment, from the marc or temiču. They can also be used as simple baskets, and I have seen some holding cotton seeds.

/184 cont./

323 the force of the heat and remains over the paintings like a
[237] binder, without which they would disappear ~~the first~~ time it was used. The Taragüirisi remains on the vessels like a light coat of rubber and the white of the Tovanti becomes opaque (2).

2. When a pot is slightly damaged, they heat it in the fire and on the inside and outside apply the Taragüirisi, and it is as good as before.

/185/ Textiles

286 Another important occupation of the Chiriguano woman
462 is weaving the Asoya for her husband, brother, or son, and the
[294] Cutama for herself. For this she prepares the wool or cotton, spins it opposite the way the mestizo and European women spin, and then bleaches it and finally dyes it.

286 In order to weave, they set up two tall, slender forked sticks in the house, with two sticks across, one above and one below, and arrange or place the threads vertically, and then sit on the ground and begin to run the woof through, thread by thread, which they hit with a pointed stick of soto wood called Piuca. This, to be sure, is time consuming, if the threads are fine, but, on the other hand, the work is very durable.

291 Ponchos, Asoya, are of two types, one of wool and one
286 of cotton; the first are common from the right bank of the
231 Parapiti River southward and the second from the left bank
249 northward, because in the first region sheep are plentiful, and
[184] in the second, cotton fields. Formerly, before the whites intro-
[177] duced cattle into the region, cotton was cultivated everywhere, and from its product the men were dressed for ceremonies in their Tíru and the women in the Mandu, which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

/187 cont./

301 buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions.
302 The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicuana
[197] /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts in the presence of his companions (1).

[797] [114] [121]

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbía had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter
294 is woven by them themselves with palm leaves, Carandai;
285 they bring them from the places where they are abundant, Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect
292 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older
554 *Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (?).*

291 2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap,
302 the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of
304 long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in
178 few places now, and the straw hat is being

/190/

291 The crown of the hat is made of four oval parts, as is
● 294 the brim which surrounds it, sewed with fine cords of the same material, and the edge of the brim is turned upward. The hat has a band of the same material sewed to both sides at the temples to hold it to the throat; a knot or a ring on the band can be used to tighten it.

292 The Ambícuai, which lends its name to the whole outfit,
281 is a perfect cassock, but its form is entirely Chiriguano, for it does not hinder the movement of the arms. Its cut is not straight, and both parts are made fast at the chest with two leather straps, which are run through the holes on the opposite side. The cassock in back ends in two points, where there is a kind of ornamentation of the same leather, which consists of short, fine strips, like a tassel. The sleeves are wide, as is the whole garment, and are attached to the shoulder, being open at the armpit so as not to impede the movement of the arms, either in hunting or in war, where the grandees also
[126] wear it. In fact, in the photograph taken in Santa Rosa to be sent to the exposition, a hunter and a warrior dressed in this
529 doublet appear outside the circle. In the middle there is a
554 Chiriguano woman with her crown and adornments as queen
562 of the fiesta, who offers chicha to all who are enjoying themselves (1).

[128] 1. The queen is the one who serves the dancers as mistress and patroness of the fiesta. This photograph or figure will not be reproduced in the chapter dealing with fiestas because I could not obtain it.

292 The Timbiao, breeches, is also of leather and is made
[281] of four pieces, wider from the waist to the sacrum and narrower from the thigh to the bottom. It is quite wide and comes to the ankle. It is rougher than the rest, but more valued, and they will give anything to have even a single pair. This garment is tied at the waist with a belt or with two strings which are sewed across the entire width of the garment itself.

C
Ce
285
531
[113]

/62 cont./

Brazil/, Berlin, 1905, pp. 330 ff.; and Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas/ The Technical Bases for the Ornamentation of the Natives of South America/.

C
285
[126]

The three sieves that I obtained from the Chiriguano correspond to the flat baskets described above with respect to their exterior form and to the rudiment of the plaiting. They differ from the latter only in that their strips are a certain distance apart and in that one strip of one group always passes only one of the other group, with the result that the ornamentation of the surface consisting of parallel lines which is shown in the little baskets is not produced. These sieves are also provided with handles like the flat baskets of the Chiriguano. A sketch of a Chané sieve shown by Nordenskiöld shows that these Indians also use such sieves (263). Flat baskets and sieves analogous to

Ce
[285]

263. Nord. 1, Fig. 124.

those mentioned are described by Métraux and shown by him in drawings (264).

264. Métraux I, pp. 457-460, Plates 83, 84.

C
285
291
294
[177]

The technique of the Chiriguano hat (I.A. 554) is not original, but no doubt was received from the whites and perhaps was directly taught to the Indians in the missions. For us the technique of this hat is without interest, except for the fact that this technique is also applied by the Inozó to the making of a type of basket, a specimen of which is shown in Figure 98b /see p. 158/. The manufacture of the hat begins at the center, and the strips, the beginning of which is plaited, are augmented by the addition of other strips. See Figure 99 /see p. 158/. The style of plaiting is like that of all the other objects of this kind among the Chiriguano and Chané, so that one strip of one group always passes two strips of the other group.

Ce
[285]
Ce
[285]

C
Ce
415
482
177
[126]

/75 cont./

Net Bags Made by the Toba, from the Collection

I. A. 572. Bag for carrying burdens. (Found among the Chiriguano) Length 0.70 cm.

I. A. 845. " " " " (Found among the Izozó) Length 57 cm.

I acquired two net bags, one from the Izozó and the other from the Chiriguano, which show differences from the techniques mentioned in the foregoing. The Izozó and the Chiriguano told me that they themselves had not made these bags and that they had obtained them from the Toba.

C
Ce
294
177
[296]

/76/ Sewing

With the acquisition of European clothes, naturally the sewing of these clothes to make and mend them became general among the Chiriguano and Chané. Modern sewing needles are an article eagerly sought by them today. But undoubtedly these Indians had already known the technique of sewing with a needle with an eye for a long time through their contact with the culture of the ancient Peruvians. Although the native textiles are, in most cases, made in one piece, needlework coming from other cultures is often added to the native technique of these textiles. I mentioned that a large Izozó tipoy is made of two smaller tipoys sewed together. The ponchos of the Chiriguano in Machareti are made of two pieces sewed together. The four edges of the Chiriguano and Izozó ponchos most of the time are turned and sewed to the rest of the fabric. In the making of the bags for carrying burdens, especially the double bags for loading draft horses or burros, sewing is used.

C
Ce
294

C
Ce
415

Among the cuyas that I obtained from the Chiriguano and Izozó there are several which show breaks mended by sewing. See Figure 25a /see p. 51/. The two diagrams shown in Figure 130 a and b serve to illustrate the way in which this sewing is done, with cotton thread on the two Izozó cuyas I. A. 666 and 667, and with fine wire on the Chiriguano cuya (I. A. 460). The cuya I. A. 667 shows two such repairs done by sewing.

/76 cont./

The Working of Skins and Leather Tanning

C
Cc
28
[824
177]

The Chiriguano and Chané know the art of tanning leather, and they use for that the bark of the "Piptadenia" and other trees. No doubt they obtained the knowledge of this craft from the whites. They use not only tanned leather, but also strips of animal skin for the making of sundry objects (279), but the

279. Nord. 2, p. 165.

C
224
292
177

craft of working leather and skins is not an important one. It is said that formerly the Chiriguano, when they went hunting, wore leather clothing conforming to the European style (280).

280. Nord. 1, p. 184. Nord. 2, pp. 60, and 61. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

C
281
294

Beyond that, leather is not used for making clothing, except to make sandals (281). The men's modern custom of wearing

C
291
177

281. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23.

a leather belt must be attributed to the influence of the whites. Without counting its application to the making of bridles and saddles for horses and asses, either draft or saddle animals, on which we have no data, strips cut from leather or from animal skins are used in the form of straps, principally to transport or hanging up some object. In place of the common vegetable-fiber cords, leather straps are often put on the nets for carrying burdens, on hammocks, and also on the hoops mentioned above, in which they keep things. The band of the Chiriguano net for carrying burdens I. A. 564 consists of an untanned cowhide strap. See Figure 134 /see p. 209/. The Izozó vessel I. A. 617 has a leather strap attached to its handles. The strings of the bows for shooting arrows are strips of animal skin, and the Chiriguano net I. A. 573 is made of cowhide strips.

C
281
[492]

Cc
[281]

824 /16 cont./
137
[114]

I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it through experience and careful reading; when describing certain plants, I shall also make note of the use made of the bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall, straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood borer does not damage it; it is much used here in the construction of upper roofs, especially for the braches or trusses on which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less value; it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows, but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the face free of blemishes; here it is known by the name "timboy."

[342]
[492]
[296]
[515]

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. moniliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which reason drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it. It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatane," fire that smells; the wood is yellow.

[372]

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of trees of this class here and there; it is the most abundant tree, the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does not eat it; the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites; the latter call it sebil and the former "Curupau."

[342]
[281]

ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters, its leaves are dark green; it produces abundant fruit in a sort of pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds, which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces

245
137
824
[302]
[303]
[439]

/190 cont./

292 The Chiriguano, when he is dressed in these skins, considers himself a grandee, and he is one before his companions and the caciques themselves. But from the beginning, even before it is even worn, such clothing gives off a very disagreeable odor, like that of the soles of shoes. Let the reader imagine what it must be like when it has been used for some time. It can easily be understood that the Chiriguano, when [296] wearing the doublet, has nothing else on his body, and that all of the sweat, etc. sticks to it, and it should be noted that the outfit is never washed, which adds to the smell.

[622] [197] /191/ The cacique Nambi of Ivu made his visits to the P.P.C.C. of Santa Rosa Mission to ask for a mission in his town, dressing himself in his old and filthy doublet before making the visit. He embraced the missionaries and talked quite close to them, the result being almost unbearable (1).

1. The outfit is completed by a pair of boots called Timainu, which literally means: companion of the shin bone. [224] These are necessary for hunters so that they will not hurt their legs when they are pursuing wild animals.

The illustration that I put at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 255/ will make the description of the Ambícuai more easily understood. There appear in it a young man and an old man standing, a woman sitting on a chair, and a young girl sitting on the ground. The old man dressed in a doublet is the cacique Gūīraesa of Santa Rosa: the woman who is seated on the chair is his wife, the man on his right is his son Yandareca, and the girl is his Christian daughter, named Priscia.

[291] The Chiriguano who does not have a doublet is satisfied with his long poncho or with a blanket wrapped around his body down to his knees, but today it is rare that he cannot dress himself moderately well with some six varas of linen, which at the most will cost him two bolivianos. Today every- [432] [439] thing can be bought in the small retail stores (2).

2. The doublet is used today in some areas to

C
Ee
514
Ee
[171]
Ee
296
Ee
128

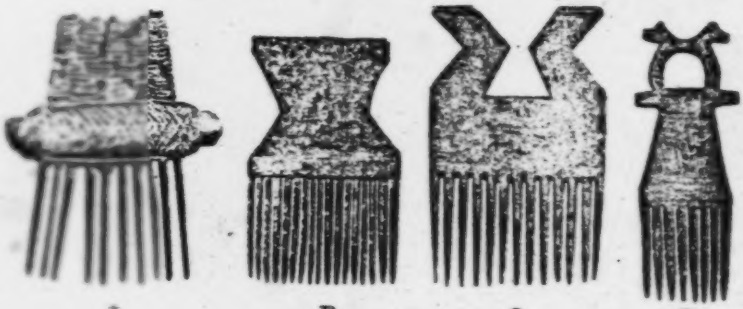
/205 cont./

The Chané and Chiriguano never relieve themselves close to the huts. I never saw special privies, however, for any Indians, and not for many whites in Bolivia either.

The Chané and Chiriguano are very careful with their clothing. They keep it clean and mend it if necessary. The members of each sex wash and mend their own things. The man here sews quite as well as the woman.

I have spoken here of the everyday life of these Indians. Now I shall describe the most important events in their lives, in their social life, their festivals, their industry, etc., and

Cce
412
531



A B C D

Fig. 109. Combs for combing the hair, not for fastening in it.

A, from the Chané; B, C, D, from the Chiriguano.

Ee
128

finally proceed to their legends and their religion.

/31 cont./

C Ce 291

is brought over the head so that the slit is in the direction of the middle axis of the human body and the middle of the poncho across the shoulders, one part hanging in front and the other behind. Thus the distance between the lower edge of the poncho and the shoulders of the man who is wearing the poncho corresponds to half the length of the poncho when stretched out. Only in the case of two of the Izozó woolen ponchos is half the length equal to the width. I shall deal with the manufacture and decoration of these ponchos in the chapters on the technique of weaving and art.

Ce 29 [286] [513] [126]

The Chané of the Parapití River still often wear mantas woven of wool, which they also use to sleep on or to cover themselves with when they are sleeping (138). I have acquired

138. See Nord. 1, p. 202.

nine of these mantas from the Izozó, four of which had been made from ponchos, the slit in the center of them having been closed by sewing. Among the other four mantas which had been made as mantas from the first, the relationship between the length and the width can vary greatly. There are some nearly square and others three times as long as they are wide. From the Chiriguano in Machareti I obtained only one piece of woven material which corresponds to these mantas, and it was already much mended.

C 291 286 •296

Mantas in the Collection

C Ce 29 126

I. A. 585.	(Chiriguano.)	Of cotton.	Length	1.38 m.	Width	1.27 m.
I. A. 816.	(Izozó)	Of wool.	"	2.20 m.	"	0.60 m.
I. A. 817.	"	"	"	1.80 m.	"	1.20 m.
I. A. 818.	"	"	"	0.68 m.	"	0.60 m.
/32/						
I. A. 824.	"	"	"	1.22 m.	"	1.30 m.
I. A. 826.	"	"	"	1.28 m.	"	0.44 m.
I. A. 827.	"	"	"	1.40 m.	"	0.92 m.
I. A. 828.	"	"	"	1.56 m.	"	1.66 m.
I. A. 829.	"	"	"	1.27 m.	"	1.25 m.
I. A. 831.	"	"	"	1.74 m.	"	1.24 m.

C
Ce
415
482
177
[126]

/75 cont./

Net Bags Made by the Toba, from the Collection

I. A. 572. Bag for carrying burdens. (Found among the Chiriguano) Length 0.70 cm.

I. A. 845. " " " " (Found among the Izozó) Length 57 cm.

I acquired two net bags, one from the Izozó and the other from the Chiriguano, which show differences from the techniques mentioned in the foregoing. The Izozó and the Chiriguano told me that they themselves had not made these bags and that they had obtained them from the Toba.

C
Ce
294
177
[296]

/76/ Sewing

With the acquisition of European clothes, naturally the sewing of these clothes to make and mend them became general among the Chiriguano and Chané. Modern sewing needles are an article eagerly sought by them today. But undoubtedly these Indians had already known the technique of sewing with a needle with an eye for a long time through their contact with the culture of the ancient Peruvians. Although the native textiles are, in most cases, made in one piece, needlework coming from other cultures is often added to the native technique of these textiles. I mentioned that a large Izozó tipoy is made of two smaller tipoys sewed together. The ponchos of the Chiriguano in Machareti are made of two pieces sewed together. The four edges of the Chiriguano and Izozó ponchos most of the time are turned and sewed to the rest of the fabric. In the making of the bags for carrying burdens, especially the double bags for loading draft horses or burros, sewing is used.

C
Ce
294

C
Ce
415

Among the cuyas that I obtained from the Chiriguano and Izozó there are several which show breaks mended by sewing. See Figure 25a /see p. 51/. The two diagrams shown in Figure 130 a and b serve to illustrate the way in which this sewing is done, with cotton thread on the two Izozó cuyas I. A. 666 and 667, and with fine wire on the Chiriguano cuya (I. A. 460). The cuya I. A. 667 shows two such repairs done by sewing.

7. Kenapadyū. "Cacique" of the Caruarī region near the middle course of the Pacayā River. (Photo. A. M.)

8. Old Chiriguano of Tumbía (Upper Pilcomayo). Note the enormous labret and the head band.

142
241
302
301
965

142
242
301
302

Plate V

1. Iwawaci. Chiriguano Indian girl from the region of Chiruiti (near the middle course of the Parapiti River). Her hair is cut short as a sign of mourning for the death of an aunt. (Photo. A. M.)

2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the village of Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo). She has put on her festival clothes and sports her most beautiful necklaces. (On her chest, necklace of silver coins.) (Photo. A. M.)

II Mémoires--50 E-6 (1950) 1000 SF.0 Chiriguano SF.0

Plate VI

142
301
302

(143) 1. Young Chiriguano, daughter of the "capitan grande" Karnapodi. Her cheeks are painted with balaupa powder.

142
291
302

2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the Caranaí region, considered a beauty by the Indians. (Photo, A. M.)

/280/

303
415
325

Fig. 53. Mold for making tin labrets (tembetayapua). Prov.: Tumbín. (1/3 nat. size.)

301
303
415
325

Mold for Tembetas

The tembeta, or labrets, of the Chiriguano are of tin. They make them themselves with the rid of the mold pictured here (Fig. 53). It is a calabash into which the fins of the labret have been hollowed out, while the thicker central part of the ornament corresponds to the end of a stick going through the calabash. The cavity produced in the central part of the labret is then filled with wax into which glass or turquoise beads are incrusted. These come from ancient burial-places and are sold to the Chiriguano by the half-breeds of Tarija.

[531]
[839]

Balances

296
197
171

The Chiriguano of the upper Pilcomayo and the Iglembé valley prize coca quite as much as the Quichua of the altiplano. Besides, it is from them that they got this vice. The fact is known and does not need to be demonstrated. This custom

/434 cont./

28 [191] The Chiriguano have their loom in common with many tribes of tropical America, and they doubtless were already acquainted with it in Paraguay, at least in a more rudimentary form. In some Chiriguano villages looms of the Inca or Quichua /Quechua/ type, that is to say, horizontal ones, can be seen. The warp is then fastened to a small cord along a piece of wood and the cloth is rolled around as it is produced.

28 [190] Headbands and belts are woven with looms of a type similar to the one just described. The warp threads are fastened to a loop of cotton attached to a hut post. As the fabric is made it is rolled around two small sticks or two ears of corn attached to the lower end of the warp (for this type of loom, see Nordenskiöld, 10, Fig. 4, p. 175).

29 & 30 I am reproducing in Fig. 95 a tsumbi headband. These ornaments have now become very rare, and only a few old men still wear them. Our specimen is dyed with natural colors.

29 [198] Every Indian woman who lives outside the influence of the missions still wears the tipoy, that is, a kind of long sheath which they fasten on the shoulder nowadays with a safety pin and formerly [280] /Plate LXXII appears here/ /435/ with a thorn. In olden times these tipoy were woven by the Indian women on looms of the Arawak type. They were of cotton and dyed blue-black. /Fig. [439] 90 appears here./ Today it is almost impossible to find a woman whose tipoy is not made of chamalote, a kind of cheap cotton cloth which the Syrians and half-breeds sell at a high price to our Indians. In the Caipipendí valley /Fig. 91 appears here/ I met two old women who still kept the tipoy of olden times. They would not give it up to me for any price. At Caruruti, an old fellow desirous [192] of striking a good bargain sold me his wife's at a very /436/ high price ~~in order~~ to buy brandy for himself. It was very necessary to celebrate Easter fittingly.

[198] The shirts (tiru-kumbaè) which the men formerly sported exist no more except in the memory of the old men.

[See p. 278--Analyst]

/438 cont./

323 The contrast between a highly evolved pottery and a still
286 rudimentary art of weaving is characteristic of the Indians
171 of the tropical and subtropical regions of South America, at least for those who can pass for being relatively civilized, such as the Arawak and the Karib /Carib/.

291
301

Fig. 95. Headband (tsumbi). Prov.: Yumbía. (1/5 nat. size.)

/467 cont./

302 The women never cut their hair according to the custom of the other Indian women of the Chaco, so they have heads of long and remarkably soft hair. They gather their hair together [301] on the nape of the neck by means of a red or blue ribbon, which they knot on the forehead after passing it around the head (see Plate VI, 1 and 2 /see p. 73/).

302 515 824 412 388 Chiriguano women are extremely meticulous about their hair and wash it nearly every day. For soap they use ñitira seeds,

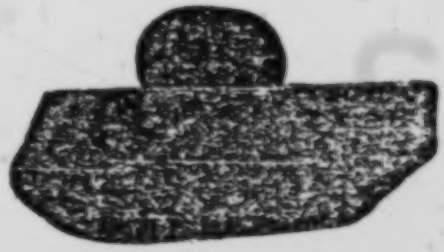


Fig. 122. Chiriguano stone mortar for crushing ñitira seeds. Prov.: Ivo. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

which they crush in a little mortar (Fig. 122) especially intended for that use. The ñitira seeds, rich in saponin, lather easily.

302 For me it was always a pleasant spectacle in the morning to see the women come back from the river with their hair twisted on the front of the head and fastened into a conical chignon. They would let it dry, then would begin to comb it slowly until it was soft and shining.

412 303 184 Two types of comb coexist among the Chiriguano. On the upper Pilcomayo in the Igüembé valley and in Ivu, they are carved out of a small board, and often the flat part which serves as the handle is cut out /468/ with art. In the Caipipendí valley and among the Chané, besides combs of the preceding type there are others composed of fine splinters of wood wedged between two splinters of bamboo and held in place by a clever plaiting of cotton threads forming a design.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano women still dress in tipoys, a long, sacklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, *right*). Some tipoys (tiru) are so long that they need to be folded. 291

Anciently, *Chiriguano* men shaved their foreheads, as did the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband. 302 412

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a tasseled fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

Body painting.—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass. 302 178

Ornaments.—The distinctive ornament of the *Chiriguano*, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 59, *e*). Originally, labrets were made of rosin, as were those of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip. 301 178

Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean woven frontlets studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 59, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the *Chiriguano* in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads. 301 177 [439]

Miscellaneous.—The *Chiriguano* have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout *Chiriguano* territory. 515 824

Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers. 302

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The rivers in *Chiriguano* territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River. 501

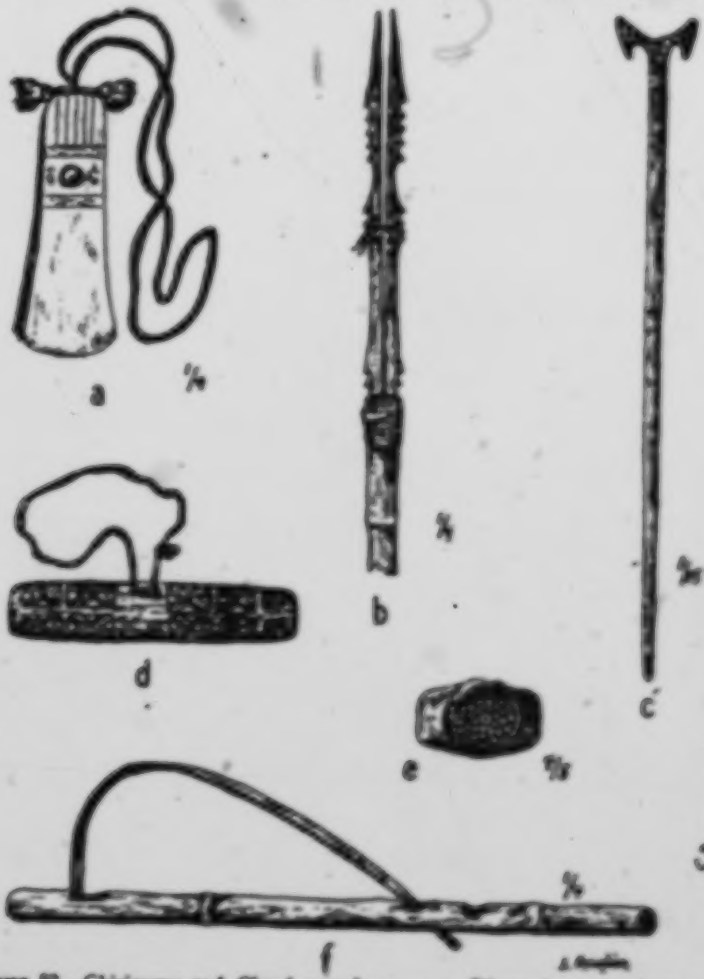
2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chané SF8

MANUFACTURES

Pottery.—*Chiriguano* pottery is, for the beauty of its painted decoration and the variety of its forms, outstanding in modern South America. The mixed origin of *Chiriguano* culture is reflected in the two types of earthenware vessels. The plain pots for cooking and the large jars for chicha, which did not differ from similar vessels of the Paraguayan *Guarani*, were ornamented with fingernail impressions (pl. 41, *bottom, right*).

C 323 531 C [171]



C Ce 301 C Ce 411 C Ce 412 C Ce 534 531 301 Ce 301 531 Ce 524

FIGURE 59.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* manufactures. *a*, Silver pinners used as bronze ornaments; *b*, bird arrow point; *c*, handle to wooden spade; *d*, wooden whistle used as ornament; *e*, tin-labret with mosaic inlay; *f*, *Chané* pea-shooter. (*a*, *d*, *e*, Redrawn from Rasen, 1924; *b*, *c*, *f*, from Nordenskiöld, 1920, figs. 29, 15, 5, 34.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

PLATE 62.—Chiriguano artifacts. Three engraved wooden arrow whistles and lip plugs of metal with inlays. (Scale, 30 cm.) (Courtesy Museo Etnográfico de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Buenos Aires.)

[End Plate 3]

534
531
301

4: Nino--148 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
301
302
516

Group of Chiriguano Women

/153 cont./

756
278

and does not know how to do it goes to the sorceresses, pays them, and obtains it.

This seems to be a fable which in itself does not merit any importance, as indeed it is not given any by Father Giannecchini, who does not deny it in his writings, as Señor del Campano states. Poison exists among the Chiriguano. They do not extract it from chamico, which is a species of datura, nor do they extract it from other plants or herbs. The sorcerers reveal nothing; the young people do not know about it, and the few old people who are alive only tell what has been said above. Be that as it may, this is a belief of the tribe, and as such I have told it.

Lunar Eclipse

821

One night while waiting for a lunar eclipse, I found myself in conversation with the cacique Anduari of the mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu, and I was reminded of something which I remembered regarding this phenomenon which was about to occur on the moon. Chiriguano towns are true hells during an eclipse, because of the shouts, cries, whistles, and every warlike instrument which they use to make noise. When I came to the missions, /154/ the war of Curuyuqui had just happened, and when I heard so much and such an extraordinary hubbub on the night of an eclipse, I believed that it was a new uprising, as was also believed by the inhabitants of Cuevo, who came out armed to find out the cause of so much noise (1).

[114]
[648]

● 301
533
114

1. The Italian professor Mantegazza states that the Chiriguano, in order to whistle loudly, take out the tembeta or button which they have in their lower lip. This is incorrect and denied by all; what the renowned anthropologist refers to must be a special case, since they cannot even drink without the button.

/187 cont./

000 What did Adam obtain through his sin? Confusion and being thrown out of Paradise in order to be subjected to all the
[186] miseries of life. We have all inherited the pride of the first Adam, and this capital sin causes us to commit errors and more errors, causes the principle of humility to be lost, and causes the favored one to look with disdain on one who is inferior; only religion can remedy these evils, but Catholicism has not penetrated everywhere, and among the Chiriguano, formerly savages in every sense of the word, it is relatively new, for which reason the pride with which they deprecate their inferiors, looking at them disdainfully, is not altogether uprooted; they do not make use of their clothing and adornments, and they strive to appear equal to the whites, whom they consider superior (?).

> 2. The simplicity of dress of the American Catholic women when they go to church is worthy of all praise. Would that they always dressed in this way and that the fashion of hats had never appeared! In Europe they are so large that they bother the spectator in large gatherings, and in the daily services they interfere with the view of the holy ceremonies, and, consequently, they attend without piety.

Clothing

302

The Chiriguano wears his hair long and barely ever cuts the hair near the forehead, either for adornment or so that it may not interfere with his vision, because he does not tie it
• 301 up like the women and the Quechua Indians. He wraps it
302 around his head and ties it with a band that his wife, mother,
[256] or sister weaves for him. This band is called Yapicuana; it is 1.25 or 1.50 meters long and 5 centimeters more or less in
[177] width. It is of cotton or wool and comes in various colors, but at the present time most of them, where civilization has not sufficiently penetrated, use one of red baize, which they

/187 cont./

301 buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions.
302 The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Tapicuana
[177] /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts in the presence of his companions (1).

[177] [114] [121]

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbía had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter
294 is woven by them themselves with palm leaves. Carandai;
285 they bring them from the place where they are abundant. Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect
292 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older
554 Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (7).

291 2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap,
302 the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of
304 long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in
178 few places now, and the straw hat is being

301
531
392
534
412

Chiriguano adornments, etc.

[See pp. 273-274 for explanation of numbers]

/195 cont./

292 The black tiru is first dyed with sotillo bark, and then they
386 immerse it in a vessel which has well-steeped black mud and
824 algarroba resin. After some time they wash it and dry it out, leaving the permanent color. The dark red is made with only boiled sotillo bark. Finally, to dye with indigo they crush this leaf and expose it to the sun's rays, then they crush it again in the same way, after which they put it in a large earthenware vessel with water, in which the tiru is immersed and comes out a light blue, but, if they want it to be like the blue of drill, it is necessary to boil the indigo.

In order to dye everything red they also use a species of onion that they call Tunpaipi, which literally translated, means feet of God and is abundant in the fields, and another
292 one called Chapi, which is found in the hills. Everything said about the tiru is applicable to the mandu of the women, with the sole difference that this is open at both ends and is attached to the shoulders with two enormous silver needles that they call Yu guasu, big needles, which are also disappearing.

When a woman is occupied with domestic and other work,
301 she ties her hair up tightly with a band, Apicuá, /196/ of cotton
302 or wool, so that it will not inconvenience her at her tasks, but
[529] when there is a fiesta, she washes her person, washes her head,
[515] combs her heavy and shining hair, and lets it loose, flowing over her body as far down as it will go (1).

[178]

1. The young women today put up their hair like the white women, making braids through which they draw a band that they call Aflopea, braided cord. The hair fastened in the old way was like a baton, since not a hair was to be seen, even horizontally, all of it being covered by the band, aflopea.

/196 cont./

• 301 Over their tiru the men put the Mboivera, which is a small double piece of silver with its hole in the upper part, where they put a double cord of wool, on the ends of which there are [562] tassels of the same color. This ornament is for men, but there are also women who wear them, but smaller ones. If one in- [179] quires about the origin of the mboivera, no Chiriguano can tell you today, but it is almost certain that they received it from the Spaniards, with whom they had relations almost from the time of the discovery, as can be deduced from the history of Tarija, whose first settlers had to fight vigorously to take over the territory which they then occupied. It is enough to see a mboivera in order to conclude that it is not of Chiriguano origin. The work which goes into almost all of them indicates that it is the work of civilized people, since decorations by the engraver's burin can be seen on it (2).

43
301

2. A Mboivera, a Tempeta /sic/ with a ndamicha, four necklaces, and a ndamicha ichi formerly were exchanged for a horse, a cow, ten sheep, or 15 goats, but it should be noted that these pieces of property were worth little. A cow was worth five or six pesos, and the same could be said of the rest. Conscientious travelers today pay up to four bolivianos for a tembeta, because it is a museum piece.

301
435
756

Both men and women adorn their necks with beads /perlas/. Itogñi: necklaces, Rizi, are not of beads like those of civilized people, but in spite of this the itogñi has a conventional value among the Chiriguano. For four itogñi necklaces they sold the best that they had, and sick persons gave them to the sorcerer in order that he would cure them, and today, when it is almost impossible to obtain a necklace, it is not rare for a sick person who owns one to make a gift of it to the doctor, even though it may be his passport to eternity, because everyone understands that after the sick person has been treated by a sorcerer in the most barberous manner, if he does not recover it is clear he will die.

/196 cont./

• 301 Indian youths who cannot sport a bead necklace make them out of shell, Tatita, which is abundant throughout the region.

[321] /197/ The pieces are flat and round like a small button. They make a hole in the middle and string them one by one, making a knot in the string in order to separate them. Since the shells are white, a necklace on a Chiriguano's black neck is like a fly in milk (1).

[562] 1. The shell necklace is worn solely by men. I checked carefully and saw that they alone wear it. I have several of them that I found in a grave which was uncovered by the rain.

301 562 For men there is another necklace of beads, Ndamicha: a string of these with a large one in the middle, Ndamicha ichi, mother of the beads, is valuable. The ndamicha even comes mounted in the hole of the tembeta, which then is valuable and is called Ndamicha-tembeta, tembeta with bead.

114 301 562 It seems that the explorer and expeditionist Toux is not completely correct when he says that these necklaces are made of coralline, malachite, etc. The Indians do not tell where they come from. Perhaps with careful analysis it could be learned what type of material they contain and which animal produces them naturally, such as the coralline. What is beyond doubt is that today's explorers do not give them the value that they would have if they were true pearls. The former value of beads among the Indians themselves was, as I have said, conventional. The same gentleman is not entirely correct when he states that the Chiriguano women wore shell necklaces. Perhaps they were used by the Tapiî women, where he stayed for a long time in his efforts to see Olympus from Ionn.

301 562 Women's necklaces are abundant and are of different forms and colors. Some are round and black, Mbotou, companion of beads, others red and curly, Mbotichanchi, curly beads, and others long and black, Sebadilla. There is also no lack of women who in addition to the above-mentioned ornaments place around their necks a string of silver coins, all of the same size.

/197 cont./

301 562 [437]

These are of ten-centavo or five-centavo pieces, but they try to have them all alike. From what has been said it can be seen that the necklaces that the women wear are modern, brought by traders, especially peddlers (?).

> 2. Today neither medals nor reales of pure silver are found, but the Chiriguano Indian women make their necklaces with medals and reales of nickel. These are satisfactory, but the former were better.

301 184

Modern necklaces are common and also worn by the neophytes, but they do not wear bracelets, which are suitable only for the infieles. They make a long string of small blue beads and wrap it around /198/ their wrists, taking care to be sure that each turn is tight and close to the previous one, and so on with the rest which follow.

291 301 186 177

The Chiriguano, because he is proud, does not lower himself to wearing the adornments of neighboring tribes which are inferior to him, but he does easily adapt himself to wearing the clothing and adornments of those which are superior to him. He does not lower himself to wearing bird feathers, to wearing his face and arms, to wearing wooden earrings, like the Toba and others, but he imitates and attempts to surpass his superiors, the whites, by dressing himself like them, the men wearing the fine hat and the women wearing the wool and silk mantas, the young men the footwear and boots, and the maidens foreign earrings. Hence, tiny little girls at the moment they are born have the ear lobe pierced, so that in time, even before they begin to walk, the mother can put a pair of earrings on them, while some of the old women whom I knew wore earrings in her ears. This is a sure sign that they never wore ornaments in them, and thus, if the modern Chiriguano women wear them, it is because they have seen women and maidens who came from civilized centers or were born there.

/199 cont./

301 [522] [554] [527]

I am going to end this chapter by mentioning a fancy ornament which has completely disappeared. It is a woman's ornament and is called Aguá, crown, and whoever wore it was called Cuño aguá vaí, crowned woman. The duty of this woman at the public drinking bouts and solemnities was to direct the women's dance, to direct the singing, and to give drinks to the singers and dancers with her own hands. The aguá was a variegated band up to three meters long, which was put around the head, crossed at the back of the neck, and held on by thorns, needles, or big silver pins, and both ends terminated in tassels of various colors. It was a very striking ornament (1).

[126]

1. In order to send a complete aguá to the Turco expedition I had to have it made in the girls' school in Santa Ana. I could not get one in the towns; there were none even at that time.

000

Here is poor humanity without any exact idea of religion and worship, they are zealous and hard-working for the body, but have no concern at all for the soul. Only Christ can restore humanitini, and tear away the veil which was obscuring its intelligence, and only the priest and Catholic missionary can teach him the sound doctrine of /199/ immortality and other dogmas, so that with this knowledge he may first seek the kingdom of God and receive the rest besides (1).

1. Quaerite primum regnum Dei et haec omnia adicientur vobis.

392

Explanation of the Preceding Illustration $\frac{1}{4}$

1. Sticks for getting fire.

534

2. Bull's horn for use as a musical instrument.
3. Tail of a quirquincho /armadillo/ for use as a musical instrument.

410

4. Tweezers for pulling out the hair from the face and other parts.

λ [see, on p. 266.- Bandelier]

/199 cont./

301 5. "Mboivera," or pieces of silver for adornment.
6, 7, 8. Metal tembetas.
9. A hollow-cane tembeta.
10. "Yapicuana," or band for the hair.
11. "Aguá," or long band for adornment of the queen in drinking festivals.
412 12. Wooden comb.
534 13. Porongo for playing as a musical instrument.
14, 15. "Senene," or Chiriguano flutes.
16. "Igüiramimbi" for playing as a musical instrument.
17. Stone ax.

/200/

Chapter Eight

The Chiriguano Family

Introduction

The theory of the founder of the transformist school, in which he attempts to demonstrate and establish the origin of the human race by means of evolution, is completely absurd. /The remainder of the introduction, pp. 200-202, is omitted in the translation. Page 202 continues as follows./

The Family

Genesis tells us of the origin of the human race, and outside of this book all is confusion; faith teaches us that God created the first man in His image and likeness, and later gave him a companion, taking her from his rib, from which it is deduced that the family began in the world, or in historical times, from the beginning of humanity (2).

792 2. Readers already know the story which
793 Anduari told me regarding the creation of
871

/227 cont./

health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently, and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Pacirema.

/228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and not a boy, the time to give up the ó ó of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother, and other relatives make him understand that for this it is necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip, Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ita, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

/[illegible] cont./

•301 [308] The Tembeta usually is a small round piece of tin with two little ears or hooks on the sides which serve to hold it in the pierced lip. The circle of the tembeta is hollow up to near the surface of the hooks: a little wax is put in it, and the ornament, such as cowrities or little light-blue stones of little value, are set in the wax. What is somewhat valuable is the Inagli, a small green stone in one piece which fills the entire hole of the tembeta. I have one of these, and its stone is fixed in place with a little prong of the same tin. The tembetas are also of hollow cane and of wood, but never of stone, as some writers have stated (1).

> 1. Though tembeta literally means lip stone, this does not come from its being made of stone: the literal meaning comes from inagli, which is a stone. The inagli is also set in those of wood.

[179] [30] The tembeta, already described, is relatively new. Before Christians and missionaries came into their country the tembetas were of wood, and they were of the same form as the in one, with all the ornamentation, but most people used a piece of hollow cane, especially when they were working. [308] This is a little piece of cane cut at a node, which is thinner in the hole in order to be held in the pierced lip. In these there is neither ornament nor wax, because they are for the poor, and for the rich only when they are working.

[30] [335] The Inagli had considerable value among the Indians, being worth a horse, a cow, a burro, etc., but, as I have already said, it was a relative value, since in Tarija, from where they brought them, their value was two bolivianos. From this it can be concluded that the inagli is not found in [171] Chiriguano country. It owes its origin to the Inca or Quichua /Quechua/. /[illegible]/ but it is the Chiriguano who work the tembeta, in which they set the inagli, or green stone.

/230 cont./

304 Then the one doing the operation looks among his imple-
307 ments for the string with which he takes the exact measure-
(304) ments so that the hole will be in the middle and above the
chin. Then he prepares the Guanpirasa, which literally means:
304 piece of the cured skin of pygmy deer. Certain writers have
413 believed that the guanpirasa is a pygmy-deer horn on the
98 basis of the name guan, with which the name of the article
(114) begins, but it is a mistake. The guanpirasa is a round piece of iron of the size of a corrales needle, which they call Yergli in Quichua /Quechua/ (2).

> 2. If it were a slender deer-horn, it would be liable to break, and if it were slightly sharpened the hole would be very large and it would be difficult to hold the first tembeta, which should be small. There would be many other problems, which are avoided with the slender and strong iron.

304 As I have said, he takes the appropriate measurements
307 with a string; he puts his hand on his guanpirasa, and upon
98 seeing this the mother is frightened and weeps in silence,
and the other people shrink back. Finally, utilizing the services of another practitioner, he has him press very strongly with the index fingers of both hands at the edges of the temples, at the point where the ears are attached, and when he is sure /231/ that the boy keenly feels the pain that the assistant's fingers cause in his ears he quickly and deftly inserts the well-sharpened iron, and the hole is made with considerable skill, the Guanpirasa passing up to the tip of the nose.

He at once puts a hollow little tube of tin on the iron and lowers it little by little in order to pull it out of the pierced lip, where instead there remains in place the little tube, which sticks out a little on both sides of the lip. In
• (301) Chiriguano this tube is called Temberandi, or white tembeta.

/231 cont./

304 881 [824] Meanwhile the one who performed the operation now gives final admonishments to the boy, and he, following all of these instructions and those of his father, keeps the little tube in continual motion so that it will not stick to the flesh, and on the days that follow he begins to put around it little twigs /232/ from the bush called Yacurimbíu, food of the turkeys. When it has healed, he will cut a larger stick from the same bush and put it in alone, removing the tembetandi, and continue enlarging the hole this way little by little until he can put in a tembeta of hollow cane, which also goes on taking on larger dimensions until it seems big enough. Then he buys a de luxe tembeta and he puts it in, never to remove it again, either day or night, since it would be a great embarrassment for a Chiriguano to appear in public without his tembeta (1).

1. If the Chiriguano were to be without his tembeta while asleep, saliva would run out, because the hole is rather large in most of them.

• 301 The hollow-cane tembetas are made by every Chiriguano, while those of wood and tin are made by craftsmen. In spite [326] of there not being any blacksmiths or tinsmiths among them [439] and as neither tin or lead nor anything similar is available, [199] the result is that the material for making them is brought from other parts, being bought from the whites, with whom they have maintained relations since the beginning of Tarija, out of which region the Chiriguano were expelled.

The Tembeta in Other Tribes

301 191 The use of the tembeta may be another argument for the unity of the human race; indubitably the Chiriguano use it as a tradition passed on from father to son, and thus successively up to our times. The tembeta is found in use by savage tribes almost throughout the world; in Africa the Noers /Nuer/ and

/232 cont./

301 171 Berry women put pieces of glass and bits of ivory in their lips, respectively; among the Mittoo /Mittu/ and the Lobbatk, men and women wear in the lower lip tembeta that are conical in shape, and in addition the women even wear hoops in the upper lip (2).

2. In many tribes of the world, the tembeta is a mark of modesty, and women who wear it do not show themselves in public without having it in the lip.

In other regions the women are coquettes, only wearing in their upper lip a wood or ivory hoop, which the Sciulus do. Finally, even the Cormá /Korma/, investigated not long ago by the Italian Bottego, wear in their lip wide wooden hoops which increase the wideness of the lip itself.

In North America the tembeta is used by preference by the /233/ women; it serves them as an ornament, and they put around it as many little pieces of wood as they have years of age. The tembetas of the Tapíi of Isoso are small, and those of the Chorotí and the Tapiete are of wood or of cane; no doubt up until today it was difficult for them to get the metal to make a de luxe one (1).

101

1. The Tapiete are, or were, Chiriguano indians. They stayed near the inlets, where there is flat land with hills and streams, in order to be able to do their planting.

301 773 776 According to what is known through faith, clothing was given to humanity as punishment for its disobedience, a punishment which has been converted into the luxury of frequent and extravagant fashions, so also among the Chiriguano does there exist the fabulous belief that the tembeta, which today they consider to be a distinctive mark of the race and a sign of virility, strength, and valor, was nothing other than a bitter and well-deserved punishment which a marvelous and very

/233 cont./

301 773 776 powerful being inflicted upon them because of the weakness and laziness that distinguish them, corresponding to the opinion the reader may have formed in the course of these lines. They attribute its origin to the Tunpa, source of all goodness, and to the Aguara-Tunpa, whom they regard as the source of all evil, as has been seen. Under this concept, the one who punished them was not the former, but the Aguara-Tunpa. I shall end this ninth chapter by telling a fable in which the belief in the punishments that humanity may deserve from a superior being will be seen.

A Legendary Tale

539 173 The Indians say that formerly there was no distinction between men; all were of the same color and spoke the same language. It has already been said in previous pages that the Chiriguano of certain regions believe that the original language was Quichua /Qoechua/. What caused the diversity 959 of color and the diversity of language? Here is the legend (2).

> 2. If one asks a Chiriguano about the origin of all men, he answers that they are different from us; they have been made ugly, miserable, poor, and ignorant.

Two men of old were short of food and had wretched clothing; they were reduced to extreme suffering and were on the point of dying. The Aguara-Tunpa, in spite of /234/ his evil inclination and his abhorrence of humanity, in spite of his few philanthropic instincts, was moved to compassion for the unfortunate men and went to them and said, "I wish to help you and put an end to your miseries, to your misfortunes and needs, because I can do it; in spite of the fact that you consider my enemy your good friend and me your enemy, I wish to do you a favor so that you may see that when I want to be I am more powerful than your friend, who does not know how to succor you in your present calamities.

/258 cont./

The Fiesta

527 The evening before the arete finds everything cleaned up and ready in the town; they have everything put outside, at a convenient distance from each house, in front of same, the vessels full of chicha already fermented, and another in the house which will be fermented in a little while so that it may not turn sour or run short. I never had the curiosity to count the vessels in these general drinking bouts, which are not very frequent; I only know that each family fills three large pitchers /259/ and from them can be deduced the quantity, or number of cannons ready there for firing and heroic defense in the battle with their owners and other hangers-on. I was at a fiesta in a town of some 350 families, and it lasted for more than a week.

●301 527 [302] The people invited also get ready and begin to draw near the place of the arete, but first they have adorned their bodies. The coquettes round off their pompadours, paint their little faces, and wear their best clothing, as all do, adorning their necks with necklaces, their arms with bracelets, their breasts with the Boivera, and their whole persons with the Mandu or the Tiru. There is no lack of women who adorn their heads with the Aguá, a crown that they make of leaves, or of tin cans, adorned with painted wool or cotton with tassels down to the knees; in sum, they dress up in their best (1).

527 574 1. Nobody enters the town where the fiesta is being prepared; on the night before all sleep a short distance away.

The arrival of the outsiders is on the morning of the day itself. Before this takes place, the inhabitants have already arisen in order to hold the reception. Those invited, after getting up, again clean up their persons and their adornments; the chief, ucau vaé, mounts a horse, which is also done by the other riders, and they begin to gallop like a troop of madmen, whistling and shouting as loudly as they can; those who are on foot follow, running in the same way; next come the young women, also

4: Nino--384 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano
Chorotí SK6

291
SIC
301

Group of Chorotí Indians

/295 cont./

765 589 When the year of mourning ends, the widow continues her silence until one of the relatives of the deceased visits her with all respect as a person worthy of veneration, because she has wept much and with grief for the dead; he tells her that this is now enough, that she can go out and again appear at the public drinkings, since this visit takes place two or three days before some general drinking affair. The widow makes them ask her many times and once more reflects on the virtues /296/ and greatness of the husband she has lost through death; she curses the bad sorcerers and poisons, finally consenting to stop mourning, leave the house, and take part in the coming fiesta (1).

1. During the year of mourning the widows are continually cloistered in their homes, coming out only when they have to; they go to the spring for water and to the field for food.

[302] [301] [292] During the year the hair has grown out at least some 30 centimeters; she then removes the rag from her head, combs her hair carefully, puts the well-known cosmetic on her face and feet, adorns her neck and arms with necklaces and bracelets, dresses in her best tipoy, and goes out with some woman friend. In this first appearance she does not take part in the dancing or singing, so that all may know that she still feels the absence of her husband, and all respect her silence. Only afterwards does her public life begin anew, like the rest, that is, she sings and dances as before.

587 589 797 736 A few weeks later, if someone should ask her to be his wife, she will probably consent, if she is still young and has small children, because the reader can imagine the suffering of a widow, who must seek food for herself and her little ones. Oh, how often have silent tears run down my face on seeing the tears of widows and fatherless children who, for lack of food, not knowing whom to ask for aid, have come to the missionary or to one superior to them to ask for help! How could one deny it? Only a heart of bronze could have done so.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
3C
301
142

Fig. 24. Old Chiriguano Indian with a big »Tembeta». Tiháipa, Bolivia.

XII.

Articles connected with the deformation of the body. »Tembeta».

C
Ce
301

All Chiriguano and Chané men of the older generation and, in a few of the Chiriguano villages, the younger men and boys also wear a so-called *tembeta* or lip-button in the under-lip. The custom of boring the lips is wide-spread in S. America. DALL, DENIS, NETTO, UHLE and VERNEAU-RIVET have drawn up summary tables to which I beg to refer, at the same time making some additions based on notes I have made from the literature on the subject to which I have had access.

C
Ce
[304]
[171] R

The tembeta of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is made, as a rule, of tin and in shape reminds one of a cap with a peak at both the front and back. (fig. 25)

Schmelzkiste I-5/(1908-1908, 1913) 1950
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

The back is somewhat concave enabling it to rest conveniently on the chin-bone. The front is round and flat and does not project beyond the lip. The metal is hollowed at the front and filled with wax, in which are fastened green or blue stones or glass beads of the same colours. In a grave at Caipipendi I found a tembeta of wood of the shape here described, in which a round piece of green glazed earthenware is inserted. For every-day use both the Chiriguano and Chané sometimes have lip-buttons of wood which are shaped like flat wooden cylinders. The Chané usually have smaller lip-buttons than the Chiriguano. Cardenas[1]) mentions lip-buttons of resin among the latter Indians from the 18th century.

I make no attempt here to show on the map the distribution of lip-boring in S. America.[2]) As was mentioned, it is very considerable. The idea of inserting stones or beads fastened with wax in the tembeta is almost confined to the Chiriguano and Chané.

It might almost be suspected that they got this idea from the Whites, who now have an extensive manufacture of metal tembetas in order to sell to the Indians. This is not the case, however, for SCHMIDEL writes of the Karkhokhies (Gorocotoques)[3]) who dwelt in N. W. Chaco: — «Pero sus mujeres tienen un canutillo asegurado à los labios en el que meten ellas una piedra verde ó gris». Of what material this «canutillo» was, we are not informed. In Chili[4]) a tembeta of stone has been found with a cavity in which possibly another stone or the like had been set.

The metal tembeta is here probably, though not neces-

[1]) P. 331

[2]) (This) because few of the old writers have given any detailed description of lip-buttons.

[3]) (1) P. 264. (2) P. 24. «Ihre weiber aber haben ein kleins stücklein gemacht in dem lepsen, darein sie ein grienen oder grabenn christallen stein stechenn.»

[4]) MENDES (1) Fig. 77. From Freirina.

Ea 301 171 [195]

early, post-Columbian. CASTELLAU[3]) mentions silver tembetas from Mojos as early as the 17th century, and in Ecuador a tembeta of gold has been found.[4]) CUNRAU[5]) writes of the Chiriguano: «Les hommes se percent la lèvre inférieure, ils y attachent un petit cylindre d'étain, ou d'argent ou de resine transparente.» It is not impossible that the Indians of this part, viz. the Chané, had lip-buttons of silver in pre-Columbian times.

The highly specialised type of tembeta which I have here likened to a cap with both front and back peak, is not now found in use in S. America elsewhere than among the Indians here dealt with and some few Tapiete who learned its use from the Chiriguano.

Similar tembetas of stone have been found at the Rio Negro in Patagonia[6]), in San Juan[7]) in Argentine, in central Chili[8]), at Tiahuanaco[9]); at Parana-Mini[10]), Minas Geraes[11]) and Pernambuco[12]). Here may also be included a tembeta of gold described by RIVET and VERNEAU from Chordeleg in Ecuador. This type of tembeta is also found in Mexico and in western N. America. This lip-button is best characterised by saying that, when inserted in the lip, it looks like a round disc.

The type of lip-button most closely resembling those described here, have a more or less spike shape when seen from the side. While the Chiriguano tembeta projects either not at all or very slightly beyond the lip, in the spike-shaped

[3]) P. 320.
[4]) RIVET (4) and VERNEAU Pl. XXIV, Fig. 10.
[5]) P. 331.
[6]) LEHMANN-NITSCHE (4).
[7]) DIEREKEDEYE (4) P. 58.
[8]) MENDOZA (1); UHLE (9) P. 8.
[9]) UHLE (1) Vol. 1, Pl. 19, Fig. 23 and 24.
[10]) DIEREKEDEYE (4) P. 57.
[11]) NEVES Pl. 8.
[12]) » »

Ec
Ec
3c1
171

tembeta one sees a point projecting downwards more or less beyond the lip in a downward direction. The cross-piece which prevents the lip-button from slipping out does not broaden into a flat disc approximately following the shape of the chin. Length, shape and material may vary considerably.

Ec
Ec
3c1
187

The oldest type of lip ornament probably consisted of feathers, etc., fixed in a hole in the underlip. To keep this hole extended, it was ordinarily filled by a wooden plug or the like. This consisted, like the everyday tembeta of the Chiriguano and Chané, of a plain wooden cylinder. This shape was subsequently changed and more ornamental material substituted for the wood. Some tribes merely made the wooden plug bigger and bigger, e. g. the Suyá[7]), Botokudo[8]) and Longua.[9]) As a rule it was, no doubt, not very hard to make the wooden plug stay in the hole. When it was exchanged for more ornamental material such as resin, and, above all, stone, it became necessary to give the tembeta such a shape as would prevent it slipping through the hole. The Chiriguano Indian wooden tembeta is merely cylindrical; the heavy metal tembeta is cap-shaped.

Ec
Ec
3c1
171

The Huari tembetas of wood are likewise cylindrical. The upper part of the smoother tembeta of resin is made thicker, so that it cannot slip through the hole.

The Chiriguano and Chané evidently have a very specialised form of tembeta which would appear to be fairly late. Its distribution over the continent of America does not, however, support this view. The type is found in Mexico and N. America as well as in S. America. The question arises whether we may not, in this case, imagine a parallel evolution. Wherever the attempt has been made to make tembetas of heavier material than wood, it has here found necessary to make them more or less T-shaped. It is in

7) Karl von den Steinen (2).
8) Wied.
9) Ahrens (2) p. 390.

Schmidt, Wilhelm E-5,4(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

fact, the only possible shape. It was quite natural that both in N. and S. America the tendency was to shape the tembeta in such wise that it should lie conveniently on the chin-bone.

The most highly specialized type of tembeta is found along the Rio Araguaya among the Karajá and Kayapó.[1]) There are in these parts a number of different types of lip-buttons, and it is natural to ask whether such a variation of tembeta types was not formerly common in other parts. In other districts where the Indians still wear tembetas there is no similar variation in type. One sees only two or three different types. Nor it is likely that type-variations of stone tembetas have been much greater than is indicated by the material hitherto collected. The distribution of stone tembetas, on the other hand, may have considerably exceeded what we know at present.

Kayser[2]) has pointed out how different kinds of tembetas are worn at different ages among the Karajá. The Chiriguano when merely boys wear the wooden plug. Lery[3]) says that the Tupinambá boys had bone tembetas of conical shape. When they were full-grown (attained puberty?) they received tembetas of stone which, in part at least, had a shape similar to that of the Chiriguano and Chané tembetas. Very likely the narrower, spike- shaped tembetas which Dembowski[4]) described from San Juan were for boys' wear, while those which resembled the Chiriguano and Chané tembetas were for grown-ups.

A writer as early as Vaas de Caminha[5]) mentions various kinds of tembetas among the Indians whom Cabral met with when he came to the coast of Brazil.

It is evident that the spike-shaped tembetas belong to an older era of civilization than those of capshape. The

[1]) Krause P. 000.
[2]) P. 000.
[3]) (4) P. 98.
[4]) P. 180 a, 180 b, 180 d, 180 i, 180 l.

Schmidt-Schlid E-S (1905-1908, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
Ce
301
E.171

former have in S. America a much wider distribution than the latter. When both types existed together, as was the case among the Tupinambá, the boys had to be content with spike-shaped variety, while the men had the cap-shaped. For the latter kind a specially valuable material was employed, viz. a rare kind of green stone.

In all likelihood it was from the Andine area of civilization that the cap-shaped tembeta spread to Patagonia to the Chané, Chiriguano and Tupinambá. This must have happened before the time of the Incas. At the time of the conquest the Incas had no tembetas. The discovery of tembetas of this type at Tiahuanaco supports the notion that we have here to do with a culture-element which spread south and east during the Tiahuanaco period.

Should an attempt be made to draw a diagram showing the evolution of tembeta-types, I imagine it would be pretty much as follows (fig. 27).

Out of the small cylindrical wooden plug which still occurs everywhere for the purpose of keeping the lip-button hole open, and to extend the same, three types have been specialized:

(1) The exaggeratedly large, flat, round wooden disc;
(2) The more or less spike-shaped lip-button;
(3) The flat cap-shaped tembeta.

Of these (1) is most likely the oldest, (2) next and (3) the most recent.

If the cap-shaped tembeta in this part of America comes from the Andine area of civilization, the Chiriguano have probably taken it westwards again. The Chané generally have quite small tembetas, this being the reason why they are scornfully called by the Chiriguano »ñañareta» (women). It is probable that they learned the use of this ornament from the Chiriguano. Of the Chaco tribes visited by me it is only the guaranized Tapiete who have tembetas.

Ce
[177]

C
Ce
304
301

The Chiriguano and Chané men never pierce their ears.

Schwabenkiste E-4/9(1908-1909, 1912) 1909
N10 Chiriguano N10
Chaco N9

Formerly the chiefs wore ear-rings with pendants of green stones. Among these Indians the only women with pierced ears are a few of the younger ones who have learned from the Whites the custom of wearing ear-rings. These ornaments are also obtained from the Whites. Oddly enough, the barbarous custom of piercing the ear is thus here an idea obtained by the Indians from the Whites. Neither men nor women pierce the nasal septum.

Ee 304 304 [77]
Ee 301 77.

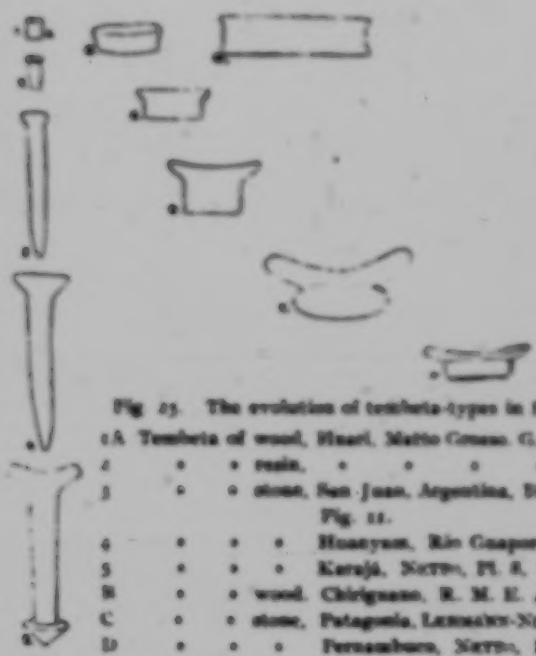


Fig. 23. The evolution of tembeta-types in S. America. 1/9

1A Tembeta of wood, Huari, Matto Grosso. G. M. 13. 1. 334.
2 " " resin, " " " " 16. 1. 296.
3 " " stone, San Juan, Argentina, DEBENEDETTI, (a) Fig. 11.
4 " " " Huanyam, Rio Guaporé.
5 " " " Karajá, NETTO, Pl. 8. Fig. 6.
B " " wood. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 460.
C " " stone, Patagonia, LENNANY-NITSCHE (a), P. 186.
D " " " Pernambuco, NETTO, Pl. 8, Fig. 4
E " " " Poirina, Chile, MEDINA (1). Fig. 16.
F " " metal, hollowed at the front and filled with wax in which are fastened glass beads. Chiriguano. G. M. 13. 1. 540.
B1 " " wood, Suyá, Rio Xingú. UHLE (u) Fig. 34.

seen in the villages about the upper Río Pilcomayo. When the hair is long it is not worn hanging down the back, as is the custom with other Indians wearing long hair. It is wound round the head, spun up, and kept in place with a fillet. I have not seen any other Indians do their hair in this way. The women also have long hair, usually parted down the middle and braided. Braiding may have been introduced in post-Columbian times, though this is uncertain, as it was also common in the culture-area of the west.

The Chiriguano and Chané use combs, but no brushes. In Part I I have already dealt with different kinds of combs met with in the districts through which I have travelled. The Chiriguano only have plain wooden combs which are sometimes rather prettily carved. This type of comb is probably derived from the mountain civilisation, as I have already pointed out in Part I.

The Chané have «stick-combs», «ñtahchenkhanne» and now and again, though rarely, plain wooden ones too. These constructed combs are, as a rule, one-sided, in contradistinction to the doublesided ones of the Chorotí and the Ashluslay. Thus we see that the Chané type of comb is unlike the one found in old tombs in the Puna de Jujuy, and which now occurs among the Quichua and the Aymara, the Chorotí and the Ashluslay. Chiriguano and Chané combs are used exclusively for cleaning the hair and are never worn as ornaments.

The use of the pincer or tweezer as a toilet article certainly came to the Chiriguano and Chané from the civilized zone in the west. They are of metal and are used for removing hair from the body. Nowadays pincers are usually made of the metal from some old tin can, but sometimes of silver. These pincers of silver also serve as breast ornaments for the men, and are called «hoivéra». They have to a great extent lost their original use, and are now simply used as ornaments. They have even sometimes been hammered together so that they can no longer be used as pincers.

C
Ec
301
302
1177
531

Fig. 26. 1/3

a) Implement of the [illegible] working hair. Chiriqueno. R. M. R. [illegible].
b) " " silver " " " also used as breast ornament. Chiriqueno. R. M. R. [illegible].
c) Breast ornament of silver. " " [illegible]
d) " " " " " " [illegible].

Ec
Ec
301
302
1177
Ec
[531]

ces. They have become bigger and bigger. (fig. 26) These silver trinkets are not made any more by the Indians themselves, and it is likely that the majority of, or all the silver ornaments now found among the Indians have been made by white silversmiths.[1]) The shape is always Indian, but

[1]) Hyades is also of the opinion that the chokeres is not of Indian make. P. [illegible].

the ornamental design not always so (fig. 26). It is difficult to decide whether the idea of the pincer as a mere breast ornament is due only to the influence of non-Indian culture or not. Most likely the pincer was turned into mere ornament by the seniors, who presumably used it as an article of barter and then increased its size in order to make it more and more coveted by the Indians. At last the seniors themselves may from have been quite ignorant of its original use. Consequently we cannot be wrong in considering the desideratum an original Indian element of culture which has been transformed under the influence of

Ce 301 ~~442~~ 177 [531] Ce [194] [437]

C [531] [304]

Fig. 27. Figure tattooed on the arm of a old Chiriguano Indian. ½ Originalst. ½.

the Whites. There is no doubt that the pincer is a cultural element derived from the old culture zone in the west. They are, as we know, quite common in collections from that part. The Chiriguano also sometimes use a piece of split reed for removing hair.

C [442] [302]

Tattooing occurs here, but is very rarely seen. I have only seen two Chiriguano women and one old Chiriguano man with tattooing on their arms. The old man had the figure depicted here (fig. 27) tattooed on his arm. If I understood him rightly, it used in old times to be quite common for the Chiriguano-men to be tattooed in the same way. I have seen no tattooed Chané men or Chané women. I have already given an account of the distribution of tattooing in S. America in the first part of this book.

C 304

Ce [304]

Schwabenäder I-4 (1909-1916, 1919) 1931
S710 Chiriguano S710
Chaco S71

XV.

Ornaments and Knick-knacks.

C
Ce
301
177

Nowadays the Chiriguano and the Chané have but few personal adornaments. This is perhaps to a certain extent owing to their long intercourse with Whites. Feather-ornaments, pierced teeth, and such things are not seen. I have already described the shoivérao. The embellishments on these silver ornaments, especially the Swastika are, I think, not genuine Indian. In South America I know of the Swastika on pottery from the Mizque valley[1]), from Tiahuanaco[2]) and from Ica[3]) and Cajamarca[4]) in Peru. An ornament which most certainly originates from the civilized mountain region is the «topu» or breast-pin, which is peculiar to this region. An embellished one of silver is shown here (fig. 29 a). It was most likely made by a Mestiz smith. Necklaces worn by Chiriguano and Chané women are most often of glass beads, but one now and then sees ornaments of pieces of shells, turquoise and, other green and blue stones, black seeds and coral. The stones are said originally to have been found in the ground, especially in the Tarija valley.

C
Ce
[531]
[171]

C
292
301
[177]

A very rare ornament is the head-dress depicted here (fig. 28). It was formerly worn by Chiriguano women on festive occasions. Even if it is now made of a material which the Indians have had from the Whites, it is quite

[1]) Nordenskiöld (11) Fig. 37.
[2]) Posnansky Fig. 39.
[3]) Max Schmidt (7) Fig. 34.
[4]) M. C. A. 176.

[illegible] 8-8 (1908-1909, 1912) 1909
[illegible] Chirigwano [illegible]

[illegible]

292
301

Fig. 28. Head-dress for women. Made of stuff, tufts of yarn and tin. Chirigwano, Caipipendi, R. M. E. 32.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

292 possible that the original idea was Indian and in that case
301 came from the civilized mountain region. The frontlet was
177 there a mark of distinction[1]).

177
301
531

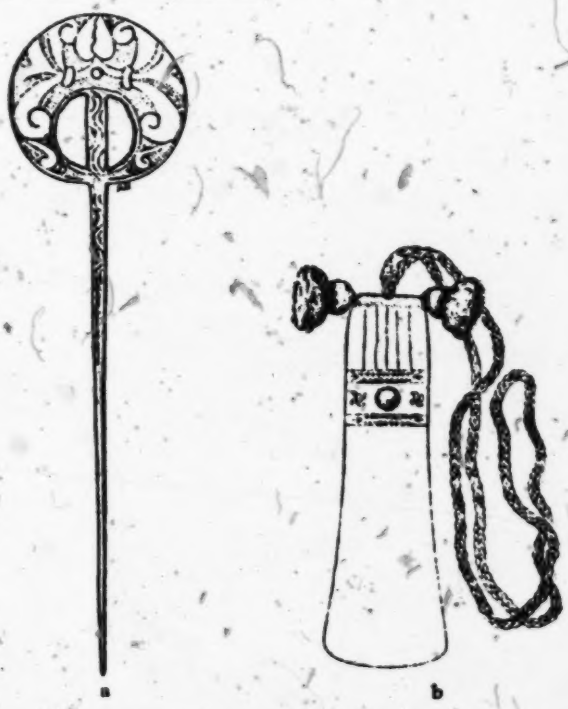


Fig. 29. a. Silver pin used for fastening the »Tipoy». The shape Indian, embellishment Spanish. Chiriguano, Rio Parapiti. In Mr HERSMARCK's private collection. 1/3.
b. Breast-plate of silver »Boivéra». Chiriguano, Calpipendi. In my private collection. 1/3.

[1]) »Algunas cuñas usan en esta circunstancia ceñir la cabeza con una especie de corona de color rojo, por detras de la cual penden varios cordones que rematan en una borla. Este adorno, de que usan solo algunas y esclusivamente en el a r e t e, no deja de darles cierta gracia.» CORRADO P. 44.

8:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
285
*171
S
102
285

X 3. Piaroa Rio Ventuari, Communication by letter from Prof. KOCH-GRÜNBERG.

Baskets with lids which are opened like an ordinary cigar-box.

A. Graves on the Peruvian Coast. G. M. Very commun in all collections of peruvian antiquities.

C
Ce
285
531

Some baskets from the Chiriguano have shapes which make them look like imitations of earthen vessels. (Fig. 53, C and D) Sometimes they even have an ear. Chiriguano and Chané baskets are very seldom ornamented.

Metal-work.

C
325
301

The only metal-work now occurring here is that the Chiriguano sometimes make their tembetas (lip-buttons) of tin themselves. Whether the Chiriguano and Chané before coming into contact with the Whites, themselves performed metal-work, I cannot say.

Stone-work.

C
Ce
324

The Chiriguano and Chané do not now work stone.

Wood-work.

C
Ce
322
412
177

For their wood-work the Chiriguano and Chané now use exclusively tools obtained from the Whites.

Weaving.

C
Ce
286

Among the Chiriguano I saw two types of loom; among the Chané only one.

The loom found among the Chiriguano and Chané is characterized by the completed product forming a ring (seamless) N. B. if so desired. The warp is set up as shown in the outline drawing, (Fig. 55,3) and in the sketch of a band-loom from the Chané. (Fig. 55,1). When the ring is

[text continues on p. 176]

5tNordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XXVI

Symbols of authority and dignity.

C 622 301 293

According to CORRADO[1]) the Chiriguano chief was distinguished by a tuft of hair on his head the »yattira» and earrings of green stones. At feasts the chief carried a pole with a bunch of ostrich feathers at the end of it, the »yandugua», and a carved stick the »iguirape». I have only seen the »yandugua». Among the Chané I have seen plain sticks that formed some kind of symbol of authority for the chiefs.

Ce 622

C Ce 554 *171

I have neither seen nor heard of any symbols of authority among any other Indians than the Chané, Chiriguano, Quichua and Aymara, and also, at the missions, among the Guarayos, Mosetene and Cavina. Among the Aymara and Quichua the staff, usually silver mounted, is a symbol of authority carried by Indian officials in the villages. It is the same at the missions among the tribes mentioned and also among the Chiriguano. LOZANO[2]) states that the Spaniards at the end of the seventeenth century solemnly presented a staff to a Chiriguano chief, Cambichuri, as a symbol of authority. CREVAUX[3]) relates from his visit to the Oyampi that the chief carried a staff in his hand, for all over Guiana the staff is »le signe de commandement». KOCH-GRÜNBERG[4]) speaks of the staff as a symbol of authority for chiefs in northwest Brazil. GILIJ[5]) says that the

C [648]

[1]) P. 45.
[2]) P. 298.
[3]) P. 164.
[4]) (2) I P. 260, Fig. 142: P. 297, Fig. 175.
[5]) T. 2 P. 193.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

dians. A handicraft the Chiriguano and Chané have learnt from the Whites, is tanning.

The dwelling-places of these two tribes have been greatly changed under the influence of the Whites. I have noticed the same phenomenon in several other tracts. The Yamaica, a small Peruvian tribe that I visited in 1904, a few years after its discovery, had already given up the old type of hut and built huts on the pattern of the houses of the Whites. The Huanyam, a small tribe near the Rio Guaporé in Brazil, which had not long been under the influence of the Whites (or more correctly, the negroes), now builds huts on the model of the houses they see at the rubber barracks. Several similar examples could be recorded. Everywhere it is the introduction of the white man's implements, so excellent in comparison with the stone axes, that has brought about the revolution.

The negative influence of the Whites has of course been very great here. The primitive tools have disappeared, a number of implements and ornaments have become rare or have vanished, a quantity of domestic industry has become superfluous, since readymade things have been purchasable from the Whites. The Indian domestic industry is gradually disappearing, but is not transformed under the influence of the Whites.

A race like the Chiriguano or Chané, when it falls under the influence of a culture, such as the Whites', which is very strange to them, very soon, as a rule, utilizes for its own ends such elements as smooth for them the struggle for existence. We know, for instance, with what incredible rapidity the culture of the banana spread among the Indians soon after the Discovery of America, and that in many places it rapidly became one of their most important cultivated plants. And I have already mentioned that, a few years after its introduction, poultry-keeping spread far and wide among the Indians in S. Brazil.

In the matter of ornaments and adornments the Indian

C Ce 177
C Ce 177 342
C Ce 177
C Ce [301]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 177 is conservative, which may partly be connected with the fact that for him, as KARSTEN has pointed out, colours and 301 ornaments have a great magical importance. When the [439] Chiriguano and Chané obtain by barter glass-beads for their [822] labrets, these must be blue, like the turquoises they were wont to fasten in them.

C Ce 177 When they come across anything in the culture of the Whites that approximates to their own conception of the ideal, the Indians have no difficulty in adapting it to their own use. We know that the dance mask is an Indian practice: it is therefore quite natural for the Indians to have embraced the carnival of the Whites with great interest and have added to it their own dances, in which they appear with masks on.

B. *The influence of the bronze age culture on that of the Chiriguano and Chané.*

C Ce [128] In the table 21 I have put together the cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané have very probably obtained from the culture zone in the west. We can see at a glance that this influence has been very considerable. The positive influence has been greater even than from the Whites.

If we look into the table we shall find that the Chiriguano and Chané have especially learnt from the culture zone in the west such things as are connected in some way with festivals. Here belong the men's festal attire, several adornments worn by men and women, the feather parasol, the finer sorts of pottery, the ornamentation of calabashes with pyrograving, several musical instruments, games, etc. C Ce When we know with what interest the Indians have embraced the festivals of the Catholic Church, wherever they [747] have had an opportunity of doing so, it can easily be understood that the tribes that were neighbours of the Incas, also imitated their festivals.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

302 The hair is tended with very neat-looking wooden combs (fig. 196).
[462] Among the Chiriguano I also noticed composite combs of the type used in the Chaco (fig. 85).

[386] Among the men as well as the women, the custom obtains of painting
[824] the face red, the pigment being prepared from Bixa orellana. Many of the men I met in the neighbourhood of San Luis had red-painted the whole face below the eyes, and some of the women had circular red
302 spots, about 3 to 4 cm in diameter, painted on their cheeks. On the
304 other hand, I did not see any tattooed Chiriguano. Instances of tattooing have, however, been noted by Nordenskiöld, who also has seen Chiriguano women who had stained their teeth dark blue with some vegetable extract.[1] In the past, tattooing as well as teeth-staining were commonly practiced by the Chiriguano.

301

Fig. 197. Lip-stud (tembeta) of tin, with inlaid, pierced, turquoise-coloured glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 8/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 822.

Another Chiriguano ornament intimately connected with the human body is the lip stud (›tembeta›), which is exclusively worn by men and by youths who have attained marriageable age. The Chiriguano lip stud of the present day consists of a hollow tin cylinder with two laminate projections (fig. 197). The cylinder is filled with some waxy substance, into which are embedded a number of small beads of stone, glass or porcelain, usually of a turquoise-blue colour. The lip stud is inserted from the inside, through a hole made in the lower lip, so that its circular, bead-beset, front surface barely shows beyond the skin of the lip. The base of the lip stud, which is slightly concave, then rests against the teeth of the lower jaw. This quaint ornament creates no displeasing impression, but should a Chiriguano take it out, he would look both pitiable and ridiculous, as the saliva then runs through the large hole in the lip. Hence it is considered disgraceful to be seen without the lip stud, and on many occasions I have noticed the women scornfully deriding such men as had sold their lip ornaments. As soon as a man had taken out his lip stud, he generally put his hand to his mouth for concealment until he had time to put in a substitute stud, usually made of wood.

The lip stud that is here shown, which weighs 18.5 grammes, has a base plate 3.4 cm long, and its cylinder is 1 cm high, with a diameter

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 83, 85 and (13), pp. 187—188.

of 2.1 cm. It is decorated with one large and many small, turquoise-blue beads made of glass or porcelain. 301

Necklaces of stone or glass beads are worn by the women, and even men may occasionally be seen with them. One such necklace (fig. 198), which I bought of a Chiriguano Indian in the San Luis district, consists largely of pierced, cylindrical or laminate, turquois beads of exactly the same kind as I found when excavating the ancient site at Tolomosa in the Tarija valley.[1] The Chiriguano keep all stone beads they happen to pick up on the ground, and also acquire them by barter from other districts. Besides turquoise beads, there are also blue, white, and red glass-beads threaded on this necklace, which to me proved a particularly costly bargain. It is probable that such necklaces as wholly or in part are composed of ancient beads are looked upon as amulets. To this question I shall refer later, in connection with my account of the supposed magical properties of certain Choroti objects. [437]

Fig. 198. Necklace of turquoises and glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 905.

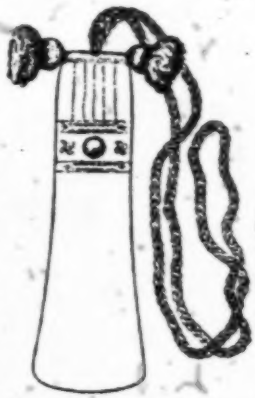


Fig. 199. Tweezer-like breast ornament of silver. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. Bolivia. 1/2. After Erl. Nordenskiöld.

[172] [789]

In the important work entitled »Comparative ethnographical studies», Erland Nordenskiöld describes, from the Chiriguano, an interesting breast ornament called »boivéra» (fig. 199), which I have not myself seen in use. It is of silver, doubled over tweezer-fashion, and worn on a string round the neck. Such tweezers, usually ornamented, are nowadays not put to any practical use, but exclusively worn as ornaments. The leaves of these tweezers are, therefore, sometimes hammered together. On good grounds Nordenskiöld advances his opinion that these ornaments originate from the small tweezers, or pincers, that, already in pre-Spanish times, were used by the Andean Indians for removing hairs of the beard, or 301 174 412 [302]

[1] von Rosen (1), p. 367 and fig. 332: 23—27.

7:Rosén E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

301 174 412 [302] other inconvenient hair-growth, and which are still in use among the Chiriguano.[1]

I have noted a circumstance, previously unheeded, that, in my opinion, gives considerable weight to Nordenskiöld's theory as to the true Indian origin of the boivéra ornament. All breast ornaments of this kind have in their upper part a tubular horizontal perforation, open at both ends. In the middle of this barrel, and through the top, there is a hole. Through this barrel and upper hole is run the cord by which the ornament is worn round the neck (fig. 199). This rather peculiar arrangement for fixing the cord on which the ornament is hung, is found in the majority of such ancient Indian hanging ornaments, whistles and flutes of stone, as were meant to be worn a string. As an example, the remarkable ancient Indian stone flute, found in the earth in the vicinity of Iruya,[2] has at one end been bored through (fig. 200) in a manner exactly corresponding to the arrangement for the cord in the boivéra. This cord-fixing adaptation does not, to my knowledge, occur in any European object. For this reason it may surely be considered as very probable, not only that the original use of the boivéra as a pair of tweezers is of Indian origin, but also that the idea of carrying the tweezers on a string round the neck is Indian, and consequently has not originated from those more or less »white» jewellers that nowadays manufacture boivéra ornaments, and sell them to the Indians. I have in another book depicted a fragment of a small, pre-Spanish, ornamented bronze tweezers, which, like the boivéra, has a circular perforation at its upper end,[3] indicating that those tweezers, too, were worn on a cord, and consequently also in all likelihood served as a breast ornament.

[534] [172]

Fig. 200. Pan-pipe of stone. Ground-find from Iruya. Bolivia. 1/2. The dotted line marks the hole for fastening a string in the same way as for the breast ornament, fig. 199.

[439]

---

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 81—83, 92 and 94.
[2] von Rosen (10), pp. 147 and 148.
[3] von Rosen (10), fig. 211.

415
531
276
534

by them to any considerable extent; I myself never saw any Chiriguano smoking.

The Chiriguano are very fond of music and dancing. Their musical instruments consist of a kind of primitive trumpets of cow-horn, reed flutes, whistles and drums.

An interesting Chiriguano whistling pipe is here reproduced, in fig. 227. It consists of a flat piece of some hard and heavy wood; is 18.5 cm long, 3.6 cm wide, and has a section as set out in the figure. It has, pierced through its longitudinal axis, a tubular perforation, 7 to 9 mm in diameter, and open at both ends, running from end to end of the instrument. In the centre of its upper edge there are two, somewhat smaller, holes through which is threaded the string which allows of the pipe being worn round the neck as a breast ornament. The carrying cord running through two holes, side by side, probably indicates that the pipe was meant to hang horizontally on the breast. If there had been only one hole for the cord, the pipe would have tilted one way or the other, like the beam of a pair of scales. The pipe is designed for blowing on in the

Fig. 223. Food bowl of earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. The rest of it painted yellowish white, with ornaments painted in dark brown (marked black) and red (represented by thin lines). Chiriguano. Aguayronda. Bolivia. 1/2. Rikum. 03. 3. 846.

Fig. 224. Hanging bowl, for keeping small articles. Earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. The rest painted yellowish white, with ornaments in dark brown. Chiriguano. Aguayronda. Bolivia. 1/2. Rikum. 03. 3. 843.

[301]

Fig. 225. Hanging bowl, for keeping small articles. Earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. Otherwise painted yellowish white, with ornaments in dark brown (marked black) and red (represented by thin lines). Chiriguano. Aguayronda. Bolivia. 1/2. Rikum. 03. 3. 844.

534 same way as Pan pipes, and *naturally gives out tones, when one end of the tube is closed, different to those producible with both ends open.* The pipe is open at both ends, therefore, not only because this allows the instrument to be easily cleaned from dust, dirt and saliva, but also because *this construction gives the possibility of a greater number of tones.*

531
415
824
←
534
301
531
→

Fig. 226. Bowl, of calabash, up-turned, with pokerwork ornaments. Chiriguano. Carapari, Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 831.

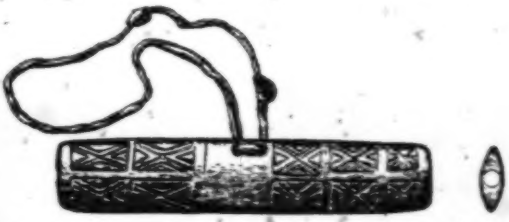


Fig. 227. Whistle, made of hard, black wood. Incised ornaments. Two cracks near one end of the tube have been filled up with a waxy substance. Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 848.

534 That the Indians occasionally also give a thought to keeping dust, etc.,
171 from getting into their whistling pipes, is, besides, evident from the pipe shown in fig. 228, which is an Araucan whistle from Cautin, Chile, a tubular piece of wood, 27.5 cm long. A common brass thimble is fitted over the lower end of the pipe, and for its top end there is a small, well made stopper of woollen-yarn, connected to the pipe with a string, so as not to get lost when taken out for the whistle to be blown. Concerning this stopper, Eric Boman, who has reproduced the pipe in one of his works, writes as follows: »Este tapón sirve para cerrar la boca del silbato, cuando éste no se usa, e impedir que entren allí tierra y otras impurenzas.»[1] »This stopper serves to keep the mouth of the whistle closed when the latter is not being used, and prevents dust and other dirt from entering.»

Fig. 228. Whistle, found at Cautin, Chile. From Boman.

Objects of tubular form, in construction corresponding to the one here reproduced in fig. 227, have been found in ancient Peruvian graves, and not only the Chiriguano, but also many other tribes now inhabiting areas in the neighbourhood of what once was the Inca domain, are still

[1] Boman (II), p. 518.

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

534 171 174 114

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

361 622

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

582 595 881 [304] [301] 585 574 846

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

Ce 829

/164 cont./

referring when he addressed a farewell speech to /165/ me, which began as follows: "Now you can tell your great chief that you saw us and our poverty..."

G S 823

The sense of direction of the Indians has been discussed a great deal. The Indian undoubtedly has a very highly developed gift of observation, but his sense of direction is not so considerable. I wandered with the Guarayú Indians in eastern Bolivia for about 250 kilometers in deep, large forests which they did not know, and in which we often had to cut a path,

G 823

C 142 301 302

Fig. 79. Old Chiriguano with large lip-plug. Tihuſpa.

G 823

step by step, with the bush knife. When the sun was covered with clouds, they often led me astray, as I could see by my compass. For a white man transplanted directly from city life into the wilderness, the Indian's intimate acquaintance with nature is remarkable. If one is accustomed to this life himself, he looks at the matter differently.

Ee /201 cont./

301 As for native ornaments, one sees necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla beads and of black seeds.

Ee 301 172 [439] Ee [435] As for native ornaments, one sees necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla beads and of black seeds.

According to their own statements, the Indians find the stone beads in the ground where there are old dwellings and graves. The mestizos in the Tarija valley, who find a great many of these beads in their fields, sell them to the Chiriguano /202/ and Chané at high prices. In former times a necklace of these beads was paid for with a horse.

Ee 524

Fig. 105. Wax dolls. 1/1. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

Ee 302 The Chané and Chiriguano women wear the hair medium long, parted in the middle of the forehead, and sometimes tied at the nape of the neck or on the head with a band.

Ee 291 177 Ee 291 171 C 302 The men now all wear European attire. At /Fig. 107 appears here/ work, however, one not infrequently sees them in only a piece of fabric protecting the sexual parts. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, coats resembling those with which we became familiar among the Choroti and Ashluslay were very common. The older men, as well as the younger ones in the Chiriguano villages on the upper Rio Pilcomayo, wear the hair long, wound around the head, and held together, as a rule, with a red or blue band. Toward the front the hair is cut off; thus they have forelocks /203/ and a lock in front of each ear. The

C Ce /210 cont./
881 When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a
[302] compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short,
and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again.
Ce Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her
[262] needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second
menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize
C and meal. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."
881 In a Chané village, Aguarati, I saw a girl who was sitting
123 in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet,
which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and
C closet had disappeared.
881 P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection

C 1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest
[113] also speaks of the custom of the couvade
among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres
édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

C
[825] with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has
C bitten the girl.
Ce When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is
881 marriageable.
582 /211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his
Ce lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this.
852 A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie
304 down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in
[301] his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable
Ce [603] hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him
Ce to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.
[262] For one day the father may not consume anything, so that
[191] the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians
do not like prattlers.
Ce When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small
301 piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may
[885] parade around with a large plug, "tembata," in his lower lip (Fig.
79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise
C and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the
[301] Chiriguano only the old men now have the
[178] Ce
[178] tembata.

/211 cont./

Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

Ec /219 cont./
765
302
[587]

If her husband dies, the wife is supposed to cut her hair short. /220/ If she loved him very much, she does it twice. It is not until her hair has grown long again that she may enter into another marriage. If her father or mother dies, she cuts her hair short; if her child, her brother, or brother-in-law dies, she cuts it moderately short. Long hair means that it reaches to the shoulders. My question as to whether the men also cut their hair in mourning was answered with laughter. They content themselves with shortening only the longest. The men may not marry until about a year after the death of the wife.

C
765
301

If the woman is in mourning, she wears no ornaments. When I was with Maringay, his daughter-in-law had lost her little child. Though all the other women in the village wore many necklaces, she did not have a single ornament. She also did not take part in any festivity.

Ea
764
177

The Indians whom the missionaries baptize do not always like having to bury their dead in a cemetery. They at least want the dead to have water with them in the grave.

One does not free oneself so easily from the old, inherited ideas, in order to exchange them for new ones. /Pl. 18 appears here./

/221/ Chapter Thirteen

000 On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Ugly Words, Homosexuality, Suicide, Sense of Modesty, etc.

In the language of the whites there are, as is well known, a number of words that may not be used in polite society. Persons of the same sex may mention certain parts of the body only by their Latin names, whereas persons of different sex, as a rule, do not speak of them at all to one another. One word may be regarded as ugly, whereas another word for the same thing may be used at will. The reason why a word is forbidden is undoubtedly often difficult to determine.

Ee 831 /227 cont./

The Indians regard the natural aspect of sexual life very differently from the way we view it as a rule. We do not find among these people all the corruption which is in civilized society, but various things are to be found here already. As far as homosexuality in particular is concerned, conditions among primitive peoples, as is known, show that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than in our hypercivilization.

Ee 838

/228/

Chapter Fourteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Chiefs and Laws

Ee 622 293 643 [177]

The chiefs have an entirely different position among the Chané and Chiriguano than among the Ashluslay and Choroti. They have considerable power. Among the chiefs there are the great chiefs, who rule over several villages, and the village chiefs, who have command over only one village or a part of one. Among the great chiefs whom I met, the noteworthy ones are the old woman Vuŷyruyi, the chief over the Chané villages on the Rio Itiyuro, Taruiri, who rules over most of the Caipipendi valley, Mandepora (Fig. 111), who in former times had considerable power in and around Machareti, and Maringay in the Iguembe valley.

Ee 643

Ee 622 293 643 [301 302]

Nowadays the chiefs have no symbol of their office other than silver-mounted sticks. According to Corrado, they formerly wore a large tuft of hair on the head, "yattira," as well as green stones which hung at their ears. At the festivals and dances they had the right to use the "yandugua," a rod decorated with a bunch of ostrich feathers, and "iguirape," a staff carved with peculiar figures. Of these I was able to acquire only a yandugua. I did not even see the rest.

Ee 622 555 643

The office of chief seems to be hereditary as a rule. Capability and the art of using words well are required, however.

Ce /239 cont. /
535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
177 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[539] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

Ee The Chiriguano and Chané
532 always destroy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "añanya."

C It is strange what a great
Ca role the carnival now plays as a
541 festival among the Indians. This
177 undoubtedly comes from the fact
[469] that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians who work for them are given a few days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already disappeared. Nevertheless one still

C sees women in home-woven clothing
Ca with necklaces of chrysocolla and
[178] turquoise. I never saw used, however,
C the silver diadem and the silver
912 pins which belong to the festive attire.
237 One often sees the men's blue costumes (Fig. 81) with silver chest ornaments preserved in the huts by the old people, but they

Ca are not used for the festivals.
535 Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
527 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
273 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
533

A B

Fig. 118. Soup spatular. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

/287 cont./

The Man Who Killed Añatunpa.

539 [115] Told by the Chiriguano Indian Tamidéi on the Río Grande.

Añatunpa devoured all the human beings that he could catch. A man came along who was carrying wood to Añatunpa's cave. "Come, let's play!" said Añatunpa.

/288/ "What kind of a game?" said the man.

"You shall give me a blow on the forehead with an ax, and if I do not die, I shall hit you," said Añatunpa.

Añatunpa stood up straight, offered his forehead to the man, and the lazer hit him directly in the middle of it. Since Añatunpa's forehead was as hard as iron, this did not effect him. Añatunpa now gave the man a blow on the forehead, killed him, and tossed

291 177 531 •301

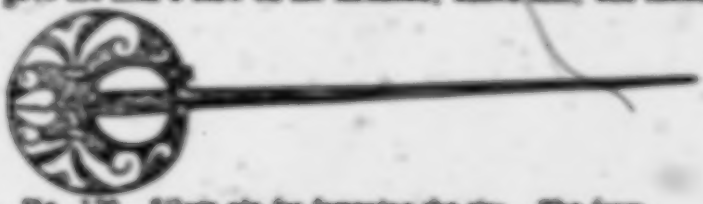


Fig. 130. Silver pin for fastening the tiro. The farm Indian, the ornamentation Spanish. Chiriguano. Fraquil. 1/2.

539 him to Dyéri, who devoured him.

On another occasion another man came to Añatunpa's cave. Añatunpa proposed the same game to him. Then a fly, "Ichéru," called to him not to hit him on the forehead, but in the nape of the neck. When Añatunpa, with eyes closed, stood up to receive the blow, the man went behind him, struck him in the nape of the neck, and Añatunpa fell down dead. Dyéri asked him how he was able to kill Añatunpa. The man told him what Ichéru had said.

"Very good," said Dyéri.

Ca 539

/230 cont./

in the nostrils. The fox sneezed, wiped his nose, and said: "Can the mosquitoes not leave me in peace just when I am dreaming about the jaguar's wife and daughters with whom I slept!"

/231/ Now the jaguar tickled him a little more strongly, and the fox woke up. The jaguar prepared to seize him.

The fox hunched himself up, and when the jaguar hesitated before seizing him, he jumped to the ground with one bound and started running as fast as he could. The jaguar ran after him. Finally the fox grew tired, however, and the jaguar caught him and swallowed him. The fox came to life again in the stomach of the jaguar. The latter threw him up. The jaguar devoured the fox again, but again the latter came to life in his stomach and was thrown up again. Once more the jaguar devoured the fox, who again came to life, etc.

C [301] [531]

Ca [711]

This legend is widespread. In somewhat different form I

Fig.131. Silver chest-ornament. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. Worn by men.

heard it told in Carmen in Mojos.

C 539 [115]

When the Turtle "Carumbe" Killed the Jaguar.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambiri.

Once there was a great drinking bout. Aguaratunpa, Carumbe, and "Tatuapua" (the ball armadillo) were there. The little son of the turtle was crying. When they asked him why he was crying, he said he wanted to have the claws of the jaguar to play with. The wife of the turtle told her husband he should fetch the claws of the jaguar so that the little one could play with them.

C /23 cont./
302 Viedma among the Chiriguano men (104), and Nordenskiöld

C
[113]

104. Viedma: Descripción de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Colección Angelis, Vol. 3. Buenos Aires, 1936. Written 1793. Page 181. According to Nordenskiöld.

found it among the women in the valley of Caipipendi (105).

105. Nord. 2, p. 85.

The latter used for that the leaves of a plant that they call "tajú" (tayú = lapacho).

Ce
Ce
301
304
174
Gi
301
172

With respect to body deformations we can suppose that it was once a common custom among the Chané and Chiriguano to wear a "tembetá" in the pierced lower lip. Of the Guaraní of ancient times it has been stated that the men had this tembetá, and the custom is confirmed by prehistoric finds (106).

106. Cf. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 122.

Ce
Ce
301
174

The form, material, and dimensions of these tembetá were varied and varied regionally. What was the shape of the tembetá that the Guaraní had when at the beginning of the 16th century they emigrated to the spurs of the Cordillera? We do not know. Neither do we know whether or not the Chané had the tembetá when they were enslaved by the Chiriguano. We can assume that the metal tembetás of the Chiriguano and the Chané in their present form have their origin in the period after their contacts with the ancient Peruvians, /24/ since they did not know the technique of working metal and even today most of their tembetás are made by nearby mestizos or whites, who make them to their taste. According to Chomé's (107)

Ce
[192]
[325]

C
301
C
[113]

107. "Lettre du père Ignace Chomé." Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. New edition, Vol. 8, Paris, 1781, p. 326. According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 73.

C /24 cont./
301 account, Chiriguano men wore small cylinders of tin, silver, or resin in the pierced lower lip. It can perhaps be surmised that the aforementioned silver tembetás of the Chiriguano
C were formerly more common among them. According to
Ce Nordenskiöld, at the time of his trip, that is, in 1908 and
301 1909, all the Chiriguano and Chané men of the older generation, and in a few Chiriguano villages the young men and boys, wore the tembetá. Among the Izozó whom I saw in Toledo and in "15 de Agosto" only the old men had the tembetá (cf. Fig. 27 and 28 /see p. 61 /), and among the Chiriguano in Machareti I did not see any men with them.

Ce
301 Tembetás in the Collection
126

I. A. 729.	Izozó.	Length of the base 2.6 cm. Height of the cylinder 0.9 cm. Diameter of the cylinder 1.5 cm. (Fig. 28b.)
I. A. 730.	"	Length of the base 2.8 cm. Height of the cylinder 1.3 cm. Diameter of the cylinder 1 cm. (Fig. 28d.)
I. A. 731.	"	Length of the base 2.5 cm. Height of the cylinder 1.3 cm. Diameter of the cylinder 0.8 cm. (Fig. 28a.)
I. A. 732.	"	Length of the base 3.2 cm. Height of the cylinder 1.4 cm. Diameter of the cylinder 1.8 cm. (Fig. 28c.)
I. A. 733.	"	Height 2 cm. Diameter 1.8 cm. (Fig. 28e.)

The form of the first four tembetás mentioned is that of a cylinder placed on a base of the same metal. On the front surface of the cylinder is placed a disk of semiprecious stone, blue or green, which in three cases exhibits a round perforation in the center, which in two cases is filled with metal. The stone disk of the tembetá I. A. 729 is broken. The tembetá I. A. 733 is of
Ce wax and has the form of an obtuse cone. The tembetás
301 described by v. Rosen and v. Nordenskiöld are different from

Chane SF8
Izozo

Ce 301

/24 cont./

those mentioned in that on the front surface in place of the semiprecious stone there were placed small blue or green stones, or also glass beads of the same color, placed inside a covering of wax with which the cylinder was filled. A good representation in a drawing of such a Chiriguano tembetá with glass beads has been published by v. Rosen (108).

108. v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 202.

C
Ce
301

According to Nordenskiöld (109), the Chané tembetás

109. Nord. 1, p. 211. Nord. 2, pp. 71-77.

are generally smaller than those of the Chiriguano. Comparing the measurements of the tembetás I acquired among the Izozó with the measurements given by v. Rosen, this statement is justified with respect to the length of the base of the tembetás and with respect to the diameter of the cylinder. Certainly also these differences between the larger tembetá of the Izozó and the tembetá described by v. Rosen are very slight, this difference being only 3 mm. with respect to the length of the base and only 2 mm. with respect to the diameter of the cylinder. In contrast to this, the cylindrical part of three of these Izozó tembetás is rather higher than the corresponding part of the tembetá described by v. Rosen. While the height of the latter measures only 1 cm., the cylinders of the three Izozó tembetás have a height of 1.3-1.4 cm. The height of the fourth Izozó tembetá is almost like that of the aforementioned Chiriguano tembetá, being 1 mm. less than the latter. /Plates X-XI appear here./

/25/

Ce 301 The way these tembetás are used has often been described. Figure 27 shows an Izozó man from whose pierced lower lip projects a round stone disk. When these Indians use the tembetá, they pass it from the inside through the perforation in the lip so that its base is between the row of lower teeth and the lower lip, with the cylinder sticking out from the lip.

C Ce 301 The lower base of three of the Izozó tembetás is quite flat, and only the lower base of tembetá I. A. 129 has a clearly concave form. This is of interest because v. Nordenskiöld and v. Rosen, when they describe the Chiriguano and Chané tembetás mention only those which have a concave base (110).

110. Nord. 2, p. 72.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano and Chané sometimes use wooden tembeta's in the form of flat cylinders (111).

111. Nord. 2, p. 72.

Ce 301 237 [123] As already mentioned, I obtained simple wax tembetá from the Izozó. The old man who took it out of his lower lip to give it to me doubtless was using it provisionally for lack of another tembetá, in order to close the perforation in his lower lip and prevent the saliva from coming out.

C Ce 304 301 [622] The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not have the custom of piercing their ear lobes. According to Nordenskiöld (112),

112. Nord. 2, p. 77.

C Ce [177] Ce 301 the caciques formerly used pendant earrings set with green stones. If the younger women and girls have recently begun to use earrings, they are imitating this custom of the whites. The cacique of the Izozó in Toledo told me that the women had gold and silver earrings, which at that time they had hidden.

/25 cont./

C
Ce
302

Cutting and Combing the Hair, and Head Adornment

The women wear their hair plaited into long or medium long braids hanging down to their shoulders (113). As can be

113. See Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Plates XI and XII.

seen in Figures 4, 5, and 12 and in the photographs of Chiriguano women published by Lehmann-Nitsche, the hair of the women and girls is always parted over the forehead. The girls always have such a part from childhood. (See Fig. 8 /see p. 28/.) At the time of the first menstruation, the girls' hair is cut short (114), and the women also cut their hair in the

C
Ce
[881]
[965]

114. Nord. 1, p. 210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 201.

event of the death of the husband or one of their close relatives; sometimes they cut it twice when the husband dies (115).

115. Nord. 1, p. 220.

C
Ce
301
126

At the nape of the neck, and sometimes also at the top of the head, the hair is tied together with cotton bands. The collection which I brought to the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay contains 29 of these bands used by Izozó women, all of which have the same typical form.

Ce
301

Bands for Women's Hair, from the Collection

(I. A. 624-652.) (Izozó.) (I. A. 646 and 641 shown in Fig. 32a and b.)

The length of these bands for the hair, on the average, is 1.04 cm. /sic/. The longest band measures 1.45 meters, and the shortest, 0.65 meters. The average length of the tassels is 14.3 cm. The longest tassel measures 17.5 cm.; the shortest, 9 cm.

Ce /26/
301 The form of these bands, all of which have been made of cotton, is in general the same. As Fig. 32 shows, they consist of a long middle part which has at its two ends a sort of tassel made up of some strings provided with knots. The middle part generally consists of a cord plaited with three skeins of thread like a braid. But it can also be in the form of a band if more than three skeins of thread have been plaited as shown in Figure 32a. The tassels of these bands are made in the following way: The ends of the threads of the middle part are wrapped by another thread in such a way that knots are made with the same thread, one directly after the other or at a certain distance apart. The number of these pendants with knots varies between three and eight with regard to the bands in the collection, but in only four cases is the number over five.

From the figures given with regard to the length of these hair bands, it can be seen that their length can differ greatly. The longest band measures more than twice the length of the shortest in the collection. The bands have been made of threads of very different colors. Thus there are among them white ones, blue ones, or some of a violet or gray-brown color, with different shadings up to almost black. Generally, the middle part and the thread that forms the knots of the tassels are of the same color. Only in the case of band I. A. 629 is the color of the middle part different from that of the tassels.

C
• 301 According to Lehmann-Nitsche, some of the Chiriguano women who were the subjects of his anthropological investigations also wore such bands in their hair, and therefore we can consider these to be a cultural possession common to the Izozó and the Chiriguano. But, according to this author, those that he saw among the Chiriguano women, which he describes as "cords decorated with a series of knots," were made of wool threads. The Chiriguano women used them in such a way that their hair was interlaced with them (116).

116. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., p. 56.

C /26 cont./

301 One head ornament used by the Chiriguano women at festivities and as a special mark of distinction is still to be mentioned. This ornament, described by Nordenskiöld, is made up of a forehead band with a long pendant tied to the back part as decoration (117).

117. Nord. 2, pp. 92 and 93 and Fig. 28.

C Ce 302 The Chiriguano and Chané men today in most cases wear their hair in the modern fashion, cut short. The two Chiriguano boys shown in Figure 7 are even wearing a side part with rodete /hair arranged on the top of the head/, perhaps Ce 302 especially prepared for the photograph. The hair of the Izozó boy shown in Figure 11 is rather long on the front part of the head, but the hair has been cut in the back and on the sides as C well. Only the older men, and, according to Nordenskiöld, 302 in the Chiriguano towns of the upper Pilcomayo River the young men as well (118), wear the hair long and wrapped in a special

118. Nord. 1, p. 202.

manner around the head. Lehmann-Nitsche (119) reports to

119. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., p. 56.

us specifically on this hair style of the old men as follows: "Their hair had apparently never been cut and was combed in a special manner; after it had been thrown to the back, they would part it into two halves with their hands, to the right and to the left, respectively, then the right half is brought forward and wrapped toward the left around the head in the form of a Muslim turban, while the left half is wrapped C [301] around the other way." The rodetes of the Chiriguano men described by Lehmann-Nitsche were tied up with ordinary Ce handkerchiefs. Among the Izozó I found some narrow bands 301 302 /27/ which were used especially for this purpose, and

/27 cont./

Men's Hair Bands Woven out of Human Hair

Ce 301 439

These bands woven out of human hair correspond, with regard to their manufacture, to the bands that the Chiriguano and Chané make today in great numbers to sell to the whites. These "fajas," as they are commonly called today, represent an article eagerly sought by the whites who are in contact with these Indians, and especially by the soldiers, who wear them as a belt. One of the two Chiriguano men shown in Figure 6 wears such a faja as a belt, and, because we can surmise that today this is their principal use among the Chiriguano as well, we shall deal with them in the following chapter devoted to the description of clothing.

C 301 291 178

C 291 177

Straw Hat (kandáo of the Chiriguano

I. A. 554. Diameter 30 cm. Height 12 cm. (Fig. 99.)

The technique of this hat plaited out of palm-leaf fibers is not native since it is of modern manufacture. As Figure 9 shows, the Izozó men also wear such hats.

Ce [291] [177]

Caps Made with Crochet Hooks

I. A. 442 and 443. (Chiriguano.) Made of Wool. Height 15.5 cm. and 14 cm., resp.

These two crocheted wool caps, which I obtained from the Chiriguano in Machareti, must also be considered as of modern manufacture.

C
Ce
412
301
302
178

/29 cont./

Because of this change the implement for plucking hair, consisting of small tweezers, formerly very common, has naturally lost a great part of its importance today, and similarly, in its transformed state as a chest ornament, it is rarer. I found such tweezers among the Mataco and the Churupí. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such tweezers or the corresponding chest ornament, called "boivera" also by the Chiriguano. Nordenskiöld describes these tweezers in detail (131),

131. Nord. 2, pp. 81 and 82.

and he adds that the Chiriguano also use small sticks of cane to pluck out hair.

C
412
301
171

The form of these tweezers made of metal corresponds to that of the tweezers known through finds made in the burials of the ancient Peruvians. Today these tweezers are normally made of any piece of tin plate or sheet iron, which, when provided with a cord, they use for chest ornaments, besides their original purpose. This custom of using tweezers as a chest ornament was very common among the ancient Peruvians. Among the latter's necklaces there are many that, apart from other things, consist of silver tweezers. It was customary among the ancient Peruvians that these enlarged tweezers, unsuitable for their original purpose, be transformed into a pure and distinctive ornament. The Museum of Ethnography in Berlin has such ornaments in the form of depilatory tweezers, made of copper, silver, or gold, in great number, one example of which is 52 centimeters in length (132). Therefore I suppose

C
301
[174]

C
[113]

132. Cf. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru, Berlin, 1929, pp. 83, 369, 397, and 399.

we must deduce that the Chiriguano custom of using as a chest ornament a silver ornament in the form of one of those tweezers is due to ancient Peruvian influence. There are several specimens of the "boiveras," now rare and doubtless most of the time carefully kept from the view of the whites, in

/29 cont./

301 [439] European museums. These are not made by the Chiriguano themselves, but by their mestizo neighbors and sold to the Indians. The external form is still that of tweezers, much enlarged. But the boivera of today, discounting its size, also cannot be used for plucking hair because the two parts /30/ of its lower edge have been soldered. The fact that the decoration of the surface is not still primordial is explained by the fact that the Chiriguano are not the makers of these ornaments.

291

Clothing and Adornment

From the 16th century we have the brief description of the Chiriguano by Bishop Lizarraga (133) where, among other

[113]

133. Lizarraga: "Descripción et población de las Indias /Description and population of the Indies/." In Moreno II, p. 101.

things, it is said: "They go about naked or at the most sometimes have a short shirt /camisatilla/ down to the navel." We can assume that this statement by the Bishop as of that time refers only to the Chiriguano men, because it is likely that by the time of their immigration the Chiriguano women were wearing a garment which covered their genital organs, as we know the Guaraní women of the ancient Province of Uruguay did (134). It is likely that this garment had the same form as

174 291

[191]

134. Serrano, op. cit., pp. 123 and 124.

the "tipoy," which is a garment in the form of a poncho without sewing and which even today is very common among Chiriguano and Chané women, as well as among various other Indian tribes of South America.

C
Ce
301
177

/33 cont./

Of Chiriguano and Chané ornaments there have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters the hair ornaments, the tembetá, men's ornament in the form of hair-plucking tweezers, and the earrings now used by women. Among other ornaments the only important ones are the women's necklaces. Most of the women I photographed were provided with necklaces (mbo'i) which consist exclusively of imported objects, such as glass beads, metal pendants, and similar things, and for this reason they have no ethnological importance. Nordenskiöld saw among these Indians necklaces made of beads of turquoise and "chrysocol" /chrysocolla/ and of black seeds (142). V. Rosen shows in a drawing such a

142. Nord. 1, p. 201. Nord. 2, p. 92.

Chiriguano necklace made of turquoise and glass beads (143).

143. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 198.

According to that author, these necklaces were sometimes also used by men (144). Silver pins for fastening the tipoys,

144. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 203.

in the form of those of the ancient Peruvians, can still be found also. But these too are not the product of an original industry, but are received from outside silversmiths (145).

145. Nord. 2, pp. 93 and 94.

C /33 cont./
301
[126]

Ring (moãkaregua) in the Collection

I.A. 1321. (Chiriguano.) Gift of Father Ayala Solis. Diam. 2cm.

Finally I shall mention here a ring obtained by Father Ayala Solis from the Chiriguano and donated by him to the Museo de Historia y Etnografía del Paraguay. The ring was made of metal from a cartridge shell.

Ce 291 The cacique of the Izozó shown in Figure 12 wears sandals (Chir.: mbipása. Izozó: pãapá). Generally the men and women go around barefoot. But both sexes use sandals if they are to walk on stony or thorny ground (146).

146. Nord. 1, p. 203. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 207.

C 291 17 The region of distribution of the sandal in South America leads us to assume that the Chiriguano did not first receive this item from the whites, but earlier, and that it came from the culture of the ancient Peruvians (147).

147. Cf. Nord. 2, p. 69.

Treatment of Illnesses and Burial

Ce 743 Ca [114] C [114] Ce 756 171 In the Indian settlement in Toledo there was arranged a small hospital in which the sick Izozó were receiving medical treatment. For that reason I did not have the chance to make investigations among them about the native treatment of the illnesses of these Indians. Nor did I have the chance to make such investigations in Machareti. Therefore, I refer to the investigations /34/ Nordenskiöld and Métraux made on this subject (148), and I wish only to

148. Nord. 1, pp. 216 and 217. Métraux 1, pp. 480-488.

mention here that among the Chiriguano and Chané, as among

/44 cont./

Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

195 316 648 [167]

Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Maypurún, and we know that the Chiriguano possessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spurs of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

301 177 439

316

Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own

213. Nord. 1, p. 209.

statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

263 317 [439]

While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water

Ce /56 cont./
323 paint on the rim, which is done with the resin of the palo santo
824 (Bulnesia sarmienti), which is spread over the surface of the
386 vessel after it has been baked (253).

253. Nord. 1, p. 246. Nord. 2, p. 144.
Metraux I, pp. 386 and 387.

Working of Stone and Metals

C
Ce
324 The manufacture of stone implements is not done among the Chiriguano and Chané. The same can be said with respect to
C
Ce the manufacture of metal implements, except that the Chiriguano
325 sometimes make their tembetá of tin themselves (254), while
301
439
177

254. Nord. 2, p. 171.

41 they ordinarily obtain their metal ornaments and implements from the mestizos and the whites.

Woodworking

C
322 Various objects made out of wood by the Chiriguano have
[41] already been mentioned above, such as house posts, ladders, plates, spoons, pipes, bows, arrow points, and also cuyas /vessels made out of gourds/ and calabashes. Among other objects made of wood we must also mention the mortar and pestle, various implements used in weaving, small sticks for making nets, large dishes used for keeping food, and flutes. Because the Chiriguano,
C
[177] when they work wood today, exclusively use modern tools ob-
[178] tained from the whites, they have not retained any of their native technique. /Plates XXII-XXV appear here./

8: Schmidt--165 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF 8
I2020
G4470 SP15

/63 cont./

Ce 285

basket, which appears among many other Indian tribes of South America, in dealing with the corresponding baskets of the Guató Indians, and I refer here to the pertinent descriptions and diagramatic sketches made to explain the manufacture of this type of basket (267).

Ce [113]

267. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien, pp. 221-227.

GO 824 285

Because the Guató use the pinnate leaves of the acurí palm as /64/ material for these baskets, they are able to leave the leaflets needed for plaiting the basket attached to the stem, which thus forms the upper edge of the basket. The Iozó, not having pinnate palm leaves available, have to use the peltate leaves of the caranday. They must remove the leaflets of these in order to use them for the making of baskets. Therefore these baskets begin at the upper edge with a kind of braid, which unites the separate leaflets for plaiting the walls of the basket. As Figures 96 and 97 show, this braid begins and ends with a knot. These two knots are found at the side of the basket or at the middle of the wall and are in most cases tied with a thread wrapping to prevent an interruption of the rim at that place. The strips coming out of the braid are interwoven in such a way that a sleeve form results, the opening of which, below, is closed by a double braid whose two ends at the two sides of the basket pass through the wall and come out again on the outside of the wall, each one ending in a knot. The ends of the braids of the bottom of basket I. A. 683 (cf. Figure 97 /see p. 158/ form at the same time the handle of the basket. The handles of other baskets of this kind consist of a string or a strip of leather.

Ce 285 [824]

C Ce 286 [301]

Braids like or similar to those which sometimes form the handles of the baskets described above are used by the Chiriguano and the Iozó in other cases as well, such as sometimes in the fringes of the fajas and especially for making the middle section of the women's hair bands previously mentioned.

ce 286

Plate XXX

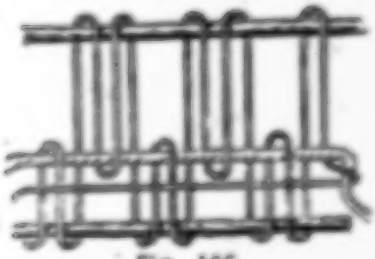


Fig. 105

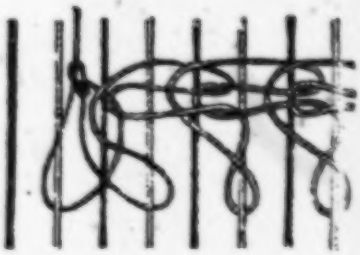


Fig. 106

ce 301 286

Fig. 107

Fig. 108

Fig. 109

Fig. 110

C ce 301 286 415

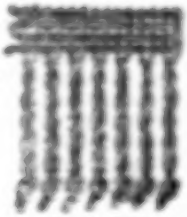


Fig. 111

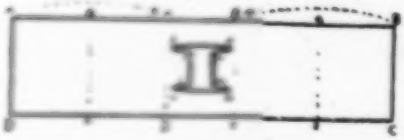


Fig. 112

Fig. 113

/The captions appear on p. 179./

/79 cont./

534 I. A. 494. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Lgth. 41 cm. (Fig. 34a.)
[126] I. A. 495. Double whistle " " " 33.5 and 7 cm. (Fig. 34b.)

[126] From the Chiriguano in Machareti I acquired two different kinds of flutes, the ones made of cane and the others made of wood. The two wooden flutes I. A. 491 and 492 (cf. Figs. 93a and 93b /see Fig. 33a and b, p. 89/) are of particular importance because of their similarity in form, and in the case of I. A. 491 of decoration as well, to a special kind of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians, and for that reason they have already been dealt with several times in ethnological literature. These two flutes are doubtless quite old specimens which perhaps had already been used by several generations. They are [322] called "sereré" by the Chiriguano, and they are of hard wood bored from one end to the other. In the middle of the upper edge of the lozenge of the apparatus, there are two small perforations .. A similar flute shown in a sketch by v. Rosen (299) [301]

299. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 220.

shows that these perforations serve for a string to pass through, in order that the flute may be worn as a chest ornament. 534 Nordenskiöld (300) has already called attention to the surprising 174 191

300. Nord. 3, pp. 187 and 188.

resemblance between these flutes and a special form of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians. These, numerous specimens of which are known, are no doubt classified as balance beams because of the fact that on some specimens /80/ the cord which passes through the horizontal perforation and which has at one end a weight and at the other end a loop, or some such similar thing for holding the objects that are to be weighed, has been preserved. V. Rosen, describing and showing in a drawing one of these Chiriguano flutes, which is like flute I. A. 491 except that it still has the cord which passes through the two holes on the upper

/86 cont./

Ce 643 of her late brother and predecessor, as already mentioned, took her place in her duties. The one predestined for the office of cacique cannot begin his functions if he does not have ability and skill in discussion. The great cacique in the Caipipendi valley was considered incapable because of continual drunkenness, and he was replaced in his functions by one of his relatives (327). In

327. Nord. 1, p. 220.

the Chané towns on the Itiyuru the ordinary caciques too belong to Hinu Parava's family (328).

328. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 129.

C Ce 643 301 302 293 As a symbol of chieftainship Nordenskiöld observed staffs decorated with silver and the so-called "Yandagua," which consists of a long rod adorned with a tuft of ostrich feathers and is carried by caciques at fiestas and dances. According to Corrado, the caciques formerly wore as a symbol of their office a large lock of hair on top of the head, which they called "yattira," and green stones as pendants in the ear lobes, and at the fiestas, in addition to the "yandagua" mentioned above, the "iguirípe," which was a staff carved with figures (329).

329. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 756 643 622 At the side of the caciques a special position is held by the sorcerers, among whom the Chiriguano distinguish two kinds, the "ipáye," who are good and who can undo spells, and the "ipáyepótchi," who can undo spells, but who also cast them. The sorcerer is also above all the doctor who has the obligation of curing the sick (330). In general the occupation of sorcerer is separate

330. Nord. 1, p. 216.

from that of cacique. Only in Ivu did Nordenskiöld observe a case where a Chiriguano cacique was a sorcerer at the same time (331).

331. Nord. 1, p. 230.

1. Old Chiriguano of Tuntúla (Upper Pilcomayo). Note the enormous labret and the lead band.

2. Kernapadyá, "captain" of the Cerurutí region near the middle course of the Pilcomayo River. (Photo. A. M.)

142
291
302
481
516

Fig. 1. Old Indian from the Santa Rosa Mission (Photo. by the Reverend Father Honorato Catinari).

1: Métraux -50 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
292
301
302

Plate V

2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the village of Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo). She has put on her festival clothes and sports her most beautiful necklaces. (On her chest, necklace of silver coins.) (Photo. A. M.)

142
291
302
301
965

1. Iwawasei, Chiriguano Indian girl from the region of Caruruti (near the middle course of the Parapití River). Her hair is cut short as a sign of mourning for the death of an aunt. (Photo. A. M.)

Plate VI

142
301
302

[643] 1. Young Chiriguano, daughter of the "capitan grande" Karnapadyú. Her cheeks are painted with kalasapa powder.

142
291
302

2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the Carurutí region, considered a beauty by the Indians. (Photo. A.M.)

/369 cont./

293 At Sainirenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the
574 first one served is always the "captain." As before, the
576 vessel full of kāwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first
[554] bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they always come back to the first person who received each one and he finishes it. The men move from their places several times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/
[533] ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of flutes and violins.

When the supply of kāwi is exhausted in a village, they get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere to revel.

[789] Formerly the preparation of kāwi was accompanied by
[198] magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of
[302] daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the women do not even take this precaution any more. However, between Carurutí and Caipipendí, I could still see several women stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an expression dear to Jean de Léry.

415 Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/ gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are preparing corn beer.

Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a com-
[197] pletely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The
[198] latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements, while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

/380 cont./

276 179 171 spread among the Chiriguano recently for it has not yet spread throughout the territory they inhabit. The Chiriguano who live far removed from the half-breed or Indian populations of the Cordillera are not "coqueros," and only rarely does one meet among them some old man who accepts a quid of coca.

276 171 302 114 Ivu is the last point toward the east and north where I could distribute my supply of coca to advantage. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 85-91) sought to demonstrate that the custom of blackening the teeth went along cheek by jowl with that of chewing coca and derived from it. As a matter of fact, this habit has a very marked western distribution and follows the zone of coca cultivation.

276 [824] The Chiriguano mix each quid of coca with the ashes reaped from a tree (ulala) whose scientific name I do not know. These ashes (tanimbo), which corresponds to the llicta of the Quichua, are contained in a small leather bag.

276 439 804 Coca is a luxury commodity which the Quichua Indians or half-breeds come to sell to the Chiriguano. To avoid all argument and all fraud on the part of unscrupulous sellers, the Chiriguano have recourse to balances of their own making. They fabricate them with /381/ two calabashes cut in half to serve as scales (Figs. 54 and 55). The balance with scales was in [179] use in pre-Hispanic times /Fig. 54 appears here/ in the ancient Inca Empire (see Nordenskiöld, 16) and so I believed at first that among the Chiriguano it represented a survival of /Fig. 55 appears here/ the Andean influence, whose importance we shall see further on. Among the Chiriguano, however, this object is designated by the Spanish name /382/ mbalanza, which seems to indicate that they borrowed it from the half-breeds. The latter and the Quichua use them in their commercial transactions, but especially for weighing the precious coca. Perhaps it was the same in prehistoric times. There is nothing to prove that only metals were weighed, as has been supposed with respect to these ancient scales.

804 177 For weights the Chiriguano use old Bolivian silver coins and express measures according to the old Spanish system. By a tacit convention a coin worth two modern sous is the equivalent of one ounce.

/392 cont./

531 184 peculiar to the villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé valley. The decoration made up of broken and asymmetric lines does not go beyond the zone of the Franciscan missions and the Itiyuro region.

323
415
291
516
142
302

Fig. 62. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is rolled between the palms of the hands. (Photographs taken by the author at Masaví, Igüembé Valley.)

[126]

/392 cont./

323
415
291
516
142
302

Fig. 63. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is ready to be superposed on the preceding one.

/396/

000 first and foremost gasoline cans. Artistic ceramics have become the
323 appanage of a few old women who are not founding a school and who
178
463
887
531

323
415
142
302

Fig. 64. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is placed on the preceding one and flattened between the thumb and
[531] the other fingers of the potter. Finger impressions result from this, forming a crude design.

323 will carry the secret of their art to the grave. Already today,
178 obliged to satisfy a large demand, they endlessly repeat the same
463 motifs and have a vexing tendency to draw them hastily and
887 without any care at all. These designs are becoming awkward,
531 crude, and are taking on a primitive appearance which is far from corresponding to the taste and culture of the Chiriguano.

/466 cont./

Chapter XI

Combs

C 302 G T [302] C [177] Formerly, at the time when they carried out the conquest of their present territory, the Chiriguano wore a tonsure after the fashion of their relatives in Paraguay and the coast of Brazil, the Guarani and Tupinamba, who shaved the whole anterior part of the skull with a bamboo chip /467/ (see Métraux, 2, pp. 181-185) (1). Later, probably under the influence of the

1. Annuae litterae, page 407: "Cultus eorum singularis valde, coronis in modum nostrorum Sacerdotum utuntur, reliqui vero capilli ad ulnam circiter dimidiam pendent a tergo; corpora utplurimum variis depingunt coloribus."
(Their appearance [to the Chiriguano] is truly singular. They make use of a tonsure similar to that of our priests, and others let their hair hang down their backs to the length of an aune and a half. They dye their bodies with various colors.)

Chané or the Quichua /Quechua/, the Chiriguano abandoned the tonsure and let their hair grow, letting it fall over the nape of the neck and the back. They were content to cut it on the forehead from one temple to the other.

C 302 178 This hair style, still common in the last century, is tending to disappear in turn. The only ones who have remained faithful to it are a few old men and the inhabitants of several villages lost in the valleys of the upper Pilcomayo.

C [291] [648] The Chiriguano who continue to observe the old style knot their long hair around their heads and hide it under a hat or a kind of turban when they go to work among the white men, for fear of being ridiculed.

/467 cont./

302 The women never cut their hair according to the custom of the other Indian women of the Chaco, so they have heads of long and remarkably soft hair. They gather their hair together [301] on the nape of the neck by means of a red or blue ribbon, which they knot on the forehead after passing it around the head (see Plate VI, 1 and 2 /see p. 73/).

302 Chiriguano women are extremely meticulous about their 515 hair and wash it nearly every day. For soap they use ñitira seeds, 824 412 388

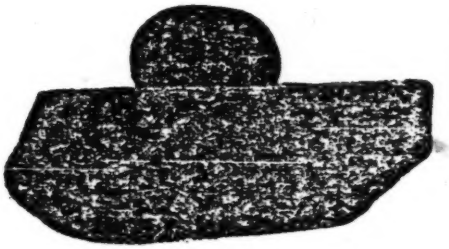


Fig. 122. Chiriguano stone mortar for crushing ñitira seeds. Prov.: Ivo. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

which they crush in a little mortar (Fig. 122) especially intended for that use. The ñitira seeds, rich in saponin, lather easily.

302 For me it was always a pleasant spectacle in the morning to see the women come back from the river with their hair twisted on the front of the head and fastened into a conical chignon. They would let it dry, then would begin to comb it slowly until it was soft and shining.

412 Two types of comb coexist among the Chiriguano. On the 303 upper Pilcomayo in the Igüembé valley and in Ivu, they are carved 184 out of a small board, and often the flat part which serves as the handle is cut out /468/ with art. In the Caipipendí valley and among the Chané, besides combs of the preceding type there are others composed of fine splinters of wood wedged between two splinters of bamboo and held in place by a clever plaiting of cotton threads forming a design.

/482 cont./

756 Judging from this text, the Chiriguano sorcerer, like his
787 Tupinamba or Siberian colleague, put himself into a state of trance so that his spirit, free from corporeal bonds, could go to engage in battle with the soul of the evil-intentioned individual who is implacable against his patient.

778 The hupia, that is, the magical force, is indispensable to one who claims to be a good sorcerer. At least this is the meaning I give to this word translated in the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (p. 73) by: "remedy, antidote," but of which it is said that possession is indispensable to every medicine man. This word suffixed to any noun whatever expresses the faculty, the power, the facility to make or obtain the thing signified by the noun. Thus a dog trained to hunt deer is wasu-rupia (wasu: deer), a warrior is tuwaiso-rupia (tuwaiso: enemy), etc.

[193]

237 Fig. 137. Calabash
415 containing snake fat.
757 Prov.: Saladito.
← (About 1/2 nat. size.)

757 Remedies. 1. Snake fat (mboikira) is
[237] efficacious against leprosy. The Indians keep it in a small calabash sealed with wax (Fig. 137).

2. A little cotton impregnated with castor oil (yandî) and rubbed on the skin is an excellent liniment for rheumatism.

[237] 3. A similar virtue is attributed
302 to chicken fat (Fig. 138). In
[237] everyday life they resort to
[824] chicken fat or castor oil to
[415] anoint the body, which they
[237] then rub with roucou paste.
→ Women generally have their

Fig. 138. Section of bamboo containing chicken fat. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/2 nat. size.)

/482 cont./

302 faces and legs oiled in this way, which gives them a very strange reddish and shiny hue. This custom, which was already [171] noted /483/ in the sixteenth century among the Tupinamba of [178] the Brazilian coast, is tending to fall into disuse.

Roucou in paste form is kept in a small corn-husk bag (Fig. 302 139), /Fig. 139 appears here/ as is kalasapa, a substance com- 386 posed of a mixture of roucou and pounded aroma seeds, which [415] gives a violet color.

757 4. Jaguar fat (yaguapira) cures any "leprosy" (karatši) if 237 one rubs oneself with it after heating it.

5. Iguana fat makes cramps go away and heals wounds. [752] Its use is external.

6. The dried penis of a fox makes toothaches and earaches go away. For that it suffices to touch the ailing part with the end /Fig. 140 appears here/ of this member. The Indians consider it very malodorous and touch it only with repugnance. [415] To avoid this inconvenience they provide it with a handle and shut it up in a bamboo case (Fig. 141).

7. Deerhorns heated and /Fig. 141 appears here/ applied against the neck will cure a stiff neck. The medical use of [172] deer (wasu) horns explains the frequent presence of the horns of this animal in the archeological strata of the neighboring Andean regions. Some have thus been found in the ruins of the Alfarcito, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 21), at Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, p. 232), at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 235, p. 453), and at Tastil (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, Fig. 78 f).

858 Horns adhering to a fragment of the skull and whose use 304 could only have been magical or medical must be distinguished 237 from the ones which the Indians work into awls. These in- 412 struments still have a ritual use and are reserved for piercing the lower lip of children when they are old enough to wear the labret. At least this is what Campana (p. 80) informs us. Besides, the Indians all have confirmed this detail to me. [171] Formerly, the Tupinamba of Brazil practiced this operation with an awl of the same nature (see Métraux, 3, p. 105).

824
302
415
386

Fig. 139. Small bag made of corn husks, containing roucou paste. Prov.: Salado grande (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

Fig. 140. Calabash containing roucou seeds. Prov.: Caipipendí. (About 1/5 nat. size.)

415
237
757
→

Fig. 141. Case containing a fox penis (aguara-kankuy). Prov.: Ibopeytí. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

/486 cont./

757 824 237 some similar object and rubs the sick person's eyes with it until the cataract comes off.

30. The tannin contained in kurupaî bark is a disinfectant

752 757 824 which hastens the healing of wounds.

31. The leaves of kurupaîraî (small sêbil), squeezed and put into compresses on a tumor, act in a lenitive way.

757 824 32. The plant wambero (kind of purslane) is a laxative. It has a scarlet flower which girls dry and pulverize to be able

[302] to color their cheeks red.

33. Iwowi bark, pounded and roasted, is a good remedy for any pain affecting the limbs. The ash taken from the pips of this

[752] tree hastens the healing of wounds.

34. Powdered inâi seeds make teeth fall out.

35. The root of the isipo-poro-mboyi, ground and kneaded with salt and tallow, is an emollient which is spread on tumors.

36. When they feel pains in the limbs, the Chiriguano apply on the ailing part a poultice made of iva-wasu roots, crushed and roasted.

37. The seeds of the yandi-wasu, taken in doses of two or three, are a good emetic.

38. The sarâi is a tree reminiscent of our walnut tree. Its inner bark yields a powder which is spread on skin eruptions.

39. A climbing plant called kaa-ruwa is supposed to have medicinal properties. /487/ It is taken in the form of an infusion, or poultices are made with it after it is pounded.

40. Another climbing plant, the kaa-tai (barba de chivato) is a very active caustic which can produce burns if the compresses made with its flowers, leaves, and twigs ground together and mixed with water are kept on too long. If the hands are rubbed with this plant, they become numb.

41. The roots of the shrub mboipina, well cooked, yield a broth which combats atrophy.

757 825 42. A species of bug (tambeyùa) is used in the native pharmacopoeia as a caustic.

757 271 43. The Chiriguano have great faith in the virtue of hot water. Every sick Indian has beside him a small vessel the size of an egg, full of hot water. Those who are attending him

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano women still dress in tipoys, a long, sacklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, *right*). Some tipoys (tiru) are so long that they need to be folded. 291

Anciently, *Chiriguano* men shaved their foreheads, as did the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband. 302 412

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a tasseled fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

Body painting.—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass. 302 178

Ornaments.—The distinctive ornament of the *Chiriguano*, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 59, *c*). Originally, labrets were made of resin, as were those of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip. 301 178

Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean woven frontlets studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 59, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the *Chiriguano* in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads. 301 177 [439]

Miscellaneous.—The *Chiriguano* have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout *Chiriguano* territory. 515 824

Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers. 302

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The rivers in *Chiriguano* territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River. 501

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chané (1819 b, p. 282), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

824 /16 cont./
139
[114] I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it through experience and careful reading: when describing certain plants, I shall also make note of the use made of the bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall, straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood borer does not damage it: it is much used here in the construction of upper roofs, especially for the braches or trusses on which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its
[342] wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less
[492] value: it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows, but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to
[296] make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears
[515] and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the face free of blemishes: here it is known by the name "timboy."

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. moniliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which reason drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it.
[372] It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns, from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatane," fire that smells: the wood is yellow.

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of
[342] trees of this class here and there: it is the most abundant tree,
[281] the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does not eat it: the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites: the latter call it sebil and the former "Curupau."

245 ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in
137 fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters,
324 its leaves are dark green: it produces abundant fruit in a sort of pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds, which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They
[302] serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces
[303]
[439]

/17 con./

and feet with them. as will be seen; for this last purpose it is prepared beforehand. many pods being boiled in an olla. and pastes of every size are made from the decoction. depending on the value that they wish them to have; it is traded by Chiriguanos and whites.

The Bixa orellana. or "Urucu." as the Indians call it. is a plant of high value for the Chiriguano; he will travel far to obtain a small amount in the towns or places where it is prepared.

ALGARROBO. -- The place where this extraordinarily large tree abounds is in the pampas; thus in the plain of "Curuyuqui" of Yvu Mission. Iatou. Parapiti. and the Gran Chaco it is found forming forests. It is very bulky and has long branches which on some touch the ground; its trunk is thick and not always erect. the wood is excellent. similar to oak in spite of being dark. and it is much used for making tuns. door and window casings. and even for barrels. In Chiriguano this tree is called /18/ "Ivopei." and the "Ivope" pod is long. compressed. and yellow; when it is ripe. it is sweet and much sought after by livestock and by the Chiriguano; it is their food and drink in times of scarcity as well as other times. and the mead that they make is extremely intoxicating. On the bank of the Pilcomayo even the whites eat this pod; the Toba. Choroti. Mataco. and others hold their orgies when the algarrobo ripens.

ALGARROBO CHICO. -- This is a smaller tree than the previous one. even its fruit is smaller. speckled in color. and sweeter than the true algarrobo. but not as abundant as the first. As the pods are small and the seeds within abundant. it is not highly thought of among the Chiriguano; they only eat it out of necessity or as a tidbit; the wood is not valued very highly because undoubtedly there are others that are better. In Chiriguano it is called "Ivope rai."

ALGARROBO AGRIO. -- This is also small. and it is called "sour" because the flavor of the pods really is sour. In times of scarcity it is also food for the Chiriguano; the pods are small. and the tree has its congenial sites. The Chiriguano Indians call it "Ivopetayi."

/23 cont./ some trees are covered with long sharp points and others are not, only having an occasional imperceptible sharp point: the fruit of both is pleasant and serves for gifts and trade for the Indian, who sells it to the whites, the ones who, rushing to get richmore quickly and easily, are little concerned about the nopal and the fig tree. In Chiriguano it is called "Saini."

[132] [82] [139] [1931] [348]

PALM or PALMER. -- The palm tree has congenial places, where immense forests are formed and sometimes grow all around a lake like a great garland: it is a very tall and smooth tree without a single branch. Its leaves are in the form of a fan and are used to make hats and for sieves, which are sold for 30 or 40 centavos apiece. The wood is good for joists in houses, and it is also split into shingles for roofs and is quite durable, if the precaution is taken of cutting them after the full moon. In Chiriguano it is called "Caranda," and the place which they occupy, "Carandaiti," palm grove.

[125] [342]

PALMA CHRISTI. -- A not very durable plant. It grows to a height of four meters, has a soft, hollow trunk, large leaves, /26/ and flowers in the form of a bunch of grapes. The seeds are found inside little burs, like chestnuts; said burs in some plants open by themselves in the warmth of the sun, while others must be opened or carefully broken with a little hammer or a stone. The name indicates that it is a beautiful plant, but this beauty is in the broad, abundant petiolate leaves. There are several types with reference to size and quality of seeds: I know five kinds. Castor oil is extracted from this plant or from its seeds for use as medicine; we use it in the missions to fuel the lamp of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Chiriguanos mix it with "Achiote" seeds and put the resulting cosmetic on their faces and on their calves down to the feet. In Chiriguano the plant is called "Cauiri," and the oil, "Tandi." Even the leaves of the palma Christi are medicinal, some being hot and others cool; thus when headache is a result of overexposure to the sun, the leaves of the white spurge are applied; if, on the other hand, it is the result of high humidity, the leaves of the red spurge are applied. The seeds of the dark purple spurge are very small, but contain more oil than others.

[159] [302]

[159]

[1.e. nopal tree. -Analyst]

4: Nino--104 M-3 (1880-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano
Tapiete 5413

142
291
302

Man of the Tapiete race on the Pilcomayo River between Guachalla and Esteros de Patiño.

4: Nino--148 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
301
302
516

Group of Chiriguano Women

/111 cont./

141 both men and women, and fair hair indicates either an
142 oddity or a clandestine affair. The forehead is rather small, as are also the languid, downcast eyes; the face is round, the nose flat, the mouth wide, the denture white as ivory, the chin short, and the lips rather thick. /112/ The
142 men do not wear beards, and anyone would believe that they
302 are beardless, but the main reason why they do not have one is that they pull out the hairs as they grow, and for this they have some tin tweezers with which they make all the hair disappear, and they do well, because otherwise, in view of their slovenliness, with long beards they would really be orangutans (1).

[186] 1. The Toba call the Chiriguano tigre face because of his round face, and the latter gets back at them by calling them horse face because of their long faces. In the missions the neophytes wear mustache and goatee.

141 They have a chest thrust forward, rather heavy
[291] shoulders and arms, normal-sized hands, and not very big feet, in spite of the fact that they grow as they will since they always go barefoot, especially the women, and not
147 all of them wear sandals /ojotas/. When they are enjoy-
[853] ing good health, they are very robust, and the women without the slightest bother will nurse two babes at their
[609] breasts. Whenever some white Christian woman is not able to nurse, she usually seeks out a Chiriguano woman to wet-nurse her child; this, in addition to being very advantageous because of the goodness of the blood, is also quite eco-
855 nomical. But it is true that most Indian women do not
[609] wish to take care of children other than their own; most
[466] of the time they agree to it with reluctance, or by force, this last occurring when the Indians are subject to a master.

/178 cont./

372 [773] children who had been saved from the Iporu, deluge of water, he also taught them the way never to lose it, by rubbing pieces of wood together forcefully.

224 372 The Chiriguano is quite a hunter, and no wild animal or bird escapes from his eye and hand. On these hunting trips he often needs fire. If he is very far from town and prepares to sleep alone in the forest or in open country, he lights his fire in the way just described, in order to have its company, to keep away the jaguar and the demon, and to light his cigar and prepare his roast.

Work

Cleanliness

356 [362] Many will perhaps come to the conclusion that Chiriguano houses, poorly built and worse maintained because of the continual fire which gives off smoke and ash, are very dirty, without cleanliness or neatness, but nothing is more incorrect. The [515] [362] Indian despite his savagery is clean, and especially for cleanness he pulls out his facial and body hair, bathes daily, and combs his hair often, getting rid of the little animals which might be in his thick hair. The Cuña, or Chiriguano woman, constantly thinks of the cleanliness of her house, gallery, and the ground in front, up to four meters in length and width (2).

[362] 2. All can see that some Chiriguanos, out of laziness, live in their own very old and dilapidated houses, open to the sun, wind, rain, and dust; in others that have a new roof, walls are lacking, thus exposing them to getting pneumonia, but there is no lack of cleanliness in any of them.

4: Nino--255 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
302
516
622
352
411

Cacique Güiraesa with His Family

/187 cont./

000 What did Adam obtain through his sin? Confusion and being thrown out of Paradise in order to be subjected to all the [186] miseries of life. We have all inherited the pride of the first Adam, and this capital sin causes us to commit errors and more errors, causes the principle of humility to be lost, and causes the favored one to look with disdain on one who is inferior; only religion can remedy these evils, but Catholicism has not penetrated everywhere, and among the Chiriguano, formerly savages in every sense of the word, it is relatively new, for which reason the pride with which they deprecate their inferiors, looking at them disdainfully, is not altogether uprooted; they do not make use of their clothing and adornments, and they strive to appear equal to the whites, whom they consider superior (?).

> 2. The simplicity of dress of the American Catholic women when they go to church is worthy of all praise. Would that they always dressed in this way and that the fashion of hats had never appeared! In Europe they are so large that they bother the spectator in large gatherings, and in the daily services they interfere with the view of the holy ceremonies, and, consequently, they attend without piety.

Clothing

• 302

The Chiriguano wears his hair long and barely ever cuts the hair near the forehead, either for adornment or so that it may not interfere with his vision, because he does not tie it 301 up like the women and the Quechua Indians. He wraps it 302 around his head and ties it with a band that his wife, mother, [286] or sister weaves for him. This band is called Yapicuana; it is 1.25 or 1.50 meters long and 5 centimeters more or less in width. It is of cotton or wool and comes in various colors, [177] but at the present time most of them, where civilization has not sufficiently penetrated, use one of red baize, which they

/187 cont./

301 buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions.
302 The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicuana
[177] /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts in the presence of his companions (1).

[197] [114] [121]

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbía had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter
294 is woven by them themselves with palm leaves, Carandai;
285 they bring them from the places where they are abundant, Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect
292 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older
554 Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (2).

291 2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap,
302 the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of
304 long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in
178 few places now, and the straw hat is being

/188 cont./

291
302
304
178

replaced by the cloth one, although it costs a great deal; the customs of yesteryear are now disappearing, and those of today, or of the whites, are penetrating rapidly.

302
412
[831]

For the Chiriguano virility consists of a vigorous head of hair; nevertheless, although he prizes hair on his head, he never allows any other hair on his body, except that of the eyelashes and eyebrows, which he forms into arches. He pulls out the rest of the hair on his face and body with his Tendivaha poha, or tweezers. These consist of some little pieces of tin or a piece of cane slit down the middle, and sometimes a knife. With great patience and bit by bit he pulls out or cuts off all the hair that appears on his chin, thus looking like another woman. Others who are called /illustration appears here/ /189/ rich pull out their hair with thin pieces of silver, which they call Mboivera (1).

302

[178]

1. During my stay in the territory I saw only one Indian who had a thick beard, but because of this uncleanliness he was considered disgusting. When the hairs grew, he cut them with scissors. Today the young men are beginning to wear mustaches and goatees, and many shave with razors.

291
[171]

The ancient Chiriguano clothing was very simple and too immoral, as is still seen among those Indians where the civilization of the Cross has not penetrated, such as the Chacobo north of Santa Cruz and others in the Bolivian Chaco. Boys go about naked until the age of ten or twelve, and girls up to seven, at which age they are content to cover the most delicate part of the body because of a trace of modesty which exists among them. Even grown men make use of this most simple garment when they are in the country busy at work or when they are returning to town loaded with firewood or food.

[Text Continues on P. 260]

/192 cont./

Adornments

500

/The first paragraph of this section, pp. 192-193, is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 193, and the remainder of p. 193 follows./

181 The Chiriguano, although they occupy a very lowly place in this corner of the world, although they have little in the way of grandeur and show to display and take pride in, follow the common tendency of humanity, almost as the beast follows its instincts. Without any fear of error, if the Chiriguano were to possess great riches, he would probably invest them in his vices and in the adornment of his body.

302 When the Chiriguano wants to make a formal visit, he [292] washes his body, dresses in his best clothing, and paints his [574] face with achiote powder. The preparation of achiote seeds has been described in the preceding pages in the discussion of the flora /see p. 32/. Here I add that in order for the Urucú to be fixed on the Indian's skin it is necessary that he first soften his face, or the part that he wants to paint or embellish, with palma Christi oil.

751 It has already been seen that the region is hot and that 302 atmospheric changes are very sudden; a period of extreme heat can be followed by severe cold, and in these changes the Chiriguano's skin becomes chapped. To avoid this nuisance, men and women paint their faces and their feet with the cosmetic. [527] They also use it during public drinking sessions, at banquets, and [758] during the preparation of chicha in order to ward off the high heat, as well as during convalescence and after having recovered from smallpox (1).

1. Achiote powder with palma Christi oil is cool in hot weather and warm in cold [178] weather. The neophytes in the missions no longer use it, or, if they do, it is sparingly and as a remedy.

[text continues on p. 267]

/193 cont./

●302 137 824 Another of the cosmetics frequently used by men and women is the Carasapa. This is an annual plant with broad leaves, and its stem grows /194/ to the height of a meter or a little more. The color of the plant itself and of its leaves is, for about half of it, somewhere between red and purple. The flower is large and about 30 centimeters long, its color being the same as that of the plant, but much brighter. There is enough of the plant everywhere, but it is not very abundant. The flower is somewhat heavy when it has seeds, and since the stem is slender and flexible, the result is that when it cannot hold itself upright it leans over toward the ground, forming an arch, hence its name Carasapa, or arched plant (1).

[527]

1. At carnival time even the neophytes paint their faces, as do the whites. They buy face paint which the whites sell, and the infidels forsake their achiote at the carnivals.

303 When the flower and seed are in season, the coquettes do their harvesting in order to use it, and they look pretty. The Carasapa also has its preparation, without which its application would not be easy. They first grind up some white beans, sift this meal very fine, and then grind the Carasapa in a mortar with a little water, put this mixture in a cloth, squeeze over the bean meal the water which comes out, washing or coloring it, and then dry the dough in the sun, spread out on a cloth or a Cutama. The preparation is not difficult, but not all of them go to the trouble to do it, and for those who prepare it, it is a profitable item.

302 The way to use it is the same as for the achiote, but it does not have any peculiarity, and hence it is only used at fiestas and at carnival time. Maidens beautify their faces by forming two circles of carasapa on their fresh cheeks and paint their eyebrows with achiote. Formerly, when young girls wore the Atira, pompadour /copete/, at fiestas it was painted with the carasapa mixture, after having been oiled with palma Christi.

[531]

/194 cont./

302 The flower of the Guambero, purslane, has the same properties as the carasapa, but it is little used, and they content themselves with just sticking the leaves on their faces, and this only at carnival time, the result being a gay set of dancers. Finally, the Indians have a fourth cosmetic, which they call Mboiurucu, or achiote of the viper. It is red, and they assert that it is food for the viper, hence its name. They use it by rubbing it on their cheeks, which makes them a bright red.

292 [527] [178] As noted above, the ancient Chiriguano man, Ava, and the Chiriguano woman of long ago, Cuña, at solemn fiestas and on days /195/ of general rejoicing, after having adorned their faces and washed their persons, wore the tiru and the mandu, respectively (1).

1. If the Indian dressed in a tiru does not have breeches, guasupi timbiao, he wraps his body from the waist down with a shorter poncho which comes to the calf. It is also of cotton, and the women weave it. It is called Tirupeé, or sheath that warms, "alias" wrap /abrigo/.

[286] [462]

The Tiru is a kind of long poncho, from which it differs because of the two openings that it has near the wrists; the hands are put into said openings and remain free for movement, and, the tiru fastened to the wrists, nothing impedes the motion of the one wearing it. It is spun and woven by the women, and the raw material is cotton. The tiru differs in color, some are black, others dark red, and others blue. The first color is obtained with black mud, Tuñúú, mixed with the resin of the algarroba, Piari; the second, with sotillo bark, Urundeibusu; and the third, with wild indigo, Caogũi (2).

[286] 297 386 [824]

2. Today this is all purchased commercially, and the indigo plant, which is abundant in certain places, is ignored. They buy the indigo and the other colors, just as they buy for their poncho and their tipoi.

[437] [178]

/195 cont./

292 The black tiru is first dyed with sotillo bark, and then they
386 immerse it in a vessel which has well-steeped black mud and
824 algarroba resin. After some time they wash it and dry it out, leaving the permanent color. The dark red is made with only boiled sotillo bark. Finally, to dye with indigo they crush this leaf and expose it to the sun's rays, then they crush it again in the same way, after which they put it in a large earthenware vessel with water, in which the tiru is immersed and comes out a light blue, but, if they want it to be like the blue of drill, it is necessary to boil the indigo.

In order to dye everything red they also use a species of onion that they call Tunpaipi, which literally translated, means feet of God and is abundant in the fields, and another
292 one called Chapi, which is found in the hills. Everything said about the tiru is applicable to the mandu of the women, with the sole difference that this is open at both ends and is attached to the shoulders with two enormous silver needles that they call Yu guasu, big needles, which are also disappearing.

301 When a woman is occupied with domestic and other work,
302 she ties her hair up tightly with a band, Apicuá, /196/ of cotton
[529] or wool, so that it will not inconvenience her at her tasks, but
[515] when there is a fiesta, she washes her person, washes her head, combs her heavy and shining hair, and lets it loose, flowing over her body as far down as it will go (1).

[178]

1. The young women today put up their hair like the white women, making braids through which they draw a band that they call Añopea, braided cord. The hair fastened in the old way was like a baton, since not a hair was to be seen, even horizontally, all of it being covered by the band, añopea.

/210 cont./

846 slowly accepting that of the whites. They do not come out of
178 the house until they are completely well, and they only do it on a Sunday morning. They then wear a new dress for the first time and present themselves at the door of the church to receive the post partum blessing (1).

> 1. I saw an extraordinary case, from which no illness resulted. They have been accustomed to the post partum blessing by the virtuous old mistresses, and they continue this.

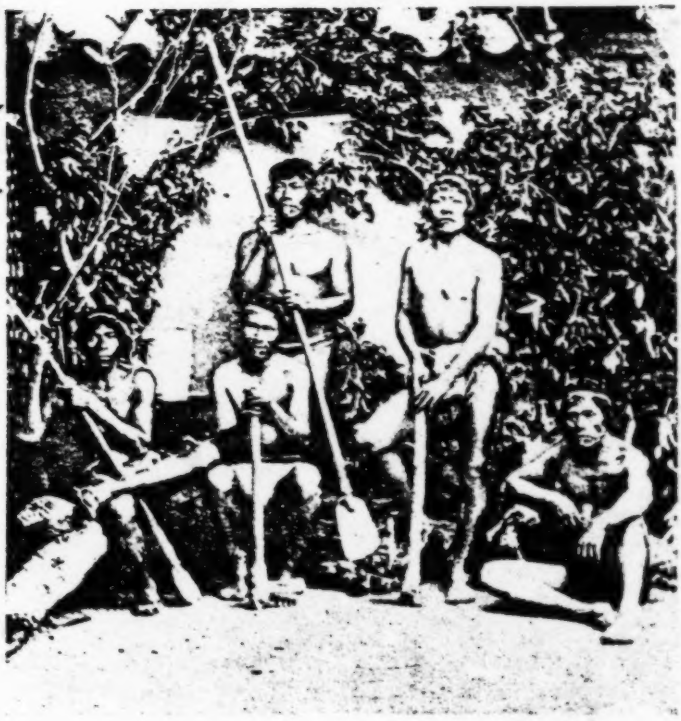
846 Soon, in a week or two, the woman is completely well,
302 and she is allowed to go out to bathe and paint her face with urucu, returning gradually to her usual tasks. Childbirth is
844 regarded by the Chiriguano as a time of fasting, in which some
785 authors say that all the members of the family participate, but this is not true; only the husband shares this obligation, and he does it for two or three days (2).

> 2. They say that it is necessary for the baby's father to fast so that it may not die nor any harm come to it when it grows up.

797 The missionaries try to eradicate from the neophytes the
785 superstition that is represented by the husband's fasting, but
844 when their mothers see that their grandchildren are dying,
178 they reprehend in their children the abandonment of the customs of yesteryear. I knew an old woman who was very attached to these customs and who tried in every way to force her son to fast, in view of the fact that the newborn babies died every time her daughter-in-law gave birth.

4: Nino--321 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
302
516
412



Group of Indian Workers

/248 cont./

273 mortar of clay, and thus the fermentation works without interference and in a few days. When the fermentation is over, they carefully remove the clay and the lid, and the Cangũi appears, covered with a good dose of oil, a sure sign that the chicha has been made perfectly (2).

2. When the weather is hot, the fermentation of the chicha works in three days, but in cold weather six or seven are needed.

Before beginning to drink it, the housewife collects and removes the oil /illustration appears here/ /249/ and fills the cups for the drinkers; she pours a few drops of this oil into each one. If this precaution were not taken, all of the oil would pour into a single cup, and the woman who had made the chicha would be deprived of the praises of all the hangers-on. When the Chiriguano woman wants the chicha to be better, when she wants Copiriru, or or recooked chicha, after she has strained it, as has been said, she brings it to a boil again and, when it is cold, bottles it.

[302] Note that Chiriguano women who are getting ready to prepare chicha first anoint their faces and calves with palma Christi oil and over this put achiote paint and then begin the job. They say that with this cosmetic, they feel the heat of the fire less, but, be that as it may, it is certain that to see those women so painted in a house with a big fire and lots of smoke is the same as seeing the furies of hell; the resemblance is not remote.

In another chapter it will be seen that a lot of chicha is made for the fiestas celebrated after the harvest, but it should be noted here that food is prepared for this general drinking and the grand hotel is open to all in the plaza, where townsmen and outsiders, men and women, gather into separate groups, because the European civilization of the mixed schools, mixed dances, mixed parties, mixed baths, etc., etc., which are true sewers of prostitution, has not arrived here (1).

[527] [576] 1. In fact, at the public gatherings the men drink at a decent distance away from the women; their conversations are crude, but do not exceed the limits, because the woman is in the company of her husband.

/258 cont./

The Fiesta

527 The evening before the arete finds everything cleaned up and ready in the town; they have everything put outside, at a convenient distance from each house, in front of same, the vessels full of chicha already fermented, and another in the house which will be fermented in a little while so that it may not turn sour or run short. I never had the curiosity to count the vessels in these general drinking bouts, which are not very frequent; I only know that each family fills three large pitchers /259/ and from them can be deduced the quantity, or number of cannons ready there for firing and heroic defense in the battle with their owners and other hangers-on. I was at a fiesta in a town of some 350 families, and it lasted for more than a week.

301 527 [302] The people invited also get ready and begin to draw near the place of the arete, but first they have adorned their bodies. The coquettes round off their pompadours, paint their little faces, and wear their best clothing, as all do, adorning their necks with necklaces, their arms with bracelets, their breasts with the Boivera, and their whole persons with the Mandu or the Tiru. There is no lack of women who adorn their heads with the Aguá, a crown that they make of leaves, or of tin cans, adorned with painted wool or cotton with tassels down to the knees; in sum, they dress up in their best (1).

527 574 1. Nobody enters the town where the fiesta is being prepared; on the night before all sleep a short distance away.

The arrival of the outsiders is on the morning of the day itself. Before this takes place, the inhabitants have already arisen in order to hold the reception. Those invited, after getting up, again clean up their persons and their adornments; the chief, ucau vaé, mounts a horse, which is also done by the other riders, and they begin to gallop like a troop of madmen, whistling and shouting as loudly as they can; those who are on foot follow, running in the same way; next come the young women, also

/275 cont./

411 [492] Warriors on horseback, in addition to having bows and arrows, use the lance: it is a piece of a knife or of iron tied to the tip of a stick: note that each warrior, according to what they say, cannot carry more than a dozen arrows, because they are heavy. 534 726 In order to inspire terror and fright in the attack they make on the enemy town, they use the Igñiramimbi, a wooden musical instrument, the Semene, and the Huacananti, or cow's horn (2).

> 2. The first is round, and it is very hard to pierce it, and the second is long. Both are of good wood, and they engrave figures and signs on them. They hang them from the neck by means of a cord. The wood is like ebony.

722 While some of them are preparing the bows and arrows, the braver men do not remain idle, nor do the women; the latter prepare the necessary provisions and even the chicha to celebrate the triumph, if they win it, and the former encourage the more cowardly ones, showing their ability as quremba in the streets and the plaza, animating them all, making them understand that triumph depends on them and that it is necessary to triumph at all costs if they do not wish to be subjected to the harsh condition of the conquered, thus losing everything, wife, children, home, and property.

726 704 /276/ When all the weapons are ready, those of the cavalry saddle their horses, putting the arrows on the right side, so that they can easily get them in case of urgency, because it is characteristic of the cavalry to yell insults at the enemy and to sow confusion on the battlefield with shouts and the noise of the igñiramimbi, huacananti, and porongo. Then, all of them, [292] foot soldiers, horsemen, and quremba, don their garb, some the [714] jacket /coleto/, others armor of garabatá, and they put on the [411] back of the left hand a strap of pygmy-deer hide, so that they [302] will not hurt themselves when they shoot the bow, and, finally, they all color their faces and arms with ground charcoal dampened in water. Let the reader consider if this army of demons would not frighten even the dead!

/292 cont./

Mourning

765 The interment over, they cry all that day, until the sun sets and night comes; then everyone goes home, only the closest [785] relatives staying to weep. Fasting, already mentioned, lasts for [302] three days, and on the first day after the burial all the women relatives cut off their hair and lay it on the grave. While cutting it off they look toward the east. The hair stays on the grave for some time, and later they take it off, and, if they burn it, it is [826] not on the grave, but away. They prefer not to burn it, however, because they would feel heat /293/ on their heads. If they notice or sense some noise coming from the hole, they heat a stone, put it on top, and the noise stops (1).

766 765 1. If the deceased is a cacique, they all weep until dawn, and afterward they meet every night for about a week.

765 They also put on the grave the tembeta, the bag, and the weapons which belonged to the deceased, such as his lance or some kind of saber, bows and arrows, so that he will not go looking for them, and when for any reason they leave the house alone, they put over the hole the pestle of the mortar, and, if this is done, the deceased will not move from his place. The souls of [775] those who have died in a bad way, for example, suicides, walk about continually, find no rest, go shouting at set hours, and are, according to what they believe, demons or their companions.

The dead person's nearest relatives sincerely grieve over the disappearance of the deceased, as the tears and sorrow shown on their faces prove. If, instead of a man, it is a woman who disappears from among the living, the widower feels the same grief; if the dead woman leaves small children, the picture that the house presents is truly heart-rending, the house where the morning sun will not find present the mother who so tenderly cared for her little ones (2).

2. The children demand to go back and they

/294 cont./

765 589 If it is a woman who is widowed, it is the law of the race that she must observe mourning for a period of one year, without it being permitted to shorten this period for any pretext whatsoever. After having wept for her departed husband for a whole [302] day and after the burial is over, as has been said, she cuts off her hair and deposits it on the grave, where it remains for a long 589 765 time, which I have not established exactly. This is the best offering that a widow can make to her late husband, and whether 577 or not she loved him, it is a law which she must observe; otherwise she would incur the scorn of the people of the town, who 302 would wonder at her conduct, she would lose her reputation, and the relatives of the deceased would resent it very much: they would take the children whom she loves so much away from her, and it would be hard for her to remarry.

765 As a sign of mourning, a loving widow, as well as one who 589 is not, finds the dirtiest and most ragged piece of cloth that she [292] has in the house and puts it on her head: she wears this during the entire period of her widowhood. One who arrives in a Chiriguano town for the first time will wonder about this piece of apparel and ask about its significance, because there is always some woman who is wearing mourning for her husband, her son, or her brother, if it is not for her father or mother. Finally, the widow is condemned to cry day and night for one long year, and one who does not cry as she should incurs the wrath of the relatives of the dead man. When I was a missionary in Santa Rosa, the cacique Yaritui died of nothing less than malignant smallpox. The widow cried for him so much and so loudly at the beginning that very soon she became hoarse. Nonetheless, the relatives complained of her action, accusing her of little love (2).

2. The weeping during mourning is done by the woman four times a day, at sunrise, noon, sunset, and at some time around midnight. At this last hour it is very sad.

/295/

If while asleep they sometimes dream of the dead one, very soon the widow, or whoever the dreamer is, gets up and makes a commotion, which lasts for several minutes. Also, when one

/296 cont./

765 589 When the year of mourning ends, the widow continues her silence until one of the relatives of the deceased visits her with all respect as a person worthy of veneration, because she has wept much and with grief for the dead; he tells her that this is now enough, that she can go out and again appear at the public drinkings, since this visit takes place two or three days before some general drinking affair. The widow makes them ask her many times and once more reflects on the virtues /296/ and greatness of the husband she has lost through death; she curses the bad sorcerers and poisons, finally consenting to stop mourning, leave the house, and take part in the coming fiesta (1).

1. During the year of mourning the widows are continually cloistered in their homes, coming out only when they have to; they go to the spring for water and to the field for food.

[302 301 292] During the year the hair has grown out at least some 30 centimeters; she then removes the rag from her head, combs her hair carefully, puts the well-known cosmetic on her face and feet, adorns her neck and arms with necklaces and bracelets, dresses in her best tipoy, and goes out with some woman friend. In this first appearance she does not take part in the dancing or singing, so that all may know that she still feels the absence of her husband, and all respect her silence. Only afterwards does her public life begin anew, like the rest, that is, she sings and dances as before.

589 581 589 A few weeks later, if someone should ask her to be his wife, she will probably consent, if she is still young and has small children, because the reader can imagine the suffering of a widow, who must seek food for herself and her little ones. Oh, how often have silent tears run down my face on seeing the tears of widows and fatherless children who, for lack of food, not knowing whom to ask for aid, have come to the missionary or to one superior to them to ask for help! How could one deny it? Only a heart of bronze could have done so.

789 936

Schwabenkäfig E-6,7 (1900-1909, 1912) 1900
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
342
347
1962

Fig. 25. Old Chiriguano Indian with a big »Tembeta». Tiñiñipa, Bolivia.

XII.

Articles connected with the deformation of the body. »Tembeta».

C
Ca
347

All Chiriguano and Chaná men of the older generation and, in a few of the Chiriguano villages, the younger men and boys also wear a so-called *tembeta* or lip-button in the under-lip. The custom of boring the lips is wide-spread in S. America. DALL, DEWIS, NEVVO, UHLE and VERNEAU-RIVET have drawn up summary tables to which I beg to refer, at the same time making some additions based on notes I have made from the literature on the subject to which I have had access.

C
Ca
347
[347
1971]

The tembeta of the Chiriguano and Chaná Indians is made, as a rule, of tin and in shape reminds one of a cap with a peak at both the front and back. (fig. 25)

Schmelzhöfl E-Ky(1900-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chan SF1
Aymara SF5

No

C
C2
515
316
171
181
A
[515]

		Clearness of body	Clearness in cold (near the glacier)	Use of [illegible] (wagon, [illegible], [illegible])	Salt in urt.
Ashluslay	El Gran Chaco near Rio Pilcomayo	2	0	1	3
Atsahuaca	Peru, tropical forests	3	3	3	1
Aymara	Andean Plateau, cold climate	0	0	0	3
Baure	Plains and tropical forests, Mojos, Bolivia	3	3	4	—
Cayua	Plains and tropical forests, near Rio Real, Bolivia	3	3	3	0
Chacobo	Plains and tropical forests, Mojos, Bolivia	4	3	3	1
Chiwa	Tropical forests, Rio Madidi, Bolivia	0	3	3	1
Chané (Ityaru)		3	4	3	4
" (Paraguay)		4	4	3	3
Chimane	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	0	3	1
Chiriguano		3	4	3	4
Chorotí	El Gran Chaco, near Rio Pilcomayo	4	0	1	3
Guarayú (mission)	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	3	3	—
Guarayú Panoxos	Tropical forests, Brazil	3	3	3	1
Huarayan	"	4	4	4	1
Huarí	"	3	4	3	1
Mataco	El Gran Chaco	1	0	1	3
Moje	Tropical forests and plains, Bolivia	5	5	4	—
Quichua	Andean Plateau	1	1	1	5
Tambopata-Guayo	Tropical forests, Peru	3	3	3	1
Tapiete	El Gran Chaco	2	1	2	1
Toba	"	2	2	1	1
Tacana	Tropical forests, Peru	3	3	3	1
Tacana	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	3	3	3

C
312

There are still many of the old Chiriguano, who wear long hair. Young men and youths with long hair are only

Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

seen in the villages about the upper Rio Pilcomayo. When the hair is long it is not worn hanging down the back, as is the custom with other Indians wearing long hair. It is wound round the head, »put up», and kept in place with a frontlet. I have not seen any other Indians do their hair in this way. The women also have long hair, usually parted down the middle and braided. Braiding may have been introduced in post-Columbian times, though this is uncertain, as it was also common in the culture-area of the west. C 302

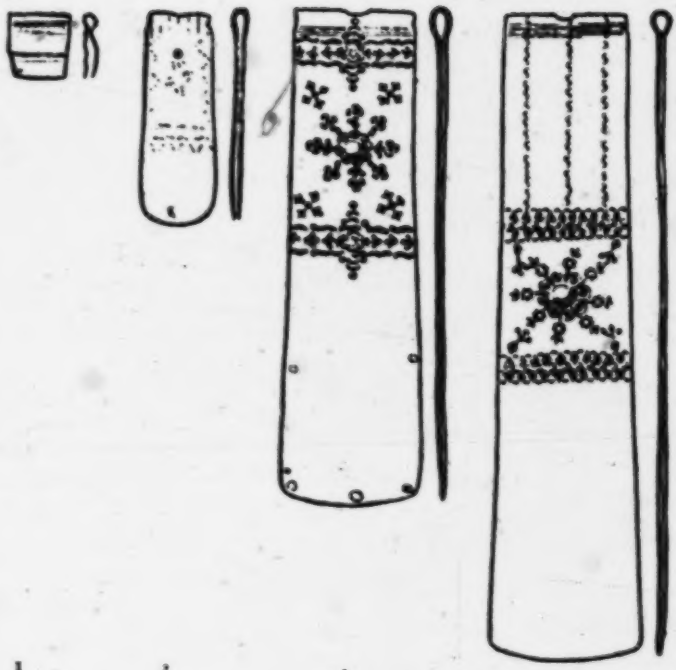
The Chiriguano and Chané use combs, but no brushes. In Part I I have already dealt with different kinds of combs met with in the districts through which I have travelled. The Chiriguano only have plain wooden combs which are sometimes rather prettily carved. This type of comb is probably derived from the mountain civilization, as I have already pointed out in Part I. C Ce 302 442 Ee [177]

The Chané have »stick-combs», »Stäbchenkämme» and now and again, though rarely, plain wooden ones too. These constructed combs are, as a rule, one-sided, in contradistinction to the doublesided ones of the Choroti and the Ashluslay. Thus we see that the Chané type of comb is unlike the one found in old tombs in the Puna de Jujuy, and which now occurs among the Quichua and the Aymara, the Choroti and the Ashluslay. Chiriguano and Chané combs are used exclusively for cleaning the hair and are never worn as ornaments. Ce 442 171* Ee [302 301]

The use of the pincer or tweezer as a toilet article certainly came to the Chiriguano and Chané from the civilized zone in the west. They are of metal and are used for removing hair from the body. Nowadays pincers are usually made of the metal from some old tin can, but sometimes of silver. These pincers of silver also serve as breast ornaments for the men, and are called »boivéra». They have to a great extent lost their original use, and are now simply used as ornaments. They have even sometimes been hammered together so that they can no longer be used as pincers. C Ce 302 442 [177] C Ce 301 442 177

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
301
302
442
531



1 2 3 4

Fig. 26. 1/2.

1) Implement of tin for removing hair. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 396.
2) » » silver » » » also used as breast ornament. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 378.
3) Breast ornament of silver. » » 374
4) » » » » » » 370.

C
Ce
301
442
177
Ce
[531]

cers. They have become bigger and bigger. (fig. 26) These silver trinkets are not made any more by the Indians themselves, and it is likely that the majority of, or all the silver ornaments now found among the Indians have been made by white silversmiths.[1]) The shape is always Indian, but

[1]) NINO is also of the opinion that the »bolvéra» is not of Indian make. P. 196.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 μ (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the ornamental design not always so (fig. 26). It is difficult to decide whether the idea of the pincer as a mere breast ornament is due only to the influence of non-Indian smiths or not. Most likely the pincer was turned into mere ornament by the makers, who presumably used it as an article of barter and then increased its size in order to make it more and more coveted by the Indians. At last the makers themselves may even have been quite ignorant of its original use. Consequently we cannot be wrong in considering the »boivéra» an original Indian element of culture which has been transformed under the influence of

Ce 301 442 177 [531] Ce [174] [437]

C [531] [304]

Fig. 27. Figure tattooed on the arm of a old Chiriguano Indian. ! Caipipendi. 1/1.

the Whites. There is no doubt that the pincer is a cultural element derived from the old culture zone in the west. They are, as we know, quite common in collections from that part. The Chiriguano also sometimes use a piece of split reed for removing hair.

C [442] [302]

Tattooing occurs here, but is very rarely seen. I have only seen two Chiriguano women and one old Chiriguano man with tattooing on their arms. The old man had the figure depicted here (fig. 27) tattooed on his arm. If I understood him rightly, it used in old times to be quite common for the Chiriguano-men to be tattooed in the same way. I have seen no tattooed Chané men or Chané women. I have already given an account of the distribution of tattooing in S. America in the first part of this book.

C 304 Ce [304]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
302
171

Painting the face with »urucu» is rather general here. The custom of painting the face prevails or has prevailed among most tribes in S. America and the red colour of Bixa Orellana (Urucu) is greatly appreciated where it can be had.

The »Genipa» is not used. It is possible that the genipa will not grow as far south as the Chiriguano and the Chané land.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

XIV.

Stained Teeth.

It was already related by VIEDMA[1]) that the Chiriguano stain their teeth. I have seen Chiriguano women in the Caipipendi valley stain their teeth a blackish blue with the leaves of a plant called »tajú«. LASCH has made a study of the custom of staining the teeth among S. American Indians. He speaks of this custom from Cumaná, quoting GOMARA, according to which author the women stained their teeth at the death of their husbands.[2]) He further mentions that this custom prevails among the Miraña,[3]) the Piro,[4]) the Goajiro[5]) and the Arawaks[6]) in Guiana. To this I can, as shown by the map and table below, make several additions. 302 ● 171 * [765]

[1]) P. 181.

[2]) I have looked through all available editions of GOMARA in order to find this statement, but in vain. What I have been able to find about stained teeth in GOMARA P. 205—206 I give here. [114]

»Préclance de tener muy negros los dientes, y llaman mujer al que los tiene blancos, como en Curiana . . . . Hacen negros los dientes con zumo ó polvo de hojas de árbol, que llaman ahi los cuales . . . . . a los quince anos, cuando comienzan á levantar la cresta toman estas yerbas en la boca, y traenlas hasta ennegrecer los dientes como el carbon; dura despues la negrura toda la vida.«

[3]) From MARTIUS.

[4]) » RAIMONDI.

[5]) » WAITZ.

[6]) » MARTIUS (1). He writes. T. 1, P. 691, »Schwärzung der Zähne, die GOMARA, Cap. 73, von den alten Cumanesen angiebt soll hier auch vorgekommen sein.« This statement seems so vague, that I have not indicated it on the map. As far as I know it is not confirmed by other authors writing on the same Indians.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
South American Indians S3

Table 9.

The distribution of stained teeth. Map 8.

C
302
#171
102
5
102
302

4. Chiriguano, VIEDMA P. 181. Men and woman.
4L. Caxinaua, CAPISTRANO DE ABREU P. 459.
5L. Indians north of Peru, POEPPIG Vol. 2, P. 253. Men.
34. Jivaro, HERMESSEN P. 440, Men.
36. Ijca, BOLINDER (4) P. 114. Men.
39. Goijiro, WAITZ Vol. 3, P. 373.
46. Conibo, RAIMONDI P. 667. See also CASTELNAU Vol. 4, P. 568.
61. WHIFFEN P. 88. »Among the Orahone, and also among some of the Iça and Yapurá Indians, the women cover their teeth and their finger-nails with a black pigment. The paint is never allowed to work off entirely, fresh designs being superimposed before the original has quite disappeared.»
70. Piro, RAIMONDI P. 667. The Piro is also called »Chontaquiro». Chonta = black wood, quiro = tooth.
71. Sipibo, Setebo, RAIMONDI P. 667; SMYTH and LOWE P. 211 write about the Indians in Sarayacu: »but their custom of staining their teeth dark blue, with a plant they call mucumucu, produces a very disgusting effect on their countenance.» The Indians in Sarayacu were Panos, Setebos, Conibos, Shipebos and Sencis.
99. CUMANOGOTO, GOMARA P. 405; BENZONI P. 4, 9. »They make a certain mixture to preserve the teeth, with oyster shells of the sort that produce pearls, burning them with the leaves of the *laxi*, and then adding a little water, so that the mixture looks like the whitest lime; and this they spread over the teeth, which become black as charcoal».
LAS CASAS V. 63, P. 436. »Vieron ellos tambien, y yo despues que acostumbran los hombres traer en la boca cierta hierba todo el dia mascando, la que, teniendo los dientes blanquisimos comunmente, se

[text continues on p. 88]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

South American Indians 53

C
102
● 302
171
S
102
276
302

Map. 8. The distribution of stained teeth.

● = Intentional staining of the teeth. ○ = Teeth stained black by chewing coca and lime.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
South American Indians 53

C
302
*171
102
S
102
302
[88/]

les ponen una costra en ellos más negra que la más negra azabaja que puede ser;» Las Casas speaks of the expedition of PER ALONSO NIÑO Y CHRISTÓBAL GUERRA 1499.

MARTYR P. 368. »Between the ages of ten to twelve years when puberty declares itself, they chew, all day long, leaves of trees, as thick as a nut, taking no other food nor drink. With this substance they blacken their teeth till they are the colour of a dead coal. They contemptuously call the Spaniards women and children, because the latter like to have white teeth; or likewise wild animals, because they let their hair and beards grow. Their teeth last a lifetime and they are ignorant of the aches which sometimes oblige us to have our molars removed. Their teeth never decay». (The Eighth Decade)

RUIZ BLANCO P. 58, medicine-men. »dos calabacillas en una traen una yerba tostada que llaman a y o, que mascan y es buena para la dentadura, y en otra una calecilla con que ponen los dientes negros.»

SIMON (1) P. 316.

1 c. Paez, MANUEL RODRIGUEZ P. 25. »Mascan continuamente, aquella su yerva diabolica, la *coca*, de que tienen negros como una pez los dientes» . . . . . .

6 P. Aguaruno, MURO P. 199.

4 S. Miraña, MARTIUS (1) Vol. I, P. 536. Men

9 S. Maynas, CHANTRE Y HERRERA P. 63. »Firme la dentadura y por todo igual, cuando no la dañan con el mascar continuo hierbas de zumo negro; es sumamente blanca y la conservan hasta la vejez. Tienen, algunas naciones, por adorno y por moda tenir los dientes y labios de color negro, y á este fin, mascan hierbas y tallos cuyo zumo mezclado con ceniza que meten en la boca, hace, con el beneficio de la saliva, un negro que dura por muchos dias. Mas, no contentos con una tintura, dan á lo menos cada dos dias este barniz

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
South American Indians 53

C 302 171* 102 S 102 302

á dientes y labios para conservarlos así más lustrosos. Causa grima el ver cómo refriegan los labios con lo más áspero de la hoja del maiz para quitar el tinte antiguo hasta desollarlos, y echar sangre para que de esta manera asiente mejor el nuevo, y brille más por fresco y reciente.»

IX. Colorado, RIVET (3) P. 188.

(70.) Manobamba (Yanaximes), BALBOA Chap. 8; SARMIENTO P. 96. »Conquisto TOPA INGA y sus capitanes desta vez cuatro grandes naciones. La primera fué la de los indios llamados Opataries y la otra llamado Manosuyo y la tercera se dice de los Manaries o Yanaximes que quiere decir los de las bocas negras.» Yana = black, simi = mouth. Near Cuzco, not marked on the map. Possibly identical with Piro (70).

C 302 276 171*

BOLINDER, who has observed that the Ijca's teeth are stained black by their chewing coca and lime,[1]) has advanced the opinion that the staining of teeth among the Cumanogoto may not have been purposely done, but caused by the lime that was chewed with coca. I believe that BOLINDER may be right in this supposition. As early a writer as RUIZ BLANCO[2]), who lived in many years in Cumaná, considered that the lime chewed with coca was the cause of blackened teeth.

In N. Peru[3]), where lime is chewed with coca, the Indians have black teeth. In the rest of Peru, where coca is chewed with the ashes of quinua-haulm and other plants, the Indians' teeth do not get black from coca chewing. This corroborates the assumption of BOLINDER that the teeth of the Cumanogoto were blackened by the lime they chew-

[1]) (4) P. 122.

[2]) P. 52.

[3]) »Without doubt the lime destroys the teeth and consequently the Peruvian »coqueros» have disgustingly black and carious rows of teeth.» POEPPIG Vol. 2, P. 253.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

● 302 276 *171 ed with coca. The teeth of the Paez were also blackened by coca-chewing. Most likely this holds good of the Goajiro too. We ought, therefore, to distinguish between two regions, viz., one where the Indians get black teeth by chewing coca-leaves with lime, and another where they purposely stain their teeth blue or black. The latter must be renewed after a time. the former, which is the result of coca-chewing with lime, lasts for life.

302 174 *171 It is difficult to explain the geographical distribution of the custom of staining the teeth. Perhaps the unintentional staining of the teeth is the original one, and has given rise to the intentional staining. One might suppose that the Indians who saw the »nice», black teeth of the coca-chewers wanted to appropriate the fashion, though they were not coca-chewers themselves, and consequently they stained their teeth dark.

That coca-chewers in Cumaná considered it elegant to have black teeth is obvious from what MARTYR says: »They contemptuously call the Spaniards »women and children» because the latter like to have white teeth.» »Women» is not exactly a title of honour among Indians.

One might imagine that staining the teeth was once fashionable within the civilized area of the Andes and that the custom has lived on in the border land after it dropped out of fashion in the place from which it originated. Staining the teeth is not a Guarani custom, so it must have been only when the Chiriguano Indians reached their present place of abode that they learnt the custom. [177]

It may also be assumed that the coca used to be chewed with lime all over the old civilized western area. If this is so, we ought to be able to prove it archaeologically, but, as far as I know, none of the skulls found in Peru or Bolivia have had teeth blackened and destroyed by using lime with the coca.

It is, however, a striking fact that intentional blackening of the teeth does not occur far from the Andine region

5:Nordenskiöld E-5, 1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

of civilization. This, at any rate, appears from the quotations here given; nor is it likely that blackening of the teeth in early post-Columbian times had a much greater distribution than is here indicated. I venture to affirm this, since blackening of the teeth is one of those practices which would strike all travellers even from the time of the Conquest. Respecting such practices as have interested older writers we ought to be able to make very exact maps of their post-Columbian geographical distribution.

302
174
171*

Ce 829 /164 cont./
referring when he addressed a farewell speech to /165/ me, which began as follows: "Now you can tell your great chief that you saw us and our poverty..."

G S 823 The sense of direction of the Indians has been discussed a great deal. The Indian undoubtedly has a very highly developed gift of observation, but his sense of direction is not so

G 823 considerable. I wandered with the Guarayú Indians in eastern Bolivia for about 250 kilometers in deep, large forests which they did not know, and in which we often had to cut a path,

C 142 301 ● 302

Fig. 79. Old Chiriguano with large lip-plug. Tihuĩpa.

G 823 step by step, with the bush knife. When the sun was covered with clouds, they often led me astray, as I could see by my compass. For a white man transplanted directly from city life into the wilderness, the Indian's intimate acquaintance with nature is remarkable. If one is accustomed to this life himself, he looks at the matter differently.

C Ce 301 /201 cont./

As for native ornaments, one sees necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla beads and of black seeds.

Ce 301 172 [439] Ce [435] According to their own statements, the Indians find the stone beads in the ground where there are old dwellings and graves. The mestizos in the Tarija valley, who find a great many of these beads in their fields, sell them to the Chiriguano /202/ and Chané at high prices. In former times a necklace of these beads was paid for with a horse.

Ce 524

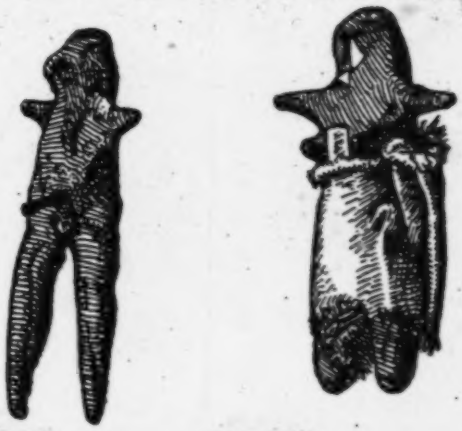


Fig. 105. Wax dolls. 1/1. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

C Ce 302 The Chané and Chiriguano women wear the hair medium long, parted in the middle of the forehead, and sometimes tied at the nape of the neck or on the head with a band.

C Ce 291 177 Ce 291 171 C 302 The men now all wear European attire. At /Fig. 107 appears here/ work, however, one not infrequently sees them in only a piece of fabric protecting the sexual parts. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, coats resembling those with which we became familiar among the Choroti and Ashluslay were very common. The older men, as well as the younger ones in the Chiriguano villages on the upper Rio Pilcomayo, wear the hair long, wound around the head, and held together, as a rule, with a red or blue band. Toward the front the hair is cut off; thus they have forelocks /203/ and a lock in front of each ear. The

The
/203 cont./

C
302
[177]

custom of cutting the hair short, however, is becoming more prevalent, in order to be just as elegant as the whites. When they travel over stony or thorny ground, they wear sandals on their feet, like the women.

These Indians do not often paint themselves ordinarily. Sometimes one sees a woman who has painted her face red. The whites maintain that it means she is anxious to get married, or, if married, lascivious. I do not venture to say, however, that this is true. /Fig. 108 appears here./ The women also commonly paint a red line here or there on the face, or they simply paste a flower on each cheek. The men, too, sometimes paint the face and body red. As a great rarity I saw a couple of Chiriguano women who were tattooed on the arms (Fig. 108). In the Caipipendi valley the Chiriguano women have disgusting habit of blackening

Ce
142
291
302

Fig. 106. Chané woman from the Rio Parapiti, clothed in "tiru."

their otherwise white and sound teeth. Viedma says that the Chiriguano men were in the habit of painting their teeth blue.

/203 cont./

C
Ce
615

Cleanliness

The Chané and Chiriguano are very clean. As has been said, they start the day with a bath and then often bathe several times in the course of the day. This cleanliness is strange among tribes who often live in regions such as, for example, the Caipipendi valley, where a great shortage of water prevails. During the dry season they can never take a bath there, but the

C
302

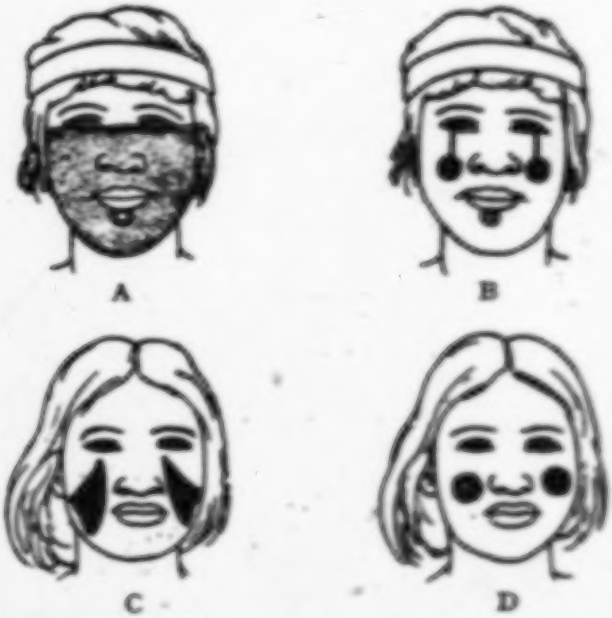


Fig. 107. Facial painting. Chiriguano.
Itapenbia. Red color.
A and B = men. C and D = women.

C
Ce
515

women at least wash their bodies thoroughly every morning.

C
Ce
174
515

/204/ The contrast which is evident here in the zeal for cleanliness on the part of the various tribes may be explained, in my opinion, by their migrations. The Choroti, Ashluslay,

C Ee 194 515 /204 cont./

and Matacó, who still in part dress in fur cloaks, seem to me, like the Fueglans and Patagonians, to have immigrated to the Chaco from the cold pampas in the south where washing was extremely unpleasant, whereas the Chiriguano and Chané come from the north, out of the warm, humid, virgin forests, from the great rivers, where bathing was always pleasant and refreshing. Now, where /Fig. 109 appears here/ they live under the same climatic conditions, the former have preserved their dirt, the latter their cleanliness.

Ee 284 171 515 Im Thurn (1) reports that the Indians in Guiana bathe

1. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883.

C 304

Fig. 108.
Woman's tattooed arm. Chiriguano.
Itapenbia.

Ee 284 171 515 immediately after eating, without any harm to them. I often observed the same thing here.

Ee 515 824 Ee 302 412 The Chiriguano and various Chané shampoo the head with the seeds of "*yuanfra*," which they grind. For the same purpose the Chané on the Río Parapití use the bark of the mistol /*Zizyphus mistol* Griseb./, "*yóeg*." The nails, and /205/ not least the toenails, are also very carefully tended. For combing they use combs carved in wood or made out of sticks of cane tied together.

C Ce /210 cont./
881 When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a
[302] compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short,
and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again.
Ce Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her
[262] needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second
menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize
C and meal. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."
881 In a Chané village, Aguarãti, I saw a girl who was sitting
123 in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet,
C which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and
881 closet had disappeared.
P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection

C
[113]

1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

C
[825] with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has
C bitten the girl.
Ce When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is
881 marriageable.
582
Ce /211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his
852 lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this.
304 A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie
[301] down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in
Ce his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable
[603] hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him
Ce to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.
[262] For one day the father may not consume anything, so that
[191] the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians
do not like prattlers.
Ce When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small
301 piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may
885] parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig.
79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise
C and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the
[301] Chiriguano only the old men now have the
[78] Ce tembata.
[78]

Ec /219 cont./
765
302
[587]

If her husband dies, the wife is supposed to cut her hair short. /220/ If she loved him very much, she does it twice. It is not until her hair has grown long again that she may enter into another marriage. If her father or mother dies, she cuts her hair short; if her child, her brother, or brother-in-law dies, she cuts it moderately short. Long hair means that it reaches to the shoulders. My question as to whether the men also cut their hair in mourning was answered with laughter. They content themselves with shortening only the longest. The men may not marry until about a year after the death of the wife.

C
765
301

If the woman is in mourning, she wears no ornaments. When I was with Maringay, his daughter-in-law had lost her little child. Though all the other women in the village wore many necklaces, she did not have a single ornament. She also did not take part in any festivity.

Ea
764
177

The Indians whom the missionaries baptize do not always like having to bury their dead in a cemetery. They at least want the dead to have water with them in the grave.

One does not free oneself so easily from the old, inherited ideas, in order to exchange them for new ones. /Pl. 18 appears here./

/221/ Chapter Thirteen

800 On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Ugly Words, Homosexuality, Suicide, Sense of Modesty, etc.

In the language of the whites there are, as is well known, a number of words that may not be used in polite society. Persons of the same sex may mention certain parts of the body only by their Latin names, whereas persons of different sex, as a rule, do not speak of them at all to one another. One word may be regarded as ugly, whereas another word for the same thing may be used at will. The reason why a word is forbidden is undoubtedly often difficult to determine.

Ec 831

/227 cont./

The Indians regard the natural aspect of sexual life very differently from the way we view it as a rule. We do not find among these people all the corruption which is in civilized society, but various things are to be found here already. As far as homosexuality in particular is concerned, conditions among primitive peoples, as is known, show that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than in our hypercivilization.

Ec 838

/228/

Chapter Fourteen

On the Life of the Chaná and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Chiefs and Laws

Ec 622 [111]

The chiefs have an entirely different position among the Chaná and Chiriguano than among the Ashluslay and Chorotí. They have considerable power. Among the chiefs there are the great chiefs, who rule over several villages, and the village chiefs, who have command over only one village or a part of one. Among the great chiefs whom I met, the noteworthy ones are the old woman Vullyuyi, the chief over the Chaná villages on the Rio Bityuro, Tevuiri, who rules over most of the Caipipendi valley, Mandepora (Fig. 111), who in former times had considerable power in and around Macharetí, and Maringay in the Iguembe valley.

Ec 43

Ec

Ec 622 293 [113] [101] [102]

Nowadays the chiefs have no symbol of their office other than silver-mounted sticks. According to Corrado, they formerly wore a large tuft of hair on the head, "yamira," as well as green stones which hung at their ears. At the festivals and dances they had the right to use the "yandugua," a rod decorated with a bunch of ostrich feathers, and "iguirape," a staff carved with peculiar figures. Of these I was able to acquire only a yandugua. I did not even see the rest.

Ec 622 [55] [103]

The office of chief seems to be hereditary as a rule. Capability and the art of using words well are required, however.

362
142
291
302
352
273

Fig. [illegible]. Women in front of tan bin. In the foreground, a bedstead on which tan charcoal, water, the latter is used in the preparation of solution, an immersing beverage. Chiriguano, San Luis, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

342
361
417

Fig. [illegible]. Kiln in the periphery of the similar medicinal in the Chiriguano village of Bolivia. In right foreground, a bolder used on going to the plantations for cocoa. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

(188) [p. 194 is blank]

been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

Fig. 192. Man and young woman, Chiriguano. San Luis, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this impossible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] [illegible] (18), p. 183 and fig. 83 (18), pp. 15 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] [illegible] (18), p. 39.

seen any Chiriguano using this typical ancient Andean garment. Ponchos of the cloak type, and robes of the kind used by the Chaco Indians, on the other hand, I have seen worn by the Chiriguano men, who put them on against cold and wet. Formerly the Chiriguano men dressed in the »chiripa», which was a rectangular skirt that was fastened in front to a cord tied round the waist, then passed between the legs, and fixed to the cord above the buttocks. One may still see, here and there, some small boy wearing nothing but this primitive garment. On their heads the men often wear a broad, red. turbanlike frontlet (fig. 194), and, when setting out on long marches, they put on their feet sandals, the straps of which bear distinct resemblance to straps on sandals that have been found in ancient graves on Puna de Jujuy.[1]

Fig. 195. Chiriguano boy with long, flowing hair. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

The women also possess sandals, but, like the men, generally walk about barefooted. The women's clothing consists of a loose-fitting, tubular garment made of woollen, or cotton, stuff. It is called »tipoy». The upper part of it is pinned together over the shoulders by means of cactus spines or metal pins, in the manner seen in fig. 190, which leaves the arms free, or the garment may be fastened under the armpits in the way the girl in fig. 194 is wearing it.

Nowadays the men mostly wear their hair bobbed, and with a frontal fringe (fig. 194), but I have seen boys, not fully grown, with long hair, hanging loose down (fig. 195). In former days all the men had long hair, which they gathered on the top of the head, where it was secured with a frontlet, a custom not yet quite discarded in some out-of-the-way parts of the country. The women let their hair grow long, give it a centre parting on the top of the head (fig. 190), plait it into tresses and tie it up, or allow it to hang loose. One may sometimes see girls with short hair (fig. 194), but in such cases the hair has been cut short as a sign that its owner has entered upon her first menstruation. On the death of a near relative it is also the custom of the women to cut off their hair.

Fig. 196. Wooden comb. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 829.

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), fig. 23; von Rosen (1), fig. 84.

1 [footnote 1 appears on p. 200 - - Ar.]

302 The hair is tended with very neat-looking wooden combs (fig. 196).
[412] Among the Chiriguano I also noticed composite combs of the type used in the Chaco (fig. 85).

[386] Among the men as well as the women, the custom obtains of painting
[824] the face red, the pigment being prepared from Bixa orellana. Many of the men I met in the neighbourhood of San Luis had red-painted the whole face below the eyes, and some of the women had circular red
302 spots, about 3 to 4 cm in diameter, painted on their cheeks. On the
304 other hand, I did not see any tattooed Chiriguano. Instances of tattooing have, however, been noted by Nordenskiöld, who also has seen Chiriguano women who had stained their teeth dark blue with some vegetable extract.[1] In the past, tattooing as well as teeth-staining were commonly practiced by the Chiriguano.

301

Fig. 197. Lip-stud (tembeta) of tin, with inlaid, pierced, turquoise-coloured glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 2/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 822.

Another Chiriguano ornament intimately connected with the human body is the lip stud (»tembeta»), which is exclusively worn by men and by youths who have attained marriageable age. The Chiriguano lip stud of the present day consists of a hollow tin cylinder with two laminate projections (fig. 197). The cylinder is filled with some waxy substance, into which are embedded a number of small beads of stone, glass or porcelain, usually of a turquoise-blue colour. The lip stud is inserted from the inside, through a hole made in the lower lip, so that its circular, bead-beset, front surface barely shows beyond the skin of the lip. The base of the lip stud, which is slightly concave, then rests against the teeth of the lower jaw. This quaint ornament creates no displeasing impression, but should a Chiriguano take it out, he would look both pitiable and ridiculous, as the saliva then runs through the large hole in the lip. Hence it is considered disgraceful to be seen without the lip stud, and on many occasions I have noticed the women scornfully deriding such men as had sold their lip ornaments. As soon as a man had taken out his lip stud, he generally put his hand to his mouth for concealment until he had time to put in a substitute stud, usually made of wood.

The lip stud that is here shown, which weighs 18.5 grammes, has a base plate 3.4 cm long, and its cylinder is 1 cm high, with a diameter

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 83, 85 and (13), pp. 187—188.

of 2.1 cm. It is decorated with one large and many small, turquoise-blue beads made of glass or porcelain. 301

Necklaces of stone or glass beads are worn by the women, and even men may occasionally be seen with them. One such necklace (fig. 198), which I bought of a Chiriguano Indian in the San Luis district, consists largely of pierced, cylindrical or laminate, turquois beads of exactly the same kind as I found when excavating the ancient site at Tolomosa in the Tarija valley.[1] The Chiriguano keep all stone beads they happen to pick up on the ground, and also acquire them by barter from other districts. Besides turquoise beads, there are also blue, white, and red glass-beads threaded on this necklace, which to me proved a particularly costly bargain. It is probable that such necklaces as wholly or in part are composed of ancient beads are looked upon as amulets. To this question I shall refer later, in connection with my account of the supposed magical properties of certain Choroti objects. [437]

Fig. 198. Necklace of turquoises and glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 905.

Fig. 199. Tweezer-like breast ornament of silver. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. Bolivia. 1/2. After Erl. Nordenskiöld.

[172]
[789]

In the important work entitled »Comparative ethnographical studies», Erland Nordenskiöld describes, from the Chiriguano, an interesting breast ornament called »boivéra» (fig. 199), which I have not myself seen in use. It is of silver, doubled over tweezer-fashion, and worn on a string round the neck. Such tweezers, usually ornamented, are nowadays not put to any practical use, but exclusively worn as ornaments. The leaves of these tweezers are, therefore, sometimes hammered together. On good grounds Nordenskiöld advances his opinion that these ornaments originate from the small tweezers, or pincers, that, already in pre-Spanish times, were used by the Andean Indians for removing hairs of the beard, or 301 174 412 [302]

[1] von Rosen (1), p. 367 and fig. 332: 23—27.

301
174
412
[302]

other inconvenient hair-growth, and which are still in use among the Chiriguano.[1]

I have noted a circumstance, previously unheeded, that, in my opinion, gives considerable weight to Nordenskiöld's theory as to the true Indian origin of the boivéra ornament. All breast ornaments of this kind have in their upper part a tubular horizontal perforation, open at both ends. In the middle of this barrel, and through the top, there is a hole. Through this barrel and upper hole is run the cord by which the ornament is worn round the neck (fig. 199). This rather peculiar arrangement for fixing the cord on which the ornament is hung, is found in the majority of such ancient Indian hanging ornaments, whistles and flutes of stone, as were meant to be worn a string. As an example, the remarkable ancient Indian stone flute, found in the earth in the vicinity of Iruya,[2] has at one end been bored through (fig. 200) in a manner exactly corresponding to the arrangement for the cord in the boivéra. This cord-fixing adaptation does not, to my knowledge, occur in any European object. For this reason it may surely be considered as very probable, not only that the original use of the boivéra as a pair of tweezers is of Indian origin, but also that the idea of carrying the tweezers on a string round the neck is Indian, and consequently has not originated from those more or less »white» jewellers that nowadays manufacture boivéra ornaments, and sell them to the Indians. I have in another book depicted a fragment of a small, pre-Spanish, ornamented bronze tweezers, which, like the boivéra, has a circular perforation at its upper end,[3] indicating that those tweezers, too, were worn on a cord, and consequently also in all likelihood served as a breast ornament.

[534]
[172]

Fig. 200. Pan-pipe of stone. Ground-find from Iruya. Bolivia. 1/2. The dotted line marks the hole for fastening a string in the same way as for the breast ornament, fig. 199.

[439]

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 81—83, 90 and 94.
[2] von Rosen (10), pp. 147 and 148.
[3] von Rosen (10), fig. 211.

Plate II

291
516

Fig. 3
(I. C. 354) -- Chiriguano in Machareti

142
291
516
302

Fig. 4
(I.C. 359) -- Chiriguano women in Machareti

/12 cont./

000 I.C. 246. Izozó cacique with his family. Near Toledo. (Fig. 12.)
I.C. 249. Izozó man with tembetá /labret/. Near Toledo. (Fig. 27.)
I.C. 251. Izozó in Toledo with soldiers and the author. (Fig. 2.)
I.C. 330. Izozó men. Near Toledo. (Fig. 9.)

C 144 648 Cr 648 From the preceding historical sketch it can be seen that the ethnic entity "Chiriguano-Chané," with regard to its physical characteristics, is made up of an ethnic mixture of absolutely heterogeneous elements. We have told how the Chiriguano for centuries captured many prisoners, incorporating them into their community, and how at the end of the 16th century the number of Chané incorporated among them was much larger than that of the pure Guaraní-Chiriguano. Although the Chané, belonging to the linguistic group of the Aruacos /Arawak/, were a peaceful nation and were not equal in strength to the pure Chiriguano, their culture, which for a long time was in contact with that of the ancient Peruvians, was doubtless superior to that of their oppressors, and the Chané women surely had considerable influence on their masters. Since the two population elements lived together for three and a half centuries, we must suppose that they would have mixed extensively.

C 42 175 Unfortunately, the ancient documents say very little about the physical qualities of the Chiriguano. The only brief note on this subject that I know of is found in the "Descripción y población de las Indias" by Bishop Lizarraga (44): "They are

44. Moreno II, p. 101.

C [302] Ec 144 175 comely, robust, with broad-shouldered, high chests, well built, dark. They pluck their eyebrows and eyelashes; the eyes are small and lively." According to Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883, that is, a short time after the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites and the Chané began to become emancipated from their oppressors, forming their own towns, somatic differences between the

Plate III

142
291
302
516
854
←

142
291
516
→

Fig. 5
(I.C. 360)--Chiriguano women with babies in Machareti

Fig. 6
(I.C. 335)--Chiriguano men in Machareti

142
291
516

Fig. 7
(I.C. 361)--Chiriguano boys in Machareti

Fig. 8
(I.C. 362)--Chiriguano children in Machareti

C
352
171
[113]

/23 cont./

Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, Berlin, 1894, p. 286.

Peruvians (100). Nordenskiöld and Métraux show such

C
[113]

100. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/, Berlin, 1929, p. 436.

Chiriguano benches in drawings (101).

101. Nord. 1, Fig. 85. Métraux 1, pp. 471 and 472 and Fig. 129.

C
Ce
291
302
178

Painting and Deformations of the Body

As the use of clothing has increased among the Chiriguano and Chané, the custom of painting or tattooing the body has naturally lost importance and the remnants of such customs are too few to be able to say what they were in the past. Nor do we have data on this. I often saw Chiriguano and Izozó women and girls paint themselves with urucú, making colored spots on their faces. According to Nordenskiöld, men and women sometimes paint their faces, as well as their bodies, with red paint (102). Nordenskiöld also found tattooing on

C
Ce
302

C
302

102. Nord. 1, p. 203.

the arms of some women and one Chiriguano man (103). The

103. Nord 1, p. 203. Nord. 2, p. 83, Fig. 27.

custom of dyeing the teeth with dark blue was found by

C /23 cont./
●302 Viedma among the Chiriguano men (104), and Nordenskiöld

C
[113]

104. Viedma: Descripción de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Colección Angelis, Vol. 3. Buenos Aires, 1936. Written 1793. Page 181. According to Nordenskiöld.

found it among the women in the valley of Caipipendi (105).

105. Nord. 2, p. 85.

The latter used for that the leaves of a plant that they call "tajú" (tayú = lapacho).

Ee
Ee
301
304
174
Gi
301
172

With respect to body deformations we can suppose that it was once a common custom among the Chané and Chiriguano to wear a "tembetá" in the pierced lower lip. Of the Guaraní of ancient times it has been stated that the men had this tembetá, and the custom is confirmed by prehistoric finds (106).

106. Cf. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 122.

Ee
Ee
301
174

The form, material, and dimensions of these tembetá were varied and varied regionally. What was the shape of the tembetá that the Guaraní had when at the beginning of the 16th century they emigrated to the spurs of the Cordillera? We do not know. Neither do we know whether or not the Chané had the tembetá when they were enslaved by the Chiriguano. We can assume that the metal tembetás of the Chiriguano and the Chané in their present form have their origin in the period after their contacts with the ancient Peruvians. /24/ since they did not know the technique of working metal and even today most of their tembetás are made by nearby mestizos or whites, who make them to their taste. According to Chomé's (107)

Ee
[199]
[325]

C
301
C
[113]

107. "Lettre du père Ignace Chomé." Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. New edition. Vol. 8, Paris, 1781. p. 326. According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 73.

/25 cont./

C
Ce
302

Cutting and Combing the Hair, and Head Adornment

The women wear their hair plaited into long or medium long braids hanging down to their shoulders (113). As can be

113. See Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Plates XI and XII.

seen in Figures 4, 5, and 12 and in the photographs of Chiriguano women published by Lehmann-Nitsche, the hair of the women and girls is always parted over the forehead. The girls always have such a part from childhood. (See Fig. 8 /see p. 28/.) At the time of the first menstruation, the girls' hair is cut short (114), and the women also cut their hair in the

C
Ce
881
965

114. Nord. 1, p. 210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 201.

event of the death of the husband or one of their close relatives; sometimes they cut it twice when the husband dies (115).

115. Nord. 1, p. 220.

C
Ce
301
126

At the nape of the neck, and sometimes also at the top of the head, the hair is tied together with cotton bands. The collection which I brought to the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay contains 29 of these bands used by Izozó women, all of which have the same typical form.

Ce
301

Bands for Women's Hair, from the Collection

(I. A. 624-652.) (Izozó.) (I. A. 646 and 641 shown in Fig. 52a and b.)

The length of these bands for the hair, on the average, is 1.04 cm. /sic/. The longest band measures 1.45 meters, and the shortest, 0.65 meters. The average length of the tassels is 14.3 cm. The longest tassel measures 17.5 cm.; the shortest, 9 cm.

/26 cont./

C 301 One head ornament used by the Chiriguano women at festivities and as a special mark of distinction is still to be mentioned. This ornament, described by Nordenskiöld, is made up of a forehead band with a long pendant tied to the back part as decoration (117).

117. Nord. 2, pp. 92 and 93 and Fig. 28.

C Ce 302 The Chiriguano and Chané men today in most cases wear their hair in the modern fashion, cut short. The two Chiriguano boys shown in Figure 7 are even wearing a side part with rodete /hair arranged on the top of the head/, perhaps Ce 302 especially prepared for the photograph. The hair of the Izozó boy shown in Figure 11 is rather long on the front part of the head, but the hair has been cut in the back and on the sides as well. C 302 Only the older men, and, according to Nordenskiöld, in the Chiriguano towns of the upper Pilcomayo River the young men as well (118), wear the hair long and wrapped in a special

118. Nord. 1, p. 202.

manner around the head. Lehmann-Nitsche (119) reports to

119. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., p. 56.

us specifically on this hair style of the old men as follows: "Their hair had apparently never been cut and was combed in a special manner: after it had been thrown to the back, they would part it into two halves with their hands, to the right and to the left, respectively, then the right half is brought forward and wrapped toward the left around the head in the form of a Moslim turban, while the left half is wrapped C [301] around the other way." The rodetes of the Chiriguano men described by Lehmann-Nitsche were tied up with ordinary Ce handkerchiefs. Among the Izozó I found some narrow bands 301 302 /27/ which were used especially for this purpose, and

Ce 301 302 /27 cont./
Nordenskiöld shows in a photograph a Chané man with such a band (120). According to information in the Annuae

C 302 171

120. Nord. 1, Plate 20.

litterae Societatis Jesu of the year 1605, the Chiriguano men previously wore a tonsure like that of the Guaraní in Paraguay and the Tupinambá on the Brazilian coast: "Coronis in modum nostrorum sacerdotum utuntur" /coronal in the style of our priest/ (121).

121. Métraux I, p. 467.

Ce 301

Men's Hair Bands

I. A. 653-660. (Izozó), woven of cotton. (Fig. 30: I. A. 660, 653, 655, 656.)

The average length of these men's hair bands measures about one meter. The longest is 1.18 meters and the smallest 0.91 meters. Although the length of all of these bands is almost the same, there are quite big differences in their width, the width varying between 1 cm. and 3.3 cm. The narrowest of these bands were woven plain, without decorations, and are in part white, in part later dyed with blue, red, or blue-gray dye. The two widest bands, 3.0 and 3.3 cm. wide, respectively, show simple ornamentation produced by the weaving. I shall deal with the details of the technique of this weaving and its ornamentation in the chapters on weaving and art.

Beside these bands woven out of cotton, the Izozó have men's hair bands which are longer and wider and woven out of human hair, ending in fringes at the two ends.

Ce 322 412 171

/28 cont./ The main difference between the Chané combs and the combs of the Chaco tribes is that the teeth of the latter are made of little sticks of cane, and the teeth of the former, of little sticks of any other kind of wood. The /29/ wooden teeth of the Izozó comb in our collection are between two flat little sticks of cane vertical to them, and on the handle end, between the little sticks whose lower parts form the teeth, shorter little sticks have been inserted, so that at the lower part of the comb there is a certain distance between the teeth. The lacing, consisting of cotton threads, covers the upper part of the comb as far as the edge, but also slightly covers the lower part which forms the teeth. The lacing is not secured with wax.

Ce 322 412

Ce [284]

With respect to hair care, we still must mention the data of Nordenskiöld and of Métraux (127) /see footnote 127 above/ to the effect that the Chiriguano and some of the Chané rub their hair with "Nyantéra" seed ("ñitira," according to Métraux), and the Chané of the Parapití with the rind of the mistol /Zizyphus mistol/, "yuag."

Ce Ce 302 824

From Father Lizárraga's description (128), we know that

Ce Ce 302 178 [171]

128. Moreno II, p. 101.

the Chiriguano and Chané in the past plucked out the hairs of the body, except from the head, as do most of the Indians of South America. Father Lazarraga /sic/ says that the Chiriguano plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes. This custom does not exist today, and the photographs of nude Chiriguano men shown by Lehmann-Nitsche (129) show that today as a general

129. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Fig.

rule they do not remove hair from the pubic regions. Also one meets today some middle-aged men who have mustaches, such as the cacique of the Izozó shown in Figure 10 and some of the Chiriguano men shown in drawings by Lehmann-Nitsche (130).

130. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Plates VIII-X.

C
Ce
412
301
302
178

/29 cont./

Because of this change the implement for plucking hair, consisting of small tweezers, formerly very common, has naturally lost a great part of its importance today, and similarly, in its transformed state as a chest ornament, it is rarer. I found such tweezers among the Mataco and the Churupí. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such tweezers or the corresponding chest ornament, called "boivera" also by the Chiriguano. Nordenskiöld describes these tweezers in detail (131),

131. Nord. 2, pp. 81 and 82.

and he adds that the Chiriguano also use small sticks of cane to pluck out hair.

C
412
301
171

The form of these tweezers made of metal corresponds to that of the tweezers known through finds made in the burials of the ancient Peruvians. Today these tweezers are normally made of any piece of tin plate or sheet iron, which, when provided with a cord, they use for chest ornaments, besides their original purpose. This custom of using tweezers as a chest ornament was very common among the ancient Peruvians. Among the latter's necklaces there are many that, apart from other things, consist of silver tweezers. It was customary among the ancient Peruvians that these enlarged tweezers, unsuitable for their original purpose, be transformed into a pure and distinctive ornament. The Museum of Ethnography in Berlin has such ornaments in the form of depilatory tweezers, made of copper, silver, or gold, in great number, one example of which is 52 centimeters in length (132). Therefore I suppose

C
301
[174]
C
[113]

132. Cf. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru, Berlin, 1929, pp. 83, 369, 397, and 399.

we must deduce that the Chiriguano custom of using as a chest ornament a silver ornament in the form of one of those tweezers is due to ancient Peruvian influence. There are several specimens of the "boiveras," now rare and doubtless most of the time carefully kept from the view of the whites, in

/86 cont./

C
643

of her late brother and predecessor, as already mentioned, took her place in her duties. The one predestined for the office of cacique cannot begin his functions if he does not have ability and skill in discussion. The great cacique in the Caipipendi valley was considered incapable because of continual drunkenness, and he was replaced in his functions by one of his relatives (327). In

327. Nord. 1, p. 230.

the Chané towns on the Itiyuru the ordinary caciques too belong to Hinu Parava's family (328).

328. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 129.

C
C
643
301
302
293

As a symbol of chieftainship Nordenskiöld observed staffs decorated with silver and the so-called "Yandagua," which consists of a long rod adorned with a tuft of ostrich feathers and is carried by caciques at fiestas and dances. According to Corrado, the caciques formerly wore as a symbol of their office a large lock of hair on top of the head, which they called "yattiro," and green stones as pendants in the ear lobes, and at the fiestas, in addition to the "yandagua" mentioned above, the "iguirige," which was a staff carved with figures (329).

329. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C
756
643
622

At the side of the caciques a special position is held by the sorcerers, among whom the Chiriguano distinguish two kinds, the "ipáye," who are good and who can undo spells, and the "ipáyepótchi," who can undo spells, but who also cast them. The sorcerer is also above all the doctor who has the obligation of curing the sick (330). In general the occupation of sorcerer is separate

330. Nord. 1, p. 216.

from that of cacique. Only in Ivu did Nordenskiöld observe a case where a Chiriguano cacique was a sorcerer at the same time (331).

331. Nord. 1, p. 230.

/87 cont./

C 58 [302] The girl is nubile when, after the first menstruation, she has undergone a certain ceremony, which lasts until her hair, cut short, has grown out again to medium length. This ceremony of the girls, which is called "yimundia," consists of her being put in a kind of separate room inside the house. Until the following menstruation, she must say on a diet and she must not eat anything but cooked maize and meal (339). Only in the

C [262]

339. Métraux I, p. 326, note 3.

company of her mother may she temporarily leave the separate room to bathe and to take care of her other needs (340).

340. Nord. I, p. 210.

C 58 [303] We also learn from Nordenskiöld that the Chané boys from 10 to 12 years of age must also undergo certain ceremonies, which consist in having a man who is particularly expert in such matters pierce the lower lip (341) and put a small stick through the hole,

C [415] [239]

341. According to Métraux I, pp. 346 and 347 and Fig. 12, the Chiriguano formerly used for that purpose punches made of horn.

and his grandfather puts deep wounds in his body so that he may be valiant in battle and in hunting and takes him out in the morning, when it is cold, to bathe (342).

342. Nord. I, p. 211.

C [237] [245] Chiriguano and Chané girls are watched over by their mothers /88/ until their marriage (343), and illegitimate children are

343. Nord. I, p. 179.

/380/

303
415
325

Fig. 53. Mold for making tin labrets (tembetayapua). Prov.: Tumbíe. (1/2 nat. size.)

Mold for Tembetas

301
303
415
325

The tembeta, or labrets, of the Chiriguano are of tin. They make them themselves with the aid of the mold pictured here (Fig. 53). It is a calabash into which the form of the labret have been hollowed out, while the thicker central part of the ornament corresponds to the end of a stick going through the calabash. The cavity produced in the central part of the labret is then filled with wax into which glass or turquoise beads are incrusted. These come from ancient burial-places and are sold to the Chiriguano by the half-breeds of Tarija.

[531]
[439]

Balances

296
199
191

The Chiriguano of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igllembé valley prize coca quite as much as the Quichuá of the altiplano. Besides, it is from them that they got this vice. The fact is known and does not need to be demonstrated. This custom

/467 cont./

302 The women never cut their hair according to the custom of the other Indian women of the Chaco, so they have heads of long and remarkably soft hair. They gather their hair together (301) on the nape of the neck by means of a red or blue ribbon, which they knot on the forehead after passing it around the head (see Plate VI, 1 and 2 /see p. 73/).

302 Chiriguano women are extremely meticulous about their 315 hair and wash it nearly every day. For soap they use Sitira seeds. 322 412 388

Fig. 172. Chiriguano stone mortar for crushing Sitira seeds. Prov.: Ivo. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

which they crush in a little mortar (Fig. 172) especially intended for that use. The Sitira seeds, rich in saponin, lather easily.

302 For me it was always a pleasant spectacle in the morning to see the women come back from the river with their hair twisted on the front of the head and fastened into a conical chignon. They would let it dry, then would begin to comb it slowly until it was soft and shining.

Two types of comb coexist among the Chiriguano. On the 412 upper Pilcomayo in the Igllembé valley and in Ivo, they are carved 303 out of a small board, and often the flat part which serves as the 184 handle is cut out /468/ with art. In the Caipipendí valley and among the Chané, besides combs of the preceding type there are others composed of fine splinters of wood wedged between two splinters of bamboo and held in place by a clever plaiting of cotton thread forming a design.

/468 cont./

forming a design. Combs of this category generally have a double row of teeth, but sometimes one row is entirely covered by the plaiting and is transformed into a handle (Nordenskiöld, 7, Fig. 109, p. 244). These two kinds of comb are also found in the Andean zone; but whereas the first is limited to this geographical area and especially to northwestern Argentina, the second, which includes all varieties of composite combs, has a vast distribution

[551]

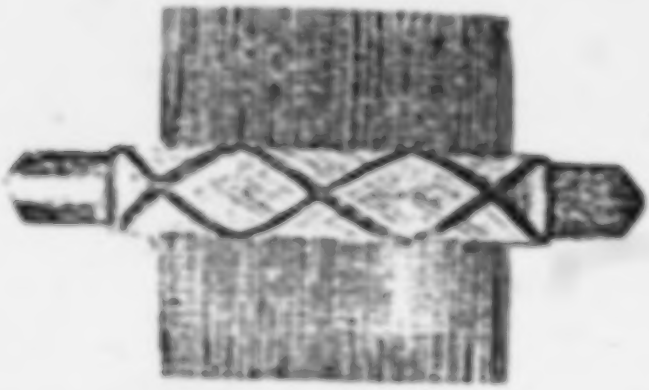


Fig. 170. Composite comb made of fine splinters of bamboo. Chiriguano. Prov.: Cercati. (1/5 nat. size.)

over all South America, in the Inca Empire as well as in Brazil. The Chiriguano doubtless used them well before they settled in their present location. It is not the same with the comb of carved wood, which they borrowed from the Chicha or the Humahuaca. With regard to two combs in my collections, one (Plate LXXXVII, 14) has a handle carved in the shape of a dog, and the other, a deer (Plate LXXXVII, 15). They strongly resemble a comb found in the Quebrada de Humahuaca, which is also surmounted by the silhouette of a quadruped (Debenedetti, 7, p. 247, Fig. 186). At Kipon in the Calchaquí Valley Debenedetti (1, p. 27, Fig. 16) discovered a comb whose upper part represents a human head, in which our author thinks he sees an idol with a sad expression (!?). The half-breed women of that valley have kept up to our times the ancient indigenous combs of algarroba wood.

/468 cont./

412 171 At La Paya, Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 254, p. 484) discovered combs cut out of a small wooden board and some composite combs. Instead of simply recording the coexistence of two different types of combs /Plate LXXXVII appears here/ /469/ in the same place, a very natural phenomenon by reason of the heterogeneous character of the culture of La Paya, Ambrosetti puts forth the strange hypothesis that these combs served for carding wool, without taking the trouble to inquire whether this instrument was known in pre-Columbian times.

303 322 462 412 The making of combs, like all wood carving, is an essentially masculine job.

412 174 The table on Plate LXXXVII indicates my idea of the morphological evolution of the different forms of combs which I have collected.

Chapter XII

Furniture

352 [114] Since the diverse cultural elements which constitute the furniture of the Chiriguano have been completely studied by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 8-22), I shall limit myself to mentioning them here, insisting only on several details. /Fig. 124 appears here./ /See p. 338./

[342] Let us enter a Chiriguano hut. The door we open is a kind of screen of reeds or a cowhide hardened in the sun. Daylight penetrates the interior through this opening. The only important [513] piece of furniture is a wooden cot (Fig. 125), a kind of bedstead generally occupied by two persons between whom one or two children come /470/ to slip in somehow or other. Nor do the Chiriguano hesitate to sleep on the ground on an oxhide, which they spread out in front of their house. On the upper Pilcomayo, in nearly all the huts one can /Fig. 125 appears here/ /See p. 339./ see one or two hammocks which serve either as seats during the day or as cradles for small children. Their technique, that of the [286] [177] double thread (Doppelfadentechnik), continues an old Guarani

[Text Continues on P. 338]

824 /16 cont./
139
[114] I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it through experience and careful reading; when describing certain plants, I shall also make note of the use made of the bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall, straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood borer does not damage it; it is much used here in the construction of upper roofs, especially for the braches or trusses on which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its
[342] wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less
[492] value; it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows, but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to
[296] make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears
[515] and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the face free of blemishes; here it is known by the name "timboy."

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. moniliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which reason drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it.
[372] It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns, from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatane," fire that smells; the wood is yellow.

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of
[342] trees of this class here and there; it is the most abundant tree,
[281] the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does not eat it; the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites; the latter call it sebil and the former "Curupau."

245 ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in
137 fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters,
824 its leaves are dark green; it produces abundant fruit in a sort of pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds, which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They
[302] serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces
[303]
[439]

245 137 824 [302] [303] [439] /17 cont./
and feet with them, as will be seen; for this last purpose it is prepared beforehand, many pods being boiled in an olla, and pastes of every size are made from the decoction, depending on the value that they wish them to have; it is traded by Chiriguanos and whites.

137 824 The Bixa orellana, or "Urucu," as the Indians call it, is a plant of high value for the Chiriguano; he will travel far to obtain a small amount in the towns or places where it is prepared.

ALGARROBO. -- The place where this extraordinarily large tree abounds is in the pampas; thus in the plain of "Curuyuqui" of Yvu Mission, Isoso, Parapiti, and the Gran Chaco it is found forming forests. It is very bulky and has [342] [415] long branches which on some touch the ground; its trunk is thick and not always erect, the wood is excellent, similar to oak in spite of being dark, and it is much used for making tuns, door and window casings, and even for barrels. In [262] [273] Chiriguano this tree is called /18/ "Ivopei," and the "Ivope" pod is long, compressed, and yellow; when it is ripe, it is sweet and much sought after by livestock and by the Chiriguano; it is their food and drink in times of scarcity as well as other times, and the mead that they make is extremely intoxicating. On the bank of the Pilcomayo even the whites eat this pod; the Toba, Choroti, Mataco, and others hold their orgies when the algarrobo ripens.

ALGARROBO CHICO. -- This is a smaller tree than the previous one, even its fruit is smaller, speckled in color, and sweeter than the true algarrobo, but not as abundant as the [262] first. As the pods are small and the seeds within abundant, it is not highly thought of among the Chiriguano; they only eat it out of necessity or as a tidbit; the wood is not valued very highly because undoubtedly there are others that are better. In Chiriguano it is called "Ivope rai."

ALGARROBO AGRIO. -- This is also small, and it is called [262] "sour" because the flavor of the pods really is sour. In times of scarcity it is also food for the Chiriguano; the pods are small, and the tree has its congenial sites. The Chiriguano Indians call it "Ivopetayi."

/193 cont./

302 Another of the cosmetics frequently used by men and women
137 is the Carasapa. This is an annual plant with broad leaves, and
824 its stem grows /194/ to the height of a meter or a little more. The color of the plant itself and of its leaves is, for about half of it, somewhere between red and purple. The flower is large and about 30 centimeters long, its color being the same as that of the plant, but much brighter. There is enough of the plant everywhere, but it is not very abundant. The flower is somewhat heavy when it has seeds, and since the stem is slender and flexible, the result is that when it cannot hold itself upright it leans over toward the ground, forming an arch, hence its name Carasapa, or arched plant (1).

[527]

1. At carnival time even the neophytes paint their faces, as do the whites. They buy face paint which the whites sell, and the infidels forsake their achiote at the carnivals.

● 303 When the flower and seed are in season, the coquettes do their harvesting in order to use it, and they look pretty. The Carasapa also has its preparation, without which its application would not be easy. They first grind up some white beans, sift this meal very fine, and then grind the Carasapa in a mortar with a little water, put this mixture in a cloth, squeeze over the bean meal the water which comes out, washing or coloring it, and then dry the dough in the sun, spread out on a cloth or a Cutama. The preparation is not difficult, but not all of them go to the trouble to do it, and for those who prepare it, it is a profitable item.

302 The way to use it is the same as for the achiote, but it
[531] does not have any peculiarity, and hence it is only used at fiestas and at carnival time. Maidens beautify their faces by forming two circles of carasapa on their fresh cheeks and paint their eyebrows with achiote. Formerly, when young girls wore the Atira, pompadour /copete/, at fiestas it was painted with the carasapa mixture, after having been oiled with palma Christi.

C
412
237
←

C
[364]
←

Fig. 12. Deer-horn awl (wau-p'rara). Formerly the Chiriguano used them to pierce the lower lip of their children. Prov.: Saladito. (1/2 nat. size.)

Ce
411
→

Ce
[284]
→

Fig. 13. Bow of the Chané Indians. Outside surface semicircular; inside surface flat. The bow is reinforced with casings of deerskin (?). Prov.: Tuyunti (Salta Prov., Argentine Rep.). (1/7 nat. size.)

/482 cont./

302 faces and legs oiled in this way, which gives them a very strange reddish and shiny hue. This custom, which was already [171] noted /483/ in the sixteenth century among the Tupinamba of [178] the Brazilian coast, is tending to fall into disuse.

Roucou in paste form is kept in a small corn-husk bag (Fig. 302 139), /Fig. 139 appears here/ as is kalasapa, a substance com- 386 posed of a mixture of roucou and pounded aroma seeds, which [415] gives a violet color.

757 4. Jaguar fat (yaguapira) cures any "leprosy" (karatši) if 237 one rubs oneself with it after heating it.

5. Iguana fat makes cramps go away and heals wounds. [752] Its use is external.

6. The dried penis of a fox makes toothaches and earaches go away. For that it suffices to touch the ailing part with the end /Fig. 140 appears here/ of this member. The Indians consider it very malodorous and touch it only with repugnance. [415] To avoid this inconvenience they provide it with a handle and shut it up in a bamboo case (Fig. 141).

7. Deerhorns heated and /Fig. 141 appears here/ applied against the neck will cure a stiff neck. The medical use of [172] deer (wasu) horns explains the frequent presence of the horns of this animal in the archeological strata of the neighboring Andean regions. Some have thus been found in the ruins of the Alfarcito, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 21), at Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, p. 232), at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 235, p. 453), and at Tastil (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, Fig. 78 f).

858 Horns adhering to a fragment of the skull and whose use 304 could only have been magical or medical must be distinguished 237 from the ones which the Indians work into awls. These in- 412 struments still have a ritual use and are reserved for piercing the lower lip of children when they are old enough to wear the labret. At least this is what Campana (p. 80) informs us. Besides, the Indians all have confirmed this detail to me. [171] Formerly, the Tupinamba of Brazil practiced this operation with an awl of the same nature (see Métraux, 3, p. 105).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had
304 his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "tà." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

831 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before mar-
191 riage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective
583 father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride serv-
191 ice, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapetí River a few decades ago. The bride-
591 groom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

595 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of
622 wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many
556 cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and
764 dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate.
765 The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

/187 cont./

301 buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions.
302 The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicuana
[177] /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts
in the presence of his companions (1).

[197]
[114]
[121]

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbía had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter
294 is woven by them themselves with palm leaves. Carandai;
285 they bring them from the places where they are abundant, Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect
292 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older
554 Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (?).

291
302
304
178

2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap, the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in few places now, and the straw hat is being

/188 cont./

291
302
304
178

replaced by the cloth one, although it costs a great deal; the customs of yesteryear are now disappearing, and those of today, or of the whites, are penetrating rapidly.

302
412
[831]

For the Chiriguano virility consists of a vigorous head of hair; nevertheless, although he prizes hair on his head, he never allows any other hair on his body, except that of the eyelashes and eyebrows, which he forms into arches. He pulls out the rest of the hair on his face and body with his Tendivaha poha, or tweezers. These consist of some little pieces of tin or a piece of cane slit down the middle, and sometimes a knife. With great patience and bit by bit he pulls out or cuts off all the hair that appears on his chin, thus looking like another woman. Others who are called /illustration appears here/ /189/ rich pull out their hair with thin pieces of silver, which they call Mboivera (1).

302

1. During my stay in the territory I saw only one Indian who had a thick beard, but because of this uncleanliness he was considered disgusting. When the hairs grow, he cut them with scissors. Today the young men are beginning to wear mustaches and goatees, and many shave with razors.

[178]

291
[171]

The ancient Chiriguano clothing was very simple and too immoral, as is still seen among those Indians where the civilization of the Cross has not penetrated, such as the Chacobo north of Santa Cruz and others in the Bolivian Chaco. Boys go about naked until the age of ten or twelve, and girls up to seven, at which age they are content to cover the most delicate part of the body because of a trace of modesty which exists among them. Even grown men make use of this most simple garment when they are in the country busy at work or when they are returning to town loaded with firewood or food.

[Text Continues on P 260]

/227 cont./

881 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently,
198 and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection
199 of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where
226 there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the
462 little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Pariwota.

881 /228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and
[195] not a boy, the time to give up the ñ ñ of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man
[304] ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother,
[301] and other relatives make him understand that for this it is necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of
[885] the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip,
[554] Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

[192] 1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ita, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

/228 cont./

301 [304] The Tembeta usually is a small round piece of tin with two little ears or hooks on the sides which serve to hold it in the pierced lip. The circle of the tembeta is hollow up to near the surface of the hooks; a little wax is put in it, and the ornaments, such as coralline or little light-blue stones of little value, are set in the wax. What is somewhat valuable is the Itogũ, a small green stone in one piece which fills the entire hole of the tembeta. I have one of these, and its stone is fixed in place with a little prong of the same tin. The tembetas are also of hollow cane and of wood, but never of stone, as some writers have stated (2).

2. Though tembeta literally means lip stone, this does not come from its being made of stone; the literal meaning comes from itogũ, which is a stone. The itogũ is also set in those of wood.

173 30 The tembeta, already described, is relatively new. Before Christians and missionaries came into their country the tembetas were of wood, and they were of the same form as the [304] one, with all the ornamentation, but most people used a piece of hollow cane, especially when they were working. This is a little piece of cane cut at a node, which is thinner in the hole in order to be held in the pierced lip. In these there is neither ornament nor wax, because they are for the poor, and for the rich only when they are working.

30 [335] The Itogũ had considerable value among the Indians, being worth a horse, a cow, a burro, etc., but, as I have already said, it was a relative value, since in Tarija, from where they brought them, their value was two bolivianos. From this it can be concluded that the itogũ is not found in [171] Chiriguano country. It owes its origin to the Incas or Quichuas /Quechua/. /228/ but it is the Chiriguano who work the tembeta, in which they set the itogũ, or green stone.

/229 cont./

881 For the piercing of the lip, a full moon is necessary, so
304 that the open wound will not have bad results, will gradually
[821] get larger, and will not form a swelling. The boys who are ready for the tembeta must not be younger than seven years of age or older than 12. In the first case they would not be able to stand the pain, and in the second the piercing would be difficult because the lip would have hardened.

Thus, when the moon is at its maximum and the boy is of the proper age, he little by little becomes prepared for the operation. The mother and father prepare him with loving words, stimulating his vanity so that he may afterward be esteemed and loved by the girls. Then they make him understand the need for piercing his lip, so that everyone will know
[186] that he belongs to the noble Chiriguano race and is worthy of
[885] being a member of it; finally, they make him understand that only when he has the tembeta will the grandees of the nation respect him and treat him kindly (1).

[869] 1. Christian mothers, to encourage their
[171] sons to endure suffering and even martyrdom itself, show them Heaven, an invisible dwelling place. The savage infidels encourage their children with earthly promises, such as the love of women; qui de terra est; de terra loquitur; this is the effect of ignorance.

The boy hears the nice things that his parents say to him as a deaf man hears music. What he considers more and what occupies all his concern is the pain that the opening of his lip is going to cause him. Nevertheless, he cannot hide or run away; he must submit to the operation in spite of his fear
304 of it. In fact, before the full moon the father goes with his
881 son to the house of the surgeon and tells him the reason for his
759 visit, asking him to make his boy into a man. The surgeon-doctor makes an appointment for the next day or another one, and in the meantime he looks for a second boy to undergo the

/229 cont./

304 759 881 same operation, because he never takes one alone. There must always be two, four, six, eight, or ten (2).

[801] 2. In a town of 30 or 40 families there was usually never any lack of boys of the same age. The number of the boys to be pierced should never be an odd number: superstition and nothing else.

304 881 The boys appear for the operation on the designated day, led by their fathers and mothers. Meanwhile, other curious [785] persons gather there, men, women, boys, and girls, to see [114] and /230/ attend this solemn act, which, as I have learned, is not preceded by any day of fasting; thus what certain writers have said in this regard is wrong, as is the rest that refers to the person who does the operation, for whom the qualification of being an Ipaye, sorcerer, is not required for the imposition of the tembeta.

Before beginning the operation the surgeon authoritatively addresses those who are to be men, telling them to be valiant and strong in their pain, without letting their moans be heard or crying, because these are not the signs of a brave man, of a man who wears the tembeta, which is the sign of virility, of [195] a man who must be able to face the dangers of war. Finally, he orders them that it is time to give up the ü, ü in their answers, and in its place he orders them to replace it with Ta.

When this brief and eloquent discourse is over, the first boy stretches out on the ground or on a cot, and in order to give himself courage he says in a vibrant voice, Che rani tayicutuca, may I be the first to be pierced, words which are greeted by the gathering with jubilation and at the same time with wonder, since they already know the pain that he is going to suffer (1).

[195] [195] 1. The Chiriguano Indian also uses the imperative to order himself, that is to say, his verbs still have the first person of the imperative mood, which indicates considerable arrogance.

/230 cont./

304 881 [304] Then the one doing the operation looks among his implements for the string with which he takes the exact measurements so that the hole will be in the middle and above the chin. Then he prepares the Guasupirasa, which literally means: piercer of the cured skin of pygmy deer. Certain writers have believed that the guasupirasa is a pygmy-deer horn on the basis of the name guasu, with which the name of the article begins, but it is a mistake. The guasupirasa is a round piece of iron of the size of a cotalera needle, which they call Yargã in Quichua /Quechua/ (2).

304 413 881 [114]

> 2. If it were a slender deer-horn, it would be liable to break, and if it were slightly sharpened the hole would be very large and it would be difficult to hold the first tembeta, which should be small. There would be many other problems, which are avoided with the slender and strong iron.

304 881 As I have said, he takes the appropriate measurements with a string; he puts his hand on his guasupirasa, and upon seeing this the mother is frightened and weeps in silence, and the other people shrink back. Finally, utilizing the services of another practitioner, he has him press very strongly with the index fingers of both hands at the edges of the temples, at the point where the ears are attached, and when he is sure /231/ that the boy keenly feels the pain that the assistant's fingers cause in his ears he quickly and deftly inserts the well-sharpened iron, and the hole is made with considerable skill, the Guasupirasa passing up to the tip of the nose.

He at once puts a hollow little tube of tin on the iron and lowers it little by little in order to pull it out of the pierced lip, where instead there remains in place the little tube, which sticks out a little on both sides of the lip. In [301] Chiriguano this tube is called Tembetandi, or white tembeta.

/201 cont./

881 304 [828] In general, with the method of pressing strongly on the patient's temples, the one performing the operation manages it so that the patient feels little or nothing of the pain of the piercing, according to what they say, and it is probable, because one sharp pain diminishes or makes another one feel less strong. But it is also certain that the boy, seeing himself before so many spectators and girls, makes every effort not to cry out or weep, because the Indians do not deny that many somewhat cowardly ones do shout and even cry a little (1).

> 1. Some boys, very fearful, when their fathers begin to talk to them about the tembeta and the need to have the hole made, run off to another tribe in the presence of their relatives, but the latter persuade them, and they return to their town.

I have asked more than one Indian and all agree in assuring that not a drop of blood comes from the hole. The day on which the imposition of the tembeta is done is a day of strict fasting, and they do not even let them drink a little chicha; other foods cannot be chewed by them for several days either. On some, somewhat cowardly ones, there is a swelling, and on others not. The swelling of the lip is avoided, according to them, by heating the leaves of the bush Tocoma in the flame or embers of the fire and applying them continually around the hole. The cicatrization of the lip may take a month, during which time the little Chiriguano stays at home, letting himself be seen in the streets and in the plaza more in a while (2).

[785] [784] [859] [824] 881 [859]

> 2. For a Chiriguano it is a great honor to put the tembeta in place on the boys, so that he asks nothing for this honorable operation; but the boy's parents make some small gift, which he receives with satisfaction.

/301 cont./

304 191 [324] Meanwhile the one who performed the operation now gives final admonishments to the boy, and he, following all of these instructions and those of his father, keeps the little tube in continual motion so that it will not stick to the flesh, and on the days that follow he begins to put around it little twigs /325/ from the bush called Tarumbíu, food of the turkeys. When it has healed, he will cut a larger stick from the same bush and put it in alone, removing the tembetandi, and continue enlarging the hole this way little by little until he can put in a tembera of hollow cane, which also goes on taking on larger dimensions until it seems big enough. Then he buys a de luxe tembera and he puts it in, never to remove it again, either day or night, since it would be a great embarrassment for a Chiriguano to appear in public without his tembera (1).

1. If the Chiriguano were to be without his tembera while asleep, saliva would run out, because the hole is rather large in most of them.

301 The hollow-cane temberas are made by every Chiriguano, while those of wood and tin are made by craftsmen. In spite [326] of there not being any blacksmiths or tinsmiths among them [339] and as neither tin or lead nor anything similar is available, [199] the result is that the material for making them is brought from other parts, being bought from the whites, with whom they have maintained relations since the beginning of Tarija, out of which region the Chiriguano were expelled.

301 191 The Tembera in Other Tribes

The use of the tembera may be another argument for the unity of the human race. Undoubtedly the Chiriguano use it as a tradition passed on from father to son, and thus successively up to our times. The tembera is found in use by savage tribes almost throughout the world: in Africa the Noors /Nuer/ and

Schwedenskiöld E-S,c (1906-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Fig. 24. Old Chiriguano Indian with a big »Tembeta». Tiki-Ipa, Bolivia.

XII.

Articles connected with the deformation of the body. »Tembeta».

All Chiriguano and Chané men of the older generation and, in a few of the Chiriguano villages, the younger men and boys also wear a so-called *tembeta* or lip-button in the under-lip. The custom of boring the lips is wide-spread in S. America. DALL, DENIS, NEYTO, UHLE and VERNEAU-RIVET have drawn up summary tables to which I beg to refer, at the same time making some additions based on notes I have made from the literature on the subject to which I have had access.

The tembeta of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is made, as a rule, of tin and in shape reminds one of a cap with a peak at both the front and back. (fig. 25)

former have in S. America a much wider distribution than the latter. When both types existed together, as was the case among the Tupinambá, the boys had to be content with spike-shaped variety, while the men had the cup-shaped. For the latter kind a specially valuable material was employed, viz. a rare kind of green stone.

In all likelihood it was from the Andine area of civilization that the cup-shaped tembeta spread to Patagonia to the Chané, Chiriguano and Tupinambá. This must have happened before the time of the Incas. At the time of the conquest the Incas had no tembetas. The discovery of tembetas of this type at Tiahuanaco supports the notion that we have here to do with a culture-element which spread south and east during the Tiahuanaco period.

Should an attempt be made to draw a diagram showing the evolution of tembeta-types, I imagine it would be pretty much as follows (fig. 27).

Out of the small cylindrical wooden plug which still occurs everywhere for the purpose of keeping the lip-button hole open, and to extend the same, three types have been specialized:

(1) The exaggeratedly large, flat, round wooden disc;
(2) The more or less spike-shaped lip-button;
(3) The flat cup-shaped tembeta.

Of these (1) is most likely the oldest, (2) next and (3) the most recent.

If the cup-shaped tembeta in this part of America comes from the Andine area of civilization, the Chiriguano have probably taken it westwards again. The Chané generally have quite small tembetas, this being the reason why they are scornfully called by the Chiriguano «ñaetata» (women). It is probable that they learned the use of this ornament from the Chiriguano. Of the Chaco tribes visited by me it is only the guaranised Tapiete who have tembetas.

The Chiriguano and Chané men never pierce their ears.

Formerly the chiefs wore ear-rings with pendants of green stones. Among these Indians the only women with pierced ears are a few of the younger ones who have learned from the Whites the custom of wearing ear-rings. These ornaments are also obtained from the Whites. Oddly enough, the Sorbanes custom of piercing the ear is thus here an idea obtained by the Indians from the Whites. Neither men nor women pierce the nasal septum.

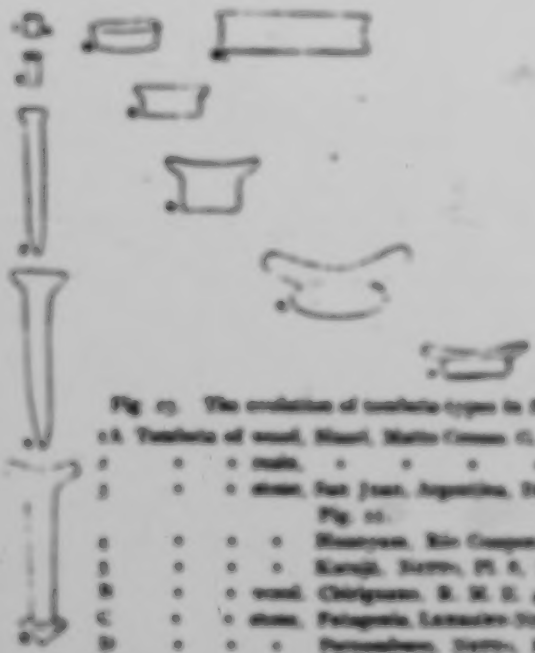


Fig. 23. The evolution of tembeta types in S. America. $^1/_2$

a-h. Tembeta of wood, Mosetí, Mattо Grosso (L. M. 23, s. 224).
i " " " " " " " " (L. M. 23, s. 230).
j " " stone, San Juan, Argentina, Demoscoarts, (c) Fig. 22.
a " " " Huanyam, Río Caqueta.
b " " " Karaja, Ihering, Pl. 6, Fig. 4.
B " " wood, Chiriguano, R. M. D. 4700.
C " " stone, Patagonia, Lamalero-Simonas (c), P. 180.
D " " " Paraguayan, Ihering, Pl. 6, Fig. 6.
E " " " Fuegian, Chile, Moscoso (c), Fig. 18.
F " " metal, hollowed at the front and filled with wax in which are fastened glass beads. Chiriguano. (L. M. 23, s. 240).
G " " wood, Nayá, Río Negro, Uruguay (c) Fig. 24.

the ornamental design not always so (fig. 26). It is difficult to decide whether the idea of the pincer as a mere breast ornament is due only to the influence of non-Indian smiths or not. Most likely the pincer was turned into mere ornament by the makers, who presumably used it as an article of barter and then increased its size in order to make it more and more coveted by the Indians. At last the makers themselves may even have been quite ignorant of its original use. Consequently we cannot be wrong in considering the *shuvéra* an original Indian element of culture which has been transformed under the influence of

Fig. 27. Figure tattooed on the arm of a old Chiriguano Indian. ? Cuipiputi. ½.

the Whites. There is no doubt that the pincer is a cultural element derived from the old culture zone in the west. They are, as we know, quite common in collections from that part. The Chiriguano also sometimes use a piece of split reed for removing hair.

Tattooing occurs here, but is very rarely seen. I have only seen two Chiriguano women and one old Chiriguano man with tattooing on their arms. The old man had the figure depicted here (fig. 27) tattooed on his arm. If I understood him rightly, it used in old times to be quite common for the Chiriguano-men to be tattooed in the same way. I have seen no tattooed Chané men or Chané women. I have already given an account of the distribution of tattooing in S. America in the first part of this book.

6: Nordenskiöld--57 E-5 (1908-1909)1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane SF8

C Ee 194 515

/204 cont./

and Matacco, who still in part dress in fur cloaks, seem to me, like the Fuegians and Patagonians, to have immigrated to the Chaco from the cold pampas in the south where washing was extremely unpleasant, whereas the Chiriguano and Chané come from the north, out of the warm, humid, virgin forests, from the great rivers, where bathing was always pleasant and refreshing. Now, where /Fig. 109 appears here/ they live under the same climatic conditions, the former have preserved their dirt, the latter their cleanliness.

Ee 284 171 515

Im Thurn (1) reports that the Indians in Guiana bathe

1. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883.

C 304

Fig. 108.
Woman's tattooed arm. Chiriguano.
Itapenhia.

Ee 284 171 515

immediately after eating, without any harm to them. I often observed the same thing here.

Ee 515 824 Ee 302 412

The Chiriguano and various Chané shampoo the head with the seeds of "nyanéra," which they grind. For the same purpose the Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the bark of the mistol /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./, "yéag." The nails, and /205/ not least the toenails, are also very carefully tended. For combing they use combs carved in wood or made out of sticks of cane tied together.

C 301 178 304] C [578] C [186]

/211 cont./

Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

Ee 301 177 C 301 314

Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

C [113]

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

Ee 583 584

If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

Ee 584 178

The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

Ee 585

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

Ee 591

302 The hair is tended with very neat-looking wooden combs (fig. 196).
[442] Among the Chiriguano I also noticed composite combs of the type used in the Chaco (fig. 85).

[386] Among the men as well as the women, the custom obtains of painting
[824] the face red, the pigment being prepared from Bixa orellana. Many of the men I met in the neighbourhood of San Luis had red-painted the whole face below the eyes, and some of the women had circular red
302 spots, about 3 to 4 cm in diameter, painted on their cheeks. On the
304 other hand, I did not see any tattooed Chiriguano. Instances of tattooing have, however, been noted by Nordenskiöld, who also has seen Chiriguano women who had stained their teeth dark blue with some vegetable extract.[1] In the past, tattooing as well as teeth-staining were commonly practiced by the Chiriguano.

301

Fig. 197. Lip-stud (tembeta) of tin, with inlaid, pierced, turquoise-coloured glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. $^{2}/_{3}$. Riksm. 03. 3. 822.

Another Chiriguano ornament intimately connected with the human body is the lip stud (»tembeta»), which is exclusively worn by men and by youths who have attained marriageable age. The Chiriguano lip stud of the present day consists of a hollow tin cylinder with two laminate projections (fig. 197). The cylinder is filled with some waxy substance, into which are embedded a number of small beads of stone, glass or porcelain, usually of a turquoise-blue colour. The lip stud is inserted from the inside, through a hole made in the lower lip, so that its circular, bead-beset, front surface barely shows beyond the skin of the lip. The base of the lip stud, which is slightly concave, then rests against the teeth of the lower jaw. This quaint ornament creates no displeasing impression, but should a Chiriguano take it out, he would look both pitiable and ridiculous, as the saliva then runs through the large hole in the lip. Hence it is considered disgraceful to be seen without the lip stud, and on many occasions I have noticed the women scornfully deriding such men as had sold their lip ornaments. As soon as a man had taken out his lip stud, he generally put his hand to his mouth for concealment until he had time to put in a substitute stud, usually made of wood.

The lip stud that is here shown, which weighs 18.5 grammes, has a base plate 3.4 cm long, and its cylinder is 1 cm high, with a diameter

[1] Nordenskiöld (35), pp. 83, 85 and (13), pp. 187—188.

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

C /23 cont./
302 Viedma among the Chiriguano men (104), and Nordenskiöld

C
[113]

104. Viedma: Descripción de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Colección Angelis. Vol. 3. Buenos Aires. 1936. Written 1793. Page 181. According to Nordenskiöld.

found it among the women in the valley of Caipipendi (105).

105. Nord. 2, p. 85.

The latter used for that the leaves of a plant that they call "tajú" (tayú = lapacho).

Ee
301
304
174
Gi
381
172

With respect to body deformations we can suppose that it was once a common custom among the Chané and Chiriguano to wear a "tembetá" in the pierced lower lip. Of the Guaraní of ancient times it has been stated that the men had this tembetá, and the custom is confirmed by prehistoric finds (106).

106. Cf. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 122.

Ee
301
174

The form, material, and dimensions of these tembetá were varied and varied regionally. What was the shape of the tembetá that the Guaraní had when at the beginning of the 16th century they emigrated to the spurs of the Cordillera? We do not know. Neither do we know whether or not the Chané had the tembetá when they were enslaved by the Chiriguano. We can assume that the metal tembetás of the Chiriguano and the Chané in their present form have their origin in the period after their contacts with the ancient Peruvians. /24/ since they did not know the technique of working metal and even today most of their tembetás are made by nearby mestizos or whites, who make them to their taste. According to Chomé's (107)

Ee
[199]
[325]

C
301
C
[113]

107. "Lettre du père Ignace Chomé." Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. New edition. Vol. 8. Paris. 1781. p. 326. According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 73.

/25/

Ce 301 The way these tembetás are used has often been described. Figure 27 shows an Izozó man from whose pierced lower lip projects a round stone disk. When these Indians use the tembetá, they pass it from the inside through the perforation in the lip so that its base is between the row of lower teeth and the lower lip, with the cylinder sticking out from the lip.

C Ce 301 The lower base of three of the Izozó tembetás is quite flat, and only the lower base of tembetá I.A. 129 has a clearly concave form. This is of interest because v. Nordenskiöld and v. Rosen, when they describe the Chiriguano and Chané tembetás mention only those which have a concave base (110).

110. Nord. 2, p. 72.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano and Chané sometimes use wooden tembeta's in the form of flat cylinders (111).

111. Nord. 2, p. 72.

Ce 301 237 [123] As already mentioned, I obtained simple wax tembetá from the Izozó. The old man who took it out of his lower lip to give it to me doubtless was using it provisionally for lack of another tembetá, in order to close the perforation in his lower lip and prevent the saliva from coming out.

C Ce 304 301 [622] The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not have the custom of piercing their ear lobes. According to Nordenskiöld (112),

112. Nord. 2, p. 77.

Ce [199] Ce 301 the caciques formerly used pendant earrings set with green stones. If the younger women and girls have recently begun to use earrings, they are imitating this custom of the whites. The cacique of the Izozó in Toledo told me that the women had gold and silver earrings, which at that time they had hidden.

/87 cont./

C 881 [302] The girl is nubile when, after the first menstruation, she has undergone a certain ceremony, which lasts until her hair, cut short, has grown out again to medium length. This ceremony of the girls, which is called "yimundia," consists of her being put in a kind of separate room inside the house. Until the following menstruation, she must stay on a diet and she must not eat anything but cooked maize and meal (339). Only in the

C [262]

339. Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

company of her mother may she temporarily leave the separate room to bathe and to take care of her other needs (340).

340. Nord. 1, p. 210.

C 881 304 We also learn from Nordenskiöld that the Chané boys from 10 to 12 years of age must also undergo certain ceremonies, which consist in having a man who is particularly expert in such matters pierce the lower lip (341) and put a small stick through the hole,

C [413] [237]

341. According to Métraux I, pp. 346 and 347 and Fig. 12, the Chiriguano formerly used for that purpose punches made of horn.

and his grandfather puts deep wounds in his body so that he may be valiant in battle and in hunting and takes him out in the morning, when it is cold, to bathe (342).

342. Nord. 1, p. 211.

C Ce 882 848 Chiriguano and Chané girls are watched over by their mothers /88/ until their marriage (343), and illegitimate children are

343. Nord. 1, p. 179.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6
Chiriguano SF10

Ci 304 755 761 almost with pride. *Evidently it is thought that the very scars afterwards act as a sort of charm against the spirits.*[1]

If scars left by wounds are considered to possess desirable, magical properties, it would easily be supposed that perforations that have been kept open must possess the same properties in a greatly enhanced degree. Co 881 304 171 Among the Chiriguano, neighbours of the Choroti, the actual piercing of the lower lip constituted the most important of the ceremonial acts performed on the boys on their having attained puberty, and among the Chané — whose culture is akin to that of the Chiriguano — not only was the lower lip pierced on this occasion, but the boys were also given other wounds on the body.[2]

Ci 304 789 From what I have adduced above, it will therefore be seen that, according to the belief of the Indians, *the making of punctures or perforations on the body, has in itself magic effects, and, consequently, that these magic effects are not believed to arise with the fixing of some ornamental object of magical character — e. g., a tembeta, or an ear disc — into the perforation.*

Ci 304 789 562 This being so, here, in my opinion, lies the explanation of the fact that Choroti girls sometimes have pierced ear-lobes, although it has never *with certainty* been shown that they ever wear ear discs. On the other hand, from reasons I shall present below, it is *probable* that old Choroti women, with distended ear-lobes, *exceptionally* do wear ear discs.

I myself, as well as other investigators of the Chaco peoples, have seen elderly women among the Choroti with holes in their ears so large that one was forced to suppose that the lobes had been stretched in some way or other. Such stretching, however, may not *necessarily* be due to the wearing of ear blocks, but *may* have been produced by manual manipulation. That, by such means, perfectly monstrous distension of the soft parts of the body can very well be brought about, is proved by, among other things, the practice of the Hottentot women of lengthening out — merely by frequent pulling — the labia minora into an enormous size.[3] A similar stretching of the hole in the ear-lobe might, from the Indians' point of view, have for its object the increasing, proportionately to its size, the magic properties of the hole. Among the Incas, the size

[1] Karsten (4), p. 157. Italics by von Rosen.
[2] Karsten (4), p. 200.
[3] von Luschan (1), p. 378.

/3 cont./

133 The Indian makes full use of the valleys, laying out his
132 field with its own fence; his cow also grazes there, with her
• 311 calf running and playing across the level ground, and the wild animals live everywhere there, the dauntless foxes, the inoffensive anteaters, and the timid little deer /corzuelas/, while the monkeys seek the woods and the brambly, craggy ground of the hills to entertain themselves in raucous clamor, and the condors love to soar through the air to an extraordinary height, even considering that they launch themselves from the peaks of the highest hills.

133 While the ridges run from north to south, the course of the rivers is quite capricious; they run to the north, regress southward, direct themselves eastward, advance intrepidly westward, but the dominant course of them all as far as the pampas of the Gran Chaco is from west to east, overcoming every difficulty set in their way by the ridges, from which they leap with an extraordinary din, such as at the "Pirapo" (cataract of the fishes) or the waterfalls of the Pilcomayo and Parapiti rivers.

In the land of the Chiriguano, torrents and streams abound; more numerous are the rivulets which quickly lose their waters because within a few kilometers they run into endless sandy areas. If the hidden water should fail to appear occasionally in the ravines, which are small arroyos in origin, life here would be all but impossible, since places like Yvu, which without having a river or anything similar, possesses abundant and excel-
312 lent water, are numbered. The springs which appear in the beds
[157] of the torrents are of the greatest benefit in those places where there are no lakes or ponds, for the Indian, because of his laziness, is not capable of building artificial lakes for his water supply. In Itatiqui, for instance, not long ago there was a group
[464] of some 150 Chiriguano families; they could have made a lake in order to have such a necessity, but neither did they do it nor will they on their own initiative, and they go five kilometers to get it or at least there is the Chiriguano woman with her jug waiting for the forming of the drops which exude from the western slope, from which comes the name "Itatiqui," the stone that drips.

/3 cont./

133 The lakes are natural, but not permanent; they are
(135) many and large; in some the water is very good, but from
others not even the cattle /4/ drink, because it contains so
(132) much saltpeter. They all receive water from the sky, which
sometimes falls with great force and fills them at a single
time. White Christians are now making artificial lakes,
especially in the Gran Chaco and in the vicinity of Caipipendi.
271 When water is completely lacking, the Indian scratches the
824 ground, looking for the root of the "ujuy," uamuin, which is
as large as a watermelon; he cuts it at the top, squeezes the
pulp with his hand, it turns to water, and he drinks; thus the need
is met, but when this drink is taken for a long period, it gives
rise to sickness.

311 The land lends itself to farming and to cattle raising,
312 but both industries diminish in those years when the beneficial
433 action of the rains is scarce. Then the crops are lost, and the
132 cattle die from lack of food and from the great amounts of
water that they drink from the rivers and lakes on whose basin
they stay through lack of energy; nonetheless this rarely happens throughout the region, which, because of embracing a wide area, in one place or another receives showers which renew nature.

Extent and Area

131 The Chiriguano tribe or race was extremely numerous and
(161) thus once took in an extraordinarily large area; traces of these
(464) Indians are found in the vicinity of Tarija, and they may be
found beyond Santa Cruz, where even today Chiriguano men and
women are in larger part those in domestic service with the
genteel families. Toward the capital of the Republic the
Indians still remember that their grandparents used to live in
Tacopaya and even beyond, in Talisco, included in the same
district. Then they extended toward the Bermejo River and,
finally, eastward to within a few leagues of Carandaiti, where the
arid zone, inhabited by the Toba and other savages, begins.

/9 cont./

131 Thus formerly the Chiriguano territory in the north was contiguous with the province of Sara, in the south and southwest with Argentina and the city of Tarija, in the west with Tacuburo country, and in the east with the colony of Carandaiti. According to its former boundaries, it then included an area of 200 leagues from north to south and southwest, and more than 90 leagues west to east.

131 16 [98] Today this extensive territory has been much reduced because of emigration, caused in part by the whites, under whose dominion most of them will not resign themselves to staying; the plagues which decimate the race have a powerful influence on its further reduction, and very soon /5/ barely the 131 name will remain. Today to the north it scarcely reaches Abapó, to the south, Itiyuru de Yacuiba, to the west, Monteagudo, and to the east, Carandaiti, some hundred leagues from north to south and about 40 from west to east.

131 [98] [133] Formerly it embraced several degrees of latitude and three and a half of longitude; as they lost a considerable part of this area, so will they end up by losing it all, for despite their being born to the country which God had given them, as one of them was saying to me not long ago, they do not know how to farm it and improve their agriculture; they prefer to go far away and work for others rather than to own land at home. This very day only a few leagues remain in the hands of the Indians, Caipipendi in the province of Cordillera, Gutierrez Canton, and all the territory occupied by the missions, but both are likely to pass into foreign hands, because in fact the Indian is incapable of making the land that he does possess bear fruit; then the few survivors in the territory will be servants in their own house, as are so many others in lands that were once their own.

● 31 134 [132] The land is very unstable, at least that now occupied; it lacks stone and gravel, and since in their season the rains are torrential, they easily open cracks which in a few years become wide, deep ravines. Contributing a great deal to this are the cattle, which, because of their weight, stir up the land with their hoofs more than other livestock; for this reason

/5 cont./

311 134 in certain valleys that are narrow or not too wide there is scarcely room for fields, because so many little ravines have been formed. Such is the valley of Huacaya Canton; if there lived in it today the multitude of Indians which formerly were there, it would be hard to find, because of the woods and the ravines, sufficient land in the tiny level places for all the fields of maize, French beans, and gourds which they value much for food and gifts; only for other elements would a little valley be very desirable, were it not all owned.

Hills or Mountains

133 Chiriguano territory, because it is very extensive, as has already been seen, is quite varied; from Talisco to Monteagudo and from Tarija to the salt flats of O'Connor Province in the city of Entreríos it is very mountainous and few are the places which extend far enough to form a level place of a few leagues. Although there are /6/ no very high hills, between the two hills which limit the valleys there is an infinity of low hills of all sizes in height, width, and length.

The pampas begin imperceptibly from Monteagudo in the west and from Aguairenta, where the Gran Chaco begins; said pampas from Monteagudo little by little grow larger or again become small as the ridges permit, until they reach the last cordillera, which is found to the east of the Mission of San Buenaventura de Yvu, at a distance of one league, behind which begin the immense plains of the Gran Chaco, where the horizon becomes lost.

The principal mountains are: Padilla, called through antonomasia "The Hill," because its configuration is the same one that is called "Curi" toward San Juan del Pirai (1).

1. The hill is different from the Curi, because the former is more an enormous rock which ends in the ranges of Limon.

At this point the road across the hill is very rough and long, but if it is rather long toward Padilla, it is, by contrast, as

/9 cont./

133 [312] [231] At this point the river disappears completely from the month of June to December or January. Forcing the farmers to make great excavations in its bed in order to be able to water their livestock: they have to go down to five meters in certain places. The course of the now dry river is easily seen, because in the season of great floods it leaves on the bank all the trash which it drags along and in its bed all the sand; the waters reappear to form the San Miguel River in the province of Velasco.

133 312 /10/ The benefit that agriculture and cattle raising draws from the Parapiti is indisputable: without it the existence of Parapiti and Isoso cantons would be almost impossible. All the wealth of both areas would disappear, there would be no livestock, sugar plantations, or rice fields as there are now on both banks, which lend themselves marvelously to the opening of canals and irrigating the sugar-cane fields which abound there. Nevertheless, the extraordinary floods of certain years do much damage, making plantations and their equipment disappear almost completely.

136 This river contains few fish: there are only bagre and shad and others of little value; the big dorados do not exist and there are only a few small ones in its tributary, the Pizay River, but strangely they do not enter the Parapiti: at the confluence they go back. Below the San Francisco Mission the fish disappear, because the water diminishes until it almost all disappears near Mariqui.

24 31 312 In Isoso maize is planted in the month of June in order to harvest the crop before the beginning of the big floods which inundate it all, and during the rainy season they are content to sow frijoles, gourds, melons, and watermelon far from the riverbed, but fruit is not always produced, since the region is rather arid. The waters of this river are quite sweet, and this must be one reason why agriculture is very vigorous on its banks, as any traveler can see.

/13 cont./

132 atmosphere immediately cools down and there begins a cold wind whose chill is increased as it passes through the region of hail, and since the maize stalks are still tender they are easily stricken. The hail that falls is big, the earth is churned up, and it kills birds, sheep, goats, and other animals, if they are unable to hide in the bushes or under thick trees, but this does not happen often nor every year.

[133] Earthquakes are most rare: I felt them twice during my stay in the region, in 1909 and 1910, but the wind is sometimes so strong that it seems to make the earth tremble; there is no doubt but that it tears up trees and strips them, ruins buildings, and dismantles tiled roofs. Foreigners in this [135] so hot and changeable climate soon age and turn gray, but the natives who are used to it from childhood, despite the vices of drinking and others to which they surrender, enjoy a relatively long and healthy life.

It can readily be understood from what has been said that here the seasons of the year follow a different order from that which is seen in the Old World. Despite the fact, then, that there are no more than two seasons, we always can and ought to consider the four, in order to follow the general rule of the universe which divides the year into four parts. Summer begins December 21, fall March 21, winter June 21, and spring September 21, but all of these come ahead of time, as anyone who has lived here can testify.

Fertility

133 182 ●311 312 361 The Aguaragle range, which is found to the east and one league from the Mission of San Buenaventura de Yvu, is the last one in Chiriguano territory. Small towns and families of these Indians are scattered here and there are still found east of the said range some 15 leagues away, but beyond that /14/ there are none because the area is arid and dry. "Igüi utini vae," as they say, and the Chiriguano accustomed to planting maize, beans, and gourds cannot live where there is a scarcity of rain for his crops and water for his daily bath.

/24 cont./

241 242 243 The closer the traveler gets to the Gran Chaco, the less water and the less fertility he finds; the very fields of Tres are patent proof, for crops are rarely abundant there. When the rains are torrential in other sections, they are sparse in Tres; the farther to the west one travels from Aguaragüe, the more fertile is the land, because the hills and hillocks are more frequent and higher, water more abundant, and consequently the land more moist, which is necessary for agricultural production.

The fields are suitable for raising cows and horses, for the multiplication of sheep and pigs; the year when it fails to rain, however, there is lack of feed for the livestock, as well as lack of water, the suffering is great, and numbers die near the waters which are found at some distance from the spots where there is feed, such as the slopes of the hills and the tops of the hillocks, abounding in tree leaves.

139 The countryside is clothed with grasses in the summer, but the regions begin to take [illegible] in the spring and even earlier. The vigorous woods, dry and leafless during the cold months, begin to draw on verdant foliage at the beginning of the month of September, and in a few days nature is rejuvenated. Then it is very lovely to contemplate from some slight rise a broad pampa where there are earth tests, groves of catalpas or lapachos, the first green, the second red, and the third yellow and purple.

241 142 [132] 133 The territory is productive only in the rainy season, because the Chiriguano in general will not take the trouble to put in a good irrigation ditch when he can; he waits for it all from the high heavens. Miracles could have been worked on the basis of the rivers in times past; today it is difficult because they are very few and, like their grandparents, are satisfied with maize, a little sugar cane, and other delicacies, like sweet potatoes or batatas, manioca, and peanuts.

241 [221] Large-scale planting begins at the end of November or the beginning of December, after the country has been watered by two or three abundant rains. The maize grows very high and, when there is no lack of water, produces two or three ears on each stalk. The frijoles produce three crops. The sugar cane

/16 cont./

241 grows up to two meters and even more. the mandioca /15/ produces one arroba per plant. and the sweet potato even more because a single plant can spread and extend eight or ten meters. being productive in every root put in the ground. just as it is suitably covered with earth there.

• 311 The fertility of the region which I describe cannot be doubted. but the inhabitants do not cultivate it. If in this area there were persons who liked to work, the land would produce money: for this is of no use to mestizo people either. since he who was a peon in Sucre or Tarija wants to be a gentleman here because he is not a Chiriguano. as a result of which the very banks of the rivers. those shores of the Parapiti and Río Grande which appear to be beckoning the farmer. remain almost uncultivated. Ticucha Canton is another area where a colony of foreigners would work miracles. planting vineyards and fruit trees and so many other products that could be developed there: the same could be said of so many other sites.

[295] It seems that the grape does not grow in certain places. but this is because it has not been tried. Not long ago the missionary padre of San Antonio del Parapiti planted some 200 vine cuttings. Who would believe it? Within six months some plants yielded quite ripe fruit. and the plants developed in an extraordinary fashion. In nearly all the missions there is cultivation of the vineyard and in Charagua it is on a large scale through the work of foreigners; therefore what is needed are thinking men and good farmers in order to make these beautiful lands productive. especially along the river banks. where sugar-cane plantations. banana plantations. coffee fields. vineyards. and so many other things that are productive here could be established.

433 241 From the foot of Padilla Hill the forest is very vigorous and continues so to the east until it ends at Aguaragüe. Fig trees yield with little cultivation. the nopal with none at all since it flourishes on hillocks and hills and. such an agreeable and refreshing fruit. is the principal occupant. Chirimoyas. oranges. lemons. and guavas also grow. as well as onions and

/70 cont./

174 idleness and laziness and in indolence and are content with what nature provides for them to live on and subsist: this is the practice of the savages to the north of Santa Cruz, thus the Toba, Mataco, Choriti, and others who do not bother with planting and are content with only hunting, fishing, roots, and wild fruits, which, when they begin to turn yellow, are greeted by the Toba and Mataco with the "Bumpin," a kind of small drum, so that they may mature faster and better.

174 241 311 But the Chiriguano, in spite of being indolent, a recent émigré, like his neighbors, is not so much so as the other tribes, since he joined the Carious. In addition to liking to fish and hunt, he does not fail to make his plantings of maize on a large scale, where he uses his energies in order to profit from his sweat later by converting it into "Atipú," parched maize, "Atiruru," mote or boiled maize, "Aticú," meal, "Muyape," bread, "Cangú," or chicha, etc., dishes that the Toba and others know only in the house or larder of the Chiriguano. In order to obtain this class of foodstuffs, the banks of the Pilcomayo were not sufficient for a very large tribe; in addition, the other tribes which were hidden in the woods along that stretch must have devastated their fields, or their owners must have been in a continual state of uneasiness. Neither could they have obtained it on the pampas of the Gran Chaco, because the cooling action of the rains is scarce there, and, moreover, the soil in many places is like an immense sieve because of the holes made by the quiriquinchos /armadillos/, balled armadillos, and others of the species, which nest there and have built their subterranean towns (1).

1. The Toba began to plant maize and beans when they came under the control of the Franciscan fathers at the San Francisco dey Pilcomayo Mission, now Villamontes; today they plant very little.

/70 cont./

174 241 3 Consequently it was very natural that the race which was emigrating from Paraguay should seek out for its needs better lands which would permit it to make good use of its natural inclination to cultivate "Abati," maize, "Gilindoca," gourds, and "Cumanda," beans, because from the names that they give to all of these vegetables, it can be deduced that they did not get to know them after the discovery of America, but long before; and the same is true for the domestic animals, "Taimba," dog, "Uru," /71/ chicken, "Minta," cat. What is certain is that the Chiriguano race has been distinguished and is distinguished from the others which still remain in the savage state, and the Toba, as well as the Mataco and the Choroti, regard the Chiriguano as nobles and masters, and they serve them in exchange for maize and other things, and there has never been a natural marriage involving a Chiriguano man or woman with the tribes named (1).

1. The Toba are more intelligent and more easily reduced than the Mataco; the latter were also exposed to the missionaries of San Antonio del Pilcomayo, located on its right bank.

The Toba have generally assisted their masters in wars and have lived for long periods among them, especially in the time of good and abundant crops. They did this before the missionaries opened Cuevo and Ivo to trade with the founding of the Santa Rosa and San Buenaventura missions, and they still do in the Franciscan missions of Machareti, Tigüipa, and Tariari, because they are near these tribes.

174 167 The places that the Chiriguano selected for their residence after the migration were the mountainous one and the one visited by frequent rains, necessary so as not to lose the fruit of their labor, and in fact we do not see this race settled in places away from the mountain range, nor in impenetrable forest, good only for those tribes in a state of

/334 cont./

423 311 To acquire possession of a small plot of land, the Chiriguano selects beforehand the part that he likes best in the region, which he judges to be wet enough because it is on the slopes of ridges or hills or because water collects there in the rainy season. Naturally, the site which he intends to cultivate must have no signs of previous cultivation, because if there were any the owner or his descendants, even though at some distance, would immediately place a claim before the competent authority, the cacique.

423 [241] If the plot has not been tilled, he can be sure of not being disturbed, and before the rainy season ends he plants on it anything /335/ which will be visible, such as the Gilindacaguan, a large gourd which spreads a great deal, invades everything, and is not easily strangled by weeds. Another way to acquire property is to break all the bushes around the site, or, finally, to make cuts with his ax on the largest trees.

No one can lay claim to a place that belongs to the community of the Indians, where anyone has worked, and the one 241 who made the prior signs is regarded as the owner. The rainy season passes, the cold comes and dries up the grass and the leaves of the trees; before August ends, the Indian sets fire to the whole new plot, which consumes the grass and the brambles and makes useless the larger trees. All the ashes [461] that are left are fertilizer for the land, and the fire has destroyed all the seeds of the weeds and brush, so that the first planting which is done on the new plot is almost free of weeds, which saves labor for the lazy Chiriguano (1).

1. The old Indians still do some work in order not to have many weeds in their fields, but the modern ones are little concerned about it now in many areas. Moreover, the cattle do not leave any time, invading everything and eating up the pasturage in a short time. It is very sensible to prohibit the burning of the fields after the harvest.

/363 cont./

234 To end up, one could still cite among Chiriguano food
262 the cheese they make in some villages. Each time they
butcher they take care to keep the abomasus in order to make
[199] milk separate. Chiriguano cheeses are of the same quality as
those of the half-breeds, who for once have taught something
[272] to our Indians. I shall add that I have never seen a Chiriguano
drink milk.

312 The problem of water does not come up for the Chiriguano
133 as for the other Indians of the Chaco. Numerous rivers cross
their territory, and several of them are large enough not to dry
up even in the middle of the dry season. These watercourses
form innumerable quebradas, gorges or valleys, which give
its characteristic aspect to the country inhabited by our Indians.
[361] Sometimes villages are built near springs or small lakes, like
the Ivu mission, which is provided with plenty of water.

312 When I crossed the Caipipendí valley, the river which
occupies the bottom was nearly dry. The Indians had scooped
out small wells about one meter in depth in the sand of its
bed. They had surrounded them with slabs of stone to prevent
any caving in and to preserve the water which accumulated in
them from the heat of the sun. In this same valley, in a village
situated on top of a hill, the Indians had dug a cistern four to
five meters in diameter in which rain water had collected.

271 The Chiriguano have found a way to purify the muddy
312 water they often have to drink. They crush caraguatá leaves
824 between two stones, then steep them in the water, and all its
impurities settle as a result of the action of the juice of this plant.

264 The Chiriguano do not eat at set times. They make a
rather substantial breakfast very early in the morning and again
take some food toward the middle of the day. In the evening
[562] about six o'clock they make a kind of dinner. Since the men
are served first, then the women and children, it follows that
the meals drag out in length. At any moment of the day one
[415] can see someone eating. The food /364/ is presented to each
one in a calabash or terra-cotta bowl which each holds on his
knees. They pick up the pieces with their fingers but imbibe
liquids with a wooden spoon (Figs. 42 and 43). After eating,
they wash their hands. I have seen some rinse out their mouths.

/3 cont./

133 The Indian makes full use of the valleys, laying out his
136 field with its own fence; his cow also grazes there, with her
311 calf running and playing across the level ground, and the wild animals live everywhere there, the dauntless foxes, the inoffensive anteaters, and the timid little deer /corzuelas/, while the monkeys seek the woods and the brambly, craggy ground of the hills to entertain themselves in raucous clamor, and the condors love to soar through the air to an extraordinary height, even considering that they launch themselves from the peaks of the highest hills.

133 While the ridges run from north to south, the course of the rivers is quite capricious: they run to the north, regress southward, direct themselves eastward, advance intrepidly westward, but the dominant course of them all as far as the pampas of the Gran Chaco is from west to east, overcoming every difficulty set in their way by the ridges, from which they leap with an extraordinary din, such as at the "Pirapo" (cataract of the fishes) or the waterfalls of the Pilcomayo and Parapiti rivers.

In the land of the Chiriguano, torrents and streams abound; more numerous are the rivulets which quickly lose their waters because within a few kilometers they run into endless sandy areas. If the hidden water should fail to appear occasionally in the ravines, which are small arroyos in origin, life here would be all but impossible, since places like Yvu, which without having a river or anything similar, possesses abundant and excel-
312 lent water, are numbered. The springs which appear in the beds
[157] of the torrents are of the greatest benefit in those places where there are no lakes or ponds, for the Indian, because of his laziness, is not capable of building artificial lakes for his water supply. In Itatiqui, for instance, not long ago there was a group
[484] of some 150 Chiriguano families; they could have made a lake in order to have such a necessity, but neither did they do it nor will they on their own initiative, and they go five kilometers to get it or at least there is the Chiriguano woman with her jug waiting for the forming of the drops which exude from the western slope, from which comes the name "Itatiqui," the stone that drips.

/3 cont./

133 The lakes are natural, but not permanent; they are
[135] many and large; in some the water is very good, but from
others not even the cattle /4/ drink, because it contains so
[132] much saltpeter. They all receive water from the sky, which
sometimes falls with great force and fills them at a single
time. White Christians are now making artificial lakes,
especially in the Gran Chaco and in the vicinity of Caipipendi.
271 When water is completely lacking, the Indian scratches the
824 ground, looking for the root of the "sipoy," samolo, which is
as large as a watermelon; he cuts it at the top, squeezes the
pulp with his hand, it turns to water, and he drinks; thus the need
is met, but when this drink is taken for a long period, it gives
rise to sickness.

311 The land lends itself to farming and to cattle raising,
312 but both industries diminish in those years when the beneficial
433 action of the rains is scarce. Then the crops are lost, and the
132 cattle die from lack of food and from the great amounts of
water that they drink from the rivers and lakes on whose banks
they stay through lack of energy; nonetheless this rarely happens throughout the region, which, because of embracing a
wide area, in one place or another receives showers which renew nature.

Extent and Area

131 The Chiriguano tribe or race was extremely numerous and
[161] thus once took in an extraordinarily large area; traces of these
[464] Indians are found in the vicinity of Tarija, and they may be
found beyond Santa Cruz, where even today Chiriguano men and
women are in larger part those in domestic service with the
genteel families. Toward the capital of the Republic the
Indians still remember that their grandparents used to live in
Tacopaya and even beyond, in Talisco, included in the same
district. Then they extended toward the Bermejo River and,
finally, eastward to within a few leagues of Carandaiti, where the
arid zone, inhabited by the Toba and other savages, begins.

/9 cont./

133 At this point the river disappears completely from the
[312] month of June to December or January, forcing the farmers
[231] to make great excavations in its bed in order to be able to water their livestock; they have to go down to five meters in certain places. The course of the now dry river is easily seen, because in the season of great floods it leaves on the bank all the trash which it drags along and in its bed all the sand; the waters reappear to form the San Miguel River in the province of Velasco.

133 /10/ The benefit that agriculture and cattle raising draws
312 from the Parapiti is indisputable; without it the existence of Parapiti and Isoso cantons would be almost impossible. All the wealth of both areas would disappear, there would be no livestock, sugar plantations, or rice fields as there are now on both banks, which lend themselves marvelously to the opening of canals and irrigating the sugar-cane fields which abound there. Nevertheless, the extraordinary floods of certain years do much damage, making plantations and their equipment disappear almost completely.

136 This river contains few fish; there are only bagre and shad and others of little value; the big dorados do not exist and there are only a few small ones in its tributary, the Piray River, but strangely they do not enter the Parapiti; at the confluence they go back. Below the San Francisco Mission the fish disappear, because the water diminishes until it almost all disappears near Mariqui.

241 In Isoso maize is planted in the month of June in order to
311 harvest the crop before the beginning of the big floods which
312 inundate it all, and during the rainy season they are content to sow frijoles, gourds, melons, and watermelon far from the riverbed, but fruit is not always produced, since the region is rather arid. The waters of this river are quite sweet, and this must be one reason why agriculture is very vigorous on its banks, as any traveler can see.

/13 cont./

132 atmosphere immediately cools down and there begins a cold wind whose chill is increased as it passes through the region of hail, and since the maize stalks are still tender they are easily stricken. The hail that falls is big, the earth is churned up, and it kills birds, sheep, goats, and other animals, if they are unable to hide in the bushes or under thick trees, but this does not happen often nor every year.

[33] Earthquakes are most rare; I felt them twice during my stay in the region, in 1899 and 1909, but the wind is sometimes so strong that it seems to make the earth tremble; there is no doubt but that it tears up trees and strips them, ruins buildings, and dismantles tiled roofs. Foreigners in this [45] so hot and changeable climate soon age and turn gray, but the natives who are used to it from childhood, despite the vices of drinking and others to which they surrender, enjoy a relatively long and healthy life.

It can readily be understood from what has been said that here the seasons of the year follow a different order from that which is seen in the Old World. Despite the fact, then, that there are no more than two seasons, we always can and ought to consider the four, in order to follow the general rule of the universe which divides the year into four parts. Summer begins December 21, fall March 21, winter June 21, and spring September 21, but all of these come ahead of time, as anyone who has lived here can testify.

Fertility

133 182 311 312 361 The Aguaragüe range, which is found to the east and one league from the Mission of San Buenaventura de Yvu, is the last one in Chiriguano territory. Small towns and families of these Indians are scattered here and there are still found east of the said range some 15 leagues away, but beyond that /14/ there are none because the area is arid and dry, "igüi utini vae," as they say, and the Chiriguano accustomed to planting maize, beans, and gourds cannot live where there is a scarcity of rain for his crops and water for his daily bath.

/14 cont./

311 312 241 The closer the traveler gets to the Gran Chaco, the less water and the less fertility he finds; the very fields of Yvu are patent proof, for crops are rarely abundant there. When the rains are torrential in other sections, they are sparse in Yvu; the farther to the west one travels from Aguaragüe, the more fertile is the land, because the hills and hillocks are more frequent and higher, water more abundant, and consequently the land more moist, which is necessary for agricultural production.

The fields are suitable for raising cows and horses, for the multiplication of sheep and pigs; the year when it fails to rain, however, there is lack of food for the livestock, as well as lack of water, the suffering is great, and numbers die near the waters which are found at some distance from the spots where there is feed, such as the slopes of the hills and the tops of the hillocks, abounding in tree leaves.

137 The countryside is clothed with grasses in the summer, but the region begins to turn beautiful in the spring and even earlier. The vigorous woods, dry and leafless during the cold months, begin to dress in verdant foliage at the beginning of the month of September, and in a few days nature is rejuvenated. Then it is very lovely to contemplate from some slight rise a broad pampa where there are carob trees, groves of catalpas or lapachos, the first green, the second red, and the third yellow and purple.

241 182 [132] [433] The territory is productive only in the rainy season, because the Chiriguano in general will not take the trouble to put in a good irrigation ditch when he can; he waits for it all from the high heavens. Miracles could have been worked on the banks of the rivers in times past; today it is difficult because they are very few and, like their grandparents, are satisfied with maize, a little sugar cane, and other delicacies, like sweet potatoes or batatas, mandioca, and peanuts.

241 [221] Large-scale planting begins at the end of November or the beginning of December, after the country has been watered by two or three abundant rains. The maize grows very high and, when there is no lack of water, produces two or three ears on each stalk. The frijoles produce three crops. The sugar cane

/145 cont./

776 778 small apartments, owned by the Iya, a child who leaves footprints when it walks. They believe these things as though they were real.

312 778 823 776 Among the many springs that are plentiful in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission there are several with hot, sulphurous water. None of the old people will go near these springs, and the only ones who do it are boys and girls who, because they have embraced the Catholic religion perhaps and because the teaching of the /146/ missionary makes them understand that only God need be feared, have no fear of these inoffensive things. Nevertheless, [761] when some schoolgirl dies, the old people say that such a thing has happened because of the lack of care shown by them when they approached and bathed in these springs owned by the Iya.

778 776 The aforesaid shows that the old Chiriguano is very superstitious, and because of his love of life he respects the places where the imaginary genii can be found. If such places were [761] [753] discovered and disturbed through someone's error, he either would soon die or he would lead an unfortunate life full of long sicknesses ending in death, and for this reason it is impossible for a true Chiriguano to reveal the places which, according to his affirmations, are possessed by genii (1).

1. At the end of the year 1899 a gentleman from Sucre began work in the petroleum site of Mandiyuti in Cuevo. Unfortunately, he died of acute bronchitis, but the Indians attributed his death to the anger of the Iya.

Sorcerers

754 756 Another consequence of ignorance is a belief in sorcerers. This belief, however, is much more general. The working man accepts it, as does the moderately enlightened. The man who is in a completely savage state accepts it, as well as the one who is beginning to become civilized. It is accepted in America, as in old Europe, extensive Asia, deserted Africa, and newest Oceania. Nevertheless, the word "sorcerer" does not have the

/173 cont./

342 824 element and that of the hollow cane are due to the abundance of cattle, which destroy even the straw for harnesses.

342 574 [476] [831] When the placement of the roof has been completed, they all come down and gather in the hut of the friend, who, as a reward or payment for the service rendered, offers them a cup of chicha, and they drink this amidst jokes and crudities, at times very heavy, especially should maidens or women of 30 years or older who do not keep quiet pass by. But as the people know each other well and are friends, the greatest harmony reigns, and, when everything is finished, they take leave of the owner, thanking him for his gifts, and he shows them his gratitude for the services which they have rendered (2).

2. The workers only ask for chicha in recompense, but if the owner has beans or gourds cooked for them in a stew with considerable stimulant in the form of chili pepper, arivivi, it is a feast or carnival for all.

342 312 [221] The rest of the work is done with less haste and at a more opportune time. In fact, most wait until the rainy season to do it, for then water is abundant, and this to be sure deserves the approbation of all because it is more economical and easier. Thus, taking into consideration the laziness of the Indian man [461] and the tasks which the Chiriguano woman has, it would be expensive and quite tiresome to bring the water on their shoulders from great distances, which is avoided during the rainy season. [356] Then during each shower not only is the construction of the walls of the new houses done, but also the repair of those which have come apart during the year, and it is very amusing to see from a distance the women around the houses with their sleeves rolled up or with the tipoy down to the waist, making holes in the wet ground with shovel or hoe, pouring a little water in, kneading the earth, forming large balls of it, and putting it between the canes which are already attached.

/192 cont./

291 [286] Others who are not hunters, and hunters themselves when they are not engaged in this activity, fasten the breeches at the waist with a belt that they call Cuacuá; their wives weave it; it is made of wool and painted in various colors. They all have one, except some of the old men.

415 [281] [482] Another of their conveniences is the Urupucu, long bag in its literal translation. The Urupucu seems to be the Chiriguano's own; it is of tanned wild boar or pygmy deer hide, narrow at its opening, which they close with a little cord, gathering the opening; they sew around, and through the seam they pass the cord, which is rather long so that it can hang from one shoulder and be passed to the opposite armpit like a horseman's escarsela. This bag is used as a container for carrying provisions on a trip. In it they put boiled meal, parched corn and charqui. This is done by warriors, hunters, and travelers, and, well secured, as has been explained, it is never lost.

415 484 312 Finally, there is no lack of another convenience for carrying water. In order not to experience the effects of burning thirst, he has a type of gourd with a hard shell like that of the matés; he empties it, removing the pulp and seeds, making a hole in the middle, puts it in a kind of net of cords, leaving one or two larger meshes near the hole placed at the top, where the Chiriguano himself makes a small circle, fills it with water, stops it up with a maize cob, and during a trip uses it sparingly, if he has foresight, or else he may not have it when he needs it more (2).

2. The Indians who are governed by corregidors in the region of the Gran Chaco traveled with their respective tari or tutuma on their expeditions to the desert of Paraguay.

Some Choroti live near Yacuiba. In nearly all of the Chiriguano territory there are Mestizos and Whites. There are also several large missionary stations in their territory. Some few Chiriguano live in the village of Sta Rosa to the north of Sta Cruz de la Sierra. Some Chiriguano who sought refuge in central Chaco after their last rebellion, live there still. They are the only tribe of Chiriguano-Indians who are quite independent of the Whites. C 101 162 131 [799]

The country which is inhabited by the Chiriguano and partly by the Chané is a border land between the Andine mountains and the great plain of the Chaco. It is in the valleys between the outermost mountain ridges towards the Chaco and on the plain to the east of them that the Chiriguano and the Chané live. The land of the Chiriguano and Chané-Indians is not a real country of primeval forests. There are some great forests, but on the whole it is sparsely wooded, in places even very poorly wooded. The supply of water is the governing condition for settlement in the land of these Indians. It may be said that wherever there is access to water there the country is inhabited, at any rate as regards the region south of the Rio Grande, one of the great rivers that run through their territory There need not be a great supply of water for the Indians to find the country inhabitable. All that is necessary is sufficient drinking-water for man and beast, as at Itatique and in the Caipipendi valley near Rio Parapiti. C Ce 131 135 C Ce 361 312

The biggest rivers running through the territory of the Chiriguano and the Chané are the Rio Grande, the Rio Parapiti and above all the Rio Pilcomayo. The Rio Grande may now almost be considered the boundary river of these tribes towards the north, and is of but little importance to them. The Rio Parapiti is a strange river. While well supplied with water in the mountains it is almost shrinks to nothing in the plains during the dry season. During the rains it is very full of water and may be dangerous to ford. Fish are plentiful only in the Rio Pilcomayo, and we C Ce 133 C Ce [226]

/154 cont./

One might be surprised that a person would want to live in 13 243 this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, 273 but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi 556 valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the 437 Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter 731 their valuables for maize.

For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We 126 found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians.

The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy 133 season it probably rains there too. 132

From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a 114 /155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to [342] Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Batirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon 133 River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio

/155 cont./

Piray and finally unites with the Rio Mamoré. A few Chiriguano live along this river, and savage Tsirakua and Siriono also rove about in the forests along it. C 133 [101] C

Between the Rio Grande and the Rio Parapiti there is a region with an extreme scarcity of water and largely covered with completely impenetrable underbrush and low scrub forest full of caraguata and cacti. This monotonous, dismal vegetation is interrupted here and there by hills and grassy plains. 133 137 3/2 C

Besides the savage Tsirakua Indians who make these thickets unsafe, one finds another curiosity here, namely the guanaco (Auchenia). It is altogether strange to find an animal like the guanaco, which one thinks of only in connection with the cold plateaus of the Andes or the /156/ pampas of Patagonia, often afflicted with frost, in this bush which is frequently scorched by droughts. It would be interesting to be able to determine whether this guanaco of the tropical forest is really the same as the one known from the colder regions. Intelligent whites with whom I have discussed this and who have seen both regard them, however, as the same species. 136 C [132] Ce

Having returned to the Rio Parapiti, I looked up Batirayu, with whom I had already become intimately acquainted in 1908 and who also speaks excellent Spanish. 115

With no other Indians with whom I became acquainted did I become as close as with Batirayu. He understood that I was collecting the old mementos out of an interest in his tribe. Batirayu did his best to explain to me the religious conceptions of his tribe. In the evening we used to sit in his room with a cigarette, and he told about olden times, sorcerers, chiefs, and spirits. Occasionally an old chief, Bóyra, also came, and from him I heard many charming Chané legends. We would sit until far into the night and chat by a flickering light that I had with me in order to take notes. Ce [122] Ce

One would be very much mistaken if he were to believe that the conversations with these men were merely an interesting study. I felt comfortable with these fine, tactful, yes, why not, cultured human beings. It was genuinely refreshing after coming from the often vulgar, empty whites. 115 123

/157 cont./ One old woman who was supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by ethnographers either, the promise of the old woman was not very friendly.

The Chané use their old language for many expressions that are abusive, for example, karitimisóyti, which they translate as son of a w---e. An invitation to coitus is called pocóne. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for example, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, toněya, toněya, toněya, which they did not know how to translate.

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief Taruiri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Taruiri I also visited another chief, Yumbay, an old worthy who was always embracing me and saying: "I am Yumbay." /Fig. 77 appears here./ "Yes, the great, mighty Yumbay," I chimed in, which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered.

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the mission at Ivu. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region, Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spreading into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in Ivu died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged frightfully among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix. Around this the other swine could get drunk and /159/ continue to drink obligos (1) until they were finally lying on the table.

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the latter must drink up.

When I offered a Chacobo a

/182 cont./

cigarette, he took only a few puffs, kept the smoke in his mouth for a few seconds, and then threw the cigarette away. Nevertheless, the Chacobo plant tobacco, but use it exclusively as a remedy. If a Chacobo gets a "boro," a fly larva, "Dermatomya," under his skin, he covers the fly larva's entry spot with tobacco powder and is then able to squeeze out the dead larva in a few hours. The Choroti and Ashluslay are passionate smokers. /183/ For them smoking is one of the greatest enjoyments of life. These contrasts are quite strange.

The Chiriguano and the Chané have extensive plantings which, in contrast to the clearings of the Choroti and Ashluslay in the wilderness, are well tended. In former times they used spades made of hard wood with attractive handles (Fig. 89), but these have now gone out of use and have been entirely supplanted by iron spades. Not infrequently the fields lie far from the villages, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley. This is due to the fact that water is not available throughout the year everywhere in the vicinity of the plantings.

As has been mentioned, the produce obtained is stored in granaries built on piles (Fig. 84), so that it will be at least somewhat protected from rats, moisture, etc. These granaries are seen everywhere, except among the Chané on the Rio Pilcomayo.

The fields are fenced in with fences built brush-shaped, which are often difficult to climb over. There is no fertilization of the fields. On the other hand, a field that has been exhausted is left to lie fallow.

The time of sowing is determined by the position of the Pleiades, "ychu." When this passes across the horizon very early in the morning, it is sowing time. When the rainy season begins, everything must be sowed.

The men clear and sow. Everyone helps with the harvest, men, women, and children. Among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley the men sowed the maize, that is, they took care of the larger plantings, whereas the women were gardeners and planted gourds, beans, etc.

The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between these culturally allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against the whites (in 1890), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are still remaining.

The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly gourd plants and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group, the Chiriguano being counted with the Guarani group, whilst the Chané are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija valley.[1] Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which is Guarani. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches of Rio Paraguai.[2] The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means »dirt people« was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word »guano« is the name for the well-known bird manure-found on the coast of Peru and Chile. It seems however unfair indeed that the Chiriguano, who, in contradistinction to the Puna and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal name.

---

[1] de Matienzo (1), p. 130. Nordenskiöld (16).
[2] Nordenskiöld (16), p. 198.

C /19 cont./
263 from the whites (82).
317
439

82. Nord. 1, p. 189. Métraux I, pp. 359 and 360.

C 273 Among beverages, besides water, which is scarce in cer-
[312] tain regions, chicha (ka'ui) made of maize, potatoes, or algarrobo deserves mention (83). Chicha made from yellow

83. Nord. 1, pp. 234 and 236. Métraux I, pp. 364 and 365.

Ce [273] or white maize is preferred. The chicha from potatoes by the Chané of the Parapití River is considered inferior.

Ce The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not eat from a
264 common pot, but separately and from dishes. Because of this
415 their houses contain many dishes, which are normally made of baked clay (nyá'e), but may also be of wood (sua) (84).

84. Cf. Nord. 1, p. 190.

C I collected various baked clay dishes among the Chiriguano
Ce and Chané (cf. Figs. 78-80 /see p. 143/), as well as two wooden
415 dishes, two examples of which the Museum already had, donated
[126] by Doña María F. de Casati. I shall deal with the baked clay dishes, along with the other baked clay vessels, in the chapter on pottery, and therefore enumerate here only the wooden plates in the collection.

C Wooden Dishes (sua) of the Chiriguano
415

I. A. 351. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Diam. 21 cm. Ht. 5 cm.
I. A. 352. (") " 15.5 cm. " 3.5 cm.
I. A. 496. (Max Schmidt trip.) Diam. 23 cm. Ht. 6 cm. (Fig. 18).
I. A. 497. (" " ") " 30 cm. " 6.5 cm. (Fig. 18a).

C
Ce
515

Body Care and Rest

The Izozó in Toledo and the Chiriguano in Machareti offer a contrast with the Indians of the Chaco whom I visited in that they are relatively clean. We must recognize that this cleanliness, which has also been praised by other authors, occurs despite the fact that a great many of them live in regions with very little water and where often the quantity cannot satisfy the necessities of cleanliness except with great difficulties. According to Nordenskiöld, they bathe several times a day and often directly after eating. After meals they wash their mouths and their hands (89).

C
Ce
[312]

89. Nord. I, pp. 180, 19 /the third figure of this page number in the 190's is illegible/, 203, 204.

Gi
352
513

For sleeping, the ancient Guaraní commonly used the hammock. "The sleeping hammock which they hung from two pillars in the dwelling was characteristic of the Guaraní," says Serrano of the Guaraní of the ancient Province of Uruguay (90). The Chiriguano and Izozó still have hammocks

C
Ce
513
352

90. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 120.

today, but these are not commonly used and serve less for sleeping at night than for resting during the day (91).

91. Cf. Nord. I, p. 177. Nord. 2, p. 9. Métraux I, p. 470 and Plate 88.

/354 cont./

372 small stick was too short to be handled with ease. he fastened it securely to another stick by means of vegetable fibers (embira) (Fig. 75). This done, he sat down on the ground, pressing the soles of his feet on the small cupped stick, and imparted with the palms of the hands a rotating movement to the other stick. The glowing saw-dust which was detached by the effect of the friction fell on dried dung placed near the gadget to serve as tinder, which, at the end of a rather short time, began to catch fire.

354

According to the season, the Chiriguano light their fires inside the hut or outside. The hearth is composed of long branches which they lay out like the spokes of a wheel. As the ends burn, they push them closer to the central fire. The job of getting the dead wood falls within the province of the men (Fig. 76).

[462] [313]

343

In front of the huts they often erect a little shed in which the women do the cooking. The

[372] Fig. 75. Ancient apparatus for making fire, reconstructed by a modern Chiriguano. Prov.: Caraguatá. (1/6 nat. size.)

roof of this shelter serves as a shelf for putting provisions and utensils on.

Preparation of Food

262 The modern Chiriguano do not seem to observe any food prohibitions, at least in daily life, for the custom of fasting, for women at the time of puberty and for men upon the birth of a child, is not yet lost. In olden days certain animals /355/ were taboo (1). The men of a few villages thus reserved for themselves

[789] [815]

[975]

1. In order not to kill one of their dead relatives transformed into a fox, the Chiriguano

C 301 178 [304] C [578] C [186] C Ce 301 177 C 301 314

/211 cont./

Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

C [113]

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

C Ce 583 584

If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

C Ce 584 178

The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

C Ce 585 C Ce 591

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

/44 cont./

175
316
648
[167]

Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Maypurún, and we know that the Chiriguano possessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spurs of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

301
177
439

316

Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own

213. Nord. 1, p. 209.

statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

263
317
[439]

While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water

/359 cont./

263 pieces which are put near the fire to make them melt little by little. The cooks dip them from time to time into the soup, then take them out. If the salt is taken from salt marshes or from water by evaporation, /360/ they mold it into large balls which are scooped out as needed (Fig. 28).

252
291
516

Fig. 27. Young Chiriguano woman winnowing beans. Caruruti. (Photo. A. M.)

317 The major part of the salt exploited in Chiriguano coun-
263 try comes from a mine situated in the San Simon region, between San Luis (Entre Rios) and the Salado River, in the department of Tarija. The Indians flock there from all directions
484 with droves of donkeys which set out again loaded with big
492 clocks of crystallized salt afterward cut into small pieces.

C 263 /360 cont./

● 317 The Indians of Ibopeytí, although living in the neighborhood of the San Simon salt mine, consume it in the form of the big balls which I have just mentioned. Pulverized, it is a salt which reminds one of our table salt but coarser. The inhabitants of this village assured me that they used to find it near the Pilcomayo. That is very possible, for the rivers which flow in the region are very salty as their names indicate (Río Salado, Saladito, etc.). These rivers, which frequently overflow and often change their beds, must form here and there real salt marshes. The Chiriguano of Ivu and Macharetí collect the water from a salt spring, boil it, and by successive coolings obtain salt which they mold into balls (Campana, p. 89).

Fig. 28. Salt molded in a ball, ready to be consumed or exported. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/2 nat. size±.)

C 263 The Chiriguano are parsimonious with their salt. I did not see them salt anything but dried beans; and when the latter are cooked in the pod, they are served that way without condiments, the same as corn or squash.

C 264 When a Chiriguano woman offers you a dish of beans or meat, she always puts some corn flour beside you. It is not easy to eat it according to the rules; the Indians take great pinches of it between their fingers and throw them into their mouths with marvelous dexterity. Upon seeing them so adroit, I thought of their ancestors from Brazil, the ancient Tupinamba and Guarani, who excited the hilarious admiration of the first navigators: "But however that may be, our Tououpinambaoults, men and women as well as children, being accustomed from childhood to eating it (manioc flour) completely dry instead of bread, are so used to and trained for that, that taking it with

T 175 264

/382 cont./

804 439 [177] The Chiriguano measure the cloth which Syrian peddlers come to offer them with varas, that is, a stick about 80 centimeters long, the length of the ancient Spanish vara. This instrument has been borrowed from the Bolivian half-breeds.

Chapter VI

121 Art among the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

To Professor Félix F. Outes.

The artistic sense of the Chiriguano is manifested in pottery decoration, pyrography, and wood carving.

We shall study these three activities one after the other.

Pottery Technique

114 323 The Chiriguano pottery technique has been studied briefly by Campana (p. 54), following Father Giannechini's notes, and by Outes (3, pp. 122-123), who adds some details communicated to him by the naturalist Holmberg to the ones he took from Campana's work. Nordenskiöld (1 and 10, pp. 142-147) completed on many points Campana's brief survey, so that I myself shall have few new things to note.

● 317 323 [439] The clay used by Chiriguano potters comes from beds well known to the Indians, where they go from time to time to lay in fresh supplies. It is enough to see old vessels full of earth around a hut to know that a woman lives there still practicing the ancestral industry. Where adequate clay is lacking, pottery is imported. Thus in the Tigüipa mission all the vessels in use were made in Machareti.

323 In order to be used the clay must be degreased with powder /383/ coming from potsherds. Fragments of old vessels are ground in a mortar until, after being put through a sieve, they give a fine powder which is kneaded for a rather

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

252 415 412 264 *Chiriguano* mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. [319] [263] Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 592 **Dwellings.**—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

361 178 [343] [712] The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 177 **Clothing.**—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

/144 cont./

Genii

776 171 Where ignorance dominates, superstition is the result, I imagine, since all the tribes adjacent to the Chiriguano must believe in the existence of genii or owners of certain places who, not to offend anybody, are even accepted by some members of the white race, especially when dealing with buried treasures. This is not the least strange, since before the arrival of Christ all humanity, except for the Hebrews, believed in this, and even today in those places where the light of the Gospel has not penetrated a belief in genii prevails, even among enlightened people, because only the Gospel dissipates /illustration appears here/ /145/ the mists from the soul and destroys error, consequences of the fall of the first man.

778 776 In Chiriguano the tutelar genii of a place are called Iya, owner in the literal sense. If the Chiriguano pass by places where there is some genie, they find it difficult to approach, and if one asks them where there might be some limestone or gypsum, they will not tell for fear of the Iya, who would take revenge by killing the Chiriguano who caused the place watched over by the genie to be discovered. If something useful must be taken from such a place, they do it with the permission of the Iya (1).

[278] [317] [231]

1. The presence of the Iya in places where petroleum is found is undeniable for the Chiriguano. They will take what is absolutely necessary of this liquid to cure the sores of their horses, cows, etc.

135 When the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, the missionary made every effort to try to find gypsum and limestone, but no Indian was willing to tell where it was abundant. Nevertheless, by chance, while the foundations of the church were being built, it was discovered that many of the stones being used were of hydraulic lime, an abundant vein of which was found about 300 meters from the church itself on top of a hill. Gypsum up to today has not been found in the areas thereabouts for the same reason, but there are signs of its presence. In

/181 cont./

462 bulls, deer, etc. If all this carving were woman's work, it
415 would have but one name, Sacuarama, but since it is man's
531 work, each figure has the name of the quadruped, biped, or reptile that it represents (2).

[825]

2. Thus they say Machuru haangaño, figure of a lizard, Yaimba haangaño, figure of a dog. Even the men call the figure of a jaguar or a dove: Sacuarama.

/182/ With this second task the work can be considered finished. Days or weeks are employed depending on the greater or lesser quantities of the matés. They now color all the
[386] etched figures with ground charcoal and paint the empty spaces
[239] with Urucú, achiote, making them firm with the Taragüirisi, which is abundant everywhere, then singeing them in the flame of the fire so that the pictures will never lose their shine and luster or the painting of carbon and urucú come off (1).

237
323
825

1. The Taragüirisi is a species of ant which is common in cold weather. Its length is not over half a centimeter and its thickness three. It moves about the small branches of certain small trees, where it leaves its speckled whitish excrement. All potters provide themselves with an abundance of this material.

Pottery

323
[462] I shall now go on to consider women's work, limiting
[317] myself to the most important, such as clay vessels and textiles.
[484] For the former the Chiriguano woman provides herself beforehand with the best clay, which she knows very well and even brings from long distances, if it is not found in the territory of the tribe. Naturally the potter not only wishes to avoid the loss of her labor, but also, insofar as she can, she wishes to

/182 cont./

323 avoid the loss of her reputation as a worker or master of an art which provides her with money and subsistence, despite the low price of the vessels (2).

[648] [317]

2. There exist some Christians who in their area prohibit the unfortunate Chiriguano women from removing clay from some good veins. For this and so many other reasons, as has been observed by the illustrious Father Pierini, the savage sees in the white, not a brother, but an enemy.

Before going on to the manufacture of the vessel, jar, or plate, the potter provides herself with a potsherd or several of these, depending on the size of the work which she wishes to do; if she cannot find it in the corners of her house because there are no broken pots, she borrows one from her neighbors, and if they do not have any or do not wish to do her the favor, she breaks one of the inferior and smaller ones. In the missions or wherever there are ovens to fire tiles and bricks, the potters can do without a potsherd; they find pieces of well-fired bricks or tiles around the ovens, and with this the primary material is complete.

/183/ Then she submerges an appropriate quantity of clay in water, as much as may be needed for the piece she plans, and she leaves it there until it is completely softened and can be kneaded better than wax. Meanwhile she reduces to the finest powder the potsherd, brick, or tile which she has managed to get, sifts it in the finest sieve, Unupe, that she possesses; next she kneads the softened clay, making sure that it does not harden too much, puts in it all the sifted powder, and mixes it so that it forms a perfect union with the clay, and leaves the lump thus prepared until the next day.

The potter, after having cleaned her house and her person as well, and having fed her children, sits down near the receptacle which contains the raw material, extracts an amount of clay, and begins to knead it, shaping it into the

/189 cont./

Meat is cooked with maize as a soup or roasted. Before it is placed in the pot, it is washed clean. Fish are roasted over the fire in clamps /Klammern/ or in maize leaves. The small fish which I saw prepared in this way are taken out only when they are eaten. If there are many fish, they are dried for future use.

C Ce 252 C Ce [251]

Especially in times of famine, various /Fig. 92b appears here/ wild plants are also eaten. Salt, which is now bought from the whites, is used for food. In former times it was fetched from the rock-salt pits on the San Luis, on the way from the city of Tarija to the Chaco, or salt was made from saliferous earth, "yukiu." The earth mixed with salt was placed in a bowl of water, sank to the bottom, and the salt water was used.

C Ce 263 317● [439] ←

Women and men eat separately. At home the men usually eat first and then the women and children. The Indians want to be left alone when they are eating. It is therefore extremely ill-mannered to speak to them during this important activity.

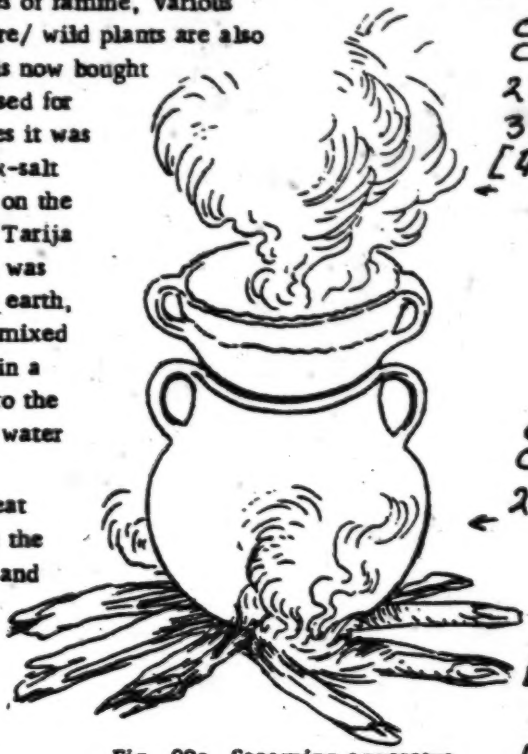


Fig. 92a. Steaming apparatus. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

C Ce 264 ← C Ce [576] ← Ce [415] [252] → C Ce [415]

/190/ As far as I saw, they do not eat out of a common dish, but each one eats out of his bowl. After meals they rinse their mouths and wash their hands by spitting the rinse water over their fingers.

231 /18 cont./ with
262 respect to the eating of meat, the Chiriguano depend on their livestock, which, however, according to Nordenskiöld, since they omit the raising of pigs and chickens, is not so numerous as the livestock of the Chorote and the Churupí. They do not
262 eat the flesh of asses, horses, /19/ and dogs (78). Although
241

78. Nord. 1, p. 190.

we do not have exact data on the amount of meat that their livestock yields, we can suppose that it is not very great, and thus these Indians depend principally on vegetable foods, that is, on the products of their agriculture. We should say that, in comparison with maize, all other foodstuffs have almost no importance, except among the Indians of the Parapití, among whom the sweet potato is the most important food (79).

79. Nord. 1, p. 181.

261 In times of shortage they eat various wild plants, principally
273 the sweet pods of the algarroba (November-December), which, coarsely chopped up with water, they allow to ferment in order to produce a kind of chicha which has inebriating qualities (80).

80. Nord. 1, p. 236. Métraux I, pp. 361 and 362.

262 Since meals consist principally of maize, they are very
252 monotonous, although the maize is eaten by them in many different forms, either boiled or parched, or as a flour cooked in steam, as a fried maize-cake, in embers /rescoldo/, or as a soft maize-pudding (81). Meat is eaten roasted or boiled,

81. Nord. 1, pp. 188 and 189. Métraux I, pp. 356-358.

263 together with maize. Cooking salt is used at meals. While
● 319 previously salt (dyúki) was obtained from mines or extracted
439 from earth from salt licks /barreros/, today it is obtained

C /19 cont./
263 from the whites (82).
317
439

82. Nord. 1, p. 189. Métraux I, pp. 359 and 360.

C Among beverages, besides water, which is scarce in cer-
273 tain regions, chicha (ka'ui) made of maize, potatoes, or
[312] algarrobo deserves mention (83). Chicha made from yellow

83. Nord. 1, pp. 234 and 236. Métraux I, pp. 364 and 365.

Ce
[273] or white maize is preferred. The chicha from potatoes by the Chané of the Parapití River is considered inferior.

C The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not eat from a
Ce common pot, but separately and from dishes. Because of this
264 their houses contain many dishes, which are normally made
415 of baked clay (nyá'e), but may also be of wood (sua) (84).

84. Cf. Nord. 1, p. 190.

C
Ce I collected various baked clay dishes among the Chiriguano
415 and Chané (cf. Figs. 78-80 /see p. 142/), as well as two wooden
[126] dishes, two examples of which the Museum already had, donated by Doña María F. de Casati. I shall deal with the baked clay dishes, along with the other baked clay vessels, in the chapter on pottery, and therefore enumerate here only the wooden plates in the collection.

C Wooden Dishes (sua) of the Chiriguano
415

I. A. 351. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Diam. 21 cm. Ht. 6 cm.
I. A. 352. (") " 15.5 cm. " 3.5 cm.
I. A. 496. (Max Schmidt trip.) Diam. 23 cm. Ht. 6 cm. (Fig. 18).
I. A. 497. (" " ") " 30 cm. " 6.5 cm. (Fig. 18a).

/44 cont./

Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

195
316
648
[167]

Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Maypurún, and we know that the Chiriguano possessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spurs of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

301
179
439

316

Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own

213. Nord. 1, p. 209.

statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

263
317
[439]

While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water

C 317 263 /45 cont./

the earth of the salt licks called "yakiu" (214).

214. Nord. 1, p. 189. See Métraux 1, pp. 359 and 360.

Making Fire

Ee 372 Native implements to make fire are little used today by the Chiriguano and Chané. At home fire can generally be obtained from some other piece of burning wood, and for Ee [178] [276] other occasions they commonly provide themselves with modern matches. Moreover, as I have said, the Chiriguano and Chané are not great smokers. One fire-making tool which is still found among them is the strike-a-light. The specimen I acquired from the Chiriguano is different from the strike-a-light of the Chaco tribes in that the tinder consists of a quite thick cotton wick. According to Métraux (215),

Ee [415] [237]

215. Métraux 1, p. 253.

there is also found among them the common form of strike-a-light in which the tinder consists of the fuzz of the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) kept in a container made of a a cow horn or armadillo tail.

Ee 372 126

Fire-making Implements in the Collection

I. A. 516. (Fig. 40.)

a. Bag woven of cotton thread as a container for the implements.

b. Wick of cotton thread.

c. Receptacle for the lighted end of the wick, made of the nest of a species of wasp.

d. Piece of a modern metal file.

e. Pieces of flint.

8: Schmidt--151 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chirigusano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

CE 283 323 126 /58 cont./

b. Spindle provided with a whorl of baked clay. Length of the stick 46 cm. Diameter of the whorl 4.2 cm. Ball of cotton thread. (Fig. 86a.)

C 126 283 32

I. A. 470.	Spindle	(Chir.).	Lgth.	44.5 cm.	Wooden whorl,	dia. 4.8 cm.
I. A. 471.	"	"	"	36.5 cm.	"	" 5.3 cm.
(Fig. 87d)						
I. A. 472.	"	"	"	39 cm.	"	" 6 cm.
I. A. 473.	"	"	"	34.5 cm.	"	" 5.7 cm.
I. A. 474.	"	"	"	38 cm.	"	" 5.3 cm.
(Fig. 87b)						
I. A. 475.	"	"	"	40.5 cm.	"	" 5.8 cm.
(Fig. 85e)						
I. A. 476.	"	"	"	42.7 cm.	"	" 6.5 cm.
I. A. 477.	"	"	"	38.5 cm.	"	" 5.2 cm.
(Fig. 87f)						
I. A. 478.	"	"	"	42 cm.	"	" 6 cm.
(Fig. 87a)						
I. A. 479.	"	"	"	25.5 cm.	"	" 4.2 cm.
(Fig. 87e)						
I. A. 480.	"	"	"	32.3 cm.	"	" 6 cm.
(Fig. 87c)						
I. A. 481.	"	"	"	40 cm.	Stone whorl	4.8 cm.
(Fig. 88d)						
I. A. 482.	"	"	"	25.5 cm.	"	" 4.2 cm.
(Fig. 88e)						
I. A. 483.	"	"	"	37 cm.	Baked clay whorl	5.3 cm.
(Fig. 88c)						
I. A. 484.	"	"	"	42 cm.	Stone whorl	5.7 cm.
(Fig. 88f)						
I. A. 485.	"	"	"	31 cm.	Baked clay whorl	4 cm.
I. A. 486.	"	"	"	35.7 cm.	"	" " 6.2 cm.
(Fig. 88a)						
I. A. 487	"	"	"	30 cm.	"	" " 5.3 cm.
(Fig. 88b)						
I. A. 488.	"	"	"	? cm.	"	" " 5. cm.
I. A. 489.	"	"	"	35.5 cm.	Wooden whorl	5.5 cm.
I. A. 687.	"	Izozó)	"	43 cm.	Wooden whorl	5.2 cm.
(Fig. 89b)						

CE 126 283 322

R: Schmidt--184 E-5 (1935) 1958 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Ee 283 171 [113]

/59 cont./

Spinning among South American Indians/. Göteborg, 1910.

"Bororo type," the "Bacairí type" of spindle is held in a vertical position when used for spinning and has a small enlargement in the form of a knob at the upper end of the stick. In spinning, the prepared thread winds around the upper piece of the stick. The material of the Chiriguano and Isoso whorls is baked clay (that of the Chiriguano, pieces of broken baked clay vessels, filed), wood, or, rarely, among the Chiriguano, stone.

Ee [32]

Ee 283

From the measurements mentioned above, it seems that the Chiriguano whorls usually have a rather larger diameter than the spindle whorls of the Isoso. The longest stick in the collection (from the Isoso) measures 54.5 cm.; the shortest (from the Chiriguano), 25.5 cm.

As I have already mentioned, all the sticks of the Chiriguano and Isoso spindles are fitted at the upper end with an enlargement in the form of a knob. Most of the spindle sticks in addition have an enlargement in the lower part, directly under the place where the whorl is put, so as to prevent the whorl from coming down the stick when the spindle is in a vertical position. Many spindles have a wrapping of cotton or raw wool directly under the whorl in order to make the whorl secure.

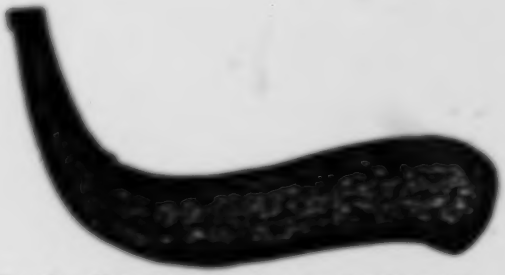
The form of the whorls shows many variations. I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano whorls are generally larger than those of the Isoso. They are also more uniform. The two sides of the baked clay of the Chiriguano are simply flat and smooth, which results from their origin as pieces of broken baked clay vessels to which the Chiriguano give the form of a disk by filing them and which they perforate in the center. The stone whorls of the Chiriguano /60/ and most of the wooden whorls also show the same form. But among the latter there are also some (cf. Fig. 87 /see p. 147/) which are similar to the more complicated forms of the Isoso whorls, although they differ from the latter in their greater size.

Ee 283 [191]

Among the Isoso whorls only two have two flat sides like the Chiriguano whorls. The other Isoso whorls, not only those of baked clay but also the wooden ones, show great variation in

/337 cont./

[543] [476] [534] Once their fields are free of weeds, the Chiriguano call together relatives and friends. On the date agreed upon, all go to the fields early in the morning, after waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by blowing into cow horns, which for them take the place of horns (in Chiriguano: waka-ranti) (Fig. 5), each trying to outdo the other. [622] In olden days the village chief used to take part in the sowing and watched to make sure that all helped one another.



[534] [321] Fig. 5. Cow horn (waka-ranti) which the Chiriguano use for a horn. The end is carved into a mouthpiece. Prov.: Ibopeyti. (1/5 nat. size.)

Sowing is done in a very simple way. If the ground is soft, the Indian sticks his shovel vertically into the soil, after giving two or three thrusts in order to push it in as far as possible. He enlarges the slit by pushing his shovel forward without drawing it out and slips two or three kernels of corn into the opening. Without changing position he makes two or three similar holes on his right and left, takes a step forward and begins again. The plants thus grow in a certain alignment /338/ which is far from perfect. Since several work at [461] a time, the job is done quickly. At noon, or about two o'clock [273] in the afternoon at the latest, they have finished their task and go back to the village where the chicha or kiwi, which the owner of the field has had prepared for his helpers, awaits them

/196 cont./

301 Indian youths who cannot sport a bead necklace make them out of shell, Yatita, which is abundant throughout the region.
[321] /197/ The pieces are flat and round like a small button. They make a hole in the middle and string them one by one, making a knot in the string in order to separate them. Since the shells are white, a necklace on a Chiriguano's black neck is like a fly in milk (1).

[562] 1. The shell necklace is worn solely by men. I checked carefully and saw that they alone wear it. I have several of them that I found in a grave which was uncovered by the rain.

301 562 For men there is another necklace of beads, Ndamicha; a string of these with a large one in the middle, Ndamicha ichi, mother of the beads, is valuable. The ndamicha even comes mounted in the hole of the tembeta, which then is valuable and is called Ndamicha-rembeta, tembeta with bead.

114 301 562 It seems that the explorer and expeditionist Touar is not completely correct when he says that these necklaces are made of coralline, malachite, etc. The Indians do not tell where they come from. Perhaps with careful analysis it could be learned what type of material they contain and which animal produces them naturally, such as the coralline. What is beyond doubt is that today's explorers do not give them the value that they would have if they were true pearls. The former value of beads among the Indians themselves was, as I have said, conventional. The same gentleman is not entirely correct when he states that the Chiriguano women wore shell necklaces. Perhaps they were used by the Tapíi women, where he stayed for a long time in his efforts to see Olympus from Izozo.

301 562 Women's necklaces are abundant and are of different forms and colors. Some are round and black, Mboinu, companion of beads, others red and curly, Mboichanchi, curly beads, and others long and black, Sebadilla. There is also no lack of women who in addition to the above-mentioned ornaments place around their necks a string of silver coins, all of the same size.

/341 cont./

241 115 ladder, that is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps. Captain Karnapadyú's chacra /cultivated clearing/ was about 200 meters by 70 meters in size. At the edge stood a small wooden hut covered with straw.

The "Captain" began by showing me some manioc plants and had me cross a large square sown exclusively with beans and gourds /citronilles/. The corn fields came next. They were divided in two by a second hedge formed of trunks and thorns. Squash /courges/ grew between the rows of corn. After the maízal /field of corn/ followed a second expanse covered with beans, squash, and melons, which Karnapadyú told me belonged to his daughter. Here and there rose several stalks of sorghum. A new cornfield was opposite the

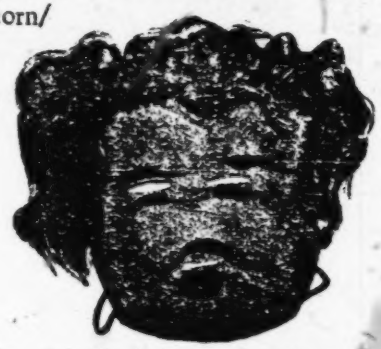


Fig. 8. Mask (tovaraanga) carved out of a calabash and provided with hair and eyebrows of horsehair. It was hung up in a planted field where it was serving as a scarecrow. Prov.: Cururutí. (1/5 nat. size.)

241 532 322 237

241 115 first, and another cabin rose at its edge. In both of these properties the only plants cultivated for their manufacturing value [322] were the cucurbitaceous ones from which the Indians make their [415] cups and bottles. [824]

Next, on the opposite cliff, I visited the chacra of another Indian of the same village. A steeper and more difficult road than the first led to it. The plantation was lower down a hill on which a little hut was perched. These fields were almost solely covered with corn among whose stalks grew squash. As before, the maízales were preceded by plantings of beans and squash.

/375 cont./

Calabashes

415 In each Chiriguano village calabashes are as abundant as pottery (see Fig. 47 /see p. 139 /). The huts are full of them. They are of every shape and size, from the spoons we spoke of to the big basins in which the kãwi is distributed on feast days.

[286] The calabashes which are ovoid or gourd-shaped are generally enveloped in a kind of rudimentary net of vegetable fibers or leather thongs, which allows them to be carried in the hand or hung (1). In them is put either water, or grain

415
286
171

1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 97) has given the list of the South American tribes who put their calabashes inside a net to carry or hang them. This contrivance is widespread on the continent and its distribution is certainly greater than that indicated by Nordenskiöld, but travelers generally take only slight interest in such details, which are nevertheless important. The Kaingúa of Paraguay encompass their calabashes with wembé bark just like the Chiriguano (see Ambrosetti, 2, p. 716).

415 and seed, or roasted flour, or finally roucou or kalasapa powder saved for feast days (Plate XX, 1 and 2; Plate XXI, 3 and 4).

[322] Some calabashes are provided with a lid which the Indians make by cutting a calotte with star-shaped edges in the still green fruit, and this then forms a hermetic closing. The lid is fastened on by means of a small cord which, when pulled, suffices to close the calabash /376/ (Plate XX, 4 and Plate XXI, 2). Gourds whose opening is small in diameter receive a fragment of a shelled ear of corn as a stopper. /Figs. 42-47 appear here./

[121] Painted, pyrographed, or incised calabashes will be the object of a special study.

412
322
824

Figs. 42-43. Wooden spoons (karuha or iwira-karu). No. 42 comes from Carurutí and 43 from Nawirenda. (1/4 nat. size.)

Fig. 44. A bignoniaceous or an asclepiadaceous fruit whose shell cut in half is utilized by the Chiriguano as a cup or spoon. Prov.: Caipipendí. (2/5 nat. size.)

Fig. 45. Calabash cut in half to serve as a spoon. Prov.: Macharetí. (1/4 nat. size.)

236
824
→

Fig. 46. Ladle carved out of a calabash. Prov.: Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). (1/7 nat. size.)

412
322
824
←

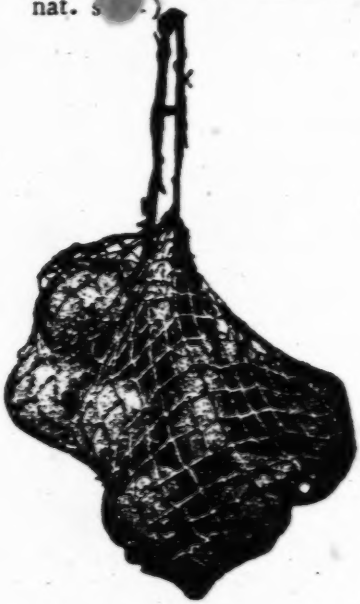


Fig. 47. Reserve calabashes hanging in a net inside a Chiriguano hut. Ibopeytí.

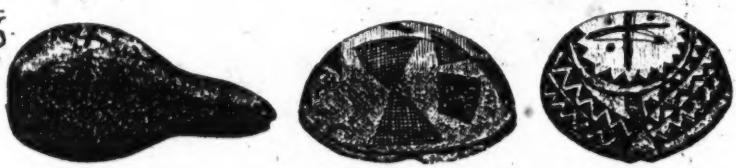
177 /430 cont./ Let us not forget that
531 pyrography is a masculine activity and that men are more
[462] open than women to every innovation. Moreover, for the
[167] most part they have gone to Argentina, and from there, with a new turn of mind, they brought back models and inspirations foreign to their ancient tradition. This European influence is patent in many cases; thus, the calabash of Plate LXVII, 3, and the one of Plate LXIX, 1, are decorated with Arabic numbers. The calabashes of Plates LXIV, 1, LXV, 1 and 5, and LXIX, 5, are decorated with stylized flowers or stars which are not Indian at all. The influence of the white men and their bad taste is evident in the motifs painted in roucou which decorate the calabash of Plate LXV, 3.

531 Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic representations are commoner on calabashes than on pottery. A rough drawing of a man greatly schematized /431/ is represented on the calabash of Plate LXIII, 1 a and b. On the calabash of Plate LXIII, 2 a, dogs have been engraved and birds on those of Plates LXIII, 1, LXVIII, 3 a and b, LXIX, 2, and LXXI, 3. A llama was represented in very expressive fashion on calabash No. 2 b on Plate LXIII; and on the calabash of Fig. 85 a and b one recognizes a horse and a feline animal, a puma or jaguar. Three fish and a bird appear on the specimen of Plate LXVII, 2.

531 The Indians of the Ivu mission and the ones from
322 the Caipipendí valley paint their calabashes with roucou.
386 This color is very difficult to rub off and does not spread beyond the periphery of the colored designs. /Fig. 86 appears here. To obtain this result, the Chiriguano begin

C /431 cont./
531 by taking off the epidermis which covers it, except at the places
322 which are to remain uncolored. Then they smear its exterior
386 surface with roucou and scrape the tegument where they have saved it. The figures then stand out in red against a yellowish background. An analogous process is in use among the Pauserna (Nordenskiöld 5, p. 344). The motifs decorating most of the

C
Ce
415
531



a b c

Fig. 86. a, b, and c. Miniature calabashes, "liqueur glasses" and children's toys. Chiriguano and Chané. Prov.: a, Tuyunti, near Aguaray (Salta Chaco); b, Ñawirenda (upper Pilcomayo); c, id. (About 1/2 nat. size.)

C
531 The motifs decorating most of the
177 painted calabashes I collected in Ivu are unfortunately very much influenced by European models, and beside very pretty designs one finds others of the most distressing banality.

/468 cont./

412 171 At La Paya, Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 254, p. 484) discovered combs cut out of a small wooden board and some composite combs. Instead of simply recording the coexistence of two different types of combs /Plate LXXXVII appears here/ /469/ in the same place, a very natural phenomenon by reason of the heterogeneous character of the culture of La Paya, Ambrosetti puts forth the strange hypothesis that these combs served for carding wool, without taking the trouble to inquire whether this instrument was known in pre-Columbian times.

303 322 462 412 The making of combs, like all wood carving, is an essentially masculine job.

412 174 The table on Plate LXXXVII indicates my idea of the morphological evolution of the different forms of combs which I have collected.

Chapter XII

Furniture

352 [114] Since the diverse cultural elements which constitute the furniture of the Chiriguano have been completely studied by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 8-22), I shall limit myself to mentioning them here, insisting only on several details. /Fig. 124 appears here./ /See p. 338./

[342] Let us enter a Chiriguano hut. The door we open is a kind of screen of reeds or a cowhide hardened in the sun. Daylight penetrates the interior through this opening. The only important [513] piece of furniture is a wooden cot (Fig. 125), a kind of bedstead generally occupied by two persons between whom one or two children come /470/ to slip in somehow or other. Nor do the Chiriguano hesitate to sleep on the ground on an oxhide, which they spread out in front of their house. On the upper Pilcomayo, in nearly all the huts one can /Fig. 125 appears here/ /See p. 339./ see one or two hammocks which serve either as seats during the day [286] [177] or as cradles for small children. Their technique, that of the double thread (Doppelfadentechnik), continues an old Guarani

[Text Continues on P. 338]

/476 cont./

123 Drawings. On Plates XCI-XCIII, one can see gathered to-
126 gether a certain number of drawings executed for my sake by
532 Chiriguano Indians. In order to obtain them I first approached several old men, who refused with an outraged air as if I were
123 asking them to do a thing beneath their dignity. A small boy
126 of 12, Consito, two young men, Asensio and José Miguel, and
115
532

524

Fig. 136. Indian executing the mobile string figure called "culo de caballo /horse's rear end/.

123
126
115 a girl, Iwawasei, showed themselves willing to cover the pages
532 of my album with all kinds of sketches.

Consito did not have to be begged: I was proposing to him a game not only pleasant but fruitful, and he had soon filled two pages (Plate XCI, 1, 2, 4, 9; Plate XCII, 2, 4; Plate XCIII, 1, 3, 10). Asensio, my faithful friend, also gave me
115 complete satisfaction. He was a curious individual, and I keep
123 a particularly vivid and congenial memory of him. He was 25
126 to 30 years old and was conspicuous because of his extraordinary activity and ingenuity. At any moment of the day he could
[322] be seen busy cutting or carving a piece of wood which then

[See pp. 355-357-- Analyst]

/476 cont./

115 123 126 [322] [463] became an ingeniously conceived tool or still oftener a musical instrument. Asensio used to make violins which on first sight appeared to have come from a European factory. It goes without saying that he was the recognized carpenter of the village and the great provider of household articles. When Asensio had understood the purpose which had brought me to his home, he transformed his hut into a workshop for ethnographic objects; and I owe it to his enterprising spirit that I was able to collect many a piece, today no longer in use, which he reconstructed for me.

At the time when I was in his village, Asensio had received big orders for flutes for the coming Easter festival, [532] and I had a good time watching him work. Once an instrument was finished, he would embellish it with engraved animals.

115 126 532 The material on which Asensio (see Plate XCI /see p.355/, 5, 7,, and Plate XCII /see p.356 /, 3, 6) incised his figures exerted an indirect influence on the pencil drawings he drew in my notebook. They stand out by their angular character, but also by their clearness.

José Miguel (see Plate XCI, 8; Plate XCII, 1, 5, 7, 9; Plate XCIII /see p. 357 /, 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12), whom Ascensio's example had encouraged, asked me to give him the notebook and pencil, and he made me a whole series of drawings which, although rather light and uncertain, sometimes are not lacking [177] in a certain movement. José Miguel had traveled to Argentina: the train and the automobile (which he drew from memory) attest well to his admiration for the /477/ marvels of "Progress" (Plate XCII, 7, 8). Thank God his modernism had not made him forget his mythology, and he was able to draw for me a mythical episode which is to be seen on Plate XCIII, 12, A, B, C: the blue jaguar (yaguarowi, personification of the spots on the moon) is preparing to devour the moon and the sun.

123 126 532 When I had finished with the men, I wanted to have several feminine drawings, imagining that the women would lend themselves willingly to this game since they are the recognized artists of the tribe. All, unanimously and to my great surprise, refused to do it, shouting in the middle of gales of laughter: Aikuaá "I can't do it, I don't know how."

/18 cont./

137 824 ALGARROBO NEGRO. -- Among the Indians this is called "Ivopene," and the whites call it tusca; it multiplies and grows very fast. Sometimes 20 or 30 newly sprouted plants can be counted around a single cake of cow dung, which indicates that the cattle eat it in abundance, and where it does not already exist they sow it with their bowels. [262] It grows to a height of some three meters and is very thorny, which makes it difficult to travel through places where it is abundant; when there is no other food it is one of the Chiriguano's resources.

• [322] ALGAROBILLA. -- The wood of this plant, which the Chiriguano call "Igüirayepiro," is black and very good for cabinetmakers; it is a species of ebony and is strong. Implements of war and those for fiestas of the tribes are made of this wood; its trunk is twisted, and it rarely has a single trunk; the flowers are yellow and the berries much sought after, by goats, but it makes them abort.

ALGODONERO /cottonwood/. -- This is a leafy tree with many branches; it grows to a height of two meters, has yellow flowers and a white boll when it is ripe, which is then picked, dried in the sun, the material pulled away from the seeds and cleaned. The "mandiyu" cotton is very useful; hammocks, ponchos, saddlebags, and sacks are made with it; it would even be easy to manufacture macana, but this is not done because what comes from outside is very cheap and /19/ [757] showier, even though it is not as strong as the other. Its leaves used as a poultice are anticancerous, and its seeds in the form of a pomade work against herpes and skin eruptions; oil for lighting can be extracted from the seeds.

ANNONA. -- The annona is a bush which grows to barely one meter; it has congenial places, the pampas, which have soil mixed with sand. In the said pampas it thrives in abundance, but it is even found in other places. The ripe fruit is red and like the pineapple in shape, but the pulp and seeds are like the chirimoya, as is the flavor of the pulp. Before it ripens, even the skin is very similar to that of the chirimoya. The Chiriguano call it "Araticu."

ASPIDOSPERMO BLANCO. -- This tree is of great size and it is abundant almost everywhere; the wood is white and good

/19 cont./

137 in dry places; when dampness penetrates it, it is destroyed in a
824 few years, as experience has shown. The bark that is found
[757] under the first layer is split, washed in tepid water, and left to steep overnight; it cures intermittent fever. The Argentinians call it cacha, the whites quebracho, and the Chiriguano "Igüiraro."

AZUFAIFO /jujube tree/. -- This is abundant hereabouts
[262] and is a tree of medium size. Its wood is not valued very highly, but the fruit, the size of a grape seed and of a dark coffee color, is a great resource in times of scarcity for the poor Chiriguano. It ripens in January and February and is liked even by cattle and by sheep and pigs. The whites call it mistol and the Chiriguano "Yuá."

245 BANANA TREE. -- Cultivated in orchards and well fenced-in fields, it forms a grove, and each plant yields or produces a cluster, very large on some of them. When the ripe cluster is removed, the plant that produced it must be cut in order that the others may produce their own. There are several
[262] varieties, large and small, the latter very sweet and eaten as fruit, and the former only when boiled and roasted; the whites call them plátano, and the Chiriguano "Pacoba."

137 BIGONIA ACUOSA. -- This is a tiny little bush one vara
824 in height, which under the ground has a large root like a
[271] watermelon and even larger; it contains much pulp which, when squeezed, yields potable water and is used for it in times of scarcity. The Chiriguano call it "Sipoi."

[342] CATALPA. -- This is a large tree and fairly strong. Its wood is used in the construction of houses. The color of the /20/ wood is dark, but when it is newly cut it is somewhat
[515] green. Its flowers are purple, and the Chiriguano chew them to whiten their teeth; they are bitter and because of this the tree is called "Tayi," or bitter, in Chiriguano, the whites call it lapacho.

CEIBA. -- A large tree with deformed trunk, and furnished with sharp points, broad leaves, and large, white flowers which produce a material similar to cotton without fibers, for which reason it is smoother and shinier; it is used for mattresses
[322] and pillows and candle wicks. The wood is spongy and not at
[415] all hard; from it are made troughs to hold water from year to year and in this way they are not soon damaged. Its ashes

[137] /20 cont./ its ashes
[824] are good for the manufacture of soap, the bark is an emetic.
[388] The whites call it toborochi and the Chiriguano "Samuú."
[757] There are several varieties and all of them are utilized to some degree or other.

[322] CEIBO. -- This tree is smaller than the former, but its
[415] wood is much superior, very fibrous, and rather light in weight, being used to make troughs which are very durable since they neither split nor are eaten by wood borers. It is very pretty when
[262] it blooms; the flowers are fiery red and good for salads. The Chiriguano call it "Suinandi."

DRAGO /dragon tree/. -- A tall tree, straight and quite thick; the wood is strong and useful. If an incision is made
[757] in the tree, a very red resin comes out; its bark is the best for making the teeth hard and for curing scurvy. The gum called "dragon's blood" is extracted from this tree. The whites call it tipa and the Chiriguano "Güirapitiyu guasu."

ENEA /cattail/. -- An aquatic plant which abounds in certain ponds and pools formed by the water of rivers which flow away from the main stream; the Indians use it for roofing their houses, muleteers for packsaddles, and others for mats in the dwellings, on which they also have their bedding for sleeping. This is the totora or matara of the whites and the "Caipempe" of the Chiriguano.

[262] ESTORAQUE /storax/. -- This is a very large tree of the forest; it has whitish flowers and yellow fruit the size of a fig, which is edible and a favorite of parrots and monkeys; the Chiriguano eat it as a fruit and call it "Aguai."

GARGATEA or CARICA MAMAYA. -- This tree is not very abundant nor is it found in every section. It is of normal size, with a straight trunk and smooth bark softer than the fig tree; the wood is soft and is of no use at all, being similar to that of the ceiba, or toborochi. Its leaves are like those of the fig
[262] tree, and the fruit is of the /21/ same size and form, but
[252] yellow; it is edible and good when boiled or roasted, if eaten raw, it hurts the mouth. In Chiriguano it is called "Caincantina."

/22 cont./

137 824 is manufactured. On the slopes of the hills is also found the blackberry /zarzamora/, whose fruit is so pleasant to the palate, but whose thorn, which is like a cat's claw, is quite dangerous and barbed. The mulberry in Chiriguano is called "Tatayigua."

245 NARANJO /orange/. -- Neither the orange nor the lemon are native to the Chiriguano region, but they flourish greatly and grow to some height. Where it is easy to open irrigation ditches and possible to irrigate orange and lemon trees, they produce large, juicy fruit, the former being very sweet and the sourness of the latter being mild. The citron tree flourishes and is a plant imported here; its fruits are as big as gourds. The Chiriguano cultivate the orange tree here and there, but the whites cultivate it on a large scale; I know of some /23/ rather large orange groves, and they exist in nearly all the missions.

137 824 NOGAL. -- This tree of extraordinary height is only found wild; the leaves are very small and somewhat like those of the true nogal; the fruit is edible, but its shell is hard to crack. [258] The flavor and characteristics are the same as those of walnuts, so that oil, which is used instead of that from the olive, can be extracted from them. The wood is rather dark and good [322] for carpentry and cabinetwork, but it is inferior to that of the true nogal, which is found in the cultivated state where there [386] is sufficient moisture; a dark coffee-colored dye is prepared from the leaves, the bark of the trunk, or the roots, for dyeing wool, for staining other woods, and for printing ink.

NOPAL. -- This is the fruit-bearing plant which is most abundant in the region and which is found everywhere without any cultivation, for which reason it is most highly regarded by the Chiriguano, who is naturally lazy. But since it is sought [245] by the cattle, it is beginning to disappear or, more exactly, it is not found very much in the woods and clearings, but the Indian still cultivates it because it flourishes easily without need of irrigation and multiplies without the need of planting other shoots. It is convenient for the laziness of the Indian; the yellow flowers come out around each spathe and the fruit matures there as well; it is full of small seeds and sweet pulp, pleasant and refreshing. Some trees are covered with long

/173 cont./

342 The canes, or sticks, are attached in the same way as in the roof, with the difference that for the walls they are put in double order, outside and inside, so that they can serve as a support for the dampened earth, which in the end is like a large bag, long and tall, around the house. This other work [462] is done by the Indian men, engaged beforehand by the promise of chicha; next they too dig in the wet soil /174/ dampened by the rain or by water, and help the women in the operation of forming the walls.

With such simplicity, the four walls are raised in a single day, everything being completed; at the present time almost all houses have a gallery where the men and women always sit to enjoy the cool of the mornings and the evenings in friendly gatherings, a gallery which is even used for sleeping on excessively hot nights, especially when inside there is an abundance of vinchucas and other insects (1).

346 476 1. In Parapiti a school for 150 girls was built and finished in 12 hours; nothing had been prepared for this building; it was planned the day before and done at once by all the inhabitants.

342 With the erection of the gallery, the house is completely finished, and the Indian content and satisfied. In present-day buildings care is taken to place the door, or entry, at one end of the house which corresponds to the gallery, and many have two, one in front of the other, in order to have a way to the patio which they make with a fence of thorns for greater comfort.

347 28 The doors are of cane, which they tie together like mats, but vertically, with ceiba bark or with cowhide thongs, which [322] are more durable indoors. If an Indian can get a cowhide, [824] he makes a door of Guayapa wood, or, as the whites call it, zacharrosa, or another soft wood, which he puts in a hole left in the construction; he makes another frame with its hinges made of the same wood, soaks the hide, and fastens it in this

/174 cont./

342 281 second frame, taking care that it is not very tight so that when it dries it will not warp. He attaches this hide from behind with thongs of the same material, and the result for them is a door de luxe, which could be envied even by some whites, who, in spite of the fact that they have hides, either cannot find anyone to work them for such a door, or who out of avarice and in order not to spend a few coins do not concern themselves with such a comfort (2).

342 322 2. Some of them make very crude doors with two pieces of thorny ceiba wood, which they work perfectly with a knife. No Chiriguano puts a window in his house.

Ancient Houses

342 177 178 Some of my readers perhaps may have believed that the house and its mode of construction just described go back to the origin of the race. /175/ This belief would be an error, because they must understand that the above-mentioned is the result of progress. The method of building houses like the present ones is relatively new: they learned it from the whites, especially from the inhabitants of the Santa Cruz area, where the houses all have galleries, this being noted even in the capital of the department, although they may be of much more importance and may be disappearing in the new buildings. But 184 in Monteagudo, Lagunillas, Charagua, and centers where the Chiriguano have their holdings, houses have gallaries.

These, in addition to giving the houses a better appearance, in addition to the indisputable utility, are a very great reinforcement and protection for the walls of the house, not allowing the torrential rains to wear away or demolish the plastering that 342 they do in all the houses. It is true that many houses of the 171 whites in their towns are of adobe, but when the timber is of superior quality it is almost preferable, because this material + REMAINS JOINED BETTER AND IS MORE COMPACT.

/179 cont./

512 356 With such an arrangement, it is not difficult for the Chiriguano woman, after having taken her bath, made her toilette, and put up her hair, to sweep her house in a few minutes, sweep the rest, put back in its place everything that has been used, to put the beds to the walls, put the coverings on the cords in the corners, and again prepare what is needed for cooking (2).

> 2. The ancient Chiriguano woman did it this way, because she got up very early; today, as she is beginning to be lazy, after having done everything, she goes to the spring, bathes, combs her hair, and carries water.

Cots and Seats

513 No matter how poor a Chiriguano may be, he seeks comfort for sleeping and does not sleep on the ground when he is at home, both in order to avoid sickness and to be free of poisonous animals which abound, such as the snake, the scorpion, and the tarantula, which strike horror just to look at them. Furthermore, they do not sleep on the ground in order to be free of the bite of other insects, such as the vinchuca and the guanaco in certain areas, but despite this their cots are /180/ full of other little coffee-colored bugs, known in every corner inhabited by man.

352 322 In order to avoid any such accident, one obtains the Igũirapempi, cot, by making it oneself. Cots are of hollow cane, little sticks, or split maguey sticks, which they call caruguata guasu. In order to make them, they first make a rectangular frame; in this four holes are made 40 centimeters in from the ends, into which four sticks are introduced vertically; these are the feet. Above are tied canes or sticks which are high at the top and bottom and deep in the middle, and this is the cot. At bedtime they are content with placing at the head some rag or piece of wood.

/180 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it: most of
[513] them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they
[178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and
[237] to have cots like the whites use: the open part of the latter is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred: in the Ivu Mission almost all make them of this material.

574 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either:
576 when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on
516 the ground: nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For
352 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of
322 wood and called Apica. There are some with two places and
[574] up to four with their respective dividers: there are some for
[412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter
[438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like
[439] those of the whites: they make the latter for their own use
[824] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharroza, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel.
352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks, Quiha ó imi, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/181 cont./

524 gallery two cords, tying at the ends a piece of cowhide 80 centimeters long by 20 in width, hanging about 60 centimeters above the ground. This is called Sabiuca, swing, and here the little boys and girls swing and rock.

562 Women sit on the ground in their houses and observe the
584 same custom when they go visiting. The man waits until he
592 is told where he should sit and always receives the best seat.
516 The woman does not wait: she knows her place: she arrives, does not greet anyone, leaves her bundle in a corner, if she has one, and then squats down in such a way that from near or far many women squatting like this look like so many carronades /camaretas/ ready to go off.

Matés

462 In the furnishings of Chiriguano houses a preferred place
241 is occupied by the matés, made of gourds divided vertically
415 through the middle. This is man's work: he plants them and
322 cultivates them in his field, and when they are mature they are brought to the house where they are allowed to dry in the shade and also in the sun. Some three months are needed for this or even more, depending on the season. Nevertheless, they are watched throughout to see whether a fingernail will penetrate the skin. When the fingernail will not penetrate, the gourds are ripe. Then they remove the first skin, split them, extract and completely remove the pulp, keep the seeds for the new planting, and, when they are clean, they let them dry for a few days.

462 They are put in a separate place, and a second operation
415 begins. With his Chiriguano patience, with a knife or other
531 instrument, the Indian begins to engrave whatever figures occur to him, such as tree branches, circles with grains of sand, squares, figures of jaguars, doves, lizards, dogs, chickens,

Schwedenfeld E-4,1 (1906-1908, 1913) 1910
B713 Chiriguano B713
Chaco B71

Their spindles are of the Bakairi type with a knob. (See Part. I map 35). The spindle discs are sometimes of stone. The Chané at Rio Parapiti sometimes use when spinning a small earthen plate made for the purpose, on which the spindle is whirled.

C
Ce.
283

The preparing of leather.

The Choroti and Ashluslay have no knowledge of tanning, where as the Chiriguano, Chané, Toba and Tapiete have. They use the bark of Piptadenia and other trees.

C
Ce
281
197
(71)

These Indians have, in all likelihood, learnt the art of tanning from the Whites who, in these tracts, are more skilled in leatherwork than in any other trade. Tanning seems to be unknown to all Indians in S. America who are either untouched or but slightly influenced by White civilization.

The carving and ornamentation of calabashes.

The Chiriguano Indians, as well as the Chané make very great use of calabashes. They are used as receptacles for water and maize-beer; as bowls, humming-tops, bowls and, above all, as drinking-vessels. At festivals maize-beer is handed round in elaborately ornamented calabashes.

C
Ce.
415
322

Sometimes the calabashes are provided with lids. These are so made that lid and box are of the same fruit. Now and then star-shaped lids occur. Lids with a shutting arrangement of the type shown in Fig. 30 A are characteristic of these Indians.

I published in Part I a map showing the distribution of calabashes with lids. From this map we see that these are probably a culture-element which the Indians east of the Andes received from the western area of civilization.

I scarcely think, at any rate, that the star-shaped lids can be cut out so as to fit tight on the box, save with a metal tool. It could hardly be done with a stone or bone implement.

Schwedenstiftung 1-4 (1904-1908, 1912) 1920
#10 Chiriguano #10
Class #1
South American Indians 53

C Ce 285 171 5 184 285

X 3. Piazza Rio Ventuari. Communication by letter from Prof. Koch-Grünberg.

Baskets with lids which are opened like an ordinary cigar-box.

A. Graves on the Peruvian Coast. G. M. Very common in all collections of peruvian antiquities.

C Ce 285 531

Some baskets from the Chiriguano have shapes which make them look like imitations of earthen vessels. (Fig. 55 C and D) Sometimes they even have an ear. Chiriguano and Chané baskets are very seldom ornamented.

Metal-work.

C 325 309

The only metal-work now occurring here is that the Chiriguano sometimes make their tembetas (lip-buttons) of tin themselves. Whether the Chiriguano and Chané, before coming into contact with the Whites, themselves performed metal-work, I cannot say.

Stone-work.

C Ce 324

The Chiriguano and Chané do not now work stone.

Wood-work.

C Ce 322 412 177

For their wood-work the Chiriguano and Chané now use exclusively tools obtained from the Whites.

Weaving.

C Ce 286

Among the Chiriguano I saw two types of loom; among the Chané only one.

The loom found among the Chiriguano and Chané is characterized by the completed product forming a ring (seamless) N. B. if so desired. The warp is set up as shown in the outline drawing, (Fig. 55.2) and in the sketch of a hand-loom from the Chané. (Fig. 55.1). When the ring is

[text continues on p. 176]

Ee /247 cont./

531 The Chiriguano and Chané men are clever in the deco-
322 ration of calabashes (Fig. 126), carve attractive pipes (Fig.
281 120), and know how to tan leather, which they probably learned
177c from the whites.

Ee Among these Indians one does not see much in the way
532 of plastic representations of animal and human figures. The
clay /248/ vessels sometimes have animal shapes. The
C Chané women on the Rio Parapiti fashioned lumpy little dolls
[126] out of wax for their children (Fig. 105). Some of the clay
[437] vessels are painted with animal figures. A vessel from the Rio

Ee 285 →

C 285 ←

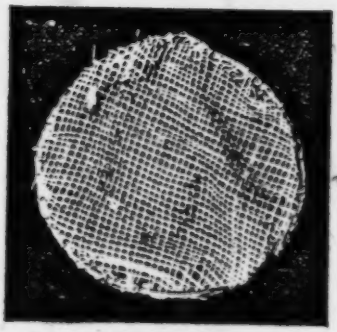


Fig. 124.
Sieve. Rio Parapiti.
1/8.

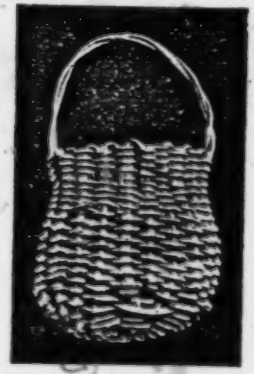


Fig. 125. Basket
Chiriguano.
Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ee

532 Itiyuro, which I acquired through barter, is adorned with tree
figures. Occasionally one sees clay vessels in the shape of fruits.

Ee I saw drawings representing human beings and animals
[353] on the walls in a few Chané huts and on a few Chiriguano
Ee calabashes from the Caipipendi valley.

285 As for basket work, the sieves are so popular among the
[439] whites that through trade they are being distributed far beyond
the Chiriguano and Chané region. Otherwise the Chané and
Chiriguano make few baskets. We find basket work in quantities
only among the Indians where the matching-leaved palms begin,
and that is at Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

342 placed close together and fastened with withies lashed on horizontally (figs. 189 and 190), or of branches woven together and daubed with clay (fig. 191). The roof, the construction of which is apparent from fig. 217, is thatched with grass. This is an especially interesting *method of roof-construction, used in Peru already in the pre-Columbian period*, a fact plainly evident from an ancient Peruvian vase-painting[1] (fig. 193). The walls and the roof are supported by a hut frame consisting of poles (fig. 217). 2

133
342
343

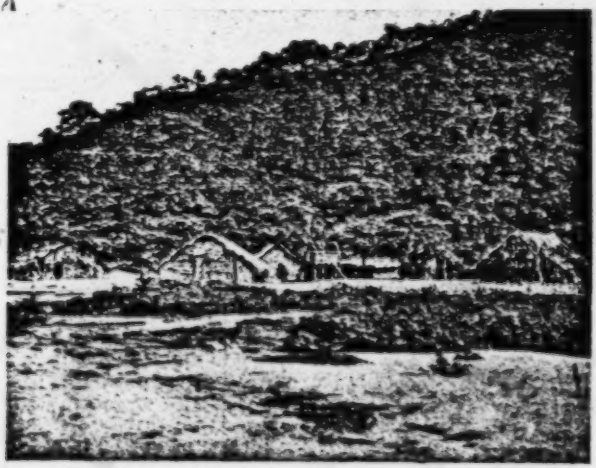


Fig. 188. Part of a Chiriguano village. Two small pile-buildings, used as maize-barns can be seen between the huts. Ibitibi. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

343 The granaries for storing maize are always built on pole supports
417 (figs. 188 and 192). Fig. 191 shows a step-ladder leaning against a tree.
[322] Step-ladders of this kind, usually hewn out of a single piece of wood, are used by the Chiriguano as means of access to these pole-supported granaries.

174 Baron E. Nordenskiöld, who has made a valuable analysis of the distribution
342 of pile-buildings in South America[2], considers that when pile-buildings occur among a tribe inhabiting a region not exposed to inundations, then the idea of constructing buildings raised on piles has generally originated at the time when the tribe inhabited some other region, either a swamp,

[1] Joyce (1), fig. 13.
[2] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 3—8.

1 [see cat. 116, P. 215 -- Analyst]
2 [see cat. 116, p 195 -- An.]

8: Schmidt--70 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/28/

Combs (kívua) in the Collection

C
Ce
412
322
[126]

I. A. 740. (Found on the road between Capirenda and Garrapatal. Length 9.5 cm. Width 9 cm. (Fig. 29a.)
I. A. 1327. Izozó. Length 7.5 cm. Width 3.5 cm. (Fig. 29b.)

The two combs in the collection, coming from the Izozó, represent two completely different types of comb. To the first type belongs the comb I. A. 740, which is made up of some little wooden sticks held together between two transverse pieces of cane interwoven with threads. (Cf. Fig. 29a.) The comb of the second type, I. A. 1327, has simply been carved from a single piece of flat wood. (Cf. Fig. 29b.) A comb similar to I. A. 740, coming from the Chané, is shown by Nordenskiöld in a drawing (122). The three Chiriguano

C
412
322

122. Nord. 1, Fig. 109.

combs shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (122) /see footnote 122 above/ belong to the second type and have been carved from wood, like the Izozó comb I. A. 1327. But in contrast to this one, the upper parts of their backs have been carved. Likewise the Chiriguano combs shown in drawings by v. Rosen and Métraux (123) are decorated with such carving.

123. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 196.
Métraux I, Plate 87.

C
Ce
412
322
171

Up to now there has been some doubt as to how these two different types of combs might be distributed among the Chané and the Chiriguano. According to Nordenskiöld (124),

124. Nord. 2, p. 81.

the Chiriguano only have combs carved from a single piece of wood, and the Chané commonly have the type of comb with small sticks and rarely the simple comb carved from wood.

/28 cont./

C
Ce
412
●322
171

V. Rosen and Métraux found among the Chiriguano combs made of little sticks (125), and, as already mentioned, I obtained these

125. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 202. Métraux I, pp. 467 and 468 and Fig. 123.

two types of comb from the Izozó. According to this, I believe that we must decide the question of the manner by which the two types of comb appear simultaneously among the Chiriguano and among the Chané, but noting first that among the latter the comb made of little sticks is more common and among the former the wooden comb is more common.

Because the diffusion of simple combs carved from wood, like those that the Chiriguano and the Izozó-Chané have, is relatively restricted among the other tribes of South American natives, while this type of comb was known to the ancient Peruvian culture, we must also include this cultural possession among the ancient Peruvian influences (126). The combs fitted

126. Nord. 2, p. 81.

with little sticks, which we know from the Chané and the Chané-Izozó, are different from such combs used by most of the Chaco tribes, for example, by the Churupí /Chulupi/ and the Maká /Maca/, not only with respect to its material but also with respect to its method of manufacture. But I do not accept Nordenskiöld's opinion, according to which those Chané combs are different, in that they are only usable on one side, from those of the Chaco tribes, which were usable from both sides (127). The Chaco Indian combs furnished with little

Ce
[114]

127. Nord. 1, p. 204. Métraux I, p. 467.

sticks that I am familiar with are also used only on one side for combing, inasmuch as the other side is the handle. We can be quite sure of that because the little sticks of cane that form the teeth of the comb are pointed at only one end. The

000

Ce /56 cont./
323 paint on the rim, which is done with the resin of the palo santo
824 (Bulnesia sarmienti), which is spread over the surface of the
386 vessel after it has been baked (253).

253. Nord. 1, p. 246. Nord. 2, p. 144.
Métraux I, pp. 386 and 387.

Working of Stone and Metals

C
Ce
324 The manufacture of stone implements is not done among the Chiriguano and Chané. The same can be said with respect to
C
Ce the manufacture of metal implements, except that the Chiriguano
325 sometimes make their tembetá of tin themselves (254), while
301
439
177
41

254. Nord. 2, p. 171.

they ordinarily obtain their metal ornaments and implements from the mestizos and the whites.

Woodworking

C
322 Various objects made out of wood by the Chiriguano have
[41] already been mentioned above, such as house posts, ladders, plates, spoons, pipes, bows, arrow points, and also cuyas /vessels made out of gourds/ and calabashes. Among other objects made of wood we must also mention the mortar and pestle, various implements used in weaving, small sticks for making nets, large dishes used for keeping food, and flutes. Because the Chiriguano,
C
[177] when they work wood today, exclusively use modern tools ob-
[178] tained from the whites, they have not retained any of their native technique. /Plates XXII-XXV appear here./

8: Schmidt--147 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo.

C
283
322

C
283
323

Plate XXV

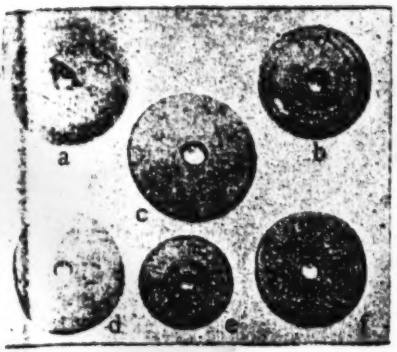


Fig. 87

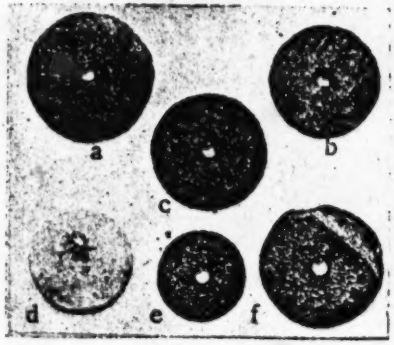


Fig. 88

Ce
283
323

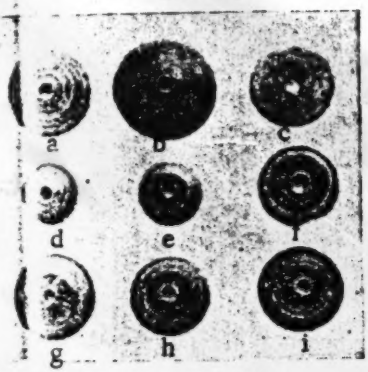


Fig. 89

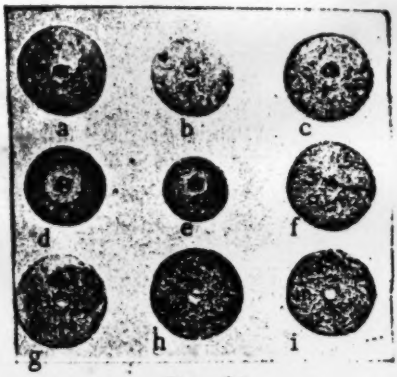


Fig. 90

C
Ce
286
413

a
b
c
d
e

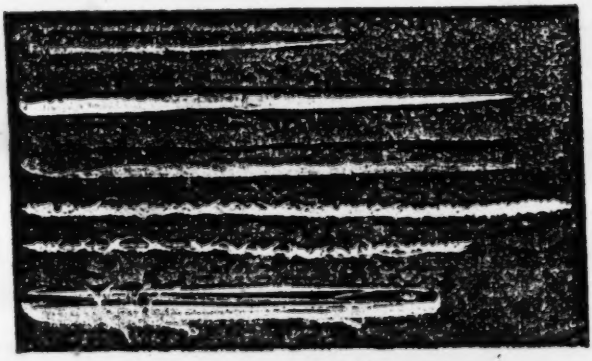


Fig. 91

/The captions are on p. 148./

Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XXIV and XXV./

C
Ce
283

Plate XXIV

Fig. 85. Spindles, a-d (Izozó), e Chiriguano):
a (I.A. 724), length 51 cm.; b (I.A. 703), length 41 cm.; c (I.A. 716), length 41 cm.; d (I.A. 691), length 40.5 cm.; e (I.A. 475), length 42 cm.

Ce
285
283

Fig. 86. (I.A. 725 a and b) Basket (height 12 cm.), cotton seeds, raw cotton, and a spindle with thread, and a ball of cotton thread (Izozó).
b (I.A. 726), ball of cotton thread (Izozó), dia. 8.5 cm.

C
283
322

Plate XXV

Fig. 87. Wooden spindle whorls (Chiriguano): a (I.A. 478), dia. 6 cm.; b (I.A. 474), dia. 5.2 cm.; c (I.A. 480), dia. 6 cm.; d (I.A. 471), dia. 5.3 cm.; e (I.A. 479), dia. 4.3 cm.; f (I.A. 477), dia. 5.2 cm.

C
283
323

Fig. 88. Spindle whorls, a-c of baked clay, e-f of stone (Chiriguano): a (I.A. 486), dia. 6.2 cm.; b (I.A. 487), dia. 5.3 cm.; c (I.A. 483), dia. 5.3 cm.; d (I.A. 481), dia. 4.8 cm.; e (I.A. 482), dia. 4.2 cm.; f (I.A. 484), dia. 5.7 cm.

Ce
283
323

Fig. 89. Baked clay spindle whorls (Izozó): a (I.A. 705), dia. 4.7 cm.; b (I.A. 687), dia. 5.2 cm.; c (I.A. 700), dia. 4 cm.; d (I.A. 702), dia. 3 cm.; e (I.A. 696), dia. 3 cm.; f (I.A. 690), dia. 4 cm.; g (I.A. 692), dia. 4.5 cm.; h (I.A. 689), dia. 4 cm.; i (I.A. 695), dia. 4.2 cm.

Fig. 90. Baked clay spindle whorls (Izozó): a (I.A. 724), dia. 4 cm.; b (I.A. 708), dia. 3.8 cm.; c (I.A. 709), dia. 4.3 cm.; d (I.A. 721), dia. 3.7 cm.; e (I.A. 722), dia. 3.3 cm.; f (I.A. 720), dia. 4.4 cm.; g (I.A. 711), dia. 4.3 cm.; h (I.A. 713), dia. 4.2 cm.; i (I.A. 710), dia. 4 cm.

C
Ce
286
413

Fig. 91. Implements for weaving: a (I.A. 500), implement for arranging the warp threads (Chiriguano), length 20.5 cm.; b (I.A. 674), implement for arranging the warp threads (Izozó), length 30 cm.; c (I.A. 673), wooden sword for weaving (Izozó), length 30 cm.; d (I.A. 727), shuttle with cotton thread (Izozó), length 33.3 cm.; e (I.A. 728), shuttle with cotton thread (Izozó), length 27 cm.; (I.A. 513) reel (Chiriguano), length 25 cm.

/79 cont./

534 I. A. 494. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Lgth. 41 cm. (Fig. 34a.)
[126] I. A. 495. Double whistle " " " 33.5 and 7 cm. (Fig. 34b.)

[126] From the Chiriguano in Machareti I acquired two different kinds of flutes, the ones made of cane and the others made of wood. The two wooden flutes I. A. 491 and 492 (cf. Figs. 93a and 93b /see Fig. 33a and b, p. 89/) are of particular importance because of their similarity in form, and in the case of I. A. 491 of decoration as well, to a special kind of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians, and for that reason they have already been dealt with several times in ethnological literature. These two flutes are doubtless quite old specimens which perhaps had already been used by several generations. They are [322] called "sereré" by the Chiriguano, and they are of hard wood bored from one end to the other. In the middle of the upper edge of the lozenge of the apparatus, there are two small perforations [301] . A similar flute shown in a sketch by v. Rosen (299)

299. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 220.

shows that these perforations serve for a string to pass through, in order that the flute may be worn as a chest ornament. 534 Nordenskiöld (300) has already called attention to the surprising 174 171

300. Nord. 3, pp. 187 and 188.

resemblance between these flutes and a special form of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians. These, numerous specimens of which are known, are no doubt classified as balance beams because of the fact that on some specimens /80/ the cord which passes through the horizontal perforation and which has at one end a weight and at the other end a loop, or some such similar thing for holding the objects that are to be weighed, has been preserved. V. Rosen, describing and showing in a drawing one of these Chiriguano flutes, which is like flute I. A. 491 except that it still has the cord which passes through the two holes on the upper

/330 cont./

Cg 177 The Chiriguano adopted this civilization of a superior type with all the more ease by reason of the numerous affinities it offered with their own. The whole Amazonian and Guianan side of the Chané civilization was composed of industries, techniques, and practices with which the Chiriguano, having come from the tropical regions of America, from a country of great forests and rivers, were already acquainted in part. Thus, for example, the Guarani, upon arriving among the Chané, found again the hammocks, grain sieves, mortars, baskets, and weapons to which they were accustomed.

Cg Ce 177 Ce [323] The contribution of the Chané consisted of the very cultural elements they had received from the Andean peoples, that is, clothing (camisetas, headband, etc.), the liking for silver ornaments, some artistic motifs, certain pottery forms, etc., things which were scarcely beginning to filter into Paraguay. The influence of the Chané was decisive in the sphere of pottery.

Cg 177 563 323 [161] Ce 178 323 177 The civilizing action of the Chané upon the Chiriguano had as agent the Chané women whom the Chiriguano captured and married. The Guarani had certainly taken along with them only a small number of girls. They themselves were few in number at the beginning, 4,000 according to Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260). In uniting with the Chané women whom they carried off by the thousands, they renewed with their blood all the feminine aspects of their industry. It is the women, for example, who make /331/ the pottery; a man would not be able to engage in it without losing prestige. So we see the pottery of the Guarani undergo important modifications and change completely. Today pottery is their glory; and of their ancient ceramics they have kept only the humble pots or the brewing vats for chicha. In spite of their decline the Chané have maintained their traditional superiority in this art, and they continue to produce vessels which, if they are not comparable to those of the past, are often very beautiful.

/370 cont./

415 531 It is distinguished especially by finger impressions, which decorate the neck of nearly all the common pots.

323 While watching the Chiriguano potters work, I realized that the finger impressions which so often decorate their vessels result automatically from the process of fabrication. At the moment when the potter forms the neck of the vessel, she has to press the roll constituting this part between her thumb and index finger and no longer with the flat of the hand as she has done up until then. The vessel is generally too narrow in this zone to allow putting in the whole hand. The result of this is a whole series of finger impressions which vaguely give the effect of ornamentation. Now the potter rubs them out in order to remake them more symmetrically. Thus this motif which adorns most of /Plates XVI and XVII appear here/ /371/ the vessels in common use among the Chiriguano is obtained, so to

415 531

Fig. 35. Small vessel (yapeporai) decorated with fingernail impressions. The lines of contact between the three rolls of clay of which it is composed are still visible. Prov.: Carurutí. (1/3 nat. size.)

323 say mechanically. From the neck these decorations have been extended to the rest of the vessel for an aesthetic purpose, but their occurrence on the upper part influenced the rest.

/371 cont./

415 Certain vessels (Fig. 35) have the exterior surface entirely
531 covered with these depressions obtained by pressure of the thumbnail. The Indians call this decoration tatupire, that is "armadillo carapace," /Fig. 37 appears here/ a completely justifiable comparison.

One can consider as an evolution of the process of ornamentation by finger impressions the angles or chevrons which decorate the outside surface of the vessel of Figure 2, Plate XVI /see p. 125/, which have been incised in the soft clay with a pointed instrument. This type of ornamentation can be reduced to its simplest expression; thus on the neck of the vessel of Plate XVII, 2 /see p. 127/ it is limited to a row of little cavities made with a pointed stick. The small vessel of Figure 36 /see p. 128/ with a belly flattened from top to bottom belongs, from the decorative point of view, in the same category.

415 On another vessel (Plate XVI, 1) the small nipples which
531 project /372/ all around the belly constitute a summary
171 decoration which completes that of the neck formed by fingernail impressions. Pots of this type are found among the Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 65, p. 218).

This decoration is exceptional in South America. Jijon y Caamaño (p. 6) considers it characteristic of the northern part of Ecuador. He points out its distribution in Central America and in the Mound region in the United States.

[126] The iru of Plate XVIII, Fig. 2 /see p. 131 / has the exact shape of a calabash; this resemblance was intentional, for the Indian woman who sold it to me presented it at the same time as the calabash which /Fig. 38 appears here/ had doubtless served as a model. Vessels which are almost replicas of this specimen have been found at Jachal and Calingasta in San Juan province in Argentina (Ambrosetti, 1, Plate VII, and Debenedetti, 3, Fig. 41, p. 69).

415 The Chiriguano call the vessels in which the women
[462] draw the water they need for their households by the Quichua
415 name iru. The iru are characterized not only by their more or less globular shape and the narrowness of the neck on top,
323 but also by the quality of the paste from which they were

C /372 cont./
323 modeled. The latter is extremely fine, of very good quality,
[415] and, when fired, forms a compact, hard, and resistant mass. This clay is inherently not very porous; to render it still more impermeable the Chiriguano potters give the vessel a long polishing while it is still unfired but nevertheless very dry. This is applied on the exterior walls of the receptacle and gives them a brilliant and metallic appearance which at first sight would be taken for a glaze. This operation has the effect of making the vessel almost impermeable and thus of avoiding the evaporation which takes place more or less rapidly in most Chiriguano receptacles. The narrowness of the neck at the top of these vessels serves a similar purpose.

C 415 →

The îru can be of any size: there are very large ones like the Chané specimen of Plate XVII, 1 /see p. 127/ and other very small ones (Plate XVIII, 4 /see p. 131/) which little girls use to help their mothers and /Plate XVIII appears here/ /373/ become initiated into housework. Vessels 1 and 3

A [415] ←

Fig. 38. Ashluslay vessel.
Prov.: Estero Patiño.
(1/3 nat. size.)

of Plate XVIII represent rather rare close forms, which derive from the primitive type but which have been perfected. The handles with which these îru are provided allow them to be carried on a trip in place of gourds.

C [172] Prototypes of the Chiriguano îru have been furnished us by Debenedetti's excavations (2, Fig. 119, p. 171) on the Isla de Tilcara.

/382 cont./

804 The Chiriguano measure the cloth which Syrian peddlers
439 come to offer them with varas, that is, a stick about 80 centi-
[177] meters long, the length of the ancient Spanish vara. This instrument has been borrowed from the Bolivian half-breeds.

Chapter VI

121

Art among the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

To Professor Félix F. Outes.

The artistic sense of the Chiriguano is manifested in pottery decoration, pyrography, and wood carving.

We shall study these three activities one after the other.

Pottery Technique

114 The Chiriguano pottery technique has been studied briefly
323 by Campana (p. 54), following Father Giannechini's notes, and by Outes (3, pp. 122-123), who adds some details communicated to him by the naturalist Holmberg to the ones he took from Campana's work. Nordenskiöld (1 and 10, pp. 142-147) completed on many points Campana's brief survey, so that I myself shall have few new things to note.

317 The clay used by Chiriguano potters comes from beds
323 well known to the Indians, where they go from time to time to lay in fresh supplies. It is enough to see old vessels full of earth around a hut to know that a woman lives there still practicing the ancestral industry. Where adequate clay is
[439] lacking, pottery is imported. Thus in the Tigüipa mission all the vessels in use were made in Macharetí.

323 In order to be used the clay must be degreased with powder /383/ coming from potsherds. Fragments of old vessels are ground in a mortar until, after being put through a sieve, they give a fine powder which is kneaded for a rather

/383 cont./

323 long time with the clay. This paste must have all the impurities removed, which is done in the course of the kneading (Fig. 56).

323
342
291
516
351

Fig. 56. Fabrication of a vessel: the clay, after being mixed with pulverized potsherds, is kneaded. (Photographs taken by the author at Masaví in the Igüembé Valley.)

323 When the potter has obtained an elastic and sticky paste, she molds the base of a vessel, which she puts either on a piece of cloth or a small board. The foundation of the future receptacle looks like a disk raised on its periphery. A

/383 cont./

323 Chiriguano woman will never be seen making one single vessel at a time: since before continuing she must wait until each one of the parts making up the piece of pottery is dry, she occupies this interval by beginning another vessel, which will dry while she works on the first one again.

415
531

Figs. 57-58. Vessels (yapepó). The rolls of clay of which they are composed are still apparent and constitute a rudimentary ornamentation. No. 57 comes from Carurutí, No. 58 from Yacuiba. (1/4 nat. size.)

323

/384/ When she judges that the bottom has taken on some firmness, she rolls between her hands a roll to which she tries to give a regular diameter. Then she applies it on the base, forming a perfect circle. She cuts off the part which extends beyond the junction point. Next she flattens the roll with her hand, the compression being made from inside to outside, with the back of the left hand and the right palm. When the whole periphery has thus been raised, she evens off the edge, filling all the depressions with pieces
[824] of wet earth. Then she smooths the outside of the vessel with a
[412] stripped ear of corn and a splinter of bamboo. These two instruments are placed beside her and frequently dipped in water so that the earth
[239] does not stick to them. The inside surfaces are polished with the valve of a shell (anodonta) (Plate XXCV, 2). The raw clay, once it is shaped, is supple and resistant like leather. Vessels can be

C /384 cont./
323 made only in the sunshine. One day when rain threatened to fall, the women hurried to grab the vessel they were in the act of making and to carry it into the hut. It was swinging on all sides during this moving, but did not break at all.

From base to neck the vessel is constructed in the same fashion, the number of rolls superposed varying with the size of the vessel but never being very large. The handles are added last. Some are twisted and have been obtained in the following manner: a long, thin roll is bent in two and rolled on itself.

When finished, the vessel is put to dry. After it has hardened, the potter rubs it on the inside with a shining, polished stone (tankua or ita-nkua) (Plate XXIV, 3-4) until the surface is rendered shiny as /Plate XXIV appears here/ /385/ if glazed. The purpose of this operation is to avoid porosity of the inner wall of the vessel, which without that would be too permeable. The exterior of ordinary vessels is left as is. Vessels that are to be painted are apparently also polished on the outside. The polishing of the vessel is done over several days and slowly. The potter does it with great care (see Fig. 66).

C [237] [413] If the vessel is to be painted, the color is applied with a brush made of agouti hair or feathers held together in a tuft with wax (Plate XXIV, 1).

C Ce 386 The coloring materials used by the Chiriguano and Chané are of mineral and vegetable origin. The first are taken from rocks, of which I have had samples examined petrographically and chemically.

Chemical analysis gave the following results: the yellow samples contain clay (aluminum silicate and calcium carbonate) and iron in the form of hydrated oxide; the reds are of the same composition but contain less hydrated iron oxide and more iron oxide. In a specimen of yellow-brown ocher the iron oxide is abundant. In another, hard and compact, of a red-violet tint, the iron is almost entirely in the state of anhydrous oxide.

The yellow, red, and dark-yellow ochers, when heated in a test tube, change color and become dark red, with the exception of the violet specimen which remains invariable.

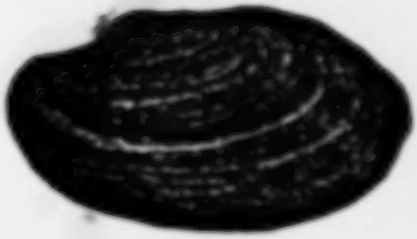
[Text Continues on P. 154]

1: Métraux--153 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XXIV

323
237
[413]

1.



2

323
412

3

4

323
237

5

Accessories of a Chiriguano potter. -- 1. Brush made of feathers held together with wax. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (Nat. size.) -- 2. Valve of a fresh-water mollusk (inta), used to smooth the inside surface of the vessels. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/2 nat. size.) -- 3 and 4. Stones used for polishing the exterior and interior surfaces of vessels before firing (intankua). These two stones were found inside a funerary urn in Cararutí. (2/3 nat. size.) -- 5. Excrescence formed by an insect on the branches of trees of resinous species, which the Chiriguano utilize for tracing out black and shiny figures on their vessels (tarawirisi). Prov.: Ibopytí. (1/2 nat. size.)

/385 cont./

C 32 Two gray minerals are silicates of aluminum and calcium with traces of iron. They are almost pure clays.

A jet-black mineral is a calcareous manganese-bearing complex (manganese dioxide in the form of oxide crossed by veins of calcite).

Petrographically, these samples are some yellow ochers very compact (manganese-bearing, quartzose) or somewhat sandy, some very sandy red ochers, and finally slightly sandy clays.

The ochers all give a red color, pyrolusite (?) furnishes black, and the pure clays the yellowish white on which red and black motifs stand out (1).

> 1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 103): "The colours used by the Chiriguano and the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro are black, red, brown and white. The white is caolin, the red, brown and black are obtained by pulverizing schists of these colours." /cited in English./

C 323 Colors of mineral origin are applied on the walls of the dried and polished vessel before firing.

C 322 237 Most of the vessels from the upper Pilcomayo are distinctive because of motifs of a glossy, solid black which the Indians obtain by rubbing, shortly after firing, with a resinous excrescence looking like a white muff, which a kind of cochineal (?) forms around /386/ mimosa branches (in Chiriguanot iskayanti) and in which she deposits eggs (Plate XXIV, B).

According to Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 300), who was the first to note the use of this material, it was a question of the viscous saliva of an ant (?) which sticks to the trees. The /Fig. 59 appears here/ Chiriguano potters would use it to paint their vessels after mixing it with roucou. In reality, this information is inexact. The resinous muff is not made of saliva but a kind of manna or lac. It is rubbed directly against the sides of the vessel to produce the solid, glossy black of certain motifs.

/386 cont./

323 The paintings on some vessels produce a particularly successful /387/ effect, thanks to the alternation of brilliant.

323
342
351
516
415
291

Fig. 50. Fabrication of a vessel: the inside surface is polished after being flattened with the hand.

323
(386) solid red with black of the same nature. The first of these colors is taken from the famous rouges, whose oily paste is mixed with resin, kneaded into a loaf, and melted on the hot walls of the vessel.

/387 cont./

C 323 386 The name tarawirisi is also given by the Chiriguano to objects resembling loaves of bread kneaded by hand which are composed of a resinous material mixed with wax. According to the explanations given me by the Indians themselves, this

C 417 415

Fig. 66. Forked tree-trunk serving as a shelf for putting vessels on. (After a sketch by the author.)

C 323 386 substance is taken from a mimosa. After being sprinkled with boiling water, it is kneaded and dried in the sun. Its color is yellow or red, but after firing it becomes black.

I could not learn whether this black glaze was applied over a layer of black paint or spread directly on the walls of the vessel. In every case the designs made by this process are much less regular than the ones drawn with a brush.

C [194] Ee 116 323 386 My collections of pottery, which consist of nearly 200 pieces, do not contain any glazed specimen. Nordenskiöld (10 p. 144) assures us that the Chiriguano and the Chané of the Parapití coat their yambui with a sort of gum called tarawisi, a word which, except for one syllable, is the same as the one designating the resinous substance we have just been considering.

C
Ce
386
323
171

/387 cont./

This makes me think that glazing implies a technical process analogous to the one in use on the upper Pilcomayo.

Ce
C.I
323

The Chaco Indians draw crude decorations on their vessels with palo santo resin, which they apply after firing. According to Nordenskiöld (id. supra), the Chané of the Itiyuro probably use the same method to decorate some of their vessels with black designs.

C
323

After being painted, the vessel is put in the shade to dry for several days. It is only when the sides have acquired a certain hardness that the firing process is begun. The vessels are then taken to a spot where there is plenty of dead wood. A large quantity is collected, with which the vessels are covered from bottom to top. Generally, long pieces of bark are selected, which burn brightly.

They set fire to this pyramid of wood and, with a long pole, the /388/ potter watches to see that no brand burns directly against the walls, which would bring on a "shot of fire." When she ascertains that a vessel gives a metallic sound on being touched, she scatters the firebrands with her pole and, by rolling it, makes it go out of the fire.

It may happen that in the course of the firing a vessel may suffer some cracking. This is remedied by taking a little moist earth mixed with dung and applying it on the split while the vase is still hot. The fissure closes, but remains noticeable.

Classification of Chiriguano Pottery

C
415

The figures which illustrate this text, the plates published by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 155-162), and the diagram of Outes (3) give a better idea of the more common forms of this pottery than any description. However, a few remarks are called for.

C
[184]

Vessels with a subglobular belly surmounted by a low, wide neck flaring at the top constitute, without doubt, the most widespread type. (Plates XXXV-LVII.)

/389 cont./

415 The plant kingdom hardly inspires Chiriguano artists. The
531 vessel of Plate LII, Fig. 3, is the only one whose decoration is clearly phytomorphic; and again in this case I am not sure that

•323
516
342
291
415

Fig. 61. Fabrication of a vessel: the exterior surface is smoothed with a chip of bamboo after being flattened with the hand.

415 a European model did not serve as an intermediary between nature
531 and the picture the potter portrayed.

/390/ Among the 200 vessels I collected in Chiriguano
[126] country there is not one that includes a figuration of the human
[179] face, with the exception of the one to which I have alluded, whose form betrays the desire to satisfy the stupid puerility of THE TOURISTS.

C /390 cont./
531 surmounted by a volute is a motif which appears often in this
415 region. Triangles with a solid surface combine to form either
184 denticulate bands or somewhat hourglass-shaped figures whose
Ce effect is pleasing to the eye (Plate XXXIX, 1: Plate XL, 2;
531 Plate XLI; Plate XLII, 1; Plate XLIII, 1; Plate LII; Plate LIV,
415 1 and 3-4; LVII, 3-4; LV, 1 and 3, etc.).

C Between the Chané vessels (Plate XXXVIII, 1; Plate
Ce LIII, 1-3) and the Chiriguano ones in the missions there are
531 some differences which have less to do with the choice of
415 motifs than with the manner in which they are treated. The
[323] Chané women have a purer taste and they evince greater
sureness /391/ of hand than the Chiriguano potters. One
senses clearly that the latter are only their pupils.

C It is difficult for me to say what decorative style might
531 have been in vogue in former times in the Caipipendí valley
415 (Plate LVII, 2; Plate LX, 4; and Fig. 72). Painted vessels
184 have become rare there, and the few examples I saw or acquired
were in very bad condition. As elsewhere, they were covered
with geometric figures: broken lines, triangles, /Fig. 62
appears here/ festooned bands, etc. The individuality of
Caipipendí pottery shows itself more in the form of some
vessels than in their decoration.

Ce Since I could not visit the Chané of the lower Parapití,
415 I have no idea of the characteristics of their pottery.
172 Nordenskiöld (10, p. 144), who was more favored than I,
[131] declares that their pottery presents only a few traces of Andean
[114] influence, and he explains this fact by their isolation and
[511] poverty.

C If now, instead of style, that is, the combination of
531 motifs, we consider the latter in themselves, /392/ a feeling
184 of unity will succeed our feeling of diversity. The same
identical designs are repeated over the whole of Chiriguano
territory, and only their relative frequency in a given area
and the importance attributed to them to the exclusion of the others
create these distinctions of style which I have tried /Fig. 63
appears here/ to define. Nevertheless, there are some decorative
elements which are limited to a certain region: the spiral is

/392 cont./

531 184 peculiar to the villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé valley. The decoration made up of broken and asymmetric lines does not go beyond the zone of the Franciscan missions and the Itiyuro region.

323 415 291 516 142 302

Fig. 62. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is rolled between the palms of the hands. (Photographs taken by the author at Masaví, Igüembé Valley.)

[126]

/392 cont./

323
415
291
516
142
302

Fig. 63. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is ready to be superposed on the preceding one.

/393/

Decline of the Art of Pottery among the Chiriguano

323 178 415 Of all the Chiriguano industries the most threatened one is doubtless ceramics. The Chiriguano can claim the glory of having been until recently the last Indians of South America /Fig. 64 appears here/ to have a pottery which deserved to be included in the number of beautiful manifestations of this art, so brilliantly represented in certain regions of the continent. Today things have changed a great deal. Villages in which one can still find women capable of decorating vessels with the mastery of former days have become rare and are limited 415 to a restricted area. /394/ It was in the tolderías of the Timboy, 126 the Great Salado and the Little Salado, in the region of Yumbía 178 and in the Igüembé valley (upper Pilcomayo, departments of Tarija and Chuquisaca) that I was able to collect the finest specimens in my collection. Elsewhere it was exceptional /Fig. 65 appears here/ /see p. 166/ to be lucky enough to lay my hands on a fine piece; and, if I did have this luck several times, it was almost always a question of an old vessel pre- [797] served as if by a miracle. The Franciscan missions which formerly gave Nordenskiöld and Holmberg such fine specimens 797 contributed less toward enriching my collections. Nothing ex- 323 presses the sad state of decline of the Chiriguano better than 415 what I /395/ could observe in the Macharetí mission. After 178 going through nearly all the huts of this large village, which in [162] normal times has close to 2,000 inhabitants, I could scarcely acquire five or six yambuí having some artistic value. There [163] were no longer more than three or four women who still knew how to hold a brush and they had to /Fig. 66 appears here/ /see p. 167/ provide for almost the whole village. In a few years the ancient painted pottery will exist only in memory in the large village where the famous "Captain" Mandepona lived.

323 415 178 177 This decline has several causes. The first is the state of profound demoralization in which the Chiriguano are found, the total disorganization of their social life, and the increasing influence of the white men, followed by its corruptive effects: finally, the introduction of manufactured products, first and foremost gasoline cans.

/396/

000 first and foremost gasoline cans. Artistic ceramics have become the
323 appanage of a few old women who are not founding a school and who
178
463
887
531

323
415
142
302

Fig. 64. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is placed on the preceding one and flattened between the thumb and
[531] the other fingers of the potter. Finger impressions result from this, forming a crude design.

323 will carry the secret of their art to the grave. Already today,
178 obliged to satisfy a large demand, they endlessly repeat the same
463 motifs and have a vexing tendency to draw them hastily and
887 without any care at all. These designs are becoming awkward,
531 crude, and are taking on a primitive appearance which is far from corresponding to the taste and culture of the Chiriguano.

/396 cont./

291
323
415
531

Fig. 65. Fabrication of a large vat: the potter impresses her thumbnail into the still soft clay to obtain a regular design.

463
323
178
439
[126]
[123]

In some villages there are no more potters. The inhabitants of the toldería of Ibopeyti, for example, have to import the painted vessels they need to celebrate festivals. When I wanted to acquire them, it was generally objected that they had been bought and often at a very high price. "You go away and leave us without vessels," they often used to say to me as a half-joking, half-sad good-by after my raids.

/396 cont./

323 178 Without wishing to pass as a prophet, I think I can assign five years of life to the artistic pottery of the Chiriguano. Already it is becoming difficult to make collections of it, at least collections having aesthetic value.

323 415 531

Fig. 66. Fabrication of a large vat: when dry, the clay is polished with a well-polished stone. The purpose of this operation is to avoid all porosity in the surface of the vessel.

415 178 184 323 The state of decline and regression in which Chiriguano pottery is found explains perhaps the decided differences often existing in the pottery of the various regions inhabited by the Chiriguano. Artists being few, it is not surprising that their output varies little and that, because of this, the vessels of one village are all very much alike.

C /396 cont./

323 415 178 184

In former times when artists were not lacking, the number of motifs used within each group must have been larger, and in this variety was doubtless found many an element which today seems to have disappeared, only to be met in another zone. It is probable that an ethnographer who might have made a collection among the Chiriguano a century ago would have established a classification other than the one I have tried to outline here.

C Ce 415 17

Comparative Study of the Basic Elements of the Painted Pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

1. The Problem of the Chincha Atacama Civilization

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians shows such strong affinities with that of the ancient Andean populations from the point of view of form as well as decoration that their relationship cannot be doubted.

These analogies are especially striking among certain pieces /397/ of pottery dug up in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and the ones still made by Chiriguano or Chané women. With an interval of four centuries the resemblance between the pottery of these two regions is still so pronounced that it had attracted the attention of Mr. Debenedetti (2, pp. 134, 149, note 1, and 156), even though he apparently had for his whole basis of comparison only a few rare pieces of very simple Chiriguano pottery collected in the Chaco and of such uncertain provenance that one of them was attributed to the Choroti. The latter in reality, have pottery of an entirely different type, although also influenced by the Andean civilization.

O C Ce [648] [439]

The affinities of Chiriguano pottery with certain pottery of the Quebrada de Humahuaca have been scientifically established by Nordenskiöld (10, p. 143). This scholar explains these surprising similarities very naturally by the influence the Indians of the Humahuaca region had on their immediate neighbors, the Chané or Chiriguano, and by the trade relations these peoples maintained.

000 /427 cont./

C 531 171 105 which preceded Inca culture. If one compares the present-day pottery of the Chiriguano with that of the Quicha /Quechua/ of Cuzco, certain analogies will appear, but they will be neither abundant nor conclusive enough to establish a direct filiation. Aryballuses are missing or rare, ornithomorphic dishes seldom found, etc.; on the contrary, we have seen how multiple and close the ties are between this pottery and that of the Chincha-Atacama period. Chiriguano pottery, in relation to that of Cuzco, is in a situation analogous to that of northwestern Argentina: on an Andean but original base, influences from Cuzco have been superposed. This Inca action on the Chicha is attested to even today by /428/ the presence among the Chiriguano of footed vessels of the purest Inca type and apodal ones of the same origin. Arising from the same influence, one may add certain decorative motifs, with which I have already dealt.

A [531] [171] [415] Arawak and Amazonian tradition is scarcely represented, except by footed bowls (compoteras), vessels with a ribbed belly, those with a body in the shape of a truncated cone and a subspherical belly, and perhaps by some motifs (T-shaped figures, Plate XXXVIII, 1).

The conclusion of this chapter will be: there exists today and for some years to come a civilization which, closely related to that of the Chicha, continues an art earlier than that of the Inca but influenced by them. May this fact make archeologists cautious!

Chapter VII

Calabashes

C 531 462 [323] The second art in which the Chiriguano excel is pyrography and engraving on calabashes. When pottery-making was an essentially feminine activity, pyrography was the province of the men. Nordenskiöld (9, pp. 233-236) thinks, completely wrongly it seems to me, that pyrography is of Andean origin. He advances in support of this opinion the advantages that knowledge of metal offers to this art. Nevertheless, the populations of the

C 114 531 171 174

000

C 531 171 /429 cont./

(Boman, 2, Vol. II, Plate LXXV, Fig. 186 c) reappears nearly identical on the pretty calabash of Plate LXII, 2.

C D 531 171 I can give no better argument in favor of the close analogy between the calabashes of the Andean region and those of the modern Chiriguano than by publishing the calabash of Plate LXII, 3 a and b, found in Diaguite territory in Catamarca province ("La Quebrada," Valle del Cajón). Its decoration is composed of incised and finely reticulated bands on a blackened background. The hooks which leave from the circle

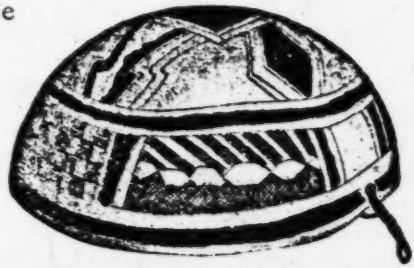


Fig. 84. Incised and pyrographed calabash. Prov.: Caratindi (Igüembé Valley). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

engraved on the top of the calabash and the sides of the latter strangely recall analogous motifs we have seen on Chiriguano specimens.

C 531 171 The spiral, which seems to have been a motif especially dear to the pyrographers of northwestern Argentina and the Atacama Desert, does not occur on any of the specimens in my collections, if one does not want to consider as rudiments of spirals or as degenerated spirals the hooks we see on some Chiriguano calabashes (Plate LXI, 2). It is interesting to ascertain that the spiral and the voluted triangle of Andean calabashes are typologically closely related to analogous motifs which the Chiriguano women of the upper Pilcomayo paint on their vessels. If these designs have been better preserved in pottery than in pyrography, it is doubtless due to the fact that the first art has remained closer to its origins. The women, who have the monopoly of it, are more conservative than the men, who decorate the calabashes.

C [323] [462]

/438 cont./

323 286 171 The contrast between a highly evolved pottery and a still rudimentary art of weaving is characteristic of the Indians of the tropical and subtropical regions of South America, at least for those who can pass for being relatively civilized, such as the Arawak and the Karib /Carib/.

291 301

Fig. 95. Headband (tsumbi). Prov.: Yumbía. (1/5 nat. size.)

/446 cont./

285 171 This information needs to be completed. The technique called wicker work was apparently known to the ancient Diaguite. A vessel from one of the Andean valleys in Tucuman province bears imprinted on its base impressions left by a tray or basket in wicker work, upon which the potter had placed this receptacle when the clay was still soft (Fig. 102). This discovery did not surprise me: already, and for a long time, I had supposed that this manner of plaiting baskets was not foreign to the peoples of the Andes. How otherwise could one explain the occurrence of wicker work among the half-breeds and Indians of Tarija department, the Araucan and Chiriguano Indians of the upper Pilcomayo?

Guiana forms a second area of dispersion of this technique without, however, its being very common there. The small bags in which the Patamona put the cotton with which they provide the arrows of their /447/ blowguns before blowing them are in wicker work, the same as the pegalls with the so-called "armadillo" motifs of the Arawak, Patamona, and Makuši /Macusi/. The baskets in the form of carafes or bottles of the Siusí /Siusi/ and Kauá /Caua/ of the Aiary River are also good examples of this technique. (On the modalities and distribution of this technique, see Roth, p. 140 and Plates 104, 105, and 106, and pp. 329-331.)

The distribution of this technique is wider in North America. It is known to the Indians of eastern Canada and abounds in /Fig. 102 appears here/ southern Mexico and in Central America. It appears scattered here and there on the Pacific Coast and in the interior basin.

Most of the fish weirs, the enclosures for stopping game during hunting drives, and the coarse baskets serving for the transport of numerous objects are made in this technique.

285 323 If one examines the baskets of this type among the Chiriguano, one will doubtless be struck by the fact that several of them assume the form of pottery pieces. This resemblance is further accentuated by the fact that some (see Plate LXXV, 2 /see p. 299/) are provided with lateral handles in imitation of vessels. The interplay between these two industries is evident.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C
482
854
C
Ce
531
323

Carrying devices.—In contrast to other *Guarani*, the *Chiriguano* do not have basketry knapsacks; women use large carrying nets with a tumpline. Babies are carried in a woven sling, straddling their mother's hip.

FIGURE 58.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* pottery decorations. (After Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 32.)

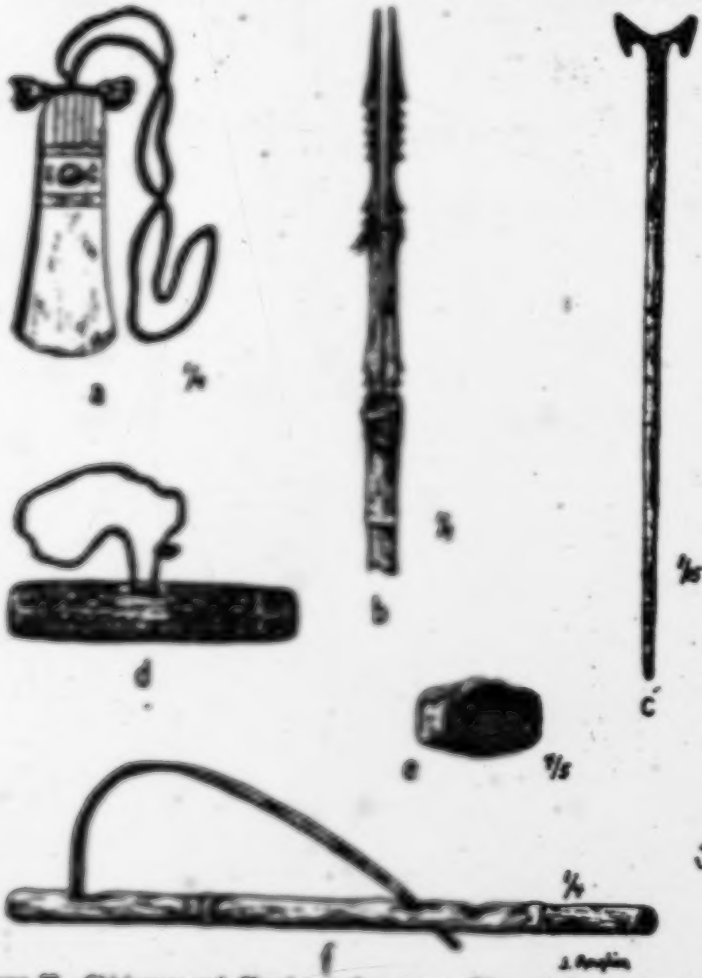
2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chané SF8

MANUFACTURES

C 323 531 C [171]

Pottery.—*Chiriguano* pottery is, for the beauty of its painted decoration and the variety of its forms, outstanding in modern South America. The mixed origin of *Chiriguano* culture is reflected in the two types of earthenware vessels. The plain pots for cooking and the large jars for chicha, which did not differ from similar vessels of the Paraguayan *Guarani*, were ornamented with fingernail impressions (pl. 41, *bottom, right*).



C Ce 301 C Ce 411 C Ce 412

C Ce 534 1/5 531 301

Ce 301 531

Ce 524

J. Hopkins

PLATE 38.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* manufactures. *a*, Silver pincers used as breast ornaments; *b*, bird arrow point; *c*, handle to wooden spade; *d*, wooden whistle used as ornament; *e*, tin labret with mosaic inlay; *f*, *Chané* pan-shooter. (*a*, *d*, *e*, Redrawn from Rosen, 1924; *b*, *c*, *f*, from Nordenskiöld, 1920, figs. 20, 15, 5, 34.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Omaguaca SI 9

C 323 172 177 531
C 415 531
O 172 415 531
C 415 531

The de luxe vases and dishes, typologically related to vessels in the archeological pottery of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina, were decorated with distinctly Andean patterns (figs. 58, 60). The most common vessel is the yambui, a subglobular vase with ears, in which chicha was served. The motifs are mainly geometrical and most of them

FIGURE 60.—*Chiriguano pottery.* Specimen at *top, right,* a *Nambuaua* archeological specimen included for comparison. (Approximately 1/7 actual size.) (Redrawn from Métraux, 1930 b, fig. 70, pls. 35, 37, 44.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

are based on a triangle surmounted by a scroll, which is multiplied in countless variations.

Women potters (pl. 41, *top, left,* and *bottom, left*) tempered the clay with crushed potsherds and built up their vases by coiling. They painted them with several kinds of ocher and with black obtained from resin.

Spinning and weaving.—Among the *Chiriguano*, wool is more commonly used than cotton for textiles, but *Chané* fabrics are generally of cotton. The fibers are spun with a drop spindle weighted with a clay whorl (pl. 42, *center*). Although garments are in part Andean in shape, the loom remains of the vertical type. Formerly, indigo was the favorite native dye; today aniline dyes have entirely replaced it. The ornamentation of the fabrics is limited to a few stripes.

Netting.—Fishing nets and carrying nets are made by means of a wooden gage in a reef-knot technique.

Basketry.—Fans, round baskets with overlapping lids, and sieves are twilled with palm leaves in the best Guiana fashion, but wickerwork basketry is very common. No large baskets for carrying or storing food are made.

Gourds.—The painted, incised, or fire-engraved (fig. 61) gourds (*Lagenaria siceraria*) used as cups are, after pottery, the best expressions of *Chiriguano* art. The motifs are mainly geometrical, with occasional realistic representations.

FIGURE 61.—*Chané* calabashes. *Left:* Specimen with lid (approximately ¼ actual size). *Right:* Pyrograved specimen (approximately ⅓ actual size). (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1930, fig. 30 and Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 62.)

291
323
516

769
415

323
516
291

PLATE 61.—Chiriguano pottery and urn burials. Top, left and below: Pottery making. Top, right: Urn burials at Caipipendi, Chaco, Bolivia. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[End Plate 2]

/101 cont./

469 bulls, deer, etc. If all this carving were woman's work, it
415 would have but one name, Iarusama, but since it is man's
531 work, each figure has the name of the quadruped, biped, or reptile that it represents (2).

(825) 2. Thus they say Machuru baengafo, figure of a lizard, Taimbe baengafo, figure of a dog. Even the men call the figure of a jaguar or a deer: Iarusama.

/102/ With this second task the work can be considered finished. Days or weeks are employed depending on the greater or lesser quantities of the maná. They now color all the
(38) etched figures with ground charcoal and paint the empty spaces
(239) with Urucú, achiote, making them firm with the Tacaglirini, which is abundant everywhere, then singeing them in the flame of the fire so that the pictures will never lose their shine and luster or the painting of carbon and urucú come off (1).

237 1. The Tacaglirini is a species of ant which is
323 common in cold weather. Its length is not
825 over half a centimeter and its thickness three. It moves about the small branches of certain small trees, where it leaves its speckled whitish excrement. All potters provide themselves with an abundance of this material.

Pottery

323 I shall now go on to consider women's work, limiting
(462 myself to the most important, such as clay vessels and textiles.
317 For the former the Chiriguano woman provides herself beforehand with the best clay, which she knows very well and even
484 brings from long distances, if it is not found in the territory of the tribe. Naturally the potter not only wishes to avoid the loss of her labor, but also, insofar as she can, she wishes to

/187 cont./

323 avoid the loss of her reputation as a worker or master of an art which provides her with money and subsistence, despite the low price of the vessels (2).

[348] [317]

2. There exist some Christians who in their area prohibit the unfortunate Chiriguano women from removing clay from some good veins. For this and so many other reasons, as has been observed by the illustrious Father Pierini, the savage sees in the white, not a brother, but an enemy.

Before going on to the manufacture of the vessel, jar, or plate, the potter provides herself with a potsherd or several of these, depending on the size of the work which she wishes to do: if she cannot find it in the corners of her house because there are no broken pots, she borrows one from her neighbors, and if they do not have any or do not wish to do her the favor, she breaks one of the inferior and smaller ones. In the missions or wherever there are ovens to fire tiles and bricks, the potters can do without a potsherd: they find pieces of well-fired bricks or tiles around the ovens, and with this the primary material is complete.

/188/ Then she submerges an appropriate quantity of clay in water, as much as may be needed for the piece she plans, and she leaves it there until it is completely softened and can be kneaded better than wax. Meanwhile she reduces to the finest powder the potsherd, brick, or tile which she has managed to get, sifts it in the finest sieve, Unupe, that she possesses: next she kneads the softened clay, making sure that it does not harden too much, puts in it all the sifted powder, and mixes it so that it forms a perfect union with the clay, and leaves the lump thus prepared until the next day.

The potter, after having cleaned her house and her person as well, and having fed her children, sits down near the receptacle which contains the raw material, extracts an amount of clay, and begins to knead it, shaping it into the

/183 cont./

323 form of a sausage or thick meatball eight or ten centimeters in diameter, and with this first effort begins the piece in the cleanest and flattest space (1).

1. The lump for the piece is kneaded on a sheepskin or goatskin, on top of a potsherd, or on a piece of wood.

415 If a piece is of small dimensions, she finishes it rapidly.
323 Plates, for example, are made very fast, and they can make up to ten in one day; the vessel for keeping water can be made in half a day, but the ones they call Yambui, a large vessel with a narrow mouth, and Ñae, one with a wide mouth, or cántaro, as they say around here, neither can nor should be finished in one day, both because they are large and because it is necessary to work with care and skill (2).

323

2. The base of every piece is made out of a portion of clay which they flatten out like a tortilla, on which they make a small rim turned upward, and to this they keep joining the clay in the manner described. The burnishing, which they do with a maize cob, seems very insignificant, but is more than necessary. Without this operation the cántaro would not hold water, much less would it hold chicha.

One who hurried in the manufacture of large pots would never finish them, because the soft clay would always fall down; for this reason the procedure is a slow one. When the base and somewhat more has been made, they suspend the work for a while, so that it may dry through the action of the wind or breezes; in the meantime she continues to polish it, first with a maize cob, Atíguje, and later with a special shell, Inta, and finally with a special stone about three centimeters in

/183 cont./
323 size, which they /184/ call Itaisi, with which the polishing of the pieces is completed (1).

1. The operations which they also perform with the shell and with the stone are for the purpose of giving fineness to the vessels and of closing any chinks.

[824] When they leave the piece which has been begun, they cover it with leaves of the Cansíro, palma Christi, and at the time when they begin it again they dampen the edges with a small rag. This rag serves also for dampening the piece before polishing it with any of the above-mentioned tools. When it is finished and before it has been exposed to the air very long, they polish it with the Itaisi, and, when it is quite dry they fire it if it is not to have pictures on it.

531 Every painted piece of pottery is called Sacuarama. The
[192] paintings are white, black, and red. The white is called Tovanti, the black Itau, and the red Itaurucu. They grind
[237] up the three colors separately, dissolve them in water, and apply them with a slender feather from a chicken or other bird. The figures are varied; those of trees, animals, and men are rare; they are lines, unintelligible groupings. Without knowing it themselves, they follow a general system, and some of them make fine pieces, especially for storing water.

323 In order to fire them they select a still day, and a big
[843] piece is carried to the forest, because there is plenty of firewood there and also to avoid having pregnant women coming close to watch, because their presence, according to what they
[237] say, would make the vessel break. They pile firewood around it and light it, taking care that the fire does not go out before it is burning well; sometimes instead of firewood they also use dry cow-manure, and it seems that this is very good for even-
[237] ness of the baking. If the pot has paintings, they let it cool a little when they take it out of the fire and then quickly pass over the pictures the excrement of the Taraguirisi, which melts with

/184 cont./

323 the force of the heat and remains over the paintings like a
[237] binder, without which they would disappear the first time it was used. The Taragūirisi remains on the vessels like a light coat of rubber and the white of the Tovanti becomes opaque (2).

2. When a pot is slightly damaged, they heat it in the fire and on the inside and outside apply the Taragūirisi, and it is as good as before.

/185/ Textiles

286 Another important occupation of the Chiriguano woman
462 is weaving the Asoya for her husband, brother, or son, and the
[294] Cutama for herself. For this she prepares the wool or cotton, spins it opposite the way the mestizo and European women spin, and then bleaches it and finally dyes it.

286 In order to weave, they set up two tall, slender forked sticks in the house, with two sticks across, one above and one below, and arrange or place the threads vertically, and then sit on the ground and begin to run the woof through, thread by thread, which they hit with a pointed stick of soto wood called Piuca. This, to be sure, is time consuming, if the threads are fine, but, on the other hand, the work is very durable.

291 Ponchos, Asoya, are of two types, one of wool and one
286 of cotton; the first are common from the right bank of the
231 Parapiti River southward and the second from the left bank
249 northward, because in the first region sheep are plentiful, and
[184] in the second, cotton fields. Formerly, before the whites intro-
[177] duced cattle into the region, cotton was cultivated everywhere, and from its product the men were dressed for ceremonies in their Tíru and the women in the Mandu, which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce
273
415
531

Fig. 38. Vessel for serving maize-beer from the Chané. Rio Parapiti. R. M. P. 313. 1/4.

XXII.

Pottery.

C
Ce
323

The earthenware vessels of the Chiriguano and Chané are made in the usual way by building up layers of strips of clay[1]). Stones, mussel-shells and empty corn-cobs are used for smoothing the vessels. The last mentioned leave characteristic marks. It looks as if some comb-shaped instrument had been employed. These marks diminish the smoothness of the vessel, so that it slips out of the hand less easily. Corn-cobs are therefore more especially used in the making of cooking-pots and large utensils. Judging by the pottery which I collected on my journeys, the practice of using corn-cobs in this way would seem to be derived from the mountain civilization. I have seen vessels marked in this way found at Ojo de Agua in the most northern part of Argentina, where they revealed the fact that the Indians that used these vessels had maize. On the other hand, they are lacking on the pottery which I found in my excavations at Caipipendi and in the whole of N. E. Bolivia. They are also lacking in Misiones in Argentina.

C
Ce
[177]

[1]) See Part I

Schwedenskiöld E-8½(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C
Ce
323
415
[531]

The Chiriguano, as well as the Chané at Rio Itiyuro, have elaborate pottery of richly varied shapes and often beautifully ornamented. The Chané at Rio Parapiti have plainer pottery. The development of the ceramic art in the various tribes I got to know has differed greatly. The Chima and the Tambopata-Guarayo who are pretty certainly identical with them, are the only Indians I visited who have no earthenware vessels. The pottery of some tribes is a work of art, while others only make the most necessary household utensils. This is not necessarily connected with the tribe's state of civilization generally. Thus in several respects the Yuracire stand as high as the Chiriguano but the former have very poor pottery; the latter highly developed pottery. If such peoples were studied archaeologically, the former would yield hardly any remains while the latter would yield many beautiful specimens. Wrong conclusions might then be easily drawn as to the stage of civilization of the two tribes.

C
Ce
171
415
323

Below will be found indicated how many different types of earthen vessels are found among the tribes I visited. It will be seen that the Chiriguano and Chané (Rio Itiyuro) have by far the largest number of shapes of earthen vessels.[1]) This is simply due to their having experienced such

C
Ce
[114]
[126]

[1]) On entering a Chiriguano or a Chané hut, one sees a lot of earthen vessels of which the majority are unpainted. All the vessels of various shape and ornamentation which I have collected are from several hundred Chiriguano and Chané huts. It is a selection out of many thousand vessels which I have made and it shows how pottery varies within the tribes. In most Indian huts there will be found but a small number of different types. Unless we bear in mind that the collection is a selection, it leaves the impression that the pottery of these Indians is of much more varied shape than is really the case. What I remark here of my collection of pottery holds good of nearly all collections in ethnographical museums. When we see a cupboard full of various articles from an Indian tribe, we must not think that all these things are used by every family in the tribe. It is properly a collection of all the different objects used by a large number of individuals.

8:Nordenskiöld E-8/4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c
Ce
171*
323
415

strong influence from the area of civilization in the west and above all the south-west.

Over fifty types.	*Over ten types. but under fifty.*	*Over two types. but under ten.*
Chiriguano.	Chané. (Rio Parapiti)	Chacobo.
Chané. (Rio Itiyuro)	Choroti.	Chimáne.
	Ashluslay.	Yuracáre.
	Toba.	Churápa.
	Mataco.	Pauserna.
	Tapiete.	Guarayos.
		Huari.
		Huanyam.
		Cavina.

I am unable here to give an account of all the different shapes of earthen vessels found among the Chiriguano and Chané. Some of them have been depicted by OUTES but there are many more. Those depicted here should, however, give some idea of the variations in these Indians' pottery. Some types are local and thus characteristic of certain villages; others are certainly individual. Thus I have seen different women in the same village turn out very different vessels. Some women are noted for making specially fine earthenware. They are celebrated for their pottery far outside their own village.

c
Ce
[554]

The Chiriguano and Chané use earthen vessels for boiling and roasting their food, as receptacles for food and other things, for carrying water, for the serving of food, for the burial of the dead and to whirl the spindle on when spinning. (Only the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.)

c
Ce
415
ce
[283]

We see that a large number of the earthen vessels here are provided with ears or handles. In Part I of this work I claim to have proved that the ear is a culture-element derived from the Andine area of civilization.

C Ce 415 *171 [252] Only a few vessels are provided with ~~spouts~~ lips in rims which here seem to be an idea obtained by the Indians from the Whites. Bowls with holes in the bottom which are used for steaming have already been mentioned in the foregoing. This applies also to bowls for the roasting of maize.

The Chané on the Rio Parapiti have small plates which they sometimes use in spinning. I have not seen the like elsewhere. Occasionally one sees, among the most civilized C Ce [177] Chiriguano and Chané, fire-pans for holding hot water. (Fig. 43,21). They must have obtained the idea from the Whites.

C Ce ●323 The Chiriguano and Chané understand the art of painting earthenware before burning.[1]) I have already, in Part I, endeavoured to show the geographical distribution of this invention. Whether it was known to the Chané and Chiriguano before they settled in this tract cannot be decided. The pottery I found in the archaeological excavations at Caipipendi is unpainted.

C Ce [184] The Chané at Rio Itiyuro sometimes paint the edge of earthen vessels after burning with resin of palo santo. This is never seen among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Parapiti. As such painting is common among several tribes in the Chaco, it is possible that the Chané at Rio Itiyuro got the idea from there. The Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro often varnish the painted vessels after burning with a kind of gum called by the Chiriguano — staragüirisi.

The Chiriguano and Chané also ornament their earthenware by finger-impressions. This method of ornamentation has an eastern extension in S. America. A map showing its distribution is published in Part I.

The ornamentation painted on earthenware is seen in the illustrations. The Chané at Rio Parapiti usually have very plain ornamentation.

C Ce [237] [1]) For this purpose brushes of Aguti hair are used. (See also WIENER P. 82).

[erratum corrected. See errata sheet p. 245.]

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Maps of the geographical distribution of various kinds of ornamentation can scarcely be drawn up at present with the exception of a few very characteristic specimens, e. g. the spiral. This is found on earthen vessels from the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, and from the Chiriguano, but not from the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.

The colours used by the Chiriguano and the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro are black, red, brown and white. The white is caolin, the red, brown and black are obtained by pulverizing schists of these colours. The Chiriguano sometimes mix Urucu with oil. Vessels are probably painted with this mixture only after burning.

Pottery is undoubtedly the chief art practised by the Chiriguano and Chané. We may, indeed, assert that it is the only one that is still of very great importance to these Indians. It is an interesting fact that, though these tribes have been in close contact with missionaries and other Whites for nearly 400 years, and though their country has been flooded with European goods, their pottery has been influenced very little by foreign culture. It is still genuine Indian. This holds good not only of its shape, but to an equally great extent of its ornamentation. It shows how conservative the Indian is towards anything that cannot make easier for him the struggle for life. A cultivated plant can spread in a few years over a large part of a continent, whereas one will not take the trouble to adopt a foreign ornamentation or foreign types of household furniture. This does not imply that the pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané *now has the appearance that it had 400 years ago.* It has changed, as the Indians themselves told me, but the change has chiefly consisted in ringing the changes on old Indian patterns. How and how much it has changed, can only be proved archæologically. Unfortunately, I do not possess the archæological material. What I found in the country of these Indians probably goes very much further back in time than 400 years, and has very little in common with

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
323
177

the ceramics of the tribes here dealt with. The ceramic art we find among the Chiriguano and Chané is, as we saw, strongly influenced by the culture-zone in the west. There is a great similarity, as I said, to the pottery that has been found in the Humahuaca Valley. It is especially the finely painted pottery which, in shape and ornamentation, recalls the pottery of the culture-zone in the west. The simple cooking-pots ornamented with finger-impressions more closely resemble what is found in the old Guarani territory in Misiones. The main difference is that the pots used by the Chiriguano and Chané are provided with ears (handles), which as a rule are lacking in the pottery from Misiones. The ear, as I mentioned, is a western culture-element. I think the explanation may be, that when the Chiriguano conquered the districts they now occupy, their own women generally or always made earthenware with finger-impressed ornamentation. As we know, the immigrant Chiriguanos carried off masses of women, presumably from Chané for the most part, but probably also from other tribes. The women abducted from the parts bordering on the old kingdom of the Incas were no doubt skilful potters, and afterwards taught their art to their daughters. It is this that now continues in the finer pottery, especially in the vessels used at great drinking-bouts.

C
[727]

It is very evident, as we see, that the Chiriguano and Chané pottery has been strongly under the influence of the culture-area in the west. It would be of great interest to show how far it has also been influenced by the Arawak pottery at Mojos. This cannot, however, be conclusively proved. Not even among the Chané at Rio Parapiti can any such influence be traced. This is probably because it is so long since the Chané migrated to their present district.

Ce
[184]

It may be asked how it is that the Chané at Rio Parapiti have pottery which is plainly less influenced by the mountain civilization than that of the Chiriguano and the

StNordenskiöld I-5 4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
323
177
Ce
[184]

Chané at Rio Itiyuro. This may be owing to their poverty.[1]) Maize-beer does not flow so abundantly there as it does among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro. The finely painted vessels are intended for festivals, and it is especially on those occasions that one sees double pitchers and other types reminiscent of mountain-culture pottery. The Chané at Rio Parapiti dwell rather remotely, at a considerable distance from the culture-area in the west. Their calabashes, too, are more plainly ornamented than those of the Chiriguano and the other Chané. This may be due partly to poverty and partly to their isolated habitation.

---

[1]) I regret that I did not study the question of the supply in different places of good clay suitable, for earthenware. Where the clay has to be brought from afar, it is unlikely that the pottery will be highly developed.

C
Ce
[117]

/159 cont./

things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among 323
the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78).

From Maringay I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station 361
of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, 797
it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the [114]
grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of [342]
Mimosaceae, cacti, small algorrobas, and other fine-leaved [137]
trees. This woodland is seldom so dense than one cannot easily
get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa, 132

415
531

Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, 132
however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth.
Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the [731]
Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger.

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and 133
across the great plain of Boyuovis, over the country that was 648
the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuqui, they
fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the
right to rob all weaker peoples.

After my excursion to Maringay I left the land of the 114
Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already
described in this book, to the Choroti and Ashluslay.

/192 cont./ C Ce 524

On the Rio Pilcomayo three pins were used on each side. The distance between the pins of the opponent was three ells. Each pin consisted of a shelled ear of maize, and the distance between them was supposed to be a hand span (1). The balls Ee [804] [323]

1. Longest distance between thumb and little finger.

used are made of fired clay and are hollow, with small, rattling pellets inside (Fig. 99). /Plate 17 appears here./

C Ce 524

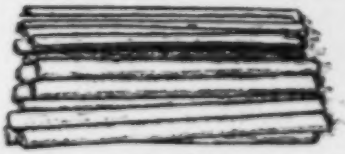


Fig. 95.
Little sticks for the tshûcareta game. 2/9.

/193/ The Life of the Indian Children C Ce 855

If one speaks of the life in the villages, one must not forget the children. The children play, but also help the adults. They are reared like the Choroti and Ashluslay children. They spend their lives in happy freedom, without thrashings and harsh words.

The Chiriguano and Chané children have a number of games and toys which one never sees the children of the whites in Bolivia use, and all of which seem to me to be genuinely Indian. Ee 524

First of all, the Indian children play the games of the adults that I have already mentioned. Of the Choroti and Ashluslay games, they are familiar with the hockey-like game of ball, which the Chiriguano call "tâca." I did not see it played among the Chané. As goals they use pits, and sometimes they hit the Ee 857 526 [171]

[text continues on p. 47] ball with rackets.

/234/

Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

Ee 178 527 273 [538] [805]

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Ee 273 415 527 531

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

Ee 531 [527] [323] [462]

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

Ee [101]

/242/

000

Chapter Sixteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

C
Ca

Art and Industry

285
323
177

The Chiriguano and Chané are tribes whose art-industry is on a very high level. If one visits one of the huts of the white settlers in these regions, one will not see many products of native industry, not much of their own culture. I know of absolutely nothing that these people are capable of doing which can compare with the pottery and the weaving technique of the Indians. One thing is certain, the more "civilized" the Indians become, the less they accomplish in the way of art and industry. They do not learn much more from the whites than how to make and drink liquor. Indian art-industry is gradually disappearing here, the more the Indians come in contact with the whites, but it is not transformed. It remains largely purely Indian until its final destruction. One industry, however, is now in the hands of the whites, namely, the metal industry. The silver ornaments which, for example, the Chiriguano and Chané use are made by the smiths in the villages of the mountain regions. The half-white or Quichua /Quechua/ Indian population which we come across in the mountains west of the land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is quite skilled artistically. The weaving technique in particular is very highly developed there. The Chiriguano and Chané undoubtedly learned a great deal from the west.

C
Ca
[273]

C
Ca
325
171
439
000

Ec
284
177
C
534
171
291
413

Thus we find the serére *pipe*[1] *(Fig. 120) characteristic of* the Chiriguano in collections from the coast of Peru (1); /Plate

1. Serére also occur among the Lengua, Ashluslay, Chiriguano, Chané, Churípa, and Yuracáre.

19 appears here/ /243/ the pin for fastening women's clothing

[2] [A flute-like musical instrument--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 94]

C /243 cont./
171 (Fig. 130) is typically Peruvian in form, as is the silver hair re-
291 mover, of which, however, I have no specimen. The festive
[539] costume of the man (Fig. 81) also seems to me to have a Peruvian
[413] cut. It is possible, however, that the influence of Peru did not
197 manifest itself among the Chiriguano until after the conquest of
the plateau by the Spanish.

C Boman (1) has proved that the Chiriguano, or more cor-
131
172
C
[113]

1. Boman: Antiquités de la Région Andine. Vols. 1-2. Paris, 1908.

rectly the Guarani tribe to which these Indians belong, formerly extended much farther south than they do now. He found there the grave urns so characteristic of them.

C The material culture of the Chané
Ce Indians does not, in general, differ very
171 much from the culture of the Chiriguano.
Ce The Chané, on the other hand, who are
[323] more isolated on the Rio Parapiti, have a completely independent pottery which we do not find again among the Chiriguano. If we compare the remaining products of Chané and Chiriguano industry, we do not find any greater differences than we find in the various Chiriguano villages themselves.

Fig. 120. Sarée pipe. Chiriguano. 1/4.

C
[534]
[531]
C
[184]

For example, if one collects clay vessels in the Igurumbe
● 323 valley and in the Caipipendi valley, both of which valleys are
184 occupied by Chiriguano, one inevitably finds that the pottery, though strongly related in ornamentation and form, nevertheless /264/ also varies locally. I have already spoken of the individual variations (p. 85).

Ea /244 cont./

Of the various industries, pottery stands particularly high among the Chiriguano and Chané (see the illustrations). They are also skilled weavers and decorators of calabashes. Basketry occurs, but chiefly in the northern part of their region. Feather work is no longer done at the present time. Only ropes and fish nets, and on the Río Parapití hammocks and carrying nets, are made with caraguata bast. The bags of this material, so characteristic of the Chaco tribes, are never made by the Chiriguano and Chané, but are occasionally acquired by trade between the tribes.

Among the Chané on the Río Itiyuro I followed the making

Fig. 121. Clay vessel. Chiriguano. Caipipendi valley. 1/4.

of pots. The clay is ground and mixed with pounded, fired potsherds, so that the vessel does not fall apart during the firing. The clay vessels are built up out of rolls in customary Indian fashion. For smoothing a mussel shell or a maize cob without kernels, as well as a narrow little bamboo stick, is used. The maize cobs make parallel, fine scratches (1). The bamboo stick

1. From similar scratches on clay vessels which one finds in archaeological diggings, one can see that the makers of the clay vessels had maize. I have seen this, for

Ce 323 531 ee [237] [413]

/245 cont./

The coarser vessels, as well as all cooking vessels, are decorated with only finger imprints and clay loops put on them. The finer vessels are subsequently painted (see Pl. 19 /see p. 93/). /246/ With a brush made of agouti hairs (1) the decorations are

1. Dasyprocta.

Ce [386]

painted in white, dark brown, and black. The white pigment is a kind of earth (kaolin); the others are made out of slate and sandstone. They paint freehand and compose the decorations from memory, not from models. Wood, maize cobs, and cow excrement are heaped around the vessel. The fuel is lighted and must burn with a vigorous fire for a quarter of an hour or, if the vessel is large, even longer (Fig. 122).

Ce 323

Ce [314] [824]

If the vessel has been painted, it is varnished with resin, "taraviruti," which is collected from a Mimosoideae, and with resin from the palo santo (see p. 93 /untranslated; Palosanto is identified there as Bulnesia Sarmienti/). The former gives a yellowish polish; the latter looks like greenish-black glaze.

Ce [789]

When a pot is made, it is baptized before it has cooled, so that water will boil rapidly in it.

C 531 323 386

In Maringay's village individual vessels were painted with a mixture of urucú or some other color and a vegetable fat. I was unable to see how this latter was prepared.

Ee 286

The Chiriguano and Chané women are skillful weavers. The material for the Indian weaving is, as a rule, cotton and sometimes sheep wool.

Ee [439] [177]

Since large quantities of cloth are imported by the whites, native weaving is disappearing more and more. Thus, I did not see any looms among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley, and native woven goods were very rare.

Ee 286 531 [797]

As a rule, all the weaving of these Indians is without ornamentation, or else this is very simple. The girls in the missions learn from the monks how to embroider all kinds of flowers, such as roses, violets, etc. They do this superbly.

Ee /248 cont./

439 When we present a collection from the Chiriguano and Chané,
177 we must not forget that, through trade between the tribes, they have obtained many things from the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Tapiete; otherwise we would have a mistaken conception of the
Ee great difference /249/ between the material culture of the Chaco tribes named here and the Chiriguano and Chané.

171 If we compare the material culture of the Choroti and Chané
Ee with that of the Choroti and Ashluslay likewise described here,
[285] we must remember the following. The Chiriguano and Chané produce basket work -- the
c Choroti and Ashluslay never.
Ee The former know how to paint
[323] clay vessels before firing,
Ee which is unknown to the latter.
[28] The Chiriguano and Chané never make bags out of
c
[415] →
[531]

Fig. 126.
Decorated calabash bowl.
Chiriguano. Tacuibe. 1/5.

caraguata, etc. If, moreover, we compare all the products made by the Chané and Chiriguano with those of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we find that most of them are entirely differ-
c ent. The Chaco Indians probably learned how to make certain
[177] things, such as the wefire (Fig. 120) and huiramimbi pipes (Figs. 36 /omitted in the manuscript/ and 80), from the Chiriguano,
Ee but this is relatively insignificant.

177 We see here how two cultures can exist side by side for hundreds of years without mingling.

Ee If we follow the Rio Pilcomayo down toward the mountains,
101 we first come across the Quichua /Quechua/ culture, then come the Chiriguano and Chané, and after that the Chaquenic /Chaco/ culture which embraces equally the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Ashluslay, as well as the Lengua and other tribes in the Paraguay Chaco. These three cultures are entirely different.

411
[226] two barbed prongs made of some hard wood (figs. 213 and 214). The
arrow in fig. 210, which has only one prong, is used both in hunting and
[124] for fish-shooting. The Chiriguano also use fish arrows pointed with a
number of cactus spines.[1]

The fish spear has in later times become a very scarce implement with the Chiriguano. The only specimen obtained, as far as I know, is the one brought home by me, and now belonging to the Rikemuseum in Stockholm (figs. 215 and 216). Erland Nordenskiöld, who has compiled
[114] a map of the distribution of the fish spear in South America, has been kind enough to inform me that the only mention he has come across in the literature, concerning its occurrence among the Chiriguano, is to be found in the account of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's unsuccessful expedition against these Indians.[2]

The fish spear I came upon among the Chiriguano in the neighbourhood of San Luis, has a 260 cm long shaft, made of some light kind of wood, very free from knots,[3] at one end of which two barbed wooden prongs are lashed on by means of a thin leather thong. The full lengths of the prongs are, respectively, 32.1 and 31.5 cm, and they project 20.0 cm from the shaft. One of the points has, however, been of a somewhat greater length, but has got blunted off. Both points have seven barbs on their outer sides. To ensure a perfectly firm fastening of the prongs, the free end of the shaft has been wrapped with a piece of cloth, and over this the prongs have been lashed on.

●523 I have already enumerated the various kinds of Chiriguano household
[462] furniture. Among them, clay vessels hold a very important place. The Chiriguano are clever potters. It is only the women, though, who work at this industry.

In fig. 217 we see a potter's workshop, with a number of finished and unfinished pieces of earthenware. At the hut entrance is sitting a woman, who, with a piece of stick, is giving a finish to a large pot, which has been built up of rolls of clay, and is still unburnt.

[126] In figs. 218—225 I have reproduced some typical Chiriguano clay vessels that I collected at Agua-yrenda. These vessels are particularly well made. The peculiar rim warts seen on the hanging vessel in fig. 225,

---

[1] Nordenskiöld (III), fig. 15 a.
[2] Acosta (II), Part I, Chap. XV.
[3] Unfortunately, during the transportation home, the handle was unknown to me, and then two parts.

323
342

Fig. 142. A pottery workshop (Chiriguano, South Bolivia, Photo E. v. R.)

[P. 216 is blank]

323 counterparts of which are found on many ancient Peruvian clay vessels, have been more fully described by me in »En förgången värld».[1] The cord by which this vessel was suspended passed round the edge, and then upwards, between the points of the rim warts. At each wart a hole has been pierced through the rim of the vessel, but these perforations are so very small that they cannot very well have been used for fixing any string by which to hang up the vessel.

Besides the clay pots here reproduced — often graceful of shape and beautifully painted — there are also plain, unpainted clay vessels for cooking and other kitchen purposes. Chiriguano ceramics are of an exceedingly great variety as to form, and many of the shapes are identical with those of clay vessels found in ancient Indian graves and in the ground of ancient dwelling-sites in those regions of the Andes that border on the present Chiriguano country.

824 415 Next to clay vessels, bottles and bowls made of calabash may be said to predominate among the household furniture of the Chiriguano. The bowls are often provided with pokerwork ornament (fig. 226).

273 On festivals — and also usually, though not always — the Chiriguano drink an intoxicating liquor (»chicha», in Chiriguano: »cangui»), which they prepare from maize. In [415] huge wooden mortars the maize is [531] pounded to flour, which is poured into large clay vessels filled with → water. This mixture is made to boil, and when it has cooled down, lumps of chewed maize dough are put into it to produce fermentation. These masticated mouthfuls of maize are usually allowed to dry in the sun, before use, and are then frequently spread on a [114] bedstead (fig. 190). This method of preparing maize beer naturally

Fig. 218. A jug for holding maize beer. Earthenware. Bottom part and inside unpainted. The rest painted brownish yellow, with ornaments in dark brown (marked in black) and red (marked in thin lines). Chiriguano. Agasyrenda. Bolivia. 8/8. Riksm. 03. 3. 837.

[1] von Rosen (1), p. 344 et seq.

846 [844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 756 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 763 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [931] Choroti, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a [171] rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 648 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 134.
[2] Nordenskiöld (18).

C 764 415

/53 cont./

described by him there is one which is 92 cm. high and has an aperture at the top 70 cm. in diameter. Another is 110 cm. high and its maximum diameter measures 85 cm. In 1845, in Capirendá, Wedell found such vessels with a height of 120 cm. and a maximum diameter of 100 cm. for the wall of the belly.

C 415 126

13. Various Vessels with No Indication Regarding Their Purpose, from the Collection

I. A. 410 (Chirig.). Ht. 14.5 cm. Max. dia. 8 cm. Apert. 5 cm. (Fig. 81b).

I. A. 411 ("). Ht. 13.5 cm. Length 21 cm. (Fig. 81a).

C 415 126

I. A. 597 (Izozó). " 10.5 cm. Max. dia. 16.7 cm. Apert. 15 cm. (Fig. 70).

I. A. 599 (") " 9 cm. " " 13 cm. " 10 cm. (Fig. 70a).

C Ce 415 177

We have no evidence regarding the purpose of these four vessels which are different in form from the other types of vessels. We must regard the small, double vessel I. A. 411 (cf. Fig. 81a /see p.144/) as a special result of the mixture of various, but different cultural elements. The way in which the two small dishes are joined to form a double vessel /54/ corresponds to ancient Peruvian models, while the form of the handle, fitted with a ring, is doubtless an addition of European origin. The whole has the form of a salt cellar and was perhaps made to be sold to the whites for this purpose. We must also consider the vessel I. A. 410 (cf. Fig. 81b /see p.14[illegible]/) as merchandise, while the two vessels I. A. 597 and 599 seem to be manufactured for some use in festivities.

C Ce [439]

Baked Clay Spindle Whorls

C Ca 283 323

The spindle whorls collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó are of baked clay or wood, and the Chiriguano also have some spindles with stone whorls. Because I shall deal with spindle whorls in the chapter on spinning, I wish only to

/54 cont./

C
Ce
283
323

point out here a difference between the baked clay whorls of the Izozó and those of the Chiriguano with regard to their manufacture. The whorls of the latter are made of pieces of clay from any broken vessel, by filing them round and perforating them in the center, while the whorls of the Izozó consist of a small disk with different variations in form, also perforated in the center, but made of baked clay especially for that purpose.

C
Ce
323

Concerning the pottery technique of the Chiriguano and the Chané, we are well instructed by the data given by Nordenskiöld, S. Linné, Métraux (236), and Campana (237).

C
Ce
[113]

236. Nord. 1, pp. 244 and 245. S. Linné: The Technique of South American Ceramics. Göteborg, 1925. Métraux 1, pp. 382-388.

C
[113]

237. Campana (Doménico del), "Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani /Information concerning the Chiriguano/," Archiv per l'antropologia e la etnologia, Florence, Vol. 32 (1902), p. 382.

C
Ce
323
114

Especially noteworthy among these is the description of the manufacture of baked clay vessels by the Chané on the Itiyuru River, which Nordenskiöld studied in its entire procedure. In the book written by Linné, entitled The Technique of South American Ceramics, we find, in addition to the systematic arrangement of the observations made by Nordenskiöld among the Chiriguano and Chané, important data on the results of chemical analyses and microscopic observations which Linné made on the vessels of these Indians. According to this information, the procedure for manufacturing these vessels is the following:

C
Ce
323

The first condition for the manufacture of baked clay vessels is the availability of suitable clay which has sufficient plasticity so that the vessel can be modeled and fired without being broken. Only a clay with special qualities can meet

C
Ce
323

/54 cont./

these two requirements. Generally it is necessary to correct the defects of the available clay, fixing it by the addition of other substances. Thus the Chiriguano and Chané add to the clay pieces of crushed baked clay. The Chiriguano women in Tarapayu like to use as such an additive, which they call "takupe," pieces of baked clay of ancient origin which they find in great number in their territory and which substance also contains, according to microscopic investigation, pieces of baked clay added to the clay (238).

C
Ce
[113]

238. S. Linné, op. cit., p. 36, Fig. 2, and p. 70. Nordenskiöld, Erland: Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika /Research and Adventure in South America/, Stockholm, 1915, p. 34. Nord. 1, p. 284.

From the quality of the substance of a baked clay vessel of the Chané of the Parapití which is in the Göteborg museum, it turns out that these Indians also add sand to the clay, in addition to pieces of crushed baked clay (239). By microscopic

C
114
323

239. S. Linné, op. cit., p. 33.

analyses of sections of vessels, Linné was able to demonstrate /55/ that pieces of baked clay were added to the clay of the Chiriguano. As a result of these analyses, he points out the following: "Microscopic section analysis of Chiriguano ceramics have shown the materials to contain, besides small quartz grains and larger grains of other minerals, particles of the same colour as the ground-mass, but with distinct outlines. These are due to ground potsherds. There are also some very dark particles, as well as lighter ones, and they, too, are potsherds. The variation as to colour is due to the vessels often in the firing, becoming quite differently coloured in their outer and inner layers" /cited in English/ (240).

240. S. Linné, op. cit., pp. 37 and 68.

/55 cont./

Ce 323 [114] According to Nordenskiöld's observations among the Chané in Itiyuru, the clay to be used for the manufacture of a vessel was first crushed and then mixed with pieces of baked clay also crushed. We do not know how the clay thus prepared is transmuted by the addition of water into the needed plastic substance. The construction of the vessel is done in the manner most common among South American Indians. First a disk with a raised rim is formed from the clay prepared in the manner described, and this is placed on a piece of cloth or a board. The wall is built on this part, which forms the base of the vessel, by means of rolls of clay which in the form of rings, are placed on top of one another (241). Stones and

Ce [171]

241. Nord. 1, p. 244. Nord. 2, p. 137. S. Linné, op. cit., p. 78. Métraux I, pp. 373 and 384.

narrow little sticks of cane are used to smooth the surface of the vessel made in the manner described. These are also used as a gauge to obtain the proper proportions. To rub the surface of the vessels intended for cooking and that of the larger vessels, a maize cob is commonly used, which makes sunken parallel lines so that the surface of those vessels is less smooth(242).

Ce [824]

242. Nord. 1, p. 244. Nord. 2, p. 137. S. Linné, op. cit., pp. 107 and 108. Métraux I, p. 384.

C 323 Using the method described in the above, the Chiriguano manage to make excellent, solid vessels which show a well-proportioned form of wall. According to measurements made by Linné, the radial difference of the aperture of the Chiriguano vessels, whose apertures on top have a diameter of from 15 to 20 cm., is less than 1 mm. (243).

243. Linné, op. cit., p. 78.

/55 cont./

323 Data on the thickness of Chiriguano vessels have been given by Outes in his publication which we have mentioned. According to him, "the walls of the vessels, in general, do not show great thickness; in those of larger size, they are from 15 to 20 millimeters; in the medium ones, they do not exceed 8 millimeters; in the small ventricose jars, they vary between 7 and 4 millimeters. As an exception to those, Outes mentions a small vessel with a height of approximately 6 centimeters and a maximum diameter of 12 centimeters, which is relatively thick, since its side walls are from 7 to 9 millimeters and the bottom reaches 15 millimeters (244).

244. Outes, op. cit., p. 128.

323 531 A large part of the vessels are provided, even before being baked, with handles or with different kinds of decoration on their surface. The surface of the neck of the vessels intended for cooking is decorated with sunken ornamentation by impressions made with the finger. Rings of clay are put on the surface of some vessels, as is shown by the piece of baked clay from a Chané vessel shown in a drawing by Linné (245), or the surface

245. Linné, Fig. 31. Nord. 1, p. 245.

is provided with small additions. Cf. the vessel shown in Fig. 44 /see p. 116/. The finer vessels are painted before the firing. The designs are applied in white, red, dark brown, and black (246).

246. Nord. 1, p. 246.

413 237 The white color in general is the background color, on top of which are applied /56/ the other colors. For that tiny brushes made of agouti hair or of feathers held together with wax are used (247). The white color is an earth paint (kaolin), the red.

247. Métraux I, p. 385.

C 386 323 531

/56 cont./The white color is an earth paint (caolin), the red, dark brown, and black are pulverized mineral substances of the corresponding colors (248). Métraux has published the results

248. Nord. 2, p. 145.

of chemical analyses and petrographic observations which he made on these mineral colors (249).

249. Métraux I, 385.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano at times paint their vessels with a paint consisting of a mixture of urucú and oil, which is probably applied after the vessel has been baked (250).

250. Nord. 2, p. 145.

C Ce 323

Before the vessel is baked, it must be quite dry. In the case observed by Nordenskiöld among the Chané on the Itiyuru River, the vessel was dried for a day in the shade, which can be done, according to another note by Nordenskiöld, in the sun as well (251). The baking is done, according to Nordenskiöld's

251. S. Linné, op. cit., p. 121.

observations, by piling firewood, maize cobs, and dry cow dung around the vessel. This fuel must burn with a strong fire for a quarter of an hour and, if the vessel is large, even longer (252).

252. Nord. 1, p. 246. Cf. Nord., Fig. 122.

C 323 [824]

Some of the Chiriguano vessels are varnished. According to Nordenskiöld, such vessels are common among the Chiriguano and Chané on the Itiyuru River. They smear them with the resin of a Minosoidea, which the Chiriguano call "taraviruti." When varnished in this way the vessels acquire a yellowish sheen. Only the vessels of the Chané on the Itiyuru sometimes show black

Ce 323 824 386

C
283
322

C
283
323

Plate XXV

Fig. 87

Fig. 88

Cs
283
323

Fig. 89

Fig. 90

C
Ce
286
413

a
b
c
d
e

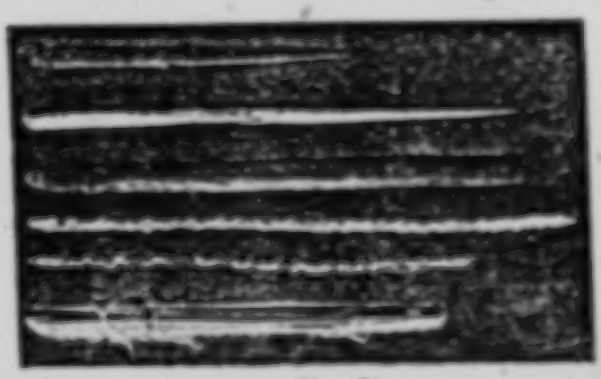


Fig. 91

/The captions are on p. 148./

Br Schmidt--148 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XXIV and XXV./

C
Ce
283

Plate XXIV

Fig. 85. Spindles. a-d (Izozó), e Chiriguano:
a (I.A. 734), length 51 cm.; b (I.A. 703), length 41 cm.; c (I.A. 716), length 41 cm.; d (I.A. 691), length 40.5 cm.; e (I.A. 475), length 42 cm.

Ce
285
283

Fig. 86. (I.A. 725 a and b) Basket (height 12 cm.), cotton seeds, raw cotton, and a spindle with thread, and a ball of cotton thread (Izozó).
b (I.A. 726), ball of cotton thread (Izozó), dia. 8.5 cm.

C
283
322

Plate XXV

Fig. 87. Wooden spindle whorls (Chiriguano): a (I.A. 478), dia. 6 cm.; b (I.A. 474), dia. 5.2 cm.; c (I.A. 480), dia. 6 cm.; d (I.A. 471), dia. 5.3 cm.; e (I.A. 479), dia. 4.3 cm.; f (I.A. 477), dia. 5.2 cm.

Ce
283
323

Fig. 88. Spindle whorls, a-c of baked clay, e-f of stone (Chiriguano): a (I.A. 486), dia. 6.2 cm.; b (I.A. 487), dia. 5.3 cm.; c (I.A. 483), dia. 5.3 cm.; d (I.A. 481), dia. 4.8 cm.; e (I.A. 482), dia. 4.2 cm.; f (I.A. 484), dia. 5.7 cm.

Ce
283
323

Fig. 89. Baked clay spindle whorls (Izozó): a (I.A. 705), dia. 4.7 cm.; b (I.A. 687), dia. 5.2 cm.; c (I.A. 706), dia. 4 cm.; d (I.A. 707), dia. 3 cm.; e (I.A. 696), dia. 3 cm.; f (I.A. 690), dia. 4 cm.; g (I.A. 697), dia. 4.5 cm.; h (I.A. 699), dia. 4 cm.; i (I.A. 695), dia. 4.2 cm.

Fig. 90. Baked clay spindle whorls (Izozó): a (I.A. 724), dia. 4 cm.; b (I.A. 708), dia. 3.8 cm.; c (I.A. 709), dia. 4.3 cm.; d (I.A. 721), dia. 3.7 cm.; e (I.A. 722), dia. 3.3 cm.; f (I.A. 720), dia. 4.4 cm.; g (I.A. 711), dia. 4.3 cm.; h (I.A. 713), dia. 4.2 cm.; i (I.A. 710), dia. 4 cm.

C
Ce
296
413

Fig. 91. Implements for weaving: a (I.A. 500), implement for arranging the warp threads (Chiriguano), length 30.5 cm.; b (I.A. 674), implement for arranging the warp threads (Izozó), length 30 cm.; c (I.A. 672), wooden sword for weaving (Izozó), length 30 cm.; d (I.A. 727), shuttle with cotton thread (Izozó), length 33.3 cm.; e (I.A. 728), shuttle with cotton thread (Izozó), length 27 cm.; (I.A. 512) reel (Chiriguano), length 28 cm.

1: Pellerchi--107 C-5(ca.1875) 1876 SI7 Mataco
Chaco Indians SK4
Chiriguano SF10
Cha
764
172

with many bodies in it.

In the mountains of Salta and in the highlands of Jujuy there are graves ("Huacas") in the shape of small vaulted stone ovens (2) similar to those used in that locality by the country

2. Also called "trojes" ["granaries"--Translator].

people. There are often as many as three bodies in these graves squatting on their haunches and wrapped or covered with clothes and sometimes having beside them pans containing objects of silver and gold. Nowadays the Christian Indians descended from those Indians who were under the sway of Perú and the Incas, hunt around among these graves and gather the bones so as to have masses said for them (so they say) but they almost always find that the good of others has been there before them so that although they find the bones they rarely come upon the precious objects which were buried with them. One cannot say what kind of clothing they wore for as soon as the graves are uncovered contact with the air reduces all to dust.

The Chiriguanos of the Bolivian Chaco also place their dead in large pots or jars and bury them beneath the floor of their huts. Each house is thus a habitation for both the living and the dead and, be this either a cause or an effect, or both in combination, the fact is that the Chiriguanos are not nomadic. They paint the above mentioned jars with great care, the jars being of various types and variously decorated in accord with the wealth of the family concerned. The pots are fired and the glazing material, which is a sort of red, bad smelling tar, is applied either on [206] the unbaked or baked clay. If the former, the result is a more shiny, light colored finish, if the latter, then the end product is of a darker hue.

Chi
764
Chi
[323]

On the lid of the buried jar a fire is kept going for a whole month, doubtless (if this report is true) to destroy the foul gases given off by the rotting body.

Those Chiriguanos who are poor and cannot afford these jars bury their dead in a trench inside the hut and then move away until the bad odor has ceased.

Plate XXIII

Stone axes of the ancient Chiriguano. The first of the eared axes, Nos. 1 and 10, comes from Boqueti, the second from Ivu. The axes with a complete groove (Nos. 2, 3, 5–9) were collected in the Caipipendi Valley, with the exception of ax No. 4, which was acquired in Ivu. The simple neolithic ax, No. 11, comes from Caipipendi. (1/3 nat. size ± .)

Ethnologisches Museum Berlin-Dahlem

C 324
Ce 2[illegible]
• 1[illegible]
S 1[illegible]
2[illegible]

X. 3. Plaza Rio Verdeuel, Communication by letter from Prof. Koch-Grünberg.

Baskets with lids which are opened like an ordinary cigar-box.

A. Graves on the Peruvian Coast. G. M. Very common in all collections of peruvian antiquities.

C
Ce
2[illegible]
5[illegible]

Some baskets from the Chiriguano have shapes which make them look like imitations of earthen vessels. (Fig. 33 C and D) Sometimes they even have an ear. Chiriguano and Chané baskets are very seldom ornamented.

Metal-work.

C
325
3[illegible]

The only metal-work now occurring here is that the Chiriguano sometimes make their tomahawk (flip-bottom) of tin themselves. Whether the Chiriguano and Chané, before coming into contact with the Whites, themselves performed metal-work, I cannot say.

Stone-work.

C
Ce
• 3[illegible]

The Chiriguano and Chané do not now work stone.

Wood-work.

C
Ce
3[illegible]
4[illegible]
1[illegible]

For their wood-work the Chiriguano and Chané now use exclusively tools obtained from the Whites.

Weaving.

C
Ce
28[illegible]

Among the Chiriguano I saw two types of looms, among the Chané only one.

The loom found among the Chiriguano and Chané is characterized by the completed product forming a ring (mandoné) M. B. if so desired. The warp is set up as shown in the outline drawing, (Fig. 35.d) and in the sketch of a hand-loom from the Chané. (Fig. 35.c). When the ring is

[4 of continues on p. 176]

Ce /56 cont./
323 point on the rim, which is done with the resin of the palo santo
324 (Bulnesia sarmientii), which is spread over the surface of the
387 vessel after it has been baked (253).

253. Nord. 1, p. 366. Nord. 2, p. 144.
Métraux 1, pp. 386 and 387.

Ee
324 Working of Stone and Metals

The manufacture of stone implements is not done among the Chiriguano and Chané. The same can be said with respect to the manufacture of metal implements, except that the Chiriguano sometimes make their tweezers of tin themselves (254), while

Ee
325
330
439
177
41

254. Nord. 2, p. 171.

they ordinarily obtain their metal ornaments and implements from the mestizos and the whites.

C
322 Woodworking

[41] Various objects made out of wood by the Chiriguano have already been mentioned above, such as house posts, ladders, planes, spoons, pipes, bows, arrow points, and also cuyas /vessels made out of gourds/ and calabashes. Among other objects made of wood we must also mention the mortar and pestle, various implements used in weaving, small sticks for making nets, large dishes used for keeping food, and flutes. Because the Chiriguano, when they work wood today, exclusively use modern tools obtained from the whites, they have not retained any of their native technique. /Plates XXII-XXV appear here./

C
[191]
[196]

/300/

303
415
325

Fig. 52. Mold for making tin labrets (tembetayapua). Prov.: Tumbé. (1/7 nat. size.)

301
303
415
325

Mold for Tembetas

The tembeta, or labrets, of the Chiriguano are of tin. They make them themselves with the aid of the mold pictured here (Fig. 52). It is a calabash into which the fins of the labret have been hollowed out, while the thicker central part of the ornament corresponds to the end of a stick going through the calabash. The cavity produced in the central part of the labret is then filled with wax into which glass or turquoise beads are incrusted. These come from ancient burial-places and are sold to the Chiriguano by the half-breeds of Tarija.

[531]
[439]

Balances

296
199
191

The Chiriguano of the upper Pilcomayo and the Iplembé valley prize coca quite as much as the Cuichua of the altiplano. Besides, it is from them that they got this vice. The fact is known and does not need to be demonstrated. This custom

C
Ce
245
+171
5
1[illegible]
283

194

X. 3. Plaza Rio Ventuari, Communication by letter from Prof. Koch-Grünberg.

Baskets with lids which are opened like an ordinary cigar-box.

A. Graves on the Peruvian Coast. G. M. Very common in all collections of peruvian antiquities.

C
Ce
295
531

Some baskets from the Chiriguano have shapes which make them look like imitations of earthen vessels. (Fig. 33 C and D) Sometimes they even have an ear. Chiriguano and Chané baskets are very seldom ornamented.

Metal-work.

C
● 325
309

The only metal-work now occurring here is that the Chiriguano sometimes make their tembetas (lip-buttons) of tin themselves. Whether the Chiriguano and Chané, before coming into contact with the Whites, themselves performed metal-work, I cannot say.

Stone-work.

C
Ce
324

The Chiriguano and Chané do not now work stone.

Wood-work.

C
Ce
322
+52
177

For their wood-work the Chiriguano and Chané now use exclusively tools obtained from the Whites.

Weaving.

C
Ce
286

Among the Chiriguano I saw two types of looms; among the Chané only one.

The loom found among the Chiriguano and Chané is characterized by the completed product forming a ring (wreathed) N. B. if so desired. The warp is set up as shown in the outline drawing, (Fig. 33.1) and in the sketch of a hand-loom from the Chané. (Fig. 33.-). When the ring is

[text continues on p. 176]

C 302 /32 cont./
Viedma among the Chiriguano men (104), and Nordenskiöld

C [113]

104. Viedma: Descripción de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Colección Angelis. Vol. 3. Buenos Aires. 1836. Written 1793. Page 181. According to Nordenskiöld.

found it among the women in the valley of Caipipendi (105).

105. Ibid. 2, p. 85.

The latter used for that the leaves of a plant that they call "nai" (nayá = lapacho).

With respect to body deformations we can suppose that it was once a common custom among the Chané and Chiriguano to wear a "tembetá" in the pierced lower lip. Of the Guaraní of ancient times it has been stated that the men had this tembetá, and the custom is confirmed by prehistoric finds (106).

C 301 1972
C 301 1972

106. Cf. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 122.

Ee 301 1974

The form, material, and dimensions of these tembetá were varied and varied regionally. What was the shape of the tembetá that the Guaraní had when at the beginning of the 16th century they emigrated to the spur of the Cordillera? We do not know. Neither do we know whether or not the Chané had the tembetá when they were enslaved by the Chiriguano. We can assume that the metal tembetás of the Chiriguano and the Chané in their present form have their origin in the period after their contacts with the ancient Peruvians, /36/ since they did not know the technique of working metal and even today most of their tembetás are made by nearby mestizos or whites, who make them to their taste. According to Chomé's (107)

Ee [199] [325]
C 301 C [113]

107. "Lettre du père Ignace Chomé." Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. New edition. Vol. 8. Paris. 1781. p. 338. According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 73.

Ce /56 cont./
323 paint on the rim, which is done with the resin of the palo santo
324 (Bulnesia sarmienti), which is spread over the surface of the
386 vessel after it has been baked (253).

253. Nord. 1, p. 246. Nord. 2, p. 144.
Métraux I, pp. 386 and 387.

Ee
324

Working of Stone and Metals

The manufacture of stone implements is not done among the Chiriguano and Chané. The same can be said with respect to
Ee the manufacture of metal implements, except that the Chiriguano
325 sometimes make their tembetá of tin themselves (254), while
301
439
177

254. Nord. 2, p. 171.

41 they ordinarily obtain their metal ornaments and implements from the mestizos and the whites.

C
322

Woodworking

Various objects made out of wood by the Chiriguano have
[41] already been mentioned above, such as house posts, ladders, plates, spoons, pipes, bows, arrow points, and also cuyas /vessels made out of gourds/ and calabashes. Among other objects made of wood we must also mention the mortar and pestle, various implements used in weaving, small sticks for making nets, large dishes used for keeping food, and flutes. Because the Chiriguano,
C when they work wood today, exclusively use modern tools ob-
[177] tained from the whites, they have not retained any of their native
[178] technique. /Plates XXII-XXV appear here./

/231 cont./

304 881 [824] Meanwhile the one who performed the operation now gives final admonishments to the boy, and he, following all of these instructions and those of his father, keeps the little tube in continual motion so that it will not stick to the flesh, and on the days that follow he begins to put around it little twigs /232/ from the bush called Yacurimbíu, food of the turkeys. When it has healed, he will cut a larger stick from the same bush and put it in alone, removing the tembetandi, and continue enlarging the hole this way little by little until he can put in a tembeta of hollow cane, which also goes on taking on larger dimensions until it seems big enough. Then he buys a de luxe tembeta and he puts it in, never to remove it again, either day or night, since it would be a great embarrassment for a Chiriguano to appear in public without his tembeta (1).

1. If the Chiriguano were to be without his tembeta while asleep, saliva would run out, because the hole is rather large in most of them.

301 The hollow-cane tembetas are made by every Chiriguano, while those of wood and tin are made by craftsmen. In spite [326] of there not being any blacksmiths or tinsmiths among them [439] and as neither tin or lead nor anything similar is available, [177] the result is that the material for making them is brought from other parts, being bought from the whites, with whom they have maintained relations since the beginning of Tarija, out of which region the Chiriguano were expelled.

The Tembeta in Other Tribes

301 171 The use of the tembeta may be another argument for the unity of the human race; indubitably the Chiriguano use it as a tradition passed on from father to son, and thus successively up to our times. The tembeta is found in use by savage tribes almost throughout the world; in Africa the Noers /Nuer/ and

/170 cont./

Modern Houses

342 17 [464] [648]

A Chiriguano house offers nothing special in appearance, but even those of the mestizos who have settled in their country are of the same form and not rarely worse, because naturally since the mestizo is not very fond of physical labor, because he is not an Indian, it is necessary for him to call on the energy of the latter, and the native is not always inclined to lend him this or that service, from which it follows that their houses are inferior (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. I am speaking here of the houses that the mestizos or whites build in the countryside where they live; in the towns their houses are normal; they almost all have tile roofs, and there are also some which are white-washed.

342 [192] [184]

/171/ House in the Chiriguano language is called Ho, which is different from what they call Tapi, hut. The latter are common in large towns and belong to the lazy people, wanderers, and even the poor. It must thus be understood that the construction of a Chiriguano house is a work of no small importance and care, if one considers that the Chiriguano is poor, so poor that he only has available an ax, a shovel, and a knife, and not always these. Because of the importance that I give to this construction, many who do not know these regions could believe that the houses are very fine, but there is nothing fine about them. None of them is beyond the rank of cabins.

342 335 476

I believe that it is indispensable to describe the way of constructing them and the elements available to the Chiriguano in order to carry this out. If the Indian has some luck in sheep, he pays some of his companions with sheep so that they will help him gather the principal timber, and should this wealth be lacking, he begins to cut and strip back in the woods by himself, selecting timber of good quality, straight and resistant to the action of water. The principal pieces are generally six posts

[Text Continues on P. 235]

/171 cont./

342 which form the skeleton of the house, but where the forest is not
335 tall and the trees slender, nine are needed.
476
574 Once the timber has been transported with the help of his companions and relatives and they have been treated with food and chicha, the day for setting up the house is set. The center posts are first placed, with the two holes being dug quite deep; next comes the placement of the four or six lateral ones, which are much shorter so that rain will not stay on the roof and there will not be continual and copious dripping. I measured several relatively new houses, and their pitch from the ground to the ridgepole is about 42 c/o in some and in others 38, it being possible to conclude that the average is 40 (1).

> 1. Chiriguano houses are rectangular with only one room, which, if it is very long, has in the middle another post which holds up the ridgepole so that it may not bend or break.

[198] This proportion is maintained today by the houses in Chiriguano towns, and it cannot be otherwise, because the roof is entirely of straw and the rain would stay on it if it did not have sufficient slope. Some who by mistake build them without this proportion realize at the time of the first torrential rains, and even more in the ones that follow, the mistake that they have made, but in vain, because /172/ it is very difficult for the Indian to correct his lack of foresight.

Once the skeleton of the house has been set up vertically, the rest is simpler to do, except for the placement of the ridgepole and the side beams: the latter can be cut in half to make it easier to move them, in addition to making finding them easier. The placement of these beams is followed by that of the rafters and the reinforcing pieces of wood to strengthen the walls. The rafters are tied with bejuco or with spiny ceiba bark,
[824] which is called Samuu by the Indians and Toborochi by the whites.

000 /175 cont./
remains joined better and is more compact (1).

797 1. When a mission is founded, the first building is the mission house made in the usual way. But in the Potosí missions they are all of timber, and any traveler would marvel at their height and strength.

342 178 The ancient Chiriguano houses were of different form, and they were not alike in size or beauty in the towns. Some were distinguished by their roundness and conical form, and others because they were small and low. The latter had no importance at all and could scarcely even be called huts, in spite of the fact that, to the poor Chiriguano, dominated by his laziness, the smallness of a dwelling does not detract from its importance.

342 171 I am going to deal at some length with the way the houses of conical form were built, because they indicate skill on the part of the builder or because they make one's imagination take wing and fly to China, Africa, and Japan, where similar forms are found and thus make us ever more convinced of the unity of the human race.

As explorers, travelers, histories, and well thought out books say and as is also observed in the pictures of illustrated geographies, it is evident that in China, Japan, Africa, New Zealand, and in the east of Australia not a few of the inhabitants /176/ have houses in conical form.

This form seems to be the original one of the human race, and it is very probable that man has used it in the five parts of the world, since it is even found among the Chiriguano.

342 335 In fact, in order to construct a comfortable house before the Conquest, the clever Chiriguano used the following method. He first obtained a single post of some four or five meters and planted it at a depth of approximately one meter (1).

[476] [574] 1. For any small job for which the Indian must trouble his friends, he would get nothing without offering them a drink. Not even money is so esteemed and appreciated as chicha by the Chiriguano.

/176 cont./

342
335 The post thus set up served as a central point for the new house; next he traced a more or less round circle without having any recourse whatsoever to the rules of theoretical geometry, being ignorant of its existence; nevertheless, his reason helped him enough. Having traced the circle and having secured ahead of time enough forked poles /horquillas/ some two meters high, he put them in holes some 50 or 60 centimeters deep around the circumference, leaving the entrance facing the plaza.

Once these poles have been well fixed in the ground around the center pole, the Indian, with the help of his companions and relatives, prepares rafters, straw, bejuco or ceiba bark, hollow cane or small sticks. He then begins, after an appropriate period of rest, to put in place first the rafters, tying them to each other, the center post serving as a prop, and then he ties them to the poles around the circumference, one to each pole, until he finishes. Before beginning, the precaution is taken of singeing the bejuco. The rest is done as has been described in the modern houses, but when the placing of the roof and the walls around are finished, the center post, which would only be an obstruction for the fire which is constantly burning in the center of the house, is removed (2).

[824] 2. Singed bejuco does not rot, regardless of the season in which it has been pulled up. It is resistant and is not attacked by the wood borer. Those who use it so much have experience.

[821] Everyone knows that conical houses are very solid, when care is taken to select good wood and /illustration appears here/ /177/ to cut it during the waning moon. If the rafters have the fork downward, conical houses are much more solid (1).

[554] 1. A house in conical form among the ancient Chiriguano indicated great ability on the part of the builder and status on the part of its owner; for this reason they were owned only by caciques, rich persons, and other important persons.

/16/

36 62 162 The town Ibitibi in the southern part of Chiriguano territory, south of the Pilcomayo River, examined minutely by Eric v. Rosen, was inhabited, according to the Indians, by about 300 persons. The town was located on a plain surrounded by mountains and forests. The houses formed a large circumference, the cacique's house being in the middle. Some shade trees had been planted in the open plaza between the cacique's house and the other houses. In other Chiriguano towns visited by v. Rosen, houses were dispersed without any order. According to the observations of v. Nordenskiöld too, Chiriguano towns are sometimes quite large and inhabited by around 100 persons. Often several towns are near one another. The houses are generally around a plaza sometimes planted with trees and serving as a place to play and to hold meetings.

342 We know the form of the Chiriguano houses in detail through v. Rosen (63), and primarily through the good photo-

63. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 191: Figs. 189-192 and 217.

[335] graphs of such houses. The houses are rectangular and their roofs end in points. Walls and roofs are held up by posts. The walls consist either of only vertical poles made from branches or reeds, close together and tied by horizontal ligatures, or of interwoven poles whose interstices are plastered with mud. The roof (opitiá) is covered with straw. One type of house was illustrated in a photograph by v. Rosen (64), on which one

64. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 190.

side of the roof projects at the top over the other side of the [171] roof. The same house type also exists in the ancient culture of the Peruvians, as is shown by sketches found on the surface of ancient Peruvian vessels.

/16 cont./

342 A special feature of Chiriguano houses and where they differ from those of the common ranches of white residents is that the two oblique sides of the roof descend almost to the ground, passing far beyond the wall. Machareti houses also show this special feature. (Cf. Fig. 16 /see p.40/.) The result of this roof construction is that the entrance (Ikye) is on [285] the gable side. To shut the entrance they use reed mats or [237] cowhides (65). Widely influenced by the whites, the Chiriguano [177]

65. Métraux 1, p. 469.

and the Chané continually vary the style of their houses, and, according to Nordenskiöld (66), today many of them are al-

66. Nord. 1, p. 173.

ready building houses identical with those of the whites.

343 In addition to the houses used for dwellings, the Chiriguano and some of the Chané have houses built on posts for storehouses (avatió). Also in Machareti such houses were commonly found beside the dwellings. Figure 16 /see p. 41 / shows such a [417] storehouse. A ladder, which consists of a post provided with notches, leads to the platform (on the right in the figure). These storehouses serve primarily as places to keep the maize crop and other produce. The space under the platform serves for storing various other things. Nordenskiöld saw such houses built on posts, whose upper part served in general for storage, while the lower part was utilized as a dwelling (67). Often those

67. Nord. 1, p. 175; Nord. 2, p. 3.

storehouses are near the plantings far from the dwellings (68).

68. Nord. 1, p. 173.

• [335] As shown in Figure 16, the frame for these storehouses consists of ten vertical posts of different lengths, bifurcated at their upper ends to support the horizontal posts that form the base for

/16 cont./

343 the roof and the /Plates V-VII appear here/ /17/ platform.
335 The middle pair of the vertical posts is the longest pair and serves to hold up the ridgepole. Of the other eight vertical posts, always in two, one longer and one shorter, have been placed immediately next to each other all along the two sides of the middle pair of posts and at a certain distance from it. Of the horizontal posts, each one of which is held up by each one of the five pairs of vertical posts, those which are placed on the higher pair and on the two pairs of middle size of the vertical posts serve to hold up the roof, while the two horizontal posts which are placed on the two smaller pairs of vertical posts form the base for the platform of the house. Besides the five pairs of vertical posts that form the frame of the house, there is also added a vertical post of the height of the platform, which serves to support the ladder leading
343 to it. The roof of these storehouses is covered with straw like the roofs of dwellings. The walls are made of reed poles very close together. While the poles of the storehouse illustrated in Figure 16 are horizontal, those of other storehouses, with which we are familiar through Nordenskiöld's photographs and those of v. Rosen and Métraux, are vertical (69). The en-

69. Nord. 1. Figs. 83 and 84 and Pl. 18.
Métraux I. Fig. 9, p. 349.

trance, which must be reached by means of the ladder, is at
[419] the gable end, like that of the dwellings. The ladder consists of a post with notches for steps (70).

70. Cf. Fig. 16, at the right. Nord. 1.
Fig. 84. v. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 191.

[191] [194] There must be some special reason to explain the surprising fact that the Chiriguano have houses built on posts, since it could not be that they brought the custom of constructing them from their native soil, because the Guaraní have never had them. Nor could it be that they adopted this from

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 42]

Plate VII

343
335

Fig. 16
(I.C. 357) -- Chiriguano storehouse built on posts in Machareti

291
412
415

Fig. 17
(I.C. 355) -- Scene in the Chiriguano town of Machareti. Boy dressed in a poncho. Large baked clay vessels and a mortar.

/319 cont./

there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs, lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques, /320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guayarapo stole them when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them. Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians. The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law, burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II, p. 281) gives us of the large house of the Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

/320 cont./

C 195 342

interesting: "they make a very big dormitory and, within it, as many small rooms as there are residents, and so small that they do not have room for more persons, and it is enough for them, because they do not have furniture, nor do they have wearing apparel and hence they go about naked." /Translated from the Spanish./ These facts agree on every point with those of the Relaciones geográficas, etc. (Vol. II, Plate CIV) and of Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 310) on the same subject. The Guarani, just like the Tupinambá and other Tupi tribes, lived in malocas, gigantic halls capable of containing more than 150 persons and which often in themselves formed the village. The existence of this type of dwelling among the Chiriguano in the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes new proof for the recent character of their migration. In the 18th century we find them already in possession of the small rectangular house which they still have now and where one single family lives. (See Métraux, 7, p. 51.)

C [114] [113]

C [171]

C [174] [167]

C 114 124 175

novelist Garcilaso which might allow one to suppose that he really knew who the Chiriguano were. As for this conquest by the Inca, it would have been barely an attempt at conquest... Garcilaso confuses the Chiriguano with all the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes whom he had vaguely heard mentioned. Let us note that he is the only one to attribute this expedition to the Inca Tupanki, while the other chroniclers, better informed, are satisfied to say that the Inca Tupanki made an expedition against the Antis, probably around Cuzco. Unfortunately the vogue this pleasant writer enjoyed at a time when the history of America was still in limbo bluffs some modern critics into believing him, and they go so far as to prefer one of his unwarranted affirmations to the serious /321/ and precise evidence of chroniclers who get their information at first hand and from reliable sources.

C 114 124 175 64 [101]

Guaraní 585
Guaraní 584

/301 cont./

The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white man, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts delivering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 19th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 19th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

/the cont./

293 The sad state of decline in which the Chiriguano are at present has put an end to collective work, and it is only rarely that sowing is done in common. Each one must provide for his needs without any assistance other than that of his near relatives.

•342

Fig. 1. Chiriguano hut (ho), temporarily abandoned by its inhabitants, who have gone to work in the fields. Caipipendí. (Photo. A.M.)

241 The Chiriguano cultivate the following plants:

Corn (avati): 11 varieties;

Beans (kumanda): 11 varieties;

Squash (andai and grindaka-wasu): 5 varieties;

Sweet potatoes (yetia): 6 varieties;

Yucca or sweet manioc (mandio) (Manihot utilisima Pohl);

Groundnuts (mandowi);

Pimento /pepper/ (ñii) (Capsicum), very rarely cultivated;

/383 cont./

323 long time with the clay. This paste must have all the impurities removed, which is done in the course of the kneading (Fig. 56).

323
342
291
516
351

Fig. 56. Fabrication of a vessel: the clay, after being mixed with pulverized potsherds, is kneaded. (Photographs taken by the author at Masaví in the Igüembé Valley.)

323 When the potter has obtained an elastic and sticky paste, she molds the base of a vessel, which she puts either on a piece of cloth or a small board. The foundation of the future receptacle looks like a disk raised on its periphery. A

/386 cont./

323 The paintings on some vessels produce a particularly successful /387/ effect, thanks to the alternation of brilliant

323
342
351
516
415
291

Fig. 59. Fabrication of a vessel: the inside surface is polished after being flattened with the hand.

323 solid red with black of the same nature. The first of these colors
[386] is taken from the famous roucou, whose oily paste is mixed with resin, kneaded into a loaf, and melted on the hot walls of the vessel.

/389 cont./

415 The plant kingdom hardly inspires Chiriguano artists. The
531 vessel of Plate LII, Fig. 3, is the only one whose decoration is clearly phytomorphic; and again in this case I am not sure that

323
516
342
291
415

Fig. 61. Fabrication of a vessel: the exterior surface is smoothed with a chip of bamboo after being flattened with the hand.

415 a European model did not serve as an intermediary between nature
531 and the picture the potter portrayed.

[126] /390/ Among the 200 vessels I collected in Chiriguano
[172] country there is not one that includes a figuration of the human face, with the exception of the one to which I have alluded, whose form betrays the desire to satisfy the stupid puerility of The TOURISTS.

/433 cont./

283
857
291
516
342

Fig. 88. Chiriguano girls spinning. Masaví (Iguembé Valley). (Photo. A. M.)

286 moving the front /434/ warp threads back each time they
413 have been crossed with the help of the reed. The woman who has just passed the woof through grasps this dagger firmly and with a sharp blow raises the threads of the warp after pulling on the reed. Difficult jobs, probably the execution of some /Fig. 89 appears here/ complicated figures, are accomplished with a wooden needle, which unfortunately I never saw used.

/468 cont./

412 171 At La Paya, Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 254, p. 484) discovered combs cut out of a small woollen board and some composite combs. Instead of simply recording the coexistence of two different types of combs /Plate LXXXVII appears here/ /469/ in the same place, a very natural phenomenon by reason of the heterogeneous character of the culture of La Paya, Ambrosetti puts forth the strange hypothesis that these combs served for carding wool, without taking the trouble to inquire whether this instrument was known in pre-Columbian times.

303 322 462 412 The making of combs, like all wood carving, is an essentially masculine job.

The table on Plate LXXXVII indicates my idea of the morphological evolution of the different forms of combs which I have collected. 412 174

Chapter XII

Furniture

352 [114] Since the diverse cultural elements which constitute the furniture of the Chiriguano have been completely studied by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 8-22), I shall limit myself to mentioning them here, insisting only on several details. /Fig. 124 appears here./ /See p. 338./

[342] Let us enter a Chiriguano hut. The door we open is a kind of screen of reeds or a cowhide hardened in the sun. Daylight penetrates the interior through this opening. The only important [513] piece of furniture is a wooden cot (Fig. 125), a kind of bedstead generally occupied by two persons between whom one or two children come /470/ to slip in somehow or other. Nor do the Chiriguano hesitate to sleep on the ground on an oxhide, which they spread out in front of their house. On the upper Pilcomayo, in nearly all the huts one can /Fig. 125 appears here/ /See p. 339./ see one or two hammocks which serve either as seats during the day [286] or as cradles for small children. Their technique, that of the [177] double thread (Doppelfadentechnik), continues an old Guarani

[Text Continues on P. 338]

/470 cont./

352 and Arawak tradition. Some hammocks, not many, are crudely
[286] woven. The threads which /Fig. 126 appears here/ compose
[177] them are of wool; formerly they were doubtless of cotton (Plate XXXVIII).

352 It is a delicate business to persuade a Chiriguano mother to
854 sell you the hammock of her nursling. She fears that an /Plate
754 LXXXVIII appears here/ /471/ evil-intentioned person will profit by the fact that the fabric is impregnated with urine, in order to indulge in magical practices which would make the new-born child die.

342
351

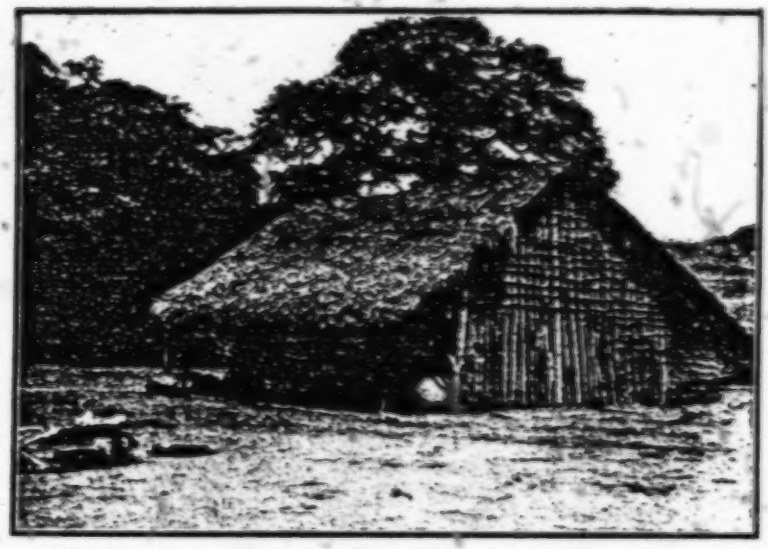


Fig. 124. Chiriguano hut. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (Photo. A. M.)

353 Along the walls are lined up vessels of all dimensions
[415] which /Figs. 127 and 128 appear here/ are kept there for the drinking feasts; some contain seed, others serve as linen cupboards or provision bags. On the walls, generally in the four
[352] corners, hang reed screens or hoops made of palm leaves /Fig. 129 appears here/ which take the place of shelves (Figs. 126 and 129).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 342]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

252 415 412 264 *Chiriguano* mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. [319] [263] Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 592 **Dwellings.**—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

361 178 [343] [712] The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 177 **Clothing.**—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

824 /16 cont./
[32]
[114] I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it through experience and careful reading; when describing certain plants, I shall also make note of the use made of the bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall, straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood borer does not damage it; it is much used here in the construction of upper roofs, especially for the braches or trusses on which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its
[342] wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less
[492] value; it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows, but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to
[296] make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears
[515] and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the face free of blemishes; here it is known by the name "timboy."

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. moniliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which reason drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it.
[372] It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatane," fire that smells; the wood is yellow.

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of
[342] trees of this class here and there; it is the most abundant tree,
[281] the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does not eat it; the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites; the latter call it sebil and the former "Curupau."

245 ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in
137 fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters,
824 its leaves are dark green; it produces abundant fruit in a sort of pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds, which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They
[302] serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces
[303]
[439]

245 /17 cont./
137 and feet with them, as will be seen; for this last purpose it is
824 prepared beforehand, many pods being boiled in an olla, and
[302] pastes of every size are made from the decoction, depending
[303] on the value that they wish them to have; it is traded by
[439] Chiriguanos and whites.

137 The Bixa orellana, or "Urucu," as the Indians call it, is
824 a plant of high value for the Chiriguano; he will travel far to obtain a small amount in the towns or places where it is prepared.

ALGARROBO. -- The place where this extraordinarily large tree abounds is in the pampas; thus in the plain of "Curuyuqui" of Yvu Mission, Isoso, Parapiti, and the Gran Chaco it is found forming forests. It is very bulky and has
[342] long branches which on some touch the ground; its trunk is
[415] thick and not always erect, the wood is excellent, similar to oak in spite of being dark, and it is much used for making tuns, door and window casings, and even for barrels. In
[262] Chiriguano this tree is called /18/ "Ivopei," and the "Ivope"
[273] pod is long, compressed, and yellow; when it is ripe, it is sweet and much sought after by livestock and by the Chiriguano; it is their food and drink in times of scarcity as well as other times, and the mead that they make is extremely intoxicating. On the bank of the Pilcomayo even the whites eat this pod; the Toba, Choroti, Mataco, and others hold their orgies when the algarrobo ripens.

ALGARROBO CHICO. -- This is a smaller tree than the previous one, even its fruit is smaller, speckled in color, and sweeter than the true algarrobo, but not as abundant as the
[262] first. As the pods are small and the seeds within abundant, it is not highly thought of among the Chiriguano; they only eat it out of necessity or as a tidbit; the wood is not valued very highly because undoubtedly there are others that are better. In Chiriguano it is called "Ivope rai."

ALGARROBO AGRIO. -- This is also small, and it is called
[262] "sour" because the flavor of the pods really is sour. In times of scarcity it is also food for the Chiriguano; the pods are small, and the tree has its congenial sites. The Chiriguano Indians call it "Ivopetayi."

/19 cont./

137 in dry places; when dampness penetrates it, it is destroyed in a
824 few years, as experience has shown. The bark that is found
[757] under the first layer is split, washed in tepid water, and left to steep overnight; it cures intermittent fever. The Argentinians call it cacha, the whites quebracho, and the Chiriguano "Iguiraro."

AZUFAIFO /jujube tree/. -- This is abundant hereabouts
[262] and is a tree of medium size. Its wood is not valued very highly, but the fruit, the size of a grape seed and of a dark coffee color, is a great resource in times of scarcity for the poor Chiriguano. It ripens in January and February and is liked even by cattle and by sheep and pigs. The whites call it mistol and the Chiriguano "Yuá."

245 BANANA TREE. -- Cultivated in orchards and well fenced-in fields, it forms a grove, and each plant yields or produces a cluster, very large on some of them. When the ripe cluster is removed, the plant that produced it must be cut in order that the others may produce their own. There are several
[262] varieties, large and small, the latter very sweet and eaten as fruit, and the former only when boiled and roasted; the whites call them plátano, and the Chiriguano "Pacoba."

137 BIGONIA ACUOSA. -- This is a tiny little bush one vara
824 in height, which under the ground has a large root like a
[271] watermelon and even larger; it contains much pulp which, when squeezed, yields potable water and is used for it in times of scarcity. The Chiriguano call it "Sipoi."

[342] CATALPA. -- This is a large tree and fairly strong. Its wood is used in the construction of houses. The color of the /20/ wood is dark, but when it is newly cut it is somewhat
[515] green. Its flowers are purple, and the Chiriguano chew them to whiten their teeth; they are bitter and because of this the tree is called "Tayi," or bitter; in Chiriguano, the whites call it lapacho.

CEIBA. -- A large tree with deformed trunk, and furnished with sharp points, broad leaves, and large, white flowers which produce a material similar to cotton without fibers, for which reason it is smoother and shinier; it is used for mattresses
[322] and pillows and candle wicks. The wood is spongy and not at
[415] all hard; from it are made troughs to hold water from year to year and in this way they are not soon damaged. Its ashes

/21 cont./

137 824 MARA or CAOBA /mahogany/. -- This tree is found in all sections. It is a strong wood, but the white part at the sides is subject to decay. It is rather heavy and hard and is [342] [352] only used for door and window casings and even for tables. The leaves are permanent, but not too good for shade. If the [757] leaves are touched with some force in order to pick them, they cause a skin eruption which disappears only when treated with bees' honey; I cured myself this way twice.

137 /22/ MELOCOTÓN /peach tree/. -- This tree, native to Persia, is quite productive in this region, but its fruit, severely attacked by the black butterfly, does not reach maturity because it always has worms. The apple tree grows in high places and where the atmosphere is not so hot, but both of these are orchard trees, not native ones, having been imported by the whites, who cultivate them, which can also be said of the quince tree.

137 824 MOLLE. -- This tree is not found in the central part of the region and thus is not native here, being obtained only by cultivation. The whites and the Missionaries have introduced it into the towns with good results. It is found in abundance in [757] the district under the jurisdiction of Padilla; it has permanent [2073] leaves, which are medicinal, as is the resin which comes from the trunk; a cooling beverage, pleasant and similar to wine, except that its odor is somewhat disagreeable, is made from [757] the seeds. The eucalyptus is another tree which thrives regularly here, but it has also been imported; its leaves, also permanent, are very good medicine for the endemic fevers; its trunk is an excellent wood. Neither tree has a name in Chiriguano, from which it can be deduced that they have been imported, like the grape vine, the common fig tree, the peach, quince, etc.

MORA OR MORERA /mulberry/. -- This tree is found wild from the left bank of the Parapiti River in Cordillera Province. It rises to a height of some 15 meters, is bulky with a very leafy top, and the fruit is smaller than that of the cultivated mulberry; the wood is solid and compact like that of the soto and has even better qualities; it is used for machines for milling sugar cane, plantations of which are common from the banks of the Parapiti River, where sugar of the highest quality

/23 cont./ some. Trees[1] are covered with long
[132] sharp points and others are not, only having an occasional im-
[82] perceptible sharp point; the fruit of both is pleasant and serves
[139] for gifts and trade for the Indian, who sells it to the whites,
[431] the ones who, rushing to get rich more quickly and easily, are
[648] little concerned about the nopal and the fig tree. In Chiriguano it is called "Saini."

PALM or PALMER. -- The palm tree has congenial places, where immense forests are formed and sometimes grow all around a lake like a great garland; it is a very tall and smooth tree without a single branch. Its leaves are in the form of a
[436] fan and are used to make hats and for sieves, which are sold
[342] for 30 or 40 centavos apiece. The wood is good for joists in houses, and it is also split into shingles for roofs and is quite durable, if the precaution is taken of cutting them after the full moon. In Chiriguano it is called "Carandai," and the place which they occupy, "Carandaiti," palm grove.

PALMA CHRISTI. -- A not very durable plant, it grows to a height of four meters, has a soft, hollow trunk, large leaves, /24/ and flowers in the form of a bunch of grapes. The seeds are found inside little burrs, like chestnuts; said burrs in some plants open by themselves in the warmth of the sun, while others must be opened or carefully broken with a little hammer or a stone. The name indicates that it is a beautiful plant, but this beauty is in the broad, abundant petiolate leaves. There are several types with reference to
[757] size and quality of seeds; I know five kinds. Castor oil is
[302] extracted from this plant or from its seeds for use as medicine; we use it in the missions to fuel the lamp of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Chiriguanos mix it with "Achiote" seeds and put the resulting cosmetic on their faces and on their calves down to the feet. In Chiriguano the plant is called "Camiro," and the oil, "Yandi." Even the leaves of the
[757] palma Christi are medicinal, some being hot and others cool; thus when headache is a result of overexposure to the sun, the leaves of the white spurge are applied; if, on the other hand, it is the result of high humidity, the leaves of the red spurge are applied. The seeds of the dark purple spurge are very small, but contain more oil than others.

[1] [i.e., nopal trees. -Anglist]

/25 cont./

137 824 forth bittersweet and very good. These are ash-colored and pearly and very highly regarded by Chiriguano and whites. The blossom of the passion flower is purple, forming a garland like a crown of thorns; it has its calyx, five petals and three pistils, for which reason it is called passion flower, and it is certainly worthy of admiration. The Indians call it "Murucuya."

PIÑON. -- A euphorbiaceous plant, this little tree exists [177] in a cultivated state and was introduced into this Chiriguano region by the white Christians. It grows in orchards and elsewhere, and its maximum height is three meters. Its small [757] trunk is slender and top heavy, and its fruit consists of black seeds which are not edible but which, when ground and diluted in water, make a powerful purgative and therefore must be used with great care, because they can cause death.

137 SAUCE /willow/. -- It grows and develops on the banks and in the bed of torrents, as well as on the shores of streams, which shows that it seeks damp places, but from these places the force of a flood often uproots it. The common willow has ● [342] no special qualities; only its branches are useful in the building of houses because they are flexible, fibrous, and not heavy; little use is made of the trunk. It is a tall, large tree with very tiny leaves. In addition to the common willow there is also the weeping willow, whose branches touch the ground; it is neither native nor found wild; some whites plant it to beautify their interior patios. In Chiriguano the common willow is called "Igüirapucu."

SAÚCO /elder/. -- It is not found everywhere, only being found along streams with little water which are in the wood. It grows to four meters in height, its trunk is slender and soft, its branches have a pith which is easily extracted, and its white flowers in the shape of a parasol are sudorific. The whites do a good deal of searching for this flower /26/ for their illnesses. Even the leaves are medicinal; when drunk in a decoction they are a good purge. What a pity that it is found in such limited areas!

/26 cont./

137 824 SOTO. -- This gigantic tree is found everywhere from the province of Tomina, but there are places where it is more abundant. In the spring, when the budding begins, its leaves are red, and later they turn green. In the autumn its fruit, which the parrots like, are red and are in bunches like cherries. Seen from a distance by a European, he thinks they are cherries. The wood of the soto is strong and does not rot; in dampness or in water it is better than iron, since it does not deteriorate. [342] It is very widely used in the construction of houses, especially when they are of frame construction. A great deal of tannin, which the Europeans use in tanneries, is extracted from the soto. It is called palo cuchi by the whites here and "Urundei" by the Chiriguano.

249 TOBACCO. -- An annual plant which flourishes everywhere, but only the whites cultivate it on a large scale, especially in Sapirangui and Chiquiacá, whose products have some fame. Even an occasional Indian cultivates it for his own use and to give to his friends. There is another similar plant, and, when he lacks real tobacco, the Indian deceives himself with its leaves. The true tobacco is called "peenti" in Chiriguano, and the other "huacapeenti," which, literally explained, means "cow tobacco." 276 In Bolivia there is considerable consumption of tobacco wrapped in paper or maize husks; rarely does one see cigars of pure tobacco, like the Havanas and others; the Chiriguano smokes a lot and acquires the habit at a tender age. [897] Children of four years of age have already begun to smoke; [562] women also smoke.

137 824 TACUARA. -- In the past when there were no cattle, the tacuara, or hollow cane, was very abundant; vestiges still remain of some immense canebrakes, but the plant has been reduced [435] almost to the cultivated one, with the result that what was previously found in the forest at the disposal of the first occupant is found today in the possession of private parties, and anyone who is planning to build a dwelling must pay for hollow cane at the rate of 80 centavos per hundred, and the worst of it is that it is not found everywhere. This lack is made up for by small rods from trees, but these are neither as light nor always

/27 cont./

137 which is purple when mature and opens into three sections
824 when ripe. It has an insipid sweetness, but one which both
[262] whites and Chiriguano like. The color is a bright purple. it is abundant, and in certain years of scarcity it is a resource for human life in the months of February and March. In Chiriguano it is called "Ñacagüina." The carapari is another cactus, taller than the preceding ones, which also has its congenial land, /28/ since it is not found everywhere. It is admirable for its tall, striated leaves or branches, ash-gray and armed with spines; its fruit is very pleasant and also sought
[342] by foxes. The trunk is soft like that of all cacti; nevertheless
[757] doors are made of this wood and are durable enough. The pulp of the trunk is used medicinally to cure liver ailments, etc. They say that it is even good for goiter. There is another species of cactus which grows to some 20 or 25 centimeters; it is round and thick, striated and armed with spines. In Chiriguano it is called "Zipepe." The children, as we shall
[524] see, make wheels by cutting off its spines, and, making it roll, they use it as targets for their arrows. Finally, there is another which is trailing and long, covering the ground where it grows and making the place impenetrable. This has and
[262] produces a very delicious fruit which is called "Tapiacaru" in Chiriguano.

TILANDSIA. -- This plant is known to the Chiriguano
[342] by the name of "Caraguata guasu." Its special place is the
[283] hills, and among them it has some more congenial to it; it
[492] grows well enough, and its leaves are extraordinarily broad and long and ash-gray in color; in the middle there is a thick stalk which rises quite high and is good wood for house rafters; from the crushed leaves they make cord and from these are made first-rate halters for tying up animals in the rainy season.
[286] The Toba and even the Chiriguano make a kind of net which
[171] they call chipa or "añapoca," which is very useful, inasmuch
[482] as the women can carry any weight in a bag of that kind; from
[227] the same they make nets so as to be able to fish in the rivers, and these are pieces of work which would attract attention in any part of the Old World.

/30 cont./

137 824 276 YERBA DEL DIABLO. -- This is the datura which is so abundant in the countryside and fields and which is a real plague. It rises to one meter in height, has branches, broad leaves, white flowers, and fruit armed with spines which, when dry, are enough to draw blood. The leaves and seeds make one lose one's memory. In this respect I remember one incident when an Indian woman absent-mindedly or out of ignorance covered an olla of hot food with datura leaves; half an hour later she ate it and it gave her a bad headache and a short spell of vertigo. Her little granddaughter, a schoolgirl about six years old, ate some also, and she suffered a complete loss of memory and all her actions were those of a demented person, a state which lasted some 24 hours. It seems that the Chiriguano [159] do not know that this plant and its seeds and leaves are poisonous; the latter, dried, are medicinal, alleviate the effects of asthma, and are prescribed for asthmatic Indians. Christians know it by the name of chamicot and the Indians by that of "caaza," that is, painful herb.

137 824 SAPALLO /squash/. -- There are eleven species of this creeping plant, which I shall discuss in another chapter, only adding that watermelon and melon also grow here, as well as the cucumber and the beet. The "curugua" and the "curuguami" [262] of the Chiriguano are plants which are similar to the sapallo, but they climb trees and produce there an oblong, sweet, and fragrant fruit; when one enters a house, it is immediately evident if there are curugua fruits there; they are edible both green and ripe, but they are preferable in the ripe state.

I shall forgo describing many trees and plants whose [342] medicinal virtues are known; I shall take up others when dealing with medicines; however, before I forget it, I shall note here at the end of the flora that a region where /31/ there are damp places abounds in secular cedars, whose wood is used in carpentry for doors, windows, tables, etc. So that it may not be subject to rot, it is necessary to get mature plants whose color is light red; the whitish one is attacked by the wood borer; the odor of the wood is narcotic, and this property keeps away insects; its odor is similar to that of the cedar of Lebanon, and for this reason the conquistadors gave the name of cedar to this tree which the Chiriguano call "Igilirane," or stinking stick.

133
.342
361

4: Nino--230 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano Town

/169 cont./

In both cases the ranchos which had been formed were left destroyed, despite the fact that the latter, because they had been built under the direction of the missionary, were quite comfortable, new, and /170/ well covered with red straw /paja colorada/, which is the best for the construction of ranchos.

731 361 The Chiriguano Indian does not do this. He also on occasion suffers from a scarcity of supplies, because the land on which he lives produces harvests only when there is no lack of rain. In times of scarcity he bars the door of his house [574] with poles or thorns, temporarily leaves his town, and goes off to distant lands in search of food, gets it, and brings it to his home, but he does not emigrate en masse, nor does he build temporary huts in a foreign place or town, and if he has any relatives in the places where there is abundant food, he seeks them out and is welcomed and well treated by them. He remains there for weeks and even months, until his fellows are tired of him, and then he takes his leave, taking the little food that is offered to him as something precious, and in fact it is in times of hunger.

361 [62] [592] Chiriguano towns are small, consisting of a few houses, most of them not exceeding 20 or 30 houses; these are large and in each one there are up to three families, but close relatives, such as father and married son and married daughter; they form a square and are so situated as to enclose the little plaza. They are not pretty, but they are clean; they are not large, but neither are they as small as those of some towns of the whites. These Chiriguano towns are poor; it is hard to [342] find in them houses with tiles, but they are comfortable, with the roofs, as will be said, having the necessary slope so that they do not readily admit drips (1).

[354]

1. In the upper part of the house they make a long, continuous opening to allow the smoke to escape; it is made in such a way that it does not allow water to come in during the rainy season.

/170 cont./

Modern Houses

342 17 [464] [648]

A Chiriguano house offers nothing special in appearance, but even those of the mestizos who have settled in their country are of the same form and not rarely worse, because naturally since the mestizo is not very fond of physical labor, because he is not an Indian, it is necessary for him to call on the energy of the latter, and the native is not always inclined to lend him this or that service, from which it follows that their houses are inferior (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. I am speaking here of the houses that the mestizos or whites build in the countryside where they live; in the towns their houses are normal; they almost all have tile roofs, and there are also some which are white-washed.

342 [192] [184]

/171/ House in the Chiriguano language is called Ho, which is different from what they call Tapi, but. The latter are common in large towns and belong to the lazy people, wanderers, and even the poor. It must thus be understood that the construction of a Chiriguano house is a work of no small importance and care, if one considers that the Chiriguano is poor, so poor that he only has available an ax, a shovel, and a knife, and not always these. Because of the importance that I give to this construction, many who do not know these regions could believe that the houses are very fine, but there is nothing fine about them. None of them is beyond the rank of cabins.

342 335 476

I believe that it is indispensable to describe the way of constructing them and the elements available to the Chiriguano in order to carry this out. If the Indian has some luck in sheep, he pays some of his companions with sheep so that they will help him gather the principal timber, and should this wealth be lacking, he begins to cut and strip bark in the woods by himself, selecting timber of good quality, straight and resistant to the action of water. The principal pieces are generally six posts

[Text continues on p. 235]

4: Nian--204 M-3 (1880-1911) 1912 SF10 Chirigsano SF10

342
352
353
516

Partial View of Modern Chirigsano House

/171 cont./

[342] [343] [196] [197] which form the skeleton of the house, but where the forest is not tall and the trees slender, nine are needed.

Once the timber has been transported with the help of his companions and relatives and they have been treated with food and chicha, the day for setting up the house is set. The center posts are first placed, with the two holes being dug quite deep; next comes the placement of the four or six lateral ones, which are much shorter so that rain will not stay on the roof and there will not be continual and copious dripping. I measured several relatively new houses, and their pitch from the ground to the ridgepole is about 47 c/o in some, and in others 38, it being possible to conclude that the average is 40 (1).

> 1. Chiriguano houses are rectangular with only one room, which, if it is very long, has in the middle another post which holds up the ridgepole so that it may not bend or break.

[198] This proportion is maintained today by the houses in Chiriguano towns, and it cannot be otherwise, because the roof is entirely of straw and the rain would stay on it if it did not have sufficient slope. Some who by mistake build them without this proportion realize at the time of the first torrential rains, and even more in the ones that follow, the mistake that they have made, but in vain, because /172/ it is very difficult for the Indian to correct his lack of foresight.

Once the skeleton of the house has been set up vertically, the rest is simpler to do, except for the placement of the ridgepole and the side beams: the latter can be cut in half to make it easier to move them, in addition to making finding them easier. The placement of these beams is followed by that of the rafters and the reinforcing pieces of wood to strengthen the walls. The rafters are tied with bejuco or with spiny ceiba bark, which is called Samou by the Indians and Toborochi by the whites.

[324]

/172 cont./

342 824 The hardest part is finished with the previous operation; a short rest is taken, and then the owner of the new building must obtain enough hollow cane, engaging for this purpose Indians who have horses. But if the cane is very far away and has owners to boot, he gathers long sticks of astringent acacia or sebil and puts them horizontally every 15 centimeters on top of the rafters with the same above-mentioned lianas. Some [283] people, to tie the cane or sticks, use thin cords made from cowhide, but this, in addition to being more expensive, is less durable than bejuco (1).

[137] [178] [423]

1. Before the whites settled in Chiriguano country, hollow cane was abundant and had no owners; at the present time it cannot be found, and, if there is any, it is in private hands and must be bought.

Generally, before the walls are begun the house is covered with capíi, red straw, or, should this not be available, with capiáncua, straw for harnesses of beasts of burden, which is of inferior quality and very soon frays to pieces with the rain, sun, and strong winds, while the capíi may last for more than ten years.

[476] If it can be obtained by staying for a few days in a place where it is plentiful, he pulls it up there and reduces it to rather large handfuls; the gathering is done in several days, engaging Indians who own horses. When the material is in the town, he rests for a few days or weeks; he informs or invites those who wish to take part, in particular those who are closest to him by [354] kinship or friendship. These then go about tying the capíi between two horizontal canes toward the side of the roots, forming long, narrow lines, and when they are so placed, they attach them horizontally, beginning at the bottom and working /173/ upward or toward the ridgepole, where they leave a large vent to let out the eternal smoke of their inextinguishable fires (1).

1. Now the red straw is disappearing almost completely; the destruction of this necessary

/173 cont./

342 824 element and that of the hollow cane are due to the abundance of cattle, which destroy even the straw for harnesses.

342 574 [476] [831] When the placement of the roof has been completed, they all come down and gather in the hut of the friend, who, as a reward or payment for the service rendered, offers them a cup of chicha, and they drink this amidst jokes and crudities, at times very heavy, especially should maidens or women of 30 years or older who do not keep quiet pass by. But as the people know each other well and are friends, the greatest harmony reigns, and, when everything is finished, they take leave of the owner, thanking him for his gifts, and he shows them his gratitude for the services which they have rendered (2).

2. The workers only ask for chicha in recompense, but if the owner has beans or gourds cooked for them in a stew with considerable stimulant in the form of chili pepper, arivivi, it is a feast or carnival for all.

342 312 [221] The rest of the work is done with less haste and at a more opportune time. In fact, most wait until the rainy season to do it, for then water is abundant, and this to be sure deserves the approbation of all because it is more economical and easier. Thus, taking into consideration the laziness of the Indian man [461] and the tasks which the Chiriguano woman has, it would be expensive and quite tiresome to bring the water on their shoulders from great distances, which is avoided during the rainy season. [356] Then during each shower not only is the construction of the walls of the new houses done, but also the repair of those which have come apart during the year, and it is very amusing to see from a distance the women around the houses with their sleeves rolled up or with the tipoy down to the waist, making holes in the wet ground with shovel or hoe, pouring a little water in, kneading the earth, forming large balls of it, and putting it between the canes which are already attached.

/173 cont./

342 The canes, or sticks, are attached in the same way as in the roof, with the difference that for the walls they are put in double order, outside and inside, so that they can serve as a support for the dampened earth, which in the end is like a large bag, long and tall, around the house. This other work [462] is done by the Indian men, engaged beforehand by the promise of chicha; next they too dig in the wet soil /174/ dampened by the rain or by water, and help the women in the operation of forming the walls.

With such simplicity, the four walls are raised in a single day, everything being completed; at the present time almost all houses have a gallery where the men and women always sit to enjoy the cool of the mornings and the evenings in friendly gatherings, a gallery which is even used for sleeping on excessively hot nights, especially when inside there is an abundance of vinchucas and other insects (1).

346
476

1. In Parapiti a school for 150 girls was built and finished in 12 hours; nothing had been prepared for this building; it was planned the day before and done at once by all the inhabitants.

342 With the erection of the gallery, the house is completely finished, and the Indian content and satisfied. In present-day buildings care is taken to place the door, or entry, at one end of the house which corresponds to the gallery, and many have two, one in front of the other, in order to have a way to the patio which they make with a fence of thorns for greater comfort.

342 The doors are of cane, which they tie together like mats, 28 but vertically, with ceiba bark or with cowhide thongs, which [322] are more durable indoors. If an Indian can get a cowhide, [824] he makes a door of Guayapa wood, or, as the whites call it, zacharrosa, or another soft wood, which he puts in a hole left in the construction; he makes another frame with its hinges made of the same wood, soaks the hide, and fastens it in this

/174 cont./

342 281 second frame, taking care that it is not very tight so that when it dries it will not warp. He attaches this hide from behind with thongs of the same material, and the result for them is a door de luxe, which could be envied even by some whites, who, in spite of the fact that they have hides, either cannot find anyone to work them for such a door, or who out of avarice and in order not to spend a few coins do not concern themselves with such a comfort (2).

342 322

2. Some of them make very crude doors with two pieces of thorny ceiba wood, which they work perfectly with a knife. No Chiriguano puts a window in his house.

Ancient Houses

342 177 178 Some of my readers perhaps may have believed that the house and its mode of construction just described go back to the origin of the race. /175/ This belief would be an error, because they must understand that the above-mentioned is the result of progress. The method of building houses like the present ones is relatively new; they learned it from the whites, especially from the inhabitants of the Santa Cruz area, where the houses all have galleries, this being noted even in the capital of the department, although they may be of much more importance and may be disappearing in the new buildings. But 184 in Monteagudo, Lagunillas, Charagua, and centers where the Chiriguano have their holdings, houses have gallaries.

These, in addition to giving the houses a better appearance, in addition to the indisputable utility, are a very great reinforcement and protection for the walls of the house, not allowing the torrential rains to wear away or demolish the plastering that 342 171 they do in all the houses. It is true that many houses of the whites in their towns are of adobe, but when the timber is of superior quality it is almost preferable, because this material + REMAINS JOINED BETTER AND IS MORE COMPACT.

000 /175 cont./
remains joined better and is more compact (1).

197 1. When a mission is founded, the first building is the mission house made in the usual way. But in the Potosí missions they are all of timber, and any traveler would marvel at their height and strength.

342 178 The ancient Chiriguano houses were of different form, and they were not alike in size or beauty in the towns. Some were distinguished by their roundness and conical form, and others because they were small and low. The latter had no importance at all and could scarcely even be called huts, in spite of the fact that, to the poor Chiriguano, dominated by his laziness, the smallness of a dwelling does not detract from its importance.

342 171 I am going to deal at some length with the way the houses of conical form were built, because they indicate skill on the part of the builder or because they make one's imagination take wing and fly to China, Africa, and Japan, where similar forms are found and thus make us ever more convinced of the unity of the human race.

As explorers, travelers, histories, and well thought out books say and as is also observed in the pictures of illustrated geographies, it is evident that in China, Japan, Africa, New Zealand, and in the east of Australia not a few of the inhabitants /176/ have houses in conical form.

This form seems to be the original one of the human race, and it is very probable that man has used it in the five parts of the world, since it is even found among the Chiriguano.

342 335 In fact, in order to construct a comfortable house before the Conquest, the clever Chiriguano used the following method. He first obtained a single post of some four or five meters and planted it at a depth of approximately one meter (1).

[476] [574] 1. For any small job for which the Indian must trouble his friends, he would get nothing without offering them a drink. Not even money is so esteemed and appreciated as chicha by the Chiriguano.

/176 cont./

342 335 The post thus set up served as a central point for the new house; next he traced a more or less round circle without having any recourse whatsoever to the rules of theoretical geometry, being ignorant of its existence; nevertheless, his reason helped him enough. Having traced the circle and having secured ahead of time enough forked poles /horquillas/ some two meters high, he put them in holes some 50 or 60 centimeters deep around the circumference, leaving the entrance facing the plaza.

Once these poles have been well fixed in the ground around the center pole, the Indian, with the help of his companions and relatives, prepares rafters, straw, bejuco or ceiba bark, hollow cane or small sticks. He then begins, after an appropriate period of rest, to put in place first the rafters, tying them to each other, the center post serving as a prop, and then he ties them to the poles around the circumference, one to each pole, until he finishes. Before beginning, the precaution is taken of singeing the bejuco. The rest is done as has been described in the modern houses, but when the placing of the roof and the walls around are finished, the center post, which would only be an obstruction for the fire which is constantly burning in the center of the house, is removed (2).

[824]

2. Singed bejuco does not rot, regardless of the season in which it has been pulled up. It is resistant and is not attacked by the wood borer. Those who use it so much have experience.

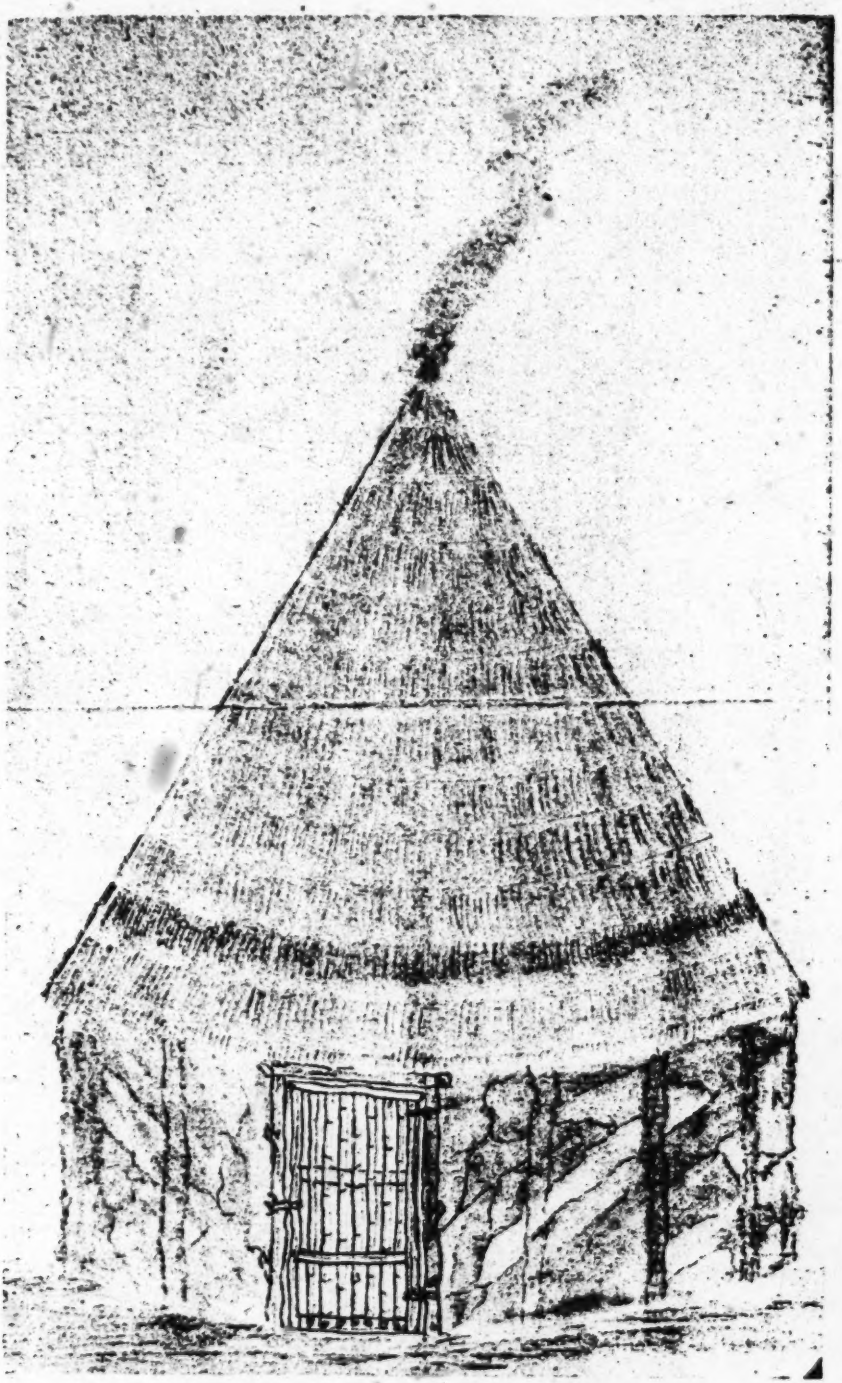
[821] Everyone knows that conical houses are very solid, when care is taken to select good wood and /illustration appears here/ /177/ to cut it during the waning moon. If the rafters have the fork downward, conical houses are much more solid (1).

[554]

1. A house in conical form among the ancient Chiriguano indicated great ability on the part of the builder and status on the part of its owner; for this reason they were owned only by caciques, rich persons, and other important persons.

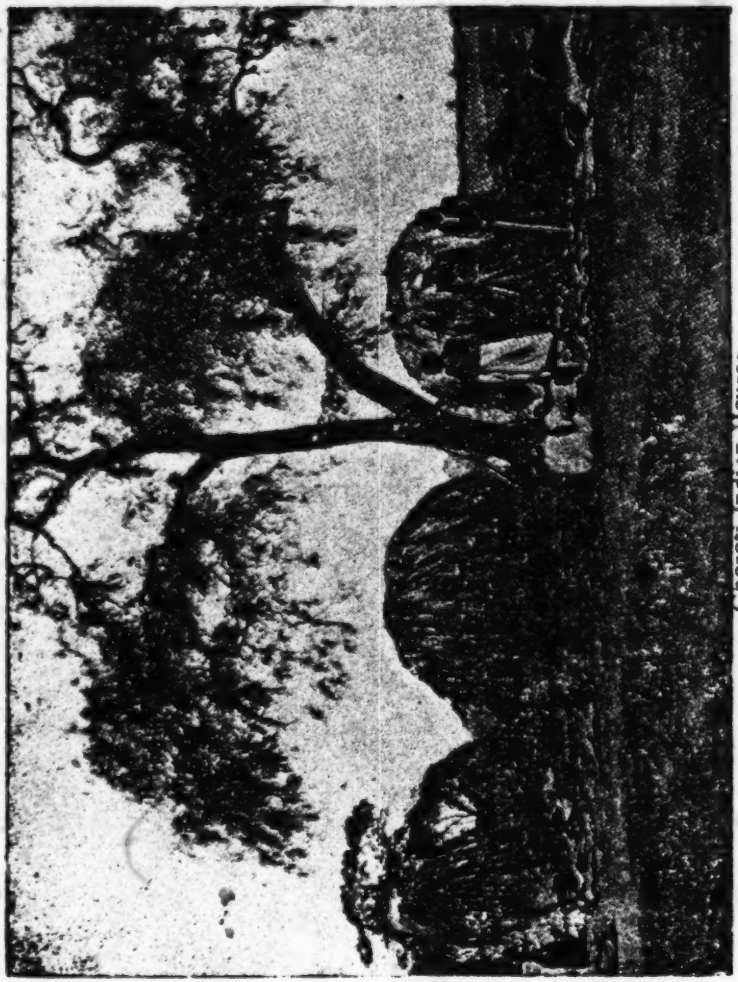
4: Nino--242 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

● 342



4: Nino--392 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano
Choroti SK6

342
351
361



Choroti Indian Houses

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 H (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
[P 1]
C 343

Fig. 1. Maize-barn.
Chiriguano.

I.

Dwellings.

C ce 361

Like all other Indians I visited south of Sta Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, the Chiriguano and Chané live in villages. Some of these villages are rather large and inhabited by several hundred people. Frequently a number of villages are situated quite close to each other. As a rule, the huts stand around an open space which is sometimes planted with trees to give shelter. These »squares» serve as meeting-places and playgrounds.

C ce 342

The huts are square. They are built of reeds or wooden laths, and thatched with grass. They are very often plastered with earth.

C ce [592] [361]

There are no huts here of the original Indian shape. The real Chiriguano (Chané?) huts were very large; as many as a hundred people lived in the same house, the whole

SiNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
342
[592]
[171]
Ce
361
342
[609]

village consisting of only a few big huts.[1]) These plainly correspond to the great family-houses known to us from Brazil, but which in Bolivia I have only seen among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe on the Lago Rojo-Aguado. CHOMÉ[2]) gives no exact information about the huts. He says they stood in a circle around an open place. In the middle of the square there was a special hut for strangers. According to NIXO[3]) the Chiriguano formerly had round houses. He gives a rather lengthy description of these, but does not tell us the source of his information. NIXO describes at length how the Chiriguano now build their houses.

C
Ce
342
177

As early as the time of VIEDMA[4]) — end of the 18th century — they seem to have forsaken their original type of house and built themselves smaller huts. Since the dwelling-houses here retain no traces of their original shape, it is useless to make comparisons with other Indian huts. There is hardly anything in Indian culture which so quickly changes under the influence of the Whites as the houses. The acquisition of iron tools makes it possible to put up quickly properly built houses. An Indian tribe need consequently not have been long in contact with the Whites before they alter the style of their huts. This is not the case, to be sure, with all the tribes, for many, such as those in the interior of the Chaco, tenaciously preserve the primitive type of hut which, though small and inconvenient, affords greater protection from cold than the roomier dwellings of the Whites.

C
Ce
[171]

It would be of interest to find out in what measure

[1]) Annua de la Compañia de Jesús — Tucuman y Perú — 1596. »El mayor de los pueblos es de cinco casas; lo común es de tres; mas son muy largas, de más de 150 pasos, á dos aguas, con estantes en el medio sobre que se arma la cumbrera, y de estante á estante vive una parentela.» LIZÁRRAGA P. 552.

[2]) P. 313. »Pendant ce temps-là, je n'avais pas d'autre logement que le toit de paille qui étoit au milieu de la place.»

[3]) P. 174.

[4]) P. 181. »Sus casas son unos pequeños ranchos hechos de caña.»

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the earth-plastering of huts is here an original Indian idea. I have attempted to indicate on a map the distribution of huts with earth-plastered walls, but I refrain from publishing it because, in the majority of cases, I cannot ascertain whether the Indians learned from the Whites to plaster their huts. Huts with earth-plastered walls are found among the Indians around Roraima in Guiana[1]) and among the Ijca[2]) in Columbia. The Indians at Mojos[3]) used to have such huts, and OUTES[4]) mentions them from the Cainguá etc. Earth-plastered mestizo huts are also common in the Mizque valley in Bolivia.

The Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, but not those on the Rio Parapiti, and the Chiriguano have maize-barns on piles.[5]) Occasionally the barn and dwelling-house are combined in such wise that the people live on the ground-floor and store their maize on the floor above. During my travels I have only seen barns on piles among the Mataco-Guisnay (one only), Mataco Vejos, and the Chacobo (one only). Some Quichua huts between the Rio Chapáre and Cochabamba are built on piles. I scarcely think these are original, however.

JOHANNES LEHMANN has written a treatise on pile-buildings all over the world. He mentions there their occurrence among several tribes in northern S. America, which are shown on the map below. The village on piles from La Plata mentioned by LEHMANN after HEIERLI is, of course, not Indian; nor are the barns from the Argentine

[1]) THULIN.

[2]) BOLINDER (4), P. 35.

[3]) MARBAN P. 133; CASTILLO, P. 318.

[4]) OUTES Y BRUCH (5) P. 93.

[5]) Already LIZÁRRAGA (P. 609) speaks of the maize-barns of the Chiriguano: »No dormian en el buhio, sino fuera, las espaldas seguras con unas piruas de maiz juncto al buhio (pirua es un cercado como de dos varas de hueco, redondo de cañas, donde se encierra el maiz).«

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians
53

C
Ce
343
114
*171
342

Pampas in which the corn is stored to protect it from hares.

The above-mentioned village and barns I have, therefore, left out of my map. PATER SCHMIDT[1]) mentions pile-buildings from other tribes too.

FRIEDERICI[2]) has also collected numerous statements referring to the occurrence of pile-dwellings in S. America from the works of older writers.

Ce
*171
342
114
343

The table 1 and map 1 which follow show the distribution of pile-buildings in S. America according to LEHMANN, FRIEDERICI and PATER SCHMIDT, together with some additions and corrections.

S
342
343

On the accompanying map I have merely indicated those which seem certainly to be of Indian origin. Those mentioned at the end of the 15th century, as well as those from the 16th are so undoubtedly. I am convinced that the pile-buildings of the Chané and Chiriguano are genuinely Indian, as nowhere in this region do the Whites possess such barns. Their geographical distribution leads us to presume their genuinely Indian origin, as also that they are a culture-element which came to these Indians from the swamps of Mojos, and that they here are an Arawak culture-element too. The use of pile-buildings on hard ground is quite comprehensible to me, as they offer great advantages, whether used for barns or dwelling-houses. The idea must have come, however, from some marshy tract or from a sea-coast where the inhabitants were dependent on ebb and flood tides. In the cases where a people employ pile-buildings on hard ground which is not liable to floods, it is due, as a rule, to conservative ideas — the mode of building to which they were accustomed in their former dwelling-places has become indispensable.

C
Ce
343
114
342

---

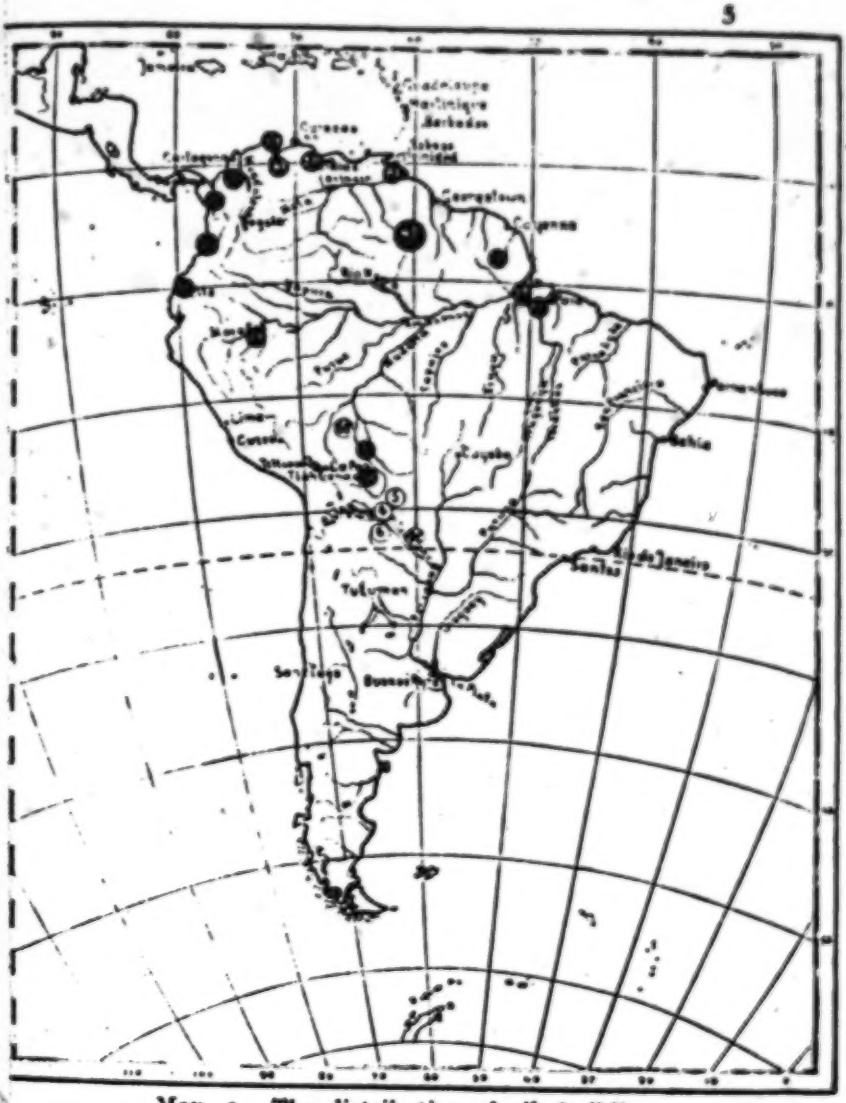
[1]) P. 1064.
[2]) (5) P. 98.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

5

C
Ce
171*
102
342 ●
343
131

S
342
343
102



Map 1. The distribution of pile buildings.

● = Dwelling-houses.
O = Barns.

Bibliotheca Nordenskiöldiana E-4,(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF1
South American Indians 53

ce
ce
*171
342
343
114
c
ce

The notion that the pile-buildings employed as barns are here of different origin from those used as dwelling-houses, is unlikely. There is nothing in the geographical distribution to support this idea.

Outside their barns the Chiriguano and Chané have ladders consisting of logs in which steps have been hewn.

[419]

Table 1.

e
ce
*171
342
343
102
s
102
342

Pile buildings. Map. 1.

4. Chiriguano.
5. Chané.
6. Mataco-Vejos. Have evidently copied the Chané barns.
18. Quichua.
23. Mojo, MARBAN P. 132. Cooking-shed.
39. Goijiro, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064. (after ERNST); Paranhano, JAHN.
47. Indians Roraima: Wapiniana, Arecuna, Macusi, Patamona. PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064; THULIN.
62. Chacobo.
68. Omagua. »Hicieron los indios dentro de sus mismas casas unos tablados de madera, que ellos llaman Iuzas y encima de ellos estuvimos tres meses, que fueron los de Abril, Mayo y Junio con más de seis palmos de agua debajo.
Entraban y salian las canoas dentro de las casas, y de noche quedaban de bajo de los tablados.» LAUREANO DE LA CRUZ P. 88; [MARCOI] Vol. XXX. P. 197.
01. Indians on the west coast of Columbia. PHARBO P. 204; CIEZA DE LEON (1) P. 95; OVIEDO T. 3. P. 8; ANDAGOYA P. 76; ROBLEDO P. 277.
3 F. Barbacóa, RIVET (4) AND VERNEAU P. 39.
4 F. Indians on and near Lake Maracaibo. NAVARRETE T. III. P. 8; »A quatro dias llegaron à un pueblo de gherigue-

Schmidt-Schiffner II-4,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S

C
CE
342
343
171*
102
S
102
342

rio, que esta armado sobre madera en el agua en unas ciénegas del mismo rio». OVIEDO T. 2. P. 293. (See also P. 294 and P. 300); TOLOSA P. 229.

5 F. Indians at the mouth of the Amazon. «A cabo de seis dias de navegacion tomaron una isla en un puerto y ensenada que el rio hacia en ella, y como tres tiros de arcabuz, por este puerto y ensenada arriba, dieron con unas casas fuertes, armadas sobre gruesos y recios estantes que tenian hincados en el proprio cabo desta ensenada de rio o estero que alli se hacia ..... sobre estos estantes o pilares estaban unas salas de tablas de palmas bravas ...» ORTIGUERA P. 372.

6 F. Indians near Para. «desquels demeurent dans les IOURAS qui sont des maisons faictes à la forme des Ponts aux Changes et de sainct Michel de Paris, assises sur le haut de gros arbres plantees en l'eau.» EVREUX P. 28. The civilised Indians in the same region still live in pile-buildings. KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) T. 1, P. 3; LANGE, Several illustrations.

7 p. Oyampi, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064. (after COUDREAU); Palicours, FAUQUE P. 359.

8 X. Warrau, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064; RALEIGH P. 50; LEVEL P. 60.

9 C. Mataco-Guisnay. (I saw one single barn on piles among these Indians).

1 R. Indians, Darien. OVIEDO T. 2. P. 455.

2 R. Caquetios, FEDERMANN P. 191.

Not on the map Galibi, French Guiana. LOMBARD P. 198.

• Indians Cayambe, Ecuador. PREUSSER (5). P. 99 (After MONTERINO and others.)

Pile buildings are among the culture-elements where it is sometimes difficult to decide whether they are Indian or not. In the rubber forests of Bolivia, Peru and Brazil, at favourable spots, are many barracks built on piles. THE-

S
342

SiNordenskiöld E-S,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177

dians. A handicraft the Chiriguano and Chané have learnt from the Whites, is tanning.

C
Ce
177
342

The dwelling-places of these two tribes have been greatly changed under the influence of the Whites. I have noticed the same phenomenon in several other tracts. The Yamaica, a small Peruvian tribe that I visited in 1904, a few years after its discovery, had already given up the old type of hut and built huts on the pattern of the houses of the Whites. The Huanyam, a small tribe near the Rio Guaporé in Brazil, which had not long been under the influence of the Whites (or more correctly, the negroes), now builds huts on the model of the houses they see at the rubber barracks. Several similar examples could be recorded. Everywhere it is the introduction of the white man's implements, so excellent in comparison with the stone axes, that has brought about the revolution.

C
Ce
177

The negative influence of the Whites has of course been very great here. The primitive tools have disappeared, a number of implements and ornaments have become rare or have vanished, a quantity of domestic industry has become superfluous, since readymade things have been purchasable from the Whites. The Indian domestic industry is gradually disappearing, but is not transformed under the influence of the Whites.

A race like the Chiriguano or Chané, when it falls under the influence of a culture, such as the Whites', which is very strange to them, very soon, as a rule, utilizes for its own ends such elements as smooth for them the struggle for existence. We know, for instance, with what incredible rapidity the culture of the banana spread among the Indians soon after the Discovery of America, and that in many places it rapidly became one of their most important cultivated plants. And I have already mentioned that, a few years after its introduction, poultry-keeping spread far and wide among the Indians in S. Brazil.

C
Ce

In the matter of ornaments and adornments the Indian

[301]

/159 cont./

things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78).

From Maringay I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of Mimosaceae, cacti, small algarrobas, and other fine-leaved trees. This woodland is seldom so dense than one cannot easily get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa,

Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth. Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger.

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and across the great plain of Boyuovis, over the country that was the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuqui, they fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the right to rob all weaker peoples.

After my excursion to Maringay I left the land of the Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already described in this book, to the Chorotí and Ashluslay.

/171 cont./
on the Rio Paraphti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians. The Ashluslay also maintain, as my interpreter told me, that /172/ the Toba chief Teycolique, during his invasion of their territory in 1909, had several Chiriguano with him.

Batiayu said that in former times the Chaná brought home the heads of their slain enemies and set them up on the plazas of the villages during festivals.

Fig. 82. Clay vessel of the Chaná. 1/4.
Rio Paraphti.

/172/ Chapter Eleven

From the Land of the Chaná and Chiriguano Indians

Everyday Life in the Chaná and Chiriguano Huts

As a rule, I felt very comfortable in the huts of the Chaná and Chiriguano. The life in these villages is exactly the same. If one describes one village, he has described almost all of them.

Like all the other Indians whom I visited south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, these Indians live in villages. Some of these villages are quite large and inhabited by several hundred persons. Often many villages lie close together. The huts, as a rule, lie around a market place on which sweetsop trees are occasionally planted for shelter in the rainy season. The market places serve as playgrounds and meeting places. The huts, in contrast to the round Chorotí and Ashluslay huts, are square, and their doors, facing the village, are set in the gable. They are made of cane or wooden slats, with roofs of grass. Not infrequently they are plastered with earth.

/173 cont./ C Ca

Under the influence of the whites, however, the Chané and Chiriguano are gradually changing their huts, and many Indians are already building huts that are identical with theirs. 392 177

No hut here has its original Indian form. The genuine Chiriguano hut (the original Chané huts are not known) were very large: up to 100 persons lived in one house, and the entire /174/ village consisted of only a few large huts (1). These C 392 178 361 592 171

1. Anonimo de la Compañía de Jesus. -- Tucumán y Perú -- 1596. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Madrid, 1885. Vol. II. Page CIV. C [113]

evidently corresponded to the large family houses well known in Brazil, which I saw in Bolivia only among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe from Lago Rojo-Aguado.

Even in Viedma's (2) time, at the end of the eighteenth

2. Viedma: loc. cit.

century, /Fig. 83 appears here/ however, they seem to have given up the original type of house and built smaller huts. C

In many villages there belongs to each hut one or more maize-granaries (Fig. 84a), in which maize, gourds, etc. are /175/ stored. These granaries are built on piles and are perhaps a reminder of the time when the Chiriguano and Chané lived in swampy regions. To each granary there belongs, as a rule, a ladder (Fig. 84b). Sometimes the granaries and the dwellings are built together into one house. /Fig. 84a appears here./ I saw such huts in the vicinity of Macharetí and at Tatavéri, not far from Ivo. Not infrequently the granaries stand in the field, far from the dwellings. Ca Ea 343 Ea [361] [179] C Ca 342 343

These villages are neat and clean. Huts and market places are swept daily and the refuse is burned. C Ea 364

The space in the huts is not too cramped. /176/ In each house, as a rule, there lives only one family, which, aside from the rest of the family members, sometimes consists of the husbands Ea 592

C /176 cont./
Ce of the daughters, who, during the betrothal and at the beginning
592 of the marriage, live with the mother-in-law. In front of
C the hut is the large hearth (Ill. 83) where the maize beer,
Ce and sometimes also the food, is cooked. /Fig. 84b appears
592 here./ Inside the hut there is likewise a hearth where cooking
354 is done and where one seeks warmth on cold nights and days.

Ce
342
415
417
293

Fig. 83. Hearth for boiling maize beer. Chané village. Rio Itiyuro. To the right in the picture, large vessels in which the maize beer ferments. The house is plastered with earth.

C
Ce I have slept in these huts many a night. They are, as a
342 rule, free of vermin, which cannot be said of the dwellings
122 of all other Indians and of the houses of the whites. The sleep-
136 ing place either consists of a bed made of a species of bamboo
352 cane, or one lies /Plate 16 appears here/ /177/ on the ground
513 on a reed mat or a skin. One also sees hammocks in the hut:

Ce 342 512

/177 cont./

It is very cozy in a Chané or Chiriguano hut, especially in the evening when they all creep toward the beautiful, warming fire, when tongues wag, the old ones tell stories, the mothers put their little ones to bed, the young couples sit apart and whisper.

Ce 343 335 417

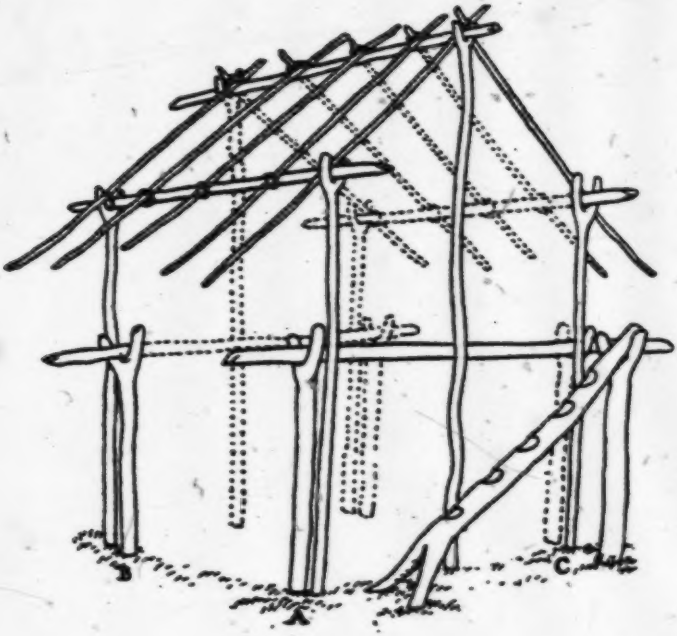


Fig. 84b. Illustration showing the construction of the granary.

[P. 190 is blank]

142 To me, the Chiriguano seemed to be of better physique than both the Puna and the Chaco Indians, and their cast of features, as a rule, to be less rough-hewn than those of the above-mentioned tribes. Herma ten Kate has taken anthropological measurements of four Chiriguano men, whose average height was determined at 160.1 cm.[1] Lehmann-Nitsche, who has made anthropological observations of 50 Chiriguano (40 men and 10 women), is my authority for the data I have grouped together in the subjoined table.[2]

141 [127]

The Chiriguano; some physical data.

Sex	Average height, cm	Shape of skull	Colour of skin, Luschan's scale	Colour of hair, Fischer's scale	Iris, by Martin's scale
Men.....	163.4	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 22	Majority 4	Majority 3—4
Women.....	151.7	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 18	Majority 4	Majority 3—4

142 The Chiriguano complexion is, accordingly, brown with a tint of yellow; the iris is dark brown, the hair black, coarse and lank. The growth of hair on face and body is very scanty.

361 The Chiriguano are not a nomadic people, but live in permanent villages, some of which are the abode of only a few families, whilst others contain several hundreds of inhabitants. At Ibitibi I was studying a Chiriguano village that, according to the Indians, was inhabited by about 300 people. This village was situated on a plain surrounded by wooded mountains (fig. 188). The huts formed a large circle, with the chief's hut in the centre. In the open space between the chief's hut and the rest, there were growing some close-foliaged trees (probably of the Bignoniaceæ family), affording much-needed shade. In earlier literature it is stated that the Chiriguano used to build a hut for strangers in the middle of the village plaza.[3] In many of the Chiriguano villages I visited, the huts were scattered about without any perceivable order.

[114] [574] [609]

342 The huts are rectangular and with ridged roofs. (Figs. 188—192.) The walls either consist of perpendicular sticks, of tree-branches or reeds,

[1] Ten Kate (1), p. 26.
[2] Lehmann-Nitsche (1).
[3] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 2.

342 placed close together and fastened with withies lashed on horizontally (figs. 189 and 190), or of branches woven together and daubed with clay (fig. 191). The roof, the construction of which is apparent from fig. 217, is thatched with grass. This is an especially interesting *method of roof-construction, used in Peru already in the pre-Columbian period*, a fact plainly evident from an ancient Peruvian vase-painting[1] (fig. 193). The walls and the roof are supported by a hut frame consisting of poles (fig. 217). 1

133
342
343

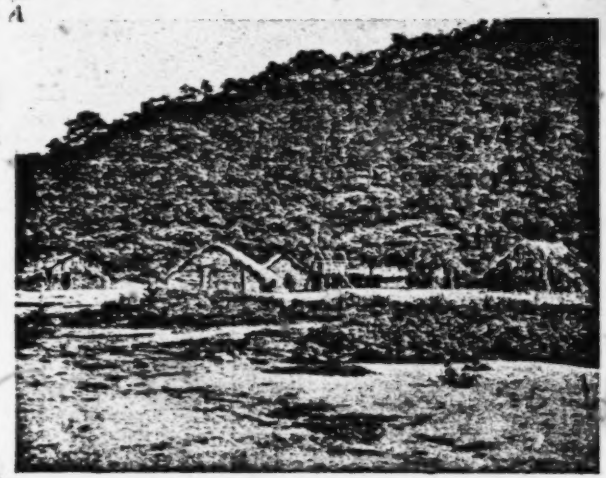


Fig. 188. Part of a Chiriguano village. Two small pile-buildings, used as maize-barns can be seen between the huts. Ibitibi. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

343 The granaries for storing maize are always built on pole supports
417 (figs. 188 and 192). Fig. 191 2 shows a step-ladder leaning against a tree.
[322] Step-ladders of this kind, usually hewn out of a single piece of wood, are used by the Chiriguano as means of access to these pole-supported granaries.

174 Baron E. Nordenskiöld, who has made a valuable analysis of the distribution
342 of pile-buildings in South America[2], considers that when pile-buildings occur among a tribe inhabiting a region not exposed to inundations, then the idea of constructing buildings raised on piles has generally originated at the time when the tribe inhabited some other region, either a swamp,

[1] Joyce (1), fig. 13.
[2] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 3—8.

1 [see cat. 116, P. 215 -- Analyst]
2 [see cat. 116, p. 195 -- An.]

Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

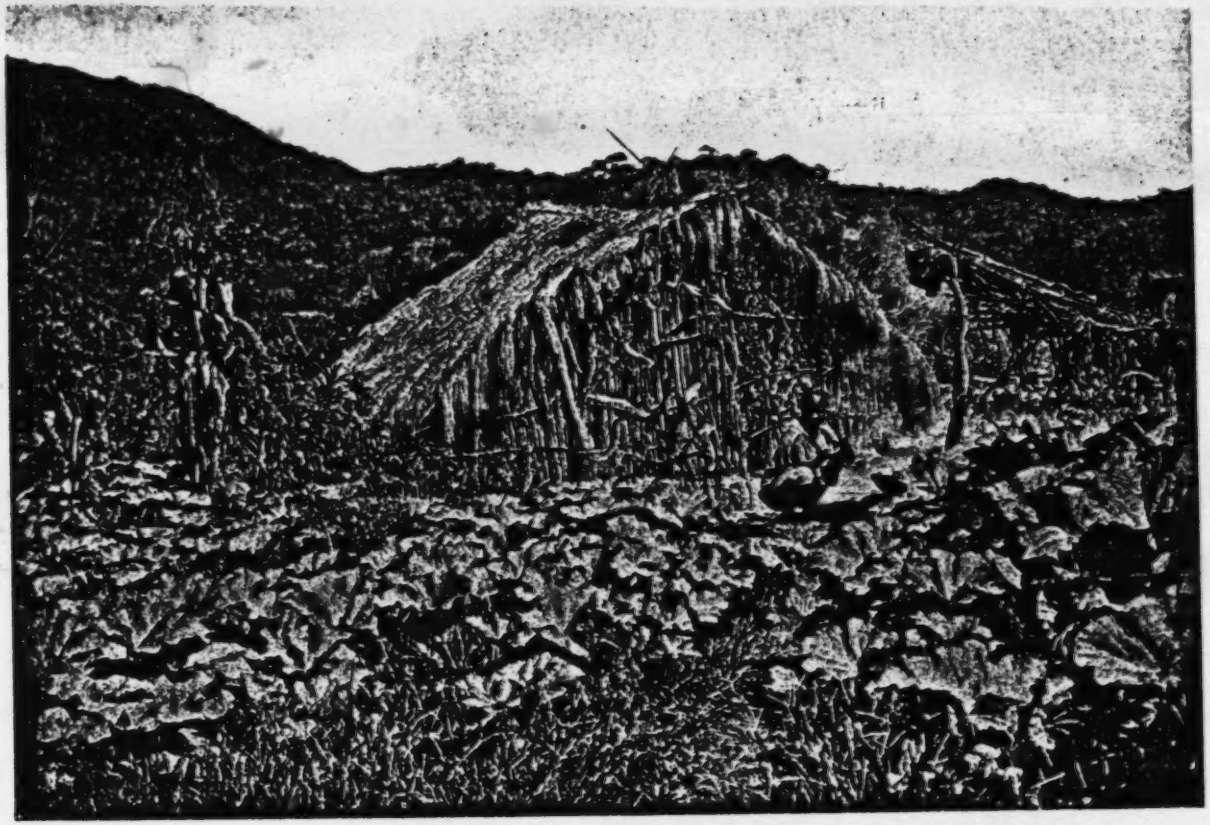


Fig. 189. Woman at a cooking-fire in front of her hut. In the foreground a gourd-patch; to the right an open cooking shed, the roof of which was used as a rough pantry. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

249
312
516
133
252

342
142
291
302
352
273

Fig. 190. Woman in front of her hut. In the foreground a bedstead on which lies chewed maize; this maize is used in the preparation of »chicha», an intoxicating beverage. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

342
361
417

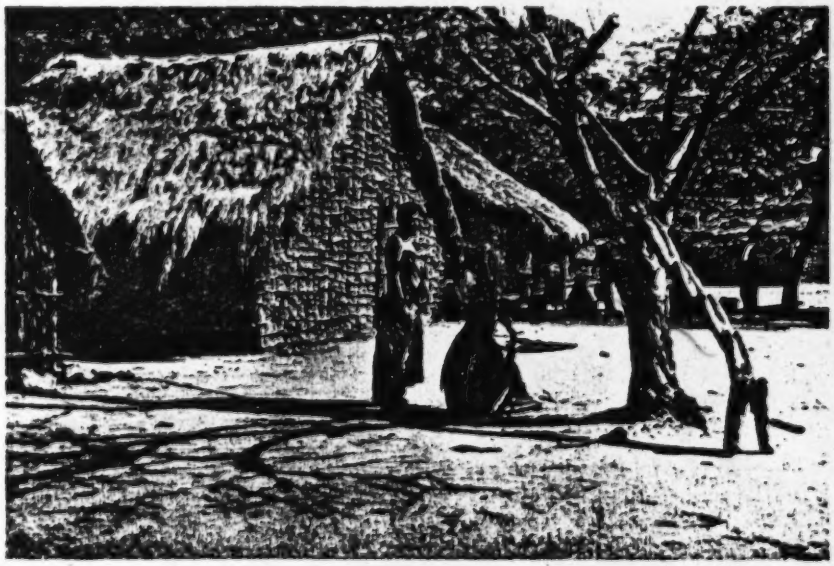


Fig. 191. Huts in the periphery of the circular market-place in the Chiriguano village of Ibitibi. In right foreground, a ladder used on going to the pile-barns for maize. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[P. 194 is blank]

174
342 or a district threatened with flooding through rainfall or the flowing in
[114] of the oceanic tide. In my opinion, however, this has usually not been the case.

342 According to my thinking, it is the fear of predatory animals that has
343 given rise to the pile-construction idea. Those granaries built on pole-
825 supports, that are so commonly met with in widely different countries,
174 have, we know, as a rule been constructed for the express purpose of furnishing protection against noxious animals, such as lesser carnivora,
[171] rodents and insects. As an example, the »njalla» of the Lapps is built

361
342
343

Fig. 192. Part of a Chiriguano village. To the right a pile-barn. Ibitibi. Bolivia.
Photo. E. v. R.

342 as a protection against wolverines[1], and many of the native tribes of
343 Africa erect their food depositories, or grain bins, on pole-supports to
825 make them safe against mice and white ants.[2] Both the Balenge people,
171 who inhabit a fairly arid country, and the Babisa, who live on the edge
174 of the Bangweolo swamp, build their corn bins on piles.[3] As the Babisa often build their huts on a platform of beaten clay[4] (not piles, it will be noted) as a protection against the annual heavy floodings of the rainy season, this will naturally give rise to the supposition that the Babisa

[1] von Duben (1), p. 35.
[2] von Rosen (4), pp. 411—412.
[3] von Rosen (4), pp. 332, 349 (fig. A), and 411—412.
[4] von Rosen (4), p. 319 and plate 67 (figs. C and D), also plate 68, fig. D.

[P. 196 is blank]

342 343 825 171 174

granaries, at any rate, are raised on supports in order to keep the stored crop from getting wet. That such is not the case will, however, be apparent from the fact that the granaries are empty during the time of the rains. It should be remembered that, in these parts, the period of vegetation coincides with the duration of the rainy season, and that the crops are harvested and stored only after the cessation of the rains. During the time the grain reposes in the granaries no rain falls at all, and on that account the granaries of the Balenge are often unprovided with a roof.[1] Moreover, Babisa, as well as Balenge, stated that the pile-built grain bins were constructed solely as a protection against damage to the corn from rats and white ants. The practice of erecting buildings on piles as a safeguard against flooding is entirely non-existent in the Bangweolo region.

Fig. 193. Ancient Peruvian hut. Vase-painting. After Joyce.

The fundamental idea of storing food in structures built on piles may, in my opinion, be traced back to the custom of primitive peoples of keeping freshly killed meat, and other food, safe from depredation by larger or smaller raiding animals, by suspension on trees. The »njalla», which is erected on a single pole, or on the lopped stem of a growing tree left on its root, may, I think, be taken to be a development of the primitive tree cache. The four-poled Lappish larder called »luopte», or »luove» (cfr. the Swedish words »loft», and »lave»), is on the other hand most probably an imitation of the »hebrä» stores of the land-settled folk, which, presumably, also have received their pile-building construction with a view to forming a protection against noxious animals. For the »hebrä» is probably nothing but a development of the »lave». In order to keep divers implements safe, not only from wild animals, but also from mischievous domestic cattle, such as goats, it is sometimes necessary to construct at the homestead a »lave», the floor of which is either supported by three or four rooted tree-stumps, or by poles driven into the ground (fig. 189). When it is desired to shelter the stored utensils from rain, a roof is built at a suitable height from the floor, and if a still more effective shelter is required, the space between the floor and the roof is filled in with walls. At the stone-age

[1] von Rosen (4), fig. 325.

experiment carried out at Rockelstad in the summer of 1919[1], the »stone-age men» soon found themselves compelled to build a »lave» so that the goats should not damage such foodstuffs and implements as had to be kept outside the hut.[2] 342 343 825 171

It is my belief that the »lave» has also supplied the idea of building dwelling-houses on pole-supports. Wherever people in a certain stage of civilization have found themselves settled on solid ground, they have had need of raised food-platforms, partly for keeping their foodstuffs safe from damage on the part of domestic as well as noxious animals, partly for the purpose of drying, smoking or roasting the food (see pp. 38, 47 and 48). If such a people, living on the edge of a lake or a swamp, had wished — for defensive purposes or some other reason — to build their dwelling-huts or other buildings in the water, then, if the bottom of the lake afforded good holding for piles, such buildings would have been constructed in the same way as the food-platforms or pole-supported granaries previously employed on firm ground (compare fig. 28 with fig. 115). Where the people in question has been lacking in sufficient skill to construct large pile-buildings in the water, or if the lake bottom was unsuited to this mode of construction, then huts were built on rafts or quagmire islands, after the manner of the swamp dwellers of Alvastra and Bangweolo.[3] 174

The furnishing of the Chiriguano huts is exceedingly plain. The fire-place, which forms a very necessary heating centre at night during the cold season, consists of a few stones serving as supports for the cooking pots. There is no hole in the roof for letting out the smoke, which has to find its way out through the doorway or through fissures in the walls. As a rule, the food is generally cooked on a fire outside the hut (fig. 189). 354 [252]

Bedsteads of the type seen in fig. 190 are to be found in nearly every hut. These bed frames are made of laths or reeds, and are covered with skins. Nordenskiöld states as his opinion that the idea of these bedsteads has not been borrowed from the civilization of the whites.[4] In the analytical treatise he has written upon this question he adduces conclusive arguments for his opinion, as it seems to me. In Central Africa, one finds bedsteads that are very similar to the Indian ones,[5] and that certainly have not 352 114 [171]

[1] Klein, pp. 88—89.
[2] Klein (1).
[3] For lake- and marsh dwelling-places in different parts of the world, see Montelius (1).
[4] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 8—12.
[5] von Rosen (4), p. 403.

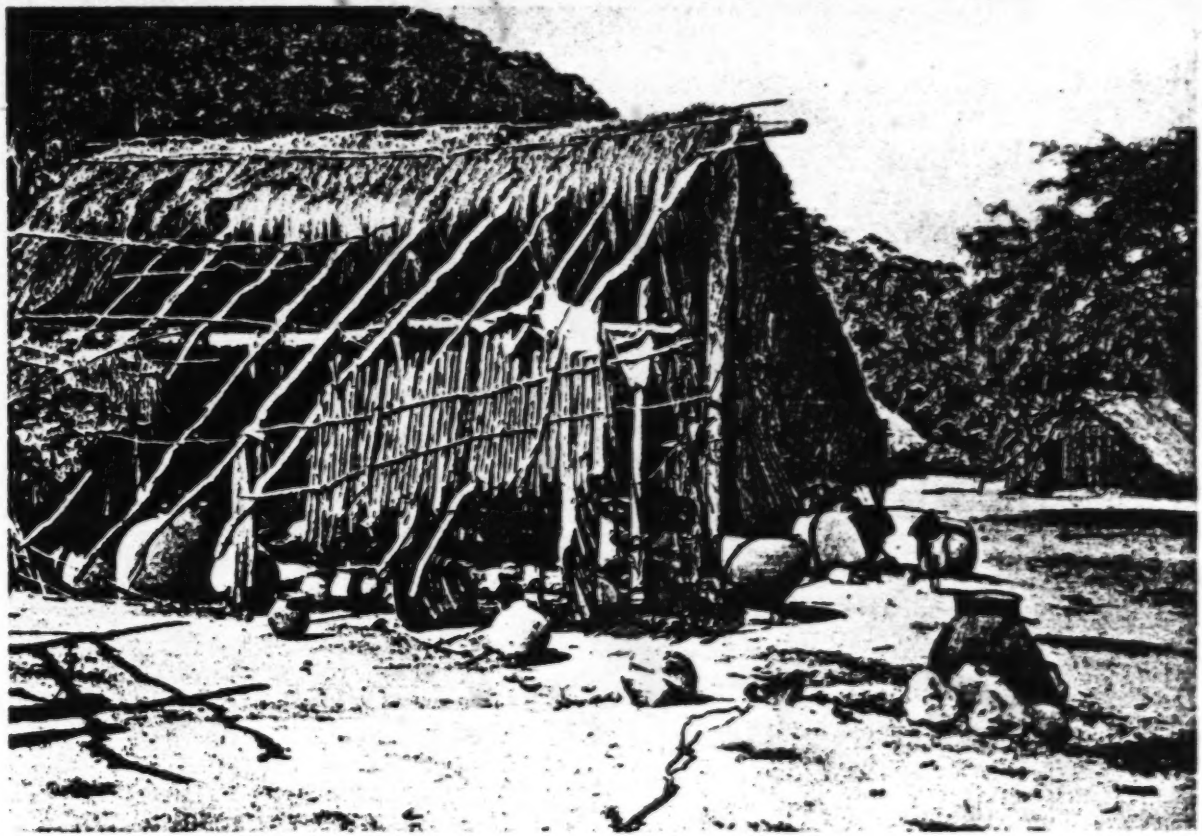


Fig. 217. A pottery workshop. Chiriguano. Ibitibi. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

323
342

C 114 C Ce [197] /2 cont./ outside of the Toba, whom I met only in passing. I got to know on this journey the Chiriguano and the Izozó, who, like the former, speak a dialect of the Guaraní language; the Tapieté, Churupí, Mataco, and Chorote. All of these Indian tribes are not unknown in ethnological literature. On Chiriguano history we are oriented through old documents from even the first years of the Spanish conquest, and we owe to the Franciscan missionaries, who have taught among them for a long time, quite important ethnological publications. The Churupí have been studied minutely under the name Ashluslay by Erland Nordenskiöld, and the Oblates of Immaculate Mary in Esteros and Lake Escalante are striving intensively to make ethnological investigations. I have proposed to deal with all of these tribes systematically. This survey will be made on the basis of the results of my journey, and I begin in this first publication with the Chiriguano and Izozó.

C 175 114 797 A 114 101 C 121

General Information

C Ce 114 361 As I said in the introduction to this work, I first met the Chiriguano in Machareti and the Izozó in the area around the fort of Toledo and in the fort "15 de Agosto," several kilometers from the former two.

C 361 [632] [797] Figure 1 presents a view of Machareti, a Chiriguano town created in its present form by the Franciscan mission. When the Paraguayan army retook Machareti, it had already been abandoned by the Padres, and now a Chiriguano, in the role of commissioner /comisario/, is the chief of the town, there also being a few caciques. The houses, more or less in the form of modern ranchos (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 /see p.40 /), are on both sides of wide streets which run parallel and at right angles, as in most of the towns of the former Spanish colonies. When I was present in Machareti, there was great need /3/ among these Indians because of the severe drought which had ruined their plantings, which were some distance from the town. At the side of the ranchos are often found deposits which were structures of native houses built on sticks. Although

C [342] [363] C [731] C [342] ooo

1 [See P. 8 -- Analyst]

/14 cont./

131 without our having any information on their stopping place. Some Chorote live in the territory of the Chiriguano, near [563] Yacuiba, and also, without counting the missions, the whole [797] territory has been penetrated by whites and mestizos.

131 174 According to these data given by Nordenskiöld, the territory of the Chiriguano, after their definitive subjection by the whites and up to the present time, has remained the same as that which they had at the time of their independence, except, it would seem, that they have come down more into the valleys and do not now live, as was stated in the 16th century documents, on top of the inaccessible mountains, which, as natural fortresses, offered them a secure refuge during their expeditions.

Towns and Houses

361 177 The arrangement of the towns and the form of the houses of the Chiriguano are not at the present time the primordial ones, and they have probably passed through two different transformations, one after the other, first under the influence of the architecture of Inca culture and later the architecture of the whites. /15/ According to the Annua de la Compañia de Jesús Tucumán and Peru, of the year 1596, the Chiriguano towns were composed of only a few houses that were large enough to house as many as 100 persons. In his "Descripción breve de toda la 361 tierra del Perú, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata y Chile /A Brief 342 Description of all the Land of Peru, Tucumán, Río de la Plata, 62 and Chile/," Father Lizarraga (56) describes the Chiriguano [113]

56. Madrid, 1909. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 15. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

towns in the following way: "The largest of the towns is one of five houses: the common number is three; but they are very long, more than 150 paces, with a two-sloped roof with posts in the middle, upon which the framework is constructed, and one kin group /parentela/ lives between one post and the next one."

/15 cont./

500 next one." Garcilaso de la Vega (57) describes the large houses

●342

57. Vol. II, p. 281. According to Métraux I, p. 331.

of the Chiriguano in the same way: they build a very large dormitory, and inside as many alcoves as there are residents, and so small that there is no room for anything but persons. Through detailed descriptions and sketches, we are familiar with the construction of the towns of the ancient Guaraní of the Tupinambas on the eastern coast of Brazil (58). Four or

361 342 171 712

[113]

58. According to De Bry. Métraux, A.: La civilisation matérielle des tribus Tupí-Guarani /The Material Culture of the Tupi-Guarani Tribes/. Paris, 1928.

five long, rectangular houses were built a short distance from one another around a quadrangular or pentagonal plaza, and the whole town was fortified by a defensive wall. We also know that the ancient towns of the Chiriguano had such defensive constructions through information from the year 1618, when Ruiz Diaz de Guzman found such a fortification of a Chiriguano town near the Pilcomayo River, which consisted of "two concentric walls of stone and of wood" (59). According

361 712

361 342 171

59. Moreno II, p. 252.

to Serrano (60), the Guaraní towns of the ancient Province of

[113]

60. Antonio Serrano: Etnografía de la antigua provincia del Uruguay /Etnography of the Ancient Province of Uruguay/, Paraná, 1936, p. 125 /the second number of this figure is questionable, being barely discernible in the original text/.

Uruguay consisted of only four to eight large rectangular houses.

/15 cont./

●342 171 "In 1627 the Jesuits found near Yapeyú a Guaraní aldea with four houses in which some 100 Indians lived. They found identical dwellings in San Ignacio and nearby regions. These houses were quadrangular and extremely long, often in excess of 50 meters."

361 177 178 Even during the time of their independence the Chiriguano had departed from the primordial construction of their towns, which had served in the first place for defense, since at the end of the 18th century Viedma describes their houses as "a few small ranchos made of cane" (61).

[113] 61. Viedma, Francisco de: Descripción de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra /Description of the Province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra/. Colección Angelis, Vol. 3, Buenos Aires, 1836, written 1793, p. 181. Cited by Nordenskiöld.

000 Photographs of Chiriguano Towns (ténta) and Houses (o)

I.C. 353. Chiriguano town, Machareti (Fig. 1).
I.C. 355. Scene in the town of Machareti (Fig. 17).
I.C. 356. Chiriguano in front of their house in Machareti (Fig. 14).
I.C. 357. Chiriguano storehouse in Machareti (Fig. 16).
I.C. 358. Chiriguano boys in front of their rancho in Machareti (Fig. 15).

361 [197] [363] [177] The Chiriguano town of Machareti was built in its present form by Franciscan missionaries, with wide, parallel, and right-angled streets, following the common form of old Spanish colonies, since their construction is not a product of the indigenous Chiriguano culture. But in parts, the houses and [343] primarily the maize storehouses built on posts, correspond to the houses of other Chiriguano towns, on which we have information from Erland Nordenskiöld and Eric v. Rosen (62).

62. Nord. 1, pp. 173, 176. Nord. 2, pp. 1-3. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 191 and 192, Figs. 188-192.

/16/

36 62 162 The town Ibitibi in the southern part of Chiriguano territory, south of the Pilcomayo River, examined minutely by Eric v. Rosen, was inhabited, according to the Indians, by about 300 persons. The town was located on a plain surrounded by mountains and forests. The houses formed a large circumference, the cacique's house being in the middle. Some shade trees had been planted in the open plaza between the cacique's house and the other houses. In other Chiriguano towns visited by v. Rosen, houses were dispersed without any order. According to the observations of v. Nordenskiöld too, Chiriguano towns are sometimes quite large and inhabited by around 100 persons. Often several towns are near one another. The houses are generally around a plaza sometimes planted with trees and serving as a place to play and to hold meetings.

● 342 We know the form of the Chiriguano houses in detail through v. Rosen (63), and primarily through the good photo-

63. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 191; Figs. 188-192 and 217.

[335] graphs of such houses. The houses are rectangular and their roofs end in points. Walls and roofs are held up by posts. The walls consist either of only vertical poles made from branches or reeds, close together and tied by horizontal ligatures, or of interwoven poles whose interstices are plastered with mud. The roof (opitiá) is covered with straw. One type of house was illustrated in a photograph by v. Rosen (64), on which one

64. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 190.

side of the roof projects at the top over the other side of the [171] roof. The same house type also exists in the ancient culture of the Peruvians, as is shown by sketches found on the surface of ancient Peruvian vessels.

/16 cont./

342 A special feature of Chiriguano houses and where they differ from those of the common ranchos of white residents is that the two oblique sides of the roof descend almost to the ground, passing far beyond the wall. Machareti houses also show this special feature. (Cf. Fig. 14 /see p. 40/.) The result of this roof construction is that the entrance (ōkye) is on the gable side. To shut the entrance they use reed mats or cowhides (65). Widely influenced by the whites, the Chiriguano

[285] [237] [177]

65. Métraux 1, p. 469.

and the Chané continually vary the style of their houses, and, according to Nordenskiöld (66), today many of them are al-

66. Nord. 1, p. 173.

ready building houses identical with those of the whites.

343 In addition to the houses used for dwellings, the Chiriguano and some of the Chané have houses built on posts for storehouses (avatiō). Also in Machareti such houses were commonly found beside the dwellings. Figure 16 /see p. 41 / shows such a storehouse. A ladder, which consists of a post provided with notches, leads to the platform (on the right in the figure). These storehouses serve primarily as places to keep the maize crop and other produce. The space under the platform serves for storing various other things. Nordenskiöld saw such houses built on posts, whose upper part served in general for storage, while the lower part was utilized as a dwelling (67). Often those

[417]

67. Nord. 1, p. 175; Nord. 2, p. 3.

storehouses are near the plantings far from the dwellings (68).

68. Nord. 1, p. 173.

[335] As shown in Figure 16, the frame for these storehouses consists of ten vertical posts of different lengths, bifurcated at their upper ends to support the horizontal posts that form the base for

Plate VI

342
352
516
291

Fig. 14
(I.C. 356) -- Chiriguano women and children in front of their house in Machareti

291
516

Fig. 18
(I.C. 358) -- Chiriguano in the town of Machareti

244/

524 178 243 789 In the Chiriguano missions or in the villages of the Caipipendí valley one finds on the large village plaza /Fig. 10 appears here/ an abundance of onion-like objects made of leaves of corn folded together (Fig. 11). Children throw them to each other with the flat of the hand and try to catch them again before they fall to the ground. A hurried traveler would see in this

343 251

Fig. 9. Cancrith on piles (anatiñ). Iro. (Photo. A. M.)

524 178 243 789 game only an Indian form of our court tennis or a rudimentary tennis. Actually, this is certainly the present significance of this amusement. In olden days the meaning was not the same, as I learned in the Machareti mission. Only a few years ago mbundó was played only at the time when the corn was beginning to ripen. The children formed a circle and threw this kind of shuttlecock to one another. If by chance one of them let it fall through inadvertance or awkwardness, he left the place

/354 cont./

372 small stick was too short to be handled with ease, he fastened it securely to another stick by means of vegetable fibers (embira) (Fig. 25). This done, he sat down on the ground, pressing the soles of his feet on the small cupped stick, and imparted with the palms of the hands a rotating movement to the other stick. The glowing sawdust which was detached by the effect of the friction fell on dried dung placed near the gadget to serve as tinder, which, at the end of a rather short time, began to catch fire.

354 According to the season, the Chiriguano light their fires inside the hut or outside. The hearth is composed of long branches which they lay out like the spokes of a wheel. As the ends burn, they push them closer to the central fire. The job of getting the dead wood falls within the province of the men (Fig. 26).

[462] [313]

• 343 In front of the huts they often erect a little shed in which the women do the cooking. The

[372] ← Fig. 25. Ancient apparatus for making fire, reconstructed by a modern Chiriguano. Prov.: Cururuí. (1/6 nat. size.)

roof of this shelter serves as a shelf for putting provisions and utensils on.

Preparation of Food

262 The modern Chiriguano do not seem to observe any food prohibitions, at least in daily life, for the custom of fasting, for women at the time of puberty and for men upon the birth of a child, is not yet lost. In olden days certain animals /355/ were taboo (1). The men of a few villages thus reserved for themselves

[789] [825]

[775] 1. In order not to kill one of their dead relatives transformed into a fox, the Chiriguano

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

252 415 412 264 *Chiriguano* mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. [319 263] Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 592 **Dwellings.**—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

361 178 [343 712] The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 177 **Clothing.**—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

291
854

283
516
291

●343

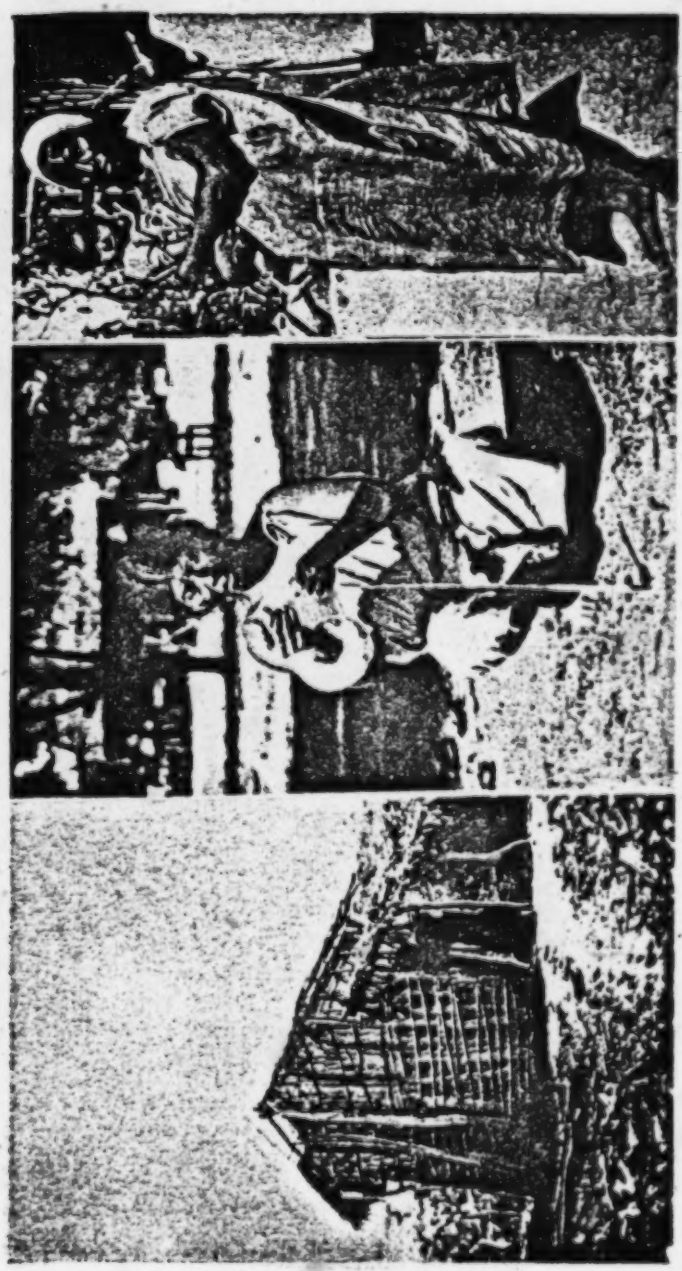


PLATE 42.—Chiriguano Indians. *Left:* Granary on piles. *Center:* Woman spinning. *Right:* Woman and child. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[End Plate 2]

/256 cont./

241 enough for this. Although there are good fences, there are better
231 and braver bulls or calves, who with their horns are capable of
177 opening iron gates, opening the way to all their females, whom they then call with much affection with their prolonged bellows (2).

2. The harmful cattle even become ferocious; if a man alone tries to chase them out of the field without the help of good dogs, he will be charged.

24 The harvest marks for the Chiriguano the time of the year
22 that he calls Mbaepiro, which literally means a dry thing or things, and everyone will understand that this corresponds to autumn, in which season the trees and every bush take off their beauty and raiment. Men and women then are busy carrying in
[343] what the land has produced for them; the maize crop is kept in the plot itself, in a kind of house of sticks called Abatío, maize house, and the woman little by little, as needed, brings it to the town for the daily meal and for the preparation of chicha (3).

3. If the harvest of gourds is not abundant, they put them on the maize in the same shed, if they do not build another; the bean crop is brought immediately to the tribe or town.

527 /257/ After this the Chiriguano spends his time in idleness, drinking here today, there tomorrow, visiting with some, playing with others, enjoying, in sum, with almost no work, a better life than the greatest ruler in the world. The harvest is cut be-
[221] tween May and June, and after it the libations in honor of the belly god begin. As the desire to drink is extraordinary, before having the general libation, the families, one by one, begin to make a small quantity of chicha to be drunk among a few friends and relatives.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 H (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
[P 1]
C 343

Fig. 1. Maize-barn.
Chiriguano.

I.

Dwellings.

C ce 361

Like all other Indians I visited south of Sta Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, the Chiriguano and Chané live in villages. Some of these villages are rather large and inhabited by several hundred people. Frequently a number of villages are situated quite close to each other. As a rule, the huts stand around an open space which is sometimes planted with trees to give shelter. These «squares» serve as meeting-places and playgrounds.

C ce 342

The huts are square. They are built of reeds or wooden laths, and thatched with grass. They are very often plastered with earth.

C ce [592] [361]

There are no huts here of the original Indian shape. The real Chiriguano (Chané?) huts were very large; as many as a hundred people lived in the same house, the whole

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the earth-plastering of huts is here an original Indian idea. I have attempted to indicate on a map the distribution of huts with earth-plastered walls, but I refrain from publishing it because, in the majority of cases, I cannot ascertain whether the Indians learned from the Whites to plaster their huts. Huts with earth-plastered walls are found among the Indians around Roraima in Guiana[1]) and among the Ijca[2]) in Columbia. The Indians at Mojos[3]) used to have such huts, and OUTES[4]) mentions them from the Cainguá etc. Earth-plastered mestizo huts are also common in the Mizque valley in Bolivia.

The Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, but not those on the Rio Parapiti, and the Chiriguano have maize-barns on piles.[5]) Occasionally the barn and dwelling-house are combined in such wise that the people live on the ground-floor and store their maize on the floor above. During my travels I have only seen barns on piles among the Mataco-Guisnay (one only), Mataco Vejos, and the Chacobo (one only). Some Quichua huts between the Rio Chapáre and Cochabamba are built on piles. I scarcely think these are original, however.

JOHANNES LEHMANN has written a treatise on pile-buildings all over the world. He mentions there their occurrence among several tribes in northern S. America, which are shown on the map below. The village on piles from La Plata mentioned by LEHMANN after HEIERLI is, of course, not Indian; nor are the barns from the Argentine

[1]) THULIN.
[2]) BOLINDER (4), P. 35.
[3]) MARBAN P. 133; CASTILLO, P. 318.
[4]) OUTES Y BRUCH (5) P. 93.
[5]) Already LIZÁRRAGA (P. 609) speaks of the maize-barns of the Chiriguano: »No dormian en el buhio, sino fuera, las espaldas seguras con unas pirnas de maiz juncto al buhio (pirna es un cercado como de dos varas de hueco, redondo de cañas, donde se encierra el maiz).«

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians
53

C
Ce
343
114
*171
342

Pampas in which the corn is stored to protect it from hares.

The above-mentioned village and barns I have, therefore, left out of my map. PATER SCHMIDT[1]) mentions pile-buildings from other tribes too.

FRIEDERICI[2]) has also collected numerous statements referring to the occurrence of pile-dwellings in S. America from the works of older writers.

Ee
*171
342
114
343

The table 1 and map 1 which follow show the distribution of pile-buildings in S. America according to LEHMANN, FRIEDERICI and PATER SCHMIDT, together with some additions and corrections.

S
342
343

On the accompanying map I have merely indicated those which seem certainly to be of Indian origin. Those mentioned at the end of the 15th century, as well as those from the 16th are so undoubtedly. I am convinced that the pile-buildings of the Chané and Chiriguano are genuinely Indian, as nowhere in this region do the Whites possess such barns. Their geographical distribution leads us to presume their genuinely Indian origin, as also that they are a culture-element which came to these Indians from the swamps of Mojos, and that they here are an Arawak culture-element too. The use of pile-buildings on hard ground is quite comprehensible to me, as they offer great advantages, whether used for barns or dwelling-houses. The idea must have come, however, from some marshy tract or from a sea-coast where the inhabitants were dependent on ebb and flood tides. In the cases where a people employ pile-buildings on hard ground which is not liable to floods, it is due, as a rule, to conservative ideas — the mode of building to which they were accustomed in their former dwelling-places has become indispensable.

C
Ce
343
114
342

---

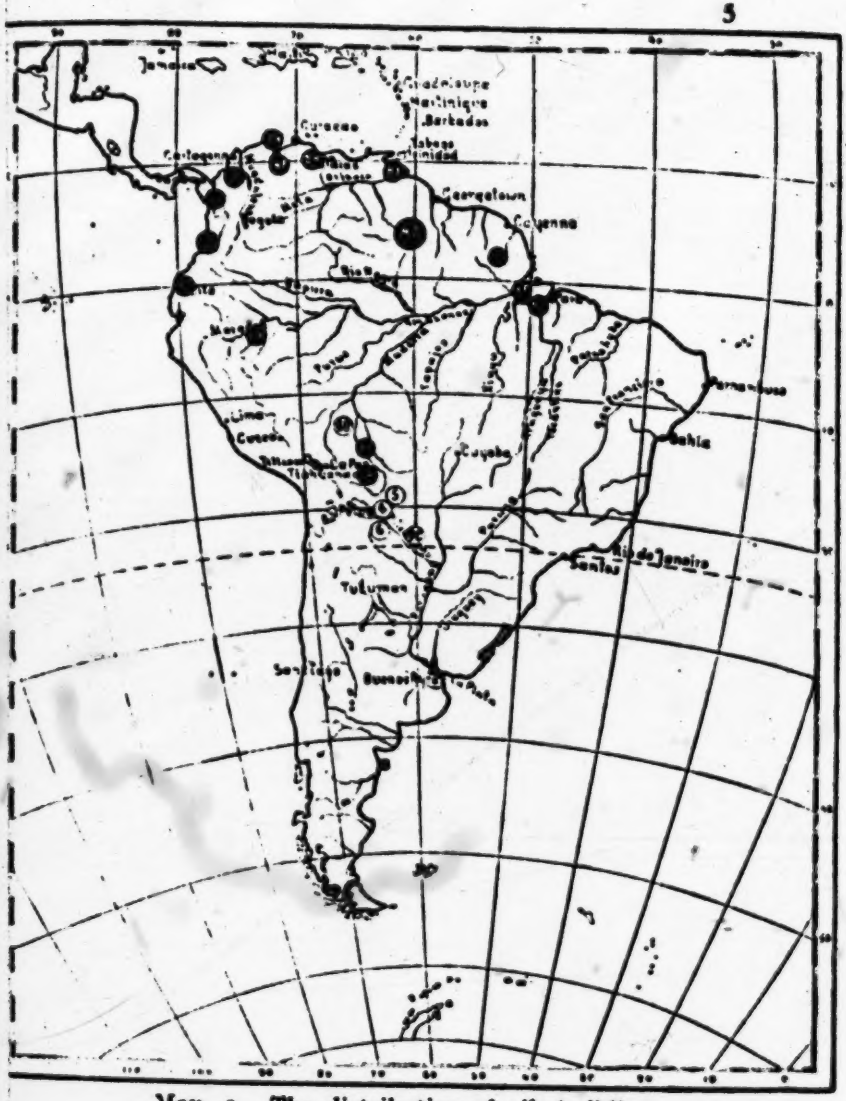
[1]) P. 1064.
[2]) (5) P. 98.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

5

C
Ce
171*
102
342
343
131

S
342
343
102



Map 1. The distribution of pile buildings.

● = Dwelling-houses.
○ = Barns.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

e
ce
*171
342
343
114
c
ce

The notion that the pile-buildings employed as barns are here of different origin from those used as dwelling-houses, is unlikely. There is nothing in the geographical distribution to support this idea.

Outside their barns the Chiriguano and Chané have [417] ladders consisting of logs in which steps have been hewn.

Table 1.

Pile buildings. Map. 1.

e
ce
*171
342
343
102
s
102
342

4. Chiriguano.
5. Chané.
6. Mataco-Vejos. Have evidently copied the Chané barns.
18. Quichua.
25. Mojo, MARBAN P. 132. Cooking-shed.
39. Goijiro, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064. (after ERNST); Parauhano, JAHN.
47. Indians Roraima: Wapisiana, Arecuna, Macusi, Patamona. PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064; THULIN.
62. Chacobo.
68. Omagua. »Hicieron los indios dentro de sus mismas casas unos tablados de madera, que ellos llaman Iuzas y encima de ellos estuvimos tres meses, que fueron los de Abril, Mayo y Junio con más de seis palmos de agua debajo.
Entraban y salian las canoas dentro de las casas, y de noche quedaban de bajo de los tablados.» LAUREANO DE LA CRUZ P. 88; [MARONI] Vol. XXX, P. 197.
01. Indians on the west coast of Columbia. PIZARRO P. 204; CIEZA DE LEON (1) P. 95; OVIEDO T. 3. P. 8; ANDAGOYA P. 76; ROBLEDO P. 277.
3 F. Barbacóa, RIVET (4) AND VERNEAU P. 39.
4 F. Indians on and near Lake Maracaibo. NAVARRETE T. III. P. 8; »A quatro dias llegaron à un pueblo de güerigue-

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S

ris, que esta armado sobre madera en el agua en unas ciénegas del mismo rio». OVIEDO T. 2, P. 293. (See also P. 294 and P. 300); TOLOSA P. 229.

5 F. Indians at the mouth of the Amazon. «A cabo de seis dias de navegacion tomaron una isla en un puerto y ensenada que el rio hacia en ella, y como tres tiros de arcabuz, por este puerto y ensenada arriba, dieron con unas casas fuertes, armadas sobre gruesos y recios estantes que tenian hincados en el proprio cabo desta ensenada de rio o estero que alli se hacia ..... sobre estos estantes o pilares estaban unas salas de tablas de palmas bravas ...» ORTIGUERA P. 372.

6 F. Indians near Para. «lesquels demeuroient dans les IOURAS qui sont des maisons faictes à la forme des Ponts aux Changes et de sainct Michel de Paris, assises sur le haut de gros arbres plantees en l'eau.» EVREUX P. 28. The civilised Indians in the same region still live in pile-buildings. KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) T. 1, P. 3; LANGE, Several illustrations.

7 p. Oyampi, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064. (after COUDREAU); Palicours, FAUQUE P. 359.

8 X. Warrau, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064; RALEGH P. 50; LEVEL P. 60.

9 C. Mataco-Guisnay. (I saw one single barn on piles among these Indians).

1 R. Indians, Darien. OVIEDO T. 2, P. 455.

2 R. Caquetios, FEDERMANN P. 191.

Not on the map Galibi, French Guiana. LOMBARD P. 298.

» Indians Cayambe, Ecuador. FRIEDERICI (5). P. 99 (After MONTESINO and others.)

Pile buildings are among the culture-elements where it is sometimes difficult to decide whether they are Indian or not. In the rubber forests of Bolivia, Peru and Brazil, at favourable spots, are many barracks built on piles. THE-

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177
824

sent work.) It follows that these Indians used other material for their arrows in pre-Columbian days. The Choroti and Ashluslay probably had wooden shafts to their arrows, as Chuchio does not, and probably never did grow in their country. Before *Arundo donax* grew in the Chaco it must have been difficult in many places to find material for flutes, etc. Even in the country of the Chiriguano and Chané there were reeds only in certain parts, so that the introduction of *Arundo donax* may have been of importance for other things than the material for arrows.

C
Ce
177
285

The difficulty of getting suitable material for basket-making has resulted in the baskets being of less importance to the Indians of the district under examination than to the Arawaks and Guarani-tribes elsewhere. Presumably the Chiriguano and Chané used to have carrying-baskets, which were supplanted by carrying-nets of Caraguatá or Yuchan.

C
Ce
174
[343]
[515]

Pile-barns are probably a reminiscence from a time when the Chané lived in swampy parts.

I have already pointed out that the great cleanliness of the Chané and Chiriguano shows that they immigrated to their present habitat from warmer, well-watered parts.

C
Ce
177

There are not many cultural elements of which we can say with absolute certainty that they were brought by the Chiriguano, and not by the Chané. Such are, however, urn-burials and »tembeta» of the kind now in use. This is not precluded by the fact that these cultural elements were originally western. Finger-mark ornamention, the wooden mortar, and certain bird-arrows, spindles of the Bakaïri type with a little knob on the top of the stick, are also cultural elements with such a distribution that we can assume that they were originally more intimately connected with the Chiriguano than with the Chané. Further comparative investigations, and access to an extensive quantity of the necessary material will doubtless enable us, from a study of the minor details in the external form of

/173 cont./

Under the influence of the whites, however, the Chané and Chiriguano are gradually changing their huts, and many Indians are already building huts that are identical with theirs.

No hut here has its original Indian form. The genuine Chiriguano huts (the original Chané huts are not known) were very large; up to 100 persons lived in one house, and the entire /174/ village consisted of only a few large huts (1). These

1. Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. -- Tucuman y Perú -- 1596. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Madrid, 1885. Vol. II. Page CIV.

evidently correspond to the large family houses well known in Brazil, which I saw in Bolivia only among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe from Lago Rojo-Aguado.

Even in Viedma's (2) time, at the end of the eighteenth

2. Viedma: loc. cit.

century, /Fig. 83 appears here/ however, they seem to have given up the original type of house and built smaller huts.

In many villages there belongs to each hut one or more maize granaries (Fig. 84a), in which maize, gourds, etc. are /175/ stored. These granaries are built on piles and are perhaps a reminder of the time when the Chiriguano and Chané lived in swampy regions. To each granary there belongs, as a rule, a ladder (Fig. 84b). Sometimes the granaries and the dwellings are built together into one house. /Fig. 84a appears here./ I saw such huts in the vicinity of Machareti and at Yatavéri, not far from Ivu. Not infrequently the granaries stand in the fields, far from the dwellings.

These villages are neat and clean. Huts and market place are swept daily and the refuse is burned.

The space in the huts is not too cramped. /176/ In each house, as a rule, there lives only one family, which, aside from the rest of the family members, sometimes consists of the husbands

When I offered a Chacobo a

/182 cont./

cigarette, he took only a few puffs, kept the smoke in his mouth for a few seconds, and then threw the cigarette away. Nevertheless, the Chacobo plant tobacco, but use it exclusively as a remedy. If a Chacobo gets a "boro," a fly larva, "Dermatomya," under his skin, he covers the fly larva's entry spot with tobacco powder and is then able to squeeze out the dead larva in a few hours. The Choroti and Ashluslay are passionate smokers. /183/ For them smoking is one of the greatest enjoyments of life. These contrasts are quite strange.

The Chiriguano and the Chané have extensive plantings which, in contrast to the clearings of the Choroti and Ashluslay in the wilderness, are well tended. In former times they used spades made of hard wood with attractive handles (Fig. 89), but these have now gone out of use and have been entirely supplanted by iron spades. Not infrequently the fields lie far from the villages, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley. This is due to the fact that water is not available throughout the year everywhere in the vicinity of the plantings.

As has been mentioned, the produce obtained is stored in granaries built on piles (Fig. 84), so that it will be at least somewhat protected from rats, moisture, etc. These granaries are seen everywhere, except among the Chané on the Rio Pilcomayo.

The fields are fenced in with fences built brush-shaped, which are often difficult to climb over. There is no fertilization of the fields. On the other hand, a field that has been exhausted is left to lie fallow.

The time of sowing is determined by the position of the Pleiades, "ychu." When this passes across the horizon very early in the morning, it is sowing time. When the rainy season begins, everything must be sowed.

The men clear and sow. Everyone helps with the harvest, men, women, and children. Among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley the men sowed the maize, that is, they took care of the larger plantings, whereas the women were gardeners and planted gourds, beans, etc.

P 276 249 757
C Ce 276 171
Ee 241 [412] [177]
C Ce [312]
C Ce 251 343
Ee 241
C Ce [821]
Ce 241 462
C [241] [462]

Ce 539 /284 cont./

He asked them who their father was. "He has gone to Itica (2) to get some fish" (3), they said.

2. Rio Pilcomayo.

Ce [439]

3. The important trade in dried fish that is carried on between the tribes is described on p. 138 /omitted in the translation/.

The youngest said he should sleep with her, which he did. The oldest also wanted to sleep with him. "Won't your mother be angry if I do?" he said. "No, you shall sleep with us, for a man never comes here," they said. So he slept with both women.

After a few days the father of the girls came home. He brought along two large loads of dried fish. /285/ The father asked how he had got there. He told etc. (here the entire legend is repeated).

The father said he was not angry because he had slept with his two daughters and promised to help him get his wife back. "She is at Itica with Avayurupiagua," he said. "There is a big drinking bout there and we must go. You shall go with me and do as I say. First you should greet everybody and finally you should greet your wife. She will not recognize you. When she greets you and offers you maize beer, you will fling your arms about her and I shall hit you on the buttocks," he said. They now set out for Itica. When they arrived there, the father first greeted everyone. Finally the man greeted his wife. She offered him a calabash of maize beer. He embraced her and the old one slapped him on the buttocks. Transformed into a tuyuyu, he flew off with his wife. When Avayurupiagua saw this, he dashed angrily into his house to fetch bow and arrow. He shot off one arrow after the other, but was unable to hit them.

Ce [177] This legend seems to me to be entirely free of foreign elements. The ladder mentioned refers to a long stick into which Ce [417] step-notches have been cut. The Chiriguano in particular, as well

[343]

Ce
539
Ee
[417]
[343]

/285 cont./
as the Chané on the Itiyuro, always use them for the maize granaries, which are built on piles (see Fig. 84b).

How Aguaratunpa Killed Tatutunpa and Was Then Killed Himself.

Told by the Chané chief Batirayu.

In olden times there were once two deranged girls. Not far from them lived Tatutunpa. They heard him play so beautifully on his "huiramimbi" (see Fig. 80a /see p. 22/). One of them said to the other: "Let us go and see who is playing so beautifully." They went to Tatutunpa, who was lying in his hammock. Tatutunpa took the youngest girl as his wife.

/286/ Aguaratunpa had learned that the girls had gone to Tatutunpa's. He set out, hid in the field where Tatutunpa was working, and killed him with a club. Then he carefully removed the skin of the head and put it on. Resembling Tatutunpa in this way, he went to the latter's hut.

"Look, your husband is coming," said the older sister. She put food on the table. Since Tatutunpa was in the habit of eating very little, only a few beans and a small bowl of maize beer, she did not serve any more. When Aguaratunpa came, he ate up everything and demanded more. When he had eaten this, he demanded still more. The girl asked herself whether this could really be her husband who was eating so much, but of course it could not be anyone else.

In the evening Aguaratunpa asked his wife to delouse him. She sat down and looked for lice on the head of Aguaratunpa. While she was looking, Aguaratunpa fell asleep. She saw that the skin on his head was sewed together, and realized that he had killed her husband and skinned him. She told her sister about this and they killed Aguaratunpa with a club.

342 placed close together and fastened with withies lashed on horizontally (figs. 189 and 190), or of branches woven together and daubed with clay (fig. 191). The roof, the construction of which is apparent from fig. 217, is thatched with grass. This is an especially interesting *method of roof-construction, used in Peru already in the pre-Columbian period*, a fact plainly evident from an ancient Peruvian vase-painting[1] (fig. 193). The walls and the roof are supported by a hut frame consisting of poles (fig. 217). 1/A

133
342
● 343

Fig. 188. Part of a Chiriguano village. Two small pile-buildings, used as maize-barns can be seen between the huts. British Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

343 The granaries for storing maize are always built on pole supports
417 (figs. 188 and 192). Fig. 191 shows a step-ladder leaning against a tree.
[322] Step-ladders of this kind, usually hewn out of a single piece of wood, are used by the Chiriguano as means of access to these pole-supported granaries.

174 Baron E. Nordenskiöld, who has made a valuable analysis of the distribution
342 of pile-buildings in South America[2], considers that when pile-buildings occur among a tribe inhabiting a region not exposed to inundations, then the idea of constructing buildings raised on piles has generally originated at the time when the tribe inhabited some other region, either a swamp,

[1] Joyce (I), fig. 13.
[2] Nordenskiöld (II), pp. 3–8.

1/A [see cat. 116, P. 215 -- Analyst]
2/A [see cat. 116, p 195 -- An.]

174 342 [114] or a district threatened with flooding through rainfall or the flowing in of the oceanic tide. In my opinion, however, this has usually not been the case.

342 343 825 174 [171] According to my thinking, it is the fear of predatory animals that has given rise to the pile-construction idea. Those granaries built on pole-supports, that are so commonly met with in widely different countries, have, we know, as a rule been constructed for the express purpose of furnishing protection against noxious animals, such as lesser carnivora, rodents and insects. As an example, the »njalla» of the Lappa is built

361 342 343

Fig. 191. Part of a Chiriguano village. To the right a pile-barn. Tiahlo, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

342 343 825 171 174 as a protection against wolverines[1], and many of the native tribes of Africa erect their food depositories, or grain bins, on pole-supports to make them safe against mice and white ants.[2] Both the Balenge people, who inhabit a fairly arid country, and the Babisa, who live on the edge of the Bangweolo swamp, build their corn bins on piles.[3] As the Babisa often build their huts on a platform of beaten clay[4] (not piles, it will be noted) as a protection against the annual heavy floodings of the rainy season, this will naturally give rise to the supposition that the Babisa

[1] von Duben (1), p. 35.
[2] von Rosen (4), pp. 411—412.
[3] von Rosen (4), pp. 332, 349 (fig. A), and 411—412.
[4] von Rosen (4), p. 319 and plate 67 (figs. C and D), also plate 68, fig. D.

[P 196 is blank]

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

342
343
825
171
174

granaries, at any rate, are raised on supports in order to keep the stored crop from getting wet. That such is not the case will, however, be apparent from the fact that the granaries are empty during the time of the rains. It should be remembered that, in these parts, the period of vegetation coincides with the duration of the rainy season, and that the crops are harvested and stored only after the cessation of the rains. During the time the grain reposes in the granaries no rain falls at all, and on that account the granaries of the Balenge are often unprovided with a roof.[1] Moreover, Babisa, as well as Balenge, stated that the pile-built grain bins were constructed solely as a protection against damage to the corn from rats and white ants. The practice of erecting buildings on piles as a safeguard against flooding is entirely non-existent in the Bangwendo region.

Fig. 193. Ancient Peruvian box. Vase-painting. After Joyce.

The fundamental idea of storing food in structures built on piles may, in my opinion, be traced back to the custom of primitive peoples of keeping freshly killed meat, and other food, safe from depredation by larger or smaller raiding animals, by suspension on trees. The »njalla», which is erected on a single pole, or on the lopped stem of a growing tree left on its root, may, I think, be taken to be a development of the primitive tree cache. The four-poled Lappish larder called »hoyer», or »hove» (cfr. the Swedish words »loft», and »lave»), is on the other hand most probably an imitation of the »behrä» stores of the land-settled folk, which, presumably, also have received their pile-building construction with a view to forming a protection against noxious animals. For the »behrä» is probably nothing but a development of the »lave». In order to keep divers implements safe, not only from wild animals, but also from mischievous domestic cattle, such as goats, it is sometimes necessary to construct at the homestead a »lave», the floor of which is either supported by three or four rooted tree-stumps, or by poles driven into the ground (fig. 189). When it is desired to shelter the stored utensils from rain, a roof is built at a suitable height from the floor, and if a still more effective shelter is required, the space between the floor and the roof is filled in with walls. At the stone-age

[1] von Rosen (1), fig. 303.

experiment carried out at Rockstead in the summer of 1919[5], the «menage men» soon found themselves compelled to build a «lave» so that the goats should not damage such foodstuffs and implements as had to be kept outside the hut.[6]

It is my belief that the «lave» has also supplied the idea of building dwelling-houses on pole-supports. Wherever people in a certain stage of civilization have found themselves settled on solid ground, they have had need of raised food-platforms, partly for keeping their foodstuffs safe from damage on the part of domestic as well as noxious animals, partly for the purpose of drying, smoking or roasting the food (see pp. 38, 47 and 48). If such a people, living on the edge of a lake or a swamp, had wished — for defensive purposes or some other reason — to build their dwelling-huts or other buildings in the water, then, if the bottom of the lake afforded good holding for piles, such buildings would have been constructed in the same way as the food-platforms or pole-supported granaries previously employed on firm ground (compare fig. 18 with fig. 115). Where the people in question has been lacking in sufficient skill to construct large pile-buildings in the water, or if the lake bottom was unsuited to this mode of construction, then huts were built on rafts or quagmire islands, after the manner of the swamp dwellers of Alvastra and Bangwanlo.[7]

The furnishing of the Chiriguano huts is exceedingly plain. The fire-place, which forms a very necessary heating centre at night during the cold season, consists of a few stones serving as supports for the cooking pots. There is no hole in the roof for letting out the smoke, which has to find its way out through the doorway or through fissures in the walls. As a rule, the food is generally cooked on a fire outside the hut (fig. 189).

Bedsteads of the type seen in fig. 190 are to be found in nearly every hut. These bed frames are made of laths or reeds, and are covered with skins. Nordenskiöld states as his opinion that the idea of these bedsteads has not been borrowed from the civilization of the whites.[8] In the analytical treatise he has written upon this question he adduces conclusive arguments for his opinion, as it seems to me. In Central Africa, one finds bedsteads that are very similar to the Indian ones,[9] and that certainly have not

[5] Ekm, pp. 88—89.
[6] Ekm (5).
[7] For lake and marsh dwelling-places in different parts of the world, see Montelius (2).
[8] Nordenskiöld (18), pp. 9—10.
[9] see Rosen (8), p. 279.

/15 cms./

342 "In 1627 the Jesuits found near Yapeyú a Guaraní aldea with
141 four houses in which some 100 Indians lived. They found identical dwellings in San Ignacio and nearby regions. These houses were quadrangular and extremely long, often in excess of 50 meters."

341 Even during the time of their independence the Chiriguano
177 had departed from the primordial construction of their towns,
178 which had served in the first place for defense, since at the end of the 19th century Viedma describes their houses as "a few small ranchos made of cane" (61).

[13] 61. Viedma, Francisco del Descripción de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra /Description of the Province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra/. Colección Angelis. Vol. 3, Buenos Aires, 1836. written 1788, p. 181. Cited by Nordenskiöld.

000 Photographs of Chiriguano Towns (ténta) and Houses (g)

I.C. 353. Chiriguano town, Macharetí (Fig. 1).
I.C. 355. Scene in the town of Macharetí (Fig. 17).
I.C. 356. Chiriguano in front of their house in Macharetí (Fig. 14).
I.C. 357. Chiriguano storehouse in Macharetí (Fig. 16).
I.C. 358. Chiriguano boys in front of their rancho in Macharetí (Fig. 15).

361 The Chiriguano town of Macharetí was built in its present
[199] form by Franciscan missionaries, with wide, parallel, and
[323] right-angled streets, following the common form of old Spanish
[197] colonies, since their construction is not a product of the indigenous Chiriguano culture. But in parts, the houses and
• [343] primarily the maize storehouses built on posts, correspond to the houses of other Chiriguano towns, on which we have information from Erland Nordenskiöld and Eric v. Rosen (62).

62. Nord. 1. pp. 173, 176. Nord. 2, pp. 1-3. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 191 and 192, Figs. 189-192.

/16 cont./

342 A special feature of Chiriguano houses and where they differ from those of the common ranchos of white residents is that the two oblique sides of the roof descend almost to the ground, paning far beyond the wall. Machareti houses also show this special feature. (Cf. Fig. 14 /see p.40/.) The result of this roof contruction is that the entrance (Ikye) is on the gable side. To shut the entrance they use reed mats or cowhides (65). Widely influenced by the whites, the Chiriguano

[285] [237] [199]

65. Métraux 1. p. 469.

and the Chané continually vary the style of their houses, and, according to Nordenskiöld (66), today many of them are al-

66. Nord. 1. p. 173.

ready building houses identical with those of the whites.

• 343 In addition to the houses used for dwellings, the Chiriguano and some of the Chané have houses built on posts for storehouses (avatió). Also in Machareti such houses were commonly found beside the dwellings. Figure 16 /see p. 41 / shows such a storehouse. A ladder, which consists of a post provided with notches, leads to the platform (on the right in the figure). These storehouses serve primarily as places to keep the maize crop and other produce. The space under the platform serves for storing various other things. Nordenskiöld saw such houses built on posts, whose upper part served in general for storage, while the lower part was utilized as a dwelling (67). Often those

[417]

67. Nord. 1, p. 175; Nord. 2, p. 3.

storehouses are near the plantings far from the dwellings (68).

68. Nord. 1, p. 173.

As shown in Figure 16, the frame for these storehouses consists of ten vertical posts of different lengths, bifurcated at their upper ends to support the horizontal posts that form the base for

[335]

/16 cont./

343 the roof and the /Plates V-VII appear here/ /17/ platform.
335 The middle pair of the vertical posts is the longest pair and serves to hold up the ridgepole. Of the other eight vertical posts, always in two, one longer and one shorter, have been placed immediately next to each other all along the two sides of the middle pair of posts and at a certain distance from it. Of the horizontal posts, each one of which is held up by each one of the five pairs of vertical posts, those which are placed on the higher pair and on the two pairs of middle size of the vertical posts serve to hold up the roof, while the two horizontal posts which are placed on the two smaller pairs of vertical posts form the base for the platform of the house. Besides the five pairs of vertical posts that form the frame of the house, there is also added a vertical post of the height of the platform, which serves to support the ladder leading
343 to it. The roof of these storehouses is covered with straw like the roofs of dwellings. The walls are made of reed poles very close together. While the poles of the storehouse illustrated in Figure 16 are horizontal, those of other storehouses, with which we are familiar through Nordenskiöld's photographs and those of v. Rosen and Métraux, are vertical (69). The en-

69. Nord. 1, Figs. 83 and 84 and Pl. 18.
Métraux I, Fig. 9, p. 349.

trance, which must be reached by means of the ladder, is at
[417] the gable end, like that of the dwellings. The ladder consists of a post with notches for steps (70).

70. Cf. Fig. 16, at the right. Nord. 1, Fig. 84. v. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 191.

[171] [174] There must be some special reason to explain the surprising fact that the Chiriguano have houses built on posts, since it could not be that they brought the custom of constructing them from their native soil, because the Guaraní have
000 never had them. Nor could it be that they adopted this from

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 42]

Plate VII

343
335

Fig. 16
(I.C. 357) -- Chiriguano storehouse built on posts in Machareti

291
412
415

Fig. 17
(I.C. 355) -- Scene in the Chiriguano town of Machareti. Boy dressed in a poncho. Large baked clay vessels and a mortar.

343 /17 cont./ Not could it be that they adopted this from
[177] the whites, because in those regions they have never used houses built on posts. Neither do we have any indications
[176] that the ancient Peruvians had such houses. It is very unlikely that the Chiriguano settled in their new territory might have invented the construction of such houses, because the nature of their territory did not render such a form of construction necessary. In South America we find houses built on posts
343 171 almost solely in regions exposed to floods. Thus we mainly find them in the coastal regions of the northern part of the South American continent, and they appear to the south of the Amazon River only in a relatively narrow zone in the center of the continent including Chiriguano territory. According to Marban in 1676 (71), the Mojo had houses built on posts and

[113] 71. Marban, Pedro: "Relatión de la Provincia de la Virgen del Pilar de Mojos /Report on the Province of the Virgen del Pilar de Mojos/," Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de La Paz, Bolivia, 1898, p. 132. According to Nordenskiöld.

doubtless such house constructions were quite useful in those marshy and often flooded regions. In addition Nordenskiöld during his travels (72) found one of these houses serving as a

72. Nord. 2, p. 3.

storehouse among the Chacobo, who live north of the Mojo not very far away. Some of the Quichua /Quechua/ houses located between the Chapare River and the Cochabamba River had been built on posts, but Nordenskiöld himself does not consider this architecture to have been primordial among them. Of the Chaco tribes who have storehouses built on posts Nordenskiöld mentions the Matako /Mataco/. I found such storehouses in the Matako town near Linares, but many of them also in the Churupí installations in Esteros. Nordenskiöld in his publications on the Churupí, whom he calls the Ashluslay, does not

C /17 cont./
343 mention the existence of such storehouses among these Indians,
171 and thus we must suppose that the Churupí adopted this style of house construction only recently and probably from the Matako, with whom they have many contacts. /18/ To com-
C 343 171 plete the data on the spread of houses built on posts, I shall also mention my observations on my expeditions of 1901 and 1910 to the Guató (73). Inside many houses, under the roof
Go 342 [352] [114]

73. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien /Indian Studies in Central Brazil/, Berlin, 1904, p. 178.

Go [113] and using long horizontal poles, these Indians build a platform which serves for storing various things. In this special arrange-
Go [182] ment of the Guató in building their houses, we find the rudiment of the true houses built on posts, and this is motivated by the great floods to which they were exposed even when they had been built in places higher than the marshy lands.

C 343 174 We should not consider houses built on posts as a product of the primordial culture of the Chaco tribes. It leaves as the only center of its propogation the zone in the interior of the South American continent which we have mentioned, the center of the ancient culture of the Aruaco /Arawak/ of these
Ce 343 174 171 regions, the territory of the Mojo. The Chané, who were later subjugated by the Chiriguano and incorporated into their community, also belonged to this Aruaco culture. We must thus surmise that houses built on posts, like those we still find today among the Chiriguano and some of the Chané, first originated in the Chané culture and later passed to the Chiriguano when the cultures of these two tribes were fused into a single one.

C Ce 343 [182] No doubt the special construction of these storehouses has a different purpose today among the Chiriguano and the Chané than it had in the beginning. According to Nordenskiöld, the Chané of the lower Parapití River, which is a typically marshy region, do not have such houses, while they are common among the Chiriguano and also among the former
000 who live on solid ground not exposed to floods. Their purpose

C
Ce
343
182
171
231

/18 cont./ Their Purpose

today among the Chiriguano and Chané, as well as among the Matako and Churupí, is primarily to protect certain provisions against the numerous dogs and other domestic animals who are around in great number in every part of the town (74).

74. Concerning the question of the purpose of houses built upon posts with respect to damage by animals, cf. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 192-198.

C
Ce
433
224
226

Food and Drink. Manner of Eating and Drinking.

Hunting and fishing are not very important in the economy of the Chiriguano and Chané. Their territory has relatively few edible animals, and they are not very brave hunters (75).

75. Nord. 2, p. XVI.

C
Ce
224
262

Of animals that can be hunted, they eat the puma and the jaguar, while they scorn vultures, foxes, and the meat of monkeys, so craved by other Indians (76). One contribution

C
Ce
226
184

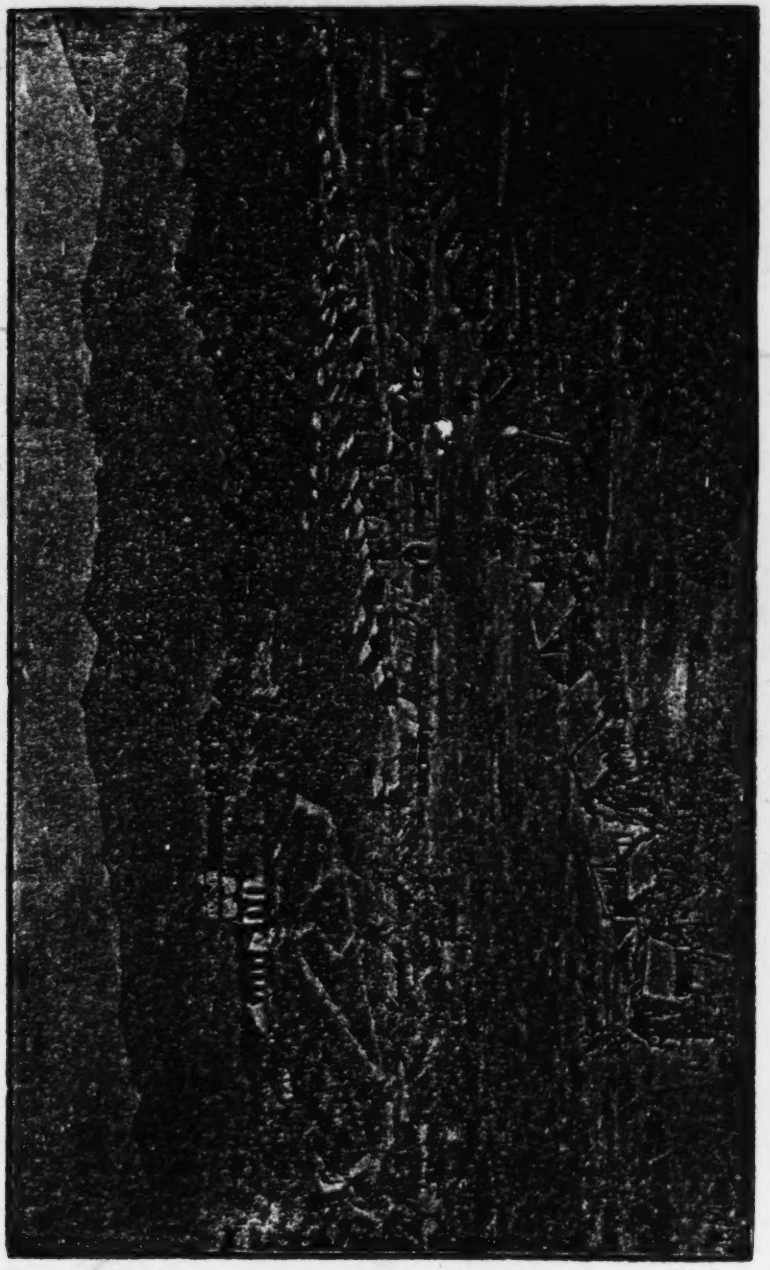
76. Nord. 1, p. 190.

to their subsistence which is worth mentioning is that from fishing, but only for the Chiriguano and Chané who live near the upper Pilcomayo River, since that river has excellent fishing. These Indians cannot make much use of fishing in the Rio Grande, because today this river can be held to be almost the frontier of their territory. The Parapití River has many fish, but they are very small. While the Chané today live in territories where for several months some fish are available, many Chiriguano towns are so far from the larger streams that fish does not enter into the diet of their inhabitants (77). With

77. Nord. 2, pp. XV and XVI.

4: Nino--127 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
346
133



View of the Santa Rosa Mission.

/173 cont./

342 The canes, or sticks, are attached in the same way as in the roof, with the difference that for the walls they are put in double order, outside and inside, so that they can serve as a support for the dampened earth, which in the end is like a large bag, long and tall, around the house. This other work [462] is done by the Indian men, engaged beforehand by the promise of chicha; next they too dig in the wet soil /174/ dampened by the rain or by water, and help the women in the operation of forming the walls.

With such simplicity, the four walls are raised in a single day, everything being completed; at the present time almost all houses have a gallery where the men and women always sit to enjoy the cool of the mornings and the evenings in friendly gatherings, a gallery which is even used for sleeping on excessively hot nights, especially when inside there is an abundance of vinchucas and other insects (1).

● 346 476

1. In Parapiti a school for 150 girls was built and finished in 12 hours; nothing had been prepared for this building; it was planned the day before and done at once by all the inhabitants.

342 With the erection of the gallery, the house is completely finished, and the Indian content and satisfied. In present-day buildings care is taken to place the door, or entry, at one end of the house which corresponds to the gallery, and many have two, one in front of the other, in order to have a way to the patio which they make with a fence of thorns for greater comfort.

347 28 The doors are of cane, which they tie together like mats, but vertically, with ceiba bark or with cowhide thongs, which [322] are more durable indoors. If an Indian can get a cowhide, [824] he makes a door of Guayapa wood, or, as the whites call it, zacharrosa, or another soft wood, which he puts in a hole left in the construction; he makes another frame with its hinges made of the same wood, soaks the hide, and fastens it in this

/339 cont./
consumption was limited (1).

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.

We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the Indians of the Cururutí region in Caipipendí valley. From the end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6).[1]

This temporary migration of the whole population of a village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

[1] [Fig 6 appears on p. 69-- Analyst]

/340 cont./

421 Property is a sacred thing among the Chiriguano, and the nearest relatives cannot dispose of their belongings without their formal consent.

241 115 123 At the time of my stay in Carurutí, I once asked my old friend "Captain" Karnapadyú to take me to his field. He was very

249 407 797 142 291

Fig. 7. Mill for grinding sugar cane at the Ivu mission. (Photo. A. M.)

241 115 [123] touched by /Plate VI appears here/ /341/ the interest that my wish implied and in an instant showed himself ready to do the honors.

His field was about 700 meters from the village on top of one of the cliffs which border the "quebrada" /ravine/ of Carurutí. Access to it was by a steep path across fallen rocks. The entrance [351] to the field was closed by a hedge composed of tree trunks and [417] thorny shrubs which we climbed over with the help of an Indian-style ladder, That is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps.

[Text continues on p. 74]

/341 cont./

243 Parrots are veritable plagues for agriculture in the Chaco
825 and cause great damage. In order to fight their voracious
532 bands the Chiriguano make scarecrows by attaching to the tip of flexible poles the masks they wear during the carnival festivities and which they have no use for afterward (Fig. 8). It is the need to be constantly /342/ on the watch to repulse the intrusion of these formidable bands of plunderers which obliges the Indians to come and live in their fields as soon as the corn ripens. The children and young people have the task of frightening off by their shouts these insatiable marauders. As soon as they see or hear a flock of parrots, they emit a long modulation which, it seems, has the effect of scaring them. If
243 the parrots come too near or perch on the fields, the Indians
411 make them flee by bombarding them with stones with their slings. They have two kinds of these. Wherever the Chiriguano
[177] are in direct contact with the Quichua /Quechua/, these slings are of wool (Plate VII, 1 and 2); elsewhere, especially in the Caipipendí valley, they are of vegetable fibers and made according to the net technique (Plate VII, 3). No doubt the Chiriguano borrowed this weapon from the Andean populations. To be convinced of this it suffices to compare the slings of the Indians and half-breeds of the department of Tarija with that of the Chiriguano (Rosen, 1, Fig. 267, p. 261).

[825] Another means of scattering the birds is to stretch a string above the fields. I do not know the effect that this measure can have on them.

243 The fields of the Chiriguano Indians are always surrounded
825 by a high, thick hedge which protects them from animals, wander-
● [351] ing cows and horses, which could get in and play havoc with them. Grasshoppers sometimes do them much harm. In the Caipipendí valley I saw a field in which they were swarming and which seemed to have been abandoned for this reason (1).

1. When grasshoppers are particularly numerous, the Chiriguano dig ditches which they make them go into and in which they bury them. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 83.)

/355 cont./

142
291
351
372

Fig. 26. Chiriguano woman lighting a fire. Upper Pilcomayo. (Photo. A. M.)

262
[975] do not hunt nor eat this animal (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 3).

[756] Medicine men cannot under any circumstances eat pimento. If a man refuses to taste this condiment, one can be sure he is a magician (id., p. 184).

[765] Grilled corn is strictly forbidden for persons in mourning, whose tears would dry up if they ate this dish.

[825] the exclusive right to eat deer meat, which thus instilled in them
[789] the agility and suppleness of this animal. Women could eat, without

/383 cont./

323 long time with the clay. This paste must have all the impurities removed, which is done in the course of the kneading (Fig. 56).

323
342
291
516
●351

Fig. 56. Fabrication of a vessel: the clay, after being mixed with pulverized potsherds, is kneaded. (Photographs taken by the author at Masaví in the Igüembé Valley.)

323 When the potter has obtained an elastic and sticky paste, she molds the base of a vessel, which she puts either on a piece of cloth or a small board. The foundation of the future receptacle looks like a disk raised on its periphery. A

/386 cont./

323 The paintings on some vessels produce a particularly successful /387/ effect, thanks to the alternation of brilliant,

323
342
351
516
415
291

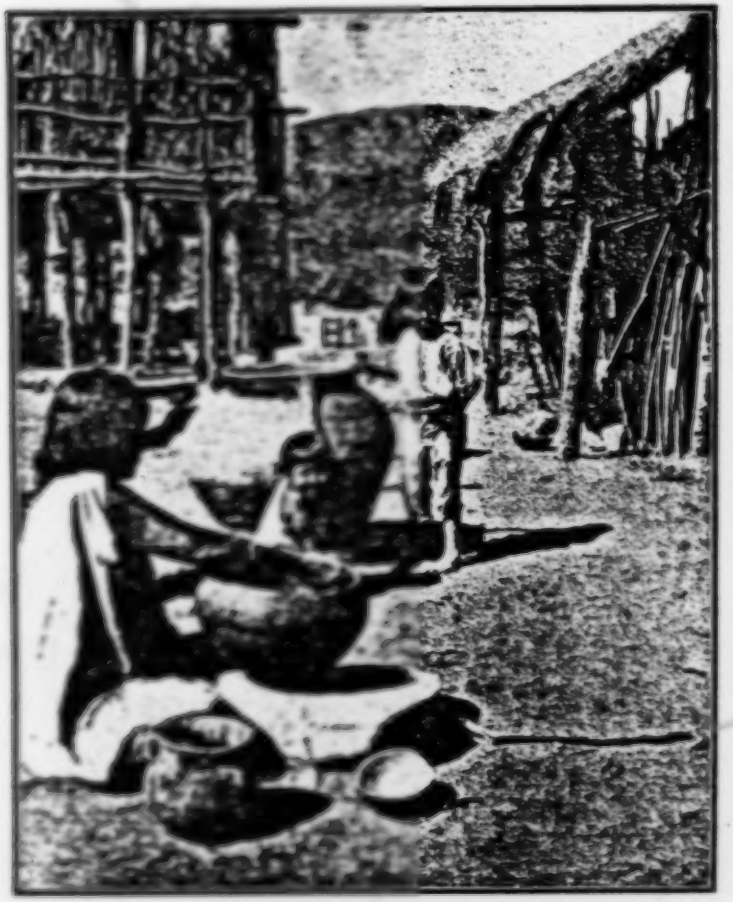


Fig. 59. Fabrication of a vessel: the inside surface is polished after being flattened with the hand.

323 solid red with black of the same nature. The first of these colors
[386] is taken from the famous roucou, whose oily paste is mixed with resin, kneaded into a loaf, and melted on the hot walls of the vessel.

/470 cont./

352 and Arawak tradition. Some hammocks, not many, are crudely
[286] woven. The threads which /Fig. 126 appears here/ compose
[199] them are of wool; formerly they were doubtless of cotton (Plate XXXVIII).

352 It is a delicate business to persuade a Chiriguano mother to
854 sell you the hammock of her nursling. She fears that an /Plate
754 LXXXVIII appears here/ /471/ evil-intentioned person will profit by the fact that the fabric is impregnated with urine, in order to indulge in magical practices which would make the new-born child die.

342
351

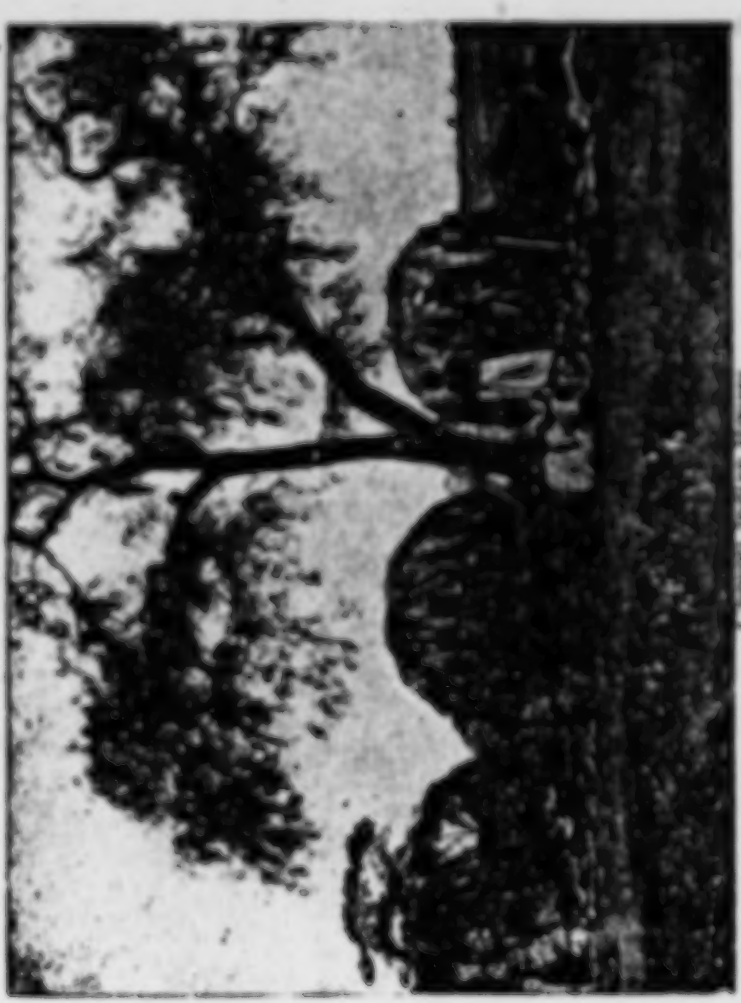
Fig. 124. Chiriguano hut. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (Photo. A. M.)

353 Along the walls are lined up vessels of all dimensions
[415] which /Figs. 127 and 128 appear here/ are kept there for the drinking feasts; some contain seed, others serve as linen cup-
[352] boards or provision bags. On the walls, generally in the four corners, hang reed screens or hoops made of palm leaves /Fig. 129 appears here/ which take the place of shelves (Figs. 126 and 129).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 342]

4: Nino--SPE M-3 (1895-1911) 1912 SF10 Chirigueno
Chavez: SK6

342
•351
361



Chavez Indian Houses

/345 cont./

423 Outside these official expeditions they doubtless used to
224 hunt for pleasure or simply to interrupt the monotony of their
198 menu.

224 Quadrupeds were killed with arrows with lanceolate tips,
411 originally of wood, today of iron (Plates VIII and IX, 2);
small game, with arrows tipped with a barbed wooden rod
[223] (Plate IX, 3-5). Birds were taken in traps or felled with a
special arrow having a splayed ferrule (Plates X-XI).

224 Anyone who has seen the little dogs of the Chiriguano
[231] Indians, with elongated /346/ muzzle, pointed ears, short
hair, and arched tail will ask with surprise how animals so
miserable, stupid, and snappish could have been trained to
render service to man. Nevertheless, such seems to have
been the case. For hunting the peccary, for example, the
Indians employ the dogs, who track them and /Figs. 12 and
13 appear here/ force them to hide in their dens, from which
they are smoked out and felled with blows of a stick when they
try to run away. At least this is how the inhabitants of the
village of Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) told me they had
killed a peccary which they showed me at the time I was there.

423 For the modern Chiriguano, hunting has lost its reason
224 for existing as an activity having an economic character,
184 except perhaps /Plates VIII, IX, X, and XI appear here/
/347/ /Fig. 14 appears here/ for those of this nation who live
[352] in the region of the upper Pilcomayo. At least this is the im-
[412] pression I had after examining their huts: the bedsteads or
wooden cots were often covered with peccary skins and the
old deerhorn awls (Fig. 12) numerous enough to be able to be
exchanged for a trifle. The relative abundance of these ob-
jects proves that among these Indians hunting has not been
relegated /Fig. 15 appears here/ to the rank of a simple
sport and that it keeps, at least in part, its past importance.
[419] The contrast is striking if one then goes into the zone of the
Franciscan missions: there, more peccary skins, more
[411] perforators made of deerhorn, more ostrich feathers. In the
villages of the upper Pilcomayo there is no cabin, poor as it
may be, in which a bow and a bundle of arrows are not slipped

[Text Continues on P. 89]

/468 cont./

412 171 At La Paya, Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 254, p. 484) discovered combs cut out of a small wooden board and some composite combs. Instead of simply recording the coexistence of two different types of combs /Plate LXXXVII appears here/ /469/ in the same place, a very natural phenomenon by reason of the heterogeneous character of the culture of La Paya. Ambrosetti puts forth the strange hypothesis that these combs served for carding wool, without taking the trouble to inquire whether this instrument was known in pre-Columbian times.

303 322 467 412 The making of combs, like all wood carving, is an essentially masculine job.

412 174 The table on Plate LXXXVII indicates my idea of the morphological evolution of the different forms of combs which I have collected.

Chapter XII

Furniture

352 [114] Since the diverse cultural elements which constitute the furniture of the Chiriguano have been completely studied by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 8-22), I shall limit myself to mentioning them here, insisting only on several details. /Fig. 124 appears here./ /See p. 338./

[342] Let us enter a Chiriguano hut. The door we open is a kind of screen of reeds or a cowhide hardened in the sun. Daylight penetrates the interior through this opening. The only important [513] piece of furniture is a wooden cot (Fig. 125), a kind of bedstead generally occupied by two persons between whom one or two children come /470/ to slip in somehow or other. Nor do the Chiriguano hesitate to sleep on the ground on an oxhide, which they spread out in front of their house. On the upper Pilcomayo, in nearly all the huts one can /Fig. 125 appears here/ /See p. 339./ see one or two hammocks which serve either as seats during the day [286] [177] or as cradles for small children. Their technique, that of the double thread (Doppelfadentechnik), continues an old Guarani

[Text Continues on P. 338]

/470 cont./

352 [286] [177] and Arawak tradition. Some hammocks, not many, are crudely woven. The threads which /Fig. 126 appears here/ compose them are of wool; formerly they were doubtless of cotton (Plate XXXVIII).

352 854 754 It is a delicate business to persuade a Chiriguano mother to sell you the hammock of her nursling. She fears that an /Plate LXXXVIII appears here/ /471/ evil-intentioned person will profit by the fact that the fabric is impregnated with urine, in order to indulge in magical practices which would make the new-born child die.

342 351

Fig. 124. Chiriguano hut. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (Photo. A. M.)

353 [415] Along the walls are lined up vessels of all dimensions which /Figs. 127 and 128 appear here/ are kept there for the drinking feasts; some contain seed, others serve as linen cupboards or provision bags. On the walls, generally in the four [352] corners, hang reed screens or hoops made of palm leaves /Fig. 129 appears here/ which take the place of shelves (Figs. 126 and 127).

[TEXT Continues on P. 342]

•352

Fig. 125. Wooden cot (catre), Chiriguano Indian bed. Prov.: Ivu. (About 1/6 nat. size /sic/.)

[286]

Fig. 126. Hoop made of vegetable fibers, to serve as a shelf. (About 1/8 nat. size.)

Plate LXXXVIII

Chiriguano hammocks of wool. From: 1, Saladito; 2, Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo).
Note: Hammock No. 2 is woven.

352
286

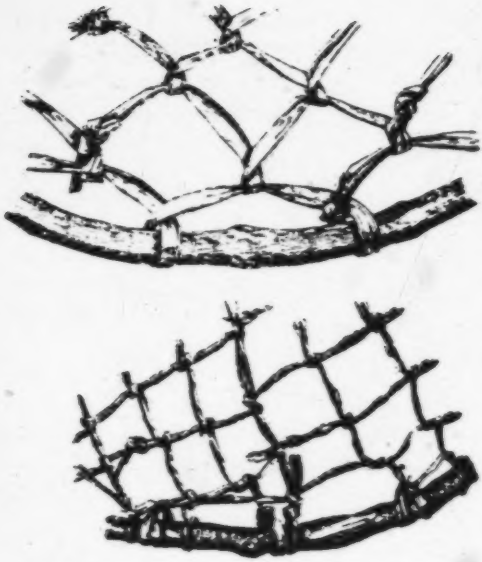


Fig. 127. Sketch indicating the technique of the hoops of the type of the one in Figure 126.

Fig. 128. Deer foot dried in the sun to serve as a hook for hanging. Prov.: Saladito. (About 1/5 nat. size.)

352

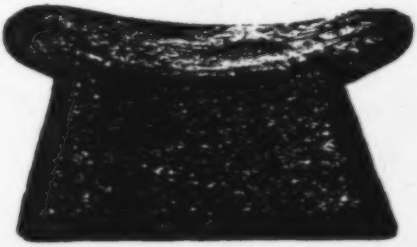


Fig. 129. Double-runnered bench. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (About 1/7 nat. size.)

/471 cont./

353 and 127). Everything in the world can be found there: small vessels, baskets, boxes, packages carefully wrapped in cloth, in short, a thousand little objects which the Chiriguano women regard as their treasure. From the roof hang hooks from which [414] are suspended household effects or supplies. These hooks are [237] generally of wood, but there are some also which are formed by a deer foot bent back and dried in the sun (Fig. 128).

Every chink in the walls is transformed into a hiding-place where the women put their scissors, the men their knives or combs. /472/ Bows and arrows are slipped between the struts of the roof.

In some huts whose walls are plastered with earth, the Indians arrange niches in the shape of swallows' nests, which serve as rudimentary cupboards. Might there be in that a distant remembrance of the niches so characteristic of Inca houses? It is possible.

352 The inhabitants of each hut sit on the cots or on /Figs. 516 130-132 appear here/ chairs with backs very well copied from [179] those of the creoles. The women generally squat on the ground. [178] On the upper Pilcomayo, one still finds benches with two seats (Fig. 129), a cultural element which the Chiriguano inherited from their ancestors of the Amazon basin.

356 The fire for cooking is lighted in the middle of the hut. [354] Chiriguano dwellings are clean. I have never caught fleas or other vermin there as I have in the ranchos of creoles or half-breeds. The women sweep their huts at least once a day. One is rarely disturbed there by mice (Fig. 132).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

252 415 412 264 [319] [263] *Chiriguano* mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 592 **Dwellings.**—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

361 178 [343] [712] The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

● 352 **Household furniture.**—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 177 **Clothing.**—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

/21 cont./

137 824 MARA or CAOBA /mahogany/. -- This tree is found in all sections. It is a strong wood, but the white part at the sides is subject to decay. It is rather heavy and hard and is only used for door and window casings and even for tables. [342] [352] The leaves are permanent, but not too good for shade. If the [957] leaves are touched with some force in order to pick them, they cause a skin eruption which disappears only when treated with bees' honey; I cured myself this way twice.

137 /22/ MELOCOTÓN /peach tree/. -- This tree, native to Persia, is quite productive in this region, but its fruit, severely attacked by the black butterfly, does not reach maturity because it always has worms. The apple tree grows in high places and where the atmosphere is not so hot, but both of these are orchard trees, not native ones, having been imported by the whites, who cultivate them, which can also be said of the quince tree.

137 824 MOLLE. -- This tree is not found in the central part of the region and thus is not native here, being obtained only by cultivation. The whites and the Missionaries have introduced it into the towns with good results. It is found in abundance in [957] the district under the jurisdiction of Padilla; it has permanent [2073] leaves, which are medicinal, as is the resin which comes from the trunk; a cooling beverage, pleasant and similar to wine, except that its odor is somewhat disagreeable, is made from [957] the seeds. The eucalyptus is another tree which thrives regularly here, but it has also been imported; its leaves, also permanent, are very good medicine for the endemic fevers; its trunk is an excellent wood. Neither tree has a name in Chiriguano, from which it can be deduced that they have been imported, like the grape vine, the common fig tree, the peach, quince, etc.

MORA OR MORERA /mulberry/. -- This tree is found wild from the left bank of the Parapiti River in Cordillera Province. It rises to a height of some 15 meters, is bulky with a very leafy top, and the fruit is smaller than that of the cultivated mulberry; the wood is solid and compact like that of the soto and has even better qualities; it is used for machines for milling sugar cane, plantations of which are common from the banks of the Parapiti River, where sugar of the highest quality

4: Nino--234 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

342
352
353
516

Partial View of Modern Chiriguano House

/178 cont./

353 [356] Chiriguano towns attract the attention of all travelers and explorers because of the cleanliness which reigns in their houses, which, despite having a notable quantity of furnishings, are well kept up through the assiduous work of the mistress of the house. [415] [352] Jars with wide mouths are in the corners; those with narrow mouths, in which the chicha must ferment, lean vertically against the walls; the plates and spoons are on small triangular tables of hollow cane in the corners; small ollas are placed inside the empty large pots, and these in times of abundance, and even in times of scarcity, are full, some with shelled maize, others with beans and gourd seeds, and others with wool and cotton for making ponchos, blankets, or outer garments.

[824] [251] /179/ Above, at an appropriate height, they hang a mat of hollow cane or little sticks well tied together well with Ivi, or ceiba, and there they put other trifles or small things, when they do not have anything else to put there, such as cheeses and charqui, or dried meat. The mat is usually hung on one side of the house on one of the rafters by means of thongs of cowhide or other materia. They are placed there so as not to be in the way of those who must pass beneath (1).

[824]

1. The Ivi is a species of ceiba, samuu, but it does not have points like the latter. There is another called Cuari or Tayipiruru, which is very straight, has very strong fibers, and is only cut at the branches in order to pull off the bark. A fourth type of ceiba is called Iviru guasu; it is large and smooth. Each type has its congenial place, like every tree.

Finally, in the corners of the house or where it is most convenient, up high, they put one or more cords, which form an angle from one wall to the other, and there each member of the family puts his own clothing and the men hang the harness of their beasts of burden. Today the Chiriguano who are not lazy are not so poor, and when one enters a house one is amazed by all the abundance of furnishings so well arranged.

/179 cont./

512
356 With such an arrangement, it is not difficult for the Chiriguano woman, after having taken her bath, made her toilette, and put up her hair, to sweep her house in a few minutes, sweep the rest, put back in its place everything that has been used, to put the beds to the walls, put the coverings on the cords in the corners, and again prepare what is needed for cooking (2).

2. The ancient Chiriguano woman did it this way, because she got up very early; today, as she is beginning to be lazy, after having done everything, she goes to the spring, bathes, combs her hair, and carries water.

Cots and Seats

513

No matter how poor a Chiriguano may be, he seeks comfort for sleeping and does not sleep on the ground when he is at home, both in order to avoid sickness and to be free of poisonous animals which abound, such as the snake, the scorpion, and the tarantula, which strike horror just to look at them. Furthermore, they do not sleep on the ground in order to be free of the bite of other insects, such as the vinchuca and the guanaco in certain areas, but despite this their cots are /180/ full of other little coffee-colored bugs, known in every corner inhabited by man.

352
322 In order to avoid any such accident, one obtains the Igũirapempi, cot, by making it oneself. Cots are of hollow cane, little sticks, or split maguey sticks, which they call caruguata guasu. In order to make them, they first make a rectangular frame; in this four holes are made 40 centimeters in from the ends, into which four sticks are introduced vertically; these are the feet. Above are tied canes or sticks which are high at the top and bottom and deep in the middle, and this is the cot. At bedtime they are content with placing at the head some rag or piece of wood.

/180 cont./

•352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it; most of them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have [513] this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they [178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and to have cots like the whites use; the open part of the latter [237] is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred; in the Ivu Mission almost all make them of this material.

574 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either; 576 when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on 516 the ground; nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For 352 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of 322 wood and called Apica. There are some with two places and [574] up to four with their respective dividers; there are some for [412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter [438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like [439] those of the whites; they make the latter for their own use [824] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharrosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel. 352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks, Quiha ó inni, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

4: Nino--255 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
302
516
622
352
411

Cacique Gilirasa with His Family

/210 cont./

Infant Care

854 [352] For the newborn child to rest in, they have a kind of net which they hang at one end of the lodging. Its mother places it there when it sleeps, and she covers it with a piece of cloth so that the flies will not bother it. Some wool or cotton hammocks are crudely made /211/ by them, and these are called Ini ó quiha, the last term of which literally means quietness.

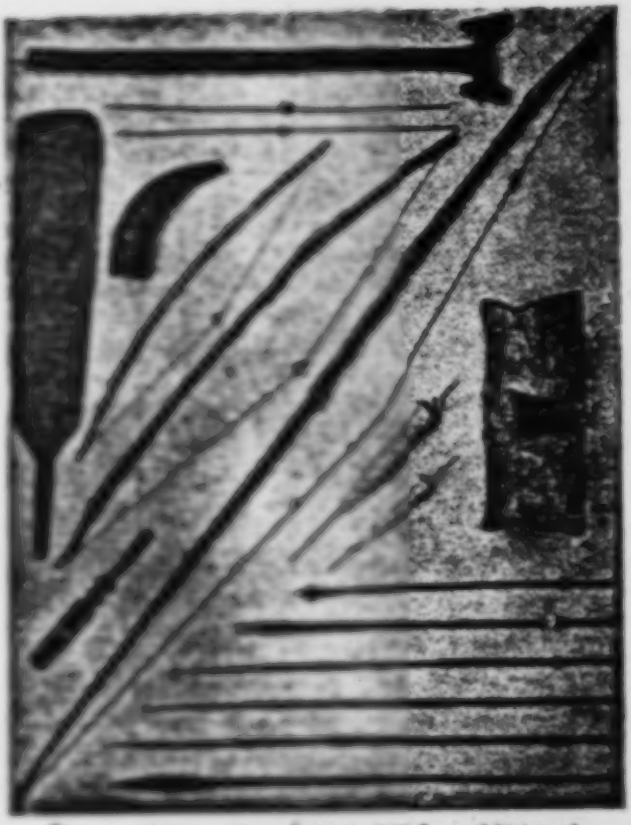
The mother almost never leaves her newborn child, and to go to the spring or to the river she takes advantage of the time when it is asleep, leaving it in the care of some person, even a little one. She cannot yet carry it in the folds of her clothing, because the child's tender limbs cannot bear such a position. Only when they have become somewhat stronger does the mother walk from one end of the town to the other, to the field, to the spring, without leaving her child at home, like weasels or like the kangaroos of Australia, who do not leave their young in the caves when they go out, making leaps like a jerboa.

147 854 The sun in the Chiriguano region is very hot and yet children exposed to its action do not feel its effects very much, if at all. They receive its rays perpendicularly, from in front, from all sides, and square on their faces, and it is as though they were in the shade. The only effect that it has on them is the copper color of the race, because experience has shown that this color is acquired (1).

142 1. The color of the newborn babies is rather strange: they look like mice. Many newborn babies are completely white, but not like Europeans: the difference between the former and the latter can be seen immediately.

4z Nimo--368 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

412
411
534
283
• 352



Bows, arrows, etc. /see p. 367 for additional explanation/.

4: Nino--352 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/283/

Explanation of the Preceding Illustration /see p. 368/

412
411
534
283
352

1. Wooden spade for work.
2. Spade handle.
3. Bull's horn for blowing.
4. Implement for stirring food.
5, 6. Chiriguano spindles.
7. Chair or seat with two spaces for children.
8. A bow for adults.
9. Arrow with iron point.
10, 11, 12. Arrows with wooden point.
13. Bow for young people.
14. Arrow with two points for hunting and fishing.
15. "Songo," or arrow with rounded point for hunting small birds.
16. Bow for boys.
17, 18. Arrows for boys.

/284/

Chapter Thirteen

Illnesses, Remedies, Death, and Mourning

Introduction

One moment of reflection suffices for a man to understand that there is no true happiness on earth: he who can glory in being happy in this world finds many sorrows: unsatisfied desires, unexecuted orders, unfinished projects. The careless execution of injunctions constitutes thorns for the heart of the man who could call himself blessed. He would like everything to go along as he desires, and when this does not happen he suffers, and if he does not express his suffering he suffers much more (1).

> 1. It is a great relief for a man to be able to communicate his sufferings to a sincere friend, but it is difficult to find such, because he who has a friend has a treasure, and the treasure is a rare thing.

Schwabenkiffel E-4,(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
S710 Chiriguano S710
Chaco S70
South American Indians 53

S
342

REISE OF BAVARIA[7]) depicts numerous pile-buildings from the town of Guayaquil and its surroundings. On the lower Amazon the Indians and Mestizoes in general live in pile-buildings.[8])

II.

Beds and other fittings of the huts.

C
Ce
352
177

The Chiriguano and Chané make use of platform beds as well as hammocks. The bedsteads are made of thick sticks, the underlay being covered with cane or long sticks. The most civilized Chiriguano also have bedsteads in which the underlay is made of plaited things — this having been learned from the Whites. I had always held that the platform bed was a culture-element which the Indians have obtained from the Whites. KARL V. D. STEINEN[9]) seems also to be of this opinion. This is not, however, correct, for the platform bed is a genuine Indian culture-element, which is worth closer study. Platform beds are mentioned as early as 1549 by PALOMINO[10]) from Chequimayo in N. Peru among quite unvisited Indians, and there is not the least reason to suppose that the platform bed

---

7) (2)

8) «Em lugares alagados de beira rio, como certas praças do Amazonas entre o Para e Gurupá e em todo o litoral do archipelago do Marajó, ao menos na parte a O e SO d'esse archipelago, erguem as casas sobre palisadas à maneira das cidades lacustres dos tempos prehistoricos» ... » VERISSIMO P. 370.

9) (5) P. 73.

10) P. XLIX «Durmen en barbacoas sobre unos petates de caña.»

Schwabacher 8-4,5(1909-1910. 1912) 1920
1910 Chiriguano 1911
Chane 1911
South American Indians 53

is a culture-element so coveted as to a few years to have spread from the Whites in Peru to the interior of the country. When the distribution of the platform bed is closely studied, it will be found that it is evidently a very old culture-element which remains in places where the hammock has not penetrated or has been found unpractical. In the land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians it is often too cold to sleep in hammocks. A platform bed is therefore preferred by them, especially when they have clothes to put under and over them. Hammocks are few and are mostly used to recline upon during the day. I have endeavoured on the map to show the geographical distribution of the platform bed. The summary does not, however, pretend to be complete. Its aim is mainly to draw attention to a culture-element which has often been overlooked, and which gives me the impression of being older than the hammock by which it has been relegated to certain tracts, particularly on the eastern slopes of the Andes, where it is rather cold to sleep in hammocks, and rather uncomfortable to sleep on the ground, as is the custom up on the high fells or farther to the south.

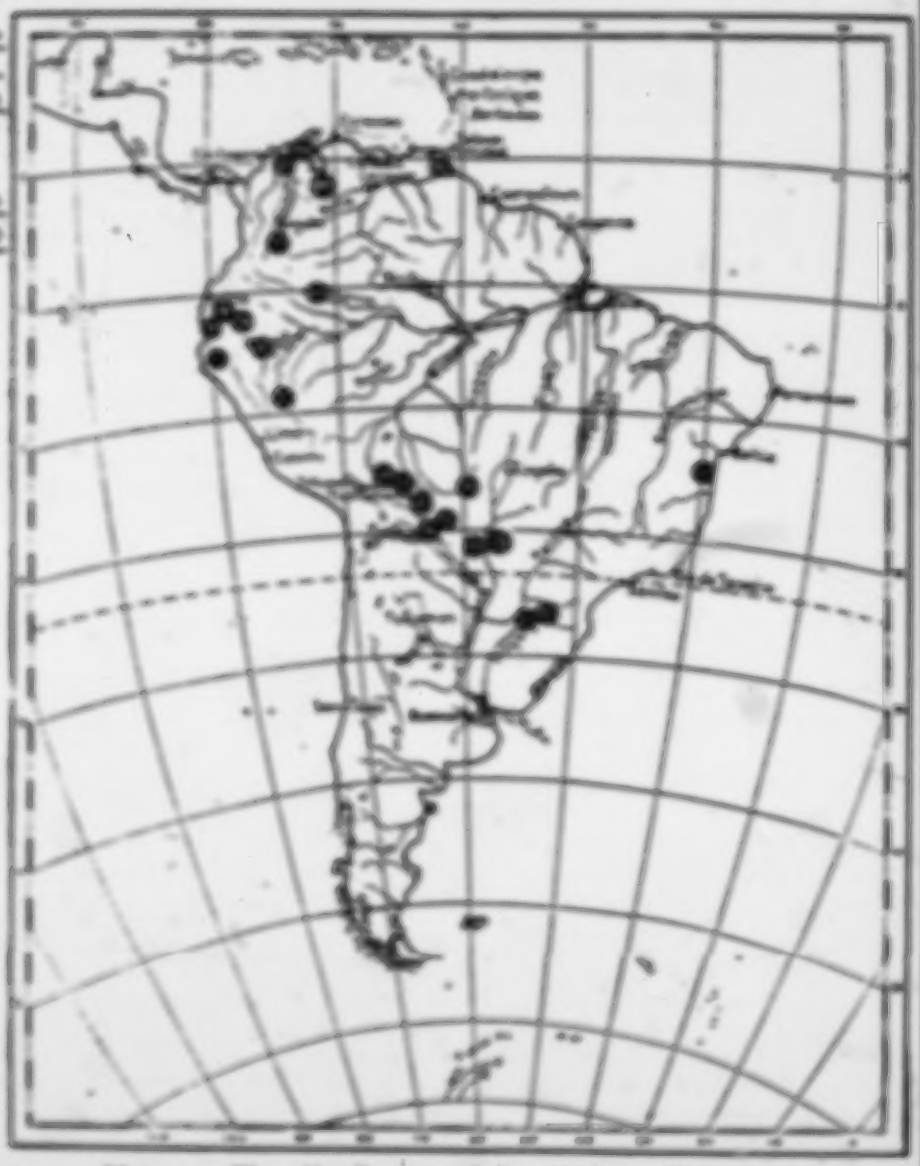
Table 2.

The platform bed (Cama). Map. 2.

4. Chiriguano.
5. Chané. Fig. 2.
18. Quichua, Riobamba, River (1) P. 60.
21. Caingué, Ambocaytí (7) P. 697.
22. Voraóre.
23. Chunipa.
24. Chimane.
29. Caingang, Ambocaytí (1) P. 303. Is considered to be post - Columbian.
34. Jivaro, River (1) P. 40.
35. Chimila, Bonwoss (4) P. 52.
36. Ipra, " (4) P. 48. Only the mediciners.

[Text continues on p.12]

Schweizerbart 8-6,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1951
SF10 Chirgwin SF10
Chase SF8
South American Indians 53



Map. 2. The distribution of the platform bed (Catre

Schwabenkiffel E-5/(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
CE
352
171
102
9
10R
352

61. The Aguaporis Indians, WHIFFEN P. 47.
71. Sipibo, STEINEN (3) P. 75.
94. Chiquitos, *Litterae Societatis Jesu* 1594—1595. P. 754: BURGOS P. 343. The men have hammocks, the women platform beds. This implies that fixed bedstead here are more original than hammocks.
95. Chibcha, OVIEDO T. 2. P. 407.
IV. Guaná (Arawaks), AZARA (1) T. 2, P. 89.
3 H. Indians on the coast of Ecuador, BENZONI P. 245.
4 H. Camacans, MARTIUS (1) P. 345.
6 V. Guaná, CUNINGES P. 178.
7 V. Indians of Choquimayo, PALOMINO P. XLIX. He made his journey in 1549.
8 M. Indians (Chamas), Sierra de Merida. SALAS P. 262.
9 P. Xeveso, CHANTRE y HERRERA P. 143. Mainas, SARMIENTO P. CXLIV. «duermen en barbacoas ó cañizos con toldos.»

Ee
350
171
253

In the regions I visited it was only the Siriono, Huanyam and Huari who had hammocks of palm-fibre or bast. The other tribes who employ this form of bed have hammocks of cotton. The Chané hammocks are of cotton or caraguata[1])[2]). The Chiriguano have hammocks of cotton, occasionally of wool. IM THURN and K. v. D. STEINEN had already pointed out that, while cotton hammocks appear to be a Carib culture-element, the palm-fibre hammock is of Arawak origin. PATER SCHMIDT then thoroughly investigated the distribution of hammocks of various materials, confirming the theories of IM THURN and K. v. D. STEINEN and shewing, moreover, that the Guarani peoples, as a rule, have cotton hammocks.

---

[1]) Bast-technique.

[2]) Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. P. CIV The author speaks of two kind of hammocks from these Indians. Probably one of them were of Caraguatá. I am not quite sure if he speaks of the Chané or the Chiriguano or of both «hacen muy grandes palos y de ellos cuelgan sus hamacas, que son unas mantas grandes ó tejidos de algodon ó hechas de red.»

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
362
171*
283

RUTH HAEBLER, a pupil of MAX SCHMIDT, has endeavoured to shew that this is not correct. After examining a number of hammocks in German museums, she arrived at the conclusion that, in the majority of these, both palm-fibre and cotton had been used — palmfibre for the warp and cotton for the woof — and that the notion that the Arawaks have hammocks of palm-fibre only, while Caribs have only cotton hammocks, is wrong. For the rest, hammocks of mixed materials are also mentioned by PATER SCHMIDT, who thus devoted attention to this matter when he was investigating hammocks. ROTH, too, mentions from Guiana hammocks of bast with a woof of cotton. The fact really is that all the hammocks described as having a bast warp and cotton woof are from the Upper Xingú or from Guiana tracts, where there dwell Arawaks, Caribs and Tupi. If we study the appended map and table, which are based on very extensive material, we shall find that, within an immense region about the Amazon, the Indians use hammocks of palm-fibre exclusively, and that in the rest of S. America it is more especially the least civilized tribes, e. g. Siriono, Huari, Waika and others, who use bast or palm-fibre hammocks exclusively. On the coast of Brazil, the more civilized Tupi had cotton hammocks, while the less civilized tribes used palm-fibre. I would consequently account for the distribution of hammocks of different materials in the following way: — Originally the Indians in the whole of tropical S. America had hammocks of palm-fibre or bast exclusively. When the art of cultivating cotton spread from the west, many tribes began to use cotton hammocks or, in some districts, hammocks of palm-fibre with a cotton woof. Where cotton-growing remained unknown, or was inconsiderable, as among the Arawaks of N W Brazil, hammocks made entirely of palm-fibre were still used.

Which tribes spread the knowledge of cotton growing? Certainly not the Arawaks, who within large tracts

C
Ce
[249]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
352
249
*171
283

do not even spin. It must, above all, have been the Tupi - Guarani. They are known for their manufacture of cotton hammocks. The Omagua who dwell (have dwelt?) in a tract where they and the Cocama are the only Tupi Indians, use hammocks both of palm-fibre and of cotton. All the neighbouring tribes have nothing but palm-fibre hammocks. Some Tupi at the Upper Xingú use palm-fibre hammocks with a woof of cotton. RUTH HAEBLER mentions two hammocks of bast from the Cainguá. Otherwise, the Tupi tribes use cotton hammocks, as has been pointed out by PATER SCHMIDT. The Caribs, too, have undoubtedly contributed to the spread of cotton-growing and the use of cotton hammocks, for it is very evident that in Guiana especially, they have used, and still use, cotton in their hammocks far more than the Arawaks. The distribution of cotton hammocks in S. America cannot be properly understood except in connection with the general history of the cultivation of cotton. It is highly probable that it was from the western area of civilization in S. America that the knowledge of cotton-growing spread over a considerable part of the continent. It is very likely that, in post-Columbian times, the practice of growing cotton has spread to a good many tribes who formerly were ignorant of it. We must remember that cotton has been grown at such mission-stations as in Mojos on a very large scale.

C
Ce
[174]

C
Ce
352
249
*171

It must also be remembered that the history of the cultivation of cotton is of especial interest, because the cotton bush is one of the few cultivated plants that in pre-Columbian time were common to both the Old and New World. Consequently, it would be very interesting if we could prove that cotton was first used in S. America within the old culture areas, and there only after the Indians had reached a comparatively high state of civilization.

C
Ce
352
*171
[554]

It is not quite right to say that the hammock was not used within the culture-area of the west. It was used — not as a bed, but as a litter for persons of rank. This is

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c
ce
352
171
[554]

corroborated by the accounts of PEDRO PIZARRO and XERES, who were eyewitnesses of the conquest of the Inca empire. In the high mountain country it is natural that hammocks should not be used as beds. In such parts they would be too cold. It is harder to make out why hammocks were not used in the coastal regions of Peru.

Evidently the hammock in S. America is so old a culture-element that it is impossible to decide whence it came to the Chané and Chiriguano. The latter certainly, and most likely the former too, used hammocks when they settled in their present territory. The technique employed in most Chané and all Chiriguano hammocks is the same as, with small variations, is mostly used wherever hammocks occur.

It is possible that some tribes about the river Amazon preferred palm-fibre hammocks to cotton ones, because the former are cooler. Possibly, too, in these regions of moist heat, hammocks of palm-fibre are less liable to rot and to be attacked by insects than those of cotton.

I here append a map (3) showing the distribution of hammocks of different material after PATER SCHMIDT, with certain additions, as will be seen from table 3.

The seat so characteristic of the Indians in great parts of S. America is a rather uncommon piece of furniture in the huts of the Chiriguano and Chané (Fig. 3). Its distribution in S. America has been investigated by PATER SCHMIDT[1] and SAVILLE[2]) wherefore I beg to refer to their works. In my own sphere of work I saw seats among the Quichua mestizoes at Calilegua, among the Mojo, Huari, Baure and Huanyam. The seat as a culture-element has its southern boundary here. It occurred, though rarely, among the Incas, where seats seem to have been the special privilege of the chiefs[3]). Most likely it is a culture-element which the Chané

c
ce
[127]
c
ce
[622]

[1]) P. 1088.
[2]) V. 2, P. 103.
[3]) COBO Vol. 4. P. 172.

Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chané SP8

received from their kinsfolk at Mojos, or they may even have brought it with them when they migrated to their present abode. Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané commonly use chairs of the type they have learned from the whites. They are made by themselves in the missions.

I have a rush mat from the Chané. Both the Chiriguano and the Chané have skin mats. I have already spoken of such mats in Part I of this work. The skin mat is naturally a southern culture-element.

The Chiriguano and Chané keep their belongings either hung from the ceiling or else on the floor. Clothes and other fragile things are often kept in large earthen vessels — a method of keeping one's belongings which I have not seen anywhere else. Cieza[1]) says that the Incas kept their clothes in a similar way.

It is very common among the Chiriguano and Chané to fix wooden hooks in the roof of their huts on which to hang their belongings (fig. 4). Elsewhere I have only seen these hooks among the Chuzipa. In the Gothenburg Museum there is a collection by Liljewalch and Thulin of hooks made by Indian tribes on the Roraima. The only mention of them that I am aware of in literature on the subject is from the Araucanians.[2]) Small articles of this kind are, of course, easily overlooked, wherefore it is not at present possible to draw a map of their distribution. This is to be regretted, as the distribution of such small objects would offer points of great interest. It seems to me not unlikely that the wooden hook is an Andine culture-element. Within my sphere of work the hook does not occur among other Indians than those mentioned here.

Small articles are kept by the Chiriguano and Chané in cloth and leather bags, wooden boxes, baskets, armadillo scales, the scrotum of bulls, and in calabashes with or without lids.

[1]) Cieza Vol. 4. P. 171.
[2]) Lehmann (1) P. 358.

[Text continues on P. 22]

Schoolcraft E-6,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians 53
17
C
Ce
102
283
352
*171
S
102
352

Map 3. Distribution of the hammock.

Hammock used as a bed.

● = of cotton, □ = of palmfibres or bast, ■ = wary of cotton, woof of bast, ■ = wary of palmfibres, woof of cotton, ■ = either of cotton, palmfibres or bast

△ = Hammock used as a litter.

Schmeckebier E-4(K)1908-1909, 1913) 1880
BP10 Chirignano BP10
Chano BP8
South American Indians 53
[p. 18]
C
CC
283
352
*171
S
352
102

Table 3.

The distribution of the hammock.

Map. 3.

Number on the map.	Names of the tribes		Cotton	Warp of cotton. Woof of bast	Warp of palmfibres Woof of cotton	Palmfibres or bast		
4	Chirignano	Southern Bolivia	+	—	—	—?	Tupi	Also of Wool. R. M. E. 1056.
5	Chané	»	R. M. P. 116	—	—		Arawak	
8	Lengua	El Gran Chaco	—	—	—	+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
11	Chamacoco	»	—	—	—	+		»
20	Paresi		+	—	—	+	Arawak	RUTH HARDLER P. 14.
21	Caingná	Misiones	+ ?)	—	—	+	Tupi	» »
23	Churápa	Bolivia	G. R. Tj. 58	—	—	—		R. M. Tj. 72.
25	Mojo	»	+	—	—	—	Arawak	Private Collection.
28	Bakairi	Matto Grosso	+	—	+	—	Carib	RUTH HARDLER P. 13.
»	Kustenau	»	+	—	+	—	Arawak	» »
»	Auetö	»	—	—	+	—	Tupi	» »
»	Kamayura	»	—	—	+	—	»	» »
»	Mehinakú	»	—	—	+	—	Arawak	» »
»	Trumai	»	—	—	+	—		» »
31	Ojana, Trio	Guiana	+	—	—	+	Carib	GERLI (1) P. 21.
35	Chimila	Colombia	G.M.16.3.30	—	—	—		BOLINDER (4) P. 31.
36	Ijca and Köggaba	»	—	—		G.M.16.3.783 G.M.19.3.58		»
38	Tupinambá, Tupinikin, Carino	Coast of Brazil	+	—	—	—	Tupi	PIGAFETTA P. 8, STADEN T. 2, P. 8; d'ABBEVILLE P. 205; PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064
39	Goijiro	Colombia	—	—	—	+	Arawak	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1070.
40	Guarayú (Guarayos)	Bolivia	G. M. G. 100	—	—	—	Tupi	
41	Guarayú (Pauserna)	Matto Grosso	G.M.15.1.644	—	—	—	»	
42	Caripuna	Rio Madeira	—	—	—	+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1068.
43	Huanyam	Rio Guaporé	—	G.M.15.1.600	—	G. M. 15. 1. 600		
47	Maruai	Guiana	+		?		Carib	THURN, GERLI [illegible] called. PATER SCHMIDT P 1067, FARABEE P. 36.

C
C
283
283
●
356
141
5
181
356

	Patamona		G.M. 0.18 16, 18-22	—	—			Thalia
6	Atecuna	•	+	—	—	—	•	•
•	Wapiana	•	+	—	—	—	Arawak	RUTH HAEBLER P. 14.[1]
48	Hianacoto	N. W. Brazil	—	—	—	+	Carib	• •
	Shoi	•	—	—	—	+	Arawak	• •
	Uaupé	•	—	—	—	+		• •
	Baré	•	—	—	—	+	Arawak	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1068.
	Kobéua	•	—	—	—	+		• •
51	Sirione	Bolivia	—	—	—	G.M. 0.0. 0-0		
53	True Carib	Guiana	+	—	—	—	Carib	MOCQUET, P. 110., GRILLET et BECHAMEL, P. 165[2]
56	Mundruká	Rio Tapajoz	+	—	—	—	Tupi	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
80	Apiacá	•	+	—	—	—	•	• •
81	Uitoto, Boro, Katu-hone[3] etc.	Rio Putumayo and Rio Yapurá	—	—	—	+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069. WHIFFEN P. 97.
82	Chacobo	Bolivia	B.M.Ch. 180	—	—	—		
83	Yamiaca	Peru	B. M. 03. 16. 030	—	—	—		
84	Huari	Matto Grosso	—	—	—	G.M. 0.0.1. 0-0		
85	Beure	Bolivia	+	—	—	—	Arawak	
88	Omagua	Upper Amazonas	+	—	—	+	Tupi	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
89	Iporina	Rio Purus	—	—	—	+	Arawak	RUTH HAEBLER P. 14; Also of bark. PATER SCHMIDT P. 1070.
73	Angaité	El Gran Chaco	—	—	—	+		CHERMONT P. 124.
77	Tapirapé	Near Rio Araguaya	+?	—	—	—	Tupi	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
79	Yekuaní	Rio Mereuari	+	—	—	—	Carib	RUTH HAEBLER. P. 14.
90	Acipoya, Curuahé	Between R. Xingú and Rio Tapajoz	+	—	—	—	Tupi	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
94	Chiquitos	Bolivia	+	—	—	—		My own observations.
97	Purí.	Near Coast of Brazil	—	—	—	+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1068.
99	Cumanagoto	Coast of Venezuela	+	—	—	—	Carib	PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069 (After RUTH BLANCO), BRANDIS P. 10.
4A	Tucaré	Upper Rio Purus	+	—	—	—		PATER SCHMIDT P. 1069.
7A	Achagua	Venezuela	-	—	—	+	Arawak	• P. 1068[4]

[1] «Algunos pocos Yanos poquedas y entrelazas hamacas de algodon que tejen, las que usan una hoja de palmera o rama para los criaturas que de cunna.» ANDAGOYA (5) P. 107.

[2] «Very small hammocks are made of one piece of bark tied at the ends with a rope. PARAGUI, P. 20.

[3] «Tous les Homoro . . . qui se font depuis le Riviere des Amazones jusques à Orinoc sont de cotton». See also H. VON KOEB. P. 106.

[4] Carib.

[p.20]

South American Indians 53

C
Cc
283
●362
9.17
5
102
784

Table 3.

The distribution of the Amazonic

Map 3.

Number on the map	Name of the tribes		Cotton	Warp of cotton, Weft of bast	Warp of [illegible], Weft of cotton	Fabric [illegible] of bast			
15	Tiwas	Upper Amazonas	—	—	—	+			Purus Expedition P. 148
16	Omaguas	Bolivia	+	—	—	—			Purus Expedition Sky 148 d.
									[illegible]
17	Indians of Wayamamis	Rio Marta	+	—	—	—			Ehrenr. T. c. P. 110
		Rio Grande, South of Rio de Janeiro	—	—	—	—			
18	Indians	Rio Amazonas	—	—	—	+			Kanner P. 148
19	Paraguayo	Bolivia	—	—	—	+			(Tessin) P. 50
20	Indians	Upper Rio Negro	+	—	—	+			Ambrosetti (1) P. 110
		Northern Venezuela	+	—	—	—			Adriani (1) T. c. P. 110
21	Caribbeans	Rio Yuruk	+	—	—	—			Bastian (1) P. 95
									Koch Rheinhardt P. 95
									[illegible]
22	Tamanacos	Bolivia	+	—	—	—			Koch Rheinhardt P. 95
23	Guahibos	Venezuela	+	—	—	—			Adriani (1) T. c. P. 110
24	Schirichi	Rio Uaupes	—	—	+	—			Koch-Grünberg (1) T. c. P.
									[illegible]
25	Waika	Rio Uaupes	—	—	—	—			Koch-Grünberg (1) P. 95
26	Passiblaos	Near Rio Branco	—	—	—	—			Koch-Grünberg (1) P. 95
									[illegible]
27	Cabiunas	Rio Vaupes	—	—	—	—			Purus Expedition P. 148
28	Tucanos	Near Rio Branco	—	—	—	—			Purus Expedition P. 148
29	Indians	Rio Negro	—	—	—	—			O. Crevaux P. 48
30	Indians	Near Cartagena	—	—	—	—			Ehrenr. (1) T. c. P. 48
31	Kaiapos	Lago Xavayes	—	—	—	—			Wallace, Cuadro de Tucs P.
									c. P. 90
32	Oyampi	French Guiana	+	—	—	—			Coudreau P. 110
33	Mura	Rio Madeira	—	—	—	—			Purus Expedition P. 148
34	Mabenari	Eastern Brazil	—	—	—	—			
35	Mangeyron	Southern Colombia	—	—	—	—			
36	Ge-Ge	Upper Amazonas	+	—	—	—			

C
C.8
283
352
+71
5
102
352

[p. 21]

South American Indians 53

5th Pimentaria 108

78	Karíri Arawaks	Eastern Brazil Coast of Guiana	+	—	—	+	+	Arawak	PATER SCHMIDT P. 108a " P. 108b. ROTH (2) P. 35. GILLIAT et BUCHANAN. P. 172.[7]
V3	Caripuna	Vapuco, Guiana	—	—	—		+		MOCQUET P. 81.
V8	Peba	Upper Amazonas	—	—	—		—		PATER SCHMIDT P. 108d.
IV	Guaná (Arawaks)	Rio Paraguay	—	—	—		—	Arawak	" P. 108g.
6V	Guaná	El Gran Chaco	+	—	—		—		CHARLEVOIX P. 236.
X1	Yamamadi	Rio Purus	—	—	—		+	Arawak	ROTH HARRIS P. 14. Also of bark. PATER SCHMIDT P. 107g.
X4	Payaguá	Rio Paraguay	—	—	—		+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 108g.
8X	Warrau	Delta of Orinoco	+	—	—		D. M. 11.1.		PLANCHAD P. 391.
X	Yuruna	Rio Xingú	+	—	—		—	Tupi Caribs	PATER SCHMIDT P. 108g.
47	Porokoto		+	—	—		—		" "
18	Aourikiku	Upper Xingú	+	—	—		—		" "
18	Incas	Peru	?	—	—		—		PEDRO P. 279[8] XIMES P. 89.[9]
100	Arebato	Rio Caura	+	—	—		—	Arawak	PATER SCHMIDT P. 108g.
101	Gamarao-Mongoya	Coast of Brazil	+	—	—		—		" "
Not on the map	Chiana[5]	Bolivia	D. M. 11.1. 1387	—	—		—		
"	Uakiri		—	—	—		—		
102	Guayupe	Llanos de Venezuela	+	—	—		+		PATER SCHMIDT P. 108g.
103	Indians, Ancorma	Colombia	—	—	—		+		ACOSTA (1) T. 1. P. 79[10]. CIEZA DE LEON (1) P. 84. To carry the chiefs.
Not on the map	Yaro (Chana)	Rio Uruguay	—	—	—		—		SEPP P. 31.
8N	Zapuro	Ecuador	—	—	—		+		CARTUCCI P. 31. KARSTEN.

[7] «Los Antiguos los Aruacos, et le plusport des autres Nations, qui sont vers la riviere d'Oronoque font leurs lits de fil de Fita.» See also H. TEN KATE P. 108.

[8] Among these Indians I found only one small hammock that they have got from some other tribe. The Chiana sleep on the floor with blankets of bark-cloth.

[9] PEDRO PIZARRO says speaking of the principal woman: «Traianlas en hamacas, unas en andas, otras en banqueros. Hameraos son unas mantas atadas en unas cuelas muy gruesas de grosor de un brazo y mas, por muy buen arte puestas, y alli iban echadas las señoras con cobertores curiosos.»

[10] «Traiando muchos indios sobre los hombros en alto y tras desta venian «tras dos literas y dos hamacas.»

[9] Also many other tribes in Maines had hammocks of palmfibre. CHARTON Y HERRERA P. 107.

Schwedenmuseum E-Sp(1909-1910, 1913) 1909
SF10 Chiriguano SF13
Chaco SF8

C
CC
353
415

I have not seen wooden boxes anywhere else, and scarcely think they are genuinely Indian. I shall return to the subject of baskets.

C
CC
415
237
a 191

Except among the Chiriguano and the Chaná, I have only seen the scales of the armadillo used as boxes among the Mataco, and there only as a curiosity. They are, however, known from the Guyaquí[1], from the Indians of Roraima[2] and from Indians in N. W. Brazil[3]. The neat baskets of armadillo scales which are sold in the curiosity-shops of Buenos Aires probably hail from Paraguay, and it is not impossible that here, too, we have to do with an original Indian idea.

CC
287
278
415

The fat of various animals which is used for healing is usually kept by the Chiriguano and Chaná in shells, especially those of the *Nesa oblongus*.

I shall return to the subject of calabashes.

C
352

Fig. 3. Seat of wood from the Chiriguano. G. M. ca. c. cyl. $\frac{1}{10}$

C
442

Fig. 4. Wooden bowl. Chiriguano. R. M. R. nat. $\frac{1}{10}$

[1] Krause fig. 10
[2] G. M.
[3] Koch-Grünberg (d)

Schwabacher E-4,(1899-1906, 1912) 1920
BFSS Chirigaxa BFS9
Chase BF9

C
CE
291
482
171

way. The tipoya are, as a rule, woven. Tipoya-manufactured in hammock-technique I know of only from the Sioux and the Arawaks-Indian (Tembé). These latter are also used as bearing-bands. Probably this is also the case among the uncivilized Sioux. Tipoya in this technique are probably earlier in origin than the woven ones.

C
CE
282
482
171
291
482

The word «tipoy» has also been used with another meaning, viz., for a band used to support an injured arm.¶ A band or sling of the kind has exactly the same shape as an Indian bearing-band. Only once can I remember having seen an Indian with his arm in a sling like this. He was a Paressiva man.

«Tipoya» can also be interpreted as kind of hammock.¶

C
CE
352
554
482
171

The question is if the hammock has not also been suggested by the bearing-band. In the first place we must remember that Indians slept in different parts where the hammock is unknown, are careful not to put their babies on the ground. Then, the Yuruna and the Chimiane who have no hammocks, use cradles of bark-cloth in which they suspend their babies. When the Mundurucú woman goes to work in the fields with her baby, she puts it into a bearing-bag which she hangs up in a tree. Crevaux¶ mentions that he saw among the Guaná Indians, who seldom use hammocks, a child which the mother had placed in a bag slung like a hammock. So it does not seem so very unreasonable to suppose that Indian women tried to use the bearing-band in the same way when the child had to be

¶ I have given here as Crevaux Rivet's definition of the word Yuruna «Un pauvre bagal, vestido de andrajos. Una larga tunica con gallos de satisfacción, grande cuchillo con mangos bil a de extremeno de cortar arcoiris de colegaña o colegaña Blanca, a largo a Grande para desayunar o bragy, mergantina de cuto rayaguda por dos lenguas.»

¶ «Un uno de dedos una mujer joven que parecía una cristiana, pero que, arrebatada de dar el pecho a un niño completamente desnudo, y colocándole en una hoja de red, que a manera de hamaca pendía de las ramas del árbol.» P. 291.

[[illegible] on p. 67]

Interamericanist 8-5-[illegible] 1909, 1912) 1926
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians S.S.

Ec 391 Ty 171 1912 Ec 391 Ty 171 1912 241

put down and they found the snakes. The Guarayú have bearing-bands which are made in the very same technique as most hammocks. Such bearing-bands were also used by the Caribs in Southern Brazil.

Table 8.

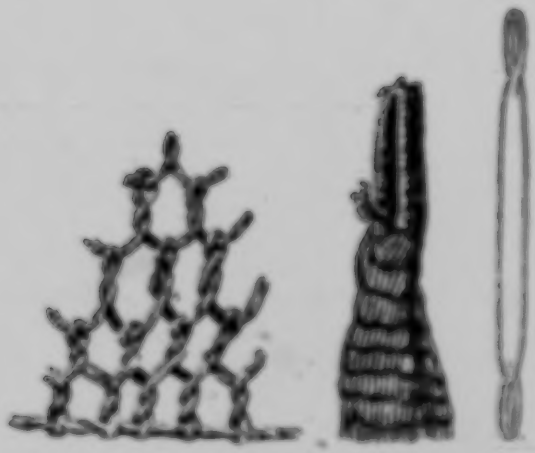
The distribution of the tipoy. Map. 7.

1. Ashlushlay, G. M. Woven without seam. Wool.
4. Chiriguano, R. M. F. S. Woven without seam. Wool or Cotton.
5. Chaná, R. M. P. 130. Woven without seam. Wool or Cotton.
6. Mataco, R. M. M. 166. Woven without seam. Wool.
20. Panoni, Mat Grosso (4) P. 217. Woven without seam. Cotton.
25. Moja, Cuervo P. 324
38. Caribs, Strauss.
40. Guayká (Guayqui).
41. Guayká (Paraguay), G. M. Woven without seam, cotton
43. Guaraníaqua, Strauss (1) P. 264.
51. Shiriana. Made in hammock technique.
54. Chiquito, Strauss P. 341.
58. Ararandeira. (Tembé). I have gathered from Lowie's photographs that Ararandeira-girls wear quite short Tipoy in ordinary hammock technique; Rondon-Strauss (1) P. 42.
I. Guaraní, Paraguay. Ribeiro (2) P. 476.
5 P. Xarayes. Rivera Cabeza de Vaca. T. 1, P. 300.
X 4. Payaguá. Azara (2) P. 360.
I F. Indians near Lake Maracaibo. Oviedo Vol. 2, P. 289. «Tenían unas indias vestidas unas sayas tejidas sin costura, que las tomaba desde la cabeza hasta los pies, e unos capillos como de frayleas.

5) Rivera (2) Pg. P. [illegible]

Schwedenkiste E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1910
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
Ce
286
482



C
256
352

Fig. 40 A. Technique in a carrying-net. Chiriguano. R. M. E. pl. 9/3
B. Technique in the hammocks Chiriguano. R. M. E. cept. 9/9
C. Frontlet to a carrying-net. Chaco. Rio Pasaplei. R. M. P. 117.
D. Technique in C.

Schwedenfeldt 1-4,c(1900-1908, 1912) 1910
1911 Chiriguano 1911 ●
Chaco 1911

XXIII.

Various kinds of handicraft besides pottery.

Knitting-technique.

C
Ce
286

Respecting the occurrence of different kinds of knitting technique among the Chiriguano and Chané I have little to add beyond what was mentioned in the English edition of Part I of this work.

C
Ce
286
● 352
*171

The hammock-netting is the usual technique which gives the so-called barred hammocks (See Part I) which are widely distributed in all S. America north of El Gran Chaco. They are found almost universally where hammocks occur. Occasionally one sees among the Chiriguano and Chané bags knitted in the technique which in Part I I denoted by No 3. These bags are never made by themselves, but are obtained from the Mataco, Tapiete, or some other Chaco tribe. During my archaeological excavations at Igiwabe I found a piece of pottery with impressions of knitting evidently done in this technique.

C
Ce
284
286
283

The carrying-nets and meat dip-nets of the Chiriguano and Chané are made with reef-knots. The Chiriguano have also dip-nets knitted with sheet-knots. For carrying-nets and dip-nets they Chiriguano and Chané generally use cuaguatá bast. «Tuchan» is seldom used[1])

Spinning.

C
Ce
283

Regarding the spinning of the Chiriguano and Chané there is little to add beyond what I mentioned in Part I.

---

[1]) Chaboin Guarani.

C
Ce
592
C
Ce
592
354

/176 cont./
of the daughters, who, during the betrothal and at the beginning of the marriage, live with the mother-in-law. In front of the hut is the large hearth (Ill. 62) where the maize beer, and sometimes also the food, is cooked. /Fig. 84b appears here./ Inside the hut there is likewise a hearth where cooking is done and where one seeks warmth on cold nights and days.

Ce
342
415
417
293

Fig. 62. Hearth for boiling maize beer. Chané village. Río Bijuro. To the right in the picture, large vessels in which the maize beer ferments. The house is plastered with earth.

C
Ce
342
122
136
352
513
OBB

I have slept in these huts many a night. They are, as a rule, free of vermin, which cannot be said of the dwellings of all other Indians and of the houses of the whites. The sleeping place either consists of a bed made of a species of bamboo cane, or one lies /Plate 16 appears here/ /177/ on the ground on a reed mat or a skin. One also sees hammocks in the hut.

Gr Nordenskiöld--27 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
352
191

/177 cont./one also sees hammocks in the huts but they are not common. The hammock is native to tropical South America, but it disappears toward the south and in the mountain, for there it is too cold to use it. /Fig. 85 and 86 appears here./

Ce
342
419

Fig. 94a. Maize granary. Chané. Río Riyuro.

C
Ce
252
253
[251]

From the roof of the hut, on hooks and racks, hang clothing and provisions, medicine, and other things. Here the men also keep their bows and arrows, their drums, and similar things. Maize ears are hung by liana loops.

6: Nordenskiöld--30 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chirigsano SF10

352

Fig. 85. Seat. Chirigsano. Tarairi. 1/5.

414

Fig. 86. Hook for hanging things.
Chirigsano. 1/6.

C
352
171

/178/

Now and then one sees a seat carved out of wood (Fig. 85) in a shape especially familiar from the Brazilian Indians.

Ce
415
[353]

A great many clay vessels of all dimensions are always standing along the walls of the huts. Some of them are so large that a man could crawl into them. There /179/ are pots, there are

Ce
482
291
854

Fig. 87. Chané woman. Rio Parapiti. She has a water jug in the carrying net.

C
Ce
415

roasting bowls, there are handsomely painted vessels which are brought out for the festivals, and there is the treasure pot, in which the housewife keeps all the valuables and souvenirs of the family. In it, if the home is "well-to-do," lie clothing,

Ce
[556]

/214 cont./

577 entirely untouched by the civilization of the whites, an opinion
831 which I shall reproduce here verbatim:
175

"Ce qui m'a fort surpris, c'est que dans la licence où ils vivent, je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'il échappat à aucun homme la moindre action indécente à l'egard des femmes, et jamais je n'ai oui sortir de leur bouche aucune parole tant soit peu déshonnête

643
291
415
142
352
516

Fig. 111. The Chiriguano chief Mandepora.

577 /What surprised me very much is that in the freedom in which
831 they live I never noticed the slightest indecent behavior on the
175 part of any man with regard to women, and never did I hear from their lips any word that was the least bit immodest/."

342
142
291
302
352
273

Fig. 190. Woman in front of her hut. In the foreground a bedstead on which lies chewed maize; this maize is used in the preparation of 'chicha', an intoxicating beverage. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

342
361
417

Fig. 191. Huts in the periphery of the circular market-place in the Chiriguano village of Itiki. In right foreground, a ladder used on going to the pile-huts for maize. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

(185) [P. 194 is blank]

experiment carried out at Rockelstad in the summer of 1919[1], the» stone-age men» soon found themselves compelled to build a »lave» so that the goats should not damage such foodstuffs and implements as had to be kept outside the hut.[2]

It is my belief that the »lave» has also supplied the idea of building dwelling-houses on pole-supports. Wherever people in a certain stage of civilization have found themselves settled on solid ground, they have had need of raised food-platforms, partly for keeping their foodstuffs safe from damage on the part of domestic as well as noxious animals, partly for the purpose of drying, smoking or roasting the food (see pp. 38, 47 and 48). If such a people, living on the edge of a lake or a swamp, had wished — for defensive purposes or some other reason — to build their dwelling-huts or other buildings in the water, then, if the bottom of the lake afforded good holding for piles, such buildings would have been constructed in the same way as the food-platforms or pole-supported granaries previously employed on firm ground (compare fig. 28 with fig. 115). Where the people in question has been lacking in sufficient skill to construct large pile-buildings in the water, or if the lake bottom was unsuited to this mode of construction, then huts were built on raft or quagmire islands, after the manner of the swamp dwellers of Alvastra and Bangweulu.[3]

The furnishing of the Chiriguano huts is exceedingly plain. The fire-place, which forms a very necessary heating centre at night during the cold season, consists of a few stones serving as supports for the cooking pots. There is no hole in the roof for letting out the smoke, which has to find its way out through the doorway or through fissures in the walls. As a rule, the food is generally cooked on a fire outside the hut (fig. 189).

Bedsteads of the type seen in fig. 190 are to be found in nearly every hut. These bed frames are made of laths or reeds, and are covered with skins. Nordenskiöld states as his opinion that the idea of these bedsteads has not been borrowed from the civilization of the whites.[4] In the analytical treatise he has written upon this question he adduces conclusive arguments for his opinion, as it seems to me. In Central Africa, one finds bedsteads that are very similar to the Indian ones,[5] and that certainly have not

[1] Klein, pp. 88—89.
[2] Klein (1).
[3] For lake- and marsh dwelling-places in different parts of the world, see Montelius (1).
[4] Nordenskiöld (18), pp. 8—12.
[5] von Rosen (4), p. 403.

18. — v. Rosen. II.

352 been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

Fig. 194. Man and young woman, Chiriguano. San Luis, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fire-place which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this impossible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 183 and fig. 83 (18), pp. 15 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 50.

Plate VI

342
352
516
291

Fig. 14
(I.C. 356) -- Chiriguano women and children in front of their house in Machareti

291
516

Fig. 15
(I.C. 358) -- Chiriguano in the town of Machareti

/22/

C
Ce
515

Body Care and Rest

The Izozó in Toledo and the Chiriguano in Machareti offer a contrast with the Indians of the Chaco whom I visited in that they are relatively clean. We must recognize that this cleanliness, which has also been praised by other authors, occurs despite the fact that a great many of them live in regions with very little water and where often the quantity cannot satisfy the necessities of cleanliness except with great difficulties. According to Nordenskiöld, they bathe several times a day and often directly after eating. After meals they wash their mouths and their hands (89).

C
Ce
[312]

89. Nord. I, pp. 180, 19 /the third figure of this page number in the 190's is illegible/, 203, 204.

Gi
352
513

For sleeping, the ancient Guaraní commonly used the hammock. "The sleeping hammock which they hung from two pillars in the dwelling was characteristic of the Guaraní," says Serrano of the Guaraní of the ancient Province of Uruguay (90). The Chiriguano and Izozó still have hammocks

C
Ce
513
•352

90. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 120.

today, but these are not commonly used and serve less for sleeping at night than for resting during the day (91).

91. Cf. Nord. I, p. 177. Nord. 2, p. 9. Métraux I, p. 470 and Plate 88.

/22 cont./

C 352 [126] Hammocks (Chiriguano: hía; Izozo: inú) in the Collection

I. A. 448. Chiriguano. Wool. Length 230 cm. Width 75 cm. (Fig. 102b).
I. A. 449. " " " 105 cm. " 60 cm.
I. A. 450. " " " 285 cm. " 60 cm. (Fig. 102a).
Ce [126] [352] I. A. 360. Gift of Mr. Teodoro Rojas. (Chané of the Parapití.) From Caraguatá. Length 320 cm. (Fig. 102c).

C 352 286 The hammocks that I acquired among the Chiriguano in Machareti were all made of wool, as were the hammocks that Métraux saw among the Chiriguano (92). According to

92. Métraux I, p. 470.

Nordenskiöld (93), Chiriguano hammocks are commonly made

93. Nord. 2, p. 12.

C 286 352 126 of cotton and only incidentally of wool. Of the three large hammocks in the collection, two (I. A. 448 and 449) were plaited with the technique very common among the Indians of South America, which in my publication on the Guarayú, which appeared in this same journal, I called "double thread plaiting" (Doppelfadengeflecht) (94), while one (I. A. 450) shows the

94. Cf. Fig. 102b /see p.174/.

Ce 286 352 [126] structure of a piece of weaving. (Cf. Fig. 102a) From the Chané the Museum's collection has hammock I. A. 360, which Mr. Teodoro Rojas acquired among the Indians of the Parapití River and presented to the Museum. (Fig. 102c.) This hammock was made of caraguata fibers and with a netting technique. According to Nordenskiöld, in addition to such hammocks of caraguata fiber the Chané have others made of cotton, on the technique of which we have no information. With regard to the details of these Chiriguano and Chané hammocks, I refer to the chapters dedicated to the description of the technique of plaiting and the technique of preparing netting.

C Ce 286 352

/22 cont./

352 513 [251] The Chiriguano generally sleeps on a kind of cot (catre), that is, a bed frame made of cane. Such beds, which in addition to their own purpose also serve for drying maize, have been represented in drawings by Eric v. Rosen (95), Eriand

95. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 196.

[174] [175] v. Nordenskiöld (96), and Métraux (97). No doubt /22/ the

96. Nord. 2, Fig. 2.

97. Métraux 1, Fig. 125, p. 470.

cold climate of the region to which the Chiriguano had emigrated made them abandon the use of the hammock for sleeping, not very practical for such a climate, and replace it with the cot, which was already common among the tribes of those regions. Lacking a cot, the Chiriguano sleep on the ground. [232] [324] [126] [324] In that case they use for a bed large mats made of cane or palm leaves, or also hides (98). I acquired from the Chiriguano one

98. Nord. 1, p. 177. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 200. Métraux 1, p. 470.

such mat plaited out of palm leaves (Fig. 96).

Chiriguano Mat (tupa) in the Collection

I. A. 540. Length 1.75 m. Width 1.50 m. (Fig. 96).

352 [7] [126] In some Chiriguano houses I also saw wooden benches (apika), but unfortunately I could not acquire a specimen. Those benches in the form of a sled are very similar to the kind of benches that are very common among the Indians of Brazil (99) and those that we also know from the ancient

[113] 99. Carly /sic/ von den Steinen: Unter den

9: Schmidt--57 E-6 (1900) 1908 SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chane SP8
Izozo

S
352
191
[113]

/23 cont./

Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/. Berlin. 1924. p. 286.

Peruvians (100). Nordenskiöld and métraux show such

C
[113]

100. Max Schmidt Kunst und Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/. Berlin. 1929. p. 436.

Chiriguano textiles in drawings (101).

101. Nord. 1. Fig. 65. Métraux 1. pp. 471 and 472 and Fig. 159.

Painting and Deformations of the Body

C
Ce
291
302
192

As the use of clothing has increased among the Chiriguano and Chané, the custom of painting or tattooing the body has naturally lost importance and the remnants of such customs are too few to be able to say what they were in the past. Nor do we have data on this. I often saw Chiriguano and Ionné women and girls paint themselves with urucú, making colored spots on their faces. According to Nordenskiöld, men and women sometimes paint their faces, as well as their bodies, with red paint (102). Nordenskiöld also found tattooing on

C
Ce
302

C
302

102. Nord. 1. p. 203.

the arms of some women and one Chiriguano man (103). The

103. Nord 1. p. 203. Nord. 2. p. 63. Fig. 27.

custom of dyeing the teeth with dark blue was found by

Gr Br[redacted]--166 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chinguano SF10
Chang SF8
Izozo

Ce
286

/[illegible]/

There may be variations in these braids according to the difference in the number of skeins plaited and the number of strips which are passed each time by one strip of the braid, as Figures 129-141 show /see p.201/. The greater the number of skeins in the braid, the more the form of one string of the braid takes on the appearance of a band. Cf. Figure 32 a and b /see p. 62/.

Ce
[illegible]

To the second of the four kinds of plaited objects into which all the plaited objects of the South American Indians can be classified belong those which are plaited in such a way that one row of sticks, threads, or similar things are united so that a double thread passes the row, continuously or at certain intervals, and in such a way that the two individual threads of the double thread encircle in each rotation one or more of the little sticks or threads of the row.

C
126
352
513
286

Among the objects plaited by this technique there are two Chinguano hammocks and one Izozó saddle covering in the collection.

Ce
492
286
126

Objects Plaited with Double Thread, from the Collection

I.A. 448. Hammock (Chirig.). Wool. Lgth. 2.60 m. Width 0.75 m. (Fig. 107b and 109.)
I.A. 449. Hammock " " " 2.05 m. " 0.60 m. (Fig. 110.)
I.A. 846. Saddle covering (Izozó) " 1.21 m. " 0.57 m. (Fig. 108 and 129.)

C
352
286

The threads of the hammocks mentioned above are made of wool and that applies not only to the warp threads but also to the double threads. The manufacture of these hammocks is explained in two schematic drawings shown in Figures 109 and 110 /see Figs. 127 and 128, p.190/. The diagram in Figures 109 /Fig. 127/ shows the place in hammock I.A. 448 where the double thread begins to pass through the row of warp threads. The arrangement of the warp threads can be explained only by the manner in which a warp of one continuous thread was made first and in the form of a sleeve, /65/ as the warp of weavings done on a loom

C
352
286

/85 cont./

is made. The double threads, when they pass through the warp threads, encircle with each loop caused by their rotation one thread of the front side of the warp and one thread of the back of the warp. Only at the side edge do they encircle, as Figure 109 /Fig. 127/ shows, three or four threads with each loop. The double thread which begins at the right side of the diagram runs through the entire width of the warp in the way shown in the diagram. When it arrives at the other side, the double thread does not turn around to pass through the warp in the opposite direction, but its ends are fastened, and at set distances other double threads pass through the warp in the same way as the first. Hammock I. A. 449 shows the same arrangement of threads and warp, and the double thread passes through the warp in the same manner, except that at the side edge too it encircles only two threads of the warp, and in this case too one thread of the front side of the warp and one thread of the back side of it. See the diagram shown in Figure 110 /Fig. 128/.

Ce
492
286

The Izozó saddle cover mentioned above shows a peculiarity inasmuch as the double threads are compressed, one beside the other, in such a way that they form a compact material in which the warp threads disappear under the double threads. Likewise in this saddle cover two warp threads are encircled by each loop of the double thread, and more threads only at the two sides. But one difference from the hammocks plaited with double thread is that the double thread, after having passed through the warp threads from one side to the other side, returns in the opposite direction, passing through the warp threads. Another peculiarity is that each of the consecutive rows of the mesh of the double thread shows an opposite direction each time, as a result of which there appears a kind of decoration on the surface, consisting of stripes. As the diagram in Figure 111 /Fig. 129; see p.190/ shows this peculiarity is produced by the special way in which the outer warp threads are encircled by the double thread.

R Schmidt--174 E-5 (1938) 1938 SF10 Chirigueno SF10
Chave SF8
J2020

Plate XXVIII

C
352
286

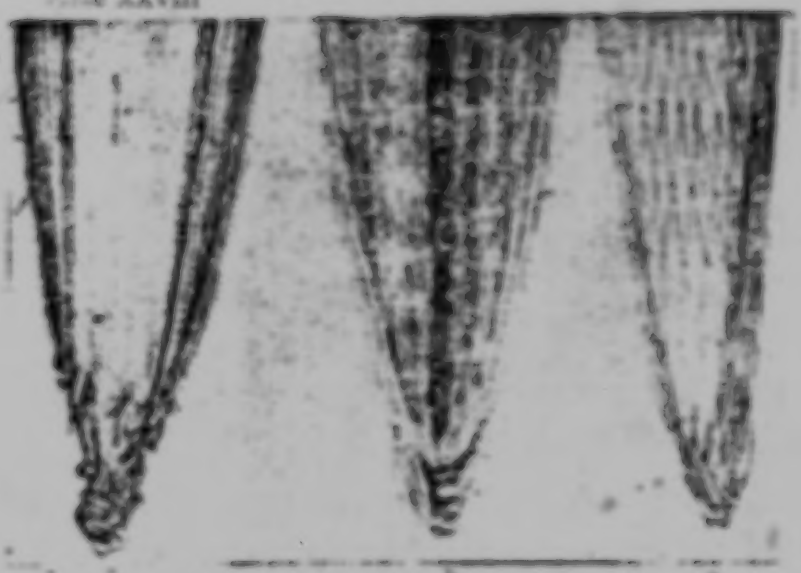


Fig. 102

C2
492
286

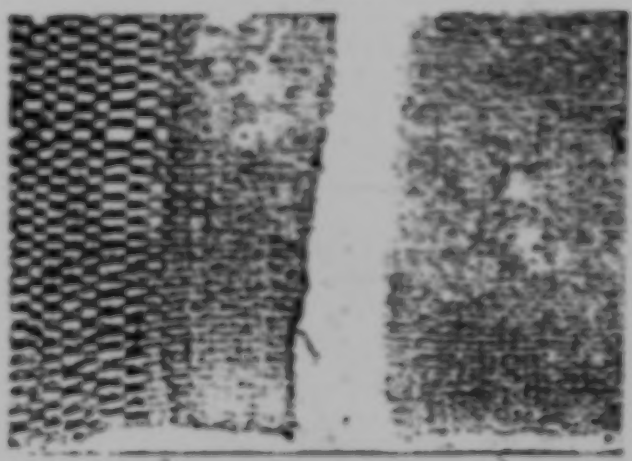


Fig. 103

/The captions appear on p. 175./

M Schmidt--175 E-5 (1931) :330 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Class SF8
I2026

/Captions for Plate XXVIII/

Plate XXVIII

C
352
286

Fig. 107. Hammocks

a (I. A. 430). hammock of wood, woven (Chiriguano), length 2.83 m.;

b (I. A. 440). hammock of wood, plaited (Chiriguano), length 2.00 m.;

c (I. A. 260). hammock of caraguata, made with netting technique (Izozo), length 3.50 m.

Ce
492
286

Fig. 108. Saddle covers (Izozo)

a (I. A. 847). woven saddle cover, length 1.42 m., width 0.67 m.

b (I. A. 846). saddle cover plaited with "double thread," length 1.21 m., width 0.37 m.

St Schmidt--186 8-9 (1000) 1038 GPO Chiriguano GP-1
Chiriguano
Ethnol

/72 cont./

Weavings Made without a Special Mechanism for Making the Divisions of the Threads of the Warp, from the Collections

I.A. 450. Hammock (Chiriq.) of wool. Lgth 2.85 m. Width 1.10 m. (Fig. 102a.)

I.A. 768. Carrying net provided with a woven cinaguaco band (Isoso). Length of band 69 cm. (Figs. 133 and 137.)

I.A. 807. Band for a carrying net (Isoso). Cinaguaco. Length 69 cm.

With regard to their exterior structure too, the bands with which many of the carrying nets (of the Isoso and some of the Chiriguano ones) and one Chiriguano hammock are provided are similar to the weavings. But these /Plates XXXII-XXXIV appear here/ /72/ objects are made without any special mechanism for making the divisions of the warp threads.

Figure 133 shows the structure of the band of the net I.A. 768. (Cf. Fig. 133 /see p.746/.) The diagram shows the way in which these bands are made. First the longitudinal threads are stretched in a way similar to the manner of stretching the warp threads of common weavings between the horizontal poles of the frame of the loom, but without using the special thread extended between the two vertical poles of the loom. Then they pass a transverse thread, which corresponds to the woof thread of common weavings, through the two rows of longitudinal threads alternately from the right to the left and from the left to the right, in such a way that this thread is left alternately under one thread of the back row of longitudinal threads and on top of one thread of the front row. Thus the manufacture of these bands and of hammock I.A. 450 is different from that of common weavings principally in the fact that the woof thread passes simultaneously through the threads of the front side and of the back side of the warp. Sundry irregularities in the course of the threads of the warp show that weavings of this kind have been made without using a mechanism for making the divisions of the warp threads.

Gr Schmidt—156 8-6 (1000) 1938 SF 0 Chiriguano SF10

Chané SF8
Izozo

139

Nets of the Collection That Are Made with the Technique Called "Knotenknüpfen" in German, Using the Knot Called Reef Knot in English

I. A. 700. Hammock (Tó) (Chané of the Parapití). Caraguata.

Gift of Mr. Teodoro Rojas.

Length 2.10 m. (Fig. 139c.)

I. A. 702. Hammock (Isomó). Caraguata. Length 1.80 m.
I. A. 706. " " " " 2.70 m.
I. A. 646. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Wool. Lgth 1.05 m.
I. A. 647. " " " " " " 0.75 m.
I. A. 561-564, 567, 569-571. Nets for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length between 1.50 and 0.50 m. (I. A. 567, Figs. 134 and 143; I. A. 568, Fig. 144.)
I. A. 767-767; 780-782. Nets for carrying loads (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 1.00 m. and 0.65 m. (I. A. 768, Figs. 133 and 142; I. A. 772, Fig. 135.)
I. A. 785. Bag (Isomó). Caraguata. Length 0.82 m. Height 0.48 m.
I. A. 786 " " " " 0.62 m. " 0.62 m. (Fig. 136.)
I. A. 780. Quadrangular net (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 0.90 m.
I. A. 784. Implement for fishing with net (Izozó). Length 73.5 cm. (Fig. 39.)
I. A. 795-801. Nets for implements such as I. A. 784 (Izozó). Caraguata.
I. A. 566. Sling (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length 15 cm.
I. A. 569. " " " " 14 cm.

From the large size of the mesh of nets I. A. 360, 766, and 786, it follows that they are hammocks. Because in Chiriguano and Chané territory there are generally no fish except small ones, nets for fishing must have considerably smaller meshes.

Of the Chiriguano nets for carrying loads, two are made of wool and one of these has a band like most such nets from the Izozó. The rest of these nets from the Chiriguano and the Izozó are made of caraguata thread. Some of them have a rather small mesh, but among those of the Izozó those with big mesh are the rule.

/79 cont./

C
Cs
482
191
413

We must still note that the Chiriguano and Chané transport fish in the same way as the neighboring tribes of the Chaco, by stringing them on a cord provided with a big wooden needle (795).

795. Nord. 9, p. 4?.

Implements for Storing Objects

C
Ca
352
353
415

Most of the objects that serve for storing things have also been mentioned in preceding chapters, such as the various kinds of baskets and the wooden hoops which are hung in the houses for storing sundry things in them. The net bag and the carrying net do not serve only for carrying, but also for storing things in them. Baked clay vessels are not only used for storing liquids, but are also used for storing many other things which have a special value or are old memorabilia of the family (796). Furthermore,

292. Nord. 1, p. 179.

C
Ca
[237]

they put up special hooks for hanging various things in the houses. Such a hook is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (797).

297. Nord. 1, p. 177 and Fig. 86.

and Métraux shows such a hook made of a deer's leg (798).

798. Métraux I, Fig. 128.

Art

C
534
126

Flutes and a Whistle in the Collection

I.A. 491. Flute, "sereré" (Chirig.). Wood. Lgth. 17 cm. Width 2.7 cm. (Fig. 33b.)

I.A. 492. " " " " " 20 cm. Width 3.5 cm. (Fig. 33a.)

I.A. 493. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Length 43 cm.

353
283
413

Fig. 90. Drawing indicating how the spindles are arranged inside a Chiriguano hut. They are threaded into the holes made along a bamboo which is hung against the walls of the habitation. (1/9 nat. size.)

286

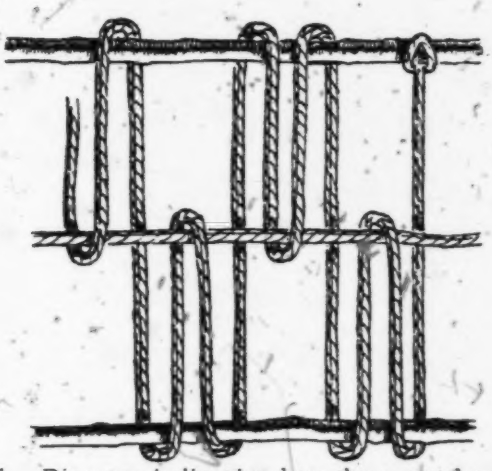


Fig. 91. Diagram indicating how the warp threads are arranged on a Chiriguano loom of the "Arawak type" (from Nordenskiöld).

/460 cont./

Fans or Fire-blowers

C 372 184 [171] Great was my surprise when upon arriving in the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo region I found fire fans identical with those of the Indians of Brazil and the Guianas. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 56) barely mentions them and insists on their rarity. The fact is explained by the absence of this cultural element in all the rest of the zone inhabited by the Chiriguano. In most of the villages they use old hats or fragments of baskets to fan the fire.

C 372 285 Plate LXXXV. Length, 28.5 centimeters; width, 31 centimeters. Provenance: Saladito.

The making of these fans is rather simple. The leaves composing them cross in a rhythm of two. On the edge the stalks have been bent back and, passing again across the fabric, are interlaced to form a pucker on each side. The free ends /Plates LXXXIII-LXXXV appear here/ /461/ have been plaited on top and one part passed into a split stick forming the handle (Fig. 117).

An important remark must be made on the subject of these fans. They /Fig. 117 appears here/ differ little from the fans C [171] made of a single pinnate palm leaf, such as are found in Brazil and Paraguay. The Chiriguano, having no palm trees of this C [824] species in their new homeland, had to /Fig. 118 appears here/ adopt the palmate leaves of the karandaí. They replaced the petiole, which forms the handle, with the split stick to which I have alluded. (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 106 and 107, pp. 219-220.)

C 285 /462/

"Flowers"

353 797 [824] On feast days the Chiriguano of the Franciscan missions decorate the church with artificial "flowers" which they make from leaves of karandaí palms. These decorations are of ancient origin and derive directly from the straw amusements /jeux/ still made by the Indians in various /Fig. 119 appears here/ regions of America, notably in the Guianas. The natives of the G 285 353 latter region often hang them in their houses where they perhaps

[See P. 322 --Analyst]
[Text continues on P. 324]

1: Métraux--323 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guiana SR1

C
285
372

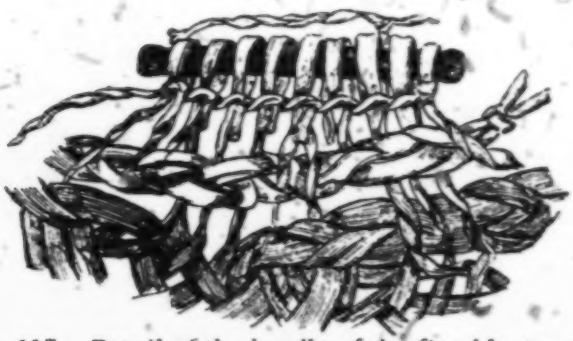


Fig. 117. Detail of the handle of the fire-blower of Plate LXXXV.

C
G
285
353
778

Fig. 118. "Flower," ornament made of plaited palm leaves, which the Chiriguano have blessed and with which they decorate their huts. The technique of this object is very ancient and is found also in Guiana. (1/4 nat. size.)

Guiana SR1
Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

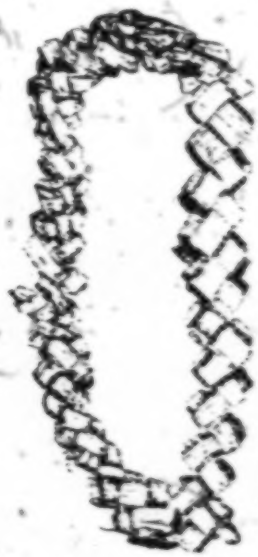
G 285 353

/462 cont /

serve as amulets, and, in any case, as ornaments. (Roth, pp. 497-499, Figs. 241-244 and p. 270; Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, p. 244.) In the same way the Chiriguano Indians decorate their huts with these figures, which they take care to have blessed. Exactly as in Europe they keep palm branches as lucky charms. Rosen (1, p. 61, Fig. 51) publishes a similar straw amusement which he found among the Choroti and which was pointed out to him as an ornament worn on the forehead. This explorer suspects the exactitude of this information and supposes that a ritual object is concerned. In reality, it is only a "flower," which the Choroti described by Rosen probably received or bought in some Chiriguano mission. It is enough to compare the figure of it that he gives us and ours in order to be convinced of this.

C 285 353 778 789

Ci 114 285 301



A 285 301

Fig. 119. Wreath of plaited palm leaves (amusement or ornament?). Ashluslay. Prov.: Estero Patiño. (1/4 nat. size.)

A C Ci 285 171

Figures made of palm leaves are not, however, unknown to the other Indians of the Chaco. The Ashluslay sold me a diadem braided according to this principle (Fig. 119) and Rosen (1, Fig. 44, p. 48) reproduces an identical head-ornament which he bought from a Choroti tribe.

/470 cont./

352 and Arawak tradition. Some hammocks, not many, are crudely
[286] woven. The threads which /Fig. 126 appears here/ compose
[197] them are of wool; formerly they were doubtless of cotton (Plate XXXVIII).

352 It is a delicate business to persuade a Chiriguano mother to
854 sell you the hammock of her nursling. She fears that an /Plate
754 LXXXVIII appears here/ /471/ evil-intentioned person will profit by the fact that the fabric is impregnated with urine, in order to indulge in magical practices which would make the new-born child die.

342
354

Fig. 124. Chiriguano hut. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (Photo. A. M.)

353 Along the walls are lined up vessels of all dimensions
[415] which /Figs. 127 and 128 appear here/ are kept there for the drinking feasts; some contain seed, others serve as linen cup-
[352] boards or provision bags. On the walls, generally in the four corners, hang reed screens or hoops made of palm leaves /Fig. 129 appears here/ which take the place of shelves (Figs. 126 and 129).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 342]

/471 cont./

353 and 127). Everything in the world can be found there: small vessels, baskets, boxes, packages carefully wrapped in cloth, in short, a thousand little objects which the Chiriguano women regard as their treasure. From the roof hang hooks from which [414] are suspended household effects or supplies. These hooks are [237] generally of wood, but there are some also which are formed by a deer foot bent back and dried in the sun (Fig. 128).

Every chink in the walls is transformed into a hiding-place where the women put their scissors, the men their knives or combs. /472/ Bows and arrows are slipped between the struts of the roof.

In some huts whose walls are plastered with earth, the Indians arrange niches in the shape of swallows' nests, which serve as rudimentary cupboards. Might there be in that a distant remembrance of the niches so characteristic of Inca houses? It is possible.

352 The inhabitants of each hut sit on the cots or on /Figs. 516 130-132 appear here/ chairs with backs very well copied from [177] those of the creoles. The women generally squat on the ground. [178] On the upper Pilcomayo, one still finds benches with two seats (Fig. 129), a cultural element which the Chiriguano inherited from their ancestors of the Amazon basin.

356 The fire for cooking is lighted in the middle of the hut. [354] Chiriguano dwellings are clean. I have never caught fleas or other vermin there as I have in the ranchos of creoles or half-breeds. The women sweep their huts at least once a day. One is rarely disturbed there by mice (Fig. 132).

4: Nino--234 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

342
352
353
516

Partial View of Modern Chiriguano House

/178 cont./

353 [356] Chiriguano towns attract the attention of all travelers and explorers because of the cleanliness which reigns in their houses, which, despite having a notable quantity of furnishings, are well kept up through the assiduous work of the mistress of the house. [415] [352] Jars with wide mouths are in the corners; those with narrow mouths, in which the chicha must ferment, lean vertically against the walls; the plates and spoons are on small triangular tables of hollow cane in the corners; small ollas are placed inside the empty large pots, and these in times of abundance, and even in times of scarcity, are full, some with shelled maize, others with beans and gourd seeds, and others with wool and cotton for making ponchos, blankets, or outer garments.

[824] [251] /179/ Above, at an appropriate height, they hang a mat of hollow cane or little sticks well tied together well with Ivi, or ceiba, and there they put other trifles or small things, when they do not have anything else to put there, such as cheeses and charqui, or dried meat. The mat is usually hung on one side of the house on one of the rafters by means of thongs of cowhide or other material. They are placed there so as not to be in the way of those who must pass beneath (1).

[824]

1. The Ivi is a species of ceiba, samuu, but it does not have points like the latter. There is another called Cupi or Tayipiruru, which is very straight, has very strong fibers, and is only cut at the branches in order to pull off the bark. A fourth type of ceiba is called Iviru guasu; it is large and smooth. Each type has its congenial place, like every tree.

Finally, in the corners of the house or where it is most convenient, up high, they put one or more cords, which form an angle from one wall to the other, and there each member of the family puts his own clothing and the men hang the harness of their beasts of burden. Today the Chiriguano who are not lazy are not so poor, and when one enters a house one is amazed by all the abundance of furnishings so well arranged.

Sc Nordenskiöld E-S,+(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 352 * [171] C Ce [177] received from their kinsfolk at Mojos, or they may even have brought it with them when they migrated to their present abode. Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané commonly use chairs of the type they have learned from the whites. They are made by themselves in the missions.

C Ce [237] I have a rush mat from the Chané. Both the Chiriguano and the Chané have skin mats. I have already spoken of such mats in Part I of this work. The skin mat is naturally a southern culture-element.

C Ce 353 C Ce * [171 415] The Chiriguano and Chané keep their belongings either hung from the ceiling or else on the floor. Clothes and other fragile things are often kept in large earthen vessels — a method of keeping one's belongings which I have not seen anywhere else. COBO[1]) says that the Incas kept their clothes in a similar way.

C Ce 353 * 171 It is very common among the Chiriguano and Chané to fix wooden hooks in the roof of their huts on which to hang their belongings (fig. 4). Elsewhere I have only seen these hooks among the Churápa. In the Gothenburg Museum there is a collection by LILJEWALCH and THULIN of hooks made by Indian tribes on the Roraima. The only mention of them that I am aware of in literature on the subject is from the Araucanians.[2]) Small articles of this kind are, of course, easily overlooked, wherefore it is not at present possible to draw a map of their distribution. This is to be regretted, as the distribution of such small objects would offer points of great interest. It seems to me not unlikely that the wooden hook is an Andine culture-element. Within my sphere of work the hook does not occur among other Indians than those mentioned here.

C Ce 353 415 Small articles are kept by the Chiriguano and Chané in cloth and leather bags, wooden boxes, baskets, armadillo scales, the scrotum of bulls, and in calabashes with or without lids.

[1]) COBO Vol. 4. P. 171.
[2]) LATCHAM (1) P. 338.

[Text continues on P.22]

Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
353
415

I have not seen wooden boxes anywhere else, and scarcely think they are genuinely Indian. I shall return to the subject of baskets.

C
Ce
415
237
171

Except among the Chiriguano and the Chané, I have only seen the scales of the armadillo used as boxes among the Mataco, and there only as a curiosity. They are, however, known from the Guyaqui[1]), from the Indians of Roraima[2]) and from Indians in N. W. Brazil[3]). The sewn baskets of armadillo scales which are sold in the curiosity-shops of Buenos Aires probably hail from Paraguay, and it is not impossible that here, too, we have to do with an original Indian idea.

Ce
237
278
415

The fat of various animals which is used for healing is usually kept by the Chiriguano and Chané in shells, especially those of the *Borus oblongus*.

I shall return to the subject of calabashes.

C
352

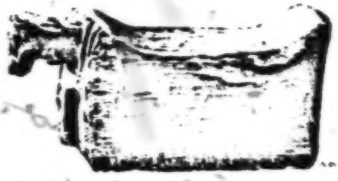


Fig. 3. Seat of wood from the Chiriguano. G. M. 15. 1. 178. 1/6

C
412

Fig. 4. Wooden hook. Chiriguano. R. M. R. 600. 1/6

[1]) Kunike fig. 15.
[2]) G. M.
[3]) Koch-Grünberg (2).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XVI.

Carrying-implements.

In Part I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano and Chané use carrying-nets, and never baskets, when carrying burdens on long journeys, when bringing home the produce of their fields, or when bearing water long distances. The method is for the band of the carrying-net to be fastened around the forehead, the burden resting on the back. If the water is near the village, they often bear the pitcher on their shoulders and, now and then, at the mission-stations, on their heads. In contradistinction to the negroes, however, the Indians are never seen carrying burdens on their heads while on journeys.

C
Ce
482
415

In Part I there is a map (25) showing the geographical distribution of the carrying-net. As has been proved by the excavations of UHLE[1]) at Arica, the carrying net must be a very old culture element in S. America.

C
Ce
[171]*

Calabashes are sometimes put inside a net (fig. 30) in order that they may be carried more easily. A calabash in a net is, of course, easily hung up on a hook in the roof of the hut.

C
Ce
[353]

Earthen vessels are sometimes hung up in the same way. These have then more or less the shape of calabashes. BOMAN[2]) depicts an earthen vessel hung up in this way from Calama.

In my collection of earthen vessels there is one from the Chiriguano, and another from the Chané, which are intended to be carried by a string running round the vessel

[171]*

[1]) (10) P. 12.
[2]) Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 180.

C
Ce
352
171

/177 cont./one also sees hammocks in the huts but they are not common. The hammock is native to tropical South America, but it disappears toward the south and in the mountains, for there it is too cold to use it. /Figs. 85 and 86 appears here./

Ce
343
417

Fig. 84a. Maize granary. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

C
Ce
352
353
[251]

From the roof of the hut, on hooks and racks, hang clothing and provisions, medicine, and other things. Here the men also keep their bows and arrows, their drums, and similar things. Maize ears are hung by liana loops.

C 352 171

/178/ Now and then one sees a seat carved out of wood (Fig. 85) in a shape especially familiar from the Brazilian Indians.

C Ce 415 [353]

A great many clay vessels of all dimensions are always standing along the walls of the huts. Some of them are so large that a man could crawl into them. There /179/ are pots, there are

Ce 482 291 854

Fig. 87. Chané woman. Rio Parapiti. She has a water jug in the carrying net.

C Ce 415

roasting bowls, there are handsomely painted vessels which are brought out for the festivals, and there is the treasure pot, in which the housewife keeps all the valuables and souvenirs of the family. In it, if the home is "well-to-do," lie clothing,

Ce Ce [556]

352 [114] been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks [171] made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, [513] however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of ●353 considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly 415 array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize [531] beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

[352] →

[291] [302] [411] [415] ←

[237] [824] → 354 →

Fig. 194. Man and young woman. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this im-
356 possible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

291 The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of [177] European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 169 and fig. 85 (12), pp. 15 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 59.

/79 cont./

C
SS
400
197
413

We must still note that the Chiriguano and Chané transport fish in the same way as the neighboring tribes of the Chaco, by stringing them on a cord provided with a big wooden needle (295).

295. Nord. 2, p. 42.

Implements for Storing Objects

C
Ca
352
353
415

Most of the objects that serve for storing things have also been mentioned in preceding chapters, such as the various kinds of baskets and the wooden hoops which are hung in the houses for storing sundry things in them. The net bag and the carrying net do not serve only for carrying, but also for storing things in them. Baked clay vessels are not only used for storing liquids, but are also used for storing many other things which have a special value or are old memorabilia of the family (296). Furthermore,

296. Nord. 1, p. 179.

C
Ca
[237]

they put up special hooks for hanging various things in the houses. Such a hook is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (297),

297. Nord. 1, p. 177 and Fig. 86.

and Métraux shows such a hook made of a deer's leg (298).

298. Métraux I, Fig. 128.

Art

C
534
126

Flutes and a Whistle in the Collection

I.A. 491. Flute. "sereré" (Chirig.). Wood. Lgth. 17 cm. Width 2.7 cm. (Fig. 33b.)

I.A. 492. " " " " " 20 cm. Width 3.5 cm. (Fig. 33a.)

I.A. 493. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Length 43 cm.

/354 cont./

372 small stick was too short to be handled with ease, he fastened it securely to another stick by means of vegetable fibers (embira) (Fig. 25). This done, he sat down on the ground, pressing the soles of his feet on the small cupped stick, and imparted with the palms of the hands a rotating movement to the other stick. The glowing sawdust which was detached by the effect of the friction fell on dried dung placed near the gadget to serve as tinder, which, at the end of a rather short time, began to catch fire.

• 354

According to the season, the Chiriguano light their fires inside the hut or outside. The hearth is composed of long branches which they lay out like the spokes of a wheel. As the ends burn, they push them closer to the central fire. The job of getting the dead wood falls within the province of the men (Fig. 26).

[462] [313] 343

In front of the huts they often erect a little shed in which the women do the cooking. The

[372] ← Fig. 25. Ancient apparatus for making fire, reconstructed by a modern Chiriguano. Prov.: Carurutí. (1/6 nat. size.)

roof of this shelter serves as a shelf for putting provisions and utensils on.

Preparation of Food

262 The modern Chiriguano do not seem to observe any food prohibitions, at least in daily life, for the custom of fasting, for women at the time of puberty and for men upon the birth of a child, is not yet lost. In olden days certain animals /355/ were taboo (1). The men of a few villages thus reserved for themselves

[789] [825]

[775] 1. In order not to kill one of their dead relatives transformed into a fox, the Chiriguano

/471 cont./

353 and 127). Everything in the world can be found there: small vessels, baskets, boxes, packages carefully wrapped in cloth, in short, a thousand little objects which the Chiriguano women regard as their treasure. From the roof hang hooks from which [414] are suspended household effects or supplies. These hooks are [237] generally of wood, but there are some also which are formed by a deer foot bent back and dried in the sun (Fig. 128).

Every chink in the walls is transformed into a hiding-place where the women put their scissors, the men their knives or combs. /472/ Bows and arrows are slipped between the struts of the roof.

In some huts whose walls are plastered with earth, the Indians arrange niches in the shape of swallows' nests, which serve as rudimentary cupboards. Might there be in that a distant remembrance of the niches so characteristic of Inca houses? It is possible.

352 The inhabitants of each hut sit on the cots or on /Figs. 516 130-132 appear here/ chairs with backs very well copied from [199] those of the creoles. The women generally squat on the ground. [198] On the upper Pilcomayo, one still finds benches with two seats (Fig. 129), a cultural element which the Chiriguano inherited from their ancestors of the Amazon basin.

356 The fire for cooking is lighted in the middle of the hut. [354] Chiriguano dwellings are clean. I have never caught fleas or other vermin there as I have in the ranchos of creoles or half-breeds. The women sweep their huts at least once a day. One is rarely disturbed there by mice (Fig. 132).

/169 cont./

In both cases the ranchos which had been formed were left destroyed, despite the fact that the latter, because they had been built under the direction of the missionary, were quite comfortable, new, and /170/ well covered with red straw /paja colorada/, which is the best for the construction of ranchos.

The Chiriguano Indian does not do this. He also on occasion suffers from a scarcity of supplies, because the land on which he lives produces harvests only when there is no lack of rain. In times of scarcity he bars the door of his house with poles or thorns, temporarily leaves his town, and goes off to distant lands in search of food, gets it, and brings it to his home, but he does not emigrate en masse, nor does he build temporary huts in a foreign place or town, and if he has any relatives in the places where there is abundant food, he seeks them out and is welcomed and well treated by them. He remains there for weeks and even months, until his fellows are tired of him, and then he takes his leave, taking the little food that is offered to him as something precious, and in fact it is in times of hunger.

Chiriguano towns are small, consisting of a few houses, most of them not exceeding 20 or 30 houses; these are large and in each one there are up to three families, but close relatives, such as father and married son and married daughter; they form a square and are so situated as to enclose the little plaza. They are not pretty, but they are clean; they are not large, but neither are they as small as those of some towns of the whites. These Chiriguano towns are poor; it is hard to find in them houses with tiles, but they are comfortable, with the roofs, as will be said, having the necessary slope so that they do not readily admit drips (1).

1. In the upper part of the house they make a long, continuous opening to allow the smoke to escape; it is made in such a way that it does not allow water to come in during the rainy season.

/172 cont./

342 124 The hardest part is finished with the previous operation: a short rest is taken, and then the owner of the new building must obtain enough hollow cane, engaging for this purpose Indians who have horses. But if the cane is very far away and has owners to boot, he gathers long sticks of astringent acacia or sehil and puts them horizontally every 15 centimeters on top of the rafters with the same above-mentioned lianas. Some [283] people, to tie the cane or sticks, use thin cords made from cowhide, but this, in addition to being more expensive, is less durable than bejuco (1).

[137] [178] [423]

1. Before the whites settled in Chiriguano country, hollow cane was abundant and had no owners: at the present time it cannot be found, and, if there is any, it is in private hands and must be bought.

Generally, before the walls are begun the house is covered with capíi, red straw, or, should this not be available, with capiáncua, straw for harnesses of beasts of burden, which is of inferior quality and very soon frays to pieces with the rain, sun, and strong winds, while the capíi may last for more than ten years.

[496] If it can be obtained by staying for a few days in a place where it is plentiful, he pulls it up there and reduces it to rather large handfuls: the gathering is done in several days, engaging Indians who own horses. When the material is in the town, he rests for a few days or weeks: he informs or invites those who wish to take part, in particular those who are closest to him by kinship or friendship. These then go about tying the capíi be- [354] tween two horizontal canes toward the side of the roots, forming long, narrow lines, and when they are so placed, they attach them horizontally, beginning at the bottom and working /173/ upward or toward the ridgepole, where they leave a large vent to let out the eternal smoke of their inextinguishable fires (1).

1. Now the red straw is disappearing almost completely: the destruction of this necessary

/177 cont./

Fire

354
372 In conical houses as well as in those of rectangular form, ancient as well as modern, a fire burned, and still burns, night and day; it is never extinguished, but should this happen, the way to relight it is to borrow it from the neighbors. If all the
372 inhabitants of a tribe have temporarily emigrated to a place
177 which is not far away, as happens at the time of general plant-
178 ing, at the end of the harvest, and upon returning to town, they come back bringing their fire with them, as I have seen on repeated occasions. But as today civilization has penetrated
[435] and the match has become common, even the Chiriguano will
[276] save up one medio, or ten centavos, to buy such a useful combustible, which they use very sparingly, because in their hands this is now a luxury and lends them an air when in a gathering of companions they can bring out and show their box of matches while lighting a maize-husk cigar.

372 When a fire happens to go out in a place where it is difficult to get it from distant houses, the Chiriguano is not too worried. The man is almost never without a flint, tinder, and a piece of steel; these implements are used to obtain new fire. The tinder is prepared by them from a boll of wild cotton or the flower of the samuu, which they reduce into a skein of thread and put into a cow's horn, which they clear at the wider end, fitting to it a wooden stopper that they keep down with a small wire or agave string; inside the tinder box it extends to the other end, where they make a small hole in order to be able to pull the wire or string and keep the top on tight.

The Indian who does not have all this apparatus does not worry much either. If his fire happens to go out, he makes a small conical hole in a piece of well-dried wood, in which he violently spins a small cylindrical stick, also dry, which does not take long to get hot and then to give off sparks of fire, to which he then applies the tinder, which consists of the dry pith either of the agave or of the /178/ maguey, which when it has taken fire will light any other combustible material (1).

[973] 1. When the toad handed over fire to the two

C /176 cont./
Ce of the daughters, who, during the betrothal and at the beginning
592 of the marriage, live with the mother-in-law. In front of
C the hut is the large hearth (Ill. 83) where the maize beer,
Ce and sometimes also the food, is cooked. /Fig. 84b appears
592 here./ Inside the hut there is likewise a hearth where cooking
354 is done and where one seeks warmth on cold nights and days.

Ce
342
415
417
273

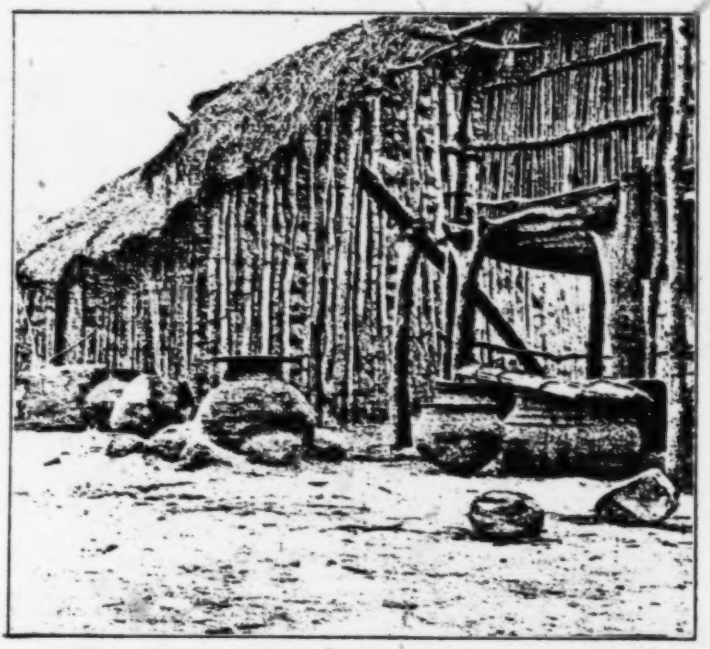


Fig. 83. Hearth for boiling maize beer. Chané village. Rio Itiyuro. To the right in the picture, large vessels in which the maize beer ferments. The house is plastered with earth.

C
Ce I have slept in these huts many a night. They are, as a
342 rule, free of vermin, which cannot be said of the dwellings
122 of all other Indians and of the houses of the whites. The sleep-
136 ing place either consists of a bed made of a species of bamboo
352 cane, or one lies /Plate 16 appears here/ /177/ on the ground
513 on a reed mat or a skin. One also sees hammocks in the huts.
000

experiment carried out at Rockelstad in the summer of 1919[1], the »stone-age men» soon found themselves compelled to build a »lave» so that the goats should not damage such foodstuffs and implements as had to be kept outside the hut.[2] 342 343 825 171

It is my belief that the »lave» has also supplied the idea of building dwelling-houses on pole-supports. Wherever people in a certain stage of civilization have found themselves settled on solid ground, they have had need of raised food-platforms, partly for keeping their foodstuffs safe from damage on the part of domestic as well as noxious animals, partly for the purpose of drying, smoking or roasting the food (see pp. 38, 47 and 48). If such a people, living on the edge of a lake or a swamp, had wished — for defensive purposes or some other reason — to build their dwelling-huts or other buildings in the water, then, if the bottom of the lake afforded good holding for piles, such buildings would have been constructed in the same way as the food-platforms or pole-supported granaries previously employed on firm ground (compare fig. 28 with fig. 115). Where the people in question has been lacking in sufficient skill to construct large pile-buildings in the water, or if the lake bottom was unsuited to this mode of construction, then huts were built on rafts or quagmire islands, after the manner of the swamp dwellers of Alvastra and Bangweolo.[3] 174

The furnishing of the Chiriguano huts is exceedingly plain. The fire-place, which forms a very necessary heating centre at night during the cold season, consists of a few stones serving as supports for the cooking pots. There is no hole in the roof for letting out the smoke, which has to find its way out through the doorway or through fissures in the walls. As a rule, the food is generally cooked on a fire outside the hut (fig. 189). 354 [252]

Bedsteads of the type seen in fig. 190 are to be found in nearly every hut. These bed frames are made of laths or reeds, and are covered with skins. Nordenskiöld states as his opinion that the idea of these bedsteads has not been borrowed from the civilization of the whites.[4] In the analytical treatise he has written upon this question he adduces conclusive arguments for his opinion, as it seems to me. In Central Africa, one finds bedsteads that are very similar to the Indian ones,[5] and that certainly have not 352 114 [171]

[1] Klein, pp. 88—89.
[2] Klein (1).
[3] For lake- and marsh dwelling-places in different parts of the world, see Montelius (1).
[4] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 8—12.
[5] von Rosen (4), p. 403.

352 [114] been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks [171] made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, [513] however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of 353 considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly 415 array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize [531] beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

[352] → [291] [302] [411] [415] ← [237] [824] → 354 →

Fig. 194. Man and young woman. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this im- 356 possible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

291 The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of [177] European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 163 and fig. 85 (12), pp. 15 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 59.

/471 cont./

353 and 127). Everything in the world can be found there: small vessels, baskets, boxes, packages carefully wrapped in cloth, in short, a thousand little objects which the Chiriguano women regard as their treasure. From the roof hang hooks from which [414] are suspended household effects or supplies. These hooks are [237] generally of wood, but there are some also which are formed by a deer foot bent back and dried in the sun (Fig. 128).

Every chink in the walls is transformed into a hiding-place where the women put their scissors, the men their knives or combs. /472/ Bows and arrows are slipped between the struts of the roof.

In some huts whose walls are plastered with earth, the Indians arrange niches in the shape of swallows' nests, which serve as rudimentary cupboards. Might there be in that a distant remembrance of the niches so characteristic of Inca houses? It is possible.

352 The inhabitants of each hut sit on the cots or on /Figs. 516 130-132 appear here/ chairs with backs very well copied from [179] those of the creoles. The women generally squat on the ground. [178] On the upper Pilcomayo, one still finds benches with two seats (Fig. 129), a cultural element which the Chiriguano inherited from their ancestors of the Amazon basin.

356 The fire for cooking is lighted in the middle of the hut. [354] Chiriguano dwellings are clean. I have never caught fleas or other vermin there as I have in the ranchos of creoles or half-breeds. The women sweep their huts at least once a day. One is rarely disturbed there by mice (Fig. 132).

/173 cont./

342 824 element and that of the hollow cane are due to the abundance of cattle, which destroy even the straw for harnesses.

342 574 [476] [831] When the placement of the roof has been completed, they all come down and gather in the hut of the friend, who, as a reward or payment for the service rendered, offers them a cup of chicha, and they drink this amidst jokes and crudities, at times very heavy, especially should maidens or women of 30 years or older who do not keep quiet pass by. But as the people know each other well and are friends, the greatest harmony reigns, and, when everything is finished, they take leave of the owner, thanking him for his gifts, and he shows them his gratitude for the services which they have rendered (2).

2. The workers only ask for chicha in recompense, but if the owner has beans or gourds cooked for them in a stew with considerable stimulant in the form of chili pepper, arivivi, it is a feast or carnival for all.

342 312 [221] The rest of the work is done with less haste and at a more opportune time. In fact, most wait until the rainy season to do it, for then water is abundant, and this to be sure deserves the approbation of all because it is more economical and easier. Thus, taking into consideration the laziness of the Indian man [46] and the tasks which the Chiriguano woman has, it would be expensive and quite tiresome to bring the water on their shoulders from great distances, which is avoided during the rainy season. [356] Then during each shower not only is the construction of the walls of the new houses done, but also the repair of those which have come apart during the year, and it is very amusing to see from a distance the women around the houses with their sleeves rolled up or with the tipoy down to the waist, making holes in the wet ground with shovel or hoe, pouring a little water in, kneading the earth, forming large balls of it, and putting it between the canes which are already attached.

/178 cont./

372 [773] children who had been saved from the Iporu, deluge of water, he also taught them the way never to lose it, by rubbing pieces of wood together forcefully.

224 372 The Chiriguano is quite a hunter, and no wild animal or bird escapes from his eye and hand. On these hunting trips he often needs fire. If he is very far from town and prepares to sleep alone in the forest or in open country, he lights his fire in the way just described, in order to have its company, to keep away the jaguar and the demon, and to light his cigar and prepare his roast.

Work

Cleanliness

356 [362] Many will perhaps come to the conclusion that Chiriguano houses, poorly built and worse maintained because of the continual fire which gives off smoke and ash, are very dirty, without cleanliness or neatness, but nothing is more incorrect. The [515] [302] Indian despite his savagery is clean, and especially for cleanness he pulls out his facial and body hair, bathes daily, and combs his hair often, getting rid of the little animals which might be in his thick hair. The Cuña, or Chiriguano woman, constantly thinks of the cleanliness of her house, gallery, and the ground in front, up to four meters in length and width (2).

[362] 2. All can see that some Chiriguanos, out of laziness, live in their own very old and dilapidated houses, open to the sun, wind, rain, and dust; in others that have a new roof, walls are lacking, thus exposing them to getting pneumonia, but there is no lack of cleanliness in any of them.

/178 cont./

353 [356] Chiriguano towns attract the attention of all travelers and explorers because of the cleanliness which reigns in their houses, which, despite having a notable quantity of furnishings, are well kept up through the assiduous work of the mistress of the house. [415] [352] Jars with wide mouths are in the corners; those with narrow mouths, in which the chicha must ferment, lean vertically against the walls; the plates and spoons are on small triangular tables of hollow cane in the corners; small ollas are placed inside the empty large pots, and these in times of abundance, and even in times of scarcity, are full, some with shelled maize, others with beans and gourd seeds, and others with wool and cotton for making ponchos, blankets, or outer garments.

[824] [251] /179/ Above, at an appropriate height, they hang a mat of hollow cane or little sticks well tied together well with Ivi, or ceiba, and there they put other trifles or small things, when they do not have anything else to put there, such as cheeses and charqui, or dried meat. The mat is usually hung on one side of the house on one of the rafters by means of thongs of cowhide or other material. They are placed there so as not to be in the way of those who must pass beneath (1).

[824]

1. The Ivi is a species of ceiba, samuu, but it does not have points like the latter. There is another called Cuari or Tayipiruru, which is very straight, has very strong fibers, and is only cut at the branches in order to pull off the bark. A fourth type of ceiba is called Iviru guasu; it is large and smooth. Each type has its congenial place, like every tree.

Finally, in the corners of the house or where it is most convenient, up high, they put one or more cords, which form an angle from one wall to the other, and there each member of the family puts his own clothing and the men hang the harness of their beasts of burden. Today the Chiriguano who are not lazy are not so poor, and when one enters a house one is amazed by all the abundance of furnishings so well arranged.

/179 cont./

512 With such an arrangement, it is not difficult for the
356 Chiriguano woman, after having taken her bath, made her toilette, and put up her hair, to sweep her house in a few minutes, sweep the rest, put back in its place everything that has been used, to put the beds to the walls, put the coverings on the cords in the corners, and again prepare what is needed for cooking (2).

> 2. The ancient Chiriguano woman did it this way, because she got up very early; today, as she is beginning to be lazy, after having done everything, she goes to the spring, bathes, combs her hair, and carries water.

Cots and Seats

513 No matter how poor a Chiriguano may be, he seeks comfort for sleeping and does not sleep on the ground when he is at home, both in order to avoid sickness and to be free of poisonous animals which abound, such as the snake, the scorpion, and the tarantula, which strike horror just to look at them. Furthermore, they do not sleep on the ground in order to be free of the bite of other insects, such as the vinchuca and the guanaco in certain areas, but despite this their cots are /180/ full of other little coffee-colored bugs, known in every corner inhabited by man.

352 In order to avoid any such accident, one obtains the
322 Igũirapempi, cot, by making it oneself. Cots are of hollow cane, little sticks, or split maguey sticks, which they call caruguata guasu. In order to make them, they first make a rectangular frame; in this four holes are made 40 centimeters in from the ends, into which four sticks are introduced vertically; these are the feet. Above are tied canes or sticks which are high at the top and bottom and deep in the middle, and this is the cot. At bedtime they are content with placing at the head some rag or piece of wood.

/303 cont./

362 What the Chiriguano thinks least about is his house; it is
●356 very hard to find one who makes a comfortable one. If he does
797 begin to build one, he is a long time finishing it, if indeed he ever does, and if it falls into ruins, he bothers little about repairs; when it rains, the house fills up with water and becomes a mud-hole, but he and the family are there sleeping and snoring like dormice. To make them renovate their villages, it is almost always necessary to threaten them and promise punishment and at times apply it, so that what happened in the fable of the toads will not occur.

461 The Indian is always ready to drink; if for this it is neces-
293 sary to pile up firewood and carry it from great distances, no one shirks; everyone shakes off his natural laziness with great enthusiasm. Both men and women then become quite active for ten days or two weeks, in order then to drink for six days or more, during which their faces become repugnant, both because of the cosmetics with which they think they beautify themselves and because of their state of half or total drunkenness. Then they talk of many things, and then finally some of them remember about collecting from others, and quarrels arise from this, and to stop these and also to put an end to the idleness the missionary must firmly intervene. If the Indians had a good crop of maize and the drinking bout were prohibited entirely or in part they would organize them in the fields where they plant, and then worse things would happen.

797 Chicha by itself does not cause much damage in their stomachs,
293 and they easily bear up for several days without more than a half-enebriation; the bad thing now is a scandalously widespread abuse of alcohol, which very soon intoxicates them until they are senseless and do not even know that they are alive. The missionary is vigilant in his enforcement of the rules, but it seems that they are members of a secret sect, and they tell him only when it is all over, or when they wish to avenge some grievance.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Aymara SF5

C
Ce
515
356
*171
181
A
[515]

		Cleanness of body	Cleanness in and round the abode	Care of household, belongings, weapons, ornaments, clothes	Skill in art.
Ashluslay	El Gran Chaco near Rio Pilcomayo	2	0	1	3
Atsahuaca	Peru, tropical forests	3	3	3	1
Aymara	Andean Plateau, cold climate	0	0	0	5
Baure	Plains and tropical forests, Mojos, Bolivia	5	5	4	—
Cavina	Plains and tropical forests, near Rio Beni, Bolivia	3	3	3	2
Chacobo	Plains and tropical forests, Mojos, Bolivia	4	5	5	1
Chama	Tropical forests, Rio Madidi, Bolivia	2	3	3	1
Chané (Itiyuro)		5	4	3	4
» (Parapiti)		4	4	3	3
Chimáne	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	2	2	1
Chiriguano		5	4	3	4
Choroti	El Gran Chaco, near Rio Pilcomayo	2	0	1	2
Guarayú (mission)	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	3	3	—
Guarayú Pauserna	Tropical forests, Brazil	3	3	3	1
Huanyam	»	4	4	4	1
Huari	»	3	4	3	1
Mataco	El Gran Chaco	1	0	1	3
Mojo	Tropical forests and plains, Bolivia	5	5	4	—
Quichua	Andean Plateau	1	1	1	5
Tambopata-Guarayo	Tropical forests, Peru	3	3	3	1
Tapiete	El Gran Chaco	2	1	2	1
Toba	»	2	1	1	1
Yamiaca	Tropical forests, Peru	3	3	3	1
Yuracáre	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	3	3	3

C
302

There are still many of the old Chiriguano, who wear long hair. Young men and youths with long hair are only

352 [114] been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks [171] made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, [513] however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of 353 considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly 415 array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize [531] beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

[352] → [291] [302] [411] [415] ← [237] [824] → 354 →

Fig. 194. Man and young woman. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this im- ●356 possible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

291 The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of [177] European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 163 and fig. 85 (12), pp. 15 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 59.

Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 372

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

C 411

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

C [223] Ce [226] [411] [824] Ce 411 824

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

C 411 [171] [178]

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Ce [411] C 824

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

C 621 613 596 594

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

C 622 [643]

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

C 623 756 357 565 622

NORDENSKIÖLD E-5/4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C. *Cultural Elements which the Chané and Chiriguano have got from the Mataco, Toba, and other tribes in the Gran Chaco.*

C
Ce
177

The Chané and Chiriguano have presumably not learnt much from their neighbours the Choroti, Toba, Mataco, and Tapiete, whose chief domestic industry is the caraguatá work, in which they have developed an astonishing skill. As we saw in Part I of this work, they have various different kinds of knitting, sewing, and plaiting. The Chiriguano and Chané, on the other hand, do very little caraguatá work, and the technique of their knitting is without much variety. I consider it likely that they learnt from the Chaco Indians the use of the bowstring made of shreds of hide, landing-nets of the type used here, the wooden needle with the line for stringing fish, the skin rug, the forked wooden spit, the use of the resin of palo santo for painting earthen vessels, and possibly the bat and ball game.

It is clear that more civilized Indians like the Chiriguano and Chané, when they come in contact with more primitive Indians, like the Mataco, Tapiete, and Choroti, do not imitate their ornaments, clothes, etc. I have already pointed this out in Part I. We must bear in mind that the Mataco sometimes work as servants for the Chané, and the Tapiete for the Chiriguano.[1]) These more cultured tribes would be more inclined to recognise the warlike Toba Indians as their likes.[2])

C
Ce
[357]
[563]

[1]) Among the Chiriguano (it does not exist among the Chané) it is characteristically only a boys' game, whereas among the less civilized tribes, the Mataco, Choroti etc., it is indulged in by grown-up men.

[2]) NORDENSKIÖLD (3).

Ee 622 643 654

/230 cont./

The chiefs' families form a sort of aristocracy among the Chiriguano and Chané. Several times I heard Indians boast about their good family connections. A Chiriguano who accompanied me for some time as an interpreter was eager to impress upon me that he was related to the most famous high chiefs.

Just as the author of this book is customarily introduced as the son of Adolf Nordenskiöld, so the Indians were wont to introduce in similar fashion the sons of their "great men."

I even discovered a bit of deception in connection with the family tree. A Chané claimed direct descent from the great Hinu Parava, which, however, is said to be untrue.

If one wishes to find beautiful things from olden times among these Indians, one must first look for them in the chiefs' families. They keep the old treasures.

Ee [177]

More and more the white authorities are beginning to appoint the chiefs. Thus, in one region one can find a chief supported by the whites and a legitimate one.

Ee 622 423 122 643

The chiefs have great power, and, as far as I could see, they are always obeyed, in contrast to conditions among the Choroti and Ashluslay. They own the land (at least in certain regions), not for themselves, but for the tribe. If one needs porters in a Chané or Chiriguano village, one gets them from the chief, and no Indian will refuse to carry out the orders of the chief.

Ce 622 643

Although the chief has such great influence, /231/ he nevertheless works in the same way as the other Indians. Vocapoy himself, for example, carried home the heavy wood for cooking the maize beer, and his wife had to cook and sweep, like the other women. Following the example of the whites, however, a few of the most civilized and wealthy Indians, such as Taco, now have servants from their own tribe, but this was not done originally. On the other hand, as I have mentioned elsewhere, it is not unusual for the Mataco-Vejos and the Tapiete to work for the Chiriguano and Chané.

Ee [359] [177]

Ee 177 464

Ce 622 643 431 123

When we came home to Vocapoy's village from hunting and shared our booty with the chief /Fig. 115 appears here/, his wife accepted everything, but then went around to the houses and gave her neighbors everything that she had received.

/295/ Preface

114 12 In the chapters to follow, I propose to publish part of the results obtained in the course of the expedition that I undertook in the Bolivian and Argentinian Chaco in my capacity as director of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Tucumán.

114 [101] This expedition took place from February to June, 1929. Its itinerary was the following: Having left Tucumán, I went by railroad to La Quiaca where I stayed for several days, making observations on the more or less half-breed natives of the region. From La Quiaca I went to Tarija, where I remained longer than I might have wished because of the suspicions my trip raised at the time of the Paraguayan-Bolivian conflict.

114 101 103 After a 15-day stop I left Tarija to reach the Chiriguano tolderías of the upper Pilcomayo. I crossed the village of Santa Ana, then the Alta del Cóndor, the Narvaez River, the post of San Diego, passed five kilometers from San Luis (Entre-Ríos) to stop at the Cuesta de San Simon, where I found the first Chiriguano. Once having crossed the Cuesta de San Simón I quickly reached the Salado River, then the Chiriguano villages of Timboy (Saladito). It was there that I made my best acquisitions of [126] pottery and where I collected the oldest objects. The inhabitants [178] of these rancherías, who live relatively far from the highway from Argentina to Santa Cruz, have preserved the traditions and culture of their ancestors better than their racial brothers have. From Saladito I reached the village of Itasiti and then Salado Grande, [361] in order /296/ to reach the Pilcomayo at the confluence with the Salado. There, the Chiriguano villages are large and numerous. The most interesting are those of Ñawirenda, Ibopeytí, and Tumbía.

After stopping for some time in this place, I continued my trip toward Huacaya and the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo.

In one day I went from Boicovo to Cuevo, going by way of the mission of Santa Rosa.

[199] [198] From Cuevo on I was in the mission of Ivu, which is without doubt the one where the old Chiriguano customs have undergone the fewest modifications.

/377 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Misque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

C /331 cont./
105
175
[169]
[173]

This migration had as its motive power the attraction which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

ce
[197]
[199]

At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

C
[618]
[619]

The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives.

The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

C
[197]

From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

ce
[199]
[197]
[198]

On their part the Chané adopted the language of their conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a secret language.

C
175
131

Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Mataguayo and the Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

C
[101]
C
[361]

175 /332 cont./ Permanent
[31] villages were there under the command of hereditary caciques.
[361] The middle course of the Parapití formed their boundary to
[621] the east. In the 18th century the Chiriguano constituted the
most important and remarkable nation of the western Chaco.
161 The statistics concerning them vary a great deal: the figures,
given with their usual exaggerations, vary between 41,000 and
[114] 15,000 warriors. The Chané are included in this number,
which completely removes all value from these statistics."
(Kersten, pp. 68-69.)

131 Today the boundaries of the Chiriguano have stayed
[178] about the same. But even though they inhabit a territory
whose extent has varied little, their situation has none the less
[162] undergone great changes. Several thousand half-breeds from
Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Chuquisaca have settled inside this area
that we have defined. A Chiriguano frontier no longer exists,
but only remains of villages and small groups which still mark
161 the former extent of the tribe. On the other hand, the num-
131 ber of Chiriguano has diminished terribly and is diminishing
each day, so that a few years from now the true habitat /333/
of the Chiriguano will be contained between the Parapiti and
the Pilcomayo and will be reduced to the former Franciscan
missions and to several valleys of the Precordillera, such as
those of Caipipendí and Igüembé (1).

114
174
131

1. Some historians not well informed about the ethnic geography of South America have claimed that in the 16th century the Chiriguano lived well beyond the boundaries I have indicated. One of them (Dr. Fulgencio Moreno) went so far in this direction that he attributes to the Chiriguano the possession of a large part of northwestern Argentina and pushes this fancy to the point of locating them almost as far as in the province of Córdoba. Mr. Coni in an excellent monograph, documents in hand, has done good justice to these bold allegations and has demonstrated that these hypotheses were without foundation.

/363 cont./

234 To end up, one could still cite among Chiriguano food
262 the cheese they make in some villages. Each time they
butcher they take care to keep the abomasus in order to make
[177] milk separate. Chiriguano cheeses are of the same quality as
those of the half-breeds, who for once have taught something
[272] to our Indians. I shall add that I have never seen a Chiriguano
drink milk.

312 The problem of water does not come up for the Chiriguano
133 as for the other Indians of the Chaco. Numerous rivers cross
their territory, and several of them are large enough not to dry
up even in the middle of the dry season. These watercourses
form innumerable quebradas, gorges or valleys, which give
its characteristic aspect to the country inhabited by our Indians.
[361] Sometimes villages are built near springs or small lakes, like
the Ivu mission, which is provided with plenty of water.

312 When I crossed the Caipipendí valley, the river which
occupies the bottom was nearly dry. The Indians had scooped
out small wells about one meter in depth in the sand of its
bed. They had surrounded them with slabs of stone to prevent
any caving in and to preserve the water which accumulated in
them from the heat of the sun. In this same valley, in a village
situated on top of a hill, the Indians had dug a cistern four to
five meters in diameter in which rain water had collected.

271 The Chiriguano have found a way to purify the muddy
312 water they often have to drink. They crush caraguatá leaves
824 between two stones, then steep them in the water, and all its
impurities settle as a result of the action of the juice of this plant.

264 The Chiriguano do not eat at set times. They make a
rather substantial breakfast very early in the morning and again
take some food toward the middle of the day. In the evening
[562] about six o'clock they make a kind of dinner. Since the men
are served first, then the women and children, it follows that
the meals drag out in length. At any moment of the day one
[415] can see someone eating. The food /364/ is presented to each
one in a calabash or terra-cotta bowl which each holds on his
knees. They pick up the pieces with their fingers but imbibe
liquids with a wooden spoon (Figs. 42 and 43). After eating,
they wash their hands. I have seen some rinse out their mouths.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

252 415 412 264 [319] [263] *Chiriguano* mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 592 **Dwellings.**—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

361 178 [343] [712] The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 177 **Clothing.**—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

4: Nino

101
102
103
131
133
● 361
797

SF10 Chiriguano SF10

p. 447	p. 448	p. 449
p. 450	p. 451	p. 452

Chart of Positions of End Map, (pp. 447-452).
/facing End Map/

/6 cont./

133 comfortable to go down as to go up, if an occasional short
[241] section be excepted. The hill of Padilla attracts the attention of
[361] all; there grow and ripen well both potatoes and maize, and
the hill is sprinkled on both sides with houses of all sizes.
From January to May the fields give it a quite picturesque and
pleasing appearance as it rises some 2,340 meters above sea
level, for which reason no doubt it is unforested with the trees
which are found nearby growing exuberantly on the plain toward
Monteagudo along the rivulet called Limón.

Next come the hills called Huacangui, Bartolo, and
Cazaderos, the first two found on the right bank and the
latter on the left bank of the Acero River, which touches the
slopes of the last named; the three have no peculiarity, only
that they are tree covered, rather high, and the road through
[136] them is very bad. Cazaderos Hill abounds in jaguars, and it
is the same hill which must be crossed or climbed in order to
go from San Juan del Piray to San Pablo de Huacareta; before
one climbs this hill near San Juan, there is another small one
called Ñañoloma, which attracts the attention of all because
it is very narrow, low, and straight; it is a straight line which
rises in the middle of the valley and continues without ending
to the southeast; the Piray and Parapiti rivers wash the base
of Ñañolama.

/7/ Monteagudo has a somewhat irregular plain, but it
is not interrupted by hills until three leagues away, that is, at
the Parapiti River in Matara, where there is another hill re-
nowned only because it is a road and an extremely bad one.
The Parapiti River bathes it at its base, and along the river
itself the way is very boldly opened through the hard rock,
forming a waterfall there; this same hill must be climbed to
leave Ingre Canton, as well as Igüembe, where the passage
is also quite rough.

133 From Matara to Ivu there are hills and rises of little im-
173 portance, if one makes an exception of the hills of Itiranti,
648 Saararenta, and Incahuasi, which last separates the province
of Acero from that of Cordillera; on Incahuasi there are an
infinite number of ruins of fortresses and houses, which, ac-
cording to what they say and the name Incahuasi, "Inca's House,"
was an encampment of Quechua Indians, when, at the orders

/13 cont./

132 atmosphere immediately cools down and there begins a cold wind whose chill is increased as it passes through the region of hail, and since the maize stalks are still tender they are easily stricken. The hail that falls is big, the earth is churned up, and it kills birds, sheep, goats, and other animals, if they are unable to hide in the bushes or under thick trees, but this does not happen often nor every year.

[133] Earthquakes are most rare; I felt them twice during my stay in the region, in 1899 and 1909, but the wind is sometimes so strong that it seems to make the earth tremble; there is no doubt but that it tears up trees and strips them, ruins buildings, and dismantles tiled roofs. Foreigners in this [145] so hot and changeable climate soon age and turn gray, but the natives who are used to it from childhood, despite the vices of drinking and others to which they surrender, enjoy a relatively long and healthy life.

It can readily be understood from what has been said that here the seasons of the year follow a different order from that which is seen in the Old World. Despite the fact, then, that there are no more than two seasons, we always can and ought to consider the four, in order to follow the general rule of the universe which divides the year into four parts. Summer begins December 21, fall March 21, winter June 21, and spring September 21, but all of these come ahead of time, as anyone who has lived here can testify.

Fertility

133 182 311 312 361 The Aguaragüe range, which is found to the east and one league from the Mission of San Buenaventura de Yvu, is the last one in Chiriguano territory. Small towns and families of these Indians are scattered here and there are still found east of the said range some 15 leagues away, but beyond that /14/ there are none because the area is arid and dry, "igüi utini vae," as they say, and the Chiriguano accustomed to planting maize, beans, and gourds cannot live where there is a scarcity of rain for his crops and water for his daily bath.

/75 cont./

174
167

They could have emigrated from their land of residence and followed the course of the Paraguay River on its right bank, arriving at Curumbá, and then across the salt flats of San José, coming to the places which they occupy today, but the stretch is longer, the water to be found is scarce, and over great stretches there is no trace of anything which /76/ might verify their emigration over this route, if indeed they would not have been attacked en route by the numerous nomads thereabouts.

[133]
[36]

It is necessary to conclude that they followed the banks of the Pilcomayo River; this rapid stream starts in the interior of the Bolivian Republic, crosses through the entire Chiriguano region, and empties into the Paraguay; its banks from near Azurduy up to Villa Montes is a straight line of more than 50 leagues, all populated by Indians who are clearly Chiriguano. From Villa Montes to Guachalla near the Esteros del Padre Patiño there are Choroti and Tapiete, who, with slight differences, speak the Chiriguano language; this stretch has plenty of water, fish, and fruit and is shorter than the above-mentioned one. Dr. Campos followed the banks of this river in order to arrive in Paraguay; Colonel Rivas, the Frenchman Crevaux, and the Spaniard Ibarreta followed the Pilcomayo River on their expeditions; they failed not through a lack of food or water, but some because they felt sure of the goodness of the Indians, and others because they had a very small force with them. All of these circumstances clearly show that the Chiriguano must have come into Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo; the tribes along the way could not have offered them much difficulty, because their number was extraordinary; hardship on the travel rations was so insignificant that it allowed them to fight with vigor and bravery, and finally their attitude was peaceful (1).

1. Colonel Rivas and the Frenchman Crevaux were killed by the Toba, and Ibarreta by other Indians.

/77 cont./

197 "Conumi," lad, do not have an accent
194 on the i in Chiriguano, but they do in
171 Guaraní.

197 In past centuries the race, and therefore the language, em-
178 braced a great deal of territory, but today it is greatly
361 reduced, and I can state without danger of error that it is
162 still numerous in Caipipendi, Pipi, Choreti, Tasete, Araticu,
and in the Potosí and Tarija missions; but in the former
places it is scattered among many little towns, while in the
latter it makes up respectable towns of 500, 1,000, and
2,000 souls (2).

2. Choreti Guasu is located on the left bank of the Parapiti in Cordillera Province; it almost forms a single town with Membirai, and between the two of them they have about 110 families.

197 Purity of language is now no longer found in any town
178 or in the missions, in the first because of living among
177 whites and continually emigrating to the Argentine Repub-
797 lic, and in the second, the missions, for a third reason,
instruction in Spanish, which the missionaries give the boys and girls in the schools; thus, if the race is not finished first, as is feared, because of the continual epidemics and vagrancy, the language will soon be lost, and then the few books that exist will only serve as an historical monument for posterity, which will be able to recognize the merit and labor of the missionaries who spread among them, the Chiriguano, and poured out sweat with the sole purpose of civilizing them in a Christian way (3).

3. There are a grammar, a Spanish-Chiriguano dictionary, a catechism with its translation, Father Corrado's masterpiece, a small Chiriguano-Spanish "Nene" /"Infant"; the work referred to is Nino's Nene Chiriguano/, and many unpublished sermons.

/79 cont./

178 Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija
464 missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which
[197] makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big
[162] and small, old and young. But of this number there are scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work, and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through
[131] their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from
[465] north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

648 There is a great struggle under way between the
[167] Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior, yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave, he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[464] 1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former
197 times and the very missions which antedate South American
● 361 independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and others are on the point of disappearing.

/84 cont./

797
175

We have said that the strength of 12 men was needed to move the cross found among the Chiriguano from the cave to the town of La Torre. Nevertheless, on the occasion of a fire which destroyed the church and a metal chalice, one soldier went into the temple to save the cross from the fire, and he alone took it from among the flames, which scarcely left any signs of the fire on the Holy Wood.

In a quarrel which occurred among some soldiers Francisco del Cerro was gravely injured by a deadly stab wound; neither doctors nor surgeons were present, and meanwhile this soldier was bleeding and was in danger of dying.

In those days they were very faithful, and since they fervently venerated the cross which they had found in the cave, they removed a small part of the Holy Wood, reduced it to powder, /85/ the wounded man drank it in some water, the blood ceased to flow, and within four days he was completely well, without need of any other medicine.

From these and other extraordinary deeds performed by the Holy Wood, we can deduce, still depending on the tradition of the Paraguay Indians, that it was quite probable that one of the Apostles of Christ came to preach the faith in this part of the world and even probable that this Apostle might have been St. Thomas, because the description given by the Guaraní and Chiriguano Indians corresponds to that of the same Apostle told to us in the ecclesiastical histories.

Missions of the Colegio de Potosí (1)

[361]

1. The department of Potosí does not have any Chiriguano Indians, and thus the Franciscans of that Colegio /school/ could not have catechized them by establishing missions, but, by previous agreement with the missionaries of Sucre and permission of the government and diocesan authority, they came into possession of their territory.

/91 cont./

Cuevo

361 175 [103] The town of Cuevo is located on the left bank of the torrent or stream of the same name. Before the war of the year 1875, and even later, it was known by the Chiriguano who lived there as Ñumbicte, which means "halfway field," and in fact it occupies a beautiful level place located almost midway between the ranges to the west and those to the east.

Almost all of the first white inhabitants were from the department of Santa Cruz, and it is an undeniable fact that Colonel Víctor Antezana moved to the region of Cuevo-Ibo with some militiamen from Lagunillas and built a fortress where the public cemetery of Cuevo is today, and another one where the church of San Buenaventura of the mission of Yvu has been built, both works which are owed to the constancy and activity of the Franciscan missionaries of the Villa Imperial. The fortresses are later than 1875.

[797] [648] Subsequently, the town was formed under the protection of the missionaries themselves and around the Cross of the Savior; it was completely burned by the Indians in the uprising of Curuyuqui in 1892, but the inhabitants of Cuevo who did not perish, with the assistance of the flourishing mission of Santa Rosa, built anew and in better condition the new town, which continues to progress today.

175 648 [361] In the war of the year 1875 all the Chiriguano of Cuevo-Ibo and Huacaya, together with the treacherous Toba and guided by the great cacique Corone, who lost his life in the torrent of Baecua opposite the town of Igüembe, rose up as one man to overwhelm all the whites in the region.

/92/ In this critical situation the intrepid subprefect of the province of Acero, D. Antonio Menduiña, with the militiamen from Monteagudo, San Juan del Piray, Huacareta, and Ingre, flew to the region of Igüembe and with these people overwhelmed the innumerable and ferocious host, reducing it at once to impotence by the slaughter of Caipipendi.

/92 cont./

361 648 Cuevo had belonged by law from long before Independence, and still belonged by right of conquest after the defeat of the barbarians, to the department of Chuquisaca, but the Representación Cruceña /representatives from Santa Cruz/ has constantly demanded the region of Cuevo-Ibo as an integral part of the territory of Santa Cruz.

The current legislature has ended this much-discussed matter on the basis of the law of 1898. Cuevo consequently now belongs to the department of Santa Cruz, because that law fixes as the interdepartmental boundary the left bank of its stream, which is about 150 or 200 meters from the town.

[797] Even the Representación Tarijeña /from Tarija/ has been consulted in this matter and has fixed its boundaries at the right bank of the stream of Camatindi; this was based on the same law and on the fact that the territory was settled by Christians from Tarija and was won over by the Franciscan missionaries from the Colegio of the same city since before 1875. Tarija still retains the region of Caipipendi, which belonged to the Huacaya canton.

When the interdepartmental arrangement is finally made, Sucre will lose a zone of 12 to 14 leagues from Cuevo to the right bank of the Parapiti River, and another eight leagues or so from the right bank of the Camatindi stream, not counting the incalculable zone lost toward the east. Here is the law promulgated: /the remainder of p. 92, p. 93, and six lines, including a footnote, on p. 94 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 94 follows./

Ibo or Ivu Canton

631 648 Once the interdepartmental problem is solved in a friendly fashion, according to the bill approved in the Chamber of Deputies in this year of 1912 and promulgated as the law of the nation, the department of Sucre is prepared to elevate to the rank of canton the region of Ibo or Ivu, the capital of which might be the San Buenaventura Mission, located at this very place.

/96 cont./

175
648

The expedition entrusted by the Supreme Government to an Englishman, which was to enter the Cayuguari region through Picuigua (water for dovelings), can be said to have failed, because the two attempts which it made were without result and it had to return in order not to perish because of the absolute lack of water.

Picuigua is some 12 leagues distant from Cayuguari. Picuigua is a dry lake, but, with drilling, sufficient water can be obtained for the garrison of the fort which is to be established, should it turn out that the news of the existence of a permanent lake in Cayuguari, where there are some 50 families, is false. /The last paragraph of p. 96, p. 97, and the first three paragraphs of p. 98 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 98 follows./

Itatiqui

361
[131]

The town of Chiriguano infidels with which I head these few lines is located 11 leagues from the Franciscan Mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu and seven leagues from the missions of the Parapiti Grande, at 19° 43' 13" latitude south of the meridian of Paris, and at 60° 29' 42" west longitude.

797
361

The Colegio de Misiones Franciscanas de Potosí is trying to establish in this place a Misión Conversora which would depend on the Fathers established on the banks of the Parapiti River. The idea is eminently civilizing and progressive, because this place is located along the highway which, coming out of Yacuiba, passes /99/ through Charagua and ends in the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

In the journey from the little town of Buyuive to the Parapiti Grande, there is no other town which might be able to provide services for the travelers and the vehicles which traverse it every day without being able now to count upon any assistance in their difficult crossing.

797

The Indian of Itatiqui is too poor and lazy; it is necessary to get him moving and watch over him so that he may become useful and progress; in his territory there is no water, nor are there artificial lakes so that he and his livestock

/101 cont./

361 797 1. Machareti. -- Father Jerónimo de la Peña was the first to enter Machareti, but, before he could begin any work, death intervened, and only after a century, that is, in the year 1869, could the Cross of Redemption be raised, around which began to gather the settlers dispersed by the war and the death of Captain Taruncunti, not very friendly to the missionaries.

[162] Before the mission had been founded for ten years, it numbered more than 3,000 souls, but today it is much smaller, [167] its inhabitants reaching 1,500. Emigration to the Republic [464] of Argentina is a real plague for this area, because the principal recruiters of Indians for work outside of Bolivian territory are there, and it is useless to cite laws, because there are clever interpreters; meanwhile all wail for workers.

361 [133] Machareti has a delightful and picturesque panorama; to the north and to the east the human eye cannot take in the immensity of the plains or the exuberance of the woods and the variety and caprice of the hills. The town is located on a great plain, but is now quite reduced; its buildings, atop a high hill which dominates everything; it has a beautiful church with painting and /102/ gildings, a mission house of two stories, two great halls, with their respective patios, for instruction, and a third one for the music school, and also other buildings for shops (1).

361 797 131 1. When the Machareti mission was founded, it cut off the retreat of the bellicose Huacayeños, who were coming into the Gran Chaco by the Chorro road, some 15 leagues from Huacaya and some 12 from Ivu; its altitude above sea level is 771 meters and it is located at 20° 49' 58" south latitude and 63° 3' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/102 cont./

797 2. Tigüipa. -- This mission, dedicated to the universal Patron of the Church, the Patriarch St. Joseph, began its existence on May 20, 1872, the day when, for the first time, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated, and there was planted in its territory the Tree of Redemption; it is some 12 kilometers from Machareti, with quite a rough road.

361 797 [162] At present it has a population of 800 souls. The town, made up of both infidels and neophytes, is quite neat; the buildings are not very well arranged, and the ones which merit consideration are: its tall and beautiful church, broad and well-proportioned, with its magnificent choir, gilded altars, and well-turned railings; in addition, the beautiful mechanism of double trusses which support the roof. Its house is new, of a single story, and was begun in the month of August or July in the year 1910 and dedicated in March of this year; the other buildings neither follow any arrangement nor are of any worth, and lend to the whole a rather sad appearance, but once the renovation of both towns has been completed, the planned arrangement of the buildings for instruction and workshops will be made.

[133] Its panorama has nothing in particular: to the west, the last range of the Andes, to the north and south, some rather high hills rise at a short distance and obstruct the view for the curious observer, who, frustrated in his desire to see and observe, finds a slight relief to the east, where the horizon opens out and gladdens the heart; it seems to be the older sister of the San Pascuál de Boicovo Mission. The climate is in general healthy, in spite of the fact that the mission is located in a hollow, but the water, or the location of the place, dulls the understanding of its residents, according to what all the travelers note (2). /Illustration appears here./

[563] [464] [131] 2. In the years of abundance several nomadic tribes come to this mission and remain there serving the Chiriguano in exchange for food. Its elevation above sea level is 715 meters, and it is located at 20° 27' 18" south latitude and 62° 14' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

[text continues on p. 141]

/105/

797 Itau, Chimeo. -- Itau has been in existence for more than a century, and Chimeo more than half a century. In the first reside two missionaries, one of whom attends to spiritual matters for the parish of Chimeo, which has been reduced to almost nothing. Indians and Christians live in the area, the latter being more numerous than the former. Itau and Chimeo were missions and officially still are, because the diocesan authority could not accept them due to a lack of clergy, but in fact they are no longer missions. Itau has many white settlers, and in Chimeo the missionary is not even in residence, which indicates that a permanent stay there would be little less than useless, because of the lack of settlers.

7. Yacuiba, Caiza, Carapari, and Camatindi. -- The towns with whose names we have headed these few lines all belong to the white race and are populated centers, especially the first one, where the political authority of the province of the Gran Chaco resides, in addition to which the customs office is also there, because the town is the one nearest to the boundary with the Republic of Argentina. All of them are helped in spiritual matters by the missionaries of Tarija and in some they have a permanent residence.

797 361 8. Carandaiti. -- This recently formed town merits a few exclusive lines. It is some eight leagues from the Machareti mission by a somewhat rough road, deserted and lacking in water. It can be regarded as the largest canton of the province of Azero, inasmuch as its very extensive territory goes to the right bank of the Parapiti River, as long as the interdepartmental question of Cuevo-Ibo is not settled.

The town of Carandaiti owes its founding to the parishes of the canton of Igüembe, Huacaya, and Ingre. After the war of 1875, the Indians of Huacaya were pacified with the founding of the Boicovo mission and the military fort of Huacaya. In a few years several of them left this place, and, with the inducement of receiving in recompense one league of land, they explored Carandaiti and settled in that place. They were attacked by the tribes repeatedly, suffered a few

/105 cont./

797 361 setbacks, and endured the bitterness of having some captured by the savages, but the establishment of the town is now an accomplished fact. It has a pretty church, consecrated at the end of July, 1908, and the only thing lacking is a priest in residence to attend to them spiritually with great care, because Machareti is quite far for this widespread parish (1).

1. The Christians who explored the territory of Carandaiti received the land promised; there is no potable water other than that of the ponds, which are in danger of being emptied. The preservation of this town should receive the attention of the Government of Bolivia for the sake of commerce, the cattle industry, transportation, and the prospect of new explorations to the east.

128 127 /106/ With the brief summary which I have made with reference to the missionaries among the Chiriguano and to the towns of whites built in the same region, presided over by the Franciscans of Tarija and Potosí, I bring an end to this second chapter, in which several opinions regarding the origin and point of departure of the Chiriguano for the region which they occupied, and with slight differences occupy at present, have been expressed.

There is no invention in it; by means of patient verification from different persons at different times, by consulting numerous authors, who, by study, reference, or in passing, have left something in writing, I have come to learn certain facts which, if they are believed here, are also believed in other places, and I have concluded that not all of it could be a fable, and as I have heard them told, so do I present them to my readers. This is the chapter which has concerned me most, and I do not know if the time, vigils, and the sleep of which my eyes have been deprived have been well employed; be that as it may, the public now has it.

/157 cont./

Principle of Authority

600 The principle of authority is innate in humankind and to attempt to destroy it is madness. Ever since man came into the world, the principle of authority has existed, as can clearly be read in /158/ Genesis: Sub viri potestate eris et ipse dominabitur tui; thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee.

As it is innate in humankind, through guilt more than through necessity in the beginning, the said principle has always been in effect everywhere. There is no nation, no matter how barbarous, which does not recognize this principle as a necessity, and to attempt to destroy it, as the anarchists wish to do, is to wish for the impossible. The Tubicha, great one or authority, say the old Indians, emanates from God himself, and that is why it begins with the same letter. The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 214/ shows several caciques of the San Buenaventura Mission; only the one in the frock coat and cane (Anduari) did not take part in the uprising at Curuyuqui (1).

[551]

1. The Indians in the illustration are: Asicayu, Asucari, Periquiyu, and Guaserai to the right of the cacique Anduari; Chipa and Patiri, or Patricio, at the left.

648 The entire region has today been explored and is under the power of the whites, who first entered with the permission of the owner (ab immemorabili), and after having taken possession, they have made themselves owners, buying lands as property of the nation. Some might believe that the Chiriguano liked to live in great centers, when it is known that formerly they were very numerous, but one who passes through the territory will soon understand that each tribe is at most made up of some 40 families and that in each tribe there is a cacique who is dependent upon another greater one, whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great of the great. In one league of territory or even less, an explorer, or passer-by, or sojourner can still find four or five Chiriguano Tribes at short distances.

619 361 [622] [643]

/158 cont./

or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances. The only large town that I found on my travels is Mumbirai, which is joined to Choreti guasu on the left bank of the Parapiti. I know Caipipendi, where I often slept: the Indians are many, but they live in different places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (?).

2. The beautiful Santa Rosa Mission was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place shown them by the missionary. In Tumbía there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique

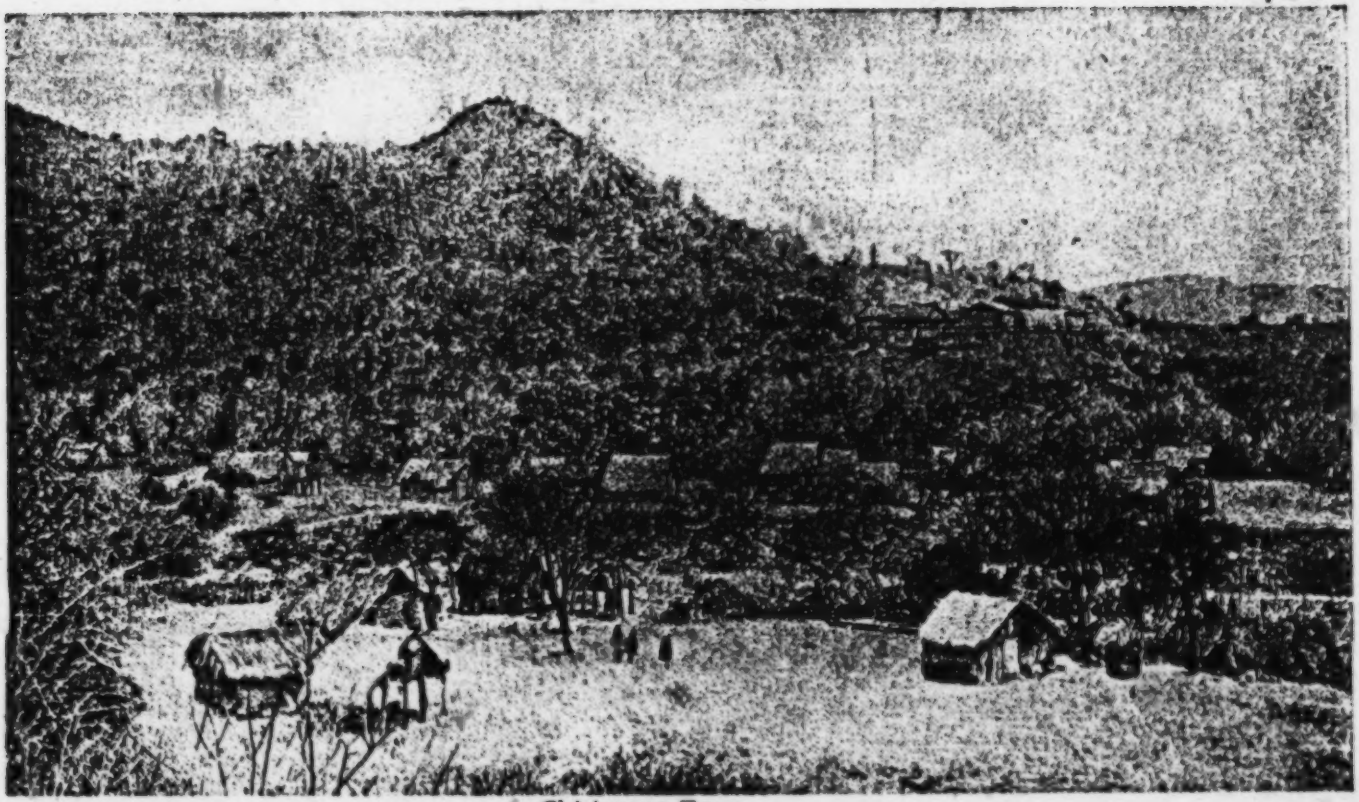
Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /159/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple: when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the sorcerer to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

1. In each tribe there is but one cacique: many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep or rest in their homes, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

133
342
361

4: Nino--230 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10



Chiriguano Town

/169 cont./

Towns

It is thus stated in the Holy Scriptures that man from the beginning began to build towns, and all the descendants of the first inhabitants of the earth have followed their example. I believe that my readers have learned that the Chiriguano are different from the other natives who surround them; they consider the Toba and the Mataco to be very inferior, so inferior that they scorn and despise the ornaments and varied feathers that the latter use.

The Chiriguano also, as descendants of the first men, love society and like to live in company, in more or less large towns, in well-formed towns, with houses around a plaza, in contrast to other tribes which, in spite of being sociable, form towns as quickly as they disappear, according to need. Thus it happens that wherever they know that there is food, the Toba and the other nomadic races go there; if they are helping a missionary, they abandon him when the algarrobas, the chañar, and the mistol are ripe (2).

2. Polygamy in the world began with Lamec. From Ada, his first wife, he took Fael who lived in cabins; it seems that the nomadic tribes of America are descendants of his.

I have witnessed both cases, the first in the Tigüipa Mission, where on the right bank of its little river three tribes had gathered in 1905, making their miserable round huts with a few stakes, with branches covered with grass, in which men and women, old and young, and dogs covered with mange lived together. I witnessed the second in the mission of San Antonio del Pilcomayo in 1900 when, the algarrobas already being ripe, some 68 Mataco families disappeared, running off into the woods to seek a life of gifts and surrender themselves to drink and dishonesty, turning their backs on the religion which some of them had embraced.

/169 cont./

In both cases the ranchos which had been formed were left destroyed, despite the fact that the latter, because they had been built under the direction of the missionary, were quite comfortable, new, and /170/ well covered with red straw /paja colorada/, which is the best for the construction of ranchos.

731 The Chiriguano Indian does not do this. He also on occasion suffers from a scarcity of supplies, because the land on which he lives produces harvests only when there is no lack of rain. In times of scarcity he bars the door of his house [574] with poles or thorns, temporarily leaves his town, and goes off to distant lands in search of food, gets it, and brings it to his home, but he does not emigrate en masse, nor does he build temporary huts in a foreign place or town, and if he has any relatives in the places where there is abundant food, he seeks them out and is welcomed and well treated by them. He remains there for weeks and even months, until his fellows are tired of him, and then he takes his leave, taking the little food that is offered to him as something precious, and in fact it is in times of hunger.

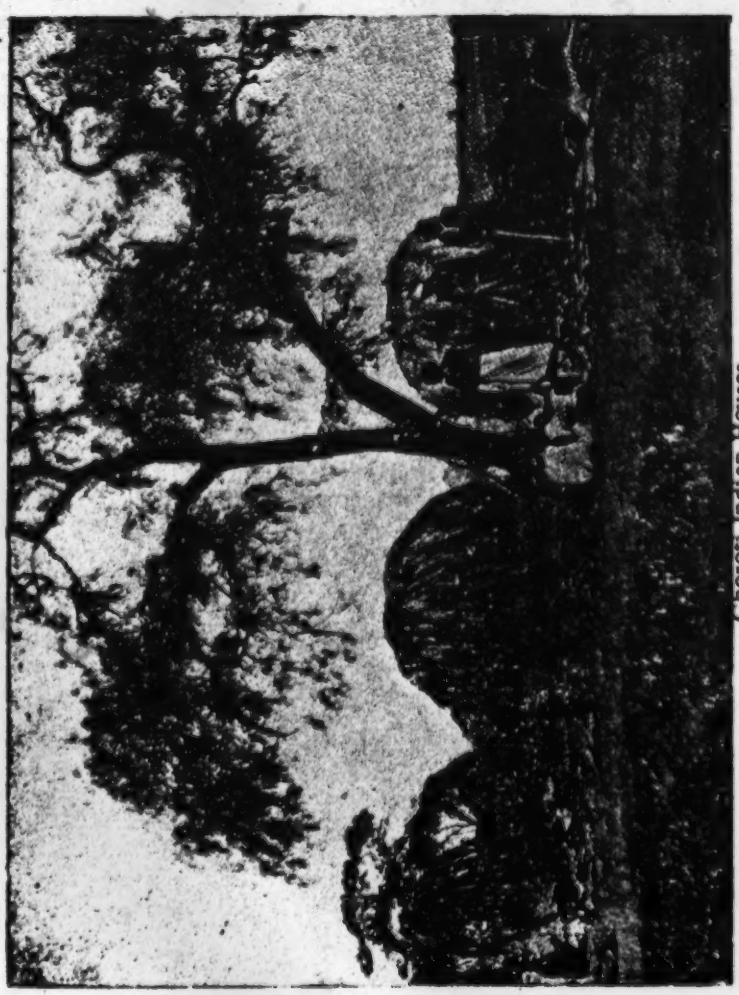
361 Chiriguano towns are small, consisting of a few houses, [62] most of them not exceeding 20 or 30 houses; these are large [592] and in each one there are up to three families, but close relatives, such as father and married son and married daughter; they form a square and are so situated as to enclose the little plaza. They are not pretty, but they are clean; they are not large, but neither are they as small as those of some towns of the whites. These Chiriguano towns are poor; it is hard to [342] find in them houses with tiles, but they are comfortable, with the roofs, as will be said, having the necessary slope so that they do not readily admit drips (1).

[354]

1. In the upper part of the house they make a long, continuous opening to allow the smoke to escape; it is made in such a way that it does not allow water to come in during the rainy season.

4: Nino--392 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano
Choroti SK6

342
351
●361



Choroti Indian Houses

/332 cont./

Music of the Mbapa Páure /omitted in the original source/
Chiriguano carnival 361
Music of the Alleluia /omitted in the original source/
Bows, arrows, etc. 368
Group of Choroti Indians 384
Choroti Indian houses 392
Girls' school of the San Pascual Mission 401
Schoolgirls at work (San Francisco del Parapiti) 410
Interior of the San Pascual Church 418
Group of Mataco Indians 422
Group of Toba Indians 430

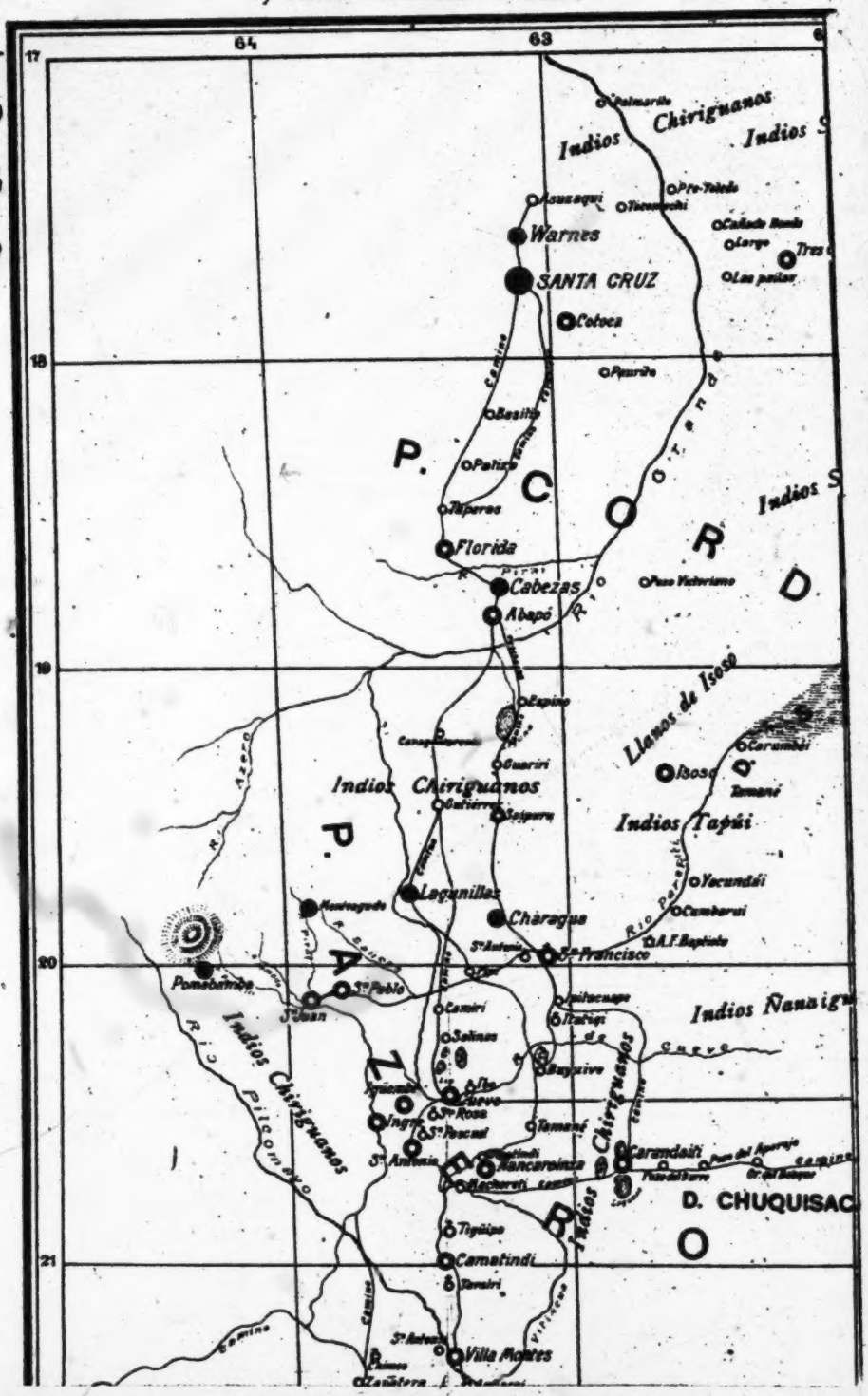
/The corrections in the list on p. 333 have been made in the text of the translation. Page 333 continues with the following note concerning the end map./

Note: The map which is found at the end of the work contains the following errors: (1) the juntas of San Antonio should be of San Francisco; (2) the line which comes out of Cuevo toward the Azero River is not a river, but a dividing line between Santa Cruz and Sucre; (3) the missions of the Parapiti occupy the left bank of said river; (4) Ibo occupies the right bank of the Cuevo River; (5) the projected city of Manso should be near the bank of the Pilcomayo River.

4: Nino--447 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

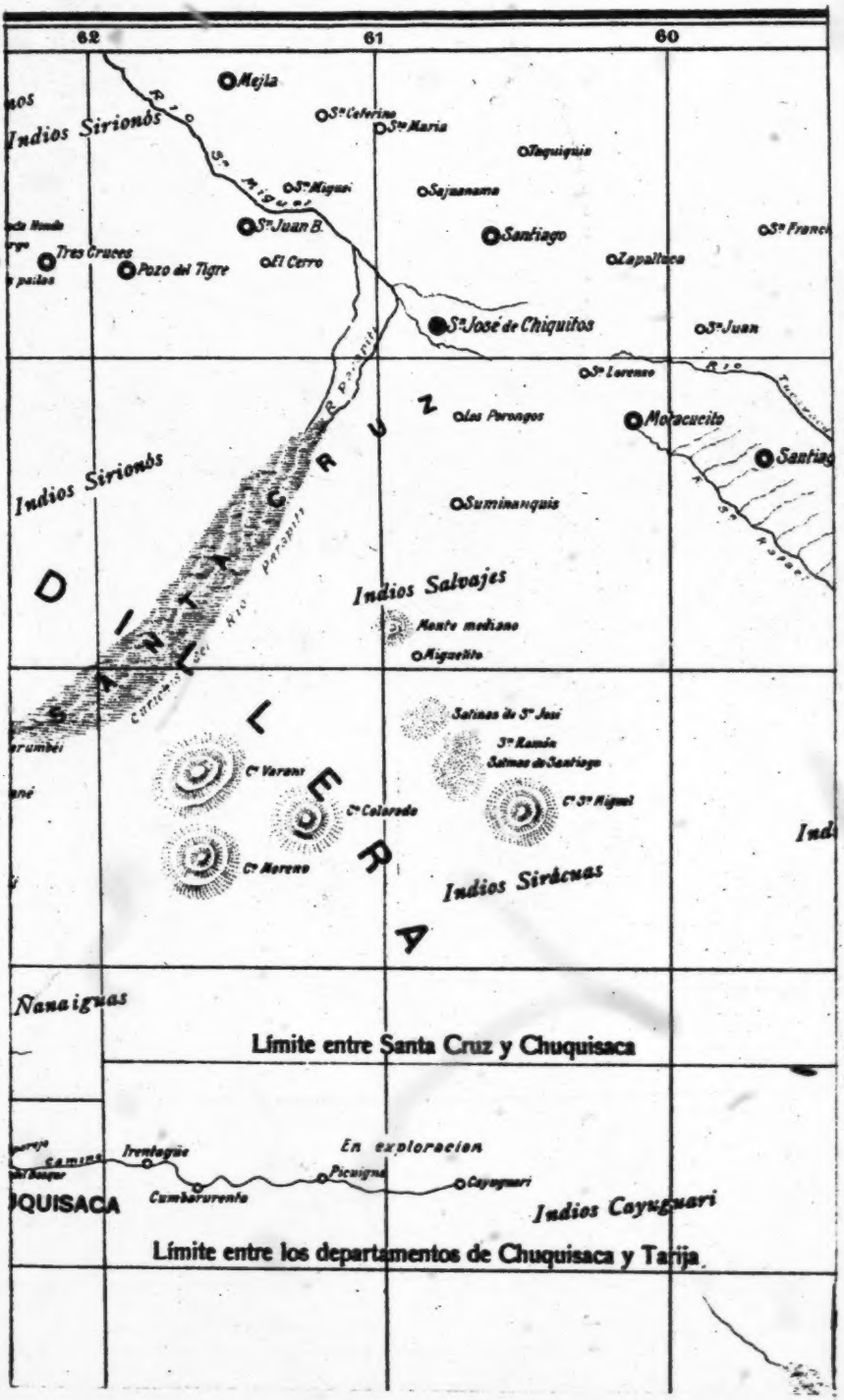
Map of the Gran Chaco
by Father Bernardino de Nino

102
101
103
131
133
●361
797



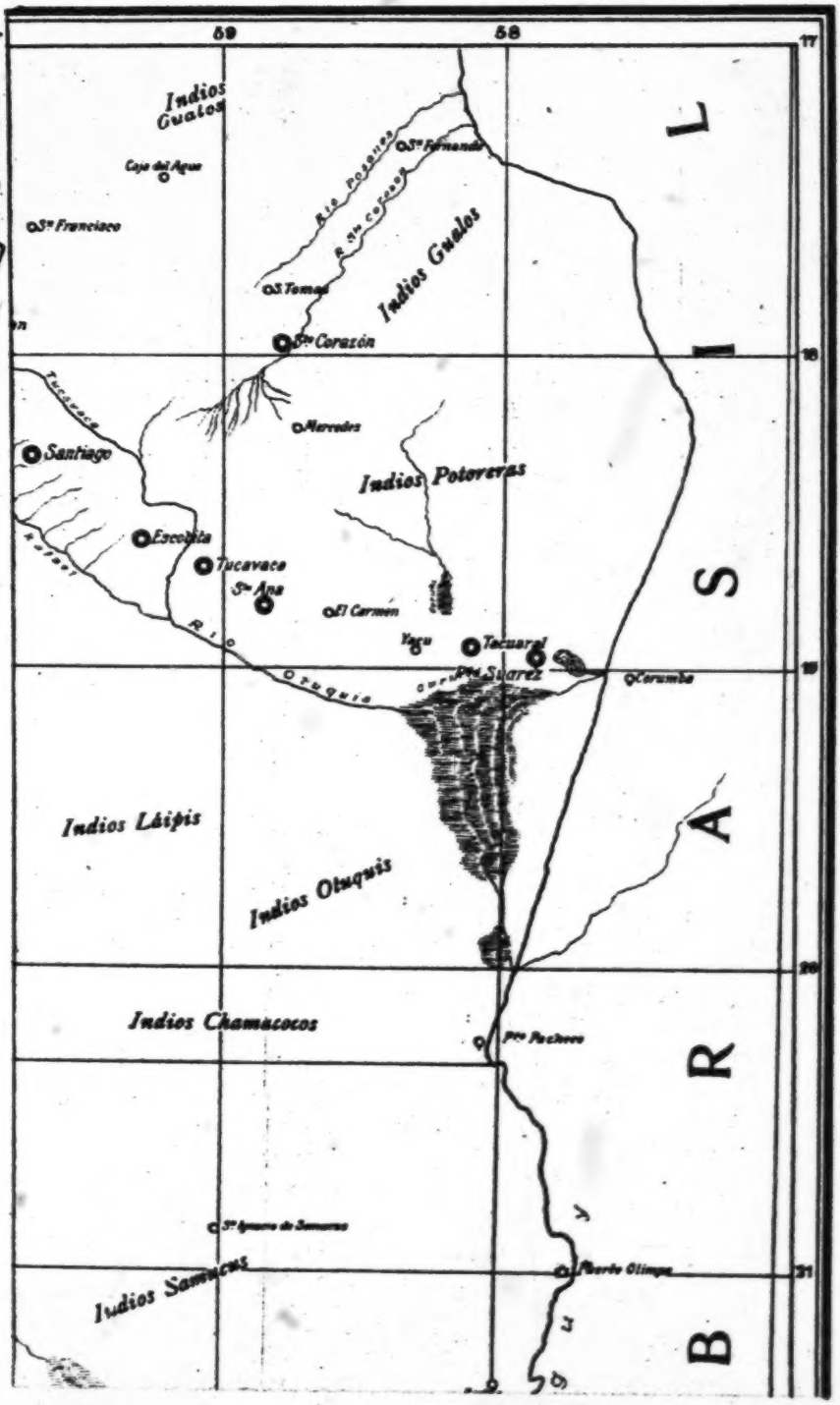
4: Nino--448 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
799



4: Nino--449 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Some Choroti live near Yacuiba. In nearly all of the Chiriguano territory there are Mestizos and Whites. There are also several large missionary stations in their territory. Some few Chiriguano live in the village of Sta Rosa to the north of Sta Cruz de la Sierra. Some Chiriguano who sought refuge in central Chaco after their last rebellion, live there still. They are the only tribe of Chiriguano-Indians who are quite independent of the Whites.

The country which is inhabited by the Chiriguano and partly by the Chané is a border land between the Andine mountains and the great plain of the Chaco. It is in the valleys between the outermost mountain ridges towards the Chaco and on the plain to the east of them that the Chiriguano and the Chané live. The land of the Chiriguano and Chané-Indians is not a real country of primeval forests. There are some great forests, but on the whole it is sparsely wooded, in places even very poorly wooded. The supply of water is the governing condition for settlement in the land of these Indians. It may be said that wherever there is access to water there the country is inhabited, at any rate as regards the region south of the Rio Grande, one of the great rivers that run through their territory There need not be a great supply of water for the Indians to find the country inhabitable. All that is necessary is sufficient drinking-water for man and beast, as at Itatique and in the Caipipendi valley near Rio Parapiti.

The biggest rivers running through the territory of the Chiriguano and the Chané are the Rio Grande, the Rio Parapiti and above all the Rio Pilcomayo. The Rio Grande may now almost be considered the boundary river of these tribes towards the north, and is of but little importance to them. The Rio Parapiti is a strange river. While well supplied with water in the mountains it is almost shrinks to nothing in the plains during the dry season. During the rains it is very full of water and may be dangerous to ford. Fish are plentiful only in the Rio Pilcomayo, and we

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,½(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c ce 133 226 shall see that the methods of fishing differ somewhat in the different rivers. At the Rio Pilcomayo the Indians must always have found a good supply of food. As many Chiriguano live by very insignificant streams they never have the opportunity of fishing. The Chané all live in places c ce where they are able to procure fish during some part [361] of the year at least.

c ce 224 Big game is scarce in the land of the Chiriguano and Chané. Nor are these Indians keen huntsmen. One seldom sees game that has been killed by them in their huts. c ce The great flocks of fat pigeons that settle in their fields are [223] for the most part left unmolested.

c ce 241 243 As we shall see in the following the Chiriguano and Chané live mostly by tilling the ground. Owing to the comparative dryness of their land maize is cultivated more than anything else. It is the ease with which this plant can be grown here, that makes the land of the Chiriguano and Chané a good land to dwell in.

c ce 222 The fruit of the carob-tree (algarrobo) is the most important wild fruit. Probably no careful study has ever been made of the climatic conditions of the Chiriguano and c ce Chané country. It is situated in the tropics, north of the 132 tropic of Capricorn and the traveller there of course suffers more from heat than cold. In May and June especially, however, when there is a strong south wind, it is agreeable to have a well built house, warm clothes and a snug bed. c ce The rains begin in December and leave off in April or May. [241] It sometimes happens that there is little or no rain and then the crops are a failure. They are often destroyed by grasshoppers.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
[P 1]
C
343

Fig. 1. Maize-barn.
Chiriguano.

I.

Dwellings.

C
ce
361

Like all other Indians I visited south of Sta Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, the Chiriguano and Chané live in villages. Some of these villages are rather large and inhabited by several hundred people. Frequently a number of villages are situated quite close to each other. As a rule, the huts stand around an open space which is sometimes planted with trees to give shelter. These »squares» serve as meeting-places and playgrounds.

C
ce
342

The huts are square. They are built of reeds or wooden laths, and thatched with grass. They are very often plastered with earth.

C
ce
[592]
[361]

There are no huts here of the original Indian shape. The real Chiriguano (Chané?) huts were very large; as many as a hundred people lived in the same house, the whole

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c
ce
342
[592]
*[171]
ce
361
342
[609]

village consisting of only a few big huts.[1]) These plainly correspond to the great family-houses known to us from Brazil, but which in Bolivia I have only seen among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe on the Lago Rojo-Aguado. CHOMÉ[2]) gives no exact information about the huts. He says they stood in a circle around an open place. In the middle of the square there was a special hut for strangers. According to NIXO[3]) the Chiriguano formerly had round houses. He gives a rather lengthy description of these, but does not tell us the source of his information. NIXO describes at length how the Chiriguano now build their houses.

c
ce
342
177

As early as the time of VIEDMA[4]) — end of the 18th century — they seem to have forsaken their original type of house and built themselves smaller huts. Since the dwelling-houses here retain no traces of their original shape, it is useless to make comparisons with other Indian huts. There is hardly anything in Indian culture which so quickly changes under the influence of the Whites as the houses. The acquisition of iron tools makes it possible to put up quickly properly built houses. An Indian tribe need consequently not have been long in contact with the Whites before they alter the style of their huts. This is not the case, to be sure, with all the tribes, for many, such as those in the interior of the Chaco, tenaciously preserve the primitive type of hut which, though small and inconvenient, affords greater protection from cold than the roomier dwellings of the Whites.

c
ce
*[171]

It would be of interest to find out in what measure

---

[1]) Annua de la Compañia de Jesús — Tucuman y Perú — 1596. »El mayor de los pueblos es de cinco casas; lo común es de tres; mas son muy largas, de más de 150 pasos, á dos aguas, con estantes en el medio sobre que se arma la cumbrera, y de estante á estante vive una parentela.» LIZÁRRAGA P. 552.

[2]) P. 313. »Pendant ce temps-là, je n'avais pas d'autre logement que le toit de paille qui étoit au milieu de la place.»

[3]) P. 174.

[4]) P. 181. »Sus casas son unos pequeños ranchos hechos de caña.»

/152 cont./
earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other 123
fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout. 439
There are always two villages in these mission stations, 437
one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt 361
more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more 797
fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent.

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through 133
which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected [135]
mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco. The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The wood- 137
land, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monoto- 241
nous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the droughts seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge 731
swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the 136
woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds.

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting 114
Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti.

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the 133
/153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand. If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of 137
bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti.

/159 cont./

things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78).

From Maringay I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of Mimosaceae, cacti, small algorrobas, and other fine-leaved trees. This woodland is seldom so dense than one cannot easily get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa,

Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth. Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger.

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and across the great plain of Boyuovis, over the country that was the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuqui, they fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the right to rob all weaker peoples.

After my excursion to Maringay I left the land of the Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already described in this book, to the Choroti and Ashluslay.

/161 cont./

In the wilderness of the Chaco there still lives a Chiriguano chief, Cayuhuari, in whose village no white man has been. It is said to lie on a big lake. Large herds of horses and cows graze there, and the maize granaries are always full. The Indians are rich there, because no whites are there. At least so it is said. 173 361

Cayuhuari, who has lived in the Chaco since the uprising in 1890, has an abducted white woman as a daughter-in-law. It is said that, with the Toba, he visited the sugar factories of northern Argentina. He had his daughter-in-law with him. The owners of the factory offered to rescue her from the Indians. "I do not want to leave them," she said. "With them I have my children." This answer honors her. 563

The manners and customs of the Chiriguano Indians have been described by several authors (4), mostly missionaries, /162/ 114 797

4. We find most of the literature cited by Domenico del Campana: "Notizie," etc., loc. cit. /"Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani (Notes on the Chiriguano)," Arch. per L'Anthr. e la Etn. Firenze, 1902. Page 61./ [113]

so that we know more about them than about the Choroti and the Ashluslay.

A part of what I have reported about these Indians is not new, though seen in a new light. Nevertheless, various things, especially concerning religion, differ from the descriptions of the various missionaries. What I have gathered here is from the Chané, and the missionaries know the Chiriguano best.

What I do not like in the various descriptions of the Indians by the missionaries is that they seem to be striving to paint their shortcomings in colors that are all too faint, so that their own "civilizing work" may seem as important as possible. The missionaries seem to me to be unable to describe the religion of the Indians objectively.

6: Nordenskiöld--19 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane SF 8
S-Am. 51
S-Am. Indians 53

/167 cont./

is a village called Tapiirenda. The valley is now inhabited exclusively by Chiriguano, and none of them remembers that, as the name of the place indicates, Tapii (Chané) lived there.

The place names of the Indians of higher standing are retained by the whites, even if they have become the masters of the country. Thus, almost all the places inhabited by them in Chiriguano territory have Guarani names, such as Charagua (name of the cliffs peculiarly carved out by the water), Carandaiti (where palms grow). The place names of the lower tribes, on the other hand, are not kept by the whites. Thus, no white knows the Mataco or Choroti names of the various places on the Rio Pilcomayo. The settlements of the whites are named after saints, Bolivian statesman, and explorers. If a tribe, for example, the Choroti, becomes extinct, there is nothing left of its language in the place names. Investigators of place names should not overlook this.

Through association with the whites, the geographical knowledge of the Indians has been extended considerably. They go farther and farther away to seek work, and they see countries which they had never heard of before.

The Indian as Historian

If we wanted to write the history of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we could not go back very far in time. It is only in the last decades that we see them mentioned more specifically in the literature. On the other hand, we already know about the Chiriguano, from their battles with the great ruler, Inca Yupanqui, from the period before the discovery of America. Garcilasso de la Vega (1) reports on his attempts

1. Garcilasso de la Vega: The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas. Vol. I-II. Hakluyt Society. London, 1869 and 1871.

6: Nordenskiöld--24 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF 6

/171 cont./
on the Río Parapití make raids on the Tsirakua Indians. The Ashluslay also maintain, as my interpreter told me, that /172/ the Toba chief Teycolique, during his invasion of their territory in 1908, had several Chiriguano with him.

Batinayu said that in former times the Chané brought home the heads of their slain enemies and set them up on the plazas of the villages during festivals.

Fig. 82. Clay vessel of the Chané. 1/4.
Río Parapití.

/172/ Chapter Eleven

From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

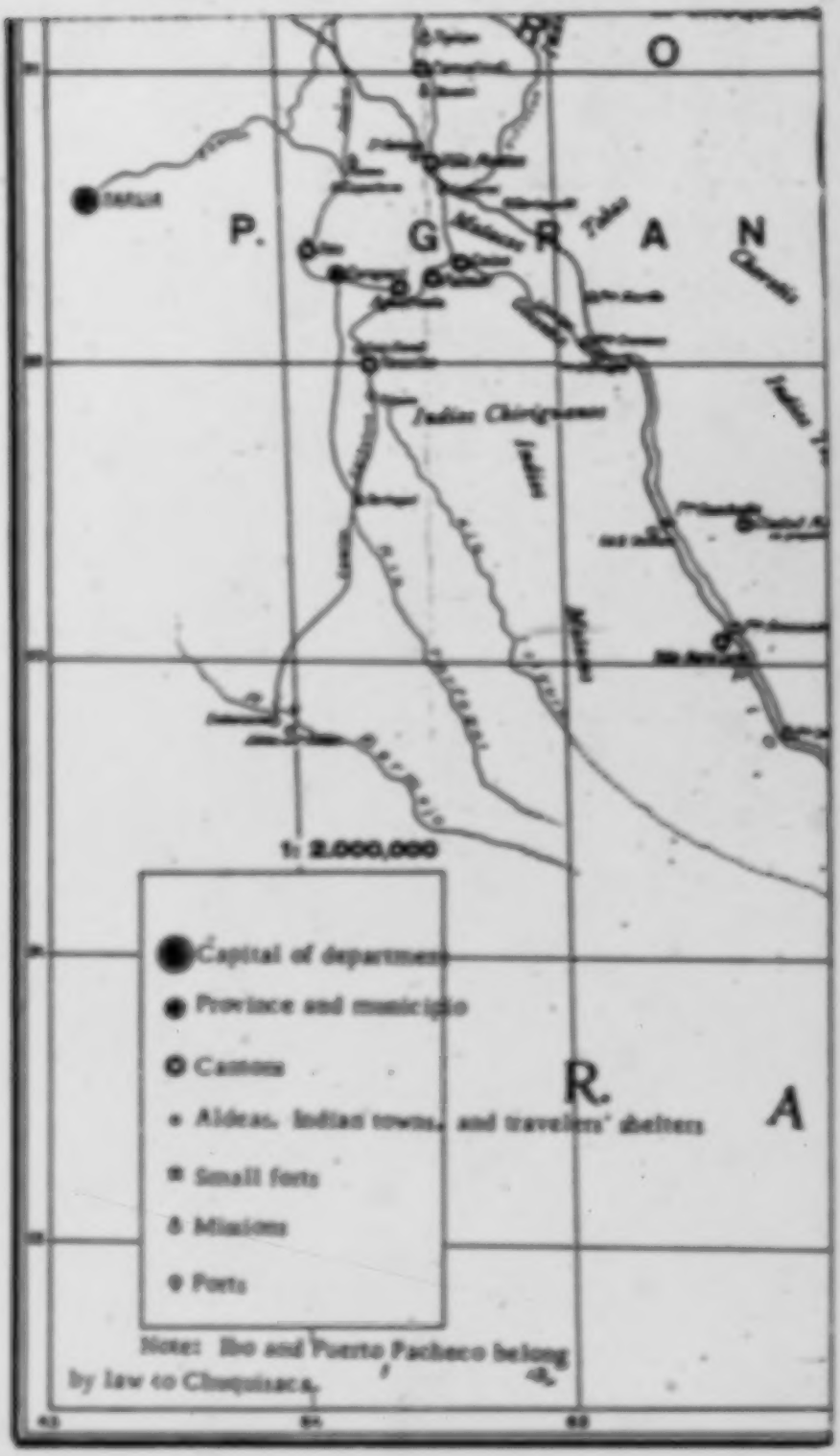
Everyday Life in the Chané and Chiriguano Huts

As a rule, I felt very comfortable in the huts of the Chané and Chiriguano. The life in these villages is exactly the same. If one describes one village, he has described almost all of them.

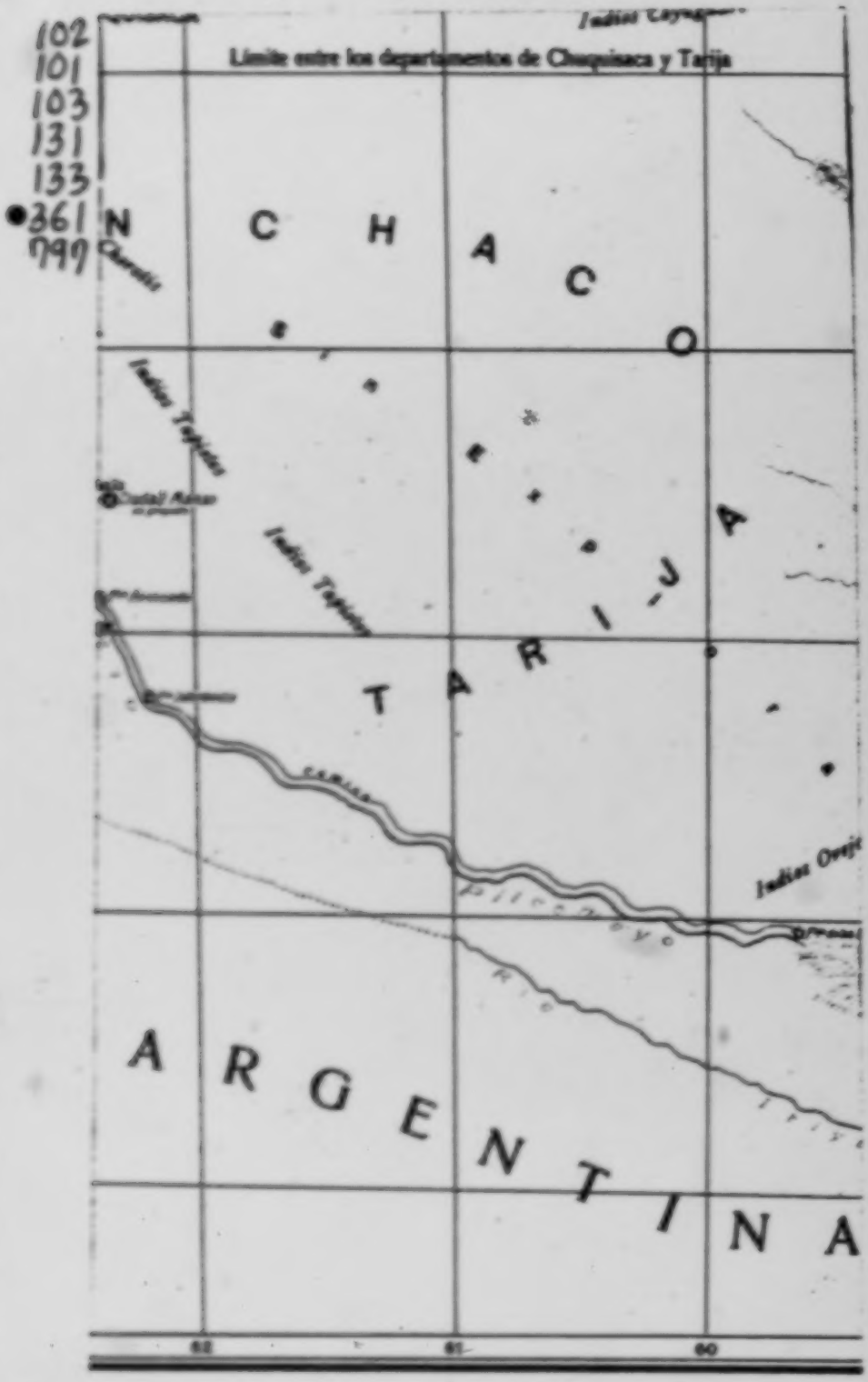
Like all the other Indians whom I visited south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, these Indians live in villages. Some of these villages are quite large and inhabited by several hundred persons. Often many villages lie close together. The huts, as a rule, lie around a market place on which sweetmoy trees are occasionally planted for shelter in the rainy season. The market places serve as playgrounds and meeting places. The huts, in contrast to the round Chiriguano and Ashluslay huts, are square, and their doors, facing the village, are set in the gable. They are made of cane or wooden slats, with roofs of grass. Not infrequently they are plastered with earth.

4: Nino-450 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chirigsano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
1997

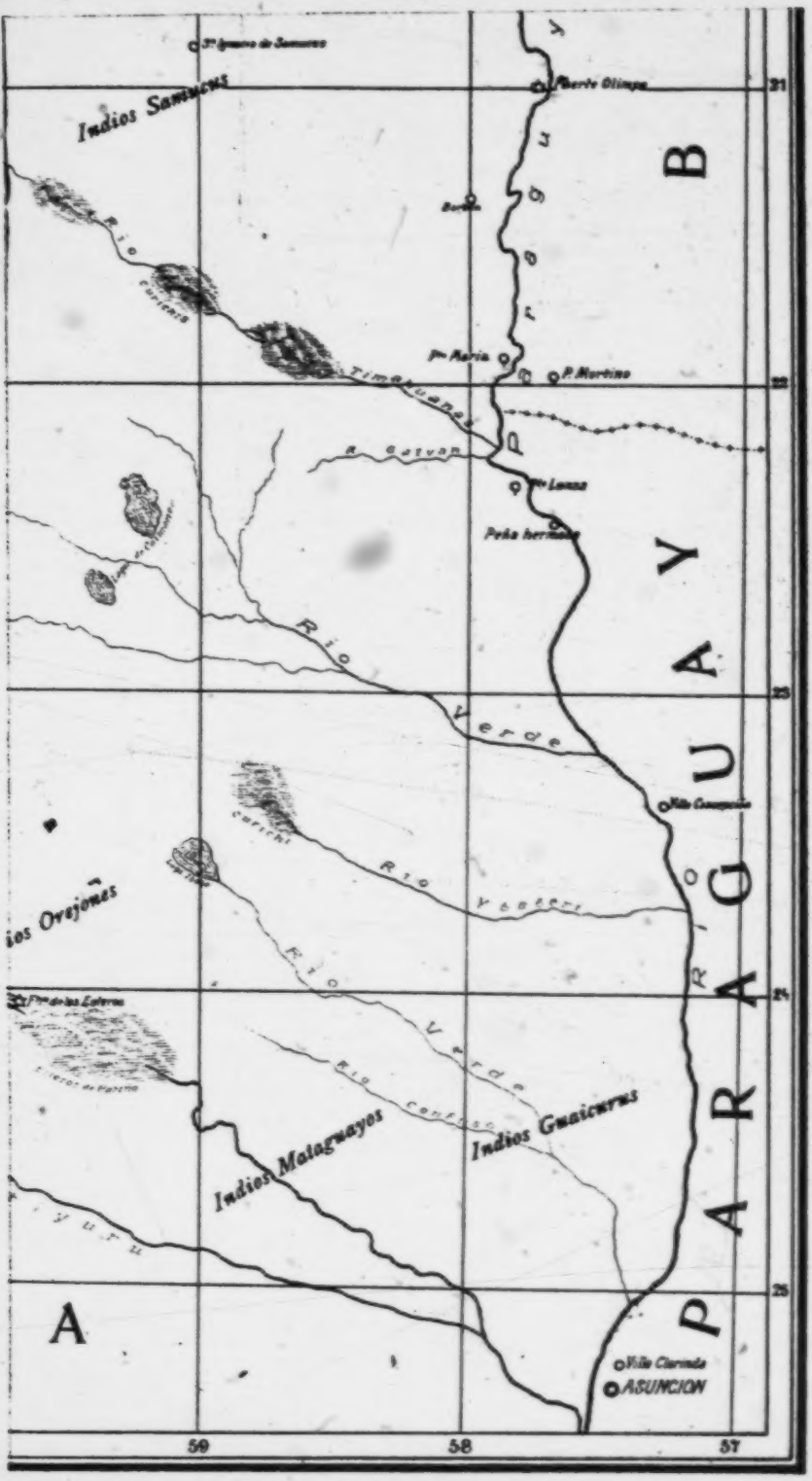


4: Nimo--451 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10



4: Nino--452 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
●361
797


Indios Samucus
Río Corrientes
Timoteo
R. Galvan
Río Verde
Río Verde
Río Verde

/173 cont./ C Ce

Under the influence of the whites, however, the Chané and Chiriguano are gradually changing their huts, and many Indians are already building huts that are identical with theirs. 342 177

No hut here has its original Indian form. The genuine Chiriguano huts (the original Chané huts are not known) were very large; up to 100 persons lived in one house, and the entire /174/ village consisted of only a few large huts (1). These C 342 178 [361 592 171]

1. Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. -- Tucuman y Perú -- 1596. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Madrid, 1885. Vol. II. Page CIV. C [113]

evidently correspond to the large family houses well known in Brazil, which I saw in Bolivia only among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe from Lago Rojo-Aguado.

Even in Viedma's (2) time, at the end of the eighteenth

2. Viedma: loc. cit.

century, /Fig. 83 appears here/ however, they seem to have given up the original type of house and built smaller huts. C Ce

In many villages there belongs to each hut one or more maize granaries (Fig. 84a), in which maize, gourds, etc. are /175/ stored. These granaries are built on piles and are perhaps a reminder of the time when the Chiriguano and Chané lived in swampy regions. To each granary there belongs, as a rule, a ladder (Fig. 84b). Sometimes the granaries and the dwellings are built together into one house. /Fig. 84a appears here./ I saw such huts in the vicinity of Machareti and at Yatavéri, not far from Ivu. Not infrequently the granaries stand in the fields, far from the dwellings. 343 Ee [361 174] C Ce 342 343

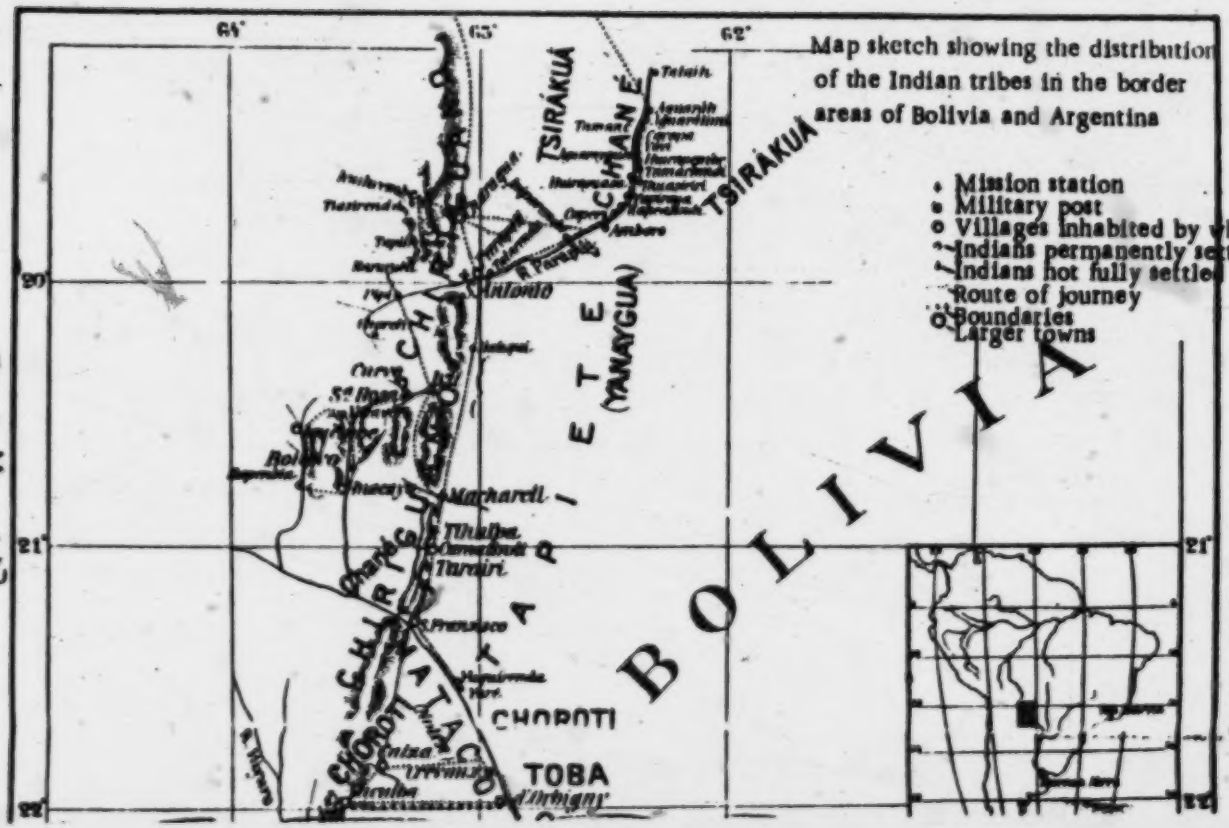
These villages are neat and clean. Huts and market place are swept daily and the refuse is burned. C Ce 364

The space in the huts is not too cramped. /176/ In each house, as a rule, there lives only one family, which, aside from the rest of the family members, sometimes consists of the husbands Ee 592

C
Ce
102
103
131
133
361
M
C1
102
131
133

6: Nordenskiöld--156 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF/0

Matraco IT 7
Chorotí, Sk6
Chane SF1


64°
63°
62°
20°
21°
22°
BOLIVIA
TSIRÁKUÁ
CHANÉ
TSIRÁKUÁ
(YANAYGUA)
CHIRIGUANO
CHARAGUA
CHIRIGUANO
CHARAGUA
CHAPACURA
CHAPACURA
CHAPACUR

E: Nordenskiöld--157 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Matacos SF7
Chorotis SK6
Chaqué SF8

End Map (B)

[P. 190 is blank]

142 To me, the Chiriguano seemed to be of better physique than both the Puna and the Chaco Indians, and their cast of features, as a rule, to be less rough-hewn than those of the above-mentioned tribes. Herma ten Kate has taken anthropological measurements of four Chiriguano men, whose average height was determined at 160.1 cm.[1] Lehmann-Nitsche, who has made anthropological observations of 50 Chiriguano (40 men and 10 women), is my authority for the data I have grouped together in the subjoined table.[2]

[141] [127]

The Chiriguano; some physical data.

Sex	Average height, cm	Shape of skull	Colour of skin, Luschan's scale	Colour of hair, Fischer's scale	Iris, by Martin's scale
Men.....	163.4	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 22	Majority 4	Majority 3—4
Women.....	151.7	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 18	Majority 4	Majority 3—4

142 The Chiriguano complexion is, accordingly, brown with a tint of yellow; the iris is dark brown, the hair black, coarse and lank. The growth of hair on face and body is very scanty.

●361 The Chiriguano are not a nomadic people, but live in permanent villages, some of which are the abode of only a few families, whilst others contain several hundreds of inhabitants. At Ibitibi I was studying a Chiriguano village that, according to the Indians, was inhabited by about 300 people. This village was situated on a plain surrounded by wooded mountains (fig. 188). The huts formed a large circle, with the chief's hut in the centre. In the open space between the chief's hut and the rest, there were growing some close-foliaged trees (probably of the Bignoniaceæ family), affording much-needed shade. In earlier literature it is stated that the Chiriguano used to build a hut for strangers in the middle of the village plaza.[3] In many of the Chiriguano villages I visited, the huts were scattered about without any perceivable order.

[114] [574] [609]

342 The huts are rectangular and with ridged roofs. (Figs. 188—192.) The walls either consist of perpendicular sticks, of tree-branches or reeds,

[1] Ten Kate (1), p. 26.
[2] Lehmann-Nitsche (1).
[3] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 2.

342
142
291
302
352
273

Fig. 190. Woman in front of her hut. In the foreground a bedstead on which lies chewed maize; this maize is used in the preparation of »chicha», an intoxicating beverage. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

342
361
417

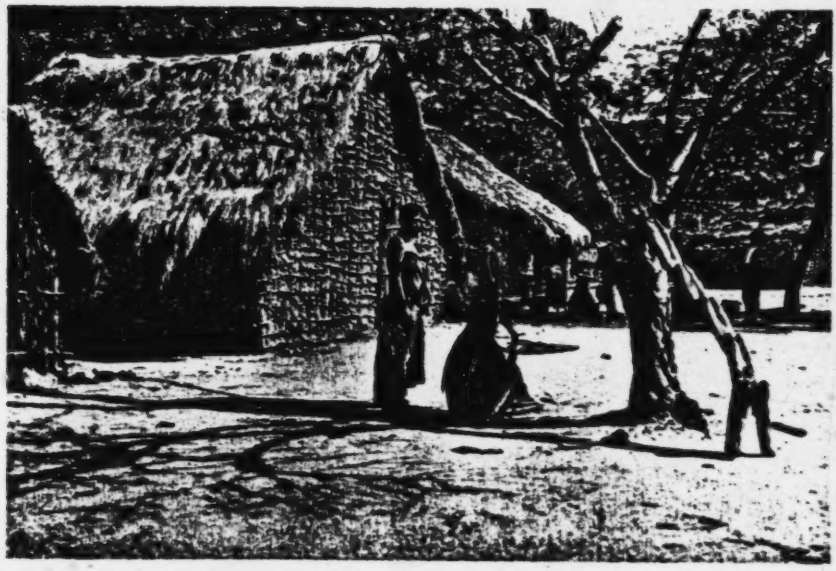


Fig. 191. Huts in the periphery of the circular market-place in the Chiriguano village of Ibitibi. In right foreground, a ladder used on going to the pile-barns for maize. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[P. 194 is blank]

174 342 or a district threatened with flooding through rainfall or the flowing in [114] of the oceanic tide. In my opinion, however, this has usually not been the case.

342 According to my thinking, it is the fear of predatory animals that has 343 given rise to the pile-construction idea. Those granaries built on pole- 825 supports, that are so commonly met with in widely different countries, 174 have, we know, as a rule been constructed for the express purpose of furnishing protection against noxious animals, such as lesser carnivora, [171] rodents and insects. As an example, the »njalla» of the Lapps is built

● 361 342 343

Fig. 192. Part of a Chiriguano village. To the right a pile-barn. Ibitibi. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

342 as a protection against wolverines[1], and many of the native tribes of 343 Africa erect their food depositories, or grain bins, on pole-supports to 825 make them safe against mice and white ants.[2] Both the Balenge people, 171 who inhabit a fairly arid country, and the Babisa, who live on the edge 174 of the Bangweolo swamp, build their corn bins on piles.[3] As the Babisa often build their huts on a platform of beaten clay[4] (not piles, it will be noted) as a protection against the annual heavy floodings of the rainy season, this will naturally give rise to the supposition that the Babisa

[1] von Duben (1), p. 35.
[2] von Rosen (4), pp. 411—412.
[3] von Rosen (4), pp. 332, 349 (fig. A), and 411—412.
[4] von Rosen (4), p. 319 and plate 67 (figs. C and D), also plate 68, fig. D.

[P. 196 is blank]

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

534 171 174 114

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

361 622

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

582 595 881 [304] [301] 585 574 844 846

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

/1/ Introduction

C 114 Knowing only the native tribes of Mato Grosso (Brazil) personally through my previous scientific travels, I accepted with much pleasure the proposal of the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay to visit the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco, and as the idea was fully supported by the Comando del Chaco, I render thanks to the Sociedad Cientifico del Paraguay for its support, to the Jefe of the Comando del Chaco Paraguayo, the section leaders, and all the others who co-operated in my expedition. I particularly thank His Most Reverend Excellency, the Archbishop of Asunción, Don Juan Sinforiano Bogarin, for the presentations which he made in my behalf before the Oblates of Immaculate Mary, whose mission is located close to the fort Esteros near the Pilcomayo River.

C Ce 114 Ce [131] I set out from Asunción on August 7, 1935, and, passing the fort López de Filippis (Paraguayan Chaco), on August 15 I arrived at the fort of Toledo, where I found a great number of Izozó Indians, who had left their homes in the Parapití Valley because they had been provisionally relocated to the area of Toledo and of the fort "15 de Agosto" /15th of August/.

Ce 114 122 648 C 114 In addition to my ethnological studies and preparations for the coming journey, I attended to the commission of the Paraguayan Red Cross to deliver clothing, goods, and wool among the Izozó Indians, who at the time were in great need. Provided by the Chaco Command at the fort of López de Filippis with two trucks, drivers and helpers, and the necessary provisions, I continued my journey on August 26, heading toward the Pilcomayo River. Beyond Corrales we met the first Indians: they were the Churupí /Chulupi/. In Moreno too, which we reached in the afternoon, almost at nightfall, there were some Churupí who had moved from Muños to this place. On August 27 I arrived at the mission of the Oblates of Immaculate Mary near the fort of Esteros, where these fathers received me in the most friendly manner and provided their most extensive assistance to my studies of the Churupí Indians who were domiciled in or near the mission. They gave me a large ethnological collection of objects of the Churupí Indians, which they presented to the Museo de Historia y Etnographia of The Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay.

C A 114 [361] C 114 A 114 797 A [126]

C 114 /2 cont./ outside of the Toba, whom I met only in passing, I got to know on this journey the Chiriguano C Ce [197] and the Izozó, who, like the former, speak a dialect of the Guaraní language; the Tapieté, Churupí, Mataco, and Chorote. All of these Indian tribes are not unknown in ethnological literature. C 175 114 797 On Chiriguano history we are oriented through old documents from even the first years of the Spanish conquest, and we owe to the Franciscan missionaries, who have taught among them for a long time, quite important A 114 101 ethnological publications. The Churupí have been studied minutely under the name Ashluslay by Erland Nordenskiöld, and the Oblates of Immaculate Mary in Esteros and Lake Escalante are striving intensively to make ethnological investigations. C 121 I have proposed to deal with all of these tribes systematically. This survey will be made on the basis of the results of my journey, and I begin in this first publication with the Chiriguano and Izozó.

General Information

C Ce 174 361 As I said in the introduction to this work, I first met the Chiriguano in Machareti and the Izozó in the area around the fort of Toledo and in the fort "15 de Agosto," several kilometers from the former two.

C 361 [632] [797] Figure 1 presents a view of Machareti, a Chiriguano town created in its present form by the Franciscan mission. When the Paraguayan army retook Machareti, it had already been abandoned by the Padres, and now a Chiriguano, in the role of commissioner /comisario/, is the chief of the town, there C [342] [363] also being a few caciques. The houses, more or less in the form of modern ranchos (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 /see p.40 /), are on both sides of wide streets which run parallel and at right C [731] angles, as in most of the towns of the former Spanish colonies. When I was present in Machareti, there was great need /3/ among these Indians because of the severe drought which had ruined their plantings, which were some distance from the C [342] town. At the side of the ranchos are often found deposits which were structures of native houses built on sticks. Although

1 [See P. 8 -- Analyst]

8: Schmidt--8 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate I

C
361
133

Fig. 1
(I. C. 353) -- Machareti, a Chiriguano town.

Ce
291
142
114

Fig. 2
(I.C. 251) -- Izozó in Toledo, with Paraguayan soldiers and the author.

/14 cont./

131 without our having any information on their stopping place. Some Chorote live in the territory of the Chiriguano, near [563] Yacuiba, and also, without counting the missions, the whole [797] territory has been penetrated by whites and mestizos.

131 174 According to these data given by Nordenskiöld, the territory of the Chiriguano, after their definitive subjection by the whites and up to the present time, has remained the same as that which they had at the time of their independence, except, it would seem, that they have come down more into the valleys and do not now live, as was stated in the 16th century documents, on top of the inaccessible mountains, which, as natural fortresses, offered them a secure refuge during their expeditions.

Towns and Houses

● 361 177 The arrangement of the towns and the form of the houses of the Chiriguano are not at the present time the primordial ones, and they have probably passed through two different transformations, one after the other, first under the influence of the architecture of Inca culture and later the architecture of the whites. /15/ According to the Annua de la Compañia de Jesús Tucumán and Peru, of the year 1596, the Chiriguano towns were composed of only a few houses that were large enough to house as many as 100 persons. In his "Descripción breve de toda la 361 tierra del Perú, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata y Chile /A Brief 344 Description of all the Land of Peru, Tucumán, Río de la Plata, 62 and Chile/," Father Lizarraga (56) describes the Chiriguano [113]

56. Madrid, 1909. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 15. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

towns in the following way: "The largest of the towns is one of five houses: the common number is three; but they are very long, more than 150 paces, with a two-sloped roof with posts in the middle, upon which the framework is constructed, and one kin group /parentela/ lives between one post and the next one."

/15 cont./

360 next one." Garcilaso de la Vega (57) describes the large houses
342

57. Vol. II, p. 281. According to Métraux I, p. 331.

of the Chiriguano in the same way: they build a very large dormitory, and inside as many alcoves as there are residents, and so small that there is no room for anything but persons. Through detailed descriptions and sketches, we are familiar with the construction of the towns of the ancient Guaraní of the Tupinambas on the eastern coast of Brazil (58). Four or

361 342 171 712

[113]

58. According to De Bry. Métraux, A.: La civilisation matérielle des tribus Tupí-Guarani /The Material Culture of the Tupi-Guarani Tribes/. Paris, 1928.

five long, rectangular houses were built a short distance from one another around a quadrangular or pentagonal plaza, and the whole town was fortified by a defensive wall. We also know that the ancient towns of the Chiriguano had such defensive constructions through information from the year 1618, when Ruiz Diaz de Guzman found such a fortification of a Chiriguano town near the Pilcomayo River, which consisted of "two concentric walls of stone and of wood" (59). According

361 712

361 342 171

59. Moreno II, p. 252.

to Serrano (60), the Guaraní towns of the ancient Province of

[113]

60. Antonio Serrano: Etnografía de la antigua provincia del Uruguay /Etnography of the Ancient Province of Uruguay/, Paraná, 1936, p. 125 /the second number of this figure is questionable, being barely discernible in the original text/.

Uruguay consisted of only four to eight large rectangular houses.

/15 cont./

342 171 "In 1627 the Jesuits found near Yapeyú a Guaraní aldea with four houses in which some 100 Indians lived. They found identical dwellings in San Ignacio and nearby regions. These houses were quadrangular and extremely long, often in excess of 50 meters."

● 361 177 178 Even during the time of their independence the Chiriguano had departed from the primordial construction of their towns, which had served in the first place for defense, since at the end of the 18th century Viedma describes their houses as "a few small ranchos made of cane" (61).

[113] 61. Viedma, Francisco de: Descripción de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra /Description of the Province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra/, Colección Angelis, Vol. 3, Buenos Aires, 1836, written 1793, p. 181. Cited by Nordenskiöld.

000 Photographs of Chiriguano Towns (ténta) and Houses (o)

I.C. 353. Chiriguano town, Machareti (Fig. 1).
I.C. 355. Scene in the town of Machareti (Fig. 17).
I.C. 356. Chiriguano in front of their house in Machareti (Fig. 14).
I.C. 357. Chiriguano storehouse in Machareti (Fig. 16).
I.C. 358. Chiriguano boys in front of their rancho in Machareti (Fig. 15).

361 [199] [363] [199] The Chiriguano town of Machareti was built in its present form by Franciscan missionaries, with wide, parallel, and right-angled streets, following the common form of old Spanish colonies, since their construction is not a product of the indigenous Chiriguano culture. But in parts, the houses and [343] primarily the maize storehouses built on posts, correspond to the houses of other Chiriguano towns, on which we have information from Erland Nordenskiöld and Eric v. Rosen (62).

62. Nord. 1, pp. 173, 176. Nord. 2, pp. 1-3. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 191 and 192, Figs. 188-192.

/16/

•36 62 162 The town Ibitibi in the southern part of Chiriguano territory, south of the Pilcomayo River, examined minutely by Eric v. Rosen, was inhabited, according to the Indians, by about 300 persons. The town was located on a plain surrounded by mountains and forests. The houses formed a large circumference, the cacique's house being in the middle. Some shade trees had been planted in the open plaza between the cacique's house and the other houses. In other Chiriguano towns visited by v. Rosen, houses were dispersed without any order. According to the observations of v. Nordenskiöld too, Chiriguano towns are sometimes quite large and inhabited by around 100 persons. Often several towns are near one another. The houses are generally around a plaza sometimes planted with trees and serving as a place to play and to hold meetings.

342 We know the form of the Chiriguano houses in detail through v. Rosen (63), and primarily through the good photo-

63. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 191; Figs. 188-192 and 217.

[335] graphs of such houses. The houses are rectangular and their roofs end in points. Walls and roofs are held up by posts. The walls consist either of only vertical poles made from branches or reeds, close together and tied by horizontal ligatures, or of interwoven poles whose interstices are plastered with mud. The roof (opitiá) is covered with straw. One type of house was illustrated in a photograph by v. Rosen (64), on which one

64. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 190.

side of the roof projects at the top over the other side of the [171] roof. The same house type also exists in the ancient culture of the Peruvians, as is shown by sketches found on the surface of ancient Peruvian vessels.

/38 cont./

Because the ancient Peruvians raised various breeds of dogs, we can assume that the Chiriguano received the dog as a domestic animal from the ancient Peruvians. We can assume the same with regard to the duck, which was also raised by the ancient Peruvians. Therefore I do not include the duck among the domestic animals that these Indians received from the whites, as Nordenskiöld does. We do not know whether the Chiriguano in times past might have raised the llama. From the fact that guanacos exist in the territory located between the Parapití and the Río Grande, we can deduce that the raising of that other species of Euchenia might have been possible in that country.

The Chiriguano very early received such European domestic animals as the horse, the ass, the cow, sheep, goats, hogs, and chickens, which they captured in great quantities in their continual raids on the Spanish settlers. In 16th century documents there are repeated complaints about the extensive stealing of livestock by these Indians. Today the Chiriguano and Chané do not have many horses, and they have never had the /39/ pronounced character of a nation of horsemen. The true weapons of war were formerly a long bow and arrows which were also long, which cannot be used by a mounted horseman, in addition to which their homes were formerly in the hills in regions which the Spaniards could not enter on horseback. In certain parts of their territory the raising of cattle has some importance (181). More general is the raising of sheep, pigs,

181. See Métraux I, p. 340.

and chickens. Today one sometimes also finds among them guinea hens and turkeys (182).

182. Nord. 1, p. 137.

/87 cont./

C 462 rope, making nets, plaiting mats and baskets, leatherwork, the manufacture of weapons, the decoration of cuyas and calabashes, and the building of houses. Only the following work is apportioned to women: carrying water, cooking, making fermented beverages, gathering fruits and roots, ceramics, making hammocks, spinning, and plaiting bands. The following work is apportioned to both C [462] sexes: fishing, with the difference that the women catch small fish in shallow water, while the men fish in deep water, planting and harvesting, cooking -- attributed in the preceding to the women -- in that men at times participate in the preparation of game, fetching firewood, which on most occasions is men's work, but among the Chané on the Parapití River women's as well, the raising of domestic animals, sewing and weaving, in that in some regions men also weave, although in general weaving is C 857 women's work. Children also participate, depending on their sex, 868 in the respective work of their parents, particularly in the 462 harvest (336) /there is no footnote bearing this number/, and in this way seeing and imitating, they learn from a very early age the work that they must do in later life.

I have already mentioned in the chapter on towns and houses C 361 that Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of only a few 592 houses, each of them inhabited by up to 100 persons. Today, as C a general rule, only one family lives in each house, but often 178 together with the husbands of the daughters, who live for a time 592 before the nuptials and also during the first part of the marriage 583 in the house of the mother-in-law (337). The Chiriguano clears [591]

337. Nord. I, p. 178.

a piece of ground for his daughter, one which the son-in-law can work, doing the planting and harvesting (338).

338. Métraux I, p. 345.

/178 cont./

372 [773] children who had been saved from the Iporu, deluge of water, he also taught them the way never to lose it, by rubbing pieces of wood together forcefully.

224 372 The Chiriguano is quite a hunter, and no wild animal or bird escapes from his eye and hand. On these hunting trips he often needs fire. If he is very far from town and prepares to sleep alone in the forest or in open country, he lights his fire in the way just described, in order to have its company, to keep away the jaguar and the demon, and to light his cigar and prepare his roast.

Work

Cleanliness

356 [362] Many will perhaps come to the conclusion that Chiriguano houses, poorly built and worse maintained because of the continual fire which gives off smoke and ash, are very dirty, without cleanliness or neatness, but nothing is more incorrect. The [515] [302] Indian despite his savagery is clean, and especially for cleanness he pulls out his facial and body hair, bathes daily, and combs his hair often, getting rid of the little animals which might be in his thick hair. The Cuña, or Chiriguano woman, constantly thinks of the cleanliness of her house, gallery, and the ground in front, up to four meters in length and width (2).

[362] 2. All can see that some Chiriguanos, out of laziness, live in their own very old and dilapidated houses, open to the sun, wind, rain, and dust; in others that have a new roof, walls are lacking, thus exposing them to getting pneumonia, but there is no lack of cleanliness in any of them.

/303 cont./

362 356 797 What the Chiriguano thinks least about is his house; it is very hard to find one who makes a comfortable one. If he does begin to build one, he is a long time finishing it, if indeed he ever does, and if it falls into ruins, he bothers little about repairs; when it rains, the house fills up with water and becomes a mud-hole, but he and the family are there sleeping and snoring like dormice. To make them renovate their villages, it is almost always necessary to threaten them and promise punishment and at times apply it, so that what happened in the fable of the toads will not occur.

461 293 The Indian is always ready to drink; if for this it is necessary to pile up firewood and carry it from great distances, no one shirks; everyone shakes off his natural laziness with great enthusiasm. Both men and women then become quite active for ten days or two weeks, in order then to drink for six days or more, during which their faces become repugnant, both because of the cosmetics with which they think they beautify themselves and because of their state of half or total drunkenness. Then they talk of many things, and then finally some of them remember about collecting from others, and quarrels arise from this, and to stop these and also to put an end to the idleness the missionary must firmly intervene. If the Indians had a good crop of maize and the drinking bout were prohibited entirely or in part they would organize them in the fields where they plant, and then worse things would happen.

797 293 Chicha by itself does not cause much damage in their stomachs, and they easily bear up for several days without more than a half-inebriation; the bad thing now is a scandalously widespread abuse of alcohol, which very soon intoxicates them until they are senseless and do not even know that they are alive. The missionary is vigilant in his enforcement of the rules, but it seems that they are members of a secret sect, and they tell him only when it is all over, or when they wish to avenge some grievance.

C 114 /2 cont./ outside of the Toba, whom I met only in passing. I got to know on this journey the Chiriguano C Ce [197] and the Izozó, who, like the former, speak a dialect of the Guaraní language; the Tapieté, Churupí, Mataco, and Chorote. All of these Indian tribes are not unknown in ethnological literature. On Chiriguano history we are oriented C 175 through old documents from even the first years of the Spanish 114 conquest, and we owe to the Franciscan missionaries, who 797 have taught among them for a long time, quite important A ethnological publications. The Churupí have been studied 114 minutely under the name Ashluslay by Erland Nordenskiöld, 101 and the Oblates of Immaculate Mary in Esteros and Lake Escalante are striving intensively to make ethnological investigations. I have proposed to deal with all of these tribes C 121 systematically. This survey will be made on the basis of the results of my journey, and I begin in this first publication with the Chiriguano and Izozó.

General Information

C Ce 174 361 As I said in the introduction to this work, I first met the Chiriguano in Machareti and the Izozó in the area around the fort of Toledo and in the fort "15 de Agosto," several kilometers from the former two.

C 361 Figure 1[1] presents a view of Machareti, a Chiriguano town [632] created in its present form by the Franciscan mission. When [797] the Paraguayan army retook Machareti, it had already been abandoned by the Padres, and now a Chiriguano, in the role of commissioner /comisario/, is the chief of the town, there C [342] also being a few caciques. The houses, more or less in the [363] form of modern ranchos (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 /see p.40 /), are on both sides of wide streets which run parallel and at right C angles, as in most of the towns of the former Spanish colonies. [731] When I was present in Machareti, there was great need /3/ among these Indians because of the severe drought which had ruined their plantings, which were some distance from the C [342] town. At the side of the ranchos are often found deposits which 000 were structures of native houses built on sticks. Although

[1] [See P. 8 -- Analyst]

/15 cont./

342 171 "In 1627 the Jesuits found near Yapeyú a Guaraní aldea with four houses in which some 100 Indians lived. They found identical dwellings in San Ignacio and nearby regions. These houses were quadrangular and extremely long, often in excess of 50 meters."

361 177 178 Even during the time of their independence the Chiriguano had departed from the primordial construction of their towns, which had served in the first place for defense, since at the end of the 18th century Viedma describes their houses as "a few small ranchos made of cane" (61).

[113] 61. Viedma, Francisco de: Descripción de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra /Description of the Province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra/, Colección Angelis, Vol. 3, Buenos Aires, 1836, written 1793, p. 181. Cited by Nordenskiöld.

000 Photographs of Chiriguano Towns (ténta) and Houses (o)

I.C. 353. Chiriguano town, Machareti (Fig. 1).
I.C. 355. Scene in the town of Machareti (Fig. 17).
I.C. 356. Chiriguano in front of their house in Machareti (Fig. 14).
I.C. 357. Chiriguano storehouse in Machareti (Fig. 16).
I.C. 358. Chiriguano boys in front of their rancho in Machareti (Fig. 15).

361 [197] [363] [177] [343] The Chiriguano town of Machareti was built in its present form by Franciscan missionaries, with wide, parallel, and right-angled streets, following the common form of old Spanish colonies, since their construction is not a product of the indigenous Chiriguano culture. But in parts, the houses and primarily the maize storehouses built on posts, correspond to the houses of other Chiriguano towns, on which we have information from Erland Nordenskiöld and Eric v. Rosen (62).

62. Nord. 1, pp. 173, 176. Nord. 2, pp. 1-3. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 191 and 192, Figs. 188-192.

/173 cont./

Under the influence of the whites, however, the Chané and Chiriguano are gradually changing their huts, and many Indians are already building huts that are identical with theirs.

No hut here has its original Indian form. The genuine Chiriguano huts (the original Chané huts are not known) were very large; up to 100 persons lived in one house, and the entire /174/ village consisted of only a few large huts (1). These

1. Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. -- Tucuman y Perú -- 1596. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Madrid, 1885. Vol. II. Page CIV.

evidently correspond to the large family houses well known in Brazil, which I saw in Bolivia only among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe from Lago Rojo-Aguado.

Even in Viedma's (2) time, at the end of the eighteenth

2. Viedma: loc. cit.

century, /Fig. 83 appears here/ however, they seem to have given up the original type of house and built smaller huts.

In many villages there belongs to each hut one or more maize granaries (Fig. 84a), in which maize, gourds, etc. are /175/ stored. These granaries are built on piles and are perhaps a reminder of the time when the Chiriguano and Chané lived in swampy regions. To each granary there belongs, as a rule, a ladder (Fig. 84b). Sometimes the granaries and the dwellings are built together into one house. /Fig. 84a appears here./ I saw such huts in the vicinity of Machareti and at Yatavéri, not far from Ivu. Not infrequently the granaries stand in the fields, far from the dwellings.

These villages are neat and clean. Huts and market place are swept daily and the refuse is burned.

The space in the huts is not too cramped. /176/ In each house, as a rule, there lives only one family, which, aside from the rest of the family members, sometimes consists of the husbands

/352 cont./

C 252 The fish begins by being opened and cleaned and only then is it boiled or roasted. In this last case it is inserted between the two branches of a switch split for three quarters of its length (Fig. 22). So that the latter does not open completely, the lower part is fastened securely with bands of bark, and so that the fish does not fall out once it is inserted in the interstice, the upper part. Among their ancestors, the Guarani, G [252] such a spit would have been superfluous, because to grill the product of their fishing or hunting they used to construct C [251] [262] buccans. Our Chiriguano also eat fish dried in the sun and enjoy it in this form combined with some corn dish.

/353/

Chapter IV

Cooking

Fire

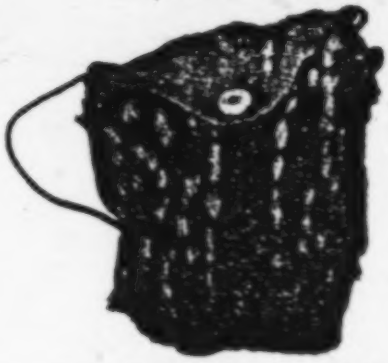
C 372 177 The modern Chiriguano more and more use matches of Bolivian make, but their poor quality has contributed to maintaining the popularity of the tinderbox. That of the Chiriguano, borrowed recently from the white men, is composed of a flint and a piece of iron with which they make sparks fly, which fall on a little wild cotton (the one which the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) produces). This tow (tata rimbiuna) is kept in a small receptacle made from the end of a cow horn or an armadillo tail. /Figs. 23 and 24 appear here./ It is hermetically sealed by a wooden disk, which a small cord passing inside the capsule and coming out through a hole at the tip of the horn or tail allows to be put *back in place with a single motion. This ingenious contrivance* is not, however, of Indian invention; I saw it adapted to the tinderboxes of the creoles in the Argentine Republic. Some C [415] [281] Chiriguano make cloth wicks which at first sight would seem to have been produced in one of our factories. The tinderbox with its accessories is carefully kept in small bags of deerskin, wildcat, iguana, etc. (Figs. 23 and 24).

/353 cont./

372 [171] In former times the Chiriguano made fire exactly like all the Indians of South America, by rubbing two sticks one against /354/ each other. One of my friends from Carurutí reconstructed one of these devices for me in the hope of surprising me and getting a good price for it. He took two sticks of tata iwira, or fire wood (1), cut one of them lengthwise

[824] 1. According to Father D. Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 91), the Chiriguano might use, for obtaining fire by rotation, sticks made from the wood of a red liana whose

415 281 372 ←



415 281 →

Fig. 23. Small deerskin bag in which a Chiriguano used to carry a tinderbox and its accessories. Prov.: Pípi. (1/3 nat. size.)

Fig. 24. Puma paw (yagua-pintaipo) made into a bag. Prov.: Saladito. (1/4 nat. size.)

372 [824] flower has five yellow petals with a red spot on one of them. The Chiriguano name for this plant is isipo-pinta.

and provided one of its sides with two cups along which he contrived a perpendicular groove. These two little furrows were intended to conduct the glowing sawdust onto the tinder placed on the ground. /Fig. 25 appears here./ The other stick was slightly sharpened to allow it to go into the cups. Since this

/354 cont./

372 small stick was too short to be handled with ease, he fastened it securely to another stick by means of vegetable fibers (embira) (Fig. 25). This done, he sat down on the ground, pressing the soles of his feet on the small cupped stick, and imparted with the palms of the hands a rotating movement to the other stick. The glowing sawdust which was detached by the effect of the friction fell on dried dung placed near the gadget to serve as tinder, which, at the end of a rather short time, began to catch fire.

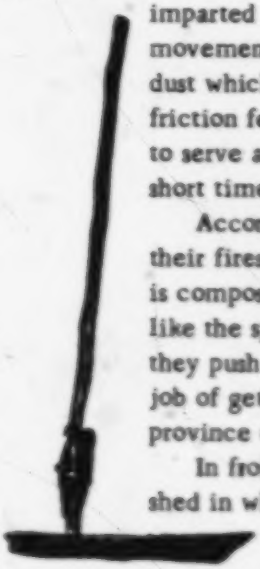
354

According to the season, the Chiriguano light their fires inside the hut or outside. The hearth is composed of long branches which they lay out like the spokes of a wheel. As the ends burn, they push them closer to the central fire. The job of getting the dead wood falls within the province of the men (Fig. 26).

[462] [313]

343

In front of the huts they often erect a little shed in which the women do the cooking. The



[372] Fig. 25. Ancient apparatus for making fire, reconstructed by a modern Chiriguano. Prov.: Cururuti. (1/6 nat. size.)

roof of this shelter serves as a shelf for putting provisions and utensils on.

Preparation of Food

262 The modern Chiriguano do not seem to observe any food prohibitions, at least in daily life, for the custom of fasting, for women at the time of puberty and for men upon the birth of a child, is not yet lost. In olden days certain animals /355/ were taboo (1). The men of a few villages thus reserved for themselves

[789] [825]

[775]

1. In order not to kill one of their dead relatives transformed into a fox, the Chiriguano

/355 cont./

142
291
351
372

Fig. 26. Chiriguano woman lighting a fire. Upper Pilcomayo. (Photo. A. M.)

262
[175] do not hunt nor eat this animal (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 3).

[156] Medicine men cannot under any circumstances eat pimento. If a man refuses to taste this condiment, one can be sure he is a magician (Id., p. 184).

[165] Grilled corn is strictly forbidden for persons in mourning, whose tears would dry up if they ate this dish.

[125] the exclusive right to eat deer meat, which thus instilled in them
[169] the agility and suppleness of this animal. Women could eat, without

/460 cont./

Fans or Fire-blowers

C 372 184 [171] Great was my surprise when upon arriving in the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo region I found fire fans identical with those of the Indians of Brazil and the Guianas. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 56) barely mentions them and insists on their rarity. The fact is explained by the absence of this cultural element in all the rest of the zone inhabited by the Chiriguano. In most of the villages they use old hats or fragments of baskets to fan the fire.

C 372 285 Plate LXXXV.[1] Length, 28.5 centimeters; width, 31 centimeters. Provenance: Saladito.

The making of these fans is rather simple. The leaves composing them cross in a rhythm of two. On the edge the stalks have been bent back and, passing again across the fabric, are interlaced to form a pucker on each side. The free ends /Plates LXXXIII-LXXXV appear here/ /461/ have been plaited on top and one part passed into a split stick forming the handle (Fig. 117).

C [171] C [824] An important remark must be made on the subject of these fans. They /Fig. 117 appears here/ differ little from the fans made of a single pinnate palm leaf, such as are found in Brazil and Paraguay. The Chiriguano, having no palm trees of this species in their new homeland, had to /Fig. 118 appears here/ adopt the palmate leaves of the karandaí. They replaced the petiole, which forms the handle, with the split stick to which I have alluded. (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 106 and 107, pp. 219-220.)

C 285 353 797 [824] /462/

"Flowers"

On feast days the Chiriguano of the Franciscan missions decorate the church with artificial "flowers" which they make from leaves of karandaí palms. These decorations are of ancient origin and derive directly from the straw amusements /jeux/ still made by the Indians in various /Fig. 119 appears here/ regions of America, notably in the Guianas. The natives of the latter region often hang them in their houses where they perhaps

G 285 353 [1] [See p. 322 -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 324]

1: Métraux--322 E-5 (1929) 1939 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
285
• 392

Plate LXXXV

Fan or fire-blower of plaited palm leaves. Prov.: Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (1/3 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--323 E-5 (1979) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guiana SR1

C
285
372

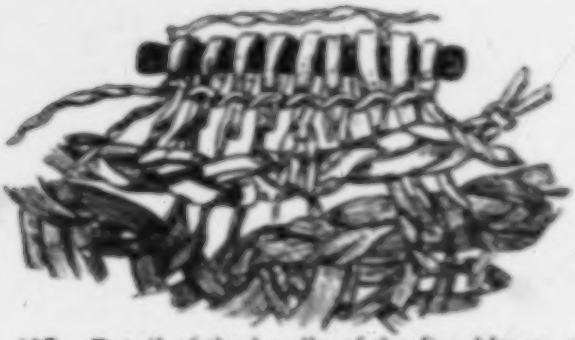


Fig. 117. Detail of the handle of the fire-blower of Plate LXXXV.

C
G
285
353
778

Fig. 118. "Flower," ornament made of plaited palm leaves, which the Chiriguano have blessed and with which they decorate their huts. The technique of this object is very ancient and is found also in Guiana. (1/4 nat. size.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

Chiriguano chiefs (*mburubicha*) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (*tubicha ruhicha*) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

824 /16 cont./
139
[114] I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it through experience and careful reading; when describing certain plants, I shall also make note of the use made of the bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall, straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood borer does not damage it; it is much used here in the construction of upper roofs, especially for the braches or trusses on which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its
[342] wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less
[492] value; it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows, but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to
[296] make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears
[515] and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the face free of blemishes; here it is known by the name "timboy."

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. moniliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which reason drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it.
[372] It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatane," fire that smells; the wood is yellow.

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of trees of this class here and there; it is the most abundant tree,
[342] the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does
[281] not eat it; the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites; the latter call it sebil and the former "Curupau."

245 ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in
137 fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters,
324 its leaves are dark green; it produces abundant fruit in a sort of pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds, which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They
[302] serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces
[303]
[439]

/135 cont./

000 Revelation teaches us that legions of angels were lost because of an error or the grave sin of pride and passed into the category /136/ of the condemned or demons. Faith, reason, and common sense teach us that perverse men who die in their perversity are separated from good ones, as evil-doers are separated in this world by being imprisoned in jails. Divine justice demands punishment for the perverse, who, like condemned persons, pass into the category of lost spirits and as semblance of the demons. God allowing this, and they can appear to those of us who live here in the world to detain us along the way of sin or to warn us about it.

776 787 Under this concept it is not repugnant even to common sense to admit the probability that the Chiriguano do see the Afia, demon or evil spirit. Sacred history speaks of visions and apparitions: profane histories cannot combat them, but rather they relate innumerable facts of demoniac apparitions which have appeared by means of spiritualism. It is not strange that such a thing should happen among the Chiriguano. Doubtless it is incredible that it should be so frequent. They say that they see the demons at every moment of the night, whenever there is no fire or light, but this is a puerile worry, and due to fear and fright in some and to ignorance in others (1).

[372] [789] 1. In all the houses of the true Chiriguano there is always a fire burning at night for the principal end of keeping away the evil spirit or Afia.

773 [115]

Beliefs Relative to the Creation

Before going on I am going to relate what was told to me by the cacique Anduari of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission, who, in order to increase his income, is a sorcerer or witch doctor for the Indians and some whites in a wide area. According to the account that follows, the human race, or the Chiriguano, was destroyed twice. The first time and its restoration have already been seen. The second occurred in the following way (2).

[585] [799] 2. Anduari gave his account in the presence of his

/177 cont./

Fire

354
372

In conical houses as well as in those of rectangular form, ancient as well as modern, a fire burned, and still burns, night and day: it is never extinguished, but should this happen, the way to relight it is to borrow it from the neighbors. If all the inhabitants of a tribe have temporarily emigrated to a place which is not far away, as happens at the time of general planting, at the end of the harvest, and upon returning to town, they come back bringing their fire with them, as I have seen on repeated occasions. But as today civilization has penetrated and the match has become common, even the Chiriguano will save up one medio, or ten centavos, to buy such a useful combustible, which they use very sparingly, because in their hands this is now a luxury and lends them an air when in a gathering of companions they can bring out and show their box of matches while lighting a maize-husk cigar.

372
177
178

[435]
[276]

When a fire happens to go out in a place where it is difficult to get it from distant houses, the Chiriguano is not too worried. The man is almost never without a flint, tinder, and a piece of steel: these implements are used to obtain new fire. The tinder is prepared by them from a ball of wild cotton or the flower of the samum, which they reduce into a skein of thread and put into a cow's horn, which they clear at the wider end, fitting to it a wooden stopper that they keep down with a small wire or agave string: inside the tinder box it extends to the other end, where they make a small hole in order to be able to pull the wire or string and keep the top on tight.

372

The Indian who does not have all this apparatus does not worry much either. If his fire happens to go out, he makes a small conical hole in a piece of well-dried wood, in which he violently spins a small cylindrical stick, also dry, which does not take long to get hot and then to give off sparks of fire, to which he then applies the tinder, which consists of the dry pith either of the agave or of the /178/ maguey, which when it has taken fire will light any other combustible material (1).

[173]

1. When the toad handed over fire to the two

/178 cont./

• 392 [773] children who had been saved from the Ipora, deluge of water, he also taught them the way never to lose it, by rubbing pieces of wood together forcefully.

224 392 The Chiriguano is quite a hunter, and no wild animal or bird escapes from his eye and hand. On these hunting trips he often needs fire. If he is very far from town and prepares to sleep alone in the forest or in open country, he lights his fire in the way just described, in order to have its company, to keep away the jaguar and the demon, and to light his cigar and prepare his roast.

Work

Cleanliness

356 [362] Many will perhaps come to the conclusion that Chiriguano houses, poorly built and worse maintained because of the continual fire which gives off smoke and ash, are very dirty, without cleanliness or neatness, but nothing is more incorrect. The [515] [302] Indian despite his savagery is clean, and especially for cleanness he pulls out his facial and body hair, bathes daily, and combs his hair often, getting rid of the little animals which might be in his thick hair. The Colla, or Chiriguano woman, constantly thinks of the cleanliness of her house, gallery, and the ground in front, up to four meters in length and width (?).

[362] ?. All can see that some Chiriguanos, out of laziness, live in their own very old and dilapidated houses, open to the sun, wind, rain, and dust; in others that have a new roof, walls are lacking, thus exposing them to getting pneumonia, but there is no lack of cleanliness in any of them.

301
531
392
534
412

Chiriguano adornments, etc.

[See pp. 273-274 for explanation of numbers]

/198 cont./

301 I am going to end this chapter by mentioning a fancy ornament which has completely disappeared. It is a woman's ornament and is called Aguá, crown, and whoever wore it was called Cuña aguá vaé, crowned woman. The duty of this woman at the public drinking bouts and solemnities was to direct the women's dance, to direct the singing, and to give drinks to the singers and dancers with her own hands. The aguá was a varicolored band up to three meters long, which was put around the head, crossed at the back of the neck, and held on by thorns, needles, or big silver pins, and both ends terminated in tassels of various colors. It was a very striking ornament (1).

[562] [554] [527]

[126] 1. In order to send a complete aguá to the Turin exposition I had to have it made in the girls' school in Santa Rosa. I could not get one in the town; there were none even at that time.

000 Here is poor humanity without any exact idea of religion and worship, they are zealous and hard-working for the body, but have no concern at all for the soul. Only Christ can restore humankind, and tear away the veil which was obscuring its intelligence, and only the priest and Catholic missionary can teach him the sound doctrine of /199/ immortality and other dogmas, so that with this knowledge he may first seek the kingdom of God and receive the rest besides (1).

1. Quaerite primum regnum Dei et haec omnia adiicentur vobis.

• 372 Explanation of the Preceding Illustration λ

1. Sticks for getting fire.
534 2. Bull's horn for use as a musical instrument.
3. Tail of a quiriquincho /armadillo/ for use as a musical instrument.
412 4. Tweezers for pulling out the hair from the face and other parts.

λ [i.e., on p. 266.- Analyst]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,V(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane

VII.

Tools.

C
442
[114]

With the exception of bone awls the Chiriguano Indians of to-day have no genuinely Indian tools. Bone awls which I have already dealt with in part I very rarely occur among the Chiriguano. I omitted to mention this in the German edition of Part I.

VIII.

Fire-making.

C
312

Once only have I seen a Chiriguano Indian making fire by wood friction. He had forgotten his matches. Flint-and-steel are also seldom seen among these Indians now-a-days. In my collection there is a cotton-plaiting, in a wooden pocket from the Chiriguano. The Indians use such for tinder when striking fire with flint and steel. The idea of this was of course obtained from the Whites.

C
[77]

SiNordenskiöld E-Sy(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce 412 252 Ce [198] [61]

Rio Paraguay after Garcias marauding expedition, not far from the tract where the Guató now live.

A potspade of the same type from the Yulámaua along the Rio Querarý is shown in an illustration by Koch-Grünberg.[1]) I have not seen the shoulderblade potspade in any other tribe.

Ce 412 252 x 171

Similar spades, said to have been used for agricultural purposes, are mentioned by St. Cricq[2]) from the Conibo.

C Ce 412 415 264 177

Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané for the most part eat their food with metal spoons which they have got from the Whites. They have, however, wooden spoons as well. They generally eat from earthenware bowls of their own make. They seldom have wooden bowls. I have already treated of the distribution of the wooden bowl and the wooden spoon. (Part 1 map 12 and 13.) They are features of western civilization. Calabash bowls are universally used by the Chiriguano and Chané as drinking vessels, particularly for chicha.

C 415 177

Silver bowls — «Cagua» — are occasionally seen at the Chiriguano festivals. These bowls, which are shaped like cloven calabashes, are often furnished with small ears and are made by mestizo smiths to suit the Indian taste.

C Ce 415 [439]

There is in my collection a calabash bowl that has been turned into a ladle by means of a handle. It is from the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro. I have also procured some bowls made of the fruit of the calabash tree from the Chiriguano. The Indians get them from Sta Cruz de la Sierra, for, as far as I know, the calabash-tree is not cultivated within their own area.

C Ce 372 137 x 171

Fire-fans of plaited palm leaves are used, though they are rather uncommon. These fire-fans belong to the cultural elements which have come to the Chiriguano and the Chané from the north and east. Later on, when writing about the Indians in northeastern Bolivia, who have sev-

[1]) T. 2. P. 209.
[2]) P. 187

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee 372 137 171
C. 412

eral different kinds of palm leaf fans, I will deal with them in detail.

At present I can refer to what Pater Schmidt[1]) has written about the geographical distribution of fire fans of pla'ted palm leafs in S. America.

Fig. 17. Potqaden. Chiriguano.

A from Tikéipa. 1/4 R.M. E. 395.
B from Caipipandi. 1/4 R. M. E. 396.

A

B

[1]) P. 108z.

C 317 263

/45 cont./
the earth of the salt licks called "yukiu" (214).

214. Nord. 1, p. 189. See Métraux 1, pp. 359 and 360.

Making Fire

Ee 372

Native implements to make fire are little used today by the Chiriguano and Chané. At home fire can generally be obtained from some other piece of burning wood, and for other occasions they commonly provide themselves with modern matches. Moreover, as I have said, the Chiriguano and Chané are not great smokers. One fire-making tool which is still found among them is the strike-a-light. The specimen I acquired from the Chiriguano is different from the strike-a-light of the Chaco tribes in that the tinder consists of a quite thick cotton wick. According to Métraux (215),

Ee [178] [296]

Ee [415] [237]

215. Métraux 1, p. 253.

there is also found among them the common form of strike-a-light in which the tinder consists of the fuzz of the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) kept in a container made of a a cow horn or armadillo tail.

Ee 372 126

Fire-making Implements in the Collection

I. A. 516. (Fig. 40.)

a. Bag woven of cotton thread as a container for the implements.

b. Wick of cotton thread.

c. Receptacle for the lighted end of the wick, made of the nest of a species of wasp.

d. Piece of a modern metal file.

e. Pieces of flint.

8: Schmidt--109 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
372
[415
239]

/45 cont./

A small nest of a species of wasp serves as a container for the lighted end of the wick. The fire is produced by striking a flint with a piece of a modern metal file.

Ce
372
973

In a Chané legend recorded by Nordenskiöld (216), it

216. Nord. 1, p. 252.

turns out that the Chané formerly produced fire by rubbing one little stick upon another. According to this legend, two boys and a girl received fire from an old man, who is the sun. The bird Huapi advised them to take good care of the fire. Should it once go out, they would have to make new fire with the "tata," which is the /46/ implement for making fire by rubbing two sticks together. The cacique of the Izozó, when I asked him about this implement, also knew it well and called it by its name in Guaraní. Nordenskiöld once saw a Chiriguano who had no matches with him make a fire with such an implement (217).

Ce
372

C
372

217. Nord. 1, p. 50. Cf. Métraux 1, p. 354.

Ceramics

C
Ce
445
114

The great development of ceramics among the Chiriguano and Chané, the very great variety of forms of their diverse vessels and their ornamentation have long excited the interest of ethnologists. Nordenskiöld, who gives the number of variations in the forms of the vessels of these Indians as more than 50, has published a great many of them in outline and also presents the ornamentation of many of them in sketches (218). Eric v. Rosen has also shown numerous

218. Nord. 1, Figs. 77; 78; 82; 92; 113; 117; 121, and Plate 19. Nord. 2, Figs. 38-48.

Plate XIV

Fig. 40

Fig. 41

Fig. 42

Fig. 43

/The captions are on p. 117./

/Captions for Plates XIV and XV./

C 372 415

Fig. 40. (I. A. 516) Implements for making fire (Chiriguano):
a (I. A. 516a), bag as receptacle for the implements, length 16 cm., width 8.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 516b), cotton wick, length 62 cm.;
c (I. A. 516c), receptacle for the end of the wick, nest of a species of wasp, length 4.2 cm.;
d (I. A. 516d), piece of a metal file, length 4 cm.
e, flints.

C [237]

C 415 285

Fig. 41. (I. A. 583) A pair of hoops for storing goods (Chiriguano), diameter 43 cm.

Ce 415

Fig. 42. Calabashes for carrying water (Izozó):
a (I. A. 661), height 49.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 662), height 16 cm.;
c (I. A. 665), height 17.5 cm., made out of the fruit of the tree Crescentia Cuyeta /Crescentia cujete/.

Ce [824]

C 285 79C

Fig. 43. Objects plaited out of palm leaves, used in religious festivities (Chiriguano):
a (I. A. 1439), length 72 cm.;
b (I. A. 1440), length 37 cm.

C 415

Plate XV. Baked clay vessels for cooking foods (Chiriguano).

Fig. 44 (I. A. 414). -- Height 24 cm.
Fig. 45 (I. A. 418). -- Height 23.5 cm.
Fig. 46 (I. A. 413). -- Height 26 cm.
Fig. 47 (I. A. 419). -- Height 22 cm.
Fig. 48 (I. A. 412). -- Height 12 cm.
Fig. 49 (I. A. 417). -- Height 22 cm.

/60 cont./

C 285 Plaited objects of the first type are made in such a way that the strips of one group are plaited with the strips of another group vertical to the first one, in such a way that the strips of the first group pass alternately a certain number of the strips of the second group and are passed by them, and in such a way that the meshes which go in the same direction form lines of steps. The number of the strips passed each time by one strip of the other group is generally three or two at a time, but there are cases in which only one strip is passed each time.

C [126] [513] [415] [291] Among the plaited objects of this type, I obtained from the Chiriguano a large sleeping mat, small flat baskets /canastillas/, sieves, a quadrangular basket /cesta/, and a hat, and from the Izozó small flat baskets /canastillas/ similar to those of the Chiriguano and two different kinds of baskets /cestas/. In addition, the Chiriguano and Chané also infrequently use fans for fanning the fire (tapèkua) plaited out of palm leaves (260).

Ee [415] [126]

C Ee 285 372

260. Nord. 1, p. 56.

Ee [824] Métraux has described and shown in a drawing such a fan for fanning the fire. This fan is plaited out of the leaves of the caranday palm in the "Stufengeflechte" style, in such a way that strips of the first group pass alternately two strips of the second group and are /Plates XXVI-XXVII appear here/ /61/ passed by them. The leaflets, separated from the stem, enlace a stick which, forming the upper edge of the fan, replaces the stem of the pinnate leaves of other palms which are used by other tribes of South American Indians in the manufacture of plaited fans (261).

261. Métraux I, pp. 460 and 461 and Plate 85.

C 323 /384 cont./
made only in the sunshine. One day when rain threatened to fall, the women hurried to grab the vessel they were in the act of making and to carry it into the hut. It was swinging on all sides during this moving, but did not break at all.

From base to neck the vessel is constructed in the same fashion, the number of rolls superposed varying with the size of the vessel but never being very large. The handles are added last. Some are twisted and have been obtained in the following manner: a long, thin roll is bent in two and rolled on itself.

When finished, the vessel is put to dry. After it has hardened, the potter rubs it on the inside with a shining, polished stone (tankua or ita-nkua) (Plate XXIV, 3-4) until the surface is rendered shiny as /Plate XXIV appears here/ /385/ if glazed. The purpose of this operation is to avoid porosity of the inner wall of the vessel, which without that would be too permeable. The exterior of ordinary vessels is left as is. Vessels that are to be painted are apparently also polished on the outside. The polishing of the vessel is done over several days and slowly. The potter does it with great care (see Fig. 66).

C [239] [413] If the vessel is to be painted, the color is applied with a brush made of agouti hair or feathers held together in a tuft with wax (Plate XXIV, 1).

C Ce 386 The coloring materials used by the Chiriguano and Chané are of mineral and vegetable origin. The first are taken from rocks, of which I have had samples examined petrographically and chemically.

Chemical analysis gave the following results: the yellow samples contain clay (aluminum silicate and calcium carbonate) and iron in the form of hydrated oxide; the reds are of the same composition but contain less hydrated iron oxide and more iron oxide. In a specimen of yellow-brown ocher the iron oxide is abundant. In another, hard and compact, of a red-violet tint, the iron is almost entirely in the state of anhydrous oxide.

The yellow, red, and dark-yellow ochers, when heated in a test tube, change color and become dark red, with the exception of the violet specimen which remains invariable.

[Text Continues on P. 154]

/385 cont./

C
Ce
386

Two gray minerals are silicates of aluminum and calcium with traces of iron. They are almost pure clays.

A jet-black mineral is a calcareous manganese-bearing complex (manganese dioxide in the form of oxide crossed by veins of calcite).

Petrographically, these samples are some yellow ochers very compact (manganese-bearing, quartzose) or somewhat sandy, some very sandy red ochers, and finally slightly sandy clays.

The ochers all give a red color, pyrolusite (?) furnishes black, and the pure clays the yellowish white on which red and black motifs stand out (1).

1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 145): "The colours used by the Chiriguano and the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro are black, red, brown and white. The white is caolin, the red, brown and black are obtained by pulverizing schists of these colours." /cited in English./

C
323

Colors of mineral origin are applied on the walls of the dried and polished vessel before firing.

C
323
237

Most of the vessels from the upper Pilcomayo are distinctive because of motifs of a glossy, solid black which the Indians obtain by rubbing, shortly after firing, with a resinous excrescence looking like a white muff, which a kind of cochineal (?) forms around /386/ mimosa branches (in Chiriguano: iskayanti) and in which she deposits eggs (Plate XXIV, 5).

According to Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 200), who was the first to note the use of this material, it was a question of the viscous saliva of an ant (?) which sticks to the trees. The /Fig. 59 appears here/ Chiriguano potters would use it to paint their vessels after mixing it with roucou. In reality, this information is inexact. The resinous muff is not made of saliva but a kind of manna or lac. It is rubbed directly against the sides of the vessel to produce the solid, glossy black of certain motifs.

/386 cont./

323 The paintings on some vessels produce a particularly successful /387/ effect, thanks to the alternation of brilliant.

323
342
351
516
415
291

Fig. 59. Fabrication of a vessel: the inside surface is polished after being flattened with the hand.

323 solid red with black of the same nature. The first of these colors
[386] is taken from the famous roucou, whose oily paste is mixed with resin, kneaded into a loaf, and melted on the hot walls of the vessel.

/387 cont./

C 323 386 The name tarawirisi is also given by the Chiriguano to objects resembling loaves of bread kneaded by hand which are composed of a resinous material mixed with wax. According to the explanations given me by the Indians themselves, this

C 417 415

Fig. 10. Forked tree-trunk serving as a shelf for putting vessels on. (After a sketch by the author.)

C 323 386 substance is taken from a mimosa. After being sprinkled with boiling water, it is kneaded and dried in the sun. Its color is yellow or red, but after firing it becomes black.

I could not learn whether this black glaze was applied over a layer of black paint or spread directly on the walls of the vessel. In every case the designs made by this process are much less regular than the ones drawn with a brush.

C [124] My collections of pottery, which consist of nearly 700 pieces, do not contain any glazed specimen. Nordenskiöld (p. 164) assures us that the Chiriguano and the Chané of the Parapití coat their yambui with a sort of gum called tarawisi, a word which, except for one syllable, is the same as the one designating the resinous substance we have just been considering.

C 114 323 386

Ce
Ce
323
171

/387 cont./

This makes me think that glazing implies a technical process analogous to the one in use on the upper Filcomayo.

Ce
Ci
323

The Chaco Indians draw crude decorations on their vessels with palo santo resin, which they apply after firing. According to Nordenskiöld (10, supra), the Chané of the Ituyuro probably use the same method to decorate some of their vessels with black designs.

C
323

After being painted, the vessel is put in the shade to dry for several days. It is only when the sides have acquired a certain hardness that the firing process is begun. The vessels are then taken to a spot where there is plenty of dead wood. A large quantity is collected, with which the vessels are covered from bottom to top. Generally, long pieces of bark are selected, which burn brightly.

They set fire to this pyramid of wood and, with a long pole, the /388/ potter watches to see that no brand burns directly against the walls, which would bring on a "shot of fire." When she ascertains that a vessel gives a metallic sound on being touched, she scatters the firebrands with her pole and, by rolling it, makes it go out of the fire.

It may happen that in the course of the firing a vessel may suffer some cracking. This is remedied by taking a little moist earth mixed with dung and applying it on the split while the vase is still hot. The fissure closes, but remains noticeable.

Classification of Chiriguano Pottery

C
415

The figures which illustrate this text, the plates published by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 155-167), and the diagram of Otten (2) give a better idea of the more common forms of this pottery than any description. However, a few remarks are called for.

C
[184]

Vessels with a subglobular belly surmounted by a low, wide neck flaring at the top constitute, without doubt, the most widespread type. (Plates XXXV-LVII.)

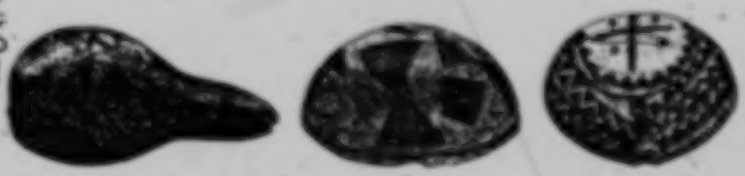
/530 cont./ Let us not forget that
531 pyrography is a masculine activity and that men are more
462 open than women to every innovation. Moreover, for the
467 most part they have gone to Argentina, and from there, with
a new turn of mind, they brought back models and inspirations
foreign to their ancient tradition. This European influence
is patent in many cases: thus, the calabash of Plate LXVII, 3,
and the one of Plate LXIX, 1, are decorated with Arabic num-
bers. The calabashes of Plates LXIV, 1, LXV, 1 and 5, and
LXIX, 5, are decorated with stylized flowers or stars which are
not Indian at all. The influence of the white men and their bad
taste is evident in the motifs painted in roucou which decorate
the calabash of Plate LXV, 3.

531 Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic representations are
commoner on calabashes than on pottery. A rough draw-
ing of a man greatly schematized /531/ is represented on
the calabash of Plate LXIII, 1 a and b. On the calabash of
Plate LXIII, 7 a, dogs have been engraved and birds on
those of Plates LXIII, 1, LXVIII, 3 a and b, LXIX, 7, and
LXXI, 3. A llama was represented in very expressive
fashion on calabash No. 7 b on Plate LXIII; and on the
calabash of Fig. 85 a and b one recognizes a horse and
a feline animal, a puma or jaguar. Three fish and a bird
appear on the specimen of Plate LXVII, 2.

531 The Indians of the Iva mission and the ones from
382 the Caigipendi valley paint their calabashes with roucou.
387 This color is very difficult to rub off and does not spread
386 beyond the periphery of the colored designs. /Fig. 86
appears here. To obtain this result, the Chiriguano begin

C /431 cont./
531 by taking off the epidermis which covers it, except at the places
322 which are to remain uncolored. Then they smear its exterior
386 surface with roucou and scrape the tegument where they have saved it. The figures then stand out in red against a yellowish background. An analogous process is in use among the Pauserna (Nordenskiöld 5, p. 344). The motifs decorating most of the

C
Ee
415
531



a b c

Fig. 66. a, b, and c. Miniature calabashes, "liqueur glasses" and children's toys. Chiriguano and Chané. Prov.: a, Tuyunti, near Aguaray (Salta Chaco); b, Ñawirenda (upper Pilcomayo); c, id. (About 1/2 nat. size.)

C
531 The motifs decorating most of the
199 painted calabashes I collected in Ivu are unfortunately very much influenced by European models, and beside very pretty designs one finds others of the most distressing banality.

/431 cont./

Chapter VIII

Weaving

286 (170) Weaving is a very widespread industry among the Chiriguano. Unfortunately, at the present time its products are commonplace and, since they have been using aniline dyes (1), often very ugly.

286 824

1. The Chiriguano used to extract blue dye from a plant they call kaa-howi, that is to say, "blue grass." They also used to grow it. In order to color their tiru (large sleeveless bag slipped on over the tipoy, of the same shape but less ample), they dipped them into a decoction of this grass. Sometimes also they used to add coloring woods, such as palo soto or quebracho, to this bouillon. The leaves of a tree which easily reaches a height of eight to ten meters, the iwira kaa-howi, also furnish a blue dye, but for that they must be young and the tree must be in bloom.

With piari, black resin which exudes from the trunk of the algarroba (Prosopis), Chiriguano women blacken the tiru which they had dyed blue. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc., pp. 16-17 and 173.)

286 (291) (170) Most of their ponchos are copied from those of the Bolivian half-breeds.

/432/ The type of loom prevalent among the Chiriguano is the one which has been given the name Arawak loom. Plate LXXII $\frac{2}{3}$ gives an idea of it. Two forked sticks are set in the ground. They support two /Fig. 87 appears here/ parallel crossbars, one of which, the lower one, is a pestle of hard and heavy wood. The warp threads are rolled around them, but at each circuit turn back on themselves after going over a /433/ small cord stretched parallel to the ground. Once the cloth is finished, this string is removed, and in an instant the piece of cloth, which until then formed an endless band, opens up (Fig. 91).[2]

[2] [See p. 294 -- Analysis]
[3] [See p. 295 -- Analysis]

/482 cont./

302 faces and legs oiled in this way, which gives them a very strange reddish and shiny hue. This custom, which was already [191] noted /482/ in the sixteenth century among the Tupinamba of [198] the Brazilian coast, is tending to fall into disuse.

Roucou in paste form is kept in a small cow-horn bag (Fig. 302 139). /Fig. 139 appears here/ as is kalasapa, a substance com- 386 posed of a mixture of roucou and pounded aroma seeds, which [419] gives a violet color.

757 4. Jaguar fat (yaguapira) cures any "leprosy" (karaôi) if 237 one rubs oneself with it after heating it.

5. Iguana fat makes cramps go away and heals wounds. [152] Its use is external.

6. The dried penis of a fox makes toothaches and earaches go away. For that it suffices to touch the ailing part with the end /Fig. 140 appears here/ of this member. The Indians consider it very malodorous and touch it only with repugnance. [415] To avoid this inconvenience they provide it with a handle and shut it up in a bamboo case (Fig. 141).

7. Deerhorns heated and /Fig. 141 appears here/ applied against the neck will cure a stiff neck. The medical use of [172] deer (wasu) horns explains the frequent presence of the horns of this animal in the archeological strata of the neighboring Andean regions. Some have thus been found in the ruins of the Alfarcito, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 21), at Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, p. 222), at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 235, p. 453), and at Tastil (Boman, 7, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, Fig. 70 f).

858 Horns adhering to a fragment of the skull and whose use 304 could only have been magical or medical must be distinguished 237 from the ones which the Indians work into awls. These in- 412 struments still have a ritual use and are reserved for piercing the lower lip of children when they are old enough to wear the labret. At least this is what Campana (p. 86) informs us. Besides, the Indians all have confirmed this detail to me. [171] Formerly, the Tupinamba of Brazil practiced this operation with an awl of the same nature (see Métraux, 3, p. 105).

824
302
415
386

Fig. 139. Small bag made of corn husks, containing roucou paste. Prov.: Salado grande (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

Fig. 140. Calabash containing roucou seeds. Prov.: Caipipendí. (About 1/5 nat. size.)

415
237
759

Fig. 141. Case containing a fox penis (sguara-kankuy). Prov.: Ibopeyú. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

are based on a triangle surmounted by a scroll, which is multiplied in countless variations. C 323 [531]

Women potters (pl. 41, *top, left,* and *bottom, left*) tempered the clay with crushed potsherds and built up their vases by coiling. They painted them with several kinds of ocher and with black obtained from rosin. [C 462 386]

Spinning and weaving.—Among the *Chiriguano,* wool is more commonly used than cotton for textiles, but *Chané* fabrics are generally of cotton. The fibers are spun with a drop spindle weighted with a clay whorl (pl. 42, *center*). Although garments are in part Andean in shape, the loom remains of the vertical type. Formerly, indigo was the favorite native dye; today aniline dyes have entirely replaced it. The ornamentation of the fabrics is limited to a few stripes. C C 286 283 171 386 [531]

Netting.—Fishing nets and carrying nets are made by means of a wooden gage in a reef-knot technique. C 285

Basketry.—Fans, round baskets with overlapping lids, and sieves are twilled with palm leaves in the best Guiana fashion, but wickerwork basketry is very common. No large baskets for carrying or storing food are made.

Gourds.—The painted, incised, or fire-engraved (fig. 61) gourds (*Lagenaria siceraria*) used as cups are, after pottery, the best expressions of *Chiriguano* art. The motifs are mainly geometrical, with occasional realistic representations. C 415 531

FIGURE 61.—*Chané* calabashes. *Left:* Specimen with lid (approximately ¼ actual size). *Right:* Pyrograved specimen (approximately ⅓ actual size). (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1928, fig. 50 and Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 62.)

/22 cont./

137 824 is manufactured. On the slopes of the hills is also found the blackberry /zarzamora/, whose fruit is so pleasant to the palate, but whose thorn, which is like a cat's claw, is quite dangerous and barbed. The mulberry in Chiriguano is called "Tatayigua."

245 NARANJO /orange/. -- Neither the orange nor the lemon are native to the Chiriguano region, but they flourish greatly and grow to some height. Where it is easy to open irrigation ditches and possible to irrigate orange and lemon trees, they produce large, juicy fruit, the former being very sweet and the sourness of the latter being mild. The citron tree flourishes and is a plant imported here; its fruits are as big as gourds. The Chiriguano cultivate the orange tree here and there, but the whites cultivate it on a large scale; I know of some /23/ rather large orange groves, and they exist in nearly all the missions.

137 824 NOGAL. -- This tree of extraordinary height is only found wild; the leaves are very small and somewhat like those of the true nogal; the fruit is edible, but its shell is hard to crack. [258] The flavor and characteristics are the same as those of walnuts, so that oil, which is used instead of that from the olive, can be extracted from them. The wood is rather dark and good [322] for carpentry and cabinetwork, but it is inferior to that of the true nogal, which is found in the cultivated state where there [386] is sufficient moisture; a dark coffee-colored dye is prepared from the leaves, the bark of the trunk, or the roots, for dyeing wool, for staining other woods, and for printing ink.

NOPAL. -- This is the fruit-bearing plant which is most abundant in the region and which is found everywhere without any cultivation, for which reason it is most highly regarded by the Chiriguano, who is naturally lazy. But since it is sought [245] by the cattle, it is beginning to disappear or, more exactly, it is not found very much in the woods and clearings, but the Indian still cultivates it because it flourishes easily without need of irrigation and multiplies without the need of planting other shoots. It is convenient for the laziness of the Indian; the yellow flowers come out around each spathe and the fruit matures there as well; it is full of small seeds and sweet pulp, pleasant and refreshing. Some trees are covered with long

/181 cont./

462 bulls, deer, etc. If all this carving were woman's work, it
415 would have but one name, Sacuarama, but since it is man's
531 work, each figure has the name of the quadruped, biped, or reptile that it represents (2).

[825] 2. Thus they say Machuru haangaño, figure of a lizard, Yaimba haangaño, figure of a dog. Even the men call the figure of a jaguar or a dove: Sacuarama.

/182/ With this second task the work can be considered finished. Days or weeks are employed depending on the greater or lesser quantities of the matés. They now color all the
[386] etched figures with ground charcoal and paint the empty spaces
[237] with Urucú, achiote, making them firm with the Taragüirisi, which is abundant everywhere, then singeing them in the flame of the fire so that the pictures will never lose their shine and luster or the painting of carbon and urucú come off (1).

237
323
825

1. The Taragüirisi is a species of ant which is common in cold weather. Its length is not over half a centimeter and its thickness three. It moves about the small branches of certain small trees, where it leaves its speckled whitish excrement. All potters provide themselves with an abundance of this material.

Pottery

323
[462] I shall now go on to consider women's work, limiting
[317] myself to the most important, such as clay vessels and textiles.
[484] For the former the Chiriguano woman provides herself beforehand with the best clay, which she knows very well and even brings from long distances, if it is not found in the territory of the tribe. Naturally the potter not only wishes to avoid the loss of her labor, but also, insofar as she can, she wishes to

/194 cont./

302 The flower of the Guambero, puñlane, has the same properties as the carasapa, but it is little used, and they content themselves with just sticking the leaves on their faces, and this only at carnival time, the result being a gay set of dancers. Finally, the indians have a fourth cosmetic, which they call Mboiuvucu, or achiote of the viper. It is red, and they assert that it is food for the viper, hence its name. They use it by rubbing it on their cheeks, which makes them a bright red.

292 [529] [178] As noted above, the ancient Chiriguano man, Ava, and the Chiriguano woman of long ago, Cuña, at solemn fiestas and on days /195/ of general rejoicing, after having adorned their faces and washed their persons, wore the tiru and the mandu, respectively (1).

> 1. If the Indian dressed in a tiru does not have breeches, guasupi tímbiao, he wraps his body from the waist down with a shorter poncho which comes to the calf. It is also of cotton, and the women weave it. It is called Tirupeé, or sheath that warms, "alias" wrap /abrigo/.

[286] [462]

The Tiru is a kind of long poncho, from which it differs because of the two openings that it has near the wrists: the hands are put into said openings and remain free for movement, and, the tiru fastened to the wrists, nothing impedes the motion of the one wearing it. It is spun and woven by the women, and the raw material is cotton. The tiru differs in color, some are black, others dark red, and others blue. The first color is obtained with black mud, Tuñúú, mixed with the resin of the algarroba, Piari; the second, with cortillo bark, Urundeibusu; and the third, with wild indigo, Caogüi (2).

[286] 292 386 [824]

> 2. Today this is all purchased commercially, and the indigo plant, which is abundant in certain places, is ignored. They buy the indigo and the other colors, just as they buy for their poncho and their tipoi.

[437] [178]

/195 cont./

292 The black tiru is first dyed with sotillo bark, and then they
386 immerse it in a vessel which has well-steeped black mud and
824 algarroba resin. After some time they wash it and dry it out, leaving the permanent color. The dark red is made with only boiled sotillo bark. Finally, to dye with indigo they crush this leaf and expose it to the sun's rays, then they crush it again in the same way, after which they put it in a large earthenware vessel with water, in which the Ñiru is immersed and comes out a light blue, but, if they want it to be like the blue of drill, it is necessary to boil the indigo.

In order to dye everything red they also use a species of onion that they call Tunsaipi, which literally translated, means feet of God and is abundant in the fields, and another
292 one called Chapi, which is found in the hills. Everything said about the tiru is applicable to the mandu of the women, with the sole difference that this is open at both ends and is attached to the shoulders with two enormous silver needles that they call Yu guasu, big needles, which are also disappearing.

When a woman is occupied with domestic and other work,
301 she ties her hair up tightly with a band, Apicuá, /196/ of cotton
302 or wool, so that it will not inconvenience her at her tasks, but
[529] when there is a fiesta, she washes her person, washes her head,
[515] combs her heavy and shining hair, and lets it loose, flowing over her body as far down as it will go (1).

[178] 1. The young women today put up their hair like the white women, making braids through which they draw a band that they call Allopea, braided cord. The hair fastened in the old way was like a baton, since not a hair was to be seen, even horizontally, all of it being covered by the band, allopea.

Both men and women among the Chiriguano and Chané have sandals which, however, they seldom wear. In Part I of this work I have given an account of the geographical distribution of sandals in S. America. Obviously sandals are a cultural element which the Chiriguano and Chané have got from the area of civilisation in the west.

A pair of sandals with fastenings differing from the usual kind are depicted here. A sandal with very similar binding but of another shape is described and depicted by Fritz von Rosen[1]) in his recent, splendid work.

The Chiriguano and Chané wear girdles which as a rule are woven, though they are sometimes made of leather. As I pointed out in Part I, the woven girdle belongs to the western cultural elements and the leather belts to the southern. The leather girdles worn by the Chiriguano and Chané are provided with pockets and sometimes ornamented with cupos, and are consequently imitations of the gaucho cincture worn by the Argentine gauchos. Nino[2]) is of the same opinion, and he points out that they are called «bosa» (from the Spanish word «bolsa»[3]) owing to their being provided with a pocket.

As already mentioned in Part I the woven «head-band» or frontlet also belongs to the dress of the Chiriguano and Chané-men. The frontlet is certainly a western culture-element.

Chiriguano and Chané shirts and ceremonial tipoys are of native make and are often dyed blue with indigo. The frontlets are blue or red. Chiriguano and Chané women wear a kind of hair-band with tassels which they most likely learned to make in the missions.

[1]) (a) Fig. 84, P. 103.
[2]) P. 102.
[3]) «Bolsa» is «bosa» in the Chiriguano language as these Indians do not pronounce l.

8:Nordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Maps of the geographical distribution of various kinds of ornamentation can scarcely be drawn up at present with the exception of a few very characteristic specimens, e. g. the spiral. This is found on earthen vessels from the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, and from the Chiriguano, but not from the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.

The colours used by the Chiriguano and the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro are black, red, brown and white. The white is caolin, the red, brown and black are obtained by pulverizing schists of these colours. The Chiriguano sometimes mix Urucu with oil. Vessels are probably painted with this mixture only after burning.

Pottery is undoubtedly the chief art practised by the Chiriguano and Chané. We may, indeed, assert that it is the only one that is still of very great importance to these Indians. It is an interesting fact that, though these tribes have been in close contact with missionaries and other Whites for nearly 400 years, and though their country has been flooded with European goods, their pottery has been influenced very little by foreign culture. It is still genuine Indian. This holds good not only of its shape, but to an equally great extent of its ornamentation. It shows how conservative the Indian is towards anything that cannot make easier for him the struggle for life. A cultivated plant can spread in a few years over a large part of a continent, whereas one will not take the trouble to adopt a foreign ornamentation or foreign types of household furniture. This does not imply that the pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané now has the appearance that it had 400 years ago. It has changed, as the Indians themselves told me, but the change has chiefly consisted in ringing the changes on old Indian patterns. How and how much it has changed, can only be proved archæologically. Unfortunately, I do not possess the archæological material. What I found in the country of these Indians probably goes very much further back in time than 400 years, and has very little in common with

Ce /245 cont./
323 The coarser vessels, as well as all cooking vessels, are
531 decorated with only finger imprints and clay loops put on them.
ce The finer vessels are subsequently painted (see Pl. 19 /see p. 93/).
[237] /246/ With a brush made of agouti hairs (1) the decorations are
[413]

1. Dasyprocta.

Ce painted in white, dark brown, and black. The white pigment
[386] is a kind of earth (kaolin); the others are made out of slate and
Ce sandstone. They paint freehand and compose the decorations from
323 memory, not from models. Wood, maize cobs, and cow excrement are heaped around the vessel. The fuel is lighted and must burn with a vigorous fire for a quarter of an hour or, if the vessel is large, even longer (Fig. 122).

Ce If the vessel has been painted, it is varnished with resin,
[314] "taraviruti," which is collected from a Mimosoideae, and with
[824] resin from the palo santo (see p. 93 /untranslated; Palosanto is identified there as Bulnesia Sarmienti/). The former gives a yellowish polish; the latter looks like greenish-black glaze.

Ce When a pot is made, it is baptized before it has cooled,
[789] so that water will boil rapidly in it.

C In Maringa's village individual vessels were painted
531 with a mixture of urucú or some other color and a vegetable fat.
323 I was unable to see how this latter was prepared.
386

The Chiriguano and Chané women are skillful weavers.
Ee The material for the Indian weaving is, as a rule, cotton and
286 sometimes sheep wool.

Ee Since large quantities of cloth are imported by the whites,
[439] native weaving is disappearing more and more. Thus, I did
[177] not see any looms among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley, and native woven goods were very rare.

Ee As a rule, all the weaving of these Indians is without
286 ornamentation, or else this is very simple. The girls in the
531 missions learn from the monks how to embroider all kinds of
[797] flowers, such as roses, violets, etc. They do this superbly.

302 The hair is tended with very neat-looking wooden combs (fig. 196).
[442] Among the Chiriguano I also noticed composite combs of the type used in the Chaco (fig. 85).

[386] Among the men as well as the women, the custom obtains of painting
[824] the face red, the pigment being prepared from Bixa orellana. Many of the men I met in the neighbourhood of San Luis had red-painted the whole face below the eyes, and some of the women had circular red
302 spots, about 3 to 4 cm in diameter, painted on their cheeks. On the
304 other hand, I did not see any tattooed Chiriguano. Instances of tattooing have, however, been noted by Nordenskiöld, who also has seen Chiriguano women who had stained their teeth dark blue with some vegetable extract.[1] In the past, tattooing as well as teeth-staining were commonly practiced by the Chiriguano.

301

Fig. 197. Lip-stud (»tembeta») of tin, with inlaid, painted, turquoise-coloured glass-beads. Chiriguano, Bolivia. ⅔ n. Ethn. 03. 3. 822.

Another Chiriguano ornament intimately connected with the human body is the lip stud (»tembeta»), which is exclusively worn by men and by youths who have attained marriageable age. The Chiriguano lip stud of the present day consists of a hollow tin cylinder with two laminate projections (fig. 197). The cylinder is filled with some waxy substance, into which are embedded a number of small beads of stone, glass or porcelain, usually of a turquoise-blue colour. The lip stud is inserted from the inside, through a hole made in the lower lip, so that its circular, bead-beset, front surface barely shows beyond the skin of the lip. The base of the lip stud, which is slightly concave, then rests against the teeth of the lower jaw. This quaint ornament creates no displeasing impression, but should a Chiriguano take it out, he would look both pitiable and ridiculous, as the saliva then runs through the large hole in the lip. Hence it is considered disgraceful to be seen without the lip stud, and on many occasions I have noticed the women scornfully deriding such men as had sold their lip ornaments. As soon as a man had taken out his lip stud, he generally put his hand to his mouth for concealment until he had time to put in a substitute stud, usually made of wood.

The lip stud that is here shown, which weighs 18.5 grammes, has a base plate 3.4 cm long, and its cylinder is 1 cm high, with a diameter

[1] Nordenskiöld (15), pp. 83, 85 and (18), pp. 187—188.

Pt Schmidt--PC E-S (1936) 1938 SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
524
199

/37 cont./

These Indians received two games of chance from the whites, the game of dice, which they call by the Spanish name "dado," and the game with a cow's leg bone, which they call "taba."

Agriculture

C
Ce
241

I have already explained in the chapter on food and drink that the cultivation of maize as an agricultural product is common, and among the Chané of the Parapití the cultivation of the sweet potato. Mandioca is only cultivated rarely and has no importance in the economy of these Indians. Various species of beans are planted, also one species of cactus, some gourds which have edible fruits, and also a little tobacco. In addition to these edible or stimulating native plants that are cultivated, there are some others received from the whites, but these have little importance in the economy of these Indians. According to Nordenskiöld (171), they are the following: sugar

C
Ce
241
199

171. Nord. 2, pp. 23 and 24.

cane, peanuts, watermelon, muskmelon, figs, oranges and millet, and Métraux also mentions the pepper among them (172).

172. Métraux 1, pp. 338 and 339.

C
Ce
241
[415]
[383]
[386]

In addition to these edible or stimulating plants, there are cultivated various species of gourds whose fruits are not edible but are used to make containers, cotton for making thread, urucú for obtaining red dye, and, among the Indians of the Parapití, also a species of cane, Harundo Donax /Arundo donax/, which grows wild in great quantity on the banks of the Pilcomayo, but not on those of the Parapití River.

C 386 323 531 /36 cont./ The white color is an earth pigment (kaolin), the red, dark brown, and black are pulverized mineral substances of the corresponding colors (248). Métraux has published the results

248. Nord. 2. p. 145.

of chemical analyses and petrographic observations which he made on these mineral colors (249).

249. Métraux 1. 200.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano at times paint their vessels with a paint consisting of a mixture of urucú and oil, which is probably applied after the vessel has been baked (250).

250. Nord. 2. p. 145.

C Cs 323 Before the vessel is baked, it must be quite dry. In the case observed by Nordenskiöld among the Chané on the Itiyuru River, the vessel was dried for a day in the shade, which can be done, according to another note by Nordenskiöld, in the sun as well (251). The baking is done, according to Nordenskiöld's

251. S. Lizondo. op. cit., p. 121.

observations, by piling firewood, maize cobs, and dry cow dung around the vessel. This fuel must burn with a strong fire for a quarter of an hour and, if the vessel is large, even longer (252).

252. Nord. 1. p. 346. Cf. Nord., Fig. 122.

C 323 [324] Some of the Chiriguano vessels are varnished. According to Nordenskiöld, such vessels are common among the Chiriguano and Chané on the Itiyuru River. They smear them with the resin of a Minosoidea, which the Chiriguano call "taraviruti." When varnished in this way the vessels acquire a yellowish sheen. Only the vessels of the Chané on the Itiyuru sometimes show black

Cs 323 324 386

/467 cont./

302 The women never cut their hair according to the custom of the other Indian women of the Chaco, so they have heads of long and remarkably soft hair. They gather their hair together [301] on the nape of the neck by means of a red or blue ribbon, which they knot on the forehead after passing it around the head (see Plate VI, 1 and 2 /see p. 73/).

302 Chiriguano women are extremely meticulous about their
515 hair and wash it nearly every day. For soap they use flitira seeds
824
412
388

Fig. 122. Chiriguano stone mortar for crushing flitira seeds. Prov.: Ivo. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

which they crush in a little mortar (Fig. 122) especially intended for that use. The flitira seeds, rich in saponin, lather easily.

302 For me it was always a pleasant spectacle in the morning to see the women come back from the river with their hair twisted on the front of the head and fastened into a conical chignon. They would let it dry, then would begin to comb it slowly until it was soft and shining.

412 Two types of comb coexist among the Chiriguaño. On the
303 upper Pilcomayo in the Igüembé valley and in Ivu, they are carved
184 out of a small board, and often the flat part which serves as the handle is cut out /468/ with art. In the Caipipendí valley and among the Chané, besides combs of the preceding type there are others composed of fine splinters of wood wedged between two splinters of bamboo and held in place by a clever plaiting of cotton threads forming a design.

/20 cont./ ITS ashes
are good for the manufacture of soap. the bark is an emetic.
The whites call it toborochi and the Chiriguano "Samuú."
There are several varieties and all of them are utilized to
some degree or other.

CEIBO. -- This tree is smaller than the former. but its
wood is much superior. very fibrous. and rather light in weight.
being used to make troughs which are very durable since they
neither split nor are eaten by wood borers. It is very pretty when
it blooms; the flowers are fiery red and good for salads. The
Chiriguano call it "Suinandi."

DRAGO /dragon tree/. -- A tall tree. straight and quite
thick; the wood is strong and useful. If an incision is made
in the tree. a very red resin comes out; its bark is the best
for making the teeth hard and for curing scurvy. The gum
called "dragon's blood" is extracted from this tree. The
whites call it tipa and the Chiriguano "Gilirapitiyu guam."

ENEA /cattail/. -- An aquatic plant which abounds
in certain ponds and pools formed by the water of rivers which
flow away from the main stream; the Indians use it for roof-
ing their houses. muleteers for packsaddles. and others for
mats in the dwellings. on which they also have their bedding
for sleeping. This is the totora or matara of the whites and the
"Caipempe" of the Chiriguano.

ESTORAQUE /storax/. -- This is a very large tree of the
forest; it has whitish flowers and yellow fruit the size of a
fig. which is edible and a favorite of parrots and monkeys; the
Chiriguano eat it as a fruit and call it "Aguai."

GARGATEA or CARICA MAMAYA. -- This tree is not very
abundant nor is it found in every section. It is of normal size.
with a straight trunk and smooth bark softer than the fig tree;
the wood is soft and is of no use at all. being similar to that
of the ceiba. or toborochi. Its leaves are like those of the fig
tree. and the fruit is of the /21/ same size and form. but
yellow; it is edible and good when boiled or roasted. If eaten
raw. it hurts the mouth. In Chiriguano it is called "Caincantina."

Gr Schmidt--149 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF8
Chane SF8

/37/

Grinding the Raw Materials

C
Ce
252
412

For grinding raw materials, principally for grinding corn, the Chiriguano and Chané use large wooden mortars with long pestles (755). Such a wooden mortar is shown in Figure 15 and

755. Nord. I, p. 51. Métraux I, p. 365. Fig. 30.

C
Ce
412
[171]

another one by Nordenskiöld (756). Stone mills are not used by

756. Nord. I, Fig. 116.

these Indians, although this implement was used, except for the Chaco tribes, by all the tribes whom the Chiriguano had as neighbors after their migration to the west. According to Métraux, a

C
315
[388]

small stone mill is used only for grinding the seeds of a plant which the Chiriguano use as soap for washing their hair. Such a stone mill is shown in a drawing by Métraux (757).

757. Métraux I, p. 407. Fig. 122.

C
412
171
174

Because the wooden mortar is common even today among the Kaingué /Caingua/, who also belong to the Guaraní linguistic group, and is also mentioned for the ancient Tupinambá /Tupinamba/ of the eastern coast of Brazil, we can assume that the Chiriguano brought this cultural possession from their native land.

C
27
252
412
[171]

The fact that mandioca is not important in the economy of those Indians explains why they do not use the wooden grater, the application of which is diffused among so many other Indian tribes of South America who cultivate this nourishing root.

Making Cord and Thread

C
Ce
283

The thread that the Chiriguano and Chané make out of wool or cotton is spun by means of the spindle, while that made of caraguata is twisted by hand. We have no information on the way this caraguata thread is twisted.

In balance--jo6 8-6 (1929) 1929 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Modern Quechua SE24
Q
804
405

Fig. 54. Balance with scales in use among the Quichua half-breeds of the Tarija region. Prov.: Narvaez River. (1/5 nat. size.)

C
804
405

Fig. 55. Balance (mbalanza) in use among the Chiriguano for weighing coca. Prov.: Saladito (upper Pilcomayo).

/340 cont./

421 Property is a sacred thing among the Chiriguano, and the nearest relatives cannot dispose of their belongings without their formal consent.

241 115 123 At the time of my stay in Caruruti, I once asked my old friend "Captain" Karnapadyú to take me to his field. He was very

249 409 799 142 291

Fig. 7. Mill for grinding sugar cane at the Ivu mission. (Photo. A. M.)

241 115 [123] touched by /Plate VI appears here/ /341/ the interest that my wish implied and in an instant showed himself ready to do the honors.

His field was about 700 meters from the village on top of one of the cliffs which border the "quebrada" /ravine/ of Caruruti. Access to it was by a steep path across fallen rocks. The entrance [351] to the field was closed by a hedge composed of tree trunks and [417] thorny shrubs which we climbed over with the help of an Indian-style ladder, That is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps.

[Text continues on p. 74]

/241 cont./

Modern Farming and Seeds

241 199 [407] Today planting with the spade is disappearing, and if this tool is necessary for weeding, an iron one has been substituted. The plow has become general, as have the yoke and oxen, and in the missions even boys of 12 break in oxen two and a half years old. They first do the planting for the mission, then for themselves and their fathers, and finally they help those who have no oxen: the missionary provides them with young oxen, plowshares, and even halters when they are very poor.

The neophytes in most of the Potosí missions have learned to perfection this new method of farming, and they are so advanced that they are competitive with and even superior to many mestizo farmers. The older ones teach the younger ones, fathers teach their sons, and the latter as well as the former manufacture plow and yoke out of selected wood with all the perfection that these implements require. It is satisfying to see upon a farm 40 or 50 yokes of oxen, directed and driven by young men and boys who yesterday were like their grandparents! The whites themselves do their planting on a large scale, aided by these Chiriguano, who receive in exchange double daily wages (1).

[868] [409] [231] 46

1. A peon plowman is not obliged to bring oxen: it is the white who waits for him with the yoke hitched. If a peon brings his own, he earns up to triple daily wages, because they are worth exactly three strong peons, the two oxen and the man who drives them. Thus it is not much to pay him triple.

243 262 Today it seems to me that there must not be another country where the different types of maize thrive better. This is the principal element, the daily food, not only of the Chiriguano tribe, but of all those who inhabit most of Bolivia. Here in particular, when there is no harvest, its lack is greatly felt by whites and blacks, that is to say, by mestizos and by Chiriguano.

Ce /56 cont./
323 paint on the rim, which is done with the resin of the palo santo
824 (Bulnesia sarmienti), which is spread over the surface of the
386 vessel after it has been baked (253).

253. Nord. 1, p. 246. Nord. 2, p. 144.
Métraux I, pp. 386 and 387.

Working of Stone and Metals

C
Ce
324 The manufacture of stone implements is not done among the
C Chiriguano and Chané. The same can be said with respect to
Ce the manufacture of metal implements, except that the Chiriguano
325 sometimes make their tembetá of tin themselves (254), while
301
439
177

254. Nord. 2, p. 171.

41 they ordinarily obtain their metal ornaments and implements from the mestizos and the whites.

Woodworking

C
322 Various objects made out of wood by the Chiriguano have
[41] already been mentioned above, such as house posts, ladders, plates, spoons, pipes, bows, arrow points, and also cuyas /vessels made out of gourds/ and calabashes. Among other objects made of wood we must also mention the mortar and pestle, various implements used in weaving, small sticks for making nets, large dishes used for keeping food, and flutes. Because the Chiriguano,
C when they work wood today, exclusively use modern tools ob-
[177] tained from the whites, they have not retained any of their native
[178] technique. /Plates XXII-XXV appear here./

/341 cont./

243 Parrots are veritable plagues for agriculture in the Chaco
825 and cause great damage. In order to fight their voracious
532 bands the Chiriguano make scarecrows by attaching to the tip of flexible poles the masks they wear during the carnival festivities and which they have no use for afterward (Fig. 8). It is the need to be constantly /342/ on the watch to repulse the intrusion of these formidable bands of plunderers which obliges the Indians to come and live in their fields as soon as the corn ripens. The children and young people have the task of frightening off by their shouts these insatiable marauders. As soon as they see or hear a flock of parrots, they emit a long modulation which, it seems, has the effect of scaring them. If
243 the parrots come too near or perch on the fields, the Indians
● 411 make them flee by bombarding them with stones with their slings. They have two kinds of these. Wherever the Chiriguano
[177] are in direct contact with the Quichua /Quechua/, these slings are of wool (Plate VII, 1 and 2); elsewhere, especially in the Caipipendí valley, they are of vegetable fibers and made according to the net technique (Plate VII, 3). No doubt the Chiriguano borrowed this weapon from the Andean populations. To be convinced of this it suffices to compare the slings of the Indians and half-breeds of the department of Tarija with that of the Chiriguano (Rosen, 1, Fig. 267, p. 261).

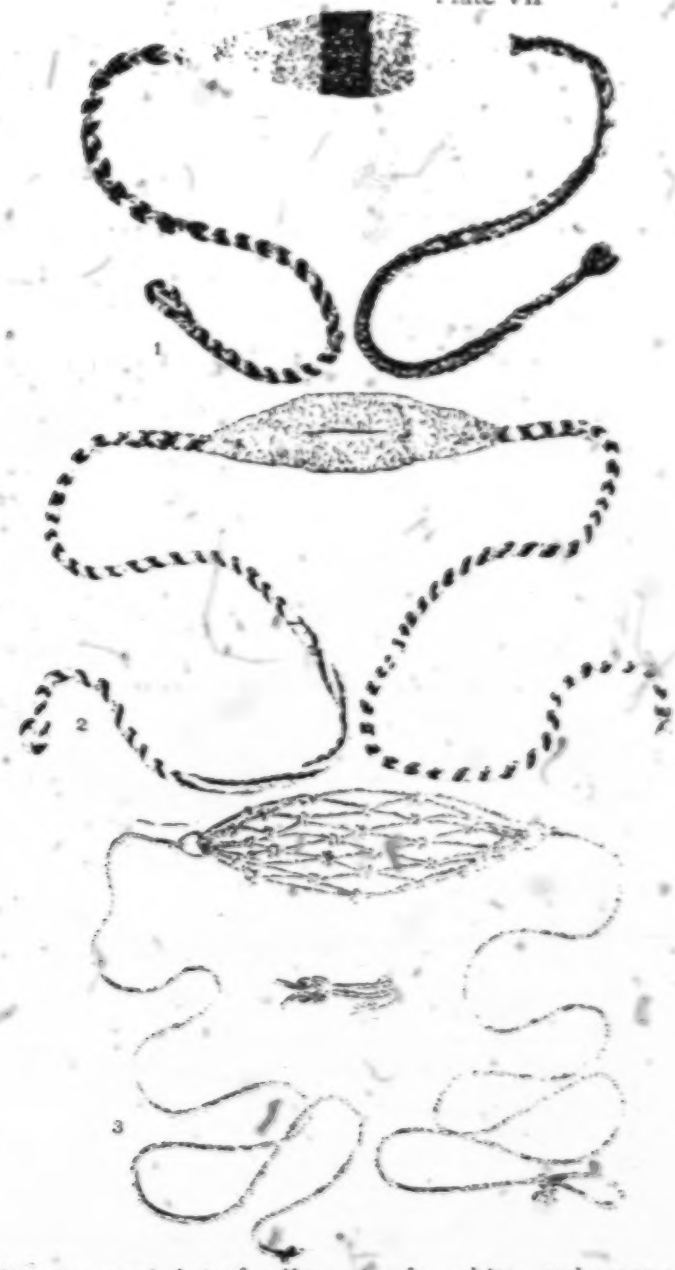
[825] Another means of scattering the birds is to stretch a string above the fields. I do not know the effect that this measure can have on them.

243 The fields of the Chiriguano Indians are always surrounded
825 by a high, thick hedge which protects them from animals, wander-
[351] ing cows and horses, which could get in and play havoc with them. Grasshoppers sometimes do them much harm. In the Caipipendí valley I saw a field in which they were swarming and which seemed to have been abandoned for this reason (1).

1. When grasshoppers are particularly numerous, the Chiriguano dig ditches which they make them go into and in which they bury them. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 83.)

Plate VII

●411



1. Sling (tamomboka) of yellow, purple, white, and green wool. Prov.: Cuevo. (1/4 nat. size.) 2. Sling of brown, green, and white wool. Prov.: Ivu. (1/5 nat. size) 3. Sling of vegetable fibers (wembé bark). Prov.: Carurutí. (1/4 nat. size.)

/345 cont./

433 224 178 Outside these official expeditions they doubtless used to hunt for pleasure or simply to interrupt the monotony of their menu.

224 411 Quadrupeds were killed with arrows with lanceolate tips, originally of wood, today of iron (Plates VIII and IX, 2); small game, with arrows tipped with a barbed wooden rod [223] (Plate IX, 3-5). Birds were taken in traps or felled with a special arrow having a splayed ferrule (Plates X-XI).

224 [231] Anyone who has seen the little dogs of the Chiriguano Indians, with elongated /346/ muzzle, pointed ears, short hair, and arched tail will ask with surprise how animals so miserable, stupid, and snappish could have been trained to render service to man. Nevertheless, such seems to have been the case. For hunting the peccary, for example, the Indians employ the dogs, who track them and /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ force them to hide in their dens, from which they are smoked out and felled with blows of a stick when they try to run away. At least this is how the inhabitants of the village of Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) told me they had killed a peccary which they showed me at the time I was there.

433 224 184 For the modern Chiriguano, hunting has lost its reason for existing as an activity having an economic character, except perhaps /Plates VIII, IX, X, and XI appear here/ /347/ /Fig. 14 appears here/ for those of this nation who live [352] in the region of the upper Pilcomayo. At least this is the im- [412] pression I had after examining their huts: the bedsteads or wooden cots were often covered with peccary skins and the old deerhorn awls (Fig. 12) numerous enough to be able to be exchanged for a trifle. The relative abundance of these objects proves that among these Indians hunting has not been relegated /Fig. 15 appears here/ to the rank of a simple sport and that it keeps, at least in part, its past importance. [797] The contrast is striking if one then goes into the zone of the Franciscan missions: there, more peccary skins, more [411] perforators made of deerhorn, more ostrich feathers. In the villages of the upper Pilcomayo there is no cabin, poor as it may be, in which a bow and a bundle of arrows are not slipped

[Text Continues on P. 89]

Plate VIII

441
284

Arrows for war or hunting large game (huî iya). Chiriguano. The tip is an iron blade, except for No. 4 which ends in a slender piece of wood. Nos. 1, 3, and 4 come from Ivu; No. 2 from Tigüipa, and No. 5 from Pípi. (1, 2, 5 are 1/2 nat. size; 3 and 4, 1/3 nat. size.)

284
411

Plate IX

/Caption on following page./

/Caption for Plate IX on preceding page./

● 411

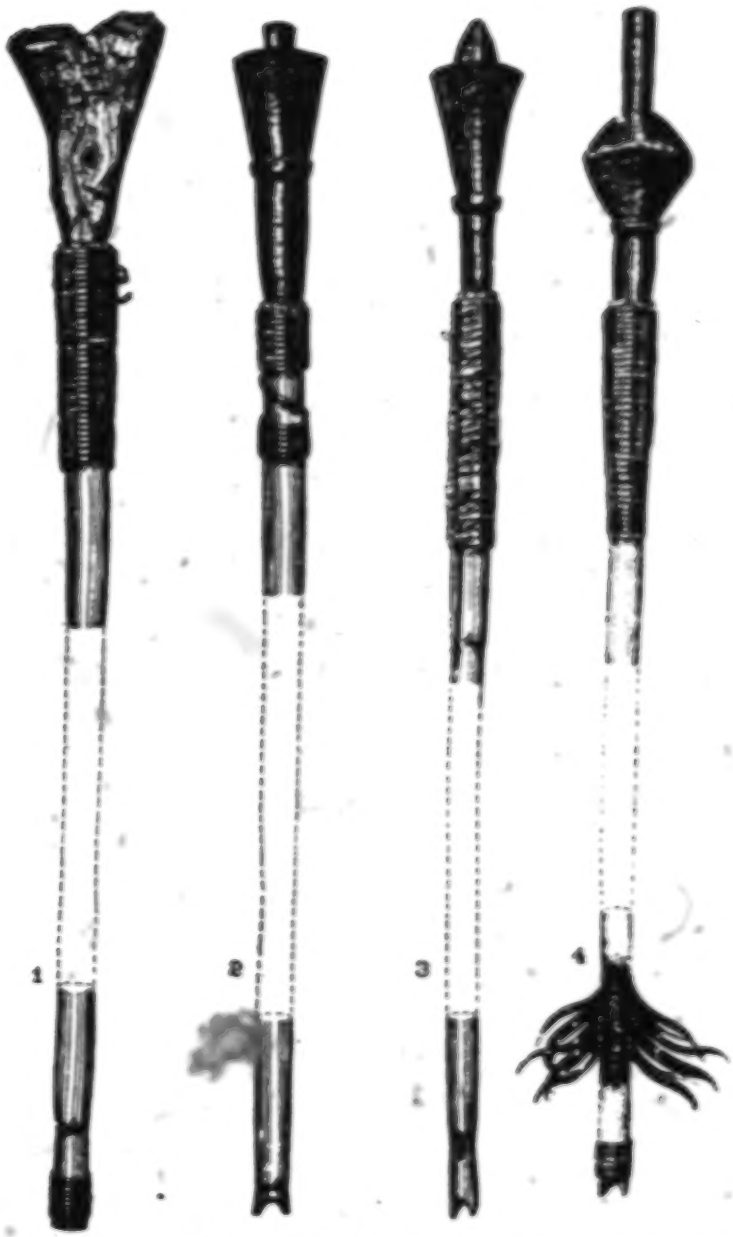
1. Arrow for hunting the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/. Chiriguano. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/4 nat. size ± .)

2. Arrow tipped with an iron rod wedged into the shaft with the aid of a wooden peg, perforated, and tied with a small cord. Reinforced with wembé bark. Prov.: Tintapaw. (1/2 nat. size ± .)

3-5. Arrows with barbed points. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/3 nat. size ± .) Note: Arrow No. 5, as an exception, has three feathers.

411
284

Plate X.

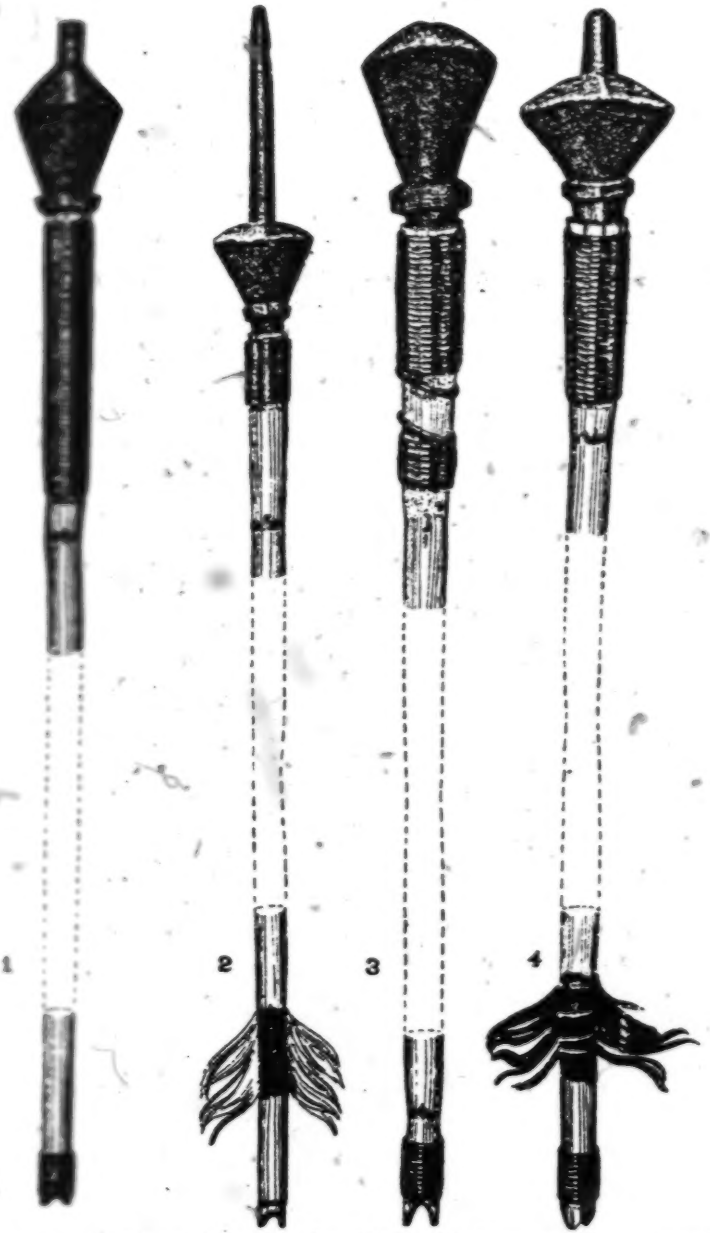


Arrows with splayed ferrule for felling birds or small mammals (songo). No. 1 comes from Ivu, No. 2 from Tintapaw, No. 3 from Tiwiraití (upper Pilcomayo), and No. 4 from Caipipendí. (1/2 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--87 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XI

41
284



Arrows with splayed ferrule for felling birds or small mammals (songo). Nos. 1 and 3 come from Ivu, Nos. 2 and 4 from Caipipendí. (1/3 nat. size.)

411
284

223
231

Fig. 14. Hunting arrow. Chiriguano. The point is formed by an iron rod to which a nail has been fastened to form a barb. This point is held in the shaft by means of a wooden peg. Prov.: Ñawirenda. (1/4 nat. size.)

Fig. 15. Upper tip of a lorero (long wand with a noose at the end, with which the Chiriguano catch wild parrots they have attracted by means of tame ones). Prov.: Ivu. (1/3 nat. size.)

/347 cont./

433 between the roof beams. Once out of this region the ethnog-
224 rapher will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire
184 these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him,
[411] they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an old man or crudely made specimens without any value other than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some rare lover of hunting.

224 The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendí
411 are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using
184 it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were intended, from what they told me, for killing the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.). They are long reeds armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate IX, 1). One must not conclude that the yakú, abundant as they may be, rep-
[433] resent an appreciable food resource. Besides, hunting is scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for
[126] fun. The Indian who gave up to me the handsomest lot of
[425] these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained to me, /348/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them without his consent.

857 Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shoot-
868 ing with a bow than ours. One can see them run around the
224 village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows (Plate XII, 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach. Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16 appears here./

223 Some Indians of the Caipipendí valley sold me large
[126] bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts. That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are certainly not numerous in this region; in a month's stay I
287 did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17
439 appears here/ feather dusters, which the Chiriguano sell in the

[Text continues on p. 91]

411
284

Plate XII

Arrows with splayed ferrule for felling birds or small mammals (songo). Nos 1 and 3 come from Ivu. Nos. 2 and 4 from Caipipendí. (1/2 nat.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chané SF8

MANUFACTURES

Pottery.—*Chiriguano* pottery is, for the beauty of its painted decoration and the variety of its forms, outstanding in modern South America. The mixed origin of *Chiriguano* culture is reflected in the two types of earthenware vessels. The plain pots for cooking and the large jars for chicha, which did not differ from similar vessels of the Paraguayan *Guaraní*, were ornamented with fingernail impressions (pl. 41, *bottom, right*).

C 323 531

C [171]

C Ca 301

C Ca 411

C Ca 412

C Ca 534

531 301

Ca 301 531

Ca 524

FIGURE 58.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* manufactures. *a*, Silver pincers used as breast ornaments; *b*, bird arrow point; *c*, handle to wooden spade; *d*, wooden whistle used as ornament; *e*, tin labret with mosaic inlay; *f*, *Chané* pea-shooter. (*a*, *d*, *e*, Redrawn from Rosen, 1924; *b*, *c*, *f*, from Nordenskiöld, 1920, figs. 28, 15, 3, 34.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

/55cont./

*825 757 and not those veterans of several arrobas like gourds in the form of saddlebags, which are seen in abundance around Pozuelos, Piray, San Juan, and Pomabamba.

*136 *825 There is another large bird with the same instincts as the buzzard, called carcancho by the whites and "Caracara" by the Indians. It does not, however, kill calves; it does hunt and kill little lambs, suckling pigs, and chickens, disregarding with boldness and dissimulation the brood hen. /56/ This shameless, fearless bird is abundant everywhere and is capable of getting into kitchens and sticking its beak into the ollas; but its favorite spot is the corral, where it scratches about, looks for things, and eats, and like the most natural thing in the world it will pull out the entrails of a sleeping lamb or at the least blind it in one eye. The rascal gets into the nests of smaller birds and steals eggs or kills the young to eat them. All in all, it is a sad and ugly neighbor, with the result that all are its enemies, and some birds chase it out of their nests. Such is the practice of the bird that the Chiriguano call "Guirapipasa"; another called "Suiriri" gets on the shoulders of the carcancho and pecks it until it runs long distances.

[757] The Indians assert that carcancho fat is an efficacious remedy for the vision, and that they used it before modern medicines, which turned out to be more efficaceous and [262] active, were introduced. They eat its meat if it is fat. The [237] feathers of the carcancho and the buzzard are very strong, and [411] they put them on the ends of their arrows, so that they will not turn aside when they are shot and consequently will hit the mark better.

*136 [132] GOLONDRINA /swallow/. -- The heat is altogether too much at certain times of the year, with the thermometer in the shade up to 32° and in the sun up to 60°, but let it not be believed that this state of heat is the normal thing. There are months of the year, and in these months there are weeks and days, in which it is difficult to endure the cold, which is most intense in June and parts or all of July. As a result of this, the swallow, even here, is a pilgrim, emigrating at the end of April and returning at the beginning of October. There are some entirely black, and there are some with white breasts. The

4: Nino--255 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
302
516
622
352
411

Cacique Gilraesa with His Family

/220 cont./

857 868 The boys have different ways of learning how to be accurate in shooting arrows and to be good hunters and brave warriors. In the field or in the woods they amuse themselves usefully ambushing and taking as a target little birds and even grasshoppers when there are any. and when they go back home they give proof of their manliness by sticking the arrow into the mortar in which their mother customarily grinds maize.

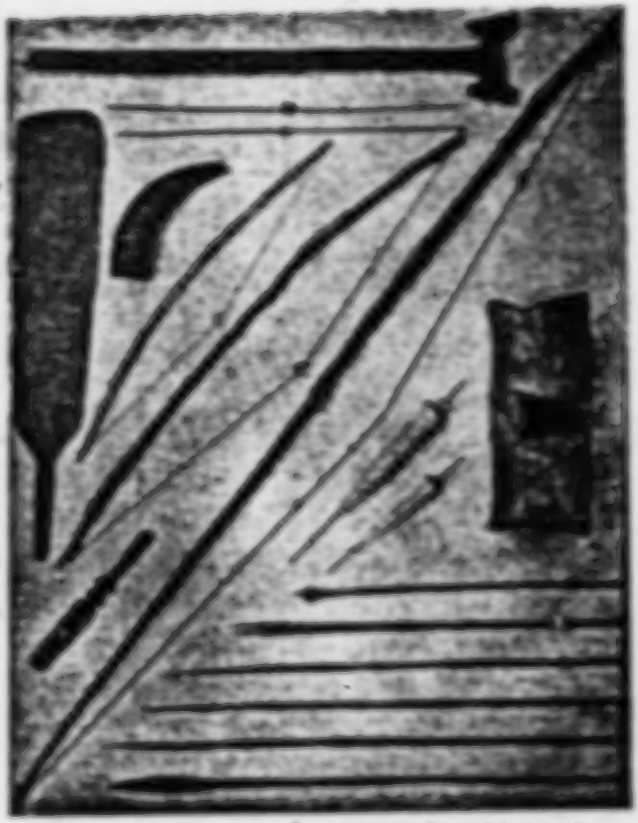
857 868 522 411 824 When the boys gather together in the town. they learn the use of the arrow. shooting it at a wooden wheel which one of them makes roll as fast as he can. This wheel is made of a type of round cactus which grows a cuarta or a little more and is called Zipepe. The boys. armed with arrows. line up. and the best one will succeed in driving his into the soft material of the zipepe. /221/ The zipepe is at the same time a school for target shooting and a game: of the latter they have 524 others which I shall name in passing. They have the Pinomo. top. This is different from that of the towns of the Republic. It is a small gourd with a hole in the middle in the upper part. When they spin it. the air produces a prolonged sound like that of little calves who are lowing very gently. and from this comes its name. Pinomo.

Another game for young and old is pelota. which has a definite season. This is when there is fresh maize. or the cold is beginning to be felt. They call it Topo. and it is done with the husk of fresh maize: thus. when the fresh maize season ends. the game of pelota also ends. and they amuse themselves with many other games that they have (1).

1. These will not be listed because this is not the subject of this chapter. and in addition it would be very tiring for the reader.

4-Nac--368 M-3 (1880-1911) 1912 SF10 Chirigano SF10

412
411
534
283
352



Bow., arrows, etc. /see p-38C for additional explanation/.

/273 cont./

721 I am not going to consider the Chiriguano at war with the Incas or with the Spaniards or with the whites who occupy the region. I am going to consider him at war with his own kind, or with the inhabitants of /274/ other towns which border his. Sensitive to the extreme, the Indian will fight on any pretext, however minor it may be considered, such as the abduction of a woman, her attempted violation, cattle stealing, or any other offense: they are enough to make the pride of the native scheme for vengeance and carry it out without any loss of time.

721 173 643 [727] Among the Indians of Ivo there is still kept alive the memory of the four or five wars which the regional cacique Yaveñu of Cuevo and its vicinity waged against Tuti, where among the women killed was the wife of the Indian Cairama, who still lives in the Santa Rosa Mission: against Choveti, where, while retreating, he killed several whites: against Itau and Carapari, from where he brought a small cannon as booty: and against Parapiti, where he was defeated, leaving some 200 victims on the battlefield on the left bank of the river. It has already been seen in the preceding pages that the cause which brought about this prolonged and bloody war was the attempt of the cacique Gilracoti with regard to Yaveñu's wife, which he avenged to excess (1).

1. The cacique Yaveñu waged a war of extermination against all the towns noted, because they all fought on Gilracoti's side, but he could do nothing against Chituri, the cacique of Parapiti.

721 411 My readers, having thus understood that the Chiriguano is very warlike, must be convinced of another truth, that is, that they are prepared to take up arms on any occasion, from which it can be deduced also that it is a fact that in every house they had available as many bows as there were persons fit for war, in addition to having ready as many dozens of arrows, because it was a law that in war each warrior had to carry at least a dozen.

/274 cont./

Offensive War and Weapons

643 When a tribe was preparing to attack another, if it foresaw
701 that it would last longer than usual, and the cacique judged that
705 more preparations were required, in his position as supreme chief or captain general he would commission subalterns called Queremba, experts, to inspect all the armament available, and if the report of these chiefs was not satisfactory, a general order was given to make up and repair all the deficiencies as quickly as possible.

411 The bows and arrows were made in the public plaza or out-
824 side each house; the wood which was to serve for bows was different from that for arrows. War bows measured /275/ a meter
[283] and a half more or less, and to shoot one they used a twisted cord made of pygmy-deer hide, which was both light and strong. The wood that they use even today for hunting bows is called Igũirapitiragua.

The arrows are made of different kinds of wood, but the most common are Ovei, guayancansillo /a kind of guaicum/, Yaguasíi, tola, and Igũirane, smelly wood. This last is very poisonous, and the tribe that uses it must be a very bad enemy of his opponent, because whoever is wounded with these arrows will recover only with difficulty, and the wound is a continual suppuration of illness, which slowly consumes him, almost without any hope of his being able to be helped and to enjoy life once more with his companions.

Every arrow ends in a point, and on both sides it has its edges the opposite way so that when it enters the flesh it is difficult to remove, and one who does not know how to remove it can produce a greater wound than the one the arrow made when it entered.
[283] The arrow is inserted into a little piece of hollow cane, one
[239] meter long, where it is securely attached with string made of toborochi bark, and the string is covered with a little bit of wax (1).

1. At the end of the cane, with the same string and wax, many attach a feather of a falcon or of a carcancho, not for decoration, but so that the shot may be more accurate. The feathers of these birds are more resistant than others.

/275 cont./

411 [492] Warriors on horseback, in addition to having bows and arrows, use the lance; it is a piece of a knife or of iron tied to the tip of a stick; note that each warrior, according to what they say, cannot carry more than a dozen arrows, because they are heavy. 534 726 In order to inspire terror and fright in the attack they make on the enemy town, they use the Igüiramimbi, a wooden musical instrument, the Senene, and the Huacananti, or cow's horn (2).

> 2. The first is round, and it is very hard to pierce it, and the second is long. Both are of good wood, and they engrave figures and signs on them. They hang them from the neck by means of a cord. The wood is like ebony.

722 While some of them are preparing the bows and arrows, the braver men do not remain idle, nor do the women; the latter prepare the necessary provisions and even the chicha to celebrate the triumph, if they win it, and the former encourage the more cowardly ones, showing their ability as queremba in the streets and the plaza, animating them all, making them understand that triumph depends on them and that it is necessary to triumph at all costs if they do not wish to be subjected to the harsh condition of the conquered, thus losing everything, wife, children, home, and property.

726 704 /276/ When all the weapons are ready, those of the cavalry saddle their horses, putting the arrows on the right side, so that they can easily get them in case of urgency, because it is characteristic of the cavalry to yell insults at the enemy and to sow confusion on the battlefield with shouts and the noise of the igüiramimbi, huacananti, and porongos. Then, all of them, [292] foot soldiers, horsemen, and queremba, don their garb, some the [714] jacket /coleto/, others armor of garabatá, and they put on the [411] back of the left hand a strap of pygmy-deer hide, so that they [302] will not hurt themselves when they shoot the bow, and, finally, they all color their faces and arms with ground charcoal dampened in water. Let the reader consider if this army of demons would not frighten even the dead!

4: Nino--382 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/283/

Explanation of the Preceding Illustration /see p. 368/

412
411
534
283
352

1. Wooden spade for work.
2. Spade handle.
3. Bull's horn for blowing.
4. Implement for stirring food.
5, 6. Chiriguano spindles.
7. Chair or seat with two spaces for children.
8. A bow for adults.
9. Arrow with iron point.
10, 11, 12. Arrows with wooden point.
13. Bow for young people.
14. Arrow with two points for hunting and fishing.
15. "Songo," or arrow with rounded point for hunting small birds.
16. Bow for boys.
17, 18. Arrows for boys.

/284/

Chapter Thirteen

Illnesses, Remedies, Death, and Mourning

Introduction

One moment of reflection suffices for a man to understand that there is no true happiness on earth; he who can glory in being happy in this world finds many sorrows: unsatisfied desires, unexecuted orders, unfinished projects. The careless execution of injunctions constitutes thorns for the heart of the man who could call himself blessed. He would like everything to go along as he desires, and when this does not happen he suffers, and if he does not express his suffering he suffers much more (1).

> 1. It is a great relief for a man to be able to communicate his sufferings to a sincere friend, but it is difficult to find such, because he who has a friend has a treasure, and the treasure is a rare thing.

8:Nordenskiöld E-5/f (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

IV.

Hunting Equipment.

C
Ce
411
[224]

The Chiriguano and the Chané are not keen huntsmen. They are rarely seen out hunting. Their hunting-weapons are the bow and arrow, the pellet-bow, clubs, slings, and snares, all of their own manufacture. The Chiriguano have bird-nets too, and formerly they had the bola as well. The Chiriguano and the Chané have no weapons exclusively used in warfare. Formerly they had lances[1]).

C
[223]

C
Ce
411

The bow and arrow are going quite out of use among these Indians except for fishing and as a weapon for boys. The degenerate type of bow now seen among the Chané and Chiriguano is certainly not original. According to LIZARRAGA[2]) the Chiriguano used to have bows of a man's height. It is of great interest to learn from LIZÁRRAGA that the Chiriguano used to protect their left wrist with a small piece of wood to prevent the skin being grazed by the bow-string. Something similar occurs among the Ashluslay (see Part I. P. 42).

C
[714]

C
Ce
414
[134]
[824]
[171]

Their arrows are very like those used by the Choroti and Ashluslay. The arrow shafts are of the same kind of reed[3]). At the Rio Parapiti this plant, which grows abundantly beside the Rio Pilcomayo is cultivated by the Indians. On the Rio Parapiti there is a place called Ouivarenda, which means »where there is chuchio.» This plant, the *Gynerium* sp. whose seed-stalks so many Indian tribes use

[1]) CHOMÉ P. 331.

[2]) P. 328.[4] »Andan desnudos y quando mucho qual ó qual tiene una camisetilla hasta el ombligo; . . . son grandes flecheros; sus armas son arco y flecha; el arco tan grande como el mismo que lo tira, y porque la cuerda no lastime la mano izquierda, en la muñeca encajan un trocillo de madera y allí da la cuerda».

[3]) *Arundo donax.*

[4] [Errata: this should read "See Serrano y Sanz P. 328."
(f errata sheet, Cat. 116, P. 245 -- Analyst.]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5)(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
ce
441
[824]

for arrow shafts has been completely destroyed by cattle along the Rio Parapiti. Formerly the Chané made the shafts for their arrows of »chuchio».

The arrow points are made of hard wood and sometimes of iron. Arrows with several tips are used for fishing and sometimes also for shooting birds. Arrow-tips made of cactus spikes are used by some Chiriguano for fishing. Some characteristic types of arrows are depicted here (fig. 6). Some arrows are feathered to guide the flight. The feathers are fixed in the way that MEYER calls »Peruvian cemented feathering». The feathers are quite small as on Chaco arrows generally. Arrows with thickened heads (bird arrows) are very common. Some of them have the shape we see depicted here (fig. 6 E). This type does not occur among any of the other tribes I got to know during my travels, but they are common among several peoples living in the east, e. g. the Cainguá, Guató, and Bororó, and in the northern part of S. America, among the Trio, Guahibo and others. They have most likely been introduced here by the Chiriguano. It is not probable that they have come from the Arawaks for, as a rule, they do not use blunt bird-arrows. In Part I I have published a map (No. 3) showing the distribution of the bird-arrow in S. America. Later on I will deal with arrows particularly used for fishing. The Chiriguano and Chané sometimes use a special kind of bast to bind round the arrow where the point is inserted in the shaft. The same kind of bast is not met with among the Choroti and Ashluslay or among the other Chaco tribes I have got to know. It occurs, however, among the Cainguá.

C
[824]
[226]

C
ce
*[171]

C
[171]

C
ce
[283]
*[171]

In part I I have already published a map showing the distribution of the sling in S. America. I have nothing to add to this which cannot be seen in the subjoined drawings (fig. 7).

The pellet-bow is rather common among the Chiriguano and also among the Chané. It is chiefly used by boys and youths. I wish here to make a few additions to what I have said about the pellet-bow in Part I.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
284
411

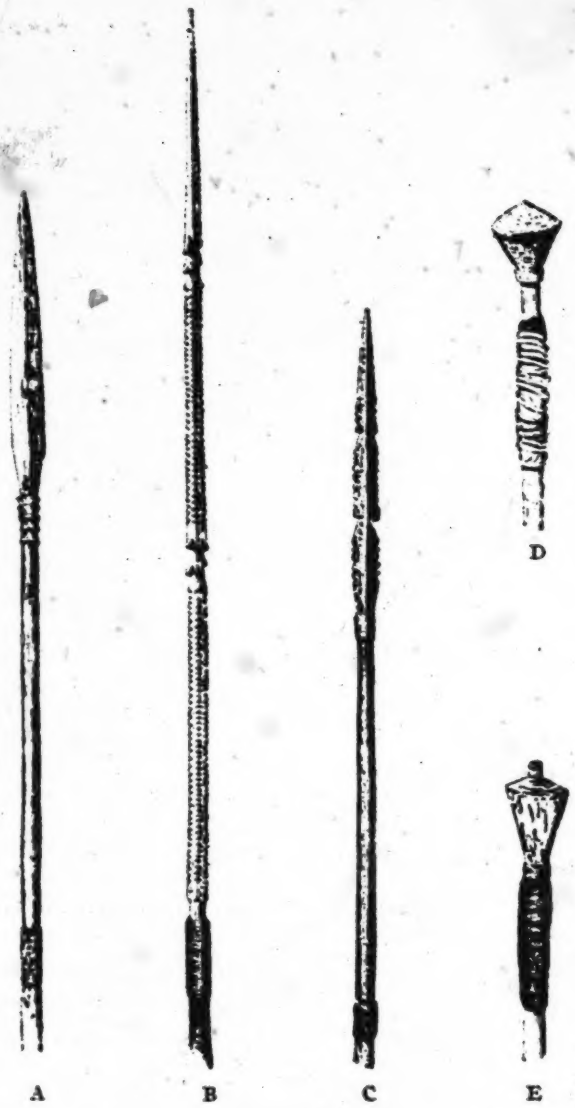


Fig. 6. Types of arrows from the Chiriguano and Chané. Shafts of reed, points of wood. 1/4.

A = Chané, Rio Itiyuro. R. M. H. 61. B = Chiriguano. R. M. E. 655.
C = Chané. Rio Itiyuro. R. M. H. 36. D = Chiriguano. R. M. E. 620.
E = Chiriguano. R. M. E. 622.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
411
114
177
171

In a weighty article E. von Rosen (3) has criticised my opinion that the pellet-bow was possibly brought from India to S. America by Portuguese sailors in post-Columbian times. He is quite correct in the statement that the thick part in the middle of the bow is not for strength-

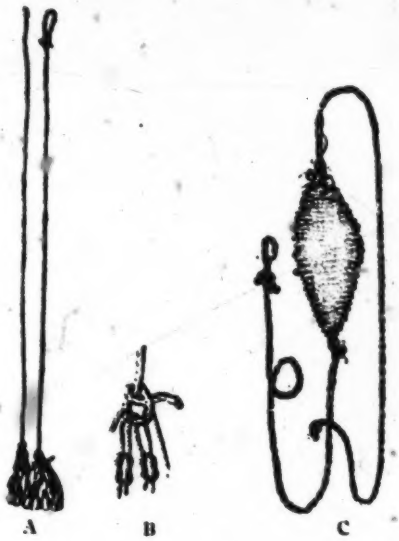


Fig. 7. Slings.

A — Chané, Rio Parapiti. 1/12. R. M. P. 293.
B — Detail of A. 1/3.
C — Chiriguano. 1/5. R. M. E. 168.

Fig. 8. Detail of pellet-bow. Rest for the pellet. Chiriguano.
R. M. E. 591 1/2.

ening but is merely for better grip. This holds concerning both the Asiatic pellet-bows and some of the American. This contrivance is practical but not indispensable. It is certainly not little toy-bows alone that have not got it. It is quite wanting on the pellet-bows of the Choroti, Ashluslay, Tapiete, Mataco and Yuracáre. Presuming that the pellet-bow in S. America is of Asiatic origin, it is evident that the Indians who first learnt the use of the pellet-bow

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

from the Portuguese have kept its Asiatic shape, while the tribes that received it later have made pellet-bows more like their usual bows.

Von Rosen puts forward the supposition that the S. American pellet-bow may be an imitation of the European crossbow. This is supported by the fact that the pellet-rests on some S. American pellet-bows (fig. 8) and the pellet-rests on some European crossbows are very similar. This similarity is extremely noteworthy. Still, I deem it unlikely that Indians should have hit on the use of pellet-bows because they had seen Portuguese crossbows — especially as I am not aware that the Portuguese in S. America used bullets for their crossbows. In any case the pellet-bow in S. America would be a post-Columbian culture-element.

It is quite true that some Indians, e. g. the Choroti and Ashluslay have their own words for pellet-bow. But it is a common thing for some Indian tribes to have coined words to denote objects introduced by Europeans. On the other hand, it never happens that the Indians that still speak their own language lack native words for objects which are plainly pre-Columbian with them. It is therefore of primary importance for the settlement of the question as to whether the pellet-bow was introduced in post-Columbian times to note the fact that several tribes lack native words for the pellet-bow, calling it »bodoque».[1])

The Chané call it »boroque». I am not acquainted with any Chiriguano name for it. A circumstance that speaks in favour of the pellet-bow being a post-Columbian culture-element is the fact that these bows are unknown in Peru, in Central America, and in Mexico, that is to say, in the cultural zones proper. There are not many of the elaborate culture-elements in S. America that have been unknown to

[1]) From the Portuguese.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
441
177
171

the most civilized tribes and only known to the tribes east of the Andes. This applies especially to those cultural elements that are of little or no importance in the struggle for existence. The pellet-bow is the only weapon of any importance which, as far as is known, was unknown in all the seats of higher civilization in America. If the pellet-bow is an original American invention, it must have been invented by a comparatively uncivilized tribe.

C
Ce
441
171

The pellet-bow is nowhere in S. America of any great importance as a hunting weapon. The heavy hand of necessity has never spurred the Indians into making an invention of this kind.

C
Ce
441
171
114

FRIEDERICI has pointed out to me in a letter that in MARTYR »De orbe novo» there is a statement about bows from the coast of Venezuela used by boys for shooting with pellets of clay or wax. This is plainly the same statement as GOMARA's that I quoted in Part I. MARTYR's statement is in the Eighth Decade, where he complains, that his memory was beginning to fail him. I believe there must be some misapprehension on MARTYR's part, and that the pellets in question were arrows with thickened heads of wax or wood. MARTYR cannot refer to pellets thrown by hand, as he plainly speaks of bows. It is not likely that wax pellets were used for clay pellet-bows, but, on the other hand, it is not at all unusual that arrows used in play should have thickened wax heads. Arrows of this kind have been brought from the Ijca in Colombia by BOLINDER. The pellet-bow is mentioned neither by missionaries nor by any modern authors as occurring in Venezuela or any other part of northern S. America. It is extremely unlikely that this desirable toy weapon should have existed there at the beginning of the 15th century and then entirely vanished. Such an isolated occurrence would be most peculiar and unusual.

C
Ce
441
[171]

The clubs (fig.9) that I have seen among the Chiriguano and Chané have not always clearly defined heads like those of the Chorsti and Ashluslay.

StNordenskiöld E-S,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

of the Choroti and Ashluslay. As far as I know they are only used for hunting peccary. These animals are brought to bay by dogs and killed with clubs. I do not venture to say where this most primitive kind of club originated.

Ee 441 [224]

Fig. 9.

Fig. 11.

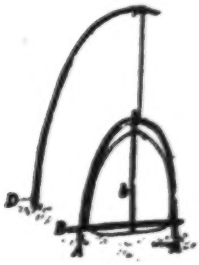


Fig. 12.

Fig. 10.

C Ce 441 223 224

Fig. 9. Club of hard wood. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 580. $^1/_2$.
" 10. Parrot-snare. Chané, Rio Parapiti. R. M. P. $^1/_{11}$.
" 11. Parrot-snare made of a piece of twine and a feather. The specimen depicted is from the Tapiete. R. M. L. 267. $^1/_2$.
" 12. Snare. Chané, Rio Itiyuro.

C Ce [287]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

V.

Fishing tackle.

C
Ee
226

Three methods of fishing are known to the Chiriguano and Chané with, moreover, a northerly distribution. These methods are the use of the fish-spear or fishgig, the use of many pointed arrows, and fishing with poison.

Ee
*171
114
226
411

I have not seen the fishspear among the Chiriguano. ERIC VON ROSEN[1]), however, depicts one from this tribe which is preserved in the Riksmuseum in Stockholm. Something like it from these Indians is mentioned by ACOSTA[2]).

The Guarayú[3]) spear eels with two single-pointed spears of »chonta». According to EDER[4]) the Mojo used fish-spears with three points. They did their spearing by torchlight and fixed the torches in the prow of their canoes. According to FREIREISS[5]) the Coroados had double-pointed fish-spears. KOCH-GRÜNBERG[6]) mentions triple-pointed fish-gigs from the Huhúteni and other Indians in northwestern Brazil. The Indians in the northwest of Brazil also fish by torchlight. The Indians at Lago Titicaca[7]) use triple-point-

C
Ee
226
*171
411

[1]) (1) Pl. XIV.

[2]) T. I, P. 236 »Otro género de pesca vi, á que me llevó el Virey Don Francisco de Toledo; verdad es, que no era en mar, sino en un rio, que llaman el Rio Grande, en la Provincia de los Charcas, donde unos Chiriguanas se zabullian debajo del agua, y nadando con admirable presteza seguian los peces, y con unas fiscas, ó harpones que llevaban en la mano derecha, nadando solo con la izquierda herian el pescado, y así atrevesado lo sacaban arriba, que cierto parecian ellos ser mas peces, que hombres de la tierra.»

[3]) NORDENSKIÖLD (9) P. 177.

[4]) P. 301.

[5]) P. 271.

[6]) (2) T. 2, P. 34, Fig. 9. See also WHIFFEN P. 113.

[7]) NEVEU-LEMAIRE P. 75.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
226
411
*171

ed poles *that are used both as fish spears and to punt their rafts along.*

It is not unlikely at all that it is the multi-pointed pole which has suggested the fish spear. These poles are multi-pointed in order that they may be used in swamps, to punt their canoes along. It was natural that the Indians should try with these poles to have a thrust at any fish they might see. Then, if they migrated to a district where many-pointed poles were no longer needed, these poles lived on as fishspears.

C
226
411

As I have already mentioned the Chiriguano shoot fish with a bow and arrow. For this purpose they sometimes, though not always, use many-pointed arrows. I have seen two different types which are depicted here (fig. 15). One has two wooden points, the other which was used at Rio Parapiti for shooting small fish, has many points of cactus spikes. Two or three-pointed arrows used for shooting fish are spread in South America chiefly in the water region of the Amazon, as indicated on map 5 and table 4.

Ce
226
411

I have not visited any Chané who live where they are able to use this method of fishing. Among the arrows in my collection there are no multipointed ones that came from them.

As seen from map 5 and table 4, the many-pointed fish-arrow seems to be a cultural element that came to the Chiriguano from the north part of S. America, most likely from Mojos. I have seen the harpoon arrow neither among the Chiriguano nor the Chané.

Table 4.

C
Ce
102
226
411
*171
S
102
226

The following tribes use multi-pointed fishing-arrows. Map 5.

4.	Chiriguano, Fig. 15.	Two or many points.
31.	Trio, GOEJE (1) Pl. V. Fig. 9.	Three-pointed.
33.	Campa, THERESE V. BAYERN (2) Vol. 2, Pl. 1,7	Four-pointed.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
41. Pauserna, Two-pointed.
102
43. Huanyam, Three-pointed.
226
47 a. Patamona, THULIN G. M. Three-pointed.
411
*171
48. Indians Northwestern Brazil, KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) T. 2. P. 230. Two-pointed.
S
102
226
Not on the map Schakaja—Rio Orinoco. RATZEL Vol. 1. Pl. 24. Three-pointed.
55. Indians, coast of Guiana. STEDMAN T. 2, P. 109; BARRERE P. 169; QUANDT. Fig. 6. Three to five pointed.
63. Yamiaca, Four-pointed. For bird-shooting. Probably also used for fishing.
64. Huari, Two or three-pointed. Nambicuara, ROQUETTE-PINTO (2) P. 184. Two, three and four-pointed.
70. Piro, Upper Rio Purus. KOCH-GRÜNBERG, Communicated by letter.
V3. Caripou, MOCQUET Fig. CC. Three-pointed.
6X. Tambopata-Guarayo. Three-pointed.
2M. Wapisiana. FARABEE Fig. 13. Three-pointed.

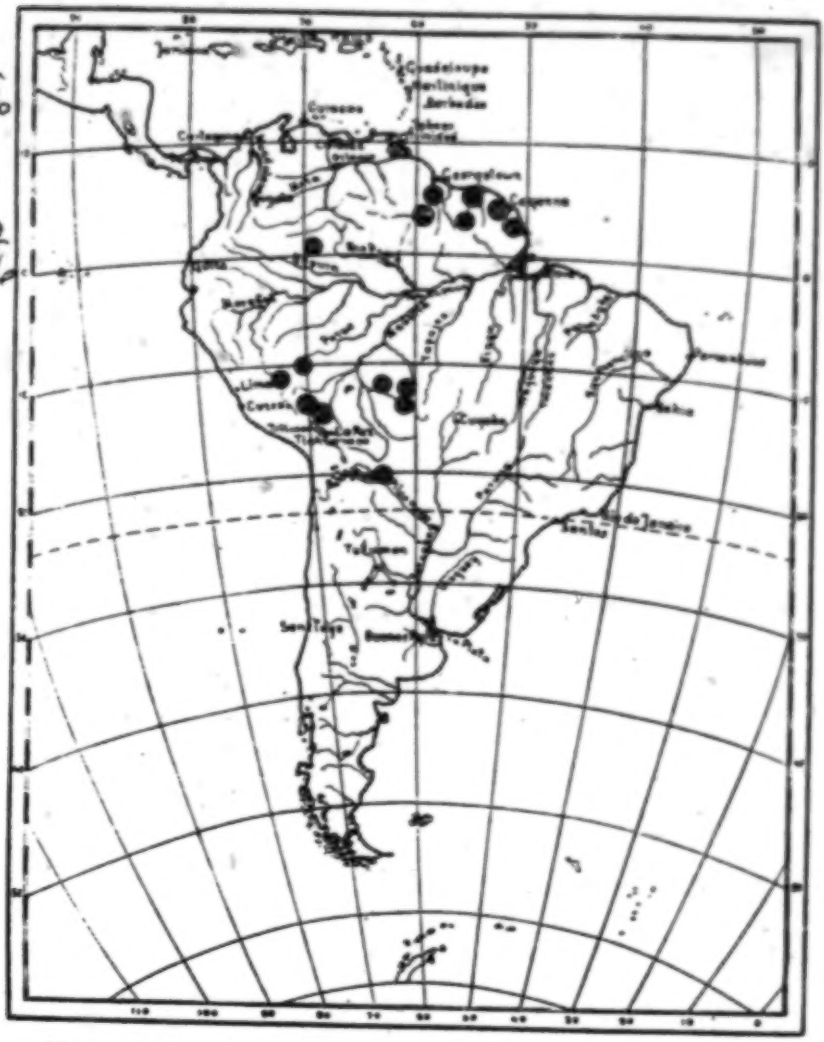
C
Ce
226
I have not seen these Indians fish with poison. At the Upper Rio Pilcomayo, however, I heard in 1913 that the Chiriguano know how to poison the water with a certain kind of bark as a means of catching fish. A great number of plants are used by S. American Indians for this purpose, particularly in the basin of the Amazon.[1]) On the map and table, I have endeavoured in some measure to elucidate the distribution of this fishing-method. Curiously enough KARL V. D. STEINEN did not see this method of fishing among the Indians tribes at the upper Rio Xingú.[2]) I have neither seen it myself nor heard of it among the Indians in El Gran Chaco. Nor does MAX SCHMIDT mention fishing with poison from the Guató.

---

[1]) See further KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) T. 2.
[2]) (3) P. 235.

S:Nordenskiöld E-S,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
226
411
171
S
102
226



Map. 5. The distribution of the multi-pointed fishing arrow.

/183 cont./

The Chané and the Chiriguano are not great hunters. Perhaps in former times there was more hunting. Their hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow. For hunting wild pigs they use clubs; for ostrich hunts the boleadora /bola/, "churima," was formerly used. Snares and bird nets are also found. In former times the hunters wore /184/ a costume of leather cut in imitation of a European cut, obviously copied from the Spaniards (1). This

1. Viedma already mentions this costume, p. 181.

was not permitted to hang in the house. Formerly, also among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, no meat could be cooked in the house; rather, this had to be done a short distance away. Boys are, of course, eager hunters of small birds. Like the men, they sometimes use clay-projectile bows.

There are hunting dogs specially trained for hunting wild pigs. In a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro I saw how all the dogs had a red cross painted on their heads, so that they would not be bitten by a mad dog running about in the vicinity. It was truly amusing to see how these heathen Chané protected their dogs against rabies with the sign of the cross.

Batirayu told me that Chané men, when they go hunting, are not permitted to sleep with their wives the night before.

Fishing is carried on differently in the various rivers.

In the Rio Itiyuro women and children almost exclusively do the fishing. There are only small fish there too. I saw three methods of fishing there. Angling, fishing with calabashes, and fishing by damming up pools. The fishhooks consist of bent needles obtained from the whites. Floats and sinkers are not used.

Fishing with calabashes is done in the following way. Several bunches of leaves, which give shade, are stuck in the bottom of the river, and in front of each of these is placed a calabash (Fig. 90) with sour, ground maize (residue from beer brewing). The fish gather in the calabashes, which are taken out from time to time by the women. The latter creep toward the calabash, quickly place a hand over the opening, lift /185/ it up, and then empty the contents into pits along the river bank.

/186 cont./

Another method of fishing often used in the aforementioned river is to dam up longish pools in the sand, in which fish gather. After the water is emptied out of the pools, the fish are caught. Sometimes the pool is made to terminate in a channel closed off with a scoop net /Keucher/, from which the fish cannot escape. Ee 226 Ee

All the fishing that I saw on the Rio Itiyuro was done during the dry season, on hot, sunny days. [132]

On the upper Rio Pilcomayo the Chiriguano fish with fishhooks obtained from the whites, with nets similar to the dip nets of the Choroti, though smaller, and by shooting the fish with bow and arrow. The arrows used for fishing have two or more points. C 226 [177] [411]

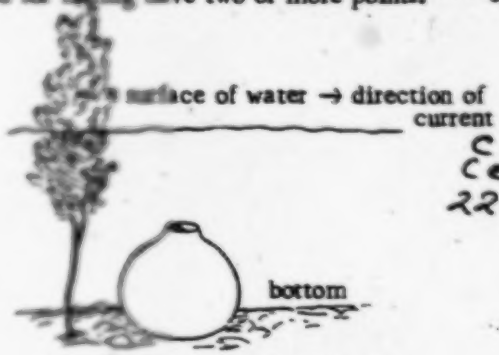


Fig. 90. Fishing with calabash.
Rio Itiyuro.

C Ee 226

On the Rio Parapiti I saw Chaná and Chiriguano fishing with a net of the type illustrated here (Fig. 91). In shooting fish, the Chiriguano there use arrows with many fine points. C [411]

In these last-named rivers the men always fish in deeper water with nets and with bow and arrow, whereas the women are content to catch small fish where the water is dammed when the river is half dry. Ee

Not infrequently the Indians undertake long journeys in order to fish. Thus, the Chaná sometimes during the /186/ dry season visit the swamps "Madrejones" in which the Rio Parapiti disappears. 226 484 [33]

352 [114] been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks [171] made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. [513] Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of 353 considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly 415 array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize [531] beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

[352] → [291] [302] [411] [415] ← [237] [824] → 354 →

Fig. 194. Man and young woman. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this im- 356 possible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

291 The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of [177] European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 263 and fig. 85 (12), pp. 15 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 59.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

[P205]

CHAPTER VIII.

The Chiriguanos (2).

Industries. Cultivated plants. Hunting. Fishing. Vessels for food and drink. Instruments and utensils. Music and dancing. Social order. Customs governing marriages, childbearing, illnesses, death and burial. Character and temperament. Belief in metempsychosis.

The Chiriguano are mainly an agricultural people, but they also do a certain amount of hunting and fishing. Maize is the most important of their cultivated plants, and it is very extensively grown by them. Many other Indian domestic plants are also cultivated, viz. pumpkins, sweet potatoes, beans, mani, cactus with edible fruit (Opuntia), tobacco, cotton, uruku (Bixa orellana), and a reed plant (Arundo donax) for making arrow-shafts. Of imported cultivated plants grown by the Chiriguano, I have seen melons, water melons, sugar cane and oranges. According to Nordenskiöld, they also grow figs and millet,[1] these latter of course also having been introduced by the whites. Nowadays, European spades and hoes are used for loosening the soil. Among wild-growing food plants the algarrobo tree (Prosopis alba) is, to the Chiriguanos, the most important one. The Indians also prepare from the fruit of this tree an intoxicating drink to which they are much addicted.

The Chiriguano larder does not to any great extent depend on hunting the game, but formerly hunting must certainly have been an important source of subsistence. Snaring is, nowadays, the 'only' method of hunting employed by the Chiriguano. The long-bow, the pellet-bow, slings, bird-nets and clubs are still occasionally used in hunting.

In olden times the Indians were good shots with the bow and arrow, and, according to Lizarraga, they then used bows the height of a man.

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), pp. 23 and 24.

411
[714]
[114]
[524]
[126]
[171]

Fig. 200. Rikm. ej. 3. Rps. For metric, see fig. 203.
Longbow. Chiriguano. Bolivia. About $\frac{1}{10}$.

Fig. 201. Rikm. ej. 3. Rps. For metric, see fig. 204.

On the left wrist they wore a small piece of wood as a protection against the blow of the bowstring.[1]

Curiously enough, the present-day Chiriguano type of bow does not seem to have been exhaustively described by anyone; not even in Schmidt's account of South American bow types,[2] otherwise so exact, is there any mention of the Chiriguano bow. The reason for this may very likely be found in the circumstance that these weapons are said to be of rare occurrence nowadays, and that such few specimens as are still being made, are mostly used as toys and on that account typologically degenerated. Twenty years ago, when I travelled through a part of the Chiriguano country, the bow was, however, not so rarely seen as a hunting weapon as now, and I collected the seven specimens now reposing in the ethnographical section of the Riksmuseum at Stockholm. Beside these, there are two Chiriguano bows brought home by Baron Nordenskiöld, one of which is a toy bow. Two other toy bows that have been brought to Sweden by Nordenskiöld belong to the Gothenburg Museum. This forms the material from which I have compiled the following description of the Chiriguano type of bow.

By their string-fastening arrangement the Chiriguano bows differ from the Chaco-Andean bow types, which latter as a rule have no neck-shaped bow-end projections for the string. On the other hand, all Chiriguano bows that I have studied, even the toy bows, have neck-shaped ends for fastening the string, a circumstance indicating that the Chiriguano bow is no acquisition from Chaco-

[1] Du Jouanage (1), p. 308. From Rd. Nordenskiöld.
[2] Schmidt (1), pp. xxxv—xxix.

Andean civilization, but is of a type that the Chiriguano themselves brought with them.

The bow staves, of which figs. 101 and 102 represent typical specimens, consist of an exceedingly resilient — though gnarled — kind of wood. As seen from the table here given, the lengths lie between 115 and 145 cm. The longest of the bows examined by me are therefore about 2 dm shorter than a Chiriguano Indian of average height (see table on p. 191), which goes to show that this type of weapon has grown smaller since the days of Lizarraga.

Chiriguano bows.

Ethnographic catalogue No.	Stave Material	Length of stave, cm	Stave stave section section	Bending during arrangement	String material
03. 3. 850	Hard, resilient, gnarled wood	145	Type as in fig. 103	Stave and gnarled down to a notch	Twisted cord (cotton)
03. 3. 850	"	145	"	"	"
03. 3. 852	"	138	"	"	"
03. 3. 856	"	135	"	"	"
R. 680	"	135	"	"	"
03. 3. 850	"	130	"	"	"
03. 3. 855	"	128	"	"	"
03. 3. 851	"	119	Type as in fig. 104	"	"

The string side of the Chiriguano bow is plane or very slightly convex, and the front side convex, which gives the stave section the shape shown in fig. 103. Only one of the bows examined, fig. 101, has a differently shaped section, which is seen in fig. 104. It is worthy of remark that two bows (Nos. 03. 3. 850 and 03. 3. 854) are of a low reflex type, i. e., the stave, when the bow is unstrung, assumes a slight curve in the direction opposite the one it has when strung. From the way the string is put on, it is evident that the stringing has not been altered, so that the reflex type is not merely apparent. It is also possible that some of the other Chiriguano bows I have examined have originally been of reflex type, but that the staves, from tight stringing for a long time, have lost their original elasticity. It seems to me, however, most probable that these bows have acquired their reflex character unintentionally. As a rule, the reflex type is

Fig. 103. Section of stave of bow stave, fig. 101. ½.

Fig. 104. Section of stave of bow stave, fig. 102. ½.

411 unsuited to wooden bows, although, on the other hand, it is useful in the case of built-up bows, and bows made of horn.[1]

411 284 For the purpose of fastening the string, the staves have been given neck-shaped ends, one of which often is longer than the other (fig. 205, a and b). The string, which consists of twisted rawhide, is fastened to the shorter neck end with a knot (fig. 205, a), or a loop, then wound round the other neck end, in the way seen in fig. 205, b. When not in use, the string is slackened on the bow. When the bow is to be used, the stave is stood on the ground, for purchase, when it can be bent as much as is desired, and then the slip-knot (fig. 205, b) is pulled tight. When the bow is strung taut, the slip-knot is locked, so that, when unstringing the bow, one compresses it against the ground in order to slacken the string; the slip-knot is then easily loosened, and the string lengthened as required. When the bow is not being used for shooting, this way of treating it rests the stave, and tends to preserve its elasticity. In shooting, the bow is held with the string-wound part downwards (see figs. 201 and 202).

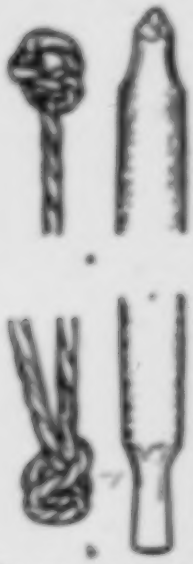


Fig. 205. String ends, and string-and loops of longbow shown in fig. 200. ⅓.

411 The arrows are long, sometimes as long — or even longer — than the bows. As to their size, and other particulars, this may be seen from figs. 206—214, and the table on p. 211.

In the lancet-shaped heads of arrows of the types seen in figs. 206 and 207, the tang is pushed into a wooden arrow-head socket, the forepart of which is cleft. The rear end of the socket is fitted into the hollow fore end of the reed shaft. The socket is wound with string, so that its cleft part is kept tightly pressed against the tang, which latter often is smeared with beeswax, so as to make it stick firmly in the cleft. In order to give an increased firmness to the string-lashing, this is also heavily waxed, and so is the part of the socket that is fitted in the shaft. Iron arrow-heads [177] of this type have probably been copied from the lanceolate wooden arrow-heads that are still in use among the Chaués.[2]

[1] Longmore and Walmsley (1), pp. 48—49.
[2] Tube arrow-head, fig. 8 A, Nordenskiöld (18).

All arrow-shafts have the forepart strengthened by a waxed lashing of bast or string, of a width from 5 to 11 cm. The rear end of the shaft is generally also reinforced with a waxed lashing, applied immediately above the string notch. This latter lashing is usually about 1 cm wide. In those of the arrows here reproduced that seem to be without notch-end lashing, this has become detached, except in the case of the arrow in fig. 40, which never was provided with a lashing of this kind.

I have mentioned in the foregoing that the Chiriguano cultivate a kind of reed plant (Arundo donax) in order to obtain therefrom a suitable material for making arrow-shafts. In making a reed into an arrow-shaft, the arrow-head is fitted to the thicker end of the reed (the lower part of the growing reed), because in this way, when the arrow is being discharged, the joints glide more easily over the bow stave than if the thinner end of the reed were turned to the front. The reed joints are, moreover, smoothed down with some sharp instrument in order to lessen the friction between arrow and stave. Arrow-shafts of a certain very light kind of wood are used by the Chiriguano of San Luis. Such wooden shafts I only saw on the long bird and fish arrows. I have never observed either arrow poison, or feathering on arrows, among the Chiriguano, but Nordenskiöld has seen feathered Chiriguano arrows.[1]

For bird-shooting the Chiriguano use arrows with club-shaped, wooden heads. The striking-face of this blob-head is usually slightly conical, and sometimes given a small, cylindrical projection (fig. 212). This type of arrow-head has been constructed for the purpose of preventing the arrow — if it misses its object — from fixing itself in the stem or branch of a tree, and of making it instead drop to the ground. As birds frequently are sitting high aloft in the trees, the hunter would not have much chance of recovering his arrow, on missing his bird,

Fig. 206. 03. 3. 902. Fig. 207. 03. 3. 903. Arrows with lanceolate iron heads, and reed shafts. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm.

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 26.

[Text continues on p. 212]

[P. 210]

411
284

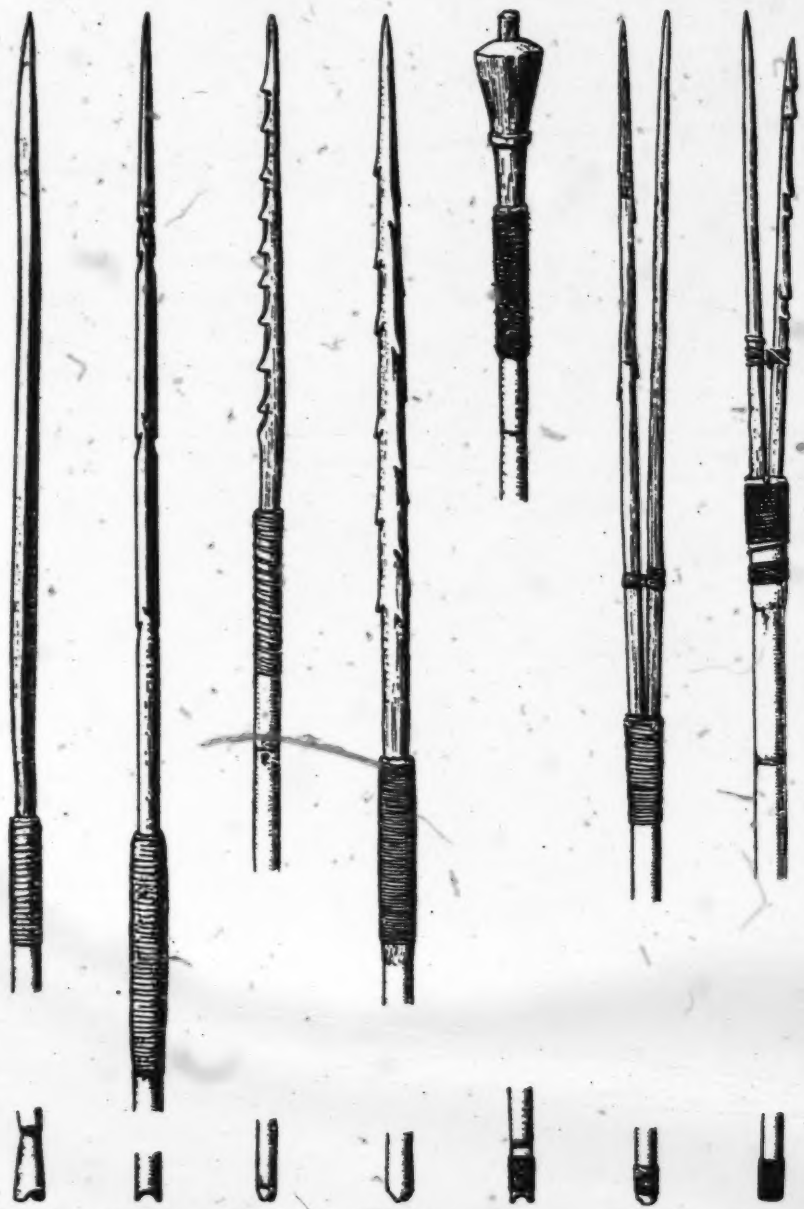


Fig. 208. 03. 3. 857. Fig. 209. 03. 3. 868. Fig. 210. 03. 3. 864. Fig. 211. 03. 3. 862. Fig. 212. 03. 3. 873.

Arrows with points of hard, heavy wood, and shafts of reed. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. 3/4. Riksm.

Fig. 213. 03. 3. 882. Fig. 214. 03. 3. 893.

Arrows for fish-shooting, with two-pronged points of hard, heavy wood, and reed shafts. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. 3/4. Riksm.

The Chiriguano arrows in figs. 206—214. Synoptic table.

Fig.	Head					Socket		Shafting	Shaft			Length of arrow, cm	Mode of using
	Material	Shape	Length beyond socket, cm	Length beyond shaft, cm	Arrow poison	Material	Length beyond shaft, cm		Material	Length cm	Feathers		
206	Iron.	Lanceolate with tang; no barbs.	14.5	—	None	Wood	8	The tang is stuck into a cleft in the socket. Socket fitted into a hole in the shaft.	Reed	132.5	None	155	For hunting large game such as jaguar and ostrich; also as war weapon.
207	»	»	11.5	—	»	»	11.2	»	»	106.4	»	129.1	»
208	Heavy hard wood.	Needle-like, with triangular section; no barbs.	—	35.2	»	—	—	Arrow-head stuck into a hole in the shaft.	»	78	»	113.2	For hunting various middle-sized game.
209	»	Needle-like, with square section.	—	35.6	»	—	—	»	»	82.9	»	118.5	»
210	»	Needle-like, with irregular section. A row of barbs.	—	21.8	»	—	—	»	»	100.3	»	122.1	Also used for shooting fish.
211	»	Needle-like, with triangular section. Barbed along all three edges.	—	32.3	»	—	—	»	»	103.8	»	136.1	»
212	»	Club-like, with projecting stout pin in middle of striking surface.	—	8.5	»	—	—	»	»	136	»	144.5	Bird-shooting.
213	»	Two needle-like heads with triangular section. The shorter head is barbed.	—	31.5 30.8	»	—	—	»	»	132.4	»	163.9	For fishing.
214	»	»	—	20.5 19.1	»	—	—	»	»	103.6	»	124.1	»

411
223

if the arrow had not been given such a blob-shaped head. The force with which this lumpy head strikes its object, is sufficient to kill a middling-sized bird, provided the range is not too wide. The projection is intended for penetrating the feathers of the bird, so that the arrow shall not glance off the smooth plumage if the arrow should strike the bird at too acute an angle. These lumpy-headed arrows do not, as a rule, pierce the skin of the animal hit, which may be of advantage in killing small game.

411
177
174

The pellet-bow is also used by the Chiriguano. Whether it forms a constituent part of South American culture, or whether it has been introduced from India or Europe, is a question not conclusively settled. For my part I consider it probable that also in South America this weapon is an independent invention, but that the type (especially as regards its chambering) possibly may have been subjected to influence from the *European* pellet-throwing crossbow.[1] The fact of the pellet-bow being, apparently, of more common occurrence on the Chaco than elsewhere, may be explained from proximity to the Andes, and influence from Andean civilization. Within the area of ancient Peruvian culture, the stone sling was the most important distance weapon, and we may be quite sure that the nations then inhabiting the wooded spurs of the eastern Andes got to know the stone slings of the mountain folk. In forest regions, however, slings are unpractical weapons, as, in the whirling preliminary to the throw, they are apt to get caught in tree branches. The idea of using pebbles as projectiles instead of arrows, has however been adopted by the forest-dwelling tribes, who have tried to convert it into shooting with the bow. A stone that has been shot away does not need to be retrieved, but the loss of an arrow is always a serious matter! To my mind, it is in this manner that the pellet-bow of South America has originated. In districts where there are no stones, as for instance the greater part of the Chaco, clay pellets are used instead of stones.

As an argument in support of the view that the pellet-bow is not originally a South American weapon, it has been pointed out that it is not found in Peru, Central America, or Mexico. Its absence in Peru is easily explained, as this country is in its greater part almost entirely treeless, so that here the stone sling would be a weapon so infinitely superior to the pellet-bow that the use of the latter would be purpose-

[1] For discussion of this matter, vide: Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 50—53. von Rosen (5), pp. 174—180. Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 26—30.

411 [177] [174]

less. For the rest, the pellet-shooting long-bow is, compared with the pellet-shooting crossbow of the Old World, in any case a pretty poor weapon, both for war purposes and for hunting, which may explain its inconsiderable distribution even in well-wooded districts. Where this weapon nowadays occurs, it is only used for killing small birds, for target practice, and as a toy.

Fig. 215. A Chiriguano Indian with a fish spear. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[291] ←

Fishing is carried on in the water courses with which the country is sparingly supplied. The Indians use hooks, nets, fish traps and weirs. These fishing methods are, however, almost exclusively used for fishing in rivers or largish bodies of water. In shallow streams and rivulets, the fish are shot with arrows, or speared with a two-pronged fish-gig. Fishing with poison is also said to be made use of.[1]

226 [411] [227] →

[411]

A fish trap consists of a large, bottle-shaped calabash, wide in its lower part, but with a narrow neck. The trap, which is placed under the lee of a few boughs stuck into the river bottom, must not be set in deeper water than makes it possible for a wading person to reach the neck of the calabash. Ground bait, consisting of crushed, sour, maize, is put into the calabash. The fish will then collect inside the calabash, and the fisherman has only to carefully raise the trap out of the water. In the sandy river banks ponds are dug, and connected by a small channel with the river. When fish have collected in the ponds, the connecting channel is blocked up, the pond emptied of water, and the fish gathered up.[2]

Fig. 216. Detail of the fish spear in fig. 215. The prongs are of hard wood. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. 1/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 904.

226 411

Among the Chiriguano Indians I visited, fish-shooting was a common practice. For this they used their smallest and weakest hunting bows. But it is also possible that those light bows I saw being used for shooting fish with, were exclusively employed for that purpose. If so, then the bow in fig. 202 is a fish bow. The arrows are long, and are usually provided with

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 40.
[2] Nordenskiöld (13), pp. 170 and 171.

411 [226] two barbed prongs made of some hard wood (figs. 213 and 214). The arrow in fig. 210, which has only one prong, is used both in hunting and [824] for fish-shooting. The Chiriguano also use fish arrows pointed with a number of cactus spines.[1]

The fish spear has in later times become a very scarce implement with the Chiriguano. The only specimen obtained, as far as I know, is the one brought home by me, and now belonging to the Riksmuseum in Stockholm (figs. 215 and 216). Erland Nordenskiöld, who has compiled [114] a map of the distribution of the fish spear in South America, has been kind enough to inform me that the only mention he has come across in the literature, concerning its occurrence among the Chiriguano, is to be found in the account of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's unsuccessful expedition against these Indians.[2]

The fish spear I came upon among the Chiriguano in the neighbourhood of San Luis, has a 260 cm long shaft, made of some light kind of wood, very free from knots,[3] at one end of which two barbed wooden prongs are lashed on by means of a thin leather thong. The full lengths of the prongs are, respectively, 32.1 and 31.5 cm, and they project 20.2 cm from the shaft. One of the points has, however, been of a somewhat greater length, but has got blunted off. Both points have seven barbs on their outer sides. To ensure a perfectly firm fastening of the prongs, the fore end of the shaft has been wrapped with a piece of cloth, and over this the prongs have been lashed on.

323 I have already enumerated the various kinds of Chiriguano household [462] furniture. Among them, clay vessels hold a very important place. The Chiriguano are clever potters. It is only the women, though, who work at this industry.

In fig. 217 we see a potter's workshop, with a number of finished and unfinished pieces of earthenware. At the hut entrance is sitting a woman, who, with a piece of stick, is giving a finish to a large pot, which has been built up of rolls of clay, and is still unburnt.

[126] In figs. 218—225 I have reproduced some typical Chiriguano clay vessels that I collected at Aguayrenda. These vessels are particularly well made. The peculiar rim warts seen on the hanging vessel in fig. 225,

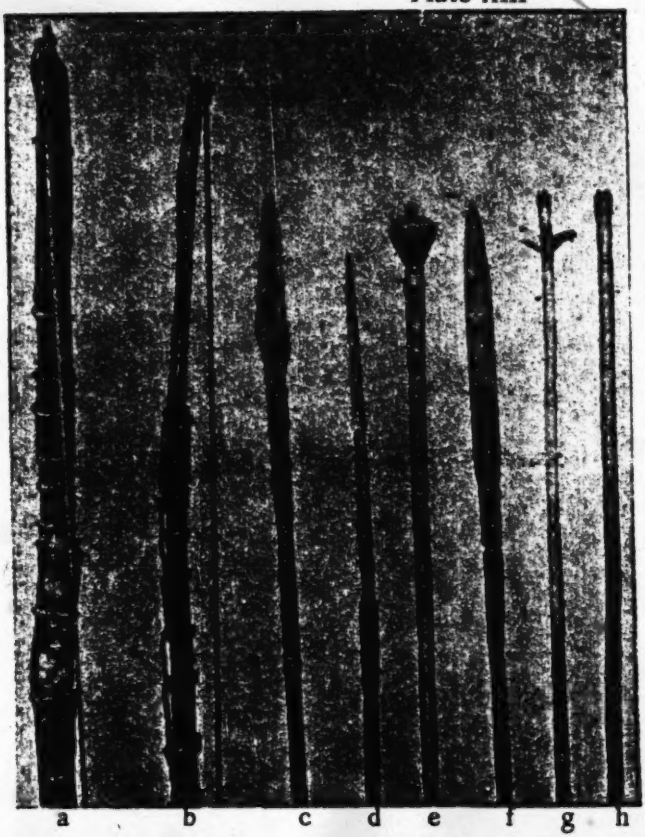
---

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), fig. 15 a.
[2] Acosta (1), Part I, Chap. XV.
[3] Unfortunately, during its transportation home, the handle was, unknown to me, cut into two parts.

8: Schmidt--90 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
I-2020
C
Ce
411

Plate XIII

Fig. 27



C
411

Fig. 38

Ce
229

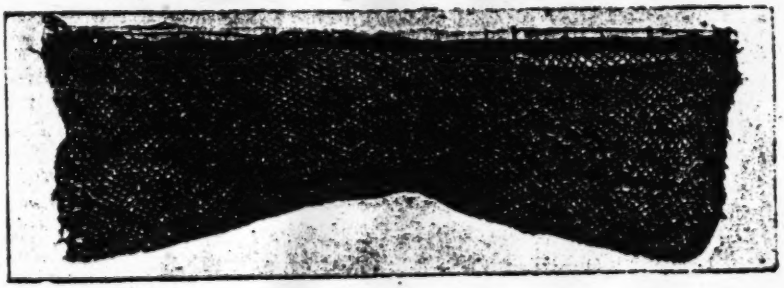


Fig. 39

/The captions appear on p. 91./

8: Schmidt--91 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XII and XIII/

C
534

Plate XII

Fig. 33. Wooden flutes, "serere" (Chiriguano): a (I. A. 492), length 20 cm.; b (I. A. 491), length 17 cm.

Fig. 34. a (I. A. 494): Cane flute (Chiriguano), length 41 cm.
b (I. A. 495): double whistle of cane (Chiriguano), length 33.5 and 7 cm.

C
524

Fig. 35. a (I. A. 506): rattle, a toy for children (Chiriguano), length 23.5 cm.
b (I. A. 505): top, a toy for children (Chiriguano), length 16 cm.

Fig. 36. a (I. A. 510): toy for children, "mou-mou" (Chiriguano), diameter of the disk 6 cm.
b (I. A. 509): sling (Chiriguano), length (without cords) 14 cm.

C
Ce
411

Plate XIII

Fig. 37. Bows and arrows: a (I. A. 757), bow (Izozó), length 1.32 m.; b (I. A. 756), bow (Izozó), length 1.41 m.; c (I. A. 519), arrow (Chiriguano), length 1 m.; d (I. A. 521), arrow (Chiriguano), length 0.85 m.; e (I. A. 534), arrow for birds (Chiriguano), length 1.11 m.; f (I. A. 748), arrow (Izozó), length 0.94 m.; g (I. A. 528), arrow (Chiriguano), length 0.94 m.; h (I. A. 750), arrow (Izozó), length 0.835 m.

C
411

Fig. 38. (I. A. 517.) Macana (Chiriguano), length 0.64 m.

Ce
227

Fig. 39. (I. A. 764.) Fishing implement (Izozó), length 73.5 cm.

/38 cont./

Because the ancient Peruvians raised various breeds of dogs, we can assume that the Chiriguano received the dog as a domestic animal from the ancient Peruvians. We can assume the same with regard to the duck, which was also raised by the ancient Peruvians. Therefore I do not include the duck among the domestic animals that these Indians received from the whites, as Nordenskiöld does. We do not know whether the Chiriguano in times past might have raised the llama. From the fact that guanacos exist in the territory located between the Parapití and the Rio Grande, we can deduce that the raising of that other species of Euchenia might have been possible in that country.

The Chiriguano very early received such European domestic animals as the horse, the ass, the cow, sheep, goats, hogs, and chickens, which they captured in great quantities in their continual raids on the Spanish settlers. In 16th century documents there are repeated complaints about the extensive stealing of livestock by these Indians. Today the Chiriguano and Chané do not have many horses, and they have never had the /39/ pronounced character of a nation of horsemen. The true weapons of war were formerly a long bow and arrows which were also long, which cannot be used by a mounted horseman, in addition to which their homes were formerly in the hills in regions which the Spaniards could not enter on horseback. In certain parts of their territory the raising of cattle has some importance (181). More general is the raising of sheep, pigs,

181. See Métraux I, p. 340.

and chickens. Today one sometimes also finds among them guinea hens and turkeys (182).

182. Nord. 1, p. 137.

/39 cont./

Ce 231 Tamed wild animals are rarely found inside their houses, except that they do have some parrots (182) /see footnote 182 above/.

Hunting

C Ce 224 [433] [411] [439] We have explained before that, because of the lack of animals that can be eaten in the territory of the Chiriguano and Chané, hunting is secondary among their means of subsistence, and in accordance with this we know through old documents that the feathers for their arrows were introduced to the Chiriguano by other Indian tribes who were their tributaries (183). The raising of domestic livestock gives them a

C Ce [231]

183. Moreno II, 121.

C 224 greater opportunity to obtain animal foodstuffs. In accordance with the fact that the Chiriguano, at least today, are not first-class hunters, the most common method of hunting among them is the use of traps (184). Nordenskiöld describes three

C 223

184. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 205.

different kinds of traps, all three of which are used for catching birds (185). The first kind consists of a simple noose and is used

185. Nord. 2, pp. 32, 33, and 85, Fig. 10, 12, and 13.

C [171] with the help of calls. The second kind, which is common among various other tribes of Indians, is used, for example, also by the Kaingua /Caingua/. The third kind consists of a net made in two parts and fixed to the ground by means of stakes. In one of the Chané legends recorded by Nordenskiöld, a trap for catching doves is mentioned (186).

Ce [903] [223]

186. Nord. 1, p. 279.

C
Ce
411
126

/39 cont./

Bows and arrows are only incidentally used for hunting, and it is therefore difficult to collect them today among these Indians. From the Izozó I was able to acquire various bows and arrows, and from the Chiriguano a small bow for children and various arrows. Among these there are also two specimens for killing birds, provided with a club /maza/ at the tip. Because in particular cases we were often unable to decide if a type of arrow were used exclusively for hunting or for fishing or both, I shall list all the types of arrows together in the following list.

Bows (uirápa) in the Collection

I. A. 518	(Chiríguano)	Length 0.80 m.	Cord is strips of animal hide.		
I. A. 754.	(Izozó.)	Length 1.39 m.	" " "		
I. A. 755.	" "	1.28 m.	" " "		
I. A. 756.	" "	1.41 m.	" " "		(Fig. 37b).
I. A. 757.	" "	1.32 m.			(Fig. 37a).
I. A. 758.	" "	1.31 m.	" " "		
I. A. 759.	" "	1.04 m.	" " "		
I. A. 760.	" "	1.11 m.	Cord is a piece of cable.		

C
411
126

/40/ Arrows (uij) in the Collection

I. A. 519. (Chiriguano.) Length 1 m. Iron point; its length 15.5 cm. Cane shaft. No feathering. (Fig. 37c.)

I. A. 520. (Chiriguano.) Length 0.99 m. Iron point; its length 20 cm. Cane shaft. Remnants of feathering.

I. A. 521. (Chiriguano.) Length 0.85 m. Wooden point; its length 28.5 cm. With feathering. (Fig. 37d.)

I. A. 522-533. (Chiriguano.). Wire points.

I. A. 534. (Chiriguano.) Length 1.11 m. Tip in club form; its length 5.5 cm. Cane shaft. With feathering. (Fig. 37e.)

I. A. 535. (Chiriguano.) Length 0.71 m. Tip in club form; its length 4 cm. Wooden shaft. With feathering.

I. A. 536. Wooden arrowpoint. (Chiriguano.) Length 25.5 cm.

Chané SF8
Izozo

Ce 41 126

/40 cont./

I. A. 747. (Izozó.) Length 0.97 m. Iron point; its length 24.5 cm. Cane shaft. Remnants of feathering.

I. A. 748. " Length 0.94 m. Iron point; its length 23.5 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering. Fig. 37 f.)

I. A. 749. " Length 1.07 m. Iron point; its length 23.2 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering.

I. A. 750. " Length 0.835 m. Iron point; its length 17 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering. (Fig. 37h.)

I. A. 751. " Length 0.93 m. Iron point; its length 22.5 cm. Cane shaft. With feathering.

I. A. 752. " Length 0.92 m. Iron point; its length 27 cm. Cane shaft. With feathering.

I. A. 753. " Length 0.985 m. Iron point; its length 21.5 cm. Cane shaft. Perhaps with feathering.

C Ce 411 174 175

Of the seven Izozó bows, the first four on the list are good specimens made of hard wood and correspond in all details to the Chiriguano bows described by v. Rosen (187), except for

187. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 206, 208.

their length, which is a few centimeters less than these. This difference in length is easily explained by the fact these Chiriguano bows were collected by v. Rosen in 1901 and 1902. It would be difficult today to find still among the Chiriguano bows as long as those which v. Rosen acquired 35 years ago. From Lizarraga's statement that the Chiriguano bows were of the same height as the bowman, it is evident that the bows of these Indians were formerly even longer than those described by v. Rosen. If, following Lehmann-Nitsche's somatic measurements mentioned above, we set the average height of Chiriguano men at 1.63 m., there is still a difference of 18 cm. between this figure and that of 1.45 m., which is the length of the longest bow among those collected by v. Rosen. We must consider this shortening of the Chiriguano and Chané bow,

C [141]

Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
411
174
178
Ce
411

/40 cont./

steadily progressing, a consequence of its degeneration resulting from its gradually falling into disuse.

The form of all the bows collected among the Izozó is the same, discounting the insignificant differences with regard to their length. The wood of the bow, which is approximately 3 cm. wide, is flat on the side towards the string and convex on the opposite side. To better fasten the bowstring, each of them is provided at its ends with a quite marked narrowing and always considerably shorter at the upper end than at the lower end. /41/ Three of these Izozó bows show, when not flexed, the reflex form already mentioned by v. Rosen with respect to the Chiriguano bows. The bowstring, made of twisted strips of animal hide, is fastened in the common manner used by South American Indians. By means of a noose with a knot, it goes around the narrowing of the upper end of the bow, while the loop at the lower end is made so that it can either shorten or lengthen the bowstring as necessary. Cf. Fig. 37, a and b /see p. 90/. In all these bows a large part of the string is rolled up as a reserve around the wood of the bow. Bow I. A. 757, whose wood shows cracks on the side toward the string, has wood reinforcements in two places, one of them consisting of a wrapping with thread and the other a piece of the skin of a cow's tail, which has been slipped like a sleeve over the wood of the bow. Cf. Figure 37 /see p. 90/.

Ce
411
283
[237]
[284]
Ce
[237]

The three bows I. A. 758-760, made of light-colored wood, correspond in form to the others, but they are poorly made and appear to be cheap merchandise for trading. Bow I. A. 760 even has a cable wire in place of a string.

Ce
411

The small Chiriguano bow I. A. 518 is a bow made for children for shooting light arrows with a wire point, which have been enumerated in great number in the above list.

C
411
524

The length of the arrows I collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó is somewhat behind with respect to the length of the corresponding bows. The longest among them is a Chiriguano arrow for shooting birds, fitted with a club rather than a point, with a length of 1.11 m. Among the arrows fitted with iron

C
Ce
411
[223]

/41 cont./

C Ce 411 points, one Izozó specimen reaches a length of 1.07 m., and a Chiriguano specimen, a length of 1 m. This is the opposite of the observations that v. Rosen made about Chiriguano arrows, that they were as large or even larger than the bows.

C Ce [524] Without counting the Chiriguano arrows fitted with wire points, which no doubt are used only by children for shooting at fish or birds and which are often made with wooden shafts, Ce [249] [824] arrow shafts are universally made of cane, taken from the plant Arundo donax, which, as I have already mentioned above, is cultivated by the Chané of the Parapití River. Ac- Ce 41 [824] cording to Nordenskiöld, the Chané formerly also used the Ubá (Cymnerium sp.), which they call "chochio" (188). The

188. Nord. 2, p. 26.

arrows collected among the Izozó are provided with iron points. Nordenskiöld also shows in drawings Chané arrows fitted with wooden points in the form of a lancet or dentate (189).

189. Nord. 2, Fig. 6. A and C.

C Ce 411 Among the Chiriguano arrows in the collection, there are two fitted with iron points, one fitted with a dentate wooden point, one such wooden point without a shaft, and two arrows for bird hunting that are fitted with a club instead of a point. The Chiriguano arrows fitted with iron points correspond throughout to the Izozó ones with respect to form and material. C Ce [284] The iron point is joined to the shaft by means of a piece of split wood and a wrapping of cord made from special tree bark and fastened with wax. The lower end of the cane shaft has a groove over which the end of the arrow is also fastened by a wrapping of the same cord secured with wax.

C Ce 411 237 /42/ Some Chiriguano and Izozó arrows have feathering, others do not. While the feathering was lost on some of the arrows that do not have it now, as can be discerned from the remnants of wax which had served for attaching it, other arrows show clearly that they never had feathering. If there is feather- Ce [284] [171] ing, the feather parts attached by means of wrapping with cord and wax are small, as are those of most of the Chaco tribes.

CBR
E
Ee
411
237
C
411
[284]

/42 cont./

and wax are small, as are those of most of the Chaco tribes. In the diagram made by Hermann Meyer for the various types of South American arrows, the feathering of the Chiriguano and Chané arrows corresponds to those that this writer calls "Peruanische Pechfiederung" /Peruvian pitch-feathering/. The Chiriguano arrow provided with a dentate wooden point differs from the other arrows in that its point is attached directly to the shaft without interposing a special piece of wood. Otherwise, the form of its shaft, provided in this case with feathering, corresponds to the form of the arrow shafts fitted with iron points. V. Rosen (190), v. Nordenskiöld (191), and

190. V. Rosen, op. cit., Figs. 206-214.

191. Nord. 2, Fig. 6 B.

Métraux (192) show in drawings different types of Chiriguano

192. Métraux I, Plates 8 and 9.

arrows fitted with wooden points.

Métraux often found among the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley arrows fitted with two dentate wooden points, which the young men used especially for shooting jacus (193).

193. Métraux I, p. 347 and Plate IX, N. 1.

Of the two Chiriguano bird-hunting arrows fitted with a club at the upper end instead of a point (sõngo), only one specimen, I. A. 534, can be considered typical. As I have already mentioned, it is the longest arrow in the collection. The other arrow for hunting birds, much shorter and badly made, doubtless was used only by boys. The form of the clubs of these two arrows (cf. Fig. 37e) is the same and also corresponds to the form of the arrows of this kind shown in

C /42 cont./
411 drawings by v. Rosen and v. Nordenskiöld (194). This club is

C 411 284

194. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 212. Nord. 2, Fig. 6, D and E.

fastened directly on the inside of the upper part of the shaft. The shaft of the larger arrow is made of the same cane as that of the other arrows, and that of the smaller arrow is light wood. The binding on the upper part and also on the lower part of
C [239] the shaft of the longer arrow consists of cotton thread secured with wax. The two arrows have feathering and have the same groove at the bottom end of the shaft. Several specimens of Chiriguano bird-hunting arrows whose clubs show different forms are shown in drawings by Métraux (195).

195. Métraux I, Plates X-XI.

C G 411 174 [283]

The special form of the club of the arrows for shooting birds (cf. Fig. 37e) and the special method of binding the shaft with a cord of tree bark and the length which these arrows formerly had lead us to the conclusion that this type of arrow, equally common today among the Chiriguano and Chané, is the ancient form of arrow that the Chiriguano brought from their native soil to the west. I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano and Chané bows and arrows were formerly much longer. But we can also assume that these implements of the hunt and weapons of war, in accordance with their greater importance, were formerly better made than they are today.

C G 411 524

According to Nordenskiöld, only rarely does the codoque, the bow for shooting balls, appear among the Chiriguano and Chané, and it is only used by youths and boys (196).

196. Nord. 2, p. 26.

/-2/

Macana in the Collection

411 [126] I. A. 517. (Chiriguano.) Length 64 cm. (Fig. 38).

[171] The wooden macana, acquired from the Chiriguano, is provided at its upper end with a broadening distinctly delimited from the handle (cf. Fig. 38) and in that respect corresponds to the macanas that we know from various Chaco tribes, for example, the Toba, but it does not correspond to the Chiriguano macana shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (197).

197. Nord. 2, Fig. 9.

The latter is about the same length, but it does not show the clear broadening at the handle, its upper end being only slightly broader. According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano [224] do not use these macanas except for hunting pigs (198).

198. Nord. 1, p. 183.

[126] Sling: (tamomboka) in the Collection

I. A. 508 Chiriguano. Length of the middle part of net 15 cm.
I. A. 509. " " " " " " 14 cm. (Fig. 36b.)

The two slings acquired from the Chiriguano seem to be exactly alike. They consist of a middle part made with the [286] net technique with caraguata-fiber string which terminates at each end with a cord. [284] One of these two cords ends in a simple knot and the other in a small loop. These slings are like the Chané ones shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld, while the manufacture of the middle part of the Chiriguano sling shown by Nordenskiöld is different (199). The Chiriguano in contact

199. Nord. 2, Fig. 7, A.

C 411 199 /48 cont./ The Chiriguano in contact with the Quichua /Quechua/ also use another type of sling made of wool (200).

200. Métraux 1. p. 342 and Plate VII.

C 224 [411] According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano also formerly used the bola, called "churing," by them, for hunting the ostrich (201).

201. Nord. 1. p. 183.

C [231] We must still mention that the Chiriguano train their dogs for hunting, especially for hunting pigs (202).

202. Nord. 2. p. 31. Métraux 1. p. 346.

Fishing

C 433 226 Because, as I have already mentioned, there is no opportunity for fishing in any part of the Chiriguano territory and also the large rivers which are in their territory, except for the upper Pilcomayo River, do not offer any fish other than very small ones, fishing has only secondary importance in the economy of most of the Chiriguano, although they utilize every chance they have to fish.

C 227 Among the Chiriguano in Macharetí I did not see any fishing equipment outside of the small arrows with wire points, which are occasionally used for fishing. But among the Izoseño I acquired such a piece of equipment, which consists of a net bag that is closed at the top with two sticks of cane attached to the upper edge. (Cf. Figure 28.)

CE 126 227

C
Ce
226
[459]
[191]

/44 cont./The also fish with hooks, which today they obtain from the whites. But it may be that the hook is an implement of their ancient culture (208). In

208. Nord. 2, p. 44.

addition, they fish by means of deep nets like those of the neighboring Chaco tribes, such as the Choroti, the Chorupí, the Matako, and the Toba (209). They also fish with arrows

209. Nord. 2, p. 43. Métraux I, p. 350, Fig. 80.

and formerly with spears with two points. On his trip in 1901-1902, v. Rosen acquired one specimen of these spears from the Chiriguano, which he has described and shown in a sketch (210).

210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 214 and Fig. 216.

C
Ce
229
411

Among the Chiriguano and Chané arrows specifically for fishing, we must distinguish two different kinds, one for larger fish, with two dentate wooden points (211), and the other for

211. Nord. 2, Fig. 15b. V. Rosen, op. cit., Figs. 213 and 214.

small fish, provided at the upper end of the shaft with a large number of cactus spines (212).

212. Nord. 2, Fig. 15a.

/36/

Ce 286 352 126

Nets of the Collection That Are Made with the Technique Called "Knotentechnik" in German. Using the Knot Called Reef Knot in English

I.A. 360. Hammock (276) (Chané of the Parapití). Caraguata.

276. Gift of Mr. Teodoro Rojas.

Length 3.20 m. (Fig. 102c.)
I.A. 766. Hammock (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 1.80 m.
I.A. 794. " " " " 2.70 m.
I.A. 446. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Wool. Lgth 1.05 m.
I.A. 447. " " " " " " 0.75 m.
I.A. 561-564, 567, 569-571. Nets for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length between 1.50 and 0.50 m. (I.A. 567, Figs. 134 and 143; I.A. 568, Fig. 144.)
I.A. 767-787; 790-792. Nets for carrying loads (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 1.60 m. and 0.65 m. (I.A. 768, Figs. 133 and 142; I.A. 772, Fig. 135.)
I.A. 785. Bag (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 0.82 m. Height 0.48 m.
I.A. 788 " " " " 0.62 m. " 0.62 m. (Fig. 136.)
I.A. 793. Quadrangular net (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 0.90 m.
I.A. 794. Implement for fishing with net (Izozó). Length 73.5 cm. (Fig. 39.)
I.A. 795-801. Nets for implements such as I.A. 764 (Izozó). Caraguata.
I.A. 508. Sling (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length 15 cm.
I.A. 509. " " " " 14 cm.

Ce 286 352 126 [227]

From the large size of the mesh of nets I.A. 360, 766, and 794, it follows that they are hammocks. Because in Chiriguano and Chané territory there are generally no fish except small ones, nets for fishing must have considerably smaller meshes.

Of the Chiriguano nets for carrying loads, two are made of wool and one of these has a band like most such nets from the Izozó. The rest of these nets from the Chiriguano and the Izozó are made of caraguata thread. Some of them have a rather small mesh, but among those of the Izozó those with big mesh are the rule.

Ce 286 352 126 [283]

Ce 846 /88 cont./
but no meat (349). Later he can eat sweet potatoes. When the

Ce 553 551 603

349. See Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

baby begins to walk, he is given one name at most, not by his parents, but by his grandparents. Nicknames are often added to the proper name later (350). Orphans are brought up by their

Ce 736

350. Nord. 1, p. 208.

relatives (351).

351. Nord. 1, p. 210.

C 721 From the time they first immigrated to the Sierra de la Cordillera, the Chiriguano, that is, their parcialidades, made war or attacks on the neighboring Indian tribes or the Spaniards. In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have described these hostilities in broad outline. Their weapons of war were bows and arrows and the club. The caciques were also war chiefs. According to what one Chané cacique told Nordenskiöld, these Indians formerly had the custom of bringing home the heads of their dead enemies and of showing them during the fiestas in the town square (352). The Chiriguano capacity

C [411] [701] [727]

C 175 721

352. Nord. 1, p. 172.

for war was still recognized by the Spaniards in the 16th century. In the "Declaración de Sebastián Pérez Chamoso" in 1571, it is said of them: "With the inventions and tricks and mode of war that they have, they have done and are doing said damages unto the Spaniards, Indians, and workers that are in the said fields" (353).

353. Moreno II, p. 107.

C 726 Before the Chiriguano launched their attack upon King Guacane, they reconnoitered with spies the Llanos of Grigota where the

/334 cont./

241 The Chiriguano who is getting ready to sow takes care
243 to hoe his field and to rid it of all weeds. For this he uses
/335/ a shovel, which I shall describe, in part from Campana
243 (p. 98), not having seen this instrument whole.

241 The shovels (sipe of the Chiriguano, even not so long
● 412 ago, were entirely of wood, preferably wood of the urundei
[824] (Astronium urundeuva F. Allemao) or of the palm siripa. Although narrower and longer, they resembled those of our bakers. The edges were straight, almost parallel, and only the cutting edge was slightly rounded at the sides. Toward the top they ended in a point, a
[824] kind of embryonic handle, which was lengthened by a stick to which it was attached with ties made of churqui (Nilotica farnesiana), of lianas, or toboroši fibers. The two shovels examined by Campana measured 70 centimeters in length and 15 in width; one of them, however, was less wide at the top than at the bottom by several centimeters (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Shovel (sipe) made of wood, without its handle, formerly in use among the Chiriguano (from Campana, Pl. VIII, Fig. 1).

If the Chiriguano have abandoned the ancient wooden shovel, they have nevertheless faithfully kept the long handle to which it was attached and which permitted them to work the soil without having to bend over. A remark of psychological order becomes neces-
[439] sary in this regard. The Chiriguano could well have acquired in the Syrians' stores, where they are available, shovels already provided with handles and ready to use. If they felt the need to modify the handle and to give it the traditional form, it is because it did not correspond to the movements and position of the body and hands which an age-old tradition had ingrained.

In each human group all manual labor requires certain set gestures to which, to a certain extent, the tools are adapted. This explains the variations these exhibit from country to country and even from tribe to tribe. With regard to this, Professor

241
412
243
[464]

Mauss used to cite to us the following example: during the great war the French soldiers did not much like using English shovels different from their own, and vice versa. The Chiriguano I have seen laboring on military roads in Bolivia handle our shovels exactly like any European laborer; but back home, when it is a question of working a field, they return immediately to the ancestral gestures and are constrained to adapt the form of their instruments to them.

The handle fits into a handgrip carved out of a small block of wood and set in with the greatest care. The latter generally takes the shape of a crescent on which the hand rests comfortably. The handgrips with an elegant curve, which gave an aesthetic character to the ancient spades, have become very rare. In the course of /336/ my trip I was able to acquire only two shovel handles which were provided with them. One comes from Ibopeytí (Fig. 3) and the other was made for me by an old Indian of the Ivu mission. The workmanship of this latter specimen is careless, but it reproduces fairly faithfully the ancient models (Fig. 4).

[126]

241
412
172
243

The use of the shovel among the Chiriguano probably dates back only three or four centuries. This instrument was unknown in ancient Paraguay where our Indians came from. The borrowing which could be presumed a priori has been confirmed by the discovery in the Quebrada de Humahuaca of wooden shovels similar in every detail to the ones I

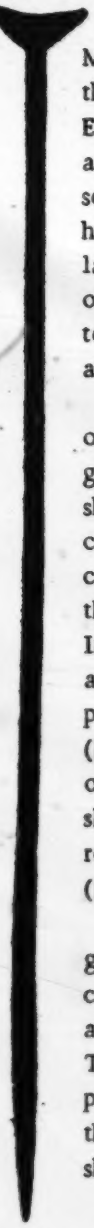


Fig. 3. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/11 nat. size.)

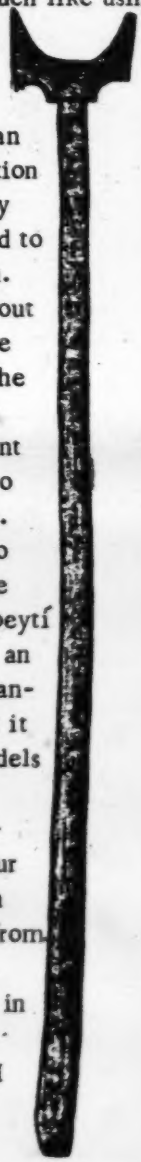


Fig. 4. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ivu. (1/8 nat. size.)

/336 cont./

241 have described here. These finds were made in the ruins of
412 the Alfarcito and of the Pukará de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 4,
172 Fig. 17 and p. 32) and at the Huerta in the same Quebrada de
243 Humahuaca. Numerous wooden shovels have been dug up at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Figs. 236-237, pp. 457-458), and Ambrosetti supposes with justification that they were hafted like those of the modern Chiriguano. Debenedetti (1, p. 35) obtained a specimen of this instrument at Kipón in Salta province.

[171] This type of shovel is particularly well represented in the archeological material of the Chilean coast. Numerous specimens have been found in Calama, Chiuchiu, and Pica in Tarapaca province (Boman, 2, Vol. II, pp. 731-732 and Plate LXVIII a; and Uhle, 3, pp. 15-16 and Plate I).

[171] The half-breeds and Indians of the Bolivian altiplano still work the earth today with a spade which in no way differs from that of their ancestors; moreover, it shows great similarity /337/ to the wooden shovel of the ancient Chiriguano (Chervin, p. 216, Fig. 120).

241 Nordenskiöld (9, pp. 30-32), studying the distribution
412 of this cultural element, established that it was peculiar to
171 the Andean zone and the adjoining regions. The Chiriguano
243 shovel nonetheless has a characteristic feature for which we should look in vain on all the specimens found inside the boundaries of the Inca Empire: this is the crescent-shaped handgrip. It corresponds quite precisely to the crutches terminating the oars in use among the tribes of Brazil, Paraguay, and the Guianas and on which the paddler puts his hand flat.

241 The Chiriguano formerly lived in a region rich in rivers and
412 streams, and they probably made use of paddles of this type to
174 go up or down them. Once settled at the foot of the Andes,
243 the resemblance between their former /Fig. 5 appears here/ oars and the shovels they saw in the hands of the Chané or the Chicha must have struck them; and they naturally sought to adapt to the new instruments this detail of structure whose convenience paddling had shown them. Such a hypothesis is not too adventuresome, for do we not have in the Chaco some shovels which have exactly the appearance of oars? (On this subject see the Ashluslay shovel published by Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 30, Fig. 1.)

/345 cont./

433 224 178 Outside these official expeditions they doubtless used to hunt for pleasure or simply to interrupt the monotony of their menu.

224 411 Quadrupeds were killed with arrows with lanceolate tips, originally of wood, today of iron (Plates VIII and IX, 2); small game, with arrows tipped with a barbed wooden rod [223] (Plate IX, 3-5). Birds were taken in traps or felled with a special arrow having a splayed ferrule (Plates X-XI).

224 [231] Anyone who has seen the little dogs of the Chiriguano Indians, with elongated /346/ muzzle, pointed ears, short hair, and arched tail will ask with surprise how animals so miserable, stupid, and snappish could have been trained to render service to man. Nevertheless, such seems to have been the case. For hunting the peccary, for example, the Indians employ the dogs, who track them and /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ force them to hide in their dens, from which they are smoked out and felled with blows of a stick when they try to run away. At least this is how the inhabitants of the village of Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) told me they had killed a peccary which they showed me at the time I was there.

433 224 184 For the modern Chiriguano, hunting has lost its reason for existing as an activity having an economic character, except perhaps /Plates VIII, IX, X, and XI appear here/ /347/ /Fig. 14 appears here/ for those of this nation who live in the region of the upper Pilcomayo. At least this is the im- [352] pression I had after examining their huts: the bedsteads or [412] wooden cots were often covered with peccary skins and the old deerhorn awls (Fig. 12) numerous enough to be able to be exchanged for a trifle. The relative abundance of these objects proves that among these Indians hunting has not been relegated /Fig. 15 appears here/ to the rank of a simple sport and that it keeps, at least in part, its past importance. [797] The contrast is striking if one then goes into the zone of the Franciscan missions: there, more peccary skins, more [411] perforators made of deerhorn, more ostrich feathers. In the villages of the upper Pilcomayo there is no cabin, poor as it may be, in which a bow and a bundle of arrows are not slipped

[Text Continues on P. 89]

1: Métraux--82 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

C
412
237

C
[304]

Fig. 12. Deerhorn awl (wasu-pirasa). Formerly the Chiriguano used them to pierce the lower lip of their children. Prov.: Saladito. (1/2 nat. size.)

Ce
411

Ce
[284]

Fig. 13. Bow of the Chané Indians. Outside surface semicircular; inside surface flat. The bow is reinforced with casings of deerskin (?). Prov.: Tuyuntí (Salta Prov., Argentine Rep.). (1/7 nat. size.)

/364 cont./
273 life of the individual or the community is associated with this beverage. The divine principle which kãwi has in it does not take away its secular character; and, while one gets drunk on it during the festivals, nothing prevents washing down meals with it at the time when the corn ripens. As a sign of
[574] hospitality every stranger is invited to empty a calabash full
[576] of it; and the compliments he addresses to the wife of his host fill his heart with pride.

527 The Indians always appreciated the liking I showed
273 /Plate XIV appears here/ /365/ for kãwi, and my old friend
[123] Karnapadyú did not fail to recall the big vats full to the brim to persuade one to return to celebrate Easter with them, or, if you like, the corn harvest, since these two dates coincide more or less. Such promises /Fig. 29 appears here/ could not remain without effect, and Karnapadyú was not at all surprised to see me arrive shortly before the festival.

The greatest animation prevailed in the village of Cururutí, formerly so calm. Men came and went, bending under enormous loads of wood. All the urns were lined up in front of the huts and buried to a third of their height (Plate XIV, 1).
527 For a long time big piles of corn had already been heaped up
273 in the village, which all, big and small, men and women,
243 /Fig. 30 appears here/ were actively engaged in husking.
[412] Some used their fingers, others knives or a pointed stick. Not
[413] one had thought of the so practical instrument used by their ancestors: a small wooden peg with a leather loop to put two fingers through. It is curious to note that such a simple object fell into disuse; an old man still sold me a specimen made of iron but a close copy, so to speak, of the wooden prototype, of which it reproduced the smallest details (Fig. 29).

273 Now the hardest work begins: the grinding of the kernels. Day and night the dry noise of the pestles crushing the corn
[461] resounds in the village. Often, to get the chore over more quickly, three women group around the same mortar and with surprising speed raise and pound their pestle without a single
[415] error in rhythm interrupting their laborious work. Once ground, the corn is sifted in an urumpesa or large-meshed sieve (Fig. 31). The rather coarse flour is poured into large urns filled with water.

443
243

Fig. 29. Iron peg with leather handle used for husking ears of corn. Chiriguano. Prov.: Saladito. (1/2 nat. size.)

412
824

Fig. 30. Chiriguano mortar (anguá) made of urundey wood (Astronium urundeuva Fr. Allemao), with its pestle. The lower, recessed part is buried in the ground. Prov.: Ivu. (1/15 nat. size.)

/365 cont./

273 The preparation of chicha is not play; it is necessary not only /366/ to grind an enormous quantity of corn, but again to go
484 ceaselessly to get water, often at a great distance. At Cururuti
482 the nearest potable water was at the bottom of a ravine of particu-
273 larly difficult access. The women were constantly going there with an îru (Plate XVII, 1),[1] which they carried on their backs in a net (añapoka) held on the forehead by a strap. They would fill

462
516
273
291
415
412

Fig. 31. Woman sifting corn which she has just ground in the mortar beside her. This flour is to be roasted, then chewed to serve as ferment for kāwi. Cururuti. (Photo. A. M.)

484 the jug and, loading it with difficulty, would go back up the
482 steep slope doubled over under the weight. So as not to lose any
273 time, these hard-working creatures would take along a calabash full of ground corn which they continually chewed.

273 The ground corn is cooked in water and constantly stirred
412 with flat sticks whose edges used to be cut out with a certain artistic care in olden days (Fig. 32). Today a kind of oar (Fig.
[178] 33) or the scapula of an ox (Fig. 34) fastened to a long handle
[237] replaces the ancient utensils in which was manifested so well the
[531] Chiriguano tendency to decorate even the most humble objects.

[1] [For plate XVII, See category 116, P. 127-- Analyst]

/366 cont./

273 126 It is not so easy as one thinks to observe in detail the preparation of kāwi, and I am still at a loss to describe the stages in their exact sequence. This difficulty is due to the fact that kāwi is prepared over several days (generally three or four), and it is /Plate XV appears here/ /367/ difficult to be on the spot all the time so as not to miss any detail. Besides, as different families do not begin to prepare kāwi at the same time, confusion results; and it is hard to know at what point of the operation [114] one finds oneself. Apparently I am not the only one to have come up against this obstacle, for it is enough to read the various descriptions devoted to this important occupation to become aware that they are far from agreeing.

273 462 At the moment when the water is at the boiling point in the big vats, the burning pieces of wood and the live coals are scattered, and the corn flour is poured in, being stirred vigorously so that it will not form lumps. While this operation is performed, other women have pounded fine a certain quantity of corn, sifted it, winnowed it to rid it of any impurity, then roasted it in a large potsherd. As this flour is taken off the fire, the women chew part of it and spit this into a calabash. This paste impregnated with saliva is [412] called temišu. According to Nino (p. 248), the Indian women mix the temišu with the corn broth which is cooking in the vats and with which they fill a pot. The woman who busies herself with this mixture (umopirai) allows it to fall back in from a certain height "to give it sweetness."

Fig. 32. Sticks for stirring the kāwi while it is cooking. No. 1 comes from Tigūipa; No. 2 from Ivu; Nos. 3 and 4 from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (1/3 nat. size.)

/367 cont./

273 462 The umopirai is added to the kãwi, which from this moment on is subjected to intense cooking. A large, bright fire is lighted around the vat containing it and burns day and night; the women go to stir it from time to time to keep it from sticking.

At night the village of Carurutí has a strange look: over the open square in front of the huts high flames rise, against which are outlined in black the silhouettes of the women who, busy and hard-working, do not take time to sleep. The next morning the fire is allowed to go out and the kãwi to cool. It is then decanted into vessels of smaller dimensions, and all the women, including little girls, assemble to take handfuls of the marc and chew it, one trying to outdo the other. These balls, sticky with saliva, are spit back into the vessel. A rather large amount of cold water is added to the kãwi, and right afterward comes the bottling, if I may so express myself. The kãwi is strained through a very fine-meshed sieve. The marc, or siripi, /368/ is thrown away or used again. The beer, or pale wine, is distributed into vessels which are carefully closed with a calabash or bowl, and this liquid is left to ferment for two or three days. So that it may be completely protected from the air, the line of contact between the vessel and its cover is smeared with clay.

273 412

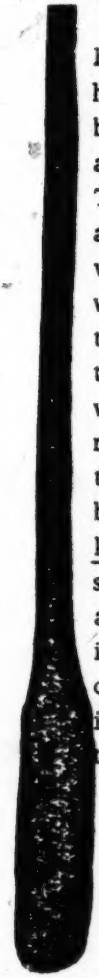


Fig. 33. Oar for stirring kãwi during cooking. Prov.: Pípi. (1/9 nat. size.)

Fig. 34. Shovel ending in an ox scapula which the Chiriguano use for stirring kãwi. Prov.: Pípi. (1/10 nat. size.)

[237]

/374 cont./

415 surmounted by two nipples, remains of stylized ears. These protuberances can be perforated and allow a suspension cord to pass through, which permits hooking the bowl to a beam of the hut (Fig. 41).

Spoons

● 412 171 172 Spoons are very common among the Chiriguano. Their form connects them closely to those which have been made known to us by the excavations carried out on the Bolivian altiplano and in northwestern Argentina. It is among the ancient populations of this region that we must seek the origin of this cultural element (on this subject see Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 91-92), of which the Chiriguano have faithfully kept the primitive aspect and even certain peculiarities such as the indentations of the handle which /Plates XIX-XXI appear here/ /375/ are seen on one of our specimens and on one discovered in the Puna de Jujuy (Pucara de Rinconada) by Boman (2, Vol. II, Plate LIX, Fig. 142).

412 237 824 Beside these spoons, whose use spread under the influence of the civilized peoples of the west, the Chiriguano kept the most rudimentary forms of this utensil: the valves of a fresh-water mollusk (anodonta) (in Chiriguano: inta) are often used by them to eat liquid dishes; the shell of the fruit of a bignoniacea (?) opened lengthwise also appears in the north of the Chiriguano territory as the survival of a time when spoons were still unknown to them (Fig. 44).

412 [171] Some small calabashes, ovoid or round, with a jutting peduncle, can, after being cut through the middle, replace wooden spoons to advantage (Fig. 45). It was in this natural form that the spoon spread in tropical America where Andean influence did not make itself felt. The Chiriguano do not disdain using these half-calabashes to dip into the bean pot or the meat broth. Calabashes like the one of Figure 46 /see p. 139/ take the place of ladles.

412
322
824

Figs. 42-43. Wooden spoons (karuha or iwira-karu). No. 42 comes from Caruruti and 43 from Nawirenda. (1/4 nat. size.)

Fig. 44. A bignoniaceous or an asclepiadaceous fruit whose shell cut in half is utilized by the Chiriguano as a cup or spoon. Prov.: Caipipendí. (2/5 nat. size.)

Fig. 45. Calabash cut in half to serve as a spoon. Prov.: Macharetí. (1/4 nat. size.)

236
824
→

Fig. 46. Ladle carved out of a calabash. Prov.: Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). (1/7 nat. size.)

412
322
824
←

Fig. 47. Reserve calabashes hanging in a net inside a Chiriguano hut. Ibopeytí.

/377/

Wooden Bowls and Basins

C 415 171 439

The Chiriguano also use wooden bowls (Fig. 49). I do not know whether they make them themselves or receive them from the half-breeds of the /Fig. 48 appears here/ San Luis region. In this latter case the Chiriguano of the San Luis (Entre-Rios) region would be the only ones to make them. In Tarija /Figs. 49-50 appear here./ where these bowls are much sought after by the half-breeds, they were indicated to me as coming from that zone. The rare wooden bowls which /378/ I saw at Çaipipendí had been bought by the Chiriguano in the course of their trips. The same origin must be attributed to the wooden troughs found among the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua half-breeds of Tarija department. These basins are used for washing food and also as bathtubs. The Chorotí have wooden dishes (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 20, p. 88) which have a shape very similar to that of the trough reproduced here (Fig. 50) and which doubtless were introduced among them either by the ancient Quichua or by the half-breeds. Among the Araucan of Argentina wooden basins are found, which are similar in every detail to those of the Indians and half-breeds of Bolivia and the specimen pictured here.

Ci 415 177

A 415 171

Chapter V

Tools of the Chiriguano

C 412 178 [179]

The work tools the Chiriguano use nowadays are almost all of European manufacture. Here and there the ancient forms were kept when stone or bone were replaced by iron. Witness the adze of Plate XXII /see p.143 / which constitutes a curious survival of the eared or T-shaped ax certainly adopted by the Chiriguano after their migration and their establishment at the foot of the Andes. This type of ax is unknown to me from any other Tupi-Guarani tribe and is rare in the area occupied by the different nations belonging to this linguistic family (see Rivet, 1, pp. 149-155).

T-G [412] [184]

/378 cont./

412 114 171 178 The specimen I am publishing here was still giving good service to its owner, who gave it to me with regret and only for a large sum of money. The presence of the eared ax among the modern Chiriguano invalidates the allegation of Nordenskiöld (14, p. 120), who places it among the cultural elements which have completely disappeared in South America. It survived [181] thanks to the prodigious conservatism of the Indians. I am convinced that several of the objects whose disappearance is attested to by Nordenskiöld will perhaps be found in some tribe now living, when we have more abundant ethnographic material from South America than we now have at our disposal.

412 171 Another very interesting peculiarity of this ax is the bent shape of the handle, to which the blade is securely fastened with leather thongs. The distribution of the bent-handled ax has been traced by Linné (2, p. 202). Few tribes of South America have continued to use it up to our day. They are: the Colorado of Ecuador, the Tukano /Tucano/, Tariana, and other tribes of the /Plates XXII and XXIII appear here/ /379/ Caiary-Uaupés, the Tehuelche, and the modern Quichua /Quechua/. Among the Indians of the Caiary-Uaupés the tool lost all practical value and finally became a simple dance accessory (Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. I, Fig. 225, p. 350). /Fig. 51 appears here./

The bent ax has been found archeologically in Peru (Chuquitanta: Marquez Valley near Lima) and in Casabindo in La Puna de Jujuy (Argentine Republic). The specimens from Peru are designated as being hoes, which is possible. However, I shall call attention to the fact that the Chiriguano specimen from Caipipendí is exclusively a carpenter's instrument, which the Indians use for cutting the pieces of wood from which they make their furniture or weapons. /Fig. 52 appears here./

Figure 51 shows how modern axes of the simple neolithic ax type can be hafted exactly like their stone prototypes. The similarity of this ax to the stone ones used up to today by the Guayaki extends to the somewhat arched shape of the handle and to its slightly swollen upper end (La Hitte, Plate IV, 9).

1: Métraux--143 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

•412
284
191

Plate XXIII

A[illegible] iron blade has the form of the T-shaped axes of ancient Peru. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/3 nat. size.)

Stone axes of the ancient Chiriguano. The first of the eared axes, No. 1 and 10, comes from Roqueti, the second from Ivu. The axes with a complete groove (Nos. 2, 3, 5-9) were collected in the Caipipendi Valley, with the exception of ax No. 4, which was acquired in Ivu. The simple neolithic ax, No. 11, comes from Caipipendi. (1/3 nat. size $\frac{+}{-}$.)

/370 cont./

412 191 Still hafted in this way are the stone axes of the Indians of the upper Xingú (Steinen, 2, p. 197) and the Kaingang /Caingang/ of southern Brazil (Niederschild, 15, Fig. 16, p. 30) and the iron cutting tools of the Botaku-Vejos (Niederschild, 15, Fig. 70, p. 44) and the Yamana (?) of Tierra del Fuego (id., 14, Fig. 45, p. 67) which replaced the ancient stone celts.

172 412 Plate XXXII /see p. 144/ reproduces a series of stone axes coming from the region of Caipipendí, Ivu, and Dupeyní. The Criqipendí axes are all provided with a groove. Of the

Fig. 50. Stone roller used as a grinder on a flat stone. Archeological piece found at Ivu. (1/4 nat. size.)

two axes with heels one was found at Dupeyní and the other at Ivu.

Fig. 51. Iron axe of the type called simple neolithic axe, provided with a handle like the ancient stone axes. Prov.: Criqipendí. (1/8 nat. size ½.)

/383 cont./

323 Chiriguano woman will never be seen making one single vessel at a time: since before continuing she must wait until each one of the parts making up the piece of pottery is dry, she occupies this interval by beginning another vessel, which will dry while she works on the first one again.

415
531

Figs. 57-58. Vessels (yapepó). The rolls of clay of which they are composed are still apparent and constitute a rudimentary ornamentation. No. 57 comes from Caruruti. No. 58 from Yacuiba. (1/4 nat. size.)

323 /384/ When she judges that the bottom has taken on some firmness, she rolls between her hands a roll to which she tries to give a regular diameter. Then she applies it on the base, forming a perfect circle. She cuts off the part which extends beyond the junction point. Next she flattens the roll with her hand, the compression being made from inside to outside, with the back of the left hand and the right palm. When the whole periphery has thus been raised, she evens off the edge, filling all the depressions with pieces of wet earth. Then she smooths the outside of the vessel with a stripped ear of corn and a splinter of bamboo. These two instruments are placed beside her and frequently dipped in water so that the earth does not stick to them. The inside surfaces are polished with the valve of a shell (anodonta) (Plate XXIV, 2). The raw clay, once it is shaped, is supple and resistant like leather. Vessels can be

[324] [312] [239]

Plate XXIV

323
237
[413]

1.

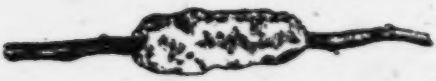
2

323
412

3

4

323
237



5

Accessories of a Chiriguano potter. -- 1. Brush made of feathers held together with wax. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (Nat. size.) -- 2. Valve of a fresh-water mollusk (inta), used to smooth the inside surface of the vessels. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/2 nat. size.) -- 3 and 4. Stones used for polishing the exterior and interior surfaces of vessels before firing (intankua). These two stones were found inside a funerary urn in Cararutí. (2/3 nat. size.) -- 5. Excrescence formed by an insect on the branches of trees of resinous species, which the Chiriguano utilize for tracing out black and shiny figures on their vessels (tarawirisi). Prov.: Ibopytí. (± nat. size.)

/467 cont./

302 The women never cut their hair according to the custom of the other Indian women of the Chaco, so they have heads of long and remarkably soft hair. They gather their hair together [301] on the nape of the neck by means of a red or blue ribbon, which they knot on the forehead after passing it around the head (see Plate VI, 1 and 2 /see p. 73/).

302 515 824 412 388 Chiriguano women are extremely meticulous about their hair and wash it nearly every day. For soap they use ñitira seeds,

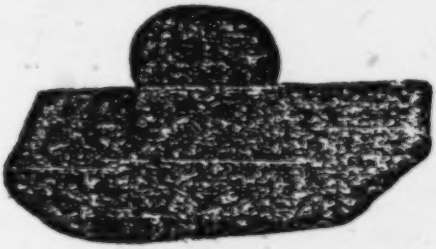


Fig. 122. Chiriguano stone mortar for crushing ñitira seeds. Prov.: Ivo. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

which they crush in a little mortar (Fig. 122) especially intended for that use. The ñitira seeds, rich in saponin, lather easily.

302 For me it was always a pleasant spectacle in the morning to see the women come back from the river with their hair twisted on the front of the head and fastened into a conical chignon. They would let it dry, then would begin to comb it slowly until it was soft and shining.

412 303 184 Two types of comb coexist among the Chiriguano. On the upper Pilcomayo in the Igüembé valley and in Ivu, they are carved out of a small board, and often the flat part which serves as the handle is cut out /468/ with art. In the Caipipendí valley and among the Chané, besides combs of the preceding type there are others composed of fine splinters of wood wedged between two splinters of bamboo and held in place by a clever plaiting of cotton threads forming a design.

/468 cont./

000 forming a design. Combs of this category generally have a double
412 row of teeth, but sometimes one row is entirely covered by the
171 plaiting and is transformed into a handle (Nordenskiöld, 2, Fig.
[303] 109, p. 204). These two kinds of comb are also found in the Andean zone; but whereas the first is limited to this geographical area and especially to northwestern Argentina, the second, which includes all varieties of composite combs, has a vast distribution

[531]

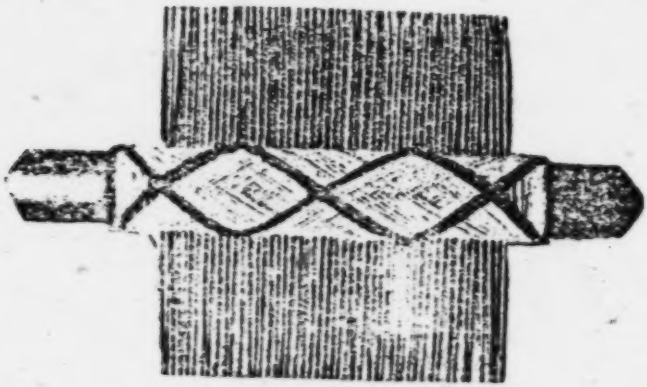


Fig. 123. Composite comb made of fine splinters of bamboo. Chiriguano. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/5 nat. size.)

over all South America, in the Inca Empire as well as in Brazil. The Chiriguano doubtless used them well before they settled in their present location. It is not the same with the comb of carved wood, which they borrowed from the Chicha or the Humahuaca. With regard to two combs in my collections, one (Plate LXXXVII, 14) has a handle carved in the shape of a dog, and the other, a deer (Plate LXXXVII, 15). They strongly resemble a comb found in the Quebrada de Humahuaca, which is also surmounted by the silhouette of a quadruped (Debenedetti, 2, p. 247, Fig. 186). At Kipon in the Calchaquí Valley Debenedetti (1, p. 27, Fig. 16) discovered a comb whose upper part represents a human head, in which our author thinks he sees an idol with a sad expression (!?). The half-breed women of that valley have kept up to our times the ancient indigenous combs of algarroba wood.

/468 cont./

412 171 At La Paya, Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 254, p. 484) discovered combs cut out of a small wooden board and some composite combs. Instead of simply recording the coexistence of two different types of combs /Plate LXXXVII appears here/ /469/ in the same place, a very natural phenomenon by reason of the heterogeneous character of the culture of La Paya, Ambrosetti puts forth the strange hypothesis that these combs served for carding wool, without taking the trouble to inquire whether this instrument was known in pre-Columbian times.

303 322 462 412 The making of combs, like all wood carving, is an essentially masculine job.

412 174 The table on Plate LXXXVII indicates my idea of the morphological evolution of the different forms of combs which I have collected.

Chapter XII

Furniture

352 [114] Since the diverse cultural elements which constitute the furniture of the Chiriguano have been completely studied by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 8-22), I shall limit myself to mentioning them here, insisting only on several details. /Fig. 124 appears here./ /See p. 338./

[342] Let us enter a Chiriguano hut. The door we open is a kind of screen of reeds or a cowhide hardened in the sun. Daylight penetrates the interior through this opening. The only important [513] piece of furniture is a wooden cot (Fig. 125), a kind of bedstead generally occupied by two persons between whom one or two children come /470/ to slip in somehow or other. Nor do the Chiriguano hesitate to sleep on the ground on an oxhide, which they spread out in front of their house. On the upper Pilcomayo, in nearly all the huts one can /Fig. 125 appears here/ /See p. 339./ see one or two hammocks which serve either as seats during the day [286] or as cradles for small children. Their technique, that of the [177] double thread (Doppelfadentechnik), continues an old Guarani

[Text Continues on P. 338]

Plate LXXXVII /left side/

412
174

Table indicating the way in which the evolution of the different types of comb might have come about. Prov.: 1 and 2, Yumbía; 3, Isirié (upper Pilcomayo); 4 and 5, Ñawirenda; 6, Igüembé; 7, Caipipendí; 8, Igüembé; 9, Ivu; 10 and 11, Tiwiraití; 12 (after Nordenskiöld); 13, Yumbía; 14, Igüembé; 15, Ñawirenda; 16 and 17, Carurutí; 18, Ñawirenda; 19 and 20, Ibopeytí; 21, Saladito. /Combs 9-15 are shown on the next page./

/Right side of Plate LXXXVII/

412
174

/See the caption on the left side of the plate on the preceding page./

415
237
←

Fig. 130. Armadillo shell (tatu-pire) in which Chiriguano women keep objects for needlework, small pieces of cloth, etc. Prov.: Saladito. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

Fig. 132. Broom made of karandaí leaves (tupisa). Prov.: Yumbía (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/4 nat. size.)

• 412
824
→

415
237
←

Fig. 131. Bull's testicle (toro-upía) which the Chiriguano hang up in their huts as a small container. Prov.: Saladito. (About 1/7 nat. size.)

/482 cont./

302 faces and legs oiled in this way, which gives them a very strange reddish and shiny hue. This custom, which was already [171] noted /483/ in the sixteenth century among the Tupinamba of [178] the Brazilian coast, is tending to fall into disuse.

Roucou in paste form is kept in a small corn-husk bag (Fig. 302 139), /Fig. 139 appears here/ as is kalasapa, a substance com- 386 posed of a mixture of roucou and pounded aroma seeds, which [415] gives a violet color.

757 4. Jaguar fat (yaguapira) cures any "leprosy" (karatši) if 237 one rubs oneself with it after heating it.

5. Iguana fat makes cramps go away and heals wounds. [752] Its use is external.

6. The dried penis of a fox makes toothaches and earaches go away. For that it suffices to touch the ailing part with the end /Fig. 140 appears here/ of this member. The Indians consider it very malodorous and touch it only with repugnance. [415] To avoid this inconvenience they provide it with a handle and shut it up in a bamboo case (Fig. 141).

7. Deerhorns heated and /Fig. 141 appears here/ applied against the neck will cure a stiff neck. The medical use of [172] deer (wasu) horns explains the frequent presence of the horns of this animal in the archeological strata of the neighboring Andean regions. Some have thus been found in the ruins of the Alfarcito, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 21), at Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, p. 232), at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 235, p. 453), and at Tastil (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, Fig. 78 f).

858 Horns adhering to a fragment of the skull and whose use 304 could only have been magical or medical must be distinguished 237 from the ones which the Indians work into awls. These in- ●412 struments still have a ritual use and are reserved for piercing the lower lip of children when they are old enough to wear the labret. At least this is what Campana (p. 80) informs us. Besides, the Indians all have confirmed this detail to me. [171] Formerly, the Tupinamba of Brazil practiced this operation with an awl of the same nature (see Métraux, 3, p. 105).

/484/

442 However, these awls are too abundant in each village for their use to be only sacred. It is probable that the Chiriguano use them as a simple tool for solely secular purposes.

[174] At Tilcara, Debenedetti (2, Fig. 176, p. 232) discovered specimens made of deerhorn identical with our Chiriguano examples.

824 757 8. I have in my collections seeds whose virtues are multiple: they are an excellent remedy for skin eruptions, ulcers, and toothaches.

9. For stomach-ache the Chiriguano recommend the absorption of particles of wood (mboipinda).

232 [824] 10. Certain seeds (of a graminaceous plant?) when crushed give a paste or powder with which they treat animals whose sores are attacked by worms.

11. When cows' hooves tend to work loose, they bathe them with fragments of limestone (itakwi).

757 237 12. Fat extracted from a cow's foot is an effective ointment for cases of rheumatism.

13. The beak of the toucan is said to enjoy great medicinal properties. They grate it and drink in water the powder which comes from it (Campana, 111).

Stitches in the side and dysentery are treated with a piece of armadillo shell burned, ground, and dissolved in water, which the patient drinks.

757 [114] In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (passim) and Nino's book (pp. 288-290) is found many a very interesting piece of information on the pharmacopoeia of the Chiriguano. I shall summarize them in order to complete my own observations.

757 164 1. The oil which floats on kāwi, when it is done, is a good remedy for headaches.

2. Salt, ground and drunk mixed with the urine of a small child, quiets stomach pains.

[824] 3. Rheumatism is doctored by applying on the ailing part a branch of ulala (ñankawina) from which the thorns have been removed and which has been heated.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

252 415 412 264 *Chiriguano* mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. [3 9 263] Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 592 **Dwellings.**—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

361 178 [343 712] The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 177 **Clothing.**—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano women still dress in tipoys, a long, sacklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, *right*). Some tipoys (tiru) are so long that they need to be folded. 291

Anciently, *Chiriguano* men shaved their foreheads, as did the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband. 302 412

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a tasseled fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

Body painting.—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass. 302 178

Ornaments.—The distinctive ornament of the *Chiriguano*, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 59, *e*). Originally, labrets were made of rosin, as were those of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip. 301 178

Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean woven frontlets studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 59, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the *Chiriguano* in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads. 301 177 [439]

Miscellaneous.—The *Chiriguano* have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout *Chiriguano* territory. 515 824

Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers. 302

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The rivers in *Chiriguano* territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River. 501

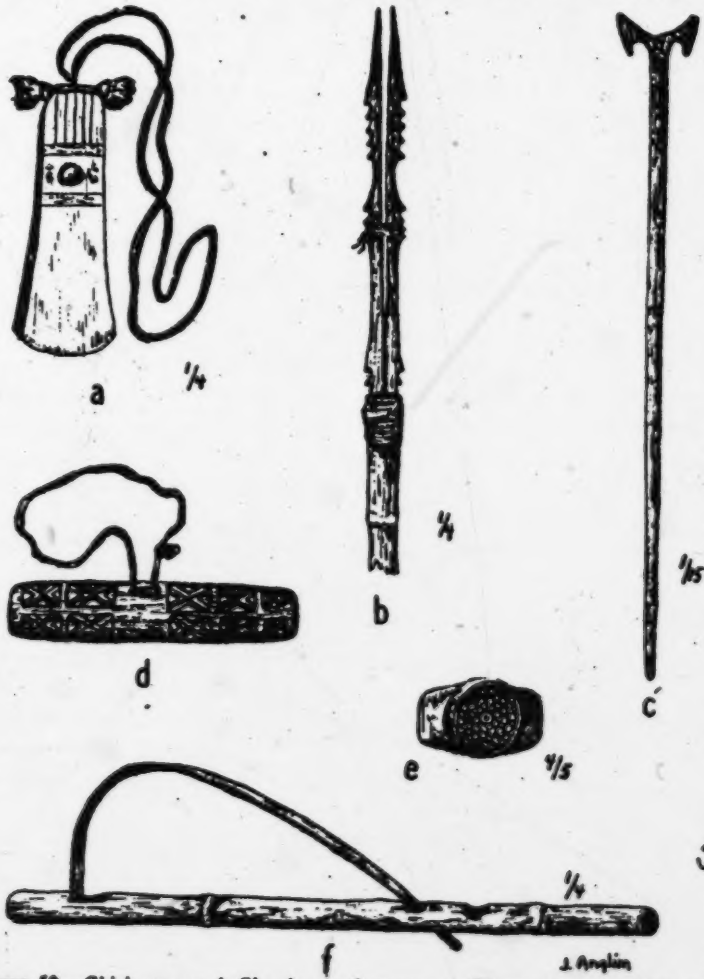
2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chané SF8

MANUFACTURES

Pottery.—*Chiriguano* pottery is, for the beauty of its painted decoration and the variety of its forms, outstanding in modern South America. The mixed origin of *Chiriguano* culture is reflected in the two types of earthenware vessels. The plain pots for cooking and the large jars for chicha, which did not differ from similar vessels of the Paraguayan *Guaraní*, were ornamented with fingernail impressions (pl. 41, *bottom, right*).

C 323 531 C [171]



C Ce 301 C Ce 411 C Ce 412

C Ce 534 531 301

Ce 301 531

Ce 524

FIGURE 59.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* manufactures. *a*, Silver pincers used as breast ornaments; *b*, bird arrow point; *c*, handle to wooden spade; *d*, wooden whistle used as ornament; *e*, tin labret with mosaic inlay; *f*, *Chané* pea-shooter. (*a*, *d*, *e*, Redrawn from Rosen, 1924; *b*, *c*, *f*, from Nordenskiöld, 1920, figs. 29, 15, 5, 34.)

222 /29 cont./ It is hot, and some cure sickness,
[957] or inflammation of the eyes, with it. Nevertheless, one should not confuse this little plant with another similar one whose fruits lack flavor and which is called by the Chiriguano "Aguara quii," which is to say, literally, chili pepper, of the fox. The best way not to confuse it is to taste the fruit; it is found everywhere.

243 TRIGO /wheat/. -- The Eternal Creator of all things in his bounty and mercy arranged that this small plant, necessary in every aspect, should yield its fruit in every region inhabited by man; thus, in spite of the excessive heat, it is harvested here in abundance, and the farmer is not robbed of his hopes if he takes care to irrigate the field opportunely. Barley also flourishes in irrigated lands, but the cultivation of both has been abandoned for reasons already expounded in these pages and also because birds greatly bother both crops, as also happens in the rice paddies, which will be found empty if they are left to the discretion of our flying friends.

[824] There also thrives together with maize, or in other places,
[412] the wheat called Guinea, or sweet sorghum, which the Chiriguano call "Tricu" and which is indigenous; it is sweet, matures with maize, and they suck it, as well as the panicled sorghum, which is a kind of sorghum /30/ without sweetness and used for making brooms for sweeping. The seed of both plants is liked by birds.

137 VID /grapevine/. -- Farther on I have said that this plant
824 pre-eminently required for the Sacrifice, like wheat, thrives quite vigorously in this region. I add here that in the woods
[262] there is a tree with small leaves and unimportant wood, which rises up to some eight meters above the ground and whose fruit is the size of an olive, has a dark coffee color and a flavor like that of the grape, matures in the month of February, is edible, and is called "Ivaviyu" in Chiriguano. Also in the wild state is the native grape with its twining trunk. Its fruits are like a bunch of grapes; they are white and some even black, and they are good for the manufacture of brandy.

/120 cont./

578 Out of these general wars were derived other private ones, which civilized people called affairs of honor-dueling. This does not happen in private, as occurs among civilized people, who go off to a determined place with 578 their respective seconds. All is public, in the presence 541 of many people who come to drink. It is /121/ the caciques who incite their soldiers to match their strength and to avenge with crime an affront or an unfounded jealousy. When this happens, with or without a reason, the fighters place themselves in the midst of a whole crowd of spectators in the presence of the caciques, who urge them on with a word of command, while the poor angry men hit each other cruel blows.

578 Boxing is ancient, because formerly knives were not [412] known and, if they had them, they only used them in [178] their work in the fields. Now the picture has changed; [167] the young are succeeding the old, and these young people [464] continually go to work in the Argentine Republic. There they learn how to drink pure liquor, to handle the knife with which they are armed for their work, and to defend themselves. One small word is enough; it is enough if one says yainano, let us fight, the word of challenge, and knives are unsheathed, and then blood flows. Fortunately, they usually are content with inflicting wounds which rarely bring death because they do not deliver the blow with the point of the weapon but with the edge.

167 This mania for going off to the Argentine Republic has 464 them in continual movement, and, unfortunately, many of them remain for years, to return finally bringing almost nothing with them, and if one asks them, they answer very 167 rudely, "I drank it all." Last year's law has made recruit- 464 ment impossible. Several Indians went off, but they could 648 not get through Villa-Montes and returned (1).

1. If the authorities in Villa-Montes and Yacuiba continue to capture the Indians who are trying to escape, the law will not be in vain this time.

/180 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it; most of them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have [513] this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they [178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and [237] to have cots like the whites use; the open part of the latter is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred; in the Ivu Mission almost all make them of this material.

574 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either;
576 when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on
516 the ground; nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit
352 down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For
322 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of
[574] wood and called Apica. There are some with two places and up to four with their respective dividers; there are some for
[412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter [438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like [439] those of the whites; they make the latter for their own use [824] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharrosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel.
352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks, Quiha ó inni, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/188 cont./

291 302 304 178

replaced by the cloth one, although it costs a great deal: the customs of yesteryear are now disappearing, and those of today, or of the whites, are penetrating rapidly.

302 412 [331]

For the Chiriguano virility consists of a vigorous head of hair; nevertheless, although he prizes hair on his head, he never allows any other hair on his body, except that of the eyelashes and eyebrows, which he forms into arches. He pulls out the rest of the hair on his face and body with his Tendivaha poha, or tweezers. These consist of some little pieces of tin or a piece of cane slit down the middle, and sometimes a knife. With great patience and bit by bit he pulls out or cuts off all the hair that appears on his chin, thus looking like another woman. Others who are called /illustration appears here/ /189/ rich pull out their hair with thin pieces of silver, which they call Mboivera (1).

302

1. During my stay in the territory I saw only one Indian who had a thick beard, but because of this uncleanliness he was considered disgusting. When the hairs grew, he cut them with scissors. Today the young men are beginning to wear mustaches and goatees, and many shave with razors.

[178]

291 [171]

The ancient Chiriguano clothing was very simple and too immoral, as is still seen among those Indians where the civilization of the Cross has not penetrated, such as the Chacobo north of Santa Cruz and others in the Bolivian Chaco. Boys go about naked until the age of ten or twelve, and girls up to seven, at which age they are content to cover the most delicate part of the body because of a trace of modesty which exists among them. Even grown men make use of this most simple garment when they are in the country busy at work or when they are returning to town loaded with firewood or food.

[Text Continues on P. 260]

4: Nino--266 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

301
531
392
534
412

Chiriguano adornments, etc.

[See pp. 273-274 for explanation of numbers]

/198 cont./

301 [562] [554] [527] I am going to end this chapter by mentioning a fancy ornament which has completely disappeared. It is a woman's ornament and is called Aguá, crown, and whoever wore it was called Cuña aguá vaé, crowned woman. The duty of this woman at the public drinking bouts and solemnities was to direct the women's dance, to direct the singing, and to give drinks to the singers and dancers with her own hands. The aguá was a varicolored band up to three meters long, which was put around the head, crossed at the back of the neck, and held on by thorns, needles, or big silver pins, and both ends terminated in tassels of various colors. It was a very striking ornament (1).

[126] 1. In order to send a complete aguá to the Turin exposition I had to have it made in the girls' school in Santa Rosa. I could not get one in the town; there were none even at that time.

ooo Here is poor humanity without any exact idea of religion and worship, they are zealous and hard-working for the body, but have no concern at all for the soul. Only Christ can restore humankind, and tear away the veil which was obscuring its intelligence, and only the priest and Catholic missionary can teach him the sound doctrine of /199/ immortality and other dogmas, so that with this knowledge he may first seek the kingdom of God and receive the rest besides (1).

1. Quaerite primum regnum Dei et haec omnia adicientur vobis.

392 Explanation of the Preceding Illustration:

1. Sticks for getting fire.
534 2. Bull's horn for use as a musical instrument.
3. Tail of a quirquincho /armadillo/ for use as a musical instrument.
• 412 4. Tweezers for pulling out the hair from the face and other parts.

λ [see, on p. 266.- Author]

4: Nino--274 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/199 cont./

301

5. "Mbeivera," or pieces of silver for adornment.
6, 7, 8. Metal tembetas.
9. A hollow-cane tembeta.
10. "Tapicuana," or band for the hair.
11. "Agua," or long band for adornment of the queen in drinking festivals.
12. Wooden comb.
13. Porongo for playing as a musical instrument.
14, 15. "Senene," or Chiriguano flutes.
16. "Igiramimbi" for playing as a musical instrument.
17. Stone ax.

412
534

/200/

Chapter Eight

The Chiriguano Family

Introduction

The theory of the founder of the transformist school, in which he attempts to demonstrate and establish the origin of the human race by means of evolution, is completely absurd. /The remainder of the introduction, pp. 200-202, is omitted in the translation. Page 202 continues as follows./

The Family

Genesis tells us of the origin of the human race, and outside of this book all is confusion: faith teaches us that God created the first man in His image and likeness, and later gave him a companion, taking her from his rib, from which it is deduced that the family began in the world, or in historical times, from the beginning of humanity (2).

722
723
871

2. Readers already know the story which Anduari told me regarding the creation of

4: Nimo--221 M-2 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chirigueno SF10

142
291
302
516
412

Group of Indian Workers

/239 cont./

Old Method of Farming

241 In planting the fields which are already old, they use the same method of applying fire to the weeds and stubble that are left after the harvest; this method is even coming to be practiced by the whites and the mestizos. As far as fertilizing the land, the Chiriguano does not worry about it, because the lands are virgin and the Indian hardly plants maize on a large scale, and, if it rains regularly until the grain has become hard, the crop is abundant and the farmer has enough to eat and an abundance of chicha to drink, which is what he wants.

•412 Formerly the ava had nothing but a wooden shovel and a stone ax, which is hard to find today. He obtained his livelihood with these insignificant tools; the ax served him for cutting trees and bushes and the spade for pulling up all the grass and brush. The spade was like those used by bakers for [324] putting bread in the oven; it was of soto wood and was at- [239] tached to a rather long handle with bejuco vines or strips of toborochi bark; the handle was always long, because the Indian /240/ neither knew nor does he now know how to bend his back at his farm chores; these spades were also made from the shoulder blade of cattle, horses, or asses (1).

000

1. Baron don Erland Nordenskiold, in addition to the pots from various regions of Bolivia, sent to the Swedish museum pots made by the Chiriguano, wooden spades, and stone axes.

241 Planting was usually done in the month of November; [221] after the ground had received at least two rains. Then the Indian would first destroy with his spade the small amount of grass that had come up, and then he would notify his friends and relatives so that they might help him to plant on the day indicated. The cacique took part in the general [476] planting, ordering that those under him should help one [534] another; thus, early on the said day, at daybreak, they would

/248/

273 She prepares and grinds an amount of maize corresponding to the number of vessels she wishes to fill and then sifts it in a special sieve which has large holes, Unupesa; from this first job there is always left a kind of sifting, or arrocillo, that they call Abaticure, which, after being soaked and sifted, is again ground, after which they roast it a little on potsherds, chew it, and keep it in a vessel for a period of four to six hours. This is called Timisúú, chewed thing.

Meanwhile water has been collected, and the pot has been put on the fire and is near the boiling point; before it boils, the lighted firewood is taken away to stop its action; she throws into the pot the dry meal which she ground first and mixes it with the hot water, keeping it from becoming lumpy. Then she removes a small quantity of this mixture and puts it in a small vessel, into which she puts all the Timisúú, which mixture they call Umopirai. Having done all this, she stirs continually with a maté, bringing the liquid up to a certain height and letting it fall back into the vessel so that it will acquire the necessary sweetness. When the mixture has become quite sweet, she pours it all into the ollas which are on the fire, brings them to a boil, stirring it all continually for a period of 24 hours (1).

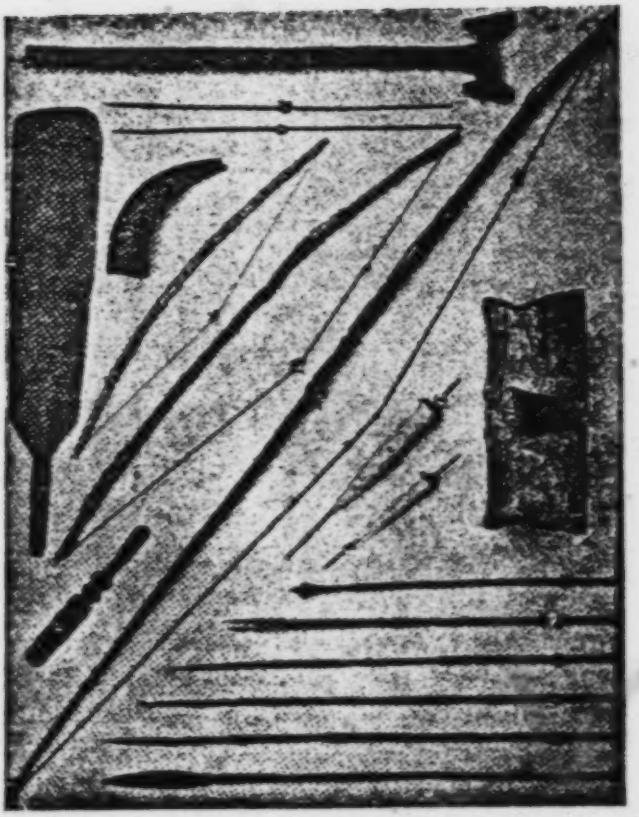
1. If the liquid were not made to fall from a certain height into the vessel, it would not be sweet at all. The spatula with which she stirs the liquid day and night is called Mbaepivaraca.

• [412]

At the end of 24 hours, it is fully cooked; she removes the fire and takes out the thick liquid, putting it in other pots with a wide mouth. The women, both big and small, then sit down and begin to chew until the end (this operation may last some two hours). Then different ones pour water into it, strain all the ingredient in a very fine sieve, Cangüi mbogua, and, once finished, bottle the clarified liquid in other pots with narrow mouths. The lid for these vessels is a small jar or a gourd, and, to seal it hermetically, they plaster it with a

4: Nino--368 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

●412
411
534
283
352



Bows, arrows, etc. /see p.382 for additional explanation/.

4: Nino--382 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/283/

Explanation of the Preceding Illustration /see p. 368/

412
411
534
283
352

1. Wooden spade for work.
2. Spade handle.
3. Bull's horn for blowing.
4. Implement for stirring food.
5, 6. Chiriguano spindles.
7. Chair or seat with two spaces for children.
8. A bow for adults.
9. Arrow with iron point.
10, 11, 12. Arrows with wooden point.
13. Bow for young people.
14. Arrow with two points for hunting and fishing.
15. "Songo," or arrow with rounded point for hunting small birds.
16. Bow for boys.
17, 18. Arrows for boys.

/284/

Chapter Thirteen

Illnesses, Remedies, Death, and Mourning

Introduction

One moment of reflection suffices for a man to understand that there is no true happiness on earth; he who can glory in being happy in this world finds many sorrows: unsatisfied desires, unexecuted orders, unfinished projects. The careless execution of injunctions constitutes thorns for the heart of the man who could call himself blessed. He would like everything to go along as he desires, and when this does not happen he suffers, and if he does not express his suffering he suffers much more (1).

1. It is a great relief for a man to be able to communicate his sufferings to a sincere friend, but it is difficult to find such, because he who has a friend has a treasure, and the treasure is a rare thing.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5)(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chirignano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
353
415

I have not seen wooden boxes anywhere else, and scarcely think they are genuinely Indian. I shall return to the subject of baskets.

C
Ce
415
237
171

Except among the Chirignano and the Chané, I have only seen the scales of the armadillo used as boxes among the Mataco, and there only as a curiosity. They are, however, known from the Guyaqui[1]), from the Indians of Roraima[2]) and from Indians in N. W. Brazil[3]). The sewn baskets of armadillo scales which are sold in the curiosity-shops of Buenos Aires probably hail from Paraguay, and it is not impossible that here, too, we have to do with an original Indian idea.

Ce
237
278
415

The fat of various animals which is used for healing is usually kept by the Chirignano and Chané in shells, especially those of the *Borus oblongus*.

I shall return to the subject of calabashes.

C
352

Fig. 3. Seat of wood from the Chirignano. G. M. 13. 1. 178. 1/6

C
412

Fig. 4. Wooden hook. Chirignano. R. M. H. 600. 1/6

[1]) Kunike fig. 15.
[2]) G. M.
[3]) Koch-Grünberg (1).

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S:

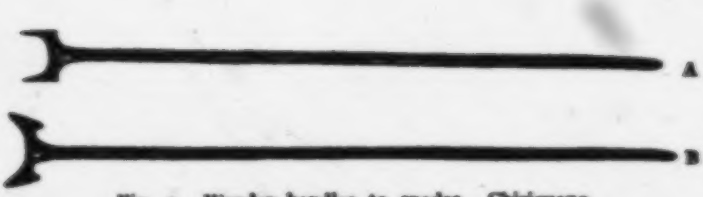


Fig. 5. Wooden handles to spades. Chiriguano.
1/12 A — Private collection. B — R. M. E. 680.

C 412

III.

Tillage and tillage implements.

C Ce 241 262

Vegetable food is of great importance to the majority of Indians. This is most specially so with the Chiriguano and Chané. To the former, as well as to those of the latter tribe who dwell on the Rio Itiyuro, maize is of extraordinary importance. The Chiriguano and Chané belong to WISSLER's »maize-area» or »area of intensive agriculture». WISSLER divides S. America into three great food areas: area of intensive agriculture, manioc area, and guanaco area. Another division would be more correct, viz. —

C Ce [243]
S 22

1) Area of intensive agriculture.
2) Area of manioc and fishing.
3) Area of wild seeds and fishing. El Gran Chaco.
4) Guanaco area.

There will, of course, be in addition a number of small areas with special conditions of life, as in the extreme south of S. America.

The Chiriguano grow 11 kinds of maize[1]), 11 varieties of beans[1]), 12 kinds of calabashes[1]), of which 5 are edible, sweet potates, mandioca, sugar-cane, mani, urucu, tobacco,

C 241

[1]) According to Métraux Pp. 241 . . . .

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
241

water-melons, melons, figs, tuna[1]), oranges, cotton, millet, and reeds for arrow-shafts.

Ce
249
[245]
C
Ce
[244]
C
Ce
[177]
[262]

Bananas are not cultivated. Among the Chané at the Rio Parapiti the sweet-potato is the most important cultivated plant. Of the plants mentioned, the sugar-cane, the melon, the watermelon, the fig, the orange and the millet are not American. All those cultivated plants which have been introduced by Europeans are of slight importance to the Indians. I have never seen mandioca cultivated, but I have heard that it is to be met with in the fields of these Indians. As a staple food of the people it is of no importance here.

C
Ce
412
177

Iron spades bought from the Whites are the tools employed nowadays. Very occasionally one still sees wooden spades. In Part I I have published a map of the geographical distribution of the spade.

The spade in S. America is evidently a western element of culture, i. e. the idea of fitting on a more or less broad blade to the lower part of the digging-stick is plainly derived from the western area of civilization.

Whence the Chiriguano got the idea of the shapely handles I do not know. They are too shapely for the art to have been derived from the Whites. They have obviously a long evolution behind them, and it is very probable that they had their origin in the Mountain area of civilization.

Hoes with iron blades occur. The Indians have got them from the Whites. I have not seen any primitive hoes, although we are here on the border of the area of distribution of the genuine American hoe[2]).

The Chiriguano and Chané use a small implement for removing the corn from the corn-cobs which I have described in Part I. P. 32.

---

[1]) Opuntia.

C
Ce
[114]

[2]) It is incorrect to affirm, as Wissler does, (P. 27) that the hoe was unknown in S. America. Incas had hoes and they are found still among the Quichua.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5)(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane

VII.

Tools.

C 442 [114]

With the exception of bone awls the Chiriguano Indians of to-day have no genuinely Indian tools. Bone awls which I have already dealt with in part I very rarely occur among the Chiriguano. I omitted to mention this in the German edition of Part I.

VIII.

Fire-making.

C 372

Once only have I seen a Chiriguano Indian making fire by wood friction. He had forgotten his matches. Flint-and-steel are also seldom seen among these Indians now-a-days. In my collection there is a cotton-plaiting, in a wooden pocket from the Chiriguano. The Indians use such for tinder when striking fire with flint and steel. The idea of this was of course obtained from the Whites.

C [177]

StNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Aymara SF5

C
Ce
415
171*

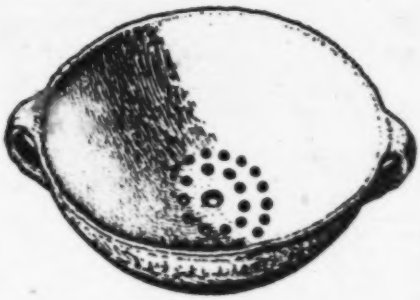


Fig. 16 a. Upper part of the steaming apparatus. The specimen given here is from the Mataco-Vejos, who learnt to use it from the Chané. R. M. M. 1022.

IX.

Utensils used in preparing and consuming food.

C
Ce
415
171*
[412]

The Chiriguano and the Chané have large wooden mortars with long wooden pestles. Hand-mills of stone or any other material are never used. The geographical distribution of the mortar has already been dealt with in the first volume (map 10). Evidently the wooden mortar has come to the Chiriguano and Chané from the east. It is a northern and eastern element of S. American culture. Among the Chiriguano one sometimes sees mortars hollowed out in stumps of trees. It is obvious that the Whites did not introduce the mortar here from the fact that it was mentioned by such early author as SCHMIDEL from the Syeberis in North Chaco.

C
Ce
252
415
171*
A
[415]

Both the Chiriguano and the Chané sift and strain through a round basket, the surupé (fig. 52). The following table shows us how sifting and straining is done by the tribes I have visited. Some tribes use four-sided sieves and strainers.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee 252 445 *171 [412]

that they fanned the flour. They had no proper sieves. As we have seen from the table, the Chaco tribes have no basket-sieves, but use bag-nets instead.

Mandioca-graters do not occur among the Chiriguano and the Chané.

Ee 252 445 273

Of course the Chiriguano and the Chané cook their food in earthern ware. Maize-beer »Chicha», their chief food, is boiled in large vessels. It is only with great difficulty that these can be moved from one place to another[1]). Some of the Chiriguano occasionally allow the maize-beer to ferment in hollow stumps of the bottle-tree.

Ee 252 445

The steam cooking-pot shown here (fig. 16) is of very great interest. It is used by the Chané and Chiriguano in cooking a certain dish of maize, the »huintimimmo».[2])

I have seen this contrivance being used as shown by the illustration, but I have, unfortunately, not tasted the maize-dish that was cooked in it.

Ee 252 445 *171

In literature dealing with other parts of S. America I have only found this steam cooking pot mentioned by ULLRICH[3]) from the Rio Grande do Sul (Munizip Pelotas).

He there found pieces of »Siebtöpfen» and says that they were used on the top of a cooking-pot. ULLRICH[3]) tells us that these steam-cooking-pots were used by the

Ee [172] [437]

[1]) When fragments of very large and heavy earthenware vessels are found in archæological excavations one may, as a rule, presume that they originate from a permanently settled tribe. It may be assumed with perfect certainty that these very large vessels were made at the spot where they are found. Small earthen pots may, however, have been bartered from some other tribe. This is naturally of a certain interest if we wish to distinguish between native and imported pottery found in archæological excavations. — Some of the Chiriguano at the Rio Parapiti make only the big common clay vessels themselves and get the small, painted pots by barter from other Chiriguano Indians.

[2]) *Cordeiro when speaking of different dishes of maize says that «el huintimimmo, especie de torta muy tierna hecha con harina de maiz humedecida y blandamente dispuesta en una tortera agujereada y cocida con baho del agua caliente.»* P. 42.

[3]) P. 500.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

small Indian tribes in the woods north of the Rio Camaquam at the end of the decade 1870—80. The perforated top bowl contained maize, the pot under it boiling water.

I cannot at present tell whence the Chiriguano and the Chané got this cultural element. Besides among these Indians, I have also seen steam-cooking-pots of the same kind among the Mataco-Vejos, who live close to the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro.

The Chiriguano and the Chané have special bowls for roasting maize (fig. 16). I have only seen bowls of the same shape among the Mataco-Vejos. The roasting of maize is commonly practised among the majority of Indians who grow this plant, which is of such great importance to many tribes.

The Chiriguano and the Chané do not know of the babracot. They only use the wooden spit. It is often cleft, as is also the case among the Choroti and the Ashluslay. As the kinsmen of the Chané in Northern Bolivia and the kinsmen of the Chiriguano on the coast of Brazil use the babracot, the question arises: »Why is it not used here?» I suppose this is because the hunting is of no great importance, the fishing not very good, and the fish caught small or, at least, rarely of any size.

Pit-ovens are unknown here. When chicha is being made, great pot-spades are used. They are either wooden (fig. 17 A) or made of the hafted shoulderblade of some large mammal. I suppose all Indians who cook their food use *something to stir it with*. Usually, *however, only a plain* stick is used. Pot spades of the kind shown here are in use among the Mataco-Vejos, who live near the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro and the Guató[1]) on the upper Rio Paraguay. It is not unlikely at all that the latter have had them from the Chané, for we know from accounts of very early discoverers, that some of the Chané settled on the upper

[1]) Max Schmidt (9), p. 205.

5tNordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee 412 252 Ee [199 B01] Ee 412 252 171

Rio Paraguay after Garcias marauding expedition, not far from the tract where the Guató now live.

A potspade of the same type from the Yulämaua along the Rio Querarý is shown in an illustration by KOCH-GRÜNBERG.[1]) I have not seen the shoulderblade potspade in any other tribe.

Similar spades, said to have been used for agricultural purposes, are mentioned by ST. CRICQ[2]) from the Conibo.

C Ee 412 415 264 177

Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané for the most part eat their food with metal spoons which they have got from the Whites. They have, however, wooden spoons as well. They generally eat from earthenware bowls of their own make. They seldom have wooden bowls. I have already treated of the distribution of the wooden bowl and the wooden spoon. (Part 1 map 12 and 13.) They are features of western civilization. Calabash bowls are universally used by the Chiriguano and Chané as drinking vessels, particularly for chicha.

C 415 177

Silver bowls — »Cagua» — are occasionally seen at the Chiriguano festivals. These bowls, which are shaped like cloven calabashes, are often furnished with small ears and are made by mestizo smiths to suit the Indian taste.

C Ee 415 [437]

There is in my collection a calabash bowl that has been turned into a ladle by means of a handle. It is from the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro. I have also procured some bowls made of the fruit of the calabash tree from the Chiriguano. The Indians get them from Sta Cruz de la Sierra, for, as far as I know, the calabash-tree is not cultivated within their own area.

Ee 312 137 171

Fire-fans of plaited palm leaves are used, though they are rather uncommon. These fire-fans belong to the cultural elements which have come to the Chiriguano and the Chané from the north and east. Later on, when writing about the Indians in northeastern Bolivia, who have sev-

[1]) T. 2. P. 209.
[2]) P. 287

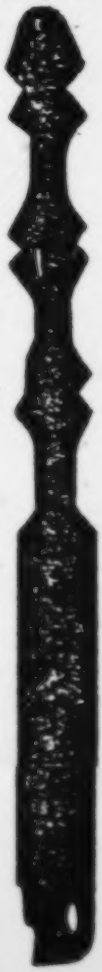
5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee
372
137
171 *

eral different kinds of palm leaf fans, I will deal with them in detail.

At present I can refer to what Pater Schmidt[1]) has written about the geographical distribution of fire fans of pla'ted palm leafs in S. America.

C
412



A

B

Fig. 17. Pötspades.
Chiriguano.

A from Tihüipa. 1/8. R.M.
E. 505.
B from Caipipendi. 1/8. R.
M E. 596.

[1]) P. 1082.

8:Nordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

seen in the villages about the upper Rio Pilcomayo. When the hair is long it is not worn hanging down the back, as is the custom with other Indians wearing long hair. It is wound round the head, «put up», and kept in place with a frontlet. I have not seen any other Indians do their hair in this way. The women also have long hair, usually parted down the middle and braided. Braiding may have been introduced in post-Columbian times, though this is uncertain, as it was also common in the culture-area of the west.

The Chiriguano and Chané use combs, but no brushes. In Part I I have already dealt with different kinds of combs met with in the districts through which I have travelled. The Chiriguano only have plain wooden combs which are sometimes rather prettily carved. This type of comb is probably derived from the mountain civilization, as I have already pointed out in Part I.

The Chané have «stick-combs», «Stäbchenkämme» and now and again, though rarely, plain wooden ones too. These constructed combs are, as a rule, one-sided, in contradistinction to the doublesided ones of the Choroti and the Ashluslay. Thus we see that the Chané type of comb is unlike the one found in old tombs in the Puna de Jujuy, and which now occurs among the Quichua and the Aymara, the Choroti and the Ashluslay. Chiriguano and Chané combs are used exclusively for cleaning the hair and are never worn as ornaments.

The use of the pincer or tweezer as a toilet article certainly came to the Chiriguano and Chané from the civilised zone in the west. They are of metal and are used for removing hair from the body. Nowadays pincers are usually made of the metal from some old tin can, but sometimes of silver. These pincers of silver also serve as breast ornaments for the men, and are called «boivéra». They have to a great extent lost their original use, and are now simply used as ornaments. They have even sometimes been hammered together so that they can no longer be used as pincers.

C
301
302
412
531

Fig. 26. 1/3.

1) Implement of tin for removing hair. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 356.
2) " " silver " " " also used as breast ornament. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 378.
3) Breast ornament of silver. " " 370
4) " " " " " " 370.

C
Ce
301
412
177
Ce
[531]

cers. They have become bigger and bigger. (fig. 26) These silver trinkets are not made any more by the Indians themselves, and it is likely that the majority of, or all the silver ornaments now found among the Indians have been made by white silversmiths.[1]) The shape is always Indian, but

[1]) Nino is also of the opinion that the chuchuro is not of Indian make. P. 198.

Schedenskiöld E-4 A (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

the ornamental design not always so (fig. 26). It is difficult to decide whether the idea of the pincer as a mere breast ornament is due only to the influence of non-Indian smiths or not. Most likely the pincer was turned into mere ornament by the makers, who presumably used it as an article of barter and then increased its size in order to make it more and more coveted by the Indians. At last the makers themselves may even have been quite ignorant of its original use. Consequently we cannot be wrong in considering the «boivéra» an original Indian element of culture which has been transformed under the influence of

Fig. 27. Figure tattooed on the arm of a old Chiriguano Indian. ? Caipipendi. $^{1}/_{1}$.

the Whites. There is no doubt that the pincer is a cultural element derived from the old culture zone in the west. They are, as we know, quite common in collections from that part. The Chiriguano also sometimes use a piece of split reed for removing hair.

Tattooing occurs here, but is very rarely seen. I have only seen two Chiriguano women and one old Chiriguano man with tattooing on their arms. The old man had the figure depicted here (fig. 27) tattooed on his arm. If I understood him rightly, it used in old times to be quite common for the Chiriguano-men to be tattooed in the same way. I have seen no tattooed Chané men or Chané women. I have already given an account of the distribution of tattooing in S. America in the first part of this book.

Schwabenstiftung 1-4 (1898-1900, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
285
171
C
152
285

X 3. Pueblo Rio Ventuari, Communication by letter from Prof. Koch-Grünberg.

Baskets with lids which are opened like an ordinary cigar-box.

A. Graves on the Peruvian Const. G. M. Very common in all collections of peruvian antiquities.

C
Ce
285
531

Some baskets from the Chiriguano have shapes which make them look like imitations of earthen vessels. (Fig. 55 C and D) Sometimes they even have an ear. Chiriguano and Chané baskets are very seldom ornamented.

Metal-work.

C
325
309

The only metal-work now occurring here is that the Chiriguano sometimes make their tembetas (lip-buttons) of tin themselves. Whether the Chiriguano and Chané, before coming into contact with the Whites, themselves performed metal-work, I cannot say.

Stone-work.

C
Ce
324

The Chiriguano and Chané do not now work stone.

Wood-work.

C
Ce
322
412
177

For their wood-work the Chiriguano and Chané now use exclusively tools obtained from the Whites.

Weaving.

C
Ce
286

Among the Chiriguano I saw two types of loom; among the Chané only one.

The loom found among the Chiriguano and Chané is characterized by the completed product forming a ring (swadom) H. B. if so desired. The warp is set up as shown in the outline drawing. (Fig. 55.3) and in the sketch of a hand-loom from the Chané. (Fig. 55.1). When the ring is

[text continues on p. 176]

/179 cont./
ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla, and many other things.

It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all night, as in a Choroti or Ashluslay village. The young men and the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they

Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2.

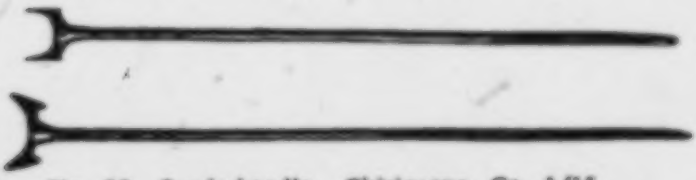


Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

are not busy brewing maize for a festival.

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, the men somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a truly refreshing bath.

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Rio Itiyuro the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Rio Parapiti in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also

When I offered a

/182 cont./ Chacobo a

cigarette, he took only a few puffs, kept the smoke in his mouth for a few seconds, and then threw the cigarette away. Nevertheless, the Chacobo plant tobacco, but use it exclusively as a remedy. If a Chacobo gets a "boro," a fly larva, "Dermatomya," under his skin, he covers the fly larva's entry spot with tobacco powder and is then able to squeeze out the dead larva in a few hours. The Choroti and Ashluslay are passionate smokers. /183/ For them smoking is one of the greatest enjoyments of life. These contrasts are quite strange.

The Chiriguano and the Chané have extensive plantings which, in contrast to the clearings of the Choroti and Ashluslay in the wilderness, are well tended. In former times they used spades made of hard wood with attractive handles (Fig. 89), but these have now gone out of use and have been entirely supplanted by iron spades. Not infrequently the fields lie far from the villages, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley. This is due to the fact that water is not available throughout the year everywhere in the vicinity of the plantings.

As has been mentioned, the produce obtained is stored in granaries built on piles (Fig. 84), so that it will be at least somewhat protected from rats, moisture, etc. These granaries are seen everywhere, except among the Chané on the Río Pilcomayo.

The fields are fenced in with fences built brush-shaped, which are often difficult to climb over. There is no fertilization of the fields. On the other hand, a field that has been exhausted is left to lie fallow.

The time of sowing is determined by the position of the Pleiades, "ychu." When this passes across the horizon very early in the morning, it is sowing time. When the rainy season begins, everything must be sowed.

The men clear and sow. Everyone helps with the harvest, men, women, and children. Among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley the men sowed the maize, that is, they took care of the larger plantings, whereas the women were gardeners and planted gourds, beans, etc.

Ee 194 515

/204 cont./

and Matacco, who still in part dress in fur cloaks, seem to me, like the Fueguians and Patagonians, to have immigrated to the Chaco from the cold pampas in the south where washing was extremely unpleasant, whereas the Chiriguano and Chaoó come from the north, out of the warm, humid, virgin forests, from the great rivers, where bathing was always pleasant and refreshing. Now, where /Fig. 109 appears here/ they live under the same climatic conditions, the former have preserved their dirt, the latter their cleanliness.

Ee 264 171 515

Im Thurn (1) reports that the Indians in Guiana bathe

1. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883.

Ee 304

Fig. 108.
Woman's tattooed arm. Chiriguano.
Itapembia.

Ee 264 171 515

immediately after eating, without any harm to them. I often observed the same thing here.

Ee 515 824

The Chiriguano and various Chaoó shampoo the head with the seeds of "yuanfra," which they grind. For the same purpose the Chaoó on the Rio Pilcomayo use the bark of the mimosi /Zizyphus mimosi Grisebb./, "yiag." The nails, and /205/ not least the toenails, are also very carefully tended. For combing they use combs carved in wood or made out of sticks of cane tied together.

Ee 302 442

Ee 519 Ee [171] Ee 296 Ee 128

/205 cont./

The Chané and Chiriguano never relieve themselves close to the huts. I never saw special privies, however, for any Indian, and not for many whites in Bolivia either.

The Chané and Chiriguano are very careful with their clothing. They keep it clean and mend it if necessary. The members of each sex wash and mend their own things. The men here sewed quite as well as the women.

I have spoken here of the everyday life of these Indians. Now I shall describe the most important events in their lives, in their social life, their festivals, their industry, etc., and

Cca •482 531

A B C D

Fig. 109. Comb for combing the hair, not for fastening in it.

A, from the Chané; B, C, D, from the Chiriguano.

Ee 128

finally proceed to their legends and their religion.

C Ea 273 [412] [237]

The pots are stirred with large wooden spatulas

/237 cont./ (Fig. 118a) or with shoulderblades provided with handles (Fig. 118b). It is the pride of every woman to brew good beer, "cangui," and much beer. Indeed, they are /238/ indefatigably busy. One sees them working all day, and even at night they are busy cooking and grinding. No family may refrain from making cangui.

The use of saliva may perhaps seem unsanitary. At first I thought this too, but soon I was so hardened that the cangui prepared with saliva-yeast in Indian fashion tasted better to me

Ce 273 415

Fig. 117. Cooking maize beer. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

than that brewed by the whites in a civilized way.

Ea 273

Connoisseurs, not only Indians, are said to be of the same opinion as I. It is important, however, that the cangui be drunk cold; it is unpalatable lukewarm. When it has stood for a long time, it is somewhat intoxicating, but not as much so as algarroba beer.

C Ea 273 574 576

There is a great deal of ceremony connected with cangui drinking. In front, on benches and stools (Fig. 85), sit the men, and behind them, on the ground, the women. The older ladies are given the best places. The hostess brings in the cangui in her

Ce /239 cont./

535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
177 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[534] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

The Chiriguano and Chané
Ee always destroy the masks after the
532 carnival. They are either burned
177 or thrown into the river. The Chané
541 call the masks "añañya."
535

It is strange what a great
C role the carnival now plays as a
Ce festival among the Indians. This
541 undoubtedly comes from the fact
177 that the whites distribute great quanti-
[464] ties of spirits there and that the Indians
who work for them are given a few
days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already
disappeared. Nevertheless one still
sees women in home-woven clothing
C with necklaces of chrysocolla and
Ce turquoise. I never saw used, however,
[178] the silver diadem and the silver
C pins which belong to the festive attire.
●412 One often sees the men's blue
237 costumes (Fig. 81) with silver
chest ornaments preserved in the
huts by the old people, but they
Ce are not used for the festivals.
535 Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
527 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
273 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
533

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

seen any Chiriguano using this typical ancient Andean garment. Ponchos of the cloak type, and robes of the kind used by the Chaco Indians, on the other hand, I have seen worn by the Chiriguano men, who put them on against cold and wet. Formerly the Chiriguano men dressed in the »chiripa», which was a rectangular skirt that was fastened in front to a cord tied round the waist, then passed between the legs, and fixed to the cord above the buttocks. One may still see, here and there, some small boy wearing nothing but this primitive garment. On their heads the men often wear a broad, red. turbanlike frontlet (fig. 194), and, when setting out on long marches, they put on their feet sandals, the straps of which bear distinct resemblance to straps on sandals that have been found in ancient graves on Puna de Jujuy.[1]

291 [171]

Fig. 195. Chiriguano boy with long, flowing hair. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[142] [302]

The women also possess sandals, but, like the men, generally walk about barefooted. The women's clothing consists of a loose-fitting, tubular garment made of woollen, or cotton, stuff. It is called »tipoy». The upper part of it is pinned together over the shoulders by means of cactus spines or metal pins, in the manner seen in fig. 190, which leaves the arms free, or the garment may be fastened under the armpits in the way the girl in fig. 194 is wearing it.

Nowadays the men mostly wear their hair bobbed, and with a frontal fringe (fig. 194), but I have seen boys, not fully grown, with long hair, hanging loose down (fig. 195). In former days all the men had long hair, which they gathered on the top of the head, where it was secured with a frontlet, a custom not yet quite discarded in some out-of-the-way parts of the country. The women let their hair grow long, give it a centre parting on the top of the head (fig. 190), plait it into tresses and tie it up, or allow it to hang loose. One may sometimes see girls with short hair (fig. 194), but in such cases the hair has been cut short as a sign that its owner has entered upon her first menstruation. On the death of a near relative it is also the custom of the women to cut off their hair.

302 [178]

[412]

Fig. 196. Wooden comb. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 25. 3. 829.

[881]

[765]

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), fig. 23; von Rosen (1), fig. 84.

[footnote 1 appears on p. 200 -- An.]

302 The hair is tended with very neat-looking wooden combs (fig. 196).
[442] Among the Chiriguano I also noticed composite combs of the type used in the Chaco (fig. 85).

[386] Among the men as well as the women, the custom obtains of painting
[824] the face red, the pigment being prepared from Bixa orellana. Many of the men I met in the neighbourhood of San Luis had red-painted the whole face below the eyes, and some of the women had circular red
302 spots, about 3 to 4 cm in diameter, painted on their cheeks. On the
304 other hand, I did not see any tattooed Chiriguano. Instances of tattooing have, however, been noted by Nordenskiöld, who also has seen Chiriguano women who had stained their teeth dark blue with some vegetable extract.[1] In the past, tattooing as well as teeth-staining were commonly practiced by the Chiriguano.

301

Fig. 197. Lip-stud (tembeta) of tin, with inlaid, pierced, turquoise-coloured glass-beads. Chiriguano, Bolivia. $^{9}/_{1}$. Riksm. 03. 3. 322.

Another Chiriguano ornament intimately connected with the human body is the lip stud (»tembeta»), which is exclusively worn by men and by youths who have attained marriageable age. The Chiriguano lip stud of the present day consists of a hollow tin cylinder with two laminate projections (fig. 197). The cylinder is filled with some waxy substance, into which are embedded a number of small beads of stone, glass or porcelain, usually of a turquoise-blue colour. The lip stud is inserted from the inside, through a hole made in the lower lip, so that its circular, bead-beset, front surface barely shows beyond the skin of the lip. The base of the lip stud, which is slightly concave, then rests against the teeth of the lower jaw. This quaint ornament creates no displeasing impression, but should a Chiriguano take it out, he would look both pitiable and ridiculous, as the saliva then runs through the large hole in the lip. Hence it is considered disgraceful to be seen without the lip stud, and on many occasions I have noticed the women scornfully deriding such men as had sold their lip ornaments. As soon as a man had taken out his lip stud, he generally put his hand to his mouth for concealment until he had time to put in a substitute stud, usually made of wood.

The lip stud that is here shown, which weighs 18.5 grammes, has a base plate 3.4 cm long, and its cylinder is 1 cm high, with a diameter

[1] Nordenskiöld (15), pp. 83, 85 and (18), pp. 187—188.

of 2.1 cm. It is decorated with one large and many small, turquoise-blue beads made of glass or porcelain. 301

Necklaces of stone or glass beads are worn by the women, and even men may occasionally be seen with them. One such necklace (fig. 198), which I bought of a Chiriguano Indian in the San Luis district, consists largely of pierced, cylindrical or laminate, turquois beads of exactly the same kind as I found when excavating the ancient site at Tolomosa in the Tarija valley.[1] The Chiriguano keep all stone beads they happen to pick up on the ground, and also acquire them by barter from other districts. Besides turquoise beads, there are also blue, white, and red glass-beads threaded on this necklace, which to me proved a particularly costly bargain. It is probable that such necklaces as wholly or in part are composed of ancient beads are looked upon as amulets. To this question I shall refer later, in connection with my account of the supposed magical properties of certain Choroti objects. [437]

Fig. 198. Necklace of turquoises and glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 905.

Fig. 199. Tweezer-like breast ornament of silver. Chiriguano. Caiyupendi. Bolivia. 1/2. After Erl. Nordenskiöld.

[72]
[789]

In the important work entitled »Comparative ethnographical studies», Erland Nordenskiöld describes, from the Chiriguano, an interesting breast ornament called »boivéra» (fig. 199), which I have not myself seen in use. It is of silver, doubled over tweezer-fashion, and worn on a string round the neck. Such tweezers, usually ornamented, are nowadays not put to any practical use, but exclusively worn as ornaments. The leaves of these tweezers are, therefore, sometimes hammered together. On good grounds Nordenskiöld advances his opinion that these ornaments originate from the small tweezers, or pincers, that, already in pre-Spanish times, were used by the Andean Indians for removing hairs of the beard, or 301 174 412 [302]

[1] von Rosen (3), p. 367 and fig. 332: 23—25.

301
174
412
[302]

other inconvenient hair-growth, and which are still in use among the Chiriguano.[1]

I have noted a circumstance, previously unheeded, that, in my opinion, gives considerable weight to Nordenskiöld's theory as to the true Indian origin of the boivéra ornament. All breast ornaments of this kind have in their upper part a tubular horizontal perforation, open at both ends. In the middle of this barrel, and through the top, there is a hole. Through this barrel and upper hole is run the cord by which the ornament is worn round the neck (fig. 199). This rather peculiar arrangement for fixing the cord on which the ornament is hung, is found in the majority of such ancient Indian hanging ornaments, whistles and flutes of stone, as were meant to be worn a string. As an example, the remarkable ancient Indian stone flute, found in the earth in the vicinity of Iruya,[2] has at one end been bored through (fig. 200) in a manner exactly corresponding to the arrangement for the cord in the boivéra. This cord-fixing adaptation does not, to my knowledge, occur in any European object. For this reason it may surely be considered as very probable, not only that the original use of the boivéra as a pair of tweezers is of Indian origin, but also that the idea of carrying the tweezers on a string round the neck is Indian, and consequently has not originated from those more or less »white» jewellers that nowadays manufacture boivéra ornaments, and sell them to the Indians. I have in another book depicted a fragment of a small, pre-Spanish, ornamented bronze tweezers, which, like the boivéra, has a circular perforation at its upper end,[3] indicating that those tweezers, too, were worn on a cord, and consequently also in all likelihood served as a breast ornament.

[534]
[172]

Fig. 200. Pan-pipe of stone. Ground-leaf from Iruya, Bolivia. 1/1. The dotted line marks the hole for fastening a string in the same way as for the breast ornament, fig. 199.

[439]

[1] Nordenskiöld (18), pp. 81—83, 90 and 94.
[2] von Rosen (16), pp. 147 and 148.
[3] von Rosen (16), fig. 211.

[p. 205]

CHAPTER VIII.

The Chiriguanos (2).

Industries. Cultivated plants. Hunting. Fishing. Vessels for food and drink. Intoxicants and stimulants. Music and dancing. Social order. Customs governing marriages, childbearing, illnesses, death and burial. Character and temperament. Belief in metempsychosis.

The Chiriguano are mainly an agricultural people, but they also do a certain amount of hunting and fishing. Maize is the most important of their cultivated plants, and it is very extensively grown by them. Many other Indian domestic plants are also cultivated, viz. pumpkins, sweet potatoes, beans, mani, cactus with edible fruit (Opuntia), tobacco, cotton, uruku (Bixa orellana), and a reed plant (Arundo donax) for making arrow-shafts. Of imported cultivated plants grown by the Chiriguano, I have seen melons, water melons, sugar cane and oranges. According to Nordenskiöld, they also grow figs and millet,[1] these latter of course also having been introduced by the whites. Nowadays, European spades and hoes are used for loosening the soil. Among wild-growing food plants the algarrobo tree (Prosopis alba) is, to the Chiriguanos, the most important one. The Indians also prepare from the fruit of this tree an intoxicating drink to which they are much addicted.

The Chiriguano larder does not to any great extent depend on hunting the game, but formerly hunting must certainly have been an important source of subsistence. Snaring is, nowadays, the 'only' method of hunting employed by the Chiriguano. The long-bow, the pellet-bow, slings, bird-nets and clubs are still occasionally used in hunting.

In olden times the Indians were good shots with the bow and arrow, and, according to Lizarraga, they then used bows the height of a man.

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 23 and 24.

Plate VII

343
335

Fig. 16
(I.C. 357) -- Chiriguano storehouse built on posts in Machareti

291
412
415

Fig. 17
(I.C. 355) -- Scene in the Chiriguano town of Machareti. Boy dressed in a poncho. Large baked clay vessels and a mortar.

/19 cont./

C 415 As Figure 18, a and b, shows, these wooden dishes have two handles on the rim.

C Ce 412 [177] [439] As an eating utensil the Chiriguano and Chané today use metal spoons which are acquired from the whites. But they also use wooden spoons (85).

C Ce [113] 85. Nord. 2, p. 56. Nordenskiöld, Erland: Vergleichende ethnographische Forschungen I. Eine Geographische und ethnographische Analyse der materiellen Kultur zweier Indianerstämme in el Gran Chaco /Comparative Ethnographic Investigation I. A Geographic and Ethnographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Indian Tribes in the Gran Chaco/, Göteborg, 1918, p. 93. (Cited in what follows: Nord. 3.) Métraux I. pp. 364, 374-376, and Figs. 42 and 43.

C 412 /20/ Wooden Spoons (kuruha) of the Chiriguano

I. A. 353. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Length 36 cm.
I. A. 498. (Max Schmidt trip.) Length 42.5 cm. (Fig. 20).
I. A. 499. (" " ") Length 16 cm. (Fig. 22).

C [171] As Figures 20 and 22 show, there are variations in the shape of these wooden spoons. The shape of spoon I. A. 499 is almost exactly like the Chané spoon shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (86), while the shape of spoon I. A. 498 is very

86. Nord. 3, p. 93. Fig. 34 F.

similar to the spoons found in the ancient burials of the Peruvian highland, their front part and handle forming a rather straight line.

/20 cont./

C
Ce
412
17

Although it may be that the shape of the wooden spoons of the Chiriguano and of the Chané may have been influenced in many cases by the shape of the metal spoons acquired from the whites, we must nonetheless regard it as a product of the indigenous culture of South America that in pre-Columbian times had been rather widespread generally among the Andean cultures. Its appearance is quite limited among the native tribes of South America, setting aside the cases where it has been imported by the whites. But it is quite common among the Indians of the regions near Chiriguano territory in particular, for example, among the Tapieté and many other Chaco tribes, such as the Toba, Matako, Churupí, and especially also among the Mojo and, farther to the east, among the Guató. It must be supposed that the Chiriguano received this cultural possession directly or indirectly from the culture of the Andean montaña.

Ce
237
415

Shells (*inta*) as Eating Utensils

I. A. 734 and 735. (Izozó.) Length 12 cm. and 10 cm.

Outside of the spoons mentioned, the Chané-Izozó also use shells as eating utensils.

Ce
415
[824]

As vessels for drinking water and *chicha*, they above all use *cuyas* /vessels made from gourds/ (cf. Figures 24-26 and 149; 150; 153) and calabashes (cf. Figures 42 and 151). For the *chicha* festivities this beverage is ordinarily taken out of the painted baked clay pots in *cuyas* with designs on them, which are passed around among those present. Of the *cuyas* that I acquired from the Chiriguano in Machareti many have either incised or pyrographed designs, with which I shall deal in the chapter on art. The *cuyas* received from the Izozó do not have designs on them, which is easily explained by the peculiar circumstance that the Izozó were at that time living near Toledo. Three of the calabashes received from the Izozó (cf. Figure 42 c) were made from the fruit of the

C
415
126
531

Ce
415
[531]
[824]

Plate VIII

415

a b

Fig. 18

412 →

415 ←

Fig. 19

a b c

Fig. 20

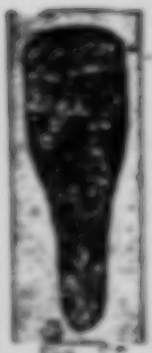


Fig. 21

Fig. 22

296

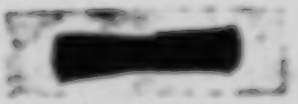


Fig. 23

/The captions are on p. 55./

E: Schmidt-52 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates VIII and IX./

Plate VIII

C 415

Fig. 18. a (I. A. 497): wooden dish (Chiriguano), diam. 30 cm.
b (I. A. 496): wooden dish (Chiriguano), diam 23 cm.

Fig. 19. (I. A. 574.) Wooden platter (Chiriguano), length 83 cm.

C 412

Fig. 20. a (I. A. 578), b (I. A. 576): wooden spatulas for stirring foods and drinks (Chiriguano), length 66.5 cm. and 114 cm.
c (I. A. 498): wooden spoon (Chiriguano), length 42.5 cm.

Fig. 21. (I. A. 502.) Spatula for stirring foods and drinks (Chiriguano), length 24.5 cm.

Fig. 22. (I. A. 499.) Wooden spoon (Chiriguano), length 16 cm.

C 276

Fig. 23. (I. A. 511.) Wooden pipe (Chiriguano), length 10.5 cm.

Plate IX

C 415

Fig. 24. (I. A. 457.) Decorated cuya (Chiriguano), length 23 cm.

C [415]

Fig. 25. a (I. A. 666): cuya with sewing (Izozó), length 19.5 cm.
b (I. A. 460): decorated cuya (Chiriguano), length 20 cm.

Fig. 26. Decorated cuyas (Chiriguano): a (I. A. 452), length 10 cm.; b (I. A. 456), length 11.5 cm.;
c (I. A. 454), length 5.7 cm.; d (I. A. 458), length 15 cm.; e (I. A. 451), length 14 cm.

8: Schmidt--70 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/28/

Combs (kívua) in the Collection

C
Ce
412
322
[126]

I. A. 740. (Found on the road between Capirenda and Garrapatal. Length 9.5 cm. Width 9 cm. (Fig. 29a.)
I. A. 1327. Izozó. Length 7.5 cm. Width 3.5 cm. (Fig. 29b.)

The two combs in the collection, coming from the Izozó, represent two completely different types of comb. To the first type belongs the comb I. A. 740, which is made up of some little wooden sticks held together between two transverse pieces of cane interwoven with threads. (Cf. Fig. 29a.) The comb of the second type, I. A. 1327, has simply been carved from a single piece of flat wood. (Cf. Fig. 29b.) A comb similar to I. A. 740, coming from the Chané, is shown by Nordenskiöld in a drawing (122). The three Chiriguano

C
412
322

122. Nord. 1, Fig. 109.

combs shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (122) /see footnote 122 above/ belong to the second type and have been carved from wood, like the Izozó comb I. A. 1327. But in contrast to this one, the upper parts of their backs have been carved. Likewise the Chiriguano combs shown in drawings by v. Rosen and Métraux (123) are decorated with such carving.

123. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 196.
Métraux I, Plate 87.

C
Ce
412
322
171

Up to now there has been some doubt as to how these two different types of combs might be distributed among the Chané and the Chiriguano. According to Nordenskiöld (124),

124. Nord. 2, p. 81.

the Chiriguano only have combs carved from a single piece of wood, and the Chané commonly have the type of comb with small sticks and rarely the simple comb carved from wood.

Ce
Ce
412
322
171

/28 cont./

V. Rosen and Métraux found among the Chiriguano combs made of little sticks (125), and, as already mentioned, I obtained these

125. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 202. Métraux I, pp. 467 and 468 and Fig. 123.

two types of comb from the Izozó. According to this, I believe that we must decide the question of the manner by which the two types of comb appear simultaneously among the Chiriguano and among the Chané, but noting first that among the latter the comb made of little sticks is more common and among the former the wooden comb is more common.

Because the diffusion of simple combs carved from wood, like those that the Chiriguano and the Izozó-Chané have, is relatively restricted among the other tribes of South American natives, while this type of comb was known to the ancient Peruvian culture, we must also include this cultural possession among the ancient Peruvian influences (126). The combs fitted

126. Nord. 2, p. 81.

with little sticks, which we know from the Chané and the Chané-Izozó, are different from such combs used by most of the Chaco tribes, for example, by the Churupí /Chulupi/ and the Maká /Maca/, not only with respect to its material but also with respect to its method of manufacture. But I do not accept Nordenskiöld's opinion, according to which those Chané combs are different, in that they are only usable on one side, from those of the Chaco tribes, which were usable from both sides (127). The Chaco Indian combs furnished with little

Ce
114

127. Nord. 1, p. 204. Métraux I, p. 467.

sticks that I am familiar with are also used only on one side for combing, inasmuch as the other side is the handle. We can be quite sure of that because the little sticks of cane that form the teeth of the comb are pointed at only one end. The

C
Es
412
301
302
178

/29 cont./

Because of this change the implement for plucking hair, consisting of small tweezers, formerly very common, has naturally lost a great part of its importance today, and similarly, in its transformed state as a chest ornament, it is rarer. I found such tweezers among the Mataco and the Churupí. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such tweezers or the corresponding chest ornament, called "boivera" also by the Chiriguano. Nordenskiöld describes these tweezers in detail (131),

131. Nord. 2, pp. 81 and 82.

and he adds that the Chiriguano also use small sticks of cane to pluck out hair.

C
412
301
171

The form of these tweezers made of metal corresponds to that of the tweezers known through finds made in the burials of the ancient Peruvians. Today these tweezers are normally made of any piece of tin plate or sheet iron, which, when provided with a cord, they use for chest ornaments, besides their original purpose. This custom of using tweezers as a chest ornament was very common among the ancient Peruvians. Among the latter's necklaces there are many that, apart from other things, consist of silver tweezers. It was customary among the ancient Peruvians that these enlarged tweezers, unsuitable for their original purpose, be transformed into a pure and distinctive ornament. The Museum of Ethnography in Berlin has such ornaments in the form of depilatory tweezers, made of copper, silver, or gold, in great number, one example of which is 52 centimeters in length (132). Therefore I suppose

C
301
[174]
C
[113]

132. Cf. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru, Berlin, 1929, pp. 83, 369, 397, and 399.

we must deduce that the Chiriguano custom of using as a chest ornament a silver ornament in the form of one of these tweezers is due to ancient Peruvian influence. There are several specimens of the "boivera," now rare and doubtless most of the time carefully kept from the view of the whites, in

/37 cont./

The sort of agriculture which these Indians commonly practice is that which we can define with the term "el rozado" /the clearing/, which best corresponds to the technical German word "Waldrodung," which is used for this concept. A piece of woodland is cleared, and the land cultivated in this manner is planted as many times as possible until it is exhausted. According to Métraux (173), the place intended

173. Métraux 1. p. 334.

for planting is first cleared of underbrush, which is cut with a large stick edged on both sides, and this is burned on the site. Métraux /38/ has also compiled from the literature the respective statements on the method of planting maize (174).

174. Métraux 1. p. 337.

Almost all the implements used for this cultivation, such as spades and iron hoes, have been obtained from the whites. The wooden spade, which the Chiriguano doubtless received from the culture of the ancient Peruvians and which was formerly universally used by them, is very rare today (175).

175. Nord. 1. p. 188. Métraux 1. pp. 335 and 336.

According to Nordenskiöld, these spades were made of a hard wood and had an artificially formed handle. Two such spade handles with a special handhold at the upper end are drawn in drawings by Nordenskiöld and two similar ones by Métraux (176).

176. Nord. 1. Fig. 89. Métraux 1. p. 336. Figs. 3 and 4.

In the Chané legends written down by Nordenskiöld, there is also mentioned, in addition to the spade, the wooden punch, which is a very common agricultural implement among most

Chane SF8
Izozo

/10 cont./

Ce 412 413 of the Indians of South America who have agriculture. In one of these legends it is said that (177) Tunpa, after having

177. Nord. I, p. 200.

created the grandparents of the Avá (Chiriguano) and Chané, gave them a wooden spade and a long carved stick, called "tarumpa," and bows and arrows so that they might feed themselves with these implements. In the other legend it is said that the jaguar goes to get the punches when the fox wants to help him plant his field (178). From the indications

Ce 412

178. Nord. I, p. 209.

by Métraux mentioned in the foregoing, it follows that the Chiriguano still use such an implement in their agriculture.

Ce 241 The Chiriguano in Machareti had some plantings near their town, but, because of the extraordinary drought at that time, these had produced nothing. The Izozó near Toledo had cleared large areas, but were unable to plant for the same reason. According to Nordenskiöld (179), the large

Ce 241

179. Nord. I, p. 183.

plantings of the Chiriguano and the Chané are often far from their towns and are enclosed by thickets.

The Raising of Livestock

Ce 231 Of the domestic animals native to South America, the Chiriguano and the Chané have the South American dog, which today is mixed with the blood of European dogs (180).

180. Nord. I, p. 187. Nord. 2, p. 49.

8: Schmidt--149 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/57/

Grinding the Raw Materials

C
Ce
252
412

For grinding raw materials, principally for grinding corn, the Chiriguano and Chané use large wooden mortars with long pestles (255). Such a wooden mortar is shown in Figure 15 and

255. Nord. 1, p. 51. Métraux I, p. 365. Fig. 30.

C
Ce
412
[171]

another one by Nordenskiöld (256). Stone mills are not used by

256. Nord. 1, Fig. 116.

these Indians, although this implement was used, except for the Chaco tribes, by all the tribes whom the Chiriguano had as neighbors after their migration to the west. According to Métraux, a small stone mill is used only for grinding the seeds of a plant which the Chiriguano use as soap for washing their hair. Such a stone mill is shown in a drawing by Métraux (257).

C
515
[388]

257. Métraux I, p. 467, Fig. 122.

C
412
171
174

Because the wooden mortar is common even today among the Kaingué /Caingua/, who also belong to the Guaraní linguistic group, and is also mentioned for the ancient Tupinambá /Tupinamba/ of the eastern coast of Brazil, we can assume that the Chiriguano brought this cultural possession from their native land.

C
Ce
252
412
[171]

The fact that mandioca is not important in the economy of these Indians explains why they do not use the wooden grater, the application of which is diffused among so many other Indian tribes of South America who cultivate this nourishing root.

Making Cord and Thread

C
Ce
283

The thread that the Chiriguano and Chané make out of wool or cotton is spun by means of the spindle, while that made of caraguata is twisted by hand. We have no information on the way this caraguata thread is twisted.

R Schmidt--190 E-5 (1935) 938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF5

/76 cont./

C
CC
85
415
412

On the Cooking of Meals

Most of the Chiriguano and Chané utensils used /Plates XXXVI-XXXVII appear here/ /77/ for cooking meals have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters, such as pots for cooking food and for fermenting chicha, dishes with holes in the center of the bottom for steaming maize meal, vessels for frying /fritar/ maize, wooden mortars with their pestles, and sieves. For frying /fritar/ meat or fish, the Chiriguano and Chané do not use the quadrangular or triangular stands which are so common among other South American Indians, but instead simple wooden spits (78). Also, as we have already

C
CC
171
E
412

78. Nord. 2, p. 55. Métraux 1, p. 332 and Figure 22.

said, the grater for grating manioca roots is not found among these Indians.

E
415
412

We have yet to mention two other utensils used by the Chiriguano and Chané for fixing their meals, the large wooden dish and the spatula for stirring foods or drinks when they are boiling or fermenting.

C
415
126

Large Wooden Dishes (Platters) in the Collection

I.A. 574. (Chirig.) Lgth 0.83 m. Width 0.39 m. (Fig. 19.)
I.A. 575. " " 1 m. " 0.335 m.

Unfortunately I did not obtain data regarding the special use of these large wooden dishes which I acquired from the Chiriguano in Macharetí. As Fig. 19 shows, these large wooden dishes are provided with the same handles as the smaller wooden dishes which serve as vessels for eating.

Chane SF8

/77 cont./

C 412 126

Spatulas for Stirring Foods, Which Are in the Collection

I.A. 561.	(Chiriguano)	Length 49.5 cm.	
I.A. 569.	"	" 94.5 cm.	(Fig. 81)
I.A. 570.	"	" 114 cm.	(Fig. 76b.)
I.A. 577.	"	" 90 cm.	
I.A. 578.	"	" 67 cm.	(Fig. 76a.)
I.A. 579.	"	" 65.5 cm.	

C 412 153 (1-7)

These wooden spatulas for stirring are used by the Chiriguano and Chané for stirring the bubbling cook of maize when it is being fermented. Some of these spatulas have decorations on their handles similar to those of the corresponding spatulas of the Guaraní Indians. Nordenskiöld shows in a sketch such a Chiriguano spatula with a zigzag decoration (783), and beside

C 412 531 259

783. Nord. 2. Fig. 17 A.

it (784) another form of these utensils, from the Chiriguano,

784. Nord. 2. Fig. 17 B.

which consists of the shoulder blade of a large mammal, attached to a wooden handle (785).

785. Nord. 2, p. 18. See Métraux 1. Figs. 37 and 34.

The Making of Fermented Drink

C 273

Concerning the making of maize chicha, that is, the national drink of the Chiriguano, Nordenskiöld says the following (786):

786. Nord. 2. p. 237.

C [412]

First the maize is /78/ ground up in large mortars, then sifted and boiled in large pots with water. A part of this mash,

C 293

/78 cont./
removed from the pot, chewed up and well mixed with saliva, is then mixed back in with the rest. Then it is strained and fermenes in large open pots, at moderate heat. By means of large wooden spatulas or mammals' shoulder blades fitted with wooden handles, the mash is stirred in the pot. We find a more detailed description of this process in the publication by Métraux (787).

C [412] [239]

787. Métraux I, pp. 565-569.

C Ce 251

The Preservation of Foodstuffs

Concerning the method of preserving foodstuffs, we know that the Chiriguano and Chané dry fish for future use, when fish are abundant (788). According to Nino (789), formerly meat

788. Nord. 1, p. 189.

C [113]

789. Nino, F. Bernardino der Etnografía Chiriguana. La Paz, 1912, pp. 749 and 750. According to Métraux.

from hunting was preserved for the great fiestas by drying it in the sun, without using salt. Even today, when a bovine animal is slaughtered, part of the meat is preserved by drying it in the sun (790).

790. Métraux I, p. 556.

C 50

Transport

The Chiriguano and Chané, in contrast to the Ikatines-Guaraní, do not have boats (791). Concerning means of

791. Nord. 1, p. 186.

/364 cont./

273 life of the individual or the community is associated with this beverage. The divine principle which kāwi has in it does not take away its secular character; and, while one gets drunk on it during the festivals, nothing prevents washing down meals with it at the time when the corn ripens. As a sign of [574] hospitality every stranger is invited to empty a calabash full [576] of it; and the compliments he addresses to the wife of his host fill his heart with pride.

527 The Indians always appreciated the liking I showed 273 /Plate XIV appears here/ /365/ for kāwi, and my old friend [123] Karnapadyú did not fail to recall the big vats full to the brim to persuade one to return to celebrate Easter with them, or, if you like, the corn harvest, since these two dates coincide more or less. Such promises /Fig. 29 appears here/ could not remain without effect, and Karnapadyú was not at all surprised to see me arrive shortly before the festival.

The greatest animation prevailed in the village of Carurutí, formerly so calm. Men came and went, bending under enormous loads of wood. All the urns were lined up in front of the huts and buried to a third of their height (Plate XIV, 1). 527 For a long time big piles of corn had already been heaped up 273 in the village, which all, big and small, men and women, 243 /Fig. 30 appears here/ were actively engaged in husking. [412] Some used their fingers, others knives or a pointed stick. Not [413] one had thought of the so practical instrument used by their ancestors: a small wooden peg with a leather loop to put two fingers through. It is curious to note that such a simple object fell into disuse; an old man still sold me a specimen made of iron but a close copy, so to speak, of the wooden prototype, of which it reproduced the smallest details (Fig. 29).

273 Now the hardest work begins: the grinding of the kernels. Day and night the dry noise of the pestles crushing the corn [461] resounds in the village. Often, to get the chore over more quickly, three women group around the same mortar and with surprising speed raise and pound their pestle without a single [415] error in rhythm interrupting their laborious work. Once ground, the corn is sifted in an urumpesa or large-meshed sieve (Fig. 31). The rather coarse flour is poured into large urns filled with water.

413
243

Fig. 29. Iron peg with leather handle used for husking ears of corn. Chiriguano. Prov.: Saladito. (1/2 nat. size.)

412
824

Fig. 30. Chiriguano mortar (anguá) made of urundey wood (Astronium urundeuva Fr. Allemao), with its pestle. The lower, recessed part is buried in the ground. Prov.: Ivu. (1/15 nat. size.)

C 323 /384 cont./

made only in the sunshine. One day when rain threatened to fall, the women hurried to grab the vessel they were in the act of making and to carry it into the hut. It was swinging on all sides during this moving, but did not break at all.

From base to neck the vessel is constructed in the same fashion, the number of rolls superposed varying with the size of the vessel but never being very large. The handles are added last. Some are twisted and have been obtained in the following manner: a long, thin roll is bent in two and rolled on itself.

When finished, the vessel is put to dry. After it has hardened, the potter rubs it on the inside with a shining, polished stone (tankua or ita-nkua) (Plate XXIV, 3-4) until the surface is rendered shiny as /Plate XXIV appears here/ /385/ if glazed. The purpose of this operation is to avoid porosity of the inner wall of the vessel, which without that would be too permeable. The exterior of ordinary vessels is left as is. Vessels that are to be painted are apparently also polished on the outside. The polishing of the vessel is done over several days and slowly. The potter does it with great care (see Fig. 66).

C [239] [413]

If the vessel is to be painted, the color is applied with a brush made of agouti hair or feathers held together in a tuft with wax (Plate XXIV, 1).

C Ce 384

The coloring materials used by the Chiriguano and Chané are of mineral and vegetable origin. The first are taken from rocks, of which I have had samples examined petrographically and chemically.

Chemical analysis gave the following results: the yellow samples contain clay (aluminum silicate and calcium carbonate) and iron in the form of hydrated oxide; the reds are of the same composition but contain less hydrated iron oxide and more iron oxide. In a specimen of yellow-brown ocher the iron oxide is abundant. In another, hard and compact, of a red-violet tint, the iron is almost entirely in the state of anhydrous oxide.

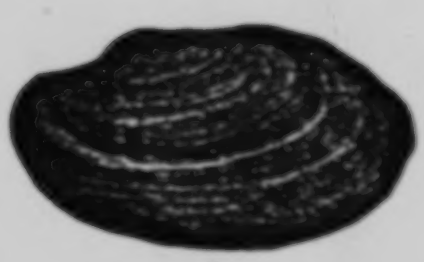
The yellow, red, and dark-yellow ochers, when heated in a test tube, change color and become dark red, with the exception of the violet specimen which remains invariable.

[Text Continues on P. 154]

Plate XXIV

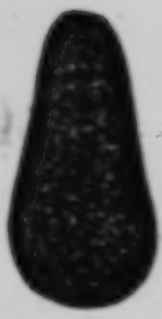
323
237
[413]

1.



2

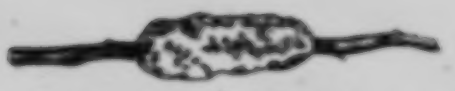
323
412



3

4

323
237



5

Accessories of a Chiriguano potter. -- 1. Brush made of feathers held together with wax. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (Nat. size.) -- 2. Valve of a fresh-water mollusk (inta), used to smooth the inside surface of the vessels. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/2 nat. size.) -- 3 and 4. Stones used for polishing the exterior and interior surfaces of vessels before firing (intankua). These two stones were found inside a funerary urn in Cararutí. (2/3 nat. size.) -- 5. Excrescence formed by an insect on the branches of trees of resinous species, which the Chiriguano utilize for tracing out black and shiny figures on their vessels (tarawirisi). Prov.: Ibopytí. (1/2 nat. size.)

/433 cont./

283
291
516
142

Fig. 87. Chiriguano woman getting ready to spin. Caruruti. (Photo. A. M.)

286 The reed of our European looms is replaced here by an /Fig. 88 appears here/ interlacing of threads which grasp one thread of the warp, then the other, alternately.

286 413 The woof is passed through with the help of a shuttle whose motion back and forth is facilitated by a weaver's sword (iwirape) which separates the warp threads. This latter instrument is used to tighten the cloth each time the woof has passed through. A [239] mammalian metatarsal bone sharpened to a point (Fig. 92) or a small pointed or spindle-shaped stick (Figs. 93 and 94) permits

/433 cont./

283
859
291
516
342

Fig. 88. Chiriguano girls spinning. Masaví (Igüembé Valley). (Photo. A. M.)

286
413

moving the front /434/ warp threads back each time they have been crossed with the help of the reed. The woman who has just passed the woof through grasps this dagger firmly and with a sharp blow raises the threads of the warp after pulling on the reed. Difficult jobs, probably the execution of some /Fig. 89 appears here/ complicated figures, are accomplished with a wooden needle, which unfortunately I never saw used.

/434 cont./

283
413

[191]
[184]

Fig. 89. a, b, c. Chiriguano spindles of the bakaĩri /Bacairi/ type. Prov.: a, Tasiti; b, Tintapaw; c, Tasiti (upper Pilcomayo). These spindles are provided with a groove in the upper part which allows the thread to be fastened. The whorls of a and b are of terra cotta, that of c of wood. (1/4 nat. size.)

353
283
413

Fig. 90. Drawing indicating how the spindles are arranged inside a Chiriguano hut. They are threaded into the holes made along a bamboo which is hung against the walls of the habitation. (1/9 nat. size.)

286

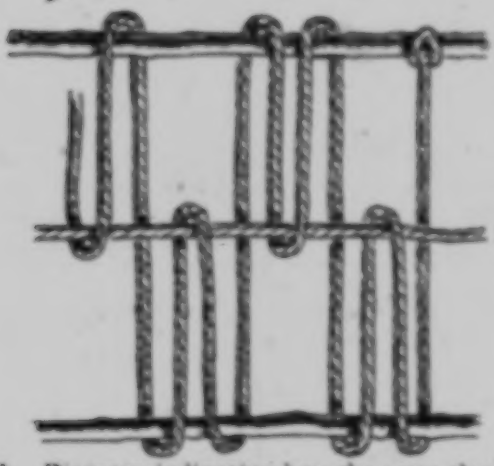


Fig. 91 Diagram indicating how the warp threads are arranged on a Chiriguano loom of the "Arawak type" (from Nordenskiöld).

C
286
531
199
CCD

/36 cont./

Modern Chiriguano fabrics show almost no originality. They are generally plain, and, if they present some linear motifs, these are servilely copied from models coming from the Andean region. The Quichua /Quechua/ fabrics, prototypes of those of

C
286
413
C
[239]

Fig. 97. Metatarsal bone of a mammal, carved in the shape of a dagger, which the Chiriguano women utilize to cross and then tighten the warp threads. Prov.: Ivu. (1/2 nat. size.)

Figs. 95-96. Awls (kiruna) for crossing and then tightening the warp threads. Prov.: Salado Grande (2/5 nat. size.)

N.G.
286
531

The Quichua /Quechua/ fabrics, prototypes of those of the Chiriguano, are nevertheless of better quality and greater richness of ornamentation. In addition to purely geometric designs they are often decorated with small figures representing animals or human beings.

/230 cont./

304 881 304 Then the one doing the operation looks among his imple-
ments for the string with which he takes the exact measure-
ments so that the hole will be in the middle and above the
chin. Then he prepares the Guasupirasa, which literally means:
304 313 881 114 piercer of the cured skin of pygmy deer. Certain writers have
believed that the guasupirasa is a pygmy-deer horn on the
basis of the name guasu, with which the name of the article
begins, but it is a mistake. The guasupirasa is a round piece
of iron of the size of a corralera needle, which they call
Yargh in Quichua /Quechua/ (2).

> 2. If it were a slender deer-horn, it would be liable to break, and if it were slightly sharpened the hole would be very large and it would be difficult to hold the first tembeta, which should be small. There would be many other problems, which are avoided with the slender and strong iron.

304 881 As I have said, he takes the appropriate measurements
with a string; he puts his hand on his guasupirasa, and upon
seeing this the mother is frightened and weeps in silence,
and the other people shrink back. Finally, utilizing the
services of another practitioner, he has him press very strongly
with the index fingers of both hands at the edges of the temples,
at the point where the ears are attached, and when he is sure
/231/ that the boy keenly feels the pain that the assistant's
fingers cause in his ears he quickly and deftly inserts the well-
sharpened iron, and the hole is made with considerable skill,
the Guasupirasa passing up to the tip of the nose.

He at once puts a hollow little tube of tin on the iron
and lowers it little by little in order to pull it out of the
pierced lip, where instead there remains in place the little
tube, which sticks out a little on both sides of the lip. In
[301] Chiriguano this tube is called Tembetandi, or white tembeta.

6. Nordenskiöld--92 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/243/

Chapter Sixteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Art and Industry

The Chiriguano and Chané are tribes whose art-industry is on a very high level. If one visits one of the huts of the white settlers in these regions, one will not see many products of native industry, not much of their own culture. I know of absolutely nothing that these people are capable of doing which can compare with the pottery and the weaving technique of the Indians. One thing is certain, the more "civilized" the Indians become, the less they accomplish in the way of art and industry. They do not learn much more from the whites than how to make and drink liquor. Indian art-industry is gradually disappearing here, the more the Indians come in contact with the whites, but it is not transformed. It remains largely purely Indian until its final destruction. One industry, however, is now in the hands of the whites, namely, the metal industry. The silver ornaments which, for example, the Chiriguano and Chané use are made by the smiths in the villages of the mountain regions. The half-white or Quichua /Quechua/ Indian population which we come across in the mountains west of the land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is quite skilled artistically. The weaving technique in particular is very highly developed there. The Chiriguano and Chané undoubtedly learned a great deal from the west.

Thus we find the serére pipe[2] (Fig. 120) characteristic of the Chiriguano in collections from the coast of Peru (1); /Plate 13 appears here/ /243/ the pin for fastening women's clothing

1. Serére also occur among the Lengua, Ashluslay, Chiriguano, Chané, Churápa, and Yuracáre.

2. [A flute-like musical instrument--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 94]

C /243 cont./
171 (Fig. 130) is typically Peruvian in form, as is the silver hair re-
291 mover, of which, however, I have no specimen. The festive
[534] costume of the man (Fig. 81) also seems to me to have a Peruvian
[413] cut. It is possible, however, that the influence of Peru did not
197 manifest itself among the Chiriguano until after the conquest of
the plateau by the Spanish.

C Boman (1) has proved that the Chiriguano, or more cor-
131
172
a
[113]

1. Boman: Antiquités de la Région Andine. Vols. 1-2. Paris, 1908.

Fig. 120. Serére pipe. Chiriguano. 1/4.

rectly the Gûarani tribe to which these Indians belong, formerly extended much farther south than they do now. He found there the grave urns so characteristic of them.

C The material culture of the Chané
Ce Indians does not, in general, differ very
171 much from the culture of the Chiriguano.
Ce The Chané, on the other hand, who are
[323] more isolated on the Rio Parapiti, have a completely independent pottery which we do not find again among the
C Chiriguano. If we compare the
[534] remaining products of Chané
[531] and Chiriguano industry, we do
C not find any greater differences than we find in the various
[184] Chiriguano villages themselves.

C For example, if one collects clay vessels in the Iguembe
323 valley and in the Caipipendi valley, both of which valleys are
184 occupied by Chiriguano, one inevitably finds that the pottery, though strongly related in ornamentation and form, nevertheless /244/ also varies locally. I have already spoken of the individual variations (p. 85).

● 413

/For information on the various types of spindles in use among the Chiriguano and Chane Indians, see category 380./

/56 cont./

323 Data on the thickness of Chiriguano vessels have been given by Oates in his publication which we have mentioned. According to him, "the walls of the vessels, in general, do not show great thickness: in those of larger size, they are from 15 to 20 millimeters; in the medium ones, they do not exceed 8 millimeters; in the small venerious jars, they vary between 7 and 4 millimeters. As an exception to those, Oates mentions a small vessel with a height of approximately 8 centimeters and a maximum diameter of 18 centimeters, which is relatively thick, since its side walls are from 7 to 9 millimeters and the bottom reaches 18 millimeters (244).

244. Oates, op. cit., p. 138.

323 531 A large part of the vessels are provided, even before being baked, with handles or with different kinds of decoration on their surface. The surface of the neck of the vessels intended for cooking is decorated with sunken ornamentation by impressions made with the finger. Rings of clay are put on the surface of some vessels, as is shown by the piece of baked clay from a Chané vessel shown in a drawing by Lizné (245), or the surface

245. Lizné, Fig. 31. Nard. I. p. 245.

is provided with small additions. Cf. the vessel shown in Fig. 44 /see p. 116/. The finer vessels are painted before the firing. The designs are applied in white, red, dark brown, and black (246).

246. Nard. I. p. 246.

413 237 The white color in general is the background color, on top of which are applied /56/ the other colors. For that tiny brushes made of agouti hair or of feathers held together with wax are used (247). The white color is an earth paint (kaolin), the red,

247. Métraux I. p. 205.

Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XXV

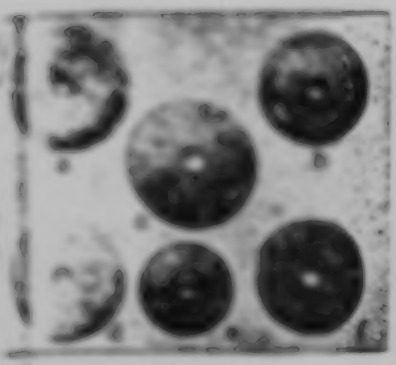


Fig. 87

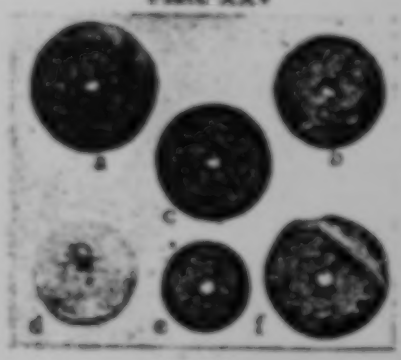


Fig. 88

Fig. 89

Fig. 90

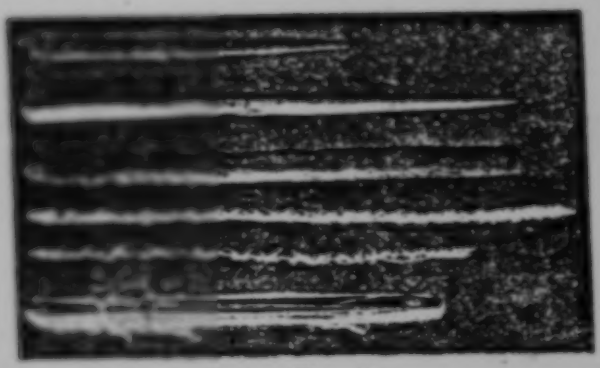


Fig. 91

/The captions are on p. 148./

9: Schmidt--148 E-S (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SFf
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XXIV and XXV./

C
Ce
283

Plate XXIV

Fig. 85. Spindles. a-d (Izozó), e Chiriguano):
a (I.A. 794), length 51 cm.; b (I.A. 703), length 41 cm.; c (I.A. 716), length 41 cm.; d (I.A. 691), length 40.5 cm.; e (I.A. 475), length 42 cm.

Ce
285
283

Fig. 86. (I.A. 725 a and b) Basket (height 12 cm.), cotton seeds, raw cotton, and a spindle with thread, and a ball of cotton thread (Izozó).
b (I.A. 726), ball of cotton thread (Izozó), dia. 8.5 cm.

C
283
322

Plate XXV

Fig. 87. Wooden spindle whorls (Chiriguano): a (I.A. 478), dia. 6 cm.; b (I.A. 474), dia. 5.2 cm.; c (I.A. 480), dia. 6 cm.; d (I.A. 471), dia. 5.3 cm.; e (I.A. 479), dia. 4.3 cm.; f (I.A. 477), dia. 5.2 cm.

C
283
323

Fig. 88. Spindle whorls, a-c of baked clay, e-f of stone (Chiriguano): a (I.A. 486), dia. 6.2 cm.; b (I.A. 487), dia. 5.3 cm.; c (I.A. 483), dia. 5.3 cm.; d (I.A. 481), dia. 4.8 cm.; e (I.A. 482), dia. 4.2 cm.; f (I.A. 484), dia. 5.7 cm.

Ce
283
323

Fig. 89. Baked clay spindle whorls (Izozó): a (I.A. 705), dia. 4.7 cm.; b (I.A. 687), dia. 5.2 cm.; c (I.A. 700), dia. 4 cm.; d (I.A. 702), dia. 3 cm.; e (I.A. 696), dia. 3 cm.; f (I.A. 690), dia. 4 cm.; g (I.A. 692), dia. 4.5 cm.; h (I.A. 689), dia. 4 cm.; i (I.A. 695), dia. 4.2 cm.

Fig. 90. Baked clay spindle whorls (Izozó): a (I.A. 724), dia. 4 cm.; b (I.A. 708), dia. 3.8 cm.; c (I.A. 709), dia. 4.3 cm.; d (I.A. 721), dia. 3.7 cm.; e (I.A. 722), dia. 3.3 cm.; f (I.A. 720), dia. 4.4 cm.; g (I.A. 711), dia. 4.3 cm.; h (I.A. 713), dia. 4.2 cm.; i (I.A. 710), dia. 4 cm.

C
Ce
286
413

Fig. 91. Implements for weaving: a (I.A. 500), implement for arranging the warp threads (Chiriguano), length 20.5 cm.; b (I.A. 674), implement for arranging the warp threads (Izozó), length 30 cm.; c (I.A. 673), wooden sword for weaving (Izozó), length 30 cm.; d (I.A. 727), shuttle with cotton thread (Izozó), length 33.3 cm.; e (I.A. 728), shuttle with cotton thread (Izozó), length 27 cm.; (I.A. 513) reel (Chiriguano), length 25 cm.

/79 cont./

C
Ce
482
171
413

We must still note that the Chiriguano and Chané transport fish in the same way as the neighboring tribes of the Chaco, by stringing them on a cord provided with a big wooden needle (295).

295. Nord. 2, p. 46.

Implements for Storing Objects

C
Ce
352
353
415

Most of the objects that serve for storing things have also been mentioned in preceding chapters, such as the various kinds of baskets and the wooden hoops which are hung in the houses for storing sundry things in them. The net bag and the carrying net do not serve only for carrying, but also for storing things in them. Baked clay vessels are not only used for storing liquids, but are also used for storing many other things which have a special value or are old memorabilia of the family (296). Furthermore,

296. Nord. 1, p. 179.

C
Ce
[237]

they put up special hooks for hanging various things in the houses. Such a hook is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (297).

297. Nord. 1, p. 177 and Fig. 86.

and Métraux shows such a hook made of a deer's leg (298).

298. Métraux I, Fig. 128.

Art

C
534
126

Flutes and a Whistle in the Collection

I.A. 491. Flute, "sereré" (Chirig.). Wood. Lgth. 17 cm. Width 2.7 cm. (Fig. 33b.)

I.A. 492. " " " " " 20 cm. Width 3.5 cm. (Fig. 33a.)

I.A. 493. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Length 43 cm.

/87 cont./

C 881 [302] The girl is nubile when, after the first menstruation, she has undergone a certain ceremony, which lasts until her hair, cut short, has grown out again to medium length. This ceremony of the girls, which is called "yimundia," consists of her being put in a kind of separate room inside the house. Until the following menstruation, she must stay on a diet and she must not eat anything but cooked maize and meal (339). Only in the

C [262]

339. Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

company of her mother may she temporarily leave the separate room to bathe and to take care of her other needs (340).

340. Nord. 1, p. 210.

C 881 304 We also learn from Nordenskiöld that the Chané boys from 10 to 12 years of age must also undergo certain ceremonies, which consist in having a man who is particularly expert in such matters pierce the lower lip (341) and put a small stick through the hole,

C [413] [237]

341. According to Métraux I, pp. 346 and 347 and Fig. 12, the Chiriguano formerly used for that purpose punches made of horn.

and his grandfather puts deep wounds in his body so that he may be valiant in battle and in hunting and takes him out in the morning, when it is cold, to bathe (342).

342. Nord. 1, p. 211.

Ce Ce 887 848 Chiriguano and Chané girls are watched over by their mothers /88/ until their marriage (343), and illegitimate children are

343. Nord. 1, p. 179.

1
352
286

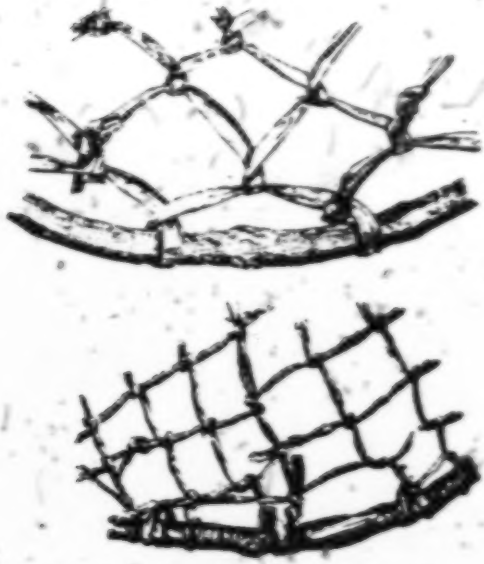


Fig. 127. Sketch indicating the technique of the hoops of the type of the one in Figure 126.

414
237

Fig. 128. Deer foot dried in the sun to serve as a hook for hanging. Prov.: Salaíito. (About 1/5 nat. size.)

352

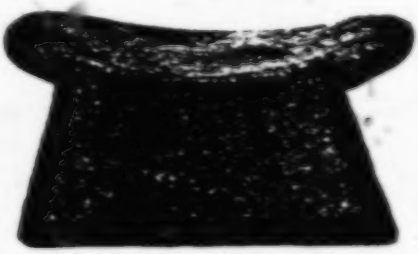


Fig. 129. Double-runnered bench. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (About 1/7 nat. size.)

/471 cont./

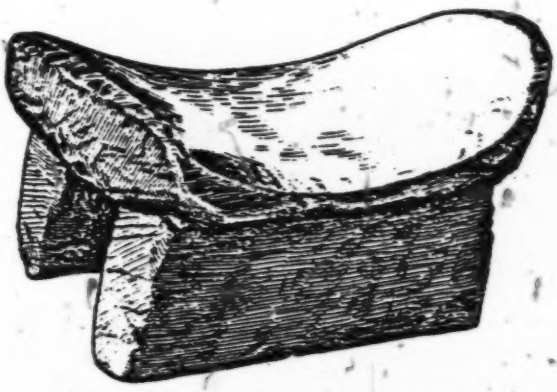
353 and 127). Everything in the world can be found there: small vessels, baskets, boxes, packages carefully wrapped in cloth, in short, a thousand little objects which the Chiriguano women regard as their treasure. From the roof hang hooks from which [414] are suspended household effects or supplies. These hooks are [237] generally of wood, but there are some also which are formed by a deer foot bent back and dried in the sun (Fig. 128).

Every chink in the walls is transformed into a hiding-place where the women put their scissors, the men their knives or combs. /472/ Bows and arrows are slipped between the struts of the roof.

In some huts whose walls are plastered with earth, the Indians arrange niches in the shape of swallows' nests, which serve as rudimentary cupboards. Might there be in that a distant remembrance of the niches so characteristic of Inca houses? It is possible.

352 The inhabitants of each hut sit on the cots or on /Figs. 516 130-132 appear here/ chairs with backs very well copied from [177] those of the creoles. The women generally squat on the ground. [178] On the upper Pilcomayo, one still finds benches with two seats (Fig. 129), a cultural element which the Chiriguano inherited from their ancestors of the Amazon basin.

356 The fire for cooking is lighted in the middle of the hut. [354] Chiriguano dwellings are clean. I have never caught fleas or other vermin there as I have in the ranchos of creoles or half-breeds. The women sweep their huts at least once a day. One is rarely disturbed there by mice (Fig. 132).



352

Fig. 85. Seat. Chiriguano. Tarairi. 1/5.

414

Fig. 86. Hook for hanging things.
Chiriguano. 1/6.

/341 cont./

241 115 ladder, that is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps. Captain Karnapadyú's chacra /cultivated clearing/ was about 200 meters by 70 meters in size. At the edge stood a small wooden hut covered with straw.

The "Captain" began by showing me some manioc plants and had me cross a large square sown exclusively with beans and gourds /citronilles/. The corn fields came next. They were divided in two by a second hedge formed of trunks and thorns. Squash /courges/ grew between the rows of corn. After the maízal /field of corn/ followed a second expanse covered with beans, squash, and melons, which Karnapadyú told me belonged to his daughter. Here and there rose several stalks of sorghum. A new cornfield was opposite the

241 532 322 237

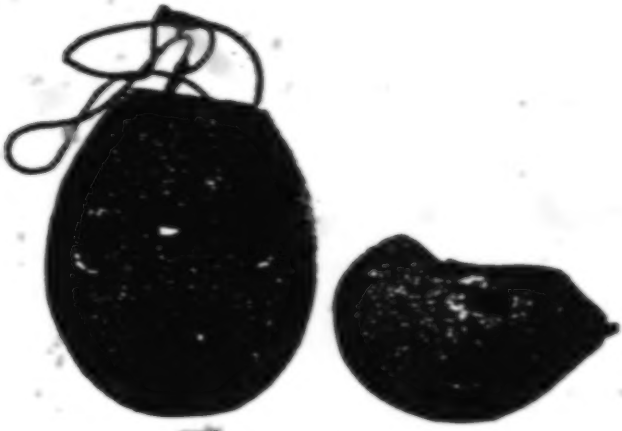
Fig. 8. Mask (tovaraanga) carved out of a calabash and provided with hair and eyebrows of horsehair. It was hung up in a planted field where it was serving as a scarecrow. Prov.: Cururutí. (1/5 nat. size.)

241 115 [322] [415] [824] first, and another cabin rose at its edge. In both of these properties the only plants cultivated for their manufacturing value were the cucurbitaceous ones from which the Indians make their cups and bottles.

Next, on the opposite cliff, I visited the chacra of another Indian of the same village. A steeper and more difficult road than the first led to it. The plantation was lower down a hill on which a little hut was perched. These fields were almost solely covered with corn among whose stalks grew squash. As before, the maízales were preceded by plantings of beans and squash.

231
223

Fig. 16. Perch with troughs for tame parrots which the Chiriguano use for catching wild ones. Prov.: Ñawirenda. (1/10 nat. size.)



231
415
825

Fig. 17. [illegible]rated calabashes in which the Chiriguano put chicks to protect them from birds of prey. Prov.: a. Caruruti; b. Ibopeyti. (1/4 nat. size.)

/352 cont./

C 252 The fish begins by being opened and cleaned and only then is it boiled or roasted. In this last case it is inserted between the two branches of a switch split for three quarters of its length (Fig. 22). So that the latter does not open completely, the lower part is fastened securely with bands of bark, and so that the fish does not fall out once it is inserted in the interstice, the upper part. Among their ancestors, the Guarani, G [252] such a spit would have been superfluous, because to grill the product of their fishing or hunting they used to construct C [251] buccans. Our Chiriguano also eat fish dried in the sun and [262] enjoy it in this form combined with some corn dish.

/353/

Chapter IV

Cooking

Fire

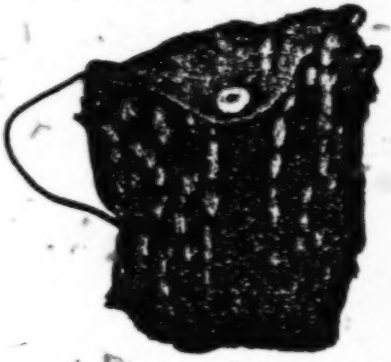
C 372 177 The modern Chiriguano more and more use matches of Bolivian make, but their poor quality has contributed to maintaining the popularity of the tinderbox. That of the Chiriguano, borrowed recently from the white men, is composed of a flint and a piece of iron with which they make sparks fly, which fall on a little wild cotton (the one which the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) produces). This tow (tata rimbiuna) is kept in a small receptacle made from the end of a cow horn or an armadillo tail. /Figs. 23 and 24 appear here./ It is hermetically sealed by a wooden disk, which a small cord passing inside the capsule and coming out through a hole at the tip of the horn or tail allows to be put back in place with a single motion. This ingenious contrivance is not, however, of Indian invention; I saw it adapted to the tinderboxes of the creoles in the Argentine Republic. Some Chiriguano make cloth wicks which at first sight would seem C [415] to have been produced in one of our factories. The tinderbox [281] with its accessories is carefully kept in small bags of deerskin, wildcat, iguana, etc. (Figs. 23 and 24).

353 cont.

372 [171] In former times the Chiriguano made fire exactly like all the Indians of South America, by rubbing two sticks one against /354/ each other. One of my friends from Carurutí reconstructed one of these devices for me in the hope of surprising me and getting a good price for it. He took two sticks of tata iwira, or fire wood (1), cut one of them lengthwise

[824] 1. According to Father D. Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 91), the Chiriguano might use, for obtaining fire by rotation, sticks made from the wood of a red liana whose

415 281 372 ←



415 281 →

Fig. 23. Small deerskin bag in which a Chiriguano used to carry a tinderbox and its accessories. Prov.: Pípi. (1/3 nat. size.)

Fig. 24. Puma paw (yagua-pintaipo) made into a bag. Prov.: Saladito. (1/4 nat. size.)

372 [824] flower has five yellow petals with a red spot on one of them. The Chiriguano name for this plant is isipo-pinta.

and provided one of its sides with two cups along which he contrived a perpendicular groove. These two little furrows were intended to conduct the glowing sawdust onto the tinder placed on the ground. /Fig. 25 appears here./ The other stick was slightly sharpened to allow it to go into the cups. Since this

262 /355 cont./ Women could eat, without
[562] harm, parrot, a heavy and stupid bird. In their misogyny the Chiriguano doubtless figured that that would not change their nature in any way. (Campana, p. 92.)

252 Cooking is not a secondary activity; it is an important form /Fig. 26 appears here/ of the material culture and an excellent index for judging the cultural level of a human group. The art of preparing dishes reveals as well as any tool the faculties of invention and taste. In South America one can very well classify the tribes according to the more or less great variety of their dishes and the care they take in preparing them. This hierarchy would certainly correspond to that of the cultural elements.

[171] In the Chaco, Chiriguano cooking stands in contrast by its variety, its /356/ taste, and its cleanness to that of the more primitive tribes like the Toba or the Matako.

Before passing on to the study of the utensils used by the Chiriguano housewives, it is fitting to describe their menus.

When the Chiriguano kill a cow, goat, or sheep, the meat is boiled in water, roasted on a spit, or dried in the sun (charqui). They are especially partial to the head of the animal they kill, and they eat it boiled after skinning it. The pieces of meat are cleaned carefully before being cooked; and the tripe, for example, which is a delicacy, is taken out beforehand.

Corn is prepared in various ways. If the ears are tender and green, they are boiled in water or grilled over the fire or under the ashes.

When the corn is still in this state, the women prepare simbikuai or humitas (in Spanish). They bite with an appetite into the still tender ears, chew the kernels for a long time, and spit them into a calabash. This white mash saturated with saliva is wrapped in corn leaves and put under the ashes.

[415] The Chiriguano give the name of atipíi to kernels of corn roasted in a special bowl called tapuipe (Plate XIII, 3) or in large potsherds, which tend more and more to replace the primitive utensil appropriate for this use. The atipíi requires

/356 cont./

252 no preparation other than constant stirring in order not to be burned. This food takes the place of bread for the Chiriguano, who like to munch these crunchy and appetizing kernels. They provide themselves with it when they go on a trip.

Atipíi pounded in a mortar and passed through a sieve gives atši, a brownish flour which has an excellent taste. Atši is also prepared differently: kernels of corn are reduced to a flour which is roasted in a terra-cotta roaster or in a wide potsherd. According to Nino (p. 246), the name atikúi would be given to the kernels of roasted corn made into flour after being put through a sieve and ground until pulverized. The same missionary reserves the term atši for roasted flour obtained from the residue left by kernels which have been treated in the following way: after letting them soak in water all night, they are poured into a sieve the next morning. When the water has drained off, they are pounded in a mortar. This flour is now sifted, then roasted; cooked in water, it is the dish the Chiriguano call muintí or huinti. Atši then would be made with the residue from the muinti flour, which is ground again, then roasted like it, but first mixed with salt or pimento. I [122] have often eaten roasted corn flour which the Indians told me was atši, but I could never tell that it was seasoned. The Chiriguano give the name abatikure to the corn bran.

This is how muintimimo is prepared: kernels of corn are /Plate XIII appears here/ /357/ put to soak all night. The next morning they are ground and sifted in an urumpé (sieve with very fine mesh). The flour is poured into a muitero [415] (Plate XIII, 1 and 2). This utensil is a terra-cotta basin whose bottom is pierced with holes like a skimmer (1). The flour is

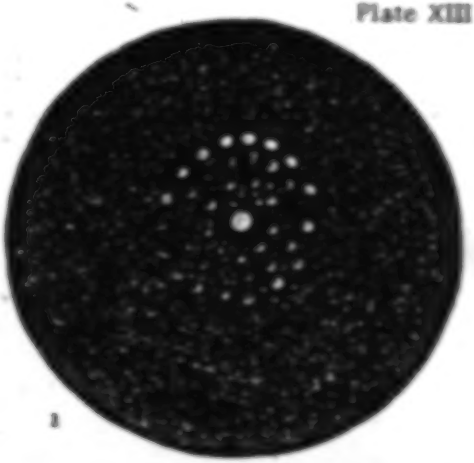
[171] [114]

1. Linné (2, Map 1, p. 23) has given us the distribution of vessels with perforated bottoms throughout America. The enumeration he makes of them is very complete; yet it lacks mention of La Rioja in the Argentine Republic where Boman (5, p. 17) discovered fragments of vessels whose bases were entirely perforated like a sieve.

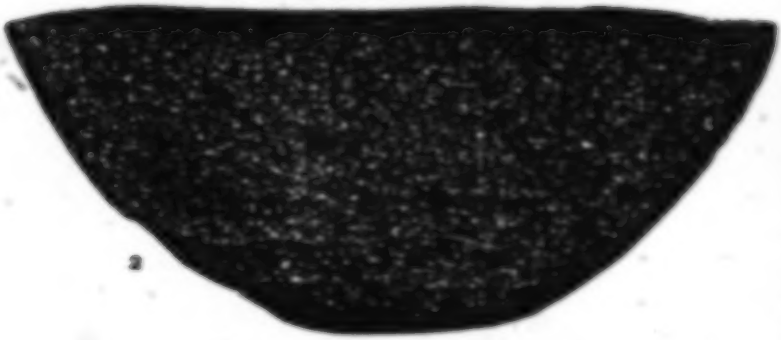
[Text Continues on P. 104]

415
252

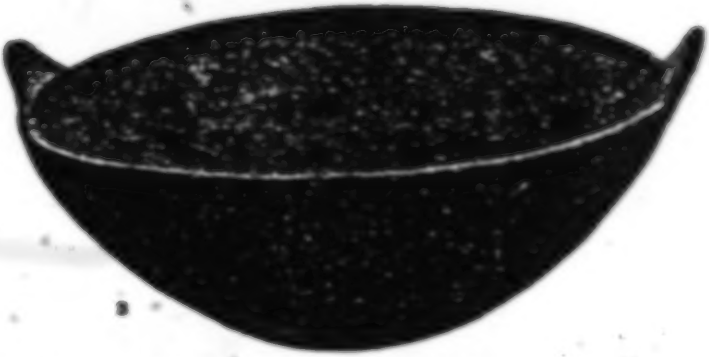
Plate XIII



1



2



3

1 and 2 Basin with perforated bottom for preparing muintimimo, flour cooked in steam. Prov.: Ivu. (1/4 nat. size.) -- 3. Basin for roasting corn kernels or flour (tapuipe). Prov.: Saladito. (1/4 nat. size.)

/363 cont./

234 To end up, one could still cite among Chiriguano food
262 the cheese they make in some villages. Each time they
butcher they take care to keep the abomasus in order to make
[199] milk separate. Chiriguano cheeses are of the same quality as
those of the half-breeds, who for once have taught something
[292] to our Indians. I shall add that I have never seen a Chiriguano
drink milk.

312 The problem of water does not come up for the Chiriguano
133 as for the other Indians of the Chaco. Numerous rivers cross
their territory, and several of them are large enough not to dry
up even in the middle of the dry season. These watercourses
form innumerable quebradas, gorges or valleys, which give
its characteristic aspect to the country inhabited by our Indians.
[361] Sometimes villages are built near springs or small lakes, like
the Ivu mission, which is provided with plenty of water.

312 When I crossed the Caipipendí valley, the river which
occupies the bottom was nearly dry. The Indians had scooped
out small wells about one meter in depth in the sand of its
bed. They had surrounded them with slabs of stone to prevent
any caving in and to preserve the water which accumulated in
them from the heat of the sun. In this same valley, in a village
situated on top of a hill, the Indians had dug a cistern four to
five meters in diameter in which rain water had collected.

271 The Chiriguano have found a way to purify the muddy
312 water they often have to drink. They crush caraguatá leaves
824 between two stones, then steep them in the water, and all its
impurities settle as a result of the action of the juice of this plant.

264 The Chiriguano do not eat at set times. They make a
rather substantial breakfast very early in the morning and again
take some food toward the middle of the day. In the evening
[562] about six o'clock they make a kind of dinner. Since the men
are served first, then the women and children, it follows that
the meals drag out in length. At any moment of the day one
[415] can see someone eating. The food /364/ is presented to each
one in a calabash or terra-cotta bowl which each holds on his
knees. They pick up the pieces with their fingers but imbibe
liquids with a wooden spoon (Figs. 42 and 43). After eating,
they wash their hands. I have seen some rinse out their mouths.

/364 cont./

273 life of the individual or the community is associated with this beverage. The divine principle which kāwi has in it does not take away its secular character; and, while one gets drunk on it during the festivals, nothing prevents washing down meals with it at the time when the corn ripens. As a sign of [574] hospitality every stranger is invited to empty a calabash full [576] of it; and the compliments he addresses to the wife of his host fill his heart with pride.

527 The Indians always appreciated the liking I showed 273 /Plate XIV appears here/ /365/ for kāwi, and my old friend [123] Karnapadyū did not fail to recall the big vats full to the brim to persuade one to return to celebrate Easter with them, or, if you like, the corn harvest, since these two dates coincide more or less. Such promises /Fig. 29 appears here/ could not remain without effect, and Karnapadyū was not at all surprised to see me arrive shortly before the festival.

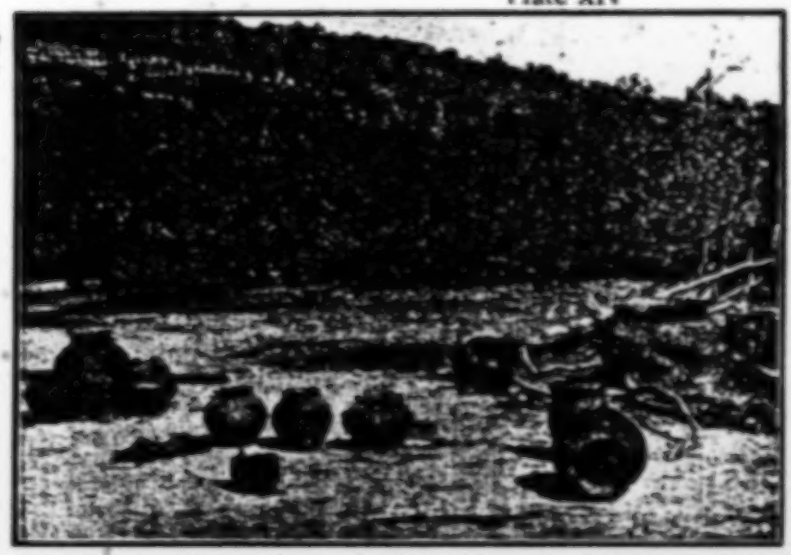
The greatest animation prevailed in the village of Cururutí, formerly so calm. Men came and went, bending under enormous loads of wood. All the urns were lined up in front of the huts and buried to a third of their height (Plate XIV, 1). 529 For a long time big piles of corn had already been heaped up 273 in the village, which all, big and small, men and women, 243 /Fig. 30 appears here/ were actively engaged in husking. [412] Some used their fingers, others knives or a pointed stick. Not [413] one had thought of the so practical instrument used by their ancestors: a small wooden peg with a leather loop to put two fingers through. It is curious to note that such a simple object fell into disuse; an old man still sold me a specimen made of iron but a close copy, so to speak, of the wooden prototype, of which it reproduced the smallest details (Fig. 29).

273 Now the hardest work begins: the grinding of the kernels. Day and night the dry noise of the pestles crushing the corn [461] resounds in the village. Often, to get the chore over more quickly, three women group around the same mortar and with surprising speed raise and pound their pestle without a single [415] error in rhythm interrupting their laborious work. Once ground, the corn is sifted in an urumpesa or large-meshed sieve (Fig. 31). The rather coarse flour is poured into large urns filled with water.

1: Métraux--115 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XIV

293
415



1. Vessels assembled in front of a hut and serving for the preparation of kāwi (chicha). Caruruti. (Photo. A. M.)

293
291
516
524
576

2. Women and children taking kāwi. The women are squatting on the ground on skins, while the men are seated on benches or chairs. Saffirenda. (Photo. A. M.)

/365 cont./

273 The preparation of chicha is not play: it is necessary not only /366/ to grind an enormous quantity of corn, but again to go
484 ceaselessly to get water, often at a great distance. At Cururuti
482 the nearest potable water was at the bottom of a ravine of particu-
293 larly difficult access. The women were constantly going there with an iru (Plate XVII, 1),[1] which they carried on their backs in a net (añapoka) held on the forehead by a strap. They would fill

462
516
273
291
415
412

Fig. 31. Woman sifting corn which she has just ground in the mortar beside her. This flour is to be roasted, then chewed to serve as ferment for kiwi.[2] Cururuti. (Photo. A. M.)

484 the jug and, loading it with difficulty, would go back up the
482 steep slope doubled over under the weight. So as not to lose any
273 time, these hard-working creatures would take along a calabash full of ground corn which they continually chewed.

273 The ground corn is cooked in water and constantly stirred
412 with flat sticks whose edges used to be cut out with a certain
[198] artistic care in olden days (Fig. 32). Today a kind of oar (Fig.
[239] 33) or the scapula of an ox (Fig. 34) fastened to a long handle
[531] replaces the ancient utensils in which was manifested so well the Chiriguano tendency to decorate even the most humble objects.

[1] [For Plate XVII, See Category 116, P.127--Analysis]

1: Métraux--119 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
293

Plate XV

1. Large vessel (yambui) in which the Chiriguano make corn beer ferment. Prov.: Ivu. (1/5 nat. size.)

[964]

2. Large vat (yambui) for boiling ilwi. The Chiriguano bury their dead in similar urns. Prov.: Ivu. (1/7 nat. size.)

/369 cont./

293 At Saintrenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the
574 first one served is always the "captain." As before, the
576 vessel full of kiwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first
[554] bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they always come back to the first person who received each one and he finishes it. The men move from their places several times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/
[533] ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of flutes and violins.

When the supply of kiwi is exhausted in a village, they get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere to revel.

[789] Formerly the preparation of kiwi was accompanied by
[198] magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of
[302] daubing the face and leg with roucou. In certain villages the women do not even take this precaution any more. However, between Caruruti and Caipipendi, I could still see several women stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an expression dear to Jean de Léry.

415 Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/ gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are preparing corn beer.

Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a com-
[197] pletely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The
[198] latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements, while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

/370 cont./

415 531 It is distinguished especially by finger impressions, which decorate the neck of nearly all the common pots.

323 While watching the Chiriguano potters work, I realized that the finger impressions which so often decorate their vessels result automatically from the process of fabrication. At the moment when the potter forms the neck of the vessel, she has to press the roll constituting this part between her thumb and index finger and no longer with the flat of the hand as she has done up until then. The vessel is generally too narrow in this zone to allow putting in the whole hand. The result of this is a whole series of finger impressions which vaguely give the effect of ornamentation. Now the potter rubs them out in order to remake them more symmetrically. Thus this motif which adorns most of /Plates XVI and XVII appear here/ /371/ the vessels in common use among the Chiriguano is obtained, so to

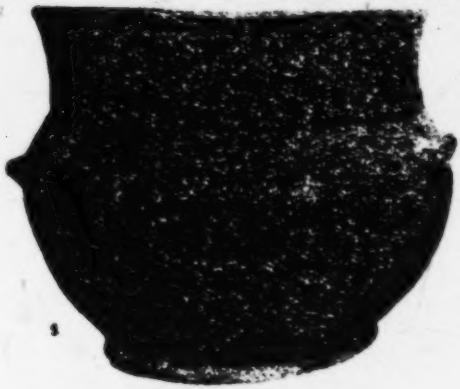
415 531

Fig. 35. Small vessel (yapeporai) decorated with fingernail impressions. The lines of contact between the three rolls of clay of which it is composed are still visible. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/3 nat. size.)

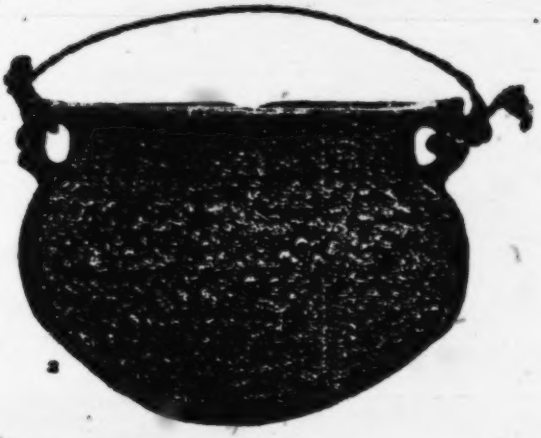
323 say mechanically. From the neck these decorations have been extended to the rest of the vessel for an aesthetic purpose, but their occurrence on the upper part influenced the rest.

Plate XVI

415
531

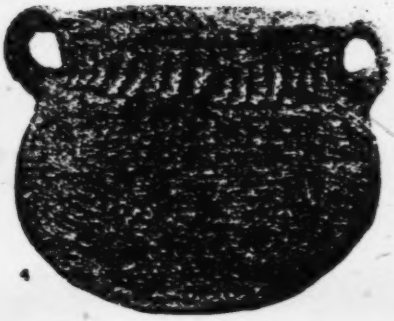


1



2

3



4

/Caption on following page./

/Caption for Pl. XVI on preceding page./

415
531

1. Cooking pot (yapepó). On the neck: fingernail impressions. Prov.: Ivu. (1/3 nat. size)

2. Vessel (yapepó) with twisted handles and decorated with incised triangles. Prov.: Saladito. (1/3 nat. size.)

3. Cooking pot (yapepó) decorated with fingemail impressions. Prov.: Ivu. (1/4 nat. size.)

4. Cooking pot (yapepó) decorated on the neck with fingernail impressions. Prov.: Ivu. (1/3 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--127 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
531

Plate XVII

1. Vessel (îru) in which the Chiriguano draw water for household use. This specimen comes from the Chané village of Tuyuntí, near the Aguaray (Salta Chaco, Argentine Republic). The neck is decorated with fingernail impressions. (1/4 nat. size.)

2. Vessel (yambui) decorated with a series of cups /godets/ on the base of the neck. Prov.: Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (1/4 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--128 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Toba SI 12

C
415
531

/371 cont./

The ordinary pots used to cook the food are, as a general rule, decorated all around the neck with several rows of finger or fingernail impressions. The most typical example is the vessel of Plate XVI, 3 /see p. 125/ which typologically can be ranked with the big urns for cooking corn beer, many of which have more or less the same shape.

Ordinarily pots meant to go on the fire are provided with handles (Plate XVI, 2 and 4 and Fig. 36).

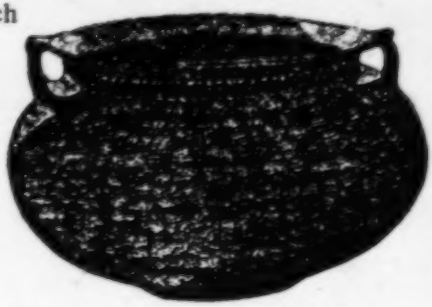


Fig. 36. Vessel (yapepó) with twisted handles and decorated with two series of small depressions imprinted on the neck. Prov.: Yumbía. (1/3 nat. size.)

T
415

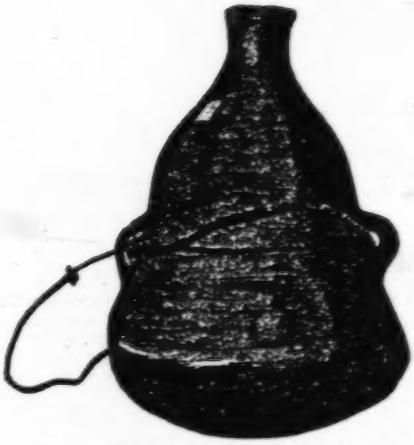


Fig. 37. Toba vessel in the shape of a flattened gourd. Serves for carrying water while traveling. Prov.: Macherotí. (1/3 nat. size.)

/371 cont./

415 531 Certain vessels (Fig. 35) have the exterior surface entirely covered with these depressions obtained by pressure of the thumbnail. The Indians call this decoration tatupire, that is "armadillo carapace," /Fig. 37 appears here/ a completely justifiable comparison.

One can consider as an evolution of the process of ornamentation by finger impressions the angles or chevrons which decorate the outside surface of the vessel of Figure 2, Plate XVI /see p. 125/, which have been incised in the soft clay with a pointed instrument. This type of ornamentation can be reduced to its simplest expression; thus on the neck of the vessel of Plate XVII, 2 /see p. 127/ it is limited to a row of little cavities made with a pointed stick. The small vessel of Figure 36 /see p. 128/ with a belly flattened from top to bottom belongs, from the decorative point of view, in the same category.

415 531 191 On another vessel (Plate XVI, 1) the small nipples which project /372/ all around the belly constitute a summary decoration which completes that of the neck formed by finger-nail impressions. Pots of this type are found among the Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 65, p. 218).

This decoration is exceptional in South America. Jijon y Caamaño (p. 6) considers it characteristic of the northern part of Ecuador. He points out its distribution in Central America and in the Mound region in the United States.

[126] The îru of Plate XVIII, Fig. 2 /see p. 131 / has the exact shape of a calabash; this resemblance was intentional, for the Indian woman who sold it to me presented it at the same time as the calabash which /Fig. 38 appears here/ had doubtless served as a model. Vessels which are almost replicas of this specimen have been found at Jachal and Calingasta in San Juan province in Argentina (Ambrosetti, 1, Plate VII, and Debenedetti, 3, Fig. 41, p. 69).

415 [462] 415 323 The Chiriguano call the vessels in which the women draw the water they need for their households by the Quichua name îru. The îru are characterized not only by their more or less globular shape and the narrowness of the neck on top, but also by the quality of the paste from which they were

C /372 cont./
323 modeled. The latter is extremely fine, of very good quality,
[415] and, when fired, forms a compact, hard, and resistant mass. This clay is inherently not very porous; to render it still more impermeable the Chiriguano potters give the vessel a long polishing while it is still unfired but nevertheless very dry. This is applied on the exterior walls of the receptacle and gives them a brilliant and metallic appearance which at first sight would be taken for a glaze. This operation has the effect of making the vessel almost impermeable and thus of avoiding the evaporation which takes place more or less rapidly in most Chiriguano receptacles. The narrowness of the neck at the top of these vessels serves a similar purpose.

C 415 →

The îru can be of any size: there are very large ones like the Chané specimen of Plate XVII, 1 /see p. 127/ and other very small ones (Plate XVIII, 4 /see p. 131/) which little girls use to help their mothers and /Plate XVIII appears here/ /373/ become initiated into housework. Vessels 1 and 3

A [415] ←

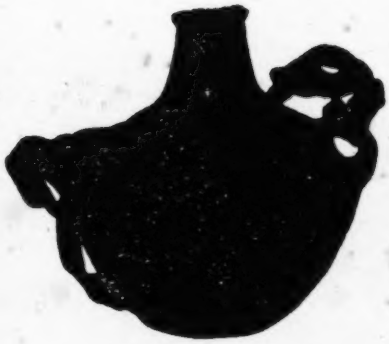
Fig. 38. Ashluslay vessel.
Prov.: Estero Patiño.
(1/3 nat. size.)

of Plate XVIII represent rather rare close forms, which derive from the primitive type but which have been perfected. The handles with which these îru are provided allow them to be carried on a trip in place of gourds.

C [172] Prototypes of the Chiriguano îru have been furnished us by Debenedetti's excavations (2, Fig. 119, p. 171) on the Isla de Tilcara.

● 415

Plate XVIII



1

2

3

4

Water pots (iru). Chiriguano. The exterior surface of iru Nos. 1, 3, and 4 has been polished to the point of appearing glazed. The iru No. 2 has been modeled in the shape of a calabash. No. 1 comes from Ivu, No. 2 from Carurutí, No. 3 from Yumbía, and No. 4 from Macharetí. (1 and 2 = 1/4; Nos. 3 and 4 = 1/3 nat. size.)

C
Ce
415
171
177

/373 cont./

Typologically, we must put the vessels of the primitive tribes of the Chaco in the category of the iru. Like the Chiriguano or their forerunners the Chané, the Matako, Toba, Choroti, and Ashluslay copied Andean models, which they adapted to their needs. It is appropriate to note that the seminomadic tribes of the Chaco must have fashioned their vessels in such a way as to be able to take them along with

T
415
531

Fig. 39. Toba vessel with bands in relief imitating the suspension cords with which vessels of this type are generally provided. Prov.: Macharetí. (1/4 nat. size ⊥.)

C
Ce
415
171
177

them on their peregrinations, while the Chané and Chiriguano, sedentary nations, did not feel the need to modify the primitive form and kept the Andean prototype without bringing variations to it. For comparison I am reproducing here two vessels from the Chaco: one (Fig. 37) comes from the Toba section of Macharetí, and the other (Fig. 38) from an Ashluslay tribe traveling in northern Argentina.

T 415 531

/373 cont./

The handsome vessel of Figure 39 comes from the Macharetí mission. It is /374/ the work of potters of the Toba tribe. Three details make it worthy of a place apart: the very wide, flat base; its almost quadrangular horizontal section, a very rare characteristic in Indian pottery; and, moreover,

C 415

Fig. 40. Small bowl (ñaè) with 4 nipples. Chiriguano. Prov.: Caipipendí. (2/5 nat. size.)

T 415 531

the two bands which run along the neck, imitating in terra cotta the suspension cords with which Toba vessels are usually provided.

T [482]

This vessel is a good example of the influence the way of life can have on the art and technique of a tribe. The ancient vessels of the Toba were, as I have just said, always furnished with a suspension cord to make it possible to carry them when traveling. Today the Toba are sedentary and this cord, having become useless, has been transformed into an embellishment.

T [178]

C 415

Fig. 41. Small miniature bowl with cord for hanging. Chiriguano. Prov.: Ñawirenda. (1/2 nat. size.)

Bowls

Bowls are not plentiful among the Chiriguano, among whom calabashes replace them to advantage. The ones I have been able to collect, and which were not painted, are made of a clay which, after firing, gives the appearance of being wood. The base is flat and the rather high sides flare out, except in the specimens of Plate XIX, 3, and Figure 40, where they are convex. The latter puco is

/374 cont./

415 surmounted by two nipples, remains of stylized ears. These protuberances can be perforated and allow a suspension cord to pass through, which permits hooking the bowl to a beam of the hut (Fig. 41).

Spoons

412 171 172 Spoons are very common among the Chiriguano. Their form connects them closely to those which have been made known to us by the excavations carried out on the Bolivian altiplano and in northwestern Argentina. It is among the ancient populations of this region that we must seek the origin of this cultural element (on this subject see Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 91-92), of which the Chiriguano have faithfully kept the primitive aspect and even certain peculiarities such as the indentations of the handle which /Plates XIX-XXI appear here/ /375/ are seen on one of our specimens and on one discovered in the Puna de Jujuy (Pucara de Rinconada) by Boman (2, Vol. II, Plate LIX, Fig. 142).

412 237 824 Beside these spoons, whose use spread under the influence of the civilized peoples of the west, the Chiriguano kept the most rudimentary forms of this utensil: the valves of a fresh-water mollusk (anodonta) (in Chiriguano: inta) are often used by them to eat liquid dishes; the shell of the fruit of a bignoniacea (?) opened lengthwise also appears in the north of the Chiriguano territory as the survival of a time when spoons were still unknown to them (Fig. 44).

412 [171] Some small calabashes, ovoid or round, with a jutting peduncle, can, after being cut through the middle, replace wooden spoons to advantage (Fig. 45). It was in this natural form that the spoon spread in tropical America where Andean influence did not make itself felt. The Chiriguano do not disdain using these half-calabashes to dip into the bean pot or the meat broth. Calabashes like the one of Figure 46 /see p. 139/ take the place of ladles.

1

2

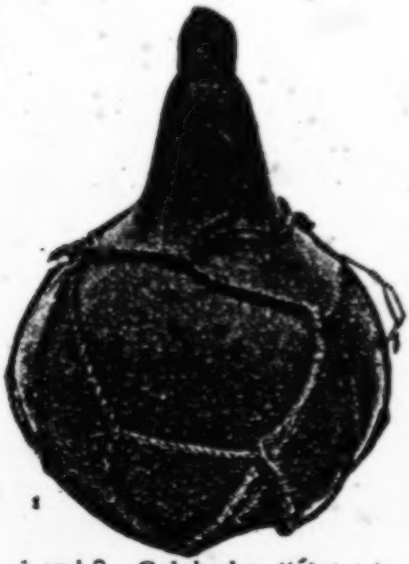
3

4

Bowls (naè). Chiriguano. Bowl No. 1 was found in a funerary urn from Caipipendí. It was originally painted red. Nos. 2 and 4 come from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); No. 3 from Carurutí. (No. 1 = 1/3; Nos. 2, 4 = 1/3; No. 3 = 2/5 nat. size.)

415
286
824

Plate XX



1 and 2. Calabashes (iá) put in a net in order to be transported or hung in the hut. Prov.: Saladito and Ivu. (1/3 nat. size.)

415
824

3. Calabash with lid cut out in star shape. Prov.: Saladito. (1/3 nat. size.) 4. Calabash with automatic closing. Prov.: Ivu. (About 2/5 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--137 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
284

Plate XXI

1

2

1. Calabash used as a mug. Prov.: Ñawirenda. (1/2 nat. size.)
2. Calabash with star-shaped lid and automatic closing. Prov.: Cururutí. (1/2 nat. size.)

3

3. Flat calabash suspended by means of lether thongs. Prov.: Tarairi. (2/5 nat. size.)
4. Calabash enclosed in strips of wembé bark. Prov.: Saladito. (1/3 nat. size.)

/375 cont./

Calabashes

415 In each Chiriguano village calabashes are as abundant as pottery (see Fig. 47 /see p. 139 /). The huts are full of them. They are of every shape and size, from the spoons we spoke of to the big basins in which the kĩwi is distributed on feast days.

[286] The calabashes which are ovoid or gourd-shaped are generally enveloped in a kind of rudimentary net of vegetable fibers or leather thongs, which allows them to be carried in the hand or hung (1). In them is put either water, or grain

415
286
191

1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 97) has given the list of the South American tribes who put their calabashes inside a net to carry or hang them. This contrivance is widespread on the continent and its distribution is certainly greater than that indicated by Nordenskiöld, but travelers generally take only slight interest in such details, which are nevertheless important. The Kaingúa of Paraguay encompass their calabashes with wembé bark just like the Chiriguano (see Ambrosetti, 2, p. 716).

415 and seed, or roasted flour, or finally roucou or kalasapa powder saved for feast days (Plate XX, 1 and 2; Plate XXI, 3 and 4).

[322] Some calabashes are provided with a lid which the Indians make by cutting a calotte with star-shaped edges in the still green fruit, and this then forms a hermetic closing. The lid is fastened on by means of a small cord which, when pulled, suffices to close the calabash /376/ (Plate XX, 4 and Plate XXI, 2). Gourds whose opening is small in diameter receive a fragment of a shelled ear of corn as a stopper. /Figs. 42-47 appear here./

[121] Painted, pyrographed, or incised calabashes will be the object of a special study.

/377/

Wooden Bowls and Basins

C 415 171 439 The Chiriguano also use wooden bowls (Fig. 49). I do not know whether they make them themselves or receive them from the half-breeds of the /Fig. 48 appears here/ San Luis region. In this latter case the Chiriguano of the San Luis (Entre-Rios) region would be the only ones to make them. In Tarija /Figs. 49-50 appear here./ where these bowls are much sought after by the half-breeds, they were indicated to me as coming from that zone. The rare wooden bowls which /378/ I saw at Caipipendí had been bought by the Chiriguano in the course of their trips. The same origin must be attributed to the wooden troughs found among the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua half-breeds of Tarija department. These basins are used for washing food and also as bathtubs. Ci 415 177 The Choroti have wooden dishes (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 20, p. 88) which have a shape very similar to that of the trough reproduced here (Fig. 50) and which doubtless were introduced among them either by the ancient Quichua or by the half-breeds. A 415 171 Among the Araucan of Argentina wooden basins are found, which are similar in every detail to those of the Indians and half-breeds of Bolivia and the specimen pictured here.

Chapter V

Tools of the Chiriguano

C 412 178 [179] The work tools the Chiriguano use nowadays are almost all of European manufacture. Here and there the ancient forms were kept when stone or bone were replaced by iron. Witness the adze of Plate XXII /see p.143 / which constitutes a curious survival of the eared or T-shaped ax certainly adopted by the Chiriguano after their migration and their establishment at the foot of the Andes. T-G [412] [184] This type of ax is unknown to me from any other Tupi-Guarani tribe and is rare in the area occupied by the different nations belonging to this linguistic family (see Rivet, 1, pp. 149-155).

k: Métraux--141 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Modern Quechua SE24

C
415

Fig. 48. Calabash hung by means of a transverse stick. Prov.: Ivu. (1/3 nat. size.)

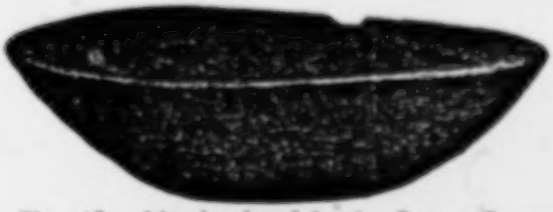


Fig. 49. Wooden bowl (sua). Prov.: Carurutí. (1/3 nat. size.)

Q
415
171

Fig. 50. Wooden basin in use among the Quichua Indians and half-breeds of the department of Tarija (Bolivia) and sometimes also among the Chiriguano.

/380/

303
415
325

Fig. 53. Mold for making tin labrets (tembetayapua). Prov.: Tumbía. (1/3 nat. size.)

301
303
415
325

Mold for Tembetas

The tembeta, or labrets, of the Chiriguano are of tin. They make them themselves with the aid of the mold pictured here (Fig. 53). It is a calabash into which the fins of the labret have been hollowed out, while the thicker central part of the ornament corresponds to the end of a stick going through the calabash. The cavity produced in the central part of the labret is then filled with wax into which glass or turquoise beads are incrusted. These come from ancient burial-places and are sold to the Chiriguano by the half-breeds of Tarija.

[531]
[439]

Balances

296
199
191

The Chiriguano of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé valley prize coca quite as much as the Quichua of the altiplano. Besides, it is from them that they got this vice. The fact is known and does not need to be demonstrated. This custom

/383 cont./

323 Chiriguano woman will never be seen making one single vessel at a time: since before continuing she must wait until each one of the parts making up the piece of pottery is dry, she occupies this interval by beginning another vessel, which will dry while she works on the first one again.

• 415
531

Figs. 57-58. Vessels (yapepó). The rolls of clay of which they are composed are still apparent and constitute a rudimentary ornamentation. No. 57 comes from Caruruti. No. 58 from Yacuiba. (1/4 nat. size.)

323 /384/ When she judges that the bottom has taken on some firmness, she rolls between her hands a roll to which she tries to give a regular diameter. Then she applies it on the base, forming a perfect circle. She cuts off the part which extends beyond the junction point. Next she flattens the roll with her hand, the compression being made from inside to outside, with the back of the left hand and the right palm. When the whole periphery has thus been raised, she evens off the edge, filling all the depressions with pieces of wet earth. Then she smooths the outside of the vessel with a stripped ear of corn and a splinter of bamboo. These two instruments are placed beside her and frequently dipped in water so that the earth does not stick to them. The inside surfaces are polished with the valve of a shell (anodonta) (Plate XXIV, 2). The raw clay, once it is shaped, is supple and resistant like leather. Vessels can be

[824]
[112]
[239]

/386 cont./

323 The paintings on some vessels produce a particularly successful /387/ effect, thanks to the alternation of brilliant.

323
342
351
516
415
291

Fig. 59. Fabrication of a vessel: the inside surface is polished after being flattened with the hand.

323 solid red with black of the same nature. The first of these colors
[386] is taken from the famous roucou, whose oily paste is mixed with resin, kneaded into a loaf, and melted on the hot walls of the vessel.

/387 cont./

C 323 386 The name tarawirisi is also given by the Chiriguano to objects resembling loaves of bread kneaded by hand which are composed of a resinous material mixed with wax. According to the explanations given me by the Indians themselves, this

C 417 415

Fig. 60. Forked tree-trunk serving as a shelf for putting vessels on. (After a sketch by the author.)

C 323 386 substance is taken from a mimosa. After being sprinkled with boiling water, it is kneaded and dried in the sun. Its color is yellow or red, but after firing it becomes black.

I could not learn whether this black glaze was applied over a layer of black paint or spread directly on the walls of the vessel. In every case the designs made by this process are much less regular than the ones drawn with a brush.

C [126] My collections of pottery, which consist of nearly 200 pieces, do not contain any glazed specimen. Nordenskiöld (op. cit. p. 144) assures us that the Chiriguano and the Chané of the C 114 323 386 Parapití coat their yambui with a sort of gum called tarawisi, a word which, except for one syllable, is the same as the one designating the resinous substance we have just been considering.

C
Ce
386
323
171

/387 cont./

This makes me think that glazing implies a technical process analogous to the one in use on the upper Pilcomayo.

Ce
C.I
323

The Chaco Indians draw crude decorations on their vessels with palo santo resin, which they apply after firing. According to Nordenskiöld (id. supra), the Chané of the Itiyuro probably use the same method to decorate some of their vessels with black designs.

C
323

After being painted, the vessel is put in the shade to dry for several days. It is only when the sides have acquired a certain hardness that the firing process is begun. The vessels are then taken to a spot where there is plenty of dead wood. A large quantity is collected, with which the vessels are covered from bottom to top. Generally, long pieces of bark are selected, which burn brightly.

They set fire to this pyramid of wood and, with a long pole, the /388/ potter watches to see that no brand burns directly against the walls, which would bring on a "shot of fire." When she ascertains that a vessel gives a metallic sound on being touched, she scatters the firebrands with her pole and, by rolling it, makes it go out of the fire.

It may happen that in the course of the firing a vessel may suffer some cracking. This is remedied by taking a little moist earth mixed with dung and applying it on the split while the vase is still hot. The fissure closes, but remains noticeable.

Classification of Chiriguano Pottery

C
415

The figures which illustrate this text, the plates published by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 155-162), and the diagram of Outes (3) give a better idea of the more common forms of this pottery than any description. However, a few remarks are called for.

C
[184]

Vessels with a subglobular belly surmounted by a low, wide neck flaring at the top constitute, without doubt, the most widespread type. (Plates XXXV-LVII.)

/388 cont./

415 184 The footed bowl or "compote" (Fig. 72) comes from the Caipipendí valley, the same as the vessel with ribbed belly of Plate XXVI, 2. These are the only specimens of this type that I found in the whole Chiriguano country.

415 184 532 Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic vessels are rare. Scarcely anywhere but in the Caipipendí valley is corn beer ordinarily served you in vessels shaped like a bull. Besides, their workmanship is careless. The admirable anthropomorphic vessel of Plate XXVI, 1 is an exceptional piece.

415 Twinned vessels (Plate XXVII, 3) and those which a constriction separates into two bodies (Figs. 74, 75, and Plate XXVII, 1) are very rare.

415 531 The motifs painted on Chiriguano vessels most often are of a purely geometric nature.

There are few exceptions to this rule. As an example of them, I shall give the large yambuí of Plate LII, 1, on the belly of which have been painted more or less stylized dogs, chickens, and toads; the yambuí of Figure 83, whose principal decoration is composed of a series of yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/, Penelope spec.); and finally several vessels in my collections, which I did not want to publish because of their completely Europeanized form. On one of them silhouettes of nandus are distinguishable (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 222) and on another have been drawn a man and woman whose hands are united by a red line (symbol of marriage, of love?).

I remember having seen on a jar in the Caipipendí valley /389/ nandus drawn with particular skill. I would gladly have bought that piece if it had been possible to arrange its transportation.

[178] The vessel of Figure 83 [1] gives an excellent idea of what Chiriguano potters could do in the "realistic" genre if a long /Fig. 61 appears here/ tradition did not oblige them to limit themselves to the representation of geometric motifs.

[1] [See P. 249, Category 116 - - Analyst]

/389 cont./

415 531 The plant kingdom hardly inspires Chiriguano artists. The vessel of Plate LII, Fig. 3, is the only one whose decoration is clearly phytomorphic; and again in this case I am not sure that

323 516 342 291 415

Fig. 61. Fabrication of a vessel: the exterior surface is smoothed with a chip of bamboo after being flattened with the hand.

415 531 a European model did not serve as an intermediary between nature and the picture the potter portrayed.

[126] [179] /390/ Among the 200 vessels I collected in Chiriguano country there is not one that includes a figuration of the human face, with the exception of the one to which I have alluded, whose form betrays the desire to satisfy the stupid puerility of THE TOURISTS.

/390 cont./

000 Ce 415 531 177 532 the tourists. In this respect Nordenskiöld (10, Fig. 28, p. 137) was more fortunate than I: among the Chané of the Parapití he was able to acquire a pot on which one distinguishes a nose in relief and the organs of the face painted in a conventional fashion, but in which the Andean influence is clearly reflected.

C 531 415 184 Each region, often even each village, has its special style, and this varies again according to the fancy or skill of each potter. The differences are often sufficiently accentuated to permit an ethnographer with some experience to recognize the provenance of each piece at first glance.

From the point of view of decorative style, the Chiriguano country is divided into three zones, whose characteristics are the following:

On the upper Pilcomayo the fundamental element of decoration is the spiral in the form of a couchant S which is combined with the volute of another color taking off from the apex of a triangle (see, for example: Plate XXXV; XXXVI, 1; XXXVII, 2; Plates XLVII-L, etc. /see pp. 211 ff. and pp. 226 ff./

This motif is arranged in parallel zones framed by geometric figures (festooned lines, alternate triangles, barbed strokes, etc. (see, for example: Plate XXXVII, 1 /see p. 213/; Plate XXXIX, 2, /see p. 215 /; Plate XL, 2 /see p. 216 /; Plate XLIV, 2 /see p. 220 /. Rare are the pieces of this zone whose principal decoration does not consist of variously combined spirals. The style of the pottery I collected in the Igüembé valley differs only a little from that of the upper Pilcomayo: we find the same principal elements without, however, the spiral playing a predominant role (Plate XXXIX, 1; Plate XLI; Plate XLII, 2; XLVIII, 4; Plate LI, 1-3; LIV, 2).

C 531 415 184 Ce 531 415 The pottery made by the Chiriguano of the Ivu, Macharetí, and Tarairí missions and by the Chané of the Itiyuro reveals a special predilection for linear motifs standing out in black against a yellowish background. These are ascending and descending lines which run around the belly of the vessel forming large triangles, and something of a kind, which, in turn, end in Greek frets or spirals. The triangle

C /390 cont./
531 surmounted by a volute is a motif which appears often in this
415 region. Triangles with a solid surface combine to form either
184 denticulate bands or somewhat hourglass-shaped figures whose
Ce
531 effect is pleasing to the eye (Plate XXXIX, 1: Plate XL, 2;
415 Plate XLI; Plate XLII, 1; Plate XLIII, 1; Plate LII; Plate LIV, 1 and 3-4; LVII, 3-4; LV, 1 and 3, etc.).

C Between the Chané vessels (Plate XXXVIII, 1; Plate
Ce LIII, 1-3) and the Chiriguano ones in the missions there are
531 some differences which have less to do with the choice of
415 motifs than with the manner in which they are treated. The
[323] Chané women have a purer taste and they evince greater sureness /391/ of hand than the Chiriguano potters. One senses clearly that the latter are only their pupils.

C It is difficult for me to say what decorative style might
531 have been in vogue in former times in the Caipipendí valley
415 (Plate LVII, 2; Plate LX, 4; and Fig. 72). Painted vessels
184 have become rare there, and the few examples I saw or acquired were in very bad condition. As elsewhere, they were covered with geometric figures: broken lines, triangles, /Fig. 62 appears here/ festooned bands, etc. The individuality of Caipipendí pottery shows itself more in the form of some vessels than in their decoration.

Ce Since I could not visit the Chané of the lower Parapití,
415 I have no idea of the characteristics of their pottery.
177 Nordenskiöld (10, p. 144), who was more favored than I,
[131] declares that their pottery presents only a few traces of Andean
[114] influence, and he explains this fact by their isolation and
[511] poverty.

C If now, instead of style, that is, the combination of
531 motifs, we consider the latter in themselves, /392/ a feeling
184 of unity will succeed our feeling of diversity. The same identical designs are repeated over the whole of Chiriguano territory, and only their relative frequency in a given area and the importance attributed to them to the exclusion of the others create these distinctions of style which I have tried /Fig. 63 appears here/ to define. Nevertheless, there are some decorative elements which are limited to a certain region: the spiral is

/392 cont./

531 184 peculiar to the villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé valley. The decoration made up of broken and asymmetric lines does not go beyond the zone of the Franciscan missions and the Itiyuro region.

323 415 291 516 142 302

Fig. 62. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is rolled between the palms of the hands. (Photographs taken by the author at Masaví, Igüembé Valley.)

[126]

/392 cont./

323
415
291
516
142
302

Fig. 63. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is ready to be superposed on the preceding one.

/393/

Decline of the Art of Pottery among the Chiriguano

323 Of all the Chiriguano industries the most threatened one
178 is doubtless ceramics. The Chiriguano can claim the glory of
● 415 having been until recently the last Indians of South America
/Fig. 64 appears here/ to have a pottery which deserved to be
included in the number of beautiful manifestations of this art,
so brilliantly represented in certain regions of the continent.
Today things have changed a great deal. Villages in which
one can still find women capable of decorating vessels with
the mastery of former days have become rare and are limited
415 to a restricted area. /394/ It was in the tolderías of the Timboy,
126 the Great Salado and the Little Salado, in the region of Yumbía
178 and in the Igüembé valley (upper Pilcomayo, departments of
Tarija and Chuquisaca) that I was able to collect the finest
specimens in my collection. Elsewhere it was exceptional
/Fig. 65 appears here/ /see p. 166/ to be lucky enough to lay
my hands on a fine piece; and, if I did have this luck several
times, it was almost always a question of an old vessel pre-
[797] served as if by a miracle. The Franciscan missions which
formerly gave Nordenskiöld and Holmberg such fine specimens
797 contributed less toward enriching my collections. Nothing ex-
323 presses the sad state of decline of the Chiriguano better than
415 what I /395/ could observe in the Macharetí mission. After
178 going through nearly all the huts of this large village, which in
[162] normal times has close to 2,000 inhabitants, I could scarcely
acquire five or six yambuí having some artistic value. There
[463] were no longer more than three or four women who still knew
how to hold a brush and they had to /Fig. 66 appears here/ /see
p. 167/ provide for almost the whole village. In a few years
the ancient painted pottery will exist only in memory in the
large village where the famous "Captain" Mandepona lived.

323 This decline has several causes. The first is the state of
415 profound demoralization in which the Chiriguano are found, the
178 total disorganization of their social life, and the increasing
177 influence of the white men, followed by its corruptive effects:
finally, the introduction of manufactured products, first and
foremost gasoline cans.

/396/

000 first and foremost gasoline cans. Artistic ceramics have become the
323 appanage of a few old women who are not founding a school and who
178
463
887
531

323
415
142
302

Fig. 64. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is placed on the preceding one and flattened between the thumb and
[531] the other fingers of the potter. Finger impressions result from this, forming a crude design.

323 will carry the secret of their art to the grave. Already today,
178 obliged to satisfy a large demand, they endlessly repeat the same
463 motifs and have a vexing tendency to draw them hastily and
887 without any care at all. These designs are becoming awkward,
531 crude, and are taking on a primitive appearance which is far from corresponding to the taste and culture of the Chiriguano.

/396 cont./

291
323
415
531

Fig. 65. Fabrication of a large vat: the potter impresses her thumbnail into the still soft clay to obtain a regular design.

463
323
178
439
[126]
[123]

In some villages there are no more potters. The inhabitants of the toldería of Ibopeytí, for example, have to import the painted vessels they need to celebrate festivals. When I wanted to acquire them, it was generally objected that they had been bought and often at a very high price. "You go away and leave us without vessels," they often used to say to me as a half-joking, half-sad good-by after my raids.

/396 cont./

323 178 Without wishing to pass as a prophet, I think I can assign five years of life to the artistic pottery of the Chiriguano. Already it is becoming difficult to make collections of it, at least collections having aesthetic value.

323 415 531

Fig. 66. Fabrication of a large vat: when dry, the clay is polished with a well-polished stone. The purpose of this operation is to avoid all porosity in the surface of the vessel.

415 178 184 323 The state of decline and regression in which Chiriguano pottery is found explains perhaps the decided differences often existing in the pottery of the various regions inhabited by the Chiriguano. Artists being few, it is not surprising that their output varies little and that, because of this, the vessels of one village are all very much alike.

C /396 cont./
323
415
198
184

In former times when artists were not lacking, the number of motifs used within each group must have been larger, and in this variety was doubtless found many an element which today seems to have disappeared, only to be met in another zone. It is probable that an ethnographer who might have made a collection among the Chiriguano a century ago would have established a classification other than the one I have tried to outline here.

C
Ce
415
17

Comparative Study of the Basic Elements of the Painted Pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

1. The Problem of the Chincha Atacama Civilization

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians shows such strong affinities with that of the ancient Andean populations from the point of view of form as well as decoration that their relationship cannot be doubted.

These analogies are especially striking among certain pieces /397/ of pottery dug up in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and the ones still made by Chiriguano or Chané women. With an interval of four centuries the resemblance between the pottery of these two regions is still so pronounced that it had attracted the attention of Mr. Debenedetti (2, pp. 134, 149, note 1, and 156), even though he apparently had for his whole basis of comparison only a few rare pieces of very simple Chiriguano pottery collected in the Chaco and of such uncertain provenance that one of them was attributed to the Choroti. The latter in reality, have pottery of an entirely different type, although also influenced by the Andean civilization.

O
C
Ce
[648]
[439]

The affinities of Chiriguano pottery with certain pottery of the Quebrada de Humahuaca have been scientifically established by Nordenskiöld (10, p. 143). This scholar explains these surprising similarities very naturally by the influence the Indians of the Humahuaca region had on their immediate neighbors, the Chané or Chiriguano, and by the trade relations these peoples maintained.

C
Ce
415
17
648
D
[648]

/397 cont./

these peoples maintained. These relations between Chiriguano and Humahuaca Indians are historically attested to. At the time of the uprisings which took place during the period of the Spanish conquest, Humahuaca and Chiriguano united to resist the common enemy (see Boman, 2, Vol. I, p. 77).

The yambuí and yapepo, of which I made a good collection in the upper Pilcomayo region, provide new evidence, even more conclusive, of this striking parallelism which appears between the pottery of the modern Chiriguano and the prehistoric populations of northern Argentina. To allow a direct influence of the Humahuaca Indians on the ancestors of the present-day Chiriguano living on the upper course of the Pilcomayo in the departments of Tarija and Chuquisaca would be a point of view difficult to defend. The radiance of the culture of the Quebrada de Humahuaca could have affected only the southern Chiriguano and the Chané of the Itiyuro. As for the hypothesis which would make of the Chiriguano the precursors of this culture, it is so absurd, so contrary to all good sense, that we cannot envisage it here. At the spot where the Pilcomayo gets ready to leave the valley that it digs across the Andean spurs to spread out in the Chaco plain, the Chiriguano had Chicha Indians as immediate neighbors whose territory extended to the north of the Quebrada de Humahuaca in the south of present-day Bolivia. It was they who transmitted the special forms of their pottery and its principal decorative elements to the Chané, who in turn left them to their successors and conquerors, the Chiriguano. Perhaps the Chané have not everywhere been the inevitable intermediaries between the two cultures; in many cases, Chicha groups must have communicated directly to the Guarani invaders the principal products of their industrial techniques and of their arts.

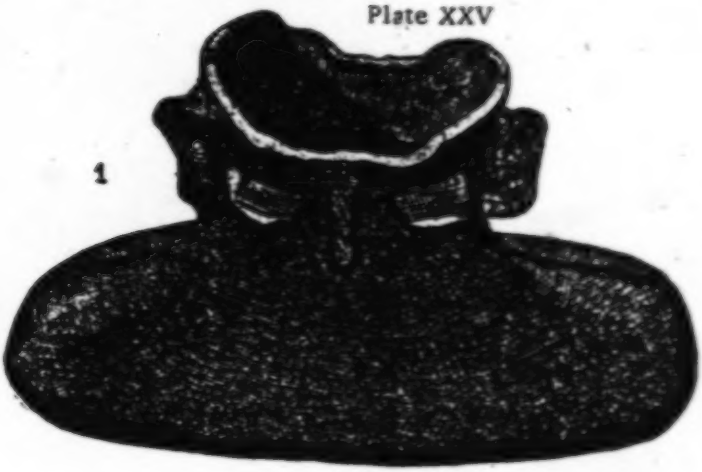
C
175
721
727
648
Ce
648
C
17

/398/ We know from 16th and 17th century documents that the Chiriguano constantly made forays into Chicha territory, that they raided their villages, made them pay tribute, and carried away groups of these Indians into slavery, as they did with the Chané. These direct contacts between the Chiriguano and their western neighbors must have contributed greatly to the spread of Andean civilization among them, and

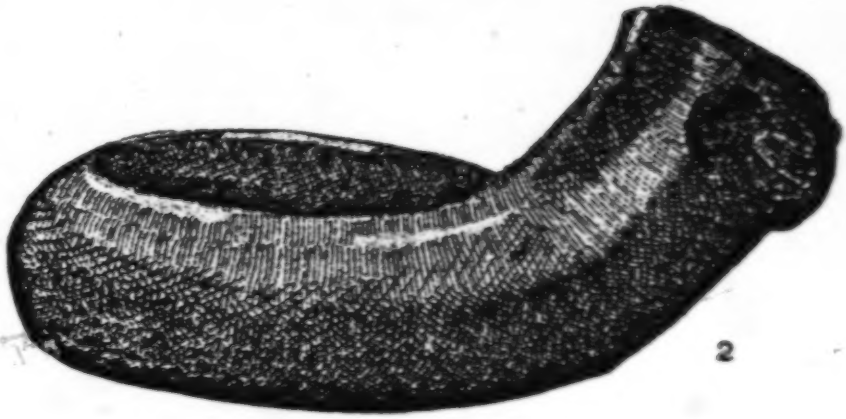
1: Métraux--172 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XXV

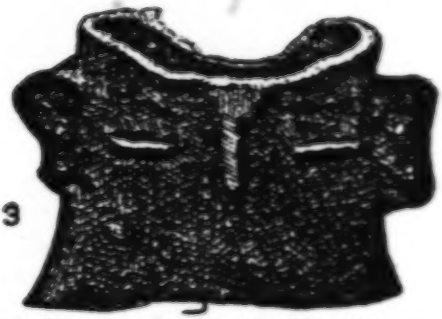
415
532
172



1



2



3

Anthropomorphic vessel found on the banks of the Pilcomayo near the Chiriguano village of Ibopeytí, attesting to the existence in this region of a civilized population before the Chiriguano. The vessel has a red glaze and the ears of the personage are pierced. (1/2 nat. size.)

O 172 171 415 '399 cont. / It is already evident that the pottery of the Humahuaca region shows identical characteristics from the north of Jujuy to the vicinity of La Quiaca. To me the local variations seem absolutely negligible. Boman (2, Vol. I, p. 77) was already expressing himself in the following manner on the relations between these two regions: "If one wishes to compare the objects dug up in the Humahuaca region with the pre-Hispanic remains of other regions, they would be most like those of the Chichas." At

A 172 171

C 172 531 534

Fig. 37. Panpipe made of olive-hued stone, found on the upper Pilcomayo near the Chiriguano village of Ibopeytí at the same time as the vessel on Plate XXV. (1/2 nat. size.)

C 172 171 415 AT Tolomosa in Bolivia, in the department of Tarija, the von Rosen mission (2, Fig. 175, p. 112) found an ornithomorphic dish, an exact replica of the famous puco of this type discovered at La Paya in the Calchaqui Valley.

A 172 171 18 The Humahuaca-Chicha culture does not form an isolated bloc. It is more or less closely related to those whose remains have been studied in the northwest of Argentina in Diaguite territory, on the Puna de Atacama and de Jujuy, in the Atacama Desert, in the north of Chile and the extreme south of Peru. In the geographic area thus defined, it surely seems as though there was formerly a center of acculturation whose existence was pointed out only a few years ago.

A 172 174 131 167 /402 cont./

The Atacama Indians, whose original territory would have been the vicinity of the Atacama and Arizaro salt marshes and a portion of the coastal zone near Tocopilla, including the lower course of the Loa River, emigrated at an unknown date from the south to the north. They occupied the

C 172 415

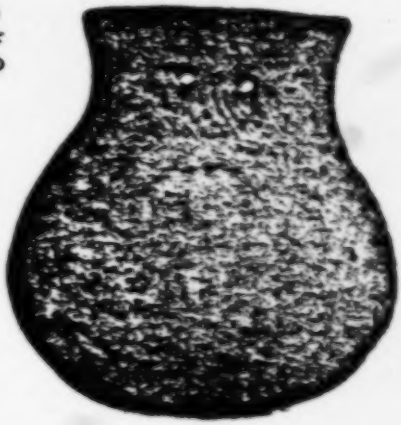


Fig. 69. Pot decorated with incised lines and provided with two holes for hanging. This object was unearthed at Caipipendí. (2/3 nat. size.)

A 172 174 131 167 provinces of Chicha and Lipez, the region between the great salt marshes of western Bolivia and the western Cordillera, and spread across the whole province of Carangas and the districts west of the Desaguadero. They would also have taken possession of a large part of the Titicaca and the northern plains. Their culture would have spread to the south of modern Peru as far as the latitude of Ica and as far as Ayacucho in the A [177] mountains. Upon this ancient ethnic and cultural stratum influences from the north made themselves felt (Uhle, 3, p. 13).

Plate XXVI

Ce
415
532

1. Anthropomorphic vessel, Chané. It is covered with a layer of white paint. Prov.: Tuyuntí (near the Aguaray). (1/3 nat. size.)

C
415
531

2. Vessel with ribbed belly, brown in color. Chiriguano Prov.: Caipipehdí. (1/2 nat. size.)

1: Atacama--180 E-5 (1929)-1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Atacama 565
Prehistoric Chile 563

/403 cont./

A
P.C
19
531

Latcham (p. 5) says that for a long time he has also had the impression that Chincha culture had played a very important role in the development of the prehistoric art of the north and center of Chile, especially in the Diaguito-Chilean region, that is, the provinces of Atacama and Coquimbo, and that these influences had extended as far as Cachapoal in the south.

After the publication of Uhle's work, Latcham (p. 20) not only accepted his conclusions but even demonstrated the extension of Chincha culture as far as Caldera. Like Uhle, Latcham (p. 20) is of the opinion "that an examination of Diaguito-Argentine pottery would furnish proof that the traces of Chincha and Chincha-Atacama influences are very common in the art of northwestern Argentina, where all the designs reproduced (by Latcham) are found again alone or in combinations with other local motifs. These influences made themselves felt as far as the southeast and even the northeast of Bolivia, as can be ascertained by consulting the works dealing with the antiquities of these regions. In the modern pottery of the Chiriguano many of these same elements persist, as one can realize by leafing through the work of Outes. 3."

C
[415]
[531]
[199]

C
415
199
121

In the pages which follow I shall seek to demonstrate that Chiriguano pottery presents characteristics obliging us to rank it among those which seem to have undergone the influence of the Chincha-Atacama civilization.

A
P.C
19
114
121
[648]

Even if the hypothesis of the existence of a Chincha-Atacama civilization must be rejected some day, it is not any less certain that at a given moment the prehistoric tribes of the region of Atacama, of the northern coast of Chile, of the south of Peru and Bolivia, and of the north and northwest of Argentina were united by close relations, which /404/ explain the numerous points of contact of their cultures. Uhle's theory has on its side the advantage of accounting for these analogies whatever may be the reservations we might be able to formulate concerning the date this scholar attributes to the Chincha-Atacama civilization.
Concerning the importance and the extent he gives it.

/104 cont./

concerning the importance and the extent he gives it. To the Chincha-Atacama sphere of influence belongs, precisely, the culture of the Andean Chincha and Humahuaca peoples whom the Chiriguano and their Arawak predecessors had as neighbors for centuries.

2. Analysis of the Influences Exerted on the Fancy Pottery of the Chané and the Chiriguano

The criterion of form. -- The influences which have made themselves felt on Chané and Chiriguano pottery are manifested in both form and decoration. In the pages to follow I propose to note the most striking affinities between Chiriguano and Chané vessels and those of the neighboring regions, and also to determine the importance of Guarani or other survivals which we meet here and there.

1. Vessels with a subglobular belly, short neck, flared lips, flattened base, constitute the most common type of fancy pottery (Plates XXXV-XL, XLVII-LIII, etc.). Pottery of this category lacks well-characterized counterparts in the Andean zone. On the contrary, they resemble the jars for kaliri still used by the Indians of Guiana and the Amazon (Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 151, p. 227).

One of the yambuí (Plate XLVIII, 3)[1] of this type has as handles on each side of the neck two little miniature vessels of the same form as itself. In what is perhaps only the fancy of a native artist appears nevertheless a concept peculiar to the Andean peoples and one in harmony with their style.

2. The yapepo (Plate XLV, 1 and 2; LIX and LX)[2] are subglobular vessels with a low neck, provided with a handle which extends from the rim to the belly: they can be considered as yambuí in miniature. This category of vessels has its equivalent in several points of the adjoining Andean zone. Thus in Calama (Atacama Desert) and in Cagua (Yura canton, Porco province) pots have been found which seem to be, from the point of view of form, replicas of Chiriguano yapepo. (Créqui de Montfort, Plate VII, Fig. 8, and Plate VIII, Fig. 11.)

[1] [See p. 221 -- Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 221, 244 and 245 respectively. Analyst]

PA 415 192
c 415 191

/404 cont./

The cemeteries of the Isla de Tilcara have given numerous specimens of this type (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 98, p. 152; Fig. 101, p. 154; Fig. 104, p. 157; Fig. 106, p. 158; Figs. 109-111, p. 162; Figs. 113-114, pp. 165-166), of which a specimen has also been found in the Alfarcito in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, Fig. 15, p. 29). /Plate XXVII appears here./

c 415 191

/405/ Vessels whose appearance is obviously similar to that of our yapepo were formerly used in Chile (Latcham, Fig. 17, p. 11).

PA 415 531 192
c 415 531 198

a b

Fig. 70. The iru (a), drawn from Debenedetti, was found on the Isla de Tilcara. Vessel b is modern. It comes from the Chiriguano village of Yumbía. It attests to the fidelity with which the Chiriguano have kept to our day the ancient types of Andean pottery. (1/6 nat. size.)

c 415 191

3. The large yambuí of Plate LV, 3,[2] is not a common type in South America. Jijon y Caamaño (p. 24, Fig. 15) cites only one specimen, coming from Imbabura in Ecuador, which was known to him outside of Chiriguano country.

4. The two yambuí of Plates XLI, 1,[2] and LV, 1,[3] both come from the Ivu mission. Their form is unusual in Chiriguano country, but very interesting by reason of the analogy it offers with that of vessels dug up in Catamarca province in Caspinchango (Debenedetti, 5, Figs. 9[1] and 10, pp. 23-24) and that of funerary urns from La Rioja discovered and published by Boman (5, Fig. 4b, p. 24).

[2] [See p. 239--Analyst]
[3] [See pp. 317 and 239 respectively--Analyst]

1: Métraux--183 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
531

Plate XXVII

Chiriguano vessels (yapepo). Prov.: 1 and 3, Ivu; 2, Macharetí; 4, Caipipendí. Colors: 1 and 2, black on white; 3 and 4, red on white. (Nos. 1 = 1/4; 2-4 = 1/3 nat. size ±.)

C /405 cont./
415
171
P.A.
[415]
[172]

5. The iru of Fig. 70 b goes back into the class of the vessels known as pseudo-apods, as some Argentinian archeologists call them. As their name indicates, they are closely related, from the morphological point of view, to the vessels known as apods or more simply aryballuses, which constitute in northwestern Argentina so many concrete proofs of Inca influence. Among the Chiriguano and Chané this type of pottery is exceptional, and the specimen of Fig. 70 b is a unique piece whose interest is considerably increased by the extraordinary resemblance it bears to a vessel discovered in the cemeteries of the Isla de Tilcara (Fig. 70 a). These two iru have so many similarities between them that one could easily believe them to have come from the hands of the same artist. In the regions near the habitat of the Chiriguano numerous vessels of this type have been dug up. Odilia Bregante (p. 287) /406/ enumerates for the specimens found in Jujuy province the following localities: Saruga, Taranta, Pucará de Tilcara, Isla de Tilcara, and Cochinoca, for the Puna de Atacama, Antofogasta de la Sierra. In La Paya in Salta province these aryballuses or aryballoid vessels are very numerous, and one of them published by Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 42, p. 62) has on the upper part of the belly a row of triangles with volutes, which we find again on our specimen from the upper Pilcomayo.

Ce
[415]
[171]
P.A.
[415]
[172]
C
P.A.
415
171

Vessels of this kind are, as we have said, characteristic of the Inca civilization. Similar jugs already appear in Tacna during the Chincha or Chincha-Atacama period (Uhle, 4, Plate XVII, Fig. 4; Plate XIX, Fig. 1 and 1 a; Plate XX, Figs. 1 and 2). /Fig. 71 appears here./

C
415
171

This type is so little diffused in Chiriguano country that one could not invoke its occasional presence to attest to the strong Inca influence of civilization on these Indians.

C
[177]

6. The miniature vessel of Figure 71 is also a unique piece. If its distribution on the eastern slope of the Andes were not so sporadic, it would constitute an eloquent proof of the persistence of Inca tradition in Chiriguano pottery. Actually, as Linné (1, p. 161) demonstrated with the aid of

C
[177]

C 415 171

/406 cont./

a map, these footed vessels "bakershaped" /quoted in English/ mark out the whole extent of the Inca Empire from Ecuador to Chile and Argentina. This is the first time, however, that their presence has been noted among the Chiriguano and outside the borders proper of the Inca Empire.

C [177]

7. As Nordenskiöld (10, Fig. 48, p. 162) established, the twinned Chiriguano vessels (Plate XXVII, 3)[1] also denote an Andean influence. As for that, it suffices to compare them with the ones from the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 144, p. 196).

C 415 531

Fig. 71. Miniature footed vessel. Prov.: Cuevo. (2/5 nat. size.)

C 415 171

8. As for the vessels consisting of triple connected bodies (Plate XXVII, 4), Jijon y Caamaño (p. 26) believes them to be of Central American origin. "Their center of dispersion," he says, "must be located in a southern region of Central America, from where, perhaps through the medium of the Arawak, they arrived in the Chaco and Peru." This hypothesis is tempting.

9. The Central American origin of the footed bowl or "compote" (Fig. 72)[2] could not be doubted. Jijon y Caamaño (pp. 31-51), Rivet (2, pp. 8-9), and Linné (2, Map 6, p. 107) have amply demonstrated it. On the subject of one of the varieties of this type, Jijon y Caamaño (p. 34) makes the

C A 415 171

[1] [See p. 183 -- Analyst]
[2] [See p. 187 -- Analyst]

C A /406 cont./
415 following observation: "The dispersion and evolution of a type
171 of pottery whose /407/ origin must be assigned to the peoples near the Isthmus of Panama can be due only to the Arawak, who spread it among the nations living beyond the Andes, in regions as southerly as the Chaco and the territory of Misiones (1).

1. Ambrosetti (2, p. 714) as a matter of fact represents Kainguá vessels with a circular foot. I doubt very much that these pots reproduce a primitive type. They are badly fired, badly modeled, asymmetric, and the foot, which is fastened to the vessel when the latter is finished, is easily detached from it.

These vessels are perhaps crude imitations of European pottery.

A
171 In South America the Arawak have been the propagators of Central-American culture among the primitive tribes located east of the Andes."

C A
415 10. The distribution of vessels with a ribbed belly, of
171 which I acquired a marvelous specimen in the Caipipendí
C valley (Plate XXVI, 2),[2] is almost the same as that of the
[126] "compotes," and we can, as with the latter, rank them with the pottery which shows a Central-American origin /Fig. 72 appears here/ and whose dispersion was the work of the Arawak (Jijon y Caamaño, p. 5, Fig. 1 D).

C 11. The vessel of Plate XXVII, 2[2] is composed of two
415 superimposed domes: one in the shape of a truncated cone,
171 the other rounded. It comes from Ivu and is the only specimen
C of this form that I encountered in the course of my trip. An
[172] identical vessel was dug up on the upper Paraná by Ambrosetti (3, plate between pp. 256-257, Fig. 5). Similar receptacles are still in use by the Yuruná /Yuruna/ Indians of the lower
C Xingú (Steinen, 1, plate between pp. 266-267). The presence
415 of vessels of this type among the ancient Guarani authorizes us
171 to suppose that our specimen from Ivu represents /408/ the
172 survival of an ancient form of Guarani pottery which the Chiriguano have not abandoned.

[1] [See p. 179--Analyst]
[2] [See p. 183--Analyst]

/408 cont./

000 Chiriguano have not abandoned. It is not out of the question,
CE however, that the Chané did not contribute toward preserving
415 this type,[1] if it was really they who made it known to the popu-
171 lations of tropical America east of the Andes. Jijon y Caamaño
C (pp. 11-13) studied its distribution in the two Americas and
[415] placed its center of diffusion in Central America. In Diaguite
[171]
000

C
415
531

Fig. 72. Footed bowl or "compote." Black and red motifs on cream background. Prov.: Carurutí. (1/3 nat. size.)

C
415
171 In Diaguite country we find pottery of a more or less similar aspect, but
D which must nevertheless be eliminated from this category.
415 It is indeed provided either with a tongue-shaped appendage or
531 with an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figuration (Ambrosetti, 6, pp. 372-380).

[1] [i.e. The type depicted in Plate XXVII, 2, p. 183 -- Analyst]

/408 cont./

415 171 172 12. The ornithomorphic vessel of Figure 73 seems to have come from the hands of the ancient potters of the Isla de Tilcara who, several centuries ago, used to make analogous pieces, without a doubt servilely imitated by the Chané and the ancestors of the Chiriguano (see Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 139-141, p. 191). Boman (2, Vol. II, p. 786, Fig. 193) also publishes a bird-shaped vessel, perhaps of the pavo del monte (Penelope obscura, Vieill.?), found not far from the present-day village of Humahuaca and which, in addition to its general appearance, has in common with our specimen

415 531

Fig. 73. Ornithomorphic vessel. Chiriguano. Motifs: pink and green. Prov.: Tarairí. (1/3 nat. size.)

415 171 172 from Tarairí designs painted on the sides which represent the wings and tail.

415 532 [293] [172] [171] [114] The Chiriguano Indians of the Caipipendí valley and the Ivu mission still like to serve chicha in vessels to which they give the appearance of a bull (Plate XXVIII, 7-9).[1] Llama-shaped vessels have been discovered in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 27, Fig. 14, and Odilia Bregante, Fig. 132, p. 147). Perhaps these are the prototypes of the present-day Chiriguano specimens. Why suppose that these receptacles had solely ritual usage, as Mr. Debenedetti thinks, when one sees the modern Chiriguano make an entirely secular use of them?

[1] [See p. 190--Analyst]

P.C. Ce 415 171 532

/408 cont./

13. The marvelous vessel of Plate XXVI, 1[2] is entirely of Andean inspiration. The idea of giving the shape of a human head to the neck of the yuro was not foreign to the ancient populations of the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Boman, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 190 and Plate LXXXII, Fig. f; and Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 136, p. 186). Up to the present time this region has not provided any vessel of this type which, by its beauty and the sureness of the modeling, /Plate XXVIII appears here/ /409/ was comparable to our specimen from the Itiyuro. The woman who fashioned it was a worthy artist.

C [415] →

Fig. 74. Vessel painted red. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/4 nat. size.)

P.E Ce 415 171 532

In Ecuador, vessels with a globular belly surmounted by a human head are frequent, but few specimens from this region can compete with this Chané masterpiece.

C 415 171 172

14. The vessels of Figures 74 and 75 and Plate XXVII, 1,[2] are characterized by a narrowing which separates them into two superimposed globular bodies of more or less similar diameter. In the valley of the Loa River a vessel of similar type was found which presents the most surprising identity with the one of Figure 74. Montell (1, Fig. 34 e, p. 28), who publishes it, makes the following remarks about it.

[Text Continues on P. 191]

[531] ←

Fig. 75. Vessel decorated with red and black motifs. Prov.: Caipipendi. (2/5 nat. size.)

[1] [See P. 179-- Analyst]
[2] [See P. 183--Analyst]

1: Métraux--190 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
531
532

Plate XXVIII

Miniature Chiriguano vessels (toys and amusing objects). Prov.: 1, Ibopeytí; 2 and 5, Yumbía; 3, Tintapaw; 4, Tarairí; 7-9, Carurutí. Colors: red brown and black on white background, except Nos. 4 and 7, red brown on white. (Nos. 1 and 4 = 1/2; 2, 3, 5-9 = 1/3 nat. size ±.)

/409 cont./

•415 "This particular form is not unique. It is found in the
191 northern cultures of the coast of Peru and its area of dispersion
192 stretches as far as Pachacamac and Ancon, including Lambayeque, Cajamarca, and Trujillo. East of the Andes, this type exists among the Chiriguano, the Ashluslay, and the Lengua. Specimens of it have been dug up by Debenedetti in Tilcara and in the Quebrada de Humahuaca. The find of the Loa River contributes to forming a link of this distribution uniting the /Fig. 75 appears here/ /see p. 189/ eastern zone with that of the Peruvian culture whence this type surely emanates.

Pots of this type show a striking resemblance to the signal trumpets of Guiana. Objects of this kind have been described by many authors and depicted by Gumilla and Roth. If one disregards the mouth and the base, one cannot distinguish these vessels from the terra-cotta trumpets. It is probable that this instrument was discovered independently in Guiana. In any case it is still too early to present theories on the possible connections between the two types, without preliminary research having been done to justify such comparisons."

To the distribution indicated by Montell must be added Molino del Puesto and Caspinchango in Catamarca province (Bruch, 2, Fig. 42, p. 54, and Debenedetti, 5, Fig. 14, p. 27).

415 15. Jugs with a globular belly or one in the shape of a
191 truncated cone, with a short and narrow cylindrical neck from which often begins a small handle attaching at the other end /410/ to the belly of the receptacle (Plate LVI, 1, 2, and 4; Plate LVIII, etc.), ? make up a very common type in all of the Chiriguano region which is in the hands of the missions. Up to the present the neighboring territories have not produced prehistoric vessels which could have served as models for the Chiriguano or the Chané at the time when Andean influence made itself felt on them. The only jug belonging to this type, outside Chiriguano country, is one found in Chile in Valdivia, which Medina (Fig. 184) reproduces in his great work on the antiquities
? [See pp. 238 and 240 respectively-- Analyst]

C /410 cont./
415 of this country (1).
171

P.A. [415]

1. Vessels of this type also show great similarity to the Araucan ones which were discovered in the Argentinian territory of the Neuquén. (San Martin, pp. 10-15, pp. 131 and 132.)

C
415
531

Fig. 76. Cup decorated with black checkerwork on cream background. Prov.: Igüembé Valley. (1/3 nat. size.)

C
415
171

16. The little cup of Figure 76 is the only one of this shape I was able to collect. Like the vessels examined thus far, it constitutes by its aspect and decoration an Andean survival. Many cups have been discovered in northwestern Argentina. Some of these specimens have been found on the Isla de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 149, p. 206) and at Casabindo in the Puna de Jujuy (Lehmann-Nitsche, Pl. IV, 5 D).

P.A. [172] [415]

17. Bowls have such a wide distribution in South America that their presence among the Chiriguano would not by itself be a sufficient argument to demonstrate the Andean origin of their culture. However, among these Indians, the numerous specimens of this category of receptacles found in each village show such similarities with the puco of the adjoining Andean regions that we are obliged to consider them as borrowed forms.

C [177]

C /410 cont./

415 171 Thus, for example, the puco of Plate XIX, 2 and 4[1] are nearly identical with certain dishes coming from La Poma, Salta province. (Dillenius, Fig. 7, p. 13.)

The Chiriguano puco (Fig. XIX, 3) could easily be mixed with a specimen from La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 185, p. 368), which, like it, has two nipples on each side of the rim.

C [531] The small bowl of Figure 77 carries on the rim two heads of a mammal stylized to the point that one can identify it as a llama or a puma, as one wishes. The two appendages in relief are perforated to allow a suspension cord to pass through. One would never finish enumerating all the receptacles of the Andean region which are decorated with the same motif. I shall limit myself to citing, in the countries adjoining the habitat of the Chiriguano, /Plate XXIX appears here/ /411/ P.A. [172] [415] several analogous finds. Thus, a dish of this type was dug up at Casabindo, on the Puna de Jujuy (Ambrosetti, 4, Fig. 49 b, p. 39, Vol. LIV) and at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 181, p. 364).

C 415 531 Several bowls (Plate XXIX, 1 and 6) of my collections are provided /Fig. 77 appears here/ with small nipples on the sides, whose use is, at first sight, enigmatic. As Rosen (2, p. 109, Figs. 167-188) has demonstrated, they are appendages which permit passing a small cord around the dish and hanging it. On some Chiriguano specimens these protuberances are perforated and a string passed through. By this means, /Fig. 78 appears here/ the bowl is suspended from the roof beams. P.C. [415] Several from the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 60-63, pp. 111-112) also show these protuberances, whose use must have been the same as among the present-day Chiriguano. These nipples are doubtless handles or ears which, having lost all practical usefulness, were reduced /412/ to the state of simple ornamental motifs and not, as was believed, of still embryonic handles.

[1] [See p. 135--Analyst]

Painted Chiriguano bowls (nae). Prov.: 1, 4, and 7, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2, Yumbía; 3 and 5, Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo); 6, Ivu. Colors: black and red on white background. (Nos. 1-5 = 1/4; 6 = 1/3; 7 = 1/2 about nat. size ± .)

415
531

1: Métraux--194 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

1: Métraux--195 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Peruvian Prehistory SE4

C
415
531

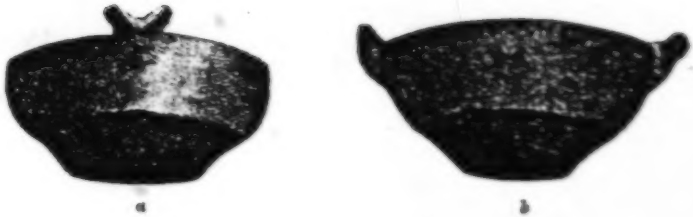


Fig. 77. Small bowl with zoomorphic ear and hole for hanging. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/3 nat. size.)

C
415
531
←
P.P
415
→

Fig. 78. a and b. Vessel a comes from Cuevo; b gives the profile of a vessel found at Tacna and attributed by Uhle to the Inca period.

C /412 cont./

415 171 pp 415

18. To put an end to these comparisons, I shall call attention to two vessels (Fig. 78 a and b), one acquired in Ivu in the Chaco and the other in Tacna, and dating from the Inca period (Uhle, 4, Plate XXVIII, 2). A simple glance at the two figures permits the establishment of their perfect identity.

C Ce 415 171

In short, from these comparisons and the ones we made on the subject of pottery in common use, we can draw the following conclusions: Chiriguano and Chané pottery is, from the morphological point of view, closely related to that of the ancient populations of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina and therefore offers numerous points of contact with the Chincha-Atacama civilizations. It still keeps traces of strong Inca influences (footed vessel (baker-shaped /in English/), aryballoid jars, ornithomorphic and anthropomorphic vessels, bowls, etc.). The ancient Arawak ethnic substratum is manifested in this sphere by the survival of several special types of pottery (vessels in the form of beakers or bowls (compoteras), vessels with a ribbed belly, vessels with three connecting bodies, etc.).

C Ce [179] A [415]

The pottery in everyday use is clearly of Guarani inspiration and in its general features has remained identical to those of the ancient Guarani of Bolivia.

Ce G 415

C 531 184

Comparative Study of the Principal Decorative Motifs of Chiriguano Pottery and That of the Neighboring Andean Peoples

The triangle with volute. In the region of the upper Pilcomayo the fundamental motif of pottery decoration is the triangle whose apex is prolonged in a volute or spiral (Plates XXXII-XXXIII,[1] 136-199). This decorative element is repeated to repletion on all the vessels I collected from the village of Saladito to the valley of Igüembé. Elsewhere it becomes less frequent and takes on a more rudimentary form, which can be considered as further developed or degenerated.

[1] [See pp. 200-201 -- Analyst]

PA 531 114

/415 cont./

On the other hand, the excavations carried out on the Isla de Tilcara have produced only a few specimens of pottery whose ornamentation was curvilinear. Debenedetti (2, p. 88) considers the latter, for reasons which I cannot accept, as foreign to the locality. Nevertheless, he has reproduced in his book the decoration of two dishes which is made up of facing triangles with volutes (Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 53 and 54, pp. 88-89) (Fig. 79); and he notes the same design on two other dishes which he does not reproduce. In the same publication (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 113, p. 165; Fig. 114, p. 166; Fig. 115, p. 166) are represented three vessels similar to the Chiriguano yapepo and also decorated with hooked triangles.

C 415 531 171

C 415 171 531

/416/ The most interesting piece in this respect is the

P.A 415 531

Fig. 79. a, bowl from the Isla de Tilcara, whose rim is decorated with facing voluted triangles; b, border of a dish decorated with voluted triangles (Isla Tilcara) (from Debenedetti).

C 415 171 531

yuro of Figure 70 b, reproduced from a drawing given by Debenedetti (2, Fig. 124, p. 175). We have already seen that its form is identical with that of a Chiriguano îru I bought on the upper Pilcomayo. The same is true for the general elements of its decoration.

PA 531

The voluted triangle is found on three other pieces from the Isla de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 160, p. 217; Figs. 161 and 163, p. 217), which Debenedetti (2, p. 218) classes among the pottery imported to the Isla de Tilcara and utilized by curacas /chiefs/. Our yambuí from the upper Pilcomayo, which from the artistic point of view are very superior to the specimens described by Debenedetti, have often been bought

C 415 531 171 126

C /416 cont./
531 by me in humble cabins whose owners were certainly not
415 curacas, but poor devils who had the luck to have a mother
121 or grandmother who was an expert potter. If the criterion of
[126] Mr. Debenedetti were admissible, the crude pottery and the
[114] fancy vessels which can be bought in every Chané or
C Chiriguano village would be products of two different civiliza-
415 tions. In reality the fancy pottery is used on feast days for drinking chicha; and the other, more humble in appearance, is adapted to daily needs.

P.A
415
531

Fig. 80. Dish from Tilcara and decorated with red voluted triangles on a white background. (1/6 nat. size ±.)

P.A
531
[114]

Besides, the voluted triangle is more frequent on the Isla de Tilcara than Debenedetti wishes us to think. In addition to the examples cited, seven others must be added (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 24, p. 59; Fig. 30, p. 63; Fig. 40, p. 70; Fig. 48, p. 80; Fig. 165, p. 219; Fig. 165, pp. 219-220). A vessel from Alfarcito in the same Quebrada bears a triangle with volute on the inside rim of the neck (Debenedetti, 4, Fig. 15, p. 29).

1: Métraux--211 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XXXV

415
531

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from Tintapew; No. 2 from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

415
531

Plate XXXVI

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from Ibopeyti; No. 2 from Tiaapaw (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

415
531

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from the Igüembé Valley; No. 2 from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--214 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
C
Ce
415
531

Plate XXXVIII

1

2

Chané and Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from the Aguaray (Salta Chaco); No. 2 from Ibopeytí (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

415
531

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from Macharetí; No. 2 from the Igüembé Valley. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

• 415
531

Plate XL

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from Saladito; No. 2 from the Iguembé Valley. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--217 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
531

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. Nos. 1 and 2 come from Ivu.
(About 1/3 nat. size.)

●415
531

Plate XLII

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from Ivu; No. 2 from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

415
531

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from Machareti; No. 2 from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--220 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
531

Plate XLIV

1

2

Chiriguano vessels: No. 1 comes from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); No. 2 from the Igüembé Valley. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--221 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
531

Plate XLV

1

2

3

Chiriguano pottery. Nos. 1 and 2 come from Tintapaw; No. 3 from Carurutí. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

11 Métraux--222 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XLVI

415
531

1

2

3

Chiriguano pottery. Nos. 1 and 3 come from Saladito; No. 2 from Yumbía (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

D /421 cont./
531 very exaggerated stylization of the famous snake with a bipartite head so characteristic of the art of this region. However, a puco
PA from Molino del Puesto, Catamarca province, exhibits a border,
531 painted in black on a red background, which is composed of triangles with volutes and couchant S's (Bruch, 2, Fig. 43 a, p. 56).

C
415
531

Fig. 81. Large painted iru. Prov.: Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). Colors: white on red. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

C
531 Spirals (Plate XXXII, 165, and Fig. 81). The decoration of certain vessels from the upper Pilcomayo and the Santa Rosa mission (Nordenskiöld, 14, Fig. 70, p. 58) consists of a large spiral making many turns and covering almost the whole exterior surface of the receptacle. Just as in certain cases the volute was transformed into fretwork, this spiral gave birth to the motif seen on the vessel of Plate LV, 3, which is composed of a series of concentric rectangles.

[See P. 237--Analyst]

Plate XLVII

1

2

3

4

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí). Prov.: 1 and 4, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2 and 3, Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). Color: 1, black and white motifs on red background; 2-4, red and black motifs on white background. (Nos. 1, 3, and 4 = 1/4; 2 = 1/2 nat. size. ± .)

415 ●
531

415
531

Plate XLVIII

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí). Prov.: 1 and 2, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 3, Ibopeytí; 4, Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). Colors: red and black motifs on white background. (Nos. 1, 2, and 4 = 1/5; 3 = 1/4 nat. size ±.)

1: Métraux--228 E-5 (1929) :930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

1145
531

Plate XLIX

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí). Prov.: 1 and 4, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2 and 3, Yumbía (upper Pilcomayo). Color: 1-3, red and black motifs on creamy-white background; 4, white design on reddish background. (Nos. 1, 2, and 4 = 1/6; 3 = 1/5 nat. size ± .)

1/5
531

Plate L

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí). Prov.: Yumbía (upper Pilcomayo). Colors: black and red motifs on white background. (Nos. 1, 3, and 4 = 1/5; 2 = 1/4 nat. size ↕.)

Plate II

Chiriguano vessels (yambui). Prov.: 1, 2, and 3, Igüembé Valley; 4, Saladito (Yumbía). Colors: black and red motifs on white background. Nos. 1 and 2 = 1/4; 3 = 1/6; 4 = 1/5 nat. size.)

11 Indians--Bol. E-6 (1939) 1st ser. Ayiro Chiriguano Ayiro
HIS 551

1: Métraux--231 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
531

Plate LII

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí). Prov.: 1 and 2, Macharetí; 3 and 4, Tarairí. Colors: black and red motifs on cream background. (Nos. 1 = 1/5; 2 = 1/6; 3 and 4 = 1/5 nat. size ±.)

1: Métraux--232 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C
415
531

C
415
531

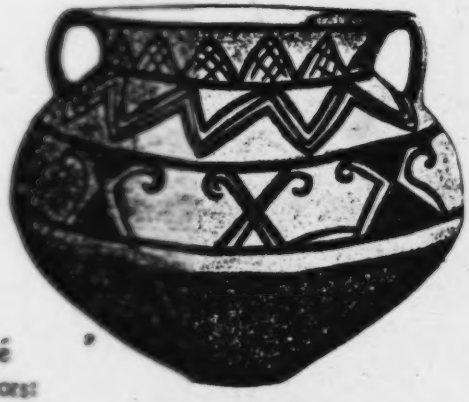
C
415
531

Plate LIII

Chiriguano and Chané vessels (yambuí). Prov.: 1-3, Aguaray (Salta Chaco, Chané tribe); 4, Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). Colors: red and black on white background; on No. 4 the black verges on brown. (Nos. 1, 3-4 = 1/5, 2 = 1/6 nat. size ± .)

415
531

Plate IIV



Chiriguano vessels (yambuí).
Prov.: 1, Tarairí; 2, Igüembé Valley; 3-4, Macharetí. Colors: red and black motifs on cream background. (About 1/5 nat. size.)

415
531

Plate LV

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí). Prov.: 1 and 3, Ivu; 2, Saladito (upper Pilcamayo). Colors: 1 and 2, red and black motifs on cream background; 3, red motifs on white background. (Nos. 1 = 1/7; 2 = 1/6; 3= 1/7 nat. size Ī.)

1: Métraux--238 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
531

Plate LVI

Chiriguano vessels (yapepó and yambuí). Prov.: 1 and 3, Macharetí; 2 and 4, Ivu. Colors: red and black motifs on cream background. (1/4 nat. size.)

415
531

Plate LVII

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí and yapepó). Prov.: 1, Igüembé Valley; 2, Carurutí; 3 and 4, Ivu. Colors: black and red motifs on cream-white background.
Nos. 1 = 1/7; 2-4 = 1/5 nat. size ± .)

115
531

Plate LVIII

Chiriguano vessels (yapepó).
Prov.: 1-3, Macharetí; 4, Ivu.
Colors: red and black motifs on cream background. (Nos. 1 and 2 = 1/4; 3 = 1/6; 4 = 1/4 nat. size ±.)

PA. /423 cont./

531 Some vessels from the Isla de Tilcara and the Pucará de
C Tilcara, /424/ as a matter of fact, have a reticulated band on the
531 rim, like our Chiriguano vessels. (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 45, p. 79,
171 and Bregante, Fig. 164, p. 166.)

PC In Chile we encounter bands, triangles, diamond shapes,
531 reticulated rectangles, and there again the unity of these different cultures in whatever has to do with pottery asserts itself. (Latcham, Figs. 25-28, p. 14, and Bregante, Figs. 232, p. 192.)

PA.
C
531
171
415

Fig. 82. Vessel b comes from the Chiriguano village of Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). It offers an extraordinary resemblance to vessel a from Tilcara. (1/2 nat. size.)

000 Figs. 25-28, p. 14, and Bregante, Fig. 232, p. 192.)

C Checkerwork (Fig. 76). A cup I acquired in the Igüembé val-
531 ley is decorated in a brown and white checkered design. This is the
171 only example I know in Chiriguano country. In northwestern
PA Argentina this motif has a very wide distribution: it extends from the
[531] Quebrada de Humahuaca to San Juan province (Bregante, p. 196).
[171] It was common in Chile (Latcham, Fig. 7, p. 7; Fig. 41, p. 18;
PC Fig. 55, p. 22, etc.). In the post-Columbian period it was still
[531] in use among the Araucan of southern Mendoza (Métraux, 6, Fig. 12, p. 50).

Plate LIX

/Caption for above plate on p. 546./

Plate LX

/Caption for above plate on p. 146./

SF10 Chilgquano SF10 1930 (1979) E-6 Méxam--Sq 1:
531
45

/Captions for Plates: LIX and LX, pp. 944 and 945./

415
531

LIX Miniature Chiriguano vessels (yapepoxai) (serve as containers). Prov.: 1, 3, and 4, Yumbía; 2 and 6, Ibopeytí; 5, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). Colors: red and black motifs on white background; 5, red background. (Nos. 1-3 = 1/2 approximately; 4 = 2/5; 5 = 2/5; 6 = about 1/2 nat. size.)

LX Miniature Chiriguano vessels (yapepoxai). Prov.: 1, Ibopeytí; 2, Tiwizaiti (upper Pilcomayo); 3, Tintapaw; 4, Caipipendí; 5, Yumbia; 6, Tintapaw. Colors: red and black motifs on cream background, with the exception of No. 3, decorated with black motifs on reddish background. (Nos. 1 = 1/3; 2-6 = about 2/5 nat. size.)

815
531

Plate LXI

(See p.56) for caption.)

D
531
415

S
531
415

Plate LXII

1a

1b

3b

2b

2a

3a

/See p. 263 for caption./

1: Métraux--253 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Diaguita SGG

415
531

Plate LXIII

/See p. 763 for caption./

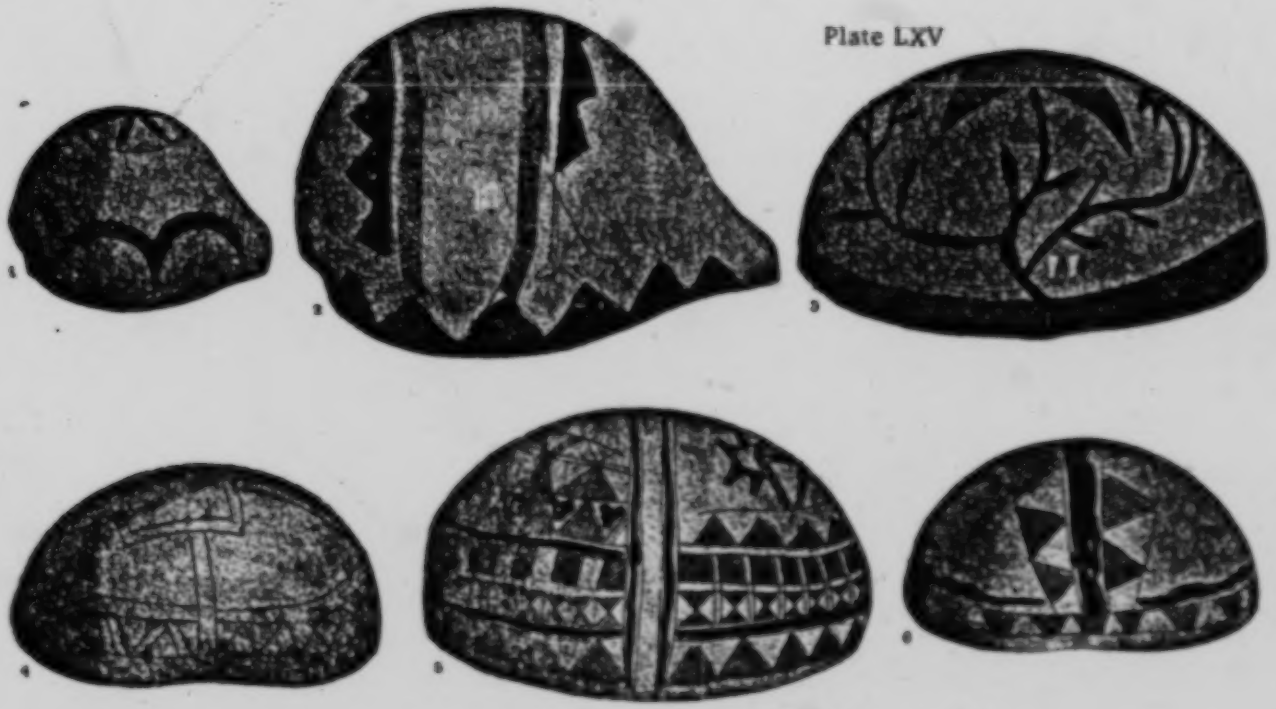
415
531

Plate LXIV

/See p. 703 for caption./

45
531

Plate LXV



/See p. 263 for caption./

ULS 531

Plate LXVI

/See p. 263 for caption./

1: Métraux--258 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
531

Plate LXVII

/see p. 264 for caption./

•415
551

Plate LXVIII

/See p.?14 for caption./

Plate LXXX

/See p. 7?? for caption./

1: Métraux--261 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano S710

Plate LXX

415
531

/See p.204 for caption./

415
531

Plate LXXI

/See p. 7 - for caption./

Is Méraux--263 E-5 (1929) 1930 9F10 Chiriguano 9F10
Diaguita 56-6

/Captions for Plates LXI-LXX, pp. 262-262./

C
415
531

LXI Pyrographed and incised calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1a and b, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2, Ivo. (Nos. 1 = 1/3 nat. size; 2 = 1/2.5 nat. size.)

D
415
531

LXII Engraved and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano and Diaguite. Prov.: 1 a and b, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2 a and b, Isitié (upper Pilcomayo); 3 a and b, calabash found in a funerary chamber (bóveda) of the ancient Diaguite in "La Quebrada" (Valle del Cajón, Catamarca Province). This calabash was beside an adult skeleton. (Nos. 1 a = 1/2; 2 a and 3 a = 2/3 nat. size.)

LXIII Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano. Nos. 1 (a and b) and 2 (a and b) come from the Macharetí mission. Engraved motifs: 1, human personage and birds; 2 a, dog (?); 2 b, llama. (1/2 nat. size.)

C
422

LXIV Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1, Masaví (Igüembé Valley); 2, Achua (upper Pilcomayo); 3, Caruruti; 4, Macharetí; 5, Tiwiraití; 6, Caipipendí. Remarks: Note the mark of ownership on Calabash 4. (Nos. 1 and 3 = 1/2; 2 and 4-6, 1/3 nat. size.)

LXV Incised, pyrographed, and painted calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1, Tigüipa; 2 and 6, Macharetí; 3, Ivo; 4, Saladito; 5, Tiwiraití (upper Pilcomayo). Remarks: Calabash No. 3 is painted with roucou. (About 1/2 nat. size.)

LXVI Incised, pyrographed, and painted calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1, Santa Rosa; 2, Mangaratí; 3 and 6, Caipipendí; 4, Masaví; 5, Caruruti. Remarks: All the lower part of 3 is painted with roucou. (1/2 nat. size.)

415
531

/Captions for Plates LXI-LXXI, pp. 252-262 cont./

LXVII Incised, pyrographed, and painted calabashes. Prov.: 1, Caratindi (Igüembé); 2 and 6, Macharetí; 3, Tiwiraiti; 4, Tintapow (upper Pilcomayo); 5, Caipipendí. Remarks: On No. 3, more or less deformed numbers. Calabash No. 4 is painted, pyrographed, and incised. (Nos. 1-5 and 5 /sic/ = 1/7; 4-5 /sic/ = 1/5 approximate nat. size.)

LXVIII Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Prov.: 1, Ñawirenda; 2 a and b, Caratindi (Igüembé Valley); 3 a and b, Yumbía; 4, Ibopeyti. Remark: On No. 3 a and b a very stylized bird has been represented. (Nos. 1-3 = 1/2; 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

LXIX Pyrographed and incised calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1 and 3, Caipipendí; 2 and 4, Macharetí; 5, Tiwiraiti (upper Pilcomayo); 6, Ñawirenda (upper Pilcomayo). Remarks: Calabash No. 1 is decorated with a series of engraved numbers going from 1 to 10; Calabash No. 6 with motifs clearly European in inspiration. (Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 6 = 1/2; 2 and 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

[521]
[199]

LXX Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1 and 4, Tarairi; 2, Macharetí; 3, Caipipendí. (Nos. 1 and 2 = 1/3; 3 = 1/2; 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

LXXI Painted, incised, and pyrographed calabashes. Prov.: 1, Ivu; 2, Igüembé; 3 and 4, Caipipendí. (Nos. 1-3 = 1/2; 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

/429 cont./

531 171 On almost all the calabashes in my collection, pyrographed designs alternate with incised motifs. Perhaps it is the same with the calabashes of the Andean region. Judging from the ex-
[114] cellent photographs which Boman (2, Vol. II, Plate LXXVI) gives us of them, and from /430/ the specimen from the Calchaqui valley which I am publishing here, this scholar erroneously considers them as having been entirely pyrographed. When a Chiriguano incises a design with a knife on a calabash, he is always careful to fill the engraved lines with ashes to make them stand out. At first sight this process may be confused with true pyrography.

415 531

Fig. 85. a and b. Engraved calabash. Only the rim has been lightly pyrographed. On one side (a) is seen a feline animal (jaguar or puma), on the other (b) a fox (?) and a bird. Prov.: Masaví (Igüembé Valley). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

531 A single glance at Plates LXI-LXXI allows one to realize that pyrography and engraving on calabashes do not obey such rigid stylistic rules as pottery. These calabashes differ very much, and there are scarcely any motifs that seem to be preferred to others. To what is this diversity due? I believe it artificial; and I am convinced that formerly this art followed precise norms, in a word, that in times past there was a true style of pyrography and engraving on wood. How would one explain otherwise that precisely the most beautiful pieces in my collection are at the same time the oldest and the most similar to the Andean prototypes (Plate LXI, 1 and 2; LXII, 1 and 2; LXIV, 2; LXVIII, 2 and 3, etc.)? Let us not forget that

C /431 cont./
531 by taking off the epidermis which covers it, except at the places
322 which are to remain uncolored. Then they smear its exterior
386 surface with roucou and scrape the tegument where they have saved it. The figures then stand out in red against a yellowish background. An analogous process is in use among the Pauserna
000 (Nordenskiöld 5, p. 344). The motifs decorating most of the

C
Ee
415
531

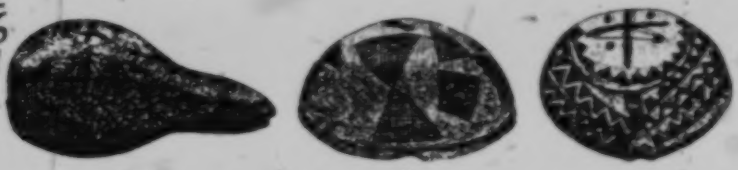


Fig. 86. a, b, and c. Miniature calabashes, "liqueur glasses" and children's toys. Chiriguano and Chané. Prov.: a, Tuyunti, near Aguaray (Salta Chaco); b, Ñawirenda (upper Pilcomayo); c, id. (About 1/2 nat. size.)

C
531 The motifs decorating most of the
painted calabashes I collected in Ivu are unfortunately very
177 much influenced by European models, and beside very pretty designs one finds others of the most distressing banality.

/448 cont./

285

Description of baskets in "wicker work"

Figure 104. Length, 20 centimeters; width, 14 centimeters; height, 14.5 centimeters. Provenance: Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo region).

This little basket was made by the technique called wicker work, that is, the woody stems constituting it were intermingled in such a way that the elements of the woof pass alternately above and below those of the warp. There are ten of the latter: four go in the transverse direction and six in the longitudinal. They are crossed over and held by the stalks of the woof. Plate LXXIII gives a very exact idea of the technique I have just tried to define.

[415] →

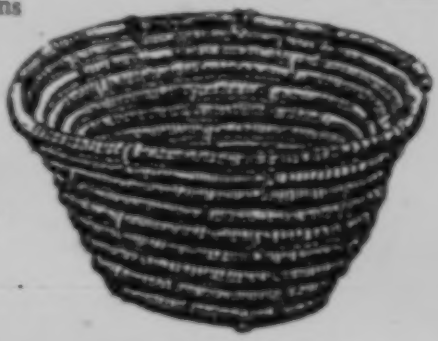


Fig. 103. Small basket in spiral basketry (coiled basketry). Bought at La Quiaca. (2/3 nat. size.)

The fibrous stalks which constituted the warp and went far beyong the rim of the basket were bent back in an arc and fastened into the fabric. They were slipped into it beside another element of the warp after /449/ crossing the neighboring element (see Fig. 105 /see p.295 /). Because of this, the little sides of the basket seen in Figs. 104 and 105 seem to be formed by a warp of which each element is double. The rim is regular and strong.

The basket is provided with a suspension cord of vegetable fibers. I do not know the scientific or common name of the plant from which the stalks used in the plaiting of this basket were taken. They are flat, regular, and rectangular in cross-section.

A: Métraux--297 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

285
415

Plate LXXIII

Base of the basket of Fig. 104, indicating the detail of its technique.

1: Métraux--298 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate LXXIV

285
415

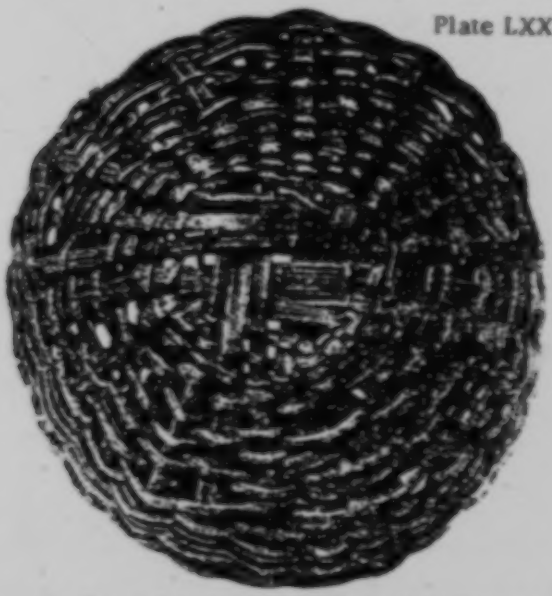
Chiriguano baskets in wicher work. Prov.: 1. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) 2 and 3. Ivu; 4. Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

285
• 415

Plate LXXV

Chiriguano baskets. Prov.: 1. Timboy (upper Pilcomayo, on F. Bapeyti; 2. [illegible] (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

285
415



1. Base of the basket of Plate LXXIV, 1.

2. Base of the basket of Plate LXXV, 2.

1: Métraux--301 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

285
•415

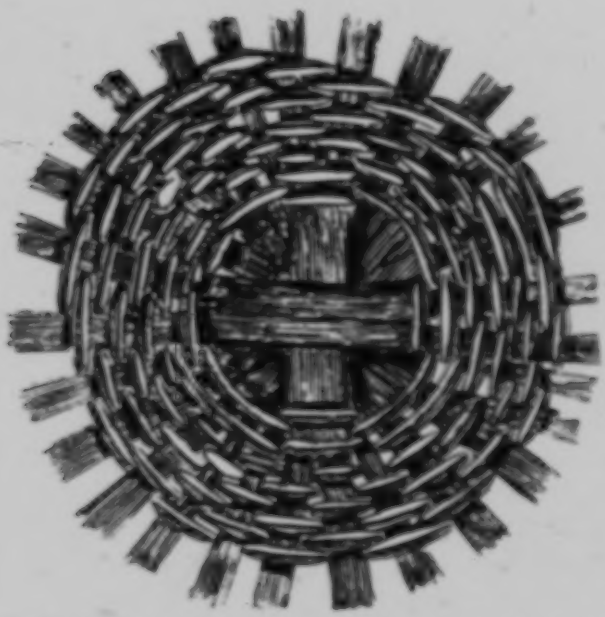


Fig. 106. Detail of the technique of the bottom of of the basket of Plate LXXIV, 3.

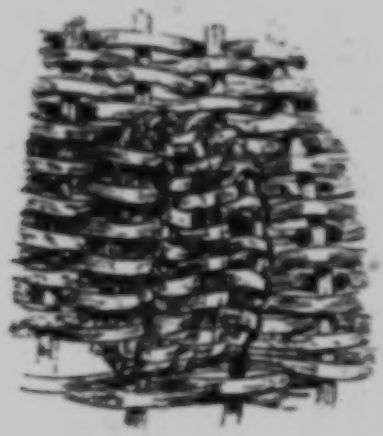
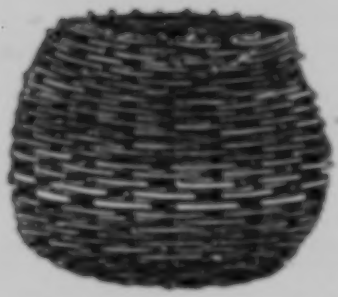


Fig. 107. Detail of the handle of the basket of Plate LXXV, 7.

1: Métraux--302 E-S (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

285
•415

Fig. 108. Basket in wicker work in imitation of those of the half-breeds. Prov.: Ivu. (About 1/4 nat. size.)



[524]

Fig. 109. Miniature basket (child's toy). (Nat. size.)

/456 cont./

285 294 A half-finished hat (Fig. 113) which I was able to acquire at Caruruti shows well the process of fabrication. The basket-maker begins by making the crown of the hat, interlacing 36 tigellas and shortly afterward adding other supplementary stalks whose ends are seen protruding. When the hat is finished, all those projecting beyond the fabric are cut off. The rhythm of the crossing elements is twofold.

285 296 Figure 114. Length, 10 centimeters; width, 8 centimeters. Provenance: Caruruti.

This cigarette case faithfully imitates the ones the Chiriguano have seen in the hands of half-breeds or creoles. Nevertheless, its technique is interesting, for it is purely indigenous. The /Plate LXXXI appears here/ /457/ tigellas of karandai leaves cross in a twofold rhythm.

The Chiriguano are not great smokers and it is rare to find cigarettes among them, so that these cases seem to me to be made for amusement rather than for their practical utility.

Sieves

415 252 There is no Chiriguano housewife who does not have at her disposal at least two sieves. The importance of this kitchen utensil corresponds to the considerable role of corn [262] flour in their food. Of the 12 different dishes that the Chiriguano prepare from this grain, there are six or seven in which it appears in the form of flour. Kiwi itself is made with corn pounded in a mortar and then passed through a sieve. Sieves serve also for cleaning beans and ridding them of the stones and dust accompanying them. Finally, sieves are used for straining kiwi after cooking and for separating the liquid, which is to ferment, from the marc or temiñu. They can also be used as simple baskets, and I have seen some holding cotton seeds.

/457 cont./

C 415 285

Sieves are of two kinds. The first category includes those whose meshes are close together and composed of fine strips of *karandaí* leaves intercrossing in a binary rhythm. Sieves of this type belong in the basketwork called twilled. The Chiriguano give them the name of *urumpé* and use them in preference to the others, whose usage is limited.

The second category includes sieves with wide meshes. The strips forming them cross in checkerwork, that is, the woof passes alternately under, then over, an element of the warp. The Chiriguano designate sieves of this type by the name of *urumpesa*, and they use them for sifting ground corn when they wish to obtain a coarse flour.

C 415 285 191

Some of these sieves are real works of art, but they cannot be compared with the magnificent specimens from Guiana, on which the alternation of the black and white elements produce geometric figures of the handsomest effect. It is probable that formerly the Chiriguano had identical sieves, as can be supposed from the one on Plate LXXXII, which is composed of a warp and a woof whose gray and white elements are arranged in such a way as to form dark and light bands on which concentric squares stand out.

C 415 191

The sieve is widespread in all of tropical America, where it is used not only for corn flour but also for that which the natives make from bitter manioc. It is unknown to the primitive populations of the Chaco, who have not even felt the need to borrow it from the Chiriguano or Chané. The population of the Inca Empire /458/ did not know its use. The *urumpé* is a utensil common to nearly all the Tupi-Guarani tribes: it has been described or noted among the Tupinamba, the Guarani, the Kaingná /Caingua/, the Guayakí, the Paumia, the Apiaká /Apiaca/, and the Parintintin. The Chiriguano must therefore have taken along with them when they emigrated from Paraguay, which does not exclude the fact that they may also have found it in use among the Chané.

C [174]

In Memory--317 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chirigoano SF10

285
915

Plate LXXXII

Sieve ([illegible]). Prov.: Igũembé Valley. (1/3.5 nat. size.)

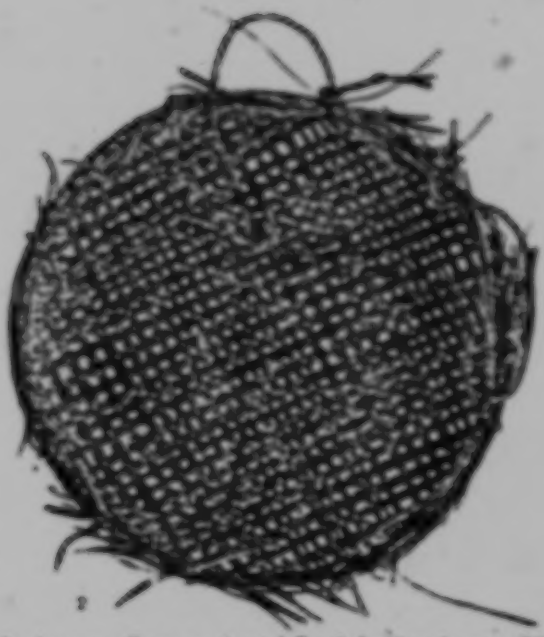
285
415

Chiriguano sieves (urumpé). Prov.: 1, Ivu; 2, San Luis (Tarija department). (Scale, No. 1, 1/5; 2, 1/4 approximate nat. size.)

1: Métraux--321 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate LXXXIV

285
415



Large-mesh sieves. Prov.: 1 and 2. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/5 nat. size.)

/470 cont./

352 [296] [197] and Arawak tradition. Some hammocks, not many, are crudely woven. The threads which /Fig. 126 appears here/ compose them are of wool; formerly they were doubtless of cotton (Plate XXXVIII).

352 354 [22] 154 It is a delicate business to persuade a Chiriguano mother to sell you the hammock of her nursling. She fears that an /Plate LXXXVIII appears here/ /471/ evil-intentioned person will profit by the fact that the fabric is impregnated with urine, in order to indulge in magical practices which would make the new-born child die.

342 351

Fig. 124. Chiriguano hut. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (Photo. A. M.)

353 [415] Along the walls are lined up vessels of all dimensions which /Figs. 127 and 128 appear here/ are kept there for the drinking feasts; some contain seed, others serve as linen cupboards or provision bags. On the walls, generally in the four [352] corners, hang reed screens or hoops made of palm leaves /Fig. 129 appears here/ which take the place of shelves (Figs. 128 and 129).

[Text Continues on P. 342]

415
239

Fig. 130 Armadillo shell (tato-piye) in which Chiriguano women keep objects for needlework, small pieces of cloth, etc. Prov.: Saladito. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

412
824

415
239

Fig. 131. Bull's testicle (tuno-ugúa) which the Chiriguano hang up in their huts as a small container. Prov.: Saladito. (About 1/7 nat. size.)

Fig. 132. Broom made of kocandaí leaves (tupisa). Prov.: Tumbía (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/4 nat. size.)

/MS cont./

Judging from this text, the Chiriguano sorcerer, like his Tupinambá or Siberian colleague, put himself into a state of trance so that his spirit, free from corporeal bonds, could go to engage in battle with the soul of the evil-intentioned individual who is implacable against his patient.

The *bugia*, that is, the magical force, is indispensable to one who claims to be a good sorcerer. At least this is the meaning I give to this word translated in the *Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano* etc. (p. 73) by: "remedy, antidote," but of which it is said that possession is indispensable to every medicine man. This word suffixed to any noun whatever expresses the faculty, the power, the facility to make or obtain the thing signified by the noun. Thus a dog trained to hunt deer is *wazu-rupia* (*wazu* deer), a warrior is *tuwallo-rupia* (*tuwallo* enemy), etc.

Fig. 137. Calabash containing snake fat. Prov.: Saladillo. (About 1/2 nat. size.)

Fig. 138. Section of bamboo containing chicken fat. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/2 nat. size.)

Remedies. 1. Snake fat (*mborikira*) is efficacious against leprosy. The Indian keeps it in a small calabash sealed with wax (Fig. 137).

2. A little castor impregnated with castor oil (*vaní*) and rubbed on the skin is an excellent liniment for rheumatism.

3. A similar virtue is attributed to chicken fat (Fig. 138). In everyday life they resort to chicken fat or castor oil to anoint the body, which they then rub with roucou paste. Women generally have their

/482 cont./

302 faces and legs oiled in this way, which gives them a very strange reddish and shiny hue. This custom, which was already
[191] noted /483/ in the sixteenth century among the Tupinamba of
[198] the Brazilian coast, is tending to fall into disuse.

Roucou in paste form is kept in a small corn-husk bag (Fig.
302 139). /Fig. 139 appears here/ as is kalasapa, a substance com-
386 posed of a mixture of roucou and pounded aroma seeds, which
[415] gives a violet color.

757 4. Jaguar fat (yaguapira) cures any "leprosy" (karaŭi) if
237 one rubs oneself with it after heating it.

5. Iguana fat makes cramps go away and heals wounds.
[152] Its use is external.

6. The dried penis of a fox makes toothaches and earaches go away. For that it suffices to touch the ailing part with the end /Fig. 140 appears here/ of this member. The Indians consider it very malodorous and touch it only with repugnance.
[415] To avoid this inconvenience they provide it with a handle and shut it up in a bamboo case (Fig. 141).

7. Deerhorns heated and /Fig. 141 appears here/ applied against the neck will cure a stiff neck. The medical use of
[172] deer (wasu) horns explains the frequent presence of the horns of this animal in the archeological strata of the neighboring Andean regions. Some have thus been found in the ruins of the Alfarcito, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 21), at Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, p. 232), at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 235, p. 453), and at Tastil (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, Fig. 78 f).

858 Horns adhering to a fragment of the skull and whose use
304 could only have been magical or medical must be distinguished
237 from the ones which the Indians work into awls. These in-
412 struments still have a ritual use and are reserved for piercing the lower lip of children when they are old enough to wear the labret. At least this is what Campana (p. 80) informs us. Besides, the Indians all have confirmed this detail to me.
[171] Formerly, the Tupinamba of Brazil practiced this operation with an awl of the same nature (see Métraux, 3, p. 105).

Ii Métraux--364 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

824
302
415
386

Fig. 139. Small bag made of corn husks, containing roucou paste. Prov.: Salado grande (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

Fig. 140. Calabash containing roucou seeds. Prov.: Caipipendí. (About 1/5 nat. size.)

Fig. 141. Case containing a fox penis (aguara-kankuy). Prov.: Ibopeyti. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

415
237
757
→

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

252 415 412 264 *Chiriguano* mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. [319] [263] Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 592 **Dwellings.**—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

361 178 [343] [712] The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 177 **Clothing.**—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Omaguaca SI 9

C 323 [172 177 531]

The de luxe vases and dishes, typologically related to vessels in the archeological pottery of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina, were decorated with distinctly Andean patterns (figs. 58, 60). The most common vessel is the yambui, a subglobular vase with ears, in which chicha was served. The motifs are mainly geometrical and most of them

C 415 531

O 172 415 531 →

C 415 531

FIGURE 60.—*Chiriguano* pottery. Specimen at *top, right*, a *Humahuaca* archeological specimen included for comparison. (Approximately 1/7 actual size.) (Redrawn from Métraux, 1930 b, fig. 70, pls. 35, 37, 44.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

are based on a triangle surmounted by a scroll, which is multiplied in countless variations. C 323 [531]

Women potters (pl. 41, *top, left,* and *bottom, left*) tempered the clay with crushed potsherds and built up their vases by coiling. They painted them with several kinds of ocher and with black obtained from rosin. [C 462 386]

Spinning and weaving.—Among the *Chiriguano,* wool is more commonly used than cotton for textiles, but *Chané* fabrics are generally of cotton. The fibers are spun with a drop spindle weighted with a clay whorl (pl. 42, *center*). Although garments are in part Andean in shape, the loom remains of the vertical type. Formerly, indigo was the favorite native dye; today aniline dyes have entirely replaced it. The ornamentation of the fabrics is limited to a few stripes. C 286 283 171 386 [531]

Netting.—Fishing nets and carrying nets are made by means of a wooden gage in a reef-knot technique. C 285

Basketry.—Fans, round baskets with overlapping lids, and sieves are twilled with palm leaves in the best Guiana fashion, but wickerwork basketry is very common. No large baskets for carrying or storing food are made.

Gourds.—The painted, incised, or fire-engraved (fig. 61) gourds (*Lagenaria siceraria*) used as cups are, after pottery, the best expressions of *Chiriguano* art. The motifs are mainly geometrical, with occasional realistic representations. C 415 531

FIGURE 61.—*Chané* calabashes. *Left:* Specimen with lid (approximately ¼ actual size). *Right:* Pyrograved specimen (approximately ⅓ actual size). (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1920, fig. 50 and Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 62.)

291
323
516

764
415

323
516
291

PLATE 41.—**Chiriguano pottery and urn burials.** *Top, left:* and *bottom:* Pottery making. *Top, right:* Urn burials at Caipipendi, Chaco, Bolivia. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[End Plate 2]

/17 cont./
245 and feet with them, as will be seen; for this last purpose it is
137 prepared beforehand, many pods being boiled in an olla, and
824 [302] pastes of every size are made from the decoction, depending
[303] on the value that they wish them to have; it is traded by
[439] Chiriguanos and whites.

137 The Bixa orellana, or "Urucu," as the Indians call it, is
824 a plant of high value for the Chiriguano; he will travel far to obtain a small amount in the towns or places where it is prepared.

ALGARROBO. -- The place where this extraordinarily large tree abounds is in the pampas; thus in the plain of "Curuyuqui" of Yvu Mission, Isoso, Parapiti, and the Gran Chaco it is found forming forests. It is very bulky and has
[342] long branches which on some touch the ground; its trunk is
[415] thick and not always erect, the wood is excellent, similar to oak in spite of being dark, and it is much used for making tuns, door and window casings, and even for barrels. In
[262] Chiriguano this tree is called /18/ "Ivopei," and the "Ivope"
[273] pod is long, compressed, and yellow; when it is ripe, it is sweet and much sought after by livestock and by the Chiriguano; it is their food and drink in times of scarcity as well as other times, and the mead that they make is extremely intoxicating. On the bank of the Pilcomayo even the whites eat this pod; the Toba, Choroti, Mataco, and others hold their orgies when the algarrobo ripens.

ALGARROBO CHICO. -- This is a smaller tree than the previous one, even its fruit is smaller, speckled in color, and sweeter than the true algarrobo, but not as abundant as the
[262] first. As the pods are small and the seeds within abundant, it is not highly thought of among the Chiriguano; they only eat it out of necessity or as a tidbit; the wood is not valued very highly because undoubtedly there are others that are better. In Chiriguano it is called "Ivope rai."

ALGARROBO AGRIO. -- This is also small, and it is called
[262] "sour" because the flavor of the pods really is sour. In times of scarcity it is also food for the Chiriguano; the pods are small, and the tree has its congenial sites. The Chiriguano Indians call it "Ivopetayi."

/19 cont./

137 824 [757] in dry places; when dampness penetrates it, it is destroyed in a few years, as experience has shown. The bark that is found under the first layer is split, washed in tepid water, and left to steep overnight; it cures intermittent fever. The Argentinians call it cacha, the whites quebracho, and the Chiriguano "Igüiraro."

AZUFAIFO /jujube tree/. -- This is abundant hereabouts [262] and is a tree of medium size. Its wood is not valued very highly, but the fruit, the size of a grape seed and of a dark coffee color, is a great resource in times of scarcity for the poor Chiriguano. It ripens in January and February and is liked even by cattle and by sheep and pigs. The whites call it mistol and the Chiriguano "Yuá."

245 BANANA TREE. -- Cultivated in orchards and well fenced-in fields, it forms a grove, and each plant yields or produces a cluster, very large on some of them. When the ripe cluster is removed, the plant that produced it must be cut in order that the others may produce their own. There are several [262] varieties, large and small, the latter very sweet and eaten as fruit, and the former only when boiled and roasted; the whites call them plátano, and the Chiriguano "Pacoba."

137 824 [271] BIGONIA ACUOSA. -- This is a tiny little bush one vara in height, which under the ground has a large root like a watermelon and even larger; it contains much pulp which, when squeezed, yields potable water and is used for it in times of scarcity. The Chiriguano call it "Sipoi."

[342] CATALPA. -- This is a large tree and fairly strong. Its wood is used in the construction of houses. The color of the /20/ wood is dark, but when it is newly cut it is somewhat [515] green. Its flowers are purple, and the Chiriguano chew them to whiten their teeth; they are bitter and because of this the tree is called "Tayi," or bitter, in Chiriguano, the whites call it lapacho.

CEIBA. -- A large tree with deformed trunk, and furnished with sharp points, broad leaves, and large, white flowers which produce a material similar to cotton without fibers, for which reason it is smoother and shinier; it is used for mattresses [322] and pillows and candle wicks. The wood is spongy and not at all hard; from it are made troughs to hold water from year [415] to year and in this way they are not soon damaged. Its ashes

/20 cont./ ITS ashes
137 are good for the manufacture of soap, the bark is an emetic.
824 The whites call it toborochi and the Chiriguano "Samuú."
[388] There are several varieties and all of them are utilized to
[757] some degree or other.

CEIBO. -- This tree is smaller than the former, but its
[322] wood is much superior, very fibrous, and rather light in weight,
[415] being used to make troughs which are very durable since they
neither split nor are eaten by wood borers. It is very pretty when
[262] it blooms; the flowers are fiery red and good for salads. The
Chiriguano call it "Suinandi."

DRAGO /dragon tree/. -- A tall tree, straight and quite
thick; the wood is strong and useful. If an incision is made
[757] in the tree, a very red resin comes out; its bark is the best
for making the teeth hard and for curing scurvy. The gum
called "dragon's blood" is extracted from this tree. The
whites call it tipa and the Chiriguano "Güirapitiyu guasu."

ENEA /cattail/. -- An aquatic plant which abounds
in certain ponds and pools formed by the water of rivers which
flow away from the main stream; the Indians use it for roof-
ing their houses, muleteers for packsaddles, and others for
mats in the dwellings, on which they also have their bedding
for sleeping. This is the totora or matara of the whites and the
"Caipempe" of the Chiriguano.

[262] ESTORAQUE /storax/. -- This is a very large tree of the
forest; it has whitish flowers and yellow fruit the size of a
fig, which is edible and a favorite of parrots and monkeys; the
Chiriguano eat it as a fruit and call it "Aguai."

GARGATEA or CARICA MAMAYA. -- This tree is not very
abundant nor is it found in every section. It is of normal size,
with a straight trunk and smooth bark softer than the fig tree;
the wood is soft and is of no use at all, being similar to that
of the ceiba, or toborochi. Its leaves are like those of the fig
[262] tree, and the fruit is of the /21/ same size and form, but
[252] yellow; it is edible and good when boiled or roasted, if eaten
raw, it hurts the mouth. In Chiriguano it is called "Caincantina."

/178 cont./

353 [356] Chiriguano towns attract the attention of all travelers and explorers because of the cleanliness which reigns in their houses, which, despite having a notable quantity of furnishings, are well kept up through the assiduous work of the mistress of the house. [415] [352] Jars with wide mouths are in the corners; those with narrow mouths, in which the chicha must ferment, lean vertically against the walls; the plates and spoons are on small triangular tables of hollow cane in the corners; small ollas are placed inside the empty large pots, and these in times of abundance, and even in times of scarcity, are full, some with shelled maize, others with beans and gourd seeds, and others with wool and cotton for making ponchos, blankets, or outer garments.

[824] [251] /179/ Above, at an appropriate height, they hang a mat of hollow cane or little sticks well tied together well with Ivi, or ceiba, and there they put other trifles or small things, when they do not have anything else to put there, such as cheeses and charqui, or dried meat. The mat is usually hung on one side of the house on one of the rafters by means of thongs of cowhide or other material. They are placed there so as not to be in the way of those who must pass beneath (1).

[824]

1. The Ivi is a species of ceiba, samuu, but it does not have points like the latter. There is another called Cuari or Tayipiruru, which is very straight, has very strong fibers, and is only cut at the branches in order to pull off the bark. A fourth type of ceiba is called Iviru guasu; it is large and smooth. Each type has its congenial place, like every tree.

Finally, in the corners of the house or where it is most convenient, up high, they put one or more cords, which form an angle from one wall to the other, and there each member of the family puts his own clothing and the men hang the harness of their beasts of burden. Today the Chiriguano who are not lazy are not so poor, and when one enters a house one is amazed by all the abundance of furnishings so well arranged.

/181 cont./

524 gallery two cords, tying at the ends a piece of cowhide 80 centimeters long by 30 in width, hanging about 60 centimeters above the ground. This is called Sabiuca, swing, and here the little boys and girls swing and rock.

562 Women sit on the ground in their houses and observe the
524 same custom when they go visiting. The man waits until he
576 is told where he should sit and always receives the best seat.
516 The woman does not wait; she knows her place; she arrives, does not greet anyone, leaves her bundle in a corner, if she has one, and then squats down in such a way that from near or far many women squatting like this look like so many carronades /camaretas/ ready to go off.

Matés

462 In the furnishings of Chiriguano houses a preferred place
241 is occupied by the matés, made of gourds divided vertically
415 through the middle. This is man's work; he plants them and
322 cultivates them in his field, and when they are mature they are brought to the house where they are allowed to dry in the shade and also in the sun. Some three months are needed for this or even more, depending on the season. Nevertheless, they are watched throughout to see whether a fingernail will penetrate the skin. When the fingernail will not penetrate, the gourds are ripe. Then they remove the first skin, split them, extract and complete remove the pulp, keep the seeds for the new planting, and, when they are clean, they let them dry for a few days.

462 They are put in a separate place, and a second operation
415 begins. With his Chiriguano patience, with a knife or other
531 instrument, the Indian begins to engrave whatever figures occur to him, such as tree branches, circles with grains of sand, squares, figures of jaguars, doves, lizards, dogs, chickens,

/181 cont./

462 bulls, deer, etc. If all this carving were woman's work, it
415 would have but one name, Sacuarama, but since it is man's
531 work, each figure has the name of the quadruped, biped, or reptile that it represents (2).

(825) 2. Thus they say Machuru haangaño, figure of a lizard, Yaimba haangaño, figure of a dog. Even the men call the figure of a jaguar or a dove: Sacuarama.

/182/ With this second task the work can be considered finished. Days or weeks are employed depending on the greater or lesser quantities of the matés. They now color all the
[386] etched figures with ground charcoal and paint the empty spaces
[239] with Urucú, achiote, making them firm with the Taragüirisi, which is abundant everywhere, then singeing them in the flame of the fire so that the pictures will never lose their shine and luster or the painting of carbon and urucú come off (1).

237
323
825

1. The Taragüirisi is a species of ant which is common in cold weather. Its length is not over half a centimeter and its thickness three. It moves about the small branches of certain small trees, where it leaves its speckled whitish excrement. All potters provide themselves with an abundance of this material.

Pottery

323 I shall now go on to consider women's work, limiting
[462] myself to the most important, such as clay vessels and textiles.
[317] For the former the Chiriguano woman provides herself before-
[484] hand with the best clay, which she knows very well and even brings from long distances, if it is not found in the territory of the tribe. Naturally the potter not only wishes to avoid the loss of her labor, but also, insofar as she can, she wishes to

/183 cont./

323 form of a sausage or thick meatball eight or ten centimeters in diameter, and with this first effort begins the piece in the cleanest and flattest space (1).

1. The lump for the piece is kneaded on a sheepskin or goatskin, on top of a potsherd, or on a piece of wood.

415 323 If a piece is of small dimensions, she finishes it rapidly. Plates, for example, are made very fast, and they can make up to ten in one day; the vessel for keeping water can be made in half a day, but the ones they call Yambui, a large vessel with a narrow mouth, and Ñae, one with a wide mouth, or cántaro, as they say around here, neither can nor should be finished in one day, both because they are large and because it is necessary to work with care and skill (2).

323

2. The base of every piece is made out of a portion of clay which they flatten out like a tortilla, on which they make a small rim turned upward, and to this they keep joining the clay in the manner described. The burnishing, which they do with a maize cob, seems very insignificant, but is more than necessary. Without this operation the cántaro would not hold water, much less would it hold chicha.

One who hurried in the manufacture of large pots would never finish them, because the soft clay would always fall down; for this reason the procedure is a slow one. When the base and somewhat more has been made, they suspend the work for a while, so that it may dry through the action of the wind or breezes; in the meantime she continues to polish it, first with a maize cob, Atiígüe, and later with a special shell, Inta, and finally with a special stone about three centimeters in

4: Nino--259 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

291
415
492

Chiriguano saddle or seat, sagum, bag, belt

/191 cont./

292 make people laugh at the carnival. The same thing can be said of other antiquities.
[562] I have placed in this chapter the method for making it, as well as the one for the hat, because it is work from which only the man benefits and both are counted among his garments.

Conveniences

463 In the course of the previous pages it has been seen that the Chiriguano is hunter, warrior, and also sorcerer. The first and second categories contain many, and the third one fewer, and this is easily understood, because a knowledge of medicinal herbs is needed and, more than this, the art of knowing how to deceive with prattling, which is not for all.

463 The three classes wear a belt with a bag which hangs from
291 it. The belt is called "Bosa," doubtless because it has a bolsa
●415 /bag/. In this those of the first and second category put tobacco, maize husks, and flint, tinder, and steel for making fire, and sorcerers add to these things the implements of their profession, which /192/ are the Mbaecagüe, a piece of bone, the Itarapúa, a round stone, both of which are necessary for the cures... miraculous ones (1).

[177] 1. The Bosa does not seem to be of Chiriguano origin. Anduari doubts that it was introduced by the Argentinians or by the Tarijeños /people of Tarija/, but it seems to me that it was the former who introduced it, because it is similar to the one used by the gaucho.

/192 cont./

291 [286] Others who are not hunters, and hunters themselves when they are not engaged in this activity, fasten the breeches at the waist with a belt that they call Cuacuá; their wives weave it: it is made of wool and painted in various colors. They all have one, except some of the old men.

● 415 [281] [482] Another of their conveniences is the Urupucu, long bag in its literal translation. The Urupucu seems to be the Chiriguano's own; it is of tanned wild boar or pygmy deer hide, narrow at its opening, which they close with a little cord, gathering the opening; they sew around, and through the seam they pass the cord, which is rather long so that it can hang from one shoulder and be passed to the opposite armpit like a horseman's escarsela. This bag is used as a container for carrying provisions on a trip. In it they put boiled meal, parched corn and charqui. This is done by warriors, hunters, and travelers, and, well secured, as has been explained, it is never lost.

415 484 312 Finally, there is no lack of another convenience for carrying water. In order not to experience the effects of burning thirst, he has a type of gourd with a hard shell like that of the matés; he empties it, removing the pulp and seeds, making a hole in the middle, puts it in a kind of net of cords, leaving one or two larger meshes near the hole placed at the top, where the Chiriguano himself makes a small circle, fills it with water, stops it up with a maize cob, and during a trip uses it sparingly, if he has foresight, or else he may not have it when he needs it more (2).

2. The Indians who are governed by corregidors in the region of the Gran Chaco traveled with their respective tarí or tutuma on their expeditions to the desert of Paraguay.

/209 cont./

843 Near the time of giving birth, she carries less weight,
262 prepares what is necessary, which consists of some cloth pads
415 and her new little olla in which to cook the maize which she
[153] must eat boiled. If the olla were old or used, the newborn would be subject to mal caduco, or epilepsy, and if a woman who has just given birth were to eat parched maize, her breasts would dry up and would not give milk for feeding the child.

844 At the time of giving birth the only person left in the house is the midwife; the others, even the husband, go out, but he returns as soon as the birth has taken place, in order to lend some help to his wife and the midwife, who alone cannot attend to the newborn child and its mother, who fights with her very life against the pains, for which she is consoled at the sight of the fruit of her womb, which for a moment makes her forget her present suffering.

They at once cover with sand every trace of the event, wrap up with bands, cloths, or other things the body of the woman who has just given birth, and lay her on the ground face down, making her rest on a bed which has little or no resemblance to such, but as every Chiriguano woman is strong, she puts up with this as though she were in a featherbed.

184 Throughout the whole world birth is a very dangerous thing,
846 and it is even here. The Chiriguano women also need considerable rest. When some old women were asked about the matter, they stated that childbirth formerly lasted almost two weeks, and they marvel that the neophytes get up so quickly, returning to their customary labors within eight days; they attribute this robustness to the lack of strict fasting in the years of puberty.

846 /210/ It is consequently an error to state that puerperae go to the lake or river to bathe from the second or third day, much less on the same day as the birth. Natural reason would not allow the latter. There might have been some extraordinary case in which some woman walked immediately after giving
[178] birth, but it would not cease to be an extraordinary case. The neophytes are abandoning the custom of their grandmothers and

/243 cont./

244 one preferred by the Chiriguano, and he has good reason, as it is quite edible, the least damaging to health, in addition to being the seed which is most resistant to drought. It is very abundant, and as many as four harvests can be taken from it.

262. 252 [244] The Chiriguano plants whatever type of beans /judías/ he has or can obtain from his neighbors or companions when he runs short, because only in the case of maize, which he prefers to eat parched and not boiled, does he plant several varieties. All beans /alubia/ are good to the Indian because of the use that he makes of them, which is to boil them and eat them, to roast them under hot ashes with their pods, or, by making a hole in the ground, to heat it and burying the pods there so that they will cook.

244 If the Chiriguano frequently lacks beans to mix with the maize, it is unlikely that he will be without gourds, which grow with little cultivation and which are so resistant to drought; it is also extremely easy for him to plant this food, so much so that women and children devote themselves to it, because not many plants are needed in a plot for an abundant harvest.

244 262 [415] Twelve classes of gourds are known, but only five are edible; the other seven are used for matés. The edible ones are the following; Andai, Güindaca guasu, Güindaca mi, Güindaca mi guasu, yiquisigua; the latter has an edible interior and the exterior is useful for domestic purposes, to keep 249 any object in its hard shell. The gourds that serve for matés are Iá, true maté; Iá pua, round maté; Iámpe, flattened maté; /244/ Iá guasu, large maté; Iá-rai, small maté, Iá pucú, long maté, and Iá pani, twisted maté (1).

1. The Indian does not include in the number of gourds the one the two children used to free themselves from the deluge of water because it was a miraculous one.

SiNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 352 * [171] received from their kinsfolk at Mojos, or they may even have brought it with them when they migrated to their present abode. Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané commonly use chairs of the type they have learned from the whites. They are made by themselves in the missions.

C Ce [177]

C Ce [237] I have a rush mat from the Chané. Both the Chiriguano and the Chané have skin mats. I have already spoken of such mats in Part I of this work. The skin mat is naturally a southern culture-element.

C Ce 353 The Chiriguano and Chané keep their belongings either hung from the ceiling or else on the floor. Clothes and other fragile things are often kept in large earthen vessels — a method of keeping one's belongings which I have not seen anywhere else. COBO[1]) says that the Incas kept their clothes in a similar way.

C Ce * [171] ● [415]

C Ce 353 * 171 It is very common among the Chiriguano and Chané to fix wooden hooks in the roof of their huts on which to hang their belongings (fig. 4). Elsewhere I have only seen these hooks among the Churápa. In the Gothenburg Museum there is a collection by LILJEWALCH and THULIN of hooks made by Indian tribes on the Roraima. The only mention of them that I am aware of in literature on the subject is from the Araucanians.[2]) Small articles of this kind are, of course, easily overlooked, wherefore it is not at present possible to draw a map of their distribution. This is to be regretted, as the distribution of such small objects would offer points of great interest. It seems to me not unlikely that the wooden hook is an Andine culture-element. Within my sphere of work the hook does not occur among other Indians than those mentioned here.

C Ce 353 415 Small articles are kept by the Chiriguano and Chané in cloth and leather bags, wooden boxes, baskets, armadillo scales, the scrotum of bulls, and in calabashes with or without lids.

[1]) COBO Vol. 4. P. 171.
[2]) LATCHAM (1) P. 338.

[Text continues on P.22]

S/Nordenskiöld E-Sy(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chaco SF8

C
Ce
353
●415

I have not seen wooden boxes anywhere else, and scarcely think they are genuinely Indian. I shall return to the subject of baskets.

C
Ce
415
237
a 171

Except among the Chiriguano and the Chané, I have only seen the scales of the armadillo used as boxes among the Mataco, and there only as a curiosity. They are, however, known from the Geyaqui[1]), from the Indians of Roraima[2]) and from Indians in N. W. Brazil[3]). The sewn baskets of armadillo scales which are sold in the curiosity-shops of Buenos Aires probably hail from Paraguay, and it is not impossible that here, too, we have to do with an original Indian idea.

Ce
237
278
415

The fat of various animals which is used for healing is usually kept by the Chiriguano and Chané in shells, especially those of the *Boras oblongus*.

I shall return to the subject of calabashes.

C
852

Fig. 3. Seat of wood from the Chiriguano. G. M. 15. 1. 178. 1/6

C
412

Fig. 4. Wooden hook. Chiriguano. R. M. R. 6m. 1/6

[1]) Krause fig. 15.
[2]) G. M.
[3]) Koch-Grünberg (1).

Schwedenskiöld E-4,4(1908-1909, 1912) 1910
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF9
Ayoreo SF5

C
Ce
415
171*

Fig. 16 a. Upper part of the steaming apparatus. The specimen given here is from the Mataco-Vejos, who learnt to use it from the Chané. R. M. M. 0000.

IX.

Utensils used in preparing and consuming food.

C
Ce
415
171*
[442]

The Chiriguano and the Chané have large wooden mortars with long wooden pestles. Hand-mills of stone or any other material are never used. The geographical distribution of the mortar has already been dealt with in the first volume (map 10). Evidently the wooden mortar has come to the Chiriguano and Chané from the east. It is a northern and eastern element of S. American culture. Among the Chiriguano one sometimes sees mortars hollowed out in stumps of trees. It is obvious that the Whites did not introduce the mortar here from the fact that it was mentioned by such early author as SCHMIDEL from the Syeberis in North Chaco.

C
Ce
252
415
171*
A
[415]

Both the Chiriguano and the Chané sift and strain through a round basket, the *urupé* (fig. 52). The following table shows us how sifting and straining is done by the tribes I have visited. Some tribes use four-sided sieves and strainers.

Schwabenkiffel E-5,c(1909-1910, 1912) 1909
BF10 Chirignano BF10
Chano BF9
Aymara SP5

C
Ce
252
415
171
A
[415]

Table 7.

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ashtonday	—	—	—	—	—
Atsahuaca	?	?	?	—	—
Aymara	—	—	—	—	+
Cavina	?	?	—	—	—
Chacobo			—	—	—
Chima	?	?	—	—	—
Chané	+	—	—	—	—
Chimáne	—	—	+	+	—
Chirignano	—	—	—	+	—
Choroti	+	—	—	—	—
Guayayá (mission)	—	—	—	+	—
Panserna	—	—	—	?	—
Huanyam	—		+	—	—
Huari	—	—	—	+[1]	—
Mataco	+	—	—	—	—
Quichua	—	—	—	—	+
Tamboqata-Guayayo	?	?	—	—	—
Tapiete	+	—	—	—	—
Toba	+	—	—	—	—
Yamisca	?	?	—	—	—
Yuracáre	—	+	—	—	—
Itonama	—	—	—	—	—
Baure	—	—	—	—	—

From the literature I know of the urupé from the Paresi[2]), the Indians of the upper Rio Xingú[3]), the In-

[1]) Not obtained.
[2]) See NORDENSKIÖLD (a) Fig. 31.
[3]) MAX SCHMIDT (c) P. 209.
[4]) MAX SCHMIDT (c) P. 330.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

dians of the Roraima district,[1]) the Indians of northwestern Brazil,[2]) the Maquiritare[3]) and the Uitoto.[4])

C
Ce
445
171*
252

Ce
252
415

Fig. 16 b. Steaming apparatus. Chané, Rio Itiyuro.

C
Ce
252
415
171*

The Urupé is obviously a northern cultural element. It is certainly not from the western culture zone. GARCILASSO[5]) says that the Inca sifted through cloth, or rather

[1]) G. M.
[2]) KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) Vol. 2, P. 217.
[3]) R. M.
[4]) WHIPPEN Pl. XXII.
[5]) GARCILASSO Libro VIII. Chap. IX.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee 252 415 *171 [412]

that they fanned the flour. They had no proper sieves. As we have seen from the table, the Chaco tribes have no basket-sieves, but use bag-nets instead.

Mandioca-graters do not occur among the Chiriguano and the Chané.

Ee 252 415 273

Of course the Chiriguano and the Chané cook their food in earthern ware. Maize-beer »Chicha», their chief food, is boiled in large vessels. It is only with great difficulty that these can be moved from one place to another[1]). Some of the Chiriguano occasionally allow the maize-beer to ferment in hollow stumps of the bottle-tree.

Ee 252 415

The steam cooking-pot shown here (fig. 16) is of very great interest. It is used by the Chané and Chiriguano in cooking a certain dish of maize, the »huintimimmo».[2])

I have seen this contrivance being used as shown by the illustration, but I have, unfortunately, not tasted the maize-dish that was cooked in it.

Ee 252 415 *171

In literature dealing with other parts of S. America I have only found this steam cooking pot mentioned by ULLRICH[3]) from the Rio Grande do Sul (Municip Pelotas).

He there found pieces of »Siebtöpfen» and says that they were used on the top of a cooking-pot. ULLRICH[3]) tells us that these steam-cooking-pots were used by the

Ee [172] [437]

[1]) When fragments of very large and heavy earthenware vessels are found in archæological excavations one may, as a rule, presume that they originate from a permanently settled tribe. It may be assumed with perfect certainty that these very large vessels were made at the spot where they are found. Small earthen pots may, however, have been bartered from some other tribe. This is naturally of a certain interest if we wish to distinguish between native and imported pottery found in archæological excavations. — Some of the Chiriguano at the Rio Parapiti make only the big common clay vessels themselves and get the small, painted pots by barter from other Chiriguano Indians.

[2]) CORRADO when speaking of different dishes of maize says that »*el huintimimmo*, especie de torta muy tierna hecha con harina de maiz humedecida y blandamente dispuesta en una tortera agujereada y cocida con baho del agua caliente.» P. 42.

[3]) P. 500.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

small Indian tribes in the woods north of the Rio Camaquam at the end of the decade 1870—80. The perforated top bowl contained maize, the pot under it boiling water.

I cannot at present tell whence the Chiriguano and the Chané got this cultural element. Besides among these Indians, I have also seen steam-cooking-pots of the same kind among the Mataco-Vejos, who live close to the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro.

The Chiriguano and the Chané have special bowls for roasting maize (fig. 16). I have only seen bowls of the same shape among the Mataco-Vejos. The roasting of maize is commonly practised among the majority of Indians who grow this plant, which is of such great importance to many tribes.

The Chiriguano and the Chané do not know of the babracot. They only use the wooden spit. It is often cleft, as is also the case among the Choroti and the Ashluslay. As the kinsmen of the Chané in Northern Bolivia and the kinsmen of the Chiriguano on the coast of Brazil use the babracot, the question arises: »Why is it not used here?» I suppose this is because the hunting is of no great importance, the fishing not very good, and the fish caught small or, at least, rarely of any size.

Pit-ovens are unknown here. When chicha is being made, great pot-spades are used. They are either wooden (fig. 17 A) or made of the hafted shoulderblade of some large mammal. I suppose all Indians who cook their food use something to stir it with. Usually, however, only a plain stick is used. Pot spades of the kind shown here are in use among the Mataco-Vejos, who live near the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro and the Guató[1]) on the upper Rio Paraguay. It is not unlikely at all that the latter have had them from the Chané, for we know from accounts of very early discoverers, that some of the Chané settled on the upper

[1]) Max Schmidt (3), P. 205.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce 412 252 Ce [195] [361]

Rio Paraguay after Garcias marauding expedition, not far from the tract where the Guató now live.

A potspade of the same type from the Yulämaua along the Rio Querarý is shown in an illustration by KOCH-GRÜNBERG.[1]) I have not seen the shoulderblade potspade in any other tribe.

Ce 412 252 *171

Similar spades, said to have been used for agricultural purposes, are mentioned by ST. CRICQ[2]) from the Conibo.

Ce 412 415 264 177

Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané for the most part eat their food with metal spoons which they have got from the Whites. They have, however, wooden spoons as well. They generally eat from earthenware bowls of their own make. They seldom have wooden bowls. I have already treated of the distribution of the wooden bowl and the wooden spoon. (Part 1 map 12 and 13.) They are features of western civilization. Calabash bowls are universally used by the Chiriguano and Chané as drinking vessels, particularly for chicha.

C 415 177

Silver bowls — »Cagua» — are occasionally seen at the Chiriguano festivals. These bowls, which are shaped like cloven calabashes, are often furnished with small ears and are made by mestizo smiths to suit the Indian taste.

Ce 415 [439]

There is in my collection a calabash bowl that has been turned into a ladle by means of a handle. It is from the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro. I have also procured some bowls made of the fruit of the calabash tree from the Chiriguano. The Indians get them from Sta Cruz de la Sierra, for, as far as I know, the calabash-tree is not cultivated within their own area.

Ce 372 137 *171

Fire-fans of plaited palm leaves are used, though they are rather uncommon. These fire-fans belong to the cultural elements which have come to the Chiriguano and the Chané from the north and east. Later on, when writing about the Indians in northeastern Bolivia, who have sev-

[1]) T. 2. P. 209.
[2]) P. 287

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

XVI.

Carrying-implements.

In Part I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano and Chané use carrying-nets, and never baskets, when carrying burdens on long journeys, when bringing home the produce of their fields, or when bearing water long distances. The method is for the band of the carrying-net to be fastened around the forehead, the burden resting on the back. If the water is near the village, they often bear the pitcher on their shoulders and, now and then, at the mission-stations, on their heads. In contradistinction to the negroes, however, the Indians are never seen carrying burdens on their heads while on journeys.

C
Ce
482
415

In Part I there is a map (25) showing the geographical distribution of the carrying-net. As has been proved by the excavations of UHLE[1]) at Arica, the carrying net must be a very old culture element in S. America.

C
Ce
[171]*

Calabashes are sometimes put inside a net (fig. 30) in order that they may be carried more easily. A calabash in a net is, of course, easily hung up on a hook in the roof of the hut.

C
Ce
[353]

Earthen vessels are sometimes hung up in the same way. These have then more or less the shape of calabashes. BOMAN[2]) depicts an earthen vessel hung up in this way from Calama.

In my collection of earthen vessels there is one from the Chiriguano, and another from the Chané, which are intended to be carried by a string running round the vessel

[171]*

[1]) (10) P. 12.
[2]) Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 180.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
415
482
[171]

through the ears. These are reminiscent of the type of vessel employed by the Choroti and Ashluslay for carrying, and which I have traced to the Incan »aryballes». I did not mention these vessels in Part I, as they are not typical vessels of the Chiriguano and Chané. Among the numerous pitchers used for carrying I have only seen these two specimens. I know nothing of their origin, why they were made, or if they were merely acquired from one of the tribes who always use such vessels for bearing water. The latter is, however, unlikely.

Fig. 30. Calabash in a net with an empty corn-cob as stopper.
R. M. E. 522. 1/7

8:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Table 10.

Calabashes put inside a net.

C
Ce
415
482
171*

Chiriguano, R. M. E. 522.
Chané, R. M. P. 48.
Mataco, R. M. M. T. 114; R. M. M. 1101.
Mbayá, BOGGIANI (2) P. 112, Fig. 50.
Karajá, KRAUSE Pl. 56. 4 b. c.
Cainguá, OUTES (5) and BRUCH P. 96.
Indians upper Rio Xingú, STEINEN (3) P. 141.[i]
Guayaqui, KUNIKE Fig. 6.
Ijca, BOLINDER (4).
Goijiro, THERESE VON BAYERN (2) Vol. 1, Pl. 1.
Indians Roraima, G. M. 12. 1. 476 (Basket-net.)
Indians Popayan, UHLE (1) Vol. 2, Pl. 4, 1.

i [Erratum: this should read p. 241. Cf. errata sheet, p. 245. - Analyst]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
323
415
[531]

The Chiriguano, as well as the Chané at Rio Itiyuro, have elaborate pottery of richly varied shapes and often beautifully ornamented. The Chané at Rio Parapiti have plainer pottery. The development of the ceramic art in the various tribes I got to know has differed greatly. The Cháma and the Tambopata-Guarayo who are pretty certainly identical with them, are the only Indians I visited who have no earthenware vessels. The pottery of some tribes is a work of art, while others only make the most necessary household utensils. This is not necessarily connected with the tribe's state of civilization generally. Thus in several respects the Yuracáre stand as high as the Chiriguano but the former have very poor pottery; the latter highly developed pottery. If such peoples were studied archaeologically, the former would yield hardly any remains while the latter would yield many beautiful specimens. Wrong conclusions might then be easily drawn as to the stage of civilization of the two tribes.

C
Ce
*171
415
323

Below will be found indicated how many different types of earthen vessels are found among the tribes I visited It will be seen that the Chiriguano and Chané (Rio Itiyuro) have by far the largest number of shapes of earthen vessels.[1]) This is simply due to their having experienced such

C
Ce
[114]
[126]

[1]) On entering a Chiriguano or a Chané hut, one sees a lot of earthen vessels of which the majority are unpainted. All the vessels of various shape and ornamentation which I have collected are from several hundred Chiriguano and Chané huts. It is a selection out of many thousand vessels which I have made and it shows how pottery varies within the tribes. In most Indian huts there will be found but a small number of different types. Unless we bear in mind that the collection is a selection, it leaves the impression that the pottery of these Indians is of much more varied shape than is really the case. What I remark here of my collection of pottery holds good of nearly all collections in ethnographical museums. When we see a cupboard full of various articles from an Indian tribe, we must not think that all these things are used by every family in the tribe. It is properly a collection of all the different objects used by a large number of individuals.

S:Nordenskiöld E-8/4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c
ce
171*
323
415

strong influence from the area of civilization in the west and above all the south-west.

Over fifty types.	*Over ten types. but under fifty.*	*Over two types. but under ten.*
Chiriguano.	Chané. (Rio Parapiti)	Chacobo.
Chané. (Rio Itiyuro)	Cheroti.	Chimáne.
	Ashluslay.	Yuracáre.
	Toba.	Churápa.
	Mataco.	Pauserna.
	Tapiete.	Guarayos.
		Huari.
		Huanyam.
		Cavina.

I am unable here to give an account of all the different shapes of earthen vessels found among the Chiriguano and Chané. Some of them have been depicted by OUTES but there are many more. Those depicted here should, however, give some idea of the variations in these Indians' pottery. Some types are local and thus characteristic of certain villages; others are certainly individual. Thus I have seen different women in the same village turn out very different vessels. Some women are noted for making specially fine earthenware. They are celebrated for their pottery far outside their own village.

c
ce
[554]

The Chiriguano and Chané use earthen vessels for boiling and roasting their food, as receptacles for food and other things, for carrying water, for the serving of food, for the burial of the dead and to whirl the spindle on when spinning. (Only the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.)

c
ce
415
ce
[283]

We see that a large number of the earthen vessels here are provided with ears or handles. In Part I of this work I claim to have proved that the ear is a culture-element derived from the Andine area of civilization.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
415
*171

Occasionally one finds Chiriguano and Chané vessels provided with holes under the edge in the same manner as is usual in calabashes. Strings are then passed through these holes by which to hang the vessels up. This invention was here probably earlier than the ear. Thus, during my excavations at Caipipendi, I found a vessel with these string-holes, while handles and ears were lacking on the pottery found there. The distribution of such string-holes I have endeavoured to indicate on the map, and in the table below.

Such string-holes were known within the old western area of civilization, though they were not in general use. In S. E. S. America they seem to have been the precursors of real handles. Thus MAYNTZHUSEN[1]) writes with regard to the shape of the vessels, from the Upper Parana that they are usually without handles. In place of these there is often a boring through the rim of the vessel, or two outside plugs on opposite sides of it. These plugs were sometimes pierced to allow of a string being introduced. An enlargement of this hole in the plug, large enough for a finger to go through, appears to have developed into the ring-shaped handle which occurs quite sporadically.

The Indians probably got the idea of providing their earthen vessels with string holes from their custom of making string-holes in calabashes. This invention is here evidently older than the real handles or ears. This holds good, pretty certainly, not only for the Chiriguano district, but for large parts of S. E. S. America. It would be interesting to examine the collections of the great museums and then draw a map showing the distribution of earthenware with string-holes. The map published here is probably very incomplete. Its main purpose is to create interest in the distribution of this invention.

[1]) P. 466.

S:Nordenskiöld E-3,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
415
171 *
S
102
415

Map 13. The distribution of vessels with string-holes.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5, (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
102
415
*171
5
102
415

Table 16,

Vessel with string-holes. Map. 13.

2. Ashluslay, R. M. A. 1587.
4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 987.
12. Caduvei, BOGGIANI (2) P. 41. Fig. 13.
M. Mojos, R. M. T. 577.
A. Coast of Peru. Ica. In private collection.
N. Upper Rio Parana, MAYNTZHUSEN P. 466.
O. Delta de Parana, TORRES (2) P. 87.
Ä. Caipipendi, R. M. K. 93.
a. i. Manizales, UHLE (1) Vol. 1, Pl. 2, Fig. 10.
a j. Los raudales Rio Orinoco, MARCANO Pl. XXIX.
a k. Saipina, G. M. 15. 2. 7. Fuerte Samaipata, R. M.
a m. Taltal, Chile, EVANS (1) P. 22.
c. Marajo, NETTO P. 354, 355.
e. Sara, NORDENSKIÖLD (10) Fig. 30.
p. San Blas, OUTES (4) P. 264.

Ce
415
532

Fig. 39. Human face painted on the border of a vessel from the Chané. Rio Parapiti. R. M.

C
Ce
415
*171

Among the many types of earthen vessel used by the Chiriguano and Chané here are several which are highly reminiscent of types we are acquainted with from the Mountain civilization, e. g. double pitchers. (Fig. 41,8) They do not occur in N. E. Bolivia. DEBENEDETTI[1]) has pointed out the similarity between the pottery which he

[1]) (2).

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c
Ce
415
171*
c
[648]

found at Tilcara and that of the Chiriguano. I here reproduce from the work of DEBENEDETTI some types of earthenware to which we find answering types among the Chiriguano. (See fig. 48). It must be borne in mind that the Chiriguano country at Cuyambuyo approaches the Humahuaca valley.[1]) The Humahuaca and Chiriguano were allied in the first encounters with the Spaniards.[2])

In Part I I have already pointed out the similarity between Choroti and Ashluslay water-pitchers and the Incan »aryballes».

The question arises whether or not all water-pitchers with a narrow neck which can be grasped by the hand are derived from the Mountain civilization. They are not found, as far as I have been able to find, in all N. E. Bolivia, nor in the whole of eastern S. America except by Indians that have been very much influenced by the Whites. The Chiriguano word for water-pitcher is »iru», which is strongly reminiscent of the Quichua name »yuru» for the same kind of earthen vessel.

Pitchers with a bulging neck (fig. 42,1) are common among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro. I am acquainted with them from my archaeological excavations at Caipipendi. They are mentioned by AMBROSETTI[3]) from Tucuman. The type occurs, moreover, within the western area of civilization whence it surely must have come.[4])

Handles shaped like animals or human faces do not occur on the pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané.

The Chiriguano and Chané do not make feet to their vessels as is common on the earthenware from the Mounds in Mojos.

[1]) CORNEJO P. 66.

[2]) LOZANO S. 120 »Eran los Homagnacas gente por extremo feroz ..... y mataron à los Sacerdotes, que los doctrinaban, y à muchos Españoles que cayeron en sus manos, infestando con robos, y muertes los caminos publicos, y conferandose con los Chiriguanás» ....

[3]) (8).

[4]) REISS und STÜBEL T. 3, Pl. 96, Fig. 17; G. M.

C Ce ● 415 *171 [252] Only a few vessels are provided with ~~spouts~~ lips in rims which here seem to be an idea obtained by the Indians from the Whites.

Bowls with holes in the bottom which are used for steaming have already been mentioned in the foregoing. This applies also to bowls for the roasting of maize.

The Chané on the Rio Parapiti have small plates which they sometimes use in spinning. I have not seen the like elsewhere. Occasionally one sees, among the most civilized C Ce [177] Chiriguano and Chané, fire-pans for holding hot water. (Fig. 43,21). They must have obtained the idea from the Whites.

C Ce 323 The Chiriguano and Chané understand the art of painting earthenware before burning.[1]) I have already, in Part I, endeavoured to show the geographical distribution of this invention. Whether it was known to the Chané and Chiriguano before they settled in this tract cannot be decided. The pottery I found in the archaeological excavations at Caipipendi is unpainted.

C Ce [184] The Chané at Rio Itiyuro sometimes paint the edge of earthen vessels after burning with resin of palo santo. This is never seen among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Parapiti. As such painting is common among several tribes in the Chaco, it is possible that the Chané at Rio Itiyuro got the idea from there. The Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro often varnish the painted vessels after burning with a kind of gum called by the Chiriguano — staragüirisi.

The Chiriguano and Chané also ornament their earthenware by finger-impressions. This method of ornamentation has an eastern extension in S. America. A map showing its distribution is published in Part I.

The ornamentation painted on earthenware is seen in the illustrations. The Chané at Rio Parapiti usually have very plain ornamentation.

C Ce [237]

[1]) For this purpose brushes of Aguti hair are used. (See also WIENER P. 82).

[erratum corrected, see errata sheet p. 245.]

Nordenskiöld E-5,9(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SP10 Chiriguano SP10

415 Fig. 40.

1.	R. M. E.	843.	Tihũipa.	Pot.
2.	» » »	844.	»	»
3.	» » »	847.	»	»
4.	» » »	839.	»	»
5.	» » »	813.	»	Vessel for serving maize-beer.
6.	» » »	809.	»	» » » » »
7.	» » »	870.	S. Rosa.	Bowl in which to keep salt, etc.
8.	» » »	838.	Tihũipa.	» » » » » » »
9.	» » »	961.	Boycovo.	Pitcher.
10.	» » »	928.	Itatique.	Vessel for serving maize-beer
11.	» » »	877.	S. Rosa.	Bowl to eat out of.
12.	» » »	855.	Tihũipa.	Vessel for keeping seed in.
13.	» » »	814.	»	» » serving maize-beer.
14.	» » »	801.	»	» » » » »
15.	» » »	872.	S. Rosa.	Bowl to eat out of.
16.	» » »	858.	» »	Vessel for maize-beer.
17.	» » »	840.	Tihũipa.	Pot.
18.	» » »	1026.	Yacuiba.	Vessel for maize-beer.
19.	» » »	802.	Tihũipa.	Pitcher to carry water in.
20.	» » »	942.	Itatique.	Vessel for serving maize-beer.
21.	» » »	926.	»	» » » » »
22.	» » »	1024.	Yacuiba.	» » » » »
23.	» » »	1022.	»	» » » » »
24.	» » »	869.	S. Rosa.	Pot.
25.	» » »	857.	Tihũipa.	Bowl used for steam-cooking.
26.	In private collection.		»	Mug.
27.	R. M. E.	1032.	Ivu.	Vessel for maize-beer.
28.	» » »	1035.	»	Bowl to eat out of.
29.	» » »	968.		Pitcher.
30.	» » »	832.	Tihũipa.	»
31.	» » »	878.	S. Rosa.	Bowl to eat out of.
32.	» » »	827.	Tihũipa.	Pitcher.

415

Fig. 40. Vessels of different shapes from the Chiriguano. Only variations in shape are depicted. Ornamentation not depicted. 1/6

SeNordenskiöld E-S.V.(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415 Fig. 41.

1.	R. M. E. 786.	Caipipendi.	Vessel for keeping seed in.
2.	» » » 772.	»	Pitcher made for a festival.
3.	» » » 743.	»	Waterpitcher.
4.	» » » 747.	»	Pitcher for serving maize beer
5.	» » » 727.	»	» » » » »
6.	» » » 726.	»	» » » » »
7.	» » » 780.	»	Vessel for keeping seed in.
8.	» » » 778.	»	Vessels for festivals.
9.	In private collection	»	
10.	R. M. E. 783.	»	
11.	» » » 774.	»	
12.	» » » 775.	»	
13.	» » » 787.	»	
14.	In private collection	»	
15.	R. M. E. 770.	»	Bowl to eat out of.
16.	» » » 736.	»	Pitcher.
17.	» » » 732.	»	»
18.	» » » 746.	»	Vessel for serving maize-beer
19.	» » » 696.	»	» » maize-beer.
20.	» » » 733.	»	Pitcher.
21.	» » » 734.	»	»
22.	» » » 793.	»	Bowl to eat out of.
23.	» » » 759.	»	Vessel for keeping seed in.
24.	» » » 761.	»	Bowl to eat out of.
25.	In private collection	»	Vessel for serving maize-beer
26.	R. M. E. 794.	Tihüipa.	» » maize-beer.
27.	» » » 797.	»	» » » »
28.	In private collection.	Caipipendi.	Small bowl to eat out of.
29.	R. M. E. 788.	»	Pitcher.
30.	» » » 704.	»	»
31.	» » » 728.	»	Vessel for serving maize-beer.
32.	In private collection.	»	» » » » » »

415

[532]

Fig. 41. Vessels of different shapes from the Chiriguano. Only variations in shape are depicted. Ornamentation not depicted. 1/8.

Schwabenkiste E-5 (1908-1909, 1912) 1810
EF10 Chirigwan EF10

Fig. 45.

415
531

1.	1/4	R.	M.	E.		945.	Yataveri.	Vessel	for	maize-beer.	
2.	•	•	•	•		1003.	Itapenbia.	•	•	•	•
3.	•	•	•	•		976.	Esperanza.	•	•	•	•
4.	•	•	•	•		912.	Itatique.	•	•	•	•
5.	•	•	•	•		914.	•	•	•	•	•
6.	•	•	•	•		975.	Tihtiqua.(?)	•	•	•	•
7.	1/10	•	•	•		1025.	Yacuiba.	•	•	•	•
8.	1/4	•	•	•		860.	S. Rosa.	•	•	•	•
9.	•	In private collection.					Itatique.	Bowl to eat out of.			
10.	1/10	R.	M.	E.		1032.	Ivu.	Vessel	for	maize-beer.	
11.	1/4	•	•	•		926.	Itatique.	•	•	•	•
12.	1/10	•	•	•		1001.	Itapenbia.	•	•	•	•
13.	1/4	•	•	•		921.	Itatique.	•	•	•	•
14.	•	•	•	•		862.	S. Rosa.	•	•	•	•
15.	•	•	•	•		737.	Caipipendi.	•	•	•	•
16.	•	•	•	•		739.	•	Mug	for	drinking maize-beer.	
17	•	•	•	•		770.	•	Bowl	to	eat out of.	
18.	•	•	•	•		831.	Tihtiqua.	Vessel	for	maize-beer.	
19.	•	•	•	•		987.		For	keeping	knicknacks in.	
20.	•	•	•	•		787.		Vessel	for	maize-beer.	
21.	•	•	•	•		916.	Itatique.	Mug	for	drinking maize-beer.	
22.	•	•	•	•		872.	S. Rosa.	Bowl	to	eat out of.	
23.	•	In private collection.						Vessel	for	maize-beer .	
24.	•	R.	M.	E.		728.	Caipipendi.	Vessel	for	serving maize-beer.	
25.	•	•	•	•		811.	Tihtiqua.	•	•	•	•	•
26.	•	•	•	•		696.	Caipipendi.	•	•	•	•	•
27.	•	•	•	•		727.	Caipipendi.	•	•	•	•	•
28.	•	•	•	•		964.	Caipipendi.	•	•	•	•	•
29.	•	•	•	•		929.	Itatique.	•	•	•	•	•
30.	•	•	•	•		919.	Itatique.	•	•	•	•	•
31.	•	•	•	•		1009.	Itapenbia.	•	•	•	•	•

445
53
159
[53]
7

Fig. 61. Vessels from Chiriguano.

Schwerdtfeger F-5,(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
Ca
415
531
532

160

Fig. 46.

1.	1/1	R. M. H. 68.	Campo y Duran.	Vessel for maize-beer
2.	1/10	» » H. 1047.	Itapenbia.	» » » »
3.	»	» » H. 1049.	Caipipendi.	» » » »
4.	1/1	In private collection.	Campo y Duran.	» » » »
5.	1/10	R. M. H. 76.	Aquairenda.	» » » »
6.	1/1	» » H. 111.	Fiquirenda.	» » » »
7.	»	» » F. 859.	S. Rosa.	» » » »
8.	1/10	In private collection.	Campo y Duran.	» » » »
9.	»	R. M. H. 155.	»	» » » »
10.		In private collection.		Water-pitcher.
11.	»	R. M. P. 329.		Pot.
12.	»	» » H. 89.	Fiquirenda.	Water-pitcher.
13.	»	» » P. 337.		Vessel for maize-beer
14.	»	» » P. 323.		» » » »

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
415
531
532

Fig. 46. Vessel from the Chiriguano and Chané.

E = Chiriguano. H = Chané, .Rio Itiyuro. P = Chané, Rio Parapiti.

5:Nordenskiöld E-54(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
415
531
532

Fig. 47. Vessels from the Chiriguano and Chané.
H = Chané, Rio Itiyuro. E = Chiriguano.

1.	$^{3}/_{16}$ In private collection.	Chané, Rio Parapiti.	Vessel for maize-beer.
2.	$^{1}/_{8}$ » » »	Campo y Duran.	» » » »
3.	$^{1}/_{12}$ R. M. H. 106.	Campo y Duran.	» » » »
4.	In private collection.		» » » »
5.	» » » »		Bowl to eat out of.
6.	» R. M. H. 123.	Campo y Duran.	Bowl.
7.	$^{1}/_{8}$ » » E. 814.	Tihüipa.	Vessel for maize-beer.
8.	» » » E. 942.	Itatique.	» » » »
9.	» » » E. 960.	S. Antonio.	Vessel in which to carry maize-beer or water on expeditions.

Fig. 48. Vessels from Tilcara (1, 2, 3, 4), and Juella (5), Quebrada de Humahuaca.
After DEBENEDETTI.

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8

Their spindles are of the Bakaïri type with a knob. (See Part. I map 35). The spindle discs are sometimes of stone. The Chané at Rio Parapiti sometimes use when spinning a small earthen plate made for the purpose, on which the spindle is whirled.

C
Ce
283

The preparing of leather.

The Choroti and Ashluslay have no knowledge of tanning, where as the Chiriguano, Chané, Toba and Tapiete have. They use the bark of Piptadenia and other trees.

C
Ce
281
177
171*

These Indians have, in all likelihood, learnt the art of tanning from the Whites who, in these tracts, are more skilled in leatherwork than in any other trade. Tanning seems to be unknown to all Indians in S. America who are either untouched or but slightly influenced by White civilization.

The carving and ornamentation of calabashes.

C
Ce
415 ●
322

The Chiriguano Indians, as well as the Chané make very great use of calabashes. They are used as receptacles for water and maize-beer; as boxes, humming-tops, bowls and, above all, as drinking-vessels. At festivals maize-beer is handed round in elaborately ornamented calabashes.

Sometimes the calabashes are provided with lids. These are so made that lid and box are of the same fruit. Now and then star-shaped lids occurs. Lids with a shutting arrangement of the type shown in Fig. 50 A are characteristic of these Indians.

I published in Part I a map showing the distribution of calabashes with lids. From this map we see that these are probably a culture-element which the Indians east of the Andes received from the western area of civilization.

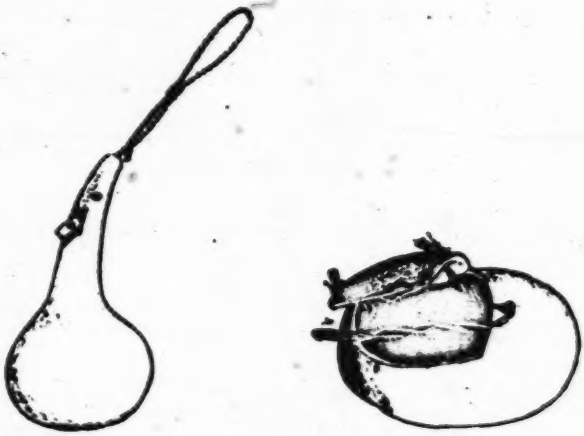
I scarcely think, at any rate, that the star-shaped lids can be cut out so as to fit tight on the box, save with a metal tool. It could hardly be done with a stone or bone implement.

Nordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
531
*171

The Chiriguano and Chané calabashes are ornamented with engraved, burnt-in and painted figures. The distribution of engraved ornamentation cannot, at present be as certained. As I maintained in Part I, pyrograving seems to be a culture-element of western origin. The art of painting calabashes with urucu mixed with oil is unknown to the Choroti and Ashluslay, as also to the other Indians whom I got to know personally, with the exception of the Pauserna.

C
Ce
[415]



A B

Fig. 30. A. Calabash with lid. Chané, Rio Parapiti. R. M. P. 35. 1/6
B. » » » Chiriguano. R. M. E: 508. 1/6

In the absence of sufficient comparative material from the Andine culture-area, I will not here seek to establish whence the Chiriguano and Chané got the ornamentation which adorns their calabashes, nor in what measure it has been independently elaborated by them. A calabash with engraved animal figures is reproduced here.

C
Ce
415
531
184

The Chané who dwell at Rio Parapiti have but little ornamentation on their calabashes, and that little is plain.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
415
531
184

This contrasts with the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro and is certainly owing to the poverty of the first-mentioned.

C
Ce
415
482

Sometimes the Chiriguano and Chané calabashes are surrounded by a net for greater convenience of carrying. I have already dealt with these in the foregoing.

C
Ce
415
824
[237]
[171]*

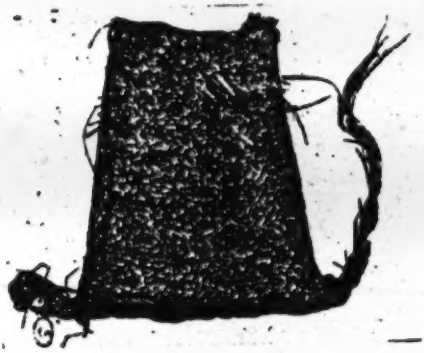
The stoppers of calabash-bottles are generally pieces of empty corn-cobs. These are now and then used also as stoppers for earthen-vessels. The Choroti and Ashluslay, as a rule, make use of wax, which material is little used by the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
415
531
532

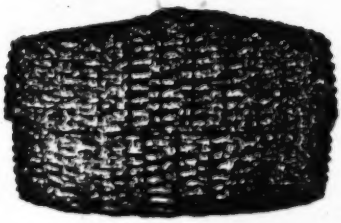
Fig. 51. Calabash. Chiriguano. R. M. 323. 1/6.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

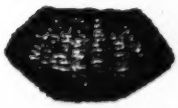
285
415



A



B



C

D

Fig. 53. Baskets from the Chiriguano.

A = R. M. E. 885.
B = » » » 507.
C = » » » 174.
D = » » » 542.

/159 cont./

In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities. 114 164 [65] [273]

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either. 797 756

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the 114

415 ● 531

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igüembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant. 114 [133] [137]

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things. 123 157 178 643 000

/159 cont./ 601

things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among 323
the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78).

From Maringay I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station 361
of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, 797
it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the [114]
grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of [342]
Mimosaceae, cacti, small algorrobas, and other fine-leaved [137]
trees. This woodland is seldom so dense than one cannot easily
get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa, 132

415
531

Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, 132
however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth.
Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the [731]
Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger.

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and 133
across the great plain of Boyuovis, over the country that was 648
the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuqui, they
fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the
right to rob all weaker peoples.

After my excursion to Maringay I left the land of the 114
Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already
described in this book, to the Choroti and Ashluslay.

C 352 171

/178/ Now and then one sees a seat carved out of wood (Fig. 85) in a shape especially familiar from the Brazilian Indians.

C Ce 415 [353]

A great many clay vessels of all dimensions are always standing along the walls of the huts. Some of them are so large that a man could crawl into them. There /179/ are pots, there are

Ce 482 291 854

Fig. 87. Chané woman. Rio Parapiti. She has a water jug in the carrying net.

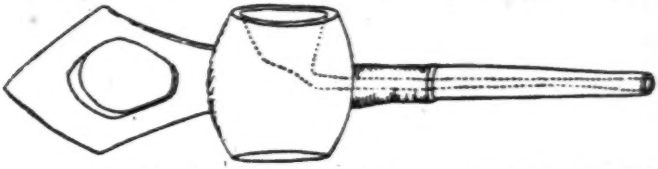
C Ce 415

roasting bowls, there are handsomely painted vessels which are brought out for the festivals, and there is the treasure pot, in which the housewife keeps all the valuables and souvenirs of the family. In it, if the home is "well-to-do," lie clothing,

C Ce [556]

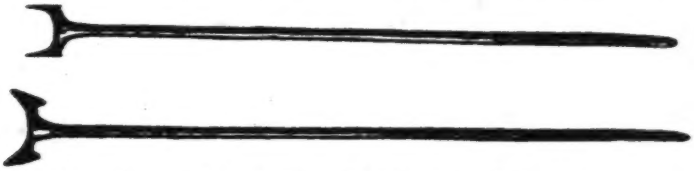
/179 cont./ C Ce 415 556
ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla, and many other things.

It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all night, as in a Choroti or Ashluslay village. The young men and the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they C Ce 512 836 C Ce 512 264 273



C 276

Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2.



C 412

Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

are not busy brewing maize for a festival. C Ce 512 264 273 533 765

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, the men somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a truly refreshing bath. C Ce 515 512

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Rio Itiyuro the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Rio Parapiti in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also Ce 512 482

/189 cont./

Meat is cooked with maize as a soup or roasted. Before it is placed in the pot, it is washed clean. Fish are roasted over the fire in clamps /Klammern/ or in maize leaves. The small fish which I saw prepared in this way are taken out only when they are eaten. If there are many fish, they are dried for future use.

Especially in times of famine, various /Fig. 92b appears here/ wild plants are also eaten. Salt, which is now bought from the whites, is used for food. In former times it was fetched from the rock-salt pits on the San Luis, on the way from the city of Tarija to the Chaco, or salt was made from saliferous earth, "yukiu." The earth mixed with salt was placed in a bowl of water, sank to the bottom, and the salt water was used.

Women and men eat separately. At home the men usually eat first and then the women and children. The Indians want to be left alone when they are eating. It is therefore extremely ill-mannered to speak to them during this important activity.

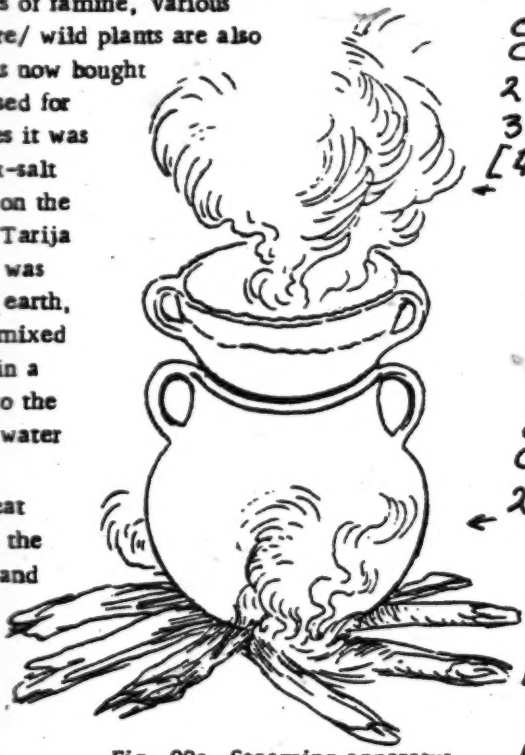


Fig. 92a. Steaming apparatus. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

/190/ As far as I saw, they do not eat out of a common dish, but each one eats out of his bowl. After meals they rinse their mouths and wash their hands by spitting the rinse water over their fingers.

/214 cont./

577 entirely untouched by the civilization of the whites, an opinion
831 which I shall reproduce here verbatim:
175

"Ce qui m'a fort surpris, c'est que dans la licence où ils vivent, je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'il échappat à aucun homme la moindre action indécente à l'egard des femmes, et jamais je n'ai oui sortir de leur bouche aucune parole tant soit peu déshonnête

643
291
415
142
352
516

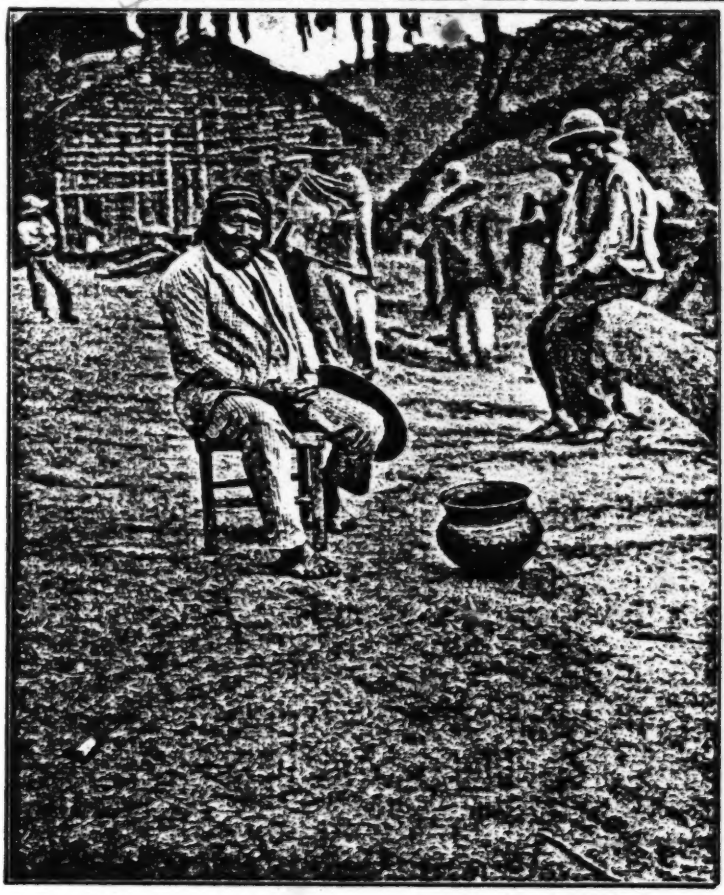


Fig. 111. The Chiriguano chief Mandepora.

577 /What surprised me very much is that in the freedom in which
831 they live I never noticed the slightest indecent behavior on the
175 part of any man with regard to women, and never did I hear from their lips any word that was the least bit immodest/."

Ce 752 /217 cont./ of boiling the water because they wanted to kill the macroscopic animals in it. The Chané sometimes use fresh leaves to bandage wounds.

Ee 764 Ee [763] If, in spite of the medicine man's efforts, the /218/ spell cannot be lifted and the Chané or Chiriguano Indian dies, he or she is buried under the hut in a large clay vessel. Before the dying one is quite dead, or immediately after death, he is flexed so that the knees come under the chin and the arms are laid crosswise over the chest. On the Rio Parapiti there lived for many years a Chané Indian who had been flexed in this way, but who, before he was stuffed into the grave urn, was saved by a white man. The deceased, dressed, with a water calabash at his knee, Ee [775] is set into the vessel. The water is supposed to be taken along by the deceased when he wanders about on the mountains, the Chané chief Vocapoy told me. The vessel is buried in the hut, and another vessel is put upside down over it as a lid.

Ee 768 At Tatarenda, near Yacuiba, I heard that the hut is burned down after the burial. This, however, is not the usual thing. On the contrary, the hut is abandoned for a time after the burial and then moved into again later on. This is what happened, for example, in a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro, where I was shortly after a burial.

Ce 764 Ce [415] The large maize-beer vessels (Fig. 113) are used as coffins. If there is a shortage of vessels, burial often takes place in another way. In a Chané village, Copéri, on the Rio Parapiti, a child was buried in a skin under the hut shortly before my arrival.

These Indians spend their lives on the graves of their dead relatives, and often the hut is so full that a later burial in old pots becomes necessary.

"The Christian carries his dead far from his house. We Indians, who feel a great love for them, keep them in our houses." That is approximately what Vocapoy once said to me when the conversation turned to this strange method of burial.

/218 cont./

766 754 825 If a Chiriguano is killed by a jaguar, he is /219/ buried with his head downward, so that he will not go about as such an animal. This notion of a jaguar who was a human being is widespread, especially among the Quichua /Quechua/, where this

764 415

Fig. 113. Chiriguano grave.
Caipipendi.

766 754 825 strange animal, as has been mentioned, is called uturunco (cf. p. 12 /untranslated/). If a fox howls at night near the village, someone will die.

763 825

Ce
Ce
565
556
621

/231 cont./

One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village, though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand, there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy individual Indians, but they, like Taco, live like the whites.

Ce
622
701
642
643
Ce
682

The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader of the fighting men.

Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain. A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

Ce
692
643
681
C
531
415
Ce
682

According to Batirayu, whose statements are more reliable than those of /232/ Vocapoy, the high chief of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti deals with no offenses other than murder, seduction of another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with poisoned chicha, "bád-dyási," occurred in former times among the Chané. Murderer and bewitcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the open plaza in the village.

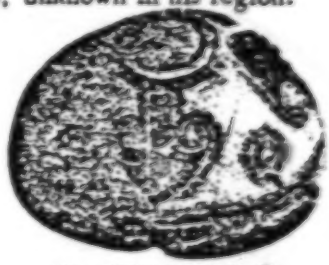


Fig. 115. Calabash. Chiriguano. Itapenhia. 1/6.

Ce
684
Ce
685
681

Ce
177
Ce
643
622
721
Ce
423
622
643

The administrative authorities of the whites are now intervening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner, even if it has been fallow for years.

/234/

Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

Ee 178 527 273 [538] [805]

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Ee 273 415 527 531

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

Ee 531 [527] [323] [462]

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

Ee [181]

Ce
Ce
28
[323]
[531]
[184]
Ee
[439]

/244 cont./

Of the various industries, pottery stands particularly high among the Chiriguano and Chané (see the illustrations). They are also skilled weavers and decorators of calabashes. Basketry occurs, but chiefly in the northern part of their region. Feather work is no longer done at the present time. Only ropes and fish nets, and on the Rio Parapiti hammocks and carrying nets, are made with caraguata bast. The bags of this material, so characteristic of the Chaco tribes, are never made by the Chiriguano and Chané, but are occasionally acquired by trade between the tribes.

Ce
323

Among the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro I followed the making

C
415
531

Fig. 121. Clay vessel.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi
valley. 1/4.

Ce
323

of pots. The clay is ground and mixed with pounded, fired potsherds, so that the vessel does not fall apart during the firing.

Ce
[413]
[804]

The clay vessels are built up out of rolls in customary Indian fashion. For smoothing a mussel shell or a maize cob without kernels, as well as a narrow little bamboo stick, is used. The maize cobs make parallel, fine scratches (1). The bamboo stick

Ce
[172]

1. From similar scratches on clay vessels which one finds in archaeological diggings, one can see that the makers of the clay vessels had maize. I have seen this, for

Ee /248 cont./

439 When we present a collection from the Chiriguano and Chané,
177 we must not forget that, through trade between the tribes, they have obtained many things from the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Tapiete; otherwise we would have a mistaken conception of the
Ee great difference /249/ between the material culture of the Chaco tribes named here and the Chiriguano and Chané.

171 If we compare the material culture of the Choroti and Chané
Ee with that of the Choroti and Ashluslay likewise described here,
[285] we must remember the following. The Chiriguano and Chané produce basket work -- the
c Choroti and Ashluslay never.
Ee The former know how to paint
[323] clay vessels before firing,
Ee which is unknown to the latter.
[286] The Chiriguano and Chané
c never make bags out of
[415] →
[531]

Fig. 126.
Decorated calabash bowl.
Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/5.

caraguata, etc. If, moreover, we compare all the products made by the Chané and Chiriguano with those of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we find that most of them are entirely differ-
c ent. The Chaco Indians probably learned how to make certain
[177] things, such as the serére (Fig. 120) and huiramimbi pipes (Figs. 36 /omitted in the translation/ and 80), from the Chiriguano,
Ee but this is relatively insignificant.

We see here how two cultures can exist side by side for
177 hundreds of years without mingling.

Ee If we follow the Rio Pilcomayo down toward the mountains,
101 we first come across the Quichua /Quechua/ culture, then come the Chiriguano and Chané, and after that the Chaquemic /Chaco/ culture which embraces equally the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Ashluslay, as well as the Lengua and other tribes in the Paraguay Chaco. These three cultures are entirely different.

Ca 539

/263 cont./

"I have so many horses that I do not need any more," said Aguaratunpa.

"I will give you large fields if you grant me my freedom," said the white condor.

"I have so many fields that I do not need any more," said Aguaratunpa.

"I will give you my two daughters as wives and a house in which you can live, if you grant me my freedom," said the white condor.

"I do not need your daughters, for I have wives in all the villages," said Aguaratunpa.

C 415 531

Fig. 127. Clay vessels.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/5.

C. 539

"I will fill a whole house with silver bowls, 'cagua,' and give it to you, if you grant me my freedom," said the white condor.

/264/ "I have as much silver as I need," said Aguaratunpa, "and I caught you in order to kill you. But if you can make me a present of the white rubber ball, 'toki,' so that I can play with it, I shall give you your freedom," said Aguaratunpa.

Tied to a long silver chain, Ururuti flew to fetch the white rubber ball. When Aguaratunpa received it, he gave the white condor his freedom. The ostrich, "Yándu," and the bat, "Andira," played ball. One would throw the ball, catch it with his head, and hit it toward the other one, who in turn caught it with his head and hit it back (cf. p. 45). When the ball was flying through the air, the white condor caught it and disappeared. Aguaratunpa now sent a bird, "Tavatan," to fetch the black rubber ball, and the whole village played. Aguaratunpa played with the ostrich. In the middle

Ce 539

/279 cont./

"Lie down and sleep!" said the sister of Chiquéritunpa.

The man lay down to sleep with his wife, who was the daughter of Chiquéritunpa. They slept together all day and in the evening she gave birth. The next day Chiquéritunpa came. He wanted to beat his daughter. He sent for a horse, a donkey, and a mare, in order to take his daughter and his son-in-law home. After they had eaten, they rode away.

The man who had been thrashed by the women wept. "Do not weep so much," said the sister of Chiquéritunpa. When they had ridden a short distance, they met a Christian who was working.

"What kind of work are you planning?" asked the man. "I /280/ want to sow manioca and maize. I want to live here and I want to bring a woman here," said the Christian.

They rode on and met another Christian. "What kind of work are you planning ?" asked the man. In a bad humor, the Christian replied: "I want to sow hills with thorny bushes here."

C
•[415]
[531]

Fig. 128. Calabash bowl. Chiriguano. Itatenbia. 1/4.

They continued their journey and met another Christian who was busy felling trees. "What kind of work are you planning?" asked the man. "I am chopping down poles for fencing for the animals, for I want to have livestock here. I am bringing everything here, I shall get myself clothing," said the Christian.

They rode on and met another Christian. "What kind of work are you planning?" asked the man. In a bad humor, the Christian answered: "I am working to harvest stones."

They rode on and met another Christian, who was doing carpentry work. "What are you doing here?" they asked. "I want to build myself a house where I shall have clothing and all sorts of other things," answered the Christian.

/281 cont./

Ce 539

a house found it already finished and full of clothing. The one who had answered in a bad humor that he wanted to sow chuchio found his field turned into thick brush through which no one could pass.

Chiquéritunpa's son proposed a game to his brother-in-law. "What kind of a game?" he asked. "Let's move the house," /282/ said Chiquéritunpa's son and shifted it with one arm. With all his strength the man moved the house away. "Now let's bring the horse back to life," said Chiquéritunpa's son and lifted up the legs of the horse on which the man had come. It turned into a very fat horse with a mouth that flashed fire. This, too, the man imitated.

The next day the man proposed a game to his brother-in-law, Chiquéritunpa's son. "What shall we play?" he said. "Let's take the sun down," said the man. With a long switch of chuchio he took the sun down. It became so warm that both Chiquéritunpa and his son ran away. The next day the man became chief.

C [415] [534]

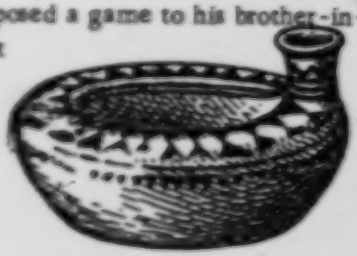


Fig. 129. Clay vessel. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/5.

The one who had been thrashed by the girls whose clothes he had stolen stayed with the sister of Chiquéritunpa. One day she told him he should go to a large lake. There he should dive in and bring up a handful of sand. This sand he should place in the house. He went to the lake, dived in, and brought up a handful of sand which he placed in the house. The next day the sister of Chiquéritunpa said: "Go look at what has become of the sand!" In place of the sand he found a pretty woman. "She shall be your wife," said Chiquéritunpa's sister.

Ee /301 cont./

648 Thus, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to
[466] being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this

C 415 531

Fig. 133. Clay vessel. - 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

Ee 648 way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

Ee 648 466 465 167 925 /302/ The uncertainty and the oppressive wage conditions under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but forever.

C Ee 648 273 177 If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference between drinking maize beer and liquor.

352 [114] been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks [171] made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. [513] Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of 353 considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly ●415 array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize [531] beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

[352] → [291] [302] [411] [415] ← [237] [824] → 354 →

Fig. 194. Man and young woman. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this im- 356 possible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

291 The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of [177] European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 163 and fig. 85 (12), pp. 15 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 59.

[P. 216 is blank]

323 counterparts of which are found on many ancient Peruvian clay vessels, have been more fully described by me in »En förgången värld».[1] The cord by which this vessel was suspended passed round the edge, and then upwards, between the points of the rim warts. At each wart a hole has been pierced through the rim of the vessel, but these perforations are so very small that they cannot very well have been used for fixing any string by which to hang up the vessel.

Besides the clay pots here reproduced — often graceful of shape and beautifully painted — there are also plain, unpainted clay vessels for cooking and other kitchen purposes. Chiriguano ceramics are of an exceedingly great variety as to form, and many of the shapes are identical with those of clay vessels found in ancient Indian graves and in the ground of ancient dwelling-sites in those regions of the Andes that border on the present Chiriguano country.

824 Next to clay vessels, bottles and bowls made of calabash may be said
● 415 to predominate among the household furniture of the Chiriguano. The bowls are often provided with pokerwork ornament (fig. 226).

273 On festivals — and also usually, though not always — the Chiriguano drink an intoxicating liquor (»chicha», in Chiriguano: »cangui»), which they prepare from maize. In [415] huge wooden mortars the maize is [531] pounded to flour, which is poured into large clay vessels filled with → water. This mixture is made to boil, and when it has cooled down, lumps of chewed maize dough are put into it to produce fermentation. These masticated mouthfuls of maize are usually allowed to dry in the sun, before use, and are then frequently spread on a [114] bedstead (fig. 190). This method of preparing maize beer naturally

Fig. 218. A jug for holding maize beer. Earthenware. Bottom part and inside unpainted. The rest painted brownish yellow, with ornaments in dark brown (marked in black) and red (marked in thin lines). Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 837.

[1] von Rosen (1), p. 344 et seq.

273
[114] strikes one as particularly disgusting, and therefore, after I had got to know how the brew was made, I could never again bring myself to drink this beverage, which in itself is rather palatable. As I have already mentioned, an intoxicating liquor is also made from the fruit of the algar-
276 robo tree. The beer made by the Chiriguano is very highly prized by them. But, on the other hand, it does not appear that tobacco is used

415
531

Fig. 219. A jug for maize beer. 1/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 803.

Fig. 220. A maize beer decanter. 3/8. Riksm. 03. 3. 835.

Fig. 221. A maize beer bowl. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 839.

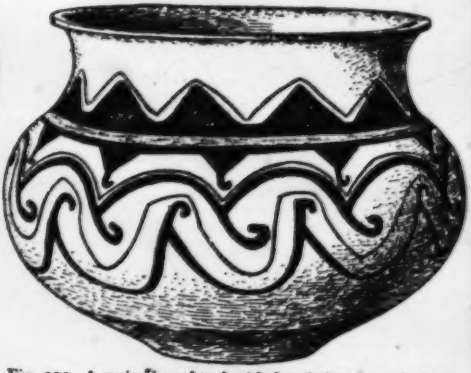


Fig. 222. A maize beer bowl with four holes through the rim, in which strings can be fixed. 1/4. Riksm. (No catalogue number.)

Painted earthenware vessels. The ground-colour of the vessels in figs. 219 and 220 is yellowish-white; of those in figs. 221 and 222, a brownish-yellow. The ornamentation is in dark brown (here marked quite black) and red (marked with fine lines). The inner sides and bottoms of the vessels are unpainted. Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia.

415
531
276
534

by them to any considerable extent; I myself never saw any Chiriguano smoking.

The Chiriguano are very fond of music and dancing. Their musical instruments consist of a kind of primitive trumpets of cow-horn, reed flutes, whistles and drums.

An interesting Chiriguano whistling pipe is here reproduced, in fig. 227. It consists of a flat piece of some hard and heavy wood; is 18.5 cm long, 3.6 cm wide, and has a section as set out in the figure. It has, pierced through its longitudinal axis, a tubular perforation, 7 to 9 mm in diameter, and open at both ends, running from end to end of the instrument. In the centre of its upper edge there are two, somewhat smaller, holes through which is threaded the string which allows of the pipe being worn round the neck as a breast ornament. The carrying cord running through two holes, side by side, probably indicates that the pipe was meant to hang horizontally on the breast. If there had been only one hole for the cord, the pipe would have tilted one way or the other, like the beam of a pair of scales. The pipe is designed for blowing on in the

Fig. 223. Food bowl of earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. The rest of it painted yellowish white, with ornaments painted in dark brown (marked black) and red (represented by thin lines). Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 1/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 846.

Fig. 224. Hanging bowl, for keeping small articles. Earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. The rest painted yellowish white, with ornaments in dark brown. Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 843.

[301]

Fig. 225. Hanging bowl, for keeping small articles. Earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. Otherwise painted yellowish white, with ornaments in dark brown (marked black) and red (represented by thin lines). Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 844.

534 same way as Pan pipes, and *naturally gives out tones, when one end of the tube is closed, different to those producible with both ends open.* The pipe is open at both ends, therefore, not only because this allows the instrument to be easily cleaned from dust, dirt and saliva, but also because *this construction gives the possibility of a greater number of tones.*

531
415
824
534
301
531

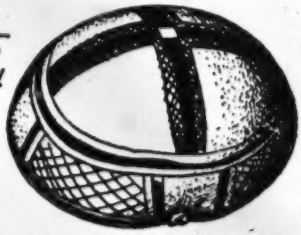


Fig. 226. Bowl, of calabash, up-turned, with pokerwork ornaments. Chiriguano. Carapari. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 831.

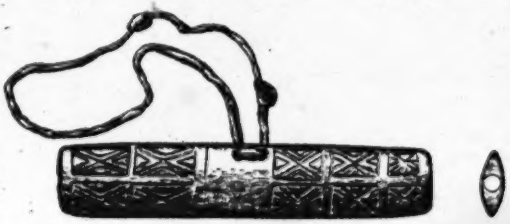


Fig. 227. Whistle, made of hard, black wood. Incised ornaments. Two cracks near one end of the tube have been filled up with a waxy substance. Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 848.

534 171 That the Indians occasionally also give a thought to keeping dust, etc., from getting into their whistling pipes, is, besides, evident from the pipe shown in fig. 228, which is an Araucan whistle from Cautin, Chile, a tubular piece of wood, 27.5 cm long. A common brass thimble is fitted over the lower end of the pipe, and for its top end there is a small, well made stopper of woollen-yarn, connected to the pipe with a string, so as not to get lost when taken out for the whistle to be blown. Concerning this stopper, Eric Boman, who has reproduced the pipe in one of his works, writes as follows: »Este tapón sirve para cerrar la boca del silbato, cuando éste no se usa, e impedir que entren allí tierra y otras impurenzas.»[1] »This stopper serves to keep the mouth of the whistle closed when the latter is not being used, and prevents dust and other dirt from entering.»

Fig. 228. Whistle, found at Cautin. Chile. From Boman.

Objects of tubular form, in construction corresponding to the one here reproduced in fig. 227, have been found in ancient Peruvian graves, and not only the Chiriguano, but also many other tribes now inhabiting areas in the neighbourhood of what once was the Inca domain, are still

[1] Boman (3), p. 518.

Plate VII

343
335

Fig. 16
(I.C. 357) -- Chiriguano storehouse built on posts in Machareti

291
412
415

Fig. 17
(I.C. 355) -- Scene in the Chiriguano town of Machareti. Boy dressed in a poncho. Large baked clay vessels and a mortar.

C /19 cont./
263 from the whites (82).
317
439

82. Nord. 1, p. 189. Métraux I, pp. 359 and 360.

C 273 Among beverages, besides water, which is scarce in cer-
[312] tain regions, chicha (ka'ui) made of maize, potatoes, or algarrobo deserves mention (83). Chicha made from yellow

83. Nord. 1, pp. 234 and 236. Métraux I, pp. 364 and 365.

Ce [273] or white maize is preferred. The chicha from potatoes by the Chané of the Parapití River is considered inferior.

Ce The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not eat from a
264 common pot, but separately and from dishes. Because of this their houses contain many dishes, which are normally made
●415 of baked clay (nyá'e), but may also be of wood (sua) (84).

84. Cf. Nord. 1, p. 190.

C Ce I collected various baked clay dishes among the Chiriguano
415 and Chané (cf. Figs. 78-80 /see p. 143/), as well as two wooden
[126] dishes, two examples of which the Museum already had, donated by Doña María F. de Casati. I shall deal with the baked clay dishes, along with the other baked clay vessels, in the chapter on pottery, and therefore enumerate here only the wooden plates in the collection.

C Wooden Dishes (sua) of the Chiriguano
415

I. A. 351. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Diam. 21 cm. Ht. 6 cm.
I. A. 352. (") " 15.5 cm. " 3.5 cm.
I. A. 496. (Max Schmidt trip.) Diam. 23 cm. Ht. 6 cm. (Fig. 18).
I. A. 497. (" " ") " 30 cm. " 6.5 cm. (Fig. 18a).

/19 cont./

C 415 As Figure 18, a and b, shows, these wooden dishes have two handles on the rim.

C Ce 412 [177] [439] As an eating utensil the Chiriguano and Chané today use metal spoons which are acquired from the whites. But they also use wooden spoons (85).

C Ce [113]

85. Nord. 2, p. 56. Nordenskiöld, Erland: Vergleichende ethnographische Forschungen I. Eine Geographische und ethnographische Analyse der materiellen Kultur zweier Indianerstämme in el Gran Chaco /Comparative Ethnographic Investigation I. A Geographic and Ethnographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Indian Tribes in the Gran Chaco/, Göteborg, 1918, p. 93. (Cited in what follows: Nord. 3.) Métraux I, pp. 364, 374-376, and Figs. 42 and 43.

C 412 /20/ Wooden Spoons (kuruha) of the Chiriguano

I. A. 353. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Length 36 cm.
I. A. 498. (Max Schmidt trip.) Length 42.5 cm. (Fig. 20).
I. A. 499. (" " ") Length 16 cm. (Fig. 22).

C [171] As Figures 20 and 22 show, there are variations in the shape of these wooden spoons. The shape of spoon I. A. 499 is almost exactly like the Chané spoon shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (86), while the shape of spoon I. A. 498 is very

86. Nord. 3, p. 93. Fig. 24 F.

similar to the spoons found in the ancient burials of the Peruvian highland, their front part and handle forming a rather straight line.

/20 cont./

C
Ce
412
17

Although it may be that the shape of the wooden spoons of the Chiriguano and of the Chané may have been influenced in many cases by the shape of the metal spoons acquired from the whites, we must nonetheless regard it as a product of the indigenous culture of South America that in pre-Columbian times had been rather widespread generally among the Andean cultures. Its appearance is quite limited among the native tribes of South America, setting aside the cases where it has been imported by the whites. But it is quite common among the Indians of the regions near Chiriguano territory in particular, for example, among the Tapieté and many other Chaco tribes, such as the Toba, Matako, Churupí, and especially also among the Mojo and, farther to the east, among the Guató. It must be supposed that the Chiriguano received this cultural possession directly or indirectly from the culture of the Andean montaña.

Shells (Ínta) as Eating Utensils

Ce
237
415

I. A. 734 and 735. (Izozó.) Length 12 cm. and 10 cm.

Outside of the spoons mentioned, the Chané-Izozó also use shells as eating utensils.

Ce
415
[824]

As vessels for drinking water and chicha, they above all use cuyas /vessels made from gourds/ (cf. Figures 24-26 and 149; 150; 153) and calabashes (cf. Figures 42 and 151). For the chicha festivities this beverage is ordinarily taken out of the painted baked clay pots in cuyas with designs on them, which are passed around among those present. Of the cuyas that I acquired from the Chiriguano in Machareti many have either incised or pyrographed designs, with which I shall deal in the chapter on art. The cuyas received from the Izozó do not have designs on them, which is easily explained by the peculiar circumstance that the Izozó were at that time living near Toledo. Three of the calabashes received from the Izozó (cf. Figure 42 c) were made from the fruit of the

C
415
126
531

Ce
415
[531]
[824]

Chane SF8
Izozo

Ce 415 [824] [439]

/20 cont./

Crescentia Cuyete /Crescentia cujete/ tree, which does not grow in their territory. The cacique of the Izozó told me that these fruits had been brought from Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

C Ce 415

In addition to these cuyas, the Chiriguano and Izozó also use for drinking chicha small baked clay chicha vessels with handles in the form of European cups. /Plates VIII-IX appear here./

C 415 126 531

/21/ Cuyas (ia) in the Collection

I. A. 451.	Chiriguano	Length 14 cm.	Incised designs.		(Fig.26e.)
I. A. 452.	"	" 10 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 26a.)
I. A. 453.	"	" 10 cm.	"	"	
I. A. 454.	"	" 5.7 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 26c.)
I. A. 455.	"	" 12.5 cm.	Designs incised and pyrographed.		
I. A. 456.	"	" 11.5 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 26b.)
I. A. 457.	"	" 23 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 24.)
I. A. 458.	"	" 15 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 26d.)
I. A. 459.	"	" 13.5 cm.	No designs, red paint outside.		
I. A. 460.	"	" 20 cm.	Incised and pyrographed designs.		(Fig. 25b.)

Ce [415]

I. A. 461-463; 490; 537-539. Chiriguano. No designs.

I. A. 666 Izozó Length 19.5 cm. No designs, with handle. (Fig. 25a.)

I. A. 667-670. " No designs.

The length of these cuyas is quite variable. The largest of them measures 23 cm. in length and the smallest only 5.5 cm.

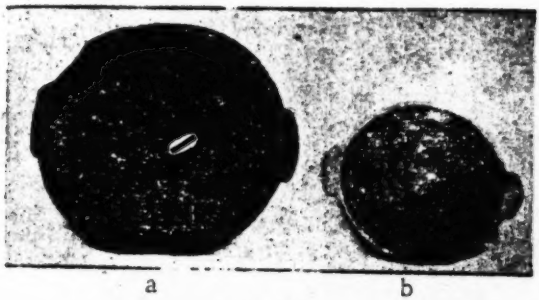
Calabashes (iá, ua) in the Collection

I. A. 464-467.	Chiriguano	With pyrographed designs. (I. A. 466: Fig. 151.)
I. A. 458.	"	No designs; with a maize cob for stopper.
I. A. 469.	"	No designs; entwined all around.
I. A. 661 and 662.	Izozó	No designs. (Fig. 42 a and b.)
I. A. 663-665.	"	No designs; made from the fruit of the Crescentia Cuyete tree. (I. A. 665: Fig. 42.)

Ce 415 126 [531]

Plate VIII

●415



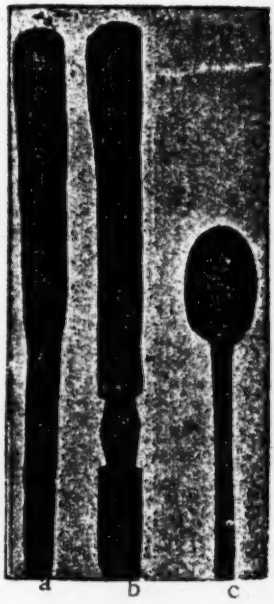
a b

Fig. 18

412 →

415 ←

Fig. 19



a b c

Fig. 20

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

276

Fig. 23

/The captions are on p. 52./

Plate IX

C
●415
531

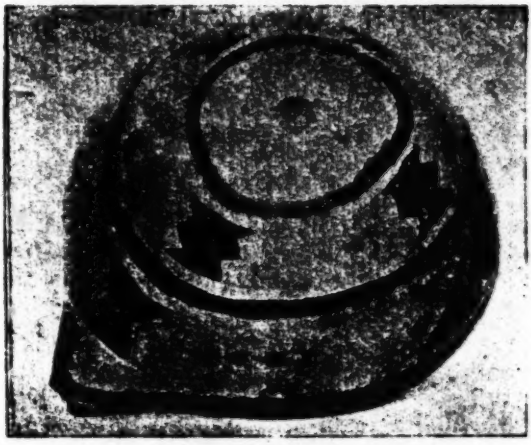


Fig. 24

C
Ce
415

a b

Fig. 25

C
415
531

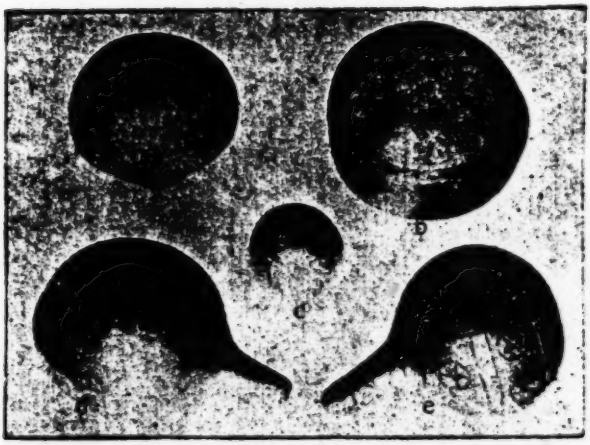


Fig. 26

/The captions are on p. 52./

8: Schmidt--52 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates VIII and IX./

C 415

Plate VIII

Fig. 18. a (I. A. 497): wooden dish (Chiriguano), diam. 30 cm.
b (I. A. 496): wooden dish (Chiriguano), diam 23 cm.

Fig. 19. (I. A. 574.) Wooden platter (Chiriguano), length 83 cm.

C 412

Fig. 20. a (I. A. 578), b (I. A. 576): wooden spatulas for stirring foods and drinks (Chiriguano), length 66.5 cm. and 114 cm.
c (I. A. 498): wooden spoon (Chiriguano), length 42.5 cm.

Fig. 21. (I. A. 502.) Spatula for stirring foods and drinks (Chiriguano), length 24.5 cm.

Fig. 22. (I. A. 499.) Wooden spoon (Chiriguano), length 16 cm.

C 276

Fig. 23. (I. A. 511.) Wooden pipe (Chiriguano), length 10.5 cm.

Plate IX

C 415

Fig. 24. (I. A. 457.) Decorated cuya (Chiriguano), length 23 cm.

Ce [415]

Fig. 25. a (I. A. 666): cuya with sewing (Izozó), length 19.5 cm.
b (I. A. 460): decorated cuya (Chiriguano), length 20 cm.

Fig. 26. Decorated cuyas (Chiriguano): a (I. A. 452), length 10 cm.; b (I. A. 456), length 11.5 cm.;
c (I. A. 454), length 5.7 cm.; d (I. A. 458), length 15 cm.; e (I. A. 451), length 14 cm.

C. Ce 415 /21 cont./

The largest of these calabashes measures 50 cm. and the smallest 7.5 cm.

Stimulants

Ce 276 The Izozó whom I found in Toledo were not smokers. They attached no importance to the tobacco and pipes that I offered them. I acquired from the Chiriguano a simple wooden pipe, straight in shape, of the kind commonly used among the tribes of the Chaco, but I have seen no other pipes among them; neither have I seen them smoking.

C 276 [126]

C [126]

Pipe (cachimbo) in the Collection

I. A. 740. Chiriguano. Length 10.5 cm. (Fig. 23.)

C Ce 249 276 According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano and the Chané plant tobacco, but its planting is not significant and they are not great smokers. If they smoke, they ordinarily use cigarettes, with a wrapper made out of a maize leaf, and only rarely use pipes (87). This explains the very uncharacteristic form of the

C 276

87. Nord. I, p. 182. Cf. Métraux I, p. 339.

pipe that I found among the Chiriguano. A pipe of very different shape, with a special handle in front of the tobacco bowl, is represented in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (88). According to

C [177]

88. Nord. I, p. 179. Fig. 88.

the same author, the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua have received from the latter the custom of chewing coca.

C
Ce /34 cont./
756 most other Indians of South America, there is a professional
171 physician who is charged with the treatment of the sick, this
treatment in most cases consisting of sorcery among these
C Indians too. The physician attempts to dispel the evil by
Ce sucking out foreign objects which have penetrated the body of
755 the bewitched sick person. In addition to such treatment,
757 remedies are used among the Chiriguano and Chané, which,
[824 in addition to those made of plant substances, include the
[237] fat of various animals applied externally for different illnesses.
Ce The Chané treat wounds with boiling water.
752

Burial among the Chiriguano and Chané who live outside
Ce the missions is generally still done in urns, according to
764 primordial custom. According to Nordenskiöld (149), the
415

149. Nord. 1, p. 208.

large pots in which chicha is prepared are also used as funeral urns, and another pot is used to close the urn. Often the dying person, even before being completely dead, or soon after death, is crammed into the urn in a squatting position. A calabash of water is placed with the dead person in the urn,
Ce which is buried within the house. Commonly the house, after
768 the burial, is abandoned for some time, but is occupied again
later. Such a funeral urn of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi
C Valley is shown in a drawing by Erland Nordenskiöld (150).
764
415

150. Nord. 1, Fig. 113.

Up to half of the urn, which is provided with a cover, is disenterred. Nordenskiöld's statement that the Chiriguano use the same pots which serve for the preparation of meals as funeral urns is significant. From that we can deduce that a funeral urn found in other regions might also have served, during the lifetime of the dead person buried in it, some other purpose related to the economy of those Indians.

C
Ce
524
177

/37 cont./

These Indians received two games of chance from the whites, the game of dice, which they call by the Spanish name "daro," and the game with a cow's leg bone, which they call "taba."

Agriculture

C
Ce
241

I have already explained in the chapter on food and drink that the cultivation of maize as an agricultural product is common, and among the Chané of the Parapití the cultivation of the sweet potato. Mandioca is only cultivated rarely and has no importance in the economy of these Indians. Various species of beans are planted, also one species of cactus, some gourds which have edible fruits, and also a little tobacco. In addition to these edible or stimulating native plants that are cultivated, there are some others received from the whites, but these have little importance in the economy of these Indians. According to Nordenskiöld (171), they are the following: sugar

C
Ce
241
177

171. Nord. 2, pp. 23 and 24.

cane, peanuts, watermelon, muskmelon, figs, oranges and millet, and Métraux also mentions the pepper among them (172).

172. Métraux 1, pp. 338 and 339.

C
Ce
241
[415]
[283]
[386]

In addition to these edible or stimulating plants, there are cultivated various species of gourds whose fruits are not edible but are used to make containers, cotton for making thread, urucú for obtaining red dye, and, among the Indians of the Parapití, also a species of cane, Harundo Donax /Arundo donax/, which grows wild in great quantity on the banks of the Pilcomayo, but not on those of the Parapití River.

C 317 263

/45 cont./
the earth of the salt licks called "yukiu" (214).

214. Nord. 1, p. 189. See Métraux 1, pp. 359 and 360.

Making Fire

Ee 372

Native implements to make fire are little used today by the Chiriguano and Chané. At home fire can generally be obtained from some other piece of burning wood, and for other occasions they commonly provide themselves with modern matches. Moreover, as I have said, the Chiriguano and Chané are not great smokers. One fire-making tool which is still found among them is the strike-a-light. The specimen I acquired from the Chiriguano is different from the strike-a-light of the Chaco tribes in that the tinder consists of a quite thick cotton wick. According to Métraux (215),

Ee [178] [296]

Ee [415] [237]

215. Métraux 1, p. 253.

there is also found among them the common form of strike-a-light in which the tinder consists of the fuzz of the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) kept in a container made of a a cow horn or armadillo tail.

Ee 372 126

Fire-making Implements in the Collection

I. A. 516. (Fig. 40.)

a. Bag woven of cotton thread as a container for the implements.

b. Wick of cotton thread.

c. Receptacle for the lighted end of the wick, made of the nest of a species of wasp.

d. Piece of a modern metal file.

e. Pieces of flint.

C
Ce
372
[415
[239

/45 cont./

A small nest of a species of wasp serves as a container for the lighted end of the wick. The fire is produced by striking a flint with a piece of a modern metal file.

Cc
372
375
373

In a Chané legend recorded by Nordenskiöld (216), it

216. Nord. 1. p. 252.

turns out that the Chané formerly produced fire by rubbing one little stick upon another. According to this legend, two boys and a girl received fire from an old man, who is the sun. The bird Huapi advised them to take good care of the fire. Should it once go out, they would have to make new fire with the "tata," which is the /46/ implement for making fire by rubbing two sticks together. The cacique of the Izozó, when I asked him about this implement, also knew it well and called it by its name in Guaraní. Nordenskiöld once saw a Chiriguano who had no matches with him make a fire with such an implement (217).

Cc
372

C
372

217. Nord. 1. p. 50. Cf. Métraux 1. p. 354.

Ceramics

C
445
114

The great development of ceramics among the Chiriguano and Chané, the very great variety of forms of their diverse vessels and their ornamentation have long excited the interest of ethnologists. Nordenskiöld, who gives the number of variations in the forms of the vessels of these Indians as more than 50, has published a great many of them in outline and also presents the ornamentation of many of them in sketches (218). Eric v. Rosen has also shown numerous

218. Nord. 1., Figs. 77; 78; 82; 92; 113; 117; 121, and Plate 19. Nord. 2, Figs. 38-48.

fr Schmidt--110 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
I2024

C
415
114

/46 cont./ Eric V. Rosen has also shown numerous Chiriguano vessels in drawings in his work already cited (219).

219. V. Rosen. Figs. 218-225.

Métraux describes and shows by drawings a great number of Chiriguano baked clay vessels (220).

220. Métraux 1, pp. 370-374; pp. 382-428; Plates 16-19 and 24-60.

A publication by Felix F. Outes deals particularly with Chiriguano ceramics (221).

C
[113]

221. Felix F. Outes: La ceramica Chiriguana /Chiriguano Ceramics/." From the Revista del Museo de la Plata. Vol. XVI (second series. Vol. III). Buenos Aires, 1909, pp. 121-136.

C
Ce
126
415

Because formerly in the museum of the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay we had only four baked clay vessels and a piece of a handle from the Chiriguano, which Doña Maria F. de Casati collected among them and presented to the museum, I had a special interest in filling this gap. With some effort I managed to acquire from the Isoso in Toledo 41 Chiriguano vessels, and from the Chiriguano in Macharetí, 55 of them, and with rather more effort I managed to bring them back whole and with their designs in good condition through the long trip to Asunción.

These baked clay vessels collected by me also show great variation in their form and ornamentation. But these diverse variations can be reduced to several groups, according to the purpose for which they were intended.

C
Ce
415

The Chiriguano and Chané baked clay vessels may serve very different ends:

1. To cook foods and liquids.
2. To fry /frizar, literally "to fritt"/ foods.
3. To steam maize meal.
4. To carry and keep water.

C
Ce
415

/46 cont./

5. As a container for chicha.
6. To serve chicha.
7. As a drinking container, especially for drinking chicha.
8. To store food.
9. To store anything at all.
10. As plates for eating meals.
11. As a base for the spindle in spinning.
12. As funerary urns.

C
415
126

/47/

1. Baked Clay Vessels for Cooking Foods and Liquids (yapepo), from the Collection

I. A. 412	Chirig.	Ht.	12 cm.	Max.	Dia.	14 cm.	Aperture	12 cm.
							"	(Fig. 48)
I. A. 413	"	"	26 cm.	"	"	22.5 cm.		18 cm.
								(Fig. 46)
I. A. 414	"	"	24 cm.	"	"	23 cm.	"	17 cm.
								(Fig. 44)
I. A. 415	"	"	20 cm.	"	"	19.5 cm.	"	14.5 cm.
I. A. 416	"	"	30 cm.	"	"	26 cm.	"	20 cm.
I. A. 417	"	"	22 cm.	"	"	22.5 cm.	"	19 cm.
I. A. 418	"	"	23.5 cm.	"	"	24 cm.	"	20 cm.
								(Fig. 45)
I. A. 419	"	"	22 cm.	"	"	20 cm.	"	16 cm.
								(Fig. 47)
I. A. 420	"	"	28.5 cm.	"	"	28 cm.	"	20 cm.
I. A. 421	"	"	20 cm.	"	"	22.5 cm.	"	19 cm.

C
415

The form of these ten Chiriguano vessels intended for cooking foods or liquids is essentially the same. Only the vessel I. A. 412, with a height of 12 cm., is substantially smaller than the other vessels, whose height varies between 20 and 30 cm. Only in the case of the former small vessel is the diameter of the aperture at the top equal to the height of the vessel, while for all the other vessels the diameter of the aperture at the top is less than the height, and in some cases this is a difference of up to 10 centimeters.

/47 cont./

C 415 531 difference of up to 10 centimeters. The neck is clearly distinguished from the globular belly of these vessels by a border on all of these vessels provided with sunken ornamentation. Also the flat part of the bottom is clearly distinguished from the wall by a border. The surface of the belly of the vessels has incised lines produced by rubbing the surface, when still moist, with a maize cob. Only the little vessel I. A. 412 has its entire surface covered with sunken ornamentation.

C 415 All of these vessels intended for cooking are fitted with two handles in a vertical position, attached to the upper rim of the pot and coming down to the lower part of the neck. The form of these handles shows some variation which I shall deal with in the chapter on art.

Vessel Intended for Cooking Maize Meal for the Preparation of Chicha, from the Collection

C [126] I. A. 399 (Chirig.) Ht. 52cm. Max. dia. 42cm. Aperture 24 cm. (Fig. 50).

Large baked clay vessels, which in many cases are still much larger than the specimen brought back by me from the Chiriguano, are used for cooking the maize meal used in the preparation of chicha. As shown in Fig. 50, this kind of vessel is different from the ordinary vessels intended for cooking only by not having handles. The wall of the belly is clearly C [531] distinguished from the neck and from the flat bottom. The neck of these vessels also has sunken ornamentation. The vessel shown in Figure 50 is relatively high in comparison with its maximum diameter and with the diameter of the Ce [415] aperture at the top. The vessels for cooking chicha native to the Chané on the Itiyuru and shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld have, in comparison with their maximum diameter and the diameter of their aperture, a much smaller aperture /sic/, (222).

222. Nord. 1, Fig. 83.

C
Ce
415
[126]

/48/ ./

2. Vessels Intended for Frying Maize, from the Collection

I. A. 400 (Chirig.). Ht. 14 cm. Max. dia. 33 cm. (Fig. 53a).
I. A. 592 (Izozó). " 10 cm. " " 21.5 cm.

These two vessels are very similar to each other. Both have two small handles on the rim. They differ from one another only in that the division between the flat base and the wall of the Izozó pot is more marked than on the Chiriguano vessel. A vessel very similar to the two described above and from the Chané on the Itiyuru River is shown in a drawing by Erland Nordenskiöld (223). Because Nordenskiöld states that

223. Nord. 2, p. 53 and Fig. 43, N. 23.

this vessel was intended for frying /fritar/ maize, I also consider the two similar vessels in the collection to have been used for that end.

C
415

3. Vessel for Steaming Maize Meal, from the Collection

C
[126]

I. A. 422 (Chiriguano). Height 12.5 cm. Max. dia. 23 cm. (Fig. 52.)

This vessel has some round holes in the bottom, one of which is in the center and the rest in two concentric circles around the central one. According to Nordenskiöld (224),

C
415
252

224. Nord. 2, Fig. 43, N. 22.

who shows in a drawing a vessel very similar to this one, these plates with holes in the bottom are used for steaming the maize meal with which they prepare a dish that they call in Chiriguano "huintimimimo." To do this, they put the plate with the maize meal on the aperture at the top of a pot in which they boil water (225).

225. See Métraux I, p. 357 and (Plate 13) N. 1 and 2.

8: Schmidt--114 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/48 cont./

C
Ce
415
126

4. Vessels for Carrying or Storing Water, from the Collection

I. A. 392	Chirig.	Ht.	25 cm.	Max.	Dia.	17.7 cm.	Apert.	4 cm.	(Fig. 84)
I. A. 393	"	"	32 cm.	"	"	29.5 cm.	"	9 cm.	
I. A. 395	"	"	32 cm.	"	"	31.5 cm.	"	13.5 cm.	
I. A. 396	"	"	32 cm.	"	"	30 cm.	"	14.5 cm.	(Fig. 55)
I. A. 589	Izozó	"	34 cm.	"	"	23.7 cm.	"	6.5 cm.	
I. A. 606	"	"	24.5 cm.	"	"	18.5 cm.	"	3.5 cm.	(Fig. 56a)
I. A. 607	"	"	13.5 cm.	"	"	14.5 cm.	"	13 cm.	
I. A. 608	"	"	19.5 cm.	"	"	19.2 cm.	"	3.5 cm.	(Fig. 83b)
I. A. 617	"	"	16 cm.	"	"	17 cm.	"	11.5 cm.	(Fig. 56b)
I. A. 621	"	"	28.5 cm.	"	"	18.4 cm.	"	3.5 cm.	(Fig. 83a)
I. A. 761	"	"	40.5 cm.	"	"	27.5 cm.	"	7 cm.	(Fig. 54)
I. A. 762	"	"	44 cm.	"	"	34.5 cm.	"	7.9 cm.	
I. A. 763	"	"	48 cm.	"	"	35 cm.	"	7.7 cm.	

C
Ce
[531]

The vessels mentioned in the above, in contrast with the cooking pots, have a smooth surface. Also they are not painted. This leads us to assume that they are intended for common use rather than for festive occasions, and we must consider them primarily as vessels for water, which naturally does not preclude their being used on occasion for chicha. Plates XIV-XVII appear here.

Plate XIV

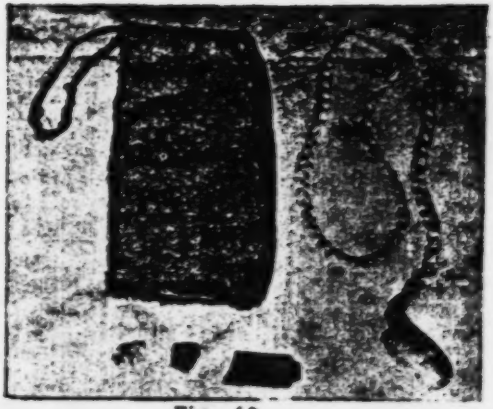


Fig. 40

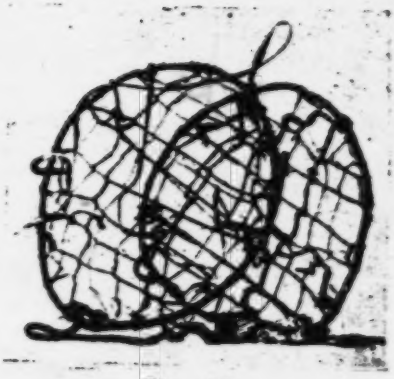


Fig. 41

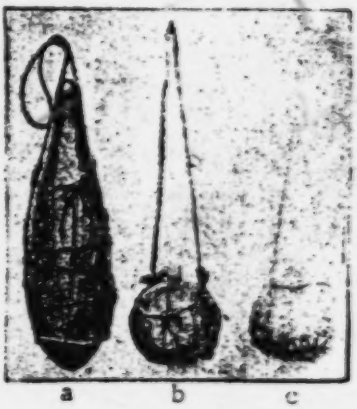


Fig. 42

Fig. 43

/The captions are on p. 117./

415

Plate XV

Fig. 44

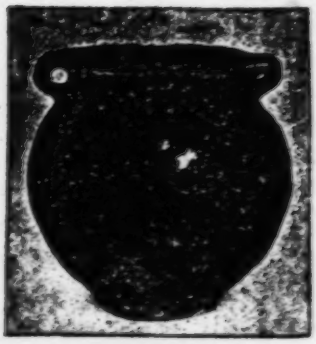


Fig. 46

Fig. 45

Fig. 48

Fig. 47

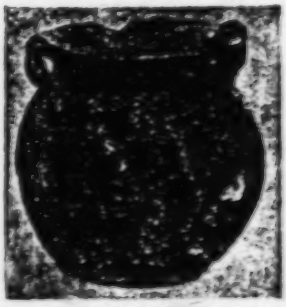


Fig. 49

/The captions are on p. 117./

/Captions for Plates XIV and XV./

C 372 415 Fig. 40. (I. A. 516) Implements for making fire (Chiriguano):
a (I. A. 516a), bag as receptacle for the implements, length 16 cm., width 8.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 516b), cotton wick, length 62 cm.;
C [237] c (I. A. 516c), receptacle for the end of the wick, nest of a species of wasp, length 4.2 cm.;
d (I. A. 516d), piece of a metal file, length 4 cm.
e, flints.

C 415 285 Fig. 41. (I. A. 583) A pair of hoops for storing goods (Chiriguano), diameter 43 cm.

Ce 415 Fig. 42. Calabashes for carrying water (Izozó):
a (I. A. 661), height 49.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 662), height 16 cm.;
Ce [824] c (I. A. 665), height 17.5 cm., made out of the fruit of the tree Crescentia Cuyeta /Crescentia cujete/.

C 285 796 Fig. 43. Objects plaited out of palm leaves, used in religious festivities (Chiriguano):
a (I. A. 1439), length 72 cm.;
b (I. A. 1440), length 37 cm.

C 415 Plate XV. Baked clay vessels for cooking foods (Chiriguano).

Fig. 44 (I. A. 414). -- Height 24 cm.
Fig. 45 (I. A. 418). -- Height 23.5 cm.
Fig. 46 (I. A. 413). -- Height 26 cm.
Fig. 47 (I. A. 419). -- Height 22 cm.
Fig. 48 (I. A. 412). -- Height 12 cm.
Fig. 49 (I. A. 417). -- Height 22 cm.

Plate XVI

415

[531]

Fig. 50

Fig. 51

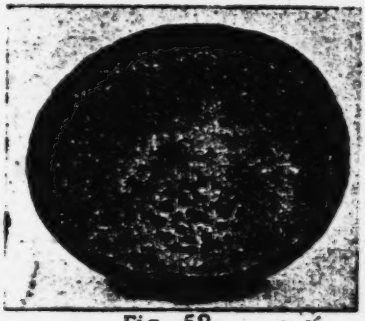
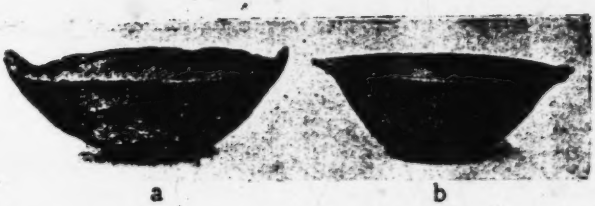


Fig. 52



a b

Fig. 53

/The captions are on p. 120./

Plate XVII

Ce
415
286
482
←

C
415
→

Fig. 5

Fig. 55

Ce
415
284
←

Ce
415
→

a b

Fig. 5

/The captions are on p. 120./

8: Schmidt--120 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XVI and XVII./

C
415

Fig. 50 (I. A. 399). -- Vessel for cooking maize meal for the preparation of chicha (Chiriguano), height 52 cm.

Fig. 51 (I. A. 397). -- Vessel for storing chicha (Chiriguano), height 62 cm.

Fig. 52 (I. A. 422). -- Baked clay dish with holes in the bottom for steaming maize meal (Chiriguano), height 12.5 cm.

Fig. 53: a (I. A. 400), vessel for frying /fritar/ maize (Chiriguano), height 14 cm.;
b (I. A. 401), vessel for storing food (Chiriguano), height 11.5 cm.

Plate XVII. Baked clay vessels.

Ce
415
286
482
C
415
ce
415
284
ce
415

Fig. 54 (I. A. 761). -- Vessel with net, for carrying water (Izozó), height 40.5 cm.

Fig. 55 (I. A. 396). -- Vessel for carrying or storing water (Chiriguano), height 32 cm.

Fig. 56: a (I. A. 606), vessel with an interlacing of thread (Izozó), height 24.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 617), vessel with a leather strap (Izozó), height 16 cm.

/49/

C
●415 Among the four Chiriguano vessels of this kind, there are three different types. Two of them have a globular form of the belly and the well-marked distinction of the neck and of the flat bottom, like the cooking vessels, but the surface of the neck too, is smooth, and the handles are different. These, in contrast to the others, are placed in a position horizontal to the wall of the belly of the vessel, slightly above the maximum diameter.

The other two Chiriguano vessels of this kind do not have handles, and their aperture at the top, in comparison to the height, is relatively small. Vessel I. A. 393 has a round bottom, with the result that it cannot stand upright on a flat surface. Vessel I. A. 392, besides its very small aperture, has a cylindrical neck, narrow and relatively high, which can easily be encompassed by the hand.

Ce
415 The Izozó vessels for water have an aperture at the top that is relatively quite small. Three of them have a round bottom and hence cannot stand on a flat surface, while the bottoms of the rest are flat. The necks of all of these vessels are very little distinguished and that of vessel I. A. 608 is very short.
Ce
[531] The surface is smooth and unpainted. Vessels I. A. 761, 762, and 763 are inside a net, which indicates that they are special vessels for carrying water. Vessel I. A. 606 is clearly a vessel for the same purpose on account of an interlacing of thread on its lower part. None of these Izozó water vessels have handles except for two small vessels which are also different in form from the others. They have two handles which come down vertically from the upper rim. They also differ from the other vessels in their relatively large aperture at the top. Vessel I. A. 617 has a leather strap attached to its two handles.

8: Schmidt--122 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
I2020

C
415
126

5. Vessels Used as Chicha Receptacles, from the Collection

1.A. 355 Chirig. (226). No handles. Ht. 15.5 cm. Max. dia. 20.5 cm. Apert. 15 cm.

226. Donated by D. María F. de Casati.

1.A. 368	Chirig.	No handles.	Ht.	27 cm.	Max. dia.	36 cm.	Apert.	30 cm.	(Fig. 59)
1.A. 369	"	" "	"	22.5 "	"	"	42 "	"	42 "	(Fig. 60)
1.A. 370	"	" "	"	26 "	"	"	39.5 "	"	27 "	(Fig. 58)
1.A. 372	"	Two handles	"	20 "	"	"	24.5 "	"	21 "	
1.A. 373	"	" "	"	15 "	"	"	22.5 "	"	20 "	(Fig. 75a)
1.A. 374	"	" "	"	16 "	"	"	18 "	"	13 "	(Fig. 75b)
1.A. 375	"	No handles	"	13 "	"	"	28 "	"	28 "	(Fig. 67)
1.A. 376	"	2 handles, 1 broken		24 "	"	"	27 "	"	21 "	(Fig. 62)
1.A. 377	"	No handles	Ht.	26 "	"	"	30.3 "	"	24 "	(Fig. 57)
1.A. 378	"	Two handles	"	21.5 "	"	"	22.8 "	"	17 "	(Fig. 63)
1.A. 381	"	No handles	"	14 "	"	"	18.5 "	"	15 "	(Fig. 71)
1.A. 383	"	Two handles	"	12 "	"	"	15.7 "	"	13 "	(Fig. 74b)
1.A. 384	"	" "	"	13.5 "	"	"	16 "	"	11 "	
1.A. 386	"	" "	"	16 "	"	"	19.1 "	"	13 "	(Fig. 73b)
1.A. 387	"	" "	"	16 "	"	"	18.8 "	"	13 "	(Fig. 73a)
1.A. 397	"	No handles	"	62 "	"	"	53 "	"	24 "	(Fig. 51)
1.A. 398	"	" "	"	52 "	"	"	45.2 "	"	18.5 "	
1.A. 407	"	" "	"	9 "	"	"	17 "	"	17 "	(Fig. 77b)
1.A. 408	"	" "	"	8 "	"	"	18.5 "	"	17.5 "	(Fig. 77a)
1.A. 409	"	" "	"	7.2 "	"	"	13 "	"	13 "	

/50/

CE
415
126

1.A. 593	Isasé	" "	"	14 "	"	"	18.5 "	"	18.5 "	
1.A. 596	"	Two handles	"	16 "	"	"	16.2 "	"	11.5 "	(Fig. 68a)
1.A. 598	"	" "	"	13.2 "	"	"	25 "	"	25 "	
1.A. 600	"	No handles	"	13 "	"	"	25.7 "	"	25.7 "	(Fig. 76a)
1.A. 601	"	" "	"	22.5 "	"	"	26.7 "	"	23.5 "	(Fig. 69b)
1.A. 604	"	" "	"	29 "	"	"	27.4 "	"	24 "	(Fig. 61)
1.A. 605	"	" "	"	19.2 "	"	"	22.5 "	"	21.5 "	(Fig. 69a)
1.A. 622	"	" "	"	15.5 "	"	"	19 "	"	15.5 "	(Fig. 68b)

/50 cont./

C
Ce
415

Among the vessels used as receptacles for chicha, those of the Chiriguano generally show different forms from those of the Izozó. The form of these Chiriguano vessels, especially that of the large ones, generally has a globular belly (cf. the figures 368 /see Fig. 59, p.129/, 370 /see Fig. 58, p.129/, and 377 /see Fig. 57, p.129/), while on the vessels of the Izozó the lower part of the belly becomes larger going upward and is commonly distinguished by a border on the upper part which becomes smaller going upward. (Cf. Figs. 61 /see p.129/, 68, and 69 /see p.132/.) The surface of all of these vessels is smooth and, with the exception of a few Izozó vessels, have designs on them. Only the large Chiriguano vessel I. A. 397 has a round bottom; all the other vessels have flat bottoms marked off from the belly by a border.

C
Ce
[531]

Among these Chiriguano and Izozó vessels there are some which have their maximum diameter at the aperture on top (cf. Figs. 60 /see p.129/ and 67 /see p.130/), which gives them the shape of a large dish. Vessels I. A. 397 and 398 differ from the rest by their height.

Of these Chiriguano pots, nine have handles and 12 do not. Of the eight Izozó pots, only two have handles. (Cf. Fig. 68a /see p.132/.) Most of these Izozó pots have the peculiarity that the necks, well distinguished by a border, become wider toward the upper rim. (Cf. Figs. 61 /see p.129/ and 69 a and b /see p.132/.)

/50 cont./

C
415
126

6. Vessels Intended for Serving Chicha, from the Collection

I. A. 347	(226)	Chir.	Ht. 18.3 cm.	Max. dia.	15.3 cm.	Apert.	10 cm.	(Fig. 65)
I. A. 348	(226)	Chir.	Ht. 14.5 cm.	Max. dia.	14.7 cm.	Apert.	8 cm.	
I. A. 349	(226)	"	Ht. 18.5 cm.	Max. dia.	18.2 cm.	"	5.2 cm.	
I. A. 371		"	" 20	" "	" 21.3	"	" 8.5 cm.	
I. A. 379		"	" 18.5	" "	" 16	"	" 6 cm.	
I. A. 380		"	" 20	" "	" 18.3	"	" 8.5 cm.	(Fig. 82a)
I. A. 382		"	" 18	" "	" 14	"	" 7 cm.	(Fig. 82b)
I. A. 385		"	" 20.5	" "	" 21.7	"	" 9 cm.	
I. A. 402		"	" 22	" "	" 15.5	"	" 12 cm.	
I. A. 403		"	" 17.5	" "	" 14.5	"	" 14 cm.	(Fig. 64)
I. A. 404		"	" 20	" "	" 21.5	"	" 9 cm.	(Fig. 74a)
I. A. 405		"	" 19	" "	" 19	"	" 7 cm.	
I. A. 587		Izozó	" 18	" "	" 16.2	"	" 12 cm.	
I. A. 588		"	" 14	" "	" 14.3	"	" 12 cm.	
I. A. 590		"	" 13	" "	" 12.8	"	" 12.5 cm.	
I. A. 609		"	" 14	" "	" 12.5	"	" 12 cm.	
I. A. 623		"	" 20.5	" "	" 18	"	" 12.5 cm.	(Fig. 66)

Ce
415
126

/Fn. 226, which appears on p. 122, reads:
Donated by D. María F. de Casati./

C
Ce
415
527
273

The Chiriguano and Chané use vessels like those mentioned above in the chicha festivities, taking the chicha from the large pots by means of them and filling the cuyas /gourd vessels/ or baked clay cups that they pass among those present at the fiesta.

/51/

C Ce 415 Among these vessels we must distinguish two different principal types. The vessels of the first type have the globular form of the belly, a narrowed part at the neck, a relatively small aperture, a flat bottom, and a vertical handle placed on the upper rim and coming down to the upper part of the belly. See Figs. 74 /see p.133/ and 82 /see p.144/. The C Ce [177] second type, whose form was no doubt received from the whites, differs from the first primarily in that its aperture has a spout like modern vessels: See Figs. 64 and 65 /see p.130/. Vessels of this type also have a handle that, placed at the upper rim, comes down to the upper part of the belly.

C 415 In addition to these vessels I found one among the Chiriguano which corresponds in form to vessel I. A. 382, already mentioned among the vessels for carrying water. Like that one, it has a narrow, cylindrical neck that can easily be encompassed by the hand and has no handle. Because its surface has designs, I have included it among the vessels intended for serving chicha.

Ce 415 126

7. Vessels Intended for Drinking Liquids, from the Collection

I. A. 602	Izozó	Ht.	10 cm.	Max.	dia.	12.5 cm.	Apert.	10 cm. (Fig. 70b)
I. A. 603	"	"	8 cm.	"	"	9 cm.	"	6 cm.
I. A. 610	"	"	8 cm.	"	"	10.5 cm.	"	8.5 cm.
I. A. 611	"	"	9 cm.	"	"	11.5 cm.	"	8 cm.

Among the vessels collected among the Izozó there are four C Ce 415 in the shape of cups. From the types of vessels shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld (227), it is learned that similar cups

227. Nord. 2, Fig. 40, N. 26; Fig. 42, N. 22 and 23; Fig. 44, N. 19-21.

C Ce are used by the Chané on the Itiyuru and by the Chiriguano. [177] We must assume that the form of these cups is the result of the influence of European styles. These vessels have a globular

Ce 415 /51 cont./ These vessels have a globular form and are provided with a handle. The bottom of three of them is clearly distinct from the belly, forming a foot. Ce [531] Two of them have designs on the surface; the others are without designs.

C 415 [126]

8. Vessels Used as Receptacles for Food, from the Collection

I. A. 394. Chiriguano. Height 17.5 cm. Aperture 44 cm.
I. A. 401. " " 11.5 cm. " 30 cm.

C [264] Two of the baked clay dishes that I obtained from the Chiriguano in Machareti seem to me to be too big to be considered as dishes for eating, because Nordenskiöld states that (228) the Chiriguano do not eat from a common dish, but

228. Nord. 1, p. 190.

rather each one has his own separate dish. We can assume that these are vessels used as food containers or serving dishes for food before it is placed on the individual dishes.

C [531] The two dishes are without designs. The flat bottom is well distinguished from the wall, which widens upward. The dish I. A. 401 has a rather wide rim which has two handles. Cf. Fig. 53b /see p. 118/.

C Ce 415 [171]

9. Vessels Used for Storing Objects

In contrast to the other Indians, the Chiriguano and Chané use vessels for keeping anything of value. I did not receive from the Indians any indication /52/ that any of the vessels I brought from them belonged particularly to this type. Therefore I refer here to a vessel shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld with the caption "For keeping knicknacks in" /cited in English/ (229).

229. Nord. 2, p. 158 and Fig. 45, N. 19.

/52 cont./

C
Ce
415

Nordenskiöld says in another place that the mistress of the house keeps all the family's valuable things, such as clothing, ornaments, silver plates, turquoise or chrysocolla necklaces, and many other things, in these vessels (230).

230. Nord. 1, p. 179.

C
415
126

10. Dishes for Eating (nyá e), from the Collection

I. A. 388	Chirig.	Height	6.5 cm.	Aperture	21 cm. (Fig. 79a)
I. A. 389	"	"	8 cm.	"	23.5 cm. (Fig. 79b)
I. A. 390	"	"	5.2 cm.	"	15 cm.
I. A. 391	"	"	4 cm.	"	13 cm.
I. A. 406	"	"	9 cm.	"	25 cm. (Fig. 78a)
I. A. 586	Izozó	"	13 cm.	"	25.5 cm. (Fig. 76b)
I. A. 591	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	16.5 cm.
I. A. 594	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	21 cm.
I. A. 595	"	"	9 cm.	"	20 cm. (Fig. 80a)
I. A. 598	"	"	13.2 cm.	"	25 cm.
I. A. 612	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	19 cm.
I. A. 613	"	"	8 cm.	"	21 cm. (Fig. 80c)
I. A. 614	"	"	9 cm.	"	22 cm.
I. A. 615	"	"	10.5 cm.	"	27.5 cm.
I. A. 616	"	"	10.5 cm.	"	22 cm.
I. A. 618	"	"	10 cm.	"	18.5 cm.
I. A. 620	"	"	15.5 cm.	"	15 cm.

C
Ce
415
R64
[531]

Because every Chiriguano and Chanés, as already mentioned, eats from his own dish, such baked clay dishes are found in great number in the houses of these Indians. Many of them that are intended for ordinary use do not have designs, while others, used on the occasion of fiestas, have designs on their outer surface or on the upper rim of the interior surface, or are provided with small additions.

Chané SF8
Izozo

/52 cont./

C
Ce
415

All of these dishes have a round belly, becoming somewhat larger going upward. The differences in form are limited only to variations of the upper rim and the bottom. The wall of some of these dishes ends at the top without forming a special rim. Cf. Fig. 76b /see p.143/. Other dishes have a rim in a horizontal or oblique direction. The upper rim of dish I. A. 406 (cf. Fig. 78a /see p.143/) has small continuous incising. The flat bottom of most Izozó dishes is clearly distinct from the wall, forming a foot. This distinction of the bottom is lacking in most Chiriguano dishes, one of which has an almost round bottom.

C
Ce
[531]

Ce
415
[126]

11. Vessel used in Spinning, from the Collection I. A. 619. (Izozó). Height 5 cm. Aperture 12 cm. (Fig. 81b.)

Ce
415
283

Nordenskiöld (231) shows in drawings two small dishes of

231. Nord. II, p. 165 and Fig. 44, No. 23 and 24.

the Chané of the Parapití River, which, according to his statement, are used in the spinning technique /Plates XVIII-XXI appear here/ /53/ as a base for whirling the spindle on its bottom. The small dish I. A. 619, which I obtained from the Izozó and which differs from the other dishes in the collection principally because of its thick and heavy bottom, is similar, with regard to its form and its dimensions, to those two dishes published by Nordenskiöld, and thus I assume it to be for the same purpose, although I did not obtain any indication from the Indians regarding that.

Ce
[174]

8: Schmidt--129 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
12420

C
415
531

Plate XVIII

Fig. 57

Fig. 58

Fig. 59

Fig. 60

C
415
531
←
C
415
531
→

Fig. 61

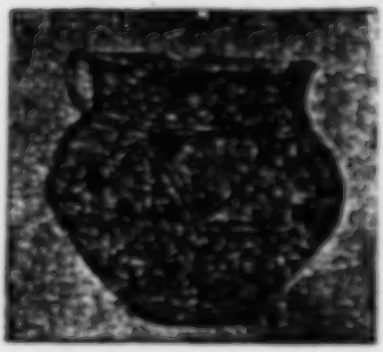


Fig. 62

/The captions are on p. 131./

R Schmidt--130 E-5 (1938) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
Izozo

Plate XIX

C
415
531

Fig. 63

Fig. 64

Fig. 65

Ce
415
531
C
415
531

Fig. [illegible]

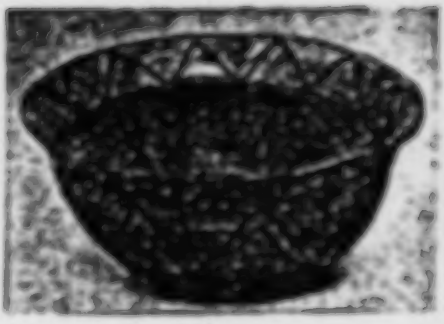


Fig. 67

/The captions appear on p. 131./

St Schmidt--131 E-5 (1908) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF 8
I2020

/Captions for Plates XVIII and XIX./

C
415
531

Plate XVIII. Baked clay vessels for chicha.

Fig. 57. (I. A. 377) (Chiriguano) Height 26 cm.
Fig. 58. (I. A. 370) (Chiriguano) Height 26 cm.
Fig. 59. (I. A. 368) (Chiriguano) Height 27 cm.
Fig. 60. (I. A. 369) (Chiriguano) Height 27.5 cm.
Fig. 61. (I. A. 604) (Izozó) Height 29 cm.
Fig. 62. (I. A. 376) (Chiriguano) Height 24 cm.

Cc
415
531

Plate XIX. Baked clay vessels.

Fig. 63. (I. A. 378) Baked clay vessel for chicha (Chiriguano). Height 21.5 cm. Cf. Fig. 146 /see p. /.
Fig. 64. (I. A. 403) Baked clay vessel for serving chicha (Chiriguano). Height 17.5 cm. Cf. Fig. 145 /see p. /.
Fig. 65. (I. A. 347) Baked clay vessel for serving chicha (Chiriguano). Height 18.3 cm.
Fig. 66. (I. A. 622) Baked clay vessel for serving chicha (Izozó). Hgt. 20.5 cm.
Fig. 67. (I. A. 375) Baked clay vessel for chicha (Chiriguano). Height 13.5 cm.

Cc
415
531

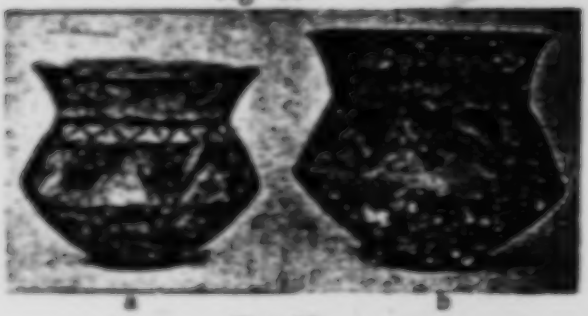
R. Schmidt--132 E-S (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XX

CE 415 531

a b

Fig. 68



a b

Fig. 69

a b

Fig. 70

CE 415 531
CE 415 531

Fig. 71

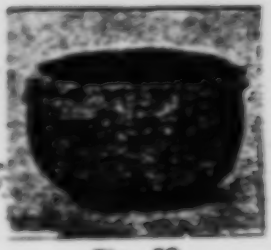


Fig. 72

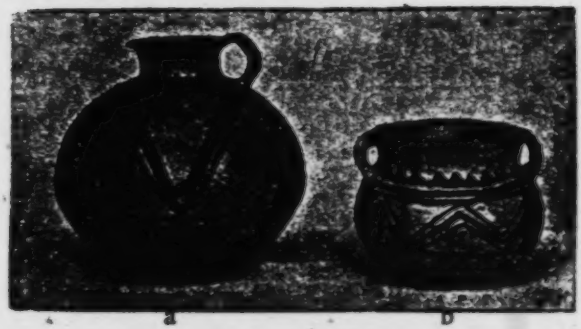
/The captions appear on p. 134./

Plate XXI

●415
531

a b

Fig. 73



a b

Fig. 74

a b

Fig. 75

/The captions appear on p. 134./

8: Schmidt--134 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XX and XXI./

C
415
531

Fig. 68. Baked clay vessels for chicha (Izozó):
a (I. A. 596), height 16 cm.;
b (I. A. 622), height 15.5 cm.

Fig. 69. Baked clay vessels for chicha (Izozó):
a (I. A. 605), height 19.2 cm.;
b (I. A. 601), height 22.5 cm.

Fig. 70. Baked clay vessels (Izozó):
a (I. A. 599), height 9 cm.;
b (I. A. 602), height 10 cm.

C
[415]
[531]

Fig. 71. Baked clay vessel for chicha (I. A. 381) (Chiriguano), height 14 cm.

Fig. 72. Baked clay vessel (I. A. 597) (Izozó), height 10.5 cm.

C
415
531

Plate XXI. Baked clay vessels (Chiriguano).

Fig. 73. Vessels for chicha:
a (I. A. 387), height 16 cm.;
b (I. A. 386), height 16 cm.

Fig. 74. a (I. A. 404), vessel for serving chicha, height 20 cm.;
b (I. A. 383), vessel for chicha, height 12 cm.

Fig. 75. Vessels for chicha:
a (I. A. 373), height 15 cm.;
b (I. A. 374), height 16 cm.

/53 cont./

12. Funerary Urns

764
415

In the chapter on the treatment of illnesses and burial, I have already dealt with the Chiriguano custom of placing their dead inside funerary urns and of closing these with other vessels. According to Nordenskiöld (232), the large baked clay

232. Nord. 1, p. 278.

vessels used for preparing and keeping chicha also serve as funerary urns. Because among those Indians burial in funerary urns is a direct burial, that is, the entire corpse is placed within the urn, the vessels selected for funerary urns must be large enough to have room for the corpse of an adult. Un-
[126] fortunately, I was unable to bring such large vessels from Machareti. The largest of the vessels that I brought, 52 cm. and 62 cm. in height, are not big enough for an adult, and in particular their apertures on top, which measure only up to 24 cm., are too small to be able to squeeze in a dead person. Therefore, with reference to funerary urns and their respective tops, I refer to the drawing made by Nordenskiöld (233). Outes

233. Nord. 1, Fig. 113.

has published a Chiriguano vessel with a height of 27.5 cm. and an aperture on top of 27.5 cm., which had served as a funerary urn for a small child. With the urn was found a small baked clay dish approximately 6 cm. high (234).

234. Felix F. Outes, op. cit., p. 135 and Figs. 30 and 31.

Outes' data show that the vessels of the Chiriguano can reach quite large dimensions (235). Among the vessels

235. Felix F. Outes, op. cit., pp. 127 and 128.

C
764
415

/53 cont./

described by him there is one which is 92 cm. high and has an aperture at the top 70 cm. in diameter. Another is 110 cm. high and its maximum diameter measures 85 cm. In 1845, in Capirendá, Wedell found such vessels with a height of 120 cm. and a maximum diameter of 100 cm. for the wall of the belly.

C
415
126

13. Various Vessels with No Indication Regarding Their Purpose, from the Collection

I. A. 410 (Chirig.). Ht. 14.5 cm. Max. dia. 8 cm. Apert. 5 cm. (Fig. 81b).

I. A. 411 ("). Ht. 13.5 cm. Length 21 cm. (Fig. 81a).

Ce
415
126

I. A. 597 (Izozó). " 10.5 cm. Max. dia. 16.7 cm. Apert. 15 cm. (Fig. 72).

I. A. 599 (") " 9 cm. " " 13 cm. " 10 cm. (Fig. 70a).

C
Ce
415
177

We have no evidence regarding the purpose of these four vessels which are different in form from the other types of vessels. We must regard the small, double vessel I. A. 411 (cf. Fig. 81a /see p.144/) as a special result of the mixture of various, but different cultural elements. The way in which the two small dishes are joined to form a double vessel /54/ corresponds to ancient Peruvian models, while the form of the handle, fitted with a ring, is doubtless an addition of European origin. The whole has the form of a salt cellar and was perhaps made to be sold to the whites for this purpose. We must also consider the vessel I. A. 410 (cf. Fig. 81b /see p.14[illegible]/) as merchandise, while the two vessels I. A. 597 and 599 seem to be manufactured for some use in festivities.

Ce
[439]

Baked Clay Spindle Whorls

C
Ca
283
323

The spindle whorls collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó are of baked clay or wood, and the Chiriguano also have some spindles with stone whorls. Because I shall deal with spindle whorls in the chapter on spinning, I wish only to

Plate XXII

ce 415 531

a Fig. 76 b

c 415 531

a b

Fig. 77

c 415 ← ce 415 →

a b

Fig. 78

c 415 531

a b

Fig. 79

ce 415

a b c

Fig. 80

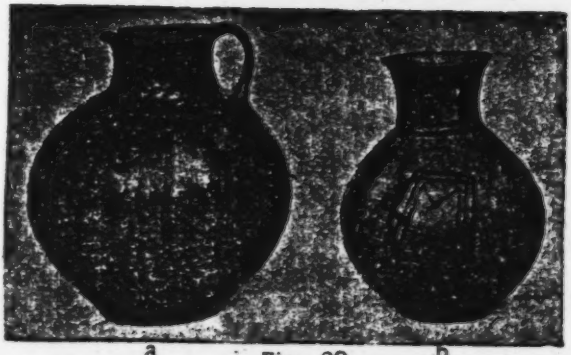
/The captions are on p. 145./

8: Schmidt--144 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
415
531

Plate XXIII

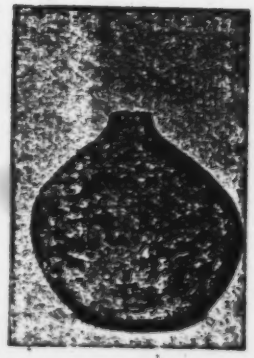
a Fig. 81 b

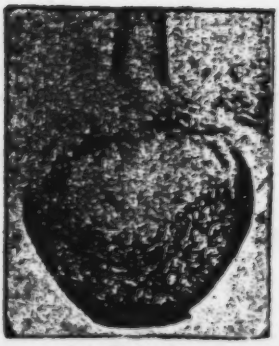


a Fig. 82 b

Ce
415

C
415





b Fig. 8

Fig. 83

/The captions are on p. 145./

8: Schmidt--145 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Ce 415 531

/Captions for Plates XXII and XXIII./

Fig. 76. a (I.A.600), vessel for chicha (Izozó), height 13 cm.;
b (I.A. 586), eating dish (Izozó), height 13 cm.

C 415 531

Fig. 77. Vessels for chicha (Chiriguano):
a (I.A. 408), height 8 cm.;
b (I.A. 407), height 9 cm.

C 415 Ce 415

Fig. 78. a (I.A. 406), eating dish (Chiriguano), height 9 cm.;
b (I.A. 598), eating dish (Izozó), height 13.2 cm.

C 415 531

Fig. 79. Eating dishes (Chiriguano):
a (I.A. 388), height 6.5 cm.;
b (I.A. 389), height 8 cm.

Ce 415

Fig. 80. a (I.A. 595), eating dish (Izozó), height 9 cm.;
b (I.A. 619), vessel used in the spinning technique as a base for the spindle (Izozó), height 5 cm.;
c (I.A. 613), eating dish (Izozó), height 8 cm.

C 415 531

Plate XXIII. Baked clay vessels.

Fig. 81. Chiriguano:
a (I.A. 411), height 13.5 cm.;
b (I.A. 410), height 14.5 cm.

Fig. 82. Vessels for serving chicha (Chiriguano):
a (I.A. 380), height 20 cm.;
b (I.A. 382), height 18 cm.

Ce 415

Fig. 83. Vessels for carrying or storing water (Izozó):
a (I.A. 621), height 28.5 cm.;
b (I.A. 608), height 19.5 cm.

C 415

Fig. 84. (I.A. 392) Vessel for carrying or storing water (Chiriguano), height 25 cm.

/60 cont./

C 285 Plaited objects of the first type are made in such a way that the strips of one group are plaited with the strips of another group vertical to the first one, in such a way that the strips of the first group pass alternately a certain number of the strips of the second group and are passed by them, and in such a way that the meshes which go in the same direction form lines of steps. The number of the strips passed each time by one strip of the other group is generally three or two at a time, but there are cases in which only one strip is passed each time.

C [126] [513] [415] [291] Among the plaited objects of this type, I obtained from the Chiriguano a large sleeping mat, small flat baskets /canastillas/, sieves, a quadrangular basket /cesta/, and a hat, and from the Izozó small flat baskets /canastillas/similar to those of the Chiriguano and two different kinds of baskets /cestas/. In addition, the Chiriguano and Chané also infrequently use fans for fanning the fire (tapèkua) plaited out of palm leaves (260).

Ce [415] [126]

C Ce 285 372

260. Nord. 1, p. 56.

Ce [824] Métraux has described and shown in a drawing such a fan for fanning the fire. This fan is plaited out of the leaves of the caranday palm in the "Stufengeflechte" style, in such a way that strips of the first group pass alternately two strips of the second group and are /Plates XXVI-XXVII appear here/ /61/ passed by them. The leaflets, separated from the stem, enlace a stick which, forming the upper edge of the fan, replaces the stem of the pinnate leaves of other palms which are used by other tribes of South American Indians in the manufacture of plaited fans (261).

261. Métraux I, pp. 460 and 461 and Plate 85.

/65 cont./

• 445 Wooden Hoops for Storing Possessions, in the Collection

[126]

I.A. 580.	A pair of hoops (Chiriguano).					Diameter	53 cm.
I.A. 581.	"	"	"	"	"	"	51 cm.
I.A. 582.	"	"	"	"	"	"	46 cm.
I.A. 583.	"	"	"	"	"	"	43 cm. (Fig. 41).
I.A. 584.	One hoop				"	"	48 cm.

In the Chiriguano houses in Macharete I found hanging wooden hoops, which, usually in pairs, served for storing various possessions of the Indians. The circular area of the hoops is filled in with strips of cane that are stretched across the hoop and interwoven as Figure 41 shows. The hoops are provided with strings or strips of leather in order to be hung in the houses (268).

[285]

268. See Métraux I, p. 471, Figs. 126 and 127.

285
126 Modern Plaited Objects in the Collection

I.A. 503.	Basket (Chiriguano).		Diam.	18 cm.	Height	12.5	cm.
I.A. 550.	"	"	"	27 cm.	"	13	cm.
I.A. 552.	"	"	"	31 cm.	"	23	cm.
I.A. 553	Flat basket	"	"	56 cm.	"	16	cm.

/66/ I obtained from the Chiriguano some baskets whose technique is completely different from the technique of the baskets described above. They are so similar to the baskets commonly used by the Paraguayans that we must consider them products of an absolutely modern craft, and it is not necessary for us to deal with their technique. Nordenskiöld and Métraux show in sketches and describe such baskets of the Chiriguano, among which some have handles and others lids (269).

[171]

285

269. Nord. 2, p. 171 and Figs. 53 and 51. Métraux I, pp. 444-453, Plates 73-77.

8: Schmidt--177 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguanc SF10
Chane SF8
I2020

ce
286

Plate XXX

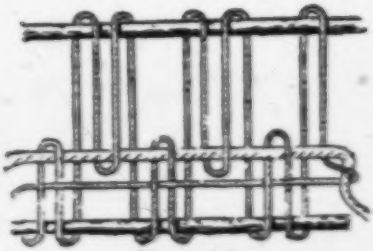


Fig. 105

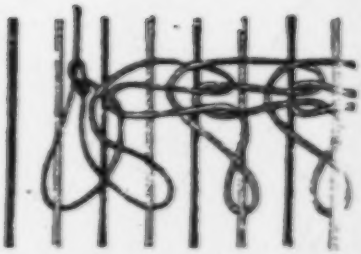


Fig. 106

Ce
301
286

Fig. 107

Fig. 108

Fig. 109

Fig. 110

C
Ce
301
286
415

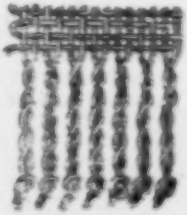


Fig. 111

Fig. 112

Fig. 113

/The captions appear on p. 179./

C
Ce /69 cont./
291 6. Fajas. I.A. 428-441 (Chiriguano) (I.A. 423, Figs. 119b
126 and 123; I.A. 430, Fig. 124; I.A. 436, Figs. 119a and 121).
I.A. 803-807 (Izozó) (I.A. 803, Figs. 119c and 122).

Ce 7. Saddle covers.
492 I.A. 842 (Izozó). Of wool. Length 0.69 m. Width
126 0.67 m.
I.A. 843 " " " 1.42 m. "
0.62 m. (Figs. 103a and 126.)

C 8. Carrying bag (Chiriguano). Of wool. Length 1.07 m. Width
415 0.45 m. (Fig. 131a.)
126
[492] 9. Double bags for carrying loads on asses or horses.
I.A. 445. (Chirig.) Wool. Entire lgth. 92 cm. Width 37 cm. (Figs. 115 and 131b.)

Ce I.A. 811. (Izozó) Wool. Entire lgth. 93 cm. Width 46.5 cm. (Fig. 132.)
492 I.A. 821. " Cotton. " " 94 cm. " 40 cm.
415 I.A. 822. " " " " 106 cm. " 36 cm.
126 I.A. 839. " " " " 97 cm. " 35 cm.
I.A. 840. " " " " 104 cm. " 36 cm.
I.A. 841. " Wool " " 92 cm. " 46 cm.

Ce Of the three tipoys in the collection acquired from the Izozó,
291 one (I.A. 820) consists of a fabric in the form of a sleeve made
286 with the warp in this form. The woolen tipoy (I.A. 832) was lengthened by sewing together two such woven pieces, one beside the other. The structure of the weaving clearly shows the thread which was extended between the two vertical poles of the loom before making the warp, and which remained in the cloth. Tipoy I.A. 838 is not typical and consists of a flat piece of weaving whose two facing edges were sewed together.

C With regard to the making of ponchos, we must mention
Ce that those of the Chiriguano consist of two pieces of woven ma-
291 terial sewed to each other in the direction of the slit of the
286 poncho, while Izozó ponchos most often consist of a single piece of weaving made across the entire width of the loom and therefore do not show a seam in the middle part such as Chiriguano ponchos show. From the stiff edges in the direction of the woof, it can clearly be seen that the special mechanism

C
Ce /70 cont./
291
286 The manufacture of the fajas of wool or cotton is like that of the men's hair bands woven of human hair. The manner of securing the loops of the free threads at the end of the fajas is also in general the same, as Figure 111 shows, except only that the fringes consist of more than one of these loops, with the result that they form thicker, twisted threads, which end in knots.

Ce
492
286 Of the two saddle covers, one (I. A. 842) is woven in the ordinary fashion of mantas, while the other, I. A. 843, shows in its manufacture the peculiarity that each time two woof threads pass through the same division of warp threads this is done in such a way that one of these two woof threads passes through the division from left to right, and the other from right to left. The diagram shown in Figure 126 shows the course of this double woof thread and also shows how in this way they manage to make the edge of the piece of weaving firmer than it would have been had the two woof threads passed through the division of warp threads in the same direction.

C
415
286 The weaving from which the Chiriguano bag I. A. 444 was made was not made up of a fabric in the form of a manta. By sewing up the two narrower sides, there was first made a piece in the form of a sleeve, from which the bag was made by sewing the edges together, leaving only one part open for the opening.

The double bags mentioned above are made of a flat fabric of either wool or cotton thread, by folding over the two ends and sewing the edges together. The diagram shown in Figure 112 shows the flat fabric before the edges are sewed. All the outside edges of the material are secured by the process of weaving itself, since the fabric is first made in the form of a sleeve and then changed into a flat piece by removing the thread which was extended between the two vertical poles of the loom. Also, the edges, indicated in the diagram by EF, GH, EI, GL, FK, and HM, are secured by the weaving process, which was managed by passing the woof thread through the divisions of the warp, only by parts in the way we know for making the slit in ponchos. Only in those places indicated on the diagram as JL and MK are the warp threads cut in such a way that these sides of the piece

C /70 cont./
415
286 of weaving are not secured by the weaving process itself. In order to change the piece of weaving described in the foregoing into the double bag, its two ends are folded over at the dotted lines in the diagram, with the result that points A, B, C, and D are placed on top of points A/, B/, C/, and D/. Then the edges which are placed one on top of the other (OA/, QB/, PD/, and RC/) /71/ are sewed together. The parts EILG and FKMH are doubled in the opposite direction to form the tops of the double bag.

C
Ce
286
531
171 In accordance with the simple mechanism of the loom with which the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó make their textiles, the possibilities of producing variations in the ornamentation of these are very limited. The variations in ornamentation of the weavings of the Chaco tribes, such as, in particular, those of the Churupí /Chulupi/, which consist of frets, zigzags, rhombuses, and many other figures, are not found among the ornamentations of the weavings of the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
Ce
286
531
[177] Because today the woven goods of these Indians, especially the fajas and the ponchos, are often woven with imported thread or, if they are woven with native wool or cotton thread, these are often dyed with imported dyes, the different colors of the ornamentation on the surface of these weavings have no ethnological importance.

The ornamentation is formed exclusively by the warp threads, due to the fact that the distance between the warp threads is much less than the distance between the wax threads, so that the meshes of the woof disappear completely under those of the warp. Because, outside of that, the formation of the divisions of the warp threads is done by a single mechanism of loops, it can consist only of raising and lowering alternately the even and odd warp threads, for which reason the ornamentation still cannot be influenced by the process of the operation of weaving itself. The structure of this kind of weaving is necessarily such that in the direction of the woof thread, thus vertical to the direction of the warp threads, a row of the meshes formed by the odd warp threads is alternated each time with a row of the meshes formed by the even warp threads. Thus

C
286
352
126

/72 cont./

Weavings Made without a Special Mechanism for Making the Divisions of the Threads of the Warp, from the Collection

I. A. 450. Hammock (Chirig.) of wool. Lgth 2.85 m. Width 0.60 m. (Fig. 102a.)

Ce
286
415
126
482

I. A. 768. Carrying net provided with a woven caraguata band (Izozó). Length of band 49 cm. (Figs. 125 and 133.)

I. A. 802. Band for a carrying net (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 49 cm.

C
Ce
286
415
482
352

With regard to their exterior structure too, the bands with which many of the carrying nets (of the Izozó and some of the Chiriguano ones) and one Chiriguano hammock are provided are similar to the weavings. But these /Plates XXXII-XXXV appear here/ /73/ objects are made without any special mechanism for making the divisions of the warp threads.

Figure 125 shows the structure of the band of the net I. A. 768. (Cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 200/.) The diagram shows the way in which these bands are made. First the longitudinal threads are stretched in a way similar to the manner of stretching the warp threads of common weavings between the horizontal poles of the frame of the loom, but without using the special thread extended between the two vertical poles of the loom. Then they pass a transverse thread, which corresponds to the woof thread of common weavings, through the two rows of longitudinal threads alternately from the right to the left and from the left to the right, in such a way that this thread is left alternately under one thread of the back row of longitudinal threads and on top of one thread of the front row. Thus the manufacture of these bands and of hammock I. A. 450 is different from that of common weavings principally in the fact that the woof thread passes simultaneously through the threads of the front side and of the back side of the warp. Sundry irregularities in the course of the threads of the warp show that weavings of this kind have been made without using a mechanism for making the divisions of the warp threads.

Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XXXV

C
415
286
531
[482]

C
[492]

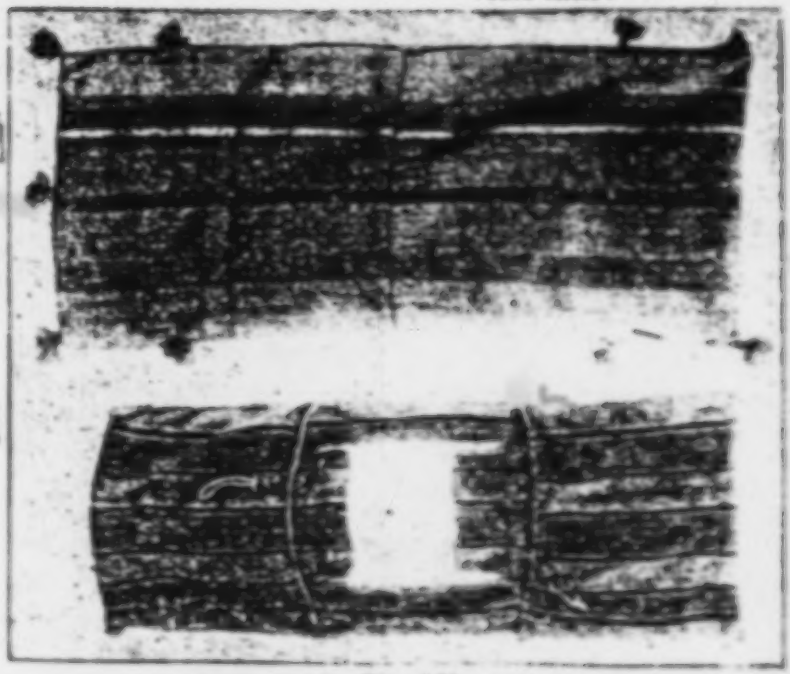


Fig. 131

Ce
415
286
531
492

Fig. 132

The captions are on p. 192./

CE 286 /Plate XXXIV. Diagrams to illustrate the techniques of weaving, plaiting with "double thread," and sewing.

Fig. 125. Diagram to illustrate the technique of weaving, from the band of the net for carrying loads I. A. 768. Cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 200/ (Izozó).

Fig. 126. Diagram to illustrate the technique of weaving, from the saddle cover I. A. 843 (Izozó). Cf. Fig. 103a /see p. 174/

C 286 Fig. 127. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the hammock I. A. 448 (Chiriguano). Cf. Fig. 102b /see p. 174/.

Fig. 128. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the hammock I. A. 449 (Chiriguano).

CE 286 Fig. 129. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the saddle cover I. A. 844 (Izozó). Cf. Fig. 103b /see p. 174/.

CE 286 415 Fig. 130. Diagram to illustrate the technique of sewing two cuyas:
a (I. A. 666) (Izozó);
b (I. A. 667) (Izozó).

C 531 415 286 [492] [492] Plate XXXV. Woven bags, of wool.

Fig. 131. a (I. A. 444) Woolen bag for carrying loads (Chiriguano), length 1.07 m., width 0.45 m.
b (I. A. 445) Double bag for loading horses (Chiriguano), entire length 92 cm., width 37 cm.

CE 415 286 492 531 Fig. 132. (I. A. 811) Double bag for loading horses (Izozó), entire length 93 cm., width 46.5 cm.

8: Schmidt--194 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF 0 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

/74/

Ce 286 352 126

Nets of the Collection That Are Made with the Technique Called "Knotentechnik" in German. Using the Knot Called Reef Knot in English

I.A. 360. Hammock (276) (Chané of the Parapití). Caraguata.

276. Gift of Mr. Teodoro Rojas.

Length 3.20 m. (Fig. 102c.)

I.A. 766. Hammock (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 1.80 m.

C I.A. 794. " " " " 2.70 m.

Ce 286 415 482 126

I.A. 446. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Wool. Lgth 1.05 m.

I.A. 447. " " " " " " " 0.75 m.

I.A. 561-564, 567, 569-571. Nets for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length between 1.50 and 0.50 m. (I.A. 567, Figs. 134 and 143; I.A. 568, Fig. 144.)

I.A. 767-787; 790-792. Nets for carrying loads (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 1.60 m. and 0.65 m. (I.A. 768, Figs. 133 and 142; I.A. 772, Fig. 135.)

Ce 415 286 126

I.A. 785. Bag (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 0.82 m. Height 0.48 m.

I.A. 788 " " " " 0.62 m. " 0.62 m. (Fig. 136.)

I.A. 793. Quadrangular net (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 0.90 m.

Ce [227]

I.A. 764. Implement for fishing with net (Izozó). Length 73.5 cm. (Fig. 39.)

I.A. 795-801. Nets for implements such as I.A. 764 (Izozó). Caraguata.

C 411 286

I.A. 508. Sling (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length 15 cm.

I.A. 509. " " " " 14 cm.

C Ce 286 352 227 136

From the large size of the mesh of nets I.A. 360, 766, and 794, it follows that they are hammocks. Because in Chiriguano and Chané territory there are generally no fish except small ones, nets for fishing must have considerably smaller meshes.

C Ce 415 286 482 [283]

Of the Chiriguano nets for carrying loads, two are made of wool and one of these has a band like most such nets from the Izozó. The rest of these nets from the Chiriguano and the Izozó are made of caraguata thread. Some of them have a rather small mesh, but among those of the Izozó those with big mesh are the rule.

/74 cont./

small mesh, but among those of the Izozó those with big mesh are the rule. Thus the mesh of the Izozó nets used for carrying the large water jars is also very large. Most of these Izozó nets have a special band that goes over the forehead of the bearer. The structure of these bands, which are made of caraguata, wool, or cotton, have already been described by us in the chapter on weavings. Cf. Figure 133 /see p. 200/ and the diagram shown in Figure 125 /see p. 190/.

The collection has two net bags from the Izozó which are made in such a way that the whole rectangular net is folded in the middle and the pieces which are on top of one another are laced together with a thread on the two longitudinal sides.

In the way described in the foregoing they also make the net of the fishing implement I.A. 764 described in the chapter on fishing and shown in Figure 39. Because this implement is used to catch small fish, the net has very small mesh. The slings described among the hunting implements are also made in the same way.

/75/

Burden-carrying Net Made by the Technique Called "Knotentechnik" in German, But Using the Knot Called "Sheet Knot" in English from the Collection

I.A. 573. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Strips of animal hide. Length 0.85 m.

This net is made like the nets described in the foregoing, made of knots, but the knot used is the type called "sheet knot" in English and "Schotenstich" in German. This knot is shown in Figure 138, c and d. According to Nordenskiöld (277), the

277. Nord. 2, p. 164.

Chiriguano also have fishing nets which are made using this type of knot.

/75 cont./

Nets in the Collection That Are Made with Loops and without the Use of Knots

I. A. 555-566.	Net for carrying loads (Chirig.).						Lgth.	0.90 m. 1.80 m.
I. A. 567.	"	"	"	"	"	"		1.15 m. (Figs. 124 and 143.)
I. A. 568.	"	"	"	"	"	"		1.70 m. (Fig. 144.)

From the Chiriguano I obtained several nets for carrying burdens, which are made without using knots, by connecting the thread in the fashion illustrated by Figures 143 and 144 and which is common among many tribes of the Chaco, as happens among the Tapieté, Matako /Mataco/, Toba, Choroti /Choroti/, and Churupí /Chulupi/.

The great number of nets that I acquired from the Isoso are made with knots without exception, and we must therefore assume that these Indians are not familiar with or do not use the technique of making nets with simple loops and without applying knots, and that this technique, called "Schlingentechnik" in German, is used only by the Chiriguano or a part of them. Nordenskiöld does not mention this technique among the Chiriguano, and in the synoptic outline in which the several techniques of making nets are illustrated the Chiriguano are not mentioned in Column 5 among the Indian tribes which use the technique of making nets without applying knots. Of the burden-carrying nets made of caraguata thread that I acquired from the Chiriguano, ten are made without knots being applied, by the technique called "Schlingentechnik," and only seven by applying knots by the technique called "Knotentechnik." We can therefore assume that this part of the Chiriguano at least uses the technique of making nets without applying knots, although this opinion is contrary to that of Nordenskiöld, who says (278) that

278. Nord. 2, p. 116.

all of the nets made by this technique found among the Chiriguano and the Chané were acquired from the Chaco Indians.

Chané SF8
Iscozo

Ee 415 42 177 [26]

/75 cont./

Net Bags Made by the Toba, from the Collection

I. A. 572. Bag for carrying burdens. (Found among the Chiriguano) Length 0.70 cm.

I. A. 843. " " " " (Found among the Isonó) Length 57 cm.

I acquired two net bags, one from the Isonó and the other from the Chiriguano, which show differences from the techniques mentioned in the foregoing. The Isonó and the Chiriguano told me that they themselves had not made these bags and that they had obtained them from the Toba.

Ee 294 179 [294]

/76/ Sewing

With the acquisition of European clothes, naturally the sewing of these clothes to make and mend them became general among the Chiriguano and Chané. Modern sewing needles are an article eagerly sought by them today. But undoubtedly these Indians had already known the technique of sewing with a needle with an eye for a long time through their contact with the culture of the ancient Peruvians. Although the native textiles are, in most cases, made in one piece, needlework coming from other cultures is often added to the native technique of these textiles. I mentioned that a large Isonó tipoy is made of two smaller tipoys sewed together. The ponchos of the Chiriguano in Macharetí are made of two pieces sewed together. The four edges of the Chiriguano and Isonó ponchos most of the time are turned and sewed to the rest of the fabric. In the making of the bags for carrying burdens, especially the double bags for loading draft horses or burros, sewing is used.

Ee 294

Ee 415

Among the cuyas that I obtained from the Chiriguano and Isonó there are several which show breaks mended by sewing. See Figure 75a /see p. 51/. The two diagrams shown in Figure 130 a and b serve to illustrate the way in which this sewing is done, with cotton thread on the two Isonó cuyas I. A. 666 and 667, and with fine wire on the Chiriguano cuya (I. A. 460). The cuya I. A. 667 shows two such repairs done by sewing.

/76 cont./

C
Ee
25
415
412

On the Cooking of Meals

Most of the Chiriguano and Chané utensils used /Plates XXXVI-XXXVII appear here/ /77/ for cooking meals have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters, such as pots for cooking food and for fermenting chicha, dishes with holes in the center of the bottom for steaming maize meal, vessels for frying /fritar/ maize, wooden mortars with their pestles, and sieves. For frying /fritar/ meat or fish, the Chiriguano and Chané do not use the quadrangular or triangular stands which are so common among other South American Indians, but instead simple wooden spits (282). Also, as we have already

C
Ee
171
Ee
412

282. Noed. 2, p. 55. Métraux I, p. 352 and Figure 22.

said, the grater for grating mandioca roots is not found among these Indians.

We have yet to mention two other utensils used by the Chiriguano and Chané for fixing their meals, the large wooden dish and the spatula for stirring foods or drinks when they are boiling or fermenting.

Ee
415
412

C
415
126

Large Wooden Dishes (Platters) in the Collection

I. A. 574. (Chirig.) Lgth 0.83 m. Width 0.39 m. (Fig. 19.)
I. A. 575. " " 1 m. " 0.325 m.

Unfortunately I did not obtain data regarding the special use of these large wooden dishes which I acquired from the Chiriguano in Machareti. As Fig. 19 shows, these large wooden dishes are provided with the same handles as the smaller wooden dishes which serve as vessels for eating.

8: Schmidt--200 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF 0 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XXXVI

Ce
286
415
482
←

C
286
415
482
→

Fig. 133

Fig. 134

Ce
286
415
482
←

Ce
286
415
→

Fig. 135

Fig. 136

/The descriptions are on p. 202./

8: Schmidt--202 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Ce 286 415 482

/Captions for Plates XXXVI and XXXVII/

Fig. 133. (I. A. 768) Net for carrying loads, made with the technique using knots (Izozó). Length 1.33 m. Cf. Figs. 125 /see p. 190/ and 142 /see p. 201/.

C 286 415 482

Fig. 134. (I. A. 567) Net for carrying loads, made with the technique without knots (Chiriguano). Length 1.15 m. Cf. Fig. 143 /see p. 201/.

Ce 286 415 [482]

Fig. 135. (I. A. 772) Net for carrying loads, made with the technique using knots (Izozó). Length 1.18 m:

Fig. 136. (I. A. 788) Bag made with the netting technique using knots (Izozó). Height 0.62 m. Length 0.62 m.

Plate XXXVII.

C Ce 286

Fig. 137. Diagrams of twisted threads: a, twisted to the right; b, twisted to the left.

Fig. 138. Diagram of the two different knots applied in the making of nets: a and b, "reef knot"; c and d, "sheet knot."

Ce 286

Figs. 139-141. Diagrams of the plaited middle parts of three cotton bands for women's hair (Izozó): Fig. 139 (I. A. 649); Fig. 140 (I. A. 652); Fig. 141 (I. A. 646).

Fig. 142. Diagram of the technique of the net for carrying loads I. A. 768, using the knot called "reef knot" (Izozó). Cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 200/.

C 286

Fig. 143. Diagram of the technique of the net for carrying loads I. A. 567, made only with loops, without knots (Chiriguano).

Fig. 144. Diagram of the technique of the net for carrying loads I. A. 568, made only with loops, without knots (Chiriguano).

C Ce 482 489 492 /78 cont./ concerning means of transport by land we do not have any evidence except through the sundry implements which serve for carrying burdens. We can assume from the form of the double bags mentioned in the chapter on weaving that they use their horses and burros to transport loads.

C Ce 286 415 482 [484] The objects used to transport burdens have already been mentioned in preceding chapters. Among them the most general is the carrying net, which often has a band. By means of it burdens are carried on long trips or the fruits of the harvest are brought in from the fields to the houses, or water is brought, often from a distance, to the dwellings. The carrying net is used in such a way that the band goes across the forehead of the bearer so that the weight of the burden rests on his back (292).

292. See Nord. 2, p. 95.

Nordenskiöld has published a photograph of a woman who is carrying a load in her net (293).

293. Nord. 1, Fig. 87.

C Ce 415 482 [854] Baskets are not used by the Chiriguano and Chané for carrying loads; they are used among these Indians only to store things. Neither is any special band used to carry infants; rather they are carried in a fold of the tipoy.

Only if water is near the house are water jugs sometimes carried on the shoulder without a net, but not on top of the head. C Ce [177] This latter appears only in the cases where the Indians are directly influenced by the whites, as happens in the missions (294).

294. Nord. 2, p. 95.

C Ce [484] For carrying small amounts of water when traveling, these Indians also use calabashes enlaced with string, or small baked clay vessels /79/ provided with a string or a leather strap, such as, for example, the vessel I.A. 617 shown in Figure 56b.

/79 cont./

C
Ce
482
191
413

We must still note that the Chiriguano and Chané transport fish in the same way as the neighboring tribes of the Chaco, by stringing them on a cord provided with a big wooden needle (295).

295. Nord. 2, p. 48.

Implements for Storing Objects

C
Ce
352
353
415

Most of the objects that serve for storing things have also been mentioned in preceding chapters, such as the various kinds of baskets and the wooden hoops which are hung in the houses for storing sundry things in them. The net bag and the carrying net do not serve only for carrying, but also for storing things in them. Baked clay vessels are not only used for storing liquids, but are also used for storing many other things which have a special value or are old memorabilia of the family (296). Furthermore,

296. Nord. 1, p. 179.

C
Ce
[237]

they put up special hooks for hanging various things in the houses. Such a hook is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (297).

297. Nord. 1, p. 177 and Fig. 86.

and Métraux shows such a hook made of a deer's leg (298).

298. Métraux I, Fig. 128.

Art

C
534
126

Flutes and a Whistle in the Collection

I.A. 491. Flute, "sereré" (Chirig.). Wood. Lgth. 17 cm. Width 2.7 cm. (Fig. 23b.)

I.A. 492. " " " " " 29 cm. Width 2.5 cm. (Fig. 23a.)

I.A. 493. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Length 43 cm.

/80 cont./

Ee 534 The double whistle I.A. 495 consists of two pieces of cane joined together in the manner of Panpipes. In contrast to the flutes described in the preceding, the two tubes of these whistles have lips. One, which has four holes for making the sounds vary, measures 33.5 cm., and the other, which does not have such holes, is only 7 cm. long. A whistle of this kind, but not double, is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (302).

302. Nord. 2, Fig. 36b.

In addition to these musical instruments, Nordenskiöld describes a few others that he saw among the Chiriguano and Ee [171] Chané. Among them can also be found those round flutes which are used by many tribes of the Chaco and one of which is shown in a sketch by Nordenskiöld (304). They also have large

304. Nord. 2, Fig. 35.

trumpets, which the Chiriguano call "angùahuari," while the common trumpet is called by the same name as is the mortar, "angúa" or "angúarai." One can also find trumpets made out Ee [237] [524] of a cow's horn or a calabash, which are blown at the upper end (305).

305. Nord. II, p. 119, Fig. 37 A and B.
Métraux I, p. 337, Fig. 38.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Panpipes, which consist of several flutes joined together, are rarely found among these Indians (306).

306. Nord. 2, p. 126.

Ee 415 532 Plastic art is little developed among the Chiriguano and Chané. On rare occasions we find plastic art in the form of animals in the forms of the baked clay pottery of the Chiriguano (307).

307. Nord. 2, Fig. 41, N. 4, and Fig. 45, N. 20.

C
Ce
415
532
197
Ce
532
524

/80 cont./

These pots are undoubtedly imitations /Plates XXXVIII-XXXIX appear here/ /81/ of ancient Peruvian models or of modern products. Outside of that there are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld two dolls in the form of a man and a woman, made of wax, which served as toys for the children of the Chané of the Parapití River (308). Purely decorative plastic sculpture is

C
Ce
415
531

308. Nord. 1, Fig. 105.

mainly shown by most of the baked clay vessels intended for cooking foods, in the form of "ornamento hundido" /sunken decoration/, which is generally placed on the surface of the neck of these vessels, but it may also extend over the entire surface. Cf. Figure 48 /see p. 116/. In addition to the sunken decoration on the neck the vessel I.A. 414, shown in Figure 44, is decorated with a row of small pointed additions around the wall of the vessel. Linné shows in a drawing a piece of a Chané baked clay vessel, the surface of which is decorated with a border of baked clay placed in a zigzag around the wall of the vessel. Many of the vessels with smooth surfaces also have small additions and generally in pairs. They often have these instead of handles. In addition the baked clay dishes for eating and the dishes for frying /fritar/ maize are often provided with such additions. The handles of the baked clay vessels are not in the form of figures, but they can be plastically decorated in such a way that a groove divides them into two parts, which can be twisted around each other. Cf. Figures 46 and 49 /see p. 116/.

Some wooden utensils also have primitive plastic ornamentation, such as the spatulas for stirring food and drink, the wooden dishes for eating, and the large dishes or platters on which food is kept. The handles of some of the spatulas for stirring food are carved in such a way that their edges form zigzag lines (cf. fig. I.A. 579 /not illustrated; see Pl. VIII, p. 20/) and the dishes often have additions such as some baked clay dishes also show. Cf. Figures 18 a and b and 19 /see pl. VIII, p. 50/.

C
Ce
531

Drawings are also found on the surface of Chiriguano and Chané objects, in the form of paintings on the surface of baked

[text continues on p. 214]

/340 cont./

421 Property is a sacred thing among the Chiriguano, and the nearest relatives cannot dispose of their belongings without their formal consent.

241 115 123 At the time of my stay in Carurutí, I once asked my old friend "Captain" Karnapadyú to take me to his field. He was very

249 407 797 142 291

Fig. 7. Mill for grinding sugar cane at the Ivu mission. (Photo. A. M.)

241 115 [123] touched by /Plate VI appears here/ /341/ the interest that my wish implied and in an instant showed himself ready to do the honors.

His field was about 700 meters from the village on top of one of the cliffs which border the "quebrada" /ravine/ of Carurutí. Access to it was by a steep path across fallen rocks. The entrance [351] to the field was closed by a hedge composed of tree trunks and [417] thorny shrubs which we climbed over with the help of an Indian-style ladder, That is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps.

[Text continues on p. 74]

/3.4 cont./

526 immediately, chased by his comrades who pulled his hair
178 energetically. The awkward player who threw the ball in such
243 a way that his partner could not catch it was in the same
789 category as the one who let it fall, on condition, however, that his opposite number had not made the gesture of catching it. Once the corn was ripe, they stopped playing mboto.

526
171
→

[179]
→

The game of mboto has a wide distribution in South America, but it is limited to the populations of the Amazonian basin and the Guianas. Doubtless the Chiriguano introduced it into the Chaco (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 168).

417
251
824
Fig. 10. Forked tree on which the Chiriguano pile corn inside their huts. This device may have given rise to the corncribs on piles.

526 This game without any doubt derives
789 from a magical rite whose object was to pro-
243 mote the beneficial course of the sun and to oblige it to shine without interruption to make the corn ripen. The straw shuttlecock represents the sun. The period when this game is played and the meaning the Chiriguano attach to it make my hypothesis a very likely one. Preuss demonstrated that in all of Central America and even in North America the /345/ tennis game arose out of a magical operation intended to influence the sun.

Fig. 11. Straw shuttlecock (mboto), accessory for the game of the same name. Prov.: Caruruti (1/3 nat. size.)

/387 cont./

C 323 386 The name tarawirisi is also given by the Chiriguano to objects resembling loaves of bread kneaded by hand which are composed of a resinous material mixed with wax. According to the explanations given me by the Indians themselves, this

C 417 415

Fig. 00. Forked tree-trunk serving as a shelf for putting vessels on. (After a sketch by the author.)

C 323 386 substance is taken from a mimosa. After being sprinkled with boiling water, it is kneaded and dried in the sun. Its color is yellow or red, but after firing it becomes black.

I could not learn whether this black glaze was applied over a layer of black paint or spread directly on the walls of the vessel. In every case the designs made by this process are much less regular than the ones drawn with a brush.

C [126] E 114 323 386 My collections of pottery, which consist of nearly 200 pieces, do not contain any glazed specimen. Nordenskiöld (p. 144) assures us that the Chiriguano and the Chané of the Parapití coat their yambui with a sort of gum called tarawisi, a word which, except for one syllable, is the same as the one designating the resinous substance we have just been considering

/26 cont./

137 824 as straight as cane. Beyond Santa Cruz there are still groves; in addition there are groves of another cane called "Bambú," which is the best known, and in Chiriguano it is called "Tacuarembo." It rises to a height of about 15 meters and is [417] used for making /27/ ladders and scaffolding in construction 249 because it is light and strong. The shoots are tender and contain a sugary substance highly regarded by the Indians; it is not sought much today, because there are abundant plantings of sugar cane, which is of great utility for the production of sugar and alcohol. This last thrives with great ease and little work. Planting is done in two ways, making furrows and burying it or planting cuttings. The former is the better method where the freshets of the rivers do not penetrate. On the slopes and tops 137 824 of hills which contain water there is another sort of slender cane, very strong and heavy, which is not hollow like the other classes and is called caña brava by the whites, and [285] "Tacuarembo" by the Chiriguano. They use it for weavers' [513] reeds and for sleeping cots.

TAMARIND. -- This beautiful and useful tree is not native, but it thrives with enough care and grows to a respectable height; the fruit that it produces is abundant, consisting of abundant pods more or less the size of chick-pea pods; the pulp is blackish and pleasant to the taste, but it is bad for [151] the teeth. It is astringent and is administered as medicine for intestinal inflammations, especially to children. It is also [172] a good tonic drink on excessively hot days; it is prepared with sugar, water, and a little of its pulp. The tree is rather sensitive to cold, and the flowers wilt easily with the south wind. For this reason the whites plant it in their patios, which are surrounded by the living quarters.

TARINGUI. -- The name of this tree is Chiriguano. The taringui is found in some regions, but not in others. It is of the cactus variety, rises up to six meters, its branchage is abundant and close, which gives a fine shade against the blazing rays of the sun. Its branches or leaves are striated and armed with spines; the fruit is tiny, but sweet and otherwise pleasant, and much liked by foxes, who only get it when it falls from the tree. The ñaia or opuntia is smaller than the taringui, its leaves have the same form, the color is ash-gray and they are less a abundant, or, more properly, few. The fruit is a smooth berry

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,½(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

e
ce
*171
342
343
114
c
ce

The notion that the pile-buildings employed as barns are here of different origin from those used as dwelling-houses, is unlikely. There is nothing in the geographical distribution to support this idea.

Outside their barns the Chiriguano and Chané have [417] ladders consisting of logs in which steps have been hewn.

Table 1.

e
ce
*171
342
343
102
s
102
342

Pile buildings. Map. 1.

4. Chiriguano.
5. Chané.
6. Mataco-Vejos. Have evidently copied the Chané barns.
18. Quichua.
25. Mojo, MARBAN P. 132. Cooking-shed.
39. Goijiro, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064. (after ERNST); Parauhano, JAHN.
47. Indians Roraima: Wapisiana, Arecuna, Macusi, Patamona. PATER SCHMIDT P. 1064; THULIX.
62. Chacobo.
68. Omagua. »Hicieron los indios dentro de sus mismas casas unos tablados de madera, que ellos llaman Iuzas y encima de ellos estuvimos tres meses, que fueron los de Abril, Mayo y Junio con más de seis palmos de agua debajo.
Entraban y salian las canoas dentro de las casas, y de noche quedaban de bajo de los tablados.» LAUREANO DE LA CRUZ P. 88; [MARONI] Vol. XXX. P. 197.
01. Indians on the west coast of Columbia. PIZARRO P. 204; CIEZA DE LEON (1) P. 95; OVIEDO T. 3. P. 8; ANDAGOYA P. 76; ROBLEDO P. 277.
3 F. Barbacóa, RIVET (4) AND VERNEAU P. 39.
4 F. Indians on and near Lake Maracaibo. NAVARRETE T. III. P. 8; »A quatro dias llegaron à un pueblo de gûerigue-

Ce 539

/284 cont./

He asked them who their father was. "He has gone to Itica (2) to get some fish" (3), they said.

2. Rio Pilcomayo.

Ce [439]

3. The important trade in dried fish that is carried on between the tribes is described on p. 138 /omitted in the translation/.

The youngest said he should sleep with her, which he did. The oldest also wanted to sleep with him. "Won't your mother be angry if I do?" he said. "No, you shall sleep with us, for a man never comes here," they said. So he slept with both women.

After a few days the father of the girls came home. He brought along two large loads of dried fish. /285/ The father asked how he had got there. He told etc. (here the entire legend is repeated).

The father said he was not angry because he had slept with his two daughters and promised to help him get his wife back. "She is at Itica with Avayurupiagua," he said. "There is a big drinking bout there and we must go. You shall go with me and do as I say. First you should greet everybody and finally you should greet your wife. She will not recognize you. When she greets you and offers you maize beer, you will fling your arms about her and I shall hit you on the buttocks," he said. They now set out for Itica. When they arrived there, the father first greeted everyone. Finally the man greeted his wife. She offered him a calabash of maize beer. He embraced her and the old one slapped him on the buttocks. Transformed into a nuyuyu, he flew off with his wife. When Avayurupiagua saw this, he dashed angrily into his house to fetch bow and arrow. He shot off one arrow after the other, but was unable to hit them.

Ce [177]

This legend seems to me to be entirely free of foreign elements. The ladder mentioned refers to a long stick into which step-notches have been cut. The Chiriguano in particular, as well

Ce [417] [343]

Ce
539
Ee
[417]
[343]

/285 cont./
as the Chané on the Itiyuro, always use them for the maize granaries, which are built on piles (see Fig. 84b).

How Aguaratunpa Killed Tatutunpa and Was Then Killed Himself.

Told by the Chané chief Batirayu.

In olden times there were once two deranged girls. Not far from them lived Tatutunpa. They heard him play so beautifully on his "huiramimbi" (see Fig. 80a /see p. 22/). One of them said to the other: "Let us go and see who is playing so beautifully." They went to Tatutunpa, who was lying in his hammock. Tatutunpa took the youngest girl as his wife.

/286/ Aguaratunpa had learned that the girls had gone to Tatutunpa's. He set out, hid in the field where Tatutunpa was working, and killed him with a club. Then he carefully removed the skin of the head and put it on. Resembling Tatutunpa in this way, he went to the latter's hut.

"Look, your husband is coming," said the older sister. She put food on the table. Since Tatutunpa was in the habit of eating very little, only a few beans and a small bowl of maize beer, she did not serve any more. When Aguaratunpa came, he ate up everything and demanded more. When he had eaten this, he demanded still more. The girl asked herself whether this could really be her husband who was eating so much, but of course it could not be anyone else.

In the evening Aguaratunpa asked his wife to delouse him. She sat down and looked for lice on the head of Aguaratunpa. While she was looking, Aguaratunpa fell asleep. She saw that the skin on his head was sewed together, and realized that he had killed her husband and skinned him. She told her sister about this and they killed Aguaratunpa with a club.

342 placed close together and fastened with withies lashed on horizontally (figs. 189 and 190), or of branches woven together and daubed with clay (fig. 191). The roof, the construction of which is apparent from fig. 217, is thatched with grass. This is an especially interesting method of roof-construction, used in Peru already in the pre-Columbian period, a fact plainly evident from an ancient Peruvian vase-painting[1] (fig. 193). The walls and the roof are supported by a lost frame consisting of poles (fig. 217).

133
342
343

Fig. 188. Part of a Chiriguano village. Two small pile-buildings, used as maize-barns and lie area between the huts. Dorbo, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

343 The granaries for storing maize are always built on pole supports
417 (figs. 188 and 191). Fig. 192 shows a step-ladder leaning against a tree.
[342] Step-ladders of this kind, usually hewn out of a single piece of wood, are used by the Chiriguano as means of access to these pole-supported granaries.

174 Baron E. Nordenskiöld, who has made a valuable analysis of the distribution
342 of pile-buildings in South America[2], considers that when pile-buildings occur among a tribe inhabiting a region not exposed to inundations, then the idea of constructing buildings raised on piles has generally originated at the time when the tribe inhabited some other region, either a swamp,

---

[1] Joyce (1), fig. 13.
[2] Nordenskiöld (10), pp. 3–6.

[See cat. 116, P. 215 -- Analyst]
[See cat. 116, p 195 - An.]

342
142
291
302
352
273

Fig. 100. Woman in front of her hut. In the foreground a bedstead on which lies chewed maize; this maize is used in the preparation of *vinillaro*, an intoxicating beverage. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

392
361
917

Fig. 101. Hut in the periphery of the similar marketplace in the Chiriguano village of Ibibibi. In right foreground, a holder used as gang in the pile-burns for maize. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[p. 196 is blank]

/16 cont./

342 A special feature of Chiriguano houses and where they differ from those of the common ranchos of white residents is that the two oblique sides of the roof descend almost to the ground, passing far beyond the wall. Machareti houses also show this special feature. (Cf. Fig. 14 /see p. 40/.) The result of this roof construction is that the entrance (ōkye) is on [285] the gable side. To shut the entrance they use reed mats or [237] cowhides (65). Widely influenced by the whites, the Chiriguano [179]

65. Métraux I, p. 469.

and the Chané continually vary the style of their houses, and, according to Nordenskiöld (66), today many of them are al-

66. Nord. 1, p. 173.

ready building houses identical with those of the whites.

343 In addition to the houses used for dwellings, the Chiriguano and some of the Chané have houses built on posts for storehouses (avatió). Also in Machareti such houses were commonly found beside the dwellings. Figure 16 /see p. 41 / shows such a [417] storehouse. A ladder, which consists of a post provided with notches, leads to the platform (on the right in the figure). These storehouses serve primarily as places to keep the maize crop and other produce. The space under the platform serves for storing various other things. Nordenskiöld saw such houses built on posts, whose upper part served in general for storage, while the lower part was utilized as a dwelling (67). Often those

67. Nord. 1, p. 175; Nord. 2, p. 3.

storehouses are near the plantings far from the dwellings (68).

68. Nord. 1, p. 173.

[335] As shown in Figure 16, the frame for these storehouses consists of ten vertical posts of different lengths, bifurcated at their upper ends to support the horizontal posts that form the base for

/16 cont./

343 the roof and the /Plates V-VII appear here/ /17/ platform.
335 The middle pair of the vertical posts is the longest pair and serves to hold up the ridgepole. Of the other eight vertical posts, always in two, one longer and one shorter, have been placed immediately next to each other all along the two sides of the middle pair of posts and at a certain distance from it. Of the horizontal posts, each one of which is held up by each one of the five pairs of vertical posts, those which are placed on the higher pair and on the two pairs of middle size of the vertical posts serve to hold up the roof, while the two horizontal posts which are placed on the two smaller pairs of vertical posts form the base for the platform of the house. Besides the five pairs of vertical posts that form the frame of the house, there is also added a vertical post of the height of the platform, which serves to support the ladder leading
343 to it. The roof of these storehouses is covered with straw like the roofs of dwellings. The walls are made of reed poles very close together. While the poles of the storehouse illustrated in Figure 16 are horizontal, those of other storehouses, with which we are familiar through Nordenskiöld's photographs and those of v. Rosen and Métraux, are vertical (69). The en-

69. Nord. 1, Figs. 83 and 84 and Pl. 18.
Métraux I, Fig. 9, p. 349.

trance, which must be reached by means of the ladder, is at
• [419] the gable end, like that of the dwellings. The ladder consists of a post with notches for steps (70).

70. Cf. Fig. 16, at the right. Nord. 1, Fig. 84. v. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 191.

[171] [174] There must be some special reason to explain the surprising fact that the Chiriguano have houses built on posts, since it could not be that they brought the custom of constructing them from their native soil, because the Guaraní have
0 00 never had them. Nor could it be that they adopted this from

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 42]

/309 cont./
consumption was limited (1).

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.

We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the Indians of the Caruruti region in Caipipendi valley. From the end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6).[1]

This temporary migration of the whole population of a village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather difficult. In /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

[1] [Fig 6 appears on p. 69.--Analyst]

/340 cont./

421 Property is a sacred thing among the Chiriguano, and the nearest relatives cannot dispose of their belongings without their formal consent.

241 115 123 At the time of my stay in Carurutí, I once asked my old friend "Captain" Karnapadyú to take me to his field. He was very

249 407 797 142 291

Fig. 7. Mill for grinding sugar cane at the Ivu mission. (Photo. A. M.)

241 115 [123] touched by /Plate VI appears here/ /341/ the interest that my wish implied and in an instant showed himself ready to do the honors.

His field was about 700 meters from the village on top of one of the cliffs which border the "quebrada" /ravine/ of Carurutí. Access to it was by a steep path across fallen rocks. The entrance [351] to the field was closed by a hedge composed of tree trunks and [417] thorny shrubs which we climbed over with the help of an Indian-style ladder, That is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps.

[Text continues on p. 74]

Ce 692 643 28

/89 cont./
of the deceased (359).

359. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 421

Private property is highly respected among the Chiriguano. According to Métraux, even the closest relatives cannot make use of the property of one of them without his consent. The possession of a piece of land is guaranteed to a Chiriguano by planting any plant on it or by clearing the circumference of the land required and making large slashes in the trees. When he selects a plot for his planting, the Chiriguano examines it carefully to determine that there are no traces of a previous planting (360).

C 423

360. Métraux I, pp. 334 and 340.

C 241 476 [622]

After the land selected for the planting has been cleared, relatives and friends are called together to help with the work. Formerly, the cacique of the town also took part by keeping watch for the workers (361).

361. Métraux I, p. 337.

/90/

Religion

C Ce 797 771 178 538

In their many years of activity the missions have naturally influenced notably the religious notions of the Chiriguano and Chané. Most of them today are Christians. Some still retain part of their primordial ideas, expressed in their legends. I shall limit myself here to referring the reader again to the Chané legends taken down by Nordenskiöld (362) and mentioned several times in the Preceding.

362. Nord. 1, pp. 251-296.

415
531

1: Métraux--256 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate LXIV

/See p. 263 for caption./

1: Métraux--263 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Diaguita 566

/Captions for Plates LXI-LXXI, pp. 252-262./

C
415
531

LXI Pyrographed and incised calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1a and b, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2, Ivu. (Nos. 1 = 1/3 nat. size; 2 = 1/2.5 nat. size.)

D
[415
531]

LXII Engraved and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano and Diaguite. Prov.: 1 a and b, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2 a and b, Isirié (upper Pilcomayo); 3 a and b, calabash found in a funerary chamber (bóveda) of the ancient Diaguite in "La Quebrada" (Valle del Cajón, Catamarca Province). This calabash was beside an adult skeleton. (Nos. 1 a = 1/2; 2 a and 3 a = 2/3 nat. size±.)

LXIII Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano. Nos. 1 (a and b) and 2 (a and b) come from the Macharetí mission. Engraved motifs: 1, human personage and birds; 2 a, dog (?); 2 b, llama. (1/2 nat. size±.)

C
[422]

LXIV Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1, Masaví (Igüembé Valley); 2, Achua (upper Pilcomayo); 3, Caruruti; 4, Macharetí; 5, Tiwiraití; 6, Caipipendí. Remark: Note the mark of ownership on Calabash 4. (Nos. 1 and 3 = 1/2; 2 and 4-6, 1/3 nat. size±.)

LXV Incised, pyrographed, and painted calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1, Tigüipa; 2 and 6, Macharetí; 3, Ivu; 4, Saladito; 5, Tiwiraití (upper Pilcomayo). Remark: Calabash No. 3 is painted with roucou. (About 1/2 nat. size.)

LXVI Incised, pyrographed, and painted calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1, Santa Rosa; 2, Mangarati; 3 and 6, Caipipendí; 4, Masaví; 5, Caruruti. Remark: All the lower part of 3 is painted with roucou. (1/2 nat. size.)

/334 cont./

241 Before taking possession of a new plot of land the
423 Chiriguano is always careful to make sure that there is no trace
243 of previous cultivation. Otherwise the former owner or his
[685] descendants would have the right to lodge a complaint against him to the chief of the village.

[824] The Chiriguano makes known his new property right by planting any edible plant before the rainy season, for example, the large squash (gindako-wasu) which spreads everywhere and is not smothered by the underbrush. He can equally well insure possession of the chosen terrain by knocking down the underbrush all around and making big gashes in the trees (1).

[171] 1. Compare this manner of insuring property rights with the method observed by the Caxinawa /Cashinawa/ in the same circumstances: "I saw (an Indian is speaking) rising ground which is suitable for a planting. I am going to make a planting for this summer. I broke many branches on this hill to mark this excellent place. No one can make his clearing on this hill. This hill is excellent; do not go there to make your planting." (Abreu, p. 69.)

241 In the middle of the dry season, say, in August, the
243 Indian, with a long stick sharp on both sides, fells the underbrush which encumbers his future field and sets fire to it. This operation has the further advantage of fertilizing the soil, thanks to the bed of ashes, which is a rather good fertilizer.

The cultivated fields are usually cleaned up after the harvest.
[231] The domestic animals, who feed there with little expense, are first let out there, and then the fields are set afire.

[221] Sowing takes place in the month of November when the first rainstorms have softened the soil. This time is announced by
[821] the appearance of the Pleiades (itsu) above the horizon early in the morning.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guaraní*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1819 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

/172 cont./

342 124 The hardest part is finished with the previous operation: a short rest is taken, and then the owner of the new building must obtain enough hollow cane, engaging for this purpose Indians who have horses. But if the cane is very far away and has owners to boot, he gathers long sticks of astringent acacia or sebil and puts them horizontally every 15 centimeters on top of the rafters with the same above-mentioned lianas. Some [283] people, to tie the cane or sticks, use thin cords made from cowhide, but this, in addition to being more expensive, is less durable than bejuco (1).

[139] [198] [423] 1. Before the whites settled in Chiriguano country, hollow cane was abundant and had no owners: at the present time it cannot be found, and, if there is any, it is in private hands and must be bought.

Generally, before the walls are begun the house is covered with capíi, red straw, or, should this not be available, with capiáncua, straw for harnesses of beasts of burden, which is of inferior quality and very soon frays to pieces with the rain, sun, and strong winds, while the capíi may last for more than ten years.

[476] If it can be obtained by staying for a few days in a place where it is plentiful, he pulls it up there and reduces it to rather large handfuls: the gathering is done in several days, engaging Indians who own horses. When the material is in the town, he rests for a few days or weeks: he informs or invites those who wish to take part, in particular those who are closest to him by kinship or friendship. These then go about tying the capíi be- [354] tween two horizontal canes toward the side of the roots, forming long, narrow lines, and when they are so placed, they attach them horizontally, beginning at the bottom and working /173/ upward or toward the ridgepole, where they leave a large vent to let out the eternal smoke of their inextinguishable fires (1).

1. Now the red straw is disappearing almost completely: the destruction of this necessary

/238 cont./
177
648
for himself, for his children, and for his wife (1).

1. Perhaps without intending to do so, the whites have done and are doing a work of charity for the Indian, that of moralizing him somewhat through work, during which he neither gets drunk nor thinks of trifles, etc. Only in some places a little moderation is needed in order not to discourage him.

241
773
976
It was also the Aguara-Tunpa who taught the Chiriguano the cultivation of land, since, seeing that he had not been able to remedy his misery and needs by handing over the bows and arrows, he once again visited his poor hut, and seeing him thin and emaciated, he gave him all kinds of seed so that he might make them bear fruit, teaching him the method of burying them and advising him also of the way and the time for pulling out the weeds with a weeder, because he would have seemed bad before his enemy and before the Indian himself if he had not completed his philanthropical work, after criticizing so much the true friend of Chiriguano humanity (2).

2. The Aguara-Tunpa. For God, did not tell him that the seeds could be eaten right away, because in that way they would have been lost immediately. After they had germinated, he advised that when they were ripe, he could have food for himself and for his family.

• 423
Every Chiriguano has a small plot of cultivated land, sufficient for himself and for his family. Nobody had previously entered the area in which the Indians live, so that nobody disputed their property rights, as they should not be disputed today, because they are the owners ab immemorabili, and no individual could have sold what belonged to the community.

/239 cont./

423 311 To acquire possession of a small plot of land, the Chiriguano selects beforehand the part that he likes best in the region, which he judges to be wet enough because it is on the slopes of ridges or hills or because water collects there in the rainy season. Naturally, the site which he intends to cultivate must have no signs of previous cultivation, because if there were any the owner or his descendants, even though at some distance, would immediately place a claim before the competent authority, the cacique.

423 [241] If the plot has not been tilled, he can be sure of not being disturbed, and before the rainy season ends he plants on it anything /239/ which will be visible, such as the Gundacaguan, a large gourd which spreads a great deal, invades everything, and is not easily strangled by weeds. Another way to acquire property is to break all the bushes around the site, or, finally, to make cuts with his ax on the largest trees.

No one can lay claim to a place that belongs to the community of the Indians, where anyone has worked, and the one 241 who made the prior signs is regarded as the owner. The rainy season passes, the cold comes and dries up the grass and the leaves of the trees; before August ends, the Indian sets fire to the whole new plot, which consumes the grass and the brambles and makes useless the larger trees. All the ashes [461] that are left are fertilizer for the land, and the fire has destroyed all the seeds of the weeds and brush, so that the first planting which is done on the new plot is almost free of weeds, which saves labor for the lazy Chiriguano (1).

1. The old Indians still do some work in order not to have many weeds in their fields, but the modern ones are little concerned about it now in many areas. Moreover, the cattle do not leave any time, invading everything and eating up the pasturage in a short time. It is very sensible to prohibit the burning of the fields after the harvest.

Schmerdenkblad E-6 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chirignano SF10
Chané SF8

XXIV

Trophies.

C
Ce
727
[527]

We know from several writers[1]) that the Chirignano used to keep the heads of their beaten enemies as trophies According to what a Chané Indian named Batirayu told me, the Chané used to bring home the heads of slain enemies. At festivals these were put up on the «square» in the villages. Thanks to FRIEDERICI we have a fine work on scalping in America to which I beg to refer. It is, at present, impossible to say whence the Chirignano and Chané obtained this custom.

[1]) See [illegible] P. [illegible], CORRADO P. [illegible]

XXV.

Property Marks.

C
Ce
423
177

In part 1 (Map 34) I have already written about the geografic distribution of such marks. They belong to the cultural elements that these Indians probably got from the culture zone in the west.

Ee 622 643 354

/230 cont./

The chiefs' families form a sort of aristocracy among the Chiriguano and Chané. Several times I heard Indians boast about their good family connections. A Chiriguano who accompanied me for some time as an interpreter was eager to impress upon me that he was related to the most famous high chiefs.

Just as the author of this book is customarily introduced as the son of Adolf Nordenskiöld, so the Indians were wont to introduce in similar fashion the sons of their "great men."

I even discovered a bit of deception in connection with the family tree. A Chané claimed direct descent from the great Hinu Parava, which, however, is said to be untrue.

If one wishes to find beautiful things from olden times among these Indians, one must first look for them in the chiefs' families. They keep the old treasures.

Ee [177]

More and more the white authorities are beginning to appoint the chiefs. Thus, in one region one can find a chief supported by the whites and a legitimate one.

Ee 622 423 122 643

The chiefs have great power, and, as far as I could see, they are always obeyed, in contrast to conditions among the Choroti and Ashluslay. They own the land (at least in certain regions), not for themselves, but for the tribe. If one needs porters in a Chané or Chiriguano village, one gets them from the chief, and no Indian will refuse to carry out the orders of the chief.

Ce 622 643

Although the chief has such great influence, /231/ he nevertheless works in the same way as the other Indians. Vocapoy himself, for example, carried home the heavy wood for cooking the maize beer, and his wife had to cook and sweep, like the other women. Following the example of the whites, however, a few of the most civilized and wealthy Indians, such as Taco, now have servants from their own tribe, but this was not done originally. On the other hand, as I have mentioned elsewhere, it is not unusual for the Mataco-Vejos and the Tapiete to work for the Chiriguano and Chané.

Ee [359] [177] Ee 177 464

Ce 622 643 431 123

When we came home to Vocapoy's village from hunting and shared our booty with the chief /Fig. 115 appears here/, his wife accepted everything, but then went around to the houses and gave her neighbors everything that she had received.

Ib Schmidt--231 E-5 (1955) 1958 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce 692 643 28

/89 cont./
of the deceased (359).

359. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 421

Private property is highly respected among the Chiriguano. According to Métraux, even the closest relatives cannot make use of the property of one of them without his consent. The possession of a piece of land is guaranteed to a Chiriguano by planting any plant on it or by clearing the circumference of the land required and making large slashes in the trees. When he selects a plot for his planting, the Chiriguano examines it carefully to determine that there are no traces of a previous planting (360).

C 423

360. Métraux I, pp. 334 and 340.

C 241 476 [622]

After the land selected for the planting has been cleared, relatives and friends are called together to help with the work. Formerly, the cacique of the town also took part by keeping watch for the workers (361).

361. Métraux I, p. 337.

/90/

Religion

Ce 797 971 178 538

In their many years of activity the missions have naturally influenced notably the religious actions of the Chiriguano and Chané. Most of them today are Christians. Some still retain part of their primordial ideas, expressed in their legends. I shall limit myself here to referring the reader again to the Chané legends taken down by Nordenskiöld (362) and mentioned several times in the preceding.

362. Nord. 1, pp. 251-296.

/347 cont./

433 between the reed beams. Once out of this region the ethnog-
224 rapher will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire
184 these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him,
[347] they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an old man or crudely made specimens without any value other than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some rare lover of hunting.

224 The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendí
411 are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using
184 it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were intended, from what they told me, for killing the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.). They are long reeds armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate IX, 1). One must not conclude that the yakú, abundant as they may be, represent an appreciable food resource. Besides, hunting is
[433] scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for fun. The Indian who gave up to me the handsomest lot of
[124] these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained
[425] to me, /365/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them without his consent.

357 Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shoot-
368 ing with a bow than men. One can see them run around the
224 village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows (Plate XII, 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach. Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16 appears here./

223 Some Indians of the Caipipendí valley sold me large
[124] bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts. That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are certainly not numerous in this region; in a month's stay I
287 did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17
439 appears here/ feather dusters, which the Chiriguano sell in the

[text continues on p. 91]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chaco SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yandawa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1819 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

/237 cont./

648 464 466 It can be said with all certainty that the only laborer in the four provinces of Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor, and Gran Chaco is the Chiriguano, who is found even beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he also works, taken there by the authorities or by the owners of the lands, which they bought in ancient times for a trifle (1).

• [425] 1. If one is to credit what the Indians say, in some places land was acquired by barefaced trickery /la raida/ at the time of Ferdinand VII; in other places, for three or four arrobas of cheese, and in the last ones, for a cow, a poncho, a few varas of cloth, or a few bottles of liquor given to the cacique.

178 [169] Today the Chiriguano, very abject, in many places suffers in resignation what, according to the story, he did not want yesterday; in other places he is migrating the better part of the time, that is to say, when his presence is necessary for the general planting, to which of necessity the old people must devote themselves if they want to live without dying of hunger and in order to be able to welcome the migrants when they return for a few days to show off their new clothing, their work from other regions, to sell it immediately for very little, to slaughter some cattle of their own or of their elders, and to go back at once without even saying good-by.

Property Rights

648 [241] The object of the present chapter is to describe the method of cultivating the land when the Indians lived alone in the country, before the whites had moved in among them; now they scarcely give them /238/ room to do their planting as best they can. Nonetheless, since they keep them continually occupied, food and clothing are never lacking to anybody in a Christian's house, where the Indian gets them 177 648

6 Nordenskiöld--151 E-5 (1909-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Ec
Ec 648 /301 cont./
[466] Thus, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this

C
415
531

Fig. 133. Clay vessel. - 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

Ec
648 way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

Ec
648 466 465 167 925 /302/ The uncertainty and the oppressive wage conditions under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but forever.

Ec
648 273 277 If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference between drinking maize beer and liquor.

/42 cont./

*136 We can count among the amphibians the "Boicururu," or snake toad, which is nothing but the water tarantula, but it is very poisonous here; it is found near lakes in the swamps. Frogs are found in small numbers in the center of the region; [262] they abound where there is water on the banks of rivers; only the Toba and other barbarians eat them; the Chiriguano do not. There is an infinity of "Cururu" toads in terms of size, color, and song, one being distinguished among all of them, the one that the whites call "Rococo" and that is heard continually and loudly at a distance of one kilometer at night in rainy weather and where there is water.

*136 *825 [757] [164] The toad is medicinal; one or two large ones are gently caught alive and, one after the other, applied /43/ to parts of the body affected by erysipelas, which is cured very efficaceously, with the animal being left dead, doubtless because with its cold belly it absorbs all the heat which the sick person has in the said painful parts; more than once I have seen erysipelas cured in this way. In rainy weather there are so many of them that it is impossible to sleep near the place where they gather to sing their discordant tattoo; at the end of a heavy shower is when the noise of the toads is most unbearable.

*136 Fish abound in the large rivers, where there are shad, bagre, and dorado; the latter reach a length of two meters, as I have seen, and are very palatable and drip blood like cow's meat. Then in the same rivers, streams, and permanent lakes, there is an infinity of small "pira" fish, which are good to the taste, and finally there is no lack of eels, "Chorinchi," ● 43 or the useful leeches, "Evoipe." Indians who live on the banks of rivers of great volume trade in fish; to be sure, they plant fields, but generally they do not harvest because of the lack of rain, but obtain maize in exchange for fish; dried shad tastes like cod and is worth 10 and 20 centavos.

*136 Insects are innumerable, but not as abundant and varied in their form, size, and color as they are in the region of the Beni, the Mojo, and others; they are a hundred times more numerous than all the quadrupeds and birds together; there are bothersome ones, like mosquitoes and zancudos /long-beaked mosquito/, and there are poisonous ones, which, however, rarely cause death.

/196 cont./

301 Over their tiru the men put the Mboivera, which is a small double piece of silver with its hole in the upper part, where they put a double cord of wool, on the ends of which there are [562] tassels of the same color. This ornament is for men, but there are also women who wear them, but smaller ones. If one in- [177] quires about the origin of the mboivera, no Chiriguano can tell you today, but it is almost certain that they received it from the Spaniards, with whom they had relations almost from the time of the discovery, as can be deduced from the history of Tarija, whose first settlers had to fight vigorously to take over the territory which they then occupied. It is enough to see a mboivera in order to conclude that it is not of Chiriguano origin. The work which goes into almost all of them indicates that it is the work of civilized people, since decorations by the engraver's burin can be seen on it (2).

● 43
301

2. A Mboivera, a Tempeta /sic/ with a ndamicha, four necklaces, and a ndamicha ichi formerly were exchanged for a horse, a cow, ten sheep, or 15 goats, but it should be noted that these pieces of property were worth little. A cow was worth five or six pesos, and the same could be said of the rest. Conscientious travelers today pay up to four bolivianos for a tembeta, because it is a museum piece.

301
435
756

Both men and women adorn their necks with beads /perlas/. Itogũi; necklaces, Risi, are not of beads like those of civilized people, but in spite of this the itogũi has a conventional value among the Chiriguano. For four itogũi necklaces they sold the best that they had, and sick persons gave them to the sorcerer in order that he would cure them, and today, when it is almost impossible to obtain a necklace, it is not rare for a sick person who owns one to make a gift of it to the doctor, even though it may be his passport to eternity, because everyone understands that after the sick person has been treated by a sorcerer in the most barberous manner, if he does not recover it is clear he will die.

/21 cont./

137 GUAYABO /guava/. -- This fruit-bearing tree is found
824 wild and cultivated; it is of medium size, and the fruit, when
[245] ripe, is yellow on the outside and purple on the inside, and
its bittersweet flavor is very pleasant and laxative. The green
fruit and the roots are astringent; the Chiriguano know it by
the same name. The wood has no use at all, and even if it
[262] did, the Indians would not use it because it produces edible fruit.
They regret it when any of these trees and others, like the
algarrobo, are destroyed.

GÜEMBE. -- This plant thrives on the trunks of high trees,
where it puts its root, and others which penetrate the ground
[492] hang down from there. The roots and lianas are dark in color;
very strong and durable halters are made from its bark; it is
not found everywhere. One encounters it from the left bank
of the Parapiti River; its fruit is similar to that of maize, for
which reason it is called maize of the air, and it is edible.

HIGUERA AMERICANA /Amerigan fig/. -- This is the
[262] guapoy of the Chiriguano and the bibosi of the populace; al-
though the fruit is rather sour, it is edible. Bats like it, and it
[757] is annoying to have this tree near the dwellings; it has a milky
juice like the common fig tree, which, applied to wounds,
heals them. In addition to the above fig tree, there is the
[245] common one which flourishes with very little care, in the towns,
[439] especially the Mission ones, it is widely cultivated by the
[431] natives and its fruit is used by them for gifts and trade with the
whites.

244 MANDIOCA. -- This plant is called "Mandio" or
"Mandiporopi" by the Chiriguano Indians. A little book
written by a Jesuit missionary of the old Paraguay missions
relates that this plant was left to those Indians by Saint
Thomas the Apostle who, according to their tradition, came
here to preach the doctrine of the Redeemer. Mandioca is
[252] an excellent food and very digestible; it is eaten boiled,
[262] roasted, and fried in lard. It is a plant cultivated by whites
and by Indians.

/23 cont./ some trees[1] are covered with long
[137] sharp points and others are not, only having an occasional im-
[824] perceptible sharp point; the fruit of both is pleasant and serves
[439] for gifts and trade for the Indian, who sells it to the whites,
[431] the ones who, rushing to get rich more quickly and easily, are
[648] little concerned about the nopal and the fig tree. In Chiriguano
it is called "Saini."

PALM or PALMER. -- The palm tree has congenial places, where immense forests are formed and sometimes grow all around a lake like a great garland; it is a very tall and smooth tree without a single branch. Its leaves are in the form of a
[435] fan and are used to make hats and for sieves, which are sold
[342] for 30 or 40 centavos apiece. The wood is good for joists in houses, and it is also split into shingles for roofs and is quite durable, if the precaution is taken of cutting them after the full moon. In Chiriguano it is called "Carandai," and the place which they occupy, "Carandaiti," palm grove.

PALMA CHRISTI. -- A not very durable plant, it grows to a height of four meters, has a soft, hollow trunk, large leaves, /24/ and flowers in the form of a bunch of grapes. The seeds are found inside little burrs, like chestnuts; said burrs in some plants open by themselves in the warmth of the sun, while others must be opened or carefully broken with a little hammer or a stone. [illegible] name indicates that it is a beautiful plant, but this beauty is in the broad, abundant petiolate leaves. There are several types with reference to
[757] size and quality of seeds; I know five kinds. Castor oil is
[302] extracted from this plant or from its seeds for use as medicine; we use it in the missions to fuel the lamp of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Chiriguanos mix it with "Achiote" seeds and put the resulting cosmetic on their faces and on their calves down to the feet. In Chiriguano the plant is called "Causiro," and the oil, "Yandi." Even the leaves of the
[757] palma Christi are medicinal, some being hot and others cool; thus when headache is a result of overexposure to the sun, the leaves of the white spurge are applied; if, on the other hand, it is the result of high humidity, the leaves of the red spurge are applied. The seeds of the dark purple spurge are very small, but contain more oil than others.

[1] [i.e., Nopal trees, -Analyst]

/160 cont./

574 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accomodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

574 178 [431] [273] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he asks nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretasted liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 527 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quiriquinchos, /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

622 224

273 824 171 2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

[Text Continues on P. 221]

/251 cont./

Other Comestibles

226 184 After this digression I return with an account of comestibles in order to end the chapter now. The Indian finds in everything goodness and sweetness for his molars. He is very eager for fish, but not all the tribes have it nearby; when they learn that there [437] is fish in abundance on the banks of the big rivers, they travel as far as 150 kilometers to barter; they take maize or meal and trade it for fish. Those who live on the river banks are valiant fishermen, with no distinction by sex; they fish with hooks, staying in the water for hours, but they know with great sensitivity when the fish has taken the bait into its stomach; others fish with nets, which they have in every size, as I have seen on the Parapiti River, as well as on the Pilcomayo, near the Pirapo toward the west (2).

[438] [435] [431] 2. The Indians who bring fish back to their tribes do business, selling them at 10 and 20 centavos each; they also eat them and present them to friends and relatives.

226 Others make large baskets of hollow cane, open at a single point, put them in the river, and the fish go in without being able to get out; these baskets are called Pari. Along the rivers I even saw two lines of rocks sticking out of the water and ending /252/ in an angle, where the water forms a small waterfall. There, at the angle, they put a big net or other apparatus and catch many fish. They call this apparatus Itapare; even the carcancho /a bird/ will place itself at the angle and have a breakfast of fresh fish.

Finally, at waterfalls eight or ten meters high, they place close by a big net which gets all the smaller or medium-sized fish, since the big ones go up and down easily, while the former fall into the net; in the places where the fish are small, they divert the course of the stream and thus manage to catch all those which are left without their element.

/190 cont./

292 The Chiriguano, when he is dressed in these skins, considers himself a grandee, and he is one before his companions and the caciques themselves. But from the beginning, even before it is even worn, such clothing gives off a very disagreeable odor, like that of the soles of shoes. Let the reader imagine what it must be like when it has been used for some time. It can easily be understood that the Chiriguano, when [296] wearing the doublet, has nothing else on his body, and that all of the sweat, etc. sticks to it, and it should be noted that the outfit is never washed, which adds to the smell.

[622] [797] /191/ The cacique Nambi of Ivu made his visits to the P.P.C.C. of Santa Rosa Mission to ask for a mission in his town, dressing himself in his old and filthy doublet before making the visit. He embraced the missionaries and talked quite close to them, the result being almost unbearable (1).

1. The outfit is completed by a pair of boots called Timainu, which literally means: com- [224] panion of the shin bone. These are necessary for hunters so that they will not hurt their legs when they are pursuing wild animals.

The illustration that I put at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 255/ will make the description of the Ambícuai more easily understood. There appear in it a young man and an old man standing, a woman sitting on a chair, and a young girl sitting on the ground. The old man dressed in a doublet is the cacique Güiraesa of Santa Rosa; the woman who is seated on the chair is his wife; the man on his right is his son Yandareca, and the girl is his Christian daughter, named Prisca.

[291] The Chiriguano who does not have a doublet is satisfied with his long poncho or with a blanket wrapped around his body down to his knees, but today it is rare that he cannot dress himself moderately well with some six varas of linen, which at the most will cost him two bolivianos. Today every- [432] [439] thing can be bought in the small retail stores (2).

2. The doublet is used today in some areas to

/345 cont./

241 115 The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields. "Captain" Karnapadyú made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations, without sparing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I answered that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

243 593 583 606 The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano

[585]

1. Corrado (p. 155) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacras nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whose laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

433 224 178 I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano villages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game. It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo, [251] chuña /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Nino, pp. 249-258).

/345 cont./

433 224 178 Outside these official expeditions they doubtless used to hunt for pleasure or simply to interrupt the monotony of their menu.

224 411 Quadrupeds were killed with arrows with lanceolate tips, originally of wood, today of iron (Plates VIII and IX, 2); small game, with arrows tipped with a barbed wooden rod [223] (Plate IX, 3-5). Birds were taken in traps or felled with a special arrow having a splayed ferrule (Plates X-XI).

224 [231] Anyone who has seen the little dogs of the Chiriguano Indians, with elongated /346/ muzzle, pointed ears, short hair, and arched tail will ask with surprise how animals so miserable, stupid, and snappish could have been trained to render service to man. Nevertheless, such seems to have been the case. For hunting the peccary, for example, the Indians employ the dogs, who track them and /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ force them to hide in their dens, from which they are smoked out and felled with blows of a stick when they try to run away. At least this is how the inhabitants of the village of Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) told me they had killed a peccary which they showed me at the time I was there.

433 224 184 For the modern Chiriguano, hunting has lost its reason for existing as an activity having an economic character, except perhaps /Plates VIII, IX, X, and XI appear here/ /347/ /Fig. 14 appears here/ for those of this nation who live in the region of the upper Pilcomayo. At least this is the im- [352] [412] pression I had after examining their huts: the bedsteads or wooden cots were often covered with peccary skins and the old deerhorn awls (Fig. 12) numerous enough to be able to be exchanged for a trifle. The relative abundance of these objects proves that among these Indians hunting has not been relegated /Fig. 15 appears here/ to the rank of a simple sport and that it keeps, at least in part, its past importance. [797] The contrast is striking if one then goes into the zone of the Franciscan missions: there, more peccary skins, more [411] perforators made of deerhorn, more ostrich feathers. In the villages of the upper Pilcomayo there is no cabin, poor as it may be, in which a bow and a bundle of arrows are not slipped

[Text Continues on P. 89]

/347 cont./

433 between the roof beams. Once out of this region the ethnog-
224 rapher will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire
184 these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him.
[411] they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an old man or crudely made specimens without any value other than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some rare lover of hunting.

224 The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendí
411 are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using
184 it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were intended, from what they told me, for killing the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.). They are long reeds armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate IX, 1). One must not conclude that the yakú, abundant as they may be, rep-
[433] resent an appreciable food resource. Besides, hunting is scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for
[126] fun. The Indian who gave up to me the handsomest lot of
[425] these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained to me, /348/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them without his consent.

857 Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shoot-
868 ing with a bow than ours. One can see them run around the
224 village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows (Plate XII/ 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach. Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16 appears here./

223 Some Indians of the Caipipendí valley sold me large
[126] bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts. That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are certainly not numerous in this region; in a month's stay I
287 did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17
439 appears here/ feather dusters, which the Chiriguano sell in the

[Text continues on p. 91]

/348 cont./

289 439 [484] [435] half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

224 178 231 433 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago, those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 435 [464] [465] The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently 471 23 [435] costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

[262] [198] 1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to 556 diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows: and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text Continues on p. 93]

/3 cont./

133 The lakes are natural, but not permanent; they are
[135] many and large; in some the water is very good, but from others not even the cattle /4/ drink, because it contains so
[132] much saltpeter. They all receive water from the sky, which sometimes falls with great force and fills them at a single time. White Christians are now making artificial lakes, especially in the Gran Chaco and in the vicinity of Caipipendi.
271 When water is completely lacking, the Indian scratches the
824 ground, looking for the root of the "sipoy," samolo, which is as large as a watermelon; he cuts it at the top, squeezes the pulp with his hand, it turns to water, and he drinks; thus the need is met, but when this drink is taken for a long period, it gives rise to sickness.

311 The land lends itself to farming and to cattle raising,
312 but both industries diminish in those years when the beneficial
433 action of the rains is scarce. Then the crops are lost, and the
132 cattle die from lack of food and from the great amounts of water that they drink from the rivers and lakes on whose banks they stay through lack of energy; nonetheless this rarely happens throughout the region, which, because of embracing a wide area, in one place or another receives showers which renew nature.

Extent and Area

131 The Chiriguano tribe or race was extremely numerous and
[161] thus once took in an extraordinarily large area; traces of these
[444] Indians are found in the vicinity of Tarija, and they may be found beyond Santa Cruz, where even today Chiriguano men and women are in larger part those in domestic service with the genteel families. Toward the capital of the Republic the Indians still remember that their grandparents used to live in Tacopaya and even beyond, in Talisco, included in the same district. Then they extended toward the Bermejo River and, finally, eastward to within a few leagues of Carandaiti, where the arid zone, inhabited by the Toba and other savages, begins.

/4 cont./

131 Thus formerly the Chiriguano territory in the north was contiguous with the province of Sara, in the south and southwest with Argentina and the city of Tarija, in the west with Tarabuco country, and in the east with the colony of Carandaiti. According to its former boundaries, it then included an area of 200 leagues from north to south and southwest, and more than 90 leagues west to east.

131 16 [648] Today this extensive territory has been much reduced because of emigration, caused in part by the whites, under whose dominion most of them will not resign themselves to staying; the plagues which decimate the race have a powerful influence on its further reduction, and very soon /5/ barely the 131 name will remain. Today to the north it scarcely reaches Abapó, to the south, Itiyuru de Yacuiba, to the west, Monteagudo, and to the east, Carandaiti, some hundred leagues from north to south and about 40 from west to east.

131 648 [433] Formerly it embraced several degrees of latitude and three and a half of longitude; as they lost a considerable part of this area, so will they end up by losing it all, for despite their being heirs to the country which God had given them, as one of them was saying to me not long ago, they do not know how to farm it and improve their agriculture; they prefer to go far away and work for others rather than to own land at home. This very day only a few leagues remain in the hands of the Indians, Caipipendi in the province of Cordillera, Gutierrez Canton, and all the territory occupied by the missions, but both are likely to pass into foreign hands, because in fact the Indian is incapable of making the land that he does possess bear fruit; then the few survivors in the territory will be servants in their own house, as are so many others in lands that were once their own.

311 134 [132] The land is very unstable, at least that now occupied; it lacks stone and gravel, and since in their season the rains are torrential, they easily open cracks which in a few years become wide, deep ravines. Contributing a great deal to this are the cattle, which, because of their weight, stir up the land with their hoofs more than other livestock; for this reason

/14 cont./

311 The closer the traveler gets to the Gran Chaco, the less
312 water and the less fertility he finds; the very fields of Yvu
244 are patent proof, for crops are rarely abundant there. When the rains are torrential in other sections, they are sparse in Yvu; the farther to the west one travels from Aguaragüe, the more fertile is the land, because the hills and hillocks are more frequent and higher, water more abundant, and consequently the land more moist, which is necessary for agricultural production.

The fields are suitable for raising cows and horses, for the multiplication of sheep and pigs; the year when it fails to rain, however, there is lack of food for the livestock, as well as lack of water, the suffering is great, and numbers die near the waters which are found at some distance from the spots where there is feed, such as the slopes of the hills and the tops of the hillocks, abounding in tree leaves.

137 The countryside is clothed with grasses in the summer, but the region begins to turn beautiful in the spring and even earlier. The vigorous woods, dry and leafless during the cold months, begin to dress in verdant foliage at the beginning of the month of September, and in a few days nature is rejuvenated. Then it is very lovely to contemplate from some slight rise a broad pampa where there are carob trees, groves of catalpas or lapachos, the first green, the second red, and the third yellow and purple.

241 The territory is productive only in the rainy season, be-
182 cause the Chiriguano in general will not take the trouble to put
[132] in a good irrigation ditch when he can; he waits for it all from
[133] the high heavens. Miracles could have been worked on the banks of the rivers in times past; today it is difficult because they are very few and, like their grandparents, are satisfied with maize, a little sugar cane, and other delicacies, like sweet potatoes or batatas, mandioca, and peanuts.

241 Large-scale planting begins at the end of November or the
[221] beginning of December, after the country has been watered by two or three abundant rains. The maize grows very high and, when there is no lack of water, produces two or three ears on each stalk. The frijoles produce three crops. The sugar cane

/14 cont./

241 grows up to two meters and even more. the mandioca /15/ produces one arroba per plant. and the sweet potato even more because a single plant can spread and extend eight or ten meters. being productive in every root put in the ground. just so it is suitably covered with earth there.

311 The fertility of the region which I describe cannot be doubted. but the inhabitants do not cultivate it. If in this area there were persons who liked to work. the land would produce more; for this is of no use to mestizo people either. since he who was a peon in Sucre or Tarija wants to be a gentleman here because he is not a Chiriguano. as a result of which the very banks of the rivers. those shores of the Parapiti and Río Grande which appear to be beckoning the farmer. remain almost uncultivated. Ticucha Canton is another area where a colony of foreigners would work miracles. planting vineyards and fruit trees and so many other products that could be developed there; the same could be said of so many other sites.

[245] It seems that the grape does not grow in certain places. but this is because it has not been tried. Not long ago the missionary padre of San Antonio del Parapiti planted some 200 vine stocks. Who would believe it? Within six months some plants yielded quite ripe fruit. and the plants developed in an extraordinary fashion. In nearly all the missions there is cultivation of the vineyard.and in Charagua it is on a large scale through the work of foreigners; therefore what is needed are thinking men and good farmers in order to make these beautiful lands productive. especially along the river banks. where sugar-cane plantations. banana plantations. coffee fields. vineyards. and so many other things that are productive here could be established.

● 433 241 From the foot of Padilla Hill the forest is very vigorous and continues so to the east until it ends at Aguaragüe. Fig trees yield with little cultivation. the nopal with none at all since it flourishes on hillocks and hills and. such an agreeable and refreshing fruit. is the principal occupant. Chirimoyas. oranges. lemons. and guavas also grow. as well as onions and

/15 cont./

433 241 sweet potatoes; cotton grows everywhere. tomatoes and garlic mature the year round. and in the gardens lettuce. cabbage. cauliflower. and peppers create the beauty of a spot. without taking into account the gastronomic advantages. Even the peach trees would yield fine fruits. but they suffer much from the black butterflies. which damage them before they ripen.

Without work the land will produce only brias and brambles. and /16/ as long as there are only Chiriguano and [157] cattle ranches here. progress will be slight and the population [158] sparse. because the Indian has no ambition. and life is relatively inexpensive; the whites prosper by taking good care of their livestock. and no greater fertility can be obtained from the land because the holdings of a few families are very extensive and do not facilitate the residence of numerous renters. who do not always give good results nor do all come or ask to rent for farming alone. All of them want to get rich easily and quickly. and the best way is to raise stock. the result of which is that great areas of brias and brambles exist.

- Flora

13 In the course of this hasty description I have noted that in Chiriguano country atmospheric changes are very sudden. but it has been noted that the region is quite fertile when it is watered by the rains or by irrigation ditches. because small rivers are plentiful. particularly in the mountainous region. and an occasional river of some size bathes the adjacent territories with its abundant waters.

There are many hills. pampas. and valleys. and for this reason every kind of climate may be found in this territory. [37] There are in fact oppressive heat. intense cold. and a temperate climate. thus making it possible to find land for every product from the lowly gourd to the savory chirimoya. from the ubiquitous maize to wheat. rice. and barley. from the mulberry /mora/. which grows spontaneously. to the rich grape. whose bunches reach weights of three and four libras.

/76 cont./

174 169 When experience showed them that they could settle in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen. 241 433 (861) The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every type of cereal; maize matures exuberantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hoeks and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

433 241 511 (931) But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably. In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /77/ along some stream; plantings of this type are called socoro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

192 (101) By what has already been related it can easily be understood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guarayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guarayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

(194) (191) 1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

Ee 531 177

/236 cont./

The younger generation, I fear, will prefer German porcelain and enamelware, and with that the Chiriguano and Chané art will become part of the many fine and beautiful things that will disappear before the brutal civilization of the white man. In many villages one is already obliged to rummage around in the corners of the huts if one wishes to find vessels painted with a sure hand and natural taste. The worst thing, however, is that the whites are beginning to take pleasure in the clay vessels of the Indians. This brings about mass production. For the whites everything is good enough, it need be neither beautiful nor well done. They do not want the tasteful and simple, but the garnish and strange, "curiosidades," as the Creole says. Our museums must beware of these curiosities, for they give a mistaken idea of what is truly Indian.

Ee 273

The women brew beer for the festival. This is supposed to be made with maize (preferably yellow or white), and only the poor Chané on the Rio Parapiti must often content themselves with beer made out of sweet potatoes. If algarroba is available, beer is also brewed from this fruit. "It is good and intoxicates so nicely," say the Indians.

Ee 527 261 433

/237/ If the maize harvest is abundant, there is joy in the villages; then there is food and drink in every hut. If the maize crop has failed, there is no joy, stomachs are empty, and it is quiet on the festival plaza. If the granaries are full of maize, the Indian is proud and does not care about whites, suppression, and trouble. If the barn is empty, he is subservient and morose.

Ee 273

After the women have fetched the maize from the granaries and the men have brought wood and the women water, /Fig. 117 appears here/ the brewing commences. First the maize is pounded in large mortars. Day and night one hears the busy women pounding. The pounded maize is sifted and then mixed with water in huge clay vessels and boiled. Then a portion is taken out, chewed, and mixed well with saliva. This is then poured into the rest and, after it has been strained, must ferment in large open vessels with a little heat. The pots are stirred with large wooden spatulas

C
Ce
343
182
171
231

/18 cont./ Their Purpose
today among the Chiriguano and Chané, as well as among the Matako and Churupí, is primarily to protect certain provisions against the numerous dogs and other domestic animals who are around in great number in every part of the town (74).

74. Concerning the question of the purpose of houses built upon posts with respect to damage by animals, cf. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 192-198.

C
Ce
433
224
226

Food and Drink. Manner of Eating and Drinking.

Hunting and fishing are not very important in the economy of the Chiriguano and Chané. Their territory has relatively few edible animals, and they are not very brave hunters (75).

75. Nord. 2, p. XVI.

C
Ce
224
262

Of animals that can be hunted, they eat the puma and the jaguar, while they scorn vultures, foxes, and the meat of monkeys, so craved by other Indians (76). One contribution

C
Ce
226
184

76. Nord. 1, p. 190.

to their subsistence which is worth mentioning is that from fishing, but only for the Chiriguano and Chané who live near the upper Pilcomayo River, since that river has excellent fishing. These Indians cannot make much use of fishing in the Rio Grande, because today this river can be held to be almost the frontier of their territory. The Parapití River has many fish, but they are very small. While the Chané today live in territories where for several months some fish are available, many Chiriguano towns are so far from the larger streams that fish does not enter into the diet of their inhabitants (77). With

77. Nord. 2, pp. XV and XVI.

/39 cont./

Ce 231 Tamed wild animals are rarely found inside their houses, except that they do have some parrots (182) /see footnote 182 above/.

Hunting

C Ce 224 [433] [411] [439] We have explained before that, because of the lack of animals that can be eaten in the territory of the Chiriguano and Chané, hunting is secondary among their means of subsistence, and in accordance with this we know through old documents that the feathers for their arrows were introduced to the Chiriguano by other Indian tribes who were their tribu-
C Ce [231] taries (183). The raising of domestic livestock gives them a

183. Moreno II, 121.

C 224 greater opportunity to obtain animal foodstuffs. In accordance with the fact that the Chiriguano, at least today, are not first-
C 223 class hunters, the most common method of hunting among them is the use of traps (184). Nordenskiöld describes three

184. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 205.

different kinds of traps, all three of which are used for catching birds (185). The first kind consists of a simple noose and is used

185. Nord. 2, pp. 32, 33, and 85, Fig. 10, 12, and 13.

C [171] with the help of calls. The second kind, which is common among various other tribes of Indians, is used, for example, also by the Kaingua /Caingua/. The third kind consists of a net made
Ce in two parts and fixed to the ground by means of stakes. In one [993] of the Chané legends recorded by Nordenskiöld, a trap for [223] catching doves is mentioned (186).

186. Nord. 1, p. 279.

C 411 177 /43 cont./ The Chiriguano in Contact with the Quichua /Quechua/ also use another type of sling made of wool (200).

200. Métraux 1, p. 342 and Plate VII.

C 224 [411] According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano also formerly used the bola, called "churima," by them, for hunting the ostrich (201).

201. Nord. 1, p. 183.

C [231] We must still mention that the Chiriguano train their dogs for hunting, especially for hunting pigs (202).

202. Nord. 2, p. 31. Métraux 1, p. 346.

Fishing

C 433 226 Because, as I have already mentioned, there is no opportunity for fishing in any part of the Chiriguano territory nd also the large rivers which are in their territory, except for the upper Pilcomayo River, do not offer any fish other than very small ones, fishing has only secondary importance in the economy of most of the Chiriguano, although they utilize every chance they have to fish.

C 227 Among the Chiriguano in Machareti I did not see any fishing equipment outside of the small arrows with wire points, which are occasionally used for fishing. But among the Izozó I acquired such a piece of equipment, which consists of a net bag that is closed at the top with two sticks of cane attached to the upper edge. (Cf. Figure 39.)

Ce 126 227

/86 cont./

C 178 565 648 CP [178] [648] [643] The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

C 565 554 643 511 433 any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

C 184 433 433 433 178 [643] [461] [476] [464]

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 462 C [562] Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

/348 cont./

287 half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade
439 brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as
[484] Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each
[435] feather duster.

224 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the
178 Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago,
231 those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep,
433 goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last
435 years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills
[464] of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in
[465] recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often
471 even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently
231 costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the
[435] means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

[262] 1. In former times they used to feel an un-
[178] conquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to
556 diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text Continues on p. 93]

/349 cont./

556 tendency to estimate the value of objects in cows. For example,
[435] a loom with a nearly finished poncho was offered to me "for
[437] a cow," and the owner of the loom could not understand that
it was difficult for me to convert the exchange into money.

262 Charqui, or meat dried in the sun, most often replaces
[251] fresh meat in the menus of our Indians. It is not a question
of preference, but of necessity. Charqui is cheap and is
bought in any estancia.

Fishing

221 When I went through the Chiriguano villages of the upper
226 Pilcomayo and the Parapití, the rivers were in flood, the corn was
ripening in the fields, and no Indian wanted to let the parrots
eat his corn in order to go to catch fish at the risk of getting himself carried off by the current. If I had come back to these same villages in July or August, the scene would have been completely different. The rivers would have been only thin trickles of water, and in every direction I should have perceived men /350/ and women busy fishing. The fishing season would have been at its height.

[178] The Chiriguano, having come from a country rich in
watercourses, have in this respect preserved the traditions of
their ancestors of the Paraná or the Paraguay.

226 Some, equipped with large landing nets (Fig. 18), form
barriers against the current and advance, gathering the fish as if
[227] with a spoon. Then they grab them and attach them to their
[482] belts, after /Fig. 18 appears here/ threading them on a cord
by means of a wooden needle (Fig. 19). Others lie in wait for a fish in the water and, as it goes by, impale it with an arrow equipped with several points (Fig. 20) or simply with two long, barbed wooden rods. Some, with the help of stone barriers, try to make the fish converge toward the opening of a wicker trap (1). Sometimes a group of individuals turn aside a

1. Compare Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260): "in summer (the Chiriguano) divert a stretch of the river; they leave the fish in the drained

/8 cont./

133 The rivers which bathe the Chiriguano region are four: the Pilcomayo, the Parapiti, the Grande or Guapay River, and the Acero. The Pilcomayo begins in the northwest of Potosí Department and crosses Chiriguano country in the southeast. Its water, sweet and clear up to the southern part of [135] Igüembe Canton, is somewhat salty in Huacaya and Villamontes, because to the southeast of Ibopeiti it receives as a tributary the Salado River with its rather abundant waters; these waters are quite salty, because they pass through the salt flats of O'Connor Province. Its bed is wide and shallow, but its flow is very abundant from December to April, because this is the rainy season. If in Villamontes the Germans or others open the great canal proposed by the Supreme Government, the navigation of this river up to the estuaries /esteros/ of the P. Patiño, even in small boats, will be made nearly impossible, because there will not be enough water for it.

136 In the Pilcomayo fish are abundant: bagre, shad /sábalo/, and dorado; some of the latter are very large, up to a meter and a half in length. The first freshets of the rainy season wash up and kill many fish, leaving them stretched out on the ground on both banks or piling them up like stones or firewood. Then 226 the Chiriguano Indians, the Toba, and Mataco fill their houses, and dogs and crows come there by the thousands and stuff themselves, while the air is full of unbearable miasmas.

[221] The most satisfactory and safest season for fishing is from the May cold until the end of July and in certain years up to [251] the middle of August; then all the Indians are fishermen; they fish for themselves and for trading; they open the fish though the middle vertically and dry it in the sun. If nobody goes [438] there to barter, they go off to sell it at 20 centavos apiece, [435] but generally during the fishing season the tribes far from the rivers go to the banks of same, taking maize or parched meal and bringing back abundant fish. /Illustration appears here./

/23 cont./ some trees[1] are covered with long
[137] sharp points and others are not, only having an occasional im-
[824] perceptible sharp point; the fruit of both is pleasant and serves
[439] for gifts and trade for the Indian, who sells it to the whites,
[431] the ones who, rushing to get rich more quickly and easily, are
[648] little concerned about the nopal and the fig tree. In Chiriguano it is called "Saini."

PALM or PALMER. -- The palm tree has congenial places, where immense forests are formed and sometimes grow all around a lake like a great garland; it is a very tall and smooth tree without a single branch. Its leaves are in the form of a
[435] fan and are used to make hats and for sieves, which are sold
[342] for 30 or 40 centavos apiece. The wood is good for joists in houses, and it is also split into shingles for roofs and is quite durable, if the precaution is taken of cutting them after the full moon. In Chiriguano it is called "Carandai," and the place which they occupy, "Carandaiti," palm grove.

PALMA CHRISTI. -- A not very durable plant, it grows to a height of four meters, has a soft, hollow trunk, large leaves, /24/ and flowers in the form of a bunch of grapes. The seeds are found inside little burrs, like chestnuts; said burrs in some plants open by themselves in the warmth of the sun, while others must be opened or carefully broken with a little hammer or a stone. The name indicates that it is a beautiful plant, but this beauty is in the broad, abundant petiolate leaves. There are several types with reference to
[757] size and quality of seeds; I know five kinds. Castor oil is
[302] extracted from this plant or from its seeds for use as medicine; we use it in the missions to fuel the lamp of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Chiriguanos mix it with "Achiote" seeds and put the resulting cosmetic on their faces and on their calves down to the feet. In Chiriguano the plant is called "Causiro," and the oil, "Yandi." Even the leaves of the
[757] palma Christi are medicinal, some being hot and others cool; thus when headache is a result of overexposure to the sun, the leaves of the white spurge are applied; if, on the other hand, it is the result of high humidity, the leaves of the red spurge are applied. The seeds of the dark purple spurge are very small, but contain more oil than others.

[1] [i.e., Nopal trees, -Analyst]

/28 cont./

137 824 SOTO. -- This gigantic tree is found everywhere from the province of Tomina, but there are places where it is more abundant. In the spring, when the budding begins, its leaves are red, and later they turn green. In the autumn its fruit, which the parrots like, are red and are in bunches like cherries. Seen from a distance by a European, he thinks they are cherries. The wood of the soto is strong and does not rot; in dampness or in water it is better than iron, since it does not deteriorate. [342] It is very widely used in the construction of houses, especially when they are of frame construction. A great deal of tannin, which the Europeans use in tanneries, is extracted from the soto. It is called palo cuchi by the whites here and "Urundei" by the Chiriguano.

249 TOBACCO. -- An annual plant which flourishes everywhere, but only the whites cultivate it on a large scale, especially in Sapirangui and Chiquiacá, whose products have some fame. Even an occasional Indian cultivates it for his own use and to give to his friends. There is another similar plant, and, when he lacks real tobacco, the Indian deceives himself with its leaves. The true tobacco is called "peenti" in Chiriguano, and the other "huacapeenti," which, literally explained, means "cow tobacco." 276 In Bolivia there is considerable consumption of tobacco wrapped in paper or maize husks; rarely does one see cigars of pure tobacco, like the Havanas and others; the Chiriguano smokes a lot and acquires the habit at a tender age. [897] Children of four years of age have already begun to smoke; [562] women also smoke.

137 824 TACUARA. -- In the past when there were no cattle, the tacuara, or hollow cane, was very abundant; vestiges still remain of some immense canebrakes, but the plant has been re- [435] duced almost to the cultivated one, with the result that what was previously found in the forest at the disposal of the first occupant is found today in the possession of private parties, and anyone who is planning to build a dwelling must pay for hollow cane at the rate of 80 centavos per hundred, and the worst of it is that it is not found everywhere. This lack is made up for by small rods from trees, but these are neither as light nor always

/38 cont./

*136 true tiger of Africa; nevertheless it seems that both are equal in ferocity, but not in size and beauty; I have also seen the [224] African one. In spite of this the hide of the tiger, or jaguar, is most highly regarded here; there are cattle owners who will [435] give the killer of a jaguar quite a valuable fat cow. The ordinary price is from 30 to 40 duros.

224 The Indians kill the jaguar with arrows and with the help of good dogs, called tigreros; the white Christians have different methods, with bullets, strychnine, and traps. To kill by gunshot, one seeks fresh tracks and shows it to the best dog, who immediately sets off /39/ in pursuit, and the other dogs and the hunters follow the tigrero. If the jaguar climbs some tree, the tigrero dog will not go on until he discovers it; then he will begin to howl like one who is asking for help; the rest of the dogs arrive, the hunters arrive, and, seeing the animal up in the tree, they kill it with one or two shots; if it does not die then, once it is on the ground they finish killing it between hunters and dogs.

But the matter does not always end so easily; there are jaguars which tire out men and dogs by climbing up and down trees, running and stopping to face and kill some careless dog with a blow of his claws, and hiding in thickets where it is dangerous to approach and difficult to shoot at it accurately, and finally by scaling cliffs which are inaccessible to other animals. Thus the day often ends without anything achieved and with the jaguar fiercer than ever; it will stay away from that area for a few days, however, both in order to rest and so that it may avoid another unpleasant and dangerous encounter.

The second method of killing jaguars is with strychnine; the effects of this most powerful poison are well known. To accomplish this end the whites try to find out first where the animal has fresh meat, and there they put poison in the piece that it likes best, taking care not to handle the prey and to erase their tracks. But it is to be noted that some jaguars kill, eat a little bit, and leave the rest; for that reason it is not always certain that the jaguar will be killed by the use of poison. In addition, inasmuch as it has a very strong sense of smell, it is unlikely that it will return to the poisoned meat

*136 /62 cont./ It is only
[857] hunted by children, for whom every little bird is a joy and a pleasure.

There is also a species of oropéndola /oriole/, which makes a very funny nest, conical like a globe, with the wide part open toward the top; it hangs it from tree branches by means of long, slender threads. Sometimes there are many nests in a single tree. Neither vipers nor another, large bird can do any damage in such a shelter.

TORDO /thrush/. -- Thrushes are innumerable everywhere from Monteagudo eastward. They fly in flocks. The males are completely black, blacker than writing ink, and the females a kind of tan. They cause incalculable damage in newly planted fields, scratching up and eating the seeds very dexterously. At the time of sprouting they pull up the tender plant of maize, wheat, barley, and rice; consequently they are a true plague, and the moment the farmer is careless, he will harvest only wind for his labor. Their flesh is good, but the Indians only hunt them because of the damage they do. The thrush, like no other bird, takes singular pleasure in following the cattle grazing tranquilly in the field, and some readers will be able to understand the object and purpose of this singularity.

*[825] This type of thrush, called "Choronchíu" in Chiriguano, sings little and has less grace in its song. But there is another class of thrush which is quite amusing. It is found about nine or ten leagues south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra; it is also black, and the female is black as well. It is frequently domesticated and sings with variety and strength. This little animal is a precious thing and an enchanting one. Nevertheless, in the domestic state every small thing which it finds it comically carries off with its beak and hides; it could well be pounds sterling or quintos. It loves its master and abhors strangers, ruffling itself up and pecking furiously.

439 A thrush of this second species is worth something more
• [435] than five bolivianos or duros in Santa Cruz, and in Salta or
[171] Tucumán it is worth up to 30 nacionales. There are Indians in Parapiti and others who /63/ trade in thrushes. They catch

/177 cont./

Fire

354
372 In conical houses as well as in those of rectangular form, ancient as well as modern, a fire burned, and still burns, night and day; it is never extinguished, but should this happen, the way to relight it is to borrow it from the neighbors. If all the inhabitants of a tribe have temporarily emigrated to a place which is not far away, as happens at the time of general planting, at the end of the harvest, and upon returning to town, they come back bringing their fire with them, as I have seen on repeated occasions. But as today civilization has penetrated and the match has become common, even the Chiriguano will save up one medio, or ten centavos, to buy such a useful combustible, which they use very sparingly, because in their hands this is now a luxury and lends them an air when in a gathering of companions they can bring out and show their box of matches while lighting a maize-husk cigar.

372 177 178 [435] [276]

372 When a fire happens to go out in a place where it is difficult to get it from distant houses, the Chiriguano is not too worried. The man is almost never without a flint, tinder, and a piece of steel; these implements are used to obtain new fire. The tinder is prepared by them from a boll of wild cotton or the flower of the samuu, which they reduce into a skein of thread and put into a cow's horn, which they clear at the wider end, fitting to it a wooden stopper that they keep down with a small wire or agave string; inside the tinder box it extends to the other end, where they make a small hole in order to be able to pull the wire or string and keep the top on tight.

The Indian who does not have all this apparatus does not worry much either. If his fire happens to go out, he makes a small conical hole in a piece of well-dried wood, in which he violently spins a small cylindrical stick, also dry, which does not take long to get hot and then to give off sparks of fire, to which he then applies the tinder, which consists of the dry pith either of the agave or of the /178/ maguey, which when it has taken fire will light any other combustible material (1).

[973] 1. When the toad handed over fire to the two

/196 cont./

301 Over their tiru the men put the Mboivera, which is a small double piece of silver with its hole in the upper part, where they put a double cord of wool, on the ends of which there are [562] tabels of the same color. This ornament is for men, but there are also women who wear them, but smaller ones. If one in- [179] quires about the origin of the mboivera, no Chiriguano can tell you today, but it is almost certain that they received it from the Spaniards, with whom they had relations almost from the time of the discovery, as can be deduced from the history of Tarija, whose first settlers had to fight vigorously to take over the territory which they then occupied. It is enough to see a mboivera in order to conclude that it is not of Chiriguano origin. The work which goes into almost all of them indicates that it is the work of civilized people, since decorations by the engraver's burin can be seen on it (2).

43
301

2. A Mboivera, a Tempeta /sic/ with a ndamicha, four necklaces, and a ndamicha ichi formerly were exchanged for a horse, a cow, ten sheep, or 15 goats, but it should be noted that these pieces of property were worth little. A cow was worth five or six pesos, and the same could be said of the rest. Conscientious travelers today pay up to four bolivianos for a tembeta, because it is a museum piece.

301
435
756

Both men and women adorn their necks with beads /perlas/. Itogũi; necklaces, Risi, are not of beads like those of civilized people, but in spite of this the itogũi has a conventional value among the Chiriguano. For four itogũi necklaces they sold the best that they had, and sick persons gave them to the sorcerer in order that he would cure them, and today, when it is almost impossible to obtain a necklace, it is not rare for a sick person who owns one to make a gift of it to the doctor, even though it may be his passport to eternity, because everyone understands that after the sick person has been treated by a sorcerer in the most barberous manner, if he does not recover it is clear he will die.

/228 cont./

301 [304] The tembeta usually is a small round piece of tin with two little ears or hooks on the sides which serve to hold it in the pierced lip. The circle of the tembeta is hollow up to near the surface of the hooks; a little wax is put in it, and the ornaments, such as coralline or little light-blue stones of little value, are set in the wax. What is somewhat valuable is the itogũ, a small green stone in one piece which fills the entire hole of the tembeta. I have one of these, and its stone is fixed in place with a little prong of the same tin. The tembetas are also of hollow cane and of wood, but never of stone, as some writers have stated (2).

2. Though tembeta literally means lip stone, this does not come from its being made of stone; the literal meaning comes from itogũ, which is a stone. The itogũ is also set in those of wood.

178 301 The tembeta, already described, is relatively new. Before Christians and missionaries came into their country the tembetas were of wood, and they were of the same form as the tin one, with all the ornamentation, but most people used a piece of hollow cane, especially when they were working. [304] This is a little piece of cane cut at a node, which is thinner in the hole in order to be held in the pierced lip. In these there is neither ornament nor wax, because they are for the poor, and for the rich only when they are working.

301 [435] The itogũ had considerable value among the Indians, being worth a horse, a cow, a burro, etc., but, as I have already said, it was a relative value, since in Tarija, from where they brought them, their value was two bolivianos. From this it can be concluded that the itogũ is not found in [171] Chiriguano country. It owes its origin to the Incas or Quichuas /Quechua/. /222/ but it is the Chiriguano who work the tembetas, in which they set the itogũ, or green stone.

/251 cont./

Other Comestibles

226 184 After this digression I return with an account of comestibles in order to end the chapter now. The Indian finds in everything goodness and sweetness for his molars. He is very eager for fish, [437] but not all the tribes have it nearby; when they learn that there is fish in abundance on the banks of the big rivers, they travel as far as 150 kilometers to barter; they take maize or meal and trade it for fish. Those who live on the river banks are valiant fishermen, with no distinction by sex; they fish with hooks, staying in the water for hours, but they know with great sensitivity when the fish has taken the bait into its stomach; others fish with nets, which they have in every size, as I have seen on the Parapiti River, as well as on the Pilcomayo, near the Pirapo toward the west (2).

[438] [435] [431] 2. The Indians who bring fish back to their tribes do business, selling them at 10 and 20 centavos each; they also eat them and present them to friends and relatives.

226 Others make large baskets of hollow cane, open at a single point, put them in the river, and the fish go in without being able to get out; these baskets are called Pari. Along the rivers I even saw two lines of rocks sticking out of the water and ending /252/ in an angle, where the water forms a small waterfall. There, at the angle, they put a big net or other apparatus and catch many fish. They call this apparatus Itapare; even the carcancho /a bird/ will place itself at the angle and have a breakfast of fresh fish.

Finally, at waterfalls eight or ten meters high, they place close by a big net which gets all the smaller or medium-sized fish, since the big ones go up and down easily, while the former fall into the net; in the places where the fish are small, they divert the course of the stream and thus manage to catch all those which are left without their element.

Ee
Ee
301

/201 cont./

As for native ornaments, one sees necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla beads and of black seeds.

Ee
301
172
[439]
Ee
[435]

According to their own statements, the Indians find the stone beads in the ground where there are old dwellings and graves. The mestizos in the Tarija valley, who find a great many of these beads in their fields, sell them to the Chiriguano /202/ and Chané at high prices. In former times a necklace of these beads was paid for with a horse.

Ce
524

Fig. 105. Wax dolls. 1/1. Chané. Río Parapíti.

Ee
302

The Chané and Chiriguano women wear the hair medium long, parted in the middle of the forehead, and sometimes tied at the nape of the neck or on the head with a band.

Ee
291
177
Ee
291
171
C
302

The men now all wear European attire. At /Fig. 107 appears here/ work, however, one not infrequently sees them in only a piece of fabric protecting the sexual parts. Among the Chané on the Río Parapiti, coats resembling those with which we became familiar among the Choroti and Ashluslay were very common. The older men, as well as the younger ones in the Chiriguano villages on the upper Río Pilcomayo, wear the hair long, wound around the head, and held together, as a rule, with a red or blue band. Toward the front the hair is cut off; thus they have forelocks /203/ and a lock in front of each ear. The

/349 cont./

556 [435] [437] tendency to estimate the value of objects in cows. For example, a loom with a nearly finished poncho was offered to me "for a cow," and the owner of the loom could not understand that it was difficult for me to convert the exchange into money.

262 [251] Charqui, or meat dried in the sun, most often replaces fresh meat in the menus of our Indians. It is not a question of preference, but of necessity. Charqui is cheap and is bought in any estancia.

Fishing

221 226 When I went through the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Parapití, the rivers were in flood, the corn was ripening in the fields, and no Indian wanted to let the parrots eat his corn in order to go to catch fish at the risk of getting himself carried off by the current. If I had come back to these same villages in July or August, the scene would have been completely different. The rivers would have been only thin trickles of water, and in every direction I should have perceived men /350/ and women busy fishing. The fishing season would have been at its height.

[198] The Chiriguano, having come from a country rich in watercourses, have in this respect preserved the traditions of their ancestors of the Paraná or the Paraguay.

226 Some, equipped with large landing nets (Fig. 18), form barriers against the current and advance, gathering the fish as if with a spoon. Then they grab them and attach them to their [229] belts, after /Fig. 18 appears here/ threading them on a cord [482] by means of a wooden needle (Fig. 19). Others lie in wait for a fish in the water and, as it goes by, impale it with an arrow equipped with several points (Fig. 20) or simply with two long, barbed wooden rods. Some, with the help of stone barriers, try to make the fish converge toward the opening of a wicker trap (1). Sometimes a group of individuals turn aside a

1. Compare Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 280): "in summer (the Chiriguano) divert a stretch of the river: they leave the fish in the drained

/399 cont./

195 648 [266] [443]

acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even 'had public meat markets for human flesh.'" /Translated from the Spanish./

195 197 648 [567] [126]

Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII, 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

●437 439

Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

191 192

Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text Continues on P. 193]

/441 cont./

174 Everything thus leaves us to suppose that, in the early period of
177 their settling on the western confines of the Bolivian Chaco, the
286 Chiriguano procured by barter the carrying nets intended to re-
482 place the back baskets they had used until then. It was only later
[439] that they learned to make them themselves, adopting only the simplest and easiest of techniques besides. Thanks to this example we can catch alive the causes which have motivated the adoption of a new cultural element after the disappearance of another which rendered the same services. For that, two factors have come into play, the physical environment and the ethnic one. There was adaptation and borrowing at the same time. This fact also proves that a relatively civilized people never hesitates to appropriate the inventions of more barbaric tribes when they find some advantage in it.

285 The present poverty of the basketwork industry among the
17 Chiriguano does not imply that it is insignificant and worthless. Perhaps before the decline of this nation it was more widely represented in each village. I was able to observe that the disappearance of basketwork /442/ went along with the influence of the white men. But, for the reasons I have given above, I do not believe that at any time there could have been found among the Chiriguano that abundance of objects made of basketwork which travelers noted among the Indians of Guiana or the Amazon basin. Formerly, when the ancestors of the Chiriguano were still living in Paraguay and Brazil, they possessed basketwork identical with that of the tribes inhabiting the regions I have alluded to. Proof of it is furnished by the survival among the modern Chiriguano of various types of baskets, fire fans, and sieves, of which we find /Fig. 101 appears here/ the exact equivalent only in Guiana and the Amazon basin. As we shall ascertain in the course of this study, the identity between these two ethnic areas is perfect from this point of view. The only difficulty is to know whether in this case it is a matter of the remains of an industry peculiar to the Chané Indians of Arawak origin, whose influence upon the Chiriguano was considerable, or whether this basketwork only continues that of the ancient Guarani emigrants. In my opinion the question does not need to be asked. The basketwork of the

/190 cont./

292 The Chiriguano, when he is dressed in these skins, considers himself a grandee, and he is one before his companions and the caciques themselves. But from the beginning, even before it is even worn, such clothing gives off a very disagreeable odor, like that of the soles of shoes. Let the reader imagine what it must be like when it has been used for some time. It can easily be understood that the Chiriguano, when [296] wearing the doublet, has nothing else on his body, and that all of the sweat, etc. sticks to it, and it should be noted that the outfit is never washed, which adds to the smell.

[622] [797] /191/ The cacique Nambi of Ivu made his visits to the P.P.C.C. of Santa Rosa Mission to ask for a mission in his town, dressing himself in his old and filthy doublet before making the visit. He embraced the missionaries and talked quite close to them, the result being almost unbearable (1).

1. The outfit is completed by a pair of boots called Timainu, which literally means: com- [224] panion of the shin bone. These are necessary for hunters so that they will not hurt their legs when they are pursuing wild animals.

The illustration that I put at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 255/ will make the description of the Ambícuai more easily understood. There appear in it a young man and an old man standing, a woman sitting on a chair, and a young girl sitting on the ground. The old man dressed in a doublet is the cacique Güiraesa of Santa Rosa; the woman who is seated on the chair is his wife, the man on his right is his son Yandareca, and the girl is his Christian daughter, named Prisca.

[291] The Chiriguano who does not have a doublet is satisfied with his long poncho or with a blanket wrapped around his body down to his knees, but today it is rare that he cannot dress himself moderately well with some six varas of linen, which at the most will cost him two bolivianos. Today every- [432] [437] thing can be bought in the small retail stores (2).

2. The doublet is used today in some areas to

/194 cont./

302 The flower of the Guambero, purslane, has the same properties as the carasapa, but it is little used, and they content themselves with just sticking the leaves on their faces, and this only at carnival time, the result being a gay set of dancers. Finally, the Indians have a fourth cosmetic, which they call Mboiurucu, or achiote of the viper. It is red, and they assert that it is food for the viper, hence its name. They use it by rubbing it on their cheeks, which makes them a bright red.

292 [527] [178] As noted above, the ancient Chiriguano man, Ava, and the Chiriguano woman of long ago, Cuña, at solemn fiestas and on days /195/ of general rejoicing, after having adorned their faces and washed their persons, wore the tiru and the mandu, respectively (1).

1. If the Indian dressed in a tiru does not have breeches, guasupi timbiao, he wraps his body from the waist down with a shorter poncho which comes to the calf. It is also of cotton, and the women weave it. It is called Tirupeé, or sheath that warms, "alias" wrap /abrigo/.

[286] [462]

The Tiru is a kind of long poncho, from which it differs because of the two openings that it has near the wrists; the hands are put into said openings and remain free for movement, and, the tiru fastened to the wrists, nothing impedes the motion of the one wearing it. It is spun and woven by the women, and the raw material is cotton. The tiru differs in color, some are black, others dark red, and others blue. The first color is obtained with black mud, Tuñúú, mixed with the resin of the algarroba, Piari; the second, with sotillo bark, Urundeibusu; and the third, with wild indigo, Caogüi (2).

[286] 292 386 [824]

2. Today this is all purchased commercially, and the indigo plant, which is abundant in certain places, is ignored. They buy the indigo and the other colors, just as they buy for their poncho and their tipoi.

[437] [178]

/197 cont./

301 562 [437] These are of ten-centavo or five-centavo pieces, but they try to have them all alike. From what has been said it can be seen that the necklaces that the women wear are modern, brought by traders, especially peddlers (2).

2. Today neither medios nor reales of pure silver are found, but the Chiriguano Indian women make their necklaces with medios and reales of nickel. These are satisfactory, but the former were better.

301 184 Modern necklaces are common and also worn by the neophytes, but they do not wear bracelets, which are suitable only for the infidels. They make a long string of small blue beads and wrap it around /198/ their wrists, taking care to be sure that each turn is tight and close to the previous one, and so on with the rest which follow.

291 301 186 177 The Chiriguano, because he is proud, does not lower himself to wearing the adornments of neighboring tribes which are inferior to him, but he does easily adapt himself to wearing the clothing and adornments of races which are superior to him. He does not lower himself to wearing bird feathers, to scarring his face and arms, to wearing wooden earrings, like the Toba and others, but he imitates and attempts to surpass his superiors, the whites, by dressing himself like them, the men wearing the fine hat and the women wearing the wool and silk manta, the young men the footwear and boot, and the maidens foreign earrings. Hence, tiny little girls at the moment they are born have the ear lobe pierced, so that in time, even before they begin to walk, the mother can put a pair of earrings on them, while none of the old women whom I know wears earrings in her ears. This is a sure sign that they never wore ornaments in them, and thus, if the modern Chiriguano women wear them, it is because they have seen women and maidens who came from civilized centers or were born there.

/251 cont./

Other Comestibles

226 184 After this digression I return with an account of comestibles in order to end the chapter now... The Indian finds in everything goodness and sweetness for his molars. He is very eager for fish, but not all the tribes have it nearby; when they learn that there [437] is fish in abundance on the banks of the big rivers, they travel as far as 150 kilometers to barter; they take maize or meal and trade it for fish. Those who live on the river banks are valiant fishermen, with no distinction by sex; they fish with hooks, staying in the water for hours, but they know with great sensitivity when the fish has taken the bait into its stomach; others fish with nets, which they have in every size, as I have seen on the Parapiti River, as well as on the Pilcomayo, near the Pirapo toward the west (2).

[438] [435] [431] 2. The Indians who bring fish back to their tribes do business, selling them at 10 and 20 centavos each; they also eat them and present them to friends and relatives.

226 Others make large baskets of hollow cane, open at a single point, put them in the river, and the fish go in without being able to get out; these baskets are called Pari. Along the rivers I even saw two lines of rocks sticking out of the water and ending /252/ in an angle, where the water forms a small waterfall. There, at the angle, they put a big net or other apparatus and catch many fish. They call this apparatus Itapare; even the carcancho /a bird/ will place itself at the angle and have a breakfast of fresh fish.

Finally, at waterfalls eight or ten meters high, they place close by a big net which gets all the smaller or medium-sized fish, since the big ones go up and down easily, while the former fall into the net; in the places where the fish are small, they divert the course of the stream and thus manage to catch all those which are left without their element.

/279 cont./

727 Those who are older, men and women, surround the poor prisoners and insult them until they are tired, recriminate against them for the war, to which their husbands may have given rise, mock once more the memory of the dead men who did not know how to defend their town, calling them men of no courage, good only for women's work, good only for making chicha, and when they are tired of talking, the festivities begin with drinking, dancing, and singing, with which they celebrate their splendid victory.

The prisoners remain silent, do not raise their heads, do not say a word, and even refuse to eat food if it is offered them. They cannot oppose the brutal acts of their conquerers, who would put an end to their lives if they attempted to do such a thing. 797 The last war of Curuyuqui is still living proof of what has been 727 said, but happily many unfortunate women had help in their misery because of the presence of the missionary (2).

> 2. When the defenseless damsels understood the intention of their masters, they ran away, making a joke of the vigilance of those brutes, entered the school as a last refuge, and learned religion.

727 During the days of celebration and afterward, they start [525] playing their dice game, and they wager the prisoners, who are no good to them, among whom are the mature women, boys and children under seven, and an occasional girl whose new owner does not need her. When they are tired of them, they barter them or [437] [438] sell them for nothing, for a sheep, a goat, /280/ a hat. The sale or barter is not done in the town of the conquerers, but in others farther away. Thus it happens that many innocent boys and girls may find there relatives who would pay even more than what is asked for them.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce
Ce
252
415
*171
[412]

that they fanned the flour. They had no proper sieves. As we have seen from the table, the Chaco tribes have no basket-sieves, but use bag-nets instead.

Mandioca-graters do not occur among the Chiriguano and the Chané.

Ce
Ce
252
415
273

Of course the Chiriguano and the Chané cook their food in earthern ware. Maize-beer »Chicha», their chief food, is boiled in large vessels. It is only with great difficulty that these can be moved from one place to another[1]). Some of the Chiriguano occasionally allow the maize-beer to ferment in hollow stumps of the bottle-tree.

Ce
Ce
252
415

The steam cooking-pot shown here (fig. 16) is of very great interest. It is used by the Chané and Chiriguano in cooking a certain dish of maize, the »huintimimmo».[2])

I have seen this contrivance being used as shown by the illustration, but I have, unfortunately, not tasted the maize-dish that was cooked in it.

Ce
Ce
252
415
*171

In literature dealing with other parts of S. America I have only found this steam cooking pot mentioned by ULLRICH[3]) from the Rio Grande do Sul (Munizip Pelotas).

He there found pieces of »Siebtöpfen» and says that they were used on the top of a cooking-pot. ULLRICH[3]) tells us that these steam-cooking-pots were used by the

Ce
Ce
[172]
[437]

[1]) When fragments of very large and heavy earthenware vessels are found in archæological excavations one may, as a rule, presume that they originate from a permanently settled tribe. It may be assumed with perfect certainty that these very large vessels were made at the spot where they are found. Small earthen pots may, however, have been bartered from some other tribe. This is naturally of a certain interest if we wish to distinguish between native and imported pottery found in archæological excavations. — Some of the Chiriguano at the Rio Parapiti make only the big common clay vessels themselves and get the small, painted pots by barter from other Chiriguano Indians.

[2]) CORRADO when speaking of different dishes of maize says that »*huintimimmo*, especie de torta muy tierna hecha con harina de maiz humedecida y blandamente dispuesta en una tortera agujereada y cocida con baho del agua caliente.» P. 42.

[3]) P. 500.

8:Nordenskiöld E-8 4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the ornamental design not always so (fig. 26). It is difficult to decide whether the idea of the pincer as a mere breast ornament is due only to the influence of non-Indian smiths or not. Most likely the pincer was turned into mere ornament by the makers, who presumably used it as an article of barter and then increased its size in order to make it more and more coveted by the Indians. At last the makers themselves may even have been quite ignorant of its original use. Consequently we cannot be wrong in considering the »boivéra» an original Indian element of culture which has been transformed under the influence of

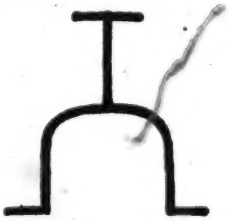


Fig. 27. Figure tattooed on the arm of a old Chiriguano Indian. Caipipendi. 1/1.

the Whites. There is no doubt that the pincer is a cultural element derived from the old culture zone in the west. They are, as we know, quite common in collections from that part. The Chiriguano also sometimes use a piece of split reed for removing hair.

Tattooing occurs here, but is very rarely seen. I have only seen two Chiriguano women and one old Chiriguano man with tattooing on their arms. The old man had the figure depicted here (fig. 27) tattooed on his arm. If I understood him rightly, it used in old times to be quite common for the Chiriguano-men to be tattooed in the same way. I have seen no tattooed Chané men or Chané women. I have already given an account of the distribution of tattooing in S. America in the first part of this book.

C /151 cont./
123 In Tihuiba I opened a regular /152/ small produce
439 store for a few days. Indian men and women, especially the latter, crowded around the shop counter. It was a

Ce
142
291

Fig. 76. Chané Indian.
Rio Parapiti.

C
123 peculiar shop. If an Indian woman came there with money
439 in order to buy something, she was politely sent away by
[437] the clerk, but if she came with an attractive old clay vessel, she became the happy owner of corals, fire-red ribbons,

/152 cont./
earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other 123
fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout. 439
437 •
There are always two villages in these mission stations, 361
one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt 797
more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more
fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the
people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in
their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impu-
dent.

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through 133
which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river
after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the
Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected [135]
mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere
in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly land-
scape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco.
The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The wood- 137
land, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monoto- 241
nous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the droughts
seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge 731
swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the 136
woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds.

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting 114
Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti.

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the 133
/153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has
left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing
its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio
Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is
lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand.
If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost
tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its
part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of 137
bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti.

/154 cont./

One might be surprised that a person would want to live in this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter their valuables for maize.

For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians.

The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy season it probably rains there too.

From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a /155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Batirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio

Who can paint clay vessels as Chane SF8

/236 cont. /one of the wives of

the Chiriguano chief Maringay can? They are famous far and wide in the valleys, and everyone tries to acquire her works through barter. I, not the least, admired her sure and discriminating art. The wife of the Chané chief Vocapoy (Pl. 19) is also no dabbler.

Where the Indians are rich, that is, have large maize harvests, the pottery is beautiful. Where they are poor and the

Fig. 116. Chané girls pound maize in a mortar. Rio Parapiti.

struggle for existence is hard, they do not have much time for artistic work. If art is to flourish in the Indian home, joy and mirth must prevail.

Ee /247 cont./

531 The Chiriguano and Chané men are clever in the deco-
322 ration of calabashes (Fig. 126), carve attractive pipes (Fig.
281 120), and know how to tan leather, which they probably learned
177c from the whites.

Ce Among these Indians one does not see much in the way
532 of plastic representations of animal and human figures. The
clay /248/ vessels sometimes have animal shapes. The
C Chané women on the Rio Parapiti fashioned lumpy little dolls
[126], out of wax for their children (Fig. 105). Some of the clay
[437] vessels are painted with animal figures. A vessel from the Rio

Ce 285 →

C 285 ←

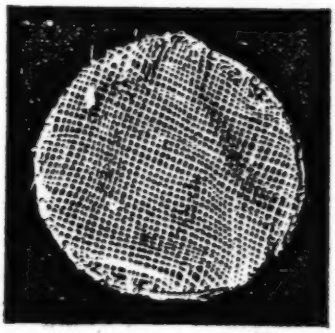


Fig. 124.
Sieve. Rio Parapiti.
1/8.

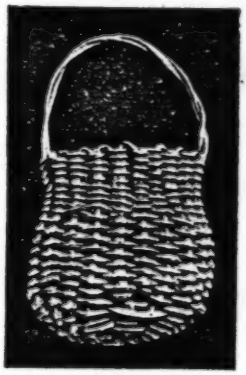


Fig. 125. Basket
Chiriguano.
Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ee
532 Itiyuro, which I acquired through barter, is adorned with tree
figures. Occasionally one sees clay vessels in the shape of fruits.

Ce I saw drawings representing human beings and animals
[353] on the walls in a few Chané huts and on a few Chiriguano
Ee calabashes from the Caipipendi valley.

285 As for basket work, the sieves are so popular among the
[439] whites that through trade they are being distributed far beyond
the Chiriguano and Chané region. Otherwise the Chané and
Chiriguano make few baskets. We find basket work in quantities
only among the Indians where the matching-leaved palms begin,
and that is at Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

of 2.1 cm. It is decorated with one large and many small, turquoise-blue beads made of glass or porcelain. 301

Necklaces of stone or glass beads are worn by the women, and even men may occasionally be seen with them. One such necklace (fig. 198), which I bought of a Chiriguano Indian in the San Luis district, consists largely of pierced, cylindrical or laminate, turquois beads of exactly the same kind as I found when excavating the ancient site at Tolomosa in the Tarija valley.[1] The Chiriguano keep all stone beads they happen to pick up on the ground, and also acquire them by barter from other districts. Besides turquoise beads, there are also blue, white, and red glass-beads threaded on this necklace, which to me proved a particularly costly bargain. It is probable that such necklaces as wholly or in part are composed of ancient beads are looked upon as amulets. To this question I shall refer later, in connection with my account of the supposed magical properties of certain Choroti objects. [437]

Fig. 198. Necklace of turquoises and glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 905.

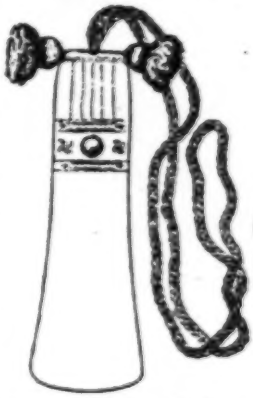


Fig. 199. Tweezer-like breast ornament of silver. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. Bolivia. 1/3. After Erl. Nordenskiöld.

[172]
[789]

In the important work entitled »Comparative ethnographical studies», Erland Nordenskiöld describes, from the Chiriguano, an interesting breast ornament called »boivéra» (fig. 199), which I have not myself seen in use. It is of silver, doubled over tweezer-fashion, and worn on a string round the neck. Such tweezers, usually ornamented, are nowadays not put to any practical use, but exclusively worn as ornaments. The leaves of these tweezers are, therefore, sometimes hammered together. On good grounds Nordenskiöld advances his opinion that these ornaments originate from the small tweezers, or pincers, that, already in pre-Spanish times, were used by the Andean Indians for removing hairs of the beard, or

301
174
412
[302]

[1] von Rosen (1), p. 367 and fig. 332: 23—27.

/8 cont./

133 The rivers which bathe the Chiriguano region are four; the Pilcomayo, the Parapiti, the Grande or Guapay River, and the Acero. The Pilcomayo begins in the northwest of Potosí Department and crosses Chiriguano country in the southeast. Its water, sweet and clear up to the southern part of [135] Igüembe Canton, is somewhat salty in Huacaya and Villamontes, because to the southeast of Ibopeiti it receives as a tributary the Salado River with its rather abundant waters; these waters are quite salty, because they pass through the salt flats of O'Connor Province. Its bed is wide and shallow, but its flow is very abundant from December to April, because this is the rainy season. If in Villamontes the Germans or others open the great canal proposed by the Supreme Government, the navigation of this river up to the estuaries /esteros/ of the P. Patiño, even in small boats, will be made nearly impossible, because there will not be enough water for it.

136 In the Pilcomayo fish are abundant: bagre, shad /sábalo/, and dorado; some of the latter are very large, up to a meter and a half in length. The first freshets of the rainy season wash up and kill many fish, leaving them stretched out on the ground on both banks or piling them up like stones or firewood. Then 226 the Chiriguano Indians, the Toba, and Mataco fill their houses, and dogs and crows come there by the thousands and stuff themselves, while the air is full of unbearable miasmas.

[221] The most satisfactory and safest season for fishing is from the May cold until the end of July and in certain years up to [251] the middle of August; then all the Indians are fishermen; they fish for themselves and for trading; they open the fish though the middle vertically and dry it in the sun. If nobody goes [438] [435] there to barter, they go off to sell it at 20 centavos apiece, but generally during the fishing season the tribes far from the rivers go to the banks of same, taking maize or parched meal and bringing back abundant fish. /Illustration appears here./

/180 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it; most of them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have [513] this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they [178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and to have cots like the whites use; the open part of the latter [237] is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred; in the Ivu Mission almost all make them of this material.

574 576 516 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either; when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on the ground; nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For 352 322 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of [574] wood and called Apica. There are some with two places and up to four with their respective dividers; there are some for [412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter [438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like [439] those of the whites; they make the latter for their own use [824] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharrosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel. 352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks, Quiha ó inni, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/251 cont./

Other Comestibles

226 184 After this digression I return with an account of comestibles in order to end the chapter now. The Indian finds in everything goodness and sweetness for his molars. He is very eager for fish, but not all the tribes have it nearby; when they learn that there [437] is fish in abundance on the banks of the big rivers, they travel as far as 150 kilometers to barter; they take maize or meal and trade it for fish. Those who live on the river banks are valiant fishermen, with no distinction by sex; they fish with hooks, staying in the water for hours, but they know with great sensitivity when the fish has taken the bait into its stomach; others fish with nets, which they have in every size, as I have seen on the Parapiti River, as well as on the Pilcomayo, near the Pirapo toward the west (2).

[438] [435] [431] 2. The Indians who bring fish back to their tribes do business, selling them at 10 and 20 centavos each; they also eat them and present them to friends and relatives.

226 Others make large baskets of hollow cane, open at a single point, put them in the river, and the fish go in without being able to get out; these baskets are called Pari. Along the rivers I even saw two lines of rocks sticking out of the water and ending /252/ in an angle, where the water forms a small waterfall. There, at the angle, they put a big net or other apparatus and catch many fish. They call this apparatus Itapare; even the carcancho /a bird/ will place itself at the angle and have a breakfast of fresh fish.

Finally, at waterfalls eight or ten meters high, they place close by a big net which gets all the smaller or medium-sized fish, since the big ones go up and down easily, while the former fall into the net; in the places where the fish are small, they divert the course of the stream and thus manage to catch all those which are left without their element.

/279 cont./

727 Those who are older, men and women, surround the poor prisoners and insult them until they are tired, recriminate against them for the war, to which their husbands may have given rise, mock once more the memory of the dead men who did not know how to defend their town, calling them men of no courage, good only for women's work, good only for making chicha, and when they are tired of talking, the festivities begin with drinking, dancing, and singing, with which they celebrate their splendid victory.

The prisoners remain silent, do not raise their heads, do not say a word, and even refuse to eat food if it is offered them. They cannot oppose the brutal acts of their conquerers, who would put an end to their lives if they attempted to do such a thing. 727 The last war of Curuyuqui is still living proof of what has been 727 said, but happily many unfortunate women had help in their misery because of the presence of the missionary (2).

2. When the defenseless damsels understood the intention of their masters, they ran away, making a joke of the vigilance of those brutes, entered the school as a last refuge, and learned religion.

727 During the days of celebration and afterward, they start [525] playing their dice game, and they wager the prisoners, who are no good to them, among whom are the mature women, boys and children under seven, and an occasional girl whose new owner does not need her. When they are tired of them, they barter them or [439] sell them for nothing, for a sheep, a goat, /280/ a hat. The [438] sale or barter is not done in the town of the conquerers, but in others farther away. Thus it happens that many innocent boys and girls may find there relatives who would pay even more than what is asked for them.

/326 cont./

E 175 567 92 go in search of metal? The aforesaid Indian answered: "They do not understand that I am only telling them that they can go to the country of the Chané in nine days." While they were speaking with this Indian, the aforesaid Cheroçe, chief of the Ce 175 648 Chané, was conversing with a woman of his tribe who as a girl had been kidnapped by these Indians whose chief had taken her as his wife. She said that it was correct that from the last houses of the aforesaid Guarani only four days were required to go as far as Ytapua and that from there, according to what Cheroçe claimed, one could go to his country in three days. He knew the way very well, for he had been brought up over there, but up to the present he had had no news of his country. (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

These facts prove that well before García's adventure the Guarani raided the Chané territory and were already beginning to make slaves of its inhabitants.

E 175 567 92 "When Guarani bands arrived on the slopes of the Andes, each one tried to occupy as strong a position as possible on the most craggy points. From there they began to make pitiless war on the natives of the region, treating them with such cruelty that they spared nobody and made their fodder of the unfortunates they captured. They made themselves so fearsome that numerous villages submitted to them without violence. With the slaves they took to serve them and with all the women by whom they had children they populated these frontiers, each one choosing the region which seemed best to him. These Indians are the ones we call Chiriguana in Peru today; they originate from the Guarani. They never went out from this country, either because of the great hardships and risks of the road or in order to keep in their power this land which they found consonant with their nature and taste. It is indeed very fertile, with large and marvelous valleys which are warm rather than cold; and it is crossed by deep rivers coming from the neighboring province of Charcas. In possession of this land, they made numerous /327/ warlike expeditions in it, ruining the E [266] [439] plains to the north, the south, and the east. They killed more than 100,000 Indians. In the beginning they used to eat them in the feasts and drinking bouts which they celebrated, but

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

/334 cont./

241 The Chiriguano who is getting ready to sow takes care
243 to hoe his field and to rid it of all weeds. For this he uses /335/ a shovel, which I shall describe, in part from Campana
243 (p. 98), not having seen this instrument whole.

241 The shovels (sipe of the Chiriguano, even not so long
412 ago, were entirely of wood, preferably wood of the urundei
[824] (Astronium urundeuva F. Allemao) or of the palm siripa. Although narrower and longer, they resembled those of our bakers. The edges were straight, almost parallel, and only the cutting edge was slightly rounded at the sides. Toward the top they ended in a point, a
[824] kind of embryonic handle, which was lengthened by a stick to which it was attached with ties made of churqui (Nilotica farnesiana), of lianas, or toborosi fibers. The two shovels examined by Campana measured 70 centimeters in length and 15 in width; one of them, however, was less wide at the top than at the bottom by several centimeters (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Shovel (sipe) made of wood, without its handle, formerly in use among the Chiriguano (from Campana, Pl. VIII, Fig. 1).

If the Chiriguano have abandoned the ancient wooden shovel, they have nevertheless faithfully kept the long handle to which it was attached and which permitted them to work the soil without having to bend over. A remark of psychological order becomes neces-
[439] sary in this regard. The Chiriguano could well have acquired in the Syrians' stores, where they are available, shovels already provided with handles and ready to use. If they felt the need to modify the handle and to give it the traditional form, it is because it did not correspond to the movements and position of the body and hands which an age-old tradition had ingrained.

In each human group all manual labor requires certain set gestures to which, to a certain extent, the tools are adapted. This explains the variations these exhibit from country to country and even from tribe to tribe. With regard to this, Professor

/347 cont./

433 between the roof beams. Once out of this region the ethnog-
224 rapher will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire
184 these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him,
[411] they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an old man or crudely made specimens without any value other than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some rare lover of hunting.

224 The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendí
411 are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using
184 it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were intended, from what they told me, for killing the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.). They are long reeds armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate IX, 1). One must not conclude that the yakú, abundant as they may be, rep-
[433] resent an appreciable food resource. Besides, hunting is scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for
[126] fun. The Indian who gave up to me the handsomest lot of
[425] these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained to me, /348/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them without his consent.

857 Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shoot-
868 ing with a bow than ours. One can see them run around the
224 village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows (Plate XII, 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach. Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16 appears here./

223 Some Indians of the Caipipendí valley sold me large
[126] bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts. That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are certainly not numerous in this region; in a month's stay I
287 did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17
● 439 appears here/ feather dusters, which the Chiriguano sell in the

[Text continues on p. 91]

/348 cont./

287 439 [484] [435] half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

224 178 231 433 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago, those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 435 [464] [465] The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently 471 231 [435] costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

[262] [178] 1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to 556 diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text Continues on p. 93]

/351/
226 /Figs. 19-22 appear here/ /352/ Chiriguano attach them to the
[227] end of long cords. A spear with one or two points serves to harpoon the enormous surubú which pass within their reach
[481] (Fig. 21). It goes without saying that the Chiriguano are marvelous swimmers.
262
439 The Chiriguano like fish (1). If they live far from the

226
175
227
481

1. The skill of the Chiriguano at fishing had already attracted the attention of the ancient chroniclers. Acosta (Vol. I, p. 236) reports that he had a chance to see them handle the spear, a specimen of which is reproduced here in Figure 21. "Some Chiriguanas plunged under the water and, swimming with admirable speed, followed the fish, and with some fish spears, or harpoons, which they carried in the right hand, swimming only with the left, they struck the fish; and, spearing it thus, they came up, so that they certainly seemed to be more fish than men of the land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Rosen (1, Fig. 215, p. 213) represents a Chiriguano holding one of these two-pointed spears in his hand.

262
439 Pilcomayo and cannot get any directly, they buy it from the Toba or the Matako, who are good fishermen and in addition have the advantage of living on the very banks of the lower Pilcomayo.

[482] In the dry season one can see near Pilcomayo a continual coming and going of Chiriguano, bent under the weight of their nets full of ears of corn that they are going to barter for fresh
[484] or dried fish. They would not hesitate, it appears, to travel 150 kilometers to feast on it (Nino, p. 251).

/377/

Wooden Bowls and Basins

C 415 171 ●439 The Chiriguano also use wooden bowls (Fig. 49). I do not know whether they make them themselves or receive them from the half-breeds of the /Fig. 48 appears here/ San Luis region. In this latter case the Chiriguano of the San Luis (Entre-Rios) region would be the only ones to make them. In Tarija /Figs. 49-50 appear here./ where these bowls are much sought after by the half-breeds, they were indicated to me as coming from that zone. The rare wooden bowls which /378/ I saw at Caipipendí had been bought by the Chiriguano in the course of their trips. The same origin must be attributed to the wooden troughs found among the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua half-breeds of Tarija department. These basins are used for washing food and also as bathtubs. The Choroti have wooden dishes (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 20, p. 88) which have a shape very similar to that of the trough reproduced here (Fig. 50) and which doubtless were introduced among them either by the ancient Quichua or by the half-breeds. Among the Araucan of Argentina wooden basins are found, which are similar in every detail to those of the Indians and half-breeds of Bolivia and the specimen pictured here.

Ci 415 177

A 415 171

Chapter V

Tools of the Chiriguano

C 412 178 [177] The work tools the Chiriguano use nowadays are almost all of European manufacture. Here and there the ancient forms were kept when stone or bone were replaced by iron. Witness the adze of Plate XXII /see p.143 / which constitutes a curious survival of the eared or T-shaped ax certainly adopted by the Chiriguano after their migration and their establishment at the foot of the Andes. This type of ax is unknown to me from any other Tupi-Guarani tribe and is rare in the area occupied by the different nations belonging to this linguistic family (see Rivet, 1, pp. 149-155).

T-G [412] [184]

/380/

303
415
325

Fig. 53. Mold for making tin labrets (tembetayapua). Prov.: Yumbía. (1/3 nat. size.)

301
303
415
325

Mold for Tembetas

The tembeta, or labrets, of the Chiriguano are of tin. They make them themselves with the aid of the mold pictured here (Fig. 53). It is a calabash into which the fins of the labret have been hollowed out, while the thicker central part of the ornament corresponds to the end of a stick going through the calabash. The cavity produced in the central part of the labret is then filled with wax into which glass or turquoise beads are incrusted. These come from ancient burial-places and are sold to the Chiriguano by the half-breeds of Tarija.

[531]
[439]

Balances

276
177
171

The Chiriguano of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé valley prize coca quite as much as the Quichua of the altiplano. Besides, it is from them that they got this vice. The fact is known and does not need to be demonstrated. This custom

276 /380 cont./
177 spread among the Chiriguano recently for it has not yet spread
171 throughout the territory they inhabit. The Chiriguano who live far removed from the half-breed or Indian populations of the Cordillera are not "coqueros," and only rarely does one meet among them some old man who accepts a quid of coca.

276 Ivu is the last point toward the east and north where I
171 could distribute my supply of coca to advantage. Nordenskiöld
302 (10, pp. 85-91) sought to demonstrate that the custom of
114 blackening the teeth went along cheek by jowl with that of chewing coca and derived from it. As a matter of fact, this habit has a very marked western distribution and follows the zone of coca cultivation.

276 The Chiriguano mix each quid of coca with the ashes
[824] reaped from a tree (ulala) whose scientific name I do not know. These ashes (tanimbo), which corresponds to the llicta of the Quichua, are contained in a small leather bag.

276 Coca is a luxury commodity which the Quichua Indians
439 or half-breeds come to sell to the Chiriguano. To avoid all
804 argument and all fraud on the part of unscrupulous sellers, the Chiriguano have recourse to balances of their own making. They fabricate them with /381/ two calabashes cut in half to serve as scales (Figs. 54 and 55). The balance with scales was in
[177] use in pre-Hispanic times /Fig. 54 appears here/ in the ancient Inca Empire (see Nordenskiöld, 16) and so I believed at first that among the Chiriguano it represented a survival of /Fig. 55 appears here/ the Andean influence, whose importance we shall see further on. Among the Chiriguano, however, this object is designated by the Spanish name /382/ mbalanza, which seems to indicate that they borrowed it from the half-breeds. The latter and the Quichua use them in their commercial transactions, but especially for weighing the precious coca. Perhaps it was the same in prehistoric times. There is nothing to prove that only metals were weighed, as has been supposed with respect to these ancient scales.

804 For weights the Chiriguano use old Bolivian silver coins
177 and express measures according to the old Spanish system. By a tacit convention a coin worth two modern sous is the equivalent of one ounce.

/382 cont./

804 The Chiriguano measure the cloth which Syrian peddlers
439 come to offer them with varas, that is, a stick about 80 centi-
[177] meters long, the length of the ancient Spanish vara. This instrument has been borrowed from the Bolivian half-breeds.

Chapter VI

121

Art among the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

To Professor Félix F. Outes.

The artistic sense of the Chiriguano is manifested in pottery decoration, pyrography, and wood carving.

We shall study these three activities one after the other.

Pottery Technique

114 The Chiriguano pottery technique has been studied briefly
323 by Campana (p. 54), following Father Giannechini's notes, and by Outes (3, pp. 122-123), who adds some details communicated to him by the naturalist Holmberg to the ones he took from Campana's work. Nordenskiöld (1 and 10, pp. 142-147) completed on many points Campana's brief survey, so that I myself shall have few new things to note.

317 The clay used by Chiriguano potters comes from beds
323 well known to the Indians, where they go from time to time to lay in fresh supplies. It is enough to see old vessels full of earth around a hut to know that a woman lives there still practicing the ancestral industry. Where adequate clay is
[439] lacking, pottery is imported. Thus in the Tigüipa mission all the vessels in use were made in Macharetí.

323 In order to be used the clay must be degreased with powder /383/ coming from potsherds. Fragments of old vessels are ground in a mortar until, after being put through a sieve, they give a fine powder which is kneaded for a rather

/396 cont./

291
323
415
531

Fig. 65. Fabrication of a large vat: the potter impresses her thumbnail into the still soft clay to obtain a regular design.

463
323
178
439
[126]
[123]

In some villages there are no more potters. The inhabitants of the toldería of Ibopeytí, for example, have to import the painted vessels they need to celebrate festivals. When I wanted to acquire them, it was generally objected that they had been bought and often at a very high price. "You go away and leave us without vessels," they often used to say to me as a half-joking, half-sad good-by after my raids.

C /396 cont./
323
415
198
184

In former times when artists were not lacking, the number of motifs used within each group must have been larger, and in this variety was doubtless found many an element which today seems to have disappeared, only to be met in another zone. It is probable that an ethnographer who might have made a collection among the Chiriguano a century ago would have established a classification other than the one I have tried to outline here.

C
Ce
415
17

Comparative Study of the Basic Elements of the Painted Pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

1. The Problem of the Chincha Atacama Civilization

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians shows such strong affinities with that of the ancient Andean populations from the point of view of form as well as decoration that their relationship cannot be doubted.

These analogies are especially striking among certain pieces /397/ of pottery dug up in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and the ones still made by Chiriguano or Chané women. With an interval of four centuries the resemblance between the pottery of these two regions is still so pronounced that it had attracted the attention of Mr. Debenedetti (2, pp. 134, 149, note 1, and 156), even though he apparently had for his whole basis of comparison only a few rare pieces of very simple Chiriguano pottery collected in the Chaco and of such uncertain provenance that one of them was attributed to the Choroti. The latter in reality, have pottery of an entirely different type, although also influenced by the Andean civilization.

O
C
Ce
[648]
[439]

The affinities of Chiriguano pottery with certain pottery of the Quebrada de Humahuaca have been scientifically established by Nordenskiöld (10, p. 143). This scholar explains these surprising similarities very naturally by the influence the Indians of the Humahuaca region had on their immediate neighbors, the Chané or Chiriguano, and by the trade relations these peoples maintained.

/398 cont./

175 648 [266] [443]

acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even 'had public meat markets for human flesh.' " /Translated from the Spanish./

175 177 648 [567] [126]

Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII, 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

437 439

Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

121 172

Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text continues on p. 173]

/434 cont./

286 171 The Chiriguano have their loom in common with many tribes of tropical America, and they doubtless were already acquainted with it in Paraguay, at least in a more rudimentary form. In some Chiriguano villages looms of the Inca or Quichua /Quechua/ type, that is to say, horizontal ones, can be seen. The warp is then fastened to a small cord along a piece of wood and the cloth is rolled around as it is produced.

286 294 Headbands and belts are woven with looms of a type similar to the one just described. The warp threads are fastened to a loop of cotton attached to a hut post. As the fabric is made it is rolled around two small sticks or two ears of corn attached to the lower end of the warp (for this type of loom, see Nordenskiöld, 10, Fig. 4, p. 175).

29 30 I am reproducing in Fig. 95 a tsumbi headband. These ornaments have now become very rare, and only a few old men still wear them. Our specimen is dyed with natural colors.

29 [178] Every Indian woman who lives outside the influence of the missions still wears the tipoy, that is, a kind of long sheath which they fasten on the shoulder nowadays with a safety pin and formerly [286] /Plate LXXII appears here/ /435/ with a thorn. In olden times these tipoy were woven by the Indian women on looms of the Arawak type. They were of cotton and dyed blue-black. /Fig. [439] 90 appears here./ Today it is almost impossible to find a woman whose tipoy is not made of chamalote, a kind of cheap cotton cloth which the Syrians and half-breeds sell at a high price to our Indians. In the Caipipendí valley /Fig. 91 appears here/ I met two old women who still kept the tipoy of olden times. They would not [126] give it up to me for any price. At Carurutí, an old fellow desirous of striking a good bargain sold me his wife's at a very /436/ high price in order to buy brandy for himself. It was very necessary to celebrate Easter fittingly.

[178] The shirts (tiru-kumbaè) which the men formerly sported exist no more except in the memory of the old men.

[See p. 278--Analyst]

Gu 285 482 [824] /439 cont./
p. 171 and Map 21). Their baskets being in bad shape, the Guarayú wanted to make some new ones and were very annoyed not to find in the region into which they had come the palm trees with pinnate leaves which they were in the habit of using for this purpose. Now, Guarayú and Chiriguano are brothers in race and language and emigrated at the same period from Paraguay to settle in the vicinity of the Andes. When leaving their country of origin, both were acquainted with this type of basket used by their ancestors, the Guarani, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, /440/ and still favored among their first cousins from Paraguay, the Kainguá (Métraux, 2, p. 206). The disappearance of this cultural element among the Chiriguano is due solely to the lack of appropriate raw materials.

C Gu 285 482 174 824 [144] [197]

C 177 482 In order to make up for the absence of back baskets, indispensable to a farming people /Fig. 98 appears here/ the Chiriguano borrowed from their neighbors in the Chaco, either the Mataco or the Choroti, the carrying nets (in Chiriguano: añapoka) whose use is so widespread among the latter and is so characteristic of their civilization. Carrying nets today are in general use among the Chiriguano, and in every village each family has at /Fig. 99 appears here/ least one (Figs. 98 and 99). In spite of this wide diffusion, the Chiriguano añapoka betrays its origin by its form and technique (see Figs. 100 and 101 /see pp. 283 -285/), which are both found in the tribes we have just enumerated (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208, Technique I). Although considerably more advanced on the way to civilization than the seminomadic tribes of the Chaco, the Chiriguano do not by any means equal them /441/ in the art of making nets. The añapoka I collected cannot be compared with the deep bags which the Matako or the Choroti, for example, make for the same purpose. In the village of Machareti, where Toba live with Chiriguano, it is the former who furnish the latter with the /Fig. 100 appears here/ carrying nets they need (see Fig. 99 /see p.282/) (1).

C [171] C [286] C [563] [439]

C 286 482 171 1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 163, Fig. 49 A) gives the detail of the technique of a Chiriguano carrying net. This technique is not found on any

[Text Continues on P. 283]

Chiriguano women still dress in tipoys, a long, sacklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, *right*). Some tipoys (tiru) are so long that they need to be folded. 291

Anciently, *Chiriguano* men shaved their foreheads, as did the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband. 302 412

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a tasseled fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

Body painting.—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass. 302 178

Ornaments.—The distinctive ornament of the *Chiriguano*, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 59, *e*). Originally, labrets were made of rosin, as were those of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip. 301 178

Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean woven frontlets studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 59, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the *Chiriguano* in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads. 301 177 [439]

Miscellaneous.—The *Chiriguano* have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout *Chiriguano* territory. 515 824

Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers. 302

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The rivers in *Chiriguano* territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River. 501

824 /16 cont./
139
[114]
I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it through experience and careful reading; when describing certain plants, I shall also make note of the use made of the bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall, straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood borer does not damage it; it is much used here in the construction of upper roofs, especially for the braches or trusses on which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its
[342] wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less
[492] value; it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows, but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to
[296] make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears
[515] and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the face free of blemishes; here it is known by the name "timboy."

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. moniliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which reason drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it.
[372] It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns, from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatane," fire that smells; the wood is yellow.

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of
[342] trees of this class here and there; it is the most abundant tree,
[281] the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does not eat it; the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites; the latter call it sebil and the former "Curupau."

245 ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in
137 fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters,
324 its leaves are dark green; it produces abundant fruit in a sort of pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds, which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They
[302] serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces
[303]
[439]

245 /17 cont./
137 and feet with them, as will be seen; for this last purpose it is
824 prepared beforehand, many pods being boiled in an olla, and
[302] pastes of every size are made from the decoction, depending
[303] on the value that they wish them to have; it is traded by
[439] Chiriguanos and whites.

137 The Bixa orellana, or "Urucu," as the Indians call it, is
824 a plant of high value for the Chiriguano; he will travel far to obtain a small amount in the towns or places where it is prepared.

ALGARROBO. -- The place where this extraordinarily large tree abounds is in the pampas; thus in the plain of "Curuyuqui" of Yvu Mission, Isoso, Parapiti, and the Gran Chaco it is found forming forests. It is very bulky and has
[342] long branches which on some touch the ground; its trunk is
[415] thick and not always erect, the wood is excellent, similar to oak in spite of being dark, and it is much used for making tuns, door and window casings, and even for barrels. In
[262] Chiriguano this tree is called /18/ "Ivopei," and the "Ivope"
[273] pod is long, compressed, and yellow; when it is ripe, it is sweet and much sought after by livestock and by the Chiriguano; it is their food and drink in times of scarcity as well as other times, and the mead that they make is extremely intoxicating. On the bank of the Pilcomayo even the whites eat this pod; the Toba, Choroti, Mataco, and others hold their orgies when the algarrobo ripens.

ALGARROBO CHICO. -- This is a smaller tree than the previous one, even its fruit is smaller, speckled in color, and sweeter than the true algarrobo, but not as abundant as the
[262] first. As the pods are small and the seeds within abundant, it is not highly thought of among the Chiriguano; they only eat it out of necessity or as a tidbit; the wood is not valued very highly because undoubtedly there are others that are better. In Chiriguano it is called "Ivope rai."

ALGARROBO AGRIO. -- This is also small, and it is called
[262] "sour" because the flavor of the pods really is sour. In times of scarcity it is also food for the Chiriguano; the pods are small, and the tree has its congenial sites. The Chiriguano Indians call it "Ivopetayi."

/21 cont./

137 GUAYABO /guava/. -- This fruit-bearing tree is found
824 wild and cultivated; it is of medium size, and the fruit, when
[245] ripe, is yellow on the outside and purple on the inside, and its bittersweet flavor is very pleasant and laxative. The green fruit and the roots are astringent; the Chiriguano know it by the same name. The wood has no use at all, and even if it
[262] did, the Indians would not use it because it produces edible fruit. They regret it when any of these trees and others, like the algarrobo, are destroyed.

GÜEMBE. -- This plant thrives on the trunks of high trees, where it puts its root, and others which penetrate the ground
[492] hang down from there. The roots and lianas are dark in color; very strong and durable halters are made from its bark; it is not found everywhere. One encounters it from the left bank of the Parapiti River; its fruit is similar to that of maize, for which reason it is called maize of the air, and it is edible.

HIGUERA AMERICANA /Amerigan fig/. -- This is the
[262] guapoy of the Chiriguano and the bibosi of the populace; although the fruit is rather sour, it is edible. Bats like it, and it
[757] is annoying to have this tree near the dwellings; it has a milky juice like the common fig tree, which, applied to wounds, heals them. In addition to the above fig tree, there is the
[245] common one which flourishes with very little care, in the towns,
[439] especially the Mission ones; it is widely cultivated by the
[431] natives and its fruit is used by them for gifts and trade with the whites.

244 MANDIOCA. -- This plant is called "Mandio" or "Mandiporopi" by the Chiriguano Indians. A little book written by a Jesuit missionary of the old Paraguay missions relates that this plant was left to those Indians by Saint Thomas the Apostle who, according to their tradition, came here to preach the doctrine of the Redeemer. Mandioca is
[252] an excellent food and very digestible; it is eaten boiled,
[262] roasted, and fried in lard. It is a plant cultivated by whites and by Indians.

/23 cont./ Some trees are covered with long
[137] sharp points and others are not, only having an occasional im-
[82] perceptible sharp point; the fruit of both is pleasant and serves
[439] for gifts and trade for the Indian, who sells it to the whites,
[431] the ones who, rushing to get rich more quickly and easily, are
[648] little concerned about the nopal and the fig tree. In Chiriguano it is called "Saini."

PALM or PALMER. -- The palm tree has congenial places, where immense forests are formed and sometimes grow all around a lake like a great garland; it is a very tall and smooth tree without a single branch. Its leaves are in the form of a
[436] fan and are used to make hats and for sieves, which are sold
[342] for 30 or 40 centavos apiece. The wood is good for joists in houses, and it is also split into shingles for roofs and is quite durable, if the precaution is taken of cutting them after the full moon. In Chiriguano it is called "Carandai," and the place which they occupy, "Carandaiti," palm grove.

PALMA CHRISTI. -- A not very durable plant, it grows to a height of four meters, has a soft, hollow trunk, large leaves, /24/ and flowers in the form of a bunch of grapes. The seeds are found inside little burs, like chestnuts; said burs in some plants open by themselves in the warmth of the sun, while others must be opened or carefully broken with a little hammer or a stone. The name indicates that it is a beautiful plant, but this beauty is in the broad, abundant petiolate leaves. There are several types with reference to
[757] size and quality of seeds; I know five kinds. Castor oil is
[302] extracted from this plant or from its seeds for use as medicine; we use it in the missions to fuel the lamp of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Chiriguanos mix it with "Achiote" seeds and put the resulting cosmetic on their faces and on their calves down to the feet. In Chiriguano the plant is called "Cauiro," and the oil, "Yandi." Even the leaves of the
[959] palma Christi are medicinal, some being hot and others cool; thus when headache is a result of overexposure to the sun, the leaves of the white spurge are applied; if, on the other hand, it is the result of high humidity, the leaves of the red spurge are applied. The seeds of the dark purple spurge are very small, but contain more oil than others.

[i.e., nopal tree, -Arnold]

/40 cont./

224 animal is capable of distinguishing between the brave and
[225] the cowardly, and the latter is the first to be attacked and consequently to be badly injured.

*225 Jaguar skin, as I have already said, has intrinsic value: it is used in saddleries for the bottom padding of saddles and
[55] for saddlebags: it is a luxury for persons of rank. The ani-
[58] mal has a quantity of fat, and this is a good remedy for
[75] rheumatism, aching bones, and other ailments: the Indians
[89] take it and sell it in the interior of the Republic and trade it for used clothing. It is to be noted, however, that they do falsify it, as they also falsify snake grease, because it can be understood that the killing of this ferocious animal is not a
[144] frequent thing. Rarely does the Chiriguano hunt the jaguar, and he is not always inclined to help the white man, but the latter forces his peons to do so, and they gather the fat and
[142] sell or present it to their friends or relatives. Jaguar meat is good food, although, to be sure, it smells wild, as does the skin, but this meat, if placed in salt water or brine overnight, loses its bad smell: they assert that this meat is like that of a cow.

*136 The male jaguar is quite large. I measured one, and it was two meters long from the tail, one meter high, and it weighed seven arrobas. The female is smaller: I measured one that had just been killed: from the tail it measured one meter and ten centimeters, was 75 centimeters high, and weighed four and a half arrobas. The female gives birth
[131] every three years, and the newborn cubs are always a pair, one male and one female: the mother is most dangerous when she has young /illustration appears here/ /41/ and defends them at any cost, but hunters first kill the mother and then try to catch the cubs alive: they almost always succeed and take them home to domesticate them, but this is an impossible job because they are jaguars forever: I have seen two of these cubs well chained but very bad. In general, cubs when taken away from their mother die in a few days either through lack of adequate food, which is milk, or also out of desperation upon finding themselves in the midst of beings foreign to their nature.

/52 cont./

*136 *825 uprising, should this pair of owls start to sing on occasion in a town or near the house of some whites. The second is called "Surumucucu," because its cry sounds like this. Neither of the two is harmful. They are plentiful where there are trees; the first eats bats, toads, and mice, for which reason it is not attractive to the Chiriguano, but it is a very pretty bird, and its feathers are like the finest velvet. The [223] [262] second is good food for the Indians, who hunt it on bright moonlit nights.

CARDINAL. -- A little bird the size of a swallow, with a red crest, ash-gray feathers, and a white breast. The region of the cardinals begins in Parapiti Grande; occasionally a pair of them appear in some part of Yvu, and there are also some in the countryside of Carandaiti. I have seen them in both places, as I have also seen flocks of 15 to 20 in Parapiti. It has no peculiarity other than its crest and its song at certain times of the day. The Chiriguano Indians of Parapiti and some • [839] Tapii of Iozo try to catch this little bird alive and take it to the interior of the Republic, to Sucre or Potosí, to sell or trade it /53/ for used clothing; in this sense it is a small, lucrative business.

*136 *[825] CARPINTERO or PICAMADEROS /woodpecker/. -- This is a black bird with a fiery red crest, and it is called "Arapatuare" in Chiriguano. When it flies away in fright, it makes a loud noise with its wings, is fast, and flies in a straight line. It is the continual desire of this little creature the size of a rondón to clamber tirelessly about dry and hollow trees, beating on them with its hard beak in order to make come out and to eat the insects that they contain. Sometimes the traveler, upon hearing these noises in the woods, believes that someone is cutting firewood and doing carpentry, or is inclined to believe, from the prolonged rattling of a hollow, dry tree being struck by the woodpecker, that it is about to fall, if he does not know that it is being pecked by this little bird. Both of these things have happened to me on occasion. [223] The Chiriguano does not waste time hunting the woodpecker, because it is a semisolitary bird, and scarcely three or four [859] are found together in one place. Only the children hunt them for fun and in order to learn to be accurate in the handling of bow and arrow.

/59 cont./

*136 MATICO. -- This is a very pretty little bird with three colors: yellow, red, and black. The first color predominates. It is easily tamed, but its song is not varied. It is amusing to put it in front of a mirror, especially if it is a male. It will ruffle up, sing vigorously, and charge at its reflected figure, believing it to be its competitor. As far as the right bank of the Parapiti River, beyond the last ridge of the Andes, which is called Aguaragüe, not a single one is seen. They begin to be seen on the left bank precisely at the San Francisco Mission. The San Antonio del Parapiti Mission, located on the same bank, is scarcely 5,490 meters away from the San Francisco one, and nevertheless nobody sees a matico around it. Either it cannot find adequate food there, or the cold of the mornings may be felt more because the mountains are very close. The Chiriguano and Tapii catch the matico alive and take it far away to sell it.

[223] [439]

MIRLO /blackbird/. -- This type of bird is not numerous in the region nor is it found everywhere. It likes to stay where there are streams of water so that it can sing to its satisfaction. It is shiny black and somewhat large. It sings strongly and very well after the sun rises and before this heavenly body sets. The clear, loud song of this bird, which can be heard at a great distance, is a delight to the traveler. The whites call it chivango.

MURCIÉLAGO /bat/. -- Bats are abundant in the hot season and are very repugnant; they establish their domain in certain buildings with a straw roof or in a similar place, dirtying everything with their droppings and causing true loathing. Churches which have paneled ceilings and which have no screens or gratings in their windows are full of these repugnant animals, and wherever they dwell there is little cleanness. At night they bite every kind of animal and even a sleeping man. There are two types of them, one small and the other large.

*136 [857] /62 cont./ It is only hunted by children, for whom every little bird is a joy and a pleasure.

There is also a species of oropendola /oriole/, which makes a very funny nest, conical like a globe, with the wide part open toward the top; it hangs it from tree branches by means of long, slender threads. Sometimes there are many nests in a single tree. Neither vipers nor another, large bird can do any damage in such a shelter.

TORDO /thrush/. -- Thrushes are innumerable everywhere from Monteagudo eastward. They fly in flocks. The males are completely black, blacker than writing ink, and the females a kind of tan. They cause incalculable damage in newly planted fields, scratching up and eating the seeds very dexterously. At the time of sprouting they pull up the tender plant of maize, wheat, barley, and rice; consequently they are a true plague, and the moment the farmer is careless, he will harvest only wind for his labor. Their flesh is good, but the Indians only hunt them because of the damage they do. The thrush, like no other bird, takes singular pleasure in following the cattle grazing tranquilly in the field, and some readers will be able to understand the object and purpose of this singularity.

*[825] This type of thrush, called "Choronchíu" in Chiriguano, sings little and has less grace in its song. But there is another class of thrush which is quite amusing. It is found about nine or ten leagues south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra; it is also black, and the female is black as well. It is frequently domesticated and sings with variety and strength. This little animal is a precious thing and an enchanting one. Nevertheless, in the domestic state every small thing which it finds it comically carries off with its beak and hides; it could well be pounds sterling or quintos. It loves its master and abhors strangers, ruffling itself up and pecking furiously.

• 439 [935] [171] A thrush of this second species is worth something more than five bolivianos or duros in Santa Cruz, and in Salta or Tucumán it is worth up to 30 nacionales. There are Indians in Parapiti and others who /63/ trade in thrushes. They catch

/63 cont./

• 439 171 them in the area around the place called Basilio, and they take them in cages to the Argentine Republic.

*136 TOUCAN. -- A very unusual bird because of its long beak, which is almost as long as its body. This beak is yellow, red, and black, but very light; otherwise, since it is so large, it would be difficult to hold up. One who for the *[825] first time sees a toucan, called "Tunca" in Chiriguano, thinks that it is carrying an ear of maize in its beak. Toucans go in large flocks and have their favorite places; I know only [757] one variety of them. It is said that the beak, when ground up *[825] and taken in water, stops the flow of blood. It seems that the toucan only lives in hot climates. If it is taken to other places, it dies.

URRACA /magpie/. -- This flying creature is rather large and abundant. There are several species of them, [231] differentiated by their plumage. It is easily domesticated, and it is useful in the houses, because it kills all of the bugs or insects which multiply in them, but its size is no larger than that of the toucan. It is as restless and noisy in the houses as it is in the woods.

121 I here put an end to this brief description of the land inhabited by the Chiriguano and what is contained therein. All will understand that I did not attempt to discover and describe minutely each and every one of the plants, each and every one of the quadrupeds, amphibians, and insects, each and every one of the birds, but only those which seemed to me to be of the most importance. If it seems to my readers to be too much, or too little, they will be so kind as to excuse my faults; meanwhile, I am going to begin the real ethnography, which will be somewhat long so that it may be clearer and more pleasant. /64/ /Illustration appears here./

/180 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it; most of them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have [513] this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they [178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and [237] to have cots like the whites use; the open part of the latter is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred; in the Ivu Mission almost all make them of this material.

574 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either;
576 when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on
516 the ground; nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit
352 down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For
322 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of
[574] wood and called Apica. There are some with two places and up to four with their respective dividers; there are some for [412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter [438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like [439] those of the whites; they make the latter for their own use [824] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharrosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel.
352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks, Quiha ó inni, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/231 cont./

304 881 [824] Meanwhile the one who performed the operation now gives final admonishments to the boy, and he, following all of these instructions and those of his father, keeps the little tube in continual motion so that it will not stick to the flesh, and on the days that follow he begins to put around it little twigs /232/ from the bush called Yacurimbíu, food of the turkeys. When it has healed, he will cut a larger stick from the same bush and put it in alone, removing the tembetandi, and continue enlarging the hole this way little by little until he can put in a tembeta of hollow cane, which also goes on taking on larger dimensions until it seems big enough. Then he buys a de luxe tembeta and he puts it in, never to remove it again, either day or night, since it would be a great embarrassment for a Chiriguano to appear in public without his tembeta (1).

1. If the Chiriguano were to be without his tembeta while asleep, saliva would run out, because the hole is rather large in most of them.

301 The hollow-cane tembetas are made by every Chiriguano, while those of wood and tin are made by craftsmen. In spite [326] of there not being any blacksmiths or tinsmiths among them [439] and as neither tin or lead nor anything similar is available, [177] the result is that the material for making them is brought from other parts, being bought from the whites, with whom they have maintained relations since the beginning of Tarija, out of which region the Chiriguano were expelled.

The Tembeta in Other Tribes

301 171 The use of the tembeta may be another argument for the unity of the human race; indubitably the Chiriguano use it as a tradition passed on from father to son, and thus successively up to our times. The tembeta is found in use by savage tribes almost throughout the world; in Africa the Noers /Nuer/ and

/244 cont./

252 262 Gourds are eaten boiled, roasted, and in broth; the seed is enjoyed when roasted with maize meal, parched maize, or beans. They also eat them as broth, which they call Güindaca mi quira, or grease of the gourd, to which they add chili pepper and salt, just as they do with beans cooked in ollas with the whole pod, which they call Sopirigua.

241 If the Chiriguano manages to plant a little maize beans /poroto/, and gourds, he is content and stops planting other, less important seeds. Few plant Yeti, sweet potato, Mandiporopi, mandioca, Tacuaneé, sugar cane, and Monduvi, peanut. They all plant watermelons and other melons; many plant figs and tunas, or nopal, and few cultivate orange trees, because this Indian has little patience for waiting on the ingratitude of certain plants which require much care and are very slow in yielding fruit (2).

[192] [177] 2. Names for watermelon /sandía/ and melon /melón/ do not exist in the Chiriguano language, which indicates that these fruits were introduced by the whites, from whom the Indians got them.

222 245 262 The nopal is very abundant in this area, rising to some three or four meters; its fruit is very exquisite, as everyone knows. Its cultivation is nil; it is enough to pluck off a branch of the main plant and bury it halfway, and its sweet fruit will ripen from the second year on. It is the plant that the Chiriguano value most.

245 Even the fig tree, which also needs little care, is cultivated. They call it Iva, as well as calling the nopal Saini, and both plants seem to be native, because they grow in hot places, and the name indicates that they have always had them. The fig tree requires more cultivation than the nopal, but this is relatively insignificant; they pull off a branch, plant it during the rainy season, and let it grow fully without pulling off any shoots (3).

●439 3. Whites who live among the Indians are

/244 cont./

439 occupied in other, more lucrative trades; they rarely plant fig trees and nopal, and this benefits the Chiriguano, who sells both fruits, receiving money, meat, or charqui from the white man.

241 When any of this planting is done, all the desire of the Chiriguano is that it yield; he fervently beseeches the favor of heaven, /245/ or the sorcerers, masters or the rain, that there may not be a lack of the necessary moisture, and he, with his own hands, sees to it that the planting is quite free of all weeds.

Use of the Ripe Produce

262
252 If the weather is favorable and the Indian has taken care of the planting, the reward of his little bit of sweat will not make him wait long. In exactly three months, or even before, he can already begin to savor Abatíqui, tender maize, which the mestizos call choclo. The first of these ears are eaten roasted and almost never boiled, because they say that prepared in the latter fashion they are tasteless. They go on to say that roasted choclo must be cooked only a little in order not to lose its ability to fatten, and if it is roasted under ashes with the whole husk, it is almost as sweet as sugar. How well, dear reader, do my Indians know what is good for the body, and how they know the way to get fat and what is most pleasing to the palate! They are good gourmets despite their poverty! It seems that they belong to the abdominals described by Father Saj.

When the choclo is somewhat more mature, they eat it with more pleasure, and then they also very nicely prepare Simbícuai, humitas/small cakes made of tender maize and sugar/. The method is very simple: instead of a knife or spoon to pull off the kernels, the young Chiriguano girl or old woman, pretty or ugly, with good teeth or bad ones, uses these instead of a mortar and pestle to grind it; it is done with the teeth very

When there are plenty of fish in the Pilcomayo, there is a great trade in dried fish in that part of the country. The Indians tramp long distances in order to fish or get fish by barter.[1]) In places where the fish are so small that they rarely exceed the length of a finger, as in Rio Itiyuro, the fishing, done by women and children, still forms no small part of the diet of the people[2]). It is not surprising that the Chiriguano and Chané are eager fishermen, for no doubt both tribes come from well-watered tracts of the country where fish is abundant.

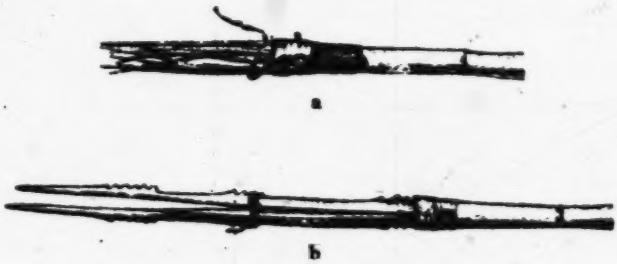


Fig. 15. Points of arrows for fishing. Chiriguano.
a = R. M. E. 618. 1/4; b = R. M. E. 627. 1/4.

[1]) Padre BERNARDINO DE NINO says, P. 251: »Del pescado es muy deseoso, mas no todas las tribus lo tienen cerca, éstas, cuando saben que en las orillas de los grandes rios hay en abundancia, caminan hasta ciento cincuenta kilómetros para hacer el cambalache: llevan maiz ó harina y la cambian por pescado.»

[2]) This is where they got their very clean habits and their eagerness to bath every day.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5/1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce 412 252 Ce [175] [361]

Rio Paraguay after Garcias marauding expedition, not far from the tract where the Guató now live.

A potspade of the same type from the Yulämaua along the Rio Querary is shown in an illustration by KOCH-GRÜNBERG.[1]) I have not seen the shoulderblade potspade in any other tribe.

Ce 412 252 *171

Similar spades, said to have been used for agricultural purposes, are mentioned by ST. CRICQ[2]) from the Conibo.

C Ce 412 415 264 177

Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané for the most part eat their food with metal spoons which they have got from the Whites. They have, however, wooden spoons as well. They generally eat from earthenware bowls of their own make. They seldom have wooden bowls. I have already treated of the distribution of the wooden bowl and the wooden spoon. (Part 1 map 12 and 13.) They are features of western civilization. Calabash bowls are universally used by the Chiriguano and Chané as drinking vessels, particularly for chicha.

C 415 177

Silver bowls — »Cagua» — are occasionally seen at the Chiriguano festivals. These bowls, which are shaped like cloven calabashes, are often furnished with small ears and are made by mestizo smiths to suit the Indian taste.

C Ce 415 [439]

There is in my collection a calabash bowl that has been turned into a ladle by means of a handle. It is from the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro. I have also procured some bowls made of the fruit of the calabash tree from the Chiriguano. The Indians get them from Sta Cruz de la Sierra, for, as far as I know, the calabash-tree is not cultivated within their own area.

C Ce 372 137 *171

Fire-fans of plaited palm leaves are used, though they are rather uncommon. These fire-fans belong to the cultural elements which have come to the Chiriguano and the Chané from the north and east. Later on, when writing about the Indians in northeastern Bolivia, who have sev-

[1]) T. 2. P. 209.
[2]) P. 287

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 177 301 is conservative, which may partly be connected with the fact that for him, as KARSTEN has pointed out, colours and ornaments have a great magical importance. When the [439] [822] Chiriguano and Chané obtain by barter glass-beads for their labrets, these must be blue, like the turquoises they were wont to fasten in them.

C Ce 177 When they come across anything in the culture of the Whites that approximates to their own conception of the ideal, the Indians have no difficulty in adapting it to their own use. We know that the dance mask is an Indian practice: it is therefore quite natural for the Indians to have embraced the carnival of the Whites with great interest and have added to it their own dances, in which they appear with masks on.

B. *The influence of the bronze age culture on that of the Chiriguano and Chané.*

C Ce [128] In the table 21 I have put together the cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané have very probably obtained from the culture zone in the west. We can see at a glance that this influence has been very considerable. The positive influence has been greater even than from the Whites.

If we look into the table we shall find that the Chiriguano and Chané have especially learnt from the culture zone in the west such things as are connected in some way with festivals. Here belong the men's festal attire, several adornments worn by men and women, the feather parasol, the finer sorts of pottery, the ornamentation of calabashes with pyrograving, several musical instruments, games, etc. C Ce [797] When we know with what interest the Indians have embraced the festivals of the Catholic Church, wherever they have had an opportunity of doing so, it can easily be understood that the tribes that were neighbours of the Incas, also imitated their festivals.

C /151 cont./
123 In Tihuipa I opened a regular /152/ small produce
439 store for a few days. Indian men and women, especially the latter, crowded around the shop counter. It was a

Ce
142
291

Fig. 76. Chané Indian.
Rio Parapiti.

C
123 peculiar shop. If an Indian woman came there with money
439 in order to buy something, she was politely sent away by
[439] the clerk, but if she came with an attractive old clay vessel, she became the happy owner of corals, fire-red ribbons,

/152 cont./
earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other 123
fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout. 439
437
There are always two villages in these mission stations,
one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt 361
more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more 797
fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the
people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in
their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impu-
dent.

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through 133
which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river
after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the
Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected [135]
mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere
in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly land-
scape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco.
The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The wood- 137
land, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monoto- 241
nous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the droughts
seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge 731
swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the 136
woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds.

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting 114
Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti.

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the 133
/153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has
left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing
its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio
Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is
lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand.
If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost
tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its
part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of 137
bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti.

C Ce 231 /187 cont./ the Chiriguano and Chané have fewer horses, cows, donkeys, sheep, and goats than the Choroti and Ashluslay. On the other hand, they have more chickens and pigs. Sometimes one sees ducks, guinea fowl, and turkeys. In certain regions, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley, where the Indians are wealthy, they also have much livestock. The whites, unfortunately, try in every way to cheat them out of what they have. Thus, it is not uncommon for a white man or a white woman to come into a village with a few kegs of spirits and to leave it with a couple of the best cows of the Indians. The whites are richer, the Indians poorer.

C Ce [184] [556] Ee Ee ●[439]

C 227

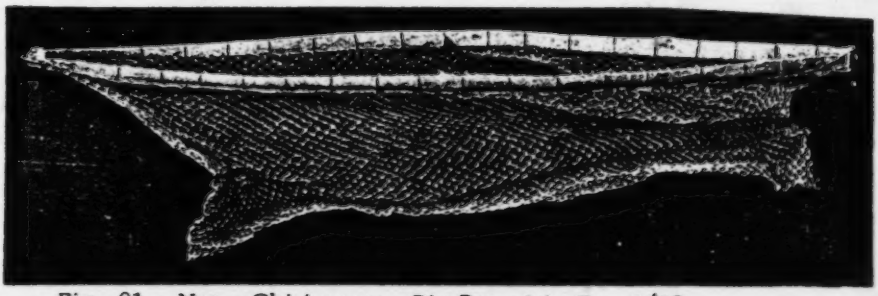


Fig. 91. Net. Chiriguano. Rio Parapiti. Ca. 1/12.

C Ce 231 171 The menagerie of tamed wild animals which one sees in the villages of the more primitive Indians is not to be found among /188/ these Indians. A parrot that talks a little Guarani, however, is not unusual in the huts.

Preparation of Food

C Ce 252 The dirt that we come across in the preparation of food and eating among the Choroti and Ashluslay is not found /Fig. 92a appears here/ among the Chané and Chiriguano. On the other hand, the dishes are terribly monotonous. They consist of maize in every possible form, cooked maize, roasted maize, maize bread baked in ashes, maize flour porridge, and /189/ steamed maize flour. The latter is prepared in an apparatus illustrated here (Fig. 92).

Ee [262]

/189 cont./ C Ce 252

Meat is cooked with maize as a soup or roasted. Before it is placed in the pot, it is washed clean. Fish are roasted over the fire in clamps /Klammern/ or in maize leaves. The small fish which I saw prepared in this way are taken out only when they are eaten. If there are many fish, they are dried for future use. Ce [251]

Especially in times of famine, various /Fig. 92b appears here/ wild plants are also eaten. Salt, which is now bought from the whites, is used for food. In former times it was fetched from the rock-salt pits on the San Luis, on the way from the city of Tarija to the Chaco, or salt was made from saliferous earth, "yukin." The earth mixed with salt was placed in a bowl of water, sank to the bottom, and the salt water was used. C Ce 263 317 [439] ● ←

Fig. 92a. Steaming apparatus. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

Women and men eat separately. At home the men usually eat first and then the women and children. The Indians want to be left alone when they are eating. It is therefore extremely ill-mannered to speak to them during this important activity. C Ce 264 ← Ce [576] ← Ce [415] [252] → Ce [415]

/190/ As far as I saw, they do not eat out of a common dish, but each one eats out of his bowl. After meals they rinse their mouths and wash their hands by spitting the rinse water over their fingers.

C Ce 301 /201 cont./

As for native ornaments, one sees necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla beads and of black seeds.

Ce 301 172 [439] Ce [435] According to their own statements, the Indians find the stone beads in the ground where there are old dwellings and graves. The mestizos in the Tarija valley, who find a great many of these beads in their fields, sell them to the Chiriguano /202/ and Chané at high prices. In former times a necklace of these beads was paid for with a horse.

Ce 524

Fig. 105. Wax dolls. 1/1. Chané. Río Parapiti.

C Ce 302 The Chané and Chiriguano women wear the hair medium long, parted in the middle of the forehead, and sometimes tied at the nape of the neck or on the head with a band.

e Ce 291 177 Ce 291 171 C 302 The men now all wear European attire. At /Fig. 107 appears here/ work, however, one not infrequently sees them in only a piece of fabric protecting the sexual parts. Among the Chané on the Río Parapiti, coats resembling those with which we became familiar among the Choroti and Ashluslay were very common. The older men, as well as the younger ones in the Chiriguano villages on the upper Río Pilcomayo, wear the hair long, wound around the head, and held together, as a rule, with a red or blue band. Toward the front the hair is cut off; thus they have forelocks /203/ and a lock in front of each ear. The

6: Nordenskiöld--92 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/242/

000

Chapter Sixteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Art and Industry

C
Ca
285
323
177

The Chiriguano and Chané are tribes whose art-industry is on a very high level. If one visits one of the huts of the white settlers in these regions, one will not see many products of native industry, not much of their own culture. I know of absolutely nothing that these people are capable of doing which can compare with the pottery and the weaving technique of the Indians. One thing is certain, the more "civilized" the Indians become, the less they accomplish in the way of art and industry. They do not learn much more from the whites than how to make and drink liquor. Indian art-industry is gradually disappearing here, the more the Indians come in contact with the whites, but it is not transformed. It remains largely purely Indian until its final destruction. One industry, however, is now in the hands of the whites, namely, the metal industry. The silver ornaments which, for example, the Chiriguano and Chané use are made by the smiths in the villages of the mountain regions. The half-white or Quichua /Quechua/ Indian population which we come across in the mountains west of the land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is quite skilled artistically. The weaving technique in particular is very highly developed there. The Chiriguano and Chané undoubtedly learned a great deal from the west.

C
Ca
[273]

C
Ca
325
171
•439
000

Ss
290
199
C
534
171
291
413

Thus we find the serére pipe[1] (Fig. 120) characteristic of the Chiriguano in collections from the coast of Peru (1); /Plate 16 appears here/ /243/ the pin for fastening women's clothing

1. Serére also occur among the Lengua, Ashluslay, Chiriguano, Chané, Churápa, and Yuracáre.

[A flute-like musical instrument -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 94]

Ce /244 cont./

28 Of the various industries, pottery stands particularly high
[323] among the Chiriguano and Chané (see the illustrations). They
[531] are also skilled weavers and decorators of calabashes. Basketry
[184] occurs, but chiefly in the northern part of their region. Feather
Ce work is no longer done at the present time. Only ropes and fish
[439] nets, and on the Rio Parapiti hammocks and carrying nets, are made with caraguata bast. The bags of this material, so characteristic of the Chaco tribes, are never made by the Chiriguano and Chané, but are occasionally acquired by trade between the tribes.

Ce 323 Among the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro I followed the making

C 415 531

Fig. 121. Clay vessel. Chiriguano. Caipipendi valley. 1/4.

Ce 323 of pots. The clay is ground and mixed with pounded, fired
Ce potsherds, so that the vessel does not fall apart during the firing.
[413] The clay vessels are built up out of rolls in customary Indian
[804] fashion. For smoothing a mussel shell or a maize cob without kernels, as well as a narrow little bamboo stick, is used. The maize cobs make parallel, fine scratches (1). The bamboo stick

Ce [172]

1. From similar scratches on clay vessels which one finds in archaeological diggings, one can see that the makers of the clay vessels had maize. I have seen this, for

Ce 323 531 ce [237] [413]

/245 cont./

The coarser vessels, as well as all cooking vessels, are decorated with only finger imprints and clay loops put on them. The finer vessels are subsequently painted (see Pl. 19 /see p. 93/). /246/ With a brush made of agouti hairs (1) the decorations are

1. Dasyprocta.

Ce [386] Ce 323

painted in white, dark brown, and black. The white pigment is a kind of earth (kaolin); the others are made out of slate and sandstone. They paint freehand and compose the decorations from memory, not from models. Wood, maize cobs, and cow excrement are heaped around the vessel. The fuel is lighted and must burn with a vigorous fire for a quarter of an hour or, if the vessel is large, even longer (Fig. 122).

Ce [314] [824]

If the vessel has been painted, it is varnished with resin, "taraviruti," which is collected from a Mimosoideae, and with resin from the palo santo (see p. 93 /untranslated; Palosanto is identified there as Bulnesia Sarmienti/). The former gives a yellowish polish; the latter looks like greenish-black glaze.

Ce [789]

When a pot is made, it is baptized before it has cooled, so that water will boil rapidly in it.

C 531 323 386

In Maringay's village individual vessels were painted with a mixture of urucú or some other color and a vegetable fat. I was unable to see how this latter was prepared.

Ee 286

The Chiriguano and Chané women are skillful weavers. The material for the Indian weaving is, as a rule, cotton and sometimes sheep wool.

Ee [439] [177]

Since large quantities of cloth are imported by the whites, native weaving is disappearing more and more. Thus, I did not see any looms among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley, and native woven goods were very rare.

Ee 286 531 [797]

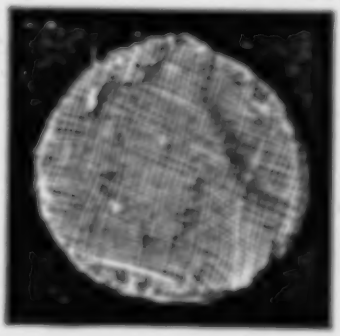
As a rule, all the weaving of these Indians is without ornamentation, or else this is very simple. The girls in the missions learn from the monks how to embroider all kinds of flowers, such as roses, violets, etc. They do this superbly.

Ee /247 cont./

53 The Chiriguano and Chané men are clever in the deco-
322 ration of calabashes (Fig. 128), carve attractive pipes (Fig.
231 120), and know how to tan leather, which they probably learned
177c from the whites.

Ee Among these Indians one does not see much in the way
532 of plastic representations of animal and human figures. The
clay /248/ vessels sometimes have animal shapes. The
C Chané women on the Río Parapití fashioned lumpy little dolls
[126] out of wax for their children (Fig. 105). Some of the clay
[437] vessels are painted with animal figures. A vessel from the Río

Ee 285 →



C 285 ←

Fig. 124.
Sieve. Río Parapití.
1/8.

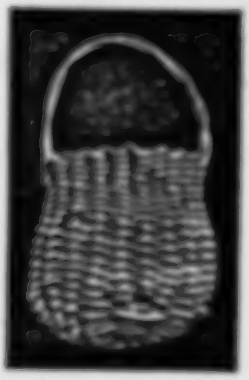


Fig. 125. Basket
Chiriguano.
Caipipendi. 1/8.

Ee
532 Itiyuro, which I acquired through barter, is adorned with tree
figures. Occasionally one sees clay vessels in the shape of fruits.

Ee I saw drawings representing human beings and animals
[353] on the walls in a few Chané huts and on a few Chiriguano
Ee calabashes from the Caipipendi valley.

285 As for basket work, the sieves are so popular among the
[439] whites that through trade they are being distributed far beyond
the Chiriguano and Chané region. Otherwise the Chané and
Chiriguano make few baskets. We find basket work in question
only among the Indians where the matching-leaved palms begin,
and that is at Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

Ea /269 cont./

439 When we present a collection from the Chiriguano and Chané, we must not forget that, through trade between the tribes, they have obtained many things from the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Tapiete; otherwise we would have a mistaken conception of the great difference /269/ between the material culture of the Chaco tribes named here and the Chiriguano and Chané.

177

Ea 171 If we compare the material culture of the Choroti and Chané with that of the Choroti and Ashluslay likewise described here, we must remember the following. The Chiriguano and Chané produce basket work -- the Choroti and Ashluslay never. The former know how to paint clay vessels before firing, which is unknown to the latter. The Chiriguano and Chané never make bags out of

Ea [285] c Ea [325] Ea [326] c [417] [531]

Fig. 126.
Decorated calabash bowl.
Chiriguano. Tarcilla. 1/5.

caraguata, etc. If, moreover, we compare all the products made by the Chané and Chiriguano with those of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we find that most of them are entirely different. The Chaco Indians probably learned how to make certain things, such as the wedge (Fig. 120) and huiramimbi pipes (Fig. 76 /omitted in the translation/ and 80), from the Chiriguano, but this is relatively insignificant.

c [177]

Ea 177 We see here how two cultures can exist side by side for hundreds of years without mingling.

Ea 101 If we follow the Rio Pilcomayo down toward the mountain, we first come across the Quichua /Quechua/ culture, then come the Chiriguano and Chané, and after that the Chaquenic /Chaco/ culture which embraces equally the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Ashluslay, as well as the Lengua and other tribes in the Paraguay Chaco. These three cultures are entirely different.

301 other inconvenient hair-growth, and which are still in use among the
174 Chiriguano.[1]
412 I have noted a circumstance, previously unheeded, that, in my opinion,
(302) gives considerable weight to Nordenskiöld's theory as to the true Indian origin of the boivéra ornament. All breast ornaments of this kind have in their upper part a tubular horizontal perforation, open at both ends. In the middle of this barrel, and through the top, there is a hole. Through this barrel and upper hole is run the cord by which the ornament is worn round the neck (fig. 199). This rather peculiar arrangement for fixing the cord on which the ornament is hung, is found in the majority of such ancient Indian hanging ornaments, whistles and flutes of stone, as were meant to be worn a string. As an example, the remarkable ancient Indian stone flute, found in the earth in the vicinity of Iruya,[2] has at one end been bored through (fig. 200) in a manner exactly corresponding to the arrangement for the cord in the boivéra. This cord-fixing adaptation does not, to my knowledge, occur in any European object. For this reason it may surely be considered as very probable, not only that the original use of the boivéra as a pair of tweezers is of Indian origin, but also that the idea of carrying the tweezers on a string round the neck is Indian, and consequently has not originated from those more or less «white» jewellers that nowadays manufacture boivéra ornaments, and sell them to the Indians. I have in another book depicted a fragment of a small, pre-Spanish, ornamented bronze tweezers, which, like the boivéra, has a circular perforation at its upper end,[3] indicating that those tweezers, too, were worn on a cord, and consequently also in all likelihood served as a breast ornament.

[534]
[172]

Fig. 200. Pan-pipe of stone. Ground-half from Iruya, Bolivia. ⅓. The dotted line marks the hole for fastening a string in the same way as for the breast ornament, fig. 199.

[439]

---

[1] Nordenskiöld (III), pp. 82—83, 90 and 94.
[2] see Rosen (III), pp. 147 and 148.
[3] see Rosen (III), fig. 211.

231 /18 cont./ with
262 respect to the eating of meat, the Chiriguano depend on their livestock, which, however, according to Nordenskiöld, since they omit the raising of pigs and chickens, is not so numerous as the livestock of the Chorote and the Churupí. They do not
262 241 eat the flesh of asses, horses, /19/ and dogs (78). Although

78. Nord. 1, p. 190.

we do not have exact data on the amount of meat that their livestock yields, we can suppose that it is not very great, and thus these Indians depend principally on vegetable foods, that is, on the products of their agriculture. We should say that, in comparison with maize, all other foodstuffs have almost no importance, except among the Indians of the Parapití, among whom the sweet potato is the most important food (79).

79. Nord. 1, p. 181.

261 In times of shortage they eat various wild plants, principally
273 the sweet pods of the algarroba (November-December), which, coarsely chopped up with water, they allow to ferment in order to produce a kind of chicha which has inebriating qualities (80).

80. Nord. 1, p. 236. Métraux I, pp. 361 and 362.

262 Since meals consist principally of maize, they are very
252 monotonous, although the maize is eaten by them in many different forms, either boiled or parched, or as a flour cooked in steam, as a fried maize-cake, in embers /rescoldo/, or as a soft maize-pudding (81). Meat is eaten roasted or boiled,

81. Nord. 1, pp. 188 and 189. Métraux I, pp. 356-358.

263 together with maize. Cooking salt is used at meals. While
319 previously salt (dyúki) was obtained from mines or extracted
439 from earth from salt licks /barreros/, today it is obtained

C /19 cont./
263 from the whites (82).
317
439

82. Nord. 1, p. 189. Métraux I, pp. 359 and 360.

C 273 [312] Among beverages, besides water, which is scarce in certain regions, chicha (ka'ui) made of maize, potatoes, or algarrobo deserves mention (83). Chicha made from yellow

83. Nord. 1, pp. 234 and 236. Métraux I, pp. 364 and 365.

Ce [273] or white maize is preferred. The chicha from potatoes by the Chané of the Parapití River is considered inferior.

C Ce 264 415 The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not eat from a common pot, but separately and from dishes. Because of this their houses contain many dishes, which are normally made of baked clay (nyá'e), but may also be of wood (sua) (84).

84. Cf. Nord. 1, p. 190.

C Ce 415 [126] I collected various baked clay dishes among the Chiriguano and Chané (cf. Figs. 78-80 /see p. 143/), as well as two wooden dishes, two examples of which the Museum already had, donated by Doña María F. de Casati. I shall deal with the baked clay dishes, along with the other baked clay vessels, in the chapter on pottery, and therefore enumerate here only the wooden plates in the collection.

C 415 Wooden Dishes (sua) of the Chiriguano

I. A. 351. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Diam. 21 cm. Ht. 6 cm.
I. A. 352. (") " 15.5 cm. " 3.5 cm.
I. A. 496. (Max Schmidt trip.) Diam. 22 cm. Ht. 6 cm. (Fig. 18).
I. A. 497. (" " ") " 30 cm. " 6.5 cm. (Fig. 18a).

/19 cont./

C 415 As Figure 18, a and b, shows, these wooden dishes have two handles on the rim.

C Ce 412 [177] [439] As an eating utensil the Chiriguano and Chané today use metal spoons which are acquired from the whites. But they also use wooden spoons (85).

C Ce [113] 85. Nord. 2, p. 56. Nordenskiöld, Erland: Vergleichende ethnographische Forschungen I. Eine Geographische und ethnographische Analyse der materiellen Kultur zweier Indianerstämme in el Gran Chaco /Comparative Ethnographic Investigation I. A Geographic and Ethnographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Indian Tribes in the Gran Chaco/, Göteborg, 1918, p. 93. (Cited in what follows: Nord. 3.) Métraux I, pp. 364, 374-376, and Figs. 42 and 43.

C 412 /20/ Wooden Spoons (kuruha) of the Chiriguano

I. A. 353. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Length 36 cm.
I. A. 498. (Max Schmidt trip.) Length 42.5 cm. (Fig. 20).
I. A. 499. (" " ") Length 16 cm. (Fig. 22).

C [171] As Figures 20 and 22 show, there are variations in the shape of these wooden spoons. The shape of spoon I. A. 499 is almost exactly like the Chané spoon shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (86), while the shape of spoon I. A. 498 is very

86. Nord. 3, p. 93. Fig. 24 F.

similar to the spoons found in the ancient burials of the Peruvian highland, their front part and handle forming a rather straight line.

/27 cont./

Men's Hair Bands Woven out of Human Hair

Ce 301 439

These bands woven out of human hair correspond, with regard to their manufacture, to the bands that the Chiriguano and Chané make today in great numbers to sell to the whites. These "fajas," as they are commonly called today, represent an article eagerly sought by the whites who are in contact with these Indians, and especially by the soldiers, who wear them as a belt. One of the two Chiriguano men shown in Figure 6 wears such a faja as a belt, and, because we can surmise that today this is their principal use among the Chiriguano as well, we shall deal with them in the following chapter devoted to the description of clothing.

C 301 291 178

C 291 177

Straw Hat (kandáo of the Chiriguano

I. A. 554. Diameter 30 cm. Height 12 cm. (Fig. 99.)

Ce [291] [177]

The technique of this hat plaited out of palm-leaf fibers is not native since it is of modern manufacture. As Figure 9 shows, the Izozó men also wear such hats.

Caps Made with Crochet Hooks

I. A. 442 and 443. (Chiriguano.) Made of Wool. Height 15.5 cm. and 14 cm., resp.

These two crocheted wool caps, which I obtained from the Chiriguano in Machareti, must also be considered as of modern manufacture.

/29 cont./

301 [439] European museums. These are not made by the Chiriguano themselves, but by their mestizo neighbors and sold to the Indians. The external form is still that of tweezers, much enlarged. But the boivera of today, discounting its size, also cannot be used for plucking hair because the two parts /30/ of its lower edge have been soldered. The fact that the decoration of the surface is not still primordial is explained by the fact that the Chiriguano are not the makers of these ornaments.

291

Clothing and Adornment

From the 16th century we have the brief description of the Chiriguano by Bishop Lizarraga (133) where, among other

[113]

133. Lizarraga: "Descripción et población de las Indias /Description and population of the Indies/." In Moreno II, p. 101.

things, it is said: "They go about naked or at the most sometimes have a short shirt /camisatilla/ down to the navel." We can assume that this statement by the Bishop as of that time refers only to the Chiriguano men, because it is likely that by the time of their immigration the Chiriguano women were wearing a garment which covered their genital organs, as we know the Guaraní women of the ancient Province of Uruguay did (134). It is likely that this garment had the same form as

174 291

[191]

134. Serrano, op. cit., pp. 123 and 124.

the "tipoy," which is a garment in the form of a poncho without sewing and which even today is very common among Chiriguano and Chané women, as well as among various other Indian tribes of South America.

Chane SF8
Izozo

/30 cont./

C
Ce
291
[439]
[126]

The poncho is a garment in common use even today among Chiriguano and Chané men and boys during the cold season. Figure 17 shows a Chiriguano boy wearing a poncho. Because ponchos today, like the fajas, are an article eagerly sought by the whites and are often made to be sold commercially, I tried to collect only ponchos worn by the Indians themselves.

C
Ce
291
126

/31/ Ponchos (asó'ia) in the Collection

I. A. 423.	(Chiriguano.)	Of wool.	Length 1.45 m.	Width	1.14 m.
I. A. 424.	"	" "	1.70 m.	"	1.46 m.
I. A. 425.	"	" "	1.65 m.	"	1.32 m.
I. A. 426.	"	" "	1.68 m.	"	1.39 m.
					(Fig. 117.)
I. A. 427.	"	Of cotton."	1.36 m.	"	1.95 m.
I. A. 808.	(Izozó)	Of cotton."	1.46 m.	"	1.35 m.
I. A. 809.	"	Of wool. "	1.42 m.	"	1.09 m.
I. A. 110	"	" "	1.62 m.	"	1.38 m.
I. A. 812	"	" "	1.16 m.	"	1.17 m.
I. A. 813.	"	" "	1.16 m.	"	0.78 m.
I. A. 814.	"	" "	1.36 m.	"	0.68 m.
I. A. 815.	"	" "	1.28 m.	"	0.64 m.
I. A. 819.	"	Of cotton."	1.26 m.	"	1.10 m.
I. A. 823.	"	Of wool. "	1.40 m.	"	1.30 m.
					(Fig. 116.)
I. A. 825.	"	" "	1.50 m.	"	1.22 m.
I. A. 830.	"	" "	1.40 m.	"	0.97 m.
I. A. 833.	"	Of cotton."	1.56 m.	"	1.25 m.
I. A. 834.	"	" "	1.26 m.	"	0.93 m.
I. A. 835.	"	" "	1.42 m.	"	1.21 m.
I. A. 836.	"	" "	1.08 m.	"	0.71 m.
I. A. 837.	"	" "	0.96 m.	"	0.78 m.

C
Ce
291

In order to explain the above-mentioned measurements we must say that the measurements of length refer to the entire length of the poncho when stretched out. As Figure 17 shows, the poncho is used in such a way that the slit, being in its center,

/39 cont./

C Ce 231 Tamed wild animals are rarely found inside their houses, except that they do have some parrots (182) /see footnote 182 above/.

Hunting

C Ce 224 [433] [411] [439] We have explained before that, because of the lack of animals that can be eaten in the territory of the Chiriguano and Chané, hunting is secondary among their means of subsistence, and in accordance with this we know through old documents that the feathers for their arrows were introduced to the Chiriguano by other Indian tribes who were their tributaries (183). The raising of domestic livestock gives them a

C Ce [231]

183. Moreno II, 121.

C 224 greater opportunity to obtain animal foodstuffs. In accordance with the fact that the Chiriguano, at least today, are not first-class hunters, the most common method of hunting among them is the use of traps (184). Nordenskiöld describes three

C 223

184. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 205.

different kinds of traps, all three of which are used for catching birds (185). The first kind consists of a simple noose and is used

185. Nord. 2, pp. 32, 33, and 85, Fig. 10, 12, and 13.

C [171] with the help of calls. The second kind, which is common among various other tribes of Indians, is used, for example, also by the Kaingua /Caingua/. The third kind consists of a net made in two parts and fixed to the ground by means of stakes. In one of the Chané legends recorded by Nordenskiöld, a trap for catching doves is mentioned (186).

Ce [903] [223]

186. Nord. 1, p. 279.

C
Ce
226
[439]
[171]

/44 cont./The also fish with hooks, which today they obtain from the whites. But it may be that the hook is an implement of their ancient culture (208). In

208. Nord. 2, p. 44.

addition, they fish by means of deep nets like those of the neighboring Chaco tribes, such as the Chorote, the Churupí, the Matako, and the Toba (209). They also fish with arrows

209. Nord. 2, p. 43. Métraux I, p. 350, Fig. 80.

and formerly with spears with two points. On his trip in 1901-1902, v. Rosen acquired one specimen of these spears from the Chiriguano, which he has described and shown in a sketch (210).

210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 214 and Fig. 216.

C
Ce
227
411

Among the Chiriguano and Chané arrows specifically for fishing, we must distinguish two different kinds, one for larger fish, with two dentate wooden points (211), and the other for

211. Nord. 2, Fig. 15b. V. Rosen, op. cit., Figs. 213 and 214.

small fish, provided at the upper end of the shaft with a large number of cactus spines (212).

212. Nord. 2, Fig. 15a.

/44 cont./

175 316 648 [167]

Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Maypurún, and we know that the Chiriguano possessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spurs of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

301 177 439

316

Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own

213. Nord. 1, p. 209.

statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

263 317 [439]

While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water

C
764
415

/53 cont./ described by him there is one which is 92 cm. high and has an aperture at the top 70 cm. in diameter. Another is 110 cm. high and its maximum diameter measures 85 cm. In 1845, in Capirendá, Wedell found such vessels with a height of 120 cm. and a maximum diameter of 100 cm. for the wall of the belly.

C
415
126

13. Various Vessels with No Indication Regarding Their Purpose, from the Collection

I. A. 410 (Chirig.). Ht. 14.5 cm. Max. dia. 8 cm. Apert. 5 cm. (Fig. 81b).

I. A. 411 ("). Ht. 13.5 cm. Length 21 cm. (Fig. 81a).

Ce
415
126

I. A. 597 (Izozó). " 10.5 cm. Max. dia. 16.7 cm. Apert. 15 cm. (Fig. 72).

I. A. 599 (") " 9 cm. " " 13 cm. " 10 cm. (Fig. 70a).

C
Ce
415
177

We have no evidence regarding the purpose of these four vessels which are different in form from the other types of vessels. We must regard the small, double vessel I. A. 411 (cf. Fig. 81a /see p.144/) as a special result of the mixture of various, but different cultural elements. The way in which the two small dishes are joined to form a double vessel /54/ corresponds to ancient Peruvian models, while the form of the handle, fitted with a ring, is doubtless an addition of European origin. The whole has the form of a salt cellar and was perhaps made to be sold to the whites for this purpose. We must also consider the vessel I. A. 410 (cf. Fig. 81b /see p.4-/) as merchandise, while the two vessels I. A. 597 and 599 seem to be manufactured for some use in festivities.

C
Ce
[439]

Baked Clay Spindle Whorls

C
Ce
283
323

The spindle whorls collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó are of baked clay or wood, and the Chiriguano also have some spindles with stone whorls. Because I shall deal with spindle whorls in the chapter on spinning, I wish only to

Ce /56 cont./
323 paint on the rim, which is done with the resin of the palo santo
824 (Bulnesia sarmierti), which is spread over the surface of the
38 vessel after it has been baked (253).

253. Nord. 1, p. 246. Nord. 2, p. 144.
Métraux I, pp. 386 and 387.

Working of Stone and Metals

Ce
324 The manufacture of stone implements is not done among the
C Chiriguano and Chané. The same can be said with respect to
Ce the manufacture of metal implements, except that the Chiriguano
325 sometimes make their tembetá of tin themselves (254), while
301
439
177
41 they ordinarily obain their metal ornaments and implements from the mestizos and the whites.

254. Nord. 2, p. 171.

Woodworking

C
322 Various objects made out of wood by the Chiriguano have
[41] already been mentioned above, such as house posts, ladders, plates, spoons, pipes, bows, arrow points, and also cuyas /vessels made out of gourd/ and calabashes. Among other objects made of wood we must also mention the mortar and pestle, various implements used in weaving, small sticks for making nets, large dishes used for keeping food, and flutes. Because the Chiriguano,
C when they work wood today, exclusively use modern tools ob-
[177] tained from the whites, they have not retained any of their native
[178] technique. /Plates XXII-XXV appear here./

/398 cont./

175 648 [266] [443]

acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even 'had public meat markets for human flesh.' " /Translated from the Spanish./

175 177 648 [567] [126]

Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII, 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

437 439

Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

121 172

Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text Continues on P. 173]

/80 cont./

797 Because of the intervention of political authority, the present missionaries will fall heir to the same fate, if the law of the department is not changed, because, it seems, they have dropped to the category of agencies of said authority and of all the Christians who are continually coming here in search of hands; and H. Montero's proposal will not only aggravate the situation, but it will leave these regions without workers for agriculture and cattle-raising. It is certain that labor makes man more moral, but it must be confessed that the Indian is lazy and opposed to working for the whites, whom he considers the usurpers of his lands. They will voluntarily go to work where they are treated with humanity, but where they are allotted the worst food and hard labor, they go with repugnance, despite the suggestions of the missionaries.

46 648 797

The caciques who respect and follow the missionary's orders become tired of continually seeking laborers for the whites, because they are aware of the unwillingness to obey; the result is that sometimes both Indians and caciques flide in the country, and when they get tired of this, they go away from the mission for a long time, leaving their families in misery. The missionaries struggle to gather the dispersed ones together again, but it often happens that the efforts of several months are lost in one night or in a few days, and in spite of the laws that exist in Bolivia, nobody has concerned himself with Chiriguano emigration. Reasons for the disappearance of masons, carpenters, shoemakers, and musicians are not lacking at the present time, since the most important thing is to get apparently luxurious clothing from head to feet, which cannot be obtained here very easily, either because they spend the money on other trifles or because there are no companies which provide all facilities to the laborer (1).

46

1. Today the whites who mistreat the Chiriguano are few. When a day's pay was fixed at 40 centavos, there was some difficulty, which has now disappeared; the Indian is now earning

/80 cont./

• 46 well in his own home: he only lacks the facility to procure what the Argentines give him and then he will resign himself to not emigrating.

799 As I have said above, nowadays the principal centers of the tribe have been reduced to the missions. For this reason I judge it appropriate to speak briefly of each of these which exists at the present time, so that the reader /illustration appears here/ /81/ can form some idea, however vague, of the efforts of the Franciscan missionaries, who are the only persons who today spend years and even their whole lives in the midst of privations and infirmities, experiencing solitude and enduring a sad and woeful life, in order to instruct and reduce some Indians who have little appreciation of religious and civil instruction.

The First Missionaries among the Chiriguano and a Precious Discovery

080 The primary end which the seraphic St. Francis of Assisi proposed with the founding of the Order of Minors was the reformation of the customs in the nations of the world and the teaching of the true Religion to the infidels of the Universe. /The remainder of p. 81 and the first paragraph of p. 82 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 82 follows./

799 195 But let us return to the primary object of this section. We have at hand the Crónica de la Provincia de San Antonio de los Charcas, written by the Franciscan Father Diego de Mendoza, O.F.M., in 1665. In his first book, Chapters 13 and 14, may be read in summary what immediately follows.

The first civilized man who entered the region of the Chiriguano to the east of Tarija was Father Simón de San Payo, a priest-cleric, son of Portuguese people, a native of Brazil, and, as such, informed about the language of

[text continues on p. 118]

/164 cont./

622 643 648 566 46

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large number of Indians, like Tarúire, derives great benefits from his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income is regular, because generally the caray who makes a request for peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future; interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62 595

It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques; even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

[797]

3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques; some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 [555] [556]

/165/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661]

1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

/241 cont./

Modern Farming and Seeds

241 177 [407] Today planting with the spade is disappearing, and if this tool is necessary for weeding, an iron one has been substituted. The plow has become general, as have the yoke and oxen, and in the missions even boys of 12 break in oxen two and a half years old. They first do the planting for the mission, then for themselves and their fathers, and finally they help those who have no sons; the missionary provides them with young oxen, plowshares, and even halters when they are very poor.

The neophytes in most of the Pozos missions have learned to perfection this new method of farming, and they are so advanced that they are competitive with and even superior to many mestizo farmers. The older ones teach the younger ones, fathers teach their sons, and the latter as well as the former manufacture plow and yoke out of selected wood with all the perfection that these implements require. It is satisfying to see upon a farm 40 or 50 yokes of oxen, directed and driven by young men and boys who yesterday were like their grandparents! The whites themselves do their planting on a large scale, aided by these Chiriguano, who receive in exchange double daily wages (1).

[868] [409] [231] • 46

> 1. A peon plowman is not obliged to bring oxen; it is the white who waits for him with the yoke hitched. If a peon brings his own, he earns up to triple daily wages, because they are worth exactly three strong peons, the two oxen and the man who drives them. Thus it is not much to pay him triple.

243 222 Today it seems to me that there must not be another country where the different types of maize thrive better. This is the principal element, the daily food, not only of the Chiriguano tribe, but of all those who inhabit most of Bolivia. Here in particular, when there is no harvest, its lack is greatly felt by whites and blacks, that is to say, by mestizos and by Chiriguano.

799
46
177

/302 cont./

With regard to material things, the Indian in the missions has more freedom than the others outside. He does not lift a hand without being paid. He works in the construction of buildings, such as house, church, rooms for the teaching of letters, music, arts and crafts, he builds fences, and, despite the fact that all of this is for their benefit and that of their children, they are paid for it. They only have the task of planting and weeding, but in the end the missionary provides them with yokes of oxen, plowshares, and even harness, and the produce is theirs to keep or is used to buy merchandise. Thus they do nothing gratis (2).

> 2. The merchandise brought by the missionaries from Tarija and other places is distributed gratis to the students and sold at warehouse cost to the older ones.

They are completely free to work in their fields or for the whites, but they must tell the missionary or the cacique. Nevertheless, they do not always comply with this. If, however, someone needs them for work and they do not feel like it, they answer either that the missionary will not let them or that they must talk with him first, but it is enough for him to intervene and request it, and the Indian will come up with all sorts of objections, and if the missionary starts to listen to them all, soon nobody will obey him. He must show himself to be firm and that he knows how to distinguish true necessities or reasons from deceptions and traps, so that he will not be fooled. In the Chiriguano missions it is almost impossible to get 20 per cent of their labor, as the mission rules require, /Illustration appears here/ /303/ believing perhaps that missionaries make them work for nothing, or are making a profit out of them (1).

> 1. The 20 per cent is not obtained in any mission. Only in Parapiti do the men work half a day per week, but this is a custom imposed by the priests before the founding of the mission, because they had no funds whatever. The missionaries take advantage of this custom for plantings and buildings which are for them themselves.

/337 cont./

243 Once their fields are free of weeds, the Chiriguano call
[476] together relatives and friends. On the date agreed upon, all
[531] go to the fields early in the morning, after waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by blowing into cow horns, which for them take the place of horns (in Chiriguano: waka-ranti) (Fig. 5), each trying to outdo the other. In olden days the
[622] village chief used to take part in the sowing and watched to make sure that all helped one another.

[534] [321] Fig. 5. Cow horn (waka-ranti) which the Chiriguano use for a horn. The end is carved into a mouthpiece. Prov.: Ibopeyti. (1/5 nat. size.)

Sowing is done in a very simple way. If the ground is soft, the Indian sticks his shovel vertically into the soil, after giving two or three thrusts in order to push it in as far as possible. He enlarges the slit by pushing his shovel forward without drawing it out and slips two or three kernels of corn into the opening. Without changing position he makes two or three similar holes on his right and left, takes a step forward and begins again. The plants thus grow in a certain alignment /338/ which is far from perfect. Since several work at
[461] a time, the job is done quickly. At noon, or about two o'clock
[273] in the afternoon at the latest, they have finished their task and go back to the village where the chicha or kiwi, which the owner of the field has had prepared for his helpers, awaits them

/364 cont./

273 life of the individual or the community is associated with this beverage. The divine principle which kãwi has in it does not take away its secular character; and, while one gets drunk on it during the festivals, nothing prevents washing down meals with it at the time when the corn ripens. As a sign of [574] hospitality every stranger is invited to empty a calabash full [576] of it; and the compliments he addresses to the wife of his host fill his heart with pride.

527 The Indians always appreciated the liking I showed 273 /Plate XIV appears here/ /365/ for kãwi, and my old friend [123] Karnapadyú did not fail to recall the big vats full to the brim to persuade one to return to celebrate Easter with them, or, if you like, the corn harvest, since these two dates coincide more or less. Such promises /Fig. 29 appears here/ could not remain without effect, and Karnapadyú was not at all surprised to see me arrive shortly before the festival.

The greatest animation prevailed in the village of Cururutí, formerly so calm. Men came and went, bending under enormous loads of wood. All the urns were lined up in front of the huts and buried to a third of their height (Plate XIV, 1).

527 For a long time big piles of corn had already been heaped up 273 in the village, which all, big and small, men and women, 243 /Fig. 30 appears here/ were actively engaged in husking. [412] Some used their fingers, others knives or a pointed stick. Not [413] one had thought of the so practical instrument used by their ancestors: a small wooden peg with a leather loop to put two fingers through. It is curious to note that such a simple object fell into disuse; an old man still sold me a specimen made of iron but a close copy, so to speak, of the wooden prototype, of which it reproduced the smallest details (Fig. 29).

273 Now the hardest work begins: the grinding of the kernels. Day and night the dry noise of the pestles crushing the corn [461] resounds in the village. Often, to get the chore over more quickly, three women group around the same mortar and with surprising speed raise and pound their pestle without a single [415] error in rhythm interrupting their laborious work. Once ground, the corn is sifted in an urumpesa or large-meshed sieve (Fig. 31). The rather coarse flour is poured into large urns filled with water.

/43 cont./

*136 There are wasps, and they are of several classes, but the yellow or red ones are the most vicious; there are bees in the trees, in the roofs, in the walls, and in the ground, and all of them make hives in order to make honey and wax, but the best honey is that of the bees called señoritas. Both things, 222 237 that is, honey and wax, are known as beneficial by the Indians, [461] but they devote themselves to this very little, because they consider it the work of lowly and poor people, and the 237 464 Chiriguano does not like to consider himself such. Wax is seldom gathered, even in times of scarcity, nor does the neophyte or new Christian work at earning his living by looking for beeswax.

*136 A spider bite almost always produces bad consequences, *825 which can be avoided by the use of ammonia; this is another [759] plentiful insect. In the rainy season they extend their webs from one tree to another, obstructing the road, no matter how wide it may be, and frequently travelers who are out at night or who get up early are bothered by these webs, which stick to their faces and clothing, /44/ just as the spiders themselves, which are so loathsome, not infrequently catch hold. The bite of those that live in the forest, they state, is not poisonous.

[859] All spiders are called "Yanduti" in Chiriguano, and the web, "Yanduti nupa," or spider's bed; from the web of the forest spiders the children make nets for catching birds or for their games. When wet they are quite elastic. The true tarantula, which the whites call apasanca and the Indians "Yanduti huasu," is quite ugly because of its fuzz, eight legs, and two arms. The natives state that it is poisonous, but its bite is not fatal. They almost never come out by twos, but upon killing one and wanting to know if it has a companion, it is enough to burn the dead one in order to cause the live one to come out the moment it smells the odor. The apasancas, or tarantulas, come out when it is about to rain and do not make a good impression. The natural enemy of spiders, including the tarantula, is another flying insect the size of an acorn, which the people of Santa Cruz call

/76 cont./

174 When experience showed them that they could settle
167 in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen.
241 The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly
433 very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every
[461] type of cereal; maize matures exuberantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hooks and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

433 But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and
241 then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and
511 sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably.
[731] In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /77/ along some stream; plantings of this type are called socorro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

192 By what has already been related it can easily be under-
[101] stood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guarayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guarayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

[194]
[171]

1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

/112 cont./

142 The Chiriguano at the time of birth has a color which is difficult to define, but, and let nobody laugh at this, his color is that of newborn mice, and as he grows the color changes until it is that of sunburnt parchment. The causes [147] of this change are the tropical heat, the sudden winds and changes, and the burning sun, to the action of which they expose themselves with untoward pleasure, with no bother and without fear, even should they be but tender infants.

• 44 147 From this it can easily be deduced that the Indian does not fear the canicular sun, or heat either; he works on the hottest days without shirt, trousers, or anything which re- [291] sembles these; he stretches out full length, very content, [516] receiving on his back the rays of the firey sun, and nothing daunts him. But when the north wind changes to the south and consequently the cold begins and the frost comes, he is very cowardly, and it is hard to make him work well and happily; in such cases it is easier to suspend the work for a few days, not to pay the laborers anything at all, and not to get uselessly angry; but this can only be done when the suspension does not have any bad effects (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. It is not only the Chiriguano Indian who hates the cold, but also the other races of America, such as, for example, the Quichua /Quechua/, according to what the historian Robertson says.

165 /113/ Life Span

The Chiriguano normally lives a good many years; he is little affected by heat, cold, and the inconstancy of the climate, nor by drunkenness and self-indulgence, to which capital vices he abandons himself from a tender age. Some [145] reach and pass 100 years, judging their longevity by their hair, since their hair does not turn white except at a very

[Text Continues on P. 156]

648 /115 cont./
178 obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

157 Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, incon-
181 stancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even
[847] suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They
[762] only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome
[461] by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family.
[186] But if near the carai /sic; see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

[533] They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of
[273] their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and
[178] cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not com-
[674] mon formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

[648]
[685]
[754]

1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge great secrecy so that the authorities will not make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/123 cont./

Aptitudes

461 157 It cannot be denied that laziness is innate in the Chiriguano Indian, but, when compared with the Toba, Mataco, and other tribes, I assert that they do a great deal or even too much. They need a guide, they need to be watched over, but when this is not lacking, they are hard working. The whites 464 in the regions inhabited by these Indians do not know of any other laborers. All the towns of Cordillera, Azero, and Gran Chaco have been built with the energies of the Chiriguano. With these same laborers are sustained the agriculture and cattle raising of these provinces, and even by means of them are the national roads of these regions kept clean and open, as well as those from one canton to another, the one from Yacuiba to Santa Cruz and the one from Taperilla. The Chiriguano laborers began and are continuing the work on the Azero bridge, /124/ and many of them are still working on the Bermejo River close to where it arrives at Yacuiba (1).

1. A private enterprise composed of Don Braulio Zapata, corregidor of Carandaiti, the subprefect, Don Ramón Menduiña, and other well-known and rich men of the same town is organizing an expedition to the fields of Cayuguari to found a fort there and to conquer the territory. The subprefect plans to open a cart road, with the help of the Chiriguano cacique, Mandepónai, and his soldiers.

997 The paternal rule of the missionaries has managed to make the Chiriquano much more docile; it has succeeded in building towns and large centers of population around the Cross; there is not one of the towns of those who live in complete ignorance of Religion that can be compared with them. The Missionaries have succeeded in building magnificent churches, great teaching establishments, comfortable and airy houses, workshops for arts and crafts. They have managed to implant the teaching of

/173 cont./

342 824 element and that of the hollow cane are due to the abundance of cattle, which destroy even the straw for harnesses.

342 574 [476] [831] When the placement of the roof has been completed, they all come down and gather in the hut of the friend, who, as a reward or payment for the service rendered, offers them a cup of chicha, and they drink this amidst jokes and crudities, at times very heavy, especially should maidens or women of 30 years or older who do not keep quiet pass by. But as the people know each other well and are friends, the greatest harmony reigns, and, when everything is finished, they take leave of the owner, thanking him for his gifts, and he shows them his gratitude for the services which they have rendered (2).

2. The workers only ask for chicha in recompense, but if the owner has beans or gourds cooked for them in a stew with considerable stimulant in the form of chili pepper, arivivi, it is a feast or carnival for all.

342 312 [221] The rest of the work is done with less haste and at a more opportune time. In fact, most wait until the rainy season to do it, for then water is abundant, and this to be sure deserves the approbation of all because it is more economical and easier. Thus, taking into consideration the laziness of the Indian man [46] and the tasks which the Chiriguano woman has, it would be expensive and quite tiresome to bring the water on their shoulders from great distances, which is avoided during the rainy season. [356] Then during each shower not only is the construction of the walls of the new houses done, but also the repair of those which have come apart during the year, and it is very amusing to see from a distance the women around the houses with their sleeves rolled up or with the tipoy down to the waist, making holes in the wet ground with shovel or hoe, pouring a little water in, kneading the earth, forming large balls of it, and putting it between the canes which are already attached.

/238 cont./

423 311 To acquire possession of a small plot of land, the Chiriguano selects beforehand the part that he likes best in the region, which he judges to be wet enough because it is on the slopes of ridges or hills or because water collects there in the rainy season. Naturally, the site which he intends to cultivate must have no signs of previous cultivation, because if there were any the owner or his descendants, even though at some distance, would immediately place a claim before the competent authority, the cacique.

423 [241] If the plot has not been tilled, he can be sure of not being disturbed, and before the rainy season ends he plants on it anything /239/ which will be visible, such as the Gilindaca-guasu, a large gourd which spreads a great deal, invades everything, and is not easily strangled by weeds. Another way to acquire property is to break all the bushes around the site, or, finally, to make cuts with his ax on the largest trees.

No one can lay claim to a place that belongs to the community of the Indians, where anyone has worked, and the one 241 who made the prior signs is regarded as the owner. The rainy season passes, the cold comes and dries up the grass and the leaves of the trees; before August ends, the Indian sets fire to the whole new plot, which consumes the grass and the brambles and makes useless the larger trees. All the ashes • [461] that are left are fertilizer for the land, and the fire has destroyed all the seeds of the weeds and brush, so that the first planting which is done on the new plot is almost free of weeds, which saves labor for the lazy Chiriguano (1).

1. The old Indians still do some work in order not to have many weeds in their fields, but the modern ones are little concerned about it now in many areas. Moreover, the cattle do not leave any time, invading everything and eating up the pasturage in a short time. It is very sensible to prohibit the burning of the fields after the harvest.

/240 cont./

241 [476] [534] go to the plot, waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by means of the Huacananti, cow's horn.

The method of planting is very simple. When the land is soft, the planter makes a small hole with his spade, using two or three blows, then pushes the spade forward, throws in two or three grains of seed and covers them. Then, without moving he makes another hole to the right, horizontal to the first, and a third to the left, performing the same operation as in the first, after which he takes a step and continues as before until he finishes. With many working, the planting of a plot is soon finished.

241 461 512 The Indian does not work beyond midday, and he tries to finish the job before leaving it in order not to return; therefore that the work sometimes lasts until two in the afternoon. Then the owner and his companions stop, return to the town, where they are awaited with plenty of food and chicha, which the former has ordered prepared, if the previous harvests were abundant (2).

[273] [262] 2. In any case, if there were a lack of chicha, because of previous scarcity, and mead made from algarrobas, the housewife should still wait for the planters with food mixed with some meat and plenty of chili peppers.

241 476 They formerly continued in this fashion until the planting of a tribe was completed; one day on one's own plot and another on that of a companion, and even the cacique did the same; today this is difficult to manage, because now they are not so close. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity, if someone prepares chicha for those who may wish to help him in planting or weeding, they leave or refuse money for a few matés or /241/ glasses of this much desired liquor. Even the whites get peons more easily this way.

/257 cont./

527
622

It falls to the cacique to give the order for the general drinking, and this is not long in coming. Twenty or thirty days before it takes place, he puts a large vessel in front of his house: this is the signal. Then in the evening, or when he judges best, he addresses a long discourse to his subjects, exhorting them to prepare what is necessary for the Arete; he stresses in this discourse that maize is a thing for drinking, once it has been obtained through the kindness of the sorcerer, lord of the rains. He adds that it is very proper not to lose the ancient custom of drinking and having a great feast to show friendship and courtesy to neighbors who live in other tribes. He underlines in his discourse the need to prepare good chicha and plenty of it and to prepare much wild game, so that those who are to participate as guests can enjoy these things and other, domestic foods to their full satisfaction, and that this may be a great honor for the townspeople.

I do not believe that anyone doubts the completely satisfactory effect that the cacique's discourse has on the mind of the Chiriguano, who wants nothing more than to drink, sing, and dance: thus, after the said speech, great joy appears on all faces, and all sigh in expectation of the arrival of the happy day when they can gather as good friends (1).

622
461

1. The caciques are very happy in their speeches for fiestas, but when it comes to work, they are not so much so. Humanity is not naturally inclined toward work. When a crop was very abundant, it was unlikely that they would plant the next year, and they would be content with very little.

527

On the next day activity has already begun, and the first thing is to go to the field or plot to provide themselves with sufficient maize so that there may be no lack of chicha. The women then begin to grind night and day, while the men bring in firewood: then, when /258/ there is enough firewood, they go off in considerable numbers to hunt in order to have meat and be able to invite their friends.

/267 cont./

54 177 [648] Don Antonio Menduiña, who had requested aid; he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers from Azero.

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival [178] is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of Arete, fiesta, through antonomasia, and all the old fiestas are [461] gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that [292] this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguano works almost all year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him; for it is he gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy clothing for himself and his wife and children; and on those days all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put on /268/ during the other days of the year, neither for the Ayarise nor for the Mbapa páure.

In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between [532] blacks and whites; the men well dressed, and even the infidel women with garb adorned with gauze, fancy hats, and multicolored ribbon; the children cover their faces with masks which they have made beforehand by carving toborochí wood; young men prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others, such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the dancers and Ayúiros /maskers/, for whom everything is allowed because it is carnival.

94 535 [529] By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one drinks and has fun, they make merry on the compadre and comadre days, and on Quinquagesima Saturday, all day, the maskers and dancers practice the dances that they call Aticu. [532] On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival, dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually mounted on a burro; the one who is thus disguised directs the fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

1. The principal man so disguised has subalterns.

/303 cont./

362 356 797 What the Chiriguano thinks least about is his house; it is very hard to find one who makes a comfortable one. If he does begin to build one, he is a long time finishing it, if indeed he ever does, and if it falls into ruins, he bothers little about repairs; when it rains, the house fills up with water and becomes a mudhole, but he and the family are there sleeping and snoring like dormice. To make them renovate their villages, it is almost always necessary to threaten them and promise punishment and at times apply it, so that what happened in the fable of the toads will not occur.

● 461 273 The Indian is always ready to drink; if for this it is necessary to pile up firewood and carry it from great distances, no one shirks; everyone shakes off his natural laziness with great enthusiasm. Both men and women then become quite active for ten days or two weeks, in order then to drink for six days or more, during which their faces become repugnant, both because of the cosmetics with which they think they beautify themselves and because of their state of half or total drunkenness. Then they talk of many things, and then finally some of them remember about collecting from others, and quarrels arise from this, and to stop these and also to put an end to the idleness the missionary must firmly intervene. If the Indians had a good crop of maize and the drinking bout were prohibited entirely or in part they would organize them in the fields where they plant, and then worse things would happen.

997 273 Chicha by itself does not cause much damage in their stomachs, and they easily bear up for several days without more than a half-inebriation; the bad thing now is a scandalously widespread abuse of alcohol, which very soon intoxicates them until they are senseless and do not even know that they are alive. The missionary is vigilant in his enforcement of the rules, but it seems that they are members of a secret sect, and they tell him only when it is all over, or when they wish to avenge some grievance.

6: Nordenskiöld--42 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane SF8
C
Ce
264
Ee
574
Ce
[123]
Ce
415
171
Ce
262
Ee
461
462

/190 cont./

It seemed to me that true mealtimes were observed here, the first of which was in the morning, the second in the middle of the day, and the third at sundown.

If they have an abundance of food in the house, they also invite in the neighboring households. A visiting Indian is very hospitably received. He need not leave without having received maize beer or food. In the Chané villages on the Rio Parapiti the Indians always served me a bowl of sweet potatoes when I visited them.

Fig. 92b. Upper clay-vessel. The specimen illustrated here is from the Mataco-Vejos, who learned how to use it from the Chané. 1/4.

The Chané do not eat donkeys, mules, horses, dogs, foxes, vultures, or monkeys. On the other hand, puma and jaguar are regarded as edible.

Even if the women in the villages are not cooking, brewing, or tending their little ones, they are nevertheless always busy. At least one almost never sees the older ones among them without an occupation. They spin, make clay vessels, weave. I learned to appreciate these women; I admired their loving care of the children, their industry, their maintenance of the home, their skill, and their taste.

/86 cont./

The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

/342 cont./

243 Wives accompany their husbands to the fields. They
• 462 spend the day there spinning, sewing, grilling ears of corn, or
[482] roasting maize. In the evening, if they return to the village,
the wife comes back bent under the weight of her afiapoka, or
carrying-net, full of ears of corn. Sometimes the men help
[482] them. Those who have donkeys and horses use them as beasts
of burden.

482 Transport of corn is done generally with the help of the carrying-net, but malcontents let them do without it in case of necessity. The ears of corn are held together in bundles by means of leaves which encompass them and are suspended from a flexible switch bent in the shape of a figure eight. When the two loops are balanced, one can raise them by grasping them by the middle.

251 In the village the corn are either stored in granaries on poles, to which steps cut in a tree trunk (Fig. 9) lead, or kept in the hut where a special corner has been made into a compartment. A tree trunk tipped with a natural fork may serve /Plate VII appears here/ /343/ as a storage place for corn. The ears, tied into bundles, are piled between the two branches of the fork (Fig. 10).

243 Formerly, before their dreadful decline began, the
[482] Chiriguano had recourse to magical ceremonies to hasten the ripening of corn and to avoid drought or too great an abundance of rain. /Fig. 9 appears here./

When the sun threatened to burn the harvest, they had one or several medicine men come who were charged with bringing the recalcitrant clouds. Provided with a cigar, they went around the fields blowing the smoke in every direction (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 167). The symbolism of this rite of homeopathic magic is clear: the smoke represents the clouds which the ipaye is to gather.

[482] The game of ñiñó represents the survival of a magical
[478] ceremony having to do with the growth of corn and its maturing.

[Text Continues, on P. 78]

/354 cont./

372 small stick was too short to be handled with ease, he fastened it securely to another stick by means of vegetable fibers (embira) (Fig. 25). This done, he sat down on the ground, pressing the soles of his feet on the small cupped stick, and imparted with the palms of the hands a rotating movement to the other stick. The glowing sawdust which was detached by the effect of the friction fell on dried dung placed near the gadget to serve as tinder, which, at the end of a rather short time, began to catch fire.

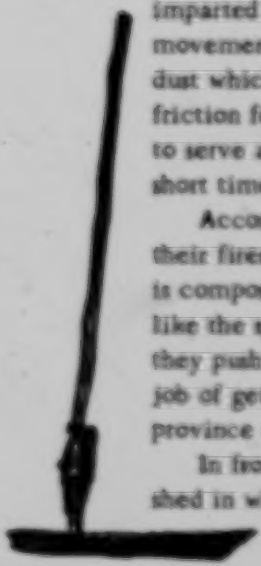
354

According to the season, the Chiriguano light their fires inside the hut or outside. The hearth is composed of long branches which they lay out like the spokes of a wheel. As the ends burn, they push them closer to the central fire. The job of getting the dead wood falls within the province of the men (Fig. 76).

[462] [313]

343

In front of the huts they often erect a little shed in which the women do the cooking. The



[372] Fig. 25. Ancient apparatus for making fire, reconstructed by a modern Chiriguano. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/6 nat. size.)

roof of this shelter serves as a shelf for putting provisions and utensils on.

Preparation of Food

262 The modern Chiriguano do not seem to observe any food prohibitions, at least in daily life, for the custom of fasting, for women at the time of puberty and for men upon the birth of a child, is not yet lost. In olden days certain animals /355/ were taboo (1). The men of a few villages thus reserved for themselves

[789] [825]

[775]

1. In order not to kill one of their dead relatives transformed into a fox, the Chiriguano

/365 cont./

273 The preparation of chicha is not play: it is necessary not only /366/ to grind an enormous quantity of corn, but again to go
484 ceaselessly to get water, often at a great distance. At Cururuí
482 the nearest potable water was at the bottom of a ravine of particu-
273 larly difficult access. The women were constantly going there with an iry (Plate XVII. 1),[a] which they carried on their backs in a net (aliapoka) held on the forehead by a strap. They would fill

• 462
516
273
291
415
412

Fig. 31. Woman sifting corn which she has just ground in the mortar beside her. This flour is to be roasted, then chewed to serve as ferment for kiwi. Cururuí. (Photo. A. M.)

484 the jug and, loading it with difficulty, would go back up the
482 steep slope doubled over under the weight. So as not to lose any
273 time, these hard-working creatures would take along a calabash full of ground corn which they continually chewed.

273 The ground corn is cooked in water and constantly stirred
412 with flat sticks whose edges used to be cut out with a certain
[198] artistic care in olden days (Fig. 32). Today a kind of oar (Fig.
[239] 33) or the scapula of an ox (Fig. 34) fastened to a long handle
[531] replaces the ancient utensils in which was manifested so well the Chiriguano tendency to decorate even the most humble objects.

[a] [For plate XVII, See Category 116, P.129--Analysis]

/266 cont./

293 126 It is not so easy as one thinks to observe in detail the preparation of kĩwi, and I am still at a loss to describe the stages in their exact sequence. This difficulty is due to the fact that kĩwi is prepared over several days (generally three or four), and it is /Plate XV appears here/ /267/ difficult to be on the spot all the time so as not to miss any detail. Besides, as different families do not begin to prepare kĩwi at the same time, confusion results: and it is hard to know at what point of the operation one finds oneself. Apparently I am not the only one to have come up against this obstacle, for it is enough to read the various descriptions devoted to this important occupation to become aware that they are far from agreeing.

[118]

293 462 At the moment when the water is at the boiling point in the big vats, the burning pieces of wood and the live coals are scattered, and the corn flour is poured in, being stirred vigorously so that it will not form lumps. While this operation is performed, other women have pounded fine a certain quantity of corn, sifted it, winnowed it to rid it of any impurity, then roasted it in a large potsherd. As this flour is taken off the fire, the women chew part of it and spit this into a calebash. This paste impregnated with saliva is called ñemiñu. According to Nino (p. 268), the Indian women mix the ñemiñu with the corn broth which is cooking in the vats and with which they fill a pot. The woman who busies herself with this mixture (ñoupiri) allows it to fall back in from a certain height "to give it sweetness."

[412]

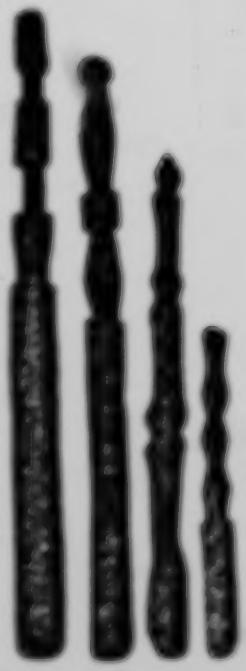


Fig. 37. Sticks for stirring the kĩwi while it is cooking. No. 1 comes from Tigüipa; No. 2 from [illegible]; Nos. 3 and 4 from [illegible] (upper Pilcomayo). (1/[illegible] nat. size.)

/371 cont./

273
412
762

The umuqirai is added to the kāwi, which from this moment on is subjected to intense cooking. A large, bright fire is lighted around the vat containing it and burns day and night; the women go to stir it from time to time to keep it from sticking.

At night the village of Caranti has a strange look: over the open square in front of the huts high flames rise, against which are outlined in black the silhouettes of the women who, busy and hard-working, do not take time to sleep. The next morning the fire is allowed to go out and the kāwi to cool. It is then decanted into vessels of smaller dimensions, and all the women, including little girls, assemble to take handfuls of the marc and chew it, one trying to outdo the other. These balls, sticky with saliva, are spit back into the vessel. A rather large amount of cold water is added to the kāwi, and right afterward comes the bottling, if I may so express myself. The kāwi is strained through a very fine-meshed sieve. The marc, or sirini, /366/ is thrown away or used again. The beer, or pale wine, is distributed into vessels which are carefully closed with a calabash or bowl, and this liquid is left to ferment for two or three days. So that it may be completely protected from the air, the line of contact between the vessel and its cover is smeared with clay.

273
412

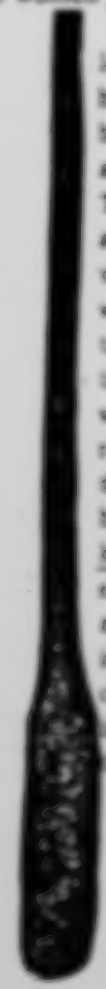


Fig. 30. Oar for stirring kāwi during cooking. Prov.: Pilcomayo. (1/8 nat. size.)

Fig. 31. Shovel ending in an ox scapula which the Chiriguano use for stirring kāwi. Prov.: Pilcomayo. (1/8 nat. size.)

[239]

/371 cont./

415 531 Certain vessels (Fig. 35) have the exterior surface entirely covered with these depressions obtained by pressure of the thumbnail. The Indians call this decoration tatupire, that is "armadillo carapace." /Fig. 37 appears here/ a completely justifiable comparison.

One can consider as an evolution of the process of ornamentation by finger impressions the angles or chevrons which decorate the outside surface of the vessel of Figure 2, Plate XVI /see p. 125/, which have been incised in the soft clay with a pointed instrument. This type of ornamentation can be reduced to its simplest expression: thus on the neck of the vessel of Plate XVII, 2 /see p. 127/ it is limited to a row of little cavities made with a pointed stick. The small vessel of Figure 36 /see p. 128/ with a belly flattened from top to bottom belongs, from the decorative point of view, in the same category.

415 531 191 On another vessel (Plate XVI, 1) the small nipples which project /372/ all around the belly constitute a summary decoration which completes that of the neck formed by fingernail impressions. Pots of this type are found among the Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 65, p. 218).

This decoration is exceptional in South America. Jijon y Caamaño (p. 6) considers it characteristic of the northern part of Ecuador. He points out its distribution in Central America and in the Mound region in the United States.

[126] The iru of Plate XVIII, Fig. 2 /see p. 131 / has the exact shape of a calabash: this resemblance was intentional, for the Indian woman who sold it to me presented it at the same time as the calabash which /Fig. 38 appears here/ had doubtless served as a model. Vessels which are almost replicas of this specimen have been found at Jachal and Calingasta in San Juan province in Argentina (Ambrosetti, 1, Plate VII, and Debenedetti, 3, Fig. 41, p. 69).

415 [142] 415 323 The Chiriguano call the vessels in which the women draw the water they need for their households by the Quichua name iru. The iru are characterized not only by their more or less globular shape and the narrowness of the neck on top, but also by the quality of the paste from which they were

000 /427 cont./
C which preceded Inca culture. If one compares the present-day
531 pottery of the Chiriguano with that of the Quicha /Quechua/ of
171 Cuzco, certain analogies will appear, but they will be neither
105 abundant nor conclusive enough to establish a direct filiation. Aryballuses are missing or rare, ornithomorphic dishes seldom found, etc.; on the contrary, we have seen how multiple and close the ties are between this pottery and that of the Chincha-Atacama period. Chiriguano pottery, in relation to that of Cuzco, is in a situation analogous to that of northwestern Argentina: on an Andean but original base, influences from Cuzco have been superposed. This Inca action on the Chicha is attested to even today by /428/ the presence among the Chiriguano of footed vessels of the purest Inca type and apodal ones of the same origin. Arising from the same influence, one may add certain decorative motifs, with which I have already dealt.

A Arawak and Amazonian tradition is scarcely represented, ex-
[531] cept by footed bowls (compoteras), vessels with a ribbed belly,
[171] those with a body in the shape of a truncated cone and a sub-
[415] spherical belly, and perhaps by some motifs (T-shaped figures, Plate XXXVIII, 1).

The conclusion of this chapter will be: there exists today and for some years to come a civilization which, closely related to that of the Chicha, continues an art earlier than that of the Inca but influenced by them. May this fact make archeologists cautious!

Chapter VII

Calabashes

C The second art in which the Chiriguano excel is pyrography
531 and engraving on calabashes. When pottery-making was an
462 essentially feminine activity, pyrography was the province of the
[323] men. Nordenskiöld (9, pp. 233-236) thinks, completely
C wrongly it seems to me, that pyrography is of Andean origin. He
114 advances in support of this opinion the advantages that knowledge
531 of metal offers to this art. Nevertheless, the populations of the
171
174
000

C 531 171 /429 cont./

(Boman, 2, Vol. II, Plate LXXV, Fig. 188 c) reappears nearly identical on the pretty calabash of Plate LXII, 2.

C D 531 171 I can give no better argument in favor of the close analogy between the calabashes of the Andean region and those of the modern Chiriguano than by publishing the calabash of Plate LXII, 3 a and b, found in Diáguite territory in Catamarca province ("La Quebrada," Valle del Cajón). Its decoration is composed of incised and finely reticulated bands on a blackened background. The hooks which leave from the circle

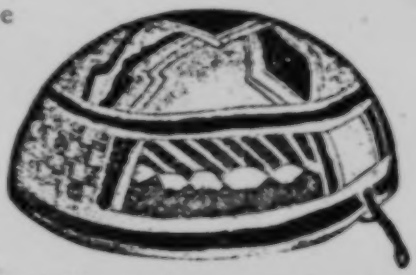


Fig. 84. Incised and pyrographed calabash. Prov.: Caratindi (Igüembé Valley). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

engraved on the top of the calabash and the sides of the latter strangely recall analogous motifs we have seen on Chiriguano specimens.

C 531 171 The spiral, which seems to have been a motif especially dear to the pyrographers of northwestern Argentina and the Atacama Desert, does not occur on any of the specimens in my collections, if one does not want to consider as rudiments of spirals or as degenerated spirals the hooks we see on some Chiriguano calabashes (Plate LXI, 2). It is interesting to ascertain that the spiral and the voluted triangle of Andean calabashes are typologically closely related to analogous motifs which the Chiriguano women of the upper Pilcomayo paint on their vessels. If these designs have been better preserved in pottery than in pyrography, it is doubtless due to the fact that the first art has remained closer to its origins. The women, who have the monopoly of it, are more conservative than the men, who decorate the calabashes.

C [323] [462]

177 /430 cont./ Let us not forget that
531 pyrography is a masculine activity and that men are more
[462] open than women to every innovation. Moreover, for the
[167] most part they have gone to Argentina, and from there, with a new turn of mind, they brought back models and inspirations foreign to their ancient tradition. This European influence is patent in many cases; thus, the calabash of Plate LXVII, 3, and the one of Plate LXIX, 1, are decorated with Arabic numbers. The calabashes of Plates LXIV, 1, LXV, 1 and 5, and LXIX, 5, are decorated with stylized flowers or stars which are not Indian at all. The influence of the white men and their bad taste is evident in the motifs painted in roucou which decorate the calabash of Plate LXV, 3.

531 Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic representations are commoner on calabashes than on pottery. A rough drawing of a man greatly schematized /431/ is represented on the calabash of Plate LXIII, 1 a and b. On the calabash of Plate LXIII, 2 a, dogs have been engraved and birds on those of Plates LXIII, 1, LXVIII, 3 a and b, LXIX, 2, and LXXI, 3. A llama was represented in very expressive fashion on calabash No. 2 b on Plate LXIII; and on the calabash of Fig. 85 a and b one recognizes a horse and a feline animal, a puma or jaguar. Three fish and a bird appear on the specimen of Plate LXVII, 2.

531 The Indians of the Ivu mission and the ones from
322 the Caipipendí valley paint their calabashes with roucou.
386 This color is very difficult to rub off and does not spread beyond the periphery of the colored designs. /Fig. 86 appears here. To obtain this result, the Chiriguano begin

/468 cont./

412 171 At La Paya, Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 254, p. 484) discovered combs cut out of a small wooden board and some composite combs. Instead of simply recording the coexistence of two different types of combs /Plate LXXXVII appears here/ /469/ in the same place, a very natural phenomenon by reason of the heterogeneous character of the culture of La Paya. Ambrosetti puts forth the strange hypothesis that these combs served for carding wool, without taking the trouble to inquire whether this instrument was known in pre-Columbian times.

303 322 The making of combs, like all wood carving, is an essentially masculine job.

462 412 The table on Plate LXXXVII indicates my idea of the morphological evolution of the different forms of combs which

412 174 I have collected.

Chapter XII

Furniture

352 [114] Since the diverse cultural elements which constitute the furniture of the Chiriguano have been completely studied by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 8-22), I shall limit myself to mentioning them here, insisting only on several details. /Fig. 124 appears here./ /See p. 338./

[342] Let us enter a Chiriguano hut. The door we open is a kind of screen of reeds or a cowhide hardened in the sun. Daylight penetrates the interior through this opening. The only important

[513] piece of furniture is a wooden cot (Fig. 125), a kind of bedstead generally occupied by two persons between whom one or two children come /470/ to slip in somehow or other. Nor do the Chiriguano hesitate to sleep on the ground on an oxhide, which they spread out in front of their house. On the upper Pilcomayo, in nearly all the huts one can /Fig. 125 appears here/ /See p. 339./ see one or two hammocks which serve either as seats during the day

[286] [177] or as cradles for small children. Their technique, that of the double thread (Doppelfadentechnik), continues an old Guarani

[Text Continues on P. 338]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

are based on a triangle surmounted by a scroll, which is multiplied in countless variations.

Women potters (pl. 41, *top, left*, and *bottom, left*) tempered the clay with crushed potsherds and built up their vases by coiling. They painted them with several kinds of ocher and with black obtained from resin.

Spinning and weaving.—Among the *Chiriguano*, wool is more commonly used than cotton for textiles, but *Chané* fabrics are generally of cotton. The fibers are spun with a drop spindle weighted with a clay whorl (pl. 42, *center*). Although garments are in part Andean in shape, the loom remains of the vertical type. Formerly, indigo was the favorite native dye; today aniline dyes have entirely replaced it. The ornamentation of the fabrics is limited to a few stripes.

Netting.—Fishing nets and carrying nets are made by means of a wooden gage in a reef-knot technique.

Basketry.—Fans, round baskets with overlapping lids, and sieves are twilled with palm leaves in the best *Guiana* fashion, but wickerwork basketry is very common. No large baskets for carrying or storing food are made.

Gourds.—The painted, incised, or fire-engraved (fig. 61) gourds (*Lagenaria siceraria*) used as cups are, after pottery, the best expressions of *Chiriguano* art. The motifs are mainly geometrical, with occasional realistic representations.

FIGURE 61.—*Chané* calabashes. *Left:* Specimen with lid (approximately ¼ actual size). *Right:* Pyrograved specimen (approximately ⅓ actual size). (*Redrawn from* Nordenskiöld, 1920, fig. 50 and Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 62.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

000 c 726 c [727]

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

c 727 266 c 567 727

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

c 534 177 Ce 534

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

c 535

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

c 273 628 527

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

c 276

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

c 273 462

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

plicated affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large jars. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

Gambling.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the suka game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.[9] Another favorite dice game is called chukareta: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous taba game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

Games.—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapeti River, like so many Guiana tribes, played a ball game with rubber balls which they butted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

Chiriguano women had a game (itarapoa) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tunpa, or Iandapoha ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaratunpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guarani*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ana," the souls of the dead.

[9] The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 337).

/173 cont./

342 The canes, or sticks, are attached in the same way as in the roof, with the difference that for the walls they are put in double order, outside and inside, so that they can serve as a support for the dampened earth, which in the end is like a large bag, long and tall, around the house. This other work [462] is done by the Indian men, engaged beforehand by the promise of chicha; next they too dig in the wet soil /174/ dampened by the rain or by water, and help the women in the operation of forming the walls.

With such simplicity, the four walls are raised in a single day, everything being completed; at the present time almost all houses have a gallery where the men and women always sit to enjoy the cool of the mornings and the evenings in friendly gatherings, a gallery which is even used for sleeping on excessively hot nights, especially when inside there is an abundance of vinchucas and other insects (1).

346 476

1. In Parapiti a school for 150 girls was built and finished in 12 hours; nothing had been prepared for this building; it was planned the day before and done at once by all the inhabitants.

342 With the erection of the gallery, the house is completely finished, and the Indian content and satisfied. In present-day buildings care is taken to place the door, or entry, at one end of the house which corresponds to the gallery, and many have two, one in front of the other, in order to have a way to the patio which they make with a fence of thorns for greater comfort.

342 The doors are of cane, which they tie together like mats, 28 but vertically, with ceiba bark or with cowhide thongs, which [322] are more durable indoors. If an Indian can get a cowhide, [824] he makes a door of Guayapa wood, or, as the whites call it, zacharrosa, or another soft wood, which he puts in a hole left in the construction; he makes another frame with its hinges made of the same wood, soaks the hide, and fastens it in this

/181 cont./

524 gallery two cords, tying at the ends a piece of cowhide 80 centimeters long by 30 in width, hanging about 60 centimeters above the ground. This is called Sabiuca, swing, and here the little boys and girls swing and rock.

562 Women sit on the ground in their houses and observe the
574 same custom when they go visiting. The man waits until he
576 is told where he should sit and always receives the best seat.
516 The woman does not wait: she knows her place: she arrives, does not greet anyone, leaves her bundle in a corner, if she has one, and then squats down in such a way that from near or far many women squatting like this look like so many carronades /camaretas/ ready to go off.

Matés

462 In the furnishings of Chiriguano houses a preferred place
241 is occupied by the matés, made of gourds divided vertically
415 through the middle. This is man's work: he plants them and
322 cultivates them in his field, and when they are mature they are brought to the house where they are allowed to dry in the shade and also in the sun. Some three months are needed for this or even more, depending on the season. Nevertheless, they are watched throughout to see whether a fingernail will penetrate the skin. When the fingernail will not penetrate, the gourds are ripe. Then they remove the first skin, split them, extract and completely remove the pulp, keep the seeds for the new planting, and, when they are clean, they let them dry for a few days.

462 They are put in a separate place, and a second operation
415 begins. With his Chiriguano patience, with a knife or other
531 instrument, the Indian begins to engrave whatever figures occur to him, such as tree branches, circles with grains of sand, squares, figures of jaguars, doves, lizards, dogs, chickens,

/181 cont./

462 415 531 bulls, deer, etc. If all this carving were woman's work, it would have but one name, Sacuarama, but since it is man's work, each figure has the name of the quadruped, biped, or reptile that it represents (2).

(825) 2. Thus they say Machure baangallo, figure of a lizard, Yaimba baangallo, figure of a dog. Even the men call the figure of a jaguar or a dove: Sacuarama.

/182/ With this second task the work can be considered finished. Days or weeks are employed depending on the greater or lesser quantities of the matí. They now color all the (386) (239) etched figures with ground charcoal and paint the empty spaces with Urucú, achiote, making them firm with the Taraglirisi, which is abundant everywhere, then singeing them in the flame of the fire so that the pictures will never lose their shine and luster or the painting of carbon and urucú come off (1).

237 323 825 1. The Taraglirisi is a species of ant which is common in cold weather. Its length is not over half a centimeter and its thickness three. It moves about the small branches of certain small trees, where it leaves its speckled whitish excrement. All potters provide themselves with an abundance of this material.

Pottery

323 (462) (317) (484) I shall now go on to consider women's work, limiting myself to the most important, such as clay vessels and textiles. For the former the Chiriguano woman provides herself beforehand with the best clay, which she knows very well and even brings from long distances, if it is not found in the territory of the tribe. Naturally the potter not only wishes to avoid the loss of her labor, but also, insofar as she can, she wishes to

/194 cont./

323 the force of the heat and remains over the paintings like a
[239] binder, without which they would disappear the first time it was used. The Taragüirisi remains on the vessels like a light coat of rubber and the white of the Tovanti becomes opaque (2).

2. When a pot is slightly damaged, they heat it in the fire and on the inside and outside apply the Taragüirisi, and it is as good as before.

/195/

Textiles

286 Another important occupation of the Chiriguano woman
• 462 is weaving the Asoya for her husband, brother, or son, and the
[294] Cutama for herself. For this she prepares the wool or cotton, spins it opposite the way the mestizo and European women spin, and then bleaches it and finally dyes it.

286 In order to weave, they set up two tall, slender forked sticks in the house, with two sticks across, one above and one below, and arrange or place the threads vertically, and then sit on the ground and begin to run the woof through, thread by thread, which they hit with a pointed stick of soto wood called Pinca. This, to be sure, is time consuming, if the threads are fine, but, on the other hand, the work is very durable.

291 Ponchos, Asoya, are of two types, one of wool and one
286 of cotton: the first are common from the right bank of the
231 Parapiti River southward and the second from the left bank
249 northward, because in the first region sheep are plentiful, and
[184] in the second, cotton fields. Formerly, before the whites intro-
[177] duced cattle into the region, cotton was cultivated everywhere, and from its product the men were dressed for ceremonies in their Tiru and the women in the Mandu, which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

/185 cont./

291 286 [178] The Cutama, which I have mentioned, has been replaced by the Tipoi of the same form as the former, but made of chintz, blue drill, linen, merino wool, or corduroy; they also weave covers for their beds, but these are without colors, and an occasional man has a crude loom, like those they use in Europe with a comb, manufactured by themselves (1).

291

1. The Mandu is attached to both shoulders by means of two large silver pins which correspond to the luxury of the garment; on ordinary days they pin the Tipoi with large thorns, but these have been replaced by needles, pins, and metal clasps.

462 Other tasks of the women are carrying water, maize, and field produce for the kitchen and making chicha and algarroba mead, which we shall discuss below, putting an end to this chapter for now.

000 /186/

Chapter Seven

Chiriguano Clothing and Adornments

Introduction

/The first paragraph on p. 186 is omitted in the translation. Page 186 continues as follows./

Clothing, which should remind us of the fall of our first parents, their misfortunes, their sufferings, hardships, and their death, our hardships, misfortunes, and death as a consequence of that disobedience, is today used as an object of extraordinary luxury. All of humanity has converted clothing into an object of vanity, and there is no nation, no tribe, however abject it might be or might consider itself, which has not abused or is not abusing clothing and adornments. /The last paragraph on p. 186 and the first paragraph on p. 187 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 187. The remainder of page 187 follows./

/194 cont./

302 The flower of the Guambero, purslane, has the same properties as the carasapa, but it is little used, and they content themselves with just sticking the leaves on their faces, and this only at carnival time, the result being a gay set of dancers. Finally, the Indians have a fourth cosmetic, which they call Mboiemico, or achiote of the viper. It is red, and they assert that it is food for the viper, hence its name. They use it by rubbing it on their cheeks, which makes them a bright red.

292 [529] [178] As noted above, the ancient Chiriguano man, Ava, and the Chiriguano woman of long ago, Cuña, at solemn fiestas and on days /195/ of general rejoicing, after having adorned their faces and washed their persons, wore the tiru and the mandu, respectively (1).

1. If the Indian dressed in a tiru does not have brooches, guasupi tembao, he wraps his body from the waist down with a shorter poncho which comes to the calf. It is also of cotton, and the women weave it. It is called Tirupeé, or sheath that warms, "alias" wrap /abrigo/.

[286] [462]

The Tiru is a kind of long poncho, from which it differs because of the two openings that it has near the wrists: the hands are put into said opening: and remain free for movement, and, the tiru fastened to the wrists, nothing impedes the motion of the one wearing it. It is spun and woven by the women, and the raw material is cotton. The tiru differs in color, some are black, others dark red, and others blue. The first color is obtained with black mud, Tuñúú, mixed with the resin of the algarroba, Piari; the second, with zorillo bark, Urundeibucu; and the third, with wild indigo, Caogüi (2).

[286] 292 386 [824]

2. Today this is all purchased commercially, and the indigo plant, which is abundant in certain places, is ignored. They buy the indigo and the other colors, just as they buy for their poncho and their tipoi.

[437] [178]

/207 cont./

●462 562 The woman among the Chiriguano is a true slave, and the man her master. His work for the family is limited to planting and weeding, as well as fetching the necessary firewood. In addition, /208/ as a diversion and pastime, he [519] takes his bow and arrow, goes out into the countryside and hunts, or fishes in a nearby river, spending the rest of his time talking with his friends, recounting exploits, telling stories, Miani, playing cards and throwing dice, even going so far as to bet the tipoy or cutama of his wife.

She, on the contrary, is the work horse of the house. She [482] carries the maize with her Aftipoca, a kind of net, goes to [515] the spring and carries on her shoulders and over long distances some 50 libras of water, prepares food, makes chicha, cleans her house, spins, weaves ponchos, makes sillas, cares for her children, raises animals such as pigs, chickens, sheep, and goats, makes cheese if she has cows, and, as if all this were not enough, in the afternoon she sits down next to her lazy husband, releases his healthy hair, and as a distraction goes looking through that labyrinth for the insects which nest there, without feeling any disgust. I am not talking about killing [262] them, but about doing away with some with her teeth and making a snack out of others, a very simple thing for these women.

562 593 Everything is permitted for the man. He can play upon words and make lascivious jokes with other women, but this is not permitted for the wife, nor can she even cast a sidelong glance, which would be enough to cause her to be maltreated and divorced. How many things there are in nature! It is painful to see a mother with her four or five little ones abandoned to suffer hunger and despair, while the rascal of a husband with no just cause at all goes happily off with another, giving her the little that he earns, and then getting rid of her at the first chance (1).

593 586 1. When the man turns out to be too lazy, it is the woman who leaves him, going off with another, and the children go with her, because

/319 cont./

855 The child grows up in his sight with all the imperfections of little lambs or kids, because that is also the way in which he, the father, grew up.

855 ●462 When children of either sex are still in swaddling clothes, they receive the care of the mother, the grandmother, or other women who may be very closely related. It is unusual for a man to take care of newborn children, both because this is natural in all the countries of the world and because it would offend his dignity. But when the child begins to open his eyes well and to have some understanding of external things, he takes it in his arms with all the love that the child in its innocence inspires.

But the one who normally cares for the children of both sexes until the age of six or seven years is the mother. She washes them, bathes them, puts them to sleep, moves them, takes them from one place to another, carrying them in the folds of her clothes. The father ably helps at this task when the mother cannot attend to it because she has others, or because she is busy making chicha, preparing food, etc. (1).

> 1. If there is no mother because of death or for some other reason, the man finds himself in a difficult situation with regard to his children and quickly seeks out a female relative.

868 School of Arms and Strategy

At the age of seven years and even sooner, the father takes special charge of his male child, with the girls remaining in the charge of the mother: he makes for his son a bow and arrow suitable for his age and strength and begins to train him, teaching him to use them and the way to aim and shoot (2).

> 2. The father takes his son to the woods, where he begins to hunt little birds, and, if he manages to get some, he takes them

/??? cont./

SF1 198 199 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently, and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where 226 there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the 462 little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Pariente.

/???/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and 88 not a boy, the time to give up the ú ú of his affirmative 195 answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother, 304 and other relatives make him understand that for this it is 301 necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of 185 the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip, 554 Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

192 1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ta-, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

Reproduced at 1-4(1909-1909, 1912) 1931
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF9

C
Ce
105
177
162
511

Table 20.

Culture element that the Chiriguano and Chaco Petroglyph Builders Have Not Worked.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
Question Not Considered.

	Chiriguano	Chaco	Distribution determined by natural environment	Distribution independent of natural environment	Is it good for a people like struggle for existence
Modern hut	+	+	+	—	+
Chair	+	+	/	+	—
Wooden house	+	—	/	+	—
Sugar-cane	+	+	—	—	—
Water-melon	+	+	+	—	—
Reeds for arrow-shafts (Arundo donax)	+	+	—	—	+
Pellet-bow	+	+	/	+	—
Cattle	+	+	+	—	+
Sheep	+	+	—	—	+
Horses	+	+	+	—	—
Poultry-keeping	+	+	+	—	+
Riding whip stock	+	+	/	+	—
Saddle	+	+	/	+	—
Tinder when striking fire with flint and steel	+	+	/	+	—
Clothes of tanned skin	+	—	+	—	—
Leather-girdle with pocket	+	+	/	—	—
Hairband with tassels	+	+	/	+	—
Strawhats	—	+	/	—	—
Women with pierced ears	+	+	/	+	—
«Bolviria»	+	+	/	+	—
Tabo-game	+	+	/	+	—
Dice	+	+	/	+	—
«Rifle «(plaything)	+	+	/	+	—
Musical bow	—	+	/	+	—
Plates with six carefully fitted holes	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets of cow-horn	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets with mouth-piece of reed	—	+	/	+	—
Vessels with lips in rims	+	+	/	+	—
Brasier	+	+	/	+	—
Tanning	+	+	/	+	—
Staff	+	+	/	+	—

199

Culture element that the Chirguano and Chaw presumably derived from the Wikiro.

? Doubtful occurrence. — Indicates absence
/ Question not answered.

Kombucha tea for hair and skin	Kin's cloth	Blowpipe	Cut by teeth	Cut by knife	Tied by cotton	Tied by sinew	Lance
+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—
—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—

5tNordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Table 21.

Cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané Presumably obtained from the Culture Zone in the west.

+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

C
Ce
177
462
511
105

	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings	Distribution independent of natural surroundings	Of great importance in the struggle for existence
Wooden hook on which to hang their belongings	+	+	/	+	+
Spade (Wooden)	+	+	/	+	+
Bird-net	+	—	+	—	+
Wooden bowl	+	+	/	+	+
Wooden spoon	+	+	/	+	+
Coca	+	—	+	+	+
Poncho-shirt	+	+	+	+	+
Sandal	+	+	+	+	+
Woven girdle	+	+	+	+	+
Frontlet	+	+	+	+	+
Wooden comb	+	—	+	+	+
Pincer	+	+	+	+	+
Topu	+	—	/	+	+
Necklaces of green stones	+	+	+	/	+
Headdress worn by Chiriguano Women on festive occasions	+	—	+	+	—
Vessels which are intended to be carried by a string running round the vessel	+	+	/	+	+
Chunquanti-game	+	+	/	+	—
Chucareta- »	+	+	/	+	+
Quoits- »	+	—	/	+	+
Long wooden whistle	+	+	/	+	+
Round » »	+	+	/	+	—
Drum	+	+	/	+	—
Vessels provided with ears or handles	+	+	+	+	+
Double pitchers	+	+	+	+	+
Water-pitchers	+	+	+	+	+
Pitchers with a bulging neck	+	+	+	+	+
Calabashes with lids	+	+	+	+	—
Calabashes with burnt in ornamentation	+	+	+	+	+
Peruvian loom	+	—	/	+	+
Bodkin of bone	+	+	/	+	—
Property marks	+	—	/	+	—
Yandugua the parasol of ostrich feathers	+	—	/	/	—

Cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chane presumably obtained from the culture zone in the west.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

c
ce
177
462
511
105

Manufacture calls for technical skill.	Man's work.	Woman's work.	Used by men.	Used by women.	Used only by children.	Still frequently used.	Luxury.
—	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	—	—	+	—
+	—	+	+	—	—	/	+
+	+	—	+	+	—	—	+
+	—	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	+	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	/	/	+	—	—	+	+
—	+	—	+	+	—	—	+
+	—	—	+	—	—	—	+
+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	—	—	+	—	—	—	+
+	—	—	+	—	—	—	+
+	—	—	+	—	—	—	+

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Table 22.

Northern and Eastern Elements that, occur among the Chiriguano and Chane.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

C
Ce
105
177
462
511

	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings.	Distribution independent of natural surroundings.	Of great importance in the struggle for existence.
Maize-barns on piles	+	+	—	—	+
Hammock used as a bed	+	+	—	—	—
Seat	+	+	/	+	—
Mandioca	+	+	—	—	—
Urucu	+	+	—	—	—
Bird arrows	+	+	/	+	—
» » (special type fig. 6 E.)	+	+	/	+	—
Snare fixed onto a long rod	—	+	/	+	—
Fish-spear	+	—	—	—	—
Multi-pointed fishing-arrows	+	—	—	—	—
Fishing with poison	+	—	—	—	—
Wooden mortar	+	+	/	—	+
Round-Siege. »Urupe»	+	+	—	—	+
Great pot-spades of wood	+	+	/	+	+
Pire fans of plaited palm leaves	+	+	—	—	—
»Tipoy»	+	+	+	—	+
Rubber-balls	+	+	—	—	—
Souki-game	—	+	/	—	—
Panpipe	?	+	/	—	—
Game with maize-leaf balls	+	—	/	—	—
Vessels ornamented with finger-impressions	+	+	/	+	—
Bakairi-spindle	+	+	/	+	+
Baskets made of a single palm-leaf	+	+	—	—	—
Baskets with overlapping lids	+	+	/	+	—
»Arawak» loom	+	+	/	+	+

Northern and Eastern Elements That occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

C
Ce
105
177
462
511

Manufacture calls for technical skill.	Man's work.	Woman's work.	Used by men.	Used by women.	Used only by children.	Still frequently used.	Luxury.
+	+	?	+	+	—	+	—
+	—	+	+	+	—	—	—
+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	—	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	?	?	?	?	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—
—	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	/	/	—	—	—
+	+	—	/	/	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—

/180 cont./ C Ce
the most common among the Chiriguano. Only those women who live with the whites and have adopted their manners and customs carry jugs on their heads. 512 482 [177]

Division of Labor between the Sexes

C Ce

Here too, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, each sex, as a rule, has its specific work, as we see from the following table: 462 171

Table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Chané and Chiriguano.

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Fishing . . .	+	+ (1)	Gathering wild fruits and tubers		+
Hunting . . .	+		Ceramics . . .		+
Planting, clearing . .	+		Woodworking . .	+	
sowing . .	+	+	Knotting nets . .	+	
reaping . .	+	+	Plaiting rope . .	+	
Cooking	(2)	+	Plaiting mats . .	+	
Carrying wood . . .	+	+	Tying hammocks .		+
Carrying water . . .		+	Leather work . .	+	
Preparing intoxicating drinks		+	Making weapons . .	+	

Ce

1. As a rule, the women fish in shallow water, the men in deep water. [226]

C Ce

2. Sometimes take part in the preparation of the hunting booty. [252] [224]

Ce

3. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. [482]

/181/

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Decoration of calabashes	+		Raising animals. .	+	+
Building houses	+ (1)		Sewing	+	+
Weaving	+ (2)	+	Basketry	+	
Spinning thread .	+		Day labor for the whites . . .	+	+ (3)
Plaiting bands . .	+				

1. On the Rio Parapiti the Chané women gathered the material for the roof, that is, long grass.

2. Only in the case of Maringay.

3. Not important, actually only on the Rio Parapiti.

If one compares this table with the one on page 94 /omitted in the translation/, one finds that heavy wood-carrying and the building of houses has been almost entirely transferred from the women to the men among the higher-standing Chané and Chiriguano. Strangely enough, certain industries, for example, the production of clay vessels, are women's work in almost every primitive Indian tribe. Similarly, the calabashes are decorated everywhere by the men, who also do all woodworking. The reason that the women too fish here is because a number of these Indians live on rivers with little water, in which only small fish live, and in catching them the courage and strength of the fisher are not put to any test.

When I offered a

/182 cont./ Chacobo a

cigarette, he took only a few puffs, kept the smoke in his mouth for a few seconds, and then threw the cigarette away. Nevertheless, the Chacobo plant tobacco, but use it exclusively as a remedy. If a Chacobo gets a "boro," a fly larva, "Dermatomya," under his skin, he covers the fly larva's entry spot with tobacco powder and is then able to squeeze out the dead larva in a few hours. The Choroti and Ashluslay are passionate smokers. /183/ For them smoking is one of the greatest enjoyments of life. These contrasts are quite strange.

P 276 249 757 C Ce 276 171

The Chiriguano and the Chané have extensive plantings which, in contrast to the clearings of the Choroti and Ashluslay in the wilderness, are well tended. In former times they used spades made of hard wood with attractive handles (Fig. 89), but these have now gone out of use and have been entirely supplanted by iron spades. Not infrequently the fields lie far from the villages, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley. This is due to the fact that water is not available throughout the year everywhere in the vicinity of the plantings.

Ce 241 [412] [177] C Ce [312]

As has been mentioned, the produce obtained is stored in granaries built on piles (Fig. 84), so that it will be at least somewhat protected from rats, moisture, etc. These granaries are seen everywhere, except among the Chané on the Rio Pilcomayo.

C Ce 251 343

The fields are fenced in with fences built brush-shaped, which are often difficult to climb over. There is no fertilization of the fields. On the other hand, a field that has been exhausted is left to lie fallow.

Ce 241 C Ce [821]

The time of sowing is determined by the position of the Pleiades, "ychu." When this passes across the horizon very early in the morning, it is sowing time. When the rainy season begins, everything must be sowed.

Ce 241

The men clear and sow. Everyone helps with the harvest, men, women, and children. Among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley the men sowed the maize, that is, they took care of the larger plantings, whereas the women were gardeners and planted gourds, beans, etc.

462 C [241] [462]

/183 cont./ C Ce

The Chané and the Chiriguano are not great hunters. Perhaps 224
in former times there was more hunting. Their hunting weapons [410
consist of bow and arrow. For hunting wild pigs they use clubs; [223]
for ostrich hunts the boleadora /bola/, "churima," was formerly C
used. Snares and bird nets are also found. In former times the Ce
hunters wore /184/ a costume of leather cut in imitation of a [292]
European cut, obviously copied from the Spaniards (1). This [177]

1. Viedma already mentions this costume, p. 181.

Ee

was not permitted to hang in the house. Formerly, also among 252
the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, no meat could be cooked in the
house; rather, this had to be done a short distance away. Boys Ce
are, of course, eager hunters of small birds. Like the men, they 857
sometimes use clay-projectile bows. 223 411

There are hunting dogs specially trained for hunting wild pigs. Ce
In a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro I saw how all the dogs had a 224
red cross painted on their heads, so that they would not be bitten 231
by a mad dog running about in the vicinity. It was truly amusing 789
to see how these heathen Chané protected their dogs against rabies with the sign of the cross.

Ce

Batirayu told me that Chané men, when they go hunting, are 224
not permitted to sleep with their wives the night before. 834

Fishing is carried on differently in the various rivers. Ee

In the Rio Itiyuro women and children almost exclusively do 226
the fishing. There are only small fish there too. I saw three [462]
methods of fishing there. Angling, fishing with calabashes, and fishing by damming up pools. The fishhooks consist of bent needles obtained from the whites. Floats and sinkers are not used.

Fishing with calabashes is done in the following way: Several bunches of leaves, which give shade, are stuck in the bottom of the river, and in front of each of these is placed a calabash (Fig. 90) with sour, ground maize (residue from beer brewing). The fish gather in the calabashes, which are taken out from time to time by the women. The latter creep toward the calabash, quickly place a hand over the opening, lift /185/ it up, and then empty the contents into pits along the river bank.

/190 cont./

It seemed to me that true mealtimes were observed here, the first of which was in the morning, the second in the middle of the day, and the third at sundown.

If they have an abundance of food in the house, they also invite in the neighboring households. A visiting Indian is very hospitably received. He need not leave without having received maize beer or food. In the Chané villages on the Rio Parapiti the Indians always served me a bowl of sweet potatoes when I visited them.

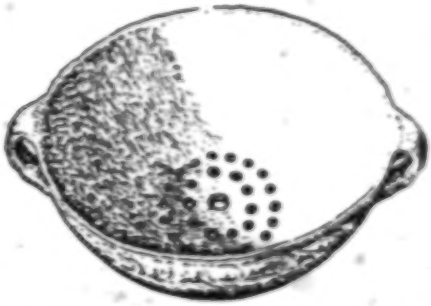


Fig. 92b. Upper clay-vessel. The speciman illustrated here is from the Mataco-Vejos, who learned how to use it from the Chané. 1/4.

The Chané do not eat donkeys, mules, horses, dogs, foxes, vultures, or monkeys. On the other hand, puma and jaguar are regarded as edible.

Even if the women in the villages are not cooking, brewing, or tending their little ones, they are nevertheless always busy. At least one almost never sees the older ones among them without an occupation. They [illegible] make clay vessels, weave. I learned to appreciate the [illegible]men; I admired their loving care of the children, their industry, their maintenance of the home, their skill, and their taste.

/234/

Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

Ee 178 527 273 [538] [805]

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Ee 273 415 527 531

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

Ee 531 [527] [323] [462]

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

Ee [101]

411 [226] two barbed prongs made of some hard wood (figs. 213 and 214). The arrow in fig. 210, which has only one prong, is used both in hunting and [824] for fish-shooting. The Chiriguano also use fish arrows pointed with a number of cactus spines.[1]

The fish spear has in later times become a very scarce implement with the Chiriguano. The only specimen obtained, as far as I know, is the one brought home by me, and now belonging to the Riksmuseum in Stockholm (figs. 215 and 216). Erland Nordenskiöld, who has compiled [114] a map of the distribution of the fish spear in South America, has been kind enough to inform me that the only mention he has come across in the literature, concerning its occurrence among the Chiriguano, is to be found in the account of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's unsuccessful expedition against these Indians.[2]

The fish spear I came upon among the Chiriguano in the neighbourhood of San Luis, has a 260 cm long shaft, made of some light kind of wood, very free from knots,[3] at one end of which two barbed wooden prongs are lashed on by means of a thin leather thong. The full lengths of the prongs are, respectively, 32.1 and 31.5 cm, and they project 20.2 cm from the shaft. One of the points has, however, been of a somewhat greater length, but has got blunted off. Both points have seven barbs on their outer sides. To ensure a perfectly firm fastening of the prongs, the fore end of the shaft has been wrapped with a piece of cloth, and over this the prongs have been lashed on.

323 I have already enumerated the various kinds of Chiriguano household [462] furniture. Among them, clay vessels hold a very important place. The Chiriguano are clever potters. It is only the women, though, who work at this industry.

In fig. 217 we see a potter's workshop, with a number of finished and unfinished pieces of earthenware. At the hut entrance is sitting a woman, who, with a piece of stick, is giving a finish to a large pot, which has been built up of rolls of clay, and is still unburnt.

[126] In figs. 218—225 I have reproduced some typical Chiriguano clay vessels that I collected at Aguayrenda. These vessels are particularly well made. The peculiar rim warts seen on the hanging vessel in fig. 225,

---

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), fig. 15 a.
[2] Acosta (1), Part I, Chap. XV.
[3] Unfortunately, during its transportation home, the handle was, unknown to me, cut into two parts.

/86 cont./

C 178 565 648 CC [178] [648] [643] The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

C 565 554 643 511 433 any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. C 184 433 462 178 [643] [461] [476] [464] Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 462 Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. C [562] With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

/87 cont./

C 462 rope, making nets, plaiting mats and baskets, leatherwork, the manufacture of weapons, the decoration of cuyas and calabashes, and the building of houses. Only the following work is apportioned to women: carrying water, cooking, making fermented beverages, gathering fruits and roots, ceramics, making hammocks, spinning, and plaiting bands. The following work is apportioned to both Ce [462] sexes: fishing, with the difference that the women catch small fish in shallow water, while the men fish in deep water, planting and harvesting, cooking -- attributed in the preceding to the women -- in that men at times participate in the preparation of game, fetching firewood, which on most occasions is men's work, but among the Chané on the Parapití River women's as well, the raising of domestic animals, sewing and weaving, in that in some regions men also weave, although in general weaving is C 857 868 462 women's work. Children also participate, depending on their sex, in the respective work of their parents, particularly in the harvest (336) /there is no footnote bearing this number/, and in this way seeing and imitating, they learn from a very early age the work that they must do in later life.

C 361 592 I have already mentioned in the chapter on towns and houses that Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of only a few houses, each of them inhabited by up to 100 persons. Today, as C 178 592 583 a general rule, only one family lives in each house, but often together with the husbands of the daughters, who live for a time before the nuptials and also during the first part of the marriage [591] in the house of the mother-in-law (337). The Chiriguano clears

337. Nord. 1, p. 176.

a piece of ground for his daughter, one which the son-in-law can work, doing the planting and harvesting (338).

338. Métraux I, p. 345.

/393/

Decline of the Art of Pottery among the Chiriguano

323 Of all the Chiriguano industries the most threatened one
198 is doubtless ceramics. The Chiriguano can claim the glory of
415 having been until recently the last Indians of South America
/Fig. 64 appears here/ to have a pottery which deserved to be
included in the number of beautiful manifestations of this art,
so brilliantly represented in certain regions of the continent.
Today things have changed a great deal. Villages in which
one can still find women capable of decorating vessels with
the mastery of former days have become rare and are limited
415 to a restricted area. /394/ It was in the tolderías of the Timboy,
126 the Great Salado and the Little Salado, in the region of Yumbía
198 and in the Igłembé valley (upper Pilcomayo, departments of
Tarija and Chuquisaca) that I was able to collect the finest
specimens in my collection. Elsewhere it was exceptional
/Fig. 65 appears here/ /see p. 166/ to be lucky enough to lay
my hands on a fine piece: and, if I did have this luck several
times, it was almost always a question of an old vessel pre-
[199] served as if by a miracle. The Franciscan missions which
formerly gave Nordenskiöld and Holmberg such fine specimens
799 contributed less toward enriching my collections. Nothing ex-
323 presses the sad state of decline of the Chiriguano better than
415 what I /395/ could observe in the Machareti mission. After
198 going through nearly all the huts of this large village, which in
[162] normal times has close to 2,000 inhabitants, I could scarcely
acquire five or six yambuí having some artistic value. There
[463] were no longer more than three or four women who still knew
how to hold a brush and they had to /Fig. 66 appears here/ /see
p. 167/ provide for almost the whole village. In a few years
the ancient painted pottery will exist only in memory in the
large village where the famous "Captain" Mandepona lived.

323 This decline has several causes. The first is the state of
415 profound demoralization in which the Chiriguano are found, the
198 total disorganization of their social life, and the increasing
177 influence of the white men, followed by its corruptive effects:
finally, the introduction of manufactured products, first and
foremost gasoline cans.

/396/

000 first and foremost gasoline cans. Artistic ceramics have become the
323 appanage of a few old women who are not founding a school and who
178
463
887
531

323
415
142
302

Fig. 64. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is placed on the preceding one and flattened between the thumb and
[531] the other fingers of the potter. Finger impressions result from this, forming a crude design.

323 will carry the secret of their art to the grave. Already today,
178 obliged to satisfy a large demand, they endlessly repeat the same
463 motifs and have a vexing tendency to draw them hastily and
887 without any care at all. These designs are becoming awkward,
531 crude, and are taking on a primitive appearance which is far from corresponding to the taste and culture of the Chiriguano.

/396 cont./

291
323
415
531

Fig. 65. Fabrication of a large vat: the potter impresses her thumbnail into the still soft clay to obtain a regular design.

463
323
178
439
[126]
[123]

In some villages there are no more potters. The inhabitants of the toldería of Ibopeytí, for example, have to import the painted vessels they need to celebrate festivals. When I wanted to acquire them, it was generally objected that they had been bought and often at a very high price. "You go away and leave us without vessels," they often used to say to me as a half-joking, half-sad good-by after my raids.

/476 cont./

115 123 126 [322] [463] became an ingeniously conceived tool or still oftener a musical instrument. Asensio used to make violins which on first sight appeared to have come from a European factory. It goes without saying that he was the recognized carpenter of the village and the great provider of household articles. When Asensio had understood the purpose which had brought me to his home, he transformed his hut into a workshop for ethnographic objects: and I owe it to his enterprising spirit that I was able to collect many a piece, today no longer in use, which he reconstructed for me.

At the time when I was in his village, Asensio had received big orders for flutes for the coming Easter festival, [532] and I had a good time watching him work. Once an instrument was finished, he would embellish it with engraved animals.

115 126 532 The material on which Asensio (see Plate XCI /see p.355/, 5, 7,, and Plate XCII /see p.356 /, 3, 6) incised his figures exerted an indirect influence on the pencil drawings he drew in my notebook. They stand out by their angular character, but also by their cleanness.

José Miguel (see Plate XCI, 8; Plate XCII, 1, 5, 7, 9; Plate XCIII /see p. 357 /, 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12), whom Asensio's example had encouraged, asked me to give him the notebook and pencil, and he made me a whole series of drawings which, although rather light and uncertain, sometimes are not lacking [197] in a certain movement. José Miguel had traveled to Argentina: the train and the automobile (which he drew from memory) attest well to his admiration for the /477/ marvels of "Progress" (Plate XCII, 7, 8). Thank God his modernism had not made him forget his mythology, and he was able to draw for me a mythical episode which is to be seen on Plate XCIII, 12, A, B, C: the blue jaguar (yaguarowi, personification of the spots on the moon) is preparing to devour the moon and the sun.

123 126 532 When I had finished with the men, I wanted to have several feminine drawings, imagining that the women would lend themselves willingly to this game since they are the recognized artists of the tribe. All, unanimously and to my great surprise, refused to do it, shouting in the middle of gales of laughter: Aikuaá "I can't do it, I don't know how."

4: Nino--133 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF19 Chiriguano SF19

/94 cont./

631 645 If this were the case, the boundaries of the new canton should be the following, according to the agreement made by the Representación Chuquisaquella /from Chuquisaca/: on the south the left bank of the stream Vitiacua, on the north the parallel of the stream of Cuevo, on the east the range of Aguaragüe up to said parallel, on the west the ranges of Saaravena and Irenta, and on the southwest the stream of Chimbe.

[792] [162] Within this delimitation are included several Chiriguano towns, the most populous being the missions of Santa Rosa, with more than 1,200 inhabitants, and that of San Buenaventura de Ivu with 657 souls.

White families are few, but not less than 40, which could give a total of at least 160 souls. It might be that with time this small population will grow in the new canton, as that of Cuevo grew.

799 129 463 648 Years are needed for the Chiriguano Indian to be able to take over the political government of a town, in spite of the fact that in the relatively new missions there are musicians, carpenters, woodworkers, masons, saddlers, shoemakers, tailors, and young men who know how to write well and to read better, but it is one thing to know an art or a trade and quite another one to have to administer justice.

/95/ The experience of many years of missionary life and what I have seen in the missions abandoned since the war of Independence justifies my opinion that many years are needed for the Chiriguano Indians to be able to fill certain public offices such as that of corregidor and parish alcalde.

A Project

000 The eastern zone, which today belongs to the three departments of Santa Cruz, Tarija, and Sucre, is somewhat threatened by foreign countries, but it might be that the Bolivian Republic could make friendly settlements with the neighboring nations.

4: Nino--263 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SP10 Chiriguano SP10

/191 cont./

292 make people laugh at the carnival. The same thing can be said of other antiquities.
[562] I have placed in this chapter the method for making it, as well as the one for the hat, because it is work from which only the man benefits and both are counted among his garments.

Conveniences

•463 In the course of the previous pages it has been seen that the Chiriguano is hunter, warrior, and also sorcerer. The first and second categories contain many, and the third one fewer, and this is easily understood, because a knowledge of medicinal herbs is needed and, more than this, the art of knowing how to deceive with prattling, which is not for all.

463 The three classes wear a belt with a bag which hangs from
291 it. The belt is called "Bosa," doubtless because it has a bolsa
415 /bag/. In this those of the first and second category put tobacco, maize husks, and flint, tinder, and steel for making fire, and sorcerers add to these things the implements of their profession, which /192/ are the Mbaecagüe, a piece of bone, the Itarapúa, a round stone, both of which are necessary for the cures... miraculous ones (1).

[199] 1. The Bosa does not seem to be of Chiriguano origin. Anduari doubts that it was introduced by the Argentinians or by the Tarijeños /people of Tarija/, but it seems to me that it was the former who introduced it, because it is similar to the one used by the gaucho.

/219 cont./

868 to his mother with satisfaction and then tells his companions about it.

/220/ There are also men who teach boys the way to be quick in fights and even the way to dodge enemy arrows, as well as bullets. The man who teaches this is called Puruncanise, or man who scratches. He is the terror of the boys in the town where he lives. The method he uses is to run after the boys, and woe to the one who out of weakness or carelessness lets himself be caught! In the hands of the puruncanise he suffers the martyrdom of being scratched all over his body with long fingernails, which he lets grow on purpose, in addition to the blame he gets for letting himself be caught by an old man. In a second race it is not likely that the boy being taught will let himself be caught (1).

868 554 463

868 856 239

1. Those who are older have the calf of the leg scratched with the tooth of the Acuti /agouti/ by another of the art. A lot of blood comes out of this, and upon recovering, they say that they are very good at running and can resist fatigue much more than those who did not allow themselves to be scratched.

882 When all the boys of the tribe have received practical lessons from such a neighbor, they indeed may be ready for war, because skill consists in knowing how to shoot in order to injure and also how to dodge the enemy arrow. The Indians [554] who know such strategy are called Queremba by their companions.

721 726 797 In the last war of Curuyuqui, the Indians attacked the Santa Rosa Mission while Colonel don Tomás Frías was there. He chose as a target an Indian Queremba who seemed to be the chief of the company and lost some eight or ten bullets without having the pleasure of felling him. Almost all the Indians learn this way of fighting; hence their combats do not last long. That of Curuyuqui lasted eight hours because they were sheltered in trenches.

167 /312 cont. /Some years ago, old Taruiri, having learned
[464] from some Chiriguano that Brazilians were "cariñosos," that is, generous, had the idea of going to their country to find work, for which he hoped to be well paid. He banded together with 45 other Chiriguano before whom he held out the glittering fortune which awaited them in the country to the east. With this adventurous spirit and boldness which characterize the Guarani, they did not hesitate to take off toward the unknown. They first passed through Chané territory and followed the course of the Parapiti to the desert. There they rushed boldly into these unexplored regions, dried-up expanses, which separate the Izozoc from Chiquitos. They were all armed with bows and arrows to defend themselves from a possible attack by the Tsirakua, the tracks of whose squared-off sandals they often
[271] saw in the sand. No water, of course, but only sipóy roots,
[824] which permitted them to stand the thirst. After 12 days of walking, this band arrived at Chiquitos, then from there reached the Paraguay River and Corumbá. Taruirí was not a little surprised to find brothers there, "that is," he explained to me, "people who spoke my language, badly it is true, but who nevertheless made themselves understood." When I inquired discreetly as to the success of his business over there, Taruirí answered, shaking his head and in a tone shot through with sadness and disillusionment: "All that was only a lie," todo era engaño.

Taruirí does not know and will never know that by doing this he accomplished an exploit that would be the pride and glory of an explorer. For him, it was a question of a simple trip, scarcely longer and more arduous than the one he undertook in the past to go to Argentina.

173 Does anyone want other modern examples of their spirit of
539 adventure and of that ease with which the Guarani move about?
648 I transcribe as such the curious tale told to me by the Indian
484 Cipriano from the Ivu mission, who, confused as he may be, refers to definitely authentic facts:

241
412
243
[464]

Mauss used to cite to us the following example: during the great war the French soldiers did not much like using English shovels different from their own, and vice versa. The Chiriguano I have seen laboring on military roads in Bolivia handle our shovels exactly like any European laborer; but back home, when it is a question of working a field, they return immediately to the ancestral gestures and are constrained to adapt the form of their instruments to them.

The handle fits into a handgrip carved out of a small block of wood and set in with the greatest care. The latter generally takes the shape of a crescent on which the hand rests comfortably. The handgrips with an elegant curve, which gave an aesthetic character to the ancient spades, have become very rare. In the course of /336/ my trip I was able to acquire only two shovel handles which were provided with them. One comes from Ibopeytí (Fig. 3) and the other was made for me by an old Indian of the Ivu mission. The workmanship of this latter specimen is careless, but it reproduces fairly faithfully the ancient models (Fig. 4).

[126]

241
412
172
243

The use of the shovel among the Chiriguano probably dates back only three or four centuries. This instrument was unknown in ancient Paraguay where our Indians came from. The borrowing which could be presumed a priori has been confirmed by the discovery in the Quebrada de Humahuaca of wooden shovels similar in every detail to the ones I

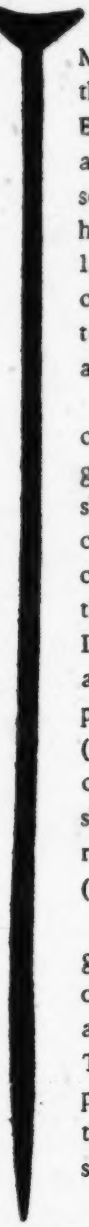


Fig. 3. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/11 nat. size.)

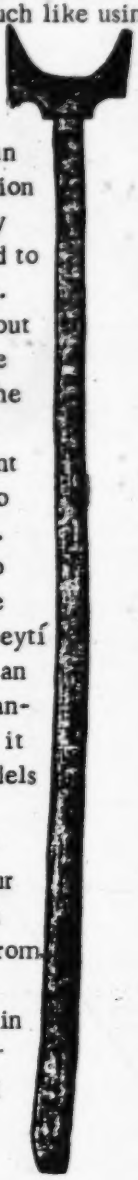


Fig. 4. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ivu. (1/8 nat. size.)

/348 cont./

287 439 [484] [435] half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

224 178 231 433 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago, those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 435 [464] [465] The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

471 231 [435]

[262] [178] 1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

556 they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text Continues on p. 93]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 175 797 648 In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purisima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Rio Grande): Abapo, Mazabi, Cabezas, Piray, Igmiri, Tacurú, Iti, Parapetí, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuaremboti, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1799. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapetí River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapetí. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

C 668 648 175 C 797 464 167 C 648 101 In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

C 162 175 The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapetí River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Acero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izozo, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were baptized and 3,187 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

C 161

ARCHEOLOGY

C 172 764 Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapetí River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupayu. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

C 172 At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

/3 cont./

133 The lakes are natural, but not permanent; they are
[135] many and large; in some the water is very good, but from
[132] others not even the cattle /4/ drink, because it contains so much saltpeter. They all receive water from the sky, which sometimes falls with great force and fills them at a single time. White Christians are now making artificial lakes, especially in the Gran Chaco and in the vicinity of Caipipendi.
271 When water is completely lacking, the Indian scratches the
824 ground, looking for the root of the "sipoy," samolo, which is as large as a watermelon; he cuts it at the top, squeezes the pulp with his hand, it turns to water, and he drinks; thus the need is met, but when this drink is taken for a long period, it gives rise to sickness.

311 The land lends itself to farming and to cattle raising,
312 but both industries diminish in those years when the beneficial
433 action of the rains is scarce. Then the crops are lost, and the
132 cattle die from lack of food and from the great amounts of water that they drink from the rivers and lakes on whose banks they stay through lack of energy; nonetheless this rarely happens throughout the region, which, because of embracing a wide area, in one place or another receives showers which renew nature.

Extent and Area

131
[161] The Chiriguano tribe or race was extremely numerous and thus once took in an extraordinarily large area; traces of these
[464] Indians are found in the vicinity of Tarija, and they may be found beyond Santa Cruz, where even today Chiriguano men and women are in larger part those in domestic service with the genteel families. Toward the capital of the Republic the Indians still remember that their grandparents used to live in Tacopaya and even beyond, in Talisco, included in the same district. Then they extended toward the Bermejo River and, finally, eastward to within a few leagues of Carandaiti, where the arid zone, inhabited by the Toba and other savages, begins.

/43 cont./

*136 There are wasps, and they are of several classes, but the yellow or red ones are the most vicious; there are bees in the trees, in the roofs, in the walls, and in the ground, and all of them make hives in order to make honey and wax, but the best honey is that of the bees called señoritas. Both things, that is, honey and wax, are known as beneficial by the Indians, but they devote themselves to this very little, because they consider it the work of lowly and poor people, and the Chiriguano does not like to consider himself such. Wax is seldom gathered, even in times of scarcity, nor does the neophyte or new Christian work at earning his living by looking for beeswax.

222 237 [461] 237 464

A spider bite almost always produces bad consequences, which can be avoided by the use of ammonia; this is another plentiful insect. In the rainy season they extend their webs from one tree to another, obstructing the road, no matter how wide it may be, and frequently travelers who are out at night or who get up early are bothered by these webs, which stick to their faces and clothing, /44/ just as the spiders themselves, which are so loathsome, not infrequently catch hold. The bite of those that live in the forest, they state, is not poisonous.

*136 *825 [959]

All spiders are called "Yanduti" in Chiriguano, and the web, "Yanduti nupa," or spider's bed; from the web of the forest spiders the children make nets for catching birds or for their games. When wet they are quite elastic. The true tarantula, which the whites call apasanca and the Indians "Yanduti huasu," is quite ugly because of its fuzz, eight legs, and two arms. The natives state that it is poisonous, but its bite is not fatal. They almost never come out by twos, but upon killing one and wanting to know if it has a companion, it is enough to burn the dead one in order to cause the live one to come out the moment it smells the odor. The apasancas, or tarantulas, come out when it is about to rain and do not make a good impression. The natural enemy of spiders, including the tarantula, is another flying insect the size of an acorn, which the people of Santa Cruz call

[859]

464 797 /78 cont./ Today there is already a need for farmers, and everybody is coming to the missions looking for day laborers, muleteers, and herders, cheese-makers, house-builders, etc., etc. How will it be later? (2) The immi-

> 2. H. Montero's project, approved by the Commission in the year 1910, may well be approved by Congress, but it seems impossible to me that the caciques will report the Indians who try to go to Argentina. To charge missionary padres to send 25 per cent of the people to the intendancies, where they will receive a daily pay which is lower than what they are paid in their own town, is to drive away the missionary who cannot comply with this obligation every month because the Indians will resist it or run away.

gration of useful people, not idle people, is necessary, but not in order to destroy the missionary centers, /79/ as is proposed, because this would soon end up by destroying the tribe, but colonizing what is unpopulated. What did the government achieve by the absence of missionaries in Villa Montes? That the Indians will now not work for anyone, and only do so when they are good and ready. All the authority of a delegation was not sufficient to get a few days' work out of its population, and for this reason the previous work was at the point of being completely destroyed; weeds had taken over in the vineyards and gardens which had been so fruitful and so well maintained in the time of the earlier missionaries.

178 464 [161] Now almost all of the great Chiriguano centers have disappeared, and barely the names of the great caciques of some faction or other remain; in all of the cantons the disappearance of the labor force causes astonishment, and [797] [162] service is scarcely to be obtained for fuel. Even the missions are undergoing this decline; in Acero Province there must be some 5,000 souls, in Cordillera some 8,000, in the

/79 cont./

178 Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija
464 missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which
[197] makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big
[162] and small, old and young. But of this number there are scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work, and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through
[1317] their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from
[465] north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

648 There is a great struggle under way between the Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase
[167] his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior, yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave, he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[464] 1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former
197 times and the very missions which antedate South American
361 independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and others are on the point of disappearing.

/101 cont./

361 799 1. Machareti. -- Father Jerónimo de la Peña was the first to enter Machareti, but, before he could begin any work, death intervened, and only after a century, that is, in the year 1869, could the Cross of Redemption be raised, around which began to gather the settlers dispersed by the war and the death of Captain Taruncunti, not very friendly to the missionaries.

[162] Before the mission had been founded for ten years, it numbered more than 3,000 souls, but today it is much smaller, [167] its inhabitants reaching 1,500. Emigration to the Republic of Argentina is a real plague for this area, because the princi- [464] pal recruiters of Indians for work outside of Bolivian territory are there, and it is useless to cite laws, because there are clever interpreters; meanwhile all wail for workers.

361 [133] Machareti has a delightful and picturesque panorama; to the north and to the east the human eye cannot take in the immensity of the plains or the exuberance of the woods and the variety and caprice of the hills. The town is located on a great plain, but is now quite reduced; its buildings, atop a high hill which dominates everything; it has a beautiful church with painting and /102/ gildings, a mission house of two stories, two great halls, with their respective patios, for instruction, and a third one for the music school, and also other buildings for shops (1).

361 799 131 1. When the Machareti mission was founded, it cut off the retreat of the bellicose Huacayeños, who were coming into the Gran Chaco by the Chorro road, some 15 leagues from Huacaya and some 12 from Ivu; its altitude above sea level is 771 meters and it is located at 20° 49' 58" south latitude and 63° 3' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/102 cont./

797 2. Tigüipa. -- This mission, dedicated to the universal Patron of the Church, the Patriarch St. Joseph, began its existence on May 20, 1872, the day when, for the first time, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated, and there was planted in its territory the Tree of Redemption; it is some 12 kilometers from Machareti, with quite a rough road.

361 797 [162] At present it has a population of 800 souls. The town, made up of both infidels and neophytes, is quite neat; the buildings are not very well arranged, and the ones which merit consideration are: its tall and beautiful church, broad and well-proportioned, with its magnificent choir, gilded altars, and well-turned railings; in addition, the beautiful mechanism of double trusses which support the roof. Its house is new, of a single story, and was begun in the month of August or July in the year 1910 and dedicated in March of this year; the other buildings neither follow any arrangement nor are of any worth, and lend to the whole a rather sad appearance, but once the renovation of both towns has been completed, the planned arrangement of the buildings for instruction and workshops will be made.

[133] Its panorama has nothing in particular: to the west, the last range of the Andes, to the north and south, some rather high hills rise at a short distance and obstruct the view for the curious observer, who, frustrated in his desire to see and observe, finds a slight relief to the east, where the horizon opens out and gladdens the heart; it seems to be the older sister of the San Pascuál de Boicovo Mission. The climate is in general healthy, in spite of the fact that the mission is located in a hollow, but the water, or the location of the place, dulls the understanding of its residents, according to what all the travelers note (2). /Illustration appears here./

[563] [464] [131] 2. In the years of abundance several nomadic tribes come to this mission and remain there serving the Chiriguano in exchange for food. Its elevation above sea level is 715 meters, and it is located at 20° 27' 18" south latitude and 62° 14' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

[text continues on p. 141]

/120 cont./

578 Out of these general wars were derived other private ones, which civilized people called affairs of honor-dueling. This does not happen in private, as occurs among civilized people, who go off to a determined place with
578 their respective seconds. All is public, in the presence
541 of many people who come to drink. It is /121/ the caciques who incite their soldiers to match their strength and to avenge with crime an affront or an unfounded jealousy. When this happens, with or without a reason, the fighters place themselves in the midst of a whole crowd of spectators in the presence of the caciques, who urge them on with a word of command, while the poor angry men hit each other cruel blows.

578 Boxing is ancient, because formerly knives were not
[412] known and, if they had them, they only used them in
[178] their work in the fields. Now the picture has changed;
[167] the young are succeeding the old, and these young people
[464] continually go to work in the Argentine Republic. There they learn how to drink pure liquor, to handle the knife with which they are armed for their work, and to defend themselves. One small word is enough; it is enough if one says yainano, let us fight, the word of challenge, and knives are unsheathed, and then blood flows. Fortunately, they usually are content with inflicting wounds which rarely bring death because they do not deliver the blow with the point of the weapon but with the edge.

167 This mania for going off to the Argentine Republic has
464 them in continual movement, and, unfortunately, many of them remain for years, to return finally bringing almost nothing with them, and if one asks them, they answer very
167 rudely, "I drank it all." Last year's law has made recruit-
464 ment impossible. Several Indians went off, but they could
648 not get through Villa-Montes and returned (1).

1. If the authorities in Villa-Montes and Yacuiba continue to capture the Indians who are trying to escape, the law will not be in vain this time.

/123 cont./

Aptitudes

461 157 It cannot be denied that laziness is innate in the Chiriguano Indian, but, when compared with the Toba, Mataco, and other tribes, I assert that they do a great deal or even too much. They need a guide, they need to be watched over, but when this is not lacking, they are hard working. The whites ●464 in the regions inhabited by these Indians do not know of any other laborers. All the towns of Cordillera, Azero, and Gran Chaco have been built with the energies of the Chiriguano. With these same laborers are sustained the agriculture and cattle raising of these provinces, and even by means of them are the national roads of these regions kept clean and open, as well as those from one canton to another, the one from Yacuiba to Santa Cruz and the one from Taperilla. The Chiriguano laborers began and are continuing the work on the Azero bridge, /124/ and many of them are still working on the Bermejo River close to where it arrives at Yacuiba (1).

1. A private enterprise composed of Don Braulio Zapata, corregidor of Carandaiti, the subprefect, Don Ramón Menduiña, and other well-known and rich men of the same town is organizing an expedition to the fields of Cayuguari to found a fort there and to conquer the territory. The subprefect plans to open a cart road, with the help of the Chiriguano cacique, Mandepónai, and his soldiers.

797 The paternal rule of the missionaries has managed to make the Chiriquano much more docile; it has succeeded in building towns and large centers of population around the Cross; there is not one of the towns of those who live in complete ignorance of Religion that can be compared with them. The Missionaries have succeeded in building magnificent churches, great teaching establishments, comfortable and airy houses, workshops for arts and crafts. They have managed to implant the teaching of

/163/

643 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the
682 cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following
692 his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with another piece of wood set between them. He called together all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was
[671] immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his region, so that the life of the defenseless and the good may be respected and that he may be feared (1).

622
643
756
686
692

1. When a sorcerer does not manage to accomplish what he has promised, because he perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's prerogative to order the death sentence and burning.

Separation from Command

622
631
643 The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared them free from such obedience, naming another more humane person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it.
648 This has become easier today by agreement with the political
466 authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that
● 464 when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named
622 by the political authority, he is sure to be subject to all the
643 demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the latter, who do not like the yoke of the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

/163 cont./

643 649 464 466 A fact that confirms what has been said happened in the Caipipendi region. The regional cacique Tengua was succeeded by his son Cariti, who, because of the grave errors that he made or was supposed to have made, was dismissed, and the native Tarúire, who apparently at least had very good qualities, was named in his place. This latter, selected by the whites with the consent or nomination of the Indians, had to return the favor of his benefactors who had elevated him and consequently to respond to all the demands and requests for peons, and one time the poor Indians had to go to Santa Cruz as a guarantee for the /164/ unhappy Indians who feared that, under the pretext of jobs in the city, they would be taken to the Beni (1).

[566]

1. In El Beni men are sold for 1,000 Bs. and women at a lesser price. Baron D. Erland Nordenskiold gave a lecture in London proving that slavery exists in Bolivia and Peru.

This concern of Tarúire and suspicion of the Indians originated in a publicly known event which took place in the year 1905, when a party of Indians sold to the rubber plantations were taken from there; rumors of this event spread rapidly through all the newspapers of the Republic, which expressed disapproval of it, and at that time I saw whole groups of families who, with all of their possessions, emigrated to other lands.

643 641 554 The result of this is that today many Indians obey Tarúire, not out of love or loyalty, but out of fear of the harsh punishment which the political authorities would immediately impose on them; and the cacique is now beginning to tire of this task which is so odious for him, for he wants to be tranquil in his home and to enjoy peace. He has repeatedly said this to me and he would be satisfied if they would renominate Cariti, for whom the Indians hold proper respect.

/170 cont./

Modern Houses

342 171 [464] [648]

A Chiriguano house offers nothing special in appearance, but even those of the mestizos who have settled in their country are of the same form and not rarely worse, because naturally since the mestizo is not very fond of physical labor, because he is not an Indian, it is necessary for him to call on the energy of the latter, and the native is not always inclined to lend him this or that service, from which it follows that their houses are inferior (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. I am speaking here of the houses that the mestizos or whites build in the countryside where they live; in the towns their houses are normal; they almost all have tile roofs, and there are also some which are white-washed.

342 [192] [184]

/171/ House in the Chiriguano language is called Ho, which is different from what they call Tapi, hut. The latter are common in large towns and belong to the lazy people, wanderers, and even the poor. It must thus be understood that the construction of a Chiriguano house is a work of no small importance and care, if one considers that the Chiriguano is poor, so poor that he only has available an ax, a shovel, and a knife, and not always these. Because of the importance that I give to this construction, many who do not know these regions could believe that the houses are very fine, but there is nothing fine about them. None of them is beyond the rank of cabins.

342 335 476

I believe that it is indispensable to describe the way of constructing them and the elements available to the Chiriguano in order to carry this out. If the Indian has some luck in sheep, he pays some of his companions with sheep so that they will help him gather the principal timber, and should this wealth be lacking, he begins to cut and strip bark in the woods by himself, selecting timber of good quality, straight and resistant to the action of water. The principal pieces are generally six posts

[Text Continues on P. 235]

4: Niños--278 M-3 (1880-1911) 1912 SF10 Chilquano SF10

Education of neophytes through work

163
SF10
LHT

/211 cont./

853 262 There is no special food or more abundant food for mothers after childbirth. She who gives her breasts to her little one eats little and extremely poorly. Her ordinary food is parched maize, parched maize meal, bread made of the same, herbs, beans, gourds, other things of this nature, and rarely a little purchased beef, other meat from animals that died from sickness, lack of pasture, or snake bite, and, finally, game or chicken. In spite of this extremely bad food, milk is abundant in her breasts: the children are almost always hanging from them and sucking and never seem to dry them up, which indicates that they are excellent nursers.

648 464 853 Mestizo or white mothers who sometimes have little or no breast milk because of sickness or some accident make contracts with Chiriguano mothers, pay them well, and treat them better, but it seems that continued good and satisfactory nursing harms them, /212/ it also being prejudicial to the breast as well as to both newborn babies, the weaker child succumbing first (1).

1. Naturally the Chiriguano women refuse to be wet nurses for white children, because they abhor them. When through experience they learn of the sad consequences, communicated by others, they resist even more and only do it when force or the right of the stronger prevails.

Twins

845 [63] [65] Multiple births are rare, and those of two children are frequent. In the former case the newborn babies die very soon, and in the latter case one almost always lives, and many times both live. When twins survive or through the death of the mother a newborn child is left an orphan, it is very easy for the grandmother to care for one twin or the orphaned child. Although the old woman may have reached or passed 60, she

736 603 [853] [824]

4 Mac--320 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/236/

Chapter Ten

Agriculture, Animals, Food

Introduction

The Holy Bible, when it gives us the account or tells us the story of the fall of the first man, makes it clear to us that God, after having made known to him the fault committed, announced to him that he had incurred the punishment of having to seek out and provide himself with food through manual labor and the sweat of his brow.

Actually the land, which up to that time had spontaneously produced in abundance everything that man could have desired, became full of weeds, brambles, and thorns when cursed by God as a consequence of Adam's sin. /The remainder of p. 236 is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 237./

/237/ Why are there so many weeds and thorns in the forests of America? Because it is little cultivated, uncultivated, because one element is missing, the laborer is missing, and God said that, without labor Tribulos et spinas germinabit tibi. Let us leave to one side the unexplored territory and confine our consideration to the entire Chiriguano region, which is inhabited today by whites and blacks, or Indians.

The white man wishes to put in practice what, according to the story, was predicted by the Aguara-Tunpa when he made them choose the weapons. The white man wishes to be served and to ride upon his showy and spirited horse, to wear his firearm in his belt or his dagger in his boot and, like a great lord, force the Chiriguano to serve him in exchange for food or money, and thus, for agriculture, the arm of the white is almost a dead one. There are whites who call themselves agriculturalists or farmers because they have many Chiriguano peons whom they order and direct to work in the field for their own interest and profit.

/237 cont./

648 It can be said with all certainty that the only laborer in
464 the four provinces of Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor, and Gran
466 Chaco is the Chiriguano, who is found even beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he also works, taken there by the authorities or by the owners of the lands, which they bought in ancient times for a trifle (1).

[425]

1. If one is to credit what the Indians say, in some places land was acquired by barefaced trickery /leva raida/ at the time of Ferdinand VII; in other places, for three or four arrobas of cheese, and in the last ones, for a cow, a poncho, a few varas of cloth, or a few bottles of liquor given to the cacique.

178 Today the Chiriguano, very abject, in many places suffers
[169] in resignation what, according to the story, he did not want yesterday; in other places he is migrating the better part of the time, that is to say, when his presence is necessary for the general planting, to which of necessity the old people must devote themselves if they want to live without dying of hunger and in order to be able to welcome the migrants when they return for a few days to show off their new clothing, their work from other regions, to sell it immediately for very little, to slaughter some cattle of their own or of their elders, and to go back at once without even saying good-by.

Property Rights

648 The object of the present chapter is to describe the
[241] method of cultivating the land when the Indians lived alone in the country, before the whites had moved in among them; now they scarcely give them /238/ room to do their planting
177 as best they can. Nonetheless, since they keep them con-
648 tinually occupied, food and clothing are never lacking to anybody in a Christian's house, where the Indian gets them

/297/

Chapter Fourteen

Infidels and Neophytes of the Missions

Introduction

797
648

The continual revolts of the Chiriguano against the white race clearly demonstrate their aversion toward the Christian element, which they consider to be the effective cause of their misfortunes and of the almost total loss of their territory, of which not too long ago they considered themselves the legitimate owners and absolute rulers. It is as clear as the midday sun that the Christian, with the patience and constancy of an anchorite and in many circumstances risking his life, has gradually taken over the extensive region. Today there is no corner where an occasional Christian family is not living. In many places the Chiriguano tribe has completely disappeared, whether through epidemics or through loss of freedom; in some places a rather considerable nucleus exists under the control of a master, either because of the territory which it cultivates or because of a debt which has been contracted (1).

161
464
466
648

1. The caciques of the Curuyuqui war, in their ignorance, thought that they could recover the lost territory and, in revenge, take over most of the Republic.

797
648
[184]

The Indians located in the area to the left of the Pilcomayo River took only one thing into consideration when they resolutely refused to have a conversion mission founded; they only considered that behind the missionary would come those whom they considered invaders; they only understood that white Christians would gather behind or around the Cross, which Father Giannelli planted with considerable daring in the middle of the nineteenth century. But why is it that the Indians of Tarairí /298/ are still owners of their land? Because of the missionary, whom one faction, in its ignorance, wanted to leave when the destruction of the flourishing missions of San Francisco and San Antonio began, where six years ago building a new London was attempted, with almost

/299 cont./

797
177

in Pipi; to free themselves from such vexations, they have been asking for a mission. There are still more of them in Caipipendi; I have spoken with them repeatedly, because they have their own land, but they are still not inclined to ask for the founding of a mission, and the reason for this is clear, they are not greatly persecuted.

Even in this case the adult proposes the bases of the agreement; he asks for freedom to follow his barbarous customs, without being obliged to receive baptism and consequently to enter the church to hear Mass and to do other things proper to Catholic worship, because his hair and the tembeta are out of place in God's house, and they feel extreme embarrassment on seeing themselves mixed in among children, young people, and whites. The advantage that religion presents is the education of the youth and the baptism of the infants, who in great quantities fly straight to heaven, because there are many who die, regenerated by holy baptism.

Provided that he does not speak to them about religion or about receiving baptism, the missionary can do what he wishes with the adult Indian. It is enough if he only shows a little foresight from the beginning regarding the way in which they must live in the mission. One who freely and spontaneously gave his name obeys in every respect, provided that effort and care are taken to suppress any disorder or disobedience immediately.

[464]
[466]

If he is needed for personal labor, it is not likely that he will refuse, at least in the first years, even though he be paid no wages /300/ nor given anything, since he understands that the missionary orders the construction of a building, not for speculation, but for the moral and civil progress of his children. If the missionary ordains, as is the case, that during the night they cease singing, they will comply, in spite of the fact that at times it is necessary to remind them with some sharpness, noting here that words alone are of little value.

/306 cont./

797 continually shown (3).

3. A rest is almost imperative after a long stay in the missions, in order to refresh the spirit, because a bow which is always bent breaks, says the Evangelist St. John.

/307/ There is no traveler who does not marvel upon considering the progress of the missions, upon considering the beautiful works of the Indians, when they think that years ago there were impenetrable jungles and bare hills on the site now occupied by the grandiose temple and buildings. As was said by an enlightened Englishman, Protestant in religion, of course, the Catholic missions among the Chiriguano are like oases in the desert, and to see them at a distance stirs who knows what in the heart; even I do not know what I experience when on some journey I again approach and see them in the distance.

The Method

The method established since the beginning of the first founding of the missions cannot be improved upon, in that it looks toward moral and civil progress and has yielded practical results, especially in some missions where, despite the fact that they have been in existence only few years, almost all speak the national language moderately well. Is this not a near prodigy, achieved with a race whose language has no analogy with
000 civilized languages? /The remainder of p. 307 and the first paragraph on p. 308 are omitted. The remainder of p. 308 follows./

167 Following the method which has been implanted, the
464 missions progress and would progress further if the Chiriguano
[797] were not so changeable. Neither in their towns nor in the neighboring cantons is there any lack of work for them; but rather it is day laborers who are not to be found; they prefer to go far away where they may earn less than here, spending their small gains on things that are useless and harmful to them (1).

[511] 1. There are neophytes who stay on the haciendas

/308 cont./

167
464
511

of the Argentine Republic for eight or ten years; they drink it all up and when they want to come back they scarcely bring back more than a knife and a small black garment /ternito/, which costs little.

If one asks the reason for this procedure, so strange for them themselves, they answer that in their town they could never save up ten or 15 bolivianos, because they spend them immediately on trifles for themselves and their families, while in the Argentine Republic they keep their money in the master's house and, when they come back, buy clothing and even animals, tools, saddles, and other items. There is some truth in this, but just as it is not completely true that here their money does not last, neither is it completely true that they bring clothing and other things from Argentina. Those who are a little careful and who are not lazy dress very well here, while the vice-ridden in Argentina let themselves be overcome by laziness and return as naked as they were before; they arrive, spend or waste, if they have anything, and finally go off to live as they please (2).

101
167

2. The Chiriguano Indians call the gauchos, or natives of Argentina, criollos /Creoles/; they apply the same name to those of their own race who settle there for many years.

797
871
191
177

The method of instruction as it is applied yields prodigious results in the girls, who, in addition to learning their letters and worship, learn in the schools the tasks proper to their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; certain mission schools for girls, for example, the one at San Antonio del Parapiti and the one at San José de Tigüipa arouse real admiration in visitors, both because of /illustration appears here/ /309/ the handiwork which is done in them and, in the former, because of the Spanish language, which from first to last they all speak with considerable perfection, since from the beginning the language of their parents has been absolutely prohibited for them in the school, even among themselves.

/322 cont./

648
464
466

The tribes described here are friends and allies of the Chiriguano, and, when the latter have an abundant crop of maize, the former draw near to the towns of their friends; according to tribes, they build their ovens, where they hide, along the bank of some rivulet or some stream.

They remain there, help the Chiriguano in the harvest, perform menial services for him by carrying wood, cleaning house, and doing other domestic chores, and in exchange they get a little maize for themselves and their family. When they go back into the forest, they take several libras or arrobas of maize, depending on the harvests that the Chiriguano may have had.

In the Tarija missions this happens quite frequently, because they are nearer to their territory. The caciques of the savages then present themselves to the Chiriguano cacique to announce their arrival and the presence of their tribe and the latter in turn brings him before the P. /padre/ Conversor to obtain the necessary permission.

In these circumstances none of the tribes is lazy, because they understand that in order to eat it is necessary to work, under penalty of being immediately thrown out of the foreign territory where he has found so much abundance. Neither are they permitted many months stay, because they are capable of staying until they use up all the maize and leave the Chiriguano's cupboard bare.

Several times I saw these tribes in a state of temporary emigration, and it was pitiful to see such poverty, forlorness, filthiness, ignorance, and want. Long rows of ovens could be seen in communication with one another, full of men, women, children, and dogs, and living there worse off than dirty animals in filth.

/181/

Ce 462

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Decoration of calabashes	+		Raising animals. .	+	+
Building houses	+ (1)		Sewing	+	+
Weaving	+ (2)	+	Basketry	+	
Spinning thread .	+		Day labor for the whites . . .	+	+ (3)
Plaiting bands . .	+				

Ce [464]

Ce [342] [842]

1. On the Rio Parapiti the Chané women gathered the material for the roof, that is, long grass.

2. Only in the case of Maringay.

3. Not important, actually only on the Rio Parapiti.

Ce [198]

If one compares this table with the one on page 94 /omitted in the translation/, one finds that heavy wood-carrying and the building of houses has been almost entirely transferred from the women to the men among the higher-standing Chané and Chiriguano. Strangely enough, certain industries, for example, the production of clay vessels, are women's work in almost every primitive Indian tribe. Similarly, the calabashes are decorated everywhere by the men, who also do all woodworking. The reason that the women too fish here is because a number of these Indians live on rivers with little water, in which only small fish live, and in catching them the courage and strength of the fisher are not put to any test.

Ce [171]

Ec 622 643 551

/230 cont./

The chiefs' families form a sort of aristocracy among the Chiriguano and Chané. Several times I heard Indians boast about their good family connections. A Chiriguano who accompanied me for some time as an interpreter was eager to impress upon me that he was related to the most famous high chiefs.

Just as the author of this book is customarily introduced as the son of Adolf Nordenskiöld, so the Indians were wont to introduce in similar fashion the sons of their "great men."

I even discovered a bit of deception in connection with the family tree. A Chané claimed direct descent from the great Hinu Parava, which, however, is said to be untrue.

If one wishes to find beautiful things from olden times among these Indians, one must first look for them in the chiefs' families. They keep the old treasures.

Ec [177]

More and more the white authorities are beginning to appoint the chiefs. Thus, in one region one can find a chief supported by the whites and a legitimate one.

Ec 622 423 122 643

The chiefs have great power, and, as far as I could see, they are always obeyed, in contrast to conditions among the Choroti and Ashluslay. They own the land (at least in certain regions), not for themselves, but for the tribe. If one needs porters in a Chané or Chiriguano village, one gets them from the chief, and no Indian will refuse to carry out the orders of the chief.

Ec 622 643

Although the chief has such great influence, /231/ he nevertheless works in the same way as the other Indians. Vocapoy himself, for example, carried home the heavy wood for cooking the maize beer, and his wife had to cook and sweep, like the other women. Following the example of the whites, however, a few of the most civilized and wealthy Indians, such as Taco, now have servants from their own tribe, but this was not done originally. On the other hand, as I have mentioned elsewhere, it is not unusual for the Mataco-Vejos and the Tapiete to work for the Chiriguano and Chané.

Ec [359] [177] Ec 177 464

Ec 622 643 431 123

When we came home to Vocapoy's village from hunting and shared our booty with the chief /Fig. 115 appears here/, his wife accepted everything, but then went around to the houses and gave her neighbors everything that she had received.

Ce /239 cont./

535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
177 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[534] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

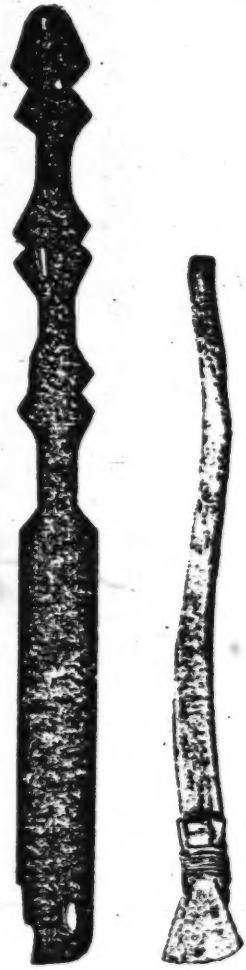
Ee The Chiriguano and Chané
532 always destroy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "añañya."

C It is strange what a great
Ce role the carnival now plays as a
541 festival among the Indians. This
177 undoubtedly comes from the fact
[464] that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians who work for them are given a few days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already disappeared. Nevertheless one still sees women in home-woven clothing

C with necklaces of chrysocolla and
Ce turquoise. I never saw used, however,
[178] the silver diadem and the silver
C pins which belong to the festive attire.
412 One often sees the men's blue
237 costumes (Fig. 81) with silver chest ornaments preserved in the huts by the old people, but they are not used for the festivals.

Ce Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
535 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
527 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
273
533



A B

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

c
648
466
[167]
[464]

/299 cont./

Bolivia. Every Indian who goes to the Argentine sugar factories knows that, if there is no disaster, he will return. No one holds him back by force. From the rubber regions, on the other hand, no one ever returns.

Is it true, they say, that there is a giant there who devours human beings? Is it true that people /300/ are ground

Ce
142
291
302
415
854
531

Fig. 132. Chané children. Rio Parapiti.

c
648
466

up into rubber? Is it true that the meat that comes in tin cans is from human beings? These are questions which the Indians asked me.

The Chiriguano Indians, especially from the Caipipendi valley, were lured in a shameless manner to the rubber regions in northern

Ee
648
273
177

/302 cont./

An Indian who has become intoxicated on native beverages is never as eager for quarrels and brawls as one who has tasted the infernal soup of the whites. Besides the fact that liquor damages the moral life and health of the Indians, it ruins them completely. I have seen with my own eyes how an Indian can give away his best cow for a keg of spirits.

Distilling for private consumption is still permitted in Bolivia. It should be forbidden, and likewise that anyone may sell alcohol any place he wishes.

Ee
648
177

The Bolivian military law that forces the Indian to perform military duty is quite unreasonable. It is very seldom enforced, to be sure, but when it is, and when the authorities come to get a young man for military service, he himself and all the other Indians of the region along with him are beside themselves with fright. One cannot demand that the Indians take part in the defense of the fatherland before they have the same rights as other citizens and know what their fatherland is.

It is unjust to demand that they should help to defend Bolivia, to defend the whites, who, according to their ideas, have stolen their land from them. The Chiriguano and Chané likewise love their country, but their fatherland is only the valleys and forests in which their fathers made clearings and their mothers painted clay vessels for the festivals.

Ee

[484]

During the period of development which Bolivia is now experiencing, /303/ it is important to make use of Indian labor even here in the land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians.

In spite of their unique culture, I have no great hopes for the future of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians. They will, however, become incorporated as an important element of the mestizo race, which in the future will be the sole rulers of the xerophytic forests of the Parapiti valley and the last spurs of the Andes toward El Gran Chaco.

Gradually they will probably forget their legends about Tatutunpa and Aguaratunpa and the other gods.

/86 cont./

C 178 565 648 Ce [178] [648] [643] The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

C 565 554 643 511 433 any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

C 184 433 432 178 [643] [461] [476] [464]

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 462 Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

C [562]

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

/348 cont./

287 439 [484] [435] half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

224 178 231 433 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago, those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 435 [464] [465] 471 231 [435] The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

[262] [178] 1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

556 they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text Continues on p. 93]

/79 cont./

178 464 [197] [162] Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big and small, old and young. But of this number there are scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work, and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos. [131] [465]

648 [167] There is a great struggle under way between the Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior, yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave, he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[464]

1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 197 361 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former times and the very missions which antedate South American independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and others are on the point of disappearing.

C

/300 cont/

648 Bolivia, where they were sold as laborers. Under the guard of
466 armed men, they were brought down the Rio Mamoré by way of Quatro-Ojos.

I shall have a better opportunity, however, to discuss the relations of the Indians to the rubber industry in the book in which I shall report on the studies which I made in the rubber regions themselves and among the Indians located near them (1).

C
[113]

1. Appeared in Swedish under the title Indianer och hvita i nordöstra Bolivia, Stockholm, 1911.

I shall therefore not go into this question in greater detail here.

Ec
648
466
465

Compulsory Service for the Whites

The Chiriguano and Chané who work as servants in their own country for the immigrant white race are extraordinarily poorly paid. This is especially true in the remote regions where the higher prices for labor in the Argentine sugar factories, as the result of competition, have not been able to react on wages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti, for example, are seldom paid more than 20 centavos (not quite 35 pfennigs) per day with board. The women earn about half as much. The Indians are paid their wages partly in spirits and sugar, partly in cloth and tools. The cloth is so poor that a shirt made from such material does not last much longer than the time required to earn it. As a result of this system, the Chané and Chiriguano, like their fellow-tribesmen in the rubber regions in northeastern Bolivia, sink into debt slavery.

/301/ It is to be hoped that the large projects initiated by the engineer Herrmann in San Franzisko on the Rio Pilcomayo will improve the Indian wage situation generally. If he will pay better than others, all the Indians will come to him, and the other employers will have to increase their wages.

Ee /301 cont./
648 Thus, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to
[466] being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this

C 415 531

Fig. 133. Clay vessel. - 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

Ee 648 way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

Ee 648 466 465 167 925 /302/ The uncertainty and the oppressive wage conditions under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but forever.

Ee 648 273 177 If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference between drinking maize beer and liquor.

/40 cont./

224 animal is capable of distinguishing between the brave and
*[825] the cowardly, and the latter is the first to be attacked and consequently to be badly injured.

*825 Jaguar skin, as I have already said, has intrinsic value: it is used in saddleries for the bottom padding of saddles and
[954] for saddlebags: it is a luxury for persons of rank. The ani-
[961] mal has a quantity of fat, and this is a good remedy for
[959] rheumatism, aching bones, and other ailments: the Indians
[939] take it and sell it in the interior of the Republic and trade it for used clothing. It is to be noted, however, that they do falsify it, as they also falsify snake grease, because it can be understood that the killing of this ferocious animal is not a
[966] frequent thing. Rarely does the Chiriguano hunt the jaguar, and he is not always inclined to help the white man, but the latter forces his peons to do so, and they gather the fat and
[962] sell or present it to their friends or relatives. Jaguar meat is good food, although, to be sure, it smells wild, as does the skin, but this meat, if placed in salt water or brine overnight, loses its bad smell: they assert that this meat is like that of a cow.

*136 The male jaguar is quite large. I measured one, and it was two meters long from the tail, one meter high, and it weighed seven arrobas. The female is smaller: I measured one that had just been killed: from the tail it measured one meter and ten centimeters, was 75 centimeters high, and weighed four and a half arrobas. The female gives birth
[231] every three years, and the newborn cubs are always a pair, one male and one female: the mother is most dangerous when she has young /illustration appears here/ /41/ and defends them at any cost, but hunters first kill the mother and then try to catch the cubs alive: they almost always succeed and take them home to domesticate them, but this is an impossible job because they are jaguars forever: I have seen two of these cubs well chained but very bad. In general, cubs when taken away from their mother die in a few days either through lack of adequate food, which is milk, or also out of desperation upon finding themselves in the midst of beings foreign to their nature.

/111 cont./

141 both men and women, and fair hair indicates either an
142 oddity or a clandestine affair. The forehead is rather small, as are also the languid, downcast eyes; the face is round, the nose flat, the mouth wide, the denture white as ivory, the chin short, and the lips rather thick. /112/ The
142 men do not wear beards, and anyone would believe that they
302 are beardless, but the main reason why they do not have one is that they pull out the hairs as they grow, and for this they have some tin tweezers with which they make all the hair disappear, and they do well, because otherwise, in view of their slovenliness, with long beards they would really be orangutans (1).

[186] 1. The Toba call the Chiriguano tiger face because of his round face, and the latter gets back at them by calling them horse face because of their long faces. In the missions the neophytes wear mustache and goatee.

141 They have a chest thrust forward, rather heavy
[291] shoulders and arms, normal-sized hands, and not very big feet, in spite of the fact that they grow as they will since they always go barefoot, especially the women, and not
147 all of them wear sandals /ojotas/. When they are enjoy-
[853] ing good health, they are very robust, and the women without the slightest bother will nurse two babes at their
[609] breasts. Whenever some white Christian woman is not able to nurse, she usually seeks out a Chiriguano woman to wet-nurse her child; this, in addition to being very advantageous because of the goodness of the blood, is also quite eco-
855 nomical. But it is true that most Indian women do not
[809] wish to take care of children other than their own; most
[466] of the time they agree to it with reluctance, or by force, this last occurring when the Indians are subject to a master.

/163/

643 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the
682 cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following
692 his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with another piece of wood set between them. He called together all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was
[671] immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his region, so that the life of the defenseless and the good may be respected and that he may be feared (1).

622
643
756
646
692

1. When a sorcerer does not manage to accomplish what he has promised, because he perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's prerogative to order the death sentence and burning.

Separation from Command

622
631
643 The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared them free from such obedience, naming another more humane person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it.
649 This has become easier today by agreement with the political
• 466 authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that
464 when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named
622 by the political authority, he is seen to be subject to all the
643 demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the latter, who do not like the yoke of the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

/163 cont./

643 A fact that confirms what has been said happened in the
649 Caipipendi region. The regional cacique Tengua was succeeded
464 by his son Cariti, who, because of the grave errors that he made
● 466 or was supposed to have made, was dismissed, and the native Tarúire, who apparently at least had very good qualities, was named in his place. This latter, selected by the whites with the consent or nomination of the Indians, had to return the favor of his benefactors who had elevated him and consequently to respond to all the demands and requests for peons, and one time the poor Indians had to go to Santa Cruz as a guarantee for the /164/ unhappy Indians who feared that, under the pretext of jobs in the city, they would be taken to the Beni (1).

[566]

1. In El Beni men are sold for 1,000 Bs. and women at a lesser price. Baron D. Erland Nordenskiold gave a lecture in London proving that slavery exists in Bolivia and Peru.

This concern of Tarúire and suspicion of the Indians originated in a publicly known event which took place in the year 1905, when a party of Indians sold to the rubber plantations were taken from there; rumors of this event spread rapidly through all the newspapers of the Republic, which expressed disapproval of it, and at that time I saw whole groups of families who, with all of their possessions, emigrated to other lands.

643 The result of this is that today many Indians obey Tarúire,
641 not out of love or loyalty, but out of fear of the harsh punish-
554 ment which the political authorities would immediately impose on them; and the cacique is now beginning to tire of this task which is so odious for him, for he wants to be tranquil in his home and to enjoy peace. He has repeatedly said this to me and he would be satisfied if they would renominate Cariti, for whom the Indians hold proper respect.

4: Nino--320 M-3 (1898-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/236/

Chapter Ten

000

Agriculture, Animals, Food

Introduction

The Holy Bible, when it gives us the account or tells us the story of the fall of the first man, makes it clear to us that God, after having made known to him the fault committed, announced to him that he had incurred the punishment of having to seek out and provide himself with food through manual labor and the sweat of his brow.

Actually the land, which up to that time had spontaneously produced in abundance everything that man could have desired, became full of weeds, brambles, and thorns when cursed by God as a consequence of Adam's sin. /The remainder of p. 236 is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 237./

/237/ Why are there so many weeds and thorns in the forests of America? Because it is little cultivated, uncultivated, because one element is missing, the laborer is missing, and God said that, without labor: Tribulos et spinas germinabit tibi. Let us leave to one side the unexplored territory and confine our consideration to the entire Chiriguano region, which is inhabited today by whites and blacks, or Indians.

The white man wishes to put in practice what, according to the story, was predicted by the Aguara-Tunpa when he made them choose the weapons. The white man wishes to be served and to ride upon his showy and spirited horse, to wear his firearm in his belt or his dagger in his boot and, like a great lord, force the Chiriguano to serve him in exchange for food or money, and thus, for agriculture, the arm of the white is almost a dead one. There are whites who call themselves agriculturalists or farmers because they have many Chiriguano peons whom they order and direct to work in the field for their own interest and profit.

648
464
466

/237 cont./

648 It can be said with all certainty that the only laborer in
464 the four provinces of Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor, and Gran
•466 Chaco is the Chiriguano, who is found even beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he also works, taken there by the authorities or by the owners of the lands, which they bought in ancient times for a trifle (1).

[425] 1. If one is to credit what the Indians say, in some places land was acquired by barefaced trickery /leva raida/ at the time of Ferdinand VII; in other places, for three or four arrobas of cheese, and in the last ones, for a cow, a poncho, a few varas of cloth, or a few bottles of liquor given to the cacique.

178 Today the Chiriguano, very abject, in many places suffers
[167] in resignation what, according to the story, he did not want yesterday; in other places he is migrating the better part of the time, that is to say, when his presence is necessary for the general planting, to which of necessity the old people must devote themselves if they want to live without dying of hunger and in order to be able to welcome the migrants when they return for a few days to show off their new clothing, their work from other regions, to sell it immediately for very little, to slaughter some cattle of their own or of their elders, and to go back at once without even saying good-by.

Property Rights

648 The object of the present chapter is to describe the
[241] method of cultivating the land when the Indians lived alone in the country, before the whites had moved in among them; now they scarcely give them /238/ room to do their planting
177 as best they can. Nonetheless, since they keep them con-
648 tinually occupied, food and clothing are never lacking to anybody in a Christian's house, where the Indian gets them

/297/

Chapter Fourteen

Infidels and Neophytes of the Missions

Introduction

797
648 The continual revolts of the Chiriguano against the white race clearly demonstrate their aversion toward the Christian element, which they consider to be the effective cause of their misfortunes and of the almost total loss of their territory, of which not too long ago they considered themselves the legitimate owners and absolute rulers. It is as clear as the midday sun that the Christian, with the patience and constancy of an anchorite and in many circumstances risking his life, has gradually taken over the extensive region. Today there is no corner where an occasional Christian family is not living. In many places the
161 Chiriguano tribe has completely disappeared, whether through
464 epidemics or through loss of freedom; in some places a rather
466 considerable nucleus exists under the control of a master, either
648 because of the territory which it cultivates or because of a debt which has been contracted (1).

1. The caciques of the Curuyuqui war, in their ignorance, thought that they could recover the lost territory and, in revenge, take over most of the Republic.

797
648 The Indians located in the area to the left of the Pilcomayo River took only one thing into consideration when they resolutely
[184] refused to have a conversion mission founded; they only considered that behind the missionary would come those whom they considered invaders; they only understood that white Christians would gather behind or around the Cross, which Father Giannelli planted with considerable daring in the middle of the nineteenth century. But why is it that the Indians of Tarairí /298/ are still owners of their land? Because of the missionary, whom one faction, in its ignorance, wanted to leave when the destruction of the flourishing missions of San Francisco and San Antonio began, where six years ago building a new London was attempted, with almost

/299 cont./

797
177

in Pipi; to free themselves from such vexations, they have been asking for a mission. There are still more of them in Caipipendi; I have spoken with them repeatedly, because they have their own land, but they are still not inclined to ask for the founding of a mission, and the reason for this is clear, they are not greatly persecuted.

Even in this case the adult proposes the bases of the agreement; he asks for freedom to follow his barbarous customs, without being obliged to receive baptism and consequently to enter the church to hear Mass and to do other things proper to Catholic worship, because his hair and the tembeta are out of place in God's house, and they feel extreme embarrassment on seeing themselves mixed in among children, young people, and whites. The advantage that religion presents is the education of the youth and the baptism of the infants, who in great quantities fly straight to heaven, because there are many who die, regenerated by holy baptism.

Provided that he does not speak to them about religion or about receiving baptism, the missionary can do what he wishes with the adult Indian. It is enough if he only shows a little foresight from the beginning regarding the way in which they must live in the mission. One who freely and spontaneously gave his name obeys in every respect, provided that effort and care are taken to suppress any disorder or disobedience immediately.

[464]
[466]

If he is needed for personal labor, it is not likely that he will refuse, at least in the first years, even though he be paid no wages /300/ nor given anything, since he understands that the missionary orders the construction of a building, not for speculation, but for the moral and civil progress of his children. If the missionary ordains, as is the case, that during the night they cease singing, they will comply, in spite of the fact that at times it is necessary to remind them with some sharpness, noting here that words alone are of little value.

/322 cont./

648
464
466

The tribes described here are friends and allies of the Chiriguano, and, when the latter have an abundant crop of maize, the former draw near to the towns of their friends; according to tribes, they build their ovens, where they hide, along the bank of some rivulet or some stream.

They remain there, help the Chiriguano in the harvest, perform menial services for him by carrying wood, cleaning house, and doing other domestic chores, and in exchange they get a little maize for themselves and their family. When they go back into the forest, they take several libras or arrobas of maize, depending on the harvests that the Chiriguano may have had.

In the Tarija missions this happens quite frequently, because they are nearer to their territory. The caciques of the savages then present themselves to the Chiriguano cacique to announce their arrival and the presence of their tribe and the latter in turn brings him before the P. /padre/ Conversor to obtain the necessary permission.

In these circumstances none of the tribes is lazy, because they understand that in order to eat it is necessary to work, under penalty of being immediately thrown out of the foreign territory where he has found so much abundance. Neither are they permitted many months stay, because they are capable of staying until they use up all the maize and leave the Chiriguano's cupboard bare.

Several times I saw these tribes in a state of temporary emigration, and it was pitiful to see such poverty, forlorness, filthiness, ignorance, and want. Long rows of ovens could be seen in communication with one another, full of men, women, children, and dogs, and living there worse off than dirty animals in filth.

Ee /298 cont./

177 797 The Indian, who loves an independent life, but is forced into the dance of civilization, does not want to become a mission child, but chooses this as the lesser evil. In the mission he is under guardians, but not under oppressors.

Ce 797 When my friend, the Chané Indian Batirayu, of whom I have spoken several times here, asked me whether it would not be best to ask the missionaries to come to the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, he thought of them as rescuers from the oppression of the white masters.

C 797 When I asked the Chiriguano chief Maringay whether he did not want missionaries to come to his village, the old man became quite indignant and said peevishly: "I have not done anything bad."

Ee 797 177 The greatest importance of the missionaries lies in the fact that they try to protect the Indians from the oppression and the vices of the whites. I have been pleased to see how the missionaries forbid liquor, the accursed liquor, in the mission stations.

Nevertheless, I do not believe in the future of the missions. It seems to me they are condemned to oblivion. To the extent that the Indians are given better treatment by the other whites and receive proper compensation for their work, they will leave the missions and forsake the guardianship of the Franciscan monks.

The missionaries, however, will always have the honor of having tried, at least to some extent, to protect the Indians from the other Christians. They have also earned honor for the studies they have made of the language, manners, and customs of the Indians.

Fear of the Rubber Regions

C 648 466 167 In a previous chapter I spoke of the migration of the Indians to Argentina. In the /299/ northernmost territory of the Chiriguano Indians another emigration is taking place. It differs from the first, among other things, by the fact that it is not voluntary. It concerns the rubber regions in northeastern

c /299 cont./
648 Bolivia. Every Indian who goes to the Argentine sugar factories
●466 knows that, if there is no disaster, he will return. No one
[167] holds him back by force. From the rubber regions, on the other
[464] hand, no one ever returns.

Is it true, they say, that there is a giant there who devours human beings? Is it true that people /300/ are ground

Ce
142
291
302
415
854
531

Fig. 132. Chané children. Rio Parapiti.

c
648
466

up into rubber? Is it true that the meat that comes in tin cans is from human beings? These are questions which the Indians asked me.

The Chiriguano Indians, especially from the Caipipendi valley, were lured in a shameless manner to the rubber regions in northern

C

/300 cont./

648
466

Bolivia, where they were sold as laborers. Under the guard of armed men, they were brought down the Rio Mamoré by way of Quatro-Ojos.

I shall have a better opportunity, however, to discuss the relations of the Indians to the rubber industry in the book in which I shall report on the studies which I made in the rubber regions themselves and among the Indians located near them (1).

C
[113]

1. Appeared in Swedish under the title Indianer och hvita i nordöstra Bolivia, Stockholm, 1911.

I shall therefore not go into this question in greater detail here.

Cc
648
466
465

Compulsory Service for the Whites

The Chiriguano and Chané who work as servants in their own country for the immigrant white race are extraordinarily poorly paid. This is especially true in the remote regions where the higher prices for labor in the Argentine sugar factories, as the result of competition, have not been able to react on wages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti, for example, are seldom paid more than 20 centavos (not quite 35 pfennigs) per day with board. The women earn about half as much. The Indians are paid their wages partly in spirits and sugar, partly in cloth and tools. The cloth is so poor that a shirt made from such material does not last much longer than the time required to earn it. As a result of this system, the Chané and Chiriguano, like their fellow-tribesmen in the rubber regions in northeastern Bolivia, sink into debt slavery.

/301/ It is to be hoped that the large projects initiated by the engineer Herrmann in San Franzisko on the Rio Pilcomayo will improve the Indian wage situation generally. If he will pay better than others, all the Indians will come to him, and the other employers will have to increase their wages.

Ce /301 cont./

648 Thus, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to
[466] being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this

C 415 531

Fig. 133. Clay vessel. - 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

Ee 648 way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

Ee 648. 466 465 167. 425. /302/ The uncertainty and the oppressive wage conditions under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but forever.

Ee 648 273 277 If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference between drinking maize beer and liquor.

/348 cont./

287 439 [484] [435] half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

224 178 231 433 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago, those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 435 [464] [465] The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often

● 471 231 [435] even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

[262] [178] 1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to

556 diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text Continues on p. 93]

/337 cont./

243 Once their fields are free of weeds, the Chiriguano call
[476] together relatives and friends. On the date agreed upon, all
[534] go to the fields early in the morning, after waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by blowing into cow horns, which for them take the place of horns (in Chiriguano: waka-ranti) (Fig. 5), each trying to outdo the other. In olden days the
[622] village chief used to take part in the sowing and watched to make sure that all helped one another.

[534]
[321]

Fig. 5. Cow horn (waka-ranti) which the Chiriguano use for a horn. The end is carved into a mouthpiece. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/5 nat. size.)

Sowing is done in a very simple way. If the ground is soft, the Indian sticks his shovel vertically into the soil, after giving two or three thrusts in order to push it in as far as possible. He enlarges the slit by pushing his shovel forward without drawing it out and slips two or three kernels of corn into the opening. Without changing position he makes two or three similar holes on his right and left, takes a step forward and begins again. The plants thus grow in a certain alignment /338/ which is far from perfect. Since several work at
[461] a time, the job is done quickly. At noon, or about two o'clock
[273] in the afternoon at the latest, they have finished their task and go back to the village where the chicha or kãwi, which the owner of the field has had prepared for his helpers, awaits them

/338 cont./

243 The sad state of decline in which the Chiriguano are at present
● 476 has put an end to collective work, and it is only rarely that sowing
178 is done in common. Each one must provide for his needs without any assistance other than that of his near relatives.

342

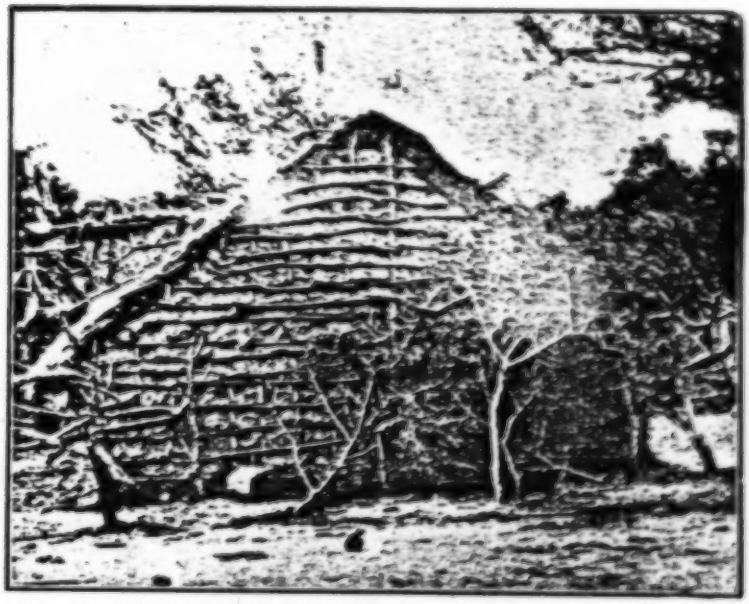


Fig. 6. Chiriguano hut (ho), temporarily abandoned by its inhabitants, who have gone to work in the fields. Caipipendí. (Photo. A. M.)

241 The Chiriguano cultivate the following plants:
Corn (avati): 11 varieties;
Beans (kumanda): 11 varieties;
Squash (andai and grindaka-wasu): 5 varieties;
Sweet potatoes (yeti): 6 varieties;
Yucca or sweet manioc (mandio) (Manihot utilisima Pohl);
Groundnuts (manduvi);
Pimento /peppers/ (kii) (Capsicum), very rarely cultivated;

/170 cont./

Modern Houses

342
17
[464]
[648]

A Chiriguano house offers nothing special in appearance, but even those of the mestizos who have settled in their country are of the same form and not rarely worse, because naturally since the mestizo is not very fond of physical labor, because he is not an Indian, it is necessary for him to call on the energy of the latter, and the native is not always inclined to lend him this or that service, from which it follows that their houses are inferior (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. I am speaking here of the houses that the mestizos or whites build in the countryside where they live; in the towns their houses are normal; they almost all have tile roofs, and there are also some which are white-washed.

342
[192]
[184]

/171/ House in the Chiriguano language is called Ho, which is different from what they call Tapi, hut. The latter are common in large towns and belong to the lazy people, wanderers, and even the poor. It must thus be understood that the construction of a Chiriguano house is a work of no small importance and care, if one considers that the Chiriguano is poor, so poor that he only has available an ax, a shovel, and a knife, and not always these. Because of the importance that I give to this construction, many who do not know these regions could believe that the houses are very fine, but there is nothing fine about them. None of them is beyond the rank of cabins.

342
335
476

I believe that it is indispensable to describe the way of constructing them and the elements available to the Chiriguano in order to carry this out. If the Indian has some luck in sheep, he pays some of his companions with sheep so that they will help him gather the principal timber, and should this wealth be lacking, he begins to cut and strip bark in the woods by himself, selecting timber of good quality, straight and resistant to the action of water. The principal pieces are generally six posts

[Text Continues on P. 235]

/171 cont./

342 335 [476] [574] which form the skeleton of the house, but where the forest is not tall and the trees slender, nine are needed.

Once the timber has been transported with the help of his companions and relatives and they have been treated with food and chicha, the day for setting up the house is set. The center posts are first placed, with the two holes being dug quite deep; next comes the placement of the four or six lateral ones, which are much shorter so that rain will not stay on the roof and there will not be continual and copious dripping. I measured several relatively new houses, and their pitch from the ground to the ridgepole is about 42 o/o in some and in others 38, it being possible to conclude that the average is 40 (1).

> 1. Chiriguano houses are rectangular with only one room, which, if it is very long, has in the middle another post which holds up the ridgepole so that it may not bend or break.

[178] This proportion is maintained today by the houses in Chiriguano towns, and it cannot be otherwise, because the roof is entirely of straw and the rain would stay on it if it did not have sufficient slope. Some who by mistake build them without this proportion realize at the time of the first torrential rains, and even more in the ones, that follow, the mistake that they have made, but in vain, because /172/ it is very difficult for the Indian to correct his lack of foresight.

Once the skeleton of the house has been set up vertically, the rest is simpler to do, except for the placement of the ridgepole and the side beams; the latter can be cut in half to make it easier to move them, in addition to making finding them easier. The placement of these beams is followed by that of the rafters and the reinforcing pieces of wood to strengthen the walls. The rafters are tied with bejuco or with spiny ceiba bark, [824] which is called Samuu by the Indians and Toborochi by the whites.

/172 cont./

342 824 The hardest part is finished with the previous operation: a short rest is taken, and then the owner of the new building must obtain enough hollow cane, engaging for this purpose Indians who have horses. But if the cane is very far away and has owners to boot, he gathers long sticks of astringent acacia or sebil and puts them horizontally every 15 centimeters on top of the rafters with the same above-mentioned lianas. Some [283] people, to tie the cane or sticks, use thin cords made from cowhide, but this, in addition to being more expensive, is less durable than bejuco (1).

[137] [198] [423]

1. Before the whites settled in Chiriguano country, hollow cane was abundant and had no owners; at the present time it cannot be found, and, if there is any, it is in private hands and must be bought.

Generally, before the walls are begun the house is covered with capíi, red straw, or, should this not be available, with capiáncua, straw for harnesses of beasts of burden, which is of inferior quality and very soon frays to pieces with the rain, sun, and strong winds, while the capíi may last for more than ten years.

[476] If it can be obtained by staying for a few days in a place where it is plentiful, he pulls it up there and reduces it to rather large handfuls; the gathering is done in several days, engaging Indians who own horses. When the material is in the town, he rests for a few days or weeks; he informs or invites those who wish to take part, in particular those who are closest to him by kinship or friendship. These then go about tying the capíi be- [354] tween two horizontal canes toward the side of the roots, forming long, narrow lines, and when they are so placed, they attach them horizontally, beginning at the bottom and working /172/ upward or toward the ridgepole, where they leave a large vent to let out the eternal smoke of their inextinguishable fires (1).

1. Now the red straw is disappearing almost completely; the destruction of this necessary

/173 cont./

342 824 element and that of the hollow cane are due to the abundance of cattle, which destroy even the straw for harnesses.

342 574 When the placement of the roof has been completed, they all come down and gather in the hut of the friend, who, as a reward or payment for the service rendered, offers them a cup [476] [834] of chicha, and they drink this amidst jokes and crudities, at times very heavy, especially should maidens or women of 30 years or older who do not keep quiet pass by. But as the people know each other well and are friends, the greatest harmony reigns, and, when everything is finished, they take leave of the owner, thanking him for his gifts, and he shows them his gratitude for the services which they have rendered (2).

2. The workers only ask for chicha in recompense, but if the owner has beans or gourds cooked for them in a stew with considerable stimulant in the form of chili pepper, ariviri, it is a feast or carnival for all.

342 312 The rest of the work is done with less haste and at a more opportune time. In fact, most wait until the rainy season to do [22] it, for then water is abundant, and this to be sure deserves the approbation of all because it is more economical and easier. Thus, taking into consideration the laziness of the Indian man [44] and the tasks which the Chiriguano woman has, it would be expensive and quite tiresome to bring the water on their shoulders from great distances, which is avoided during the rainy season. [356] Then during each shower not only is the construction of the walls of the new houses done, but also the repair of those which have come apart during the year, and it is very amusing to see from a distance the women around the houses with their sleeves rolled up or with the tipoy down to the waist, making holes in the wet ground with shovel or hoe, pouring a little water in, kneading the earth, forming large balls of it, and putting it between the canes which are already attached.

/173 cont./

342 The canes, or sticks, are attached in the same way as in the roof, with the difference that for the walls they are put in double order, outside and inside, so that they can serve as a support for the dampened earth, which in the end is like a large bag, long and tall, around the house. This other work [442] is done by the Indian men, engaged beforehand by the promise of chicha; next they too dig in the wet until /174/ dampened by the rain or by water, and help the women in the operation of forming the walls.

With such simplicity, the four walls are raised in a single day, everything being completed; at the present time almost all houses have a gallery where the men and women always sit to enjoy the cool of the mornings and the evenings in friendly gatherings, a gallery which is even used for sleeping on excessively hot nights, especially when inside there is an abundance of vinchucas and other insects (1).

341 • 492

1. In Pacapiti a school for 150 girls was built and finished in 12 hours; nothing had been prepared for this building; it was planned the day before and done at once by all the inhabitants.

342 With the erection of the gallery, the house is completely finished, and the Indian contour and satisfied. In present-day buildings care is taken to place the door, or entry, at one end of the house which corresponds to the gallery, and many have two, one in front of the other, in order to have a way to the patio which they make with a fence of thorns for greater comfort.

342 The doors are of cane, which they tie together like mats, 78 but vertically, with ceiba bark or with cowhide thongs, which [522] are more durable indeed. If an Indian can get a cowhide, [524] he makes a door of Cuayaga wood, or, as the whites call it, cachamua, or another soft wood, which he puts in a hole left in the construction; he makes another frame with its hinges made of the same wood, seals the hide, and fastens it in this

000 /175 cont./
remains joined better and is more compact (1).

197 1. When a mission is founded, the first building in the mission house made in the usual way. But in the Potosí missions they are all of timber, and any traveler would marvel at their height and strength.

342 198 The ancient Chiriguano houses were of different form, and they were not alike in size or beauty in the towns. Some were distinguished by their roundness and conical form, and others because they were small and low. The latter had no importance at all and could scarcely even be called huts, in spite of the fact that, to the poor Chiriguano, dominated by his laziness, the smallness of a dwelling does not detract from its importance.

342 171 I am going to deal at some length with the way the houses of conical form were built, because they indicate skill on the part of the builder or because they make one's imagination take wing and fly to China, Africa, and Japan, where similar forms are found and thus make us ever more convinced of the unity of the human race.

As explorers, travelers, histories, and well thought out books say and as is also observed in the pictures of illustrated geographies, it is evident that in China, Japan, Africa, New Zealand, and in the east of Australia not a few of the inhabitants /176/ have houses in conical form.

This form seems to be the original one of the human race, and it is very probable that man has used it in the five parts of the world, since it is even found among the Chiriguano.

342 335 In fact, in order to construct a comfortable house before the Conquest, the clever Chiriguano used the following method. He first obtained a single post of some four or five meters and planted it at a depth of approximately one meter (1).

[476] [574] 1. For any small job for which the Indian must trouble his friends, he would get nothing without offering them a drink. Not even money is so esteemed and appreciated as chicha by the Chiriguano.

/239 cont./

Old Method of Farming

241 In planting the fields which are already old, they use the same method of applying fire to the weeds and stubble that are left after the harvest; this method is even coming to be practiced by the whites and the mestizos. As far as fertilizing the land, the Chiriguano does not worry about it, because the lands are virgin and the Indian hardly plants maize on a large scale, and, if it rains regularly until the grain has become hard, the crop is abundant and the farmer has enough to eat and an abundance of chicha to drink, which is what he wants.

412 Formerly the ava had nothing but a wooden shovel and a stone ax, which is hard to find today. He obtained his livelihood with these insignificant tools; the ax served him for cutting trees and bushes and the spade for pulling up all the grass and brush. The spade was like those used by bakers for [824] [237] putting bread in the oven; it was of soto wood and was attached to a rather long handle with bejuco vines or strips of toborochi bark; the handle was always long, because the Indian /240/ neither knew nor does he now know how to bend his back at his farm chores; these spades were also made from the shoulder blade of cattle, horses, or asses (1).

000

1. Baron don Erland Nordenskiold, in addition to the pots from various regions of Bolivia, sent to the Swedish museum pots made by the Chiriguano, wooden spades, and stone axes.

241 [221] Planting was usually done in the month of November, after the ground had received at least two rains. Then the Indian would first destroy with his spade the small amount of grass that had come up, and then he would notify his friends and relatives so that they might help him to plant on the day indicated. [476] [534] The cacique took part in the general planting, ordering that those under him should help one another; thus, early on the said day, at daybreak, they would

/240 cont./

241 [476] [534] go to the plot, waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by means of the Huacananti, cow's horn.

The method of planting is very simple. When the land is soft, the planter makes a small hole with his spade, using two or three blows, then pushes the spade forward, throws in two or three grains of seed and covers them. Then, without moving he makes another hole to the right, horizontal to the first, and a third to the left, performing the same operation as in the first, after which he takes a step and continues as before until he finishes. With many working, the planting of a plot is soon finished.

241 461 512 The Indian does not work beyond midday, and he tries to finish the job before leaving it in order not to return; therefore that the work sometimes lasts until two in the afternoon. Then the owner and his companions stop, return to the town, where they are awaited with plenty of food and chicha, which the former has ordered prepared, if the previous harvests were abundant (2).

[273] [262] 2. In any case, if there were a lack of chicha, because of previous scarcity, and mead made from algarrobas, the housewife should still wait for the planters with food mixed with some meat and plenty of chili peppers.

241 476 They formerly continued in this fashion until the planting of a tribe was completed; one day on one's own plot and another on that of a companion, and even the cacique did the same; today this is difficult to manage, because now they are not so close. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity, if someone prepares chicha for those who may wish to help him in planting or weeding, they leave or refuse money for a few matés or /241/ glasses of this much desired liquor. Even the whites get peons more easily this way.

/86 cont./

C 178 565 648 The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

Ce [178] [648] [643]

C 565 554 643 511 433

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

C 184 433 432 178 643 461 476 464

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 462 Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

C [562]

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

Ce 692 643 68

/89 cont./
of the deceased (359).

359. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 421

Private property is highly respected among the Chiriguano. According to Métraux, even the closest relatives cannot make use of the property of one of them without his consent. The possession of a piece of land is guaranteed to a Chiriguano by planting any plant on it or by clearing the circumference of the land required and making large slashes in the trees. When he selects a plot for his planting, the Chiriguano examines it carefully to determine that there are no traces of a previous planting (360).

C 423

360. Métraux I, pp. 334 and 340.

C 241 476 [622]

After the land selected for the planting has been cleared, relatives and friends are called together to help with the work. Formerly, the cacique of the town also took part by keeping watch for the workers (361).

361. Métraux I, p. 337.

/90/

Religion

C Ce 797 771 178 538

In their many years of activity the missions have naturally influenced notably the religious notions of the Chiriguano and Chané. Most of them today are Christians. Some still retain part of their primordial ideas, expressed in their legends. I shall limit myself here to referring the reader again to the Chané legends taken down by Nordenskiöld (362) and mentioned several times in the Preceding.

362. Nord. 1, pp. 251-296.

142
291
302
481
516

Fig. 1. Old Indian from the Santa Rosa Mission (Photo. by the Reverend Father Honorato Catinari).

/351/

226 /Figs. 19-22 appear here/ /352/ Chiriguano attach them to the
[227] end of long cords. A spear with one or two points serves to harpoon the enormous surubú which pass within their reach
[481] (Fig. 21). It goes without saying that the Chiriguano are marvelous swimmers.

262 439 The Chiriguano like fish (1). If they live far from the

226 175 227 481

1. The skill of the Chiriguano at fishing had already attracted the attention of the ancient chroniclers. Acosta (Vol. I, p. 236) reports that he had a chance to see them handle the spear, a specimen of which is reproduced here in Figure 21. "Some Chiriguanas plunged under the water and, swimming with admirable speed, followed the fish, and with some fish spears, or harpoons, which they carried in the right hand, swimming only with the left, they struck the fish; and, spearing it thus, they came up, so that they certainly seemed to be more fish than men of the land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Rosen (1, Fig. 215, p. 213) represents a Chiriguano holding one of these two-pointed spears in his hand.

262 439 Pilcomayo and cannot get any directly, they buy it from the Toba or the Matako, who are good fishermen and in addition have the advantage of living on the very banks of the lower Pilcomayo.

[482] In the dry season one can see near Pilcomayo a continual coming and going of Chiriguano, bent under the weight of their nets full of ears of corn that they are going to barter for fresh
[484] or dried fish. They would not hesitate, it appears, to travel 150 kilometers to feast on it (Nino, p. 251).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XVII.

Rafts.

C
501

As far as I have seen, the Chiriguano now never use canoes or rafts. PEDRO DE SEGURA,[1]) however, mentions rafts from these Indians at the end of the sixteenth century. Nowhere else in the literature have I found any confirmation of their being used by these Indians, so I refrain from giving an account of the distribution of different kinds of rafts among the South-American Indians, and refer my readers to FRIEDERICI'S[2]) excellent work on Indian canoes and rafts. I have found rafts in common use among the Chimáne and other tribes in North Bolivia.

C
Ce
491
C
481

The Chiriguano and Chané do not build bridges. The former, at least, are known as exceedingly clever waders.

[1]) Carta de PEDRO DE SEGURA. «Corregidor de Tomina, al Virey del Peru, con relacion de la guerra de los Chiriguanaes» SERRANO Y SANZ P 524.

[2]) (5).

/342 cont./

243 Wives accompany their husbands to the fields. They
462 spend the day there spinning, sewing, grilling ears of corn, or
[482] roasting manioc. In the evening, if they return to the village,
the wife comes back bent under the weight of her añapoka, or
carrying-net, full of ears of corn. Sometimes the men help
[492] them. Those who have donkeys and horses use them as beasts
of burden.

482 Transport of corn is done generally with the help of the carrying-net, but makeshifts let them do without it in case of necessity. The ears of corn are held together in bundles by means of leaves which encompass them and are suspended from a flexible switch bent in the shape of a figure eight. When the two loops are balanced, one can raise them by grasping them by the middle.

251 In the village the ears are either stored in granaries on piles, to which steps cut in a tree trunk (Fig. 9) lead, or kept in the hut where a special corner has been made into a compartment. A tree trunk tipped with a natural fork may serve /Plate VII appears here/ /343/ as a storage place for corn. The ears, tied into bundles, are piled between the two branches of the fork (Fig. 10).

243 Formerly, before their dreadful decline began, the
789 Chiriguano had recourse to magical ceremonies to hasten the ripening of corn and to avoid drought or too great an abundance of rain. /Fig. 9 appears here./

When the sun threatened to burn the harvest, they had one or several medicine men come who were charged with bringing the recalcitrant clouds. Provided with a cigar, they went around the fields blowing the smoke in every direction (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 167). The symbolism of this rite of homeopathic magic is clear: the smoke represents the clouds which the ipaye is to gather.

[526] The game of mboto represents the survival of a magical
[178] ceremony having to do with the growth of corn and its maturing.

[Text Continues on p. 78]

/349 cont./

556 tendency to estimate the value of objects in cows. For example,
[435] a loom with a nearly finished poncho was offered to me "for
[437] a cow," and the owner of the loom could not understand that
it was difficult for me to convert the exchange into money.

262 Charqui, or meat dried in the sun, most often replaces
[251] fresh meat in the menus of our Indians. It is not a question
of preference, but of necessity. Charqui is cheap and is
bought in any estancia.

Fishing

221 When I went through the Chiriguano villages of the upper
226 Pilcomayo and the Parapití, the rivers were in flood, the corn was
ripening in the fields, and no Indian wanted to let the parrots
eat his corn in order to go to catch fish at the risk of getting him-
self carried off by the current. If I had come back to these
same villages in July or August, the scene would have been
completely different. The rivers would have been only thin
trickles of water, and in every direction I should have per-
ceived men /350/ and women busy fishing. The fishing season
would have been at its height.

[178] The Chiriguano, having come from a country rich in
watercourses, have in this respect preserved the traditions of
their ancestors of the Paraná or the Paraguay.

226 Some, equipped with large landing nets (Fig. 18), form
barriers against the current and advance, gathering the fish as if
[229] with a spoon. Then they grab them and attach them to their
[482] belts, after /Fig. 18 appears here/ threading them on a cord
by means of a wooden needle (Fig. 19). Others lie in wait for
a fish in the water and, as it goes by, impale it with an arrow
equipped with several points (Fig. 20) or simply with two long,
barbed wooden rods. Some, with the help of stone barriers,
try to make the fish converge toward the opening of a wicker
trap (1). Sometimes a group of individuals turn aside a

1. Compare Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260): "in summer (the Chiriguano) divert a stretch of the river; they leave the fish in the drained

/351/
226 /Figs. 19-22 appear here/ /352/ Chiriguano attach them to the
[227] end of long cords. A spear with one or two points serves to harpoon the enormous surubú which pass within their reach
[481] (Fig. 21). It goes without saying that the Chiriguano are marvelous swimmers.
262
439 The Chiriguano like fish (1). If they live far from the

226
175
227
481

1. The skill of the Chiriguano at fishing had already attracted the attention of the ancient chroniclers. Acosta (Vol. I, p. 236) reports that he had a chance to see them handle the spear, a specimen of which is reproduced here in Figure 21. "Some Chiriguanas plunged under the water and, swimming with admirable speed, followed the fish, and with some fish spears, or harpoons, which they carried in the right hand, swimming only with the left, they struck the fish; and, spearing it thus, they came up, so that they certainly seemed to be more fish than men of the land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Rosen (1, Fig. 215, p. 213) represents a Chiriguano holding one of these two-pointed spears in his hand.

262
439 Pilcomayo and cannot get any directly, they buy it from the Toba or the Matako, who are good fishermen and in addition have the advantage of living on the very banks of the lower Pilcomayo.

In the dry season one can see near Pilcomayo a continual
[482] coming and going of Chiriguano, bent under the weight of their nets full of ears of corn that they are going to barter for fresh
[484] or dried fish. They would not hesitate, it appears, to travel 150 kilometers to feast on it (Nino, p. 251).

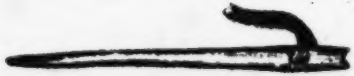


Fig. 19. Wooden needle (timosa) with which the Chiriguano thread the fish they have caught in order to be able to carry them more conveniently around the waist. Prov.: Tintapaw. (1/3 nat. size.)

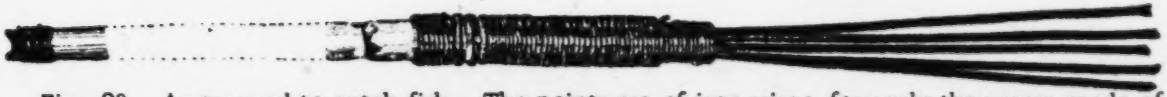


Fig. 20. Arrow used to catch fish. The points are of iron wire; formerly they were made of cactus spines. Prov.: Pípi. (1/2 nat. size.)

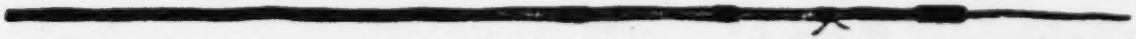


Fig. 21. Spear 4.70 meters long, which the Chiriguano use to harpoon large surubú when the latter swim within their reach. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/33 nat. size.)

Fig. 22. Spit for roasting fish. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/7 nat. size.)

/365 cont./

273 The preparation of chicha is not play: it is necessary not only /366/ to grind an enormous quantity of corn, but again to go
484 ceaselessly to get water, often at a great distance. At Cururuti
482 the nearest potable water was at the bottom of a ravine of particu-
273 larly difficult access. The women were constantly going there with an îru (Plate XVII, 1),[2/4] which they carried on their backs in a net (añapoka) held on the forehead by a strap. They would fill

462
516
273
291
415
412

Fig. 31. Woman sifting corn which she has just ground in the mortar beside her. This flour is to be roasted, then chewed to serve as ferment for kĩwi. Cururuti. (Photo. A.M.)

484 the jug and, loading it with difficulty, would go back up the
482 steep slope doubled over under the weight. So as not to lose any
273 time, these hard-working creatures would take along a calabash full of ground corn which they continually chewed.

273 The ground corn is cooked in water and constantly stirred
412 with flat sticks whose edges used to be cut out with a certain artistic care in olden days (Fig. 32). Today a kind of oar (Fig.
[178] 33) or the scapula of an ox (Fig. 34) fastened to a long handle
[237] replaces the ancient utensils in which was manifested so well the
[531] Chiriguano tendency to decorate even the most humble objects.

2/4 [For plate XVII, See Category 116, P.127--Analysis]

G4 /439 cont./
285
482
[824] p. 171 and Map 21). Their baskets being in bad shape, the Guarayú wanted to make some new ones and were very annoyed not to find in the region into which they had come the palm trees with pinnate leaves which they were in the habit of using for this purpose. Now, Guarayú and Chiriguano are brothers in race and language and emigrated at the same period from Paraguay to settle in the vicinity of the Andes. When leaving their country of origin, both were acquainted with this type of basket used by their ancestors, the Guarani, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, /440/ and still favored among their first cousins from Paraguay, the Kaingua (Métraux, 2, p. 206). The disappearance of this cultural element among the Chiriguano is due solely to the lack of appropriate raw materials.

C G4
285
482
174
824
[144]
[199]

In order to make up for the absence of back baskets, indispensable to a farming people /Fig. 98 appears here/ the Chiriguano borrowed from their neighbors in the Chaco, either the Mataco or the Choroti, the carrying nets (in Chiriguano: añapoka) whose use is so widespread among the latter and is so characteristic of their civilization. Carrying nets today are in general use among the Chiriguano, and in every village each family has at /Fig. 99 appears here/ least one (Figs. 98 and 99). In spite of this wide diffusion, the Chiriguano añapoka betrays its origin by its form and technique (see Figs. 100 and 101 /see pp. 283 -285/), which are both found in the tribes we have just enumerated (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208, Technique I). Although considerably more advanced on the way to civilization than the seminomadic tribes of the Chaco, the Chiriguano do not by any means equal them /441/ in the art of making nets. The añapoka I collected cannot be compared with the deep bags which the Matako or the Choroti, for example, make for the same purpose. In the village of Machareti, where Toba live with Chiriguano, it is the former who furnish the latter with the /Fig. 100 appears here/ carrying nets they need (see Fig. 99 /see p.282/) (1).

C 177
482

C
[171]

C
[286]

C
[543]
[439]

1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 163, Fig. 49 A) gives the detail of the technique of a Chiriguano carrying net. This technique is not found on any

C 286
482
171

[Text continues on p. 283]

1: Métraux--282 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Toba SI12

C
286
482

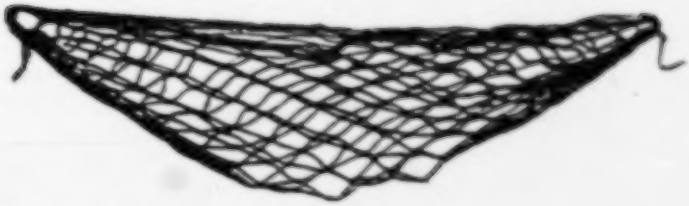


Fig. 98. Carrying net (añapoka) of the Chiriguano Indians. It is held on the forehead by a strap which is not shown in the photograph. Carurutí. (About 1/18 nat. size.)

C
J
286
482

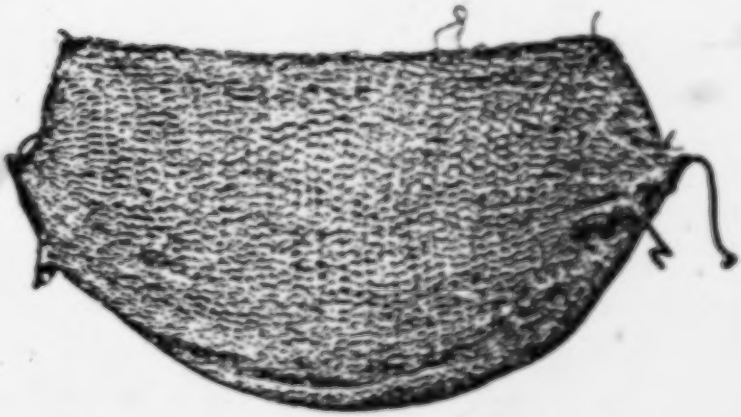


Fig. 99. Toba carrying net used by the Chiriguano Indians of the Macharetí mission. (About 1/10 nat. size.)

/441 cont./

286
482

Fig. 100. Technique of the net of Fig. 98 (Technique I, according to Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208).

286 /fn. 1 cont./ of the aňapoke I brought back
482 from the Chaco. I suppose it is a question of
171 a carrying net which the Chiriguano might have bought from Choroti, who, with the Ashluslay and the Matako, seem to be the only ones to use this technique. The technique we show in Fig. 101 is known to the Ashluslay, the Choroti, and the Tapiete. Nordenskiöld (9, p. 208) does not mention it among the Toba, where it nevertheless exists, as the aňapoka of Fig. 99 testifies.

/441 cont./

194 197 284 482 [439] Everything thus leaves us to suppose that, in the early period of their settling on the western confines of the Bolivian Chaco, the Chiriguano procured by barter the carrying nets intended to replace the back baskets they had used until then. It was only later that they learned to make them themselves, adopting only the simplest and easiest of techniques besides. Thanks to this example we can catch alive the causes which have motivated the adoption of a new cultural element after the disappearance of another which rendered the same services. For that, two factors have come into play, the physical environment and the ethnic one. There was adaptation and borrowing at the same time. This fact also proves that a relatively civilized people never hesitates to appropriate the inventions of more barbaric tribes when they find some advantage in it.

285 19 The present poverty of the basketwork industry among the Chiriguano does not imply that it is insignificant and worthless. Perhaps before the decline of this nation it was more widely represented in each village. I was able to observe that the disappearance of basketwork /442/ went along with the influence of the white men. But, for the reasons I have given above, I do not believe that at any time there could have been found among the Chiriguano that abundance of objects made of basketwork which travelers noted among the Indians of Guiana or the Amazon basin. Formerly, when the ancestors of the Chiriguano were still living in Paraguay and Brazil, they possessed basketwork identical with that of the tribes inhabiting the regions I have alluded to. Proof of it is furnished by the survival among the modern Chiriguano of various types of baskets, fire fans, and sieves, of which we find /Fig. 101 appears here/ the exact equivalent only in Guiana and the Amazon basin. As we shall ascertain in the course of this study, the identity between these two ethnic areas is perfect from this point of view. The only difficulty is to know whether in this case it is a matter of the remains of an industry peculiar to the Chané Indians of Arawak origin, whose influence upon the Chiriguano was considerable, or whether this basketwork only continues that of the ancient Guarani emigrants. In my opinion the question does not need to be asked. The basketwork of the

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaná SF8

C
482
159
C
Co
531
323

Carrying devices.—In contrast to other Guarani, the Chiriguano do not have basketry knapsacks; women use large carrying nets with a tumpline. Babies are carried in a woven sling, straddling their mother's hip.

PLATE 38.—Chiriguano and Chaná pottery decorations. (After Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 38.)

4: Nimo--12 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chirlguano SF10

482
291
516

/Plate facing p. 1/

Group of Indian men and women working at different jobs.

/27 cont./

137 which is purple when mature and opens into three sections
824 when ripe. It has an insipid sweetness, but one which both
[262] whites and Chiriguano like. The color is a bright purple, it is abundant, and in certain years of scarcity it is a resource for human life in the months of February and March. In Chiriguano it is called "Ñacagüina." The caraparí is another cactus, taller than the preceding ones, which also has its congenial land, /28/ since it is not found everywhere. It is admirable for its tall, striated leaves or branches, ash-gray and armed with spines; its fruit is very pleasant and also sought
[342] by foxes. The trunk is soft like that of all cacti; nevertheless
[757] doors are made of this wood and are durable enough. The pulp of the trunk is used medicinally to cure liver ailments, etc. They say that it is even good for goiter. There is another species of cactus which grows to some 20 or 25 centimeters; it is round and thick, striated and armed with spines. In Chiriguano it is called "Zipepe." The children, as we shall
[524] see, make wheels by cutting off its spines, and, making it roll, they use it as targets for their arrows. Finally, there is another which is trailing and long, covering the ground where it grows and making the place impenetrable. This has and
[262] produces a very delicious fruit which is called "Tapiacaru" in Chiriguano.

TILANDSIA. -- This plant is known to the Chiriguano
[342] by the name of "Caraguata guasu." Its special place is the
[283] hills, and among them it has some more congenial to it; it
[492] grows well enough and its leaves are extraordinarily broad and long and ash-gray in color; in the middle there is a thick stalk which rises quite high and is good wood for house rafters; from the crushed leaves they make cord and from these are made first-rate halters for tying up animals in the rainy season.
[286] The Toba and even the Chiriguano make a kind of net which
[171] they call chipa or "añapoca," which is very useful, inasmuch
[482] as the women can carry any weight in a bag of that kind; from
[227] the same they make nets so as to be able to fish in the rivers, and these are pieces of work which would attract attention in any part of the Old World.

/192 cont./

291 [286] Others who are not hunters, and hunters themselves when they are not engaged in this activity, fasten the breeches at the waist with a belt that they call Cuacuá; their wives weave it; it is made of wool and painted in various colors. They all have one, except some of the old men.

415 [281] [482] Another of their conveniences is the Urupucu, long bag in its literal translation. The Urupucu seems to be the Chiriguano's own; it is of tanned wild boar or pygmy deer hide, narrow at its opening, which they close with a little cord, gathering the opening; they sew around, and through the seam they pass the cord, which is rather long so that it can hang from one shoulder and be passed to the opposite armpit like a horseman's escarsela. This bag is used as a container for carrying provisions on a trip. In it they put boiled meal, parched corn and charqui. This is done by warriors, hunters, and travelers, and, well secured, as has been explained, it is never lost.

415 484 312 Finally, there is no lack of another convenience for carrying water. In order not to experience the effects of burning thirst, he has a type of gourd with a hard shell like that of the matés; he empties it, removing the pulp and seeds, making a hole in the middle, puts it in a kind of net of cords, leaving one or two larger meshes near the hole placed at the top, where the Chiriguano himself makes a small circle, fills it with water, stops it up with a maize cob, and during a trip uses it sparingly, if he has foresight, or else he may not have it when he needs it more (2).

2. The Indians who are governed by corregidors in the region of the Gran Chaco traveled with their respective tarí or tutuma on their expeditions to the desert of Paraguay.

/207 cont./

462 The woman among the Chiriguano is a true slave, and
562 the man her master. His work for the family is limited to planting and weeding, as well as fetching the necessary fire-
[517] wood. In addition, /208/ as a diversion and pastime, he takes his bow and arrow, goes out into the countryside and hunts, or fishes in a nearby river, spending the rest of his time talking with his friends, recounting exploits, telling stories, Miani, playing cards and throwing dice, even going so far as to bet the tipoy or cutama of his wife.

She, on the contrary, is the work horse of the house. She
[482] carries the maize with her Añapoca, a kind of net, goes to
[515] the spring and carries on her shoulders and over long distances some 50 libras of water, prepares food, makes chicha, cleans her house, spins, weaves ponchos, makes ollas, cares for her children, raises animals such as pigs, chickens, sheep, and goats, makes cheese if she has cows, and, as if all this were not enough, in the afternoon she sits down next to her lazy husband, releases his healthy hair, and as a distraction goes looking through that labyrinth for the insects which nest there, without feeling any disgust. I am not talking about killing
[262] them, but about doing away with some with her teeth and making a snack out of others, a very simple thing for these women.

562 Everything is permitted for the man. He can play upon
593 words and make lascivious jokes with other women, but this is not permitted for the wife, nor can she even cast a sidelong glance, which would be enough to cause her to be maltreated and divorced. How many things there are in nature! It is painful to see a mother with her four or five little ones abandoned to suffer hunger and despair, while the rascal of a husband with no just cause at all goes happily off with another, giving her the little that he earns and then getting rid of her at the first chance (1).

593
586 1. When the man turns out to be too lazy, it is the woman who leaves him, going off with another, and the children go with her, because

593
586

/208 cont./

love can accomplish much, and they really love their children, without making much outward show of this.

Finally, the man, whenever he wishes, can dismiss his wife with great ease. He does it with contempt, in biting words, calling her Cuña pochi, bad woman, Cuña imuquere, lost woman, good only for lighting the fire. No one could endure such scorn for an hour, and she understands that the rascal has won the love of another, younger woman.

515 When a mother goes to the spring or river, she takes her son or daughter with her, bathes herself and also her child, and then grinds up some grains of Ñetira, a kind of potash, leaving her hair and that of her daughter clean and shiny. The bath is daily, but the washing of the hair with ñetira is not.

/209/ Pregnancy and Birth

843 When a woman finds herself pregnant, she does not give up her customary chores, but goes to the field as usual and fetches from there heavy loads of maize and other things.
482 They use for this, as I have already noted, a kind of close-
285 woven net which the Toba make with the bark of the caraguata
[171] or maguey. Those made by the Chiriguano are like the wooden fruit-baskets /chipas/. They are open on top, where they have an easily untied cord, in the middle of which there is a wide band for holding the weight with the forehead (1).

482

1. The Chiriguano woman lets all the weight of the load she is carrying rest on her spinal column, etc., holding it with her forehead. If the water is some distance away, she does the same; if not, she carries the vessel vertically on her left shoulder, or on her head, where she places a pad of rags.

5tNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
291
114
*171

of the body with a garment resembling a »pampanilla». This may mean the tipoy, but also something else[1]).

C
Ce
291
854
*171
482

As MAX SCHMIDT[2]) has pointed out, the Paressi make their tipoys and their bearing-bands (to carry the children) in exactly the same way. The bearing-bands used by these Indians are identical with the tipoys in both shape and material. They differ from the latter only in being somewhat longer in proportion to their width. STADEN[3]) speaks of the »typpoy» as a garment. In an anonymous early description, also from the coast of Brazil, printed in PURCHAS[4]), the bearing-band is called »tupiya». The same word is thus used by the Guarani-speaking Indians on the coast of Brazil both for the bearing-band and the female dress. In some parts the same article has, indeed, been used both as a bearing-band for children and a woman's garment. According to BARBOSA RODRIGUES[5]) it would seem to be so among the Tembé Indians. The bearing-band does not occur among the Chiriguano and Chané; they carry the child cradled in the tipoy.

Ce
291
482
*171

I do not consider it too bold to assume that the tipoy and the bearing-band have the same origin, and that the one has suggested the other. In all likelihood, the bearing-

[1]) It is obvious from the following quotation from OVIEDO (T. 2, P. 271), where he tells of the female apparel of the Bubores living near Lake Maracaibo that the »Pampanilla» also might mean a small piece of cloth covering the genitals. »y las mugeres una pampanilla ó pedaço de algodon texido tan ancho como un palmo colgando delante de sus vergüenças».

[2]) (4) P. 218.

[3]) T. 2, P. 3. »/derselbigen wilden weiber machen dinger von baumwollen garn/ wie ein Sack vnden unnd oben offen/ die ziehen sie an/ und heyssen auff ire sprache Typpoy».

[4]) P. 1391.

[5]) (2) P. 42. »As mulheres . . . . . usam uma facha larga de algodão tecido branca ou tinta de urucu, passada a tiracollo sobre o hombre direito, que pendendo sobre o corpo, encobre-lhes a parte vergonhosa e serve para nella trazerem constantemente filhos. Dão a esta facha o nome de *tupóy*»

S:Nordenskiöld E-5/4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
291
171*
482

band, which has a much wider distribution, is the original. For some reason it was occasionally worn as a shirt and, finally, in some places, this became the custom. Out of the short skirt resembling the bearing-band has probably developed the long tipoy now worn by the Chiriguano and

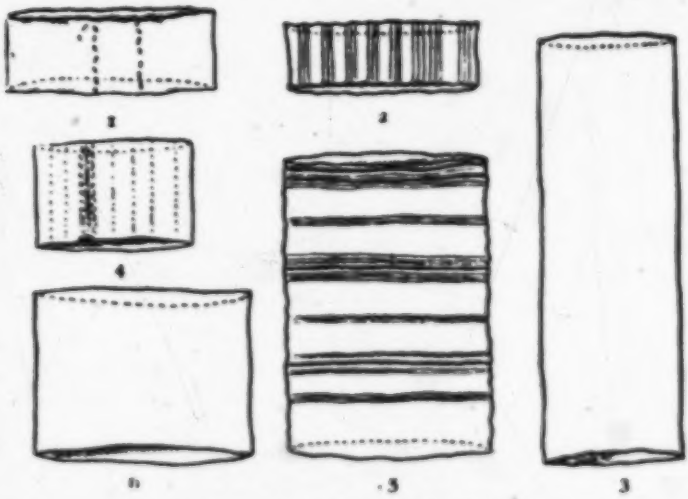


Fig. 22. Bearing-bands and »tipoys.»

1) G. M. 13. 1. 559. Bearing-band of bark-cloth. Huanyam.
2) R. M. G. 97. Bearing-band made of cotton in hammock-technique. Guarayú (mission).
3) G. M. 13. 1. 554. »Tipoy»-woven of cotton without seam. Chiriguano.
4) G. M. 12. 1. 64. Bearing-band of cotton, plaited. Patamona, British Guiana.
5) R. M. P. 130. »Tipoy» woven of cotton without seam. Chané.
6) G. M. 13. 1. 849. » » » » » » Guarayú.

Chané. The shape is still the same as that of the bearing-band; only the proportion between length and breadth has been changed (fig. 22). The bearing-bands used by S. American Indians are either made of bark-cloth, plaited in the ordinary hammock-technique, or made in some other

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
291
482
*171

way. The tipoys are, as a rule, woven. Tipoys manufactured in hammock-technique I know of only from the Siriono and the Ararandeuára (Tembé). These latter are also used as bearing-bands. Probably this is also the case among the uncivilized Siriono. Tipoys in this technique are probably earlier in origin than the woven ones.

C
Ce
752
196
291
482

The word »tipoy» has also been used with another meaning, viz., for a band used to support an injured arm.[1]) A band or sling of the kind has exactly the same shape as an Indian bearing-band. Only once can I remember having seen an Indian with his arm in a sling like this. He was a Pauserna man.

»Tipoya» can also be interpreted »a kind of hammock».[2])

C
Ce
352
854
482
*171

The question is if the hammock has not also been suggested by the bearing-band. In the first place we must remember that Indians also in different parts where the hammock is unknown, are careful not to put their babies on the ground. Thus, the Yuracáre and the Chimáne who have no hammocks, use cradles of bark-cloth in which they suspend their babies. When the Mosetene woman goes to work in the fields with her baby, she puts it into a bearing-bag which she hangs up in a tree. COMBOGES[3]) mentions that he saw among the Guaná Indians, who seldom use hammocks, a child which the mother had placed in a bag slung like a hammock. So it does not seem so very unreasonable to suppose that Indian women tried to use the bearing-band in the same way when the child had to be

[1]) [2]) I here give BRAZ DA COSTA RUBIM's definition of the word TIPOYA »Do guarani tupoi, vestido de mulher. Tira larga tecida com palha de miritiseiro; grande camisa sem mangas feita do entrecasco de certas arvores de enlaçada e estopenta fibra; o lenço o tiraculo para desamparar o braço; *serpentina de rede carregada por dous homens*».

[3]) »Iba uno de éstos una mujer joven que parecía una criatura, pero que, acabando de dar el pecho á un niño completamente desnudo, y colocándole en una bolsa de red, que á manera de hamaca pendía de las *tarumeras* del techo.» P. 191.

[text continues on p. 68]

S:Nordenskiöld E-S,9(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
South American Indians S.S

Ee
Ee
352
834
482
171

put down and they feared the snakes. The Guarayú have bearing-bands which are made in the very same technique as most hammocks. Such bearing-bands were also used by the Carios[9]) in Southern Brazil.

Table 8.

The distribution of the tipoy. Map. 7.

Ee
Ee
291
171
102
S
102
291

2. Ashluslay, G. M. Woven without seam. Wool.
4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 8. Woven without seam. Wool or Cotton.
5. Chané, R. M. P. 130. Woven without seam. Wool or Cotton.
6. Mataco, R. M. M. 166. Woven without seam. Wool.
20. Paressi, MAX SCHMIDT (4) P. 217. Woven without seam. Cotton.
25. Mojo, CASTILLO P. 324.
38. Carios, STADEN.
40. Guarayú (Guarayos).
41. Guarayú (Pauserna), G. M. Woven without seam, cotton
43. Goroscotoque, SCHMIDEL (1) P. 264.
51. Sirionos. Made in hammock technique.
94. Chiquito, BURGOS P. 341.
98. Ararandewára. (Tembé). I have gathered from LANGE's photographs that Ararandewára-girls wear quite short Tipoy in ordinary hammock technique; BARBOSA-RODRIGUES (2) P. 42.
I. Guarani, Paraguay. AZARA (2) P. 416.
5 P. Xarayes, NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA. T. 1, P. 300.
X 4. Payaguá. AZARA (2) P. 360.
I F. Indians near Lake Maracaibo. OVIEDO Vol. 2, P. 285. »Tomaron unas indias vestidas unas sayas tejidas sin costura, que les tomaba desde la cabeza hasta los pies, e unos capillos como de frayleso.

[9]) STADEN (1) Fig. P. 133.

Schmidt-Schild E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XVI.

Carrying-implements.

In Part I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano and Chané use carrying-nets, and never baskets, when carrying burdens on long journeys, when bringing home the produce of their fields, or when bearing water long distances. The method is for the band of the carrying-net to be fastened around the forehead, the burden resting on the back. If the water is near the village, they often bear the pitcher on their shoulders and, now and then, at the mission-stations, on their heads. In contradistinction to the negroes, however, the Indians are never seen carrying burdens on their heads while on journeys.

C Ce 482 415

In Part I there is a map (25) showing the geographical distribution of the carrying-net. As has been proved by the excavations of UHLE[1]) at Arica, the carrying net must be a very old culture element in S. America.

C Ce [171]*

Calabashes are sometimes put inside a net (fig. 30) in order that they may be carried more easily. A calabash in a net is, of course, easily hung up on a hook in the roof of the hut.

C Ce [353]

Earthen vessels are sometimes hung up in the same way. These have then more or less the shape of calabashes. BOMAN[2]) depicts an earthen vessel hung up in this way from Calama.

In my collection of earthen vessels there is one from the Chiriguano, and another from the Chané, which are intended to be carried by a string running round the vessel

[171]*

[1]) (see) P. 12.
[2]) Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 160.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
415
482
[171]

through the ears. These are reminiscent of the type of vessel employed by the Choroti and Ashluslay for carrying, and which I have traced to the Incan »aryballes». I did not mention these vessels in Part I, as they are not typical vessels of the Chiriguano and Chané. Among the numerous pitchers used for carrying I have only seen these two specimens. I know nothing of their origin, why they were made, or if they were merely acquired from one of the tribes who always use such vessels for bearing water. The latter is, however, unlikely.

Fig. 30. Calabash in a net with an empty corn-cob as stopper.
R. M. E. 522. 1/7

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Table 10.

Calabashes put inside a net.

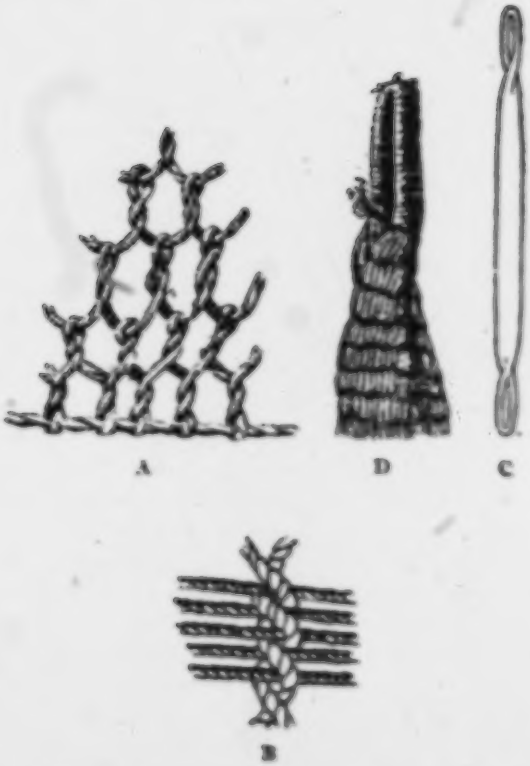
C
Ce
415
482
171*

Chiriguano, R. M. E. 522.
Chané, R. M. P. 48.
Mataco, R. M. M. T. 114; R. M. M. 1101.
Mbayá, BOGGIANI (2) P. 112, Fig. 50.
Karajá, KRAUSE Pl. 56. 4 b. c.
Cainguá, OUTES (5) and BRUCH P. 96.
Indians upper Rio Xingú, STEINEN (3) P. 141.[i]
Guayaqui, KUNIKE Fig. 6.
Ijca, BOLINDER (4).
Goijiro, THERESE VON BAYERN (2) Vol. 1, Pl. 1.
Indians Roraima, G. M. 12. 1. 476 (Basket-net.)
Indians Popayan, UHLE (1) Vol. 2, Pl. 4, 1.

i [erratum: this should read p. 241. Cf. errata sheet, p. 245. - Author]

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
286
482



C
286
352

Fig. 49 A. Technique in a carrying-net. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 51. 1/2
B. Technique in the hammocks Chiriguano. R. M. E. 1056. 1/2.
C. Frontlet to a carrying-net. Chané. Rio Parapiti. R. M. P. 127.
D. Technique in C.

ScNordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

This contrasts with the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro and is certainly owing to the poverty of the first-mentioned.

Sometimes the Chiriguano and Chané calabashes are surrounded by a net for greater convenience of carrying. I have already dealt with these in the foregoing.

The stoppers of calabash-bottles are generally pieces of empty corn-cobs. These are now and then used also as stoppers for earthen-vessels. The Choroti and Ashluslay, as a rule, make use of wax, which material is little used by the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
Ce
415
531
184
C
Ce
415
482
C
Ce
415
524
[257]
[271]
C
415
531
532

Fig. 31. Calabash. Chiriguano. R. M. 313 $^{1}/_{10}$

Schmidt-Schiff E-S,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Chiriguano nor Chané have carrying-baskets. They have carrying-nets instead.

In Part I I related how, in the year 1909, I came with some Guarayú Indians to the Chané and Chiriguano country. As there was no palm with parapinnate leaves, they were unable to make themselves new carrying-baskets instead of their old ones which were worn out. Should their tribe, for any reason, be compelled to emigrate to the Chiriguano and Chané country, they must alter their type of carrying-basket. It is quite possible that something similar has befallen the Chiriguano and Chané. They did not find suitable material for basket-making and so they learnt from the original inhabitants to make and use carrying-nets. Of the carrying-nets used by neighbouring tribes, those used by the Chiriguano and Chané most resemble those found among the Yuracáre.

In N. E. Bolivia, where palms abound, the Indians often make baskets for occasional use of a single palm-leaf. The whole basket thus consists of one palm-leaf. MAX SCHMIDT has given a minute description of such baskets. They occur among the Chané on the lower Rio Parapiti and, more rarely, among the Chiriguano. It is, at present, impossible to define the distribution of such baskets, since the majority of explorers have paid them no attention. There is a considerable difference of make in different places. In my collections I possess such baskets from the Chimine, Iziama, Cavina, Huanyam, Ipanama, Pauserna, Churipa, Yuracáre, Sirionó, Guarayú and Chacobo, as well as from the Chané and Chiriguano. It can be said that, practically speaking, they were used by all the Indians whose acquaintance I made on my travels excepting the Choroti, Ashluslay, Toba, Tapiete, Mataco, Quichua and Aymara.

The «Urupé» is a type of basket which I have already dealt with in the foregoing, and I beg to refer to what I said there.

/179 cont./
ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla, and many other things.

It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all night, as in a Choroti or Ashluslay village. The young men and the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they

Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Calpipendi. 1/2.

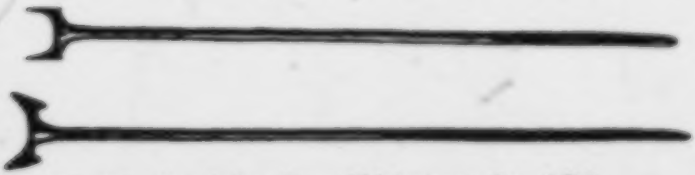


Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

are not busy brewing maize for a festival.

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, the men somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a truly refreshing bath.

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Rio Itiyuro the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Rio Parapiti in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also

/180 cont./

the most common among the Chiriguano. Only those women who live with the whites and have adopted their manners and customs carry jugs on their heads.

Division of Labor between the Sexes

Here too, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, each sex, as a rule, has its specific work, as we see from the following table:

Table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Chané and Chiriguano.

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Fishing . . .	+	+ (1)	Gathering wild fruits and tubers		+
Hunting . . .	+		Ceramics . . .		+
Planting, clearing . .	+		Woodworking . .	+	
sowing . .	+	+	Knotting nets . .	+	
reaping . .	+	+	Plaiting rope . .	+	
Cooking	(2)	+	Plaiting mats . .	+	
Carrying wood . . .	+	+ (3)	Tying hammocks .		+
Carrying water . . .		+	Leather work . .	+	
Preparing intoxicating drinks		+	Making weapons .	+	

1. As a rule, the women fish in shallow water, the men in deep water.

2. Sometimes take part in the preparation of the hunting booty.

3. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.

Ex Schmidt--196 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chiriq 3F8
I2020

C
28
352
126

/73 cont./

Weavings Made without a Special Mechanism for Making the Divisions of the Threads of the Warp, from the Collection

I.A. 450. Hammock (Chirig.) of wool. Lgth 2.85 m. Width 0.60 m. (Fig. 102a.)

C
28
415
126
482

I.A. 768. Carrying net provided with a woven caraguata band (Isosó). Length of band 49 cm. (Figs. 125 and 127.)

I.A. 807. Band for a carrying net (Isosó). Caraguata. Length 49 cm.

C
28
415
482
352

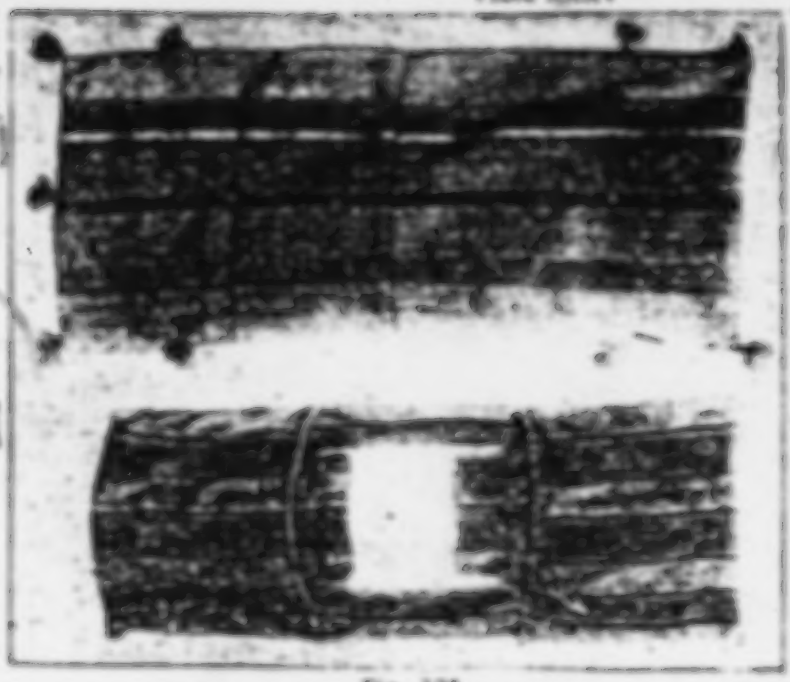
With regard to their exterior structure too, the bands with which many of the carrying nets (of the Isosó and some of the Chiriguano ones) and one Chiriguano hammock are provided are similar to the weavings. But these /Plates XXXII-XXXV appear here/ /73/ objects are made without any special mechanism for making the divisions of the warp threads.

Figure 125 shows the structure of the band of the net I.A. 768. (Cf. Fig. 123 /see p.90/.) The diagram shows the way in which these bands are made. First the longitudinal threads are stretched in a way similar to the manner of stretching the warp threads of common weavings between the horizontal poles of the frame of the loom, but without using the special thread extended between the two vertical poles of the loom. Then they pass a transverse thread, which corresponds to the woof thread of common weavings, through the two rows of longitudinal threads alternately from the right to the left and from the left to the right, in such a way that this thread is left alternately under one thread of the back row of longitudinal threads and on top of one thread of the front row. Thus the manufacture of these bands and of hammock I.A. 450 is different from that of common weavings principally in the fact that the woof thread passes simultaneously through the threads of the front side and of the back side of the warp. Sundry irregularities in the course of the threads of the warp show that weavings of this kind have been made without using a mechanism for making the divisions of the warp threads.

G. Schmidt--191 E-5 (1.000) 1036 SF:0 Chirigueno SF10
Chéne SF8
I2020

C
415
286
531
492

Plate XXXV



C
492

Fig. 131

CC
415
286
531
492

Fig. 132

Notes on p. 192./

Ce 286 /Plate XXXIV. Diagrams to illustrate the techniques of weaving, plaiting with "double thread," and sewing.

Fig. 125. Diagram to illustrate the technique of weaving, from the band of the net for carrying loads I. A. 768. Cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 200/ (Izozó).

Fig. 126. Diagram to illustrate the technique of weaving, from the saddle cover I. A. 843 (Izozó). Cf. Fig. 103a /see p. 174/

C 286 Fig. 127. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the hammock I. A. 443 (Chiriguano). Cf. Fig. 102b /see p. 174/.

Fig. 128. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the hammock I. A. 449 (Chiriguano).

Ce 286 Fig. 129. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the saddle cover I. A. 844 (Izozó). Cf. Fig. 103b /see p. 174/.

Ce 286 415 Fig. 130. Diagram to illustrate the technique of sewing two cuyan:
a (I. A. 666) (Izozó);
b (I. A. 667) (Izozó).

C 531 415 Plate XXXV. Woven bags, of wool.

286 Fig. 131. a (I. A. 444) Woolen bag for carrying loads (Chiriguano), length 1.67 m., width 0.45 m.
[482] [492] b (I. A. 445) Double bag for loading horses (Chiriguano), entire length 92 cm., width 37 cm.

Ce 415 286 482 492 531 Fig. 132. (I. A. 811) Double bag for loading horses (Izozó), entire length 93 cm., width 46.5 cm.

8: Schmidt--193 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

/73 cont./

The Technique of Making Nets

C
Ce
286

The technique of making nets is widespread among the Chiriguano and Chané and is used to make various objects, such as fishnets, hammocks, nets for carrying burdens, bags, and slings. The material used for making these nets generally consists of threads made of caraguata fibers. In the collection there are two Chiriguano burden-carrying nets made of woolen threads and another one made of strips of cowhide.

C
Ce
[283]
[824]
C
[482]

The common technique of making nets among the Chiriguano and the Chané is the technique called "Knotentechnik," in German, using the knot called the reef knot in English. Figure 138, a and b, shows such a "reef knot," and Figure 142 shows the technique of making nets with this "reef knot." According to Nordenskiöld (275), the Chiriguano and Chané use small

C
Ce
[284]

275. Nord. 3, p. 207.

rectangular boards for making their nets, like those with which we are familiar from many other tribes of South America. Unfortunately, I did not acquire such a board from the Chiriguano or from the Izozó. By continually wrapping the first board with a thread the simple loops which are shown in the diagram (Figure 142) in the upper row are formed. The thread, after having reached the other end of the board, are wrapped continuously in the opposite direction around a second board, being connected each time, with a knot, with the loops of the thread wrapped around the first board. If the thread has been looped in the manner described, until it gets to the first loop of the first row, the first board can be removed to serve in the formation of the third row of the meshes of the net, which is made in the same way as the second, but in the opposite direction. It is clear that nets made with this technique, in their simplest and least complicated form, must have a rectangular form, and this form is typical of all of the nets of the Chiriguano and Izozó, while various other South American tribes, for example, the Bakairí /Bacairi/, who formerly lived on the tributaries of the Xingú River (in Mato Grosso), make triangular nets.

C
Ce
[171]

8: Schmidt--194 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF 0 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

/74/

Ce 286 352 126

Nets of the Collection That Are Made with the Technique Called "Knotentechnik" in German. Using the Knot Called Reef Knot in English

I. A. 360. Hammock (276) (Chané of the Parapití). Caraguata.

276. Gift of Mr. Teodoro Rojas.

Length 3.20 m. (Fig. 102c.)
I. A. 766. Hammock (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 1.80 m.
C I. A. 794. " " " " 2.70 m.
Ce I. A. 446. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Wool. Lgth 1.05 m.
286 I. A. 447. " " " " " " " 0.75 m.
415 I. A. 561-564, 567, 569-571. Nets for carrying loads (Chiriguano).
482 Caraguata. Length between 1.50 and 0.50 m.
126 (I. A. 567, Figs. 134 and 143; I. A. 568, Fig. 144.)
I. A. 767-787; 790-792. Nets for carrying loads (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 1.60 m. and 0.65 m. (I. A. 768, Figs. 133 and 142; I. A. 772, Fig. 135.)
Ce I. A. 785. Bag (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 0.82 m. Height 0.48 m.
415 I. A. 788 " " " " 0.62 m. " 0.62 m.
286 (Fig. 136.)
126 I. A. 793. Quadrangular net (Izozó). Caraguata. Length 0.90 m.
Ce I. A. 764. Implement for fishing with net (Izozó). Length 73.5 cm.
[227] (Fig. 39.)
I. A. 795-801. Nets for implements such as I. A. 764 (Izozó). Caraguata.
C I. A. 508. Sling (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length 15 cm.
411 I. A. 509. " " " " 14 cm.
286

C Ce 286 352 227 136

From the large size of the mesh of nets I. A. 360, 766, and 794, it follows that they are hammocks. Because in Chiriguano and Chané territory there are generally no fish except small ones, nets for fishing must have considerably smaller meshes.

C Ce 415 286 482 [283]

Of the Chiriguano nets for carrying loads, two are made of wool and one of these has a band like most such nets from the Izozó. The rest of these nets from the Chiriguano and the Izozó are made of caraguata thread. Some of them have a rather small mesh, but among those of the Izozó those with big mesh are the rule.

/74 cont./

000 small mesh, but among those of the Izozó those with big mesh
Ce are the rule. Thus the mesh of the Izozó nets used for carrying
286 the large water jars is also very large. Most of these Izozó
415 nets have a special band that goes over the forehead of the
482 bearer. The structure of these bands, which are made of caraguata, wool, or cotton, have already been described by us in the chapter on weavings. Cf. Figure 133 /see p. 200/ and the diagram shown in Figure 125 /see p. 190/.

Ce The collection has two net bags from the Izozó which are
286 made in such a way that the whole rectangular net is folded
415 in the middle and the pieces which are on top of one another
[126] are laced together with a thread on the two longitudinal sides.

Ce In the way described in the foregoing they also make the
286 net of the fishing implement I.A. 764 described in the chapter
227 on fishing and shown in Figure 39. Because this implement is used to catch small fish, the net has very small mesh. The
Ce slings described among the hunting implements are also made
[411] in the same way.
[224]

/75/

C Burden-carrying Net Made by the Technique Called "Knotentechnik"
286 in German, But Using the Knot Called "Sheet Knot" in English from the Collection
415
482
[126] I.A. 573. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Strips of animal hide. Length 0.85 m.

C This net is made like the nets described in the foregoing,
[284] made of knots, but the knot used is the type called "sheet knot" in English and "Schotenstich" in German. This knot is shown in Figure 138, c and d. According to Nordenskiöld (277), the

277. Nord. 2, p. 164.

Chiriguano also have fishing nets which are made using this type of knot.

/75 cont./

286 415 482 [126]

Nets in the Collection That Are Made with Loops and without the Use of Knots

I.A. 555-566.	Net for carrying loads (Chirig.).					Lgth.	0.93 m. 1.80 m.
I.A. 567.	"	"	"	"	"	"	1.15 m. (Figs. 134 and 143.)
I.A. 568.	"	"	"	"	"	"	1.20 m. (Fig. 144.)

286 254 415 482

From the Chiriguano I obtained several nets for carrying burdens, which are made without using knots, by connecting the thread in the fashion illustrated by Figures 143 and 144 and which is common among many tribes of the Chaco, as happens among the Tapieté, Matako /Mataco/, Toba, Chorote /Choroti/, and Churupí /Chulupi/.

The great number of nets that I acquired from the Izozó are made with knots without exception, and we must therefore assume that these Indians are not familiar with or do not use the technique of making nets with simple loops and without applying knots, and that this technique, called "Schlingtechnik" in German, is used only by the Chiriguano or a part of them. Nordenskiöld does not mention this technique among the Chiriguano, and in the synoptic outline in which the several techniques of making nets are illustrated the Chiriguano are not mentioned in Column 5 among the Indian tribes which use the technique of making nets without applying knots. Of the burden-carrying nets made of caraguata thread that I acquired from the Chiriguano, ten are made without knots being applied, by the technique called "Schlingtechnik," and only seven by applying knots by the technique called "Knotentechnik." We can therefore assume that this part of the Chiriguano at least uses the technique of making nets without applying knots, although this opinion is contrary to that of Nordenskiöld, who says (278) that

286 254 114 177

278. Nord. 2, p. 116.

all of the nets made by this technique found among the Chiriguano and the Chané were acquired from the Chaco Indians.

8: Schmidt--197 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
415
482
177
[126]

/75 cont./

Net Bags Made by the Toba, from the Collection

I. A. 572. Bag for carrying burdens. (Found among the Chiriguano) Length 0.70 cm.

I. A. 845. " " " " (Found among the Izozó) Length 57 cm.

I acquired two net bags, one from the Izozó and the other from the Chiriguano, which show differences from the techniques mentioned in the foregoing. The Izozó and the Chiriguano told me that they themselves had not made these bags and that they had obtained them from the Toba.

Ce
294
177
[296]

/76/ Sewing

With the acquisition of European clothes, naturally the sewing of these clothes to make and mend them became general among the Chiriguano and Chané. Modern sewing needles are an article eagerly sought by them today. But undoubtedly these Indians had already known the technique of sewing with a needle with an eye for a long time through their contact with the culture of the ancient Peruvians. Although the native textiles are, in most cases, made in one piece, needlework coming from other cultures is often added to the native technique of these textiles. I mentioned that a large Izozó tipoy is made of two smaller tipoys sewed together. The ponchos of the Chiriguano in Machareti are made of two pieces sewed together. The four edges of the Chiriguano and Izozó ponchos most of the time are turned and sewed to the rest of the fabric. In the making of the bags for carrying burdens, especially the double bags for loading draft horses or burros, sewing is used.

Ce
294

C
Ce
415

Among the cuyas that I obtained from the Chiriguano and Izozó there are several which show breaks mended by sewing. See Figure 25a /see p. 51/. The two diagrams shown in Figure 130 a and b serve to illustrate the way in which this sewing is done, with cotton thread on the two Izozó cuyas I. A. 666 and 667, and with fine wire on the Chiriguano cuya (I. A. 460). The cuya I. A. 667 shows two such repairs done by sewing.

8: Schmidt--200 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF 0 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XXXVI

Ce 286 415 482 ←

C 286 415 482 →

Fig. 133

Fig. 134

Ce 286 415 482 ←

Ce 286 415 →

Fig. 135

Fig. 136

/The ca[illegible]tions are on p. 202./

8: Schmidt--202 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Ce 286 415 482

/Captions for Plates XXXVI and XXXVII/

Fig. 133. (I. A. 768) Net for carrying loads, made with the technique using knots (Izozó). Length 1.33 m. Cf. Figs. 125 /see p. 190/ and 142 /see p. 201/.

C 286 415 482

Fig. 134. (I. A. 567) Net for carrying loads, made with the technique without knots (Chiriguano). Length 1.15 m. Cf. Fig. 143 /see p. 201/.

Ce 286 415 [482]

Fig. 135. (I. A. 772) Net for carrying loads, made with the technique using knots (Izozó). Length 1.18 m.

Fig. 136. (I. A. 788) Bag made with the netting technique using knots (Izozó). Height 0.62 m. Length 0.62 m.

Plate XXXVII.

C Ce 286

Fig. 137. Diagrams of twisted threads: a, twisted to the right; b, twisted to the left.

Fig. 138. Diagram of the two different knots applied in the making of nets: a and b, "reef knot"; c and d, "sheet knot."

Ce 286

Figs. 139-141. Diagrams of the plaited middle parts of three cotton bands for women's hair (Izozó): Fig. 139 (I. A. 649); Fig. 140 (I. A. 652); Fig. 141 (I. A. 646).

Fig. 142. Diagram of the technique of the net for carrying loads I. A. 768, using the knot called "reef knot" (Izozó). Cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 200/.

C 286

Fig. 143. Diagram of the technique of the net for carrying loads I. A. 567, made only with loops, without knots (Chiriguano).

Fig. 144. Diagram of the technique of the net for carrying loads I. A. 568, made only with loops, without knots (Chiriguano).

C Ce /78 cont./ concerning means of
482 transport by land we do not have any evidence except through
489 the sundry implements which serve for carrying burdens. We
492 can assume from the form of the double bags mentioned in the chapter on weaving that they use their horses and burros to transport loads.

C The objects used to transport burdens have already been
Ce mentioned in preceding chapters. Among them the most gen-
286 eral is the carrying net, which often has a band. By means of
415 it burdens are carried on long trips or the fruits of the harvest
482 are brought in from the fields to the houses, or water is brought,
[484] often from a distance, to the dwellings. The carrying net is used in such a way that the band goes across the forehead of the bearer so that the weight of the burden rests on his back (292).

292. See Nord. 2, p. 95.

Nordenskiöld has published a photograph of a woman who is carrying a load in her net (293).

293. Nord. 1, Fig. 87.

C Baskets are not used by the Chiriguano and Chané for carry-
Ce ing loads; they are used among these Indians only to store things.
415 Neither is any special band used to carry infants; rather they
482 are carried in a fold of the tipoy.
[854]

Only if water is near the house are water jugs sometimes carried on the shoulder without a net, but not on top of the head.
C This latter appears only in the cases where the Indians are
Ce directly influenced by the whites, as happens in the missions (294).
[177]

294. Nord. 2, p. 95.

C
Ce For carrying small amounts of water when traveling, these
[484] Indians also use calabashes enlaced with string, or small baked clay vessels /79/ provided with a string or a leather strap, such as, for example, the vessel I.A. 617 shown in Figure 56b.

/79 cont./

C
C8
485
191
413

We must still note that the Chiriguano and Chané transport fish in the same way as the neighboring tribes of the Chaco, by stringing them on a cord provided with a big wooden needle (295).

295. Nord. 9, p. 45.

Implements for Storing Objects

C
C2
352
353
415

Most of the objects that serve for storing things have also been mentioned in preceding chapters, such as the various kinds of baskets and the wooden hoops which are hung in the houses for storing sundry things in them. The net bag and the carrying net do not serve only for carrying, but also for storing things in them. Baked clay vessels are not only used for storing liquids, but are also used for storing many other things which have a special value or are old memorabilia of the family (296). Furthermore,

296. Nord. 1, p. 179.

C
C2
[237]

they put up special hooks for hanging various things in the houses. Such a hook is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (297).

297. Nord. 1, p. 177 and Fig. 86.

and Métraux shows such a hook made of a deer's leg (298).

298. Métraux I, Fig. 128.

Art

C
534
126

Flutes and a Whistle in the Collection

I. A. 491. Flute, "sereré" (Chirig.). Wood. Lgth. 17 cm. Width 2.7 cm. (Fig. 23b.)

I. A. 492. " " " " " 20 cm. Width 3.5 cm. (Fig. 22a.)

I. A. 490. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Length 43 cm.

167 [464] /312 cont./Some years ago, old Taruiri, having learned from some Chiriguano that Brazilians were "cariñosos," that is, generous, had the idea of going to their country to find work, for which he hoped to be well paid. He banded together with 45 other Chiriguano before whom he held out the glittering fortune which awaited them in the country to the east. With this adventurous spirit and boldness which characterize the Guarani, they did not hesitate to take off toward the unknown. They first passed through Chané territory and followed the course of the Parapiti to the desert. There they rushed boldly into these unexplored regions, dried-up expanses, which separate the Izozog from Chiquitos. They were all armed with bows and arrows to defend themselves from a possible attack by the Tuirakua, the tracks of whose squared-off sandals they often saw in the sand. No water, of course, but only sipóy roots, which permitted them to stand the thirst. After 12 days of walking, this band arrived at Chiquitos, then from there reached the Paraguay River and Corumbá. Taruirí was not a little surprised to find brothers there, "that is," he explained to me, "people who spoke my language, badly it is true, but who nevertheless made themselves understood." When I inquired discreetly as to the success of his business over there, Taruirí answered, shaking his head and in a tone shot through with sadness and disillusionment: "All that was only a lie," todo era engaño.

[271] [324]

Taruirí does not know and will never know that by doing this he accomplished an exploit that would be the pride and glory of an explorer. For him, it was a question of a simple trip, scarcely longer and more arduous than the one he undertook in the past to go to Argentina.

193 534 548 484 Does anyone want other modern examples of their spirit of adventure and of that ease with which the Guarani move about? I transcribe as such the curious tale told to me by the Indian Cipriano from the Ivu mission, who, confused as he may be, refers to definitely authentic facts:

C 173 539 648 484 C [643]

/312 cont./

In olden days numerous Paraguayans emerged into our territory near the Izozoc and they went to fight on the side of the Guarayú and Santa Cruz. From there they went on to Cochabamba. They gave battle over there, then went to Oruro. Their colonel was killed. They scattered in every direction. One of them came to Macharetí where the "Capitan grande," Mandepona, was. The latter told Cipriano, who was then a young man: "Let us go to Paraguay." Mandepona had given this Paraguayan ten "soldiers." Cipriano did not want to go with them. The ten went down the Pilcomayo and arrived at a village near Paraguay. /Plate III appears here./ /313/ A soldier richly decked out with silver, with a horse whose harness was of the same metal, came to meet them to examine them. The Paraguayan they were escorting went to speak with this soldier, but the others did not hear what they were saying. While these two were talking, they saw the Toba arrive with a piece of cloth between their legs and their chests and arms painted with charcoal. The Toba asked them where they were coming from and where they were going. The Chiriguano answered: "To visit you." The Toba refused to allow them to continue on their way, although they were only one league from Paraguay. As an excuse they told them that they were in the act of making war. The Paraguayan rode behind the soldier, and the ten Chiriguano returned to Macharetí.

The first part of this story seems to be a modern adaptation of Alejo García's adventure. I do not know what event could have given rise to this legend, which, had it been true, would have been very much to the taste of the Paraguayan government. As for the trip of the ten Chiriguano from Macharetí, it has the appearance of being wholly authentic.

C 175 648

The crossing of the Chaco is a less difficult undertaking for Indians than for white men. Formerly these trips from the Andes to Paraguay must have been facilitated by a greater density of the native population. It is enough to recall the relatively easy trip of Juan de Ayolas going from Paraguay to the country of the Chané and coming back without having to cope with any particular obstacles. The exploration of Alvar Núñez

[Text continues on P. 30]

/313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Nuñez
Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 76) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

/319/

They took from them the gold and silver plaques and ornaments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

/348 cont./

287 497 [484] [435] half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

294 178 231 433 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 50 years ago, those who /Plate XII appears here/ /348/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disembowled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 435 [464] [465] The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently costs from 15 to 20 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in 47 23 [436] each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

[464] [198] 1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 352).

they are not obeying any superstitions but simply are afraid to 556 diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows: and, in their Spanish jargon, "rancho" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Novirenda had as many as 60 head of cattle.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 93]

/351/
226 /Figs. 73-77 appear here/ /352/ Chiriguano attach them to the
[227] end of long cords. A spear with one or two points serves to harpoon the enormous surubí which pass within their reach
[481] (Fig. 71). It goes without saying that the Chiriguano are
242 marvelous swimmers.
439

The Chiriguano like fish (1). If they live far from the

226
195
229
481

1. The skill of the Chiriguano at fishing had already attracted the attention of the ancient chroniclers. Acosta (Vol. I, p. 236) reports that he had a chance to see them handle the spear, a specimen of which is reproduced here in Figure 71. "Some Chiriguanas plunged under the water and, swimming with admirable speed, followed the fish, and with some fish spears, or harpoons, which they carried in the right hand, swimming only with the left, they struck the fish; and, spearing it thus, they came up, so that they certainly seemed to be more fish than men of the land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Simon (1, Fig. 215, p. 213) represents a Chiriguano holding one of these two-pointed spears in his hand.

242 Pilcomayo and cannot get any directly, they buy it from the
439 Tobas or the Matacos, who are good fishermen and in addition have the advantage of living on the very banks of the lower Pilcomayo.

In the dry season one can see near Pilcomayo a continual
[481] coming and going of Chiriguanos, bent under the weight of their sacks full of ears of corn that they are going to barter for fresh
[482] or dried fish. They would not hesitate, it appears, to travel 150 kilometers to least on it (Nino, p. 251).

/359 cont./

263 pieces which are put near the fire to make them melt little by little. The cooks dip them from time to time into the soup, then take them out. If the salt is taken from salt marshes or from water by evaporation, /360/ they mold it into large balls which are scooped out as needed (Fig. 26).

252
291
516

Fig. 27. Young Chiriguano woman winnowing beans. Carurutí. (Photo. A. M.)

317
263

The major part of the salt exploited in Chiriguano country comes from a mine situated in the San Simon region, between San Luis (Entre Rios) and the Solado River, in the department of Tarija. The Indians flock there from all directions with droves of donkeys which set out again loaded with big blocks of crystallized salt afterward cut into small pieces.

[486]
[492]

/365 cont./

273 The preparation of chicha is not play: it is necessary not only /366/ to grind an enormous quantity of corn, but again to go ceaselessly to get water, often at a great distance. At Cururú 484 482 the nearest potable water was at the bottom of a ravine of particu- 293 larly difficult access. The women were constantly going there with an iru (Plate XVII. 1),* which they carried on their backs in a net (añapoka) held on the forehead by a strap. They would fill

462 516 273 291 415 412

Fig. 31. Woman sifting corn which she has just ground in the mortar beside her. This flour is to be roasted, then chewed to serve as ferment for kiwi. Cururú. (Photo. A. M.)

484 the jug and, loading it with difficulty, would go back up the 482 steep slope doubled over under the weight. So as not to lose any 273 time, these hard-working creatures would take along a calabash full of ground corn which they continually chewed.

273 The ground corn is cooked in water and constantly stirred 412 with flat sticks whose edges used to be cut out with a certain artistic care in olden days (Fig. 32). Today a kind of oar (Fig. [198] 33) or the scapula of an ox (Fig. 34) fastened to a long handle [239] replaces the ancient utensils in which was manifested so well the [531] Chiriguano tendency to decorate even the most humble objects.

* [For plate XVII, See category 86, P.129--Analysis]

/3 cont./

133 The Indian makes full use of the valleys, laying out his
132 field with its own fence; his cow also grazes there, with her
311 calf running and playing across the level ground, and the wild animals live everywhere there, the dauntless foxes, the inoffensive armadillos, and the timid little deer /corzuelas/, while the monkeys seek the woods and the brambly, craggy ground of the hills to entertain themselves in raucous clamor, and the condors love to soar through the air to an extraordinary height, even considering that they launch themselves from the peaks of the highest hills.

133 While the ridges run from north to south, the course of the rivers is quite capricious: they run to the north, regress southward, direct themselves eastward, advance intrepidly westward, but the dominant course of them all as far as the pampas of the Gran Chaco is from west to east, overcoming every difficulty set in their way by the ridges, from which they leap with an extraordinary din, such as at the "Pirapo" (cataract of the fishes) or the waterfalls of the Pilcomayo and Parapiti rivers.

In the land of the Chiriguano, torrents and streams abound; more numerous are the rivulets which quickly lose their waters because within a few kilometers they run into endless sandy areas. If the hidden water should fail to appear occasionally in the ravines, which are small arroyos in origin, life here would be all but impossible, since places like Tva, which without having a river or anything similar, possess abundant and excel-
312 lent water, are numbered. The springs which appear in the beds
[159] of the torrents are of the greatest benefit in those places where there are no lakes or ponds, for the Indian, because of his laziness, is not capable of building artificial lakes for his water supply. In Itatiqui, for instance, not long ago there was a group
• [164] of some 150 Chiriguano families; they could have made a lake in order to have such a necessity, but neither did they do it nor will they on their own initiative, and they go five kilometers to get it or at least there is the Chiriguano woman with her jug waiting for the forming of the drops which exude from the western slope, from which comes the name "Itatiqui," the stone that drips.

/181 cont./

462 415 531 bulls, deer, etc. If all this carving were woman's work, it would have but one name, Sacuarama, but since it is man's work, each figure has the name of the quadruped, biped, or reptile that it represents (2).

(825) 2. Thus they say Machuru haangaño, figure of a lizard, Taimbe haangaño, figure of a dog. Even the men call the figure of a jaguar or a dove: Sacuarama.

/182/ With this second task the work can be considered finished. Days or weeks are employed depending on the greater or lesser quantities of the matú. They now color all the [386] [239] etched figures with ground charcoal and paint the empty spaces with Urucú, achiote, making them firm with the Taraglirisi, which is abundant everywhere, then singeing them in the flame of the fire so that the pictures will never lose their shine and luster or the painting of carbon and urucú come off (1).

237 323 825 1. The Taraglirisi is a species of ant which is common in cold weather. Its length is not over half a centimeter and its thickness three. It moves about the small branches of certain small trees, where it leaves its speckled whitish excrement. All potters provide themselves with an abundance of this material.

Pottery

323 [462] [317] [484] I shall now go on to consider women's work, limiting myself to the most important, such as clay vessels and textiles. For the former the Chiriguano woman provides herself beforehand with the best clay, which she knows very well and even brings from long distances, if it is not found in the territory of the tribe. Naturally the potter not only wishes to avoid the loss of her labor, but also, insofar as she can, she wishes to

/192 cont./

291 [256] Others who are not hunters, and hunters themselves when they are not engaged in this activity, fasten the breeches at the waist with a belt that they call Cuacuá; their wives weave it; it is made of wool and painted in various colors. They all have one, except some of the old men.

415 [231] [482] Another of their conveniences is the Urupucu, long bag in its literal translation. The Urupucu seems to be the Chiriguano's own; it is of tanned wild boar or pygmy deer hide, narrow at its opening, which they close with a little cord, gathering the opening; they sew around, and through the seam they pass the cord, which is rather long so that it can hang from one shoulder and be passed to the opposite armpit like a horseman's escarsela. This bag is used as a container for carrying provisions on a trip. In it they put boiled meal, parched corn and charqui. This is done by warriors, hunters, and travelers, and, well secured, as has been explained, it is never lost.

415 484 312 Finally, there is no lack of another convenience for carrying water. In order not to experience the effects of burning thirst, he has a type of gourd with a hard shell like that of the matés; he empties it, removing the pulp and seeds, making a hole in the middle, puts it in a kind of net of cords, leaving one or two larger meshes near the hole placed at the top, where the Chiriguano himself makes a small circle, fills it with water, stops it up with a maize cob, and during a trip uses it sparingly, if he has foresight, or else he may not have it when he needs it more (2).

2. The Indians who are governed by corregidors in the region of the Gran Chaco traveled with their respective tarí or tutuma on their expeditions to the desert of Paraguay.

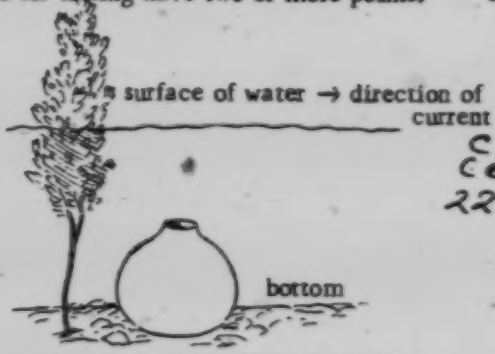
/185 cont./

Ee 226

Another method of fishing often used in the aforementioned river is to dam up longish pools in the sand, in which fish gather. After the water is emptied out of the pools, the fish are caught. Sometimes the pond is made to terminate in a channel closed off with a scoop net /Ketscher/, from which the fish cannot escape. Ee

All the fishing that I saw on the Rio Itiyuro was done during the dry season, on hot, sunny days. [132]

On the upper Rio Pilcomayo the Chiriguano fish with fishhooks obtained from the whites, with nets similar to the dip nets of the Choroti, though smaller, and by shooting the fish with bow and arrow. The arrows used for fishing have two or more points. C 226 [177] [411]



C Ee 226

Fig. 90. Fishing with calabash. Rio Itiyuro.

On the Rio Parapiti I saw Chané and Chiriguano fishing with a net of the type illustrated here (Fig. 91). In shooting fish, the Chiriguano there use arrows with many fine points. C [411]

In these last-named rivers the men always fish in deeper water with nets and with bow and arrow, whereas the women are content to catch small fish where the water is dammed when the river is half dry. Ee

Not infrequently the Indians undertake long journeys in order to fish. Thus, the Chané sometimes during the /186/ dry season visit the swamps "Madrejones" in which the Rio Parapiti disappears. 226 484 [33]

/186 cont./

It is strange that peoples who fish so much are acquainted with so little fishing gear. In my description of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we have already become familiar with this deficiency. C Ce 226

On the Rio Pilcomayo, Moberg and the author once wanted to give the Indians the benefit of our fishing experience and constructed a weir of which we were not a little proud. We set it out, firmly convinced that in the morning it would be full of fish. All we caught was wood and refuse of all sorts, and I cannot deny that the Indians ridiculed us a bit. Ee 226 123 C Ce 226

The reason for the poverty of these Indians with regard to fishing gear is not a lack of ideas, but a different one. There are, quite simply, few fishing methods suitable for these waters. Setting out a net at night is not feasible, for if a palometa fish gets into the net it immediately cuts it in two with its knife-sharp teeth. Fishing with a hook where there are such fish is also not enticing, for they bite off the hooks as easily as the lines, if these are not made of good material. In these tropical waters the fishing gear also rots more quickly than among us and thus should not be left in the water all night. C Ce 484 501

The Chiriguano and Chané have no vessels. On the other hand, they are extraordinary waders, and to wade in the rivers here during the rainy period is not exactly a small matter. If, however, one has the assistance of one of these Indians, one can cross if it is possible at all.

As an oddity I might mention that during my entire journey I never saw a native white or mestizo fishing. In Bolivia it is not refined to eat fresh fish. On the Rio Pilcomayo /187/ the officers of the military post almost never ate the delicious, fresh, salmon-like fish from the river, but preferred canned salmon from Alaska. Since this is very old by the time it reaches Bolivia, it tastes dreadful. Fishing with a hook is also the only method of fishing that the Indians learned from the whites. C Ce [226] [177]

As for domestic animals, the dog is the only one that the Chiriguano and Chané did not get from the whites. These dogs now seem to me to have a strong mixture of foreign blood. They always have names, for example, tirupotchi (old garment), /Fig. 91 appears here/ chapikáyu (yellow eyebrows). As a rule, Ee 231 [177] [552]

C /295 cont./
821 The waxing and waning of the moon, according to Maringay's explanation, was caused by the fact that a larger
C or smaller piece of it is put in the firmament.
821 The sun rises over the water and then shines for us during
177 the day. In the evening it dips into the water again, and at night it shines for the other human beings on the other side of the earth. This was Maringay's idea of the course of the sun.
Ee I believe, however, that he learned this from the whites.
821 When a meteor, "baeréndi," falls, it means the death of
784 a chief. About a shooting star, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti said:
[763] "He is going to sleep with his girl." Maringay was more realistic in his explanation. "The star lets something fall,"
Ee said the old man.
821 /296/ When it thunders, Chiquéritunpa is walking about.
[789] The medicine men, "ipáye," are able to make rain. When
[825] the swallow, "máchurupimpi," flies low, it will rain, the
[784] Indians say. Another bird, "chóncho," announces rain. If
[484] one is going traveling, one should not put a jug in water, but dip up the water with a calabash, otherwise it will rain. In a
Ce myth about the destruction of the world related to me by the
821 Chané on the Rio Itiyúro, the world is destroyed by water.
773 The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me how the world was
Ce destroyed by a storm. Otherwise the wind plays an unimportant
821 role in the myths. If one places a warmed jug in flowing
[784] water, there will be a storm, say the Chané on the Rio
[825] Parapiti. The rainbow, "yii," is a snake.

C Ce /78 cont./ concerning means of
482 transport by land we do not have any evidence except through
489 the sundry implements which serve for carrying burdens. We
492 can assume from the form of the double bags mentioned in the chapter on weaving that they use their horses and burros to transport loads.

C The objects used to transport burdens have already been
Ce mentioned in preceding chapters. Among them the most gen-
286 eral is the carrying net, which often has a band. By means of
415 it burdens are carried on long trips or the fruits of the harvest
482 are brought in from the fields to the houses, or water is brought,
[484] often from a distance, to the dwellings. The carrying net is used in such a way that the band goes across the forehead of the bearer so that the weight of the burden rests on his back (292).

292. See Nord. 2, p. 95.

Nordenskiöld has published a photograph of a woman who is carrying a load in her net (293).

293. Nord. 1, Fig. 87.

C Baskets are not used by the Chiriguano and Chané for carry-
Ce ing loads; they are used among these Indians only to store things.
415 Neither is any special band used to carry infants; rather they
482 are carried in a fold of the tipoy.
[854]

Only if water is near the house are water jugs sometimes carried on the shoulder without a net, but not on top of the head. This latter appears only in the cases where the Indians are
C directly influenced by the whites, as happens in the missions (294).
Ce
[177]

294. Nord. 2, p. 95.

C For carrying small amounts of water when traveling, these
Ce Indians also use calabashes enlaced with string, or small baked
[484] clay vessels /79/ provided with a string or a leather strap, such as, for example, the vessel I. A. 617 shown in Figure 56b.

C
G /319/
175 They took from them the gold and silver plaques and orna-
167 ments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages
727 they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many
726 Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked
C whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people
G had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a
175 long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the
167 people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting
484 trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was
487 covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

Ee /78 cont./ concerning means of
482 transport by land we do not have any evidence except through
489 the sundry implements which serve for carrying burdens. We
492 can assume from the form of the double bags mentioned in the chapter on weaving that they use their horses and burros to transport loads.

C The objects used to transport burdens have already been
Ee mentioned in preceding chapters. Among them the most gen-
286 eral is the carrying net, which often has a band. By means of
415 it burdens are carried on long trips or the fruits of the harvest
482 are brought in from the fields to the houses, or water is brought,
[484] often from a distance, to the dwellings. The carrying net is used in such a way that the band goes across the forehead of the bearer so that the weight of the burden rests on his back (292).

292. See Nord. 2, p. 95.

Nordenskiöld has published a photograph of a woman who is carrying a load in her net (293).

293. Nord. 1, Fig. 87.

Ee Baskets are not used by the Chiriguano and Chané for carry-
415 ing loads; they are used among these Indians only to store things.
482 Neither is any special band used to carry infants; rather they
[854] are carried in a fold of the tipoy.

Only if water is near the house are water jugs sometimes carried on the shoulder without a net, but not on top of the head.
C This latter appears only in the cases where the Indians are
Ee directly influenced by the whites, as happens in the missions (294).
[177]

294. Nord. 2, p. 95.

C
Ee
[484] For carrying small amounts of water when traveling, these Indians also use calabashes enlaced with string, or small baked clay vessels /79/ provided with a string or a leather strap, such as, for example, the vessel I. A. 617 shown in Figure 56b.

XVII.

Rafts.

As far as I have seen, the Chiriguano now never use canoes or rafts. PEDRO DE SEGURA,[1]) however, mentions rafts from these Indians at the end of the sixteenth century. Nowhere else in the literature have I found any confirmation of their being used by these Indians, so I refrain from giving an account of the distribution of different kinds of rafts among the South-American Indians, and refer my readers to FRIEDERICI's[2]) excellent work on Indian canoes and rafts. I have found rafts in common use among the Chiriuáne and other tribes in North Bolivia.

The Chiriguano and Chané do not build bridges. The former, at least, are known as exceedingly clever waders.

[1]) Carta de PEDRO DE SEGURA, «Corregidor de Tomina, al Virey del Perú, con relación de la guerra de los Chiriguanos» Sevilla y Sucre P 322.

[2]) (5).

/342 cont./

243 462 [482] Wives accompany their husbands to the fields. They spend the day there spinning, sewing, grilling ears of corn, or roasting manioc. In the evening, if they return to the village, the wife comes back bent under the weight of her aflapoka, or carrying-net, full of ears of corn. Sometimes the men help [492] them. Those who have donkeys and horses use them as beasts of burden.

482 Transport of corn is done generally with the help of the carrying-net, but makeshifts let them do without it in case of necessity. The ears of corn are held together in bundles by means of leaves which encompass them and are suspended from a flexible switch bent in the shape of a figure eight. When the two loops are balanced, one can raise them by grasping them by the middle.

251 In the village the ears are either stored in granaries on piles, to which steps cut in a tree trunk (Fig. 9) lead, or kept in the hut where a special corner has been made into a compartment. A tree trunk tipped with a natural fork may serve /Plate VII appears here/ /343/ as a storage place for corn. The ears, tied into bundles, are piled between the two branches of the fork (Fig. 10).

243 789 Formerly, before their dreadful decline began, the Chiriguano had recourse to magical ceremonies to hasten the ripening of corn and to avoid drought or too great an abundance of rain. /Fig. 9 appears here./

When the sun threatened to burn the harvest, they had one or several medicine men come who were charged with bringing the recalcitrant clouds. Provided with a cigar, they went around the fields blowing the smoke in every direction (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 167). The symbolism of this rite of homeopathic magic is clear: the smoke represents the clouds which the ipaye is to gather.

[526] [178] The game of mboto represents the survival of a magical ceremony having to do with the growth of corn and its maturing.

[Text Continues on p. 98]

/359 cont./

263 pieces which are put near the fire to make them melt little by little. The cooks dip them from time to time into the soup, then take them out. If the salt is taken from salt marshes or from water by evaporation, /360/ they mold it into large balls which are scooped out as needed (Fig. 28).

252
291
516

Fig. 27. Young Chiriguano woman winnowing beans. Caruruti. (Photo. A. M.)

317
263 The major part of the salt exploited in Chiriguano country comes from a mine situated in the San Simon region, between San Luis (Entre Rios) and the Salado River, in the department of Tarija. The Indians flock there from all directions
[484]
[492] with droves of donkeys which set out again loaded with big blocks of crystallized salt afterward cut into small pieces.

824 /16 cont./
139
[114] I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it through experience and careful reading: when describing certain plants. I shall also make note of the use made of the bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall, straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood borer does not damage it: it is much used here in the construction of upper roofs, especially for the braches or trunnes on which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its
[342] wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less
[492] value: it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows, but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to
[296] make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears
[515] and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the face free of blemishes: here it is known by the name "timboy."

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. moniliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which reason drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it.
[372] It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatane," fire that smells: the wood is yellow.

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of
[342] trees of this class here and there: it is the most abundant tree,
[281] the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does not eat it: the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites: the latter call it sebil and the former "Curupau."

245 ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in
137 fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters.
824 Its leaves are dark green: it produces abundant fruit in a sort of pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds, which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They
[302] serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces
[303]
[439]

/21 cont./

137 GUAYABO /guava/. -- This fruit-bearing tree is found
824 wild and cultivated; it is of medium size, and the fruit, when
[845] ripe, is yellow on the outside and purple on the inside, and its bittersweet flavor is very pleasant and lacative. The green fruit and the roots are astringent; the Chiriguano know it by the same name. The wood has no use at all, and even if it
[262] did, the Indians would not use it because it produces edible fruit. They regret it when any of these trees and others, like the algarrobo, are destroyed.

GUEMBE. -- This plant thrives on the trunks of high trees, where it puts its root, and others which penetrate the ground
[492] hang down from them. The roots and lianas are dark in color; very strong and durable halters are made from its bark; it is not found everywhere. One encounters it from the left bank of the Paraguay River; its fruit is similar to that of maize, for which reason it is called maize of the air, and it is edible.

HIGUERA AMERICANA /Affringan fig/. -- This is the
[262] guapoy of the Chiriguano and the bibosi of the populace; although the fruit is rather sour, it is edible. Bats like it, and it
[797] is annoying to have this tree near the dwellings; it has a milky juice like the common fig tree, which, applied to wounds, heals them. In addition to the above fig tree, there is the
[245] common one which flourishes with very little care, in the towns,
[439] especially the Mission ones; it is widely cultivated by the
[431] natives and its fruit is used by them for gifts and trade with the whites.

244 MANDIOCA. -- This plant is called "Mandio" or "Mandioroqo" by the Chiriguano Indians. A little book written by a Jesuit missionary of the old Paraguay missions relates that this plant was left to those Indians by Saint Thomas the Apostle who, according to their tradition, came here to preach the doctrine of the Redeemer. Mandioca is
[252] an excellent food and very digestible; it is eaten boiled,
[262] roasted, and fried in lard. It is a plant cultivated by whites and by Indians.

/77 cont./

[137] which is purple when mature and opens into three sections
[274] when ripe. It has an insipid sweetness, but one which both
[362] whites and Chiriguanos like. The color is a bright purple. it is abundant, and in certain years of scarcity it is a resource for human life in the months of February and March. In Chiriguano it is called "Sarapilina." The carapari is another cactus, taller than the preceding ones, which also has its congenial land. /78/ since it is not found everywhere. It is admirable for its tall, striated leaves or branches, ash-gray and armed with spines; its fruit is very pleasant and also sought
[342] by foxes. The trunk is soft like that of all cacti; nevertheless
[351] doors are made of this wood and are durable enough. The pulp of the trunk is used medicinally to cure liver ailments, etc. They say that it is even good for goiter. There is another species of cactus which grows to some 20 or 25 centimeters; it is round and thick, striated and armed with spines. In Chiriguano it is called "Zipepe." The children, as we shall
[529] see, make wheels by cutting off its spines, and, making it roll, they use it as targets for their arrows. Finally, there is another which is trailing and long, covering the ground where it grows and making the place impenetrable. This has and
[262] produces a very delicious fruit which is called "Tapiacaru" in Chiriguano.

TILANDSIA. -- This plant is known to the Chiriguano by the name of "Cacaguata guasu." Its special place is the
[342] hills, and among them it has some more congenial to it; it
[283] grows well enough, and its leaves are extraordinarily broad
[492] and long and ash-gray in color; in the middle there is a thick stalk which rises quite high and is good wood for house rafters; from the crushed leaves they make cord and from these are made first-rate halters for tying up animals in the rainy season.
[286] The Toba and even the Chiriguano make a kind of net which
[171] they call chipa or "allapuca," which is very useful, inasmuch
[482] as the women can carry any weight in a bag of that kind; from
[229] the same they make nets so as to be able to fish in the rivers, and these are pieces of work which would attract attention in any part of the Old World.

4: Nino--259 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

291
415
492

Chiriguano saddle or seat, sagum, bag, belt

/275 cont./

411 [492] Warriors on horseback, in addition to having bows and arrows, use the lance: it is a piece of a knife or of iron tied to the tip of a stick; note that each warrior, according to what they say, cannot carry more than a dozen arrows, because they are heavy. 534 726 In order to inspire terror and fright in the attack they make on the enemy town, they use the Igñiramimbi, a wooden musical instrument, the Seneme, and the Huacananti, or cow's horn (2).

> 2. The first is round, and it is very hard to pierce it, and the second is long. Both are of good wood, and they engrave figures and signs on them. They hang them from the neck by means of a cord. The wood is like ebony.

722 While some of them are preparing the bows and arrows, the braver men do not remain idle, nor do the women: the latter prepare the necessary provisions and even the chicha to celebrate the triumph, if they win it, and the former encourage the more cowardly ones, showing their ability as quremba in the streets and the plaza, animating them all, making them understand that triumph depends on them and that it is necessary to triumph at all costs if they do not wish to be subjected to the harsh condition of the conquered, thus losing everything, wife, children, home, and property.

726 704 /276/ When all the weapons are ready, those of the cavalry saddle their horses, putting the arrows on the right side, so that they can easily get them in case of urgency, because it is characteristic of the cavalry to yell insults at the enemy and to sow confusion on the battlefield with shouts and the noise of the igñiramimbi, huacananti, and porongos. Then, all of them, [292] foot soldiers, horsemen, and quremba, don their garb, some the [714] jacket /coleto/, others armor of garabatá, and they put on the [411] back of the left hand a strap of pygmy-deer hide, so that they [302] will not hurt themselves when they shoot the bow, and, finally, they all color their faces and arms with ground charcoal dampened in water. Let the reader consider if this army of demons would not frighten even the dead!

797
291
177

/309 cont./
in addition to the ordinary clothing, use a waist /corpiño/, hat, socks, and small rug /alfombrita/ in church (2). /Page 310 and

000

[184]
[492]

2. The place where they dress most elegantly is in the missions of the Parapiti Grande, especially the women, who even have saddles for traveling and for riding about on horseback.

the first paragraph on p. 311 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 311 follows./

Conclusion

797

In conclusion, let it be noted for a final time that the Bolivian nation and people have opened to commerce and industry the broad region described in the first chapter of this work. This is due to the Franciscan missionaries, whose labor dates from the year 1609; they faced all the dangers; they risked their lives in the forests, in the torrential rivers, on the summits of the hills, they suffered thirst, hunger, fatigue, cold and heat, they endured with resignation the calumny and persecution of the people without conscience who never failed to make them the target of their filthy mouths and tongues.

[648]

The work has been accomplished; previously nobody went among the Chiriguano without the risk of falling victim; today the entire region is one with more or less large towns, there are provincial capitals, cantons and vice-cantons; the merchant passes through the Chiriguano towns, sleeps, very highly esteemed, in their houses, and the whites themselves, scattered throughout the region, have every guarantee of safety. This is a real prodigy owing to the Religion of Jesus Christ, preached by the missionaries; it is one more proof of the fact that the Cross is constructive.

[177]

/312/ It is evident that the native element is disappearing because of the causes previously enumerated during the course of these lines (1).

000

1. If the present missions remain and new ones are founded in the centers that are left today,

S:Nordenskiöld E-5, 1 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

VI.

Domestic Animals.

Apart from the dog, the Chiriguano and Chané keep only European domestic animals. There is now no genuinely Indian breed of dogs here. Cattle-breeding is of some importance in certain parts, especially in the Caipipendi valley. Milking the cows is not understood. Some of these Indians keep large numbers of sheep and the women spin the wool and weave woollen stuffs. It is not known if they had wool in the pre-Columbian period, as it has not been ascertained whether these Indians kept llamas or not. Poultry are of great importance to the Chiriguano and Chané. The Indians in South-America were exceedingly quick to learn the art of poultry-keeping, thus, when CABOT touched the south coast of Brazil in 1526, he got plenty of hens from the Indians by barter.[1]) The Chiriguano and Chané have but few horses. They are not nearly such good equestrians as, for instance the Toba.

C
Ce
23
[177]

I have in my collection a riding whip stock made by the Chané. DEL CAMPANA depicts a very primitive saddle from the Chiriguano. I have seen similar saddles among the Toba Indians.

C
Ce
492

When these Indians acquired the European domestic animals, the chase must have lost in importance for them. They obtained their meat in another way. The possession of cattle compelled them to enclose their tilled ground, or to have it far removed from the pastures.

C
Ce
177
[231
244]

---

[1]) MEDINA (2) T. 1. P. 438.

/38 cont./

C 23 Because the ancient Peruvians raised various breeds of dogs, we
177 can assume that the Chiriguano received the dog as a domestic
174 animal from the ancient Peruvians. We can assume the same
with regard to the duck, which was also raised by the ancient
C Peruvians. Therefore I do not include the duck among the
[114] domestic animals that these Indians received from the whites,
as Nordenskiöld does. We do not know whether the Chiriguano
in times past might have raised the llama. From the fact that
guanacos exist in the territory located between the Parapití
and the Rio Grande, we can deduce that the raising of that
other species of Euchenia might have been possible in that
country.

C The Chiriguano very early received such European do-
[175] mestic animals as the horse, the ass, the cow, sheep, goats,
[648] hogs, and chickens, which they captured in great quantities
in their continual raids on the Spanish settlers. In 16th century
documents there are repeated complaints about the extensive
C stealing of livestock by these Indians. Today the Chiriguano
Ce and Chané do not have many horses, and they have never had
49 the /39/ pronounced character of a nation of horsemen. The
41 true weapons of war were formerly a long bow and arrows which
648 were also long, which cannot be used by a mounted horseman,
361 in addition to which their homes were formerly in the hills in
C regions which the Spaniards could not enter on horseback. In
Ce certain parts of their territory the raising of cattle has some
231 importance (181). More general is the raising of sheep, pigs,

181. See Métraux I, p. 340.

and chickens. Today one sometimes also finds among them guinea hens and turkeys (182).

182. Nord. 1, p. 137.

C
Ce /69 cont./
291 6. Fajas. I. A. 428-441 (Chiriguano) (I. A. 423, Figs. 119b
126 and 123; I. A. 430, Fig. 124; I. A. 436, Figs. 119a and 121).
I. A. 803-807 (Izozó) (I. A. 803, Figs. 119c and 122).

Ce 7. Saddle covers.
492 I. A. 842 (Izozó). Of wool. Length 0.69 m. Width
126 0.67 m.
I. A. 843 " " " 1.42 m. "
0.62 m. (Figs. 103a and 126.)

C 8. Carrying bag (Chiriguano). Of wool. Length 1.07 m. Width
415 0.45 m. (Fig. 131a.)
126
9. Double bags for carrying loads on asses or horses.
[492] I. A. 445. (Chirig.) Wool. Entire lgth. 92 cm. Width 37 cm. (Figs. 115 and 131b.)

Ce I. A. 811. (Izozó) Wool. Entire lgth. 93 cm. Width 46.5 cm. (Fig. 132.)
492 I. A. 821. " Cotton. " " 94 cm. " 40 cm.
415 I. A. 822. " " " " 106 cm. " 36 cm.
126 I. A. 839. " " " " 97 cm. " 35 cm.
I. A. 840. " " " " 104 cm. " 36 cm.
I. A. 841. " Wool " " 92 cm. " 46 cm.

Ce Of the three tipoys in the collection acquired from the Izozó,
291 one (I. A. 820) consists of a fabric in the form of a sleeve made
286 with the warp in this form. The woolen tipoy (I. A. 832) was lengthened by sewing together two such woven pieces, one beside the other. The structure of the weaving clearly shows the thread which was extended between the two vertical poles of the loom before making the warp, and which remained in the cloth. Tipoy I. A. 838 is not typical and consists of a flat piece of weaving whose two facing edges were sewed together.

C With regard to the making of ponchos, we must mention
Ce that those of the Chiriguano consist of two pieces of woven ma-
291 terial sewed to each other in the direction of the slit of the
286 poncho, while Izozó ponchos most often consist of a single piece of weaving made across the entire width of the loom and therefore do not show a seam in the middle part such as Chiriguano ponchos show. From the stiff edges in the direction of the woof, it can clearly be seen that the special mechanism

8: Schmidt--191 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XXXV

C
415
286
531
[482]

a

C
[492]

b

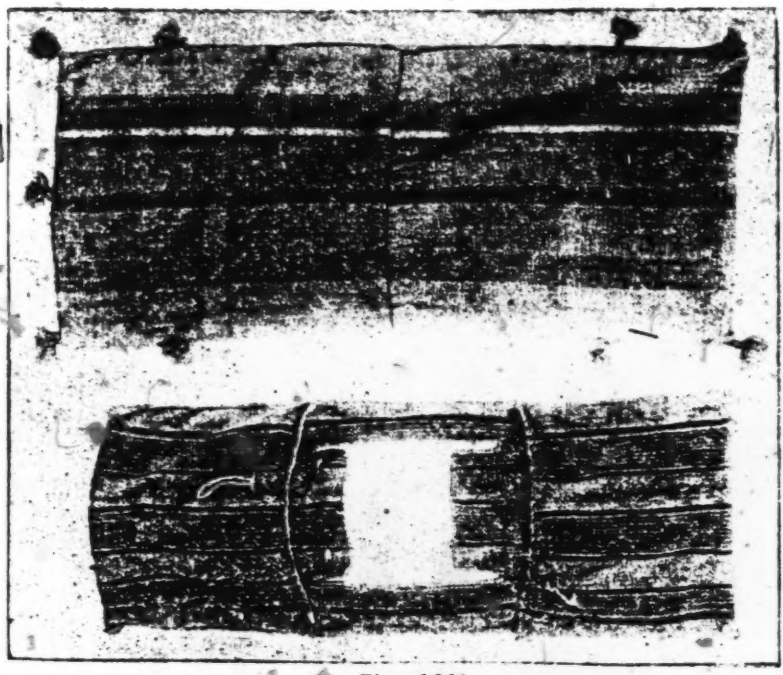


Fig. 131

Ce
415
286
531
492

Fig. 132

The captions are on p. 192./

Ce 286 /Plate XXXIV. Diagrams to illustrate the techniques of weaving, plaiting with "double thread," and sewing.

Fig. 125. Diagram to illustrate the technique of weaving, from the band of the net for carrying loads I. A. 768. Cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 200/ (Izozó).

Fig. 126. Diagram to illustrate the technique of weaving, from the saddle cover I. A. 843 (Izozó). Cf. Fig. 103a /see p. 174/

C 286 Fig. 127. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the hammock I. A. 448 (Chiriguano). Cf. Fig. 102b /see p. 174/.

Fig. 128. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the hammock I. A. 449 (Chiriguano).

Ce 286 Fig. 129. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the saddle cover I. A. 844 (Izozó). Cf. Fig. 103b /see p. 174/.

Ce 284 415 Fig. 130. Diagram to illustrate the technique of sewing two cuyas:
a (I. A. 666) (Izozó);
b (I. A. 667) (Izozó).

C 531 415 286 [482] [492] Plate XXXV. Woven bags, of wool.

Fig. 131. a (I. A. 444) Woolen bag for carrying loads (Chiriguano), length 1.07 m., width 0.45 m.
b (I. A. 445) Double bag for loading horses (Chiriguano), entire length 92 cm., width 37 cm.

Ce 415 286 492 531 Fig. 132. (I. A. 811) Double bag for loading horses (Izozó), entire length 93 cm., width 46.5 cm.,

/76 cont./

The Working of Skins and Leather Tanning

C Ce 281 [824] [177]

The Chiriguano and Chané know the art of tanning leather, and they use for that the bark of the "Piptadenia" and other trees. No doubt they obtained the knowledge of this craft from the whites. They use not only tanned leather, but also strips of animal skin for the making of sundry objects (279), but the

279. Nord. 2, p. 165.

C 224 292 177

craft of working leather and skins is not an important one. It is said that formerly the Chiriguano, when they went hunting, wore leather clothing conforming to the European style (280).

280. Nord. 1, p. 184. Nord. 2, pp. 60 and 61. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

C 281 294

Beyond that, leather is not used for making clothing, except to make sandals (281). The men's modern custom of wearing

C 291 177

281. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23.

a leather belt must be attributed to the influence of the whites. Without counting its application to the making of bridles and saddles for horses and asses, either draft or saddle animals, on which we have no data, strips cut from leather or from animal skins are used in the form of straps, principally to transport or hanging up some object. In place of the common vegetable-fiber cords, leather straps are often put on the nets for carrying burdens, on hammocks, and also on the hoops mentioned above, in which they keep things. The band of the Chiriguano net for carrying burdens I. A. 564 consists of an untanned cowhide strap. See Figure 134 /see p. 209/. The Izozó vessel I. A. 617 has a leather strap attached to its handles. The strings of the bows for shooting arrows are strips of animal skin, and the Chiriguano net I. A. 573 is made of cowhide strips.

C 281 [492]

Ce [281]

C Ce /78 cont./ concerning means of
482 transport by land we do not have any evidence except through
489 the sundry implements which serve for carrying burdens. We
492 can assume from the form of the double bags mentioned in the chapter on weaving that they use their horses and burros to transport loads.

C Ce The objects used to transport burdens have already been
286 mentioned in preceding chapters. Among them the most gen-
415 eral is the carrying net, which often has a band. By means of
482 it burdens are carried on long trips or the fruits of the harvest
[484] are brought in from the fields to the houses, or water is brought, often from a distance, to the dwellings. The carrying net is used in such a way that the band goes across the forehead of the bearer so that the weight of the burden rests on his back (292).

292. See Nord. 2, p. 95.

Nordenskiöld has published a photograph of a woman who is carrying a load in her net (293).

293. Nord. 1, Fig. 87.

C Ce Baskets are not used by the Chiriguano and Chané for carry-
415 ing loads; they are used among these Indians only to store things.
482 Neither is any special band used to carry infants; rather they
[854] are carried in a fold of the tipoy.

Only if water is near the house are water jugs sometimes carried on the shoulder without a net, but not on top of the head.
C Ce This latter appears only in the cases where the Indians are
[177] directly influenced by the whites, as happens in the missions (294).

294. Nord. 2, p. 95.

C Ce
[484] For carrying small amounts of water when traveling, these Indians also use calabashes enlaced with string, or small baked clay vessels /79/ provided with a string or a leather strap, such as, for example, the vessel I.A. 617 shown in Figure 56b.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano women still dress in tipoys, a long, sacklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, *right*). Some tipoys (tiru) are so long that they need to be folded. 291

Anciently, *Chiriguano* men shaved their foreheads, as did the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband. 302 412

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a tasseled fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

Body painting.—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass. 302 178

Ornaments.—The distinctive ornament of the *Chiriguano*, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 59, *e*). Originally, labrets were made of rosin, as were those of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip. 301 178

Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean woven frontlets studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 59, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the *Chiriguano* in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads. 301 177 [439]

Miscellaneous.—The *Chiriguano* have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout *Chiriguano* territory. 515 824

Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers. 302

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The rivers in *Chiriguano* territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River. 501

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XVII.

Rafts.

C
501

As far as I have seen, the Chiriguano now never use canoes or rafts. PEDRO DE SEGURA,[1]) however, mentions rafts from these Indians at the end of the sixteenth century. Nowhere else in the literature have I found any confirmation of their being used by these Indians, so I refrain from giving an account of the distribution of different kinds of rafts among the South-American Indians, and refer my readers to FRIEDERICI'S[2]) excellent work on Indian canoes and rafts. I have found rafts in common use among the Chimáne and other tribes in North Bolivia.

C
Ce
491
C
481

The Chiriguano and Chané do not build bridges. The former, at least, are known as exceedingly clever waders.

[1]) Carta de PEDRO DE SEGURA, »Corregidor de Tomina, al Virey del Perú, con relacion de la guerra de los Chiriguanaes» SERRANO Y SANZ P 524.

[2]) (5).

/186 cont./

It is strange that peoples who fish so much are acquainted with so little fishing gear. In my description of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we have already become familiar with this deficiency. C Ce 226

On the Rio Pilcomayo, Moberg and the author once wanted to give the Indians the benefit of our fishing experience and constructed a weir of which we were not a little proud. We set it out, firmly convinced that in the morning it would be full of fish. All we caught was wood and refuse of all sorts, and I cannot deny that the Indians ridiculed us a bit. Ee 226 123

The reason for the poverty of these Indians with regard to fishing gear is not a lack of ideas, but a different one. There are, quite simply, few fishing methods suitable for these waters. Setting out a net at night is not feasible, for if a palometa fish gets into the net it immediately cuts it in two with its knife-sharp teeth. Fishing with a hook where there are such fish is also not enticing, for they bite off the hooks as easily as the lines, if these are not made of good material. In these tropical waters the fishing gear also rots more quickly than among us and thus should not be left in the water all night. C Ce 226

The Chiriguano and Chané have no vessels. On the other hand, they are extraordinary waders, and to wade in the rivers here during the rainy period is not exactly a small matter. If, however, one has the assistance of one of these Indians, one can cross if it is possible at all. C Ce 484 501

As an oddity I might mention that during my entire journey I never saw a native white or mestizo fishing. In Bolivia it is not refined to eat fresh fish. On the Rio Pilcomayo /187/ the officers of the military post almost never ate the delicious, fresh, salmon-like fish from the river, but preferred canned salmon from Alaska. Since this is very old by the time it reaches Bolivia, it tastes dreadful. Fishing with a hook is also the only method of fishing that the Indians learned from the whites. C Ee [226] [177]

As for domestic animals, the dog is the only one that the Chiriguano and Chané did not get from the whites. These dogs now seem to me to have a strong mixture of foreign blood. They always have names, for example, tirupotchi (old garment), /Fig. 91 appears here/ chapikáyu (yellow eyebrows). As a rule, Ee 231 [177 552]

/78 cont./

C 273 removed from the pot, chewed up and well mixed with saliva, is then mixed back in with the rest. Then it is strained and ferments in large open pots, at moderate heat. By means of C [412] [237] large wooden spatulas or mammals' shoulder blades fitted with wooden handles, the mash is stirred in the pot. We find a more detailed description of this process in the publication by Métraux (287).

287. Métraux I, pp. 365-369.

C Ce 251

The Preservation of Foodstuffs

Concerning the method of preserving foodstuffs, we know that the Chiriguano and Chané dry fish for future use, when fish are abundant (288). According to Niño (289), formerly meat

288. Nord. 1, p. 189.

C [113]

289. Niño, F. Bernardino de: Etnografía Chiriguana, La Paz, 1912, pp. 249 and 250. According to Métraux.

from hunting was preserved for the great fiestas by drying it in the sun, without using salt. Even today, when a bovine animal is slaughtered, part of the meat is preserved by drying it in the sun (290).

290. Métraux I, p. 356.

C Ce 501 ooo

Transport

The Chiriguano and Chané, in contrast to the Itatines-Guarayús, do not have boats (291). Concerning means of

291. Nord. 1, p. 186.

/76 cont./

When experience showed them that they could settle in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen. The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every type of cereal; maize matures exuberantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hooks and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably. In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /77/ along some stream; plantings of this type are called socorro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

By what has already been related it can easily be understood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guasayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guasayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

/123 cont./

797 religious education of the boys and girls would not make much
829 progress because their parents are in continual movement. Some
177 effort at least has been made to help them by means of the property rights which they have in the territory, about three leagues long by half a league wide, and the plan was then to build them some small chapel, but I believe that these efforts will be left in the filing cabinet for centuries to come (1).

000

1. Today, instead of missions, they are building forts for the purpose of colonization. Doubtless the epoch of a new method of colonization has arrived, but nobody is ignorant of the fact that this costs the Republic millions, while the cost of a mission is relatively nothing, and the advantages and progress incomparable. What advances are there in Crevaux, in Guachalla, and other places? What buildings are there of note and stability? None. In a single hour the Toba or any other savage may destroy them by fire. Don Fernando Guachalla, the president-elect, said it well when he said that the best and cheapest method of colonizing is that of founding missions.

175 Before the Parapiti missions were organized, those Indians
511 suffered considerable misery, because the place was quite dry
[132] in the rainy season, and they had no means of planting along the banks of the river, since the few lands there were in the
[186] hands of the whites. Father Giannecchini passed through there in 1887 as an expeditionary to Paraguay, and when he saw them so poor and so reduced in number, he exhorted them to move to some mission, but they answered that it was not easy to leave the place where they had been born and had grown old.

/306 cont./
797 continually shown (3).

3. A rest is almost imperative after a long stay in the missions, in order to refresh the spirit, because a bow which is always bent breaks, says the Evangelist St. John.

/307/ There is no traveler who does not marvel upon considering the progress of the missions, upon considering the beautiful works of the Indians, when they think that years ago there were impenetrable jungles and bare hills on the site now occupied by the grandiose temple and buildings. As was said by an enlightened Englishman, Protestant in religion, of course, the Catholic missions among the Chiriguano are like oases in the desert, and to see them at a distance stirs who knows what in the heart; even I do not know what I experience when on some journey I again approach and see them in the distance.

The Method

The method established since the beginning of the first founding of the missions cannot be improved upon, in that it looks toward moral and civil progress and has yielded practical results, especially in some missions where, despite the fact that they have been in existence only few years, almost all speak the national language moderately well. Is this not a near prodigy, achieved with a race whose language has no analogy with
000 civilized languages? /The remainder of p. 307 and the first paragraph on p. 308 are omitted. The remainder of p. 308 follows./

167 464 [797] Following the method which has been implanted, the missions progress and would progress further if the Chiriguano were not so changeable. Neither in their towns nor in the neighboring cantons is there any lack of work for them; but rather it is day laborers who are not to be found; they prefer to go far away where they may earn less than here, spending their small gains on things that are useless and harmful to them (1).

[511] 1. There are neophytes who stay on the haciendas

/308 cont./

167
464
•511

of the Argentine Republic for eight or ten years; they drink it all up and when they want to come back they scarcely bring back more than a knife and a small black garment /ternito/, which costs little.

If one asks the reason for this procedure, so strange for them themselves, they answer that in their town they could never save up ten or 15 bolivianos, because they spend them immediately on trifles for themselves and their families, while in the Argentine Republic they keep their money in the master's house and, when they come back, buy clothing and even animals, tools, saddles, and other items. There is some truth in this, but just as it is not completely true that here their money does not last, neither is it completely true that they bring clothing and other things from Argentina. Those who are a little careful and who are not lazy dress very well here, while the vice-ridden in Argentina let themselves be overcome by laziness and return as naked as they were before; they arrive, spend or waste, if they have anything, and finally go off to live as they please (2).

101
167

2. The Chiriguano Indians call the gauchos, or natives of Argentina, criollos /Creoles/; they apply the same name to those of their own race who settle there for many years.

797
871
191
177

The method of instruction as it is applied yields prodigious results in the girls, who, in addition to learning their letters and worship, learn in the schools the tasks proper to their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; certain mission schools for girls, for example, the one at San Antonio del Parapiti and the one at San José de Tigüipa arouse real admiration in visitors, both because of /illustration appears here/ /309/ the handiwork which is done in them and, in the former, because of the Spanish language, which from first to last they all speak with considerable perfection, since from the beginning the language of their parents has been absolutely prohibited for them in the school, even among themselves.

Schwabenschild E-8,d(1900-1909, 1912) 1920
EF10 Chirigwano EF10
Chane EF8

Table 20.

Culture element that the Chirigwano and Chane probably derived from the Wintu.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
[illegible]

C
Ce
105
177
462
511

	Chirigwano	Chane	Distribution favored by natural surroundings.	Distribution independent of natural surroundings	If great in portions the struggle for existence.
Modern hut	+	+	+	—	+
Chair	+	+	/	+	—
Wooden bones	+	—	/	+	—
Sugar-cane	+	+	—	—	—
Water-melon	+	+	+	—	—
Reeds for arrow-shafts (Arundo donax)	+	+	—	—	+
Pellet-bow	+	+	/	—	—
Cattle	+	+	+	—	+
Sheep	+	+	—	—	+
Horses	+	+	+	—	—
Poultry-keeping	+	+	+	—	+
Riding whip stock	+	+	/	+	—
Saddle	+	+	/	+	—
Tinder when striking fire with flint and steel	+	+	/	+	—
Clothes of tanned skin	+	—	—	—	—
Leather-girdle with pocket	+	+	/	—	—
Hairband with tassels	+	+	/	+	—
Strawhats	—	+	/	—	—
Women with pierced ears	+	+	/	+	—
«Boleyra»	+	+	/	+	—
Tube-gamet	+	+	/	+	—
Dice	+	+	/	+	—
«Rifle «plaything»	+	+	/	+	—
Musical bow	—	+	/	+	—
Flutes with six carefully fitted holes	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets of cow-horn	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets with mouth-piece of reed	—	+	/	+	—
Vessels with lips in rims	+	+	/	+	—
Beaker	+	+	/	+	—
Tassels	+	+	/	+	—
Staff	+	+	/	+	—

Culture element that the Chiriguano and *Chané presumably derived from the Whites.*

+ Positive occurrence. — Negative absence.
/ Question not answered.

Manufactures cells for tech. ical skill.	Man's work.	Woman's work.	Used by men.	Used by women.	Used only by children.	Still frequently used	Luxury.
+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
/	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	—	—	—	+	—
/	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	—	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	—	+	—	—	—
/	+	/	—	+	—	—	—
—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Table 21.

Cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané presumably obtained from the Culture Zone in the West.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

C
Ce
177
462
511
105

	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings	Distribution independent of natural surroundings	Of great importance in the struggle for existence.
Wooden hook on which to hang their belongings	+	+	/	+	+
Spade (Wooden)	+	+	/	+	+
Bird-net	+	—	/	—	+
Wooden bowl	+	+	/	+	+
Wooden spoon	+	+	/	+	+
Coca	+	—	/	—	+
Poncho-shirt	+	+	/	+	+
Sandal	+	+	/	—	+
Woven girdle	+	+	/	+	+
Frontlet	+	—	/	+	+
Wooden comb	+	—	/	+	+
Pincer	+	+	/	+	+
Topu	+	—	/	+	+
Necklaces of green stones	+	+	/	/	+
Headdress worn by Chiriguano Women on festive occasions	+	—	/	+	—
Vessels which are intended to be carried by a string running round the vessel	+	+	/	+	—
Chunquanti-game	+	+	/	+	+
Chucareta- »	+	+	/	+	+
Quoits- »	+	—	/	+	+
Long wooden whistle	+	+	/	+	+
Round » »	+	+	/	+	—
Drum	+	+	/	+	—
Vessels provided with ears or handles	+	+	/	+	+
Double pitchers	+	—	/	+	+
Water-pitchers	+	+	/	+	+
Pitchers with a bulging neck	+	+	/	+	+
Calabashes with lids	+	+	/	+	—
Calabashes with burnt in ornamentation	+	+	/	+	+
Peruvian loom	+	—	/	+	+
Bodkin of bone	+	+	/	+	+
Property marks	+	—	/	+	—
Vandugua the parasol of ostrich feathers	+	—	/	/	—

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920

SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

Cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané presumably obtained from the culture zone in the west.

+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.

/ Question not answered.

c
ce
177
462
511
105

Manufacture calls for technical skill.	Man's work.	Woman's work.	Used by men.	Used by women.	Used only by children.	Still frequently used.	Luxury.
—	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	—	—	/	+
+	+	?	+	—	—	—	+
+	—	+	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	+	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
+	+	—	+	+	—	—	+
—	/	/	+	+	—	—	+
+	—	+	—	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—
+	—	—	—	—	+	—	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+
+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+
+	+	—	+	+	—	—	—
+	—	—	+	+	—	+	+
—	—	+	—	+	—	+	—
—	/	/	—	+	—	/	—
—	/	/	+	+	—	/	+
+	/	/	+	—	—	—	+

5:Nordenskiöld E-5/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Table 22.

Northern and Eastern Elements that occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence. / Question not answered.

C
Ce
105
177
462
511

	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings	Distribution independent of natural surroundings.	Of great importance in the struggle for existence.
Maize-barns on piles	+	+	—	—	+
Hammock used as a bed	+	+	—	—	—
Seat	+	+	/	+	—
Mandioca	+	+	—	—	—
Urucu	+	+	—	—	—
Bird arrows	+	+	/	+	—
» » (special type fig. 6 E.)	+	+	/	+	—
Snare fixed onto a long rod	—	+	/	+	—
Fish-spear	+	—	—	—	—
Multi-pointed fishing-arrows	+	—	—	—	—
Fishing with poison	+	—	—	—	—
Wooden mortar	+	+	/	—	+
Round-Siege, »Urupe»	+	+	—	—	+
Great pot-spades of wood	+	+	/	+	+
Fire fans of plaited palm leaves	+	+	—	—	—
»Tipoy»	+	+	+	—	+
Rubber-balls	+	+	—	—	—
Souki-game	—	+	/	—	—
Panpipe	?	+	/	—	—
Game with maize-leaf balls	+	—	/	—	—
Vessels ornamented with finger-impressions	+	+	/	+	—
Bakairi-spindle	+	+	/	+	+
Baskets made of a single palm-leaf	+	+	—	—	—
Baskets with overlapping lids	+	+	/	+	—
»Arawak» loom	+	+	/	+	+

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
105
177
462
511

Northern and Eastern Elements That occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence,
/ Question not answered.

Manufacture calls for technical skill.	Man's work.	Woman's work.	Used by men.	Used by women.	Used only by children.	Still frequently used.	Luxury.
+	+	?	+	+	—	+	—
+	—	+	+	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
—	+	—	+	—	+	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	?	?	?	?	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—
—	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	/	/	—	—	—
+	+	—	/	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—

/86 cont./

C 178 565 648 CE [178] [648] [643] The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

C 565 554 643 511 433 any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

C 184 433 462 178 [643] [461] [476] [464]

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 462 Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

C [562]

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

/179 cont./

512 356 With such an arrangement, it is not difficult for the Chiriguano woman, after having taken her bath, made her toilette, and put up her hair, to sweep her house in a few minutes, sweep the rest, put back in its place everything that has been used, to put the beds to the walls, put the coverings on the cords in the corners, and again prepare what is needed for cooking (2).

> 2. The ancient Chiriguano woman did it this way, because she got up very early; today, as she is beginning to be lazy, after having done everything, she goes to the spring, bathes, combs her hair, and carries water.

Cots and Seats

513 No matter how poor a Chiriguano may be, he seeks comfort for sleeping and does not sleep on the ground when he is at home, both in order to avoid sickness and to be free of poisonous animals which abound, such as the snake, the scorpion, and the tarantula, which strike horror just to look at them. Furthermore, they do not sleep on the ground in order to be free of the bite of other insects, such as the vinchuca and the guanaco in certain areas, but despite this their cots are /180/ full of other little coffee-colored bugs, known in every corner inhabited by man.

352 322 In order to avoid any such accident, one obtains the Igüirapempi, cot, by making it oneself. Cots are of hollow cane, little sticks, or split maguey sticks, which they call caruguata guasu. In order to make them, they first make a rectangular frame; in this four holes are made 40 centimeters in from the ends, into which four sticks are introduced vertically; these are the feet. Above are tied canes or sticks which are high at the top and bottom and deep in the middle, and this is the cot. At bedtime they are content with placing at the head some rag or piece of wood.

/240 cont./

241 [476] [534] go to the plot, waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by means of the Huacananti, cow's horn.

The method of planting is very simple. When the land is soft, the planter makes a small hole with his spade, using two or three blows, then pushes the spade forward, throws in two or three grains of seed and covers them. Then, without moving he makes another hole to the right, horizontal to the first, and a third to the left, performing the same operation as in the first, after which he takes a step and continues as before until he finishes. With many working, the planting of a plot is soon finished.

241 461 512 The Indian does not work beyond midday, and he tries to finish the job before leaving it in order not to return; therefore that the work sometimes lasts until two in the afternoon. Then the owner and his companions stop, return to the town, where they are awaited with plenty of food and chicha, which the former has ordered prepared, if the previous harvests were abundant (2).

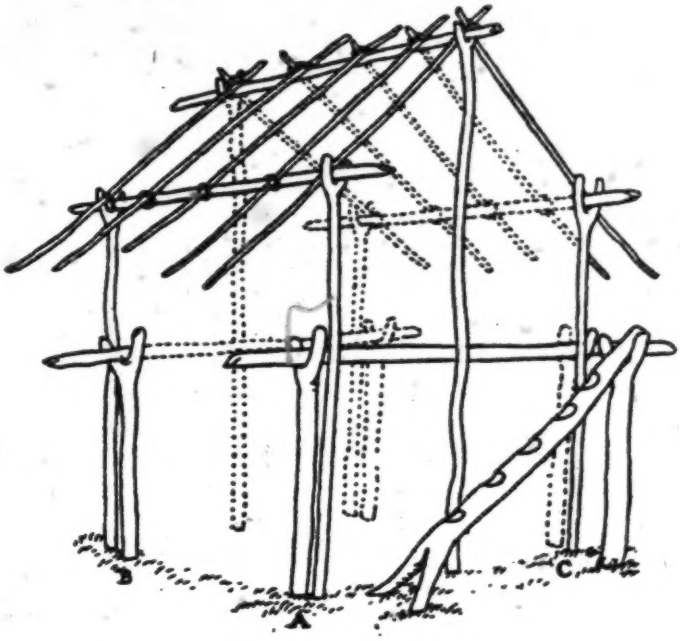
[273] [262] 2. In any case, if there were a lack of chicha, because of previous scarcity, and mead made from algarrobas, the housewife should still wait for the planters with food mixed with some meat and plenty of chili peppers.

241 476 They formerly continued in this fashion until the planting of a tribe was completed; one day on one's own plot and another on that of a companion, and even the cacique did the same; today this is difficult to manage, because now they are not so close. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity, if someone prepares chicha for those who may wish to help him in planting or weeding, they leave or refuse money for a few matés or /241/ glasses of this much desired liquor. Even the whites get peons more easily this way.

Ce 342 512

/177 cont./

It is very cozy in a Chané or Chiriguano hut, especially in the evening when they all creep toward the beautiful, warming fire, when tongues wag, the old ones tell stories, the mothers put their little ones to bed, the young couples sit apart and whisper.



Ce 343 335 417

Fig. 84b. Illustration showing the construction of the granary.

/179 cont./
ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla, and many other things.

It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all night, as in a Choroti or Ashluslay village. The young men and the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they

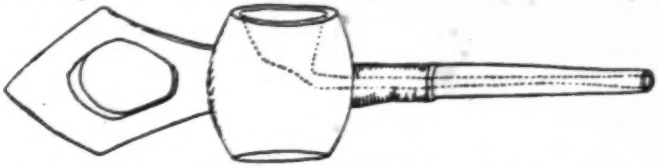


Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2.

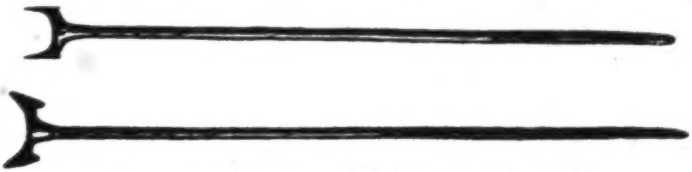


Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

are not busy brewing maize for a festival.

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, the men somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a truly refreshing bath.

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Rio Itiyuro the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Rio Parapiti in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also

/180 cont./ C Ce

the most common among the Chiriguano. Only those women who live with the whites and have adopted their manners and customs carry jugs on their heads. 512 ● 482 [177]

Division of Labor between the Sexes C Ce

Here too, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, each sex, as a rule, has its specific work, as we see from the following table: 462 171

Table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Chané and Chiriguano.

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Fishing . . .	+	+ (1)	Gathering wild fruits and tubers		+
Hunting . . .	+		Ceramics . . .		+
Planting, clearing . .	+		Woodworking . .	+	
sowing . .	+	+	Knotting nets . .	+	
reaping . .	+	+	Plaiting rope . .	+	
Cooking	(2)	+	Plaiting mats . .	+	
Carrying wood . . .	+	+ (3)	Tying hammocks .		+
Carrying water . . .		+	Leather work . .	+	
Preparing intoxicating drinks		+	Making weapons .	+	

C Ce

1. As a rule, the women fish in shallow water, the men in deep water. [226]

C Ce

2. Sometimes take part in the preparation of the hunting booty. [252] [224]

3. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. Ce [482]

/468 cont./

412 171 At La Paya, Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 254, p. 484) discovered combs cut out of a small wooden board and some composite combs. Instead of simply recording the coexistence of two different types of combs /Plate LXXXVII appears here/ /469/ in the same place, a very natural phenomenon by reason of the heterogeneous character of the culture of La Paya, Ambrosetti puts forth the strange hypothesis that these combs served for carding wool, without taking the trouble to inquire whether this instrument was known in pre-Columbian times.

303 322 467 412 The making of combs, like all wood carving, is an essentially masculine job.

The table on Plate LXXXVII indicates my idea of the morphological evolution of the different forms of combs which I have collected. 412 174

Chapter XII

Furniture

352 [114] Since the diverse cultural elements which constitute the furniture of the Chiriguano have been completely studied by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 8-22), I shall limit myself to mentioning them here, insisting only on several details. /Fig. 124 appears here./ /See p. 338./

[342] Let us enter a Chiriguano hut. The door we open is a kind of screen of reeds or a cowhide hardened in the sun. Daylight penetrates the interior through this opening. The only important [513] piece of furniture is a wooden cot (Fig. 125), a kind of bedstead generally occupied by two persons between whom one or two children come /470/ to slip in somehow or other. Nor do the Chiriguano hesitate to sleep on the ground on an oxhide, which they spread out in front of their house. On the upper Pilcomayo, in nearly all the huts one can /Fig. 125 appears here/ /See p. 339./ see one or two hammocks which serve either as seats during the day [286] or as cradles for small children. Their technique, that of the [177] double thread (Doppelfadentechnik), continues an old Guarani

[Text Continues on P. 338]

/26 cont./

137 824 as straight as cane. Beyond Santa Cruz there are still groves; in addition there are groves of another cane called "Bambú," which is the best known, and in Chiriguano it is called "Tacuarembo." It rises to a height of about 15 meters and is [417] used for making /27/ ladders and scaffolding in construction 249 because it is light and strong. The shoots are tender and contain a sugary substance highly regarded by the Indians; it is not sought much today, because there are abundant plantings of sugar cane, which is of great utility for the production of sugar and alcohol. This last thrives with great ease and little work. Planting is done in two ways, making furrows and burying it or planting cuttings. The former is the better method where the 137 824 freshets of the rivers do not penetrate. On the slopes and tops of hills which contain water there is another sort of slender cane, very strong and heavy, which is not hollow like the other classes and is called caña brava by the whites, and [285] "Tacuarembo" by the Chiriguano. They use it for weavers' [513] reeds and for sleeping cots.

TAMARIND. -- This beautiful and useful tree is not native, but it thrives with enough care and grows to a respectable height; the fruit that it produces is abundant, consisting of abundant pods more or less the size of chick-pea pods; the pulp is blackish and pleasant to the taste, but it is bad for [757] the teeth. It is astringent and is administered as medicine for intestinal inflammations, especially to children. It is also [272] a good tonic drink on excessively hot days; it is prepared with sugar, water, and a little of its pulp. The tree is rather sensitive to cold, and the flowers wilt easily with the south wind. For this reason the whites plant it in their patios, which are surrounded by the living quarters.

TARINGUI. -- The name of this tree is Chiriguano. The taringui is found in some regions, but not in others. It is of the cactus variety, rises up to six meters, its branchage is abundant and close, which gives a fine shade against the blazing rays of the sun. Its branches or leaves are striated and armed with spines; the fruit is tiny, but sweet and otherwise pleasant, and much liked by foxes, who only get it when it falls from the tree. The ulala or opuntia is smaller than the taringui, its leaves have the same form, the color is ash-gray and they are less a abundant, or, more properly, few. The fruit is a smooth berry

/179 cont./

512 With such an arrangement, it is not difficult for the
356 Chiriguano woman, after having taken her bath, made her toilette, and put up her hair, to sweep her house in a few minutes, sweep the rest, put back in its place everything that has been used, to put the beds to the walls, put the coverings on the cords in the corners, and again prepare what is needed for cooking (2).

2. The ancient Chiriguano woman did it this way, because she got up very early; today, as she is beginning to be lazy, after having done everything, she goes to the spring, bathes, combs her hair, and carries water.

Cots and Seats

• 513 No matter how poor a Chiriguano may be, he seeks comfort for sleeping and does not sleep on the ground when he is at home, both in order to avoid sickness and to be free of poisonous animals which abound, such as the snake, the scorpion, and the tarantula, which strike horror just to look at them. Furthermore, they do not sleep on the ground in order to be free of the bite of other insects, such as the vinchuca and the guanaco in certain areas, but despite this their cots are /180/ full of other little coffee-colored bugs, known in every corner inhabited by man.

352 In order to avoid any such accident, one obtains the
322 Igũirapempi, cot, by making it oneself. Cots are of hollow cane, little sticks, or split maguey sticks, which they call caruguata guasu. In order to make them, they first make a rectangular frame; in this four holes are made 40 centimeters in from the ends, into which four sticks are introduced vertically; these are the feet. Above are tied canes or sticks which are high at the top and bottom and deep in the middle, and this is the cot. At bedtime they are content with placing at the head some rag or piece of wood.

/180 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it; most of them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have [513] this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they [178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and [237] to have cots like the whites use; the open part of the latter is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred; in the Ivu Mission almost all make them of this material.

574 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either; 576 when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on 516 the ground; nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit 352 down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For 322 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of [574] wood and called Apica. There are some with two places and up to four with their respective dividers; there are some for [412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter [438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like [439] those of the whites; they make the latter for their own use [824] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharrosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel. 352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks, Quiha ó inni, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

is a culture-element so coveted as in a few years to have spread from the Whites in Peru to the interior of the country. When the distribution of the platform bed is closely studied, it will be found that it is evidently a very old culture-element which remains in places where the hammock has not penetrated or has been found unpractical. In the land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians it is often too cold to sleep in hammocks. A platform bed is therefore preferred by them, especially when they have clothes to put under and over them. Hammocks are few and are mostly used to recline upon during the day. I have endeavoured on the map to show the geographical distribution of the platform bed. The summary does not, however, pretend to be complete. Its aim is mainly to draw attention to a culture-element which has often been overlooked, and which gives me the impression of being older than the hammock by which it has been relegated to certain tracts, particularly on the eastern slopes of the Andes, where it is rather cold to sleep in hammocks, and rather uncomfortable to sleep on the ground, as is the custom up on the high fells or farther to the south.

C
Ce
352
177
C
Ce
352
171*
513
102
S
102
352

Table 2.

The platform bed (Catre). Map. 2.

Ee
352
171*
102
S
102
352

4. Chiriguano.
5. Chané. Fig. 2.
18. Quichua, Riobamba, RIVET (2) P. 60.
21. Cainguá, AMBROSETTI (7) P. 697.
22. Yuracáre.
23. Churápa.
24. Chimane.
29. Caingang, AMBROSETTI (1) P. 325. Is considered to be post - Columbian.
34. Jivaro, RIVET (1) P. 40.
35. Chimila, BOLINDER (4) P. 52.
36. Ijca, " (4) P. 48. Only the medicinemen.

[Text continues on P.12]

C /176 cont./
Ce of the daughters, who, during the betrothal and at the beginning
592 of the marriage, live with the mother-in-law. In front of
C the hut is the large hearth (Ill. 83) where the maize beer,
Ce and sometimes also the food, is cooked. /Fig. 84b appears
592 here./ Inside the hut there is likewise a hearth where cooking
354 is done and where one seeks warmth on cold nights and days.

Ce
342
415
417
273

Fig. 83. Hearth for boiling maize beer. Chané village. Rio Itiyuro. To the right in the picture, large vessels in which the maize beer ferments. The house is plastered with earth.

C
Ce I have slept in these huts many a night. They are, as a
342 rule, free of vermin, which cannot be said of the dwellings
122 of all other Indians and of the houses of the whites. The sleep-
136 ing place either consists of a bed made of a species of bamboo
352 cane, or one lies /Plate 16 appears here/ /177/ on the ground
513 on a reed mat or a skin. One also sees hammocks in the huts.
000

352 [114] been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks [171] made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, [513] however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of 353 considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly 415 array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize [531] beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

[352] → [291] [302] [411] [415] ←

[237] [824] → 354 →

Fig. 194. Man and young woman. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this im- 356 possible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

291 The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of [177] European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 163 and fig. 85 (12), pp. 15 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 59.

R Schmidt--54 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
515

Body Care and Rest

The Izozó in Toledo and the Chiriguano in Machareti offer a contrast with the Indians of the Chaco whom I visited in that they are relatively clean. We must recognize that this cleanliness, which has also been praised by other authors, occurs despite the fact that a great many of them live in regions with very little water and where often the quantity cannot satisfy the necessities of cleanliness except with great difficulties. According to Nordenskiöld, they bathe several times a day and often directly after eating. After meals they wash their mouths and their hands (89).

C
Ce
[312]

89. Nord. I. pp. 180, 19 /the third figure of this page number in the 190's is illegible/. 203, 204.

Gi
352
513

For sleeping, the ancient Guaraní commonly used the hammock. "The sleeping hammock which they hung from two pillars in the dwelling was characteristic of the Guaraní," says Serrano of the Guaraní of the ancient Province of Uruguay (90). The Chiriguano and Izozó still have hammocks

C
Ce
513
352

90. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 120.

today, but these are not commonly used and serve less for sleeping at night than for resting during the day (91).

91. Cf. Nord. I. p. 177. Nord. 2, p. 9. Métraux I. p. 470 and Plate 88.

/22 cont./

352 The Chiriguano generally sleeps on a kind of cot (catre),
•513 that is, a bed frame made of cane. Such beds, which in
[251] addition to their own purpose also serve for drying maize, have been represented in drawings by Eric v. Rosen (95), Erland

95. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 190.

[174] v. Nordenskiöld (96), and Métraux (97). No doubt /23/ the
[178]

96. Nord. 2, Fig. 2.

97. Métraux 1, Fig. 125, p. 470.

cold climate of the region to which the Chiriguano had emigrated made them abandon the use of the hammock for sleeping, not very practical for such a climate, and replace it with the cot, which was already common among the tribes of those
[232] regions. Lacking a cot, the Chiriguano sleep on the ground.
[324] In that case they use for a bed large mats made of cane or palm
[126] leaves, or also hides (98). I acquired from the Chiriguano one
[324]

98. Nord. 1, p. 177. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 200. Métraux 1, p. 470.

such mat plaited out of palm leaves (Fig. 95).

Chiriguano Mat (tupa) in the Collection

I. A. 540. Length 1.75 m. Width 1.50 m. (Fig. 95).

352 In some Chiriguano houses I also saw wooden benches
[7] (apika), but unfortunately I could not acquire a specimen.
[126] Those benches in the form of a sled are very similar to the kind of benches that are very common among the Indians of Brazil (99) and those that we also know from the ancient

[113] 99. Carly /sic/ von den Steinen: Unter den

/60 cont./

C 285 Plaited objects of the first type are made in such a way that the strips of one group are plaited with the strips of another group vertical to the first one, in such a way that the strips of the first group pass alternately a certain number of the strips of the second group and are passed by them, and in such a way that the meshes which go in the same direction form lines of steps. The number of the strips passed each time by one strip of the other group is generally three or two at a time, but there are cases in which only one strip is passed each time.

C [126] [513] [415] [291] Ce [415] [126] Among the plaited objects of this type, I obtained from the Chiriguano a large sleeping mat, small flat baskets /canastillas/, sieves, a quadrangular basket /cesta/, and a hat, and from the Izozó small flat baskets /canastillas/similar to those of the Chiriguano and two different kinds of baskets /cestas/. In addition, the Chiriguano and Chané also infrequently use fans for fanning the fire (tapèkua) plaited out of palm leaves (260).

C Ce 285 372

260. Nord. 1, p. 56.

Ce [824] Métraux has described and shown in a drawing such a fan for fanning the fire. This fan is plaited out of the leaves of the caranday palm in the "Stufengeflechte" style, in such a way that strips of the first group pass alternately two strips of the second group and are /Plates XXVI-XXVII appear here/ /61/ passed by them. The leaflets, separated from the stem, enlace a stick which, forming the upper edge of the fan, replaces the stem of the pinnate leaves of other palms which are used by other tribes of South American Indians in the manufacture of plaited fans (261).

261. Métraux I, pp. 460 and 461 and Plate 85.

C
Ce
286

/64 cont./

There may be variations in these braids according to the difference in the number of skeins plaited and the number of strips which are passed each time by one strip of the braid, as Figures 139-141 show /see p.201/. The greater the number of skeins in the braid, the more the form of one string of the braid takes on the appearance of a band. Cf. Figure 32 a and b /see p. 62/.

Ce
Ce
[171]

To the second of the four kinds of plaited objects into which all the plaited objects of the South American Indians can be classified belong those which are plaited in such a way that one row of sticks, threads, or similar things are united so that a double thread passes the row, continuously or at certain intervals, and in such a way that the two individual threads of the double thread encircle in each rotation one or more of the little sticks or threads of the row.

C
126
352
513
286

Among the objects plaited by this technique there are two Chiriguano hammocks and one Izozó saddle covering in the collection.

Ce
492
286
126

Objects Plaited with Double Thread, from the Collection

I.A. 448. Hammock (Chirig.). Wool Lgth. 2.60 m. Width 0.75 m. (Fig. 102b and 109.)
I.A. 449. Hammock " " " 2.05 m. " 0.60 m. (Fig. 110.)
I.A. 844. Saddle covering (Izozó) " 1.21 m. " 0.57 m. (Fig. 103b and 129.)

C
352
286

The threads of the hammocks mentioned above are made of wool and that applies not only to the warp threads but also to the double threads. The manufacture of these hammocks is explained in two schematic drawings shown in Figures 109 and 110 /see Figs. 127 and 128, p.190/. The diagram in Figures 109 /Fig. 127/ shows the place in hammock I.A. 448 where the double thread begins to pass through the row of warp threads. The arrangement of the warp threads can be explained only by the manner in which a warp of one continuous thread was made first and in the form of a sleeve, /65/ as the warp of weavings done on a loom

C
Ce
514
Ee
[171]
Ee
296
E
Ea
128

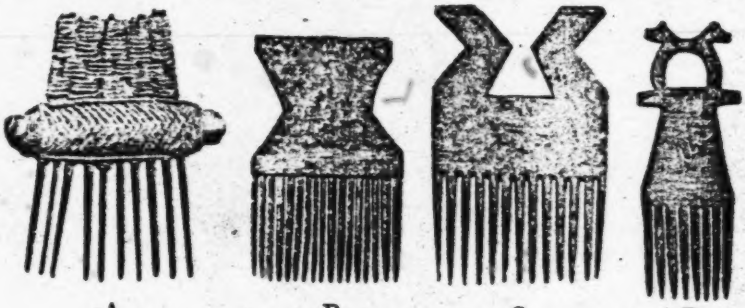
/205 cont./

The Chané and Chiriguano never relieve themselves close to the huts. I never saw special privies, however, for any Indians, and not for many whites in Bolivia either.

The Chané and Chiriguano are very careful with their clothing. They keep it clean and mend it if necessary. The members of each sex wash and mend their own things. The man here sews quite as well as the woman.

I have spoken here of the everyday life of these Indians. Now I shall describe the most important events in their lives, in their social life, their festivals, their industry, etc., and

Cce
412
531



A B C D

Fig. 109. Combs for combing the hair, not for fastening in it.

A, from the Chané; B, C, D, from the Chiriguano.

Ee
128

finally proceed to their legends and their religion.

C
Ce
834
171

/225 cont./

Nevertheless, if in the evening one sat beside the fire in the hut and was acquainted with the family, they seemed to be quite free and easy. The Choroti and Ashluslay men are very shameless. The men among the Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, less so. It is very common for the Chiriguano and Chané women, conversing in a group, to pass water standing up and to let the urine run down their legs, which may be regarded as less than clean. The men, on the other hand, always step aside in order to relieve themselves.

C
Ce
[514]

C
Ce
833
171
834

/226/ As has been mentioned, the sexual act among the Ashluslay often takes place in the presence of onlookers. At the Choroti /Fig. 114 appears here/ dances one had to be careful in the darkness not to stumble over the loving couples. One never sees anything like that among the Chiriguano or Chané. Since many /227/ are lying in the same [illegible], however, one sees even among them what one always sees if one has overnight guests. This is not the least reason why the sexual life has no secrets even for small children.

C
Ce
834
177
577

Apparently life with the whites heightens the sense of modesty. The Indian women are even embarrassed to expose their breasts. Morality declines in proportion as the sense of modesty grows.

This should be taken into consideration by all those who sew clothing for naked heathen children.

Ce
121

Many of my readers may perhaps feel that this chapter should not have been included in my book. Nevertheless, it seems to me proper to say something about deviations in the sexual sphere. It contributes to an understanding of the people whom I am describing here. I have, of course, not been able to speak about all the realism that came out in the conversations around the camp fire (1).

1. If our daily papers, which are meant for the public, write about all kinds of things, one need not be too prudish in a travel account.

/467 cont./

302 The women never cut their hair according to the custom of the other Indian women of the Chaco, so they have heads of long and remarkably soft hair. They gather their hair together [301] on the nape of the neck by means of a red or blue ribbon, which they knot on the forehead after passing it around the head (see Plate VI, 1 and 2 /see p. 73/).

302 515 824 412 388 Chiriguano women are extremely meticulous about their hair and wash it nearly every day. For soap they use ñitira seeds,

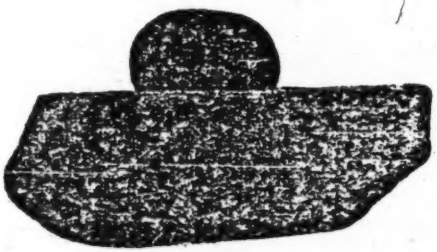


Fig. 122. Chiriguano stone mortar for crushing ñitira seeds. Prov.: Ivo. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

which they crush in a little mortar (Fig. 122) especially intended for that use. The ñitira seeds, rich in saponin, lather easily.

302 For me it was always a pleasant spectacle in the morning to see the women come back from the river with their hair twisted on the front of the head and fastened into a conical chignon. They would let it dry, then would begin to comb it slowly until it was soft and shining.

412 303 184 Two types of comb coexist among the Chiriguano. On the upper Pilcomayo in the Igüembé valley and in Ivu, they are carved out of a small board, and often the flat part which serves as the handle is cut out /468/ with art. In the Caipipendí valley and among the Chané, besides combs of the preceding type there are others composed of fine splinters of wood wedged between two splinters of bamboo and held in place by a clever plaiting of cotton threads forming a design.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano women still dress in tipoys, a long, sacklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, *right*). Some tipoys (tiru) are so long that they need to be folded. 291

Anciently, *Chiriguano* men shaved their foreheads, as did the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband. 302 412

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a tasseled fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

Body painting.—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass. 302 178

Ornaments.—The distinctive ornament of the *Chiriguano*, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 59, *e*). Originally, labrets were made of rosin, as were those of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip. 301 178

Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean woven frontlets studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 59, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the *Chiriguano* in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads. 301 177 [439]

Miscellaneous.—The *Chiriguano* have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout *Chiriguano* territory. 515 824

Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers. 302

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The rivers in *Chiriguano* territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River. 501

824 /16 cont./
137
[114] I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it through experience and careful reading; when describing certain plants, I shall also make note of the use made of the bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall, straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood borer does not damage it; it is much used here in the construction of upper roofs, especially for the braches or trusses on which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its
[342] wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less
[492] value; it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows, but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to
[296] make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears
[515] and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the face free of blemishes; here it is known by the name "timboy."

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. moniliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which reason drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it.
[372] It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatane," fire that smells; the wood is yellow.

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of
[342] trees of this class here and there; it is the most abundant tree,
[281] the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does not eat it; the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites; the latter call it sebil and the former "Curupau."

245 ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in
137 fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters,
824 its leaves are dark green; it produces abundant fruit in a sort of pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds, which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They
[302] serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces
[303]
[439]

/19 cont./

137 in dry places; when dampness penetrates it, it is destroyed in a
824 few years, as experience has shown. The bark that is found
[757] under the first layer is split, washed in tepid water, and left to steep overnight; it cures intermittent fever. The Argentinians call it cacha, the whites quebracho, and the Chiriguano "Igüiraro."

AZUFAIFO /jujube tree/. -- This is abundant hereabouts
[262] and is a tree of medium size. Its wood is not valued very highly, but the fruit, the size of a grape seed and of a dark coffee color, is a great resource in times of scarcity for the poor Chiriguano. It ripens in January and February and is liked even by cattle and by sheep and pigs. The whites call it mistol and the Chiriguano "Yuá."

245 BANANA TREE. -- Cultivated in orchards and well fenced-in fields, it forms a grove, and each plant yields or produces a cluster, very large on some of them. When the ripe cluster is removed, the plant that produced it must be cut in order that the others may produce their own. There are several
[262] varieties, large and small, the latter very sweet and eaten as fruit, and the former only when boiled and roasted; the whites call them plátano, and the Chiriguano "Pacoba."

137 BIGONIA ACUOSA. -- This is a tiny little bush one vara
824 in height, which under the ground has a large root like a
[271] watermelon and even larger; it contains much pulp which, when squeezed, yields potable water and is used for it in times of scarcity. The Chiriguano call it "Sipoi."

[342] CATALPA. -- This is a large tree and fairly strong. Its wood is used in the construction of houses. The color of the /20/ wood is dark, but when it is newly cut it is somewhat
• [515] green. Its flowers are purple, and the Chiriguano chew them to whiten their teeth; they are bitter and because of this the tree is called "Tayi," or bitter, in Chiriguano, the whites call it lapacho.

CEIBA. -- A large tree with deformed trunk, and furnished with sharp points, broad leaves, and large, white flowers which produce a material similar to cotton without fibers, for which reason it is smoother and shinier; it is used for mattresses
[322] and pillows and candle wicks. The wood is spongy and not at
[415] all hard; from it are made troughs to hold water from year to year and in this way they are not soon damaged. Its ashes

/178 cont./

372 [773] children who had been saved from the Iporu, deluge of water, he also taught them the way never to lose it, by rubbing pieces of wood together forcefully.

224 372 The Chiriguano is quite a hunter, and no wild animal or bird escapes from his eye and hand. On these hunting trips he often needs fire. If he is very far from town and prepares to sleep alone in the forest or in open country, he lights his fire in the way just described, in order to have its company, to keep away the jaguar and the demon, and to light his cigar and prepare his roast.

Work

Cleanliness

356 [362] Many will perhaps come to the conclusion that Chiriguano houses, poorly built and worse maintained because of the continual fire which gives off smoke and ash, are very dirty, without cleanliness or neatness, but nothing is more incorrect. The [515] [362] Indian despite his savagery is clean, and especially for cleanness he pulls out his facial and body hair, bathes daily, and combs his hair often, getting rid of the little animals which might be in his thick hair. The Cuña, or Chiriguano woman, constantly thinks of the cleanliness of her house, gallery, and the ground in front, up to four meters in length and width (2).

[362] 2. All can see that some Chiriguanos, out of laziness, live in their own very old and dilapidated houses, open to the sun, wind, rain, and dust; in others that have a new roof, walls are lacking, thus exposing them to getting pneumonia, but there is no lack of cleanliness in any of them.

/195 cont./

292 The black tiru is first dyed with sotillo bark, and then they
386 immerse it in a vessel which has well-steeped black mud and
824 algarroba resin. After some time they wash it and dry it out, leaving the permanent color. The dark red is made with only boiled sotillo bark. Finally, to dye with indigo they crush this leaf and expose it to the sun's rays, then they crush it again in the same way, after which they put it in a large earthenware vessel with water, in which the tiru is immersed and comes out a light blue, but, if they want it to be like the blue of drill, it is necessary to boil the indigo.

In order to dye everything red they also use a species of onion that they call Tunpaipi, which literally translated, means feet of God and is abundant in the fields, and another
292 one called Chapi, which is found in the hills. Everything said about the tiru is applicable to the mandu of the women, with the sole difference that this is open at both ends and is attached to the shoulders with two enormous silver needles that they call Yu guasu, big needles, which are also disappearing.

When a woman is occupied with domestic and other work,
301 she ties her hair up tightly with a band, Apicuá, /196/ of cotton
302 or wool, so that it will not inconvenience her at her tasks, but
[527] when there is a fiesta, she washes her person, washes her head,
[515] combs her heavy and shining hair, and lets it loose, flowing over her body as far down as it will go (1).

[178]

1. The young women today put up their hair like the white women, making braids through which they draw a band that they call Añopea, braided cord. The hair fastened in the old way was like a baton, since not a hair was to be seen, even horizontally, all of it being covered by the band, añopea.

/207 cont./

462 The woman among the Chiriguano is a true slave, and
562 the man her master. His work for the family is limited to planting and weeding, as well as fetching the necessary fire-
[517] wood. In addition, /208/ as a diversion and pastime, he takes his bow and arrow, goes out into the countryside and hunts, or fishes in a nearby river, spending the rest of his time talking with his friends, recounting exploits, telling stories, Miani, playing cards and throwing dice, even going so far as to bet the tipoy or cutama of his wife.

She, on the contrary, is the work horse of the house. She
[482] carries the maize with her Añapoca, a kind of net, goes to the spring and carries on her shoulders and over long distances
[515] some 50 libras of water, prepares food, makes chicha, cleans her house, spins, weaves ponchos, makes ollas, cares for her children, raises animals such as pigs, chickens, sheep, and goats, makes cheese if she has cows, and, as if all this were not enough, in the afternoon she sits down next to her lazy husband, releases his healthy hair, and as a distraction goes looking through that labyrinth for the insects which nest there, without feeling any disgust. I am not talking about killing
[262] them, but about doing away with some with her teeth and making a snack out of others, a very simple thing for these women.

562 Everything is permitted for the man. He can play upon
593 words and make lascivious jokes with other women, but this is not permitted for the wife, nor can she even cast a sidelong glance, which would be enough to cause her to be maltreated and divorced. How many things there are in nature! It is painful to see a mother with her four or five little ones abandoned to suffer hunger and despair, while the rascal of a husband with no just cause at all goes happily off with another, giving her the little that he earns and then getting rid of her at the first chance (1).

593 1. When the man turns out to be too lazy, it
586 is the woman who leaves him, going off with another, and the children go with her, because

593
586

/208 cont./

love can accomplish much, and they really love their children, without making much outward show of this.

Finally, the man, whenever he wishes, can dismiss his wife with great ease. He does it with contempt, in biting words, calling her Cuña pochi, bad woman, Cuña imuquere, lost woman, good only for lighting the fire. No one could endure such scorn for an hour, and she understands that the rascal has won the love of another, younger woman.

●515 When a mother goes to the spring or river, she takes her son or daughter with her, bathes herself and also her child, and then grinds up some grains of Ñetira, a kind of potash, leaving her hair and that of her daughter clean and shiny. The bath is daily, but the washing of the hair with ñetira is not.

/209/ Pregnancy and Birth

843

When a woman finds herself pregnant, she does not give up her customary chores, but goes to the field as usual and fetches from there heavy loads of maize and other things.
482 They use for this, as I have already noted, a kind of close-
285 woven net which the Toba make with the bark of the caraguata
[171] or maguey. Those made by the Chiriguano are like the wooden fruit-baskets /chipas/. They are open on top, where they have an easily untied cord, in the middle of which there is a wide band for holding the weight with the forehead (1).

482

1. The Chiriguano woman lets all the weight of the load she is carrying rest on her spinal column, etc., holding it with her forehead. If the water is some distance away, she does the same; if not, she carries the vessel vertically on her left shoulder, or on her head, where she places a pad of rags.

/284 cont./

000 The philosopher Foción said that he who has the fewest desires to satisfy is the happiest man on earth. This is a truth based on experience, but it is not true happiness; it is part of it, because complete happiness is not attained here.

The true Chiriguano dressed in the old way and his wife with her tipoy must have been the happiest beings on earth, but as they are children of the first man, they also inherited affliction, pain, and death. These three things are almost always the consequence of illness, and they come from the intemperate life that I have described, just as they also come from the drinking and eating.

515 751 The Chiriguano takes no care of his person, although he loves life, which he would like to be eternal, however much he may walk dragging himself along. His foodstuffs are not at all [262] hygienic; he eats /illustration appears here/ /285/ often and with [252] too much greed rotten meat, vegetables, and maize itself, which [271] he parches but never cooks completely. The water he drinks is not [293] always clear or free of microbes and small worms that are visible; the very chicha that is manufactured with such elaborate effort and care is drunk still sour, and, finally, shelter is unimportant. In periods of great heat he lies on the ground, taking on his back the burning rays of the sun; he protects himself little in the abrupt changes of temperature, and if he gets wet in the rain or has taken a voluntary bath of cold water or water heated by the sun, he lets his clothes dry on his body; from these come the illnesses that I shall presently enumerate, illnesses that he suffers from, which make him unhappy and then carry him to the grave.

753 821 The rainbow that God gave to Noah as a sign that He would not flood humanity again with the waters of a new deluge is a sad sign for the Chiriguano. If this so natural phenomenon appears in a town and begins in front of or over a house, when it disappears it does not end or turn to nothing but hides itself in the belly of one of the residents, who in time will get sick and die of dropsy, from which it follows that this illness, which is rare among them, is caused by the rainbow (1).

1. Another natural phenomenon is the whirlwind,

[TEXT Continues on p. 385]

/285 cont./

753
821

which rises continually to the sky in these interminable plains, taking behind it all of the trash that it finds along its way. It is called Cusumino, and, according to them, it causes pains in the feet, knees, and bones. When a whirlwind begins in a town, they try to cut it with a knife.

Illnesses and Remedies

164

The most common illnesses among the Chiriguano are the intermittent fevers that are endemic, tuberculosis or consumption, eye disease, convulsive coughing, diarrhea, dysentery, mange or itch, and tumors accompanied by a kind of leprosy that covers a large part of the body. The intermittent fevers appear at the time of the first rains and continue until the time of the fruits and fresh maize. These fevers are not fatal, but one who is attacked by them has a rather afflicted life. Their remedies are vegetal; 757 they boil quebracho or algarroba bark, and they drink this water, but it does not always have a salutary effect. /286/ If a small dose of quinine is administered during the intermittent fevers, they immediately get well (1).

1. They get well with a small dosage, perhaps because their bodies are not accustomed to the remedies of the apothecary. Another efficacious remedy for the intermittent fevers is bitter coffee or coffee with a little sugar.

164

The itch, tumors, and leprosy do not cause death. 262 Chiriguano food is almost always saltless. They are not careful 263 in selecting it, and stinking meat does not disgust them. Their 751 water is not always clear; they bathe at any hour and, after bathing, ● 515 do not dry their bodies. If it rains, they let the wet clothing dry 080 on their person. From this and other causes come the many skin

5tNordenskiöld E-5,V(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

When there are

C
ce
226
437

plenty of fish in the Pilcomayo, there is a great trade in dried fish in that part of the country. The Indians tramp long distances in order to fish or get fish by barter.[1]) In places where the fish are so small that they rarely exceed the length of a finger, as in Rio Itiyuro, the fishing, done by women and children, still forms no small part of the diet of the people[2]). It is not surprising that the Chiriguano and Chané are eager fishermen, for no doubt both tribes come from well-watered tracts of the country where fish is abundant.

C
ce
[262]

C
227

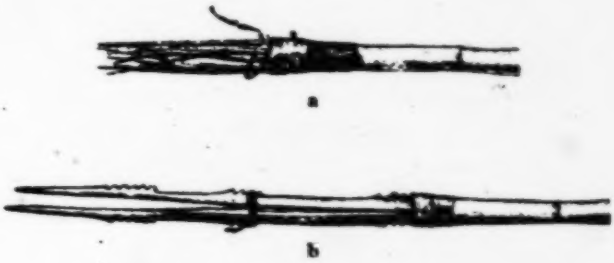


Fig. 15. Points of arrows for fishing. Chiriguano.
a = R. M. E. 618. 1/4; b = R. M. E. 627. 1/4

[1]) Padre BERNARDINO DE NINO says, P. 251: »Del pescado es muy deseoso, mas no todas las tribus lo tienen cerca, éstas, cuando saben que en las orillas de los grandes ríos hay en abundancia, caminan hasta ciento cincuenta kilómetros para hacer el cambalache: llevan maíz ó harina y la cambian por pescado.«

C
ce

[515] [2]) This is where they got their very clean habits and their eagerness to bath every day.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,7(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XIII.

Toilet-Articles, Tattooing etc.

Ee
575
171
174

The Chiriguano and the Chané are careful of their personal appearance. They are cleanly people, much cleaner than their neighbours. If these tribes had emigrated from the cold Bolivian mountains into their present territory, part of which is very poorly watered, they certainly would not bathe once, or even several times a day, as they do, but would be as dirty as the Quichua and the Aymara, who are, incredibly filthy. Their Chaco neighbours, too, the Mataco are also extremely dirty. In the parts I have explored it is only in Mojos that we find Indians as cleanly as the Chiriguano and Chané, these being the Mojo and the Baure, kindred tribes of the Chané. On the other hand the Guarani Indians in North Bolivia, the Guarayú, are less clean, even if they are among the «clean ones». The Guarani in Paraguay are, however, said to be very cleanly. The cleanliness of the Chiriguano and the Chané is a positive proof that they migrated to the territory now inhabited by them from warmer and well-watered parts, where bathing was pleasant and easily accessible. The Chiriguano and the Chané have not learnt to bathe from the Mestizos or the Whites, whose habits are anything but clean in these parts. Cleanliness is certainly not a virtue suddenly acquired by any people, but may indeed be regarded as a race-peculiarity. A map of S. American cleanliness would most certainly enlighten us on several points of interest with regard to the origin of the tribes. Now, when I read that the Mundrucú are very dirty I am sceptical of their being Guarani-Indians, and consider it much more likely that they are naturalized Guarani of a different origin. I shall not venture to give a map of S. American cleanliness

Ee
[128]

8:Nordenskiöld E-S, V(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Aymara SF5

here. In order to do so, it would be necessary for me to have seen much more of S. American Indians than is the case. I will, however, here try to give the tribes I know a *certificate of cleanliness*. I mark the dirtiest, the Aymara, with 0 and Mojo, the cleanest, with 5. At the same time I will give them a certificate of orderliness, i. e. point out to what extent they keep their huts tidy and their belongings clean and neat. These 'certificates' are also of considerable interest as a means of understanding the cultural development and relations of the tribes.

I consider that a distinction should be made between the Chané who live on the Rio Itiyuro and those living on the Rio Parapiti. The former are poorer and characteristically enough less cleanly than the latter. It is of a certain interest to see that skill in arts does not always go hand in hand with tidiness and cleanliness.

The more or less high standard of Indian art, at least among present-day tribes in E. Bolivia, is dependent on whether they have been influenced to a greater or less degree by pre-Columbian civilization in western S. America.

Schwabenkiffel E-5 (1908-1909, 1912) 1930
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
Aymara SF5

No

C
Ce
515
386
171
181
A
[515]

		Character of body	Character of hair	Color of hair	Hair in vel.
Ashluslay	El Gran Chaco near Rio Pilcomayo	2	0	1	3
Atacheneca	Peru, tropical forests	3	3	3	1
Aymara	Andean Plateau, cold climate	0	0	0	3
Baure	Plains and tropical forests, Mojos, Bolivia	3	3	4	—
Cavina	Plains and tropical forests, near Rio Beni, Bolivia	3	3	3	0
Chacobo	Plains and tropical forests, Mojos, Bolivia	4	3	3	1
Chama	Tropical forests, Rio Madidi, Bolivia	0	3	3	1
Chané (Ityaru)		3	4	3	4
" (Paraguay)		4	4	3	3
Chimane	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	0	3	1
Chiriguano		3	4	3	4
Chorotí	El Gran Chaco, near Rio Pilcomayo	2	0	1	3
Guayakí (mission)	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	3	3	—
Guayakí (Pasurina)	Tropical forests, Brazil	3	3	3	1
Huatyuna	"	4	4	4	1
Huarí	"	3	4	3	1
Mataco	El Gran Chaco	1	0	1	3
Moje	Tropical forests and plains, Bolivia	3	3	4	—
Quichua	Andean Plateau	1	1	1	3
Tambopata-Guayayo	Tropical forests, Peru	3	3	3	1
Tapiete	El Gran Chaco	2	1	2	1
Toba	"	2	1	1	1
Yamiaro	Tropical forests, Peru	3	3	3	1
Yuracáre	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	3	3	3

C
312

There are still many of the old Chiriguano, who wear long hair. Young men and youths with long hair are only

Schoenenkolleg E-8,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177
824

sent work.) It follows that these Indians used other material for their arrows in pre-Columbian days. The Choroti and Ashluslay probably had wooden shafts to their arrows, as Chuchio does not, and probably never did grow in their country. Before *Arundo donax* grew in the Chaco it must have been difficult in many places to find material for flutes, etc. Even in the country of the Chiriguano and Chané there were reeds only in certain parts, so that the introduction of *Arundo donax* may have been of importance for other things than the material for arrows.

C
Ce
177
285

The difficulty of getting suitable material for basket-making has resulted in the baskets being of less importance to the Indians of the district under examination than to the Arawaks and Guarani-tribes elsewhere. Presumably the Chiriguano and Chané used to have carrying-baskets, which were supplanted by carrying-nets of Caraguatá or Yuchan.

C
Ce
174
[343]
[515]

Pile-barns are probably a reminiscence from a time when the Chané lived in swampy parts.

I have already pointed out that the great cleanliness of the Chané and Chiriguano shows that they immigrated to their present habitat from warmer, well-watered parts.

C
Ce
177

There are not many cultural elements of which we can say with absolute certainty that they were brought by the Chiriguano, and not by the Chané. Such are, however, urn-burials and »tembeta» of the kind now in use. This is not precluded by the fact that these cultural elements were originally western. Finger-mark ornamention, the wooden mortar, and certain bird-arrows, spindles of the Bakairi type with a little knob on the top of the stick, are also cultural elements with such a distribution that we can assume that they were originally more intimately connected with the Chiriguano than with the Chané. Further comparative investigations, and access to an extensive quantity of the necessary material will doubtless enable us, from a study of the minor details in the external form of

/179 cont./
ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla, and many other things.

It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all night, as in a Choroti or Ashluslay village. The young men and the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they

Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2.

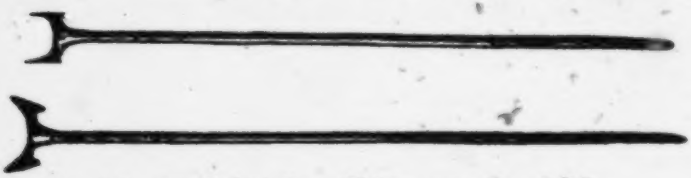


Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

are not busy brewing maize for a festival.

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, the men somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a truly refreshing bath.

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Rio Itiyuro the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Rio Parapiti in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also

/203 cont./

C
Ce
●515

Cleanliness

The Chané and Chiriguano are very clean. As has been said, they start the day with a bath and then often bathe several times in the course of the day. This cleanliness is strange among tribes who often live in regions such as, for example, the Caipipendi valley, where a great shortage of water prevails. During the dry season they can never take a bath there, but the

C
302

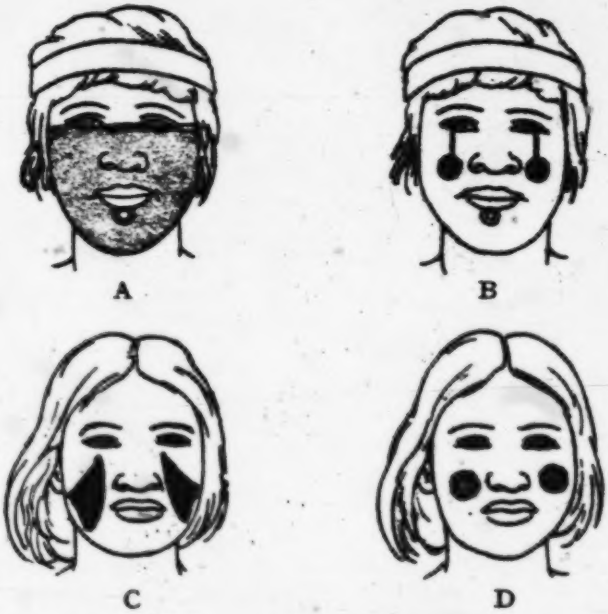


Fig. 107. Facial painting. Chiriguano.
Itapenbia. Red color.
A and B = men. C and D = women.

C
Ce
515 women at least wash their bodies thoroughly every morning.

C
Ce
174
515 /204/ The contrast which is evident here in the zeal for cleanliness on the part of the various tribes may be explained, in my opinion, by their migrations. The Choroti, Ashluslay,

C
Ce
174
515

/204 cont./

and Mataco, who still in part dress in fur cloaks, seem to me, like the Fuegians and Patagonians, to have immigrated to the Chaco from the cold pampas in the south where washing was extremely unpleasant, whereas the Chiriguano and Chané come from the north, out of the warm, humid, virgin forests, from the great rivers, where bathing was always pleasant and refreshing. Now, where /Fig. 109 appears here/ they live under the same climatic conditions, the former have preserved their dirt, the latter their cleanliness.

C
Ce
264
171
515

Im Thurn (1) reports that the Indians in Guiana bathe

1. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883.

C
304

Fig. 108.
Woman's tattooed arm. Chiriguano.
Itapenbia.

C
Ce
264
171
515

immediately after eating, without any harm to them. I often observed the same thing here.

C
Ce
515
824
Ce
302
412

The Chiriguano and various Chané shampoo the head with the seeds of "nyantêra," which they grind. For the same purpose the Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the bark of the mistol /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./, "yûag." The nails, and /205/ not least the toenails, are also very carefully tended. For combing they use combs carved in wood or made out of sticks of cane tied together.

C 165 /215 cont./
President Belzu in Sucre. The latter governed between 1848-1855; thus, 100-year-old Maringay is obviously not more than about 80. An 80-year-old Indian is therefore the oldest of his tribe.
C 145 Among the Indians one almost always sees /Fig. 112 appears here/ that the one who has grown-up grandchildren is very frail and senile and stands at the brink of the grave. Indian men and women mature very rapidly, but also age quickly. At 50 the Indian is an
C [114] old man, at 70 a so-called centenarian. Im Thurn (1) likewise

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 190.

believes that the Indians do not grow old. /216/ He thinks that they seldom reach an age older than 40 or 50.

C 142 Maringay's hair was slightly gray. There are some Indian men and women whose hair is almost whitish yellow, but they are C [145] [164] rare (Fig. 112). I never saw a bald Indian. When they are older, their faces are deeply furrowed. Not infrequently they become blind in old age, less often deaf.

Ee 142 Among the Choroti and Ashluslay the appearance of old people is often frightening; they are dirty, emaciated, and
515 bleary-eyed. This is not the case among the Chané and Chiriguano. These Indians know how to grow old in beauty, and even the old people keep themselves nice and clean.

Ee 756 If the Chané or Chiriguano Indian becomes seriously ill, the medicine man is sent for, as among other Indians.

The Chiriguano and Chané distinguish between two kinds of medicine men, whom they call "ipáye" or "ipáyepótchi." The Ee [754] former are good and lift the spell; the latter are able to lift the spell and to bewitch.

C 756 797 I once jokingly asked a Chiriguano whether Father Bernardino in Ivu was an "ipáye" or an "ipáyepótchi." The Indian answered dutifully, an "ipáye." The position of the missionary among the Indians is that of medicine man; he assumes their power and their influence.

Ee 756 177 In the preceding I said that the whites in the vicinity of Ivu sent for an Indian medicine man to drive away smallpox.

The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between these culturally allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against the whites (in 1890), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are still remaining.

The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly gourd plants and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group, the Chiriguano being counted with the Guarani group, whilst the Chané are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija valley.[1] Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which is Guarani. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches of Rio Parapiti.[2] The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means »dirt people» was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word »guano» is the name for the well-known bird manure-found on the coast of Peru and Chile. It seems however unfair indeed that the Chiriguano, who, in contradistinction to the Puna and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal name.

---

[1] de Matienzo (1), p. 150. Nordenskiöld (18).
[2] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 156.

846 [844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 756 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 763 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [931] Choroti, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a [171] rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 648 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 134.
[2] Nordenskiöld (15).

8: Schmidt--54 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Chane SF8
Izozó

C
Ce
515

Body Care and Rest

The Izozó in Toledo and the Chiriguano in Machareti offer a contrast with the Indians of the Chaco whom I visited in that they are relatively clean. We must recognize that this cleanliness, which has also been praised by other authors, occurs despite the fact that a great many of them live in regions with very little water and where often the quantity cannot satisfy the necessities of cleanliness except with great difficulties. According to Nordenskiöld, they bathe several times a day and often directly after eating. After meals they wash their mouths and their hands (89).

C
Ce
[312]

89. Nord. I, pp. 180, 19 /the third figure of this page number in the 190's is illegible/, 203, 204.

Gi
352
513

For sleeping, the ancient Guaraní commonly used the hammock. "The sleeping hammock which they hung from two pillars in the dwelling was characteristic of the Guaraní," says Serrano of the Guaraní of the ancient Province of Uruguay (90). The Chiriguano and Izozó still have hammocks

C
Ce
513
352

90. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 120.

today, but these are not commonly used and serve less for sleeping at night than for resting during the day (91).

91. Cf. Nord. I, p. 177. Nord. 2, p. 9. Métraux I, p. 470 and Plate 88.

/57/

Grinding the Raw Materials

C Ce 252 412 For grinding raw materials, principally for grinding corn, the Chiriguano and Chané use large wooden mortars with long pestles (255). Such a wooden mortar is shown in Figure 15 and

255. Nord. 1, p. 51. Métraux I, p. 365, Fig. 30.

C Ce 412 [171] another one by Nordenskiöld (256). Stone mills are not used by

256. Nord. 1, Fig. 116.

these Indians, although this implement was used, except for the Chaco tribes, by all the tribes whom the Chiriguano had as neighbors after their migration to the west. According to Métraux, a C [515] [388] small stone mill is used only for grinding the seeds of a plant which the Chiriguano use as soap for washing their hair. Such a stone mill is shown in a drawing by Métraux (257).

257. Métraux I, p. 467, Fig. 122.

C 412 171 174 Because the wooden mortar is common even today among the Kainguá /Caingua/, who also belong to the Guaraní linguistic group, and is also mentioned for the ancient Tupinambá /Tupinamba/ of the eastern coast of Brazil, we can assume that the Chiriguano brought this cultural possession from their native land.

C 262 252 412 [171] The fact that mandioca is not important in the economy of these Indians explains why they do not use the wooden grater, the application of which is diffused among so many other Indian tribes of South America who cultivate this nourishing root.

Making Cord and Thread

C Ce 283 The thread that the Chiriguano and Chané make out of wool or cotton is spun by means of the spindle, while that made of caraguata is twisted by hand. We have no information on the way this caraguata thread is twisted.

516 142 291 643

Plate III

1. Mandepona, the most illustrious Chiriguano chief of the past century. His authority extended not only over the village of Macharetí, where he lived, but over vast expanses of the Chaco. (Photo. by the R. P. Honorato Catinari.)

2. Type of Chiriguano Indian from the Igüembé Valley. (Photo. A. M.)

516 142 291

142
291
302
481
516

Fig. 1. Old Indian from the Santa Rosa Mission (Photo. by the Reverend Father Honorato Catinari).

/359 cont./

263 pieces which are put near the fire to make them melt little by little. The cooks dip them from time to time into the soup, then take them out. If the salt is taken from salt marshes or from water by evaporation, /360/ they mold it into large balls which are scooped out as needed (Fig. 28).

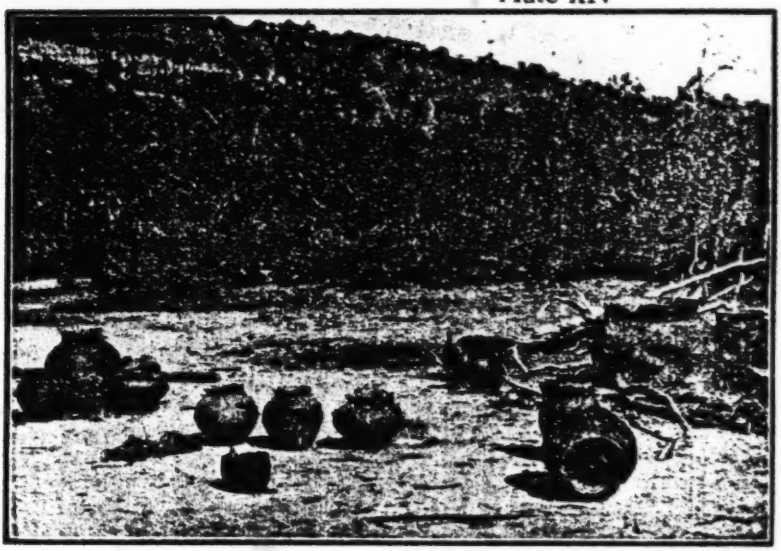
252
291
516

Fig. 27. Young Chiriguano woman winnowing beans. Carurutí. (Photo. A. M.)

317 The major part of the salt exploited in Chiriguano coun-
263 try comes from a mine situated in the San Simon region, between San Luis (Entre Rios) and the Salado River, in the depart-
[484] ment of Tarija. The Indians flock there from all directions
[492] with droves of donkeys which set out again loaded with big clocks of crystallized salt afterward cut into small pieces.

Plate XIV

273
415



1. Vessels assembled in front of a hut and serving for the preparation of kãwi (chicha). Carurutí. (Photo. A. M.)

273
291
516
574
576

2. Women and children taking kàwi. The women are squatting on the ground on skins, while the men are seated on benches or chairs. Samirenda. (Photo. A. M.)

/365 cont./

273 The preparation of chicha is not play; it is necessary not only /366/ to grind an enormous quantity of corn, but again to go
484 ceaselessly to get water, often at a great distance. At Cururutí
482 the nearest potable water was at the bottom of a ravine of particu-
273 larly difficult access. The women were constantly going there with an iru (Plate XVII, 1),[1] which they carried on their backs in a net (añapoka) held on the forehead by a strap. They would fill

462
516
273
291
415
412

Fig. 31. Woman sifting corn which she has just ground in the mortar beside her. This flour is to be roasted, then chewed to serve as ferment for kāwi. Cururutí. (Photo. A.M.)

484 the jug and, loading it with difficulty, would go back up the
482 steep slope doubled over under the weight. So as not to lose any
273 time, these hard-working creatures would take along a calabash full of ground corn which they continually chewed.

273 The ground corn is cooked in water and constantly stirred
412 with flat sticks whose edges used to be cut out with a certain
[178] artistic care in olden days (Fig. 32). Today a kind of oar (Fig.
[237] 33) or the scapula of an ox (Fig. 34) fastened to a long handle
[531] replaces the ancient utensils in which was manifested so well the Chiriguano tendency to decorate even the most humble objects.

[1] [For plate XVII, See category 116, P. 127-- Analyst]

/383 cont./

323 long time with the clay. This paste must have all the impurities removed, which is done in the course of the kneading (Fig. 56).

323
342
291
516
351

Fig. 56. Fabrication of a vessel: the clay, after being mixed with pulverized potsherds, is kneaded. (Photographs taken by the author at Masaví in the Igüembé Valley.)

323 When the potter has obtained an elastic and sticky paste, she molds the base of a vessel, which she puts either on a piece of cloth or a small board. The foundation of the future receptacle looks like a disk raised on its periphery. A

/386 cont./

323 The paintings on some vessels produce a particularly successful /387/ effect, thanks to the alternation of brilliant,

323
342
351
516
415
291

Fig. 59. Fabrication of a vessel: the inside surface is polished after being flattened with the hand.

323 solid red with black of the same nature. The first of these colors
[386] is taken from the famous roucou, whose oily paste is mixed with resin, kneaded into a loaf, and melted on the hot walls of the vessel.

/389 cont./

415 531 The plant kingdom hardly inspires Chiriguano artists. The vessel of Plate LII, Fig. 3, is the only one whose decoration is clearly phytomorphic; and again in this case I am not sure that

323 516 342 291 415

Fig. 61. Fabrication of a vessel: the exterior surface is smoothed with a chip of bamboo after being flattened with the hand.

415 531 a European model did not serve as an intermediary between nature and the picture the potter portrayed.

[126] [179] /390/ Among the 200 vessels I collected in Chiriguano country there is not one that includes a figuration of the human face, with the exception of the one to which I have alluded, whose form betrays the desire to satisfy the stupid puerility of THE TOURISTS.

/392 cont./

531 184 peculiar to the villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igllembé valley. The decoration made up of broken and asymmetric lines does not go beyond the zone of the Franciscan missions and the Itiyuro region.

323
415
291
516
142
302

Fig. 62. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is rolled between the palms of the hands. (Photographs taken by the author at Masavi, Igllembé Valley.)

[126]

/392 cont./

323
415
291
516
142
302

Fig. 63. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is ready to be superposed on the preceding one.

/433 cont./

283
281
516
142

Fig. 87. Chiriguano woman getting ready to spin. Cururuti. (Photo. A. M.)

286 The reed of our European looms is replaced here by an /Fig. 88 appears here/ interlacing of threads which grasp one thread of the warp, then the other, alternately.

286 413 The woof is passed through with the help of a shuttle whose motion back and forth is facilitated by a weaver's sword (iwirapé) which separates the warp threads. This latter instrument is used to tighten the cloth each time the woof has passed through. A [239] mammalian metatarsal bone sharpened to a point (Fig. 92) or a small pointed or spindle-shaped stick (Figs. 93 and 94) permits

/433 cont./

283
859
281
516
342

Fig. 88. Chiriguano girls spinning. Masaví (Igüembé Valley). (Photo. A. M.)

286
413

moving the front /434/ warp threads back each time they have been crossed with the help of the reed. The woman who has just passed the woof through grasps this dagger firmly and with a sharp blow raises the threads of the warp after pulling on the reed. Difficult jobs, probably the execution of some /Fig. 89 appears here/ complicated figures, are accomplished with a wooden needle, which unfortunately I never saw used.

/471 cont./

353 and 127). Everything in the world can be found there: small vessels, baskets, boxes, packages carefully wrapped in cloth, in short, a thousand little objects which the Chiriguano women regard as their treasure. From the roof hang hooks from which [414] are suspended household effects or supplies. These hooks are [237] generally of wood, but there are some also which are formed by a deer foot bent back and dried in the sun (Fig. 128).

Every chink in the walls is transformed into a hiding-place where the women put their scissors, the men their knives or combs. /472/ Bows and arrows are slipped between the struts of the roof.

In some huts whose walls are plastered with earth, the Indians arrange niches in the shape of swallows' nests, which serve as rudimentary cupboards. Might there be in that a distant remembrance of the niches so characteristic of Inca houses? It is possible.

352 The inhabitants of each hut sit on the cots or on /Figs. 516 130-132 appear here/ chairs with backs very well copied from [177] those of the creoles. The women generally squat on the ground. [178] On the upper Pilcomayo, one still finds benches with two seats (Fig. 129), a cultural element which the Chiriguano inherited from their ancestors of the Amazon basin.

356 The fire for cooking is lighted in the middle of the hut. [354] Chiriguano dwellings are clean. I have never caught fleas or other vermin there as I have in the ranchos of creoles or half-breeds. The women sweep their huts at least once a day. One is rarely disturbed there by mice (Fig. 132).

291
323
516

769
415

323
516
291

PLATE 41.—Chiriguano pottery and urn burials. *Top, left:* and *bottom:* Pottery making. *Top, right:* Urn burials at Caipipendi, Chaco, Bolivia. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[End Plate 2]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

291
854

283
516
291

343

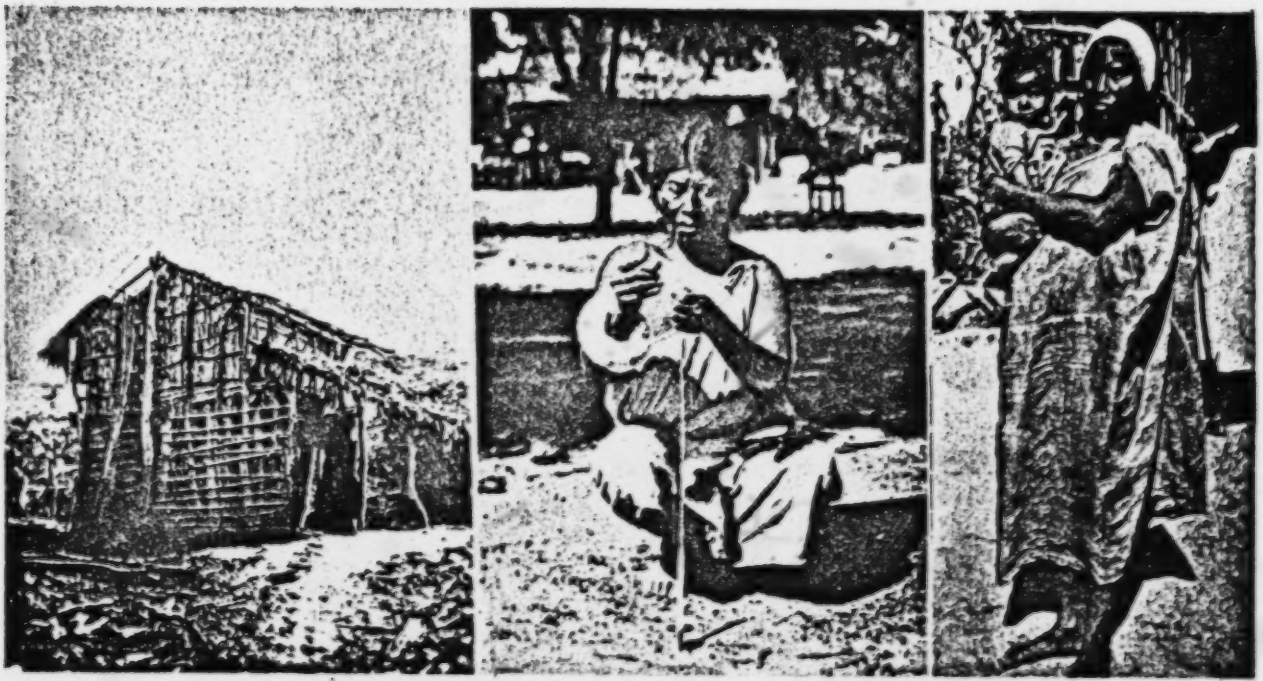


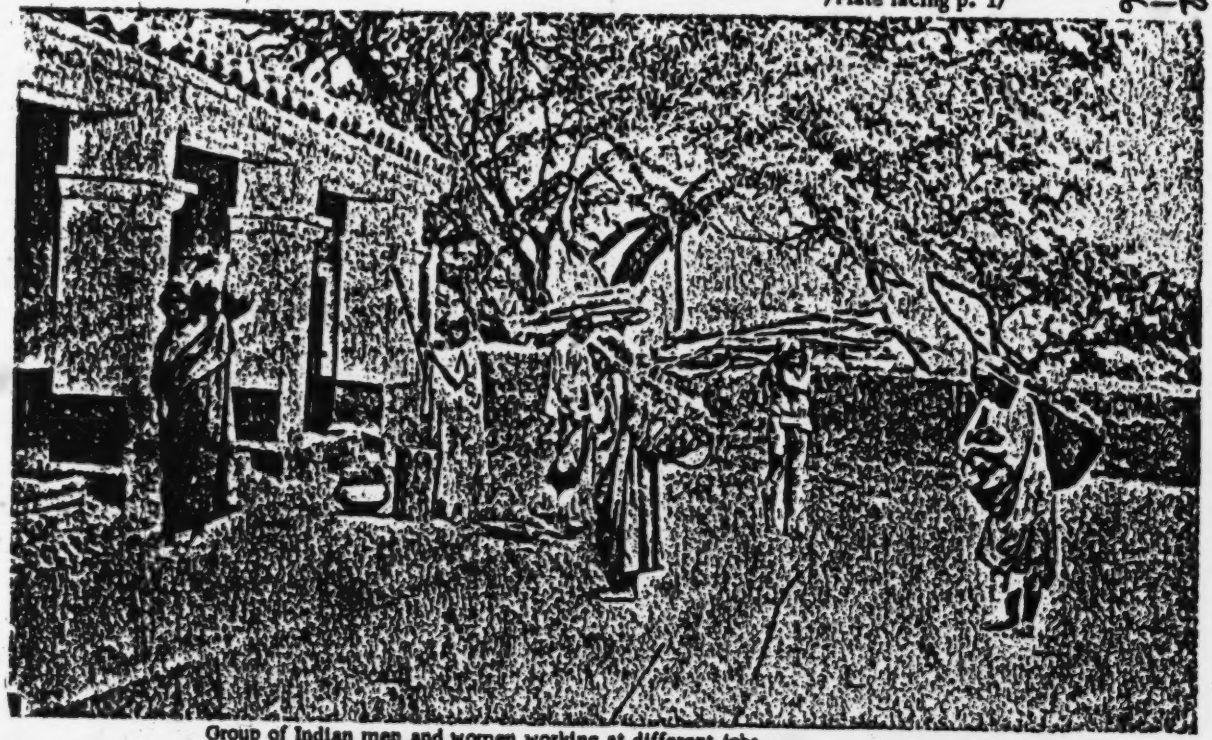
PLATE 42.—Chiriguano Indians. *Left:* Granary on piles. *Center:* Woman spinning. *Right:* Woman and child. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[End Plate 2]

4t Nino--12 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chirigamo SF10

282
291
516

/Plate facing p. 1/



Group of Indian men and women working at different jobs.

4: Nino--148 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
301
302
●516

Group of Chiriguano Women

/112 cont./

142 The Chiriguano at the time of birth has a color which is difficult to define, but, and let nobody laugh at this, his color is that of newborn mice, and as he grows the color changes until it is that of sunburnt parchment. The causes [147] of this change are the tropical heat, the sudden winds and changes, and the burning sun, to the action of which they expose themselves with untoward pleasure, with no bother and without fear, even should they be but tender infants.

441 147 From this it can easily be deduced that the Indian does not fear the canicular sun, or heat either; he works on the hottest days without shirt, trousers, or anything which re- [291] sembles these; he stretches out full length, very content, [516] receiving on his back the rays of the firey sun, and nothing daunts him. But when the north wind changes to the south and consequently the cold begins and the frost comes, he is very cowardly, and it is hard to make him work well and happily; in such cases it is easier to suspend the work for a few days, not to pay the laborers anything at all, and not to get uselessly angry; but this can only be done when the suspension does not have any bad effects (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. It is not only the Chiriguano Indian who hates the cold, but also the other races of America, such as, for example, the Quichua /Quechua/, according to what the historian Robertson says.

165 /113/ Life Span

The Chiriguano normally lives a good many years; he is little affected by heat, cold, and the inconstancy of the climate, nor by drunkenness and self-indulgence, to which [145] capital vices he abandons himself from a tender age. Some reach and pass 100 years, judging their longevity by their hair, since their hair does not turn white except at a very

[Text Continues on P. 156]

4: Nino--234 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

342
352
353
516

Partial View of Modern Chiriguano House

/180 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it; most of them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have [513] this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they [178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and to have cots like the whites use; the open part of the latter [237] is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred; in the Ivu Mission almost all make them of this material.

574 576 516 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either; when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on the ground; nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit 352 down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For 322 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of [574] wood and called Apica. There are some with two places and up to four with their respective dividers; there are some for [412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter [438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like [439] those of the whites; they make the latter for their own use [824] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharrosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel. 352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks, Quiha ó inni, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/181 cont./

524 gallery two cords, tying at the ends a piece of cowhide 80 centimeters long by 30 in width, hanging about 60 centimeters above the ground. This is called Sabiuca, swing, and here the little boys and girls swing and rock.

562 Women sit on the ground in their houses and observe the
524 same custom when they go visiting. The man waits until he
576 is told where he should sit and always receives the best seat.
● 516 The woman does not wait; she knows her place; she arrives, does not greet anyone, leaves her bundle in a corner, if she has one, and then squats down in such a way that from near or far many women squatting like this look like so many carronades /camaretas/ ready to go off.

Matés

462 In the furnishings of Chiriguano houses a preferred place
241 is occupied by the matés, made of gourds divided vertically
415 through the middle. This is man's work; he plants them and
322 cultivates them in his field, and when they are mature they are brought to the house where they are allowed to dry in the shade and also in the sun. Some three months are needed for this or even more, depending on the season. Nevertheless, they are watched throughout to see whether a fingernail will penetrate the skin. When the fingernail will not penetrate, the gourds are ripe. Then they remove the first skin, split them, extract and completely remove the pulp, keep the seeds for the new planting, and, when they are clean, they let them dry for a few days.

462 They are put in a separate place, and a second operation
415 begins. With his Chiriguano patience, with a knife or other
531 instrument, the Indian begins to engrave whatever figures occur to him, such as tree branches, circles with grains of sand, squares, figures of jaguars, doves, lizards, dogs, chickens,

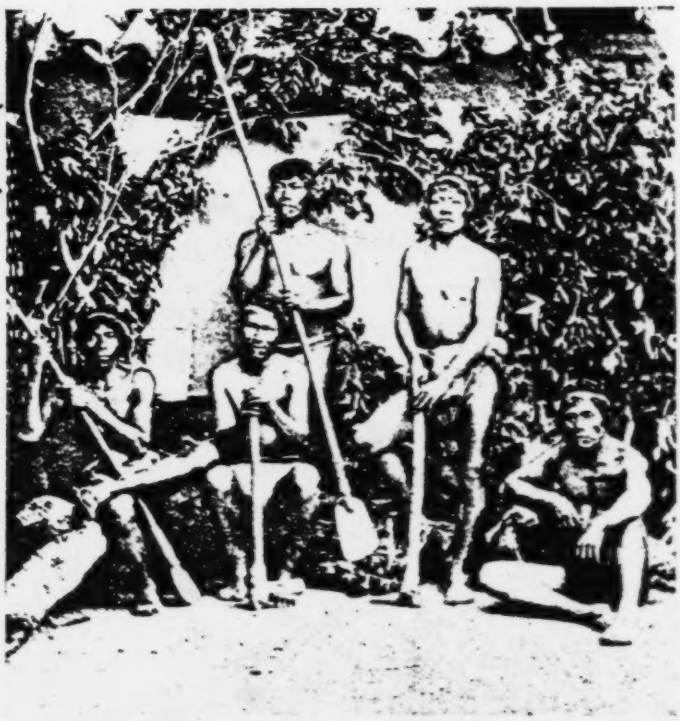
4: Nino--255 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
302
516
622
352
411

Cacique Güiraesa with His Family

4: Nino--321 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
302
516
412



Group of Indian Workers

/280 cont./

000 defeated, may the evil ones die. While the war lasts, it is the
722 rule that women and their daughters must not sit in a squatting
284 position, but with their legs stretched /281/ out in front, so that
516 their fathers and husbands who are in battle will not feel any
828 tiredness (1).

722
533
535
177

1. The Italian del Campano, relying on the writings of Father Giannecchini, a missionary of the Colegio de Tarija, writes in his work that, before the fighting began and during it, women and maidens come out to the plaza and in a loud voice sing and dance the Aré aré. This song and dance must have originated among the Toba, who at that time were numerous in the Gran Chaco region, because in the Ivu region and other regions they scarcely know the name of the Aré aré, and not all share in that knowledge, as has been proved, for in no combat which has occurred to the north, south, and west of Ivu has the Aré, aré been danced and sung.

726
727

During the Curuyuqui war the Santa Rosa mission was invaded by the rebels, who, in spite of their number and strength, were unable to enter the town which they intended to burn. Then and afterward the missionaries witnessed painful scenes of women who, crying their hearts out, raised their voices and threw ashes to obscure the enemies' vision. Bitter memories of that massacre are still retained, at which some of them laugh today, but they cried then. Whenever I hear the sad stories, my eyes overflow with tears (2).

726

[648)

2. The Curuyuqui rebels first attacked the town of Cuevo, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in Santa Rosa the night before. In a few days they attacked the mission, from which it can be concluded that their hate was against the whites, and concomitantly against the Indians who were

4: Nino--384 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano

Choroti SK6

291
516
301

Group of Choroti Indians

000 /193 cont./
Ce balls with rackets. This is a boys' game here. An extraordinar-
857 ily attractive and difficult game is "tóki," which I saw played by
526 the boys of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. It is played by two, four, six, or more persons in two divisions. The balls of solid rubber are first tossed into the air by one of the players and then tossed with the head to the opponents' side from where it is sup-

C
524
516

Fig. 96. Máma is set out. Tshúcareta game. Tihuípa. Chiriguano.

Ce posed to be hit back again with the head. Touching the ball
857 with the hand is forbidden. The side that has missed the ball
526 five or ten times, according to what has been agreed upon, loses.

Ce The game of tóki is mentioned in one of the legends of the
773 Chané Indians. In this legend we see how difficult it was in
526 former times for the Chané to obtain rubber for the balls; /194/
314 it had to be brought from afar because there is no rubber in the Chaco.

Ce Now they get the rubber balls from Santa Cruz de la Sierra. I
526 saw "tóki" played only by boys. In olden times it was played not
857 only by the men, but also by the gods. It is known particularly
739
773
000

/194 cont./ It is known particularly from the Chiquito Indians (1).

CO 526

1. Erbauliche und angenehme Geschichten /Edifying and Pleasant Tales/. Vienna. 1729. Page 55.

CO [113]

S 524 516

Fig. 97. The sticks are thrown. Tshúcareta game.

CO 526

D'Orbigny (2) also mentions this charming game of the Chiquito.

2. D'Orbigny: Voyage. Partie historique. Vol. 2, pages 594-595.

CO [113]

On the Rio Guaporé I saw Chiquitano-speaking /195/ rubber workers playing the game, and they were extraordinarily adept at hitting the ball with their heads. Lying on their stomachs, they even caught low balls, which almost touched the ground, in the same manner.

[i.e. The game of Téki -- Analyst]

V 526 /196 cont./

Games with rubber balls seem to have become familiar to the Spaniards at a very late date. This is evident from the astonishment /Fig. 97 appears here/ with which Gumilla (1) mentions them.

V [113]

1. Gumillas El Orinoco Ilustrado, Madrid, 1745. Page 190.

C 524 516

Fig. 98. The players look to see how the sticks have fallen.

V 526 [314] He says that the balls and the manner of playing with them are remarkable. The ball is large and made from a wood sap called caucho; with a light blow it flies as high as a man is tall.

Gumilla says that the Indians on the Orinoco /196/ played with the right shoulder. If the ball hit another part of the body, the player lost a point. He admired their playing, for they threw the ball ten, twelve times and more, without its touching the ground.

/214 cont./

577 831 175

entirely untouched by the civilization of the whites, an opinion which I shall reproduce here verbatim:

"Ce qui m'a fort surpris, c'est que dans la licence où ils vivent, je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'il échappat à aucun homme la moindre action indécente à l'egard des femmes, et jamais je n'ai oui sortir de leur bouche aucune parole tant soit peu déshonnête

643 291 415 142 352 516

Fig. 111. The Chiriguano chief Mandepora.

577 831 175 /what surprised me very much is that in the freedom in which they live I never noticed the slightest indecent behavior on the part of any man with regard to women, and never did I hear from their lips any word that was the least bit immodest/."

/214 cont./

581 This Jesuit priest describes the marriages of the Chiriguano, however, as very loose.

581 273 With marriage, life begins in earnest for these Indians. It consists of work and drinking maize beer. I have already described their work somewhat; I shall discuss their drinking bouts below.

165 The life of the Indian men and women passes more quickly

142 291 516

Fig. 112. Old woman. Rio Itiyuro.
Her grandsons were about 18 years old and younger.

165 than that of whites. The age of the Indian is very difficult to determine when one has no definite figures to go by. Maringay told me that he was the oldest of his tribe, that none of his contemporaries was living any more. The whites said that Maringay was over 100 years old. This is exaggerated, however. As a newly married /215/ youth 16-20 years old, Maringay visited

T:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

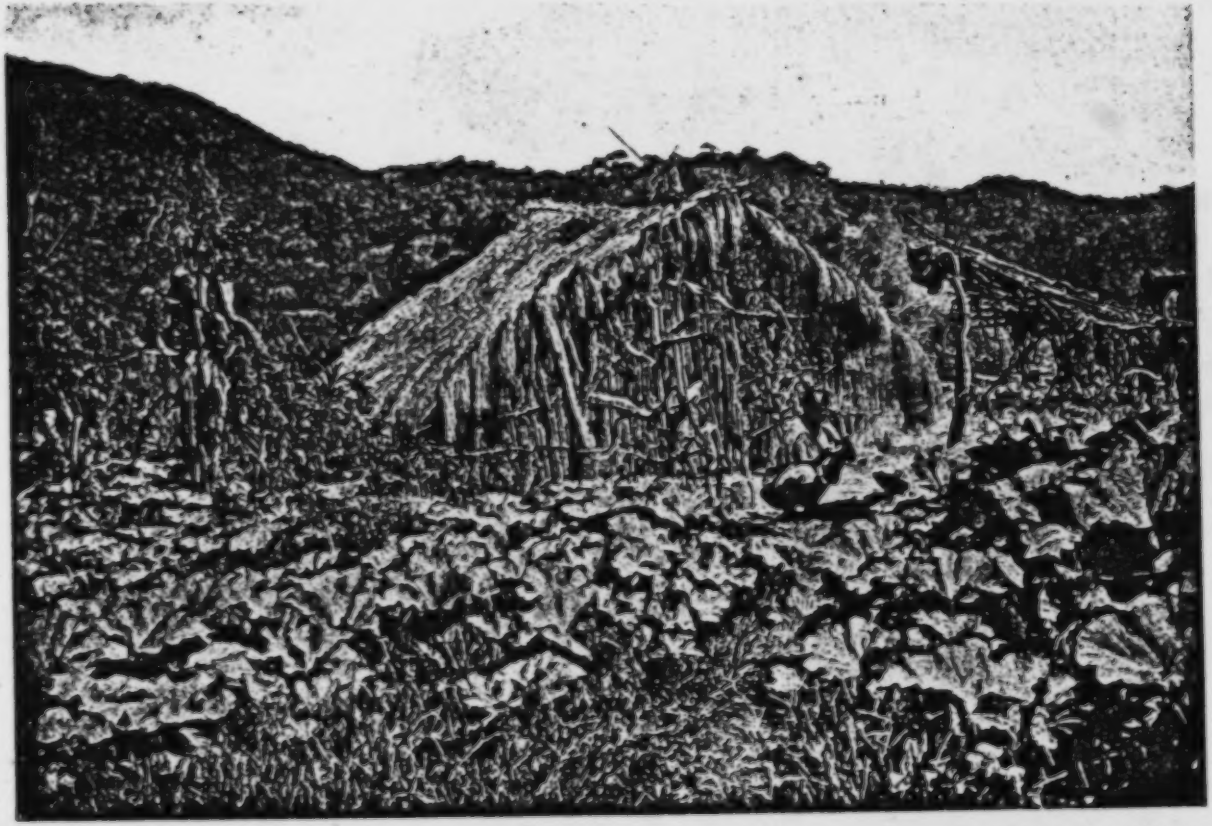


Fig. 189. Woman at a cooking fire in front of her hut. In the foreground a gourd-patch; to the right an open cooking shed, the roof of which was used as a rough pantry. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

249
343
516.
133
252

Plate II

291
516

Fig. 3
(I. C. 354) -- Chiriguano in Machareti

142
291
516
302

Fig. 4
(I.C. 359) -- Chiriguano women in Machareti

8: Schmidt--28 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate III

142
291
302
516
854

142
291
516

Fig. 5
(I.C 360) - Chiriguano women with babies in Machareti

Fig. 6
(I.C. 356)--Chiriguano men in Machareti

142
291
516

Fig. 7
(I.C. 361)--Chiriguano boys in Machareti

Fig. 8
(I.C. 362)--Chiriguano children in Machareti

Plate VI

342
352
516
291

Fig. 14
(I.C. 356) -- Chiriguano women and children in front of their house in Machareti

291
516

Fig. 15
(I.C. 358) -- Chiriguano in the town of Machareti

/207 cont./

462 The woman among the Chiriguano is a true slave, and
562 the man her master. His work for the family is limited to planting and weeding, as well as fetching the necessary fire-
[517] wood. In addition, /208/ as a diversion and pastime, he takes his bow and arrow, goes out into the countryside and hunts, or fishes in a nearby river, spending the rest of his time talking with his friends, recounting exploits, telling stories, Miani, playing cards and throwing dice, even going so far as to bet the tipoy or cutama of his wife.

She, on the contrary, is the work horse of the house. She
[482] carries the maize with her Añapoca, a kind of net, goes to the spring and carries on her shoulders and over long distances
[515] some 50 libras of water, prepares food, makes chicha, cleans her house, spins, weaves ponchos, makes ollas, cares for her children, raises animals such as pigs, chickens, sheep, and goats, makes cheese if she has cows, and, as if all this were not enough, in the afternoon she sits down next to her lazy husband, releases his healthy hair, and as a distraction goes looking through that labyrinth for the insects which nest there,
[262] without feeling any disgust. I am not talking about killing them, but about doing away with some with her teeth and making a snack out of others, a very simple thing for these women.

562 Everything is permitted for the man. He can play upon
593 words and make lascivious jokes with other women, but this is not permitted for the wife, nor can she even cast a sidelong glance, which would be enough to cause her to be maltreated and divorced. How many things there are in nature! It is painful to see a mother with her four or five little ones abandoned to suffer hunger and despair, while the rascal of a husband with no just cause at all goes happily off with another, giving her the little that he earns and then getting rid of her at the first chance (1).

593 1. When the man turns out to be too lazy, it
586 is the woman who leaves him, going off with another, and the children go with her, because

/265 cont./

52 •517 They spend the rest of the year in diversions, playing cards and shooting dice, hunting doves and wild animals, going fishing, or fishing where the large rivers are, organizing private drinking parties, today in one barrio, tomorrow in another, today in Mengano's house, tomorrow in Fulano's, the day after tomorrow in Sempronio's, until planting time returns once more.

The Indian concerns himself very little about his house, which sometimes is at the point of falling in on him; his house is better ventilated than a sieve, it rains more inside than out, he sleeps there almost like a toad, he sleeps on the damp ground or above it on a miserable cot, placed over the mud or the water, and his sleep is like that of the dormouse (1).

[164] 1. This way of life in the dampness in their houses or outside of them is the cause of many skin diseases, fevers, and tumors.

Hospitality

574 576 The Chiriguano is very hospitable and it would be hard to find any other race which is his equal in this; he receives and serves everyone in his house, both whites and those of familiar condition, for example, the Toba, and, with greater reason, those of his own race. They visit from one town to another, and at the first meeting or at first sight they say immediately, /266/ depending upon the age of the person seen: Ndempuama pa tuti? good day, uncle, if it is in the morning; Ndecaaruma pa? good afternoon; or Ndepintuma pa? good evening. Literally, these three salutations have another meaning. The first means "Have you reached this day, have you arisen healthy and vigorous?" The second, "Have you reached the afternoon?" And the third, "Have you reached the evening?" He who receives the greeting answers, Ampuama, checaaruma, or chepintuma, respectively.

/265 cont./

52
517

They spend the rest of the year in diversions, playing cards and shooting dice, hunting doves and wild animals, going fishing, or fishing where the large rivers are, organizing private drinking parties, today in one barrio, tomorrow in another, today in Mengano's house, tomorrow in Fulano's, the day after tomorrow in Sempronio's, until planting time returns once more.

The Indian concerns himself very little about his house, which sometimes is at the point of falling in on him; his house is better ventilated than a sieve, it rains more inside than out, he sleeps there almost like a toad, he sleeps on the damp ground or above it on a miserable cot, placed over the mud or the water, and his sleep is like that of the dormouse (1).

[164]

1. This way of life in the dampness in their houses or outside of them is the cause of many skin diseases, fevers, and tumors.

Hospitality

574
576

The Chiriguano is very hospitable and it would be hard to find any other race which is his equal in this; he receives and serves everyone in his house, both whites and those of familiar condition, for example, the Toba, and, with greater reason, those of his own race. They visit from one town to another, and at the first meeting or at first sight they say immediately, /266/ depending upon the age of the person seen: Ndempuama pa tuti? good day, uncle, if it is in the morning; Ndecaaruma pa? good afternoon; or Ndepintuma pa? good evening. Literally, these three salutations have another meaning. The first means "Have you reached this day, have you arisen healthy and vigorous?" The second, "Have you reached the afternoon?" And the third, "Have you reached the evening?" He who receives the greeting answers, Ampuama, checaaruma, or chepintuma, respectively.

/464 cont./

796 Eyu šekuama	Come and kiss me
832 Šemireko mi	My little wife
786 Diyuru emesie	Give me thy mouth
Tuiša dipota	I love thee much
539 Še songo pe	With my heart
Ime deresa ikavi	Thou hast pretty eyes
Ime diyuro misiray	Thou hast a little mouth
Tuiša dipota	I love thee much
Pairamo ayporu deve.	For that I am going to ask for thee.

796 During this time young or old men with their faces
532 covered by a mask (añawasu) run here and there, force the peo-
● 522 ple to dance by blows of a stick, play tricks on them, and address jokes to them.

796 The feast lasts as long as there is kāwi or alcohol. At
[273] the moment when it is on the point of ending, a final ceremony takes place. The rite of going out is similar to the rite of entering: the couple who planted the flowery stick tear it from the ground and go out of the village, followed by the añawasu and all those who took part in the festival. The procession advances to a certain distance from the village to the sound of the flutes and drums. They throw away the masks and throw stones while shouting. The carnival is finished and everyone goes home.
[585] Some take along their new wife, for it is at this moment that most marriages are celebrated.

796 The carnival festivity such as I have just described in-
177 volves only a few elements borrowed from the half-breeds or
178 creoles, outside of the coincidence of dates. This is an ancient
[241] feast of a purely agricultural character, which the Chiriguano have acquired the habit of celebrating at the same time as the Bolivian carnival. Besides, the Indians of Ibopeytí are pagans.

796 The masked men are supposed to represent the spirits of the
241 dead, as their name indicates (aña: spirit; wasu: great). As in
171 the festivals of the Guianas and Central America, they come in numbers /Plate LXXXVI appears here/ /465/ to insure for their

[Text Continues on p. 329]

Ec /238 cont./
273 finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her
574 guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with
576 cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well.
Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for
the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured
into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone
must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred.
It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one
wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then
fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything
offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians
become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me:
"You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize
beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden
with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the
happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize
beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears
e here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl
Ce he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has
[754] enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows
if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the
beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen
C in these villages.
Ce
At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to
● 522 light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were hand-
527 ing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to
C ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.
Ce
Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané
535 only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the
532 Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).
177
541
Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about
Ce whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy
532 said the idea for them had originally come from the whites.
177 Batirayu, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Río
535 Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which
Ce
[796]

/170 cont./

The legendary figures and their experiences stimulate the imagination, are preserved and retold. The historical personalities and events are forgotten. Ce 173

If one looks in Chané and Chiriguano houses, one finds many things preserved which are now no longer in use, /171/ but which they value as mementos of earlier times and often do not want to give up. For example, one sees handsome round pipes, "huiramimbi" (Ill. 80), which have undoubtedly been handed down from generation to generation. They were formerly used in connection with expeditions of war. Old Maringay had kept all kinds of things from olden times. It gave me great pleasure to rummage about in the old man's storage places. I wanted to buy something from him, but felt embarrassed to offer him money for his mementos. Ee 523 Ee [276] [721] c 523 123 126

I once found a bundle of fine, old, completely smoke-blackened arrow-points stuck into the walls. "Would you not like to sell them to me?" I asked my old friend hesitatingly. "You shall have three as presents," said Maringay. After this refusal I let him keep his cherished things.

Once I rode away from Vocopay's village in order to look up an old Chané who had an attractive old costume. After some hesitation he showed it to me. He had carefully wrapped it in other material. Like an enthusiastic museum official taking out an old gem, he unwrapped it carefully. One unmistakably saw how dear it was to him. Although I offered him a very high price, he did not want to sell it. Ce 523 123 126 c

The fact that these Indians love their old keepsakes shows that they have a certain degree of culture. This is true only of the old people, however. The young ones are no longer like that; they sell everything without hesitation. What do they care about a worn-out old festival costume if they can get a red, fluttering scarf and trousers with jacket in exchange! The triumphal march of trousers across the world has also reached these valleys and plains. Ce 523 178 Ee Ee [177]

+ The Chiriguano and Chané no longer carry on regular war with other Indian tribes. Occasionally, however, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians. Ce 721 c [721]

285
415

Fig. 108. Basket in wicker work in imitation of those of the half-breeds. Prov.: Ivu. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

[524]

Fig. 109. Miniature basket (child's toy). (Nat. size.)

/473/

Chapter XIII

Toys and Games

524 [126] All the toys which Chiriguano parents make for their children or the latter put together themselves are represented in my collections. Nevertheless, I consider it useless to give a description of them, for Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 193-200) has been greatly /Fig. 133 appears here/ concerned with this and has reproduced all of them. Simply as a curiosity I sketch a doll clothed in the traditional tipoy and the hair of which is intertwined with a ribbon in the Chiriguano manner (Fig. 133). A little bag (Fig. 134) contains a whole assortment of tipoy in miniature. Minuscule vessels and baskets (Fig. 109) have been made for the use of little girls, who, in playing, thus learn little by little to become excellent housewives.

[868]

String figures. I have never seen children make string figures (cat-craddle /cat's cradle/), but I know they are acquainted with them. At Carurutí an Indian amused himself by executing a whole series for me, some of which were sewn by the Indians themselves onto the leaves of my notebook. According to the figure they wanted to produce, they used both hands or helped with the mouth and feet (Figs. 135 and 136). The "full moon" (Plate XXXIX, 3) /Fig. 134 appears here/ was made by my Indian who, having sat down, used feet and hands.

524 121 String figures have extraordinary interest from the point of view of comparative ethnography. If they prove themselves identical in two different regions, they can testify to trade or migrations, like certain games which pass from one region to the other without modifying their character or modalities. Games are the most stable of all cultural elements since they are independent of the environment, race, or way of life, at least in general. It is urgent to collect in South America /474/ the greatest possible number of string figures in order to be able to study their distribution. For this continent we know only a very small number, but this, insignificant as it may be, already allows us to establish some very curious facts.

[Text continues on p. 346]

1: Métraux--345 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

524

Fig. 133. Chiriguano doll (woman with her tipoy). Prov.: Caipipendí. (2/5 nat. size.)

Fig. 134. Miniature clothes bag, full of little tipoy. Chiriguano. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/7 nat. size.)

/474 cont./

already allows us to establish some very curious facts. Thus among
524 the string figures I have brought together, three are exactly like
171 figures from various tribes of the upper Negro River and the Guianas. The first is the one the Chiriguano call "full moon" (yasiwasu) (Plate LXXXIX, 3) and we find it again among the Siusí of the Aiary River under the name of "tapir intestines" (Koch-Grünberg, 2

291
524

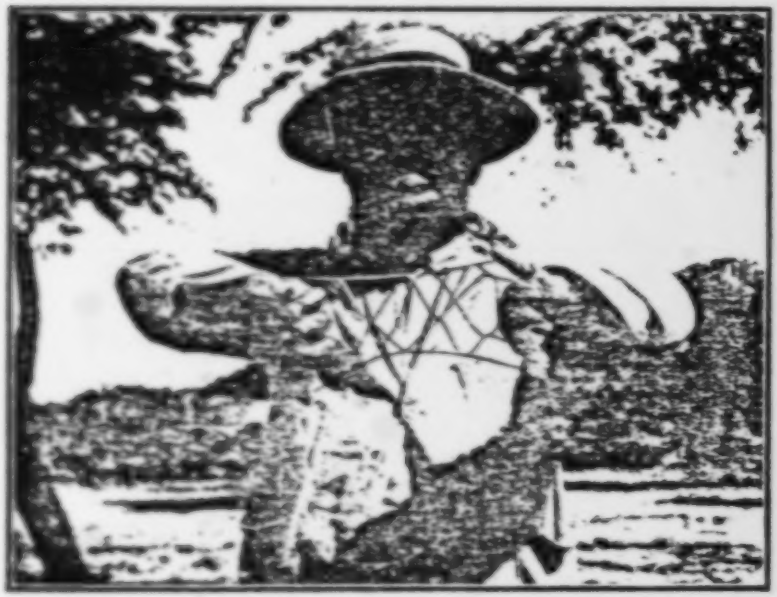


Fig. 135. Indian executing the string figure called "snake designs" (mboi-kwatía). Caruruti (Photo. A. M.)

524 Vol. I, Fig. 69 c, p. 123), among the Tukano /Tucano/ designated
171 as being a "tapir with its four feet," and among the Betoya simply as "a tapir" (id., Vol. I, p. 253, and Vol. II, Fig. 73, p. 131).

Our "star" (yasi-tata) (Plate LXXXIX, 1) is interpreted as a "spider" by the Siusí (id., Vol. I, Fig. 69 g, p. 123) and the Kobeua (id., Fig. 73, p. 131), but the Wapiana /Wapishana/ see a "star" in this figure, exactly like the Chiriguano (cf. Roth, Fig. 267, p. 513).

/474 cont./

524 171 The "snake designs" (mboi kwatía) (Plate XC, Fig. 3) have their equivalents among the Akawoi, Arawak, Wapišana, and Patamona (Roth, Fig. 289, Fig. 526), but represent, according to these Indians: "four fish walking" (sic). In his book on the Indians of the Chaco, /Plates LXXXIX and XC appear here/ /475/ Nordenskiöld (2, Fig. 25, p. 71) gives the photograph of a Choroti child who has just executed a cat-craddle identical with our "snake design." It is regrettable that Nordenskiöld has not given its meaning.

524 The string figure on Plate XC, 2 represents the mark borne by the woolen blankets (jergón) the creoles put under their saddles. There is no doubt that the indigenous meaning of this figure has been forgotten and replaced by a new appellation. This is probably what has happened also to the cat-craddle (Fig. 136) named culo de caballo /horse's rear end/. /Fig. 136 appears here./ /See p. 350./

String figures can be subdivided into two categories, the first including all those which form a stable figure like a design, and the second those which represent an object, animal, or organ by synthesizing its characteristic movement.

Thus the string figures on Plates LXXXIX-XC belong to the first class, but the one which the Indian on Figure 136 is in the act of executing belongs to the second. The latter cat-craddle consists in opening or closing a small circle of string which is supposed to represent the contractions of a horse's anus.

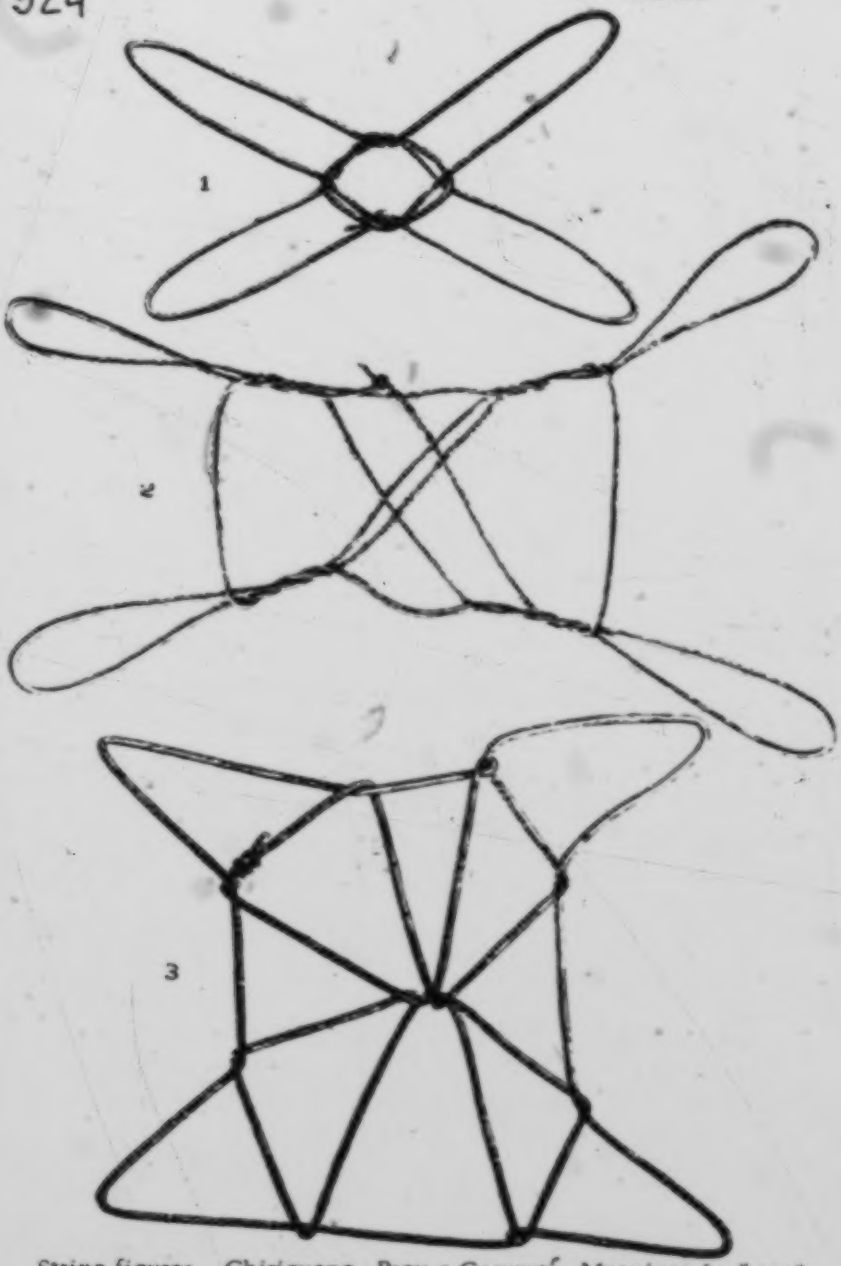
524 171 Among the Siusí there are also mobile string figures which symbolize an animal by imitating its typical movements (the "caterpillar," for example) exactly as among the Chiriguano.

524 171 177 The resemblances between the Chiriguano string figures and those of the /476/ Guianan tribes could be explained by Arawak influence, and we could suppose that the Chané kept the figures common to the whole family. String figures travel very rapidly and only their meaning changes. Therefore it is possible that the Chiriguano were acquainted with them before being in contact with the Arawak.

[See p. 349--Analyst]

• 524

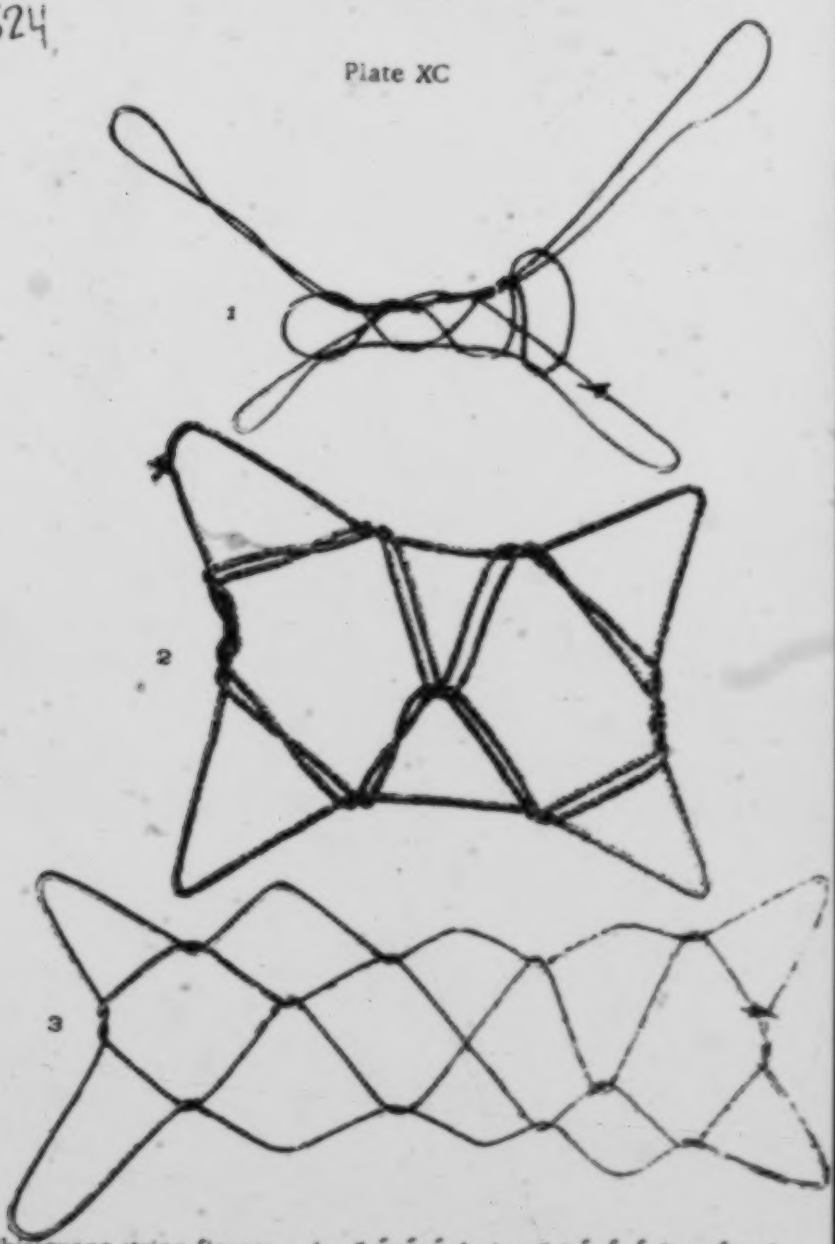
Plate LXXXIX



String figures. Chiriguano. Prov.: Carurutí. Meaning: 1, "star" (yasi-tata); 2, "sénéné (Chiriguano whistle with engraved designs) designs" (sénéné-kwatía); 3, "full moon" (yasi-wasu).

• 524

Plate XC



Chiriguano string figures. 1. "sénéné designs" (sénéné-kwatía); 2. "horse-blanket (jergón) mark" (karuna-kwatía); 3. "snake designs" (mboi-kwatía).

/476 cont./

123 Drawings. On Plates XCI-XCIII, one can see gathered to-
126 gether a certain number of drawings executed for my sake by
532 Chiriguano Indians. In order to obtain them I first approached
several old men, who refused with an outraged air as if I were
123 asking them to do a thing beneath their dignity. A small boy
126 of 12, Consito, two young men, Asensio and José Miguel, and
115
532

524

Fig. 136. Indian executing the mobile string figure called "culo de caballo /horse's rear end/.

123
126
115 a girl, Iwawasei, showed themselves willing to cover the pages
532 of my album with all kinds of sketches.

Consito did not have to be begged: I was proposing to him a game not only pleasant but fruitful, and he had soon filled two pages (Plate XCI. 1, 2, 4, 9; Plate XCII. 2, 4; Plate
115 XCIII. 1, 3, 10). Asensio, my faithful friend, also gave me
123 complete satisfaction. He was a curious individual, and I keep
126 a particularly vivid and congenial memory of him. He was 25 to 30 years old and was conspicuous because of his extraordinary
[322] activity and ingenuity. At any moment of the day he could be seen busy cutting or carving a piece of wood which then

[See pp. 355-359-- Analyst]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10 *
Chane SF8

C Ce 372

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

C 411

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

C [223]

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

Ce [226] [411] [824]

Ce 411 824

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

C 411 [171] [178]

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

Ce [411] Ce [824]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

C 621 613 596 594

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

C 629 [643]

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

C 623 756 357 565 692

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

plicated affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large jars. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

Gambling.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the suka game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.[9] Another favorite dice game is called chukareta: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous taba game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

Games.—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapeti River, like so many Guiana tribes, played a ball game with rubber balls which they butted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

Chiriguano women had a game (itarapoa) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tunpa, or Iandapoha ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaratunpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guaraní*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ana," the souls of the dead.

[9] The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 337).

/27 cont./

137 824 [262] which is purple when mature and opens into three sections when ripe. It has an insipid sweetness, but one which both whites and Chiriguano like. The color is a bright purple, it is abundant, and in certain years of scarcity it is a resource for human life in the months of February and March. In Chiriguano it is called "Ñacagüina." The carapari is another cactus, taller than the preceding ones, which also has its congenial land, /28/ since it is not found everywhere. It is admirable for its tall, striated leaves or branches, ash-gray and armed with spines; its fruit is very pleasant and also sought [342] [757] by foxes. The trunk is soft like that of all cacti; nevertheless doors are made of this wood and are durable enough. The pulp of the trunk is used medicinally to cure liver ailments, etc. They say that it is even good for goiter. There is another species of cactus which grows to some 20 or 25 centimeters; it is round and thick, striated and armed with spines. In Chiriguano it is called "Zipepe." The children, as we shall [524] see, make wheels by cutting off its spines, and, making it roll, they use it as targets for their arrows. Finally, there is another which is trailing and long, covering the ground where it grows and making the place impenetrable. This has and [262] produces a very delicious fruit which is called "Tapiacaru" in Chiriguano.

TILANDSIA. -- This plant is known to the Chiriguano [342] by the name of "Caraguata guasu." Its special place is the hills, and among them it has some more congenial to it; it [283] grows well enough, and its leaves are extraordinarily broad [492] and long and ash-gray in color; in the middle there is a thick stalk which rises quite high and is good wood for house rafters; from the crushed leaves they make cord and from these are made first-rate halters for tying up animals in the rainy season. [286] The Toba and even the Chiriguano make a kind of net which [171] they call chipa or "añapoca," which is very useful, inasmuch [482] as the women can carry any weight in a bag of that kind; from [227] the same they make nets so as to be able to fish in the rivers, and these are pieces of work which would attract attention in any part of the Old World.

/180 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it; most of them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have [513] this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they [178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and [237] to have cots like the whites use; the open part of the latter is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred; in the Ivu Mission almost all make them of this material.

574 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either;
576 when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on
516 the ground; nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For
352 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of
322 wood and called Apica. There are some with two places and
[574] up to four with their respective dividers; there are some for
[412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter
[438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like
[439] those of the whites; they make the latter for their own use
[824] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharrosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel.
352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks, Quiha ó inni, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

● 524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/181 cont./

524 gallery two cords, tying at the ends a piece of cowhide 80 centimeters long by 30 in width, hanging about 60 centimeters above the ground. This is called Sabiuca, swing, and here the little boys and girls swing and rock.

562 Women sit on the ground in their houses and observe the
524 same custom when they go visiting. The man waits until he
576 is told where he should sit and always receives the best seat.
516 The woman does not wait; she knows her place; she arrives, does not greet anyone, leaves her bundle in a corner, if she has one, and then squats down in such a way that from near or far many women squatting like this look like so many carronades /camaretas/ ready to go off.

Matés

462 In the furnishings of Chiriguano houses a preferred place
241 is occupied by the matés, made of gourds divided vertically
415 through the middle. This is man's work; he plants them and
322 cultivates them in his field, and when they are mature they are brought to the house where they are allowed to dry in the shade and also in the sun. Some three months are needed for this or even more, depending on the season. Nevertheless, they are watched throughout to see whether a fingernail will penetrate the skin. When the fingernail will not penetrate, the gourds are ripe. Then they remove the first skin, split them, extract and completely remove the pulp, keep the seeds for the new planting, and, when they are clean, they let them dry for a few days.

462 They are put in a separate place, and a second operation
415 begins. With his Chiriguano patience, with a knife or other
531 instrument, the Indian begins to engrave whatever figures occur to him, such as tree branches, circles with grains of sand, squares, figures of jaguars, doves, lizards, dogs, chickens,

/220 cont./

857 868 The boys have different ways of learning how to be accurate in shooting arrows and to be good hunters and brave warriors. In the field or in the woods they amuse themselves usefully, ambushing and taking as a target little birds and even grasshoppers when there are any, and when they go back home they give proof of their manliness by sticking the arrow into the mortar in which their mother customarily grinds maize.

857 868 526 [411] 824 When the boys gather together in the town, they learn the use of the arrow, shooting it at a wooden wheel which one of them makes roll as fast as he can. This wheel is made of a type of round cactus which grows a cuarta or a little more and is called Zipepe. The boys, armed with arrows, line up, and the best one will succeed in driving his into the soft material of the zipepe. /221/ The zipepe is at the same time a school for target shooting and a game; of the latter they have others which I shall name in passing. They have the Pinono, top. 524 This is different from that of the towns of the Republic. It is a small gourd with a hole in the middle in the upper part. When they spin it, the air produces a prolonged sound like that of little calves who are lowing very gently, and from this comes its name, Pinono.

Another game for young and old is pelota, which has a definite season. This is when there is fresh maize, or the cold is beginning to be felt. They call it Topo, and it is done with the husk of fresh maize; thus, when the fresh maize season ends, the game of pelota also ends, and they amuse themselves with many other games that they have (1).

1. These will not be listed because this is not the subject of this chapter, and in addition it would be very tiring for the reader.

/278 cont./

726 727 Then they enter the houses, pillage anything of value they find, break all the clay vessels, pour out all the chicha, without taking any for fear that it may be poisoned, and, finally, before the eyes of the women and children prisoners, set fire to the town, which burns until it is reduced to ashes.

[203] As soon as victory has been declared by the invaders, the cacique orders that one of the horsemen take the happy news to their town, so that the women can rejoice and finish the fermentation of the chicha. Meanwhile, when the pillaging is over and the houses reduced to ashes, they divide among all of them the women, girls, and children, and take them triumphantly back to the town. Some lancers lopped from their victims some heads of the men - killed in the combat, which will serve as trophies of war.

/279/

After the Victory

727 524 659 The victors are received with extraordinary joy, and then all glances are first fixed on the heads that are on the tips of their lances; they insult them and jeer them with much cruelty, hang them from some tree in the town or in the plaza, and there they stay as toys for the little boys, who set up games using them as targets to learn the use of the arrow and be good shots, and when they have become tired of seeing them there, they take them down, tie them to strings, and drag them through the streets, attracting everybody's attention with their shouting and games. They are that very inhumane, and their parents watch with pleasure what their children are doing (1).

1. After or during the war of Curuyuqui, they brought to the town the head of the Indian Chabuco, and they did more or less what I have said, with slight differences.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XVIII.

Games.

C
Ce
524
C
Ce
[177]

I have found a greater number of games among the Chiriguano and Chané than are known to any other tribes in S. America. In the first part of this book I pointed out that games of chance were known only in the west of S. America and that the »tsúka» or the »chunquanti» game is one that has come to the Indians in Chaco from the civilized area in the west. I also mentioned having found it among the Chiriguano and Chané. It is not necessary to repeat the description of the game here, as it occurs in Part I of this work.

The Chiriguano and Chané have another dice game called »chukareta» which is played with a heap of sticks. These sticks are convex on one side and flat or concave on the other. It is played in the following manner.

First you place a stick (máma) so that it points towards the person who is to throw. We assume it has been placed with the convex side up. If two or more sticks fall crossed with the convex side up and without being touched above by any stick with the flat or concave side up, they go to the throwers. If the máma had been placed with the flat or concave side up, only the sticks with the flat or concave side up would have counted. The players throw alternately and each of them places the máma as he pleases. The one wins who gets most sticks. When only four sticks are

[1]) With the exception of the chunquanti-game I here repeat the description of Chiriguano and Chané games so as to group them in one place, though I have given them before. There are already several descriptions, but as they are only in Swedish they are regarded by many explorers as non-existent.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
Ce
524

left, no máma is put out and the players decide if the convex or flat (concave) side is to count.

C
Ce
524
177

Other games of chance that are common here have most likely been borrowed from the Whites. »Taba», the well known national game of the Gauchos, is played, the astragalus of a cow being thrown, and it depends on which side of the bone turns up whether you win or lose.

The European game of dice goes by the name of »daro», here from the Spanish »dado». The Chiriguano and Chané have dice of their own make. They are made of bone or burnt clay. In Tihüipa I wrote down the rules of this

Fig. 31. Rules for the game of »daro». Chiriguano. Tihüipa.

game shown in Fig. 31. All other combinations are = 0. The first to get ten marks, has won. The marks are made on the ground. It is plain that these dice are an imitation of European dice. Those at the top of the illustration correspond to our one, the next to our five; then comes two, then six, then three and next four. They seem to have made their own rules for this game or else they are a re-hash of those of the Whites. There is no doubt that card playing has come from the Whites. The cards they use are bought in stores.

C
Ce
526

Of the games of skill occurring here I have in the first part of this book described in detail a bat and ball game (map 28) and a game with maize leaf balls (map 29).

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chané SF8

a striking similarity between «tlaxtli», the Mexican ball game, and the one which is played in the West Indies and South America when you take into consideration the different standard of civilization of these peoples. You cannot expect to get the same elaborate rules of a game from a tribe of low culture as from one of a much higher standard. The balls used for tlaxtli were of india-rubber. In Mexico too they played in such wise that the ball was not touched with the hand but with the hip.[8]) The same game was also played by the Maya.[9])

C
Ce
526
171*

One sometimes sees Chané and Chiriguano women playing a game like nine-pins which is called «tarapia» by the former and «tocoróre» by the latter. They played it as follows at Tiñhipa. Two rows of maize grains were laid out, two grains on each other like miniature nine-pins at a distance of 4 or 5 feet. Two persons took turns in playing, trying to knock down each, others maize nine-pins with a stone ball. The one who first knocked down all the other players nine-pins won the game.

C
Ce
526

At Rio Parapiti the players had three nine-pins each. There was a distance of one fathom between the ninepins of the two players. Every nine-pin consisted of an empty maize cob and the distance between them was the span of a hand (the greater[9]). They used a ball of burnt clay, hollow, with small rattling marbles inside.

I saw a quoits-game «parama» played by the Chiriguano at Caipipendi. It is a game for two. A button or something of the kind is put on a stone as a target and the play-

C
524 ●

tionem permittimus conferrent. Quin divinet, nonnunquam hoc tantis nationum, tot per regionis sparsarum, in re non exercitui utique momentis, conspiratio.»

[8]) Joyce (a). P. 166. «The players were special gauntlets but the most coloured variety of the game was that in which they were not allowed the use of their hands at all, but struck the ball with their hips.»

[9]) Joyce (a) P. 302.

[9]) The maximum distance between the thumb and little finger.

C 524 ers throw round pieces of potsherd or flat round stones at it. The button has to be knocked down and the one who has got nearest to it wins a point. The game goes on till one of the players has five or more points according to agreement.

C 524 «Sinki» is another game that I have seen Chané boys play at Rio Parapiti. It is played by two boys with maize-cob arrow-darts (fig. 33). First one boy throws his dart into the ground and then the other, who tries to get as near it as possible. If he gets within the span of a hand (the greater or nearer still to his opponent's arrow he wins a point, and a mark is made on the ground. He is the winner, who first has six marks while the other player has none. In reckoning the points only those count which one player has above the other.

«Hoizahuahua» is a game that is only played by small Chané boys at Rio Parapiti. It is played by two boys with a stick apiece. (Fig. 34). One of them throws his stick so that the point strikes the ground and rebounds as far as possible. Then the other boy throws. The one who has thrown farthest gets a point. He wins who first has eight points while the other has none, that is to say, he must have eight points more than the other boy.

C 526 «Sigéye» is a game for boys which I have seen played by the Chiriguano in Vonduia at Rio Pilcomayo. The boys form two sides 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, 6, 7, 8. No. 4, let us say, begins by throwing a discus made of a flat cactus from which the spikes have been removed. The discus is hurled with great speed. The opposing team tries to hit it with their arrows. If this happens No. 4 has to walk out and have a shot at the discus which has been placed in a furrow with its edges facing the shooter. If he hits it he may return with his arrow. If he misses he forfeits his arrow and No. 3 succeeds him. No. 2 comes in if No. 3 misses, and No. 1 in the same way. Should he miss too, then 5, 6 etc. shoot till one of them hits the mark. The arrows

[i.e., Fig. 33. - Ro.] [i.e., Fig. 32. - Ro.]

Schwedenzeitschr. E-6,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

that have not hit the mark are out of the game. If one hits the discus thrown by No. 4, it has to be thrown by No. 5 and then in the turn of 4, 3 etc. to try and hit it. The player who loses all his arrows is out of the game. The last one who has any arrows left has won, or rather his side. The arrows used for this game are decorated in order that each player may know his own.

C
526

Thus we find two games of chance[1]) and eight games of skill among the Chané and Chiriguano. Nothing like this number of games is known from any other Indians in South America. The following table shows us their distribution within the territory that I have explored.

C
Ce
524
526
171*

Table 11.

	Chiriguano	Chané	San Mateo	San Ignacio	Lagunas	Sta. Rosa	Lagunas	Hippo-	Alaiki	Hirichuaka	Sum total
Ashéclay	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Ivachuara	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Ayuara	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Cocha	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Chaculu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Chiwa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Chané	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Chiaiuna	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Chiriguano	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
Chuiuti	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Churiqui	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Guarayo (Ichaiuni)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Guarayo Fuenteiba	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Ibapiguan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Ibaré	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Iviraiuna	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Mataro	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Quirihua	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Toba	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Tumbagaita-Guarayo	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Tapiete	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Tumbaya	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Vaturiche	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0

[1]) In the sixteenth century.
[2]) See Schwedenzeitschr. [illegible]

S.Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce 524 *171 In no other tribe among whom I have travelled have I found any quite original game unknown to the Chiriguano or Chané. Very few are known from other parts of South America.

C
Ce 524 *171 177 I have already said that games of chance must have come to the Chiriguano and Chané from the civilized area of the west. Games with maize-leaf balls and india-rubber balls are northern culture-elements. Bat and ball games are southern culture-elements. Quoits-games most likely hail from the civilized parts of the west. I found discs that may have been used for such games at Caipipendi and also in the old settlements in the San Francisco valley in the province of Jujuy in Argentine. Quoits-games are common among the Quichua. — I cannot tell where the Indians here dealt with learned to play with marbles, or to play «ipépe» and «huirahuahua». — I have found nothing about such games in the literature. The game of «óuki» may possibly be a northern culture element. Hand-darts like those used by the Chané are mentioned by Koch-Grünberg from southern Guiana In Boldyder's collection in the Gothenburg museum there is a hand-dart of the kind from the Chimila in Columbia.

The reason why we find such a number of games among the Chiriguano and Chané is that the latter tribe is an Arawak tribe and that they have been strongly influenced by western civilization. They know not only the Arawak games, but several games that were of importance in the civilized parts of the west.

Schwabenbibl. E-4,4(1900-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chirignano SF10
Chané SF8

XIX.

Playthings.

C
Ce
524

I will now pass on to speak of the playthings of the Chirignano and Chané children, leaving out such as are merely imitations of things used by the elders. They include dolls, buzz-discs, bows and whips, humming-tops, bullroarers, and rifles.

C
Ce
524
171

I have collected dolls from the following tribes: — Chirignano, (clay). Chané (wax, cloth, clay). Choroti (unburnt clay, bone). Toba (ditto). Tapiete (unburnt clay.) Mataco (unburnt clay.) Yoracire (wax). Chimáne (wood). Guarayú-Mission (wood or cloth).

Except among the Chirignano[1]) and Chané[2]) I have only seen the humming-top among the Quichua[3]) and the Chimáne[4]). Koch-Grünberg[5]) mentions it from N. W. Brazil and from the Roraima-Indians[6]) and Krause[7]) from the Karajá. At present I deem it impossible to say whether we have here a genuinely Indian culture-element or not.

The same is true of the buzz-disc. Its distribution may be seen from the table 12 which I only publish in order to arouse interest in these apparently insignificant objects. It is necessarily very incomplete.

It is doubtful whether the rifles (Fig. 34) is genuinely Indian.

[1]) R. M. E. 358.
[2]) R. M. P. 64.
[3]) R. M. 03. 06. 230.
[4]) G. M. 13. 1. 937.
[5]) (4) Vol. 1, P. 121.
[6]) (4) P. 78.
[7]) Fig. 175. P. 310.

Schwabenkiste E-4,4(1908-1909, 1912) 1910
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF4

C
Cc
524
171

Excepting the Chané I only know of hoops from the Huari. What I have seen of shell-rosters I have already mentioned in Part I. S. American Indian play-things are altogether too little known for us to draw anthropogeographical conclusions concerning their distribution.

Table 12.

Distribution of the hoop-disc.

Chiriguano, R. M. E. 463.
Chané, R. M. P. 180.
Kuruji, Krause P. 311, Fig. 176.
Yuracáre, R. M. Y. 65.
Indians Rosaina, Macuni, Wapisiána etc. Koch-Grünberg (3) P. 80.
Cavina, G. M. 15. 1. 1453.
Itonama, G. M. 15. 1. 1266.

6: Nordenskiöld--43 E-S (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

/190 cont./

Games

E
Ea
524
[177]

Sometimes one sees the men playing. The most common game is now tabe, which is played with the ankle bone of a cow and which these Indians learned in the sugar factories. Dice games, too, are not uncommon there. The rules for these seem to be their own, or rather seem to be copied from the whites.

"Daro," as the Chiriguano call the dice game after the Spanish, is played by two persons with /191/ dice made by them themselves. In Tiburpe I noted down the following rules for this game (Fig. 93).

All other combinations are = 0. The first one to have ten strokes wins. The strokes are marked on the floor.

As for their own games of chance, they have two. The first is the same as the one we became acquainted with on page 73 /untranslated/ in connection with the Chorotí and Ashluslay. The Chiriguano call this game "chicarty," the Chaná "chunquiuri" (1).

Fig. 93. Rule for the game of "daro." Chiriguano. Tiburpe.

E
Ea
[113]

1. Cf. Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethn., 1910, Nos. 3 and 4.

The other game known to the Chiriguano and Chaná I did not see among any other Indians. They call it nikareta and play it with a pile of little sticks which are convex on one side and flat or concave on the other (Fig. 94).

First a stick (mâma) is placed in such a way that it points to the one who is supposed to throw (Fig. 96). Let us assume that it is placed so that the convex side is up. If two or more sticks fall on one another crosswise with the convex side up and without being touched on the upper side by a stick with the flat side up, they go to the thrower. If the mâma had been placed so that the flat side was up, only those which formed a cross with the flat side up would have counted.

C
Ce
524

/191 cont./

The players take turns throwing, and each one places the máma to suit himself. The one who gets the most sticks wins.

If only four sticks are left, no máma is put down any more, but the players decide whether the convex or flat (concave) ones are to count.

/192/ Sometimes one sees the women playing ninepins, called

Ce
524
516

Fig. 94. Chané boys playing chunquanti on the Rio Iriyuro.

C
Ce
524

"itarapóa" by the Chiriguano in Tihuĩpa, "tocoróre" by the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.

In Tihuĩpa it was played in the following manner. Two rows of maize kernels, two with one on top of the other in each case, were set up four to five feet apart as pins. Two persons played alternately, trying to knock down the maize pins of the other with a stone ball. The first to knock down áll the maize pins of the other was the winner.

/192 cont./ C Ce 524

On the Rio Pilcomayo three pins were used on each side. The distance between the pins of the opponent was three ells. Ee Each pin consisted of a shelled ear of maize, and the distance [804] between them was supposed to be a hand span (1). The balls [323]

1. Longest distance between thumb and little finger.

used are made of fired clay and are hollow, with small, rattling pellets inside (Fig. 99). /Plate 17 appears here./

C Ce 524

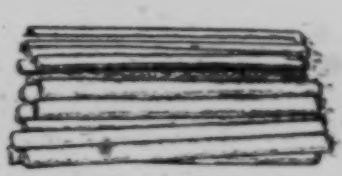


Fig. 95.
Little sticks for the tshűcareta game. 2/9.

/193/ The Life of the Indian Children C Ce 855

If one speaks of the life in the villages, one must not forget the children. The children play, but also help the adults. They are reared like the Choroti and Ashluslay children. They spend their lives in happy freedom, without thrashings and harsh words.

The Chiriguano and Chané children have a number of games and toys which one never sees the children of the whites in Bolivia use, and all of which seem to me to be genuinely Indian. Ee 524

First of all, the Indian children play the games of the adults that I have already mentioned. Of the Choroti and Ashluslay games, they are familiar with the hockey-like game of ball, which the Chiriguano call "táca." I did not see it played among the Chané. As goals they use pits, and sometimes they hit the ball with rackets. C Ce 857 526 [171]

[text continues on p. 47]

000 /193 cont./
Ce balls with rackets. This is a boys' game here. An extraordinar-
857 ily attractive and difficult game is "tóki," which I saw played by
526 the boys of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. It is played by two, four, six, or more persons in two divisions. The balls of solid rubber are first tossed into the air by one of the players and then tossed with the head to the opponents' side from where it is sup-

C
524
516

Fig. 96. Máma is set out. Tshúcareta game. Tĩhuĩpa. Chiriguano.

Ce posed to be hit back again with the head. Touching the ball
857 with the hand is forbidden. The side that has missed the ball
526 five or ten times, according to what has been agreed upon, loses.

Ce The game of tóki is mentioned in one of the legends of the
773 Chané Indians In this legend we see how difficult it was in
526 former times for the Chané to obtain rubber for the balls; /194/
314 it had to be brought from afar because there is no rubber in the Chaco.

Ce Now they get the rubber balls from Santa Cruz de la Sierra. I
526 saw "tóki" played only by boys. In olden times it was played not
857 only by the men, but also by the gods. It is known particularly
439
773
000

6: Nordenskiöld--48 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chiquito SF9

/194 cont./ It is known particularly from the Chiquito Indians (1). CO 526

1. Erbauliche und angenehme Geschichten /Edifying and Pleasant Tales/. Vienna. 1729. Page 85. CO [113]

Fig. 97. The sticks are thrown Tshúcareta game. CO 526

D'Orbigny (2) also mentions this charming game of the Chiquito.

2. D'Orbigny: Voyage. Partie historique. Vol. 2, pages 594-595. CO [113]

On the Rio Guaporé I saw Chiquitano-speaking /195/ rubber workers playing the game, and they were extraordinarily adept at hitting the ball with their heads Lying on their stomachs, they even caught low balls, which almost touched the ground, in the same manner.

[i.e. The game of Tóki -- Analyst]

V 526 /195 cont./

Games with rubber balls seem to have become familiar to the Spaniards at a very late date. This is evident from the astonishment /Fig. 97 appears here/ with which Gumilla (1) mentions them.

[V 13]

1. Gumilla: El Orinoco Ilustrado, Madrid, 1745. Page 190.

C 524 516

Fig. 98. The players look to see how the sticks have fallen.

V 526 [314]

He says that the balls and the manner of playing with them are remarkable. The ball is large and made from a wood sap called caucho; with a light blow it flies as high as a man is tall.

Gumilla says that the Indians on the Orinoco /196/ played with the right shoulder. If the ball hit another part of the body, the player lost a point. He admired their playing, for they threw the ball ten, twelve times and more, without its touching the ground.

C /197 cont./

524 I saw the "parama" game played by the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley. It is played by two. A button or the like is placed on a stone as a goal, whereupon they throw small round stones made of clay sherds. The button is supposed to be struck down, and the one /Figs. 100 and 101 appear here/ who comes closest to it wins a stroke. The game goes on until one of them has five or more strokes, according to agreement.

C Ce 524 The Chané and Chiriguano children also have a number of toys which are illustrated here (Figs. 104-105). One of these, "mou-mou" (Fig. 104), is strange. With it /198/ a buzzing tone is produced if the threads are first twisted and then stretched.

Ce 524

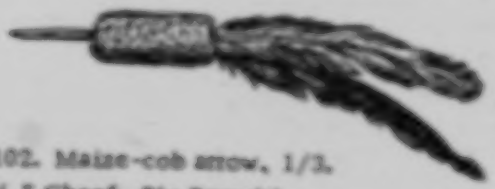


Fig. 102. Maize-cob arrow, 1/3. "Sóuki." Chané. Rio Parapiti.

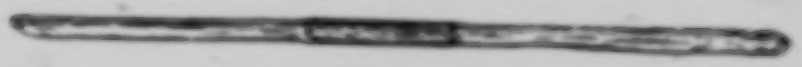


Fig. 103. Little stick for the huirahuahua game. 1/3. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

100 Now I have no doubt properly bored my readers with Indian games and toys. Perhaps I have dwelt too long on this subject, so little studied in South America, which interested me keenly on my journey. As among the Choroti and Ashluslay, I liked playing with the boys. This is also a way of coming closer to the Indians, of winning their confidence.

Ee [123]

Ee 85 [797] [177]

Like the Choroti and Ashluslay children, the children of the Chané and Chiriguano are seldom bored; like the former, they are well-behaved and good children. It is usually very lively on the playgrounds in the villages. This is true of the heathen. The children who have fallen into the hands of the monks look melancholy and reserved; they have already been given a taste of what the children of the white man learn, training and the beginning of civilization. "You shall..." "You shall not..."

C
Ce
CI
524
526
171

/198 cont./

The games and toys are of great interest from the anthropogeographical point of view. We do not find the majority of then. outside the Chaco and the adjacent regions of South America. On the other hand, we find them in North America. Consequently I have /199/ /Ill. 104 appears here/ /200/ come to the conclusion (1)

1. See also Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie, 1910. Nos. 3 and 4.

that the games and toys are vestiges from a time when the cultural exchange between North and South America was greater than now, or, more correctly, that traces of a cultural stream coming from the north extended down as far as Argentina. A peculiar similarity also exists between the types of tobacco pipes that one finds in southern South America and in /Fig. 105 appears here/ North America. The tripod pottery which I found in my excavations in eastern Bolivia, in Mojos, also points to influences from the north.

S
276
171
S
523
171
172

Everyday Clothing

C
Ce
291
177

In the villages in which the influence of the whites has not driven out the old attire, the Chané and Chiriguano women wear a sack-shaped garment, "tiru" (Fig. 106). This, as the photographs show, may be worn in various ways. In former times the tiru does not seem to have had its present shape. Viedma (2) says

2. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181.

the /201/ Chiriguano women merely had a piece of fabric around their hips. Undoubtedly, under the influence of the "moral" Christians, the costume developed so that it became "more decent." /Fig. 106 appears here./

6: Nordenskiöld--53 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
C
Ce
524

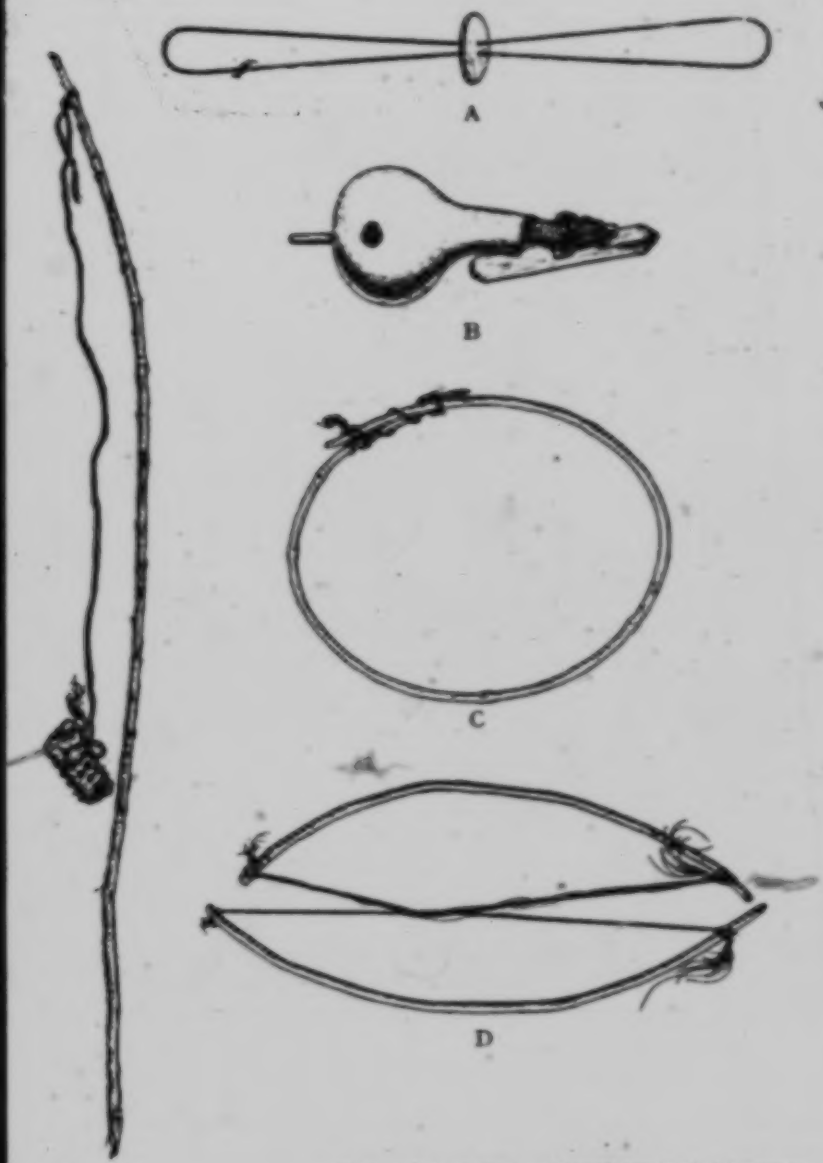


Fig. 104. Toys. Chané and Chiriguano.

A = "mou-mou." 1/6. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

B = buzzing top. 2/9. Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

C, C1 = hoop with whip. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

D = musical bow. 1/4. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

411
[714]
[114]
[524]
[126]
[171]

On the left wrist they wore a small piece of wood as a protection against the blow of the bowstring.[1]

Curiously enough, the present-day Chiriguano type of bow does not seem to have been exhaustively described by anyone; not even in Schmidt's account of South American bow types,[2] otherwise so exact, is there any mention of the Chiriguano bow. The reason for this may very likely be found in the circumstance that these weapons are said to be of rare occurrence nowadays, and that such few specimens as are still being made, are mostly used as toys and on that account typologically degenerated. Twenty years ago, when I travelled through a part of the Chiriguano country, the bow was, however, not so rarely seen as a hunting weapon as now, and I collected the seven specimens now reposing in the ethnographical section of the Riksmuseum at Stockholm. Beside these, there are two Chiriguano bows brought home by Baron Nordenskiöld, one of which is a toy bow. Two other toy bows that have been brought to Sweden by Nordenskiöld belong to the Gothenburg Museum. This forms the material from which I have compiled the following description of the Chiriguano type of bow.

By their string-fastening arrangement the Chiriguano bows differ from the Chaco-Andean bow types, which latter as a rule have no neck-shaped bow-end projections for the string. On the other hand, all Chiriguano bows that I have studied, even the toy bows, have neck-shaped ends for fastening the string, a circumstance indicating that the Chiriguano bow is no acquisition from Chaco-

Fig. 201. Riksm. 03. 3. 850. For section, see fig. 203.

Fig. 202. Riksm. 03. 3. 851. For section, see fig. 204.

Longbows. Chiriguano. Bolivia. About 1/2.

[1] de Lizarraga (I), p. 348. From Ed. Nordenskiöld.

[2] Schmidt (I), pp. 1027—1034.

/34 cont./

Play

Ce 524 [857] Of the different kinds of games, those found among the Chiriguano and the Chané are those of movement, those of skill, and those of chance. But the games of movement are only performed by children.

Ce 52 Among the games of movement we must mention here principally the game of ball, struck with the head. Nordenskiöld saw Chané boys play this. A solid rubber ball is first thrown into the air, and two teams parry it with their heads, without touching it with the hand. This game, called "toki" by the Chané, no doubt was much more common in former times and was also practiced by adults. This was stated to me by the cacique of the Izozó in Toledo and was stated long ago by the author of Litterae Annuae for 1605 with regard to the Chané (151).

151. Litterae Annuae, 1605, p. 4
According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 1.

Ce 773 52 It also follows from a Chané legend noted by Nordenskiöld (152).

152. Nord. 1, p. 261.

According to this legend, the fox "Aguaratumpa" sets the white condor free only on the condition that he obtain a white rubber ball. In what follows, the legend describes in detail how first the ostrich "Yandu" plays with the bat "Andira" with this ball, hitting it with his head. When the White Condor came flying out with the white ball, the Demon Aguaratumpa orders a bird to get a black rubber ball, and with this he plays the entire town, and the ostrich "Yandu" this time with the fox Aguaratumpa. /35/ The latter exchanged his ball for a stone and threw it at the ostrich. The latter, stopping the stone with his head, died.

fr Schmidt--67 E-5 (1930) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/36 cont./

Ce 859 524

Three other games of skill described by Nordenskiöld are played only by children (163). For one of these, called

163. Nord. 1. pp. 196 and 197.

"sówki," they use two arrows fitted with maize cobs (164).

164. Nord. 1. Fig. 102.

These two games are played by the children of the Chané of the Parapití.

C 859 524

Nordenskiöld saw the third game, called "paraná," played by the children of the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley (165).

165. Nord. 1. Fig. 103.

with small round stones, propelled with pieces of baked clay, they try to knock down a button, or some such thing, from a rock.

C 524 127

I obtained from the Chiriguano in Macharetí some children's toys which belong to these games of skill.

Toys in the Collection

I. A. 504. Top (Chiriguano). Length 18 cm.
I. A. 505. " " " " 18 cm. (Fig. 35b.)
I. A. 506. Rattle " " 25 cm.
I. A. 507. Small sling " " 55 cm.
I. A. 510. Toy called "mou-mou" (Chiriguano). Diameter of the disk 6 cm. (Fig. 36a.)

A specimen of a top similar to those mentioned (see Fig. 35b /see p. 89/) and originating among the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi valley is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (166).

166. Nord. 1. Fig. 104. B.

/36 cont./

C 524 177 The small sling I. A. 507, made out of a small forked stick, two strips of rubber obtained from an automobile tire, and leather, is not of native origin, nor is the rattle shown in Fig. 36a. /Plates XII-XIII appear here./

C 524 857 /37/ The toy shown in Figure 36a, called mou-mou by the Chiriguano, is made of a small gourd disk with a toothed edge and a double string. The latter passes through two holes in the disk. By alternately twisting and stretching this string, a rapid rotation of the disk is produced, together with a humming noise. Among other Chané children's toys there Ce [524] [857] are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld a hoop with a rope, a musical instrument consisting of two bows (167), and a

167. Nord. 1, Fig. 104. C and D.

C [171] small musket. The Chiriguano children in the Caipipendi valley and those of the Chorote also play with such muskets (168).

168. Nord. 1, Fig. 23.

C 524 Among the games of skill we must mention, finally, the string games, some of which are shown in sketches by Métraux, which a Chiriguano man made for him (169). The

169. Métraux I, pp. 443, 446. Plates 89 and 90.

Chiriguano children also know this game.

C Ce 524 There are two games of chance among the Chiriguano and the Chané. One, called "chúcaráy" by the Chiriguano and "chunquanty" by the Chané, is played with four small boards, and the other, called "asúcaretn," with a large number of boards, concave on one side and convex on the other (170).

170. Nord. 1, p. 191 and Fig. 85.

534

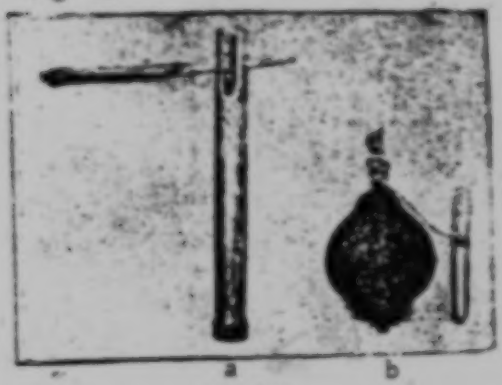
Plate XII

a

b

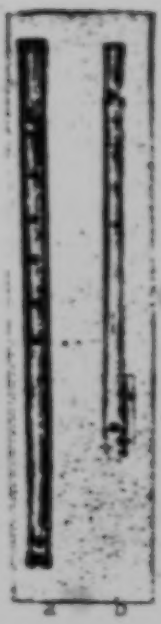
Fig. 33

524



a b

Fig. 35



a b

534

Fig. 34

a

b

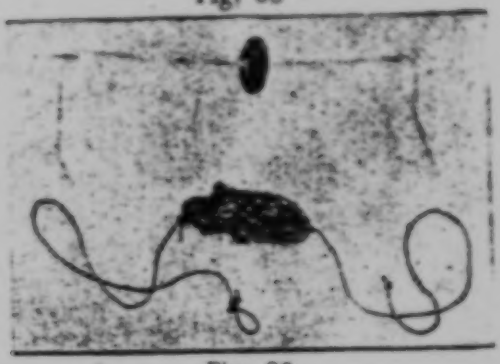


Fig. 36

/The captions appear on p. 91./

St Schmidt--91 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XII and XIII/

C
534

Plate XII

Fig. 33. Wooden flutes, "serere" (Chiriguano): a (I. A. 492), length 20 cm.; b (I. A. 491), length 17 cm.

Fig. 34. a (I. A. 494): Cane flute (Chiriguano), length 41 cm.
b (I. A. 495): double whistle of cane (Chiriguano), length 33.5 and 7 cm.

C
524

Fig. 35. a (I. A. 506): rattle, a toy for children (Chiriguano), length 23.5 cm.
b (I. A. 505): top, a toy for children (Chiriguano), length 16 cm.

Fig. 36. a (I. A. 510): toy for children, "mou-mou" (Chiriguano), diameter of the disk 6 cm.
b (I. A. 509): sling (Chiriguano), length (without cords) 14 cm.

C
Ce
411

Plate XIII

Fig. 37. Bows and arrows: a (I. A. 757), bow (Izozó), length 1.32 m.; b (I. A. 756), bow (Izozó), length 1.41 m.; c (I. A. 519), arrow (Chiriguano), length 1 m.; d (I. A. 521), arrow (Chiriguano), length 0.85 m.; e (I. A. 534), arrow for birds (Chiriguano), length 1.11 m.; f (I. A. 748), arrow (Izozó), length 0.94 m.; g (I. A. 528), arrow (Chiriguano), length 0.94 m.; h (I. A. 750), arrow (Izozó), length 0.835 m.

C
411

Fig. 38. (I. A. 517.) Macana (Chiriguano), length 0.64 m.

Ce
227

Fig. 39. (I. A. 764.) Fishing implement (Izozó), length 73.5 cm.

Pt Schmidt--92 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
524
199

/37 cont./

These Indians received two games of chance from the whites, the game of dice, which they call by the Spanish name "dado," and the game with a cow's leg bone, which they call "taba."

Agriculture

C
Ce
241

I have already explained in the chapter on food and drink that the cultivation of maize as an agricultural product is common, and among the Chané of the Parapití the cultivation of the sweet potato. Mandioca is only cultivated rarely and has no importance in the economy of these Indians. Various species of beans are planted, also one species of cactus, some gourds which have edible fruits, and also a little tobacco. In addition to these edible or stimulating native plants that are cultivated, there are some others received from the whites, but these have little importance in the economy of these Indians. According to Nordenskiöld (171), they are the following: sugar

C
Ce
241
199

171. Nord. 2, pp. 23 and 24.

cane, peanuts, watermelon, muskmelon, figs, oranges and millet, and Métraux also mentions the pepper among them (172).

172. Métraux 1, pp. 338 and 339.

C
Ce
241
415
383
386

In addition to these edible or stimulating plants, there are cultivated various species of gourds whose fruits are not edible but are used to make containers, cotton for making thread, urucú for obtaining red dye, and, among the Indians of the Parapití, also a species of cane, Harundo Donax /Arundo donax/, which grows wild in great quantity on the banks of the Pilcomayo, but not on those of the Parapití River.

Chaine SF8
I2020

C
Ce
411
174
175
Ce
411

/40 cont./

steadily progressing, a consequence of its degeneration resulting from its gradually falling into disuse.

The form of all the bows collected among the Izozó is the same, discounting the insignificant differences with regard to their length. The wood of the bow, which is approximately 3 cm. wide, is flat on the side towards the string and convex on the opposite side. To better fasten the bowstring, each of them is provided at its ends with a quite marked narrowing and always considerably shorter at the upper end than at the lower end. /41/ Three of these Izozó bows show, when not flexed, the reflex form already mentioned by v. Rosen with respect to the Chiriguano bows. The bowstring, made of twisted strips of animal hide, is fastened in the common manner used by South American Indians. By means of a noose with a knot, it goes around the narrowing of the upper end of the bow, while the loop at the lower end is made so that it can either shorten or lengthen the bowstring as necessary. Cf. Fig. 37, a and b /see p. 90/. In all these bows a large part of the string is rolled up as a reserve around the wood of the bow. Bow I. A. 757, whose wood shows cracks on the side toward the string, has wood reinforcements in two places, one of them consisting of a wrapping with thread and the other a piece of the skin of a cow's tail, which has been slipped like a sleeve over the wood of the bow. Cf. Figure 37 /see p. 90/.

Ce
411
183
[237]
[284]
Ce
[237]

The three bows I. A. 758-760, made of light-colored wood, correspond in form to the others, but they are poorly made and appear to be cheap merchandise for trading. Bow I. A. 760 even has a cable wire in place of a string.

Ce
411

The small Chiriguano bow I. A. 518 is a bow made for children for shooting light arrows with a wire point, which have been enumerated in great number in the above list.

C
411
524

The length of the arrows I collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó is somewhat behind with respect to the length of the corresponding bows. The longest among them is a Chiriguano arrow for shooting birds, fitted with a club rather than a point, with a length of 1.11 m. Among the arrows fitted with iron

C
Ce
411
[223]

/41 cont./

Ee 411 points, one Izozó specimen reaches a length of 1.07 m., and a Chiriguano specimen, a length of 1 m. This is the opposite of the observations that v. Rosen made about Chiriguano arrows, that they were as large or even larger than the bows.

Ee [324] Without counting the Chiriguano arrows fitted with wire points, which no doubt are used only by children for shooting at fish or birds and which are often made with wooden shafts, Ee [299] [324] arrow shafts are universally made of cane, taken from the plant Arundo donax, which, as I have already mentioned above, is cultivated by the Chané of the Parapití River. According to Nordenskiöld, Ee 411 [324] the Chané formerly also used the Ubá (Cymerium sp.), which they call "chochio" (188). The

188. Nord. 2. p. 26.

arrows collected among the Izozó are provided with iron points. Nordenskiöld also shows in drawings Chané arrows fitted with wooden points in the form of a lancet or dentate (189).

189. Nord. 2. Fig. 6. A and C.

Ee 411 Among the Chiriguano arrows in the collection, there are two fitted with iron points, one fitted with a dentate wooden point, one such wooden point without a shaft, and two arrows for bird hunting that are fitted with a club instead of a point. The Chiriguano arrows fitted with iron points correspond throughout to the Izozó ones with respect to form and material. Ee [284] The iron point is joined to the shaft by means of a piece of split wood and a wrapping of cord made from special tree bark and fastened with wax. The lower end of the cane shaft has a groove over which the end of the arrow is also fastened by a wrapping of the same cord secured with wax.

Ee 411 237 /42/ Some Chiriguano and Izozó arrows have feathering, others do not. While the feathering was lost on some of the arrows that do not have it now, as can be discerned from the remnants of wax which had served for attaching it, other arrows show clearly that they never had feathering. If there is feathering, the feather parts attached by means of wrapping with cord Ee [284] [191] and wax are small, as are those of most of the Chaco tribes.

C 411 /52 cont./
drawings by v. Rosen and v. Nordenskiöld (194). This club is

C 411 284 194. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 212. Nord. 2, Fig. 6. D and E.

fastened directly on the inside of the upper part of the shaft. The shaft of the larger arrow is made of the same cane as that of the other arrows, and that of the smaller arrow is light wood. The binding on the upper part and also on the lower part of
C [239] the shaft of the longer arrow consists of cotton thread secured with wax. The two arrows have feathering and have the same groove at the bottom end of the shaft. Several specimens of Chiriguano bird-hunting arrows whose clubs show different forms are shown in drawings by Métraux (195).

195. Métraux I. Plates X-XI.

C 411 174 [283] The special form of the club of the arrows for shooting birds (cf. Fig. 37e) and the special method of binding the shaft with a cord of tree bark and the length which these arrows formerly had lead us to the conclusion that this type of arrow, equally common today among the Chiriguano and Chané, is the ancient form of arrow that the Chiriguano brought from their native soil to the west. I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano and Chané bows and arrows were formerly much longer. But we can also assume that these implements of the hunt and weapons of war, in accordance with their greater importance, were formerly better made than they are today.

C 411 524 According to Nordenskiöld, only rarely does the codoque, the bow for shooting balls, appear among the Chiriguano and Chané, and it is only used by youths and boys (196).

196. Nord. 2, p. 26.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

plicated affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large jars. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

Gambling.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the suka game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.[8] Another favorite dice game is called chukareta: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous taba game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

Games.—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapeti River, like so many Guiana tribes, played a ball game with rubber balls which they butted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

Chiriguano women had a game (itarapoa) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tunpa, or Iandapoha ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaratunpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guaraní*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ana," the souls of the dead.

[8] The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 337).

/279 cont./

727 Those who are older, men and women, surround the poor prisoners and insult them until they are tired, recriminate against them for the war, to which their husbands may have given rise, mock once more the memory of the dead men who did not know how to defend their town, calling them men of no courage, good only for women's work, good only for making chicha, and when they are tired of talking, the festivities begin with drinking, dancing, and singing, with which they celebrate their splendid victory.

The prisoners remain silent, do not raise their heads, do not say a word, and even refuse to eat food if it is offered them. They cannot oppose the brutal acts of their conquerers, who would put an end to their lives if they attempted to do such a thing. 797 The last war of Curuyuqui is still living proof of what has been 727 said, but happily many unfortunate women had help in their misery because of the presence of the missionary (2).

2. When the defenseless damsels understood the intention of their masters, they ran away, making a joke of the vigilance of those brutes, entered the school as a last refuge, and learned religion.

727 During the days of celebration and afterward, they start [525] playing their dice game, and they wager the prisoners, who are no good to them, among whom are the mature women, boys and children under seven, and an occasional girl whose new owner does [437] not need her. When they are tired of them, they barter them or [438] sell them for nothing, for a sheep, a goat, /280/ a hat. The sale or barter is not done in the town of the conquerers, but in others farther away. Thus it happens that many innocent boys and girls may find there relatives who would pay even more than what is asked for them.

/342 cont./

243 462 [482] Wives accompany their husbands to the fields. They spend the day there spinning, sewing, grilling ears of corn, or roasting manioc. In the evening, if they return to the village, the wife comes back bent under the weight of her añapoka, or carrying-net, full of ears of corn. Sometimes the men help [492] them. Those who have donkeys and horses use them as beasts of burden.

482 Transport of corn is done generally with the help of the carrying-net, but makeshifts let them do without it in case of necessity. The ears of corn are held together in bundles by means of leaves which encompass them and are suspended from a flexible switch bent in the shape of a figure eight. When the two loops are balanced, one can raise them by grasping them by the middle.

251 In the village the ears are either stored in granaries on piles, to which steps cut in a tree trunk (Fig. 9) lead, or kept in the hut where a special corner has been made into a compartment. A tree trunk tipped with a natural fork may serve /Plate VII appears here/ /343/ as a storage place for corn. The ears, tied into bundles, are piled between the two branches of the fork (Fig. 10).

243 789 Formerly, before their dreadful decline began, the Chiriguano had recourse to magical ceremonies to hasten the ripening of corn and to avoid drought or too great an abundance of rain. /Fig. 9 appears here./

When the sun threatened to burn the harvest, they had one or several medicine men come who were charged with bringing the recalcitrant clouds. Provided with a cigar, they went around the fields blowing the smoke in every direction (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 167). The symbolism of this rite of homeopathic magic is clear: the smoke represents the clouds which the ipaye is to gather.

[526] [178] The game of mbotó represents the survival of a magical ceremony having to do with the growth of corn and its maturing.

[Text Continues on P. 78]

/34./

526 In the Chiriguano missions or in the villages of the Cai-
178 pipendí valley one finds on the large village plaza /Fig. 10
243 appears here/ an abundance of onion-like objects made of leaves
789 of corn folded together (Fig. 11). Children throw them to each other with the flat of the hand and try to catch them again before they fall to the ground. A hurried traveler would see in this

343
251

Fig. 9. Corncrib on piles (avatió). Ivu. (Photo. A.M.)

526 game only an Indian form of our court tennis or a rudimentary
178 tennis. Actually, this is certainly the present significance of
243 this amusement. In olden days the meaning was not the same,
789 as I learned in the Macharetí mission. Only a few years ago mboto was played only at the time when the corn was beginning to ripen. The children formed a circle and threw this kind of shuttlecock to one another. If by chance one of them let it fall through inadvertance or awkwardness, he left the place

/3-4 cont./

526 immediately, chased by his comrades who pulled his hair
178 energetically. The awkward player who threw the ball in such
243 a way that his partner could not catch it was in the same
789 category as the one who let it fall, on condition, however, that his opposite number had not made the gesture of catching it. Once the corn was ripe, they stopped playing mboto.

526 171 →

[177] →

The game of mboto has a wide distribution in South America, but it is limited to the populations of the Amazonian basin and the Guianas. Doubtless the Chiriguano introduced it into the Chaco (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 168).

417 251 824 Fig. 10. Forked tree on which the Chiriguano pile corn inside their huts. This device may have given rise to the corncribs on piles.

526 789 243 This game without any doubt derives from a magical rite whose object was to promote the beneficial course of the sun and to oblige it to shine without interruption to make the corn ripen. The straw shuttlecock represents the sun. The period when this game is played and the meaning the Chiriguano attach to it make my hypothesis a very likely one. Preuss demonstrated that in all of Central America and even in North America the /345/ tennis game arose out of a magical operation intended to influence the sun.

Fig. 11. Straw shuttlecock (mboto), accessory for the game of the same name. Prov.: Carurutí. (1/3 nat. size.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chané SF8

C 273 462 Ce 273 plicated affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large jars. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

C Ce 525 [177] **Gambling.**—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the suka game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.[9] Another favorite dice game is called chukareta: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

C 177 525 European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous taba game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

C 526 [171] **Games.**—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

Ce 526 Ce [439] Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapetí River, like so many Guiana tribes, played a ball game with rubber balls which they butted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

C 524 *Chiriguano* women had a game (itarapoa) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

C 77 177 797 During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tunpa, or Iandapoha ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaratunpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guaraní*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ana," the souls of the dead.

C [994] [191]

[9] The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 337).

/220 cont./

859 868 The boys have different ways of learning how to be accurate in shooting arrows and to be good hunters and brave warriors. In the field or in the woods they amuse themselves usefully, ambushing and taking as a target little birds and even grasshoppers when there are any, and when they go back home they give proof of their manliness by sticking the arrow into the mortar in which their mother customarily grinds maize.

859 868 526 [411] [824] When the boys gather together in the town, they learn the use of the arrow, shooting it at a wooden wheel which one of them makes roll as fast as he can. This wheel is made of a type of round cactus which grows a cuarta or a little more and is called Zipepe. The boys, armed with arrows, line up, and the best one will succeed in driving his into the soft material of the zipepe. /221/ The zipepe is at the same time a school for target shooting and a game; of the latter they have 524 others which I shall name in passing. They have the Pinono, top. This is different from that of the towns of the Republic. It is a small gourd with a hole in the middle in the upper part. When they spin it, the air produces a prolonged sound like that of little calves who are lowing very gently, and from this comes its name, Pinono.

Another game for young and old is pelota, which has a definite season. This is when there is fresh maize, or the cold is beginning to be felt. They call it Topo, and it is done with the husk of fresh maize; thus, when the fresh maize season ends, the game of pelota also ends, and they amuse themselves with many other games that they have (1).

000

1. These will not be listed because this is not the subject of this chapter, and in addition it would be very tiring for the reader.

/255 cont./

those of certain peoples who, without going further, are close to those who know nothing about civilization, whose morals, compared with those of these unfortunates, are far lower because of their refinement (2).

2. Some moderns would have civilization consist of purely material education without attending to the yearnings of the heart; for them it is all the same whether man dresses or goes naked.

527 In the course of this chapter my readers will learn that I can be little mistaken in what I stated above, and they will also learn that even the Chiriguano have fiestas, which they call Arete, which /256/ are celebrated neither for saints, emperors, nor kings, nor are they celebrated in a disorderly fashion, nor do they allow themselves to be disemboweled by a bull, as sometimes happens to mestizos or Spaniards; much less are they celebrated for open abandonment to luxury; they are celebrated only in order to drink and stuff oneself, and to enjoy the fruit of the labor involved in the planting of the maize, to have a few days of general rejoicing, to drink, in sum, like good brothers (1).

[526]

1. In the general drinking a certain immorality in their words is to be lamented, and they sometimes test their strength and valor with pugilism.

Before the Fiesta

241 231 177 Before the white race entered the region, cattle were almost unknown and the few that the Indians had were tame, nor had they taken to their hearts the desire for maize as they do now; thus the Chiriguano easily did his planting and weeding in less than a month, leaving the rest to God, but I speak badly, to the good sorcerer, the sun, and the rain. Today if he does not put a fence around his planting, the cattle of the Christians and the Indians very soon reach the crop, and a little carelessness is

Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
524

left, no náma is put out and the players decide if the convex or flat (concave) side is to count.

C
Ce
524
177

Other games of chance that are common here have most likely been borrowed from the Whites. »Taba», the well known national game of the Gauchos, is played, the astragalus of a cow being thrown, and it depends on which side of the bone turns up whether you win or lose.

The European game of dice goes by the name of »daro», here from the Spanish »dado». The Chiriguano and Chané have dice of their own make. They are made of bone or burnt clay. In Tihüipa I wrote down the rules of this

Fig. 31. Rules for the game of »daro». Chiriguano. Tihüipa.

game shown in Fig. 31. All other combinations are = 0. The first to get ten marks, has won. The marks are made on the ground. It is plain that these dice are an imitation of European dice. Those at the top of the illustration correspond to our one, the next to our five; then comes two, then six, then three and next four. They seem to have made their own rules for this game or else they are a re-hash of those of the Whites. There is no doubt that card playing has come from the Whites. The cards they use are bought in stores.

C
Ce
526

Of the games of skill occurring here I have in the first part of this book described in detail a bat and ball game (map 28) and a game with maize leaf balls (map 29).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The bat and ball game »táca» (a kind of hockey), is played by the Chiriguano boys. I have not seen this game among the Chané. We also saw in Part I that the game is played by many tribes in the Chaco and by the Araucanians. Besides playing with long, bent sticks the Chiriguano also play with a kind of racket The balls are always of wood. I have not seen rackets elsewhere. In part I we saw that the game with maize leaf balls is especially met with in the northeastern part of S. America.

C
Ce
526
C
[857]

We find a most interesting ball game among the Chané which is not known by the Choroti and Ashluslay. It is played with india-rubber balls (Map 9). All the way from the Chané in El Gran Chaco to the West Indies and Mexico the game is characterized by the players not being allowed to touch the ball with their hands but having to catch and butt it with their heads, shoulders, hips or feet. In the Journal of the Royal Danish Geographical Society I have given an account of the distribution in South America of games with india-rubber balls. I here repeat in part what I wrote there, as the Danish language is not likely to be known any better than the Swedish. I can also add something to what I wrote there.

Ce
526
171*

As the conformity of the rules of the game all the way from Mexico to the Chané is of the greatest anthropogeographical interest, I reproduce many of them here word for word as given by several authors. The game is mentioned from the Chané in Litterae Annuae of 1605. The author of this description says of these Indians that they played at ball using their heads instead of bats, and that they were quite as clever as the Spaniards were with their hands and bats.[1])

This game »tóki» is still played by the Chané at Rio Parapiti, where I have seen boys playing at ball with their heads.

Ce
526
[857]

[1]) Page 409. »Indos videlicet huius Prouinciae, pilae ludo capitibus tabellarum loco, tanta dexteritate exerceri, quanta Hispani, manibus, atque tabellis.»

StNordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8

Ce 526

heads. The game is mentioned in one of the Chané-Indian tales, published in my book »Indianlif». From this tale we see how difficult it used to be for the Chané to get india-rubber for their balls. It had to be fetched from the north, as there are no rubber-yielding trees at Rio Parapiti.

Ce 526 539

»Aguaratunpa» (the Fox[1])-demon) had captured »U'rurutti», the white Condor, who offers everything imaginable to get back his liberty.

»I will fill a house with bowls of silver »Cagua» and give it you, if you will release me,» says the white Condor.

»I have all the silver I want», Aguaratunpa answers, »and I capture you in order to kill you. But if you can get me the white india-rubber ball »toki» to play with, I will release you», says Aguaratunpa.

U'rurutti now flies and fetches the white india-rubber ball. Then Aguaratunpa and the others play the game, catching and butting the ball with their heads. The white Condor, however, catches the ball and flies off with it and so Aguaratunpa sends another bird »Tavatan» to fetch the black india-rubber ball.[2])

C Ce ● 526 *171

The game is mentioned from the Itatines east of Sta. Cruz de la Sierra in Litterae Annuae of 1589. The ball was made of the resin from a certain kind of tree and yet it was so light that it bounced at the slightest touch more easily than any leather ball. They did not, however, strike this ball with their hands or feet, but with their heads and, if need were, with their elbows, giving and taking it with the utmost skill. The winner was awarded a great prize.[3])

[1]) NORDENSKIÖLD. (8) P. 244.

[2]) The two india-rubber balls from the Cavina-Indians in the Gothenburg museum are of a greyish-yellow; the one from the Huari-Indians is a blackish-brown.

[3]) Page 434. »Pila est e cuiusdam resina arboris compacta, leuis tamen, et quæ minimo pulsu magis resiliat, quam folliculus quicunque: eam porro non manu impellunt, aut pede, sed capite, et, si forte, cubito, mira dantium accipientiumque dexteritate: et est magnum victori præmium.»

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53
103
C
Ce
102
526
171
S
102
171
526

Map. 9. The distribution of games with india-rubber balls.

● players not being allowed to touch the ball with their hands, but having to catch and butt it with their heads, shoulders, hips or feet. ○ = rules of the game unknown.

1 Chiriguano; 5 = Chané; 20 = Paresi-Kabisi; 23 = Churápa; 25 = Mojo; 28 = Aneté; 40 = Itatines (Guarayú); 47 = Indians, British Guiana; 58 = Cayua; 64 = Huari; 88 = Otomaco; 94 = Chiquitos; 3M = Indians, Haiti; 4M = Indians, Yucatan; 98 Maynas.

Nordenskiöld E-6 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
Chaco SF9

C
526

I have not seen the Chiriguano play this game. I have, however, heard that they used to play it and called the game «bondi». The ball, which was of solid india-rubber, might not be touched with the hands but had to be caught and struck with the head. It might not touch the ground.

Co
526

Both earlier and later authors mention games with india-rubber balls among the Chiquito Indians in south Bolivia.[1]) These Indians hit the ball with their heads. At Rio Guaporé I saw rubber-workers, who spoke Chiquito, playing this game. They were very clever at striking the ball with their heads. Even low balls that only just cleared the ground, were caught in the same way, the players throwing themselves on their faces. They danced while playing. This game is also known to the Churipu, a Chiquito-Indian tribe, near Sta. Cruz de la Sierra, who called it «taurosh».[2]) EDER speaks of games with india-rubber balls in Mojos.[3]) The ball was kicked or caught and butted with the head. The balls that were used were either solid and heavy or light and hollow.

C
Ce
526
171

I saw the small tribe of Huari Indians[4]) near the Upper Rio Guaporé playing with hollow india-rubber balls. There also the balls had to be caught and butted with the head.

When ROOSEVELT on his celebrated journey through Matto Grosso came to the Paressi Indians, he was astonished to see them play «football with their heads», a mode

[1]) FERNANDEZ. «Juntanse muchos en la plaza con buen orden, echan al ayre una pelota, y luego, no con las manos, sino con la cabeza, la rebaten con maravillosa destreza, arrojandose aun en tierra para cogerla.» D'ORBIGNY (1) Partie Historique, Tome 2. P. 314—315. NORDENSKIÖLD (8) P. 180.

[2]) NORDENSKIÖLD (9) P. 28.

[3]) P. 341.

[4]) NORDENSKIÖLD (11) P. 387. A ball that I brought home from these Indians is about 6 cm. in diameter. The rubber is unusually thick, about 6—7 mm. It is blackish brown.

Schmidemeisfild I-5 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
526
171*

of playing that he thought was as yet undescribed.[1]) They used a light, hollow rubber ball of their own make. It was round, and about 8 inches in diameter.

Before ROOSEVELT[2]) MAX SCHMIDT[3]) speaks about this game in Matto Grosse among the Paressi-Kabiši. There they played with india-rubber balls made of the milky juice from the mangave. The ball might not be touched with the hands during the game, but had to be caught and butted with the forehead, even if it was on the ground. To make this possible a mound of sand might be made under the ball. The balls are 9—11 cm. in diameter. MAX SCHMIDT gives us a splendid photograph of some Paressi-Kabiši lads amusing themselves with this strange ball-game.

KARL VON DEN STEINEN mentions india-rubber balls among the Auetö-Indians at Rio Xingú,[4]) but without

[1]) ROOSEVELT, P. 183—84. «The game is not only native to them, but I have never heard or read of its being played by any other tribe or people.»

[2]) Page 183. «The players are divided into two sides, and stationed much as in Association football, and the ball is placed on the ground to be put in play as in football. Then a player runs forward, throws himself flat on the ground, and butts the ball towards the opposite side. This first butt, when the ball is on the ground never lifts it much and it rolls and bounds towards the opponents. One or two of the latter run toward it, one throws himself flat on his face and butts the ball back. Usually this but lifts it, and it flies back in a curve well up in the air; and an opposite player, rushing toward it, catches it on his head with such a swing of his brawny neck, and such position and address that the ball bounds back through the air as a football soars after a drop-kick. If the ball flies off to one side or the other it is brought back, and again put in play. Often it will be sent to and from a dozen times, from head to head, until finally it rises with such a sweep that it passes far over the heads of the opposite players and descends behind them. Then shrill rolling cries of good-humoured triumph arise from the victors; and the game instantly begins again with fresh zest.»

[3]) SCHMIDT, MAX (4) P. 182—83.

[4]) STEINEN, (5) P. 329.

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,y(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
526
171

giving the rules of the game. I saw the Cavina-Indians at Rio Beni use india-rubber balls. They were hollow and the rubber was thin and there was shot inside them so that they could be used as rattles. I only saw them thrown with the hands. Indian boys in the Mainas mission[1]) at Rio Marañon also had india-rubber balls of their own making. BARRERE mentions balls of the kind from Amazonas without saying how they were used.[2]) IM THURN[3]) speaks of these balls in British Guiana.

GUMILLA[4]) tells us that the Otomaco-Indians at the Orinoco river played with balls made of a kind of juice that they called »caucho» and which bounced to a man's height at the slightest touch. The ball might only be caught and hit with the right shoulder. If it touched any other part of the body the player lost one point. In this way the balls were butted from shoulder to shoulder up to 10 or 12 times without touching the ground. It struck GUMILLA as stranger still that when the ball was rolling on the ground they could put it in play again by throwing themselves on their faces and pressing their bodies to the ground.[5])

---

[1]) [MARONI] (Junió 1889) P. 329.

[2]) BARRERE, P. 139.

[3]) P. 326.

[4]) GUMILLA. T. I, P. 190—191. »Lo singular es, assi la pelota, como el modo de jugarla: la pelota es grande, como una bola de jugar el Mayo, formado de una resina, que llaman CAUCHO, que à leve impulse rebota tan alto, como la estatura de un hombre: el saque, y rechaso ha de ser con solo el hombro derecho, y si toca la pelota en qualquiera otra parte del cuerpo pierde una raya: causa maravilla vèr ir, y venir rechazar y rebolver la pelota diez, doce y mas veces, sin dexarla tocar en el suelo. Es otra cosa de mayor admiracion, al venir una pelota arrastrando, vèr arrojarse aquel Indio contra ella con todo el cuerpo: al modo con que suelen arrojarse al agua para nadar, del mismo modo dàn con todo el cuerpo contra el suelo, y con el hombro levantan por essos ayres otra vez la pelota.

[5]) See GILIJ T. 2, P. 269—272. GILIJ describes the game in detail. He says that the Otomacos had a place set apart for ball-games.

8:Nordenskiöld E-S/H (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

OVIEDO[1]) gives a detailed description of the game. He tells how there were special play- grounds in the Haiti villages where they played at ball. During the game

C
Ce
526
171*

1) OVIEDO. T. 1, Lib. 6, Chap. 2, P. 165.

«E las pelotas son de unos rayçes de árboles é de hiervas é çumos é mucha de cosas, que tola junta esta mixtura paresçe algo çerapea negra. Juntas estas y otras materias, cuéçenlo todo é haçen una pasta; é redundéanla e haçen la pelota. tamaña como una de las de viento en España, é mayores é menores: la qual mixtura haçe una tez negra, é no se pega á las manos; é despues que está enxuta tórnasse algo esponçiosa, no por que tenga agujero ni vacuo alguno, como la esponja, pero alijereçesse, y es como foía y algo pesada.

Estas pelotas saltan mucho mas que las de viento sin comparaçion, porque de solo soltalla de la mano en tierra, suben mucho mas para arriba, é dan un salto é otro é otro y muchos, disminuyendo en el saltar por sí mismas, como lo haçen las pelotas de viento é muy mejor. Mas como son maçizas, son algo pesadas; é si les diesen con la mano abierta ó con el puño çerrado, en pocos golpes abririan la mano ó la desconçertarian. Y á esta causa le dan con el hombro y con el cobdo y con la cabeça, y con la cadera lo mas continuo ó con la rodilla; y con tanta presteza y soltura, que es mucho de ver su agilidad, porque aunque vaya la pelota quasi á par del suelo, se arrojan de tal manera desde tres ó quatro passos apartados, tendidos en el ayre, y le dan con la cadera para la rechaçar. Y de qualquier bote ó manera que la pelota vaya en el ayre (é no rastrando), es bien tocada; porque ellos no tienen por mala ninguna pelota (ó mal jugada), porque haya dado dos, ni tres, ni muchos saltos, con tanto que al herir, le den en el ayre. No haçen chaças, sino ponense tantos á un cabo como á otro, partido el terreno ó compás del juego, y los de acullá la sueltan ó sirven una vez, echándola en el ayre, esperando que le toque primero qualquiera de los contrarios; y en dándole aquel, luego sulçede el que antes puede de los unos ó de los otros, y no çessan con toda la diligençia possible á ellos, para herir la pelota. Y la contençion es que los deste cabo la hagan passar del otro puesto adelante de los contrarios, ó aquellos la passen de los limites ó puesto destos otros; y no çessan hasta que la pelota va rastrando, que ya por no aver acydo el jugador á tiempo, ó no haçe bote, ó está tan lexos que no la alcança, é ella se muere ó se para de por sí. Y este vençimiento se cuenta por una raya, é tornan á servir para otra los que fueron servidos en la passada, é á tantas rayas, quantas primero se açordaron en la postura, vá el preçio que entre las partes se conçierta».

HERRERAS description is not so detailed. Dec. 1, Libro 3, Chap. 4.

Schoedenskiöld E-S.c(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
S710 Chiriguano S710
Chane S78

C.
Ce
526
171

the chiefs sat on beautifully carved seats or so called sloluo. OVIEDO's description makes it quite clear that they used india-rubber balls. Trees yielding india-rubber, however, seem to be unknown in Haiti, so perhaps the Indians got them while trading with the tribes on the South American Continent.

OVIEDO says how well these balls bounced. If one is but dropped on the ground it bounces higher than a ball of feathers would, and it keeps on bouncing again and again. They played in the same way in Haiti as they did at the Orinoco, not throwing the balls with their hands but catching and striking them with their shoulders, elbows, heads, hips or knees. The balls were solid.

I have shown on map 9 the distribution of rubber balls in South-America. In most places it is, as we have seen, played in such wise that the balls are not allowed to be touched with the hands, but have to be caught and struck with some other part of the body. Judging by the distribution of the game I should not consider it unlikely that it has been spread in South America by the Arawaks. The Indians in Haiti were Arawaks, as also the Paresi-Kabiti and Chané. The Otomaco had Arawakan civilization. It is interesting to learn from the Chané tale that the balls were brought from a distance. It is possible that the same thing was done in Haiti.

As early a writer as GUMILLA states that a ball-game like the one he describes from the Otomaco-Indians, was played in Mexico. Thus he quotes P. ROXAS (Historia Cinaloá, lib. 8, cap. fol. 475.) who mentions similar games among the Acaxees-Indians in Sierra de Topia.[1]) There is

[1]) T. 1, P. 191. The publisher of EDEN's work also had his attention drawn to the similarity between the ball-games in Mexico and in Mojos. (P. 344).

«Similem frequentabant olim veteres Mexicani, et Chorigeno tunc Indicum curcuti. Tamarctum. Inuile S. Dominici insulae ac ex hoc eodem ludo jam olim obiectarunt, testante Oviedo, et plum rerum va-

Schwedenskiöld I-4,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

a striking similarity between «tlaxtli», the Mexican ball game, and the one which is played in the West Indies and South America when you take into consideration the different standard of civilization of these peoples. You cannot expect to get the same elaborate rules of a game from a tribe of low culture as from one of a much higher standard. The balls used for tlaxtli were of india-rubber. In Mexico too they played in such wise that the ball was not touched with the hand but with the hip.[7]) The same game was also played by the Maya.[8])

C
Ce
526
1714

One sometimes sees Chané and Chiriguano women playing a game like nine-pins which is called «tarapin» by the former and «tocoróe» by the latter. They played it as follows at Tihtiya. Two rows of maize grains were laid out, two grains on each other like miniature nine-pins at a distance of 4 or 5 feet. Two persons took turns in playing, trying to knock down each others maize nine-pins with a stone ball. The one who first knocked down all the other players nine-pins won the game.

C
Ce
526

At Rio Parapiti the players had three nine-pins each. There was a distance of one fathom between the ninepins of the two players. Every nine-pin consisted of an empty maize cob and the distance between them was the span of a hand. (the greater[9]). They used a ball of burnt clay, hollow, with small rattling marbles inside.

I saw a quoits-game «parama» played by the Chiriguano at Caipipendi. It is a game for two. A button or something of the kind is put on a stone as a target and the play-

C
524

[illegible] pernoctatione conferunt. Quin divinet, undenam hoc tantia natorum, tot per regionis spatiorum, in re non maximi utique momenti, conspiratio.»

[7]) Joyce (2). P. 106. «The players wore special gauntlets but the most coveted variety of the game was that in which they were not allowed the use of their hands at all, but struck the ball with their hips.»

[8]) Joyce (2) P. 300.

[9]) The maximum distance between the thumb and little finger.

C 524 ers throw round pieces of potsherd or flat round stones at it. The button has to be knocked down and the one who has got nearest to it wins a point. The game goes on till one of the players has five or more points according to agreement.

C 524 «Kiuki» is another game that I have seen Chané boys play at Rio Parapiti. It is played by two boys with mimicub arrow-darts (fig. 35) $^{1}_{A}$ First one boy throws his dart into the ground and then the other, who tries to get as near it as possible. If he gets within the span of a hand (the greater) or nearer still to his opponent's arrow he wins a point, and a mark is made on the ground. He is the winner, who first has six marks while the other player has none. In reckoning the points only those count which one player has above the other.

«Huirahualma» is a game that is only played by small Chané boys at Rio Parapiti. It is played by two boys with a stick apiece. (Fig. 34) $^{2}_{A}$ One of them throws his stick so that the point strikes the ground and rebounds as far as possible. Then the other boy throws. The one who has thrown farthest gets a point. He wins who first has eight points while the other has none, that is to say, he must have eight points more than the other boy.

C 526 «Ciyépe» is a game for boys which I have seen played by the Chiriguano in Yumbia at Rio Pilcomayo. The boys form two sides 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, 6, 7, 8. No. 4, let us say, begins by throwing a discus made of a flat cactus from which the spikes have been removed. The discus is hurled with great speed. The opposing team tries to hit it with their arrows. If this happens No. 4 has to walk out and have a shot at the discus which has been placed in a furrow with its edges facing the shooter. If he hits it he may return with his arrow. If he misses he forfeits his arrow and No. 3 succeeds him. No. 2 comes in if No. 3 misses, and No. 1 in the same way. Should he miss too, then 5, 6 etc. shoot till one of them hits the mark. The arrows

$^{1}_{A}$ [i.e., Fig. 33. - Au] $^{2}_{A}$ [i.e., Fig. 32. - Au]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

that have not hit the mark are out of the game. If one hits the discus thrown by No. 4, it has to be thrown by No. 5 and then is the turn of 4, 3 etc. to try and hit it. The player who loses all his arrows is out of the game. The last one who has any arrows left has won, or rather his side. The arrows used for this game are decorated in order that each player may know his own.

C
526

Thus we find two games of chance[1]) and eight games of skill among the Chané and Chiriguano. Nothing like this number of games is known from any other Indians in South America. The following table shows us their distribution within the territory that I have explored.

C
Ce
524
526
171*

Table 11.

	»Chunquanti«	»Chucaretu«	Ball games with bats	Games with rubber balls	Games with maize-leaf balls	Quoits-games	Games with marbles	»Sipipe«	»Ñoki«	»Huirahuahua«	Sum total
Ashluslay	+	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Atsahuaca	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Aymara	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Cavina	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	1
Chacobo	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	0
Chama	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Chané	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	6
Chimáne	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Chiriguano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	8
Choroti	+	—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	3
Churápa	—	—	—	+	+	—	+	—	—	—	3
Guarayú (mission)	—	—	—	[1])	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Guarayú Pauserna	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Huanyam	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Huari	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Itonama	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Mataco	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Quichua	+ [2])	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	2
Toba	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Tambopata-Guarayo	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Tapiete	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Yamiaca	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Yuracáre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0

[1]) In the sixteenth century.
[2]) See NORDENSKIÖLD (16).

/192 cont./ C Ce 524

On the Rio Pilcomayo three pins were used on each side. The distance between the pins of the opponent was three ells. Ee Each pin consisted of a shelled ear of maize, and the distance [804] between them was supposed to be a hand span (1). The balls [323]

1. Longest distance between thumb and little finger.

used are made of fired clay and are hollow, with small, rattling pellets inside (Fig. 99). /Plate 17 appears here./

C Ce 524

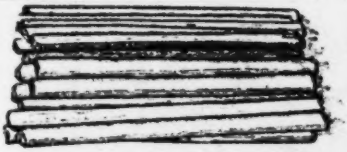


Fig. 95.
Little sticks for the tshúcareta game. 2/9.

/193/ The Life of the Indian Children C Ce 855

If one speaks of the life in the villages, one must not forget the children. The children play, but also help the adults. They are reared like the Choroti and Ashluslay children. They spend their lives in happy freedom, without thrashings and harsh words.

The Chiriguano and Chané children have a number of games and toys which one never sees the children of the whites in Bolivia use, and all of which seem to me to be genuinely Indian. Ee 524

First of all, the Indian children play the games of the adults that I have already mentioned. Of the Choroti and Ashluslay games, they are familiar with the hockey-like game of ball, which the Chiriguano call "táca." I did not see it played among the Chané. As goals they use pits, and sometimes they hit the C Ce 857 526 [171]

[text continues on p. 47] ball with rackets.

/196 cont./

Another nice game is "sóuki," which the Chané boys on the Rio Parapiti played (Fig. 102). It is played by two /Fig. 98 appears here/ boys with maize-cob arrows. First one boy throws his arrow to the ground, then the other, who tries to come as close as possible Ce 524

Fig. 99.
Split ball for the tocoróre game. 1/2. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

to him. If he comes a hand span or closer to the arrow of the opponent, he wins a point, that is to say, he gets a stroke. The one who has six points first, if the other has none, wins. Each one plays with up to three arrows. The points are counted in such a way

C 526

Fig. 100. Playing stick. 1/16. Tihuípa. Chiriguano.

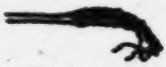


Fig. 101. Racket. 1/16. Tihuípa. Chiriguano.

that only what one has over the other one is of value. Ce 524

/197/ "Huirahuahua" is a game (Fig. 103) played only by the younger Chané boys on the Rio Parapiti. It is played by two boys with one stick apiece. One of them throws his stick so that the point strikes the ground and bounds back as far as possible. Then the second one throws. The one who has thrown farther gets a stroke on the ground. The one who first gets eight strokes while the other stands at zero wins.

C
Ce
CI
524
526
171

/198 cont./

The games and toys are of great interest from the anthropo-geographical point of view. We do not find the majority of them outside the Chaco and the adjacent regions of South America. On the other hand, we find them in North America. Consequently I have /199/ /Ill. 104 appears here/ /200/ come to the conclusion (1)

1. See also Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie, 1910. Nos. 3 and 4.

that the games and toys are vestiges from a time when the cultural exchange between North and South America was greater than now, or, more correctly, that traces of a cultural stream coming from the north extended down as far as Argentina. A peculiar similarity also exists between the types of tobacco pipes that one finds in southern South America and in /Fig. 105 appears here/ North America. The tripod pottery which I found in my excavations in eastern Bolivia, in Mojos, also points to influences from the north.

S
276
171
S
323
171
172

Everyday Clothing

C
Ce
291
177

In the villages in which the influence of the whites has not driven out the old attire, the Chané and Chiriguano women wear a sack-shaped garment, "tiru" (Fig. 106). This, as the photographs show, may be worn in various ways. In former times the tiru does not seem to have had its present shape. Viedma (2) says

2. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181.

the /201/ Chiriguano women merely had a piece of fabric around their hips. Undoubtedly, under the influence of the "moral" Christians, the costume developed so that it became "more decent." /Fig. 106 appears here./

/35 cont./

526 Nordenskiöld did not see the Chiriguano of the Sierra play the game in which the ball is hit with the head, but he did hear it said that formerly they had played this game, called "bondi" by them, and that, like the Chané, they had used solid rubber balls (153). In my work published in this

526
171

153. Nord. 2, p. 104.

journal (154), I have already mentioned that, according to the

[113] 154. Revista de la Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay, Vol. III, No. 6, pp. 116 and 117.

Litterae Annuae of 1589 (155), the game with a ball hit with

155. Page 434. According to Nordenskiöld.

the head was also played by the Itatines-Guarayús and undoubtedly with a hollow rubber ball, because it is described there as being very light. In 1791 Eder (156) mentions this game

[113] 156. Eder, Franc. Xav.: Descriptio provinciae Moxitarum /Description of the province of the Mojo/, 1791, p. 41. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

with a ball hit with the head for the Moxos /Mojo/, who not only used white, hollow rubber balls, but also used dark, solid ones. Several authors, older ones, and more recent ones, for example, Fernandez and de Orbigny, mention this game among the Chiquito (157). Nordenskiöld on his travels saw it

157. Nord. 2, p. 104.

played in addition to the Chané, by the Huari (158).

158. Nord. 2, p. 104.

Ce /35 cont./

526 174 177 According to these data concerning the region of spread of the game with a ball hit with the head, we must assume that the Chané, even before their subjugation by the Chiriguano, must have known this game, and that the Chiriguano of /36/ the Cordillera, like the Itatines-Guarayús, received it earlier from the Chané. The Chiriguano also play the game with a ball made of maize leaves struck with the hand, which we know from many other South American Indians (159). Ac-

C 526 [171]

159. Nord. 1, p. 168. Métraux 1, p. 44 and Fig. 11.

cording to Métraux, this game is not played except at the time when the maize is ripening, and it is related to the cultivation of maize.

With respect to other games of movement, the Chiriguano children play a game which corresponds to the game of polo and is very common among the Chaco tribes. The Chiriguano call it "taca." The ball is struck either, as among the Chorote and the Churupí, with curved sticks or with a primitive racket (160). No doubt the Chiriguano received this game

C [171] C [177]

160. See Nord. 1, p. 193.

from neighboring Chaco tribes.

Of the games of skill, only one is played by adults and this only by women. It is a kind of bowling game that the Chiriguano in Tihuipa call "itarapóa" and the Chané of the Parapití "tecoróre" (161). The bowling pins in this game

Ce [526]

161. According to Nord. 1, p. 192.

consist of two rows of maize kernels, two by two, one on top of the other, or on a cob. They throw with stone balls or with a hollow ball of baked clay with little pellets of the same material inside (162).

162. Nord. 1, p. 192 and Fig. 99.

/364 cont./

273 life of the individual or the community is associated with this beverage. The divine principle which kāwi has in it does not take away its secular character; and, while one gets drunk on it during the festivals, nothing prevents washing down meals with it at the time when the corn ripens. As a sign of [574] hospitality every stranger is invited to empty a calabash full [576] of it; and the compliments he addresses to the wife of his host fill his heart with pride.

527 The Indians always appreciated the liking I showed 273 /Plate XIV appears here/ /365/ for kāwi, and my old friend [123] Karnapadyú did not fail to recall the big vats full to the brim to persuade one to return to celebrate Easter with them, or, if you like, the corn harvest, since these two dates coincide more or less. Such promises /Fig. 29 appears here/ could not remain without effect, and Karnapadyú was not at all surprised to see me arrive shortly before the festival.

The greatest animation prevailed in the village of Carurutí, formerly so calm. Men came and went, bending under enormous loads of wood. All the urns were lined up in front of the huts and buried to a third of their height (Plate XIV, 1).

527 For a long time big piles of corn had already been heaped up 273 in the village, which all, big and small, men and women, 243 /Fig. 30 appears here/ were actively engaged in husking. [412] Some used their fingers, others knives or a pointed stick. Not [413] one had thought of the so practical instrument used by their ancestors: a small wooden peg with a leather loop to put two fingers through. It is curious to note that such a simple object fell into disuse; an old man still sold me a specimen made of iron but a close copy, so to speak, of the wooden prototype, of which it reproduced the smallest details (Fig. 29).

273 Now the hardest work begins: the grinding of the kernels. Day and night the dry noise of the pestles crushing the corn [461] resounds in the village. Often, to get the chore over more quickly, three women group around the same mortar and with surprising speed raise and pound their pestle without a single [415] error in rhythm interrupting their laborious work. Once ground, the corn is sifted in an urumpesa or large-meshed sieve (Fig. 31). The rather coarse flour is poured into large urns filled with water.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

000 c 726 c [727]

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

c 727 266 c 567 727

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

c 534 177 Cc 534

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

c 535

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

c 273 628 527

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

c 276

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

c 273 462

/160 cont./

574 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accomodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

574 178 [431] [273] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he asks nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretasted liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 527 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quiriquinchos, /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

622 224

2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

293 824 171

[Text Continues on P. 221]

/100/

291 The crown of the hat is made of four oval parts, as is
294 the brim which surrounds it, sewed with fine cords of the same material, and the edge of the brim is turned upward. The hat has a band of the same material sewed to both sides at the temples to hold it to the throat; a knot or a ring on the band can be used to tighten it.

292 The Ambícuai, which lends its name to the whole outfit,
281 is a perfect cassock, but its form is entirely Chiriguano, for it does not hinder the movement of the arms. Its cut is not straight, and both parts are made fast at the chest with two leather straps, which are run through the holes on the opposite side. The cassock in back ends in two points, where there is a kind of ornamentation of the same leather, which consists of short, fine strips, like a tassel. The sleeves are wide, as is the whole garment, and are attached to the shoulder, being open at the armpit so as not to impede the movement of the arms, either in hunting or in war, where the grandees also
[126] wear it. In fact, in the photograph taken in Santa Rosa to be sent to the exposition, a hunter and a warrior dressed in this
• 529 doublet appear outside the circle. In the middle there is a
554 Chiriguano woman with her crown and adornments as queen
562 of the fiesta, who offers chicha to all who are enjoying themselves (1).

[128] 1. The queen is the one who serves the dancers as mistress and patroness of the fiesta. This photograph or figure will not be reproduced in the chapter dealing with fiestas because I could not obtain it.

292 The Timbiao, breeches, is also of leather and is made
[281] of four pieces, wider from the waist to the sacrum and narrower from the thigh to the bottom. It is quite wide and comes to the ankle. It is rougher than the rest, but more valued, and they will give anything to have even a single pair. This garment is tied at the waist with a belt or with two strings which are sewed across the entire width of the garment itself.

/192 cont./

Adornments

000

/The first paragraph of this section, pp. 192-193, is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 193, and the remainder of p. 193 follows./

181 The Chiriguano, although they occupy a very lowly place in this corner of the world, although they have little in the way of grandeur and show to display and take pride in, follow the common tendency of humanity, almost as the beast follows its instincts. Without any fear of error, if the Chiriguano were to possess great riches, he would probably invest them in his vices and in the adornment of his body.

302 [292] [574] When the Chiriguano wants to make a formal visit, he washes his body, dresses in his best clothing, and paints his face with achiote powder. The preparation of achiote seeds has been described in the preceding pages in the discussion of the flora /see p. 32/. Here I add that in order for the Urucú to be fixed on the Indian's skin it is necessary that he first soften his face, or the part that he wants to paint or embellish, with palma Christi oil.

751 302 It has already been seen that the region is hot and that atmospheric changes are very sudden; a period of extreme heat can be followed by severe cold, and in these changes the Chiriguano's skin becomes chapped. To avoid this nuisance, men and women paint their faces and their feet with the cosmetic. [527] [758] They also use it during public drinking sessions, at banquets, and during the preparation of chicha in order to ward off the high heat, as well as during convalescence and after having recovered from smallpox (1).

1. Achiote powder with palma Christi oil is cool in hot weather and warm in cold weather. The neophytes in the missions no longer use it, or, if they do, it is sparingly and as a remedy. [178]

[text continues on p. 267]

/193 cont./

302 Another of the cosmetics frequently used by men and women
137 is the Carasapa. This is an annual plant with broad leaves, and
824 its stem grows /194/ to the height of a meter or a little more. The color of the plant itself and of its leaves is, for about half of it, somewhere between red and purple. The flower is large and about 30 centimeters long, its color being the same as that of the plant, but much brighter. There is enough of the plant everywhere, but it is not very abundant. The flower is somewhat heavy when it has seeds, and since the stem is slender and flexible, the result is that when it cannot hold itself upright it leans over toward the ground, forming an arch, hence its name Carasapa, or arched plant (1).

[527]

1. At carnival time even the neophytes paint their faces, as do the whites. They buy face paint which the whites sell, and the infidels forsake their achiote at the carnivals.

303 When the flower and seed are in season, the coquettes do their harvesting in order to use it, and they look pretty. The Carasapa also has its preparation, without which its application would not be easy. They first grind up some white beans, sift this meal very fine, and then grind the Carasapa in a mortar with a little water, put this mixture in a cloth, squeeze over the bean meal the water which comes out, washing or coloring it, and then dry the dough in the sun, spread out on a cloth or a Cutama. The preparation is not difficult, but not all of them go to the trouble to do it, and for those who prepare it, it is a profitable item.

302 The way to use it is the same as for the achiote, but it
[531] does not have any peculiarity, and hence it is only used at fiestas and at carnival time. Maidens beautify their faces by forming two circles of carasapa on their fresh cheeks and paint their eyebrows with achiote. Formerly, when young girls wore the Atira, pompadour /copete/, at fiestas it was painted with the carasapa mixture, after having been oiled with palma Christi.

/194 cont./

302 The flower of the Guambero, purslane, has the same properties as the carasapa, but it is little used, and they content themselves with just sticking the leaves on their faces, and this only at carnival time, the result being a gay set of dancers. Finally, the Indians have a fourth cosmetic, which they call Mboiurucu, or achiote of the viper. It is red, and they assert that it is food for the viper, hence its name. They use it by rubbing it on their cheeks, which makes them a bright red.

292 As noted above, the ancient Chiriguano man, Ava, and the [627] Chiriguano woman of long ago, Cuña, at solemn fiestas and on [178] days /195/ of general rejoicing, after having adorned their faces and washed their persons, wore the tiru and the mandu, respectively (1).

1. If the Indian dressed in a tiru does not have breeches, guasupi timbiao, he wraps his body from the waist down with a shorter poncho [286] which comes to the calf. It is also of cotton, [462] and the women weave it. It is called Tirupeé, or sheath that warms, "alias" wrap /abrigo/.

The Tiru is a kind of long poncho, from which it differs because of the two openings that it has near the wrists; the hands are put into said openings and remain free for movement, and, the tiru fastened to the wrists, nothing impedes the motion [286] of the one wearing it. It is spun and woven by the women, and 292 the raw material is cotton. The tiru differs in color, some 386 are black, others dark red, and others blue. The first color is [824] obtained with black mud, Tuñúú, mixed with the resin of the algarroba, Piari; the second, with sotillo bark, Urundeibucu; and the third, with wild indigo, Caogüi (2).

[437] 2. Today this is all purchased commercially, [178] and the indigo plant, which is abundant in certain places, is ignored. They buy the indigo and the other colors, just as they buy for their poncho and their tipoi.

/195 cont./

292 The black tiru is first dyed with sotillo bark, and then they
386 immerse it in a vessel which has well-steeped black mud and
824 algarroba resin. After some time they wash it and dry it out, leaving the permanent color. The dark red is made with only boiled sotillo bark. Finally, to dye with indigo they crush this leaf and expose it to the sun's rays, then they crush it again in the same way, after which they put it in a large earthenware vessel with water, in which the tiru is immersed and comes out a light blue, but, if they want it to be like the blue of drill, it is necessary to boil the indigo.

In order to dye everything red they also use a species of onion that they call Tunpaipi, which literally translated, means feet of God and is abundant in the fields, and another
292 one called Chapi, which is found in the hills. Everything said about the tiru is applicable to the mandu of the women, with the sole difference that this is open at both ends and is attached to the shoulders with two enormous silver needles that they call Yu guasu, big needles, which are also disappearing.

301 When a woman is occupied with domestic and other work,
302 she ties her hair up tightly with a band, Apicuá, /196/ of cotton
[522] or wool, so that it will not inconvenience her at her tasks, but
[515] when there is a fiesta, she washes her person, washes her head, combs her heavy and shining hair, and lets it loose, flowing over her body as far down as it will go (1).

[178]

1. The young women today put up their hair like the white women, making braids through which they draw a band that they call Aflopea, braided cord. The hair fastened in the old way was like a baton, since not a hair was to be seen, even horizontally, all of it being covered by the band, aflopea.

/198 cont./

301 I am going to end this chapter by mentioning a fancy
[562] ornament which has completely disappeared. It is a woman's
[554] ornament and is called Aguá, crown, and whoever wore it was
[527] called Cuña aguá vaé, crowned woman. The duty of this woman at the public drinking bouts and solemnities was to direct the women's dance, to direct the singing, and to give drinks to the singers and dancers with her own hands. The aguá was a varicolored band up to three meters long, which was put around the head, crossed at the back of the neck, and held on by thorns, needles, or big silver pins, and both ends terminated in tassels of various colors. It was a very striking ornament (1).

[126] 1. In order to send a complete aguá to the Turin exposition I had to have it made in the girls' school in Santa Rosa. I could not get one in the town: there were none even at that time.

ooo Here is poor humanity without any exact idea of religion and worship, they are zealous and hard-working for the body, but have no concern at all for the soul. Only Christ can restore humankind, and tear away the veil which was obscuring its intelligence, and only the priest and Catholic missionary can teach him the sound doctrine of /199/ immortality and other dogmas, so that with this knowledge he may first seek the kingdom of God and receive the rest besides (1).

1. Quaerite primum regnum Dei et haec omnia adiicentur vobis.

372 Explanation of the Preceding Illustration [1]

1. Sticks for getting fire.
534 2. Bull's horn for use as a musical instrument.
3. Tail of a quiriquincho /armadillo/ for use as a musical instrument.
412 4. Tweezers for pulling out the hair from the face and other parts.

[1] [i.e., on p. 266.- Author]

/248 cont./

273 mortar of clay, and thus the fermentation works without interference and in a few days. When the fermentation is over, they carefully remove the clay and the lid, and the Cangũi appears, covered with a good dose of oil, a sure sign that the chicha has been made perfectly (2).

2. When the weather is hot, the fermentation of the chicha works in three days, but in cold weather six or seven are needed.

Before beginning to drink it, the housewife collects and removes the oil /illustration appears here/ /249/ and fills the cups for the drinkers; she pours a few drops of this oil into each one. If this precaution were not taken, all of the oil would pour into a single cup, and the woman who had made the chicha would be deprived of the praises of all the hangers-on. When the Chiriguano woman wants the chicha to be better, when she wants Copiriru, or or recooked chicha, after she has strained it, as has been said, she brings it to a boil again and, when it is cold, bottles it.

[302] Note that Chiriguano women who are getting ready to prepare chicha first anoint their faces and calves with palma Christi oil and over this put achiote paint and then begin the job. They say that with this cosmetic, they feel the heat of the fire less, but, be that as it may, it is certain that to see those women so painted in a house with a big fire and lots of smoke is the same as seeing the furies of hell; the resemblance is not remote.

In another chapter it will be seen that a lot of chicha is made for the fiestas celebrated after the harvest, but it should be noted here that food is prepared for this general drinking and the grand hotel is open to all in the plaza, where townsmen and outsiders, men and women, gather into separate groups, because the European civilization of the mixed schools, mixed dances, mixed parties, mixed baths, etc., etc., which are true sewers of prostitution, has not arrived here (1).

[527] [576] 1. In fact, at the public gatherings the men drink at a decent distance away from the women; their conversations are crude, but do not exceed the limits, because the woman is in the company of her husband.

/255 cont./

those of certain peoples who, without going further, are close to those who know nothing about civilization, whose morals, compared with those of these unfortunates, are far lower because of their refinement (2).

2. Some moderns would have civilization consist of purely material education without attending to the yearnings of the heart; for them it is all the same whether man dresses or goes naked.

527 In the course of this chapter my readers will learn that I can be little mistaken in what I stated above, and they will also learn that even the Chiriguano have fiestas, which they call Arete, which /256/ are celebrated neither for saints, emperors, nor kings, nor are they celebrated in a disorderly fashion, nor do they allow themselves to be disemboweled by a bull, as sometimes happens to mestizos or Spaniards; much less are they celebrated for open abandonment to luxury; they are celebrated only in order to drink and stuff oneself, and to enjoy the fruit of the labor involved in the planting of the maize, to have a few days of general rejoicing, to drink, in sum, like good brothers (1).

[526]

1. In the general drinking a certain immorality in their words is to be lamented, and they sometimes test their strength and valor with pugilism.

Before the Fiesta

241
231
177

Before the white race entered the region, cattle were almost unknown and the few that the Indians had were tame, nor had they taken to their hearts the desire for maize as they do now; thus the Chiriguano easily did his planting and weeding in less than a month, leaving the rest to God, but I speak badly, to the good sorcerer, the sun, and the rain. Today if he does not put a fence around his planting, the cattle of the Christians and the Indians very soon reach the crop, and a little carelessness is

/256 cont./

241 enough for this. Although there are good fences, there are better
231 and braver bulls or calves, who with their horns are capable of
177 opening iron gates, opening the way to all their females, whom they then call with much affection with their prolonged bellows (2).

2. The harmful cattle even become ferocious; if a man alone tries to chase them out of the field without the help of good dogs, he will be charged.

241 The harvest marks for the Chiriguano the time of the year
221 that he calls Mbaepiro, which literally means a dry thing or things, and everyone will understand that this corresponds to autumn, in which season the trees and every bush take off their beauty and raiment. Men and women then are busy carrying in
[343] what the land has produced for them: the maize crop is kept in the plot itself, in a kind of house of sticks called Abatío, maize house, and the woman little by little, as needed, brings it to the town for the daily meal and for the preparation of chicha (3).

3. If the harvest of gourds is not abundant, they put them on the maize in the same shed, if they do not build another; the bean crop is brought immediately to the tribe or town.

● 527 /257/ After this the Chiriguano spends his time in idleness, drinking here today, there tomorrow, visiting with some, playing with others, enjoying, in sum, with almost no work, a better
[221] life than the greatest ruler in the world. The harvest is cut between May and June, and after it the libations in honor of the belly god begin. As the desire to drink is extraordinary, before having the general libation, the families, one by one, begin to make a small quantity of chicha to be drunk among a few friends and relatives.

/257 cont./

529
622

It falls to the cacique to give the order for the general drinking, and this is not long in coming. Twenty or thirty days before it takes place, he puts a large vessel in front of his house: this is the signal. Then in the evening, or when he judges best, he addresses a long discourse to his subjects, exhorting them to prepare what is necessary for the Arete: he stresses in this discourse that maize is a thing for drinking, once it has been obtained through the kindness of the sorcerer, lord of the rains. He adds that it is very proper not to lose the ancient custom of drinking and having a great feast to show friendship and courtesy to neighbors who live in other tribes. He underlines in his discourse the need to prepare good chicha and plenty of it and to prepare much wild game, so that those who are to participate as guests can enjoy these things and other, domestic foods to their full satisfaction, and that this may be a great honor for the townspeople.

I do not believe that anyone doubts the completely satisfactory effect that the cacique's discourse has on the mind of the Chiriguano, who wants nothing more than to drink, sing, and dance: thus, after the said speech, great joy appears on all faces, and all sigh in expectation of the arrival of the happy day when they can gather as good friends (1).

622
461

1. The caciques are very happy in their speeches for fiestas, but when it comes to work, they are not so much so. Humanity is not naturally inclined toward work. When a crop was very abundant, it was unlikely that they would plant the next year, and they would be content with very little.

527

On the next day activity has already begun, and the first thing is to go to the field or plot to provide themselves with sufficient maize so that there may be no lack of chicha. The women then begin to grind night and day, while the men bring in firewood: then, when /258/ there is enough firewood, they go off in considerable numbers to hunt in order to have meat and be able to invite their friends.

/258 cont./

527 574 576

When the cacique sees that all has started well, he prepares to go to the neighboring towns to ask their inhabitants to honor him with their presence on the day set, seeing to it that the first invitation is to the cacique or the sorcerer in honor of whom the feast and drinking are being prepared. The one who does the inviting is called Purumuncau vaé, he who gives to drink, and the one invited is called Ucau vaé, or he who partakes. When the one who is doing the inviting has arrived at the house of the one who is to be invited, he explains to him the object of his visit, begging him at the same time to condescend to accept, he and all his people, an acceptance which he and his will consider a great honor (1).

1. In order to further influence the decision of the one invited, the inviter, on his diplomatic visit, refers to the old custom of general libations, which it is essential to keep alive at any cost.

The one invited does not have to be told twice: he accepts at once, noting that he should have been the first to set this good example, but that circumstances and a great deal of work have not permitted him to do so, but it should not be left undone for this reason, and then he will have the honor of accepting with all his people. After this act of Chiriguano diplomacy and etiquette which they have not yet abandoned, the inviter takes his leave, satisfied with his trip, with the good reception, the acceptance, and, above all, for having gained the lead on his friend, who with his people, once the fiestas are over, will say this publicly with the following words: oremana ma pevi, we have been shamed by you, and enecatu ruyepi ne, but we shall take revenge, meaning: we shall not delay in inviting you to our town so that we may enjoy ourselves there too (2).

[921]

2. If the one invited were not to accept for himself and his people, it would be a very grave affront which undoubtedly would start a war.

/258 cont./

The Fiesta

527 The evening before the arete finds everything cleaned up and ready in the town; they have everything put outside, at a convenient distance from each house, in front of same, the vessels full of chicha already fermented, and another in the house which will be fermented in a little while so that it may not turn sour or run short. I never had the curiosity to count the vessels in these general drinking bouts, which are not very frequent; I only know that each family fills three large pitchers /259/ and from them can be deduced the quantity, or number of cannons ready there for firing and heroic defense in the battle with their owners and other hangers-on. I was at a fiesta in a town of some 350 families, and it lasted for more than a week.

301 527 [302] The people invited also get ready and begin to draw near the place of the arete, but first they have adorned their bodies. The coquettes round off their pompadours, paint their little faces, and wear their best clothing, as all do, adorning their necks with necklaces, their arms with bracelets, their breasts with the Boivera, and their whole persons with the Mandu or the Tiru. There is no lack of women who adorn their heads with the Aguá, a crown that they make of leaves, or of tin cans, adorned with painted wool or cotton with tassels down to the knees; in sum, they dress up in their best (1).

527 574 1. Nobody enters the town where the fiesta is being prepared; on the night before all sleep a short distance away.

The arrival of the outsiders is on the morning of the day itself. Before this takes place, the inhabitants have already arisen in order to hold the reception. Those invited, after getting up, again clean up their persons and their adornments; the chief, ucau vaé, mounts a horse, which is also done by the other riders, and they begin to gallop like a troop of madmen, whistling and shouting as loudly as they can; those who are on foot follow, running in the same way; next come the young women, also

/259 cont./

527 574 running, and at the end the mature women and the old women more calmly (2).

2. The first men and women enter the town where they have been invited, making an uproar like a thousand demons, in which they are joined by the startled dogs.

527 574 273 All the men and women gather in front of the house of the cacique, purumuncau vaé, who bids them all welcome, thanks them for the honor that they are doing him, and there then takes place a quite ridiculous scene, which is greatly celebrated by the Indians. The host cacique has placed in front of his house a large vessel full of chicha, which sticks out of the ground at least a meter high. Well then, before the libation begins, they all jump from one side of the vessel to the other. This jump is called Ucaugüiñampo in some places, and in others, Uyapirae. As I have said, all of them jump, men and women, and especially the unmarried young men and women; some do it without any trouble, and others, particularly some of the girls, stumble because of their laughter and their tight clothing, fall to the ground, and this contretempts/260/ causes much hilarity. While this is going on, the older women and men arrive, and the fiesta begins.

527 273 There is nothing special in the beginning; it is only noteworthy that as the beverage has been prepared in honor of a particular person, he is served first and continually; he must accept some from all the men and women, for otherwise he would be impolite, and thus in a short time the guest's belly is like a swollen bomb and soon his face begins to look repulsive, just as all those of the retinue are not long in having the same appearance (1).

1. During the extraordinary drinking sessions, rare is the family that prepares Copiruru, or recooked chicha, because it is very intoxicating and disturbs the animation of the guests and townspeople.

/260 cont./

527 273 [554 562] The drinking continues for several hours, half in silence with a moderate and placid gathering, with the important men seated on benches or seats and some of their inferiors standing and others sitting on the ground, all of them separated from the women, and these latter, as I have already observed elsewhere, look like so many mortars. When the gathering is well attended, the sight is very pleasant, because anyone who has never seen it will be astonished by the variety of costumes and by the ornaments and cosmetics with which they adorn their faces and feet, and I have in fact seen some travelers stay for quite some time to contemplate this simple custom of those who are called the savages of Bolivia (2).

2. What a pity that there is no photograph of such gatherings! The one taken in Santa Rosa is scarcely a simulacre, since at that time there was not even any chicha for those who formed the wheel or gathering for the dance to drink.

527 533 126

The Dance and Songs

By the time they are quite full, they begin the dancing and singing of the Ayarise. I do not give the Spanish words here, for the real meaning is not known; I could explain them with conjectures and by analogy with other, similar ones, as was done by Father Giannecchini, whose words the Italian del Campano transcribes in his book, but they themselves do not know the meaning. The notes of the Ayarise are written and printed here so that any band that so desires may have a pleasant piece for some capital plaza: risum teneatis amici. The band music was set down by a maestro of the Potosí missions in the year 1903 and touched up this year by the missionary Franciscan Father Domingo F. Regini.

/261/

The Music for the Ayarise

527
535
533
[293]

The signal for the dancing and singing is given by the host, who first makes a short speech to the maestro, who is carrying in his hands a Yandugua, a kind of parasol or umbrella made of ostrich feathers fastened around a long, straight piece of hollow cane. All the feathers have their natural curve outward (1).

[293]
[126]

1. The Yandugua in the Florence museum was purchased in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission by the Reverend Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi, tireless missionary of Potosí.

See the picture on page 77.

527
535

After the speech that the maestro and dancers listen to as if it were a Good Friday sermon in church, the singing and the dance begin. The maestro keeps time with his yandugua, the men dance by moving their feet from the knee, striking the ground without moving from the place they occupy, and the women behind the men with a maté in hand, full of chicha or not. The women take one step backward and another forward, and, not staying in the same place, they walk in time around the men with the formality and exactness of priestesses and hold hands with the other hand, two by two.

527
533

The larger the number of dancers, the more noise they make; there is no staying near them, because the men sing too loud. At a distance, to a person who is used to these songs, they seem relatively pleasant, but at night when one hears them for the first time and does not know what they contain, a thousand things will pass through the mind. Here are the verses of the Ayarise:

[539]

Ayarise, rise -- Mborisese, sese -- Rosa yainde -- Imbaragüe -- Yuma chúrere -- Yuma chuépa -- Soro poco -- Eh! Eh! -- Saisá -- saisá -- Cururu hetesimi pinte -- Hevi sunzu -- Iparanta tapiti -- Cha machá imbarayu -- Imbará, boteriyu -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. It is perhaps appropriate and my readers may like

/261 cont./

527 533 539 to know the approximate meaning of the Ayarise, and so I put it in this note: "Let us sing, companions -- let us keep on singing -- with our women -- and orphans -- we are all here -- singing and dancing -- I know and I like this song -- The toad and the green frog stop -- and the rabbit makes an effort -- I am tired -- I stop and go off. Eh! Eh!

529 535 533 The Chiriguano can sing all day with these few verses, as in fact they do, but with rests. In order to finish the song all together and rest and drink for a long while, the men make a great stamp on the ground with one foot in time /262/ and a shout out of time, and everything stops with a special resounding and prolonged laughter of the women dancers.

Without leaving the circle of the singing and dancing, the lord of the fiesta has the dancers served abundant drink, which they partake of to their satisfaction in order to begin the Ayarise again as they were doing before, always at the command of the Purumuncau vaé and under the direction of the maestro, who does not put down his Yandugua (1).

[293] 1. There is one maestro of the ayarise, and he always has his yandugua, but this does not prohibit others from having one; there may be as many as ten in one dance, and they serve as parasols when the heat is very oppressive. The Indian Guarerai of Ivu had six and he lent them out during the solemn fiestas of the town.

527 The dancing and singing of the ayarise continues in this fashion until nine or ten in the morning; then the banquet is prepared in the public plaza, where they choose the cleanest place. There men and women sit down in separate places, and at once they bring from the houses the food, which has been prepared upon plates, where there is broth mixed with meat well seasoned with salt and chili peppers. Meanwhile two enthusiasts of the town

/262 cont./

•527 are gathering together all the people, shouting like madmen and making known their great joy. The lord of the fiesta has arranged beforehand that the morning reception should take place in one location and the afternoon affair in another, and in this way not only is there time to prepare, but there is also food every day for the outsiders and for those who are not outsiders.

In the afternoon, at four o'clock more or less, they eat again with more enthusiasm than before, because their happiness is greater and then, it will be understood, ex abundantia musti os loquitur. But great friendship and harmony prevail; then they sing a little more, one by one, and when the sun sets there is a general rest (2).

2. From the afternoon oration until two in the morning there is complete silence; at that hour the song begins anew, with dancing and drinking. Today, since the voice of the cacique is little heeded, there is no schedule.

[622]
[178]

535
184
173

Mbapa páure

This dance is similar to a quadrille; couples execute it by making turns through the streets of the town, both day and night. According to what the Indians of Ivu say, the Mbapa páure is not general for the Chiriguano race, but peculiar to certain regions, and it is not more than a hundred years old. They even say that it had its origin /263/ at the foot of the Itácua mountain range in Cordillera Province and then spread there up to Menbirái and Choreti Guasu.

When the war of the cacique Yaveáu took place, the Indians of Güiracoti, living on the left bank of the stream of Cuevo, fled to the left bank of the Parapiti River, where they stayed and learned this new dance and song. Thus, when they returned to their lands, when Yaveáu, through having avenged himself excessively, had pardoned and forgotten the affront he had received, they brought back the novelty and began to introduce it into their towns.

/263 cont./

535 184 173 Someone went to teach it in the towns located behind the hill of Aguaragüe, and the towns located on the right bank of the Cuevo River intended to introduce it, but, seeing the dismal consequences that resulted from it, they have abstained to this day, so that it is a fact that the Mbapa páure is now limited to the small towns of Caraguatarenta, Ñaguá, and Caraguatagüe, and it is certain that it is neither heard nor seen in the large towns of Santa Rosa and Ivu, which are a few kilometers away (1).

[837] 1. In the towns where the Mbapa páure is sung, there are upset marriages, because the dance is between a man and woman holding hands, which does not happen in the Ayarise; therefore, or to avoid said upsets, many caciques do not allow it to be introduced into their area of jurisdiction.

The Music of the Mbapa páure

• 627 533 535 [184] This is another piece of music which has been scored for a band by the Reverend Father Domingo F. Regini; it is much simpler than the ayarise, but the song and dance attract a great deal of attention, because they are not known in all the Chiriguano towns. It is a kind of carnival which lasts for a long time, but when the said time is over, nobody again remembers the Mbapa páure until a year has passed. Here are the words of [539] the song: Tavia, Tavia -- Erecosiye mbapa páure -- Tirisoti, tirisoti -- Ancua chopi -- Chopi nano saraviyé -- Eh! Eh! Uetepeso, güeremeso -- Yagua tairari, yagua tairari -- Yurumbopi -- Yémanta -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. Explanation: Let us sing the mbapa paure, like the blackbird sings, let us sing until we are left with our mouths twisted and we are tired, even though it give us a pain in the chest, let us challenge even the jaguar, and let our mouths stretch. Eh! Eh!

/263 cont./

527 273 The fiesta of the Ayarise is an annual one, and it is always understood that the Indians have drink; thus in the general fiestas it does not end in one day; /264/ it lasts a long time until the chicha bottled in the vessels outside comes to an end; when this is finished, they repair to the large pitchers indoors, which are in reserve, like the reserve corps in a war. After eight or ten days the fiesta can be considered at an end, and then the ucau vaé with all his soldiers takes leave of the purumuncau vaé with thousands of thanks, congratulating him for the order which has been maintained, the joy which has reigned, and the abundance of food and drink prepared. On finishing the praises, the guest in turn invites his friend and all the people for a similar affair in his tribe, with the month and day immediately being set.

527 574

527 273 Thus does the Chiriguano fiesta end, leaving everyone content and satisfied. But it is repugnant to see them drink without resting; the surroundings of these places look as though they were flooded by rain, their bodies give off an unpleasant odor, their faces seem swollen, their eyes out of their sockets, their lips with the tembeta sag like a baby lamb's, and just to approach one of them or the place where they are drinking is the same as approaching a sewer, such is the fetidness! But the Chiriguano is very content and glories in the piglike state in which he finds himself, saying, Asagũipo, I am drunk, and when he is getting over his drunkenness, he confirms what a good state he was in. Poor beast! (1)

[178] 1. Formerly, the intoxication of the Chiriguano was almost never complete; today, with the use of liquor, he frequently loses consciousness. Would that this harmful drink could be eliminated! The mission Indians no longer glory in their drunkenness; they say that they have been drunk, but not as an honorable act.

[997] [172]

292
527
541

Chiriguano carnival, "The Fight of the Bull with the Jaguar."

4: Nino--361 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/267 cont./

541 177 648 Don Antonio Menduiña, who had requested aid; he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers from Azero.

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of [178] Arete, fiesta, through antonomasia, and all the old fiestas are gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that [461] this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguano works almost all [292] year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him; for it is he gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy clothing for himself and his wife and children; and on those days all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put on /268/ during the other days of the year, neither for the Ayarise nor for the Mbapa páure.

In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between [532] blacks and whites; the men well dressed, and even the infidel women with garb adorned with gauze, fancy hats, and multicolored ribbon; the children cover their faces with masks which they have made beforehand by carving toborochi wood; young men prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others, such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the dancers and Agüeros /maskers/, for whom everything is allowed because it is carnival.

541 535 By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one drinks and has fun, they make merry on the compadre and [527] comadre days, and on Quinquagesima Saturday, all day, the maskers and dancers practice the dances that they call Aticu. On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival, [532] dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually mounted on a burro; the one who is thus disguised directs the fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

1. The principal man so disguised has subalterns,

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XXI.

Dancing Masks.

C
Ce
177
532
527
535

A Chané Indian on the Rio Itiyuro told me that mask dances were introduced among the Indians by the Whites. PADRE BERNARDINO DE NINO was also told by the Chiriguano that the celebration of the carnival came to them from the Whites, and he plainly considers that we here have to do with a custom which is not of Indian origin. This is certainly wrong. The fixed date of the festival came to the Indians from the Whites, but the manner of celebration is manifestly derived from an old Indian custom which corresponds to similar masquerades described from Brazil by KOCH-GRÜNBERG. This appears from NINO's own account of the celebration of the carnival.

The ceremony is at least partly a feast of fruitfulness[1]) The mask dancers throw the husks of beans and the offal from chicha-brewing at the other dancers in order to secure a good harvest. Just as in northwestern Brazil, some at least of the Chiriguano-dancers appear disguised as animals which they imitate. NINO says that towards the end of the festival the old people weep because they call to mind the dead who cannot share in the pleasure. The ceremony is ended by the participators going out of the village and throwing their masks into the river or some other water-course and there washing their faces and hands. Sometimes they burn the masks, as is done in northwestern Brazil.

Ce
115
177
527
532
535

BATIRAYU, a most reliable old Chané Indian, assured me that when he was a boy he had seen masks on the Rio

[1]) P. 208.

8tNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XXIV

Trophies.

C
Ce
727
[527]

We know from several writers[1]) that the Chiriguano used to keep the heads of their beaten enemies as trophies According to what a Chané Indian named Batirayu told me, the Chané used to bring home the heads of slain enemies. At festivals these were put up on the »square» in the villages. Thanks to FRIEDERICI we have a fine work on scalping in America to which I beg to refer. It is, at present, impossible to say whence the Chiriguano and Chané obtained this custom.

[1]) See PASTELLS P. 30; CORRADO P. 46.

XXV.

Property Marks.

C
Ce
423
177

In part 1 (Map 34) I have already written about the geografic distribution of such marks. They belong to the cultural elements that these Indians probably got from the culture zone in the west.

/234/

Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

Ee 178 527 273 [538] [805]

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Ee 273 415 527 531

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

Ee 531 [527] [323] [462]

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

Ee [181]

Ee 531 177

/236 cont./

The younger generation, I fear, will prefer German porcelain and enamelware, and with that the Chiriguano and Chané art will become part of the many fine and beautiful things that will disappear before the brutal civilization of the white man. In many villages one is already obliged to rummage around in the corners of the huts if one wishes to find vessels painted with a sure hand and natural taste. The worst thing, however, is that the whites are beginning to take pleasure in the clay vessels of the Indians. This brings about mass production. For the whites everything is good enough, it need be neither beautiful nor well done. They do not want the tasteful and simple, but the garnish and strange, "curiosidades," as the Creole says. Our museums must beware of these curiosities, for they give a mistaken idea of what is truly Indian.

Ee 273

The women brew beer for the festival. This is supposed to be made with maize (preferably yellow or white), and only the poor Chané on the Rio Parapiti must often content themselves with beer made out of sweet potatoes. If algarroba is available, beer is also brewed from this fruit. "It is good and intoxicates so nicely," say the Indians.

Ee •527 261 433

/237/ If the maize harvest is abundant, there is joy in the villages; then there is food and drink in every hut. If the maize crop has failed, there is no joy, stomachs are empty, and it is quiet on the festival plaza. If the granaries are full of maize, the Indian is proud and does not care about whites, suppression, and trouble. If the barn is empty, he is subservient and morose.

Ee 273

After the women have fetched the maize from the granaries and the men have brought wood and the women water, /Fig. 117 appears here/ the brewing commences. First the maize is pounded in large mortars. Day and night one hears the busy women pounding. The pounded maize is sifted and then mixed with water in huge clay vessels and boiled. Then a portion is taken out, chewed, and mixed well with saliva. This is then poured into the rest and, after it has been strained, must ferment in large open vessels with a little heat. The pots are stirred with large wooden spatulas

Ec /238 cont./
273 finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her
574 guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with
576 cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well.
Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for
the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured
into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone
must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred.
It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one
wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then
fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything
offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians
become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me:
"You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize
beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden
with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the
happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize
beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears
e here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl
Ce he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has
[754] enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows
if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the
beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen
C in these villages.
Ce
At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to
522 light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were hand-
527 ing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to
C ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.
Ce
Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané
535 only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the
532 Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).
177
541
Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about
Ce whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy
532 said the idea for them had originally come from the whites.
177 Batirayu, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Rio
535 Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which
Ce
[796]

Ce /239 cont./
535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
179 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[534] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

The Chiriguano and Chané
Ee always destroy the masks after the
532 carnival. They are either burned
177 or thrown into the river. The Chané
541 call the masks "añañya."
535

It is strange what a great
C role the carnival now plays as a
Ce festival among the Indians. This
541 undoubtedly comes from the fact
177 that the whites distribute great quanti-
[464] ties of spirits there and that the Indians
who work for them are given a few
days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
●527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already
disappeared. Nevertheless one still
sees women in home-woven clothing
C with necklaces of chrysocolla and
Ce turquoise. I never saw used, however,
[178] the silver diadem and the silver
C pins which belong to the festive attire.
412 One often sees the men's blue
237 costumes (Fig. 81) with silver
chest ornaments preserved in the
huts by the old people, but they
Ce are not used for the festivals.
535 Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
527 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
273 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
533

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ce
527 /240 cont./
533 and beating time with their feet. The women walked slowly
535 up and down in time with the song, outside the circle of men.
273 Among the Chané and Chiriguano the attire of the white
Ee man is replacing everything old and beautiful, and of my many
291 old friends among the chiefs of these Indians only Maringay
177 scorns the rags of the whites.
c Liquor is being introduced more and more among these
Ce
273 Indians, and the ceremonial, pleasant maize-beer festivals are
177 turning into crude drinking bouts.
527

c
532
535

Fig. 119. Dance mask.
Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/6.

Ce
578 I shall never forget a night in Vocapoy's village. The
273 /241/ men had gone to the Christians to drink liquor. When they
177 came back, harsh words fell and knives were displayed. The liquor would have claimed bloody sacrifices if the courageous women, with firebrands from the maize-beer boiling, had not thrown themselves between the quarreling men and, after separating them, taken them home with soothing words of flattery.

8: Schmidt--194 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/50 cont./

C
415
126

6. Vessels Intended for Serving Chicha, from the Collection

I. A. 347 (226)	Chir.	Ht. 18.3 cm.	Max. dia. 15.3 cm.	Apert. 10 cm. (Fig. 65)					
I. A. 348 (226)	Chir.	Ht. 14.5 cm.	Max. dia. 14.7 cm.	Apert. 8 cm.					
I. A. 349 (226)	"	Ht. 18.5 cm.	Max. dia. 18.2 cm.	" 5.2 cm.					
I. A. 371	"	" 20	" "	" 21.3	"	" 8.5 cm.			
I. A. 379	"	" 18.5	" "	" 16	"	" 6 cm.			
I. A. 380	"	" 20	" "	" 18.3	"	" 8.5 cm. (Fig. 82a)			
I. A. 382	"	" 18	" "	" 14	"	" 7 cm. (Fig. 82b)			
I. A. 385	"	" 20.5	" "	" 21.7	"	" 9 cm.			
I. A. 402	"	" 22	" "	" 15.5	"	" 12 cm.			
I. A. 403	"	" 17.5	" "	" 14.5	"	" 14 cm. (Fig. 64)			
I. A. 404	"	" 20	" "	" 21.5	"	" 9 cm. (Fig. 74a)			
I. A. 405	"	" 19	" "	" 19	"	" 7 cm.			
I. A. 587	Izozó	" 18	" "	" 16.2	"	" 12 cm.			
I. A. 588	"	" 14	" "	" 14.3	"	" 12 cm.			
I. A. 590	"	" 13	" "	" 12.8	"	" 12.5 cm.			
I. A. 609	"	" 14	" "	" 12.5	"	" 12 cm.			
I. A. 623	"	" 20.5	" "	" 18	"	" 12.5 cm. (Fig. 60)			

Ce
415
126

/Fn. 226, which appears on p. 122, reads:
Donated by D. María F. de Casati./

C
Ce
415
527
273

The Chiriguano and Chané use vessels like those mentioned above in the chicha festivities, taking the chicha from the large pots by means of them and filling the cuyas /gourd vessels/ or baked clay cups that they pass among those present at the fiesta.

/90 cont./

000 preceding. I must also cite A. Métraux's publication, "Les
792 Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguano e dans l'Amérique de Sud
[113] /Men-Gods among the Chiriguano and in South America/" (363).

363. In the Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, No. 1, Tucumán, 1931.

in which he deals with the cases, repeated several times, in which some individuals among the Chiriguano appear as Messiahs and, acquiring many proselytes, gave the mission administrations much to do.

796 [126] Plaited Objects Used in Religious Celebrations, from the Collection

I.A. 1439. (Chiriguano) Length 70 cm. (Fig. 43b.)
I.A. 1440. " " 37 cm. (Fig. 43a.)

[171] Plaited objects like those mentioned above are also very common among the Paraguayans and made in the same way. This
796 custom of making such plaited figures and having them blessed,
797 as the Chiriguano also do, is connected with the Catholic ritual,
1[?] and the Chiriguano no doubt received it from the missionaries along with the other rites of the Catholic religion (364).

364. See the opposite opinion of Métraux I, p. 482.

532 The masks that the Chiriguano make to carry during the Carnival
[529] festas are also modern objects. Some such Chiriguano masks are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and Métraux (365).

365. Nord. 1. Fig. 119. Métraux I. Plate 86 and Fig. 121.

/365 cont./

273 The preparation of chicha is not play; it is necessary not only /366/ to grind an enormous quantity of corn, but again to go
484 ceaselessly to get water, often at a great distance. At Cururuti
482 the nearest potable water was at the bottom of a ravine of particu-
273 larly difficult access. The women were constantly going there with an iru (Plate XVII, 1),[1] which they carried on their backs in a net (añapoka) held on the forehead by a strap. They would fill

462
516
273
291
415
412

Fig. 31. Woman sifting corn which she has just ground in the mortar beside her. This flour is to be roasted, then chewed to serve as ferment for kāwi. Cururuti. (Photo. A.M.)

484 the jug and, loading it with difficulty, would go back up the
482 steep slope doubled over under the weight. So as not to lose any
273 time, these hard-working creatures would take along a calabash full of ground corn which they continually chewed.

273 The ground corn is cooked in water and constantly stirred
412 with flat sticks whose edges used to be cut out with a certain
[178] artistic care in olden days (Fig. 32). Today a kind of oar (Fig.
[237] 33) or the scapula of an ox (Fig. 34) fastened to a long handle
[531] replaces the ancient utensils in which was manifested so well the Chiriguano tendency to decorate even the most humble objects.

[1] [For plate XVII, See category 116, P. 127-- Analyst]

/370 cont./

415 It is distinguished especially by finger impressions, which
● 531 decorate the neck of nearly all the common pots.

323 While watching the Chiriguano potters work, I realized that the finger impressions which so often decorate their vessels result automatically from the process of fabrication. At the moment when the potter forms the neck of the vessel, she has to press the roll constituting this part between her thumb and index finger and no longer with the flat of the hand as she has done up until then. The vessel is generally too narrow in this zone to allow putting in the whole hand. The result of this is a whole series of finger impressions which vaguely give the effect of ornamentation. Now the potter rubs them out in order to remake them more symmetrically. Thus this motif which adorns most of /Plates XVI and XVII appear here/ /371/ the vessels in common use among the Chiriguano is obtained, so to

415
531

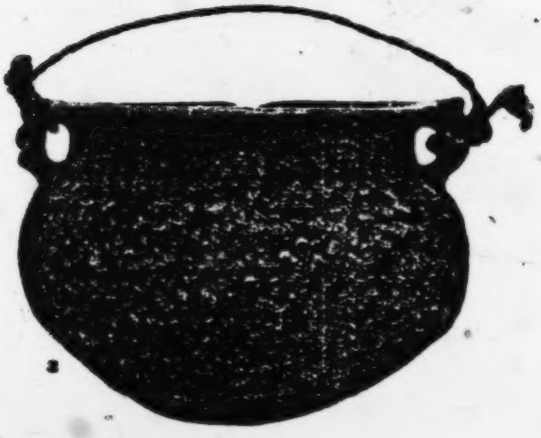
Fig 35. Small vessel (yapeporai) decorated with fingernail impresions The lines of contact between the three rolls of clay of which it is composed are still visible. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/3 nat. size.)

323 say mechanically. From the neck these decorations have been extended to the rest of the vessel for an aesthetic purpose, but their occurrence on the upper part influenced the rest.

1: Métraux--125 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XVI

415
531



/Caption on following page./

/Caption for Pl. XVI on preceding page./

415
531

1. Cooking pot (yapepó). On the neck: fingernail impressions. Prov.: Ivu. (1/3 nat. size)

2. Vessel (yapepó) with twisted handles and decorated with incised triangles. Prov.: Saladito. (1/3 nat. size.)

3. Cooking pot (yapepó) decorated with fingernail impressions. Prov.: Ivu. (1/4 nat. size.)

4. Cooking pot (yapepó) decorated on the neck with fingernail impressions. Prov.: Ivu. (1/3 nat. size.)

415
531

Plate XVII

1. Vessel (îru) in which the Chiriguano draw water for household use. This specimen comes from the Chané village of Tuyuntí, near the Aguaray (Salta Chaco, Argentine Republic). The neck is decorated with fingernail impressions. (1/4 nat. size.)

2. Vessel (yambui) decorated with a series of cups /godets/ on the base of the neck. Prov.: Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (1/4 nat. size.)

C 415 531

/371 cont./

The ordinary pots used to cook the food are, as a general rule, decorated all around the neck with several rows of finger or finger-nail impressions. The most typical example is the vessel of Plate XVI, 3 /see p. 125/ which typologically can be ranked with the big urns for cooking corn beer, many of which have more or less the same shape.

Ordinarily pots meant to go on the fire are provided with handles (Plate XVI, 2 and 4 and Fig. 36).

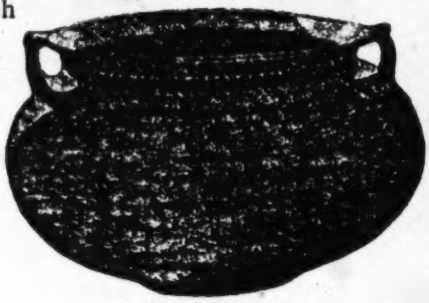


Fig. 36. Vessel (yapepó) with twisted handles and decorated with two series of small depressions imprinted on the neck. Prov.: Yumbía. (1/3 nat. size.)

T 415

Fig. 37. Toba vessel in the shape of a flattened gourd. Serves for carrying water while traveling. Prov.: Macherotí. (1/3 nat. size.)

/371 cont./

415 Certain vessels (Fig. 35) have the exterior surface entirely
● 531 covered with these depressions obtained by pressure of the thumbnail. The Indians call this decoration tatupire, that is "armadillo carapace," /Fig. 37 appears here/ a completely justifiable comparison.

One can consider as an evolution of the process of ornamentation by finger impressions the angles or chevrons which decorate the outside surface of the vessel of Figure 2, Plate XVI /see p. 125/, which have been incised in the soft clay with a pointed instrument. This type of ornamentation can be reduced to its simplest expression; thus on the neck of the vessel of Plate XVII, 2 /see p. 127/ it is limited to a row of little cavities made with a pointed stick. The small vessel of Figure 36 /see p. 128/ with a belly flattened from top to bottom belongs, from the decorative point of view, in the same category.

415 On another vessel (Plate XVI, 1) the small nipples which
531 project /372/ all around the belly constitute a summary
191 decoration which completes that of the neck formed by fingernail impressions. Pots of this type are found among the Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 65, p. 218).

This decoration is exceptional in South America. Jijon y Caamaño (p. 6) considers it characteristic of the northern part of Ecuador. He points out its distribution in Central America and in the Mound region in the United States.

[126] The iru of Plate XVIII, Fig. 2 /see p. 131 / has the exact shape of a calabash; this resemblance was intentional, for the Indian woman who sold it to me presented it at the same time as the calabash which /Fig. 38 appears here/ had doubtless served as a model. Vessels which are almost replicas of this specimen have been found at Jachal and Calingasta in San Juan province in Argentina (Ambrosetti, 1, Plate VII, and Debenedetti, 3, Fig. 41, p. 69).

415 The Chiriguano call the vessels in which the women
[462] draw the water they need for their households by the Quichua name iru. The iru are characterized not only by their more
415 or less globular shape and the narrowness of the neck on top,
323 but also by the quality of the paste from which they were

/380/

303
415
325

Fig. 53. Mold for making tin labrets (tembetayapua). Prov.: Yumbía. (1/3 nat. size.)

301
303
415
325

Mold for Tembetas

The tembeta, or labrets, of the Chiriguano are of tin. They make them themselves with the aid of the mold pictured here (Fig. 53). It is a calabash into which the fins of the labret have been hollowed out, while the thicker central part of the ornament corresponds to the end of a stick going through the calabash. The cavity produced in the central part of the labret is then filled with wax into which glass or turquoise beads are incrusted. These come from ancient burial-places and are sold to the Chiriguano by the half-breeds of Tarija.

[531]
[439]

Balances

296
177
171

The Chiriguano of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé valley prize coca quite as much as the Quichua of the altiplano. Besides, it is from them that they got this vice. The fact is known and does not need to be demonstrated. This custom

/383 cont./

323 Chiriguano woman will never be seen making one single vessel at a time: since before continuing she must wait until each one of the parts making up the piece of pottery is dry, she occupies this interval by beginning another vessel, which will dry while she works on the first one again.

415
531

Figs. 57-58. Vessels (yapepó). The rolls of clay of which they are composed are still apparent and constitute a rudimentary ornamentation. No. 57 comes from Carurutí, No. 58 from Yacuiba. (1/4 nat. size.)

323 /384/ When she judges that the bottom has taken on some firmness, she rolls between her hands a roll to which she tries to give a regular diameter. Then she applies it on the base, forming a perfect circle. She cuts off the part which extends beyond the junction point. Next she flattens the roll with her hand, the compression being made from inside to outside, with the back of the left hand and the right palm. When the whole periphery has thus been raised, she evens off the edge, filling all the depressions with pieces of wet earth. Then she smooths the outside of the vessel with a stripped ear of corn and a splinter of bamboo. These two instruments are placed beside her and frequently dipped in water so that the earth does not stick to them. The inside surfaces are polished with the valve of a shell (anodonta) (Plate XXIV, 2). The raw clay, once it is shaped, is supple and resistant like leather. Vessels can be

[824] [412] [239]

/388 cont./

415 184 The footed bowl or "compote" (Fig. 72) comes from the Caipipendí valley, the same as the vessel with ribbed belly of Plate XXVI, 2. These are the only specimens of this type that I found in the whole Chiriguano country.

415 184 532 Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic vessels are rare. Scarcely anywhere but in the Caipipendí valley is corn beer ordinarily served you in vessels shaped like a bull. Besides, their workmanship is careless. The admirable anthropomorphic vessel of Plate XXVI, 1 is an exceptional piece.

415 Twinned vessels (Plate XXVII, 3) and those which a constriction separates into two bodies (Figs. 74, 75, and Plate XXVII, 1) are very rare.

415 ● 531 The motifs painted on Chiriguano vessels most often are of a purely geometric nature.

There are few exceptions to this rule. As an example of them, I shall give the large yambuí of Plate LII, 1, on the belly of which have been painted more or less stylized dogs, chickens, and toads; the yambuí of Figure 83, whose principal decoration is composed of a series of yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/, Penelope spec.); and finally several vessels in my collections, which I did not want to publish because of their completely Europeanized form. On one of them silhouettes of nandus are distinguishable (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 222) and on another have been drawn a man and woman whose hands are united by a red line (symbol of marriage, of love?).

I remember having seen on a jar in the Caipipendí valley /389/ nandus drawn with particular skill. I would gladly have bought that piece if it had been possible to arrange its transportation.

[178] The vessel of Figure 83 1/A gives an excellent idea of what Chiriguano potters could do in the "realistic" genre if a long /Fig. 61 appears here/ tradition did not oblige them to limit themselves to the representation of geometric motifs.

1/A [See P. 249, Category 116 -- Analyst]

/389 cont./

415 The plant kingdom hardly inspires Chiriguano artists. The
● 531 vessel of Plate LII, Fig. 3, is the only one whose decoration is clearly phytomorphic; and again in this case I am not sure that

323
516
342
291
415

Fig. 61. Fabrication of a vessel: the exterior surface is smoothed with a chip of bamboo after being flattened with the hand.

415 a European model did not serve as an intermediary between nature
531 and the picture the potter portrayed.

[126] /390/ Among the 200 vessels I collected in Chiriguano
[179] country there is not one that includes a figuration of the human face, with the exception of the one to which I have alluded, whose form betrays the desire to satisfy the stupid puerility of THE TOURISTS.

/390 cont./

000 Ce 415 531 177 532 the tourists. In this respect Nordenskiöld (10, Fig. 28, p. 137) was more fortunate than I: among the Chané of the Parapití he was able to acquire a pot on which one distinguishes a nose in relief and the organs of the face painted in a conventional fashion, but in which the Andean influence is clearly reflected.

C 531 415 184 Each region, often even each village, has its special style, and this varies again according to the fancy or skill of each potter. The differences are often sufficiently accentuated to permit an ethnographer with some experience to recognize the provenance of each piece at first glance.

From the point of view of decorative style, the Chiriguano country is divided into three zones, whose characteristics are the following:

On the upper Pilcomayo the fundamental element of decoration is the spiral in the form of a couchant S which is combined with the volute of another color taking off from the apex of a triangle (see, for example: Plate XXXV; XXXVI, 1; XXXVII, 2; Plates XLVII-L, etc. /see pp. 211 ff. and pp. 226 ff./

This motif is arranged in parallel zones framed by geometric figures (festooned lines, alternate triangles, barbed strokes, etc. (see, for example: Plate XXXVII, 1 /see p. 213/; Plate XXXIX, 2, /see p. 215 /; Plate XL, 2 /see p. 216 /; Plate XLIV, 2 /see p. 220 /. Rare are the pieces of this zone whose principal decoration does not consist of variously combined spirals. The style of the pottery I collected in the Igüembé valley differs only a little from that of the upper Pilcomayo: we find the same principal elements without, however, the spiral playing a predominant role (Plate XXXIX, 1; Plate XLI; Plate XLII, 2; XLVIII, 4; Plate LI, 1-3; LIV, 2).

C 531 415 184 Ce 531 415 The pottery made by the Chiriguano of the Ivu, Macharetí, and Tarairí missions and by the Chané of the Itiyuro reveals a special predilection for linear motifs standing out in black against a yellowish background. These are ascending and descending lines which run around the belly of the vessel forming large triangles, and something of a kind, which, in turn, end in Greek frets or spirals. The triangle

C /390 cont./
531 surmounted by a volute is a motif which appears often in this
415 region. Triangles with a solid surface combine to form either
184 denticulate bands or somewhat hourglass-shaped figures whose
Ce effect is pleasing to the eye (Plate XXXIX, 1: Plate XL, 2;
531 Plate XLI; Plate XLII, 1; Plate XLIII, 1; Plate LII; Plate LIV,
415 1 and 3-4; LVII, 3-4; LV, 1 and 3, etc.).

C Between the Chané vessels (Plate XXXVIII, 1; Plate
Ce LIII, 1-3) and the Chiriguano ones in the missions there are
531 some differences which have less to do with the choice of
415 motifs than with the manner in which they are treated. The
[323] Chané women have a purer taste and they evince greater
sureness /391/ of hand than the Chiriguano potters. One
senses clearly that the latter are only their pupils.

C It is difficult for me to say what decorative style might
531 have been in vogue in former times in the Caipipendí valley
415 (Plate LVII, 2; Plate LX, 4; and Fig. 72). Painted vessels
184 have become rare there, and the few examples I saw or acquired
were in very bad condition. As elsewhere, they were covered
with geometric figures: broken lines, triangles, /Fig. 62
appears here/ festooned bands, etc. The individuality of
Caipipendí pottery shows itself more in the form of some
vessels than in their decoration.

Ce Since I could not visit the Chané of the lower Parapití,
415 I have no idea of the characteristics of their pottery.
177 Nordenskiöld (10, p. 144), who was more favored than I,
[131] declares that their pottery presents only a few traces of Andean
[114] influence, and he explains this fact by their isolation and
[511] poverty.

C If now, instead of style, that is, the combination of
531 motifs, we consider the latter in themselves, /392/ a feeling
184 of unity will succeed our feeling of diversity. The same
identical designs are repeated over the whole of Chiriguano
territory, and only their relative frequency in a given area
and the importance attributed to them to the exclusion of the others
create these distinctions of style which I have tried /Fig. 63
appears here/ to define. Nevertheless, there are some decorative
elements which are limited to a certain region: the spiral is

/392 cont./

531 184 peculiar to the villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé valley. The decoration made up of broken and asymmetric lines does not go beyond the zone of the Franciscan missions and the Itiyuro region.

323 415 291 516 142 302

Fig. 62. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is rolled between the palms of the hands. (Photographs taken by the author at Masaví, Igüembé Valley.)

[126]

/396/

000 first and foremost gasoline cans. Artistic ceramics have become the
323 appanage of a few old women who are not founding a school and who
178
463
887
531

323
415
142
302

Fig. 64. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is placed on the preceding one and flattened between the thumb and
[531] the other fingers of the potter. Finger impressions result from this, forming a crude design.

323 will carry the secret of their art to the grave. Already today,
178 obliged to satisfy a large demand, they endlessly repeat the same
463 motifs and have a vexing tendency to draw them hastily and
887 without any care at all. These designs are becoming awkward,
531 crude, and are taking on a primitive appearance which is far from corresponding to the taste and culture of the Chiriguano.

/396 cont./

291
323
415
531

Fig. 65. Fabrication of a large vat: the potter impresses her thumbnail into the still soft clay to obtain a regular design.

463
323
198
439
[126]
[123]

In some villages there are no more potters. The inhabitants of the toldería of Ibopeytí, for example, have to import the painted vessels they need to celebrate festivals. When I wanted to acquire them, it was generally objected that they had been bought and often at a very high price. "You go away and leave us without vessels," they often used to say to me as a half-joking, half-sad good-by after my raids.

/396 cont./

323 178 Without wishing to pass as a prophet, I think I can assign five years of life to the artistic pottery of the Chiriguano. Already it is becoming difficult to make collections of it, at least collections having aesthetic value.

323 415 531

Fig. 66. Fabrication of a large vat: when dry, the clay is polished with a well-polished stone. The purpose of this operation is to avoid all porosity in the surface of the vessel.

415 178 184 323 The state of decline and regression in which Chiriguano pottery is found explains perhaps the decided differences often existing in the pottery of the various regions inhabited by the Chiriguano. Artists being few, it is not surprising that their output varies little and that, because of this, the vessels of one village are all very much alike.

O 172 171 415 '399 cont./ It is already evident that the pottery of the Humahuaca region shows identical characteristics from the north of Jujuy to the vicinity of La Quiaca. To me the local variations seem absolutely negligible. Boman (2, Vol. I, p. 7[illegible]) was already expressing himself in the following manner on the relations between these two regions: "If one wishes to compare the objects dug up in the Humahuaca region with the pre-Hispanic remains of other regions, they would be most like those of the Chichas." At

A [172] [171] 000

C 172 531 534

Fig. 37. Panpipe made of olive-hued stone, found on the upper Pilcomayo near the Chiriguano village of Ibopeytí at the same time as the vessel on Plate XXV. (1/2 nat. size.)

C 172 171 415 AT Tolomosa in Bolivia, in the department of Tarija, the von Rosen mission (2, Fig. 175, p. 112) found an ornithomorphic dish, an exact replica of the famous puco of this type discovered at La Paya in the Calchaqui Valley.

A 172 171 18 The Humahuaca-Chicha culture does not form an isolated bloc. It is more or less closely related to those whose remains have been studied in the northwest of Argentina in Diaguite territory, on the Puna de Atacama and de Jujuy, in the Atacama Desert, in the north of Chile and the extreme south of Peru. In the geographic area thus defined, it surely seems as though there was formerly a center of acculturation whose existence was pointed out only a few years ago.

/400/

A 172 Boman (2, Vol. II, pp. 767-778) is the first to have defined the specific characteristics of the most important of these cultures from the historical point of view, that of the Atacama. By comparing the objects his own excavations or those of his colleagues brought to light in Calama, in Chiuchiu in the Atacama Desert, and in various localities of the Puna de Jujuy, he could demonstrate the homogeneity of these finds. He rightly attributed all these remains to one single people, the Atacama, whose habitat probably embraced, besides the regions I have just enumerated, the Puna de Atacama and part of the Calchaqui Valley as far as La Paya.

C 172 531

C [178] Fig. 68. Fragments of incised pottery found at Caipipendí. Present-day Chiriguano never decorate their pottery with engraved lines. (2/3 nat. size.)

A PA 114 172 However, there is one aspect of the problem to which Boman gave too limited a solution. In seeking to determine the frontiers of the ancient peoples of the north and northwest of Argentina, in my opinion he stressed too much the divergences which the remains of their culture present and not enough the traits they have in common. Still, the points of contact are too numerous and too specific to be attributable simply to a great Peruvian civilization from which these civilizations emanated.

Plate XXVI

CC
415
532

1. Anthropomorphic vessel, Chané. It is covered with a layer of white paint. Prov.: Tayuntí (near the Aguaray). (1/3 nat. size.)

C
415
531

2. Vessel with ribbed belly, brown in color. Chiriguano. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/2 nat. size.)

12 Métraux--180 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Atacama S65
Prehistoric Chile S63

/403 cont./

A P.C 19 S61 Latcham (p. 5) says that for a long time he has also had the impression that Chincha culture had played a very important role in the development of the prehistoric art of the north and center of Chile, especially in the Diaguito-Chilean region, that is, the provinces of Atacama and Coquimbo, and that these influences had extended as far as Cachapoal in the south.

After the publication of Uhle's work, Latcham (p. 20) not only accepted his conclusions, but even demonstrated the extension of Chincha culture as far as Caldera. Like Uhle, Latcham (p. 20) is of the opinion "that an examination of Diaguito-Argentine pottery would furnish proof that the traces of Chincha and Chincha-Atacama influences are very common in the art of northwestern Argentina, where all the designs reproduced (by Latcham) are found again alone or in combinations with other local motifs. These influences made themselves felt as far as the southeast and even the northeast of Bolivia, as can be ascertained by consulting the works dealing with the antiquities of these regions. In the modern pottery of the Chiriguano many of these same elements persist, as one can realize by leafing through the work of Outes, 3."

C [415] [534] [199] C 415 199 121

In the pages which follow I shall seek to demonstrate that Chiriguano pottery presents characteristics obliging us to rank it among those which seem to have undergone the influence of the Chincha-Atacama civilization.

A P.C 19 114 121 [648]

Even if the hypothesis of the existence of a Chincha-Atacama civilization must be rejected some day, it is not any less certain that at a given moment the prehistoric tribes of the region of Atacama, of the northern coast of Chile, of the south of Peru and Bolivia, and of the north and northwest of Argentina were united by close relations, which /404/ explain the numerous points of contact of their cultures. Uhle's theory has on its side the advantage of accounting for these analogies whatever may be the reservations we might be able to formulate concerning the date this scholar attributes to the Chincha-Atacama civilization. Concerning the importance and the extent he gives it.

P.A. /404 cont./

415 172 The cemeteries of the Isla de Tilcara have given numerous specimens of this type (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 98, p. 152; Fig. 101, p. 154; Fig. 104, p. 157; Fig. 106, p. 158; Figs. 109-111, p. 162; Figs. 113-114, pp. 165-166), of which a specimen has also been found in the Alfarcito in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, Fig. 15, p. 29). /Plate XXVII appears here./

C 415 171

C 415 171 /405/ Vessels whose appearance is obviously similar to that of our yapepo were formerly used in Chile (Latcham, Fig. 17, p. 11).

P.A. 415 531 172

C 415 531 178

a b

Fig. 70. The iru (a), drawn from Debenedetti, was found on the Isla de Tilcara. Vessel b is modern. It comes from the Chiriguano village of Yumbía. It attests to the fidelity with which the Chiriguano have kept to our day the ancient types of Andean pottery. (1/6 nat. size.)

C 415 171

3. The large yambuí of Plate LV, 3,[2] is not a common type in South America. Jijon y Caamaño (p. 24, Fig. 15) cites only one specimen, coming from Imbabura in Ecuador, which was known to him outside of Chiriguano country.

4. The two yambuí of Plates XLI, 1,[2] and LV, 1[3] both come from the Ivu mission. Their form is unusual in Chiriguano country, but very interesting by reason of the analogy it offers with that of vessels dug up in Catamarca province in Caspinchango (Debenedetti, 5, Figs. 9 and 10, pp. 23-24) and that of funerary urns from La Rioja discovered and published by Boman (5, Fig. 4b, p. 24).

1 [See P. 237 -- Analyst]
2,3 [See PP. 217 and 237 respectively -- Analyst]

415
531

Plate XXVII

Chiriguano vessels (yapepo). Prov.: 1 and 3, Ivu; 2, Macharetí; 4, Caipipendí. Colors: 1 and 2, black on white; 3 and 4, red on white. (Nos. 1 = 1/4; 2-4 = 1/3 nat. size ±.)

C /406 cont./
415 a map, these footed vessels "bakershaped" /quoted in English/
171 mark out the whole extent of the Inca Empire from Ecuador to Chile and Argentina. This is the first time, however, that their presence has been noted among the Chiriguano and outside the borders proper of the Inca Empire.

C 7. As Nordenskiöld (10, Fig. 48, p. 162) established,
[177] the twinned Chiriguano vessels (Plate XXVII, 3)[1] also denote an Andean influence. As for that, it suffices to compare them with the ones from the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 144, p. 196).

C
415
531

Fig. 71. Miniature footed vessel. Prov.: Cuevo. (2/5 nat. size.)

C 8. As for the vessels consisting of triple connected bodies
415 (Plate XXVII, 4), Jijon y Caamaño (p. 26) believes them to
171 be of Central American origin. "Their center of dispersion," he says, "must be located in a southern region of Central America, from where, perhaps through the medium of the Arawak, they arrived in the Chaco and Peru." This hypothesis is tempting.

9. The Central American origin of the footed bowl or "compote" (Fig. 72)[2] could not be doubted. Jijon y Caamaño
C (pp. 31-51), Rivet (2, pp. 8-9), and Linné (2, Map 6, p. 107)
A 415 have amply demonstrated it. On the subject of one of the
171 varieties of this type, Jijon y Caamaño (p. 34) makes the

[1] [See p. 183--Analyst]
[2] [See p. 187--Analyst]

/408 cont./

000
CC
415
171
C
[415]
[171]
000

Chiriguano have not abandoned. It is not out of the question, however, that the Chané did not contribute toward preserving this type,[1] if it was really they who made it known to the populations of tropical America east of the Andes. Jijon y Caamaño (pp. 11-13) studied its distribution in the two Americas and placed its center of diffusion in Central America. In Diaguite

C
415
531

Fig. 72. Footed bowl or "compote." Black and red motifs on cream background. Prov.: Carurutí. (1/3 nat. size.)

C
415
171
D
415
531

In Diaguite country we find pottery of a more or less similar aspect, but which must nevertheless be eliminated from this category. It is indeed provided either with a tongue-shaped appendage or with an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figuration (Ambrosetti, 6, pp. 372-380).

[1] [i.e. The type depicted in Plate XXVII, 2, p. 183 -- Analyst]

/408 cont./

415 171 172 12. The ornithomorphic vessel of Figure 73 seems to have come from the hands of the ancient potters of the Isla de Tilcara who, several centuries ago, used to make analogous pieces, without a doubt servilely imitated by the Chané and the ancestors of the Chiriguano (see Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 139-141, p. 191). Boman (2, Vol. II, p. 786, Fig. 193) also publishes a bird-shaped vessel, perhaps of the pavo del monte (Penelope obscura, Vieill.?), found not far from the present-day village of Humahuaca and which, in addition to its general appearance, has in common with our specimen

415 531

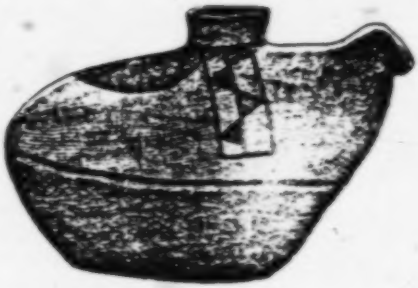


Fig. 73. Ornithomorphic vessel. Chiriguano. Motifs: pink and green. Prov.: Tarairí. (1/3 nat. size.)

415 171 172 from Tarairí designs painted on the sides which represent the wings and tail.

415 532 [293] [172] [171] The Chiriguano Indians of the Caipipendí valley and the Ivu mission still like to serve chicha in vessels to which they give the appearance of a bull (Plate XXVIII, 7-9).[z/A] Llama-shaped vessels have been discovered in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 27, Fig. 14, and Odilia Bregante, Fig. 132, p. 147). Perhaps these are the prototypes of the present-day Chiriguano specimens. Why suppose that [114] these receptacles had solely ritual usage, as Mr. Debenedetti thinks, when one sees the modern Chiriguano make an entirely secular use of them?

[z/A] [See p. 190 -- Analyst]

P.C.
Ce
415
171
534

/408 cont./

13. The marvelous vessel of Plate XXVI, 2/1 is entirely of Andean inspiration. The idea of giving the shape of a human head to the neck of the yuro was not foreign to the ancient populations of the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Boman, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 190 and Plate LXXXII, Fig. f; and Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 136, p. 186). Up to the present time this region has not provided any vessel of this type which, by its beauty and the sureness of the modeling, /Plate XXVIII appears here/ /409/ was comparable to our specimen from the Itiyuro. The woman who fashioned it was a worthy artist.

C
[415]

Fig. 74. Vessel painted red. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/4 nat. size.)

P.E
Ce
415
171
532

In Ecuador, vessels with a globular belly surmounted by a human head are frequent, but few specimens from this region can compete with this Chané masterpiece.

C
415
171
172

14. The vessels of Figures 74 and 75 and Plate XXVII, 1, 2/1 are characterized by a narrowing which separates them into two superimposed globular bodies of more or less similar diameter. In the valley of the Loa River a vessel of similar type was found which presents the most surprising identity with the one of Figure 74. Montell (1, Fig. 34 e, p. 28), who publishes it, makes the following remarks about it.

[Text Continues on P. 191]

[531]

Fig. 75. Vessel decorated with red and black motifs. Prov.: Caipipendi. (2/5 nat. size.)

2/1 [See P. 179-- Analyst]
2/1 [See P. 183--Analyst]

1: Métraux--190 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

H15
531
532

Plate XXVIII

Miniature Chiriguano vessels (toys and amusing objects). Prov.: 1, Ibopeytí; 2 and 5, Yumbía; 3, Tintapaw; 4, Tarairí; 7-9, Carurutí. Colors: red brown and black on white background, except Nos. 4 and 7, red brown on white. (Nos. 1 and 4 = 1/2; 2, 3, 5-9 = 1/3 nat. size ± .)

C /410 cont./
415 of this country (1).
171

P.A. [415]

1. Vessels of this type also show great similarity to the Araucan ones which were discovered in the Argentinian territory of the Neuquén. (San Martin, pp. 10-15, pp. 131 and 132.)

C
415
531

Fig. 76. Cup decorated with black checkerwork on cream background. Prov.: Igüembé Valley. (1/3 nat. size.)

C
415
171

16. The little cup of Figure 76 is the only one of this shape I was able to collect. Like the vessels examined thus far, it constitutes by its aspect and decoration an Andean survival. Many cups have been discovered in northwestern Argentina. Some of these specimens have been found on the Isla de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 149, p. 206) and at Casabindo in the Puna de Jujuy (Lehmann-Nitsche, Pl. IV, 5 D).

P.A. [172] [415]

17. Bowls have such a wide distribution in South America that their presence among the Chiriguano would not by itself be a sufficient argument to demonstrate the Andean origin of their culture. However, among these Indians, the numerous specimens of this category of receptacles found in each village show such similarities with the puco of the adjoining Andean regions that we are obliged to consider them as borrowed forms.

C [177]

C /410 cont./

415 171 Thus, for example, the puco of Plate XIX, 2 and 4[1] are nearly identical with certain dishes coming from La Poma, Salta province. (Dillenius, Fig. 7, p. 13.)

The Chiriguano puco (Fig. XIX, 3) could easily be mixed with a specimen from La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 185, p. 368), which, like it, has two nipples on each side of the rim.

C [531] The small bowl of Figure 77 carries on the rim two heads of a mammal stylized to the point that one can identify it as a llama or a puma, as one wishes. The two appendages in relief are perforated to allow a suspension cord to pass through. One would never finish enumerating all the receptacles of the Andean region which are decorated with the same motif. I shall limit myself to citing, in the countries adjoining the habitat of the Chiriguano, /Plate XXIX appears here/ /411/ P.A. [172] [415] several analogous finds. Thus, a dish of this type was dug up at Casabindo, on the Puna de Jujuy (Ambrosetti, 4, Fig. 49 b, p. 39, Vol. LIV) and at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 181, p. 364).

C 415 531 Several bowls (Plate XXIX, 1 and 6) of my collections are provided /Fig. 77 appears here/ with small nipples on the sides, whose use is, at first sight, enigmatic. As Rosen (2, p. 109, Figs. 167-188) has demonstrated, they are appendages which permit passing a small cord around the dish and hanging it. On some Chiriguano specimens these protuberances are perforated and a string passed through. By this means, /Fig. 78 appears here/ the bowl is suspended from the roof beams. P.C. [415] Several from the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 60-63, pp. 111-112) also show these protuberances, whose use must have been the same as among the present-day Chiriguano. These nipples are doubtless handles or ears which, having lost all practical usefulness, were reduced /412/ to the state of simple ornamental motifs and not, as was believed, of still embryonic handles.

[1] [See p. 135--Analyst]

Painted Chiriguano bowls (naé). Prov.: 1, 4, and 7, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2, Yumbía; 3 and 5, Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo); 6, Ivu. Colors: black and red on white background. (Nos. 1-5 = 1/4; 6 = 1/3; 7 = 1/2 about nat. size ± .)

415
531

1: Métraux--194 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

C
415
531

a b

Fig. 77. Small bowl with zoomorphic ear and hole for hanging. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/3 nat. size.)

C
415
531

P.P
415

a b

Fig. 78. a and b. Vessel a comes from Cuevo; b gives the profile of a vessel found at Tacna and attributed by Uhle to the Inca period.

C 415 171 pp 415

/412 cont./

18. To put an end to these comparisons, I shall call attention to two vessels (Fig. 78 a and b), one acquired in Ivu in the Chaco and the other in Tacna, and dating from the Inca period (Uhle, 4, Plate XXVIII, 2). A simple glance at the two figures permits the establishment of their perfect identity.

C Ce 415 171

In short, from these comparisons and the ones we made on the subject of pottery in common use, we can draw the following conclusions: Chiriguano and Chané pottery is, from the morphological point of view, closely related to that of the ancient populations of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina and therefore offers numerous points of contact with the Chincha-Atacama civilizations. It still keeps traces of strong Inca influences (footed vessel (baker-shaped /in English/), aryballoid jars, ornithomorphic and anthropomorphic vessels, bowls, etc.). The ancient Arawak ethnic substratum is manifested in this sphere by the survival of several special types of pottery (vessels in the form of beakers or bowls (compoteras), vessels with a ribbed belly, vessels with three connecting bodies, etc.).

C Ce [177] A [415]

C Ce G 415

The pottery in everyday use is clearly of Guarani inspiration and in its general features has remained identical to those of the ancient Guarani of Bolivia.

C 531 184

Comparative Study of the Principal Decorative Motifs of Chiriguano Pottery and That of the Neighboring Andean Peoples

The triangle with volute. In the region of the upper Pilcomayo the fundamental motif of pottery decoration is the triangle whose apex is prolonged in a volute or spiral (Plates XXXII-XXXIII, 136-199). This decorative element is repeated to repletion on all the vessels I collected from the village of Saladito to the valley of Igüembé. Elsewhere it becomes less frequent and takes on a more rudimentary form, which can be considered as further developed or degenerated.

[See pp. 200-201 -- Analyst]

/412 cont./

531 184 Even on the upper Pilcomayo this design occurs in many variations according to the place or the artists: on certain pieces the volute which prolongs the triangle is clearly drawn (Plate XXXV, 1; XXXVII, 2; XXXVIII,[1] 2; etc.); on others it is no more than a hook more or less closed (Plate XXXII, 137-151). This last case is more usual. Finally, the hook itself is drawn with so little care that it is transformed into the simple arc of a circle, then into a straight line prolonging one of the sides of the triangle (Fig. 78 a).

Some vessels, generally outside the upper Pilcomayo region, /Plates XXX-XXXIV appear here/ /413/ present the same motif, but instead of the hook or the spiral the potter has painted a fret element (Plate XLI, 2, and XLIII, 1; LIV, 1 and 4),[2] more or less well executed. Thus one can follow the evolution of the spiral to the fret by going from one point to another of Chiriguano territory.

Most often these triangles with a volute are arranged in two rows and face each other alternately. When such an arrangement occurs, the potter always takes care to draw, along the line forming the volute, a parallel line of a different color, which, after following the inflections of the volute, goes to join that of the facing triangle. The figure (Plate XXXIII,[3] 178-194) thus obtained is a double volute in the form of a couchant S. It is particularly characteristic of the pottery of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé valley. This double volute perhaps can be treated as an independent decorative element, witness the yambui of Plate XXXVI, 2, and LI, 3.

531 Sometimes, but rarely, the triangle with a double volute is replaced by an angle whose sides, by being drawn out, form a continuous line which unites these motifs to each other (Plate XXXVI, 1; XLVII, 3; LIII, 3).[4]

[191] The origin of this motif is lost in the night of time. It appears already very stylized on the vessels of the Tiahuanaco period, coming from Tiahuanaco itself (Posnansky, Plate III, Figs. E and F) and from the Mizque valley (Nordenskiöld, 5, p. 95, Fig. 40).

[1] [See pp 211, 213 and 214 respectively -- Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 217, 219 and 233 respectively -- Analyst]
[3] [See p 201 -- Analyst]
[4] [See pp 212, 226 and 232 respectively -- Analyst]

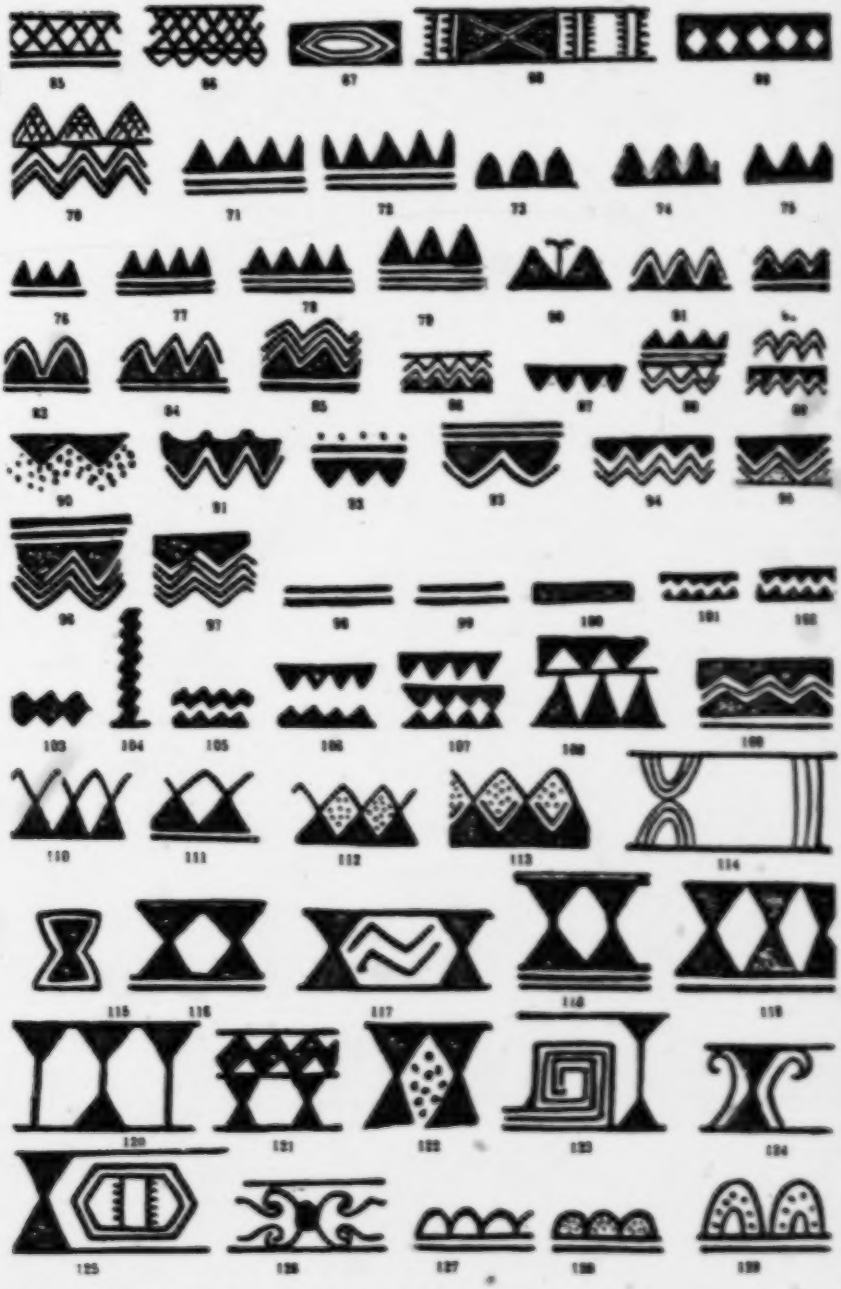
1: Métraux--198 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Plate XXX
C
Ce
531

Principal decorative motifs of Chiriguano and Chané pottery.

1: Métraux--199 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Plate XXXI

C
Ce
531



Principal decorative motifs of Chiriguano and Chané pottery.

1: Métraux--200 E-S (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Plate XXXII

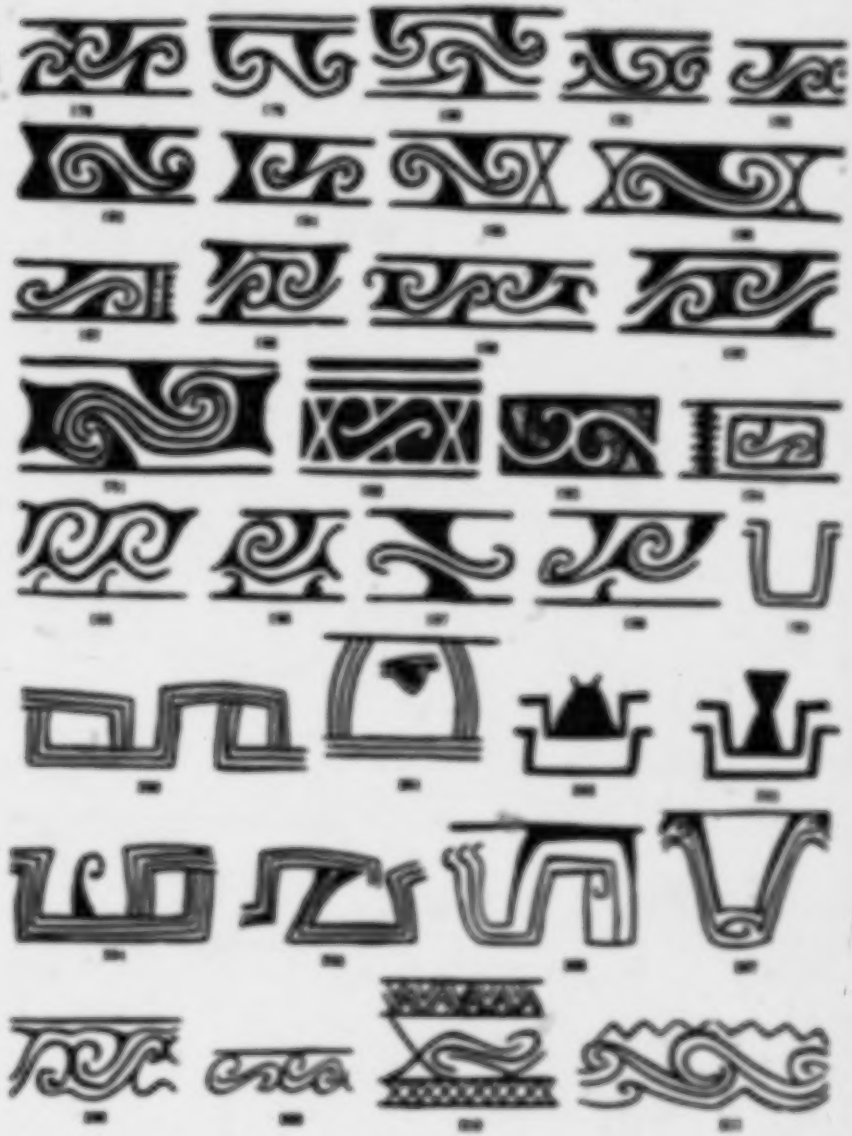
C
C
53

Principal decorative motifs of Chiriguano and Chané pottery.

1: Métraux--201 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Plate XXXIII

Ce
Ce
531



Principal decorative motifs of Chiriguano and Chané pottery

1: Méraux--207 8-5 (1978) 1500 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Plate XXXIV

c
ce
531

Principal decorative motifs of Chiriguano and Chané pottery

A 531 1972

/413 cont./

It is also met on most of the vessels from Tacna and Taltal, belonging to the period known as Chincha-Atacama (Uhle, 4, Plate XIX, Figs. 1 and 2; Plate XX, Figs. 1 and 2; Plate XXI, Fig. 2; Plate XXII, Fig. 4; Plate XXIII, Fig. 1; Plate XXIV, Fig. 2; and Guevara, Vol. I, plate between pp. 42 and 43 and between pp. 48 and 49).

C 531 1971

These analogies with Chiriguano pottery become still more striking if one considers the details and arrangement of this motif. On a vessel from Tacna (Uhle, 4, Plate XX, 1) the volute takes off from two lines forming an angle, as on the yambuí of Plate XL, 1, published here. On the vessel from Tacna (Uhle, 4, Plate XXI, Fig. 2) the triangles with a volute face one another, and the inflections of the spiral are accompanied by a parallel line in another color. An anthropomorphic vessel found at Tacna (Uhle, 4, Plate XXII, Fig. 1) is also decorated with hooked triangles which face each other alternately.

As for the frets of Uhle's Chincha-Atacama vessel (4, Plate XXII, Fig. 4), they are doubtless volutes which the potter's fancy modified.

One can as well consider as a derivation of the voluted triangle the hooks which, on several Tacna and Taltal vessels and on a Calama calabash, form vertical and horizontal rows (Uhle, 4, Plate XX, Fig. 1; Plate XXI, Fig. 2; Plate XXII, Fig. 3; XXIV, /414/ Fig. 3, etc.; Guevara, Vol. I, plate between pp. 46-47 and 48-49; and Oyarzun, Fig. 11). With the Chiriguano the voluted triangle underwent an analogous process of simplification, but this evolution took place only in very rare cases and on pieces whose decoration was drawn with a certain negligence (Plate XXXII, $\frac{1}{A}$138-140).

A 531 1972

The textile fabrics from Arica discovered by Skottsberg (Figs. 41-42), which are kept today in the Göteborg Museum, exhibit the voluted triangle, among other motifs. Judging by their style, these specimens undoubtedly belong to Uhle's Chincha-Atacama period.

$\frac{1}{A}$ [See p. 200 -- Analyst]

PA 531 114

/415 cont./

On the other hand, the excavations carried out on the Isla de Tilcara have produced only a few specimens of pottery whose ornamentation was curvilinear. Debenedetti (2, p. 88) considers the latter, for reasons which I cannot accept, as foreign to the locality. Nevertheless, he has reproduced in his book the decoration of two dishes which is made up of facing triangles with volutes (Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 53 and 54, pp. 88-89) (Fig. 79); and he notes the same design on two other dishes which he does not reproduce. In the same publication (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 113, p. 165; Fig. 114, p. 166; Fig. 115, p. 166) are represented three vessels similar to the Chiriguano yapepo and also decorated with hooked triangles.

C 415 531 171

/416/ The most interesting piece in this respect is the

C 415 171 531

P.A 415 531

a b

Fig. 79. a, bowl from the Isla de Tilcara, whose rim is decorated with facing voluted triangles; b, border of a dish decorated with voluted triangles (Isla Tilcara) (from Debenedetti).

C 415 171 531

yuro of Figure 70 b, reproduced from a drawing given by Debenedetti (2, Fig. 124, p. 175). We have already seen that its form is identical with that of a Chiriguano îru I bought on the upper Pilcomayo. The same is true for the general elements of its decoration.

PA 531

The voluted triangle is found on three other pieces from the Isla de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 160, p. 217; Figs. 161 and 163, p. 217), which Debenedetti (2, p. 218) classes among the pottery imported to the Isla de Tilcara and utilized by curacas /chiefs/. Our yambuí from the upper Pilcomayo, which from the artistic point of view are very superior to the specimens described by Debenedetti, have often been bought

C 415 531 171 126

C /416 cont./
531 by me in humble cabins whose owners were certainly not
415 curacas, but poor devils who had the luck to have a mother
121 or grandmother who was an expert potter. If the criterion of
[126] Mr. Debenedetti were admissible, the crude pottery and the
[114] fancy vessels which can be bought in every Chané or
C Chiriguano village would be products of two different civiliza-
415 tions. In reality the fancy pottery is used on feast days for drinking chicha; and the other, more humble in appearance, is adapted to daily needs.

P.A
415
531

Fig. 80. Dish from Tilcara and decorated with red voluted triangles on a white background. (1/6 nat. size ±.)

P.A.
531
[114]

Besides, the voluted triangle is more frequent on the Isla de Tilcara than Debenedetti wishes us to think. In addition to the examples cited, seven others must be added (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 24, p. 59; Fig. 30, p. 63; Fig. 40, p. 70; Fig. 48, p. 80; Fig. 165, p. 219; Fig. 165, pp. 219-220). A vessel from Alfarcito in the same Quebrada bears a triangle with volute on the inside rim of the neck (Debenedetti, 4, Fig. 15, p. 29).

PA /418 cont./
531 taking off from a blackened triangle. A painted vessel from
171 the same locality has the same motif on its belly, but there the spiral has changed into a fret.

So that the distribution of the triangle with spiral may be complete, we must add: Caspinchango in Catamarca province (Debenedetti, 5, Figs. 10-12, pp. 24-25, and Fig. 14, p. 27); San Blas de los Sauces y Los Mazas in La Rioja province (Boman, 5, Plate VI, Fig. E; Plate VII, Fig. F; Plate XX, Figs. a and b, and Fig. 11, p. 65); Antofogasta de la Sierra (Ambrosetti, 5, Plate I, Figs. 31 and 32); Chañar Yaco (Catamarca) (Lafone Quevedo, 1, Fig. 47, p. 39); and finally Barreal in San Juan province (Kühn, p. 21).

D The recent excavations of Messrs. Emile and Duncan
P.A Wagner in the province of Santiago del Estero permitted them
531 to discover the remains of a population whose culture was
171 closely related to that of the valleys of the Diaguite region. It is undoubtedly a matter of a tribe of the Kakan language, established on the plain crossed by the Salado River. There too we find our triangle with volute, judging by the plates on which Mr. Duncan Warner has tried to reconstitute the pieces of pottery whose fragments he found. Here again we note the transition of the volute to the fret.

D Over and above these additions, some observations must
P.A be made concerning the passage from Odilia Bregante. The
531 triangle whose apex is prolonged in a curved or straight line
[178] can be considered as a degeneration of the voluted triangle, as has already been said above (see Lafone Quevedo, 2, Plate IX, b).

D I have called attention several times to the transition
531 of the volute into fretwork or element of it. This progressive
178 mutation of one motif into another took place in Diaguite
S country exactly as among the Chiriguano. Urns of the Santa
[531] Maria type exhibit, among other common decorations, a
[178] triangle, with steps or not, which terminates in fretwork. Now on several specimens this fret element is a volute or a /Plates XXXV-XLVI appear here/ /419/ more or less closed

Plate XXXV

415
531

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from Tintapaw; No. 2 from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--212 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XXXVI

415
531

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from Ibopeytí; No. 2 from Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

415
• 531

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from the Igüembé Valley; No. 2 from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--214 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Plate XXXVIII

C
Ce
415
531

1

2

Chané and Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from the Aguaray (Salta Chaco); No. 2 from Ibopeytí (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--215 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Plate XXXIX

415
531

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from Macharetí; No. 2 from the Igüembé Valley. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

415
●531

Plate XL

1

2

Chiriguano vessel. No. 1 comes from Saladito; No. 2 from the Iguembé Valley. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

1: Metraux--217 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF12

Plate XLI

415
531

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. Nos. 1 and 2 come from Ivu.
(About 1/3 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--218 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
●531

Plate XLII

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from Ivu; No. 2 from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--219 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XLIII

415
531

1

2

Chiriguano vessels. No. 1 comes from Macharetí; No. 2 from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

415
531

Plate XLIV

1

2

Chiriguano vessels: No. 1 comes from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); No. 2 from the Igüembé Valley. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--221 E-5 (1979) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
531

1

2

3

Chiriguano pottery. Nos. 1 and 2 come from Tintapawi
No. 3 from Carurutí. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--222 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XLVI

415
• 531

1

2

3

Chiriguano pottery. Nos. 1 and 3 come from Sriadlos; No. 2 from Yumbía (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/3 nat. size.)

D 531 198

/419 cont./

hook (1). I strongly doubt that the triangle with volute and the

1. See, for example, Bruch (2, Fig. 32, p. 37; Fig. 66, p. 71; Fig. 70, p. 74; Fig. 85, p. 85; Fig. 90, p. 89; Fig. 130, p. 152) and Lafone Quevedo (2, Fig. 60, p. 384).

triangle with fret have a separate origin. The second doubtless derives from the first.

P.A 531

At Tinti on the Salta plain the motif Odilia Bregante speaks of is a triangle one of whose sides is stepped and which terminates in a fret which in turn interlaces with the one taking off from the following triangle (see Boman, 3, Plate XIV, Fig. b). I cannot understand what arguments Odilia Bregante relies on in order to assert that no vestige of Diaguite culture exists in this place. The contrary seems to be true.

D [531] [114]

C P.A 531 191

To sum up, the triangle with volute has a nearly uninterrupted distribution from the north coast of Peru to San Juan province in Argentina, and as far as central Chile. To the east it extends as far as the Pilcomayo and the Quebrada de Humahuaca.

The importance of this decoration increases in proportion as one moves from south to north. In Calchaqui country it is of secondary importance and constitutes an accessory motif; at La Paya it gains in preponderance and this asserts itself in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and on the Pacific Coast. In Chiriguano territory on the upper Pilcomayo it triumphs.

C 531

By itself this motif would constitute a meager proof of the existence of related cultures over the whole extent of this geographical area: but combined with other elements it acquires a very special significance.

C 531 191

The triangle with volute seems to have developed independently in the Guianas. At least I doubt very much that its occurrence in that region is due to a western influence. The motif adorns manioc graters coming from the Patamona tribe (Nordenskiöld, 14, Fig. 19 c, p. 53) and several Wapiana /Wapichana/ and Taulipang calabashes (Koch-Grünberg, 3, Vol. III, Plate XIX, Figs. 1-3).

Diaguita SG6
Peruvian Prehistory SE4
Bolivian Prehistory SF4
Prehistoric Chile SG3
Prehistoric Argentina SI3

C /419 cont./

531 171 The S-shaped double volute (Plates XXXII-XXXIII,[1] 163-164, 167-197). I have already had occasion to insist on the fact that the S-shaped double volute was a motif closely associated with the voluted triangle. In certain cases, and, moreover, rare ones, this decorative element appears detached (see Plate XXVI, 2).[2]

P.P. [531] The double volute has been painted on several vessels from Tacna (Uhle, 4, Plate XXIII, Fig. 1; Plate XXIV, Figs. 2 and 3; and Guevara, plate between pp. 46-47). There it is once even framed by a line which follows its contour exactly as on some Chiriguano vessels (Plate XXXII, 162-163).

PB 531 On vessels found at Calama and doubtless coming from Cagua (Yura, Porco province, Bolivia) and even in the region of Cagua /420/ (Créqui de Monfort, Plate VII, Fig. 8, and Plate VIII, Fig. 11) an S-shaped decoration is seen which could be brought nearer to our double volute if its style were different. The ends of the curve are slightly pointed, and a dot is inscribed in each hook.

P.C. 531 Chilean potters have sometimes made use of the double volute to decorate their vessels, but a limited use (Latcham, Fig. 38, p. 16; Fig. 58, p. 25; Fig. 59, p. 26). This motif P.C. [324] is also carved in a block /Fig. 81 appears here/ of stone from the Chilean province of Antofagasta, between Santa Fe del Toro and Quillagua (Plagemann, Plate III). In the Quebrada de PA 531 Humahuaca the double volute embellishes the outside surface of the yuro from the Isla de Tilcara reproduced by Debenedetti (2, Fig. 124, p. 175).

At La Paya the motif is represented on the bottom of two ornithomorphic puco (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 131, and Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XV, Fig. 29).

D 531 [415] [764] A design in the shape of an S, but made up of a more or less wide band adorns the base or the belly of a large number of funerary urns of the Diaguite region and the bowls which closed them. This decoration /Plates XLVII-LIV appear here/ /see pp. 226-233/ /421/ is not to be confused with the one which has occupied us up to now because it is nothing but a

[1] [See pp. 200-201--Analyst]
[2] [See p. 179--Analyst]

D /421 cont./
531 very exaggerated stylization of the famous make with a bipartite head so characteristic of the art of this region. However, a puco
PA from Molino del Puesto, Catamarca province, exhibits a border,
531 painted in black on a red background, which is composed of triangles with volutes and couchant S's (Bruch, 2, Fig. 43 a, p. 56).

C
415
• 531

Fig. 81. Large painted iru. Prov.: Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). Colors: white on red. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

C
531 Spirals (Plate XXXII, 165, and Fig. 81). The decoration of certain vessels from the upper Pilcomayo and the Santa Rosa mission (Nordenskiöld, 14, Fig. 70, p. 58) consists of a large spiral making many turns and covering almost the whole exterior surface of the receptacle. Just as in certain cases the volute was transformed into fretwork, this spiral gave birth to the motif seen on the vessel of Plate LV, 3,[2/A] which is composed of a series of concentric rectangles.

[2/A] [See P. 237--Analyst]

Chinguano vessels (yambui). Prov.: 1 and 4, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2 and 3, Tirtapaw (upper Pilcomayo). Colors: 1, black and white motifs on red background; 2-4, red and black motifs on white background. (Nos. 1, 3, and 4 = 1/4; 2 = 1/2 nat. size.)

415
531

11 Mémoires--Soc. d'Etn. (1950) 1950 SPIO Chinguano SP10
S-5

415
• 531

Plate XLVIII

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí). Prov.: 1 and 2, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 3, Ibopeytí; 4, Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). Colors: red and black motifs on white background. (Nos. 1, 2, and 4 = 1/5; 3 = 1/4 nat. size ±.)

415
531

Plate XLIX

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí). Prov.: 1 and 4, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2 and 3, Yumbía (upper Pilcomayo). Color: 1-3, red and black motifs on creamy-white background; 4, white design on reddish background. (Nos. 1, 2, and 4 = 1/6; 3 = 1/5 nat. size ± .)

415
• 531

Plate L

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí). Prov.: Yumbía (upper Pilcomayo). Color: black and red motifs on white background. (Nos. 1, 3, and 4 = 1/5; 2 = 1/4 nat. size ↑.)

415
531

Plate LI

1

2

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí). Prov.: 1, 2, and 3, Igüembé Valley; 4, Saladito (Yumbía). Colors: black and red motifs on white background. Nos. 1 and 2 = 1/4; 3 = 1/6; 4 = 1/5 nat. size ± .)

3

4

415
531

Plate LII

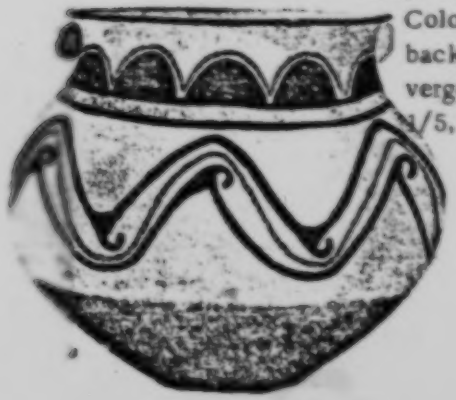
Chiriguano vessels (yambuí). Prov.: 1 and 2, Macharetí; 3 and 4, Tarairí. Color: black and red motifs on cream background. (Nos. 1 = 1/5; 2 = 1/6; 3 and 4 = 1/5 nat. size ±.)

1: Métraux--232 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C 531 415
C 531 415
C 415 531

Plate LIII

Chiriguano and Chané vessels (yambuí). Prov.: 1-3, Aguaray (Salta Chaco, Chané tribe); 4, Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). Colors: red and black on white background; on No. 4 the black verges on brown. (Nos. 1, 3-4 = 1/5, 2 = 1/6 nat. size ± .)



415
531

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí).
Prov.: 1, Tarairí; 2, Igllembé Valley; 3-4, Macharetí. Colors: red and black motifs on cream background. (About 1/5 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--234 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Atacama 565

/421 cont./

C 531 171

The spiral as an independent decorative element has a much less wide distribution than when it is combined with the triangle it surmounts. In the geographical area which interests us it is known only on some pieces from the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 41 and 42, pp. 72-73; Bregante, Figs. 176 and 179, pp. 170-171), on a calabash from Calama (Oyarzun, Fig. 10), from the Puna de Jujuy and from the valley of Tocavil (Ambrosetti, 4, Fig. 70, p. 66, and Fig. 69, p. 72, Vol. LIV), on a *puco* from Pabellon in the Santa Maria valley, Catamarca province (Outes, 1, p. 19, Fig. 13).

C 531

Angles, triangles, and zigzag lines (Plate XXX, 1-46, Plate XXXI, Figs. 71-100, 127). Nearly all the *yambuí* and *yapepo* which form my collections are decorated on the interior rim, at the base of the neck, or on the upper part of the belly with interlaced angles, with series of triangles painted on the surface, which form dentiulate bands. This decorative theme, simple and a bit monotonous, varies from one specimen to the other, according to whether the field of the triangles is sprinkled or surrounded with dots, whether the apexes are joined by angles or arcs of a circle, or, finally, whether or not these triangles are bordered by a broken line which they face.

C [184]

Triangles and zigzag lines only rarely constitute the fundamental decoration of vessels. On the upper Pilcomayo, the *yambuí* of Plate LIII, 4, is the only one exclusively decorated with triangular dots and parallel zigzag lines. Some pieces from Ivo and Caipipendí are characterized by the same simplicity.

C 531 171

At Tacna and Taltal the series of triangular dots constituted a motif particularly dear to the populations of the Chincha-Atacama period (Uhle, 4, Plate XVII, Fig. 4; Plate XVIII, Figs. 1, 2, and 4; Plate XIX; Fig. 1 a; Plate XXII, Fig. 4; Plate XXIII, Figs. 2 and 4 and Figs. 21 and 22, pp. 40-41).

C 531 172

Prehistoric Chile S63
Prehistoric Argentina SI3
Bolivian Prehistory SF4
Atacama S65

S 531 191 BC 531

/421 cont./

In Chile, on the pieces influenced by Chincha art, there is the same abundance (Latcham, Fig. 28, p. 14; Fig. 55, p. 21; Fig. 58, p. 28; Medina, Fig. 206).

PA 531 191

/422/ In the whole northwest of Argentina, borders composed of triangles painted, striped, or reticulated are extremely frequent and do not form a type characterized clearly enough for anyone to try to give the distribution in detail. The latter extends from the Quebrada de Humahuaca to the Tucavil valley (Bregante, p. 102).

S PA BP 531 191

One of the varieties of this motif, however, is worth examining closely, for it permits establishing a striking parallel between present-day Chiriguano pottery and that of northwestern Argentina and southern Bolivia. It consists of a denticulate band or series of triangular dots and one or several zigzag lines which run parallel to these triangles. This decoration figures in my collections on the specimens of Plate XLI, 1, and Plate LI, 4. The archeological replica of this ornamentation is furnished by a vessel from Tolomosa (Tarija department, Bolivia), from Pabellon (Santa Maria, Catamarca), from Chaffar Taco (Catamarca) (see Boman, 2, Fig. 166, p. 109; Outes, 5, p. 11, Fig. 8; Lafone Quevedo, 1, Fig. 5 o and f; Huarte E., p. 47). The excavations of the Messrs. Wagner at Llerta Muerta (Santiago del Estero province) yielded fragments of a dish whose patterns belong in this category.

A 531 192

The triangles which stand out against a background sprinkled with dots (Plate XLVIII, 1) and which form a band on the rambut of Plate XXXV, 2, have their prehistoric equivalent at Tahal on a vessel of the Chincha-Atacama period (Uhle, 4, Fig. 52, p. 40).

PA 531 191

Series of triangles arranged horizontally are very often associated with the decoration of spindl or aryballoid vessels, which have been discovered in northwestern Argentina in such large numbers (see, for example, Boman, 2, Vol. I, p. 297) and, in general, over the whole extent of the Inca Empire.

/422 cont./

•531 171

Festooned bands (Plate: XXXI-XXXII.,[1] 129-131). The series of triangles with which we have been occupied are often replaced by festooned bands (see, for example, Plate XLIX. 3; L. 1; and LIII. 3).[2] The transition from one of these motifs to the other is, so to speak, imperceptible: it is sufficient for the triangles to be slightly rounded for them to take on the appearance of a band of festoons. In northwestern Argentina the same transformation has taken place several times. A good example of it is the vessels from the Jachal (Bregante, pp. 179-181).

Isosceles triangles joined at the apex (Plate XXXI. 116-122). Two isosceles triangles joined at the apex form a design schematically representing an hourglass. This motif is rather common on Chiriguano pottery. In neighboring regions it is less frequent and seems to be peculiar to the pottery of Inca origin. Nordenskiöld (14, Fig. 69 a, p. 157) has already pointed out the close resemblance of this figure as it appears on several Chiriguano vessels with the one which decorates the ornithomorphic dishes /Plates LV-LVIII appear here/ /423/ of Cuzco. The analogy extends to the perpendicular lines which separate each one of the facing triangles from the following ones. This decoration is typically Inca. The ancestors of the Chiriguano copied this motif on several Inca specimens exactly like the ancient inhabitants of Tilcara, La Paya, and Catamarca who drew them: some, on a vessel with a lateral handle (Bregante, Fig. 320, p. 266), others, on a cup (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XII, Fig. 26, and Plate XIV, Fig. f), and the last on an apodal vessel (Outes, 2, Plate III, Fig. 5). Outside of the "aryballuses," or purely Peruvian type vessels, the "hourglass" is a motif of rather rare use. It was painted on a vessel from Fuerte Quemado published by Ameghino (Vol. I, Plate X, Fig. 333) and on a vessel from Punta de Balasto (Lafone Quevedo, 2, Plate VII, Fig. a). Other examples could be cited, but I have neither the intention nor the means of being complete.

[1] [See pp. 199-200--Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 228, 229 and 232 respectively--Analyst]

415
531

Plate LV

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí). Prov.: 1 and 3, Ivo; 2, Saladito (upper Pilcamayo). Colors: 1 and 2, red and black motifs on cream background; 3, red motifs on white background. (Nos. 1 = 1/7; 2 = 1/6; 3 = 1/7 nat. size I.)

415
531

Plate LVI

Chiriguano vessels (yapepó and yambuí). Prov.: 1 and 3, Macharetí; 2 and 4, Ivu. Colors: red and black motifs on cream background. (1/4 nat. size.)

415
•531

Plate LVII

Chiriguano vessels (yambuí and yapepó). Prov.: 1, Igüembé Valley; 2, Carurutí; 3 and 4, Ivu. Colors: black and red motifs on cream-white background.
Nos. 1 = 1/7; 2-4 = 1/5 nat. size ± .)

1145
531

Plate LVIII

Chiriguano vessels (yapepó).
Prov.: 1-3. Macharetí; 4. Ivu.
Colors: red and black motifs on cream background. (Nos. 1 and 2 = 1/4; 3 = 1/6; 4 = 1/4 nat. size ±.)

1: Métraux--241 E-5 (1928) .930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Prehistoric Argentina 53

C
531
191

/.23 cont./

This decorative element is no stranger to Chilean pottery either (Latcham. Fig. 42. p. 18. and Fig. 45. p. 19: Medina. Figs. 180. 202. 206. etc.). It figures also on the base of an Araucan vessel found in the territory of the Neuquen (San Martin. Plate 15. Fig. III).

Tooth-shaped triangular designs enclosing diamond shapes between them have been pyrographed on a calabash from Calama whose ornamentation matches that of our Chiriguano vessels.

Concentric diamond shapes (Plate XXX. 52-56). The series of concentric diamond shapes drawn on a goodly number of vessels in my collections had already been painted on the pottery of the Chincha-Atacama period at Tacna and Taltal (Uhle. 4. Plate XX. Fig. 7: Plate XXI. Fig. 7: and Guevara. plate between pp. 42-43) and pyrographed on the Calama calabashes (Oyarzun. Fig. 6).

P.A.
[531]

This design is classic. so to speak. on the aryballuses from Argentina (Boman. 7. Vol. I. Plate XVIII. Fig. 42. and Outes. 7. Plate III. Fig. 7).

PA
531

Reticulated design (Plate XXX. 59-60). Several vessels in my collection have a reticulated band on the belly or neck. On the vessel of Plate LIV. 7. the triangles have this detail. On the subject of this motif. Odilia Bregante (p. 167) expresses herself as follows: "Reticulated decoration is found in the middle of the Yocavil valley beside pieces which bear the symbol of the triangle with spiral and the stepped element and even in modern cemeteries like that of Chañar Yaco (see for example. Lafone Quevedo. 1. Plate VII. Fig. a). But it is in the northern regions. in Salta and Jujuy. that the greatest number of specimens of this reticulation are found and where it enters into the composition of characteristic embellishments. On the Isla de Tilcara. in the Pucará de Tilcara. and in other localities. the archeological material which includes this design forms the most interesting type of pottery and is abundant enough to be classified."

PA. /423 cont./
531 Some vessels from the Isla de Tilcara and the Pucará de
C Tilcara, /424/ as a matter of fact, have a reticulated band on the
53 rim, like our Chiriguano vessels. (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 45, p. 79,
17 and Bregante, Fig. 164, p. 166.)

PC In Chile we encounter bands, triangles, diamond shapes,
531 reticulated rectangles, and there again the unity of these different cultures in whatever has to do with pottery asserts itself. (Latcham, Figs. 25-28, p. 14, and Bregante, Figs. 232, p. 192.)

PA.
C
531
171
415

a b

Fig. 82. Vessel b comes from the Chiriguano village of Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). It offers an extraordinary resemblance to vessel a from Tilcara. (1/2 nat. size.)

000 Figs. 25-28, p. 14, and Bregante, Fig. 232, p. 192.)

C Checkerwork (Fig. 76). A cup I acquired in the Igüembé val-
531 ley is decorated in a brown and white checkered design. This is the
171 only example I know in Chiriguano country. In northwestern
PA Argentina this motif has a very wide distribution: it extends from the
[531] Quebrada de Humahuaca to San Juan province (Bregante, p. 196).
[171] It was common in Chile (Latcham, Fig. 7, p. 7; Fig. 41, p. 18;
PC Fig. 55, p. 22, etc.). In the post-Columbian period it was still
[531] in use among the Araucan of southern Mendoza (Métraux, 6, Fig. 12, p. 50).

/424 cont./

C
Ce
531
171

Crenels, broken lines, Z-shaped lines (Plate XXXII. 154-155 and XXXIII. 200-206). While trying to define in the preceding pages the decorative style characteristic of the Chané of the Itiyuro and the Chiriguano of the region of the Franciscan missions, I mentioned single or multiple lines which, running around the belly of the vessel, form triangles, crenels, and Z's with elongated or linked strokes. At first sight these apparently capricious motifs seem to escape all comparison and one would almost be tempted to believe them autochthonous or constituting reminiscences of Guianan art. Nevertheless, their counterpart is found in the archeology of northwestern Argentina and, as expected, in that of the Quebrada de Humahuaca.

PA
[531]

C
Ce
531
171
PA
531
Se
PA
[114]

Debenedetti (2, Fig. 75, p. 132, and Fig. 78, p. 135) reproduces a goblet found on the Isla de Tilcara, which has on its lower part a band /Plates LIX and LX appear here/ /425/ composed of three parallel lines broken at right angles. Mr. Debenedetti rightly compares this decoration with that of Chané vessels, of which he shows an example he attributes erroneously to the Choroti. The same remark may be made about some engraved vessels from the Arroyo del Medio, which in some respects are similar to our Chiriguano vessels (Boman, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 207, III, p. 843).

C
171
531
D
[531]
PA
[531]

Much more striking yet is the resemblance between the Chiriguano yambui of this type and two vessels from the Diaguite region, one found at Molino del Puesto (Fuerte Quemado, Catamarca), and the other at Hualfin (Catamarca), both of which have been published by Bruch (2, p. 87, Fig. 88, and id., 2, Fig. 11, p. 8, and Fig. 27, p. 13). A puco from Llacta Mauca, province of Santiago del Estero, offers a similar design, to judge from a sketch by Mr. Duncan Wagner. There can be no doubt as to the Andean origin of this type of decoration.

A
[531]
[192]

Z-shaped motifs stand out again on a vessel from Tacna of the Chincha-Atacama period (Uhle, 4, Plate XXI, Fig. 1) and from San Felipe, Chile (Medina, Fig. 68).

/Caption for above plate on p. 546./

445
531

/Caption for above plate on p. 746./

: Métraux--245 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/Captions for Plates LIX and LX, pp. 244 and 245./

415
531

LIX Miniature Chiriguano vessels (yapeporai) (serve as containers). Prov.: 1, 3, and 4, Yumbía; 2 and 6, Ibopeytí; 5, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). Colors: red and black motifs on white background; 5, red background. (Nos. 1-3 = 1/2 approximately; 4 = 2/5; 5 = 2/5; 6 = about 1/2 nat. size.)

LX Miniature Chiriguano vessels (yapeporai). Prov.: 1, Ibopeytí; 2, Tiwiraiti (upper Pilcomayo); 3, Tintapaw; 4, Caipipendí; 5, Yumbia; 6, Tintapaw. Colors; red and black motifs on cream background, with the exception of No. 3, decorated with black motifs on reddish background. (Nos. 1 = 1/3; 2-6 = about 2/5 nat. size.)

C /425 cont./
531
171

The large triangles which run around the belly of the Iru and yambuí from the mission region strongly resemble an analogous motif which covers the outside surface of vessels made by the Neuquen Araucan (San Martin, Plate XV, Fig. 3).

Eyebrow-shaped design (Plate XLIX, 4).[2/4] A vessel from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) has as its only decorative motif a strange decoration in the shape of a stylized eyebrow which stands out in white against a red background and is situated on the neck. This design is made up of two parallel lines separated by dots. In the presence of this curious motif one cannot help thinking immediately of the human faces painted on the funerary urns of the Diaguite region. The facial organs are overhung by a gigantic superciliary arch which, starting from the tip of the nose, descends to the height of the ears. The manner in which this part of the head is drawn recalls strongly the figure we are concerned with here.

D
[415]
[531]
[964]

Cross. The vessel of Plate LX, 2, is decorated on the belly with a series of crosses inscribed in diamonds. This sign constitutes a decorative motif of which the present-day Chiriguano make exceptional use. Like the majority of the motifs painted on their vases, this one has no particular significance. A calabash from the same region is also decorated with pyrographed Maltese crosses (see Plate LXI, 1 /see p. 252 /). We know the frequency of this ornamentation, symbolic or not, on the funerary urns of the Diaguite country, principally of the Santa Maria region (Catamarca), a frequency such that it warranted a book by Quiroga, some of the illustrations of which are interesting.

D
[415]
[531]
[964]

The cross appears also on a Taltal vessel of the Chincha-Atacama period (Guevara, plate between pp. 46-47 and 50-51), on a calabash from Calama /426/ (Oyarzun, Fig. 10), on another from the Puna de Jujuy (Ambrosetti, 4, Fig. 70, p. 68, Vol. LIV), and on a box from Morhuasi (Boman, 2, Fig. 75, Plate XXVII), etc.

Representation of the human face. The human face is not reproduced on any of the vessels I collected. Nordenskiöld (10, Fig. 28, p. 137) shows and describes a pot on whose rim a face was represented: the nose was in relief and the other organs painted on it. The similarity of this motif and the one decorating some pieces from the Andean region does not need to be emphasized.

1 C
[532]

2/4 [See P. 228--Analysis]

/426 cont./

531 1911

Sign of unknown significance. On the Macharetí yambui (Plate LII. 2) was painted a crescent-shaped sign having in its concave part two dashes perhaps representing feet. The subject is doubtless a stylized bird, a presumption all the more plausible because another vessel from the same locality and made by the same hand is decorated with animal figures (dogs and toads) (Plate LII. 1).

This mysterious sign is very similar to the one found on a puco from Tolomosa in the Tarija department (Rosen, 2, Fig. 175, p. 112) and on some dishes from La Paya. These designs are also more or less stylized pictures of a bird. (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate X, Fig. 22, and Ambrosetti, 6, Figs. 35-40, pp. 56-61.)

Zoomorphic representations. Animal figures are rare in Chiriguano pottery, but their occurrence only brings out the better the similarities of this art to that of the neighboring Andean regions. The rows of yaku (pavo del monte) on the yambui from the Aguaray are the counterpart of the nandus on the Diaguita funerary urns and the La Paya birds. The dog on the vessel in the plate appears nearly identical with the bottom of a puco from Molino del Puesto, Catamarca. (Bruch, 2, Fig. 70, p. 72.)

531 191 105

The comparisons we have made could doubtless be extended and many another relationship noted between the modern pottery of the Chiriguano and that of the populations which have today disappeared from the Bolivian altiplano and northwestern Argentina. To continue such an investigation would be superfluous, for there is no one acquainted with the art which formerly flourished in the Andean and Chiriguano regions who would hesitate to establish a relationship between the two and would not have the second derive from the first.

As one might logically expect, these similarities become more numerous and more striking in proportion as one leaves the south and advances toward the north into the Andean zone which runs parallel to the habitat of the Chiriguano and Chané. When eastern Bolivia is methodically explored, models of the vessels which the ancestors of the Chiriguano admired and copied will be found.

[192]

[See p. 231 -- Anchist]

/456 cont./

531 Lacking these, the study we have pursued brings us the estab-
171 lishment of a very important fact. The existence on the upper
172 Pilcomayo of a pottery /457/ closely related to that of the
105

Fig. 93. Chané vessel. Prov.: Tuyunti (Aguaray, Salta Chaco). On the belly: series of yaki (Cayo del monte) in blackish brown on white background. (1/3 nat. size.)

531 Quebrada de Humahuaca is an indication which proves in a sure
171 way that the art of the former inhabitants of these regions was
172 identical to that of their neighbors, and perhaps racial brothers,
105 of the Bolivian altiplano.

Apropos of the Chiriguano, I believe it is wrong to speak of
121 Andean or Inca culture. The first of these terms is too vague and
531 the second partially false. In this chapter I have tried to demon-
171 strate that Chiriguano pottery exhibits close affinities with that
105 of the civilization: which, by their numerous points of similarity,
seem to have undergone a Chincha or Atacama influence and
which preceded Inca culture.

/427 cont./

which preceded Inca culture. If he compares the present-day pottery of the Chiriguano with that of the Quicha /Quechua/ of Cuzco, certain analogies will appear, but they will be neither abundant nor conclusive enough to establish a direct filiation. Aryballoes are missing or rare, anthromorphic dishes seldom found, etc.; on the contrary, we have seen how multiple and close the ties are between this pottery and that of the Chincha-Atacama period. Chiriguano pottery, in relation to that of Cuzco, is in a situation analogous to that of northwestern Argentina: on an Andean but original base, influences from Cuzco have been superposed. This Inca action on the Chicha is attested to even today by /428/ the presence among the Chiriguano of footed vessels of the purest Inca type and apodal ones of the same origin. Arising from the same influence, one may add certain decorative motifs, with which I have already dealt.

Arawak and Amazonian tradition is scarcely represented, except by footed bowls (compotiers), vessels with a ribbed belly, those with a body in the shape of a truncated cone and a subspherical belly, and perhaps by some motifs (T-shaped figures, Plate XXXVIII, 1).

The conclusion of this chapter will be: there exists today and for some years to come a civilization which, closely related to that of the Chicha, continues an art earlier than that of the Inca but influenced by them. May this fact make archeologists cautious!

Chapter VII

Calabashes

The second art in which the Chiriguano excel is pyrography and engraving on calabashes. When pottery-making was an essentially feminine activity, pyrography was the province of the men. Nordenskiöld (9, pp. 233-236) thinks, completely wrongly it seems to me, that pyrography is of Andean origin. He advances in support of this opinion the advantages that knowledge of metal offers to this art. Nevertheless, the populations of the

1: Métraux--251 E-5 (1922) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guiana SR1
Guato SP15

C
Go
GO
531
191

/429 cont./ Nevertheless, the populations of the upper Xingú where Andean influence certainly was never felt have pyrographed calabashes, as do the Guató /Guato/ of the upper Paraguay. Pyrography is equally in use among the Indians of Guiana, on whom any influence by Inca civilization is very problematical. The distribution of pyrography in itself demonstrates that there is no need at all of possessing metal objects in order to practice this technique.

C
531
191

If one compares the motifs which decorate the calabashes I collected in the Chaco with those exhibited by the pyrographed calabashes found in northwestern Argentina, one is struck by the similarity of their style and the numerous analogies of detail they have in common. Thus, the Maltese cross which decorates a calabash from Jujuy (Ambrosetti, 4, p. 68, Fig. 70, Vol. LIV) is found again identically on the calabashes of Plates LXI, 1; LXII, 1; and the volutes of a maté from Tastil (Boman, 2, Vol. 1, Fig. 84 a) have their counterpart in the hooks incised on the specimen of Plate LXI, 2. On the fragment of a calabash discovered in the same region (Boman, 2, Vol. 1, Plate XXXII, Fig. 84) and on another specimen from La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 288, p. 524), we have the prototype of the checkerwork which so often embellishes /Plates LXI-LXXI appear here/ /429/ Chiriguano calabashes (Plate LXI, 1 a, and Plate LXIV, 2). The reticulated bands which frame the decoration of one of the Calama calabashes (Boman, 2, Vol. II, Plate LXXV, Fig. 176 b) are frequently incised on those of the Chiriguano (Plate LXVI, 1 and 4; Plate LXIX, 3, etc., for example), just like the rows of triangles on a blackened field which appear on some calabashes from the Puna de Jujuy (Ambrosetti, 4, Figs. 61-63, pp. 65-66; Figs. 70-71, pp. 58-69, Vol. LIV) and on the fragment from La Paya already mentioned. The zigzag line which stands out in white on the reticulated background of one of the Calama calabashes

[Text Continues on p. 265]

1: Métraux 252 6 5 [1929] 1930 SF1a Champione SF1b

PL. IV LXI

415
531

/See p.263 for caption./

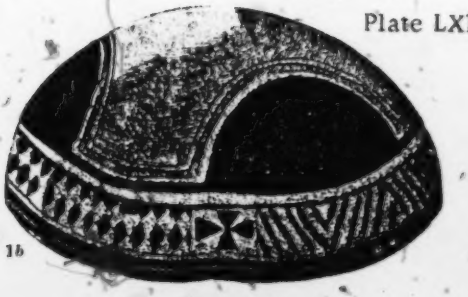
D
531
415

C
531
415

1: Métraux--253 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Diaguita SGE

Plate LXII

1a



1b

3b

2b

2a

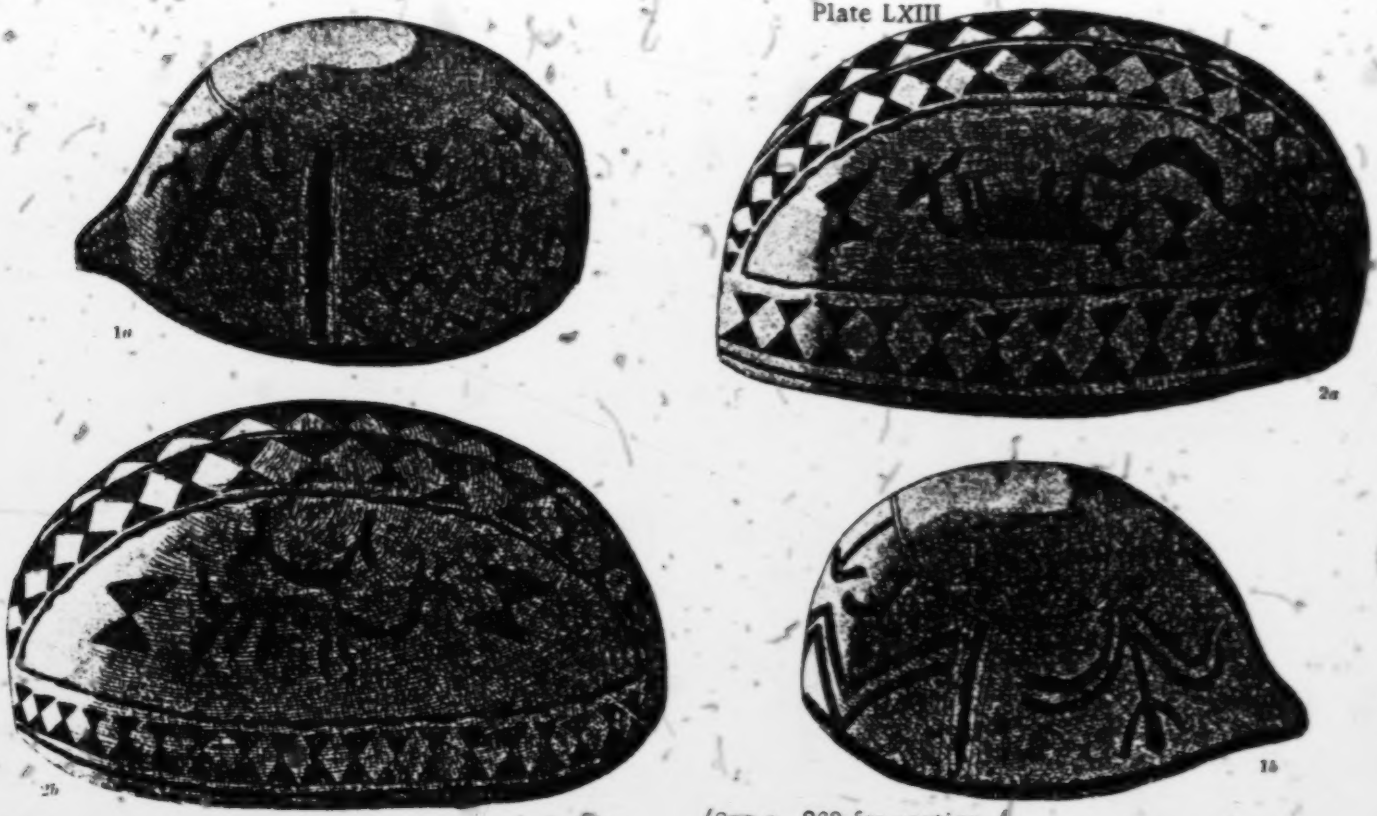
3a

/See p. 263 for caption./

1: Métraux--254 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

445
531

Plate LXIII

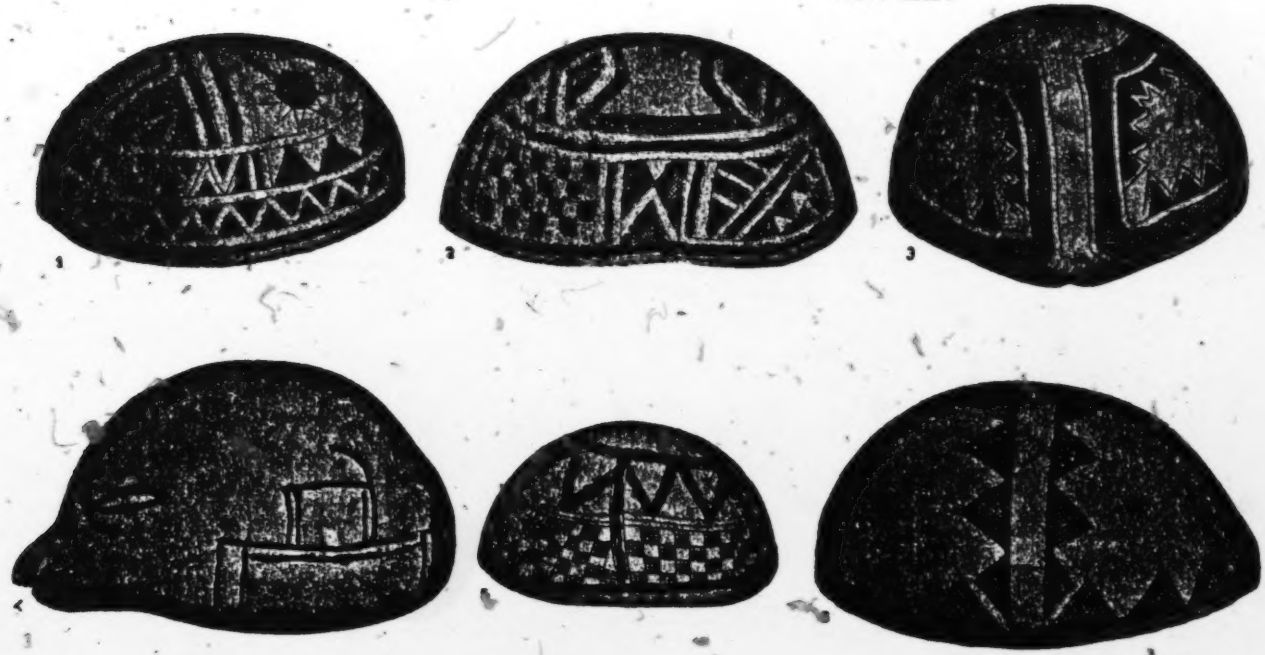


/See p. 263 for caption./

415
• 531

[422]

Plate LXIV

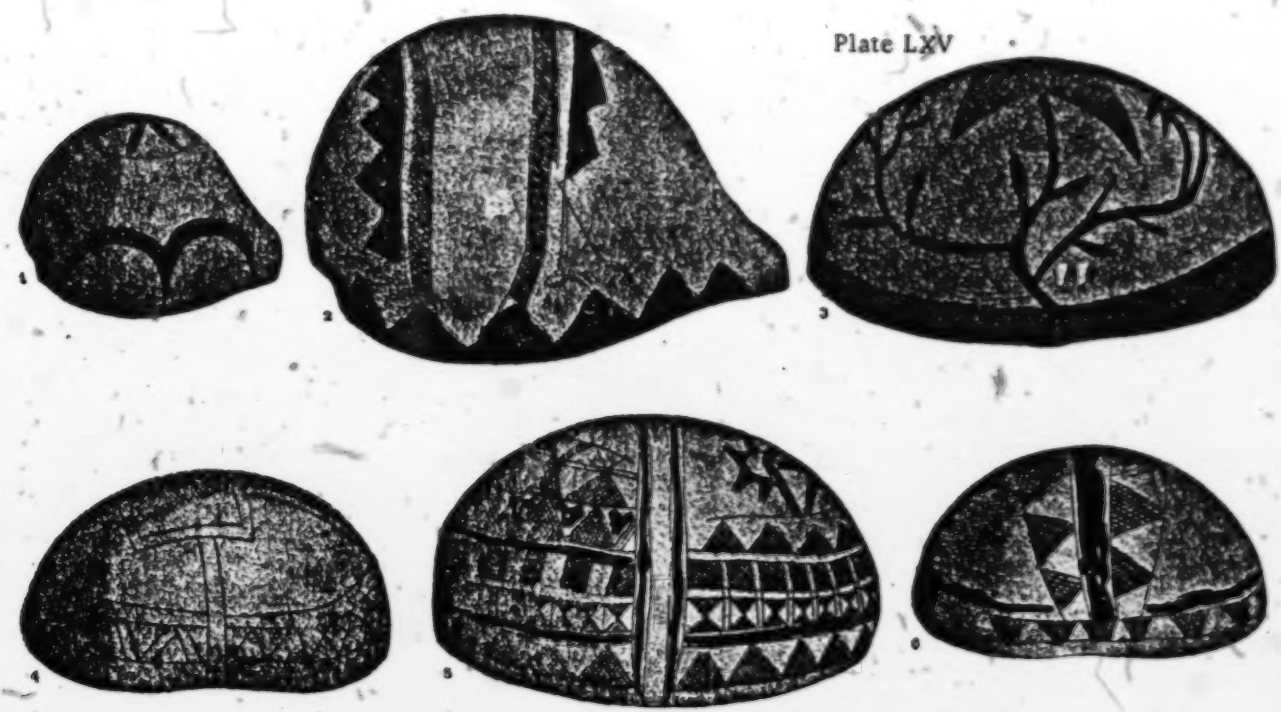


/See p. 263 for caption./

1: Métraux--256 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10'

HIS
•531

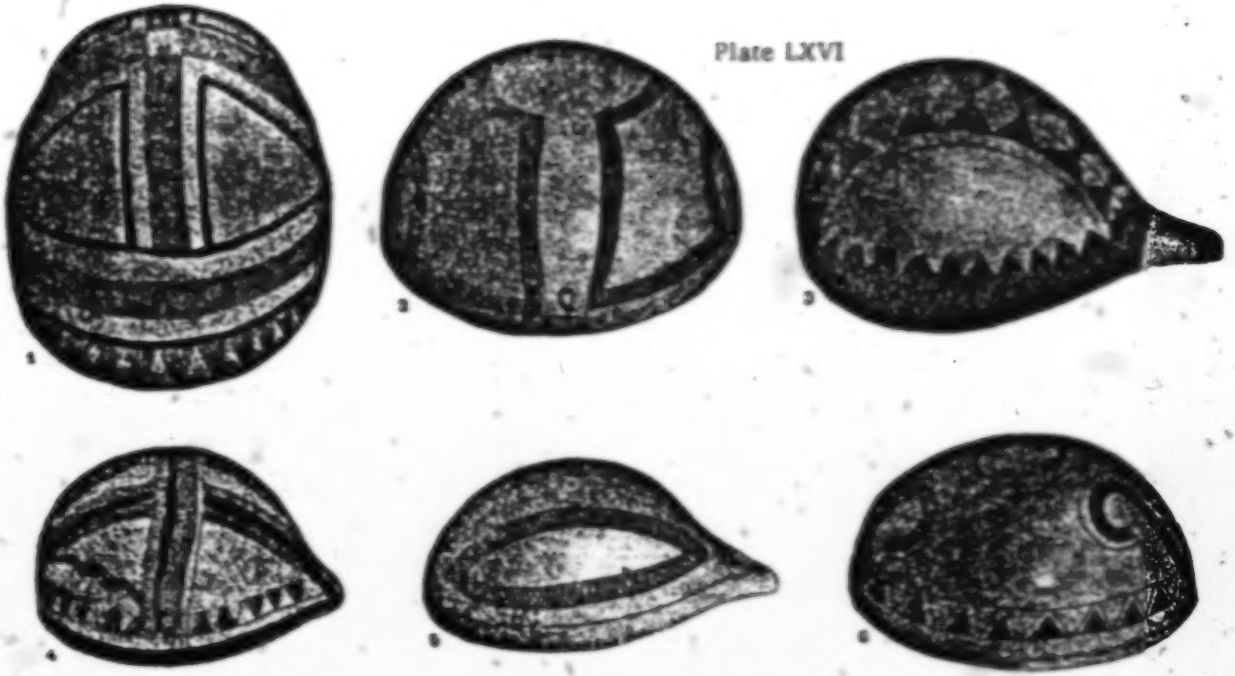
Plate LXV



/See p. 263 for caption./

415
531

Plate LXVI



/See p. 263 for caption./

1: Métraux--258 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

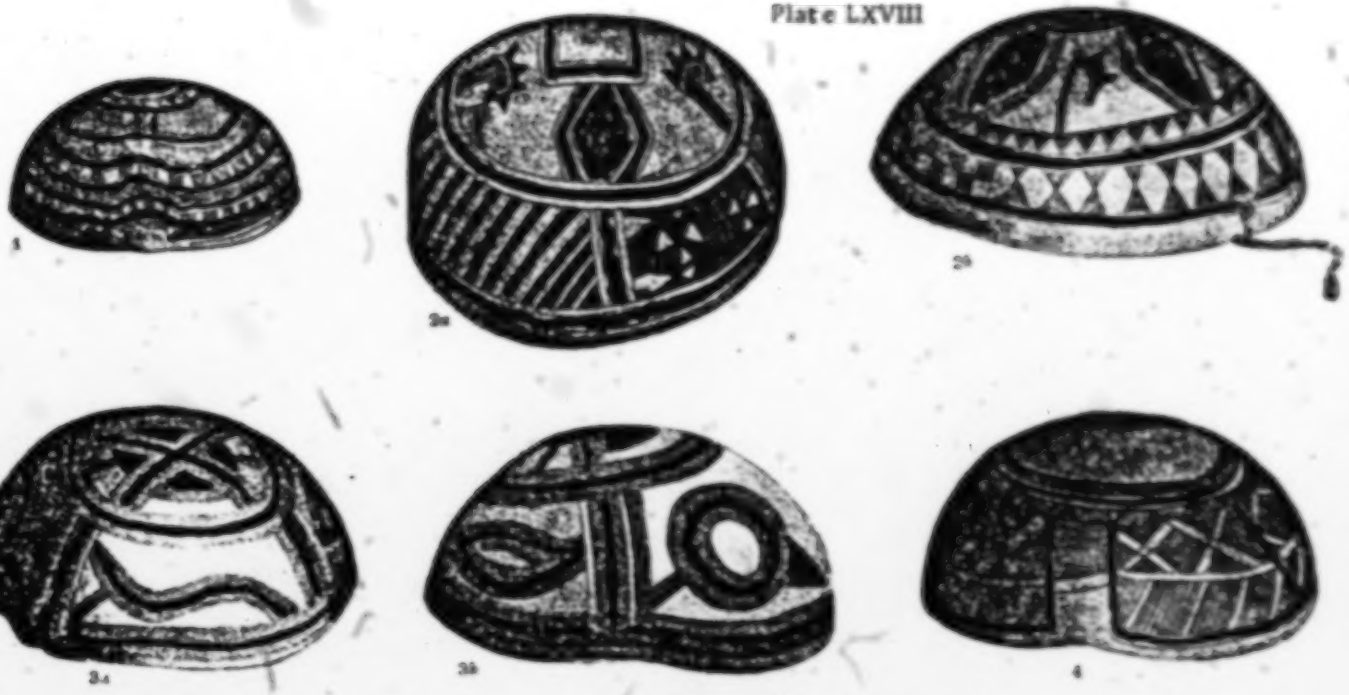
415
531

Plate LXVII

/See p. 264 for caption./

415
.531

Plate LXVIII



/See p.264 for caption./

415
• 531

[191]

[108]

Plate LXIX

/See p. 264 for caption./

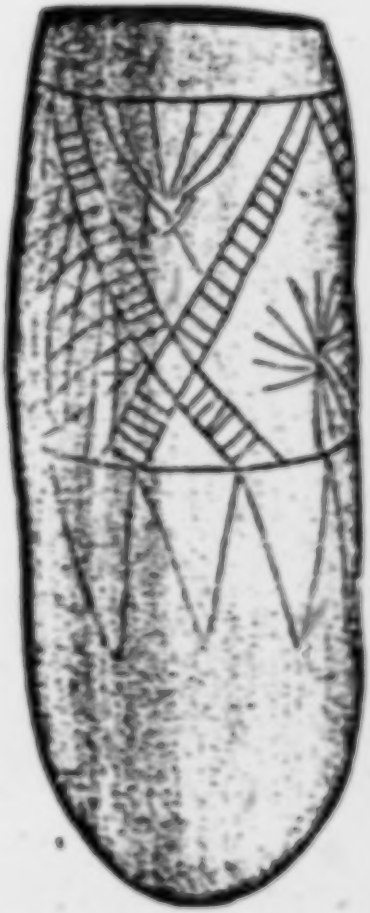
Plate LXX

415
531

/See p.204 for caption./

415
●531

Plate LXXI



/See p. 2[illegible] for caption./

1: Métraux--283 E-9 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Diaguita 566

Captions for Plates LXI-LXXI, pp. 280-282./

C
415
531

LXI Pyrographed and incised calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1a and b, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2, Ivu. (Nos. 1 = 1/3 nat. size; 2 = 1/2.5 nat. size.)

D
415
531

LXII Engraved and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano and Diaguite. Prov.: 1 a and b, Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); 2 a and b, Isirié (upper Pilcomayo); 3 a and b, calabash found in a funerary chamber (bóveda) of the ancient Diaguite in "La Quebrada" (Valle del Cajón, Catamarca Province). This calabash was beside an adult skeleton. (Nos. 1 a = 1/2; 2 a and 3 a = 2/3 nat. size.)

LXIII Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano. Nos. 1 (a and b) and 2 (a and b) come from the Macharetí mission. Engraved motifs: 1, human personage and birds; 2 a, dog (?); 2 b, llama. (1/2 nat. size.)

C
422

LXIV Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1, Masaví (Igüembé Valley); 2, Achua (upper Pilcomayo); 3, Caruruti; 4, Macharetí; 5, Tiwiraití; 6, Caipipendí. Remark: Note the mark of ownership on Calabash 4. (Nos. 1 and 3 = 1/2; 2 and 4-6, 1/3 nat. size.)

LXV Incised, pyrographed, and painted calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1, Tigüipa; 2 and 6, Macharetí; 3, Ivu; 4, Saladito; 5, Tiwiraití (upper Pilcomayo). Remark: Calabash No. 3 is painted with roucou. (About 1/2 nat. size.)

LXVI Incised, pyrographed, and painted calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1, Santa Rosa; 2, Mangarati; 3 and 6, Caipipendí; 4, Masaví; 5, Caruruti. Remark: All the lower part of 3 is painted with roucou. (1/2 nat. size.)

415
531 /Captions for Plates LXI-LXXI. pp. 259-262 cont./

LXVII Incised, pyrographed, and painted calabashes. Prov.: 1, Caratindi (Igüembé): 2 and 6, Macharetí: 3, Tiwiraiti: 4, Tinapaw (upper Pilcomayo): 5, Caipipendí. Remarks: On No. 3, more or less deformed numbers. Calabash No. 4 is painted, pyrographed, and incised. (Nos. 1-5 and 5 /sic/ = 1/7: 4-5 /sic/ = 1/5 approximate nat. size.)

LXVIII Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Prov.: 1, Ñawirenda: 2 a and b, Caratindi (Igüembé Valley): 3 a and b, Yumbía: 4, Ibopeyti. Remark: On No. 3 a and b a very stylized bird has been represented. (Nos. 1-3 = 1/2: 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

LXIX Pyrographed and incised calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1 and 3, Caipipendí: 2 and 4, Macharetí: 5, Tiwiraiti (upper Pilcomayo): 6, Ñawirenda (upper Pilcomayo). Remarks: Calabash No. 1 is decorated with a series of engraved numbers going from 1 to 10: Calabash No. 6 with motifs clearly European in inspiration. (Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 6 = 1/8: 2 and 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

[501]
[199]

LXX Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1 and 4, Tarairi: 2, Macharetí: 3, Caipipendí. (Nos. 1 and 2 = 1/3: 3 = 1/2: 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

LXXI Painted, incised, and pyrographed calabashes. Prov.: 1, Ivu: 2, Igüembé: 3 and 4, Caipipendí. (Nos. 1-3 = 1/2: 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

C
531
171

/429 cont./

(Boman, 2, Vol. II, Plate LXXV, Fig. 186 c) reappears nearly identical on the pretty calabash of Plate LXII, 2.

C
D
531
171

I can give no better argument in favor of the close analogy between the calabashes of the Andean region and those of the modern Chiriguano than by publishing the calabash of Plate LXII, 3 a and b, found in Diaguite territory in Catamarca province ("La Quebrada," Valle del Cajón). Its decoration is composed of incised and finely reticulated bands on a blackened background. The hooks which leave from the circle

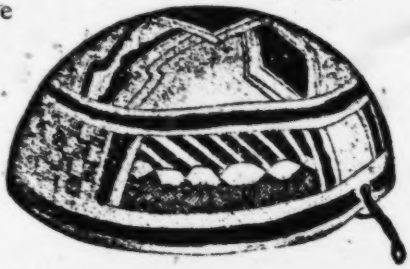


Fig. 84. Incised and pyrographed calabash. Prov.: Caratindi (Igüembé Valley). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

engraved on the top of the calabash and the sides of the latter strangely recall analogous motifs we have seen on Chiriguano specimens.

C
531
171

The spiral, which seems to have been a motif especially dear to the pyrographers of northwestern Argentina and the Atacama Desert, does not occur on any of the specimens in my collections, if one does not want to consider as rudiments of spirals or as degenerated spirals the hooks we see on some Chiriguano calabashes (Plate LXI, 2). It is interesting to ascertain that the spiral and the volúted triangle of Andean calabashes are typologically closely related to analogous motifs which the Chiriguano women of the upper Pilcomayo paint on their vessels. If these designs have been better preserved in pottery than in pyrography, it is doubtless due to the fact that the first art has remained closer to its origins. The women, who have the monopoly of it, are more conservative than the men, who decorate the calabashes.

C
[323]
[462]

/429 cont./

531 171 On almost all the calabashes in my collection, pyrographed designs alternate with incised motifs. Perhaps it is the same with the calabashes of the Andean region. Judging from the ex-
[114] cellent photographs which Boman (2, Vol. II, Plate LXXVI) gives us of them, and from /430/ the specimen from the Calchaqui valley which I am publishing here, this scholar erroneously considers them as having been entirely pyrographed. When a Chiriguano incises a design with a knife on a calabash, he is always careful to fill the engraved lines with ashes to make them stand out. At first sight this process may be confused with true pyrography.

415 531

a b

Fig. 85. a and b. Engraved calabash. Only the rim has been lightly pyrographed. On one side (a) is seen a feline animal (jaguar or puma), on the other (b) a fox (?) and a bird. Prov.: Masaví (Igüembé Valley). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

531 A single glance at Plates LXI-LXXI allows one to realize that pyrography and engraving on calabashes do not obey such rigid stylistic rules as pottery. These calabashes differ very much, and there are scarcely any motifs that seem to be preferred to others. To what is this diversity due? I believe it artificial; and I am convinced that formerly this art followed precise norms, in a word, that in times past there was a true style of pyrography and engraving on wood. How would one explain otherwise that precisely the most beautiful pieces in my collection are at the same time the oldest and the most similar to the Andean prototypes (Plate LXI, 1 and 2; LXII, 1 and 2; LXIV, 2; LXVIII, 2 and 3, etc.)? Let us not forget that

177 /430 cont./ Let us not forget that
53 pyrography is a masculine activity and that men are more
[462] open than women to every innovation. Moreover, for the
[167] most part they have gone to Argentina, and from there, with a new turn of mind, they brought back models and inspirations foreign to their ancient tradition. This European influence is patent in many cases; thus, the calabash of Plate LXVII, 3, and the one of Plate LXIX, 1, are decorated with Arabic numbers. The calabashes of Plates LXIV, 1, LXV, 1 and 5, and LXIX, 5, are decorated with stylized flowers or stars which are not Indian at all. The influence of the white men and their bad taste is evident in the motifs painted in roucou which decorate the calabash of Plate LXV, 3.

531 Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic representations are commoner on calabashes than on pottery. A rough drawing of a man greatly schematized /431/ is represented on the calabash of Plate LXIII, 1 a and b. On the calabash of Plate LXIII, 2 a, dogs have been engraved and birds on those of Plates LXIII, 1, LXVIII, 3 a and b, LXIX, 2, and LXXI, 3. A llama was represented in very expressive fashion on calabash No. 2 b on Plate LXIII; and on the calabash of Fig. 85 a and b one recognizes a horse and a feline animal, a puma or jaguar. Three fish and a bird appear on the specimen of Plate LXVII, 2.

531 The Indians of the Ivu mission and the ones from
322 the Caipipendí valley paint their calabashes with roucou.
386 This color is very difficult to rub off and does not spread beyond the periphery of the colored designs. /Fig. 86 appears here. To obtain this result, the Chiriguano begin

C /431 cont./
531 by taking off the epidermis which covers it, except at the places
322 which are to remain uncolored. Then they smear its exterior
386 surface with roucou and scrape the tegument where they have saved it. The figures then stand out in red against a yellowish background. An analogous process is in use among the Pauserna
CCD (Nordenskiöld 5, p. 344). The motifs decorating most of the

C
Ce
415
531

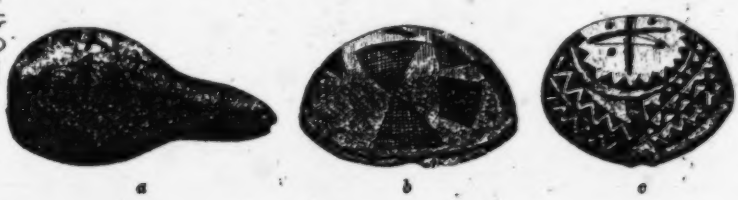


Fig. 86. a, b, and c. Miniature calabashes, "liqueur glasses" and children's toys. Chiriguano and Chané. Prov.: a, Tuyunti, near Aguaray (Salta Chaco); b, Ñawirenda (upper Pilcomayo); c, id. (About 1/2 nat. size.)

C
531 The motifs decorating most of the
177 painted calabashes I collected in Ivu are unfortunately very much influenced by European models, and beside very pretty designs one finds others of the most distressing banality.

C /436 cont./
286
531
177
000

Modern Chiriguano fabrics show almost no originality. They are generally plain, and, if they present some linear motifs, these are servilely copied from models coming from the Andean region. The Quichua /Quechua/ fabrics, prototypes of those of

C
286
413

C
[237]

Fig. 92. Metatarsal bone of a mammal, carved in the shape of a dagger, which the Chiriguano women utilize to cross and then tighten the warp threads. Prov.: Ivu. (1/2 nat. size.)

Figs. 93-94. Awls (kiruna) for crossing and then tightening the warp threads. Prov.: Salado Grande. (2/5 nat. size.)

M.Q.
286 The Quichua /Quechua/ fabrics, prototypes of those of
531 the Chiriguano, are nevertheless of better quality and greater richness of ornamentation. In addition to purely geometric designs they are often decorated with small figures representing animals or human beings.

Tupi-Guarani SL6
Tupinamba SO9
Guarani SM4
Chane' SF8

/436 cont./

000 animals or human beings. There is nothing like that among the
C Chiriguano. The simplicity /437/ of their fabrics forms a striking
286 contrast with the richness and variety of the decoration of their
53 pottery. Their inferiority in this respect is far from corresponding
17 to the skillfulness which is their wont in all their activities. It is
C enough to see the admirable pieces of work executed by little
286 Chiriguano girls in the missions to realize what they would have
174 been capable of if historic traditions had not held them away
857 from this art. Their distant Tupi-Guarani ancestors were
T-G acquainted with only rudimentary forms of weaving, and it can
286 be asserted that /Fig. 95 appears here/ this industry remained
174 foreign to all the Tupi tribes which did not undergo the influence
T of a nation more civilized than they. The Tupinamba of the
286 Brazilian coast apparently practiced only the double-thread
174 technique (Doppelfadentechnick) by means of which they used
G to make their hammocks. The ancient chroniclers note the use
286 of the tipoy among the ancient Guarani of Paraguay, which is an
175 indication of the existence of weaving among that subdivision
291 of the Tupi family. Their present-day descendants, the Kainguá
/Caingua/, could pass for good weavers to judge by the fineness
G of the several fabrics which have been collected among them.
291 These are for the most part wide belts which they pass between
their legs and knot around their loins. In reality, weaving is in
its beginnings among them, /438/ as is shown by their loom. It
is only a simple frame around which the warp threads are coiled.
The woof is passed through, thread after thread, as in darning.

C No doubt it was the Chané who taught the Chiriguano to weave,
C and as they had probably not reached a /Fig. 96 appears here/
286 very high level in this art, they could only transmit to their
177 successors and suzerains, the Chiriguan, a still little-developed
technique, which the latter have scarcely improved on.

/453 cont./

285 [531] [171] Another point of contact between the basketry of the Chiriguano and that of the Indians of the east and north of South America is the occurrence of baskets in twilled work in which elements of two colors are combined, following a changing rhythm, to produce geometric figures. The basket of Plate LXXVIII, with the frets standing out in black on the sides, is representative of this form of art, which, in the Guianas, shone with a lively brilliance.

Baskets of the pegall or "telescope" type are divided into two categories according to the principle of their plaiting. To make one kind (Plate LXXIX and Fig. 111), the basket-maker began by crossing the warp elements with one another in such a way that they radiate from a single center. Then he interlaced according to a binary rhythm the tigellas which /454/ left the common center like so many rays. Baskets of the second category have been plaited by intermingling the elements of the warp and woof at right angles so as to make the bottom without any precise point from which the elements come away (Plate LXXX, 2). The photographs (Plates LXXIX and LXXX, 2) show what I mean better than any description.

[824] The stalks which serve for the fabrication of baskets in twilled work are taken from the leaves of the karandaí palm (Copernicia cerifera Mart. or Copernicia australis). The leaves are cut into fine strips and softened by immersion.

Sieves and fire fans belong in the basketry called twilled, but I shall deal with them in a separate chapter.

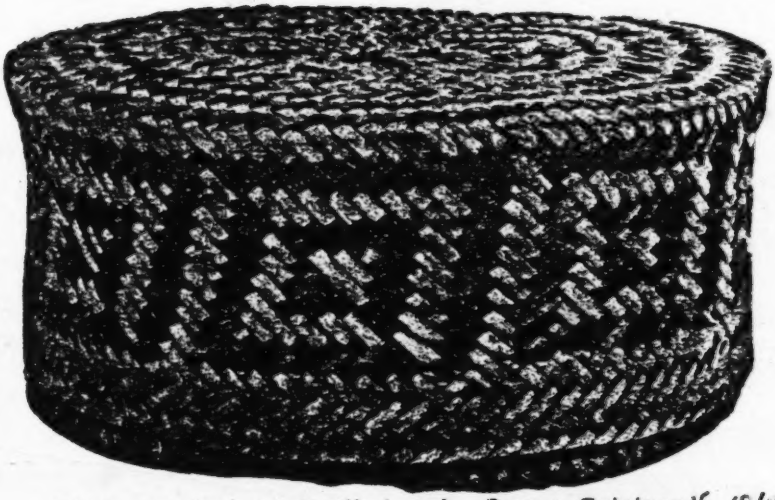
Description of baskets in "twilled work"

Plate LXXVIII, Figures 1 and 2. Height, 7 centimeters; diameter, 17.5 centimeters. Provenance: Caipipendí.

This basket belongs to the category of those called "telescopes" or /Fig. 110 appears here/ pegall of Guiana. Plate LXXIX which shows us the detail of its upper surface also indicates its technique with sufficient clarity so that no diagram is necessary. The warp is composed of 32 flexible elements radiating from a common center. They begin by interlacing for two rounds; then,

[See P. 308 -- Analyst]

285
531



Chiriguano basket in twilled work. Prov.: Caipipendí. (2/3 nat. size.)

/468 cont./

000 forming a design. Combs of this category generally have a double
412 row of teeth, but sometimes one row is entirely covered by the
171 plaiting and is transformed into a handle (Nordenskiöld, 2, Fig.
[303] 109, p. 204). These two kinds of comb are also found in the Andean zone; but whereas the first is limited to this geographical area and especially to northwestern Argentina, the second, which includes all varieties of composite combs, has a vast distribution

• [531]

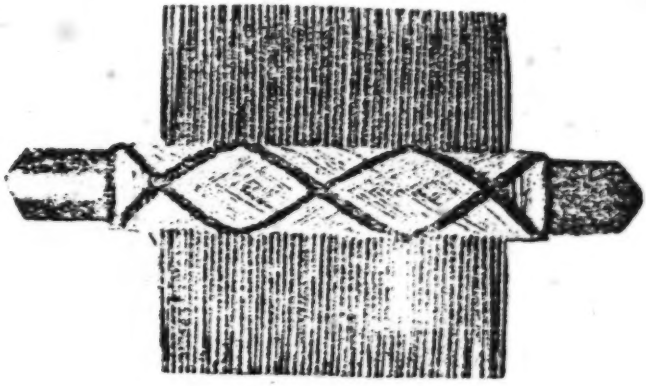


Fig. 123. Composite comb made of fine splinters of bamboo. Chiriguano. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/5 nat. size.)

over all South America, in the Inca Empire as well as in Brazil. The Chiriguano doubtless used them well before they settled in their present location. It is not the same with the comb of carved wood, which they borrowed from the Chicha or the Humahuaca. With regard to two combs in my collections, one (Plate LXXXVII, 14) has a handle carved in the shape of a dog, and the other, a deer (Plate LXXXVII, 15). They strongly resemble a comb found in the Quebrada de Humahuaca, which is also surmounted by the silhouette of a quadruped (Debenedetti, 2, p. 247, Fig. 186). At Kipon in the Calchaquí Valley Debenedetti (1, p. 27, Fig. 16) discovered a comb whose upper part represents a human head, in which our author thinks he sees an idol with a sad expression (!?). The half-breed women of that valley have kept up to our times the ancient indigenous combs of algarroba wood.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C
482
854
C
Ce
531
323

Carrying devices.—In contrast to other *Guaraní*, the *Chiriguano* do not have basketry [illegible]psacks; women use large carrying nets with a tumpline. Babies are carried in a woven sling, straddling their mother's hip.

FIGURE 58.— *Chiriguano* and *Chané* pottery decorations. (After Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 32.)

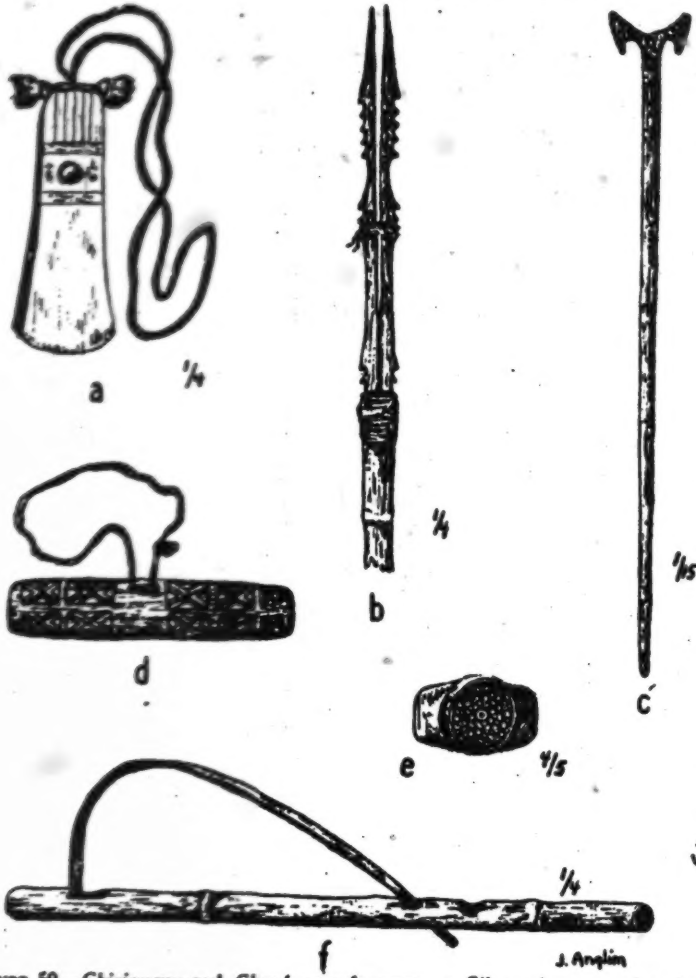
2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chané SF8

MANUFACTURES

Pottery.—*Chiriguano* pottery is, for the beauty of its painted decoration and the variety of its forms, outstanding in modern South America. The mixed origin of *Chiriguano* culture is reflected in the two types of earthenware vessels. The plain pots for cooking and the large jars for chicha, which did not differ from similar vessels of the Paraguayan *Guaraní*, were ornamented with fingernail impressions (pl. 41, *bottom, right*).

C 323 531 C [171]



C Ce 301 C Ce 411 C Ce 412

C Ce 534 531 301

Ce 301 531

Ce 524

FIGURE 59.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* manufactures. *a*, Silver pincers used as breast ornaments; *b*, bird arrow point; *c*, handle to wooden spade; *d*, wooden whistle used as ornament; *e*, tin labret with mosaic inlay; *f*, *Chané* pea-shooter. (*a*, *d*, *e*, Redrawn from Rosen, 1924; *b*, *c*, *f*, from Nordenskiöld, 1920, figs. 29, 15, 5, 34.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Omaguaca SI 9

C 323 [172 177 531]

The de luxe vases and dishes, typologically related to vessels in the archeological pottery of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina, were decorated with distinctly Andean patterns (figs. 58, 60). The most common vessel is the yambui, a subglobular vase with ears, in which chicha was served. The motifs are mainly geometrical and most of them

C 415 531
O 172 415 531 →
C 415 531

FIGURE 60.—*Chiriguano* pottery. Specimen at *top, right,* a *Humahuaca* archeological specimen included for comparison. (Approximately 1/7 actual size.) (Redrawn from Métraux, 1930 b, fig. 70, pls. 35, 37, 44.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

are based on a triangle surmounted by a scroll, which is multiplied in countless variations. C 323 [531]

Women potters (pl. 41, *top, left,* and *bottom, left*) tempered the clay with crushed potsherds and built up their vases by coiling. They painted them with several kinds of ocher and with black obtained from rosin. C [462] [386]

Spinning and weaving.—Among the *Chiriguano,* wool is more commonly used than cotton for textiles, but *Chané* fabrics are generally of cotton. The fibers are spun with a drop spindle weighted with a clay whorl (pl. 42, *center*). Although garments are in part Andean in shape, the loom remains of the vertical type. Formerly, indigo was the favorite native dye; today aniline dyes have entirely replaced it. The ornamentation of the fabrics is limited to a few stripes. C Cc 286 283 171 386 [531]

Netting.—Fishing nets and carrying nets are made by means of a wooden gage in a reef-knot technique. C 285

Basketry.—Fans, round baskets with overlapping lids, and sieves are twilled with palm leaves in the best Guiana fashion, but wickerwork basketry is very common. No large baskets for carrying or storing food are made.

Gourds.—The painted, incised, or fire-engraved (fig. 61) gourds (*Lagenaria siceraria*) used as cups are, after pottery, the best expressions of *Chiriguano* art. The motifs are mainly geometrical, with occasional realistic representations. C 415 531

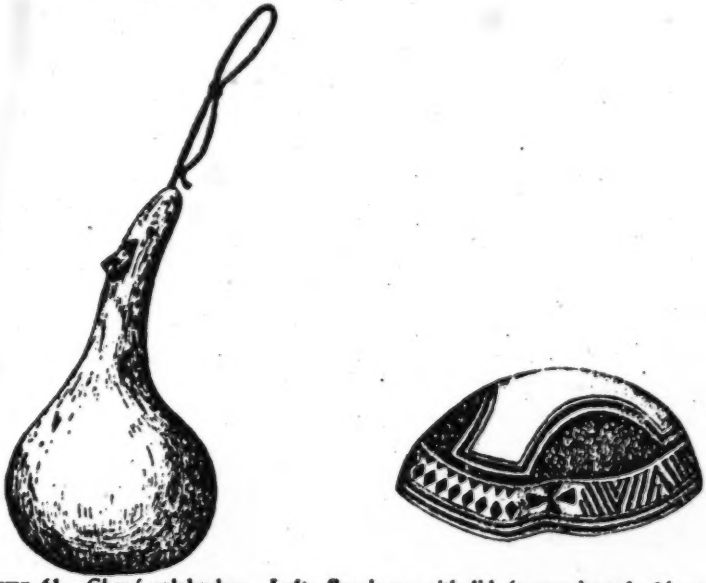


FIGURE 61.—*Chané* calabashes. *Left:* Specimen with lid (approximately ¼ actual size). *Right:* Pyrograved specimen (approximately ⅓ actual size). (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1920, fig. 50 and Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 62.)

[End Plate 3]

Plate 43.—Chiriguano artifacts. Three engraved wooden serere whistles and lip plugs of metal with inlays. (Scale, 30 cm.) (Courtesy Museo Etnográfico de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Buenos Aires.)

534
531
301

/181 cont./

524 gallery two cords, tying at the ends a piece of cowhide 80 centimeters long by 30 in width, hanging about 60 centimeters above the ground. This is called Sabiuca, swing, and here the little boys and girls swing and rock.

562 Women sit on the ground in their houses and observe the
574 same custom when they go visiting. The man waits until he
576 is told where he should sit and always receives the best seat.
516 The woman does not wait; she knows her place; she arrives, does not greet anyone, leaves her bundle in a corner, if she has one, and then squats down in such a way that from near or far many women squatting like this look like so many carronades /camaretas/ ready to go off.

Matés

462 In the furnishings of Chiriguano houses a preferred place
241 is occupied by the matés, made of gourds divided vertically
415 through the middle. This is man's work; he plants them and
322 cultivates them in his field, and when they are mature they are brought to the house where they are allowed to dry in the shade and also in the sun. Some three months are needed for this or even more, depending on the season. Nevertheless, they are watched throughout to see whether a fingernail will penetrate the skin. When the fingernail will not penetrate, the gourds are ripe. Then they remove the first skin, split them, extract and completely remove the pulp, keep the seeds for the new planting, and, when they are clean, they let them dry for a few days.

462 They are put in a separate place, and a second operation
415 begins. With his Chiriguano patience, with a knife or other
531 instrument, the Indian begins to engrave whatever figures occur to him, such as tree branches, circles with grains of sand, squares, figures of jaguars, doves, lizards, dogs, chickens,

/181 cont./

462 bulls, deer, etc. If all this carving were woman's work, it
415 would have but one name, Sacuarama, but since it is man's
531 work, each figure has the name of the quadruped, biped, or reptile that it represents (2).

[825] 2. Thus they say Machuru haangaño, figure of a lizard, Yaimba haangaño, figure of a dog. Even the men call the figure of a jaguar or a dove: Sacuarama.

/182/ With this second task the work can be considered finished. Days or weeks are employed depending on the greater or lesser quantities of the matés. They now color all the
[386] etched figures with ground charcoal and paint the empty spaces
[237] with Urucú, achiote, making them firm with the Taragüirisi, which is abundant everywhere, then singeing them in the flame of the fire so that the pictures will never lose their shine and luster or the painting of carbon and urucú come off (1).

237
323
825

1. The Taragüirisi is a species of ant which is common in cold weather. Its length is not over half a centimeter and its thickness three. It moves about the small branches of certain small trees, where it leaves its speckled whitish excrement. All potters provide themselves with an abundance of this material.

Pottery

323
[462] I shall now go on to consider women's work, limiting
[317] myself to the most important, such as clay vessels and textiles.
[484] For the former the Chiriguano woman provides herself beforehand with the best clay, which she knows very well and even brings from long distances, if it is not found in the territory of the tribe. Naturally the potter not only wishes to avoid the loss of her labor, but also, insofar as she can, she wishes to

/183 cont./
323 size, which they /184/ call Itaisi, with which the polishing of the pieces is completed (1).

1. The operations which they also perform with the shell and with the stone are for the purpose of giving fineness to the vessels and of closing any chinks.

[824] When they leave the piece which has been begun, they cover it with leaves of the Causíro, palma Christi, and at the time when they begin it again they dampen the edges with a small rag. This rag serves also for dampening the piece before polishing it with any of the above-mentioned tools. When it is finished and before it has been exposed to the air very long, they polish it with the Itaisi, and, when it is quite dry they fire it if it is not to have pictures on it.

● 531 Every painted piece of pottery is called Sacuarama. The [192] paintings are white, black, and red. The white is called Tovanti, the black Itau, and the red Itauruсu. They grind [237] up the three colors separately, dissolve them in water, and apply them with a slender feather from a chicken or other bird. The figures are varied; those of trees, animals, and men are rare; they are lines, unintelligible groupings. Without knowing it themselves, they follow a general system, and some of them make fine pieces, especially for storing water.

323 In order to fire them they select a still day, and a big [843] piece is carried to the forest, because there is plenty of firewood there and also to avoid having pregnant women coming close to watch, because their presence, according to what they [237] say, would make the vessel break. They pile firewood around it and light it, taking care that the fire does not go out before it is burning well; sometimes instead of firewood they also use dry cow-manure, and it seems that this is very good for even- [237] ness of the baking. If the pot has paintings, they let it cool a little when they take it out of the fire and then quickly pass over the pictures the excrement of the Taraglirisi, which melts with

4: Nino--266 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

301
531
322
534
412

Chiriguano adornments, etc.

[See pp. 273-274 for explanation of numbers]

/193 cont./

302 Another of the cosmetics frequently used by men and women
137 is the Carasapa. This is an annual plant with broad leaves, and
824 its stem grows /194/ to the height of a meter or a little more.
The color of the plant itself and of its leaves is, for about half
of it, somewhere between red and purple. The flower is large
and about 30 centimeters long, its color being the same as
that of the plant, but much brighter. There is enough of the
plant everywhere, but it is not very abundant. The flower is
somewhat heavy when it has seeds, and since the stem is
slender and flexible, the result is that when it cannot hold
itself upright it leans over toward the ground, forming an
arch, hence its name Carasapa, or arched plant (1).

[527]

1. At carnival time even the neophytes paint their faces, as do the whites. They buy face paint which the whites sell, and the infidels forsake their achiote at the carnivals.

303 When the flower and seed are in season, the coquettes do
their harvesting in order to use it, and they look pretty. The
Carasapa also has its preparation, without which its applica-
tion would not be easy. They first grind up some white beans,
sift this meal very fine, and then grind the Carasapa in a mortar
with a little water, put this mixture in a cloth, squeeze over
the bean meal the water which comes out, washing or coloring
it, and then dry the dough in the sun, spread out on a cloth or a
Cutama. The preparation is not difficult, but not all of them
go to the trouble to do it, and for those who prepare it, it is a
profitable item.

302 The way to use it is the same as for the achiote, but it
does not have any peculiarity, and hence it is only used at
[531] fiestas and at carnival time. Maidens beautify their faces
by forming two circles of carasapa on their fresh cheeks and
paint their eyebrows with achiote. Formerly, when young girls
wore the Atira, pompadour /copete/, at fiestas it was painted with
the carasapa mixture, after having been oiled with palma Christi.

82

C
301
362
442
531

Fig. 26. 1/3.

1) Implement of the for removing hair. Chirigoano. R. M. E. 356.
2) " " silver " " " also used as breast ornament. Chirigoano. R. M. E. 378.
3) Breast ornament of silver. " " 374
4) " " " " " " 370.

C
Ee
301
442
177
Ee
[531]

ces. They have become bigger and bigger. (fig. 26) These silver trinkets are not made any more by the Indians themselves, and it is likely that the majority of, or all the silver ornaments now found among the Indians have been made by white silversmiths.[1]) The shape is always Indian, but

[1]) Stuss is also of the opinion that the chicharas is not of Indian make. P. 198.

5:Nordenskiöld B-5 4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the ornamental design not always so (fig. 26). It is difficult to decide whether the idea of the pincer as a mere breast ornament is due only to the influence of non-Indian smiths or not. Most likely the pincer was turned into mere ornament by the makers, who presumably used it as an article of barter and then increased its size in order to make it more and more coveted by the Indians. At last the makers themselves may even have been quite ignorant of its original use. Consequently we cannot be wrong in considering the »boivéra» an original Indian element of culture which has been transformed under the influence of

Fig. 27. Figure tattooed on the arm of a old Chiriguano Indian. Caipipendi. 1/1.

the Whites. There is no doubt that the pincer is a cultural element derived from the old culture zone in the west. They are, as we know, quite common in collections from that part. The Chiriguano also sometimes use a piece of split reed for removing hair.

Tattooing occurs here, but is very rarely seen. I have only seen two Chiriguano women and one old Chiriguano man with tattooing on their arms. The old man had the figure depicted here (fig. 27) tattooed on his arm. If I understood him rightly, it used in old times to be quite common for the Chiriguano-men to be tattooed in the same way. I have seen no tattooed Chané men or Chané women. I have already given an account of the distribution of tattooing in S. America in the first part of this book.

8:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XV.

Ornaments and Knick-knacks.

C
Ce
301
177

Nowadays the Chiriguano and the Chané have but few personal adornaments. This is perhaps to a certain extent owing to their long intercourse with Whites. Feather-ornaments, pierced teeth, and such things are not seen. I have already described the »boivéra». The embellishments on these silver ornaments, especially the Swastika are, I think, not genuine Indian. In South America I know of the Swastika on pottery from the Mizque valley[1]), from Tiahuanaco[2]) and from Ica[3]) and Cajamarca[4]) in Peru. An ornament which most certainly originates from the civilized mountain region is the »topu» or breast-pin, which is peculiar to this region. An embellished one of silver is shown here (fig. 29 a). It was most likely made by a Mestiz smith. Necklaces worn by Chiriguano and Chané women are most often of glass beads, but one now and then sees ornaments of pieces of shells, turquoise and, other green and blue stones, black seeds and coral. The stones are said originally to have been found in the ground, especially in the Tarija valley.

C
Ce
[531]
*[171]

C
292
301
[177]

A very rare ornament is the head-dress depicted here (fig. 28). It was formerly worn by Chiriguano women on festive occasions. Even if it is now made of a material which the Indians have had from the Whites, it is quite

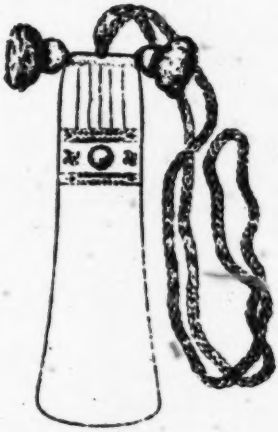
[1]) Nordenskiöld (11) Fig. 37.
[2]) Posnansky Fig. 39.
[3]) Max Schmidt (7) Fig. 34.
[4]) M. C. A. 176.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

292 possible that the original idea was Indian and in that case
301 came from the civilized mountain region. The frontlet was
177 there a mark of distinction[1]).

177
301
531

a



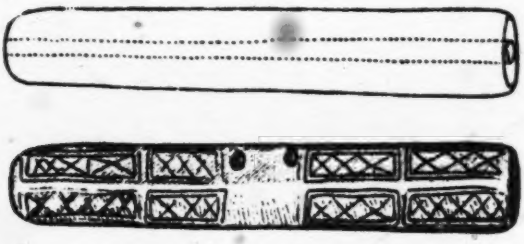
b

Fig. 29. a. Silver pin used for fastening the »Tipoy». The shape Indian, embellishment Spanish. Chiriguano, Rio Parapiti. In Mr HERNMARCK's private collection. 1/3.
b. Breast-plate of silver »Boivéra». Chiriguano, Caipipendi. In my private collection. 1/3.

[1]) »Algunas cuñas usan en esta circunstancia ceñir la cabeza con una especie de corona de color rojo, por detras de la cual penden varios cordones que rematan en una borla. Este adorno, de que usan solo algunas y esclusivamente en el a r e t e, no deja de darles cierta gracia.» CORRADO P. 44.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
534
531



A.

B.

Fig. 35. Wooden whistles.
A. Chiriguano, G. M. 13. I. 545. 1/4. B. Chiriguano, In private collection. 2/3.

C
Ce
534
531

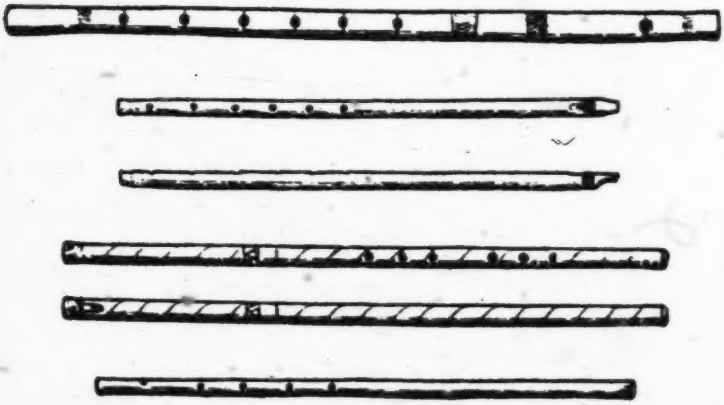


Fig. 36. A. Side-blown flute of reed. Chané, Rio Parapiti. R. M. P. 32. 1/4.
B. End-blown flute of reed. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 159. 1/4.
C. " " " " " " " E. 589. 1/8.
D. " " " " wood, Chané, Rio Parapiti. R. M. P. 37. 1/6.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

C
534
237
●531
B
534

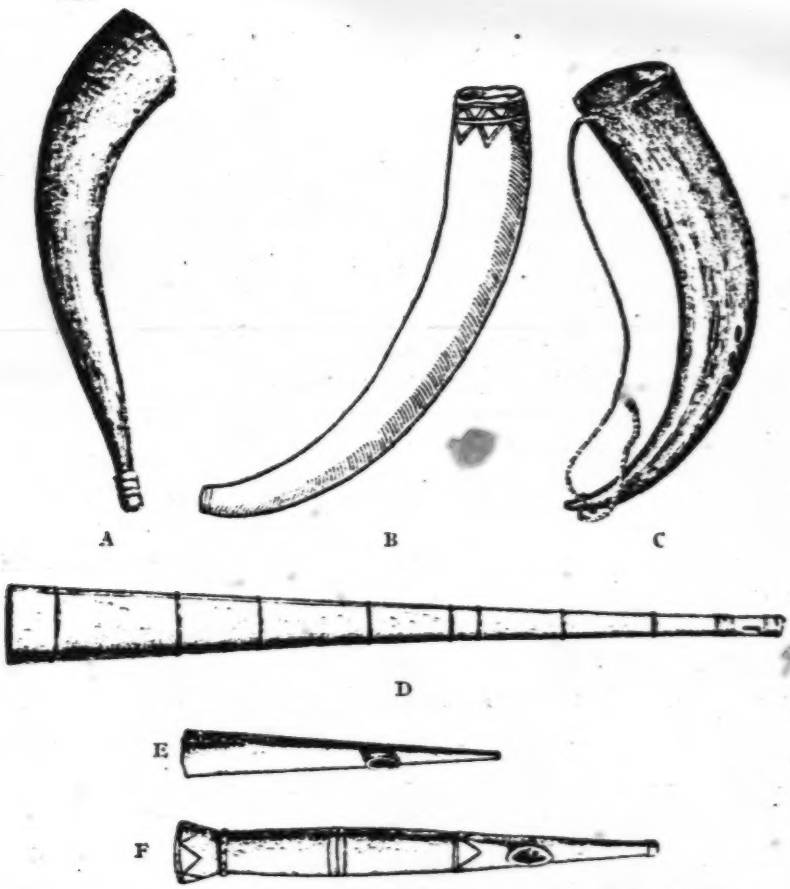


Fig. 37. A. End-blown trumpet made of cowhorn. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 97. 1/5.
B. End-blown-trumpet made from a calabash. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 511. 1/6
C. Side-blown trumpet made of cowhorn. British Guiana. Collection of LILJEWALCH—THULIN. G. M. 12. 1. 50. 1/6.
D. Side-blown trumpet made of wood. Parentintin(?), Brazil. R. M.
E. Side-blown trumpet made of tin-plate. Bush-negroes. Surinam. Collection of BARON KLINCKOWSTRÖM. R. M. K. 204. 1/8.
F. Side-blown trumpet made of wood. Bushnegroes. Surinam. Collection of KLINCKOWSTRÖM. R. M. K. 69. 1/8.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
323
415

The Chiriguano, as well as the Chané at Rio Itiyuro, have elaborate pottery of richly varied shapes and often beautifully ornamented. The Chané at Rio Parapiti have plainer pottery. The development of the ceramic art in the various tribes I got to know has differed greatly. The Cháma and the Tambopata-Guarayo who are pretty certainly identical with them, are the only Indians I visited who have no earthenware vessels. The pottery of some tribes is a work of art, while others only make the most necessary household utensils. This is not necessarily connected with the tribe's state of civilization generally. Thus in several respects the Yuracáre stand as high as the Chiriguano but the former have very poor pottery; the latter highly developed pottery. If such peoples were studied archaeologically, the former would yield hardly any remains while the latter would yield many beautiful specimens. Wrong conclusions might then be easily drawn as to the stage of civilization of the two tribes.

[53]

C
Ce
*171
415
323

Below will be found indicated how many different types of earthen vessels are found among the tribes I visited. It will be seen that the Chiriguano and Chané (Rio Itiyuro) have by far the largest number of shapes of earthen vessels.[1]) This is simply due to their having experienced such

C
Ce
[114]
[126]

[1]) On entering a Chiriguano or a Chané hut, one sees a lot of earthen vessels of which the majority are unpainted. All the vessels of various shape and ornamentation which I have collected are from several hundred Chiriguano and Chané huts. It is a selection out of many thousand vessels which I have made and it shows how pottery varies within the tribes. In most Indian huts there will be found but a small number of different types. Unless we bear in mind that the collection is a selection, it leaves the impression that the pottery of these Indians is of much more varied shape than is really the case. What I remark here of my collection of pottery holds good of nearly all collections in ethnographical museums. When we see a cupboard full of various articles from an Indian tribe, we must not think that all these things are used by every family in the tribe. It is properly a collection of all the different objects used by a large number of individuals.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Fig. 45.

415
531

1.	1/8 R. M. E.	945.	Yatavéri.	Vessel for maize-beer.
2.	» » » »	1003.	Itapenbia.	» » » »
3.	» » » »	976.	Esperanza.	» » » »
4.	» » » »	912.	Itatique.	» » » »
5.	» » » »	914.	»	» » » »
6.	» » » »	975.	Tihüipa.(?)	» » » »
7.	1/12 » » »	1025.	Yacuiba.	» » » »
8.	1/8 » » »	860.	S. Rosa.	» » » »
9.	» In private collection.		Itatique.	Bowl to eat out of.
10.	1/12 R. M. E.	1032.	Ivu.	Vessel for maize-beer.
11.	1/8 » » »	926.	Itatique.	» » » »
12.	1/12 » » »	1001.	Itapenbia.	» » » »
13.	1/8 » » »	921.	Itatique.	» » » »
14.	» » » »	862.	S. Rosa.	» » » »
15.	» » » »	737.	Caipipendi.	» » » »
16.	» » » »	739.	»	Mug for drinking maize-beer.
17.	» » » »	770.	»	Bowl to eat out of.
18.	» » » »	831.	Tihüipa.	Vessel for maize-beer.
19.	» » » »	987.		For keeping knicknacks in.
20.	» » » »	787.		Vessel for maize-beer.
21.	» » » »	916.	Itatique.	Mug for drinking maize-beer.
22.	» » » »	872.	S. Rosa.	Bowl to eat out of.
23.	» In private collection.			Vessel for maize-beer .
24.	» R. M. E.	728.	Caipipendi.	Vessel for serving maize-beer.
25.	» » » »	811.	Tihüipa.	» » » » »
26.	» » » »	696.	Caipipendi.	» » » » »
27.	» » » »	727.	Caipipendi.	» » » » »
28.	» » » »	964.	Caipipendi.	» » » » »
29.	» » » »	929.	Itatique.	» » » » »
30.	» » » »	919.	Itatique.	» » » » »
31.	» » » »	1009.	Itapenbia.	» » » » »

415
531

159

[532]

Fig. 45. Vessels from Chiriguano.

5tNordenskiöld E-5/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
415
531
532

Fig. 46.

1.	1/8	R. M. H.	68.	Campo y Duran.	Vessel for maize-beer
2.	1/12	» » E.	1047.	Itapenbia.	» » » »
3.	»	» » E.	1049.	Caipipendi.	» » » »
4.	1/8	In private collection.		Campo y Duran.	» » » »
5.	1/12	R. M. H.	76.	Aquairenda.	» » » »
6.	1/8	» » H.	111.	Piquirenda.	» » » »
7.	»	» » E.	859.	S. Rosa.	» » » »
8.	1/12	In private collection.		Campo y Duran.	» » » »
9.	»	R. M. H.	155.	»	» » » »
10.		In private collection.			Water-pitcher.
11.	»	R. M. P.	329.		Pot.
12.	»	» » H.	89.	Piquirenda.	Water-pitcher.
13.	»	» » P.	337.		Vessel for maize-beer
14.	»	» » P.	313.		» » » »

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c
Ce
415
531
532

Fig. 46. Vessel from the Chiriguano and Chané.

E = Chiriguano. H = Chané, .Rio Itiyuro. P = Chané, Rio Parapiti.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5-4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
415
531
532

Fig. 47. Vessels from the Chiriguano and Chané.
H = Chané, Rio Itiyuro. E = Chiriguano.

1.	$^{3}/_{16}$ In private collection.	Chané, Rio Parapiti.	Vessel for maize-beer.
2.	$^{1}/_{8}$ » » »	Campo y Duran.	» » » »
3.	$^{1}/_{12}$ R. M. H. 106.	Campo y Duran.	» » » »
4.	In private collection.		» » » »
5.	» » » »		Bowl to eat out of.
6.	» R. M. H. 123.	Campo y Duran.	Bowl.
7.	$^{1}/_{8}$ » » E. 814.	Tihüipa.	Vessel for maize-beer.
8.	» » » E. 942.	Itatique.	» » » »
9.	» » » E. 960.	S. Antonio.	Vessel in which to carry maize-beer or water on expeditions.

Fig. 48. Vessels from Tilcara (1, 2, 3, 4), and Juella (5), Quebrada de Humahuaca.
After DEBENEDETTI.

SiNordenskiöld E-5,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
531
171

The Chiriguano and Chané calabashes are ornamented with engraved, burnt-in and painted figures. The distribution of engraved ornamentation cannot, at present be as certained. As I maintained in Part I, pyrograving seems to be a culture-element of western origin. The art of painting calabashes with urucu mixed with oil is unknown to the Choroti and Ashluslay, as also to the other Indians whom I got to know personally, with the exception of the Pauserna.

C
Ce
[415]

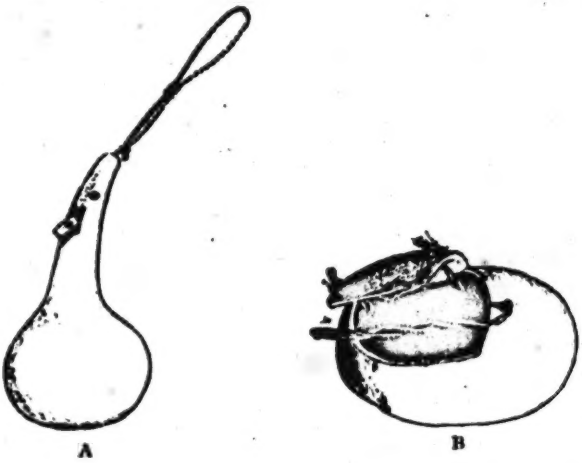


Fig. 50. A. Calabash with lid. Chané, Rio Parapiti. R. M. P. 55. 1/9.
B. » » » Chiriguano. R. M. E. 508. 1/9.

In the absence of sufficient comparative material from the Andine culture-area, I will not here seek to establish whence the Chiriguano and Chané got the ornamentation which adorns their calabashes, nor in what measure it has been independently elaborated by them. A calabash with engraved animal figures is reproduced here.

C
Ce
415
531
184

The Chané who dwell at Rio Parapiti have but little ornamentation on their calabashes, and that little is plain.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
415
531
184

This contrasts with the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro and is certainly owing to the poverty of the first-mentioned.

C
Ce
415
482

Sometimes the Chiriguano and Chané calabashes are surrounded by a net for greater convenience of carrying. I have already dealt with these in the foregoing.

C
Ce
415
824
[237]
[171]*

The stoppers of calabash-bottles are generally pieces of empty corn-cobs. These are now and then used also as stoppers for earthen-vessels. The Choroti and Ashluslay, as a rule, make use of wax, which material is little used by the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
415
531
532

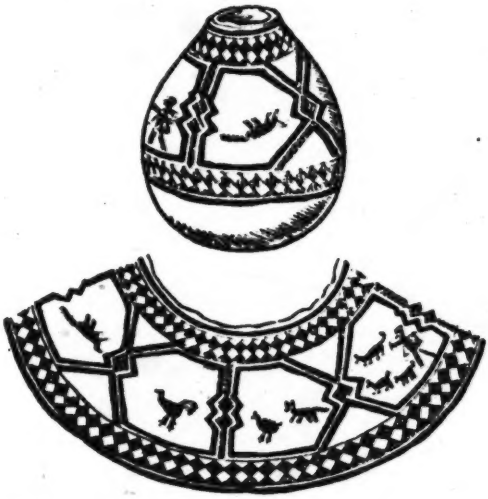


Fig. 51. Calabash. Chiriguano. R. M. 323. 1/6.

8:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
285
*171
S
102
285

X 3. Piaroa Rio Ventuari, Communication by letter from Prof. KOCH-GRÜNBERG.

Baskets with lids which are opened like an ordinary cigar-box.

A. Graves on the Peruvian Coast. G. M. Very common in all collections of peruvian antiquities.

C
Ce
285
531

Some baskets from the Chiriguano have shapes which make them look like imitations of earthen vessels. (Fig. 53 C and D) Sometimes they even have an ear. Chiriguano and Chané baskets are very seldom ornamented.

Metal-work.

C
325
301

The only metal-work now occurring here is that the Chiriguano sometimes make their tembetas (lip-buttons) of tin themselves. Whether the Chiriguano and Chané, before coming into contact with the Whites, themselves performed metal-work, I cannot say.

Stone-work.

C
Ce
324

The Chiriguano and Chané do not now work stone.

Wood-work.

C
Ce
322
412
177

For their wood-work the Chiriguano and Chané now use exclusively tools obtained from the Whites.

Weaving.

C
Ce
286

Among the Chiriguano I saw two types of loom; among the Chané only one.

The loom found among the Chiriguano and Chané is characterized by the completed product forming a ring (seamless) N. B. if so desired. The warp is set up as shown in the outline drawing, (Fig. 55,3) and in the sketch of a band-loom from the Chané. (Fig. 55,1). When the ring is

[text continues on p. 176]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
286
*171

Weaving-bodkins of bone are found among the Quichua. LEHMANN-NITSCHE depicts one from Puna de Jujuy[1]) and I found one in an excavation at Ollachea,[2]) Peru. Cobo[3]) mentions their use by the Incas.

C
Ce
286
●531
Ce
[177]

The large fabrics woven by the Chiriguano and Chané are not adorned with figures. On the other hand, it is not rare to see ribbons with woven human figures and other ornaments (fig. 57). The Chané on the Rio Parapiti are said to have learnt these ornaments from a Quichua woman who had immigrated to these parts. The Chiriguano girls are never seen to wear the ornaments they have learnt to embroider at the mission schools. These are flowers and the like, generally European ones, which interest the Indians very little, and are too strange for their fancy. This does not prevent the work they do at the mission schools being excellently done. At the mission schools the Indian girls also sew and crochet lace. But they never make these things once they have left school.

C
797
871
531
286
177

C
Ce.
286

Fig. 56. Weaving-implement of wood. A and B from the Chiriguano. C from the Chané.

A = R. M. E. 48. 1/4. B = R. M. E. 146. 1/4. C = R. M. P. 21. 1/4.

---

1) Pl. IV. C5.

2) (3) Pl. 3. Fig. 12.

3) »Van apretando y tupiendo la tela con un hueso puntiagudo y liso» .... Cobo T. 4, p. 204. Cobo gives a description of the Peruvian loom. P. 203.

/159 cont./

In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities. 114 164 [165] [273]

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either. 797 756

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the 114

415 531

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igüembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 114 It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant. [133] [137]

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things. 123 157 178 643 000

/159 cont./

things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78).

From Maringay I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of Mimosaceae, cacti, small algorrobas, and other fine-leaved trees. This woodland is seldom so dense than one cannot easily get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa,

Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth. Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger.

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and across the great plain of Boyuovis, over the country that was the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuqui, they fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the right to rob all weaker peoples.

After my excursion to Maringay I left the land of the Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already described in this book, to the Choroti and Ashluslay.

6: Nordenskiöld--22 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF 8

Ee
276
531

A B

Fig. 80a. Pipe. "Huiramimbi." Tihuïpa. b. Shows a in cross-section. 2/3.

ee
292

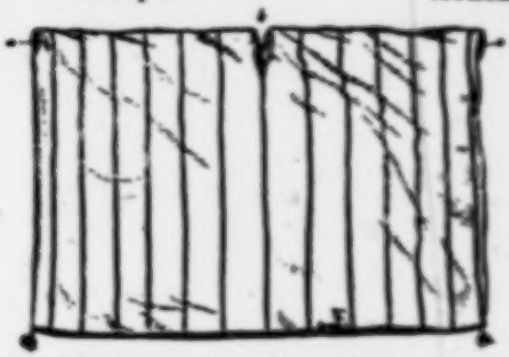


Fig. 81. Festive attire for men. "Tirucumbei." Chané. Rio Parapiti. 1/22.

b = opening for the head. a = armholes.

6: Nordenskiöld--58 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane SF 8

Ee 514 Ee [171] Ee 296 Ee 128

/295 cont./

The Chané and Chiriguano never relieve themselves close to the hut. I never saw special privies, however, for any Indians, and not for many whites in Bolivia either.

The Chané and Chiriguano are very careful with their clothing. They keep it clean and mend it if necessary. The members of each sex wash and mend their own things. The man here sews quite as well as the woman.

I have spoken here of the everyday life of these Indians. Now I shall describe the most important events in their lives, in their social life, their festivals, their industry, etc., and

Cce 412 531

Fig. 109. Combs for combing the hair, not for fastening in it.

A, from the Chané; B, C, D, from the Chiriguano.

Ee 128

finally proceed to their legends and their religion.

/231 cont./

One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village, though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand, there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy individual Indians, but they, like Teco, live like the whites.

The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader of the fighting men.

Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain. A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

According to Batirayu, whose statements are more reliable than those of /232/ Vocapoy, the high chief of the Chané on the Río Parapití dealt with no offenses other than murder, seduction of another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with poisoned chicha, "bád-dyiki," occurred in former times among the Chané. Murderer and bewitcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the open plaza in the village.

Fig. 115. Calabash. Chiriguano. Itapembia. 1/6.

The administrative authorities of the whites are now intervening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner, even if it has lain fallow for years.

/234/

Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

Ee 178 527 273 [538] [805]

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Ee 273 415 527 531

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

Ee 531 [527] [323] [462]

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

Ee [191]

Who can paint clay vessels as Chane SF8

c
/236 cont. / one of the wives of

●531
[437]
Ce
531
Ec
556
531
Ce
415
412
302
142
291
252

the Chiriguano chief Maringay can? They are famous far and wide in the valleys, and everyone tries to acquire her works through barter. I, not the least, admired her sure and discriminating art. The wife of the Chané chief Vocapoy (Pl. 19) is also no dabbler.

Where the Indians are rich, that is, have large maize harvests, the pottery is beautiful. Where they are poor and the

Fig. 116. Chané girls pound maize in a mortar. Rio Parapiti.

Ec
556
531

struggle for existence is hard, they do not have much time for artistic work. If art is to flourish in the Indian home, joy and mirth must prevail.

Ee 531 177

/236 cont./

The younger generation, I fear, will prefer German porcelain and enamelware, and with that the Chiriguano and Chané art will become part of the many fine and beautiful things that will disappear before the brutal civilization of the white man. In many villages one is already obliged to rummage around in the corners of the huts if one wishes to find vessels painted with a sure hand and natural taste. The worst thing, however, is that the whites are beginning to take pleasure in the clay vessels of the Indians. This brings about mass production. For the whites everything is good enough, it need be neither beautiful nor well done. They do not want the tasteful and simple, but the garnish and strange, "curiosidades," as the Creole says. Our museums must beware of these curiosities, for they give a mistaken idea of what is truly Indian.

Ee 273

The women brew beer for the festival. This is supposed to be made with maize (preferably yellow or white), and only the poor Chané on the Rio Parapiti must often content themselves with beer made out of sweet potatoes. If algarroba is available, beer is also brewed from this fruit. "It is good and intoxicates so nicely," say the Indians.

Ee 527 261 433

/237/ If the maize harvest is abundant, there is joy in the villages; then there is food and drink in every hut. If the maize crop has failed, there is no joy, stomachs are empty, and it is quiet on the festival plaza. If the granaries are full of maize, the Indian is proud and does not care about whites, suppression, and trouble. If the barn is empty, he is subservient and morose.

Ee 273

After the women have fetched the maize from the granaries and the men have brought wood and the women water, /Fig. 117 appears here/ the brewing commences. First the maize is pounded in large mortars. Day and night one hears the busy women pounding. The pounded maize is sifted and then mixed with water in huge clay vessels and boiled. Then a portion is taken out, chewed, and mixed well with saliva. This is then poured into the rest and, after it has been strained, must ferment in large open vessels with a little heat. The pots are stirred with large wooden spatulas

/243 cont./

(Fig. 130) is typically Peruvian in form, as is the silver hair remover, of which, however, I have no specimen. The festive costume of the man (Fig. 81) also seems to me to have a Peruvian cut. It is possible, however, that the influence of Peru did not manifest itself among the Chiriguano until after the conquest of the plateau by the Spanish.

Boman (1) has proved that the Chiriguano, or more correctly the Gûarani tribe to which these Indians belong, formerly extended much farther south than they do now. He found there the grave urns so characteristic of them.

1. Boman: Antiquités de la Région Andine. Vols. 1-2. Paris, 1908.

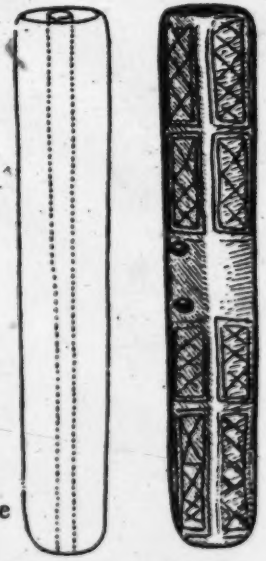


Fig. 120. Serére pipe. Chiriguano. 1/4.

The material culture of the Chané Indians does not, in general, differ very much from the culture of the Chiriguano. The Chané, on the other hand, who are more isolated on the Rio Parapiti, have a completely independent pottery which we do not find again among the Chiriguano. If we compare the remaining products of Chané and Chiriguano industry, we do not find any greater differences than we find in the various Chiriguano villages themselves.

For example, if one collects clay vessels in the Iguembe valley and in the Caipipendi valley, both of which valleys are occupied by Chiriguano, one inevitably finds that the pottery, though strongly related in ornamentation and form, nevertheless /244/ also varies locally. I have already spoken of the individual variations (p. 85).

Ce /244 cont./

28 Of the various industries, pottery stands particularly high
[323] among the Chiriguano and Chané (see the illustrations). They
[531] are also skilled weavers and decorators of calabashes. Basketry
[184] occurs, but chiefly in the northern part of their region. Feather
Ce work is no longer done at the present time. Only ropes and fish
[439] nets, and on the Rio Parapiti hammocks and carrying nets, are made with caraguata bast. The bags of this material, so characteristic of the Chaco tribes, are never made by the Chiriguano and Chané, but are occasionally acquired by trade between the tribes.

Ce 323 Among the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro I followed the making

C 415 531

Fig. 121. Clay vessel. Chiriguano. Caipipendi valley. 1/4.

Ce 323 of pots. The clay is ground and mixed with pounded, fired
Ce potsherds, so that the vessel does not fall apart during the firing.
[413] The clay vessels are built up out of rolls in customary Indian
[804] fashion. For smoothing a mussel shell or a maize cob without kernels, as well as a narrow little bamboo stick, is used. The maize cobs make parallel, fine scratches (1). The bamboo stick

Ce [172]

1. From similar scratches on clay vessels which one finds in archaeological diggings, one can see that the makers of the clay vessels had maize. I have seen this, for

Ce 323 531 ee [237] [413]

/245 cont./

The coarser vessels, as well as all cooking vessels, are decorated with only finger imprints and clay loops put on them. The finer vessels are subsequently painted (see Pl. 19 /see p. 93/).

/246/ With a brush made of agouti hairs (1) the decorations are

1. Dasyprocta.

Ce [386]

painted in white, dark brown, and black. The white pigment is a kind of earth (kaolin); the others are made out of slate and sandstone. They paint freehand and compose the decorations from memory, not from models. Wood, maize cobs, and cow excrement are heaped around the vessel. The fuel is lighted and must burn with a vigorous fire for a quarter of an hour or, if the vessel is large, even longer (Fig. 122).

Ce 323

Ce [314] [824]

If the vessel has been painted, it is varnished with resin, "taraviruti," which is collected from a Mimosoideae, and with resin from the palo santo (see p. 93 /untranslated; Palosanto is identified there as Bulnesia Sarmienti/). The former gives a yellowish polish; the latter looks like greenish-black glaze.

Ce [789]

When a pot is made, it is baptized before it has cooled, so that water will boil rapidly in it.

C 531 323 386

In Maringay's village individual vessels were painted with a mixture of urucú or some other color and a vegetable fat. I was unable to see how this latter was prepared.

Ee 286

The Chiriguano and Chané women are skillful weavers. The material for the Indian weaving is, as a rule, cotton and sometimes sheep wool.

Ee [439] [177]

Since large quantities of cloth are imported by the whites, native weaving is disappearing more and more. Thus, I did not see any looms among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley, and native woven goods were very rare.

Ee 286 531 [797]

As a rule, all the weaving of these Indians is without ornamentation, or else this is very simple. The girls in the missions learn from the monks how to embroider all kinds of flowers, such as roses, violets, etc. They do this superbly.

Ee
286
531
[797]

/246 cont./

Strangely enough, after they leave the sewing class, the Indian women cease to use these decorations. It would be better if the missionaries taught the Indian children /247/ decorations connected with their imaginative life. The results of their work would then be entirely different.

Ce
286
532
177

A couple of generations ago a few Chané women learned from a Quichua woman how to weave decorations which

C
286
531

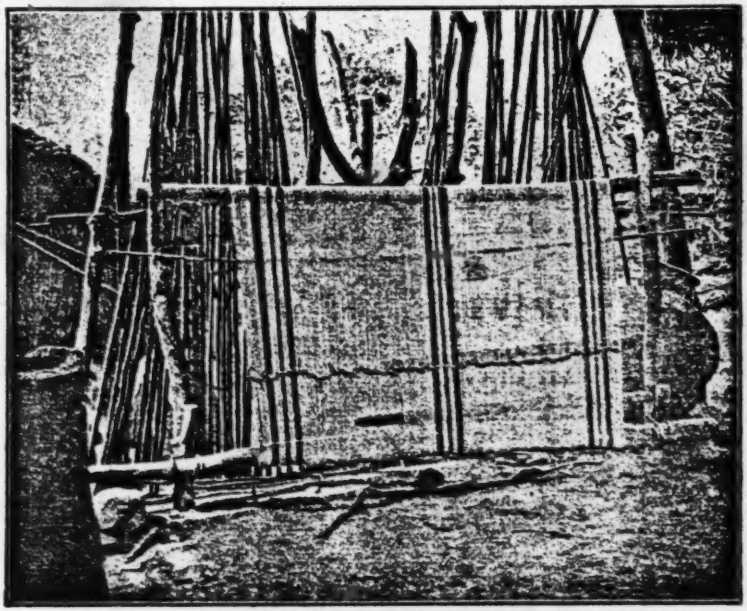


Fig. 123. Loom. Chiriguano.
Tihuïpa.

Ce
286
532
[171]

one still sees on various Chané fabrics. They were stylized animals and human beings. Plant ornamentation does not make much impression on the Indian women. Animal and human figures stimulate their imagination, and they teach them to their children.

Ee /247 cont. /

531 The Chiriguano and Chané men are clever in the decoration of calabashes (Fig. 126), carve attractive pipes (Fig. 120), and know how to tan leather, which they probably learned from the whites.

322 281 177c

Among these Indians one does not see much in the way of plastic representations of animal and human figures. The clay /248/ vessels sometimes have animal shapes. The Chané women on the Rio Parapiti fashioned lumpy little dolls out of wax for their children (Fig. 105). Some of the clay vessels are painted with animal figures. A vessel from the Rio

Ee 532

C [126] [437]

Ee 285 →

C 285 ←

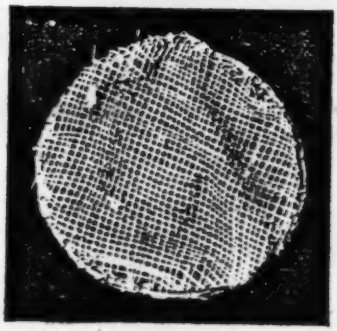


Fig. 124. Sieve. Rio Parapiti. 1/8.

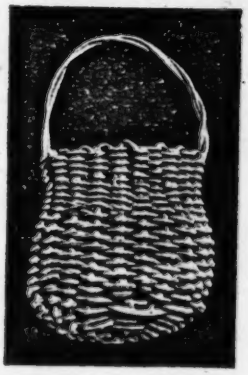


Fig. 125. Basket Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ee 532 Itiyuro, which I acquired through barter, is adorned with tree figures. Occasionally one sees clay vessels in the shape of fruits.

Ee [353] Ee 285 [439]

I saw drawings representing human beings and animals on the walls in a few Chané huts and on a few Chiriguano calabashes from the Caipipendi valley.

As for basket work, the sieves are so popular among the whites that through trade they are being distributed far beyond the Chiriguano and Chané region. Otherwise the Chané and Chiriguano make few baskets. We find basket work in quantities only among the Indians where the matching-leaved palms begin, and that is at Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

Ee /248 cont./

439 When we present a collection from the Chiriguano and Chané,
177 we must not forget that, through trade between the tribes, they have obtained many things from the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Tapiete; otherwise we would have a mistaken conception of the
Ee great difference /249/ between the material culture of the Chaco tribes named here and the Chiriguano and Chané.

171 If we compare the material culture of the Choroti and Chané
Ee with that of the Choroti and Ashluslay likewise described here,
[285] we must remember the following. The Chiriguano and Chané produce basket work -- the
c Choroti and Ashluslay never.
Ce The former know how to paint
[323] clay vessels before firing,
Ee which is unknown to the latter.
[286] The Chiriguano and Chané never make bags out of
c
[415] →
●[531]

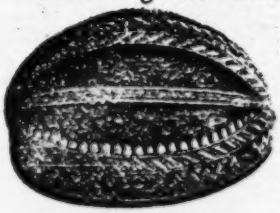


Fig. 126.
Decorated calabash bowl.
Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/5.

caraguata, etc. If, moreover, we compare all the products made by the Chané and Chiriguano with those of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we find that most of them are entirely differ-
c ent. The Chaco Indians probably learned how to make certain
[177] things, such as the serére (Fig. 120) and huiramimbi pipes (Figs. 36 /omitted in the translation/ and 80), from the Chiriguano,
Ee but this is relatively insignificant.

177 We see here how two cultures can exist side by side for hundreds of years without mingling.

Ee If we follow the Rio Pilcomayo down toward the mountains,
101 we first come across the Quichua /Quechua/ culture, then come the Chiriguano and Chané, and after that the Chaquensic /Chaco/ culture which embraces equally the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and Ashluslay, as well as the Lengua and other tribes in the Paraguay Chaco. These three cultures are entirely different.

Ce 539 /263 cont./

"I have so many horses that I do not need any more," said Aguaratunpa.

"I will give you large fields if you grant me my freedom," said the white condor.

"I have so many fields that I do not need any more," said Aguaratunpa.

"I will give you my two daughters as wives and a house in which you can live, if you grant me my freedom," said the white condor.

"I do not need your daughters, for I have wives in all the villages," said Aguaratunpa.

C 415 531

Fig. 127. Clay vessels.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/3.

Ce 539 "I will fill a whole house with silver bowls, 'cagua,' and give it to you, if you grant me my freedom," said the white condor.

/264/ "I have as much silver as I need," said Aguaratunpa, "and I caught you in order to kill you. But if you can make me a present of the white rubber ball, 'toki,' so that I can play with it, I shall give you your freedom," said Aguaratunpa.

Tied to a long silver chain, Ururuti flew to fetch the white rubber ball. When Aguaratunpa received it, he gave the white condor his freedom. The ostrich, "Yándu," and the bat, "Andira," played ball. One would throw the ball, catch it with his head, and hit it toward the other one, who in turn caught it with his head and hit it back (cf. p. 45). When the ball was flying through the air, the white condor caught it and disappeared. Aguaratunpa now sent a bird, "Tavatan," to fetch the black rubber ball, and the whole village played. Aguaratunpa played with the ostrich. In the middle

Ce 539

/279 cont./

"Lie down and sleep!" said the sister of Chiquéritunpa.

The man lay down to sleep with his wife, who was the daughter of Chiquéritunpa. They slept together all day and in the evening she gave birth. The next day Chiquéritunpa came. He wanted to beat his daughter. He sent for a horse, a donkey, and a mare, in order to take his daughter and his son-in-law home. After they had eaten, they rode away.

The man who had been thrashed by the women wept. "Do not weep so much," said the sister of Chiquéritunpa. When they had ridden a short distance, they met a Christian who was working.

"What kind of work are you planning?" asked the man. "I /280/ want to sow mandioca and maize. I want to live here and I want to bring a woman here," said the Christian.

They rode on and met another Christian. "What kind of work are you planning ?" asked the man. In a bad humor, the Christian replied: "I want to sow hills with thorny bushes here."

C [415] • [531]

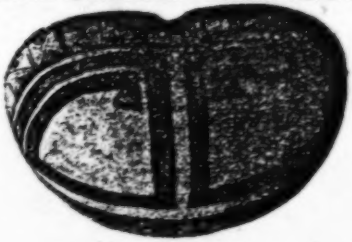


Fig. 128. Calabash bowl. Chiriguano. Itatenbia. 1/4.

They continued their journey and met another Christian who was busy felling trees. "What kind of work are you planning?" asked the man. "I am chopping down poles for fencing for the animals, for I want to have livestock here. I am bringing everything here, I shall get myself clothing," said the Christian.

They rode on and met another Christian. "What kind of work are you planning?" asked the man. In a bad humor, the Christian answered: "I am working to harvest stones."

They rode on and met another Christian, who was doing carpentry work. "What are you doing here?" they asked. "I want to build myself a house where I shall have clothing and all sorts of other things," answered the Christian.

Ce 539

/281 cont./

a house found it already finished and full of clothing. The one who had answered in a bad humor that he wanted to sow chuchio found his field turned into thick brush through which no one could pass.

Chiquéritunpa's son proposed a game to his brother-in-law. "What kind of a game?" he asked. "Let's move the house," /282/ said Chiquéritunpa's son and shifted it with one arm. With all his strength the man moved the house away. "Now let's bring the horse back to life," said Chiquéritunpa's son and lifted up the legs of the horse on which the man had come. It turned into a very fat horse with a mouth that flashed fire. This, too, the man imitated.

The next day the man proposed a game to his brother-in-law, Chiquéritunpa's son. "What shall we play?" he said. "Let's take the sun down," said the man. With a long switch of chuchio he took the sun down. It became so warm that both Chiquéritunpa and his son ran away. The next day the man became chief.

C [415] • [531]

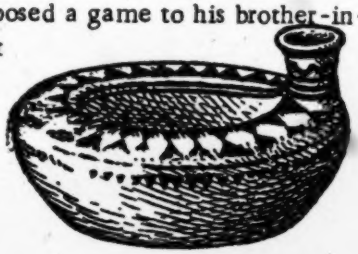


Fig. 129. Clay vessel. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/5.

The one who had been thrashed by the girls whose clothes he had stolen stayed with the sister of Chiquéritunpa. One day she told him he should go to a large lake. There he should dive in and bring up a handful of sand. This sand he should place in the house. He went to the lake, dived in, and brought up a handful of sand which he placed in the house. The next day the sister of Chiquéritunpa said: "Go look at what has become of the sand!" In place of the sand he found a pretty woman. "She shall be your wife," said Chiquéritunpa's sister.

/287 cont./

The Man Who Killed Añatunpa.

539 [115] Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási on the Rio Grande.

Añatunpa devoured all the human beings that he could catch. A man came along who was carrying wood to Añatunpa's cave. "Come, let's play!" said Añatunpa.

/288/ "What kind of a game?" said the man.

"You shall give me a blow on the forehead with an ax, and if I do not die, I shall hit you," said Añatunpa.

Añatunpa stood up straight, offered his forehead to the man, and the latter hit him directly in the middle of it. Since Añatunpa's forehead was as hard as iron, this did not affect him. Añatunpa now gave the man a blow on the forehead, killed him, and tossed

291 177 531 301

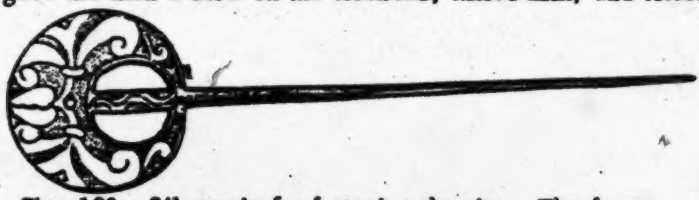


Fig. 130. Silver pin for fastening the tiru. The form Indian, the ornamentation Spanish. Chiriguano. Parapiti, 1/3.

539 him to Dyóri, who devoured him.

On another occasion another man came to Añatunpa's cave. Añatunpa proposed the same game to him. Then a fly, "Mbéru," called to him not to hit him on the forehead, but in the nape of the neck. When Añatunpa, with eyes closed, stood up to receive the blow, the man went behind him, struck him in the nape of the neck, and Añatunpa fell down dead. Dyóri asked him how he was able to kill Añatunpa. The man told him what Mbéru had said.

"Very good," said Dyóri.

Ce
539

/290 cont./

in the nostrils. The fox sneezed, wiped his nose, and said: "Can the mosquitoes not leave me in peace just when I am dreaming about the jaguar's wife and daughters with whom I slept!"

/291/ Now the jaguar tickled him a little more strongly, and the fox woke up. The jaguar prepared to seize him.

The fox hunched himself up, and when the jaguar hesitated before seizing him, he jumped to the ground with one bound and started running as fast as he could. The jaguar ran after him. Finally the fox grew tired, however, and the jaguar caught him and swallowed him. The fox came to life again in the stomach of the jaguar. The latter threw him up. The jaguar devoured the fox again, but again the latter came to life in his stomach and was thrown up again. Once more the jaguar devoured the fox, who again came to life, etc.

C
[301]
[531]

Ce
[171]

Fig.131. Silver chest-ornament. Chiriguano, Caipipendi. Worn by men.

This legend is widespread. In somewhat different form I heard it told in Carmen in Mojos.

C
539
[115]

When the Turtle "Carumbe" Killed the Jaguar.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási.

Once there was a great drinking bout. Aguaratunpa, Carumbe, and "Taturapua" (the ball armadillo) were there. The little son of the turtle was crying. When they asked him why he was crying, he said he wanted to have the claws of the jaguar to play with. The wife of the turtle told her husband he should fetch the claws of the jaguar so that the little one could play with them.

Ee /301 cont./
648 Thus, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to
[466] being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this

C 415 531

Fig. 133. Clay vessel. - 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

Ee 648 way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

Ee 648 466 465 167 925 /302/ The uncertainty and the oppressive wage conditions under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but forever.

Ee 648 273 177 If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference between drinking maize beer and liquor.

352 [114] been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks [171] made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. [513] Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of 353 considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly 415 array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize [531] beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

[352] → [291] [302] [411] [415] ← [237] [824] → 354 →

Fig. 194. Man and young woman. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this im- 356 possible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

291 The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of [177] European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 163 and fig. 85 (12), pp. 15 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 59.

[P. 216 is blank]

323 counterparts of which are found on many ancient Peruvian clay vessels, have been more fully described by me in »En förgången värld».[1] The cord by which this vessel was suspended passed round the edge, and then upwards, between the points of the rim warts. At each wart a hole has been pierced through the rim of the vessel, but these perforations are so very small that they cannot very well have been used for fixing any string by which to hang up the vessel.

Besides the clay pots here reproduced — often graceful of shape and beautifully painted — there are also plain, unpainted clay vessels for cooking and other kitchen purposes. Chiriguano ceramics are of an exceedingly great variety as to form, and many of the shapes are identical with those of clay vessels found in ancient Indian graves and in the ground of ancient dwelling-sites in those regions of the Andes that border on the present Chiriguano country.

824 415 Next to clay vessels, bottles and bowls made of calabash may be said to predominate among the household furniture of the Chiriguano. The bowls are often provided with pokerwork ornament (fig. 226).

273 On festivals — and also usually, though not always — the Chiriguano drink an intoxicating liquor (»chicha», in Chiriguano: »cangui»), which they prepare from maize. In [415] huge wooden mortars the maize is [531] pounded to flour, which is poured into large clay vessels filled with → water. This mixture is made to boil, and when it has cooled down, lumps of chewed maize dough are put into it to produce fermentation. These masticated mouthfuls of maize are usually allowed to dry in the sun, before use, and are then frequently spread on a [114] bedstead (fig. 190). This method of preparing maize beer naturally

Fig. 218. A jug for holding maize beer. Earthenware. Bottom part and inside unpainted. The rest painted brownish yellow, with ornaments in dark brown (marked in black) and red (marked in thin lines). Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 837.

[1] von Rosen (I), p. 344 et seq.

273
[114] strikes one as particularly disgusting, and therefore, after I had got to know how the brew was made, I could never again bring myself to drink this beverage, which in itself is rather palatable. As I have already mentioned, an intoxicating liquor is also made from the fruit of the algar-
276 robo tree. The beer made by the Chiriguano is very highly prized by them. But, on the other hand, it does not appear that tobacco is used

415
•531

Fig. 219. A jug for maize beer. 1/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 803.

Fig. 220. A maize beer decanter. 9/8. Riksm. 03. 3. 835.

Fig. 221. A maize beer bowl. 3/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 839.

Fig. 222. A maize beer bowl with four holes through the rim, in which strings can be fixed. 3/4. Riksm. (No catalogue number.)

Painted earthenware vessels. The ground-colour of the vessels in figs. 219 and 220 is yellowish-white; of those in figs. 221 and 222, a brownish-yellow. The ornamentation is in dark brown (here marked quite black) and red (marked with fine lines). The inner sides and bottoms of the vessels are unpainted. Chiriguano. Agusyrenda. Bolivia.

415
531
276
534

by them to any considerable extent; I myself never saw any Chiriguano smoking.

The Chiriguano are very fond of music and dancing. Their musical instruments consist of a kind of primitive trumpets of cow-horn, reed flutes, whistles and drums.

An interesting Chiriguano whistling pipe is here reproduced, in fig. 227. It consists of a flat piece of some hard and heavy wood; is 18.5 cm long, 3.6 cm wide, and has a section as set out in the figure. It has, pierced through its longitudinal axis, a tubular perforation, 7 to 9 mm in diameter, and open at both ends, running from end to end of the instrument. In the centre of its upper edge there are two, somewhat smaller, holes through which is threaded the string which allows of the pipe being worn round the neck as a breast ornament. The carrying cord running through two holes, side by side, probably indicates that the pipe was meant to hang horizontally on the breast. If there had been only one hole for the cord, the pipe would have tilted one way or the other, like the beam of a pair of scales. The pipe is designed for blowing on in the

Fig. 223. Food bowl of earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. The rest of it painted yellowish white, with ornaments painted in dark brown (marked black) and red (represented by thin lines). Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. $^{2}/_{3}$. Riksm. 03. 3. 840.

Fig. 224. Hanging bowl, for keeping small articles. Earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. The rest painted yellowish white, with ornaments in dark brown. Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. $^{2}/_{3}$. Riksm. 03. 3. 843.

[301]

Fig. 225. Hanging bowl, for keeping small articles. Earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. Otherwise painted yellowish white, with ornaments in dark brown (marked black) and red (represented by thin lines). Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. $^{2}/_{3}$. Riksm. 03. 3. 844.

534 same way as Pan pipes, and *naturally gives out tones, when one end of the tube is closed, different to those producible with both ends open.* The pipe is open at both ends, therefore, not only because this allows the instrument to be easily cleaned from dust, dirt and saliva, but also because *this construction gives the possibility of a greater number of tones.*

●531 415 824 ← 534 301 531 →

Fig. 216. Bowl, of calabash, ornamented, with pokerwork ornamentation. Chiriguano. Cuarpari, Bolivia. ⅓ Rikum. 05. 3. 87.

Fig. 217. Whistle, made of bamboo, black wood. Incised ornamentation. Two cracks near one end of the tube have been filled up with a waxy substance. Chiriguano. Aguaymanda, Bolivia. ⅓ Rikum. 05. 3. 848.

534 171 That the Indians occasionally also give a thought to keeping dust, etc., from getting into their whistling pipes, is, besides, evident from the pipe shown in fig. 218, which is an Araucan whistle from Caunin, Chile, a tubular piece of wood, 27.5 cm long. A common brass thimble is fitted over the lower end of the pipe, and for its top end there is a small, well made stopper of woollen-yarn, connected to the pipe with a string, so as not to get lost when taken out for the whistle to be blown. Concerning this stopper, Eric Boman, who has reproduced the pipe in one of his works, writes as follows: «Este tapón sirve para cerrar la boca del silbato, cuando éste no se usa, e impedir que entren allí tierra y otras impurezas.»[1] «This stopper serves to keep the mouth of the whistle closed when the latter is not being used, and prevents dust and other dirt from entering.»

Fig. 218. Whistle, Bowl of Caunin. Chile. From Boman.

Objects of tubular form, in construction corresponding to the one here reproduced in fig. 217, have been found in ancient Peruvian graves, and not only the Chiriguano, but also many other tribes now inhabiting areas in the neighbourhood of what once was the Inca domain, are still

[1] Boman (X), p. 316.

/20 cont./

C
Ce
412
17

Although it may be that the shape of the wooden spoons of the Chiriguano and of the Chané may have been influenced in many cases by the shape of the metal spoons acquired from the whites, we must nonetheless regard it as a product of the indigenous culture of South America that in pre-Columbian times had been rather widespread generally among the Andean cultures. Its appearance is quite limited among the native tribes of South America, setting aside the cases where it has been imported by the whites. But it is quite common among the Indians of the regions near Chiriguano territory in particular, for example, among the Tapieté and many other Chaco tribes, such as the Toba, Matako, Churupí, and especially also among the Mojo and, farther to the east, among the Guató. It must be supposed that the Chiriguano received this cultural possession directly or indirectly from the culture of the Andean mountain.

Ce
239
415

Shells (*ñoro*) as Eating Utensils

I. A. 734 and 735. (Izoró.) Length 12 cm. and 10 cm.

Outside of the spoons mentioned, the Chané-Izoró also use shells as eating utensils.

Ce
415
(824)

As vessels for drinking water and *chicha*, they above all use *cuyas* /vessels made from gourds/ (cf. Figures 24-26 and 149; 150; 153) and calabashes (cf. Figures 42 and 151). For the *chicha* festivities this beverage is ordinarily taken out of the painted baked clay pots in *cuyas* with designs on them, which are passed around among those present. Of the *cuyas* that I acquired from the Chiriguano in Macharetí many have either incised or pyrographed designs, with which I shall deal in the chapter on art. The *cuyas* received from the Izoró do not have designs on them, which is easily explained by the peculiar circumstance that the Izoró were at that time living near Toledo. Three of the calabashes received from the Izoró (cf. Figure 42 c) were made from the fruit of the

C
415
122
531

Ce
415
(531)
(824)

Chane SF8
Izozo

Ce /20 cont./
415 Crescentia Cuyete /Crescentia cujete/ tree, which does not
[824] grow in their territory. The cacique of the Izozó told me
[439] that these fruits had been brought from Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

In addition to these cuyas, the Chiriguano and Izozó also
Ce use for drinking chicha small baked clay chicha vessels with
415 handles in the form of European cups. /Plates VIII-IX appear here./

C /21/ Cuyas (ia) in the Collection
415
126
•531

I. A. 451.	Chiriguano	Length 14 cm.	Incised designs.		(Fig. 26e.)
I. A. 452.	"	" 10 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 26a.)
I. A. 453.	"	" 10 cm.	"	"	
I. A. 454.	"	" 5.7 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 26c.)
I. A. 455.	"	" 12.5 cm.	Designs incised and pyrographed.		
I. A. 456.	"	" 11.5 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 26b.)
I. A. 457.	"	" 23 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 24.)
I. A. 458.	"	" 15 cm.	"	"	(Fig. 26d.)
I. A. 459.	"	" 43.5 cm.	No designs, red paint outside.		
I. A. 460.	"	" 20 cm.	Incised and pyrographed designs.		(Fig. 25b.)

Ce I. A. 461-463; 490; 537-539. Chiriguano. No designs.
[415] I. A. 666 Izozó Length 19.5 cm. No designs, with handle. (Fig. 25a.)
I. A. 667-670. " No designs.

The length of these cuyas is quite variable. The largest of them measures 23 cm. in length and the smallest only 5.5 cm.

Calabashes (iá, ua) in the Collection

I. A. 464-467.	Chiriguano	With pyrographed designs. (I. A. 466: Fig. 151.)
I. A. 468.	"	No designs; with a maize cob for stopper.
I. A. 469.	"	No designs; entwined all around.
I. A. 661 and 662.	Izozó	No designs. (Fig. 47 a and b.)
I. A. 663-665.	"	No designs; made from the fruit of the Crescentia Cuyete tree. (I. A. 665: Fig. 42.)

Ce
415
126
[531]

Plate IX

C
415
531

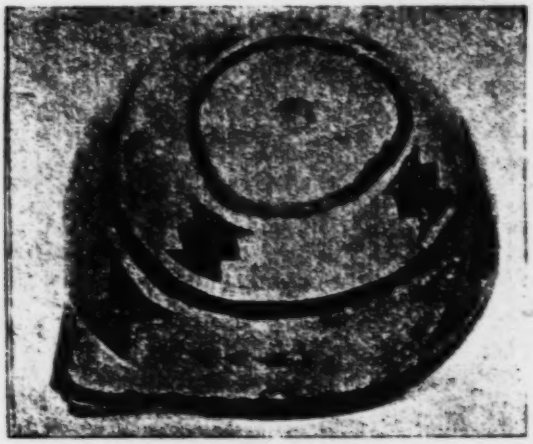


Fig. 24

C
Ce
415

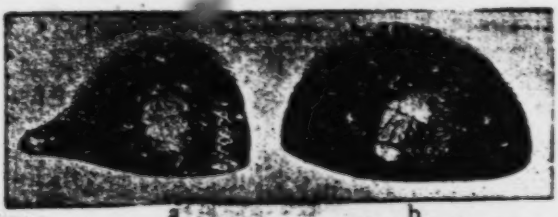


Fig. 25

C
415
531

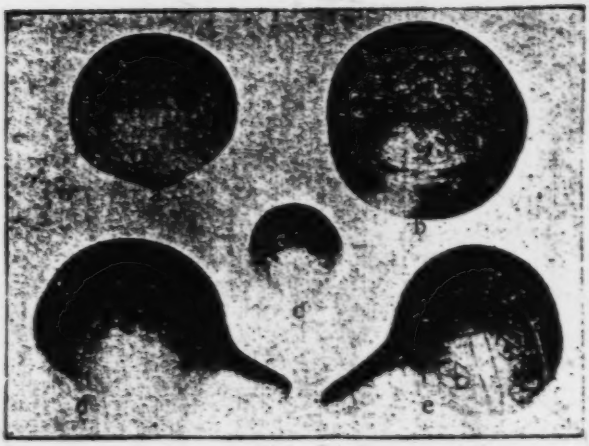


Fig. 26

/The captions are on p. 52./

/47 cont./

CCD C 415 531 difference of up to 10 centimeters. The neck is clearly distinguished from the globular belly of these vessels by a border on all of these vessels provided with sunken ornamentation. Also the flat part of the bottom is clearly distinguished from the wall by a border. The surface of the belly of the vessels has incised lines produced by rubbing the surface, when still moist, with a maize cob. Only the little vessel I. A. 412 has its entire surface covered with sunken ornamentation.

C 415 All of these vessels intended for cooking are fitted with two handles in a vertical position, attached to the upper rim of the pot and coming down to the lower part of the neck. The form of these handles shows some variation which I shall deal with in the chapter on art.

Vessel Intended for Cooking Maize Meal for the Preparation of Chicha, from the Collection

C [126] I. A. 399 (Chirig.) Ht. 52 cm. Max. dia. 42 cm. Aperture 24 cm. (Fig. 50).

Large baked clay vessels, which in many cases are still much larger than the specimen brought back by me from the Chiriguano, are used for cooking the maize meal used in the preparation of chicha. As shown in Fig. 50, this kind of vessel is different from the ordinary vessels intended for cooking only by not having handles. The wall of the belly is clearly C [531] distinguished from the neck and from the flat bottom. The neck of these vessels also has sunken ornamentation. The vessel shown in Figure 50 is relatively high in comparison with its maximum diameter and with the diameter of the Ce [415] aperture at the top. The vessels for cooking chicha native to the Chané on the Itiyuru and shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld have, in comparison with their maximum diameter and the diameter of their aperture, a much smaller aperture /sic/, (222).

222. Nord. 1, Fig. 83.

/48 cont./

C
Ce
415
126

4. Vessels for Carrying or Storing Water, from the Collection

I. A. 392	Chirig.	Ht.	25 cm.	Max. Dia.	17.7 cm.	Apert.	4 cm.	(Fig. 84)
I. A. 393	"	"	32 cm.	"	" 29.5 cm.	"	9 cm.	
I. A. 395	"	"	32 cm.	"	" 31.5 cm.	"	13.5 cm.	
I. A. 396	"	"	32 cm.	"	" 30 cm.	"	14.5 cm.	(Fig. 55)
I. A. 589	Izozó	"	34 cm.	"	" 23.7 cm.	"	6.5 cm.	
I. A. 606	"	"	24.5 cm.	"	" 18.5 cm.	"	3.5 cm.	(Fig. 56a)
I. A. 607	"	"	13.5 cm.	"	" 14.5 cm.	"	13 cm.	
I. A. 608	"	"	19.5 cm.	"	" 19.2 cm.	"	3.5 cm.	(Fig. 83b)
I. A. 617	"	"	16 cm.	"	" 17 cm.	"	11.5 cm.	(Fig. 56b)
I. A. 621	"	"	28.5 cm.	"	" 18.4 cm.	"	3.5 cm.	(Fig. 83a)
I. A. 761	"	"	40.5 cm.	"	" 27.5 cm.	"	7 cm.	(Fig. 54)
I. A. 762	"	"	44 cm.	"	" 34.5 cm.	"	7.9 cm.	
I. A. 763	"	"	48 cm.	"	" 35 cm.	"	7.7 cm.	

C
Ce
[531]

The vessels mentioned in the above, in contrast with the cooking pots, have a smooth surface. Also they are not painted. This leads us to assume that they are intended for common use rather than for festive occasions, and we must consider them primarily as vessels for water, which naturally does not preclude their being used on occasion for chicha. Plates XIV-XVII appear here.

415

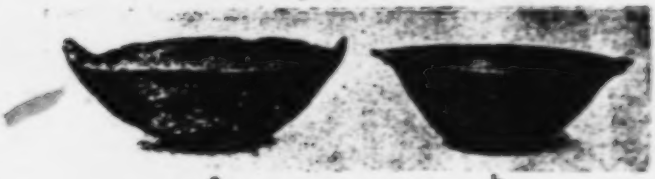
[531]

Plate XVI

Fig. 50

Fig. 51

Fig. 52



a b

Fig. 53

/The captions are on p. 120./

/50 cont./

C
Ce
415

Among the vessels used as receptacles for chicha, those of the Chiriguano generally show different forms from those of the Izozó. The form of these Chiriguano vessels, especially that of the large ones, generally has a globular belly (cf. the figures 368 /see Fig. 59, p.129/, 370 /see Fig. 58, p.129/, and 377 /see Fig. 57, p.129/), while on the vessels of the Izozó the lower part of the belly becomes larger going upward and is commonly distinguished by a border on the upper part which becomes smaller going upward. (Cf. Figs. 61 /see p.129/, 68, and 69 /see p.132/.) The surface of all of these vessels is smooth and, with the exception of a few Izozó vessels, have designs on them. Only the large Chiriguano vessel I. A. 397 has a round bottom; all the other vessels have flat bottoms marked off from the belly by a border.

C
Ce
[531]

Among these Chiriguano and Izozó vessels there are some which have their maximum diameter at the aperture on top (cf. Figs. 60 /see p.129/ and 67 /see p.130/), which gives them the shape of a large dish. Vessels I. A. 397 and 398 differ from the rest by their height.

Of these Chiriguano pots, nine have handles and 12 do not. Of the eight Izozó pots, only two have handles. (Cf. Fig. 68a /see p.132/.) Most of these Izozó pots have the peculiarity that the necks, well distinguished by a border, become wider toward the upper rim. (Cf. Figs. 61 /see p.129/ and 69 a and b /see p.132/.)

Ce 415 /51 cont./ These vessels have a globular form and are provided with a handle. The bottom of three of them is clearly distinct from the belly, forming a foot. Ce [531] Two of them have designs on the surface; the others are without designs.

C 415 [126]

8. Vessels Used as Receptacles for Food, from the Collection

I. A. 394. Chiriguano. Height 17.5 cm. Aperture 44 cm.
I. A. 401. " " 11.5 cm. " 30 cm.

C [264] Two of the baked clay dishes that I obtained from the Chiriguano in Machareti seem to me to be too big to be considered as dishes for eating, because Nordenskiöld states that (228) the Chiriguano do not eat from a common dish, but

228. Nord. 1, p. 190.

rather each one has his own separate dish. We can assume that these are vessels used as food containers or serving dishes for food before it is placed on the individual dishes.

C [531] The two dishes are without designs. The flat bottom is well distinguished from the wall, which widens upward. The dish I. A. 401 has a rather wide rim which has two handles. Cf. Fig. 53b /see p. 118/.

C Ce 415 [171]

9. Vessels Used for Storing Objects

In contrast to the other Indians, the Chiriguano and Chané use vessels for keeping anything of value. I did not receive from the Indians any indication /52/ that any of the vessels I brought from them belonged particularly to this type. Therefore I refer here to a vessel shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld with the caption "For keeping knicknacks in" /cited in English/ (229).

229. Nord. 2, p. 158 and Fig. 45, N. 19.

/52 cont./

Ce
415

Nordenskiöld says in another place that the mistress of the house keeps all the family's valuable things, such as clothing, ornaments, silver plates, turquoise or chrysocolla necklaces, and many other things, in these vessels (230).

230. Nord. 1, p. 179.

C
415
126

10. Dishes for Eating (nyá e), from the Collection

I. A. 388	Chirig.	Height	6.5 cm.	Aperture	21 cm.	(Fig. 79a)
I. A. 389	"	"	8 cm.	"	23.5 cm.	(Fig. 79b)
I. A. 390	"	"	5.2 cm.	"	15 cm.	
I. A. 391	"	"	4 cm.	"	13 cm.	
I. A. 406	"	"	9 cm.	"	25 cm.	(Fig. 78a)
I. A. 586	Izozó	"	13 cm.	"	25.5 cm.	(Fig. 76b)
I. A. 591	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	16.5 cm.	
I. A. 594	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	21 cm.	
I. A. 595	"	"	9 cm.	"	20 cm.	(Fig. 80a)
I. A. 598	"	"	13.2 cm.	"	25 cm.	
I. A. 612	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	19 cm.	
I. A. 613	"	"	8 cm.	"	21 cm.	(Fig. 80c)
I. A. 614	"	"	9 cm.	"	22 cm.	
I. A. 615	"	"	10.5 cm.	"	27.5 cm.	
I. A. 616	"	"	10.5 cm.	"	22 cm.	
I. A. 618	"	"	10 cm.	"	18.5 cm.	
I. A. 620	"	"	15.5 cm.	"	15 cm.	

Ce
415
[264]
[531]

Because every Chiriguano and Chané, as already mentioned, eats from his own dish, such baked clay dishes are found in great number in the houses of these Indians. Many of them that are intended for ordinary use do not have designs, while others, used on the occasion of fiestas, have designs on their outer surface or on the upper rim of the interior surface, or are provided with small additions.

/52 cont./

C
Ce
415

All of these dishes have a round belly, becoming somewhat larger going upward. The differences in form are limited only to variations of the upper rim and the bottom. The wall of some of these dishes ends at the top without forming a special rim. Cf. Fig. 76b /see p.143/. Other dishes have a rim in a horizontal or oblique direction. The upper rim of dish I. A. 406 (cf. Fig. 78a /see p.143/) has small continuous incising. The flat bottom of most Izozó dishes is clearly distinct from the wall, forming a foot. This distinction of the bottom is lacking in most Chiriguano dishes, one of which has an almost round bottom.

C
Ce
[53]

Ce
415
[126]

11. Vessel used in Spinning, from the Collection

I. A. 619. (Izozó). Height 5 cm. Aperture 12 cm. (Fig. 81b.)

Ce
415
283

Nordenskiöld (231) shows in drawings two small dishes of

231. Nord. II, p. 165 and Fig. 44, No. 23 and 24.

the Chané of the Parapití River, which, according to his statement, are used in the spinning technique /Plates XVIII-XXI appear here/ /53/ as a base for whirling the spindle on its bottom. The small dish I. A. 619, which I obtained from the Izozó and which differs from the other dishes in the collection principally because of its thick and heavy bottom, is similar, with regard to its form and its dimensions, to those two dishes published by Nordenskiöld, and thus I assume it to be for the same purpose, although I did not obtain any indication from the Indians regarding that.

Ce
[174]

8: Schmidt--129 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
415
●531

Plate XVIII

Fig. 57

Fig. 58

Fig. 59

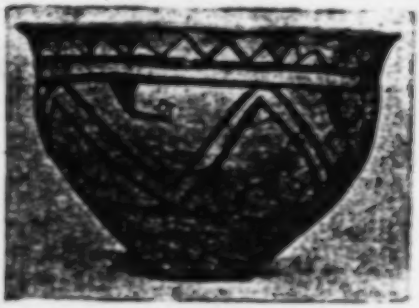


Fig. 60

Ce
415
531
←

C
415
531
→

Fig. 61

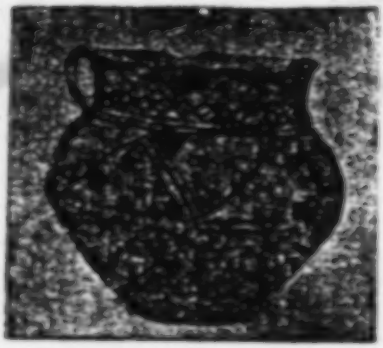


Fig. 62

/The captions are on p. 131./

8: Schmidt--130 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XIX

C
415
531

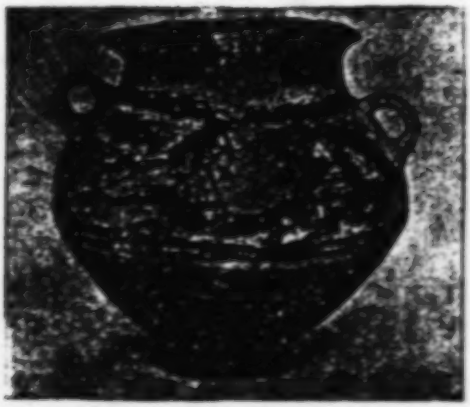


Fig. 63

Fig. 64

Fig. 65

Ce
415
531
C
415
531

Fig. 66

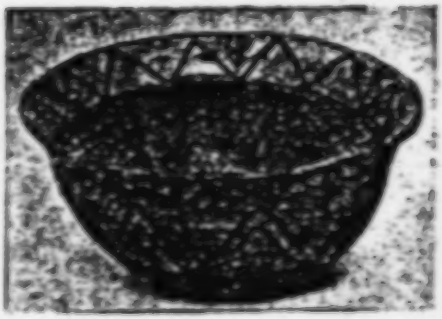


Fig. 67

/The captions appear on p. 131./

8: Schmidt--131 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF 8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XVIII and XIX./

C
415
531

Plate XVIII. Baked clay vessels for chicha.

Fig. 57. (I. A. 377) (Chiriguano) Height 26 cm.
Fig. 58. (I. A. 370) (Chiriguano) Height 26 cm.
Fig. 59. (I. A. 368) (Chiriguano) Height 27 cm.
Fig. 60. (I. A. 369) (Chiriguano) Height 27.5 cm.
Fig. 61. (I. A. 604) (Izozó) Height 29 cm.
Fig. 62. (I. A. 376) (Chiriguano) Height 24 cm.

Ce
415
531

Plate XIX. Baked clay vessels.

Fig. 63. (I. A. 378) Baked clay vessel for chicha (Chiriguano). Height 21.5 cm. Cf. Fig. 146 /see p. /.
Fig. 64. (I. A. 403) Baked clay vessel for serving chicha (Chiriguano). Height 17.5 cm. Cf. Fig. 145 /see p. /.
Fig. 65. (I. A. 347) Baked clay vessel for serving chicha (Chiriguano). Height 18.3 cm.
Fig. 66. (I. A. 623) Baked clay vessel for serving chicha (Izozó). Hgt. 20.5 cm.
Fig. 67. (I. A. 375) Baked clay vessel for chicha (Chiriguano). Height 13.5 cm.

Ce
415
531

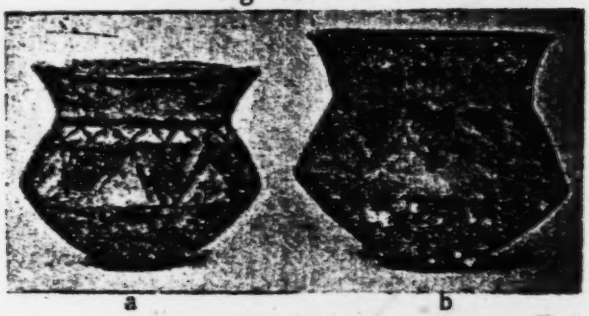
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XX

Ce
415
531

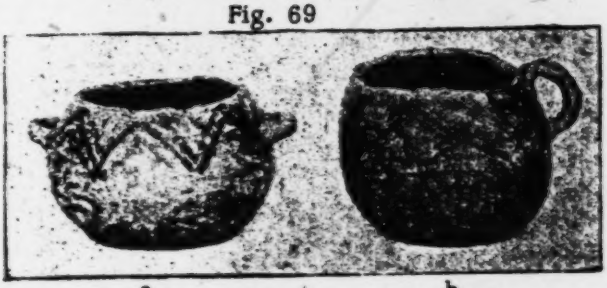
a b

Fig. 68



a b

Fig. 69



a b

Fig. 70

C
415
531
Ce
415
531

Fig. 71

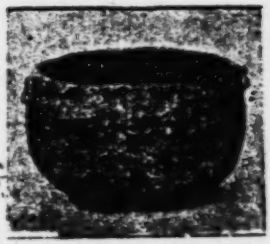


Fig. 72

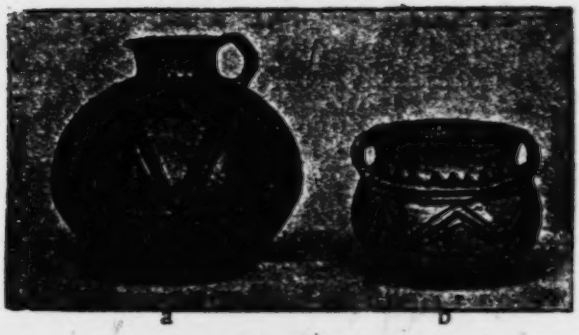
/The captions appear on p. 134./

Plate XXI

415
●531

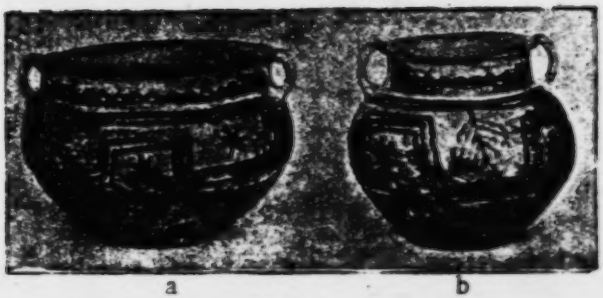
a b

Fig. 73



a b

Fig. 74



a b

Fig. 75

/The captions appear on p. 134./

8: Schmidt--134 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XX and XXI./

C
415
531

Fig. 68. Baked clay vessels for chicha (Izozó):
a (I. A. 596), height 16 cm.;
b (I. A. 622), height 15.5 cm.

Fig. 69. Baked clay vessels for chicha (Izozó):
a (I. A. 605), height 19.2 cm.;
b (I. A. 601), height 22.5 cm.

Fig. 70. Baked clay vessels (Izozó):
a (I. A. 599), height 9 cm.;
b (I. A. 602), height 10 cm.

C
[415
[531

Fig. 71. Baked clay vessel for chicha (I. A. 381) (Chiriguano), height 14 cm.

Fig. 72. Baked clay vessel (I. A. 597) (Izozó), height 10.5 cm.

C
415
531

Plate XXI. Baked clay vessels (Chiriguano).

Fig. 73. Vessels for chicha:
a (I. A. 387), height 16 cm.;
b (I. A. 386), height 16 cm.

Fig. 74. a (I. A. 404), vessel for serving chicha, height 20 cm.;
b (I. A. 383), vessel for chicha, height 12 cm.

Fig. 75. Vessels for chicha:
a (I. A. 373), height 15 cm.;
b (I. A. 374), height 16 cm.

/55 cont./

323 Data on the thickness of Chiriguano vessels have been given by Outes in his publication which we have mentioned. According to him, "the walls of the vessels, in general, do not show great thickness; in those of larger size, they are from 15 to 20 millimeters; in the medium ones, they do not exceed 8 millimeters; in the small ventricose jars, they vary between 7 and 4 millimeters. As an exception to those, Outes mentions a small vessel with a height of approximately 6 centimeters and a maximum diameter of 12 centimeters, which is relatively thick, since its side walls are from 7 to 9 millimeters and the bottom reaches 15 millimeters (244).

244. Outes, op. cit., p. 128.

323 A large part of the vessels are provided, even before being
●531 baked, with handles or with different kinds of decoration on their surface. The surface of the neck of the vessels intended for cooking is decorated with sunken ornamentation by impressions made with the finger. Rings of clay are put on the surface of some vessels, as is shown by the piece of baked clay from a Chané vessel shown in a drawing by Linné (245), or the surface

245. Linné, Fig. 31. Nord. 1, p. 245.

is provided with small additions. Cf. the vessel shown in Fig. 44 /see p. 116/. The finer vessels are painted before the firing. The designs are applied in white, red, dark brown, and black (246).

246. Nord. 1, p. 246.

The white color in general is the background color, on top of
413 which are applied /56/ the other colors. For that tiny brushes
[23] made of agouti hair or of feathers held together with wax are
000 used (247). The white color is an earth paint (kaolin), the red,

247. Métraux I, p. 385.

C 386 323 531

/56 cont./ The white color is an earth paint (kaolin), the red, dark brown, and black are pulverized mineral substances of the corresponding colors (248). Métraux has published the results

248. Nord. 2. p. 145.

of chemical analyses and petrographic observations which he made on these mineral colors (249).

249. Métraux I, 385.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano at times paint their vessels with a paint consisting of a mixture of urucú and oil, which is probably applied after the vessel has been baked (250).

250. Nord. 2, p. 145.

C Ce 323

Before the vessel is baked, it must be quite dry. In the case observed by Nordenskiöld among the Chané on the Itiyuru River, the vessel was dried for a day in the shade, which can be done, according to another note by Nordenskiöld, in the sun as well (251). The baking is done, according to Nordenskiöld's

251. S. Linné., op. cit., p. 121.

observations, by piling firewood, maize cobs, and dry cow dung around the vessel. This fuel must burn with a strong fire for a quarter of an hour and, if the vessel is large, even longer (252).

252. Nord. 1, p. 246. Cf. Nord., Fig. 122.

C 323 [324]

Some of the Chiriguano vessels are varnished. According to Nordenskiöld, such vessels are common among the Chiriguano and Chané on the Itiyuru River. They smear them with the resin of a Minosoidea, which the Chiriguano call "taraviruti." When varnished in this way the vessels acquire a yellowish sheen. Only the vessels of the Chané on the Itiyuru sometimes show black

Ce 323 324 386

8: Schmidt--143 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
IZOZO

Plate XXII

ce
415
531

a b

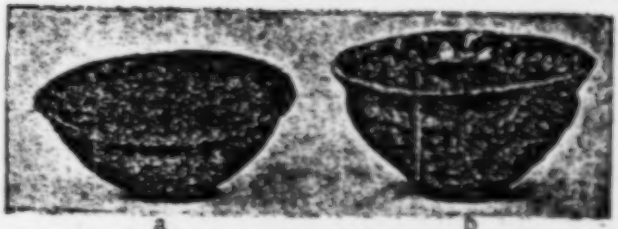
Fig. 76

c
415
531

a b

Fig. 77

c
415
ce
415



a b

Fig. 78

c
415
531

a b

Fig. 79

ce
415

a b c

Fig. 80

/The captions are on p. 145./

C
415
531

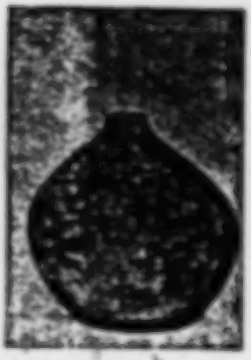
Plate XXIII

a Fig. 81 b

a Fig. 82 b

C
415

C
415



b

Fig. 8.

Fig. 83

/The captions are on p. 145./

R: Schmidt--145 E-5 (1935) 1984 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Ischo

Ce 415 531

/Captions for Plates XXII and XXIII./

Fig. 76. a (I. A. 600), vessel for chicha (Isoshi), height 12 cm.;
b (I. A. 586), eating dish (Isoshi), height 13 cm.

C 415 531

Fig. 77. Vessels for chicha (Chiriguano):
a (I. A. 406), height 8 cm.;
b (I. A. 407), height 9 cm.

C 415 Ce 415

Fig. 78. a (I. A. 406), eating dish (Chiriguano), height 9 cm.;
b (I. A. 596), eating dish (Isoshi), height 13.7 cm.

Fig. 79. Eating dishes (Chiriguano):
a (I. A. 388), height 6.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 389), height 8 cm.

C 415 531

Fig. 80. a (I. A. 586), eating dish (Isoshi), height 9 cm.;
b (I. A. 619), vessel used in the spinning technique as a base for the spindle (Isoshi), height 5 cm.;
c (I. A. 613), eating dish (Isoshi), height 8 cm.

Ce 415

C 415 531

Plate XXIII. Baked clay vessels.

Fig. 81. Chiriguano:
a (I. A. 411), height 13.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 410), height 14.5 cm.

Fig. 82. Vessels for serving chicha (Chiriguano):
a (I. A. 380), height 20 cm.;
b (I. A. 387), height 18 cm.

Ce 415

Fig. 83. Vessels for carrying or storing water (Isoshi):
a (I. A. 621), height 28.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 608), height 19.5 cm.

C 415

Fig. 84. (I. A. 392) Vessel for carrying or storing water (Chiriguano), height 35 cm.

Chane SP8
Zoro
Guato SP15

/61 cont./

of other tribes. For example, the Guató Indians make mats similar to the mat collected among the Chiriguano, as well as baskets similar to one type of basket from the Iranché, from the large pinnate leaves of the acuri palm (Cocos schizophylla Mart.). The stem or stems of these, from which go the leaflets that form the plaiting, form the upper edge of the mat or baskets. With regard to the carandey palm, it is necessary to detach the leaflets from the stem in order to place them in the position necessary for plaiting them with one another. Therefore the upper edge is formed like a braid to which the leaves are attached in order to be able to proceed to plait from this rudiment. The lower edge is also formed like a braid, which joins the free ends of the strips and terminates in two ends, one at each /62/ side, which project beyond the side edges of the mat. The mat is plaited in such a way that one strip passes two of the other group each time. The decoration is made up of simple stripes parallel to the upper edge of the mat.

The small flat baskets of the Chiriguano and Iranché are, in general, similar in form and dimensions. These are plaited with strips of cane and, at their outer edge, have a wooden hoop. Like the mat which has been mentioned, they are plaited in such a way that one strip of one group always passes two strips of the other group, and therefore the surface shows the same ornamentation, which consists of parallel stripes and is typical of all objects plaited in this way. In this ornamentation of the flat baskets there is one difference in that on some of them the entire surface is always filled with parallel lines, all going in the same direction (cf. Fig. 546 /see p. 157/), while the decoration of most of these small baskets consists of concentric squares (cf. Fig. 92 a and b /see p. 157/) formed by the combination of four surface units, two of which show parallel lines in the direction vertical to that of the parallel lines of the other two units. With regard to the details of the formation of such decoration by the technique itself, I refer to my publications regarding this matter (262).

262. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien /Indian Studies in Central

C
Ce
285
531
[113]

/62 cont./

Brazil/. Berlin, 1905. pp. 330 ff.; and Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas/ The Technical Bases for the Ornamentation of the Natives of South America/.

C
285
[126]

The three sieves that I obtained from the Chiriguano correspond to the flat baskets described above with respect to their exterior form and to the rudiment of the plaiting. They differ from the latter only in that their strips are a certain distance apart and in that one strip of one group always passes only one of the other group, with the result that the ornamentation of the surface consisting of parallel lines which is shown in the little baskets is not produced. These sieves are also provided with handles like the flat baskets of the Chiriguano. A sketch of a Chané sieve shown by Nordenskiöld shows that these Indians also use such sieves (263). Flat baskets and sieves analogous to

Ce
[285]

263. Nord. 1, Fig. 134.

those mentioned are described by Métraux and shown by him in drawings (264).

264. Métraux I, pp. 457-460, Plates 83, 84.

C
285
291
294
[179]

The technique of the Chiriguano hat (I.A. 554) is not original, but no doubt was received from the whites and perhaps was directly taught to the Indians in the missions. For us the technique of this hat is without interest, except for the fact that this technique is also applied by the Izozó to the making of a type of basket, a specimen of which is shown in Figure 98b /see p. 158/. The manufacture of the hat begins at the center, and the strips, the beginning of which is plaited, are augmented by the addition of other strips. See Figure 99 /see p. 158/. The style of plaiting is like that of all the other objects of this kind among the Chiriguano and Chané, so that one strip of one group always passes two strips of the other group.

Cc
[285]

Ce
[285]

C /70 cont./
415 of weaving are not secured by the weaving process itself. In
286 order to change the piece of weaving described in the foregoing into the double bag, its two ends are folded over at the dotted lines in the diagram, with the result that points A, B, C, and D are placed on top of points A/, B/, C/, and D/. Then the edges which are placed one on top of the other (OA/, OB/, PD/, and RC/) /71/ are sewed together. The parts EILG and FKMH are doubled in the opposite direction to form the tops of the double bag.

C In accordance with the simple mechanism of the loom with
Ce which the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó make their textiles,
286 the possibilities of producing variations in the ornamentation
531 of these are very limited. The variations in ornamentation of
171 the weavings of the Chaco tribes, such as, in particular, those of the Churupí /Chulupi/, which consist of frets, zigzags, rhombuses, and many other figures, are not found among the ornamentations of the weavings of the Chiriguano and Chané.

C Because today the woven goods of these Indians, especially
Ce the fajas and the ponchos, are often woven with imported
286 thread or, if they are woven with native wool or cotton thread,
531 these are often dyed with imported dyes, the different colors
[177] of the ornamentation on the surface of these weavings have no ethnological importance.

The ornamentation is formed exclusively by the warp threads, due to the fact that the distance between the warp threads is much less than the distance between the wax threads, so that the meshes of the woof disappear completely under those of the warp. Because, outside of that, the formation of the divisions of the warp threads is done by a single mechanism of loops, it can consist only of raising and lowering alternately the even and odd warp threads, for which reason the ornamentation still cannot be influenced by the process of the operation of weaving itself. The structure of this kind of weaving is necessarily such that in the direction of the woof thread, thus vertical to the direction of the warp threads, a row of the meshes formed by the odd warp threads is alternated each time with a row of the meshes formed by the even warp threads. Thus

8: Schmidt--184 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
286
531

/71 cont./

in Figures 120-124 the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, and eleventh horizontal rows are formed by the meshes of the odd warp threads, numbers 1, 3, 5, and so forth, while the second, fourth, sixth, eighth, and tenth horizontal rows are formed by the meshes of the even threads of the warp, and so forth. The result of this is that all of those odd rows in the direction of the woof are like one another in structure and color, and similarly all of the even rows are like one another in the direction of the woof. Therefore the ornamentation of these weavings can only consist of continual repetition of the ornamentation set by the first two rows in the direction of the woof.

These considerations show that the only possibility of providing these weavings with different ornamentation is by varying the color of the warp threads.

The simplest ornamentation that can be done in this manner consists of simple stripes in the longitudinal direction, that is, in the direction of the warp threads. The unfinished weaving on the loom shown in Figure 104 and the manta I. A. 818 have such a decoration of simple stripes. Figure 120 shows that these stripes in the longitudinal direction are produced in such a way that at certain intervals the color of the warp threads is changed. In addition to these longitudinal stripes and in varying combinations with them, transverse stripes appear as ornamentation in these weavings. Cf. Figures 121-124 /see p. 188/. These are produced in such a way that two threads of different color alternate each time among the warp threads. Thus it comes about that the row of meshes formed by the odd warp threads are different in color from the row of meshes formed by the even threads of the warp. If a single thread of the warp has a color different /72/ from the color of the adjacent threads, dots appear in the ornamentation, as Figure 121 shows.

From the above explanations it can be seen that all the ornamentation in these weavings of the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó is produced exclusively by the arrangement of warp threads of different colors. The process of weaving is absolutely indifferent to the ornamentation set in the beginning by the arrangement of the warp threads.

8: Schmidt--187 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
I2020

Plate XXXII

CE
286
291
531

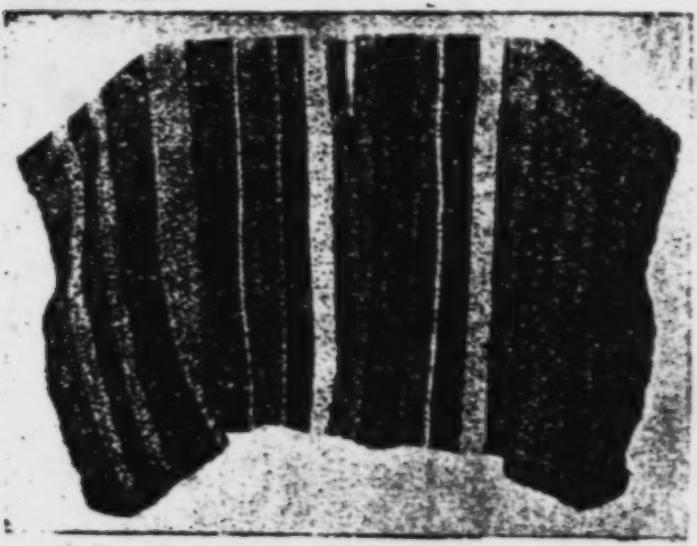


Fig. 117

C
286
291
531

Fig. 118

/The captions appear on p. 189./

8: Schmidt--188 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
Ce
286
291
531

Plate XXXIII

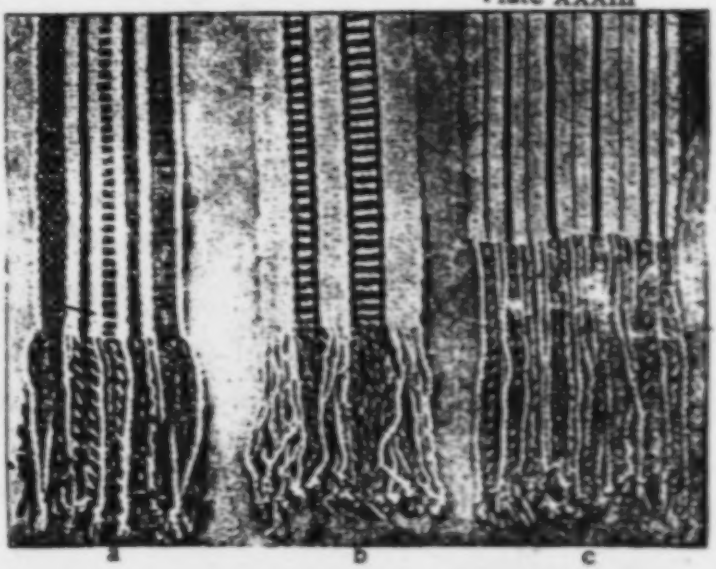


Fig. 119

Fig. 120

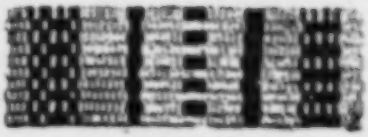


Fig. 121

Fig. 122

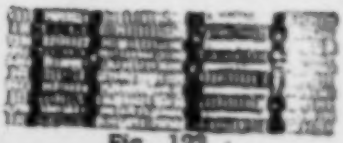


Fig. 123

Fig. 124

/The captions are on p. 189./

8: Schmidt--189 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaint SF8
Ie20

C
Ce
286
291
581

/Captions for Plates XXXII and XXXIII/

Plate XXXII. Woven ponchos, of wool.

Fig. 117. (I. A. 823) (Isozô) Width 1.30 m. Length 1.40 m.
Fig. 118. (I. A. 426) (Chiriguano) Width 1.39 m. Length 1.68 m.

Plate XXXIII.

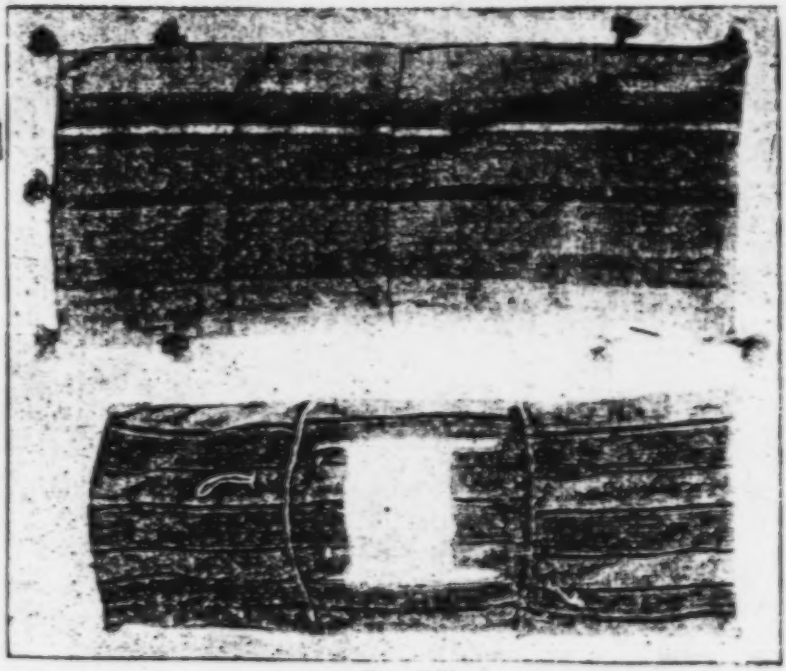
Fig. 119. Woven fajas:
a (I. A. 436), of wool (Chiriguano), length 2.86 m., width 9 cm.;
b (I. A. 428), of wool (Chiriguano), length 2.58 m., width 11.5 cm.;
c (I. A. 803), of cotton (Isozô), length 2.58 m., width 15 cm.

Fig. 120. Ornamentation of the manta I. A. 818 (Isozô).
Fig. 121. Ornamentation of the faja I. A. 436 (Chiriguano).
Fig. 122. Ornamentation of the faja I. A. 803 (Isozô).
Fig. 123. Ornamentation of the faja I. A. 436 (Chiriguano).
Fig. 124. Ornamentation of the faja I. A. 430 (Chiriguano).

8: Schmidt--191 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C
415
286
531
[482]

Plate XXXV



a

C
[492]

b

Fig. 131

Ce
415
286
531
492

Fig. 132

/The captions are on p. 192./

8: Schmidt--192 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Ce 286 /Plate XXXIV. Diagrams to illustrate the techniques of weaving, plaiting with "double thread," and sewing.

Fig. 125. Diagram to illustrate the technique of weaving, from the band of the net for carrying loads I. A. 768. Cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 200/ (Izozó).

Fig. 126. Diagram to illustrate the technique of weaving, from the saddle cover I. A. 843 (Izozó). Cf. Fig. 103a /see p. 174/

C 286 Fig. 127. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the hammock I. A. 448 (Chiriguano). Cf. Fig. 102b /see p. 174/.

Fig. 128. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the hammock I. A. 449 (Chiriguano).

Ce 286 Fig. 129. Diagram to illustrate the technique of plaiting with "double thread," from the saddle cover I. A. 844 (Izozó). Cf. Fig. 103b /see p. 174/.

Ce 284 415 Fig. 130. Diagram to illustrate the technique of sewing two cuyas:
a (I. A. 666) (Izozó);
b (I. A. 667) (Izozó).

C 531 415 286 [482] [492] Plate XXXV. Woven bags, of wool.

Fig. 131. a (I. A. 444) Woolen bag for carrying loads (Chiriguano), length 1.07 m., width 0.45 m.
b (I. A. 445) Double bag for loading horses (Chiriguano), entire length 92 cm., width 37 cm.

Ce 415 286 492 531 Fig. 132. (I. A. 811) Double bag for loading horses (Izozó), entire length 93 cm., width 46.5 cm.

/77 cont./

C 412 126

Spatulas for Stirring Foods, Which Are in the Collection

I.A. 501.	(Chiriguano)	Length	49.5 cm.	
I.A. 509.	"	"	94.5 cm.	(Fig. 21)
I.A. 576.	"	"	114 cm.	(Fig. 20b.)
I.A. 577.	"	"	93 cm.	
I.A. 578.	"	"	62 cm.	(Fig. 20a.)
I.A. 579.	"	"	66.5 cm.	

C Ce 412 [531] [171]

These wooden spatulas for stirring are used by the Chiriguano and Chané for stirring the bubbling crock of maize when it is being fermented. Some of these spatulas have decorations on their handles similar to those of the corresponding spatulas of the Guató Indians. Nordenskiöld shows in a sketch such a Chiriguano spatula with a zigzag decoration (283), and beside

C 412 531 237

283. Nord. 2, Fig. 17 A.

it (284) another form of these utensils, from the Chiriguano,

284. Nord. 2, Fig. 17 B.

which consists of the shoulder blade of a large mammal, attached to a wooden handle (285).

285. Nord. 2, p. 55. See Métraux I, Figs. 33 and 34.

The Making of Fermented Drinks

C 273

Concerning the making of maize chicha, that is, the national drink of the Chiriguano, Nordenskiöld says the following (286):

286. Nord. 1, p. 237.

C [412] First the maize is /78/ ground up in large mortars, then sifted and boiled in large pots with water. A part of this mash,

C
Ce
415
532
177

/80 cont./

These pots are undoubtedly imitations /Plates XXXVIII-XXXIX appear here/ /81/ of ancient Peruvian models or of modern products. Outside of that there are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld two dolls in the form of a man and a woman, made of wax, which served as toys for the children of the Chané of the Parapití River (308). Purely decorative plastic sculpture is

Ce
532
524

C
415
531

308. Nord. 1, Fig. 105.

mainly shown by most of the baked clay vessels intended for cooking foods, in the form of "ornamento hundido" /sunken decoration/, which is generally placed on the surface of the neck of these vessels, but it may also extend over the entire surface. Cf. Figure 48 /see p. 116/. In addition to the sunken decoration on the neck the vessel I.A. 414, shown in Figure 44, is decorated with a row of small pointed additions around the wall of the vessel. Linné shows in a drawing a piece of a Chané baked clay vessel, the surface of which is decorated with a border of baked clay placed in a zigzag around the wall of the vessel. Many of the vessels with smooth surfaces also have small additions and generally in pairs. They often have these instead of handles. In addition the baked clay dishes for eating and the dishes for frying /fritar/ maize are often provided with such additions. The handles of the baked clay vessels are not in the form of figures, but they can be plastically decorated in such a way that a groove divides them into two parts, which can be twisted around each other. Cf. Figures 46 and 49 /see p. 116/.

Some wooden utensils also have primitive plastic ornamentation, such as the spatulas for stirring food and drink, the wooden dishes for eating, and the large dishes or platters on which food is kept. The handles of some of the spatulas for stirring food are carved in such a way that their edges form zigzag lines (cf. fig. I.A. 579 /not illustrated: see Pl. VIII, p. 20/) and the dishes often have additions such as some baked clay dishes also show. Cf. Figures 18 a and b and 19 /see pl. VIII, p. 50/.

C
Ce
531

Drawings are also found on the surface of Chiriguano and Chané objects, in the form of paintings on the surface of baked

[text continues on p. 214]

Plate XXXVIII

531
532

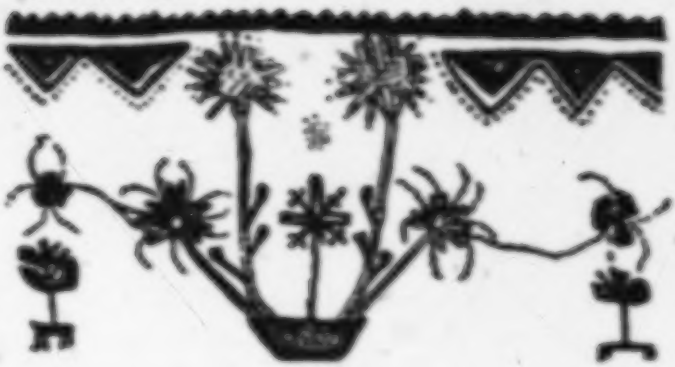


Fig. 145

Fig. 146

Fig. 147

Fig. 148

/The captions are on p. 213./

• 531

Plate XXXIX

Fig. 149

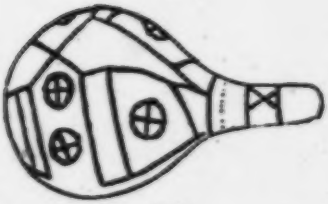


Fig. 150

Fig. 151

Fig. 152

Fig. 153

/The captions are on p. 213./

/Captions for Plates XXXVIII and XXXIX/

531
532

Plate XXXVIII. Drawings on the surface of baked clay vessels and a cuya.

Fig. 145. Phytomorphic drawings on the surface of the vessel I. A. 403 (Chiriguano). Cf. Fig. 64 /see p. 130/.

Fig. 146. Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic drawings on the surface of the vessel I. A. 378 (Chiriguano). Cf. Fig. 63 /see p. 130/.

Fig. 147. Zoomorphic drawing on the surface of the vessel I. A. 347 (Chiriguano). Cf. Fig. 65 /see p. 130/.

Fig. 148. Drawing of a fish incised on the surface of the cuya I. A. 454 (Chiriguano).

Plate XXXIX. Drawings on the surface of cuyas and a calabash (Chiriguano).

Fig. 149. (I. A. 456) Cuya.

Fig. 150. (I. A. 451) Cuya.

Fig. 151. (I. A. 466) Calabash.

Fig. 152. (I. A. 452) Cuya.

Fig. 153. (I. A. 458) Cuya.

/81 cont./

C Ce 531 clay vessels, in the form of incisings on the surface of cuyas and calabashes or flutes of wood or cane, in the form of pyrographic decorations on cuyas, and also, infrequently, in the form of tattooing on parts of the human body. The absolute difference between the drawings applied to the surfaces of baked clay vessels and those on cuyas and calabashes is surprising. This difference is explained by the fact that the decorations on C Ce [562] the baked clay vessels are done exclusively by women and those on cuyas and calabashes by men.

C Ce 531 17 The basic elements of the painting done on the surface of the baked clay vessels of these Indians consist of geometric designs which are completely different from those of the ancient Peruvians and untouched by modern European influences. No doubt these are the products of an old and indigenous art. But we do not know up to what point this originated among the Chiriguano and to what point among the Chané. Neither do we know whether the differences between the nature of the paintings of the Chiriguano in Machareti and that of the paintings of the Izozó of the Parapiti are only local differences or whether they are based on the difference between these two nations. But outside of that primordial decoration and mixed with it, there are foreign elements of decoration which we must reduce to ancient Peruvian models, and this is especially true of the drawings of plants on the surface of a Chiriguano vessel which Figures 64 and 145 show. One /82/ decoration, doubtless also phytomorphic, which appears repeatedly on the surface of the baked clay vessels, for example, on the vessels shown in Figures 67 and 75b, has a direct model in the form of a decoration that we know from the ancient Peruvian pottery of the last period of the Inca Empire (309). *Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic repre-*

C Ce 531 532

309. See Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru, p. 349, Fig. 1.

sentations are found relatively infrequently among the decorations on the baked clay vessels. The quadruped shown on the surface

/82 cont./

Ee 531 532

of the Chiriguano vessel I. A. 347 (cf. Fig. 65 /see p. 130/ and 147 /see p. 211/) and the way in which the road under this animal is represented show many reminders of similar representations of the ancient Peruvians. The representations of animals and people on the surface of vessel I. A. 378 (cf. Figs. 63 /see p. 130 and 146 /see p. 211/), which in external form is quite modern, correspond to those of other South American Indians. Like them the Chiriguano also combine elements of geometrical ornamentation for the representation of zoomorphic or anthropomorphic motifs, for example, the graduated line for the representation of roosters and triangles for the body of women. Cf. Fig. 146 /see p. 211/.

Ee [171]

Ee 531

One principal difference between the decoration painted on the surface of the baked clay vessels and the decoration incised on the surface of cuyas lies in the fact that the painting of the baked clay vessel is limited to the decoration of the upper part of the exterior surface or to that of the upper rim of the interior surface of the vessel, that is, the decoration of a continuum, either wider or narrower, while the incisings on the cuyas decorate the entire exterior surface, more or less semiglobular, often making the center of the semiglobular surface the center of the concentric ornamentation.

Among the decorated cuyas I received from the Chiriguano in Machareti some have only incising and others only pyroengraving. But most of them combine these two ways of producing a decoration. Several specimens of these decorated cuyas show the same decorative motifs with a surprising similarity. Without counting the stylized phytomorphic motifs, there can also be found among the incised decorations figures like the representation of a small fish (cf. Fig. 148 /see p. 211/) and of a chapel, clearly identified by a cross. Cf. Figure 153 /see p. 212/.

Among incised decorations we must still mention the concentric circumferences made on the surface of most of the Iaonó spindle-whorls and various wooden spindle-whorls of the Chiriguano, and the decoration of the "serere" flute shown in

/82 cont./

Ee 53! Figure 33b, which corresponds, as does also the form of this flute, completely to ancient Peruvian models. Also, the surface of the Chiriguano cane flute I.A. 494 (cf. Fig. 34a /see p. 89/) shows some incisings.

One of the tattooed decorations is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld, who found it on a woman's arm (310).

310. Nord. 1. Fig. 108.

Social Conditions among the Chiriguano and Chané

Ee 114 With regard to the social conditions among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izoció, I am unable to add to the few data which we know on this subject because the situations in which I found myself when with these Indians were not appropriate for such investigations.

Ee 115 124 127 /83/ Among the Izoció whom I found in Toledo there were some who were designated as cacique. To one of these, who spoke Spanish perfectly, I owe the vocabulary of the Izoció language which I wrote down. I met the Chiriguano only in Machareti, where they had lived for a long time under the supervision of the missionaries and, at the time of my trip, under the chieftainship of one of their own fellows who exercised the functions of a commissioner /comisario/. Two other Chiriguano Indians whom I met in Machareti were identified as caciques.

C 114 197 622

Ee 129 In order to complete my statements about the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izoció, I must make a resumé of what we know from the literature regarding the social conditions of those Indians, referring to Moreno's statements, which are based on old documents, as well as those of v. Nordenskiöld, which are based upon his own investigations.

Ee 178 642 643 Naturally, many of the old Chiriguano and Chané social institutions have been lost since they lost their independence from the whites. Also, the power of the great caciques has diminished appreciably since they have been dependent on the whites. When Nordenskiöld

over

/341 cont./

241 115 ladder, that is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps. Captain Karnapadyú's chacra /cultivated clearing/ was about 200 meters by 70 meters in size. At the edge stood a small wooden hut covered with straw.

The "Captain" began by showing me some manioc plants and had me cross a large square sown exclusively with beans and gourds /citronilles/. The corn fields came next. They were divided in two by a second hedge formed of trunks and thorns. Squash /courges/ grew between the rows of corn. After the maízal /field of corn/ followed a second expanse covered with beans, squash, and melons, which Karnapadyú told me belonged to his daughter. Here and there rose several stalks of sorghum. A new corn-field was opposite the

241 532 322 237

Fig. 8. Mask (tovaraanga) carved out of a calabash and provided with hair and eyebrows of horsehair. It was hung up in a planted field where it was serving as a scarecrow. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/5 nat. size.)

241 115 [322] [415] [824] first, and another cabin rose at its edge. In both of these properties the only plants cultivated for their manufacturing value were the cucurbitaceous ones from which the Indians make their cups and bottles.

Next, on the opposite cliff, I visited the chacra of another Indian of the same village. A steeper and more difficult road than the first led to it. The plantation was lower down a hill on which a little hut was perched. These fields were almost solely covered with corn among whose stalks grew squash. As before, the maízales were preceded by plantings of beans and squash.

/341 cont./

243 825 532 Parrots are veritable plagues for agriculture in the Chaco and cause great damage. In order to fight their voracious bands the Chiriguano make scarecrows by attaching to the tip of flexible poles the masks they wear during the carnival festivities and which they have no use for afterward (Fig. 8). It is the need to be constantly /342/ on the watch to repulse the intrusion of these formidable bands of plunderers which obliges the Indians to come and live in their fields as soon as the corn ripens. The children and young people have the task of frightening off by their shouts these insatiable marauders. As soon as they see or hear a flock of parrots, they emit a long modulation which, it seems, has the effect of scaring them. If 243 411 the parrots come too near or perch on the fields, the Indians make them flee by bombarding them with stones with their slings. They have two kinds of these. Wherever the Chiriguano [177] are in direct contact with the Quichua /Quechua/, these slings are of wool (Plate VII, 1 and 2); elsewhere, especially in the Caipipendí valley, they are of vegetable fibers and made according to the net technique (Plate VII, 3). No doubt the Chiriguano borrowed this weapon from the Andean populations. To be convinced of this it suffices to compare the slings of the Indians and half-breeds of the department of Tarija with that of the Chiriguano (Rosen, 1, Fig. 267, p. 261).

[825] Another means of scattering the birds is to stretch a string above the fields. I do not know the effect that this measure can have on them.

243 825 [351] The fields of the Chiriguano Indians are always surrounded by a high, thick hedge which protects them from animals, wandering cows and horses, which could get in and play havoc with them. Grasshoppers sometimes do them much harm. In the Caipipendí valley I saw a field in which they were swarming and which seemed to have been abandoned for this reason (1).

1. When grasshoppers are particularly numerous, the Chiriguano dig ditches which they make them go into and in which they bury them. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 83.)

/389 cont./

415 184 The footed bowl or "compote" (Fig. 77) comes from the Caipipendí valley, the same as the vessel with ribbed belly of Plate XXVI. 2. These are the only specimens of this type that I found in the whole Chiriguano country.

415 184 532 Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic vessels are rare. Scarcely anywhere but in the Caipipendí valley is corn beer ordinarily served you in vessels shaped like a bull. Besides, their workmanship is careless. The admirable anthropomorphic vessel of Plate XXVI. 1 is an exceptional piece.

415 Twinned vessels (Plate XXVII. 2) and those which a constriction separates into two bodies (Figs. 74, 75, and Plate XXVII. 1) are very rare.

415 531 The motifs painted on Chiriguano vessels most often are of a purely geometric nature.

There are few exceptions to this rule. As an example of them, I shall give the large yambuí of Plate LII. 1, on the belly of which have been painted more or less stylized dogs, chickens, and toads; the yambuí of Figure 83, whose principal decoration is composed of a series of yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/, Penelope spec.); and finally several vessels in my collections, which I did not want to publish because of their completely Europeanized form. On one of them silhouettes of nandus are distinguishable (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 222) and on another have been drawn a man and woman whose hands are united by a red line (symbol of marriage, of love?).

I remember having seen on a jar in the Caipipendí valley /389/ nandus drawn with particular skill. I would gladly have bought that piece if it had been possible to arrange its transportation.

[178] The vessel of Figure 83[1] gives an excellent idea of what Chiriguano potters could do in the "realistic" genre if a long /Fig. 61 appears here/ tradition did not oblige them to limit themselves to the representation of geometric motifs.

[1] [See P 189, Category 116--Analysis]

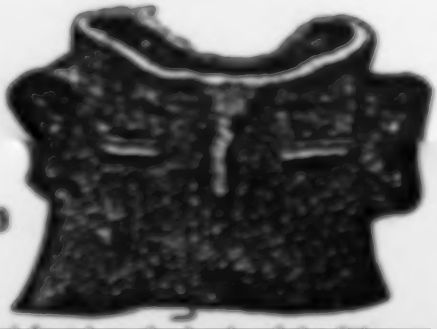
1: Métraux--177 E-5 (1950) 1950 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XXV

415
552
172

1

2



3

Anthropomorphic vessel found on the banks of the Pilcomayo near the Chiriguano village of Ibopeyti, attesting to the existence in this region of a civilized population before the Chiriguano. The vessel has a red gloss and the ears of the personage are pierced. (1/2 nat. size.)

/408 cont./

415 191 192 12. The ornithomorphic vessel of Figure 73 seems to have come from the hands of the ancient potters of the Isla de Tilcara who, several centuries ago, used to make analogous pieces, without a doubt servilely imitated by the Chané and the ancestors of the Chiriguano (see Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 139-141, p. 191). Boman (2, Vol. II, p. 786, Fig. 193) also publishes a bird-shaped vessel, perhaps of the pavo del monte (Penelope obscura, Vieill.?), found not far from the present-day village of Humahuaca and which, in addition to its general appearance, has in common with our specimen

415 531

Fig. 73. Ornithomorphic vessel. Chiriguano. Motifs: pink and green. Prov.: Tarairí. (1/3 nat. size.)

415 191 192 from Tarairí designs painted on the sides which represent the wings and tail.

The Chiriguano Indians of the Caipipendí valley and the 415 532 Ivu mission still like to serve chicha in vessels to which they give the appearance of a bull (Plate XXVIII, 7-9).[2] Llama-[193] shaped vessels have been discovered in the Quebrada de [192] Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 27, Fig. 14, and Odilia [191] Bregante, Fig. 132, p. 147). Perhaps these are the prototypes of the present-day Chiriguano specimens. Why suppose that [114] these receptacles had solely ritual usage, as Mr. Debenedetti thinks, when one sees the modern Chiriguano make an entirely secular use of them?

[2] [See p. 190 -- Analyst]

1: Métraux--190 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

445
531
532

Plate XXVIII

Miniature Chiriguano vessels (toys and amusing objects). Prov.: 1, Ibopeytí; 2 and 5, Yumbía; 3, Tintapaw; 4, Tarairí; 7-9, Carurutí. Colors: red brown and black on white background, except Nos. 4 and 7, red brown on white. (Nos. 1 and 4 = 1/2; 2, 3, 5-9 = 1/3 nat. size ±.)

C /425 cont./
531
171

The large triangles which run around the belly of the îru and yambuí from the mission region strongly resemble an analogous motif which covers the outside surface of vessels made by the Neuquen Araucan (San Martin, Plate XV, Fig. 3).

Eyebrow-shaped design (Plate XLIX, 4).[1] A vessel from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) has as its only decorative motif a strange decoration in the shape of a stylized eyebrow which stands out in white against a red background and is situated on the neck. This design is made up of two parallel lines separated by dots. In the presence of this curious motif one cannot help thinking immediately of the human faces painted on the funerary urns of the Diaguite region. The facial organs are overhung by a gigantic superciliary arch which, starting from the tip of the nose, descends to the height of the ears. The manner in which this part of the head is drawn recalls strongly the figure we are concerned with here.

D
[415]
[531]
[964]

Cross. The vessel of Plate LX, 2, is decorated on the belly with a series of crosses inscribed in diamonds. This sign constitutes a decorative motif of which the present-day Chiriguano make exceptional use. Like the majority of the motifs painted on their vases, this one has no particular significance. A calabash from the same region is also decorated with pyrographed Maltese crosses (see Plate LXI, 1 /see p. 252 /). We know the frequency of this ornamentation, symbolic or not, on the funerary urns of the Diaguite country, principally of the Santa Maria region (Catamarca), a frequency such that it warranted a book by Quiroga, some of the illustrations of which are interesting.

D
[415]
[531]
[964]

The cross appears also on a Taltal vessel of the Chincha-Atacama period (Guevara, plate between pp. 46-47 and 50-51), on a calabash from Calama /426/ (Oyarzun, Fig. 10), on another from the Puna de Jujuy (Ambrosetti, 4, Fig. 70, p. 68, Vol. LIV), and on a box from Morhuasi (Boman, 2, Fig. 75, Plate XXVII), etc.

Representation of the human face. The human face is not reproduced on any of the vessels I collected. Nordenskiöld (10, Fig. 28, p. 137) shows and describes a pot on whose rim a face was represented: the nose was in relief and the other organs painted on it. The similarity of this motif and the one decorating some pieces from the Andean region does not need to be emphasized.

C
[532]

[1] [See p. 228--Analyst]

/462 cont./

Chapter X

Masks

532 The handsome masks, whose description I shall give
796 further on, are worn during the carnival festivities. Difficulties
[122] with the Bolivian authorities kept me from arriving in the Chiriguano villages at the time when they were taking place. When I finally found myself among my Chiriguano friends, they had emptied the last vats of kīwi and were /463/ in their
[126] normal state. Thanks to the closeness of the feast I was able
[241] to collect the masks published here; ordinarily they are destroyed or used in the fields as scarecrows.

115 My host, Mr. Alberto Torrejon, who lives at Ibopeytí on the upper Pilcomayo in an Indian village, gave me some very interesting details about the ceremonies and merrymaking in which he had just participated. I transcribe them as given.

796 At my approach of any festival, the carnival, for exam-
795 ple, the first act consists in causing the souls of the dead to flee.
789 If this precaution is not taken, the widows and relatives of the deceased will have to abstain from taking part. For the purpose of purifying the air, a drum is beaten, and the whole family /Fig. 120 appears here/ which has lost a member weeps and shouts. When the spirits have cleared out, the drum, in a joyful rhythm, gives the signal for merrymaking.

796 The festival is opened by a man and a woman who, with a stick decorated with flowers in hand, advance toward the middle of the square, followed by all the inhabitants in a long chain. When they have arrived at the middle of the area extending between the huts, the couple plants this sign, thus giving the signal for the festival.

[535] The chain breaks up and small groups form to dance in a ring. Their dance consists in advancing and retreating in triple time to the sound of flutes and drums.

/463 cont./

796 The attraction of the carnival consists of the enormous
293 consumption of kāwi and alcohol which takes place then. Men
578 and women drink, one trying to outdo the other; and, under the influence of drink, old angers and secret hates are awakened and the most excited provoke each other and come to blows.

796
582

Fig. 120. Chiriguano Indians wearing masks. (Photo. by the R. P. H. Catinari.)

796
293 /464/ The "captain" must then call them to order and separate
578 the combatants.

Some people increase the tumult by blowing into their
796 ténéné (long whistles).
534

Sexual passions become aroused, and the men begin to
796 whirl around the women, whom they entreat, a calabash of
832 kāwi in the hand, while reciting to them in a singsong tone
786 pieces of verse of this type:
786
539

Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no	For me
Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no.	For me.

/464 cont./

796 Eyu šekuama	Come and kiss me
832 Šemireko mi	My little wife
786 Diyuru emesie	Give me thy mouth
539 Tuiša dipota	I love thee much
Se songo pe	With my heart
Ime deresa ikavi	Thou hast pretty eyes
Ime diyuro misiray	Thou hast a little mouth
Tuiša dipota	I love thee much
Pairamo ayporu deve.	For that I am going to ask for thee.

796 During this time young or old men with their faces
539 covered by a mask (añawasu) run here and there, force the peo-
522 ple to dance by blows of a stick, play tricks on them, and address jokes to them.

796 The feast lasts as long as there is kāwi or alcohol. At
[273] the moment when it is on the point of ending, a final ceremony takes place. The rite of going out is similar to the rite of entering: the couple who planted the flowery stick tear it from the ground and go out of the village, followed by the añawasu and all those who took part in the festival. The procession advances to a certain distance from the village to the sound of the flutes and drums. They throw away the masks and throw stones while shouting. The carnival is finished and everyone goes home.
[585] Some take along their new wife, for it is at this moment that most marriages are celebrated.

796 The carnival festivity such as I have just described in-
177 volves only a few elements borrowed from the half-breeds or
178 creoles, outside of the coincidence of dates. This is an ancient
[241] feast of a purely agricultural character, which the Chiriguano have acquired the habit of celebrating at the same time as the Bolivian carnival. Besides, the Indians of Ibopeytí are pagans.

796 The masked men are supposed to represent the spirits of the
241 dead, as their name indicates (aña: spirit; wasu: great). As in
171 the festivals of the Guianas and Central America, they come in numbers /Plate LXXXVI appears here/ /465/ to insure for their

[Text Continues on p. 329]

Plate LXXXVI

1

2

Chiriguano masks (tova-raanga). Prov.: 1, Cuevo; 2, Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). (3/5 nat. size.)

C /465 cont./
796 descendants or relatives the fertility of the fields and the
241 abundance of the future harvest. These masked festivals have
[171] their counterpart in the famous ceremonies of the populations of
C the Negro River, the details of which Koch-Grünberg has made
[177] known to us. Besides, it is probable that the Chiriguano borrowed these ceremonies, and especially the masks, from the
A Chané. It is the racial brothers of the Chané, the Arawak of
796 the Negro River, who celebrate these festivals with the most
241 splendor. The Chané of the Parapití still accord to these ancient
Ce rites more importance than the Chiriguano, and their masks
796 crowned with immense tufts of feathers are, it appears, more
241 sumptuous than those of their old Guarani enemies.
532

In the missions the carnival has lost its purely pagan
C significance and has become contaminated with images which
796 the Chiriguano have borrowed from the half-breeds. Nino
[177] (pp. 267-270) gives a good description of them, of which I
[177] shall summarize the principal features.

C The festival is directed by a personage wearing an old-
● [532] man mask. He stops at each corner of the square, recommending peace and harmony to all.

Then they give themselves over to different gamest masked personages scatter bean pods or corn bran upon the dancers.

Young men, masked but almost entirely naked, daub
C themselves with mud and try to soil all those who have new
[177] garments. These two customs can have only a Bolivian origin.

Individuals who are also masked mime a combat between
C a jaguar and a bull which is finally put to death by a fanciful
796 butcher. Then they pass on to the pleasures of the dance. "The
532 dancers form a large circle by joining hands and dance thus
[536] three times. Three times also they squat down, and three more times they pass under the extended arms of a couple of the same circle, and finally the same number of times they press against one another, forming a big mass, their faces turned toward the outside and their hands folded. They remain in this position until another couple dances around them. These do not hold each other by the hand. The man chases the woman and tries to grab her. She avoids him and goes to hide in the middle of the others."

/465 cont./

796 Toward the end of the festivity, the men improvise a seat by crossing sticks. They have a child sit on it and form a bulwark for him with bamboos. The others come and rain a hail of blows on him, without hurting him, however. Then they have him get down and begin this ceremony over again three times in different places.

On the second lap, the masked individuals go from house to house and receive from each person the strangest objects: bean pods, watermelon rinds. On the third lap, young and old begin to weep.

To finish up, they go in a procession to throw away the masks and all wash their faces and hands.

/466/ Description of the Masks

Plate LXXVI

• 532 1. Mask of toroboki wood (light, soft wood). The face is painted white and framed by a black ribbon fastened with small wooden pegs. The eyebrows, mouth, and the parallel lines which cross the bridge /Fig. 121 appears here/ of the nose have been painted in black. The edges of the nose are emphasized with two green lines. On each cheek, two concentric circles, one black and the other green with a black dot in the center. On each side, a hole through which passes a cord serving to hold the mask over the face.

Small cavities along the periphery seem to indicate that at the time of the festival feathers were stuck along the edge of the mask exactly as on the following specimen.

2. This mask is the one which, in my collection, is in the best condition. The face, whitened with a substance similar to lime, is bordered with feathers stuck into the wood. The eyebrows are painted in black, as is the upper lip. The mouth is represented by a slit. The facial painting on both the cheeks and the forehead is green, except for the center dot, which in each disk is brown.

/166 cont./

532 The mask of Figure 121 comes from Tabacal near Oran, where it was acquired by Mr. Palavecino from Chiriguano

Fig. 121. Chiriguano mask from Tabacal (near Oran). Museo Nacional de Buenos Aires (Palavecino Collection). (1/9 nat. size.)

Indians settled in the region. Its dimensions are considerable. It measures 52 centimeters in length by 16 centimeters in width. It is painted white and the face is framed by a fringe of feathers. I do not know the significance of the large ears which surmount it.

/476 cont./

123 Drawings. On Plates XCI-XCIII one can see gathered to-
126 gether a certain number of drawings executed for my sake by
532 Chiriguano Indians. In order to obtain them I first approached several old men, who refused with an outraged air as if I were
123 asking them to do a thing beneath their dignity. A small boy
126 of 12, Consito, two young men, Asensio and José Miguel, and
115
532

524

Fig. 136. Indian executing the mobile string figure called "culo de caballo /horse's rear end/.

123
126
115 a girl, Iwawasei, showed themselves willing to cover the pages
532 of my album with all kinds of sketches.

Consito did not have to be begged: I was proposing to him a game not only pleasant but fruitful, and he had soon filled two pages (Plate XCI, 1, 2, 4, 9; Plate XCII, 2, 4; Plate
115 XCIII, 1, 3, 10). Asensio, my faithful friend, also gave me
123 complete satisfaction. He was a curious individual, and I keep
126 a particularly vivid and congenial memory of him. He was 25 to 30 years old and was conspicuous because of his extraordinary
[322] activity and ingenuity. At any moment of the day he could be seen busy cutting or carving a piece of wood which then

[See pp. 355-359-- Analyst]

/476 cont./

115 123 126 322 463 became an ingeniously conceived tool or still oftener a musical instrument. Asensio used to make violins which on first sight appeared to have come from a European factory. It goes without saying that he was the recognized carpenter of the village and the great provider of household articles. When Asensio had understood the purpose which had brought me to his home, he transformed his hut into a workshop for ethnographic objects; and I owe it to his enterprising spirit that I was able to collect many a piece, today no longer in use, which he reconstructed for me.

At the time when I was in his village, Asensio had received big orders for flutes for the coming Easter festival, [532] and I had a good time watching him work. Once an instrument was finished, he would embellish it with engraved animals.

115 126 532 The material on which Asensio (see Plate XCI /see p.355/, 5, 7., and Plate XCII /see p.356 /, 3, 6) incised his figures exerted an indirect influence on the pencil drawings he drew in my notebook. They stand out by their angular character, but also by their clearness.

José Miguel (see Plate XCI, 8; Plate XCII, 1, 5, 7, 9; Plate XCIII /see p. 357 /, 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12), whom Ascensio's example had encouraged, asked me to give him the notebook and pencil, and he made me a whole series of drawings which, although rather light and uncertain, sometimes are not lacking in a certain movement. José Miguel had traveled to Argentina: [177] the train and the automobile (which he drew from memory) attest well to his admiration for the /477/ marvels of "Progress" (Plate XCII, 7, 8). Thank God his modernism had not made him forget his mythology, and he was able to draw for me a mythical episode which is to be seen on Plate XCIII, 12, A, B, C: the blue jaguar (yaguarowi, personification of the spots on the moon) is preparing to devour the moon and the sun.

123 126 532 When I had finished with the men, I wanted to have several feminine drawings, imagining that the women would lend themselves willingly to this game since they are the recognized artists of the tribe. All, unanimously and to my great surprise, refused to do it, shouting in the middle of gales of laughter: Aikuaá "I Can't do it, I don't know how."

/477 cont./

000 laughter: Alkuaá "I can't do it, I don't know how." Only one,
123 a girl, Iwawaei, allowed herself to be persuaded by the promise
126 of a spool of thread. Her awkwardness was not feigned, as I
115 was able to see from the beginning, seeing the embarrassed air
532 with which she took the pencil. Once ready to draw, inspiration was suddenly lacking. She stopped short until I had pointed out a vessel to her to copy. Since her confusion only grew greater, she asked Consito, the small boy who made my first drawings, to help her. He drew the vessel on Plate XCIII. 10, which she began conscientiously to reproduce in series. I protested, and then she made me a horse and on this horse's back a man and a child, then a woman (Plate XCI. 3 and XCIII. 7). I am not very sure that all the drawings she told me she had made were hers, for when my attention was diverted by a visit, she had Consito secretly help her.

532 The drawings the Chiriguano executed for my sake recall not
191 only those of our children but approximate appreciably those which have been collected in various regions of South America, notably among the tribes of the Negro River (Koch-Grünberg, 1): the Taulipang and the Makuši (Koch-Grünberg, 2, Plates 28-32, pp. 128-161): the Indians of the upper Xingu (Steinen, 2, Plates III-IV). (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 245-247, pp. 390-398): the Chorotí and the Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 2, Figs. 63-66, pp. 130-132): the Kaingua (Ambrosetti, 2, Plates I-III, pp. 674-687), etc.

There could be no question of making a comparative study of these drawings, so uniform is their style. The only details which are worth being brought together are those denoting similar psychological characteristics and yet these common traits are not characteristic of a primitive mentality. I should scarcely have to point out the fact that in drawing a woman, a Kaingua Indian proceeded exactly as did two of my Chiriguano artists (Plate XCI. 3 and 7): he began by representing the woman naked, then dressed her.

/477 cont./

• 532 The Chiriguano are too civilized for one to be able to hope to surprise interesting features in their artistic productions some of our conventional representations appear in their /478/ drawings (see Figs. 12 B. C. on Plate XCIII /see p. 357/ showing the moon and sun).

In my opinion, the scientific value of such drawings is little and attests to only one thing: the difficulties the Indians experience in reproducing natural objects with means unfamiliar to them. On this subject I shall quote a very sensible remark of Boas (p. 65): "When one gives a pencil and paper to a primitive and asks him to draw an object from nature, one is obliging him to use instruments which are unfamiliar to him and imposing on him an unfamiliar technique. He must set aside his usual work methods and solve new problems. The result therefore cannot be a work of art--except under exceptional conditions. This is exactly what takes place for a child: the amateur artist must face a task for which he lacks technical preparation, and the difficulties which embarrass the child are precisely those which embarrass the primitive, whence the apparent resemblance between children's drawings and those of primitives."

The Chiriguano are doubtless as well endowed for drawing as Europeans. On one of the walls of the Machaveď mission I saw frescoes drawn with charcoal by an Indian, which proved real talent in their maker.

Plate XCI

Figure 1. Hut (tua). The forked sticks on which the trusses of the roof rest, although invisible, have been carefully indicated by Cousins, maker of this drawing.

Figure 2. Woman (nuña), front view. She wears a dress. She has four fingers on each hand and her ears are disproportionately large (Cousins).

/479 cont./

532 Figure 3. Woman (bufia) drawn by Iwawasei. At the beginning she was content to make an enormous head surmounting a stunted body and long thin legs. Upon my remark that the [534] woman was naked, Iwawasei, out of modesty, dressed her by surrounding her legs with a kind of oval which she scribbled in black. She ended her drawing with the hair when I showed my surprise at the woman's baldness.

Figure 4. Dog (yrimbá) drawn by Consito. The body is in profile and the head seen straight on. The front legs end in two claws, the hind ones in two balls.

Figure 5. Iguana drawn by Asensio. He had a predilection for this animal, which he engraved on his flutes, and he hurried to reproduce it on my notebook, keeping the slightly angular style of his incised drawings. /Plate: XCI-XCIII appear here./

/479/ Figure 6. Masculine individual (afia) drawn by José Miguel. On one hand, four fingers; on the other, five.

Figure 7. Woman (bufia) drawn by Asensio. The artist [535] began by drawing her naked, and it was only afterward that he had the idea of clothing her, drawing her dress as if seen in cross section.

Figure 8. Chiriguano shooting with a bow. He grasps the wood of the bow with his right hand and the cord with the left according to the Chiriguano custom (drawing by José Miguel).

Figure 9. The author of these lines as seen by Consito. His wide-brimmed hat is transformed into an American sailor's cap; and his glasses, which evidently impressed the Indians, are indicated head on, although the author is drawn in profile with his head thrown back. The blackened parts represent his suit.

Plate XCII

Figure 1. Urn, hen (José Miguel).

Figure 2. Bandy (nandú), drawn by Consito, who has given it the regulation number of toes on one foot, but has forgotten one on the other.

[Text Continues on P. 358]

Plate XCI

•532

Chiriguano drawings. Caruruti. Meanings: 1, hut; 2 and 3, women; 4, dog; 5, iguana; 6, man; 7, woman; 8 Indian shooting with a bow; 9, the author.

Plate XCII

• 532

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

9

8

Chiriguano drawings. Caruruti. Meanings: 1, hen; 2 and 3, nandu; 4, pig; 5, a little boy and the author; 6, iguana; 7, auto; 8, train; 9, woman.

Plate XCIII

•532

Chiriguano drawings. Carurutí. Meanings: 1. calabashes; 2. parrot; 3. corn; 4. cow; 5. duck; 6. stag; 7. horse and above = woman and child; 8. anteater; 9. dog; 10 vessel; 11. guanaco; A. celestial jaguar; B moon; C: sun.

/479 cont./

532 Figure 3. This nandu with angular lines characterizes the style of Asensio, used to drawing on a material as unyielding as bamboo.

Figure 4. This drawing is supposed to give the picture of a pig (kuñi), whose tail, however, would be more appropriate for a fox and the face for a man (Consito).

Figure 5. A boy (sambiay) and the author, recognizable by his hat and the heels of his boots (José Miguel).

Figure 6. Tagua (jaguar), drawn by Asensio, who here again has reproduced a figure he doubtless was in the habit of engraving on his flutes. The jaguar, which is seen in profile, naturally has only two legs.

Figures 7 and 8. These two drawings, one representing a car and the other a train, are owed to José Miguel, who
[151] traveled to Argentina. They constitute a good example of the sense of observation and memory of the Chiriguano. The car has three wheels, that is, the front ones have been represented in profile, but as if they were viewed head on.

Figure 9. Woman walking, drawn by José Miguel.

Plate XCIII

Figure 1. Calabashes attached to their stem (Consito).

Figure 2. Parrot (ayuru) (José Miguel).

Figure 3. Corn on stalk (avati) (Consito).

Figure 4. Cow (waka) (José Miguel).

/480/

Figure 5. Duck (poni) (José Miguel).

Figure 6. Deer (wasu) (José Miguel).

Figure 7. Horse, and over it, a man and a child. In reality these are two distinct drawings which the artist, young Iwawani, put together inadvertently.

Figure 8. Anteater (ñigwa) (José Miguel).

Figure 9. Dog (yeimbá) (José Miguel).

Figure 10. Vessel (yambuí) decorated with voluted triangles (Consito).

•532 /480 cont./

Figure 11. Guanaco (José Miguel).

[821] Figure 12. (A): blue jaguar who lives in the sky (personification of the spots on the moon) getting ready to eat the moon (B) and the sun (C), thus bringing on an eclipse.

Chapter XIV

The Treatment of Illnesses

Sorcerers and Remedies

756 178 Sorcerers. Medicine men have become so rare among the Chiriguano that I could not get to know a one during my whole [123] trip. Only on the upper Pilcomayo did they allude in front of me to a talented paye who lived in a nearby village.

Although great sorcerers endowed with supernatural powers and surrounded with great prestige no longer exist, there still must be in each village a man or woman capable of curing certain illnesses and of pronouncing incantations.

A scene I witnessed at Timboy (Salado River, upper Pilcomayo) demonstrates well that the profession of sorcerer, less important though it may be, has nevertheless not disap- [122] peared. I was living in the home of a Bolivian half-breed whose child's body was covered with purulent pimples. His parents began by appealing to my medical knowledge, but I declared myself incompetent to treat this case or any other. They then 75 [824] called an old Indian woman, who appeared one morning with a plant in her hand, a kind of wild pumpkin which the half-breeds call sandía del monte. This plant, crushed and mixed with hot water, is used for external washing. They stretched the child out on the ground and commanded him to hold himself motionless. The old woman sat down near him and began to mutter inaudible incantations which she interrupted only to spit often on the limbs of the little patient. Then she would take up her recitation again, at the same time spreading the saliva over his body from head to feet. Nordenskiold (5, p. 44,

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

532

PLATE 44.—**Wooden masks of the Chiriguano and the altiplano.** *Top:* Chiriguano masks made of a single piece of wood. (The scale is 30 cm. long.) *Bottom:* Painted wooden masks, probably Chiriguano in origin. (Courtesy Museo Etnográfico de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Buenos Aires.)

[End plate 4]

/267 cont./

[541] [177] [648] Don Antonio Menduiña, who had requested aid; he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers from Azero.

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival [178] is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of Arete, fiesta, through antonomasia, and all the old fiestas are [461] gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that [292] this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguano works almost all year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him; for it is he gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy clothing for himself and his wife and children; and on those days all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put on /268/ during the other days of the year, neither for the Ayarise nor for the Mbapa páure.

In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between [532] blacks and whites; the men well dressed, and even the infidel women with garb adorned with gauze, fancy hats, and multicolored ribbon; the children cover their faces with masks which they have made beforehand by carving toborochi wood; young men prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others, such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the dancers and Agĕeros /maskers/, for whom everything is allowed because it is carnival.

[541] By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one [535] drinks and has fun, they make merry on the compadre and [527] comadre days, and on Quinquagesima Saturday, all day, the maskers and dancers practice the dances that they call Aticu. On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival, [532] dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually mounted on a burro; the one who is thus disguised directs the fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

1. The principal man so disguised has subalterns,

Schmidt-Schiffel II-8,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
1910 Chirigwana 1910
Chana 1910
South American Indians 58

Map 12. The distribution of masks.

● – dancing masks. ■ – burial masks and other masks.

C
Ce
102
131
532
Ni
S
102
532

Microfilmed 1-4,9(1908-1909, 1919) 1920
8710 Chiriguano 8710
Chaco 8710

XXI.

Dancing Masks.

C
Ce
177
532
527
535

A Chané Indian on the Rio Ituyuro told me that mask dances were introduced among the Indians by the Whites. PADRE BERNARDINO DE NINO was also told by the Chiriguano that the celebration of the carnival came to them from the Whites, and he plainly considers that we here have to do with a custom which is not of Indian origin. This is certainly wrong. The fixed date of the festival came to the Indians from the Whites, but the manner of celebration is manifestly derived from an old Indian custom which corresponds to similar masquerades described from Brazil by KOCH-GRÜNBERG. This appears from NINO's own account of the celebration of the carnival.

The ceremony is at least partly a feast of fruitfulness[1]. The mask dancers throw the husks of beans and the offal from chicha-brewing at the other dancers in order to secure a good harvest. Just as in northwestern Brazil, some at least of the Chiriguano-dancers appear disguised as animals which they imitate. NINO says that towards the end of the festival the old people weep because they call to mind the dead who cannot share in the pleasure. The ceremony is ended by the participators going out of the village and throwing their masks into the river or some other water-course and there washing their faces and hands. Sometimes they burn the masks, as is done in northwestern Brazil.

Ce
115
527
532
535

BATIRAYU, a most reliable old Chané Indian, assured me that when he was a boy he had seen masks on the Rio

[1] P. 208.

ScNordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce 177 527 532 535 [115]

Parapiti different from those now in use. He was of the opinion that masks were used before the Whites came to their country. On these occasions fruit-shell anklet-rattles were worn and also dance ornaments of parrot feathers. Obviously it is quite certain that masquerades are an original Indian custom here as well as in other parts of S. America, and have been celebrated at a time of year when the Whites have a festival of a somewhat similar character, externally at least. In the same way the Quichua kept their old feasts on the festival day of the Church of Rome.[1]) This is most certainly still the case among both the Aymara and the Quichua, whose masquerades on the great Roman Catholic festival days are anything but Christian in character, and would certainly form material for extremely interesting studies on the primitive religious conceptions of these Indians.

C Ce 532 171 Ce [114]

Judging by what an authority like BATIRAYU says, it is doubtful if the type of mask now used, viz. faces of wood or calabash, is Indian. It must, however, be remembered that BATIRAYU only speaks of what occurs among the Chané on the lower Rio Parapiti. Wooden masks, representing a human face, are however not unknown to other Indians. SENECHAL DE LA GRANGE found a mask of this kind in a grave in the desert of Atacama.[2]) Masks of wood and stone have been found in the Diaguita territory.[3]) The Ijca have wooden masks[4]) as also the Araucanians.[5]) The Indians on the Rio Xingú have wooden masks which, however, are rather different from those that occur among the Chiriguano and the Chané. The latter are more like those of the Araucanians and the Ijca. (Fig. 59). a

Generally speaking, dance-masks are very widely dis-

[1]) BANDELIER after ARRIAGA P. 158.
[2]) BOMAN I. 746.
[3]) OUTES (5) v BRUCH P. 57.
[4]) BOLINDER (4) P. 258.
[5]) GUEVARA (1) Fig. 5.

a [erratum, should be Fig. 58. CE errata sheet p. 245]

SNordenskiöld E-Sy(1908-1909, 1913) 1930
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
532
171

tributed in S. America. They are only used on particular occasions, and then as a rule destroyed. It is therefore likely that such masks still exist among various tribes where they have been overlooked. Dance-masks are also mentioned in old narratives by ACOSTA and COBO. It is likely, too, that some of the «idolos» mentioned by other old authors were dance-masks.[3])

In the western culture zone many masked mummies have been found. During the Inca period it was still the custom to put masks over the faces of the dead. SARMIENTO speaks of mummies of Inca rulers wearing masks.[5]) The custom of masking the dead is not known east of the Andes.

UHLE[6]) found at Pisagua in northern Chile masks of Vicuña skin, that he believes were used by the Indian when hunting Vicuñas. At San Rosario in Lluta-Valley (Dept. Arica) he found a rock-drawing showing masked hunters shooting at 4 or 5 fleeing Vicuñas. Masks of the facial parts of human skulls have been found at S. Mateo on the Oroya railway in Peru. These are now preserved in the ethnographical museum at Rome.[6])

There is yet a fourth kind of mask. It is the one used by the Aymara and the Quichua on the heights of the Andes as a protection during a snowstorm. They are knitted of wool.

As far as I know, masks did not occur among the Tupi Indians on the Brazilian coast. Consequently I deem it probable that the Chiriguano only learnt the use of the

[3]) e. g. CARVAJAL P. 44. «Y en esta casa se hallaron dos ídolos tejidos de pluma» (Palma, segun el otro manuscrito.) «de diversa manera, que ponian espanto, y eran de estatura de gigante y tenian en los brazos metidos en los molledos unas ruedas á manera de arandelas, y lo mismo tenian en las pantorillas junto á las rodillas: tenian las orejas horadadas y muy grandes, á manera de los Indios del Cuzco, y mayores.»

[5]) P. 68.

[6]) Communicated by letter.

[6]) GIGLIOLI.

Nordenskiöld E-4 β (1908-1909. 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Plateau S27
South American Indians S3
135
C
Ce
532
171*
C
Ce
102
532
171*
M
822
789
S
102
532
C
Ce
102
532
171*

dance masks from the Chané. Where the latter learnt their use it is at present impossible to say.

The map 12 and table 15 show us the distribution of the mask in S. America.

The places at which burial masks have been found are indicated in the map by squares. In making out this list I have followed PATER SCHMIDT, to whose statements I am able to make a few additions. The fact of the Ona and Yahgan Indians having masks seems to prove that their use is very ancient in S. America. At a ceremony of exorcism among the Mataco I saw some men with pieces of cloth hanging over their faces. I take this to be the most primitive kind of mask.

Table 15 showing the Distribution in S. America. (map 12) of dancing masks and other masks.

3. Tapiete, R. M. L. 216.
4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 601.
5. Chané.
8. Lengua, GRUBB Plate P. 180.
10. Araucanians, GUEVARA (1) Fig. 5; PATER SCHMIDT P. 1057.
11. Chamacoco, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.
13. Karajá, KRAUSE P. 331.
18. Quichua, ACOSTA T. 2, P. 225; SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA P. 68 (Burial masks); COBO V. 4, P. 102. «Y cada atambor tocaban cuatro indios principales vestidos de muy particular librea con camisetas coloradas hasta los pies con rapacejos blancos y colorados; encima se ponían unas pieles de leones desollados enteros y las cabezas vacías en las cuales les tendan puestas unas patenas, zarcillos en las orejas, y en lugar de sus dientes naturales, otros del mismo tamaño y forma.»
19. Aymara. Mestizos, Bolivia. Quite common during the carnival.

Intermediate 1-4-5 1908-1909, 1912, 1920
1910 Chirigoano 1910
Chaco 1911
South American Indians 53

G
102
532
C
Ce
102
532
171

Not on the map Parexi (?). According to MAX SCHMIDT the Parexi most likely do not use the dancing mask. (4) P. 198.

23. Chunipa, R. M. Tj. 76.
25. Mojo, EDER P. 337.
27. Ona, COOPER P. 156.
28. Indians Rio Xingú, KARL V. D. STEINEN (3)
36. Ijca, BÖRANDER (4) P. 258.
48. Many tribes in North-western Brazil, KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2).
50. Savajé, KRAUSE P. 367.
56.? Mundrucú, UHLE (1) Vol. 2, Taf. 26.
65. Bauer, R. M. C—B. 5.
85. Juri, MARTIUS (2) T. 3, P. 1227.
86. Yahua, CASTELNAU, Vol. 5, P. 21.
94. Chiquito, HERRIOS P. 21.
95. Chibcha, RESTREPO P. 68.
A. Peruvian coast, Ancon and other places. (Burial masks). BAESSLER P. 141.
C. Puna de Atacama, BOMAN P. 746.
E. Mask of stone, found at Catamarca. OUTES (3) v BRUCH P. 57, Fig. 31.
1 B. Ticuna, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.
1 E. Cayubaba, R. M. F. 4.
9 L. Baniva, ARVELO (Communicated by Dr. Koch-Grünberg).
1 M. Indians Darien, OVIEDO Vol. 2, P. 414; MARTYR Vol. 1, P. 219. Second Decade. Burial masks of gold.
3 M. Chamas, Cuicus, Timotes etc. Sierra de Merida, SALAS P. 52.
9 X. Passé, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.
V 8. Peba, POEPPIG P. 164.
X 5. Vaghan, COOPER P. 156.
bg. Pisagua, UHLE (6) P. 16. Burial masks.
bh. Ecuador, Golden mask. JOYCE. Pl. IV.
bi. Quimbaya, Golden mask. JOYCE. Pl. IV.
Not on the map San Matèo at the Oroya-railway, masks of the facial part of human skulls.
• Chanchamayo, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.

Fig. 41. Vessels of different shapes from the Chirigwasi. Only variations in shape are depicted. Ornamentation not depicted. 1/6

Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Fig. 45. Vessels from Chiriguano.

Schwerdtfeger F-5,1(1909-1908, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF11
Chaco SF8

C
Ce

160

415
531
538

Fig. 46.

1.	1/2 R. M. H. 68.	Campo y Duran.	Vessel for maize-beer
2.	1/12 • • E. 1047.	Itapenbia.	• • • •
3.	• • • E. 1049.	Caipipendi.	• • • •
4.	1/2 In private collection.	Campo y Duran.	• • • •
5.	1/12 R. M. H. 76.	Aquairenda.	• • • •
6.	1/2 • • H. 111.	Piquirenda.	• • • •
7.	• • • E. 859.	S. Rosa.	• • • •
8.	1/12 In private collection.	Campo y Duran.	• • • •
9.	• R. M. H. 155.	•	• • • •
10.	In private collection.		Water-pitcher.
11.	• R. M. P. 329.		Pot.
12.	• • • H. 89.	Piquirenda.	Water-pitcher.
13.	• • • P. 337.		Vessel for maize-beer
14.	• • • P. 313.		• • • •

Schoedenkißld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF6

C
Ce
415
53
632

Fig. 46. Vessel from the Chiriguano and Chaná.

E – Chiriguano. H – Chaná, Río Hiyuro. P – Chaná, Río Paraná.

Schwiedenschlüssel E-5-4(1908-1909, 1912) 1881
1711 Chiriguano 1711
Chaco 171

Fig. 47. Vessels from the Chiriguano and Chaco.
II — Chaco, Río Itiyuro. I — Chiriguano.

1.	1/10	In private collection.	Chaco, Río Parapiti. Vessel for maize-beer.
2.	1/8	" " "	Campo y Duran. " " " "
3.	1/10	R. M. H. 106.	Campo y Duran. " " " "
4.		In private collection.	" " " "
5.	"	" " "	Bowl to eat suet oil.
6.	"	R. M. H. 123.	Campo y Duran. Bowl.
7.	1/6	" " E. 814.	Tibiipa. Vessel for maize-beer.
8.	"	" " E. 942.	Itatique. " " " "
9.	"	" " E. 960.	S. Antonio. Vessel in which to carry maize-beer or water on expeditions.

Fig. 48. Vessels from Tilcara (1, 2, 3, 4), and Juella (5). Quebrada de Humahuaca.
After Ibarreta.

This contrasts with the Chirigunno and the Chawi of the Riyuro and is certainly owing to the poverty of the first-mentioned.

Sometimes the Chirigunno and Chawi calabashes are surrounded by a net for greater convenience of carrying. I have already dealt with these in the foregoing.

The stoppers of calabash-bottles are generally pieces of empty cocoa-nuts. These are now and then used also as stoppers for earthen-vessels. The Chawri and Ashlunkay, as a rule, make use of wax, which material is little used by the Chirigunno and Chawi.

Fig. 31. Calabash. Chirigunno. R. M. 3/3 $\frac{1}{10}$

532

Fig. 95. Dancing mask of wood, with tenhoto of the same material. Chirigwano. B. M. N. Gen. 1/6

[i.e., Fig. 95 on single sheet, p. 245]

Ee /238 cont./
273 finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her
574 guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with
576 cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well.
Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for
the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured
into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone
must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred.
It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one
wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then
fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything
offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians
become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me:
"You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize
beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden
with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the
happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize
beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears
e here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl
Ee he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has
[754] enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows
if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the
beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen
E in these villages.
Ee
522 At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to
527 light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were hand-
E ing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to
Ee ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.
535 Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané
532 only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the
177 Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).
541 Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about
Ee whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy
532 said the idea for them had originally come from the whites.
177 Batirayu, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Rio
535 Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which
Ee
[796]

Ee /239 cont./
535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
177 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[539] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

Ee The Chiriguano and Chané
532 always destroy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "anaya."

e It is strange what a great
Ca role the carnival now plays as a
541 festival among the Indians. This
177 undoubtedly comes from the fact
[469] that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians who work for them are given a few days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already disappeared. Nevertheless one still sees women in home-woven clothing

e with necklaces of chrysocolla and
Ca turquoise. I never saw used, however,
[178] the silver diadem and the silver
e pins which belong to the festive attire.
912 One often sees the men's blue
237 costumes (Fig. 81) with silver chest ornaments preserved in the huts by the old people, but they are not used for the festivals.

A B

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ca Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
535 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
527 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
273
533

Ce
527 /240 cont./
533 and beating time with their feet. The women walked slowly
535 up and down in time with the song, outside the circle of men.
273 Among the Chané and Chiriguano the attire of the white
Ee man is replacing everything old and beautiful, and of my many
291 old friends among the chiefs of these Indians only Maringay
177 scorns the rags of the whites.
C
Ce Liquor is being introduced more and more among these
273 Indians, and the ceremonial, pleasant maize-beer festivals are
177 turning into crude drinking bouts.
527

C
532
535

Fig. 119. Dance mask.
Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/6.

Ee
578 I shall never forget a night in Vocapoy's village. The
273 /241/ men had gone to the Christians to drink liquor. When they
177 came back, harsh words fell and knives were displayed. The
liquor would have claimed bloody sacrifices if the courageous
women, with firebrands from the maize-beer boiling, had not
thrown themselves between the quarreling men and, after
separating them, taken them home with soothing words of flattery.

Ee /247 cont. /

531 322 281 177c Ce ●532 C [126] [437]

The Chiriguano and Chané men are clever in the decoration of calabashes (Fig. 126), carve attractive pipes (Fig. 120), and know how to tan leather, which they probably learned from the whites.

Among these Indians one does not see much in the way of plastic representations of animal and human figures. The clay /248/ vessels sometimes have animal shapes. The Chané women on the Rio Parapiti fashioned lumpy little dolls out of wax for their children (Fig. 105). Some of the clay vessels are painted with animal figures. A vessel from the Rio

Ce 285 →

C 285 ←

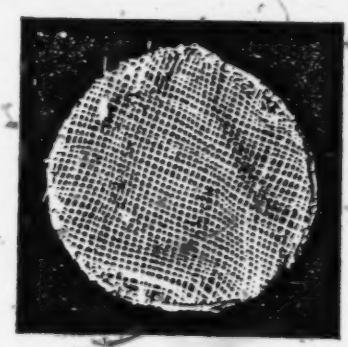


Fig. 124.
Sieve. Rio Parapiti.
1/8.

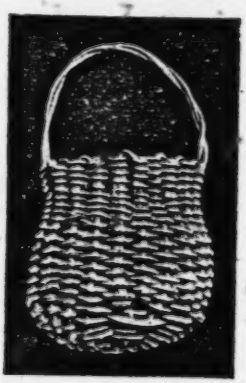


Fig. 125. Basket
Chiriguano.
Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ee 532

Itiyuro, which I acquired through barter, is adorned with tree figures. Occasionally one sees clay vessels in the shape of fruits.

Ce [353] Ee 285 [439]

I saw drawings representing human beings and animals on the walls in a few Chané huts and on a few Chiriguano calabashes from the Caipipendi valley.

As for basket work, the sieves are so popular among the whites that through trade they are being distributed far beyond the Chiriguano and Chané region. Otherwise the Chané and Chiriguano make few baskets. We find basket work in quantities only among the Indians where the matching-leaved palms begin, and that is at Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

/80 cont./

Ce 534 The double whistle I.A. 495 consists of two pieces of cane joined together in the manner of Panpipes. In contrast to the flutes described in the preceding, the two tubes of these whistles have lips. One, which has four holes for making the sounds vary, measures 33.5 cm., and the other, which does not have such holes, is only 7 cm. long. A whistle of this kind, but not double, is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (303).

303. Nord. 2, Fig. 36b.

In addition to these musical instruments, Nordenskiöld describes a few others that he saw among the Chiriguano and Chané. Among them can also be found those round flutes which Ce [171] are used by many tribes of the Chaco and one of which is shown in a sketch by Nordenskiöld (304). They also have large

304. Nord. 2, Fig. 35.

trumpets, which the Chiriguano call "anguahuasi," while the common trumpet is called by the same name as is the mortar, "angua" or "anguarai." One can also find trumpets made out of a cow's horn or a calabash, which are blown at the upper Ce [237] [324] end (305).

305. Nord. II, p. 119, Fig. 37 A and B.
Métraux I, p. 337, Fig. 35.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Panpipes, which consist of several flutes joined together, are rarely found among these Indians (306).

306. Nord. 2, p. 126.

Ce 415 532 Plastic art is little developed among the Chiriguano and Chané. On rare occasions we find plastic art in the form of animals in the forms of the baked clay pottery of the Chiriguano (307).

307. Nord. 2, Fig. 41, N. 4, and Fig. 45, N. 20.

C
Ce
415
532
177
Ce
532
524

/80 cont./

These pots are undoubtedly imitations /Plates XXXVIII-XXXIX appear here/ /81/ of ancient Peruvian models or of modern products. Outside of that there are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld two dolls in the form of a man and a woman, made of wax, which served as toys for the children of the Chané of the Parapití River (308). Purely decorative plastic sculpture is

C
Ce
415
531

308. Nord. 1, Fig. 105.

mainly shown by most of the baked clay vessels intended for cooking foods, in the form of "ornamento hundido" /sunken decoration/, which is generally placed on the surface of the neck of these vessels, but it may also extend over the entire surface. Cf. Figure 48 /see p. 116/. In addition to the sunken decoration on the neck the vessel I.A. 414, shown in Figure 44, is decorated with a row of small pointed additions around the wall of the vessel. Linné shows in a drawing a piece of a Chané baked clay vessel, the surface of which is decorated with a border of baked clay placed in a zigzag around the wall of the vessel. Many of the vessels with smooth surfaces also have small additions and generally in pairs. They often have these instead of handles. In addition the baked clay dishes for eating and the dishes for frying /fritar/ maize are often provided with such additions. The handles of the baked clay vessels are not in the form of figures, but they can be plastically decorated in such a way that a groove divides them into two parts, which can be twisted around each other. Cf. Figures 46 and 49 /see p. 116/.

Some wooden utensils also have primitive plastic ornamentation, such as the spatulas for stirring food and drink, the wooden dishes for eating, and the large dishes or platters on which food is kept. The handles of some of the spatulas for stirring food are carved in such a way that their edges form zigzag lines (cf. fig. I.A. 579 /not illustrated; see Pl. VIII, p. 20/) and the dishes often have additions such as some baked clay dishes also show. Cf. Figures 18 a and b and 19 /see pl. VIII, p. 50/.

C
Ce
531

Drawings are also found on the surface of Chiriguano and Chané objects, in the form of paintings on the surface of baked

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 214]

Plate XXXVIII

531
532

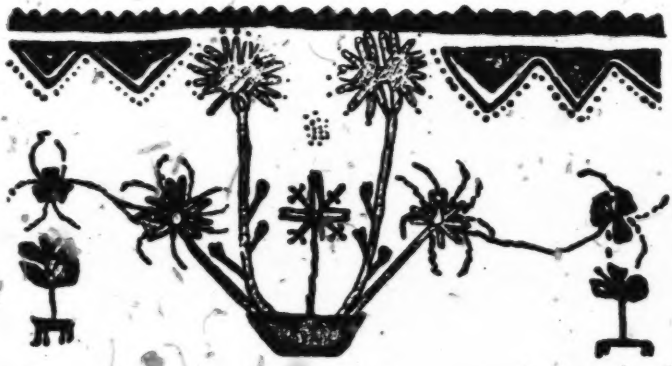


Fig. 145

Fig. 146

Fig. 147

Fig. 148

/The captions are on p. 213./

/Captions for Plates XXXVIII and XXXIX/

531
532

Plate XXXVIII. Drawings on the surface of baked clay vessels and a cuya.

Fig. 145. Phytomorphic drawings on the surface of the vessel I. A. 403 (Chiriguano). Cf. Fig. 64 /see p. 130/.

Fig. 146. Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic drawings on the surface of the vessel I. A. 378 (Chiriguano). Cf. Fig. 63 /see p. 130/.

Fig. 147. Zoomorphic drawing on the surface of the vessel I. A. 347 (Chiriguano). Cf. Fig. 65 /see p. 130/.

Fig. 148. Drawing of a fish incised on the surface of the cuya I. A. 454 (Chiriguano).

Plate XXXIX. Drawings on the surface of cuyas and a calabash (Chiriguano).

Fig. 149. (I. A. 456) Cuya.

Fig. 150. (I. A. 451) Cuya.

Fig. 151. (I. A. 466) Calabash.

Fig. 152. (I. A. 452) Cuya.

Fig. 153. (I. A. 458) Cuya.

/81 cont./

C
Ce
531 clay vessels, in the form of incisings on the surface of cuyas and calabashes or flutes of wood or cane, in the form of pyrographic decorations on cuyas, and also, infrequently, in the form of tattooing on parts of the human body. The absolute difference between the drawings applied to the surfaces of baked clay vessels and those on cuyas and calabashes is surprising.
C
Ce
[562] This difference is explained by the fact that the decorations on the baked clay vessels are done exclusively by women and those on cuyas and calabashes by men.

C
Ce
531
17 The basic elements of the painting done on the surface of the baked clay vessels of these Indians consist of geometric designs which are completely different from those of the ancient Peruvians and untouched by modern European influences. No doubt these are the products of an old and indigenous art. But we do not know up to what point this originated among the Chiriguano and to what point among the Chané. Neither do we know whether the differences between the nature of the paintings of the Chiriguano in Machareti and that of the paintings of the Izozó of the Parapiti are only local differences or whether they are based on the difference between these two nations. But outside of that primordial decoration and mixed with it, there are foreign elements of decoration which we must reduce to ancient Peruvian models, and this is especially true of the drawings of plants on the surface of a Chiriguano vessel which Figures 64 and 145 show. One /82/ decoration, doubtless also phytomorphic, which appears repeatedly on the surface of the baked clay vessels, for example, on the vessels shown in Figures 67 and 75b, has a direct model in the form of a decoration that we know from the ancient Peruvian pottery of the last period of the Inca Empire (309). Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic repre-

C
Ce
531
532

309. See Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru, p. 349, Fig. 1.

sentations are found relatively infrequently among the decorations on the baked clay vessels. The quadruped shown on the surface

/82 cont./

C Ce 531 532 Ce [171]

of the Chiriguano vessel I. A. 347 (cf. Fig. 65 /see p. 130/ and 147 /see p. 211/) and the way in which the road under this animal is represented show many reminders of similar representations of the ancient Peruvians. The representations of animals and people on the surface of vessel I. A. 378 (cf. Figs. 63 /see p. 130 and 146 /see p. 211/), which in external form is quite modern, correspond to those of other South American Indians. Like them the Chiriguano also combine elements of geometrical ornamentation for the representation of zoomorphic or anthropomorphic motifs, for example, the graduated line for the representation of roosters and triangles for the body of women. Cf. Fig. 146 /see p. 211/.

C Ce 531

One principal difference between the decoration painted on the surface of the baked clay vessels and the decoration incised on the surface of cuyas lies in the fact that the painting of the baked clay vessel is limited to the decoration of the upper part of the exterior surface or to that of the upper rim of the interior surface of the vessel, that is, the decoration of a continuum, either wider or narrower, while the incisings on the cuyas decorate the entire exterior surface, more or less semiglobular, often making the center of the semiglobular surface the center of the concentric ornamentation.

Among the decorated cuyas I received from the Chiriguano in Machareti some have only incising and others only pyroengraving. But most of them combine these two ways of producing a decoration. Several specimens of these decorated cuyas show the same decorative motifs with a surprising similarity. Without counting the stylized phytomorphic motifs, there can also be found among the incised decorations figures like the representation of a small fish (cf. Fig. 148 /see p. 211/) and of a chapel, clearly identified by a cross. Cf. Figure 153 /see p. 212/.

Among incised decorations we must still mention the concentric circumferences made on the surface of most of the Izozó spindle-whorls and various wooden spindle-whorls of the Chiriguano, and the decoration of the "serere" flute shown in

/90 cont./
000 preceding. I must also cite A. Métraux's publication, "Les
792 Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguano e dans l'Amérique de Sud
[113] /Men-Gods among the Chiriguano and in South America/" (363),

363. In the Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, No. 1, Tucumán, 1931.

in which he deals with the cases, repeated several times, in which some individuals among the Chiriguano appear as Messiahs and, acquiring many proselytes, gave the mission administrations much to do.

796
[126]

Plaited Objects Used in Religious Celebrations, from the Collection

I. A. 1439. (Chiriguano) Length 70 cm. (Fig. 43b.)
I. A. 1440. " " 37 cm. (Fig. 43a.)

[171] Plaited objects like those mentioned above are also very com-
796 mon among the Paraguayans and made in the same way. This
797 custom of making such plaited figures and having them blessed,
177 as the Chiriguano also do, is connected with the Catholic ritual, and the Chiriguano no doubt received it from the missionaries along with the other rites of the Catholic religion (364).

364. See the opposite opinion of Métraux I, p. 462.

532 The masks that the Chirigu[illegible]ake to carry during the Carnival
[527] fiestas are also modern objects. Some such Chiriguano masks are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and Métraux (365).

365. Nord. 1, Fig. 119. Métraux I, Plate 86 and Fig. 121.

/369 cont./

293 574 576 [554] At Sainirenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the first one served is always the "captain." As before, the vessel full of kāwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they always come back to the first person who received each one and he finishes it. The men move from their places several times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/ [533] ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of flutes and violins.

When the supply of kāwi is exhausted in a village, they get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere to revel.

[789] [198] [302] Formerly the preparation of kāwi was accompanied by magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the women do not even take this precaution any more. However, between Carurutí and Caipipendí, I could still see several women stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an expression dear to Jean de Léry.

415 Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/ gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are preparing corn beer.

Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a completely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The [197] [198] latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements, while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

648 /115 cont./
178 obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

157 Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, incon-
181 stancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even
[847] suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They
[762] only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome
[461] by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family.
[186] But if near the carai /sic; see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

[533] They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of
[273] their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and
[178] cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not com-
[674] mon formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

[648] 1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge
[685] great secrecy so that the authorities will not
[754] make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/124 cont./
797 Religion, that of reading and writing, and even the art of musical chords, which is only seen in the great centers of the world (2).

[533] 2. In the Potosí missions there are four music bands, and in those of Tarija, two.

The history of the Tarija missions is glorious in all of its pages. The reader can consult, whenever he wishes, the one of the Colegio of Potosí in its two epochs as well. This will cast a brilliant light upon the matter, and the traveler can say nothing to contradict it when, ecstatically, he contemplates the grandiose, strong, and well-planned edifice of the Santa Rosa Mission, that of the elevated Machareti Mission, that of the old or semisecular Tarairi Mission, and the one which, as though by enchantment and with order, is being built in the mission of San Antonio del Parapiti Grande.

797 All of this shows that the Chiriguano, in spite of his
157 indolence, is docile, and with gentleness and a little strictness
177 at the same time he will do whatever the white and the missionary wish him to do. It finally demonstrates that, though he does have his vices and defects, certain human virtues are not lacking. It shows that it is necessary to educate his nature by teaching, with civilization, as the carpenter with his plane smooths a piece of wood if he wants to make the job elegant, or a blacksmith with his file smooths the rough iron until he has made a key, a lock, or any other object.

/125/ Philanthropy

577 To end this third chapter and then pass on to deal with
829 Chiriguano religion, I am going to say in passing that they are very compassionate with the unfortunate. If one of them suffers the harshness of imprisonment, they all make every effort to ask that he be freed and will even sacrifice whatever they may
[136] have to obtain it. If someone is sick, he is visited by many; if one is left an orphan, all are his fathers, mothers, grandparents, and brothers and sisters, or at least they are his uncles and aunts or brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

/153 cont./

756
278

and does not know how to do it goes to the sorceresses, pays them, and obtains it.

This seems to be a fable which in itself does not merit any importance, as indeed it is not given any by Father Giannecchini, who does not deny it in his writings, as Señor del Campano states. Poison exists among the Chiriguano. They do not extract it from chamico, which is a species of datura, nor do they extract it from other plants or herbs. The sorcerers reveal nothing; the young people do not know about it, and the few old people who are alive only tell what has been said above. Be that as it may, this is a belief of the tribe, and as such I have told it.

Lunar Eclipse

821

One night while waiting for a lunar eclipse, I found myself in conversation with the cacique Anduari of the mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu, and I was reminded of something which I remembered regarding this phenomenon which was about to occur on the moon. Chiriguano towns are true hells during an eclipse, because of the shouts, cries, whistles, and every warlike instrument which they use to make noise. When I came to the missions, /154/ the war of Curuyuqui had just happened, and when I heard so much and such an extraordinary hubbub on the night of an eclipse, I believed that it was a new uprising, as was also believed by the inhabitants of Cuevo, who came out armed to find out the cause of so much noise (1).

[114]
[648]

301
533
114

1. The Italian professor Mantegazza states that the Chiriguano, in order to whistle loudly, take out the tembeta or button which they have in their lower lip. This is incorrect and denied by all; what the renowned anthropologist refers to must be a special case, since they cannot even drink without the button.

/216/

Chapter Nine

881

Children, Puberty, the Tembeta (1)

1. This will deal with the puberty of the girls and the imposition of the tembeta for boys, which is carried out a little before their puberty, so that when this does appear they will have the mark of manhood.

Introduction

797 533 [126]

At the beginning of this chapter /see p. 294/ my readers will see a small band of young, luxuriously uniformed musicians with a Franciscan missionary at their side. These are the musicians of San Buenaventura de Ivu, whose photograph was taken on the pastoral visit made by the renowned and wise Delegate General M. R. P. Wolfgango Privaser, illustrious and glorious in the seraphic religion, on the 23rd day of September, 1908. His secretary, the intelligent Father Angel Domáica, was the one who was charged with taking this group and the others in the Potosí and Tarija missions.

[648]

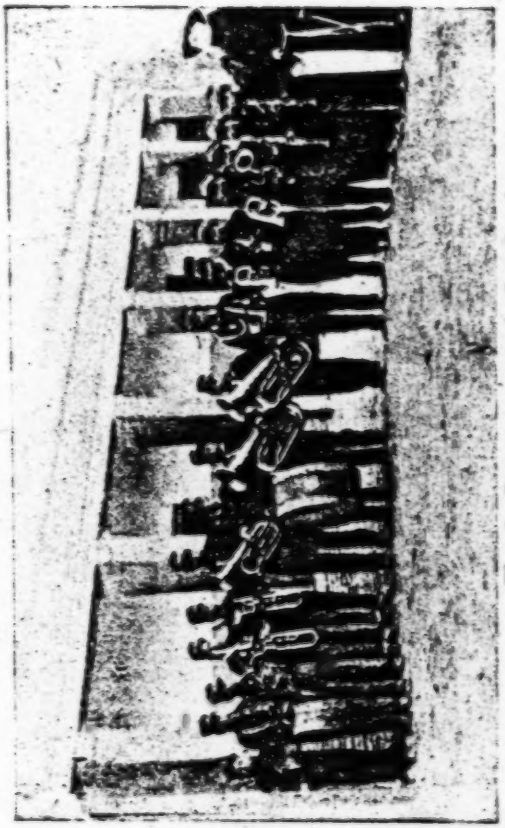
All the musicians are Chiriguano boys whose fathers were in the 1892 uprising in the fields of Curuyuqui, half a league away from what is today the mission building, which at that time did not exist. They are the sons of fathers who all wear the tembeta and of mothers who in their puberty underwent the strict tests which I shall relate in this chapter.

175 648

Their fathers declared war to the death, not on the Cross, but on the white, be he Christian or not, because he saw in him a tyrant and hangman, and he wished to cast off the yoke by destroying the one whom he considered its maker. But it is certain that the Indian in his hate and rancor, which he has consistently maintained /illustration appears here/ /217/ against the caray /white man/, did not know how to make a categorical distinction, because not all have bad hearts. If there are some bad ones, real executioners of humanity, there are also very good and compassionate ones, from whom they received and still receive favors.

4: Nino--294 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
533



The S. Buenaventura de Ivo Band

/260 cont./

527 The drinking continues for several hours, half in silence with
273 a moderate and placid gathering, with the important men seated
554 on benches or seats and some of their inferiors standing and others
562 sitting on the ground, all of them separated from the women, and these latter, as I have already observed elsewhere, look like so many mortars. When the gathering is well attended, the sight is very pleasant, because anyone who has never seen it will be astonished by the variety of costumes and by the ornaments and cosmetics with which they adorn their faces and feet, and I have in fact seen some travelers stay for quite some time to contemplate this simple custom of those who are called the savages of Bolivia (2).

2. What a pity that there is no photograph of such gatherings! The one taken in Santa Rosa is scarcely a simulacre, since at that time there was not even any chicha for those who formed the wheel or gathering for the dance to drink.

The Dance and Songs

527
533 By the time they are quite full, they begin the dancing and
126 singing of the Ayarise. I do not give the Spanish words here, for the real meaning is not known; I could explain them with conjectures and by analogy with other, similar ones, as was done by Father Giannecchini, whose words the Italian del Campano transcribes in his book, but they themselves do not know the meaning. The notes of the Ayarise are written and printed here so that any band that so desires may have a pleasant piece for some capital plaza: risum teneatis amici. The band music was set down by a maestro of the Potosí missions in the year 1903 and touched up this year by the missionary Franciscan Father Domingo F. Regini.

/261/

The Music for the Ayarise

527
535
533
[293]

The signal for the dancing and singing is given by the host, who first makes a short speech to the maestro, who is carrying in his hands a Yandugua, a kind of parasol or umbrella made of ostrich feathers fastened around a long, straight piece of hollow cane. All the feathers have their natural curve outward (1).

[293]
[126]

1. The Yandugua in the Florence museum was purchased in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission by the Reverend Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi, tireless missionary of Potosí.

See the picture on page 77.

527
535

After the speech that the maestro and dancers listen to as if it were a Good Friday sermon in church, the singing and the dance begin. The maestro keeps time with his yandugua, the men dance by moving their feet from the knee, striking the ground without moving from the place they occupy, and the women behind the men with a maté in hand, full of chicha or not. The women take one step backward and another forward, and, not staying in the same place, they walk in time around the men with the formality and exactness of priestesses and hold hands with the other hand, two by two.

527
533

The larger the number of dancers, the more noise they make; there is no staying near them, because the men sing too loud. At a distance, to a person who is used to these songs, they seem relatively pleasant, but at night when one hears them for the first time and does not know what they contain, a thousand things will pass through the mind. Here are the verses of the Ayarise:

[539]

Ayarise, rise -- Mborisese, sese -- Rosa yainde -- Imbaragüe -- Yuma chúrere -- Yuma chuépa -- Soro poco -- Eh! Eh! -- Saisá -- saisá -- Cururu hetesimi pinte -- Hevi sunzu -- Iparanta tapiti -- Cha machá imbarayu -- Imbará, boteriyu -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. It is perhaps appropriate and my readers may like

/261 cont./

527
533
539

to know the approximate meaning of the Ayarise, and so I put it in this note: "Let us sing, companions -- let us keep on singing -- with our women -- and orphans -- we are all here -- singing and dancing -- I know and I like this song -- The toad and the green frog stop -- and the rabbit makes an effort -- I am tired -- I stop and go off. Eh! Eh!

529
535
533

The Chiriguano can sing all day with these few verses, as in fact they do, but with rests. In order to finish the song all together and rest and drink for a long while, the men make a great stamp on the ground with one foot in time /262/ and a shout out of time, and everything stops with a special resounding and prolonged laughter of the women dancers.

Without leaving the circle of the singing and dancing, the lord of the fiesta has the dancers served abundant drink, which they partake of to their satisfaction in order to begin the Ayarise again as they were doing before, always at the command of the Purumuncau vaé and under the direction of the maestro, who does not put down his Yandugua (1).

[293]

1. There is one maestro of the ayarise, and he always has his yandugua, but this does not prohibit others from having one; there may be as many as ten in one dance, and they serve as parasols when the heat is very oppressive. The Indian Guarerai of Ivu had six and he lent them out during the solemn fiestas of the town.

529

The dancing and singing of the ayarise continues in this fashion until nine or ten in the morning; then the banquet is prepared in the public plaza, where they choose the cleanest place. There men and women sit down in separate places, and at once they bring from the houses the food, which has been prepared upon plates, where there is broth mixed with meat well seasoned with salt and chili peppers. Meanwhile two enthusiasts of the town

/263 cont./

535 184 173 Someone went to teach it in the towns located behind the hill of Aguaragüe, and the towns located on the right bank of the Cuevo River intended to introduce it, but, seeing the dismal consequences that resulted from it, they have abstained to this day, so that it is a fact that the Mbapa páure is now limited to the small towns of Caraguatarenta, Nagua, and Caraguatagüe, and it is certain that it is neither heard nor seen in the large towns of Santa Rosa and Ivu, which are a few kilometers away (1).

[837]

1. In the towns where the Mbapa páure is sung, there are upset marriages, because the dance is between a man and woman holding hands, which does not happen in the Ayarise; therefore, or to avoid said upsets, many caciques do not allow it to be introduced into their area of jurisdiction.

The Music of the Mbapa páure

627 533 535 [184] This is another piece of music which has been scored for a band by the Reverend Father Domingo F. Regini; it is much simpler than the ayarise, but the song and dance attract a great deal of attention, because they are not known in all the Chiriguano towns. It is a kind of carnival which lasts for a long time, but when the said time is over, nobody again remembers the Mbapa páure until a year has passed. Here are the words of [539] the song: Tavia, Tavia -- Erecoaiye mbapa páure -- Tirisoti, tirisoti -- Ancua chopi -- Chopi nano saraviyé -- Eh! Eh! Uetepeso, güeremeso -- Yagua tairari, yagua tairari -- Yurumbopi -- Yémanta -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. Explanation: Let us sing the mbapa paure, like the blackbird sings, let us sing until we are left with our mouths twisted and we are tired, even though it give us a pain in the chest, let us challenge even the jaguar, and let our mouths stretch. Eh! Eh!

/270 cont./

796 call the carnival very noisy. There is nothing special about it and it lasts three days; /271/ some play the violin, and men and women sing the Alleluja. Couples hold hands as they walk through the streets. If both are women, they walk with their [533] arms about each other's neck. They sing through the streets [554] and in the houses and in front of them; in this latter case it is a sign of esteem for a family. The words are few: Osi ma Pascua, [539] alleluja, Easter has come, alleluia, Ucuera yema Yandeya, alleluja, Our Master came back to life, alleluia (1).

1. The song of Alleluia begins as follows: Santísima Trinidad /Most Holy Trinity/, osi ma pascua Aleluya; aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, etc. Ucuera yema—Yandeya, Jesucristo; aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, [194] etc. The s of Osi is pronounced as though it were double.

000 /272/

Chapter Twelve

Offensive and Defensive War

Introduction

There is no people or nation in the world which has not experienced the horrors of a war more or less bloody, more or less prolonged, and more or less disastrous. Troy burns, and Aeneas, the founder of the Roman Empire, takes advantage of the confusion, avails himself of the very darkness as his shield, and saves himself. /The remainder of p. 272 and the first paragraph on p. 273 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 273. The remainder of p. 273 follows./

/280 cont./

000 defeated, may the evil ones die. While the war lasts, it is the
722 rule that women and their daughters must not sit in a squatting
784 position, but with their legs stretched /281/ out in front, so that
516 their fathers and husbands who are in battle will not feel any
828 tiredness (1).

722
533
535
177

1. The Italian del Campano, relying on the writings of Father Giannecchini, a missionary of the Colegio de Tarija, writes in his work that, before the fighting began and during it, women and maidens come out to the plaza and in a loud voice sing and dance the Aré aré. This song and dance must have originated among the Toba, who at that time were numerous in the Gran Chaco region, because in the Ivu region and other regions they scarcely know the name of the Aré aré, and not all share in that knowledge, as has been proved, for in no combat which has occurred to the north, south, and west of Ivu has the Aré, aré been danced and sung.

726 During the Curuyuqui war the Santa Rosa mission was in-
727 vaded by the rebels, who, in spite of their number and strength, were unable to enter the town which they intended to burn. Then and afterward the missionaries witnessed painful scenes of women who, crying their hearts out, raised their voices and threw ashes to obscure the enemies' vision. Bitter memories of that massacre are still retained, at which some of them laugh today, but they cried then. Whenever I hear the sad stories, my eyes overflow with tears (2).

726

[648)

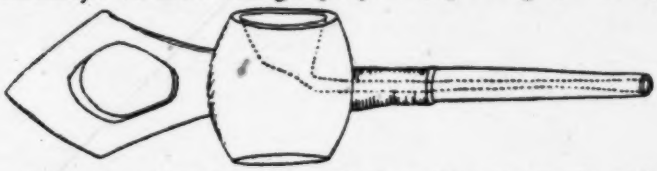
2. The Curuyuqui rebels first attacked the town of Cuevo, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in Santa Rosa the night before. In a few days they attacked the mission, from which it can be concluded that their hate was against the whites, and concomitantly against the Indians who were

/179 cont./ C Ce 415 556
ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla, and many other things.

It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all night, as in a Choroti or Ashluslay village. The young men and the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they

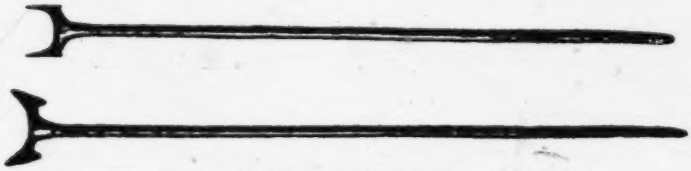
C Ce 512 836

C Ce 512 264 273



C 276

Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2.



C 412

Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

C Ce 512 264 273 533 765

are not busy brewing maize for a festival.

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, the men somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a truly refreshing bath.

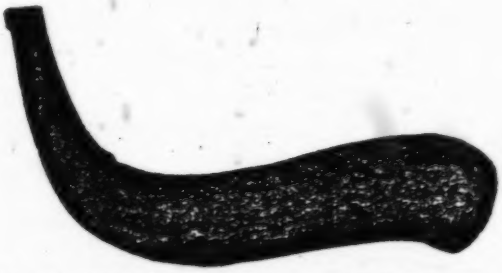
C Ce 515 512

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Rio Itiyuro the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Rio Parapiti in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also

C Ce 512 482

/337 cont./

243 [476] [534] Once their fields are free of weeds, the Chiriguano call together relatives and friends. On the date agreed upon, all go to the fields early in the morning, after waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by blowing into cow horns, which for them take the place of horns (in Chiriguano: waka-ranti) (Fig. 5), each trying to outdo the other. In olden days the [622] village chief used to take part in the sowing and watched to make sure that all helped one another.



[534] [321] Fig. 5. Cow horn (waka-ranti) which the Chiriguano use for a horn. The end is carved into a mouthpiece. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/5 nat. size.)

Sowing is done in a very simple way. If the ground is soft, the Indian sticks his shovel vertically into the soil, after giving two or three thrusts in order to push it in as far as possible. He enlarges the slit by pushing his shovel forward without drawing it out and slips two or three kernels of corn into the opening. Without changing position he makes two or three similar holes on his right and left, takes a step forward and begins again. The plants thus grow in a certain alignment /338/ which is far from perfect. Since several work at [461] a time, the job is done quickly. At noon, or about two o'clock in the afternoon at the latest, they have finished their task [273] and go back to the village where the chicha or kãwi, which the owner of the field has had prepared for his helpers, awaits them

O 172 171 415 /399 cont./ It is already evident that the pottery of the Humahuaca region shows identical characteristics from the north of Jujuy to the vicinity of La Quiaca. To me the local variations seem absolutely negligible. Boman (2, Vol. I, p. 77) was already expressing himself in the following manner on the relations between these two regions: "If one wishes to compare the objects dug up in the Humahuaca region with the pre-Hispanic remains of other regions, they would be most like those of the Chichas." At

A 172 171

C 172 531 534

Fig. 37. Panpipe made of olive-hued stone, found on the upper Pilcomayo near the Chiriguano village of Ibopeytí at the same time as the vessel on Plate XXV. (1/2 nat. size.)

C 172 171 415 Tolomosa in Bolivia, in the department of Tarija, AT the von Rosen mission (2, Fig. 175, p. 112) found an ornithomorphic dish, an exact replica of the famous puco of this type discovered at La Paya in the Calchaqui Valley.

A O 172 171 18 The Humahuaca-Chicha culture does not form an isolated bloc. It is more or less closely related to those whose remains have been studied in the northwest of Argentina in Diaguite territory, on the Puna de Atacama and de Jujuy, in the Atacama Desert, in the north of Chile and the extreme south of Peru. In the geographic area thus defined, it surely seems as though there was formerly a center of acculturation whose existence was pointed out only a few years ago.

/463 cont./

796 The attraction of the carnival consists of the enormous
273 consumption of kāwi and alcohol which takes place then. Men
578 and women drink, one trying to outdo the other; and, under the influence of drink, old angers and secret hates are awakened and the most excited provoke each other and come to blows.

796
532

Fig. 120. Chiriguano Indians wearing masks. (Photo. by the R. P. H. Catinari.)

796
273 /464/ The "captain" must then call them to order and separate
578 the combatants.

Some people increase the tumult by blowing into their
796 sénéné (long whistles).
534

Sexual passions become aroused, and the men begin to
796 whirl around the women, whom they entreat, a calabash of
832 kāwi in the hand, while reciting to them in a singsong tone
786 pieces of verse of this type:
539

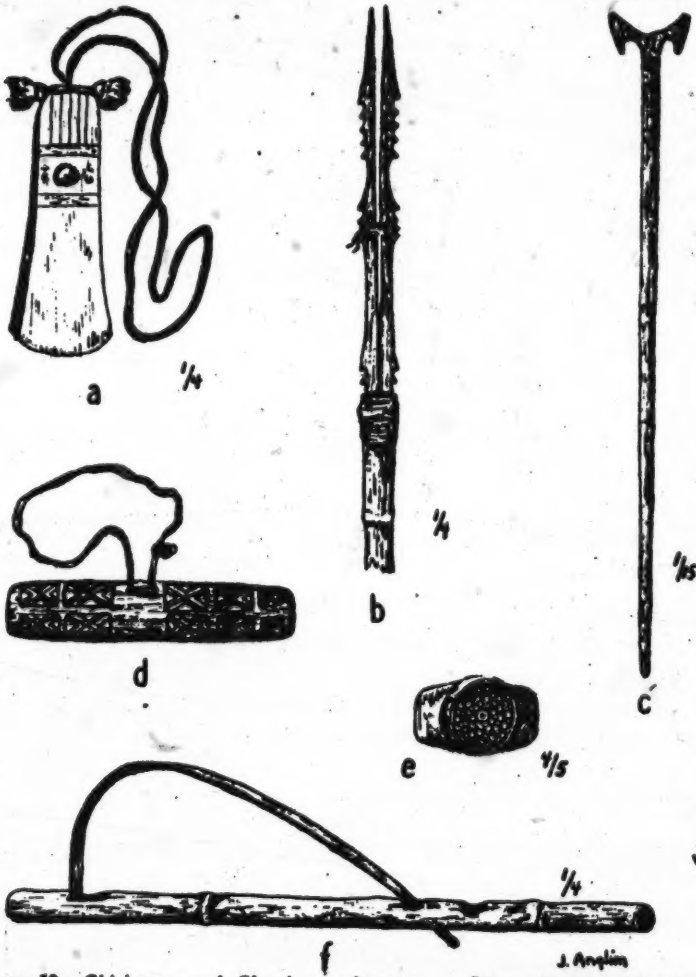
Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Ševe no	For me
Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Ševe no.	For me.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

MANUFACTURES

Pottery.—*Chiriguano* pottery is, for the beauty of its painted decoration and the variety of its forms, outstanding in modern South America. The mixed origin of *Chiriguano* culture is reflected in the two types of earthenware vessels. The plain pots for cooking and the large jars for chicha, which did not differ from similar vessels of the Paraguayan *Guaraní*, were ornamented with fingernail impressions (pl. 41, *bottom, right*).

C 323 531
C [171]



C Ce 301
C Ce 411
C Ce 412
C Ce 534 531 301
Ce 301 531
Ce 524

FIGURE 59.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* manufactures. *a*, Silver pincers used as breast ornaments; *b*, bird arrow point; *c*, handle to wooden spade; *d*, wooden whistle used as ornament; *e*, tin labret with mosaic inlay; *f*, *Chané* pea-shooter. (*a*, *d*, *e*, Redrawn from Rosen, 1924; *b*, *c*, *f*, from Nordenskiöld, 1920, figs. 29, 15, 5, 34.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

[End Plate 3]

Plate 43.—Chiriguano artifacts. Three engraved wooden serere whistles and lip plugs of metal with inlays. (Scale, 30 cm.) (Courtesy Museo Etnográfico de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Buenos Aires.)

534
531
301

4: Nino--266 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

301
531
322
534
412

Chiriguano adornments, etc.

[See pp. 273-274 for explanation of numbers]

/198 cont./

301 I am going to end this chapter by mentioning a fancy ornament which has completely disappeared. It is a woman's ornament and is called Aguá, crown, and whoever wore it was called Cuña aguá vaé, crowned woman. The duty of this woman at the public drinking bouts and solemnities was to direct the women's dance, to direct the singing, and to give drinks to the singers and dancers with her own hands. The aguá was a varicolored band up to three meters long, which was put around the head, crossed at the back of the neck, and held on by thorns, needles, or big silver pins, and both ends terminated in tassels of various colors. It was a very striking ornament (1).

[562] [554] [527]

[126] 1. In order to send a complete aguá to the Turin exposition I had to have it made in the girls' school in Santa Rosa. I could not get one in the town; there were none even at that time.

000 Here is poor humanity without any exact idea of religion and worship, they are zealous and hard-working for the body, but have no concern at all for the soul. Only Christ can restore humankind, and tear away the veil which was obscuring its intelligence, and only the priest and Catholic missionary can teach him the sound doctrine of /199/ immortality and other dogmas, so that with this knowledge he may first seek the kingdom of God and receive the rest besides (1).

1. Quaerite primum regnum Dei et haec omnia adiicentur vobis.

372 Explanation of the Preceding Illustration λ

1. Sticks for getting fire.
534 2. Bull's horn for use as a musical instrument.
3. Tail of a quiriquincho /armadillo/ for use as a musical instrument.
412 4. Tweezers for pulling out the hair from the face and other parts.

λ [i.e., on p. 266.- Analyst]

/199 cont./

301 5. "Mboivera," or pieces of silver for adornment.

6, 7, 8. Metal tembetas.

9. A hollow-cane tembeta.

10. "Yapicuana," or band for the hair.

11. "Aguá," or long band for adornment of the queen in drinking festivals.

412 12. Wooden comb.

534 13. Porongo for playing as a musical instrument.

14, 15. "Senene," or Chiriguano flutes.

16. "Igüiramimbi" for playing as a musical instrument.

17. Stone ax.

/200/

Chapter Eight

The Chiriguano Family

Introduction

000 The theory of the founder of the transformist school, in which he attempts to demonstrate and establish the origin of the human race by means of evolution, is completely absurd. /The remainder of the introduction, pp. 200-202, is omitted in the translation. Page 202 continues as follows./

The Family

Genesis tells us of the origin of the human race, and outside of this book all is confusion; faith teaches us that God created the first man in His image and likeness, and later gave him a companion, taking her from his rib, from which it is deduced that the family began in the world, or in historical times, from the beginning of humanity (2).

792 793 871

2. Readers already know the story which Anduari told me regarding the creation of

/239 cont./

Old Method of Farming

241 In planting the fields which are already old, they use the same method of applying fire to the weeds and stubble that are left after the harvest; this method is even coming to be practiced by the whites and the mestizos. As far as fertilizing the land, the Chiriguano does not worry about it, because the lands are virgin and the Indian hardly plants maize on a large scale, and, if it rains regularly until the grain has become hard, the crop is abundant and the farmer has enough to eat and an abundance of chicha to drink, which is what he wants.

412 Formerly the ava had nothing but a wooden shovel and a stone ax, which is hard to find today. He obtained his livelihood with these insignificant tools; the ax served him for cutting trees and bushes and the spade for pulling up all the grass and brush. The spade was like those used by bakers for [824] putting bread in the oven; it was of soto wood and was at- [237] tached to a rather long handle with bejuco vines or strips of toborochi bark; the handle was always long, because the Indian /240/ neither knew nor does he now know how to bend his back at his farm chores; these spades were also made from the shoulder blade of cattle, horses, or asses (1).

000

1. Baron don Erland Nordenskiold, in addition to the pots from various regions of Bolivia, sent to the Swedish museum pots made by the Chiriguano, wooden spades, and stone axes.

241 Planting was usually done in the month of November, [221] after the ground had received at least two rains. Then the Indian would first destroy with his spade the small amount of grass that had come up, and then he would notify his friends and relatives so that they might help him to plant on the day indicated. The cacique took part in the general [476] planting, ordering that those under him should help one [534] another; thus, early on the said day, at daybreak, they would

241 /240 cont./
[476] go to the plot, waking each other up with shouts, whistles,
[534] and by means of the Huacananti, cow's horn.

The method of planting is very simple. When the land is soft, the planter makes a small hole with his spade, using two or three blows, then pushes the spade forward, throws in two or three grains of seed and covers them. Then, without moving he makes another hole to the right, horizontal to the first, and a third to the left, performing the same operation as in the first, after which he takes a step and continues as before until he finishes. With many working, the planting of a plot is soon finished.

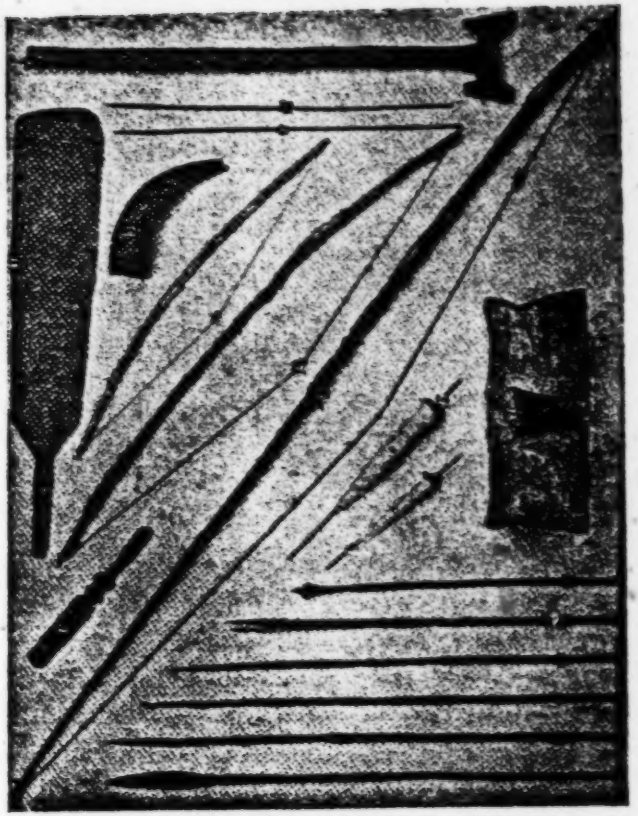
241 The Indian does not work beyond midday, and he tries
461 to finish the job before leaving it in order not to return;
512 therefore that the work sometimes lasts until two in the afternoon. Then the owner and his companions stop, return to the town, where they are awaited with plenty of food and chicha, which the former has ordered prepared, if the previous harvests were abundant (2).

[273] 2. In any case, if there were a lack of chicha,
[262] because of previous scarcity, and mead made from algarrobas, the housewife should still wait for the planters with food mixed with some meat and plenty of chili peppers.

241 They formerly continued in this fashion until the plant-
476 ing of a tribe was completed; one day on one's own plot and another on that of a companion, and even the cacique did the same; today this is difficult to manage, because now they are not so close. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity, if someone prepares chicha for those who may wish to help him in planting or weeding, they leave or refuse money for a few matés or /241/ glasses of this much desired liquor. Even the whites get peons more easily this way.

4: Nino--368 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

412
411
● 534
283
352



Bows, arrows, etc. /see p.382 for additional explanation/.

/275 cont./

411 [492] Warriors on horseback, in addition to having bows and arrows, use the lance; it is a piece of a knife or of iron tied to the tip of a stick; note that each warrior, according to what they say, cannot carry more than a dozen arrows, because they are heavy. In order to inspire terror and fright in the attack they make on the enemy town, they use the Igũiramimbi, a wooden musical instrument, the Senene, and the Huacananti, or cow's horn (2). 534 726

> 2. The first is round, and it is very hard to pierce it, and the second is long. Both are of good wood, and they engrave figures and signs on them. They hang them from the neck by means of a cord. The wood is like ebony.

722 While some of them are preparing the bows and arrows, the braver men do not remain idle, nor do the women; the latter prepare the necessary provisions and even the chicha to celebrate the triumph, if they win it, and the former encourage the more cowardly ones, showing their ability as queremba in the streets and the plaza, animating them all, making them understand that triumph depends on them and that it is necessary to triumph at all costs if they do not wish to be subjected to the harsh condition of the conquered, thus losing everything, wife, children, home, and property.

726 704 /276/ When all the weapons are ready, those of the cavalry saddle their horses, putting the arrows on the right side, so that they can easily get them in case of urgency, because it is characteristic of the cavalry to yell insults at the enemy and to sow confusion on the battlefield with shouts and the noise of the igũiramimbi, huacananti, and porongos. Then, all of them, foot soldiers, horsemen, and queremba, don their garb, some the jacket /coleto/, others armor of garabatá, and they put on the back of the left hand a strap of pygmy-deer hide, so that they will not hurt themselves when they shoot the bow, and, finally, they all color their faces and arms with ground charcoal dampened in water. Let the reader consider if this army of demons would not frighten even the dead! [292] [714] [411] [302]

4: Nino--382 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/233/

Explanation of the Preceding Illustration /see p. 368/

412
411
534
283
352

1. Wooden spade for work.
2. Spade handle.
3. Bull's horn for blowing.
4. Implement for stirring food.
5, 6. Chiriguano spindles.
7. Chair or seat with two spaces for children.
8. A bow for adults.
9. Arrow with iron point.
10, 11, 12. Arrows with wooden point.
13. Bow for young people.
14. Arrow with two points for hunting and fishing.
15. "Songo," or arrow with rounded point for hunting small birds.
16. Bow for boys.
17, 18. Arrows for boys.

/284/

Chapter Thirteen

Illnesses, Remedies, Death, and Mourning

Introduction

One moment of reflection suffices for a man to understand that there is no true happiness on earth; he who can glory in being happy in this world finds many sorrows: unsatisfied desires, unexecuted orders, unfinished projects. The careless execution of injunctions constitutes thorns for the heart of the man who could call himself blessed. He would like everything to go along as he desires, and when this does not happen he suffers, and if he does not express his suffering he suffers much more (1).

> 1. It is a great relief for a man to be able to communicate his sufferings to a sincere friend, but it is difficult to find such, because he who has a friend has a treasure, and the treasure is a rare thing.

Schwabenschild E-6,(1908-1909, 1912) 1880
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

XX.

Musical instruments.

C
Ce
534 The Chiriguano and Chané have the following musical instruments: drums, flutes, whistles, and trumpets. Among the latter tribe I have also seen the panpipe and the musical bow. The panpipe may possibly occur among the Chiriguano too.

I have already, in Part I, dealt with the drum, the whistles, and the musical bow. The two former, I concluded, were Peruvian, the latter a post-Columbian culture-element.

C
Ce
[177] When studying Indian musical instruments we must bear in mind that, in post-Columbian times, they have learnt a good deal from Whites and negroes.

C
Ce
[177] [212] At the mission stations the Indians are always instructed by the missionaries in music. At the Bolivian mission-stations it is not unusual to come across Indians who very well understand musical notation, though unable to read or write. At the Chiriguano mission stations there are full-blown musical bands.

C
[192] A large drum is called by the Chiriguano «sangúahuasi», a ordinary drum «sangúa» or «sangúarai». Like the Guarani Indians in Paraguay the Chiriguano call a mortar «sangúa». The Mataco sometimes make drums by stretching a skin over a wooden mortar. So too, if we are to be guided by the name, the Chiriguano drums must originally have appeared.

The long wooden-whistle (fig. 35 A) is very common among the Chiriguano and Chané, and often of great size; the round wooden whistle is more rare. Both are often elaborately carved.

Schwabenkiste E-5/4(1908-1909, 1912) 1900
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

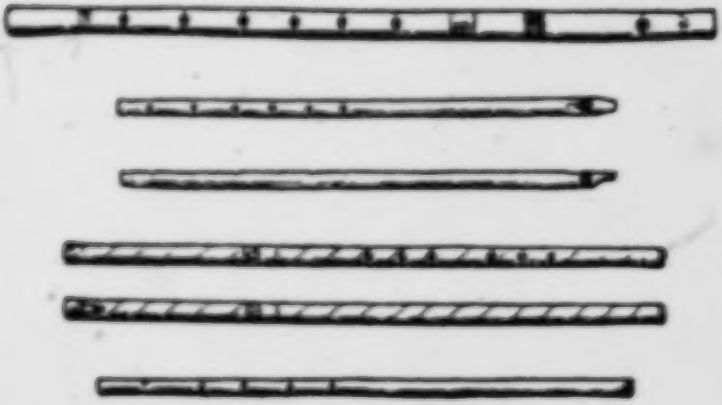
C
534
531

A.

B.

Fig. 33. Wooden whistles.
A. Chiriguano, G. M. 13. I. 343. 1/6. B. Chiriguano, In private collection. 1/6

C
Ce
534
531



A
B
C
D

Fig. 36. A. Side-blown flute of reed. Chané, Río Parapití. R. M. P. 32. 1/6
B. End-blown flute of reed. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 159. 1/6
C. " " " " " " " E. 589. 1/6
D. " " " " wood, Chané, Río Parapití. R. M. P. 37. 1/6

5tNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
534
237

Flutes of several kinds are found among the Chiriguano and Chané, and they are here depicted. They are always made of reeds and never of bone (fig. 36).

C
Ce
534
.177
*171

Some of the Chiriguano and Chané flutes are not genuinely Indian. This is evidently the case with side-blown flutes with six carefully fitted holes. The like are not found among outlying tribes, nor, what is very important, have they been found in old excavations on the coast of Peru. No such flute is found among the 26 flutes depicted by MEAD from the coast of Peru. Nor are flutes of this kind found among the Choroti and Ashluslay. All the old Peruvian flutes are blown from the end, and the holes seem to be placed very arbitrarily. I have in my collections side-blown flutes from the Yuracáre, Chimáne, Itonama, Cavina, and Tapiete as well as from the Chiriguano and Chané. They are also found among the Cainguá. Everywhere they have six holes.[1]) They are never found among absolutely outlying tribes. Endblown flutes are undoubtedly pre-Columbian. All the flutes from the Peruvian coast described by MEAD are end-blown flutes. Three of them are made of reed, one of a calabash, the others of bone. Various kinds of end-blown flutes are very widely distributed in S. America. I have such flutes from the Chiriguano, Chané, Mataco, Toba, Tapiete, Ashluslay, Choroti. Yuracáre, and Huari.

---

[1]) A flute of this kind is called by the Chané »kéna». Speaking of the Quichua musical instruments COBO says (IV. P. 228) »Quena — quena es una caña sola como flauta para cantos endechas.» The Cavina call a dance at which they play with flutes and drums »kena-kena». (NORDENSKIÖLD (11) P. 460.) CHERVIN, when mentioning the Quichua musical instruments, says that they, and especially the mestizoes, have their small flutes which they call »quena»... (P. 178). I presume that the Chané took over from the mestizoes not only the side-blown flute but also its name »quena» which the latter in their turn had obtained from the Quichua language. How the Quichua came to apply the word »quena» to a musical instrument which was originally unknown to them, I do not know.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
534
171*
177

As I said in Part I the flutes in different parts of S. America are too little known for me to venture to express any opinion as to the source whence the Chiriguano and Chané got the end-blown flute.

C
Ce
534
[237]

Both the Chiriguano and Chané possess trumpets made of cowhorn. From the former I also have an old trumpet made from a calabash (Fig. 37 B) which I acquired at Caipipendi. I do not know whether this was ever provided with a mouthpiece. The Chané Indians have on their cowhorns mouthpieces of reed with lips (See Fig. 50. Part I). I have not seen these mouthpieces among the Chiriguano; they blow the cowhorns from the end without a mouthpiece. Most likely the Indians learned from the Whites to use mouthpieces of the aforementioned type.

C
Ce
534
171*

Trumpets are very wide-spread in S. America, and it is interesting to notice the distribution of trumpets blown from the side and those blown from the end. ~~The pre-Columbian~~ date of the latter is certain, while that of the former is very doubtful. Map 10 indicates the distribution of these two types of trumpet.

Thus we see that side-blown trumpets occur especially in the basin of the Amazon,[1]) in the region where negro influence has been and is very great, and I do not think it impossible that the Indians have learnt to use such trumpets from the negroes. When negro slaves were brought to S. America, they naturally introduced many African ideas. Runaway slaves frequently sought refuge among the Indians. In Matto Grosso, for instance, it is probable that negroes had been in touch with Indians who had not yet seen Whites. From them the Indians would be able to learn a good deal.

When making a trumpet of an antelope horn or the tusk of an elephant, it is quite natural to make a hole in the

[text continues on p. 122]

[1]) From civilized Indians at Tupiza in Bolivia CHRAVIN mentions side-blown trumpets which, it is quite certain, were introduced by the Whites at a late date.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Bush Negroes SRS

C
534
237
531
B
534

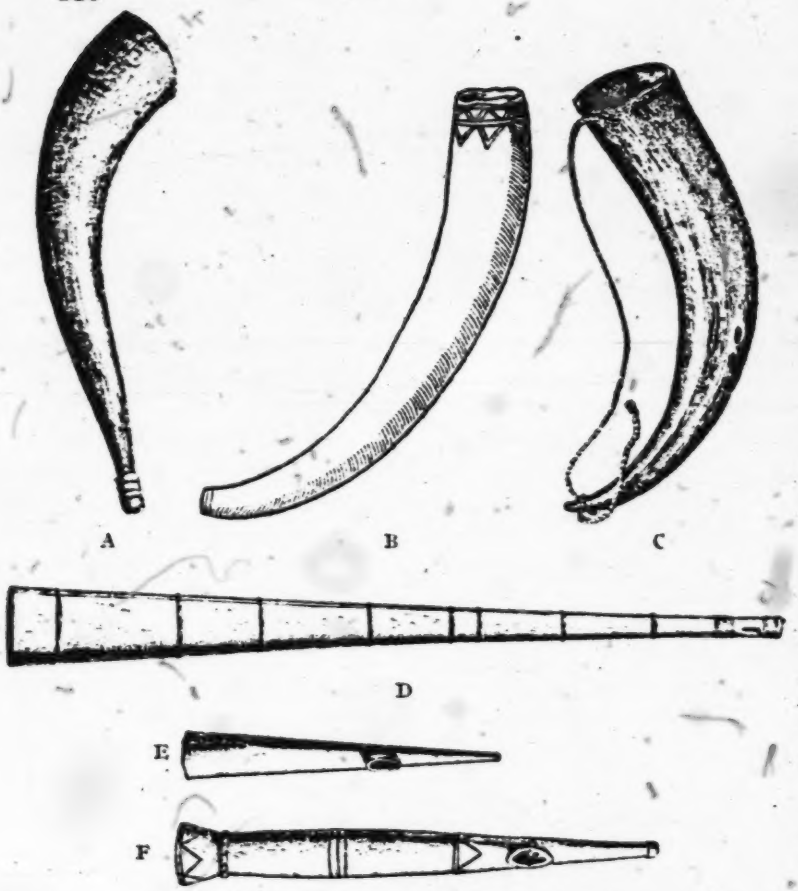


Fig. 37. A. End-blown trumpet made of cowhorn. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 97. 1/5.

B. End-blown-trumpet made from a calabash. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 511. 1/6

C. Side-blown trumpet made of cowhorn. British Guiana. Collection of LILJEWALCH—THULIN. G. M. 12. 1. 50. 1/6.

D. Side-blown trumpet made of wood. Parentintin(?), Brazil. R. M.

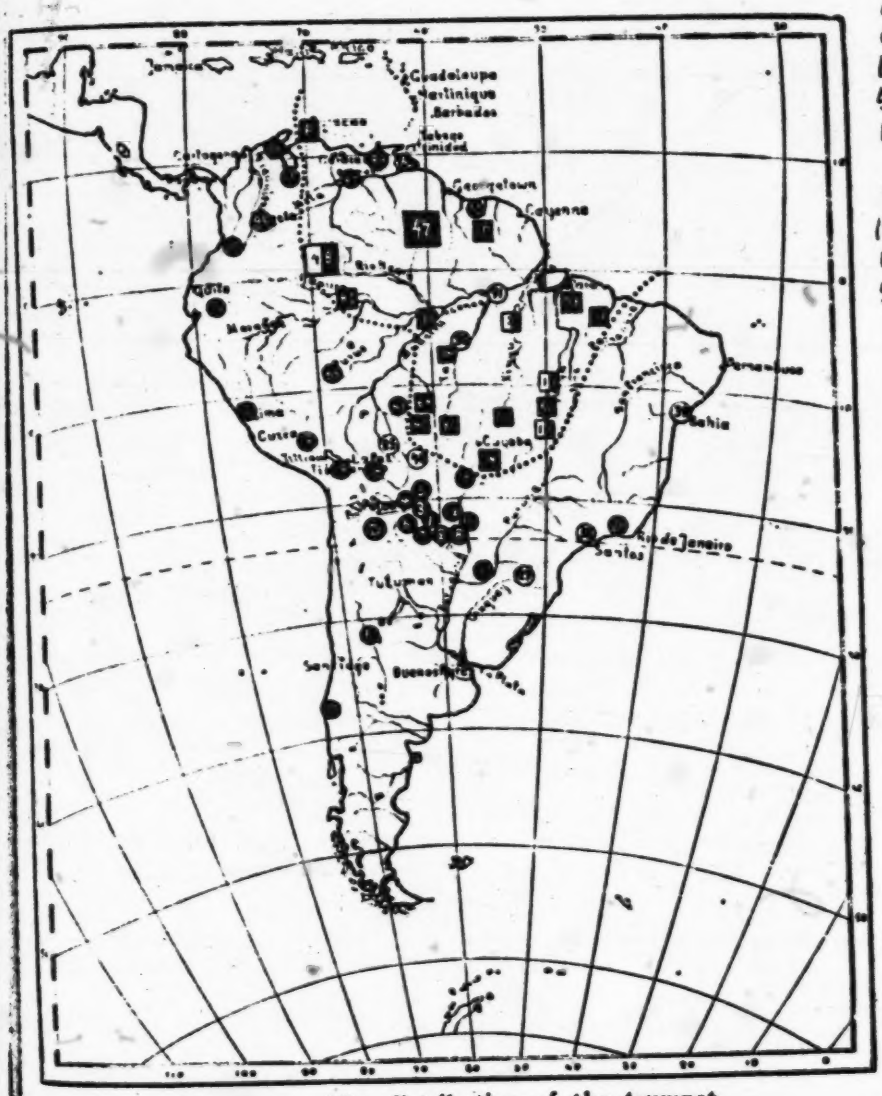
E. Side-blown trumpet made of tin-plate. Bush-negroes. Surinam. Collection of BARON KLINCKOWSTRÖM. R. M. K. 204. 1/8.

F. Side-blown trumpet made of wood. Bushnegroes. Surinam. Collection of KLINCKOWSTRÖM. R. M. K. 69. 1/8.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
534 ●
171 *

S
102
171
534



Map. 10. The distribution of the trumpet.

● = End-blown trumpets. ■ = Side-blown trumpets. ..... = S. and W. distribution of side-blown trumpets. ◨ = Both end-blown and side-blown trumpets occur. ○ = Trumpets occur or have occurred but I do not know whether they were end-blown or side-blown.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
C2
534
171

side of the horn or tusk, as the point is not hollow; the same holds good, though to a less extent, of a cowhorn. It is therefore to be expected that the side-blown trumpet should be found in Africa and, further, that the negroes, on coming to America, should still make such trumpets, although of other materials. It is only in accord with the laws of conservatism.[1]) The Bush negroes of Surinam still have side-blown trumpets (Fig. 37 E, F) which, though of wood and tin-plate, are plainly copies of the trumpets used by their forefathers in Africa.

S
534
174

In pre-Columbian times there were in S. America no suitable horns for making trumpets. Trumpets were made of other materials, the most primitive being probably large seashells. To make a trumpet of a large shell one only needs to knock off the point. It becomes an end-blown trumpet. The pre-Columbian date of end-blown trumpets is proved by numerous finds on the coast of Peru *where, on the other hand, a side-blown trumpet has never been found.*[2])

Thus there are no archaeological proofs that the side-blown trumpet in S. America is pre-Columbian. A fact which is against the idea that sideblown trumpets were brought to S. America by negroes is their considerable distribution and above all that a trumpet-like musical

[1]) PROFESSOR VON LUSCHAN (P. 191.) says about the side-blown trumpets from Benin. »Dem Beispiele VON HORNBOSTEL und SACHS folgend, bezeichne ich als Querhörner solche hornförmige Blasinstrumente, die nicht an der Spitze angeblasen werden, sondern an einem seitlich angebrachten Loch. Dabei wird man zur Erklärung einer solchen uns zunächst fremdartig erscheinenden Einrichtung wohl daran denken dürfen, dass die ältesten Blasinstrumente aus Tierhörner hergestellt wurden, und dass es ganz ungleich einfacher war, etwa ein Antilopen- oder Ziegenhorn von der Seite her anzuschneiden als von der Spitze an abzutragen oder anzubohren. An der so gewonnenen Form hat man dann wohl festgehalten auch wenn man die Blashörner aus Elfenbein oder Holz oder gar aus Metall herstellte.«

[2]) In the literature to which I have access none such are mentioned.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,7(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

S 534 174 tions — should have occurred within the Amazon basin, and not within the areas of civilization in the west and north-west, if it really were pre-Columbian.

S 174 439 534 By means of far-reaching trade connections it is certain that European and, possibly, African ideas were spread far and wide at the beginning of the Conquest period. *Within a large part of America the continuity between the tribes was at that time, still undisturbed.* When the Whites had completed the conquest of all the great highways — the navigable rivers — trade among the Indians ceased or was at least diminished. The wide extent of inter-Indian trade already appears from the fact that the Indians of the upper Amazon in the seventeenth century obtained axes and knives of iron from Guiana[1]). This proves that Indian trade was carried on over immense distances. Thanks to this trade there were also spread, of course, many purely Indian ideas. Where large tracts are occupied by Indians, trade is still very lively, as in Guiana, along the upper Orinoco and in the Chaco. Only a short time ago Indians appear to have carried on a trade in weapons between Guiana and Rio Negro.[2])

S 174 534 177 In what I have now said I do not consider that I have proved finally that the side-blown trumpet in S America is an African culture-element. I have however demonstrated that is highly possible, and that the question deserves attention.

C Ce 534 174 177 The information I give below, which is based on the literature on the subject and on Museum specimens to which I have had access, indicates my knowledge of the occurrence of trumpets in S. America. Thus it verifies Map 10. The end-blown trumpet may have been obtained by the Chiriguano and Chané from the western area of civilization. In this case the original trumpets must have been of some

[text continues on p. 126]

[1]) Manuel Rodriguez Lib. 2, Cap. XI, P. 131.
[2]) Koch-Grünberg (7).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
102
534 ●
171*

S
102
171
534

Map. 11. The distribution of the pan-pipe.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
534
174
177

other material than the cowhorns introduced by the Whites, e. g. of calabashes, like the old trumpet from Caipipendi. Mouthpieces with lips were presumably, as I said, introduced by the Whites. COMINGES[1]) relates the following little episode which is significant as showing how the Indians learn the use of musical instruments from the Whites. »Á su vista se me occurió la idea de fabricarles un clarinete, lo que hice en pocos minutos con una caña tacuara, del que se arrancaron notas muy agudas parecidos á las que produce la dulzaina; lo que alegró tanto á la concurrencia que hasta los viejos me metían cañas por los ojos bara que les hiciese gaitas, en cuya operación me pasé el resto de la tarde y parte de la noche.»

C
Ce
534
*171

The panpipe is very rare here. It consists of four reeds which I have not seen bound together. In the following table and in the accompanying map 11 I have endeavoured, on the basis of the investigations of PATER SCHMIDT, some other writers, and of myself, to indicate the distribution of the panpipe in S. America. The map does not enlighten us as to whether the Chané got the panpipe from the area of civilization in the west, or if it came to them from Indians in N. E. Bolivia. The latter seems the likeliest supposition, as it only occurs within the northern part of the Chané country. It is not a culture-element from Guarani Indians. It is interesting to notice that the panpipe has by no means so great a distribution at it might have. In the Chaco there is abundance of material for panpipes, but they are unknown there. In the wealth of old literature dealing with the Indians on the coast of Brazil, I have found no hints of the panpipe. Oddly enough the panpipe is also unknown among the Indians of the Roraima region. Nor is the panpipe known to the Cainguá Indians. Very possibly the distribution of the panpipe has been considerably extended in post-Columbian times. The well-known investi-

[1]) P. 227

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
534
171*
[102]

gation of VON HORNBORSTEL points to the panpipe being an Andine culture-element — at least in N. W. Brazil.

Table 13. Map. 10.

End-blown trumpet.[1])

S
102
171
534

1. Choroti.
2. Ashluslay.
3. Tapiete.
4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 511, E. 573. (without mouthpiece).
5. Chané, R. M. P. 106. (with mouthpiece).
6. Mataco.
7. Toba.
8. Lengua, HAWTREY P. 293.
10. Araucanians, GUEVARA (1) P. 170.
12. Mbayá, SÁNCHEZ-LABRADOR Vol. 2, P. 4.
13. Karajá, KRAUSE P. 316.
16. Guató, MAX SCHMIDT (3) P. 309.
18. Quichua. »Quepa es una suerte de trompetilla que hazen de un calabazo largo.» »Tocan asimismo caracoles.» COBO, T. 4, P. 229.
19. Aymara.
30. Guayaqui, KUNIKE Fig. 8.
34. Jivaro, RIVET (1) P. 53.
36. Ijca, BOLINDER (4) P. 269. Köggaba, BRETTES P. 452.
38. Tupinambá, LERY Plate P. 240.
43. Huanyam, G. M. 15. 1. 590.
48. Indians Northwestern-Brazil. KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) P. Vol. 1, Fig. 116 and 196.
55. Caribs, Surinam, ENCYCLOPÆDIE P. 495. Letter from JOSSELIN DE JONG. (Museum Leiden, Serie 1817 nrs. 193 and 194.)
69. Ipurina, EHRENREICH (2) P. 71; STEERE P. 378.

[1]) I have assumed all the shell trumpets to be end-blown. Side-blown shell trumpets are, as far I know, unknown from S. America.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
534
*171
102
S
102
171
534

95. Chibcha, RESTREPO P. 106.
99. Cumanagoto, GOMARA P. 207.
A. Indians on the coast of Peru, MEAD (1).
IC. Paez, PITTIER DE FABREGA P. 324.
D. Puna de Jujuy and Quebrada del Toro, ERIC VON ROSEN (4) P. 154 and P. 205.
F. San Juan, DEBENEDETTI (4) P. 235.
X. Yuruna, M. f. V. B. (V. B. 1725).
1 F. Indians, Sierra Mene. OVIEDO T. 2, P. 282.
V 7. Saliva, GUMILLA T. I, P. 217.

Side-blown trumpets.

13. Karajá, KRAUSE P. 316.
14. Bororó, KARL VON DEN STEINEN (3) P. 496.
20. Paressi, MAX SCHMIDT (4).
28. Kamayurá. M. f. V. B. (V. B. 2940.)
41. Pauserna, G. M. 15. 1. 847.
47. Indians Roraima, G. M. 12. 1. 50.
48. Indians Northwestern—Brazil, KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2) Fig. 140.
50. Šavajé, KRAUSE P. 365.
64. Huari.
85. Juri, RATZEL Vol. I, P. 464.
98. Tembé, BARBOSA RODRIGUEZ (2) P. 43.
P. Island of Aruba, Etnographical Museum in Leiden. Serie 472, Nr. 9. Kindly communicated by Dr. JOSSELIN DE JONG.
X. Yuruna, M. f. V. B. (V. B 1726, V. B. 1728 b, B. 1727).
1 P. Negroes, Surinam, R. M. Collection of Baron AXEL KLINKOWSTRÖM.
3 P. Mauhé, RATZEL Vol. 1, Plate P. 497.
5 H. Parentintin(?), Rio Tapajos. (Fig. 37 D). It is probably correct to assume that these trumpets are from the Rio Tapajos region. It is very doubtful if they are from the Parentintin, as they form part of an old collection (Dr. CASTRO's) which seems to be rather carelessly labelled.
5 X. Canella, KISSENBERTH (1) P. 51.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

Trumpets of which little is known.

25. Mojo, CASTILLO P. 341. The horns for the trumpets the Indians brought from Sta Cruz de la Sierra. EDER P. 334. »primum cucurbitis oblongis aut rotundis constat; illas more tubarum, has inserta fistula inflant».
29. Caingang, BLEYER P. 835; D'ESCRAGNOLLE TAUNAY P. 578.
38. Tupi, Coast of Brazil. SOARES DE SOUZA P. 300. (Tupinambá), P. 312 (Tupinaè), P. 314. (Ámoipira); LERY P. 234; »blasen in bosaunen von kürbissen gemacht.» STADEN.
40. Itatines, LITTERAE ANNUAE 1594—1595 P. 751.
56. Mundrucú, TOCANTINS P. 134.
91. Indians Rio Amazonas, CARVAJAL P. 64.

C
Ce
102
534
171*
S
102
171
534

Table 14.

The pan-pipe. Map. 11.

4. ? Chiriguano.
5. Chané, R. M. P. 174.
11. Chamacoco, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.
13. Karajá, EHRENREICH (2) P. 24.
18. Quichua, COBO Vol. 4, P. 229.
Museum Copenhagen (H 1057), Quito.
19. Aymara.
20. Paressi, MAX SCHMIDT (4) P. 240.
22. Yuracáre, NORDENSKIÖLD (9) Fig. 57.
23. Churápa, R. M. Tj. 33.
24. Chimáne, G. M. 15. 1. 1001.
25. Mojo, EDER P. 332, Fig. 8.
28. Indians upper Rio Xingú, K. V. D. STEINEN (3) P. 327.
31. Ojana, Trio, GOEJE (1) Pl. VII, 13.
33. Campa, ORDINAIRE P. 281.
36. Ijca, Köggaba, BOLINDER (4) P. 263.
37. Motilon, » » P. 270.
40. Guarayú (Guarayos), R. M. G. 47.

8.Nordenskiöld E-8,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
534
102
171
S
102
171
534

41. Pauserna, G. M. 15. 1. 848.
43. Huanyam, G. M. 15. 1. 595.
48. Indians Northwestern Brazil, KOCH-GRÜNBERG (2). PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.
54. Guahibo, R. M. H. M. K. II. 7.
55. Caribs, French Guiana, BARRERE P. 131.
58. Cavina, G. M. 15. 1. 1464.
61. Indians Rio Yapurá, WHIFFEN P. 210, Pl. XLIX
62. Chacobo, R. M. Ch. 75.
67. Suyá, K. v. d. STEINEN (3) P. 327.
68. Omagua. PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.
74. Tamanaco, GILIJ Vol. 2, P. 275.
85. Juri, RATZEL Vol. 1, P. 464.
A. Found on the coast of Peru. MEAD (1).
7C. Itonama, G. M. 15. 1. 1270.
3D. Cocama, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.
E. Diaguita, AMBROSETTI (6) Segunda parte, P. 489. Earthen vessel representing a figure with a pan-flute in the hands found at Amaicha, Valle Calchaqui, Provincia de Tucuman. AMBROSETTI (2) T. 19, P. 221.
2 F. Indians Susques, BOMAN P. 464. Imported from Bolivia.
9H. Indians at Sarayacu, SMYTH AND LOWE P. 214.
8P. Paumari, STEERE P. 387.
V5. Maquiritare. PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.
V8. Peba.
V9. From Timana, REGEL. Pl. 24, Fig. 19.
X. Yuruna, K. v. d. STEINEN (2) P. 259.
X3. Piaroa, R. M. H. M. K. I. 72.
9X. Passe, PATER SCHMIDT P. 1060.
an Found at Serena, Chile. MEDINA (1) Fig. 79.
pp Found at Iruya, Argentine. ERIC VON ROSEN (4) P. 381.

/242/

Chapter Sixteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Art and Industry

The Chiriguano and Chané are tribes whose art-industry is on a very high level. If one visits one of the huts of the white settlers in these regions, one will not see many products of native industry, not much of their own culture. I know of absolutely nothing that these people are capable of doing which can compare with the pottery and the weaving technique of the Indians. One thing is certain, the more "civilized" the Indians become, the less they accomplish in the way of art and industry. They do not learn much more from the whites than how to make and drink liquor. Indian art-industry is gradually disappearing here, the more the Indians come in contact with the whites, but it is not transformed. It remains largely purely Indian until its final destruction. One industry, however, is now in the hands of the whites, namely, the metal industry. The silver ornaments which, for example, the Chiriguano and Chané use are made by the smiths in the villages of the mountain regions. The half-white or Quichua /Quechua/ Indian population which we come across in the mountains west of the land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is quite skilled artistically. The weaving technique in particular is very highly developed there. The Chiriguano and Chané undoubtedly learned a great deal from the west.

Thus we find the serére pipe[2] (Fig. 120) characteristic of the Chiriguano in collections from the coast of Peru (1); /Plate

1. Serére also occur among the Lengua, Ashluslay, Chiriguano, Chané, Churápa, and Yuracáre.

19 appears here/ /243/ the pin for fastening women's clothing

2 [A flute-like musical instrument--Analyst]

[TEXT Continues on P. 94]

C /243 cont./
171 (Fig. 130) is typically Peruvian in form, as is the silver hair re-
291 mover, of which, however, I have no specimen. The festive
[534] costume of the man (Fig. 81) also seems to me to have a Peruvian
[413] cut. It is possible, however, that the influence of Peru did not
C 177 manifest itself among the Chiriguano until after the conquest of
the plateau by the Spanish.

e 131 172 e [113]

Boman (1) has proved that the Chiriguano, or more correctly the Gûarani tribe to which these Indians belong, formerly extended much farther south than they do now. He found there the grave urns so characteristic of them.

1. Boman: Antiquités de la Région Andine. Vols. 1-2. Paris, 1908.

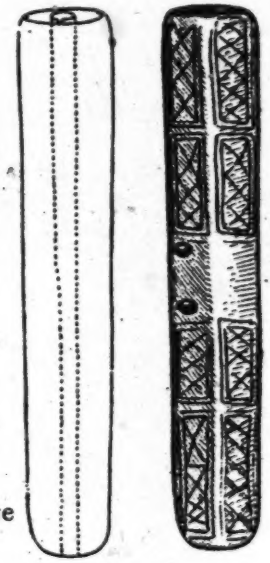


Fig. 120. Serére pipe. Chiriguano. 1/4.

C Ce 171 Ce [323]

The material culture of the Chané Indians does not, in general, differ very much from the culture of the Chiriguano. The Chané, on the other hand, who are more isolated on the Rio Parapiti, have a completely independent pottery which we do not find again among the Chiriguano. If we compare the remaining products of Chané and Chiriguano industry, we do not find any greater differences than we find in the various Chiriguano villages themselves.

C [534] 534 C [184]

C 323 184

For example, if one collects clay vessels in the Iguembe valley and in the Caipipendi valley, both of which valleys are occupied by Chiriguano, one inevitably finds that the pottery, though strongly related in ornamentation and form, nevertheless /244/ also varies locally. I have already spoken of the individual variations (p. 85).

301
174
412
[302]

other inconvenient hair-growth, and which are still in use among the Chiriguano.[1]

I have noted a circumstance, previously unheeded, that, in my opinion, gives considerable weight to Nordenskiöld's theory as to the true Indian origin of the boivéra ornament. All breast ornaments of this kind have in their upper part a tubular horizontal perforation, open at both ends. In the middle of this barrel, and through the top, there is a hole. Through this barrel and upper hole is run the cord by which the ornament is worn round the neck (fig. 199). This rather peculiar arrangement for fixing the cord on which the ornament is hung, is found in the majority of such ancient Indian hanging ornaments, whistles and flutes of stone, as were meant to be worn a string. As an example, the remarkable ancient Indian stone flute, found in the earth in the vicinity of Iruya,[2] has at one end been bored through (fig. 200) in a manner exactly corresponding to the arrangement for the cord in the boivéra. This cord-fixing adaptation does not, to my knowledge, occur in any European object. For this reason it may surely be considered as very probable, not only that the original use of the boivéra as a pair of tweezers is of Indian origin, but also that the idea of carrying the tweezers on a string round the neck is Indian, and consequently has not originated from those more or less »white» jewellers that nowadays manufacture boivéra ornaments, and sell them to the Indians. I have in another book depicted a fragment of a small, pre-Spanish, ornamented bronze tweezers, which, like the boivéra, has a circular perforation at its upper end,[3] indicating that those tweezers, too, were worn on a cord, and consequently also in all likelihood served as a breast ornament.

[534]
[172]

Fig. 200. Pan-pipe of stone. Ground-find from Iruya. Bolivia. 1/2. The dotted line marks the hole for fastening a string in the same way as for the breast ornament, fig. 199.

[439]

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 81—83, 92 and 94.
[2] von Rosen (10), pp. 147 and 148.
[3] von Rosen (10), fig. 211.

415
531
→
276
←
534
←

by them to any considerable extent; I myself never saw any Chiriguano smoking.

The Chiriguano are very fond of music and dancing. Their musical instruments consist of a kind of primitive trumpets of cow-horn, reed flutes, whistles and drums.

An interesting Chiriguano whistling pipe is here reproduced, in fig. 227. It consists of a flat piece of some hard and heavy wood; is 18.5 cm long, 3.6 cm wide, and has a section as set out in the figure. It has, pierced through its longitudinal axis, a tubular perforation, 7 to 9 mm in diameter, and open at both ends, running from end to end of the instrument. In the centre of its upper edge there are two, somewhat smaller, holes through which is threaded the string which allows of the pipe being worn round the neck as a breast ornament. The carrying cord running through two holes, side by side, probably indicates that the pipe was meant to hang horizontally on the breast. If there had been only one hole for the cord, the pipe would have tilted one way or the other, like the beam of a pair of scales. The pipe is designed for blowing on in the

Fig. 223. Food bowl of earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. The rest of it painted yellowish white, with ornaments painted in dark brown (marked black) and red (represented by thin lines). Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 846.

Fig. 224. Hanging bowl, for keeping small articles. Earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. The rest painted yellowish white, with ornaments in dark brown. Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 843.

[301]
←

Fig. 225. Hanging bowl, for keeping small articles. Earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. Otherwise painted yellowish white, with ornaments in dark brown (marked black) and red (represented by thin lines). Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 844.

534 same way as Pan pipes, and *naturally gives out tones, when one end of the tube is closed, different to those producible with both ends open.* The pipe is open at both ends, therefore, not only because this allows the instrument to be easily cleaned from dust, dirt and saliva, but also because *this construction gives the possibility of a greater number of tones.*

531
415
824
←
534
301
531
→

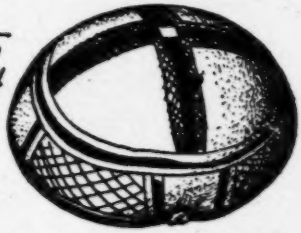


Fig. 226. Bowl, of calabash, up-turned, with pokerwork ornaments. Chiriguano. Carapari. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 831.

Fig. 227. Whistle, made of hard, black wood. Incised ornaments. Two cracks near one end of the tube have been filled up with a waxy substance. Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 848.

534
171

That the Indians occasionally also give a thought to keeping dust, etc., from getting into their whistling pipes, is, besides, evident from the pipe shown in fig. 228, which is an Araucan whistle from Cautin, Chile, a tubular piece of wood, 27.5 cm long. A common brass thimble is fitted over the lower end of the pipe, and for its top end there is a small, well made stopper of woollen-yarn, connected to the pipe with a string, so as not to get lost when taken out for the whistle to be blown. Concerning this stopper, Eric Boman, who has reproduced the pipe in one of his works, writes as follows: »Este tapón sirve para cerrar la boca del silbato, cuando éste no se usa, e impedir que entren allí tierra y otras impurenzas.»[1] »This stopper serves to keep the mouth of the whistle closed when the latter is not being used, and prevents dust and other dirt from entering.»

Fig. 228. Whistle, found at Cautin. Chile. From Boman.

Objects of tubular form, in construction corresponding to the one here reproduced in fig. 227, have been found in ancient Peruvian graves, and not only the Chiriguano, but also many other tribes now inhabiting areas in the neighbourhood of what once was the Inca domain, are still

[1] Boman (2), p. 518.

534 171

using whistles of this type.[1] Nordenskiöld has advanced a theory as to the origin of the Serére whistle, which is highly interesting. On the ground of the similarity of construction that this type of whistle has to a balance beam shown in fig. 229, with its cords for weights and load still in preservation, found in Peru, Nordenskiöld is of the opinion that the Serére whistle is probably the beam of a balance, but that its original use has been forgotten.[2] By blowing, in play, into one end of such a balance beam, a tone was produced. This way of whistle-blowing gradually became widespread and popular, and, eventually, whistles were manufactured that were of a construction similar to that of the balance beams of the ancients. More and more the balances ceased to be used as such, and finally it was altogether forgotten that the whistle had been made as a copy of the balance beam.

534 171 174 114

Fig. 229. Scale, with a wooden beam. Probably an improvisation from a whistle of Serére type, which forms the bar of the balance. Ground find from Peru. 1/4. Illustration from E. Nordenskiöld.

On my first acquaintance with this theory of the Serére whistle having originated from the balance beam, it seemed to me so well grounded that I accepted it.[3] But afterwards I quite changed my opinion in this question, for reasons set out below. The ancient Peruvian balance referred to by Nordenskiöld is undoubtedly of a very unpractical construction. Like the Serére whistle, the balance beam is *bored through from end to end*, and provided with *two holes, close together, for its suspension*. Even if in rough and primitive weighing there may occasionally be a certain advantage (a saving of time) in using a balance that is not too sensitive, suspending a balance from two

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), p. 185.
[2] Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 187—188.
[3] von Rosen (6), pp. 211—212.

•534
171
174
114

points of support, in the way shown in fig. 229, is unsuitable, as it would enable the holder of the balance to influence, with an imperceptible movement of his hand, the balancing of the beam. Another point which strikes me as peculiar, is, that the string by which weights and objects for weighing are suspended, should be made to pass through a hole that runs the whole length of the longitudinal axis of the beam. A perforation of such a length obviously represents a good deal of labour, which, moreover, in the case of a balance beam, would be quite unnecessary. Surely the simpler plan would have been to fix a string through a small hole at each end of the beam.

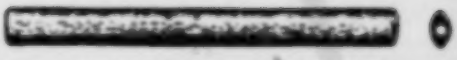


Fig. 230. Ancient Peruvian wooden whistle(?). ¼. From Nordenskiöld. One end of the tube has been stopped up, possibly on account of the whistle having been found too hard-blown with both ends open. All other known Old Peruvian objects of this type have *both ends open.*

The above were my reasons for beginning to form the opinion that the Old Peruvian balance, fig. 229, had been rigged up to do duty as a makeshift. A proper balance not being at hand, a tubular whistle, fig. 230, was pressed into service. In this way the ancient Peruvian balance, fig. 229, would — if my theory is correct — simply prove to be *a whistle that had been provisionally fixed up as a weighing instrument.* It is not impossible that this way of hastily improvising a balance — rather a dull one, admittedly, but usable for *rough weighing* — was not infrequently employed. When I acquainted Nordenskiöld with my theory as to the constructional purpose of the balance reproduced in fig. 229, he had the great kindness to send me all reproductions of Old Peruvian balances that were in his possession. Three of these retain the cord by which the beam was suspended (the poising cord), and *in these three, this cord is fixed through a hole in the centre of the beam,* fig. 231. Two of the balances are provided with cords on which to hang the weights and the objects to be weighed. *These cords are not taken through the full length of the balance beam, but attached to it by means of holes bored*

Fig. 231. Old Peruvian scale. From Hamy.

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

534 171 174 114

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

361 622

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

582 595 881 [304] [301] 585 574 846

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] see Rosen (8).

534

Plate XII

a

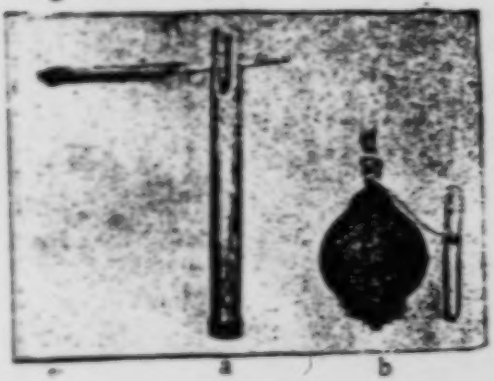
b

Fig. 33

524

a b

Fig. 34



a b

Fig. 35

534

a

b

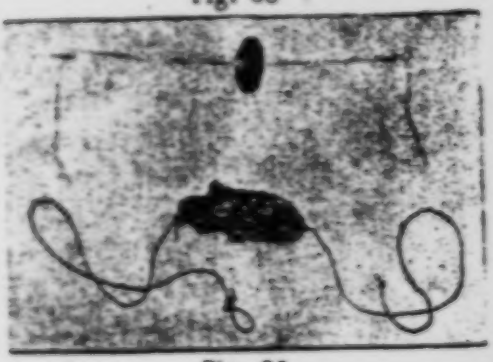


Fig. 36

/The captions appear on p. 91./

8: Schmidt--91 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XII and XIII/

C
534

Plate XII

Fig. 33. Wooden flutes, "serere" (Chiriguano): a (I. A. 492), length 20 cm.; b (I. A. 491), length 17 cm.

Fig. 34. a (I. A. 494): Cane flute (Chiriguano), length 41 cm.
b (I. A. 495): double whistle of cane (Chiriguano), length 33.5 and 7 cm.

C
524

Fig. 35. a (I. A. 506): rattle, a toy for children (Chiriguano), length 23.5 cm.
b (I. A. 505): top, a toy for children (Chiriguano), length 16 cm.

Fig. 36. a (I. A. 510): toy for children, "mou-mou" (Chiriguano), diameter of the disk 6 cm.
b (I. A. 509): sling (Chiriguano), length (without cords) 14 cm.

C
Ce
411

Plate XIII

Fig. 37. Bows and arrows: a (I. A. 757), bow (Izozó), length 1.32 m.; b (I. A. 756), bow (Izozó), length 1.41 m.; c (I. A. 519), arrow (Chiriguano), length 1 m.; d (I. A. 521), arrow (Chiriguano), length 0.85 m.; e (I. A. 534), arrow for birds (Chiriguano), length 1.11 m.; f (I. A. 748), arrow (Izozó), length 0.94 m.; g (I. A. 528), arrow (Chiriguano), length 0.94 m.; h (I. A. 750), arrow (Izozó), length 0.835 m.

C
411

Fig. 38. (I. A. 517.) Macana (Chiriguano), length 0.64 m.

Ce
227

Fig. 39. (I. A. 764.) Fishing implement (Izozó), length 73.5 cm.

/79 cont./

C
Ce
482
171
413

We must still note that the Chiriguano and Chané transport fish in the same way as the neighboring tribes of the Chaco, by stringing them on a cord provided with a big wooden needle (295).

295. Nord. 2, p. 46.

Implements for Storing Objects

C
Ce
352
353
415

Most of the objects that serve for storing things have also been mentioned in preceding chapters, such as the various kinds of baskets and the wooden hoops which are hung in the houses for storing sundry things in them. The net bag and the carrying net do not serve only for carrying, but also for storing things in them. Baked clay vessels are not only used for storing liquids, but are also used for storing many other things which have a special value or are old memorabilia of the family (296). Furthermore,

296. Nord. 1, p. 179.

C
Ce
[237]

they put up special hooks for hanging various things in the houses. Such a hook is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (297),

297. Nord. 1, p. 177 and Fig. 86.

and Métraux shows such a hook made of a deer's leg (298).

298. Métraux I, Fig. 128.

Art

C
●534
126

Flutes and a Whistle in the Collection

I.A. 491. Flute, "sereré" (Chirig.). Wood. Lgth. 17 cm. Width 2.7 cm. (Fig. 33b.)

I.A. 492. " " " " " 20 cm. Width 3.5 cm. (Fig. 33a.)

I.A. 493. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Length 43 cm.

/79 cont./

534 I. A. 494. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Lgth. 41 cm. (Fig. 34a.)
[126] I. A. 495. Double whistle " " " 33.5 and 7 cm. (Fig. 34b.)

[126] From the Chiriguano in Machareti I acquired two different kinds of flutes, the ones made of cane and the others made of wood. The two wooden flutes I. A. 491 and 492 (cf. Figs. 93a and 93b /see Fig. 33a and b, p. 89/) are of particular importance because of their similarity in form, and in the case of I. A. 491 of decoration as well, to a special kind of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians, and for that reason they have already been dealt with several times in ethnological literature. These two flutes are doubtless quite old specimens which per-
[322] haps had already been used by several generations. They are called "sereré" by the Chiriguano, and they are of hard wood bored from one end to the other. In the middle of the upper edge of the lozenge of the apparatus, there are two small
[301] perforations .. A similar flute shown in a sketch by v. Rosen (299)

299. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 220.

shows that these perforations serve for a string to pass through, in order that the flute may be worn as a chest ornament.
534 Nordenskiöld (300) has already called attention to the surprising
174
171

300. Nord. 3, pp. 187 and 188.

resemblance between these flutes and a special form of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians. These, numerous specimens of which are known, are no doubt classified as balance beams because of the fact that on some specimens /80/ the cord which passes through the horizontal perforation and which has at one end a weight and at the other end a loop, or some such similar thing for holding the objects that are to be weighed, has been preserved. V. Rosen, describing and showing in a drawing one of these Chiriguano flutes, which is like flute I. A. 491 except that it still has the cord which passes through the two holes on the upper

C /80 cont./
534 edge, puts forward against Nordenskiöld's deductions his opinion
174 that the ancient Peruvian objects of this form might originally
171 have been flutes and that they might have been used only ex-
C ceptionally, in the event of necessity or only secondarily, as
[114] balance beams. Among the objects of this kind in the ancient
C Peruvian collection of the museum in Berlin so many specimens
[177] clearly show that they are balance beams that I cannot say that
C I agree with this opinion by V. Rosen (301). We must agree
[113]

301. Cf. Max Schmidt, Kunst und Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/, p. 99, fig. p. 544, N. 8-10.

with V. Nordenskiöld's opinion that these wooden objects used by the ancient Peruvians as balance beams may have been accepted by the Chiriguano, not as balance beams, because the Chiriguano did not have the need to weigh anything, but as flutes. We must mention that with this kind of flute, open at both ends, two different sounds can be produced, depending upon whether the lower hole is left open or is closed with the finger.

The two Chiriguano flutes made of cane have six holes for varying the sound and one hole, at one side, for the mouth.
C Cf. Figure 39a /see Fig. 34a, p. 89/. Nordenskiöld, who shows
Ce such a flute in a drawing (302), is of the opinion that the
534
177
171

302. Nord. 2, Fig. 36 A.

Chiriguano and Chané received this kind of flute from the mestizos or whites, because such flutes provided with a hole at one side for the mouth do not exist among the other Indians of South America or among the ancient Peruvians.

/80 cont./

Ee 534

The double whistle I.A. 495 consists of two pieces of cane joined together in the manner of Panpipes. In contrast to the flutes described in the preceding, the two tubes of these whistles have lips. One, which has four holes for making the sounds vary, measures 33.5 cm., and the other, which does not have such holes, is only 7 cm. long. A whistle of this kind, but not double, is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (303).

303. Nord. 2, Fig. 36b.

Ee [171]

In addition to these musical instruments, Nordenskiöld describes a few others that he saw among the Chiriguano and Chané. Among them can also be found those round flutes which are used by many tribes of the Chaco and one of which is shown in a sketch by Nordenskiöld (304). They also have large

304. Nord. 2, Fig. 35.

Ee [237] [824]

trumpets, which the Chiriguano call "angùahuasi," while the common trumpet is called by the same name as is the mortar, "angúa" or "angúarai." One can also find trumpets made out of a cow's horn or a calabash, which are blown at the upper end (305).

305. Nord. II, p. 119, Fig. 37 A and B.
Métraux I, p. 337, Fig. 35.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Panpipes, which consist of several flutes joined together, are rarely found among these Indians (306).

306. Nord. 2, p. 126.

Ee 415 532

Plastic art is little developed among the Chiriguano and Chané. On rare occasions we find plastic art in the form of animals in the forms of the baked clay pottery of the Chiriguano (307).

307. Nord. 2, Fig. 41, N. 4, and Fig. 45, N. 20.

/462 cont./

Chapter X

Masks

532 The handsome masks, whose description I shall give
796 further on, are worn during the carnival festivities. Difficulties
[122] with the Bolivian authorities kept me from arriving in the Chiriguano villages at the time when they were taking place. When I finally found myself among my Chiriguano friends, they had emptied the last vats of kāwi and were /463/ in their
[126] normal state. Thanks to the closeness of the feast I was able
[241] to collect the masks published here; ordinarily they are destroyed or used in the fields as scarecrows.

115 My host, Mr. Alberto Torrejon, who lives at Ibopeytí on the upper Pilcomayo in an Indian village, gave me some very interesting details about the ceremonies and merrymaking in which he had just participated. I transcribe them as given.

796 At my approach of any festival, the carnival, for exam-
775 ple, the first act consists in causing the souls of the dead to flee.
789 If this precaution is not taken, the widows and relatives of the deceased will have to abstain from taking part. For the purpose of purifying the air, a drum is beaten, and the whole family /Fig. 120 appears here/ which has lost a member weeps and shouts. When the spirits have cleared out, the drum, in a joyful rhythm, gives the signal for merrymaking.

796 The festival is opened by a man and a woman who, with a stick decorated with flowers in hand, advance toward the middle of the square, followed by all the inhabitants in a long chain. When they have arrived at the middle of the area extending between the huts, the couple plants this sign, thus giving the signal for the festival.

[535] The chain breaks up and small groups form to dance in a ring. Their dance consists in advancing and retreating in triple time to the sound of flutes and drums.

C /465 cont./
796 descendants or relatives the fertility of the fields and the
241 abundance of the future harvest. These masked festivals have
[171] their counterpart in the famous ceremonies of the populations of
C the Negro River, the details of which Koch-Grünberg has made
[177] known to us. Besides, it is probable that the Chiriguano
A borrowed these ceremonies, and especially the masks, from the
796 Chané. It is the racial brothers of the Chané, the Arawak of
241 the Negro River, who celebrate these festivals with the most
Ce splendor. The Chané of the Parapití still accord to these ancient
796 rites more importance than the Chiriguano, and their masks
241 crowned with immense tufts of feathers are, it appears, more
532 sumptuous than those of their old Guarani enemies.

In the missions the carnival has lost its purely pagan
C significance and has become contaminated with usages which
796 the Chiriguano have borrowed from the half-breeds. Nino
[797] (pp. 267-270) gives a good description of them, of which I
[177] shall summarize the principal features.

C The festival is directed by a personage wearing an old-
[532] man mask. He stops at each corner of the square, recommending peace and harmony to all.

Then they give themselves over to different games: masked personages scatter bean pods or corn bran upon the dancers.

Young men, masked but almost entirely naked, daub
C themselves with mud and try to soil all those who have new
[177] garments. These two customs can have only a Bolivian origin.

Individuals who are also masked mime a combat between
C a jaguar and a bull which is finally put to death by a fanciful
796 butcher. Then they pass on to the pleasures of the dance. "The
535 dancers form a large circle by joining hands and dance thus
[536] three times. Three times also they squat down, and three more times they pass under the extended arms of a couple of the same circle, and finally the same number of times they press against one another, forming a big mass, their faces turned toward the outside and their hands folded. They remain in this position until another couple dances around them. These do not hold each other by the hand. The man chases the woman and tries to grab her. She avoids him and goes to hide in the middle of the others."

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

000 c 726 c [727]

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

c 727 266 c 567 727

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

c 534 177 Cc 534

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

c 535

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

c 273 628 527

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

c 276

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

c 273 462

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/261/

The Music for the Ayarise

527
535 The signal for the dancing and singing is given by the host,
533 who first makes a short speech to the maestro, who is carrying
[293] in his hands a Yandugua, a kind of parasol or umbrella made of ostrich feathers fastened around a long, straight piece of hollow cane. All the feathers have their natural curve outward (1).

[293]
[126]

1. The Yandugua in the Florence museum was purchased in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission by the Reverend Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi, tireless missionary of Potosí.

See the picture on page 77.

527
535 After the speech that the maestro and dancers listen to as if it were a Good Friday sermon in church, the singing and the dance begin. The maestro keeps time with his yandugua, the men dance by moving their feet from the knee, striking the ground without moving from the place they occupy, and the women behind the men with a maté in hand, full of chicha or not. The women take one step backward and another forward, and, not staying in the same place, they walk in time around the men with the formality and exactness of priestesses and hold hands with the other hand, two by two.

527
533 The larger the number of dancers, the more noise they make; there is no staying near them, because the men sing too loud. At a distance, to a person who is used to these songs, they seem relatively pleasant, but at night when one hears them for the first time and does not know what they contain, a thousand things will pass through the mind. Here are the verses of the Ayarise:

[539] Ayarise, rise -- Mborisese, sese -- Rosa yainde -- Imbaragüe -- Yuma chúrere -- Yuma chuépa -- Soro poco -- Eh! Eh! -- Saisá -- saisá -- Cururu hetesimi pinte -- Hevi sunzu -- Iparanta tapiti -- Cha machá imbarayu -- Imbará, boteriyu -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. It is perhaps appropriate and my readers may like

/261 cont./

527
533
539

to know the approximate meaning of the Ayarise, and so I put it in this note: "Let us sing, companions -- let us keep on singing -- with our women -- and orphans -- we are all here -- singing and dancing -- I know and I like this song -- The toad and the green frog stop -- and the rabbit makes an effort -- I am tired -- I stop and go off. Eh! Eh!

527
535
533

The Chiriguano can sing all day with these few verses, as in fact they do, but with rests. In order to finish the song all together and rest and drink for a long while, the men make a great stamp on the ground with one foot in time /262/ and a shout out of time, and everything stops with a special resounding and prolonged laughter of the women dancers.

Without leaving the circle of the singing and dancing, the lord of the fiesta has the dancers served abundant drink, which they partake of to their satisfaction in order to begin the Ayarise again as they were doing before, always at the command of the Purumuncau vaé and under the direction of the maestro, who does not put down his Yandugua (1).

[293]

1. There is one maestro of the ayarise, and he always has his yandugua, but this does not prohibit others from having one; there may be as many as ten in one dance, and they serve as parasols when the heat is very oppressive. The Indian Guarerai of Ivu had six and he lent them out during the solemn fiestas of the town.

527

The dancing and singing of the ayarise continues in this fashion until nine or ten in the morning; then the banquet is prepared in the public plaza, where they choose the cleanest place. There men and women sit down in separate places, and at once they bring from the houses the food, which has been prepared upon plates, where there is broth mixed with meat well seasoned with salt and chili peppers. Meanwhile two enthusiasts of the town

/262 cont./

527 are gathering together all the people, shouting like madmen and making known their great joy. The lord of the fiesta has arranged beforehand that the morning reception should take place in one location and the afternoon affair in another, and in this way not only is there time to prepare, but there is also food every day for the outsiders and for those who are not outsiders.

In the afternoon, at four o'clock more or less, they eat again with more enthusiasm than before, because their happiness is greater and then, it will be understood, ex abundantia musti os loquitur. But great friendship and harmony prevail; then they sing a little more, one by one, and when the sun sets there is a general rest (2).

2. From the afternoon oration until two in the morning there is complete silence; at that hour the song begins anew, with dancing and drinking. Today, since the voice of the cacique is little heeded, there is no schedule.

[622] [178]

535 184 173

Mbapa páure

This dance is similar to a quadrille; couples execute it by making turns through the streets of the town, both day and night. According to what the Indians of Ivu say, the Mbapa páure is not general for the Chiriguano race, but peculiar to certain regions, and it is not more than a hundred years old. They even say that it had its origin /263/ at the foot of the Itácua mountain range in Cordillera Province and then spread there up to Menbirái and Choreti Guasu.

When the war of the cacique Yaveáu took place, the Indians of Güiracoti, living on the left bank of the stream of Cuevo, fled to the left bank of the Parapiti River, where they stayed and learned this new dance and song. Thus, when they returned to their lands, when Yaveáu, through having avenged himself excessively, had pardoned and forgotten the affront he had received, they brought back the novelty and began to introduce it into their towns.

/263 cont./

535 184 173 Someone went to teach it in the towns located behind the hill of Aguaragüe, and the towns located on the right bank of the Cuevo River intended to introduce it, but, seeing the dismal consequences that resulted from it, they have abstained to this day, so that it is a fact that the Mbapa páure is now limited to the small towns of Caraguatarenta, Ñagua, and Caraguatagüe, and it is certain that it is neither heard nor seen in the large towns of Santa Rosa and Ivu, which are a few kilometers away (1).

[837]

1. In the towns where the Mbapa páure is sung, there are upset marriages, because the dance is between a man and woman holding hands, which does not happen in the Ayarise; therefore, or to avoid said upsets, many caciques do not allow it to be introduced into their area of jurisdiction.

The Music of the Mbapa páure

527 533 535 [184] This is another piece of music which has been scored for a band by the Reverend Father Domingo F. Regini; it is much simpler than the ayarise, but the song and dance attract a great deal of attention, because they are not known in all the Chiriguano towns. It is a kind of carnival which lasts for a long time, but when the said time is over, nobody again remembers the Mbapa páure until a year has passed. Here are the words of [539] the song: Tavia, Tavia -- Erecosiye mbapa páure -- Tirisoti, tirisoti -- Ancua chopi -- Chopi nano saraviyé -- Eh! Eh! Uetepeso, güeremeso -- Yagua tairari, yagua tairari -- Yurumbopi -- Yémanta -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. Explanation: Let us sing the mbapa paure, like the blackbird sings, let us sing until we are left with our mouths twisted and we are tired, even though it give us a pain in the chest, let us challenge even the jaguar, and let our mouths stretch. Eh! Eh!

/267 cont./

54 177 648 Don Antonio Menduiña, who had requested aid; he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers from Azero.

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival [178] is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of Arete, fiesta, through antonomasia, and all the old fiestas are [461] gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that [292] this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguano works almost all year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him; for it is he gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy clothing for himself and his wife and children; and on those days all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put on /268/ during the other days of the year, neither for the Ayarise nor for the Mbapa páure.

In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between [532] blacks and whites; the men well dressed, and even the infidel women with garb adorned with gauze, fancy hats, and multicolored ribbon; the children cover their faces with masks which they have made beforehand by carving toborochi wood; young men prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others, such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the dancers and Agüeros /maskers/, for whom everything is allowed because it is carnival.

54 535 527 By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one drinks and has fun, they make merry on the compadre and comadre days, and on Quinquagesima Saturday, all day, the maskers and dancers practice the dances that they call Aticu. [532] On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival, dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually mounted on a burro; the one who is thus disguised directs the fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

1. The principal man so disguised has subalterns,

/268 cont./

541
535

who also give their long or short speeches. If asked, the masked men say that their town or region is Matamorocho.

If there is no partner, the women dance among themselves, but as soon as a man appears, she dances with him, holding hands, and many couples dance quite close together; their style of dancing is to raise first one foot and then the other to the rhythm of the music. The zapateo /tapping with the feet/, as they call this dance, lasts until the Sunday or Saturday of Temptation without rest, and on the next day, which is the last, the games
541 begin. At ten o'clock several young men in masks undress, leaving covered what is purely necessary, cover themselves completely with mud, furtively approach the group of dancers, and then charge in every direction, squeezing among the better dressed and thus creating confusion among all. This game is called the game of the pigs, and they imitate them very well (2).

2. Before this game the disguised men pour over the dancers bean pods and maize siftings left from the preparation of the chicha; this is in order that there may be plenty in the following year.

/269/ The games in the afternoon are quite varied; once the game of the pigs is finished, or even before, two little blacks come out with maize-husk cigars in the mouth and a rope in the hand, leading a person in the disguise of a bull, who is defended and protected by a luxuriously dressed woman, who holds up a flag hanging from a hollow-cane pole; the little blacks are the bull's masters and they even lead dogs, and when the bull is under the flag, he is not bothered much.

At the same time, as though he had come out of the forest, another person appears disguised as a jaguar, and he begins to fight with the bull; if the bull begins to get the worst of it, the masked men who play the role of dogs rush to his defense and hound the jaguar, as those on horseback also do. Once

/269 cont./

541 in a while the jaguar catches some little dog and makes it cry out, and sometimes it unseats some rider. After a longer or shorter time, the bull or jaguar dies in the battle; generally the former survives, because they kill the latter among them all, between the dogs and cowboys. Then people in disguise who are playing the role of butchers appear, buy the bull from the little blacks with stone or bone money, and butcher it.

535 541 Immediately the dancers form a large circle, holding on to each other with both hands, and they dance this way three times; a number of women huddle over and three others pass under the extended arms of one couple of the circle itself, and a number of others join together, forming a big mass with faces outward, with hands linked together and crossed, remaining this way until another couple dances around them without holding hands, but rather with the man trying not to be caught by the woman, and, if this happens, he then hides amidst the others until his companion has gone by, coming out again to dance until he has gone three times around, taking the same precautions each time as on the first (1).

1. The circle is made up of all the couples who have come to participate in the fiesta; it is made up of a man and a woman with both arms extended and with the hands held; the circle takes up a lot of space, according to the number of couples.

Finally, with the whole circle dancing, they make three circuits in the town, dancing, hands joined, at the corners of the plaza and in front of the houses where they had danced on the previous days. /270/ All of the masked persons join in the first circuit; they form their circle and the head man makes his speech, then the older ones form a seat with their canes crossed, make a little boy sit there, raise him up some two meters, form with crossed canes a shield around his head, and all the rest pour on him a prolonged shower of blows with the hollow cane, without hurting him, and then they let him down. They do this three

/270 cont./

535 541 [292] [562] [177]

times in different locations (1).

1. At the carnival, during the three days, there are women who dress like men and men who dress like women, but both cover their faces well so as not to be recognized; this was also taught them by the white man.

[152] On the second circuit all the Agüeros, the masked ones, a mestizo term, ask from house to house for provisions, and they accept everything, even bean pods and watermelon rinds, and on the third circuit, which is the farewell, there begins the wailing of big and small masked persons, laden with provisions and scraps; these weepers really make the old people and others cry, because some of them are thinking of their departed ones who are not present at this festivity which is ending, and others perhaps because they think they will not get to see another carnival. I questioned an old man who was really crying, and he gave me the preceding answer. When the last circuit ends with the drums muffled as a sign of sorrow, all of them, riders, dancers, and agüeros, go out of the town and go to a place where they throw away the masks and immediately go to the river, or a spring, to wash their hands and faces a little (2).

535 541 177

2. All of the foregoing games in Ivu were taught them by the same white man whom I have mentioned, and in the beginning he taught them by demonstration, causing astonishment, particularly in the women and the old persons; many of the said games are immoral, especially the circles and the massed group.

Easter

796 177

Forty days later the Chiriguano has another fiesta, that of the Pascua de Resurrección /Easter/, which was introduced by the whites; the old Indians call it nice because it is quiet, as they call the carnival very noisy.

/280 cont./

000 defeated, may the evil ones die. While the war lasts, it is the
722 rule that women and their daughters must not sit in a squatting
284 position, but with their legs stretched /281/ out in front, so that
516 their fathers and husbands who are in battle will not feel any
828 tiredness (1).

722
533
535
177

1. The Italian del Campano, relying on the writings of Father Giannecchini, a missionary of the Colegio de Tarija, writes in his work that, before the fighting began and during it, women and maidens come out to the plaza and in a loud voice sing and dance the Aré aré. This song and dance must have originated among the Toba, who at that time were numerous in the Gran Chaco region, because in the Ivu region and other regions they scarcely know the name of the Aré aré, and not all share in that knowledge, as has been proved, for in no combat which has occurred to the north, south, and west of Ivu has the Aré, aré been danced and sung.

726
727

During the Curuyuqui war the Santa Rosa mission was invaded by the rebels, who, in spite of their number and strength, were unable to enter the town which they intended to burn. Then and afterward the missionaries witnessed painful scenes of women who, crying their hearts out, raised their voices and threw ashes to obscure the enemies' vision. Bitter memories of that massacre are still retained, at which some of them laugh today, but they cried then. Whenever I hear the sad stories, my eyes overflow with tears (2).

726

[648]

2. The Curuyuqui rebels first attacked the town of Cuevo, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in Santa Rosa the night before. In a few days they attacked the mission, from which it can be concluded that their hate was against the whites, and concomitantly against the Indians who were

Schwedenstiftet I-4/(1908-1908, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

XXI.

Dancing Masks.

C
Ce
177
532
527
535

A Chané Indian on the Rio Itiyuro told me that mask dances were introduced among the Indians by the Whites. PADRE BERNARDINO DE NINO was also told by the Chiriguano that the celebration of the carnival came to them from the Whites, and he plainly considers that we here have to do with a custom which is not of Indian origin. This is certainly wrong. The fixed date of the festival came to the Indians from the Whites, but the manner of celebration is manifestly derived from an old Indian custom which corresponds to similar masquerades described from Brazil by KOCH-GRÜNBERG. This appears from NINO's own account of the celebration of the carnival.

The ceremony is at least partly a feast of fruitfulness[1]. The mask dancers throw the husks of beans and the offal from chicha-brewing at the other dancers in order to secure a good harvest. Just as in northwestern Brazil, some at least of the Chiriguano-dancers appear disguised as animals which they imitate. NINO says that towards the end of the festival the old people weep because they call to mind the dead who cannot share in the pleasure. The ceremony is ended by the participators going out of the village and throwing their masks into the river or some other water-course and there washing their faces and hands. Sometimes they burn the masks, as is done in northwestern Brazil.

Ce
115
527
532
535

BATIRAYU, a most reliable old Chané Indian, assured me that when he was a boy he had seen masks on the Rio

[1] F. ost.

Ee /238 cont./
273 finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her
574 guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with
576 cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well. Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred. It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me: "You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears
e here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl
Ee he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has
[759] enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen
E in these villages.
Ee

At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to
522 light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were hand-
527 ing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to
E ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.
Ee

Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané
535 only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the
532 Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).
177
541

Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about
Ee whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy
532 said the idea for them had originally come from the whites.
177 Batirayu, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Rio
535 Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which
Ee
[796]

Ce /239 cont./
535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
177 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[534] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

Ee The Chiriguano and Chané
532 always destroy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "añañya."

C It is strange what a great
Ce role the carnival now plays as a
541 festival among the Indians. This
177 undoubtedly comes from the fact
[464] that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians who work for them are given a few days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already disappeared. Nevertheless one still sees women in home-woven clothing

C with necklaces of chrysocolla and
Ce turquoise. I never saw used, however,
[178] the silver diadem and the silver
C pins which belong to the festive attire.
412 One often sees the men's blue
237 costumes (Fig. 81) with silver chest ornaments preserved in the huts by the old people, but they are not used for the festivals.

Ce Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
535 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
527 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
273
533

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ce
527
533
535
273

/240 cont./

and beating time with their feet. The women walked slowly up and down in time with the song, outside the circle of men.

Ee
291
177

Among the Chané and Chiriguano the attire of the white man is replacing everything old and beautiful, and of my many old friends among the chiefs of these Indians only Maringay scorns the rags of the whites.

c
Ce
273
177
527

Liquor is being introduced more and more among these Indians, and the ceremonial, pleasant maize-beer festivals are turning into crude drinking bouts.

c
532
535

Fig. 119. Dance mask.
Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/6.

Ce
578
273
177

I shall never forget a night in Vocapoy's village. The /241/ men had gone to the Christians to drink liquor. When they came back, harsh words fell and knives were displayed. The liquor would have claimed bloody sacrifices if the courageous women, with firebrands from the maize-beer boiling, had not thrown themselves between the quarreling men and, after separating them, taken them home with soothing words of flattery.

C /465 cont./
796 descendants or relatives the fertility of the fields and the
24 abundance of the future harvest. These masked festivals have
[171] their counterpart in the famous ceremonies of the populations of
C the Negro River, the details of which Koch-Grünberg has made
[177] known to us. Besides, it is probable that the Chiriguano
borrowed these ceremonies, and especially the masks, from the
A Chané. It is the racial brothers of the Chané, the Arawak of
796 the Negro River, who celebrate these festivals with the most
241 splendor. The Chané of the Parapití still accord to these ancient
Ce rites more importance than the Chiriguano, and their masks
796 crowned with immense tufts of feathers are, it appears, more
24 sumptuous than those of their old Guarani enemies.
532

In the missions the carnival has lost its purely pagan
C significance and has become contaminated with usages which
796 the Chiriguano have borrowed from the half-breeds. Nino
[177] (pp. 267-270) gives a good description of them, of which I
[177] shall summarize the principal features.

C The festival is directed by a personage wearing an old-
[532] man mask. He stops at each corner of the square, recommending peace and harmony to all.

Then they give themselves over to different games: masked personages scatter bean pods or corn bran upon the dancers.

Young men, masked but almost entirely naked, daub
C themselves with mud and try to soil all those who have new
[177] garments. These two customs can have only a Bolivian origin.

Individuals who are also masked mime a combat between
C a jaguar and a bull which is finally put to death by a fanciful
796 butcher. Then they pass on to the pleasures of the dance. "The
535 dancers form a large circle by joining hands and dance thus
[536] three times. Three times also they squat down, and three more times they pass under the extended arms of a couple of the same circle, and finally the same number of times they press against one another, forming a big mass, their faces turned toward the outside and their hands folded. They remain in this position until another couple dances around them. These do not hold each other by the hand. The man chases the woman and tries to grab her. She avoids him and goes to hide in the middle of the others."

/133/

773 The Cururu then, before the total flood, went into the ground, carrying burning embers in his mouth, and there, by blowing on them, he did not let them go out. When he found out that the liquid element had disappeared from the face of the earth, he once again took into his mouth the embers of fire, came out into the open air, sought out the two children, delivered the fire to them, and thus they were able to cook the fish which they were patiently extracting from the fresh water, and thus they were able to give warmth to their shivering members (1).

[538] [825]

1. When children bother a toad, it will puff itself up to remind them that by blowing it did not let the fire go out, reminding them that they owe it gratitude. This is what the very old people tell the children.

The two children grew older until they were old enough to propagate, which in fact they did until the Chiriguano had again multiplied, all of whom, according to them, descended from those two beings.

This story, as I said, clearly manifests, with very slight differences, the idea of the universal flood, of Noah's ark, and of the human race which was saved in it. At the same time it demonstrates the ill will of Aguara-Tunpa against God and His creatures, and the new multiplication of the race on the banks of a river.

776 173 792 The primary divinities, one completely good and the other good and bad, depending on his will, are only two, but tradition and relatively contemporary history teach us that in different times and in various regions some daring Indian who was fond of laziness and other people's property, with a degree of loquacity and extraordinary promises, managed to gather around him in his new house, which he had deliberately built outside the town, a multitude of Indians from near and far and claimed to be Tunpa, an extraordinary and marvelous being. Others, including a certain woman of great daring, have claimed to be Tunpa ichi, "mother of God," which had little effect, and on other occasions,

Ee 834 171

/221 cont./

K. v. d. Steinen (1) and Koch-Grünberg (2) have pointed

1. K. v. d. Steinen: op. cit., p. 25.

C Ce [113]

2. Koch-Grünberg: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 133 /Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern (Two Years among the Indians), Berlin, 1909/.

out that even the women among the Indians on the Xingu and Rio Negro speak of sexual parts quite openly, as of something natural. The same is true among the Indians with whom I became acquainted. When I inquired about words touching on the most intimate things, even the women, indeed, the young girls, answered in the most natural manner.

Ee [124]

C Ce 195 834 838

There are words, however, which are prohibited. Such words among the Choroti are "ametché," which is an abusive word, "ictivähi," which designates homosexual intercourse, "huéle," which means onanism, and "tévi" among the Chané /222/ and Chiriguano, which has the same meaning as ictivähi. Here, too, the unnatural in sexual life is so shameful that it is not proper to speak of it.

C 834 838

There are also Indians who never want to speak about such things. This was true, for example, of a Chiriguano whom I had with me on my first trip on the Rio Parapiti. He even pretended that he had never heard such things mentioned. When I asked him about homosexuality among his countrymen, he feigned stupidity and said more or less: "Is that what the whites do?"

C [124]

Ce 538 831 [551]

Among the Indians, as among ourselves, there are nevertheless some who take pleasure in telling obscene stories. Such a one was the old Chané Bóyra, he who had the abusive name yűruhuasu, big-mouth. The more disagreeable the things he related, the more old Bóyra enjoyed himself. Sometimes he told such things that even my friend Batirayu, who used to interpret, was quite embarrassed. The old Chiriguano Yambási was also one who could tell all kinds of obscene stories.

Ce [115] C [538] [831]

/234/

Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

Ee 178 527 273 [538] [805]

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Ee 273 415 527 531

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

Ee 531 [527] [323] [462]

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

Ee [181]

/250/

Chapter Seventeen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Legend and Religion

Ee

538 Once there was an old Indian who used to sit beside the fire in his hut in the evening and tell about olden days, about animals, human beings, and spirits. The young people gathered around him, listening. The old man went on and on telling stories. He told them with his mouth, eyes, hands, and feet.

One young person after another, however, soon left the circle of listeners and lay down to sleep. Finally the old man was sitting alone beside the dying fire and talking to himself about the adventures of the fox-god and the armadillo-god.

To me this old man represents the old traditions, a culture that is disappearing. The young people listen for a while, but it is soon too much for them. They have new interests. They have begun dancing the great dance which the Christians call civilization, where the dancing is usually around the golden calf.

Ee [123] I also sat there as a listener and had the legends explained to me. I believe the old people liked me because I showed such great interest in their old recollections. If I now retell them, I hope the reader will be lenient with me and my old friends, with me because I cannot tell a story as well as the old people, and with the old people because they love everything that is a bit frivolous.

/251/ The legends give us insight into the Indians' ideas of the life beyond and of the spirits. In part through them and in part through the explanations which the Indians have given me, we can understand their religion. We shall hear about the destruction of the world and the theft of fire, about the visit in the realm of the dead, and, above all, about the adventures of the spirits; we shall hear how they deceived one another and human beings, hear of their combats and their vices.

Ce /251 cont./

538 There is very little moral teaching in these legends. The characters in them are often "tunpa," that is, they have supernatural power, that is all.

Ce [177] As a result of contact with the whites, the legends are not free of foreign elements. Most of them, however, are purely Indian.

Ce 539 1. The Destruction of the World and the Theft of Fire.

Ce [115] Told by the Chané Indian Batirayu from the Rio Parapiti.

In the old days there was once a very poor man who wandered about in the forests and had no permanent residence. When he came into the villages, he was driven away and the dogs sicked on him. When the man saw that he was not wanted in any village, he made himself a hut, "tocay" (1). All kinds of beautiful birds

Ce [343] [223] 1. Tocay is a hut in which a hunter hides in order to catch birds from there with a snare or arrow.

came to the hut, and most of them soon became so tame that he could catch them. The man thought: "If I go to a village with these magnificent birds, perhaps I shall be accepted." So he took the birds and went into the villages. Everybody thought the birds were beautiful, but they did not want to let him settle down anywhere. The man went back to his hut. One day Añatunpa (2) came to him in the shape of a beautiful bird. What

Ce [776] 2. The great spirit (see p. 108).

a strange bird that is, thought the man. /252/ Añatunpa said he had come to help him and gave him a pair of wings.

"When you come to a village, you must move the wings and then it will thunder," said Añatunpa. "If they will not let you settle down in spite of this, then lift the wings."

Ce /89 cont./
692 of the deceased (359).
643
68

359. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C
421 Private property is highly respected among the Chiriguano. According to Métraux, even the closest relatives cannot make use of the property of one of them without his consent. The
C possession of a piece of land is guaranteed to a Chiriguano by
423 planting any plant on it or by clearing the circumference of the land required and making large slashes in the trees. When he selects a plot for his planting, the Chiriguano examines it carefully to determine that there are no traces of a previous planting (360).

360. Métraux I, pp. 334 and 340.

C
241 After the land selected for the planting has been cleared, rela-
476 tives and friends are called together to help with the work.
[622] Formerly, the cacique of the town also took part by keeping watch for the workers (361).

361. Métraux I, p. 337.

/90/

Religion

C
Ce In their many years of activity the missions have naturally in-
797 fluenced notably the religious notions of the Chiriguano and Chané.
771 Most of them today are Christians. Some still retain part of their
178 primordial ideas, expressed in their legends. I shall limit myself
538 here to referring the reader again to the Chané legends taken down by Nordenskiöld (362) and mentioned several times in the Preceding.

362. Nord. 1, pp. 251-296.

167 [464] /312 cont./Some years ago, old Taruiri, having learned from some Chiriguano that Brazilians were "cariñosos," that is, generous, had the idea of going to their country to find work, for which he hoped to be well paid. He banded together with 45 other Chiriguano before whom he held out the glittering fortune which awaited them in the country to the east. With this adventurous spirit and boldness which characterize the Guarani, they did not hesitate to take off toward the unknown. They first passed through Chané territory and followed the course of the Parapiti to the desert. There they rushed boldly into these unexplored regions, dried-up expanses, which separate the Izozoc from Chiquitos. They were all armed with bows and arrows to defend themselves from a possible attack by the Tsirakua, the tracks of whose squared-off sandals they often [271] [824] saw in the sand. No water, of course, but only sipóy roots, which permitted them to stand the thirst. After 12 days of walking, this band arrived at Chiquitos, then from there reached the Paraguay River and Corumbá. Taruirí was not a little surprised to find brothers there, "that is," he explained to me, "people who spoke my language, badly it is true, but who nevertheless made themselves understood." When I inquired discreetly as to the success of his business over there, Taruirí answered, shaking his head and in a tone shot through with sadness and disillusionment: "All that was only a lie," todo era engaño.

Taruirí does not know and will never know that by doing this he accomplished an exploit that would be the pride and glory of an explorer. For him, it was a question of a simple trip, scarcely longer and more arduous than the one he undertook in the past to go to Argentina.

173 ●539 648 484 Does anyone want other modern examples of their spirit of adventure and of that ease with which the Guarani move about? I transcribe as such the curious tale told to me by the Indian Cipriano from the Ivu mission, who, confused as he may be, refers to definitely authentic facts:

C 173 539 648 484 C [643]

/312 cont./

In olden days numerous Paraguayans emerged into our territory near the Izozoc and they went to fight on the side of the Guarayú and Santa Cruz. From there they went on to Cochabamba. They gave battle over there, then went to Oruro. Their colonel was killed. They scattered in every direction. One of them came to Macharetí where the "Capitan grande," Mandepona, was. The latter told Cipriano, who was then a young man: "Let us go to Paraguay." Mandepona had given this Paraguayan ten "soldiers." Cipriano did not want to go with them. The ten went down the Pilcomayo and arrived at a village near Paraguay. /Plate III appears here./ /313/ A soldier richly decked out with silver, with a horse whose harness was of the same metal, came to meet them to examine them. The Paraguayan they were escorting went to speak with this soldier, but the others did not hear what they were saying. While these two were talking, they saw the Toba arrive with a piece of cloth between their legs and their chests and arms painted with charcoal. The Toba asked them where they were coming from and where they were going. The Chiriguano answered: "To visit you." The Toba refused to allow them to continue on their way, although they were only one league from Paraguay. As an excuse they told them that they were in the act of making war. The Paraguayan rode behind the soldier, and the ten Chiriguano returned to Macharetí.

The first part of this story seems to be a modern adaptation of Alejo García's adventure. I do not know what event could have given rise to this legend, which, had it been true, would have been very much to the taste of the Paraguayan government. As for the trip of the ten Chiriguano from Macharetí, it has the appearance of being wholly authentic.

C 175 648

The crossing of the Chaco is a less difficult undertaking for Indians than for white men. Formerly these trips from the Andes to Paraguay must have been facilitated by a greater density of the native population. It is enough to recall the relatively easy trip of Juan de Ayolas going from Paraguay to the country of the Chané and coming back without having to cope with any particular obstacles. The exploration of Alvar Núnez

[Text continues on P. 30]

/463 cont./

796 The attraction of the carnival consists of the enormous
293 consumption of kāwi and alcohol which takes place then. Men
578 and women drink, one trying to outdo the other; and, under the influence of drink, old angers and secret hates are awakened and the most excited provoke each other and come to blows.

796
532

Fig. 120. Chiriguano Indians wearing masks. (Photo. by the R. P. H. Catinari.)

796
293 /464/ The "captain" must then call them to order and separate
578 the combatants.

Some people increase the tumult by blowing into their
796 sénéné (long whistles).
534

Sexual passions become aroused, and the men begin to
796 whirl around the women, whom they entreat, a calabash of
832 kāwi in the hand, while reciting to them in a singsong tone
786 pieces of verse of this type:

539

Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no	For me
Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no.	For me.

/464 cont./

796 Eyu šekuama — Come and kiss me
832 Šemireko mi — My little wife
786 Diyuru emesie — Give me thy mouth
539 Tuiša dipota — I love thee much
Še songo pe — With my heart

Ime deresa ikavi — Thou hast pretty eyes
Ime diyuro misiray — Thou hast a little mouth
Tuiša dipota — I love thee much
Pairamo ayporu deve. — For that I am going to ask for thee.

796 During this time young or old men with their faces
532 covered by a mask (añawasu) run here and there, force the peo-
522 ple to dance by blows of a stick, play tricks on them, and address jokes to them.

796 The feast lasts as long as there is kīwi or alcohol. At
[273] the moment when it is on the point of ending, a final ceremony takes place. The rite of going out is similar to the rite of entering: the couple who planted the flowery stick tear it from the ground and go out of the village, followed by the añawasu and all those who took part in the festival. The procession advances to a certain distance from the village to the sound of the flutes and drums. They throw away the masks and throw stones while shouting. The carnival is finished and everyone goes home.
[585] Some take along their new wife, for it is at this moment that most marriages are celebrated.

796 The carnival festivity such as I have just described in-
177 volves only a few elements borrowed from the half-breeds or
178 creoles, outside of the coincidence of dates. This is an ancient
[241] feast of a purely agricultural character, which the Chiriguano have acquired the habit of celebrating at the same time as the Bolivian carnival. Besides, the Indians of Ibopeytí are pagans.

796 The masked men are supposed to represent the spirits of the
241 dead, as their name indicates (aña: spirit; wasu: great). As in
171 the festivals of the Guianas and Central America, they come in numbers /Plate LXXXVI appears here/ /465/ to insure for their

[Text continues on p. 329]

/143 cont./

Prayers

771 Certainly the fact that this race does not have external manifestations of worship greatly attracts the attention of men of science and missionaries. The Chiriguano is born and grows like a little lamb is born and grows. They do not know where they come from, and all of their actions are reduced to pure nature. The Chiriguano never raises his mind or his heart up-
[821] ward. He discusses the firmament; he counts the stars and even separates them into groups as though by astronomical principles; he admires the grandiosity of the sun and of the moon, he understands the beneficence of the nourishing world, but the totality remains mute and silent before the works of nature or
[782] of creation. Visible things do not lead the intelligence of the Chiriguano to the knowledge of the Cause of such effects, and inasmuch as he has a rather vague idea of God, he does not offer worship to Him or to anything which resembles Him.

782 It is consequently useless to look for idols in this country, just as it is extremely useless to inquire about temples or hermitages for religious gatherings. Prayers, however much they may be investigated, are very abridged, if there are any, and are not worth being called such, because they are rather a kind of boasting by the one uttering them, in order that all may see that he is eloquent in speaking. This is what they do in the general gatherings when they drink for many days and eat in the
• [539] plaza. Enthusiasm comes in the heat of drinking, and, on seeing an immense multitude, someone will raise his voice, saying more or less the following: Çheru Tunpa, icaviño taicó, pucu emeé cheve cherecovena, cherimbiuna emoñimoña cheve, tacherori catu taicó, anu tamano. My God, make me be well off, give me a long life, make my food be produced, give me happiness, do not allow me to die (2).

[761] 2. The only thing that the Chiriguano wants is to live forever, but he sees that it is impossible and contents himself with expressing his vehement desire, but he does not believe that death comes to him naturally.

/233 cont./

301 powerful being inflicted upon them because of the weakness
773 and laziness that distinguish them, corresponding to the
776 opinion the reader may have formed in the course of these lines. They attribute its origin to the Tunpa, source of all goodness, and to the Aguara-Tunpa, whom they regard as the source of all evil, as has been seen. Under this concept, the one who punished them was not the former, but the Aguara-Tunpa. I shall end this ninth chapter by telling a fable in which the belief in the punishments that humanity may deserve from a superior being will be seen.

A Legendary Tale

539 The Indians say that formerly there was no distinction
173 between men; all were of the same color and spoke the same language. It has already been said in previous pages that the Chiriguano of certain regions believe that the original language was Quichua /Quechua/. What caused the diversity
539 of color and the diversity of language? Here is the legend (2).

> 2. If one asks a Chiriguano about the origin of all men, he answers that they are different from us; they have been made ugly, miserable, poor, and ignorant.

Two men of old were short of food and had wretched clothing; they were reduced to extreme suffering and were on the point of dying. The Aguara-Tunpa, in spite of /234/ his evil inclination and his abhorrence of humanity, in spite of his few philanthropic instincts, was moved to compassion for the unfortunate men and went to them and said, "I wish to help you and put an end to your miseries, to your misfortunes and needs, because I can do it; in spite of the fact that you consider my enemy your good friend and me your enemy, I wish to do you a favor so that you may see that when I want to be I am more powerful than your friend, who does not know how to succor you in your present calamities.

/234 cont./

539 "Do you see those weapons in the corner there like useless objects? With them you can put an end to your misadventures if you know how to make use of them, as I shall tell you. Each of you select the ones which seem to be the best." They were arrows, bows, guns, and swords. The cleverer one looked first, and having observed that the guns were of heavy iron, as were the lances and swords, he selected the lighter ones, that is, the arrows and bows.

What was left for his companion to take? They were the only bows and arrows. Perhaps to his own regret and without having much choice, he resigned himself to what remained and took over the guns, lances, and swords. He worked all night to clean them of the rust which had spread over them, but when the sun rose everything was done and he had the satisfaction of seeing his weapons shine like new.

"With these arms," said the Aguara-Tunpa, "you will be hunters and must seek your livelihood, and with the same you will defend yourselves from danger, from predatory animals and from your enemies," and, turning to the one with bows and arrows, he added, "You will always be poorer than your companion because you had the indiscretion to decide in favor of the one of little use, because you have chosen the one of little value. The one with the guns will always be superior to you in everything, in intelligence, boldness, fortune, valor, and wealth; his food will always be better than yours, and consequently his clothing, and you will enjoy what is in his house only by serving him and helping him in his labors; from this moment on he will be superior to you, like another marvelous being; you will be taken into his house like a companion in distress and he will sometimes take pity on you because of the blessing which he has received today (1).

[186]

1. They really believe what is told up to this point in the legend, that is, that they are inferior to the whites, but as a punishment, but by destiny; true fatalists.

/234 cont./

539 "I further wish," the Aguara-Tunga continued, "that you may never /235/ forget the day on which your bad luck made you inferior to your companion; take also this button which will distinguish you from the descendants of the one who is your superior." He made a hole in his lower lip and put the tembeta on him; and that was the beginning of the difference between the white race, or caray, and the Chiriguano, who believe that they owe their misfortune to the Aguara-Tunga (1).

1. Today few Indians believe in such a legend. They consider the fox to be a four-footed animal and the rascal that he is, and the young people listen to storytelling just because they like to hear it.

Here we have humanity left to its free will, without being enlightened by the true religion; they believe in a patchwork of lies and superstitions; they respect or are frightened by a wild animal, giving it the name of a marvelous being able to do good or evil to them; tremble in the presence of a dauntless fox, who is a thief without intelligence or speech, and disfigure the faces of their children, making the goodness, strength, prestige, and nobility of the individual consist of a piece of tin, wood, or hollow cane; they subject their tender and delicate damsels to rigorous fasting, to imprisonment for months and even a year, because of a false belief in sorcery, in supposed sicknesses and spells, ruining their health and even risking their lives (2).

299
299
177

2. Almost all the present-day Chiriguano have a slight smattering of the true religion; for this reason they no longer concern themselves with their old customs of fasting, hiding, putting on the tembeta, and long hair.

4t Nino--353 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

The Music for the Ayarise

529
535
533
[293]

The signal for the dancing and singing is given by the host, who first makes a short speech to the maestro, who is carrying in his hands a Yandugua, a kind of parasol or umbrella made of ostrich feathers fastened around a long, straight piece of hollow cane. All the feathers have their natural curve outward (1).

[293]
[126]

1. The Yandugua in the Florence museum was purchased in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission by the Reverend Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi, tireless missionary of Potosí.

See the picture on page 77.

529
535

After the speech that the maestro and dancers listen to as if it were a Good Friday sermon in church, the singing and the dance begin. The maestro keeps time with his yandugua, the men dance by moving their feet from the knee, striking the ground without moving from the place they occupy, and the women behind the men with a maté in hand, full of chicha or not. The women take one step backward and another forward, and, not staying in the same place, they walk in time around the men with the formality and exactness of priestesses and hold hands with the other hand, two by two.

529
533

The larger the number of dancers, the more noise they make; there is no staying near them, because the men sing too loud. At a distance, to a person who is used to these songs, they seem relatively pleasant, but at night when one hears them for the first time and does not know what they contain, a thousand things will pass through the mind. Here are the verses of the Ayarise:

•[539]

Ayarise, rise -- Mborisese, sese -- Rosa yainde -- Imbaragüe -- Yuma chúrere -- Yuma chuépa -- Soro poco -- Eh! Eh! -- Saisá -- saisá -- Cururu betesimi pinte -- Hevi sunzu -- Iparanta tapiti -- Cha machá imbarayu -- Imbará, boteriyu -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. It is perhaps appropriate and my readers may like

/261 cont./

527
533
539

to know the approximate meaning of the Ayarise, and so I put it in this note: "Let us sing, companions -- let us keep on singing -- with our women -- and orphans -- we are all here -- singing and dancing -- I know and I like this song -- The toad and the green frog stop -- and the rabbit makes an effort -- I am tired -- I stop and go off. Eh! Eh!

527
535
533

The Chiriguano can sing all day with these few verses, as in fact they do, but with rests. In order to finish the song all together and rest and drink for a long while, the men make a great stamp on the ground with one foot in time /262/ and a shout out of time, and everything stops with a special resounding and prolonged laughter of the women dancers.

Without leaving the circle of the singing and dancing, the lord of the fiesta has the dancers served abundant drink, which they partake of to their satisfaction in order to begin the Ayarise again as they were doing before, always at the command of the Purumuncau vaé and under the direction of the maestro, who does not put down his Yandugua (1).

[293]

1. There is one maestro of the ayarise, and he always has his yandugua, but this does not prohibit others from having one; there may be as many as ten in one dance, and they serve as parasols when the heat is very oppressive. The Indian Guarerai of Ivu had six and he lent them out during the solemn fiestas of the town.

527

The dancing and singing of the ayarise continues in this fashion until nine or ten in the morning; then the banquet is prepared in the public plaza, where they choose the cleanest place. There men and women sit down in separate places, and at once they bring from the houses the food, which has been prepared upon plates, where there is broth mixed with meat well seasoned with salt and chili peppers. Meanwhile two enthusiasts of the town

/263 cont./

535 Someone went to teach it in the towns located behind the
184 hill of Aguaragüe, and the towns located on the right bank of
173 the Cuevo River intended to introduce it, but, seeing the dismal consequences that resulted from it, they have abstained to this day, so that it is a fact that the Mbapa páure is now limited to the small towns of Caraguatarenta, Ñagua, and Caraguatagüe, and it is certain that it is neither heard nor seen in the large towns of Santa Rosa and Ivu, which are a few kilometers away (1).

[837]

1. In the towns where the Mbapa páure is sung, there are upset marriages, because the dance is between a man and woman holding hands, which does not happen in the Ayarise; therefore, or to avoid said upsets, many caciques do not allow it to be introduced into their area of jurisdiction.

The Music of the Mbapa páure

627
533 This is another piece of music which has been scored for a
535 band by the Reverend Father Domingo F. Regini; it is much
[184] simpler than the ayarise, but the song and dance attract a great deal of attention, because they are not known in all the Chiriguano towns. It is a kind of carnival which lasts for a long time, but when the said time is over, nobody again remembers the Mbapa páure until a year has passed. Here are the words of
[539] the song: Tavia, Tavia -- Erecosiye mbapa páure -- Tirisoti, tirisoti -- Ancua chopi -- Chopi nano saraviyé -- Eh! Eh! Uetepeso, güeremeso -- Yagua tairari, yagua tairari -- Yurumbopi -- Yémanta -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. Explanation: Let us sing the mbapa paure, like the blackbird sings, let us sing until we are left with our mouths twisted and we are tired, even though it give us a pain in the chest, let us challenge even the jaguar, and let our mouths stretch. Eh! Eh!

/270 cont./

796 call the carnival very noisy. There is nothing special about it and it lasts three days; /271/ some play the violin, and men and women sing the Alleluja. Couples hold hands as they walk through the streets. If both are women, they walk with their [533] arms about each other's neck. They sing through the streets [554] and in the houses and in front of them; in this latter case it is a sign of esteem for a family. The words are few: Osi ma Pascua, [539] alleluja, Easter has come, alleluia, Ucuera yema Yandeya, alleluja, Our Master came back to life, alleluia (1).

1. The song of Alleluia begins as follows: Santísima Trinidad /Most Holy Trinity/, osi ma pascua Aleluya; aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, etc. Ucuera yema—Yandeya, Jesucristo; aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, [194] etc. The s of Osi is pronounced as though it were double.

000 /272/

Chapter Twelve

Offensive and Defensive War

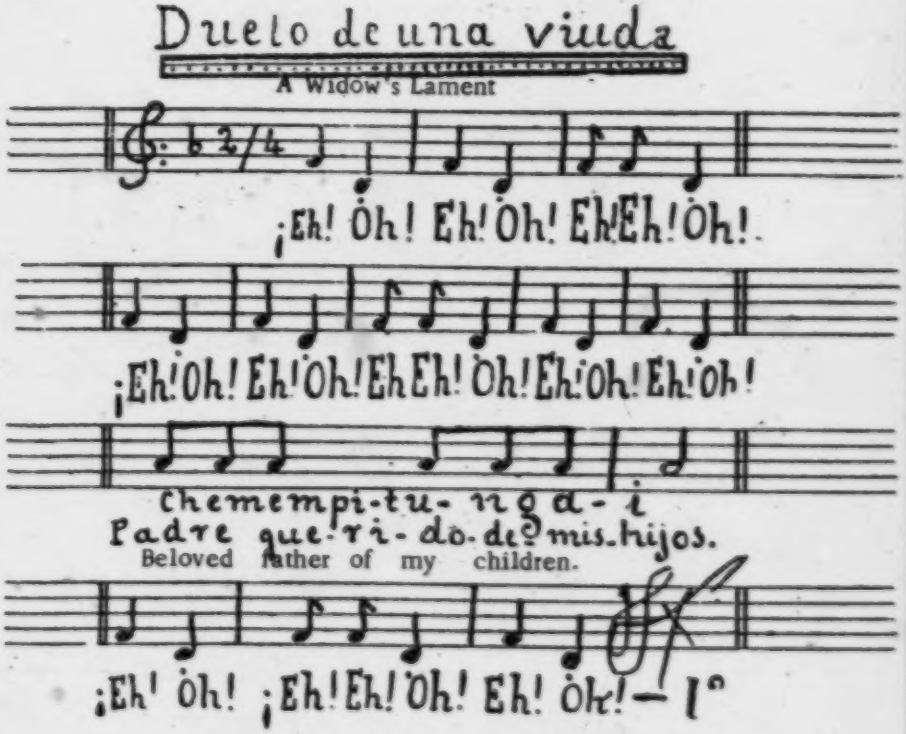
Introduction

There is no people or nation in the world which has not experienced the horrors of a war more or less bloody, more or less prolonged, and more or less disastrous. Troy burns, and Aeneas, the founder of the Roman Empire, takes advantage of the confusion, avails himself of the very darkness as his shield, and saves himself. /The remainder of p. 272 and the first paragraph on p. 273 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 273. The remainder of p. 273 follows./

/295 cont./

765 589 of the relatives comes from afar to the house of the departed, he does not greet anyone, but asks where the grave is, goes there, and, crouching down with his face toward the wall, cries for several minutes, and, when this is over, he then greets the living and the conversation begins in subdue tones.

589 765 539 [171] The song, as well as the way of weeping for the dead, is the same in all the tribes, but there are some small differences, as happens in the language itself.



1. If the deceased is a grandchild, she says: Chinamanino ngai! Beloved grandchild! And if it is a son or daughter: Chemempi mi ngai! Beloved son or daughter!

Ce /254 cont./
539 The frog promised to steal fire for them. He hopped to Tosté's campfire and, trembling with cold, sat down beside it in order to warm himself. From time to time he raked the coals closer to himself, as though to warm himself better, and, when no one was looking, he stuffed a little firebrand into his mouth and hopped away.

Having come back to the boy and the girl, he made a fire, and since then the Chané Indians have had fire. The sister and the brother, who had now grown up, married, and she became pregnant. They built themselves a hut. The girl had children. When these children grew up, they married one another. From their children came all the Chané. The chiefs are descended from the children of the oldest boy.

It may seem strange that I found two entirely different legends that deal with the same subject among the same people. This is to be explained by the fact that the Chané are a dispersed tribe which no longer has its own, independent culture.

Ce [177] The first version is probably their own, whereas they have borrowed the other from the Chiriguano. Domenico del Campana (2)

2. Domenico del Campana: op. cit., p. 22.

Ee mentions that the latter have a river legend in which two children are saved in a clay vessel in a similar way.

●539 The Choroti and the Mataco say that the world was destroyed
[171] by fire, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti that it was destroyed by
Ce storm, and the Chiriguano and Chané on the Rio Itiyuro that it
[184] was destroyed by water.

The first-mentioned live in regions where there were great /255/ pampas fires, on the Rio Parapiti there are often violent storms, and the Chiriguano probably came from regions where great floods are common.

It is certain that these legends of world destruction are intimately connected with the character of the country in which they originated, as Ehrenreich (1), Im Thurn (2), and others have shown.

1. Ehrenreich: op. cit., pp. 30-31.

Ee /255 cont./

539 [113] 2. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guyana. London, 1883, op. cit., p. 375.

Ee [171] Ehrenreich says that such an anthropomorphic conception of the sun, as here in the first legend, is unusual in South America.

Ce Visits in Aguararenta (the Village of the Foxes).

539 775 Batirayu told me the following about the beliefs of the Chané Indians with regard to life in the world beyond and in the realm of the dead. Aguararenta (aguara = fox, tenta = village) is a village where the dead, ãna, live. It lies in the east. At night the dead there have human form; during the day they go about as foxes, rats, and other animals, or they go into a tree trunk. Every night there are great drinking bouts in Aguararenta. All the Chané, children, women, and men, go there. Bewitchers (ipáyepótchi) and murderers also go to this village. No one is punished in the Chané realm of the dead.

Ce [787] The living have also visited Aguararenta and have told what they saw there. I shall give a couple of these stories here. They give us a good insight into the Indians' conceptions about the realm beyond.

The Girl Who Followed Her Husband to Aguararenta.

Ce [115] Told by a Chané Indian in Aguarati (white fox) on the Rio Parapiti.

A girl wanted to marry a man, but he died. She had been very fond of him. In the morning, /256/ on the day after his death, while it was still dark, she was standing in front of the house of her parents and was pounding in the mortar. Then somebody came and seized the pestle.

"Who are you?" she asked.

"It is I," he said. It was her dead husband. "Do you want to come along?"

Ce 539 /271 cont./

been poisoned, and he died. Aguaratunpa found him dead. He said he wanted to bring him to life again. Aguaratunpa took a plant, "ihuahuasu." With this he beat him. He leaped over him, first directly over his body, then from head to tail.

The brother came to life again and said: "I slept a long time." -- "You did not sleep, you were dead," said Aguaratunpa. The latter sent his brother to heaven (2). When it thunders,

2. Ara = vault of heaven, universe.

Aguaratunpa's brother is going for a walk.

C 539 [115] About the Son of Tatutunpa and How He Rescued His Mother.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási on the Rio Grande.

In a house there was a girl, Inómu, who had never had a husband. In front of the house there was a great drinking bout. Aguaratunpa, Tatutunpa, and Dyori were there. The parents of the girl took her along and set her on the ground where people were busy drinking maize beer. Aguaratunpa thought that Inómu was very pretty. Tatutunpa thought so too. "I shall make the girl pregnant," he said and started to dig. Aguaratunpa stood in front. Tatutunpa dug himself into the earth and up under the girl (3).

3. Modified.

When Tatutunpa was finished, he crawled out again and told Aguaratunpa what he had done.

"I want to try too," said Aguaratunpa and crawled into the passageway. He had not gone far when he got stuck. Tatutunpa seized him by the tail and pulled him out.

/272/

539 When the girl reached home, a bird, "Araqua" /jacu/, cried that she was pregnant. The next day she grew big. She was in an advanced state of pregnancy. Her mother was provoked. She said she wanted to go far away to the father and give birth. Inómu went to the cave of Tatutunpa and dropped the child in it, without giving it milk. The child cried daily, and the mother looked after it, but when she came, it crawled into the cave. One day "Yahuéte" came, the jaguar with two heads, one of which was dry, tore her eyes out, and led her away alive.

The grandfather now went out to catch little Tatutunpa by placing in front of the cave a net, in which he was caught. He led him home. There he grew rapidly and began to become big. He was brought up on honey. One day little Tatutunpa demanded bow and arrow. His grandfather made him an arrow with a blunt point of wax. With that he went out and hunted. When he hit the trunk, all the pigeons fell down dead. There was a great quantity. When Tatutunpa came home, his grandfather asked him how he was able to kill so many pigeons, and then he told how it happened. In the same way he killed many birds. One day he saw five araqua birds on a tree. Tatutunpa shot at the tree, but only four fell down. The fifth said: "You would do better to look for your mother than to shoot birds."

When Tatutunpa reached home, he asked his grandfather to make him a club out of "huirapucu" (1). He hit it against a

[137] 1. Huirapucu is a soft wood (Salix Humboldtiana).

thick tree trunk, but was obliged to hit twice in order to get the trunk off. Tatutunpa told his grandfather it was worthless and demanded a club made of "urundey" (2). He hit it against a thick

2. "Urundey" is red quebracho or something similar.

tree trunk and struck off the trunk with one blow. "This one is good," said Tatutunpa.

/273/

539 Accompanied by Dyori, Tatutunpa set out on his way. Along the way he killed a tapir. Dyori (1) divided it into four

[171]

1. Dyori is always described as the insatiable one. He corresponds to Móconomóco in the legends of the Mojo.

parts and devoured it. He even licked the blood from the ground.

Tatutunpa found his mother blind in the woods. She begged him to kill the jaguars who were keeping her captive. "They come to the watering place in order to drink," she said.

Tatutunpa made himself a little shelter in which he hid. Dyori hid behind him. First came "Embaracaya" (2) with her booty.

2. A large wildcat.

With one blow Tatutunpa shattered her head and threw her and her booty to Dyori, who devoured everything. In the same way he killed "Yahuapinta" (3) and the other felines. He threw them

[136]

3. Puma (Felix concolor).

to Dyori, who devoured them all. Finally there came Yahuéte, who had two heads. He asked Inómu for water. Yahuéte was carrying a tapir that he had killed. Inómu directed him to the watering place.

"No, give me water here, there is someone hiding at the spring," said Yahuéte.

"No, there is no one there, and how should I, I who am blind, be able to fetch water, I would fall," said Inómu.

Yahuéte went to the drinking place. When he reached there, Tatutunpa hurled his club, in order to kill him, but struck only the dried head, and Yahuéte leaped away. Tatutunpa followed him. When Yahuéte saw that he was being pursued, he hid under the "tiru" (women's attire mentioned on p. 52) of the moon.

"Where is Yahuéte?" asked Tatutunpa.

"I do not know," answered the woman (that is, the moon). That was the first lie.

C
• 539 /273 cont./

"He is hidden under your 'tiru,'" said Tatutunpa and went on.

The moon called after him. "Yahuéte is devouring me."

/274/ Tatutunpa went back to help her. She then said it was not true. Tatutunpa went on again. She now called again: "Yahuéte is devouring me." When Tatutunpa came back, she said it was not true. Tatutunpa went on again. Again the moon cried that Yahuéte wanted to devour her. But Tatutunpa did not go back again. Now Yahuéte was really on the point of devouring her.

When Tatutunpa returned to his mother, he said he would see to it that she would be able to see again. He made eyes out of pigeon droppings and clay and set them in her empty eye sockets. Inómu rubbed her eyes, opened them, and was able to see again. Tatutunpa now led his mother home.

Ce
539
[114]

Batirayu told me the same legend with a long introduction which is missing in Yambási's story. I shall give this introduction here.

Ee
[171]

Once there was a great drinking bout. Many birds were gathered together there. The chief ordered Aguaratunpa to fetch a girl, Inómu, who was in a neighboring village, so that she might also drink with them. Aguaratunpa departed. When he came to the house of the girl, he met her father.

"Good day, Uncle," said Aguaratunpa.

"Sit down," said the father.

"No, I have come to fetch my niece," said Aguaratunpa. He now asked whether the girl would go with him, which she agreed to do. The girl made herself pretty, put on her necklace, dressed herself in her best "tiru," and followed Aguaratunpa.

When they had gone part way, the girl said: "Why should I go with you who are so ugly," and so she turned back. When Aguaratunpa arrived, the chief asked how it had gone. He now told how the girl had turned back.

"Urapua" (the black vulture) offered to fetch the girl. Urapua set out. When he came to the house of the girl, he said:

/275/ "Good day, Uncle."

"Sit down," said the father.

Ce
539
/

/276 cont./

Then the chief asked "Húiratucúhua" to sing and he sang:

"Huaté púhuatékos rárásé mánura lúhuaya chúshico ti, ti, ti, ti..."

There was a man here who was at odds with his brother and all the other birds, who did not take part in the drinking bout, but went about and hunted.

Many parrots were sitting on a tree. Among these was a white parrot. "That one I want to catch," he said, and he tried to catch it with a noose on a rod, but he did not succeed. He now aimed with his bow at the parrot. The latter started to talk and said: "Why do you want to kill me?"

The parrot now taught him how he should sing and told him that when he came into the midst of those who were drinking he should stretch his arm up over his head.

He now walked around those who were drinking and sang. Then he went into their midst and stretched his arm up. When he did this, those who were standing changed into birds and those who were sitting changed into stones, except Inómu, Tatutunpa, Aguaratunpa, and Teyuhuasu.

Tatutunpa, Aguaratunpa, and Teyuhuasa did not sit with the others, but stood near by. Tatutunpa said to Aguaratunpa:

"You will see, I shall make the girl pregnant (1). /277/

1. Modified.

c
Ce
539
171

When she turns her body, it will have happened." He now dug a hole in the earth under the girl...

The continuation of Batirayu's story is almost identical with the one by Yambási.

In its basic characteristics this legend seems to me to be genuinely Indian. Nevertheless there are elements in it which seem to be borrowed from the whites, namely the story of the lies of the moon. These do not occur in Batirayu's version of the story. It also reminds me very much of the boy who used to call for help when there was no danger present. When finally the wolves were devouring him, no one paid any attention to him, -- a legend which is well known in Europe and which I heard as a child in Sweden.

Ee 539 171

/277 cont./

Part of this legend reminds one very much of a legend from the Yuracáre Indians given by D'Orbigny (1). There "Tiri," who,

Ee [113]

1. D'Orbigny. Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale /Journey in South America/. Vol. 3, 1. Paris, 1834, p. 212.

in order to avenge his mother, kills all the felines except the jaguar with the four eyes, who takes refuge with the moon, corresponds to Tatutunpa. In former times the Chiriguano and Chané were undoubtedly in touch with the Yuracáre Indians. When the whites conquered the land around Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the Chiriguano moved south and the Yuracáre to the north. On my last journey I also visited the Yuracáre Indians, whom I shall describe later in another book.

Ee 174 179

Ce 539

The Man Who Married the Daughter of the Thunder God, Chiqueritunpa.

Ce [115]

Told by the Chané Chief Bóyra.

In olden times there were once three poor men who had no relatives. They were very hungry. Two of them went forth to look for something to eat. First they came into a large forest through which went a path. /278/ After three days they came to a great plain. In the middle of the plain there was a house. They walked around the house, but found no entrance. Finally, however, a woman came out, it was Chiquéritunpa's sister. She bade them come in. "We are dirty," they said and did not want to go in. She brought maize beer to one of them. He drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. She brought the other one maize beer. He, too, drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. "Go now and bathe," she said, "and wash your heads." She gave them the root of the "yúag" (1).

Ce [139]

1. = mistol /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./.

/286 cont./

●539 [115]

The Man Who Burned Up Añatunpa.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási on the Rio Grande.

When people gathered honey, Añatunpa (1) would find

1. It is not said here which añatunpa is meant.

them and devour them.

Once there was a man who gathered honey. Then Añatunpa came and asked what he was going. "I am gathering honey," said the man. "Continue," said Añatunpa. When the man had gathered enough, he killed him and tossed him to Dyóri, who devoured him and even licked up the blood. Añatunpa killed many people in this fashion.

A man had gone out to gather honey. The /287/ toucan (1)

1. Rhamphastus.

said to him: "If Añatunpa comes, ask him to carry you to his house and kill you there."

While the man was gathering honey, Añatunpa came. "What do you want?" asked the man.

"I want to eat you up," said Añatunpa.

"Do not do that here, but carry me to your house instead and eat me there," said the man. Añatunpa now took the man on his neck and carried him to his house.

"Break off branches and build a fire on Añatunpa's neck," said the toucan. When Añatunpa went through the thick /Fig. 130 appears here/ brush, the man broke off twigs and branches and carefully lighted a fire on Añatunpa's neck.

"If you come to a low branch, cling to it!" said the toucan to the man. This he did. Soon Añatunpa noticed that there was burning on his neck and he started to run. The fire grew. His hair caught fire, and soon Añatunpa burned up completely and died.

/287 cont./

The Man Who Killed Añatunpa.

539 [115]

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási on the Rio Grande.

Añatunpa devoured all the human beings that he could catch. A man came along who was carrying wood to Añatunpa's cave. "Come, let's play!" said Añatunpa.

/288/ "What kind of a game?" said the man.

"You shall give me a blow on the forehead with an ax, and if I do not die, I shall hit you," said Añatunpa.

Añatunpa stood up straight, offered his forehead to the man, and the latter hit him directly in the middle of it. Since Añatunpa's forehead was as hard as iron, this did not affect him. Añatunpa now gave the man a blow on the forehead, killed him, and tossed

91
177
531
301

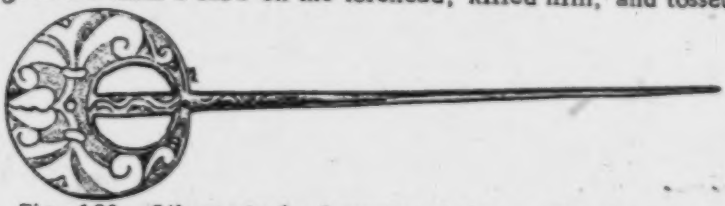


Fig. 130. Silver pin for fastening the tiru. The form Indian, the ornamentation Spanish. Chiriguano. Parapiti, 1/3.

539 him to Dyóri, who devoured him.

On another occasion another man came to Añatunpa's cave. Añatunpa proposed the same game to him. Then a fly, "Mbéru," called to him not to hit him on the forehead, but in the nape of the neck. When Añatunpa, with eyes closed, stood up to receive the blow, the man went behind him, struck him in the nape of the neck, and Añatunpa fell down dead. Dyóri asked him how he was able to kill Añatunpa. The man told him what Mbéru had said.

"Very good," said Dyóri.

Ce
539

/290 cont./

in the nostrils. The fox sneezed, wiped his nose, and said: "Can the mosquitoes not leave me in peace just when I am dreaming about the jaguar's wife and daughters with whom I slept!"

/291/ Now the jaguar tickled him a little more strongly, and the fox woke up. The jaguar prepared to seize him.

The fox hunched himself up, and when the jaguar hesitated before seizing him, he jumped to the ground with one bound and started running as fast as he could. The jaguar ran after him. Finally the fox grew tired, however, and the jaguar caught him and swallowed him. The fox came to life again in the stomach of the jaguar. The latter threw him up. The jaguar devoured the fox again, but again the latter came to life in his stomach and was thrown up again. Once more the jaguar devoured the fox, who again came to life, etc.

C
[301]
[531]

Ce
[171]

This legend is widespread. In somewhat different form I heard it told in Carmen in Mojos.

Fig.131. Silver chest-ornament. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. Worn by men.

C
•539
[115]

When the Turtle "Carumbe" Killed the Jaguar.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási.

Once there was a great drinking bout. Aguaratunpa, Carumbe, and "Taturapua" (the ball armadillo) were there. The little son of the turtle was crying. When they asked him why he was crying, he said he wanted to have the claws of the jaguar to play with. The wife of the turtle told her husband he should fetch the claws of the jaguar so that the little one could play with them.

/291 cont./

•539 The turtle set out and came to a "samuo" trunk with large, sharp thorns. He stool there and waited for the jaguar. In the distance he could hear his howling. The jaguar came closer, still howling, and found the turtle at the foot of the tree.

"What are you doing here?" said the jaguar.

"I am playing," said the turtle.

"What are you playing?" said the jaguar.

"I climb up the samuo and then I roll down," said the turtle.

"Let me see," said the jaguar, who had a desire to devour the turtle.

/292/ The latter climbed the trunk up to the crown and rolled down without injuring itself. This amused the jaguar, and the turtle had to climb up again. Once more it rolled down without injuring itself. The jaguar wanted to try it too. He climbed up and rolled down, but tore open his entrails on the thorns and died.

The turtle took home the claws of the jaguar as playthings for his little son.

The Love Story of the Hummingbird.

[115] Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambái.

There were two girls who heard Chinu (hummingbird) play the flute. He played so beautifully that one of the girls said: "I want him as my husband." She went to the hummingbird and slept with him.

"Let us go into my house," said the hummingbird. When they got there, it was so small that there was no room for the girl. She therefore went back to her village.

In the evening the hummingbird came to the edge of the village and played the flute, in order to lure her. The girl listened and said: "It is the hummingbird who is playing." But she did not go back to him. Every evening the hummingbird

/292 cont./

•539 came to the edge of the village and played his most beautiful airs, but the girl did not want to go with one who had such a little hut.

When the Tick, Yatéu, Ran a Race with the Ostrich, Yándu.

The tick and the ostrich wanted to put on a race to see who could run better. When they started running, the tick hopped on the ostrich and dug itself into the corner of its eye.

When the ostrich had run a short distance, it glanced sideways to see whether the tick was coming along. Since it was in the corner of its eye, it saw it at one side.

/293/ The ostrich hurried on. When it had run a stretch, it again glanced to one side and saw that the tick was still at its side.

The ostrich ran with might and main. When it was quite close to the goal, the tick hopped out of the corner of its eye and arrived there first.

The tick had won the race.

539 These little animal stories have a very widespread dis-
171 tribution. Thus, we find the story of the turtle and the jaguar almost unchanged in Santarem, at the confluence of the Rio Tapajo and the Amazon River (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Fredr. Hartt: Tortoise Myths. Rio de Janeiro, 1875.

Similar stories about foot races are also known from the coast of Brazil (1) /see footnote 1 above/. These last are found among us too, as is well known.

It has been proved (2), as was mentioned, that certain

2. Ehrenreich: loc. cit.

legends from North America and Asia have traveled as far as

c /293 cont./
539 South America. Since, however, this is not the proper place
171 for comparative studies with regard to the legends collected by me, I have contented myself with only presenting the material.

c 539 As we have seen, we learn to understand some of the religious conceptions of the Indians from the legends. They are also interesting from the viewpoint that a whole assortment of little features from the life of the Indians is reproduced. They give us a glimpse into their imaginative life.

c 539 Only the content of the legends collected by me, not
114 the form, is usable as research material. I hope that the
126 native South American ethnographers in particular will add to the collection made by me and also write down the legends in the original languages. In order to be able to do this, however, a complete /294/ mastery of them will be necessary. The best method would be to let the Indians tell these legends into a phonograph.

Ee 824

The Indians and Natural Phenomena.

Ee [773] In one of the Chané legends the story is told of how Yahuéte, the two-headed jaguar, was on the point of devouring the moon. Maringay called Yahuéte "Yahuaróhui."
Ee [776] These Indians explain eclipses of the sun and moon by saying
Ee [771] that the sun and moon are attacked by Yahuéte. The Choroti,
[776] too, as has been mentioned, speak of a predatory animal that attacks the sun and the moon.

If one wanders with an Indian through forest and meadow on a starlit night, the starry sky is his compass and his watch. He will point to Orion or some other constellation and show how much farther it will move before one arrives.

Ee 824 He does not give names to many constellations, but he knows them all. The Chané call the part of the Milky Way nearest the Southern Cross "yándurape," that is, ostrich-way; the Southern Cross, along with a few adjacent stars, is

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-ranga. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/120 cont./

578 Out of these general wars were derived other private ones, which civilized people called affairs of honor-dueling. This does not happen in private, as occurs among civilized people, who go off to a determined place with 578 their respective seconds. All is public, in the presence 541 of many people who come to drink. It is /121/ the caciques who incite their soldiers to match their strength and to avenge with crime an affront or an unfounded jealousy. When this happens, with or without a reason, the fighters place themselves in the midst of a whole crowd of spectators in the presence of the caciques, who urge them on with a word of command, while the poor angry men hit each other cruel blows.

578 Boxing is ancient, because formerly knives were not 412 known and, if they had them, they only used them in 178 their work in the fields. Now the picture has changed; 167 the young are succeeding the old, and these young people 464 continually go to work in the Argentine Republic. There they learn how to drink pure liquor, to handle the knife with which they are armed for their work, and to defend themselves. One small word is enough: it is enough if one says yainano, let us fight, the word of challenge, and knives are unsheathed, and then blood flows. Fortunately, they usually are content with inflicting wounds which rarely bring death because they do not deliver the blow with the point of the weapon but with the edge.

167 This mania for going off to the Argentine Republic has 464 them in continual movement, and, unfortunately, many of them remain for years, to return finally bringing almost nothing with them, and if one asks them, they answer very 167 rudely, "I drank it all." Last year's law has made recruit- 464 ment impossible. Several Indians went off, but they could 648 not get through Villa-Montes and returned (1).

1. If the authorities in Villa-Montes and Yacuiba continue to capture the Indians who are trying to escape, the law will not be in vain this time.

292
529
541

4: Nino--361 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SP10 Chiriguano SP10

Chiriguano carnival, "The Fight of the Bull with the Jaguar."

/266 cont./

797
791

that the cacique had said with reference to their idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

574
576

/267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leaving the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu ndereé, I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma, I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tunpa reño eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

541
177

If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Lagunillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing. The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano [184] fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbapa páure, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe, in addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

[648]

1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Igüembe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Azero,

/267 cont./

[541] [177] [648] Don Antonio Menduiña, who had requested aid; he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers from Azero.

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival [178] is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of Arete, fiesta, through antonomasia, and all the old fiestas are [461] gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that [292] this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguano works almost all year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him; for it is he gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy clothing for himself and his wife and children; and on those days all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put on /268/ during the other days of the year, neither for the Ayarise nor for the Mbapa páure.

In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between [532] blacks and whites; the men well dressed, and even the infidel women with garb adorned with gauze, fancy hats, and multicolored ribbon; the children cover their faces with masks which they have made beforehand by carving toborochi wood; young men prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others, such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the dancers and Agüeros /maskers/, for whom everything is allowed because it is carnival.

[541] [535] [527] By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one drinks and has fun, they make merry on the compadre and comadre days, and on Quinquagesima Saturday, all day, the maskers and dancers practice the dances that they call Aticu. On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival, [532] dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually mounted on a burro; the one who is thus disguised directs the fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

1. The principal man so disguised has subalterns.

/268 cont./

541
525

who also give their long or short speeches. If asked, the masked men say that their town or region is Matamorocho.

If there is no partner, the women dance among themselves, but as soon as a man appears, she dances with him, holding hands, and many couples dance quite close together; their style of dancing is to raise first one foot and then the other to the rhythm of the music. The zapateo /tapping with the feet/, as they call this dance, lasts until the Sunday or Saturday of Temptation without rest, and on the next day, which is the last, the games begin. At ten o'clock several young men in masks undress, leaving covered what is purely necessary, cover themselves completely with mud, furtively approach the group of dancers, and then charge in every direction, squeezing among the better dressed and thus creating confusion among all. This game is called the game of the pigs, and they imitate them very well (2).

541

2. Before this game the disguised men pour over the dancers bean pods and maize siftings left from the preparation of the chicha; this is in order that there may be plenty in the following year.

/269/ The games in the afternoon are quite varied; once the game of the pigs is finished, or even before, two little blacks come out with maize-husk cigars in the mouth and a rope in the hand, leading a person in the disguise of a bull, who is defended and protected by a luxuriously dressed woman, who holds up a flag hanging from a hollow-cane pole; the little blacks are the bull's masters and they even lead dogs, and when the bull is under the flag, he is not bothered much.

At the same time, as though he had come out of the forest, another person appears disguised as a jaguar, and he begins to fight with the bull; if the bull begins to get the worst of it, the masked men who play the role of dogs rush to his defense and hound the jaguar, as those on horseback also do. Once

/269 cont./

•541 in a while the jaguar catches some little dog and makes it cry out, and sometimes it unseats some rider. After a longer or shorter time, the bull or jaguar dies in the battle; generally the former survives, because they kill the latter among them all, between the dogs and cowboys. Then people in disguise who are playing the role of butchers appear, buy the bull from the little blacks with stone or bone money, and butcher it.

535 541 Immediately the dancers form a large circle, holding on to each other with both hands, and they dance this way three times; a number of women huddle over and three others pass under the extended arms of one couple of the circle itself, and a number of others join together, forming a big mass with faces outward, with hands linked together and crossed, remaining this way until another couple dances around them without holding hands, but rather with the man trying not to be caught by the woman, and, if this happens, he then hides amidst the others until his companion has gone by, coming out again to dance until he has gone three times around, taking the same precautions each time as on the first (1).

1. The circle is made up of all the couples who have come to participate in the fiesta; it is made up of a man and a woman with both arms extended and with the hands held; the circle takes up a lot of space, according to the number of couples.

Finally, with the whole circle dancing, they make three circuits in the town, dancing, hands joined, at the corners of the plaza and in front of the houses where they had danced on the previous days. /270/ All of the masked persons join in the first circuit; they form their circle and the head man makes his speech, then the older ones form a seat with their canes crossed, make a little boy sit there, raise him up some two meters, form with crossed canes a shield around his head, and all the rest pour on him a prolonged shower of blows with the hollow cane, without hurting him, and then they let him down. They do this three

/270 cont./

535 541 times in different locations (1).

292 562 177

1. At the carnival, during the three days, there are women who dress like men and men who dress like women, but both cover their faces well so as not to be recognized; this was also taught them by the white man.

152 On the second circuit all the Agüeros, the masked ones, a mestizo term, ask from house to house for provisions, and they accept everything, even bean pods and watermelon rinds, and on the third circuit, which is the farewell, there begins the wailing of big and small masked persons, laden with provisions and scraps; these weepers really make the old people and others cry, because some of them are thinking of their departed ones who are not present at this festivity which is ending, and others perhaps because they think they will not get to see another carnival. I questioned an old man who was really crying, and he gave me the preceding answer. When the last circuit ends with the drums muffled as a sign of sorrow, all of them, riders, dancers, and agüeros, go out of the town and go to a place where they throw away the masks and immediately go to the river, or a spring, to wash their hands and faces a little (2).

535 541 177

2. All of the foregoing games in Ivu were taught them by the same white man whom I have mentioned, and in the beginning he taught them by demonstration, causing astonishment, particularly in the women and the old persons; many of the said games are immoral, especially the circles and the massed group.

796 177

Easter

Forty days later the Chiriguano has another fiesta, that of the Pascua de Resurrección /Easter/, which was introduced by the whites; the old Indians call it nice because it is quiet, as they call the carnival very noisy.

Ec /238 cont./
273 finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her
574 guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with
576 cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well.
Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for
the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured
into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone
must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred.
It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one
wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then
fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything
offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians
become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me:
"You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize
beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden
with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the
happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize
beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears
e here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl
Ce he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has
[754] enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows
if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the
beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen
C in these villages.
Ce
At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to
522 light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were hand-
527 ing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to
C ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.
Ce
Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané
535 only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the
532 Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).
177
541 Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about
Ce whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy
532 said the idea for them had originally come from the whites.
177 Batirayu, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Rio
535 Ce Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which
[796]

Ce /239 cont. /
535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
177 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[534] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

Ee The Chiriguano and Chané
532 always destroy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "añañya."

C It is strange what a great
Ce role the carnival now plays as a
541 festival among the Indians. This
177 undoubtedly comes from the fact
[464] that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians who work for them are given a few days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already disappeared. Nevertheless one still sees women in home-woven clothing

C with necklaces of chrysocolla and
Ce turquoise. I never saw used, however,
[178] the silver diadem and the silver
C pins which belong to the festive attire.
412 One often sees the men's blue
237 costumes (Fig. 81) with silver chest ornaments preserved in the huts by the old people, but they are not used for the festivals.

A B

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ce Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
535 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
527 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
273
533

/67 cont./

Origin

212 The Chiriguano tribe has no written language, for which reason it is difficult to determine exactly its origin, the place from which it came, and the time the immigration took place. They admire our modern paper, which they call "Tunpapire," skin of God, and they say that we are fortunate because by means of this we are able to make our thoughts and wishes known to friends and relatives at great distances. What then would they say if they had the faintest idea of the telegraph and the telephone and so many other modern inventions, such as that of flying through the air, in this twentieth century, which quite justly might be called: century of the globes?

193 They recount that "Aguara Tunpa," Fox-God, tried to destroy the work of the true God by killing all men. To achieve this end he made use of the "Iguasu," big water; he then opened the gates or shores of the seas and flooded the whole land; the waters of the earth's surface called those of the sky "Iporu," flood, and thus the human race perished. But before there took place the total destruction of the Chiriguano, to whom humanity was confined, a woman took her two children, a male and a female, put them in a "Choguáo," big gourd, left them to the mercy of the waters, and, when these went down, they found themselves in Paraguay, where they again multiplied (1).

1. The two children, after disembarking, did not perish from the cold, because the "Cururu," toad, took pity on them, bringing them fire in his mouth, for which reason the true Chiriguano never hunts this inoffensive animal.

173 I have said that they do not have writing, but, on the other hand, they do have a kind of oral tradition, "Miani," which is transmitted from father to son. This tradition is also wrapped in a veil of confusion, however, because they

/67 cont./

173 never name dead persons, with the result that the principal
[551] events are not known because the names of those great persons who took part in them are not known. The present ones know nothing about the many wars which were waged against the Quechua before the Conquest, after the enthronement of the Inca Yupanqui (1400), and /68/ against the Spaniards during the time of the colonization, the oldest people know little more, and we only know somewhat more through the Spanish historians and missionaries of the various religious orders of Paraguay and Bolivia.

173 Through their oral tradition they assert that their origin
167 was in Paraguay, that they multiplied there, and that when
648 the New World was discovered, because they had killed one of the Portuguese captains, they feared the revenge of his companions and fled en masse along the shores of the Pilcomayo River until they arrived in the region which they occupy today, displacing other natives who were in possession of these places (1).

1. This must refer to the flight of the 4,000 Carious who joined up with the Chiriguano here.

173 Nevertheless the oldest and most notable because of their
648 authority in this place give the impression that they originally came from Brazil. They say that in ancient times they had a formidable war with the whites who came from far-off lands; conquered by them because of the inequality in arms and their expertness in the art of war, they were pursued until they entered the plains of the Gran Chaco, which they crossed, com-
726 ing into Paraguay. During the campaign they defended them-
712 selves and built fortifications at several points, of which I know four: one is in Gutierrez, two in Cuevo Canton, and the fourth in Curuyuqui, which belongs to the San Buenaventura de Yvu Mission, where the uprising and defeat of the Chiriguano in the year 1892 took place (2).

2. I recently explored this last. It is one meter deep and one wide, and goes from the stream of Cuevo from northwest to northeast.

/157 cont./

Principle of Authority

600 The principle of authority is innate in humankind and to attempt to destroy it is madness. Ever since man came into the world, the principle of authority has existed, as can clearly be read in /158/ Genesis: Sub viri potestate eris et ipse dominabitur tui; thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee.

As it is innate in humankind, through guilt more than through necessity in the beginning, the said principle has always been in effect everywhere. There is no nation, no matter how barbarous, which does not recognize this principle as a necessity, and to attempt to destroy it, as the anarchists wish to do, is to wish for the impossible. The Tubicha, great one or authority, say the old Indians, emanates from God himself, and that is why it begins with the same letter. The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 214/ shows several caciques of the San Buenaventura Mission; only the one in the frock coat and cane (Anduari) did not take part in the uprising at Curuyuqui (1).

•[551]

1. The Indians in the illustration are: Asicayu, Asucari, Periquiyu, and Guarerai to the right of the cacique Anduari; Chipa and Patiri, or Patricio, at the left.

648 The entire region has today been explored and is under the power of the whites, who first entered with the permission of the owner (ab immemorabili), and after having taken possession, they have made themselves owners, buying lands as
619 property of the nation. Some might believe that the Chiriguano
361 liked to live in great centers, when it is known that formerly
[622] they were very numerous, but one who passes through the territory
[643] will soon understand that each tribe is at most made up of some 40 families and that in each tribe there is a cacique who is dependent upon another greater one, whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great of the great. In one league of territory or even less, an explorer, or passer-by, or sojourner can still find four or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances.

/222 cont./

553
•551
603

The Giving of the Name and Puberty

The giving of the name is done when the boy or little girl begins to understand and articulate words, so that by repetition it may be impressed on their memory and they may know what their name is. Generally, grandmothers in the case of girls and grandfathers in the case of boys have the privilege of giving the name, and they do this by noting some physical peculiarity of the little boys and girls, such as Tesapona, pretty eyes, Saanti, white eyes, Cuñanti, white woman. But sometimes no peculiarity is noted, and they baptize them with the name of parts of the body of animals, such as Yaguacupe, jaguar spine, Tatunai, armadillo tooth, Yaguaracu, jaguar fever. Generally, women's names end in Iru, that is, vessel or receptacle. Thus, for the Chiriguano a woman is something born and destined to serve him as he thinks best (2).

000

> 2. Only Catholicism, brought by the Redeemer and preached by the apostles, reinstates woman; where it has not penetrated, she remains a slave, as in Africa and in other places on the globe.

881

For children of both sexes a critical period approaches, the period of puberty, which in many is precocious and which normally occurs at the age of 11 or 12. The life or death of the Chiriguano, his future well-being or misfortunes, depend on this critical period. If all the prescriptions engraved on the minds of the family fathers are observed by those who reach that age, all the rest of their lives will be a delight, and, if not, every kind of calamity will overcome them.

When the maiden shows the first symptoms of puberty, Yimundía, her parents make her rest for a few days until what many out of modesty call sickness, Mbaerasi, goes away. Then she is put in a hammock or something similar, and, lying down on it like a body without a soul, she is

/186 cont./

It is strange that peoples who fish so much are acquainted with no little fishing gear. In my description of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we have already become familiar with this deficiency. C Ce 226

On the Río Pilcomayo, Moberg and the author once wanted to give the Indians the benefit of our fishing experience and constructed a weir of which we were not a little proud. We set it out, firmly convinced that in the morning it would be full of fish. All we caught was wood and refuse of all sorts, and I cannot deny that the Indians ridiculed us a bit. Ee 226 123

The reason for the poverty of these Indians with regard to fishing gear is not a lack of ideas, but a different one. There are, quite simply, few fishing methods suitable for these waters. Setting out a net at night is not feasible, for if a palometa fish gets into the net it immediately cuts it in two with its knife-sharp teeth. Fishing with a hook where there are such fish is also not enticing, for they bite off the hooks as easily as the lines, if these are not made of good material. In these tropical waters the fishing gear also rots more quickly than among us and thus should not be left in the water all night. C Ce 226

The Chiriguano and Chané have no vessels. On the other hand, they are extraordinary waders, and to wade in the rivers here during the rainy period is not exactly a small matter. If, however, one has the assistance of one of these Indians, one can cross if it is possible at all. C Ce 484 501

As an oddity I might mention that during my entire journey I never saw a native white or mestizo fishing. In Bolivia it is not refined to eat fresh fish. On the Río Pilcomayo /187/ the officers of the military post almost never ate the delicious, fresh, salmon-like fish from the river, but preferred canned salmon from Alaska. Since this is very old by the time it reaches Bolivia, it tastes dreadful. Fishing with a hook is also the only method of fishing that the Indians learned from the whites. C Ce [226] [177]

As for domestic animals, the dog is the only one that the Chiriguano and Chané did not get from the whites. These dogs now seem to me to have a strong mixture of foreign blood. They always have names, for example, tinguichi (old garment) /Fig. 91 appears here/ chapikhyu (yellow eyebrows). As a rule, Ee 231 [177] [5 52]

/222 cont./

553
551
603

The Giving of the Name and Puberty

The giving of the name is done when the boy or little girl begins to understand and articulate words, so that by repetition it may be impressed on their memory and they may know what their name is. Generally, grandmothers in the case of girls and grandfathers in the case of boys have the privilege of giving the name, and they do this by noting some physical peculiarity of the little boys and girls, such as Tesapona, pretty eyes, Saanti, white eyes, Cuñanti, white woman. But sometimes no peculiarity is noted, and they baptize them with the name of parts of the body of animals, such as Yaguacupe, jaguar spine, Tatunai, armadillo tooth, Yaguaracu, jaguar fever. Generally, women's names end in Iru, that is, vessel or receptacle. Thus, for the Chiriguano a woman is something born and destined to serve him as he thinks best (2).

2. Only Catholicism, brought by the Redeemer and preached by the apostles, reinstates woman; where it has not penetrated, she remains a slave, as in Africa and in other places on the globe.

881

For children of both sexes a critical period approaches, the period of puberty, which in many is precocious and which normally occurs at the age of 11 or 12. The life or death of the Chiriguano, his future well-being or misfortunes, depend on this critical period. If all the prescriptions engraved on the minds of the family fathers are observed by those who reach that age, all the rest of their lives will be a delight, and, if not, every kind of calamity will overcome them.

When the maiden shows the first symptoms of puberty, Yimundía, her parents make her rest for a few days until what many out of modesty call sickness, Mbaerasi, goes away. Then she is put in a hammock or something similar, and, lying down on it like a body without a soul, she is

/207 cont./

says it is probably known to all Brazilian tribes. On the other hand, the custom of the couvade seems to be unknown to the Quichua /Quechua/ and Aymara, that is to say, to the mountain culture in Bolivia and Peru. This is one of the many contrasts between the Indians of the mountains and of the virgin forest.

The Güarayú Indians of northeastern Bolivia told me that if a man goes hunting immediately after his wife's confinement and, for example, shoots a parrot, he might kill his child. That is, during the first days of life the soul of the child follows the father.

Illegitimate children are very rarely born among the Chané and Chiriguano. I believe, perhaps I am mistaken, that the women of these Indians are chaste before they marry. On the Rio Itiyuro, among about 500 Chané, there was only one child born to an unmarried woman. Deformed children are very rarely born. Thus, from what I saw and what Batirayu said, in the entire Parapiti Valley, among 1500-2,000 Chané, there is no one who was born blind, none cross-eyed, no idiot, and only one with deformed extremities, and four deaf mutes. I did not observe any Indians with a serious stutter.

I do not know whether among these Indians, too, deformed children are immediately killed, but this is probably the case. Nor do I know whether abortion occurs. It is certain, however, that these healthy women seldom bear children who are not well formed. Nevertheless, in the Parapiti valley, as was said, there was a boy with deformed extremities. One hip bone was too short and one arm was also crippled. This boy was treated by all with extraordinary kindness, /208/ and loud approval was expressed when I gave him a few small presents.

When the child begins to walk, it is given a name. This is not given by the father or mother, but by its grandparents. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti I wrote down a few names. If it is a boy, he is called, for example, yatéurembi (lip of the tick), huásucaca (guanaco), tátunambi (armadillo ear), yánducúpe (ostrich back), vacainyáca (cow head), agurachivi (fox urine), derésa paravéte (your poor eyes); if it is a girl, for example, ñratayboti (guava blossom) (1). A great many of the names are

1. Psidium guayava.

1: Métraux--19 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

1. Old Chiriguano of Yumbía (Upper Pilcomayo). Note the enormous labret and the head band.

2. Karnapadyú, "cap[illegible]" of the Cururutí region near the middle course of the Parapití River. (Photo. A. M.)

142 301 362

142 291 554 302 643

142
554
643
177

1. Santos Airedyú, the last "capitan grande" of the still independent Chiriguano Indians. Airedyú is completely assimilated to civilization and lives like a rich Bolivian farmer. He is a man of great character. (Photo. A. M.)

142
291
797

2. Group of Chiriguano in a Franciscan mission. (Photo by the R. P. Honorato Catinari.)

293
824

/369 cont./

De Molles, y de murta bien obrado,
Seguro que bebian casi arroba,
Que media á cada cual le estaba dado."
/The wine of maize and of algarroba,
Of Molles, and of myrtle well worked,
It is certain that they drank almost
an arroba,
The measure which was given to each
one./

293
524
576
[123]
[114]

Kīwi is too respected a drink to be drunk in any old way. Etiquette requires one to comply with certain rules if the honor of participating in a drinking bout is done you. I sometimes had a chance to be invited to these festivities, and on such an occasion I was able to make the following observations which I am setting down just as I noted them in my field notebook: The men are seated in a circle on chairs or benches. The women squat behind them, on skins spread out on the ground. The kīwi is brought in vessels shaped like bulls, and one of them is put down at the feet of the "captain." The girl who has brought it fills a small calabash and offers it to the "captain," who empties it. Next he serves me and gives the vessel back to her. He does the same with my neighbor, then with several of the guests. Then he hands the calabash to his wife and goes to sit down. The latter serves the rest of the men present.

[554]

A second vessel, brimming over with kīwi, is put this time before another Indian who perhaps is held in some esteem. He drinks first, then busies himself with his companions. Two large calabashes are then given over to the women, and from that moment on, the distribution no longer seems to follow any order. Men and women drink and serve their neighbors without obeying any rule of decorum other than not to forget other people. They acquit themselves perfectly in this duty of politeness, and nobody is neglected, not even the very small children, who take alarming quantities of kīwi.

/369 cont./

293 574 576 [554] At Sainirenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the first one served is always the "captain." As before, the vessel full of kĩwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they always come back to the first person who received each one and he finishes it. The men move from their places several times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/ [553] ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of flutes and violins.

When the supply of kĩwi is exhausted in a village, they get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere to revel.

[789] [198] [302] Formerly the preparation of kĩwi was accompanied by magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the women do not even take this precaution any more. However, between Caruruti and Caipipendi, I could still see several women stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an expression dear to Jean de Léry.

415 Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/ gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are preparing corn beer.

Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a completely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The [199] [198] latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements, while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1819 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/40 cont./

224 animal is capable of distinguishing between the brave and
*[825] the cowardly, and the latter is the first to be attacked and consequently to be badly injured.

*825 Jaguar skin, as I have already said, has intrinsic value;
• [554] it is used in saddleries for the bottom padding of saddles and
[281] for saddlebags; it is a luxury for persons of rank. The ani-
[759] mal has a quantity of fat, and this is a good remedy for
[439] rheumatism, aching bones, and other ailments; the Indians take it and sell it in the interior of the Republic and trade it for used clothing. It is to be noted, however, that they do falsify it, as they also falsify snake grease, because it can be understood that the killing of this ferocious animal is not a
[466] frequent thing. Rarely does the Chiriguano hunt the jaguar, and he is not always inclined to help the white man, but the latter forces his peons to do so, and they gather the fat and sell or present it to their friends or relatives. Jaguar meat is
[262] good food, although, to be sure, it smells wild, as does the skin, but this meat, if placed in salt water or brine overnight, loses its bad smell; they assert that this meat is like that of a cow.

*136 The male jaguar is quite large. I measured one, and it was two meters long from the tail, one meter high, and it weighed seven arrobas. The female is smaller; I measured one that had just been killed; from the tail it measured one meter and ten centimeters, was 75 centimeters high, and weighed four and a half arrobas. The female gives birth
[231] every three years, and the newborn cubs are always a pair, one male and one female; the mother is most dangerous when she has young /illustration appears here/ /41/ and defends them at any cost, but hunters first kill the mother and then try to catch the cubs alive; they almost always succeed and take them home to domesticate them, but this is an impossible job because they are jaguars forever; I have seen two of these cubs well chained but very bad. In general, cubs when taken away from their mother die in a few days either through lack of adequate food, which is milk, or also out of desperation upon finding themselves in the midst of beings foreign to their nature.

/148 cont./

754 761 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 753 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[761] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

756 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others 622 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a 623 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has 643 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of 571 the lower caciques; they discuss the appropriate measures to 731 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The 755 first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very 756 great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make 554 him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there 731 is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /149/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

/149 cont./

755 756 554 731

embassy to the sorcerer is the cacique, and his companions limit themselves to saying Afiete, that is how it is, just as the altar boy or sacristan says amen.

756 554 574 731 [176]

Of course, his arrival is awaited anxiously. All surround him in order to welcome him and give him demonstrations of affection. There is no family which will not bring him whatever it can so that he may cure well. Cooked chickens, boiled eggs, live lambs, and plenty of chicha are all presents for the great rascal. All of this is still done for any sorcerer.

755 756 731

After a short rest, a good meal, and better refreshments, the sorcerer opens his ceremonial with numerous questions in order to try to discover who brought the epidemic to the town, in case it has come in already. If so, he continues in this way and his exorcisms are daily, general for the town, and special for each sick person, as I shall say farther on.

But if the sickness has not come in, he gathers together all of the principal men, they make cigars of tobacco wrapped in maize husks, gather in a circle, light the cigars, and blow smoke in every direction, the sorcerer observing which way the smoke is going. When the location is more or less known, they all go there, club in hand. The sorcerer makes a small excavation and takes from it the charm which he has put there beforehand without being seen; it consists of old, dirty rags mixed with hairs and small bones. Then he burns all that in the presence of the company, strikes the ground with his club and feet, being imitated by all (2).

2. It is not uncommon that the sorcerers themselves take the clothing of persons with smallpox from one town to another in order that the contagion may spread and that they may have some pretext for profit and a life full of gifts.

/161 cont./

and the Mataco; thus the fruit of the chañar, mistol, and algarroba are used in the manufacture of chicha.

Subalterns

The cacique of a tribe is not alone in political, judicial, and administrative administration. In order to have a more correct administration, he, as sole and supreme authority, selects counselors and assistants, whom he seeks from among the most competent persons of the tribe. The primary advisors are whatever sorcerers there may be; these men are thus feared and hence respected by the people, who make use of them in sickness and calamity, both public and private.

Next in rank as counselors come other men to whom they give the name Iglira iya, owner of the stick or baton, according to the signification of the word and which corresponds in Spanish to hombre de mando ó autoridad /man in command or authority/. Thus they are the alcaldes, to whom the cacique hands over part of his authority with absolute subordination, so that through complaints, ineptitude, or other causes, the alcaldes are summarily dismissed and then others appointed. In each tribe there is a single alcalde who does everything, because the cacique, in his town, is better than an emperor, not having to lift a straw and spending his time in prolonged idleness.

/187/ The alcaldes in the tribes take charge of the rest of the settlers; in a search for peons they hear the sarcasms and recriminations of their fellows, and many times they definitely disobey them, even going so far as to insult them with: Mburubicha pa nde? Perhaps you are a cacique?" (1)

1. In the missions with many tribes there are as many caciques and alcaldes as there are tribes composing them. In this regard the custom of the Indians has been respected for a better and more honest administration.

/163 cont./

643 A fact that confirms what has been said happened in the
649 Caipipendi region. The regional cacique Tengua was succeeded
464 by his son Cariti, who, because of the grave errors that he made
466 or was supposed to have made, was dismissed, and the native Tarúire, who apparently at least had very good qualities, was named in his place. This latter, selected by the whites with the consent or nomination of the Indians, had to return the favor of his benefactors who had elevated him and consequently to respond to all the demands and requests for peons, and one time the poor Indians had to go to Santa Cruz as a guarantee for the /164/ unhappy Indians who feared that, under the pretext of jobs in the city, they would be taken to the Beni (1).

[566]

1. In El Beni men are sold for 1,000 Bs. and women at a lesser price. Baron D. Erland Nordenskiold gave a lecture in London proving that slavery exists in Bolivia and Peru.

This concern of Tarúire and suspicion of the Indians originated in a publicly known event which took place in the year 1905, when a party of Indians sold to the rubber plantations were taken from there; rumors of this event spread rapidly through all the newspapers of the Republic, which expressed disapproval of it, and at that time I saw whole groups of families who, with all of their possessions, emigrated to other lands.

643 The result of this is that today many Indians obey Tarúire,
641 not out of love or loyalty, but out of fear of the harsh punish-
554 ment which the political authorities would immediately impose on them; and the cacique is now beginning to tire of this task which is so odious for him, for he wants to be tranquil in his home and to enjoy peace. He has repeatedly said this to me and he would be satisfied if they would renominate Cariti, for whom the Indians hold proper respect.

/176 cont./

342
335 The post thus set up served as a central point for the new house: next he traced a more or less round circle without having any recourse whatsoever to the rules of theoretical geometry, being ignorant of its existence; nevertheless, his reason helped him enough. Having traced the circle and having secured ahead of time enough forked poles /horquillas/ some two meters high, he put them in holes some 50 or 60 centimeters deep around the circumference, leaving the entrance facing the plaza.

Once these poles have been well fixed in the ground around the center pole, the Indian, with the help of his companions and relatives, prepares rafters, straw, bejuco or ceiba bark, hollow cane or small sticks. He then begins, after an appropriate period of rest, to put in place first the rafters, tying them to each other, the center post serving as a prop, and then he ties them to the poles around the circumference, one to each pole, until he finishes. Before beginning, the precaution is taken of singeing the bejuco. The rest is done as has been described in the modern houses, but when the placing of the roof and the walls around are finished, the center post, which would only be an obstruction for the fire which is constantly burning in the center of the house, is removed (2).

[824] 2. Singed bejuco does not rot, regardless of the season in which it has been pulled up. It is resistant and is not attacked by the wood borer. Those who use it so much have experience.

[821] Everyone knows that conical houses are very solid, when care is taken to select good wood and /illustration appears here/ /177/ to cut it during the waning moon. If the rafters have the fork downward, conical houses are much more solid (1).

• [554] 1. A house in conical form among the ancient Chiriguano indicated great ability on the part of the builder and status on the part of its owner; for this reason they were owned only by caciques, rich persons, and other important persons.

/187 cont./

301 buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions.
302 The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicuana
[197] /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts
in the presence of his companions (1).

[197] [114] [121]

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbía had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter
294 is woven by them themselves with palm leaves. Carandai;
285 they bring them from the places where they are abundant. Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect
292 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older
● 564 Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (?).

291 2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap,
302 the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of
304 long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in
178 few places now, and the straw hat is being

4: Nino--260 M-3 (1930-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/189 cont./

291 Clothing in the fashion of Adam is still seen everywhere. In the towns the men, and almost everywhere the women, are at least dressed from the waist to below the knee, because for work or for coolness the Cutama or tipoy, which can cover them up to the shoulders, is allowed to fall to the waist, the rest being left visible.

Gala Dress

292

For the ancient Chiriguano, the Ambícuai, doublet, was fine and festive clothing. This single name includes the Guaupi caugao, hat, the Ambícuai, sagum or frock coat, and the Guaupi timbiao, breeches. Because the doublet is an [554] object of luxury, they do not all wear it, its use being limited to the grandees or cacicques, to rich men, and to sorceres. It is made entirely of tanned skins, which are those of the wild 292 boar, peccary, or pygmy deer. They are tanned with the 28 [824] bark of the Cuaguas, the astringent acacia or uevil, which contains a great deal of tannin.

126 Skillful men are needed to make a complete doublet like 291 the one made in the Santa Rosa Mission by the Indian 997 Cachupari, which, when taken to the Turin exposition, was acquired by the Florence Museum, along with the skull that I acquired in Cuayuqui and other objects, such as the Yandugua, a kind of parasol of ostrich feathers, etc., objects which the missionaries of Potosí sent along with the missionaries of Tarija (2).

2. The missionary who was charged with taking all the things to the exposition and leading the Chiriguano of both sexes, as the program directed, was the late Franciscan Father Doroteo Giannecchini.

/125/

291 The crown of the hat is made of four oval parts, as is
294 the brim which surrounds it, sewed with fine cords of the same material, and the edge of the brim is turned upward. The hat has a band of the same material sewed to both sides at the temples to hold it to the throat; a knot or a ring on the band can be used to tighten it.

292 The Ambírual, which lends its name to the whole outfit,
281 is a perfect cassock, but its form is entirely Chiriguano, for it does not hinder the movement of the arms. Its cut is not straight, and both parts are made fast at the chest with two leather straps, which are run through the holes on the opposite side. The cassock in back ends in two points, where there is a kind of ornamentation of the same leather, which consists of short, fine strips, like a tassel. The sleeves are wide, as is the whole garment, and are attached to the shoulder, being open at the armpit so as not to impede the movement of the arms, either in hunting or in war, where the grandees also wear it. In fact, in the photograph taken in Santa Rosa to be
[126] sent to the exposition, a hunter and a warrior dressed in this
529 doublet appear outside the circle. In the middle there is a
554 Chiriguano woman with her crown and adornments as queen
562 of the fiesta, who offers chicha to all who are enjoying themselves (1).

1. The queen is the one who serves the dancers as mistress and patroness of the fiesta. This
[128] photograph or figure will not be reproduced in the chapter dealing with fiestas because I could not obtain it.

292 The Timbiao, breeches, is also of leather and is made
[281] of four pieces, wider from the waist to the sacrum and narrower from the thigh to the bottom. It is quite wide and comes to the ankle. It is rougher than the rest, but more valued, and they will give anything to have even a single pair. This garment is tied at the waist with a belt or with two strings which are sewed across the entire width of the garment itself.

/198 cont./

301 I am going to end this chapter by mentioning a fancy ornament which has completely disappeared. It is a woman's ornament and is called Aguá, crown, and whoever wore it was called Cuña aguá vaé, crowned woman. The duty of this woman at the public drinking bouts and solemnities was to direct the women's dance, to direct the singing, and to give drinks to the singers and dancers with her own hands. The aguá was a varicolored band up to three meters long, which was put around the head, crossed at the back of the neck, and held on by thorns, needles, or big silver pins, and both ends terminated in tassels of various colors. It was a very striking ornament (1).

[562] [554] [527]

[126]

1. In order to send a complete aguá to the Turin exposition I had to have it made in the girls' school in Santa Rosa. I could not get one in the town; there were none even at that time.

000 Here is poor humanity without any exact idea of religion and worship, they are zealous and hard-working for the body, but have no concern at all for the soul. Only Christ can restore humankind, and tear away the veil which was obscuring its intelligence, and only the priest and Catholic missionary can teach him the sound doctrine of /199/ immortality and other dogmas, so that with this knowledge he may first seek the kingdom of God and receive the rest besides (1).

1. Quaerite primum regnum Dei et haec omnia adiicentur vobis.

372 Explanation of the Preceding Illustration λ

1. Sticks for getting fire.
534 2. Bull's horn for use as a musical instrument.
3. Tail of a quiriquincho /armadillo/ for use as a musical instrument.
412 4. Tweezers for pulling out the hair from the face and other parts.

λ [i.e., on p. 266.- Analyst]

/219 cont./

868 to his mother with satisfaction and then tells his companions about it.

/220/ There are also men who teach boys the way to be quick in fights and even the way to dodge enemy arrows, as well as bullets. The man who teaches this is called Puruncanise, or man who scratches. He is the terror of the boys in the town where he lives. The method he uses is to run after the boys, and woe to the one who out of weakness or carelessness lets himself be caught! In the hands of the puruncanise he suffers the martyrdom of being scratched all over his body with long fingernails, which he lets grow on purpose, in addition to the blame he gets for letting himself be caught by an old man. In a second race it is not likely that the boy being taught will let himself be caught (1).

868 554 463

868 856 239

1. Those who are older have the calf of the leg scratched with the tooth of the Acuti /agouti/ by another of the art. A lot of blood comes out of this, and upon recovering, they say that they are very good at running and can resist fatigue much more than those who did not allow themselves to be scratched.

882 When all the boys of the tribe have received practical lessons from such a neighbor, they indeed may be ready for war, because skill consists in knowing how to shoot in order to injure and also how to dodge the enemy arrow. The Indians [554] who know such strategy are called Queremba by their companions.

721 726 797 In the last war of Curuyuqui, the Indians attacked the Santa Rosa Mission while Colonel don Tomás Frías was there. He chose as a target an Indian Queremba who seemed to be the chief of the company and lost some eight or ten bullets without having the pleasure of felling him. Almost all the Indians learn this way of fighting; hence their combats do not last long. That of Curuyuqui lasted eight hours because they were sheltered in trenches.

/227 cont./
881 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently,
178 and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection
177 of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where
226 there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the
462 little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Parirenta.

881 /228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and
[195] not a boy, the time to give up the ú ú of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man
[304] ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother,
[301] and other relatives make him understand that for this it is necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of
[885] the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip,
[554] Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

[192] 1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ità, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

/260 cont./

527 273 554 562 The drinking continues for several hours, half in silence with a moderate and placid gathering, with the important men seated on benches or seats and some of their inferiors standing and others sitting on the ground, all of them separated from the women, and these latter, as I have already observed elsewhere, look like so many mortars. When the gathering is well attended, the sight is very pleasant, because anyone who has never seen it will be astonished by the variety of costumes and by the ornaments and cosmetics with which they adorn their faces and feet, and I have in fact seen some travelers stay for quite some time to contemplate this simple custom of those who are called the savages of Bolivia (2).

2. What a pity that there is no photograph of such gatherings! The one taken in Santa Rosa is scarcely a simulacre, since at that time there was not even any chicha for those who formed the wheel or gathering for the dance to drink.

The Dance and Songs

527 533 126 By the time they are quite full, they begin the dancing and singing of the Ayarise. I do not give the Spanish words here, for the real meaning is not known; I could explain them with conjectures and by analogy with other, similar ones, as was done by Father Giannecchini, whose words the Italian del Campano transcribes in his book, but they themselves do not know the meaning. The notes of the Ayarise are written and printed here so that any band that so desires may have a pleasant piece for some capital plaza: risum teneatis amici. The band music was set down by a maestro of the Potosí missions in the year 1903 and touched up this year by the missionary Franciscan Father Domingo F. Regini.

/270 cont./

796 call the carnival very noisy. There is nothing special about it and it lasts three days; /271/ some play the violin, and men and women sing the Alleluja. Couples hold hands as they walk through the streets. If both are women, they walk with their [533] arms about each other's neck. They sing through the streets [554] and in the houses and in front of them; in this latter case it is a sign of esteem for a family. The words are few: Osi ma Pascua, [539] alleluja, Easter has come, alleluia, Ucuera yema Yandeya, alleluja, Our Master came back to life, alleluia (1).

1. The song of Alleluia begins as follows: Santísima Trinidad /Most Holy Trinity/, osi ma pascua Aleluya; aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, etc. Ucuera yema—Yandeya, Jesucristo; aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, [194] etc. The s of Osi is pronounced as though it were double.

000 /272/

Chapter Twelve

Offensive and Defensive War

Introduction

There is no people or nation in the world which has not experienced the horrors of a war more or less bloody, more or less prolonged, and more or less disastrous. Troy burns, and Aeneas, the founder of the Roman Empire, takes advantage of the confusion, avails himself of the very darkness as his shield, and saves himself. /The remainder of p. 272 and the first paragraph on p. 273 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 273. The remainder of p. 273 follows./

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
352
249
*171
283

do not even spin. It must, above all, have been the Tupi - Guarani. They are known for their manufacture of cotton hammocks. The Omagua who dwell (have dwelt?) in a tract where they and the Cocama are the only Tupi Indians, use hammocks both of palm-fibre and of cotton. All the neighbouring tribes have nothing but palm-fibre hammocks. Some Tupi at the Upper Xingú use palm-fibre hammocks with a woof of cotton. RUTH HAEBLER mentions two hammocks of bast from the Cainguá. Otherwise, the Tupi tribes use cotton hammocks, as has been pointed out by PATER SCHMIDT. The Caribs, too, have undoubtedly contributed to the spread of cotton-growing and the use of cotton hammocks, for it is very evident that in Guiana especially, they have used, and still use, cotton in their hammocks far more than the Arawaks. The distribution of cotton hammocks in S. America cannot be properly understood except in connection with the general history of the cultivation of cotton. It is highly probable that it was from the western area of civilization in S. America that the knowledge of cotton-growing spread over a considerable part of the continent. It is very likely that, in post-Columbian times, the practice of growing cotton has spread to a good many tribes who formerly were ignorant of it. We must remember that cotton has been grown at such mission-stations as in Mojos on a very large scale.

C
Ce
[174]

C
Ce
352
249
*171

It must also be remembered that the history of the cultivation of cotton is of especial interest, because the cotton bush is one of the few cultivated plants that in pre-Columbian time were common to both the Old and New World. Consequently, it would be very interesting if we could prove that cotton was first used in S. America within the old culture areas, and there only after the Indians had reached a comparatively high state of civilization.

C
Ce
352
*171
[554]

It is not quite right to say that the hammock was not used within the culture-area of the west. It was used — not as a bed, but as a litter for persons of rank. This is

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c
ce
352
171*
[554]

corroborated by the accounts of PEDRO PIZARRO and XERES, who were eyewitnesses of the conquest of the Inca empire. In the high mountain country it is natural that hammocks should not be used as beds. In such parts they would be too cold. It is harder to make out why hammocks were not used in the coastal regions of Peru.

Evidently the hammock in S. America is so old a culture-element that it is impossible to decide whence it came to the Chané and Chiriguano. The latter certainly, and most likely the former too, used hammocks when they settled in their present territory. The technique employed in most Chané and all Chiriguano hammocks is the same as, with small variations, is mostly used wherever hammocks occur.

It is possible that some tribes about the river Amazon preferred palm-fibre hammocks to cotton ones, because the former are cooler. Possibly, too, in these regions of moist heat, hammocks of palm-fibre are less liable to rot and to be attacked by insects than those of cotton.

I here append a map (3) showing the distribution of hammocks of different material after PATER SCHMIDT, with certain additions, as will be seen from table 3.

The seat so characteristic of the Indians in great parts of S. America is a rather uncommon piece of furniture in the huts of the Chiriguano and Chané (Fig. 3). Its distribution in S. America has been investigated by PATER SCHMIDT[1] and SAVILLE[2]) wherefore I beg to refer to their works. In my own sphere of work I saw seats among the Quichua mestizoes at Calilegua, among the Mojo, Huari, Baure and Huanyam. The seat as a culture-element has its southern boundary here. It occurred, though rarely, among the Incas, where seats seem to have been the special privilege of the chiefs[3]). Most likely it is a culture-element which the Chané

c
ce
[127]
c
ce
[622]

[1]) P. 1088.
[2]) V. 2, P. 103.
[3]) COBO Vol. 4, P. 172.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
301
171*

fact, the only possible shape. It was quite natural that both in N. and S. America the tendency was to shape the tembeta in such wise that it should lie conveniently on the chin-bone.

The most highly specialized type of tembeta is found along the Rio Araguaya among the Karajá and Kayapó.[1]) There are in those parts a number of different types of lip button, and it is natural to ask whether such a variation of tembeta types was not formerly common in other parts. In other districts where the Indians still wear tembetas there is no similar variation in type. One sees only two or three different types. Nor it is likely that type-variations of stone tembetas have been much greater than is indicated by the material hitherto collected. The distribution of stone tembetas, on the other hand, may have considerably exceeded what we know at present.

C
Ce
554
301

KRAUSE[1]) has pointed out how different kinds of tembetas are worn at different ages among the Karajá. The Chiriguano when merely boys wear the wooden plug. LERY[2]) says that the Tupinambá boys had bone tembetas of conical shape. When they were full-grown (attained puberty?) they received tembetas of stone which, in part at least, had a shape similar to that of the Chiriguano and Chané tembetas. Very likely the narrower, spike- shaped tembetas which DEBENEDETTI[3]) described from San Juan were for boys' wear, while those which resembled the Chiriguano and Chané tembetas were for grown-ups.

C
Ce
301
171*

A writer as early as VAAS DE CAMINHA[4]) mentions various kinds of tembetas among the Indians whom CABRAL met with when he came to the coast of Brazil.

It is evident that the spike-shaped tembetas belong to an older era of civilization than those of capshape. The

[1]) KRAUSE P. 220.
[2]) P. 191.
[3]) (4) P. 58.
[4]) P. 180 a, 180 b, 180 d, 180 l, 180 l.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c
Ce
171*
323
415

strong influence from the area of civilization in the west and above all the south-west.

Over fifty types.	*Over ten types. but under fifty.*	*Over two types. but under ten.*
Chiriguano.	Chané. (Rio Parapiti)	Chacobo.
Chané. (Rio Itiyuro)	Choroti.	Chimáne.
	Ashluslay.	Yuracáre.
	Toba.	Churápa.
	Mataco.	Pauserna.
	Tapiete.	Guarayos.
		Huari.
		Huanyam.
		Cavina.

I am unable here to give an account of all the different shapes of earthen vessels found among the Chiriguano and Chané. Some of them have been depicted by OUTES but there are many more. Those depicted here should, however, give some idea of the variations in these Indians' pottery. Some types are local and thus characteristic of certain villages; others are certainly individual. Thus I have seen different women in the same village turn out very different vessels. Some women are noted for making specially fine earthenware. They are celebrated for their pottery far outside their own village.

c
Ce
[554]

The Chiriguano and Chané use earthen vessels for boiling and roasting their food, as receptacles for food and other things, for carrying water, for the serving of food, for the burial of the dead and to whirl the spindle on when spinning. (Only the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.)

c
Ce
415
Ce
[283]

We see that a large number of the earthen vessels here are provided with ears or handles. In Part I of this work I claim to have proved that the ear is a culture-element derived from the Andine area of civilization.

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XXVI

Symbols of authority and dignity.

C
622
301
293

According to CORRADO[1]) the Chiriguano chief was distinguished by a tuft of hair on his head the »yattira» and earrings of green stones. At feasts the chief carried a pole with a bunch of ostrich feathers at the end of it, the »yandugua», and a carved stick the »iguirape». I have only seen the »yandugua». Among the Chané I have seen plain sticks that formed some kind of symbol of authority for the chiefs.

Ce
622

C
Ce
554
*171

I have neither seen nor heard of any symbols of authority among any other Indians than the Chané, Chiriguano, Quichua and Aymara, and also, at the missions, among the Guarayos, Mosetene and Cavina. Among the Aymara and Quichua the staff, usually silver mounted, is a symbol of authority carried by Indian officials in the villages. It is the same at the missions among the tribes mentioned and also among the Chiriguano. LOZANO[2]) states that the Spaniards at the end of the seventeenth century solemnly presented a staff to a Chiriguano chief, Cambichuri, as a symbol of authority. CREVAUX[3]) relates from his visit to the Oyampi that the chief carried a staff in his hand, for all over Guiana the staff is »le signe de commandement». KOCH-GRÜNBERG[4]) speaks of the staff as a symbol of authority for chiefs in northwest Brazil. GILIJ[5]) says that the

C
[648]

[1]) P. 45.
[2]) P. 296.
[3]) P. 164.
[4]) (2) 1 P. 260, Fig. 142: P. 297, Fig. 175.
[5]) T. 2 P. 195.

StNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909. 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
554
171*

staff was introduced at the missionary stations as a symbol of authority for chiefs. In the same way white men had introduced the staff as a symbol of authority among the Araucanians.[1]) The half civilised Ijca[2]) use the staff as a symbol of authority for medicinemen.

According to RESTREPO[3]) the Chibcha chiefs had staffs of guayacán. MARTIUS[4]) tells us that the chief of the Tupi-Indians carried a tall staff «pocacaba». He also tells us that POMBAL in order to flatter conquered chiefs ordered Malacca canes with big knobs and tassels to be distributed among them. The Incas do not seem to have used the staff as a symbol of authority.

C
Ce
[177]

It is obvious from what I have said that the staff, as a symbol of authority, was introduced here by the Whites, while on the other hand the Chiriguano most likely got the «yandugua», from the Incas. One of the Inca symbols of authority was a parasol of ostrich-feathers. Thus BETANZOS[5]) [6]) tells us about Inca Urco, a son of Viracocha that he was borne in a litter on the shoulders of chiefs. When he went into the market-square, he sat on a golden stool and had a parasol made of ostrich-feathers dyed red.

Dr. MAX UHLE has been kind enough to inform me that he possesses a japanned wooden drinking-cup, possibly from Carabuco near Lago Titicaca. It dates from the period of conquest. On the cup is depicted an Inca with all his tokens of honour, down to the parasol.

---

[1]) GUEVARA. P. 27.
[2]) BOLINDER (4). P. 213.
[3]) P. 99.
[4]) (1). P. 64.
[5]) P. 34.
[6]) See also MARKHAM P. 292.

Ee 622 643 354

/230 cont./

The chiefs' families form a sort of aristocracy among the Chiriguano and Chané. Several times I heard Indians boast about their good family connections. A Chiriguano who accompanied me for some time as an interpreter was eager to impress upon me that he was related to the most famous high chiefs.

Just as the author of this book is customarily introduced as the son of Adolf Nordenskiöld, so the Indians were wont to introduce in similar fashion the sons of their "great men."

I even discovered a bit of deception in connection with the family tree. A Chané claimed direct descent from the great Hinu Parava, which, however, is said to be untrue.

If one wishes to find beautiful things from olden times among these Indians, one must first look for them in the chiefs' families. They keep the old treasures.

Ee [177]

More and more the white authorities are beginning to appoint the chiefs. Thus, in one region one can find a chief supported by the whites and a legitimate one.

Ee 622 423 122 643

The chiefs have great power, and, as far as I could see, they are always obeyed, in contrast to conditions among the Choroti and Ashluslay. They own the land (at least in certain regions), not for themselves, but for the tribe. If one needs porters in a Chané or Chiriguano village, one gets them from the chief, and no Indian will refuse to carry out the orders of the chief.

Ee 622 643

Although the chief has such great influence, /231/ he nevertheless works in the same way as the other Indians. Vocapoy himself, for example, carried home the heavy wood for cooking the maize beer, and his wife had to cook and sweep, like the other women. Following the example of the whites, however, a few of the most civilized and wealthy Indians, such as Taco, now have servants from their own tribe, but this was not done originally. On the other hand, as I have mentioned elsewhere, it is not unusual for the Mataco-Vejos and the Tapiete to work for the Chiriguano and Chané.

Ee [359] [177] Ee 177 464

When we came home to Vocapoy's village from hunting and shared our booty with the chief /Fig. 115 appears here/, his wife accepted everything, but then went around to the houses and gave her neighbors everything that she had received.

Ee 622 643 431 123

/86 cont./

C 178 565 648 CC [178] [648] [643] The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

C 565 554 643 511 433 any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

C 184 433 462 178 [643] [461] [476] [464]

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 462 Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

C [562]

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

/164 cont./

622 Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large
643 number of Indians, like Tarúire, derives great benefits from
648 his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income
566 is regular, because generally the caray who makes a request for
46 peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future; interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62 It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did
595 not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques; even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

[797] 3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques; some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 /165/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest
[555] son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the
[556] closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661] 1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

6: Nordenskiöld--80 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ee 831

/227 cont./

The Indians regard the natural aspect of sexual life very differently from the way we view it as a rule. We do not find among these people all the corruption which is in civilized society, but various things are to be found here already. As far as homosexuality in particular is concerned, conditions among primitive peoples, as is known, show that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than in our hypercivilization.

Ee 838

/228/

Chapter Fourteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Chiefs and Laws

Ee 622 613 [171]

The chiefs have an entirely different position among the Chané and Chiriguano than among the Ashluslay and Choroti. They have considerable power. Among the chiefs there are the great chiefs, who rule over several villages, and the village chiefs, who have command over only one village or a part of one. Among the great chiefs whom I met, the noteworthy ones are the old woman Vuŷyruyi, the chief over the Chané villages on the Rio Itiyuro, Taruiri, who rules over most of the Caipipendi valley, Mandepora (Fig. 111), who in former times had considerable power in and around Machareti, and Maringay in the Iguembe valley.

Ee 643

Ee 622 293 643 [301] [302]

Nowadays the chiefs have no symbol of their office other than silver-mounted sticks. According to Corrado, they formerly wore a large tuft of hair on the head, "yattira," as well as green stones which hung at their ears. At the festivals and dances they had the right to use the "yandugua," a rod decorated with a bunch of ostrich feathers, and "iguirape," a staff carved with peculiar figures. Of these I was able to acquire only a yandugua. I did not even see the rest.

Ee 622 555 643

The office of chief seems to be hereditary as a rule. Capability and the art of using words well are required, however.

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

/348 cont./

287 439 [484] [435] half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

224 178 231 433 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago, those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 435 [464] [465] The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently 471 231 [435] costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

[262] [178] 1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to 556 diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text Continues on p. 93]

/349 cont./

556 [435] [437] tendency to estimate the value of objects in cows. For example, a loom with a nearly finished poncho was offered to me "for a cow," and the owner of the loom could not understand that it was difficult for me to convert the exchange into money.

262 [251] Charqui, or meat dried in the sun, most often replaces fresh meat in the menus of our Indians. It is not a question of preference, but of necessity. Charqui is cheap and is bought in any estancia.

Fishing

221 226 When I went through the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Parapití, the rivers were in flood, the corn was ripening in the fields, and no Indian wanted to let the parrots eat his corn in order to go to catch fish at the risk of getting himself carried off by the current. If I had come back to these same villages in July or August, the scene would have been completely different. The rivers would have been only thin trickles of water, and in every direction I should have perceived men /350/ and women busy fishing. The fishing season would have been at its height.

[198] The Chiriguano, having come from a country rich in watercourses, have in this respect preserved the traditions of their ancestors of the Paraná or the Paraguay.

226 Some, equipped with large landing nets (Fig. 18), form barriers against the current and advance, gathering the fish as if with a spoon. Then they grab them and attach them to their [229] [482] belts, after /Fig. 18 appears here/ threading them on a cord by means of a wooden needle (Fig. 19). Others lie in wait for a fish in the water and, as it goes by, impale it with an arrow equipped with several points (Fig. 20) or simply with two long, barbed wooden rods. Some, with the help of stone barriers, try to make the fish converge toward the opening of a wicker trap (1). Sometimes a group of individuals turn aside a

1. Compare Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260): "in summer (the Chiriguano) divert a stretch of the river; they leave the fish in the drained

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ä, ä" for the masculine "ä." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

851 191 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

383 171 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

591 595 622 556 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate. 764 765 The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwaka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two crushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

/184 cont./

622 623 624 546 46 Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large number of Indians, like Tariire, derives great benefits from his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income is regular, because generally the caray who makes a request for peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcalde, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future: interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62 595 It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques: even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

[799] 3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques: some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 [555] [556] /185/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661] 1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

/154 cont./

One might be surprised that a person would want to live in this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter their valuables for maize. 13 243 273 556 437 731

For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians. 126

The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy season it probably rains there too. 133 132

From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a /155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. 114 [312]

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Batirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio 133

C 352 171

/178/

Now and then one sees a seat carved out of wood (Fig. 85) in a shape especially familiar from the Brazilian Indians.

C Ce 415 [353]

A great many clay vessels of all dimensions are always standing along the walls of the huts. Some of them are so large that a man could crawl into them. There /179/ are pots, there are

Ce 482 291 854

Fig. 87. Chané woman. Río Parapiti. She has a water jug in the carrying net.

C Ce 415

roasting bowls, there are handsomely painted vessels which are brought out for the festivals, and there is the treasure pot, in which the housewife keeps all the valuables and souvenirs of the family. In it, if the home is "well-to-do," lie clothing,

C Ce [556]

/179 cont./ C Ce 415
ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla, and many other things. 556 ●

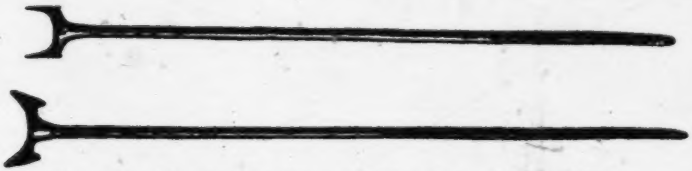
It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all night, as in a Choroti or Ashluslay village. The young men and the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they

Cc 512 836

C Ce 512 264 273

C 276

Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2.



C 412

Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

C Ce 512 264 273 533 765

are not busy brewing maize for a festival.

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, the men somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a truly refreshing bath.

C Ce 515 512

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Rio Itiyuro the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Rio Parapiti in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also

Ce 512 482

C Ce 231 /187 cont./

the Chiriguano and Chané have fewer horses, cows, donkeys, sheep, and goats than the Choroti and Ashluslay. On the other hand, they have more chickens and pigs. Sometimes one sees ducks, guinea fowl, and turkeys. In certain regions, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley, where the Indians are wealthy, they also have much livestock. The whites, unfortunately, try in every way to cheat them out of what they have. Thus, it is not uncommon for a white man or a white woman to come into a village with a few kegs of spirits and to leave it with a couple of the best cows of the Indians. The whites are richer, the Indians poorer.

C Ce [184] [556] Ee [439]

C 227

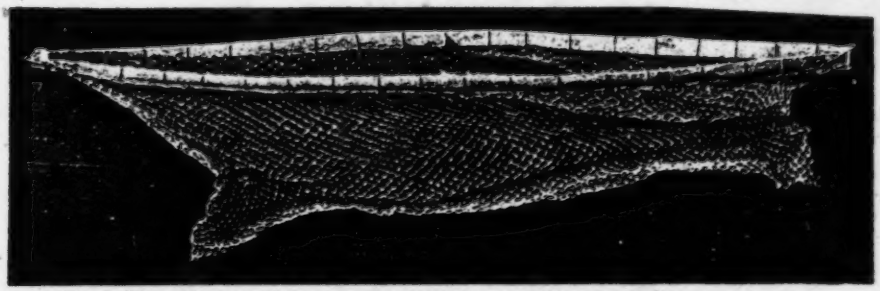


Fig. 91. Net. Chiriguano. Rio Parapiti. Ca. 1/12.

C Ce 231 171

The menagerie of tamed wild animals which one sees in the villages of the more primitive Indians is not to be found among /188/ these Indian A parrot that talks a little Guarani, however, is not unusual in the huts.

Preparation of Food

C Ce 252

The dirt that we come across in the preparation of food and eating among the Choroti and Ashluslay is not found /Fig. 92a appears here/ among the Chané and Chiriguano. On the other hand, the dishes are terribly monotonous. They consist of maize in every possible form, cooked maize, roasted maize, maize bread baked in ashes, maize flour porridge, and /189/ steamed maize flour. The latter is prepared in an apparatus illustrated here (Fig. 92).

Ee [262]

Ce
Ce
765
556
621

/231 cont./

One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village, though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand, there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy individual Indians, but they, like Taco, live like the whites.

Ce
622
701
642
643

The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader of the fighting men.

Ce
682

Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain. A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

Ce
692
643
681

According to Batirayu, whose statements are more reliable than those of /232/ Vocapoy, the high chief of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti deals with no offenses other than murder, seduction of another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with poisoned chicha, "bád-dyási," occurred in former times among the Chané. Murderer and bewitcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the open plaza in the village.

C
531
415
Ce
682

Fig. 115. Calabash. Chiriguano. Itapenbia. 1/6.

Ce
684
Ce
685
681

Ec
177
Ce
643
622
721

The administrative authorities of the whites are now intervening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

Ce
423
622
643

According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner, even if it has lain fallow for years.

Who can paint clay vessels as Chane SF8

/236 cont./ one of the wives of

531 [437] Ce 531 Ec Ec 556 531 Ce 415 412 302 142 291 252

the Chiriguano chief Maringay can? They are famous far and wide in the valleys, and everyone tries to acquire her works through barter. I, not the least, admired her sure and discriminating art. The wife of the Chané chief Vocapoy (Pl. 19) is also no dabbler.

Where the Indians are rich, that is, have large maize harvests, the pottery is beautiful. Where they are poor and the

Fig. 116. Chané girls pound maize in a mortar. Rio Parapiti.

Ec 556 531

struggle for existence is hard, they do not have much time for artistic work. If art is to flourish in the Indian home, joy and mirth must prevail.

262 /355 cont./ Women could eat, without
[562] harm, parrot, a heavy and stupid bird. In their misogyny the Chiriguano doubtless figured that that would not change their nature in any way. (Campana, p. 92.)

252 Cooking is not a secondary activity; it is an important form /Fig. 26 appears here/ of the material culture and an excellent index for judging the cultural level of a human group. The art of preparing dishes reveals as well as any tool the faculties of invention and taste. In South America one can very well classify the tribes according to the more or less great variety of their dishes and the care they take in preparing them. This hierarchy would certainly correspond to that of the cultural elements.

[171] In the Chaco, Chiriguano cooking stands in contrast by its variety, its /356/ taste, and its cleanness to that of the more primitive tribes like the Toba or the Matako.

Before passing on to the study of the utensils used by the Chiriguano housewives, it is fitting to describe their menus.

When the Chiriguano kill a cow, goat, or sheep, the meat is boiled in water, roasted on a spit, or dried in the sun (charqui). They are especially partial to the head of the animal they kill, and they eat it boiled after skinning it. The pieces of meat are cleaned carefully before being cooked; and the tripe, for example, which is a delicacy, is taken out beforehand.

Corn is prepared in various ways. If the ears are tender and green, they are boiled in water or grilled over the fire or under the ashes.

When the corn is still in this state, the women prepare simbikuai or humitas (in Spanish). They bite with an appetite into the still tender ears, chew the kernels for a long time, and spit them into a calabash. This white mash saturated with saliva is wrapped in corn leaves and put under the ashes.

[415] The Chiriguano give the name of atipíi to kernels of corn roasted in a special bowl called tapuipe (Plate XIII, 3) or in large potsherds, which tend more and more to replace the primitive utensil appropriate for this use. The atipíi requires

/363 cont./

234 To end up, one could still cite among Chiriguano food
262 the cheese they make in some villages. Each time they butcher they take care to keep the abomasus in order to make
[177] milk separate. Chiriguano cheeses are of the same quality as those of the half-breeds, who for once have taught something
[272] to our Indians. I shall add that I have never seen a Chiriguano drink milk.

312 The problem of water does not come up for the Chiriguano
133 as for the other Indians of the Chaco. Numerous rivers cross their territory, and several of them are large enough not to dry up even in the middle of the dry season. These watercourses form innumerable quebradas, gorges or valleys, which give its characteristic aspect to the country inhabited by our Indians.
[361] Sometimes villages are built near springs or small lakes, like the Ivu mission, which is provided with plenty of water.

312 When I crossed the Caipipendí valley, the river which occupies the bottom was nearly dry. The Indians had scooped out small wells about one meter in depth in the sand of its bed. They had surrounded them with slabs of stone to prevent any caving in and to preserve the water which accumulated in them from the heat of the sun. In this same valley, in a village situated on top of a hill, the Indians had dug a cistern four to five meters in diameter in which rain water had collected.

271 The Chiriguano have found a way to purify the muddy
312 water they often have to drink. They crush caraguatá leaves
824 between two stones, then steep them in the water, and all its impurities settle as a result of the action of the juice of this plant.

264 The Chiriguano do not eat at set times. They make a rather substantial breakfast very early in the morning and again take some food toward the middle of the day. In the evening
[562] about six o'clock they make a kind of dinner. Since the men are served first, then the women and children, it follows that the meals drag out in length. At any moment of the day one
[415] can see someone eating. The food /364/ is presented to each one in a calabash or terra-cotta bowl which each holds on his knees. They pick up the pieces with their fingers but imbibe liquids with a wooden spoon (Figs. 42 and 43). After eating, they wash their hands. I have seen some rinse out their mouths.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1819 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

/26 cont./

137 824 SOTO. -- This gigantic tree is found everywhere from the province of Tomina, but there are places where it is more abundant. In the spring, when the budding begins, its leaves are red, and later they turn green. In the autumn its fruit, which the parrots like, are red and are in bunches like cherries. Seen from a distance by a European, he thinks they are cherries. The wood of the soto is strong and does not rot; in dampness or in water it is better than iron, since it does not deteriorate. [342] It is very widely used in the construction of houses, especially when they are of frame construction. A great deal of tannin, which the Europeans use in tanneries, is extracted from the soto. It is called palo cuchi by the whites here and "Urundei" by the Chiriguano.

249 TOBACCO. -- An annual plant which flourishes everywhere, but only the whites cultivate it on a large scale, especially in Sapirangui and Chiquiacá, whose products have some fame. Even an occasional Indian cultivates it for his own use and to give to his friends. There is another similar plant, and, when he lacks real tobacco, the Indian deceives himself with its leaves. The true tobacco is called "peenti" in Chiriguano, and the other "huacapeenti," which, literally explained, means 276 "cow tobacco." In Bolivia there is considerable consumption of tobacco wrapped in paper or maize husks; rarely does one see cigars of pure tobacco, like the Havanas and others; the Chiriguano smokes a lot and acquires the habit at a tender age. [897] Children of four years of age have already begun to smoke; [562] women also smoke.

137 824 TACUARA. -- In the past when there were no cattle, the tacuara, or hollow cane, was very abundant; vestiges still remain of some immense canebrakes, but the plant has been re- [435] duced almost to the cultivated one, with the result that what was previously found in the forest at the disposal of the first occupant is found today in the possession of private parties, and anyone who is planning to build a dwelling must pay for hollow cane at the rate of 80 centavos per hundred, and the worst of it is that it is not found everywhere. This lack is made up for by small rods from trees, but these are neither as light nor always

/165 cont./

622 661 may be considered the scourge of the tribe, and, as an absolute ruler, he takes from the belongings of his soldiers whatever he wants for himself and for the guests who visit him.

622 562 Very rarely does a woman take command and control of the tribe; this can happen if the cacique who dies leaves only women as heirs, but only with great difficulty does the Chiriguano allow himself to be ruled by a woman; the other tribes would laugh at them and would treat them like women; Salic law is in force among the Chiriguano (2).

2. Nevertheless, there are cases when the law of the Salians has been suspended among the Chiriguano. The woman Iguandúsai governed in Ivu, Parapoti in Aquío, and a certain Arabúsai is mentioned by del Campano.

643 The Regional Cacique

In addition to the cacique, whom the people of a tribe distinguish with the name of Mburubicha, great one, there is another, higher authority whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great one of the great ones, or cacique of the caciques. The great cacique resides in a larger tribe and leads it directly like the other caciques, having alcaldes and counselors.

643 622 The great cacique intervenes and is consulted with regard to the succession of the subaltern caciques; for this reason the sons of the latter always accompany their fathers on the visits they make and try to get the great cacique to like them, in order to succeed their fathers in power, but if the tribe does not want him and furthermore his faults are so notorious and serious as to eliminate him from the honor, the regional cacique very tactfully makes him understand this, adding that by reforming his life he could be chosen again on a day not far off.

/181 cont./

524 gallery two cords, tying at the ends a piece of cowhide 80 centimeters long by 30 in width, hanging about 60 centimeters above the ground. This is called Sabiuca, swing, and here the little boys and girls swing and rock.

562 Women sit on the ground in their houses and observe the
524 same custom when they go visiting. The man waits until he
576 is told where he should sit and always receives the best seat.
516 The woman does not wait; she knows her place; she arrives, does not greet anyone, leaves her bundle in a corner, if she has one, and then squats down in such a way that from near or far many women squatting like this look like so many carronades /camaretas/ ready to go off.

Matés

462 In the furnishings of Chiriguano houses a preferred place
241 is occupied by the matés, made of gourds divided vertically
415 through the middle. This is man's work; he plants them and
322 cultivates them in his field, and when they are mature they are brought to the house where they are allowed to dry in the shade and also in the sun. Some three months are needed for this or even more, depending on the season. Nevertheless, they are watched throughout to see whether a fingernail will penetrate the skin. When the fingernail will not penetrate, the gourds are ripe. Then they remove the first skin, split them, extract and completely remove the pulp, keep the seeds for the new planting, and, when they are clean, they let them dry for a few days.

462 They are put in a separate place, and a second operation
415 begins. With his Chiriguano patience, with a knife or other
531 instrument, the Indian begins to engrave whatever figures occur to him, such as tree branches, circles with grains of sand, squares, figures of jaguars, doves, lizards, dogs, chickens,

/190/

291 294 The crown of the hat is made of four oval parts, as is the brim which surrounds it, sewed with fine cords of the same material, and the edge of the brim is turned upward. The hat has a band of the same material sewed to both sides at the temples to hold it to the throat; a knot or a ring on the band can be used to tighten it.

292 281 The Ambícuai, which lends its name to the whole outfit, is a perfect cassock, but its form is entirely Chiriguano, for it does not hinder the movement of the arms. Its cut is not straight, and both parts are made fast at the chest with two leather straps, which are run through the holes on the opposite side. The cassock in back ends in two points, where there is a kind of ornamentation of the same leather, which consists of short, fine strips, like a tassel. The sleeves are wide, as is the whole garment, and are attached to the shoulder, being open at the armpit so as not to impede the movement of the arms, either in hunting or in war, where the grandees also wear it. In fact, in the photograph taken in Santa Rosa to be [126] sent to the exposition, a hunter and a warrior dressed in this doublet appear outside the circle. In the middle there is a 527 554 Chiriguano woman with her crown and adomments as queen of the fiesta, who offers chicha to all who are enjoying them- 562 selves (1).

[128] 1. The queen is the one who serves the dancers as mistress and patroness of the fiesta. This photograph or figure will not be reproduced in the chapter dealing with fiestas because I could not obtain it.

292 [281] The Timbiao, breeches, is also of leather and is made of four pieces, wider from the waist to the sacrum and narrower from the thigh to the bottom. It is quite wide and comes to the ankle. It is rougher than the rest, but more valued, and they will give anything to have even a single pair. This garment is tied at the waist with a belt or with two strings which are sewed across the entire width of the garment itself.

/191 cont./

292 make people laugh at the carnival. The same thing can be said of other antiquities.
• [562] I have placed in this chapter the method for making it, as well as the one for the hat, because it is work from which only the man benefits and both are counted among his garments.

Conveniences

463 In the course of the previous pages it has been seen that the Chiriguano is hunter, warrior, and also sorcerer. The first and second categories contain many, and the third one fewer, and this is easily understood, because a knowledge of medicinal herbs is needed and, more than this, the art of knowing how to deceive with prattling, which is not for all.

463 The three classes wear a belt with a bag which hangs from
291 it. The belt is called "Bosa," doubtless because it has a bolsa
415 /bag/. In this those of the first and second category put tobacco, maize husks, and flint, tinder, and steel for making fire, and sorcerers add to these things the implements of their profession, which /192/ are the Mbaecagüe, a piece of bone, the Itarapúa, a round stone, both of which are necessary for the cures... miraculous ones (1).

[177] 1. The Bosa does not seem to be of Chiriguano origin. Anduari doubts that it was introduced by the Argentinians or by the Tarijeños /people of Tarija/, but it seems to me that it was the former who introduced it, because it is similar to the one used by the gaucho.

/196 cont./

301 Over their tiru the men put the Mboivera, which is a small double piece of silver with its hole in the upper part, where they put a double cord of wool, on the ends of which there are [562] tassels of the same color. This ornament is for men, but there are also women who wear them, but smaller ones. If one in- [177] quires about the origin of the mboivera, no Chiriguano can tell you today, but it is almost certain that they received it from the Spaniards, with whom they had relations almost from the time of the discovery, as can be deduced from the history of Tarija, whose first settlers had to fight vigorously to take over the territory which they then occupied. It is enough to see a mboivera in order to conclude that it is not of Chiriguano origin. The work which goes into almost all of them indicates that it is the work of civilized people, since decorations by the engraver's burin can be seen on it (2).

43
301

2. A Mboivera, a Tempeta /sic/ with a ndamicha, four necklaces, and a ndamicha ichi formerly were exchanged for a horse, a cow, ten sheep, or 15 goats, but it should be noted that these pieces of property were worth little. A cow was worth five or six pesos, and the same could be said of the rest. Conscientious travelers today pay up to four bolivianos for a tembeta, because it is a museum piece.

301
435
756

Both men and women adorn their necks with beads /perlas/. Itogüi; necklaces, Risi, are not of beads like those of civilized people, but in spite of this the itogüi has a conventional value among the Chiriguano. For four itogüi necklaces they sold the best that they had, and sick persons gave them to the sorcerer in order that he would cure them, and today, when it is almost impossible to obtain a necklace, it is not rare for a sick person who owns one to make a gift of it to the doctor, even though it may be his passport to eternity, because everyone understands that after the sick person has been treated by a sorcerer in the most barberous manner, if he does not recover it is clear he will die.

/196 cont./

301 Indian youths who cannot sport a bead necklace make them out of shell, Yatita, which is abundant throughout the region.
[321] /197/ The pieces are flat and round like a small button. They make a hole in the middle and string them one by one, making a knot in the string in order to separate them. Since the shells are white, a necklace on a Chiriguano's black neck is like a fly in milk (1).

• [562]

1. The shell necklace is worn solely by men. I checked carefully and saw that they alone wear it. I have several of them that I found in a grave which was uncovered by the rain.

301 562 For men there is another necklace of beads, Ndamicha; a string of these with a large one in the middle, Ndamicha ichi, mother of the beads, is valuable. The ndamicha even comes mounted in the hole of the tembeta, which then is valuable and is called Ndamicha-rembeta, tembeta with bead.

114 301 562 It seems that the explorer and expeditionist Touar is not completely correct when he says that these necklaces are made of coralline, malachite, etc. The Indians do not tell where they come from. Perhaps with careful analysis it could be learned what type of material they contain and which animal produces them naturally, such as the coralline. What is beyond doubt is that today's explorers do not give them the value that they would have if they were true pearls. The former value of beads among the Indians themselves was, as I have said, conventional. The same gentleman is not entirely correct when he states that the Chiriguano women wore shell necklaces. Perhaps they were used by the Tapíi women, where he stayed for a long time in his efforts to see Olympus from Izozo.

301 562 Women's necklaces are abundant and are of different forms and colors. Some are round and black, Mboinu, companion of beads, others red and curly, Mboichanchi, curly beads, and others long and black, Sebadilla. There is also no lack of women who in addition to the above-mentioned ornaments place around their necks a string of silver coins, all of the same size.

/197 cont./

301 These are of ten-centavo or five-centavo pieces, but they try
562 to have them all alike. From what has been said it can be
[437] seen that the necklaces that the women wear are modern, brought by traders, especially peddlers (2).

2. Today neither medios nor reales of pure silver are found, but the Chiriguano Indian women make their necklaces with medios and reales of nickel. These are satisfactory, but the former were better.

301 Modern necklaces are common and also worn by the
184 neophytes, but they do not wear bracelets, which are suitable only for the infidels. They make a long string of small blue beads and wrap it around /198/ their wrists, taking care to be sure that each turn is tight and close to the previous one, and so on with the rest which follow.

291 The Chiriguano, because he is proud, does not lower him-
301 self to wearing the adornments of neighboring tribes which are
186 inferior to him, but he does easily adapt himself to wearing
177 the clothing and adornments of races which are superior to him. He does not lower himself to wearing bird feathers, to scarring his face and arms, to wearing wooden earrings, like the Toba and others, but he imitates and attempts to surpass his superiors, the whites, by dressing himself like them, the men wearing the fine hat and the women wearing the wool and silk manta, the young men the footwear and boot, and the maidens foreign earrings. Hence, tiny little girls at the moment they are born have the ear lobe pierced, so that in time, even before they begin to walk, the mother can put a pair of earrings on them, while none of the old women whom I know wears earrings in her ears. This is a sure sign that they never wore ornaments in them, and thus, if the modern Chiriguano women wear them, it is because they have seen women and maidens who came from civilized centers or were born there.

/198 cont./

301 I am going to end this chapter by mentioning a fancy ornament which has completely disappeared. It is a woman's ornament and is called Aguá, crown, and whoever were it was called Cuña aguá vaé, crowned woman. The duty of this woman at the public drinking bouts and solemnities was to direct the women's dance, to direct the singing, and to give drinks to the singers and dancers with her own hands. The aguá was a varicolored band up to three meters long, which was put around the head, crossed at the back of the neck, and held on by thorns, needles, or big silver pins, and both ends terminated in tassels of various colors. It was a very striking ornament (1).

[562] [554] [527]

[126]

1. In order to send a complete aguá to the Turin exposition I had to have it made in the girls' school in Santa Rosa. I could not get one in the town; there were none even at that time.

000 Here is poor humanity without any exact idea of religion and worship, they are zealous and hard-working for the body, but have no concern at all for the soul. Only Christ can restore humankind, and tear away the veil which was obscuring its intelligence, and only the priest and Catholic missionary can teach him the sound doctrine of /199/ immortality and other dogmas, so that with this knowledge he may first seek the kingdom of God and receive the rest besides (1).

1. Quaerite primum regnum Dei et haec omnia adiicentur vobis.

392 Explanation of the Preceding Illustration[1]

1. Sticks for getting fire.
534 2. Bull's horn for use as a musical instrument.
3. Tail of a quiriquincho /armadillo/ for use as a musical instrument.
412 4. Tweezers for pulling out the hair from the face and other parts.

λ [i.e., on p. 266.- Author]

/207 cont./

462 The woman among the Chirigua no is a true slave, and
562 the man her master. His work for the family is limited to planting and weeding, as well as fetching the necessary fire-
[519] wood. In addition, /208/ as a diversion and pastime, he takes his bow and arrow, goes out into the countryside and hunts, or fishes in a nearby river, spending the rest of his time talking with his friends, recounting exploits, telling stories, Miani, playing cards and throwing dice, even going so far as to bet the tipoy or cutama of his wife.

She, on the contrary, is the work horse of the house. She
[488] carries the maize with her Aljapoca, a kind of net, goes to
[515] the spring and carries on her shoulders and over long distances some 50 liters of water, prepares food, makes chicha, cleans her house, spins, weaves ponchos, makes ollas, cares for her children, raises animals such as pigs, chickens, sheep, and goats, makes cheese if she has cows, and, as if all this were not enough, in the afternoon she sits down next to her lazy husband, relaxes his wealthy hair, and as a distraction goes looking through the Labyrinth for the insects which nest there,
[262] without feeling any disgust. I am not talking about killing them, but about doing away with some with her teeth and making a snack out of others, a very simple thing for these women.

562 Everything is permitted for the man. He can play upon
593 words and make lascivious jokes with other women, but this is not permitted for the wife, nor can she even cast a sidelong glance, which would be enough to cause her to be maltreated and divorced. How many things there are in nature! It is painful to see a mother with her four or five little ones abandoned to suffer hunger and despair, while the rascal of a husband with no just cause at all goes happily off with another, giving her the little that he earns and then getting rid of her at the first chance (1).

593 1. When the man turns out to be too lazy, it
586 is the woman who leaves him, going off with another, and the children go with her, because

/360 cont./

529 293 554 562 The drinking continues for several hours, half in silence with a moderate and placid gathering, with the important men seated on benches or seats and some of their inferiors standing and others sitting on the ground, all of them separated from the women, and these latter, as I have already observed elsewhere, look like so many mortars. When the gathering is well attended, the sight is very pleasant, because anyone who has never seen it will be astonished by the variety of costumes and by the ornaments and cosmetics with which they adorn their faces and feet, and I have in fact seen some travelers stay for quite some time to contemplate this simple custom of those who are called the savages of Bolivia (2).

2. What a pity that there is no photograph of such gatherings! The one taken in Santa Rosa is scarcely a simulacre, since at that time there was not even any chicha for those who formed the wheel or gathering for the dance to drink.

The Dance and Songs

529 533 126 By the time they are quite full, they begin the dancing and singing of the Ayarise. I do not give the Spanish words here, for the real meaning is not known: I could explain them with conjectures and by analogy with other, similar ones, as was done by Father Giannecchini, whose words the Italian del Campano transcribes in his book, but they themselves do not know the meaning. The notes of the Ayarise are written and printed here so that any band that so desires may have a pleasant piece for some capital plaza: risum teneatis amici. The band music was set down by a maestro of the Potosí missions in the year 1903 and touched up this year by the missionary Franciscan Father Domingo F. Regini.

/270 cont./

535 541 times in different locations (1).

[292] [562] [177]

1. At the carnival, during the three days, there are women who dress like men and men who dress like women, but both cover their faces well so as not to be recognized; this was also taught them by the white man.

[152] On the second circuit all the Agüeros, the masked ones, a mestizo term, ask from house to house for provisions, and they accept everything, even bean pods and watermelon rinds, and on the third circuit, which is the farewell, there begins the wailing of big and small masked persons, laden with provisions and scraps; these weepers really make the old people and others cry, because some of them are thinking of their departed ones who are not present at this festivity which is ending, and others perhaps because they think they will not get to see another carnival. I questioned an old man who was really crying, and he gave me the preceding answer. When the last circuit ends with the drums muffled as a sign of sorrow, all of them, riders, dancers, and agüeros, go out of the town and go to a place where they throw away the masks and immediately go to the river, or a spring, to wash their hands and faces a little (2).

535 541 177

2. All of the foregoing games in Ivu were taught them by the same white man whom I have mentioned, and in the beginning he taught them by demonstration, causing astonishment, particularly in the women and the old persons; many of the said games are immoral, especially the circles and the massed group.

Easter

796 177 Forty days later the Chiriguano has another fiesta, that of the Pascua de Resurrección /Easter/, which was introduced by the whites; the old Indians call it nice because it is quiet, as they call the carnival very noisy.

/81 cont./

C
Ce
531 clay vessels, in the form of incisings on the surface of cuyas and calabashes or flutes of wood or cane, in the form of pyrographic decorations on cuyas, and also, infrequently, in the form of tattooing on parts of the human body. The absolute difference between the drawings applied to the surfaces of baked clay vessels and those on cuyas and calabashes is surprising.

C
Ce
[562] This difference is explained by the fact that the decorations on the baked clay vessels are done exclusively by women and those on cuyas and calabashes by men.

C
Ce
531
17 The basic elements of the painting done on the surface of the baked clay vessels of these Indians consist of geometric designs which are completely different from those of the ancient Peruvians and untouched by modern European influences. No doubt these are the products of an old and indigenous art. But we do not know up to what point this originated among the Chiriguano and to what point among the Chané. Neither do we know whether the differences between the nature of the paintings of the Chiriguano in Machareti and that of the paintings of the Izozó of the Parapiti are only local differences or whether they are based on the difference between these two nations. But outside of that primordial decoration and mixed with it, there are foreign elements of decoration which we must reduce to ancient Peruvian models, and this is especially true of the drawings of plants on the surface of a Chiriguano vessel which Figures 64 and 145 show. One /82/ decoration, doubtless also phytomorphic, which appears repeatedly on the surface of the baked clay vessels, for example, on the vessels shown in Figures 67 and 75b, has a direct model in the form of a decoration that we know from the ancient Peruvian pottery of the last period of the Inca Empire (309). Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic repre-

C
Ce
531
532

309. See Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru, p. 349, Fig. 1.

sentations are found relatively infrequently among the decorations on the baked clay vessels. The quadruped shown on the surface

/86 cont./

C 178 565 648 The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

Cp [178] [648] [643]

C 565 554 643 511 433

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

C 184 433 432 178

[643] [461] [476] [464]

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 462 Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

C [562]

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

/330 cont./

C G 177 The Chiriguano adopted this civilization of a superior type with all the more ease by reason of the numerous affinities it offered with their own. The whole Amazonian and Guianan side of the Chané civilization was composed of industries, techniques, and practices with which the Chiriguano, having come from the tropical regions of America, from a country of great forests and rivers, were already acquainted in part. Thus, for example, the Guarani, upon arriving among the Chané, found again the hammocks, grain sieves, mortars, baskets, and weapons to which they were accustomed.

C G Ce 177 The contribution of the Chané consisted of the very cultural elements they had received from the Andean peoples, that is, clothing (camisetas, headband, etc.), the liking for silver ornaments, some artistic motifs, certain pottery forms, etc., things which were scarcely beginning to filter into Ce [323] Paraguay. The influence of the Chané was decisive in the sphere of pottery.

C G 177 ● 563 323 [161] Ce 178 323 177 The civilizing action of the Chané upon the Chiriguano had as agent the Chané women whom the Chiriguano captured and married. The Guarani had certainly taken along with them only a small number of girls. They themselves were few in number at the beginning, 4,000 according to Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260). In uniting with the Chané women whom they carried off by the thousands, they renewed with their blood all the feminine aspects of their industry. It is the women, for example, who make /331/ the pottery; a man would not be able to engage in it without losing prestige. So we see the pottery of the Guarani undergo important modifications and change completely. Today pottery is their glory; and of their ancient ceramics they have kept only the humble pots or the brewing vats for chicha. In spite of their decline the Chané have maintained their traditional superiority in this art, and they continue to produce vessels which, if they are not comparable to those of the past, are often very beautiful.

C /331 cont./
105 This migration had as its motive power the attraction
175 which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the
[167] Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth
[173] of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

Ce At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population
[197] of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt
[177] strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

C The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced
[648] the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives.
[563] The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.
[619] From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a de-
C cisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that
[177] today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

Ce On their part the Chané adopted the language of their
[177] conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a
[197] secret language.
[198]

C
175
131

Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22°
C south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper
[101] Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Mataguayo and the
C Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as
[36] Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

G4 /439 cont./
285
482
[824] p. 171 and Map 21). Their baskets being in bad shape, the Guarayú wanted to make some new ones and were very annoyed not to find in the region into which they had come the palm trees with pinnate leaves which they were in the habit of using for this purpose. Now, Guarayú and Chiriguano are brothers in race and language and emigrated at the same period from Paraguay to settle in the vicinity of the Andes. When leaving their country of origin, both were acquainted with this type of basket used by their ancestors, the Guarani, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, /440/ and still favored among their first cousins from Paraguay, the Kainguá (Métraux, 2, p. 206). The disappearance of this cultural element among the Chiriguano is due solely to the lack of appropriate raw materials.

C G4 285 482 174 824 [144] [197]

C 177 482 In order to make up for the absence of back baskets, indispensable to a farming people /Fig. 98 appears here/ the Chiriguano borrowed from their neighbors in the Chaco, either the Mataco or the Choroti, the carrying nets (in Chiriguano: añapoka) whose use is so widespread among the latter and is so characteristic of their civilization. Carrying nets today are in general use among the Chiriguano, and in every village each family has at /Fig. 99 appears here/ least one (Figs. 98 and 99). In spite of this wide diffusion, the Chiriguano añapoka betrays its origin by its form and technique (see Figs. 100 and 101 /see pp. 283 -285/), which are both found in the tribes we have just enumerated (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208, Technique I). Although considerably more advanced on the way to civilization than the seminomadic tribes of the Chaco, the Chiriguano do not by any means equal them /441/ in the art of making nets. The añapoka I collected cannot be compared with the deep bags which the Matako or the Choroti, for example, make for the same purpose. In the village of Machareti, where Toba live with Chiriguano, it is the former who furnish the latter with the /Fig. 100 appears here/ carrying nets they need (see Fig. 99 /see p.282/) (1).

C [171] C [286] C [563] [439]

C 286 482 171 1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 163, Fig. 49 A) gives the detail of the technique of a Chiriguano carrying net. This technique is not found on any

[Text continues on p. 283]

/70 cont./

174 Consequently it was very natural that the race which
241 was emigrating from Paraguay should seek out for its needs
311 better lands which would permit it to make good use of its natural inclination to cultivate "Abati," maize, "Güindaca," gourds, and "Cumanda," beans, because from the names that they give to all of these vegetables, it can be deduced that they did not get to know them after the discovery of America, but long before; and the same is true for the domestic animals, "Yaimba," dog, "Uru," /71/ chicken,
174 "Minta," cat. What is certain is that the Chiriguano race
648 has been distinguished and is distinguished from the others
563 which still remain in the savage state, and the Toba, as well as the Mataco and the Choroti, regard the Chiriguano as nobles and masters, and they serve them in exchange for maize and other things, and there has never been a natural marriage involving a Chiriguano man or woman with the tribes named (1).

1. The Toba are more intelligent and more easily reduced than the Mataco; the latter were also exposed to the missionaries of San Antonio del Pilcomayo, located on its right bank.

The Toba have generally assisted their masters in wars and have lived for long periods among them, especially in the time of good and abundant crops. They did this before the missionaries opened Cuevo and Ivo to trade with the founding of the Santa Rosa and San Buenaventura missions, and they still do in the Franciscan missions of Machareti, Tigüipa, and Tariari, because they are near these tribes.

174 The places that the Chiriguano selected for their resi-
167 dence after the migration were the mountainous one and the one visited by frequent rains, necessary so as not to lose the fruit of their labor, and in fact we do not see this race settled in places away from the mountain range, nor in impenetrable forest, good only for those tribes in a state of

/102 cont./

797 2. Tigüipa. -- This mission, dedicated to the universal Patron of the Church, the Patriarch St. Joseph, began its existence on May 20, 1872, the day when, for the first time, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated, and there was planted in its territory the Tree of Redemption; it is some 12 kilometers from Machareti, with quite a rough road.

361 797 [162] At present it has a population of 800 souls. The town, made up of both infidels and neophytes, is quite neat; the buildings are not very well arranged, and the ones which merit consideration are: its tall and beautiful church, broad and well-proportioned, with its magnificent choir, gilded altars, and well-turned railings; in addition, the beautiful mechanism of double trusses which support the roof. Its house is new, of a single story, and was begun in the month of August or July in the year 1910 and dedicated in March of this year; the other buildings neither follow any arrangement nor are of any worth, and lend to the whole a rather sad appearance, but once the renovation of both towns has been completed, the planned arrangement of the buildings for instruction and workshops will be made.

[133] Its panorama has nothing in particular: to the west, the last range of the Andes, to the north and south, some rather high hills rise at a short distance and obstruct the view for the curious observer, who, frustrated in his desire to see and observe, finds a slight relief to the east, where the horizon opens out and gladdens the heart; it seems to be the older sister of the San Pascuál de Boicovo Mission. The climate is in general healthy, in spite of the fact that the mission is located in a hollow, but the water, or the location of the place, dulls the understanding of its residents, according to what all the travelers note (2). /Illustration appears here./

[563] [464] [131] 2. In the years of abundance several nomadic tribes come to this mission and remain there serving the Chiriguano in exchange for food. Its elevation above sea level is 715 meters, and it is located at 20° 27' 18" south latitude and 62° 14' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

[text continues on p. 141]

/103 cont./
799 of the Indians (1).

[721] 1. This mission, because it was the first one north of the Pilcomayo, was the target of the Chiriguano and Toba, who repeatedly tried to destroy it; its elevation above sea level is 662 meters, and it is located at 21° 8' 27" south latitude and 62° 17' 4" west of the meridian of Greenwich.

4. Aguairenta. -- This mission was founded in the year 1849, and at the present time it is the oldest, because for a long time now Chimeo and the town of Itau have been elevated in rank to true Doctrinas /a curacy, also an Indian village newly consecrated to the Christian religion/. Three caciques of three parties joined together for the founding of Aguairenta, since each one wanted the missionary in his town. The distance which separates the Aguairenta mission from the one /104/ of Tarairi is more than 22 leagues by way of a quite level and wide road.

According to what has been described with some exaggeration and for not very good motives, Aguairenta is the queen of the plains, the muse of poets, and the contemplation of the wise men; it is certain that its panorama is quite delightful, as are its meadows, full of fragrance because of the many orange groves. It has abundant water, which makes the land fertile, but it is not found at any great distance.

[563] [191] [199] The settlers have been reduced to a few and are mixed with the whites; almost all speak the Spanish language well, and the customs and style of dress are like those of the mestizo settlers, in spite of the fact that an occasional one may be seen dressed in the old way (1).

1. By a decree of January 4, 1911, Aguairenta has been declared a headquarters for troops, who have had possession of the place since the end of 1910. Nevertheless the Government

/110 cont./

144 Some explorers and travelers, after having happily concluded their investigative labors, have set down in their reports that the Chiriguano Indians have changed greatly in physique since the whites or Creoles entered their territory, but nothing could be less exact than this. Clandestine unions between Christian men and Chiriguano women have been quite rare, and even rarer are legitimate unions through Catholic marriage, from which generally comes propagation and change in races (2).

[563] [190] [799]

> 2. In 20 years of missionary life I have blessed but four marriages between Christian white men and Chiriguano neophytes.

114 144 If Señor del Campano states that for a period of 40 years the Chiriguano have maintained themselves without change, on the basis of photographs taken in the year 1860, which were placed at his disposal by Professor Mantegazza, and those which the missionaries of Potosí and Tarija sent in 1898 to the Turin Exposition, among /111/ which was a skull collected by the author of this work in the fields of Curuyuqui and sold by Father Giannecchini to the Florence museum, what can be said by some missionaries who have grown old and who are growing old among these Indians and who know the race in old men and in young boys, in old women and in damsels, before and after the white Christians were introduced in number?

In my judgment the said change does not exist, because an occasional isolated case, an occasional family, where the mixture of the two races has taken place, cannot be adduced as proof that the physique of the race has varied greatly. Travelers and explorers pass through a region rapidly; they can devote little time to the study of a race, and consequently their written reports, worthy of all respect, are somewhat exaggerated, as were those of the Spaniards

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C. *Cultural Elements which the Chané and Chiriguano have got from the Mataco, Toba, and other tribes in the Gran Chaco.*

C
Ce
177

The Chané and Chiriguano have presumably not learnt much from their neighbours the Choroti, Toba, Mataco, and Tapiete, whose chief domestic industry is the caraguatá work, in which they have developed an astonishing skill. As we saw in Part I of this work, they have various different kinds of knitting, sewing, and plaiting. The Chiriguano and Chané, on the other hand, do very little caraguatá work, and the technique of their knitting is without much variety. I consider it likely that they learnt from the Chaco Indians the use of the bowstring made of shreds of hide, landing-nets of the type used here, the wooden needle with the line for stringing fish, the skin rug, the forked wooden spit, the use of the resin of palo santo for painting earthen vessels, and possibly the bat and ball game.

It is clear that more civilized Indians like the Chiriguano and Chané, when they come in contact with more primitive Indians, like the Mataco, Tapiete, and Choroti, do not imitate their ornaments, clothes, etc. I have already pointed this out in Part I. We must bear in mind that the Mataco sometimes work as servants for the Chané, and the Tapiete for the Chiriguano.[1]) These more cultured tribes would be more inclined to recognise the warlike Toba Indians as their likes.[2])

C
Ce
357
563

[1]) Among the Chiriguano (it does not exist among the Chané) it is characteristically only a boys' game, whereas among the less civilized tribes, the Mataco, Choroti etc., it is indulged in by grown-up men.

[2]) Nordenskiöld (8).

/161 cont./

In the wilderness of the Chaco there still lives a Chiriguano 173 361
chief, Cayuhuari, in whose village no white man has been. It is said to lie on a big lake. Large herds of horses and cows graze there, and the maize granaries are always full. The Indians are rich there, because no whites are there. At least so it is said.

Cayuhuari, who has lived in the Chaco since the uprising 563
in 1890, has an abducted white woman as a daughter-in-law. It is said that, with the Toba, he visited the sugar factories of northern Argentina. He had his daughter-in-law with him. The owners of the factory offered to rescue her from the Indians. "I do not want to leave them," she said. "With them I have my children." This answer honors her.

The manners and customs of the Chiriguano Indians have 114
been described by several authors (4), mostly missionaries, /162/ 797

[113]

4. We find most of the literature cited by Domenico del Campana: "Notizie," etc., loc. cit. /"Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani (Notes on the Chiriguano)," Arch. per L'Anthr. e la Etn. Firenze, 1902. Page 61./

so that we know more about them than about the Choroti and the Ashluslay.

A part of what I have reported about these Indians is not new, though seen in a new light. Nevertheless, various things, especially concerning religion, differ from the descriptions of the various missionaries. What I have gathered here is from the Chané, and the missionaries know the Chiriguano best.

What I do not like in the various descriptions of the Indians by the missionaries is that they seem to be striving to paint their shortcomings in colors that are all too faint, so that their own "civilizing work" may seem as important as possible. The missionaries seem to me to be unable to describe the religion of the Indians objectively.

/14 cont./

131 without our having any information on their stopping place. Some Chorote live in the territory of the Chiriguano, near [563] Yacuiba, and also, without counting the missions, the whole [797] territory has been penetrated by whites and mestizos.

131 174 According to these data given by Nordenskiöld, the territory of the Chiriguano, after their definitive subjection by the whites and up to the present time, has remained the same as that which they had at the time of their independence, except, it would seem, that they have come down more into the valleys and do not now live, as was stated in the 16th century documents, on top of the inaccessible mountains, which, as natural fortresses, offered them a secure refuge during their expeditions.

Towns and Houses

361 177 The arrangement of the towns and the form of the houses of the Chiriguano are not at the present time the primordial ones, and they have probably passed through two different transformations, one after the other, first under the influence of the architecture of Inca culture and later the architecture of the whites. /15/ According to the Annua de la Compañia de Jesús Tucumán and Peru, of the year 1596, the Chiriguano towns were composed of only a few houses that were large enough to house as many as 100 persons. In his "Descripción breve de toda la 36 tierra del Perú, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata y Chile /A Brief 34 Description of all the Land of Peru, Tucumán, Río de la Plata, 62 and Chile/," Father Lizarraga (56) describes the Chiriguano [113]

56. Madrid, 1909. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 15. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

towns in the following way: "The largest of the towns is one of five houses: the common number is three; but they are very long, more than 150 paces, with a two-sloped roof with posts in the middle, upon which the framework is constructed, and one kin group /parentela/ lives between one post and the next one."

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 372

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

C 411

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

C [223]

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

Ce [226] [411] [824] Ce 411 824

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

C 411 [171] [178]

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

Ce [411] Ce [824]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

C 621 613 596 594

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

C 622 [643]

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

C 623 756 357 565 692

/231 cont./

One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village, though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand, there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy individual Indians, but they, like Taco, live like the whites.

The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader of the fighting men.

Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain. A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

According to Batirayu, whose statements are more reliable than those of /232/ Vocapoy, the high chief of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti deals with no offenses other than murder, seduction of another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with poisoned chicha, "bád-dyási," occurred in former times among the Chané. Murderer and bewitcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the open plaza in the village.

Fig. 115. Calabash. Chiriguano. Itapenhia. 1/6.

The administrative authorities of the whites are now intervening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner, even if it has lain fallow for years.

/86 cont./

The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

/163 cont./

643 649 464 466

A fact that confirms what has been said happened in the Caipipendi region. The regional cacique Tengua was succeeded by his son Cariti, who, because of the grave errors that he made or was supposed to have made, was dismissed, and the native Tarúire, who apparently at least had very good qualities, was named in his place. This latter, selected by the whites with the consent or nomination of the Indians, had to return the favor of his benefactors who had elevated him and consequently to respond to all the demands and requests for peons, and one time the poor Indians had to go to Santa Cruz as a guarantee for the /164/ unhappy Indians who feared that, under the pretext of jobs in the city, they would be taken to the Beni (1).

[546]

1. In El Beni men are sold for 1,000 Bs. and women at a lesser price. Baron D. Erland Nordenskiold gave a lecture in London proving that slavery exists in Bolivia and Peru.

This concern of Tarúire and suspicion of the Indians originated in a publicly known event which took place in the year 1906, when a party of Indians sold to the rubber plantations were taken from there; rumors of this event spread rapidly through all the newspapers of the Republic, which expressed disapproval of it, and at that time I saw whole groups of families who, with all of their possessions, emigrated to other lands.

643 641 554

The result of this is that today many Indians obey Tarúire, not out of love or loyalty, but out of fear of the harsh punishment which the political authorities would immediately impose on them; and the cacique is now beginning to tire of this task which is so odious for him, for he wants to be tranquil in his home and to enjoy peace. He has repeatedly said this to me and he would be satisfied if they would renominate Cariti, for whom the Indians hold proper respect.

/184 cont./

622 Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large
643 number of Indians, like Tarúire, derives great benefits from
648 his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income
•566 is regular, because generally the caray who makes a request for
46 peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future: interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62 It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did
595 not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques: even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

[799] 3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques: some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 /185/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest
[555] son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the
[556] closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe: otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661] 1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

/324 cont./

Ce Ga 648 cites a people of the Zchennte (Chané) in whom by reason of their geographic situation we must see the Chané-Guaná: 'They are vassals and subjects of the Mayaiess (Mbayá) as with us the peasants are subject to their lords.' We also have no trouble in recognizing the Chané in the Queanaes (Guaná) whom Alcide d'Orbigny mentions, according to an old account, as having been subjugated by their neighbors the Chiriguano and obliged by them to cultivate their fields. In C Ce 175 648 567 727 the 18th century the Chané, as prisoners of war of the Chiriguano, had been quartered /Plate V appears here/ /325/ like slaves in villages called Chané after them. When Lozano declares that the Chiriguano call their slaves Chané, an ethnic value must be given to this phrase. The state of subjection of the Chané in relation to the Chiriguano is explained in the linguistic sphere by the name which the first used to give to the second: cheya, 'my master,' the Chané used to say when addressing the Chiriguano, and the latter called the Chané tapii, 'my slave.'

Ce 175 797 "The little we know about the Chané who live in the lost regions of the northern Chaco is connected exclusively with the activity of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries of the Collège de Tarija. The first evangelized the Chané in C [797] the 17th century at the same time as the Chiriguano; and in 1714 they formed with them a doctrina /Christianized Indian village/ in the vicinity of Santa Cruz. It was called San Juan de los Porongos and in 1767 was under the authority of a parish priest. It was only with great difficulty that the Chané could C Ce 175 162 797 be assembled, in 1767 and 1789, into the two missions of Asero and Iti. We learn from a report by Father Pedro Bartolomé addressed to Francisco Aguirre that the Filipili mission in 1789 was made up of Chané Indians whose racial brothers were living mingled with the Chiriguano on the borders of Chuquisaca and Santa Cruz. Viedma, who visited the missions in 1788, found in the villages of the Parapití Chiriguano and Chané who were C Ce 175 648 797 living together, united under the authority of the Franciscan missionaries. The activity of the missionaries among the Chané naturally was to have as a consequence a rupture of the bonds

[Text Continues on P. 51]

C Ce 175 648 [797]

/325 cont./

of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguano: as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 16th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 15th century.

G C 175 72 167 Ce 175 648 C G [266] Ce [113]

The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had done with his companions and several women. He was able to escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

C G 175 72 567 Ce 175 648

In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later: "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

/326 cont./

C G 175 567 72 Ce 175 648

go in search of metal? The aforesaid Indian answered: "They do not understand that I am only telling them that they can go to the country of the Chané in nine days." While they were speaking with this Indian, the aforesaid Cheroçe, chief of the Chané, was conversing with a woman of his tribe who as a girl had been kidnapped by these Indians whose chief had taken her as his wife. She said that it was correct that from the last houses of the aforesaid Guarani only four days were required to go as far as Ytapua and that from there, according to what Cheroçe claimed, one could go to his country in three days. He knew the way very well, for he had been brought up over there, but up to the present he had had no news of his country. (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

These facts prove that well before García's adventure the Guarani raided the Chané territory and were already beginning to make slaves of its inhabitants.

C G 175 567 72

"When Guarani bands arrived on the slopes of the Andes, each one tried to occupy as strong a position as possible on the most craggy points. From there they began to make pitiless war on the natives of the region, treating them with such cruelty that they spared nobody and made their fodder of the unfortunates they captured. They made themselves so fearsome that numerous villages submitted to them without violence. With the slaves they took to serve them and with all the women by whom they had children they populated these frontiers, each one choosing the region which seemed best to him. These Indians are the ones we call Chiriguana in Peru today; they originate from the Guarani. They never went out from this country, either because of the great hardships and risks of the road or in order to keep in their power this land which they found consonant with their nature and taste. It is indeed very fertile, with large and marvelous valleys which are warm rather than cold; and it is crossed by deep rivers coming from the neighboring province of Charcas. In possession of this land, they made numerous /327/ warlike expeditions in it, ruining the plains to the north, the south, and the east. They killed more than 100,000 Indians. In the beginning they used to eat them in the feasts and drinking bouts which they celebrated, but

C G [266] [439]

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

C 175 /327 cont./
727 brutal people butcher them. The Chané are so subject to the
569 Chiriguana that it is enough for them to see a Chiriguana to sit
266 down without resisting, allowing the Chiriguana to do what they
648 like with them. The Chiriguana take them along like flocks of
Ce 648 sheep. They eat the ones they want and use the others for work
175 in their houses and fields. If they want to eat one, they only tell him to go and wash in the river and he does it without talking back. He comes back naked; the Chiriguana command their children to take bows and arrows, and the poor Chané tries /328/ to escape the arrows without, however, daring to flee from the spot until he dies riddled with arrows, to the
C great joy of all who look at him. They cut him in pieces and
[252] eat him either grilled or roasted, with corn and much ají
C /peppers/. For war they use Chané who they think are brave
Ce and robust. They treat them according to their barbaric
[726] customs and put them in front of themselves; if they do not fight well, they kill them with arrow shots from behind." (Lizarraga, Vol. I, pp. 259-260.)

C Last year, going from Cuevo to Igüembé, I had taken a
173 Chiriguano guide who spoke Spanish fairly well and who had
721 lived among the Chané in childhood. He told me in his own
727 way about these wars of former days. His involved narrative
648 recalls that of the Spanish monk. Later I sojourned for some
Ce time among the Chané who in their turn alluded to their fights
648 with the Chiriguano and to the cannibalistic customs of the
173 latter. "The Tapui are not the Ava. In times past they used to
186 fight against the Ava." The Ava used to take the women and
C keep them in captivity. They used to marry the captives.
[266] From the sons of the Ava issued the Tapui, they are sons of the women they carried away. The Chané are sons of the captives. When the Chané talk together, it is with words that one does not understand. Formerly the Karai (Whites) used to fight the Ava around Cochabamba. The Karai pursued them to the lower part and left them in Paraguay. The Paraguayans are
C sons of the ancient Ava. In olden days the Ava used to eat
[266] the Tapuí when they made war against them. "The Ava used to eat us," the Chané would say, "and that is why we detest them."

/398 cont./

175 648 [266] [443]

acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even 'had public meat markets for human flesh.' " /Translated from the Spanish./

175 177 648 [567] [126]

Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII, 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

437 439

Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

121 172

Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text continues on p. 173]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

000 c 726 c [727]

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

c 727 266 c 567 727

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

c 534 177 Ce 534

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

c 535

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

c 273 628 527

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

276

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

c 273 462

/71 cont./
174 complete savagery (2).
167

2. Cayuguari, with some 30 Chiriguano, went to the desert to live among the savages to the east of Carandaiti.

174 In addition to Chiriguano tradition and the fable of the
175 Aguara-Tunpa, from which we understand that the race with
167 which I am dealing originated in Paraguay, there are ecclesiastical and secular authors who support my opinion. Among the first stand out the Franciscan missionaries Cardús and Martarelli, and the most eminent among them is the Most Reverend Father Corrado, who in his history of the school and missions of Tarija asserts that the most probable opinion is that the Chiriguano came from Paraguay, despite the fact that the Guaraní language is scattered through many parts of Brazil and some parts of the Argentine Republic, since, as we have just finished saying, language is a powerful argument in learning about the origin of a tribe, and it has already been said that Guaraní is generally spoken in Paraguay, so much so that it would not be an error to say /72/ that the Guaraní have gone to Brazil and to Argentina from the same Nation (1).

1. In the chapter "Religion and Beliefs" I shall discuss the fable of Aguara Tunpa more fully.

175 Among the secular authors we have the famous d'Orbigny. According to him, before the discovery of America by the immortal Genoese, the Chiriguano occupied the last ramifications of the Bolivian Andes, lived completely naked, were cannibals, and were of Guaraní origin (2). The Inca Yupanqui

[567]
[266]

2. The Indians of Parapiti told me that the Tapii natives were their slaves, and that in the uprisings of the latter they ate their ringleaders and others.

C
Ce
/314 cont./

567 They were the slaves of the Chiriguano and formerly lived
Ce in the immediate area of the region presently occupied by the
195 city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, from where they had to emigrate
648 upon the arrival of the Spaniards who founded said city.
167
131 These Indians speak the Chiriguano language with slight
differences in pronunciation, and they have some peculiar words,
C but they understand one another perfectly.
Ce
197 They are completely pacified and go continually to the
Ce haciendas of the Argentine Republic; almost all of them know
464 the Spanish language, especially the men; they dress decently
167 and help the industrialists who have settled there and who are
191 the owners of the land.

Ce In olden times the Isoseños or Tapúi were very poor and
177 lazy, but today their condition has improved because white
648 Christians from Santa Cruz have settled among them, to whom
464 they lend important services in cattle raising and agriculture,
133 but the latter is very limited because in the best season the
principal region of Isoso is flooded by the continual overflowing
of the Parapiti River.

Sirácuas or Empelotos

Z
101 These human beings are called Sirácuas because they
342 open deep holes in the ground in the form of caves with a wooden
291 spatula and rest therein; they are called Empelotos because
both the men and the women go about naked.

Z Rarely do they let themselves be seen and only by chance;
101 they are few, there may be as many as 1,500; the language
161 they speak is unknown, and so they are in a completely savage
197 state.

Z /315/ Their residence is the thickest part of the woods and
131 at a short distance from Isoso between 19° to 20° latitude and
65° 50' to 64° 10' longitude.

8cNordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the tracts they now occupy.[1]) [2]) They drove out or subjugated the original population, which consisted chiefly of Chané Indians. They made slaves of a great number of them and ravished a great number of women.

The Chané are, as was mentioned, Arawaks and all indications point to their having come from the north or north-east, where they have large numbers of kinsfolk. It will be found that the present investigation confirms this. A matter of particular interest in this connection is to notice how two peoples belonging to the most important groups of tribes in all America made adoptations in their mode of life when they had emigrated to places with strange natural conditions. Again, it is worthy of note how their civilization was transformed und the influence of the Bronze-age civilization in the west and afterwards under the influence of the Whites. Further we shall see what they have, under their new conditions, been able to preserve of their original civilization. We shall gain insight into the way in which the civilization of two Indian tribes was transformed under the influence of other peoples and new natural conditions.

As in Part I, I deal chiefly with the »material» side of these Indians' life. Or rather, everything in their life which

[1]) NORDENSKIÖLD (13).

[2]) MEANS, basing his opinion on GARCILASSO and MONTESINOS, has assumed that the Chiriguano invaded the Inca Realm earlier than the beginning of the 16th century. But even if his assumption is correct, these inroads led to no domiciliation there. This is evident from the accounts of the invasion in the 16th century, when the Chiriguano supplanted, what was everywhere an original stock. Nor do we know whether by Chiriguano the Incas did not mean barbaric tribes of the Chaco in general, and not any particular tribe. In these parts Chiriguano probably corresponded to the signification that Chunchos had in the district of Cuzco, where it meant all sorts of barbaric Indian tribes east of the Andes. The Chiriguano that GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA AND MONTESINOS speak of need by no means have been Guarani Indians. I have already pointed out (NORDENSKIÖLD 13) that GARCILASSO's description of the Chiriguano is absolutely irresponsible.

/6 cont./

174 Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any
175 case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great
167 Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori,
648 since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní,
C after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had
[101] settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through which they had previously passed.

Ce In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique
[173] who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before
[648] García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a Guaraní foray.

Gi The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above
175 were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with
648 the various native groups of the lands through which they
Gi passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians,
[567] they devastated their camps /toldería/ /7/ and carried off
[727] with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and
Ce were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as
[648] peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When
[81] the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat
C by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they
Gi
648
175
[567]
[727]

C
G1
175
648
[567]
[727]

/7 cont./

continued defeating the neighboring Indians and especially those of the llanos, and they took off with them many of these as slaves to serve them as auxiliaries in other forays. When Nuflo de Chaves came to the cordillera, the Chiriguano were coming to make war upon the Indians of Poxo or of Misque, but Nuflo de Chaves upset their arrival and made them break off their hostilities with those Indians and the others of the frontier. (10) In 1560 the violent actions of the Chiriguano

10. Moreno II, p. 77.

against the tribes in their vicinity forced the viceroy of Peru to send Captain Andrés Manso to that region in order to found a town there, thus establishing a defense against the incursions of these Indians (11). The report of the Corregidor of Tomina,

11. Moreno II, p. 261.

Don Juan Arce Alvendin, made in 1618, informs us that the Chiriguano at first lived in peace with Andrés Manso, but later counseled the Chané who had been pacified by Manso to rebel against the Spaniards, and they killed Captain Manso and the rest of the Spaniards of the new town. They took over the land, subjecting the Chané and making them serve as slaves. In the statement of Sebastian Perez Chamoso in 1571 (12), the

12. Moreno II, pp. 106-107.

act of violence of the Chiriguano against the Yanacona and Chicha Indians are mentioned, and it is said that they took Chicha Indians as slaves. In the Decree of the Royal Audiencia in which it was resolved that war was to be waged against the Chiriguano in the year 1583, there is mentioned among many other misdeeds of the Chiriguano the fact that they had also usurped and devastated the lands of the Llanos and the Chané Indians (13). By continually enslaving the Indians of the

13. Moreno II, p. 104.

C
Gi
175
648
[567]
[727]

/7 cont./ By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xores, the Mares, and the Yuracares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

Gi
C
Ce
175
648
567

14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

C
Ce
Gi
175
648
162
567

16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 400 Chiriguano of the province of Machareti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

C
Ce
Gi
175
648
567

C
Ce
Gi
175
648
567

/7 cont./ they definitively lost their independence, being left subject to the whites (17). /8/ From this time also the Chané freed

17. Moreno II, pp. 253 and 254.

themselves from the oppression of their old masters, forming their own separate towns in the midst of their former masters (18).

18. Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883. In Moreno II, p. 254.

In addition, the final insurrection of the Chiriguano in the year 1890 was put down by the Bolivians; and for that reason the situation of the Chané was not modified, and so it is that the explorer Erland v. Nordenskiöld found them still under the same conditions (19).

Ce
Gi
[113]

19. Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco (Südamerika /Indian Life. The Gran Chaco (South America)/. Leipzig, 1912, pp. 148 ff. Cited in what follows: Nord 1.

Gi
C
175
648

Having described above the history of Chiriguano relations with the ancient Peruvians and the other Indian tribes, we have yet to deal also with their relations with the whites, that is, with the Spaniards or Bolivians, who little by little occupied their territory. We must stress in the first place the fact that the first whites who came to their territory and to the adjacent llanos were not any novelty to them, since even before their emigration the Chiriguano had met these people in their native land between the upper Paraná River and the Paraguay. Because of the initial attitude of the Guaraní on meeting the conquistadors, it is evident that both parties had the same aim, that of getting rich from the wealth of the rich lands of the west, of which they had heard. In order to attain

C Ce /84 cont./ The subjugated Chané were distributed among
175 the various social communities of the Chiriguano as subjects or
648 slaves. In the "Relación del Corregidor de Tomino Don Juan
162 Arce de Alvedia" in the year 1618, it is said that in the Province
[567] of Machareti, "which is Pilcomayo and its environs," there lived scarcely 400 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 5,000 Chané "to one 200, to another 100, to another 60, and in this way up to said number." In the Province of Charaguay 4,000 Chané were distributed in the same manner to the 350 Chiriguano of this province, and upwards of 1,000 Chané to the 200 Chiriguano of the Province of Guapay. As in other documents, in this one as well, there is mentioned the ill treatment which these subjects had to suffer from the Chiriguano and the hate which they had toward their oppressors (318). The Chiriguano

C Ce 175 648 567

C Ce [186]

318. Moreno II, pp. 250 and 104.

scornfully called the Chané "tapií," while they themselves were called /85/ by the latter "cheya," that is, "my master" (319).

319. Moreno II, p. 254.

C 175 Although most of these subjects or slaves were made up of Chané,
648 there were also among them other Indians who had been subjugated
567 in the expeditions, for example, Chicha Indians (320), and among

Ce [567] [648]

320. Moreno II, p. 207.

the Chiriguano of Tendi also Guatuco Indians (321). According

321. Moreno II, p. 117.

to Techo (322), whose report was written in the second half of

322. According to Moreno II, pp. 236 and 237.

the 17th century, the Chiriguano customarily sold some of their slaves to the Spaniards.

/121 cont./

Love for the Home

574 152 When someone has been away from his town for a long time and returns, he is received with much love. He enters his house without saying a word, and if he arrives at night, to the question of "Who is it?" he merely answers "Checo," it's me, and then those in the house begin to cry or give shrieks of joy which may last for five minutes, and soon they give him something to eat and the [114] questions and answers begin. I witnessed this without being seen one night in Parapiti at the San Antonio Mission.

152 It is not rare that once in a while a smaller or • 591 greater proportion of Indians temporarily leave their 167 town, either because of scarcity or in order to avoid the 186 anger or ill will of the cacique. They then go away with considerable unhappiness, and they go into exile like Hagar /122/ with her son Ishmael when they were ordered out by the patriarch Abraham. They cry as they leave, they cry along the way, they cry upon arriving in the land that receives them, where, in spite of the good reception which has been prepared for them by other people, they do not find peace, and they always sigh for their home.

When they decide that in their former dwelling place things may have changed, or that the cacique who is responsible for their misfortune and exile may have disappeared from among the living, they return (1). In Yvu, where

1. The Indian Cayuguari, because of a crime committed in Machareti, fled with a group of Indian friends and relatives, settled quite far away to the northeast of Carandaiti, and, as the cacique whom he offended is still alive and as furthermore Cayuguari began a life of cattle rustling, he never returned to his town.

the war of Curuyuqui (1892) occurred when the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, all those Indians who had taken part in the uprising were wandering about in

/122 cont./

152 other towns, and they returned almost en masse, and the first
● 591 thing they did when they once again trod the soil of their home-
167 land was to cry. I witnessed the arrival of a cacique with
186 his large family. Men and women came loaded with their household goods and children. They arrived in poor condition, covered with dust and sweat (it was at the end of December), tired and sad, and when they saw their fellow countrymen and relatives happy and content under the paternal rule of the Catholic missionary, they put their burdens down on the ground, in the houses of others, and then there broke out the tears and the wails, thus arousing the consternation of all the inhabitants and the missionary (?).

2. Father Corrado relates an analogous case in his Historia de las Misiones de Tarija.

Poor unfortunates! In spite of the vices which dominate their corrupt nature, there is something noble in the Chiriguano race. Their fondness for their native place, for their home, is great. They will make any sacrifice to return and prefer to die of hunger and thirst. They will never abandon their town and their home, unless constrained by necessity, fear, or persecution.

Along the road from Yvu to Parapiti there is a town called Itatiqui, where not even drinking water can be found in the vicinity. Want is eternal there; the crops are miserable there; and they either beg for water or steal it from the lakes which are more than five kilometers from the town. Some six years ago there were about 120 families there, persecuted by some whites to whom they did not wish to be subjected. I tried to take them away to form a part of San Antonio Mission, but it was impossible to move them from the place.

They prefer to suffer hunger, thirst, vexations, and persecu-
799 tions there, but they do not abandon the place. They would re-
829 main there very happily /123/ if a small mission were built for
177 them, as they desire, which is somewhat difficult, considering the special circumstances of the place, since the civil and

/146 cont./

754 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where
761 God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something
753 the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[761] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

756 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others
622 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a
623 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has
643 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of
571 the lower caciques: they discuss the appropriate measures to
731 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The
755 first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very
756 great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make
554 him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there
731 is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /162/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

/225 cont./

885 195 her duties /226/ serve her companion in whatever he may wish, and henceforth in her answers she ceases to use the ú ú which children use and adopts the é é suitable for women.

885 571 The young woman, in spite of being scarcely 13 years old when she comes out into public life, and despite a slight embarrassment which she feels when first presented to society as a woman ready and suitable for marriage, little by little begins to lose this misgiving, very natural in girls, and acquires frankness in answering quite clearly persons who may question her, whoever it may be, always staying within the limits of morality. What is immoral will cause astonishment in her and perhaps embarrassment at the beginning, but she soon becomes accustomed to it, because she hears it in the house, she hears it at the drinking bouts, during the gatherings and parties. From hearing a lot of this, it begins to cause pleasure in her, which brings on a continual and loud laughter, since day or night the women laugh long and loud. This is usually a sure sign that in a gathering or party there is some gallant present who is giving free rein to his tongue (1).

1. Missionaries who know the language of the Indians and who find themselves at the beginning in a new mission may be astonished by the frankness with which boys and girls of 12 or 13 years answer them.

[827] The men state that their wives are better at enduring hunger and thirst. They attribute this to the strict fasting which they undergo at puberty, but the women say that the neophytes are stronger than they, because they go out sooner after giving birth.

881 178 In none of the missions do the maidens follow the custom of their mothers at the time of puberty. When the first signs appear, the only thing conceded to them is some three days leave for rest, and so that her mother may tell her, as should be done in analogous circumstances, to hide what must be hidden. When this short leave ends, they return to school as before, and continue their work without any inconvenience (2).

2. Many of these maidens, out of modesty,

/364 cont./

273 life of the individual or the community is associated with this beverage. The divine principle which kāwi has in it does not take away its secular character; and, while one gets drunk on it during the festivals, nothing prevents washing down meals with it at the time when the corn ripens. As a sign of [574] hospitality every stranger is invited to empty a calabash full [576] of it; and the compliments he addresses to the wife of his host fill his heart with pride.

527 The Indians always appreciated the liking I showed 273 /Plate XIV appears here/ /365/ for kāwi, and my old friend [123] Karnapadyú did not fail to recall the big vats full to the brim to persuade one to return to celebrate Easter with them, or, if you like, the corn harvest, since these two dates coincide more or less. Such promises /Fig. 29 appears here/ could not remain without effect, and Karnapadyú was not at all surprised to see me arrive shortly before the festival.

The greatest animation prevailed in the village of Cururutí, formerly so calm. Men came and went, bending under enormous loads of wood. All the urns were lined up in front of the huts and buried to a third of their height (Plate XIV, 1).

527 For a long time big piles of corn had already been heaped up 273 in the village, which all, big and small, men and women, 243 /Fig. 30 appears here/ were actively engaged in husking. [412] Some used their fingers, others knives or a pointed stick. Not [413] one had thought of the so practical instrument used by their ancestors: a small wooden peg with a leather loop to put two fingers through. It is curious to note that such a simple object fell into disuse; an old man still sold me a specimen made of iron but a close copy, so to speak, of the wooden prototype, of which it reproduced the smallest details (Fig. 29).

273 Now the hardest work begins: the grinding of the kernels. Day and night the dry noise of the pestles crushing the corn [461] resounds in the village. Often, to get the chore over more quickly, three women group around the same mortar and with surprising speed raise and pound their pestle without a single [415] error in rhythm interrupting their laborious work. Once ground, the corn is sifted in an urumpesa or large-meshed sieve (Fig. 31). The rather coarse flour is poured into large urns filled with water.

Plate XIV

273
415

1. Vessels assembled in front of a hut and serving for the preparation of kāwi (chicha). Cururutí. (Photo. A. M.)

273
291
516
574
576

2. Women and children taking kàwi. The women are squatting on the ground on skins, while the men are seated on benches or chairs. Samirenda. (Photo. A. M.)

/369 cont./

293
824

De Molles, y de murta bien obrado,
Seguro que bebian casi arroba,
Que media á cada cual le estaba dado."
/The wine of maize and of algarroba,
Of Molles, and of myrtle well worked,
It is certain that they drank almost
an arroba,
The measure which was given to each
one./

293
574
576
[123]
[114]

Kāwi is too respected a drink to be drunk in any old way. Etiquette requires one to comply with certain rules if the honor of participating in a drinking bout is done you. I sometimes had a chance to be invited to these festivities, and on such an occasion I was able to make the following observations which I am setting down just as I noted them in my field notebook: The men are seated in a circle on chairs or benches. The women squat behind them, on skins spread out on the ground. The kāwi is brought in vessels shaped like bulls, and one of them is put down at the feet of the "captain." The girl who has brought it fills a small calabash and offers it to the "captain," who empties it. Next he serves me and gives the vessel back to her. He does the same with my neighbor, then with several of the guests. Then he hands the calabash to his wife and goes to sit down. The latter serves the rest of the men present.

[554]

A second vessel, brimming over with kāwi, is put this time before another Indian who perhaps is held in some esteem. He drinks first, then busies himself with his companions. Two large calabashes are then given over to the women, and from that moment on, the distribution no longer seems to follow any order. Men and women drink and serve their neighbors without obeying any rule of decorum other than not to forget other people. They acquit themselves perfectly in this duty of politeness, and nobody is neglected, not even the very small children, who take alarming quantities of kāwi.

/369 cont./

293 574 576 [554] At Sainirenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the first one served is always the "captain." As before, the vessel full of kāwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they always come back to the first person who received each one and he finishes it. The men move from their places several times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/ [533] ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of flutes and violins.

When the supply of kāwi is exhausted in a village, they get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere to revel.

[789] [198] [302] Formerly the preparation of kāwi was accompanied by magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the women do not even take this precaution any more. However, between Caruruti and Caipipendí, I could still see several women stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an expression dear to Jean de Léry.

415 Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/ gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are preparing corn beer.

Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a com- [197] [198] pletely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements, while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

/121 cont./

Love for the Home

574 152 When someone has been away from his town for a long time and returns, he is received with much love. He enters his house without saying a word, and if he arrives at night, to the question of "Who is it?" he merely answers "Checo," it's me, and then those in the house begin to cry or give shrieks of joy which may last for five minutes, and soon they give him something to eat and the [114] questions and answers begin. I witnessed this without being seen one night in Parapiti at the San Antonio Mission.

152 591 167 186 It is not rare that once in a while a smaller or greater proportion of Indians temporarily leave their town, either because of scarcity or in order to avoid the anger or ill will of the cacique. They then go away with considerable unhappiness, and they go into exile like Hagar /122/ with her son Ishmael when they were ordered out by the patriarch Abraham. They cry as they leave, they cry along the way, they cry upon arriving in the land that receives them, where, in spite of the good reception which has been prepared for them by other people, they do not find peace, and they always sigh for their home.

When they decide that in their former dwelling place things may have changed, or that the cacique who is responsible for their misfortune and exile may have disappeared from among the living, they return (1). In Yvu, where

1. The Indian Cayuguari, because of a crime committed in Machareti, fled with a group of Indian friends and relatives, settled quite far away to the northeast of Carandaiti, and, as the cacique whom he offended is still alive and as furthermore Cayuguari began a life of cattle rustling, he never returned to his town.

the war of Curuyuqui (1892) occurred when the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, all those Indians who had taken part in the uprising were wandering about in

/125 cont./

736 [578] Thus, being an orphan is unknown among these Indians, and the worst insult that can be given to a Chiriguano is to call him Tinei, orphan, or paravete, poor. The family which takes charge of an orphan who was left without a father or mother or close relatives, treats him better than its own children. To the latter it shows strictness and obliges them to do certain chores of minor importance, but to the orphan never. He works because he wants to, and he sees that gratitude to his new parents demands it of him. He remains in the house in which he is a guest until the age of puberty, and then, with no thanks whatever, he disappears and goes to live in other towns, where he may settle down temporarily or forever, depending upon how well he may be received there (1).

576

1. Chiriguano boys never thank anyone for anything, but when they take leave they say Ayema, I am leaving. Old people and adults utter an occasional word of thanks.

● 574 609 With transients or travelers, whether they be Indians or whites, they use proper manners. If there is chicha in the house, it is the first thing that they offer him when he has taken a seat, and then they prepare for him whatever food is available. There are travelers who remain in a Chiriguano house for weeks and months, and never does the Indian get tired of him. He serves him just as he served him on the first day, and when he leaves he even makes him promise to come back to visit. Oh, how the barbarians who are called savages shame the conduct of so many men who call themselves civilized, and, greater dishonor, Catholic Christians! They treat inhumanely their fellowmen, comparing them with quadrupeds. They cheat the helpless, are bad examples for the unfortunate, making them pay dearly in times of want for even a handful of maize, while the Indian, when he has it, will give it away, or charge very little for it, and makes no request for payment should the white come to his house to ask for water or for chicha, which is never lacking in times of abundance (2).

2. I have seen maize sold on the scales at

/125 cont./

574
609

20 centavos the libra, and 25 as well. In the Chaco this is too expensive.

/126/

600

Chapter Four

Religion, Divinities, and Beliefs of the Chiriguano

/The introduction to this chapter, "An Illustrious Franciscan," pp. 126-127, is omitted in the translation./

/128/

Religion

121

It is beyond any doubt that all peoples profess some religion. This fact is proved by the testimony of all missionaries and confirmed by innumerable travelers of various nationalities and who profess different creeds.

But to the extent that religion implies external demonstrations of veneration, the variety of ways of worship is so great that it may well be stated that every people has its special way, proper and peculiar to it, in which it honors its divinities.

The most advanced peoples display in their respective demonstrations of worship all possible splendor. They have magnificent temples, priests, and a ceremonial which, if it is not always in conformity with the dictates of common sense, does tend, nevertheless, by its nature and form, to awaken in man a sense of veneration and respect for a superior being, represented by something which strikes the senses.

From this point of view it would not be too bold to state that the external worship of peoples in general is in direct proportion to their level of civilization and culture.

This explains why among savage people there can scarcely be discovered a single sign, a ceremony, which might be a sign of external demonstrations of worship. But in reality it does

/149 cont./

755 embassy to the sorcerer is the cacique, and his
756 companions limit themselves to saying Añete,
554 that is how it is, just as the altar boy or sacristan
731 says amen.

756 Of course, his arrival is awaited anxiously. All surround
554 him in order to welcome him and give him demonstrations of
574 affection. There is no family which will not bring him whatever
731 it can so that he may cure well. Cooked chickens, boiled eggs,
[178] live lambs, and plenty of chicha are all presents for the great rascal. All of this is still done for any sorcerer.

755 After a short rest, a good meal, and better refreshments,
756 the sorcerer opens his ceremonial with numerous questions in
731 order to try to discover who brought the epidemic to the town, in case it has come in already. If so, he continues in this way and his exorcisms are daily, general for the town, and special for each sick person, as I shall say farther on.

But if the sickness has not come in, he gathers together all of the principal men, they make cigars of tobacco wrapped in maize husks, gather in a circle, light the cigars, and blow smoke in every direction, the sorcerer observing which way the smoke is going. When the location is more or less known, they all go there, club in hand. The sorcerer makes a small excavation and takes from it the charm which he has put there beforehand without being seen; it consists of old, dirty rags mixed with hairs and small bones. Then he burns all that in the presence of the company, strikes the ground with his club and feet, being imitated by all (2).

2. It is not uncommon that the sorcerers themselves take the clothing of persons with smallpox from one town to another in order that the contagion may spread and that they may have some pretext for profit and a life full of gifts.

/160 cont./

721 648 Güiracoti was inferior to Yaveau in number of soldiers and in personal valor, but with his lies he obtained the assistance of the Indians of Yuti, Choreti, and Parapiti Grande, and even of the whites who had entered the Cordillera country and were living in Lagunillas (1).

1. Güiracoti led the whites to believe that Yaveau was intending to rebel against them; hence he was able to get the regional cacique of the Parapiti, called Chituri, to come with him.

726 727 [648] The large number of the enemy sowed panic in the camp of Yaveau, who, along with many others, had joined up the Toba. The first battle was lost, and he had to hide with his people on the slopes and hill of Irenta, but, once recovered from the defeat which he had suffered through the superiority in numbers and differences in arms and in races, he soon went in search of the enemy, inflicting numerous casualties among them, and Güiracoti had to leave his tribe, retiring to the left bank of the Parapiti River, in order not to fall into his rival's hands and be run through by his powerful arrow and have the misfortune of having his head separated from his body, which on the point of a spear, would have been exposed to the ridicule of large and small in the enemy camp.

622 574 It is natural for men passing through a strange town to go to the political authority for their needs, as happens in the missions. Many people when they pass through Indian towns, naturally go to the cacique's house; the latter receives those whom he considers greater with the kindness and courtesy that distinguish the Indians of the Chiriguano race; for this reason some explorers have believed that it is the duty of the cacique to receive and provide hospitality for transients and strangers, but I can state that they are mistaken.

/160 cont./

574 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accomodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

574 178 [431] [273] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he asks nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretasted liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 527 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. 622 224 During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quiriquinchos, /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

293 824 191 2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

[Text Continues on P. 221]

/169 cont./

In both cases the ranchos which had been formed were left destroyed, despite the fact that the latter, because they had been built under the direction of the missionary, were quite comfortable, new, and /170/ well covered with red straw /paja colorada/, which is the best for the construction of ranchos.

731 361 The Chiriguano Indian does not do this. He also on occasion suffers from a scarcity of supplies, because the land on which he lives produces harvests only when there is no lack of rain. In times of scarcity he bars the door of his house [574] with poles or thorns, temporarily leaves his town, and goes off to distant lands in search of food, gets it, and brings it to his home, but he does not emigrate en masse, nor does he build temporary huts in a foreign place or town, and if he has any relatives in the places where there is abundant food, he seeks them out and is welcomed and well treated by them. He remains there for weeks and even months, until his fellows are tired of him, and then he takes his leave, taking the little food that is offered to him as something precious, and in fact it is in times of hunger.

361 [62] [592] Chiriguano towns are small, consisting of a few houses, most of them not exceeding 20 or 30 houses; these are large and in each one there are up to three families, but close relatives, such as father and married son and married daughter; they form a square and are so situated as to enclose the little plaza. They are not pretty, but they are clean; they are not large, but neither are they as small as those of some towns of the whites. These Chiriguano towns are poor; it is hard to [342] find in them houses with tiles, but they are comfortable, with the roofs, as will be said, having the necessary slope so that they do not readily admit drips (1).

[354]

1. In the upper part of the house they make a long, continuous opening to allow the smoke to escape; it is made in such a way that it does not allow water to come in during the rainy season.

/171 cont./

342 335 which form the skeleton of the house, but where the forest is not tall and the trees slender, nine are needed.

[476] [574] Once the timber has been transported with the help of his companions and relatives and they have been treated with food and chicha, the day for setting up the house is set. The center posts are first placed, with the two holes being dug quite deep; next comes the placement of the four or six lateral ones, which are much shorter so that rain will not stay on the roof and there will not be continual and copious dripping. I measured several relatively new houses, and their pitch from the ground to the ridgepole is about 42 o/o in some and in others 38, it being possible to conclude that the average is 40 (1).

1. Chiriguano houses are rectangular with only one room, which, if it is very long, has in the middle another post which holds up the ridgepole so that it may not bend or break.

[178] This proportion is maintained today by the houses in Chiriguano towns, and it cannot be otherwise, because the roof is entirely of straw and the rain would stay on it if it did not have sufficient slope. Some who by mistake build them without this proportion realize at the time of the first torrential rains, and even more in the ones, that follow, the mistake that they have made, but in vain, because /172/ it is very difficult for the Indian to correct his lack of foresight.

Once the skeleton of the house has been set up vertically, the rest is simpler to do, except for the placement of the ridgepole and the side beams; the latter can be cut in half to make it easier to move them, in addition to making finding them easier. The placement of these beams is followed by that of the rafters and the reinforcing pieces of wood to strengthen the walls. The rafters are tied with bejuco or with spiny ceiba bark, [824] which is called Samuu by the Indians and Toborochi by the whites.

/173 cont./

342 824 element and that of the hollow cane are due to the abundance of cattle, which destroy even the straw for harnesses.

342 574 [476] [831] When the placement of the roof has been completed, they all come down and gather in the hut of the friend, who, as a reward or payment for the service rendered, offers them a cup of chicha, and they drink this amidst jokes and crudities, at times very heavy, especially should maidens or women of 30 years or older who do not keep quiet pass by. But as the people know each other well and are friends, the greatest harmony reigns, and, when everything is finished, they take leave of the owner, thanking him for his gifts, and he shows them his gratitude for the services which they have rendered (2).

2. The workers only ask for chicha in recompense, but if the owner has beans or gourds cooked for them in a stew with considerable stimulant in the form of chili pepper, arivivi, it is a feast or carnival for all.

342 312 [221] [461] [356] The rest of the work is done with less haste and at a more opportune time. In fact, most wait until the rainy season to do it, for then water is abundant, and this to be sure deserves the approbation of all because it is more economical and easier. Thus, taking into consideration the laziness of the Indian man and the tasks which the Chiriguano woman has, it would be expensive and quite tiresome to bring the water on their shoulders from great distances, which is avoided during the rainy season. Then during each shower not only is the construction of the walls of the new houses done, but also the repair of those which have come apart during the year, and it is very amusing to see from a distance the women around the houses with their sleeves rolled up or with the tipoy down to the waist, making holes in the wet ground with shovel or hoe, pouring a little water in, kneading the earth, forming large balls of it, and putting it between the canes which are already attached.

000 /175 cont./
remains joined better and is more compact (1).

797 1. When a mission is founded, the first building is the mission house made in the usual way. But in the Potosí missions they are all of timber, and any traveler would marvel at their height and strength.

342 178 The ancient Chiriguano houses were of different form, and they were not alike in size or beauty in the towns. Some were distinguished by their roundness and conical form, and others because they were small and low. The latter had no importance at all and could scarcely even be called huts, in spite of the fact that, to the poor Chiriguano, dominated by his laziness, the smallness of a dwelling does not detract from its importance.

342 171 I am going to deal at some length with the way the houses of conical form were built, because they indicate skill on the part of the builder or because they make one's imagination take wing and fly to China, Africa, and Japan, where similar forms are found and thus make us ever more convinced of the unity of the human race.

As explorers, travelers, histories, and well thought out books say and as is also observed in the pictures of illustrated geographies, it is evident that in China, Japan, Africa, New Zealand, and in the east of Australia not a few of the inhabitants /176/ have houses in conical form.

This form seems to be the original one of the human race, and it is very probable that man has used it in the five parts of the world, since it is even found among the Chiriguano.

342 335 In fact, in order to construct a comfortable house before the Conquest, the clever Chiriguano used the following method. He first obtained a single post of some four or five meters and planted it at a depth of approximately one meter (1).

[476] [574] 1. For any small job for which the Indian must trouble his friends, he would get nothing without offering them a drink. Not even money is so esteemed and appreciated as chicha by the Chiriguano.

/180 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it; most of them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have [513] this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they [178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and [237] to have cots like the whites use; the open part of the latter is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred; in the Ivu Mission almost all make them of this material.

574 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either; 57 when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on 516 the ground; nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For 352 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of 322 wood and called Apica. [574] There are some with two places and up to four with their respective dividers; there are some for [412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter [438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like [439] those of the whites; they make the latter for their own use [824] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharrosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel. 352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks. Quiha ó inni, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/181 cont./

524 gallery two cords, tying at the ends a piece of cowhide 80 centimeters long by 30 in width, hanging about 60 centimeters above the ground. This is called Sabiuca, swing, and here the little boys and girls swing and rock.

562 Women sit on the ground in their houses and observe the
524 same custom when they go visiting. The man waits until he
576 is told where he should sit and always receives the best seat.
516 The woman does not wait; she knows her place; she arrives, does not greet anyone, leaves her bundle in a corner, if she has one, and then squats down in such a way that from near or far many women squatting like this look like so many carronades /camaretas/ ready to go off.

Matés

462 In the furnishings of Chiriguano houses a preferred place
241 is occupied by the matés, made of gourds divided vertically
415 through the middle. This is man's work; he plants them and
322 cultivates them in his field, and when they are mature they are brought to the house where they are allowed to dry in the shade and also in the sun. Some three months are needed for this or even more, depending on the season. Nevertheless, they are watched throughout to see whether a fingernail will penetrate the skin. When the fingernail will not penetrate, the gourds are ripe. Then they remove the first skin, split them, extract and completely remove the pulp, keep the seeds for the new planting, and, when they are clean, they let them dry for a few days.

462 They are put in a separate place, and a second operation
415 begins. With his Chiriguano patience, with a knife or other
531 instrument, the Indian begins to engrave whatever figures occur to him, such as tree branches, circles with grains of sand, squares, figures of jaguars, doves, lizards, dogs, chickens,

/192 cont./

Adornments

500

/The first paragraph of this section, pp. 192-193, is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 193, and the remainder of p. 193 follows./

181 The Chiriguano, although they occupy a very lowly place in this corner of the world, although they have little in the way of grandeur and show to display and take pride in, follow the common tendency of humanity, almost as the beast follows its instincts. Without any fear of error, if the Chiriguano were to possess great riches, he would probably invest them in his vices and in the adornment of his body.

302 [292] [594] When the Chiriguano wants to make a formal visit, he washes his body, dresses in his best clothing, and paints his face with achiote powder. The preparation of achiote seeds has been described in the preceding pages in the discussion of the flora /see p. 32/. Here I add that in order for the Urucú to be fixed on the Indian's skin it is necessary that he first soften his face, or the part that he wants to paint or embellish, with palma Christi oil.

751 302 It has already been seen that the region is hot and that atmospheric changes are very sudden: a period of extreme heat can be followed by severe cold, and in these changes the Chiriguano's skin becomes chapped. To avoid this nuisance, men and women paint their faces and their feet with the cosmetic. [527] [758] They also use it during public drinking sessions, at banquets, and during the preparation of chicha in order to ward off the high heat, as well as during convalescence and after having recovered from smallpox (1).

1. Achiote powder with palma Christi oil is cool in hot weather and warm in cold weather. The neophytes in the missions no longer use it, or, if they do, it is sparingly and as a remedy. [198]

[text continues on p. 267]

/204 cont./

643 648 797 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 597 829 821 643 The important men assert that to possess many wives is necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink: no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 622 [382] The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they do not become such in their youth, when they are like hummingbirds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /206/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] [169] 1. Formerly, women were abundant because of war. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

/775 cont./

881 When she goes out at night, her mother accompanies her,
869 but before this is done she receives a thousand pieces of ad-
593 vice and admonishment to walk slowly and very carefully,
not to step on things that might injure her, such as excrement
and other things that her enemies or evil spirits have scattered
around the house, especially by the door and along the path
which she must follow. The maiden listens and keeps quiet,
absorbs everything, and does everything as well as or better than
a Carthusian novice, because her mother has already filled
her head with so many superstitions and has frightened her with
too many dangers.

The father rarely concerns himself with his daughter during
the fasting period: he only sees to it that she does not lack
food and work. He rarely talks to her, but he loves her like
his own eyes and soul. Other persons cannot address her, nor
• [574] do her parents permit many and prolonged visits during that
period: in addition everyone also knows that that house is
now sacred and abstains as much as possible from frequenting
it (1).

1. When an attempt was made to reorganize the
S. Antonio Mission of Paraptiri, the daughter
of a prestigious Indian was keeping a strict fast.
It was said of her that she could die, it was so
strict. Hardly anyone could see her, and the
poor girl in fact did die a short time later.

885 When the seclusion period decided on by her parents ends,
195 the girl puts away her clothing of what we might call penitence,
washes her face, combs her hair, now grown out, adorns her
cheeks with the help of her friends, adorns her neck and throat
with necklaces of beads, reales, or medios of silver, puts
bracelets on her wrists, rings on her fingers, puts on her tipoi
of drill or chintz, in various colors, and goes out in public
in order that thus decked out she will arouse admiration and
some young man may fall in love with her and ask for her
to be his wife when it seems appropriate to him, because
now she is no longer a child, but a woman who can carry out

/250 cont./

224 184 Although all the Indians are hunters, not all can or go to hunt; some stay in town to help the women put the jars /cántaros/ in the plaza, and others do not go because they have other food available for their friends. Some of them have goats and sheep, [231] [594] others even chickens and cows; these take pride in being able to offer their friends in the public plaza chicken soup, or one of lamb or kid, or a succulent roast of veal, since there is no doubt that anyone would prefer fresh meat to charqui or dried meat of wild animals.

Animals

231 From the little that has been said with reference to animals it can be deduced that the Chiriguano have some, and they are the horse, ass, mule, cow, sheep, goat, chicken, and dog; all of them have Spanish names, /251/ except the chicken, Uru, and the dog, Yáimba. It is possible that these last are native, that is, that the Chiriguano have always had them, since they have their own name in the language; but if one reflects a little some doubt rises in the mind. The chicken, so it seems to me, is called Uru by the Chiriguano because it has some resemblance to the turkey buzzard, which they call Urugüi and which is a species of crow. The dog is called Yáimba in Chiriguano, no doubt because he [179] is very faithful to his master. Ya, which really means owner-master, and Imba, beast, so that the dog turns out to be a special beast which, more than others, loves its owner or master, and I say this because other tribes who are neighbors of the Chiriguano and are in a complete state of savagery do not have the dog, from which it can be deduced that they acquired it when the Spaniards entered their country (1).

1. For my opinion to be complete and closer to the truth, the word Imba should have an h; nevertheless, I do not give this as more than an opinion. The literal meaning of the word Yáimba would be: beast of the owner.

/258 cont./

527 574 576 When the cacique sees that all has started well, he prepares to go to the neighboring towns to ask their inhabitants to honor him with their presence on the day set, seeing to it that the first invitation is to the cacique or the sorcerer in honor of whom the feast and drinking are being prepared. The one who does the inviting is called Purumuncau vaé, he who gives to drink, and the one invited is called Ucau vaé, or he who partakes. When the one who is doing the inviting has arrived at the house of the one who is to be invited, he explains to him the object of his visit, begging him at the same time to condescend to accept, he and all his people, an acceptance which he and his will consider a great honor (1).

1. In order to further influence the decision of the one invited, the inviter, on his diplomatic visit, refers to the old custom of general libations, which it is essential to keep alive at any cost.

The one invited does not have to be told twice; he accepts at once, noting that he should have been the first to set this good example, but that circumstances and a great deal of work have not permitted him to do so, but it should not be left undone for this reason, and then he will have the honor of accepting with all his people. After this act of Chiriguano diplomacy and etiquette which they have not yet abandoned, the inviter takes his leave, satisfied with his trip, with the good reception, the acceptance, and, above all, for having gained the lead on his friend, who with his people, once the fiestas are over, will say this publicly with the following words: oremana ma pevi, we have been shamed by you, and enecatu ruyepi ne, but we shall take revenge, meaning: we shall not delay in inviting you to our town so that we may enjoy ourselves there too (2).

[72] 2. If the one invited were not to accept for himself and his people, it would be a very grave affront which undoubtedly would start a war.

/258 cont./

The Fiesta

527 The evening before the arete finds everything cleaned up and ready in the town; they have everything put outside, at a convenient distance from each house, in front of same, the vessels full of chicha already fermented, and another in the house which will be fermented in a little while so that it may not turn sour or run short. I never had the curiosity to count the vessels in these general drinking bouts, which are not very frequent; I only know that each family fills three large pitchers /259/ and from them can be deduced the quantity, or number of cannons ready there for firing and heroic defense in the battle with their owners and other hangers-on. I was at a fiesta in a town of some 350 families, and it lasted for more than a week.

301 527 [302] The people invited also get ready and begin to draw near the place of the arete, but first they have adorned their bodies. The coquettes round off their pompadours, paint their little faces, and wear their best clothing, as all do, adorning their necks with necklaces, their arms with bracelets, their breasts with the Boivera, and their whole persons with the Mandu or the Tiru. There is no lack of women who adorn their heads with the Aguá, a crown that they make of leaves, or of tin cans, adorned with painted wool or cotton with tassels down to the knees; in sum, they dress up in their best (1).

527 574 1. Nobody enters the town where the fiesta is being prepared; on the night before all sleep a short distance away.

The arrival of the outsiders is on the morning of the day itself. Before this takes place, the inhabitants have already arisen in order to hold the reception. Those invited, after getting up, again clean up their persons and their adornments; the chief, ucau vaé, mounts a horse, which is also done by the other riders, and they begin to gallop like a troop of madmen, whistling and shouting as loudly as they can; those who are on foot follow, running in the same way; next come the young women, also

/259 cont./

527 running, and at the end the mature women and the old women
574 more calmly (2).

2. The first men and women enter the town where they have been invited, making an uproar like a thousand demons, in which they are joined by the startled dogs.

527 All the men and women gather in front of the house of the
574 cacique, purumuncau vaé, who bids them all welcome, thanks
273 them for the honor that they are doing him, and there then takes place a quite ridiculous scene, which is greatly celebrated by the Indians. The host cacique has placed in front of his house a large vessel full of chicha, which sticks out of the ground at least a meter high. Well then, before the libation begins, they all jump from one side of the vessel to the other. This jump is called Ucaugüiñampo in some places, and in others, Uyapirae. As I have said, all of them jump, men and women, and especially the unmarried young men and women; some do it without any trouble, and others, particularly some of the girls, stumble because of their laughter and their tight clothing, fall to the ground, and this contretempts/260/ causes much hilarity. While this is going on, the older women and men arrive, and the fiesta begins.

527 There is nothing special in the beginning; it is only note-
273 worthy that as the beverage has been prepared in honor of a particular person, he is served first and continually; he must accept some from all the men and women, for otherwise he would be impolite, and thus in a short time the guest's belly is like a swollen bomb and soon his face begins to look repulsive, just as all those of the retinue are not long in having the same appearance (1).

1. During the extraordinary drinking sessions, rare is the family that prepares Copiruru, or recooked chicha, because it is very intoxicating and disturbs the animation of the guests and townspeople.

/263 cont./

527 273 The fiesta of the Ayarise is an annual one, and it is always understood that the Indians have drink; thus in the general fiestas it does not end in one day; /264/ it lasts a long time until the chicha bottled in the vessels outside comes to an end; when this is finished, they repair to the large pitchers indoors, which are in reserve, like the reserve corps in a war. After eight or ten 527 574 days the fiesta can be considered at an end, and then the ucau vaé with all his soldiers takes leave of the purumuncau vaé with thousands of thanks, congratulating him for the order which has been maintained, the joy which has reigned, and the abundance of food and drink prepared. On finishing the praises, the guest in turn invites his friend and all the people for a similar affair in his tribe, with the month and day immediately being set.

527 273 Thus does the Chiriguano fiesta end, leaving everyone content and satisfied. But it is repugnant to see them drink without resting; the surroundings of these places look as though they were flooded by rain, their bodies give off an unpleasant odor, their faces seem swollen, their eyes out of their sockets, their lips with the tembeta sag like a baby lamb's, and just to approach one of them or the place where they are drinking is the same as approaching a sewer, such is the fetidness! But the Chiriguano is very content and glories in the piglike state in which he finds himself, saying, Asagũipo, I am drunk, and when he is getting over his drunkenness, he confirms what a good state he was in. Poor beast! (1)

[178] 1. Formerly, the intoxication of the Chiriguano was almost never complete; today, with the use of liquor, he frequently loses consciousness. Would that this harmful drink could be eliminated! The mission Indians no longer glory in their drunkenness; they say that they have been drunk, but not as an honorable act.

[997] [177]

/265 cont./

52
517

They spend the rest of the year in diversions, playing cards and shooting dice, hunting doves and wild animals, going fishing, or fishing where the large rivers are, organizing private drinking parties, today in one barrio, tomorrow in another, today in Mengano's house, tomorrow in Fulano's, the day after tomorrow in Sempronio's, until planting time returns once more.

The Indian concerns himself very little about his house, which sometimes is at the point of falling in on him; his house is better ventilated than a sieve, it rains more inside than out, he sleeps there almost like a toad, he sleeps on the damp ground or above it on a miserable cot, placed over the mud or the water, and his sleep is like that of the dormouse (1).

[164]

1. This way of life in the dampness in their houses or outside of them is the cause of many skin diseases, fevers, and tumors.

Hospitality

• 574
576

The Chiriguano is very hospitable and it would be hard to find any other race which is his equal in this; he receives and serves everyone in his house, both whites and those of familiar condition, for example, the Toba, and, with greater reason, those of his own race. They visit from one town to another, and at the first meeting or at first sight they say immediately, /266/ depending upon the age of the person seen: Ndempuama pa tuti? good day, uncle, if it is in the morning; Ndecaaruma pa? good afternoon; or Ndepintuma pa? good evening. Literally, these three salutations have another meaning. The first means "Have you reached this day, have you arisen healthy and vigorous?" The second, *"Have you reached the afternoon?"* And the third, "Have you reached the evening?" He who receives the greeting answers, Ampuama, checaaruma, or chepintuma, respectively.

/266 cont./

574 576 [194] The second t of the word tuti is pronounced double (1).

1. In other places the salutation is different. They say Catapiri or Aguyeti, good things, prosperity. But the other seems to me to be more in conformity with the universal salutation, as is done everywhere.

If the visitor is a person he knows, the host then says, Nde pa co? Is it thee? And the other answers, Checo, it is I, and then goes on to say Imeño pa nei? Are you living? Imeño aí, I am living. And he enters the house of his uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law, or whoever it may be, since it seems that the Chiriguano has relatives everywhere, and he would have them all over the world, if there were Chiriguano all over the world.

574 576 622 Often it is the cacique who receives strangers, if these come looking for him, as naturally happens, but any Indian at whose house he may come will at once say to him with all courtesy, Eyú, come in, if he is on foot, and Egüeyi, come down, if he is mounted. At once he presents him with the best seat that he has and begins the conversation; meanwhile the lady of the house puts at his disposal a large jar of chicha with the respective maté or tumbler, and, aided by her daughters, she prepares the best meal. The captain, or cacique, of Tiasía prepared for me a 123 [622] maté of boiled corn with salt, arivivi, or very hot chili peppers, and hard-boiled eggs chopped into small pieces.

I noted the great cleanness of the food and the utensils, and then, as I have already said elsewhere, I had a long talk with the Indian, who was quite loquacious and frank, about various religious matters, and in conclusion he made me understand that he would not go to the Boicovo Mission or to the others, because prayer and baptism cause death; that my companions and I had made it not rain that night in order that we might not get wet, and that it is not God who created man, and, when asked who it was, he answered naturally and with astonishment, Ndicuaá á pa? Don't you know? (2) /Illustration appears here./

797 771 2. In the other place I did not set down everything

[Text Continues on P.362]

/266 cont./

797
791

that the cacique had said with reference to their idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

574
576

/267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leaving the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu ndereé, I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma, I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tunpa reño eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

541
177

If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Lagunillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing. The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano [184] fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbapa páure, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe, in addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

[648]

1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Igüembe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Azero,

C
Ce
264
C
Ce
574 ●
Ce
[123]

/190 cont./

It seemed to me that true mealtimes were observed here, the first of which was in the morning, the second in the middle of the day, and the third at sundown.

If they have an abundance of food in the house, they also invite in the neighboring households. A visiting Indian is very hospitably received. He need not leave without having received maize beer or food. In the Chané villages on the Rio Parapiti the Indians always served me a bowl of sweet potatoes when I visited them.

Ce
415
171

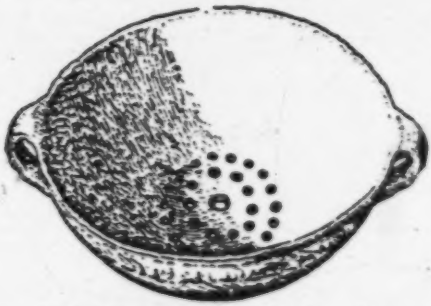


Fig. 92b. Upper clay-vessel. The speciman illustrated here is from the Mataco-Vejos, who learned how to use it from the Chané. 1/4.

Ce
262

The Chané do not eat donkeys, mules, horses, dogs, foxes, vultures, or monkeys. On the other hand, puma and jaguar are regarded as edible.

Ce
461
462

Even if the women in the villages are not cooking, brewing, or tending their little ones, they are nevertheless always busy. At least one almost never sees the older ones among them without an occupation. They spin, make clay vessels, weave. I learned to appreciate these women; I admired their loving care of the children, their industry, their maintenance of the home, their skill, and their taste.

C Ce 273 [412] [237]

The pots are stirred with large wooden spatulas

/237 cont./ (Fig. 118a) or with shoulderblades provided with handles (Fig. 118b). It is the pride of every woman to brew good beer, "cangui," and much beer. Indeed, they are /238/ indefatigably busy. One sees them working all day, and even at night they are busy cooking and grinding. No family may refrain from making cangui.

The use of saliva may perhaps seem unsanitary. At first I thought this too, but soon I was so hardened that the cangui prepared with saliva-yeast in Indian fashion tasted better to me

Ce 273 415

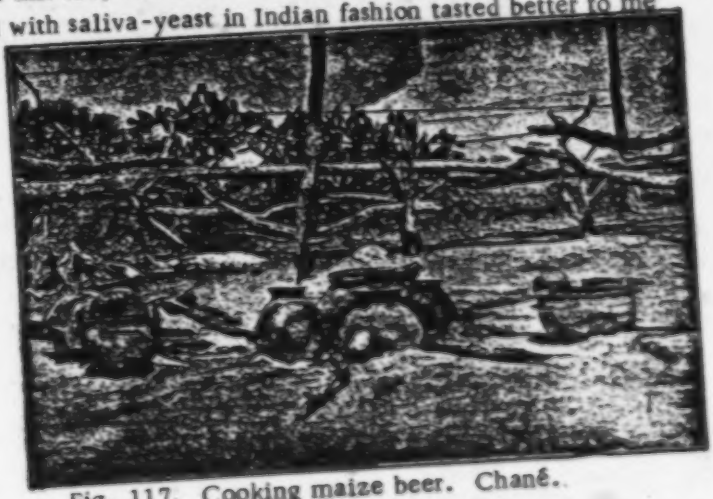


Fig. 117. Cooking maize beer. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

than that brewed by the whites in a civilized way.

C Ce 273

Connoisseurs, not only Indians, are said to be of the same opinion as I. It is important, however, that the cangui be drunk cold; it is unpalatable lukewarm. When it has stood for a long time, it is somewhat intoxicating, but not as much so as algarroba beer.

C Ce 273 574 576

There is a great deal of ceremony connected with cangui drinking. In front, on benches and stools (Fig. 85), sit the men, and behind them, on the ground, the women. The older ladies are given the best places. The hostess brings in the cangui in her

Ec /238 cont./
273 finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her
574 guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with
576 cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well. Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred. It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me: "You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears
e here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl
Ce he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has
[754] enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen
C in these villages.
Ce

At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to
522 light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were hand-
527 ing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to
C ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.
Ce

Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané
535 only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the
532 Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).
177
541

Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about
Ce whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy
532 said the idea for them had originally come from the whites.
177 Batirayu, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Rio
535 Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which
Ce
[796]

Ce /239 cont./
535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
179 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[539] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

Ee The Chiriguano and Chané
532 always destroy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "añanya."

E It is strange what a great
Ce role the carnival now plays as a
541 festival among the Indians. This
177 undoubtedly comes from the fact
[469] that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians who work for them are given a few days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
●574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already disappeared. Nevertheless one still sees women in home-woven clothing

E with necklaces of chrysocolla and
Ce turquoise. I never saw used, however,
[178] the silver diadem and the silver
E pins which belong to the festive attire.
912 One often sees the men's blue
237 costumes (Fig. 61) with silver chest ornaments preserved in the huts by the old people, but they are not used for the festivals.

A B

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ce Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
535 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
527 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
273
633

[P. 190 is blank]

142 To me, the Chiriguano seemed to be of better physique than both the Puna and the Chaco Indians, and their cast of features, as a rule, to be less rough-hewn than those of the above-mentioned tribes. Herma ten Kate has taken anthropological measurements of four Chiriguano men, whose average height was determined at 160.1 cm.[1] Lehmann-Nitsche, who has made anthropological observations of 50 Chiriguano (40 men and 10 women), is my authority for the data I have grouped together in the subjoined table.[2]

[141 [127]

The Chiriguano; some physical data.

Sex	Average height, cm	Shape of skull	Colour of skin, Luschan's scale	Colour of hair, Fischer's scale	Iris, by Martin's scale
Men.....	163.4	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 22	Majority 4	Majority 3—4
Women.....	151.7	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 18	Majority 4	Majority 3—4

142 The Chiriguano complexion is, accordingly, brown with a tint of yellow; the iris is dark brown, the hair black, coarse and lank. The growth of hair on face and body is very scanty.

361 The Chiriguano are not a nomadic people, but live in permanent villages, some of which are the abode of only a few families, whilst others contain several hundreds of inhabitants. At Ibitibi I was studying a Chiriguano village that, according to the Indians, was inhabited by about 300 people. This village was situated on a plain surrounded by wooded mountains (fig. 188). The huts formed a large circle, with the chief's hut in the centre. In the open space between the chief's hut and the rest, there were growing some close-foliaged trees (probably of the Bignoniaceæ family), affording much-needed shade. In earlier literature it is stated that the Chiriguano used to build a hut for strangers in the middle of the village plaza.[3] In many of the Chiriguano villages I visited, the huts were scattered about without any perceivable order.

[114] [574] [609]

342 The huts are rectangular and with ridged roofs. (Figs. 188—192.) The walls either consist of perpendicular sticks, of tree-branches or reeds,

[1] Ten Kate (1), p. 26.
[2] Lehmann-Nitsche (1).
[3] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 2.

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

534 171 174 114

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

361 622

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

582 595 881 [304] [301] 585 574 844 846

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

/364 cont./

273 life of the individual or the community is associated with this beverage. The divine principle which kāwi has in it does not take away its secular character; and, while one gets drunk on it during the festivals, nothing prevents washing down meals with it at the time when the corn ripens. As a sign of [594] hospitality every stranger is invited to empty a calabash full [596] of it; and the compliments he addresses to the wife of his host fill his heart with pride.

527 The Indians always appreciated the liking I showed 273 /Plate XIV appears here/ /365/ for kāwi, and my old friend [123] Karnapadyū did not fail to recall the big vats full to the brim to persuade one to return to celebrate Easter with them, or, if you like, the corn harvest, since these two dates coincide more or less. Such promises /Fig. 29 appears here/ could not remain without effect, and Karnapadyū was not at all surprised to see me arrive shortly before the festival.

The greatest animation prevailed in the village of Caruruti, formerly so calm. Men came and went, bending under enormous loads of wood. All the urns were lined up in front of the huts and buried to a third of their height (Plate XIV, 1).

527 For a long time big piles of corn had already been heaped up 273 in the village, which all, big and small, men and women, 243 /Fig. 30 appears here/ were actively engaged in husking. [412] Some used their fingers, others knives or a pointed stick. Not [413] one had thought of the so practical instrument used by their ancestors: a small wooden peg with a leather loop to put two fingers through. It is curious to note that such a simple object fell into disuse; an old man still sold me a specimen made of iron but a close copy, so to speak, of the wooden prototype, of which it reproduced the smallest details (Fig. 29).

273 Now the hardest work begins: the grinding of the kernels. Day and night the dry noise of the pestles crushing the corn [461] resounds in the village. Often, to get the chore over more quickly, three women group around the same mortar and with surprising speed raise and pound their pestle without a single [415] error in rhythm interrupting their laborious work. Once ground, the corn is sifted in an urumpesa or large-meshed sieve (Fig. 31). The rather coarse flour is poured into large urns filled with water.

Plate XIV

273
415

1. Vessels assembled in front of a hut and serving for the preparation of kiwi (chicha). Caruruti. (Photo. A. M.)

273
291
516
574
576

2. Women and children taking kawi. The women are squatting on the ground on skins, while the men are seated on benches or chairs. Samirenda. (Photo. A. M.)

273
824

/369 cont./

De Molles, y de murta bien obrado,
Seguro que bebian casi arroba,
Que media á cada cual le estaba dado."
/The wine of maize and of algarroba,
Of Molles, and of myrtle well worked,
It is certain that they drank almost
an arroba,
The measure which was given to each
one./

273
574
596
[123]
[114]

Kāwi is too respected a drink to be drunk in any old way. Etiquette requires one to comply with certain rules if the honor of participating in a drinking bout is done you. I sometimes had a chance to be invited to these festivities, and on such an occasion I was able to make the following observations which I am setting down just as I noted them in my field notebook: The men are seated in a circle on chairs or benches. The women squat behind them, on skins spread out on the ground. The kāwi is brought in vessels shaped like bulls, and one of them is put down at the feet of the "captain." The girl who has brought it fills a small calabash and offers it to the "captain," who empties it. Next he serves me and gives the vessel back to her. He does the same with my neighbor, then with several of the guests. Then he hands the calabash to his wife and goes to sit down. The latter serves the rest of the men present.

[554]

A second vessel, brimming over with kāwi, is put this time before another Indian who perhaps is held in some esteem. He drinks first, then busies himself with his companions. Two large calabashes are then given over to the women, and from that moment on, the distribution no longer seems to follow any order. Men and women drink and serve their neighbors without obeying any rule of decorum other than not to forget other people. They acquit themselves perfectly in this duty of politeness, and nobody is neglected, not even the very small children, who take alarming quantities of kāwi.

/369 cont./

293 At Sainirenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the
574 first one served is always the "captain." As before, the
576 vessel full of kĩwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first
[554] bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they always come back to the first person who received each one and he finishes it. The men move from their places several times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/
[533] ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of flutes and violins.

When the supply of kĩwi is exhausted in a village, they get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere to revel.

[789] Formerly the preparation of kĩwi was accompanied by
[198] magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of
[302] daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the women do not even take this precaution any more. However, between Cururuti and Caipipendi, I could still see several women stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an expression dear to Jean de Léry.

415 Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/ gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are preparing corn beer.

Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a com-
[197] pletely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The
[198] latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements, while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

/135 cont./

736 1578 Thus, being an orphan is unknown among these Indians, and the worst insult that can be given to a Chiriguano is to call him Tinei, orphan, or paravete, poor. The family which takes charge of an orphan who was left without a father or mother or close relatives, treats him better than its own children. To the latter it shows strictness and obliges them to do certain chores of minor importance, but to the orphan never. He works because he wants to, and he sees that gratitude to his new parents demands it of him. He remains in the house in which he is a guest until the age of puberty, and then, with no thanks whatever, he disappears and goes to live in other towns, where he may settle down temporarily or forever, depending upon how well he may be received there (1).

• 596

1. Chiriguano boys never thank anyone for anything, but when they take leave they say Ayema, I am leaving. Old people and adults utter an occasional word of thanks.

594 609 With transients or travelers, whether they be Indians or whites, they use proper manners. If there is chicha in the house, it is the first thing that they offer him when he has taken a seat, and then they porpare for him whatever food is available. There are travelers who remain in a Chiriguano house for weeks and months, and never does the Indian get tired of him. He serves him just as he served him on the first day, and when he leaves he even makes him promise to come back to visit. Oh, how the barbarians who are called savages shame the conduct of so many men who call themselves civilized, and, greater dishonor, Catholic Christians! They treat inhumanely their fellowmen, comparing them with quadrupeds. They cheat the helpless, are bad examples for the unfortunate, making them pay dearly in times of want for even a handful of maize, while the Indian, when he has it, will give it away, or charge very little for it, and makes no request for payment should the white come to his house to ask for water or for chicha, which is never lacking in times of abundance (2).

2. I have seen maize sold on the scales at

/180 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it: most of
[513] them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they
[178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and
[237] to have cots like the whites use: the open part of the latter is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred: in the Iru Mission almost all make them of this material.

574 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either:
• 577 when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on
516 the ground: nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit
352 down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For
325 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of
[574] wood and called Apica. There are some with two places and up to four with their respective dividers: there are some for
[412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter
[438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like
[439] those of the whites: they make the latter for their own use
[424] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel.
352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks, Quiha ó ioni, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/181 cont./

524 gallery two cords, tying at the ends a piece of cowhide 80 centimeters long by 30 in width, hanging about 60 centimeters above the ground. This is called Sabiuca, swing, and here the little boys and girls swing and rock.

562 Women sit on the ground in their houses and observe the
584 same custom when they go visiting. The man waits until he
592 is told where he should sit and always receives the best seat.
516 The woman does not wait; she knows her place; she arrives, does not greet anyone, leaves her bundle in a corner, if she has one, and then squats down in such a way that from near or far many women squatting like this look like so many carronades /camaretas/ ready to go off.

Matés

462 In the furnishings of Chiriguano houses a preferred place
241 is occupied by the matés, made of gourds divided vertically
415 through the middle. This is man's work; he plants them and
322 cultivates them in his field, and when they are mature they are brought to the house where they are allowed to dry in the shade and also in the sun. Some three months are needed for this or even more, depending on the season. Nevertheless, they are watched throughout to see whether a fingernail will penetrate the skin. When the fingernail will not penetrate, the gourds are ripe. Then they remove the first skin, split them, extract and completely remove the pulp, keep the seeds for the new planting, and, when they are clean, they let them dry for a few days.

462 They are put in a separate place, and a second operation
415 begins. With his Chiriguano patience, with a knife or other
531 instrument, the Indian begins to engrave whatever figures occur to him, such as tree branches, circles with grains of sand, squares, figures of jaguars, doves, lizards, dogs, chickens,

/248 cont./

273 mortar of clay, and thus the fermentation works without interference and in a few days. When the fermentation is over, they carefully remove the clay and the lid, and the Cangüi appears, covered with a good dose of oil, a sure sign that the chicha has been made perfectly (2).

2. When the weather is hot, the fermentation of the chicha works in three days, but in cold weather six or seven are needed.

Before beginning to drink it, the housewife collects and removes the oil /illustration appears here/ /249/ and fills the cups for the drinkers; she pours a few drops of this oil into each one. If this precaution were not taken, all of the oil would pour into a single cup, and the woman who had made the chicha would be deprived of the praises of all the hangers-on. When the Chiriguano woman wants the chicha to be better, when she wants Copiriru, or or recooked chicha, after she has strained it, as has been said, she brings it to a boil again and, when it is cold, bottles it.

[302] Note that Chiriguano women who are getting ready to prepare chicha first anoint their faces and calves with palma Christi oil and over this put achiote paint and then begin the job. They say that with this cosmetic, they feel the heat of the fire less, but, be that as it may, it is certain that to see those women so painted in a house with a big fire and lots of smoke is the same as seeing the furies of hell; the resemblance is not remote.

In another chapter it will be seen that a lot of chicha is made for the fiestas celebrated after the harvest, but it should be noted here that food is prepared for this general drinking and the grand hotel is open to all in the plaza, where townsmen and outsiders, men and women, gather into separate groups, because the European civilization of the mixed schools, mixed dances, mixed parties, mixed baths, etc., etc., which are true sewers of prostitution, has not arrived here (1).

[527] [576] 1. In fact, at the public gatherings the men drink at a decent distance away from the women; their conversations are crude, but do not exceed the limits, because the woman is in the company of her husband.

/258 cont./

527
574
576

When the cacique sees that all has started well, he prepares to go to the neighboring towns to ask their inhabitants to honor him with their presence on the day set, seeing to it that the first invitation is to the cacique or the sorcerer in honor of whom the feast and drinking are being prepared. The one who does the inviting is called Purumuncau vaé, he who gives to drink, and the one invited is called Ucau vaé, or he who partakes. When the one who is doing the inviting has arrived at the house of the one who is to be invited, he explains to him the object of his visit, begging him at the same time to condescend to accept, he and all his people, an acceptance which he and his will consider a great honor (1).

1. In order to further influence the decision of the one invited, the inviter, on his diplomatic visit, refers to the old custom of general libations, which it is essential to keep alive at any cost.

The one invited does not have to be told twice; he accepts at once, noting that he should have been the first to set this good example, but that circumstances and a great deal of work have not permitted him to do so, but it should not be left undone for this reason, and then he will have the honor of accepting with all his people. After this act of Chiriguano diplomacy and etiquette which they have not yet abandoned, the inviter takes his leave, satisfied with his trip, with the good reception, the acceptance, and, above all, for having gained the lead on his friend, who with his people, once the fiestas are over, will say this publicly with the following words: oremana ma-pevi, we have been shamed by you, and enecatu ruyepi ne, but we shall take revenge, meaning: we shall not delay in inviting you to our town so that we may enjoy ourselves there too (2).

[921]

2. If the one invited were not to accept for himself and his people, it would be a very grave affront which undoubtedly would start a war.

/265 cont./

52
517 They spend the rest of the year in diversions, playing cards and shooting dice, hunting doves and wild animals, going fishing, or fishing where the large rivers are, organizing private drinking parties, today in one barrio, tomorrow in another, today in Mengano's house, tomorrow in Fulano's, the day after tomorrow in Sempronio's, until planting time returns once more.

The Indian concerns himself very little about his house, which sometimes is at the point of falling in on him; his house is better ventilated than a sieve, it rains more inside than out, he sleeps there almost like a toad, he sleeps on the damp ground or above it on a miserable cot, placed over the mud or the water, and his sleep is like that of the dormouse (1).

[164]

1. This way of life in the dampness in their houses or outside of them is the cause of many skin diseases, fevers, and tumors.

Hospitality

574
576 The Chiriguano is very hospitable and it would be hard to find any other race which is his equal in this; he receives and serves everyone in his house, both whites and those of familiar condition, for example, the Toba, and, with greater reason, those of his own race. They visit from one town to another, and at the first meeting or at first sight they say immediately, /266/ depending upon the age of the person seen: Ndempuama pa tuti? good day, uncle, if it is in the morning; Ndecaaruma pa? good afternoon; or Ndepintuma pa? good evening. Literally, these three salutations have another meaning. The first means "Have you reached this day, have you arisen healthy and vigorous?" The second, "Have you reached the afternoon?" And the third, "Have you reached the evening?" He who receives the greeting answers, Ampuama, checaaruma, or chepintuma, respectively.

/266 cont./

574 The second t of the word tuti is pronounced double (1).
576
[194]

1. In other places the salutation is different. They say Catapiri or Aguyeti, good things, prosperity. But the other seems to me to be more in conformity with the universal salutation, as is done everywhere.

If the visitor is a person he knows, the host then says, Nde pa co? Is it thee? And the other answers, Checo, it is I, and then goes on to say Imeño pa nei? Are you living? Imeño aí, I am living. And he enters the house of his uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law, or whoever it may be, since it seems that the Chiriguano has relatives everywhere, and he would have them all over the world, if there were Chiriguano all over the world.

574 Often it is the cacique who receives strangers, if these come
576 looking for him, as naturally happens, but any Indian at whose
622 house he may come will at once say to him with all courtesy, Eyú, come in, if he is on foot, and Egüeyi, come down, if he is mounted. At once he presents him with the best seat that he has and begins the conversation; meanwhile the lady of the house puts at his disposal a large jar of chicha with the respective maté or tumbler, and, aided by her daughters, she prepares the best
123 meal. The captain, or cacique, of Tiasía prepared for me a
[622] maté of boiled corn with salt, arivivi, or very hot chili peppers, and hard-boiled eggs chopped into small pieces.

I noted the great cleanness of the food and the utensils, and then, as I have already said elsewhere, I had a long talk with the Indian, who was quite loquacious and frank, about various religious matters, and in conclusion he made me understand that he would not go to the Boicovo Mission or to the others, because prayer and baptism cause death; that my companions and I had made it not rain that night in order that we might not get wet, and that it is not God who created man, and, when asked who it was, he answered naturally and with astonishment, Ndicuaá á pa? Don't you know? (2) /Illustration appears here./

797
771

2. In the other place I did not set down everything

[Text Continues on P.362]

/266 cont./

797
791

that the cacique had said with reference to their idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

574
576

/267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leaving the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu ndereé, I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma, I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tunpa reffo eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

541
177

If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Lagunillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing. The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano
[184] fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbapa péuro, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe, in addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

[248]

1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Iglembe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Azero,

/157 cont./ One old woman who was Ce
supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after 124
she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in 197
this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by eth- 123
nographers either, the promise of the old woman was not very
friendly, Ce

The Chané use their old language for many expressions 195
that are abusive, for example, karitimisóyti, which they trans- 197
late as son of a w---e. An invitation to coitus is called
pocóne. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for Ce [533]
example, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé,
tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, which they did not know how to translate. C

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief 114
Taruiri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many 126
old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Taruiri
I also visited another chief, Yumbay, an old worthy who was
always embracing me and saying: "I am Yumbay." /Fig. 77 C
appears here./ "Yes, the great, mighty Yumbay," I chimed in, [123]
which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered.

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the C
mission at Ivu. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little 797
water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be 167
dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region, [114]
Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spread- [133]
ing into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the [312]
place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a
genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in
Ivu died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged fright-
fully among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost C
served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was [764]
laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix.
Around this the other swine would get drunk and /159/ continue C
to drink obligos (1) until they were finally lying on the table. [273]

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the C
latter must drink up. [576]

/189 cont./

Meat is cooked with maize as a soup or roasted. Before it is placed in the pot, it is washed clean. Fish are roasted over the fire in clamps /Klammern/ or in maize leaves. The small fish which I saw prepared in this way are taken out only when they are eaten. If there are many fish, they are dried for future use.

C Ce 252 C Ce [251]

Especially in times of famine, various /Fig. 92b appears here/ wild plants are also eaten. Salt, which is now bought from the whites, is used for food. In former times it was fetched from the rock-salt pits on the San Luis, on the way from the city of Tarija to the Chaco, or salt was made from saliferous earth, "yukiu." The earth mixed with salt was placed in a bowl of water, sank to the bottom, and the salt water was used.

C Ce 263 317 [439] ←

Women and men eat separately. At home the men usually eat first and then the women and children. The Indians want to be left alone when they are eating. It is therefore extremely ill-mannered to speak to them during this important activity.

Fig. 92a. Steaming apparatus. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

C Ce 264 ←

Ce [576] ● ← Ce [415] [252] → C Ce [415]

/190/ As far as I saw, they do not eat out of a common dish, but each one eats out of his bowl. After meals they rinse their mouths and wash their hands by spitting the rinse water over their fingers.

C
Ce
273
[412]
[237]

The pots are stirred with large wooden spatulas

/237 cont./ (Fig. 118a) or with shoulderblades provided with handles (Fig. 118b). It is the pride of every woman to brew good beer, "cangui," and much beer. Indeed, they are /238/ indefatigably busy. One sees them working all day, and even at night they are busy cooking and grinding. No family may refrain from making cangui.

The use of saliva may perhaps seem unsanitary. At first I thought this too, but soon I was so hardened that the cangui prepared with saliva-yeast in Indian fashion tasted better to me

Ce
273
415

Fig. 117. Cooking maize beer. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

than that brewed by the whites in a civilized way.

C
Ce
273

Connoisseurs, not only Indians, are said to be of the same opinion as I. It is important, however, that the cangui be drunk cold; it is unpalatable lukewarm. When it has stood for a long time, it is somewhat intoxicating, but not as much so as algarroba beer.

C
Ce
273
574
576

There is a great deal of ceremony connected with cangui drinking. In front, on benches and stools (Fig. 85), sit the men, and behind them, on the ground, the women. The older ladies are given the best places. The hostess brings in the cangui in her

Ec /238 cont./
273 finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her
574 guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with
576 cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well.
Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for
the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured
into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone
must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred.
It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one
wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then
fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything
offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians
become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me:
"You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize
beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden
with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the
happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize
beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears
e here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl
Ce he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has
[754] enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows
if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the
beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen
Ec in these villages.

Ce At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to
522 light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were hand-
527 ing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to
Ec ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.

Ce Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané
535 only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the
532 Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).
177
541 Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about
Ce whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy
532 said the idea for them had originally come from the whites.
177 Batirayu, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Rio
535 Ce Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which
[796]

/124 cont./

797 Religion, that of reading and writing, and even the art of musical chords, which is only seen in the great centers of the world (2).

[533] 2. In the Potosí missions there are four music bands, and in those of Tarija, two.

The history of the Tarija missions is glorious in all of its pages. The reader can consult, whenever he wishes, the one of the Colegio of Potosí in its two epochs as well. This will cast a brilliant light upon the matter, and the traveler can say nothing to contradict it when, ecstatically, he contemplates the grandiose, strong, and well-planned edifice of the Santa Rosa Mission, that of the elevated Machareti Mission, that of the old or semisecular Tarairi Mission, and the one which, as though by enchantment and with order, is being built in the mission of San Antonio del Parapiti Grande.

797 157 177 All of this shows that the Chiriguano, in spite of his indolence, is docile, and with gentleness and a little strictness at the same time he will do whatever the white and the missionary wish him to do. It finally demonstrates that, though he does have his vices and defects, certain human virtues are not lacking. It shows that it is necessary to educate his nature by teaching, with civilization, as the carpenter with his plane smooths a piece of wood if he wants to make the job elegant, or a blacksmith with his file smooths the rough iron until he has made a key, a lock, or any other object.

/125/ Philanthropy

577 [534] To end this third chapter and then pass on to deal with Chiriguano religion, I am going to say in passing that they are very compassionate with the unfortunate. If one of them suffers the hardness of imprisonment, they all make every effort to ask that he be freed and will even sacrifice whatever they may [536] have to obtain it. If someone is sick, he is visited by many; if one is left an orphan, all are his fathers, mothers, grandparents, and brothers and sisters, or at least they are his uncles and aunts or brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

/128 cont./

121 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not show Him homage in some way.

771 124 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find out with special care, constancy, and assiduousness what religion they profess and what type of worship they render to their divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

[115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion, and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt true, 776 775 however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

[805] [791] [192] 1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the months by moons, and they have other very similar customs. It is very notable that they also have some Hebrew words.

577 791 /129/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is, natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts, since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

/205 cont./

584

Method of Contracting a Marriage

The Indian has many ways to conclude a naturally
[581] legitimate marriage. He must in the first place have good qualities as a hunter and worker. When he has selected the one who is to be the pearl of his eye and has enough courage to ask her parents for her personally, he makes his visits at night to the family /206/ of his intended. These visits are silent until
[583] the old people ask him the reason for his coming. The young man at first is confused in his answers, but if he observes by the kindness of the questions that there is a thread of hope, he returns and from time to time makes gifts of maize, cheese, and fruits of his labors, such as gourds, beans, and birds hunted by him.

If the young man's manner pleases the old people, they do everything possible to get their daughter to consent, but often the suitor loses everything, either because the old people do not like him or because she abhors him. This last case happens particularly when the suitor is somewhat older (1).

[581]
[579]

1. Among the Chiriguano nothing is appreciated but the manliness of a man and his goodness: looks, wealth, and the nobility of the house are of no value whatsoever.

When the young man is pusillanimous, a third person is used, as is done in every country. The third party also presents himself at night to smoke his cigar and explain the reason for his visit from the first night on, and naturally everything
584 cannot be arranged on the first night. He must come back
583 repeatedly, and meanwhile there must be no lack of gifts for the future parents-in-law. The suitor customarily also brings bits of firewood collected every morning at dawn, which the older people put into the room, whether the marriage is concluded or not (2).

584

2. Each day the person charged with making arrangements for the marriage, or the third

/296 cont./

765 589 If it is a woman who is widowed, it is the law of the race that she must observe mourning for a period of one year, without it being permitted to shorten this period for any pretext whatsoever. After having wept for her departed husband for a whole [302] day and after the burial is over, as has been said, she cuts off her hair and deposits it on the grave, where it remains for a long time, which I have not established exactly. This is the best 589 765 offering that a widow can make to her late husband, and whether or not she loved him, it is a law which she must observe; other- 577 wise she would incur the scorn of the people of the town, who 302 would wonder at her conduct, she would lose her reputation, and the relatives of the deceased would resent it very much: they would take the children whom she loves so much away from her, and it would be hard for her to remarry.

765 As a sign of mourning, a loving widow, as well as one who 589 is not, finds the dirtiest and most ragged piece of cloth that she [292] has in the house and puts it on her head: she wears this during the entire period of her widowhood. One who arrives in a Chiriguano town for the first time will wonder about this piece of apparel and ask about its significance, because there is always some woman who is wearing mourning for her husband, her son, or her brother, if it is not for her father or mother. Finally, the widow is condemned to cry day and night for one long year, and one who does not cry as she should incurs the wrath of the relatives of the dead man. When I was a missionary in Santa Rosa, the cacique Yaritú died of nothing less than malignant smallpox. The widow cried for him so much and so loudly at the beginning that very soon she became hoarse. Nonetheless, the relatives complained of her actions, accusing her of little love (2).

2. The weeping during mourning is done by the woman four times a day, at sunrise, noon, sunset, and at some time around midnight. At this last hour it is very sad.

/297/

If while asleep they sometimes dream of the dead one, very soon the widow, or whoever the dreamer is, gets up and makes a commotion, which lasts for several minutes. Also, when one

Ee 581

/212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

Ee 582

Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

Ee [171]

This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Chaneti or the Matanco.

Ee 595

Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

c [643] Ee [586]

Ee 582

Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

c 577 177 797 831

/214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Chaneti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

c [837]

c 577 831 175

The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 210.

/214 cont./

577 831 175

entirely unmoved by the civilization of the whites, an opinion which I shall reproduce here verbatim:

"Ce qui m'a fort surpris, c'est que dans la licence où ils vivent, je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'il échappat à aucun homme la moindre action indécente à l'egard des femmes, et jamais je n'ai rien sortir de leur bouche aucune parole tant soit peu déshonnête

623 291 415 142 352 516

Fig. 111. The Chiriguano chief Mandepora.

577 831 175

/what surprised me very much is that in the freedom in which they live I never noticed the slightest indecent behavior on the part of any man with regard to women, and never did I hear from their lips any word that was the least bit immodest/."

C Ce 834 171

/225 cont./

Nevertheless, if in the evening one sat beside the fire in the hut and was acquainted with the family, they seemed to be quite free and easy. The Choroti and Ashluslay men are very shameless. The men among the Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, less so. It is very common for the Chiriguano and Chané women, conversing in a group, to pass water standing up and to let the urine run down their legs, which may be regarded as less than clean. The men, on the other hand, always step aside in order to relieve themselves.

C Ce [514]

C Ce 833 171 834

/226/ As has been mentioned, the sexual act among the Ashluslay often takes place in the presence of onlookers. At the Choroti /Fig. 114 appears here/ dances one had to be careful in the darkness not to stumble over the loving couples. One never sees anything like that among the Chiriguano or Chané. Since many /227/ are lying in the same hut, however, one sees even among them what one always sees if one has overnight guests. This is not the least reason why the sexual life has no secrets even for small children.

C Ce 834 177 577

Apparently life with the whites heightens the sense of modesty. The Indian women are even embarrassed to expose their breasts. Morality declines in proportion as the sense of modesty grows.

This should be taken into consideration by all those who sew clothing for naked heathen children.

Ce 121

Many of my readers may perhaps feel that this chapter should not have been included in my book. Nevertheless, it seems to me proper to say something about deviations in the sexual sphere. It contributes to an understanding of the people whom I am describing here. I have, of course, not been able to speak about all the realism that came out in the conversations around the camp fire (1).

1. If our daily papers, which are meant for the public, write about all kinds of things, one need not be too prudish in a travel account.

/463 cont./

796 293 578 The attraction of the carnival consists of the enormous consumption of kĩwi and alcohol which takes place then. Men and women drink, one trying to outdo the other; and, under the influence of drink, old angers and secret hates are awakened and the most excited provoke each other and come to blows.

796 582

Fig. 120. Chiriguano Indians wearing masks. (Photo. by the R. F. H. Cetinari.)

796 293 578 /464/ The "captain" must then call them to order and separate the combatants.

796 534 Some people increase the tumult by blowing into their uinéné (long whistles).

796 832 786 539 Sexual passions become aroused, and the men begin to whirl around the women, whom they entreat, a calabash of kĩwi in the hand, while reciting to them in a singsong tone pieces of verse of this type:

Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no	For me
Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no.	For me.

/120 cont./

578 Out of these general wars were derived other private ones, which civilized people called affairs of honor-dueling. This does not happen in private, as occurs among civilized people, who go off to a determined place with their respective seconds. All is public, in the presence of many people who come to drink. It is /121/ the caciques who incite their soldiers to match their strength and to avenge with crime an affront or an unfounded jealousy. When this happens, with or without a reason, the fighters place themselves in the midst of a whole crowd of spectators in the presence of the caciques, who urge them on with a word of command, while the poor angry men hit each other cruel blows.

578 541

578 412 178 169 464

Boxing is ancient, because formerly knives were not known and, if they had them, they only used them in their work in the fields. Now the picture has changed: the young are succeeding the old, and these young people continually go to work in the Argentine Republic. There they learn how to drink pure liquor, to handle the knife with which they are armed for their work, and to defend themselves. One small word is enough: it is enough if one says yainano, let us fight, the word of challenge, and knives are unsheathed, and then blood flows. Fortunately, they usually are content with inflicting wounds which rarely bring death because they do not deliver the blow with the point of the weapon but with the edge.

169 464

This mania for going off to the Argentine Republic has them in continual movement, and, unfortunately, many of them remain for years, to return finally bringing almost nothing with them, and if one asks them, they answer very rudely, "I drank it all." Last year's law has made recruitment impossible. Several Indians went off, but they could not get through Villa-Montes and returned (1).

169 464 648

1. If the authorities in Villa-Montes and Tacuiba continue to capture the Indians who are trying to escape, the law will not be in vain this time.

/125 cont./

736 Thus, being an orphan is unknown among these Indians,
[578] and the worst insult that can be given to a Chiriguano is to call him Tinei, orphan, or paravete, poor. The family which takes charge of an orphan who was left without a father or mother or close relatives, treats him better than its own children. To the latter it shows strictness and obliges them to do certain chores of minor importance, but to the orphan never. He works because he wants to, and he sees that gratitude to his new parents demands it of him. He remains in the house in which he is a guest until the age of puberty, and then, with no thanks whatever, he disappears and goes to live in other towns, where he may settle down temporarily or forever, depending upon how well he may be received there (1).

576

1. Chiriguano boys never thank anyone for anything, but when they take leave they say Ayema, I am leaving. Old people and adults utter an occasional word of thanks.

574 With transients or travelers, whether they be Indians or
609 whites, they use proper manners. If there is chicha in the house, it is the first thing that they offer him when he has taken a seat, and then they prepare for him whatever food is available. There are travelers who remain in a Chiriguano house for weeks and months, and never does the Indian get tired of him. He serves him just as he served him on the first day, and when he leaves he even makes him promise to come back to visit. Oh, how the barbarians who are called savages shame the conduct of so many men who call themselves civilized, and, greater dishonor, Catholic Christians! They treat inhumanely their fellowmen, comparing them with quadrupeds. They cheat the helpless, are bad examples for the unfortunate, making them pay dearly in times of want for even a handful of maize, while the Indian, when he has it, will give it away, or charge very little for it, and makes no request for payment should the white come to his house to ask for water or for chicha, which is never lacking in times of abundance (2).

2. I have seen maize sold on the scales at

/291 cont./

763 tears, because the Indian had taken her as his wife until death, and with his death she loses everything. She will now be poor.

When the death pangs approach, the sick person enjoins them to cry as much as possible, admonitions which are made before he loses the use of speech. The said admonition is not addressed to the one who in a short time is going to be left a widow, but to the relatives and friends, because the widow already knows that she must bewail the absence of the one who was her companion (2).

[578] [627] 2. If the dying man believes that he has been poisoned, before he loses the use of speech he charges his nearest relatives to take vengeance after the days of mourning, if the supposed enemy is known.

The death pangs come, the death rattle begins, his face pales, his nose thins, his lips and tongue become dry, his eyes turn glassy, his eyelids and eyelashes are paralyzed; the dying man begins to grab at his blankets or anything else with his hands, he looks from side to side and seems to be insensible of the objects that surround him. He is about to fade away. Then the persons around him understand how close the fatal moment is. At the impossibility of helping the one who is struggling, who is about to be inert, they begin to utter the wails which are the precursors of death.

They do not have to wait long; the dying man gives a last breath and begins to expire, until his mouth is wide open, which is observed by the widow, who gives a cry, the sign that her
764 husband has now died. Then the funeral formally begins; they dress the deceased in his best clothes, comb him very carefully, paint his face and feet with palm-Christi oil and achiote, double up the knees, put his crossed hands there, and tie him up thus, so that on the day of burial he will easily go into the clay pot that they have prepared beforehand, where they will put him when it is time to be buried.

/304 cont./

797 and our Holy Mother Church (2).
871
177

2. The children know how to pray much better in the missions than in other centers, because in every mission there are two teaching establishments, one for boys and one for girls.

The youth grow up under the punctilious care of the missionary, who, by example and word, imbues their hearts with every goodness and love of holy and moral things, and moreover he makes them avoid, insofar as possible, all contact with the old people, managing it so that they see nothing, especially at night, not allowing them to sleep in their houses, except in case of illness and mourning, but it is not easy to avoid it altogether, because three times a day the children go down to the town to eat in their homes, and at fiesta time they are given a holiday, /305/ which they use in hunting birds or in bringing in firewood and foodstuffs (1).

1. The girls receive a more polished education under the uninterrupted vigilance and care of preceptoresses, who teach them, in addition to theoretical-practical religion, all the chores of their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; the vestments and chasubles for use in the solemnities are the work of these girls.

797 What is most ruinous to young neophytes are certain whites
177 of the neighboring cantons, whose profession it is to sell liquor
273 and coca, which they secretly bring into the missions at times of celebration, during which even those of the race enter into the same trade, because they have seen that it is a very lucrative business.

767 In addition many of them emigrate temporarily to the
593 establishments of the Argentine Republic, where, with the excuse
578 that they are going to earn a great deal with a little work, they lead too free a life, drink liquor like water, and become accustomed to drunkenness; then the first thing that they buy is an outsize

/305 cont./

167 knife; they learn to use it like the gauchos, get into fights, are
593 injured, and even get killed, and, when they return to the mission,
578 they only bring a little black clothing for themselves, a trifle or nothing for their wives, to whom they deliver a sovereign beating on the first chance they get, with reason or without, and then, at the first drinking bout they molest peaceful people, disturb public order, and always or nearly always it becomes necessary to bewail
167 the spilling of blood. Let there be added to all of this the fact that
797 the virus of irreligion is beginning to be inoculated hereabouts, and inasmuch as they are not well grounded in the dogmas of the Catholic faith, the result is that those who do not behave like infidels or indifferent persons are Protestants on the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and Catholics in the mission.

000 There is no doubt; moral, religious, and civil progress is the work of time; it is not the work of 40 or 50 years, as some believe. How long does it take to implant social reform among civilized people? How long did it take the Church to become established in the Roman Empire? Truth fought against error for more than 300 years; she was persecuted, shut up in the catacombs, and bathed in the blood of millions of martyrs of the Catholic faith, but in the end she triumphed and raised herself, radiant, above the ruins of error which had reigned for so many centuries.

797 No effort to implant social reform is made in the missions; what is being done is to build, to uproot the Indian from the jungle, to make him come out of barbarism, and to begin to teach him to be a man, to consider himself nobler than the brute; an effort is being made to remove from him the superstition /306/ in which he was born, so that he may believe in the maxims of the true faith. What sacrifice then must it not cost the missionary, who spends the best years, or even all the years, of his life in order to realize this grandiose project without earthly recompense, but rather with the marked scorn of those who should appreciate his highly civilized work (1).

1. The Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi has been in the Potosí Missions since the year 1872; almost all the missions have been founded by him;

/211 cont./

Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

/205 cont./

584

Method of Contracting a Marriage

[581] The Indian has many ways to conclude a naturally legitimate marriage. He must in the first place have good qualities as a hunter and worker. When he has selected the one who is to be the pearl of his eye and has enough courage to ask her parents for her personally, he makes his visits at night to the family /206/ of his intended. These visits are silent until the old people ask him the reason for his coming. The young [583] man at first is confused in his answers, but if he observes by the kindness of the questions that there is a thread of hope, he returns and from time to time makes gifts of maize, cheese, and fruits of his labors, such as gourds, beans, and birds hunted by him.

If the young man's manner pleases the old people, they do everything possible to get their daughter to consent, but often the suitor loses everything, either because the old people do not like him or because she abhors him. This last case happens particularly when the suitor is somewhat older (1).

[581] [577]

1. Among the Chiriguano nothing is appreciated but the manliness of a man and his goodness; looks, wealth, and the nobility of the house are of no value whatsoever.

When the young man is pusillanimous, a third person is used, as is done in every country. The third party also presents himself at night to smoke his cigar and explain the reason for his visit from the first night on, and naturally everything 584 cannot be arranged on the first night. He must come back 583 repeatedly, and meanwhile there must be no lack of gifts for the future parents-in-law. The suitor customarily also brings bits of firewood collected every morning at dawn, which the older people put into the room, whether the marriage is concluded or not (2).

584

2. Each day the person charged with making arrangements for the marriage, or the third

/221 cont./

Private Life

593 888 The father and mother take great pains for the material or corporal well-being of their children, both male and female, and they in turn have affection for their parents. Nevertheless there is no lack of creatures with very bad inclinations, who forget their parents' goodness, forget the labors undertaken by the latter in caring for them in their tender years, and abandon them in their old age in the midst of their suffering and privations.

593 861 867 273 The father and mother almost never address harsh words to their children; much less do they correct them with corporal punishment. The children attend the public drinking sessions in the company of their parents, and how strange it can seem to see father and son sometimes drunk together in the streets or in the plaza of the town! They see their fathers in other people's fields, taking advantage of the first fruits, and then the son does what he has seen. He hears his mother telling stories not at all clean, he sees acts not at all moral, he witnesses altercations in the house, hears his mother's jealousy, sees his father's bad deeds, and he thus will naturally follow the same path when he arrives at an age of competence and even before.

855 603 581 If the woman is very young when she is married, as often happens, it is the grandparents who take care of the grandchildren so that the young daughter may have more time to enjoy herself, since in the beginning /222/ marriage is nothing but fun for the young people (1).

855 593 606 1. Young girls help their mothers in the care of their own children and in the preparation of chicha, knowing that the drunken husband will first hit her, or even his parents-in-law if they try to protect her.

/226 cont./

881 178 do not advise anyone of their puberty, even their mothers, and the consequences are sad in no few cases. They do not tell anyone because the older girls make fun of them.

163 582 A single thing is noted in the missions, and it is that the neophytes, when they get to the age of about 35, stop having children. Perhaps this is because they marry very young, at about 16 to 20 at the latest. If it is true that the Chiriguano 581 women of old were ready for marriage /227/ as soon as they came out of their hiding or fasting, the union which they contracted was certainly neither continuous nor for life with the same person. One or two months with one, then a rest until giving birth, afterwards again joining the same man, or perhaps she would seek out another if the first had become bored 790 with her or she with him. But this does not happen in the 581 missions; those who contract marriage do it for life, because it is a Catholic union and, as such, indissoluble, just as the natural marriage of the infidels would be, but the Chiriguano does not understand this, since in principle he wishes to be a hummingbird, coming to rest on many flowers and not stopping at any of them until he reaches a certain age.

881 785 184 In the districts where the fasting lasted for a year, such as in Cuevo, before the town of San Juan Bautista and the Santa Rosa Mission were founded, after the first rigorous month the maidens were made to eat meat and beans also, and they were even allowed to drink a little mild chicha, so that they would not become too weak or die. If the chicha had turned sour, it would be prejudicial for later married life, producing the effects of which I have already spoken.

881 178 177 Finally, to conclude such a delicate subject, let it be noted that at the present time the custom of such a rigorous fast for the female sex is observed in very few places; today the region is inhabited by the white race, which is making them understand that all this is superstition, because of the example of their daughters, who, in spite of the fact that they have done nothing of what has been said, live in perfect

Ee
• 581

/212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

Ee
582

Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

Ee
[171]

This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Mataco.

Ee
595

Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

c
[643]
Ee
[586]

Ee
582

Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

c
577
177
797
831

/214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

c
[837]

c
577
831
175

The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

/214 cont./

581 This Jesuit priest describes the marriages of the Chiriguano, however, at very least.

581 273 With marriage, life begins in earnest for these Indians. It consists of work and drinking maize beer. I have already described their work somewhat; I shall discuss their drinking bouts below.

165 The life of the Indian men and women passes more quickly

142 291 516

Fig. 112. Old woman. Rio Itiyuro.
Her grandsons were about 18 years old and younger.

165 than that of whites. The age of the Indian is very difficult to determine when one has no definite figures to go by. Maringay told me that he was the oldest of his tribe, that none of his contemporaries was living any more. The whites said that Maringay was over 100 years old. This is exaggerated, however. As a newly married /215/ youth 16-20 years old, Maringay visited

/204 cont./

643 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves
648 are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live
797 as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 The important men assert that to possess many wives is
574 necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality
829 to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because
643 the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they
622 do not become such in their youth, when they are like humming-
[582] birds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] 1. Formerly, women were abundant because of
[169] wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

/205 cont./

587 595 When the mother of a family is widowed at a mature age, after a year of widowhood, if she was a dutiful wife, she can easily remarry: it is much easier if she has a daughter, even if she is small. The Chiriguano man marries the mother with the hope of being able to marry the stepdaughter when she reaches a suitable age. If at the time of marrying a widow the stepdaughter is already an adult, it is difficult to achieve this end, because young girls abhor this type of union, in spite of the fact that their mother, in order not to be repudiated, often serves as a go-between for the wicked desires of her husband (?).

[593] [1962] 2. The stepdaughter, when she sees the impossibility of freeing herself from the evil intentions of her stepfather, will often run away to another tribe, and, if she cannot manage this, will take her life by suicide.

● 582 In spite of being so inclined to lechery without regard for kinship, even in a direct line, it is worth considering the respect that the Chiriguano professes for consanguinity, regardless of the degree considered. It is unlikely that a man will marry a cousin in the fourth degree, and he tries to respect [593] even more distant degrees. With much more reason the father respects his daughters as holy things, it being completely false what somebody wrote about this, having heard of the case where one Chiriguano or several had lived with their daughters when the mother had died. It could happen that in the future they might marry their cousins, since they see that their superiors do this, but how many of those who are here will be alive a few years from now?

/226 cont./

881 178 do not advise anyone of their puberty, even their mothers, and the consequences are sad in no few cases. They do not tell anyone because the older girls make fun of them.

163 582 A single thing is noted in the missions, and it is that the neophytes, when they get to the age of about 30, stop having children. Perhaps this is because they marry very young, at about 16 to 20 at the latest. If it is true that the Chiriguano 581 women of old were ready for marriage /227/ as soon as they came out of their hiding or fasting, the union which they contracted was certainly neither continuous nor for life with the same person. One or two months with one, then a rest until giving birth, afterwards again joining the same man, or perhaps she would seek out another if the first had become bored 799 with her or she with him. But this does not happen in the 581 missions: those who contract marriage do it for life, because it is a Catholic union and, as such, indissoluble, just as the natural marriage of the infidels would be, but the Chiriguano does not understand this, since in principle he wishes to be a hummingbird, coming to rest on many flowers and not stopping at any of them until he reaches a certain age.

881 785 184 In the districts where the fasting lasted for a year, such as in Cuevo, before the town of San Juan Bautista and the Santa Rosa Mission were founded, after the first rigorous month the maidens were made to eat meat and beans also, and they were even allowed to drink a little mild chicha, so that they would not become too weak or die. If the chicha had turned sour, it would be prejudicial for later married life, producing the effects of which I have already spoken.

881 178 177 Finally, to conclude such a delicate subject, let it be noted that at the present time the custom of such a rigorous fast for the female sex is observed in very few places: today the region is inhabited by the white race, which is making them understand that all this is superstition, because of the example of their daughters, who, in spite of the fact that they have done nothing of what has been said, live in perfect

/210 cont./

When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short, and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again. Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize and meat. The Chané call this custom "simundia."

In a Chané village, Aguarbi, I saw a girl who was sitting in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet, which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and closet had disappeared.

P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has bitten the girl.

When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is marriageable.

/211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this. A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.

For one day the father may not consume anything, so that the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians do not like prattlers.

When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig. 79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembata.

1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

G. Nordenskiöld--65 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Mataco.

Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older men, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

/214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

534 171 174 114

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

361 622

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

582 595 881 [304] [301] 585 574 844 846

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

C
Ce
882
848

/89 cont./
rarely born (344). Marriages are made among the Chané by a

Ce
583
584

344. Nord. 1. p. 207.

method whereby the young man who wishes to marry sends several pieces of game to the girl's parents. He puts firewood in front of her house, and, if it is used, this signifies consent. But only after having worked for one year for his future mother-in-law can he marry the girl. The night before the wedding, which is celebrated by drinking a good amount of chicha, the young man sleeps with the girl (345).

Ce
585

345. Nord. 1. pp. 211 and 212.

C
Ce
595
643
622

While young men have but one wife, older men, and particularly caciques, often have several wives. Thus the substitute great cacique on the Itiyuru had four wives, who lived in different towns, and the cacique Maringay had two wives, who lived together (346). Marriage between brother and sister is prohibited.

C
Ce
582

346. Nord. 1. pp. 212 and 213.

while cousins may marry (347).

347. Nord. 1. p. 212.

Ce
843

Certain foods are forbidden to the pregnant woman. Thus, among the Chané on the Itiyuru a pregnant woman cannot eat

Ce
[461]

doves. But they do their work until they give birth (348). After

Ce
846

348. Nord. 1. p. 206.

a child has been born, the man must go through the "couvade," which means that he must remain lying down for several days and must stay on a certain diet. Among the Chané on the Parapití for the first few days he may eat only cooked maize and maize soup,

/345 cont./

241 The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields.
115 "Captain" Karnapadyú made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations, without sparing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I answered that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

243 The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for
593 her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of
583 it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano
606

[585]

1. Corrado (p. 155) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacras nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whose laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

433
224 I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano vil-
178 lages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game. It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo,
[251] chuña /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Nino, pp. 249-258).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "tà." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

851 171 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

583 171 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family. 591

595 622 556 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate. 764 765 The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

/205 cont./

584

Method of Contracting a Marriage

[581] The Indian has many ways to conclude a naturally legitimate marriage. He must in the first place have good qualities as a hunter and worker. When he has selected the one who is to be the pearl of his eye and has enough courage to ask her parents for her personally, he makes his visits at night to the family /206/ of his intended. These visits are silent until the old people ask him the reason for his coming. The young [583] man at first is confused in his answers, but if he observes by the kindness of the questions that there is a thread of hope, he returns and from time to time makes gifts of maize, cheese, and fruits of his labors, such as gourds, beans, and birds hunted by him.

If the young man's manner pleases the old people, they do everything possible to get their daughter to consent, but often the suitor loses everything, either because the old people do not like him or because she abhors him. This last case happens particularly when the suitor is somewhat older (1).

[581] [579] 1. Among the Chiriguano nothing is appreciated but the manliness of a man and his goodness; looks, wealth, and the nobility of the house are of no value whatsoever.

When the young man is pusillanimous, a third person is used, as is done in every country. The third party also presents himself at night to smoke his cigar and explain the reason for his visit from the first night on, and naturally everything 584 cannot be arranged on the first night. He must come back 583 repeatedly, and meanwhile there must be no lack of gifts for the future parents-in-law. The suitor customarily also brings bits of firewood collected every morning at dawn, which the older people put into the room, whether the marriage is concluded or not (2).

584

2. Each day the person charged with making arrangements for the marriage, or the third

/206 cont./

584 party, gives the young suitor an account of what has happened, encouraging him to have hope.

[583] When the old people want it and the daughter is pleased by the young man's manners, the matter is promptly concluded, and the husband enters the wife's house without saying a word for three or four nights, without letting himself be seen in it during the day. On the fourth or fifth day both of them present themselves to the public, sitting at the threshold of the door. Then the bachelor companions of the newly married man come to him and ask him a thousand questions, congratulating him on his luck. The young woman hears all this with much embarrassment, but this is the first and last time. She will not experience this again.

From what has been said it can be deduced that it is not [593] the young woman who seeks out a man to marry, but he; and in the presence of her relatives, friends, or strangers, she will never manifest in any way her love for her husband, [583] however much she may truly love him. This reciprocal love often causes a maiden, because her parents are opposed to the union, to run away /207/ to live with her husband in another tribe for a long time, in the house of her relatives, and return with the marriage already contracted in fact.

585 The Chiriguano are not accustomed to having celebrations in connection with their marriages. Only after the marriage has been consummated does the mother of the newly married man, during the absence of her son in his wife's house, make chicha ferment. On the fifth or sixth day she calls them, has them in the house the whole day, makes them drink a little, prepares a small lunch for them with much affection for her daughter-in-law, gives both of them very sound advice, and sends them off as night approaches (1).

591 583 1. It is the law of the Chiriguano that the husband must live in the house of his father-in-law as soon as marriage is contracted;

/207 cont./

591
583

otherwise they will not give up their daughters. The measure is a very good one; this often keeps a man from abusing his authority because of his respect for the old ones and for fear of being thrown out.

000

Life and Tasks during Marriage

The life of man is a continuous struggle, said St. Job, Militia est vita hominis super terram, but life in marriage is a double struggle; one who passes from the estate of bachelorhood into that of marriage sees it as soon as the honeymoon is over. The missionary dedicated to the conversion of infidels, like the parish priest in the administration of a parish, can readily testify as to whether the suffering of his married parishioners is or is not greater than that of his unmarried parishioners.

585

A new life then begins for the Chiriguano newlyweds. As soon as the intimate meal in the husband's house is over, they go out in public freely, go out into the countryside, get supplies of maize, firewood, and water, make the drink ferment, and, when this is ready, invite their relatives and friends and enjoy themselves for a day, without becoming disorderly. Even the neophytes do this on the day of marriage, because they have seen that that is what the white Christians do (2).

[606]

2. This party is held in the house of the parents-in-law, for which reason both of the old people help efficiently, the one in bringing in firewood and the other, the mother, helping her young daughter in everything, including serving the drinkers.

/211 cont./

Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

/87 cont./

C 462 rope, making nets, plaiting mats and baskets, leatherwork, the manufacture of weapons, the decoration of cuyas and calabashes, and the building of houses. Only the following work is apportioned to women: carrying water, cooking, making fermented beverages, gathering fruits and roots, ceramics, making hammocks, spinning, and plaiting bands. The following work is apportioned to both Ce [462] sexes: fishing, with the difference that the women catch small fish in shallow water, while the men fish in deep water, planting and harvesting, cooking -- attributed in the preceding to the women -- in that men at times participate in the preparation of game, fetching firewood, which on most occasions is men's work, but among the Chané on the Parapití River women's as well, the raising of domestic animals, sewing and weaving, in that in some regions men also weave, although in general weaving is C 857 868 462 women's work. Children also participate, depending on their sex, in the respective work of their parents, particularly in the harvest (336) /there is no footnote bearing this number/, and in this way seeing and imitating, they learn from a very early age the work that they must do in later life.

C 361 592 I have already mentioned in the chapter on towns and houses that Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of only a few houses, each of them inhabited by up to 100 persons. Today, as C 178 592 583 [591] a general rule, only one family lives in each house, but often together with the husbands of the daughters, who live for a time before the nuptials and also during the first part of the marriage in the house of the mother-in-law (337). The Chiriguano clears

337. Nord. 1, p. 176.

a piece of ground for his daughter, one which the son-in-law can work, doing the planting and harvesting (338).

338. Métraux I, p. 345.

/205 cont./

584

Method of Contracting a Marriage

The Indian has many ways to conclude a naturally
[581] legitimate marriage. He must in the first place have good qualities as a hunter and worker. When he has selected the one who is to be the pearl of his eye and has enough courage to ask her parents for her personally, he makes his visits at night to the family /206/ of his intended. These visits are silent until
[583] the old people ask him the reason for his coming. The young man at first is confused in his answers, but if he observes by the kindness of the questions that there is a thread of hope, he returns and from time to time makes gifts of maize, cheese, and fruits of his labors, such as gourds, beans, and birds hunted by him.

If the young man's manner pleases the old people, they do everything possible to get their daughter to consent, but often the suitor loses everything, either because the old people do not like him or because she abhors him. This last case happens particularly when the suitor is somewhat older (1).

[581]
[577]

1. Among the Chiriguano nothing is appreciated but the manliness of a man and his goodness; looks, wealth, and the nobility of the house are of no value whatsoever.

When the young man is pusillanimous, a third person is used, as is done in every country. The third party also presents himself at night to smoke his cigar and explain the reason for his visit from the first night on, and naturally everything
584 cannot be arranged on the [illegible] night. He must come back
583 repeatedly, and meanwhile there must be no lack of gifts for the future parents-in-law. The suitor customarily also brings bits of firewood collected every morning at dawn, which the older people put into the room, whether the marriage is concluded or not (2).

584

2. Each day the person charged with making arrangements for the marriage, or the third

/206 cont./

584 party, gives the young suitor an account of what has happened, encouraging him to have hope.

[583] When the old people want it and the daughter is pleased by the young man's manners, the matter is promptly concluded, and the husband enters the wife's house without saying a word for three or four nights, without letting himself be seen in it during the day. On the fourth or fifth day both of them present themselves to the public, sitting at the threshold of the door. Then the bachelor companions of the newly married man come to him and ask him a thousand questions, congratulating him on his luck. The young woman hears all this with much embarrassment, but this is the first and last time. She will not experience this again.

From what has been said it can be deduced that it is not [593] the young woman who seeks out a man to marry, but he; and in the presence of her relatives, friends, or strangers, she will never manifest in any way her love for her husband, [583] however much she may truly love him. This reciprocal love often causes a maiden, because her parents are opposed to the union, to run away /207/ to live with her husband in another tribe for a long time, in the house of her relatives, and return with the marriage already contracted in fact.

585 The Chiriguano are not accustomed to having celebrations in connection with their marriages. Only after the marriage has been consummated does the mother of the newly married man, during the absence of her son in his wife's house, make chicha ferment. On the fifth or sixth day she calls them, has them in the house the whole day, makes them drink a little, prepares a small lunch for them with much affection for her daughter-in-law, gives both of them very sound advice, and sends them off as night approaches (1).

591 583 1. It is the law of the Chiriguano that the husband must live in the house of his father-in-law as soon as marriage is contracted;

500 C 301/178 304] C [578] C [186] C Ee 301/177 C 301/314

/211 cont./

Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

C [113]

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

C Ee 583 584

If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

C Ee 584 178

The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

C Ee 585

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

C Ee 591

In places such as these in which women lose their attractions at an early age and in which men are decimated by the constant wars, the custom of polygamy is a social necessity for the tribe which would otherwise run out of members, and a physical necessity for the men and for many women who would otherwise stay single. Nevertheless there are not lacking loose women, free in their favors, for whom the Indians use the name of amoeccue. M 695 M 837

The man is jealous and cruel to his wife if he suspects her of infidelity. While we were visiting the camp of Peiló we had the opportunity of hearing a husband, deep within one of the huts, beat and threaten his wife with death because she had been careless and fallen into the hands of a soldier. Nu-a-ilon-lã (I shall kill you) he ground out between his teeth. On another occasion a woman, after her husband had been absent for two years, took up with another man; the husband returned, lay in wait, ran after and caught his wife and slit her belly open with a knife before the whites could prevent it. This woman did not die and as soon as she was well returned to live with her would-be murderer.

When the Indians intend to get married they dye their cheeks and the region around the eyes red. The man will give his love a present at the time he makes his proposal and if the woman gives [184] an affirmative answer the man gives her a dowry of whatever he has, such as sheep, chickens, skins, etc. M 584 [302]

If the families approve of the union the couple goes to live near one of them, should they not approve then the pair leave the hut and often even leave the camp. Once consent is granted, the nuptial ceremony is the act of consummation.

Among the Chiriguanos, when a man wants to ask for a girl's hand he places a bundle of firewood and a small deer or other provision at her door; if on the following morning the woman lights the fire and prepares a meal with the food supplied, the proposal is considered accepted and the suitor repairs to the table. Some people hold that this is also a Mataco custom, but the facts which I have been able to glean about the matter do not confirm this. C 584

The Chiriguano chiefs, however, have a privilege, which is that they cannot be rejected by the women of their choice: this is a great stroke of luck for them. The chief reveals his inclination with the offering of a piece of meat or some other thing; the girl cooks it, and they then share both meal and bed. The chiefs, especially the C 584 622

/345 cont./

241 115 The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields. "Captain" Karnapadyú made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations, without sparing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I answered that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

243 593 583 606 The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano

[585]

1. Corrado (p. 155) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacras nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whose laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

433 224 178 I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano villages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game. It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo, [251] chuña /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Nino, pp. 249-258).

/464 cont./

Eyu ʼekuama	Come and kiss me
Semireko mi	My little wife
Diyuru emesie	Give me thy mouth
Tuiña dipota	I love thee much
Se songo pe	With my heart
Ime deresa ikavi	Thou hast pretty eyes
Ime diyuro miniray	Thou hast a little mouth
Tuiña dipota	I love thee much
Pairamo ayporu deve.	For that I am going to ask for thee.

During this time young or old men with their faces covered by a mask (añawasu) run here and there, force the people to dance by blows of a stick, play tricks on them, and address jokes to them.

The feast lasts as long as there is kãwi or alcohol. At the moment when it is on the point of ending, a final ceremony takes place. The rite of going out is similar to the rite of entering: the couple who planted the flowery stick tear it from the ground and go out of the village, followed by the añawasu and all those who took part in the festival. The procession advances to a certain distance from the village to the sound of the flutes and drums. They throw away the masks and throw stones while shouting. The carnival is finished and everyone goes home. Some take along their new wife, for it is at this moment that most marriages are celebrated.

The carnival festivity such as I have just described involves only a few elements borrowed from the half-breeds or creoles, outside of the coincidence of dates. This is an ancient feast of a purely agricultural character, which the Chiriguano have acquired the habit of celebrating at the same time as the Bolivian carnival. Besides, the Indians of Ibopeyti are pagans.

The masked men are supposed to represent the spirits of the dead, as their name indicates (añaʼ spirit; wasu: great). As in the festivals of the Guianas and Central America, they come in numbers /Plate LXXXVI appears here/ /465/ to insure for their

[Text Continues on p. 329]

/135 cont./

000 Revelation teaches us that legions of angels were lost because of an error or the grave sin of pride and passed into the category /136/ of the condemned or demons. Faith, reason, and common sense teach us that perverse men who die in their perversity are separated from good ones, as evil-doers are separated in this world by being imprisoned in jails. Divine justice demands punishment for the perverse, who, like condemned persons, pass into the category of lost spirits and as semblance of the demons, God allowing this, and they can appear to those of us who live here in the world to detain us along the way of sin or to warn us about it.

776 787 Under this concept it is not repugnant even to common sense to admit the probability that the Chiriguano do see the Aña, demon or evil spirit. Sacred history speaks of visions and apparitions; profane histories cannot combat them, but rather they relate innumerable facts of demoniac apparitions which have appeared by means of spiritualism. It is not strange that such a thing should happen among the Chiriguano. Doubtless it is incredible that it should be so frequent. They say that they see the demons at every moment of the night, whenever there is no fire or light, but this is a puerile worry, and due to fear and fright in some and to ignorance in others (1).

[372] 789

1. In all the houses of the true Chiriguano there is always a fire burning at night for the principal end of keeping away the evil spirit or Aña.

773

Beliefs Relative to the Creation

[115] Before going on I am going to relate what was told to me by the cacique Anduari of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission, who, in order to increase his income, is a sorcerer or witch doctor for the Indians and some whites in a wide area. According to the account that follows, the human race, or the Chiriguano, was destroyed twice. The first time and its restoration have already been seen. The second occurred in the following way (2).

[585] [177]

2. Anduari gave his account in the presence of his

/136 cont./

773
[585]
[177]

wife and his Christian daughter, whose name is Candelaria Asúmbai, married according to the Catholic marriage ceremony.

Anduari then says that the first Chiriguano man, named Araparigua, without others knowing it, was saved from the universal flood, because, as a creature who had come directly from the hands of God and consequently was very beloved, he was taken up to the sky before the earth was flooded. /Illustration appears here./ /137/ When the Chiriguano had multiplied anew, he came down again to enjoy as before the pleasures of Bacchus and Venus, but very soon he made himself abhorred by all the people because of his haughtiness and his abuse of the property and women of others. Hence he was at the point of perishing, murdered by his own vassals, but Tunpa came to his aid, took him away again, and put him in his company. There Araparigua swore vengeance and asked Tunpa to destroy the whole race. God, knowing that his privileged creature no longer had any close relatives, such as a wife, mother, father, and children, acceded to his desires, and the Chiriguano were destroyed for a second time (1).

[595]

1. The caciques follow the example of Araparigua, having several wives and abusing others.to the great sorrow of their parents and of the damsels themselves. It is completely false that the women of this race who fall to the cacique consider it an honor, as is stated by Dr. Leocadio Trigo. I do not know if this happens with those of other races, but he writes in general of all of the races of the Chaco.

But the Tunpa did not wish to be without privileged creatures for a long time, and he came down to earth again. He made a human body from clay with all the members corresponding to the masculine sex. Then he made another with all the members of the female body. He gave life to both, they lived, and he left them in their nakedness, leaving them in possession of a beautiful place.

[text continues on p. 188]

/206 cont./

584 party, gives the young suitor an account of what has happened, encouraging him to have hope.

[583] When the old people want it and the daughter is pleased by the young man's manners, the matter is promptly concluded, and the husband enters the wife's house without saying a word for three or four nights, without letting himself be seen in it during the day. On the fourth or fifth day both of them present themselves to the public, sitting at the threshold of the door. Then the bachelor companions of the newly married man come to him and ask him a thousand questions, congratulating him on his luck. The young woman hears all this with much embarrassment, but this is the first and last time. She will not experience this again.

[593] From what has been said it can be deduced that it is not the young woman who seeks out a man to marry, but he: and in the presence of her relatives, friends, or strangers, she will never manifest in any way her love for her husband, [583] however much she may truly love him. This reciprocal love often causes a maiden, because her parents are opposed to the union, to run away /207/ to live with her husband in another tribe for a long time, in the house of her relatives, and return with the marriage already contracted in fact.

• 585 The Chiriguano are not accustomed to having celebrations in connection with their marriages. Only after the marriage has been consummated does the mother of the newly married man, during the absence of her son in his wife's house, make chicha ferment. On the fifth or sixth day she calls them, has them in the house the whole day, makes them drink a little, prepares a small lunch for them with much affection for her daughter-in-law, gives both of them very sound advice, and sends them off as night approaches (1).

591 583 1. It is the law of the Chiriguano that the husband must live in the house of his father-in-law as soon as marriage is contracted;

/207 cont./

591
583

otherwise they will not give up their daughters. The measure is a very good one: this often keeps a man from abusing his authority because of his respect for the old ones and for fear of being thrown out.

000

Life and Tasks during Marriage

The life of man is a continuous struggle, said St. Job, Militia est vita hominis super terram, but life in marriage is a double struggle: one who passes from the estate of bachelorhood into that of marriage sees it as soon as the honeymoon is over. The missionary dedicated to the conversion of infidels, like the parish priest in the administration of a parish, can readily testify as to whether the suffering of his married parishioners is or is not greater than that of his unmarried parishioners.

585

A new life then begins for the Chiriguano newlyweds. As soon as the intimate meal in the husband's house is over, they go out in public freely, go out into the countryside, get supplies of maize, firewood, and water, make the drink ferment, and, when this is ready, invite their relatives and friends and enjoy themselves for a day, without becoming disorderly. Even the neophytes do this on the day of marriage, because they have seen that that is what the white Christians do (2).

[606]

2. This party is held in the house of the parents-in-law, for which reason both of the old people help efficiently, the one in bringing in firewood and the other, the mother, helping her young daughter in everything, including serving the drinkers.

C 301 178 [304] C [578] C [186] Ee 301 177 Ee 301 314

/211 cont./

Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

C [113]

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

Ee 583 584

If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

Ee 584 178

The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

Ee •585 Ee 591

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

534 171 174 114

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

361 622

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

582 595 881 [304] [301] 585 574 844 846

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

/118 cont./

797 These facts cannot be denied, because they are based
[786] on the experience of centuries. Unfortunately, they do
[883] occur, and it is very difficult to uproot them. There is no lack of repentance or lack of punishment, admonitions, and fears, but civilizing action is not enough for this, nor even often the Gospel, because: animalis homo non percipit quae Dei sunt. We can say that the action of the missionary is one of yesterday among the Chiriguano. The Christians or neophytes have changed much in relation to the infidels throughout the region, but a great deal more is still lacking for them to come to understand the strength of Religion and civilization, since, naturally, abandoned humanity gives free rein to passions and it is indeed difficult to contain it afterwards in a short time (1).

1. The infidels of the missions complain about the neophytes, but they do not understand that times have changed, and the
[674] race as well. Murders are committed in other places, but this does not happen in the missions.

847 Sister to the sterility which the coquettish girls manage to procure is abortion. There is no woman who does not know the thousand ways for procuring this, always provided that they have not obtained or resorted to remedies for
847 sterilizing themselves at puberty. In general it is those girls
●586 who have been betrayed by their lovers or abandoned by
836 those who have sworn fidelity to them throughout their
848 lives who come to this excess of killing innocent babies. For this reason they not only hate the perpetrator, but also his fruit in their bellies, and thus they make an effort to get rid of the innocent one by plucking it dead from their breast.

/207 cont./

462 The woman among the Chiriguano is a true slave, and
562 the man her master. His work for the family is limited to planting and weeding, as well as fetching the necessary fire-
[517] wood. In addition, /208/ as a diversion and pastime, he takes his bow and arrow, goes out into the countryside and hunts, or fishes in a nearby river, spending the rest of his time talking with his friends, recounting exploits, telling stories, Miani, playing cards and throwing dice, even going so far as to bet the tipoy or cutama of his wife.

She, on the contrary, is the work horse of the house. She
[482] carries the maize with her Añapoca, a kind of net, goes to
[515] the spring and carries on her shoulders and over long distances some 50 libras of water, prepares food, makes chicha, cleans her house, spins, weaves ponchos, makes ollas, cares for her children, raises animals such as pigs, chickens, sheep, and goats, makes cheese if she has cows, and, as if all this were not enough, in the afternoon she sits down next to her lazy husband, releases his healthy hair, and as a distraction goes looking through that labyrinth for the insects which nest there, without feeling any disgust. I am not talking about killing
[262] them, but about doing away with some with her teeth and making a snack out of others, a very simple thing for these women.

562 Everything is permitted for the man. He can play upon
593 words and make lascivious jokes with other women, but this is not permitted for the wife, nor can she even cast a sidelong glance, which would be enough to cause her to be maltreated and divorced. How many things there are in nature! It is painful to see a mother with her four or five little ones abandoned to suffer hunger and despair, while the rascal of a husband with no just cause at all goes happily off with another, giving her the little that he earns and then getting rid of her at the first chance (1).

593
• 586 1. When the man turns out to be too lazy, it is the woman who leaves him, going off with another, and the children go with her, because

593
•586

/208 cont./

love can accomplish much, and they really love their children, without making much outward show of this.

Finally, the man, whenever he wishes, can dismiss his wife with great ease. He does it with contempt, in biting words, calling her Cuña pochi, bad woman, Cuña imuquere, lost woman, good only for lighting the fire. No one could endure such scorn for an hour, and she understands that the rascal has won the love of another, younger woman.

515 When a mother goes to the spring or river, she takes her son or daughter with her, bathes herself and also her child, and then grinds up some grains of Ñetira, a kind of potash, leaving her hair and that of her daughter clean and shiny. The bath is daily, but the washing of the hair with ñetira is not.

/209/ Pregnancy and Birth

843 When a woman finds herself pregnant, she does not give up her customary chores, but goes to the field as usual and fetches from there heavy loads of maize and other things. They use for this, as I have already noted, a kind of close-woven net which the Toba make with the bark of the caraguata or maguey. Those made by the Chiriguano are like the wooden fruit-baskets /chipas/. They are open on top, where they have an easily untied cord, in the middle of which there is a wide band for holding the weight with the forehead (1).

482
285
[171]

482

1. The Chiriguano woman lets all the weight of the load she is carrying rest on her spinal column, etc., holding it with her forehead. If the water is some distance away, she does the same; if not, she carries the vessel vertically on her left shoulder, or on her head, where she places a pad of rags.

Ee /212 cont. /

581 Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and

Ce 582 others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female

Ce [171] cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not

Ee 595 permitted among either the Choroti or the Mataco.

Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have

[643] seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig.

Ee [586] 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

Ee 582 Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

577 177 797 831 /214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict

[837] morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

577 831 175 The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

/205 cont./

587 595 When the mother of a family is widowed at a mature age, after a year of widowhood, if she was a dutiful wife, she can easily remarry; it is much easier if she has a daughter, even if she is small. The Chiriguano man marries the mother with the hope of being able to marry the stepdaughter when she reaches a suitable age. If at the time of marrying a widow the stepdaughter is already an adult, it is difficult to achieve this end, because young girls abhor this type of union, in spite of the fact that their mother, in order not to be repudiated, often serves as a go-between for the wicked desires of her husband (2).

[593] [762]

2. The stepdaughter, when she sees the impossibility of freeing herself from the evil intentions of her stepfather, will often run away to another tribe, and, if she cannot manage this, will take her life by suicide.

582 In spite of being so inclined to lechery without regard for kinship, even in a direct line, it is worth considering the respect that the Chiriguano professes for consanguinity, regardless of the degree considered. It is unlikely that a man will marry a cousin in the fourth degree, and he tries to respect [593] even more distant degrees. With much more reason the father respects his daughters as holy things, it being completely false what somebody wrote about this, having heard of the case where one Chiriguano or several had lived with their daughters when the mother had died. It could happen that in the future they might marry their cousins, since they see that their superiors do this, but how many of those who are here will be alive a few years from now?

/293 cont./

765 are allowed to when the burial is over; an aunt accompanies them, especially a maternal one if they have one, and stays in the house for a while, if she does not have children of her own.

They look for her in vain, silent and confused, and not even the tenderness of an aunt, who must swallow her own tears in silence, can distract them from their thoughts. When she hears the motherless ones looking for and asking for the one who was the author of their days, she answers the poor creatures with emotion, and even with force, that she will soon return, either from a nearby town or from the field, and meanwhile tears run down her cheeks, giving the lie to her pretended serenity. But the innocent little ones do not understand and continue with their questions, looking at the aunt dismayed and even frightened. What a sad picture!

768 When it is a woman who leaves her husband a widower
● 587 with children, naturally in a short time he must find another wife who will serve as mother to the motherless children and take care of the house, because a man cannot attend to the things which are the domain of a woman. For a short time he can get his close relatives to attend to such things, but they soon get tired or return to the duties of their own home. Then the widower must look for another woman privately and without hurting the feelings /294/ of the neighbors, who naturally understand the distress of the widower who, if he has a mother or an unmarried sister, does not take such a step and tries to abstain from a second marriage as long as he can, but in every case before the year ends he will have found a new companion to brighten his days and make his life pleasanter (1).

768
587
593
602
855

1. The widower tries to marry a sister of the deceased or a close relative, so that she will have affection for the motherless children. When a new wife is tyrannical or is thrown out, either some other relatives of the deceased or of the widower himself take care of the children; the Chiriguano feel deeply the suffering of bereaved children.

/295 cont./

765 589 When the year of mourning ends, the widow continues her silence until one of the relatives of the deceased visits her with all respect as a person worthy of veneration, because she has wept much and with grief for the dead; he tells her that this is now enough, that she can go out and again appear at the public drinkings, since this visit takes place two or three days before some general drinking affair. The widow makes them ask her many times and once more reflects on the virtues /296/ and greatness of the husband she has lost through death; she curses the bad sorcerers and poisons, finally consenting to stop mourning, leave the house, and take part in the coming fiesta (1).

1. During the year of mourning the widows are continually cloistered in their homes, coming out only when they have to; they go to the spring for water and to the field for food.

[302] [301] [292] During the year the hair has grown out at least some 30 centimeters; she then removes the rag from her head, combs her hair carefully, puts the well-known cosmetic on her face and feet, adorns her neck and arms with necklaces and bracelets, dresses in her best tipoy, and goes out with some woman friend. In this first appearance she does not take part in the dancing or singing, so that all may know that she still feels the absence of her husband, and all respect her silence. Only afterwards does her public life begin anew, like the rest, that is, she sings and dances as before.

587 589 A few weeks later, if someone should ask her to be his wife, she will probably consent, if she is still young and has small children, because the reader can imagine the suffering of a widow, 797 who must seek food for herself and her little ones. Oh, how often have silent tears run down my face on seeing the tears of 736 widows and fatherless children who, for lack of food, not knowing whom to ask for aid, have come to the missionary or to one superior to them to ask for help! How could one deny it? Only a heart of bronze could have done so.

Ee /219 cont./

765 If her husband dies, the wife is supposed to cut her hair
302 short. /220/ If she loved him very much, she does it twice. It
[587] is not until her hair has grown long again that she may enter into another marriage. If her father or mother dies, she cuts her hair short; if her child, her brother, or brother-in-law dies, she cuts it moderately short. Long hair means that it reaches to the shoulders. My question as to whether the men also cut their hair in mourning was answered with laughter. They content themselves with shortening only the longest. The men may not marry until about a year after the death of the wife.

C If the woman is in mourning, she wears no ornaments.
765 When I was with Maringay, his daughter-in-law had lost her
301 little child. Though all the other women in the village wore many necklaces, she did not have a single ornament. She also did not take part in any festivity.

Ee The Indians whom the missionaries baptize do not always
764 like having to bury their dead in a cemetery. They at least
177 want the dead to have water with them in the grave.

One does not free oneself so easily from the old, inherited ideas, in order to exchange them for new ones. /Pl. 18 appears here./

/221/ Chapter Thirteen

000 On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Ugly Words, Homosexuality, Suicide, Sense of Modesty, etc.

In the language of the whites there are, as is well known, a number of words that may not be used in polite society. Persons of the same sex may mention certain parts of the body only by their Latin names, whereas persons of different sex, as a rule, do not speak of them at all to one another. One word may be regarded as ugly, whereas another word for the same thing may be used at will. The reason why a word is forbidden is undoubtedly often difficult to determine.

/294 cont./

765 If it is a woman who is widowed, it is the law of the race
●589 that she must observe mourning for a period of one year, without it being permitted to shorten this period for any pretext whatsoever. After having wept for her departed husband for a whole
[302] day and after the burial is over, as has been said, she cuts off her hair and deposits it on the grave, where it remains for a long
589 time, which I have not established exactly. This is the best
765 offering that a widow can make to her late husband, and whether
577 or not she loved him, it is a law which she must observe; otherwise she would incur the scorn of the people of the town, who
302 would wonder at her conduct, she would lose her reputation, and the relatives of the deceased would resent it very much; they would take the children whom she loves so much away from her, and it would be hard for her to remarry.

765 As a sign of mourning, a loving widow, as well as one who
589 is not, finds the dirtiest and most ragged piece of cloth that she
[292] has in the house and puts it on her head; she wears this during the entire period of her widowhood. One who arrives in a Chiriguano town for the first time will wonder about this piece of apparel and ask about its significance, because there is always some woman who is wearing mourning for her husband, her son, or her brother, if it is not for her father or mother. Finally, the widow is condemned to cry day and night for one long year, and one who does not cry as she should incurs the wrath of the relatives of the dead man. When I was a missionary in Santa Rosa, the cacique Yarituí died of nothing less than malignant smallpox. The widow cried for him so much and so loudly at the beginning that very soon she became hoarse. Nonetheless, the relatives complained of her actions, accusing her of little love (2).

2. The weeping during mourning is done by the woman four times a day, at sunrise, noon, sunset, and at some time around midnight. At this last hour it is very sad.

/295/

If while asleep they sometimes dream of the dead one, very soon the widow, or whoever the dreamer is, gets up and makes a commotion, which lasts for several minutes. Also, when one

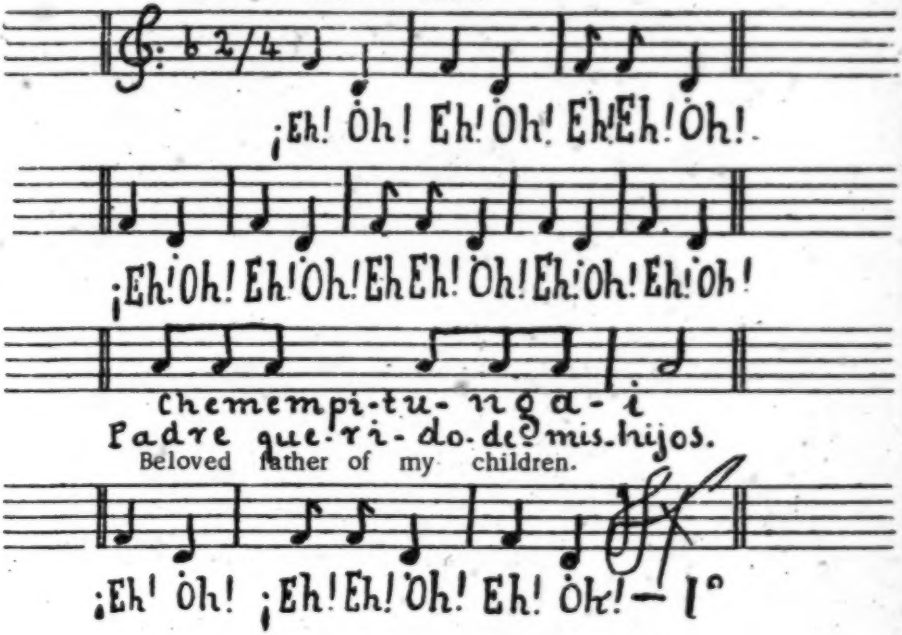
/295 cont./

765 of the relatives comes from afar to the house of the departed, he does not
●589 greet anyone, but asks where the grave is, goes there, and, crouching down with his face toward the wall, cries for several minutes, and, when this is over, he then greets the living and the conversation begins in subdued tones.

589 The song, as well as the way of weeping for the dead, is the same
765 in all the tribes, but there are some small differences, as happens in the
539 language itself.
[171]

Duelo de una viuda

A Widow's Lament



1. If the deceased is a grandchild, she says: Chinamanino ngai! Beloved grandchild! And if it is a son or daughter: Chemempi mi ngai! Beloved son or daughter!

/295 cont./

765 When the year of mourning ends, the widow continues her
589 silence until one of the relatives of the deceased visits her with all respect as a person worthy of veneration, because she has wept much and with grief for the dead; he tells her that this is now enough, that she can go out and again appear at the public drinkings, since this visit takes place two or three days before some general drinking affair. The widow makes them ask her many times and once more reflects on the virtues /296/ and greatness of the husband she has lost through death; she curses the bad sorcerers and poisons, finally consenting to stop mourning, leave the house, and take part in the coming fiesta (1).

1. During the year of mourning the widows are continually cloistered in their homes, coming out only when they have to; they go to the spring for water and to the field for food.

[302] During the year the hair has grown out at least some 30
[301] centimeters; she then removes the rag from her head, combs
[292] her hair carefully, puts the well-known cosmetic on her face and feet, adorns her neck and arms with necklaces and bracelets, dresses in her best tipoy, and goes out with some woman friend. In this first appearance she does not take part in the dancing or singing, so that all may know that she still feels the absence of her husband, and all respect her silence. Only afterwards does her public life begin anew, like the rest, that is, she sings and dances as before.

587 A few weeks later, if someone should ask her to be his wife,
589 she will probably consent, if she is still young and has small children, because the reader can imagine the suffering of a widow,
797 who must seek food for herself and her little ones. Oh, how
736 often have silent tears run down my face on seeing the tears of widows and fatherless children who, for lack of food, not knowing whom to ask for aid, have come to the missionary or to one superior to them to ask for help! How could one deny it? Only a heart of bronze could have done so.

/202 cont./

797 the second Chiriguano man and the second
793 Chiriguano woman; I have even made use of
871 this to condemn the vice of polygamy in my monthly instructions to the infidels.

000 /The last paragraph on p. 202 and the first paragraph on p. 203 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 203 follows./

621 It is very natural that the Chiriguano race should form a
• 59 family. Each tribe, or people, is an association of families.
603 They are made up of fathers and children, but many times they have at their head a grandfather and grandmother who are much respected but who never give any orders or manage things; instead they serve their children willingly as servants, the grandfather in bringing in firewood, planting, and weeding, and the grandmother in everything that a woman can do.

831 There does not seem to be any other race like the
867 Chiriguano in Bolivia, which like none other gives free rein to the passions, especially lewd ones. A maiden who commits a bad act is the pride of her mother, who is content with saying that now her daughter is a woman and ready for it. If a young man does similar things and his father finds out about it, he will ponder the act of his son and say, Cuimbae co, he is a man. This expression is heard frequently (1).

[797] 1. When the missionary attempts to reprehend or
[861] punish the sin of some Chiriguano boy, the father, the grandfather, or the cacique petitions for him, and the best words to lessen the punishment or to say that he deserves no punishment are: Cuimbae ma co, he is now a man.

181 Excessive corruption is the result, and, if the Toba race is distinguished by its inclination toward thievery, the Chiriguano are distinguished by their inclination toward lechery, as old and wise missionaries of the stature of Father Corrado and
000 Father Giannecchini can testify. Let the reader consider that the

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had
304 his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ä, ä" for the masculine "tä." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

851 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before mar-
191 riage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

Chomé (1819 h, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective
983 father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride serv-
191 ice, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapetí River a few decades ago. The bride-
● 591 groom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

595 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of
622 wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many
556 cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and
764 dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate.
765 The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two crushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

724 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

/206 cont./

584 party, gives the young suitor an account of what has happened, encouraging him to have hope.

[583] When the old people want it and the daughter is pleased by the young man's manners, the matter is promptly concluded, and the husband enters the wife's house without saying a word for three or four nights, without letting himself be seen in it during the day. On the fourth or fifth day both of them present themselves to the public, sitting at the threshold of the door. Then the bachelor companions of the newly married man come to him and ask him a thousand questions, congratulating him on his luck. The young woman bears all this with much embarrassment, but this is the first and last time. She will not experience this again.

From what has been said it can be deduced that it is not [593] the young woman who seeks out a man to marry, but he: and in the presence of her relatives, friends, or strangers, she will never manifest in any way her love for her husband, [583] however much she may truly love him. This reciprocal love often causes a maiden, because her parents are opposed to the union, to run away /207/ to live with her husband in another tribe for a long time, in the house of her relatives, and return with the marriage already contracted in fact.

585 The Chiriguano are not accustomed to having celebrations in connection with their marriages. Only after the marriage has been consummated does the mother of the newly married man, during the absence of her son in his wife's house, make chicha ferment. On the fifth or sixth day she calls them, has them in the house the whole day, makes them drink a little, prepares a small lunch for them with much affection for her daughter-in-law, gives both of them very sound advice, and sends them off as night approaches (1).

• 591 583 1. It is the law of the Chiriguano that the husband must live in the house of his father-in-law as soon as marriage is contracted:

/207 cont./

•591 583

otherwise they will not give up their daughters. The measure is a very good one: this often keeps a man from abusing his authority because of his respect for the old ones and for fear of being thrown out.

000

Life and Tasks during Marriage

The life of man is a continuous struggle, said St. Job, Militia est vita hominis super terram, but life in marriage is a double struggle: one who passes from the estate of bachelorhood into that of marriage sees it as soon as the honeymoon is over. The missionary dedicated to the conversion of infidels, like the parish priest in the administration of a parish, can readily testify as to whether the suffering of his married parishioners is or is not greater than that of his unmarried parishioners.

585 A new life then begins for the Chiriguano newlyweds. As soon as the intimate meal in the husband's house is over, they go out in public freely, go out into the countryside, get supplies of maize, firewood, and water, make the drink ferment, and, when this is ready, invite their relatives and friends and enjoy themselves for a day, without becoming disorderly. Even the neophytes do this on the day of marriage, because they have seen that that is what the white Christians do (2).

[606]

2. This party is held in the house of the parents-in-law, for which reason both of the old people help efficiently, the one in bringing in firewood and the other, the mother, helping her young daughter in everything, including serving the drinkers.

/211 cont./

Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

/87 cont./

C 462 rope, making nets, plaiting mats and baskets, leatherwork, the manufacture of weapons, the decoration of cuyas and calabashes, and the building of houses. Only the following work is apportioned to women: carrying water, cooking, making fermented beverages, gathering fruits and roots, ceramics, making hammocks, spinning, and plaiting bands. The following work is apportioned to both Ce [462] sexes: fishing, with the difference that the women catch small fish in shallow water, while the men fish in deep water, planting and harvesting, cooking -- attributed in the preceding to the women -- in that men at times participate in the preparation of game, fetching firewood, which on most occasions is men's work, but among the Chané on the Parapití River women's as well, the raising of domestic animals, sewing and weaving, in that in some regions men also weave, although in general weaving is C 857 868 462 women's work. Children also participate, depending on their sex, in the respective work of their parents, particularly in the harvest (336) /there is no footnote bearing this number/, and in this way seeing and imitating, they learn from a very early age the work that they must do in later life.

C 361 592 I have already mentioned in the chapter on towns and houses that Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of only a few houses, each of them inhabited by up to 100 persons. Today, as C 178 592 583 a general rule, only one family lives in each house, but often together with the husbands of the daughters, who live for a time before the nuptials and also during the first part of the marriage [591] in the house of the mother-in-law (337). The Chiriguano clears

337. Nord. 1, p. 176.

a piece of ground for his daughter, one which the son-in-law can work, doing the planting and harvesting (338).

338. Métraux I, p. 345.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

252 415 412 264 *Chiriguano* mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. [317 263] Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 592 **Dwellings.**—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

361 178 [343 712] The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 177 **Clothing.**—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

/169 cont./

In both cases the ranchos which had been formed were left destroyed, despite the fact that the latter, because they had been built under the direction of the missionary, were quite comfortable, new, and /170/ well covered with red straw /paja colorada/, which is the best for the construction of ranchos.

731 361 The Chiriguano Indian does not do this. He also on occasion suffers from a scarcity of supplies, because the land on which he lives produces harvests only when there is no lack of rain. In times of scarcity he bars the door of his house [574] with poles or thorns, temporarily leaves his town, and goes off to distant lands in search of food, gets it, and brings it to his home, but he does not emigrate en masse, nor does he build temporary huts in a foreign place or town, and if he has any relatives in the places where there is abundant food, he seeks them out and is welcomed and well treated by them. He remains there for weeks and even months, until his fellows are tired of him, and then he takes his leave, taking the little food that is offered to him as something precious, and in fact it is in times of hunger.

361 Chiriguano towns are small, consisting of a few houses, [621] most of them not exceeding 20 or 30 houses; these are large and in each one there are up to three families, but close rela- [592] tives, such as father and married son and married daughter; they form a square and are so situated as to enclose the little plaza. They are not pretty, but they are clean; they are not large, but neither are they as small as those of some towns of the whites. These Chiriguano towns are poor; it is hard to [342] find in them houses with tiles, but they are comfortable, with the roofs, as will be said, having the necessary slope so that they do not readily admit drips (1).

[354] 1. In the upper part of the house they make a long, continuous opening to allow the smoke to escape; it is made in such a way that it does not allow water to come in during the rainy season.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 H (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
[P 1]
C 343

Fig. 1. Maize-barn.
Chiriguano.

I.

Dwellings.

C ce 361

Like all other Indians I visited south of Sta Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, the Chiriguano and Chané live in villages. Some of these villages are rather large and inhabited by several hundred people. Frequently a number of villages are situated quite close to each other. As a rule, the huts stand around an open space which is sometimes planted with trees to give shelter. These »squares» serve as meeting-places and playgrounds.

C ce 342

The huts are square. They are built of reeds or wooden laths, and thatched with grass. They are very often plastered with earth.

C ce [592] [361]

There are no huts here of the original Indian shape. The real Chiriguano (Chané?) huts were very large; as many as a hundred people lived in the same house, the whole

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
342
[592]
[171]
Ce
361
342
[609]

village consisting of only a few big huts.[1]) These plainly correspond to the great family-houses known to us from Brazil, but which in Bolivia I have only seen among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe on the Lago Rojo-Aguado. CHOMÉ[2]) gives no exact information about the huts. He says they stood in a circle around an open place. In the middle of the square there was a special hut for strangers. According to NINO[3]) the Chiriguano formerly had round houses. He gives a rather lengthy description of these, but does not tell us the source of his information. NINO describes at length how the Chiriguano now build their houses.

C
Ce
342
177

As early as the time of VIEDMA[4]) — end of the 18th century — they seem to have forsaken their original type of house and built themselves smaller huts. Since the dwelling-houses here retain no traces of their original shape, it is useless to make comparisons with other Indian huts. There is hardly anything in Indian culture which so quickly changes under the influence of the Whites as the houses. The acquisition of iron tools makes it possible to put up quickly properly built houses. An Indian tribe need consequently not have been long in contact with the Whites before they alter the style of their huts. This is not the case, to be sure, with all the tribes, for many, such as those in the interior of the Chaco, tenaciously preserve the primitive type of hut which, though small and inconvenient, affords greater protection from cold than the roomier dwellings of the Whites.

C
Ce
[171]

It would be of interest to find out in what measure

---

[1]) Annua de la Compañia de Jesús — Tucuman y Perú — 1596. »El mayor de los pueblos es de cinco casas; lo común es de tres; mas son muy largas, de más de 150 pasos, á dos aguas, con estantes en el medio sobre que se arma la cumbrera, y de estante á estante vive una parentela.» LIZÁRRAGA P. 552.

[2]) P. 313. »Pendant ce temps-là, je n'avais pas d'autre logement que le toit de paille qui étoit au milieu de la place.»

[3]) P. 174.

[4]) P. 181. »Sus casas son unos pequeños ranchos hechos de caña.»

/173 cont./ C Ce

Under the influence of the whites, however, the Chané and Chiriguano are gradually changing their huts, and many Indians are already building huts that are identical with theirs. 342 177

No hut here has its original Indian form. The genuine Chiriguano huts (the original Chané huts are not known) were very large; up to 100 persons lived in one house, and the entire /174/ village consisted of only a few large huts (1). These C 342 178 [361 592 171]

1. Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. -- Tucuman y Perú -- 1596. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Madrid, 1885. Vol. II. Page CIV. C [113]

evidently correspond to the large family houses well known in Brazil, which I saw in Bolivia only among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe from Lago Rojo-Aguado.

Even in Viedma's (2) time, at the end of the eighteenth

2. Viedma: loc. cit.

century, /Fig. 83 appears here/ however, they seem to have given up the original type of house and built smaller huts.

In many villages there belongs to each hut one or more maize granaries (Fig. 84a), in which maize, gourds, etc. are /175/ stored. These granaries are built on piles and are perhaps a reminder of the time when the Chiriguano and Chané lived in swampy regions. To each granary there belongs, as a rule, a ladder (Fig. 84b). Sometimes the granaries and the dwellings are built together into one house. /Fig. 84a appears here./ I saw such huts in the vicinity of Machareti and at Yatavéri, not far from Ivu. Not infrequently the granaries stand in the fields, far from the dwellings. C Ce 343 Ee [361 174] C Ce 342 343

These villages are neat and clean. Huts and market place are swept daily and the refuse is burned. C Ce 364

The space in the huts is not too cramped. /176/ In each house, as a rule, there lives only one family, which, aside from the rest of the family members, sometimes consists of the husbands Ee 592

C /176 cont./
Ce of the daughters, who, during the betrothal and at the beginning
592 of the marriage, live with the mother-in-law. In front of
C the hut is the large hearth (Ill. 83) where the maize beer,
Ce and sometimes also the food, is cooked. /Fig. 84b appears
592 here./ Inside the hut there is likewise a hearth where cooking
354 is done and where one seeks warmth on cold nights and days.

Ce
342
415
417
273

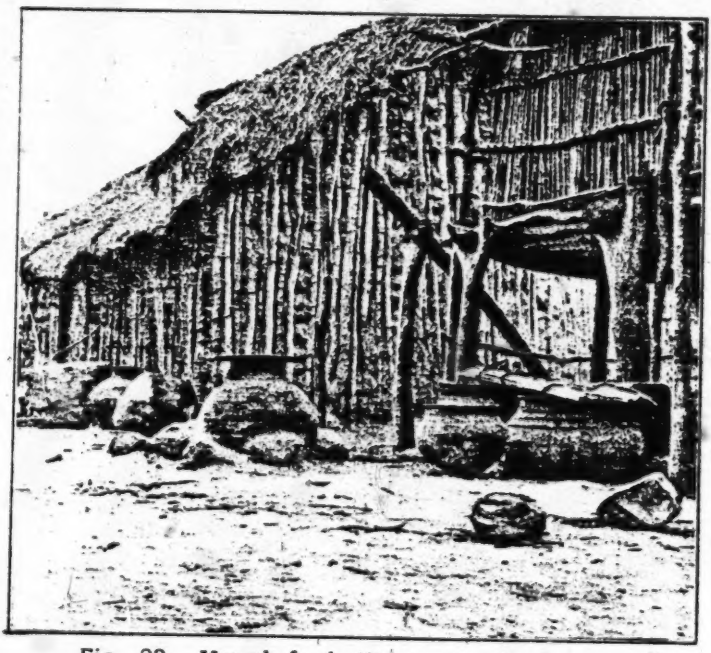


Fig. 83. Hearth for boiling maize beer. Chané village. Rio Itiyuro. To the right in the picture, large vessels in which the maize beer ferments. The house is plastered with earth.

C
Ce I have slept in these huts many a night. They are, as a
342 rule, free of vermin, which cannot be said of the dwellings
122 of all other Indians and of the houses of the whites. The sleep-
136 ing place either consists of a bed made of a species of bamboo
352 cane, or one lies /Plate 16 appears here/ /177/ on the ground
513 on a reed mat or a skin. One also sees hammocks in the huts.
000

/87 cont./

C 462 rope, making nets, plaiting mats and baskets, leatherwork, the manufacture of weapons, the decoration of cuyas and calabashes, and the building of houses. Only the following work is apportioned to women: carrying water, cooking, making fermented beverages, gathering fruits and roots, ceramics, making hammocks, spinning, and plaiting bands. The following work is apportioned to both sexes: fishing, with the difference that the women catch small fish in shallow water, while the men fish in deep water, planting and harvesting, cooking -- attributed in the preceding to the women -- in that men at times participate in the preparation of game, fetching firewood, which on most occasions is men's work, but among the Chané on the Parapití River women's as well, the raising of domestic animals, sewing and weaving, in that in some regions men also weave, although in general weaving is women's work. Children also participate, depending on their sex, in the respective work of their parents, particularly in the harvest (336) /there is no footnote bearing this number/, and in this way seeing and imitating, they learn from a very early age the work that they must do in later life.

Cp [462]

C 857 868 462

I have already mentioned in the chapter on towns and houses that Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of only a few houses, each of them inhabited by up to 100 persons. Today, as a general rule, only one family lives in each house, but often together with the husbands of the daughters, who live for a time before the nuptials and also during the first part of the marriage in the house of the mother-in-law (337). The Chiriguano clears

C 361 592

C 178 592 583 [591]

337. Nord. 1, p. 176.

a piece of ground for his daughter, one which the son-in-law can work, doing the planting and harvesting (338).

338. Métraux I, p. 345.

/345 cont./

241 The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields.
115 "Captain" Karnapadyú made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations, without sparing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I answered that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

243 The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for
593 her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of
583 it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano
606

[585] 1. Corrado (p. 155) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacras nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whose laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

433
224 I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano vil-
178 lages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game. It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo,
[251] chuña /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Nino, pp. 249-258).

/119 cont./

000 the wives of Christ their infinite goodness, and the priests the sciences and their Author. Each one in his branch turns his affection to the object which pleases him most. Even Indians have this privilege, because they are men who come from the same tree, whose trunk is in Adam and Eve (2).

773 2. They say that the first forebears of the Chiriguano race are different from the progenitors of Christians and missionaries, because we are of a different color, wealth, intelligence, and worth. They add that their first father's name was Araparigua.

837 684 593 As a consequence of the foregoing, the Chiriguano has no object which he loves other than his fellow man, because idleness and ignorance do not make him aspire to other things. A man and a woman love each other reciprocally, but as they also inherit the original sin, they are subject to its many consequences. Thus it happens that cases where a man betrays his wife, or she him, are not rare. What is the result of this? If it is the woman who was unfaithful to the conjugal bonds, the man will remedy it by providing her with goodly number of whacks with a stick and separating from her definitively, and if it should be the man, which is generally what happens, it is not so easy for the woman to do anything /120/ about it. Instead she usually sees herself more and more oppressed. The husband makes a martyr of her. Well-founded jealousy begins to destroy her. She can do nothing against her rival. She has no religion which will help her resign herself to her fate. She makes every effort to avenge herself in some way, but it is difficult, she thinks in this extreme case that she achieves all she can do by taking her life. To do this, she finds a rope, puts it around her neck, ties it to any small tree or such thing, casts loose her body, and, since no one sees her, in a few minutes she ceases to exist (1).

837 684 593 762

1. A woman of some 25 years of age

/120 cont./

762
[837]
[684]
[593]

committed suicide in her own home early one Sunday morning at a height of one meter. She did it by kneeling down.

Suicide is not rare even among men, and there were several during my stay among the Chiriguano. The men, if they are young, commit it in order not to suffer the reproach of their parents for something bad they have done. If they are older than their wives, it is because they have no other way to remedy the woman's infidelity, because there are cases in which a man dominated by his wife and somewhat timid in nature does not dare in such circumstances to throw the bad one out of his house, and thus he believes that he can fix everything by taking his life. These unpleasant happenings and accidents happen in the fields or in the woods.

Boxing and Dueling

175
721
628

In ancient times this race was very numerous and constantly in a state of war against its common enemies, but there were other wars in which one town rose up against another for trivial reasons. In the middle of the nineteenth century there was a bloody war between the towns of Yvu and Caraguatarenta against those of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo because of oppression which the cacique Güiracoti had tried to practice (2).

2. This regional war occurred before Chimeo Mission was founded. Güiracoti deceived the authorities of Cordillera, who were quartering people in the vicinity and around Parapiti in order to repress the audacity of Yaveau, whom they believed to be the head of the revolution.

/205 cont./

587 595 When the mother of a family is widowed at a mature age, after a year of widowhood, if she was a dutiful wife, she can easily remarry; it is much easier if she has a daughter, even if she is small. The Chiriguano man marries the mother with the hope of being able to marry the stepdaughter when she reaches a suitable age. If at the time of marrying a widow the stepdaughter is already an adult, it is difficult to achieve this end, because young girls abhor this type of union, in spite of the fact that their mother, in order not to be repudiated, often serves as a go-between for the wicked desires of her husband (2).

[593] [762]

2. The stepdaughter, when she sees the impossibility of freeing herself from the evil intentions of her stepfather, will often run away to another tribe, and, if she cannot manage this, will take her life by suicide.

582 In spite of being so inclined to lechery without regard for kinship, even in a direct line, it is worth considering the respect that the Chiriguano professes for consanguinity, regardless of the degree considered. It is unlikely that a man will marry a cousin in the fourth degree, and he tries to respect [593] even more distant degrees. With much more reason the father respects his daughters as holy things, it being completely false what somebody wrote about this, having heard of the case where one Chiriguano or several had lived with their daughters when the mother had died. It could happen that in the future they might marry their cousins, since they see that their superiors do this, but how many of those who are here will be alive a few years from now?

/206 cont./

584 party, gives the young suitor an account of what has happened, encouraging him to have hope.

[583] When the old people want it and the daughter is pleased by the young man's manners, the matter is promptly concluded, and the husband enters the wife's house without saying a word for three or four nights, without letting himself be seen in it during the day. On the fourth or fifth day both of them present themselves to the public, sitting at the threshold of the door. Then the bachelor companions of the newly married man come to him and ask him a thousand questions, congratulating him on his luck. The young woman hears all this with much embarrassment, but this is the first and last time. She will not experience this again.

[593] From what has been said it can be deduced that it is not the young woman who seeks out a man to marry, but he; and in the presence of her relatives, friends, or strangers, she will never manifest in any way her love for her husband, [583] however much she may truly love him. This reciprocal love often causes a maiden, because her parents are opposed to the union, to run away /207/ to live with her husband in another tribe for a long time, in the house of her relatives, and return with the marriage already contracted in fact.

585 The Chiriguano are not accustomed to having celebrations in connection with their marriages. Only after the marriage has been consummated does the mother of the newly married man, during the absence of her son in his wife's house, make chicha ferment. On the fifth or sixth day she calls them, has them in the house the whole day, makes them drink a little, prepares a small lunch for them with much affection for her daughter-in-law, gives both of them very sound advice, and sends them off as night approaches (1).

591 583 1. It is the law of the Chiriguano that the husband must live in the house of his father-in-law as soon as marriage is contracted;

/207 cont./

462 The woman among the Chiriguano is a true slave, and
562 the man her master. His work for the family is limited to planting and weeding, as well as fetching the necessary fire-
[517] wood. In addition, /208/ as a diversion and pastime, he takes his bow and arrow, goes out into the countryside and hunts, or fishes in a nearby river, spending the rest of his time talking with his friends, recounting exploits, telling stories, Miani, playing cards and throwing dice, even going so far as to bet the tipoy or cutama of his wife.

She, on the contrary, is the work horse of the house. She
[482] carries the maize with her Añapoca, a kind of net, goes to
[515] the spring and carries on her shoulders and over long distances some 50 libras of water, prepares food, makes chicha, cleans her house, spins, weaves ponchos, makes ollas, cares for her children, raises animals such as pigs, chickens, sheep, and goats, makes cheese if she has cows, and, as if all this were not enough, in the afternoon she sits down next to her lazy husband, releases his healthy hair, and as a distraction goes looking through that labyrinth for the insects which nest there, without feeling any disgust. I am not talking about killing
[262] them, but about doing away with some with her teeth and making a snack out of others, a very simple thing for these women.

562 Everything is permitted for the man. He can play upon
•593 words and make lascivious jokes with other women, but this is not permitted for the wife, nor can she even cast a sidelong glance, which would be enough to cause her to be maltreated and divorced. How many things there are in nature! It is painful to see a mother with her four or five little ones abandoned to suffer hunger and despair, while the rascal of a husband with no just cause at all goes happily off with another, giving her the little that he earns and then getting rid of her at the first chance (1).

593
586 1. When the man turns out to be too lazy, it is the woman who leaves him, going off with another, and the children go with her, because

•593 /208 cont./
586 love can accomplish much, and they really love their children, without making much outward show of this.

Finally, the man, whenever he wishes, can dismiss his wife with great ease. He does it with contempt, in biting words, calling her Cuña pochi, bad woman, Cuña imuquere, lost woman, good only for lighting the fire. No one could endure such scorn for an hour, and she understands that the rascal has won the love of another, younger woman.

515 When a mother goes to the spring or river, she takes her son or daughter with her, bathes herself and also her child, and then grinds up some grains of Ñetira, a kind of potash, leaving her hair and that of her daughter clean and shiny. The bath is daily, but the washing of the hair with Ñetira is not.

/209/ Pregnancy and Birth

843 When a woman finds herself pregnant, she does not give up her customary chores, but goes to the field as usual and fetches from there heavy loads of maize and other things.
482 They use for this, as I have already noted, a kind of close-
285 woven net which the Toba make with the bark of the caraguata
[171] or maguey. Those made by the Chiriguano are like the wooden fruit-baskets /chipas/. They are open on top, where they have an easily untied cord, in the middle of which there is a wide band for holding the weight with the forehead (1).

482

1. The Chiriguano woman lets all the weight of the load she is carrying rest on her spinal column, etc., holding it with her forehead. If the water is some distance away, she does the same; if not, she carries the vessel vertically on her left shoulder, or on her head, where she places a pad of rags.

/221 cont./

Private Life

593 888 The father and mother take great pains for the material or corporal well-being of their children, both male and female, and they in turn have affection for their parents. Nevertheless there is no lack of creatures with very bad inclinations, who forget their parents' goodness, forget the labors undertaken by the latter in caring for them in their tender years, and abandon them in their old age in the midst of their suffering and privations.

593 861 867 273 The father and mother almost never address harsh words to their children; much less do they correct them with corporal punishment. The children attend the public drinking sessions in the company of their parents, and how strange it can seem to see father and son sometimes drunk together in the streets or in the plaza of the town! They see their fathers in other people's fields, taking advantage of the first fruits, and then the son does what he has seen. He hears his mother telling stories not at all clean, he sees acts not at all moral, he witnesses altercations in the house, hears his mother's jealousy, sees his father's bad deeds, and he thus will naturally follow the same path when he arrives at an age of competence and even before.

855 603 581 If the woman is very young when she is married, as often happens, it is the grandparents who take care of the grandchildren so that the young daughter may have more time to enjoy herself, since in the beginning /222/ marriage is nothing but fun for the young people (1).

855 593 606 1. Young girls help their mothers in the care of their own children and in the preparation of chicha, knowing that the drunken husband will first hit her, or even his parents-in-law if they try to protect her.

/225 cont./

881 When she goes out at night, her mother accompanies her,
867 but before this is done she receives a thousand pieces of ad-
593 vice and admonishment to walk slowly and very carefully,
not to step on things that might injure her, such as excrement
and other things that her enemies or evil spirits have scattered
around the house, especially by the door and along the path
which she must follow. The maiden listens and keeps quiet,
absorbs everything, and does everything as well as or better than
a Carthusian novice, because her mother has already filled
her head with so many superstitions and has frightened her with
too many dangers.

The father rarely concerns himself with his daughter during
the fasting period; he only sees to it that she does not lack
food and work. He rarely talks to her, but he loves her like
[594] his own eyes and soul. Other persons cannot address her, nor
do her parents permit many and prolonged visits during that
period; in addition everyone also knows that that house is
now sacred and abstains as much as possible from frequenting
it (1).

1. When an attempt was made to reorganize the S. Antonio Mission of Parapiti, the daughter of a prestigious Indian was keeping a strict fast. It was said of her that she could die, it was so strict. Hardly anyone could see her, and the poor girl in fact did die a short time later.

885 When the seclusion period decided on by her parents ends,
195 the girl puts away her clothing of what we might call penitence,
washes her face, combs her hair, now grown out, adorns her
cheeks with the help of her friends, adorns her neck and throat
with necklaces of beads, reales, or medios of silver, puts
bracelets on her wrists, rings on her fingers, puts on her tipoi
of drill or chintz, in various colors, and goes out in public
in order that thus decked out she will arouse admiration and
some young man may fall in love with her and ask for her
to be his wife when it seems appropriate to him, because
now she is no longer a child, but a woman who can carry out

/293 cont./

765 are allowed to when the burial is over; an aunt accompanies them, especially a maternal one if they have one, and stays in the house for a while, if she does not have children of her own.

They look for her in vain, silent and confused, and not even the tenderness of an aunt, who must swallow her own tears in silence, can distract them from their thoughts. When she hears the motherless ones looking for and asking for the one who was the author of their days, she answers the poor creatures with emotion, and even with force, that she will soon return, either from a nearby town or from the field, and meanwhile tears run down her cheeks, giving the lie to her pretended serenity. But the innocent little ones do not understand and continue with their questions, looking at the aunt dismayed and even frightened. What a sad picture!

768 587 When it is a woman who leaves her husband a widower with children, naturally in a short time he must find another wife who will serve as mother to the motherless children and take care of the house, because a man cannot attend to the things which are the domain of a woman. For a short time he can get his close relatives to attend to such things, but they soon get tired or return to the duties of their own home. Then the widower must look for another woman privately and without hurting the feelings /294/ of the neighbors, who naturally understand the distress of the widower who, if he has a mother or an unmarried sister, does not take such a step and tries to abstain from a second marriage as long as he can, but in every case before the year ends he will have found a new companion to brighten his days and make his life pleasanter (1).

768 587 593 602 855

1. The widower tries to marry a sister of the deceased or a close relative, so that she will have affection for the motherless children. When a new wife is tyrannical or is thrown out, either some other relatives of the deceased or of the widower himself take care of the children; the Chiriguano feel deeply the suffering of bereaved children.

/304 cont./

797 and our Holy Mother Church (2).
871
177

2. The children know how to pray much better in the missions than in other centers, because in every mission there are two teaching establishments, one for boys and one for girls.

The youth grow up under the punctilious care of the missionary, who, by example and word, imbues their hearts with every goodness and love of holy and moral things, and moreover he makes them avoid, insofar as possible, all contact with the old people, managing it so that they see nothing, especially at night, not allowing them to sleep in their houses, except in case of illness and mourning, but it is not easy to avoid it altogether, because three times a day the children go down to the town to eat in their homes, and at fiesta time they are given a holiday, /305/ which they use in hunting birds or in bringing in firewood and foodstuffs (1).

1. The girls receive a more polished education under the uninterrupted vigilance and care of preceptoresses, who teach them, in addition to theoretical-practical religion, all the chores of their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; the vestments and chasubles for use in the solemnities are the work of these girls.

797 What is most ruinous to young neophytes are certain whites
177 of the neighboring cantons, whose profession it is to sell liquor
273 and coca, which they secretly bring into the missions at times of celebration, during which even those of the race enter into the same trade, because they have seen that it is a very lucrative business.

167 In addition many of them emigrate temporarily to the
593 establishments of the Argentine Republic, where, with the excuse
578 that they are going to earn a great deal with a little work, they lead too free a life, drink liquor like water, and become accustomed to drunkenness; then the first thing that they buy is an outsize

/305 cont./

167 knife; they learn to use it like the gauchos, get into fights, are
593 injured, and even get killed, and, when they return to the mission,
578 they only bring a little black clothing for themselves, a trifle or nothing for their wives, to whom they deliver a sovereign beating on the first chance they get, with reason or without, and then, at the first drinking bout they molest peaceful people, disturb public order, and always or nearly always it becomes necessary to bewail
167 the spilling of blood. Let there be added to all of this the fact that
797 the virus of irreligion is beginning to be inoculated hereabouts, and inasmuch as they are not well grounded in the dogmas of the Catholic faith, the result is that those who do not behave like infidels or indifferent persons are Protestants on the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and Catholics in the mission.

000 There is no doubt; moral, religious, and civil progress is the work of time; it is not the work of 40 or 50 years, as some believe. How long does it take to implant social reform among civilized people? How long did it take the Church to become established in the Roman Empire? Truth fought against error for more than 300 years; she was persecuted, shut up in the catacombs, and bathed in the blood of millions of martyrs of the Catholic faith, but in the end she triumphed and raised herself, radiant, above the ruins of error which had reigned for so many centuries.

797 No effort to implant social reform is made in the missions; what is being done is to build, to uproot the Indian from the jungle, to make him come out of barbarism, and to begin to teach him to be a man, to consider himself nobler than the brute; an effort is being made to remove from him the superstition /306/ in which he was born, so that he may believe in the maxims of the true faith. What sacrifice then must it not cost the missionary, who spends the best years, or even all the years, of his life in order to realize this grandiose project without earthly recompense, but rather with the marked scorn of those who should appreciate his highly civilized work (1).

1. The Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi has been in the Potosí Missions since the year 1872; almost all the missions have been founded by him;

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "tà." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

851 191 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

583 191 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

591 595 622 556 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate. The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

764 765

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

/136 cont./

[773] [585] [177]

wife and his Christian daughter, whose name is Candelaria Asúmbai, married according to the Catholic marriage ceremony.

Anduari then says that the first Chiriguano man, named Araparigua, without others knowing it, was saved from the universal flood, because, as a creature who had come directly from the hands of God and consequently was very beloved, he was taken up to the sky before the earth was flooded. /Illustration appears here./ /137/ When the Chiriguano had multiplied anew, he came down again to enjoy as before the pleasures of Bacchus and Venus, but very soon he made himself abhorred by all the people because of his haughtiness and his abuse of the property and women of others. Hence he was at the point of perishing, murdered by his own vassals, but Tunpa came to his aid, took him away again, and put him in his company. There Araparigua swore vengeance and asked Tunpa to destroy the whole race. God, knowing that his privileged creature no longer had any close relatives, such as a wife, mother, father, and children, acceded to his desires, and the Chiriguano were destroyed for a second time (1).

[595]

1. The caciques follow the example of Araparigua, having several wives and abusing others, to the great sorrow of their parents and of the damsels themselves. It is completely false that the women of this race who fall to the cacique consider it an honor, as is stated by Dr. Leocadio Trigo. I do not know if this happens with those of other races, but he writes in general of all of the races of the Chaco.

But the Tunpa did not wish to be without privileged creatures for a long time, and he came down to earth again. He made a human body from clay with all the members corresponding to the masculine sex. Then he made another with all the members of the female body. He gave life to both, they lived, and he left them in their nakedness, leaving them in possession of a beautiful place.

[text continues on p. 188]

/164 cont./

622 643 648 566 46 Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large number of Indians, like Tarúire, derives great benefits from his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income is regular, because generally the caray who makes a request for peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future; interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62 595 It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques; even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

[797] 3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques; some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 [555] [556] /165/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661] 1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

797 /208 cont./ Let the reader consider that the work of the missionary, who strives for and dedicates himself to the reduction of the Indian, would not amount to much if he could make light of immorality, a sin which God anciently punished with two floods, one of water and one of fire, thus manifesting His just indignation with these words: Non permanebit spiritus meus in homine, quia caro est.

595 With these inclinations not at all restrained, but instead fomented with the five physical senses and all the faculties of the soul, it is not strange that there should exist among the Chiriguano a tendency to very frequent bigamy and polygamy as a luxury or a sign of greatness. /204/ If not all have many wives, it is either because it is not easy to support them or because they are not easily found, because every woman would like to be the only mistress in her house (1).

1. In the house of a polygamist or bigamist, the one who gives orders and is in charge as mistress and manager is the oldest, as long as she anticipates her husband's thinking; since, as she knows his irremediable incontinence, in order not to lose her authority in the house, she advises a second and third marriage, etc., and then the master of all of these women imposes the respect due the oldest woman.

[643] Almost all regional caciques are polygamists, and they have a woman in almost every town of their dependency, without counting the eight or twelve that they have in the town where they live. Caciques can do this because they have authority, although they do not give them anything. Formerly polygamy was much more extensive. It is not so now because the race has been much reduced, and there has penetrated everywhere, if not the missionary, the Christian, who at times is a reproach for the lasciviousness of the carnal Ava.

595 178 [797]

/204 cont./

643 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves
648 are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live
797 as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 The important men assert that to possess many wives is
574 necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality
829 to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because
643 the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they
622 do not become such in their youth, when they are like humming-
[582] birds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] 1. Formerly, women were abundant because of
[167] wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

/205 cont./

587 595 When the mother of a family is widowed at a mature age, after a year of widowhood, if she was a dutiful wife, she can easily remarry; it is much easier if she has a daughter, even if she is small. The Chiriguano man marries the mother with the hope of being able to marry the stepdaughter when she reaches a suitable age. If at the time of marrying a widow the stepdaughter is already an adult, it is difficult to achieve this end, because young girls abhor this type of union, in spite of the fact that their mother, in order not to be repudiated, often serves as a go-between for the wicked desires of her husband (2).

[593] [762] 2. The stepdaughter, when she sees the impossibility of freeing herself from the evil intentions of her stepfather, will often run away to another tribe, and, if she cannot manage this, will take her life by suicide.

582 In spite of being so inclined to lechery without regard for kinship, even in a direct line, it is worth considering the respect that the Chiriguano professes for consanguinity, regardless of the degree considered. It is unlikely that a man will marry a cousin in the fourth degree, and he tries to respect [593] even more distant degrees. With much more reason the father respects his daughters as holy things, it being completely false what somebody wrote about this, having heard of the case where one Chiriguano or several had lived with their daughters when the mother had died. It could happen that in the future they might marry their cousins, since they see that their superiors do this, but how many of those who are here will be alive a few years from now?

/300 cont./

797 In sum, the adult Indian infidel, when carefully watched
177 over, is quite submissive in complying with the orders of the missionary father, and even when drunk he is gentle and humble. Although it is quite true that he wishes to know nothing of religion as long as he lives, in order not to learn to pray and to comply with what religion demands, nevertheless today almost all ask for or receive baptism at the time of death. The difficulties which formerly occurred with respect to the sick who were in danger of death, which would be interminable in the telling, have now almost completely disappeared. (1)

1. It is more difficult to baptize old women, for it is they who advise a sick person to refuse to accept baptism, while others coax him to accept for material gain. In such cases it is very necessary to know their language.

[595] If an Indian or a cacique had two or more wives when a mission was founded, bit by bit the missionary can make him give them up until he has but one. This requires some effort, but through persuasion and threats the desired end can be obtained, because this is one of the conditions which the minister of God sets when he is asked by the Indians to establish a mission. This is what I did in San Antonio del Parapiti, and they accepted all the conditions very willingly.

761 The adult Chiriguano is not baptized while he enjoys good
797 health; he only does it at the time of dying and when he is al-
177 most sure that he cannot live any longer. In the past it was even difficult to baptize infants, because they were convinced that baptism is the cause of death, for in their ignorance they did not understand that those who receive baptism in a serious illness died because of the gravity of the disease.

The missionary, because of his long experience, easily recognizes who is in danger of dying, and it is unlikely that he will err, because the serious illnesses of the Chiriguano are known diseases, such as dropsy, smallpox, dysentery, and consumption, to name the principal ones. He thus baptizes precisely those who cannot live, because it would be very

Ee 581 /212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

Ce 582 Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

Ce [171] This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Mataco.

Ee 595 Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

C [643] Ee [586]

Ee 582 Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

C 577 177 797 831 /214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

C [837]

C 577 831 175 The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

534 171 174 114

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

361 622

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

582 595 881 [304] [301] 585 574 844 846

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

C
Ce
882
848

/88 cont./
rarely born (344). Marriages are made among the Chané by a

Ce
583
584

344. Nord. 1, p. 207.

method whereby the young man who wishes to marry sends several pieces of game to the girl's parents. He puts firewood in front of her house, and, if it is used, this signifies consent. But only after having worked for one year for his future mother-in-law can he marry the girl. The night before the wedding, which is celebrated by drinking a good amount of chicha, the young man sleeps with the girl (345).

Ce
585

345. Nord. 1, pp. 211 and 212.

C
Ce
595
643
622

While young men have but one wife, older men, and particularly caciques, often have several wives. Thus the substitute great cacique on the Itiyuru had four wives, who lived in different towns, and the cacique Maringay had two wives, who lived together (346). Marriage between brother and sister is prohibited,

C
Ce
582

346. Nord. 1, pp. 212 and 213.

while cousins may marry (347).

347. Nord. 1, p. 212.

Ce
843

Certain foods are forbidden to the pregnant woman. Thus, among the Chané on the Itiyuru a pregnant woman cannot eat

Ce
[461]

doves. But they do their work until they give birth (348). After

Ce
846

348. Nord. 1, p. 206.

a child has been born, the man must go through the "couvade," which means that he must remain lying down for several days and must stay on a certain diet. Among the Chané on the Parapití for the first few days he may eat only cooked maize and maize soup,

Ce /331 cont./

178 439 323 [177] The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C G 177 178 342 596 Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

C 17 Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C 105 175 The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

C [167] They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 372

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

C 411

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

C [223]

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

Ce [226] [411] [824] Ce 411 824

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinambu* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

C 411 [174] [178]

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

Ce [441] Ce [524]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

C 621 613 596 594

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

C 622 [643]

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

C 623 756 357 565 622

/293 cont./

765 are allowed to when the burial is over: an aunt accompanies them, especially a maternal one if they have one, and stays in the house for a while, if she does not have children of her own.

They look for her in vain, silent and confused, and not even the tenderness of an aunt, who must swallow her own tears in silence, can distract them from their thoughts. When she hears the motherless ones looking for and asking for the one who was the author of their days, she answers the poor creatures with emotion, and even with force, that she will soon return, either from a nearby town or from the field, and meanwhile tears run down her cheeks, giving the lie to her pretended serenity. But the innocent little ones do not understand and continue with their questions, looking at the aunt dismayed and even frightened. What a sad picture!

768 587 When it is a woman who leaves her husband a widower with children, naturally in a short time he must find another wife who will serve as mother to the motherless children and take care of the house, because a man cannot attend to the things which are the domain of a woman. For a short time he can get his close relatives to attend to such things, but they soon get tired or return to the duties of their own home. Then the widower must look for another woman privately and without hurting the feelings /294/ of the neighbors, who naturally understand the distress of the widower who, if he has a mother or an unmarried sister, does not take such a step and tries to abstain from a second marriage as long as he can, but in every case before the year ends he will have found a new companion to brighten his days and make his life pleasanter (1).

768 587 593 602 855

1. The widower tries to marry a sister of the deceased or a close relative, so that she will have affection for the motherless children. When a new wife is tyrannical or is thrown out, either some other relatives of the deceased or of the widower himself take care of the children; the Chirigsano feel deeply the suffering of bereaved children.

/202 cont./

797 the second Chiriguano man and the second
793 Chiriguano woman; I have even made use of
871 this to condemn the vice of polygamy in my monthly instructions to the infidels.

000 /The last paragraph on p. 202 and the first paragraph on p. 203 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 203 follows./

621 It is very natural that the Chiriguano race should form a
59 family. Each tribe, or people, is an association of families.
603 They are made up of fathers and children, but many times they have at their head a grandfather and grandmother who are much respected but who never give any orders or manage things; instead they serve their children willingly as servants, the grandfather in bringing in firewood, planting, and weeding, and the grandmother in everything that a woman can do.

831 There does not seem to be any other race like the
867 Chiriguano in Bolivia, which like none other gives free rein to the passions, especially lewd ones. A maiden who commits a bad act is the pride of her mother, who is content with saying that now her daughter is a woman and ready for it. If a young man does similar things and his father finds out about it, he will ponder the act of his son and say, Cuimbae co, he is a man. This expression is heard frequently (1).

[797] 1. When the missionary attempts to reprehend or
[861] punish the sin of some Chiriguano boy, the father, the grandfather, or the cacique petitions for him, and the best words to lessen the punishment or to say that he deserves no punishment are: Cuimbae ma co, he is now a man.

181 Excessive corruption is the result, and, if the Toba race is distinguished by its inclination toward thievery, the Chiriguano are distinguished by their inclination toward lechery, as old and wise missionaries of the stature of Father Corrado and
000 Father Giannecchini can testify. Let the reader consider that the

/211 cont./

853 262 There is no special food or more abundant food for mothers after childbirth. She who gives her breasts to her little one eats little and extremely poorly. Her ordinary food is parched maize, parched maize meal, bread made of the same, herbs, beans, gourds, other things of this nature, and rarely a little purchased beef, other meat from animals that died from sickness, lack of pasture, or snake bite, and, finally, game or chicken. In spite of this extremely bad food, milk is abundant in her breasts; the children are almost always hanging from them and sucking and never seem to dry them up, which indicates that they are excellent nursers.

648 464 853 Mestizo or white mothers who sometimes have little or no breast milk because of sickness or some accident make contracts with Chiriguano mothers, pay them well, and treat them better, but it seems that continued good and satisfactory nursing harms them, /212/ it also being prejudicial to the breast as well as to both newborn babies, the weaker child succumbing first (1).

1. Naturally the Chiriguano women refuse to be wet nurses for white children, because they abhor them. When through experience they learn of the sad consequences, communicated by others, they resist even more and only do it when force or the right of the stronger prevails.

845

Twins

[163] [165] Multiple births are rare, and those of two children are frequent. In the former case the newborn babies die very soon, and in the latter case one almost always lives, and many times 736 603 both live. When twins survive or through the death of the mother a newborn child is left an orphan, it is very easy for the grandmother to care for one twin or the orphaned child. [853] [824] Although the old woman may have reached or passed 60, she

/212 cont./

736 very easily manages to make the milk come down. She
603 grinds watermelon seed or sarsaparilla root, Isipocagua, and
824 washes herself repeatedly, squeezing herself over or above her
853 breasts, and makes the famished child suck continuously for several days, and in a short time she achieves the desired result. Sometimes even young women lose their milk. They then look for the root and juice of the sámolo, or cipoi, wash the breasts with this juice, and succeed in nursing their children again (2).

2. In the confirmation administered by the Bishop in October, 1909, in Ivu Mission, an old woman of some 60 years of age presented her granddaughter, whom she had nursed. She is still alive, and so is the twin granddaughter, although not very strong.

Joy and Grief

855 For the Chiriguano race their joy at the birth of a male child is the same as at that of a female child, because if the former helps his father in field chores and in hunting and fishing, the latter helps her mother in household chores, and the father as much as the grandfather very much like to eat meal which has been ground by the hands /213/ of their daughter
765 or granddaughter. If either one dies, the grief that the old
855 people feel is very heavy. I witnessed many times a mother's agonies of grief over the death of her son and the profound feeling of the father over the irreparable loss of his idolized daughter.

797 What I am going to relate will better convince my
758 readers. In the month of July in the year 1909, a rabid dog
164 at the girls' school of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission bit Cecilia Yaguándai slightly and Ana Yarandui and Delina Aragúndai more severely. The two latter, younger than the

/221 cont./

Private Life

593 888 The father and mother take great pains for the material or corporal well-being of their children, both male and female, and they in turn have affection for their parents. Nevertheless there is no lack of creatures with very bad inclinations, who forget their parents' goodness, forget the labors undertaken by the latter in caring for them in their tender years, and abandon them in their old age in the midst of their suffering and privations.

593 861 867 273 The father and mother almost never address harsh words to their children; much less do they correct them with corporal punishment. The children attend the public drinking sessions in the company of their parents, and how strange it can seem to see father and son sometimes drunk together in the streets or in the plaza of the town! They see their fathers in other people's fields, taking advantage of the first fruits, and then the son does what he has seen. He hears his mother telling stories not at all clean, he sees acts not at all moral, he witnesses altercations in the house, hears his mother's jealousy, sees his father's bad deeds, and he thus will naturally follow the same path when he arrives at an age of competence and even before.

855 603 581 If the woman is very young when she is married, as often happens, it is the grandparents who take care of the grandchildren so that the young daughter may have more time to enjoy herself, since in the beginning /222/ marriage is nothing but fun for the young people (1).

855 593 606 1. Young girls help their mothers in the care of their own children and in the preparation of chicha, knowing that the drunken husband will first hit her, or even his parents-in-law if they try to protect her.

/222 cont./

553
551
603

The Giving of the Name and Puberty

The giving of the name is done when the boy or little girl begins to understand and articulate words, so that by repetition it may be impressed on their memory and they may know what their name is. Generally, grandmothers in the case of girls and grandfathers in the case of boys have the privilege of giving the name, and they do this by noting some physical peculiarity of the little boys and girls, such as Tesapona, pretty eyes, Saanti, white eyes, Cuñanti, white woman. But sometimes no peculiarity is noted, and they baptize them with the name of parts of the body of animals, such as Yaguacupe, jaguar spine, Tatunai, armadillo tooth, Yaguaracu, jaguar fever. Generally, women's names end in Iru, that is, vessel or receptacle. Thus, for the Chiriguano a woman is something born and destined to serve him as he thinks best (2).

000

> 2. Only Catholicism, brought by the Redeemer and preached by the apostles, reinstates woman; where it has not penetrated, she remains a slave, as in Africa and in other places on the globe.

881

For children of both sexes a critical period approaches, the period of puberty, which in many is precocious and which normally occurs at the age of 11 or 12. The life or death of the Chiriguano, his future well-being or misfortunes, depend on this critical period. If all the prescriptions engraved on the minds of the family fathers are observed by those who reach that age, all the rest of their lives will be a delight, and, if not, every kind of calamity will overcome them.

When the maiden shows the first symptoms of puberty, Yimundía, her parents make her rest for a few days until what many out of modesty call sickness, Mbaerasi, goes away. Then she is put in a hammock or something similar, and, lying down on it like a body without a soul, she is

/207 cont./

says it is probably known to all Brazilian tribes. On the other hand, the custom of the couvade seems to be unknown to the Quichua /Quechua/ and Aymara, that is to say, to the mountain culture in Bolivia and Peru. This is one of the many contrasts between the Indians of the mountains and of the virgin forest.

The Gúarayú Indians of northeastern Bolivia told me that if a man goes hunting immediately after his wife's confinement and, for example, shoots a parrot, he might kill his child. That is, during the first days of life the soul of the child follows the father.

Illegitimate children are very rarely born among the Chané and Chiriguano. I believe, perhaps I am mistaken, that the women of these Indians are chaste before they marry. On the Rio Itiyuro, among about 500 Chané, there was only one child born to an unmarried woman. Deformed children are very rarely born. Thus, from what I saw and what Batirayu said, in the entire Parapiti Valley, among 1500-2,000 Chané, there is no one who was born blind, none cross-eyed, no idiot, and only one with deformed extremities, and four deaf mutes. I did not observe any Indians with a serious stutter.

I do not know whether among these Indians, too, deformed children are immediately killed, but this is probably the case. Nor do I know whether abortion occurs. It is certain, however, that these healthy women seldom bear children who are not well formed. Nevertheless, in the Parapiti valley, as was said, there was a boy with deformed extremities. One hip bone was too short and one arm was also crippled. This boy was treated by all with extraordinary kindness, /208/ and loud approval was expressed when I gave him a few small presents.

When the child begins to walk, it is given a name. This is not given by the father or mother, but by its grandparents. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti I wrote down a few names. If it is a boy, he is called, for example, yatéurembi (lip of the tick), huásucaca (guanaco), tátunambi (armadillo ear), yánducúpe (ostrich back), vacainyáca (cow head), aguárachivi (fox urine), derésa paravéte (your poor eyes); if it is a girl, for example, árasaypoti (guava blossom) (1). A great many of the names are

1. Psidium guayava.

/345 cont./

241 The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields.
115 "Captain" Karnapadyú made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations, without sparing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I answered that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

243 The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for
593 her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of
583 it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano
606
[585]

1. Corrado (p. 155) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacras nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whose laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

433
224 I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano vil-
178 lages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game. It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo,
[251] chuña /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Nino, pp. 249-258).

/207 cont./

591
583

otherwise they will not give up their daughters. The measure is a very good one; this often keeps a man from abusing his authority because of his respect for the old ones and for fear of being thrown out.

000

Life and Tasks during Marriage

The life of man is a continuous struggle, said St. Job, Militia est vita hominis super terram, but life in marriage is a double struggle; one who passes from the estate of bachelorhood into that of marriage sees it as soon as the honeymoon is over. The missionary dedicated to the conversion of infidels, like the parish priest in the administration of a parish, can readily testify as to whether the suffering of his married parishioners is or is not greater than that of his unmarried parishioners.

585 A new life then begins for the Chiriguano newlyweds. As soon as the intimate meal in the husband's house is over, they go out in public freely, go out into the countryside, get supplies of maize, firewood, and water, make the drink ferment, and, when this is ready, invite their relatives and friends and enjoy themselves for a day, without becoming disorderly. Even the neophytes do this on the day of marriage, because they have seen that that is what the white Christians do (2).

• [606]

2. This party is held in the house of the parents-in-law, for which reason both of the old people help efficiently, the one in bringing in firewood and the other, the mother, helping her young daughter in everything, including serving the drinkers.

/221 cont./

Private Life

593 888 The father and mother take great pains for the material or corporal well-being of their children, both male and female, and they in turn have affection for their parents. Nevertheless there is no lack of creatures with very bad inclinations, who forget their parents' goodness, forget the labors undertaken by the latter in caring for them in their tender years, and abandon them in their old age in the midst of their suffering and privations.

593 861 867 273 The father and mother almost never address harsh words to their children; much less do they correct them with corporal punishment. The children attend the public drinking sessions in the company of their parents, and how strange it can seem to see father and son sometimes drunk together in the streets or in the plaza of the town! They see their fathers in other people's fields, taking advantage of the first fruits, and then the son does what he has seen. He hears his mother telling stories not at all clean, he sees acts not at all moral, he witnesses altercations in the house, hears his mother's jealousy, sees his father's bad deeds, and he thus will naturally follow the same path when he arrives at an age of competence and even before.

855 603 [581] If the woman is very young when she is married, as often happens, it is the grandparents who take care of the grandchildren so that the young daughter may have more time to enjoy herself, since in the beginning /222/ marriage is nothing but fun for the young people (1).

855 593 606 1. Young girls help their mothers in the care of their own children and in the preparation of chicha, knowing that the drunken husband will first hit her, or even his parents-in-law if they try to protect her.

/111 cont./

141 both men and women, and fair hair indicates either an
142 oddity or a clandestine affair. The forehead is rather small, as are also the languid, downcast eyes; the face is round, the nose flat, the mouth wide, the denture white as ivory, the chin short, and the lips rather thick. /112/ The
142 men do not wear beards, and anyone would believe that they
302 are beardless, but the main reason why they do not have one is that they pull out the hairs as they grow, and for this they have some tin tweezers with which they make all the hair disappear, and they do well, because otherwise, in view of their slovenliness, with long beards they would really be orangutans (1).

[186] 1. The Toba call the Chiriguano tigre face because of his round face, and the latter gets back at them by calling them horse face because of their long faces. In the missions the neophytes wear mustache and goatee.

141 They have a chest thrust forward, rather heavy
[291] shoulders and arms, normal-sized hands, and not very big feet, in spite of the fact that they grow as they will since they always go barefoot, especially the women, and not
147 all of them wear sandals /ojotas/. When they are enjoy-
[853] ing good health, they are very robust, and the women without the slightest bother will nurse two babes at their
[609] breasts. Whenever some white Christian woman is not able to nurse, she usually seeks out a Chiriguano woman to wet-nurse her child; this, in addition to being very advantageous because of the goodness of the blood, is also quite eco-
855 nomical. But it is true that most Indian women do not
[609] wish to take care of children other than their own; most
[466] of the time they agree to it with reluctance, or by force, this last occurring when the Indians are subject to a master.

/125 cont./

736 [578] Thus, being an orphan is unknown among these Indians, and the worst insult that can be given to a Chiriguano is to call him Tinei, orphan, or paravete, poor. The family which takes charge of an orphan who was left without a father or mother or close relatives, treats him better than its own children. To the latter it shows strictness and obliges them to do certain chores of minor importance, but to the orphan never. He works because he wants to, and he sees that gratitude to his new parents demands it of him. He remains in the house in which he is a guest until the age of puberty, and then, with no thanks whatever, he disappears and goes to live in other towns, where he may settle down temporarily or forever, depending upon how well he may be received there (1).

576

1. Chiriguano boys never thank anyone for anything, but when they take leave they say Ayema, I am leaving. Old people and adults utter an occasional word of thanks.

574 609 With transients or travelers, whether they be Indians or whites, they use proper manners. If there is chicha in the house, it is the first thing that they offer him when he has taken a seat, and then they prepare for him whatever food is available. There are travelers who remain in a Chiriguano house for weeks and months, and never does the Indian get tired of him. He serves him just as he served him on the first day, and when he leaves he even makes him promise to come back to visit. Oh, how the barbarians who are called savages shame the conduct of so many men who call themselves civilized, and, greater dishonor, Catholic Christians! They treat inhumanely their fellowmen, comparing them with quadrupeds. They cheat the helpless, are bad examples for the unfortunate, making them pay dearly in times of want for even a handful of maize, while the Indian, when he has it, will give it away, or charge very little for it, and makes no request for payment should the white come to his house to ask for water or for chicha, which is never lacking in times of abundance (2).

2. I have seen maize sold on the scales at

/125 cont./

574
609

20 centavos the libra, and 25 as well. In the Chaco this is too expensive.

/126/

600

Chapter Four

Religion, Divinities, and Beliefs of the Chiriguano

/The introduction to this chapter, "An Illustrious Franciscan," pp. 126-127, is omitted in the translation./

/128/

Religion

121

It is beyond any doubt that all peoples profess some religion. This fact is proved by the testimony of all missionaries and confirmed by innumerable travelers of various nationalities and who profess different creeds.

But to the extent that religion implies external demonstrations of veneration, the variety of ways of worship is so great that it may well be stated that every people has its special way, proper and peculiar to it, in which it honors its divinities.

The most advanced peoples display in their respective demonstrations of worship all possible splendor. They have magnificent temples, priests, and a ceremonial which, if it is not always in conformity with the dictates of common sense, does tend, nevertheless, by its nature and form, to awaken in man a sense of veneration and respect for a superior being, represented by something which strikes the senses.

From this point of view it would not be too bold to state that the external worship of peoples in general is in direct proportion to their level of civilization and culture.

This explains why among savage people there can scarcely be discovered a single sign, a ceremony, which might be a sign of external demonstrations of worship. But in reality it does

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c
ce
342
[592]
*[171]
&
361
342
[609]

village consisting of only a few big huts.[1]) These plainly correspond to the great family-houses known to us from Brazil, but which in Bolivia I have only seen among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe on the Lago Rojo-Aguado. CHOMÉ[2]) gives no exact information about the huts. He says they stood in a circle around an open place. In the middle of the square there was a special hut for strangers. According to NIXO[3]) the Chiriguano formerly had round houses. He gives a rather lengthy description of these, but does not tell us the source of his information. NIXO describes at length how the Chiriguano now build their houses.

c
ce
342
177

As early as the time of VIEDMA[4]) — end of the 18th century — they seem to have forsaken their original type of house and built themselves smaller huts. Since the dwelling-houses here retain no traces of their original shape, it is useless to make comparisons with other Indian huts. There is hardly anything in Indian culture which so quickly changes under the influence of the Whites as the houses. The acquisition of iron tools makes it possible to put up quickly properly built houses. An Indian tribe need consequently not have been long in contact with the Whites before they alter the style of their huts. This is not the case, to be sure, with all the tribes, for many, such as those in the interior of the Chaco, tenaciously preserve the primitive type of hut which, though small and inconvenient, affords greater protection from cold than the roomier dwellings of the Whites.

c
ce
*[171]

It would be of interest to find out in what measure

---

[1]) Annua de la Compañía de Jesús — Tucuman y Perú — 1596. «El mayor de los pueblos es de cinco casas; lo común es de tres; mas son muy largas, de más de 150 pasos, á dos aguas, con estantes en el medio sobre que se arma la cumbrera, y de estante á estante vive una parentela.» LIZÁRRAGA P. 332.

[2]) P. 313. «Pendant ce temps-là, je n'avais pas d'autre logement que le toit de paille qui étoit au milieu de la place.»

[3]) P. 174.

[4]) P. 181. «Sus casas son unos pequeños ranchos hechos de caña.»

[P. 190 is blank]

142 To me, the Chiriguano seemed to be of better physique than both the Puna and the Chaco Indians, and their cast of features, as a rule, to be less rough-hewn than those of the above-mentioned tribes. Herma ten Kate has taken anthropological measurements of four Chiriguano men, whose average height was determined at 160.1 cm.[1] Lehmann-Nitsche, who has made anthropological observations of 50 Chiriguano (40 men and 10 women), is my authority for the data I have grouped together in the subjoined table.[2]

[141 [127]

The Chiriguano; some physical data.

Sex	Average height, cm	Shape of skull	Colour of skin, Luschan's scale	Colour of hair, Fischer's scale	Iris, by Martin's scale
Men	163.4	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 12	Majority 4	Majority 3—4
Women	151.7	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 18	Majority 4	Majority 3—4

142 The Chiriguano complexion is, accordingly, brown with a tint of yellow; the iris is dark brown, the hair black, coarse and lank. The growth of hair on face and body is very scanty.

361 The Chiriguano are not a nomadic people, but live in permanent villages, some of which are the abode of only a few families, whilst others contain several hundreds of inhabitants. At Ibitibi I was studying a Chiriguano village that, according to the Indians, was inhabited by about 300 people. This village was situated on a plain surrounded by wooded mountains (fig. 188). The huts formed a large circle, with the chief's hut in the centre. In the open space between the chief's hut and the rest, there were growing some close-foliaged trees (probably of the Bignoniaceæ family), affording much-needed shade. In earlier literature it is stated that the Chiriguano used to build a hut for strangers in the middle of the village plaza.[3] In many of the Chiriguano villages I visited, the huts were scattered about without any perceivable order.

[114] [574] [609]

342 The huts are rectangular and with ridged roofs. (Figs. 188—192.) The walls either consist of perpendicular sticks, of tree-branches or reeds,

[1] Ten Kate (I), p. 16.
[2] Lehmann-Nitsche (I).
[3] Nordenskiöld (II), p. 2.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 372

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

C 411

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

C [223]

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

Ce [226] [411] [824] Ce 411 824

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

C 411 171 178

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

Ce [441] Ce 824

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

C 621 613 596 594

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

C 692 [643]

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

C 623 756 357 565 692

C /331 cont./

105 This migration had as its motive power the attraction
175 which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the
[167] Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth
[173] of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

Ce At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population
[197] of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt
[199] strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

C The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced
[548] the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives.
[549] The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.
[619] From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a de-
C cisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that
[177] today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

Ce On their part the Chané adopted the language of their
[197] conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a
[197] secret language.
[198]

C
175
131

Situation of the Chiriguano in the 19th Century and Today

In the 19th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the
C Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22°
[101] south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáo, and the upper
C Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Mataco-Mataguayo and the
[361] Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

/157 cont./

Principle of Authority

600 The principle of authority is innate in humankind and to attempt to destroy it is madness. Ever since man came into the world, the principle of authority has existed, as can clearly be read in /158/ Genesis: Sub viri potestate eris et ipse dominabitur tui; thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee.

As it is innate in humankind, through guilt more than through necessity in the beginning, the said principle has always been in effect everywhere. There is no nation, no matter how barbarous, which does not recognize this principle as a necessity, and to attempt to destroy it, as the anarchists wish to do, is to wish for the impossible. The Tubicha, great one or authority, say the old Indians, emanates from God himself, and that is why it begins with the same letter. The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 214/ shows several caciques of the San Buenaventura Mission; only the one in the frock coat and cane (Anduari) did not take part in the uprising at Curuyuqui (1).

[551] 1. The Indians in the illustration are: Asicayu, Asucari, Periquiyu, and Guarerai to the right of the cacique Anduari; Chipa and Patiri, or Patricio, at the left.

648 The entire region has today been explored and is under the power of the whites, who first entered with the permission of the owner (ab immemorabili), and after having taken possession, they have made themselves owners, buying lands as
● 619 property of the nation. Some might believe that the Chiriguano
961 liked to live in great centers, when it is known that formerly
[622] they were very numerous, but one who passes through the territory
[643] will soon understand that each tribe is at most made up of some 40 families and that in each tribe there is a cacique who is dependent upon another greater one, whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great of the great. In one league of territory or even less, an explorer, or passer-by, or sojourner can still find four or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances.

/158 cont./

000 or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances. The only large town
361 that I found on my travels is Membirai, which is joined to
Choreti guasu on the left bank of the Parapiti. I know Caipipendi,
[114] where I often slept; the Indians are many, but they live in dif-
[62] ferent places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (2).

797
619
361

2. The beautiful Santa Rosa Mission was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place shown them by the missionary. In Yumbía there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique

622

Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /159/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple; when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the sorcerer to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

[631]
[643]

1. In each tribe there is but one cacique; many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

[262] At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep
[273] or rest in their homes, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

/164 cont./

622 643 648 566 46 Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large number of Indians, like Tarúire, derives great benefits from his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income is regular, because generally the caray who makes a request for peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future; interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

● 62 595 It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques; even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

[797] 3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques; some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 [555] [556] /165/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661] 1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

175 /332 cont./ Permanent
[3] villages were there under the command of hereditary caciques.
[361] The middle course of the Parapití formed their boundary to
[62] the east. In the 18th century the Chiriguano constituted the most important and remarkable nation of the western Chaco.
161 The statistics concerning them vary a great deal: the figures, given with their usual exaggerations, vary between 41,000 and
[114] 15,000 warriors. The Chané are included in this number, which completely removes all value from these statistics." (Kersten, pp. 68-69.)

131 Today the boundaries of the Chiriguano have stayed
[178] about the same. But even though they inhabit a territory whose extent has varied little, their situation has none the less
[162] undergone great changes. Several thousand half-breeds from Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Chuquisaca have settled inside this area that we have defined. A Chiriguano frontier no longer exists, but only remains of villages and small groups which still mark
161 the former extent of the tribe. On the other hand, the num-
131 ber of Chiriguano has diminished terribly and is diminishing each day, so that a few years from now the true habitat /333/ of the Chiriguano will be contained between the Parapiti and the Pilcomayo and will be reduced to the former Franciscan missions and to several valleys of the Precordillera, such as those of Caipipendí and Igüembé (1).

114
194
131

1. Some historians not well informed about the ethnic geography of South America have claimed that in the 16th century the Chiriguano lived well beyond the boundaries I have indicated. One of them (Dr. Fulgencio Moreno) went so far in this direction that he attributes to the Chiriguano the possession of a large part of northwestern Argentina and pushes this fancy to the point of locating them almost as far as in the province of Córdoba. Mr. Coni in an excellent monograph, documents in hand, has done good justice to these bold allegations and has demonstrated that these hypotheses were without foundation.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

/158 cont./

000 or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances. The only large town
361 that I found on my travels is Membirai, which is joined to
Choreti guasu on the left bank of the Parapiti. I know Caipipendi,
[114] where I often slept; the Indians are many, but they live in dif-
[621] ferent places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (2).

797
619
361

2. The beautiful Santa Rosa Mission was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place shown them by the missionary. In Yumbía there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique.

622

Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /159/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple; when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the sorcerer to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

[631]
[643]

1. In each tribe there is but one cacique; many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

[262]
[273]

At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep or rest in their homes, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

/161 cont./

273
824
171

and the Mataco; thus the fruit of the chañar, mistol, and algarroba are used in the manufacture of chicha.

Subalterns

621
623

The cacique of a tribe is not alone in political, judicial, and administrative administration. In order to have a more correct administration, he, as sole and supreme authority, selects counselors and assistants, whom he seeks from among the most competent persons of the tribe. The primary advisors are whatever sorcerers there may be; these men are thus feared and hence respected by the people, who make use of them in sickness and calamity, both public and private.

621
624
554

Next in rank as counselors come other men to whom they give the name Igũira iya, owner of the stick or baton, according to the signification of the word and which corresponds in Spanish to hombre de mando ó autoridad /man in command or authority/. Thus they are the alcaldes, to whom the cacique hands over part of his authority with absolute subordination, so that through complaints, ineptitude, or other causes, the alcaldes are summarily dismissed and then others appointed. In each tribe there is a single alcalde who does everything, because the cacique, in his town, is better than an emperor, not having to lift a straw and spending his time in prolonged idleness.

/162/ The alcaldes in the tribes take charge of the rest of the settlers; in a search for peons they hear the sarcasms and recriminations of their fellows, and many times they definitely disobey them, even going so far as to insult them with: Mburubicha pa nde? Perhaps you are a cacique?" (1)

1. In the missions with many tribes there are as many caciques and alcaldes as there are tribes composing them. In this regard the custom of the Indians has been respected for a better and more honest administration.

/169 cont./

In both cases the ranchos which had been formed were left destroyed, despite the fact that the latter, because they had been built under the direction of the missionary, were quite comfortable, new, and /170/ well covered with red straw /paja colorada/, which is the best for the construction of ranchos.

731 361 The Chiriguano Indian does not do this. He also on occasion suffers from a scarcity of supplies, because the land on which he lives produces harvests only when there is no lack of rain. In times of scarcity he bars the door of his house [574] with poles or thorns, temporarily leaves his town, and goes off to distant lands in search of food, gets it, and brings it to his home, but he does not emigrate en masse, nor does he build temporary huts in a foreign place or town, and if he has any relatives in the places where there is abundant food, he seeks them out and is welcomed and well treated by them. He remains there for weeks and even months, until his fellows are tired of him, and then he takes his leave, taking the little food that is offered to him as something precious, and in fact it is in times of hunger.

361 [62] [592] Chiriguano towns are small, consisting of a few houses, most of them not exceeding 20 or 30 houses; these are large and in each one there are up to three families, but close relatives, such as father and married son and married daughter; they form a square and are so situated as to enclose the little plaza. They are not pretty, but they are clean; they are not large, but neither are they as small as those of some towns of the whites. These Chiriguano towns are poor; it is hard to [342] find in them houses with tiles, but they are comfortable, with the roofs, as will be said, having the necessary slope so that they do not readily admit drips (1).

[354]

1. In the upper part of the house they make a long, continuous opening to allow the smoke to escape; it is made in such a way that it does not allow water to come in during the rainy season.

/202 cont./

797 the second Chiriguano man and the second
793 Chiriguano woman: I have even made use of
871 this to condemn the vice of polygamy in my monthly instructions to the infidels.

000 /The last paragraph on p. 202 and the first paragraph on p. 203 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 203 follows./

621 It is very natural that the Chiriguano race should form a
59 family. Each tribe, or people, is an association of families.
603 They are made up of fathers and children, but many times they have at their head a grandfather and grandmother who are much respected but who never give any orders or manage things: instead they serve their children willingly as servants, the grandfather in bringing in firewood, planting, and weeding, and the grandmother in everything that a woman can do.

831 There does not seem to be any other race like the
867 Chiriguano in Bolivia, which like none other gives free rein to the passions, especially lewd ones. A maiden who commits a bad act is the pride of her mother, who is content with saying that now her daughter is a woman and ready for it. If a young man does similar things and his father finds out about it, he will ponder the act of his son and say, Cuimbae co, he is a man. This expression is heard frequently (1).

[797] 1. When the missionary attempts to reprehend or
[861] punish the sin of some Chiriguano boy, the father, the grandfather, or the cacique petitions for him, and the best words to lessen the punishment or to say that he deserves no punishment are: Cuimbae ma co, he is now a man.

181 Excessive corruption is the result, and, if the Toba race is distinguished by its inclination toward thievery, the Chiriguano are distinguished by their inclination toward lechery, as old and wise missionaries of the stature of Father Corrado and
000 Father Giannecchini can testify. Let the reader consider that the

/277 cont./

Combat and Pillaging

726 Finally, the infantrymen get in the center, the horsemen on both sides, and the queremba in front, because they must always be the first to be wounded. Matters thus arranged, facing /278/ [704] the enemy, still in bed, the invading army moves forward at a trot, and when it has come as far as some 100 meters from the town, the infantrymen and horsemen set out at full speed, they pound the horns, porongos, senene, and igüiramimbi, all the soldiers raise an infernal shout and sow confusion in the little town. The inhabitants, losing no time, take up arms and come out to fight with courage. The women, children, and dogs add to the confusion and run in terror to hide if they can. Meanwhile the combat is terrible and bloody on every side, the in- 726 929 vaders fight with tenacity for victory, and those invaded, for their own defense, for that of their wives, children, and property. They fall, some run through by an arrow, others opened by a lance, those seriously wounded and dragged by their long hair, these trampled by the horses of the cavalrymen, who charge the unfortunate ones without pity or mercy (1).

[621] 1. Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of 40 or 50 families, and therefore the combat could not last for many hours, since those invaded were in addition taken by surprise.

In a few minutes the little plaza and the streets are full of dead and wounded. Some of the cavalrymen detain the fleeing children and women and prevent the flight of the defenders, who--a few of them--have been trying to give up the unequal fight. The fight is over before the sun appears. If the number of defenders is quite low, the invading cacique stops the battle and orders the killing of the few survivors, without concerning himself with those who have already fled.

/231 cont./

One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village, though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand, there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy individual Indians, but they, like Taco, live like the whites.

The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader of the fighting men.

Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain. A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

According to Batirayu, whose statements are more reliable than those of /232/ Vocapoy, the high chief of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti deals with no offenses other than murder, seduction of another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with poisoned chicha, "bád-dyási," occurred in former times among the Chané. Murderer and bewitcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the open plaza in the village.

Fig. 115. Calabash. Chiriguano. Itapenhia. 1/6.

The administrative authorities of the whites are now intervening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner, even if it has lain fallow for years.

/14 cont./

131 without our having any information on their stopping place. Some Chorote live in the territory of the Chiriguano, near [563] Yacuiba, and also, without counting the missions, the whole [797] territory has been penetrated by whites and mestizos.

131 174 According to these data given by Nordenskiöld, the territory of the Chiriguano, after their definitive subjection by the whites and up to the present time, has remained the same as that which they had at the time of their independence, except, it would seem, that they have come down more into the valleys and do not now live, as was stated in the 16th century documents, on top of the inaccessible mountains, which, as natural fortresses, offered them a secure refuge during their expeditions.

Towns and Houses

361 177 The arrangement of the towns and the form of the houses of the Chiriguano are not at the present time the primordial ones, and they have probably passed through two different transformations, one after the other, first under the influence of the architecture of Inca culture and later the architecture of the whites. /15/ According to the Annua de la Compañia de Jesús Tucumán and Peru, of the year 1596, the Chiriguano towns were composed of only a few houses that were large enough to house as many as 100 persons. In his "Descripción breve de toda la 361 tierra del Perú, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata y Chile /A Brief 342 Description of all the Land of Peru, Tucumán, Río de la Plata, 62 and Chile/," Father Lizarraga (56) describes the Chiriguano [113]

56. Madrid, 1909. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 15. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

towns in the following way: "The largest of the towns is one of five houses: the common number is three; but they are very long, more than 150 paces, with a two-sloped roof with posts in the middle, upon which the framework is constructed, and one kin group /parentela/ lives between one post and the next one."

/16/

361 The town Ibitibi in the southern part of Chiriguano terri-
●62 tory, south of the Pilcomayo River, examined minutely by
162 Eric v. Rosen, was inhabited, according to the Indians, by about 300 persons. The town was located on a plain surrounded by mountains and forests. The houses formed a large circumference, the cacique's house being in the middle. Some shade trees had been planted in the open plaza between the cacique's house and the other houses. In other Chiriguano towns visited by v. Rosen, houses were dispersed without any order. According to the observations of v. Nordenskiöld too, Chiriguano towns are sometimes quite large and inhabited by around 100 persons. Often several towns are near one another. The houses are generally around a plaza sometimes planted with trees and serving as a place to play and to hold meetings.

342 We know the form of the Chiriguano houses in detail through v. Rosen (63), and primarily through the good photo-

63. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 191: Figs. 188-192 and 217.

[335] graphs of such houses. The houses are rectangular and their roofs end in points. Walls and roofs are held up by posts. The walls consist either of only vertical poles made from branches or reeds, close together and tied by horizontal ligatures, or of interwoven poles whose interstices are plastered with mud. The roof (opitiá) is covered with straw. One type of house was illustrated in a photograph by v. Rosen (64), on which one

64. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 190.

side of the roof projects at the top over the other side of the
[171] roof. The same house type also exists in the ancient culture of the Peruvians, as is shown by sketches found on the surface of ancient Peruvian vessels.

/337 cont./

243 [476] [534] Once their fields are free of weeds, the Chiriguano call together relatives and friends. On the date agreed upon, all go to the fields early in the morning, after waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by blowing into cow horns, which for them take the place of horns (in Chiriguano: waka-ranti) (Fig. 5), each trying to outdo the other. In olden days the [622] village chief used to take part in the sowing and watched to make sure that all helped one another.

[534] [321] Fig. 5. Cow horn (waka-ranti) which the Chiriguano use for a horn. The end is carved into a mouthpiece. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/5 nat. size.)

Sowing is done in a very simple way. If the ground is soft, the Indian sticks his shovel vertically into the soil, after giving two or three thrusts in order to push it in as far as possible. He enlarges the slit by pushing his shovel forward without drawing it out and slips two or three kernels of corn into the opening. Without changing position he makes two or three similar holes on his right and left, takes a step forward and begins again. The plants thus grow in a certain alignment /338/ which is far from perfect. Since several work at [461] a time, the job is done quickly. At noon, or about two o'clock [273] in the afternoon at the latest, they have finished their task and go back to the village where the chicha or kāwi, which the owner of the field has had prepared for his helpers, awaits them

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 372

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

C 411

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

C [223] Ce [226] [411] [824] Ce 411 824

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

C 411 [171] [178]

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Ce [411] Ce [824]

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

C 621 613 596 594

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

C 622 [643]

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

C 623 756 357 565 622

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chaue SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chaná* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chaná* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chaná* (*Guaraní*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "á, á."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1810 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had
304 his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "á, á" for the masculine "tá." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

851 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before mar-
191 riage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective
383 father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride serv-
191 ice, a custom widely spread among *Guarani*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River a few decades ago. The bride-
591 groom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

595 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of
●622 wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many
556 cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and
764 dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate.
765 The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwaka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

/148 cont./

754 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where
761 God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something
753 the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[761] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

756 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others
● 622 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a
623 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has
643 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of
571 the lower caciques; they discuss the appropriate measures to
731 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The
755 first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very
756 great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make
554 him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there
731 is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /149/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

4: Nino--214 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

799
622
291

Group of Caciques from the Ivo Mission

/157 cont./

Principle of Authority

000 The principle of authority is innate in humankind and to attempt to destroy it is madness. Ever since man came into the world, the principle of authority has existed, as can clearly be read in /158/ Genesis: Sub viri potestate eris et ipse dominabitur tui; thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee.

As it is innate in humankind, through guilt more than through necessity in the beginning, the said principle has always been in effect everywhere. There is no nation, no matter how barbarous, which does not recognize this principle as a necessity, and to attempt to destroy it, as the anarchists wish to do, is to wish for the impossible. The Tubicha, great one or authority, say the old Indians, emanates from God himself, and that is why it begins with the same letter. The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 214/ shows several caciques of the San Buenaventura Mission; only the one in the frock coat and cane (Anduari) did not take part in the uprising at Curuyuqui (1).

[551] 1. The Indians in the illustration are; Asicayu, Asucari, Periquiyu, and Guarerai to the right of the cacique Anduari; Chipa and Patiri, or Patricio, at the left.

648 The entire region has today been explored and is under the power of the whites, who first entered with the permission of the owner (ab immemorabili), and after having taken possession, they have made themselves owners, buying lands as 619 property of the nation. Some might believe that the Chiriguano 361 liked to live in great centers, when it is known that formerly [622] they were very numerous, but one who passes through the territory [643] will soon understand that each tribe is at most made up of some 40 families and that in each tribe there is a cacique who is dependent upon another greater one, whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great of the great. In one league of territory or even less, an explorer, or passer-by, or sojourner can still find four or five Chiriguano Tribes at short distances.

/158 cont./

000 361 or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances. The only large town that I found on my travels is Membirai, which is joined to Choreti guasu on the left bank of the Parapiti. I know Caipipendi, [114] [62] where I often slept; the Indians are many, but they live in different places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (2).

797 619 361

2. The beautiful Santa Rosa Mission was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place shown them by the missionary. In Yumbía there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique

•622

Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /159/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple; when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the sorcerer to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

[631] [643]

1. In each tribe there is but one cacique; many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

[262] [273] At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep or rest in their homes, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

622 /159 cont./
may be general rejoicing with the drinking of the pretasted
[262] Cangũi, chicha, squash and beans to eat together with Aticúi,
[273] meal, and Atipíi, parched corn. In his prolonged discourse
he recommends union in labor so that it may soon be finished,
since the field of the cacique is planted first and then those of
the rest, with all of them helping one another. When I came to
the missions, the soldiers of the cacique Gũiraesa still did it in
this way. I shall speak of this cacique and his family in another
chapter.

622 692 The cacique also arbitrates the arguments which frequently
arise in the planting season, since even among these people
there reigns covetousness of the property of others, should it be
good and free of brush; he settles family disputes, admonishing
the parents and also their children. If a theft occurs, it is also he
who makes claims before the cacique of the neighboring tribe,
but if this should occur within his own, he will summarily ad-
minister justice. His sentence is absolute and in general not
subject to appeal (2).

[799] 2. There are several caciques in the missions,
because they are made up of several tribes.
The missionary governs them all, with the result
that the authority of the caciques is almost
nominal.

721 It frequently happens that, as a result of some affront done
to some woman of a tribe, a bloody war begins, which assumes
the characteristics of a regional one. This happened during the
[643] 1850's in the Cuevo region. The cacique Gũiracoti tried without
[837] success to have relations with the wife of Yaveau, cacique of the
right bank of the stream of Cuevo. In revenge the offended man
disposed of a head of cattle belonging to /160/ Gũiracoti;
hostilities were then declared and each cacique prepared for war.

/160 cont./

721 648 Güiracoti was inferior to Yaveau in number of soldiers and in personal valor, but with his lies he obtained the assistance of the Indians of Yuti, Choreti, and Parapiti Grande, and even of the whites who had entered the Cordillera country and were living in Lagunillas (1).

1. Güiracoti led the whites to believe that Yaveau was intending to rebel against them; hence he was able to get the regional cacique of the Parapiti, called Chituri, to come with him.

726 727 [648] The large number of the enemy sowed panic in the camp of Yaveau, who, along with many others, had joined up the Toba. The first battle was lost, and he had to hide with his people on the slopes and hill of Irenta, but, once recovered from the defeat which he had suffered through the superiority in numbers and differences in arms and in races, he soon went in search of the enemy, inflicting numerous casualties among them, and Güiracoti had to leave his tribe, retiring to the left bank of the Parapiti River, in order not to fall into his rival's hands and be run through by his powerful arrow and have the misfortune of having his head separated from his body, which on the point of a spear, would have been exposed to the ridicule of large and small in the enemy camp.

● 622 574 It is natural for men passing through a strange town to go to the political authority for their needs, as happens in the missions. Many people when they pass through Indian towns, naturally go to the cacique's house; the latter receives those whom he considers greater with the kindness and courtesy that distinguish the Indians of the Chiriguano race; for this reason some explorers have believed that it is the duty of the cacique to receive and provide hospitality for transients and strangers, but I can state that they are mistaken.

/160 cont./

574 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accomodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

574 178 [431] [293] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he asks nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretasted liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 527 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quiriquinchos, /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

622 224

293 824 191

2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

[Text Continues on P. 221]

/162 cont./

Abuse of Authority

622
661
643

The Indians who today live under the paternal rule of the missionaries state that formerly caciques committed thousands of abuses; speaking of caciques still alive, they said that they abused everything that belonged to the poor and defenseless Indians, made use of maidens and women of others took possession of horses, cows, sheep, goats, and rags or clothing of their subordinates under any pretext, and in certain cases, as absolute mandatory, life was not safe either.

682

In verification of the last, I am going to relate the following: Before the reorganization of the missions of San Antonio and San Francisco del Parapiti Grande, an Indian strangled his own son and half buried him in the sand near the bank with the aim that any sizable rise would soon carry him off, but before this could happen the deed was discovered, not by betrayal by his wife, whom he had threatened to kill, but by the wheeling about of vultures which were beginning to strip the already decomposing flesh (2).

[643]

2. The murderer of his own son belonged to the upper town and was hanged in public in the lower town where the regional cacique, who was the authority of the presumed Parapiti Canton, resided.

692
643
682
[649]

When the regional cacique had been advised, inquiries were undertaken in order to speak to the evil-doer, and it was not difficult to find him because he was a well-known Indian. Taken into custody and brought before the authority, he confessed his crime. In order to prevent another greater crime the canton authority attempted to intervene, but the regional cacique made it clear to him that justice would be administered in an exemplary fashion by him and that the corregidor, whose subalterns were the whites, should not involve himself in the matter at all.

/163/

643 682 692 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with another piece of wood set between them. He called together all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was [671] immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his region, so that the life of the defenseless and the good may be respected and that he may be feared (1).

● 622 643 756 686 692 1. When a sorcerer does not manage to accomplish what he has promised, because he perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's prerogative to order the death sentence and burning.

Separation from Command

622 631 643 The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared them free from such obedience, naming another more humane person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it. 648 This has become easier today by agreement with the political 466 authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that 464 when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named by the political authority, he is sure to be subject to all the 622 demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the 643 latter, who do not like the yoke or the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

/164 cont./

●622 643 648 566 46 Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large number of Indians, like Tarúire, derives great benefits from his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income is regular, because generally the caray who makes a request for peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future; interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62 595 It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques; even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

[797] 3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques; some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 [555] [556] /165/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661] 1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

/165 cont./

622 661 may be considered the scourge of the tribe, and, as an absolute ruler, he takes from the belongings of his soldiers whatever he wants for himself and for the guests who visit him.

622 562 Very rarely does a woman take command and control of the tribe; this can happen if the cacique who dies leaves only women as heirs, but only with great difficulty does the Chiriguano allow himself to be ruled by a woman; the other tribes would laugh at them and would treat them like women; Salic law is in force among the Chiriguano (2).

2. Nevertheless, there are cases when the law of the Saliam has been suspended among the Chiriguano. The woman Iguandúsai governed in Ivu, Parapoti in Aquío, and a certain Arabúsai is mentioned by del Campano.

643 The Regional Cacique

In addition to the cacique, whom the people of a tribe distinguish with the name of Mburubicha, great one, there is another, higher authority whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great one of the great ones, or cacique of the caciques. The great cacique resides in a larger tribe and leads it directly like the other caciques, having alcaldes and counselors.

643 622 The great cacique intervenes and is consulted with regard to the succession of the subaltern caciques; for this reason the sons of the latter always accompany their fathers on the visits they make and try to get the great cacique to like them, in order to succeed their fathers in power, but if the tribe does not want him and furthermore his faults are so notorious and serious as to eliminate him from the honor, the regional cacique very tactfully makes him understand this, adding that by reforming his life he could be chosen again on a day not far off.

4: Nino--255 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10.

142
291
302
516
622
352
411

Cacique Gilirassa with His Family

/190 cont./

292 The Chiriguano, when he is dressed in these skins, considers himself a grandee, and he is one before his companions and the caciques themselves. But from the beginning, even before it is even worn, such clothing gives off a very disagreeable odor, like that of the soles of shoes. Let the reader imagine what it must be like when it has been used for some time. It can easily be understood that the Chiriguano, when [296] wearing the doublet, has nothing else on his body, and that all of the sweat, etc. sticks to it, and it should be noted that the outfit is never washed, which adds to the smell.

[622] [197] /191/ The cacique Nambi of Ivu made his visits to the P.P.C.C. of Santa Rosa Mission to ask for a mission in his town, dressing himself in his old and filthy doublet before making the visit. He embraced the missionaries and talked quite close to them, the result being almost unbearable (1).

1. The outfit is completed by a pair of boots called Timainu, which literally means: companion of the shin bone. These are necessary [224] for hunters so that they will not hurt their legs when they are pursuing wild animals.

The illustration that I put at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 266/ will make the description of the Ambícuai more easily understood. There appear in it a young man and an old man standing, a woman sitting on a chair, and a young girl sitting on the ground. The old man dressed in a doublet is the cacique Güiraesa of Santa Rosa; the woman who is seated on the chair is his wife, the man on his right is his son Yandareca, and the girl is his Christian daughter, named Priica.

[291] The Chiriguano who does not have a doublet is satisfied with his long poncho or with a blanket wrapped around his body down to his knees, but today it is rare that he cannot dress himself moderately well with some six varas of linen, which at the most will cost him two bolivianos. Today everything can be bought in the small retail stores (2). [432] [439]

2. The doublet is used today in some areas to

/204 cont./

643 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves
648 are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live
797 as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 The important men assert that to possess many wives is
574 necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality
829 to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because
643 the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they
622 do not become such in their youth, when they are like humming-
[582] birds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] 1. Formerly, women were abundant because of
[169] wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

/257 cont./

527 622 It falls to the cacique to give the order for the general drinking, and this is not long in coming. Twenty or thirty days before it takes place, he puts a large vessel in front of his house; this is the signal. Then in the evening, or when he judges best, he addresses a long discourse to his subjects, exhorting them to prepare what is necessary for the Arete; he stresses in this discourse that maize is a thing for drinking, once it has been obtained through the kindness of the sorcerer, lord of the rains. He adds that it is very proper not to lose the ancient custom of drinking and having a great feast to show friendship and courtesy to neighbors who live in other tribes. He underlines in his discourse the need to prepare good chicha and plenty of it and to prepare much wild game, so that those who are to participate as guests can enjoy these things and other, domestic foods to their full satisfaction, and that this may be a great honor for the townspeople.

I do not believe that anyone doubts the completely satisfactory effect that the cacique's discourse has on the mind of the Chiriguano, who wants nothing more than to drink, sing, and dance; thus, after the said speech, great joy appears on all faces, and all sigh in expectation of the arrival of the happy day when they can gather as good friends (1).

622 461

1. The caciques are very happy in their speeches for fiestas, but when it comes to work, they are not so much so. Humanity is not naturally inclined toward work. When a crop was very abundant, it was unlikely that they would plant the next year, and they would be content with very little.

527 On the next day activity has already begun, and the first thing is to go to the field or plot to provide themselves with sufficient maize so that there may be no lack of chicha. The women then begin to grind night and day, while the men bring in firewood; then, when /258/ there is enough firewood, they go off in considerable numbers to hunt in order to have meat and be able to invite their friends.

/262 cont./

527 are gathering together all the people, shouting like madmen and making known their great joy. The lord of the fiesta has arranged beforehand that the morning reception should take place in one location and the afternoon affair in another, and in this way not only is there time to prepare, but there is also food every day for the outsiders and for those who are not outsiders.

In the afternoon, at four o'clock more or less, they eat again with more enthusiasm than before, because their happiness is greater and then, it will be understood, ex abundantia musti os loquitur. But great friendship and harmony prevail; then they sing a little more, one by one, and when the sun sets there is a general rest (2).

2. From the afternoon oration until two in the morning there is complete silence; at that hour the song begins anew, with dancing and drinking. Today, since the voice of the cacique is little heeded, there is no schedule.

[629] [178]

535 184 173

Mbapa páure

This dance is similar to a quadrille; couples execute it by making turns through the streets of the town, both day and night. According to what the Indians of Ivu say, the Mbapa páure is not general for the Chiriguano race, but peculiar to certain regions, and it is not more than a hundred years old. They even say that it had its origin /263/ at the foot of the Itácua mountain range in Cordillera Province and then spread there up to Menbirái and Choreti Guasu.

When the war of the cacique Yaveáu took place, the Indians of Gúiracoti, living on the left bank of the stream of Cuevo, fled to the left bank of the Parapiti River, where they stayed and learned this new dance and song. Then, when they returned to their lands, when Yaveáu, through having avenged himself excessively, had pardoned and forgotten the affront he had received, they brought back the novelty and began to introduce it into their tuwia.

/266 cont./

574 576 [194] The second t of the word tuti is pronounced double (1).

1. In other places the salutation is different. They say Catapiri or Aguyeti, good things, prosperity. But the other seems to me to be more in conformity with the universal salutation, as is done everywhere.

If the visitor is a person he knows, the host then says, Nde pa co? Is it thee? And the other answers, Checo, it is I, and then goes on to say Imeño pa nei? Are you living? Imeño aí. I am living. And he enters the house of his uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law, or whoever it may be, since it seems that the Chiriguano has relatives everywhere, and he would have them all over the world, if there were Chiriguano all over the world.

574 576 622 Often it is the cacique who receives strangers, if these come looking for him, as naturally happens, but any Indian at whose house he may come will at once say to him with all courtesy, Eyú, come in, if he is on foot, and Eyúyi, come down, if he is mounted. At once he presents him with the best seat that he has and begins the conversation; meanwhile the lady of the house puts at his disposal a large jar of chicha with the respective maté or tumbler, and, aided by her daughters, she prepares the best meal. The captain, or cacique, of Tiaúa prepared for me a maté of boiled corn with salt, arivivi, or very hot chili peppers, and hard-boiled eggs chopped into small pieces. 123 [622]

I noted the great cleanness of the food and the utensils, and then, as I have already said elsewhere, I had a long talk with the Indian, who was quite loquacious and frank, about various religious matters, and in conclusion he made me understand that he would not go to the Boicovo Mission or to the others, because prayer and baptism cause death; that my companions and I had made it not rain that night in order that we might not get wet, and that it is not God who created man, and, when asked who it was, he answered naturally and with astonishment, Ndicuaá á pa? Don't you know? (2) /Illustration appears here./

799 771 2. In the other place I did not set down everything

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.362]

Schmeckenbecher E-S,F (1960-1969. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c
ce
352
171*
[554]

corroborated by the accounts of PEDRO PIZARRO and XERES, who were eyewitnesses of the conquest of the Inca empire. In the high mountain country it is natural that hammocks should not be used as beds. In such parts they would be too cold. It is harder to make out why hammocks were not used in the coastal regions of Peru.

Evidently the hammock in S. America is so old a culture-element that it is impossible to decide whence it came to the Chané and Chiriguano. The latter certainly, and most likely the former too, used hammocks when they settled in their present territory. The technique employed in most Chané and all Chiriguano hammocks is the same as, with small variations, is mostly used wherever hammocks occur.

It is possible that some tribes about the river Amazon preferred palm-fibre hammocks to cotton ones, because the former are cooler. Possibly, too, in these regions of moist heat, hammocks of palm-fibre are less liable to rot and to be attacked by insects than those of cotton.

I here append a map (3) showing the distribution of hammocks of different material after PATER SCHMIDT, with certain additions, as will be seen from table 3.

The seat so characteristic of the Indians in great parts of S. America is a rather uncommon piece of furniture in the huts of the Chiriguano and Chané (Fig. 3). Its distribution in S. America has been investigated by PATER SCHMIDT[1] and SAVILLE[2] wherefore I beg to refer to their works. In my own sphere of work I saw seats among the Quichua mestizos at Cullegua, among the Mojo, Huari, Baure and Huanyam. The seat as a culture-element has its southern boundary here. It occurred, though rarely, among the Incas, where seats seem to have been the special privilege of the chiefs[3]. Most likely it is a culture-element which the Chané

c
ce
[127]

c
ce
[622]

1) P. [illegible]
2) V. a. P. [illegible]
3) Cons. Vol. 2. P. [illegible]

Schwabenmüller I-5,1(1900-1908, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

XXVI

Symbols of authority and dignity.

C
C22
301
283

According to CORRADI[1]) the Chiriguano chief was distinguished by a tuft of hair on his head the ayattira and earrings of green stones. At feasts the chief carried a pole with a bunch of ostrich feathers at the end of it, the ayandugua, and a carved stick the sigulraje. I have only seen the ayandugua. Among the Chané I have seen plain sticks that formed some kind of symbol of authority for the chiefs.

Ce
622

C
Ce
554
171

I have neither seen nor heard of any symbols of authority among any other Indians than the Chané, Chiriguano, Quichua and Aymara, and also, at the missions, among the Guarayos, Mosetene and Cavina. Among the Aymara and Quichua the staff, usually silver mounted, is a symbol of authority carried by Indian officials in the villages. It is the same at the missions among the tribes mentioned and also among the Chiriguano. LOBATO[2]) states that the Spaniards at the end of the seventeenth century solemnly presented a staff to a Chiriguano chief, Cambicheri, as a symbol of authority. CHEVALIX[3]) relates from his visit to the Oyampi that the chief carried a staff in his hand, for all over Guiana the staff is de signe de commandement. KOCH-GRÜNBERG[4]) speaks of the staff as a symbol of authority for chiefs in northwest Brazil. GILIJ[5]) says that the

C
[641]

[1]) P. 45.
[2]) P. 208.
[3]) P. 184.
[4]) (a) I P. 200, Fig. 194; P. 293, Fig. 275.
[5]) T. 2 P. 295.

6: Nordenskiöld--80 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 9F10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Ec 831 /227 cont./

The Indians regard the natural aspect of sexual life very differently from the way we view it as a rule. We do not find among these people all the corruption which is in civilized society, but various things are to be found here already. As far as homosexuality in particular is concerned, conditions among primitive peoples, as is known, show that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than in our hypercivilization.

Ec 838

/228/

Chapter Fourteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Chiefs and Laws

Ec 622 293 [111]

The chiefs have an entirely different position among the Chané and Chiriguano than among the Ashluslay and Choroti. They have considerable power. Among the chiefs there are the great chiefs, who rule over several villages, and the village chiefs, who have command over only one village or a part of one. Among the great chiefs whom I met, the noteworthy ones are the old woman Vuŷyruyi, the chief over the Chané villages on the Rio Itiyuro, Taruiri, who rules over most of the Caipipendi valley, Mandepora (Fig. 111), who in former times had considerable power in and around Machareti, and Maringay in the Iguembe valley.

Ec 643

Ec 622 293 643 [301] [302]

Nowadays the chiefs have no symbol of their office other than silver-mounted sticks. According to Corrado, they formerly wore a large tuft of hair on the head, "yantira," as well as green stones which hung at their ears. At the festivals and dances they had the right to use the "yandugua," a rod decorated with a bunch of ostrich feathers, and "iguirape," a staff carved with peculiar figures. Of these I was able to acquire only a yandugua. I did not even see the rest.

Ec 622 535 643

The office of chief seems to be hereditary as a rule. Capability and the art of using words well are required, however.

Ee 622 643 654

/230 cont./

The chiefs' families form a sort of aristocracy among the Chiriguano and Chané. Several times I heard Indians boast about their good family connections. A Chiriguano who accompanied me for some time as an interpreter was eager to impress upon me that he was related to the most famous high chiefs.

Just as the author of this book is customarily introduced as the son of Adolf Nordenskiöld, so the Indians were wont to introduce in similar fashion the sons of their "great men."

I even discovered a bit of deception in connection with the family tree. A Chané claimed direct descent from the great Hinu Parava, which, however, is said to be untrue.

If one wishes to find beautiful things from olden times among these Indians, one must first look for them in the chiefs' families. They keep the old treasures.

Ee [177]

More and more the white authorities are beginning to appoint the chiefs. Thus, in one region one can find a chief supported by the whites and a legitimate one.

Ee 622 423 122 643

The chiefs have great power, and, as far as I could see, they are always obeyed, in contrast to conditions among the Choroti and Ashluslay. They own the land (at least in certain regions), not for themselves, but for the tribe. If one needs porters in a Chané or Chiriguano village, one gets them from the chief, and no Indian will refuse to carry out the orders of the chief.

Ce 622 643

Although the chief has such great influence, /231/ he nevertheless works in the same way as the other Indians. Vocapoy himself, for example, carried home the heavy wood for cooking the maize beer, and his wife had to cook and sweep, like the other women. Following the example of the whites, however, a few of the most civilized and wealthy Indians, such as Taco, now have servants from their own tribe, but this was not done originally. On the other hand, as I have mentioned elsewhere, it is not unusual for the Mataco-Vejos and the Tapiete to work for the Chiriguano and Chané.

Ee [359] [177]

Ee 177 464

When we came home to Vocapoy's village from hunting and shared our booty with the chief /Fig. 115 appears here/, his wife accepted everything, but then went around to the houses and gave her neighbors everything that she had received.

Ce 622 643 431 123

Ee 165 556 621

/231 cont./

One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village, though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand, there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy individual Indians, but they, like Taco, live like the whites.

Ee 223 670 672 693 Ce 681

The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader of the fighting men.

Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain. A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

Ce 692 693 681 C 531 415 Ce 682

According to Batirayu, whose statements are more reliable than those of /232/ Vocapoy, the high chief of the Chané on the Río Parapiti deals with no offenses other than murder, seduction of another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with poisoned chicha, "bád-dyát," occured in former times among the Chané. Murderer and bewitcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the open plaza in the village.

Fig. 115. Calabash. Chiriguano. Rapenbia. 1/6.

Ce 684 Ce 685 681

Ee 177 Ce 692 693 721 Ce 423 692 693

The administrative authorities of the whites are now intervening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner, even if it has been fallow for years.

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

534 171 174 114

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

361 622

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

582 595 881 [304] [301] 585 574 846

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 136, fig. 11.

[3] von Rosen (8).

/25/

Ce 301 The way these tembetás are used has often been described. Figure 27 shows an Izozó man from whose pierced lower lip projects a round stone disk. When these Indians use the tembetá, they pass it from the inside through the perforation in the lip so that its base is between the row of lower teeth and the lower lip, with the cylinder sticking out from the lip.

C Ce 301 The lower base of three of the Izozó tembetás is quite flat, and only the lower base of tembetá I. A. 129 has a clearly concave form. This is of interest because v. Nordenskiöld and v. Rosen, when they describe the Chiriguano and Chané tembetás mention only those which have a concave base (110).

110. Nord. 2, p. 72.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano and Chané sometimes use wooden tembeta's in the form of flat cylinders (111).

111. Nord. 2, p. 72.

Ce 301 237 [123] As already mentioned, I obtained simple wax tembetá from the Izozó. The old man who took it out of his lower lip to give it to me doubtless was using it provisionally for lack of another tembetá, in order to close the perforation in his lower lip and prevent the saliva from coming out.

C Ce 304 301 [622] The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not have the custom of piercing their ear lobes. According to Nordenskiöld (112),

112. Nord. 2, p. 77.

C Ce [177] Ce 301 the caciques formerly used pendant earrings set with green stones. If the younger women and girls have recently begun to use earrings, they are imitating this custom of the whites. The cacique of the Izozó in Toledo told me that the women had gold and silver earrings, which at that time they had hidden.

/82 cont./

Ee 531 Figure 33b, which corresponds, as does also the form of this flute, completely to ancient Peruvian models. Also, the surface of the Chiriguano cane flute I. A. 494 (cf. Fig. 34a /see p. 89/) shows some incisings.

One of the tattooed decorations is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld, who found it on a woman's arm (310).

310. Nord. 1, Fig. 108.

Social Conditions among the Chiriguano and Chané

C Ce 114 With regard to the social conditions among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I am unable to add to the few data which we knew on this subject because the situations in which I found myself when with these Indians were not appropriate for such investigations.

Ce 115 122 126 /83/ Among the Izozó whom I found in Toledo there were some who were designated as cacique. To one of these, who spoke Spanish perfectly, I owe the vocabulary of the Izozó language which I wrote down. I met the Chiriguano only in C 114 Machareti, where they had lived for a long time under the supervision of the missionaries and, at the time of my trip, under 197 the chieftainship of one of their own fellows who exercised the ●622 functions of a commissioner /comisario/. Two other Chiriguano Indians whom I met in Machareti were identified as caciques.

Ee 129 In order to complete my statements about the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I must make a resumé of what we know from the literature regarding the social conditions of those Indians, referring to Moreno's statements, which are based on old documents, as well as those of v. Nordenskiöld, which are based upon his own investigations.

Ee 178 648 643 000 Naturally, many of the old Chiriguano and Chané social institutions have been lost since they lost their independence from the whites. Also, the power of the great caciques has diminished appreciably since they have been dependent on the whites. When Nordenskiöld

/85 cont./

C 631 643 [622] According to all that we learn from the old documents, the Chiriguano communities, that is, the parcialidades under the chieftainship of great caciques and the subdivisions under the chieftainship of ordinary caciques, had a very firm organization in comparison with other tribes of South American Indians. The great cacique commands his subjects and they obey him absolutely. It is likely that in this regard the example of the absolute rule of the neighboring Incas of Peru influenced the organization of the Chiriguano. Even at the time of Erland v. Nordenskiöld's trip in 1908, the Chiriguano and Chané caciques were very powerful in contrast with the caciques of the neighboring tribes of the Chaco. Even at that time there were great caciques, who governed a large territory made up of several towns, and ordinary caciques, who governed the inhabitants of a town or part of them. Thus, at the time of Nordenskiöld's trip most of the towns of the Caipipendi valley were governed by a great cacique named Taruiri. The great cacique Mandepora formerly had considerable power in and near Machareti, and the great cacique Maringay in the Iguembe valley. We have Nordenskiöld's interesting statement that women too can be great caciques among the Chané. Thus the great cacique of the Chané towns on the Itiyuru was a woman named Vuáyruyi, who had succeeded her late brother in that office. Because she was already old, she was replaced in her duties by her nephew Vocapoy, who was the eldest son of her brother and predecessor. /86/ Her son was favored as great cacique after Vocapoy (326). Among the Chané on the Itiyuru, and

C [177]

C CE 643 631

CE 643 [562]

326. Nord. 1, pp. 223 and 229.

formerly among the Chané of the Parapití when they still had a great cacique, the office of great cacique was tied to a certain family, but it did not pass from father to son. Nordenskiöld recorded the genealogical tree of the family of the caciques of the Chané on the Itiyuru, according to which, after the great cacique Hinu Parava, two of the latter's sons successively succeeded to this office. After the death of the last of these, Hinu Parava's daughter, the above-mentioned Vuáyruyi, was great cacique, while the son

/86 cont./

Ce 643 of her late brother and predecessor, as already mentioned, took her place in her duties. The one predestined for the office of cacique cannot begin his functions if he does not have ability and skill in discussion. The great cacique in the Caipipendi valley was considered incapable because of continual drunkenness, and he was replaced in his functions by one of his relatives (327). In

327. Nord. 1, p. 230.

the Chané towns on the Itiyuru the ordinary caciques too belong to Hinu Parava's family (328).

328. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 129.

C Ce 643 301 302 293 As a symbol of chieftainship Nordenskiöld observed staffs decorated with silver and the so-called "Yandagua," which consists of a long rod adorned with a tuft of ostrich feathers and is carried by caciques at fiestas and dances. According to Corrado, the caciques formerly wore as a symbol of their office a large lock of hair on top of the head, which they called "yattira," and green stones as pendants in the ear lobes, and at the fiestas, in addition to the "yandagua" mentioned above, the "iguiripe," which was a staff carved with figures (329).

329. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 756 643 622 At the side of the caciques a special position is held by the sorcerers, among whom the Chiriguano distinguish two kinds, the "ipáye," who are good and who can undo spells, and the "ipáyepótchi," who can undo spells, but who also cast them. The sorcerer is also above all the doctor who has the obligation of curing the sick (330). In general the occupation of sorcerer is separate

330. Nord. 1, p. 216.

from that of cacique. Only in Ivu did Nordenskiöld observe a case where a Chiriguano cacique was a sorcerer at the same time (331).

331. Nord. 1, p. 230.

C
Ce
882
848

/88 cont./
rarely born (344). Marriages are made among the Chané by a

Ce
583
584

344. Nord. 1. p. 207.

method whereby the young man who wishes to marry sends several pieces of game to the girl's parents. He puts firewood in front of her house, and, if it is used, this signifies consent. But only after having worked for one year for his future mother-in-law can he marry the girl. The night before the wedding, which is celebrated by drinking a good amount of chicha, the young man sleeps with the girl (345).

Ce
585

345. Nord. 1. pp. 211 and 212.

Ce
595
643
622

While young men have but one wife, older men, and particularly caciques, often have several wives. Thus the substitute great cacique on the Itiyuru had four wives, who lived in different towns, and the cacique Maringay had two wives, who lived together (346). Marriage between brother and sister is prohibited.

C
Ce
582

346. Nord. 1. pp. 212 and 213.

while cousins may marry (347).

347. Nord. 1. p. 212.

Ce
843

Certain foods are forbidden to the pregnant woman. Thus, among the Chané on the Itiyuru a pregnant woman cannot eat doves. But they do their work until they give birth (348). After

Ce
[461]
Ce
846

348. Nord. 1. p. 206.

a child has been born, the man must go through the "couvade," which means that he must remain lying down for several days and must stay on a certain diet. Among the Chané on the Parapití : for the first few days he may eat only cooked maize and maize soup.

Ce 692 643 28 /89 cont./
of the deceased (359).

359. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 421 Private property is highly respected among the Chiriguano. According to Métraux, even the closest relatives cannot make use of the property of one of them without his consent. The
C 423 possession of a piece of land is guaranteed to a Chiriguano by planting any plant on it or by clearing the circumference of the land required and making large slashes in the trees. When he selects a plot for his planting, the Chiriguano examines it carefully to determine that there are no traces of a previous planting (360).

360. Métraux I, pp. 334 and 340.

C 241 476 [622] After the land selected for the planting has been cleared, relatives and friends are called together to help with the work. Formerly, the cacique of the town also took part by keeping watch for the workers (361).

361. Métraux I, p. 337.

/90/

Religion

C Ce 797 771 178 538 In their many years of activity the missions have naturally influenced notably the religious notions of the Chiriguano and Chané. Most of them today are Christians. Some still retain part of their primordial ideas, expressed in their legends. I shall limit myself here to referring the reader again to the Chané legends taken down by Nordenskiöld (362) and mentioned several times in the Preceding.

362. Nord. 1, pp. 251-296.

In places such as these in which women lose their attractions at an early age and in which men are decimated by the constant wars, the custom of polygamy is a social necessity for the tribe which would otherwise run out of members, and a physical necessity for the men and for many women who would otherwise stay single. Nevertheless there are not lacking loose women, free in their favors, for whom the Indians use the name of amoeccue. M 695 M 337

The man is jealous and cruel to his wife if he suspects her of infidelity. While we were visiting the camp of Peiló we had the opportunity of hearing a husband, deep within one of the huts, beat and threaten his wife with death because she had been careless and fallen into the hands of a soldier. Nu-a-ilon-lá (I shall kill you) he ground out between his teeth. On another occasion a woman, after her husband had been absent for two years, took up with another man; the husband returned, lay in wait, ran after and caught his wife and slit her belly open with a knife before the whites could prevent it. This woman did not die and as soon as she was well returned to live with her would-be murderer.

When the Indians intend to get married they dye their cheeks and the region around the eyes red. The man will give his love a present at the time he makes his proposal and if the woman gives [184] an affirmative answer the man gives her a dowry of whatever he has, such as sheep, chickens, skins, etc. M 584 [302]

If the families approve of the union the couple goes to live near one of them, should they not approve then the pair leave the hut and often even leave the camp. Once consent is granted, the nuptial ceremony is the act of consummation.

Among the Chiriguanos, when a man wants to ask for a girl's hand he places a bundle of firewood and a small deer or other provision at her door; if on the following morning the woman lights the fire and prepares a meal with the food supplied, the proposal is considered accepted and the suitor repairs to the table. Some people hold that this is also a Mataco custom, but the facts which I have been able to glean about the matter do not confirm this. C 584

The Chiriguano chiefs, however, have a privilege, which is that they cannot be rejected by the women of their choice: this is a great stroke of luck for them. The chief reveals his inclination with the offering of a piece of meat or some other thing; the girl cooks it, and they then share both meal and bed. The chiefs, especially the C 584 622

generals, that is the ones who have several camps under their command, have at least one wife in each camp. C 622

Two or three days after delivery, mother and child wash, the new mother resting for only that length of time. C M 846

The father acknowledges his child and takes it into his arms with the following words: "This is my child." In some tribes it is customary for the husband to take to his bed when his wife is in labor, as an act of acknowledgement; and among the Chiriguanos the man takes his place beside his wife and for three days is cared for as if he had... given birth to a child! Then he gets up, but does not make any trips or work until seven days have elapsed, after which period the wife also gets up and washes. While the couple is in labor they eat nothing but water and a pap made with corn and bean broth; they abstain from eating meat.

It is quite common for a man to have two or more sisters simultaneously as wives. I can also give assurance that every now and then a father will not disdain even his own daughter. If no one will acknowledge a child as his own the mother may kill it. M 845 [847]

The Indians are very skilled midwives: the white settlers themselves use their services. It is said that they are extraordinarily expert in taking advantage of the precise moment of crisis, holding the patient in a more or less straight position, apparently even shaking her, but without doing her harm. To this activity they add words to which the Indians attribute [185] virtue and to which the whites, who do not understand them, ascribe even more. So is it always! M 849

Let it not be thought, however, that in the matter of love-making they limit their efforts to a more or less expressive pantomime. The fact is that they have words and expressions and a language which lend themselves admirably to amorous declarations and which they use. The harmoniousness of the Guaraní language is well known to all, it might even be said that it is too much so when used by the men and by the Chiriguanos, whose mother tongue it also is. But even the Matacos, the rude, unpolished Matacos who seem to be the last on the anthropological scale of all these South American Indians, have their harmonious expressions and the well-bred ideas which correspond to them. C M 832

I remember an occasion on board ship when there was among us a good looking Indian woman who was quiet, impassive and even M 832

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the ura grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinambá* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have wooden slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

/149 cont./

754 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where
761 God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something
753 the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[761] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

756 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others
622 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a
623 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has
643 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of
571 the lower caciques; they discuss the appropriate measures to
731 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The
755 first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very
756 great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make
554 him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there
731 is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /149/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

/161 cont./

273 824 171

and the Mataco; thus the fruit of the chañar, mistol, and algarroba are used in the manufacture of chicha.

Subalterns

621 623

The cacique of a tribe is not alone in political, judicial, and administrative administration. In order to have a more correct administration, he, as sole and supreme authority, selects counselors and assistants, whom he seeks from among the most competent persons of the tribe. The primary advisors are whatever sorcerers there may be; these men are thus feared and hence respected by the people, who make use of them in sickness and calamity, both public and private.

621 624 554

Next in rank as counselors come other men to whom they give the name Igũira iya, owner of the stick or baton, according to the signification of the word and which corresponds in Spanish to hombre de mando ó autoridad /man in command or authority/. Thus they are the alcaldes, to whom the cacique hands over part of his authority with absolute subordination, so that through complaints, ineptitude, or other causes, the alcaldes are summarily dismissed and then others appointed. In each tribe there is a single alcalde who does everything, because the cacique, in his town, is better than an emperor, not having to lift a straw and spending his time in prolonged idleness.

/162/ The alcaldes in the tribes take charge of the rest of the settlers; in a search for peons they hear the sarcasms and recriminations of their fellows, and many times they definitely disobey them, even going so far as to insult them with: Mburubicha pa nde? Perhaps you are a cacique?" (1)

1. In the missions with many tribes there are as many caciques and alcaldes as there are tribes composing them. In this regard the custom of the Indians has been respected for a better and more honest administration.

4: Nino--221 M-3 (1693-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/161 cont./

873
824
171

and the Matacos; thus the fruit of the chañar, mistol, and algarrobo are used in the manufacture of chicha.

Subalterns

621
623

The cacique of a tribe is not alone in political, judicial, and administrative administration. In order to have a more correct administration, he, as sole and supreme authority, selects counselors and assistants, whom he seeks from among the most competent persons of the tribe. The primary advisors are whatever sorcerers there may be; these men are thus feared and hence respected by the people, who make use of them in sickness and calamity, both public and private.

621
624
554

Next in rank as counselors come other men to whom they give the name Igüira iya, owner of the stick or baton, according to the signification of the word and which corresponds in Spanish to hombre de mando ó autoridad /man in command or authority/. Thus they are the alcaldes, to whom the cacique hands over part of his authority with absolute subordination, so that through complaints, ineptitude, or other causes, the alcaldes are summarily dismissed and then others appointed. In each tribe there is a single alcalde who does everything, because the cacique, in his town, is better than an emperor, not having to lift a straw and spending his time in prolonged idleness.

/162/ The alcaldes in the tribes take charge of the rest of the settlers; in a search for people they bear the sarcasms and recriminations of their fellows, and many times they definitely disobey them, even going so far as to insult them with: Mburubicha pa nde? Perhaps you are a cacique?" (1)

1. In the missions with many tribes there are as many caciques and alcaldes as there are tribes composing them. In this regard the custom of the Indians has been respected for a better and more honest administration.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

C

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed 622
on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very 562
few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered
the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a 622
Chané chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power 562
was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief
before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the 622
leading's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by
a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is prob-
ably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

C

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were 622
entitled to carry the yandowa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the 554
end, and a carved stick. 293

C

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to 423
him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order 425
to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins
on the land which he intended to clear.

C

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes 681
were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property.
Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time
to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own
hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old 627
accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

C

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to 846
wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food
taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from
any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed 845
infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

C

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious 881
serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the [825]
roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without utter-
ing a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner [302]
of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled [286]
maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so [856]
that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became [195]
pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life.
Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1919 b, p. 302), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

/151 cont./

756 278 682 Mbayachi works quite slowly because in general /152/ the sorceress who administers it is careful to infuse in the drink a small quantity so as to avoid its being discovered by the relatives, but if the hated person has none, or the ones he has are very distant in degree or are of little worth, she gives him a strong dose which dispatches him to eternity in a few hours.

The patient who has had the misfortune to drink the poison begins to feel the effect at once: stomach pains, retching, and other known effects. The poison is consumed little by little, and he remains in this state for two or three years, leading a most painful existence, which is shared by the members of the family in their sadness, as they experience all of the burden of the long illness.

Mbayachi is nothing but a poison, and inasmuch as it can be administered among civilized peoples, there is no reason whatsoever to deny that savages can administer it, since they do not fear human or divine laws, take vengeance as a holy thing, and are only with great difficulty discovered (1).

[627] [628]

1. The Indian is not content until he has taken revenge on his enemy; when he achieves it, he says: ayepi ma hese. I have avenged myself on him.

Way to Obtain the Poison

756 278 The way to provide oneself with poison is as follows, according to what Guarerai says: The sorceress goes out into the country without telling anyone her purpose. She takes with her a receptacle which generally consists of a little clay jar perforated in the upper part. She goes into the dense woods or forest, where nobody can discover her, covers up her ears and nostrils with cotton and her hands with rags, and undresses completely, so that nothing may disturb her in her work.

/291 cont./

963 tears, because the Indian had taken her as his wife until death, and with his death she loses everything. She will now be poor.

When the death pangs approach, the sick person enjoins them to cry as much as possible, admonitions which are made before he loses the use of speech. The said admonition is not addressed to the one who in a short time is going to be left a widow, but to the relatives and friends, because the widow already knows that she must bewail the absence of the one who was her companion (2).

[578] [297] 2. If the dying man believes that he has been poisoned, before he loses the use of speech he charges his nearest relatives to take vengeance after the days of mourning, if the supposed enemy is known.

The death pangs come, the death rattle begins, his face pales, his nose thins, his lips and tongue become dry, his eyes turn glassy, his eyelids and eyelashes are paralyzed; the dying man begins to grab at his blankets or anything else with his hands, he looks from side to side and seems to be insensible of the objects that surround him. He is about to fade away. Then the persons around him understand how close the fatal moment is. At the impossibility of helping the one who is struggling, who is about to be inert, they begin to utter the wails which are the precursors of death.

They do not have to wait long; the dying man gives a last breath and begins to expire, until his mouth is wide open, which is observed by the widow, who gives a cry, the sign that her
964 husband has now died. Then the funeral formally begins; they dress the deceased in his best clothes, comb him very carefully, paint his face and feet with palm-Christi oil and achiote, double up the knees, put his crossed hands there, and tie him up thus, so that on the day of burial he will easily go into the clay pot that they have prepared beforehand, where they will put him when it is time to be buried.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

000 c 726 c [727]

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

c 727 266 c 567 727

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

c 534 177 Cc 534

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

c 535

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

c 273 628 527

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

c 276

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

c 273 462

/120 cont./

762
[832]
[684]
[593]

committed suicide in her own home early one Sunday morning at a height of one meter. She did it by kneeling down.

Suicide is not rare even among men, and there were several during my stay among the Chiriguano. The men, if they are young, commit it in order not to suffer the reproach of their parents for something bad they have done. If they are older than their wives, it is because they have no other way to remedy the woman's infidelity, because there are cases in which a man dominated by his wife and somewhat timid in nature does not dare in such circumstances to throw the bad one out of his house, and thus he believes that he can fix everything by taking his life. These unpleasant happenings and accidents happen in the fields or in the woods.

Boxing and Dueling

175
721
628

In ancient times this race was very numerous and constantly in a state of war against its common enemies, but there were other wars in which one town rose up against another for trivial reasons. In the middle of the nineteenth century there was a bloody war between the towns of Yvu and Caraguatarenta against those of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo because of oppression which the cacique Güiracoti had tried to practice (2).

2. This regional war occurred before Chimeo Mission was founded. Güiracoti deceived the authorities of Cordillera, who were quartering people in the vicinity and around Parapiti in order to repress the audacity of Yaveau, whom they believed to be the head of the revolution.

/151 cont./

756 278 682 Mbayachi works quite slowly because in general /152/ the sorceress who administers it is careful to infuse in the drink a small quantity so as to avoid its being discovered by the relatives, but if the hated person has none, or the ones he has are very distant in degree or are of little worth, she gives him a strong dose which dispatches him to eternity in a few hours.

The patient who has had the misfortune to drink the poison begins to feel the effect at once: stomach pains, retching, and other known effects. The poison is consumed little by little, and he remains in this state for two or three years, leading a most painful existence, which is shared by the members of the family in their sadness, as they experience all of the burden of the long illness.

Mbayachi is nothing but a poison, and inasmuch as it can be administered among civilized peoples, there is no reason whatsoever to deny that savages can administer it, since they do not fear human or divine laws, take vengeance as a holy thing, and are only with great difficulty discovered (1).

[627] [628] 1. The Indian is not content until he has taken revenge on his enemy; when he achieves it, he says: ayepi ma hese, I have avenged myself on him.

Way to Obtain the Poison

756 278 The way to provide oneself with poison is as follows, according to what Guarerai says: The sorceress goes out into the country without telling anyone her purpose. She takes with her a receptacle which generally consists of a little clay jar perforated in the upper part. She goes into the dense woods or forest, where nobody can discover her, covers up her ears and nostrils with cotton and her hands with rags, and undresses completely, so that nothing may disturb her in her work.

/92 cont./

361 648 Cuevo had belonged by law from long before Independence, and still belonged by right of conquest after the defeat of the barbarians, to the department of Chuquisaca, but the Representación Cruceña /representatives from Santa Cruz/ has constantly demanded the region of Cuevo-Ibo as an integral part of the territory of Santa Cruz.

The current legislature has ended this much-discussed matter on the basis of the law of 1898. Cuevo consequently now belongs to the department of Santa Cruz, because that law fixes as the interdepartmental boundary the left bank of its stream, which is about 150 or 200 meters from the town.

[197] Even the Representación Tarijeña /from Tarija/ has been consulted in this matter and has fixed its boundaries at the right bank of the stream of Camatindi; this was based on the same law and on the fact that the territory was settled by Christians from Tarija and was won over by the Franciscan missionaries from the Colegio of the same city since before 1875. Tarija still retains the region of Caipipendi, which belonged to the Huacaya canton.

When the interdepartmental arrangement is finally made, Sucre will lose a zone of 12 to 14 leagues from Cuevo to the right bank of the Parapiti River, and another eight leagues or so from the right bank of the Camatindi stream, not counting the incalculable zone lost toward the east. Here is the law promulgated: /the remainder of p. 92, p. 93, and six lines, including a footnote, on p. 94 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 94 follows./

Ibo or Ivu Canton

631 648 Once the interdepartmental problem is solved in a friendly fashion, according to the bill approved in the Chamber of Deputies in this year of 1912 and promulgated as the law of the nation, the department of Sucre is prepared to elevate to the rank of canton the region of Ibo or Ivu, the capital of which might be the San Buenaventura Mission, located at this very place.

/94 cont./

631 648 If this were the case, the boundaries of the new canton should be the following, according to the agreement made by the Representación Chuquisaqueña /from Chuquisaca/: on the south the left bank of the stream Vitiacua, on the north the parallel of the stream of Cuevo, on the east the range of Aguaragüe up to said parallel; on the west the ranges of Saararenta and Irenta, and on the southwest the stream of Chimbe.

797 162 Within this delimitation are included several Chiriguano towns, the most populous being the missions of Santa Rosa, with more than 1,200 inhabitants, and that of San Buenaventura de Ivu with 652 souls.

White families are few, but not less than 40, which could give a total of at least 160 souls. It might be that with time this small population will grow in the new canton, as that of Cuevo grew.

797 177 463 648 Years are needed for the Chiriguano Indian to be able to take over the political government of a town, in spite of the fact that in the relatively new missions there are musicians, carpenters, woodworkers, masons, saddlers, shoemakers, tailors, and young men who know how to write well and to read better, but it is one thing to know an art or a trade and quite another one to have to administer justice.

/95/ The experience of many years of missionary life and what I have seen in the missions abandoned since the war of Independence justifies my opinion that many years are needed for the Chiriguano Indians to be able to fill certain public offices such as that of corregidor and parish alcalde.

A Project

000 The eastern zone, which today belongs to the three departments of Santa Cruz, Tarija, and Sucre, is somewhat threatened by foreign countries, but it might be that the Bolivian Republic could make friendly settlements with the neighboring nations.

/158 cont./

000 361 or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances. The only large town that I found on my travels is Membirai, which is joined to Choreti guasu on the left bank of the Parapiti. I know Caipipendi, [114] [62] where I often slept; the Indians are many, but they live in different places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (2).

797 619 361

2. The beautiful Santa Rosa Mission was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place shown them by the missionary. In Yumbía there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique

622

Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /159/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple; when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the sorcerer to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

[631] [643]

1. In each tribe there is but one cacique; many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

[262] [273] At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep or rest in their homes, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

/163/

643 682 692 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with another piece of wood set between them. He called together all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was immediately performed. [671] The cacique has no written laws; he does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his region, so that the life of the defenseless and the good may be respected and that he may be feared (1).

622 643 756 686 692 1. When a sorcerer does not manage to accomplish what he has promised, because he perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's prerogative to order the death sentence and burning.

Separation from Command

622 631 643 The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared them free from such obedience, naming another more humane person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it. 648 This has become easier today by agreement with the political 466 authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that 464 when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named 622 by the political authority, he is sure to be subject to all the 643 demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the latter, who do not like the yoke or the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

/165 cont./

643 [721] In the case of a regional war against another region, the great cacique calls a parliament and consults all the caciques, /166/ counselors, and sorcerers in order to arrange matters perfectly and avoid surprises. When the war has broken out, as he is the most important man, he takes charge of the battles, even leading them personally to a successful conclusion, and, should a defeat be suffered, he does not cringe in defeat, but prepares anew, encourages his soldiers to fight more vigorously to take revenge, and is unlikely to suffer another defeat. This is what happened in the regional war of the great cacique Güiracoti against Yaveau, in which, the latter having been defeated by the former, as I have already related, he retired to the slopes of Irenta and from there marched on his enemies, causing numerous casualties and obtaining a complete victory (1).

643 701 727

[648]

1. In the Curuyuqui War there was a cacique named Chaparilla and another named Tunpa, but, as this war was against the whites, Tunpa took charge of the military operations.

643 631 Chituri, a regional cacique, was succeeded by his son, the late Azari, in the entire region of the Parapiti Grande, Itatiqui, Tacuaranti, and Ururigua. Yaveau was obeyed by all the Indians of Itiyuru, Curuyuqui, Ivu, Igüipinta, and those of Santa Rosa, living on the right bank of the Cuevo River; subject to Güiracoti were all those living on the left bank of the same river as far as the right bank of the Parapiti; the subjects of the late Tengua were the Indians of the left bank of the same Parapiti up to Gutierrez; th[illegible]alterns of Machirope were, as was told me in the same y[illegible]01, all the Indians of Ingre Canton, Igüembe, and Huacaya from the right bank of the Parapiti to the left bank of the Pilcomayo, which includes an area of 24 leagues from north to south and 15 east to west, and when an effort was made to found a mission in Yumbía, on the left bank of the Pilcomayo, Igüembe Canton, he insisted to me that we should not bother them any more because neither he nor the

/166 cont./

643 [631] Indians wanted it (2).

2. The regional cacique Tengua died in 1900, Machirope in 1905, and the others who have been named in the middle of the nineteenth century, except Chiturí. Baringai of Igüembe is considered a regional cacique without being one; he is the oldest known Indian, at least among the caciques.

Today only one of the former regional caciques is still living. This is Mandepónai, who must be about 84 years old, a very robust and obese Indian with a constitution of iron. His authority extends throughout the Gran Chaca. He is respected and obeyed up to a certain point by the Toba, Mataco, and Choroti, and other known races; he is very well received in the other regions through which he passes, and his authority is not contradicted elsewhere, but is not respected either, /167/ because at the present time the Chiriguano element too has almost radically changed its political system; today it is the political authority which rules, and the cacique is a humble servant of any caray who comes to him asking for peons.

643 797 648 669 662 The Machareti Mission exists through his efforts, and he has always been faithful to the missionaries. In the Curuyuqui War, the Tunpa tried to get Mandepónai to use his influence to make the Toba and Chiriguano of his region revolt, as Tengua did, but the great cacique was not to be moved; instead he and his people went over to the side of the Santa Rosa Mission and the white Christians who had taken refuge in it.

At that time some whites, perhaps because of their hate for the missionaries of Machareti, tried to implicate Mandepónai as an accomplice of the Tunpa, but this calumny was belied by his praiseworthy procedure. He gave warning of the day on which the rebels were to burn the mission, went personally with his soldiers to Santa Rosa on January 27, before the final battle, and there confronted Tengua, accusing him of treason to the whites. His loyalty to the missionaries is to his glory,

Ce 178 643 [114] [648]

/83 cont./ when Nordenskiöld made his expedition, there was no longer a great cacique among the Chané on the Parapití River. The last great cacique had been Aringui, whose nephew, Batiraya, was a cacique, but he had refused the position of great cacique because he did not want to be too dependent on the whites (311).

311. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 233.

C 631 [642]

According to what is said in older documents, the Chiriguano, after their immigration into the Cordillera, did not form a uniform community, a state, in the proper sense of public law. Formerly they had formed a federation of several parcialidades /subdivisions/. In the letter of Licenciado Cepeda (312) in the

C [131] [175]

312. Letter from Licenciado Cepeda giving an account of the war against the Chiriguano under the encomienda of Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, Governor of Santa Cruz, and under the Maestre de Campo, Fernando de Cazorra, through Tomina, and under Luis de Fuentes through Tarija. According to Moreno II, p. 113.

year 1585, it is said "that the Province of the Chiriguano, who are in the Cordillera between Santa Cruz and the city of La Plata, who are divided into three parcialidades, each distinct from the others, 25 leagues, although they communicate and help one another. One is the parcialidad of Vitupué, another that of Condorillos and the other of Chiquiacá."

C 631 643

Of the two parcialidades Vitupué and Chiquiacá we know that they, at least originally, were each under the chieftainship of a great cacique, from whom they received their respective names. Vitupuera was the great cacique of the former and Chiaca the great cacique of the latter (313). With regard to the parcialidad

313. Moreno II, pp. 122 and 126.

●631 /83 cont./
[643] of Condorillo, we do not have any evidence as to whether this whole parcialidad was under the chieftainship of a great cacique. We only know that the town of Saigpuru was one of the most important and that it was the most feared by its enemies and that its inhabitants were defeated in the year 1779 by Don Tomás Leso (314).

[175] [027] [632]

314. Moreno II, p. 244.

631 632 643 103 According to the reports written by the Governor of Santa Cruz, Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, the Province of "Yvytupue," that is, the region governed by the great cacique Vitupuera, was made up of five large subdivisions. As can be assumed from the report cited, these subdivisions were in part made up of one town and in part of several towns and were, with the exception of one, governed by several caciques. Thus there is mentioned in the first place the subdivision "Taquirán and Caracará," probably meaning the towns which bear these names. As the caciques of this first subdivision, three are mentioned; thus the number of caciques does not correspond to the number of towns. Thus, we are not here dealing with a community which was established exclusively on a territorial basis. /84/ For the second subdivision three names are mentioned, Aguapea, Naipea, and Traibi. Thus it was probably made up of three towns. In this subdivision the number of towns, three, corresponds to the number of caciques. The third subdivision is called Tamborá. Thus it can be presumed that it consisted of but one town, and there is also mentioned but one cacique. The fourth subdivision is called Tendy, and three caciques of it are mentioned. It is stated that one of these caciques, called Abaqué, was the son of the cacique Tendy, thus of that cacique who gave his name to that subdivision. Of the fifth subdivision, Ayaguá or Cayaguá, as many as four caciques are mentioned (315).

315. Moreno II, pp. 123 and 124.

/84 cont./

631 [643] Also for the parcialidad of Chiquiacá besides its great cacique, Chiquiacá or Chiacá, 14 other caciques are mentioned, but it cannot be determined from these statements whether these are the names of successive caciques or of contemporaneous ones.

C 175 648 631 We have interesting data from the 16th century on the way in which the individual Chiriguano communities distributed among themselves the different countries in which they were making their depredations. In the "Confesión de Blas Negro," it is said "that to those of the province of caypuru fell the part of tomina, and those of coyagua to the churumatas, and those of tendi as far as misque and tiraque, and those of aguapea up to this road from poxo and santa cruz" (316).

316. Moreno II, p. 120.

C Ca 175 648 In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have already mentioned that the Chané, and also other tribes as well, were subjugated by the Chiriguano and incorporated as subjects into their communities. The Chané communities which C [1928] [648] had originally been in Chiriguano territory or its environs had been exterminated, until at the end of the 19th century, when the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites, the Chané were emancipated from their oppressors and once more inhabited their separate towns governed by their own great caciques. Ca 175 643 We have an interesting item in the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" through which we know that the Chané in times past, before being subjugated by the Chiriguano, had a strong social organization and powerful great caciques. In Puerto de Reyes, Alvar Nuñez met a Chané cacique who had previously accompanied García on his return from Peru and later, after the murder of García by the Guaraní, had fled from them. Among other things this cacique declared "that in his land those of his race have a single headman who orders all and who is obeyed by all, and that there are many towns of many peoples of those of ooo his race" (317). The subjugated Chané were distributed among

317. Moreno II, p. 30.

/85 cont./

C
631
643
[622]

According to all that we learn from the old documents, the Chiriguano communities, that is, the parcialidades under the chieftainship of great caciques and the subdivisions under the chieftainship of ordinary caciques, had a very firm organization in comparison with other tribes of South American Indians. The great cacique commands his subjects and they obey him absolutely. It is likely that in this regard the example of the absolute rule of the neighboring Incas of Peru influenced the organization of the Chiriguano. Even at the time of Erland v. Nordenskiöld's trip in 1908, the Chiriguano and Chané caciques were very powerful in contrast with the caciques of the neighboring tribes of the Chaco. Even at that time there were great caciques, who governed a large territory made up of several towns, and ordinary caciques, who governed the inhabitants of a town or part of them. Thus, at the time of Nordenskiöld's trip most of the towns of the Caipipendi valley were governed by a great cacique named Taruiri. The great cacique Mandepora formerly had considerable power in and near Machareti, and the great cacique Maringay in the Iguembe valley. We have Nordenskiöld's interesting statement that women too can be great caciques among the Chané. Thus the great cacique of the Chané towns on the Itiyuru was a woman named Vuáyruyi, who had succeeded her late brother in that office. Because she was already old, she was replaced in her duties by her nephew Vocapoy, who was the eldest son of her brother and predecessor. /86/ Her son was favored as great cacique after Vocapoy (326). Among the Chané on the Itiyuru, and

C
[177]

C
CR
643
631

CR
643
[562]

326. Nord. 1, pp. 223 and 229.

formerly among the Chané of the Parapití when they still had a great cacique, the office of great cacique was tied to a certain family, but it did not pass from father to son. Nordenskiöld recorded the genealogical tree of the family of the caciques of the Chané on the Itiyuru, according to which, after the great cacique Hinu Parava, two of the latter's sons successively succeeded to this office. After the death of the last of these, Hinu Parava's daughter, the above-mentioned Vuáyruyi, was great cacique, while the son

C 114 C Ce [197] C 175 114 797 A 114 101 C 121

/2 cont./ outside of the Toba, whom I met only in passing, I got to know on this journey the Chiriguano and the Izozó, who, like the former, speak a dialect of the Guaraní language; the Tapieté, Churupí, Mataco, and Chorote. All of these Indian tribes are not unknown in ethnological literature. On Chiriguano history we are oriented through old documents from even the first years of the Spanish conquest, and we owe to the Franciscan missionaries, who have taught among them for a long time, quite important ethnological publications. The Churupí have been studied minutely under the name Ashluslay by Erland Nordenskiöld, and the Oblates of Immaculate Mary in Esteros and Lake Escalante are striving intensively to make ethnological investigations. I have proposed to deal with all of these tribes systematically. This survey will be made on the basis of the results of my journey, and I begin in this first publication with the Chiriguano and Izozó.

General Information

C Ce 114 361

As I said in the introduction to this work, I first met the Chiriguano in Machareti and the Izozó in the area around the fort of Toledo and in the fort "15 de Agosto," several kilometers from the former two.

C 361 [632] [797] C [342] [363] C [731] C [342] 000

Figure 1[3] presents a view of Machareti, a Chiriguano town created in its present form by the Franciscan mission. When the Paraguayan army retook Machareti, it had already been abandoned by the Padres, and now a Chiriguano, in the role of commissioner /comisario/, is the chief of the town, there also being a few caciques. The houses, more or less in the form of modern ranchos (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 /see p.40 /), are on both sides of wide streets which run parallel and at right angles, as in most of the towns of the former Spanish colonies. When I was present in Machareti, there was great need /3/ among these Indians because of the severe drought which had ruined their plantings, which were some distance from the town. At the side of the ranchos are often found deposits which were structures of native houses built on sticks. Although

[3] [See p. 8 -- Analyst]

631 [643] /83 cont./
of Condorillo, we do not have any evidence as to whether this whole parcialidad was under the chieftainship of a great cacique. We only know that the town of Saigpuru was one of the most important and that it was the most feared by its enemies and that its inhabitants were defeated in the year 1779 by Don Tomás Leso (314).

[195] [027] [632]

314. Moreno II, p. 264.

631 632 643 103 According to the reports written by the Governor of Santa Cruz, Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, the Province of "Yvytupue," that is, the region governed by the great cacique Vitupuera, was made up of five large subdivisions. As can be assumed from the report cited, these subdivisions were in part made up of one town and in part of several towns and were, with the exception of one, governed by several caciques. Thus there is mentioned in the first place the subdivision "Taquirán and Caracará," probably meaning the towns which bear these names. As the caciques of this first subdivision, three are mentioned; thus the number of caciques does not correspond to the number of towns. Thus, we are not here dealing with a community which was established exclusively on a territorial basis. /84/ For the second subdivision three names are mentioned, Aguapea, Naipea, and Traibi. Thus it was probably made up of three towns. In this subdivision the number of towns, three, corresponds to the number of caciques. The third subdivision is called Tamboré. Thus it can be presumed that it consisted of but one town, and there is also mentioned but one cacique. The fourth subdivision is called Tendy, and three caciques of it are mentioned. It is stated that one of these caciques, called Abequé, was the son of the cacique Tendy, thus of that cacique who gave his name to that subdivision. Of the fifth subdivision, Ayaguá or Cayaguá, as many as four caciques are mentioned (315).

315. Moreno II, pp. 123 and 124.

/163 cont./

643 A fact that confirms what has been said happened in the
649 Caipipendi region. The regional cacique Tengua was succeeded
464 by his son Cariti, who, because of the grave errors that he made
466 or was supposed to have made, was dismissed, and the native Tarúire, who apparently at least had very good qualities, was named in his place. This latter, selected by the whites with the consent or nomination of the Indians, had to return the favor of his benefactors who had elevated him and consequently to respond to all the demands and requests for peons, and one time the poor Indians had to go to Santa Cruz as a guarantee for the /164/ unhappy Indians who feared that, under the pretext of jobs in the city, they would be taken to the Beni (1).

[566]

1. In El Beni men were sold for 1,000 Bs. and women at a lesser price., Baron D. Erland Nordenskiold gave a lecture in London proving that slavery exists in Bolivia and Peru.

This concern of Tarúire and suspicion of the Indians originated in a publicly known event which took place in the year 1905, when a party of Indians sold to the rubber plantations were taken from there: rumors of this event spread rapidly through all the newspapers of the Republic, which expressed disapproval of it, and at that time I saw whole groups of families who, with all of their possessions, emigrated to other lands.

643 The result of this is that today many Indians obey Tarúire,
641 not out of love or loyalty, but out of fear of the harsh punish-
554 ment which the political authorities would immediately impose on them; and the cacique is now beginning to tire of this task which is so odious for him, for he wants to be tranquil in his home and to enjoy peace. He has repeatedly said this to me and he would be satisfied if they would renominate Cariti, for whom the Indians hold proper respect.

Ce 178 643 [114] [648]

/83 cont./ when Nordenskiöld made his expedition, there was no longer a great cacique among the Chané on the Parapití River. The last great cacique had been Aringui, whose nephew, Batiraya, was a cacique, but he had refused the position of great cacique because he did not want to be too dependent on the whites (311).

311. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 233.

C 631 [642]

According to what is said in older documents, the Chiriguano, after their immigration into the Cordillera, did not form a uniform community, a state, in the proper sense of public law. Formerly they had formed a federation of several parcialidades /subdivisions/. In the letter of Licenciado Cepeda (312) in the

C [131] [175]

312. Letter from Licenciado Cepeda giving an account of the war against the Chiriguano under the encomienda of Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, Governor of Santa Cruz, and under the Maestre de Campo, Fernando de Cazorra, through Tomina, and under Luis de Fuentes through Tarija. According to Moreno II, p. 113.

year 1585, it is said "that the Province of the Chiriguano, who are in the Cordillera between Santa Cruz and the city of La Plata, who are divided into three parcialidades, each distinct from the others, 25 leagues, although they communicate and help one another. One is the parcialidad of Vitupué, another that of Condorillo, and the other of Chiquiacá."

C 631 643

Of the two parcialidades Vitupué and Chiquiacá we know that they, at least originally, were each under the chieftainship of a great cacique, from whom they received their respective names. Vitupuera was the great cacique of the former and Chiaca the great cacique of the latter (313). With regard to the parcialidad

313. Moreno II, pp. 122 and 126.

1. Old Chiriguano of Yumbía (Upper Pilcomayo). Note the enormous labret and the head band.

2. Karnapadyú, "captain" of the Carurutí region near the middle course of the Parapití River. (Photo. A.M.)

142 301 302

142 291 554 302 643

C 173 539 648 484 C [643]

/312 cont./

In olden days numerous Paraguayans emerged into our territory near the Izozoc and they went to fight on the side of the Guarayú and Santa Cruz. From there they went on to Cochabamba. They gave battle over there, then went to Oruro. Their colonel was killed. They scattered in every direction. One of them came to Macharetí where the "Capitan grande," Mandepona, was. The latter told Cipriano, who was then a young man: "Let us go to Paraguay." Mandepona had given this Paraguayan ten "soldiers." Cipriano did not want to go with them. The ten went down the Pilcomayo and arrived at a village near Paraguay. /Plate III appears here./ /313/ A soldier richly decked out with silver, with a horse whose harness was of the same metal, came to meet them to examine them. The Paraguayan they were escorting went to speak with this soldier, but the others did not hear what they were saying. While these two were talking, they saw the Toba arrive with a piece of cloth between their legs and their chests and arms painted with charcoal. The Toba asked them where they were coming from and where they were going. The Chiriguano answered: "To visit you." The Toba refused to allow them to continue on their way, although they were only one league from Paraguay. As an excuse they told them that they were in the act of making war. The Paraguayan rode behind the soldier, and the ten Chiriguano returned to Macharetí.

The first part of this story seems to be a modern adaptation of Alejo García's adventure. I do not know what event could have given rise to this legend, which, had it been true, would have been very much to the taste of the Paraguayan government. As for the trip of the ten Chiriguano from Macharetí, it has the appearance of being wholly authentic.

C 175 648

The crossing of the Chaco is a less difficult undertaking for Indians than for white men. Formerly these trips from the Andes to Paraguay must have been facilitated by a greater density of the native population. It is enough to recall the relatively easy trip of Juan de Ayolas going from Paraguay to the country of the Chané and coming back without having to cope with any particular obstacles. The exploration of Alvar Núnez

[Text continues on p. 30]

1: Métraux--29 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142 291 516

Plate III

1. Mandepona, the most illustrious Chiriguano chief of the past century. His authority extended not only over the village of Macharetí, where he lived, but over vast expanses of the Chaco. (Photo. by the R. P. Honorato Catinari.)

2. Type of Chiriguano Indian from the Igüembé Valley. (Photo. A. M.)

142 291 516

142
554
643
177

1. Santos Airedyú, the last "capitan grande" of the still independent Chiriguano Indians. Airedyú is completely assimilated to civilization and lives like a rich Bolivian farmer. He is a man of great character. (Photo. A. M.)

142
291
797

2. Group of Chiriguano in a Franciscan mission. (Photo. by the R. P. Honorato Catinari.)

Plate VI

142
301
302

[643] 1. Young Chiriguano, daughter of the "capitan grande" Karnapadyú. Her cheeks are painted with kalasapa powder.

142
291
302

2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the Carurutí region, considered a beauty by the Indians. (Photo. A.M.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 372

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

C 411

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

C [223] Ce [226] [411] [824] Ce 411 824 C 411 171 178

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Ce [441] Ce [524]

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

C 621 613 596 594

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

C 622 [643]

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

C 623 756 357 565 622

/148 cont./

754 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where
761 God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something
753 the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[761] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

756 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others
622 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a
623 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has
643 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of
571 the lower caciques; they discuss the appropriate measures to
731 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The
755 first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very
756 great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make
554 him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there
731 is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /149/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

/157 cont./

Principle of Authority

000 The principle of authority is innate in humankind and to attempt to destroy it is madness. Ever since man came into the world, the principle of authority has existed, as can clearly be read in /158/ Genesis: Sub viri potestate eris et ipse dominabitur tui; thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee.

As it is innate in humankind, through guilt more than through necessity in the beginning, the said principle has always been in effect everywhere. There is no nation, no matter how barbarous, which does not recognize this principle as a necessity, and to attempt to destroy it, as the anarchists wish to do, is to wish for the impossible. The Tubicha, great one or authority, say the old Indians, emanates from God himself, and that is why it begins with the same letter. The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 214/ shows several caciques of the San Buenaventura Mission; only the one in the frock coat and cane (Anduari) did not take part in the uprising at Curuyuqui (1).

[551]

1. The Indians in the illustration are; Asicayu, Asucari, Periquiyu, and Guarerai to the right of the cacique Anduari; Chipa and Patiri, or Patricio, at the left.

648 The entire region has today been explored and is under the power of the whites, who first entered with the permission of the owner (ab immemorabili), and after having taken possession, they have made themselves owners, buying lands as
619 property of the nation. Some might believe that the Chiriguano
361 liked to live in great centers, when it is known that formerly
[622] they were very numerous, but one who passes through the territory
[643] will soon understand that each tribe is at most made up of some 40 families and that in each tribe there is a cacique who is dependent upon another greater one, whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great of the great. In one league of territory or even less, an explorer, or passer-by, or sojourner can still find four or five Chiriguano Tribes at short distances.

/158 cont./

000 361 or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances. The only large town that I found on my travels is Membirai, which is joined to Choreti guasu on the left bank of the Parapiti. I know Caipipendi, [114] [62] where I often slept; the Indians are many, but they live in different places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (2).

797 619 361

2. The beautiful Santa Rosa Mission was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place shown them by the missionary. In Yumbía there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique

622

Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /159/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple; when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the sorcerer to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

[631] [643]

1. In each tribe there is but one cacique; many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

[262] [273] At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep or rest in their homes, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

/159 cont./

622 may be general rejoicing with the drinking of the pretasted
[262] Cangũi, chicha, squash and beans to eat together with Aticúi,
[273] meal, and Atipíi, parched corn. In his prolonged discourse he recommends union in labor so that it may soon be finished, since the field of the cacique is planted first and then those of the rest, with all of them helping one another. When I came to the missions, the soldiers of the cacique Gũiraesa still did it in this way. I shall speak of this cacique and his family in another chapter.

622 692 The cacique also arbitrates the arguments which frequently arise in the planting season, since even among these people there reigns covetousness of the property of others, should it be good and free of brush; he settles family disputes, admonishing the parents and also their children. If a theft occurs, it is also he who makes claims before the cacique of the neighboring tribe, but if this should occur within his own, he will summarily administer justice. His sentence is absolute and in general not subject to appeal (2).

[797] 2. There are several caciques in the missions, because they are made up of several tribes. The missionary governs them all, with the result that the authority of the caciques is almost nominal.

721 It frequently happens that, as a result of some affront done to some woman of a tribe, a bloody war begins, which assumes the characteristics of a regional one. This happened during the
• [643] 1850's in the Cuevo region. The cacique Gũiracoti tried without
[837] success to have relations with the wife of Yaveau, cacique of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo. In revenge the offended man disposed of a head of cattle belonging to /160/ Gũiracoti; hostilities were then declared and each cacique prepared for war.

/162 cont./

Abuse of Authority

622 661 643

The Indians who today live under the paternal rule of the missionaries state that formerly caciques committed thousands of abuses: speaking of caciques still alive, they said that they abused everything that belonged to the poor and defenseless Indians, made use of maidens and women of others took possession of horses, cows, sheep, goats, and rags or clothing of their subordinates under any pretext, and in certain cases, as absolute mandatory, life was not safe either.

682

In verification of the last, I am going to relate the following: Before the reorganization of the missions of San Antonio and San Francisco del Parapiti Grande, an Indian strangled his own son and half buried him in the sand near the bank with the aim that any sizable rise would soon carry him off, but before this could happen the deed was discovered, not by betrayal by his wife, whom he had threatened to kill, but by the wheeling about of vultures which were beginning to strip the already decomposing flesh (2).

[643]

2. The murderer of his own son belonged to the upper town and was hanged in public in the lower town where the regional cacique, who was the authority of the presumed Parapiti Canton, resided.

692 643 682 [649]

When the regional cacique had been advised, inquiries were undertaken in order to speak to the evil-doer, and it was not difficult to find him because he was a well-known Indian. Taken into custody and brought before the authority, he confessed his crime. In order to prevent another greater crime the canton authority attempted to intervene, but the regional cacique made it clear to him that justice would be administered in an exemplary fashion by him and that the corregidor, whose subalterns were the whites, should not involve himself in the matter at all.

/163/

643 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the
682 cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following
692 his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with another piece of wood set between them. He called together all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was
[671] immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his region, so that the life of the defenseless and the good may be respected and that he may be feared (1).

622
643
756
686
692

1. When a sorcerer does not manage to accomplish what he has promised, because he perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's prerogative to order the death sentence and burning.

Separation from Command

622
631
643

The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared them free from such obedience, naming another more humane person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it.
648 This has become easier today by agreement with the political
466 authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that
464 when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named
622 by the political authority, he is sure to be subject to all the
643 demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the latter, who do not like the yoke or the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

/163 cont./

643 A fact that confirms what has been said happened in the
649 Caipipendi region. The regional cacique Tengua was succeeded
464 by his son Cariti, who, because of the grave errors that he made
466 or was supposed to have made, was dismissed, and the native Tarúire, who apparently at least had very good qualities, was named in his place. This latter, selected by the whites with the consent or nomination of the Indians, had to return the favor of his benefactors who had elevated him and consequently to respond to all the demands and requests for peons, and one time the poor Indians had to go to Santa Cruz as a guarantee for the /164/ unhappy Indians who feared that, under the pretext of jobs in the city, they would be taken to the Beni (1).

[566]

1. In El Beni men are sold for 1,000 Bs. and women at a lesser price. Baron D. Erland Nordenskiold gave a lecture in London proving that slavery exists in Bolivia and Peru.

This concern of Tarúire and suspicion of the Indians originated in a publicly known event which took place in the year 1905, when a party of Indians sold to the rubber plantations were taken from there; rumors of this event spread rapidly through all the newspapers of the Republic, which expressed disapproval of it, and at that time I saw whole groups of families who, with all of their possessions, emigrated to other lands.

643 The result of this is that today many Indians obey Tarúire,
641 not out of love or loyalty, but out of fear of the harsh punish-
554 ment which the political authorities would immediately impose on them; and the cacique is now beginning to tire of this task which is so odious for him, for he wants to be tranquil in his home and to enjoy peace. He has repeatedly said this to me and he would be satisfied if they would renominate Cariti, for whom the Indians hold proper respect.

/164 cont./

622 643 648 566 46 Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large number of Indians, like Tarüire, derives great benefits from his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income is regular, because generally the caray who makes a request for peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future; interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62 595 It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques; even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

[797] 3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques; some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 [555] [556] /165/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661] 1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

/165 cont./

622 621 may be considered the scourge of the tribe, and, as an absolute ruler, he takes from the belongings of his soldiers whatever he wants for himself and for the guests who visit him.

622 562 Very rarely does a woman take command and control of the tribe; this can happen if the cacique who dies leaves only women as heirs, but only with great difficulty does the Chiriguano allow himself to be ruled by a woman; the other tribes would laugh at them and would treat them like women; Salic law is in force among the Chiriguano (2).

2. Nevertheless, there are cases when the law of the Salians has been suspended among the Chiriguano. The woman Iguandúai governed in Ivu, Parapoti in Aquío, and a certain Arabúai is mentioned by del Campano.

643

The Regional Cacique

In addition to the cacique, whom the people of a tribe distinguish with the name of Mburubicha, great one, there is another, higher authority whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great one of the great ones, or cacique of the caciques. The great cacique resides in a larger tribe and leads it directly like the other caciques, having alcaldes and counselors.

643 622 The great cacique intervenes and is consulted with regard to the succession of the subaltern caciques; for this reason the sons of the latter always accompany their fathers on the visits they make and try to get the great cacique to like them, in order to succeed their fathers in power, but if the tribe does not want him and furthermore his faults are so notorious and serious as to eliminate him from the honor, the regional cacique very tactfully makes him understand this, adding that by reforming his life he could be chosen again on a day not far off.

/165 cont./

643 [781] In the case of a regional war against another region, the great cacique calls a parliament and consults all the cacique, /166/ counselors, and sorcerers in order to arrange matters perfectly and avoid surprises. When the war has broken out, as he is the most important man, he takes charge of the battles, even leading them personally to a successful conclusion, and, should a defeat be suffered, he does not cringe in defeat, but prepares anew, encourages his soldiers to fight more vigorously to take revenge, and is unlikely to suffer another defeat. This is what happened in the regional war of the great cacique Gilizacoti against Taveau, in which, the latter having been defeated by the former, as I have already related, he retired to the slopes of Benta and from there marched on his enemies, causing numerous casualties and obtaining a complete victory (1).

643 701 929

[648]

1. In the Curuyuqui War there was a cacique named Chaparilla and another named Tunga, but, as this war was against the whites, Tunga took charge of the military operations.

643 631 Chituri, a regional cacique, was succeeded by his son, the late Azari, in the entire region of the Parapiti Grande, Itatiqui, Tacuaranti, and Ururigua. Taveau was obeyed by all the Indians of Riyoru, Curuyuqui, Iro, Igilipinta, and those of Santa Rosa, living on the right bank of the Cuevo River; subject to Gilizacoti were all those living on the left bank of the same river as far as the right bank of the Parapiti; the subjects of the late Tengua were the Indians of the left bank of the same Parapiti up to Gutierrez; the subalterns of Machirope were, as was told me in the same year 1901, all the Indians of Ingre Canton, Iglembe, and Huacaya from the right bank of the Parapiti to the left bank of the Pilcomayo, which includes an area of 24 leagues from north to south and 15 east to west, and when an effort was made to found a mission in Yumbía, on the left bank of the Pilcomayo, Iglembe Canton, he insisted to me that we should not bother them any more because neither he nor the

4: Nino--228 M-3 (1898-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/166 cont./

643 [631] Indians wanted it (?).

2. The regional cacique Tengua died in 1900, Machirope in 1905, and the others who have been named in the middle of the nineteenth century, except Chituri. Baringai of Igüembe is considered a regional cacique without being one: he is the oldest known Indian, at least among the caciques.

Today only one of the former regional caciques is still living. This is Mandepónai, who must be about 84 years old, a very robust and obese Indian with a constitution of iron. His authority extends throughout the Gran Chaco. He is respected and obeyed up to a certain point by the Toba, Mataco, and Choroti, and other known races; he is very well received in the other regions through which he passes, and his authority is not contradicted elsewhere, but is not respected either, /167/ because at the present time the Chiriguano element too has almost radically changed its political system: today it is the political authority which rules, and the cacique is a humble servant of any caray who comes to him asking for peons.

643 The Macharetí Mission exists through his efforts, and he has 799 always been faithful to the missionaries. In the Curuyuqui 648 War, the Tunpa tried to get Mandepónai to use his influence to 778 make the Toba and Chiriguano of his region revolt, as Tengua 661 did, but the great cacique was not to be moved: instead he and 662 his people went over to the side of the Santa Rosa Mision and the white Christians who had taken refuge in it.

At that time some whites, perhaps because of their hate for the missionaries of Macharetí, tried to implicate Mandepónai as an accomplice of the Tunpa, but this calumny was belied by his praiseworthy procedure. He gave warning of the day on which the rebels were to burn the mission, went personally with his soldiers to Santa Rosa on January 27, before the final battle, and there confronted Tengua, accusing him of treason to the whites. His loyalty to the missionaries is to his glory.

/167 cont./

643 and when he addresses his people he does not fail to remind them
648 that if they enjoy peace they owe it to him, for he consented
669 to the founding of their mission; more or less the same thing
797 is said by other caciques or their successors, through whose in-
662 fluence the missions have been founded (1).

1. When the slander against Mandepónai was believed, the delegate Chavarría went to Machareti with all his forces to punish the cacique, but nothing came of it because it all turned out to be false.

/168/

Chapter Six

000

Towns, Houses, and Work

Introduction

The glacial period and horrible icy places with their new flora and fauna in the dawn of the Quaternary era, a mysterious period for certain modern unbelievers, holds no mystery whatsoever for true believers, who see in it, or in its sudden appearance, a punishment for the disobedience of the first man. Adam sins, and the land, until then so beautiful and fecund, is covered with snows and ice, with brambles and briars; before his sin, no shelter was needed, but, as a result of rebellion against the Creator, he was laden with needs. /The remainder of the introduction on pp. 168-169 is omitted. The following illustration appears opposite p. 169. The remainder of p. 169 follows./

797 /208 cont./ Let the reader consider that the work of the missionary, who strives for and dedicates himself to the reduction of the Indian, would not amount to much if he could make light of immorality, a sin which God anciently punished with two floods, one of water and one of fire, thus manifesting His just indignation with these words: Non permanebit spiritus meus in homine, quia caro est.

595 With these inclinations not at all restrained, but instead fomented with the five physical senses and all the faculties of the soul, it is not strange that there should exist among the Chiriguano a tendency to very frequent bigamy and polygamy as a luxury or a sign of greatness. /204/ If not all have many wives, it is either because it is not easy to support them or because they are not easily found, because every woman would like to be the only mistress in her house (1).

1. In the house of a polygamist or bigamist, the one who gives orders and is in charge as mistress and manager is the oldest, as long as she anticipates her husband's thinking: since, as she knows his irremediable incontinence, in order not to lose her authority in the house, she advises a second and third marriage, etc., and then the master of all of these women imposes the respect due the oldest woman.

[643] Almost all regional caciques are polygamists, and they have a woman in almost every town of their dependency, without counting the eight or twelve that they have in the town where they live. Caciques can do this because they have
595 authority, although they do not give them anything. Formerly
178 polygamy was much more extensive. It is not so now because
[797] the race has been much reduced, and there has penetrated everywhere, if not the missionary, the Christian, who at times is a reproach for the lasciviousness of the carnal Ava.

/204 cont./

643 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves
648 are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live
797 as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 The important men assert that to possess many wives is
574 necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality
829 to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because
643 the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they
622 do not become such in their youth, when they are like humming-
[582] birds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] 1. Formerly, women were abundant because of
[167] wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

/273 cont./

721 I am not going to consider the Chiriguano at war with the Incas or with the Spaniards or with the whites who occupy the region. I am going to consider him at war with his own kind, or with the inhabitants of /274/ other towns which border his. Sensitive to the extreme, the Indian will fight on any pretext, however minor it may be considered, such as the abduction of a woman, her attempted violation, cattle stealing, or any other offense; they are enough to make the pride of the native scheme for vengeance and carry it out without any loss of time.

721 173 643 [727] Among the Indians of Ivu there is still kept alive the memory of the four or five wars which the regional cacique Yaveáu of Cuevo and its vicinity waged against Yuti, where among the women killed was the wife of the Indian Cairama, who still lives in the Santa Rosa Mission; against Choreti, where, while retreating, he killed several whites; against Itau and Carapari, from where he brought a small cannon as booty; and against Parapiti, where he was defeated, leaving some 200 victims on the battlefield on the left bank of the river. It has already been seen in the preceding pages that the cause which brought about this prolonged and bloody war was the attempt of the cacique Güiracoti with regard to Yaveáu's wife, which he avenged to excess (1).

1. The cacique Yaveáu waged a war of extermination against all the towns noted, because they all fought on Güiracoti's side, but he could do nothing against Chituri, the cacique of Parapiti.

721 411 My readers, having thus understood that the Chiriguano is very warlike, must be convinced of another truth, that is, that they are prepared to take up arms on any occasion, from which it can be deduced also that it is a fact that in every house they had available as many bows as there were persons fit for war, in addition to having ready as many dozens of arrows, because it was a law that in war each warrior had to carry at least a dozen.

/274 cont./

Offensive War and Weapons

643 701 705 When a tribe was preparing to attack another, if it foresaw that it would last longer than usual, and the cacique judged that more preparations were required, in his position as supreme chief or captain general he would commission subalterns called Queremba, experts, to inspect all the armament available, and if the report of these chiefs was not satisfactory, a general order was given to make up and repair all the deficiencies as quickly as possible.

411 824 [283] The bows and arrows were made in the public plaza or outside each house; the wood which was to serve for bows was different from that for arrows. War bows measured /275/ a meter and a half more or less, and to shoot one they used a twisted cord made of pygmy-deer hide, which was both light and strong. The wood that they use even today for hunting bows is called Igũirapitiragua.

The arrows are made of different kinds of wood, but the most common are Ovei, guayancansillo /a kind of guaicum/, Yaguasíi, tola, and Igũirane, smelly wood. This last is very poisonous, and the tribe that uses it must be a very bad enemy of his opponent, because whoever is wounded with these arrows will recover only with difficulty, and the wound is a continual suppuration of illness, which slowly consumes him, almost without any hope of his being able to be helped and to enjoy life once more with his companions.

Every arrow ends in a point, and on both sides it has its edges the opposite way so that when it enters the flesh it is difficult to remove, and one who does not know how to remove it can produce a greater wound than the one the arrow made when it entered. [283] [239] The arrow is inserted into a little piece of hollow cane, one meter long, where it is securely attached with string made of toborochi bark, and the string is covered with a little bit of wax (1).

1. At the end of the cane, with the same string and wax, many attach a feather of a falcon or of a carcancho, not for decoration, but so that the shot may be more accurate. The feathers of these birds are more resistant than others.

/276 cont./

March and Inspection

726 Finally they take leave of their families, telling them to be very careful not to go far from the town. The cacique gives his [727] instructions to the men who stay behind on guard; the women once more tell their husbands to fight like brave men and to bring back the heads of their enemies in order to drink chicha from their skulls, and then, in perfect order, the march of the army toward 701 the place of combat begins. They say that the cacique does not • 643 carry arms and that his presence only serves for giving orders that they promptly execute without losing any time (1).

1. If the cacique were seen to be attacked or surrounded by the enemy, his soldiers, especially the cavalry, would come quickly and boldly to his defense.

726 The combat is never begun by day or late at night, but in the early morning. For this reason, before the soldiers depart, they calculate the distance and the time that it may take to cover it. In order not to be seen or heard, they go through the woods, if there are any, and try to arrive at night at a certain distance from the enemy town. They make their camp at a distance of four or five cuadras and wait for the dawn, in order to be able to enjoy their triumph, the pillaging and other ensuing things, by the light of day, or to be able to beat an orderly retreat in case of defeat (2).

2. Nobody in the town discovers the proximity of the enemy, because the Indians do not go out of their town after midnight, and the invading horsemen with their horses stay at a suitable distance so that the horses will not give them away with their neighing.

/281 cont./

726 648 helping them in the town and against the missionary who had brought them.

Peace

727 728 Every time a war between Chiriguanos ends, those who got the worst of it are the first to resume friendly relations. They do it little by little, and the women are most useful for this, the same ones who, with their tongues, contributed not inconsiderably to promoting hostilities. The conquerers readily accept the overtures of peace and immediately resume visits again, during which, if the conversation touches on the last war, the conquered avoid it, that is, they excuse the deceit suffered through some trick, but from time to time they must silently endure the reproaches of one or another bold woman, who are not lacking in the towns (3).

3. A certain young girl, a student in the Santa Rosa Mission, reproached the captain at Ivu, who was asking for a mission in his town after having tried to kill the missionary. But I have already said that this war was directly against the whites.

701 723 643 [704] When a war is regional because several tribes take part in it under the command of a single cacique, as happened in Yaveau's war /282/ against Güiracoti, both regions try to have an equal number of foot soldiers, cavalry, and queremba; otherwise it would be very hard for the weaker side to enter the combat. Güiracoti came to battle aided by the whites and men from Parapiti, but, when he saw that he had fewer people, he fled from Yaveáu, who pursued him with all his men (1).

1. The cacique Yaveáu in his first defeat recovered and suitably prepared for a general and decisive charge on the slopes of the range of Irenta, located one league from the Santa Rosa Mission.

/282 cont./

727 When a regional campaign has ended, the caciques involved,
728 with the intervention of others who did not take part in the struggle,
643 try to re-establish peace, because although the Chiriguano is rather warlike and proud, he is also just as peaceful and desirous of living quietly in his home. Hence it is quite easy for peace to be accepted by both parties, and it is sealed with a general fiesta, first in the town of the defeated cacique and then in that of the victorious cacique. All the great and important people of both regions and of the regions which have taken part in the friendly arrangements come together at these fiestas, and even then they do not turn to talk of the stormy time, except to anathematize the one who, according to them, was to blame for so much anguish; little importance is given to the words of the women (2).

[648]

2. As the Curuyuqui war was against the whites and since the latter triumphed and pursued them to the death, there could not be any party afterward, but in time friendly relations were renewed between the Indians of Ivu and Santa Rosa, and to this day they continue in perfect harmony, because they live with the help of the missionary whom the Ivu people had asked for previously.

Then each regional cacique enjoins his men not to disturb public peace again, and these in turn make speeches to their subalterns at night about the advantages of peace, and both caciques shake hands, promising to decide matters in a friendly fashion in any future disagreement which might arise between the two regions, but sometimes the opposite happens, because the victor finds it hard to yield, considers himself superior, and does not know that negotiations are preferable.

727 Finally, each one returns to his town satisfied, the repair
728 of the destroyed houses is ordered immediately; the time of general planting comes, and they all report to work peacefully in order to have abundance once again and with their hopes based on being able to enjoy in time the fruit of the little sweat that falls, to their own advantage and that of their family.

/159 cont./

In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities. 114 164 [65] [273]

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either. 797 756

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the 114

415
531

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igüembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 114 It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant. [133] [137]

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things. 123 157 178 643 ● 000

C Ce 581 /212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

C Ce 582 Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

C Ce [171] This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Mataco.

C Ce 595 Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

C [643] Ce [586]

C Ce 582 Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

C 577 177 797 831 /214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

C [837]

C 577 831 175 The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

/214 cont./

577 entirely untouched by the civilization of the whites, an opinion
831 which I shall reproduce here verbatim:
175

"Ce qui m'a fort surpris, c'est que dans la licence où ils vivent, je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'il échappat à aucun homme la moindre action indécente à l'egard des femmes, et jamais je n'ai oui sortir de leur bouche aucune parole tant soit peu déshonnête

●643
291
415
142
352
516

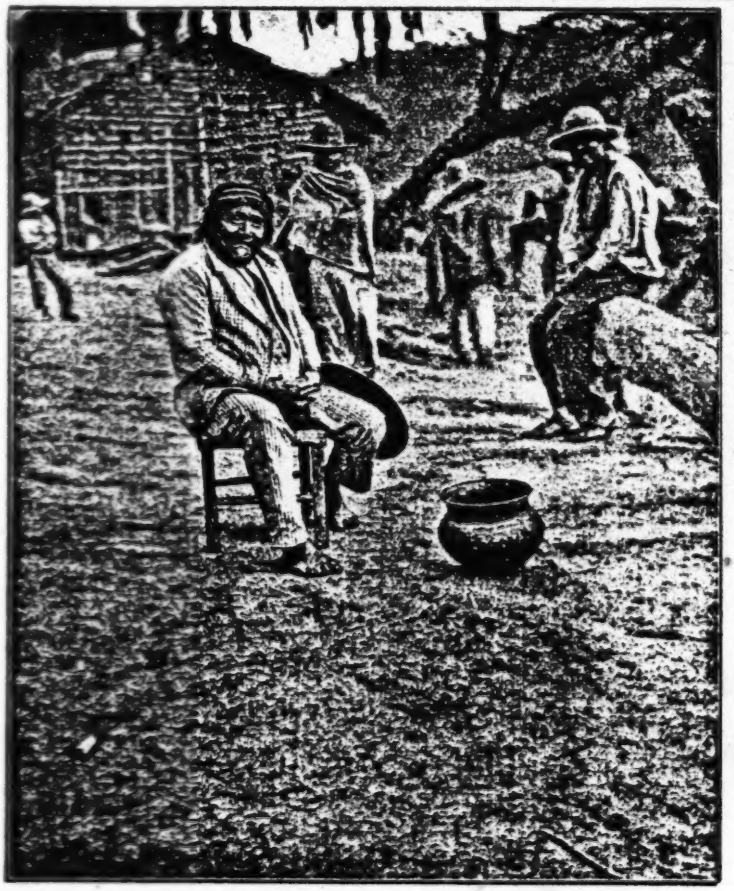


Fig. 111. The Chiriguano chief Mandepora.

577 /What surprised me very much is that in the freedom in which
831 they live I never noticed the slightest indecent behavior on the
175 part of any man with regard to women, and never did I hear from their lips any word that was the least bit immodest/."

Ee 831 /227 cont./

The Indians regard the natural aspect of sexual life very differently from the way we view it as a rule. We do not find among these people all the corruption which is in civilized society, but various things are to be found here already. As far as homosexuality in particular is concerned, conditions among primitive peoples, as is known, show that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than in our hypercivilization.

Ee 838

/228/

Chapter Fourteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Chiefs and Laws

Ee 622 643 [111]

The chiefs have an entirely different position among the Chané and Chiriguano than among the Ashluslay and Choroti. They have considerable power. Among the chiefs there are the great chiefs, who rule over several villages, and the village chiefs, who have command over only one village or a part of one. Among the great chiefs whom I met, the noteworthy ones are the old woman Vuáyruyi, the chief over the Chané villages on the Rio Itiyuro, Taruiri, who rules over most of the Caipipendi valley, Mandepora (Fig. 111), who in former times had considerable power in and around Machareti, and Maringay in the Iguembe valley.

Ee 643

Ee

622 293 643 [301] [302]

Nowadays the chiefs have no symbol of their office other than silver-mounted sticks. According to Corrado, they formerly wore a large tuft of hair on the head, "yattira," as well as green stones which hung at their ears. At the festivals and dances they had the right to use the "yandugua," a rod decorated with a bunch of ostrich feathers, and "iguirape," a staff carved with peculiar figures. Of these I was able to acquire only a yandugua. I did not even see the rest.

Ee

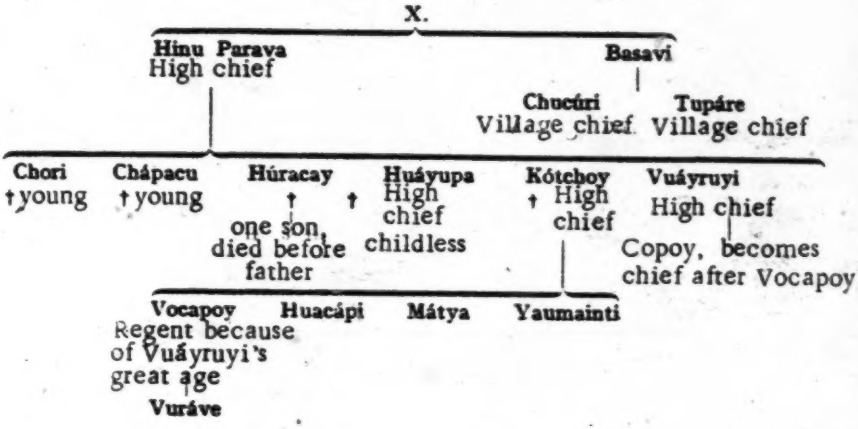
622 555 643

The office of chief seems to be hereditary as a rule. Capability and the art of using words well are required, however.

Ce /229/
622
173
643

Vocapoy gave me his family tree, which I reproduce here because it is very instructive, and I venture to believe that it may interest the reader to study an Indian family tree.

Vocapoy's Family Tree



Ce
643

Thus we find that the real chief on the Rio Itiyuro is a woman. I visited old Vuáyruyi. She received me with great dignity, lying in her hammock. Since the woman is old and weak, Vocapoy governs and tries, as best he can, to protect his people against the whites, who have completely appropriated their land. I asked Vocapoy why Vuáyruyi, as a woman, became chief. "Her father, Hinu Parawa, taught her to speak," said Vocapoy. Thus, these Indians regard it as most important to have command of the language in order to rule. These people are able to value intelligence more than strength. No one becomes chief who is not an older man. The husband of Vuáyruyi was not a chief, but only "prince consort." The village chiefs also belong to the family /Geschlechte/ of Hinu Parava.

Ce
[622]

C
643

Taruiri, too, is not the actual chief, but is substituting for a younger relative, who, as a result of his /230/ constant drunkenness, is regarded as unfit. Taruiri rules in the Caipipendi valley, where his territory is still free, but will probably soon be usurped by the whites. In Ivu there is a Chiriguano chief who is also a medicine man. This is the only example of theocracy that I found.

C
[756]

Ee 622 643 554

/230 cont./

The chiefs' families form a sort of aristocracy among the Chiriguano and Chané. Several times I heard Indians boast about their good family connections. A Chiriguano who accompanied me for some time as an interpreter was eager to impress upon me that he was related to the most famous high chiefs.

Just as the author of this book is customarily introduced as the son of Adolf Nordenskiöld, so the Indians were wont to introduce in similar fashion the sons of their "great men."

I even discovered a bit of deception in connection with the family tree. A Chané claimed direct descent from the great Hinu Parava, which, however, is said to be untrue.

If one wishes to find beautiful things from olden times among these Indians, one must first look for them in the chiefs' families. They keep the old treasures.

Ee [177]

More and more the white authorities are beginning to appoint the chiefs. Thus, in one region one can find a chief supported by the whites and a legitimate one.

Ee 622 423 122 643

The chiefs have great power, and, as far as I could see, they are always obeyed, in contrast to conditions among the Choroti and Ashluslay. They own the land (at least in certain regions), not for themselves, but for the tribe. If one needs porters in a Chané or Chiriguano village, one gets them from the chief, and no Indian will refuse to carry out the orders of the chief.

Ce 622 643

Although the chief has such great influence, /231/ he nevertheless works in the same way as the other Indians. Vocapoy himself, for example, carried home the heavy wood for cooking the maize beer, and his wife had to cook and sweep, like the other women. Following the example of the whites, however, a few of the most civilized and wealthy Indians, such as Taco, now have servants from their own tribe, but this was not done originally. On the other hand, as I have mentioned elsewhere, it is not unusual for the Mataco-Vejos and the Tapiete to work for the Chiriguano and Chané.

Ee [359] [177]

Ee 177 464

When we came home to Vocapoy's village from hunting and shared our booty with the chief /Fig. 115 appears here/, his wife accepted everything, but then went around to the houses and gave her neighbors everything that she had received.

Ce 622 643 431 123

Ee
Ee
565
556
621

/231 cont./

One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village, though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand, there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy individual Indians, but they, like Taco, live like the whites.

Ee
622
701
642
643

The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader of the fighting men.

Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain. A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

Ce
692
643
681

According to Batirayu, whose statements are more reliable than those of /232/ Vocapoy, the high chief of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti deals with no offenses other than murder, seduction of another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with poisoned chicha, "bád-dyási," occurred in former times among the Chané. Murderer and bewitcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the open plaza in the village.

C
531
415
Ce
682

Fig. 115. Calabash. Chiriguano. Itapenbia. 1/6.

Ce
684
Ce
685
681

Ee
177
Ce
643
622
721

The administrative authorities of the whites are now intervening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

Ce
423
622
643

According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner, even if it has been fallow for years.

/82 cont./

Ee 531

Figure 33b, which corresponds, as does also the form of this flute, completely to ancient Peruvian models. Also, the surface of the Chiriguano cane flute I. A. 494 (cf. Fig. 34a /see p. 89/) shows some incisings.

One of the tattooed decorations is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld, who found it on a woman's arm (310).

310. Nord. 1, Fig. 108.

Social Conditions among the Chiriguano and Chané

C Ce 114

With regard to the social conditions among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I am unable to add to the few data which we know on this subject because the situations in which I found myself when with these Indians were not appropriate for such investigations.

Ce 115 122 126

/83/ Among the Izozó whom I found in Toledo there were some who were designated as cacique. To one of these, who spoke Spanish perfectly, I owe the vocabulary of the Izozó language which I wrote down. I met the Chiriguano only in

C 114 197 622

Machareti, where they had lived for a long time under the supervision of the missionaries and, at the time of my trip, under the chieftainship of one of their own fellows who exercised the functions of a commissioner /comisario/. Two other Chiriguano Indians whom I met in Machareti were identified as caciques.

Ee 129

In order to complete my statements about the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I must make a resumé of what we know from the literature regarding the social conditions of those Indians, referring to Moreno's statements, which are based on old documents, as well as those of v. Nordenskiöld, which are based upon his own investigations.

Ee 178 648 643 000

Naturally, many of the old Chiriguano and Chané social institutions have been lost since they lost their independence from the whites. Also, the power of the great caciques has diminished appreciably since they have been dependent on the whites. When Nordenskiöld

Ce 178 643 [114] [648]

/83 cont./ when Nordenskiöld made his expedition, there was no longer a great cacique among the Chané on the Parapití River. The last great cacique had been Aringui, whose nephew, Batiraya, was a cacique, but he had refused the position of great cacique because he did not want to be too dependent on the whites (311).

311. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 233.

C 631 [642]

According to what is said in older documents, the Chiriguano, after their immigration into the Cordillera, did not form a uniform community, a state, in the proper sense of public law. Formerly they had formed a federation of several parcialidades /subdivisions/. In the letter of Licenciado Cepeda (312) in the

C [131] [175]

312. Letter from Licenciado Cepeda giving an account of the war against the Chiriguano under the encomienda of Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, Governor of Santa Cruz, and under the Maestre de Campo, Fernando de Cazorra, through Tomina, and under Luis de Fuentes through Tarija. According to Moreno II, p. 113.

year 1585, it is said "that the Province of the Chiriguano, who are in the Cordillera between Santa Cruz and the city of La Plata, who are divided into three parcialidades, each distinct from the others, 25 leagues, although they communicate and help one another. One is the parcialidad of Vitupué, another that of Condorillo, and the other of Chiquiacá."

C 631 643

Of the two parcialidades Vitupué and Chiquiacá we know that they, at least originally, were each under the chieftainship of a great cacique, from whom they received their respective names. Vitupuera was the great cacique of the former and Chiaca the great cacique of the latter (313). With regard to the parcialidad

313. Moreno II, pp. 122 and 126.

631 /83 cont./
[643] of Condorillo, we do not have any evidence as to whether this whole parcialidad was under the chieftainship of a great cacique. We only know that the town of Saigpuru was one of the most important and that it was the most feared by its enemies and that its inhabitants were defeated in the year 1779 by Don Tomás Leso (?314).

[195] [627] [632]

314. Moreno II, p. 244.

631 632 643 103 According to the reports written by the Governor of Santa Cruz, Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, the Province of "Yvytupue," that is, the region governed by the great cacique Vitupuera, was made up of five large subdivisions. As can be assumed from the report cited, these subdivisions were in part made up of one town and in part of several towns and were, with the exception of one, governed by several caciques. Thus there is mentioned in the first place the subdivision "Taquirán and Caracará," probably meaning the towns which bear these names. As the caciques of this first subdivision, three are mentioned; thus the number of caciques does not correspond to the number of towns. Thus, we are not here dealing with a community which was established exclusively on a territorial basis. /84/ For the second subdivision three names are mentioned, Aguapea, Naipea, and Traibi. Thus it was probably made up of three towns. In this subdivision the number of towns, three, corresponds to the number of caciques. The third subdivision is called Tamboré. Thus it can be presumed that it consisted of but one town, and there is also mentioned but one cacique. The fourth subdivision is called Tendy, and three caciques of it are mentioned. It is stated that one of these caciques, called Abequé, was the son of the cacique Tendy, thus of that cacique who gave his name to that subdivision. Of the fifth subdivision, Ayaguá or Cayaguá, as many as four caciques are mentioned (?315).

315. Moreno II, pp. 122 and 124.

/84 cont./

631 Also for the parcialidad of Chiquiacá besides its great cacique,
[643] Chiquiacá or Chiacá, 14 other caciques are mentioned, but it cannot be determined from these statements whether these are the names of successive caciques or of contemporaneous ones.

C 195 648 631 We have interesting data from the 16th century on the way in which the individual Chiriguano communities distributed among themselves the different countries in which they were making their depredations. In the "Confesión de Blas Negro," it is said "that to those of the province of cayguru fell the part of tomina, and those of coyagua to the churumatas, and those of tendi as far as miaque and tiraque, and those of aguapea up to this road from poxo and santa cruz" (316).

316. Moreno II, p. 129.

C a 175 648 In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have already mentioned that the Chané, and also other tribes as well, were subjugated by the Chiriguano and incorporated as subjects into their communities. The Chané communities which
C [928] had originally been in Chiriguano territory or its environs had
[648] been exterminated, until at the end of the 19th century, when the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites, the Chané were emancipated from their oppressors and once more inhabited their separate towns governed by their own great caciques.
a 175 643 We have an interesting item in the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" through which we know that the Chané in times past, before being subjugated by the Chiriguano, had a strong social organization and powerful great caciques. In Puerto de Reyes, Alvar Nuñez met a Chané cacique who had previously accompanied García on his return from Peru and later, after the murder of García by the Guaraní, had fled from them. Among other things this cacique declared "that in his land those of his race have a single headman who orders all and who is obeyed by all, and that there are many towns of many peoples of those of
ODD his race" (317). The subjugated Chané were distributed among

317. Moreno II, p. 30.

/85 cont./

C 631 643 [622] According to all that we learn from the old documents, the Chiriguano communities, that is, the parcialidades under the chieftainship of great caciques and the subdivisions under the chieftainship of ordinary caciques, had a very firm organization in comparison with other tribes of South American Indians. The great cacique commands his subjects and they obey him absolutely. It is likely that in this regard the example of the absolute rule of the neighboring Incas of Peru influenced the organization of the Chiriguano. Even at the time of Erland v. Nordenskiöld's trip in 1908, the Chiriguano and Chané caciques were very powerful in contrast with the caciques of the neighboring tribes of the Chaco. Even at that time there were great caciques, who governed a large territory made up of several towns, and ordinary caciques, who governed the inhabitants of a town or part of them. Thus, at the time of Nordenskiöld's trip most of the towns of the Caipipéndi valley were governed by a great cacique named Taruiri. The great cacique Mandepora formerly had considerable power in and near Macharetí, and the great cacique Maringay in the Iguembe valley. We have Nordenskiöld's interesting statement that women too can be great caciques among the Chané. Thus the great cacique of the Chané towns on the Ityuru was a woman named Vuáyuyi, who had succeeded her late brother in that office. Because she was already old, she was replaced in her duties by her nephew Vocapoy, who was the eldest son of her brother and predecessor. /86/ Her son was favored as great cacique after Vocapoy (326). Among the Chané on the Ityuru, and

C [177] C C 643 631 C C 643 [562]

326. Nord. 1, pp. 223 and 229.

formerly among the Chané of the Parapití when they still had a great cacique, the office of great cacique was tied to a certain family, but it did not pass from father to son. Nordenskiöld recorded the genealogical tree of the family of the caciques of the Chané on the Ityuru, according to which, after the great cacique Hinu Parava, two of the latter's sons successively succeeded to this office. After the death of the last of these, Hinu Parava's daughter, the above-mentioned Vuáyuyi, was great cacique, while the son

/86 cont./

CE 643 of her late brother and predecessor, as already mentioned, took her place in her duties. The one predestined for the office of cacique cannot begin his functions if he does not have ability and skill in discussion. The great cacique in the Caipipendi valley was considered incapable because of continual drunkenness, and he was replaced in his functions by one of his relatives (327). In

327. Nord. 1, p. 230.

the Chané towns on the Itiyuru the ordinary caciques too belong to Hinu Pacava's family (328).

328. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 129.

CE CE 643 301 302 293 As a symbol of chieftainship Nordenskiöld observed staffs decorated with silver and the so-called "Yandagua," which consists of a long rod adorned with a tuft of ostrich feathers and is carried by caciques at fiestas and dances. According to Corrado, the caciques formerly wore as a symbol of their office a large lock of hair on top of the head, which they called "yattira," and green stones as pendants in the ear lobes, and at the fiestas, in addition to the "yandagua" mentioned above, the "iguiripe," which was a staff carved with figures (329).

329. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 756 643 622 At the side of the caciques a special position is held by the sorcerers, among whom the Chiriguano distinguish two kinds, the "ipáye," who are good and who can undo spells, and the "ipáyepóchi," who can undo spells, but who also cast them. The sorcerer is also above all the doctor who has the obligation of curing the sick (330). In general the occupation of sorcerer

330. Nord. 1, p. 216.

from that of cacique. Only in Ivu did Nordenskiöld observe a case where a Chiriguano cacique was a sorcerer at the same time (331).

331. Nord. 1, p. 230.

/86 cont./

C 178 565 648 CC [178] [648] [643] The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

C 565 554 643 511 433 any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

C 184 433 432 432 178 [643] [461] [476] [464]

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 462 Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

C [562]

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

C
Ce
882
848
/88 cont./
rarely born (344). Marriages are made among the Chané by a

Ce
583
584

344. Nord. 1, p. 207.

method whereby the young man who wishes to marry sends several pieces of game to the girl's parents. He puts firewood in front of her house, and, if it is used, this signifies consent. But only after having worked for one year for his future mother-in-law can he marry the girl. The night before the wedding, which is celebrated by drinking a good amount of chicha, the young man sleeps with the girl (345).

Ce
585

345. Nord. 1, pp. 211 and 212.

C
Ce
595
643
622
C
Ce
582

While young men have but one wife, older men, and particularly caciques, often have several wives. Thus the substitute great cacique on the Itiyuru had four wives, who lived in different towns, and the cacique Maringay had two wives, who lived together (346). Marriage between brother and sister is prohibited,

346. Nord. 1, pp. 212 and 213.

while cousins may marry (347).

347. Nord. 1, p. 212.

Ce
843
Ce
[461]
Ce
846

Certain foods are forbidden to the pregnant woman. Thus, among the Chané on the Itiyuru a pregnant woman cannot eat doves. But they do their work until they give birth (348). After

348. Nord. 1, p. 206.

a child has been born, the man must go through the "couvade," which means that he must remain lying down for several days and must stay on a certain diet. Among the Chané on the Parapití [illegible] for the first few days he may eat only cooked maize and maize soup,

175
648
167
721
726

/Since Métraux believes that the Chiriguano are actually descendants of the Guarani, early culture history of the Chiriguano, in regard to their migrations and relations with other groups with whom they came in contact, will be found in category 116, pp. 1-30. Much of the material in these pages has been subheaded for Guarani SM4 but if the author's contention is correct then the data contained therein may equally apply to the historical Chiriguano./

167 [464] /312 cont./Some years ago, old Taruiri, having learned from some Chiriguano that Brazilians were "cariñosos," that is, generous, had the idea of going to their country to find work, for which he hoped to be well paid. He banded together with 45 other Chiriguano before whom he held out the glittering fortune which awaited them in the country to the east. With this adventurous spirit and boldness which characterize the Guarani, they did not hesitate to take off toward the unknown. They first passed through Chané territory and followed the course of the Parapiti to the desert. There they rushed boldly into these unexplored regions, dried-up expanses, which separate the Izozoc from Chiquitos. They were all armed with bows and arrows to defend themselves from a possible attack by the Tsirakua, the tracks of whose squared-off sandals they often [271] [824] saw in the sand. No water, of course, but only sipóy roots, which permitted them to stand the thirst. After 12 days of walking, this band arrived at Chiquitos, then from there reached the Paraguay River and Corumbá. Taruirí was not a little surprised to find brothers there, "that is," he explained to me, "people who spoke my language, badly it is true, but who nevertheless made themselves understood." When I inquired discreetly as to the success of his business over there, Taruirí answered, shaking his head and in a tone shot through with sadness and disillusionment: "All that was only a lie," todo era engaño.

Taruirí does not know and will never know that by doing this he accomplished an exploit that would be the pride and glory of an explorer. For him, it was a question of a simple trip, scarcely longer and more arduous than the one he undertook in the past to go to Argentina.

173 539 648 484 Does anyone want other modern examples of their spirit of adventure and of that ease with which the Guarani move about? I transcribe as such the curious tale told to me by the Indian Cipriano from the Ivu mission, who, confused as he may be, refers to definitely authentic facts:

C 173 539 648 484 C [643]

/312 cont./

In olden days numerous Paraguayans emerged into our territory near the Izozoc and they went to fight on the side of the Guarayú and Santa Cruz. From there they went on to Cochabamba. They gave battle over there, then went to Oruro. Their colonel was killed. They scattered in every direction. One of them came to Macharetí where the "Capitan grande," Mandepona, was. The latter told Cipriano, who was then a young man: "Let us go to Paraguay." Mandepona had given this Paraguayan ten "soldiers." Cipriano did not want to go with them. The ten went down the Pilcomayo and arrived at a village near Paraguay. /Plate III appears here./ /313/ A soldier richly decked out with silver, with a horse whose harness was of the same metal, came to meet them to examine them. The Paraguayan they were escorting went to speak with this soldier, but the others did not hear what they were saying. While these two were talking, they saw the Toba arrive with a piece of cloth between their legs and their chests and arms painted with charcoal. The Toba asked them where they were coming from and where they were going. The Chiriguano answered: "To visit you." The Toba refused to allow them to continue on their way, although they were only one league from Paraguay. As an excuse they told them that they were in the act of making war. The Paraguayan rode behind the soldier, and the ten Chiriguano returned to Macharetí.

The first part of this story seems to be a modern adaptation of Alejo García's adventure. I do not know what event could have given rise to this legend, which, had it been true, would have been very much to the taste of the Paraguayan government. As for the trip of the ten Chiriguano from Macharetí, it has the appearance of being wholly authentic.

C 175 648

The crossing of the Chaco is a less difficult undertaking for Indians than for white men. Formerly these trips from the Andes to Paraguay must have been facilitated by a greater density of the native population. It is enough to recall the relatively easy trip of Juan de Ayolas going from Paraguay to the country of the Chané and coming back without having to cope with any particular obstacles. The exploration of Alvar Núnez

[Text continues on P. 30]

C G 175 484 /313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

C G 175 167 484 [162] I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

C G 114 175 167 484 174 Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

C G 175 167 648 484

/315 cont./

E
167
175
721
726
Ce
648
567

/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

E
175
● 648
Ce
175
648
567

The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

/315 cont./

C G 175 648 Ce 175 648 567

/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race; asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him, and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

C G 175 127 114 167

This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guaraní all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

/316 cont./
C decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where
175 Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians
167 of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The
Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the
C course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the
131 Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the
175 borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived
167 in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay
River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of
Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on
the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones
who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues
from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la
Sierra."

G In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca
C (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migra-
175 tion which does not appear to have any relation to that of
167 García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage
648 in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this
great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent
a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer,
with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians
who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood.
The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani
were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the
Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian,
married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a
long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race,
had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/
knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to
accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before
the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani,
originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River;
that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy
C of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the
[721] villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his
[726] father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text Continues on P. 41]

/319 cont./

000 there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of
C the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he
G 175 added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but
167 doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked
[172] whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He
answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much
water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs,
lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was
C asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes
G [172] he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the
villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques,
/320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small
vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they
were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some
silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them
when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them.
Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it
said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this
silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war
upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had
carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

G Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent
C 175 character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of
648 Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-
[167] 281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to
this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken
the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose
of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians.
The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding
on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law,
burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of
C 114 trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention
120 of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the
175

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II,
C p. 281) gives us of the large house of the
175 Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very
342

/320 cont./

C 175 342

interesting: "they make a very big dormitory and, within it, as many small rooms as there are residents, and so small that they do not have room for more persons, and it is enough for them, because they do not have furniture, nor do they have wearing apparel and hence they go about naked." /Translated from the Spanish./ These facts agree on every point with those of the Relaciones geográficas, etc. (Vol. II, Plate CIV) and of Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 259) on the same subject. The Guarani, just like the Tupinamba and other Tupi tribes, lived in maloca, gigantic halls capable of containing more than 150 persons and which often in themselves formed the village. The existence of this type of dwelling among the Chiriguano in the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes new proof for the recent character of their migration. In the 18th century we find them already in possession of the small rectangular house which they still have now and where one single family lives. (See Métraux, 2, p. 51.)

C [114] [113]

C [171]

C [174] [167]

C 114 127 175

novelist Garcilaso which might allow one to suppose that he really knew who the Chiriguano were. As for this conquest by the Inca, it would have been barely an attempt at conquest... Garcilaso confuses the Chiriguano with all the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes whom he had vaguely heard mentioned. Let us note that he is the only one to attribute this expedition to the Inca Yupanki, while the other chroniclers, better informed, are satisfied to say that the Inca Yupanki made an expedition against the Antis, probably around Cuzco. Unfortunately the vogue this pleasant writer enjoyed at a time when the history of America was still in limbo bluffs some modern critics into believing him, and they go so far as to prefer one of his unwarranted affirmations to the serious /321/ and precise evidence of chroniclers who get their information at first hand and from reliable sources.

C 114 127 175 648 [101]

/321 cont./

E
G
175
648

In 1550 during the expedition made by Domingo Martínez de Irala from Paraguay to the slopes of the Andes, 150 Guarani Indians out of those he had with him as auxiliary troops mutinied when they learned that they were in the vicinity of Chiriguano Indians "who are of the same nation." They deserted in order to go and join them. In 1548 the same thing had already happened (Díaz de Guzmán, p. 142).

G4
114
175
167
174

The Guarayú and the Pauserna are brothers of the Chiriguano and, like them, came from Paraguay at a recent date to settle in eastern Bolivia. Nordenskiöld (7), without giving any proof, correlates their migration with that of the Chiriguano and fixes its date at the beginning of the 16th century. The Guarayú would have been none other than the descendants of those Guarani who, having left northern Paraguay, would have gone obliguely toward the northwest in their trek toward the setting sun. I myself shared this opinion for a long time, until my attention was attracted by an episode in the history of the conquest which obliged me to recognize my error, at the same time permitting me to solve the problem of the origin of the Guarayú.

G4
175
167
[101]
[131]

The Itatin, known nowadays by the names Guarayú and Pauserna, actually came from Itatín province in Paraguay (1);

1. The former province of Itatí in Paraguay extended to the south of the Apa River, formerly the Corrientes River.

but it is not a question of a migration in the usually understood sense, and their establishment in eastern Bolivia was later than that of the Chiriguano.

G4
175
167
648

Nufrio de Chaves, going from Santa Cruz de la Sierra to Asunción in 1563, stopped among the Itatin and plotted with the chiefs of this tribe to transplant the Indians of this region beyond Paraguay. The project was carried out the following year when the Governor of Paraguay, Vergara, and Nufrio de Chaves organized the famous exodus toward Peru. While passing through the country of the Itatin, Nufrio de Chaves raised

/324 cont./

Ce 6a 648 cites a people of the Zchennte (Chané) in whom by reason of their geographic situation we must see the Chané-Guaná: 'They are vassals and subjects of the Mayaiess (Mbayá) as with us the peasants are subject to their lords.' We also have no trouble in recognizing the Chané in the Queanaes (Guaná) whom Alcide d'Orbigny mentions, according to an old account, as having been subjugated by their neighbors the Chiriguano and obliged by them to cultivate their fields. In the 18th century the Chané, as prisoners of war of the Chiriguano, had been quartered /Plate V appears here/ /325/ like slaves in villages called Chané after them. When Lozano declares that the Chiriguano call their slaves Chané, an ethnic value must be given to this phrase. The state of subjection of the Chané in relation to the Chiriguano is explained in the linguistic sphere by the name which the first used to give to the second: cheya, 'my master,' the Chané used to say when addressing the Chiriguano, and the latter called the Chané tapii, 'my slave.'

C Ce 175 648 567 727

"The little we know about the Chané who live in the lost regions of the northern Chaco is connected exclusively with the activity of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries of the Collège de Tarija. The first evangelized the Chané in the 17th century at the same time as the Chiriguano; and in 1714 they formed with them a doctrina /Christianized Indian village/ in the vicinity of Santa Cruz. It was called San Juan de los Porongos and in 1767 was under the authority of a parish priest. It was only with great difficulty that the Chané could be assembled, in 1767 and 1789, into the two missions of Asero and Iti. We learn from a report by Father Pedro Bartolomé addressed to Francisco Aguirre that the Filipili mission in 1789 was made up of Chané Indians whose racial brothers were living mingled with the Chiriguano on the borders of Chuquisaca and Santa Cruz. Viedma, who visited the missions in 1788, found in the villages of the Parapití Chiriguano and Chané who were living together, united under the authority of the Franciscan missionaries. The activity of the missionaries among the Chané naturally was to have as a consequence a rupture of the bonds

Ce 175 797 C [797] C Ce 175 162 797 C Ce 175 648 797

[Text Continues on P. 51]

/325 cont./

Ce 175 648 [797]

of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguano: as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 18th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 18th century.

Ce 175 72 167 Ce 175 648

The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a

Ce [266]

member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had

Ce [113]

done with his companions and several women. He was able to escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

Ce 175 72 567 Ce 175 648

In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later: "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

/327 cont./

brutal people butcher them. The Chané are so subject to the Chiriguana that it is enough for them to see a Chiriguana to sit down without resisting allowing the Chiriguana to do what they like with them. The Chiriguana take them along like flocks of sheep. They eat the ones they want and use the others for work in their houses and fields. If they want to eat one, they only tell him to go and wash in the river and he does it without talking back. He comes back naked; the Chiriguana command their children to take bows and arrows, and the poor Chané tries /328/ to escape the arrows without, however, daring to flee from the spot until he dies riddled with arrows, to the great joy of all who look at him. They cut him in pieces and eat him either grilled or roasted, with corn and much ají /peppers/. For war they use Chané who they think are brave and robust. They treat them according to their barbaric customs and put them in front of themselves; if they do not fight well, they kill them with arrow shots from behind." (Lizarraga, Vol. I, pp. 259-260.)

Last year, going from Cuevo to Igüembé, I had taken a Chiriguano guide who spoke Spanish fairly well and who had lived among the Chané in childhood. He told me in his own way about these wars of former days. His involved narrative recalls that of the Spanish monk. Later I sojourned for some time among the Chané who in their turn alluded to their fights with the Chiriguano and to the cannibalistic customs of the latter. "The Tapui are not the Ava. In times past they used to fight against the Ava." The Ava used to take the women and keep them in captivity. They used to marry the captives. From the sons of the Ava issued the Tapui, they are sons of the women they carried away. The Chané are sons of the captives. When the Chané talk together, it is with words that one does not understand. Formerly the Karai (Whites) used to fight the Ava around Cochabamba. The Karai pursued them to the lower part and left them in Paraguay. The Paraguayans are sons of the ancient Ava. In olden days the Ava used to eat the Tapuí when they made war against them. "The Ava used to eat us," the Chané would say, "and that is why we detest them."

C
244
248
192
207
248
175

/328 cont./

The Chané confirmed to me the sayings of my informant and assured me that the Chiriguano used to eat them in times past (1).

C
175
242
221
207
648
C6
648
175

1. Matienzo (pp. 166-167) expresses himself on the subject of the Chiriguano and the Chané in almost the same words as Lizárraga: "In the land there is a province of the Chaicas and close to the city there are some immigrant Indians who are said to be chiriguanaes, warlike people, very cruel, indomitable, and they eat human flesh, live in the cordilleras, have no occupation other than fighting and killing and eating Indians and using them as slaves: they go out at night to plunder on the plains which are near the cordilleras, where some Indians subject to their sovereignty live, and they seize them by the thousand and two thousands and eat them and have others to fatten for eating, and others to serve as slaves: these Indians, out of fear of the chiriguanaes, fled from their land, which had some very beautiful and fertile valleys, thirty and forty leagues from the city of the Plata, and went to some plains and deserts which were customarily deserted because of the lack of water: they live entirely on yucas and cardoons, are more than eighty thousand, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. The deserts under discussion here and where the Chané took refuge are none other than those of the lower Paraguí where numerous Chané now live, in spite of the poverty of this arid region.

C6
[131]

It is not at all surprising that the Chiriguano have kept alive the memory of their struggles with the Chané. These ended only in the last years of the 18th century. In 1765 we see the

C6
175
648

/228 cont./

Chané of Santa Cruz province coming to ask for aid and protection from the Chiriguano who were tracking them down: in 1798 the Chané of the Ituyuro were still making incursions against the Chiriguano of the region of Itão and destroyed that mission almost completely. (See Corradó, pp. 98 and 225; Tamajuncosa, p. 211.)

/229/ The Chané tribe did not succumb to these hecatombs or to slavery. It was able to maintain itself on two points of its former territory: on the Ituyuro and the Parapití. Several villages whose density is rather great still exist there. The Chané of the Ituyuro still number about 1,500. They all live in Argentine territory in the province of Salta. I do not have any statistics for the Chané population of the lower Parapití, but I know these Indians are still numerous there.

Today the Chané are not distinguishable from the Chiriguano by their material culture or their language. They speak Guarani, but use certain locutions and certain words which the Chiriguano say they do not understand and which are perhaps so many vestiges of their ancient Arawak speech. They have kept the latter as a secret language. Nordenskiöld (S, p. 157) was able to collect a short vocabulary of it among the Chané of the Parapití. As was supposed a priori, it is certainly an Arawak dialect closely related to Moxo-Mbaure.

The modern Chané are no longer slaves, but their early condition is still manifested in their relations with their former masters. The Chiriguano always regard them with a certain scorn and a protective air, to which the Chané respond with open animosity. A Chiriguano would feel offended to be called Chané, and a Chané Chiriguano. The name by which the Chiriguano designate the Chané is always Tapii.

Even if historic traditions or ethnic facts were not in agreement to prove the existence in the western Chaco of an Arawak population, archeology alone would suffice to teach it to us. At Tarapeyu, Nordenskiöld (S, pp. 40-41) brought to light pottery

C /331 cont./

C 105 175 [167] [175] This migration had as its motive power the attraction which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

ce [197] [199] At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

C [618] [619] The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives. The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

C [197] From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

ce [197] [197] [198] On their part the Chané adopted the language of their conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a secret language.

C 175 131

Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Mataguayo and the Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

C [101] C [361]

1: Métraux--168 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Omaguaca SI9

C
323
415
178
184

/396 cont./

In former times when artists were not lacking, the number of motifs used within each group must have been larger, and in this variety was doubtless found many an element which today seems to have disappeared, only to be met in another zone. It is probable that an ethnographer who might have made a collection among the Chiriguano a century ago would have established a classification other than the one I have tried to outline here.

C
Ce
415
17

Comparative Study of the Basic Elements of the Painted Pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

1. The Problem of the Chincha Atacama Civilization

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians shows such strong affinities with that of the ancient Andean populations from the point of view of form as well as decoration that their relationship cannot be doubted.

These analogies are especially striking among certain pieces /397/ of pottery dug up in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and the ones still made by Chiriguano or Chané women. With an interval of four centuries the resemblance between the pottery of these two regions is still so pronounced that it had attracted the attention of Mr. Debenedetti (2, pp. 134, 149, note 1, and 156), even though he apparently had for his whole basis of comparison only a few rare pieces of very simple Chiriguano pottery collected in the Chaco and of such uncertain provenance that one of them was attributed to the Choroti. The latter in reality, have pottery of an entirely different type, although also influenced by the Andean civilization.

O
C
Ce
[648]
[439]

The affinities of Chiriguano pottery with certain pottery of the Quebrada de Humahuaca have been scientifically established by Nordenskiöld (10, p. 143). This scholar explains these surprising similarities very naturally by the influence the Indians of the Humahuaca region had on their immediate neighbors, the Chané or Chiriguano, and by the trade relations these Peoples maintained.

C
Ce
415
17
648
D
[648]

/397 cont./

these peoples maintained. These relations between Chiriguano and Humahuaca Indians are historically attested to. At the time of the uprisings which took place during the period of the Spanish conquest, Humahuaca and Chiriguano united to resist the common enemy (see Boman, 2, Vol. I, p. 77).

The yambuí and yapepo, of which I made a good collection in the upper Pilcomayo region, provide new evidence, even more conclusive, of this striking parallelism which appears between the pottery of the modern Chiriguano and the prehistoric populations of northern Argentina. To allow a direct influence of the Humahuaca Indians on the ancestors of the present-day Chiriguano living on the upper course of the Pilcomayo in the departments of Tarija and Chuquisaca would be a point of view difficult to defend. The radiance of the culture of the Quebrada de Humahuaca could have affected only the southern Chiriguano and the Chané of the Itiyuro. As for the hypothesis which would make of the Chiriguano the precursors of this culture, it is so absurd, so contrary to all good sense, that we cannot envisage it here. At the spot where the Pilcomayo gets ready to leave the valley that it digs across the Andean spurs to spread out in the Chaco plain, the Chiriguano had Chicha Indians as immediate neighbors whose territory extended to the north of the Quebrada de Humahuaca in the south of present-day Bolivia. It was they who transmitted the special forms of their pottery and its principal decorative elements to the Chané, who in turn left them to their successors and conquerors, the Chiriguano. Perhaps the Chané have not everywhere been the inevitable intermediaries between the two cultures; in many cases, Chicha groups must have communicated directly to the Guarani invaders the principal products of their industrial techniques and of their arts.

C
175
721
727
648
Ce
648
C
17

/398/ We know from 16th and 17th century documents that the Chiriguano constantly made forays into Chicha territory, that they raided their villages, made them pay tribute, and carried away groups of these Indians into slavery, as they did with the Chané. These direct contacts between the Chiriguano and their western neighbors must have contributed greatly to the spread of Andean civilization among them, and

/398 cont./

17 this explains why the Chiriguano culture of the upper Pilcomayo presents such close affinities with that of the Chicha, the Humahuaca, and the Atacama (1).

175
648
[101]
[177]

1. On the western borders of their territory the Chiriguano were in constant touch with the Chicha, whose territory they devastated and whom they obliged to pay tribute to them.

Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 282): "the quality of the valley (of Tarija) being known, and the importance of its being populated, in order to check in that direction the Chiriguanas, who had done no little harm to the Chichas there, and they even paid them tribute, named as corregidor, etc...." /translated from the Spanish/.

Lizárraga (Vol. II, p. 117): "he went to Mosquera and returned, and with more than thirty natives, twenty of them Chiriguanas, and the rest indios Chaneses /Chane Indians/ in service, and among them two more illustrious Chiriguanas, one called Marucare and the other par excellence Inga Condorillo, and another Indian of Chicha nation, whom they confined with those Chiriguanas ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

Archivo de Indias (74-4-1, cited by Coni, p. 19): "and in about a month they reached another nation of indios called chiriguanaes, who thus neighbor this city a dozen leagues from potosí, and they carry off a pueblo of indios chichas who are called chupas." /translated from the Spanish/

Coni (p. 21): "In a letter from the licenciado Matienzo he tells us that the Chiriguanaes continued to raze the plains of Manso and, in addition, made frequent onslaughts on the Charcas, where they

/398 cont./

175
648
[266]
[443]

acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even 'had public meat markets for human flesh.' " /Translated from the Spanish./

175
177
648
[567]
[126]

Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII, 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

437
439

Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

121
172

Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text continues on p. 173]

/466 cont./

Chapter XI

Combs

C 302 G T [302] C [177] Formerly, at the time when they carried out the conquest of their present territory, the Chiriguano wore a tonsure after the fashion of their relatives in Paraguay and the coast of Brazil, the Guarani and Tupinamba, who shaved the whole anterior part of the skull with a bamboo chip /467/ (see Métraux, 2, pp. 181-185) (1). Later, probably under the influence of the

1. Annuae litterae, page 407: "Cultus eorum singularis valde, coronis in modum nostrorum Sacerdotum utuntur, reliqui vero capilli ad ulnam circiter dimidiam pendent a tergo; corpora utplurimum variis depingunt coloribus."
(Their appearance [to the Chiriguano] is truly singular. They make use of a tonsure similar to that of our priests, and others let their hair hang down their backs to the length of an aune and a half. They dye their bodies with various colors.)

Chané or the Quichua /Quechua/, the Chiriguano abandoned the tonsure and let their hair grow, letting it fall over the nape of the neck and the back. They were content to cut it on the forehead from one temple to the other.

C 302 198 This hair style, still common in the last century, is tending to disappear in turn. The only ones who have remained faithful to it are a few old men and the inhabitants of several villages lost in the valleys of the upper Pilcomayo.

C [291] [248] The Chiriguano who continue to observe the old style knot their long hair around their heads and hide it under a hat or a kind of turban when they go to work among the white men, for fear of being ridiculed.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

175 169 García was killed by the *Guaraní*. The historical character of Alejo García's expedition is amply proved by several passages in documents of the Conquest of Paraguay, mainly in the "Comentaries" of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, Pedro, 1852, pp. 579-580). The success of this raid prompted many more *Guaraní* to migrate westward. Those from the Río Paraná followed the Pilcomayo River. Those from the region of Asunción entered the Chaco north of that city. The Indians of Jeruquisaba and Carayzapera, that is to say of the country of Itatí, entered the Chaco near San Fernando (lat. 20° S.). According to Díaz de Guzmán, these Indians were the ancestors of the *Guarayú* or *Itatines*, who lived 90 miles (30 leagues) from Santa Cruz.

In a letter written by Martin González from Asunción in 1556, there is the following passage which confirms the continuous migration of the *Guaraní* toward the Andes: "These Indians [the *Guaraní*] go and come back from the lands of Perú. As they have no roads and avoid their enemies, they reconnoiter the land ahead of them, settle long enough to sow crops and harvest their food, and go on. So went those who for long had been settled in the Peruvian sierras and those who go today to meet the Christians.

"In Asunción are many Indians who with their wives and children have gone there two or three times from opposite that city, along a river [the Pilcomayo] that flows 2 leagues from here and comes from the city of La Plata. The Indians from Paraguay have settled by that river and along the Cordillera, over a space of 100 leagues. Some *Cario* [*Guaraní*] have gone to the mountains along another river, 42 leagues down the Paraguay River, which is called the Ypití [Bermejo River]. *Cario* are established in the mountains near the Ypití River, which also leads, according to what those who came from Perú say, to the city of La Plata." (Quoted by Gandia, 1935 a, p. 37.)

Several thousand *Guaraní*, serving as auxiliaries and porters, accompanied Domingo de Irala and Nuflo de Chaves on their expeditions from Paraguay to the foothills of the Andes. It is historically attested that the 2,000 or 3,000 *Guaraní* of Itatí who followed Nuflo de Chaves in 1564 were in part the ancestors of the modern *Guarayú-Pauserna*.

The *Guaraní* not only invaded and conquered the foothills of the Andes from the upper Bermejo River to Santa Cruz de la Sierra, but certain groups went even farther to the north and settled near the border of the *Mojo* and *Baurí* country. The *Pitaguari* (*Piritaguari*) were a *Guaraní* group established in the Sierras de Chiquitos, north of the first Santa Cruz. There were also *Chiriguano* around the town of San Francisco Alfaro in the Province of Chiquitos, near the Jesuit mission of San Xavier.

The *Guaraní* invasions, which started as plundering raids along the *Inca* frontier, were prompted by the desire to obtain gold and silver ornaments and copper tools from the *Caracara* (*Charcas*, *Chicha*) and from the *Chané* of the foothills, who were amply provided with these metals. Probably metal objects first reached the *Guaraní* of Paraguay through the *Chané*, whose villages were scattered across the Chaco from the Andes to the upper Paraguay River. Although the prospect of rich loot was certainly the predominant cause of their invasions, the old *Guaraní* dream of a land of immortality and abundance, the abode of the Great Ancestor, also may have played some part in determining their migrations.

175 ●648 The *Guaraní* finally became such a threat to the *Quechua* towns of the Province of Charcas that an *Inca* Emperor, probably Huayna Capac, built fortresses at Samaypata (Savaypata), Saigpuru, and Guanacopampa to halt their inroads. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1906, p. 105) speaks of Huayna Capac's wars against the *Chiriguano*, of the *Chiriguano's* capture of the fortress of Cuzcotuyo (probably Incahuasi), and their defeat by Huayna Capac's general, Yasca. The ruins of these

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Inca fortresses were visited by Nordenskiöld (1915 a, 1924 a), who described them under the names of Incallacta and Incahuasi. They bear witness to the accuracy of the various traditions concerning the *Guaraní* invasions, recorded by the chroniclers of Perú and of the Río de la Plata.

Along the Andes, the *Chiriguano* found a peaceful *Arawakan* population, the *Chané*, a branch of the *Chané* or *Guana* tribe, which occupied the northern part of the Chaco along the Paraguay River. The western *Chané*, after centuries of close contact with the Andean cultures, had been deeply influenced by them. They dressed like their neighbors, the Andean *Chicha*, produced a pottery which resembled that of Southern Bolivia and of the valley of Humahuaca, wore metal ornaments, and used metal tools. The *Chané* fell easy prey to the *Guaraní*, who slaughtered and ate many of them and reduced the remaining population to a condition of serfdom. The *Guaraní* invaders, having brought few of their own women, however, took *Chané* wives. The fusion of these two tribes produced a civilization in which Andean, *Guaraní*, and some *Arawak* features were intimately blended. The *Chané* did not entirely lose their identity, however, for along the Parapetí River, in the Caipipendi Valley, on the Itiyuro River, and in the Province of Salta (Argentine), *Chané* villages survived under their own chiefs. But even these have adopted the *Guaraní* language and today cannot be distinguished from their conquerors. The *Chiriguano*, nevertheless, consider the *Chané* somewhat inferior, while the latter remember the forays and cannibalistic habits of their former masters. The *Chané* language, probably extinct now, was spoken by a few persons as late as 1908.

The number of *Chané* is said to have greatly exceeded that of the *Guaraní* invaders. They extended from the Río Grande (Guapay River) to the Argentine along the foothills of the Andes. At the beginning of the 17th century, according to Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, in the region of Machareti, 400 *Chiriguano* ruled over 5,000 *Chané*; in Charagua, 350 *Chiriguano* owned 4,000 *Chané* serfs; and on the Guapay River, 200 *Chiriguano* kept 1,000 *Chané* in subjection.

The first White settlement in the land of the *Chiriguano* was the ephemeral town of Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded in 1564 on the upper Parapetí (Cordorillo) River by Manso and destroyed a short time later by the *Chiriguano*. In 1571 the *Chiriguano* attacked the *Chicha* and the natives of the Provinces of Condorillo and Barranca. To punish them for their "arrogance," the Viceroy of Perú, Francisco de Toledo, led an expedition against them. The Indians avoided battle and harassed the troops of the Viceroy until he was obliged to retreat in shameful defeat (1574). San Lorenzo de la Frontera, which became the modern Santa Cruz de la Sierra, was founded primarily to keep the *Chiriguano* at bay.

The first attempt to convert the *Chiriguano* to Christianity was made in 1609, when two Franciscans, Augustín Sabio and Francisco Gonzalez, built a church in the valley of Salinas, but the reduction was soon abandoned because of Indian opposition. The Jesuit fathers founded a college in Tarija in 1690 and undertook the spiritual conquest of the *Chiriguano*. In 1691, Father Arce founded a mission in the valley of Tariquea, which lasted only 3 years; another mission, established on the Guapay River by Fathers Zea and Centeno, met the same fate. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Dominicans founded three missions in the valley of Chiquiacá, Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Miguel, and Santa Rosa, while the Augustins formed the Mission of Santa Clara in the valley of Salinas. In 1715, the Jesuits reestablished their ancient mission of Tariquea. In 1727, all the missions in the *Chiriguano* country were destroyed by the rebellion of the chief, Aruma, and his followers, who feared being taken into slavery. The revolt was crushed by an armed expedition sent from Santa Cruz and composed of Spaniards, "tame" *Chiriguano*, and *Chiquito* auxiliary troops. The *Chiriguano* had been aroused against the missions by the fear of being taken into slavery.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 175 797 648 In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purisima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Rio Grande): Abapo, Mazabi, Cabezas, Piray, Igmiri, Tacurú, Iti, Parapetí, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuaremboti, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1799. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapetí River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapetí. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

C 668 648 175

C 797 464 167 648 101 In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

C 162 175 The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapetí River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Acero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izozo, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were captured and 3,187 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

C 161

ARCHEOLOGY

C 172 764 Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapetí River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupayu. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

C 172 At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

/4 cont./

131 Thus formerly the Chiriguano territory in the north was contiguous with the province of Sara, in the south and southwest with Argentina and the city of Tarija, in the west with Tarabuco country, and in the east with the colony of Carandaiti. According to its former boundaries, it then included an area of 200 leagues from north to south and southwest, and more than 90 leagues west to east.

131 16 [648] Today this extensive territory has been much reduced because of emigration, caused in part by the whites, under whose dominion most of them will not resign themselves to staying; the plagues which decimate the race have a powerful influence on its further reduction, and very soon /5/ barely the 131 name will remain. Today to the north it scarcely reaches Abapó, to the south, Itiyuru de Yacuiba, to the west, Monteagudo, and to the east, Carandaiti, some hundred leagues from north to south and about 40 from west to east.

131 648 [433] Formerly it embraced several degrees of latitude and three and a half of longitude; as they lost a considerable part of this area, so will they end up by losing it all, for despite their being heirs to the country which God had given them, as one of them was saying to me not long ago, they do not know how to farm it and improve their agriculture; they prefer to go far away and work for others rather than to own land at home. This very day only a few leagues remain in the hands of the Indians, Caipipendi in the province of Cordillera, Gutierrez Canton, and all the territory occupied by the missions, but both are likely to pass into foreign hands, because in fact the Indian is incapable of making the land that he does possess bear fruit; then the few survivors in the territory will be servants in their own house, as are so many others in lands that were once their own.

311 134 [132] The land is very unstable, at least that now occupied; it lacks stone and gravel, and since in their season the rains are torrential, they easily open cracks which in a few years become wide, deep ravines. Contributing a great deal to this are the cattle, which, because of their weight, stir up the land with their hoofs more than other livestock; for this reason

/6 cont./

133 comfortable to go down as to go up, if an occasional short
[241] section be excepted. The hill of Padilla attracts the attention of
[361] all; there grow and ripen well both potatoes and maize, and the hill is sprinkled on both sides with houses of all sizes. From January to May the fields give it a quite picturesque and pleasing appearance as it rises some 2,340 meters above sea level, for which reason no doubt it is unforested with the trees which are found nearby growing exuberantly on the plain toward Monteagudo along the rivulet called Limón.

Next come the hills called Huacangui, Bartolo, and Cazaderos, the first two found on the right bank and the latter on the left bank of the Acero River, which touches the slopes of the last named; the three have no peculiarity, only that they are tree covered, rather high, and the road through
[136] them is very bad. Cazaderos Hill abounds in jaguars, and it is the same hill which must be crossed or climbed in order to go from San Juan del Piray to San Pablo de Huacareta; before one climbs this hill near San Juan, there is another small one called Ñañoloma, which attracts the attention of all because it is very narrow, low, and straight; it is a straight line which rises in the middle of the valley and continues without ending to the southeast; the Piray and Parapiti rivers wash the base of Ñañolama.

/7/ Monteagudo has a somewhat irregular plain, but it is not interrupted by hills until three leagues away, that is, at the Parapiti River in Matara, where there is another hill renowned only because it is a road and an extremely bad one. The Parapiti River bathes it at its base, and along the river itself the way is very boldly opened through the hard rock, forming a waterfall there; this same hill must be climbed to leave Ingre Canton, as well as Igüembe, where the passage is also quite rough.

133 From Matara to Ivu there are hills and rises of little im-
173 portance, if one makes an exception of the hills of Itiranti,
• 648 Saararenta, and Incahuasi, which last separates the province of Acero from that of Cordillera; on Incahuasi there are an infinite number of ruins of fortresses and houses, which, according to what they say and the name Incahuasi, "Inca's House," was an encampment of Quechua Indians, when, at the orders

/7 cont./

133 of one of their emperors, they tried to conquer all the
[173] Chiriguano, but they had to halt at the top of said hill with-
[248] out daring to go down to the pampas of Caraparicito, where they were awaited by all the Indians, allied with the Toba.

Cuevo, like all of the cantons of the frontier, is shut in by two ridges, that of Saararenta to the west and that of Aguaragüe to the east, the latter being the last one which is found; it is quite high, measuring 1,500 meters, and with it end the cordilleras in the east, giving way to the plains of the Bolivian Chaco.

From the peak of Aguaragüe the view is most delightful; to the right can be seen the picturesque panorama of Cuevo Canton with its hills, lakes, fields, forests, and stream, which, with its sand, looks like an immense ribbon of homespun twisting through the entire region, and to the left extend the immense plains, lost to view in the distance. From this peak can be seen the lakes and fields of Carandaiti, until the horizon is lost in the pampas inhabited by the savages.

The above-named ranges of the former and present territory of the Chiriguano continue to the north and south to Santa Cruz and Tarija and Argentina, assuming different names in each place, but they are ramifications of the renowned Andes. I have crossed the last one, Aguaragüe, to Santa Cruz, and it passes north of that city, as well as on the southwest toward Tarija and O'Connor Province, ending in Tartagal in the Argentine Republic.

/8/ Rivers and Lakes

It can easily be understood that this immense area and extent of land, crossed from north to south by so many mountains of all heights and dimensions and by a great number of hills in every direction, would be furrowed with rivers, torrents, streams, brooks, and abundant springs, while in the Gran Chaco all of these disappear and natural and artificial lakes and ponds begin to appear.

/23 cont./ Some trees[1] are covered with long
137 sharp points and others are not, only having an occasional im-
824 perceptible sharp point; the fruit of both is pleasant and serves
[439] for gifts and trade for the Indian, who sells it to the whites,
[431] the ones who, rushing to get rich more quickly and easily, are
[648] little concerned about the nopal and the fig tree. In Chiriguano
it is called "Saini."

PALM or PALMER. -- The palm tree has congenial places, where immense forests are formed and sometimes grow all around a lake like a great garland; it is a very tall and smooth tree without a single branch. Its leaves are in the form of a
[435] fan and are used to make hats and for sieves, which are sold
[342] for 30 or 40 centavos apiece. The wood is good for joists in houses, and it is also split into shingles for roofs and is quite durable, if the precaution is taken of cutting them after the full moon. In Chiriguano it is called "Carandai," and the place which they occupy, "Carandaiti," palm grove.

PALMA CHRISTI. -- A not very durable plant, it grows to a height of four meters, has a soft, hollow trunk, large leaves, /24/ and flowers in the form of a bunch of grapes. The seeds are found inside little burrs, like chestnuts; said burrs in some plants open by themselves in the warmth of the sun, while others must be opened or carefully broken with a little hammer or a stone. The name indicates that it is a beautiful plant, but this beauty is in the broad, abundant petiolate leaves. There are several types with reference to
[757] size and quality of seeds; I know five kinds. Castor oil is
[302] extracted from this plant or from its seeds for use as medicine; we use it in the missions to fuel the lamp of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Chiriguanos mix it with "Achiote" seeds and put the resulting cosmetic on their faces and on their calves down to the feet. In Chiriguano the plant is called "Causiro," and the oil, "Yandi." Even the leaves of the
[959] palma Christi are medicinal, some being hot and others cool; thus when headache is a result of overexposure to the sun, the leaves of the white spurge are applied; if, on the other hand, it is the result of high humidity, the leaves of the red spurge are applied. The seeds of the dark purple spurge are very small, but contain more oil than others.

[1] [i.e., nopal trees, -Analyst]

4: Nino--94 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797 848

The San Antonio Mill in Parapiti.

/67 cont./

173 never name dead persons, with the result that the principal
[551] events are not known because the names of those great persons who took part in them are not known. The present ones know nothing about the many wars which were waged against the Quechua before the Conquest, after the enthronement of the Inca Yupanqui (1400), and /68/ against the Spaniards during the time of the colonization, the oldest people know little more, and we only know somewhat more through the Spanish historians and missionaries of the various religious orders of Paraguay and Bolivia.

173 Through their oral tradition they assert that their origin
167 was in Paraguay, that they multiplied there, and that when
648 the New World was discovered, because they had killed one of the Portuguese captains, they feared the revenge of his companions and fled en masse along the shores of the Pilcomayo River until they arrived in the region which they occupy today, displacing other natives who were in possession of these places (1).

1. This must refer to the flight of the 4,000 Carious who joined up with the Chiriguano here.

173 Nevertheless the oldest and most notable because of their
648 authority in this place give the impression that they originally came from Brazil. They say that in ancient times they had a formidable war with the whites who came from far-off lands; conquered by them because of the inequality in arms and their expertness in the art of war, they were pursued until they entered the plains of the Gran Chaco, which they crossed, com-
726 ing into Paraguay. During the campaign they defended them-
712 selves and built fortifications at several points, of which I know four: one is in Gutierrez, two in Cuevo Canton, and the fourth in Curuyuqui, which belongs to the San Buenaventura de Yvu Mission, where the uprising and defeat of the Chiriguano in the year 1892 took place (2).

2. I recently explored this last. It is one meter deep and one wide, and goes from the stream of Cuevo from northwest to northeast.

/68 cont./

126 712 covering an area of about 2,000 meters; it ends in a hill surrounded by the same foundations. It had its lookout and a small plaza and dominated the whole area.

172 712 These fortifications have stone foundations, are made artfully, and are very large; consequently it is not credible that they might have been built by Indians who were even less civilized than the present ones. I believe, rather, that it was the work of the conquistadors, who, following the example of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro, built them for protection from the Chiriguano arrow; the extent of these walls and the height of the lookouts do not suggest anything else. The old men add that when they were pursued some of them hid in the mountains out of fear or because they were tired and that these then populated the region (3).

173 648

3. This must refer to what Father Cardús says about the time when the Cruceños /people of Santa Cruz/ settled at the place which today is occupied by the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

174 /69/ From what has been expounded it can be deduced that the Chiriguano race is most probably of Paraguayan origin; the inhabitants of that region also say this to those who annually go to work in the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and to the Indians who in past years went to Corumbá from Yvu, Caipipendi, and Parapiti. For example, they told them that they knew of the existence of a place named Yvu and of another called Parapiti, frequented by their grandparents who had formerly visited their relatives, the Chiriguano. In addition there is a tradition that in a not too distant time many families settled thereabouts traveled from time to time to visit their relatives who lived on the banks of the Paraguay River.

/69 cont./

174 197 In support of the aforesaid is the language, which differs little from Guaraní, spoken in the Republic of Paraguay, in various parts of Brazil, and even in Corrientes, and language is an irrefutable argument for one or more nations, but inasmuch as this language is very reduced in the latter places, and it was general in the former (Paraguay) until a rather recent period, it might well be concluded that the Chiriguano originated in Paraguay.

• 648 797 This Nation is attempting in our times to enlarge or extend its domain into the territories occupied by the Chiriguano, especially as far as degree 22, where almost all of the missions are located, including those of Parapiti Grande, which are located at 19°58' latitude south of the meridian of Paris. Bolivian diplomacy has powerful arguments to uphold its rights, with the support of the missions, principally those of Parapiti, whose first founding goes back to the eighteenth century. The Franciscan Father Narciso Llamedo built there a moral and a physical edifice, whose vestiges can still be seen today, by authority of the Most Illustrious Archbishop of Chuquisaca and supported by the Royal Audiencia of Charcas. Neither the Chiriguano language nor the invasion of this race gives any right to Paraguay, because all authors and explorers are in agreement that this race did not exist here before the thirteenth century. In the fifteenth century the Chiriguano were visited by the Inca Yupanqui with a large force of men from Cuzco. Later, in the sixteenth century, the resident viceroy of Lima vainly attempted to humiliate the pride of this race, and finally everyone sees that the Bolivian Nation has exercised full authority here since before and after the war of Independence, and that the missions have progressed and are progressing in the shadow of the Bolivian flag, which has always waved in these remote lands.

174 Someone might observe and say: Why, when the Chiriguano /70/ emigrated from Paraguay, did they not settle on the banks of the Pilcomayo and on the immense pampas of the Gran Chaco? At first glance this question constitutes a grave embarrassment to one who does not know the race, but it is easy to answer it satisfactorily. All barbarous tribes remain in

/70 cont./

174 241 311 Consequently it was very natural that the race which was emigrating from Paraguay should seek out for its needs better lands which would permit it to make good use of its natural inclination to cultivate "Abati," maize, "Gilindaca," gourds, and "Cumanda," beans, because from the names that they give to all of these vegetables, it can be deduced that they did not get to know them after the discovery of America, but long before; and the same is true for the domestic animals, "Yaimba," dog, "Uru," /71/ chicken, "Minta," cat. What is certain is that the Chiriguano race has been distinguished and is distinguished from the others which still remain in the savage state, and the Toba, as well as the Mataco and the Choroti, regard the Chiriguano as nobles and masters, and they serve them in exchange for maize and other things, and there has never been a natural marriage involving a Chiriguano man or woman with the tribes named (1). 174 248 563

1. The Toba are more intelligent and more easily reduced than the Mataco; the latter were also exposed to the missionaries of San Antonio del Pilcomayo, located on its right bank.

The Toba have generally assisted their masters in wars and have lived for long periods among them, especially in the time of good and abundant crops. They did this before the missionaries opened Cuevo and Ivo to trade with the founding of the Santa Rosa and San Buenaventura missions, and they still do in the Franciscan missions of Machareti, Tigüipa, and Tariari, because they are near these tribes.

174 167 The places that the Chiriguano selected for their residence after the migration were the mountainous one and the one visited by frequent rains, necessary so as not to lose the fruit of their labor, and in fact we do not see this race settled in places away from the mountain range, nor in impenetrable forest, good only for those tribes in a state of

175 645 /72 cont./ The Inca Yupanqui
promoted many wars against the Chiriguano with the intention
[125] of conquering them for the Inca civilization, but his efforts
were in vain because his army was always conquered by the
ferocity of the Chiriguano, who also had in his favor the fact
that this was his own land and as a result he knew it well
enough to be able to play tricks on the Inca militia with ease.

It seems that the Incas in their insistence on civilizing
the Chiriguano brought their armies to the frontier of
Cordillera Province. In fact there exists along the top of the
range which divides this province from that of Acero and
from Sapirangui Canton a fortress of great size, all of it
made out of well-set stones, called "Incahuasi," "house of the
Inca," and gives this name to the whole range, whose elevation
to the south was set up by the law of interdepartmental de-
marcation as the boundary between Santa Cruz and Chuquisaca,
when in the year 1896, the law of settlement was negotiated.

[192] Inca-huasi is a compound word of the Quichua /Quechua/
language: the Chiriguano language does not even have a
word which resembles it: it is thus very probable that that
fort was built by the Quechua and that, inasmuch as the
forces were personally directed by the Inca, he should have
ordered houses to be built along the whole top of the range,
as can still be seen today (3).

3. The road from Camparicito to Monteagudo
through Incahuasi is not an old one. Don
Octavio Padilla had it opened.

194 195 169 It is also a verified historical fact that after the dis-
covery of Brazil and other regions of South America, 4,000
Indians fled from Paraguay, because in the many wars which
they had waged against the Portuguese, they had killed
the leader. Fearing general destruction, they came into
Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo River: in the Gran
Chaco they found the region near the cordilleras occupied
and inhabited by the ferocious Chiriguano. /illustration ap-
pears here/ /72/ but since they could easily make themselves

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 105]

105 [31] [161]

/73 cont./ Before a century had passed after the discovery of this New World, they were numerous in the area near and beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The founders of this departmental city had quite a fight in the year 1575 in order to humble their pride, disperse them, and take charge of the territory: the Chiriguano lived in the areas around Padilla and Tomina, which were founded precisely to contain their advances, since they seemed determined to invade the territory of Chuquisaca itself, whose Audiencia ordered the creation of both settlements so that they might serve as a bulwark and impede successive new advances, new attacks, and devastations.

The city of Tarija with its territory owes its founding to Don Luis de la Fuente, who was ordered there by the Viceroy, Don Francisco de /74/ Toledo, by decree of January III, 1574. On that date, Don Luis with his army entered the valley of Tarija in order to put down the audacity of the Chiriguano, who were advancing with their arms into the places conquered by the Spaniards. Don Luis and his soldiers were greatly surprised when they found the said valley full of a great quantity of wild cattle, which was to be a powerful aid to his troops (1).

1. It is believed that the wild cattle found belonged to a certain Zárate, who had been forced to leave his ranch by the Chiriguano, who had doubtless made him their victim.

[75] Before the Spaniards arrived and invaded the country of the Chiriguano, they were the torment of the surrounding tribes, the members of which they shot with arrows, or killed, and took captive, subjecting them to the cruelest slavery. But once the whites arrived, they had to have it out with enemies superior to themselves: fearing that some day they would have to pay for the casualties which they had exacted from those whom they had conquered and whose fertile territory they had taken over, they did not act like the Quechua, who surrendered when they might well have

[i.e., the Chiriguano. -Rudolph]

/74 cont./

175 648

wiped out the few soldiers whom Francisco Pizarro led into Cajamarca, overpowering Emperor Atahuallpa by killing 5,000 Indians.

The Chiriguano, better advised than the Quechua and their emperor, formed great armies to combat the invaders, and these were defeated many times by the terrible host; on other occasions they destroyed their fields in order to make them perish from need, and other times they made captives of the women, after having killed the men and other younger males.

175 777

The unequal struggle lasted for centuries, and finally they were conquered little by little by the missionaries. The latter, with only the Cross and preaching, obtained greater victories, because whereas the whites presented themselves to the barbarians with superiority of arms, sowing devastation and making the rivers run with blood, the missionaries presented themselves with humility, sowing the divine seed, and conquered them with the word of the Gospel.

The barbarians recognized the difference between them, and while in the beginning they destroyed the first missions, killing a missionary priest (7), when they understood more

> 2. The Chiriguano Indians of Ingre Valley set fire to the mission of the Jesuit fathers and plucked from the altar Father Lisardi, who was killed by 17 arrows in the mission plaza, dressed in his sacramental vestments.

perfectly that the priest proposed the conquest of their souls /75/ and the defense of their country, they delivered themselves completely into the hands of the missionary, not in order to be educated as Christians, but in order not to lose their independence. Only through the agency of the missionaries is the vast country which includes a distance of more than 200 leagues from north to south and more than 60 from east to west entirely open today to trade and civilization. The Jesuits were slowly replaced by the Franciscans, who

/79 cont./

178 464 [197] [162] Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big and small, old and young. But of this number there are scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work, and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through [131] [465] their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

648 [167] There is a great struggle under way between the Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior, yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave, he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[464] 1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 197 361 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former times and the very missions which antedate South American independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and others are on the point of disappearing.

/80 cont./

797 Because of the intervention of political authority, the present missionaries will fall heir to the same fate, if the law of the department is not changed, because, it seems, they have dropped to the category of agencies of said authority and of all the Christians who are continually coming here in search of hands; and H. Montero's proposal will not only aggravate the situation, but it will leave these regions without workers for agriculture and cattle-raising. It is certain that labor makes man more moral, 46 648 797 but it must be confessed that the Indian is lazy and opposed to working for the whites, whom he considers the usurpers of his lands. They will voluntarily go to work where they are treated with humanity, but where they are allotted the worst food and hard labor, they go with repugnance, despite the suggestions of the missionaries.

The caciques who respect and follow the missionary's orders become tired of continually seeking laborers for the whites, because they are aware of the unwillingness to obey; the result is that sometimes both Indians and caciques hide in the country, and when they get tired of this, they go away from the mission for a long time, leaving their families in misery. The missionaries struggle to gather the dispersed ones together again, but it often happens that the efforts of several months are lost in one night or in a few days, and in spite of the laws that exist in Bolivia, nobody has con-46 cerned himself with Chiriguano emigration. Reasons for the disappearance of masons, carpenters, shoemakers, and musicians are not lacking at the present time, since the most important thing is to get apparently luxurious clothing from head to feet, which cannot be obtained here very easily, either because they spend the money on other trifles or because there are no companies which provide all facilities to the laborer (1).

1. Today the whites who mistreat the Chiriguano are few. When a day's pay was fixed at 40 centavos, there was some difficulty, which has now disappeared; the Indian is now earning

/88 cont./

797 "Historia de las Misiones" (1).

1. The whites call this place "Ibo," giving rise to the Cuevo-Ibo question debated so much in the legislative chambers. The jurisdiction of Cuevo today extends from the Irenta range to that of Aguaragüe from west to east and in the north continues to the Parapiti River; Camatindi and Tacuaranti ought to belong to Ñancaroinza, just as Itatiqui, Ipitacuapi, and Caimbeti, as far as the Parapiti River, should belong to the Carandaiti canton.

4. Santa Rosa de Cuevo. -- This mission was founded in the year 1887. Fifteen kilometers separate it from the previous one by an entirely level road, and today it has a population of 1,238 inhabitants, while at the time of its founding or a few years later its population reached 2,115, as is stated in the Historia of Father Angélico Martarelli (2).

• [648]

2. During the Chiriguano uprising of 1892 the mission was the saving refuge of all the inhabitants of the Cuevo canton, and during the campaign it was made the headquarters. Colonel Frías, Colonel Chavarría, and General Gonzalez, with their respective troops, and many other militiamen, with their leaders, were there.

Its buildings, located on a very prominent hill, have the appearance of a fortress from whatever direction they are observed; when they are considered in terms of their solidity, beauty, and topographic level, it is difficult to find others like them in these parts. Its panorama is delightful; /illustration appears here/ /89/ it is surrounded by fields and hills very beautiful to the eye and pleasing to the heart, just as its inhabitants who breathe that perfumed air are pleasing. In the distance the hills of Aguaragüe to the east, those of Irenta and

[Text continues on p. 128]

/91 cont./

Cuevo

361 175 [103] The town of Cuevo is located on the left bank of the torrent or stream of the same name. Before the war of the year 1875, and even later, it was known by the Chiriguano who lived there as Ñumbicte, which means "halfway field," and in fact it occupies a beautiful level place located almost midway between the ranges to the west and those to the east.

Almost all of the first white inhabitants were from the department of Santa Cruz, and it is an undeniable fact that Colonel Víctor Antezana moved to the region of Cuevo-Ibo with some militiamen from Lagunillas and built a fortress where the public cemetery of Cuevo is today, and another one where the church of San Buenaventura of the mission of Yvu has been built, both works which are owed to the constancy and activity of the Franciscan missionaries of the Villa Imperial. The fortresses are later than 1875.

[797] [648] Subsequently, the town was formed under the protection of the missionaries themselves and around the Cross of the Savior; it was completely burned by the Indians in the uprising of Curuyuqui in 1892, but the inhabitants of Cuevo who did not perish, with the assistance of the flourishing mission of Santa Rosa, built anew and in better condition the new town, which continues to progress today.

175 648 [361] In the war of the year 1875 all the Chiriguano of Cuevo-Ibo and Huacaya, together with the treacherous Toba and guided by the great cacique Corone, who lost his life in the torrent of Baecua opposite the town of Igüembe, rose up as one man to overwhelm all the whites in the region.

/92/ In this critical situation the intrepid subprefect of the province of Acero, D. Antonio Menduiña, with the militiamen from Monteagudo, San Juan del Piray, Huacareta, and Ingre, flew to the region of Igüembe and with these people overwhelmed the innumerable and ferocious host, reducing it at once to impotence by the slaughter of Caipipendi.

/92 cont./

361 ●648 Cuevo had belonged by law from long before Independence, and still belonged by right of conquest after the defeat of the barbarians, to the department of Chuquisaca, but the Representación Crucefia /representatives from Santa Cruz/ has constantly demanded the region of Cuevo-Ibo as an integral part of the territory of Santa Cruz.

The current legislature has ended this much-discussed matter on the basis of the law of 1898. Cuevo consequently now belongs to the department of Santa Cruz, because that law fixes as the interdepartmental boundary the left bank of its stream, which is about 150 or 200 meters from the town.

[197] Even the Representación Tarijefia /from Tarija/ has been consulted in this matter and has fixed its boundaries at the right bank of the stream of Camatindi; this was based on the same law and on the fact that the territory was settled by Christians from Tarija and was won over by the Franciscan missionaries from the Colegio of the same city since before 1875. Tarija still retains the region of Caipipendi, which belonged to the Huacaya canton.

When the interdepartmental arrangement is finally made, Sucre will lose a zone of 12 to 14 leagues from Cuevo to the right bank of the Parapiti River, and another eight leagues or so from the right bank of the Camatindi stream, not counting the incalculable zone lost toward the east. Here is the law promulgated: /the remainder of p. 92, p. 93, and six lines, including a footnote, on p. 94 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 94 follows./

Ibo or Ivu Canton

631 648 Once the interdepartmental problem is solved in a friendly fashion, according to the bill approved in the Chamber of Deputies in this year of 1912 and promulgated as the law of the nation, the department of Sucre is prepared to elevate to the rank of canton the region of Ibo or Ivu, the capital of which might be the San Buenaventura Mission, located at this very place.

/94 cont./

If this were the case, the boundaries of the new canton should be the following, according to the agreement made by the Representación Chuquisaqueña /from Chuquisaca/: on the south the left bank of the stream Vitiacua, on the north the parallel of the stream of Cuevo, on the east the range of Aguaragüe up to said parallel, on the west the ranges of Saararenta and Irenta, and on the southwest the stream of Chimbe.

Within this delimitation are included several Chiriguano towns, the most populous being the missions of Santa Rosa, with more than 1,200 inhabitants, and that of San Buenaventura de Ivu with 652 souls.

White families are few, but not less than 40, which could give a total of at least 160 souls. It might be that with time this small population will grow in the new canton, as that of Cuevo grew.

Years are needed for the Chiriguano Indian to be able to take over the political government of a town, in spite of the fact that in the relatively new missions there are musicians, carpenters, woodworkers, masons, saddlers, shoemakers, tailors, and young men who know how to write well and to read better, but it is one thing to know an art or a trade and quite another one to have to administer justice.

/95/ The experience of many years of missionary life and what I have seen in the missions abandoned since the war of Independence justifies my opinion that many years are needed for the Chiriguano Indians to be able to fill certain public offices such as that of corregidor and parish alcalde.

A Project

The eastern zone, which today belongs to the three departments of Santa Cruz, Tarija, and Sucre, is somewhat threatened by foreign countries, but it might be that the Bolivian Republic could make friendly settlements with the neighboring nations.

/95 cont./

000 These disputes are prejudicial up to a certain point, inasmuch as they impede the free colonization of the Bolivian Chaco, which would not be the case if everything were peaceful in those remote regions.

Once the friendly settlements were made and the spirits of the settlers were calmed, the region would be colonized more, which would increase the number of inhabitants. If this were the case, it is my opinion that in a short time the Government of Bolivia could establish a new department in the Gran Chaco. The Chaco is open to commerce and to civilization throughout its area, many towns exist there, and, in them, commercial establishments; one can pass through the region without any danger, and the Chiriguano race receives the traveler with demonstrations of affection and subjection. /The remainder of p. 95 and the first sentence on p. 96 are omitted in the translation. Page 96 continues as follows./

Cayuguari

175 • 648 [103] Cayuguari is the name given to the country inhabited by an Indian of the same name who fled from Machareti with others in the year 1856 or 1857; they settled along the lake of Cumbarurenta, four leagues to the southeast of Yrentagüe, and subsequently withdrew 20 leagues farther to the east, because in the company of Toba, Tapiete, and other tribes they had committed innumerable cattle thefts, for which they were constantly hunted by the settlers of Carandaiti, where a picket detailed from Aguairenta is stationed today.

The flight of the Cayuguari Indian to Cumbarurenta first, and today to 52 leagues from Carandaiti, was not due to the death of Captain Taruncunti, murdered by the Macharitefios /persons from Machareti/ Barapiche, Arasuque, and Yepoina, residents of Avay, but to their disposition and outrages committed against their relative, Mandepónai.

/96 cont./

175 The expedition entrusted by the Supreme Government to
●648 an Englishman, which was to enter the Cayuguari region through Picuigua (water for dovelings), can be said to have failed, because the two attempts which it made were without result and it had to return in order not to perish because of the absolute lack of water.

Picuigua is some 12 leagues distant from Cayuguari. Picuigua is a dry lake, but, with drilling, sufficient water can be obtained for the garrison of the fort which is to be established, should it turn out that the news of the existence of a permanent lake in Cayuguari, where there are some 50 families, is false. /The last paragraph of p. 96, p. 97, and the first three paragraphs of p. 98 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 98 follows./

Itatiqui

361 The town of Chiriguano infidels with which I head these
[131] few lines is located 11 leagues from the Franciscan Mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu and seven leagues from the missions of the Parapiti Grande, at 19° 43' 13" latitude south of the meridian of Paris, and at 60° 29' 42" west longitude.

797 The Colegio de Misiones Franciscanas de Potosí is try-
361 ing to establish in this place a Misión Convensora which would depend on the Fathers established on the banks of the Parapiti River. The idea is eminently civilizing and progressive, because this place is located along the highway which, coming out of Yacuiba, passes /99/ through Charagua and ends in the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

In the journey from the little town of Buyuive to the Parapiti Grande, there is no other town which might be able to provide services for the travelers and the vehicles which traverse it every day without being able now to count upon any assistance in their difficult crossing.

797 The Indian of Itatiqui is too poor and lazy; it is necessary to get him moving and watch over him so that he may become useful and progress; in his territory there is no water, nor are there artificial lakes so that he and his livestock

/99 cont./

797 might drink, but these latter could easily be obtained with well-constructed dams; but someone to direct him and make him work is lacking.

With the founding of a Misión Conversora the Indian would have the guarantees which at present he does not possess; he would live in his town, which was reorganized not long ago, with the prospect of being protected by the missionary; he would establish his artificial lakes, and the traveler would have a place in which to rest and to sleep, in guest houses, without any danger either to his property or to his physical health.

●648 The Supreme Government has been more concerned with this advancement in the region of the Gran Chaco. It issued its decree for a measure of the lands of three leagues more or less in extent which they had possessed ab immemorabili, but when steps were taken to lay out the lines, it turned out that another private party had set boundaries, leaving for the Indians the town and a small parcel of uncultivated lands, and the latter quite limited. Because of the measures taken by this private party, the Indians have lost all of the cultivated land of Igüitiyapi, near which the said private party has undertaken the considerable enterprise of establishing an artificial lake in the place called Caapirenta, pointing out that the measure against the Indians was performed in the same year, 1911, a few months before the order of the Supreme Government in favor of the natives was put into effect.

820 In order that the good intentions of the nation and of the missionaries of Potosí might not come to naught, the Supreme Government should give an impartial person the commission to set himself up in the place, to seek data on the Indians and other well-intentioned people, and subsequently to give a conscientious report so that just decisions might be made. /The last paragraph on p. 99 and the first four paragraphs on p. 100 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 100 follows./

/113 cont./

165 [145] advanced age. and I have seen Indians with the head completely white. and others with a white the color of smoke or something smoked. In the performance of my ministry I have met and baptized many centenarians at the time of their death. and in the towns through which I have passed I have met several who fought in the Caraparí war and who witnessed the War of Independence.

273 276 [178] But today the Chiriguano has degenerated greatly: in somewhat distant times they did not know about either liquor or coca. and today both are general. and because of liquor and coca. the use of which they much abuse. they ruin their health and shorten their existence. Much youth disappears with the abuse of these substances. and as a general rule in the missions the best disappear. those who know some art or have some fortune; all that they earn. after buying their clothing (although not always). they invest in liquor and coca. and [165] [248] thus shorten their lives. I have seen towns where out of 40 or 50 young men of the same age there are scarcely two or three alive who will reach 50; it can thus be seen that the drunkenness produced by chicha is not so pernicious as that of liquor or alcohol. for which any tax imposed on them by the Supreme Government is never too much. and would that such a tax were higher. more general. and that it was not felt to be enough [142] [149] simply to write it out. In spite of this dissipated life. it is very rare that one encounters a bald Indian. which indicates great robustness (1).

1. I have known many large and small Chiriguano towns; I have only found three semibald persons.

Morality

181 At present the Chiriguano Indian differs slightly or not at all morally from the common mass of men. I mean that not all are good nor are all perverse: there are good ones and bad ones

181 /114/ the same as everywhere else, so that certain travelers who say Indians are very bad would be wrong, as would those who call them very good. A celebrated explorer said not long ago that he found more goodness in an Indian than in a white man and that it is enough to notice only with average attention the face of the two to be sure of the relative morality of both; as a missionary I neither can nor should consign to these pages my judgment in this regard (1).

1. The same explorer approves of the resolute attitude of the Curuyuqui uprising, taking the point of view that they were fighting for their independence and for the recovery of their territory.

186 648 Before the conquest so gently carried out by the Catholic missionaries took place, it was extremely dangerous to enter their territory, even just in passing, and not too long ago it was difficult to pass through the Cuevo-Ibo countryside, where the Franciscan missionaries of Potosí founded their missions, as they had founded those of Tarija in other regions. There was reason for the danger to exist.

The Indian now knew the white man by his deeds; he called him and still does call him caray, that is, astute, greedy, oppressor, and owner of what belongs to other people; if then he looked with misgiving upon the caray and up to a certain point did not wish to have relations with him, it is because this extremely bad image had been formed, from which arose the idea of not wanting to have a bad neighbor in his territory, and he blocked his way in order that he might not come to like the fertility of the area. He was wise to the fact that after exploration comes reconnaissance, and from this rises the desire to possess, which sooner or later is put into execution, as has been the case (2).

[113]

2. Giannecchini. Expedición al Alto Paraguay, año 1883.

/114 cont./

648 721 Once the conquest had been completed through the work of the missionaries and through colonization by the inhabitants of several departments, the Chiriguano had to submit to the rights of the stronger; on several occasions he tried to raise his head by means of general uprisings, such as the one of 1875 and the one of 1892 in Curuyuqui de Cuevo-Ibo, but they succumbed because of the difference in arms and because the whites were well situated (3).

[113] 3. Martarelli. Addition to the Historia de Misiones del Colegio de Potosí, which deals with the Curuyuqui war and the beginnings of the founding of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission.

648 178 /115/ A new uprising seems unlikely today because they are few and because the territory is populated by whites who have taken over the territory by right of conquest and through purchase made before the Supreme Government, but the Indians have not resigned themselves to permanent servitude, having once been lords of their house and land; their pride has been put down by superior forces, and most of them endure their fate with resignation.

To be sure, it is a fact that the Chiriguano of today is not the Chiriguano of other times; he is not the one who fought so tenaciously against the soldier of the Inca army, against the Spaniard, and against the Bolivian soldier himself. This change has taken place, I shall say once more, through the loss of territory and his independence, and in repeated struggles of extraordinary tenacity, which only resulted in aggravating a bad situation, and in the loss of their most beloved people and of their lands. For better or for worse they have had to submit to the laws of the Government of the Republic, which still exercises supreme authority over them, in the missions, where it is embodied in the conversores, in the provinces in the person of the subprefects, and in the cantons in that of the corregidors, who generally make use of the cacique or the alcalde to

648 /115 cont./
178 obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

157 Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, incon-
181 stancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even
[849] suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They
[762] only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome
[461] by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family.
[186] But if near the carai /sic; see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

[533] They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of
[273] their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and
[178] cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not com-
[674] mon formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

[648]
[685]
[754]

1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge great secrecy so that the authorities will not make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/120 cont./

578 Out of these general wars were derived other private ones, which civilized people called affairs of honor-dueling. This does not happen in private, as occurs among civilized people, who go off to a determined place with
578 their respective seconds. All is public, in the presence
541 of many people who come to drink. It is /121/ the caciques who incite their soldiers to match their strength and to avenge with crime an affront or an unfounded jealousy. When this happens, with or without a reason, the fighters place themselves in the midst of a whole crowd of spectators in the presence of the caciques, who urge them on with a word of command, while the poor angry men hit each other cruel blows.

578 Boxing is ancient, because formerly knives were not
412 known and, if they had them, they only used them in
178 their work in the fields. Now the picture has changed;
167 the young are succeeding the old, and these young people
464 continually go to work in the Argentine Republic. There they learn how to drink pure liquor, to handle the knife with which they are armed for their work, and to defend themselves. One small word is enough; it is enough if one says yainano, let us fight, the word of challenge, and knives are unsheathed, and then blood flows. Fortunately, they usually are content with inflicting wounds which rarely bring death because they do not deliver the blow with the point of the weapon but with the edge.

167 This mania for going off to the Argentine Republic has
464 them in continual movement, and, unfortunately, many of them remain for years, to return finally bringing almost nothing with them, and if one asks them, they answer very
167 rudely, "I drank it all." Last year's law has made recruit-
464 ment impossible. Several Indians went off, but they could
648 not get through Villa-Montes and returned (1).

1. If the authorities in Villa-Montes and Yacuiba continue to capture the Indians who are trying to escape, the law will not be in vain this time.

797

The Santa Rosa Mission Band

135 /145 cont./
Caraparirenta there is an occasional stone of this, which has been brought there by water.

In Huacaya Canton, along the shores of the Pilcomayo on the lower slopes of the hills of Oriente, it is asserted that there must be mines or deposits of gold. A stream brings little nuggets to certain places. Almost all the whites there say that the Indians *pick up these nuggets, sell some of them, and work others into* rings or earrings for their wives, but up to now, however hard the whites have tried to discover the place, they have never found an Indian who would take them (2).

[149]

796
778

2. They say that in the woods on the peak of a small hill there are two bells hanging from a tree and in another place a building with two

/153 cont./

756 278

and does not know how to do it goes to the sorcerers, pays them, and obtains it.

This seems to be a fable which in itself does not merit any importance, as indeed it is not given any by Father Giannecchini, who does not deny it in his writings, as Señor del Campano states. Poison exists among the Chiriguano. They do not extract it from chamico, which is a species of datura, nor do they extract it from other plants or herbs. The sorcerers reveal nothing; the young people do not know about it, and the few old people who are alive only tell what has been said above. Be that as it may, this is a belief of the tribe, and as such I have told it.

Lunar Eclipse

821 One night while waiting for a lunar eclipse, I found myself in conversation with the cacique Anduari of the mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu, and I was reminded of something which I remembered regarding this phenomenon which was about to occur on the moon. Chiriguano towns are true hells during an eclipse, because of the shouts, cries, whistles, and every warlike instrument which they use to make noise. When I came to the [114] [648] missions, /154/ the war of Cuvuyuqui had just happened, and when I heard so much and such an extraordinary hubbub on the night of an eclipse, I believed that it was a new uprising, as was also believed by the inhabitants of Cuevo, who came out armed to find out the cause of so much noise (1).

301 533 114

1. The Italian professor Mantegazza states that the Chiriguano, in order to whistle loudly, take out the tembeta or button which they have in their lower lip. This is incorrect and denied by all; what the renowned anthropologist refers to must be a special case, since they cannot even drink without the button.

/157 cont./

Principle of Authority

600 The principle of authority is innate in humankind and to attempt to destroy it is madness. Ever since man came into the world, the principle of authority has existed, as can clearly be read in /158/ Genesis: Sub viri potestate eris et ipse dominabitur tui; thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee.

As it is innate in humankind, through guilt more than through necessity in the beginning, the said principle has always been in effect everywhere. There is no nation, no matter how barbarous, which does not recognize this principle as a necessity, and to attempt to destroy it, as the anarchists wish to do, is to wish for the impossible. The Tubicha, great one or authority, say the old Indians, emanates from God himself, and that is why it begins with the same letter. The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 214/ shows several caciques of the San Buenaventura Mission; only the one in the frock coat and cane (Anduari) did not take part in the uprising at Curuyuqui (1).

[551] 1. The Indians in the illustration are: Asicayu, Asucari, Periquiyu, and Guarerai to the right of the cacique Anduari; Chipa and Patiri, or Patricio, at the left.

• 648 The entire region has today been explored and is under the power of the whites, who first entered with the permission of the owner (ab immemorabili), and after having taken possession, they have made themselves owners, buying lands as property of the nation. Some might believe that the Chiriguano liked to live in great centers, when it is known that formerly they were very numerous, but one who passes through the territory will soon understand that each tribe is at most made up of some 40 families and that in each tribe there is a cacique who is dependent upon another greater one, whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great of the great. In one league of territory or even less, an explorer, or passer-by, or sojourner can still find four or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances.

619 361 [622] [643]

/160 cont./

721 648 Gíñracoti was inferior to Yaveau in number of soldiers and in personal valor, but with his lies he obtained the assistance of the Indians of Yuti, Choreti, and Parapiti Grande, and even of the whites who had entered the Cordillera country and were living in Lagunillas (1).

1. Gíñracoti led the whites to believe that Yaveau was intending to rebel against them; hence he was able to get the regional cacique of the Parapiti, called Chituri, to come with him.

726 727 [648] The large number of the enemy sowed panic in the camp of Yaveau, who, along with many others, had joined up the Toba. The first battle was lost, and he had to hide with his people on the slopes and hill of Irenta, but, once recovered from the defeat which he had suffered through the superiority in numbers and differences in arms and in races, he soon went in search of the enemy, inflicting numerous casualties among them, and Gíñracoti had to leave his tribe, retiring to the left bank of the Parapiti River, in order not to fall into his rival's hands and be run through by his powerful arrow and have the misfortune of having his head separated from his body, which on the point of a spear, would have been exposed to the ridicule of large and small in the enemy camp.

622 594 It is natural for men passing through a strange town to go to the political authority for their needs, as happens in the missions. Many people when they pass through Indian towns, naturally go to the cacique's house; the latter receives those whom he considers greater with the kindness and courtesy that distinguish the Indians of the Chiriguano race; for this reason some explorers have believed that it is the duty of the cacique to receive and provide hospitality for transients and strangers, but I can state that they are mistaken.

/169 cont./

Abuse of Authority

629
621
643

The Indians who today live under the paternal rule of the missionaries state that formerly caciques committed thousands of abuses: speaking of caciques still alive, they said that they abused everything that belonged to the poor and defenseless Indians, made use of maidens and women of others took possession of horses, cows, sheep, goats, and rags or clothing of their subordinates under any pretext, and in certain cases, as absolute mandatory, life was not safe either.

682

In verification of the last, I am going to relate the following: Before the reorganization of the missions of San Antonio and San Francisco del Parapiti Grande, an Indian strangled his own son and half buried him in the sand near the bank with the aim that any sizable rise would soon carry him off, but before this could happen the deed was discovered, not by betrayal by his wife, whom he had threatened to kill, but by the wheeling about of vultures which were beginning to strip the already decomposing flesh (2).

[643]

2. The murderer of his own son belonged to the upper town and was hanged in public in the lower town where the regional cacique, who was the authority of the provinced Parapiti Canton, resided.

692
643
682

When the regional cacique had been advised, inquiries were undertaken in order to speak to the evil-doer, and it was not difficult to find him because he was a well-known Indian. Taken into custody and brought before the authority, he confessed his crime. In order to prevent another greater crime the canton authority attempted to intervene, but the regional cacique made it clear to him that justice would be administered in an exemplary fashion by him and that the corregidor, whose subalterns were the whites, should not involve himself in the matter at all.

[649]

/163/

643 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the
642 cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following
692 his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with another piece of wood set between them. He called together all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he
[671] does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his region, so that the life of the delinquent and the good may be respected and that he may be feared (1).

622 1. When a sorcerer does not manage to ac-
643 complish what he has promised, because he
756 perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's
646 prerogative to order the death sentence and
692 burning.

Separation from Command

622 The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the
631 abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the
643 present time, the opposed Indians were beginning to withdraw from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared them free from such obedience, naming another more humane person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it.
●649 This has become easier today by agreement with the political
466 authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that
464 when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named
622 by the political authority, he is sent to be subject to all the
643 demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the latter, who do not like the yoko or the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

/163 cont./

643 469 464 466 A fact that confirms what has been said happened in the Caipipendi region. The regional cacique Tengua was succeeded by his son Cariti, who, because of the grave errors that he made or was supposed to have made, was dismissed, and the native Tarüire, who apparently at least had very good qualities, was named in his place. This latter, selected by the whites with the consent or nomination of the Indians, had to return the favor of his benefactors who had elevated him and consequently to respond to all the demands and requests for peons, and one time the poor Indians had to go to Santa Cruz as a guarantee for the /164/ unhappy Indians who feared that, under the pretext of jobs in the city, they would be taken to the Beni (1).

[566]

1. In El Beni men are sold for 1,000 Bs. and women at a lesser price. Baron D. Erland Nordenskiold gave a lecture in London proving that slavery exists in Bolivia and Peru.

This concern of Tarüire and suspicion of the Indians originated in a publicly known event which took place in the year 1905, when a party of Indians sold to the rubber plantations were taken from there; rumors of this event spread rapidly through all the newspapers of the Republic, which expressed disapproval of it, and at that time I saw whole groups of families who, with all of their possessions, emigrated to other lands.

643 641 554 The result of this is that today many Indians obey Tarüire, not out of love or loyalty, but out of fear of the harsh punishment which the political authorities would immediately impose on them; and the cacique is now beginning to tire of this task which is so odious for him, for he wants to be tranquil in his home and to enjoy peace. He has repeatedly said this to me and he would be satisfied if they would renominate Cariti, for whom the Indians hold proper respect.

/164 cont./

622 643 648 566 46 Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large number of Indians, like Tarúire, derives great benefits from his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income is regular, because generally the caray who makes a request for peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future; interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62 595 It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques; even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

[797] 3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques; some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 [555] [556] /165/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661] 1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

/165 cont./

643 [721] In the case of a regional war against another region, the great cacique calls a parliament and consults all the caciques, /166/ counselors, and sorcerers in order to arrange matters perfectly and avoid surprises. When the war has broken out, as he is the most important man, he takes charge of the battles, even leading them personally to a successful conclusion, and, should a defeat be suffered, he does not cringe in defeat, but prepares anew, encourages his soldiers to fight more vigorously to take revenge, and is unlikely to suffer another defeat. This is what happened in the regional war of the great cacique Güiracoti against Yaveau, in which, the latter having been defeated by the former, as I have already related, he retired to the slopes of Irenta and from there marched on his enemies, causing numerous casualties and obtaining a complete victory (1).

643 701 727

[648] 1. In the Curuyuqui War there was a cacique named Chaparilla and another named Tunpa, but, as this war was against the whites, Tunpa took charge of the military operations.

643 631 Chituri, a regional cacique, was succeeded by his son, the late Azari, in the entire region of the Parapiti Grande, Itatiqui, Tacuaranti, and Ururigua. Yaveau was obeyed by all the Indians of Itiyuru, Curuyuqui, Ivu, Igüipinta, and those of Santa Rosa, living on the right bank of the Cuevo River; subject to Güiracoti were all those living on the left bank of the same river as far as the right bank of the Parapiti; the subjects of the late Tengua were the Indians of the left bank of the same Parapiti up to Gutierrez; the subalterns of Machirope were, as was told me in the same year 1901, all the Indians of Ingre Canton, Igüembe, and Huacaya from the right bank of the Parapiti to the left bank of the Pilcomayo, which includes an area of 24 leagues from north to south and 15 east to west, and when an effort was made to found a mission in Yumbía, on the left bank of the Pilcomayo, Igüembe Canton, he insisted to me that we should not bother them any more because neither he nor the

/166 cont./
643 Indians wanted it (2).
[631]

2. The regional cacique Tengua died in 1900, Machirope in 1905, and the others who have been named in the middle of the nineteenth century, except Chiturí. Baringai of Igüembe is considered a regional cacique without being one; he is the oldest known Indian, at least among the caciques.

Today only one of the former regional caciques is still living. This is Mandepónai, who must be about 84 years old, a very robust and obese Indian with a constitution of iron. His authority extends throughout the Gran Chaca. He is respected and obeyed up to a certain point by the Toba, Mataco, and Choroti, and other known races; he is very well received in the other regions through which he passes, and his authority is not contradicted elsewhere, but is not respected either, /167/ because at the present time the Chiriguano element too has almost radically changed its political system; today it is the political authority which rules, and the cacique is a humble servant of any caray who comes to him asking for peons.

643 The Machareti Mission exists through his efforts, and he has
797 always been faithful to the missionaries. In the Curuyuqui
648 War, the Tunpa tried to get Mandepónai to use his influence to
669 make the Toba and Chiriguano of his region revolt, as Tengua
662 did, but the great cacique was not to be moved; instead he and his people went over to the side of the Santa Rosa Mission and the white Christians who had taken refuge in it.

At that time some whites, perhaps because of their hate for the missionaries of Machareti, tried to implicate Mandepónai as an accomplice of the Tunpa, but this calumny was belied by his praiseworthy procedure. He gave warning of the day on which the rebels were to burn the mission, went personally with his soldiers to Santa Rosa on January 27, before the final battle, and there confronted Tengua, accusing him of treason to the whites. His loyalty to the missionaries is to his glory.

/167 cont./

643 and when he addresses his people he does not fail to remind them
648 that if they enjoy peace they owe it to him, for he consented
649 to the founding of their mission; more or less the same thing
797 is said by other caciques or their successors, through whose in-
662 fluence the missions have been founded (1).

1. When the slander against Mandepónai was believed, the delegate Chavarría went to Machareti with all his forces to punish the cacique, but nothing came of it because it all turned out to be false.

/168/ Chapter Six

000 Towns, Houses, and Work

Introduction

The glacial period and horrible icy places with their new flora and fauna in the dawn of the Quaternary era, a mysterious period for certain modern unbelievers, holds no mystery whatsoever for true believers, who see in it, or in its sudden appearance, a punishment for the disobedience of the first man. Adam sins, and the land, until then so beautiful and fecund, is covered with snows and ice, with brambles and briars; before his sin, no shelter was needed, but, as a result of rebellion against the Creator, he was laden with needs. /The remainder of the introduction on pp. 168-169 is omitted. The following illustration appears opposite p. 169. The remainder of p. 169 follows./

/170 cont./

Modern Houses

342
17
[164]
[648]

A Chiriguano house offers nothing special in appearance, but even those of the mestizos who have settled in their country are of the same form and not rarely worse, because naturally since the mestizo is not very fond of physical labor, because he is not an Indian, it is necessary for him to call on the energy of the latter, and the native is not always inclined to lend him this or that service, from which it follows that their houses are inferior (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. I am speaking here of the houses that the mestizos or whites build in the countryside where they live; in the towns their houses are normal; they almost all have tile roofs, and there are also some which are white-washed.

342
[192]
[184]

/171/ House in the Chiriguano language is called Ho, which is different from what they call Tapi, but. The latter are common in large towns and belong to the lazy people, wanderers, and even the poor. It must thus be understood that the construction of a Chiriguano house is a work of no small importance and care, if one considers that the Chiriguano is poor, so poor that he only has available an ax, a shovel, and a knife, and not always these. Because of the importance that I give to this construction, many who do not know these regions could believe that the houses are very fine, but there is nothing fine about them. None of them is beyond the rank of cabins.

342
335
476

I believe that it is indispensable to describe the way of constructing them and the elements available to the Chiriguano in order to carry this out. If the Indian has some luck in sheep, he pays some of his companions with sheep so that they will help him gather the principal timber, and should this wealth be lacking, he begins to cut and strip bark in the woods by himself, selecting timber of good quality, straight and resistant to the action of water. The principal pieces are generally six posts

[Text continues on p. 235]

/182 cont./

323 avoid the loss of her reputation as a worker or master of an art which provides her with money and subsistence, despite the low price of the vessels (2).

[648] [317]

2. There exist some Christians who in their area prohibit the unfortunate Chiriguano women from removing clay from some good veins. For this and so many other reasons, as has been observed by the illustrious Father Pierini, the savage sees in the white, not a brother, but an enemy.

Before going on to the manufacture of the vessel, jar, or plate, the potter provides herself with a potsherd or several of these, depending on the size of the work which she wishes to do; if she cannot find it in the corners of her house because there are no broken pots, she borrows one from her neighbors, and if they do not have any or do not wish to do her the favor, she breaks one of the inferior and smaller ones. In the missions or wherever there are ovens to fire tiles and bricks, the potters can do without a potsherd; they find pieces of well-fired bricks or tiles around the ovens, and with this the primary material is complete.

/183/ Then she submerges an appropriate quantity of clay in water, as much as may be needed for the piece she plans, and she leaves it there until it is completely softened and can be kneaded better than wax. Meanwhile she reduces to the finest powder the potsherd, brick, or tile which she has managed to get, sifts it in the finest sieve, Unupe, that she possesses; next she kneads the softened clay, making sure that it does not harden too much, puts in it all the sifted powder, and mixes it so that it forms a perfect union with the clay, and leaves the lump thus prepared until the next day.

The potter, after having cleaned her house and her person as well, and having fed her children, sits down near the receptacle which contains the raw material, extracts an amount of clay, and begins to knead it, shaping it into the

/204 cont./

643 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves
648 are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live
797 as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 The important men assert that to possess many wives is
574 necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality
829 to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because
643 the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they
622 do not become such in their youth, when they are like humming-
[582] birds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] 1. Formerly, women were abundant because of
[167] wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

/211 cont./

853 262 There is no special food or more abundant food for mothers after childbirth. She who gives her breasts to her little one eats little and extremely poorly. Her ordinary food is parched maize, parched maize meal, bread made of the same, herbs, beans, gourds, other things of this nature, and rarely a little purchased beef, other meat from animals that died from sickness, lack of pasture, or snake bite, and, finally, game or chicken. In spite of this extremely bad food, milk is abundant in her breasts; the children are almost always hanging from them and sucking and never seem to dry them up, which indicates that they are excellent nursers.

• 648 464 853 Mestizo or white mothers who sometimes have little or no breast milk because of sickness or some accident make contracts with Chiriguano mothers, pay them well, and treat them better, but it seems that continued good and satisfactory nursing harms them, /212/ it also being prejudicial to the breast as well as to both newborn babies, the weaker child succumbing first (1).

1. Naturally the Chiriguano women refuse to be wet nurses for white children, because they abhor them. When through experience they learn of the sad consequences, communicated by others, they resist even more and only do it when force or the right of the stronger prevails.

845 [163] [165] 736 603 [853] [824]

Twins

Multiple births are rare, and those of two children are frequent. In the former case the newborn babies die very soon, and in the latter case one almost always lives, and many times both live. When twins survive or through the death of the mother a newborn child is left an orphan, it is very easy for the grandmother to care for one twin or the orphaned child. Although the old woman may have reached or passed 60, she

/216/

Chapter Nine

881

Children, Puberty, the Tembeta (1)

1. This will deal with the puberty of the girls and the imposition of the tembeta for boys, which is carried out a little before their puberty, so that when this does appear they will have the mark of manhood.

Introduction

797 533 [126]

At the beginning of this chapter /see p. 294/ my readers will see a small band of young, luxuriously uniformed musicians with a Franciscan missionary at their side. These are the musicians of San Buenaventura de Ivu, whose photograph was taken on the pastoral visit made by the renowned and wise Delegate General M. R. P. Wolfgango Privaser, illustrious and glorious in the seraphic religion, on the 23rd day of September, 1908. His secretary, the intelligent Father Angel Domáica, was the one who was charged with taking this group and the others in the Potosí and Tarija missions.

[648]

All the musicians are Chiriguano boys whose fathers were in the 1892 uprising in the fields of Curuyuqui, half a league away from what is today the mission building, which at that time did not exist. They are the sons of fathers who all wear the tembeta and of mothers who in their puberty underwent the strict tests which I shall relate in this chapter.

175 648

Their fathers declared war to the death, not on the Cross, but on the white, be he Christian or not, because he saw in him a tyrant and hangman, and he wished to cast off the yoke by destroying the one whom he considered its maker. But it is certain that the Indian in his hate and rancor, which he has consistently maintained /illustration appears here/ /217/ against the caray /white man/, did not know how to make a categorical distinction, because not all have bad hearts. If there are some bad ones, real executioners of humanity, there are also very good and compassionate ones, from whom they received and still receive favors.

/217 cont./

175 648 [799] The parents of these youths would not have thrown themselves into a disastrous war if the Supreme Government had quickly decreed the founding of the mission which they desired, as can be read in the history of the Colegio de Potosí; in it is clearly seen what the Ivu people did to try to have the presence of a missionary father, because political authority always showed itself to be humanitarian with the unfortunate Indians.

It has now been 19 years since that bloodletting, and still the pampas of Curuyuqui are sown with human bones: one can still see traces of their fortifications, where they fought like lions, with such unequal weapons: the memory of that horrible and destructive occurrence is still retained (1).

1. Some 500 men and women died in the war, but almost all were outsiders: the others, who knew the place, saved themselves by taking flight and hiding. They do not like to have anyone talk to them about this uprising.

799 87 648 [175] As a consequence of the war the decree to found the mission came, and just a few days after the defeat the measuring and laying out of the necessary land was done. Today fathers and sons live tranquilly: some of them have gone on to a better or to a worse life, many have experienced the paternal government of the missionary, which they do not tire of praising. The sons have learned the religion and practice it. They have learned the alphabet and read books. They have learned religious singing, and several of them know and play the music which has been taught to them by the missionaries. It is truly surprising to see the changes which have been brought about in such a short time in such bellicose Indians! This is the virtue of the Cross! Others could have done nothing, as nothing had been done or will be

799

-t Nino--320 M-3 (1895-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/236/

Chapter Ten

Agriculture, Animals, Food

Introduction

The Holy Bible, when it gives us the account or tells us the story of the fall of the first man, makes it clear to us that God, after having made known to him the fault committed, announced to him that he had incurred the punishment of having to seek out and provide himself with food through manual labor and the sweat of his brow.

Actually the land, which up to that time had spontaneously produced in abundance everything that man could have desired, became full of weeds, brambles, and thorns when cursed by God as a consequence of Adam's sin. /The remainder of p. 236 is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 237./

/237/ Why are there so many weeds and thorns in the forests of America? Because it is little cultivated, uncultivated, because one element is missing, the labor; this is missing, and God said that, without labor: Tribulos et spinas germinabit tibi. Let us leave to one side the unexplored territory and confine our consideration to the entire Chiriguano region, which is inhabited today by whites and blacks, or Indians.

The white man wishes to put in practice what, according to the story, was predicted by the Aguara-Tunpa when he made them choose the weapons. The white man wishes to be served and to ride upon his showy and spirited horse, to wear his firearm in his belt or his dagger in his boot and, like a great lord, force the Chiriguano to serve him in exchange for food or money, and thus, for agriculture, the arm of the white is almost a dead one. There are whites who call themselves agriculturalists or farmers because they have many Chiriguano peons whom they order and direct to work in the field for their own interest and profit.

/237 cont./

648 464 466 It can be said with all certainty that the only laborer in the four provinces of Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor, and Gran Chaco is the Chiriguano, who is found even beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he also works, taken there by the authorities or by the owners of the lands, which they bought in ancient times for a trifle (1).

[425]

1. If one is to credit what the Indians say, in some places land was acquired by barefaced trickery /leva raida/ at the time of Ferdinand VII; in other places, for three or four arrobas of cheese, and in the last ones, for a cow, a poncho, a few varas of cloth, or a few bottles of liquor given to the cacique.

178 [169] Today the Chiriguano, very abject, in many places suffers in resignation what, according to the story, he did not want yesterday; in other places he is migrating the better part of the time, that is to say, when his presence is necessary for the general planting, to which of necessity the old people must devote themselves if they want to live without dying of hunger and in order to be able to welcome the migrants when they return for a few days to show off their new clothing, their work from other regions, to sell it immediately for very little, to slaughter some cattle of their own or of their elders, and to go back at once without even saying good-by.

Property Rights

648 [241] The object of the present chapter is to describe the method of cultivating the land when the Indians lived alone in the country, before the whites had moved in among them; now they scarcely give them /238/ room to do their planting as best they can. Nonetheless, since they keep them continually occupied, food and clothing are never lacking to anybody in a Christian's house, where the Indian gets them

177 648

/238 cont./

177 648 for himself, for his children, and for his wife (1).

1. Perhaps without intending to do so, the whites have done and are doing a work of charity for the Indian, that of moralizing him somewhat through work, during which he neither gets drunk nor thinks of trifles, etc. Only in some places a little moderation is needed in order not to discourage him.

241 773 776 It was also the Aguara-Tunpa who taught the Chiriguano the cultivation of land, since, seeing that he had not been able to remedy his misery and needs by handing over the bows and arrows, he once again visited his poor hut, and seeing him thin and emaciated, he gave him all kinds of seed so that he might make them bear fruit, teaching him the method of burying them and advising him also of the way and the time for pulling out the weeds with a weeder, because he would have seemed bad before his enemy and before the Indian himself if he had not completed his philanthropical work, after criticizing so much the true friend of Chiriguano humanity (2).

2. The Aguara-Tunpa, For God, did not tell him that the seeds could be eaten right away, because in that way they would have been lost immediately. After they had germinated, he advised that when they were ripe, he could have food for himself and for his family.

423 Every Chiriguano has a small plot of cultivated land, sufficient for himself and for his family. Nobody had previously entered the area in which the Indians live, so that nobody disputed their property rights, as they should not be disputed today, because they are the owners ab immemorabili, and no individual could have sold what belonged to the community.

/266 cont./

797
771

that the cacique had said with reference to their idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

574
576

/267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leaving the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu ndereé, I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma, I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tunga rello eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

541
177

If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Laguillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing. The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano [184] fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbaya póure, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe, in addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

[548]

1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Iglembe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Aaseo.

/267 cont./

[54] [177] [648] Don Antonio Menduiña, who had requested aid: he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers from Azero.

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of Arete fiesta, through assimilation, and all the old fiestas are gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguano works almost all year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him: for it is he gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy clothing for himself and his wife and children: and on these days all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put on /266/ during the other days of the year, neither for the Ayarise nor for the Mbaga pére.

[178] [461] [292]

In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between blacks and whites: the men well dressed, and even the infidel women with garb adorned with gauze, fancy hats, and multicolored ribbons: the children cover their faces with masks which they have made beforehand by carving tobenchi wood: young men prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others, such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the dances and Aqiform /makers/, for whom everything is allowed because it is carnival.

[532]

By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one drinks and has fun, they make merry on the comadre and comadre days, and on Quinquagésima Saturday, all day, the makers and dancers practice the dances that they call Ararc. On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival, dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually mounted on a burro: the one who is thus disguised directs the fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

[64] [535] [529]

[532]

1. The principal man so disguised has rubellosa.

/??? cont./

History tells us that the Chiriguano were not the first inhabitants of the region that they now occupy. Other savages had lived here, who handed over the territory by reason or right of the stronger. Subjugated by the number and valor of the invaders, some of them emigrated to perish, and others remained as vassals in their own land and little by little came to an end, leaving the Chiriguano masters of their land.

In time the Incas tried to conquer this extensive territory, leaving behind innumerable marks of their tenacity, but they had to abandon this noble thought, contenting themselves with calling them with great contempt: Chiriguanos or Chirihuanos, cold excrement. Yet however warlike or invincible a people or nation shows itself to be or is, it has to succumb arrives. What was not achieved by the Incas or by the arms of the Spaniard here has been brought about by the patience of the missionary and the tenacity of the whites of Santa Cruz and Tarija. Today the dread Chiriguano is subdued and bows his haughty head. He has been reduced to nothing, and one who does not live in the missions is the vassal of the white man, who has dominated him completely. It is the disposition of Providence, which subdues the proud and decrees that they experience, although much more gently, what they made the conquered once experience. Knowing that in the last war of Cangayuri, the Chiriguano learned his inferiority, but it cannot be denied that this race has been one of the most warlike that has existed here (1).

1. The Incas tried to conquer the Chiriguano in order to moderate their customs. The Chiriguano treated the Tapiís with great cruelty: according to what has been told by the natives of Parapiti, they fattened them in order to eat them later.

/280 cont./

000 defeated, may the evil ones die. While the war lasts, it is the
722 rule that women and their daughters must not sit in a squatting
284 position, but with their legs stretched /281/ out in front, so that
516 their fathers and husbands who are in battle will not feel any
828 tiredness (1).

722
533
535
177

1. The Italian del Campano, relying on the writings of Father Giannocchini, a missionary of the Colegio de Tarija, writes in his work that, before the fighting began and during it, women and maidens come out to the plaza and in a loud voice sing and dance the Aré aré. This song and dance must have originated among the Toba, who at that time were numerous in the Gran Chaco region, because in the Ivu region and other regions they scarcely know the name of the Aré aré, and not all share in that knowledge, as has been proved, for in no combat which has occurred to the north, south, and west of Ivu has the Aré, aré been danced and sung.

726
729

During the Curuyuqui war the Santa Rosa mission was invaded by the rebels, who, in spite of their number and strength, were unable to enter the town which they intended to burn. Then and afterward the missionaries witnessed painful scenes of women who, crying their hearts out, raised their voices and threw ashes to obscure the enemies' vision. Bitter memories of that massacre are still retained, at which some of them laugh today, but they cried then. Whenever I hear the sad stories, my eyes overflow with tears (2).

726

2. The Curuyuqui rebels first attacked the town of Cuevo, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in Santa Rosa the night before. In a few days they attacked the mission, from which it can be concluded that their hate was against the whites, and concomitantly against the Indians who were

• [E48)

/281 cont./

726 648

helping them in the town and against the missionary who had brought them.

Peace

727 728

Every time a war between Chiriguano ends, those who got the worst of it are the first to resume friendly relations. They do it little by little, and the women are most useful for this, the same ones who, with their tongues, contributed not inconsiderably to promoting hostilities. The conquerers readily accept the overtures of peace and immediately resume visits again, during which, if the conversation touches on the last war, the conquered avoid it, that is, they excuse the deceit suffered through some trick, but from time to time they must silently endure the reproaches of one or another bold woman, who are not lacking in the towns (2).

2. A certain young girl, a student in the Santa Rosa Mission, reproached the captain at Ivo, who was asking for a mission in his town after having tried to kill the missionary. But I have already said that this war was directly against the whites.

701 723 643 704

When a war is regional because several tribes take part in it under the command of a single cacique, as happened in Taveau's war /282/ against Gôiracoti, both regions try to have an equal number of foot soldiers, cavalry, and *queremba*: otherwise it would be very hard for the weaker side to enter the combat. Gôiracoti came to battle aided by the whites and men from Parapiti, but, when he saw that he had fewer people, he fled from Taveáu, who pursued him with all his men (1).

1. The cacique Taveáu in his first defeat recovered and suitably prepared for a general and decisive charge on the slopes of the range of Iroma, located one league from the Santa Rosa Mission.

/282 cont./

729
728
643

When a regional campaign has ended, the caciques involved, with the intervention of others who did not take part in the struggle, try to re-establish peace, because although the Chiriguano is rather warlike and proud, he is also just as peaceful and desirous of living quietly in his home. Hence it is quite easy for peace to be accepted by both parties, and it is sealed with a general fiesta, first in the town of the defeated cacique and then in that of the victorious cacique. All the great and important people of both regions and of the regions which have taken part in the friendly arrangements come together at these fiestas, and even then they do not turn to talk of the stormy time, except to anathematize the one who, according to them, was to blame for so much anguish; little importance is given to the words of the women (2).

•(648)

2. As the Cotoyuqui war was against the whites and since the latter triumphed and pursued them to the death, there could not be any party afterward, but in time friendly relations were renewed between the Indians of Ivo and Santa Rosa, and to this day they continue in perfect harmony, because they live with the help of the missionary whom the Ivo people had asked for previously.

Then each regional cacique enjoins his men not to disturb public peace again, and these in turn make speeches to their gubaitiuma at night about the advantages of peace, and both caciques shake hands, promising to decide matters in a friendly fashion in any future disagreement which might arise between the two regions, but sometimes the opposite happens, because the victor finds it hard to yield, considers himself superior, and does not know that negotiations are preferable.

729
728

Finally, each one returns to his town satisfied, the repair of the destroyed houses is ordered immediately; the time of general planting comes, and they all report to work peacefully in order to have abundance once again and with their hopes based on being able to enjoy in time the fruit of the little sweat that falls, to their own advantage and that of their family.

4: Nino--40? M-3 (1890-1911) 19?? SP10 Chiriguano SP10

/?97/

Chapter Fourteen

Infidels and Neophytes of the Missions

Introduction

The continual revolts of the Chiriguano against the white race clearly demonstrate their aversion toward the Christian element, which they consider to be the effective cause of their misfortunes and of the almost total loss of their territory, of which not too long ago they considered themselves the legitimate owners and absolute rulers. It is as clear as the midday sun that the Christian, with the patience and constancy of an anchorite and in many circumstances risking his life, has gradually taken over the extensive region. Today there is no corner where an occasional Christian family is not living. In many places the Chiriguano tribe has completely disappeared, whether through epidemics or through loss of freedom: in some places a rather considerable nucleus exists under the control of a master, either because of the territory which it cultivates or because of a debt which has been contracted (1).

1. The caciques of the Curuyuqui war, in their ignorance, thought that they could recover the lost territory and, in revenge, take over most of the Republic.

The Indians located in the area to the left of the Pilcomayo River took only one thing into consideration when they resolutely refused to have a conversion mission founded: they only considered that behind the missionary would come those whom they considered invaders: they only understood that white Christians would gather behind or around the Cross, which Father Giannelli planted with considerable daring in the middle of the nineteenth century. But why is it that the Indians of Tarairí /?98/ are still owners of their land? Because of the missionary, whom one faction, in its ignorance, wanted to leave when the destruction of the flourishing missions of San Francisco and San Antonio began, where six years ago building a new London was attempted, with almost

/298 cont./

797
648

nothing yet begun, but rather with a most evident deterioration of the building and the gardens which the Franciscans of Tarija left behind so well arranged and so flourishing (1).

1. When the Tarairí Mission was established through the persuasive words of the missionary, it was attacked by neighboring tribes and by the warlike Huacayeños, who were located some 100 kilometers away. The Chiriguano missions were founded where there was no nucleus of whites.

The people of Tarairí were the first to see a Franciscan father in their territory, and they are the last to understand the material advantages that the mission brings to them. The people of Tigüipa, Macharetí, Boicovo, Cuevo, and Ivu, and, finally, those of the two Parapiti missions, called San Antonio and San Francisco, came to realize that only the missionary could present their territorial rights before the Supreme Government and assist them in countering the ill will of some whites who, because they were too tyrannical, brought about the Curuyuqui uprising, in which the Indian was completely humiliated when he believed he would exterminate all the whites (2).

2. Through the suggestion of the missionary, the Indians of Itatiqui were assisted in their small territory by the Prefecture of Santa Cruz, before which proceedings for purchase were in process. Today they have been helped by the Supreme Government, which has proclaimed an edict for measuring and setting boundaries, but they have scarcely half a league left to them, despite having possessed from time immemorial three and a half leagues.

926
181

It has been seen in the course of these pages that the Indian is formidable at the beginning of battle, but if victory does not come soon, he turns cowardly and flees.

000
726
648
181

/298 cont./

soon, he turns cowardly and flees. The eight-hour battle at Curuyuqui, considering that the weapons were so unequal, can be regarded as a prodigious feat, because once the Chiriguano were so far from their towns, they had to resign themselves to winning or dying before falling prisoner.

Infidels

797
177

The adult Indian has no appreciation of religion, whatever it may be. To be sure, first his ignorance and then, more than anything, his pride and laziness contributed to this, because he turns his back on anyone who tries to instruct him. Some of them come to the monthly instruction, but almost all are like those described by the royal Psalmist in that they have eyes but do not see, ears but do not hear, /299/ and a tongue but do not speak, do not sing praises, and do not worship their Creator (1).

1. It seems that the demon of luxury has them blind, deaf, and mute with regard to religion and worship and keeps them away from the Spirit of God.

It is not likely that the Chiriguano will ask for the founding of a mission, because he does not want anyone to disturb his peace and tranquility in his own land. He considers the mission an unbearable yoke for himself and for his children. It is almost useless, it is almost a waste of time, to speak to the Indian about the supernatural, to make him yield and accept the mission. He does not understand or wish to understand why animalis homo non percipit ea quae Dei sunt. Only when he sees himself persecuted with regard to his person, his family, and his property, only in order not to fall completely into slavery, only to free himself from the harassments which he receives from his fellow man, does he then ask for a mission with much insistence, until he obtains the end desired. This is also one of the ways that God uses to secure the redemption and salvation of an endless number of souls (2).

2. There are a number of Chiriguano families

797
291
177

/309 cont./
in addition to the ordinary clothing, use a waist /corpiño/, hat, socks, and small rug /alfombrita/ in church (2). /Page 310 and

000

[184]
[492]

2. The place where they dress most elegantly is in the missions of the Parapiti Grande, especially the women, who even have saddles for traveling and for riding about on horseback.

the first paragraph on p. 311 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 311 follows./

Conclusion

797

In conclusion, let it be noted for a final time that the Bolivian nation and people have opened to commerce and industry the broad region described in the first chapter of this work. This is due to the Franciscan missionaries, whose labor dates from the year 1609; they faced all the dangers; they risked their lives in the forests, in the torrential rivers, on the summits of the hills, they suffered thirst, hunger, fatigue, cold and heat, they endured with resignation the calumny and persecution of the people without conscience who never failed to make them the target of their filthy mouths and tongues.

[648]

The work has been accomplished; previously nobody went among the Chiriguano without the risk of falling victim; today the entire region is one with more or less large towns, there are provincial capitals, cantons and vice-cantons; the merchant passes through the Chiriguano towns, sleeps, very highly esteemed, in their houses, and the whites themselves, scattered throughout the region, have every guarantee of safety. This is a real prodigy owing to the Religion of Jesus Christ, preached by the missionaries; it is one more proof of the fact that the Cross is constructive.

[177]

/312/ It is evident that the native element is disappearing because of the causes previously enumerated during the course of these lines (1).

000

1. If the present missions remain and new ones are founded in the centers that are left today,

/322 cont./

648
464
466

The tribes described here are friends and allies of the Chiriguano, and, when the latter have an abundant crop of maize, the former draw near to the towns of their friends; according to tribes, they build their ovens, where they hide, along the bank of some rivulet or some stream.

They remain there, help the Chiriguano in the harvest, perform menial services for him by carrying wood, cleaning house, and doing other domestic chores, and in exchange they get a little maize for themselves and their family. When they go back into the forest, they take several libras or arrobas of maize, depending on the harvests that the Chiriguano may have had.

In the Tarija missions this happens quite frequently, because they are nearer to their territory. The caciques of the savages then present themselves to the Chiriguano cacique to announce their arrival and the presence of their tribe and the latter in turn brings him before the P. /padre/ Conversor to obtain the necessary permission.

In these circumstances none of the tribes is lazy, because they understand that in order to eat it is necessary to work, under penalty of being immediately thrown out of the foreign territory where he has found so much abundance. Neither are they permitted many months stay, because they are capable of staying until they use up all the maize and leave the Chiriguano's cupboard bare.

Several times I saw these tribes in a state of temporary emigration, and it was pitiful to see such poverty, forlorness, filthiness, ignorance, and want. Long rows of ovens could be seen in communication with one another, full of men, women, children, and dogs, and living there worse off than dirty animals in filth.

Schwedenskild I-5 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C
114

Indians in the years 1908, 1909 and 1913, and spent in all 4 to 5 months studying them. In my book »Indianlif» I gave a popular account of them as I got to know them during the Hermmarck expedition in 1908 and 1909. In my last book of travel »Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika» there is some information about the Chiriguano. I have brought home to Sweden from the Chiriguano and Chané about 1500 articles which are now in the Rikasmuseum at Stockholm and in the Gothenburg Museum. In the Geographical Review I wrote a short article on the migrations of the Chiriguano Indians.

C
Ce
[226]

C
Ce
12
114

A close study of the Chiriguano and Chané civilization by the ethno-geographical method affords points of especial interest, since their mode of life is rather well known, and we are able to trace their history back to the beginning of the 16th century. I have also collected archaeological material from their region. At first I was minded to give an account of this, too, in the present work. I decided, however, that it would be better here only to mention individual finds by the way, and to leave the archaeological material for another publication in which I shall be able also to publish certain archaeological finds made in other parts of Bolivia. This for purely practical reasons.

C
Ce
121

I will here endeavour to make clear how the Guaraní-speaking Chiriguano's and the Guaranized Chanés' civilization are composed, what culture-elements they have got from the Whites and from the Mountain civilization in the west, what each brought to the common stock and what they possibly obtained from other quarters.

In this analysis of Chiriguano and Chané manners and customs, I do not intend properly to examine the question as to whence these Indians came to their present abodes. Broadly speaking we know that already. Respecting the Chiriguano migrations there are historical documents extant which evidently show that it was not until the beginning of the 16th century that these Indians conquered

C
175
648
167

the tracts they now occupy.?) ¶ They drove out or subjugated the original population, which consisted chiefly of Chané Indians. They made slaves of a great number of them and ravished a great number of women.

The Chané are, as was mentioned, Arawaks and all indications point to their having come from the north or north-east, where they have large numbers of kinsfolk. It will be found that the present investigation confirms this. A matter of particular interest in this connection is to notice how two peoples belonging to the most important groups of tribes in all America made adaptations in their mode of life when they had emigrated to places with strange natural conditions. Again, it is worthy of note how their civilization was transformed and the influence of the Bronze-age civilization in the west and afterwards under the influence of the Whites. Further we shall see what they have, under their new conditions, been able to preserve of their original civilization. We shall gain insight into the way in which the civilization of two Indian tribes was transformed under the influence of other peoples and new natural conditions.

As in Part I, I deal chiefly with the material side of these Indians' life. Or rather, everything in their life which

?) Nordenskiöld 175.

¶) Ehrenreich, basing his opinion on Garcilasso and Montesinos, has assumed that the Chiriguano invaded the Inca Realm earlier than the beginning of the 16th century. But even if his assumption is correct, these invasions led to no desolation there. This is evident from the accounts of the invasion in the 16th century, when the Chiriguano supplanted, what was everywhere an original stock. Nor do we know whether by Chiriguano the Incas did not mean barbaric tribes of the Chaco in general, and not any particular tribe. In these parts Chiriguano probably corresponded to the signification that Chunchos had in the district of Cuzco, where it meant all sorts of barbaric Indian tribes east of the Andes. The Chiriguano that Garcilasso de la Vega and Montesinos speak of need by no means have been Guarani Indians. I have already pointed out (Nordenskiöld 13) that Garcilasso's description of the Chiriguano is absolutely irresponsible.

8tNordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

c
Ce
415
171*
c
[648]

found at Tilcara and that of the Chiriguano. I here reproduce from the work of DEBENEDETTI some types of earthenware to which we find answering types among the Chiriguano. (See fig. 48). It must be borne in mind that the Chiriguano country at Cuyambuyo approaches the Humahuaca valley.[1]) The Humahuaca and Chiriguano were allied in the first encounters with the Spaniards.[2])

In Part I I have already pointed out the similarity between Choroti and Ashluslay water-pitchers and the Incan «aryballes».

The question arises whether or not all water-pitchers with a narrow neck which can be grasped by the hand are derived from the Mountain civilization. They are not found, as far as I have been able to find, in all N. E. Bolivia, nor in the whole of eastern S. America except by Indians that have been very much influenced by the Whites. The Chiriguano word for water-pitcher is «iru», which is strongly reminiscent of the Quichua name «yuru» for the same kind of earthen vessel.

Pitchers with a bulging neck (fig. 42,1) are common among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro. I am acquainted with them from my archaeological excavations at Caipipendi. They are mentioned by AMBROSETTI[3]) from Tucuman. The type occurs, moreover, within the western area of civilization whence it surely must have come.[4])

Handles shaped like animals or human faces do not occur on the pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané.

The Chiriguano and Chané do not make feet to their vessels as is common on the earthenware from the Mounds in Mojos.

---

[1]) CORNEJO P. 66.

[2]) LOZANO S. 120 «Eran los Homaguacas gente por extremo feroz ..... y mataron à los Sacerdotes, que los doctrinaban, y à muchos Españoles que cayeron en sus manos, infestando con robos, y muertes los caminos publicos, y conferandose con los Chiriguanás»....

[3]) (8).

[4]) RUISS und STÜBEL T. 3, Pl. 96, Fig. 17; G. M.

8/Nordenskiöld E-8,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XXVI

Symbols of authority and dignity.

C 622 301 293

According to CORRADO[1]) the Chiriguano chief was distinguished by a tuft of hair on his head the «yattira» and earrings of green stones. At feasts the chief carried a pole with a bunch of ostrich feathers at the end of it, the «yandugua», and a carved stick the «iguirape». I have only seen the «yandugua». Among the Chané I have seen plain sticks that formed some kind of symbol of authority for the chiefs.

Ce 622

C Ce 554 *171

I have neither seen nor heard of any symbols of authority among any other Indians than the Chané, Chiriguano, Quichua and Aymara, and also, at the missions, among the Guarayos, Mosetene and Cavina. Among the Aymara and Quichua the staff, usually silver mounted, is a symbol of authority carried by Indian officials in the villages. It is the same at the missions among the tribes mentioned and also among the Chiriguano. LOZANO[2]) states that the Spaniards at the end of the seventeenth century solemnly presented a staff to a Chiriguano chief, Cambichuri, as a symbol of authority. CREVAUX[3]) relates from his visit to the Oyampi that the chief carried a staff in his hand, for all over Guiana the staff is «le signe de commandement». KOCH-GRÜNBERG[4]) speaks of the staff as a symbol of authority for chiefs in northwest Brazil. GILIJ[5]) says that the

C [648]

[1]) P. 43.
[2]) P. 258.
[3]) P. 164.
[4]) (2) I P. 260, Fig. 142: P. 297, Fig. 175.
[5]) T. 2 P. 195.

/156 cont./ Ce 115
from the often vulgar, empty whites. Batirayu, however, is also an exceptional man, the makings of a great man, who is condemned to idleness.

Batirayu is a Chané. These Indians now speak the same language as the Chiriguano, namely, Guarani. Most of their customs and usages correspond to those of the Chiriguano, by whom they were probably subjugated. According to their origin, however, they are Arowaken /Arawak/ and hence the most southerly dwellers of this group, which had, and still has, a wide distribution in South America and on the Antilles.

Ce 197 171 648 Ce 101

/157/ If I describe the Chané and the Chiriguano together here, it is because their material culture is so similar. Nevertheless, I have indicated in which tribe I made this or that observation; this is especially true for the religious domain, in which the Chané, at least on the Rio Parapiti, have kept many old conceptions which are unknown to the Chiriguano.

Ce 128 171 771

Batirayu told me that a few of the Chané still knew some words of the old language of the tribe. He said that especially at the drinking bouts, when they are intoxicated, they give themselves airs by speaking the old Chané language, which otherwise has the character of a secret language.

Ce 197 554 273 Ce

In the company of Batirayu I set out for the village of "Huirapembe" where the Indians who knew Chané best were supposed to be found. It was not easy to draw their secrets out of them. Actually, only the youngest ones, who knew the least, were willing to tell me something (1). One old woman who was

124 197 114 14 Ce 6

1.

	Chané	Chiriguano	Mojo
Water	ũne	y	une
Maize	sopóro	ahuãti	seponi
Fire	yucu	tãta	yucu
Dog	tamũco	yaũmba	tamucu
Chicha (good)	liqui	cãngui	itico
Rat	cõvo	angũya	cozo.

192 197

/159 cont./

things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78).

From Maringay I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of Mimosaceae, cacti, small algarrobas, and other fine-leaved trees. This woodland is seldom so dense than one cannot easily get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa,

Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth. Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger.

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and across the great plain of Boyuovis, over the country that was the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuqui, they fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the right to rob all weaker peoples.

After my excursion to Maringay I left the land of the Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already described in this book, to the Choroti and Ashluslay.

Sp 10
Chaco S E 8
S - Am. 51
S-Am. Indians 53
Ca 103
E 361
S4 103
S 177 323
G 175 678
G [113]

is a village called Tapiyende. The valley is now inhabited exclusively by Chiriguano, and none of them remember that, as the name of the place indicates, Tapii (Chané) lived there.

The place names of the Indians of higher standing are retained by the whites, even if they have become the masters of the country. Thus, almost all the places inhabited by them in Chiriguano territory have Guarani names, such as Charagua (name of the cliffs peculiarly carved out by the water), Carandaiti (where palms grow). The place names of the lower tribes, on the other hand, are not kept by the whites. Thus, no white knows the Matace or Chorote names of the various places on the Rio Pilcomayo. The settlements of the whites are named after saints, Bolivian statesmen, and explorers. If a tribe, for example, the Chorote, becomes extinct, there is nothing left of its language in the place names. Investigators of place names should not overlook this.

Through association with the whites, the geographical knowledge of the Indians has been extended considerably. They go farther and farther away to seek work, and they see countries which they had never heard of before.

The Indian as Historian

If we wanted to write the history of the Chorote and Ashluslay, we could not go back very far in time. It is only in the last decades that we see them mentioned more specifically in the literature. On the other hand, we already know about the Chiriguano, from their battles with the great ruler, Inca Yupanqui, from the period before the discovery of America. Garcilasio de la Vega (1) reports on his attempts

1. Garcilasso de la Vega. The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas. Vol. I-II. Hakluyt Society. London, 1869 and 1871.

/167 cont./

to conquer the land. His description of the Chiriguano as a cannibalistic race of extremely low standing /168/ surely originated in his own imagination. The tradition about these barbles has been preserved in the mountain valleys. C 175 648

The territory of the Chiriguano, in spite of the centuries-long valiant defense, was conquered, step by step, in the Spanish era. As recently as 1890 part of them made a last attempt at rebellion, but they were defeated, as has been mentioned, in the battle at Curuyuqui, on the plain of Boyuwin. About 5,000 Indians had gathered there and for a whole day fought the whites in an unequal battle against firearms. The battle had begun in the morning and it had not yet ended in the evening when it grew dark. The situation was becoming extremely unpleasant for the whites, since their ammunition was almost gone. Unfortunately, however, the morale of the Indians was broken. They abandoned their entrenchments in the quiet of the night.

Another very important chapter in the history of these Indians is the long and persistent effort of the missionaries to conquer the land of the Indians in a comparatively peaceful manner. This is treated in detail in the literature. C 175 797 Ee 829

Here, however, I do not wish to speak of the history of these Indians as we know it through the literature, but of the Indian as historian.

If one talks to the Indians, they do not know much about their own history; their tradition does not go back very far. The Chaué on the Rio Parapiti told me they had first lived on the upper Rio Parapiti (1), but were driven away from there by a great chief. Some remained where they are now living, others set out through the Chaco to the Rio Paraguay, which river, C Ce [173] Ce 173 648 [131] Ce [113] Ce [167]

1. This is confirmed by Viedma: Descripcion geografica y estadistica de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Coleccion Pedro de Angelis. Buenos Aires, 1836. Vol. III. Pages 180-181.

/168 cont./
as has been said, /169/ is not unfamiliar to the Indians. On the Rio Paraguay Arowaken /Arawak/ are also found.

The Chiriguano first lived on the lower Rio Parapiti and were driven away from there by the Chané. This is Fig. 80 and 81 appear here/ possibly "official history," for more probably the Chiriguano drove the Chané out of the fertile valleys of the upper Rio Parapiti.

Batirayu told me everything that he knew about the history of the Chané Indians on the Rio Parapiti. The last great /170/ chief was Batirayu's uncle, Aringui. He led many Indians of his tribe to Argentina to work. His predecessor was Yämbäe. Before him Ochoäpi was invested with the position of chief. In his time the whites began to push into the country. This chief is described as an important man who sought to introduce the manners and customs of the whites among his Indians. Ochoäpi is known for his extensive journeys and his persecution of sorcerers. He was said to have been in Buenos Aires. Before him Chötchori had the position of chief. In his time the whites had not yet come as far as the lower Rio Parapiti. Here the tradition comes to an end. The chiefs mentioned here were of the same family /Geschlecht/, but the rule does not pass from father to son.

I could relate a bit of history about the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, but I do not wish to be boring with too many names. There, too, tradition does not go back far, three generations, that is all.

In the legends of these Indians, several of which I have given below, we learn nothing about the history of these peoples. No historical events seem to have been recast into legends there. They have entirely different themes.

It is really quite strange that among these Indian tribes their history, the names of the chiefs, have been forgotten, whereas the legends have undoubtedly been preserved, though in altered form, from generation to generation for centuries. It is chiefly the wide geographical distribution of the legends that speaks for their great age.

6: Nordenskiöld--24 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chone SF 6

/171 cont./

on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians. The Ashluslay also maintain, as my interpreter told me, that /172/ the Toba chief Teycolique, during his invasion of their territory in 1909, had several Chiriguano with him.

Batiraju said that in former times the Chané brought home the heads of their slain enemies and set them up on the places of the villages during festivals.

Fig. 82. Clay vessel of the Chané. 1/4.
Rio Parapiti.

/173/ Chapter Eleven

From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Everyday Life in the Chané and Chiriguano Huts

As a rule, I felt very comfortable in the huts of the Chané and Chiriguano. The life in these villages is exactly the same. If one describes one village, he has described almost all of them.

Like all the other Indians whom I visited south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, these Indians live in villages. Some of these villages are quite large and inhabited by several hundred persons. Often many villages lie close together. The huts, as a rule, lie around a market place on which tweenop trees are occasionally planted for shelter in the rainy season. The market places serve as playgrounds and meeting places. The huts, in contrast to the round Choroti and Ashluslay huts, are square, and their doors, facing the village, are set in the gable. They are made of cane or wooden slats, with roofs of grass. Not infrequently they are plastered with earth.

/232 cont./

even if it has lain fallow for years. That, fallow land is also inherited.

Otherwise inheritance is considerably curtailed by the fact that the deceased takes part of his treasures along with him into the grave.

As among the Ashluslay and Choroti, the right of ownership is well developed here too, and the women own what they use and make. As among the aforementioned tribes, generosity is very great here too, even though, thanks to our "civilization" and to the mission, it is less conspicuous.

Chiriguano social life -- we are not familiar with the original Chaco social life -- was much more tightly organized than the social life of the Choroti and Ashluslay. The Chiriguano were a conquering people who probably subjugated the Chaco and fought bravely and successfully against the Inca, and also resisted the invasion of the whites for a long time. If, instead of the /233/ many chiefs, there had been but a single one, the conquest of the land of the Chiriguano would quite certainly have cost the lives of twice as many whites as now. Unfortunately, in the battles of the whites against the Indians, there were almost always a few chiefs fighting on the side of the enemy against their own tribes. In the last uprising, decided by the battle at Curuyuqui, the whites had an auxiliary force of a couple of thousand Indians, with whom they fought against the fellow-tribesmen of the latter.

Just as everything changes in the life of the Indians when the whites conquer their land, so also are social relations altered. By the time Vocapoy, Maringay, Mandepora, and a few others are lying in clay vessels under the huts, the end will have come; then the Indians will have no laws other than those of the whites, no authorities other than the latter's administrators. The Chaco on the Rio Parapiti, as was said, no longer have a high chief. Batirayu was offered this position, but he does not wish to be the servant of the whites; he is too proud for that. "It is not as it was in olden times," said Batirayu to the eccentric white man who sought understanding and the confidence of the Indians.

G: Nordenskiöld--148 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 KP10 Chiriguano SF18
Chaco SF8

Ea 177 797

/198 cont./

The Indian, who loves an independent life, but is forced into the dance of civilization, does not want to become a mission child, but chooses this as the lesser evil. In the mission he is under guardian, but not under oppression.

Ca 797

When my friend, the Chaná Indian Beitayu, of whom I have spoken several times here, asked me whether it would not be best to ask the missionaries to come to the Chaná on the Río Paraná, he thought of them as rescuers from the oppression of the white masters.

C 797

When I asked the Chiriguano chief Maringay whether he did not want missionaries to come to his village, the old man became quite indignant and said peevishly: "I have not done anything bad."

Ea 797 177

The greatest importance of the missionaries lies in the fact that they try to protect the Indians from the oppression and the vices of the whites. I have been pleased to see how the missionaries forbid liquor, the accursed liquor, in the mission stations.

Nevertheless, I do not believe in the future of the missions. It seems to me they are condemned to oblivion. To the extent that the Indians are given better treatment by the other whites and receive proper compensation for their work, they will leave the missions and forsake the guardianship of the Franciscan monks.

The missionaries, however, will always have the honor of having tried, at least to some extent, to protect the Indians from the other Christians. They have also earned honor for the studies they have made of the language, manners, and customs of the Indians.

Fear of the Rubber Regions

C 648 466 167

In a previous chapter I spoke of the migration of the Indians to Argentina. In the /199/ northernmost territory of the Chiriguano Indians another emigration is taking place. It differs from the first, among other things, by the fact that it is not voluntary. It concerns the rubber regions in northeastern

C
648
466
[167
864]

/100 cont./

Bolivia. Every Indian who goes to the Argentine sugar factories knows that, if there is no disease, he will return. No one holds him back by force. From the rubber regions, on the other hand, no one ever returns.

Is it true, they say, that there is a giant there who devours human beings? Is it true that people /300/ are ground

Ca
102
291
302
415
854
531

Fig. 132. Chané children. Rio Parapiti.

C
648
466

up into rubber? Is it true that the meat that comes in tin cans is from human beings? These are questions which the Indians asked me.

The Chiriguano Indians, especially from the Caipipendi valley, were lured in a shameless manner to the rubber regions in northern

6: Nordenskiöld--150 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF
Chane SF8

C
648
466

/300 cont./
Bolivia, where they were sold as laborers. Under the guard of armed men, they were brought down the Rio Mamoré by way of Quatro-Ojos.

I shall have a better opportunity, however, to discuss the relations of the Indians to the rubber industry in the book in which I shall report on the studies which I made in the rubber regions themselves and among the Indians located near them (1).

C
[113]

1. Appeared in Swedish under the title Indianer och hvita i nordöstra Bolivia, Stockholm, 1911.

I shall therefore not go into this question in greater detail here.

E
Ec
648
466
465

Compulsory Service for the Whites

The Chiriguano and Chané who work as servants in their own country for the immigrant white race are extraordinarily poorly paid. This is especially true in the remote regions where the higher prices for labor in the Argentine sugar factories, as the result of competition, have not been able to react on wages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti, for example, are seldom paid more than 20 centavos (not quite 35 pfennigs) per day with board. The women earn about half as much. The Indians are paid their wages partly in spirits and sugar, partly in cloth and tools. The cloth is so poor that a shirt made from such material does not last much longer than the time required to earn it. As a result of this system, the Chané and Chiriguano, like their fellow-tribesmen in the rubber regions in northeastern Bolivia, sink into debt slavery.

/301/ It is to be hoped that the large projects initiated by the engineer Herrmann in San Franzisko on the Rio Pilcomayo will improve the Indian wage situation generally. If he will pay better than others, all the Indians will come to him, and the other employers will have to increase their wages.

6 Nordenskiöld--151 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Ec
648
[466]

/301 cont./

Thus, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this

C
415
531

Fig. 133. Clay vessel. - 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

Ec
648

way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

Ec
648
466
465
167
925

/302/ The uncertainty and the oppressive wage conditions under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but forever.

Ec
648
273
177

If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference between drinking maize beer and liquor.

Ee
648
273
177

/302 cont./

An Indian who has become intoxicated on native beverages is never as eager for quarrels and brawls as one who has tasted the infernal soup of the whites. Besides the fact that liquor damages the moral life and health of the Indians, it ruins them completely. I have seen with my own eyes how an Indian can give away his best cow for a keg of spirits.

Distilling for private consumption is still permitted in Bolivia. It should be forbidden, and likewise that anyone may sell alcohol any place he wishes.

Ee
648
177

The Bolivian military law that forces the Indian to perform military duty is quite unreasonable. It is very seldom enforced, to be sure, but when it is, and when the authorities come to get a young man for military service, he himself and all the other Indians of the region along with him are beside themselves with fright. One cannot demand that the Indians take part in the defense of the fatherland before they have the same rights as other citizens and know what their fatherland is.

It is unjust to demand that they should help to defend Bolivia, to defend the whites, who, according to their ideas, have stolen their land from them. The Chiriguano and Chané likewise love their country, but their fatherland is only the valleys and forests in which their fathers made clearings and their mothers painted clay vessels for the festivals.

Ee
[464]

During the period of development which Bolivia is now experiencing, /303/ it is important to make use of Indian labor even here in the land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians.

In spite of their unique culture, I have no great hopes for the future of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians. They will, however, become incorporated as an important element of the mestizo race, which in the future will be the sole rulers of the xerophytic forests of the Parapiti valley and the last spurs of the Andes toward El Gran Chaco.

Gradually they will probably forget their legends about Tatutunpa and Aguaratunpa and the other gods.

The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between these culturally allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against the whites (in 1890), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are still remaining.

The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly gourd plants and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group, the Chiriguano being counted with the Guarani group, whilst the Chané are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija valley.[1] Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which is Guarani. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches of Rio Parapiti.[2] The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means »dirt people» was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word »guano» is the name for the well-known bird manure-found on the coast of Peru and Chile. It seems however unfair indeed that the Chiriguano, who, in contradistinction to the Puna and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal name.

---

[1] de Matienzo (1), p. 150. Nordenskiöld (16).
[2] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 156.

846
[844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other
756 resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which
763 is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead
[775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary
[515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the
[831] Choroti, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a
[171] rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the
[323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike
●648 nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 134.
[2] Nordenskiöld (16).

gave regular battle to the whites. This battle, in which about 5,000 Chiriguano Indians took part, was fought at Curuyqui, on the tableland of Boyuovis. The result of the struggle was long undecided, but the Indians were at length compelled to give way before the superior weapons of the whites. 181 648

According to a Chiriguano legend, man's soul, some time after corporeal death, comes to the abode of the great spirit Tumpà, where it enjoys to the full everything in which it delighted during its earthly existence. But no joy is permanent. When the soul has spent its allotted time with Tumpà, it is obliged to return to the world and there enter into the body of a fox. When the fox dies, the soul moves into a rat, and, when this animal dies, into a branch of an old tree in the forest. The tree ages, withers away and dies and, as the branch decays, the soul, too, gradually perishes. When the branch has finally become mould, the flame of the soul is extinguished for ever. 775

797

Fig. 232. A large wooden cross raised near the Franciscan mission for Chiriguano, at Agusyrenda. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[pp. 226-268 not processed]

175
648

/Since Métraux believes that the Chiriguano are actually descendants of the Guarani, data in this source which have been specifically subheaded for the Guarani file, in regard to culture contacts and foreign relations, may equally apply to the Chiriguano. The researcher is therefore advised to consult text category 116, pp. 6-25 for this additional data./

/3 cont./

Ce 101 or Tapyi /Tapii/, it was not possible from what they said to ascertain with which of the tribes known to ethnology they can be identified. The Chiriguano call themselves "Mbya." If the Izozó were a part of them, they would have called themselves by this name. No doubt they are Chané and that part of the latter which once had their homes in the Izozó River region, taking the name of this river for their own. Their culture, as demonstrated by the objects I collected among them, confirms this opinion. There are some differences between the objects collected among the Izozó and the Chiriguano in Machareti, either with regard to the decorations of the baked clay vessels or with regard to the making of the nets. But in principle it is not possible to decide whether these differences might not be only local differences. In general the culture of the Chiriguano was diffused in this way throughout the tribes successively subjugated by them, which is why it is proper to deal below with the aspects of the culture of the Chiriguano of Machareti together with that of the Izozó.

C [101] Ce 101 17 C 171 172 128 648

C Ce 101 17

Influences on the Culture of the Chiriguano and Izozó, Taken from Historical Data

C Ce [197] At the present time the Chiriguano and Chané form a cultural entity which can be designated as the culture of the Chiriguano, because the Guaraní language of the Chiriguano came to be the common language of the whole group. The Izozó also belong to this ethnic entity. Thus it is necessary to consider this entity /4/ as being formed of completely different tribes. It is also necessary to conceive of their culture as the product of the fusion of very heterogeneous cultural elements. Nordenskiöld deals with this question in one of his books (1)

Ce [113]

1. Erland Nordenskiöld: The changes in the material culture of two Indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative Ethnological Studies, 2. Göteborg, 1920. Cited in the following: Nord. 2.

/6 cont./

174 Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any
175 case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great
167 Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori,
648 since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní,
C after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had
[101] settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after
their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the
Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the
foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out
by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only
a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through
which they had previously passed.

Ce In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique
[173] who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before
[648] García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great
gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call
Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and
destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané
cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the
Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted
to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a
Guaraní foray.

Gi The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above
175 were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with
648 the various native groups of the lands through which they
Gi passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians,
[567] they devastated their camps /toldería/ /7/ and carried off
[727] with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been
killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and
Ce were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as
[648] peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When
[81] the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat
C by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they
Gi
648
175
[567]
[727]

C
G1
175
648
[567]
[727]

/7 cont./

continued defeating the neighboring Indians and especially those of the llanos, and they took off with them many of these as slaves to serve them as auxiliaries in other forays. When Nuflo de Chaves came to the cordillera, the Chiriguano were coming to make war upon the Indians of Poxo or of Misque, but Nuflo de Chaves upset their arrival and made them break off their hostilities with those Indians and the others of the frontier. (10) In 1560 the violent actions of the Chiriguano

10. Moreno II, p. 77.

against the tribes in their vicinity forced the viceroy of Peru to send Captain Andrés Manso to that region in order to found a town there, thus establishing a defense against the incursions of these Indians (11). The report of the Corregidor of Tomina,

11. Moreno II, p. 261.

Don Juan Arce Alvendin, made in 1618, informs us that the Chiriguano at first lived in peace with Andrés Manso, but later counseled the Chané who had been pacified by Manso to rebel against the Spaniards, and they killed Captain Manso and the rest of the Spaniards of the new town. They took over the land, subjecting the Chané and making them serve as slaves. In the statement of Sebastian Perez Chamoso in 1571 (12), the

12. Moreno II, pp. 106-107.

act of violence of the Chiriguano against the Yanacona and Chicha Indians are mentioned, and it is said that they took Chicha Indians as slaves. In the Decree of the Royal Audiencia in which it was resolved that war was to be waged against the Chiriguano in the year 1583, there is mentioned among many other misdeeds of the Chiriguano the fact that they had also usurped and devastated the lands of the Llanos and the Chané Indians (13). By continually enslaving the Indians of the

13. Moreno II, p. 104.

C
Gi
175
648
[567]
[127]

/7 cont./ By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xores, the Mares, and the Yuracares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

Gi
C
Ca
175
648
567

14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

Ee
Gi
175
648
162
567

16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 400 Chiriguano of the province of Machareti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

Ee
Gi
175
648
567

Chane, SF8
Guarani SM4

C
Ce
Gi
175
648
567

/7 cont./
they definitively lost their independence, being left subject to the whites (17). /8/ From this time also the Chané freed

17. Moreno II, pp. 253 and 254.

themselves from the oppression of their old masters, forming their own separate towns in the midst of their former masters (18).

18. Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883. In Moreno II, p. 254.

In addition, the final insurrection of the Chiriguano in the year 1890 was put down by the Bolivians; and for that reason the situation of the Chané was not modified, and so it is that the explorer Erland v. Nordenskiöld found them still under the same conditions (19).

Ce
Gi
[113]

19. Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco (Südamerika /Indian Life. The Gran Chaco (South America)/. Leipzig, 1912, pp. 148 ff. Cited in what follows: Nord 1.

Gi
C
175
648

Having described above the history of Chiriguano relations with the ancient Peruvians and the other Indian tribes, we have yet to deal also with their relations with the whites, that is, with the Spaniards or Bolivians, who little by little occupied their territory. We must stress in the first place the fact that the first whites who came to their territory and to the adjacent llanos were not any novelty to them, since even before their emigration the Chiriguano had met these people in their native land between the upper Paraná River and the Paraguay. Because of the initial attitude of the Guaraní on meeting the conquistadors, it is evident that both parties had the same aim, that of getting rich from the wealth of the rich lands of the west, of which they had heard. In order to attain

C
Gi
175
648

/8 cont./

this common end, the Guaraní had first favored the conquistadors, giving them important information about the rich land and the ways to get there, and placing themselves at their disposal as auxiliaries in war. According to Guzman, the Portuguese Alejo García took with him 2,000 of these Guaraní from the Paraguay on his expedition to Peru, and if Guzman says that that expedition of García's was the cause of the subsequent expedition of the Guaraní to the west and of the emigration of a great number of them to the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, we ought not to reject this opinion, limiting it only in that sense that García's expedition might have been one of the causes of that emigration. When Nuflo de Chaves on his expedition later met the Guaraní of the cacique Vanbaguazu, they received him in a friendly way, oriented him with reference to the rich land and the routes there, and gave him companions for his trip (20).

20. Moreno II, p. 55.

The first of the conquistadors whom the Guaraní met after their emigration to the Cordillera, henceforth called the Chiriguano of the Cordillera, was Captain Domingo de Irala. According to Father Alcaya's report, when Irala arrived in these regions, he sent a Guaraní of his council to make overtures to the Chiriguano Indians, and in what follows the report says literally: "... and many of them came to offer him peace." But in spite of this peace, the Chiriguano did not wish to show him the gold mines and also kept Captain Condori, whom they had captured in their expedition against the Peruvians and whom they now turned over to Captain Irala, as an expert, from finding out anything about the mines (21).

21. Moreno II, p. 92.

Gi
C
175
648

/8 cont./

In 1560 the two conquistadors, Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso, arrived in the Chiriguano region in the Vitupue Province (22). In Gabriel Paniagua de Loayza's letter

22. Moreno II, p. 264.

to the Royal Audiencia in 1584, we learn that the Chiriguano of the Sierra, when Nuflo de Chaves arrived for the first time in their land, were about to make war on the Indians of Poxo or of Misque. As has already been mentioned above, Nuflo de Chaves upset their plans and made them cease hostilities (23).

23. Moreno II, p. 77.

Through the division of territories that took place later between Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso, the former received the /9/ northern territories and the latter the southern ones. While Nuflo de Chaves had to deal principally with the Guaraní Itatines, later called Itatines-Guarayú, who had emigrated into those regions located more to the north and who in a little while killed the valiant conquistador, it was from the beginning Andrés Manso's mission to arrange relationships with the Chiriguano of the Sierra and to put an end to their violent acts. At first Manso managed to enter into peaceful relations with most of the Chiriguano and to put them in service as vassals; but it seems that they were involved from the very beginning in the differences that existed between Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso. A document of 1501, the "Testimonio del Escribano Francisco Gallego /Testimony of the Clerk Francisco Gallego/" (24), gives interesting comments

24. Moreno II, pp. 273 and 274.

upon this matter. He says that in 1560 a Chiriguano Indian came as a delegate of the cacique Bitupue and other caciques to Nuflo de Chaves to complain about Andrés Manso's conduct and at the same time to ask him what they should do. While

8: Schmidt--19 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

C
Gi
175
648

/9 cont./ While Nuflo de Chaves, as has been mentioned, had prohibited the Chiriguano from continuing their acts of violence upon the other Indians, a short time later Manso made them join up to go to war against the Indians of the llanos. The Chiriguano, having learned of Captain Manso's intentions, all returned to their old ways. Manso again called them to go to war against the llanos Indians, and he took with him several Chiriguano caciques. When it seemed to him that they were taking him along a wrong path, he killed a Chiriguano Indian and ordered another one's hand cut off. He also killed a messenger of the cacique Botipue. We learn from this letter that the hostility which shortly thereafter broke out in the peaceful relations between the Chiriguano and Andrés Manso, and which cost considerable effort, expense, and sacrifice to the Spaniards and later to the Bolivians, was motivated, at least in great part, by the violent acts of the first whites who had relations with these Indians. This guilt of the Spaniards in the continual hostilities with the Chiriguano was frankly admitted by the Maestro General of the Province, Don Salvador Pasit, in the year 1778 (25).

25. Moreno II, p. 241.

He sent an order to all the soldiers that they suspend their activities against the Chiriguano, stating that the attitude of the Chiriguano was provoked by the introduction of the Spaniards into their lands, in which they had established estancias and herds. The beginning of the hostilities between the Spaniards and the Chiriguano was due to the latter, who suddenly attacked the town of Condorillo, or Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded by Andrés Manso, and killed the latter, together with all the other Spaniards, and burned the town (26).

26. Moreno II, p. 281.

C
G1
175
648

/9 cont./
The same fate befell the town of Barranca founded by Nuflo de Chaves and Captain Miguel Martin, and their men in the town of Lagunilla. Moreover, nine of Nuflo de Chaves' men, as well as Captain Pedro de Castro, who had been charged with rebuilding the destroyed town of Santo Domingo de Nueva Rioja, were killed (27). The attacks and robberies of the Chiriguano

27. Moreno II, p. 114.

against the Spanish settlers were so frequent and continual at the end of the 16th century that they were in constant danger, and communications between the several larger towns were quite difficult (28). The various Chiriguano factions had

28. Moreno II, pp. 102-104, 106, and 107.

divided among themselves the land where they were to make the attacks (29). The expedition of the Viceroy Don Francisco

29. Moreno II, p. 120.

de Toledo, with many people and much equipment and at great expense, had no success whatsoever (30). The Chiriguano

30. Moreno II, p. 114.

continued robbing and attacking. From time to time occasional expeditions were sent to punish them, which, in passing, burned a few rancherias and maize fields /10/ and killed some of them (31), but they never had a decisive success, and this

31. Moreno II, pp. 116-118.

situation still continued for two centuries in an almost unchanging form (32). But despite these hostilities, there were

32. Moreno II, p. 273.

8: Schmidt--21 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

C
Gi
175
648

/10 cont./
some relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards from the earliest times. According to the Relación de la Annua de la Compañía de Jesús /Annual Report of the Company of Jesus/ for the year 1596, there had been obtained from Potosí and the Charcas many ways and means for bringing them toward peace, considering the very little hope of pacifying them by arms (33) and, according to the same report,

33. Moreno II, p. 102 /the first figure of this page number is missing in the original text and has been supplied here on the basis of a previous citation./

already at that time some Spaniards were going in and out of there to deal with them, and also the Chiriguano were coming both to Potosí and to the Charcas for the same purpose. In addition, Techo, who wrote his Historia de la Provincia del Paraguay in the second half of the 17th century, relates that the Chiriguano sold their prisoners of war to the Spaniards. "They lost no opportunity to devote themselves to this business; they competed with the Spaniards themselves" (34).

34. Moreno II, p. 237.

According to a communication from Escribano Mosquera in 1573 (35), there were already some Spaniards living among the

35. Certification of Escribano Mosquera. According to Moreno II, p. 115.

Chiriguano at that time. This gentleman had heard of two Spaniards and a mestizo among them, who were probably prisoners of war.

C
Gi
175
648
797

/10 cont./

At the end of the 18th century relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards modified to the point that from this time on the mission managed to propagate the faith somewhat more among the Chiriguano. In 1779 the Intendente of Cochabama, Don Tomás Leso, after a bitter struggle, defeated the Saypuru faction, which was the one most feared. Later the reduction of Florida was formed on the western shore of the Guapay, with some hundreds of families who had not assisted the Saypurú faction and so, fearing their vengeance, followed the Spaniards (36). Several years later a few other

36. Moreno II, p. 244.

missions were founded by the Franciscans, together with the fort at Saypurú, as a defense for the missions. But by 1799 the Chiriguano had attacked six of these missions, devastating them completely (37). A strong campaign against the

37. Moreno II, p. 245.

Chiriguano, directed by Intendente Viedma in person, had not had any success at all, the army of 2,000 men having turned back when their officers were killed by the enemy. In spite of this the missionaries repaired the destroyed reductions (38).

38. Moreno II, p. 246.

According to the notes of Father Antonio Comajuncosa (39),

39. Moreno II, pp. 246 and 247. A historical manifesto of what the missionaries of Tarija have wrought.

there already existed in the year 1810, 18 missions among the Chiriguano in the southern zone of the Pilcomayo River. Through the influence of the missions and through both violent

G1
E
175
648

/10 cont./ Through the influence of the missions and through both violent and peaceful means of the Spaniards and, later, by the Bolivians, conterminous with the Chiriguano, little by little most of the Chiriguano came over to their side, so that the power of the Chiriguano tribe, in another time so strong and invincible, was weakened (40). Thus it happened that in

C
Gi
[113]

40. José Cardúz: Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia /The Franciscan Missions among the Infidels of Bolivia/. Barcelona, 1886. From Moreno II, pp. 248 and 249.

1875 the inhabitants of the neighboring provinces were able to give a final blow to the last segments of independent Chiriguano, subjugating them completely and obliging the defeated factions who refused to submit to disperse into other lands, some of them taking refuge in the Chaco among the Toba and Tapieté (40) /see footnote 40 above/. Nevertheless, this was not the final fight between the Chiriguano and the whites, as Cardúz supposed in 1885. A part of the Chiriguano in 1890 attempted one last rebellion against the Bolivians. About 5,000 Indians gathered on the Boynove plain near Curuyuqui, fought for a whole day against the Bolivians, who were assisted by some thousand Indians of the same tribe. At nightfall the heated battle had not yet been decided, but in the /11/ night the Indians lost their spirit in the face of the superiority of modern arms and left their trenches (41). Also,

41. Nord. 1, p. 168.

after this defeat one of the caciques, named Cayahari, preferred to take flight rather than surrender to the Bolivians. They say that he settled in the area of a large lake far from the whites (42).

42. Nord. 1, p. 161.

/12 cont./

000 I.C. 246. Izozó cacique with his family. Near Toledo. (Fig. 12.)
I.C. 349. Izozó man with tembetá /labret/. Near Toledo. (Fig. 27.)
I.C. 251. Izozó in Toledo with soldiers and the author. (Fig. 2.)
I.C. 330. Izozó men. Near Toledo. (Fig. 9.)

C 144 648 Ce 648

From the preceding historical sketch it can be seen that the ethnic entity "Chiriguano-Chané," with regard to its physical characteristics, is made up of an ethnic mixture of absolutely heterogeneous elements. We have told how the Chiriguano for centuries captured many prisoners, incorporating them into their community, and how at the end of the 16th century the number of Chané incorporated among them was much larger than that of the pure Guaraní-Chiriguano. Although the Chané, belonging to the linguistic group of the Aruacos /Arawak/, were a peaceful nation and were not equal in strength to the pure Chiriguano, their culture, which for a long time was in contact with that of the ancient Peruvians, was doubtless superior to that of their oppressors, and the Chané women surely had considerable influence on their masters. Since the two population elements lived together for three and a half centuries, we must suppose that they would have mixed extensively.

S 142 175

Unfortunately, the ancient documents say very little about the physical qualities of the Chiriguano. The only brief note on this subject that I know of is found in the "Descripción y población de las Indias" by Bishop Lizarraga (44): "They are

44. Moreno II. p. 101.

C [302] Ee 144 175

comely, robust, with broad-shouldered, high chests, well built, dark. They pluck their eyebrows and eyelashes; the eyes are small and lively." According to Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883, that is, a short time after the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites and the Chané began to become emancipated from their oppressors, forming their own towns, somatic differences between the

/38 cont./

Because the ancient Peruvians raised various breeds of dogs, we can assume that the Chiriguano received the dog as a domestic animal from the ancient Peruvians. We can assume the same with regard to the duck, which was also raised by the ancient Peruvians. Therefore I do not include the duck among the domestic animals that these Indians received from the whites, as Nordenskiöld does. We do not know whether the Chiriguano in times past might have raised the llama. From the fact that guanacos exist in the territory located between the Parapití and the Rio Grande, we can deduce that the raising of that other species of Euchenia might have been possible in that country.

The Chiriguano very early received such European domestic animals as the horse, the ass, the cow, sheep, goats, hogs, and chickens, which they captured in great quantities in their continual raids on the Spanish settlers.[181] In 16th century documents there are repeated complaints about the extensive stealing of livestock by these Indians. Today the Chiriguano and Chané do not have many horses, and they have never had the /39/ pronounced character of a nation of horsemen. The true weapons of war were formerly a long bow and arrows which were also long, which cannot be used by a mounted horseman, in addition to which their homes were formerly in the hills in regions which the Spaniards could not enter on horseback. In certain parts of their territory the raising of cattle has some importance (181). More general is the raising of sheep, pigs,

181. See Métraux I, p. 340.

and chickens. Today one sometimes also finds among them guinea hens and turkeys (182).

182. Nord. 1, p. 137.

/44 cont./

Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

195 316 648 [167]

Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Maypurún, and we know that the Chiriguano possessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spurs of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

301 177 439

316

Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own

213. Nord. 1, p. 209.

statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

263 317 [439]

While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water

/82 cont./

Ee 531 Figure 33b, which corresponds, as does also the form of this flute, completely to ancient Peruvian models. Also, the surface of the Chiriguano cane flute I. A. 494 (cf. Fig. 34a /see p. 89/) shows some incisings.

One of the tattooed decorations is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld, who found it on a woman's arm (310).

310. Nord. 1, Fig. 108.

Social Conditions among the Chiriguano and Chané

C Ce 114 With regard to the social conditions among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I am unable to add to the few data which we know on this subject because the situations in which I found myself when with these Indians were not appropriate for such investigations.

Ce 115 122 126 /83/ Among the Izozó whom I found in Toledo there were some who were designated as cacique. To one of these, who spoke Spanish perfectly, I owe the vocabulary of the Izozó language which I wrote down. I met the Chiriguano only in C 114 197 622 Machareti, where they had lived for a long time under the supervision of the missionaries and, at the time of my trip, under the chieftainship of one of their own fellows who exercised the functions of a commissioner /comisario/. Two other Chiriguano Indians whom I met in Machareti were identified as caciques.

Ee 129 In order to complete my statements about the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I must make a resumé of what we know from the literature regarding the social conditions of those Indians, referring to Moreno's statements, which are based on old documents, as well as those of v. Nordenskiöld, which are based upon his own investigations.

Ee 178 648 643 000 Naturally, many of the old Chiriguano and Chané social institutions have been lost since they lost their independence from the whites. Also, the power of the great caciques has diminished appreciably since they have been dependent on the whites. When Nordenskiöld

/84 cont./

631 [643] Also for the parcialidad of Chiquiacá besides its great cacique, Chiquiacá or Chiacá, 14 other caciques are mentioned, but it cannot be determined from these statements whether these are the names of successive caciques or of contemporaneous ones.

C 175 648 631 We have interesting data from the 16th century on the way in which the individual Chiriguano communities distributed among themselves the different countries in which they were making their depredations. In the "Confesión de Blas Negro," it is said "that to those of the province of caypuru fell the part of tomina, and those of coyagua to the churumatas, and those of tendi as far as misque and tiraque, and those of aguapea up to this road from poxo and santa cruz" (316).

316. Moreno, II, p. 120.

C Ca 175 648 In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have already mentioned that the Chané, and also other tribes as well, were subjugated by the Chiriguano and incorporated as subjects into their communities. The Chané communities which had originally been in Chiriguano territory or its environs had been exterminated, until at the end of the 19th century, when the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites, the Chané were emancipated from their oppressors and once more inhabited their separate towns governed by their own great caciques. We have an interesting item in the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" through which we know that the Chané in times past, before being subjugated by the Chiriguano, had a strong social organization and powerful great caciques. In Puerto de Reyes, Alvar Nuñez met a Chané cacique who had previously accompanied García on his return from Peru and later, after the murder of García by the Guaraní, had fled from them. Among other things this cacique declared "that in his land those of his race have a single headman who orders all and who is obeyed by all, and that there are many towns of many peoples of those of his race" (317). The subjugated Chané were distributed among

C [928] [648] Ca 175 643 000

317. Moreno II, p. 30.

C
Ce /84 cont./ The subjugated Chané were distributed among
175 the various social communities of the Chiriguano as subjects or
648 slaves. In the "Relación del Corregidor de Tomino Don Juan
162 Arce de Alvedia" in the year 1618, it is said that in the Province
[567] of Machareti, "which is Pilcomayo and its environs," there lived scarcely 400 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 5,000 Chané "to one 200, to another 100, to another 60, and in this way up to said number." In the Province of Charaguay 4,000 Chané were distributed in the same manner to the 350 Chiriguano of this province, and upwards of 1,000 Chané to the 200 Chiriguano of the Province of Guapay. As in other documents, in this one as well, there is mentioned the ill treatment which these subjects had to suffer from the Chiriguano and the hate which they had toward their oppressors (318). The Chiriguano

C
Ce
175
648
567

C
Ce
[186]

318. Moreno II, pp. 250 and 104.

scornfully called the Chané "tapií," while they themselves were called /85/ by the latter "cheya," that is, "my master" (319).

319. Moreno II, p. 254.

C
175 Although most of these subjects or slaves were made up of Chané,
648 there were also among them other Indians who had been subjugated
567 in the expeditions, for example, Chicha Indians (320), and among

Ce
[567]
[648]

320. Moreno II, p. 207.

the Chiriguano of Tendi also Guatuco Indians (321). According

321. Moreno II, p. 117.

to Techo (322), whose report was written in the second half of

322. According to Moreno II, pp. 236 and 237.

the 17th century, the Chiriguano customarily sold some of their slaves to the Spaniards.

/85 cont./

●648 175 Outside of those subjects incorporated directly into the Chiriguano communities, several tribes of Indians subjugated by the Chiriguano were their tributaries, that is, the tributaries of their individual parcialidades. These tribes had to pay fixed tributes and to lend services as allies in war (323). Such tribu-

323. Moreno II, pp. 121 and 125, 117.

taries of the Chiriguano of the province of Yvytupue were the Tamacocies, the Xores, and the Yurucarés. In the "Carta /letter/ from Don Lorenzo de Figueroa" of the year 1584 it says that the Tamacocies and Xores and Yurucarés had not assisted the Chiriguano of the parcialidad of Vitupue, seeing that they might be defeated by the Spaniards. From this report it can be surmised that as tributaries, they might have been obligated to aid their masters. From the "Confesión del Blas negro," who had lived for a long time as a prisoner among the Chiriguano, we learn what made up the tributes that the three tributary tribes had to pay to the parcialidad of Ybytupue (324). "They

324. Moreno II, pp. 121 and 125.

pay tribute in this way, the Xores poisonous herbs for their arrows, and the Tamacozies, Indian men and women, bows and arrows, and fish and game and macaws, and the Yurucares give them coconuts and turkey feathers and chonta palm for making arrows." Moreover the same source says that the Chiriguano of Tendi and Aparo, Aguapea, and Caripui had contracted with the Chuis-Indians of the town of Mísque to provide them "with powdered saltpeter, stone, sulfur, axes, crowns /coronas/, chipanos, scissors, knives, and other things" (325).

325. Moreno II, p. 121.

/86 cont./

C 178 565 648 Ce [178] [648] [643] The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

C 565 554 643 511 433 any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

C 184 433 462 178 [643] [461] [476] [464]

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 462 Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

C [562]

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

726 /88 cont./
712 King was (354). Their towns, described in the preceding, were

354. Moreno II, p. 87.

175 fortified by blockades, in addition to their natural position. Ruiz
212 Diaz de Guzman on his expedition against the Chiriguano found
248 a town near the Pilcomayo which was fortified by two concentric blockades of stone and wood (355). We find interesting data

355. Moreno II, p. 252.

about the fortifications that the Chiriguano made during their wars in the "Relación y breve noticia de lo sucedido en la guerra de Chiriguanos que se ha hecho este año de 1729 por orden /89/ del señor Virrey y Real Audiencia de Chuquisaca por el Padre Bartholomé de Mora /Report and brief note on what happened in the Chiriguano war that took place in this year of 1729 by order of the Lord Viceroy and Royal Audiencia of Chuquisaca by Father Bartolomé de Mora/" (356). These fortifications are described

[113]

356. Unpublished /inedito/ manuscript published /publicado/ by Professor A. Posnansky with an introduction and notes by Dr. A. Métraux. (Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad de Tucuman, Vol. II, No. I, p. 126.)

in the following way: "Continuing on their way (the Spaniards and Chiquitos), now by the light of day, at about a league they found blocking the way a very strong and well placed trench with very heavy stakes stuck in the ground, which, hewn like planks, had loopholes through which they shot arrows. Here considerable resistance was met, because the trench was very well fortified and the Indians who defended it were numerous." In another place it says: "They went on, all now being together, and they arrived at the place where the enemies had fortified themselves.... The fort was a ravine cut like a wall, which had

C 175 712 648 /89 cont./

only one way up, very narrow and steep, which, sown with thorny branches, made it more impenetrable. On the eminence of which they had entrenched the gate with stakes stuck into the ground."

C Ce 178 648 721 Today the Chiriguano and Chané no longer make war upon other Indians, aside from the fact that the Chané on the Parapití occasionally go on expeditions against the Tsirakua Indians (357).

357. Nord. 1, p. 171.

Law

C Ce 671 177 178 Because the white authorities intervene more and more in the original, juridical traditions of the Chiriguano and Chané, many of them no longer exist today and also, from the few data which Nordenskiöld gives regarding this matter as of 30 years ago, many do not now correspond to the facts.

Ce 627 With regard to penal law, we find among these Indians a mixture between the principle of the "vendetta" and the practice of penal law. Among the Chané on the Parapití, most crimes, Ce [685] and robbery in particular, were settled by means of the duel. In the case of theft, the one who has stolen and the one who has been robbed appear, each with his relatives, in the town square Ce 697 642 68 to fight each other. Only homicide, the seduction of a woman, and sorcery were decided by the great cacique as judge. Homicide, which formerly occurred among the Chané in the form of poisoning with poisoned chicha ("bád dyási"), and sorcery were punished by the burning of the criminal. The seducer of a woman lost his property (358). According to statements of the substitute great

358. Nord. 1, p. 232.

cacique of the Chané on the Itiyuru, it was the principal obligation of the cacique to avoid the vendetta by sending criminals to another region so that they would not be killed. Thus thieves, after having received 50 lashes, were sent to another town. A murderer was condemned to work up to half a year for the family

/162 cont./

Abuse of Authority

622
661
643

The Indians who today live under the paternal rule of the missionaries state that formerly caciques committed thousands of abuses; speaking of caciques still alive, they said that they abused everything that belonged to the poor and defenseless Indians, made use of maidens and women of others took possession of horses, cows, sheep, goats, and rags or clothing of their subordinates under any pretext, and in certain cases, as absolute mandatory, life was not safe either.

682

In verification of the last, I am going to relate the following: Before the reorganization of the missions of San Antonio and San Francisco del Parapiti Grande, an Indian strangled his own son and half buried him in the sand near the bank with the aim that any sizable rise would soon carry him off, but before this could happen the deed was discovered, not by betrayal by his wife, whom he had threatened to kill, but by the wheeling about of vultures which were beginning to strip the already decomposing flesh (2).

[643]

2. The murderer of his own son belonged to the upper town and was hanged in public in the lower town where the regional cacique, who was the authority of the presumed Parapiti Canton, resided.

692
643
682
[648]

When the regional cacique had been advised, inquiries were undertaken in order to speak to the evil-doer, and it was not difficult to find him because he was a well-known Indian. Taken into custody and brought before the authority, he confessed his crime. In order to prevent another greater crime the canton authority attempted to intervene, but the regional cacique made it clear to him that justice would be administered in an exemplary fashion by him and that the corregidor, whose subalterns were the whites, should not involve himself in the matter at all.

/164 cont./

622 643 648 566 46 Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large number of Indians, like Tarúire, derives great benefits from his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income is regular, because generally the caray who makes a request for peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future; interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62 595 It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques; even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

[797] 3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques; some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 [555] [556] /165/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661] 1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

/165 cont./

622 661 may be considered the scourge of the tribe, and, as an absolute ruler, he takes from the belongings of his soldiers whatever he wants for himself and for the guests who visit him.

622 562 Very rarely does a woman take command and control of the tribe; this can happen if the cacique who dies leaves only women as heirs, but only with great difficulty does the Chiriguano allow himself to be ruled by a woman; the other tribes would laugh at them and would treat them like women; Salic law is in force among the Chiriguano (2).

2. Nevertheless, there are cases when the law of the Salians has been suspended among the Chiriguano. The woman Iguandúsai governed in Ivu, Parapoti in Aquío, and a certain Arabúsai is mentioned by del Campano.

643

The Regional Cacique

In addition to the cacique, whom the people of a tribe distinguish with the name of Mburubicha, great one, there is another, higher authority whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great one of the great ones, or cacique of the caciques. The great cacique resides in a larger tribe and leads it directly like the other caciques, having alcaldes and counselors.

643 622 The great cacique intervenes and is consulted with regard to the succession of the subaltern caciques; for this reason the sons of the latter always accompany their fathers on the visits they make and try to get the great cacique to like them, in order to succeed their fathers in power, but if the tribe does not want him and furthermore his faults are so notorious and serious as to eliminate him from the honor, the regional cacique very tactfully makes him understand this, adding that by reforming his life he could be chosen again on a day not far off.

/166 cont./

643 [631] Indians wanted it (2).

2. The regional cacique Tengua died in 1900, Machirope in 1905, and the others who have been named in the middle of the nineteenth century, except Chiturí. Baringai of Igüembe is considered a regional cacique without being one; he is the oldest known Indian, at least among the caciques.

Today only one of the former regional caciques is still living. This is Mandepónai, who must be about 84 years old, a very robust and obese Indian with a constitution of iron. His authority extends throughout the Gran Chaca. He is respected and obeyed up to a certain point by the Toba, Mataco, and Choroti, and other known races; he is very well received in the other regions through which he passes, and his authority is not contradicted elsewhere, but is not respected either, /167/ because at the present time the Chiriguano element too has almost radically changed its political system; today it is the political authority which rules, and the cacique is a humble servant of any caray who comes to him asking for peons.

643 797 648 669 662 The Machareti Mission exists through his efforts, and he has always been faithful to the missionaries. In the Curuyuqui War, the Tunpa tried to get Mandepónai to use his influence to make the Toba and Chiriguano of his region revolt, as Tengua did, but the great cacique was not to be moved; instead he and his people went over to the side of the Santa Rosa Mission and the white Christians who had taken refuge in it.

At that time some whites, perhaps because of their hate for the missionaries of Machareti, tried to implicate Mandepónai as an accomplice of the Tunpa, but this calumny was belied by his praiseworthy procedure. He gave warning of the day on which the rebels were to burn the mission, went personally with his soldiers to Santa Rosa on January 27, before the final battle, and there confronted Tengua, accusing him of treason to the whites. His loyalty to the missionaries is to his glory,

/167 cont./

643 and when he addresses his people he does not fail to remind them
648 that if they enjoy peace they owe it to him, for he consented
669 to the founding of their mission; more or less the same thing
797 is said by other caciques or their successors, through whose in-
662 fluence the missions have been founded (1).

1. When the slander against Mandepónai was believed, the delegate Chavarría went to Machareti with all his forces to punish the cacique, but nothing came of it because it all turned out to be false.

/168/ Chapter Six

000 Towns, Houses, and Work

Introduction

The glacial period and horrible icy places with their new flora and fauna in the dawn of the Quaternary era, a mysterious period for certain modern unbelievers, holds no mystery whatsoever for true believers, who see in it, or in its sudden appearance, a punishment for the disobedience of the first man. Adam sins, and the land, until then so beautiful and fecund, is covered with snows and ice, with brambles and briars; before his sin, no shelter was needed, but, as a result of rebellion against the Creator, he was laden with needs. /The remainder of the introduction on pp. 168-169 is omitted. The following illustration appears opposite p. 169. The remainder of p. 169 follows./

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 175 797 648 In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purísima Concepción de Pilipilí. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Río Grande): Abapo, Mazabi, Cabezas, Piray, Igmiri, Tacurú, Iti, Parapetí, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuaremboti, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1799. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapetí River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapetí. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

C 668 648 175

C 797 464 167 648 101 In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

C 162 175 The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapetí River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Acero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izozo, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were captured and 3,187 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

C 161

ARCHEOLOGY

C 172 764 Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapetí River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupayu. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

C 172 At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

/166 cont./
643 [631] Indians wanted it (2).

> 2. The regional cacique Tengua died in 1900, Machirope in 1905, and the others who have been named in the middle of the nineteenth century, except Chiturí. Baringai of Igüembe is considered a regional cacique without being one: he is the oldest known Indian, at least among the caciques.

Today only one of the former regional caciques is still living. This is Mandepónai, who must be about 84 years old, a very robust and obese Indian with a constitution of iron. His authority extends throughout the Gran Chaca. He is respected and obeyed up to a certain point by the Toba, Mataco, and Choroti, and other known races; he is very well received in the other regions through which he passes, and his authority is not contradicted elsewhere, but is not respected either, /167/ because at the present time the Chiriguano element too has almost radically changed its political system: today it is the political authority which rules, and the cacique is a humble servant of any caray who comes to him asking for peons.

643 797 648 669 662 The Machareti Mission exists through his efforts, and he has always been faithful to the missionaries. In the Curuyuqui War, the Tunpa tried to get Mandepónai to use his influence to make the Toba and Chiriguano of his region revolt, as Tengua did, but the great cacique was not to be moved: instead he and his people went over to the side of the Santa Rosa Mission and the white Christians who had taken refuge in it.

At that time some whites, perhaps because of their hate for the missionaries of Machareti, tried to implicate Mandepónai as an accomplice of the Tunpa, but this calumny was belied by his praiseworthy procedure. He gave warning of the day on which the rebels were to burn the mission, went personally with his soldiers to Santa Rosa on January 27, before the final battle, and there confronted Tengua, accusing him of treason to the whites. His loyalty to the missionaries is to his glory.

4: Nino--229 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/167 cont./

643 and when he addresses his people he does not fail to remind them
648 that if they enjoy peace they owe it to him, for he consented
629 to the founding of their missions; more or less the same thing
797 is said by other caciques or their successors, through whose in-
662 fluence the missions have been founded (1).

1. When the slander against Mandepónai was believed, the delegate Chavarría went to Machareti with all his forces to punish the cacique, but nothing came of it because it all turned out to be false.

/168/

Chapter Six

880

Towns, Houses, and Work

Introduction

The glacial period and horrible icy places with their new flora and fauna in the dawn of the Quaternary era, a mysterious period for certain modern unbelievers, holds no mystery whatsoever for true believers, who see in it, or in its sudden appearance, a punishment for the disobedience of the first man. Adam sins, and the land, until then so beautiful and fecund, is covered with snows and ice, with brambles and briars: before his sin, no shelter was needed, but, as a result of rebellion against the Creator, he was laden with needs. /The remainder of the introduction on pp. 168-169 is omitted. The following illustration appears opposite p. 169. The remainder of p. 169 follows./

/163/

643 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the
682 cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following
692 his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with another piece of wood set between them. He called together all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was
[671] immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his region, so that the life of the defenseless and the good may be respected and that he may be feared (1).

622 1. When a sorcerer does not manage to ac-
643 complish what he has promised, because he
756 perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's
686 prerogative to order the death sentence and
692 burning.

Separation from Command

622
631 The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the
643 abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared them free from such obedience, naming another more humane person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it.
648 This has become easier today by agreement with the political
466 authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that
464 when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named
622 by the political authority, he is sure to be subject to all the
643 demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the latter, who do not like the yoke or the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

C 175 712 648 /89 cont./

only one way up, very narrow and steep, which, sown with thorny branches, made it more impenetrable. On the eminence of which they had entrenched the gate with stakes stuck into the ground."

Ce 178 648 721 Today the Chiriguano and Chané no longer make war upon other Indians, aside from the fact that the Chané on the Parapití occasionally go on expeditions against the Tsirakua Indians (357).

357. Nord. 1, p. 171.

Law

Ce 671 170 178 Because the white authorities intervene more and more in the original, juridical traditions of the Chiriguano and Chané, many of them no longer exist today and also, from the few data which Nordenskiöld gives regarding this matter as of 30 years ago, many do not now correspond to the facts.

Ce 627 With regard to penal law, we find among these Indians a mixture between the principle of the "vendetta" and the practice of penal law. Among the Chané on the Parapití, most crimes, and robbery in particular, were settled by means of the duel. Ce [685] In the case of theft, the one who has stolen and the one who has been robbed appear, each with his relatives, in the town square to fight each other. Only homicide, the seduction of a woman, Ce 697 643 68 and sorcery were decided by the great cacique as judge. Homicide, which formerly occurred among the Chané in the form of poisoning with poisoned chicha ("bád dyási"), and sorcery were punished by the burning of the criminal. The seducer of a woman lost his property (358). According to statements of the substitute great

358. Nord. 1, p. 232.

cacique of the Chané on the Itiyuru, it was the principal obligation of the cacique to avoid the vendetta by sending criminals to another region so that they would not be killed. Thus thieves, after having received 50 lashes, were sent to another town. A murderer was condemned to work up to half a year for the family

648 /115 cont./
178 obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

157 Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, incon-
181 stancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even
[847] suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They
[762] only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome
[461] by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family.
[186] But if near the carai /sic; see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

[533] They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of
[273] their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and
[178] cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not com-
[674] mon formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

[648] 1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge
[685] great secrecy so that the authorities will not
[754] make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/118 cont./

797 These facts cannot be denied, because they are based
[786] on the experience of centuries. Unfortunately, they do
[883] occur, and it is very difficult to uproot them. There is no lack of repentance or lack of punishment, admonitions, and fears, but civilizing action is not enough for this, nor even often the Gospel, because: animalis homo non percipit quae Dei sunt. We can say that the action of the missionary is one of yesterday among the Chiriguano. The Christians or neophytes have changed much in relation to the infidels throughout the region, but a great deal more is still lacking for them to come to understand the strength of Religion and civilization, since, naturally, abandoned humanity gives free rein to passions and it is indeed difficult to contain it afterwards in a short time (1).

1. The infidels of the missions complain about the neophytes, but they do not understand that times have changed, and the race as well. Murders are committed in other places, but this does not happen in the missions.

[674]

847 Sister to the sterility which the coquettish girls manage to procure is abortion. There is no woman who does not know the thousand ways for procuring this, always provided that they have not obtained or resorted to remedies for
847 sterilizing themselves at puberty. In general it is those girls
586 who have been betrayed by their lovers or abandoned by
836 those who have sworn fidelity to them throughout their
848 lives who come to this excess of killing innocent babies. For this reason they not only hate the perpetrator, but also his fruit in their bellies, and thus they make an effort to get rid of the innocent one by plucking it dead from their breast.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1819 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

Ce 539 831

/223 cont./

In the evening the fox asked the sister of the wood fowl: "Where do you want to lie?" "Here," she said.

"Then I shall lie down beside you," said the fox. A little farther away the wood fowl lay down. When the sister had fallen asleep, the fox stretched out his hand and took hold of the wood fowl. The latter came and lay down beside the fox.

"Are you married?" said the wood fowl.

/224/ "No, my mama did not want to marry me off," answered the fox... (1)

1. Omitted as being too realistic.

The fox now slept two nights with the wood fowl and became pregnant. After a time the fox gave birth.

One day several birds came by there. "Give me a bow and arrow, I want to shoot," said the fox. "You cannot shoot, after all you are not a man," said the wood fowl.

"I am a man," said the fox; he took a bow and arrow and departed. When he came to the "supua," he took down his penis and put it on again.

Ce 838 [735] Ce [838] Ce [762]

I was told about a Chané Indian from Yacundai on the Rio Parapiti who was in the habit of wandering about in strange villages as a sponger. The Indians finally got tired of him, and once when he was completely drunk several Chiriguano Indians in the Caipipendi valley abused him. After this insult he betook himself to the lower Rio Parapiti. When news of what had happened to him in Caipipendi reached there, he hung himself in despair over this disgrace.

Ce 838 Ce [681] [762] [684]

Strangely enough, it is not regarded as a disgrace among these Indians to be the active one in a homosexual relationship, but the passive one is deeply despised. He is regarded as a woman. This is the reason why some inconsiderate whites punish incorrigible Indians with -- an enema. An Indian thus mortified disappears forever. It is assumed that he commits suicide. An Indian punishes his unfaithful wife by means of "tẽvi" and then leaves her. I saw Chané boys playing "tẽvi."

/151 cont./

755 Men sorcerers use in their cures, in addition to the cigar, the
756 tupicho. But what the tupicho consists of is difficult to determine. There are sorcerers who use for it a little round stone with some designs on it; according to what I saw in the San Pascual Mission, others use a long bone likewise bearing designs, and, as I saw in Caipipendi and other places, others make do with words alone. The value of the tupicho is not known, but the Indians have much fear of it. I could tell stories about this.

Sorceress Curers

756 There is no doubt about the existence of female curers and sorcereresses, who, like the men, are feared in the tribe, because it is easier for them to administer some slow or violent poison in drinks. They are designated by the name Cuña ipaye, sorceress (2).

> 2. I know several women who are curers and sorceresses at the same time; at least they are considered as such by the Indians of the tribe.

Generally these women are the daughters of sorcerers, but this does not prevent others from being one also. They cure sick men or women with wild herbs, tree bark, and roots which they dig out of the ground. They are in this case true curers, as are certain women among the whites.

756 There are others, and plenty of them; it can be said that
844 every old mother is one for her young daughters. They serve
759 as midwives; they help their daughters and other women in their deliveries. Some of them are so skilled that they are accepted by the women whom the Indians call ladies. During the time when I was living among the Chiriguano, I saw only three die in childbirth.

756 The only thing which is deplorable among these curers is the
278 use of Mbayachi, a poison that they administer with much dissimula-
●682 tion, mixing it with chicha and giving it to persons whom they hate, immediately washing or hiding the gourd, glass, or cup in which they administered it to the patient.

/151 cont./

756 278 682 Mbayachi works quite slowly because in general /152/ the sorceress who administers it is careful to infuse in the drink a small quantity so as to avoid its being discovered by the relatives, but if the hated person has none, or the ones he has are very distant in degree or are of little worth, she gives him a strong dose which dispatches him to eternity in a few hours.

The patient who has had the misfortune to drink the poison begins to feel the effect at once: stomach pains, retching, and other known effects. The poison is consumed little by little, and he remains in this state for two or three years, leading a most painful existence, which is shared by the members of the family in their sadness, as they experience all of the burden of the long illness.

Mbayachi is nothing but a poison, and inasmuch as it can be administered among civilized peoples, there is no reason whatsoever to deny that savages can administer it, since they do not fear human or divine laws, take vengeance as a holy thing, and are only with great difficulty discovered (1).

[627] [628] 1. The Indian is not content until he has taken revenge on his enemy; when he achieves it, he says: ayepi ma hese, I have avenged myself on him.

Way to Obtain the Poison

756 278 The way to provide oneself with poison is as follows, according to what Guarerai says: The sorceress goes out into the country without telling anyone her purpose. She takes with her a receptacle which generally consists of a little clay jar perforated in the upper part. She goes into the dense woods or forest, where nobody can discover her, covers up her ears and nostrils with cotton and her hands with rags, and undresses completely, so that nothing may disturb her in her work.

/162 cont./

Abuse of Authority

622
661
643

The Indians who today live under the paternal rule of the missionaries state that formerly caciques committed thousands of abuses; speaking of caciques still alive, they said that they abused everything that belonged to the poor and defenseless Indians, made use of maidens and women of others took possession of horses, cows, sheep, goats, and rags or clothing of their subordinates under any pretext, and in certain cases, as absolute mandatory, life was not safe either.

682

In verification of the last, I am going to relate the following: Before the reorganization of the missions of San Antonio and San Francisco del Parapiti Grande, an Indian strangled his own son and half buried him in the sand near the bank with the aim that any sizable rise would soon carry him off, but before this could happen the deed was discovered, not by betrayal by his wife, whom he had threatened to kill, but by the wheeling about of vultures which were beginning to strip the already decomposing flesh (2).

[643]

2. The murderer of his own son belonged to the upper town and was hanged in public in the lower town where the regional cacique, who was the authority of the presumed Parapiti Canton, resided.

692
643
682
[648]

When the regional cacique had been advised, inquiries were undertaken in order to speak to the evil-doer, and it was not difficult to find him because he was a well-known Indian. Taken into custody and brought before the authority, he confessed his crime. In order to prevent another greater crime the canton authority attempted to intervene, but the regional cacique made it clear to him that justice would be administered in an exemplary fashion by him and that the corregidor, whose subalterns were the whites, should not involve himself in the matter at all.

/163/

643 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the
682 cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following
692 his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with another piece of wood set between them. He called together all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was
[671] immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his region, so that the life of the defenseless and the good may be respected and that he may be feared (1).

622 1. When a sorcerer does not manage to ac-
643 complish what he has promised, because he
756 perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's
686 prerogative to order the death sentence and
692 burning.

Separation from Command

622 The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the
631 abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the
643 present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared them free from such obedience, naming another more humane person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it. This has become easier today by agreement with the political
648 authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that
466 when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named
464 by the political authority, he is sure to be subject to all the
622 demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the
643 latter, who do not like the yoke or the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

/119 cont./

000 the wives of Christ their infinite goodness, and the priests the sciences and their Author. Each one in his branch turns his affection to the object which pleases him most. Even Indians have this privilege, because they are men who come from the same tree, whose trunk is in Adam and Eve (2).

773

2. They say that the first forebears of the Chiriguano race are different from the progenitors of Christians and missionaries, because we are of a different color, wealth, intelligence, and worth. They add that their first father's name was Araparigua.

837 684 593 As a consequence of the foregoing, the Chiriguano has no object which he loves other than his fellow man, because idleness and ignorance do not make him aspire to other things. A man and a woman love each other reciprocally, but as they also inherit the original sin, they are subject to its many consequences. Thus it happens that cases where a man betrays his wife, or she him, are not rare. What is the result of this? If it is the woman who was unfaithful to the conjugal bonds, the man will remedy it by providing her with goodly number of whacks with a stick and separating from her definitively, and if it should be the man, which is generally what happens, it is not so easy for the woman to do anything /120/ about it. Instead she usually sees herself more and more oppressed. The husband makes a martyr of her. Well-founded jealousy begins to destroy her. She can do nothing against her rival. She has no religion which will help her resign herself to her fate. She makes every effort to avenge herself in some way, but it is difficult, she thinks in this extreme case that she achieves all she can do by taking her life. To do this, she finds a rope, puts it around her neck, ties it to any small tree or such thing, casts loose her body, and, since no one sees her, in a few minutes she ceases to exist (1).

837 684 593 762

1. A woman of some 25 years of age

/120 cont./

762
[837]
[584]
[593]

committed suicide in her own home early one Sunday morning at a height of one meter. She did it by kneeling down.

Suicide is not rare even among men, and there were several during my stay among the Chiriguano. The men, if they are young, commit it in order not to suffer the reproach of their parents for something bad they have done. If they are older than their wives, it is because they have no other way to remedy the woman's infidelity, because there are cases in which a man dominated by his wife and somewhat timid in nature does not dare in such circumstances to throw the bad one out of his house, and thus he believes that he can fix everything by taking his life. These unpleasant happenings and accidents happen in the fields or in the woods.

175
721
628

Boxing and Dueling

In ancient times this race was very numerous and constantly in a state of war against its common enemies, but there were other wars in which one town rose up against another for trivial reasons. In the middle of the nineteenth century there was a bloody war between the towns of Yvu and Caraguatarenta against those of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo because of oppression which the cacique Güiracoti had tried to practice (2).

2. This regional war occurred before Chimeo Mission was founded. Güiracoti deceived the authorities of Cordillera, who were quartering people in the vicinity and around Parapiti in order to repress the audacity of Yaveau, whom they believed to be the head of the revolution.

Ce 539 831

/223 cont./

In the evening the fox asked the sister of the wood fowl: "Where do you want to lie?" "Here," she said.

"Then I shall lie down beside you," said the fox. A little farther away the wood fowl lay down. When the sister had fallen asleep, the fox stretched out his hand and took hold of the wood fowl. The latter came and lay down beside the fox.

"Are you married?" said the wood fowl.

/224/ "No, my mama did not want to marry me off," answered the fox... (1)

1. Omitted as being too realistic.

The fox now slept two nights with the wood fowl and became pregnant. After a time the fox gave birth.

One day several birds came by there. "Give me a bow and arrow, I want to shoot," said the fox. "You cannot shoot, after all you are not a man," said the wood fowl.

"I am a man," said the fox; he took a bow and arrow and departed. When he came to the "supua," he took down his penis and put it on again.

Ce 838 [735] e [838] Ce [762]

I was told about a Chané Indian from Yacundai on the Rio Parapiti who was in the habit of wandering about in strange villages as a sponger. The Indians finally got tired of him, and once when he was completely drunk several Chiriguano Indians in the Caipipendi valley abused him. After this insult he betook himself to the lower Rio Parapiti. When news of what had happened to him in Caipipendi reached there, he hung himself in despair over this disgrace.

Ee 838 Ee [681] [762] [684]

Strangely enough, it is not regarded as a disgrace among these Indians to be the active one in a homosexual relationship, but the passive one is deeply despised. He is regarded as a woman. This is the reason why some inconsiderate whites punish incorrigible Indians with -- an enema. An Indian thus mortified disappears forever. It is assumed that he commits suicide. An Indian punishes his unfaithful wife by means of "tévi" and then leaves her. I saw Chané boys playing "tévi."

/334 cont./

241 Before taking possession of a new plot of land the
423 Chiriguano is always careful to make sure that there is no trace
243 of previous cultivation. Otherwise the former owner or his
[685] descendants would have the right to lodge a complaint against him to the chief of the village.

[824] The Chiriguano makes known his new property right by planting any edible plant before the rainy season, for example, the large squash (gindako-wasu) which spreads everywhere and is not smothered by the underbrush. He can equally well insure possession of the chosen terrain by knocking down the underbrush all around and making big gashes in the trees (1).

[171] 1. Compare this manner of insuring property rights with the method observed by the Caxinawa /Cashinawa/ in the same circumstances: "I saw (an Indian is speaking) rising ground which is suitable for a planting. I am going to make a planting for this summer. I broke many branches on this hill to mark this excellent place. No one can make his clearing on this hill. This hill is excellent; do not go there to make your planting." (Abreu, p. 69.)

241 In the middle of the dry season, say, in August, the
243 Indian, with a long stick sharp on both sides, fells the underbrush which encumbers his future field and sets fire to it. This operation has the further advantage of fertilizing the soil, thanks to the bed of ashes, which is a rather good fertilizer.

The cultivated fields are usually cleaned up after the harvest.
[231] The domestic animals, who feed there with little expense, are first let out there, and then the fields are set afire.

[221] Sowing takes place in the month of November when the first rainstorms have softened the soil. This time is announced by
[821] the appearance of the Pleiades (itiu) above the horizon early in the morning.

648 /115 cont./
198 obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

157 Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, incon-
181 stancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even
[849] suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They
[462] only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome
[461] by want: then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family.
[186] But if near the carai /sic: see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

[533] They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all: they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of
[273] their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and
[178] cattle-stealing are relatively recent: they were not com-
[674] mon formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

[848] 1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge
[685] great secrecy so that the authorities will not
[754] make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/163/

643 682 692 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with another piece of wood set between them. He called together all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was [671] immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his region, so that the life of the defenseless and the good may be respected and that he may be feared (1).

622 643 756 686 692 1. When a sorcerer does not manage to accomplish what he has promised, because he perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's prerogative to order the death sentence and burning.

Separation from Command

622 631 643 The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared them free from such obedience, naming another more humane person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it. This has become easier today by agreement with the political 648 466 464 authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named by the political authority, he is sure to be subject to all the 622 643 demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the latter, who do not like the yoke or the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

/118 cont./

847 But if they do not achieve this purpose, they do not hesitate to commit another greater crime, that of strangling the newborn or burying it alive. In spite of the fact that these [692] cases are not very frequent, neither are they very rare, and they are easily discovered by relatives or neighbors, who denounce them to the town authority, who cannot remedy the matter either, because should he take measures, /119/ they scarcely listen to reason or to the advice that they hear, which they listen to as one listens to the rain fall.

000 Let it thus be understood once and for all that the Chiriguano, like every savage race, need first of all instruction, and later firmness, because without the first they will always be ignorant, and without the second they will scorn the instruction they have received. The Hebrew people, accustomed to religion from the beginning of the world, received admonitions, advice, and laws from Moses, with whom God communicated directly. When the people prevaricated, it was God himself who imposed upon them the punishment which suited their guilt. Sacred history is full of such acts (1).

1. With the law of encroachment, there was committed the error of carrying off prisoner an old missionary. Other such acts will follow this, and when the Chiriguano see that not even the padre is freed from jail, they will lose all fear, and they will henceforth always be criminals. The Indian does not listen to advice; rather he listens to what hurts him.

Suicide

Love is natural to humanity. There must always be an object which is loved. The scholar loves his books, the mechanic his tools, the astronomer his telescope, the mathemetician his theodolite, the philosopher his principles,

/159 cont./

622 may be general rejoicing with the drinking of the pretasted
[262] Cangüi, chicha, squash and beans to eat together with Aticúi,
[273] meal, and Atipíi, parched corn. In his prolonged discourse he recommends union in labor so that it may soon be finished, since the field of the cacique is planted first and then those of the rest, with all of them helping one another. When I came to the missions, the soldiers of the cacique Güiraesa still did it in this way. I shall speak of this cacique and his family in another chapter.

622 The cacique also arbitrates the arguments which frequently
692 arise in the planting season, since even among these people there reigns covetousness of the property of others, should it be good and free of brush; he settles family disputes, admonishing the parents and also their children. If a theft occurs, it is also he who makes claims before the cacique of the neighboring tribe, but if this should occur within his own, he will summarily administer justice. His sentence is absolute and in general not subject to appeal (2).

[797] 2. There are several caciques in the missions, because they are made up of several tribes. The missionary governs them all, with the result that the authority of the caciques is almost nominal.

721 It frequently happens that, as a result of some affront done to some woman of a tribe, a bloody war begins, which assumes the characteristics of a regional one. This happened during the
[643] 1850's in the Cuevo region. The cacique Güiracoti tried without
[837] success to have relations with the wife of Yaveau, cacique of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo. In revenge the offended man disposed of a head of cattle belonging to /160/ Güiracoti; hostilities were then declared and each cacique prepared for war.

/162 cont./

Abuse of Authority

622 661 643 The Indians who today live under the paternal rule of the missionaries state that formerly caciques committed thousands of abuses; speaking of caciques still alive, they said that they abused everything that belonged to the poor and defenseless Indians, made use of maidens and women of others took possession of horses, cows, sheep, goats, and rags or clothing of their subordinates under any pretext, and in certain cases, as absolute mandatory, life was not safe either.

682 In verification of the last, I am going to relate the following: Before the reorganization of the missions of San Antonio and San Francisco del Parapiti Grande, an Indian strangled his own son and half buried him in the sand near the bank with the aim that any sizable rise would soon carry him off, but before this could happen the deed was discovered, not by betrayal by his wife, whom he had threatened to kill, but by the wheeling about of vultures which were beginning to strip the already decomposing flesh (2).

[643] 2. The murderer of his own son belonged to the upper town and was hanged in public in the lower town where the regional cacique, who was the authority of the presumed Parapiti Canton, resided.

692 643 682 When the regional cacique had been advised, inquiries were undertaken in order to speak to the evil-doer, and it was not difficult to find him because he was a well-known Indian. Taken into custody and brought before the authority, he confessed his crime. In order to prevent another greater crime the canton [648] authority attempted to intervene, but the regional cacique made it clear to him that justice would be administered in an exemplary fashion by him and that the corregidor, whose subalterns were the whites, should not involve himself in the matter at all.

/163/

643 682 692 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with another piece of wood set between them. He called together all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was [671] immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his region, so that the life of the defenseless and the good may be respected and that he may be feared (1).

622 643 756 686 692 1. When a sorcerer does not manage to accomplish what he has promised, because he perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's prerogative to order the death sentence and burning.

Separation from Command

622 631 643 The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared them free from such obedience, naming another more humane person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it. 648 466 464 622 643 This has become easier today by agreement with the political authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named by the political authority, he is sure to be subject to all the demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the latter, who do not like the yoke or the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

Ee 565 556 621

/231 cont./

One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village, though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand, there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy individual Indians, but they, like Taco, live like the whites.

Ee 622 701 642 643

The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader of the fighting men.

Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain. A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

Ce 692 643 681

According to Batirayu, whose statements are more reliable than those of /232/ Vocapoy, the high chief of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti deals with no offenses other than murder, seduction of another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with poisoned chicha, "bád-dyási," occurred in former times among the Chané. Murderer and bewitcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the open plaza in the village.

C 531 415 Ce 682

Fig. 115. Calabash. Chiriguano. Itapenhia. 1/6.

Ce 684 Ce 685 681

Ee 177 Ce 643 622 721

The administrative authorities of the whites are now intervening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

Ce 423 622 643

According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner, even if it has lain fallow for years.

/165 cont./

643 [721] In the case of a regional war against another region, the great cacique calls a parliament and consults all the caciques, /166/ counselors, and sorcerers in order to arrange matters perfectly and avoid surprises. When the war has broken out, as 643 701 727 he is the most important man, he takes charge of the battles, even leading them personally to a successful conclusion, and, should a defeat be suffered, he does not cringe in defeat, but prepares anew, encourages his soldiers to fight more vigorously to take revenge, and is unlikely to suffer another defeat. This is what happened in the regional war of the great cacique Güiracoti against Yaveau, in which, the latter having been defeated by the former, as I have already related, he retired to the slopes of Irenta and from there marched on his enemies, causing numerous casualties and obtaining a complete victory (1).

[648] 1. In the Curuyuqui War there was a cacique named Chaparilla and another named Tunpa, but, as this war was against the whites, Tunpa took charge of the military operations.

643 631 Chituri, a regional cacique, was succeeded by his son, the late Azari, in the entire region of the Parapiti Grande, Itatiqui, Tacuaranti, and Ururigua. Yaveau was obeyed by all the Indians of Itiyuru, Curuyuqui, Ivu, Igüipinta, and those of Santa Rosa, living on the right bank of the Cuevo River; subject to Güiracoti were all those living on the left bank of the same river as far as the right bank of the Parapiti; the subjects of the late Tengua were the Indians of the left bank of the same Parapiti up to Gutierrez; the subalterns of Machirope were, as was told me in the same year 1901, all the Indians of Ingre Canton, Igüembe, and Huacaya from the right bank of the Parapiti to the left bank of the Pilcomayo, which includes an area of 24 leagues from north to south and 15 east to west, and when an effort was made to found a mission in Yumbía, on the left bank of the Pilcomayo, Igüembe Canton, he insisted to me that we should not bother them any more because neither he nor the

/274 cont./

Offensive War and Weapons

643 When a tribe was preparing to attack another, if it foresaw
701 that it would last longer than usual, and the cacique judged that
705 more preparations were required, in his position as supreme chief or captain general he would commission subalterns called Queremba, experts, to inspect all the armament available, and if the report of these chiefs was not satisfactory, a general order was given to make up and repair all the deficiencies as quickly as possible.

411 The bows and arrows were made in the public plaza or out-
824 side each house; the wood which was to serve for bows was different from that for arrows. War bows measured /275/ a meter
[283] and a half more or less, and to shoot one they used a twisted cord made of pygmy-deer hide, which was both light and strong. The wood that they use even today for hunting bows is called Igũirapitiragua.

The arrows are made of different kinds of wood, but the most common are Ovei, guayancansillo /a kind of guaicum/, Yaguasíi, tola, and Igũirane, smelly wood. This last is very poisonous, and the tribe that uses it must be a very bad enemy of his opponent, because whoever is wounded with these arrows will recover only with difficulty, and the wound is a continual suppuration of illness, which slowly consumes him, almost without any hope of his being able to be helped and to enjoy life once more with his companions.

Every arrow ends in a point, and on both sides it has its edges the opposite way so that when it enters the flesh it is difficult to remove, and one who does not know how to remove it can produce a greater wound than the one the arrow made when it entered.
[283] The arrow is inserted into a little piece of hollow cane, one
[239] meter long, where it is securely attached with string made of toborochi bark, and the string is covered with a little bit of wax (1).

1. At the end of the cane, with the same string and wax, many attach a feather of a falcon or of a carcancho, not for decoration, but so that the shot may be more accurate. The feathers of these birds are more resistant than others.

/276 cont./

March and Inspection

726 Finally they take leave of their families, telling them to be very careful not to go far from the town. The cacique gives his [727] instructions to the men who stay behind on guard; the women once more tell their husbands to fight like brave men and to bring back the heads of their enemies in order to drink chicha from their skulls, and then, in perfect order, the march of the army toward ●701 the place of combat begins. They say that the cacique does not 643 carry arms and that his presence only serves for giving orders that they promptly execute without losing any time (1).

1. If the cacique were seen to be attacked or surrounded by the enemy, his soldiers, especially the cavalry, would come quickly and boldly to his defense.

726 The combat is never begun by day or late at night, but in the early morning. For this reason, before the soldiers depart, they calculate the distance and the time that it may take to cover it. In order not to be seen or heard, they go through the woods, if there are any, and try to arrive at night at a certain distance from the enemy town. They make their camp at a distance of four or five cuadras and wait for the dawn, in order to be able to enjoy their triumph, the pillaging and other ensuing things, by the light of day, or to be able to beat an orderly retreat in case of defeat (2).

2. Nobody in the town discovers the proximity of the enemy, because the Indians do not go out of their town after midnight, and the invading horsemen with their horses stay at a suitable distance so that the horses will not give them away with their neighing.

/281 cont./

726 648 helping them in the town and against the missionary who had brought them.

Peace

727 728 Every time a war between Chiriguanos ends, those who got the worst of it are the first to resume friendly relations. They do it little by little, and the women are most useful for this, the same ones who, with their tongues, contributed not inconsiderably to promoting hostilities. The conquerers readily accept the overtures of peace and immediately resume visits again, during which, if the conversation touches on the last war, the conquered avoid it, that is, they excuse the deceit suffered through some trick, but from time to time they must silently endure the reproaches of one or another bold woman, who are not lacking in the towns (3).

3. A certain young girl, a student in the Santa Rosa Mission, reproached the captain at Ivu, who was asking for a mission in his town after having tried to kill the missionary. But I have already said that this war was directly against the whites.

●701 723 643 [704] When a war is regional because several tribes take part in it under the command of a single cacique, as happened in Yaveau's war /282/ against Güiracoti, both regions try to have an equal number of foot soldiers, cavalry, and queremba; otherwise it would be very hard for the weaker side to enter the combat. Güiracoti came to battle aided by the whites and men from Parapiti, but, when he saw that he had fewer people, he fled from Yaveáu, who pursued him with all his men (1).

1. The cacique Yaveáu in his first defeat recovered and suitably prepared for a general and decisive charge on the slopes of the range of Irenta, located one league from the Santa Rosa Mission.

Ee Ce 565 556 621

/231 cont./

One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village, though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand, there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy individual Indians, but they, like Taco, live like the whites.

Ee 622 701 642 643

The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader of the fighting men.

Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain. A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

Ce 692 643 681

According to Batirayu, whose statements are more reliable than those of /232/ Vocapoy, the high chief of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti deals with no offenses other than murder, seduction of another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with poisoned chicha, "bád-dyási," occurred in former times among the Chané. Murderer and bewitcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the open plaza in the village.

C 531 415 Ce 682

Fig. 115. Calabash. Chiriguano. Itapenhia. 1/6.

Ce 684 Ce 685 681

Ee 177 Ce 643 622 721

The administrative authorities of the whites are now intervening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

Ce 423 622 643

According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner, even if it has lain fallow for years.

Ce 846 /88 cont./
but no meat (349). Later he can eat sweet potatoes. When the

Ce 553 551 603

349. See Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

baby begins to walk, he is given one name at most, not by his parents, but by his grandparents. Nicknames are often added to the proper name later (350). Orphans are brought up by their

Ce 736

350. Nord. 1, p. 208.

relatives (351).

351. Nord. 1, p. 210.

C 721 From the time they first immigrated to the Sierra de la Cordillera, the Chiriguano, that is, their parcialidades, made war or attacks on the neighboring Indian tribes or the Spaniards. In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have described these hostilities in broad outline. Their weapons C [411] [701] [727] of war were bows and arrows and the club. The caciques were also war chiefs. According to what one Chané cacique told Nordenskiöld, these Indians formerly had the custom of bringing home the heads of their dead enemies and of showing them during the fiestas in the town square (352). The Chiriguano capacity

C 175 721

352. Nord. 1, p. 172.

for war was still recognized by the Spaniards in the 16th century. In the "Declaración de Sebastián Pérez Chamoso" in 1571, it is said of them: "With the inventions and tricks and mode of war that they have, they have done and are doing said damages unto the Spaniards, Indians, and workers that are in the said fields" (353).

353. Moreno II, p. 107.

C 726 Before the Chiriguano launched their attack upon King Guacane, they reconnoitered with spies the Llanos of Grigota where the

/275 cont./

411 [492] Warriors on horseback, in addition to having bows and arrows, use the lance; it is a piece of a knife or of iron tied to the tip of a stick; note that each warrior, according to what they say, cannot carry more than a dozen arrows, because they are heavy. 534 726 In order to inspire terror and fright in the attack they make on the enemy town, they use the Igüiramimbi, a wooden musical instrument, the Senene, and the Huacananti, or cow's horn (2).

> 2. The first is round, and it is very hard to pierce it, and the second is long. Both are of good wood, and they engrave figures and signs on them. They hang them from the neck by means of a cord. The wood is like ebony.

722 While some of them are preparing the bows and arrows, the braver men do not remain idle, nor do the women; the latter prepare the necessary provisions and even the chicha to celebrate the triumph, if they win it, and the former encourage the more cowardly ones, showing their ability as queremba in the streets and the plaza, animating them all, making them understand that triumph depends on them and that it is necessary to triumph at all costs if they do not wish to be subjected to the harsh condition of the conquered, thus losing everything, wife, children, home, and property.

726 704 /276/ When all the weapons are ready, those of the cavalry saddle their horses, putting the arrows on the right side, so that they can easily get them in case of urgency, because it is characteristic of the cavalry to yell insults at the enemy and to sow confusion on the battlefield with shouts and the noise of the igüiramimbi, huacananti, and porongo. Then, all of them, [292] foot soldiers, horsemen, and queremba, don their garb, some the [714] jacket /coleto/, others armor of garabatá, and they put on the [411] back of the left hand a strap of pygmy-deer hide, so that they [302] will not hurt themselves when they shoot the bow, and, finally, they all color their faces and arms with ground charcoal dampened in water. Let the reader consider if this army of demons would not frighten even the dead!

/277 cont./

Combat and Pillaging

726 Finally, the infantrymen get in the center, the horsemen on both sides, and the queremba in front, because they must always be the first to be wounded. Matters thus arranged, facing /278/ [704] the enemy, still in bed, the invading army moves forward at a trot, and when it has come as far as some 100 meters from the town, the infantrymen and horsemen set out at full speed, they pound the horns, porongos, senene, and igüiramimbi, all the soldiers raise an infernal shout and sow confusion in the little town. The inhabitants, losing no time, take up arms and come out to fight with courage. The women, children, and dogs add to the confusion and run in terror to hide if they can. Mean-
726 while the combat is terrible and bloody on every side, the in-
727 vaders fight with tenacity for victory, and those invaded, for their own defense, for that of their wives, children, and property. They fall, some run through by an arrow, others opened by a lance, those seriously wounded and dragged by their long hair, these trampled by the horses of the cavalrymen, who charge the unfortunate ones without pity or mercy (1).

[621] 1. Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of 40 or 50 families, and therefore the combat could not last for many hours, since those invaded were in addition taken by surprise.

In a few minutes the little plaza and the streets are full of dead and wounded. Some of the cavalrymen detain the fleeing children and women and prevent the flight of the defenders, who--a few of them--have been trying to give up the unequal fight. The fight is over before the sun appears. If the number of defenders is quite low, the invading cacique stops the battle and orders the killing of the few survivors, without concerning himself with those who have already fled.

/281 cont./

726 648 helping them in the town and against the missionary who had brought them.

Peace

727 728 Every time a war between Chiriguanos ends, those who got the worst of it are the first to resume friendly relations. They do it little by little, and the women are most useful for this, the same ones who, with their tongues, contributed not inconsiderably to promoting hostilities. The conquerers readily accept the overtures of peace and immediately resume visits again, during which, if the conversation touches on the last war, the conquered avoid it, that is, they excuse the deceit suffered through some trick, but from time to time they must silently endure the reproaches of one or another bold woman, who are not lacking in the towns (3).

3. A certain young girl, a student in the Santa Rosa Mission, reproached the captain at Ivu, who was asking for a mission in his town after having tried to kill the missionary. But I have already said that this war was directly against the whites.

701 723 643 [704] When a war is regional because several tribes take part in it under the command of a single cacique, as happened in Yaveau's war /282/ against Güiracoti, both regions try to have an equal number of foot soldiers, cavalry, and queremba; otherwise it would be very hard for the weaker side to enter the combat. Güiracoti came to battle aided by the whites and men from Parapiti, but, when he saw that he had fewer people, he fled from Yaveáu, who pursued him with all his men (1).

1. The cacique Yaveáu in his first defeat recovered and suitably prepared for a general and decisive charge on the slopes of the range of Irenta, located one league from the Santa Rosa Mission.

/274 cont./

Offensive War and Weapons

673 When a tribe was preparing to attack another, if it foresaw
701 that it would last longer than usual, and the cacique judged that
705 more preparations were required, in his position as supreme chief or captain general he would commission subalterns called Queremba, experts, to inspect all the armament available, and if the report of these chiefs was not satisfactory, a general order was given to make up and repair all the deficiencies as quickly as possible.

411 The bows and arrows were made in the public plaza or out-
824 side each house: the wood which was to serve for bows was
[183] different from that for arrows. War bows measured /275/ a meter and a half more or less, and to shoot one they used a twisted cord made of pygmy-deer hide, which was both light and strong. The wood that they use even today for hunting bows is called Igllrapitiragua.

The arrows are made of different kinds of wood, but the most common are Orei, guayancamillo /a kind of guaicum/, Yaguasú, tola, and Igllrane, smelly wood. This last is very poisonous, and the tribe that uses it must be a very bad enemy of his opponent, because whoever is wounded with these arrows will recover only with difficulty, and the wound is a continual suppuration of illness, which slowly consumes him, almost without any hope of his being able to be helped and to enjoy life once more with his companions.

Every arrow ends in a point, and on both sides it has its edges the opposite way so that when it enters the flesh it is difficult to remove, and one who does not know how to remove it can produce a greater wound than the one the arrow made when it entered.
[183] The arrow is inserted into a little piece of hollow cane, one
[239] meter long, where it is securely attached with string made of toborochi bark, and the string is covered with a little bit of wax (1).

1. At the end of the cane, with the same string and wax, many attach a feather of a falcon or of a carcancho, not for decoration, but so that the shot may be more accurate. The feathers of these birds are more resistant than others.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

252 415 412 264 *Chiriguano* mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. [317 263] Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 592 **Dwellings.**—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

361 178 [343 712] The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 177 **Clothing.**—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

/67 cont./

173 never name dead persons, with the result that the principal
[551] events are not known because the names of those great persons who took part in them are not known. The present ones know nothing about the many wars which were waged against the Quechua before the Conquest, after the enthronement of the Inca Yupanqui (1400), and /68/ against the Spaniards during the time of the colonization, the oldest people know little more, and we only know somewhat more through the Spanish historians and missionaries of the various religious orders of Paraguay and Bolivia.

173 Through their oral tradition they assert that their origin
167 was in Paraguay, that they multiplied there, and that when
648 the New World was discovered, because they had killed one of the Portuguese captains, they feared the revenge of his companions and fled en masse along the shores of the Pilcomayo River until they arrived in the region which they occupy today, displacing other natives who were in possession of these places (1).

1. This must refer to the flight of the 4,000 Carious who joined up with the Chiriguano here.

173 Nevertheless the oldest and most notable because of their
648 authority in this place give the impression that they originally came from Brazil. They say that in ancient times they had a formidable war with the whites who came from far-off lands; conquered by them because of the inequality in arms and their expertness in the art of war, they were pursued until they entered the plains of the Gran Chaco, which they crossed, com-
726 ing into Paraguay. During the campaign they defended them-
712 selves and built fortifications at several points, of which I know four: one is in Gutierrez, two in Cuevo Canton, and the fourth in Curuyuqui, which belongs to the San Buenaventura de Yvu Mission, where the uprising and defeat of the Chiriguano in the year 1892 took place (2).

2. I recently explored this last. It is one meter deep and one wide, and goes from the stream of Cuevo from northwest to northeast.

/68 cont./

126 712 covering an area of about 2,000 meters; it ends in a hill surrounded by the same foundations. It had its lookout and a small plaza and dominated the whole area.

172 712 These fortifications have stone foundations, are made artfully, and are very large; consequently it is not credible that they might have been built by Indians who were even less civilized than the present ones. I believe, rather, that it was the work of the conquistadors, who, following the example of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro, built them for protection from the Chiriguano arrow; the extent of these walls and the height of the lookouts do not suggest anything else. The old men add that when they were pursued some of them hid in the mountains out of fear or because they were tired and that these then populated the region (3).

173 648

3. This must refer to what Father Cardús says about the time when the Cruceños /people of Santa Cruz/ settled at the place which today is occupied by the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

174 /69/ From what has been expounded it can be deduced that the Chiriguano race is most probably of Paraguayan origin; the inhabitants of that region also say this to those who annually go to work in the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and to the Indians who in past years went to Corumbá from Yvu, Caipipendi, and Parapiti. For example, they told them that they knew of the existence of a place named Yvu and of another called Parapiti, frequented by their grandparents who had formerly visited their relatives, the Chiriguano. In addition there is a tradition that in a not too distant time many families settled thereabouts traveled from time to time to visit their relatives who lived on the banks of the Paraguay River.

/15 cont./
550 next one." Garcilaso de la Vega (57) describes the large houses
342

57. Vol. II, p. 281. According to Métraux I, p. 331.

of the Chiriguano in the same way: they build a very large dormitory, and inside as many alcoves as there are residents, and so small that there is no room for anything but persons.
361 Through detailed descriptions and sketches, we are familiar
342 with the construction of the towns of the ancient Guaraní of
171 the Tupinambas on the eastern coast of Brazil (58). Four or
712
[113]

58. According to De Bry. Métraux, A.: La civilisation matérielle des tribus Tupí-Guarani /The Material Culture of the Tupi-Guarani Tribes/. Paris, 1928.

five long, rectangular houses were built a short distance from one another around a quadrangular or pentagonal plaza, and the whole town was fortified by a defensive wall. We
361 also know that the ancient towns of the Chiriguano had such
712 defensive constructions through information from the year 1618, when Ruiz Diaz de Guzman found such a fortification of a Chiriguano town near the Pilcomayo River, which consisted of "two concentric walls of stone and of wood" (59). According
361
342
171

59. Moreno II, p. 252.

to Serrano (60), the Guaraní towns of the ancient Province of
[113]

60. Antonio Serrano: Etnografía de la antigua provincia del Uruguay /Etnography of the Ancient Province of Uruguay/, Paraná, 1936, p. 125 /the second number of this figure is questionable, being barely discernible in the original text/.

Uruguay consisted of only four to eight large rectangular houses.

726 /88 cont./
•712 King was (354). Their towns, described in the preceding, were

354. Moreno II, p. 87.

175 fortified by blockades, in addition to their natural position. Ruiz
212 Diaz de Guzman on his expedition against the Chiriguano found
248 a town near the Pilcomayo which was fortified by two concentric blockades of stone and wood (355). We find interesting data

355. Moreno II, p. 252.

about the fortifications that the Chiriguano made during their wars in the "Relación y breve noticia de lo sucedido en la guerra de Chiriguanos que se ha hecho este año de 1729 por orden /89/ del señor Virrey y Real Audiencia de Chuquisaca por el Padre Bartholomé de Mora /Report and brief note on what happened in the Chiriguano war that took place in this year of 1729 by order of the Lord Viceroy and Royal Audiencia of Chuquisaca by Father Bartolomé de Mora/" (356). These fortifications are described

[113]

356. Unpublished /inedito/ manuscript published /publicado/ by Professor A. Posnansky with an introduction and notes by Dr. A. Métraux. (Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad de Tucuman, Vol. II, No. I, p. 126.)

in the following way: "Continuing on their way (the Spaniards and Chiquitos), now by the light of day, at about a league they found blocking the way a very strong and well placed trench with very heavy stakes stuck in the ground, which, hewn like planks, had loopholes through which they shot arrows. Here considerable resistance was met, because the trench was very well fortified and the Indians who defended it were numerous." In another place it says: "They went on, all now being together, and they arrived at the place where the enemies had fortified themselves.... The fort was a ravine cut like a wall, which had

C 175 712 648 /89 cont./

only one way up, very narrow and steep, which, sown with thorny branches, made it more impenetrable. On the eminence of which they had entrenched the gate with stakes stuck into the ground."

Ce 178 648 721 Today the Chiriguano and Chané no longer make war upon other Indians, aside from the fact that the Chané on the Parapití occasionally go on expeditions against the Tsirakua Indians (357).

357. Nord. 1, p. 171.

Law

Ce 671 179 178 Because the white authorities intervene more and more in the original, juridical traditions of the Chiriguano and Chané, many of them no longer exist today and also, from the few data which Nordenskiöld gives regarding this matter as of 30 years ago, many do not now correspond to the facts.

Ce 627 With regard to penal law, we find among these Indians a mixture between the principle of the "vendetta" and the practice of penal law. Among the Chané on the Parapití, most crimes, and robbery in particular, were settled by means of the duel. Ce [685] In the case of theft, the one who has stolen and the one who has been robbed appear, each with his relatives, in the town square to fight each other. Only homicide, the seduction of a woman, Ce 697 643 68 and sorcery were decided by the great cacique as judge. Homicide, which formerly occurred among the Chané in the form of poisoning with poisoned chicha ("bád dyási"), and sorcery were punished by the burning of the criminal. The seducer of a woman lost his property (358). According to statements of the substitute great

358. Nord. 1, p. 232.

cacique of the Chané on the Itiyuru, it was the principal obligation of the cacique to avoid the vendetta by sending criminals to another region so that they would not be killed. Thus thieves, after having received 50 lashes, were sent to another town. A murderer was condemned to work up to half a year for the family

/275 cont./

411 Warriors on horseback, in addition to having bows and arrows,
[492] use the lance; it is a piece of a knife or of iron tied to the tip of a stick; note that each warrior, according to what they say, cannot carry more than a dozen arrows, because they are heavy.
534 In order to inspire terror and fright in the attack they make on
726 the enemy town, they use the Igüiramimbi, a wooden musical instrument, the Senene, and the Huacananti, or cow's horn (2).

2. The first is round, and it is very hard to pierce it, and the second is long. Both are of good wood, and they engrave figures and signs on them. They hang them from the neck by means of a cord. The wood is like ebony.

722 While some of them are preparing the bows and arrows, the braver men do not remain idle, nor do the women; the latter prepare the necessary provisions and even the chicha to celebrate the triumph, if they win it, and the former encourage the more cowardly ones, showing their ability as queremba in the streets and the plaza, animating them all, making them understand that triumph depends on them and that it is necessary to triumph at all costs if they do not wish to be subjected to the harsh condition of the conquered, thus losing everything, wife, children, home, and property.

726 /276/ When all the weapons are ready, those of the cavalry
704 saddle their horses, putting the arrows on the right side, so that they can easily get them in case of urgency, because it is characteristic of the cavalry to yell insults at the enemy and to sow confusion on the battlefield with shouts and the noise of the igüiramimbi, huacananti, and porongos. Then, all of them,
[292] foot soldiers, horsemen, and queremba, don their garb, some the
[714] jacket /coleto/, others armor of garabatá, and they put on the
[411] back of the left hand a strap of pygmy-deer hide, so that they
[302] will not hurt themselves when they shoot the bow, and, finally, they all color their faces and arms with ground charcoal dampened in water. Let the reader consider if this army of demons would not frighten even the dead!

/277/

726 But before the combat begins one or two of the bravest men go out of the camp at the cacique's order to reconnoiter the field [825] or enemy town. The scouts enter the enemy town with every precaution, imitating, on the one hand, the noise of the fox, on the other the call of the Yancuruntu, owl, and, finally, that of the Surumucucu. If no one discovers the presence of these scouts, the combat when it comes is terrible, but, if they are discovered, the alarm signal is given, and the fight begins at once, into which the ones invaded throw themselves with their naked bodies, and they may easily come out victorious, throwing back the enemy in their formidable charge (1).

1. From this the whites deduce and believe that the Indians are preparing for war against them when they hear the Yancuruntu, owl, in their houses in the country.

The scouts, if they are not discovered, leave the town with much caution, return without delay to the camp, and report to the cacique the state of the enemy, and all listen with great interest to this account. The cacique thanks the scouts for their valor, intrepidity, and daring and once more charges all to be careful and brave in the coming attack. Then he orders silence, and they all rest without sleeping, each group talking in very low voices so that nobody will sense their presence.

726 Before the hour of combat comes, the cacique and the
●714 queremba order the preparations; the riders saddle their horses
292 and come up to the infantry soldiers, who tighten their bows and put on their wrist the deerhide guard, fasten their aprons or girdles at the waist to cover the most delicate part of the body, some of them put on the armor, Ayo, made of tree bark, others the Tiru, lifted to the waist, and all of them put on ostrich feathers, chicken feathers, or maize husks around their faces so that they can recognize one another in the heat of battle, not wound one another, and assist one another in case one or more of them is surrounded by the enemy.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

IV.

Hunting Equipment.

C
Ce
411
[224]
C
[223]

The Chiriguano and the Chané are not keen huntsmen. They are rarely seen out hunting. Their hunting-weapons are the bow and arrow, the pellet-bow, clubs, slings, and snares, all of their own manufacture. The Chiriguano have bird-nets too, and formerly they had the bola as well. The Chiriguano and the Chané have no weapons exclusively used in warfare. Formerly they had lances[1]).

Ce
411
C
[714]
C
Ce
411
[134]
[824]
[171]

The bow and arrow are going quite out of use among these Indians except for fishing and as a weapon for boys. The degenerate type of bow now seen among the Chané and Chiriguano is certainly not original. According to LIZARRAGA[2]) the Chiriguano used to have bows of a man's height. It is of great interest to learn from LIZÁRRAGA that the Chiriguano used to protect their left wrist with a small piece of wood to prevent the skin being grazed by the bow-string. Something similar occurs among the Ashluslay (see Part I. P. 42).

Their arrows are very like those used by the Choroti and Ashluslay. The arrow shafts are of the same kind of reed[3]). At the Rio Parapiti this plant, which grows abundantly beside the Rio Pilcomayo is cultivated by the Indians. On the Rio Parapiti there is a place called Ouivarenda, which means »where there is chuchio.» This plant, the *Gynerium* sp. whose seed-stalks so many Indian tribes use

[1]) CHOMÉ P. 331.

[2]) P. 328. [4] »Andan desnudos y quando mucho qual ó qual tiene una camisetilla hasta el ombligo; . . . son grandes flecheros; sus armas son arco y flecha; el arco tan grande como el mismo que lo tira, y porque la cuerda no lastime la mano izquierda, en la muñeca encajan un trocillo de madera y alli da la cuerda».

[3]) *Arundo donax.*

[4] [Errata: this should read "See Serrano y Sanz P. 328."
(Errata sheet, Cat. 116, P. 245 -- Analyst.]

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

411
[714]
[114]
[524]
[126]
[171]

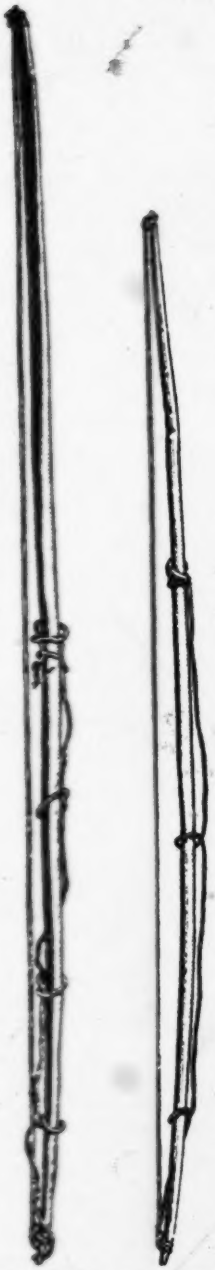


Fig. 201. Riksm. 03. 3. 850. For section, see fig. 203.

Fig. 202. Riksm. 03. 3. 851. For section, see fig. 204.

Longbows. Chiriguano. Bolivia. About 1/8.

On the left wrist they wore a small piece of wood as a protection against the blow of the bowstring.[1]

Curiously enough, the present-day Chiriguano type of bow does not seem to have been exhaustively described by anyone; not even in Schmidt's account of South American bow types,[2] otherwise so exact, is there any mention of the Chiriguano bow. The reason for this may very likely be found in the circumstance that these weapons are said to be of rare occurrence nowadays, and that such few specimens as are still being made, are mostly used as toys and on that account typologically degenerated. Twenty years ago, when I travelled through a part of the Chiriguano country, the bow was, however, not so rarely seen as a hunting weapon as now, and I collected the seven specimens now reposing in the ethnographical section of the Riksmuseum at Stockholm. Beside these, there are two Chiriguano bows brought home by Baron Nordenskiöld, one of which is a toy bow. Two other toy bows that have been brought to Sweden by Nordenskiöld belong to the Gothenburg Museum. This forms the material from which I have compiled the following description of the Chiriguano type of bow.

By their string-fastening arrangement the Chiriguano bows differ from the Chaco-Andean bow types, which latter as a rule have no neck-shaped bow-end projections for the string. On the other hand, all Chiriguano bows that I have studied, even the toy bows, have neck-shaped ends for fastening the string, a circumstance indicating that the Chiriguano bow is no acquisition from Chaco-

[1] de Lizarraga (1), p. 328. From Erl. Nordenskiöld.

[2] Schmidt (1), pp. 1027—1034.

C
Ce
175
648
[797]

/325 cont./

of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguano: as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 16th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 15th century.

C
175
72
167
Ce
175
648
C
[266]
Ce
[113]

The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had done with his companions and several women. He was able to escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

C
G
175
72
567
Ce
175
648

In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later; "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

/326 cont./

C G 175 567 72 Ce 175 648

go in search of metal? The aforesaid Indian answered: "They do not understand that I am only telling them that they can go to the country of the Chané in nine days." While they were speaking with this Indian, the aforesaid Cheroçe, chief of the Chané, was conversing with a woman of his tribe who as a girl had been kidnapped by these Indians whose chief had taken her as his wife. She said that it was correct that from the last houses of the aforesaid Guarani only four days were required to go as far as Ytapua and that from there, according to what Cheroçe claimed, one could go to his country in three days. He knew the way very well, for he had been brought up over there, but up to the present he had had no news of his country. (Relación de Domingo Martínez de Irala, p. 350.)

These facts prove that well before García's adventure the Guarani raided the Chané territory and were already beginning to make slaves of its inhabitants.

C G 175 567 72

"When Guarani bands arrived on the slopes of the Andes, each one tried to occupy as strong a position as possible on the most craggy points. From there they began to make pitiless war on the natives of the region, treating them with such cruelty that they spared nobody and made their fodder of the unfortunates they captured. They made themselves so fearsome that numerous villages submitted to them without violence. With the slaves they took to serve them and with all the women by whom they had children they populated these frontiers, each one choosing the region which seemed best to him. These Indians are the ones we call Chiriguana in Peru today; they originate from the Guarani. They never went out from this country, either because of the great hardships and risks of the road or in order to keep in their power this land which they found consonant with their nature and taste. It is indeed very fertile, with large and marvelous valleys which are warm rather than cold; and it is crossed by deep rivers coming from the neighboring province of Charcas. In possession of this land, they made numerous /327/ warlike expeditions in it, ruining the plains to the north, the south, and the east. They killed more than 100,000 Indians. In the beginning they used to eat them in the feasts and drinking bouts which they celebrated, but

C G [266] [439]

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

/280 cont./

Defensive Warfare

• 72

But the invading army is not always victorious, as in the case just related. Sometimes it gets the worst of things, and then the complete reverse happens. Those who were left in town weep when they get the news: the defeated men return, and they all weep about the defeat they have suffered, and many for the death of their loved ones. Without losing any time they prepare for defense, because they know perfectly well that the ones invaded will quickly take revenge for the injury received, appearing before them as invaders.

Then there are many and similar precautions for both armies. The town which awaits the vengeance arranges for all those unfit for combat to get to safety with their few belongings at a certain distance from the town and, if at all possible, in a secret place. They position sentries day and night, and any noise, any cloud of dust, any sign is immediately reported to the cacique and to the queremba (1).

1. They put sentries on all the high places. This is what both armies did in the year 1892, the one from Curuyuqui in Ivu and those being besieged around the Santa Rosa Mission.

When a town is prepared for defense, the combat in the area is atrocious, and, if the number of combatants is equal, the invaders get the worst of it. Without surrendering, they abandon the field after a few hours and beat a retreat until all danger has disappeared, and they return to their homes neither defeated nor triumphant.

722
782

While the men fight or go to battle, the women raise their supplications to the sun, throw sand or ashes into the air in the direction of the enemy, and in a very sad tone of voice, letting fall sincere tears which would move anyone, they say in a high voice. Tiamini, cheru cuarasi, tuguaicho pochi, tiamini, tiaminiete, tumano pochi, may they be defeated, my father the sun, the perfidious enemies, may they be defeated, very badly defeated, may the evill ones die.

175
648
167
721
726

/Since Métraux believes that the Chiriguano are actually descendants of the Guarani, early culture history of the Chiriguano, in regard to their migrations and relations with other groups with whom they came in contact, will be found in category 116, pp. 1-30. Much of the material in these pages has been subheaded for Guarani SM4 but if the author's contention is correct then the data contained therein may equally apply to the historical Chiriguano./

/303 cont./

on the highways which lead to Argentina. If the Guarani invasion was brutal, it is because they felt powerful enough to try to take possession of the coveted riches by force. Not long ago the Chiriguano did not hesitate to attack the farms of the creoles if they profited by it or if a wrong had been done to them.

We must remember also that the Guarani were warlike: used to overcoming neighboring tribes, they did not draw back at the prospect of distant expeditions and besides were endowed with a spirit of adventure, which has caused them to be called the "Phoenicians of South America." At the beginning of the 16th century the Guarani were in the full swing of expansion: the coming of the Chaco was not going to stop them.

The first Guarani who crossed the Chaco and came home again richly clothed, adorned with metal ornaments, doubtless aroused the same attitude which is felt toward any modern Chiriguano who comes back to his village after six months' stay in Argentina. One should see them then, dressed from head to foot, booted and spurred and prancing about proudly on a more or less emaciated horse. Question them about their recollections: with pride they will tell you about their love affairs, will allude to their bloody brawls, and will express their admiration for all the surprising things they have seen. They will talk to you especially about their gains, for they left in order to have knives, axes, heads of cattle. It is those assets which have given them "face" and improved their existence, and the acquisition is clothed in all the charms of adventure and a trip to the land of wonders (1).

1. On the attraction that Peru exerted on the Guarani Indians and on the trips the latter made toward the Cordillera, see the texts cited by Gandia (2, p. 32, notes 1 and 2). This is why the Guarani insisted very strongly that Irala lead them to the land of the Indian "masters of the metal."

In a letter from Martín González (1556) quoted by Gandia, it is said that at Asunción "there are many Indians who have gone, come

E 175 169 /314 cont./

Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

E 175 169 721 726 I 726

Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Misque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

E [721] I [712]

Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

E 175 721 726 I 726 901 E [291] [266]

The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuscotuyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land.

Guarani SM4
Inca SE13

/314 cont./

E
G
175
721
726
I
726
701

they caused great destruction, robberies, and deaths.

"This news went to Guayna Capac in Quito, who received it with great sorrow and immediately sent a captain of his, named Yasca, to Cuzco to form an army, and with it he was to go to wage war on the Chiriguanaes. The captain left for Cuzco, taking with him the guacas /huacas/, Catiquilla of Caxamarca and Guamachuco and Curichaculla of the Chachapoyas and the guaca Tomayrica and Chinchaycoaha with many of the guacas' own men. And he arrived in Cuzco where he was very well received by the governors named Apo Hilaquita and Auqui Topa Inga, and, forming his army, he left Cuzco for the Charcas. And on the way he took many troops from Collao, with which he came to the Chiriguanaes and waged cruel war and took some of them prisoner, whom he sent as specimens to Guayna Capac in Quito, so that he might see the strangeness of that people. And Captain Yasca rebuilt the fortresses which were there, and, putting in them the necessary garrison, he returned to Cuzco, where he dismissed the troops, and each one went back to his land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Santa Cruz Pachacuti, p. 304: "And at this time (of the Inca Huayna-capac) there came the news that the Cheriguanaes had come forth to take the lands of the ynga, which news upset the ynga, and so he sent the most experienced captains for the conquest of the Chiriguanaes, with 20,000 Chinchaysuyo men." /Translated from the Spanish./

/314 cont./

E
G
175
721
726
I
726
701

Balboa, p. 105: "But this fiesta was interrupted by the news from Cusco that the Chiriguanes, a cruel and brave people, had killed the garrisons of the frontiers and leveled the whole country as far as Chuquisaca and its surroundings. Guayna-Cápac was disturbed by this news, disguised his grief as much as he could, and called to command his army a man full of bravery and intrepidity, named Yasca, whom he ordered to punish this aggression. Yasca departed from Tumibamba at the head of the best of the ingas soldiers; moreover, he had orders to recruit from Caxamarca on all the men that he found, in order to wage the war which he was going to undertake; and in order to arouse their valor he ordered each nation to bring with it the great Guaca of its country, which is an idol besides, and to which they very frequently come. He arrived at Cusco with a large army made up of different nations; through all parts the governors welcomed him with affection and gave him great honors. Provided with everything that he might need and his army augmented with the best men from Collao, he continued on his way with the utmost speed in pursuit of the Chirihuanas; many battles were joined, without any victory declared by either of the two armies. Nevertheless Yasca took some prisoners, whom he sent to Quito. He repaired the damage that the enemies had done in the country, and he left a new garrison in the fortresses and on the frontiers; afterward he returned to Cusco, where the governors rewarded the soldiers who had distinguished themselves and permitted them to return to their countries, taking their Guacas, or idols." /Translated from the Spanish./

I
[702]
[778]

Cieza de Leon, p. 228: "(Guayna Capac) sent captains with troops of war to the Chiriguanaes; but things did not go well for them,

Guarani SM4
Inca SE13
Chane SF8

C G 175 721 726 I [726] [701]

/314 cont./

for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

C E 114 175 721 726 I [712] C G 114 175 167

1. Gandia (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that Garcia's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

E G 175 167 721 726

A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

Ce [648] [567]

[Text Continues on P. 36]

/315 cont./

E
E
167
175
721
726
Ce
648
567

/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

E
175
648
Ce
175
648
567

The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

/316 cont./

E decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where
175 Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians
167 of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The
Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the
E course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the
131 Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the
175 borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived
167 in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay
River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of
Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on
the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones
who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues
from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la
Sierra."

E In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca
E (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migra-
175 tion which does not appear to have any relation to that of
167 García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage
648 in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this
great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent
a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer,
with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians
who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood.
The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani
were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the
Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian,
married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a
long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race,
had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/
knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to
accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before
the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani,
originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ *on the Paraguay River;*
that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy
E of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the
[721] villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his
[726] father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text Continues on P. 41]

/319 cont./

000 there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of
C the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he
G 175 added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but
167 doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked
[721] whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He
answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much
water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs,
lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was
C asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes
G [721] he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the
villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques,
/320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small
vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they
were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some
silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them
when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them.
Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it
said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this
silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war
upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had
carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

G Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent
C 175 character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of
648 Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-
[167] 281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to
this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken
the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose
of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians.
The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding
on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law,
burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of
C 114 trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention
122 of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the
175

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II,
C p. 281) gives us of the large house of the
175 Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very
342

C /327 cont./
G they have not done it any more for some years and sell them
175 to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in
567 exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell
72 them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity
[266] is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make
[439] war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their
C lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there
G are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of
175 cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as
556 much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses
721 saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of
727 weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do
in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the
present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the
C disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed
G many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up
175 arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this
648 kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish
721 and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating
villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the
vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija,
C Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of
Ce Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)
175 "The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and
101 Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses
181 can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but
648 C foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the
[361] same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians
[197] toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind
Ce these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is
[131] called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These
Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a
C more congenial appearance and a better nature than the
175 Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000
727 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these
266 plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a
648 few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these
567
Ce
648
175
[161]

C 175 /327 cont./
727 brutal people butcher them. The Chané are so subject to the
567 Chiriguana that it is enough for them to see a Chiriguana to sit
266 down without resisting, allowing the Chiriguana to do what they
648 like with them. The Chiriguana take them along like flocks of
Ce 648 sheep. They eat the ones they want and use the others for work
175 in their houses and fields. If they want to eat one, they only tell him to go and wash in the river and he does it without talking back. He comes back naked; the Chiriguana command their children to take bows and arrows, and the poor Chané tries /328/ to escape the arrows without, however, daring to flee from the spot until he dies riddled with arrows, to the
C [252] great joy of all who look at him. They cut him in pieces and eat him either grilled or roasted, with corn and much ají
C /peppers/. For war they use Chané who they think are brave
Ce and robust. They treat them according to their barbaric
[726] customs and put them in front of themselves; if they do not fight well, they kill them with arrow shots from behind." (Lizarraga, Vol. I, pp. 259-260.)

Last year, going from Cuevo to Igüembé, I had taken a
C 173 Chiriguano guide who spoke Spanish fairly well and who had
● 727 lived among the Chané in childhood. He told me in his own
727 way about these wars of former days. His involved narrative
648 recalls that of the Spanish monk. Later I sojourned for some
Ce time among the Chané who in their turn alluded to their fights
648 with the Chiriguano and to the cannibalistic customs of the
173 latter. "The Tapui are not the Ava. In times past they used to
186 fight against the Ava." The Ava used to take the women and
C [266] keep them in captivity. They used to marry the captives. From the sons of the Ava issued the Tapui, they are sons of the women they carried away. The Chané are sons of the captives. When the Chané talk together, it is with words that one does not understand. Formerly the Karai (Whites) used to fight the Ava around Cochabamba. The Karai pursued them to the lower part and left them in Paraguay. The Paraguayans are
C sons of the ancient Ava. In olden days the Ava used to eat
[266] the Tapuí when they made war against them. "The Ava used to eat us," the Chané would say, "and that is why we detest them."

C
266
648
175
727
Ce
648
175

/328 cont./

The Chané confirmed to me the sayings of my informant and assured me that the Chiriguano used to eat them in times past (1).

C
175
266
721
727
648
Ce
648
175

1. Matienzo (pp. 166-167) expresses himself on the subject of the Chiriguano and the Chané in almost the same words as Lizárraga: "In the land there is a province of the Charcas and close to the city there are some immigrant Indians who are said to be chiriguanaes, warlike people, very cruel, indomitable, and they eat human flesh, live in the cordilleras, have no occupation other than fighting and killing and eating Indians and using them as slaves; they go out at night to plunder on the plains which are near the cordilleras, where some Indians subject to their sovereignty live, and they seize them by the thousand and two thousands and eat them and have others to fatten for eating, and others to serve as slaves; these Indians, out of fear of the chiriguanaes, fled from their land, which had some very beautiful and fertile valleys, thirty and forty leagues from the city of the Plata, and went to some plains and deserts which were customarily deserted because of the lack of water; they live entirely on yucas and cardoons, are more than eighty thousand, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. The deserts under discussion here and where the Chané took refuge are none other than those of the lower Parapití where numerous Chané now live, in spite of the poverty of this arid region.

Ce
[131]

Ce
175
648

It is not at all surprising that the Chiriguano have kept alive the memory of their struggles with the Chané. These ended only in the last years of the 18th century. In 1745 we see the

C
Ce
415
17
648
0
[648]

/397 cont./

these peoples maintained. These relations between Chiriguano and Humahuaca Indians are historically attested to. At the time of the uprisings which took place during the period of the Spanish conquest, Humahuaca and Chiriguano united to resist the common enemy (see Boman, 2, Vol. I, p. 77).

The yambuí and yapepo, of which I made a good collection in the upper Pilcomayo region, provide new evidence, even more conclusive, of this striking parallelism which appears between the pottery of the modern Chiriguano and the prehistoric populations of northern Argentina. To allow a direct influence of the Humahuaca Indians on the ancestors of the present-day Chiriguano living on the upper course of the Pilcomayo in the departments of Tarija and Chuquisaca would be a point of view difficult to defend. The radiance of the culture of the Quebrada de Humahuaca could have affected only the southern Chiriguano and the Chané of the Itiyuro. As for the hypothesis which would make of the Chiriguano the precursors of this culture, it is so absurd, so contrary to all good sense, that we cannot envisage it here. At the spot where the Pilcomayo gets ready to leave the valley that it digs across the Andean spurs to spread out in the Chaco plain, the Chiriguano had Chicha Indians as immediate neighbors whose territory extended to the north of the Quebrada de Humahuaca in the south of present-day Bolivia. It was they who transmitted the special forms of their pottery and its principal decorative elements to the Chané, who in turn left them to their successors and conquerors, the Chiriguano. Perhaps the Chané have not everywhere been the inevitable intermediaries between the two cultures; in many cases, Chicha groups must have communicated directly to the Guarani invaders the principal products of their industrial techniques and of their arts.

C
175
721
727
648
Ce
648
C
17

/398/ We know from 16th and 17th century documents that the Chiriguano constantly made forays into Chicha territory, that they raided their villages, made them pay tribute, and carried away groups of these Indians into slavery, as they did with the Chané. These direct contacts between the Chiriguano and their western neighbors must have contributed greatly to the spread of Andean civilization among them, and

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "tà." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

851 191 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

583 191 591

Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

595 622 556

Death.—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate. The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

763 764 765

The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two crushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

775

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

/103 cont./
799 of the Indians (1).

[721] 1. This mission, because it was the first one north of the Pilcomayo, was the target of the Chiriguano and Toba, who repeatedly tried to destroy it; its elevation above sea level is 662 meters, and it is located at 21° 8' 27" south latitude and 62° 17' 4" west of the meridian of Greenwich.

4. Aguairenta. -- This mission was founded in the year 1849, and at the present time it is the oldest, because for a long time now Chimeo and the town of Itau have been elevated in rank to true Doctrinas /a curacy, also an Indian village newly consecrated to the Christian religion/. Three caciques of three parties joined together for the founding of Aguairenta, since each one wanted the missionary in his town. The distance which separates the Aguairenta mission from the one /104/ of Tarairi is more than 22 leagues by way of a quite level and wide road.

According to what has been described with some exaggeration and for not very good motives, Aguairenta is the queen of the plains, the muse of poets, and the contemplation of the wise men; it is certain that its panorama is quite delightful, as are its meadows, full of fragrance because of the many orange groves. It has abundant water, which makes the land fertile, but it is not found at any great distance.

[563] [191] [199] The settlers have been reduced to a few and are mixed with the whites; almost all speak the Spanish language well, and the customs and style of dress are like those of the mestizo settlers, in spite of the fact that an occasional one may be seen dressed in the old way (1).

1. By a decree of January 4, 1911, Aguairenta has been declared a headquarters for troops, who have had possession of the place since the end of 1910. Nevertheless the Government

/114 cont./

648 721 Once the conquest had been completed through the work of the missionaries and through colonization by the inhabitants of several departments, the Chiriguano had to submit to the rights of the stronger; on several occasions he tried to raise his head by means of general uprisings, such as the one of 1875 and the one of 1892 in Curuyuqui de Cuevo-Ibo, but they succumbed because of the difference in arms and because the whites were well situated (3).

[113]

3. Martarelli. Addition to the Historia de Misiones del Colegio de Potosí, which deals with the Curuyuqui war and the beginnings of the founding of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission.

648 178 /115/ A new uprising seems unlikely today because they are few and because the territory is populated by whites who have taken over the territory by right of conquest and through purchase made before the Supreme Government, but the Indians have not resigned themselves to permanent servitude, having once been lords of their house and land; their pride has been put down by superior forces, and most of them endure their fate with resignation.

To be sure, it is a fact that the Chiriguano of today is not the Chiriguano of other times; he is not the one who fought so tenaciously against the soldier of the Inca army, against the Spaniard, and against the Bolivian soldier himself. This change has taken place, I shall say once more, through the loss of territory and his independence, and in *repeated struggles of extraordinary tenacity, which only* resulted in aggravating a bad situation, and in the loss of their most beloved people and of their lands. For better or for worse they have had to submit to the laws of the Government of the Republic, which still exercises supreme authority over them, in the missions, where it is embodied in the conversores, in the provinces in the person of the subprefects, and in the cantons in that of the corregidors, who generally make use of the cacique or the alcalde to

/120 cont./

762
[837]
[684]
[593]

committed suicide in her own home early one Sunday morning at a height of one meter. She did it by kneeling down.

Suicide is not rare even among men, and there were several during my stay among the Chiriguano. The men, if they are young, commit it in order not to suffer the reproach of their parents for something bad they have done. If they are older than their wives, it is because they have no other way to remedy the woman's infidelity, because there are cases in which a man dominated by his wife and somewhat timid in nature does not dare in such circumstances to throw the bad one out of his house, and thus he believes that he can fix everything by taking his life. These unpleasant happenings and accidents happen in the fields or in the woods.

Boxing and Dueling

175
721
628

In ancient times this race was very numerous and constantly in a state of war against its common enemies, but there were other wars in which one town rose up against another for trivial reasons. In the middle of the nineteenth century there was a bloody war between the towns of Yvu and Caraguatarenta against those of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo because of oppression which the cacique Güiracoti had tried to practice (2).

2. This regional war occurred before Chimeo Mission was founded. Güiracoti deceived the authorities of Cordillera, who were quartering people in the vicinity and around Parapiti in order to repress the audacity of Yaveau, whom they believed to be the head of the revolution.

/159 cont./
622 may be general rejoicing with the drinking of the pretasted
[262] Cangũi, chicha, squash and beans to eat together with Aticũi,
[273] meal, and Atipĩi, parched corn. In his prolonged discourse he recommends union in labor so that it may soon be finished, since the field of the cacique is planted first and then those of the rest, with all of them helping one another. When I came to the missions, the soldiers of the cacique Gũiraesa still did it in this way. I shall speak of this cacique and his family in another chapter.

622 692 The cacique also arbitrates the arguments which frequently arise in the planting season, since even among these people there reigns covetousness of the property of others, should it be good and free of brush; he settles family disputes, admonishing the parents and also their children. If a theft occurs, it is also he who makes claims before the cacique of the neighboring tribe, but if this should occur within his own, he will summarily administer justice. His sentence is absolute and in general not subject to appeal (2).

[799] 2. There are several caciques in the missions, because they are made up of several tribes. The missionary governs them all, with the result that the authority of the caciques is almost nominal.

•721 It frequently happens that, as a result of some affront done to some woman of a tribe, a bloody war begins, which assumes the characteristics of a regional one. This happened during the
[643] 1850's in the Cuevo region. The cacique Gũiracoti tried without
[837] success to have relations with the wife of Yaveau, cacique of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo. In revenge the offended man disposed of a head of cattle belonging to /160/ Gũiracoti; hostilities were then declared and each cacique prepared for war.

/160 cont./

921 648 Gilracoti was inferior to Yaveau in number of soldiers and in personal valor, but with his lies he obtained the assistance of the Indians of Yuti, Choreti, and Parapiti Grande, and even of the whites who had entered the Cordillera country and were living in Lagunillas (1).

1. Gilracoti led the whites to believe that Yaveau was intending to rebel against them; hence he was able to get the regional cacique of the Parapiti, called Chituri, to come with him.

926 929 [648] The large number of the enemy sowed panic in the camp of Yaveau, who, along with many others, had joined up the Toba. The first battle was lost, and he had to hide with his people on the slopes and hill of Irenta, but, once recovered from the defeat which he had suffered through the superiority in numbers and differences in arms and in races, he soon went in search of the enemy, inflicting numerous casualties among them, and Gilracoti had to leave his tribe, retiring to the left bank of the Parapiti River, in order not to fall into his rival's hands and be run through by his powerful arrow and have the misfortune of having his head separated from his body, which on the point of a spear, would have been exposed to the ridicule of large and small in the enemy camp.

622 594 It is natural for men passing through a strange town to go to the political authority for their needs, as happens in the missions. Many people when they pass through Indian towns, naturally go to the cacique's house; the latter receives those whom he considers greater with the kindness and courtesy that distinguish the Indians of the Chiriguano race; for this reason some explorers have believed that it is the duty of the cacique to receive and provide hospitality for transients and strangers, but I can state that they are mistaken.

/165 cont./

643 [721] In the case of a regional war against another region, the great cacique calls a parliament and consults all the caciques, /166/ counselors, and sorcerers in order to arrange matters perfectly and avoid surprises. When the war has broken out, as he is the most important man, he takes charge of the battles, even leading them personally to a successful conclusion, and, should a defeat be suffered, he does not cringe in defeat, but prepares anew, encourages his soldiers to fight more vigorously to take revenge, and is unlikely to suffer another defeat. This is what happened in the regional war of the great cacique Güiracoti against Yaveau, in which, the latter having been defeated by the former, as I have already related, he retired to the slopes of Irenta and from there marched on his enemies, causing numerous casualties and obtaining a complete victory (1).

643 701 727

[648]

1. In the Curuyuqui War there was a cacique named Chaparilla and another named Tunpa, but, as this war was against the whites, Tunpa took charge of the military operations.

643 631 Chituri, a regional cacique, was succeeded by his son, the late Azari, in the entire region of the Parapiti Grande, Itatiqui, Tacuaranti, and Ururigua. Yaveau was obeyed by all the Indians of Itiyuru, Curuyuqui, Ivu, Igüipinta, and those of Santa Rosa, living on the right bank of the Cuevo River; subject to Güiracoti were all those living on the left bank of the same river as far as the right bank of the Parapiti; the subjects of the late Tengua were the Indians of the left bank of the same Parapiti up to Gutierrez; the subalterns of Machirope were, as was told me in the same year 1901, all the Indians of Ingre Canton, Igüembe, and Huacaya from the right bank of the Parapiti to the left bank of the Pilcomayo, which includes an area of 24 leagues from north to south and 15 east to west, and when an effort was made to found a mission in Yumbía, on the left bank of the Pilcomayo, Igüembe Canton, he insisted to me that we should not bother them any more because neither he nor the

/219 cont./

868 to his mother with satisfaction and then tells his companions about it.

/220/ There are also men who teach boys the way to be quick in fights and even the way to dodge enemy arrows, as well as bullets. The man who teaches this is called Puruncanise, or man who scratches. He is the terror of the boys in the town where he lives. The method he uses is to run after the boys, and woe to the one who out of weakness or carelessness lets himself be caught! In the hands of the puruncanise he suffers the martyrdom of being scratched all over his body with long fingernails, which he lets grow on purpose, in addition to the blame he gets for letting himself be caught by an old man. In a second race it is not likely that the boy being taught will let himself be caught (1).

868 554 463

868 852 239

1. Those who are older have the calf of the leg scratched with the tooth of the Acuti /agouti/ by another of the art. A lot of blood comes out of this, and upon recovering, they say that they are very good at running and can resist fatigue much more than those who did not allow themselves to be scratched.

882 When all the boys of the tribe have received practical lessons from such a neighbor, they indeed may be ready for war, because skill consists in knowing how to shoot in order to injure and also how to dodge the enemy arrow. The Indians who know such strategy are called Queremba by their companions. [554]

721 726 797 In the last war of Curuyuqui, the Indians attacked the Santa Rosa Mission while Colonel don Tomás Frías was there. He chose as a target an Indian Queremba who seemed to be the chief of the company and lost some eight or ten bullets without having the pleasure of felling him. Almost all the Indians learn this way of fighting; hence their combats do not last long. That of Curuyuqui lasted eight hours because they were sheltered in trenches.

/258 cont./

527 574 576 When the cacique sees that all has started well, he prepares to go to the neighboring towns to ask their inhabitants to honor him with their presence on the day set, seeing to it that the first invitation is to the cacique or the sorcerer in honor of whom the feast and drinking are being prepared. The one who does the inviting is called Purumuncau vaé, he who gives to drink, and the one invited is called Ucau vaé, or he who partakes. When the one who is doing the inviting has arrived at the house of the one who is to be invited, he explains to him the object of his visit, begging him at the same time to condescend to accept, he and all his people, an acceptance which he and his will consider a great honor (1).

> 1. In order to further influence the decision of the one invited, the inviter, on his diplomatic visit, refers to the old custom of general libations, which it is essential to keep alive at any cost.

The one invited does not have to be told twice: he accepts at once, noting that he should have been the first to set this good example, but that circumstances and a great deal of work have not permitted him to do so, but it should not be left undone for this reason, and then he will have the honor of accepting with all his people. After this act of Chiriguano diplomacy and etiquette which they have not yet abandoned, the inviter takes his leave, satisfied with his trip, with the good reception, the acceptance, and, above all, for having gained the lead on his friend, who with his people, once the fiestas are over, will say this publicly with the following words: ovemana ma pevi, we have been shamed by you, and enecatu ruyepi ne, but we shall take revenge, meaning: we shall not delay in inviting you to our town so that we may enjoy ourselves there too (2).

[921] 2. If the one invited were not to accept for himself and his people, it would be a very grave affront which undoubtedly would start a war.

/273 cont./

721 I am not going to consider the Chiriguano at war with the Incas or with the Spaniards or with the whites who occupy the region. I am going to consider him at war with his own kind, or with the inhabitants of /274/ other towns which border his. Sensitive to the extreme, the Indian will fight on any pretext, however minor it may be considered, such as the abduction of a woman, her attempted violation, cattle stealing, or any other offense: they are enough to make the pride of the native scheme for vengeance and carry it out without any loss of time.

721 173 643 [727] Among the Indians of Ivu there is still kept alive the memory of the four or five wars which the regional cacique Taveáu of Cuevo and its vicinity waged against Yuti, where among the women killed was the wife of the Indian Cairama, who still lives in the Santa Rosa Mission: against Choreti, where, while retreating, he killed several whites: against Itau and Carapari, from where he brought a small cannon as booty: and against Parapiti, where he was defeated, leaving some 200 victims on the battlefield on the left bank of the river. It has already been seen in the preceding pages that the cause which brought about this prolonged and bloody war was the attempt of the cacique Gilracoti with regard to Taveáu's wife, which he avenged to excess (1).

1. The cacique Taveáu waged a war of extermination against all the towns noted, because they all fought on Gilracoti's side, but he could do nothing against Chituri, the cacique of Parapiti.

721 411 My readers, having thus understood that the Chiriguano is very warlike, must be convinced of another truth, that is, that they are prepared to take up arms on any occasion, from which it can be deduced also that it is a fact that in every house they had available as many bows as there were persons fit for war, in addition to having ready as many dozens of arrows, because it was a law that in war each warrior had to carry at least a dozen.

/170 cont./

The legendary figures and their experiences stimulate the imagination, are preserved and retold. The historical personalities and events are forgotten.

If one looks in Chané and Chiriguano houses, one finds many things preserved which are now no longer in use, /171/ but which they value as mementos of earlier times and often do not want to give up. For example, one sees handsome round pipes, "huiramimbi" (Ill. 80), which have undoubtedly been handed down from generation to generation. They were formerly used in connection with expeditions of war. Old Maringay had kept all kinds of things from olden times. It gave me great pleasure to rummage about in the old man's storage places. I wanted to buy something from him, but felt embarrassed to offer him money for his mementos.

I once found a bundle of fine, old, completely smoke-blackened arrow-points stuck into the walls. "Would you not like to sell them to me?" I asked my old friend hesitatingly. "You shall have three as presents," said Maringay. After this refusal I let him keep his cherished things.

Once I rode away from Vocopay's village in order to look up an old Chané who had an attractive old costume. After some hesitation he showed it to me. He had carefully wrapped it in other material. Like an enthusiastic museum official taking out an old gem, he unwrapped it carefully. One unmistakably saw how dear it was to him. Although I offered him a very high price, he did not want to sell it.

The fact that these Indians love their old keepsakes shows that they have a certain degree of culture. This is true only of the old people, however. The young ones are no longer like that; they sell everything without hesitation. What do they care about a worn-out old festival costume if they can get a red, fluttering scarf and trousers with jacket in exchange! The triumphal march of trousers across the world has also reached these valleys and plains.

The Chiriguano and Chané no longer carry on regular war with other Indian tribes. Occasionally, however, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians.

Ce 846 /88 cont./

but no meat (349). Later he can eat sweet potatoes. When the

Ce 553 551 603

349. See Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

baby begins to walk, he is given one name at most, not by his parents, but by his grandparents. Nicknames are often added to the proper name later (350). Orphans are brought up by their

Ce 736

350. Nord. 1, p. 208.

relatives (351).

351. Nord. 1, p. 210.

C 721 From the time they first immigrated to the Sierra de la Cordillera, the Chiriguano, that is, their parcialidades, made war or attacks on the neighboring Indian tribes or the Spaniards. In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have described these hostilities in broad outline. Their weapons of war were bows and arrows and the club. The caciques were also war chiefs. According to what one Chané cacique told Nordenskiöld, these Indians formerly had the custom of bringing home the heads of their dead enemies and of showing them during the fiestas in the town square (352). The Chiriguano capacity

C [411] [701] [727]

C 175 721

352. Nord. 1, p. 172.

for war was still recognized by the Spaniards in the 16th century. In the "Declaración de Sebastián Pérez Chamoso" in 1571, it is said of them: "With the inventions and tricks and mode of war that they have, they have done and are doing said damages unto the Spaniards, Indians, and workers that are in the said fields" (353).

353. Moreno II, p. 107.

C 726 Before the Chiriguano launched their attack upon King Guacane, they reconnoitered with spies the Llanos of Grigota where the

C 175 712 648 /89 cont./

only one way up, very narrow and steep, which, sown with thorny branches, made it more impenetrable. On the eminence of which they had entrenched the gate with stakes stuck into the ground."

Ce 178 648 721 Today the Chiriguano and Chané no longer make war upon other Indians, aside from the fact that the Chané on the Parapití occasionally go on expeditions against the Tsirakua Indians (357).

357. Nord. 1, p. 171.

Law

Ce 671 177 178 Because the white authorities intervene more and more in the original, juridical traditions of the Chiriguano and Chané, many of them no longer exist today and also, from the few data which Nordenskiöld gives regarding this matter as of 30 years ago, many do not now correspond to the facts.

Ce 627 With regard to penal law, we find among these Indians a mixture between the principle of the "vendetta" and the practice of penal law. Among the Chané on the Parapití, most crimes, and robbery in particular, were settled by means of the duel. Ce [685] In the case of theft, the one who has stolen and the one who has been robbed appear, each with his relatives, in the town square Ce 697 643 68 to fight each other. Only homicide, the seduction of a woman, and sorcery were decided by the great cacique as judge. Homicide, which formerly occurred among the Chané in the form of poisoning with poisoned chicha ("bád dyási"), and sorcery were punished by the burning of the criminal. The seducer of a woman lost his property (358). According to statements of the substitute great

358. Nord. 1, p. 232.

cacique of the Chané on the Itiyuru, it was the principal obligation of the cacique to avoid the vendetta by sending criminals to another region so that they would not be killed. Thus thieves, after having received 50 lashes, were sent to another town. A murderer was condemned to work up to half a year for the family

/275 cont./

411 [492] Warriors on horseback, in addition to having bows and arrows, use the lance; it is a piece of a knife or of iron tied to the tip of a stick; note that each warrior, according to what they say, cannot carry more than a dozen arrows, because they are heavy. 534 726 In order to inspire terror and fright in the attack they make on the enemy town, they use the Igüiramimbi, a wooden musical instrument, the Senene, and the Huacananti, or cow's horn (2).

> 2. The first is round, and it is very hard to pierce it, and the second is long. Both are of good wood, and they engrave figures and signs on them. They hang them from the neck by means of a cord. The wood is like ebony.

•722 While some of them are preparing the bows and arrows, the braver men do not remain idle, nor do the women; the latter prepare the necessary provisions and even the chicha to celebrate the triumph, if they win it, and the former encourage the more cowardly ones, showing their ability as queremba in the streets and the plaza, animating them all, making them understand that triumph depends on them and that it is necessary to triumph at all costs if they do not wish to be subjected to the harsh condition of the conquered, thus losing everything, wife, children, home, and property.

726 704 /276/ When all the weapons are ready, those of the cavalry saddle their horses, putting the arrows on the right side, so that they can easily get them in case of urgency, because it is characteristic of the cavalry to yell insults at the enemy and to sow confusion on the battlefield with shouts and the noise of the igüiramimbi, huacananti, and porongos. Then, all of them, [292] foot soldiers, horsemen, and queremba, don their garb, some the [714] jacket /coleto/, others armor of garabatá, and they put on the [411] back of the left hand a strap of pygmy-deer hide, so that they [302] will not hurt themselves when they shoot the bow, and, finally, they all color their faces and arms with ground charcoal dampened in water. Let the reader consider if this army of demons would not frighten even the dead!

/280 cont./

72

Defensive Warfare

But the invading army is not always victorious, as in the case just related. Sometimes it gets the worst of things, and then the complete reverse happens. Those who were left in town weep when they get the news; the defeated men return, and they all weep about the defeat they have suffered, and many for the death of their loved ones. Without losing any time they prepare for defense, because they know perfectly well that the ones invaded will quickly take revenge for the injury received, appearing before them as invaders.

Then there are many and similar precautions for both armies. The town which awaits the vengeance arranges for all those unfit for combat to get to safety with their few belongings at a certain distance from the town and, if at all possible, in a secret place. They position sentries day and night, and any noise, any cloud of dust, any sign is immediately reported to the cacique and to the queremba (1).

1. They put sentries on all the high places. This is what both armies did in the year 1892, the one from Curuyuqui in Ivu and those being besieged around the Santa Rosa Mission.

When a town is prepared for defense, the combat in the area is atrocious, and, if the number of combatants is equal, the invaders get the worst of it. Without surrendering, they abandon the field after a few hours and beat a retreat until all danger has disappeared, and they return to their homes neither defeated nor triumphant.

722 782 While the men fight or go to battle, the women raise their supplications to the sun, throw sand or ashes into the air in the direction of the enemy, and in a very sad tone of voice, letting fall sincere tears which would move anyone, they say in a high voice, Tiamini, cheru cuarasi, tuguáicho pochi, tiamini, tiaminiete, tumano pochi, may they be defeated, my father the sun, the perfidious enemies, may they be defeated, very badly defeated, may the evil ones die.

/280 cont./

000 defeated, may the evil ones die. While the war lasts, it is the
722 rule that women and their daughters must not sit in a squatting
784 position, but with their legs stretched /281/ out in front, so that
516 their fathers and husbands who are in battle will not feel any
828 tiredness (1).

722 1. The Italian del Campano, relying on the
533 writings of Father Giannecchini, a missionary
535 of the Colegio de Tarija, writes in his work
177 that, before the fighting began and during it, women and maidens come out to the plaza and in a loud voice sing and dance the Aré aré. This song and dance must have originated among the Toba, who at that time were numerous in the Gran Chaco region, because in the Ivu region and other regions they scarcely know the name of the Aré aré, and not all share in that knowledge, as has been proved, for in no combat which has occurred to the north, south, and west of Ivu has the Aré, aré been danced and sung.

726 During the Curuyuqui war the Santa Rosa mission was in-
727 vaded by the rebels, who, in spite of their number and strength, were unable to enter the town which they intended to burn. Then and afterward the missionaries witnessed painful scenes of women who, crying their hearts out, raised their voices and threw ashes to obscure the enemies' vision. Bitter memories of that massacre are still retained, at which some of them laugh today, but they cried then. Whenever I hear the sad stories, my eyes overflow with tears (2).

726 2. The Curuyuqui rebels first attacked the town of Cuevo, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in Santa Rosa the night before. In a few days they
[648] attacked the mission, from which it can be concluded that their hate was against the whites, and concomitantly against the Indians who were

/281 cont./

726 648 helping them in the town and against the missionary who had brought them.

Peace

727 728 Every time a war between Chiriguanos ends, those who got the worst of it are the first to resume friendly relations. They do it little by little, and the women are most useful for this, the same ones who, with their tongues, contributed not inconsiderably to promoting hostilities. The conquerers readily accept the overtures of peace and immediately resume visits again, during which, if the conversation touches on the last war, the conquered avoid it, that is, they excuse the deceit suffered through some trick, but from time to time they must silently endure the reproaches of one or another bold woman, who are not lacking in the towns (3).

3. A certain young girl, a student in the Santa Rosa Mission, reproached the captain at Ivu, who was asking for a mission in his town after having tried to kill the missionary. But I have already said that this war was directly against the whites.

701 723 643 [704] When a war is regional because several tribes take part in it under the command of a single cacique, as happened in Yaveau's war /282/ against Güiracoti, both regions try to have an equal number of foot soldiers, cavalry, and queremba; otherwise it would be very hard for the weaker side to enter the combat. Güiracoti came to battle aided by the whites and men from Parapitiú, but, when he saw that he had fewer people, he fled from Yaveáu, who pursued him with all his men (1).

1. The cacique Yaveáu in his first defeat recovered and suitably prepared for a general and decisive charge on the slopes of the range of Irenta, located one league from the Santa Rosa Mission.

175 /72 cont./ The Inca Yupanqui
645 promoted many wars against the Chiriguano with the intention
[175] of conquering them for the Inca civilization, but his efforts were in vain because his army was always conquered by the ferocity of the Chiriguano, who also had in his favor the fact that this was his own land and as a result he knew it well enough to be able to play tricks on the Inca militia with ease.

It seems that the Incas in their insistence on civilizing the Chiriguano brought their armies to the frontier of Cordillera Province. In fact there exists along the top of the range which divides this province from that of Acero and from Sapirangui Canton a fortress of great size, all of it made out of well-set stones, called "Incahuasi," "house of the Inca," and gives this name to the whole range, whose elevation to the south was set up by the law of interdepartmental demarcation as the boundary between Santa Cruz and Chuquisaca, when in the year 1898, the law of settlement was negotiated.

[192] Inca-huasi is a compound word of the Quichua /Quechua/ language; the Chiriguano language does not even have a word which resembles it; it is thus very probable that that fort was built by the Quechua and that, inasmuch as the forces were personally directed by the Inca, he should have ordered houses to be built along the whole top of the range, as can still be seen today (3).

3. The road from Carapariciito to Monteagudo through Incahuasi is not an old one. Don Octavio Padilla had it opened.

174
175 It is also a verified historical fact that after the dis-
169 covery of Brazil and other regions of South America, 4,000 Indians fled from Paraguay, because in the many wars which they had waged against the Portuguese, they had killed the leader. Fearing general destruction, they came into Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo River; in the Gran Chaco they found the region near the cordilleras occupied and inhabited by the ferocious Chiriguano, /illustration appears here/ /73/ but since they could easily make themselves

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 105]

175
648
167
721
726

/Since Métraux believes that the Chiriguano are actually descendants of the Guarani, early culture history of the Chiriguano, in regard to their migrations and relations with other groups with whom they came in contact, will be found in category 116, pp. 1-30. Much of the material in these pages has been subheaded for Guarani SM4 but if the author's contention is correct then the data contained therein may equally apply to the historical Chiriguano./

/314 cont./

Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cusco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the inga's /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuncontyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land.

/314 cont./

E
G
175
721
926
I
721.
701

they caused great destruction, robberies, and deaths.

"This news went to Guayna Capac in Quito, who received it with great sorrow and immediately sent a captain of his, named Tasca, to Cusco to form an army, and with it he was to go to wage war on the Chiriguanaes. The captain left for Cusco, taking with him the guacas /huacas/, Catiquilla of Caxamarca and Guamachuco and Curichaculla of the Chachapoyas and the guaca Tomayrica and Chinchaycoaba with many of the guacas' own men. And he arrived in Cusco where he was very well received by the governors named Apo Hilaquita and Auqui Topa Inga, and, forming his army, he left Cusco for the Charcas. And on the way he took many troops from Collao, with which he came to the Chiriguanaes and waged cruel war and took some of them prisoner, whom he sent as specimens to Guayna Capac in Quito, so that he might see the strangeness of that people. And Captain Tasca rebuilt the fortresses which were there, and, putting in them the necessary garrison, he returned to Cusco, where he dismissed the troops, and each one went back to his land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Santa Cruz Pachacuti, p. 304: "And at this time (of the Inca Huayna-capac) there came the news that the Cheriguanaes had come forth to take the lands of the yuga, which news upset the yuga, and so he sent the most experienced captains for the conquest of the Chiriguanaes, with 30,000 Chinchaysuyo men." /Translated from the Spanish./

/314 cont./

E
G
145
92
926
I
926
901

Balboa, p. 108: "But this fiesta was interrupted by the news from Cusco that the Chiriguanes, a cruel and brave people, had killed the garrisons of the frontiers and leveled the whole country as far as Chuquisaca and its surroundings. Guayna-Cápac was disturbed by this news, disguised his grief as much as he could, and called to command his army a man full of bravery and intrepidity, named Yasca, whom he ordered to punish this aggression. Yasca departed from Tumibamba at the head of the best of the Incas soldiers: moreover, he had orders to recruit from Cassamarca on all the men that he found, in order to wage the war which he was going to undertake: and in order to arouse their valor he ordered each nation to bring with it the great Guaca of its country, which is an idol besides, and to which they very frequently come. He arrived at Cusco with a large army made up of different nations: through all parts the governors welcomed him with affection and gave him great honors. Provided with everything that he might need and his army augmented with the best men from Collao, he continued on his way with the utmost speed in pursuit of the Chirihuanas: many battles were joined, without any victory declared by either of the two armies. Nevertheless Yasca took some prisoners, whom he sent to Quito. He repaired the damage that the enemies had done in the country, and he left a new garrison in the fortresses and on the frontiers: afterward he returned to Cusco, where the governors rewarded the soldiers who had distinguished themselves and permitted them to return to their countries, taking their Guacas, or idols." /Translated from the Spanish./

I
902
978

Ciezza de Leon, p. 228: "(Guayna Capac) sent captains with troops of war to the Chiriguanes: but things did not go well for them,

C G 175 721 926 I 726 701

/314 cont./

for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

C 114 175 921 926 I 912 C 114 175 167 E 175 167 721 926

Gandía (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that García's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

Ce 648 567

[Text Continues on P. 36]

/315 cont./

E
167
175
721
726
CE
648
567

/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land. and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us. and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xristiano garçia. etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

E
175
648
CE
175
648
567

The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves: the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

/316 cont./

E 175 167 decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the E 131 175 167 course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay River in the direction of Caiguazú. The Indians of Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz de la Sierra."

E 175 167 648 In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migration which does not appear to have any relation to that of García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this great ethnic movement: Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer, with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood. The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian, married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race, had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/ knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani, originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River: that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy E of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the [721] villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his [722] father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 41]

/319/

They took from them the gold and silver plaques and ornaments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 700 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

/327 cont./

brutal people butcher them. The Chané are so subject to the Chiriguana that it is enough for them to see a Chiriguana to sit down without resisting, allowing the Chiriguana to do what they like with them. The Chiriguana take them along like flocks of sheep. They eat the ones they want and use the others for work in their houses and fields. If they want to eat one, they only tell him to go and wash in the river and he does it without talking back. He comes back naked; the Chiriguana command their children to take bows and arrows, and the poor Chané tries /328/ to escape the arrows without, however, daring to flee from the spot until he dies riddled with arrows, to the great joy of all who look at him. They cut him in pieces and eat him either grilled or roasted, with corn and much ají /peppers/. For war they use Chané who they think are brave and robust. They treat them according to their barbaric customs and put them in front of themselves; if they do not fight well, they kill them with arrow shots from behind." (Lizarraga, Vol. I, pp. 259-260.)

Last year, going from Cuevo to Igüembé, I had taken a Chiriguano guide who spoke Spanish fairly well and who had lived among the Chané in childhood. He told me in his own way about these wars of former days. His involved narrative recalls that of the Spanish monk. Later I sojourned for some time among the Chané who in their turn alluded to their fights with the Chiriguano and to the cannibalistic customs of the latter. "The Tapui are not the Ava. In times past they used to fight against the Ava." The Ava used to take the women and keep them in captivity. They used to marry the captives. From the sons of the Ava issued the Tapui, they are sons of the women they carried away. The Chané are sons of the captives. When the Chané talk together, it is with words that one does not understand. Formerly the Karai (Whites) used to fight the Ava around Cochabamba. The Karai pursued them to the lower part and left them in Paraguay. The Paraguayans are sons of the ancient Ava. In olden days the Ava used to eat the Tapuí when they made war against them. "The Ava used to eat us," the Chané would say, "and that is why we detest them."

/364 cont./

Fermented Beverages

293 Anyone who has traveled among the Chiriguano or the Chané has learned to prize corn beer, or kāwi. Few moments in the course of my expedition have left me more pleasant memories than the ones when, tired by a long stage, I would sit down in front of a hut and receive from the hands of the wife of the "captain" a calabash full of this liquid, slightly sharp and a little granular, which quenches thirst and allays hunger. The day when the Chiriguano stop making kāwi will be a sign that they have disappeared from the face of the earth, and perhaps this delicious drink will survive them as a creole speciality in which good nationalists will take pride.

[122] [123]

Father Corrado (p. 43) once heard from the mouth of a Chiriguano an admirable definition of the role of kāwi in the life of an Indian: "It is our father and our mother," said he. Indeed, it is the father of joy, the sign of plenty, the companion of the most beautiful moments of existence as well as the most tragic ones. It has within it a mysterious and mystic force which penetrates the individual, exalts him, and protects him against supernatural dangers. All festivals are reduced, in their essential part, to the consumption of kāwi; no collective enterprise is conceivable without their first drinking it from full jars (1). From birth to death, all that affects the

293 726

1. Even in the 16th century the Chiriguano, like the ancient Tupinamba, did not undertake any expedition of war without having celebrated a caouin or a vin /wine/, to express ourselves like the old French chroniclers; /a passage of poetry in Spanish from Barco Centenera, p. 262, is omitted in the translation/.

When the Chiriguano of Parapití and Caipipendí rose up in 1799, before the revolt they held great drinking festivals, during the course of which they decided on the plan of operations (Corrado, p. 254).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages. 000 c 726 c [727]

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves. c 727 266 c 567 727

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapeti River. c 534 177 cc 534

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles. c 535

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited. c 273 628 527

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate. c 276

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com- c 273 462

/67 cont./

173 never name dead persons, with the result that the principal
[551] events are not known because the names of those great persons who took part in them are not known. The present ones know nothing about the many wars which were waged against the Quechua before the Conquest, after the enthronement of the Inca Yupanqui (1400), and /68/ against the Spaniards during the time of the colonization, the oldest people know little more, and we only know somewhat more through the Spanish historians and missionaries of the various religious orders of Paraguay and Bolivia.

173 Through their oral tradition they assert that their origin
167 was in Paraguay, that they multiplied there, and that when
648 the New World was discovered, because they had killed one of the Portuguese captains, they feared the revenge of his companions and fled en masse along the shores of the Pilcomayo River until they arrived in the region which they occupy today, displacing other natives who were in possession of these places (1).

1. This must refer to the flight of the 4,000 Carious who joined up with the Chiriguano here.

173 Nevertheless the oldest and most notable because of their
648 authority in this place give the impression that they originally came from Brazil. They say that in ancient times they had a formidable war with the whites who came from far-off lands; conquered by them because of the inequality in arms and their expertness in the art of war, they were pursued until they entered the plains of the Gran Chaco, which they crossed, com-
726 ing into Paraguay. During the campaign they defended them-
712 selves and built fortifications at several points, of which I know four: one is in Gutierrez, two in Cuevo Canton, and the fourth in Curuyuqui, which belongs to the San Buenaventura de Yvu Mission, where the uprising and defeat of the Chiriguano in the year 1892 took place (2).

2. I recently explored this last. It is one meter deep and one wide, and goes from the stream of Cuevo from northwest to northeast.

/68 cont./

126 712 covering an area of about 2,000 meters; it ends in a hill surrounded by the same foundations. It had its lookout and a small plaza and dominated the whole area.

172 712 These fortifications have stone foundations, are made artfully, and are very large; consequently it is not credible that they might have been built by Indians who were even less civilized than the present ones. I believe, rather, that it was the work of the conquistadors, who, following the example of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro, built them for protection from the Chiriguano arrow; the extent of these walls and the height of the lookouts do not suggest anything else. The old men add that when they were pursued some of them hid in the mountains out of fear or because they were tired and that these then populated the region (3).

173 648

3. This must refer to what Father Cardús says about the time when the Crucefixo /people of Santa Cruz/ settled at the place which today is occupied by the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

174 /69/ From what has been expounded it can be deduced that the Chiriguano race is most probably of Paraguayan origin; the inhabitants of that region also say this to those who annually go to work in the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and to the Indians who in past years went to Corumbá from Yvu, Caipipendi, and Parapiti. For example, they told them that they knew of the existence of a place named Yvu and of another called Parapiti, frequented by their grandparents who had formerly visited their relatives, the Chiriguano. In addition there is a tradition that in a not too distant time many families settled thereabouts traveled from time to time to visit their relatives who lived on the banks of the Paraguay River.

/160 cont./

721 648 Gilracoti was inferior to Yaveau in number of soldiers and in personal valor, but with his lies he obtained the assistance of the Indians of Yuti, Choreti, and Parapiti Grande, and even of the whites who had entered the Cordillera country and were living in Lagunillas (1).

1. Gilracoti led the whites to believe that Yaveau was intending to rebel against them; hence he was able to get the regional cacique of the Parapiti, called Chituri, to come with him.

726 729 [648] The large number of the enemy sowed panic in the camp of Yaveau, who, along with many others, had joined up the Toba. The first battle was lost, and he had to hide with his people on the slopes and hill of Irenta, but, once recovered from the defeat which he had suffered through the superiority in numbers and differences in arms and in races, he soon went in search of the enemy, inflicting numerous casualties among them, and Gilracoti had to leave his tribe, retiring to the left bank of the Parapiti River, in order not to fall into his rival's hands and be run through by his powerful arrow and have the misfortune of having his head separated from his body, which on the point of a spear, would have been exposed to the ridicule of large and small in the enemy camp.

622 574 It is natural for men passing through a strange town to go to the political authority for their needs, as happens in the missions. Many people when they pass through Indian towns, naturally go to the cacique's house; the latter receives those whom he considers greater with the kindness and courtesy that distinguish the Indians of the Chiriguano race; for this reason some explorers have believed that it is the duty of the cacique to receive and provide hospitality for transients and strangers, but I can state that they are mistaken.

/219 cont./

868 to his mother with satisfaction and then tells his companions about it.

/220/ There are also men who teach boys the way to be quick in fights and even the way to dodge enemy arrows, as well as bullets. The man who teaches this is called Puruncanise, or man who scratches. He is the terror of the boys in the town where he lives. The method he uses is to run after the boys, and woe to the one who out of weakness or carelessness lets himself be caught! In the hands of the puruncanise he suffers the martyrdom of being scratched all over his body with long fingernails, which he lets grow on purpose, in addition to the blame he gets for letting himself be caught by an old man. In a second race it is not likely that the boy being taught will let himself be caught (1).

868 554 463

868 856 239

1. Those who are older have the calf of the leg scratched with the tooth of the Acuti /agouti/ by another of the art. A lot of blood comes out of this, and upon recovering, they say that they are very good at running and can resist fatigue much more than those who did not allow themselves to be scratched.

882 When all the boys of the tribe have received practical lessons from such a neighbor, they indeed may be ready for war, because skill consists in knowing how to shoot in order to injure and also how to dodge the enemy arrow. The Indians who know such strategy are called Queremba by their companions.

[554]

721 726 797 In the last war of Curuyuqui, the Indians attacked the Santa Rosa Mission while Colonel don Tomás Frías was there. He chose as a target an Indian Queremba who seemed to be the chief of the company and lost some eight or ten bullets without having the pleasure of felling him. Almost all the Indians learn this way of fighting; hence their combats do not last long. That of Curuyuqui lasted eight hours because they were sheltered in trenches.

/275 cont./

411 [492] Warriors on horseback, in addition to having bows and arrows, use the lance; it is a piece of a knife or of iron tied to the tip of a stick; note that each warrior, according to what they say, cannot carry more than a dozen arrows, because they are heavy. 534 726 In order to inspire terror and fright in the attack they make on the enemy town, they use the Igũiramimbi, a wooden musical instrument, the Senene, and the Huacananti, or cow's horn (2).

> 2. The first is round, and it is very hard to pierce it, and the second is long. Both are of good wood, and they engrave figures and signs on them. They hang them from the neck by means of a cord. The wood is like ebony.

722 While some of them are preparing the bows and arrows, the braver men do not remain idle, nor do the women; the latter prepare the necessary provisions and even the chicha to celebrate the triumph, if they win it, and the former encourage the more cowardly ones, showing their ability as quereмba in the streets and the plaza, animating them all, making them understand that triumph depends on them and that it is necessary to triumph at all costs if they do not wish to be subjected to the harsh condition of the conquered, thus losing everything, wife, children, home, and property.

726 704 /276/ When all the weapons are ready, those of the cavalry saddle their horses, putting the arrows on the right side, so that they can easily get them in case of urgency, because it is characteristic of the cavalry to yell insults at the enemy and to sow confusion on the battlefield with shouts and the noise of the igũiramimbi, huacananti, and porongos. Then, all of them, [292] foot soldiers, horsemen, and quereмba, don their garb, some the [714] jacket /coleto/, others armor of garabatá, and they put on the [411] back of the left hand a strap of pygmy-deer hide, so that they [302] will not hurt themselves when they shoot the bow, and, finally, they all color their faces and arms with ground charcoal dampened in water. Let the reader consider if this army of demons would not frighten even the dead!

/276 cont./

March and Inspection

726 Finally they take leave of their families, telling them to be very careful not to go far from the town. The cacique gives his instructions to the men who stay behind on guard; the women once more tell their husbands to fight like brave men and to bring back the heads of their enemies in order to drink chicha from their skulls, and then, in perfect order, the march of the army toward the place of combat begins. They say that the cacique does not carry arms and that his presence only serves for giving orders that they promptly execute without losing any time (1).

[727]

701 643

1. If the cacique were seen to be attacked or surrounded by the enemy, his soldiers, especially the cavalry, would come quickly and boldly to his defense.

726 The combat is never begun by day or late at night, but in the early morning. For this reason, before the soldiers depart, they calculate the distance and the time that it may take to cover it. In order not to be seen or heard, they go through the woods, if there are any, and try to arrive at night at a certain distance from the enemy town. They make their camp at a distance of four or five cuadras and wait for the dawn, in order to be able to enjoy their triumph, the pillaging and other ensuing things, by the light of day, or to be able to beat an orderly retreat in case of defeat (2).

2. Nobody in the town discovers the proximity of the enemy, because the Indians do not go out of their town after midnight, and the invading horsemen with their horses stay at a suitable distance so that the horses will not give them away with their neighing.

/277/

•726 But before the combat begins one or two of the bravest men go out of the camp at the cacique's order to reconnoiter the field [825] or enemy town. The scouts enter the enemy town with every precaution, imitating, on the one hand, the noise of the fox, on the other the call of the Yancuruntu, owl, and, finally, that of the Surumucucu. If no one discovers the presence of these scouts, the combat when it comes is terrible, but, if they are discovered, the alarm signal is given, and the fight begins at once, into which the ones invaded throw themselves with their naked bodies, and they may easily come out victorious, throwing back the enemy in their formidable charge (1).

1. From this the whites deduce and believe that the Indians are preparing for war against them when they hear the Yancuruntu, owl, in their houses in the country.

The scouts, if they are not discovered, leave the town with much caution, return without delay to the camp, and report to the cacique the state of the enemy, and all listen with great interest to this account. The cacique thanks the scouts for their valor, intrepidity, and daring and once more charges all to be careful and brave in the coming attack. Then he orders silence, and they all rest without sleeping, each group talking in very low voices so that nobody will sense their presence.

726 714 292 Before the hour of combat comes, the cacique and the queremba order the preparations: the riders saddle their horses and come up to the infantry soldiers, who tighten their bows and put on their wrist the deerhide guard, fasten their aprons or girdles at the waist to cover the most delicate part of the body, some of them put on the armor, Ayo, made of tree bark, others the Tiru, lifted to the waist, and all of them put on ostrich feathers, chicken feathers, or maize husks around their faces so that they can recognize one another in the heat of battle, not wound one another, and assist one another in case one or more of them is surrounded by the enemy.

/277 cont./

Combat and Pillaging

726 Finally, the infantrymen get in the center, the horsemen on both sides, and the querembá in front, because they must always be the first to be wounded. Matters thus arranged, facing /278/ the enemy, still in bed, the invading army moves forward at a trot, and when it has come as far as some 100 meters from the town, the infantrymen and horsemen set out at full speed. they pound the horns, pirongos, sonens, and ighiramimbi, all the soldiers raise an infernal shout and sow confusion in the little town. The inhabitants, losing no time, take up arms and come out to fight with courage. The women, children, and dogs add to the confusion and run in terror to hide if they can. Meanwhile the combat is terrible and bloody on every side, the invaders fight with tenacity for victory, and those invaded, for their own defense, for that of their wives, children, and property. They fall, some run through by an arrow, others opened by a lance, those seriously wounded and dragged by their long hair, those trampled by the hooves of the cavalrymen, who charge the unfortunate ones without pity or mercy (1).

[704] 726 727

[621]

1. Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of 40 or 50 families, and therefore the combat could not last for many hours, since those invaded were in addition taken by surprise.

In a few minutes the little plaza and the streets are full of dead and wounded. Some of the cavalrymen detain the fleeing children and women and prevent the flight of the defenders, who--a few of them--have been trying to give up the unequal fight. The fight is over before the sun appears. If the number of defenders is quite low, the invading cacique stops the battle and orders the killing of the few survivors, without concerning himself with those who have already fled.

/274 cont./

726 727 Then they enter the houses, pillage anything of value they find, break all the clay vessels, pour out all the chicha, without taking any for fear that it may be poisoned, and, finally, before the eyes of the women and children prisoners, set fire to the town, which burns until it is reduced to ashes.

[203] As soon as victory has been declared by the invaders, the cacique orders that one of the horsemen take the happy news to their town, so that the women can rejoice and finish the fermentation of the chicha. Meanwhile, when the pillaging is over and the houses reduced to ashes, they divide among all of them the women, girls, and children, and take them triumphantly back to the town. Some lancers lopped from their victims some heads of the men killed in the combat, which will serve as trophies of war.

/275/

After the Victory

727 524 659 The victors are received with extraordinary joy, and then all glances are first fixed on the heads that are on the tips of their lances; they insult them and jeer them with much cruelty, hang them from some tree in the town or in the plaza, and there they stay as toys for the little boys, who set up games using them as targets to learn the use of the arrow and be good shots, and when they have become tired of seeing them there, they take them down, tie them to strings, and drag them through the streets, attracting everybody's attention with their shouting and games. They are thus very inhumane, and their parents watch with pleasure what their children are doing (1).

1. After or during the war of Curuyuqui, they brought to the town the head of the Indian Chabuco, and they did more or less what I have said, with slight differences.

/280 cont./

000 defeated, may the evil ones die. While the war lasts, it is the
722 rule that women and their daughters must not sit in a squatting
284 position, but with their legs stretched /281/ out in front, so that
516 their fathers and husbands who are in battle will not feel any
828 tiredness (1).

722 1. The Italian del Campano, relying on the
533 writings of Father Giannecchini, a missionary
535 of the Colegio de Tarija, writes in his work
177 that, before the fighting began and during it, women and maidens come out to the plaza and in a loud voice sing and dance the Aré aré. This song and dance must have originated among the Toba, who at that time were numerous in the Gran Chaco region, because in the Ivu region and other regions they scarcely know the name of the Aré aré, and not all share in that knowledge, as has been proved, for in no combat which has occurred to the north, south, and west of Ivu has the Aré, aré been danced and sung.

726 During the Curuyuqui war the Santa Rosa mission was in-
727 vaded by the rebels, who, in spite of their number and strength, were unable to enter the town which they intended to burn. Then and afterward the missionaries witnessed painful scenes of women who, crying their hearts out, raised their voices and threw ashes to obscure the enemies' vision. Bitter memories of that massacre are still retained, at which some of them laugh today, but they cried then. Whenever I hear the sad stories, my eyes overflow with tears (2).

726 2. The Curuyuqui rebels first attacked the town of Cuevo, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in Santa Rosa the night before. In a few days they
[648] attacked the mission, from which it can be concluded that their hate was against the whites, and concomitantly against the Indians who were

/281 cont./

726 648 helping them in the town and against the missionary who had brought them.

Peace

727 728 Every time a war between Chiriguanos ends, those who got the worst of it are the first to resume friendly relations. They do it little by little, and the women are most useful for this, the same ones who, with their tongues, contributed not inconsiderably to promoting hostilities. The conquerers readily accept the overtures of peace and immediately resume visits again, during which, if the conversation touches on the last war, the conquered avoid it, that is, they excuse the deceit suffered through some trick, but from time to time they must silently endure the reproaches of one or another bold woman, who are not lacking in the towns (3).

3. A certain young girl, a student in the Santa Rosa Mission, reproached the captain at Ivu, who was asking for a mission in his town after having tried to kill the missionary. But I have already said that this war was directly against the whites.

701 723 643 [704] When a war is regional because several tribes take part in it under the command of a single cacique, as happened in Yaveau's war /282/ against Güiracoti, both regions try to have an equal number of foot soldiers, cavalry, and queremba; otherwise it would be very hard for the weaker side to enter the combat. Güiracoti came to battle aided by the whites and men from Parapiti, but, when he saw that he had fewer people, he fled from Yaveáu, who pursued him with all his men (1).

1. The cacique Yaveáu in his first defeat recovered and suitably prepared for a general and decisive charge on the slopes of the range of Irenta, located one league from the Santa Rosa Mission.

/298 cont./

797 nothing yet begun, but rather with a most evident deterioration
648 of the building and the gardens which the Franciscans of Tarija left behind so well arranged and so flourishing (1).

> 1. When the Tarairí Mission was established through the persuasive words of the missionary, it was attacked by neighboring tribes and by the warlike Huacayellos, who were located some 100 kilometers away. The Chiriguano missions were founded where there was no nucleus of whites.

The people of Tarairí were the first to see a Franciscan father in their territory, and they are the last to understand the material advantages that the mission brings to them. The people of Tigüipa, Macharetí, Boicovo, Cuevo, and Ivu, and, finally, those of the two Parapiti missions, called San Antonio and San Francisco, came to realize that only the missionary could present their territorial rights before the Supreme Government and assist them in countering the ill will of some whites who, because they were too tyrannical, brought about the Curuyuqui uprising, in which the Indian was completely humiliated when he believed he would exterminate all the whites (2).

> 2. Through the suggestion of the missionary, the Indians of Itaiqui were assisted in their small territory by the Prefecture of Santa Cruz, before which proceedings for purchase were in process. Today they have been helped by the Supreme Government, which has proclaimed an edict for measuring and setting boundaries, but they have scarcely half a league left to them, despite having possessed from time immemorial three and a half leagues.

• 926 It has been seen in the course of these pages that the Indian
181 is formidable at the beginning of battle, but if victory does not come soon, he turns cowardly and flees.

000
726
648
181

/796 cont./

soon, he turns cowardly and flees. The eight-hour battle at Curuyuqui, considering that the weapons were so unequal, can be regarded as a prodigious feat, because once the Chiriguano were so far from their towns, they had to resign themselves to winning or dying before falling prisoner.

Infidels

797
197

The adult Indian has no appreciation of religion, whatever it may be. To be sure, first his ignorance and then, more than anything, his pride and laziness contributed to this, because he turns his back on anyone who tries to instruct him. Some of them come to the monthly instruction, but almost all are like those described by the royal Psalmist in that they have eyes but do not see, ears but do not hear, /797/ and a tongue but do not speak, do not sing praises, and do not worship their Creator (1).

> 1. It seems that the demon of luxury has them blind, deaf, and mute with regard to religion and worship and keeps them away from the Spirit of God.

It is not likely that the Chiriguano will ask for the founding of a mission, because he does not want anyone to disturb his peace and tranquility in his own land. He considers the mission an unbearable yoke for himself and for his children. It is almost useless, it is almost a waste of time, to speak to the Indian about the supernatural, to make him yield and accept the mission. He does not understand or wish to understand why *animalis homo non percipit ea quae Dei sunt*. Only when he sees himself persecuted with regard to his person, his family, and his property, only in order not to fall completely into slavery, only to free himself from the harassments which he receives from his fellow man, does he then ask for a mission with much insistence, until he obtains the end desired. This is also one of the ways that God uses to secure the redemption and salvation of an endless number of souls (2).

> 2. There are a number of Chiriguano families

/98 cont./

but no meat (349). Later he can eat sweet potatoes. When the

349. See Méneses I, p. 320, note 3.

baby begins to walk, he is given one name at most, not by his parents, but by his grandparents. Nicknames are often added to the proper name later (350). Orphans are brought up by their

350. Nord. I, p. 208.

relatives (351).

351. Nord. I, p. 210.

From the time they first immigrated to the Sierra de la Cordillera, the Chiriguano, that is, their parcialidades, made war or attacks on the neighboring Indian tribes or the Spaniards. In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have described these hostilities in broad outline. Their weapons of war were bows and arrows and the club. The caciques were also war chiefs. According to what one Chané cacique told Nordenskiöld, these Indians formerly had the custom of bringing home the heads of their dead enemies and of showing them during the fiestas in the town square (352). The Chiriguano capacity

352. Nord. I, p. 172.

for war was still recognized by the Spaniards in the 16th century. In the "Declaración de Sebastián Pérez Chamoso" in 1571, it is said of them: "With the inventions and tricks and mode of war that they have, they have done and are doing said damages unto the Spaniards, Indians, and workers that are in the said fields" (353).

353. Moreno II, p. 107.

Before the Chiriguano launched their attack upon King Guacane, they reconnoitered with spies the Llanos of Grigota where the

726 /88 cont./
712 King was (354). Their towns, described in the preceding, were

354. Moreno II, p. 87.

175 fortified by blockades, in addition to their natural position. Ruiz
212 Diaz de Guzman on his expedition against the Chiriguano found
248 a town near the Pilcomayo which was fortified by two concentric blockades of stone and wood (355). We find interesting data

355. Moreno II, p. 252.

about the fortifications that the Chiriguano made during their wars in the "Relación y breve noticia de lo sucedido en la guerra de Chiriguanos que se ha hecho este año de 1729 por orden /89/ del señor Virrey y Real Audiencia de Chuquisaca por el Padre Bartholomé de Mora /Report and brief note on what happened in the Chiriguano war that took place in this year of 1729 by order of the Lord Viceroy and Royal Audiencia of Chuquisaca by Father Bartolomé de Mora/" (356). These fortifications are described

[113]

356. Unpublished /inedito/ manuscript published /publicado/ by Professor A. Posnansky with an introduction and notes by Dr. A. Métraux. (Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad de Tucuman, Vol. II, No. I, p. 126.)

in the following way: "Continuing on their way (the Spaniards and Chiquitos), now by the light of day, at about a league they found blocking the way a very strong and well placed trench with very heavy stakes stuck in the ground, which, hewn like planks, had loopholes through which they shot arrows. Here considerable resistance was met, because the trench was very well fortified and the Indians who defended it were numerous." In another place it says: "They went on, all now being together, and they arrived at the place where the enemies had fortified themselves.... The fort was a ravine cut like a wall, which had

/314 cont./

Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land,

C
G /319/
175 They took from them the gold and silver plaques and orna-
167 ments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages
727 they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many
726 Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people
C had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a
175 long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the
167 people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting
484 trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was
489 covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

/324 cont./

Ce 6a 648 cites a people of the Zchennte (Chané) in whom by reason of their geographic situation we must see the Chané-Guaná: 'They are vassals and subjects of the Mayaiess (Mbayá) as with us the peasants are subject to their lords.' We also have no trouble in recognizing the Chané in the Queanaes (Guaná) whom Alcide d'Orbigny mentions, according to an old account, as having been subjugated by their neighbors the Chiriguano and obliged by them to cultivate their fields. In C Ce 175 648 567 727 the 18th century the Chané, as prisoners of war of the Chiriguano, had been quartered /Plate V appears here/ /325/ like slaves in villages called Chané after them. When Lozano declares that the Chiriguano call their slaves Chané, an ethnic value must be given to this phrase. The state of subjection of the Chané in relation to the Chiriguano is explained in the linguistic sphere by the name which the first used to give to the second: cheya, 'my master,' the Chané used to say when addressing the Chiriguano, and the latter called the Chané tapii, 'my slave.'

Ce 175 797 "The little we know about the Chané who live in the lost regions of the northern Chaco is connected exclusively with the activity of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries of the Collége de Tarija. The first evangelized the Chané in C [797] the 17th century at the same time as the Chiriguano; and in 1714, they formed with them a doctrina /Christianized Indian village/ in the vicinity of Santa Cruz. It was called San Juan de los Porongos and in 1767 was under the authority of a parish priest. It was only with great difficulty that the Chané could C Ce 175 162 797 be assembled, in 1767 and 1789, into the two missions of Asero and Iti. We learn from a report by Father Pedro Bartolomé addressed to Francisco Aguirre that the Filipili mission in 1789 was made up of Chané Indians whose racial brothers were living mingled with the Chiriguano on the borders of Chuquisaca and Santa Cruz. Viedma, who visited the missions in 1788, found in the villages of the Parapití Chiriguano and Chané who were C Ce 175 648 797 living together, united under the authority of the Franciscan missionaries. The activity of the missionaries among the Chané naturally was to have as a consequence a rupture of the bonds

[Text Continues on P. 51]

/327 cont./

C G 175 567 72 [266] [439] they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there

C G 175 556 721 727 are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the

C G 175 648 721 disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of

C Ce 175 101 181 648 C [361] [197] Ce [131] Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a

C 175 727 266 648 567 Ce 648 175 [161] more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

C 175 /327 cont./
727 brutal people butcher them. The Chané are so subject to the
567 Chiriguana that it is enough for them to see a Chiriguana to sit
266 down without resisting, allowing the Chiriguana to do what they
648 like with them. The Chiriguana take them along like flocks of
ce 648 sheep. They eat the ones they want and use the others for work
175 in their houses and fields. If they want to eat one, they only tell him to go and wash in the river and he does it without talking back. He comes back naked; the Chiriguana command their children to take bows and arrows, and the poor Chané tries /328/ to escape the arrows without, however, daring to flee from the spot until he dies riddled with arrows, to the
C great joy of all who look at him. They cut him in pieces and
[252] eat him either grilled or roasted, with corn and much ají
C /peppers/. For war they use Chané who they think are brave
ce and robust. They treat them according to their barbaric
[726] customs and put them in front of themselves; if they do not fight well, they kill them with arrow shots from behind." (Lizarraga, Vol. I, pp. 259-260.)

C Last year, going from Cuevo to Igüembé, I had taken a
173 Chiriguano guide who spoke Spanish fairly well and who had
721 lived among the Chané in childhood. He told me in his own
727 way about these wars of former days. His involved narrative
648 recalls that of the Spanish monk. Later I sojourned for some
ce time among the Chané who in their turn alluded to their fights
648 with the Chiriguano and to the cannibalistic customs of the
173 latter. "The Tapui are not the Ava. In times past they used to
186 fight against the Ava." The Ava used to take the women and
C keep them in captivity. They used to marry the captives.
[266] From the sons of the Ava issued the Tapui, they are sons of the women they carried away. The Chané are sons of the captives. When the Chané talk together, it is with words that one does not understand. Formerly the Karai (Whites) used to fight the Ava around Cochabamba. The Karai pursued them to the lower part and left them in Paraguay. The Paraguayans are
C sons of the ancient Ava. In olden days the Ava used to eat
[266] the Tapuí when they made war against them. "The Ava used to eat us," the Chané would say, "and that is why we detest them."

C
266
648
173
727
Ce
648
175

/328 cont./

The Chané confirmed to me the sayings of my informant and assured me that the Chiriguano used to eat them in times past (1).

C
175
266
721
727
648
Ce
648
175

1. Matienzo (pp. 166-167) expresses himself on the subject of the Chiriguano and the Chané in almost the same words as Lizárraga: "In the land there is a province of the Charcas and close to the city there are some immigrant Indians who are said to be chiriguanaes, warlike people, very cruel, indomitable, and they eat human flesh, live in the cordilleras, have no occupation other than fighting and killing and eating Indians and using them as slaves; they go out at night to plunder on the plains which are near the cordilleras, where some Indians subject to their sovereignty live, and they seize them by the thousand and two thousands and eat them and have others to fatten for eating, and others to serve as slaves; these Indians, out of fear of the chiriguanaes, fled from their land, which had some very beautiful and fertile valleys, thirty and forty leagues from the city of the Plata, and went to some plains and deserts which were customarily deserted because of the lack of water; they live entirely on yucas and cardoons, are more than eighty thousand, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. The deserts under discussion here and where the Chané took refuge are none other than those of the lower Parapití where numerous Chané now live, in spite of the poverty of this arid region.

Ce
[131]

It is not at all surprising that the Chiriguano have kept alive the memory of their struggles with the Chané. These ended only in the last years of the 18th century. In 1745 we see the

C
Ce
175
648

C
Ce
415
17
648
D
[648]

/397 cont./

these peoples maintained. These relations between Chiriguano and Humahuaca Indians are historically attested to. At the time of the uprisings which took place during the period of the Spanish conquest, Humahuaca and Chiriguano united to resist the common enemy (see Boman, 2, Vol. I, p. 77).

The yambuí and yapepo, of which I made a good collection in the upper Pilcomayo region, provide new evidence, even more conclusive, of this striking parallelism which appears between the pottery of the modern Chiriguano and the prehistoric populations of northern Argentina. To allow a direct influence of the Humahuaca Indians on the ancestors of the present-day Chiriguano living on the upper course of the Pilcomayo in the departments of Tarija and Chuquisaca would be a point of view difficult to defend. The radiance of the culture of the Quebrada de Humahuaca could have affected only the southern Chiriguano and the Chané of the Itiyuro. As for the hypothesis which would make of the Chiriguano the precursors of this culture, it is so absurd, so contrary to all good sense, that we cannot envisage it here. At the spot where the Pilcomayo gets ready to leave the valley that it digs across the Andean spurs to spread out in the Chaco plain, the Chiriguano had Chicha Indians as immediate neighbors whose territory extended to the north of the Quebrada de Humahuaca in the south of present-day Bolivia. It was they who transmitted the special forms of their pottery and its principal decorative elements to the Chané, who in turn left them to their successors and conquerors, the Chiriguano. Perhaps the Chané have not everywhere been the inevitable intermediaries between the two cultures; in many cases, Chicha groups must have communicated directly to the Guarani invaders the principal products of their industrial techniques and of their arts.

C
175
721
727
648
Ce
648
C
17

/398/ We know from 16th and 17th century documents that the Chiriguano constantly made forays into Chicha territory, that they raided their villages, made them pay tribute, and carried away groups of these Indians into slavery, as they did with the Chané. These direct contacts between the Chiriguano and their western neighbors must have contributed greatly to the spread of Andean civilization among them, and

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

175 648 [131] [161] /73 cont./ Before a century had passed after the discovery of this New World, they were numerous in the area near and beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The founders of this departmental city had quite a fight in the year 1575 in order to humble their pride, disperse them, and take charge of the territory; the Chiriguano lived in the areas around Padilla and Tomina, which were founded precisely to contain their advances, since they seemed determined to invade the territory of Chuquisaca itself, whose Audiencia ordered the creation of both settlements so that they might serve as a bulwark and impede successive new advances, new attacks, and devastations.

The city of Tarija with its territory owes its founding to Don Luis de la Fuente, who was ordered there by the Viceroy, Don Francisco de /74/ Toledo, by decree of January 22, 1574. On that date, Don Luis with his army entered the valley of Tarija in order to put down the audacity of the Chiriguano, who were advancing with their arms into the places conquered by the Spaniards. Don Luis and his soldiers were greatly surprised when they found the said valley full of a great quantity of wild cattle, which was to be a powerful aid to his troops (1).

1. It is believed that the wild cattle found belonged to a certain Zárate, who had been forced to leave his ranch by the Chiriguano, who had doubtless made him their victim.

[727] Before the Spaniards arrived and invaded the country of the Chiriguano, they were [illegible] torment of the surrounding tribes, the members of w[illegible] they shot with arrows, or killed, and took captive, subjecting them to the cruelest slavery. But once the whites arrived, they had to have it out with enemies superior to themselves; fearing that some day they would have to pay for the casualties which they had exacted from those whom they had conquered and whose fertile territory they had taken over, they did not act like the Quechua, who surrendered when they might well have

λ [i.e., the Chiriguano. -Analyst]

/160 cont./

721 648 Güiracoti was inferior to Yaveau in number of soldiers and in personal valor, but with his lies he obtained the assistance of the Indians of Yuti, Choreti, and Parapiti Grande, and even of the whites who had entered the Cordillera country and were living in Lagunillas (1).

1. Güiracoti led the whites to believe that Yaveau was intending to rebel against them; hence he was able to get the regional cacique of the Parapiti, called Chituri, to come with him.

726 727 [648] The large number of the enemy sowed panic in the camp of Yaveau, who, along with many others, had joined up the Toba. The first battle was lost, and he had to hide with his people on the slopes and hill of Irenta, but, once recovered from the defeat which he had suffered through the superiority in numbers and differences in arms and in races, he soon went in search of the enemy, inflicting numerous casualties among them, and Güiracoti had to leave his tribe, retiring to the left bank of the Parapiti River, in order not to fall into his rival's hands and be run through by his powerful arrow and have the misfortune of having his head separated from his body, which on the point of a spear, would have been exposed to the ridicule of large and small in the enemy camp.

622 574 It is natural for men passing through a strange town to go to the political authority for their needs, as happens in the missions. Many people when they pass through Indian towns, naturally go to the cacique's house; the latter receives those whom he considers greater with the kindness and courtesy that distinguish the Indians of the Chiriguano race; for this reason some explorers have believed that it is the duty of the cacique to receive and provide hospitality for transients and strangers, but I can state that they are mistaken.

/165 cont./

643 [721] In the case of a regional war against another region, the great cacique calls a parliament and consults all the caciques, /166/ counselors, and sorcerers in order to arrange matters perfectly and avoid surprises. When the war has broken out, as he is the most important man, he takes charge of the battles, even leading them personally to a successful conclusion, and, should a defeat be suffered, he does not cringe in defeat, but prepares anew, encourages his soldiers to fight more vigorously to take revenge, and is unlikely to suffer another defeat. This is what happened in the regional war of the great cacique Güiracoti against Yaveau, in which, the latter having been defeated by the former, as I have already related, he retired to the slopes of Irenta and from there marched on his enemies, causing numerous casualties and obtaining a complete victory (1).

643 701 727

[648] 1. In the Curuyuqui War there was a cacique named Chaparilla and another named Tunpa, but, as this war was against the whites, Tunpa took charge of the military operations.

643 631 Chituri, a regional cacique, was succeeded by his son, the late Azari, in the entire region of the Parapiti Grande, Itatiqui, Tacuaranti, and Ururigua. Yaveau was obeyed by all the Indians of Itiyuru, Curuyuqui, Ivu, Igüipinta, and those of Santa Rosa, living on the right bank of the Cuevo River; subject to Güiracoti were all those living on the left bank of the same river as far as the right bank of the Parapiti; the subjects of the late Tengua were the Indians of the left bank of the same Parapiti up to Gutierrez; the subalterns of Machirope were, as was told me in the same year 1901, all the Indians of Ingre Canton, Igüembe, and Huacaya from the right bank of the Parapiti to the left bank of the Pilcomayo, which includes an area of 24 leagues from north to south and 15 east to west, and when an effort was made to found a mission in Yumbía, on the left bank of the Pilcomayo, Igüembe Canton, he insisted to me that we should not bother them any more because neither he nor the

/273 cont./

175 History tells us that the Chiriguano were not the first in-
727 habitants of the region that they now occupy. Other savages
728 had lived here, who handed over the territory by reason or right of the stronger. Subjugated by the number and valor of the invaders, some of them emigrated to perish, and others remained as vassals in their own land and little by little came to an end, leaving the Chiriguano masters of their land.

175 In time the Incas tried to conquer this extensive territory,
648 leaving behind innumerable marks of their tenacity, but they
[101] had to abandon this noble thought, contenting themselves with calling them with great contempt: Chiriguanos or Chirihuanos,
175 cold excrement. But however warlike or invincible a people
648 or nation shows itself to be or is, its hour to succumb arrives.
797 What was not achieved by the Incas or by the arms of the Spaniard here has been brought about by the patience of the missionary and the tenacity of the whites of Santa Cruz and
648 Tarija. Today the dread Chiriguano is subdued and bows his
797 haughty head. He has been reduced to nothing, and one who does not live in the missions is the vassal of the white man, who has dominated him completely. It is the disposition of Providence, which subdues the proud and decrees that they experience, although much more gently, what they made the invaded ones experience. It seems that in the last war of
[181] Curuyuqui, the Chiriguano learned his inferiority, but it cannot be denied that this race has been one of the most warlike that has existed here (2).

175
648
727
266

2. The Incas tried to conquer the Chiriguano in order to moderate their customs. The Chiriguano treated the Tapíi with great cruelty; according to what has been told by the natives of Parapiti, they fattened them in order to eat them later.

/273 cont./

721 I am not going to consider the Chiriguano at war with the Incas or with the Spaniards or with the whites who occupy the region. I am going to consider him at war with his own kind, or with the inhabitants of /274/ other towns which border his. Sensitive to the extreme, the Indian will fight on any pretext, however minor it may be considered, such as the abduction of a woman, her attempted violation, cattle stealing, or any other offense; they are enough to make the pride of the native scheme for vengeance and carry it out without any loss of time.

721 173 643 [727] Among the Indians of Ivu there is still kept alive the memory of the four or five wars which the regional cacique Yaveáu of Cuevo and its vicinity waged against Yuti, where among the women killed was the wife of the Indian Cairama, who still lives in the Santa Rosa Mission; against Choreti, where, while retreating, he killed several whites; against Itau and Carapari, from where he brought a small cannon as booty; and against Parapiti, where he was defeated, leaving some 200 victims on the battlefield on the left bank of the river. It has already been seen in the preceding pages that the cause which brought about this prolonged and bloody war was the attempt of the cacique Güiracoti with regard to Yaveáu's wife, which he avenged to excess (1).

1. The cacique Yaveáu waged a war of extermination against all the towns noted, because they all fought on Güiracoti's side, but he could do nothing against Chituri, the cacique of Parapiti.

721 411 My readers, having thus understood that the Chiriguano is very warlike, must be convinced of another truth, that is, that they are prepared to take up arms on any occasion, from which it can be deduced also that it is a fact that in every house they had available as many bows as there were persons fit for war, in addition to having ready as many dozens of arrows, because it was a law that in war each warrior had to carry at least a dozen.

/276 cont./

March and Inspection

726 Finally they take leave of their families, telling them to be very careful not to go far from the town. The cacique gives his instructions to the men who stay behind on guard; the women once more tell their husbands to fight like brave men and to bring back the heads of their enemies in order to drink chicha from their skulls, and then, in perfect order, the march of the army toward the place of combat begins. They say that the cacique does not carry arms and that his presence only serves for giving orders that they promptly execute without losing any time (1).

[727]

701 643

1. If the cacique were seen to be attacked or surrounded by the enemy, his soldiers, especially the cavalry, would come quickly and boldly to his defense.

726 The combat is never begun by day or late at night, but in the early morning. For this reason, before the soldiers depart, they calculate the distance and the time that it may take to cover it. In order not to be seen or heard, they go through the woods, if there are any, and try to arrive at night at a certain distance from the enemy town. They make their camp at a distance of four or five cuadras and wait for the dawn, in order to be able to enjoy their triumph, the pillaging and other ensuing things, by the light of day, or to be able to beat an orderly retreat in case of defeat (2).

2. Nobody in the town discovers the proximity of the enemy, because the Indians do not go out of their town after midnight, and the invading horsemen with their horses stay at a suitable distance so that the horses will not give them away with their neighing.

/277 cont./

Combat and Pillaging

726 Finally, the infantrymen get in the center, the horsemen on both sides, and the queremba in front, because they must always be the first to be wounded. Matters thus arranged, facing /278/ the enemy, still in bed, the invading army moves forward at a trot, and when it has come as far as some 100 meters from the town, the infantrymen and horsemen set out at full speed, they pound the horns, porongos, senene, and igüiramimbi, all the soldiers raise an infernal shout and sow confusion in the little town. The inhabitants, losing no time, take up arms and come out to fight with courage. The women, children, and dogs add to the confusion and run in terror to hide if they can. Meanwhile the combat is terrible and bloody on every side, the invaders fight with tenacity for victory, and those invaded, for their own defense, for that of their wives, children, and property. They fall, some run through by an arrow, others opened by a lance, those seriously wounded and dragged by their long hair, these trampled by the horses of the cavalrymen, who charge the unfortunate ones without pity or mercy (1).

[704] 726 727

[621]

1. Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of 40 or 50 families, and therefore the combat could not last for many hours, since those invaded were in addition taken by surprise.

In a few minutes the little plaza and the streets are full of dead and wounded. Some of the cavalrymen detain the fleeing children and women and prevent the flight of the defenders, who--a few of them--have been trying to give up the unequal fight. The fight is over before the sun appears. If the number of defenders is quite low, the invading cacique stops the battle and orders the killing of the few survivors, without concerning himself with those who have already fled.

/278 cont./

726
727

Then they enter the houses, pillage anything of value they find, break all the clay vessels, pour out all the chicha, without taking any for fear that it may be poisoned, and, finally, before the eyes of the women and children prisoners, set fire to the town, which burns until it is reduced to ashes.

[203]

As soon as victory has been declared by the invaders, the cacique orders that one of the horsemen take the happy news to their town, so that the women can rejoice and finish the fermentation of the chicha. Meanwhile, when the pillaging is over and the houses reduced to ashes, they divide among all of them the women, girls, and children, and take them triumphantly back to the town. Some lancers lopped from their victims some heads of the men killed in the combat, which will serve as trophies of war.

/279/ After the Victory

727
524
857

The victors are received with extraordinary joy, and then all glances are first fixed on the heads that are on the tips of their lances; they insult them and jeer them with much cruelty, hang them from some tree in the town or in the plaza, and there they stay as toys for the little boys, who set up games using them as targets to learn the use of the arrow and be good shots, and when they have become tired of seeing them there, they take them down, tie them to strings, and drag them through the streets, attracting everybody's attention with their shouting and games. They are thus very inhumane, and their parents watch with pleasure what their children are doing (1).

1. After or during the war of Curuyuqui, they brought to the town the head of the Indian Chabuco, and they did more or less what I have said, with slight differences.

/279 cont./

727 Those who are older, men and women, surround the poor prisoners and insult them until they are tired, recriminate against them for the war, to which their husbands may have given rise, mock once more the memory of the dead men who did not know how to defend their town, calling them men of no courage, good only for women's work, good only for making chicha, and when they are tired of talking, the festivities begin with drinking, dancing, and singing, with which they celebrate their splendid victory.

The prisoners remain silent, do not raise their heads, do not say a word, and even refuse to eat food if it is offered them. They cannot oppose the brutal acts of their conquerers, who would put an end to their lives if they attempted to do such a thing. 797 The last war of Curuyuqui is still living proof of what has been 727 said, but happily many unfortunate women had help in their misery because of the presence of the missionary (2).

> 2. When the defenseless damsels understood the intention of their masters, they ran away, making a joke of the vigilance of those brutes, entered the school as a last refuge, and learned religion.

727 During the days of celebration and afterward, they start [525] playing their dice game, and they wager the prisoners, who are no good to them, among whom are the mature women, boys and children under seven, and an occasional girl whose new owner does not need her. When they are tired of them, they barter them or [437] sell them for nothing, for a sheep, a goat, /280/ a hat. The [438] sale or barter is not done in the town of the conquerers, but in others farther away. Thus it happens that many innocent boys and girls may find there relatives who would pay even more than what is asked for them.

/280 cont./

000 defeated, may the evil ones die. While the war lasts, it is the
722 rule that women and their daughters must not sit in a squatting
784 position, but with their legs stretched /281/ out in front, so that
516 their fathers and husbands who are in battle will not feel any
828 tiredness (1).

722
533
535
177

1. The Italian del Campano, relying on the writings of Father Giannecchini, a missionary of the Colegio de Tarija, writes in his work that, before the fighting began and during it, women and maidens come out to the plaza and in a loud voice sing and dance the Aré aré. This song and dance must have originated among the Toba, who at that time were numerous in the Gran Chaco region, because in the Ivu region and other regions they scarcely know the name of the Aré aré, and not all share in that knowledge, as has been proved, for in no combat which has occurred to the north, south, and west of Ivu has the Aré, aré been danced and sung.

726
727

During the Curuyuqui war the Santa Rosa mission was invaded by the rebels, who, in spite of their number and strength, were unable to enter the town which they intended to burn. Then and afterward the missionaries witnessed painful scenes of women who, crying their hearts out, raised their voices and threw ashes to obscure the enemies' vision. Bitter memories of that massacre are still retained, at which some of them laugh today, but they cried then. Whenever I hear the sad stories, my eyes overflow with tears (2).

726

[648]

2. The Curuyuqui rebels first attacked the town of Cuevo, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in Santa Rosa the night before. In a few days they attacked the mission, from which it can be concluded that their hate was against the whites, and concomitantly against the Indians who were

/281 cont./

726 648 helping them in the town and against the missionary who had brought them.

Peace

727 728 Every time a war between Chiriguanos ends, those who got the worst of it are the first to resume friendly relations. They do it little by little, and the women are most useful for this, the same ones who, with their tongues, contributed not inconsiderably to promoting hostilities. The conquerers readily accept the overtures of peace and immediately resume visits again, during which, if the conversation touches on the last war, the conquered avoid it, that is, they excuse the deceit suffered through some trick, but from time to time they must silently endure the reproaches of one or another bold woman, who are not lacking in the towns (3).

> 3. A certain young girl, a student in the Santa Rosa Mission, reproached the captain at Ivu, who was asking for a mission in his town after having tried to kill the missionary. But I have already said that this war was directly against the whites.

701 723 643 [704] When a war is regional because several tribes take part in it under the command of a single cacique, as happened in Yaveau's war /282/ against Gdiracoti, both regions try to have an equal number of foot soldiers, cavalry, and queremba; otherwise it would be very hard for the weaker side to enter the combat. Gdiracoti came to battle aided by the whites and men from Parapiti, but, when he saw that he had fewer people, he fled from Yaveau, who pursued him with all his men (1).

> 1. The cacique Yaveau in his first defeat recovered and suitably prepared for a general and decisive charge on the slopes of the range of Irenta, located one league from the Santa Rosa Mission.

/282 cont./

727 728 643 When a regional campaign has ended, the caciques involved, with the intervention of others who did not take part in the struggle, try to re-establish peace, because although the Chiriguano is rather warlike and proud, he is also just as peaceful and desirous of living quietly in his home. Hence it is quite easy for peace to be accepted by both parties, and it is sealed with a general fiesta, first in the town of the defeated cacique and then in that of the victorious cacique. All the great and important people of both regions and of the regions which have taken part in the friendly arrangements come together at these fiestas, and even then they do not turn to talk of the stormy time, except to anathematize the one who, according to them, was to blame for so much anguish; little importance is given to the words of the women (2).

[648]

2. As the Curuyuqui war was against the whites and since the latter triumphed and pursued them to the death, there could not be any party afterward, but in time friendly relations were renewed between the Indians of Ivu and Santa Rosa, and to this day they continue in perfect harmony, because they live with the help of the missionary whom the Ivu people had asked for previously.

Then each regional cacique enjoins his men not to disturb public peace again, and these in turn make speeches to their subalterns at night about the advantages of peace, and both caciques shake hands, promising to decide matters in a friendly fashion in any future disagreement which might arise between the two regions, but sometimes the opposite happens, because the victor finds it hard to yield, considers himself superior, and does not know that negotiations are preferable.

729 728 Finally, each one returns to his town satisfied, the repair of the destroyed houses is ordered immediately; the time of general planting comes, and they all report to work peacefully in order to have abundance once again and with their hopes based on being able to enjoy in time the fruit of the little sweat that falls, to their own advantage and that of their family.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
323
177

the ceramics of the tribes here dealt with. The ceramic art we find among the Chiriguano and Chané is, as we saw, strongly influenced by the culture-zone in the west. There is a great similarity, as I said, to the pottery that has been found in the Humahuaca Valley. It is especially the finely painted pottery which, in shape and ornamentation, recalls the pottery of the culture-zone in the west. The simple cooking-pots ornamented with finger-impressions more closely resemble what is found in the old Guarani territory in Misiones. The main difference is that the pots used by the Chiriguano and Chané are provided with ears (handles), which as a rule are lacking in the pottery from Misiones. The ear, as I mentioned, is a western culture-element. I think the explanation may be, that when the Chiriguano conquered the districts they now occupy, their own women generally or always made earthenware with finger-impressed ornamentation. As we know, the immigrant Chiriguanos carried off masses of women, presumably from Chané for the most part, but probably also from other tribes. The women abducted from the parts bordering on the old kingdom of the Incas were no doubt skilful potters, and afterwards taught their art to their daughters. It is this that now continues in the finer pottery, especially in the vessels used at great drinking-bouts.

C
[727]

It is very evident, as we see, that the Chiriguano and Chané pottery has been strongly under the influence of the culture-area in the west. It would be of great interest to show how far it has also been influenced by the Arawak pottery at Mojos. This cannot, however, be conclusively proved. Not even among the Chané at Rio Parapiti can any such influence be traced. This is probably because it is so long since the Chané migrated to their present district.

Ce
[184]

It may be asked how it is that the Chané at Rio Parapiti have pottery which is plainly less influenced by the mountain civilization than that of the Chiriguano and the

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XXIV

Trophies.

C
Ce
727
[527]

We know from several writers[1]) that the Chiriguano used to keep the heads of their beaten enemies as trophies According to what a Chané Indian named Batirayu told me, the Chané used to bring home the heads of slain enemies. At festivals these were put up on the »square» in the villages. Thanks to FRIEDERICI we have a fine work on scalping in America to which I beg to refer. It is, at present, impossible to say whence the Chiriguano and Chané obtained this custom.

[1]) See PASTELLS P. 30; CORRADO P. 46.

XXV.

Property Marks.

C
Ce
423
177

In part 1 (Map 34) I have already written about the geografic distribution of such marks. They belong to the cultural elements that these Indians probably got from the culture zone in the west.

8:Nordenskiöld E-8,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177
174

Chané) wandered south along the Andes to parts where no dense primeval forests hampered communications. This is always on the presumption that they were not forced southward by other tribes, which may possibly have been the case.

The question may naturally suggest itself, 'How was it possible for the Chiriguano, if they did not establish themselves in their present habitat until the beginning of the 16th century, to have learnt so much from the bronze age culture in the west, which began to decay a few years later?' They did not do so by direct intercourse with this culture, but learnt it from the original inhabitants of those districts, who were for a long time under the influence of that culture. The Chiriguano conquerors were presumably very few in number, compared with the original inhabitants, who most likely had long been under the influence of the bronze age culture. The conquerors adopted the culture of the original inhabitants, these the language of the conquerors.

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané is evidently an offshoot of the Mountain culture, their textile industry has been strongly influenced by it. The most important domestic industries of these Indians are woman's work, and it is probable that kidnapped women have here been the intermediary agents of culture. When the Chiriguano conquered the parts they now occupy, they did so, to a great extent at least, from the Chané.[1]) They then kidnapped a great number of women from these Indians. After being admitted into the tribe, the women taught their skill to their offspring. Being culturally much above their husbands, they would no doubt have a great influence on them.

C
[727]

[1]) See Nordenskiöld (13).

/6 cont./

174 Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any
175 case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great
167 Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori,
648 since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní,
C after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had
[101] settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through which they had previously passed.

Ce In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique
[173] who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before
[648] García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a Guaraní foray.

Gi The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above
175 were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with
648 the various native groups of the lands through which they
Gi passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians,
[567] they devastated their camps /toldería/ /7/ and carried off
[727] with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and
Ce were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as
[648] peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When
[81] the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat
C by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they
Gi
648
175
[567]
[727]

C
G1
175
648
[567]
[727]

/7 cont./

continued defeating the neighboring Indians and especially those of the llanos, and they took off with them many of these as slaves to serve them as auxiliaries in other forays. When Nuflo de Chaves came to the cordillera, the Chiriguano were coming to make war upon the Indians of Poxo or of Misque, but Nuflo de Chaves upset their arrival and made them break off their hostilities with those Indians and the others of the frontier. (10) In 1560 the violent actions of the Chiriguano

10. Moreno II, p. 77.

against the tribes in their vicinity forced the viceroy of Peru to send Captain Andrés Manso to that region in order to found a town there, thus establishing a defense against the incursions of these Indians (11). The report of the Corregidor of Tomina,

11. Moreno II, p. 261.

Don Juan Arce Alvendin, made in 1618, informs us that the Chiriguano at first lived in peace with Andrés Manso, but later counseled the Chané who had been pacified by Manso to rebel against the Spaniards, and they killed Captain Manso and the rest of the Spaniards of the new town. They took over the land, subjecting the Chané and making them serve as slaves. In the statement of Sebastian Perez Chamoso in 1571 (12), the

12. Moreno II, pp. 106-107.

act of violence of the Chiriguano against the Yanacona and Chicha Indians are mentioned, and it is said that they took Chicha Indians as slaves. In the Decree of the Royal Audiencia in which it was resolved that war was to be waged against the Chiriguano in the year 1583, there is mentioned among many other misdeeds of the Chiriguano the fact that they had also usurped and devastated the lands of the Llanos and the Chané Indians (13). By continually enslaving the Indians of the

13. Moreno II, p. 104.

Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

C
Gi
175
648
[567]
[727]

/7 cont./ By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xores, the Mares, and the Yuracares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

Gi
C
Ce
175
648
567

14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

C
Ce
Gi
175
648
162
567

16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 400 Chiriguano of the province of Machareti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

C
Ce
Gi
175
648
567

631 /83 cont./
[643] of Condorillo, we do not have any evidence as to whether this whole parcialidad was under the chieftainship of a great cacique. We only know that the town of Saigpuru was one of the most im-
[195] [027] [632] portant and that it was the most feared by its enemies and that its inhabitants were defeated in the year 1779 by Don Tomás Leso (314).

314. Moreno II, p. 244.

631 632 643 103 According to the reports written by the Governor of Santa Cruz, Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, the Province of "Yvytupue," that is, the region governed by the great cacique Vitupuera, was made up of five large subdivisions. As can be assumed from the report cited, these subdivisions were in part made up of one town and in part of several towns and were, with the exception of one, governed by several caciques. Thus there is mentioned in the first place the subdivision "Taquirán and Caracará," probably meaning the towns which bear these names. As the caciques of this first subdivision, three are mentioned; thus the number of caciques does not correspond to the number of towns. Thus, we are not here dealing with a community which was established exclusively on a territorial basis. /84/ For the second subdivision three names are mentioned, Aguapea, Naipea, and Traibi. Thus it was probably made up of three towns. In this subdivision the number of towns, three, corresponds to the number of caciques. The third subdivision is called Tamboré. Thus it can be presumed that it consisted of but one town, and there is also mentioned but one cacique. The fourth subdivision is called Tendy, and three caciques of it are mentioned. It is stated that one of these caciques, called Abaqué, was the son of the cacique Tendy, thus of that cacique who gave his name to that subdivision. Of the fifth subdivision, Ayaguá or Cayaguá, as many as four caciques are mentioned (315).

315. Moreno II, pp. 123 and 124.

Ce 846 /88 cont./
but no meat (349). Later he can eat sweet potatoes. When the

Ce 553 551 603

349. See Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

baby begins to walk, he is given one name at most, not by his parents, but by his grandparents. Nicknames are often added to the proper name later (350). Orphans are brought up by their

Ce 736

350. Nord. 1, p. 208.

relatives (351).

351. Nord. 1, p. 210.

C 721 From the time they first immigrated to the Sierra de la Cordillera, the Chiriguano, that is, their parcialidades, made war or attacks on the neighboring Indian tribes or the Spaniards. In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have described these hostilities in broad outline. Their weapons of war were bows and arrows and the club. The caciques were also war chiefs. According to what one Chané cacique told Nordenskiöld, these Indians formerly had the custom of bringing home the heads of their dead enemies and of showing them during the fiestas in the town square (352). The Chiriguano capacity

C [411] [701] [727]

C 175 721

352. Nord. 1, p. 172.

for war was still recognized by the Spaniards in the 16th century. In the "Declaración de Sebastián Pérez Chamoso" in 1571, it is said of them: "With the inventions and tricks and mode of war that they have, they have done and are doing said damages unto the Spaniards, Indians, and workers that are in the said fields" (353).

353. Moreno II, p. 107.

C 726 Before the Chiriguano launched their attack upon King Guacane, they reconnoitered with spies the Llanos of Grigota where the

/273 cont./

175 727 728 History tells us that the Chiriguano were not the first inhabitants of the region that they now occupy. Other savages had lived here, who handed over the territory by reason or right of the stronger. Subjugated by the number and valor of the invaders, some of them emigrated to perish, and others remained as vassals in their own land and little by little came to an end, leaving the Chiriguano masters of their land.

175 648 [101] In time the Incas tried to conquer this extensive territory, leaving behind innumerable marks of their tenacity, but they had to abandon this noble thought, contenting themselves with calling them with great contempt: Chiriguanos or Chirihuanos, cold excrement. But however warlike or invincible a people or nation shows itself to be or is, its hour to succumb arrives. What was not achieved by the Incas or by the arms of the Spaniard here has been brought about by the patience of the missionary and the tenacity of the whites of Santa Cruz and Tarija. Today the dread Chiriguano is subdued and bows his haughty head. He has been reduced to nothing, and one who does not live in the missions is the vassal of the white man, who has dominated him completely. It is the disposition of Providence, which subdues the proud and decrees that they experience, although much more gently, what they made the invaded ones experience. It seems that in the last war of Curuyuqui, the Chiriguano learned his inferiority, but it cannot be denied that this race has been one of the most warlike that has existed here (2).

175 648 727 266 2. The Incas tried to conquer the Chiriguano in order to moderate their customs. The Chiriguano treated the Tapíi with great cruelty; according to what has been told by the natives of Parapiti, they fattened them in order to eat them later.

/281 cont./

726 648 helping them in the town and against the missionary who had brought them.

Peace

727 728 Every time a war between Chiriguanos ends, those who got the worst of it are the first to resume friendly relations. They do it little by little, and the women are most useful for this, the same ones who, with their tongues, contributed not inconsiderably to promoting hostilities. The conquerers readily accept the overtures of peace and immediately resume visits again, during which, if the conversation touches on the last war, the conquered avoid it, that is, they excuse the deceit suffered through some trick, but from time to time they must silently endure the reproaches of one or another bold woman, who are not lacking in the towns (3).

3. A certain young girl, a student in the Santa Rosa Mission, reproached the captain at Ivu, who was asking for a mission in his town after having tried to kill the missionary. But I have already said that this war was directly against the whites.

701 723 643 [704] When a war is regional because several tribes take part in it under the command of a single cacique, as happened in Yaveau's war /282/ against Güiracoti, both regions try to have an equal number of foot soldiers, cavalry, and queremba; otherwise it would be very hard for the weaker side to enter the combat. Güiracoti came to battle aided by the whites and men from Parapitiguasu, but, when he saw that he had fewer people, he fled from Yaveáu, who pursued him with all his men (1).

1. The cacique Yaveáu in his first defeat recovered and suitably prepared for a general and decisive charge on the slopes of the range of Irenta, located one league from the Santa Rosa Mission.

/282 cont./

727 When a regional campaign has ended, the caciques involved,
● 728 with the intervention of others who did not take part in the struggle,
643 try to re-establish peace, because although the Chiriguano is rather warlike and proud, he is also just as peaceful and desirous of living quietly in his home. Hence it is quite easy for peace to be accepted by both parties, and it is sealed with a general fiesta, first in the town of the defeated cacique and then in that of the victorious cacique. All the great and important people of both regions and of the regions which have taken part in the friendly arrangements come together at these fiestas, and even then they do not turn to talk of the stormy time, except to anathematize the one who, according to them, was to blame for so much anguish; little importance is given to the words of the women (2).

[648]

2. As the Curuyuqui war was against the whites and since the latter triumphed and pursued them to the death, there could not be any party afterward, but in time friendly relations were renewed between the Indians of Ivu and Santa Rosa, and to this day they continue in perfect harmony, because they live with the help of the missionary whom the Ivu people had asked for previously.

Then each regional cacique enjoins his men not to disturb public peace again, and these in turn make speeches to their subalterns at night about the advantages of peace, and both caciques shake hands, promising to decide matters in a friendly fashion in any future disagreement which might arise between the two regions, but sometimes the opposite happens, because the victor finds it hard to yield, considers himself superior, and does not know that negotiations are preferable.

727 Finally, each one returns to his town satisfied, the repair
728 of the destroyed houses is ordered immediately; the time of general planting comes, and they all report to work peacefully in order to have abundance once again and with their hopes based on being able to enjoy in time the fruit of the little sweat that falls, to their own advantage and that of their family.

/84 cont./

631 [643] Also for the parcialidad of Chiquiacá besides its great cacique, Chiquiacá or Chiacá, 14 other caciques are mentioned, but it cannot be determined from these statements whether these are the names of successive caciques or of contemporaneous ones.

C 175 648 631 We have interesting data from the 16th century on the way in which the individual Chiriguano communities distributed among themselves the different countries in which they were making their depredations. In the "Confesión de Blas Negro," it is said "that to those of the province of caypuru fell the part of tomina, and those of coyagua to the churumatas, and those of tendi as far as misque and tiraque, and those of aguapea up to this road from poxo and santa cruz" (316).

316. Moreno, II, p. 120.

C Ce 175 648 In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have already mentioned that the Chané, and also other tribes as well, were subjugated by the Chiriguano and incorporated as subjects into their communities. The Chané communities which C [928] [648] had originally been in Chiriguano territory or its environs had been exterminated, until at the end of the 19th century, when the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites, the Chané were emancipated from their oppressors and once more inhabited their separate towns governed by their own great caciques. Ce 175 643 We have an interesting item in the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" through which we know that the Chané in times past, before being subjugated by the Chiriguano, had a strong social organization and powerful great caciques. In Puerto de Reyes, Alvar Nuñez met a Chané cacique who had previously accompanied García on his return from Peru and later, after the murder of García by the Guaraní, had fled from them. Among other things this cacique declared "that in his land those of his race have a single headman who orders all and who is obeyed by all, and that there are many towns of many peoples of those of 000 his race" (317). The subjugated Chané were distributed among

317. Moreno II, p. 30.

/76 cont./

174 When experience showed them that they could settle
167 in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen.
241 The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly
433 very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every
[461] type of cereal; maize matures exuberantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hooks and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

433 But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and
241 then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and
511 sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably.
[931] In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /77/ along some stream; plantings of this type are called socorro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

197 By what has already been related it can easily be under-
[101] stood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guarayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guarayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

[194]
[171]

1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

754
756 /147 cont./
731 According to the story of Guarerai, the choncho is the
825 father of good sorcerers, especially those who make it rain, and
176 the chena is the father of bad sorcerers, or those who hold back the rain. In any public calamity in certain places, all the Indians will gather around the Ipaye, or sorcerer, so that the calamity may cease. If this continues despite the sorcerer's promise and he is unable to blame anyone else for his impotence, as the choncho did, he is killed with blows and burned without pity, but if he can blame it on another chena, the latter will suffer the capital punishment, and his protests of innocence or ignorance will be of no avail. Such is the fury of the mob when they are exalted by the harangues of the good Ipaye!

825 Before passing on from these feared and respected birds, I
787 shall say in passing that at night a whitish bird that they call
763 Tetê walks and flies about. When they see it, it is a sure sign to the Indians that in some house the women are about to cut their hair as a sign of mourning, that is, that someone in the town will die. As for the small owl /lechuza/, Suinda, the beliefs of the Chiriguano are the same as those of the common people of Europe and America, the differences among them being slight (1).

765 1. As will be seen, mourning among the Chiriguano women consists of cutting their hair and wearing the dirtiest rag on their heads. Mourning is always complete, that is, they observe strict mourning for any dead person.

756 /148/ Good sorcerers, represented by the choncho, are very
754 compassionate, and they do everything possible so that the race may enjoy good health, fortune, good crops, without experiencing hunger or epidemics, while bad sorcerers bring every evil to the poor Chiriguano. They hold back rain and order epidemics, as well as hunger and death. Bad sorcerers are called Mbaecuá.

754 The Chiriguano does not die because it is so decreed, because
761 it is a condition of human nature; he does not die as a result of sin of the first man. He dies because bad sorcerers exist; without

/148 cont./

754 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where
761 God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something
753 the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[761]

1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

756 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others
622 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a
623 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has
643 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of
571 the lower caciques; they discuss the appropriate measures to
● 731 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The
755 first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very
756 great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make
554 him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there
731 is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /149/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

/149 cont./

755 embassy to the sorcerer is the cacique, and his
756 companions limit themselves to saying Añete,
554 that is how it is, just as the altar boy or sacristan
731 says amen.

756 Of course, his arrival is awaited anxiously. All surround
554 him in order to welcome him and give him demonstrations of
574 affection. There is no family which will not bring him whatever
731 it can so that he may cure well. Cooked chickens, boiled eggs,
[178] live lambs, and plenty of chicha are all presents for the great rascal. All of this is still done for any sorcerer.

755 After a short rest, a good meal, and better refreshments,
756 the sorcerer opens his ceremonial with numerous questions in
731 order to try to discover who brought the epidemic to the town, in case it has come in already. If so, he continues in this way and his exorcisms are daily, general for the town, and special for each sick person, as I shall say farther on.

But if the sickness has not come in, he gathers together all of the principal men, they make cigars of tobacco wrapped in maize husks, gather in a circle, light the cigars, and blow smoke in every direction, the sorcerer observing which way the smoke is going. When the location is more or less known, they all go there, club in hand. The sorcerer makes a small excavation and takes from it the charm which he has put there beforehand without being seen; it consists of old, dirty rags mixed with hairs and small bones. Then he burns all that in the presence of the company, strikes the ground with his club and feet, being imitated by all (2).

2. It is not uncommon that the sorcerers themselves take the clothing of persons with smallpox from one town to another in order that the contagion may spread and that they may have some pretext for profit and a life full of gifts.

/149 cont./

755 This done, they return to the town with an air of triumph
756 and pass through all of it, raining blows with their clubs on the
•731 corners of the plaza and the houses of the most notable persons,
and, the performance ended, he directs his discourse to those
who surround him and the others who have come out of their
houses. He tells them that they must not be afraid and that they
should have confidence in him, for the illness over which he is
the master has been dispelled.

He then takes a rest from his labors for several days, takes
his leave of the cacique and the principal men, blessed by the
frightened inhabitants, and returns to his town. Anyone can
understand that, if there is no epidemic, it is a coincidence
which will give considerable renown to the rascally impostor, and,
if there is one, the blame falls on the townpeople or on some
other /150/ bad sorcerer. Then he returns and becomes the
healer for all of them. In smallpox epidemics the sorcerer is
always one who has had it and who as a sad sign thereof has his
face and his nose covered with pox.

755 In the first months after I arrived at the Santa Rosa Mission,
756 an epidemic began to break out; without my realizing what was
731 happening, exorcisms against the smallpox were being carried
164 out by the sorcerer Biringa, but as this disease had thoroughly
invaded the town by the end of the year, he returned and paid
well for his deceits; his threats that he would make the 255
male students of the school perish were of no avail since both
they and the female students became sick, but only one of the
boys and seven of the girls died (1).

1. The girls of the Santa Rosa school numbered 235 in the year of the smallpox; those who were dangerously sick received the viaticum before they were taken to the lazaretto. Those about to die even received Extreme Unction in the lazaretto. In January of 1904 there were more than 500 persons in the latter.

/150 cont./

756 789 •731 824 [197]

Even for rain the sorcerers perform their incantations with their maize-husk cigar, making a turn in the planted fields, but if the drought is general, the incantations are public performed in the town in front of the house of the principal cacique. One of these was performed in the early days of the above-mentioned mission. The missionary had admonished them to stop it, but when they answered insolently, he formed or organized a commission with shotguns and old rifles. The three or four sorcerers fled, but one of them fell into the hands of the commission, was punished for his insolence, and in a few minutes a torrential shower refreshed the entire territory of the mission.

756 755

In concrete cases, when the sorcerer is required by a particular family, he establishes himself in the house of the sick man; he asks him a thousand questions regarding the sickness, the houses that he has frequented, the friends with whom he has drunk, the companions with whom he has played, and the things that he has earned. Then he lights his maize-husk cigar and smokes, blowing the smoke over the body of the patient, especially the affected part.

Then, depending on the greater or lesser seriousness of the illness, depending on the nature of the disease, whether it requires blows or joltings, which is the most likely, he delivers them so atrociously that they are likely to end the patient's life, and if not he is content with rubbing the affected part hard /151/ and sucking it with his mouth, extracting from the patient's body the worms which the rascal has hidden in his mouth (1).

[164]

1. In many cases worms can be found in the bodies of these Indians between the flesh and the skin. I myself, with the use of fenelina, have made worms as big as chickpeas come out of their bodies, without their having had any wound at all.

/169 cont./

In both cases the ranchos which had been formed were left destroyed, despite the fact that the latter, because they had been built under the direction of the missionary, were quite comfortable, new, and /170/ well covered with red straw /paja colorada/, which is the best for the construction of ranchos.

731 361 The Chiriguano Indian does not do this. He also on occasion suffers from a scarcity of supplies, because the land on which he lives produces harvests only when there is no lack of rain. In times of scarcity he bars the door of his house [574] with poles or thorns, temporarily leaves his town, and goes off to distant lands in search of food, gets it, and brings it to his home, but he does not emigrate en masse, nor does he build temporary huts in a foreign place or town, and if he has any relatives in the places where there is abundant food, he seeks them out and is welcomed and well treated by them. He remains there for weeks and even months, until his fellows are tired of him, and then he takes his leave, taking the little food that is offered to him as something precious, and in fact it is in times of hunger.

361 [62] [592] Chiriguano towns are small, consisting of a few houses, most of them not exceeding 20 or 30 houses; these are large and in each one there are up to three families, but close relatives, such as father and married son and married daughter; they form a square and are so situated as to enclose the little plaza. They are not pretty, but they are clean; they are not large, but neither are they as small as those of some towns of the whites. These Chiriguano towns are poor; it is hard to [342] find in them houses with tiles, but they are comfortable, with the roofs, as will be said, having the necessary slope so that they do not readily admit drips (1).

[354]

1. In the upper part of the house they make a long, continuous opening to allow the smoke to escape; it is made in such a way that it does not allow water to come in during the rainy season.

/152 cont./
earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other 123
fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout. 439

There are always two villages in these mission stations, 437
one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt 361
more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more 797
fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent.

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through 133
which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected [135]
mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco. The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The wood- 137
land, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monoto- 241
nous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the droughts seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge 731
swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the 136
woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds.

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting 114
Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti.

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the 133
/153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand. If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of 137
bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti.

/154 cont./

One might be surprised that a person would want to live in this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter their valuables for maize.

For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians.

The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy season it probably rains there too.

From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a /155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Batirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio

/159 cont./

things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78).

From Maringay I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of Mimosaceae, cacti, small algorrobas, and other fine-leaved trees. This woodland is seldom so dense than one cannot easily get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa,

Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth. Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger.

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and across the great plain of Boyuovis, over the country that was the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuqui, they fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the right to rob all weaker peoples.

After my excursion to Maringay I left the land of the Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already described in this book, to the Choroti and Ashluslay.

C 114 C Ce [197] /2 cont./ outside of the Toba, whom I met only in passing, I got to know on this journey the Chiriguano and the Izozó, who, like the former, speak a dialect of the Guaraní language; the Tapieté, Churupí, Mataco, and Chorote. All of these Indian tribes are not unknown in ethnological literature. C 175 114 797 On Chiriguano history we are oriented through old documents from even the first years of the Spanish conquest, and we owe to the Franciscan missionaries, who have taught among them for a long time, quite important ethnological publications. A 114 101 The Churupí have been studied minutely under the name Ashluslay by Erland Nordenskiöld, and the Oblates of Immaculate Mary in Esteros and Lake Escalante are striving intensively to make ethnological investigations. C 121 I have proposed to deal with all of these tribes systematically. This survey will be made on the basis of the results of my journey, and I begin in this first publication with the Chiriguano and Izozó.

General Information

C Ce 114 361 As I said in the introduction to this work, I first met the Chiriguano in Machareti and the Izozó in the area around the fort of Toledo and in the fort "15 de Agosto," several kilometers from the former two.

C 361 [632] [797] Figure 1 3 presents a view of Machareti, a Chiriguano town created in its present form by the Franciscan mission. When the Paraguayan army retook Machareti, it had already been abandoned by the Padres, and now a Chiriguano, in the role of commissioner /comisario/, is the chief of the town, there C [342] [363] also being a few caciques. The houses, more or less in the form of modern ranchos (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 /see p.40 /), are on both sides of wide streets which run parallel and at right angles, as in most of the towns of the former Spanish colonies. C [731] When I was present in Machareti, there was great need /3/ among these Indians because of the severe drought which had ruined their plantings, which were some distance from the C [342] town. At the side of the ranchos are often found deposits which were structures of native houses built on sticks. Although

3 [See P. 8 -- Analyst]

/38 cont./

Ce 412 773

of the Indians of South America who have agriculture. In one of these legends it is said that (177) Tunpa, after having

177. Nord. 1, p. 260.

created the grandparents of the Avás (Chiriguano) and Chané, gave them a wooden spade and a long carved stick, called "carumpa," and bows and arrows so that they might feed themselves with these implements. In the other legend it is told that the jaguar goes to get the punches when the fox wants to help him plant his field (178). From the indications

C 412

178. Nord. 1, p. 289.

by Métraux mentioned in the foregoing, it follows that the Chiriguano still use such an implement in their agriculture.

C Ce 241 773

The Chiriguano in Machareti had some plantings near their town, but, because of the extraordinary drought at that time, these had produced nothing. The Izozó near Toledo had cleared large areas, but were unable to plant for the same reason. According to Nordenskiöld (179), the large

C Ce 241

179. Nord. 1, p. 183.

plantings of the Chiriguano and the Chané are often far from their towns and are enclosed by thickets.

The Raising of Livestock

C Ce 231

Of the domestic animals native to South America, the Chiriguano and the Chané have the South American dog, which today is mixed with the blood of European dogs (180).

180. Nord. 1, p. 187. Nord. 2, p. 49.

/214/

753 had asked for her as his wife, a proposal which had not been
754 accepted; but it must be noted that the Indians attribute every death to sorcery.

765 The loss of this child was greatly mourned by relatives
[764] and others, and her parents, who loved her very much, burned all of the clothes and things that she had, in addition to having buried with her the best and abundant clothing which her father had just brought her from the Argentine Republic. The girl had three donkeys which had been given to her by her father. They sold them in order not to see them any more, in order not to be reminded of their late daughter each moment and immediately weep.

855 I have related this event so that my readers may know
765 that the Chiriguano love their children whether male or female, so that they may see the grief they feel, and so that they may know that in case of hydrophobia the medicine which I administered to the girls Ana and Delina is a good remedy; after the last fever they are now completely well (1).

.114

1. If some new missionary or other readers may not know of it, let them now know that ammonia drunk as drops in water and placed on snake bites and bites of other poisonous animals or insects is very efficacious. In ignorance of having been bitten by a spider, I suffered the consequences for seven months and got well as soon as I applied ammonia to it. For another bite I used ink very efficaciously; it is enough to paint the bitten part with it.

845
847

Deformed Children

● 732 It is not easy to ascertain why the Chiriguano kill their children who are born deformed. Some writers have stated that they do it so that all will be valiant warriors, but this reason is not satisfactory because deformed women are not found either, and certainly women are not good for war.

/214 cont./

845 I judge that they take away the lives of these unfortunates,
847 not to do them harm, but to do a highly philanthropic act for
732 them, since they would have even greater suffering were they to be left blind, crippled, lame, one-handed, mute, and deaf for the rest of their lives (2).

[171] [734]

2. Similar philanthropic acts are still practiced among the Toba and other tribes; so that they will not suffer much and long, they also bury sick persons alive.

732 Today one sees an occasional deformed person, and these isolated cases are either due to parents not brave enough to kill /215/ their children or perhaps they can be attributed to
181 illnesses contracted at an advanced age. As a conclusion to the present chapter, let it be noted that some have written things about which they know nothing, making the Chiriguano out to be ferocious wild animals without compassion, but a particular fact cannot be used to draw general conclusions. True explorers state, as I do, that in general the Chiriguano is humanitarian; he loves his relatives in life and in death, and they are astounded by the conduct of the whites, who upon the death of their relatives slaughter cattle, drink brandy, and play as if it were a fiesta (1).

000

1. The conduct of certain civilized persons should not be reproved by the world. Even in the most civilized nations there are benefit dances. They drink, dance, and do other things, while the poor or the sick suffer. The Catholic takes out his money and gives it away in secret, without ever bragging about it; this is the true way to help humanity.

/207 cont./

says it is probably known to all Brazilian tribes. On the other hand, the custom of the couvade seems to be unknown to the Quichua /Quechua/ and Aymara, that is to say, to the mountain culture in Bolivia and Peru. This is one of the many contrasts between the Indians of the mountains and of the virgin forest.

The Gúarayú Indians of northeastern Bolivia told me that if a man goes hunting immediately after his wife's confinement and, for example, shoots a parrot, he might kill his child. That is, during the first days of life the soul of the child follows the father.

Illegitimate children are very rarely born among the Chané and Chiriguano. I believe, perhaps I am mistaken, that the women of these Indians are chaste before they marry. On the Rio Itiyuro, among about 500 Chané, there was only one child born to an unmarried woman. Deformed children are very rarely born. Thus, from what I saw and what Batirayu said, in the entire Parapiti Valley, among 1500-2,000 Chané, there is no one who was born blind, none cross-eyed, no idiot, and only one with deformed extremities, and four deaf mutes. I did not observe any Indians with a serious stutter.

I do not know whether among these Indians, too, deformed children are immediately killed, but this is probably the case. Nor do I know whether abortion occurs. It is certain, however, that these healthy women seldom bear children who are not well formed. Nevertheless, in the Parapiti valley, as was said, there was a boy with deformed extremities. One hip bone was too short and one arm was also crippled. This boy was treated by all with extraordinary kindness, /208/ and loud approval was expressed when I gave him a few small presents.

When the child begins to walk, it is given a name. This is not given by the father or mother, but by its grandparents. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti I wrote down a few names. If it is a boy, he is called, for example, yatéurembi (lip of the tick), huásucaca (guanaco), tátunambi (armadillo ear), yánducúpe (ostrich back), vacainyáca (cow head), aguárachivi (fox urine), derésa paravéte (your poor eyes); if it is a girl, for example, árasaypoti (guava blossom) (1). A great many of the names are

1. Psidium guayava.

/214 cont./

845 I judge that they take away the lives of these unfortunates,
847 not to do them harm, but to do a highly philanthropic act for
732 them, since they would have even greater suffering were they to be left blind, crippled, lame, one-handed, mute, and deaf for the rest of their lives (2).

[171]
[734]

2. Similar philanthropic acts are still practiced among the Toba and other tribes; so that they will not suffer much and long, they also bury sick persons alive.

732 Today one sees an occasional deformed person, and these isolated cases are either due to parents not brave enough to kill /215/ their children or perhaps they can be attributed to
181 illnesses contracted at an advanced age. As a conclusion to the present chapter, let it be noted that some have written things about which they know nothing, making the Chiriguano out to be ferocious wild animals without compassion, but a particular fact cannot be used to draw general conclusions. True explorers state, as I do, that in general the Chiriguano is humanitarian; he loves his relatives in life and in death, and they are astounded by the conduct of the whites, who upon the death of their relatives slaughter cattle, drink brandy, and play as if it were a fiesta (1).

000

1. The conduct of certain civilized persons should not be reproved by the world. Even in the most civilized nations there are benefit dances. They drink, dance, and do other things, while the poor or the sick suffer. The Catholic takes out his money and gives it away in secret, without ever bragging about it; this is the true way to help humanity.

/124 cont./

797 Religion, that of reading and writing, and even the art of musical chords, which is only seen in the great centers of the world (2).

[533] 2. In the Potosí missions there are four music bands, and in those of Tarija, two.

The history of the Tarija missions is glorious in all of its pages. The reader can consult, whenever he wishes, the one of the Colegio of Potosí in its two epochs as well. This will cast a brilliant light upon the matter, and the traveler can say nothing to contradict it when, ecstatically, he contemplates the grandiose, strong, and well-planned edifice of the Santa Rosa Mission, that of the elevated Machareti Mission, that of the old or semisecular Tarairi Mission, and the one which, as though by enchantment and with order, is being built in the mission of San Antonio del Parapiti Grande.

797 All of this shows that the Chiriguano, in spite of his
157 indolence, is docile, and with gentleness and a little strictness
177 at the same time he will do whatever the white and the missionary wish him to do. It finally demonstrates that, though he does have his vices and defects, certain human virtues are not lacking. It shows that it is necessary to educate his nature by teaching, with civilization, as the carpenter with his plane smooths a piece of wood if he wants to make the job elegant, or a blacksmith with his file smooths the rough iron until he has made a key, a lock, or any other object.

/125/ Philanthropy

577 To end this third chapter and then pass on to deal with
829 Chiriguano religion, I am going to say in passing that they are very compassionate with the unfortunate. If one of them suffers the harshness of imprisonment, they all make every effort to ask that he be freed and will even sacrifice whatever they may
• [936] have to obtain it. If someone is sick, he is visited by many; if one is left an orphan, all are his fathers, mothers, grandparents, and brothers and sisters, or at least they are his uncles and aunts or brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

/125 cont./

736 [578] Thus, being an orphan is unknown among these Indians, and the worst insult that can be given to a Chiriguano is to call him Tinei, orphan, or paravete, poor. The family which takes charge of an orphan who was left without a father or mother or close relatives, treats him better than its own children. To the latter it shows strictness and obliges them to do certain chores of minor importance, but to the orphan never. He works because he wants to, and he sees that gratitude to his new parents demands it of him. He remains in the house in which he is a guest until the age of puberty, and then, with no thanks whatever, he disappears and goes to live in other towns, where he may settle down temporarily or forever, depending upon how well he may be received there (1).

576

1. Chiriguano boys never thank anyone for anything, but when they take leave they say Ayema, I am leaving. Old people and adults utter an occasional word of thanks.

574 609 With transients or travelers, whether they be Indians or whites, they use proper manners. If there is chicha in the house, it is the first thing that they offer him when he has taken a seat, and then they prepare for him whatever food is available. There are travelers who remain in a Chiriguano house for weeks and months, and never does the Indian get tired of him. He serves him just as he served him on the first day, and when he leaves he even makes him promise to come back to visit. Oh, how the barbarians who are called savages shame the conduct of so many men who call themselves civilized, and, greater dishonor, Catholic Christians! They treat inhumanely their fellowmen, comparing them with quadrupeds. They cheat the helpless, are bad examples for the unfortunate, making them pay dearly in times of want for even a handful of maize, while the Indian, when he has it, will give it away, or charge very little for it, and makes no request for payment should the white come to his house to ask for water or for chicha, which is never lacking in times of abundance (2).

2. I have seen maize sold on the scales at

/211 cont./

853 262 There is no special food or more abundant food for mothers after childbirth. She who gives her breasts to her little one eats little and extremely poorly. Her ordinary food is parched maize, parched maize meal, bread made of the same, herbs, beans, gourds, other things of this nature, and rarely a little purchased beef, other meat from animals that died from sickness, lack of pasture, or snake bite, and, finally, game or chicken. In spite of this extremely bad food, milk is abundant in her breasts; the children are almost always hanging from them and sucking and never seem to dry them up, which indicates that they are excellent nursers.

648 464 853 Mestizo or white mothers who sometimes have little or no breast milk because of sickness or some accident make contracts with Chiriguano mothers, pay them well, and treat them better, but it seems that continued good and satisfactory nursing harms them, /212/ it also being prejudicial to the breast as well as to both newborn babies, the weaker child succumbing first (1).

1. Naturally the Chiriguano women refuse to be wet nurses for white children, because they abhor them. When through experience they learn of the sad consequences, communicated by others, they resist even more and only do it when force or the right of the stronger prevails.

845

Twins

[163] [165] Multiple births are rare, and those of two children are frequent. In the former case the newborn babies die very soon, and in the latter case one almost always lives, and many times both live. When twins survive or through the death of the mother a newborn child is left an orphan, it is very easy for the grandmother to care for one twin or the orphaned child. [853] [824] Although the old woman may have reached or passed 60, she

736 603

/212 cont./

736 603 824 853 very easily manages to make the milk come down. She grinds watermelon seed or sarsaparilla root, Isipocagua, and washes herself repeatedly, squeezing herself over or above her breasts, and makes the famished child suck continuously for several days, and in a short time she achieves the desired result. Sometimes even young women lose their milk. They then look for the root and juice of the sámolo, or cipoi, wash the breasts with this juice, and succeed in nursing their children again (2).

2. In the confirmation administered by the Bishop in October, 1909, in Ivu Mission, an old woman of some 60 years of age presented her granddaughter, whom she had nursed. She is still alive, and so is the twin granddaughter, although not very strong.

Joy and Grief

855 For the Chiriguano race their joy at the birth of a male child is the same as at that of a female child, because if the former helps his father in field chores and in hunting and fishing, the latter helps her mother in household chores, and the father as much as the grandfather very much like to eat meal which has been ground by the hands /213/ of their daughter 765 or granddaughter. If either one dies, the grief that the old 855 people feel is very heavy. I witnessed many times a mother's agonies of grief over the death of her son and the profound feeling of the father over the irreparable loss of his idolized daughter.

797 758 164 What I am going to relate will better convince my readers. In the month of July in the year 1909, a rabid dog at the girls' school of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission bit Cecilia Yaguándai slightly and Ana Yarandui and Delina Aragúndai more severely. The two latter, younger than the

/295 cont./

765 589 When the year of mourning ends, the widow continues her silence until one of the relatives of the deceased visits her with all respect as a person worthy of veneration, because she has wept much and with grief for the dead; he tells her that this is now enough, that she can go out and again appear at the public drinkings, since this visit takes place two or three days before some general drinking affair. The widow makes them ask her many times and once more reflects on the virtues /296/ and greatness of the husband she has lost through death; she curses the bad sorcerers and poisons, finally consenting to stop mourning, leave the house, and take part in the coming fiesta (1).

1. During the year of mourning the widows are continually cloistered in their homes, coming out only when they have to; they go to the spring for water and to the field for food.

[302] [301] [292] During the year the hair has grown out at least some 30 centimeters; she then removes the rag from her head, combs her hair carefully, puts the well-known cosmetic on her face and feet, adorns her neck and arms with necklaces and bracelets, dresses in her best tipoy, and goes out with some woman friend. In this first appearance she does not take part in the dancing or singing, so that all may know that she still feels the absence of her husband, and all respect her silence. Only afterwards does her public life begin anew, like the rest, that is, she sings and dances as before.

587 589 797 736 A few weeks later, if someone should ask her to be his wife, she will probably consent, if she is still young and has small children, because the reader can imagine the suffering of a widow, who must seek food for herself and her little ones. Oh, how often have silent tears run down my face on seeing the tears of widows and fatherless children who, for lack of food, not knowing whom to ask for aid, have come to the missionary or to one superior to them to ask for help! How could one deny it? Only a heart of bronze could have done so.

C
Ce /210 cont./

868
857 accompanies his father on the hunt and feels extraordinarily proud and clever if he is allowed to go home with the "common" hunting booty. The children see and learn. It is fun for them to help father and mother.

Ce
142
291
302
411

Fig. 110. Chané boy. Rio Parapiti.
He has arrows with blunt tips in his hand.

Ee
855
[797] How different is the child-rearing in the missions, which is based on spying and tattling.

Ee
[736] Motherless children are taken in by relatives. Here, too, one not infrequently sees older aunts caressing the children of others.

532 /480 cont./

Figure 11. Guanaco (José Miguel).

[821] Figure 12. (A): blue jaguar who lives in the sky (personification of the spots on the moon) getting ready to eat the moon (B) and the sun (C), thus bringing on an eclipse.

Chapter XIV

The Treatment of Illnesses

Sorcerers and Remedies

756 178 Sorcerers. Medicine men have become so rare among the Chiriguano that I could not get to know a one during my whole trip. Only on the upper Pilcomayo did they allude in front of me to a talented paye who lived in a nearby village. [123]

Although great sorcerers endowed with supernatural powers and surrounded with great prestige no longer exist, there still must be in each village a man or woman capable of curing certain illnesses and of pronouncing incantations.

A scene I witnessed at Timboy (Salado River, upper Pilcomayo) demonstrates well that the profession of sorcerer, less important though it may be, has nevertheless not disappeared. I was living in the home of a Bolivian half-breed whose child's body was covered with purulent pimples. His parents began by appealing to my medical knowledge, but I declared myself incompetent to treat this case or any other. They then called an old Indian woman, who appeared one morning with a plant in her hand, a kind of wild pumpkin which the half-breeds call sandía del monte. This plant, crushed and mixed with hot water, is used for external washing. They stretched the child out on the ground and commanded him to hold himself motionless. The old woman sat down near him and began to mutter inaudible incantations which she interrupted only to spit often on the limbs of the little patient. Then she would take up her recitation again, at the same time spreading the saliva over his body from head to feet. Nordenskiold (5, p. 44, [122] 75 [824]

/480 cont./
75 Fig. 16) was present at an analogous treatment also practiced /481/ by a medicine woman on a child at Yumbia, not far from the Salado. She rubbed him and blew on his body (1).

[113] [192]

1. In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc. (p. 72), we find the word hunga translated "to rub, to massage" and the sentence Iiyari Ierungarunga tein, iróí á Ie with the following meaning: "My grandmother rubbed me enough, but I did not get well." The medicine women, add the authors of the dictionary, use the word hunga to express the act of rubbing with the hand any painful part of the body, especially the chest, without any remedy other than the saliva they spit on their hand. These women attribute a special virtue to saliva.

[827]

755 The sick boy's father told me that, once suffering from
752 prolonged headaches, he had had recourse to a sorceress, an old woman with woolly hair, who was called the Samba. She sucked the place where the ache was localized and drew out worms from it. The half-breed got well, of course.

757 In the toldería of Ñawirenda, where there was a child ill
[825] with fever, his mother had made him eat crushed garrapatas (ticks). The unfortunate child's lips were purple from it.

756 I shall devote a special study to Chiriguano medicine men
755 in a future volume of this Review. Meanwhile I shall limit
[121] myself to describing, according to the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano (pp. 166-167), the way in which these powerful personages customarily proceed when they are called to the bedside of a sick person. I am forced to have recourse to the observations made by another for lack of having been able to be present myself at the spectacle which Father Giannechini evokes with as much accuracy as vivacity. The great Chiriguano paye are now all in the Ivoka where they take

/192 cont./

Adornments

000

/The first paragraph of this section, pp. 192-193, is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 193, and the remainder of p. 193 follows./

181 The Chiriguano, although they occupy a very lowly place in this corner of the world, although they have little in the way of grandeur and show to display and take pride in, follow the common tendency of humanity, almost as the beast follows its instincts. Without any fear of error, if the Chiriguano were to possess great riches, he would probably invest them in his vices and in the adornment of his body.

302 [292] [574] When the Chiriguano wants to make a formal visit, he washes his body, dresses in his best clothing, and paints his face with achiote powder. The preparation of achiote seeds has been described in the preceding pages in the discussion of the flora /see p. 32/. Here I add that in order for the Urucú to be fixed on the Indian's skin it is necessary that he first soften his face, or the part that he wants to paint or embellish, with palma Christi oil.

751 302 It has already been seen that the region is hot and that atmospheric changes are very sudden; a period of extreme heat can be followed by severe cold, and in these changes the Chiriguano's skin becomes chapped. To avoid this nuisance, men and women paint their faces and their feet with the cosmetic. [527] [758] They also use it during public drinking sessions, at banquets, and during the preparation of chicha in order to ward off the high heat, as well as during convalescence and after having recovered from smallpox (1).

1. Achiote powder with palma Christi oil is cool in hot weather and warm in cold weather. The neophytes in the missions no longer use it, or, if they do, it is sparingly and as a remedy. [178]

[text continues on p. 267]

/284 cont./

000 The philosopher Focion said that he who has the fewest desires to satisfy is the happiest man on earth. This is a truth based on experience, but it is not true happiness; it is part of it, because complete happiness is not attained here.

The true Chiriguano dressed in the old way and his wife with her tipoy must have been the happiest beings on earth, but as they are children of the first man, they also inherited affliction, pain, and death. These three things are almost always the consequence of illness, and they come from the intemperate life that I have described, just as they also come from the drinking and eating.

515 751 [262] [252] [271] [273] The Chiriguano takes no care of his person, although he loves life, which he would like to be eternal, however much he may walk dragging himself along. His foodstuffs are not at all hygienic; he eats /illustration appears here/ /285/ often and with too much greed rotten meat, vegetables, and maize itself, which he parches but never cooks completely. The water he drinks is not always clear or free of microbes and small worms that are visible; the very chicha that is manufactured with such elaborate effort and care is drunk still sour, and, finally, shelter is unimportant. In periods of great heat he lies on the ground, taking on his back the burning rays of the sun; he protects himself little in the abrupt changes of temperature, and if he gets wet in the rain or has taken a voluntary bath of cold water or water heated by the sun, he lets his clothes dry on his body; from these come the illnesses that I shall presently enumerate, illnesses that he suffers from, which make him unhappy and then carry him to the grave.

753 821 The rainbow that God gave to Noah as a sign that He would not flood humanity again with the waters of a new deluge is a sad sign for the Chiriguano. If this so natural phenomenon appears in a town and begins in front of or over a house, when it disappears it does not end or turn to nothing but hides itself in the belly of one of the residents, who in time will get sick and die of dropsy, from which it follows that this illness, which is rare among them, is caused by the rainbow (1).

1. Another natural phenomenon is the whirlwind,

[TEXT Continues on p. 385]

/285 cont./

753 821 which rises continually to the sky in these interminable plains, taking behind it all of the trash that it finds along its way. It is called Cusumino, and, according to them, it causes pains in the feet, knees, and bones. When a whirlwind begins in a town, they try to cut it with a knife.

Illnesses and Remedies

164 The most common illnesses among the Chiriguano are the intermittent fevers that are endemic, tuberculosis or consumption, eye disease, convulsive coughing, diarrhea, dysentery, mange or itch, and tumors accompanied by a kind of leprosy that covers a large part of the body. The intermittent fevers appear at the time of the first rains and continue until the time of the fruits and fresh maize. These fevers are not fatal, but one who is attacked by them has a rather afflicted life. Their remedies are vegetal; 757 they boil quebracho or algarroba bark, and they drink this water, but it does not always have a salutary effect. /286/ If a small dose of quinine is administered during the intermittent fevers, they immediately get well (1).

1. They get well with a small dosage, perhaps because their bodies are not accustomed to the remedies of the apothecary. Another efficacious remedy for the intermittent fevers is bitter coffee or coffee with a little sugar.

164 The itch, tumors, and leprosy do not cause death. 262 Chiriguano food is almost always saltless. They are not careful 263 in selecting it, and stinking meat does not disgust them. Their 751 water is not always clear; they bathe at any hour and, after bathing, 515 do not dry their bodies. If it rains, they let the wet clothing dry 080 on their person. From this and other causes come the many skin

/482 cont./

302 faces and legs oiled in this way, which gives them a very strange reddish and shiny hue. This custom, which was already [171] noted /483/ in the sixteenth century among the Tupinamba of [178] the Brazilian coast, is tending to fall into disuse.

Roucou in paste form is kept in a small corn-husk bag (Fig. 302 139), /Fig. 139 appears here/ as is kalasapa, a substance com- 386 posed of a mixture of roucou and pounded aroma seeds, which [415] gives a violet color.

757 4. Jaguar fat (yaguapira) cures any "leprosy" (karatši) if 237 one rubs oneself with it after heating it.

5. Iguana fat makes cramps go away and heals wounds. [752] Its use is external.

6. The dried penis of a fox makes toothaches and earaches go away. For that it suffices to touch the ailing part with the end /Fig. 140 appears here/ of this member. The Indians consider it very malodorous and touch it only with repugnance. [415] To avoid this inconvenience they provide it with a handle and shut it up in a bamboo case (Fig. 141).

7. Deerhorns heated and /Fig. 141 appears here/ applied against the neck will cure a stiff neck. The medical use of [172] deer (wasu) horns explains the frequent presence of the horns of this animal in the archeological strata of the neighboring Andean regions. Some have thus been found in the ruins of the Alfarcito, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 21), at Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, p. 232), at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 235, p. 453), and at Tastil (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, Fig. 78 f).

858 Horns adhering to a fragment of the skull and whose use 304 could only have been magical or medical must be distinguished 237 from the ones which the Indians work into awls. These in- 412 struments still have a ritual use and are reserved for piercing the lower lip of children when they are old enough to wear the labret. At least this is what Campana (p. 80) informs us. Besides, the Indians all have confirmed this detail to me. [171] Formerly, the Tupinamba of Brazil practiced this operation with an awl of the same nature (see Métraux, 3, p. 105).

164 /485 cont./

757 16. Gonorrhea is treated with the boiled root of the
824 mistol and tapir fat.

[237] 17. Earaches pass away if drops of chicken, beetle, and cicada fat are poured into the auditory canal.

18. The root of chirimoya del monte (aratibu) is a good antidote if one feels poisoned.

752 19. Snake bites lose their seriousness if one applies some
824 of the herb uruuru, guaje, tobacco, or nicotine on the wound. The sap of the liana isipo-poro-mboyi, although poisonous, nonetheless constitutes an excellent antidote for the same cases.

752 20. By putting melted wax on the wound, you do not risk
237 dying when a mad dog has bitten you.

21. Wounds produced by a sharp instrument heal if burned chicken feathers are spread on them.

757 22. It suffices for a woman to drink the powder of a shell in water to put her fallen uterus back in place.

/486/

757 23. The red leaves of the añankamisa, iwira-ro (quebracho
824 cacha) bark, the woody plant toba-pitše, taken as infusions, are as many remedies for fever.

[752] 24. Compresses of kaa-ruruntirái make abscesses burst.

25. In case of constipation it is good to drink the latex of the kaa-si (cardencha, lechetresna).

752 26. After any serious fall one must drink water in which
757 one has made an infusion of a sort of vervain (kaimberai)
824 pounded beforehand. The consequences of the shock will not be felt if one applies on the sore regions poultices made with this same plant carefully ground.

27. Recommended for spreading on sprains are cara guatá leaves or a thick glue obtained by boiling the bark of iwira-pitiyu-wasu. This substance is equally good for fractures.

757 28. The Chiriguano chew the bark of iwira-pitiyu-wasu to make
824 their violent toothaches stop and to make their teeth more solid.

29. A cataract is doctored in the following way: One boils kuruwa leaves and bathes the patient's head with this infusion.
[237] Then one takes the gall from the dorado fish with pincers or

/486 cont./

757 824 237 some similar object and rubs the sick person's eyes with it until the cataract comes off.

30. The tannin contained in kurupaî bark is a disinfectant which hastens the healing of wounds.

757 757 824 31. The leaves of kurupaîraî (small sébil), squeezed and put into compresses on a tumor, act in a lenitive way.

757 824 [302] 32. The plant wambero (kind of purslane) is a laxative. It has a scarlet flower which girls dry and pulverize to be able to color their cheeks red.

33. Iwowi bark, pounded and roasted, is a good remedy for any pain affecting the limbs. The ash taken from the pips of this [752] tree hastens the healing of wounds.

34. Powdered inái seeds make teeth fall out.

35. The root of the isipo-poro-mboyi, ground and kneaded with salt and tallow, is an emollient which is spread on tumors.

36. When they feel pains in the limbs, the Chiriguano apply on the ailing part a poultice made of iva-wasu roots, crushed and roasted.

37. The seeds of the yandi-wasu, taken in doses of two or three, are a good emetic.

38. The sarái is a tree reminiscent of our walnut tree. Its inner bark yields a powder which is spread on skin eruptions.

39. A climbing plant called kaa-ruwa is supposed to have medicinal properties. /487/ It is taken in the form of an infusion, or poultices are made with it after it is pounded.

40. Another climbing plant, the kaa-tai (barba de chivato) is a very active caustic which can produce burns if the compresses made with its flowers, leaves, and twigs ground together and mixed with water are kept on too long. If the hands are rubbed with this plant, they become numb.

41. The roots of the shrub mboipina, well cooked, yield a broth which combats atrophy.

757 825 42. A species of bug (tambeyũa) is used in the native pharmacopoeia as a caustic.

757 271 43. The Chiriguano have great faith in the virtue of hot water. Every sick Indian has beside him a small vessel the size of an egg, full of hot water. Those who are attending him

/146 cont./

754 same meaning everywhere. In Europe the ignorant masses call
756 sorcerer or witch the man or woman who has made a formal pact with the devil; among the Chiriguano and whites of the Gran Chaco it is the man or woman who succeeds in curing illness or who is in possession of other prestigious abilities (2).

752 2. I know an Indian who treats snake poisoning
756 without using any medicine. He blows upon and rubs the bitten part, and it gets well with no
[825] other remedy. He catches snakes, holds them against his breast, puts them in his pockets, in his hat, and they do not bite him. I cannot explain this phenomenon.

773 But who was the father of sorcerers among the Chiriguano?
825 Guarerai, Indian, Iñeé iya vae, eloquent one, told the following
776 story: In a very remote epoch there was a general drought which
756 continued with the imminent danger of all the sown fields being
754 lost. When the cause had been discovered by the king of the birds, Güiraqué, the kite, organized a commission to the lord of rain, called Choncho, so that he might /147/ make it rain. But as the latter paid no attention to the king's embassy, he came personally to find out why and to punish his disobedience if he found him guilty. But the choncho answered that it was not up to him, but up to another bird called chena, whom King Milano confronted, and as he wavered when he denied it or tried to free himself of blame, suspicion was aroused that he was the author of so much evil, and as the evil-doer he was immediately run through by King Milano's lance.

787 This is a fable, but it is certain that the choncho is respected
825 and feared. If this small bird sings in an angry tone, it is a sign to the Chiriguano that evil will come to him, and then he commends himself to it and says: aguye ndepochi, cheru mi, tome taicó cavi; do not be angry, may everything go well with me. If it sings happily, the Chiriguano will be well received by his relatives and friends, and if the choncho says, To, To, it is a sign that wherever he goes he will find a lot of chicha, for which reason they never do any harm to this little bird.

/290 cont./

757 The Tingui is a large tree; with its bark tied to the belly, they cure incipient dropsy, which in their language is called Ipunga. Boiled mistol root and tapir fat cures gonorrhea. With chicken, beetle, and cicada fat they cure earaches. Only a few
•752 drops need be put in. For poisoning they use wild chirimoyo root, Araticu; for snake bite the herb called urururu, calabash, tobacco, and its nicotine. For wounds produced by a rabid dog, they use melted wax applied to the wound. If the wound was produced by a weapon in a fight, it is treated by applying burned chicken feathers to it. Finally, if in women the uterus becomes displaced, it is put back in its place by giving the patient ground shell drunk in water.

000 These and many others are medicines that the Chiriguano use; I shall not make a list of the others because during my investigations I have come to realize that this is tied up with superstition, with which the witch doctors inoculate the sick (1).

1. It is not surprising that the Indians believe in the sorcerers, because even the whites let themselves be deceived by these impostors, who exist even among Christians.

Death and Funerals

763 When a Chiriguano is fatally sick, all his nearest relatives begin to gather, and, as the illness progresses, the distant relatives, friends, and neighbors frequently pay visits, while those nearby never leave the house where death will soon reign. If the sick person is a married man, the woman is continually at the head of his bed, holding him up on her knees, stroking his vigorous hair, and caressing his face, while furtive and silent tears slide /illustration appears here/ /291/ copiously down her cheeks, almost all of which come to rest on the dying man's shoulders or chest, providing him with a palliative for his pains, because he understands the misery which his wife is feeling and the way that she and his children, if he has any, will miss him (1).

1. When the woman is past 40, she sheds real

[Text continues on P. 393]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
291
482
*171

way. The tipoys are, as a rule, woven. Tipoys manufactured in hammock-technique I know of only from the Siriono and the Ararandeuára (Tembé). These latter are also used as bearing-bands. Probably this is also the case among the uncivilized Siriono. Tipoys in this technique are probably earlier in origin than the woven ones.

C
Ce
752
196
291
482

The word »tipoy» has also been used with another meaning, viz., for a band used to support an injured arm.[1]) A band or sling of the kind has exactly the same shape as an Indian bearing-band. Only once can I remember having seen an Indian with his arm in a sling like this. He was a Pauserna man.

»Tipoya» can also be interpreted »a kind of hammock».[2])

C
Ce
352
854
482
*171

The question is if the hammock has not also been suggested by the bearing-band. In the first place we must remember that Indians also in different parts where the hammock is unknown, are careful not to put their babies on the ground. Thus, the Yuracáre and the Chimáne who have no hammocks, use cradles of bark-cloth in which they suspend their babies. When the Mosetene woman goes to work in the fields with her baby, she puts it into a bearing-bag which she hangs up in a tree. COMINGES[3]) mentions that he saw among the Guaná Indians, who seldom use hammocks, a child which the mother had placed in a bag slung like a hammock. So it does not seem so very unreasonable to suppose that Indian women tried to use the bearing-band in the same way when the child had to be

[1]) [2]) I here give BRAZ DA COSTA RUBIM's definition of the word TIPOIA »Do guarani tupoi, vestido de mulher. Tira larga tecida com palha de miritizeiro; grande camiza sem mangas feita do entrecasco de certas arvores de enlaçada e estopenta fibra; o lenço o tiracolo para descansar o braço; serpentina de rede carregada por dous homens.»

[3]) »En uno de éstos una mujer joven que parecía una criatura, pero que, acabando de dar el pecho á un niño completamente desnudo, y colocándole en una bolsa de red, que á manera de hamaca pendía de las *lacharas* del techo.» P. 192.

[text continues on p. 68]

164 /484 cont./
757
824 4. To stop dysentery, one must drink a decoction made of corn and watermelon seeds ground together.

[237] 5. Stitches in the side are treated by drinking a fragment of armadillo shell ground up and by rubbing the ailing place with a portion of this same calabash heated.

6. Tumors and swellings of the throat or knee are made to disappear by applying on the sore region the leaves of a shrub called urukuna, heated in a pot. Another herb (yundurimbiu) has the same virtue.

/485/ Urukuna leaves put in compresses on the skull dissipate headaches, protect one from congestion, and cure erysipelas. The leaves of yandipa (hediondilla) have all the virtues of urukuna.

7. Hemorrhages are stopped by means of latex or the roasted leaf of the liana supuapempe.

8. Kaa-upaya is an efficacious herb in cases of stomach ailments; and soto root cures pains in the feet (rheumatism?).

9. Guaya is a liana which cures any swelling in the side.

[753] [821] 10. Goiter, rare among the Indians, is attributed by them to the sun. They treat it with tutía, a yellow fruit which reminds one of an apple, or by putting around the neck compresses of the blood of the gallinazo, carancho, or bandurria, kinds of vultures.

11. Ophthalmia or conjunctivitis is doctored with drops extracted from the bark of the algarrobillo or with the glue taken from the bud of the membiría plant. The leaves of yandi-wope are excellent for cases of ophthalmia.

12. A variety of caraguatá makes diarrhea stop.

13. The flower káa-ro (bitter herb) cures skin eruptions and is as good for malaria.

14. The herb inái (tooth of water) is a remedy against whooping cough, which can also be treated with an infusion made of boiled or roasted wasps and drunk warm.

15. Tingi bark attached around the belly is excellent for fighting dropsy, as are the leaves of the asuru (palo de india), a tree reminiscent of laurel, or the herb kaa-paye, taken as an infusion.

/145 cont./

776 778 small apartments, owned by the Iya, a child who leaves footprints when it walks. They believe these things as though they were real.

312 778 823 776 Among the many springs that are plentiful in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission there are several with hot, sulphurous water. None of the old people will go near these springs, and the only ones who do it are boys and girls who, because they have embraced the Catholic religion perhaps and because the teaching of the /146/ missionary makes them understand that only God need be feared, have no fear of these inoffensive things. Nevertheless, [761] when some schoolgirl dies, the old people say that such a thing has happened because of the lack of care shown by them when they approached and bathed in these springs owned by the Iya.

778 776 The aforesaid shows that the old Chiriguano is very superstitious, and because of his love of life he respects the places where the imaginary genii can be found. If such places were [761] discovered and disturbed through someone's error, he either would [753] soon die or he would lead an unfortunate life full of long sicknesses ending in death, and for this reason it is impossible for a true Chiriguano to reveal the places which, according to his affirmations, are possessed by genii (1).

1. At the end of the year 1899 a gentleman from Sucre began work in the petroleum site of Mandiyuti in Cuevo. Unfortunately, he died of acute bronchitis, but the Indians attributed his death to the anger of the Iya.

Sorcerers

754 756 Another consequence of ignorance is a belief in sorcerers. This belief, however, is much more general. The working man accepts it, as does the moderately enlightened. The man who is in a completely savage state accepts it, as well as the one who is beginning to become civilized. It is accepted in America, as in old Europe, extensive Asia, deserted Africa, and newest Oceania. Nevertheless, the word "sorcerer" does not have the

/148 cont./

754 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where
761 God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something
753 the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[761] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

756 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others
622 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a
623 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has
643 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of
571 the lower caciques; they discuss the appropriate measures to
731 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The
755 first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very
756 great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make
554 him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there
731 is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /149/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

/209 cont./

843 Near the time of giving birth, she carries less weight,
262 prepares what is necessary, which consists of some cloth pads
415 and her new little olla in which to cook the maize which she
[153] must eat boiled. If the olla were old or used, the newborn would be subject to mal caduco, or epilepsy, and if a woman who has just given birth were to eat parched maize, her breasts would dry up and would not give milk for feeding the child.

844 At the time of giving birth the only person left in the house is the midwife; the others, even the husband, go out, but he returns as soon as the birth has taken place, in order to lend some help to his wife and the midwife, who alone cannot attend to the newborn child and its mother, who fights with her very life against the pains, for which she is consoled at the sight of the fruit of her womb, which for a moment makes her forget her present suffering.

They at once cover with sand every trace of the event, wrap up with bands, cloths, or other things the body of the woman who has just given birth, and lay her on the ground face down, making her rest on a bed which has little or no resemblance to such, but as every Chiriguano woman is strong, she puts up with this as though she were in a featherbed.

184 Throughout the whole world birth is a very dangerous thing,
846 and it is even here. The Chiriguano women also need considerable rest. When some old women were asked about the matter, they stated that childbirth formerly lasted almost two weeks, and they marvel that the neophytes get up so quickly, returning to their customary labors within eight days; they attribute this robustness to the lack of strict fasting in the years of puberty.

846 /210/ It is consequently an error to state that puerperae go to the lake or river to bathe from the second or third day, much less on the same day as the birth. Natural reason would not allow the latter. There might have been some extraordinary case in which some woman walked immediately after giving birth, but it would not cease to be an extraordinary case. The
[178] neophytes are abandoning the custom of their grandmothers and

/213 cont./

797 758 164 first, came to me to be treated for their wounds, to which I applied cotton soaked with ammonia, of which I also made them drink five drops. The two went through a high fever for four days, but they are alive. Cecilia did not consider her bite very important and did not come to me; I did not know that she had been bitten. She did not have a high fever either, because in fact scarcely any blood came out, according to what her companions say.

The month of January came, just six months after June, and the little girls who had been treated with ammonia again had the same degree of fever and recovered. The other girl began to be afraid of water and to be laughed at by her companions for this fear, so much so that she was the object of foolish tricks. She went down to the town, she wanted to drink water, was unable to, and she told her parents. At once she said that she had pain in her wrist, in her little breast, and in her shoulder, and nothing could be done to treat her; the sickness got worse and she received the last rites. The night before she died she tried to run out of the house; she howled without rest and tried to hit and bite her mother. In all, she had true hydrophobia, which carried her to the grave in three days (1).

1. The child Cecilia was bitten by the rabid dog right on her wrist, which is where the first pain began six months later. When I blessed her with holy water, she was afraid and shrank away.

Until she was buried, I did not know what had happened in the month of July, but when I saw such a similarity to rabies, I inquired and it turned out to be this which had caused her death. Her parents, since they could not be persuaded that the bite could produce an effect after so long a time, attributed her violent death to sorcery, stating that this must have been done by a young man who a few days earlier

753 754

/214/

753 754 had asked for her as his wife, a proposal which had not been accepted; but it must be noted that the Indians attribute every death to sorcery.

765 [764] The loss of this child was greatly mourned by relatives and others, and her parents, who loved her very much, burned all of the clothes and things that she had, in addition to having buried with her the best and abundant clothing which her father had just brought her from the Argentine Republic. The girl had three donkeys which had been given to her by her father. They sold them in order not to see them any more, in order not to be reminded of their late daughter each moment and immediately weep.

855 765 I have related this event so that my readers may know that the Chiriguano love their children whether male or female, so that they may see the grief they feel, and so that they may know that in case of hydrophobia the medicine which I administered to the girls Ana and Delina is a good remedy; after the last fever they are now completely well (1).

114

1. If some new missionary or other readers may not know of it, let them now know that ammonia drunk as drops in water and placed on snake bites and bites of other poisonous animals or insects is very efficacious. In ignorance of having been bitten by a spider, I suffered the consequences for seven months and got well as soon as I applied ammonia to it. For another bite I used ink very efficaciously: it is enough to paint the bitten part with it.

845 847 732

Deformed Children

It is not easy to ascertain why the Chiriguano kill their children who are born deformed. Some writers have stated that they do it so that all will be valiant warriors, but this reason is not satisfactory because deformed women are not found either, and certainly women are not good for war.

/284 cont./

600 The philosopher Focion said that he who has the fewest desires to satisfy is the happiest man on earth. This is a truth based on experience, but it is not true happiness: it is part of it, because complete happiness is not attained here.

The true Chiriguano dressed in the old way and his wife with her tipoy must have been the happiest beings on earth, but as they are children of the first man, they also inherited affliction, pain, and death. These three things are almost always the consequence of illness, and they come from the intemperate life that I have described, just as they also come from the drinking and eating.

515 751 The Chiriguano takes no care of his person, although he loves life, which he would like to be eternal, however much he may walk dragging himself along. His foodstuffs are not at all [262] hygienic: he eats /illustration appears here/ /285/ often and with [252] too much greed rotten meat, vegetables, and maize itself, which [271] he parches but never cooks completely. The water he drinks is not [273] always clear or free of microbes and small worms that are visible: the very chicha that is manufactured with such elaborate effort and care is drunk still sour, and, finally, shelter is unimportant. In periods of great heat he lies on the ground, taking on his back the burning rays of the sun: he protects himself little in the abrupt changes of temperature, and if he gets wet in the rain or has taken a voluntary bath of cold water or water heated by the sun, he lets his clothes dry on his body: from these come the illnesses that I shall presently enumerate, illnesses that he suffers from, which make him unhappy and then carry him to the grave.

●753 821 The rainbow that God gave to Noah as a sign that He would not flood humanity again with the waters of a new deluge is a sad sign for the Chiriguano. If this so natural phenomenon appears in a town and begins in front of or over a house, when it disappears it does not end or turn to nothing but hides itself in the belly of one of the residents, who in time will get sick and die of dropsy, from which it follows that this illness, which is rare among them, is caused by the rainbow (1).

1. Another natural phenomenon is the whirlwind.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 385]

/285 cont./

753 821 which rises continually to the sky in these interminable plains, taking behind it all of the trash that it finds along its way. It is called Cusumino, and, according to them, it causes pains in the feet, knees, and bones. When a whirlwind begins in a town, they try to cut it with a knife.

Illnesses and Remedies

164 The most common illnesses among the Chiriguano are the intermittent fevers that are endemic, tuberculosis or consumption, eye disease, convulsive coughing, diarrhea, dysentery, mange or itch, and tumors accompanied by a kind of leprosy that covers a large part of the body. The intermittent fevers appear at the time of the first rains and continue until the time of the fruits and fresh maize. These fevers are not fatal, but one who is attacked by them has a rather afflicted life. Their remedies are vegetal: 757 they boil quebracho or algarroba bark, and they drink this water, but it does not always have a salutary effect. /286/ If a small dose of quinine is administered during the intermittent fevers, they immediately get well (1).

1. They get well with a small dosage, perhaps because their bodies are not accustomed to the remedies of the apothecary. Another efficacious remedy for the intermittent fevers is bitter coffee or coffee with a little sugar.

164 The itch, tumors, and leprosy do not cause death. 262 Chiriguano food is almost always saltless. They are not careful 263 in selecting it, and stinking meat does not disgust them. Their 951 water is not always clear; they bathe at any hour and, after bathing, 515 do not dry their bodies. If it rains, they let the wet clothing dry on their person. From this and other causes come the many skin

/470 cont./

352 and Arawak tradition. Some hammocks, not many, are crudely
[286] woven. The threads which /Fig. 126 appears here/ compose
[177] them are of wool; formerly they were doubtless of cotton (Plate XXXVIII).

352 It is a delicate business to persuade a Chiriguano mother to
854 sell you the hammock of her nursling. She fears that an /Plate
754 LXXXVIII appears here/ /471/ evil-intentioned person will profit by the fact that the fabric is impregnated with urine, in order to indulge in magical practices which would make the new-born child die.

342
351

Fig. 124. Chiriguano hut. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (Photo. A. M.)

353 Along the walls are lined up vessels of all dimensions
[415] which /Figs. 127 and 128 appear here/ are kept there for the drinking feasts; some contain seed, others serve as linen cup-
[352] boards or provision bags. On the walls, generally in the four corners, hang reed screens or hoops made of palm leaves /Fig. 129 appears here/ which take the place of shelves (Figs. 126 and 127).

[TEXT Continues on P. 342]

648 /115 cont./
178 obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

157 Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, incon-
181 stancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even
[847] suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They
[762] only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome
[461] by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family.
[186] But if near the carai /sic; see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

[533] They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of
[273] their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and
[178] cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not com-
[674] mon formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

[648] 1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge
[685] great secrecy so that the authorities will not
[754] make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/145 cont./

776 778 small apartments, owned by the Iya, a child who leaves footprints when it walks. They believe these things as though they were real.

312 778 823 776 Among the many springs that are plentiful in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission there are several with hot, sulphurous water. None of the old people will go near these springs, and the only ones who do it are boys and girls who, because they have embraced the Catholic religion perhaps and because the teaching of the /146/ missionary makes them understand that only God need be feared, have no fear of these inoffensive things. Nevertheless, [761] when some schoolgirl dies, the old people say that such a thing has happened because of the lack of care shown by them when they approached and bathed in these springs owned by the Iya.

778 776 The aforesaid shows that the old Chiriguano is very superstitious, and because of his love of life he respects the places where the imaginary genii can be found. If such places were [761] discovered and disturbed through someone's error, he either would [753] soon die or he would lead an unfortunate life full of long sicknesses ending in death, and for this reason it is impossible for a true Chiriguano to reveal the places which, according to his affirmations, are possessed by genii (1).

1. At the end of the year 1899 a gentleman from Sucre began work in the petroleum site of Mandiyuti in Cuevo. Unfortunately, he died of acute bronchitis, but the Indians attributed his death to the anger of the Iya.

Sorcerers

• 754 756 Another consequence of ignorance is a belief in sorcerers. This belief, however, is much more general. The working man accepts it, as does the moderately enlightened. The man who is in a completely savage state accepts it, as well as the one who is beginning to become civilized. It is accepted in America, as in old Europe, extensive Asia, deserted Africa, and newest Oceania. Nevertheless, the word "sorcerer" does not have the

/146 cont./

754 same meaning everywhere. In Europe the ignorant masses call
756 sorcerer or witch the man or woman who has made a formal pact with the devil; among the Chiriguano and whites of the Gran Chaco it is the man or woman who succeeds in curing illness or who is in possession of other prestigious abilities (2).

752 2. I know an Indian who treats snake poisoning
756 without using any medicine. He blows upon and rubs the bitten part, and it gets well with no
[825] other remedy. He catches snakes, holds them against his breast, puts them in his pockets, in his hat, and they do not bite him. I cannot explain this phenomenon.

773 But who was the father of sorcerers among the Chiriguano?
825 Guarerai, Indian, Iñeé iya vae, eloquent one, told the following
776 story: In a very remote epoch there was a general drought which
756 continued with the imminent danger of all the sown fields being
754 lost. When the cause had been discovered by the king of the birds, Güiraqué, the kite, organized a commission to the lord of rain, called Choncho, so that he might /147/ make it rain. But as the latter paid no attention to the king's embassy, he came personally to find out why and to punish his disobedience if he found him guilty. But the choncho answered that it was not up to him, but up to another bird called chena, whom King Milano confronted, and as he wavered when he denied it or tried to free himself of blame, suspicion was aroused that he was the author of so much evil, and as the evil-doer he was immediately run through by King Milano's lance.

787 This is a fable, but it is certain that the choncho is respected
825 and feared. If this small bird sings in an angry tone, it is a sign to the Chiriguano that evil will come to him, and then he commends himself to it and says: aguye ndepochi, cheru mi, tome taicó cavi; do not be angry, may everything go well with me. If it sings happily, the Chiriguano will be well received by his relatives and friends, and if the choncho says, To, To, it is a sign that wherever he goes he will find a lot of chicha, for which reason they never do any harm to this little bird.

754
756 /147 cont./
731
[825] According to the story of Guarerai, the choncho is the
[776] father of good sorcerers, especially those who make it rain, and the chena is the father of bad sorcerers, or those who hold back the rain. In any public calamity in certain places, all the Indians will gather around the Ipaye, or sorcerer, so that the calamity may cease. If this continues despite the sorcerer's promise and he is unable to blame anyone else for his impotence, as the choncho did, he is killed with blows and burned without pity, but if he can blame it on another chena, the latter will suffer the capital punishment, and his protests of innocence or ignorance will be of no avail. Such is the fury of the mob when they are exalted by the harangues of the good Ipaye!

825 Before passing on from these feared and respected birds, I
787 shall say in passing that at night a whitish bird that they call
763 Teté walks and flies about. When they see it, it is a sure sign to the Indians that in some house the women are about to cut their hair as a sign of mourning, that is, that someone in the town will die. As for the small owl /lechuza/, Suinda, the beliefs of the Chiriguano are the same as those of the common people of Europe and America, the differences among them being slight (1).

765

1. As will be seen, mourning among the Chiriguano women consists of cutting their hair and wearing the dirtiest rag on their heads. Mourning is always complete, that is, they observe strict mourning for any dead person.

756 /148/ Good sorcerers, represented by the choncho, are very
754 compassionate, and they do everything possible so that the race may enjoy good health, fortune, good crops, without experiencing hunger or epidemics, while bad sorcerers bring every evil to the poor Chiriguano. They hold back rain and order epidemics, as well as hunger and death. Bad sorcerers are called Mbaecuá.

754 The Chiriguano does not die because it is so decreed, because
761 it is a condition of human nature; he does not die as a result of sin of the first man. He dies because bad sorcerers exist; without

/148 cont./

754 761 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 753 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[761] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

756 622 623 643 571 731 755 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of the lower caciques; they discuss the appropriate measures to be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 756 554 731 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /149/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

/213 cont./

797 first, came to me to be treated for their wounds, to which I
758 applied cotton soaked with ammonia, of which I also made
164 them drink five drops. The two went through a high fever for four days, but they are alive. Cecilia did not consider her bite very important and did not come to me; I did not know that she had been bitten. She did not have a high fever either, because in fact scarcely any blood came out, according to what her companions say.

The month of January came, just six months after June, and the little girls who had been treated with ammonia again had the same degree of fever and recovered. The other girl began to be afraid of water and to be laughed at by her companions for this fear, so much so that she was the object of foolish tricks. She went down to the town, she wanted to drink water, was unable to, and she told her parents. At once she said that she had pain in her wrist, in her little breast, and in her shoulder, and nothing could be done to treat her; the sickness got worse and she received the last rites. The night before she died she tried to run out of the house; she howled without rest and tried to hit and bite her mother. In all, she had true hydrophobia, which carried her to the grave in three days (1).

1. The child Cecilia was bitten by the rabid dog right on her wrist, which is where the first pain began six months later. When I blessed her with holy water, she was afraid and shrank away.

Until she was buried, I did not know what had happened in the month of July, but when I saw such a similarity to rabies, I inquired and it turned out to be this which had
753 caused her death. Her parents, since they could not be
754 persuaded that the bite could produce an effect after so long a time, attributed her violent death to sorcery, stating that this must have been done by a young man who a few days earlier

/214/

753 had asked for her as his wife, a proposal which had not been
● 754 accepted; but it must be noted that the Indians attribute every death to sorcery.

765 The loss of this child was greatly mourned by relatives
[764] and others, and her parents, who loved her very much, burned all of the clothes and things that she had, in addition to having buried with her the best and abundant clothing which her father had just brought her from the Argentine Republic. The girl had three donkeys which had been given to her by her father. They sold them in order not to see them any more, in order not to be reminded of their late daughter each moment and immediately weep.

855 I have related this event so that my readers may know
765 that the Chiriguano love their children whether male or female, so that they may see the grief they feel, and so that they may know that in case of hydrophobia the medicine which I administered to the girls Ana and Delina is a good remedy; after the last fever they are now completely well (1).

114

1. If some new missionary or other readers may not know of it, let them now know that ammonia drunk as drops in water and placed on snake bites and bites of other poisonous animals or insects is very efficacious. In ignorance of having been bitten by a spider, I suffered the consequences for seven months and got well as soon as I applied ammonia to it. For another bite I used ink very efficaciously; it is enough to paint the bitten part with it.

845 Deformed Children

847 It is not easy to ascertain why the Chiriguano kill their
732 children who are born deformed. Some writers have stated that they do it so that all will be valiant warriors, but this reason is not satisfactory because deformed women are not found either, and certainly women are not good for war.

/287 cont./

164 757 vira-vira. The tisane made from these flowers has salutary effects, but it is not strong enough to bring about a radical cure, /288/ especially if the precaution of wrapping the child up after the potion is drunk is not taken (1).

1. Most effective for whooping cough is the use of petroleum. The child is anointed from his forehead to his belly and made to drink a few drops. In 1910 almost all of those whom I treated with petroleum got well.

164 Consumption, or tuberculosis, attacks men and women and appears in both sexes as a stomach-ache. This pain can be considered the beginning of the sickness, which usually appears after the age of 40, but in certain places it carries to the grave persons who have not yet reached the age of 20.

In the Santa Rosa mission this disease alone, in less than ten years, caused the death of more than 70 schoolgirls; at that time this mortality was attributed to the bad water there, but as it is found in other places where the water is excellent there must be another cause. For young people or adolescents it could not be the continual fires, because there are none in the schools.

164 754 755 The Chiriguano has no remedy for tuberculosis, and one who gets it is resigned to death, because whether or not he attributes everything to sorcery, he believes in it and in the poison in this case; hence the sick person goes for help to the sorcerer, who to get rid of the illness, without succeeding, uses atrocious and even immoral means when dealing with women (2).

[799] 2. The missionary buys remedies from the apothecary to treat the Indians. These remedies are almost always repugnant. If the sick person does not drink it in the presence of the missionary, he will pour it out; he has more faith in the sorcerer.

C /215 cont./
165 President Belzu in Sucre. The latter governed between 1848-1855; thus, 100-year-old Maringay is obviously not more than about 80. An 80-year-old Indian is therefore the oldest of his tribe.
C 145 Among the Indians one almost always sees /Fig. 112 appears here/ that the one who has grown-up grandchildren is very frail and senile and stands at the brink of the grave. Indian men and women mature very rapidly, but also age quickly. At 50 the Indian is an
C [114] old man, at 70 a so-called centenarian. Im Thurn (1) likewise

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 190.

believes that the Indians do not grow old. /216/ He thinks that they seldom reach an age older than 40 or 50.

C 142 Maringay's hair was slightly gray. There are some Indian men and women whose hair is almost whitish yellow, but they are C [145] [164] rare (Fig. 112). I never saw a bald Indian. When they are older, their faces are deeply furrowed. Not infrequently they become blind in old age, less often deaf.

Ee 142 515 Among the Choroti and Ashluslay the appearance of old people is often frightening; they are dirty, emaciated, and bleary-eyed. This is not the case among the Chané and Chiriguano. These Indians know how to grow old in beauty, and even the old people keep themselves nice and clean.

Ee 756 If the Chané or Chiriguano Indian becomes seriously ill, the medicine man is sent for, as among other Indians.

The Chiriguano and Chané distinguish between two kinds of medicine men, whom they call "ipáye" or "ipáyepótchi." The Ee [754] former are good and lift the spell; the latter are able to lift the spell and to bewitch.

C 756 797 I once jokingly asked a Chiriguano whether Father Bernardino in Ivu was an "ipáye" or an "ipáyepótchi." The Indian answered dutifully, an "ipáye." The position of the missionary among the Indians is that of medicine man; he assumes their power and their influence.

Ee 756 177 In the preceding I said that the whites in the vicinity of Ivu sent for an Indian medicine man to drive away smallpox.

Ee /216 cont./
754 They also sometimes believe that they are bewitched by the
177 Indians. A colonist, Gutierrez, flogged an Indian. The latter bewitched him, so that he became ill. Inside his stomach it sounded like the croaking of a frog.

C The medicine men try to discover the bewitcher with smoke.
Ce I did not see how this was done. The bewitcher, if he or she is
755 discovered, is killed.
754

000 /217/ In the following I shall speak about the connection of the medicine men with the great spirits.

Ee There seems to be no difference in the appearance and
755 the method of the medicine men among the Choroti and
756 Ashluslay and among the Chané and Chiriguano. It is the same
171 sucking out of foreign objects that have entered the body through
Ee bewitchment. Among the latter the medicine men are more
[177] secretive than among the former. Perhaps their contact with the whites has had the effect that they themselves are beginning to doubt their art.

Ee There is a difference, however, in the common remedies.
757 The first-named Indian tribes obtain their remedies, as a rule,
[171] from the vegetable kingdom. They boil decoctions of certain
Ee plants. The Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, except
[237] for certain plants, use animal remedies. Thus, on the Rio
Ce Itiyuro, the Chané use the fat of herons for swellings, wild pig
757 fat for fever, jaguar fat for pains in the bones, and toucan beaks
237 for female hemorrhages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the fat of the ostrich for chest pains, of the iguana lizard for conjunctivitis, of the chicken for everything, and maize beer for colds. I saw fat applied exclusively for external use.

Ce The Chané Indian is remarkable with regard to aseptic
752 treatment. I saw several times how they treat wounds in accordance with a most modern method, namely, with boiled water. This is different from the whites' use of pig excrement and the fresh urine of human beings, along with salt, for the same purpose. The reason that these Indians are familiar with such a modern
Ce method is undoubtedly their great cleanliness. They are used to
[515] washing themselves constantly. They probably hit upon the idea

/218 cont./

766 754 825 If a Chiriguano is killed by a jaguar, he is /219/ buried with his head downward, so that he will not go about as such an animal. This notion of a jaguar who was a human being is widespread, especially among the Quichua /Quechua/, where this

764 415

Fig. 113. Chiriguano grave.
Caipipendi.

766 754 825 strange animal, as has been mentioned, is called uturunco (cf. p. 12 /untranslated/). If a fox howls at night near the village, 763 825 someone will die.

Ee /238 cont./
273 finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her
574 guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with
576 cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well.
Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for
the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured
into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone
must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred.
It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one
wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then
fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything
offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians
become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me:
"You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize
beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden
with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the
happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize
beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears
e here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl
Ce he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has
●[754] enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows
if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the
beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen
C in these villages.
Ce
At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to
522 light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were hand-
527 ing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to
C ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.
Ce
Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané
535 only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the
532 Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).
177
541
Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about
Ce whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy
532 said the idea for them had originally come from the whites.
177 Batirayu, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Rio
535 Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which
Ce
[796]

276 /339 cont./
756 consumption was limited (1).
[824]
[113]

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians
[249] and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

• [755] When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.

[789] We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

243 At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the
221 Indians of the Caruruti region in Caipipendi valley. From the
[114] end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The
[351] house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6).[1]

243 This temporary migration of the whole population of a
221 village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather
123 difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had
[421] remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

[1] [Fig 6 appears on p. 69--Analyst]

/480 cont./

75 Fig. 16) was present at an analogous treatment also practiced /481/ by a medicine woman on a child at Yumbia, not far from the Salado. She rubbed him and blew on his body (1).

[113] [192]

1. In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc. (p. 72), we find the word hunga translated "to rub, to massage" and the sentence Ñiyari Ñerungarunga tein, irói á Ñe with the following meaning: "My grandmother rubbed me enough, but I did not get well." The medicine women, add the authors of the dictionary, use the word hunga to express the act of rubbing with the hand any painful part of the body, especially the chest, without any remedy other than the saliva they spit on their hand. These women attribute a special virtue to saliva. [827]

755 756 The sick boy's father told me that, once suffering from prolonged headaches, he had had recourse to a sorceress, an old woman with woolly hair, who was called the Samba. She sucked the place where the ache was localized and drew out worms from it. The half-breed got well, of course.

757 [825] In the toldería of Ñawirenda, where there was a child ill with fever, his mother had made him eat crushed garrapatas (ticks). The unfortunate child's lips were purple from it.

756 755 [121] I shall devote a special study to Chiriguano medicine men in a future volume of this Review. Meanwhile I shall limit myself to describing, according to the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano (pp. 166-167), the way in which these powerful personages customarily proceed when they are called to the bedside of a sick person. I am forced to have recourse to the observations made by another for lack of having been able to be present myself at the spectacle which Father Giannechini evokes with as much accuracy as vivacity. The great Chiriguano paye are now all in the Ivoka where they take

/481 cont./

●755 care of the dead and no more will any ethnographer have the
756 privilege of being present at their payeries.

"When an Indian is gravely ill, his relatives hasten to call a medicine man whose first duty is to hold an inquest on the origins of the illness. He asks his patient whether the symptoms of his infirmity did not coincide with a festival, whether he does not have a particular enemy, or whether his wife or children have not had a quarrel with one of their neighbors. When the sorcerer has received an answer to all these questions, he begins to make grimaces, to toss his head, to put on an afflicted air, and ends up by enunciating in an emphatic tone the result of his diagnosis: Šinu, yavái ǧa! aramói mbayaši umée kianunga ndeve! 'My friend, this is serious, someone has perhaps poisoned you.' Yaheša tu. 'We shall see.'

"Then he asks for tobacco, fills his pipe, and smokes. When he has finished, he immediately begins again and continues to smoke.... He becomes sad, loses the power of speech, throws convulsive looks in every direction, makes gestures as if he were trying to put phantoms to flight, faints, agonizes.... Poor sorcerer, he seems dead.... No, the imposter lives... yes, he lives and he is recovering consciousness. /482/ 'Yes,' he says to the sick person, 'I know the author of your illness, he who through hate or in a spirit of revenge is trying to take you away from your children, to throw your wife and relatives into mourning and grief. It is so-and-so.... I have seen him, I have had to struggle with him and I am almost dead. Have confidence, I have conquered him: You will not die.'

756 "Then the sorcerer demands his honorarium, which consists of ponchos, cows, horses, etc., which the sick man's relatives dare not refuse him for fear of being in turn victims of his magic power. Entire families have been seen ruined in order to pay for the trickeries of the sorcerers.

"If the sick man dies, the sorcerer has no trouble finding an /Fig. 137 appears here/ excuse, but sometimes he has to give back part of the goods he has received in payment."

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tumpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/148 cont./

754 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where
76 God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something
753 the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[761] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

756 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others
622 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a
623 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has
643 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of
571 the lower caciques: they discuss the appropriate measures to
731 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The
755 first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very
756 great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make
554 him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there
731 is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /142/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

/149 cont./

755 756 554 731 embassy to the sorcerer is the cacique, and his companions limit themselves to saying Aflete, that is how it is, just as the altar boy or sacristan says amen.

756 554 574 731 [170] Of course, his arrival is awaited anxiously. All surround him in order to welcome him and give him demonstrations of affection. There is no family which will not bring him whatever it can so that he may cure well. Cooked chickens, boiled eggs, live lambs, and plenty of chicha are all presents for the great rascal. All of this is still done for any sorcerer.

755 756 731 After a short rest, a good meal, and better refreshments, the sorcerer opens his ceremonial with numerous questions in order to try to discover who brought the epidemic to the town, in case it has come in already. If so, he continues in this way and his exorcisms are daily, general for the town, and special for each sick person, as I shall say farther on.

But if the sickness has not come in, he gathers together all of the principal men, they make cigars of tobacco wrapped in maize husks, gather in a circle, light the cigars, and blow smoke in every direction, the sorcerer observing which way the smoke is going. When the location is more or less known, they all go there, club in hand. The sorcerer makes a small excavation and takes from it the charm which he has put there beforehand without being seen; it consists of old, dirty rags mixed with hairs and small bones. Then he burns all that in the presence of the company, strikes the ground with his club and feet, being imitated by all (2).

2. It is not uncommon that the sorcerers themselves take the clothing of persons with smallpox from one town to another in order that the contagion may spread and that they may have some pretext for profit and a life full of gifts.

/149 cont./

755 This done, they return to the town with an air of triumph
756 and pass through all of it, raining blows with their clubs on the
731 corners of the plaza and the houses of the most notable persons,
and, the performance ended, he directs his discourse to those
who surround him and the others who have come out of their
houses. He tells them that they must not be afraid and that they
should have confidence in him, for the illness over which he is
the master has been dispelled.

He then takes a rest from his labors for several days, takes
his leave of the cacique and the principal men, blessed by the
frightened inhabitants, and returns to his town. Anyone can
understand that, if there is no epidemic, it is a coincidence
which will give considerable renown to the rascally impostor, and,
if there is one, the blame falls on the townspeople or on some
other /150/ bad sorcerer. Then he returns and becomes the
healer for all of them. In smallpox epidemics the sorcerer is
always one who has had it and who as a sad sign thereof has his
face and his nose covered with pox.

755 In the first months after I arrived at the Santa Rosa Mission,
756 an epidemic began to break out; without my realizing what was
731 happening, exorcisms against the smallpox were being carried
164 out by the sorcerer Biringa, but as this disease had thoroughly
invaded the town by the end of the year, he returned and paid
well for his deceits; his threats that he would make the 255
male students of the school perish were of no avail since both
they and the female students became sick, but only one of the
boys and seven of the girls died (1).

1. The girls of the Santa Rosa school numbered 735 in the year of the smallpox; those who were dangerously sick received the viaticum before they were taken to the lazaretto. Those about to die even received Extreme Unction in the lazaretto. In January of 1904 there were more than 500 persons in the latter.

/150 cont./

756 Even for rain the sorcerers perform their incantations with
789 their maize-husk cigar, making a turn in the planted fields,
731 but if the drought is general, the incantations are public per-
821 formed in the town in front of the house of the principal cacique.
[797] One of these was performed in the early days of the above-mentioned mission. The missionary had admonished them to stop it, but when they answered insolently, he formed or organized a commission with shotguns and old rifles. The three or four sorcerers fled, but one of them fell into the hands of the commission, was punished for his insolence, and in a few minutes a torrential shower refreshed the entire territory of the mission.

756 In concrete cases, when the sorcerer is required by a
755 particular family, he establishes himself in the house of the sick man; he asks him a thousand questions regarding the sickness, the houses that he has frequented, the friends with whom he has drunk, the companions with whom he has played, and the things that he has earned. Then he lights his maize-husk cigar and smokes, blowing the smoke over the body of the patient, especially the affected part.

Then, depending on the greater or lesser seriousness of the illness, depending on the nature of the disease, whether it requires blows or joltings, which is the most likely, he delivers them so atrociously that they are likely to end the patient's life, and if not he is content with rubbing the affected part hard /151/ and sucking it with his mouth, extracting from the patient's body the worms which the rascal has hidden in his mouth (1).

[164]

1. In many cases worms can be found in the bodies of these Indians between the flesh and the skin. I myself, with the use of fenelina, have made worms as big as chickpeas come out of their bodies, without their having had any wound at all.

/151 cont./

755 Men sorcerers use in their cures, in addition to the cigar, the
756 tupicho. But what the tupicho consists of is difficult to determine. There are sorcerers who use for it a little round stone with some designs on it; according to what I saw in the San Pascual Mission, others use a long bone likewise bearing designs, and, as I saw in Caipipendi and other places, others make do with words alone. The value of the tupicho is not known, but the Indians have much fear of it. I could tell stories about this.

Sorceress Curers

756 There is no doubt about the existence of female curers and sorcereresses, who, like the men, are feared in the tribe, because it is easier for them to administer some slow or violent poison in drinks. They are designated by the name Cuña ipaye, sorceress (2).

2. I know several women who are curers and sorceresses at the same time; at least they are considered as such by the Indians of the tribe.

Generally these women are the daughters of sorcerers, but this does not prevent others from being one also. They cure sick men or women with wild herbs, tree bark, and roots which they dig out of the ground. They are in this case true curers, as are certain women among the whites.

756 There are others, and plenty of them; it can be said that
844 every old mother is one for her young daughters. They serve
759 as midwives; they help their daughters and other women in their deliveries. Some of them are so skilled that they are accepted by the women whom the Indians call ladies. During the time when I was living among the Chiriguano, I saw only three die in childbirth.

756 The only thing which is deplorable among these curers is the
278 use of Mbayachi, a poison that they administer with much dissimula-
682 tion, mixing it with chicha and giving it to persons whom they hate, immediately washing or hiding the gourd, glass, or cup in which they administered it to the patient.

/287 cont./

164 757 vira-vira. The tisane made from these flowers has salutary effects, but it is not strong enough to bring about a radical cure, /288/ especially if the precaution of wrapping the child up after the potion is drunk is not taken (1).

1. Most effective for whooping cough is the use of petroleum. The child is anointed from his forehead to his belly and made to drink a few drops. In 1910 almost all of those whom I treated with petroleum got well.

164 Consumption, or tuberculosis, attacks men and women and appears in both sexes as a stomach-ache. This pain can be considered the beginning of the sickness, which usually appears after the age of 40, but in certain places it carries to the grave persons who have not yet reached the age of 20.

In the Santa Rosa mission this disease alone, in less than ten years, caused the death of more than 70 schoolgirls; at that time this mortality was attributed to the bad water there, but as it is found in other places where the water is excellent there must be another cause. For young people or adolescents it could not be the continual fires, because there are none in the schools.

164 754 755 The Chiriguano has no remedy for tuberculosis, and one who gets it is resigned to death, because whether or not he attributes everything to sorcery, he believes in it and in the poison in this case; hence the sick person goes for help to the sorcerer, who to get rid of the illness, without succeeding, uses atrocious and even immoral means when dealing with women (2).

[797] 2. The missionary buys remedies from the apothecary to treat the Indians. These remedies are almost always repugnant. If the sick person does not drink it in the presence of the missionary, he will pour it out; he has more faith in the sorcerer.

Ee /216 cont./
754 They also sometimes believe that they are bewitched by the
177 Indians. A colonist, Gutierrez, flogged an Indian. The latter bewitched him, so that he became ill. Inside his stomach it sounded like the croaking of a frog.

C Ce The medicine men try to discover the bewitcher with smoke.
•755 I did not see how this was done. The bewitcher, if he or she is
754 discovered, is killed.

000 /217/ In the following I shall speak about the connection of the medicine men with the great spirits.

Ee There seems to be no difference in the appearance and
755 the method of the medicine men among the Choroti and
756 Ashluslay and among the Chané and Chiriguano. It is the same
[7] Ce sucking out of foreign objects that have entered the body through
[177] bewitchment. Among the latter the medicine men are more secretive than among the former. Perhaps their contact with the whites has had the effect that they themselves are beginning to doubt their art.

Ee There is a difference, however, in the common remedies.
757 The first-named Indian tribes obtain their remedies, as a rule,
[171] from the vegetable kingdom. They boil decoctions of certain
Ee plants. The Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, except
[237] for certain plants, use animal remedies. Thus, on the Rio
Ce Itiyuro, the Chané use the fat of herons for swellings, wild pig
757 fat for fever, jaguar fat for pains in the bones, and toucan beaks
237 for female hemorrhages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the fat of the ostrich for chest pains, of the iguana lizard for conjunctivitis, of the chicken for everything, and maize beer for colds. I saw fat applied exclusively for external use.

Ce The Chané Indian is remarkable with regard to aseptic
752 treatment. I saw several times how they treat wounds in accordance with a most modern method, namely, with boiled water. This is different from the whites' use of pig excrement and the fresh urine of human beings, along with salt, for the same purpose. The reason that these Indians are familiar with such a modern
Ce method is undoubtedly their great cleanliness. They are used to
[515] washing themselves constantly. They probably hit upon the idea

846
[844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

●755 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other
756 resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which
763 is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead
[775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary
[515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the
[834] Choroti, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a
[171] rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the
[323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike
648 nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 134.
[2] Nordenskiöld (18).

/34 cont./

most other Indians of South America, there is a professional physician who is charged with the treatment of the sick, this treatment in most cases consisting of sorcery among these Indians too. The physician attempts to dispel the evil by sucking out foreign objects which have penetrated the body of the bewitched sick person. In addition to such treatment, remedies are used among the Chiriguano and Chané, which, in addition to those made of plant substances, include the fat of various animals applied externally for different illnesses. The Chané treat wounds with boiling water.

Burial among the Chiriguano and Chané who live outside the missions is generally still done in urns, according to primordial custom. According to Nordenskiöld (149), the

149. Nord. 1, p. 208.

large pots in which chicha is prepared are also used as funeral urns, and another pot is used to close the urn. Often the dying person, even before being completely dead, or soon after death, is crammed into the urn in a squatting position. A calabash of water is placed with the dead person in the urn, which is buried within the house. Commonly the house, after the burial, is abandoned for some time, but is occupied again later. Such a funeral urn of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi Valley is shown in a drawing by Erland Nordenskiöld (150).

150. Nord. 1, Fig. 113.

Up to half of the urn, which is provided with a cover, is disenterred. Nordenskiöld's statement that the Chiriguano use the same pots which serve for the preparation of meals as funeral urns is significant. From that we can deduce that a funeral urn found in other regions might also have served, during the lifetime of the dead person buried in it, some other purpose related to the economy of those Indians.

/338 cont./

241 Sorghum (triku) (Sorghum sacchariferum) (1);

[262] 1. Sorghum is cultivated only on a very small scale. It is a delicacy that the Chiriguano reserve for children, who suck its stalk.

/339/ Sugar cane;
Melons;
Watermelons (sandias);
Prickly pear (saini) (Opuntia spec.);
Fig trees;
Orange trees (in the missions).

[177] The Chiriguano cultivate only on a very small scale the plants which, like sorghum, sugar cane, fig trees, and orange trees, have been introduced by the Europeans. Of these only melons enjoy general favor.

248 They always devote some parts of their fields to the cultivation of plants of value only for their arts and manufactures. These are: cotton plants (mandiyú), cucurbitaceous plants (iá) which grow on the ground next to their squash and furnish the containers they need, roucou (urukú), which scarcely exists except in the northern part of their habitat, and finally a species of reed (Arundo donax) with which they make the shafts of their arrows.

249 They also plant tobacco (pĕtĭ), but I have never seen any in their fields. According to Nordenskiöld (10, p. 25), its cultivation is insignificant and rare. The Chiriguano are not great smokers, and the numerous packs of cigarettes I took along for them found only a few devotees. Among the Toba, Matako /Mataco/, or Chorotí /Choroti/ my stocks would have been exhausted in the wink of an eye, for these Indians love tobacco more than anything in the world.

[276] [123]

276 756 824 [178] The use of tobacco among the ancient Chiriguano, as among their ancestors in Paraguay or Brazil, was reserved for the medicine men for their magical operations. Their use made of it a plant endowed with "mystical" virtues, and its

/339 cont./
276 consumption was limited (1).
756
[824]
[113]

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.
[249]
[755] When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.
[789] We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

243 At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the
221 Indians of the Caruruti region in Caipipendí valley. From the
[114] end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The
[351] house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6).[1]
243 This temporary migration of the whole population of a
221 village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather
123 difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had
[421] remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

[1] [Fig 6 appears on p. 69-- Analyst]

/355 cont./

142
291
351
372

Fig. 26. Chiriguano woman lighting a fire. Upper Pilcomayo. (Photo. A. M.)

262
[275] do not hunt nor eat this animal (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 3).

[276] Medicine men cannot under any circumstances eat pimento. If a man refuses to taste this condiment, one can be sure he is a magician (id., p. 184).

[265] Grilled corn is strictly forbidden for persons in mourning, whose tears would dry up if they ate this dish.

[825] the exclusive right to eat deer meat, which thus instilled in them
[189] the agility and suppleness of this animal. Women could eat, without

532 /480 cont./

Figure 11. Guanaco (José Miguel).

[821] Figure 12. (A): blue jaguar who lives in the sky (personification of the spots on the moon) getting ready to eat the moon (B) and the sun (C), thus bringing on an eclipse.

Chapter XIV

The Treatment of Illnesses

Sorcerers and Remedies

756 178 Sorcerers. Medicine men have become so rare among the Chiriguano that I could not get to know a one during my whole [123] trip. Only on the upper Pilcomayo did they allude in front of me to a talented paye who lived in a nearby village.

Although great sorcerers endowed with supernatural powers and surrounded with great prestige no longer exist, there still must be in each village a man or woman capable of curing certain illnesses and of pronouncing incantations.

A scene I witnessed at Timboy (Salado River, upper Pilcomayo) demonstrates well that the profession of sorcerer, less important though it may be, has nevertheless not disap- [122] peared. I was living in the home of a Bolivian half-breed whose child's body was covered with purulent pimples. His parents began by appealing to my medical knowledge, but I declared myself incompetent to treat this case or any other. They then 75 called an old Indian woman, who appeared one morning with [824] a plant in her hand, a kind of wild pumpkin which the half-breeds call andía del monte. This plant, crushed and mixed with hot water, is used for external washing. They stretched the child out on the ground and commanded him to hold himself motionless. The old woman sat down near him and began to mutter inaudible incantations which she interrupted only to spit often on the limbs of the little patient. Then she would take up her recitation again, at the same time spreading the saliva over his body from head to feet. Nordenskiold (5, p. 44,

/480 cont./
75 Fig. 16) was present at an analogous treatment also practiced
/481/ by a medicine woman on a child at Yumbia, not far
from the Salado. She rubbed him and blew on his body (1).

[113]
[192]

1. In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc. (p. 72), we find the word hunga translated "to rub, to massage" and the sentence šiyari šerungarunga tein, iróí á še with the following meaning: "My grandmother rubbed me enough, but I did not get well." The medicine women, add the authors of the dictionary, use the word hunga to express the act of rubbing with the hand any painful part of the body, especially the chest, without any remedy other than the saliva they spit on their hand. These women attribute a special virtue to saliva.

[827]

755 The sick boy's father told me that, once suffering from
756 prolonged headaches, he had had recourse to a sorceress, an old woman with woolly hair, who was called the Samba. She sucked the place where the ache was localized and drew out worms from it. The half-breed got well, of course.

757 In the toldería of Ñawirenda, where there was a child ill
[825] with fever, his mother had made him eat crushed garrapatas (ticks). The unfortunate child's lips were purple from it.

756 I shall devote a special study to Chiriguano medicine men
755 in a future volume of this Review. Meanwhile I shall limit
[121] myself to describing, according to the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano (pp. 166-167), the way in which these powerful personages customarily proceed when they are called to the bedside of a sick person. I am forced to have recourse to the observations made by another for lack of having been able to be present myself at the spectacle which Father Giannechini evokes with as much accuracy as vivacity. The great Chiriguano paye are now all in the Ivoka where they take

/481 cont./

755 care of the dead and no more will any ethnographer have the
•756 privilege of being present at their payeries.

"When an Indian is gravely ill, his relatives hasten to call a medicine man whose first duty is to hold an inquest on the origins of the illness. He asks his patient whether the symptoms of his infirmity did not coincide with a festival, whether he does not have a particular enemy, or whether his wife or children have not had a quarrel with one of their neighbors. When the sorcerer has received an answer to all these questions, he begins to make grimaces, to toss his head, to put on an afflicted air, and ends up by enunciating in an emphatic tone the result of his diagnosis: Šinu, yavái ša! aramói mbayaši umée kianunga ndeve! 'My friend, this is serious, someone has perhaps poisoned you.' Yahesa tu. 'We shall see.'

"Then he asks for tobacco, fills his pipe, and smokes. When he has finished, he immediately begins again and continues to smoke.... He becomes sad, loses the power of speech, throws convulsive looks in every direction, makes gestures as if he were trying to put phantoms to flight, faints, agonizes.... Poor sorcerer, he seems dead.... No, the imposter lives... yes, he lives and he is recovering consciousness. /482/ 'Yes,' he says to the sick person, 'I know the author of your illness, he who through hate or in a spirit of revenge is trying to take you away from your children, to throw your wife and relatives into mourning and grief. It is so-and-so.... I have seen him, I have had to struggle with him and I am almost dead. Have confidence, I have conquered him: You will not die.'

756 "Then the sorcerer demands his honorarium, which consists of ponchos, cows, horses, etc., which the sick man's relatives dare not refuse him for fear of being in turn victims of his magic power. Entire families have been seen ruined in order to pay for the trickeries of the sorcerers.

"If the sick man dies, the sorcerer has no trouble finding an /Fig. 137 appears here/ excuse, but sometimes he has to give back part of the goods he has received in payment."

/482 cont./

756 Judging from this text, the Chiriguano sorcerer, like his
787 Tupinamba or Siberian colleague, put himself into a state of trance so that his spirit, free from corporeal bonds, could go to engage in battle with the soul of the evil-intentioned individual who is implacable against his patient.

778 The hupia, that is, the magical force, is indispensable to one who claims to be a good sorcerer. At least this is the meaning I give to this word translated in the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (p. 73) by: "remedy, antidote," but of which it is said that possession is indispensable to every medicine man. This word suffixed to any noun whatever expresses the faculty, the power, the facility to make or obtain the thing signified by the noun. Thus a dog trained to hunt deer is wasu-rupia (wasu: deer), a warrior is tuwaiño-rupia (tuwaiño: enemy), etc.

[193]

237 Fig. 137. Calabash
415 containing snake fat.
757 Prov.: Saladito.
(About 1/2 nat. size.)

757 Remedies. 1. Snake fat (mboikira) is
[237] efficacious against leprosy. The Indians keep it in a small calabash sealed with was (Fig. 137).

2. A little cotton impregnated with castor oil (yandí) and rubbed on the skin is an excellent liniment for rheumatism.

227 3. A similar virtue is attributed
302 to chicken fat (Fig. 138). In
[237] everyday life they resort to
[824] chicken fat or castor oil to
415 anoint the body, which they
[237] then rub with roucou paste.
Women generally have their

Fig. 138. Section of bamboo containing chicken fat. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/2 nat. size.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 372

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

C 411

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

C [223] Ce [226] [411] [824] Ce 411 824

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

C 411 [191] [198]

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Ce [411] Ce 524

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

C 621 613 596 594

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

C 612 [643]

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

C 623 756 357 565 612

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipeye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a *celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is* the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/117 cont./

829 clothing in payment for the service. Let the reader imagine
797 how the poor father, who had nothing, felt when he heard
177 such a petition (1)!

1. Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Vices and Their Consequences

883 It seems to be and is an unfortunate truth that in this
842 tribe, once so numerous, there is no lack of coquettish girls, who, if they restrained themselves from flirting any more, would not be so bad. The unfortunate thing is that these poor girls, in order to enjoy mundane pleasures and drink to the depths the dregs of corruption, or also in order not to have the nuisance of nursing children and training
[756] them, have recourse to a very simple thing. They consult
[277] the old women who bear the name of sorcerers, and these
[885] show them the remedy, which consists of a drink that they extract from certain plants or herbs which almost all the Chiriguano women and Indian sorcerers know wonderfully well.

883 /118/ These unfortunate girls, usually orphans, once the
786 period of puberty is over, drink this venomous beverage,
[881] suffer a great deal, if indeed they do not die, and are
[842] sterilized, and they then give themselves up to orgies at the time of general drinking, which is the most terrible thing that you can imagine, because at them morality is offended by words and very licentious stories, by raucous laughter and giggling by men and women, by their glances, and finally by their acts, although these take place at a
797 suitable distance from the said gathering.

/145 cont./

776 778 small apartments, owned by the Iya, a child who leaves footprints when it walks. They believe these things as though they were real.

312 778 823 776 Among the many springs that are plentiful in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission there are several with hot, sulphurous water. None of the old people will go near these springs, and the only ones who do it are boys and girls who, because they have embraced the Catholic religion perhaps and because the teaching of the /146/ missionary makes them understand that only God need be feared, have no fear of these inoffensive things. Nevertheless, [961] when some schoolgirl dies, the old people say that such a thing has happened because of the lack of care shown by them when they approached and bathed in these springs owned by the Iya.

778 776 The aforesaid shows that the old Chiriguano is very superstitious, and because of his love of life he respects the places where the imaginary genii can be found. If such places were [961] discovered and disturbed through someone's error, he either would [953] soon die or he would lead an unfortunate life full of long sicknesses ending in death, and for this reason it is impossible for a true Chiriguano to reveal the places which, according to his affirmations, are possessed by genii (1).

1. At the end of the year 1899 a gentleman from Sucre began work in the petroleum site of Mandiyuti in Cuevo. Unfortunately, he died of acute bronchitis, but the Indians attributed his death to the anger of the Iya.

Sorcerers

754 ●756 Another consequence of ignorance is a belief in sorcerers. This belief, however, is much more general. The working man accepts it, as does the moderately enlightened. The man who is in a completely savage state accepts it, as well as the one who is beginning to become civilized. It is accepted in America, as in old Europe, extensive Asia, deserted Africa, and newest Oceania. Nevertheless, the word "sorcerer" does not have the

/146 cont./

754 same meaning everywhere. In Europe the ignorant masses call
●756 sorcerer or witch the man or woman who has made a formal pact with the devil; among the Chiriguano and whites of the Gran Chaco it is the man or woman who succeeds in curing illness or who is in possession of other prestigious abilities (?).

752 2. I know an Indian who treats snake poisoning
756 without using any medicine. He blows upon and rubs the bitten part, and it gets well with no
[825] other remedy. He catches snakes, holds them against his breast, puts them in his pockets, in his hat, and they do not bite him. I cannot explain this phenomenon.

773 But who was the father of sorcerers among the Chiriguano?
825 Guarerai, Indian, Illeé iya vae, eloquent one, told the following
776 story: In a very remote epoch there was a general drought which
756 continued with the imminent danger of all the sown fields being
754 lost. When the cause had been discovered by the king of the birds, Gilraqué, the kite, organized a commission to the lord of rain, called Choncho, so that he might /147/ make it rain. But as the latter paid no attention to the king's embassy, he came personally to find out why and to punish his disobedience if he found him guilty. But the choncho answered that it was not up to him, but up to another bird called chena, whom King Milano confronted, and as he wavered when he denied it or tried to free himself of blame, suspicion was aroused that he was the author of so much evil, and as the evil-doer he was immediately run through by King Milano's lance.

787 This is a fable, but it is certain that the choncho is respected
825 and feared. If this small bird sings in an angry tone, it is a sign to the Chiriguano that evil will come to him, and then he commends himself to it and says: aguye odepochi, cheru mi, tome taicó cavi: do not be angry, may everything go well with me. If it sings happily, the Chiriguano will be well received by his relatives and friends, and if the choncho says, To, To, it is a sign that wherever he goes he will find a lot of chicha, for which reason they never do any harm to this little bird.

754
754 /147 cont./
731
825
776

According to the story of Guaeral, the choncho is the father of good sorcerers, especially those who make it rain, and the chena is the father of bad sorcerers, or those who hold back the rain. In any public calamity in certain places, all the Indians will gather around the Ipaye, or sorcerer, so that the calamity may cease. If this continues despite the sorcerer's promise and he is unable to blame anyone else for his impotence, as the choncho did, he is killed with blows and burned without pity, but if he can blame it on another chena, the latter will suffer the capital punishment, and his protests of innocence or ignorance will be of no avail. Such is the fury of the mob when they are exalted by the harangues of the good Ipaye!

825
787
763

Before passing on from these feared and respected birds, I shall say in passing that at night a whitish bird that they call Teté walks and flies about. When they see it, it is a sure sign to the Indians that in some house the women are about to cut their hair as a sign of mourning, that is, that someone in the town will die. As for the small owl /lechuza/, Suinda, the beliefs of the Chiriguano are the same as those of the common people of Europe and America, the differences among them being slight (1).

765

1. As will be seen, mourning among the Chiriguano women consists of cutting their hair and wearing the dirtiest rag on their heads. Mourning is always complete, that is, they observe strict mourning for any dead person.

756
754

/148/ Good sorcerers, represented by the choncho, are very compassionate, and they do everything possible so that the race may enjoy good health, fortune, good crops, without experiencing hunger or epidemics, while bad sorcerers bring every evil to the poor Chiriguano. They hold back rain and order epidemics, as well as hunger and death. Bad sorcerers are called Mbaecuá.

754
764

The Chiriguano does not die because it is so decreed, because it is a condition of human nature: he does not die as a result of sin of the first man. He dies because bad sorcerers exist: without

/148 cont./

754 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where
761 God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something
753 the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[761] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

● 756 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others
624 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a
623 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has
643 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of
571 the lower caciques; they discuss the appropriate measures to
731 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The
755 first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very
756 great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make
554 him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there
731 is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /149/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

/149 cont./

755 embassy to the sorcerer is the cacique, and his
●756 companions limit themselves to saying Añete,
554 that is how it is, just as the altar boy or sacristan
731 says amen.

756 Of course, his arrival is awaited anxiously. All surround
554 him in order to welcome him and give him demonstrations of
574 affection. There is no family which will not bring him whatever
731 it can so that he may cure well. Cooked chickens, boiled eggs,
[178] live lambs, and plenty of chicha are all presents for the great rascal. All of this is still done for any sorcerer.

755 After a short rest, a good meal, and better refreshments,
756 the sorcerer opens his ceremonial with numerous questions in
731 order to try to discover who brought the epidemic to the town, in case it has come in already. If so, he continues in this way and his exorcisms are daily, general for the town, and special for each sick person, as I shall say farther on.

But if the sickness has not come in, he gathers together all of the principal men, they make cigars of tobacco wrapped in maize husks, gather in a circle, light the cigars, and blow smoke in every direction, the sorcerer observing which way the smoke is going. When the location is more or less known, they all go there, club in hand. The sorcerer makes a small excavation and takes from it the charm which he has put there beforehand without being seen; it consists of old, dirty rags mixed with hairs and small bones. Then he burns all that in the presence of the company, strikes the ground with his club and feet, being imitated by all (2).

2. It is not uncommon that the sorcerers themselves take the clothing of persons with smallpox from one town to another in order that the contagion may spread and that they may have some pretext for profit and a life full of gifts.

/149 cont./

755 This done, they return to the town with an air of triumph
756 and pass through all of it, raining blows with their clubs on the
731 corners of the plaza and the houses of the most notable persons, and, the performance ended, he directs his discourse to those who surround him and the others who have come out of their houses. He tells them that they must not be afraid and that they should have confidence in him, for the illness over which he is the master has been dispelled.

He then takes a rest from his labors for several days, takes his leave of the cacique and the principal men, blessed by the frightened inhabitants, and returns to his town. Anyone can understand that, if there is no epidemic, it is a coincidence which will give considerable renown to the rascally impostor, and, if there is one, the blame falls on the townspeople or on some other /150/ bad sorcerer. Then he returns and becomes the healer for all of them. In smallpox epidemics the sorcerer is always one who has had it and who as a sad sign thereof has his face and his nose covered with pox.

755 In the first months after I arrived at the Santa Rosa Mission,
756 an epidemic began to break out; without my realizing what was
731 happening, exorcisms against the smallpox were being carried
164 out by the sorcerer Biringa, but as this disease had thoroughly invaded the town by the end of the year, he returned and paid well for his deceits; his threats that he would make the 255 male students of the school perish were of no avail since both they and the female students became sick, but only one of the boys and seven of the girls died (1).

1. The girls of the Santa Rosa school numbered 235 in the year of the smallpox; those who were dangerously sick received the viaticum before they were taken to the lazaretto. Those about to die even received Extreme Unction in the lazaretto. In January of 1904 there were more than 500 persons in the latter.

/150 cont./

756 Even for rain the sorcerers perform their incantations with
789 their maize-husk cigar, making a turn in the planted fields,
731 but if the drought is general, the incantations are public per-
821 formed in the town in front of the house of the principal cacique.
One of these was performed in the early days of the above-
[197] mentioned mission. The missionary had admonished them to stop it, but when they answered insolently, he formed or organized a commission with shotguns and old rifles. The three or four sorcerers fled, but one of them fell into the hands of the commission, was punished for his insolence, and in a few minutes a torrential shower refreshed the entire territory of the mission.

756 In concrete cases, when the sorcerer is required by a
755 particular family, he establishes himself in the house of the sick man; he asks him a thousand questions regarding the sickness, the houses that he has frequented, the friends with whom he has drunk, the companions with whom he has played, and the things that he has earned. Then he lights his maize-husk cigar and smokes, blowing the smoke over the body of the patient, especially the affected part.

Then, depending on the greater or lesser seriousness of the illness, depending on the nature of the disease, whether it requires blows or joltings, which is the most likely, he delivers them so atrociously that they are likely to end the patient's life, and if not he is content with rubbing the affected part hard /151/ and sucking it with his mouth, extracting from the patient's body the worms which the rascal has hidden in his mouth (1).

[164] 1. In many cases worms can be found in the bodies of these Indians between the flesh and the skin. I myself, with the use of fenelina, have made worms as big as chickpeas come out of their bodies, without their having had any wound at all.

/151 cont./

755 Men sorcerers use in their cures, in addition to the cigar, the
756 tupicho. But what the tupicho consists of is difficult to determine. There are sorcerers who use for it a little round stone with some designs on it; according to what I saw in the San Pascual Mission, others use a long bone likewise bearing designs, and, as I saw in Caipipendi and other places, others make do with words alone. The value of the tupicho is not known, but the Indians have much fear of it. I could tell stories about this.

Sorcerer Curers

756 There is no doubt about the existence of female curers and sorcererresses, who, like the men, are feared in the tribe, because it is easier for them to administer some slow or violent poison in drinks. They are designated by the name Cuña ipaye, sorceress (2).

2. I know several women who are curers and sorceresses at the same time; at least they are considered as such by the Indians of the tribe.

Generally these women are the daughters of sorcerers, but this does not prevent others from being one also. They cure sick men or women with wild herbs, tree bark, and roots which they dig out of the ground. They are in this case true curers, as are certain women among the whites.

756 There are others, and plenty of them; it can be said that
844 every old mother is one for her young daughters. They serve
759 as midwives; they help their daughters and other women in their deliveries. Some of them are so skilled that they are accepted by the women whom the Indians call ladies. During the time when I was living among the Chiriguano, I saw only three die in childbirth.

756 The only thing which is deplorable among these curers is the
278 use of Mbayachi, a poison that they administer with much dissimulation, mixing it with chicha and giving it to persons whom they hate,
682 immediately washing or hiding the gourd, glass, or cup in which they administered it to the patient.

/151 cont./

756 278 682 Mbayachi works quite slowly because in general /152/ the sorceress who administers it is careful to infuse in the drink a small quantity so as to avoid its being discovered by the relatives, but if the hated person has none, or the ones he has are very distant in degree or are of little worth, she gives him a strong dose which dispatches him to eternity in a few hours.

The patient who has had the misfortune to drink the poison begins to feel the effect at once: stomach pains, retching, and other known effects. The poison is consumed little by little, and he remains in this state for two or three years, leading a most painful existence, which is shared by the members of the family in their sadness, as they experience all of the burden of the long illness.

Mbayachi is nothing but a poison, and inasmuch as it can be administered among civilized peoples, there is no reason whatsoever to deny that savages can administer it, since they do not fear human or divine laws, take vengeance as a holy thing, and are only with great difficulty discovered (1).

[627] [628]

1. The Indian is not content until he has taken revenge on his enemy; when he achieves it, he says: ayepi ma hese. I have avenged myself on him.

Way to Obtain the Poison

756 278 The way to provide oneself with poison is as follows, according to what Guarerai says: The sorceress goes out into the country without telling anyone her purpose. She takes with her a receptacle which generally consists of a little clay jar perforated in the upper part. She goes into the dense woods or forest, where nobody can discover her, covers up her ears and nostrils with cotton and her hands with rags, and undresses completely, so that nothing may disturb her in her work.

/152 cont./

756 Then she[1] waits for some viper to come into sight, and, if
278 it is long in coming, she makes it appear by imitating its hiss.
125 When she sees it, she does not run away or become frightened, but instead, with all the calm in the world, she kills it with a stick, or better with a piece of hollow cane, hangs it from a low bush, and then, from the head down, pours over it chicha oil, which mixes with the venom secreted by the viper. She applies the little jar to the tip of the tail and collects the first venom (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. She cuts off the tip of the tail so that the poison is not left inside the body of the snake. The oil serves to agglomerate the poison and to facilitate the draining.

/153/ If it turns out to be very little, she calls another viper, imitating its hiss, and sometimes as many as five of them come, and she does with them what she did with the first one, until she has obtained enough. She works at this for four or five days; she goes very early and returns late, and when the operation is over, she buries the dead snakes, erases her tracks, gets dressed again, hiding the little jar in her breast, and returns to town as fresh as can be, carrying on her shoulders, and hung from her head a sling full of stems or tree roots, or, if they are in season, algarrobas or some other fruit; the latter are preferred.

756 Venom thus prepared is very pernicious, and in order to
278 administer it in a small dose, it suffices to dampen in it the end of a straw and wash it in the gourd of chicha which the enemy is invited to take. Sorceresses prepare the best chicha, which is called Copiriru, recooked chicha, and, since the Chiriguano is a glutton, he easily falls into the trap, under the pretext of a reconciliation. The method used by the sorceresses to obtain the venom has been discovered because on occasion they have broken the ties of friendship with some intimate friend or kinship with some sister, who knew the secret (1).

1. Sorceresses who possess venom are known; one who wishes to take revenge on an enemy

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 210]

[1 i.e., the sorceress-Analyst]

/153 cont./

•756 278

and does not know how to do it goes to the sorceresses, pays them, and obtains it.

This seems to be a fable which in itself does not merit any importance, as indeed it is not given any by Father Giannecchini, who does not deny it in his writings, as Señor del Campano states. Poison exists among the Chiriguano. They do not extract it from chamico, which is a species of datura, nor do they extract it from other plants or herbs. The sorcerers reveal nothing; the young people do not know about it, and the few old people who are alive only tell what has been said above. Be that as it may, this is a belief of the tribe, and as such I have told it.

Lunar Eclipse

821

One night while waiting for a lunar eclipse, I found myself in conversation with the cacique Anduari of the mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu, and I was reminded of something which I remembered regarding this phenomenon which was about to occur on the moon. Chiriguano towns are true hells during an eclipse, because of the shouts, cries, whistles, and every warlike instrument which they use to make noise. When I came to the missions, /154/ the war of Curuyuqui had just happened, and when I heard so much and such an extraordinary hubbub on the night of an eclipse, I believed that it was a new uprising, as was also believed by the inhabitants of Cuevo, who came out armed to find out the cause of so much noise (1).

[114] [648]

301 533 114

1. The Italian professor Mantegazza states that the Chiriguano, in order to whistle loudly, take out the tembeta or button which they have in their lower lip. This is incorrect and denied by all; what the renowned anthropologist refers to must be a special case, since they cannot even drink without the button.

/155 cont./

771 I shall end this fourth chapter by repeating that the Chiriguano in his religion, divinities, and beliefs confuses in extraordinary fashion beings who are good and bad, real and imaginary, as well as fabulous beliefs which conform in substance to certain Biblical tales. The Indian eats, drinks, and [756] [782] sleeps, and he lives like any four-legged animal; he thinks only of the sorcerer, consulting him in his emergencies of illness or want and other calamities, believing that he has the power to alleviate it, there not being any prayer properly speaking.

/156/

000

Chapter Five

Political Organization and Authorities

Introduction

The French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century set the foundations for the present anarchy with the dethroning and decapitation of the unfortunate and virtuous rulers Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. /The remainder of p. 156 and the first two paragraphs of p. 157 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 157. The remainder of p. 157 follows./

Let it thus be understood that in this Catholic nation /Bolivia/ only the Catholic religion can contain the fury of the human beast. Let the religious orders and the Colegios de Propaganda Fide be promoted, as in the bordering nations, let firm support be given to the Catholics, as in Germany, and there will neither be the explosion of anarchist bombs nor will the heads of the rulers roll through the streets and squares, nor will the corpses of the great lie stiff, victims of the revolver or the sword of shadowy men.

/163/

643 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the
682 cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following
692 his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with another piece of wood set between them. He called together all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was
[671] immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his region, so that the life of the defenseless and the good may be respected and that he may be feared (1).

622
643
756
646
692

1. When a sorcerer does not manage to accomplish what he has promised, because he perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's prerogative to order the death sentence and burning.

Separation from Command

622
631
643

The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared them free from such obedience, naming another more humane person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it.
648 This has become easier today by agreement with the political
466 authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that
464 when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named
622 by the political authority, he is sure to be subject to all the
643 demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the latter, who do not like the yoke or the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

/196 cont./

301 Over their tiru the men put the Mboivera, which is a small double piece of silver with its hole in the upper part, where they put a double cord of wool, on the ends of which there are [562] tassels of the same color. This ornament is for men, but there are also women who wear them, but smaller ones. If one in- [179] quires about the origin of the mboivera, no Chiriguano can tell you today, but it is almost certain that they received it from the Spaniards, with whom they had relations almost from the time of the discovery, as can be deduced from the history of Tarija, whose first settlers had to fight vigorously to take over the territory which they then occupied. It is enough to see a mboivera in order to conclude that it is not of Chiriguano origin. The work which goes into almost all of them indicates that it is the work of civilized people, since decorations by the engraver's burin can be seen on it (2).

43
301

2. A Mboivera, a Tempeta /sic/ with a ndamicha, four necklaces, and a ndamicha ichi formerly were exchanged for a horse, a cow, ten sheep, or 15 goats, but it should be noted that these pieces of property were worth little. A cow was worth five or six pesos, and the same could be said of the rest. Conscientious travelers today pay up to four bolivianos for a tembeta, because it is a museum piece.

301
435
756

Both men and women adorn their necks with beads /perlas/. Itogñi: necklaces, Rini, are not of beads like those of civilized people, but in spite of this the itogñi has a conventional value among the Chiriguano. For four itogñi necklaces they sold the best that they had, and sick persons gave them to the sorcerer in order that he would cure them, and today, when it is almost impossible to obtain a necklace, it is not rare for a sick person who owns one to make a gift of it to the doctor, even though it may be his passport to eternity, because everyone understands that after the sick person has been treated by a sorcerer in the most barbarous manner, if he does not recover it is clear he will die.

/159 cont./

In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities. 114 [65] [275]

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either. 797 756

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the 114

415
531

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igiembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 114 It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant. [133] [137]

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things. 123 157 173 643

C 165 /215 cont./
President Belzu in Sucre. The latter governed between 1848-1855; thus, 100-year-old Maringay is obviously not more than about 80. An 80-year-old Indian is therefore the oldest of his tribe.
C 145 Among the Indians one almost always sees /Fig. 112 appears here/ that the one who has grown-up grandchildren is very frail and senile and stands at the brink of the grave. Indian men and women mature very rapidly, but also age quickly. At 50 the Indian is an
C [114] old man, at 70 a so-called centenarian. Im Thurn (1) likewise

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 190.

believes that the Indians do not grow old. /216/ He thinks that they seldom reach an age older than 40 or 50.
C 142 Maringay's hair was slightly gray. There are some Indian men and women whose hair is almost whitish yellow, but they are
C [145] [64] rare (Fig. 112). I never saw a bald Indian. When they are older, their faces are deeply furrowed. Not infrequently they become blind in old age, less often deaf.
Ee 142 515 Among the Choroti and Ashluslay the appearance of old people is often frightening; they are dirty, emaciated, and bleary-eyed. This is not the case among the Chané and Chiriguano. These Indians know how to grow old in beauty, and even the old people keep themselves nice and clean.
Ee 756 If the Chané or Chiriguano Indian becomes seriously ill, the medicine man is sent for, as among other Indians.
The Chiriguano and Chané distinguish between two kinds of medicine men, whom they call "ipáye" or "ipáyepótchi." The
Ee [758] former are good and lift the spell; the latter are able to lift the spell and to bewitch.
C 756 797 I once jokingly asked a Chiriguano whether Father Bernardino in Ivu was an "ipáye" or an "ipáyepótchi." The Indian answered dutifully, an "ipáye." The position of the missionary among the Indians is that of medicine man; he assumes their power and their influence.
Ee 756 177 In the preceding I said that the whites in the vicinity of Ivu sent for an Indian medicine man to drive away smallpox.

Ee /216 cont./
754 They also sometimes believe that they are bewitched by the
177 Indians. A colonist, Gutierrez, flogged an Indian. The latter bewitched him, so that he became ill. Inside his stomach it sounded like the croaking of a frog.

C Ce The medicine men try to discover the bewitcher with smoke.
755 I did not see how this was done. The bewitcher, if he or she is
754 discovered, is killed.

000 /217/ In the following I shall speak about the connection of the medicine men with the great spirits.

Ee There seems to be no difference in the appearance and
755 the method of the medicine men among the Chorotí and
•756 Ashluslay and among the Chané and Chiriguano. It is the same
171 sucking out of foreign objects that have entered the body through
Ee bewitchment. Among the latter the medicine men are more
[177] secretive than among the former. Perhaps their contact with the whites has had the effect that they themselves are beginning to doubt their art.

Ee There is a difference, however, in the common remedies.
757 The first-named Indian tribes obtain their remedies, as a rule,
[171] from the vegetable kingdom. They boil decoctions of certain
Ee plants. The Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, except
[237] for certain plants, use animal remedies. Thus, on the Rio
Ce Itiyuro, the Chané use the fat of herons for swellings, wild pig
757 fat for fever, jaguar fat for pains in the bones, and toucan beaks
237 for female hemorrhages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the fat of the ostrich for chest pains, of the iguana lizard for conjunctivitis, of the chicken for everything, and maize beer for colds. I saw fat applied exclusively for external use.

Ce The Chané Indian is remarkable with regard to aseptic
752 treatment. I saw several times how they treat wounds in accordance with a most modern method, namely, with boiled water. This is different from the whites' use of pig excrement and the fresh urine of human beings, along with salt, for the same purpose. The reason that these Indians are familiar with such a modern
Ce method is undoubtedly their great cleanliness. They are used to
[515] washing themselves constantly. They probably hit upon the idea

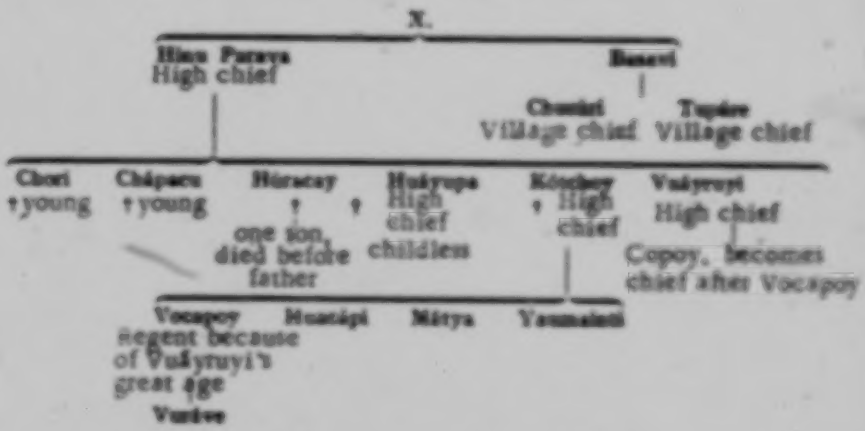
6: Nordenskiöld--81 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce 622 73 643

/229/

Vocapoy gave me his family tree, which I reproduce here because it is very instructive, and I venture to believe that it may interest the reader to study an Indian family tree.

Vocapoy's Family Tree



Ce 643

Thus we find that the real chief on the Río Itiyuro is a woman. I visited old Vuáyruyi. She received me with great dignity, lying in her hammock. Since the woman is old and weak, Vocapoy governs and tries, as best he can, to protect his people against the whites, who have completely appropriated their land. I asked Vocapoy why Vuáyruyi, as a woman, became chief. "Her father, Hinu Parawa, taught her to speak," said Vocapoy. Thus, these Indians regard it as most important to have command of the language in order to rule. These people are able to value intelligence more than strength. No one becomes chief who is not an older man. The husband of Vuáyruyi was not a chief, but only "prince consort." The village chiefs also belong to the family /Geschlechte/ of Hinu Parawa.

Ce [622]

Tanuiri, too, is not the actual chief, but is substituting for a younger relative, who, as a result of his /230/ constant drunkenness, is regarded as unfit. Tanuiri rules in the Caipipendi valley, where his territory is still free, but will probably soon be usurped by the whites. In Ivu there is a Chiriguano chief who is also a medicine man. This is the only example of theocracy that I found.

C 643

C [755]

846
[844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet.

755 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other
●756 resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which
763 is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [934] Chorotí, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with [171] a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chaná are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chaná, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike
648 nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1840 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Kirchhoff (7), p. 134.
[2] Pachacuti (24).

St Schmidt--81 E-5 (1906) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
IZ020

C 301 [126]

/33 cont./

Ring (*mollkaregua*) in the Collection

I.A. 1371. (Chiriguano.) Gift of Father Ayala Solís. Diam. 2cm.

Finally I shall mention here a ring obtained by Father Ayala Solís from the Chiriguano and donated by him to the Museo de Historia y Etnografía del Paraguay. The ring was made of metal from a cartridge shell.

CE 291

The cacique of the Ismó shown in Figure 12 wears sandals (Chir.: *mbipéa*. Ismó *pilapí*). Generally the men and women go around barefoot. But both sexes use sandals if they are to walk on stony or thorny ground (146).

146. Nord. 1, p. 200. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 22. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 207.

C 291 19

The region of distribution of the sandal in South America leads us to assume that the Chiriguano did not first receive this item from the whites, but earlier, and that it came from the culture of the ancient Peruvians (147).

147. Cf. Nord. 2, p. 69.

Treatment of Illnesses and Burial

CE 143 C [114] C [114] CE 95 191

In the Indian settlement in Toledo there was arranged a small hospital in which the sick Ismó were receiving medical treatment. For that reason I did not have the chance to make investigations among them about the native treatment of the illnesses of these Indians. Nor did I have the chance to make such investigations in Machareti. Therefore, I refer to the investigations /36/ Nordenskiöld and Métraux made on this subject (148), and I wish only to

148. Nord. 1, pp. 116 and 117. Métraux 1, pp. 400-403.

mention here that among the Chiriguano and Chané, as among

C
Ce /34 cont./
756 most other Indians of South America, there is a professional
171 physician who is charged with the treatment of the sick, this
treatment in most cases consisting of sorcery among these
C Indians too. The physician attempts to dispel the evil by
Ce sucking out foreign objects which have penetrated the body of
755 the bewitched sick person. In addition to such treatment,
757 remedies are used among the Chiriguano and Chané, which,
[824] in addition to those made of plant substances, include the
[237] fat of various animals applied externally for different illnesses.
Ce The Chané treat wounds with boiling water.
752

Burial among the Chiriguano and Chané who live outside
Ce the missions is generally still done in urns, according to
764 primordial custom. According to Nordenskiöld (149), the
415

149. Nord. 1, p. 208.

large pots in which chicha is prepared are also used as funeral urns, and another pot is used to close the urn. Often the dying person, even before being completely dead, or soon after death, is crammed into the urn in a squatting position. A calabash of water is placed with the dead person in the urn,
Ce which is buried within the house. Commonly the house, after
768 the burial, is abandoned for some time, but is occupied again
C later. Such a funeral urn of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi
764 Valley is shown in a drawing by Erland Nordenskiöld (150).
415

150. Nord. 1, Fig. 113.

Up to half of the urn, which is provided with a cover, is disenterred. Nordenskiöld's statement that the Chiriguano use the same pots which serve for the preparation of meals as funeral urns is significant. From that we can deduce that a funeral urn found in other regions might also have served, during the lifetime of the dead person buried in it, some other purpose related to the economy of those Indians.

/86 cont./

CC 643 of her late brother and predecessor, as already mentioned, took her place in her duties. The one predestined for the office of cacique cannot begin his functions if he does not have ability and skill in discussion. The great cacique in the Caipipendi valley was considered incapable because of continual drunkenness, and he was replaced in his functions by one of his relatives (327). In

327. Nord. 1, p. 230.

the Chané towns on the Itiyuru the ordinary caciques too belong to Hinu Parava's family (328).

328. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 129.

C CC 643 301 302 293 As a symbol of chieftainship Nordenskiöld observed staffs decorated with silver and the so-called "Yandagua," which consists of a long rod adorned with a tuft of ostrich feathers and is carried by caciques at fiestas and dances. According to Corrado, the caciques formerly wore as a symbol of their office a large lock of hair on top of the head, which they called "yattira," and green stones as pendants in the ear lobes, and at the fiestas, in addition to the "yandagua" mentioned above, the "iguiripe," which was a staff carved with figures (329).

329. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C

● 756 643 622 At the side of the caciques a special position is held by the sorcerers, among whom the Chiriguano distinguish two kinds, the "ipáye," who are good and who can undo spells, and the "ipáyepótchi," who can undo spells, but who also cast them. The sorcerer is also above all the doctor who has the obligation of curing the sick (330). In general the occupation of sorcerer is separate

330. Nord. 1, p. 216.

from that of cacique. Only in Ivu did Nordenskiöld observe a case where a Chiriguano cacique was a sorcerer at the same time (331).

331. Nord. 1, p. 230.

/480 cont./

75 Fig. 16) was present at an analogous treatment also practiced /481/ by a medicine woman on a child at Yumbia, not far from the Salado. She rubbed him and blew on his body (1).

[113] [192]

1. In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc. (p. 72), we find the word hunga translated "to rub, to massage" and the sentence Siyari ñerungarunga tein, irón á ñe with the following meaning: "My grandmother rubbed me enough, but I did not get well." The medicine women, add the authors of the dictionary, use the word hunga to express the act of rubbing with the hand any painful part of the body, especially the chest, without any remedy other than the saliva they spit on their hand. These women attribute a special virtue to saliva.

[829]

755 754 The sick boy's father told me that, once suffering from prolonged headaches, he had had recourse to a sorceress, an old woman with woolly hair, who was called the Samba. She sucked the place where the ache was localized and drew out worms from it. The half-breed got well, of course.

• 757 [825] In the toldería of Ñawirenda, where there was a child ill with fever, his mother had made him eat crushed garrapatas (ticks). The unfortunate child's lips were purple from it.

756 755 [121] I shall devote a special study to Chiriguano medicine men in a future volume of this Review. Meanwhile I shall limit myself to describing, according to the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano (pp. 166-167), the way in which these powerful personages customarily proceed when they are called to the bedside of a sick person. I am forced to have recourse to the observations made by another for lack of having been able to be present myself at the spectacle which Father Giannechini evokes with as much accuracy as vivacity. The great Chiriguano paye are now all in the Ivoka where they take

/482 cont./

756 Judging from this text, the Chiriguano sorcerer, like his
787 Tupinamba or Siberian colleague, put himself into a state of trance so that his spirit, free from corporeal bonds, could go to engage in battle with the soul of the evil-intentioned individual who is implacable against his patient.

798 The hupia, that is, the magical force, is indispensable to one who claims to be a good sorcerer. At least this is the meaning I give to this word translated in the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (p. 73) by: "remedy, antidote," but of which it is said that possession is indispensable to every medicine man. This word suffixed to any noun whatever expresses the faculty, the power, the facility to make or obtain the thing signified by the noun. Thus a dog trained to hunt deer is wasu-rupia (wasu: deer), a warrior is tuwaiño-rupia (tuwaiño: enemy), etc.

[193]

237 Fig. 137. Calabash
415 containing snake fat.
757 Prov.: Saladito.
(About 1/2 nat. size.)

Fig. 138. Section of bamboo containing chicken fat. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/2 nat. size.)

797 Remedies. 1. Snake fat (mborkira) is
[237] efficacious against leprosy. The Indians keep it in a small calabash sealed with wax (Fig. 137).

2. A little cotton impregnated with castor oil (yandi) and rubbed on the skin is an excellent liniment for rheumatism.

[237] 3. A similar virtue is attributed
302 to chicken fat (Fig. 138). In
[237] everyday life they resort to
[824] chicken fat or castor oil to
[415] anoint the body, which they
[237] then rub with roucou paste. Women generally have their

/482 cont./

302 faces and legs oiled in this way, which gives them a very strange reddish and shiny hue. This custom, which was already [171] noted /483/ in the sixteenth century among the Tupinamba of [178] the Brazilian coast, is tending to fall into disuse.

Roucou in paste form is kept in a small corn-husk bag (Fig. 302 139), /Fig. 139 appears here/ as is kalasapa, a substance com- 386 posed of a mixture of roucou and pounded aroma seeds, which [415] gives a violet color.

757 4. Jaguar fat (yaguapira) cures any "leprosy" (karatši) if 237 one rubs oneself with it after heating it.

5. Iguana fat makes cramps go away and heals wounds. [752] Its use is external.

6. The dried penis of a fox makes toothaches and earaches go away. For that it suffices to touch the ailing part with the end /Fig. 140 appears here/ of this member. The Indians consider it very malodorous and touch it only with repugnance. [415] To avoid this inconvenience they provide it with a handle and shut it up in a bamboo case (Fig. 141).

7. Deerhorns heated and /Fig. 141 appears here/ applied against the neck will cure a stiff neck. The medical use of [172] deer (wasu) horns explains the frequent presence of the horns of this animal in the archeological strata of the neighboring Andean regions. Some have thus been found in the ruins of the Alfarcito, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 21), at Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, p. 232), at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 235, p. 453), and at Tastil (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, Fig. 78 f).

858 Horns adhering to a fragment of the skull and whose use 304 could only have been magical or medical must be distinguished 237 from the ones which the Indians work into awls. These in- 412 struments still have a ritual use and are reserved for piercing the lower lip of children when they are old enough to wear the labret. At least this is what Campana (p. 80) informs us. Besides, the Indians all have confirmed this detail to me. [171] Formerly, the Tupinamba of Brazil practiced this operation with an awl of the same nature (see Métraux, 3, p. 105).

1: Métraux--364 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

824
302
415
386

Fig. 139. Small bag made of corn husks, containing roucou paste. Prov.: Salado grande (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

Fig. 140. Calabash containing roucou seeds. Prov.: Caipipendí. (About 1/5 nat. size.)

415
237
757
→

Fig. 141. Case containing a fox penis (aguara-kankuy). Prov.: Ibopeytí. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

/484/

However, these awls are too abundant in each village for their use to be only sacred. It is probable that the Chiriguano use them as a simple tool for solely secular purposes.

At Tilcara, Debenedetti (2, Fig. 176, p. 232) discovered specimens made of deerhorn identical with our Chiriguano examples.

8. I have in my collections seeds whose virtues are multiple: they are an excellent remedy for skin eruptions, ulcers, and toothaches.

9. For stomach-ache the Chiriguano recommend the absorption of particles of wood (mboipinda).

10. Certain seeds (of a graminaceous plant?) when crushed give a paste or powder with which they treat animals whose sores are attacked by worms.

11. When cows' hooves tend to work loose, they bathe them with fragments of limestone (itakwi).

12. Fat extracted from a cow's foot is an effective ointment for cases of rheumatism.

13. The beak of the toucan is said to enjoy great medicinal properties. They grate it and drink in water the powder which comes from it (Campana, 111).

Stitches in the side and dysentery are treated with a piece of armadillo shell burned, ground, and dissolved in water, which the patient drinks.

In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (passim) and Nino's book (pp. 288-290) is found many a very interesting piece of information on the pharmacopoeia of the Chiriguano. I shall summarize them in order to complete my own observations.

1. The oil which floats on kiwi, when it is done, is a good remedy for headaches.

2. Salt, ground and drunk mixed with the urine of a small child, quiets stomach pains.

3. Rheumatism is doctored by applying on the ailing part a branch of ulala (ñankawina) from which the thorns have been removed and which has been heated.

/484 cont./

[757] 824 4. To stop dysentery, one must drink a decoction made of corn and watermelon seeds ground together.

[237] 5. Stitches in the side are treated by drinking a fragment of armadillo shell ground up and by rubbing the ailing place with a portion of this same calabash heated.

6. Tumors and swellings of the throat or knee are made to disappear by applying on the sore region the leaves of a shrub called urukuna, heated in a pot. Another herb (yunduirimbiu) has the same virtue.

/485/ Urukuna leaves put on compresses on the skull dissipate headaches, protect one from congestion, and cure erysipelas. The leaves of yandipa (bediondilla) have all the virtues of urukuna.

7. Hemorrhages are stopped by means of latex or the roasted leaf of the liana supuapempe.

8. Kaa-upaya is an efficacious herb in cases of stomach ailments; and soto root cures pains in the feet (rheumatism?).

9. Guaya is a liana which cures any swelling in the side.

[753] [821] 10. Goiter, rare among the Indians, is attributed by them to the sun. They treat it with tutía, a yellow fruit which reminds one of an apple, or by putting around the neck compresses of the blood of the gallinazo, carancho, or bandurria, kinds of vultures.

11. Ophthalmia or conjunctivitis is doctored with drops extracted from the bark of the algarrobillo or with the glue taken from the bud of the membiría plant. The leaves of yandi-wope are excellent for cases of ophthalmia.

12. A variety of caraguatá makes diarrhea stop.

13. The flower káa-ro (bitter herb) cures skin eruptions and is as good for malaria.

14. The herb inái (tooth of water) is a remedy against whooping cough, which can also be treated with an infusion made of boiled or roasted wasps and drunk warm.

15. Tingi bark attached around the belly is excellent for fighting dropsy, as are the leaves of the aturu (palo de india), a tree reminiscent of laurel, or the herb kaa-paye, taken as an infusion.

/485 cont./

757 824 16. Gonorrhea is treated with the boiled root of the mistol and tapir fat.

[237] 17. Earaches pass away if drops of chicken, beetle, and cicada fat are poured into the auditory canal.

18. The root of chirimoya del monte (aratibu) is a good antidote if one feels poisoned.

752 824 19. Snake bites lose their seriousness if one applies some of the herb ururu, guaje, tobacco, or nicotine on the wound.

The sap of the liana isipo-paro-mboyi, although poisonous, nonetheless constitutes an excellent antidote for the same cases.

752 237 20. By putting melted wax on the wound, you do not risk dying when a mad dog has bitten you.

21. Wounds produced by a sharp instrument heal if burned chicken feathers are spread on them.

757 22. It suffices for a woman to drink the powder of a shell in water to put her fallen uterus back in place.

/486/

757 824 23. The red leaves of the aflankamisa, iwira-ro (quebracho cacha) bark, the woody plant toba-pitle, taken as infusions, are as many remedies for fever.

[752] 24. Compresses of kaa-ruruntirái make abscesses burst.

25. In case of constipation it is good to drink the latex of the kaa-si (cardencha, lechetrema).

752 757 824 26. After any serious fall one must drink water in which one has made an infusion of a sort of vervain (kaimberai) pounded beforehand. The consequences of the shock will not be felt if one applies on the sore regions poultices made with this same plant carefully ground.

27. Recommended for spreading on sprains are cara guatá leaves or a thick glue obtained by boiling the bark of iwira-pitiyu-wasu. This substance is equally good for fractures.

757 824 28. The Chiriguano chew the bark of iwira-pitiyu-wasu to make their violent toothaches stop and to make their teeth more solid.

29. A cataract is doctored in the following way: One boils kuruwa leaves and bathes the patient's head with this infusion.

[237] Then one takes the gall from the dorado fish with pincers or

/486 cont./

757 824 237 some similar object and rubs the sick person's eyes with it until the cataract comes off.

30. The tannin contained in kurupaî bark is a disinfectant

752 757 824 which hastens the healing of wounds.

31. The leaves of kurupaîraî (small sébil), squeezed and put into compresses on a tumor, act in a lenitive way.

757 824 [302] 32. The plant wambero (kind of purslane) is a laxative. It has a scarlet flower which girls dry and pulverize to be able to color their cheeks red.

33. Iwowi bark, pounded and roasted, is a good remedy for any pain affecting the limbs. The ash taken from the pips of this [752] tree hastens the healing of wounds.

34. Powdered inâi seeds make teeth fall out.

35. The root of the isipo-poro-mboyi, ground and kneaded with salt and tallow, is an emollient which is spread on tumors.

36. When they feel pains in the limbs, the Chiriguano apply on the ailing part a poultice made of iva-wasu roots, crushed and roasted.

37. The seeds of the yandi-wasu, taken in doses of two or three, are a good emetic.

38. The sarâi is a tree reminiscent of our walnut tree. Its inner bark yields a powder which is spread on skin eruptions.

39. A climbing plant called kaa-ruwa is supposed to have medicinal properties. /487/ It is taken in the form of an infusion, or poultices are made with it after it is pounded.

40. Another climbing plant, the kaa-tai (barba de chivato) is a very active caustic which can produce burns if the compresses made with its flowers, leaves, and twigs ground together and mixed with water are kept on too long. If the hands are rubbed with this plant, they become numb.

41. The roots of the shrub mboipina, well cooked, yield a broth which combats atrophy.

757 825 42. A species of bug (tambeyûa) is used in the native pharmacopoeia as a caustic.

757 271 43. The Chiriguano have great faith in the virtue of hot water. Every sick Indian has beside him a small vessel the size of an egg, full of hot water. Those who are attending him

/487 cont./

757 271 wet their finger and moisten his lips (Campana, p. 113). The patient must also drink this water.

757 [175] Chiriguano medicine in the 18th century. A manuscript of the 18th century, written by Father Manuel Mingo and kept in the Library of the Collège de Tarija, contains information of the greatest interest on the way in which the Chiriguano used to doctor themselves when they were still independent. Here is the translation of the passage in question:

"The manner in which they doctor themselves in case of sickness is curious. Sometimes, when they feel sick, they go immediately to bathe inside their house in jars or a wooden basin. Sometimes they have several herbs applied, which they go to get in the fields or thickets. Sometimes also they allow an enema or clyster to be administered to them. This instrument (according to what I could see at Tariquea) is also very curious. It comes down to a small calabash or hollow gourd with a round opening on top and a small hole at the bottom. In the lower part one fastens or puts a hollow nozzle or a small hollow reed corresponding to the nozzle. One pours through the top (that is, through the large round opening arranged in the swollen part of the calabash) a broth of urine with salt. After that, the one who is acting as nurse or orderly blows hard through the upper part or from the top by pressing his lips to the opening or window of the calabash, and the force of the breath makes the liquid pass into the patient's intestines." (Fol. 107-108).

Nordenskiöld (14, pp. 184-195), who in a recent book went full length into the matter of the various instruments utilized by the American Indians for giving enemas, distinguishes two types: those which are provided with a rubber or leather bulb or a bladder, and those which amount to a simple tube. The one described for us with such a wealth of details by our missionary belongs to the second type, although /488/ exhibiting some similarities with the first. It can be considered as intermediate between the two.

/488 cont./

757 114 The explorer Eric von Rosen tried to demonstrate that some objects found in northwestern Argentina are clyster tubes or nozzles. Nordenskiöld is also of this opinion. As for me, I am all the more tempted to adopt this hypothesis because I could not otherwise explain the presence of this instrument among the Chiriguano. No Tupi tribe, as a matter of fact, with the exception of the Omagua on the upper Amazon, seems to have resorted to enemas in case of illness; at least not one of the numerous travelers who gave their attention to these Indians mentions the operation among them. There is no doubt that the Chiriguano borrowed this curative method and the corresponding instrument from the nearby Andean peoples. We know that the Quichua /Quechua/ gave each other enemas, as is proved by the discovery of a leather syringe in a pre-Hispanic grave of the Ollachea Valley in eastern Peru (Nordenskiöld, 14, Fig. 74, p. 188). (To be continued.)

757 171 174

000 /The bibliography, pp. 488-493, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text. The following "Table of Contents" appears at the end of this volume of the Revista, along with the tables of contents for the other articles in the volume. The lists of plates and figures which follow the table of contents in the translation were made up from the captions and are not part of the original text./

/598/ Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians

by Alfred Métraux

	page
Preface	1
I. Material Culture	5
Introduction	5
Historical outline of the formation of the Chiriguano nation	6
Agriculture	63
Cooking and food	80
Food resources	80
Fish	93
Cooking	97

/18 cont./

137 824 ALGARROBO NEGRO. -- Among the Indians this is called "Ivopene." and the whites call it tusca; it multiplies and grows very fast. Sometimes 20 or 30 newly sprouted plants can be counted around a single cake of cow dung, which indicates that the cattle eat it in abundance, and where it does not already exist they sow it with their bowels. [262] It grows to a height of some three meters and is very thorny, which makes it difficult to travel through places where it is abundant; when there is no other food it is one of the Chiriguano's resources.

[322] ALGAROBILLA. -- The wood of this plant, which the Chiriguano call "Igilirayepiro," is black and very good for cabinetmakers; it is a species of ebony and is strong. Implements of war and those for fiestas of the tribes are made of this wood; its trunk is twisted, and it rarely has a single trunk; the flowers are yellow and the berries much sought after, by goats, but it makes them abort.

ALGODONERO /cottonwood/. -- This is a leafy tree with many branches; it grows to a height of two meters, has yellow flowers and a white boll when it is ripe, which is then picked, dried in the sun, the material pulled away from the seeds and cleaned. The "mandiyu" cotton is very useful; hammocks, ponchos, saddlebags, and sacks are made with it; it would even be easy to manufacture macana, but this is not done because what comes from outside is very cheap and /19/ [157] showier, even though it is not as strong as the other. Its leaves used as a poultice are anticancerous, and its seeds in the form of a pomade work against herpes and skin eruptions; oil for lighting can be extracted from the seeds.

ANNONA. -- The annona is a bush which grows to barely one meter; it has congenial places, the pampas, which have soil mixed with sand. In the said pampas it thrives in abundance, but it is even found in other places. The ripe fruit is red and like the pineapple in shape, but the pulp and seeds are like the chirimoya, as is the flavor of the pulp. Before it ripens, even the skin is very similar to that of the chirimoya. The Chiriguano call it "Araticu."

ASPIDOSPERMO BLANCO. -- This tree is of great size and it is abundant almost everywhere; the wood is white and good

/19 cont./

137 824 [157] in dry places: when dampness penetrates it, it is destroyed in a few years, as experience has shown. The bark that is found under the first layer is split, washed in tepid water, and left to steep overnight: it cures intermittent fever. The Argentinians call it cacha, the whites quebracho, and the Chiriguano "Ipiraro."

AZUFAIPO /jujube tree/. -- This is abundant hereabouts [262] and is a tree of medium size. Its wood is not valued very highly, but the fruit, the size of a grape seed and of a dark coffee color, is a great resource in times of scarcity for the poor Chiriguano. It ripens in January and February and is liked even by cattle and by sheep and pigs. The whites call it mistol and the Chiriguano "Yuá."

245 BANANA TREE. -- Cultivated in orchards and well fenced-in fields, it forms a grove, and each plant yields or produces a cluster, very large on some of them. When the ripe cluster is removed, the plant that produced it must be cut in order that the others may produce their own. There are several [262] varieties, large and small, the latter very sweet and eaten as fruit, and the former only when boiled and roasted: the whites call them plátano, and the Chiriguano "Pacoba."

137 824 [271] BEGONIA ACUOSA. -- This is a tiny little bush one vara in height, which under the ground has a large root like a watermelon and even larger: it contains much pulp which, when squeezed, yields potable water and is used for it in times of scarcity. The Chiriguano call it "Sipoi."

[342] CATALPA. -- This is a large tree and fairly strong. Its wood is used in the construction of houses. The color of the /20/ wood is dark. But when it is newly cut it is somewhat [515] green. Its flowers are purple, and the Chiriguano chew them to whiten their teeth: they are bitter and because of this the tree is called "Tayi," or bitter. In Chiriguano, the whites call it lapacho.

CEIBA. -- A large tree with deformed trunk, and furnished with sharp points, broad leaves, and large, white flowers which produce a material similar to cotton without fibers, for which reason it is smoother and shinier: it is used for mattresses [322] and pillows and candle wicks. The wood is spongy and not at [415] all hard: from it are made troughs to hold water from year to year and in this way they are not soon damaged. Its ashes

/50 cont./ ETS ashes
are good for the manufacture of soap. the bark is an emetic. The whites call it toborochi and the Chiriguano "Samuú." There are several varieties and all of them are utilized to some degree or other.

CEIBO. -- This tree is smaller than the former, but its wood is much superior, very fibrous, and rather light in weight, being used to make troughs which are very durable since they neither split nor are eaten by wood borers. It is very pretty when it blooms; the flowers are fiery red and good for salads. The Chiriguano call it "Suinandi."

DRAGO /dragon tree/. -- A tall tree, straight and quite thick; the wood is strong and useful. If an incision is made in the tree, a very red resin comes out; its bark is the best for making the teeth hard and for curing scurvy. The gum called "dragon's blood" is extracted from this tree. The whites call it tipa and the Chiriguano "Güirapitiyu guasu."

ENEA /cattail/. -- An aquatic plant which abounds in certain ponds and pools formed by the water of rivers which flow away from the main stream; the Indians use it for roofing their houses, muleteers for packsaddles, and others for mats in the dwellings, on which they also have their bedding for sleeping. This is the totora or matara of the whites and the "Caipempe" of the Chiriguano.

ESTORAQUE /storax/. -- This is a very large tree of the forest; it has whitish flowers and yellow fruit the size of a fig, which is edible and a favorite of parrots and monkeys; the Chiriguano eat it as a fruit and call it "Aguai."

GARGATEA or CARICA MAMAYA. -- This tree is not very abundant nor is it found in every section. It is of normal size, with a straight trunk and smooth bark softer than the fig tree; the wood is soft and is of no use at all, being similar to that of the ceiba, or toborochi. Its leaves are like those of the fig tree, and the fruit is of the /21/ same size and form, but yellow; it is edible and good when boiled or roasted, if eaten raw, it hurts the mouth. In Chiriguano it is called "Caincantina."

/21 cont./

137 GUAYABO /guava/. -- This fruit-bearing tree is found
824 wild and cultivated; it is of medium size, and the fruit, when
[245] ripe, is yellow on the outside and purple on the inside, and
its bittersweet flavor is very pleasant and laxative. The green
fruit and the roots are astringent; the Chiriguano know it by
the same name. The wood has no use at all, and even if it
[262] did, the Indians would not use it because it produces edible fruit.
They regret it when any of these trees and others, like the
algarrobo, are destroyed.

GÜEMBE. -- This plant thrives on the trunks of high trees,
where it puts its root, and others which penetrate the ground
[492] hang down from there. The roots and lianas are dark in color;
very strong and durable halters are made from its bark; it is
not found everywhere. One encounters it from the left bank
of the Parapiti River; its fruit is similar to that of maize, for
which reason it is called maize of the air, and it is edible.

HIGUERA AMERICANA /Amerigan fig/. -- This is the
[262] guapoy of the Chiriguano and the bihosi of the populace; al-
though the fruit is rather sour, it is edible. Bats like it, and it
[751] is annoying to have this tree near the dwellings; it has a milky
juice like the common fig tree, which, applied to wounds,
heals them. In addition to the above fig tree, there is the
[245] common one which flourishes with very little care, in the towns,
[439] especially the Mission ones, it is widely cultivated by the
[431] natives and its fruit is used by them for gifts and trade with the
whites.

244 MANDIOCA. -- This plant is called "Mandio" or
"Mandiporopi" by the Chiriguano Indians. A little book
written by a Jesuit missionary of the old Paraguay missions
relates that this plant was left to those Indians by Saint
Thomas the Apostle who, according to their tradition, came
here to preach the doctrine of the Redeemer. Mandioca is
[252] an excellent food and very digestible; it is eaten boiled,
[262] roasted, and fried in lard. It is a plant cultivated by whites
and by Indians.

/21 cont./

137 MARA or CAOBA /mahogany/. -- This tree is found in
824 all sections. It is a strong wood, but the white part at the sides is subject to decay. It is rather heavy and hard and is
[342] only used for door and window casings and even for tables.
[352] The leaves are permanent, but not too good for shade. If the
[957] leaves are touched with some force in order to pick them, they cause a skin eruption which disappears only when treated with bees' honey; I cured myself this way twice.

137 /22/ MELOCOTÓN /peach tree/. -- This tree, native to Persia, is quite productive in this region, but its fruit, severely attacked by the black butterfly, does not reach maturity because it always has worms. The apple tree grows in high places and where the atmosphere is not so hot, but both of these are orchard trees, not native ones, having been imported by the whites, who cultivate them, which can also be said of the quince tree.

137 MOLLE. -- This tree is not found in the central part of the
824 region and thus is not native here, being obtained only by cultivation. The whites and the Missionaries have introduced it into the towns with good results. It is found in abundance in
[957] the district under the jurisdiction of Padilla; it has permanent
[2073] leaves, which are medicinal, as is the resin which comes from the trunk; a cooling beverage, pleasant and similar to wine, except that its odor is somewhat disagreeable, is made from
[957] the seeds. The eucalyptus is another tree which thrives regularly here, but it has also been imported; its leaves, also permanent, are very good medicine for the endemic fevers; its trunk is an excellent wood. Neither tree has a name in Chiriguano, from which it can be deduced that they have been imported, like the grape vine, the common fig tree, the peach, quince, etc.

MORA OR MORERA /mulberry/. -- This tree is found wild from the left bank of the Parapiti River in Cordillera Province. It rises to a height of some 15 meters, is bulky with a very leafy top, and the fruit is smaller than that of the cultivated mulberry; the wood is solid and compact like that of the soto and has even better qualities; it is used for machines for milling sugar cane, plantations of which are common from the banks of the Parapiti River, where sugar of the highest quality

/23 cont./ some trees[A] are covered with long
[137] sharp points and others are not, only having an occasional im-
[82] perceptible sharp point; the fruit of both is pleasant and serves
[439] for gifts and trade for the Indian, who sells it to the whites,
[431] the ones who, rushing to get rich more quickly and easily, are
[648] little concerned about the nopal and the fig tree. In Chiriguano
it is called "Saini."

PALM or PALMER. -- The palm tree lies congenial places, where immense forests are formed and sometimes grow all around a lake like a great garland; it is a very tall and smooth tree without a single branch. Its leaves are in the form of a
[436] fan and are used to make hats and for sieves, which are sold
[342] for 30 or 40 centavos apiece. The wood is good for joists in houses, and it is also split into shingles for roofs and is quite durable, if the precaution is taken of cutting them after the full moon. In Chiriguano it is called "Carandai," and the place which they occupy, "Carandaiti," palm grove.

PALMA CHRISTI. -- A not very durable plant, it grows to a height of four meters, has a soft, hollow trunk, large leaves, /24/ and flowers in the form of a bunch of grapes. The seeds are found inside little burs, like chestnuts; said burs in some plants open by themselves in the warmth of the sun, while others must be opened or carefully broken with a little hammer or a stone. The name indicates that it is a beautiful plant, but this beauty is in the broad, abundant petiolate leaves. There are several types with reference to
[757] size and quality of seeds; I know five kinds. Castor oil is
[302] extracted from this plant or from its seeds for use as medicine; we use it in the missions to fuel the lamp of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Chiriguanos mix it with "Achiote" seeds and put the resulting cosmetic on their faces and on their calves down to the feet. In Chiriguano the plant is called "Cauiro," and the oil, "Yandi." Even the leaves of the
[757] palma Christi are medicinal, some being hot and others cool; thus when headache is a result of overexposure to the sun, the leaves of the white spurge are applied; if, on the other hand, it is the result of high humidity, the leaves of the red spurge are applied. The seeds of the dark purple spurge are very small, but contain more oil than others.

A [i.e., nopal trees.--Analysis]

/96 cont./

245 PAPAYO. -- This tree is neither native like the palma Christi, nor is it found wild like the latter. It is grown in orchards or in well-fenced fields, grows very fast, and produces fruit one year after being planted. Its trunk is straight, soft, and hollow; some have two or three branches and rise up to four meters high. The fruit is refreshing, yellow, with a smooth skin, of the size and shape of a small melon, even the flavor being somewhat similar, but it is more digestible. Many fruits are bunched around the trunk and are also found here and there at each leaf, but always attached to the trunk. The plants which produce the fruit are the good ones, and they call them "females." There are others which they call "males," but their fruits are useless and are not attached to the trunk, but rather hang from it like streamers. It is useless to pick them. To have a good papayo tree they assert that, in transplanting one, it is necessary to take the precaution of always putting or burying two plants in each hole, one of which will always be a female, and the one which turns out to be male will be pulled out. I do not know if this is true, but I did it this way in January of this year. The fruit contains many seeds which, [251] when ground and drunk in an emulsion, are good for getting rid of worms. The fruit and the tree have a resinous milk. [252] Therefore, in order for the fruit to be good and digestible, it is better to cut off the ends and make about five or six vertical cuts so that this resin may come out; by the next day /illustration appears here/ /25/ it is already very pleasant. It is nevertheless best to take the precaution of letting them begin to ripen on the plant itself; in this condition, uncut, they will last up to six days without going bad; then they can easily be transported great distances.

137 824 [252] [262] PASSION FLOWER. -- This is a climber which is found on fences, clothing them in the rainy season with abundant foliage, as does the "supua," whose fruit is edible and good roasted or boiled, as is the leaf. The fruit of the passion flower is of the size of an apple and just as smooth, the skin is thin and the inside is found to be covered with a white, stringy membrane. When this is broken, the seeds of the fruit come

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 43]

/25 cont./

137 [124] both bitterweet and very good. These are ash-colored and pearly and very highly regarded by Chiriguano and whites. The blossom of the passion flower is purple, forming a garland like a crown of thorns: it has its calyx, five petals and three pistils, for which reason it is called passion flower, and it is certainly worthy of admiration. The Indians call it "Murucuya."

PEROS. -- A euphorbiaceous plant, this little tree exists [199] in a cultivated state and was introduced into this Chiriguano region by the white Christians. It grows in orchards and elsewhere, and its maximum height is three meters. Its small [157] trunk is slender and top heavy, and its fruit consists of black seeds which are not edible but which, when ground and diluted in water, make a powerful purgative and therefore must be used with great care, because they can cause death.

137 SAUCE /willow/. -- It grows and develops on the banks and in the bed of torrents, as well as on the shores of streams, which shows that it seeks damp places, but from these places [342] the force of a flood often uproots it. The common willow has no special qualities: only its branches are useful in the building of houses because they are flexible, fibrous, and not heavy; little use is made of the trunk. It is a tall, large tree with very tiny leaves. In addition to the common willow there is also the weeping willow, whose branches touch the ground; it is neither native nor found wild; some whites plant it to beautify their interior patios. In Chiriguano the common willow is called "Iquinapuca."

SAUCO /elder/. -- It is not found everywhere, only being found along streams with little water which are in the wood. It grows to four meters in height. Its trunk is slender and soft, its branches have a pith which is easily extracted, and its white flowers in the shape of a parasol are sudorific. The whites do a good deal of searching for this flower /26/ for their illnesses. Even the leaves are medicinal; when drunk in a decoction they are a good purge. What a pity that it is found in such limited areas!

/26 cont./

137 824 as straight as cane. Beyond Santa Cruz there are still groves; in addition there are groves of another cane called "Bambú," which is the best known, and in Chiriguano it is called "Tacuarembo." It rises to a height of about 15 meters and is [419] used for making /27/ ladders and scaffolding in construction 249 because it is light and strong. The shoots are tender and contain a sugary substance highly regarded by the Indians; it is not sought much today, because there are abundant plantings of sugar cane, which is of great utility for the production of sugar and alcohol. This last thrives with great ease and little work. Planting is done in two ways, making furrows and burying it or planting cuttings. The former is the better method where the freshets of the rivers do not penetrate. On the slopes and tops 137 824 of hills which contain water there is another sort of slender cane, very strong and heavy, which is not hollow like the other classes and is called caña brava by the whites, and [285] "Tacuarembo" by the Chiriguano. They use it for weavers' [513] reeds and for sleeping cots.

TAMARIND. -- This beautiful and useful tree is not native, but it thrives with enough care and grows to a respectable height; the fruit that it produces is abundant, consisting of abundant pods more or less the size of chick-pea pods; the pulp is blackish and pleasant to the taste, but it is bad for • [157] the teeth. It is astringent and is administered as medicine for intestinal inflammations, especially to children. It is also [272] a good tonic drink on excessively hot days; it is prepared with sugar, water, and a little of its pulp. The tree is rather sensitive to cold, and the flowers wilt easily with the south wind. For this reason the whites plant it in their patios, which are surrounded by the living quarters.

TARINGUI. -- The name of this tree is Chiriguano. The taringui is found in some regions, but not in others. It is of the cactus variety, rises up to six meters, its branchage is abundant and close, which gives a fine shade against the blazing rays of the sun. Its branches or leaves are striated and armed with spines; the fruit is tiny, but sweet and otherwise pleasant, and much liked by foxes, who only get it when it falls from the tree. The ulala or opuntia is smaller than the taringui, its leaves have the same form, the color is ash-gray and they are less a abundant, or, more properly, few. The fruit is a smooth berry

/27 cont./

137 824 [262] which is purple when mature and opens into three sections when ripe. It has an insipid sweetness, but one which both whites and Chiriguano like. The color is a bright purple. It is abundant, and in certain years of scarcity it is a resource for human life in the months of February and March. In Chiriguano it is called "Ñacagüina." The caraparí is another cactus, taller than the preceding ones, which also has its congenial land. /28/ since it is not found everywhere. It is admirable for its tall, striated leaves or branches, ash-gray and armed with spines; its fruit is very pleasant and also sought [342] by foxes. The trunk is soft like that of all cacti; nevertheless doors are made of this wood and are durable enough. The [759] pulp of the trunk is used medicinally to cure liver ailments, etc. They say that it is even good for goiter. There is another species of cactus which grows to some 20 or 25 centimeters; it is round and thick, striated and armed with spines. In Chiriguano it is called "Zipepe." The children, as we shall [524] see, make wheels by cutting off its spines, and, making it roll, they use it as targets for their arrows. Finally, there is another which is trailing and long, covering the ground where it grows and making the place impenetrable. This has and [262] produces a very delicious fruit which is called "Tapiacaru" in Chiriguano.

TILANDSIA. -- This plant is known to the Chiriguano [342] by the name of "Caraguata guasu." Its special place is the hills, and among them it has some more congenial to it; it [283] grows well enough, and its leaves are extraordinarily broad [492] and long and ash-gray in color; in the middle there is a thick stalk which rises quite high and is good wood for house rafters; from the crushed leaves they make cord and from these are made first-rate halters for tying up animals in the rainy season. [286] The Toba and even the Chiriguano make a kind of net which [171] they call chipa or "añapoca," which is very useful, inasmuch [482] as the women can carry any weight in a bag of that kind; from [227] the same they make nets so as to be able to fish in the rivers, and these are pieces of work which would attract attention in any part of the Old World.

222 /29 cont./ IT is hot, and some cure sickness,
[957] or inflammation of the eyes, with it. Nevertheless, one should not confuse this little plant with another similar one whose fruits lack flavor and which is called by the Chiriguano "Aguara quii," which is to say, literally, chili pepper, of the fox. The best way not to confuse it is to taste the fruit; it is found everywhere.

243 TRIGO /wheat/. -- The Eternal Creator of all things in his bounty and mercy arranged that this small plant, necessary in every aspect, should yield its fruit in every region inhabited by man; thus, in spite of the excessive heat, it is harvested here in abundance, and the farmer is not robbed of his hopes if he takes care to irrigate the field opportunely. Barley also flourishes in irrigated lands, but the cultivation of both has been abandoned for reasons already expounded in these pages and also because birds greatly bother both crops, as also happens in the rice paddies, which will be found empty if they are left to the discretion of our flying friends.

[824] There also thrives together with maize, or in other places,
[412] the wheat called Guinea, or sweet sorghum, which the Chiriguano call "Tricu" and which is indigenous; it is sweet, matures with maize, and they suck it, as well as the panicled sorghum, which is a kind of sorghum /30/ without sweetness and used for making brooms for sweeping. The seed of both plants is liked by birds.

137 VID /grapevine/. -- Farther on I have said that this plant
824 pre-eminently required for the Sacrifice, like wheat, thrives quite vigorously in this region. I add here that in the woods
[262] there is a tree with small leaves and unimportant wood, which rises up to some eight meters above the ground and whose fruit is the size of an olive, has a dark coffee color and a flavor like that of the grape, matures in the month of February, is edible, and is called "Ivaviyu" in Chiriguano. Also in the wild state is the native grape with its twining trunk. Its fruits are like a bunch of grapes; they are white and some even black, and they are good for the manufacture of brandy.

/30 cont./

137 824 276 YERBA DEL DIABLO. -- This is the datura which is so abundant in the countryside and fields and which is a real plague. It rises to one meter in height, has branches, broad leaves, white flowers, and fruit armed with spines which, when dry, are enough to draw blood. The leaves and seeds make one lose one's memory. In this respect I remember one incident when an Indian woman absent-mindedly or out of ignorance covered an olla of hot food with datura leaves; half an hour later she ate it and it gave her a bad headache and a short spell of vertigo. Her little granddaughter, a schoolgirl about six years old, ate some also, and she suffered a complete loss of memory and all her actions were those of a demented person, a state which lasted some 24 hours. It seems that the Chiriguano [759] do not know that this plant and its seeds and leaves are poisonous; the latter, dried, are medicinal, alleviate the effects of asthma, and are prescribed for asthmatic Indians. Christians know it by the name of chamico, and the Indians by that of "caazi," that is, painful herb.

137 824 SAPALLO /squash/. -- There are eleven species of this creeping plant, which I shall discuss in another chapter, only adding that watermelon and melon also grow here, as well as the cucumber and the beet. The "curugua" and the "curuguami" [262] of the Chiriguano are plants which are similar to the sapallo, but they climb trees and produce there an oblong, sweet, and fragrant fruit; when one enters a house, it is immediately evident if there are curugua fruits there; they are edible both green and ripe, but they are preferable in the ripe state.

I shall forgo describing many trees and plants whose [342] medicinal virtues are known; I shall take up others when dealing with medicines; however, before I forget it, I shall note here at the end of the flora that a region where /31/ there are damp places abounds in secular cedars, whose wood is used in carpentry for doors, windows, tables, etc. So that it may not be subject to rot, it is necessary to get mature plants whose color is light red; the whitish one is attacked by the wood borer; the odor of the wood is narcotic, and this property keeps away insects; its odor is similar to that of the cedar of Lebanon, and for this reason the conquistadors gave the name of cedar to this tree which the Chiriguano call "Igüirane," or stinking stick.

/35 cont./

*136 *825 than either. I have seen the pelt of one of these crossbreed animals which did incalculable damage among the cattle and horses of San Pascual Mission. The lion here is of the size of a large red dog and will not attack unless pursued, and wounded; it does damage to the flocks, making depredations until they are all gone, and it climbs trees when it finds itself pursued. The Indians kill it with arrows, and a good dog can chase it away from the flock that it is guarding. The lion has short hair and a long tail, a large head, and large paws like those of the jaguar, but it does not have a mane like the African lion. Its meat is pleasant when put in brine for a few hours; the hide has no intrinsic value, for which reason they only hunt it as a harmful animal. The aforesaid hide, however, is [157] medicinal; when applied on aches of the spine or hips, it cures or alleviates them.

MOFETA /skunk/. -- This little animal is very pretty in appearance and abounds in certain spots; it gets into hen houses to eat the eggs and, if it can, the chicks as well. The Indian sees nothing whatever attractive about the animal; rather he runs from it, because, in order to defend itself, it throws an extremely malodorous liquid, for which reason all animals flee from it, including the jaguar, and even more logically so does man; it can be smelled at a great distance, and should that liquid touch the clothing of some hapless person, the stench lasts for several days. /36/ Such defense is only used when it sees itself pursued; otherwise it is neither large nor dangerous, and in Chiriguano it is called "Amiane," or stinking animal.

MONKEY. -- The common monkey is called "Machi" in Chiriguano. It is found throughout the region, but it abounds from the left bank of the Río Grande or Abapó River, where especially in the morning it makes a great deal of noise with its whistles or some similar noise. They go in great numbers and prefer to clamber about on the rocks, where there is an abundance of tilandsia, which in these pages occupies the third place, the pith of which they eat. They do much harm in the maize fields. When the Indians go to their field at the time of choclo, or green ears of maize, before returning to town they

/37 cont./

*136 *825 [237] [757] Tamandua meat is rather strong; it smells of ants, and they use its hide for their beds. This, that is, the leather, is medicinal when applied to the hips when they ache; it cures quite rapidly. It is called "Tami."

*136 TIGRE /jaguar/. -- Here we have the animal which is the king of the forests in the Chiriguano region /38/ and elsewhere. A fearsome animal because of its strength, speed, and cunning, fearsome because of its fangs and claws, fearsome, in fine, because it will resolutely attack every animal when it is hungry or is pursued and wounded. This king of the forest walks, runs, and leaps, climbs trees, scales cliffs, or crosses rivers, as circumstances dictate, for its own preservation. Wild and domestic animals, small and large, birds and reptiles, and the very fish flee and hide from the sight of this ferocious beast; man himself is often left the victim of its claws and fangs, and one experience is sufficient for it to continue attacking man. If the jaguar starts on calves, generally these are its daily diet; if it tries the meat of the ass, this will be its lunch, its supper, and its everything. Only with the bull, when it pits its strength against this powerful animal, does it always get the worst of it.

When the jaguar takes possession of a region and begins to fell cattle, horses, or burros, it is necessary to kill it or drive it away by pursuit, because it is so bold that it will fearlessly enter corrals near houses and kill the calves that it wants, being content with sucking their blood, but should it not have time for so much, it will pick up the first one and carry it off a short distance and calmly have its way. It seems that this animal knows the dominion it holds over the rest, including man himself. Should one meet it on any road, it does not flee, but calmly continues on its way, and then prudence dictates that the man stop, not be afraid, and speak loudly, and then the animal will go off into the woods; I have had this experience and others the same, but should one not behave in this way and is without weapons and good dogs, he exposes himself to being its victim.

The Indians call it "Yagua," and it is the jaguar of Spanish-speaking people; similar to the panther, it is not the

/40 cont./

224 animal is capable of distinguishing between the brave and
*[825] the cowardly, and the latter is the first to be attacked and consequently to be badly injured.

*825 Jaguar skin, as I have already said, has intrinsic value;
[554] it is used in saddleries for the bottom padding of saddles and
[281] for saddlebags; it is a luxury for persons of rank. The ani-
[757] mal has a quantity of fat, and this is a good remedy for
[439] rheumatism, aching bones, and other ailments; the Indians take it and sell it in the interior of the Republic and trade it for used clothing. It is to be noted, however, that they do falsify it, as they also falsify snake grease, because it can be understood that the killing of this ferocious animal is not a
[466] frequent thing. Rarely does the Chiriguano hunt the jaguar, and he is not always inclined to help the white man, but the latter forces his peons to do so, and they gather the fat and
[262] sell or present it to their friends or relatives. Jaguar meat is good food, although, to be sure, it smells wild, as does the skin, but this meat, if placed in salt water or brine overnight, loses its bad smell; they assert that this meat is like that of a cow.

*136 The male jaguar is quite large. I measured one, and it was two meters long from [illegible] tail, one meter high, and it weighed seven arrobas. The female is smaller; I measured one that had just been killed; from the tail it measured one meter and ten centimeters, was 75 centimeters high, and weighed four and a half arrobas. The female gives birth
[231] every three years, and the newborn cubs are always a pair, one male and one female; the mother is most dangerous when she has young /illustration appears here/ /41/ and defends them at any cost, but hunters first kill the mother and then try to catch the cubs alive; they almost always succeed and take them home to domesticate them, but this is an impossible job because they are jaguars forever; I have seen two of these cubs well chained but very bad. In general, cubs when taken away from their mother die in a few days either through lack of adequate food, which is milk, or also out of desperation upon finding themselves in the midst of beings foreign to their nature.

/42 cont./

*136 We can count among the amphibians the "Boicururu," or snake toad, which is nothing but the water tarantula, but it is very poisonous here; it is found near lakes in the swamps. Frogs are found in small numbers in the center of the region; [262] they abound where there is water on the banks of rivers; only the Toba and other barbarians eat them; the Chiriguano do not. There is an infinity of "Cururu" toads in terms of size, color, and song, one being distinguished among all of them, the one that the whites call "Rococo" and that is heard continually and loudly at a distance of one kilometer at night in rainy weather and where there is water.

*136 *825 [957] [164] The toad is medicinal; one or two large ones are gently caught alive and, one after the other, applied /43/ to parts of the body affected by erysipelas, which is cured very efficaceously, with the animal being left dead, doubtless because with its cold belly it absorbs all the heat which the sick person has in the said painful parts; more than once I have seen erysipelas cured in this way. In rainy weather there are so many of them that it is impossible to sleep near the place where they gather to sing their discordant tattoo; at the end of a heavy shower is when the noise of the toads is most unbearable.

*136 Fish abound in the large rivers, where there are shad, bagre, and dorado; the latter reach a length of two meters, as I have seen, and are very palatable and drip blood like cow's meat. Then in the same rivers, streams, and permanent lakes, there is an infinity of small "pira" fish, which are good to the taste, and finally there is no lack of eels, "Chorinchi," or the useful leeches, "Evoip[illegible] Indians who live on the banks of rivers of great volume trade in fish; to be sure, they plant fields, but generally they do not harvest because of the lack of rain, but obtain maize in exchange for fish; dried shad tastes like cod and is worth 10 and 20 centavos. 43

*136 Insects are innumerable, but not as abundant and varied in their form, size, and color as they are in the region of the Beni, the Mojo, and others; they are a hundred times more numerous than all the quadrupeds and birds together; there are bothersome ones, like mosquitoes and zancudos /long-beaked mosquito/, and there are poisonous ones, which, however, rarely cause death.

/43 cont./

*136 There are wasps, and they are of several classes, but the yellow or red ones are the most vicious; there are bees in the trees, in the roofs, in the walls, and in the ground, and all of them make hives in order to make honey and wax, but the best honey is that of the bees called señoritas. Both things, 222 237 that is, honey and wax, are known as beneficial by the Indians, [461] but they devote themselves to this very little, because they consider it the work of lowly and poor people, and the Chiriguano does not like to consider himself such. Wax is 237 464 seldom gathered, even in times of scarcity, nor does the neophyte or new Christian work at earning his living by looking for beeswax.

*136 A spider bite almost always produces bad consequences, *825 which can be avoided by the use of ammonia; this is another [959] plentiful insect. In the rainy season they extend their webs from one tree to another, obstructing the road, no matter how wide it may be, and frequently travelers who are out at night or who get up early are bothered by these webs, which stick to their faces and clothing, /44/ just as the spiders themselves, which are so loathsome, not infrequently catch hold. The bite of those that live in the forest, they state, is not poisonous.

All spiders are called "Yanduti" in Chiriguano, and the [859] web, "Yanduti nupa," or spider's bed; from the web of the forest spiders the children make nets for catching birds or for their games. When wet they are quite elastic. The true tarantula, which the whites call apasanca and the Indians "Yanduti huasu," is quite ugly because of its fuzz, eight legs, and two arms. The natives state that it is poisonous, but its bite is not fatal. They almost never come out by twos, but upon killing one and wanting to know if it has a companion, it is enough to burn the dead one in order to cause the live one to come out the moment it smells the odor. The apasancas, or tarantulas, come out when it is about to rain and do not make a good impression. The natural enemy of spiders, including the tarantula, is another flying insect the size of an acorn, which the people of Santa Cruz call

/51 cont./

*136 Its meat is excellent, and I have eaten it on numerous
*825 occasions. The Indians go to hunt the ostrich to prepare for
[262] their bacchanalias; they trade their feathers or keep them,
[232] and with five of them make the "Yandugua," a kind of
[293] parasol of which I shall speak in its place. The fat is a most
[157] efficaceous remedy for the side, rheumatism, and ailments of the hips in men and animals, for coldness of the members, and for removing thorns by anointing with it the part opposite the place where the thorn has penetrated.

BANDURRIA. -- This is a bird which the Indians call "Toté" because this is the sound of its song. It has a long beak, long red legs, red and ash-colored feathers, /52/ and a long neck. It feeds on little worms and insects and is generally found in open fields and banks of rivers and lakes. The meat is like that of guinea fowl, but very tough, although if the outer skin is taken off before boiling or roasting it, it can be cooked easily.

The bandurria resembles the crane somewhat, but it is stationary, abounds everywhere, and is not solitary, but neither do they gather together much. A flock is composed at the most of some 12 or 15, and frequently one finds a single pair. If one of these is caught, its companion will fly away immediately, but will come back two or three times to find out what has happened. In this way it is easy for the hunter to kill both. The bandurria has a highly developed instinct, and when the hunter approaches, it quickly flies. When there are many, they fly like cranes, with one out in front to break the air. They do not fly very high and generally sleep in a hole in the rocks, where it is easy to hunt them after sunset.

BUHO /owl/. -- This is a large nocturnal bird like a condor and whitish in color; there are two kinds, the second is smaller and black, ash-gray with a white collar; the Chiriguano call the first one "Yancuruntu," because when it sings it seems to articulate this word. The female of the Yancuruntu answers "Yaparapiti," which in Spanish means "matemos" /let us kill/, from which the whites are inclined to jump to conclusions and start rumors that the Chiriguano are thinking about an

/55 cont./

*136 of a mate, and at the most there are three of them. Both sing at the same time. The female begins, and then the male continues, the song thus being prolonged for some four or five minutes. It is a very strange song or cry. They say *[825] that these birds announce the approach of wind or rain, and, if it is cloudy, they foretell the approach of clear or cloud- [223] less weather. Hunters who do not have the help of good dogs can only capture this bird with difficulty, because it runs and flies when hard pressed.

GARZA /heron/. -- This is a rather large, but light bird. It has a thick and somewhat long beak, flies little, and its locale is the lakes, ponds, and banks of rivers, where it finds *[825] its food. There are two kinds, one completely white, very white, for which reason the Chiriguano call it "Guiranti," or white bird, and the other is ash-gray and stays in the same places. [223] The Chiriguano do not hunt them, because they have very little meat.

GALLINAZO /buzzard/. -- This is a black bird,and repugnant to the sight, especially because of its bald head and neck; it feeds on the carcasses of dead animals, even a human body, nor does it refuse the chance to rip out the entrails and kill calves, lambs, and newborn suckling pigs, which it finds asleep and at a distance from their mothers. In the first instance it constitutes an excellent purifier of the air by making all the miasmas which come from the carrion disappear, because when there is any they finish it off in a few hours, for when it is abundant many of them gather. The buzzards discover dead animals and cattle killed by the jaguar; there are usually some turkey buzzards over the cattle and sheep corrals, where, despite the cleaning that they do, they sooner or later cause some damag[illegible]

[223] The Indian r[illegible]y hunts the buzzard, because its meat is [262] tough and strong-smelling. He does, however, kill it oc- *825 casionally as a remedy. The warm blood of this animal is ● 757 of some use in curing his double chin /papada/, or that of his daughter, who may be ashamed of such a protuberance. For this purpose the blood is placed on a strip of linen and tied around the throat. They state that it does have some effect, but this must have to do with incipient double-chins of a few ounces.

/55cont./

*825 ● 959 and not those veterans of several arrobas like gourds in the form of saddlebags, which are seen in abundance around Pozuelos, Piray, San Juan, and Pomabamba.

*136 *825 There is another large bird with the same instincts as the buzzard, called carcancho by the whites and "Caracara" by the Indians. It does not, however, kill calves; it does hunt and kill little lambs, suckling pigs, and chickens, disregarding with boldness and dissimulation the brood hen. /56/ This shameless, fearless bird is abundant everywhere and is capable of getting into kitchens and sticking its beak into the ollas; but its favorite spot is the corral, where it scratches about, looks for things, and eats, and like the most natural thing in the world it will pull out the entrails of a sleeping lamb or at the least blind it in one eye. The rascal gets into the nests of smaller birds and steals eggs or kills the young to eat them. All in all, it is a sad and ugly neighbor, with the result that all are its enemies, and some birds chase it out of their nests. Such is the practice of the bird that the Chiriguano call "Guirapipasa"; another called "Suiriri" gets on the shoulders of the carcancho and pecks it until it runs long distances.

[959] The Indians assert that carcancho fat is an efficacious remedy for the vision, and that they used it before modern medicines, which turned out to be more efficaceous and [262] active, were introduced. They eat its meat if it is fat. The [237] feathers of the carcancho and the buzzard are very strong, and [411] they put them on the ends of their arrows, so that they will not turn aside when they are shot and consequently will hit the mark better.

*136 GOLONDRINA /swallow/. -- The heat is altogether too [132] much at certain times of the year, with the thermometer in the shade up to 32° and in the sun up to 60°, but let it not be believed that this state of heat is the normal thing. There are months of the year, and in these months there are weeks and days, in which it is difficult to endure the cold, which is most intense in June and parts or all of July. As a result of this, the swallow, even here, is a pilgrim, emigrating at the end of April and returning at the beginning of October. There are some entirely black, and there are some with white breasts. The

/63 cont./

439 171 them in the area around the place called Basilio, and they take them in cages to the Argentine Republic.

*136 TOUCAN. -- A very unusual bird because of its long beak, which is almost as long as its body. This beak is yellow, red, and black, but very light; otherwise, since it is so large, it would be difficult to hold up. One who for the *[825] first time sees a toucan, called "Tunca" in Chiriguano, thinks that it is carrying an ear of maize in its beak. Toucans go in large flocks and have their favorite places; I know only ● [757] one variety of them. It is said that the beak, when ground up *[825] and taken in water, stops the flow of blood. It seems that the toucan only lives in hot climates. If it is taken to other places, it dies.

URRACA /magpie/. -- This flying creature is rather large and abundant. There are several species of them, [231] differentiated by their plumage. It is easily domesticated, and it is useful in the houses, because it kills all of the bugs or insects which multiply in them, but its size is no larger than that of the toucan. It is as restless and noisy in the houses as it is in the woods.

121 I here put an end to this brief description of the land inhabited by the Chiriguano and what is contained therein. All will understand that I did not attempt to discover and describe minutely each and every one of the plants, each and every one of the quadrupeds, amphibians, and insects, each and every one of the birds, but only those which seemed to me to be of the most importance. If it seems to my readers to be too much, or too little, they will be so kind as to excuse my faults; meanwhile, I am going to begin the real ethnography, which will be somewhat long so that it may be clearer and more pleasant. /64/ /Illustration appears here./

/231 cont./

881 304 [828] In general, with the method of pressing strongly on the patient's temples, the one performing the operation manages it so that the patient feels little or nothing of the pain of the piercing, according to what they say, and it is probable, because one sharp pain diminishes or makes another one feel less strong. But it is also certain that the boy, seeing himself before so many spectators and girls, makes every effort not to cry out or weep, because the Indians do not deny that many somewhat cowardly ones do shout and even cry a little (1).

1. Some boys, very fearful, when their fathers begin to talk to them about the tembeta and the need to have the hole made, run off to another tribe in the presence of their relatives, but the latter persuade them, and they return to their town.

I have asked more than one Indian and all agree in asserting that not a drop of blood comes from the hole. The day on [785] which the imposition of the tembeta is done is a day of strict [784] fasting, and they do not even let them drink a little chicha; other foods cannot be chewed by them for several days either. On some, somewhat careless ones, there is a swelling, and on [757] others not. The swelling of the lip is avoided, according to [824] them, by heating the leaves of the bush Urucuna in the flame or embers of the fire and applying them continually around the 881 hole. The cicatrization of the lip may take a month, during which time the little Chiriguano stays at home, letting himself be seen in the streets and in the plaza once in a while (2).

[759] 2. For a Chiriguano it is a great honor to put the tembeta in place on the boys, so that he asks nothing for this honorable operation; but the boy's parents make some small gift, which he receives with satisfaction.

/285 cont./

753
821

which rises continually to the sky in these interminable plains, taking behind it all of the trash that it finds along its way. It is called Cusumino, and, according to them, it causes pains in the feet, knees, and bones. When a whirlwind begins in a town, they try to cut it with a knife.

Illnesses and Remedies

164

The most common illnesses among the Chiriguano are the intermittent fevers that are endemic, tuberculosis or consumption, eye disease, convulsive coughing, diarrhea, dysentery, mange or itch, and tumors accompanied by a kind of leprosy that covers a large part of the body. The intermittent fevers appear at the time of the first rains and continue until the time of the fruits and fresh maize. These fevers are not fatal, but one who is attacked by them has a rather afflicted life. Their remedies are vegetal; 757 they boil quebracho or algarroba bark, and they drink this water, but it does not always have a salutary effect. /286/ If a small dose of quinine is administered during the intermittent fevers, they immediately get well (1).

1. They get well with a small dosage, perhaps because their bodies are not accustomed to the remedies of the apothecary. Another efficacious remedy for the intermittent fevers is bitter coffee or coffee with a little sugar.

164

The itch, tumors, and leprosy do not cause death.
262 Chiriguano food is almost always saltless. They are not careful
263 in selecting it, and stinking meat does not disgust them. Their
751 water is not always clear; they bathe at any hour and, after bathing,
515 do not dry their bodies. If it rains, they let the wet clothing dry
080 on their person. From this and other causes come the many skin

164 /286 cont./ From this and other causes come the many skin
●757 diseases which do not let them sleep. The itch is cured with saltpeter found in the dry stream beds. They call it Curuyuqui, or salt for curing the itch, but this remedy does not always produce its effect. The itch principally attacks those of few years, and nursing infants catch it from their mothers. Lepers are cured very
[237] efficaciously by means of hot cow dung, and it is enough to apply it two or three times for a cure within three days without any further remedy, but they do not resign themselves easily to using this repugnant but efficacious remedy.

164 Smallpox and measles are epidemics which appear from time to time; for this reason I do not put them in the list of endemic diseases like the former ones. The Chiriguano runs from smallpox as a person with hydrophobia does from water, since through experience he knows that anyone who gets it has a hard time being saved from a horrible death. When it enters a town, it sows fear and desolation. Sick people resign themselves to death, and the healthy ones flee in terror to other tribes. It seems that it is not easy to attack smallpox directly, and up to now only vaccination has better effects (2).

797
164

2. When smallpox breaks out, the missionaries go wherever their ministry is needed, like doctors and priests. Up to now none of them has caught it, perhaps because they are vaccinated or because they have different blood.

In 1909 the town of Cuevo, which is about eight kilometers from Yvu, was decimated by smallpox. I vaccinated all the people of Yvu and those who were not residents there. But the vaccine did not take in all of them, as occasionally happens. Nevertheless, few got sick and only two died. The remedy that I administered after the initial fever had begun was rather strong wine vinegar. The sickness ran its course only in those who had not drunk the /287/ vinegar or who had not been able to retain it in the stomach. I administered one cup every six hours three times, and it was enough for this terrible illness, which would cause so many deaths in Cuevo, to pass almost unperceived in the San Buenaventura Mission (1).

1. More people became sick and died in the

/287 cont./

797
164

Santa Rosa Mission, but the use of the vinegar, which I began to administer later, made the mortality stop.

Measles usually attacks children, as does diarrhea, and because they are very delicate it is difficult to treat them, for which reason almost all of them succumb. Lemon and vinegar are efficacious remedies for both illnesses; in many cases I have administered camomile with good results. Diarrhea in infants comes from a scarcity of food, for then the mothers eat very hot things, such as the fruit or potato of serpentine arum, algarrobas, and other wild plants, as a result of which the infants drink the very hot milk, which damages their bellies and produces inflammation (2).

164
261

[757]

2. There exists near or around the lakes a herbaceous plant called pazote, and by the Indians and whites páico. A tisane made from this herb is efficacious against smallpox and measles.

Dysentery occurs in older people, and an occasional case of it shows up even in children. The cause of this illness is the very poor diet in times of want, when they eat wild roots and fruits. Here there is a very effective remedy, which the whites call meloncillo and the Indians Ñurantimbucu. This is a thorny bush with long thorns, from which its name comes. At the time when it buds, or in the springtime, its thorns are slightly purple, and its roots are the remedy. They are boiled and the patient is given this water to drink for a week. The eye sickness attacks all, big and small, without distinction and is so bad that some lose their sight completely or are left with only one eye. In the missions this is treated with white lead or lead acetate, and it suffices to apply it two or three times to bring about a complete cure.

164
757

[797]

164

The convulsive cough, or whooping cough, is another illness which attacks children up to ten years old, causing many deaths. It shows up in the cold months and even in the rainy season, sometimes attacking grown-ups, among whom it does not cause death. There is in the hills a yellow flower which around here is called

[757]

/287 cont./

164 vira-vira. The tisane made from these flowers has salutary effects,
757 but it is not strong enough to bring about a radical cure, /288/ especially if the precaution of wrapping the child up after the potion is drunk is not taken (1).

1. Most effective for whooping cough is the use of petroleum. The child is anointed from his forehead to his belly and made to drink a few drops. In 1910 almost all of those whom I treated with petroleum got well.

164 Consumption, or tuberculosis, attacks men and women and appears in both sexes as a stomach-ache. This pain can be considered the beginning of the sickness, which usually appears after the age of 40, but in certain places it carries to the grave persons who have not yet reached the age of 20.

In the Santa Rosa mission this disease alone, in less than ten years, caused the death of more than 70 schoolgirls; at that time this mortality was attributed to the bad water there, but as it is found in other places where the water is excellent there must be another cause. For young people or adolescents it could not be the continual fires, because there are none in the schools.

164 The Chiriguano has no remedy for tuberculosis, and one who
754 gets it is resigned to death, because whether or not he attributes
755 everything to sorcery, he believes in it and in the poison in this case; hence the sick person goes for help to the sorcerer, who to get rid of the illness, without succeeding, uses atrocious and even immoral means when dealing with women (2).

[997] 2. The missionary buys remedies from the apothecary to treat the Indians. These remedies are almost always repugnant. If the sick person does not drink it in the presence of the missionary, he will pour it out; he has more faith in the sorcerer.

/288 cont./

Other Illnesses and Remedies

759 According to the illnesses that exist, there are doctors and medicines among the Chiriguano. The former have not gone through any university other than experience, learning from the latter to prepare medicines, not only from plants and herbs, but also from minerals and even from the excrement of animals. The doctors receive the praise of individuals who know less than they and are differentiated even by name from the evil sorcerers, who are called Mbaecuá, while the former are called Ipaye, and the medicines or drugs are called Moa.

●757 The oil that is necessarily a side product of the preparation of chicha is very good for curing headaches. Salt, ground and mixed with the urine of infants, is drunk and is a good anodyne for stomach-aches. Dampness and cold produce a tightening of the nerves, which causes atrocious pain in more /289/ than one person. To cure this disorder they pull up a branch of ulala /a cactus/, Nancagüina, strip off the spines, parch it, and, when it is good and hot, apply it to the affected parts and get well. They use something else to cure dysentery. They burn yellow maize, grind it with watermelon seed, and have those attacked by the disease drink it (1).

1. The meloncillo /little melon/ is a remedy which the whites told me about. It is more effective, but the Chiriguano have no faith in it or do not use it out of weakness.

When a sick person suffers a pain in his side, he asks for a balled-armadillo shell, grinds it up, and drinks it. At the same time what is left is heated at the fire and applied to the pain, [164] and it stops as if by magic. If measles comes out on the lips, the sorcerer or doctor applies a tick which has been taken off some dog's flesh, and thus it disappears. Sometimes tumors or a swelling in the throat and in the knees appear, and these are made to disappear through the application of the herb called Urucuna. It is heated at the fire in a small olla and applied. Another herb, called Yandurimbíu, is also good for this. They

/289 cont./
757 also get sick with vomiting of blood or a hemorrhage (2).

2. A hemorrhage is treated by drinking every hour a mixture of equal parts of water, wine vinegar, and bee's honey. They soon get better with this remedy.

The Caaupaya is used for a stomach-ache, and root boiled soto root cures the pains produced in the feet by hot and wet ground. Guaya is a species of bejuco which is plentiful in Ivu. It is heated, applied to a swelling in the side, and cures it. Guaya root is eaten by the Indians, but if dogs eat the excrement of the Indian or the tuber itself, they die in a few minutes, which also happens to foxes. Among the Indians goiter /papero/ is not so frequent, although it exists in certain places. They say that it comes to those who sleep in the sun. They cure themselves of it with Tutía, which is a yellow fruit similar to a small apple which abounds in the pampas. Eye sickness is treated with algarrobillo bark, which they grind and then put drops of the liquid into the eye. The small caraguata cures diarrhea (3).

3. Incipient goiter is also cured by tying around the throat on a rag the blood of the turkey buzzard, carcancho, or bandurria. The mineral water of Ivu contains the germs of goiter.

The Cáairo is an herb one meter high. There are two types, one of which has red flowers and is used to decorate altars, and the Indians use the herb and flowers to treat the itch. It is a more /290/ effective remedy than saltpeter since it breaks out again with the latter. The kind that has yellow flowers is most abundant in Ivu and is used to treat the intermittent fever. Cáairo means bitter herb. To treat leprosy, which I have mentioned, they also use snake fat and Inái, which literally means tooth of the water. It is a little plant which grows up out of the water and is quite small. To treat whooping cough they also use an empty yellow-wasp nest, which they burn or boil in water, and, strained once, they give the lukewarm water to the sick people to drink.

/290 cont./

757 The Tingui is a large tree: with its bark tied to the belly, they cure incipient dropsy, which in their language is called Ipunga. Boiled mistol root and tapir fat cures gonorrhea. With chicken, beetle, and cicada fat they cure earaches. Only a few drops need be put in. For poisoning they use wild chirimoyo root. 752 Araticu: for snake bite the herb called ururu, calabash, tobacco, and its nicotine. For wounds produced by a rabid dog, they use melted wax applied to the wound. If the wound was produced by a weapon in a fight, it is treated by applying burned chicken feathers to it. Finally, if in women the uterus becomes displaced, it is put back in its place by giving the patient ground shell drunk in water.

These and many others are medicines that the Chiriguano use: I shall not make a list of the others because during my investigations I have come to realize that this is tied up with superstition, with which the witch doctors inoculate the sick (1).

1. It is not surprising that the Indians believe in the sorcerers, because even the whites let themselves be deceived by these impostors, who exist even among Christians.

Death and Funerals

763 When a Chiriguano is fatally sick, all his nearest relatives begin to gather, and, as the illness progresses, the distant relatives, friends, and neighbors frequently pay visits, while those nearby never leave the house where death will soon reign. If the sick person is a married man, the woman is continually at the head of his bed, holding him up on her knees, stroking his vigorous hair, and caressing his face, while furtive and silent tears slide /illustration appears here/ /291/ copiously down her cheeks, almost all of which come to rest on the dying man's shoulders or chest, providing him with a palliative for his pains, because he understands the misery which his wife is feeling and the way that she and his children, if he has any, will miss him (1).

1. When the woman is past 40, she sheds real

(text continues on p. 393)

4: Nino--437 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Tapiete SA13

T
433
648
169

/323 cont./

They devote themselves to planting, hunting, fishing, and raising livestock; they rarely go en masse to Chiriguano towns and even more rarely to those of the whites, to which they do little damage.

Miscellany

C
824
759

In the section "Flora" in Etnografía Chiriguana /Chiriguano Ethnography/ I described the passion flower of the Chaco region of Bolivia, which is called granadilla de monte /wild passion flower/ there. Its roots are medicinal and those with pretenses of being doctors there employ them to cure tapeworm.

There is a small tree called "Nuranti mbucu," long thorn, by the Chiriguano, and meloncillo /small melon/ by the whites of Santa Cruz. It grows three or four meters high at most; when it blooms, its tips are a quite light purple; its roots are put on to boil for a period of one and a half hours, and the clarified water is an effective remedy for treating dysentery.

C
122

The Franciscan school /colegio/ at Potosí, the Reverend Father Prefect of Missions, and the Padres Conversores of the same school deferred to my suggestion that they /324/ help me in publishing the Etnografía Chiriguana, for which I thank each and every one of them from the bottom of my heart.

I extend in these pages the same thanks to a group of gentlemen from the city of Sucre, who, encouraged by Doctor Don Tomás Arana, assisted in the publication with a subscription of ten bolivianos per copy.

Finally, special thanks have been earned by two young ladies from the city of Sucre and another from the city of Oruro, who, through special deference to the author, have favored him with extraordinary alms, without imposing upon him any obligation whatsoever.

Ee /216 cont./
754 They also sometimes believe that they are bewitched by the
177 Indians. A colonist, Gutierrez, flogged an Indian. The latter bewitched him, so that he became ill. Inside his stomach it sounded like the croaking of a frog.

Ce The medicine men try to discover the bewitcher with smoke.
755 I did not see how this was done. The bewitcher, if he or she is
754 discovered, is killed.

000 /217/ In the following I shall speak about the connection of the medicine men with the great spirits.

Ee There seems to be no difference in the appearance and
755 the method of the medicine men among the Choroti and
756 Ashluslay and among the Chané and Chiriguano. It is the same
171 sucking out of foreign objects that have entered the body through
Ee bewitchment. Among the latter the medicine men are more
[177] secretive than among the former. Perhaps their contact with the whites has had the effect that they themselves are beginning to doubt their art.

Ee There is a difference, however, in the common remedies.
●757 The first-named Indian tribes obtain their remedies, as a rule,
[171] from the vegetable kingdom. They boil decoctions of certain
Ee plants. The Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, except
[237] for certain plants, use animal remedies. Thus, on the Rio
Ce Itiyuro, the Chané use the fat of herons for swellings, wild pig
757 fat for fever, jaguar fat for pains in the bones, and toucan beaks
237 for female hemorrhages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the fat of the ostrich for chest pains, of the iguana lizard for conjunctivitis, of the chicken for everything, and maize beer for colds. I saw fat applied exclusively for external use.

Ce The Chané Indian is remarkable with regard to aseptic
752 treatment. I saw several times how they treat wounds in accordance with a most modern method, namely, with boiled water. This is different from the whites' use of pig excrement and the fresh urine of human beings, along with salt, for the same purpose. The reason that these Indians are familiar with such a modern
Ce method is undoubtedly their great cleanliness. They are used to
[515] washing themselves constantly. They probably hit upon the idea

C
Ce /34 cont./
756 most other Indians of South America, there is a professional
171 physician who is charged with the treatment of the sick, this
treatment in most cases consisting of sorcery among these
C Indians too. The physician attempts to dispel the evil by
Ce sucking out foreign objects which have penetrated the body of
755 the bewitched sick person. In addition to such treatment,
757 remedies are used among the Chiriguano and Chané, which,
[824] in addition to those made of plant substances, include the
[237] fat of various animals applied externally for different illnesses.
Ce The Chané treat wounds with boiling water.
752

Burial among the Chiriguano and Chané who live outside
C the missions is generally still done in urns, according to
Ce 764 primordial custom. According to Nordenskiöld (149), the
415

149. Nord. 1, p. 208.

large pots in which chicha is prepared are also used as funeral urns, and another pot is used to close the urn. Often the dying person, even before being completely dead, or soon after death, is crammed into the urn in a squatting position. A calabash of water is placed with the dead person in the urn,
Ce which is buried within the house. Commonly the house, after
768 the burial, is abandoned for some time, but is occupied again
C later. Such a funeral urn of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi
764 Valley is shown in a drawing by Erland Nordenskiöld (150).
415

150. Nord. 1, Fig. 113.

Up to half of the urn, which is provided with a cover, is disenterred. Nordenskiöld's statement that the Chiriguano use the same pots which serve for the preparation of meals as funeral urns is significant. From that we can deduce that a funeral urn found in other regions might also have served, during the lifetime of the dead person buried in it, some other purpose related to the economy of those Indians.

/192 cont./

Adornments

000

/The first paragraph of this section, pp. 192-193, is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 193, and the remainder of p. 193 follows./

181 The Chiriguano, although they occupy a very lowly place in this corner of the world, although they have little in the way of grandeur and show to display and take pride in, follow the common tendency of humanity, almost as the beast follows its instincts. Without any fear of error, if the Chiriguano were to possess great riches, he would probably invest them in his vices and in the adornment of his body.

302 [292] [574] When the Chiriguano wants to make a formal visit, he washes his body, dresses in his best clothing, and paints his face with achiote powder. The preparation of achiote seeds has been described in the preceding pages in the discussion of the flora /see p. 32/. Here I add that in order for the Urucú to be fixed on the Indian's skin it is necessary that he first soften his face, or the part that he wants to paint or embellish, with palma Christi oil.

751 302 It has already been seen that the region is hot and that atmospheric changes are very sudden; a period of extreme heat can be followed by severe cold, and in these changes the Chiriguano's skin becomes chapped. To avoid this nuisance, men and women paint their faces and their feet with the cosmetic. [527] [758] They also use it during public drinking sessions, at banquets, and during the preparation of chicha in order to ward off the high heat, as well as during convalescence and after having recovered from smallpox (1).

1. Achiote powder with palma Christi oil is cool in hot weather and warm in cold weather. The neophytes in the missions no longer use it, or, if they do, it is sparingly and as a remedy. [178]

[text continues on p. 267]

/212 cont./

736 very easily manages to make the milk come down. She
603 grinds watermelon seed or sarsaparilla root, Isipocagua, and
824 washes herself repeatedly, squeezing herself over or above her
853 breasts, and makes the famished child suck continuously for several days, and in a short time she achieves the desired result. Sometimes even young women lose their milk. They then look for the root and juice of the sámolo, or cipoi, wash the breasts with this juice, and succeed in nursing their children again (2).

2. In the confirmation administered by the Bishop in October, 1909, in Ivu Mission, an old woman of some 60 years of age presented her granddaughter, whom she had nursed. She is still alive, and so is the twin granddaughter, although not very strong.

Joy and Grief

855 For the Chiriguano race their joy at the birth of a male child is the same as at that of a female child, because if the former helps his father in field chores and in hunting and fishing, the latter helps her mother in household chores, and the father as much as the grandfather very much like to eat meal which has been ground by the hands /213/ of their daughter
765 or granddaughter. If either one dies, the grief that the old
855 people feel is very heavy. I witnessed many times a mother's agonies of grief over the death of her son and the profound feeling of the father over the irreparable loss of his idolized daughter.

797 What I am going to relate will better convince my
● 758 readers. In the month of July in the year 1909, a rabid dog
164 at the girls' school of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission bit Cecilia Yaguándai slightly and Ana Yarandui and Delina Aragúndai more severely. The two latter, younger than the

/213 cont./

797 first, came to me to be treated for their wounds, to which I
758 applied cotton soaked with ammonia, of which I also made
164 them drink five drops. The two went through a high fever for four days, but they are alive. Cecilia did not consider her bite very important and did not come to me; I did not know that she had been bitten. She did not have a high fever either, because in fact scarcely any blood came out, according to what her companions say.

The month of January came, just six months after June, and the little girls who had been treated with ammonia again had the same degree of fever and recovered. The other girl began to be afraid of water and to be laughed at by her companions for this fear, so much so that she was the object of foolish tricks. She went down to the town, she wanted to drink water, was unable to, and she told her parents. At once she said that she had pain in her wrist, in her little breast, and in her shoulder, and nothing could be done to treat her; the sickness got worse and she received the last rites. The night before she died she tried to run out of the house; she howled without rest and tried to hit and bite her mother. In all, she had true hydrophobia, which carried her to the grave in three days (1).

> 1. The child Cecilia was bitten by the rabid dog right on her wrist, which is where the first pain began six months later. When I blessed her with holy water, she was afraid and shrank away.

Until she was buried, I did not know what had happened in the month of July, but when I saw such a similarity to rabies, I inquired and it turned out to be this which had
753 caused her death. Her parents, since they could not be
754 persuaded that the bite could produce an effect after so long a time, attributed her violent death to sorcery, stating that this must have been done by a young man who a few days earlier

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitache, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/151 cont./

755 Men sorcerers use in their cures, in addition to the cigar, the
756 tupicho. But what the tupicho consists of is difficult to determine. There are sorcerers who use for it a little round stone with some designs on it; according to what I saw in the San Pascual Mission, others use a long bone likewise bearing designs, and, as I saw in Caipipendi and other places, others make do with words alone. The value of the tupicho is not known, but the Indians have much fear of it. I could tell stories about this.

Sorceress Curers

756 There is no doubt about the existence of female curers and sorcereresses, who, like the men, are feared in the tribe, because it is easier for them to administer some slow or violent poison in drinks. They are designated by the name Cuña ipaye, sorceress (2).

> 2. I know several women who are curers and sorceresses at the same time; at least they are considered as such by the Indians of the tribe.

Generally these women are the daughters of sorcerers, but this does not prevent others from being one also. They cure sick men or women with wild herbs, tree bark, and roots which they dig out of the ground. They are in this case true curers, as are certain women among the whites.

756 There are others, and plenty of them; it can be said that
844 every old mother is one for her young daughters. They serve
759 as midwives; they help their daughters and other women in their deliveries. Some of them are so skilled that they are accepted by the women whom the Indians call ladies. During the time when I was living among the Chiriguano, I saw only three die in childbirth.

756 The only thing which is deplorable among these curers is the
278 use of Mbayachi, a poison that they administer with much dissimula-
682 tion, mixing it with chicha and giving it to persons whom they hate, immediately washing or hiding the gourd, glass, or cup in which they administered it to the patient.

/229 cont./

881 304 [821] For the piercing of the lip, a full moon is necessary, so that the open wound will not have bad results, will gradually get larger, and will not form a swelling. The boys who are ready for the tembeta must not be younger than seven years of age or older than 12. In the first case they would not be able to stand the pain, and in the second the piercing would be difficult because the lip would have hardened.

Thus, when the moon is at its maximum and the boy is of the proper age, he little by little becomes prepared for the operation. The mother and father prepare him with loving words, stimulating his vanity so that he may afterward be esteemed and loved by the girls. Then they make him understand the need for piercing his lip, so that everyone will know [186] [885] that he belongs to the noble Chiriguano race and is worthy of being a member of it; finally, they make him understand that only when he has the tembeta will the grandees of the nation respect him and treat him kindly (1).

[869] [171]

1. Christian mothers, to encourage their sons to endure suffering and even martyrdom itself, show them Heaven, an invisible dwelling place. The savage infidels encourage their children with earthly promises, such as the love of women; qui de terra est; de terra loquitur; this is the effect of ignorance.

The boy hears the nice things that his parents say to him as a deaf man hears music. What he considers more and what occupies all his concern is the pain that the opening of his lip is going to cause him. Nevertheless, he cannot hide or run away; he must submit to the operation in spite of his fear of it. In fact, before the full moon the father goes with his 304 881 son to the house of the surgeon and tells him the reason for his visit, asking him to make his boy into a man. The surgeon-759 doctor makes an appointment for the next day or another one, and in the meantime he looks for a second boy to undergo the

/229 cont./

304 same operation, because he never takes one alone. There
759 must always be two, four, six, eight, or ten (2).
881

2. In a town of 30 or 40 families there was usually never any lack of boys of the same age. The number of the boys to be pierced should never be an odd number; superstition and nothing else.

[801]

304 The boys appear for the operation on the designated day,
881 led by their fathers and mothers. Meanwhile, other curious
[785] persons gather there, men, women, boys, and girls, to see
[114] and /230/ attend this solemn act, which, as I have learned, is not preceded by any day of fasting; thus what certain writers have said in this regard is wrong, as is the rest that refers to the person who does the operation, for whom the qualification of being an Ipaye, sorcerer, is not required for the imposition of the tembeta.

Before beginning the operation the surgeon authoritatively addresses those who are to be men, telling them to be valiant and strong in their pain, without letting their moans be heard or crying, because these are not the signs of a brave man, of a man who wears the tembeta, which is the sign of virility, of
[195] a man who must be able to face the dangers of war. Finally, he orders them that it is time to give up the ú, ú in their answers, and in its place he orders them to replace it with Ta.

When this brief and eloquent discourse is over, the first boy stretches out on the ground or on a cot, and in order to give himself courage he says in a vibrant voice, Che rani tayicutuca, may I be the first to be pierced, words which are greeted by the gathering with jubilation and at the same time with wonder, since they already know the pain that he is going to suffer (1).

[195]
[193]

1. The Chiriguano Indian also uses the imperative to order himself, that is to say, his verbs still have the first person of the imperative mood, which indicates considerable arrogance.

/231 cont./

881 304 [828] In general, with the method of pressing strongly on the patient's temples, the one performing the operation manages it so that the patient feels little or nothing of the pain of the piercing, according to what they say, and it is probable, because one sharp pain diminishes or makes another one feel less strong. But it is also certain that the boy, seeing himself before so many spectators and girls, makes every effort not to cry out or weep, because the Indians do not deny that many somewhat cowardly ones do shout and even cry a little (1).

1. Some boys, very fearful, when their fathers begin to talk to them about the tembeta and the need to have the hole made, run off to another tribe in the presence of their relatives, but the latter persuade them, and they return to their town.

I have asked more than one Indian and all agree in asserting that not a drop of blood comes from the hole. The day on [785] which the imposition of the tembeta is done is a day of strict [784] fasting, and they do not even let them drink a little chicha; other foods cannot be chewed by them for several days either. On some, somewhat careless ones, there is a swelling, and on [757] others not. The swelling of the lip is avoided, according to [824] them, by heating the leaves of the bush Urucuna in the flame or embers of the fire and applying them continually around the 881 hole. The cicatrization of the lip may take a month, during which time the little Chiriguano stays at home, letting himself be seen in the streets and in the plaza once in a while (2).

[759] 2. For a Chiriguano it is a great honor to put the tembeta in place on the boys, so that he asks nothing for this honorable operation; but the boy's parents make some small gift, which he receives with satisfaction.

/288 cont./

Other Illnesses and Remedies

759 According to the illnesses that exist, there are doctors and medicines among the Chiriguano. The former have not gone through any university other than experience, learning from the latter to prepare medicines, not only from plants and herbs, but also from minerals and even from the excrement of animals. The doctors receive the praise of individuals who know less than they and are differentiated even by name from the evil sorcerers, who are called Mbaecuá, while the former are called Ipaye, and the medicines or drugs are called Moa.

757 The oil that is necessarily a side product of the preparation of chicha is very good for curing headaches. Salt, ground and mixed with the urine of infants, is drunk and is a good anodyne for stomach-aches. Dampness and cold produce a tightening of the nerves, which causes atrocious pain in more /289/ than one person. To cure this disorder they pull up a branch of ulala /a cactus/, Nancagüina, strip off the spines, parch it, and, when it is good and hot, apply it to the affected parts and get well. They use something else to cure dysentery. They burn yellow maize, grind it with watermelon seed, and have those attacked by the disease drink it (1).

1. The meloncillo /little melon/ is a remedy which the whites told me about. It is more effective, but the Chiriguano have no faith in it or do not use it out of weakness.

When a sick person suffers a pain in his side, he asks for a balled-armadillo shell, grinds it up, and drinks it. At the same time what is left is heated at the fire and applied to the pain, [764] and it stops as if by magic. If measles comes out on the lips, the sorcerer or doctor applies a tick which has been taken off some dog's flesh, and thus it disappears. Sometimes tumors or a swelling in the throat and in the knees appear, and these are made to disappear through the application of the herb called Urucuna. It is heated at the fire in a small olla and applied. Another herb, called Yandurimbíu, is also good for this. They

/143 cont./

Prayers

771 Certainly the fact that this race does not have external manifestations of worship greatly attracts the attention of men of science and missionaries. The Chiriguano is born and grows like a little lamb is born and grows. They do not know where they come from, and all of their actions are reduced to pure nature. The Chiriguano never raises his mind or his heart up-
[821] ward. He discusses the firmament; he counts the stars and even separates them into groups as though by astronomical principles; he admires the grandiosity of the sun and of the moon, he understands the beneficence of the nourishing world, but the totality remains mute and silent before the works of nature or
[782] of creation. Visible things do not lead the intelligence of the Chiriguano to the knowledge of the Cause of such effects, and inasmuch as he has a rather vague idea of God, he does not offer worship to Him or to anything which resembles Him.

782 It is consequently useless to look for idols in this country, just as it is extremely useless to inquire about temples or hermitages for religious gatherings. Prayers, however much they may be investigated, are very abridged, if there are any, and are not worth being called such, because they are rather a kind of boasting by the one uttering them, in order that all may see that he is eloquent in speaking. This is what they do in the general gatherings when they drink for many days and eat in the
[539] plaza. Enthusiasm comes in the heat of drinking, and, on seeing an immense multitude, someone will raise his voice, saying more or less the following: Çheru Tunpa, icavifio taicó, pucu emeé cheve cherecovena, cherimbiuna emoñimóña cheve, tacherori catu taicó, anu tamano. My God, make me be well off, give me a long life, make my food be produced, give me happiness, do not allow me to die (2).

• [761] 2. The only thing that the Chiriguano wants is to live forever, but he sees that it is impossible and contents himself with expressing his vehement desire, but he does not believe that death comes to him naturally.

/145 cont./

776 778 small apartments, owned by the Iya, a child who leaves footprints when it walks. They believe these things as though they were real.

312 778 823 776 Among the many springs that are plentiful in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission there are several with hot, sulphurous water. None of the old people will go near these springs, and the only ones who do it are boys and girls who, because they have embraced the Catholic religion perhaps and because the teaching of the /146/ missionary makes them understand that only God need be feared, have no fear of these inoffensive things. Nevertheless, [961] when some schoolgirl dies, the old people say that such a thing has happened because of the lack of care shown by them when they approached and bathed in these springs owned by the Iya.

779 776 The aforesaid shows that the old Chiriguano is very superstitious, and because of his love of life he respects the places where the imaginary genii can be found. If such places were [961] [953] discovered and disturbed through someone's error, he either would soon die or he would lead an unfortunate life full of long sicknesses ending in death, and for this reason it is impossible for a true Chiriguano to reveal the places which, according to his affirmations, are possessed by genii (1).

1. At the end of the year 1899 a gentleman from Sucre began work in the petroleum site of Mandiyuti in Cuevo. Unfortunately, he died of acute bronchitis, but the Indians attributed his death to the anger of the Iya.

Sorcerers

754 756 Another consequence of ignorance is a belief in sorcerers. This belief, however, is much more general. The working man accepts it, as does the moderately enlightened. The man who is in a completely savage state accepts it, as well as the one who is beginning to become civilised. It is accepted in America, as in old Europe, extensive Asia, deserted Africa, and newest Oceania. Nevertheless, the word "sorcerer" does not have the

754
756 /147 cont./
731 According to the story of Guarerai, the choncho is the
[825] father of good sorcerers, especially those who make it rain, and
[176] the chena is the father of bad sorcerers, or those who hold back the rain. In any public calamity in certain places, all the Indians will gather around the Ipaye, or sorcerer, so that the calamity may cease. If this continues despite the sorcerer's promise and he is unable to blame anyone else for his impotence, as the choncho did, he is killed with blows and burned without pity, but if he can blame it on another chena, the latter will suffer the capital punishment, and his protests of innocence or ignorance will be of no avail. Such is the fury of the mob when they are exalted by the harangues of the good Ipaye!

825 Before passing on from these feared and respected birds, I
787 shall say in passing that at night a whitish bird that they call
763 Tetê walks and flies about. When they see it, it is a sure sign to the Indians that in some house the women are about to cut their hair as a sign of mourning, that is, that someone in the town will die. As for the small owl /lechuza/, Suinda, the beliefs of the Chiriguano are the same as those of the common people of Europe and America, the differences among them being slight (1).

765

1. As will be seen, mourning among the Chiriguano women consists of cutting their hair and wearing the dirtiest rag on their heads. Mourning is always complete, that is, they observe strict mourning for any dead person.

756 /148/ Good sorcerers, represented by the choncho, are very
754 compassionate, and they do everything possible so that the race may enjoy good health, fortune, good crops, without experiencing hunger or epidemics, while bad sorcerers bring every evil to the poor Chiriguano. They hold back rain and order epidemics, as well as hunger and death. Bad sorcerers are called Mbaecuá.

754 The Chiriguano does not die because it is so decreed, because
761 it is a condition of human nature; he does not die as a result of sin of the first man. He dies because bad sorcerers exist; without

/148 cont./

754 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where
●76 God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something
753 the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[761] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

756 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others
622 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a
623 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has
643 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of
571 the lower caciques; they discuss the appropriate measures to
731 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The
755 first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very
756 great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make
554 him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there
731 is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /149/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

/300 cont./

797 177 In sum, the adult Indian infidel, when carefully watched over, is quite submissive in complying with the orders of the missionary father, and even when drunk he is gentle and humble. Although it is quite true that he wishes to know nothing of religion as long as he lives, in order not to learn to pray and to comply with what religion demands, nevertheless today almost all ask for or receive baptism at the time of death. The difficulties which formerly occurred with respect to the sick who were in danger of death, which would be interminable in the telling, have now almost completely disappeared. (1)

> 1. It is more difficult to baptize old women, for it is they who advise a sick person to refuse to accept baptism, while others coax him to accept for material gain. In such cases it is very necessary to know their language.

[595] If an Indian or a cacique had two or more wives when a mission was founded, bit by bit the missionary can make him give them up until he has but one. This requires some effort, but through persuasion and threats the desired end can be obtained, because this is one of the conditions which the minister of God sets when he is asked by the Indians to establish a mission. This is what I did in San Antonio del Parapiti, and they accepted all the conditions very willingly.

● 761 797 177 The adult Chiriguano is not baptized while he enjoys good health; he only does it at the time of dying and when he is almost sure that he cannot live any longer. In the past it was even difficult to baptize infants, because they were convinced that baptism is the cause of death, for in their ignorance they did not understand that those who receive baptism in a serious illness died because of the gravity of the disease.

The missionary, because of his long experience, easily recognizes who is in danger of dying, and it is unlikely that he will err, because the serious illnesses of the Chiriguano are known diseases, such as dropsy, smallpox, dysentery, and consumption, to name the principal ones. He thus baptizes precisely those who cannot live, because it would be very

761 797 177 /301/ difficult afterward to make them comply with what religion requires. The result of this is that the Indian believes without foundation that baptism causes death (1).

799 762 179

1. Some of them experience so much sadness with being adult Christians that they try to take their own lives; this happens when they are half out of their minds with some dangerous illness.

799 179 When a baptized person whose life is in danger survives, it is not likely that he will comply with what religion requires, and only at the missionary's insistence is the matter finally resolved, but he enters the church secretly, seeking the corners or the sacristy, so that no one will see him, and, when there is a change of missionaries, he takes advantage of the ignorance of the one who is new to the mission so as not to attend religious ceremonies. Then what kind of Christians are these? In church they are like idiots, being almost unable to learn prayers, either because it is difficult or because they are unwilling to learn them. In church they are little different from brutes; in their houses they behave like the infidels among whom they live: they play, sing, and drink the same as the rest of them (2).

2. We should not be too astonished by the behavior of the Indian who has survived after being baptized while gravely ill, because the poor souls had never seen a church in their lives nor did they know anything about the obligations of praying to and worshiping a Supreme Being, about whom, in their unbelief, they had no exact idea and barely a remote one.

In a mission already old, all this does not happen. There are Indians with tembeta and long hair, there are old women with their tipoy who go to Mass and comply with the other obligations of the Catholic Church, but almost all are mute, that is to say, they do not utter a single word of prayer. Some will say, and I too say, that with time the opposite will be the case, but

648 /115 cont./
178 obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

157 Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, incon-
181 stancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even
[847] suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They
[762] only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome
[461] by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family.
[186] But if near the carai /sic; see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

[533] They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of
[273] their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and
[178] cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not com-
[674] mon formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

[648] 1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge
[685] great secrecy so that the authorities will not
[754] make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/119 cont./

500 the wives of Christ their infinite goodness, and the priests the sciences and their Author. Each one in his branch turns his affection to the object which pleases him most. Even Indians have this privilege, because they are men who come from the same tree, whose trunk is in Adam and Eve (2).

773 2. They say that the first forebears of the Chiriguano race are different from the progenitors of Christians and missionaries, because we are of a different color, wealth, intelligence, and worth. They add that their first father's name was Araparigua.

837 684 593 As a consequence of the foregoing, the Chiriguano has no object which he loves other than his fellow man, because idleness and ignorance do not make him aspire to other things. A man and a woman love each other reciprocally, but as they also inherit the original sin, they are subject to its many consequences. Thus it happens that cases where a man betrays his wife, or she him, are not rare. What is the result of this? If it is the woman who was unfaithful to the conjugal bonds, the man will remedy it by providing her with goodly number of whacks with a stick and separating from her definitively, and if it should be the man, which is generally what happens, it is not so easy for the woman to do anything /120/ about it. Instead she usually sees herself more and more oppressed. The husband makes a martyr of her. Well-founded jealousy begins to destroy her. She can do nothing against her rival. She has no religion which will help her resign herself to her fate. She makes every effort to avenge herself in some way, but it is difficult, she thinks in this extreme case that she achieves all she can do by taking her life. To do this, she finds a rope, puts it around her neck, ties it to any small tree or such thing, casts loose her body, and, since no one sees her, in a few minutes she ceases to exist (1).

837 684 593 762

1. A woman of some 25 years of age

/120 cont./

762 [837] [684] [593]

committed suicide in her own home early one Sunday morning at a height of one meter. She did it by kneeling down.

Suicide is not rare even among men, and there were several during my stay among the Chiriguano. The men, if they are young, commit it in order not to suffer the reproach of their parents for something bad they have done. If they are older than their wives, it is because they have no other way to remedy the woman's infidelity, because there are cases in which a man dominated by his wife and somewhat timid in nature does not dare in such circumstances to throw the bad one out of his house, and thus he believes that he can fix everything by taking his life. These unpleasant happenings and accidents happen in the fields or in the woods.

Boxing and Dueling

175 721 628

In ancient times this race was very numerous and constantly in a state of war against its common enemies, but there were other wars in which one town rose up against another for trivial reasons. In the middle of the nineteenth century there was a bloody war between the towns of Yvu and Caraguatarenta against those of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo because of oppression which the cacique Güiracoti had tried to practice (2).

2. This regional war occurred before Chimeo Mission was founded. Güiracoti deceived the authorities of Cordillera, who were quartering people in the vicinity and around Parapiti in order to repress the audacity of Yaveau, whom they believed to be the head of the revolution.

/205 cont./

587 595 When the mother of a family is widowed at a mature age, after a year of widowhood, if she was a dutiful wife, she can easily remarry; it is much easier if she has a daughter, even if she is small. The Chiriguano man marries the mother with the hope of being able to marry the stepdaughter when she reaches a suitable age. If at the time of marrying a widow the stepdaughter is already an adult, it is difficult to achieve this end, because young girls abhor this type of union, in spite of the fact that their mother, in order not to be repudiated, often serves as a go-between for the wicked desires of her husband (2).

[593] [762] 2. The stepdaughter, when she sees the impossibility of freeing herself from the evil intentions of her stepfather, will often run away to another tribe, and, if she cannot manage this, will take her life by suicide.

582 In spite of being so inclined to lechery without regard for kinship, even in a direct line, it is worth considering the respect that the Chiriguano professes for consanguinity, regardless of the degree considered. It is unlikely that a man will marry a cousin in the fourth degree, and he tries to respect [593] even more distant degrees. With much more reason the father respects his daughters as holy things, it being completely false what somebody wrote about this, having heard of the case where one Chiriguano or several had lived with their daughters when the mother had died. It could happen that in the future they might marry their cousins, since they see that their superiors do this, but how many of those who are here will be alive a few years from now?

761 /301/
797 difficult afterward to make them comply with what religion re-
177 quires. The result of this is that the Indian believes without founda-
tion that baptism causes death (1).

797
762
177

1. Some of them experience so much sadness with being adult Christians that they try to take their own lives; this happens when they are half out of their minds with some dangerous illness.

797
177

When a baptized person whose life is in danger survives, it is not likely that he will comply with what religion requires, and only at the missionary's insistence is the matter finally resolved, but he enters the church secretly, seeking the corners or the sacristy, so that no one will see him, and, when there is a change of missionaries, he takes advantage of the ignorance of the one who is new to the mission so as not to attend religious ceremonies. Then what kind of Christians are these? In church they are like idiots, being almost unable to learn prayers, either because it is difficult or because they are unwilling to learn them. In church they are little different from brutes; in their houses they behave like the infidels among whom they live; they play, sing, and drink the same as the rest of them (2).

2. We should not be too astonished by the behavior of the Indian who has survived after being baptized while gravely ill, because the poor souls had never seen a church in their lives nor did they know anything about the obligations of praying to and worshiping a Supreme Being, about whom, in their unbelief, they had no exact idea and barely a remote one.

In a mission already old, all this does not happen. There are Indians with tembeta and long hair, there are old women with their tipoy who go to Mass and comply with the other obligations of the Catholic Church, but almost all are mute, that is to say, they do not utter a single word of prayer. Some will say, and I too say, that with time the opposite will be the case, but

/223 cont./

Ce 539 831

In the evening the fox asked the sister of the wood fowl: "Where do you want to lie?" "Here," she said.

"Then I shall lie down beside you," said the fox. A little farther away the wood fowl lay down. When the sister had fallen asleep, the fox stretched out his hand and took hold of the wood fowl. The latter came and lay down beside the fox.

"Are you married?" said the wood fowl.

/224/ "No, my mama did not want to marry me off," answered the fox... (1)

1. Omitted as being too realistic.

The fox now slept two nights with the wood fowl and became pregnant. After a time the fox gave birth.

One day several birds came by there. "Give me a bow and arrow, I want to shoot," said the fox. "You cannot shoot, after all you are not a man," said the wood fowl.

"I am a man," said the fox; he took a bow and arrow and departed. When he came to the "supua," he took down his penis and put it on again.

Ce 838 [735] Ce [838] Ce [762]

I was told about a Chané Indian from Yacundai on the Rio Parapiti who was in the habit of wandering about in strange villages as a sponger. The Indians finally got tired of him, and once when he was completely drunk several Chiriguano Indians in the Caipipendi valley abused him. After this insult he betook himself to the lower Rio Parapiti. When news of what had happened to him in Caipipendi reached there, he hung himself in despair over this disgrace.

Ce 838 Ce [681] [762] [684]

Strangely enough, it is not regarded as a disgrace among these Indians to be the active one in a homosexual relationship, but the passive one is deeply despised. He is regarded as a woman. This is the reason why some inconsiderate whites punish incorrigible Indians with -- an enema. An Indian thus mortified disappears forever. It is assumed that he commits suicide. An Indian punishes his unfaithful wife by means of "tévi" and then leaves her. I saw Chané boys playing "tévi."

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "tà." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

851 171 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

583 171 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

591

595 622 556 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate. The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

764

765

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

754
756 /147 cont./
731 According to the story of Guarerai, the choncho is the
[825] father of good sorcerers, especially those who make it rain, and
[176] the chena is the father of bad sorcerers, or those who hold back the rain. In any public calamity in certain places, all the Indians will gather around the Ipaye, or sorcerer, so that the calamity may cease. If this continues despite the sorcerer's promise and he is unable to blame anyone else for his impotence, as the choncho did, he is killed with blows and burned without pity, but if he can blame it on another chena, the latter will suffer the capital punishment, and his protests of innocence or ignorance will be of no avail. Such is the fury of the mob when they are exalted by the harangues of the good Ipaye!

825 Before passing on from these feared and respected birds, I
787 shall say in passing that at night a whitish bird that they call
763 Tetê walks and flies about. When they see it, it is a sure sign to the Indians that in some house the women are about to cut their hair as a sign of mourning, that is, that someone in the town will die. As for the small owl /lechuza/, Suinda, the beliefs of the Chiriguano are the same as those of the common people of Europe and America, the differences among them being slight (1).

765

1. As will be seen, mourning among the Chiriguano women consists of cutting their hair and wearing the dirtiest rag on their heads. Mourning is always complete, that is, they observe strict mourning for any dead person.

756 /148/ Good sorcerers, represented by the choncho, are very
754 compassionate, and they do everything possible so that the race may enjoy good health, fortune, good crops, without experiencing hunger or epidemics, while bad sorcerers bring every evil to the poor Chiriguano. They hold back rain and order epidemics, as well as hunger and death. Bad sorcerers are called Mbaecuá.

754 The Chiriguano does not die because it is so decreed, because
761 it is a condition of human nature; he does not die as a result of sin of the first man. He dies because bad sorcerers exist; without

/290 cont./

757 The Tingui is a large tree; with its bark tied to the belly, they cure incipient dropsy, which in their language is called Ipunga. Boiled mistol root and tapir fat cures gonorrhea. With chicken, beetle, and cicada fat they cure earaches. Only a few 752 drops need be put in. For poisoning they use wild chirimoyo root, Araticu; for snake bite the herb called urururu, calabash, tobacco, and its nicotine. For wounds produced by a rabid dog, they use melted wax applied to the wound. If the wound was produced by a weapon in a fight, it is treated by applying burned chicken feathers to it. Finally, if in women the uterus becomes displaced, it is put back in its place by giving the patient ground shell drunk in water.

These and many others are medicines that the Chiriguano use; I shall not make a list of the others because during my investigations I have come to realize that this is tied up with superstition, with which the witch doctors inoculate the sick (1).

1. It is not surprising that the Indians believe in the sorcerers, because even the whites let themselves be deceived by these impostors, who exist even among Christians.

Death and Funerals

763

When a Chiriguano is fatally sick, all his nearest relatives begin to gather, and, as the illness progresses, the distant relatives, friends, and neighbors frequently pay visits, while those nearby never leave the house where death will soon reign. If the sick person is a married man, the woman is continually at the head of his bed, holding him up on her knees, stroking his vigorous hair, and caressing his face, while furtive and silent tears slide /illustration appears here/ /291/ copiously down her cheeks, almost all of which come to rest on the dying man's shoulders or chest, providing him with a palliative for his pains, because he understands the misery which his wife is feeling and the way that she and his children, if he has any, will miss him (1).

1. When the woman is past 40, she sheds real

[Text Continues on P. 393]

/291 cont./

763 tears, because the Indian had taken her as his wife until death, and with his death she loses everything. She will now be poor.

When the death pangs approach, the sick person enjoins them to cry as much as possible, admonitions which are made before he loses the use of speech. The said admonition is not addressed to the one who in a short time is going to be left a widow, but to the relatives and friends, because the widow already knows that she must bewail the absence of the one who was her companion (2).

[578 627] 2. If the dying man believes that he has been poisoned, before he loses the use of speech he charges his nearest relatives to take vengeance after the days of mourning, if the supposed enemy is known.

The death pangs come, the death rattle begins, his face pales, his nose thins, his lips and tongue become dry, his eyes turn glassy, his eyelids and eyelashes are paralyzed; the dying man begins to grab at his blankets or anything else with his hands, he looks from side to side and seems to be insensible of the objects that surround him. He is about to fade away. Then the persons around him understand how close the fatal moment is. At the impossibility of helping the one who is struggling, who is about to be inert, they begin to utter the wails which are the precursors of death.

They do not have to wait long; the dying man gives a last breath and begins to expire, until his mouth is wide open, which is observed by the widow, who gives a cry, the sign that her 764 husband has now died. Then the funeral formally begins; they dress the deceased in his best clothes, comb him very carefully, paint his face and feet with palm-Christi oil and achiote, double up the knees, put his crossed hands there, and tie him up thus, so that on the day of burial he will easily go into the clay pot that they have prepared beforehand, where they will put him when it is time to be buried.

/301 cont./

797 177 this time has hardly come, because the infidel in the Chiriguano missions does not leave followers, since his children have almost all been baptized. They are getting old and dying without being replaced.

797 763 177 Some of them are baptized in order to make the missionary happy and in order that the family will not suffer any blame, but several times it has happened that as a dying person who had no thought of being made a Christian breathed his last or gave almost no sign of life, the relatives hastily called. Finally, others [764] accept and profess being Christians so that the missionary will permit or tolerate the burial of the body in their own home, and this is the first thing that the sick person asks for after being catechized, for which reason many difficulties are encountered. When it is hinted to the sick person /302/ that he must repent, he either denies completely that he is guilty before God or he does not abhor his past actions. All of these difficulties occur at the beginning of a mission; everything changes with the passage of time, and there is scarcely any which is not in the end easily overcome (1).

797 177

1. When a mission is founded, it is ordered that the missionary be told about sick people so that he can comply with the charity of Christ, to make them know the truth, the reward or punishment which awaits them in eternity. For just this reason he reprimands those who hide the sick. When the latter explicitly refuse to be baptized, and the missionary does not manage to convince them of the error, he leaves them. Such cases have occurred.

273 For the Indian infidel, drunkenness is a very honorable act, an action which indicates greatness, friendship, and benevolence, and he glories in it, saying clearly and with great satisfaction, Asagllipo ma, I have got drunk. They say it to anybody and appear before anybody in this state. Nevertheless, [797] when corrected and admonished by the missionary, if they do not hide it when he is inspecting the town, at least they avoid appearing at the mission house.

Ce 752 /217 cont./ of boiling the water because they wanted to kill the macroscopic animals in it. The Chané sometimes use fresh leaves to bandage wounds.

Ee 764 Ee [763] If, in spite of the medicine man's efforts, the /218/ spell cannot be lifted and the Chané or Chiriguano Indian dies, he or she is buried under the hut in a large clay vessel. Before the dying one is quite dead, or immediately after death, he is flexed so that the knees come under the chin and the arms are laid crosswise over the chest. On the Rio Parapiti there lived for many years a Chané Indian who had been flexed in this way, but who, before he was stuffed into the grave urn, was saved by a white man. The deceased, dressed, with a water calabash at his knee, Ee [775] is set into the vessel. The water is supposed to be taken along by the deceased when he wanders about on the mountains, the Chané chief Vocapoy told me. The vessel is buried in the hut, and another vessel is put upside down over it as a lid.

Ee 768 At Tatarenda, near Yacuiba, I heard that the hut is burned down after the burial. This, however, is not the usual thing. On the contrary, the hut is abandoned for a time after the burial and then moved into again later on. This is what happened, for example, in a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro, where I was shortly after a burial.

Ce 764 Cce [415] The large maize-beer vessels (Fig. 113) are used as coffins. If there is a shortage of vessels, burial often takes place in another way. In a Chané village, Copéri, on the Rio Parapiti, a child was buried in a skin under the hut shortly before my arrival.

These Indians spend their lives on the graves of their dead relatives, and often the hut is so full that a later burial in old pots becomes necessary.

"The Christian carries his dead far from his house. We Indians, who feel a great love for them, keep them in our houses." That is approximately what Vocapoy once said to me when the conversation turned to this strange method of burial.

/218 cont./

766 754 825 If a Chiriguano is killed by a jaguar, he is /219/ buried with his head downward, so that he will not go about as such an animal. This notion of a jaguar who was a human being is widespread, especially among the Quichua /Quechua/, where this

764 415

Fig. 113. Chiriguano grave.
Caipipendi.

766 754 825 strange animal, as has been mentioned, is called uturunco (cf. p. 12 /untranslated/). If a fox howls at night near the village, 763 825 someone will die.

C /295 cont./
821 The waxing and waning of the moon, according to Maringay's explanation, was caused by the fact that a larger or smaller piece of it is put in the firmament.

C The sun rises over the water and then shines for us during
821 the day. In the evening it dips into the water again, and at
177 night it shines for the other human beings on the other side of the earth. This was Maringay's idea of the course of the sun. I believe, however, that he learned this from the whites.

Ee When a meteor, "baeréndi," falls, it means the death of
821 a chief. About a shooting star, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti said:
784 "He is going to sleep with his girl." Maringay was more
[763] realistic in his explanation. "The star lets something fall," said the old man.

Ee /296/ When it thunders, Chiquéritunpa is walking about.
821 The medicine men, "ipáye," are able to make rain. When
[789] the swallow, "máchurupimpi," flies low, it will rain, the
[825] Indians say. Another bird, "chóncho," announces rain. If
[784] one is going traveling, one should not put a jug in water, but
[484] dip up the water with a calabash, otherwise it will rain. In a
Ce myth about the destruction of the world related to me by the
821 Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, the world is destroyed by water.
773 The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me how the world was
Ce destroyed by a storm. Otherwise the wind plays an unimportant
821 role in the myths. If one places a warmed jug in flowing
[784] water, there will be a storm, say the Chané on the Rio
[825] Parapiti. The rainbow, "yii," is a snake.

846 [844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 756 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 763 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [931] Chorotí, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a [171] rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 648 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

---

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 130.
[2] Nordenskiöld (18).

415
293

Plate XV

1. Large vessel (yambui) in which the Chiriguano make corn beer ferment. Prov.: Ivu. (1/5 nat. size.)

[764] 2. Large vat (yambui) for boiling ñiwi. The Chiriguano bury their dead in similar urns. Prov.: Ivu. (1/7 nat. size.)

Bowls (naè). Chiriguano. Bowl No. 1 was found in a funerary urn from Caipipendí. It was originally painted red. Nos. 2 and 4 come from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); No. 3 from Carurutí. (No. 1 = 1/3; Nos. 2, 4 = 1/3; No. 3 = 2/5 nat. size.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SFS

In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purísima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Río Grande): Abapo, Mambi, Cabezas, Piray, Iguiri, Tacuri, Iti, Parapeti, Itas, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuarembotí, Piriti, and Otaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1798. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itas to the Parapeti River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivo, and San Francisco del Parapeti. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapeti River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Azero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izozo, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were pagans and 3,167 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

ARCHEOLOGY

Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapeti River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupaya. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "tà." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

851 171 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

583 171 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

591 595 622 556 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate. The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

764 765

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

291
323
516

769
415

323
516
291

PLATE 41.—**Chiriguano pottery and urn burials.** *Top, left:* and *bottom:* Pottery making. *Top, right:* Urn burials at Caipipendi, Chaco, Bolivia. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[End Plate 2]

/214/

753 had asked for her as his wife, a proposal which had not been
754 accepted; but it must be noted that the Indians attribute every death to sorcery.

765 The loss of this child was greatly mourned by relatives
[764] and others, and her parents, who loved her very much, burned all of the clothes and things that she had, in addition to having buried with her the best and abundant clothing which her father had just brought her from the Argentine Republic. The girl had three donkeys which had been given to her by her father. They sold them in order not to see them any more, in order not to be reminded of their late daughter each moment and immediately weep.

855 I have related this event so that my readers may know
765 that the Chiriguano love their children whether male or female, so that they may see the grief they feel, and so that they may know that in case of hydrophobia the medicine which I administered to the girls Ana and Delina is a good remedy; after the last fever they are now completely well (1).

114

1. If some new missionary or other readers may not know of it, let them now know that ammonia drunk as drops in water and placed on snake bites and bites of other poisonous animals or insects is very efficacious. In ignorance of having been bitten by a spider, I suffered the consequences for seven months and got well as soon as I applied ammonia to it. For another bite I used ink very efficaciously; it is enough to paint the bitten part with it.

845 Deformed Children

847 It is not easy to ascertain why the Chiriguano kill their
732 children who are born deformed. Some writers have stated that they do it so that all will be valiant warriors, but this reason is not satisfactory because deformed women are not found either, and certainly women are not good for war.

/291 cont./

763 tears, because the Indian had taken her as his wife until death, and with his death she loses everything. She will now be poor.

When the death pangs approach, the sick person enjoins them to cry as much as possible, admonitions which are made before he loses the use of speech. The said admonition is not addressed to the one who in a short time is going to be left a widow, but to the relatives and friends, because the widow already knows that she must bewail the absence of the one who was her companion (2).

[578] [627] 2. If the dying man believes that he has been poisoned, before he loses the use of speech he charges his nearest relatives to take vengeance after the days of mourning, if the supposed enemy is known.

The death pangs come, the death rattle begins, his face pales, his nose thins, his lips and tongue become dry, his eyes turn glassy, his eyelids and eyelashes are paralyzed; the dying man begins to grab at his blankets or anything else with his hands, he looks from side to side and seems to be insensible of the objects that surround him. He is about to fade away. Then the persons around him understand how close the fatal moment is. At the impossibility of helping the one who is struggling, who is about to be inert, they begin to utter the wails which are the precursors of death.

They do not have to wait long; the dying man gives a last breath and begins to expire, until his mouth is wide open, which is observed by the widow, who gives a cry, the sign that her • 764 husband has now died. Then the funeral formally begins; they dress the deceased in his best clothes, comb him very carefully, paint his face and feet with palm-Christi oil and achiote, double up the knees, put his crossed hands there, and tie him up thus, so that on the day of burial he will easily go into the clay pot that they have prepared beforehand, where they will put him when it is time to be buried.

/291 cont./

•764 Now the funeral begins, which consists of crying as hard as possible, men and women, and shedding real or false tears. While they are crying they also dig the grave, /292/ which at most is two meters deep. The weeping lasts all night without rest and is accompanied by strict fasting, because so long as the deceased is visible, it would be a dishonor to take food. If there are young children in the house, they are taken by the neighbors or by some relative who takes care of them with all humanity through everything, since the unfortunate ones, when they see so much confusion, act stupid and go after the first person who shows them any tenderness. To wet their mouths and in order to cry unceasingly, those who attend the funeral, drink a little new chicha, if there is any; otherwise they are content with a little water (1).

[824]

1. Those who cannot shed tears because they do not mourn the death of the deceased put chili pepper in their eyes, and with this, which they call a medicine, the tears fall copiously.

On the next day, when the grave has already been dug, they first put the deceased in the vessel, Yambúi. They also put in a small jar of chicha, a little parched meal, a flintstone, a steel, tinder, fresh maize husk, and tobacco, a live parrot or chicken, a bow and arrow, and other things which belonged to the deceased, and they close it with another jar, and if the dead person is a nursing infant, they put in its sepulcher a small jar of the mother's milk. All these things are necessary for the journey to the other life and clearly indicate that the Chiriguano have an idea, although a material one, of the immortality of the soul. [775]

764 775 Now enclosed in the funeral urn, they lower it into the hole by means of ropes, and meanwhile the cries redouble, until it disappears below the ground. The body is placed with the face toward the east, because they all want the deceased to attain glory, the paradise which is shown by the light of the sun. Placed thus, the deceased or his soul will not always be going about in search of happiness; he will run toward the sun as iron or steel goes toward a magnet.

/301 cont./

797 177 this time has hardly come, because the infidel in the Chiriguano missions does not leave followers, since his children have almost all been baptized. They are getting old and dying without being replaced.

797 763 177 Some of them are baptized in order to make the missionary happy and in order that the family will not suffer any blame, but several times it has happened that as a dying person who had no thought of being made a Christian breathed his last or gave almost no sign of life, the relatives hastily called. Finally, others [764] accept and profess being Christians so that the missionary will permit or tolerate the burial of the body in their own home, and this is the first thing that the sick person asks for after being catechized, for which reason many difficulties are encountered. When it is hinted to the sick person /302/ that he must repent, he either denies completely that he is guilty before God or he does not abhor his past actions. All of these difficulties occur at the beginning of a mission; everything changes with the passage of time, and there is scarcely any which is not in the end easily overcome (1).

797 177

1. When a mission is founded, it is ordered that the missionary be told about sick people so that he can comply with the charity of Christ, to make them know the truth, the reward or punishment which awaits them in eternity. For just this reason he reprimands those who hide the sick. When the latter explicitly refuse to be baptized, and the missionary does not manage to convince them of the error, he leaves them. Such cases have occurred.

273 For the Indian infidel, drunkenness is a very honorable act, an action which indicates greatness, friendship, and benevolence, and he glories in it, saying clearly and with great satisfaction, Asagüipo ma, I have got drunk. They say it to anybody and appear before anybody in this state. Nevertheless, [797] when corrected and admonished by the missionary, if they do not hide it when he is inspecting the town, at least they avoid appearing at the mission house.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XXVII.

Urn-Burial.

C
Ce
764

The Chiriguano and Chané bury their dead in urns. The geographical distribution of interment in urns has been treated by several authors, particularly by PREUSS, BOMAN, OUTES, TORRES and PATER SCHMIDT. We can distinguish between two different methods of urn-burial in America. In one case the whole body has been stuffed into the urn, in the second the urn was only used for after-interment of the fleshless, and not unfrequently, painted bones. This secondary burial of the bones naturally requires smaller urns than those needed when the whole body is put into them. In some places children have been deposited in urns and adults in another manner.

C
Ce
764
765
*171

It is natural that the conceptions on which direct or secondary urn-burial are based must be very different. The secondary burial of the bones in baskets instead of urns is of course more in conformity with this latter mortuary custom than immediate burying in urns. Secondary interment in baskets and in urns can also occur in the same cemetery. The basket is a substitute for the urn or vice versa[1]).

The essential thing in the secondary burial of the bones is their preservation which is considered most important. The direct interment in urns resembles burial in stone vaults and the like. The whole body is to be preserved, not only the bones. This should be kept in mind when we study the distribution of different kinds of urn-graves. EHRENREICH[2])

[1]) KARL V. D. STEINEN (3) P. 504.
[2]) (5).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
764
765
171*

and above all BOMAN have assumed that urn-burial of adults is a Guarani custom. The latter supports this statement by the fact that this mode of burial is supposed to be very uncommon in the western zone of civilization and that it was chiefly used by the Guarani-Tupi tribes.

C
Ce
764
171*

As this mode of burial is characteristic of the Indians I am treating of here, I will take up the question for closer examination and endeavour to make a map of the distribution of differents modes of urn-burial in S. America. Some finds of burial-urns, lately made by UHLE, makes the origin of direct urn-burial a subject which ought to be brought up for discussion again. I will here endeavour to show that direct urn-burial is chiefly an element of western culture, which most likely spread to the Tupi-Guarani tribes at a comparatively late period.

The Tupi-Indians on the coast of Brazil had this form of burial. This was, however, not the commonest mode of interment there. Direct burial in the earth was more usual as pointed out by TORRES.[1])

LERY,[2]) YVES D'EVREUX,[3]) CLAUDE D'ABBEVILLE[4]) PERO DE MAGALHAES[5]) and NOBREGA[6]) only mention burial directly in the ground. Of these LERY is one of the greatest authors of the 16th century who has written about the Tupi-Indians on the coast of Brazil. THEVET,[7]) VASCONCELLOS,[8]) the author of *Principio e origem dos indios de Brazil*,[9])

[1]) (2) P. 400.

[2]) P. 384. »Apres que la fosse aura esté faite, non pas longue à nostre mode, ains ronde et profonde comme un grand tonneau à tenir le vin, le corps qui aussi incontinent apres estre expiré, aura esté plié, les bras et les iambes liez à l'entour, sera ainsi enterré presques tout debout:»

[3]) P. 126.

[4]) P. 329.

[5]) P. 210.

[6]) P. 93.

[7]) P. 219.

[8]) P. LXXXIII.

[9]) P. 105.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
764
*171

and (MANOEL TRISTA)[1]) mention urn-burial. The first two also speak of other methods of burial. SOARES DE SOUZA, who has given such an exellent description of the customs and habits of the Indians on the Brazilian coast describes in detail the Tupinambá-Indians' mode of burial. According to him grown up people are buried in underground vaults and only the children of the chiefs in urns. For the chiefs they apparently dug good-sized underground vaults where the remains were protected from pressure or contact with the earth.[2])

Thus the Tupi-Indians on the coast of Brazil buried their dead in dug-out vaults or in great urns. As I have already pointed out the difference between these modes of interment is not very great. In the vault, and still more so in the urn, the body was protected from the earth. It is told of the Quichua that after the Roman Catholic priests had introduced burial in the earth (without coffins) these Indians unearthed their dead in the cemeteries and took them to their own burial ground in order that the earth might not press upon them. Something similar is related by JARQUE[3]) from the Guarani-indians in Paraguay. That urn-burial is not practised by the Mundrucú and Apiacá, who are Guarani Indians, is a known fact. The Oyampi, and the Omagua other Guarani tribes, practises secondary urn-burial.

RUIZ DE MONTOYA mentions urn-burial among the

[text continues on p. 188]

[1]) P. 1293.

[2]) P. 307. »e tem-lhe feito na mesma casa e lanço onde elle vivia, uma cova muito funda e grande, com sua estacada por de redor, para que tenha a terra que nao cala sobre o difunto, e arman-lhe sua rede em baixo de maneira que não toque o morto no chão; and P. 308 »E quando morre algum moço, filho de algum principal, que não tem muita idade, metem-no em cocoras, atados os joelhos com a barriga, en um pote em que elle caiba, e enterrem o porte na mesma casa debaixo do chão.»

[3]) T. 3, P. 82.

8:Nordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
764
765
171*
S
102
764
765

Map. 16. The distribution of urnburial in South-America.

● = Primary urnburial. ○ = Secondary urnburial. ■ = Primary and secondary urnburial, or a combination of both occur. □ = Urnburial occurs. Unknown if it is primary or secondary urnburial.

51Nordenskiöld E-5,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
764
171

Guarani in Paraguay. According to TECHO[1]) the dead were deposited in the ground. Earthenware bowls were inverted over the faces of the dead. Direct urn-burial is the typical mode of interment among the Chiriguano and Chané.

Coming to the Andine culture zone we find that urn-burial of adults has had a very wide distribution. Urn-burials of this kind have been found in the Argentine at Carmen in Valle de Lerma, in the province of Salta, at San Pedro in the province of Jujuy, at Pampa Grande and other places and on the coast of Peru at Ica, Ancon and Cañete. At Ica urn-burials seem to have been quite usual. UHLE, who made a careful examination of them assigns them to the later Ica period[2]). UHLE has also found urn-burial at Ancon from the period previous to the Inca.

Urn-burial of adults also occurs in several places on the coast of Equador. This mortuary custom has also been usual at the Rio Ucayali and at the Upper Amazon where it occurs alternately with secondary urn-burial. A combination of these two different kinds of urn-burial was practised by at least two tribes the Cocama and Passé. The dead body as a whole was first deposited in a large earthenware vessel and then when the flesh had decayed the bones were put in a smaller urn. Direct urn-burial seems to have reached some tribes near the Rio

1) »believing the souls are buried with the bodies, cover the faces of the dead with concave dishes» P. 670 I regret not to have had the opportunity of verifying this quotation from the original Latin edition.

2) (4), P. 365. Da hingegen sind die in der späteren Ica Zeit üblichen Bestattungen in Gestalt eiförmiger Mumienbündel, die in grosse irdene Töpfe gesetzt wurden, wohl als eine Fortbildung des ursprunglichen Proto-Nazca Typus zu betrachten. Erst die Inca brachten an der Küste wieder einen neuen Mumientypus auf, den man in Gräbern der mittelperuanischen Küste vielfach findet: regellos in allerhand Tücher eingeschlagene einfach gefaltete Körper.»

In a letter to me of the 27 September 1919 UHLE writes: »Natürlich gab es Unmassen von Urnengräber im Thale von Ica (letzte Zeit, zusammenfallend mit der incaischen.).»

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
764
171*

Branco from the Upper Amazon River. It is not known if direct or secondary urn-burial was practised in the Cauca-Valley.

In northern Argentine in the region of the Diaguita it has been quite a usual custom to bury children in prettily painted urns, whereas grown up people were buried in the earth. As I have already pointed out urn-burial of adults has not been uncommon in the Argentine. At Pampa Grande AMBROSETTI found face-urns containing skeletons of children above an urn with the skeleton of an adult. I used to incline to the belief that the last mentioned burial-urn belonged to an older cultural period than the infant burial-urns, because they were not found on the same level. This was most likely premature. Presumably all the burial-urns at this place are coeval, as AMBROSETTI[1]) assumes, in the same way as the skeleton found by BOMAN[2]) at Arroyo del Medio is presumably coeval with the infant burial-urns which he found above it.

At Pampa Grande adults have most likely been placed deeper down in the earth than the children. The same rough earthenware used for the big urns has also been employed for some of the infant burial-urns.

UHLE[3]) has endevaoured to make clear the relative ages of the cemeteries found in North Argentine and he comes to the conclusion, after having revised AMBROSETTI'S[4]) archaeological work from La Paya, that burial-urns of the Santa Maria type or of a type related to it went out of use during the Inca period or perhaps before it.

He points out that AMBROSETTI at Pampa Grande found no objects from the times of the Inca. So it is obvious that urn-burial began in a pre-Incan period both on the coast of Peru and in the Diaguita territory. *It follows from*

[1]) (5) P. 89.
[2]) P. 838.
[3]) (3).
[4]) (6).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,*(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
·Ce
764
*171

that I have said that it is not correct to describe urn-burial of adults as typical of the Tupi-Guarani Indians in particular. It is most likely a western cultural element which first spread eastwards to the east coast of S. America and then was carried back from east to west by the Chiriguano.

As has been already mentioned inhumation of adults in underground vaults as also in urns has been performed with the object of protecting the deceased from the weight of the earth. Interment in underground sepulchres has been extremely common throughout the whole of the western culture zone. Secondary burial of the bones in urns, baskets or some other receptacle must, as already mentioned, be based on quite a different conception. This mortuary custom as far as I know is not known from the western culture-zone.

The following table and map show the distribution of different kinds of urn-burial in S. America. On examining an urntomb it is not always easy to determine what kind of burial has been employed. Thus it has happened during my excavations that I have found urns in which the remains of the skeleton consisted of tiny fragments of bone. Some accounts of direct urn-burial of adults must probably be deemed very doubtful.

Schiaparelli R-8,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chirigano SF10
Chan SF8
South American Tablets SS

Table 19.

Urnburial in South America.

Number on the map.	Geographical distribution		Primary urn-burial.	Secondary urn-burial.	Only children buried in urns.	The face of the dead covered with concave dishes.	Literature
A.	Ancon; near Lima.	Peru.	×				UHLE (4 b) P. 30; BERTHON P. 58.
A.	Ica.	•	×				• (4) P. 365.
A.	Cañete.	•	×				BOMAN P. 261.
AE.	Rio Doce.	Brazil.	× ?				EHRENREICH (4) P. 65.
AF.	La Rioja.	Argentina.	×				AMEGHINO T. 1. P. 515.
E.	Chañar Yaco.	•	×				LAPOSTE QUEVEDO (4).
E.	Carmen de Lerma, Salta	•	×				BOMAN P. 255.
E.	Pampa Grande.	•	×				AMBROSETTI (5).
E.	Prov. Salta.	•	×				BOMAN P. 278.
E.	Santiago del Estero.	•	×				• P. 278.
E.	San Pedro, Jujuy.	•	×				• P. 259.
EA.	Guarayos.	Bolivia.	?	?			NORDENSKIÖLD (10).
EB.	Rio Guaporé.	Brazil.	?	?			• (11).
EC.	Ature.	Venezuela.		×			PREUSS. P. 39; GILIJ T. 2, P. 107
ED.	Las Pavas and Santa Rosa.	Columbia.	?				• P. 131.
EE.	Esmeralda, Manabi and Guayas.	Ecuador.	×				RIVET AND VERNEAU P. 126, after GONZALES DE LEÓN; BUCHWALD P. 8.
EF.	Bestween Arequipa and Puno.	Peru.	?				PREUSS P. 61.
EH.	Llo-lleo.	Central-Chile.	×				OYARZUN (2) P. 14.

EP.	Rio Uruguay.			×			TORRES (2) P. 402. Postcolombian. Bones painted.
EB.	Descalvado.	Matto-Grosso.		?			NARENFELDT P. 214.
M	Mosanda, Mojos.	Bolivia.		×			NORDENSKIÖLD (10).
N.	Upper Rio Purusá.		×				MAYNTZHUSEN P. 468; BOMAN P. 268.
O.	The delta of Purusá.		×				BOMAN P. 269.
R.	Valencia.	Venezuela.		×	•		MARCANO P. 10—11.
OV.	Xebero	Maynas.	×				[MARONI] P. 85.
OX.	Paulahata. Amaripa. Uajaro.	Rio Branco.	×				MARTIUS (1) P. 635.[1])
2E.	Geytana.	Rio Parahyba.	×				BOMAN P. 273.
3D.	Cocama.	Maynas.	×	×			[MARONI] P. 85.
4.	Chiriguano.	Bolivia.	×				
5.	Chané.	Bolivia. Argentina.	×				
6.	Mataro-Vejos.	• •	×				
6L.	Indians.	Rio Branco.		×			MARTIUS (1) P. 636.
7L.	Indians near	Cartagena.		×			OVIEDO T. II. P. 449.[2])
7P.	Oyampi, Palicurs.	French Guiana.		×			BOMAN P. 272.
8L.	Roamayna.	Maynas.		×			[MARONI] P. 85.
9X.	Pussé.	Amazonas.	×	×			ROTEIRO DA VIAGEM P. 50.
13.	Karajá.	Rio Araguaya.		×			KRAUSE P. 330—331.
31.	Rucuyennes. (Ojana)	Guiana.		×			CREVAUX P. 121.[3])

[1]) «Rings um den an einen Pfosten befestigten todten Körper wird in geeignetem Abstand Feuer unterhalten; zwei Indianer sind immer beschäftigt, alle Feuchtigkeit an ihm zu entfernen und rücken die Feuer, deren Rauch durch verbrannte Tabakblätter und Harze verwehrt wird, immer näher, bis eine vollkommen dürre Mumie bereitet ist, die man sofort in einer thönernen Urne begräbt.»

[2]) «é despues despedaçan los huessos, de la carne é quedan limpios embixanlos é meten los huessos é cabeças asi embixados en ollas é tinajas é asi los guardan en casa o de fuera junto á la casa». That is the oldest description of Urnburial known from S. America.

[3]) The corpse is burnt and the ashes are preserved in a jar which is afterwards buried.

Nordenskiöld E-8,4(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
South American Indians 53
C
CE
796
171*
S
796
765

Table 19.

Urnburial in South America.

Number on the map	Geographical distribution		Primary urn-burial.	Secondary urn-burial.	Only children buried in urns.	The bones of the dead covered with coarser dishes.	Literature
38.	Tupinambá.	Brazil.	×		×*		THEVET P. 118; PURCHAS P. 1093.?; VARGHNCELLOS P. LXXXIII; PRINCIPEO E ORDEM P. 105; SOARES DE SOUSA P. 308.?)
39.	Guajiro.	Colombia.		×			CANDELIER P. 220; BARTHES P. 438.
40.	Cariguna.	Rio Madeira.		×?			KELLER-LEUZINGER P. 104.
46.	Conibo.	Rio Ucayali.	×				DE CACQ P. 294.
66.	Omagua.	Maynas.		×			(MANORE) P. 65.
I.	Guarani.	Paraguay.	×				MONTOYA P. 50.
VO.	Jumana, Caixxana.	Amazonas.	×				MARTIUS (1) 480, P. 483.
Not on the map	Quimbaya.	Colombia.		×			RAFFRANO TIRADO P. 45.?)
»	Calaguá.	Misiones.				×	REPOGER P. 133.
»	Payaguá.	Rio Paraguay.				×	» P. 140; ASARA (1) T. 2, P. 1 43.
»	Puna de Jujuy.	Argentina.			×		ERIC VON ROSEN (4) P. 112.
»	Catamarca and other parts of Northern Argentina.				× *		BOMAN.
6d.	Northern Venezuela		×				SPONDER P. 327.
6e.	Prov. de Malleco and Cautin.	Southern Chile.	?				OVEVARA (1) P. 275.

Bibliotheca B-8,V(1898-1908, 1910) 1890
8810 Christmas 8810
Chem. 8F8
South America East/Bra. 23

M.	Manaos.	Rio Amazonas.	?				KELLER-LEUZINGER P. 56; MARTIUS (1) P. 496; KOCH-GRÜNBERG. Letter to the author.
c.	Marajó.			x			NEVES.
d.	Cunnany.	Brazil.		x			GOELDI.
e.	Pueb. Sara, Santa Cruz.	Bolivia.					NORDENSKIÖLD (10).
f.	São Paulo.	Brazil.	x				IHERING (4) P. 31; NERESINE P. 399.
g.	Island of Archa.		x	x			BOLLAE P. 274; JOBELIN DE JONG.
s.	Rio Grande do Sul.	South Brazil.	x ?	x			PEROON P. 131; BOLLAE P. 265; v. IHERING (1) P. 76.
Not on the map	Salpina.	Bolivia.			x		NORDENSKIÖLD (11).
t.	San Juan.	Argentina.			x		DEBENEDETTI (4) P. 183.
ba.	Sierra de Parija.	Venezuela.	?				DE BOUY (1) P. 400.
Not on the map	Rio Vaporé.	Brazil.	?				KOCH-GRÜNBERG (1) T. 2. P. 313.
v.	Tarapaya.	Bolivia.				x	NORDENSKIÖLD (11).
bc.	Kingó.	Brazil.		x			P. SCHMIDT P. 1075.

¶ A Treatise of Brazil, written by a Portugall which had long lived there. Purchas his pilgrimes. London 1625. «After he is dead they wash him and paint him verie brauely, as they paint their mauales: and after this they cover him with Cotton Varnes that nothing is seene of him, and put a covering over his face, and sitting they put him in a great Vessage or vessell that they have under the Earth for that purpose, and doe cover it in such manner that no Earth may come to him and the vessel they cover with earth, making him a house where everie day they carrie him meat.» The author probably *Manuel Trista* — see Enfermedades do Colegio da Baya.

¶ The corpse is buried and the ashes are preserved in a golden urn which is kept in a vault.

/157 cont./ One old woman who was supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by ethnographers either, the promise of the old woman was not very friendly, Ce 124 197 123 Ce

The Chané use their old language for many expressions that are abusive, for example, karitimisóyti, which they translate as son of a w---e. An invitation to coitus is called pocóne. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for example, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, which they did not know how to translate. 195 197 Ce [533] C

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief Taruiri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Taruiri I also visited another chief, Yumbay, an old worthy who was always embracing me and saying: "I am Yumbay." /Fig. 77 appears here./ "Yes, the great, mighty Yumbay," I chimed in, which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered. 114 126 C [123] C

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the mission at Ivu. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region, Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spreading into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in Ivu died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged frightfully among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix. Around this the other swine would get drunk and /159/ continue to drink obligos (1) until they were finally lying on the table. 797 164 114 133 [312] C [764] C [273]

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the latter must drink up. C [576]

Ce 752 /217 cont./ of boiling the water because they wanted to kill the macroscopic animals in it. The Chané sometimes use fresh leaves to bandage wounds.

Ee 764 Ee [763] If, in spite of the medicine man's efforts, the /218/ spell cannot be lifted and the Chané or Chiriguano Indian dies, he or she is buried under the hut in a large clay vessel. Before the dying one is quite dead, or immediately after death, he is flexed so that the knees come under the chin and the arms are laid crosswise over the chest. On the Rio Parapiti there lived for many years a Chané Indian who had been flexed in this way, but who, before he was stuffed into the grave urn, was saved by a white man. The deceased, dressed, with a water calabash at his knee, Ee [775] is set into the vessel. The water is supposed to be taken along by the deceased when he wanders about on the mountains, the Chané chief Vocapoy told me. The vessel is buried in the hut, and another vessel is put upside down over it as a lid.

Ee 768 At Tatarenda, near Yacuiba, I heard that the hut is burned down after the burial. This, however, is not the usual thing. On the contrary, the hut is abandoned for a time after the burial and then moved into again later on. This is what happened, for example, in a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro, where I was shortly after a burial.

Ce 764 Ece [415] The large maize-beer vessels (Fig. 113) are used as coffins. If there is a shortage of vessels, burial often takes place in another way. In a Chané village, Copéri, on the Rio Parapiti, a child was buried in a skin under the hut shortly before my arrival.

These Indians spend their lives on the graves of their dead relatives, and often the hut is so full that a later burial in old pots becomes necessary.

"The Christian carries his dead far from his house. We Indians, who feel a great love for them, keep them in our houses." That is approximately what Vocapoy once said to me when the conversation turned to this strange method of burial.

/218 cont./

766 754 825 If a Chiriguano is killed by a jaguar, he is /219/ buried with his head downward, so that he will not go about as such an animal. This notion of a jaguar who was a human being is widespread, especially among the Quichua /Quechua/, where this

764 415

Fig. 113. Chiriguano grave.
Caipipendi.

766 754 825 strange animal, as has been mentioned, is called uturunco (cf. p. 12 /untranslated/). If a fox howls at night near the village, someone will die.

763 825

Ec /219 cont./
765
302
[587]

If her husband dies, the wife is supposed to cut her hair short. /220/ If she loved him very much, she does it twice. It is not until her hair has grown long again that she may enter into another marriage. If her father or mother dies, she cuts her hair short; if her child, her brother, or brother-in-law dies, she cuts it moderately short. Long hair means that it reaches to the shoulders. My question as to whether the men also cut their hair in mourning was answered with laughter. They content themselves with shortening only the longest. The men may not marry until about a year after the death of the wife.

C
765
301

If the woman is in mourning, she wears no ornaments. When I was with Maringay, his daughter-in-law had lost her little child. Though all the other women in the village wore many necklaces, she did not have a single ornament. She also did not take part in any festivity.

Ea
764
177

The Indians whom the missionaries baptize do not always like having to bury their dead in a cemetery. They at least want the dead to have water with them in the grave.

One does not free oneself so easily from the old, inherited ideas, in order to exchange them for new ones. /Pl. 18 appears here./

/221/ Chapter Thirteen

000 On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Ugly Words, Homosexuality, Suicide, Sense of Modesty, etc.

In the language of the whites there are, as is well known, a number of words that may not be used in polite society. Persons of the same sex may mention certain parts of the body only by their Latin names, whereas persons of different sex, as a rule, do not speak of them at all to one another. One word may be regarded as ugly, whereas another word for the same thing may be used at will. The reason why a word is forbidden is undoubtedly often difficult to determine.

846 [844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 756 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 763 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [831] Choroti, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a [171] rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 648 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 134.
[2] Nordenskiöld (18).

C
Ce /34 cont./
756 most other Indians of South America, there is a professional
171 physician who is charged with the treatment of the sick, this
treatment in most cases consisting of sorcery among these
C Indians too. The physician attempts to dispel the evil by
Ce sucking out foreign objects which have penetrated the body of
755 the bewitched sick person. In addition to such treatment,
757 remedies are used among the Chiriguano and Chané, which,
[824] in addition to those made of plant substances, include the
[237] fat of various animals applied externally for different illnesses.
Ce The Chané treat wounds with boiling water.
752

Burial among the Chiriguano and Chané who live outside
C the missions is generally still done in urns, according to
Ce primordial custom. According to Nordenskiöld (149), the
764
415

149. Nord. 1, p. 208.

large pots in which chicha is prepared are also used as funeral urns, and another pot is used to close the urn. Often the dying person, even before being completely dead, or soon after death, is crammed into the urn in a squatting position. A calabash of water is placed with the dead person in the urn,
C which is buried within the house. Commonly the house, after
Ce the burial, is abandoned for some time, but is occupied again
768 later. Such a funeral urn of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi
C Valley is shown in a drawing by Erland Nordenskiöld (150).
764
415

150. Nord. 1, Fig. 113.

Up to half of the urn, which is provided with a cover, is disenterred. Nordenskiöld's statement that the Chiriguano use the same pots which serve for the preparation of meals as funeral urns is significant. From that we can deduce that a funeral urn found in other regions might also have served, during the lifetime of the dead person buried in it, some other purpose related to the economy of those Indians.

/53 cont./

12. Funerary Urns

•764
415

In the chapter on the treatment of illnesses and burial, I have already dealt with the Chiriguano custom of placing their dead inside funerary urns and of closing these with other vessels. According to Nordenskiöld (232), the large baked clay

232. Nord. 1, p. 278.

vessels used for preparing and keeping chicha also serve as funerary urns. Because among those Indians burial in funerary urns is a direct burial, that is, the entire corpse is placed within the urn, the vessels selected for funerary urns must be large enough to have room for the corpse of an adult. Un-
[126] fortunately, I was unable to bring such large vessels from Machareti. The largest of the vessels that I brought, 52 cm. and 62 cm. in height, are not big enough for an adult, and in particular their apertures on top, which measure only up to 24 cm., are too small to be able to squeeze in a dead person. Therefore, with reference to funerary urns and their respective tops, I refer to the drawing made by Nordenskiöld (233). Outes

233. Nord. 1, Fig. 113.

has published a Chiriguano vessel with a height of 27.5 cm. and an aperture on top of 27.5 cm., which had served as a funerary urn for a small child. With the urn was found a small baked clay dish approximately 6 cm. high (234).

234. Felix F. Outes, op. cit., p. 135 and Figs. 30 and 31.

Outes' data show that the vessels of the Chiriguano can reach quite large dimensions (235). Among the vessels

235. Felix F. Outes, op. cit., pp. 127 and 128.

C /53 cont./
764 described by him there is one which is 92 cm. high and has
415 an aperture at the top 70 cm. in diameter. Another is 110 cm. high and its maximum diameter measures 85 cm. In 1845, in Capirendá, Wedell found such vessels with a height of 120 cm. and a maximum diameter of 100 cm. for the wall of the belly.

C
415
126

13. Various Vessels with No Indication Regarding Their Purpose, from the Collection

I. A. 410 (Chirig.). Ht. 14.5 cm. Max. dia. 8 cm. Apert. 5 cm. (Fig. 81b).
I. A. 411 ("). Ht. 13.5 cm. Length 21 cm. (Fig. 81a).
Ce I. A. 597 (Izozó). " 10.5 cm. Max. dia. 16.7 cm. Apert. 15 cm. (Fig. 72).
415
126 I. A. 599 (") " 9 cm. " " 13 cm. " 10 cm. (Fig. 70a).

C
Ce
415
177

We have no evidence regarding the purpose of these four vessels which are different in form from the other types of vessels. We must regard the small, double vessel I. A. 411 (cf. Fig. 81a /see p.144/) as a special result of the mixture of various, but different cultural elements. The way in which the two small dishes are joined to form a double vessel /54/ corresponds to ancient Peruvian models, while the form of the handle, fitted with a ring, is doubtless an addition of European origin. The whole has the form of a salt cellar and was perhaps made to be sold to the whites for this purpose. We must also consider the vessel I. A. 410 (cf. Fig. 81b /see p.144/) as merchandise, while the two vessels I. A. 597 and 599 seem to be manufactured for some use in festivities.

C
Ce
[439]

Baked Clay Spindle Whorls

C
Ce
283
323

The spindle whorls collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó are of baked clay or wood, and the Chiriguano also have some spindles with stone whorls. Because I shall deal with spindle whorls in the chapter on spinning, I wish only to

Chaco Indians SK4
Chiriguano SF10

Cha 764 172

with many bodies in it.

In the mountains of Salta and in the highlands of Jujuy there are graves ("Huacas") in the shape of small vaulted stone ovens (2) similar to those used in that locality by the country

2. Also called "trojes" ["granaries"--Translator].

people. There are often as many as three bodies in these graves squatting on their haunches and wrapped or covered with clothes and sometimes having beside them pans containing objects of silver and gold. Nowadays the Christian Indians descended from those Indians who were under the sway of Perú and the Incas, hunt around among these graves and gather the bones so as to have masses said for them (so they say) but they almost always find that the greed of others has been there before them so that although they find the bones they rarely come upon the precious objects which were buried with them. One cannot say what kind of clothing they wore for as soon as the graves are uncovered contact with the air reduces all to dust.

The Chiriguanos of the Bolivian Chaco also place their dead in large pots or jars and bury them beneath the floor of their huts. Each house is thus a habitation for both the living and the dead and, be this either a cause or an effect, or both in combination, the fact is that the Chiriguanos are not nomadic. They paint the above mentioned jars with great care, the jars being of various types and variously decorated in accord with the wealth of the family concerned. The pots are fired and the glazing material, which is a sort of red, bad smelling tar, is applied either on [206] the unbaked or baked clay. If the former, the result is a more shiny, light colored finish, if the latter, then the end product is of a darker hue.

Chi 764

Chi [323]

On the lid of the buried jar a fire is kept going for a whole month, doubtless (if this report is true) to destroy the foul gases given off by the rotting body.

Those Chiriguanos who are poor and cannot afford these jars bury their dead in a trench inside the hut and then move away until the bad odor has ceased.

142
291
302
301
765

142
292
301
302

Plate V

1. Iwawasei. Chiriguano Indian girl from the region of Caruruti (near the middle course of the Parapití River). Her hair is cut short as a sign of mourning for the death of an aunt. (Photo. A. M.)

2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the village of Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo). She has put on her festival clothes and sports her most beautiful necklaces. (On her chest, necklace of silver coins.) (Photo. A. M.)

1: Métraux--50 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/355 cont./

142
291
351
392

Fig. 26. Chiriguano woman lighting a fire. Upper Pilcomayo. (Photo. A. M.)

262
[075] do not hunt nor eat this animal (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 3).

[756] Medicine men cannot under any circumstances eat pimento. If a man refuses to taste this condiment, one can be sure he is a magician (id., p. 184).

[765] Grilled corn is strictly forbidden for persons in mourning, whose tears would dry up if they ate this dish.

[825] the exclusive right to eat deer meat, which thus instilled in them
[789] the agility and suppleness of this animal. Women could eat, without

/357 cont./

252 A rudimentary way of preparing corn, but also little valued, consists of boiling the kernels in water for a long time until they have become soft (atiruru) (3).

262
881
765
846

3. Atiruru is a dish whose consumption is intimately associated with the observance of magico-religious prohibitions. It is the only permissible nourishment for girls when they have their first menstrual periods, for people in mourning, and for women for a period of ten days after giving birth (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 14).

252 /358/ The Chiriguano make a broth with corn flour (api)
262 and meat, which is not bad.

They do not use haphazardly the 11 varieties of corn which they cultivate. Each, according to its properties, is intended for the preparation of a definite dish. Yellow corn (avati-hendi-vaé or avati-iyu-vaé) serves for making chicha or corn beer; white corn (avati-ndi) is roasted, as is avati-kanana. The corn called katšintši, or crinkled corn, is generally roasted, as are avati-tšore and avati-saimpini (gray corn), which are intended to be roasted and made into flour.

262 Avati-rai, or small corn, is planted only in times of scarcity when the harvest has been bad. Of small stature, it yields only one ear of reduced size, but has the advantage of growing fast (Nino, pp. 241-242).

A Chiriguano's meal in normal times is not made up exclusively of corn, even if this grain figures in all his menus. The popularity which corn has is also shared by beans, or kumanda. The Chiriguano cultivate 11 varieties of them also.

The Chiriguano eat beans either dry or fresh. In the
[252 latter case they are cooked in the pod in water or under ashes.
263] Beans boiled in the pod are seasoned with pimento. Then one has the dish called sopiriwa.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had
304 his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "á, á" for the masculine "tá." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

851 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before mar-
191 riage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective
983 father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride serv-
191 ice, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapetí River a few decades ago. The bride-
591 groom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

595 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of
622 wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many
556 cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and
764 dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate.
765 The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

754
756 /147 cont./
731 According to the story of Guaretai, the choncho is the
825 father of good sorcerers, especially those who make it rain, and
796 the chena is the father of bad sorcerers, or those who hold back the rain. In any public calamity in certain places, all the Indians will gather around the Ipaye, or sorcerer, so that the calamity may cease. If this continues despite the sorcerer's promise and he is unable to blame anyone else for his impotence, as the choncho did, he is killed with blows and burned without pity, but if he can blame it on another chena, the latter will suffer the capital punishment, and his protests of innocence or ignorance will be of no avail. Such is the fury of the mob when they are exalted by the harangues of the good Ipaye!

825 Before passing on from these feared and respected birds, I
787 shall say in passing that at night a whitish bird that they call
763 Tetê walks and flies about. When they see it, it is a sure sign to the Indians that in some house the women are about to cut their hair as a sign of mourning, that is, that someone in the town will die. As for the small owl /lechuza/, Suinda, the beliefs of the Chiriguano are the same as those of the common people of Europe and America, the differences among them being slight (1).

•765 1. As will be seen, mourning among the Chiriguano women consists of cutting their hair and wearing the dirtiest rag on their heads. Mourning is always complete, that is, they observe strict mourning for any dead person.

756 /148/ Good sorcerers, represented by the choncho, are very
754 compassionate, and they do everything possible so that the race may enjoy good health, fortune, good crops, without experiencing hunger or epidemics, while bad sorcerers bring every evil to the poor Chiriguano. They hold back rain and order epidemics, as well as hunger and death. Bad sorcerers are called Mbaecuá.

754 The Chiriguano does not die because it is so decreed, because
760 it is a condition of human nature; he does not die as a result of sin of the first man. He dies because bad sorcerers exist; without

/212 cont./

736 very easily manages to make the milk come down. She
603 grinds watermelon seed or sarsaparilla root, Isipocagua, and
824 washes herself repeatedly, squeezing herself over or above her
853 breasts, and makes the famished child suck continuously for several days, and in a short time she achieves the desired result. Sometimes even young women lose their milk. They then look for the root and juice of the sámolo, or cipoi, wash the breasts with this juice, and succeed in nursing their children again (2).

2. In the confirmation administered by the Bishop in October, 1909, in Ivu Mission, an old woman of some 60 years of age presented her granddaughter, whom she had nursed. She is still alive, and so is the twin granddaughter, although not very strong.

Joy and Grief

855 For the Chiriguano race their joy at the birth of a male child is the same as at that of a female child, because if the former helps his father in field chores and in hunting and fishing, the latter helps her mother in household chores, and the father as much as the grandfather very much like to eat meal which has been ground by the hands /213/ of their daughter
•765 or granddaughter. If either one dies, the grief that the old
855 people feel is very heavy. I witnessed many times a mother's agonies of grief over the death of her son and the profound feeling of the father over the irreparable loss of his idolized daughter.

797 What I am going to relate will better convince my
758 readers. In the month of July in the year 1909, a rabid dog
164 at the girls' school of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission bit Cecilia Yaguándai slightly and Ana Yarandui and Delina Aragúndai more severely. The two latter, younger than the

/214/

753 had asked for her as his wife, a proposal which had not been
754 accepted; but it must be noted that the Indians attribute every death to sorcery.

765 The loss of this child was greatly mourned by relatives
[764] and others, and her parents, who loved her very much, burned all of the clothes and things that she had, in addition to having buried with her the best and abundant clothing which her father had just brought her from the Argentine Republic. The girl had three donkeys which had been given to her by her father. They sold them in order not to see them any more, in order not to be reminded of their late daughter each moment and immediately weep.

855 I have related this event so that my readers may know
765 that the Chiriguano love their children whether male or female, so that they may see the grief they feel, and so that they may know that in case of hydrophobia the medicine which I administered to the girls Ana and Delina is a good remedy: after the last fever they are now completely well (1).

114

1. If some new missionary or other readers may not know of it, let them now know that ammonia drunk as drops in water and placed on snake bites and bites of other poisonous animals or insects is very efficacious. In ignorance of having been bitten by a spider, I suffered the consequences for seven months and got well as soon as I applied ammonia to it. For another bite I used ink very efficaciously: it is enough to paint the bitten part with it.

845 Deformed Children
847
732 It is not easy to ascertain why the Chiriguano kill their children who are born deformed. Some writers have stated that they do it so that all will be valiant warriors, but this reason is not satisfactory because deformed women are not found either, and certainly women are not good for war.

/292 cont./

Mourning

•765 The interment over, they cry all that day, until the sun sets and night comes: then everyone goes home, only the closest [785] relatives staying to weep. Fasting, already mentioned, lasts for [302] three days, and on the first day after the burial all the women relatives cut off their hair and lay it on the grave. While cutting it off they look toward the east. The hair stays on the grave for some time, and later they take it off, and, if they burn it, it is [826] not on the grave, but away. They prefer not to burn it, however, because they would feel heat /293/ on their heads. If they notice or sense some noise coming from the hole, they heat a stone, put it on top, and the noise stops (1).

764 765

1. If the deceased is a cacique, they all weep until dawn, and afterward they meet every night for about a week.

765 They also put on the grave the tembeta, the bag, and the weapons which belonged to the deceased, such as his lance or some kind of saber, bows and arrows, so that he will not go looking for them, and when for any reason they leave the house alone, they put over the hole the pestle of the mortar, and, if this is done, the deceased will not move from his place. The souls of [775] those who have died in a bad way, for example, suicides, walk about continually, find no rest, go howling at set hours, and are, according to what they believe, demons or their companions.

The dead person's nearest relatives sincerely grieve over the disappearance of the deceased, as the tears and sorrow shown on their faces prove. If, instead of a man, it is a woman who disappears from among the living, the widower feels the same grief: if the dead woman leaves small children, the picture that the house presents is truly heart-rending, the house where the morning sun will not find present the mother who so tenderly cared for her little ones (2).

2. The children demand to go back and they

/293 cont./

•765 are allowed to when the burial is over: an aunt accompanies them, especially a maternal one if they have one, and stays in the house for a while, if she does not have children of her own.

They look for her in vain, silent and confused, and not even the tenderness of an aunt, who must swallow her own tears in silence, can distract them from their thoughts. When she hears the motherless ones looking for and asking for the one who was the author of their days, she answers the poor creatures with emotion, and even with force, that she will soon return, either from a nearby town or from the field, and meanwhile tears run down her cheeks, giving the lie to her pretended serenity. But the innocent little ones do not understand and continue with their questions, looking at the aunt dismayed and even frightened. What a sad picture!

768 587 When it is a woman who leaves her husband a widower with children, naturally in a short time he must find another wife who will serve as mother to the motherless children and take care of the house, because a man cannot attend to the things which are the domain of a woman. For a short time he can get his close relatives to attend to such things, but they soon get tired or return to the duties of their own home. Then the widower must look for another woman privately and without hurting the feelings /294/ of the neighbors, who naturally understand the distress of the widower who, if he has a mother or an unmarried sister, does not take such a step and tries to abstain from a second marriage as long as he can, but in every case before the year ends he will have found a new companion to brighten his days and make his life pleasanter (1).

768 587 573 602 855

1. The widower tries to marry a sister of the deceased or a close relative, so that she will have affection for the motherless children. When a new wife is tyrannical or is thrown out, either some other relatives of the deceased or of the widower himself take care of the children; the Chiriguano feel deeply the suffering of bereaved children.

/294 cont./

765 589 If it is a woman who is widowed, it is the law of the race that she must observe mourning for a period of one year, without it being permitted to shorten this period for any pretext whatsoever. After having wept for her departed husband for a whole [302] day and after the burial is over, as has been said, she cuts off her hair and deposits it on the grave, where it remains for a long time, which I have not established exactly. This is the best 589 765 offering that a widow can make to her late husband, and whether 577 or not she loved him, it is a law which she must observe; other- 302 wise she would incur the scorn of the people of the town, who would wonder at her conduct, she would lose her reputation, and the relatives of the deceased would resent it very much; they would take the children whom she loves so much away from her, and it would be hard for her to remarry.

765 As a sign of mourning, a loving widow, as well as one who 589 is not, finds the dirtiest and most ragged piece of cloth that she [292] has in the house and puts it on her head; she wears this during the entire period of her widowhood. One who arrives in a Chiriguano town for the first time will wonder about this piece of apparel and ask about its significance, because there is always some woman who is wearing mourning for her husband, her son, or her brother, if it is not for her father or mother. Finally, the widow is condemned to cry day and night for one long year, and one who does not cry as she should incurs the wrath of the relatives of the dead man. When I was a missionary in Santa Rosa, the cacique Yarituí died of nothing less than malignant smallpox. The widow cried for him so much and so loudly at the beginning that very soon she became hoarse. Nonetheless, the relatives complained of her actions, accusing her of little love (2).

2. The weeping during mourning is done by the woman four times a day, at sunrise, noon, sunset, and at some time around midnight. At this last hour it is very sad.

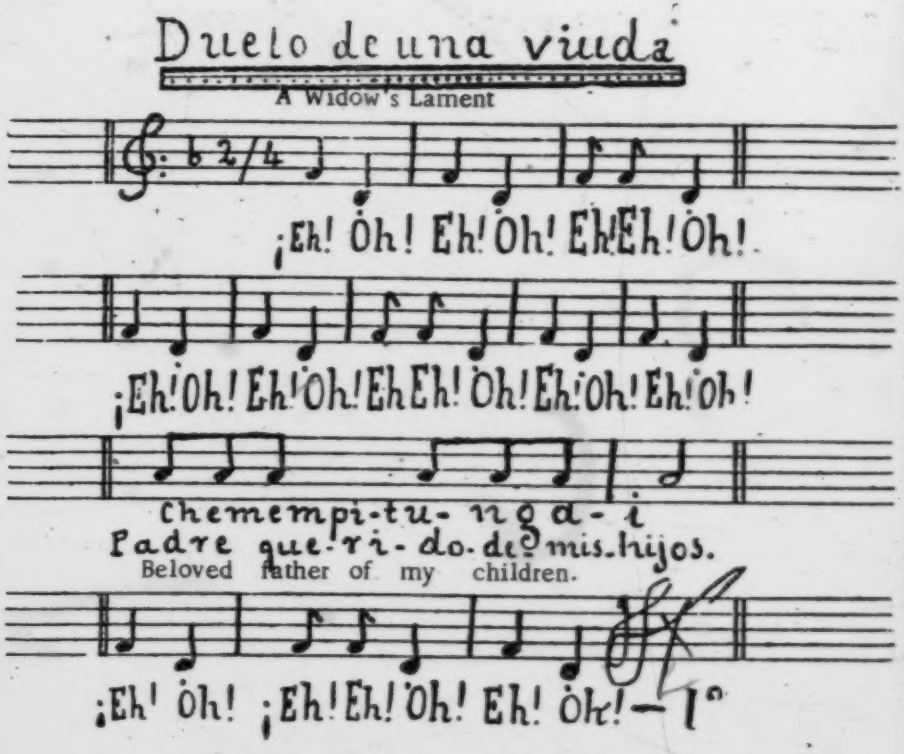
/296/

If while asleep they sometimes dream of the dead one, very soon the widow, or whoever the dreamer is, gets up and makes a commotion, which lasts for several minutes. Also, when one

/295 cont./

765 589 of the relatives comes from afar to the house of the departed, he does not greet anyone, but asks where the grave is, goes there, and, crouching down with his face toward the wall, cries for several minutes, and, when this is over, he then greets the living and the conversation begins in subdued tones.

589 765 539 [171] The song, as well as the way of weeping for the dead, is the same in all the tribes, but there are some small differences, as happens in the language itself.



1. If the deceased is a grandchild, she says: Chinamanino ngai! Beloved grandchild! And if it is a son or daughter: Chemempi mi ngai! Beloved son or daughter!

/295 cont./

765 589 When the year of mourning ends, the widow continues her silence until one of the relatives of the deceased visits her with all respect as a person worthy of veneration, because she has wept much and with grief for the dead; he tells her that this is now enough, that she can go out and again appear at the public drinkings, since this visit takes place two or three days before some general drinking affair. The widow makes them ask her many times and once more reflects on the virtues /296/ and greatness of the husband she has lost through death; she curses the bad sorcerers and poisons, finally consenting to stop mourning, leave the house, and take part in the coming fiesta (1).

1. During the year of mourning the widows are continually cloistered in their homes, coming out only when they have to; they go to the spring for water and to the field for food.

[302] [301] [292] During the year the hair has grown out at least some 30 centimeters; she then removes the rag from her head, combs her hair carefully, puts the well-known cosmetic on her face and feet, adorns her neck and arms with necklaces and bracelets, dresses in her best tipoy, and goes out with some woman friend. In this first appearance she does not take part in the dancing or singing, so that all may know that she still feels the absence of her husband, and all respect her silence. Only afterwards does her public life begin anew, like the rest, that is, she sings and dances as before.

587 589 A few weeks later, if someone should ask her to be his wife, she will probably consent, if she is still young and has small children, because the reader can imagine the suffering of a widow, 797 who must seek food for herself and her little ones. Oh, how often have silent tears run down my face on seeing the tears of 736 widows and fatherless children who, for lack of food, not knowing whom to ask for aid, have come to the missionary or to one superior to them to ask for help! How could one deny it? Only a heart of bronze could have done so.

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

XIV.

Stained Teeth.

It was already related by VIEDMA[1]) that the Chiriguano stain their teeth. I have seen Chiriguano women in the Caipipendi valley stain their teeth a blackish blue with the leaves of a plant called »tajú«. LASCH has made a study of the custom of staining the teeth among S. American Indians. He speaks of this custom from Cumaná, quoting GOMARA, according to which author the women stained their teeth at the death of their husbands.[2]) He further mentions that this custom prevails among the Miraña,[3]) the Piro,[4]) the Goajiro[5]) and the Arawaks[6]) in Guiana. To this I can, as shown by the map and table below, make several additions.

302
171 *
[115]

[1]) P. 181.

[2]) I have looked through all available editions of GOMARA in order to find this statement, but in vain. What I have been able to find about stained teeth in GOMARA P. 205—206 I give here. [114]

»Préclance de tener muy negros los dientes, y llaman mujer al que los tiene blancos, como en Curiana . . . . Hacen negros los dientes con zumo ó polvo de hojas de árbol, que llaman ahi los cuales . . . . . a los quince anos, cuando comienzan á levantar la cresta toman estas yerbas en la boca, y traenlas hasta ennegrecer los dientes como el carbon; dura despues la negrura toda la vida.»

[3]) From MARTIUS.

[4]) » RADSONDI.

[5]) » WAITZ.

[6]) » MARTIUS (1). He writes. T. 1, P. 691, »Schwärzung der Zähne, die GOMARA, Cap. 73, von den alten Cumanesen angiebt soll hier auch vorgekommen sein.» This statement seems so vague, that I have not indicated it on the map. As far as I know it is not confirmed by other authors writing on the same Indians.

SeNordenskiöld E-5,y(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XXVII.

Urn-Burial.

C
Ce
764

The Chiriguano and Chané bury their dead in urns. The geographical distribution of interment in urns has been treated by several authors, particularly by PREUSS, BOMAX, OUTES, TORRES and PATER SCHMIDT. We can distinguish between two different methods of urn-burial in America. In one case the whole body has been stuffed into the urn, in the second the urn was only used for after-interment of the fleshless, and not unfrequently, painted bones. This secondary burial of the bones naturally requires smaller urns than those needed when the whole body is put into them. In some places children have been deposited in urns and adults in another manner.

C
Ce
764
765
*171

It is natural that the conceptions on which direct or secondary urn-burial are based must be very different. The secondary burial of the bones in baskets instead of urns is of course more in conformity with this latter mortuary custom than immediate burying in urns. Secondary interment in baskets and in urns can also occur in the same cemetery. The basket is a substitute for the urn or vice versa[1]).

The essential thing in the secondary burial of the bones is their preservation which is considered most important. The direct interment in urns resembles burial in stone vaults and the like. The whole body is to be preserved, not only the bones. This should be kept in mind when we study the distribution of different kinds of urn-graves. EHRENREICH[2])

[1]) KARL V. D. STEINEN (3) P. 304.
[2]) (5).

6tNordenskiöld E-8,4(1908-1909. 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
Ce
764
765
171*

and above all BOMAN have assumed that urn-burial of adults is a Guarani custom. The latter supports this statement by the fact that this mode of burial is supposed to be very uncommon in the western zone of civilization and that it was chiefly used by the Guarani-Tupi tribes.

C
Ce
764
171*

As this mode of burial is characteristic of the Indians I am treating of here, I will take up the question for closer examination and endeavour to make a map of the distribution of differents modes of urn-burial in S. America. Some finds of burial-urns, lately made by UHLE, makes the origin of direct urn-burial a subject which ought to be brought up for discussion again. I will here endeavour to show that direct urn-burial is chiefly an element of western culture, which most likely spread to the Tupi-Guarani tribes at a comparatively late period.

The Tupi-Indians on the coast of Brazil had this form of burial. This was, however, not the commonest mode of interment there. Direct burial in the earth was more usual as pointed out by TORRES.[1])

LERY,[2]) YVES D'EVREUX,[3]) CLAUDE D'ABBEVILLE[4]) PERO DE MAGALHAES[5]) and NOBREGA[6]) only mention burial directly in the ground. Of these LERY is one of the greatest authoes of the 16th century who has written about the Tupi-Indians on the coast of Brazil. THEVET,[7]) VASCONCELLOS,[8]) the author of *Principio e origem dos indios de Brazil*,[9])

[1]) (2) P. 400.

[2]) P. 384. «Apres que la fosse aura esté faite, mon pas longue à mestre rande, ains ronde et profonde comme un grand tonneau à tenir le vin, le corps qui aussi incontinent apres estre expiré, aura esté plié, les bras et les lambes liez à l'entour, mys ainsi enterré pressque *tout chibouc*.»

[3]) P. 126.

[4]) P. 329.

[5]) P. 210.

[6]) P. 93.

[7]) P. 219.

[8]) P. LXXXIII.

[9]) P. 175.

8:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

C
Ce
764
765
171*
S
102
764
765

Map. 16. The distribution of urnburial in South-America.

● = Primary urnburial. ○ = Secondary urnburial. ■ = Primary and secondary urnburial, or a combination of both occur. □ = Urnburial occurs. Unknown if it is primary or secondary urnburial.

/179 cont./
ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla, and many other things.

It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all night, as in a Choroti or Ashluslay village. The young men and the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they

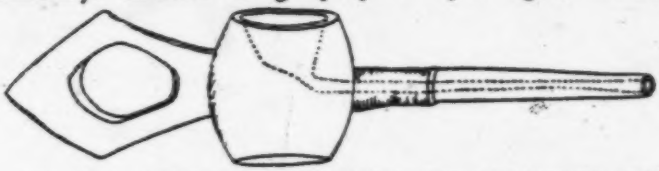


Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2.

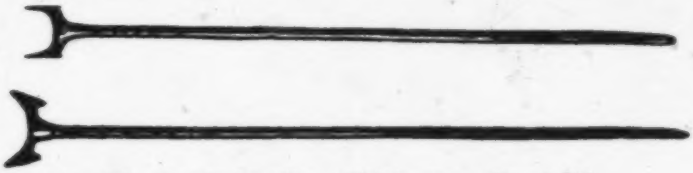


Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

are not busy brewing maize for a festival.

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, the men somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a truly refreshing bath.

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Rio Itiyuro the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Rio Parapiti in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also

Ec /219 cont./

765 302 [587] If her husband dies, the wife is supposed to cut her hair short. /220/ If she loved him very much, she does it twice. It is not until her hair has grown long again that she may enter into another marriage. If her father or mother dies, she cuts her hair short; if her child, her brother, or brother-in-law dies, she cuts it moderately short. Long hair means that it reaches to the shoulders. My question as to whether the men also cut their hair in mourning was answered with laughter. They content themselves with shortening only the longest. The men may not marry until about a year after the death of the wife.

C 765 301 If the woman is in mourning, she wears no ornaments. When I was with Maringay, his daughter-in-law had lost her little child. Though all the other women in the village wore many necklaces, she did not have a single ornament. She also did not take part in any festivity.

Ea 764 177 The Indians whom the missionaries baptize do not always like having to bury their dead in a cemetery. They at least want the dead to have water with them in the grave.

One does not free oneself so easily from the old, inherited ideas, in order to exchange them for new ones. /Pl. 18 appears here./

/221/ Chapter Thirteen

000 On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Ugly Words, Homosexuality, Suicide, Sense of Modesty, etc.

In the language of the whites there are, as is well known, a number of words that may not be used in polite society. Persons of the same sex may mention certain parts of the body only by their Latin names, whereas persons of different sex, as a rule, do not speak of them at all to one another. One word may be regarded as ugly, whereas another word for the same thing may be used at will. The reason why a word is forbidden is undoubtedly often difficult to determine.

seen any Chiriguano using this typical ancient Andean garment. Ponchos of the cloak type, and robes of the kind used by the Chaco Indians, on the other hand, I have seen worn by the Chiriguano men, who put them on against cold and wet. Formerly the Chiriguano men dressed in the »chiripa», which was a rectangular skirt that was fastened in front to a cord tied round the waist, then passed between the legs, and fixed to the cord above the buttocks. One may still see, here and there, some small boy wearing nothing but this primitive garment. On their heads the men often wear a broad, red. turbanlike frontlet (fig. 194), and, when setting out on long marches, they put on their feet sandals, the straps of which bear distinct resemblance to straps on sandals that have been found in ancient graves on Puna de Jujuy.[1]

Fig. 195. Chiriguano boy with long, flowing hair. San Luis, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

The women also possess sandals, but, like the men, generally walk about barefooted. The women's clothing consists of a loose-fitting, tubular garment made of woollen, or cotton, stuff. It is called »tipoy». The upper part of it is pinned together over the shoulders by means of cactus spines or metal pins, in the manner seen in fig. 190, which leaves the arms free, or the garment may be fastened under the armpits in the way the girl in fig. 194 is wearing it.

Nowadays the men mostly wear their hair bobbed, and with a frontal fringe (fig. 194), but I have seen boys, not fully grown, with long hair, hanging loose down (fig. 195). In former days all the men had long hair, which they gathered on the top of the head, where it was secured with a frontlet, a custom not yet quite discarded in some out-of-the-way parts of the country. The women let their hair grow long, give it a centre parting on the top of the head (fig. 190), plait it into tresses and tie it up, or allow it to hang loose. One may sometimes see girls with short hair (fig. 194), but in such cases the hair has been cut short as a sign that its owner has entered upon her first menstruation. On the death of a near relative it is also the custom of the women to cut off their hair.

Fig. 196. Wooden comb. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/3. Ekom. 03. 3. 829.

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), fig. 13; von Rosen (3), fig. 84.

[footnote 1 appears on p. 200 -- An.]

/25 cont./

C
Ce
302

Cutting and Combing the Hair, and Head Adornment

The women wear their hair plaited into long or medium long braids hanging down to their shoulders (113). As can be

113. See Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Plates XI and XII.

seen in Figures 4, 5, and 12 and in the photographs of Chiriguano women published by Lehmann-Nitsche, the hair of the women and girls is always parted over the forehead. The girls always have such a part from childhood. (See Fig. 8 /see p. 28/.) At the time of the first menstruation, the girls' hair is cut short (114), and the women also cut their hair in the

C
Cs
[881]
[965]

114. Nord. 1, p. 210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 201.

event of the death of the husband or one of their close relatives; sometimes they cut it twice when the husband dies (115).

115. Nord. 1, p. 220.

C
Ce
301
126

At the nape of the neck, and sometimes also at the top of the head, the hair is tied together with cotton bands. The collection which I brought to the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay contains 29 of these bands used by Izozó women, all of which have the same typical form.

Ce
301

Bands for Women's Hair, from the Collection

(I. A. 624-652.) (Izozó.) (I. A. 646 and 641 shown in Fig. 32a and b.)

The length of these bands for the hair, on the average, is 1.04 cm. /sic/. The longest band measures 1.45 meters, and the shortest, 0.65 meters. The average length of the tassels is 14.3 cm. The longest tassel measures 17.5 cm.; the shortest, 9 cm.

/292 cont./

Mourning

765 The interment over, they cry all that day, until the sun sets and night comes; then everyone goes home, only the closest [785] relatives staying to weep. Fasting, already mentioned, lasts for [302] three days, and on the first day after the burial all the women relatives cut off their hair and lay it on the grave. While cutting it off they look toward the east. The hair stays on the grave for some time, and later they take it off, and, if they burn it, it is [826] not on the grave, but away. They prefer not to burn it, however, because they would feel heat /293/ on their heads. If they notice or sense some noise coming from the hole, they heat a stone, put it on top, and the noise stops (1).

766 765

1. If the deceased is a cacique, they all weep until dawn, and afterward they meet every night for about a week.

765 They also put on the grave the tembeta, the bag, and the weapons which belonged to the deceased, such as his lance or some kind of saber, bows and arrows, so that he will not go looking for them, and when for any reason they leave the house alone, they put over the hole the pestle of the mortar, and, if this is done, the deceased will not move from his place. The souls of [775] those who have died in a bad way, for example, suicides, walk about continually, find no rest, go shouting at set hours, and are, according to what they believe, demons or their companions.

The dead person's nearest relatives sincerely grieve over the disappearance of the deceased, as the tears and sorrow shown on their faces prove. If, instead of a man, it is a woman who disappears from among the living, the widower feels the same grief; if the dead woman leaves small children, the picture that the house presents is truly heart-rending, the house where the morning sun will not find present the mother who so tenderly cared for her little ones (2).

2. The children demand to go back and they

/218 cont./

766 754 825 If a Chiriguano is killed by a jaguar, he is /219/ buried with his head downward, so that he will not go about as such an animal. This notion of a jaguar who was a human being is widespread, especially among the Quichua /Quechua/, where this

764 415

Fig. 113. Chiriguano grave.
Caipipendi.

766 754 825 strange animal, as has been mentioned, is called uturunco (cf. p. 12 /untranslated/). If a fox howls at night near the village, 763 825 someone will die.

The bodies of those who have been executed for repeated murder are flung out on the ground or else burned.

Some Indians, among them the Chirionoses (1) who live on

1. Tribes of the Chiriguano type. (Ed.)

the Bolivian or Brazilian frontiers, bury their dead in the trunks of trees. To this end they go into the thickest parts of the forest, choose out a yuchan tree, which has a bottle shaped trunk and is as soft as cork, fell it and place the corpse inside it, covering it over well to keep the crows from getting at it. When the Fort Sarmiento road was opened up a short time ago one of these burial trees was found, quite by chance.

The Matacos make a practice of burying their dead under ground, although some tribes, those towards the east who live close to the Tobas, burn them. This practice, one would suppose, is one which they have in common with the Tobas.

It is to be supposed that the beliefs held by the Matacos in this matter of interment are also held by the other wild Indians with whom they are continually in fighting contact, either as allies or as enemies, and with whom they share the same spirit cult.

Now the Matacos, as has been said, believe that the soul of the dead has no rest until the body has been buried within tribal territory. I have no reason to believe that an exception is made for those who die in battle. They believe also that the soul, which they call "hésék" (they give the name of "tzan" to the body, and "hót" to a corpse) does not descend into the earth to be with its companions until the body has decomposed, either by rot or by fire. They say that until this happens the soul wanders about around the family hut, sometimes becoming visible and complaining about its lot.

This business of the appearance of souls (or ghosts) and their cries of lamentation is the subject of a great deal of foolish old wives' tales among them, almost to the point of their not talking about anything else, and I would wager that it is the cause of as much fright among them as it is amongst us.

/293 cont./

765 are allowed to when the burial is over; an aunt accompanies them, especially a maternal one if they have one, and stays in the house for a while, if she does not have children of her own.

They look for her in vain, silent and confused, and not even the tenderness of an aunt, who must swallow her own tears in silence, can distract them from their thoughts. When she hears the motherless ones looking for and asking for the one who was the author of their days, she answers the poor creatures with emotion, and even with force, that she will soon return, either from a nearby town or from the field, and meanwhile tears run down her cheeks, giving the lie to her pretended serenity. But the innocent little ones do not understand and continue with their questions, looking at the aunt dismayed and even frightened. What a sad picture!

•768 587 When it is a woman who leaves her husband a widower with children, naturally in a short time he must find another wife who will serve as mother to the motherless children and take care of the house, because a man cannot attend to the things which are the domain of a woman. For a short time he can get his close relatives to attend to such things, but they soon get tired or return to the duties of their own home. Then the widower must look for another woman privately and without hurting the feelings /294/ of the neighbors, who naturally understand the distress of the widower who, if he has a mother or an unmarried sister, does not take such a step and tries to abstain from a second marriage as long as he can, but in every case before the year ends he will have found a new companion to brighten his days and make his life pleasanter (1).

768 587 593 602 855

1. The widower tries to marry a sister of the deceased or a close relative, so that she will have affection for the motherless children. When a new wife is tyrannical or is thrown out, either some other relatives of the deceased or of the widower himself take care of the children; the Chiriguano feel deeply the suffering of bereaved children.

Ce 752 /217 cont./
of boiling the water because they wanted to kill the macroscopic animals in it. The Chané sometimes use fresh leaves to bandage wounds.

Ee 764 Ee [763] If, in spite of the medicine man's efforts, the /218/ spell cannot be lifted and the Chané or Chiriguano Indian dies, he or she is buried under the hut in a large clay vessel. Before the dying one is quite dead, or immediately after death, he is flexed so that the knees come under the chin and the arms are laid crosswise over the chest. On the Río Parapiti there lived for many years a Chané Indian who had been flexed in this way, but who, before he was stuffed into the grave urn, was saved by a white man. The deceased, dressed, with a water calabash at his knee, Ee [775] is set into the vessel. The water is supposed to be taken along by the deceased when he wanders about on the mountains, the Chané chief Vocapoy told me. The vessel is buried in the hut, and another vessel is put upside down over it as a lid.

Ee 768 At Tatarenda, near Yacuiba, I heard that the hut is burned down after the burial. This, however, is not the usual thing. On the contrary, the hut is abandoned for a time after the burial and then moved into again later on. This is what happened, for example, in a Chané village on the Río Itiyuro, where I was shortly after a burial.

Ce 764 Cce [415] The large maize-beer vessels (Fig. 113) are used as coffins. If there is a shortage of vessels, burial often takes place in another way. In a Chané village, Copéri, on the Río Parapiti, a child was buried in a skin under the hut shortly before my arrival.

These Indians spend their lives on the graves of their dead relatives, and often the hut is so full that a later burial in old pots becomes necessary.

"The Christian carries his dead far from his house. We Indians, who feel a great love for them, keep them in our houses." That is approximately what Vocapoy once said to me when the conversation turned to this strange method of burial.

C
Ce
756
171

/34 cont./

most other Indians of South America, there is a profesional physician who is charged with the treatment of the sick. this treatment in most cases consisting of sorcery among these Indians too. The physician attempts to dispel the evil by sucking out foreign objects which have penetrated the body of the bewitched sick person. In addition to such treatment, remedies are used among the Chiriguano and Chané, which, in addition to those made of plant substances, include the fat of various animals applied externally for different illnesses. The Chané treat wounds with boiling water.

C
Ce
755
757
[824]
[239]
Cs
762

Burial among the Chiriguano and Chané who live outside the missions is generally still done in urns, according to primordial custom. According to Nordenskiöld (149), the

C
Ce
764
415

149. Nord. 1, p. 208.

large pots in which chicha is prepared are also used as funeral urns, and another pot is used to close the urn. Often the dying person, even before being completely dead, or soon after death, is crammed into the urn in a squatting position. A calabash of water is placed with the dead person in the urn, which is buried within the house. Commonly the house, after the burial, is abandoned for some time, but is occupied again later. Such a funeral urn of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi Valley is shown in a drawing by Erland Nordenskiöld (150).

Ce
768
C
764
415

150. Nord. 1, Fig. 112.

Up to half of the urn, which is provided with a cover, is disentered. Nordenskiöld's statement that the Chiriguano use the same pots which serve for the preparation of meals as funeral urns is significant. From that we can deduce that a funeral urn found in other regions might also have served, during the lifetime of the dead person buried in it, some other purpose related to the economy of those Indians.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 273 462 Ce 273

pleasant affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large jars. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

C Ce 525 [177]

Gambling.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the sola game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.* Another favorite dice game is called chukarets: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

C 177 525

European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous tala game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

C 526 [171]

Games.—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

Ce 526 Ce [439]

Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapetí River, like so many Guiana tribes, played a ball game with rubber balls which they batted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

C 524

Chiriguano women had a game (iarapou) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

C 77 177 797

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tumpa, or Iandapoko ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaratumpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guarani*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ano," the souls of the dead.

C [199] [191]

* The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Nordenskiöld, vol. 2, p. 100).

/128 cont./

121 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not show Him homage in some way.

● 771 124 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find out with special care, constancy, and assiduousness what religion they profess and what type of worship they render to their divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

[115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion, and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt true, however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

776 775

[805] [191] [192]

1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the months by moons, and they have other very similar customs. It is very notable that they also have some Hebrew words.

577 771 /129/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is, natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts, since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

/129 cont./

196 This same thing is not true with respect to the external
78 demonstrations of worship. The Chiriguano, like every savage
• 111 people, have no temples, priests, or ceremonial to regulate manifestations of worship. Does this also demonstrate that they completely lack external demonstrations of veneration of a god? It is not easy to give a categorical answer regarding this, because
[186] if it is the truth, as now seems to be the case, for I have not been able to discover any fact which shows the existence of that worship, this could be explained if we take into account the fact that the savage, because of his condition of isolation in the midst of the forest, is distrustful; he looks at the white man with suspicion. This is more than sufficient reason for him to hide his religious acts from the view of the latter.

Nobody could deny us the exactness and solid foundation of this observation, since it is a fact that civilized men, even among themselves, are ashamed to practice religious acts for human reasons, from whence comes the fact that they neither fulfill the duties of their religion nor come to the churches, and, what is worse, they make a show of a religious indifference which is very far from what in fact they feel.

Let us agree then that the Chiriguano does profess some religion, like all other peoples of the world.

This conclusion will be corroborated by what we are going to see in the following sections.

Divinities

196 That the Chiriguano have some divinities is undeniable, but it is very difficult to determine what character they have and to what category they belong according to the concepts of these savages. This is the reason why it is impossible to determine with certainty whether or not they /130/ profess polytheism or monotheism, when one considers the diversity of excellence, power, and pre-eminence which they attribute to their divinities.

/139 cont./

Belief in the Future Life

775 This belief has suffered many more alterations than the previous one; nevertheless it reveals that even under the rude and ignorant nature of the poor Indian and the unfortunate Chiriguano there is in force the idea of the great philosopher, non omnis moriar, which so many materialists would have end with material life, doubtless in order to drown apparently the remorse of the gnawing worm which from time to time appears and unintentionally reminds us of the perversities which have been perpetrated (1).

•[771] 1. It is difficult for the Chiriguano to understand spiritual matters, for which reason his ideas concerning the future life are purely material. Without revelation this dogma of faith is not understood.

When the soul of a Chiriguano leaves the body, it does not die. All, without realizing it or even suspecting it, have this idea of the immortality of the soul. Mourning and sentiments of grief, burial, and things that they put in the coffin when someone dies, with which I shall deal later, are related to this. Should someone ask them about this, they would answer, "Mahanu" How will it be? I don't know. In spite of this ignorance, in order to express their thoughts regarding the soul and its immortality, they admit that there are three places for souls: Tunparenta, Iboca, and Cuarasigüi, Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell.

[123] [191] I am going to deal with the three, rectifying what concerns Iboca, which belief I was acquainted with from the beginning of residence among the race and an account of which can be found in my little Nene, which was printed in the year 1905 to help Chiriguano children learn the Spanish or Castilian language.

The Tunparenta is literally the place of God, or his dwelling place, as the añarenta is the dwelling place of the devil. I have already noted the fact that Tunpa is the source of good, of all virtue, of everything good: Tecocavi. With this idea that he has of God, the Chiriguano naturally concludes that God only

/143 cont./

Prayers

•771 Certainly the fact that this race does not have external manifestations of worship greatly attracts the attention of men of science and missionaries. The Chiriguano is born and grows like a little lamb is born and grows. They do not know where they come from, and all of their actions are reduced to pure nature. The Chiriguano never raises his mind or his heart up-
[821] ward. He discusses the firmament; he counts the stars and even separates them into groups as though by astronomical principles; he admires the grandiosity of the sun and of the moon, he understands the beneficence of the nourishing world, but the totality remains mute and silent before the works of nature or
[782] of creation. Visible things do not lead the intelligence of the Chiriguano to the knowledge of the Cause of such effects, and inasmuch as he has a rather vague idea of God, he does not offer worship to Him or to anything which resembles Him.

782 It is consequently useless to look for idols in this country, just as it is extremely useless to inquire about temples or hermitages for religious gatherings. Prayers, however much they may be investigated, are very abridged, if there are any, and are not worth being called such, because they are rather a kind of boasting by the one uttering them, in order that all may see that he is eloquent in speaking. This is what they do in the general gatherings when they drink for many days and eat in the
[539] plaza. Enthusiasm comes in the heat of drinking, and, on seeing an immense multitude, someone will raise his voice, saying more or less the following: Cheru Tunpa, icavillo taicó, pucu emeé cheve cherecovena, cherimbiuna emollimólla cheve, tacherori catu taicó, anu tamano. My God, make me be well off, give me a long life, make my food be produced, give me happiness, do not allow me to die (2).

[761] 2. The only thing that the Chiriguano wants is to live forever, but he sees that it is impossible and contents himself with expressing his vehement desire, but he does not believe that death comes to him naturally.

/155 cont./

[771] I shall end this fourth chapter by repeating that the Chiriguano in his religion, divinities, and beliefs confuses in extraordinary fashion beings who are good and bad, real and imaginary, as well as fabulous beliefs which conform in substance to certain Biblical tales. The Indian eats, drinks, and [156] [782] sleeps, and he lives like any four-legged animal; he thinks only of the sorcerer, consulting him in his emergencies of illness or want and other calamities, believing that he has the power to alleviate it, there not being any prayer properly speaking.

/156/

[000]

Chapter Five

Political Organization and Authorities

Introduction

The French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century set the foundations for the present anarchy with the dethroning and decapitation of the unfortunate and virtuous rulers Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. /The remainder of p. 156 and the first two paragraphs of p. 157 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 157. The remainder of p. 157 follows./

Let it thus be understood that in this Catholic nation /Bolivia/ only the Catholic religion can contain the fury of the human beast. Let the religious orders and the Colegios de Propaganda Fide be promoted, as in the bordering nations, let firm support be given to the Catholics, as in Germany, and there will neither be the explosion of anarchist bombs nor will the heads of the rulers roll through the streets and squares, nor will the corpses of the great lie stiff, victims of the revolver or the sword of shadowy men.

/234 cont./

539 "I further wish," the Aguara-Tunpa continued, "that you may never /235/ forget the day on which your bad luck made you inferior to your companion; take also this button which will distinguish you from the descendants of the one who is your superior." He made a hole in his lower lip and put the tembeta on him; and that was the beginning of the difference between the white race, or caray, and the Chiriguano, who believe that they owe their misfortune to the Aguara-Tunga (1).

1. Today few Indians believe in such a legend. They consider the fox to be a four-footed animal and the rascal that he is, and the young people listen to storytelling just because they like to hear it.

Here we have humanity left to its free will, without being enlightened by the true religion; they believe in a patchwork of lies and superstitions; they respect or are frightened by a wild animal, giving it the name of a marvelous being able to do good or evil to them; tremble in the presence of a dauntless fox, who is a thief without intelligence or speech, and disfigure the faces of their children, making the goodness, strength, prestige, and nobility of the individual consist of a piece of tin, wood, or hollow cane; they subject their tender and delicate damsels to rigorous fasting, to imprisonment for months and even a year, because of a false belief in sorcery, in supposed sicknesses and spells, ruining their health and even risking their lives (2).

2. Almost all the present-day Chiriguano have a slight smattering of the true religion; for this reason they no longer concern themselves with their old customs of fasting, hiding, putting on the tembeta, and long hair.

/266 cont./

574 576 [194] The second t of the word tuti is pronounced double (1).

1. In other places the salutation is different. They say Catapiri or Aguyeti, good things, prosperity. But the other seems to me to be more in conformity with the universal salutation, as is done everywhere.

If the visitor is a person he knows, the host then says, Nde pa co? Is it thee? And the other answers, Checo, it is I, and then goes on to say Imeño pa nei? Are you living? Imeño aí, I am living. And he enters the house of his uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law, or whoever it may be, since it seems that the Chiriguano has relatives everywhere, and he would have them all over the world, if there were Chiriguano all over the world.

574 576 622 Often it is the cacique who receives strangers, if these come looking for him, as naturally happens, but any Indian at whose house he may come will at once say to him with all courtesy, Eyú, come in, if he is on foot, and Egüeyi, come down, if he is mounted. At once he presents him with the best seat that he has and begins the conversation; meanwhile the lady of the house puts at his disposal a large jar of chicha with the respective maté or tumbler, and, aided by her daughters, she prepares the best 123 [622] meal. The captain, or cacique, of Tiasía prepared for me a maté of boiled corn with salt, arivivi, or very hot chili peppers, and hard-boiled eggs chopped into small pieces.

I noted the great cleanness of the food and the utensils, and then, as I have already said elsewhere, I had a long talk with the Indian, who was quite loquacious and frank, about various religious matters, and in conclusion he made me understand that he would not go to the Boicovo Mission or to the others, because prayer and baptism cause death; that my companions and I had made it not rain that night in order that we might not get wet, and that it is not God who created man, and, when asked who it was, he answered naturally and with astonishment, Ndicuaá á pa? Don't you know? (2) /Illustration appears here./

797 • 771 2. In the other place I did not set down everything

[Text Continues on P.362]

/266 cont./

797 that the cacique had said with reference to their
● 771 idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

574 /267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leav-
576 ing the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu ndereé, I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma, I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tunpa reño eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

541 If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among
177 them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Lagunillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing. The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano
[184] fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbapa páure, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe, in addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

[648] 1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Igüembe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Azero.

/156 cont./

from the often vulgar, empty whites. Batirayu, however, is also an exceptional man, the makings of a great man, who is condemned to idleness. Ce 115

Batirayu is a Chané. These Indians now speak the same language as the Chiriguano, namely, Guarani. Most of their customs and usages correspond to those of the Chiriguano, by whom they were probably subjugated. According to their origin, however, they are Arowaken /Arawak/ and hence the most southerly dwellers of this group, which had, and still has, a wide distribution in South America and on the Antilles. Ce 197 171 648 Ce 101

/157/ If I describe the Chané and the Chiriguano together here, it is because their material culture is so similar. Nevertheless, I have indicated in which tribe I made this or that observation; this is especially true for the religious domain, in which the Chané, at least on the Rio Parapiti, have kept many old conceptions which are unknown to the Chiriguano. Ce 128 171 771

Batirayu told me that a few of the Chané still knew some words of the old language of the tribe. He said that especially at the drinking bouts, when they are intoxicated, they give themselves airs by speaking the old Chané language, which otherwise has the character of a secret language. Ce 197 554 273

In the company of Batirayu I set out for the village of "Huirapembe" where the Indians who knew Chané best were supposed to be found. It was not easy to draw their secrets out of them. Actually, only the youngest ones, who knew the least, were willing to tell me something (1). One old woman who was Ce 124 197 114 14

1.

	Chané	Chiriguano	Mojo
Water	ñne	y	une
Maize	sopóno	ahuãti	seponi
Fire	yucu	tãta	yucu
Dog	tamúco	yaũmba	tamucu
Chicha (good)	liqui	cãngui	itico
Rat	cóvo	angũya	coro.

Ce 192 197

Ce 692 643 28

/89 cont./
of the deceased (359).

359. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 421

Private property is highly respected among the Chiriguano. According to Métraux, even the closest relatives cannot make use of the property of one of them without his consent. The

C 423

possession of a piece of land is guaranteed to a Chiriguano by planting any plant on it or by clearing the circumference of the land required and making large slashes in the trees. When he selects a plot for his planting, the Chiriguano examines it carefully to determine that there are no traces of a previous planting (360).

360. Métraux I, pp. 334 and 340.

C 241 476 [622]

After the land selected for the planting has been cleared, relatives and friends are called together to help with the work. Formerly, the cacique of the town also took part by keeping watch for the workers (361).

361. Métraux I, p. 337.

/96/

Religion

Ce 797 971 178 538

In their many years of activity the missions have naturally influenced notably the religious notions of the Chiriguano and Chané. Most of them today are Christians. Some will retain part of their primordial ideas, expressed in their legends. I shall limit myself here to referring the reader again to the Chané legends taken down by Nordenskiöld (362) and mentioned several times in the Preceding.

362. Nord. 1, pp. 251-296.

C /331 cont./
105 This migration had as its motive power the attraction
175 which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the
[167] Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth
[173] of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

ce At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population
[197] of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt
[177] strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

C The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced
[648] the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives.
[563] The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.
[619] From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a de-
C cisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that
[177] today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

C On their part the Chané adopted the language of their
[177] conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a
[197] secret language.
[198]

C
175
131

Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22°
C south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper
[101] Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Mataguayo and the
C Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as
[361] Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tampa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chaco SF-8-

C
Ce
●773

"tree-of-life," or "mother-of-all-trees," which was placed by Tunpa on the earth and then disappeared, leaving all food plants as its offspring.

A flood, which once covered the world, was caused by the curse of a young woman who was insulted by her mother-in-law. In another version of this myth, the flood resulted from a storm brought about by a man with wings (Thunderbird). A boy and a girl were placed in a jar with all kinds of seeds and, when the waters subsided, they planted these seeds and repeopled the world.

There are two versions of the myth of the origin of fire. In one, fire was stolen from Sun by the children who escaped the flood; in the other, fire, which was the property of the Vultures, was stolen by a Toad who, pretending to be cold, came near the fire and stole some embers.

The leading characters of *Chiriguano-Chané* folklore are Armadillo (Tatu) and Fox (Aguara), whose names, when mentioned in the various stories, are always followed by the adjective, "tunpa" (sacred). Armadillo is a wise and powerful character, always well disposed toward mankind. Aguara-tunpa (Fox) is a trickster, though in many cases he also plays the part of a culture hero. For instance, Fox steals algarroba seeds from Viscacha (*Lagostomus maximus*), he captures Vulture and forces him to yield the original rubber ball as his ransom. Tatu-tunpa and Aguara-tunpa have several adventures together. On one occasion Aguara-tunpa changes Tatu-tunpa into a repulsive man in order to marry the pretty daughter of a chief while his companion gets the ugly one. Tatu-tunpa shows his greater power by magically tilling a huge field which is instantaneously covered with all kinds of foods. Aguara-tunpa is then unmasked.

Aguara-tunpa kills Tatu-tunpa and puts on his skin, in order to deceive the latter's wife. Again he is unmasked and punished.

C
773
171

The old *Tupí-Guaraní* myth of the Twins was also recorded among the *Chiriguano* (Métraux, 1930 b). A girl is magically impregnated by Tatu-tunpa. She is expelled from her village and wanders in search of the father of the Twins who she bears in her womb and who speak to her. The Twins show her the path to their father's house, but, becoming angry at her, they mislead her to the house of the Jaguars, who kill her. The Twins are brought up by their grandmother. Later they hear about the murder of their mother from a yacu bird. They take revenge on the Jaguars by attempting to drown them when they cross a river by making it wider and wider. Finally, the Twins climb up a chain of arrows to the sky, where they become Sun and Moon.

The *Chiriguano* also have a version of the old *Mayoa* and *Andean* myth of the rebellion of manufactured objects against their masters.

/59 cont./

* 825 ● 773 The Chiriguano Indian has a confused idea about the end of the world, which he calls "ara iyapi," a temporal term. At that time, he says, "andira guazu," a large bat, will appear, will eat us up, and everything will come to an end. The lechuza and the buho are enemies of the bat, and they kill it not just for the sake of killing, but because it is delicious food for them.

* 136 * 825 PALOMA /dove/. -- There are four types, to wit: tocacos /wild pigeon/, mantellas, ulanchas, and tórtolas /turtledove/, whose respective names in /60/ Chiriguano are "picazu, picazú, picui, yerutí." The large ones go in flocks which obscure the sun in the season and after the maize harvest in May, June, July, and August. The middle-sized ones are called mantellas, because their regular abode is in the thickets; they too are numerous and perhaps more delicious than the first. They are as sociable as the tocacos, and they fly in very large flocks. The ulanchas, which are very small, are much more abundant and delicious; they approach houses and even come into the patios. They look for trees with full tops to sleep in. The last-named, as I have already said, are a kind of turtledove and go in pairs. Their song is very sad.

223 To catch the tocacos the Indian climbs a tree where they roost in numbers and sets and ties one which he has caught alive; he makes a kind of oven with straw, open underneath, and hides there. He carries arrows and waits for the tocacos to come to visit their companion, and, if they do not see the enemy who is hidden there, they are wounded and many fall, until the Indian runs out of arrows. The same thing is done on the ground where they come down to drink.

They kill the mantellas and ulanchas at night. Both children and adults go about with torches of fire, the latter blinds them, they fall, and they kill them with clubs. In May and June in certain pampas and low hills, a spectator may think he is witnessing the strategy which Hannibal used against Fabius Maximus, when, in order to make his way through the narrow pass of Casilino Valley near the Volturno

/97 cont./

Origin

212 The Chiriguano tribe has no written language, for which reason it is difficult to determine exactly its origin, the place from which it came, and the time the immigration took place. They admire our modern paper, which they call "Tangajire," skin of God, and they say that we are fortunate because by means of this we are able to make our thoughts and wishes known to friends and relatives at great distances. What then would they say if they had the faintest idea of the telegraph and the telephone and so many other modern inventions, such as that of flying through the air, in this twentieth century, which quite justly might be called: century of the globes?

[97] 173 They recount that "Aguara Tunpa," Fox-God, tried to destroy the work of the true God by killing all men. To achieve this end he made use of the "Iguasu," big water; he then opened the gates or sluices of the seas and flooded the whole land; the waters of the earth's surface called those of the sky "Ipara," flood, and thus the human race perished. But before there took place the total destruction of the Chiriguano, to whom humanity was confined, a woman took her two children, a male and a female, put them in a "Chaguale," big gourd, left them to the mercy of the waters, and, when these went down, they found themselves in Paraguay, where they again multiplied (1).

1. The two children, after disembarking, did not perish from the cold, because the "Curupi," toad, took pity on them, bringing them flies in his mouth, for which reason the true Chiriguano never hunts this inoffensive animal.

173 I have said that they do not have writing, but, on the other hand, they do have a kind of oral tradition, "Miani," [95] which is transmitted from father to son. This tradition is also wrapped in a veil of confusion, however, because they

/119 cont./

000 the wives of Christ their infinite goodness, and the priests the sciences and their Author. Each one in his branch turns his affection to the object which pleases him most. Even Indians have this privilege, because they are men who come from the same tree, whose trunk is in Adam and Eve (7).

● 773 2. They say that the first forebears of the Chiriguano race are different from the progenitors of Christians and missionaries, because we are of a different color, wealth, intelligence, and worth. They add that their first father's name was Araparigua.

839 684 593 As a consequence of the foregoing, the Chiriguano has no object which he loves other than his fellow man, because idleness and ignorance do not make him aspire to other things. A man and a woman love each other reciprocally, but as they also inherit the original sin, they are subject to its many consequences. Thus it happens that cases where a man betrays his wife, or she him, are not rare. What is the result of this? If it is the woman who was unfaithful to the conjugal bonds, the man will remedy it by providing her with goodly number of whacks with a stick and separating from her definitively, and if it should be the man, which is generally what happens, it is not so easy for the woman to do anything /120/ about it. Instead she usually sees herself more and more oppressed. The husband makes a martyr of her. Well-founded jealousy begins to destroy her. She can do nothing against her rival. She has no religion which will help her resign herself to her fate. She makes every effort to avenge herself in some way, but it is difficult, she thinks in this extreme case that she achieves all she can do by taking her life. To do this, she finds a rope, puts it around her neck, ties it to any small tree or such thing, casts loose her body, and, since no one sees her, in a few minutes she ceases to exist (1).

839 684 593 762

1. A woman of some 25 years of age

/131 cont./

776 Besides the Tunpa, the old people accepted and still accept in certain places another divinity more powerful than the one described. This second divinity is the astute and intrepid fox, called in their language Aguara-Tunpa, fox god. According to them, he is almost always in a struggle with the first one, and they state as a dogma of faith that he does everything possible to destroy the work of the true God, sometimes showing himself to be a friend of the human race, limited to the Chiriguano, and at other times its enemy.

A Fabulous Belief about the Flood

•773 I am going to tell a fable which confirms the second property of the Aguara-Tunpa, because it also gives an idea of the universal flood, argued about so much today, concerning which so many opinions have been forthcoming, some of them admirable and others poorly thought out. Here it is:

It is told that in very remote times the Aguara-Tunpa declared himself at war with the true God, creator of the Chiriguano race. The reason for this enmity is not known, but it seems that he did it because of a contradictory scheme or spirit. In order to spite /132/ the true God, the Aguara-Tunpa set fire to all the fields and pastures at the middle or beginning of autumn, and, together with the plants and trees, all the animals which served as food for the Chiriguano died, so that the latter, who had not begun the sowing of maize and other cereals, as they do now, found themselves close to perishing (1).

1. In a not too distant period, before spring began they burned the fields in honor of Aguara-Tunpa.

In this extremity they came to the banks of the rivers and lined their banks to seek in the waters what they could not find on the land, which was still smoking from the terrible fire, and then Aguara-Tunpa, who was close of being frustrated in his

/132 cont./

• 793 purpose, thought up another supreme effort, making fall from the heavens torrential rains. Iporu (?), in order to destroy the Chiriguano

[192] 2. I means water, and its pronunciation is gutteral and nasal; poru means to lend oneself /prestarse/; thus, Iporu is explained literallyt he lent himself to water /se prestó agua/.

race completely inundating all men in the waters.

He would have succeeded in destroying all the Chiriguano, but they in extremity and perhaps by advice from the true God, Tumpatie, found a large gourd, Choguao, put in it two small human beings, children of the same mother, male and female, cuimbae, culla, and they let the little vessel float on the surface of the water.

The rain continued to fall in all its force. The waters rose over the surface of the land, rising to great heights, and drowned all the Chiriguano except the children in the Choguao, or large gourd, who were saved from the catastrophe. Later it ceased raining, and the waters dried up again, leaving a thoroughly filthy mud. The children came out of their receptacle, without which they would have died of cold and hunger.

It can be easily understood that the fish and their kind did not perish in the waters of the Iporu, and thus for a long time these had to be the food of the two human beings, but how to cook them, when even fire had disappeared? Before this happened, there was another compassionate being who did not permit the total loss of this good element. This being or second cause was the Cururu, toad (?).

[192] 3. The word Cururu should not be confused with Curu, which means mange. From Curu comes Curuyuqui, salt which cures mange. The pacifiers of the war of 1892 wrote incorrectly Cururuyuqui.

[114]

/135/

• 773 The Cururu then, before the total flood, went into the ground, carrying burning embers in his mouth, and there, by blowing on them, he did not let them go out. When he found out that the liquid element had disappeared from the face of the earth, he once again took into his mouth the embers of fire, came out into the open air, sought out the two children, delivered the fire to them, and thus they were able to cook the fish which they were patiently extracting from the fresh water, and thus they were able to give warmth to their shivering members (1).

[538] [525]

1. When children bother a toad, it will puff itself up to remind them that by blowing it did not let the fire go out, reminding them that they owe it gratitude. This is what the very old people tell the children.

The two children grew older until they were old enough to propagate, which in fact they did until the Chiriguano had again multiplied, all of whom, according to them, descended from these two beings.

This story, as I said, clearly manifests, with very slight differences, the idea of the universal flood, of Noah's ark, and of the human race which was saved in it. At the same time it demonstrates the ill will of Aguara-Tunpa against God and His creatures, and the new multiplication of the race on the banks of a river.

776 193 792 The primary divinities, one completely good and the other good and bad, depending on his will, are only two, but tradition and relatively contemporary history teach us that in different times and in various regions some daring Indian who was fond of laziness and other people's property, with a degree of loquacity and extraordinary promises, managed to gather around him in his new house, which he had deliberately built outside the town, a multitude of Indians from near and far and claimed to be Tunpa, an extraordinary and marvelous being. Others, including a certain woman of great daring, have claimed to be Tunpa ichi, "mother of God," which had little effect, and on other occasions,

/135 cont./

080 Revelation teaches us that legions of angels were lost because of an error or the grave sin of pride and passed into the category /136/ of the condemned or demons. Faith, reason, and common sense teach us that perverse men who die in their perversity are separated from good ones, as evil-doers are separated in this world by being imprisoned in jails. Divine justice demands punishment for the perverse, who, like condemned persons, pass into the category of lost spirits and as semblance of the demons, God allowing this, and they can appear to those of us who live here in the world to detain us along the way of sin or to warn us about it.

776 789 Under this concept it is not repugnant even to common sense to admit the probability that the Chiriguano do see the Aña, demon or evil spirit. Sacred history speaks of visions and apparitions; profane histories cannot combat them, but rather they relate innumerable facts of demoniac apparitions which have appeared by means of spiritualism. It is not strange that such a thing should happen among the Chiriguano. Doubtless it is incredible that it should be so frequent. They say that they see the demons at every moment of the night, whenever there is no fire or light, but this is a puerile worry, and due to fear and fright in some and to ignorance in others (1).

[372] [789]

1. In all the houses of the true Chiriguano there is always a fire burning at night for the principal end of keeping away the evil spirit or Aña.

• 773

Beliefs Relative to the Creation

[115] Before going on I am going to relate what was told to me by the cacique Anduari of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission, who, in order to increase his income, is a sorcerer or witch doctor for the Indians and some whites in a wide area. According to the account that follows, the human race, or the Chiriguano, was destroyed twice. The first time and its restoration have already been seen. The second occurred in the following way (2).

[585] [177]

2. Anduari gave his account in the presence of his

•773
[585]
[177]

/136 cont./

wife and his Christian daughter, whose name is Candelaria Asúmbai, married according to the Cathotic marriage ceremony.

Anduari then says that the first Chiriguano man, named Araparigua, without others knowing it, was saved from the universal flood, because, as a creature who had come directly from the hands of God and consequently was very beloved, he was taken up to the sky before the earth was flooded. /Illustration appears here./ /137/ When the Chiriguano had multiplied anew, he came down again to enjoy as before the pleasures of Bacchus and Venus, but very soon he made himself abhorred by all the people because of his haughtiness and his abuse of the property and women of others. Hence he was at the point of perishing, murdered by his own vassals, but Tunpa came to his aid, took him away again, and put him in his company. There Araparigua swore vengeance and asked Tunpa to destroy the whole race. God, knowing that his privileged creature no longer had any close relatives, such as a wife, mother, father, and children, acceded to his desires, and the Chiriguano were destroyed for a second time (1).

[595]

1. The caciques follow the example of Araparigua, having several wives and abusing others,to the great sorrow of their parents and of the damsels themselves. It is completely false that the women of this race who fall to the cacique consider it an honor, as is stated by Dr. Leocadio Trigo. I do not know if this happens with those of other races, but he writes in general of all of the races of the Chaco.

But the Tunpa did not wish to be without privileged creatures for a long time, and he came down to earth again. He made a human body from clay with all the members corresponding to the masculine sex. Then he made another with all the members of the female body. He gave life to both, they lived, and he left them in their nakedness, leaving them in possession of a beautiful place.

[text continues on p. 188]

/137 cont./

773 In this beautiful and picturesque place there were fruit trees of all kinds, the fruits that they produced were beautiful to see and agreeable to the palate. Before leaving them the Tunpa gave them free use of all the fruit produced by the trees, prohibiting them from touching and eating the fruit of only one.

826 773 After a few days the man, passing under the prohibited tree and seeing the beauty of its fruit, said, "Why would God not want us to eat such beautiful fruit? There would not be anything bad in my simply tasting them, and furthermore he cannot see me." So he took one and put it in his mouth to eat, but at the same time that he was doing this he turned his head, and the fruit, instead of going down to his stomach, stuck in his throat, thus forming the haseuranti, or what is commonly called the Adam's apple (2).

> 2. The woman never touched the forbidden fruit, and the proof is that there is nothing in her throat; there is no haseuranti or Adam's apple; this is what the Indian himself says.

773 According to the account the woman did not eat the forbidden fruit, but in spite of this she felt the effects of the disobedience of her husband or companion, since, like him, she was ashamed of being /138/ naked and she felt the stirrings of concupiscence, which previously neither she nor the man had felt, and as a consequence of which they were united matrimonially," only after having broken the divine precept.

The Tunpa was not long in appearing, and before him they were both ashamed to see themselves naked, and they covered their nakedness by sitting huddled up on the ground. The Tunpa, who knew everything, called them to him gently, forgiving their sin, and gave them each proper clothing, and bade them farewell, allowing them to multiply.

The Indian, as anyone can understand, sees this as the reorganization of the Chiriguano race, but we can all see in this story the creation of man, his primordial innocence, his life in paradise, the prohibition which God imposed on him,

/138 cont./

• 993 the disobedience that was his sin, and the confusion which the guilt caused in him, with its consequent reprehension (1).

1. This story lacks the promise of a Savior, a most important fact, to be sure, but it should be kept in mind that this is a centuries-old tradition. The Indian is ignorant and only sees material things.

It can clearly be seen that this account, with only a slight difference, follows the story told by Moses in the first chapters of the Bible and adds even more to the proof that the inhabitants of the Americas came from and are descendants of the first man, a fact which so many enemies of Religion make efforts to deny. It also proves the unity of our race or species against Darwin, who would have it descend through evolution until it is related to the orangutan (2).

2. Hernán Cortes visited the Emperor Moctesuma during his first visit to Mexico. The latter assured him that they descended from other very ancient men, similar to the Spaniards, whom they called brothers.

It is easy to see that the Chiriguano tradition just related has been altered slightly, and that they attribute the reconstruction of the race to it, which, according to the Bible, is in fact the creation or formation of the first man. Centuries have passed since the universal flood and even more since the creation of the first man. The Chiriguano race is ignorant, has no books, no writing. It is descended from the Guaraní, who always lived apart from civilization. It could never be subjugated by the Incas, and thus it is not strange that the said tradition regarding creation might have changed until it is believed to be a second creation. Instead it is strange that /139/ up to now it has been preserved so clearly and with so few differences. I confess that when I first heard it I could not but be surprised and amazed, and I present it for the consideration of my readers just as I heard it.

[212] [174]

/142 cont./

795 The Iboca which I have mentioned is in a certain way similar to the purgatory of the Catholics, and in some ways similar to limbo, since the Indians state that souls which go there are in utter darkness, which is the same thing as not seeing God, and this alone constitutes great suffering. Other corporal and moral punishments do not exist there, but the darkness is perpetual (2).

> 2. In Iboca, located southeast of Igüembe Canton, souls can be heard at night in continuous joy and bacchanalia with songs and dances. By day all is sepulchral silence, so they all say.

The Cuarasigüi, literally, under the sun, is for the Chiriguano the true hell, where is felt the true eternal fire which is represented by the sun; in the immediate vicinity of which it is impossible to remain, as the natural sciences, cosmology, demonstrate. According to the Chiriguano, those Indians who take the life of another, those who take other people's property, those who commit suicide, and those who commit sins contra naturam go to Curasigüi.

793 According to a famous explorer and ethnologist who not long ago passed through the region from Guachalla to the boundary which divides Bolivia from Peru in the northwest, there exists among the Chiriguano the idea or belief in the Tower of Babel, where the confusion of languages took place. According to that reference formerly there was but one language spoken, and, according to them, this was Quichua /Quechua/. The idea of creation, of the flood, of the confusion of languages, the method of counting the months by moons and the seasons by what they signify. /143/ and various Chiriguano words similar to Hebrew are powerful arguments to demonstrate the unity of the human race against the rationalists who are trying to show that there were men destroyed by the flood in America (1).

[192] [197]

> 1. The Chiriguano words ava, hae, hüü, and mahanu?, man, he, black, and what is it?, are similar to the Hebrew av, ael, hüm, and mahanu?, man or father, he, black, and what is that?

/146 cont./

754 756 same meaning everywhere. In Europe the ignorant masses call sorcerer or witch the man or woman who has made a formal pact with the devil; among the Chiriguano and whites of the Gran Chaco it is the man or woman who succeeds in curing illness or who is in possession of other prestigious abilities (?).

752 756 [825] 2. I know an Indian who treats snake poisoning without using any medicine. He blows upon and rubs the bitten part, and it gets well with no other remedy. He catches snakes, holds them against his breast, puts them in his pockets, in his hat, and they do not bite him. I cannot explain this phenomenon.

● 773 825 776 756 754 But who was the father of sorcerers among the Chiriguano? Guaررai, Indian, Ilié iya vae, eloquent one, told the following story: In a very remote epoch there was a general drought which continued with the imminent danger of all the town fields being lost. When the cause had been discovered by the king of the birds, Gilraqué, the kite, organized a commission to the lord of rain, called Choncho, so that he might /147/ make it rain. But as the latter paid no attention to the king's embassy, he came personally to find out why and to punish his disobedience if he found him guilty. But the choncho answered that it was not up to him, but up to another bird called chena, whom King Milano confronted, and as he wavered when he denied it or tried to free himself of blame, suspicion was aroused that he was the author of so much evil, and as the evil-doer he was immediately run through by King Milano's lance.

787 825 This is a fable, but it is certain that the choncho is respected and feared. If this small bird sings in an angry tone, it is a sign to the Chiriguano that evil will come to him, and then he commends himself to it and says: aguye ndepochi, cheru mi, tome taicó cavi; do not be angry, may everything go well with me. If it sings happily, the Chiriguano will be well received by his relatives and friends, and if the choncho says, To, To, it is a sign that wherever he goes he will find a lot of chicha, for which reason they never do any harm to this little bird.

/154 cont./

773 821 [115]

I asked Anduari the cause of such an uproar, and he told me the following story. The jaguar had sworn to destroy the Chiriguano, as had also the Aguara-Tunpa. The Tunpa, who knows everything and always compassionate toward them, told this to his relatives, who are in the sky and who are called Güirayohasa, the constellation of the Pleiades. These relatives then informed those who were in danger, and they took the precaution of hiding themselves.

Nevertheless, two of the most valiant Chiriguano, in order not to be in continual fear, prepared to put an end to the jaguars. They went out into the countryside, made themselves two long swords of soto wood, and thus armed, they found out where the jaguars drank water. They hid, watching for the arrival of their enemies in order to slay their leader.

They did not have to wait long; when all of them came by and when the leader put his head down to drink from the spring of crystalline water, one of the Chiriguano delivered a great blow on his head with the sword, separating it from the body; with the utmost facility the rest of them fled in several directions, and the head, jumping, disappeared from their presence.

It was pursued by both warriors, but the head prayed to the moon, which it encountered on its way, and the moon took pity and hid it in its breast, and when the warriors arrived and inquired about the jaguar's head, the moon answered in all calmness that it knew nothing and had seen nothing. Naturally they had no faith in its words, and they went away from there, saying to it that one day the tiger would be seen and everyone would know who it was (2).

2. When the chief of the jaguars disappeared, the latter were finished and there was calm, the Indians being able to go out once more without fear to their tasks in the fields.

When the young men were far away, the moon rejoined the jaguar's head to its body, and it lived, but it no longer wished to live on earth /155/ for fear of its enemies, preferring to remain with its liberator, reviver, and benefactor, but later it made its ferocity known.

/155 cont./

•793 821 As the Chiriguano had predicted, the jaguar very soon began to put into practice in the heights of the moon its natural inclination to kill and eat defenseless beings. Its peaceful, compassionate, and defenseless liberator lent itself marvelously to its voracity, and the tiger attacked it, but the moon came crying to the inhabitants of the earth, to the Chiriguano, calling them to its defense, if they did not wish to remain eternally in the dark (1).

1. If the eclipse is total, they believe that the jaguar has swallowed the moon whole; if it is partial, this is because it did not have time to swallow it.

The Indians, despite the bad deed that the moon had done against them, and more for their convenience than out of compassion, came out of their towns en masse, some with shouts others with whistling, and others with the horns of cows and bulls; they frightened off the Yagua rogũi, yellow jaguar, who out of fear of the Chiriguano, remembering what had happened to it, desisted from its intention, and since then, every time a lunar eclipse occurs, they do the same thing. The fabulous belief passes from the old to the young, from grandfathers to grandsons.

114 821 On a bright moonlit night the missionary was sleeping peacefully in the Ivu mission, and the moon was obscured by a total eclipse. This was during the month of June in 1909. The missionary did not know the language, and I was absent. The [191] children, who spoke a little Spanish, in their desire for the missionary to see the phenomenon of the eclipse, awakened him with a great uproar, shouting to him: Jaguar is eating moon (2).

2. They say nothing of the eclipse, total or partial, of the sun, doubtless because it occurs very rarely; the old people have but an obscure idea of this phenomenon.

/177 cont./

Fire

354
372 In conical houses as well as in those of rectangular form, ancient as well as modern, a fire burned, and still burns, night and day; it is never extinguished, but should this happen, the way to relight it is to borrow it from the neighbors. If all the 372 177 178 inhabitants of a tribe have temporarily emigrated to a place which is not far away, as happens at the time of general planting, at the end of the harvest, and upon returning to town, they come back bringing their fire with them, as I have seen on repeated occasions. But as today civilization has penetrated [435] and the match has become common, even the Chiriguano will [296] save up one medio, or ten centavos, to buy such a useful combustible, which they use very sparingly, because in their hands this is now a luxury and lends them an air when in a gathering of companions they can bring out and show their box of matches while lighting a maize-husk cigar.

372 When a fire happens to go out in a place where it is difficult to get it from distant houses, the Chiriguano is not too worried. The man is almost never without a flint, tinder, and a piece of steel; these implements are used to obtain new fire. The tinder is prepared by them from a boll of wild cotton or the flower of the samuu, which they reduce into a skein of thread and put into a cow's horn, which they clear at the wider end, fitting to it a wooden stopper that they keep down with a small wire or agave string; inside the tinder box it extends to the other end, where they make a small hole in order to be able to pull the wire or string and keep the top on tight.

The Indian who does not have all this apparatus does not worry much either. If his fire happens to go out, he makes a small conical hole in a piece of well-dried wood, in which he violently spins a small cylindrical stick, also dry, which does not take long to get hot and then to give off sparks of fire, to which he then applies the tinder, which consists of the dry pith either of the agave or of the /178/ maguey, which when it has taken fire will light any other combustible material (1).

[973] 1. When the toad handed over fire to the two

/178 cont./

372 [773] children who had been saved from the Iporu, deluge of water, he also taught them the way never to lose it, by rubbing pieces of wood together forcefully.

224 372 The Chiriguano is quite a hunter, and no wild animal or bird escapes from his eye and hand. On these hunting trips he often needs fire. If he is very far from town and prepares to sleep alone in the forest or in open country, he lights his fire in the way just described, in order to have its company, to keep away the jaguar and the demon, and to light his cigar and prepare his roast.

Work

Cleanliness

356 [362] Many will perhaps come to the conclusion that Chiriguano houses, poorly built and worse maintained because of the continual fire which gives off smoke and ash, are very dirty, without cleanliness or neatness, but nothing is more incorrect. The [515] [302] Indian despite his savagery is clean, and especially for cleanness he pulls out his facial and body hair, bathes daily, and combs his hair often, getting rid of the little animals which might be in his thick hair. The Cuña, or Chiriguano woman, constantly thinks of the cleanliness of her house, gallery, and the ground in front, up to four meters in length and width (2).

[362] 2. All can see that some Chiriguanos, out of laziness, live in their own very old and dilapidated houses, open to the sun, wind, rain, and dust; in others that have a new roof, walls are lacking, thus exposing them to getting pneumonia, but there is no lack of cleanliness in any of them.

4: Nino--274 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SP10 Chiriguano SP10

/199 cont./

301 5. "Mboivera," or pieces of silver for adornment.
6, 7, 8. Metal tembetas.
9. A hollow-cane tembeta.
10. "Yapicuana," or band for the hair.
11. "Aguá," or long band for adornment of the queen in drinking festivals.
412 12. Wooden comb.
534 13. Porongo for playing as a musical instrument.
14, 15. "Senene," or Chiriguano flutes.
16. "Igiliramimbi" for playing as a musical instrument.
17. Stone axe.

/200/

Chapter Eight

The Chiriguano Family

Introduction

The theory of the founder of the transformist school, in which he attempts to demonstrate and establish the origin of the human race by means of evolution, is completely absurd. /The remainder of the introduction, pp. 200-202, is omitted in the translation. Page 202 continues as follows./

The Family

Genesis tells us of the origin of the human race, and outside of this book all is confusion: faith teaches us that God created the first man in His image and likeness, and later gave him a companion, taking her from his rib, from which it is deduced that the family began in the world, or in historical times, from the beginning of humanity (2).

792 2. Readers already know the story which
793 Anduari told me regarding the creation of
871

/202 cont./

the second Chiriguano man and the second Chiriguano woman; I have even made use of this to condemn the vice of polygamy in my monthly instructions to the infidels.

/The last paragraph on p. 202 and the first paragraph on p. 203 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 203 follows./

It is very natural that the Chiriguano race should form a family. Each tribe, or people, is an association of families. They are made up of fathers and children, but many times they have at their head a grandfather and grandmother who are much respected but who never give any orders or manage things: instead they serve their children willingly as servants, the grandfather in bringing in firewood, planting, and weeding, and the grandmother in everything that a woman can do.

There does not seem to be any other race like the Chiriguano in Bolivia, which like none other gives free rein to the passions, especially lewd ones. A maiden who commits a bad act is the pride of her mother, who is content with saying that now her daughter is a woman and ready for it. If a young man does similar things and his father finds out about it, he will ponder the act of his son and say, Cuimbae co, he is a man. This expression is heard frequently (1).

1. When the missionary attempts to reprehend or punish the sin of some Chiriguano boy, the father, the grandfather, or the cacique petitions for him, and the best words to lessen the punishment or to say that he deserves no punishment are: Cuimbae ma co, he is now a man.

Excessive corruption is the result, and, if the Toba race is distinguished by its inclination toward thievery, the Chiriguano are distinguished by their inclination toward lechery, as old and wise missionaries of the stature of Father Corrado and Father Giannecchini can testify. Let the reader consider that the

/232 cont./

301 171 Berry women put pieces of glass and bits of ivory in their lips, respectively; among the Mittoo /Mittu/ and the Lobbatk, men and women wear in the lower lip tembeta that are conical in shape, and in addition the women even wear hoops in the upper lip (2).

> 2. In many tribes of the world, the tembeta is a mark of modesty, and women who wear it do not show themselves in public without having it in the lip.

In other regions the women are coquettes, only wearing in their upper lip a wood or ivory hoop, which the Sciulus do. Finally, even the Cormá /Korma/, investigated not long ago by the Italian Boggo, wear in their lip wide wooden hoops which increase the wideness of the lip itself.

In North America the tembera is used by preference by the /233/ women; it serves them as an ornament, and they put around it as many little pieces of wood as they have years of age. The tembetas of the Tapíi of Isoso are small, and those of the Choroti and the Tapiete are of wood or of cane; no doubt up until today it was difficult for them to get the metal to make a de luxe one (1).

101

> 1. The Tapiete are, or were, Chiriguano Indians. They stayed near the inlets, where there is flat land with hills and streams, in order to be able to do their planting.

301 773 776 According to what is known through faith, clothing was given to humanity as punishment for its disobedience, a punishment which has been converted into the luxury of frequent and extravagant fashions, so also among the Chiriguano does there exist the fabulous belief that the tembeta, which today they consider to be a distinctive mark of the race and a sign of virility, strength, and valor, was nothing other than a bitter and well-deserved punishment which a marvelous and very

/233 cont./

301 powerful being inflicted upon them because of the weakness
•773 and laziness that distinguish them, corresponding to the
776 opinion the reader may have formed in the course of these lines. They attribute its origin to the Tunpa, source of all goodness, and to the Aguara-Tunpa, whom they regard as the source of all evil, as has been seen. Under this concept, the one who punished them was not the former, but the Aguara-Tunpa. I shall end this ninth chapter by telling a fable in which the belief in the punishments that humanity may deserve from a superior being will be seen.

A Legendary Tale

539 The Indians say that formerly there was no distinction
173 between men; all were of the same color and spoke the same language. It has already been said in previous pages that the Chiriguano of certain regions believe that the original language was Quichua /Quechua/. What caused the diversity
539 of color and the diversity of language? Here is the legend (2).

> 2. If one asks a Chiriguano about the origin of all men, he answers that they are different from us; they have been made ugly, miserable, poor, and ignorant.

Two men of old were short of food and had wretched clothing; they were reduced to extreme suffering and were on the point of dying. The Aguara-Tunpa, in spite of /234/ his evil inclination and his abhorrence of humanity, in spite of his few philanthropic instincts, was moved to compassion for the unfortunate men and went to them and said, "I wish to help you and put an end to your miseries, to your misfortunes and needs, because I can do it; in spite of the fact that you consider my enemy your good friend and me your enemy, I wish to do you a favor so that you may see that when I want to be I am more powerful than your friend, who does not know how to succor you in your present calamities.

/238 cont./

177 648 for himself, for his children, and for his wife (1).

1. Perhaps without intending to do so, the whites have done and are doing a work of charity for the Indian, that of moralizing him somewhat through work, during which he neither gets drunk nor thinks of trifles, etc. Only in some places a little moderation is needed in order not to discourage him.

241 773 776 It was also the Aguara-Tunpa who taught the Chiriguano the cultivation of land, since, seeing that he had not been able to remedy his misery and needs by handing over the bows and arrows, he once again visited his poor hut, and seeing him thin and emaciated, he gave him all kinds of seed so that he might make them bear fruit, teaching him the method of burying them and advising him also of the way and the time for pulling out the weeds with a wooden, because he would have seemed bad before his enemy and before the Indian himself if he had not completed his philanthropical work, after criticizing so much the true friend of Chiriguano humanity (2).

2. The Aguara-Tunpa, For God, did not tell him that the seeds could be eaten right away, because in that way they would have been lost immediately. After they had germinated, he advised that when they were ripe, he could have food for himself and for his family.

423 Every Chiriguano has a small plot of cultivated land, sufficient for himself and for his family. Nobody had previously entered the area in which the Indians live, so that nobody disputed their property rights, as they should not be disputed today, because they are the owners ab immemorabili, and no individual could have sold what belonged to the community.

6: Nordenskiöld--77 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 5710 Chiriguano

Chane 5[illegible]
Mataco 527

E
838
171c
Ca
[123]

/224 cont./

According to Westermarck (2), homosexuality is very

2. Westermarck, Ursprung und Entwickelung der Moralbegriffe /Origin and Development of Ideas of Morality/. Vol. II. Leipzig, 1909.

widespread among the Indians of America. The conception that this is a disgrace is by no means as marked everywhere as it is among the Indians mentioned here.

E
Ca
838
171
c
Ca
833
171
[839]

/225/ Among the Chané and Chiriguano I did not hear anything about onanism. Among the Chorotí, on the other hand, it is said to be practiced by the men who are ignored by the women at a dance.

Perversions in the relationship between men and women, which were common in ancient Peru, do not seem to occur here. The primitive mammal position in coitus is said to be common among the Chaco tribes.

M
832
124
Ea
825
773
839

Matacó gave me a root which they used as an aphrodisiac.

The relationship between human beings and animals is so intimately intertwined in the legends of the Indians that one cannot always determine whether they mean the one or the other. The legends that describe love affairs between human beings and animals are not descriptions of bestiality, which seems to be unknown among these Indians.

Ea
834
171

The sense of modesty has developed very differently among these peoples. It seems to me to depend very much on the mode of dress. None of these Indian men or women of whom I have spoken here regards it as improper, insofar as they have not been completely corrupted or civilized, to expose the upper part of the body. The Chiriguano and Chané women are much more ashamed than the Chorotí and Ashluslay when they expose the sexual parts. The latter were very reluctant to undress completely in order to be photographed. I did not even dare propose such a thing to the former.

Ea
[126]

Ca /104 cont./
821 "yindaiyaka," the head of the ostrich; the two largest stars in Centaurus are "yindaiyay," necklace of the ostrich; Venus is called "yawaiña," morning; Orion with the sword "hüirayüasa" (birds nest). Another constellation is "huázupucu," roebuck horn; another, "hudui," tapir. They call the Pleiades "ychu," but they do not know the meaning of the name, and this is the most important constellation of all.

Ca
821 If one sits with the Indians in their huts, they can indicate the position of the most important constellations in the sky without seeing them. They know their position at all times of the year.

Ca
821 The starry sky is not only the watch and the compass of the Indians. It is also their calendar. In this the Pleiades
805 play an especially important part here, as among other Indians.
Ca When they first /ychu/ become visible on the horizon at dawn,
[24] the proper time has come for the sowing of maize. The fact that this relatively unimportant constellation plays such an important role in the astronomy of the Indians has given rise to fantastic speculations about Babylonian influence.

Ca
821 If one asks Indians about the size of the stars and their distance from us, they stand there perplexed and prefer not to answer at all. They understand, however, that they must be far away.

C
821 The stars do not play an important role in the legends.
773 The Chiriguano chief Maringay, however, said there was once a brother who was playing with his little sister. They tried to catch each other, they sang and jumped. Now they are sitting in the firmament as two stars.

Two clusters of stars in the southern part of the southern firmament are the ashes of an old man and an old woman, a
Ca Chiriguano once told me. It was an evening in August.

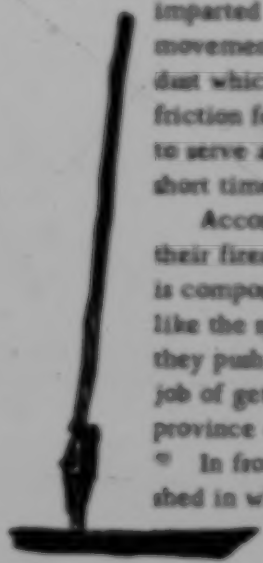
In legends, the sun is a man and the moon a woman.
[821] The Chané children stole fire from an old man, the sun, and the
[773] two-headed Yahuése hid under the tiru of the moon-woman when he was being pursued by the son of the armadillo-god.

/354 cont./

372 small stick was too short to be handled with ease, he fastened it securely to another stick by means of vegetable fibers (embira) (Fig. 26). This done, he sat down on the ground, pressing the soles of his feet on the small cupped stick, and imparted with the palms of the hands a rotating movement to the other stick. The glowing sawdust which was detached by the effect of the friction fell on dried dung placed near the gadget to serve as tinder, which, at the end of a rather short time, began to catch fire.

354 According to the season, the Chiriguano light their fires inside the hut or outside. The hearth is composed of long branches which they lay out like the spokes of a wheel. As the ends burn, they push them closer to the central fire. The job of getting the dead wood falls within the province of the men (Fig. 26).

[462] [313] 343 In front of the huts they often erect a little shed in which the women do the cooking. The



[372] Fig. 25. Ancient apparatus for making fire, reconstructed by a modern Chiriguano. Prov.: Caraguti. (1/6 nat. size.)

roof of this shelter serves as a shelf for putting provisions and utensils on.

Preparation of Food

262 The modern Chiriguano do not seem to observe any food prohibitions, at least in daily life, for the custom of fasting, for women at the time of puberty and for men upon the birth of a [789] [825] child, is not yet lost. In olden days certain animals /355/ were taboo (1). The men of a few villages thus reserved for themselves

[775] 1. In order not to kill one of their dead relatives transformed into a fox, the Chiriguano

/355 cont./

142
291
351
372

Fig. 26. Chiriguano woman lighting a fire. Upper Pilcomayo. (Photo. A. M.)

262
[975] do not hunt nor eat this animal (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 3).

[756] Medicine men cannot under any circumstances eat pimento. If a man refuses to taste this condiment, one can be sure he is a magician (id., p. 184).

[765] Grilled corn is strictly forbidden for persons in mourning, whose tears would dry up if they ate this dish.

[825] the exclusive right to eat deer meat, which thus instilled in them
[189] the agility and suppleness of this animal. Women could eat, without

/462 cont./

Chapter X

Masks

532 The handsome masks, whose description I shall give
796 further on, are worn during the carnival festivities. Difficulties
[122] with the Bolivian authorities kept me from arriving in the Chiriguano villages at the time when they were taking place. When I finally found myself among my Chiriguano friends, they had emptied the last vats of kāwi and were /463/ in their
[126] normal state. Thanks to the closeness of the feast I was able
[241] to collect the masks published here; ordinarily they are destroyed or used in the fields as scarecrows.

115 My host, Mr. Alberto Torrejon, who lives at Ibopeytí on the upper Pilcomayo in an Indian village, gave me some very interesting details about the ceremonies and merrymaking in which he had just participated. I transcribe them as given.

796 At my approach of any festival, the carnival, for exam-
775 ple, the first act consists in causing the souls of the dead to flee.
789 If this precaution is not taken, the widows and relatives of the deceased will have to abstain from taking part. For the purpose of purifying the air, a drum is beaten, and the whole family /Fig. 120 appears here/ which has lost a member weeps and shouts. When the spirits have cleared out, the drum, in a joyful rhythm, gives the signal for merrymaking.

796 The festival is opened by a man and a woman who, with a stick decorated with flowers in hand, advance toward the middle of the square, followed by all the inhabitants in a long chain. When they have arrived at the middle of the area extending between the huts, the couple plants this sign, thus giving the signal for the festival.

[535] The chain breaks up and small groups form to dance in a ring. Their dance consists in advancing and retreating in triple time to the sound of flutes and drums.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "tà." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

851 171 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

583 171 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family. 591

595 622 556 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and 764 dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate. 765 The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

/128 cont./

121 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not show Him homage in some way.

771 124 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find out with special care, constancy, and assiduousness what religion they profess and what type of worship they render to their divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

[115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion, and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt true, however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

776 775

[805] [171] [192]

1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the months by moons, and they have other very similar customs. It is very notable that they also have some Hebrew words.

577 771 /129/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is, natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts, since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

/133 cont./

776 finally, the caciques, tired of being oppressed in certain areas by
173 certain bad Christians, have called some unfortunate, but alert
792 and bright boy Tunpa, in order to gather Indians from other areas to hear a flesh and blood God and fight with courage in the holy war (2).

000

2. The Mexicans, at the time they were conquered by Hernán Cortes, had temples and idols, with priests serving them. When they beat on the holy drum, the fury of the warriors was kindled. In one battle Cortes lost 60 Spaniards, who were burned before the idols.

776 In this last case the illustrious Missionary Father Angélico
173 /134/ Martarelli, in his appendix to the history of the missions
792 says in substance the following: "The boy whom the caciques
791 chose to deceive the rest assumed the name of Tunpa so that his oracles would be believed and respected with great reverence. He was shut up in a hut and from there, through his counselors (one of whom is still alive and very attached to the missionary), gave answers to those who asked, Indian or white. These must respect his advice with all humility, and they were damned if they declared themselves unbelievers, while those who were good joined the ranks behind his flag.

Beliefs in the Spirits

152 It is not unusual for someone who is passing through Chiriguano towns to hear, either near or far, a man or a woman, or sometimes many people, crying, especially at night. In this last case
[795] it causes sadness and who knows what terror for white hearers or for missionaries, because these wails sound like those of condemned
775 souls, and it seems as if they are crying about their misfortunes and the loss of eternal blessings.

/134 cont./

775 If one asks the Indians about this point, they answer that a woman has seen in her dreams the shade of her departed husband, or he that of his departed wife, and both, those of their children, relatives, or grandparents, for all of whom they have an excessive fondness, and it can be deduced from this that in the Chiriguano race there is a confused belief in the immortality of the soul, since, with regard to the body, they themselves can see that everything turns to dust and earth.

775 776 192 Some explorers and travelers have set down in writing that they call the soul Añia; the Indians also confirm these accounts, but they do not give the name Añia indiscriminately to all souls, but only to those which had a very bad death, such as suicide, and those who took a long time to die. But in no case would a mother call her child's soul Añia, nor would relatives use this term for their departed, because Añia means demon or evil spirit (1).

[123] 1. At times I have been called to pray near a person gravely ill, so that he might die sooner and thus be free of that spirit, which, according to them, is bad, but I made it understood to them that I would neither pray as they wished nor was the sick person evil because of taking a long time to die.

The true enemy of the Tunpa is the Añia, demon, but /135/ this latter word only means demon through use, just as iã by the same use means soul. The Indians today give both terms the meaning that I attribute to them, and I still lean on the authority of Father Corrado, who in his catechism defines Añia as demon, Anãrenta, place of demons, Añia inuna, the demon's companion, yaneãgũe, our soul, iãgũe, their soul. The Indians have great fear of a demon and souls possessed by demons; they say that they frequently see them at night, and when they have to walk in the shadows, they carry a burning firebrand (1).

775 776

[192] 1. Añia means phantom in Chiriguano; iã means shade, cuarasi iã pe, in the shade. Missionaries should make them understand the true meaning,

/135 cont./

775
776

because the Indians know that the evil spirit is a phantom, and the soul of the dead a shade; chemembi iã ahecha, I saw the shade of my son, says the mother.

776
784
[123]

One night while the smallpox epidemic was going on, they called me, being the Conversor of the Santa Rosa Mission, to catechize a poor and miserable old woman who was some two and a half kilometers from the town. Among those who accompanied me there was one whom I well remember, who is still alive and whose name I shall not forget, who carried a burning firebrand, which was not necessary for me because the night was quite bright. When he was asked the reason for such a thing, he answered: Aña añuguae vaena, to chase away the demons. They all do this especially when they are alone, which is rare, because the Chiriguano only rarely goes out at night because of his fear of evil spirits.

776
174
171

From this it can be deduced with considerable probability that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay. There were in that region, in past centuries, the missionaries of the Company of Jesus, who are famous for their apostolic work and for the suffering which they experienced in the reduction of the region. Because of the sorcerers some of them even suffered martyrdom.

I had the opportunity to read a brief history, which I have mentioned above, written by Father Antonio of this same company, and I learned that the Guaraní believe in sorcerers and saw the Aña, demon, at all times and places. It destroyed the wheatfields and other plantings, did damage in their houses and burned them. Even the Guaraní called the bad spirit Aña which the said missionary applies to the demon (2).

2. A work written in the Guaraní missions of Paraguay.

/139 cont./

Belief in the Future Life

•775 This belief has suffered many more alterations than the previous one; nevertheless it reveals that even under the rude and ignorant nature of the poor Indian and the unfortunate Chiriguano there is in force the idea of the great philosopher, non omnis moriar, which so many materialists would have end with material life, doubtless in order to drown apparently the remorse of the gnawing worm which from time to time appears and unintentionally reminds us of the perversities which have been perpetrated (1).

[771] 1. It is difficult for the Chiriguano to understand spiritual matters, for which reason his ideas concerning the future life are purely material. Without revelation this dogma of faith is not understood.

When the soul of a Chiriguano leaves the body, it does not die. All, without realizing it or even suspecting it, have this idea of the immortality of the soul. Mourning and sentiments of grief, burial, and things that they put in the coffin when someone dies, with which I shall deal later, are related to this. Should someone ask them about this, they would answer, "Mahanu" How will it be? I don't know. In spite of this ignorance, in order to express their thoughts regarding the soul and its immortality, they admit that there are three places for souls: Tunparenta, Iboca, and Cuarasigüi, Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell.

[123] [191] I am going to deal with the three, rectifying what concerns Iboca, which belief I was acquainted with from the beginning of residence among the race and an account of which can be found in my little Nene, which was printed in the year 1905 to help Chiriguano children learn the Spanish or Castilian language.

The Tunparenta is literally the place of God, or his dwelling place, as the añarenta is the dwelling place of the devil. I have already noted the fact that Tunpa is the source of good, of all virtue, of everything good: Tecocavi. With this idea that he has of God, the Chiriguano naturally concludes that God only

/139 cont./

•775 admits to His company good, virtuous people who are free of all evil, Mbia hecocavi vaé, cuña hecocavi vaé, a man or woman of good habits, /140/ excluding the wicked, murderers, and suicides, who become Añia, demons, or souls of the bad ones (1).

[192]

1. Tenta means town and place; joined to another noun the T changes into R, which is why one says Tunparenta, Añarenta, Irenta, etc., or God's place, devil's place, and water place.

In order that the Chiriguano may go to the Tunparenta, even for the sole purpose of visiting his relatives, he must subject himself to four difficult tests, which, without help, directions, or advice, would be insuperable, from which can be seen the necessity for the sacrifice subjecting oneself to the arrangements of the Tunpa and of following the wise teachings of a sagacious guide, for if a traveler needs one to pass through a mountainous or desert region, exposed to innumerable dangers, how much more logical is it that the man should also have one when dealing with knowledge by means of sacred books on the road to eternal life? From this the reader can deduce how much in error are the followers of Luther, Calvin, etc., who attempt to investigate the true meaning of the Bible only by the dictates of their conscience, and doing without the infallible mastery of the Church established by Christ in the person of St. Peter and his legitimate successors!

An old Chiriguano had lost his wife whom he loved with all his heart, for which reason his grief and pain were incalculable. As a result his life was in danger and he was about to die. At this a compassionate soul appeared to him and said: "Why are you crying so much? Why a[illegible] in such pain? No doubt you don't know the fate which ha[illegible]allen your wife! Know that she is enjoying herself, that she is in a place of delight where all is pleasure and there is no suffering, where one drinks every day and there is always a fiesta, where there is no poverty, or cold, or heat, or sickness. Let us go so that you can see and stop crying. But I warn you that before going, like all, you too must pass the four tests, which you will overcome easily in my company."

/140 cont./

●975 The afflicted Indian, desiring to see his mourned wife again, quickly dressed himself in his best clothes, adorned his person, painted his face with Urucu, Bixa orellana, put around his neck the Itogüi, necklaces, picked up his lance, and went off, following the strange and mysterious guide (2).

2. It is natural for fallen humanity to clean up and dress up in order to present itself decently before a respectable public or before venerated persons. Christians ought to practice this when they go to church to hear or receive the divine mysteries and sacraments.

/141/ They made the first day's journey without incident and prepared their first night's lodging on a green and beautiful plain, where grew perfumed flowers and gigantic trees, which, with their leafy tops provided shelter for an infinity of birds. There they slept very peacefully without having their sleep disturbed by the wild animals of the nearby woods, and the next day, early in the morning, they set out again, and when the wide plain ended, the guide said to the Indian: "Get ready because we are now near the first test." And in fact he could see it. It was an enormous fire which rose almost to the clouds and then quickly came down again. Every time it rose up, it formed an arch, which allowed one to take a quick step. When he was warned by the guide that he should drive his horse forward at a gallop at the instant that the great flame rose up, they did it and passed through without incident (1).

1. Before beginning his trip the Chiriguano, on the mysterious guide's order, stole without permission two horses belonging to others and saddles for the comfort of both.

Before arriving at the end of the second day's journey they found themselves facing another danger. This was a wide well of boiling water which completely blocked the way, as did the first and later things. The well was easy to get over by a great

/141 cont./

775 jump on the part of the horse, but the boiling water kept rising to a great height and then would come down again with great force. The passage, however, was managed by the travelers quite happily, and they got far enough away from the place so that the noise did not disturb their rest and their sleep that night.

On the next day, before sunrise, they again began their trip toward the Tunparenta. The clear dawn and the fresh morning breezes announced a beautiful day; the little birds of the woods with their sweet and gentle songs brightened those lonely places. The jaguar in the distance showed his displeasure because the silence of those woods had been disturbed by alien living beings, and other beasts of the forest fled in fear, while the star of the day appeared with its shining face, casting beams through the thick woods which covered the region.

Now the sun was shining in the firmament as on the other days. They had now covered one third of the way when the third test appeared. This consisted of two enormous boulders in continuous movement, opening and closing continually with a terrible noise like thunder. /142/ With the guide showing the way, and the Indian passed through without difficulty, and very soon they arrived at the fourth test. This was made up of some huge scissors with the points down, which would have cut any careless person in half without any possibility of escape, but the travelers passed without difficulty, and after this they found themselves in front of the Tunparenta.

This was an immense pampa, carpeted with flowers and grasses of every color and full of happy people who drank continually the favorite liquor of the Chiriguano. The Indian there saw his wife and his daughter, richly dressed, resplendent like the moon, and he asked them to return in his company, but they did not consent. The Indian returned alone, promising to behave well in order to be able to join them soon (1).

1. The first of the spouses to die waits in the Tunparenta for the survivor in order to be reunited again. Bachelors must wait until spinsters die, in order to contract matrimony in heaven, where they do not experience the jealousies and debauchery of their companions.

/142 cont./

● 195 The Iboca which I have mentioned is in a certain way similar to the purgatory of the Catholics, and in some ways similar to limbo, since the Indians state that souls which go there are in utter darkness, which is the same thing as not seeing God, and this alone constitutes great suffering. Other corporal and moral punishments do not exist there, but the darkness is perpetual (2).

2. In Iboca, located southeast of Igüembe Canton, souls can be heard at night in continuous joy and bacchanalia with songs and dances. By day all is sepulchral silence, so they all say.

The Cuarasigüi, literally, under the sun, is for the Chiriguano the true hell, where is felt the true eternal fire which is represented by the sun, in the immediate vicinity of which it is impossible to remain, as the natural sciences, cosmology, demonstrate. According to the Chiriguano, those Indians who take the life of another, those who take other people's property, those who commit suicide, and those who commit sins contra naturam go to Curasigüi.

193 According to a famous explorer and ethnologist who not long ago passed through the region from Guachalla to the boundary which divides Bolivia from Peru in the northwest, there exists among the Chiriguano the idea or belief in the Tower of Babel, where the confusion of languages took place. According to that reference formerly there was but one language spoken, and, according to them, this was Quichua /Quechua/. The idea of creation, of the flood, of the confusion of languages, the method of counting the months by moons and the seasons by what they signify, /143/ and various Chiriguano words similar to Hebrew are powerful arguments to demonstrate the unity of the human race against the rationalists who are trying to show that there were men destroyed by the flood in America (1).

[192] [197]

1. The Chiriguano words ava, hae, húú, and mahanu?, man, he, black, and what is it?, are similar to the Hebrew av, ael, húm, and mahanu?, man or father, he, black, and what is that?

/291 cont./

764 Now the funeral begins, which consists of crying as hard as possible, men and women, and shedding real or false tears. While they are crying they also dig the grave, /292/ which at most is two meters deep. The weeping lasts all night without rest and is accompanied by strict fasting, because so long as the deceased is visible, it would be a dishonor to take food. If there are young children in the house, they are taken by the neighbors or by some relative who takes care of them with all humanity through everything, since the unfortunate ones, when they see so much confusion, act stupid and go after the first person who shows them any tenderness. To wet their mouths and in order to cry unceasingly, those who attend the funeral, drink a little new chicha, if there is any; otherwise they are content with a little water (1).

[824]

1. Those who cannot shed tears because they do not mourn the death of the deceased put chili pepper in their eyes, and with this, which they call a medicine, the tears fall copiously.

On the next day, when the grave has already been dug, they first put the deceased in the vessel, Yambúi. They also put in a small jar of chicha, a little parched meal, a flintstone, a steel, tinder, fresh maize husk, and tobacco, a live parrot or chicken, a bow and arrow, and other things which belonged to the deceased, and they close it with another jar, and if the dead person is a nursing infant, they put in its sepulcher a small jar of the mother's milk. All these things are necessary for the journey to the [775] other life and clearly indicate that the Chiriguano have an idea, although a material one, of the immortality of the soul.

764 775 Now enclosed in the funeral urn, they lower it into the hole by means of ropes, and meanwhile the cries redouble, until it disappears below the ground. The body is placed with the face toward the east, because they all want the deceased to attain glory, the paradise which is shown by the light of the sun. Placed thus, the deceased or his soul will not always be going about in search of happiness; he will run toward the sun as iron or steel goes toward a magnet.

/292 cont./

Mourning

765 The interment over, they cry all that day, until the sun sets and night comes; then everyone goes home, only the closest [785] relatives staying to weep. Fasting, already mentioned, lasts for [302] three days, and on the first day after the burial all the women relatives cut off their hair and lay it on the grave. While cutting it off they look toward the east. The hair stays on the grave for some time, and later they take it off, and, if they burn it, it is [826] not on the grave, but away. They prefer not to burn it, however, because they would feel heat /293/ on their heads. If they notice or sense some noise coming from the hole, they beat a stone, put it on top, and the noise stops (1).

766 765 1. If the deceased is a cacique, they all weep until dawn, and afterward they meet every night for about a week.

765 They also put on the grave the tembeta, the bag, and the weapons which belonged to the deceased, such as his lance or some kind of saber, bows and arrows, so that he will not go looking for them, and when for any reason they leave the house alone, they put over the hole the pestle of the mortar, and, if this is done, the deceased will not move from his place. The souls of [775] those who have died in a bad way, for example, suicides, walk about continually, find no rest, go shouting at set hours, and are, according to what they believe, demons or their companions.

The dead person's nearest relatives sincerely grieve over the disappearance of the deceased, as the tears and sorrow shown on their faces prove. If, instead of a man, it is a woman who disappears from among the living, the widower feels the same grief; if the dead woman leaves small children, the picture that the house presents is truly heart-rending, the house where the morning sun will not find present the mother who so tenderly cared for her little ones (2).

2. The children demand to go back and they

Ce 752 /217 cont./ of boiling the water because they wanted to kill the macroscopic animals in it. The Chané sometimes use fresh leaves to bandage wounds.

Ee 764 Ee [763] If, in spite of the medicine man's efforts, the /218/ spell cannot be lifted and the Chané or Chiriguano Indian dies, he or she is buried under the hut in a large clay vessel. Before the dying one is quite dead, or immediately after death, he is flexed so that the knees come under the chin and the arms are laid crosswise over the chest. On the Rio Parapiti there lived for many years a Chané Indian who had been flexed in this way, but who, before he was stuffed into the grave urn, was saved by a white man. The deceased, dressed, with a water calabash at his knee, Ee [775] is set into the vessel. The water is supposed to be taken along by the deceased when he wanders about on the mountains, the Chané chief Vocapoy told me. The vessel is buried in the hut, and another vessel is put upside down over it as a lid.

Ee 768 At Tatarenda, near Yacuiba, I heard that the hut is burned down after the burial. This, however, is not the usual thing. On the contrary, the hut is abandoned for a time after the burial and then moved into again later on. This is what happened, for ex- Ce 764 ample, in a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro, where I was shortly after a burial.

Ee [415] The large maize-beer vessels (Fig. 113) are used as coffins. If there is a shortage of vessels, burial often takes place in another way. In a Chané village, Copéri, on the Rio Parapiti, a child was buried in a skin under the hut shortly before my arrival.

These Indians spend their lives on the graves of their dead relatives, and often the hut is so full that a later burial in old pots becomes necessary.

"The Christian carries his dead far from his house. We Indians, who feel a great love for them, keep them in our houses." That is approximately what Vocapoy once said to me when the conversation turned to this strange method of burial.

Ce /257 cont./
539 In the morning the dead said: "chéahata húirasécuera (I shall go
775 around as a tree trunk), chéahata augúyara (I shall go around as a rat), chéahata kárakárara (I shall go around as a vulture), chéahata águarára (I shall go around as a fox), chéahata ándirára (I shall go around as a bat)," etc. She returned home. Her husband said he would come to get her. After three days she was dead. She had
C followed her husband to Aguararenta.

787 The Chiriguano chief Maringay told me of a man who had
775 fallen asleep by the wayside. During the night his dead wife came to him, and he slept with her. When he awoke, she was gone.
C He regarded as real what he had experienced in his sleep. Among
Ce 787 the Chané and Chiriguano the belief in a future life is based on
775 dreams, as among other Indians. In a dream they meet a dead person, in a dream they visit the realm of the dead. It is incorrect, however, to say that the Indians believe in a life after death. He knows that there is such, for living persons have seen the dead, have made love with them, have drunk maize beer with them, have seen them change into foxes, rats, tree trunks, etc.

Legends about Spirits and Animals.

Ce
775 "The dead are aña," said Batirayu. Among these there are a number who are tunpa (best translated as "great") and have superhuman powers.

The greatest among the añatunpas is Yamándutunpa. /258/ Others among the great ones are Mariutunpa and Tipaytunpa. Ce Chiquéritunpa, who appears in a few of the legends given here,
[787] is the one who produces thunder. Chiquéritunpa howls at night when there is going to be war. These añatunpa intervene in the lives
Ce of human beings; the sorcerers in particular are connected with
775 them. Thus, Batirayu told how the añatunpa came at night to
787 Tsuhuandico, a great sorcerer now deceased, and drank maize
756 beer with him. They told him when it would rain, when someone would fall ill, whether there would be a crop failure, etc. Batirayu also said that Angúya, a kinsman of Aringui, the last great chief,

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

846 [844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other 756 resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which 763 is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [931] Choroti, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a [171] rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike 648 nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 134.
[2] Nordenskiöld (16).

gave regular battle to the whites. This battle, in which about 5,000 Chiriguano Indians took part, was fought at Curuyqui, on the tableland of Boyuovis. The result of the struggle was long undecided, but the Indians were at length compelled to give way before the superior weapons of the whites. 181 648

According to a Chiriguano legend, man's soul, some time after corporeal death, comes to the abode of the great spirit Tumpà, where it enjoys to the full everything in which it delighted during its earthly existence. But no joy is permanent. When the soul has spent its allotted time with Tumpà, it is obliged to return to the world and there enter into the body of a fox. When the fox dies, the soul moves into a rat, and, when this animal dies, into a branch of an old tree in the forest. The tree ages, withers away and dies and, as the branch decays, the soul, too, gradually perishes. When the branch has finally become mould, the flame of the soul is extinguished for ever. 775

797

Fig. 232. A large wooden cross raised near the Franciscan mission for Chiriguano, at Aguayrenda. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[pp. 226-268 not processed]

/362 cont./

262 [252] The Chiriguano call kumanara a leguminous plant, wild, which resembles the yuca and which can serve as food after being boiled. They resort to it only when pressed by hunger. The word designating this plant has a strange resemblance to [92] the name of the batata in the Quichua dialects of Ecuador and northern Peru (Rivet, 3, pp. 583-590). It is perhaps a question of a Quichua word introduced into the Chiriguano language to designate a plant of which they did not have the equivalent in their original homeland. The case is nevertheless rare, and one can wonder if it is not a simple coincidence.

[222] [171] Neither do the Chiriguano look down on honey, although they do not seek it with the passion of their cousins, the Kainguá. What I tasted among them was contained in thin honeycombs having the consistency of cardboard. It had a pleasant taste.

222 784 Any Indian who goes in search of honey (ei) must not make his intention known to anyone and, if he is asked where he is going, he must answer: "To look for wood." If you do not take [176] these precautions, the protecting spirit of the honey is warned of your plan and hides the honeycombs he guards (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 86).

222 114 The missionary Corrado (p. 43) assures us that grasshoppers, cicadas, the larvae of bees are that many delicious [252] dishes for the Chiriguano. He adds that these insects are roasted. Nino (p. 247) reproduces the statements of his predecessor and completes the list of strange foods by adding /363/ ants, lizards, leaves of the cucurbitaceae, melted tallow, etc. Personally I [191] have never seen the Chiriguano touch these dishes strange to our palates, but I am all the more inclined to believe these two missionaries that the tastes they indicate are actually those of the Indians in other regions.

262 252 Already in the 16th century the Chiriguano passed as snake lovers, even of poisonous species. They cut off the head and tail, skinned them, and roasted pieces of them on live coals. They used to eat them with pimento. No doubt the Spaniards con- [178] fused snakes with iguanas, which even today the Chiriguano justly like (Lizárraga, Vol. I, p. 260).

/41 cont./

*136 ZORRO /fox/. -- This quadruped is not scarce here among the Chiriguano; it thus seems that it adapts to every climate. It is so intrepid that at night it will go about the towns without betraying its presence to the dogs, but if they do smell it, they pursue it immediately and even kill it, although they may suffer for it, because the dog of the Chiriguano Indian and the fox are equally skinny, but among several of them they achieve their purpose and kill it.

This dauntless beast leaves nothing; it makes its meal off whatever it encounters; it causes considerable damage in the cane fields from the time when the plants begin to become sweet and even pulls up recently planted shoots from their furrows or holes. It slashes watermelons and melons without allowing them to ripen, and as a result of this the farmer often does not taste these gifts. It also does damage in maize fields, but this is an abundant crop and the harm is not felt so much; when it can obtain chickens, it does not fail to provide itself with a good lunch or supper, and to this end it approaches towns and houses in the country by day as well.

There are several classes and sizes of them, but they are smaller, like every animal, than those of the other hemisphere. It is difficult to chase them out of the cane fields, the damage to which will only be reduced by reducing the number of foxes, and this can only be achieved by the use of strychnine or some other poison, which, mixed with small bits of meat, is placed on the various trails that they have opened, causing damage to the sugar-cane plants.

*136 *825 • 176 178 [161] We shall see in the course of these pages that the Chiriguano used to venerate it as a divinity with the name of "Aguara-Tunpa," or Fox-God, to whom they attributed more power because he was capable of destroying the works of the true tunpa. Today, when the region has been invaded and populated by so many whites and foreigners and the Chiriguano have been reduced to a handful scattered here and there, those who believe in such humbug are few.

/128 cont./

121 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not show Him homage in some way.

771 124 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find out with special care, constancy, and assiduousness what religion they profess and what type of worship they render to their divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

[115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion, and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt true, however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

776 775

[805] [171] [192]

1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the months by moons, and they have other very similar customs. It is very notable that they also have some Hebrew words.

577 771 /129/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is, natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts, since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

/129 cont./

196 This same thing is not true with respect to the external
18 demonstrations of worship. The Chiriguano, like every savage
191 people, have no temples, priests, or ceremonial to regulate manifestations of worship. Does this also demonstrate that they completely lack external demonstrations of veneration of a god? It is not easy to give a categorical answer regarding this, because
[186] if it is the truth, as now seems to be the case, for I have not been able to discover any fact which shows the existence of that worship, this could be explained if we take into account the fact that the savage, because of his condition of isolation in the midst of the forest, is distrustful; he looks at the white man with suspicion. This is more than sufficient reason for him to hide his religious acts from the view of the latter.

Nobody could deny us the exactness and solid foundation of this observation, since it is a fact that civilized men, even among themselves, are ashamed to practice religious acts for human reasons, from whence comes the fact that they neither fulfill the duties of their religion nor come to the churches, and, what is worse, they make a show of a religious indifference which is very far from what in fact they feel.

Let us agree then that the Chiriguano does profess some religion, like all other peoples of the world.

This conclusion will be corroborated by what we are going to see in the following sections.

Divinities

•776 That the Chiriguano have some divinities is undeniable, but it is very difficult to determine what character they have and to what category they belong according to the concepts of these savages. This is the reason why it is impossible to determine with certainty whether or not they /130/ profess polytheism or monotheism, when one considers the diversity of excellence, power, and pre-eminence which they attribute to their divinities.

/130 cont./

776 What I am going to set down here will cast some light on this subject and will enlighten the intelligence of the studious man for its investigation.

124 From conversations with the true Chiriguanos it is impossible
776 to form any idea of the supreme being that they accept. I say true Chiriguanos, by which I mean those who have had almost no contact with missionaries or whites. Today it is difficult to find one of these. Yet despite this, if one should ask the old people who live far from the missions, "Who made all that we see?" they answer, "Quia ndipó?" Who can it be? "Who created us?" They answer: "Ti! Ndicuaá á?" What do you mean? Do you not
797 know? And they give a purely material explanation, as happened
122 on an exploration and trip that I made several years ago in the
829 company of other missionaries south of the canton or town of
[114] Huacaya, where I talked with an old cacique who had taken part in the war of 1875 against Igüembe and who, after the pacification, preferred to live outside the mission and planned to die there, because he is convinced that Indians who live in missions die earlier, just as, according to him, all of his companions from Boicovo have already died, which is not true, because they still are alive there, as old as he is (1).

1. The Indians have had and will continue to have the false and erroneous idea that baptism makes those who receive it die, because it is administered to men and women who are in immediate danger of death, and hence those who are old do not wish to be baptized when they are enjoying good health.

192 In the Chiriguano language we find the word Tunpa, which means "superior being" or "marvelous being." When for the first time they saw a large clock with its "tick, tock" and the pendulum making the hands move and giving energy to the hammer to strike the hours with its little bell or wire string, when they saw for the first time the photographic camera which reproduced the image of one or more of them, the clock and camera were Tunpa for the Chiriguano. They applied this word to both things,

/130 cont./

192 and it is the one that they apply to anything that causes them wonder or admiration over something new.

•776 192 [197] It is the missionary and the Christians who have made it understood to the Indian that Tunpa means God, the maker of all things visible and invisible. Father Corrado, one of the most illustrious Franciscan missionaries, who thoroughly understood the Chiriguano language, in which he wrote a brief but profound catechism, says clearly in a note on its first page that it cannot be stated /131/ that the word Tunpa means God, and he only puts it in his catechism because all the writers who have dealt with the Chiriguano race give the word Tunpa the meaning of God.

This Tunpa of which the Chiriguano cannot give a clear idea and which the missionaries and Christians explain as meaning the true God, Tunpaete vae (1), is for the Indian the source

[193]

1. The particle "Ete" in this language expresses the superlative degree. It is put after a noun, pronoun, adjective, or verb.

of all that is good, a living and material being, in contrast to another divinity. He makes it rain, he makes the algarrobas, maize, gourds, and everything edible ripen, he wards off sickness and all calamities, in spite of which all these kindnesses are still attributed to the sorcerers, men of flesh and blood like anyone else, who consequently have the name Tunpaete, for which reason I said that, for the Indian, Tunpa is a living physical being. If the missionary, as Columbus did, could announce in advance an eclipse or the appearance of a comet, for the Indian he is a Tunpa (2).

2. Several times I have announced beforehand eclipses of the moon. Last year, long before it became visible, I announced to the Indians the appearance of Halley's comet. This was sufficient for me to be called Tunpaete.

/131 cont./

776 Besides the Tunpa, the old people accepted and still accept in certain places another divinity more powerful than the one described. This second divinity is the astute and intrepid fox, called in their language Aguara-Tunpa, fox god. According to them, he is almost always in a struggle with the first one, and they state as a dogma of faith that he does everything possible to destroy the work of the true God, sometimes showing himself to be a friend of the human race, limited to the Chiriguano, and at other times its enemy.

A Fabulous Belief about the Flood

773 I am going to tell a fable which confirms the second property of the Aguara-Tunpa, because it also gives an idea of the universal flood, argued about so much today, concerning which so many opinions have been forthcoming, some of them admissible and others poorly thought out. Here it is:

It is told that in very remote times the Aguara-Tunpa declared himself at war with the true God, creator of the Chiriguano race. The reason for this enmity is not known, but it seems that he did it because of a contradictory scheme or spirit. In order to spite /132/ the true God, the Aguara-Tunpa set fire to all the fields and pastures at the middle or beginning of autumn, and, together with the plants and trees, all the animals which served as food for the Chiriguano died, so that the latter, who had not begun the sowing of maize and other cereals, as they do now, found themselves close to perishing (1).

1. In a not too distant period, before spring began they burned the fields in honor of Aguara-Tunpa.

In this extremity they came to the banks of the rivers and lined their banks to seek in the waters what they could not find on the land, which was still smoking from the terrible fire, and then Aguara-Tunpa, who was close of being frustrated in his

/133/

793 The Cururu then, before the total flood, went into the ground, carrying burning embers in his mouth, and there, by blowing on them, he did not let them go out. When he found out that the liquid element had disappeared from the face of the earth, he once again took into his mouth the embers of fire, came out into the open air, sought out the two children, delivered the fire to them, and thus they were able to cook the fish which they were patiently extracting from the fresh water, and thus they were able to give warmth to their shivering members (1).

[538] [825]

1. When children bother a toad, it will puff itself up to remind them that by blowing it did not let the fire go out, reminding them that they owe it gratitude. This is what the very old people tell the children.

The two children grew older until they were old enough to propagate, which in fact they did until the Chiriguano had again multiplied, all of whom, according to them, descended from those two beings.

This story, as I said, clearly manifests, with very slight differences, the idea of the universal flood, of Noah's ark, and of the human race which was saved in it. At the same time it demonstrates the ill will of Aguara-Tunpa against God and His creatures, and the new multiplication of the race on the banks of a river.

796 173 792 The primary divinities, one completely good and the other good and bad, depending on his will, are only two, but tradition and relatively contemporary history teach us that in different times and in various regions some daring Indian who was fond of laziness and other people's property, with a degree of loquacity and extraordinary promises, managed to gather around him in his new house, which he had deliberately built outside the town, a multitude of Indians from near and far and claimed to be Tunpa, an extraordinary and marvelous being. Others, including a certain woman of great daring, have claimed to be Tunpa ichi, "mother of God," which had little effect, and on other occasions,

/133 cont./

776 finally, the caciques, tired of being oppressed in certain areas by
173 certain bad Christians, have called some unfortunate, but alert
792 and bright boy Tunpa, in order to gather Indians from other areas to hear a flesh and blood God and fight with courage in the holy war (2).

000

2. The Mexicans, at the time they were conquered by Hernán Cortes, had temples and idols, with priests serving them. When they beat on the holy drum, the fury of the warriors was kindled. In one battle Cortes lost 60 Spaniards, who were burned before the idols.

776 In this last case the illustrious Missionary Father Angélico
173 /134/ Martarelli, in his appendix to the history of the missions
792 says in substance the following: "The boy whom the caciques
791 chose to deceive the rest assumed the name of Tunpa so that his oracles would be believed and respected with great reverence. He was shut up in a hut and from there, through his counselors (one of whom is still alive and very attached to the missionary), gave answers to those who asked, Indian or white. These must respect his advice with all humility, and they were damned if they declared themselves unbelievers, while those who were good joined the ranks behind his flag.

Beliefs in the Spirits

152 It is not unusual for someone who is passing through Chiriguano towns to hear, either near or far, a man or a woman, or some-
[795] times many people, crying, especially at night. In this last case it causes sadness and who knows what terror for white hearers or for missionaries, because these wails sound like those of condemned
775 souls, and it seems as if they are crying about their misfortunes and the loss of eternal blessings.

/134 cont./

775 If one asks the Indians about this point, they answer that a woman has seen in her dreams the shade of her departed husband, or he that of his departed wife, and both, those of their children, relatives, or grandparents, for all of whom they have an excessive fondness, and it can be deduced from this that in the Chiriguano race there is a confused belief in the immortality of the soul, since, with regard to the body, they themselves can see that everything turns to dust and earth.

775 776 192 Some explorers and travelers have set down in writing that they call the soul Añia; the Indians also confirm these accounts, but they do not give the name Añia indiscriminately to all souls, but only to those which had a very bad death, such as suicide, and those who took a long time to die. But in no case would a mother call her child's soul Añia, nor would relatives use this term for their departed, because Añia means demon or evil spirit (1).

[123] 1. At times I have been called to pray near a person gravely ill, so that he might die sooner and thus be free of that spirit, which, according to them, is bad, but I made it understood to them that I would neither pray as they wished nor was the sick person evil because of taking a long time to die.

The true enemy of the Tunpa is the Añia, demon, but /135/ this latter word only means demon through use, just as iã by the same use means soul. The Indians today give both terms the meaning that I attribute to them, and I still lean on the authority of Father Corrado, who in his catechism defines Añia as demon, Anãrenta, place of demons, Añia inuna, the demon's companion, yaneãgũe, our soul, iãgũe, their soul. The Indians have great fear of a demon and souls possessed by demons; they say that they frequently see them at night, and when they have to walk in the shadows, they carry a burning firebrand (1).

775 776

[192] 1. Añia means phantom in Chiriguano; iã means shade, cuarasi iã pe, in the shade. Missionaries should make them understand the true meaning,

/135 cont./

775 776 because the Indians know that the evil spirit is a phantom, and the soul of the dead a shade; chemembi iã ahecha, I saw the shade of my son, says the mother.

776 784 [123] One night while the smallpox epidemic was going on, they called me, being the Conversor of the Santa Rosa Mission, to catechize a poor and miserable old woman who was some two and a half kilometers from the town. Among those who accompanied me there was one whom I well remember, who is still alive and whose name I shall not forget, who carried a burning firebrand, which was not necessary for me because the night was quite bright. When he was asked the reason for such a thing, he answered: Añia añuguae vaena, to chase away the demons. They all do this especially when they are alone, which is rare, because the Chiriguano only rarely goes out at night because of his fear of evil spirits.

776 174 171 From this it can be deduced with considerable probability that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay. There were in that region, in past centuries, the missionaries of the Company of Jesus, who are famous for their apostolic work and for the suffering which they experienced in the reduction of the region. Because of the sorcerers some of them even suffered martyrdom.

I had the opportunity to read a brief history, which I have mentioned above, written by Father Antonio of this same company, and I learned that the Guaraní believe in sorcerers and saw the Añia, demon, at all times and places. It destroyed the wheatfields and other plantings, did damage in their houses and burned them. Even the Guaraní called the bad spirit Añia which the said missionary applies to the demon (2).

2. A work written in the Guaraní missions of Paraguay.

/135 cont./

000 Revelation teaches us that legions of angels were lost because of an error or the grave sin of pride and passed into the category /136/ of the condemned or demons. Faith, reason, and common sense teach us that perverse men who die in their perversity are separated from good ones, as evil-doers are separated in this world by being imprisoned in jails. Divine justice demands punishment for the perverse, who, like condemned persons, pass into the category of lost spirits and as semblance of the demons, God allowing this, and they can appear to those of us who live here in the world to detain us along the way of sin or to warn us about it.

776 787 Under this concept it is not repugnant even to common sense to admit the probability that the Chiriguano do see the Aña, demon or evil spirit. Sacred history speaks of visions and apparitions; profane histories cannot combat them, but rather they relate innumerable facts of demoniac apparitions which have appeared by means of spiritualism. It is not strange that such a thing should happen among the Chiriguano. Doubtless it is incredible that it should be so frequent. They say that they see the demons at every moment of the night, whenever there is no fire or light, but this is a puerile worry, and due to fear and fright in some and to ignorance in others (1).

[372] [789] 1. In all the houses of the true Chiriguano there is always a fire burning at night for the principal end of keeping away the evil spirit or Aña.

773

Beliefs Relative to the Creation

[115] Before going on I am going to relate what was told to me by the cacique Anduari of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission, who, in order to increase his income, is a sorcerer or witch doctor for the Indians and some whites in a wide area. According to the account that follows, the human race, or the Chiriguano, was destroyed twice. The first time and its restoration have already been seen. The second occurred in the following way (2).

[585] [777] 2. Anduari gave his account in the presence of his

/144 cont./

Genii

776 171 Where ignorance dominates, superstition is the result, I imagine, since all the tribes adjacent to the Chiriguano must believe in the existence of genii or owners of certain places who, not to offend anybody, are even accepted by some members of the white race, especially when dealing with buried treasures. This is not the least strange, since before the arrival of Christ all humanity, except for the Hebrews, believed in this, and even today in those places where the light of the Gospel has not penetrated a belief in genii prevails, even among enlightened people, because only the Gospel dissipates /illustration appears here/ /145/ the mists from the soul and destroys error, consequences of the fall of the first man.

778 776 In Chiriguano the tutelar genii of a place are called Iya, owner in the literal sense. If the Chiriguano pass by places where there is some genie, they find it difficult to approach, and if one asks them where there might be some limestone or gypsum, they will not tell for fear of the Iya, who would take revenge by killing the Chiriguano who caused the place watched over by the genie to be discovered. If something useful must be taken from such a place, they do it with the permission of the Iya (1).

[278] [317] [231]

1. The presence of the Iya in places where petroleum is found is undeniable for the Chiriguano. They will take what is absolutely necessary of this liquid to cure the sores of their horses, cows, etc.

135 When the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, the missionary made every effort to try to find gypsum and limestone, but no Indian was willing to tell where it was abundant. Nevertheless, by chance, while the foundations of the church were being built, it was discovered that many of the stones being used were of hydraulic lime, an abundant vein of which was found about 300 meters from the church itself on top of a hill. Gypsum up to today has not been found in the areas thereabouts for the same reason, but there are signs of its presence. In

797

The Santa Rosa Mission Band

135 /145 cont./
Caraparirenta there is an occasional stone of this, which has been brought there by water.

In Huacaya Canton, along the shores of the Pilcomayo on the lower slopes of the hills of Oriente, it is asserted that there must be mines or deposits of gold. A stream brings little nuggets to [648] certain places. Almost all the whites there say that the Indians pick up these nuggets, sell some of them, and work others into rings or earrings for their wives, but up to now, however hard the whites have tried to discover the place, they have never found an Indian who would take them (2).

• 776 778

2. They say that in the woods on the peak of a small hill there are two bells hanging from a tree and in another place a building with two

/145 cont./

776 778 small apartments, owned by the Iya, a child who leaves footprints when it walks. They believe these things as though they were real.

312 778 823 776 Among the many springs that are plentiful in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission there are several with hot, sulphurous water. None of the old people will go near these springs, and the only ones who do it are boys and girls who, because they have embraced the Catholic religion perhaps and because the teaching of the /146/ missionary makes them understand that only God need be feared, have no fear of these inoffensive things. Nevertheless, [061] when some schoolgirl dies, the old people say that such a thing has happened because of the lack of care shown by them when they approached and bathed in these springs owned by the Iya.

778 776 The aforesaid shows that the old Chiriguano is very superstitious, and because of his love of life he respects the places where the imaginary genii can be found. If such places were [176] [153] discovered and disturbed through someone's error, he either would soon die or he would lead an unfortunate life full of long sicknesses ending in death, and for this reason it is impossible for a true Chiriguano to reveal the places which, according to his affirmations, are possessed by genii (1).

1. At the end of the year 1899 a gentleman from Sucre began work in the petroleum site of Mandiyuti in Cuevo. Unfortunately, he died of acute bronchitis, but the Indians attributed his death to the anger of the Iya.

Sorcerers

754 756 Another consequence of ignorance is a belief in sorcerers. This belief, however, is much more general. The working man accepts it, as does the moderately enlightened. The man who is in a completely savage state accepts it, as well as the one who is beginning to become civilized. It is accepted in America, as in old Europe, extensive Asia, deserted Africa, and newest Oceania. Nevertheless, the word "sorcerer" does not have the

/146 cont./

754 same meaning everywhere. In Europe the ignorant masses call
756 sorcerer or witch the man or woman who has made a formal pact with the devil; among the Chiriguano and whites of the Gran Chaco it is the man or woman who succeeds in curing illness or who is in possession of other prestigious abilities (2).

752 2. I know an Indian who treats snake poisoning
756 without using any medicine. He blows upon and rubs the bitten part, and it gets well with no
[825] other remedy. He catches snakes, holds them against his breast, puts them in his pockets, in his hat, and they do not bite him. I cannot explain this phenomenon.

773 But who was the father of sorcerers among the Chiriguano?
825 Guarerai, Indian, Iñeé iya vae, eloquent one, told the following
•776 story: In a very remote epoch there was a general drought which
756 continued with the imminent danger of all the sown fields being
754 lost. When the cause had been discovered by the king of the birds, Güiraqué, the kite, organized a commission to the lord of rain, called Choncho, so that he might /147/ make it rain. But as the latter paid no attention to the king's embassy, he came personally to find out why and to punish his disobedience if he found him guilty. But the choncho answered that it was not up to him, but up to another bird called chena, whom King Milano confronted, and as he wavered when he denied it or tried to free himself of blame, suspicion was aroused that he was the author of so much evil, and as the evil-doer he was immediately run through by King Milano's lance.

787 This is a fable, but it is certain that the choncho is respected
825 and feared. If this small bird sings in an angry tone, it is a sign to the Chiriguano that evil will come to him, and then he commends himself to it and says: aguye ndepochi, cheru mi, tome taicó cavi; do not be angry, may everything go well with me. If it sings happily, the Chiriguano will be well received by his relatives and friends, and if the choncho says, To, To, it is a sign that wherever he goes he will find a lot of chicha, for which reason they never do any harm to this little bird.

754
756 /147 cont./
731
[825] According to the story of Guarerai, the choncho is the
[176] father of good sorcerers, especially those who make it rain, and the chena is the father of bad sorcerers, or those who hold back the rain. In any public calamity in certain places, all the Indians will gather around the Ipaye, or sorcerer, so that the calamity may cease. If this continues despite the sorcerer's promise and he is unable to blame anyone else for his impotence, as the choncho did, he is killed with blows and burned without pity, but if he can blame it on another chena, the latter will suffer the capital punishment, and his protests of innocence or ignorance will be of no avail. Such is the fury of the mob when they are exalted by the harangues of the good Ipaye!

825 Before passing on from these feared and respected birds, I
787 shall say in passing that at night a whitish bird that they call
763 Teté walks and flies about. When they see it, it is a sure sign to the Indians that in some house the women are about to cut their hair as a sign of mourning, that is, that someone in the town will die. As for the small owl /lechuza/, Suinda, the beliefs of the Chiriguano are the same as those of the common people of Europe and America, the differences among them being slight (1).

765

1. As will be seen, mourning among the Chiriguano women consists of cutting their hair and wearing the dirtiest rag on their heads. Mourning is always complete, that is, they observe strict mourning for any dead person.

756 /148/ Good sorcerers, represented by the choncho, are very
754 compassionate, and they do everything possible so that the race may enjoy good health, fortune, good crops, without experiencing hunger or epidemics, while bad sorcerers bring every evil to the poor Chiriguano. They hold back rain and order epidemics, as well as hunger and death. Bad sorcerers are called Mbaecuá.

754 The Chiriguano does not die because it is so decreed, because
761 it is a condition of human nature; he does not die as a result of sin of the first man. He dies because bad sorcerers exist; without

/232 cont./

301 171 Berry women put pieces of glass and bits of ivory in their lips, respectively; among the Mittoo /Mittu/ and the Lobbatk, men and women wear in the lower lip tembeta that are conical in shape, and in addition the women even wear hoops in the upper lip (2).

2. In many tribes of the world, the tembeta is a mark of modesty, and women who wear it do not show themselves in public without having it in the lip.

In other regions the women are coquettes, only wearing in their upper lip a wood or ivory hoop, which the Sciulus do. Finally, even the Cormá /Korma/, investigated not long ago by the Italian Bottego, wear in their lip wide wooden hoops which increase the wideness of the lip itself.

In North America the tembeta is used by preference by the /233/ women; it serves them as an ornament, and they put around it as many little pieces of wood as they have years of age. The tembetas of the Tapíi of Isoso are small, and those of the Choroti and the Tapiete are of wood or of cane; no doubt up until today it was difficult for them to get the metal to make a de luxe one (1).

101

1. The Tapiete are, or were, Chiriguano Indians. They stayed near the inlets, where there is flat land with hills and streams, in order to be able to do their planting.

301 773 776 According to what is known through faith, clothing was given to humanity as punishment for its disobedience, a punishment which has been converted into the luxury of frequent and extravagant fashions, so also among the Chiriguano does there exist the fabulous belief that the tembeta, which today they consider to be a distinctive mark of the race and a sign of virility, strength, and valor, was nothing other than a bitter and well-deserved punishment which a marvelous and very

/233 cont./

301 powerful being inflicted upon them because of the weakness
773 and laziness that distinguish them, corresponding to the
776 opinion the reader may have formed in the course of these lines. They attribute its origin to the Tunpa, source of all goodness, and to the Aguara-Tunpa, whom they regard as the source of all evil, as has been seen. Under this concept, the one who punished them was not the former, but the Aguara-Tunpa. I shall end this ninth chapter by telling a fable in which the belief in the punishments that humanity may deserve from a superior being will be seen.

A Legendary Tale

539 The Indians say that formerly there was no distinction
173 between men; all were of the same color and spoke the same language. It has already been said in previous pages that the Chiriguano of certain regions believe that the original language was Quichua /Quechua/. What caused the diversity
539 of color and the diversity of language? Here is the legend (2).

> 2. If one asks a Chiriguano about the origin of all men, he answers that they are different from us; they have been made ugly, miserable, poor, and ignorant.

Two men of old were short of food and had wretched clothing; they were reduced to extreme suffering and were on the point of dying. The Aguara-Tunpa, in spite of /234/ his evil inclination and his abhorrence of humanity, in spite of his few philanthropic instincts, was moved to compassion for the unfortunate men and went to them and said, "I wish to help you and put an end to your miseries, to your misfortune and needs, because I can do it; in spite of the fact that you consider my enemy your good friend and me your enemy, I wish to do you a favor so that you may see that when I want to be I am more powerful than your friend, who does not know how to succor you in your present calamities.

/238 cont./

177 648 for himself, for his children, and for his wife (1).

1. Perhaps without intending to do so, the whites have done and are doing a work of charity for the Indian, that of moralizing him somewhat through work, during which he neither gets drunk nor thinks of trifles, etc. Only in some places a little moderation is needed in order not to discourage him.

241 773 776 It was also the Aguara-Tunpa who taught the Chiriguano the cultivation of land, since, seeing that he had not been able to remedy his misery and needs by handing over the bows and arrows, he once again visited his poor hut, and seeing him thin and emaciated, he gave him all kinds of seed so that he might make them bear fruit, teaching him the method of burying them and advising him also of the way and the time for pulling out the weeds with a weeder, because he would have seemed bad before his enemy and before the Indian himself if he had not completed his philanthropical work, after criticizing so much the true friend of Chiriguano humanity (2).

2. The Aguara-Tunpa, Fox God, did not tell him that the seeds could be eaten right away, because in that way they would have been lost immediately. After they had germinated, he advised that when they were ripe, he could have food for himself and for his family.

423 Every Chiriguano has a small plot of cultivated land, sufficient for himself and for his family. Nobody had previously entered the area in which the Indians live, so that nobody disputed their property rights, as they should not be disputed today, because they are the owners ab immemorabili, and no individual could have sold what belonged to the community.

e /293 cont./
539 South America. Since, however, this is not the proper place
171 for comparative studies with regard to the legends collected by me, I have contented myself with only presenting the material.

e
539 As we have seen, we learn to understand some of the religious conceptions of the Indians from the legends. They are also interesting from the viewpoint that a whole assortment of little features from the life of the Indians is reproduced. They give us a glimpse into their imaginative life.

e
539 Only the content of the legends collected by me, not
114 the form, is usable as research material. I hope that the
126 native South American ethnographers in particular will add to the collection made by me and also write down the legends in the original languages. In order to be able to do this, however, a complete /294/ mastery of them will be necessary. The best method would be to let the Indians tell these legends into a phonograph.

Ee
824 The Indians and Natural Phenomena.

Ce
[773] In one of the Chané legends the story is told of how
Ee Yahuéte, the two-headed jaguar, was on the point of de-
[776] vouring the moon. Märingay called Yahuéte "Yahuaróhui."
Ee These Indians explain eclipses of the sun and moon by saying
[171] that the sun and moon are attacked by Yahuéte. The Choroti,
[776] too, as has been mentioned, speak of a predatory animal that attacks the sun and the moon.

If one wanders with an Indian through forest and meadow on a starlit night, the starry sky is his compass and his watch. He will point to Orion or some other constellation and show how much farther it will move before one arrives.

Ce
824 He does not give names to many constellations, but he knows them all. The Chané call the part of the Milky Way nearest the Southern Cross "yándurape," that is, ostrich-way; the Southern Cross, along with a few adjacent stars, is

1: Métraux--323 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guiana SR1

C
285
372

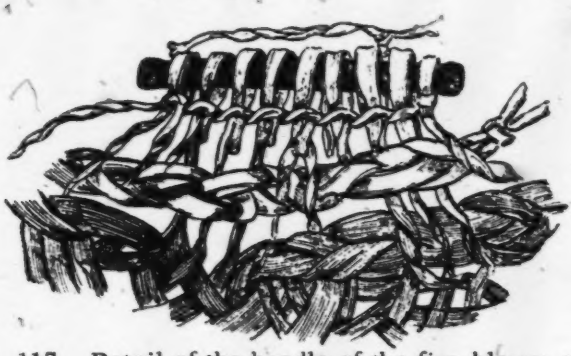


Fig. 117. Detail of the handle of the fire-blower of Plate LXXXV.

C
G
285
353
778

Fig. 118. "Flower," ornament made of plaited palm leaves, which the Chiriguano have blessed and with which they decorate their huts. The technique of this object is very ancient and is found also in Guiana. (1/4 nat. size.)

Guiana SR1
Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

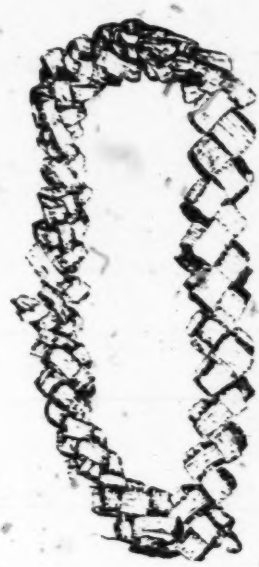
G 285 353

/462 cont./

serve as amulets, and, in any case, as ornaments. (Roth, pp. 497-499, Figs. 241-244 and p. 270; Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, p. 244.) In the same way the Chiriguano Indians decorate their huts with these figures, which they take care to have blessed. Exactly as in Europe they keep palm branches as lucky charms. Rosen (1, p. 61, Fig. 51) publishes a similar straw amusement which he found among the Choroti and which was pointed out to him as an ornament worn on the forehead. This explorer suspects the exactitude of this information and supposes that a ritual object is concerned. In reality, it is only a "flower," which the Choroti described by Rosen probably received or bought in some Chiriguano mission. It is enough to compare the figure of it that he gives us and ours in order to be convinced of this.

C 285 353 778 789

Ci 114 285 301



A 285 301

Fig 119. Wreath of plaited palm leaves (amusement or ornament?). Ashluslay. Prov.: Estero Patiño. (1/4 nat. size.)

A E Ci 285 171

Figures made of palm leaves are not, however, unknown to the other Indians of the Chaco. The Ashluslay sold me a diadem braided according to this principle (Fig. 119) and Rosen (1 Fig. 44, p. 48) reproduces an identical head-ornament which he bought from a Choroti tribe.

/482 cont./

756 Judging from this text, the Chiriguano sorcerer, like his
787 Tupinamba or Siberian colleague, put himself into a state of trance so that his spirit, free from corporeal bonds, could go to engage in battle with the soul of the evil-intentioned individual who is implacable against his patient.

●778 The hupia, that is, the magical force, is indispensable to one who claims to be a good sorcerer. At least this is the meaning I give to this word translated in the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (p. 73) by: "remedy, antidote," but of which it is said that possession is indispensable to every medicine man. This word suffixed to any noun whatever expresses the faculty, the power, the facility to make or obtain the thing signified by the noun. Thus a dog trained to hunt deer is wasu-rupia (wasu: deer), a warrior is tuwaiso-rupia (tuwaiso: enemy), etc.

[193]

237 Fig. 137. Calabash
415 containing snake fat.
757 Prov.: Saladito.
← (About 1/2 nat. size.)

757 Remedies. 1. Snake fat (mboikira) is
[237] efficacious against leprosy. The Indians keep it in a small calabash sealed with was (Fig. 137).

2. A little cotton impregnated with castor oil (yandî) and rubbed on the skin is an excellent liniment for rheumatism.

[237] 3. A similar virtue is attributed
302 to chicken fat (Fig. 138). In
[237] everyday life they resort to
[824] chicken fat or castor oil to
[415] anoint the body, which they
[237] then rub with roucou paste.
→ Women generally have their

Fig. 138. Section of bamboo containing chicken fat. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/2 nat. size.)

/144 cont./

Genii

776 171 Where ignorance dominates, superstition is the result, I imagine, since all the tribes adjacent to the Chiriguano must believe in the existence of genii or owners of certain places who, not to offend anybody, are even accepted by some members of the white race, especially when dealing with buried treasures. This is not the least strange, since before the arrival of Christ all humanity, except for the Hebrews, believed in this, and even today in those places where the light of the Gospel has not penetrated a belief in genii prevails, even among enlightened people, because only the Gospel dissipates /illustration appears here/ /145/ the mists from the soul and destroys error, consequences of the fall of the first man.

● 778 776 In Chiriguano the tutelar genii of a place are called Iya, owner in the literal sense. If the Chiriguano pass by places where there is some genie, they find it difficult to approach, and if one asks them where there might be some limestone or gypsum, they will not tell for fear of the Iya, who would take revenge by killing the Chiriguano who caused the place watched over by the genie to be discovered. If something useful must be taken from such a place, they do it with the permission of the Iya (1).

[278] [317] [231]

1. The presence of the Iya in places where petroleum is found is undeniable for the Chiriguano. They will take what is absolutely necessary of this liquid to cure the sores of their horses, cows, etc.

135 When the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, the missionary made every effort to try to find gypsum and limestone, but no Indian was willing to tell where it was abundant. Nevertheless, by chance, while the foundations of the church were being built, it was discovered that many of the stones being used were of hydraulic lime, an abundant vein of which was found about 300 meters from the church itself on top of a hill. Gypsum up to today has not been found in the areas thereabouts for the same reason, but there are signs of its presence. In

797

The Santa Rosa Mission Band

135 /145 cont./
Caraparirenta there is an occasional stone of this, which has been brought there by water.

In Huacaya Canton, along the shores of the Pilcomayo on the lower slopes of the hills of Oriente, it is asserted that there must be mines or deposits of gold. A stream brings little nuggets to
[648] certain places. Almost all the whites there say that the Indians pick up these nuggets, sell some of them, and work others into rings or earrings for their wives, but up to now, however hard the whites have tried to discover the place, they have never found an Indian who would take them (2).

776
778

2. They say that in the woods on the peak of a small hill there are two bells hanging from a tree and in another place a building with two

/145 cont./

776 778 small apartments, owned by the Iya, a child who leaves footprints when it walks. They believe these things as though they were real.

312 778 823 776 Among the many springs that are plentiful in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission there are several with hot, sulphurous water. None of the old people will go near these springs, and the only ones who do it are boys and girls who, because they have embraced the Catholic religion perhaps and because the teaching of the /146/ missionary makes them understand that only God need be feared, have no fear of these inoffensive things. Nevertheless, [761] when some schoolgirl dies, the old people say that such a thing has happened because of the lack of care shown by them when they approached and bathed in these springs owned by the Iya.

778 776 The aforesaid shows that the old Chiriguano is very superstitious, and because of his love of life he respects the places where the imaginary genii can be found. If such places were [761] discovered and disturbed through someone's error, he either would [753] soon die or he would lead an unfortunate life full of long sicknesses ending in death, and for this reason it is impossible for a true Chiriguano to reveal the places which, according to his affirmations, are possessed by genii (1).

1. At the end of the year 1899 a gentleman from Sucre began work in the petroleum site of Mandiyuti in Cuevo. Unfortunately, he died of acute bronchitis, but the Indians attributed his death to the anger of the Iya.

Sorcerers

754 756 Another consequence of ignorance is a belief in sorcerers. This belief, however, is much more general. The working man accepts it, as does the moderately enlightened. The man who is in a completely savage state accepts it, as well as the one who is beginning to become civilized. It is accepted in America, as in old Europe, extensive Asia, deserted Africa, and newest Oceania. Nevertheless, the word "sorcerer" does not have the

/129 cont./

796 This same thing is not true with respect to the external
•78 demonstrations of worship. The Chiriguano, like every savage
771 people, have no temples, priests, or ceremonial to regulate manifestations of worship. Does this also demonstrate that they completely lack external demonstrations of veneration of a god? It is not easy to give a categorical answer regarding this, because
[186] if it is the truth, as now seems to be the case, for I have not been able to discover any fact which shows the existence of that worship, this could be explained if we take into account the fact that the savage, because of his condition of isolation in the midst of the forest, is distrustful; he looks at the white man with suspicion. This is more than sufficient reason for him to hide his religious acts from the view of the latter.

Nobody could deny us the exactness and solid foundation of this observation, since it is a fact that civilized men, even among themselves, are ashamed to practice religious acts for human reasons, from whence comes the fact that they neither fulfill the duties of their religion nor come to the churches, and, what is worse, they make a show of a religious indifference which is very far from what in fact they feel.

Let us agree then that the Chiriguano does profess some religion, like all other peoples of the world.

This conclusion will be corroborated by what we are going to see in the following sections.

Divinities

776 That the Chiriguano have some divinities is undeniable, but it is very difficult to determine what character they have and to what category they belong according to the concepts of these savages. This is the reason why it is impossible to determine with certainty whether or not they /130/ profess polytheism or monotheism, when one considers the diversity of excellence, power, and pre-eminence which they attribute to their divinities.

/143 cont./

Prayers

771 Certainly the fact that this race does not have external manifestations of worship greatly attracts the attention of men of science and missionaries. The Chiriguano is born and grows like a little lamb is born and grows. They do not know where they come from, and all of their actions are reduced to pure nature. The Chiriguano never raises his mind or his heart up-
[821] ward. He discusses the firmament; he counts the stars and even separates them into groups as though by astronomical principles; he admires the grandiosity of the sun and of the moon, he understands the beneficence of the nourishing world, but the totality remains mute and silent before the works of nature or
[782] of creation. Visible things do not lead the intelligence of the Chiriguano to the knowledge of the Cause of such effects, and inasmuch as he has a rather vague idea of God, he does not offer worship to Him or to anything which resembles Him.

782 It is consequently useless to look for idols in this country, just as it is extremely useless to inquire about temples or hermitages for religious gatherings. Prayers, however much they may be investigated, are very abridged, if there are any, and are not worth being called such, because they are rather a kind of boasting by the one uttering them, in order that all may see that he is eloquent in speaking. This is what they do in the general gatherings when they drink for many days and eat in the
[539] plaza. Enthusiasm comes in the heat of drinking, and, on seeing an immense multitude, someone will raise his voice, saying more or less the following: Cheru Tunpa, icaviño taicó, pucu emeé cheve cherecovena, cherimbiuna emoñimoña cheve, tacherori catu taicó, anu tamano. My God, make me be well off, give me a long life, make my food be produced, give me happiness, do not allow me to die (2).

[761] 2. The only thing that the Chiriguano wants is to live forever, but he sees that it is impossible and contents himself with expressing his vehement desire, but he does not believe that death comes to him naturally.

/143 cont./

000 The sun is a beneficent star; it gives us light, warms us in winter, causes food to grow for men and animals, /144/ it is a creation which God has put in the world so that, as a second cause it will maintain the universe and all things in it, this being the principal virtue granted to it by the Maker of all things.

82 782 The Chiriguano understands the virtue of the sun to the extent that it strikes his corporal senses, and thus it was with difficulty in ancient times that he elevated his spirit to the contemplation of another invisible Being superior to the star of the day, from which it came about, according to some writers, that the Chiriguano would address some prayer to this king of the sky, like some tribe, and timidly and courteously uncover the head upon meeting an intrepid fox.

But however much I asked about this subject, no one gave me any information about such a prayer. The only thing they said that the old people did was to call the sun father and ask it not to hide its face. Today, when the country is invaded by whites and [999] even by people from the Old World, today when there is no Chiriguano place that has not been trod by the foot of the missionary, founding missions here, passing through there, and in another place exploring the will of the Indians, all has changed and those who do not know of the existence of the true God are few. There are few Indians who do not know that the sun is a work of God and therefore incapable of receiving outward demonstrations of veneration, when they do not even render it to God (1).

1. It is very probable that formerly the ancients were happy when the sun came out, as anyone would be happy, and that they would have a special fondness for it, whence comes the argument by some that they address prayers to it, but it is natural for man to be happy when the sun appears.

/155 cont./

771 I shall end this fourth chapter by repeating that the Chiriguano in his religion, divinities, and beliefs confuses in extraordinary fashion beings who are good and bad, real and imaginary, as well as fabulous beliefs which conform in substance to certain Biblical tales. The Indian eats, drinks, and [156] sleeps, and he lives like any four-legged animal; he thinks only [182] of the sorcerer, consulting him in his emergencies of illness or want and other calamities, believing that he has the power to alleviate it, there not being any prayer properly speaking.

/156/

000

Chapter Five

Political Organization and Authorities

Introduction

The French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century set the foundations for the present anarchy with the dethroning and decapitation of the unfortunate and virtuous rulers Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. /The remainder of p. 156 and the first two paragraphs of p. 157 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 157. The remainder of p. 157 follows./

Let it thus be understood that in this Catholic nation /Bolivia/ only the Catholic religion can contain the fury of the human beast. Let the religious orders and the Colegios de Propaganda Fide be promoted, as in the bordering nations, let firm support be given to the Catholics, as in Germany, and there will neither be the explosion of anarchist bombs nor will the heads of the rulers roll through the streets and squares, nor will the corpses of the great lie stiff, victims of the revolver or the sword of shadowy men.

/280 cont./

72

Defensive Warfare

But the invading army is not always victorious, as in the case just related. Sometimes it gets the worst of things, and then the complete reverse happens. Those who were left in town weep when they get the news; the defeated men return, and they all weep about the defeat they have suffered, and many for the death of their loved ones. Without losing any time they prepare for defense, because they know perfectly well that the ones invaded will quickly take revenge for the injury received, appearing before them as invaders.

Then there are many and similar precautions for both armies. The town which awaits the vengeance arranges for all those unfit for combat to get to safety with their few belongings at a certain distance from the town and, if at all possible, in a secret place. They position sentries day and night, and any noise, any cloud of dust, any sign is immediately reported to the cacique and to the queremba (1).

1. They put sentries on all the high places. This is what both armies did in the year 1892, the one from Curuyuqui in Ivu and those being besieged around the Santa Rosa Mission.

When a town is prepared for defense, the combat in the area is atrocious, and, if the number of combatants is equal, the invaders get the worst of it. Without surrendering, they abandon the field after a few hours and beat a retreat until all danger has disappeared, and they return to their homes neither defeated nor triumphant.

722
782

While the men fight or go to battle, the women raise their supplications to the sun, throw sand or ashes into the air in the direction of the enemy, and in a very sad tone of voice, letting fall sincere tears which would move anyone, they say in a high voice, Tiamini, cheru cuarasi, tuguáicho pochi, tiamini, tiaminiete, tumano pochi, may they be defeated, my father the sun, the perfidious enemies, may they be defeated, very badly defeated, may the evil ones die.

/362 cont./

262 The Chiriguano call kumanara a leguminous plant, wild,
[252] which resembles the yuca and which can serve as food after being boiled. They resort to it only when pressed by hunger. The word designating this plant has a strange resemblance to
[192] the name of the batata in the Quichua dialects of Ecuador and northern Peru (Rivet, 3, pp. 583-590). It is perhaps a question of a Quichua word introduced into the Chiriguano language to designate a plant of which they did not have the equivalent in their original homeland. The case is nevertheless rare, and one can wonder if it is not a simple coincidence.

[222] Neither do the Chiriguano look down on honey, although they
[171] do not seek it with the passion of their cousins, the Kainguá. What I tasted among them was contained in thin honeycombs having the consistency of cardboard. It had a pleasant taste.

222 Any Indian who goes in search of honey (ei) must not make
● 784 his intention known to anyone and, if he is asked where he is going, he must answer: "To look for wood." If you do not take
[176] these precautions, the protecting spirit of the honey is warned of your plan and hides the honeycombs he guards (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 86).

222 The missionary Corrado (p. 43) assures us that grass-
114 hoppers, cicadas, the larvae of bees are that many delicious
[252] dishes for the Chiriguano. He adds that these insects are roasted. Nino (p. 247) reproduces the statements of his predecessor and completes the list of strange foods by adding /363/ ants, lizards, leaves of the cucurbitaceae, melted tallow, etc. Personally I
[171] have never seen the Chiriguano touch these dishes strange to our palates, but I am all the more inclined to believe these two missionaries that the tastes they indicate are actually those of the Indians in other regions.

262 Already in the 16th century the Chiriguano passed as snake
252 lovers, even of poisonous species. They cut off the head and tail, skinned them, and roasted pieces of them on live coals. They used to eat them with pimento. No doubt the Spaniards con-
[178] fused snakes with iguanas, which even today the Chiriguano justly like (Lizárraga, Vol. I, p. 260).

/135 cont./

775 776 because the Indians know that the evil spirit is a phantom, and the soul of the dead a shade; chemembi iã abecha, I saw the shade of my son, says the mother.

776 784 [123] One night while the smallpox epidemic was going on, they called me, being the Conversor of the Santa Rosa Mission, to catechize a poor and miserable old woman who was some two and a half kilometers from the town. Among those who accompanied me there was one whom I well remember, who is still alive and whose name I shall not forget, who carried a burning firebrand, which was not necessary for me because the night was quite bright. When he was asked the reason for such a thing, he answered: Añia añuguae vaena, to chase away the demons. They all do this especially when they are alone, which is rare, because the Chiriguano only rarely goes out at night because of his fear of evil spirits.

776 174 171 From this it can be deduced with considerable probability that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay. There were in that region, in past centuries, the missionaries of the Company of Jesus, who are famous for their apostolic work and for the suffering which they experienced in the reduction of the region. Because of the sorcerers some of them even suffered martyrdom.

I had the opportunity to read a brief history, which I have mentioned above, written by Father Antonio of this same company, and I learned that the Guaraní believe in sorcerers and saw the Añia, demon, at all times and places. It destroyed the wheatfields and other plantings, did damage in their houses and burned them. Even the Guaraní called the bad spirit Añia which the said missionary applies to the demon (?).

2. A work written in the Guaraní missions of Paraguay.

/231 cont./

881 304 [828] In general, with the method of pressing strongly on the patient's temples, the one performing the operation manages it so that the patient feels little or nothing of the pain of the piercing, according to what they say, and it is probable, because one sharp pain diminishes or makes another one feel less strong. But it is also certain that the boy, seeing himself before so many spectators and girls, makes every effort not to cry out or weep, because the Indians do not deny that many somewhat cowardly ones do shout and even cry a little (1).

1. Some boys, very fearful, when their fathers begin to talk to them about the tembeta and the need to have the hole made, run off to another tribe in the presence of their relatives, but the latter persuade them, and they return to their town.

I have asked more than one Indian and all agree in asserting that not a drop of blood comes from the hole. The day on [785] which the imposition of the tembeta is done is a day of strict [784] fasting, and they do not even let them drink a little chicha; other foods cannot be chewed by them for several days either. On some, somewhat careless ones, there is a swelling, and on [757] others not. The swelling of the lip is avoided, according to [824] them, by heating the leaves of the bush Urucuna in the flame or embers of the fire and applying them continually around the 881 hole. The cicatrization of the lip may take a month, during which time the little Chiriguano stays at home, letting himself be seen in the streets and in the plaza once in a while (2).

[759] 2. For a Chiriguano it is a great honor to put the tembeta in place on the boys, so that he asks nothing for this honorable operation; but the boy's parents make some small gift, which he receives with satisfaction.

/280 cont./

000 defeated, may the evil ones die. While the war lasts, it is the
722 rule that women and their daughters must not sit in a squatting
784 position, but with their legs stretched /281/ out in front, so that
516 their fathers and husbands who are in battle will not feel any
828 tiredness (1).

722
533
535
177

1. The Italian del Campano, relying on the writings of Father Giannecchini, a missionary of the Colegio de Tarija, writes in his work that, before the fighting began and during it, women and maidens come out to the plaza and in a loud voice sing and dance the Aré aré. This song and dance must have originated among the Toba, who at that time were numerous in the Gran Chaco region, because in the Ivu region and other regions they scarcely know the name of the Aré aré, and not all share in that knowledge, as has been proved, for in no combat which has occurred to the north, south, and west of Ivu has the Aré, aré been danced and sung.

726
727

During the Curuyuqui war the Santa Rosa mission was invaded by the rebels, who, in spite of their number and strength, were unable to enter the town which they intended to burn. Then and afterward the missionaries witnessed painful scenes of women who, crying their hearts out, raised their voices and threw ashes to obscure the enemies' vision. Bitter memories of that massacre are still retained, at which some of them laugh today, but they cried then. Whenever I hear the sad stories, my eyes overflow with tears (2).

726

[648]

2. The Curuyuqui rebels first attacked the town of Cuevo, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in Santa Rosa the night before. In a few days they attacked the mission, from which it can be concluded that their hate was against the whites, and concomitantly against the Indians who were

C 821 /295 cont./

The waxing and waning of the moon, according to Maringay's explanation, was caused by the fact that a larger or smaller piece of it is put in the firmament.

C 821 177 The sun rises over the water and then shines for us during the day. In the evening it dips into the water again, and at night it shines for the other human beings on the other side of the earth. This was Maringay's idea of the course of the sun. I believe, however, that he learned this from the whites.

Ee 821 •784 [763] When a meteor, "baeréndi," falls, it means the death of a chief. About a shooting star, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti said: "He is going to sleep with his girl." Maringay was more realistic in his explanation. "The star lets something fall," said the old man.

Ee 821 [789] [825] [784] [484] /296/ When it thunders, Chiquéritunpa is walking about. The medicine men, "ipáye," are able to make rain. When the swallow, "máchurupimpi," flies low, it will rain, the Indians say. Another bird, "chóncho," announces rain. If one is going traveling, one should not put a jug in water, but dip up the water with a calabash; otherwise it will rain. In a

Ee 821 773 Ee 821 [784] [825] myth about the destruction of the world related to me by the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, the world is destroyed by water. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me how the world was destroyed by a storm. Otherwise the wind plays an unimportant role in the myths. If one places a warmed jug in flowing water, there will be a storm, say the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. The rainbow, "yii," is a snake.

/210 cont./

846 slowly accepting that of the whites. They do not come out of
178 the house until they are completely well, and they only do it on a Sunday morning. They then wear a new dress for the first time and present themselves at the door of the church to receive the post partum blessing (1).

> 1. I saw an extraordinary case, from which no illness resulted. They have been accustomed to the post partum blessing by the virtuous old mistresses, and they continue this.

846
848 Soon, in a week or two, the woman is completely well,
302 and she is allowed to go out to bathe and paint her face with urucu, returning gradually to her usual tasks. Childbirth is
844 regarded by the Chiriguano as a time of fasting, in which some
● 785 authors say that all the members of the family participate, but this is not true; only the husband shares this obligation, and he does it for two or three days (2).

> 2. They say that it is necessary for the baby's father to fast so that it may not die nor any harm come to it when it grows up.

797 The missionaries try to eradicate from the neophytes the
785 superstition that is represented by the husband's fasting, but
844 when their mothers see that their grandchildren are dying,
178 they reprehend in their children the abandonment of the customs of yesteryear. I knew an old woman who was very attached to these customs and who tried in every way to force her son to fast, in view of the fact that the newborn babies died every time her daughter-in-law gave birth.

/223/

881 raised to the ceiling. They leave her there for a period of
[785] four days in strict fasting and, of course, without her opening her mouth to speak to anybody, not even to ask for necessary things, because if she should talk or ask for anything, misfortune would appear at once.

At the end of this first test, which the maiden has scarcely felt, they lower her on the fifth day, wash her head with potash of Ñetira, and shave off the adolescent girl's hair. Meanwhile in a corner of the house far from the door, they have prepared a wall like a corner piece, made out of slender sticks a meter and 50 centimeters high more or less.
[785] Wrapped in her tipoi or clean clothing, the unfortunate girl goes there, into her pen, and begins her strict fast, which they call Yicuacu, or hiding (1).

> 1. This rigorous way of life does not seem at all strange to the maidens, because before it comes their mothers have prepared them for it, and they believe in everything with blind faith.

The girl remains in her enclosure for a week without doing anything, with face to the wall in order not to see or talk to
[262] anybody. Her usual fare is boiled maize, Atiruru. Sometimes she also eats meat if there is any, but in very small quantities. She neither tastes nor desires other foods. Were she to eat parched maize, she would not be good at feeding her children when she has them, because her breasts would be
[271] dry all her life. Her usual beverage should be natural clear
[273] water. Were she to drink chicha, she would be barren, be-
[842] cause it contains alcohol and acridness, which would stop the effects of conception during her marriage.

881 When the week is over, the fasting continues, but less
868 harshly; her parents have obtained cotton or wool, have
867 prepared the spindle and wheel, with the little potsherd in
283 which they put a few ashes or sand so that the spindle will turn more easily. The mother hands over all this to her daughter, who begins to work and learns that she has been born for work.

/223 cont./

881 868 867 283 The young girl receives her mother's injunctions without uttering a word, without making any comment, respects the advice and admonishments in the same silence and more than that of a mute, because she hears and keeps quiet without making any movement at all, without raising her eyes or moving her head. She begins her work as soon as her mother withdraws; she combs the wool or cotton with her fingers, cleans it of /224/ whatever dirt it may contain, and begins to spin, a duty learned from early childhood (1).

•[785]

1. The maiden who fasts can only work in the place where she is enclosed; therefore she cannot help her mother even to clean the house.

881 868 867 286 When her mother sees that she has enough to make some small article, she directs the weaving, and the first thing that is made is the Hapicuana for her father and then another for her mother, with which they are very happy, and even their friends congratulate them on the work of the daughter, for whom they, of course, profess sympathy and respect as a sacred person, because she is in the period of fasting or hiding, since both things are done when these maidens reach puberty (2).

2. The same word, Yicuacu, is used for the fasts ordered by the Church for neophytes. There is no other word in the language.

881 885 During the first month or first moon, Yasi, the seclusion or hiding is the most rigorous, because the symptoms of puberty should manifest themselves two times in order that they may be considered true ones, that is to say, the Chiriguano do not believe that a woman is ready for marriage until after it has been ascertained that her menstruation is regular. This, which for women is their relief and their health, is called Hugüi in adults, but for pubescent girls the first as well as the second is called, as I have already said, Yimundía.

/226 cont./

881 178 do not advise anyone of their puberty, even their mothers, and the consequences are sad in no few cases. They do not tell anyone because the older girls make fun of them.

163 582 A single thing is noted in the missions, and it is that the neophytes, when they get to the age of about 35, stop having children. Perhaps this is because they marry very young, at about 16 to 20 at the latest. If it is true that the Chiriguano 581 women of old were ready for marriage /227/ as soon as they came out of their hiding or fasting, the union which they contracted was certainly neither continuous nor for life with the same person. One or two months with one, then a rest until giving birth, afterwards again joining the same man, or perhaps she would seek out another if the first had become bored 799 with her or she with him. But this does not happen in the 581 missions; those who contract marriage do it for life, because it is a Catholic union and, as such, indissoluble, just as the natural marriage of the infidels would be, but the Chiriguano does not understand this, since in principle he wishes to be a hummingbird, coming to rest on many flowers and not stopping at any of them until he reaches a certain age.

881 In the districts where the fasting lasted for a year, such 785 as in Cuevo, before the town of San Juan Bautista and the 184 Santa Rosa Mission were founded, after the first rigorous month the maidens were made to eat meat and beans also, and they were even allowed to drink a little mild chicha, so that they would not become too weak or die. If the chicha had turned sour, it would be prejudicial for later married life, producing the effects of which I have already spoken.

881 Finally, to conclude such a delicate subject, let it be 178 noted that at the present time the custom of such a rigorous 177 fast for the female sex is observed in very few places; today the region is inhabited by the white race, which is making them understand that all this is superstition, because of the example of their daughters, who, in spite of the fact that they have done nothing of what has been said, live in perfect

/229 cont./

304 759 881 same operation, because he never takes one alone. There must always be two, four, six, eight, or ten (2).

2. In a town of 30 or 40 families there was usually never any lack of boys of the same age. The number of the boys to be pierced should never be an odd number; superstition and nothing else.

[801]

304 881 The boys appear for the operation on the designated day, led by their fathers and mothers. Meanwhile, other curious [785] persons gather there, men, women, boys, and girls, to see [114] and /230/ attend this solemn act, which, as I have learned, is not preceded by any day of fasting; thus what certain writers have said in this regard is wrong, as is the rest that refers to the person who does the operation, for whom the qualification of being an Ipaye, sorcerer, is not required for the imposition of the tembeta.

Before beginning the operation the surgeon authoritatively addresses those who are to be men, telling them to be valiant and strong in their pain, without letting their moans be heard or crying, because these are not the signs of a brave man, of a man who wears the tembeta, which is the sign of virility, of a man who must be able to face the dangers of war. Finally, [195] he orders them that it is time to give up the ú, ú in their answers, and in its place he orders them to replace it with Ta.

When this brief and eloquent discourse is over, the first boy stretches out on the ground or on a cot, and in order to give himself courage he says in a vibrant voice, Che rani tayicutuca, may I be the first to be pierced, words which are greeted by the gathering with jubilation and at the same time with wonder, since they already know the pain that he is going to suffer (1).

[195] [193] 1. The Chiriguano Indian also uses the imperative to order himself, that is to say, his verbs still have the first person of the imperative mood, which indicates considerable arrogance.

/231 cont./

881 304 [828] In general, with the method of pressing strongly on the patient's temples, the one performing the operation manages it so that the patient feels little or nothing of the pain of the piercing, according to what they say, and it is probable, because one sharp pain diminishes or makes another one feel less strong. But it is also certain that the boy, seeing himself before so many spectators and girls, makes every effort not to cry out or weep, because the Indians do not deny that many somewhat cowardly ones do shout and even cry a little (1).

1. Some boys, very fearful, when their fathers begin to talk to them about the tembeta and the need to have the hole made, run off to another tribe in the presence of their relatives, but the latter persuade them, and they return to their town.

I have asked more than one Indian and all agree in asserting that not a drop of blood comes from the hole. The day on [785] which the imposition of the tembeta is done is a day of strict [784] fasting, and they do not even let them drink a little chicha; other foods cannot be chewed by them for several days either. On some, somewhat careless ones, there is a swelling, and on [757] others not. The swelling of the lip is avoided, according to [824] them, by heating the leaves of the bush Urucuna in the flame or embers of the fire and applying them continually around the 881 hole. The cicatrization of the lip may take a month, during which time the little Chiriguano stays at home, letting himself be seen in the streets and in the plaza once in a while (2).

[759] 2. For a Chiriguano it is a great honor to put the tembeta in place on the boys, so that he asks nothing for this honorable operation; but the boy's parents make some small gift, which he receives with satisfaction.

/292 cont./

Mourning

765 The interment over, they cry all that day, until the sun sets and night comes; then everyone goes home, only the closest [785] relatives staying to weep. Fasting, already mentioned, lasts for [302] three days, and on the first day after the burial all the women relatives cut off their hair and lay it on the grave. While cutting it off they look toward the east. The hair stays on the grave for some time, and later they take it off, and, if they burn it, it is [826] not on the grave, but away. They prefer not to burn it, however, because they would feel heat /293/ on their heads. If they notice or sense some noise coming from the hole, they heat a stone, put it on top, and the noise stops (1).

766 765 1. If the deceased is a cacique, they all weep until dawn, and afterward they meet every night for about a week.

765 They also put on the grave the tembeta, the bag, and the weapons which belonged to the deceased, such as his lance or some kind of saber, bows and arrows, so that he will not go looking for them, and when for any reason they leave the house alone, they put over the hole the pestle of the mortar, and, if this is done, the deceased will not move from his place. The souls of [775] those who have died in a bad way, for example, suicides, walk about continually, find no rest, go shouting at set hours, and are, according to what they believe, demons or their companions.

The dead person's nearest relatives sincerely grieve over the disappearance of the deceased, as the tears and sorrow shown on their faces prove. If, instead of a man, it is a woman who disappears from among the living, the widower feels the same grief; if the dead woman leaves small children, the picture that the house presents is truly heart-rending, the house where the morning sun will not find present the mother who so tenderly cared for her little ones (2).

2. The children demand to go back and they

/463 cont./

796 The attraction of the carnival consists of the enormous
273 consumption of kãwi and alcohol which takes place then. Men
578 and women drink, one trying to outdo the other; and, under the influence of drink, old angers and secret hates are awakened and the most excited provoke each other and come to blows.

796
532

Fig. 120. Chiriguano Indians wearing masks. (Photo. by the R. P. H. Catinari.)

796
273 /464/ The "captain" must then call them to order and separate
578 the combatants.

Some people increase the tumult by blowing into their
796 sénéné (long whistles).
534

Sexual passions become aroused, and the men begin to
796 whirl around the women, whom they entreat, a calabash of
832 kãwi in the hand, while reciting to them in a singsong tone
786 pieces of verse of this type:
539

Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no	For me
Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no.	For me.

/464 cont./

796 832 786 539

Eyu šekuama	Come and kiss me
Šemireko mi	My little wife
Diyuru emesie	Give me thy mouth
Tuiša dipota	I love thee much
Še songo pe	With my heart
Ime deresa ikavi	Thou hast pretty eyes
Ime diyuro misiray	Thou hast a little mouth
Tuiša dipota	I love thee much
Pairamo ayporu deve.	For that I am going to ask for thee.

796 532 522 During this time young or old men with their faces covered by a mask (añawasu) run here and there, force the people to dance by blows of a stick, play tricks on them, and address jokes to them.

796 [273] The feast lasts as long as there is kãwi or alcohol. At the moment when it is on the point of ending, a final ceremony takes place. The rite of going out is similar to the rite of entering: the couple who planted the flowery stick tear it from the ground and go out of the village, followed by the añawasu and all those who took part in the festival. The procession advances to a certain distance from the village to the sound of the flutes and drums. They throw away the masks and throw stones while shouting. The carnival is finished and everyone goes home. [585] Some take along their new wife, for it is at this moment that most marriages are celebrated.

796 177 178 [241] The carnival festivity such as I have just described involves only a few elements borrowed from the half-breeds or creoles, outside of the coincidence of dates. This is an ancient feast of a purely agricultural character, which the Chiriguano have acquired the habit of celebrating at the same time as the Bolivian carnival. Besides, the Indians of Ibopeytí are pagans.

796 241 171 The masked men are supposed to represent the spirits of the dead, as their name indicates (aña: spirit; wasu: great). As in the festivals of the Guianas and Central America, they come in numbers /Plate LXXXVI appears here/ /465/ to insure for their

[text continues on p. 329]

/117 cont./

829 clothing in payment for the service. Let the reader imagine
797 how the poor father, who had nothing, felt when he heard
177 such a petition (1)!

1. Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Vices and Their Consequences

883 It seems to be and is an unfortunate truth that in this
842 tribe, once so numerous, there is no lack of coquettish girls, who, if they restrained themselves from flirting any more, would not be so bad. The unfortunate thing is that these poor girls, in order to enjoy mundane pleasures and drink to the depths the dregs of corruption, or also in order not to have the nuisance of nursing children and training
[756] them, have recourse to a very simple thing. They consult
[278] the old women who bear the name of sorcerers, and these
[888] show them the remedy, which consists of a drink that they extract from certain plants or herbs which almost all the Chiriguano women and Indian sorcerers know wonderfully well.

883 /118/ These unfortunate girls, usually orphans, once the
786 period of puberty is over, drink this venomous beverage,
[881] suffer a great deal, if indeed they do not die, and are
[842] sterilized, and they then give themselves up to orgies at the time of general drinking, which is the most terrible thing that you can imagine, because at them morality is offended by words and very licentious stories, by raucous laughter and giggling by men and women, by their glances, and finally by their acts, although these take place at a
797 suitable distance from the said gathering.

/118 cont./

797 These facts cannot be denied, because they are based
[786] on the experience of centuries. Unfortunately, they do
[883] occur, and it is very difficult to uproot them. There is no lack of repentance or lack of punishment, admonitions, and fears, but civilizing action is not enough for this, nor even often the Gospel, because: animalis homo non percipit quae Dei sunt. We can say that the action of the missionary is one of yesterday among the Chiriguano. The Christians or neophytes have changed much in relation to the infidels throughout the region, but a great deal more is still lacking for them to come to understand the strength of Religion and civilization, since, naturally, abandoned humanity gives free rein to passions and it is indeed difficult to contain it afterwards in a short time (1).

1. The infidels of the missions complain about the neophytes, but they do not understand that times have changed, and the
[674] race as well. Murders are committed in other places, but this does not happen in the missions.

847 Sister to the sterility which the coquettish girls manage to procure is abortion. There is no woman who does not know the thousand ways for procuring this, always provided that they have not obtained or resorted to remedies for
847 sterilizing themselves at puberty. In general it is those girls
586 who have been betrayed by their lovers or abandoned by
836 those who have sworn fidelity to them throughout their
848 lives who come to this excess of killing innocent babies. For this reason they not only hate the perpetrator, but also his fruit in their bellies, and thus they make an effort to get rid of the innocent one by plucking it dead from their breast.

/482 cont./

756 Judging from this text, the Chiriguano sorcerer, like his
787 Tupinamba or Siberian colleague, put himself into a state of trance so that his spirit, free from corporeal bonds, could go to engage in battle with the soul of the evil-intentioned individual who is implacable against his patient.

778 The hupia, that is, the magical force, is indispensable to one who claims to be a good sorcerer. At least this is the meaning I give to this word translated in the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (p. 73) by: "remedy, antidote," but of which it is said that possession is indispensable to every medicine man. This word suffixed to any noun whatever expresses the faculty, the power, the facility to make or obtain the thing signified by the noun. Thus a dog trained to hunt deer is wasu-rupia (wasu: deer), a warrior is tuwaiso-rupia (tuwaiso: enemy), etc.

[193]

237 Fig. 137. Calabash
415 containing snake fat.
757 Prov.: Saladito.
(About 1/2 nat. size.)

757 Remedies. 1. Snake fat (mboikira) is
[237] efficacious against leprosy. The Indians keep it in a small calabash sealed with was (Fig. 137).

2. A little cotton impregnated with castor oil (yandî) and rubbed on the skin is an excellent liniment for rheumatism.

[237] 3. A similar virtue is attributed
302 to chicken fat (Fig. 138). In
[237] everyday life they resort to
[824] chicken fat or castor oil to
[415] anoint the body, which they
[237] then rub with roucou paste.
Women generally have their

Fig. 138. Section of bamboo containing chicken fat. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/2 nat. size.)

/135 cont./

000 Revelation teaches us that legions of angels were lost because of an error or the grave sin of pride and passed into the category /136/ of the condemned or demons. Faith, reason, and common sense teach us that perverse men who die in their perversity are separated from good ones, as evil-doers are separated in this world by being imprisoned in jails. Divine justice demands punishment for the perverse, who, like condemned persons, pass into the category of lost spirits and as semblance of the demons, God allowing this, and they can appear to those of us who live here in the world to detain us along the way of sin or to warn us about it.

776 ●787 Under this concept it is not repugnant even to common sense to admit the probability that the Chiriguano do see the Aña, demon or evil spirit. Sacred history speaks of visions and apparitions; profane histories cannot combat them, but rather they relate innumerable facts of demoniac apparitions which have appeared by means of spiritualism. It is not strange that such a thing should happen among the Chiriguano. Doubtless it is incredible that it should be so frequent. They say that they see the demons at every moment of the night, whenever there is no fire or light, but this is a puerile worry, and due to fear and fright in some and to ignorance in others (1).

[372] [789]

1. In all the houses of the true Chiriguano there is always a fire burning at night for the principal end of keeping away the evil spirit or Aña.

773

Beliefs Relative to the Creation

[115] Before going on I am going to relate what was told to me by the cacique Anduari of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission, who, in order to increase his income, is a sorcerer or witch doctor for the Indians and some whites in a wide area. According to the account that follows, the human race, or the Chiriguano, was destroyed twice. The first time and its restoration have already been seen. The second occurred in the following way (2).

[585] [777]

2. Anduari gave his account in the presence of his

/146 cont./

754 same meaning everywhere. In Europe the ignorant masses call
756 sorcerer or witch the man or woman who has made a formal pact with the devil; among the Chiriguano and whites of the Gran Chaco it is the man or woman who succeeds in curing illness or who is in possession of other prestigious abilities (2).

752 2. I know an Indian who treats snake poisoning
756 without using any medicine. He blows upon and rubs the bitten part, and it gets well with no
[825] other remedy. He catches snakes, holds them against his breast, puts them in his pockets, in his hat, and they do not bite him. I cannot explain this phenomenon.

773 But who was the father of sorcerers among the Chiriguano?
825 Guarerai, Indian, Iñeé iya vae, eloquent one, told the following
776 story: In a very remote epoch there was a general drought which
756 continued with the imminent danger of all the sown fields being
754 lost. When the cause had been discovered by the king of the birds, Güiraqué, the kite, organized a commission to the lord of rain, called Choncho, so that he might /147/ make it rain. But as the latter paid no attention to the king's embassy, he came personally to find out why and to punish his disobedience if he found him guilty. But the choncho answered that it was not up to him, but up to another bird called chena, whom King Milano confronted, and as he wavered when he denied it or tried to free himself of blame, suspicion was aroused that he was the author of so much evil, and as the evil-doer he was immediately run through by King Milano's lance.

● 787 This is a fable, but it is certain that the choncho is respected
825 and feared. If this small bird sings in an angry tone, it is a sign to the Chiriguano that evil will come to him, and then he commends himself to it and says: aguye ndepochi, cheru mi, tome taicó cavi; do not be angry, may everything go well with me. If it sings happily, the Chiriguano will be well received by his relatives and friends, and if the choncho says, To, To, it is a sign that wherever he goes he will find a lot of chicha, for which reason they never do any harm to this little bird.

754
756 /147 cont./
731
825 According to the story of Guarerai, the choncho is the
826 father of good sorcerers, especially those who make it rain, and the chena is the father of bad sorcerers, or those who hold back the rain. In any public calamity in certain places, all the Indians will gather around the Ipaye, or sorcerer, so that the calamity may cease. If this continues despite the sorcerer's promise and he is unable to blame anyone else for his impotence, as the choncho did, he is killed with blows and burned without pity, but if he can blame it on another chena, the latter will suffer the capital punishment, and his protests of innocence or ignorance will be of no avail. Such is the fury of the mob when they are exalted by the harangues of the good Ipaye!

825 Before passing on from these feared and respected birds, I
787 shall say in passing that at night a whitish bird that they call
763 Tetê walks and flies about. When they see it, it is a sure sign to the Indians that in some house the women are about to cut their hair as a sign of mourning, that is, that someone in the town will die. As for the small owl /lechuza/, Suinda, the beliefs of the Chiriguano are the same as those of the common people of Europe and America, the differences among them being slight (1).

765

1. As will be seen, mourning among the Chiriguano women consists of cutting their hair and wearing the dirtiest rag on their heads. Mourning is always complete, that is, they observe strict mourning for any dead person.

756 /148/ Good sorcerers, represented by the choncho, are very
754 compassionate, and they do everything possible so that the race may enjoy good health, fortune, good crops, without experiencing hunger or epidemics, while bad sorcerers bring every evil to the poor Chiriguano. They hold back rain and order epidemics, as well as hunger and death. Bad sorcerers are called Mbaecuá.

754 The Chiriguano does not die because it is so decreed, because
761 it is a condition of human nature; he does not die as a result of sin of the first man. He dies because bad sorcerers exist; without

Ce /257 cont./
539 In the morning the dead said: "chéahata húirasécuera (I shall go
775 around as a tree trunk), chéahata augúyara (I shall go around as a rat), chéahata kárakárara (I shall go around as a vulture), chéahata águarára (I shall go around as a fox), chéahata ándirára (I shall go around as a bat)," etc. She returned home. Her husband said he would come to get her. After three days she was dead. She had
C followed her husband to Aguararenta.

●787 The Chiriguano chief Maringay told me of a man who had
775 fallen asleep by the wayside. During the night his dead wife
C came to him, and he slept with her. When he awoke, she was gone.
Ce He regarded as real what he had experienced in his sleep. Among
787 the Chané and Chiriguano the belief in a future life is based on
775 dreams, as among other Indians. In a dream they meet a dead person, in a dream they visit the realm of the dead. It is incorrect, however, to say that the Indians believe in a life after death. He knows that there is such, for living persons have seen the dead, have made love with them, have drunk maize beer with them, have seen them change into foxes, rats, tree trunks, etc.

Legends about Spirits and Animals.

Ce
775 "The dead are añá," said Batirayu. Among these there are a number who are tunpa (best translated as "great") and have superhuman powers.

The greatest among the añatunpas is Yamándutunpa. /258/ Others among the great ones are Mariutunpa and Tipaytunpa.
Ce Chiquéritunpa, who appears in a few of the legends given here,
[787] is the one who produces thunder. Chiquéritunpa howls at night when there is going to be war. These añatunpa intervene in the lives
Ce of human beings; the sorcerers in particular are connected with
775 them. Thus, Batirayu told how the añatunpa came at night to
787 Tsuhuandico, a great sorcerer now deceased, and drank maize
756 beer with him. They told him when it would rain, when someone would fall ill, whether there would be a crop failure, etc. Batirayu also said that Angúya, a kinsman of Aringui, the last great chief,

/339 cont./
consumption was limited (1).

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.

We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the Indians of the Caruruti region in Caipipendi valley. From the end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6).[1]

This temporary migration of the whole population of a village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

[1] [Fig 6 appears on p. 69 -- Analyst]

/342 cont./

243 Wives accompany their husbands to the fields. They
462 spend the day there spinning, sewing, grilling ears of corn, or
[482] roasting manioc. In the evening, if they return to the village,
the wife comes back bent under the weight of her alapoka, or
carrying-net, full of ears of corn. Sometimes the men help
[492] them. Those who have donkeys and horses use them as beasts
of burden.

482 Transport of corn is done generally with the help of the carrying-net, but makeshifts let them do without it in case of necessity. The ears of corn are held together in bundles by means of leaves which encompass them and are suspended from a flexible switch bent in the shape of a figure eight. When the two loops are balanced, one can raise them by grasping them by the middle.

251 In the village the ears are either stored in granaries on piles, to which steps cut in a tree trunk (Fig. 9) lead, or kept in the hut where a special corner has been made into a compartment. A tree trunk tipped with a natural fork may serve /Plate VII appears here/ /343/ as a storage place for corn. The ears, tied into bundles, are piled between the two branches of the fork (Fig. 10).

243 Formerly, before their dreadful decline began, the
● 789 Chiriguano had recourse to magical ceremonies to hasten the ripening of corn and to avoid drought or too great an abundance of rain. /Fig. 9 appears here./

When the sun threatened to burn the harvest, they had one or several medicine men come who were charged with bringing the recalcitrant clouds. Provided with a cigar, they went around the fields blowing the smoke in every direction (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 167). The symbolism of this rite of homeopathic magic is clear: the smoke represents the clouds which the ipaye is to gather.

[526] The game of mboró represents the survival of a magical
[178] ceremony having to do with the growth of corn and its maturing.

[Text continues on p. 78]

34./

526 178 243 789 In the Chiriguano missions or in the villages of the Caipipendí valley one finds on the large village plaza /Fig. 10 appears here/ an abundance of onion-like objects made of leaves of corn folded together (Fig. 11). Children throw them to each other with the flat of the hand and try to catch them again before they fall to the ground. A hurried traveler would see in this

343 251

Fig. 9. Corncrib on piles (avatió). Ivu. (Photo. A.M.)

526 178 243 789 game only an Indian form of our court tennis or a rudimentary tennis. Actually, this is certainly the present significance of this amusement. In olden days the meaning was not the same, as I learned in the Macharetí mission. Only a few years ago mbotó was played only at the time when the corn was beginning to ripen. The children formed a circle and threw this kind of shuttlecock to one another. If by chance one of them let it fall through inadvertance or awkwardness, he left the place

/3.4 cont./

526 immediately, chased by his comrades who pulled his hair
178 energetically. The awkward player who threw the ball in such
243 a way that his partner could not catch it was in the same
789 category as the one who let it fall, on condition, however, that his opposite number had not made the gesture of catching it. Once the corn was ripe, they stopped playing mboto.

526
171

[179]

The game of mboto has a wide distribution in South America, but it is limited to the populations of the Amazonian basin and the Guianas. Doubtless the Chiriguano introduced it into the Chaco (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 168).

417
251
824

Fig. 10. Forked tree on which the Chiriguano pile corn inside their huts. This device may have given rise to the corncribs on piles.

526 This game without any doubt derives
789 from a magical rite whose object was to pro-
243 mote the beneficial course of the sun and to oblige it to shine without interruption to make the corn ripen. The straw shuttlecock represents the sun. The period when this game is played and the meaning the Chiriguano attach to it make my hypothesis a very likely one. Preuss demonstrated that in all of Central America and even in North America the /345/ tennis game arose out of a magical operation intended to influence the sun.

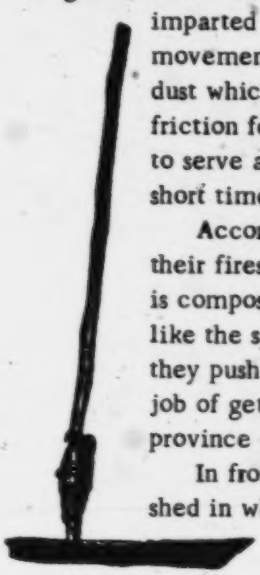
Fig. 11. Straw shuttlecock (mboto), accessory for the game of the same name. Prov.: Caruruti (1/3 nat. size.)

/354 cont./

372 small stick was too short to be handled with ease, he fastened it securely to another stick by means of vegetable fibers (embira) (Fig. 25). This done, he sat down on the ground, pressing the soles of his feet on the small cupped stick, and imparted with the palms of the hands a rotating movement to the other stick. The glowing sawdust which was detached by the effect of the friction fell on dried dung placed near the gadget to serve as tinder, which, at the end of a rather short time, began to catch fire.

354 According to the season, the Chiriguano light their fires inside the hut or outside. The hearth is composed of long branches which they lay out like the spokes of a wheel. As the ends burn, they push them closer to the central fire. The job of getting the dead wood falls within the province of the men (Fig. 26).

[462] [313] 343 In front of the huts they often erect a little shed in which the women do the cooking. The



[372] ← Fig. 25. Ancient apparatus for making fire, reconstructed by a modern Chiriguano. Prov.: Carurutí. (1/6 nat. size.)

roof of this shelter serves as a shelf for putting provisions and utensils on.

Preparation of Food

262 The modern Chiriguano do not seem to observe any food prohibitions, at least in daily life, for the custom of fasting, for women at the time of puberty and for men upon the birth of a [789] [825] child, is not yet lost. In olden days certain animals /355/ were taboo (1). The men of a few villages thus reserved for themselves

[775] 1. In order not to kill one of their dead relatives transformed into a fox, the Chiriguano

/355 cont./

142
291
351
372

Fig. 26. Chiriguano woman lighting a fire. Upper Pilcomayo. (Photo. A. M.)

262
[975] do not hunt nor eat this animal (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 3).

[756] Medicine men cannot under any circumstances eat pimento. If a man refuses to taste this condiment, one can be sure he is a magician (id., p. 184).

[765] Grilled corn is strictly forbidden for persons in mourning, whose tears would dry up if they ate this dish.

[825] the exclusive right to eat deer meat, which thus instilled in them
[789] the agility and suppleness of this animal. Women could eat, without

/369 cont./

293 574 576 [554] At Sainirenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the first one served is always the "captain." As before, the vessel full of kāwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they always come back to the first person who received each one and he finishes it. The men move from their places several times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/ [533] ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of flutes and violins.

When the supply of kāwi is exhausted in a village, they get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere to revel.

[789] [198] [302] Formerly the preparation of kāwi was accompanied by magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the women do not even take this precaution any more. However, between Caruruti and Caipipendí, I could still see several women stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an expression dear to Jean de Léry.

415 Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/ gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are preparing corn beer.

Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a completely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The [197] [198] latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements, while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

Guiana SR1
Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

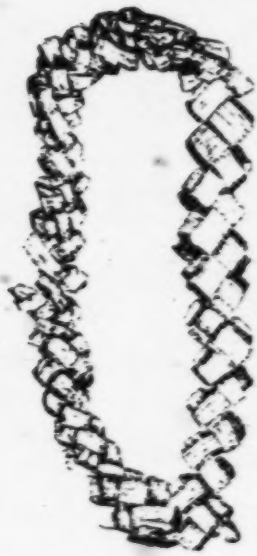
G
285
353

/462 cont /

serve as amulets, and, in any case, as ornaments. (Roth, pp. 497-499, Figs. 241-244 and p. 270; Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, p. 244.) In the same way the Chiriguano Indians decorate their huts with these figures, which they take care to have blessed. Exactly as in Europe they keep palm branches as lucky charms. Rosen (1, p. 61, Fig. 51) publishes a similar straw amusement which he found among the Choroti and which was pointed out to him as an ornament worn on the forehead. This explorer suspects the exactitude of this information and supposes that a ritual object is concerned. In reality, it is only a "flower," which the Choroti described by Rosen probably received or bought in some Chiriguano mission. It is enough to compare the figure of it that he gives us and ours in order to be convinced of this.

C
285
353
778
789

Ci
114
285
301



A
285
301

Fig 119. Wreath of plaited palm leaves (amusement or ornament?). Ashluslay. Prov.: Estero Patiño. (1/4 nat. size.)

A
C
Ci
285
171

Figures made of palm leaves are not, however, unknown to the other Indians of the Chaco. The Ashluslay sold me a diadem braided according to this principle (Fig. 119) and Rosen (1 Fig. 44, p. 48) reproduces an identical head-ornament which he bought from a Choroti tribe.

/462 cont./

Chapter X

Masks

532 The handsome masks, whose description I shall give
796 further on, are worn during the carnival festivities. Difficulties
[122] with the Bolivian authorities kept me from arriving in the Chiriguano villages at the time when they were taking place. When I finally found myself among my Chiriguano friends, they had emptied the last vats of kāwi and were /463/ in their
[126] normal state. Thanks to the closeness of the feast I was able
[241] to collect the masks published here; ordinarily they are destroyed or used in the fields as scarecrows.

115 My host, Mr. Alberto Torrejon, who lives at Ibopeytí on the upper Pilcomayo in an Indian village, gave me some very interesting details about the ceremonies and merrymaking in which he had just participated. I transcribe them as given.

796 At my approach of any festival, the carnival, for exam-
775 ple, the first act consists in causing the souls of the dead to flee.
789 If this precaution is not taken, the widows and relatives of the deceased will have to abstain from taking part. For the purpose of purifying the air, a drum is beaten, and the whole family /Fig. 120 appears here/ which has lost a member weeps and shouts. When the spirits have cleared out, the drum, in a joyful rhythm, gives the signal for merrymaking.

796 The festival is opened by a man and a woman who, with a stick decorated with flowers in hand, advance toward the middle of the square, followed by all the inhabitants in a long chain. When they have arrived at the middle of the area extending between the huts, the couple plants this sign, thus giving the signal for the festival.

[535] The chain breaks up and small groups form to dance in a ring. Their dance consists in advancing and retreating in triple time to the sound of flutes and drums.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/135 cont./

000 Revelation teaches us that legions of angels were lost because of an error or the grave sin of pride and passed into the category /136/ of the condemned or demons. Faith, reason, and common sense teach us that perverse men who die in their perversity are separated from good ones, as evil-doers are separated in this world by being imprisoned in jails. Divine justice demands punishment for the perverse, who, like condemned persons, pass into the category of lost spirits and as semblance of the demons, God allowing this, and they can appear to those of us who live here in the world to detain us along the way of sin or to warn us about it.

776 787 Under this concept it is not repugnant even to common sense to admit the probability that the Chiriguano do see the Añia, demon or evil spirit. Sacred history speaks of visions and apparitions; profane histories cannot combat them, but rather they relate innumerable facts of demoniac apparitions which have appeared by means of spiritualism. It is not strange that such a thing should happen among the Chiriguano. Doubtless it is incredible that it should be so frequent. They say that they see the demons at every moment of the night, whenever there is no fire or light, but this is a puerile worry, and due to fear and fright in some and to ignorance in others (1).

[372] [789] 1. In all the houses of the true Chiriguano there is always a fire burning at night for the principal end of keeping away the evil spirit or Añia.

773 Beliefs Relative to the Creation

[115] Before going on I am going to relate what was told to me by the cacique Anduari of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission, who, in order to increase his income, is a sorcerer or witch doctor for the Indians and some whites in a wide area. According to the account that follows, the human race, or the Chiriguano, was destroyed twice. The first time and its restoration have already been seen. The second occurred in the following way (2).

[585] [177] 2. Anduari gave his account in the presence of his

/150 cont./

756 789 731 824 [797]

Even for rain the sorcerers perform their incantations with their maize-husk cigar, making a turn in the planted fields, but if the drought is general, the incantations are public performed in the town in front of the house of the principal cacique. One of these was performed in the early days of the above-mentioned mission. The missionary had admonished them to stop it, but when they answered insolently, he formed or organized a commission with shotguns and old rifles. The three or four sorcerers fled, but one of them fell into the hands of the commission, was punished for his insolence, and in a few minutes a torrential shower refreshed the entire territory of the mission.

756 755

In concrete cases, when the sorcerer is required by a particular family, he establishes himself in the house of the sick man; he asks him a thousand questions regarding the sickness, the houses that he has frequented, the friends with whom he has drunk, the companions with whom he has played, and the things that he has earned. Then he lights his maize-husk cigar and smokes, blowing the smoke over the body of the patient, especially the affected part.

Then, depending on the greater or lesser seriousness of the illness, depending on the nature of the disease, whether it requires blows or joltings, which is the most likely, he delivers them so atrociously that they are likely to end the patient's life, and if not he is content with rubbing the affected part hard /151/ and sucking it with his mouth, extracting from the patient's body the worms which the rascal has hidden in his mouth (1).

[164]

1. In many cases worms can be found in the bodies of these Indians between the flesh and the skin. I myself, with the use of fenelina, have made worms as big as chickpeas come out of their bodies, without their having had any wound at all.

C
821

/295 cont./

The waxing and waning of the moon, according to Maringay's explanation, was caused by the fact that a larger or smaller piece of it is put in the firmament.

C
821
177

The sun rises over the water and then shines for us during the day. In the evening it dips into the water again, and at night it shines for the other human beings on the other side of the earth. This was Maringay's idea of the course of the sun. I believe, however, that he learned this from the whites.

Ee
821
784
[763]

When a meteor, "baeréndi," falls, it means the death of a chief. About a shooting star, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti said: "He is going to sleep with his girl." Maringay was more realistic in his explanation. "The star lets something fall," said the old man.

Ee
821
[789]
[825]
[784]
[484]

/296/ When it thunders, Chiquéritunpa is walking about. The medicine men, "ipáye," are able to make rain. When the swallow, "máchurupimpi," flies low, it will rain, the Indians say. Another bird, "chóncho," announces rain. If one is going traveling, one should not put a jug in water, but dip up the water with a calabash; otherwise it will rain. In a myth about the destruction of the world related to me by the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, the world is destroyed by water.

Ce
821
773

The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me how the world was destroyed by a storm. Otherwise the wind plays an unimportant role in the myths. If one places a warmed jug in flowing water, there will be a storm, say the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. The rainbow, "yii," is a snake.

Ce
821
[784]
[825]

of 2.1 cm. It is decorated with one large and many small, turquoise-blue beads made of glass or porcelain. 301

Necklaces of stone or glass beads are worn by the women, and even men may occasionally be seen with them. One such necklace (fig. 198), which I bought of a Chiriguano Indian in the San Luis district, consists largely of pierced, cylindrical or laminate, turquois beads of exactly the same kind as I found when excavating the ancient site at Tolomosa in the Tarija valley.[1] The Chiriguano keep all stone beads they happen to pick up on the ground, and also acquire them by barter from other districts. Besides turquoise beads, there are also blue, white, and red glass-beads threaded on this necklace, which to me proved a particularly costly bargain. It is probable that such necklaces as wholly or in part are composed of ancient beads are looked upon as amulets. To this question I shall refer later, in connection with my account of the supposed magical properties of certain Choroti objects. [437]

Fig. 198. Necklace of turquoises and glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/2. Rikam. 03. 3. 905.

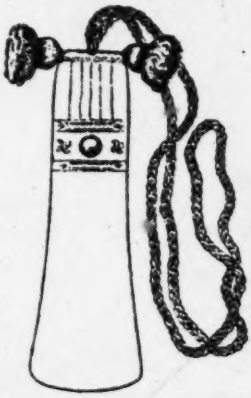


Fig. 199. Tweezer-like breast ornament of silver. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. Bolivia. 1/2. After Erl. Nordenskiöld.

[172] [789]

In the important work entitled »Comparative ethnographical studies», Erland Nordenskiöld describes, from the Chiriguano, an interesting breast ornament called »boivéra» (fig. 199), which I have not myself seen in use. It is of silver, doubled over tweezer-fashion, and worn on a string round the neck. Such tweezers, usually ornamented, are nowadays not put to any practical use, but exclusively worn as ornaments. The leaves of these tweezers are, therefore, sometimes hammered together. On good grounds Nordenskiöld advances his opinion that these ornaments originate from the small tweezers, or pincers, that, already in pre-Spanish times, were used by the Andean Indians for removing hairs of the beard, or 301 174 412 [302]

[1] von Rosen (1), p. 367 and fig. 331: 23—27.

/133 cont./

776 finally, the caciques, tired of being oppressed in certain areas by
173 certain bad Christians, have called some unfortunate, but alert
792 and bright boy Tunpa, in order to gather Indians from other areas to hear a flesh and blood God and fight with courage in the holy war (2).

000

2. The Mexicans, at the time they were conquered by Hernán Cortes, had temples and idols, with priests serving them. When they beat on the holy drum, the fury of the warriors was kindled. In one battle Cortes lost 60 Spaniards, who were burned before the idols.

776 In this last case the illustrious Missionary Father Angélico
173 /134/ Martarelli, in his appendix to the history of the missions
792 says in substance the following: "The boy whom the caciques
•791 chose to deceive the rest assumed the name of Tunpa so that his oracles would be believed and respected with great reverence. He was shut up in a hut and from there, through his counselors (one of whom is still alive and very attached to the missionary), gave answers to those who asked, Indian or white. These must respect his advice with all humility, and they were damned if they declared themselves unbelievers, while those who were good joined the ranks behind his flag.

Beliefs in the Spirits

152 It is not unusual for someone who is passing through Chiriguano towns to hear, either near or far, a man or a woman, or some-
[795] times many people, crying, especially at night. In this last case it causes sadness and who knows what terror for white hearers or for missionaries, because these wails sound like those of condemned
775 souls, and it seems as if they are crying about their misfortunes and the loss of eternal blessings.

/133/

773 The Cururu then, before the total flood, went into the ground, carrying burning embers in his mouth, and there, by blowing on them, he did not let them go out. When he found out that the liquid element had disappeared from the face of the earth, he once again took into his mouth the embers of fire, came out into the open air, sought out the two children, delivered the fire to them, and thus they were able to cook the fish which they were patiently extracting from the fresh water, and thus they were able to give warmth to their shivering members (1).

[538] [825]

1. When children bother a toad, it will puff itself up to remind them that by blowing it did not let the fire go out, reminding them that they owe it gratitude. This is what the very old people tell the children.

The two children grew older until they were old enough to propagate, which in fact they did until the Chiriguano had again multiplied, all of whom, according to them, descended from those two beings.

This story, as I said, clearly manifests, with very slight differences, the idea of the universal flood, of Noah's ark, and of the human race which was saved in it. At the same time it demonstrates the ill will of Aguara-Tunpa against God and His creatures, and the new multiplication of the race on the banks of a river.

776 173 792 The primary divinities, one completely good and the other good and bad, depending on his will, are only two, but tradition and relatively contemporary history teach us that in different times and in various regions some daring Indian who was fond of laziness and other people's property, with a degree of loquacity and extraordinary promises, managed to gather around him in his new house, which he had deliberately built outside the town, a multitude of Indians from near and far and claimed to be Tunpa, an extraordinary and marvelous being. Others, including a certain woman of great daring, have claimed to be Tunpa ichi, "mother of God," which had little effect, and on other occasions,

/133 cont./

776 finally, the caciques, tired of being oppressed in certain areas by
173 certain bad Christians, have called some unfortunate, but alert
792 and bright boy Tunpa, in order to gather Indians from other areas to hear a flesh and blood God and fight with courage in the holy war (2).

000

2. The Mexicans, at the time they were conquered by Hernán Cortes, had temples and idols, with priests serving them. When they beat on the holy drum, the fury of the warriors was kindled. In one battle Cortes lost 60 Spaniards, who were burned before the idols.

776 In this last case the illustrious Missionary Father Angélico
173 /134/ Martarelli, in his appendix to the history of the missions
792 says in substance the following: "The boy whom the caciques
791 chose to deceive the rest assumed the name of Tunpa so that his oracles would be believed and respected with great reverence. He was shut up in a hut and from there, through his counselors (one of whom is still alive and very attached to the missionary), gave answers to those who asked, Indian or white. These must respect his advice with all humility, and they were damned if they declared themselves unbelievers, while those who were good joined the ranks behind his flag.

Beliefs in the Spirits

152 It is not unusual for someone who is passing through Chiriguano towns to hear, either near or far, a man or a woman, or some-
[795] times many people, crying, especially at night. In this last case it causes sadness and who knows what terror for white hearers or for missionaries, because these wails sound like those of condemned souls, and it seems as if they are crying about their misfortunes
775 and the loss of eternal blessings.

/90 cont./

000 preceding. I must also cite A. Métraux's publication, "Les
792 Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguano e dans l'Amérique de Sud
[113] /Men-Gods among the Chiriguano and in South America/" (363),

363. In the Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, No. 1, Tucumán, 1931.

in which he deals with the cases, repeated several times, in which some individuals among the Chiriguano appear as Messiahs and, acquiring many proselytes, gave the mission administrations much to do.

796 [126] Plaited Objects Used in Religious Celebrations, from the Collection

I.A. 1439. (Chiriguano) Length 70 cm. (Fig. 43b.)
I.A. 1440. " " 37 cm. (Fig. 43a.)

[171] Plaited objects like those mentioned above are also very com-
796 mon among the Paraguayans and made in the same way. This
797 custom of making such plaited figures and having them blessed,
177 as the Chiriguano also do, is connected with the Catholic ritual, and the Chiriguano no doubt received it from the missionaries along with the other rites of the Catholic religion (364).

364. See the opposite opinion of Métraux I, p. 462.

532 The masks that the Chiriguano make to carry during the Carnival
[527] fiestas are also modern objects. Some such Chiriguano masks are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and Métraux (365).

365. Nord. 1, Fig. 119. Métraux I, Plate 86 and Fig. 121.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

plicated affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large jars. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

Gambling.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the suka game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.[9] Another favorite dice game is called chukareta: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous tala game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

Games.—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapeti River, like so many Guiana tribes, played a ball game with rubber balls which they butted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

Chiriguano women had a game (itarapoa) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tumpa, or Iandapoha ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaratumpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guarani*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ana," the souls of the dead.

[9] The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 167).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chaue SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yandawa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1819 b, p. 262), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

/462 cont./

Chapter X

Masks

532 The handsome masks, whose description I shall give
796 further on, are worn during the carnival festivities. Difficulties
[122] with the Bolivian authorities kept me from arriving in the Chiriguano villages at the time when they were taking place. When I finally found myself among my Chiriguano friends, they had emptied the last vats of kāwi and were /463/ in their
[126] normal state. Thanks to the closeness of the feast I was able
[241] to collect the masks published here; ordinarily they are destroyed or used in the fields as scarecrows.

115 My host, Mr. Alberto Torrejon, who lives at Ibopeytí on the upper Pilcomayo in an Indian village, gave me some very interesting details about the ceremonies and merrymaking in which he had just participated. I transcribe them as given.

796 At my approach of any festival, the carnival, for exam-
775 ple, the first act consists in causing the souls of the dead to flee.
789 If this precaution is not taken, the widows and relatives of the deceased will have to abstain from taking part. For the purpose of purifying the air, a drum is beaten, and the whole family /Fig. 120 appears here/ which has lost a member weeps and shouts. When the spirits have cleared out, the drum, in a joyful rhythm, gives the signal for merrymaking.

796 The festival is opened by a man and a woman who, with a stick decorated with flowers in hand, advance toward the middle of the square, followed by all the inhabitants in a long chain. When they have arrived at the middle of the area extending between the huts, the couple plants this sign, thus giving the signal for the festival.

[535] The chain breaks up and small groups form to dance in a ring. Their dance consists in advancing and retreating in triple time to the sound of flutes and drums.

/463 cont./

796 203 578 The attraction of the carnival consists of the enormous consumption of kāwi and alcohol which takes place then. Men and women drink, one trying to outdo the other; and, under the influence of drink, old angers and secret hates are awakened and the most excited provoke each other and come to blows.

796 532

Fig. 120. Chiriguano Indians wearing masks. (Photo. by the R. P. H. Catinari.)

796 203 578 /464/ The "captain" must then call them to order and separate the combatants.

Some people increase the tumult by blowing into their 796 534 sénéné (long whistles).

Sexual passions become aroused, and the men begin to 796 832 786 539 whirl around the women, whom they entreat, a calabash of kāwi in the hand, while reciting to them in a singsong tone pieces of verse of this type:

Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no	For me
Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no.	For me.

/464 cont./

796 Eyu šekuama	Come and kiss me
832 Šemireko mi	My little wife
786 Diyuru emesie	Give me thy mouth
Tuiša dipota	I love thee much
539 Šę songo pę	With my heart
Ime deresa ikavi	Thou hast pretty eyes
Ime diyuro misiray	Thou hast a little mouth
Tuiša dipota	I love thee much
Pairamo ayporu deve.	For that I am going to ask for thee.

796 During this time young or old men with their faces
539 covered by a mask (añawasu) run here and there, force the peo-
522 ple to dance by blows of a stick, play tricks on them, and address jokes to them.

796 The feast lasts as long as there is kāwi or alcohol. At
[273] the moment when it is on the point of ending, a final ceremony takes place. The rite of going out is similar to the rite of entering: the couple who planted the flowery stick tear it from the ground and go out of the village, followed by the añawasu and all those who took part in the festival. The procession advances to a certain distance from the village to the sound of the flutes and drums. They throw away the masks and throw stones while shouting. The carnival is finished and everyone goes home.
[585] Some take along their new wife, for it is at this moment that most marriages are celebrated.

796 The carnival festivity such as I have just described in-
177 volves only a few elements borrowed from the half-breeds or
178 creoles, outside of the coincidence of dates. This is an ancient
[241] feast of a purely agricultural character, which the Chiriguano have acquired the habit of celebrating at the same time as the *Bolivian carnival. Besides, the Indians of Ibopeytí are pagans.*

796 The masked men are supposed to represent the spirits of the
241 dead, as their name indicates (aña: spirit; wasu: great). As in
171 the festivals of the Guianas and Central America, they come in numbers /Plate LXXXVI appears here/ /465/ to insure for their

[text continues on p. 329]

C /465 cont./
796 descendants or relatives the fertility of the fields and the
24 abundance of the future harvest. These masked festivals have
[171] their counterpart in the famous ceremonies of the populations of
C the Negro River, the details of which Koch-Grünberg has made
[177] known to us. Besides, it is probable that the Chiriguano
A borrowed these ceremonies, and especially the masks, from the
796 Chané. It is the racial brothers of the Chané, the Arawak of
241 the Negro River, who celebrate these festivals with the most
Ce splendor. The Chané of the Parapití still accord to these ancient
796 rites more importance than the Chiriguano, and their masks
24 crowned with immense tufts of feathers are, it appears, more
532 sumptuous than those of their old Guarani enemies.

In the missions the carnival has lost its purely pagan
C significance and has become contaminated with usages which
796 the Chiriguano have borrowed from the half-breeds. Nino
[797] (pp. 267-270) gives a good description of them, of which I
[177] shall summarize the principal features.

C The festival is directed by a personage wearing an old-
[532] man mask. He stops at each corner of the square, recommending peace and harmony to all.

Then they give themselves over to different games: masked personages scatter bean pods or corn bran upon the dancers.

Young men, masked but almost entirely naked, daub
C themselves with mud and try to soil all those who have new
[177] garments. These two customs can have only a Bolivian origin.

Individuals who are also masked mime a combat between
C a jaguar and a bull which is finally put to death by a fanciful
796 butcher. Then they pass on to the pleasures of the dance. "The
535 dancers form a large circle by joining hands and dance thus
[536] three times. Three times also they squat down, and three more times they pass under the extended arms of a couple of the same circle, and finally the same number of times they press against one another, forming a big mass, their faces turned toward the outside and their hands folded. They remain in this position until another couple dances around them. These do not hold each other by the hand. The man chases the woman and tries to grab her. She avoids him and goes to hide in the middle of the others."

/465 cont./

796 Toward the end of the festivity, the men improvise a seat by crossing sticks. They have a child sit on it and form a bulwark for him with bamboos. The others come and rain a hail of blows on him, without hurting him, however. Then they have him get down and begin this ceremony over again three times in different places.

On the second lap, the masked individuals go from house to house and receive from each person the strangest objects: bean pods, watermelon rinds. On the third lap, young and old begin to weep.

To finish up, they go in a procession to throw away the masks and all wash their faces and hands.

/466/ Description of the Masks

Plate LXXVI

532 1. Mask of toroboki wood (light, soft wood). The face is painted white and framed by a black ribbon fastened with small wooden pegs. The eyebrows, mouth, and the parallel lines which cross the bridge /Fig. 121 appears here/ of the nose have been painted in black. The edges of the nose are emphasized with two green lines. On each cheek, two concentric circles, one black and the other green with a black dot in the center. On each side, a hole through which passes a cord serving to hold the mask over the face.

Small cavities along the periphery seem to indicate that at the time of the festival feathers were stuck along the edge of the mask exactly as on the following specimen.

2. This mask is the one which, in my collection, is in the best condition. The face, whitened with a substance similar to lime, is bordered with feathers stuck into the wood. The eyebrows are painted in black, as is the upper lip. The mouth is represented by a slit. The facial painting on both the cheeks and the forehead is green, except for the center dot, which in each disk is brown.

/129 cont./

196 This same thing is not true with respect to the external
18 demonstrations of worship. The Chiriguano, like every savage
171 people, have no temples, priests, or ceremonial to regulate manifestations of worship. Does this also demonstrate that they completely lack external demonstrations of veneration of a god? It is not easy to give a categorical answer regarding this, because
[186] if it is the truth, as now seems to be the case, for I have not been able to discover any fact which shows the existence of that worship, this could be explained if we take into account the fact that the savage, because of his condition of isolation in the midst of the forest, is distrustful; he looks at the white man with suspicion. This is more than sufficient reason for him to hide his religious acts from the view of the latter.

Nobody could deny us the exactness and solid foundation of this observation, since it is a fact that civilized men, even among themselves, are ashamed to practice religious acts for human reasons, from whence comes the fact that they neither fulfill the duties of their religion nor come to the churches, and, what is worse, they make a show of a religious indifference which is very far from what in fact they feel.

Let us agree then that the Chiriguano does profess some religion, like all other peoples of the world.

This conclusion will be corroborated by what we are going to see in the following sections.

Divinities

776 That the Chiriguano have some divinities is undeniable, but it is very difficult to determine what character they have and to what category they belong according to the concepts of these savages. This is the reason why it is impossible to determine with certainty whether or not they /130/ profess polytheism or monotheism, when one considers the diversity of excellence, power, and pre-eminence which they attribute to their divinities.

/270 cont./

535
541
[292]
[562]
[177]

times in different locations (1).

1. At the carnival, during the three days, there are women who dress like men and men who dress like women, but both cover their faces well so as not to be recognized; this was also taught them by the white man.

[152]

On the second circuit all the Agüeros, the masked ones, a mestizo term, ask from house to house for provisions, and they accept everything, even bean pods and watermelon rinds, and on the third circuit, which is the farewell, there begins the wailing of big and small masked persons, laden with provisions and scraps; these weepers really make the old people and others cry, because some of them are thinking of their departed ones who are not present at this festivity which is ending, and others perhaps because they think they will not get to see another carnival. I questioned an old man who was really crying, and he gave me the preceding answer. When the last circuit ends with the drums muffled as a sign of sorrow, all of them, riders, dancers, and agüeros, go out of the town and go to a place where they throw away the masks and immediately go to the river, or a spring, to wash their hands and faces a little (2).

535
541
177

2. All of the foregoing games in Ivu were taught them by the same white man whom I have mentioned, and in the beginning he taught them by demonstration, causing astonishment, particularly in the women and the old persons; many of the said games are immoral, especially the circles and the massed group.

796
177

Easter

Forty days later the Chiriguano has another fiesta, that of the Pascua de Resurrección /Easter/, which was introduced by the whites; the old Indians call it nice because it is quiet, as they call the carnival very noisy.

/270 cont./

●796 call the carnival very noisy. There is nothing special about it and it lasts three days; /271/ some play the violin, and men and women sing the Alleluja. Couples hold hands as they walk through the streets. If both are women, they walk with their [533] arms about each other's neck. They sing through the streets [554] and in the houses and in front of them; in this latter case it is [539] a sign of esteem for a family. The words are few: Osi ma Pascua, alleluja, Easter has come, alleluia, Ucuera yema Yandeya, alleluja, Our Master came back to life, alleluia (1).

1. The song of Alleluia begins as follows: Santísima Trinidad /Most Holy Trinity/, osi ma pascua Aleluya; aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, etc. Ucuera yema—Yandeya, Jesucristo; aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, [194] etc. The s of Osi is pronounced as though it were double.

000 /272/

Chapter Twelve

Offensive and Defensive War

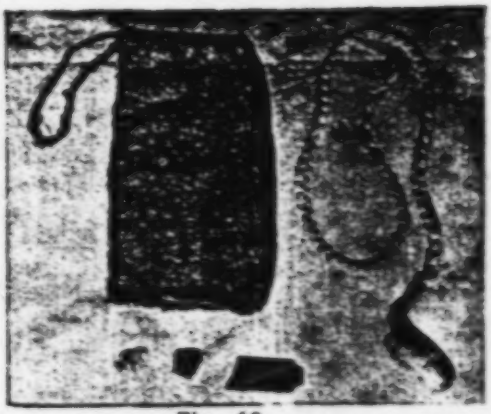
Introduction

There is no people or nation in the world which has not experienced the horrors of a war more or less bloody, more or less prolonged, and more or less disastrous. Troy burns, and Aeneas, the founder of the Roman Empire, takes advantage of the confusion, avails himself of the very darkness as his shield, and saves himself. /The remainder of p. 272 and the first paragraph on p. 273 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 273. The remainder of p. 273 follows./

Plate XIV

C
372
415

a b



e c
d

Fig. 40

C
[237]

C
415
286

ce
415
284

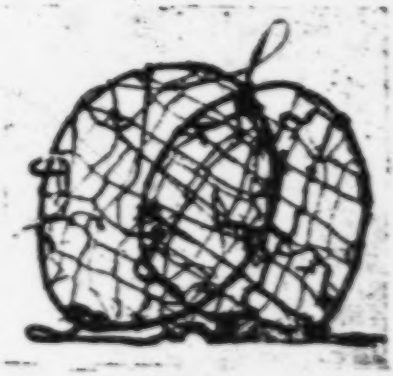
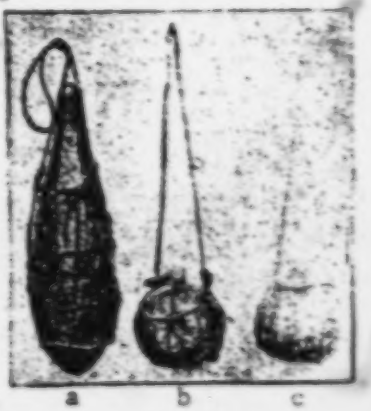


Fig. 41



a b c

Fig. 42

C
285
796

a

b

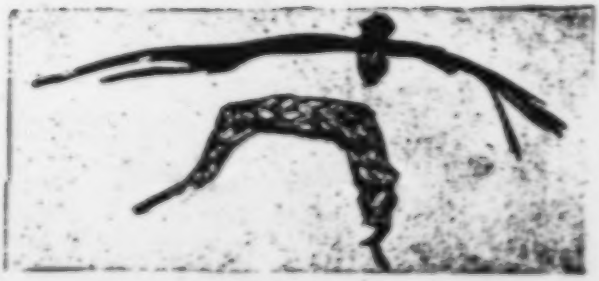


Fig. 43

/The captions are on p. 117./

8: Schmidt--117 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XIV and XV./

C
372
415

Fig. 40. (I. A. 516) Implements for making fire (Chiriguano):
a (I. A. 516a), bag as receptacle for the implements, length 16 cm., width 8.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 516b), cotton wick, length 62 cm.;
c (I. A. 516c), receptacle for the end of the wick, nest of a species of wasp, length 4.2 cm.;
d (I. A. 516d), piece of a metal file, length 4 cm.
e, flints.

C
[237]

C
415
285

Fig. 41. (I. A. 583) A pair of hoops for storing goods (Chiriguano), diameter 43 cm.

Ce
415

Fig. 42. Calabashes for carrying water (Izozó):
a (I. A. 661), height 49.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 662), height 16 cm.;
c (I. A. 665), height 17.5 cm., made out of the fruit of the tree Crescentia Cuyeta /Crescentia cujete/.

Ce
[824]

C
285
796

Fig. 43. Objects plaited out of palm leaves, used in religious festivities (Chiriguano):
a (I. A. 1439), length 72 cm.;
b (I. A. 1440), length 37 cm.

C
415

Plate XV. Baked clay vessels for cooking foods (Chiriguano).

Fig. 44 (I. A. 414). -- Height 24 cm.
Fig. 45 (I. A. 418). -- Height 23.5 cm.
Fig. 46 (I. A. 413). -- Height 26 cm.
Fig. 47 (I. A. 419). -- Height 22 cm.
Fig. 48 (I. A. 412). -- Height 12 cm.
Fig. 49 (I. A. 417). -- Height 22 cm.

/90 cont./
000 preceding. I must also cite A. Métraux's publication, "Les
792 Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguano e dans l'Amérique de Sud
[113] /Men-Gods among the Chiriguano and in South America/" (363),

363. In the Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, No. 1, Tucumán, 1931.

in which he deals with the cases, repeated several times, in which some individuals among the Chiriguano appear as Messiahs and, acquiring many proselytes, gave the mission administrations much to do.

796 [126] Plaited Objects Used in Religious Celebrations, from the Collection

I.A. 1439. (Chiriguano) Length 70 cm. (Fig. 43b.)
I.A. 1440. " " 37 cm. (Fig. 43a.)

[171] Plaited objects like those mentioned above are also very com-
796 mon among the Paraguayans and made in the same way. This
797 custom of making such plaited figures and having them blessed,
177 as the Chiriguano also do, is connected with the Catholic ritual, and the Chiriguano no doubt received it from the missionaries along with the other rites of the Catholic religion (364).

364. See the opposite opinion of Métraux I, p. 462.

532 The masks that the Chiriguano make to carry during the Carnival
[527] fiestas are also modern objects. Some such Chiriguano masks are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and Métraux (365).

365. Nord. 1, Fig. 119. Métraux I, Plate 86 and Fig. 121.

/295/ Preface

114 121 In the chapters to follow, I propose to publish part of the results obtained in the course of the expedition that I undertook in the Bolivian and Argentinian Chaco in my capacity as director of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Tucumán.

114 [101] This expedition took place from February to June, 1929. Its itinerary was the following: Having left Tucumán, I went by railroad to La Quiaca where I stayed for several days, making observations on the more or less half-breed natives of the region. From La Quiaca I went to Tarija, where I remained longer than I might have wished because of the suspicions my trip raised at the time of the Paraguayan-Bolivian conflict.

114 101 103 After a 15-day stop I left Tarija to reach the Chiriguano tolderías of the upper Pilcomayo. I crossed the village of Santa Ana, then the Abra del Cóndor, the Narvaez River, the post of San Diego, passed five kilometers from San Luis (Entre-Ríos) to stop at the Cuesta de San Simon, where I found the first Chiriguano. Once having crossed the Cuesta de San Simón I quickly reached the Salado River, then the Chiriguano villages of Timboy [126] (Saladito). It was there that I made my best acquisitions of pottery and where I collected the oldest objects. The inhabitants [178] of these rancherías, who live relatively far from the highway from Argentina to Santa Cruz, have preserved the traditions and culture of their ancestors better than their racial brothers have. From Saladito I reached the village of Itasiti and then Salado Grande, [361] in order /296/ to reach the Pilcomayo at the confluence with the Salado. There, the Chiriguano villages are large and numerous. The most interesting are those of Ñawirenda, Ibopeytí, and Yumbía.

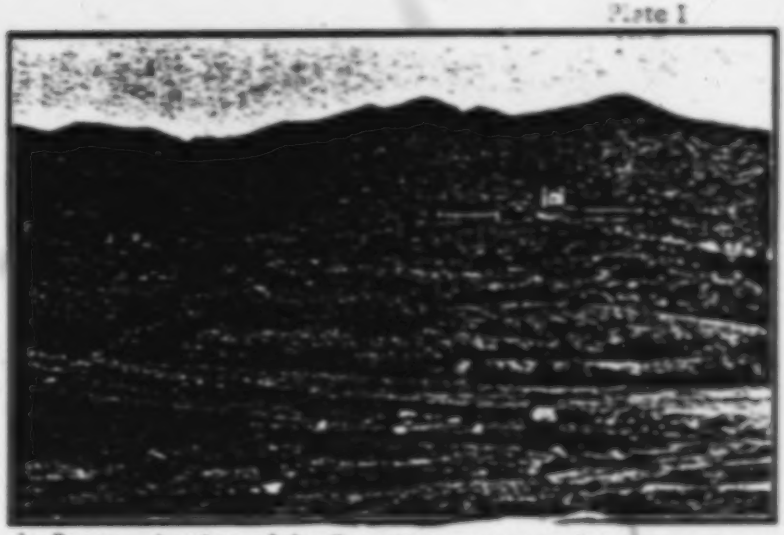
After stopping for some time in this place, I continued my trip toward Huacaya and the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo.

In one day I went from Boicovo to Cuevo, going by way of the mission of Santa Rosa.

[197] [198] From Cuevo on I was in the mission of Ivu, which is without doubt the one where the old Chiriguano customs have undergone the fewest modifications.

Plate I

133
997



1. Panoramic view of the Franciscan mission of San Pascual de Bolcovo (Huacaya Valley). (Photo. by the Reverend Father Honorato Catinari)

133

2. Landscape typical of the mountainous region occupied by the Chiriguano. View taken in a gorge in the neighborhood of the mission of San Pascual de Bolcovo (Photo. by Reverend Father Honorato Catinari)

[129]

142
554
643
199

1. Santos Airedyú, the last "capitan grande" of the still independent Chiriguano Indians. Airedyú is completely assimilated to civilization and lives like a rich Bolivian farmer. He is a man of great character. (Photo. A. M.)

142
291
799

2. Group of Chiriguano in a Franciscan mission. (Photo. by the R. P. Honorato Catinari.)

/324 cont./

Ce 6a 648 cites a people of the Zchennte (Chané) in whom by reason of their geographic situation we must see the Chané-Guaná: 'They are vassals and subjects of the Mayaiess (Mbayá) as with us the peasants are subject to their lords.' We also have no trouble in recognizing the Chané in the Queanaes (Guaná) whom Alcide d'Orbigny mentions, according to an old account, as having been subjugated by their neighbors the Chiriguano and obliged by them to cultivate their fields. In C Ce 175 648 567 727 the 18th century the Chané, as prisoners of war of the Chiriguano, had been quartered /Plate V appears here/ /325/ like slaves in villages called Chané after them. When Lozano declares that the Chiriguano call their slaves Chané, an ethnic value must be given to this phrase. The state of subjection of the Chané in relation to the Chiriguano is explained in the linguistic sphere by the name which the first used to give to the second: cheya, 'my master,' the Chané used to say when addressing the Chiriguano, and the latter called the Chané tapii, 'my slave.'

Ce 175 799 "The little we know about the Chané who live in the lost regions of the northern Chaco is connected exclusively with the activity of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries of the Collège de Tarija. The first evangelized the Chané in C [799] the 17th century at the same time as the Chiriguano; and in 1714 they formed with them a doctrina /Christianized Indian village/ in the vicinity of Santa Cruz. It was called San Juan de los Porongos and in 1767 was under the authority of a parish priest. It was only with great difficulty that the Chané could C Ce 175 162 799 be assembled, in 1767 and 1789, into the two missions of Asero and Iti. We learn from a report by Father Pedro Bartolomé addressed to Francisco Aguirre that the Filipili mission in 1789 was made up of Chané Indians whose racial brothers were living mingled with the Chiriguano on the borders of Chuquisaca and Santa Cruz. Viedma, who visited the missions in 1788, found in the villages of the Parapití Chiriguano and Chané who were C Ce 175 648 799 living together, united under the authority of the Franciscan missionaries. The activity of the missionaries among the Chané naturally was to have as a consequence a rupture of the bonds

[Text Continues on P. 51]

/325 cont./

Ce 175 648 [797]

of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguanos as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 16th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 15th century.

Ce 175 72 169 Ce 175 648 Ce [266] Ce [113]

The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had done with his companions and several women. He was able to escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

Ce 175 72 567 Ce 175 648

In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later: "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

/340 cont./

421 Property is a sacred thing among the Chiriguano, and the nearest relatives cannot dispose of their belongings without their formal consent.

241 115 123 At the time of my stay in Carurutí, I once asked my old friend "Captain" Karnapadyú to take me to his field. He was very

249 409 797 142 291

Fig. 7. Mill for grinding sugar cane at the Ivu mission. (Photo. A. M.)

241 115 (123) touched by /Plate VI appears here/ /341/ the interest that my wish implied and in an instant showed himself ready to do the honors.

His field was about 700 meters from the village on top of one of the cliffs which border the "quebrada" /ravine/ of Carurutí. Access to it was by a steep path across fallen rocks. The entrance

[35] [417] to the field was closed by a hedge composed of tree trunks and thorny shrubs which we climbed over with the help of an Indian-style ladder, that is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps.

[Text continues on p. 94]

/345 cont./

433 224 198 Outside these official expeditions they doubtless used to hunt for pleasure or simply to interrupt the monotony of their menu.

224 411 Quadrupeds were killed with arrows with lanceolate tips, originally of wood, today of iron (Plates VIII and IX, 2); small game, with arrows tipped with a barbed wooden rod [223] (Plate IX, 3-5). Birds were taken in traps or felled with a special arrow having a splayed ferrule (Plates X-XI).

224 [231] Anyone who has seen the little dogs of the Chiriguano Indians, with elongated /346/ muzzle, pointed ears, short hair, and arched tail will ask with surprise how animals so miserable, stupid, and snappish could have been trained to render service to man. Nevertheless, such seems to have been the case. For hunting the peccary, for example, the Indians employ the dogs, who track them and /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ force them to hide in their dens, from which they are smoked out and felled with blows of a stick when they try to run away. At least this is how the inhabitants of the village of Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) told me they had killed a peccary which they showed me at the time I was there.

433 224 184 For the modern Chiriguano, hunting has lost its reason for existing as an activity having an economic character, except perhaps /Plates VIII, IX, X, and XI appear here/ /347/ /Fig. 14 appears here/ for those of this nation who live [352] [412] in the region of the upper Pilcomayo. At least this is the impression I had after examining their huts: the bedsteads or wooden cots were often covered with peccary skins and the old deerhorn awls (Fig. 12) numerous enough to be able to be exchanged for a trifle. The relative abundance of these objects proves that among these Indians hunting has not been relegated /Fig. 15 appears here/ to the rank of a simple sport and that it keeps, at least in part, its past importance. [799] The contrast is striking if one then goes into the zone of the Franciscan missions: there, more peccary skins, more [411] perforators made of deerhorn, more ostrich feathers. In the villages of the upper Pilcomayo there is no cabin, poor as it may be, in which a bow and a bundle of arrows are not slipped

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 89]

T /360 cont./
195 their four fingers from the earthen dish or other vessel in
264 which they keep it, even though they throw it from rather far away, nevertheless they put it so accurately into their mouths that they do not drop a single bit. So that some of us Frenchmen, wishing to imitate them, thought we would eat it in that fashion, and not being at all trained for that like them, instead of throwing it in our mouths, we discharged it on our cheeks and floured our whole face; /361/ consequently unless those principally who wore beards would have wanted to be accoutered as players of farces, we were constrained to take it with spoons" (Léry, Vol. I, pp. 143-144).

T This comparison permitted me to suppose that roasted
262 corn flour has simply replaced the "farinha" of the Brazilians.
252 As we know, the pulp of manioc tubers, after being carefully
264 squeezed in the tipiti, or trough, was roasted on a terra-cotta slab and changed into dry flour, with which the Tupinamba
C accompanied all their meals. The Chiriguano think the same
262 way about atli: they say that corn flour, in order to be eaten,
264 must have an accompaniment, an intina. To my way of think-
196 ing, atli and muinti are two substitutes for manioc flour that the Chiriguano invented or adapted after emigrating into a
C land where bitter manioc was unknown. Neither the other tribes
[171] of the Chaco nor the Quichua eat corn in this form, and, to my knowledge at least, there is no doubt that the Chiriguano introduced these two dishes into the country, without counting a goodly number of the ones which have been enumerated.

C The only fruits that the Chiriguano consume on a large
262 scale are the prickly pear or tuna (Opuntia), which are seen
C in all their villages. They also plant some fig and orange
[245] trees when they are under mission influence. They are also
[197] great lovers of melons, of sandias (watermelons), and when they have eaten one of these which has pleased them particularly, they keep the seed. They love sugar cane with a passion. Sorghum is especially meant for the children, for whom these graminaceae are a veritable sweetmeat. They suck the juice, which is as sweet as that of sugar cane.

/393/

Decline of the Art of Pottery among the Chiriguano

323 Of all the Chiriguano industries the most threatened one
178 is doubtless ceramics. The Chiriguano can claim the glory of
415 having been until recently the last Indians of South America /Fig. 64 appears here/ to have a pottery which deserved to be included in the number of beautiful manifestations of this art, so brilliantly represented in certain regions of the continent. Today things have changed a great deal. Villages in which one can still find women capable of decorating vessels with the mastery of former days have become rare and are limited
415 to a restricted area. /394/ It was in the tolderías of the Timboy,
126 the Great Salado and the Little Salado, in the region of Yumbía
178 and in the Igüembé valley (upper Pilcomayo, departments of Tarija and Chuquisaca) that I was able to collect the finest specimens in my collection. Elsewhere it was exceptional /Fig. 65 appears here/ /see p. 166/ to be lucky enough to lay my hands on a fine piece; and, if I did have this luck several times, it was almost always a question of an old vessel pre-
[797] served as if by a miracle. The Franciscan missions which formerly gave Nordenskiöld and Holmberg such fine specimens
797 contributed less toward enriching my collections. Nothing ex-
323 presses the sad state of decline of the Chiriguano better than
415 what I /395/ could observe in the Machareti mission. After
178 going through nearly all the huts of this large village, which in
[162] normal times has close to 2,000 inhabitants, I could scarcely acquire five or six yambuí having some artistic value. There
[463] were no longer more than three or four women who still knew how to hold a brush and they had to /Fig. 66 appears here/ /see p. 167/ provide for almost the whole village. In a few years the ancient painted pottery will exist only in memory in the large village where the famous "Captain" Mandepona lived.

323 This decline has several causes. The first is the state of
415 profound demoralization in which the Chiriguano are found, the
178 total disorganization of their social life, and the increasing
177 influence of the white men, followed by its corruptive effects: finally, the introduction of manufactured products, first and foremost gasoline cans.

/460 cont./

Fans or Fire-blowers

C 372 184 [171] Great was my surprise when upon arriving in the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo region I found fire fans identical with those of the Indians of Brazil and the Guianas. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 56) barely mentions them and insists on their rarity. The fact is explained by the absence of this cultural element in all the rest of the zone inhabited by the Chiriguano. In most of the villages they use old hats or fragments of baskets to fan the fire.

C 372 285 Plate LXXXV.[7] Length, 28.5 centimeters; width, 31 centimeters. Provenance: Saladito.

The making of these fans is rather simple. The leaves composing them cross in a rhythm of two. On the edge the stalks have been bent back and, passing again across the fabric, are interlaced to form a pucker on each side. The free ends /Plates LXXXIII-LXXXV appear here/ /461/ have been plaited on top and one part passed into a split stick forming the handle (Fig. 117).

C [171] An important remark must be made on the subject of these fans. They /Fig. 117 appears here/ differ little from the fans made of a single pinnate palm leaf, such as are found in Brazil and Paraguay. C [824] The Chiriguano, having no palm trees of this species in their new homeland, had to /Fig. 118 appears here/ adopt the palmate leaves of the karandaí. They replaced the petiole, which forms the handle, with the split stick to which I have alluded. (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 106 and 107, pp. 219-220.)

C 285 353 797 [824] /462/ "Flowers"

On feast days the Chiriguano of the Franciscan missions decorate the church with artificial "flowers" which they make from leaves of karandaí palms. These decorations are of ancient origin and derive directly from the straw amusements /jeux/ still made by the Indians in various /Fig. 119 appears here/ regions of America, notably in the Guianas. G 285 353 The natives of the latter region often hang them in their houses where they perhaps

[7] [See p. 322 -- Analyst]
[Text continues on p. 324]

C 796 241 [171] /465 cont./ descendants or relatives the fertility of the fields and the abundance of the future harvest. These masked festivals have their counterpart in the famous ceremonies of the populations of the Negro River, the details of which Koch-Grünberg has made known to us. Besides, it is probable that the Chiriguano borrowed these ceremonies, and especially the masks, from the Chané. It is the racial brothers of the Chané, the Arawak of the Negro River, who celebrate these festivals with the most splendor. The Chané of the Parapití still accord to these ancient rites more importance than the Chiriguano, and their masks crowned with immense tufts of feathers are, it appears, more sumptuous than those of their old Guarani enemies.

In the missions the carnival has lost its purely pagan significance and has become contaminated with usages which the Chiriguano have borrowed from the half-breeds. Nino (pp. 267-270) gives a good description of them, of which I shall summarize the principal features.

The festival is directed by a personage wearing an old-man mask. He stops at each corner of the square, recommending peace and harmony to all.

Then they give themselves over to different games: masked personages scatter bean pods or corn bran upon the dancers.

Young men, masked but almost entirely naked, daub themselves with mud and try to soil all those who have new garments. These two customs can have only a Bolivian origin.

Individuals who are also masked mime a combat between a jaguar and a bull which is finally put to death by a fanciful butcher. Then they pass on to the pleasures of the dance. "The dancers form a large circle by joining hands and dance thus three times. Three times also they squat down, and three more times they pass under the extended arms of a couple of the same circle, and finally the same number of times they press against one another, forming a big mass, their faces turned toward the outside and their hands folded. They remain in this position until another couple dances around them. These do not hold each other by the hand. The man chases the woman and tries to grab her. She avoids him and goes to hide in the middle of the others."

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Inca fortresses were visited by Nordenskiöld (1915 a, 1924 a), who described them under the names of Incallacta and Incahuasi. They bear witness to the accuracy of the various traditions concerning the *Guaraní* invasions, recorded by the chroniclers of Perú and of the Río de la Plata.

Along the Andes, the *Chiriguano* found a peaceful *Arawakan* population, the *Chané*, a branch of the *Chané* or *Guana* tribe, which occupied the northern part of the Chaco along the Paraguay River. The western *Chané*, after centuries of close contact with the Andean cultures, had been deeply influenced by them. They dressed like their neighbors, the Andean *Chiriguano*, produced a pottery which resembled that of Southern Bolivia and of the valley of Humahuaca, wore metal ornaments, and used metal tools. The *Chané* fell easy prey to the *Guaraní*, who slaughtered and ate many of them and reduced the remaining population to a condition of serfdom. The *Guaraní* invaders, having brought few of their own women, however, took *Chané* wives. The fusion of these two tribes produced a civilization in which Andean, *Guaraní*, and some *Arawak* features were intimately blended. The *Chané* did not entirely lose their identity, however, for along the Parapeti River, in the Caipipendi Valley, on the Itiyuro River, and in the Province of Salta (Argentine), *Chané* villages survived under their own chiefs. But even these have adopted the *Guaraní* language and today cannot be distinguished from their conquerors. The *Chiriguano*, nevertheless, consider the *Chané* somewhat inferior, while the latter remember the forays and cannibalistic habits of their former masters. The *Chané* language, probably extinct now, was spoken by a few persons as late as 1908.

The number of *Chané* is said to have greatly exceeded that of the *Guaraní* invaders. They extended from the Río Grande (Guapay River) to the Argentine along the foothills of the Andes. At the beginning of the 17th century, according to Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, in the region of Macharetí, 400 *Chiriguano* ruled over 5,000 *Chané*; in Charagua, 250 *Chiriguano* owned 4,000 *Chané* serfs; and on the Guapay River, 200 *Chiriguano* kept 1,000 *Chané* in subjection.

The first White settlement in the land of the *Chiriguano* was the ephemeral town of Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded in 1564 on the upper Parapeti (Cordorillo) River by Manso and destroyed a short time later by the *Chiriguano*. In 1571 the *Chiriguano* attacked the *Chiriha* and the natives of the Provinces of Condorillo and Barranca. To punish them for their "arrogance," the Viceroy of Perú, Francisco de Toledo, led an expedition against them. The Indians avoided battle and harassed the troops of the Viceroy until he was obliged to retreat in shameful defeat (1574). San Lorenzo de la Frontera, which became the modern Santa Cruz de la Sierra, was founded primarily to keep the *Chiriguano* at bay.

The first attempt to convert the *Chiriguano* to Christianity was made in 1609, when two Franciscans, Augustín Sabio and Francisco González, built a church in the valley of Salinas, but the reduction was soon abandoned because of Indian opposition. The Jesuit fathers founded a college in Tarija in 1690 and undertook the spiritual conquest of the *Chiriguano*. In 1691, Father Arce founded a mission in the valley of Tariquea, which lasted only 3 years; another mission, established on the Guapay River by Fathers Zea and Centeno, met the same fate. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Dominicans founded three missions in the valley of Chiquiacá, Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Miguel, and Santa Rosa, while the Augustins formed the Mission of Santa Clara in the valley of Salinas. In 1715, the Jesuits reestablished their ancient mission of Tariquea. In 1727, all the missions in the *Chiriguano* country were destroyed by the rebellion of the chief, Aruma, and his followers, who feared being taken into slavery. The revolt was crushed by an armed expedition sent from Santa Cruz and composed of Spaniards, "tame" *Chiriguano*, and *Chiquito* auxiliary troops. The *Chiriguano* had been aroused against the missions by the fear of being taken into slavery.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 175 797 648

In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purísima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Rio Grande): Abapo, Mazubi, Cabezas, Piray, Igmiri, Tacuró, Iti, Parapetí, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuarumboti, Piriti, and Ohaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1799. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapetí River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Macharetí, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapetí. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

C 668 648 175

C 797 464 157 648 101

In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guarani* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

C 162 195

The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 22,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapetí River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 262) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Azero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izozo, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were baptized and 3,187 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

C 161

ARCHEOLOGY

C 172 964

Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapetí River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupaya. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guarani* ware.

C 172

At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

plicated affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large jars. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

Gambling.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the suka game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.[3] Another favorite dice game is called chukareta: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous taba game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

Games.—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapeti River, like so many Guiana tribes, played a ball game with rubber balls which they butted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

Chiriguano women had a game (itarapoa) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tunpa, or Iandapoha ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaratunpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guaraní*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ana," the souls of the dead.

[3] The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 337).

4t Nino

101
102
103
131
133
361
797

SF10 Chiriguano SF10

p. 447	p. 448	p. 449
p. 450	p. 451	p. 452

Chart of Positions of End Map, (pp. 447-452).
/facing End Map/

/xii cont./

arms of the Delegation and the forts, which they know how to burn frequently; the Tapiete continually threaten the farthest outposts and all their personnel, because the cannon and bayonet are powerless to civilize and to implant in the iron breast and crude heart of the savage /xiii/ humanitarian ideas, philanthropical ideas, because the cannon destroys, it does not civilize.

121 I shall not concern myself with these tribes in the course of my pages; a book could be written about all of them, studying their origin, their customs, their relations with the other tribes and even with the whites, their relations with invisible or imaginary beings, their language and their deeds, but I renounce this arduous task and concentrate upon the Chiriguano race, which was conquered by the missionaries of Tarija long before South American Independence and later by the fellows of the Colegio de Potosí from the year 1870 through a region closed to trade and civilization.

The first thing I shall do in the course of these lines is to set down a description of the Chiriguano region, after which will follow: the origin of the tribe or race, language, statistics, physical and moral character, religion, political organization, the people, customs, imposition of the tembeta /lip plug/ on the males, fasting on the maidens, sicknesses, wars, songs, gatherings, and, finally, death and mourning. I shall try to make this little work pleasant and for that reason I shall allow myself to insert an occasional fable which was formerly held to be a fact and which even today is taken as such in certain regions.

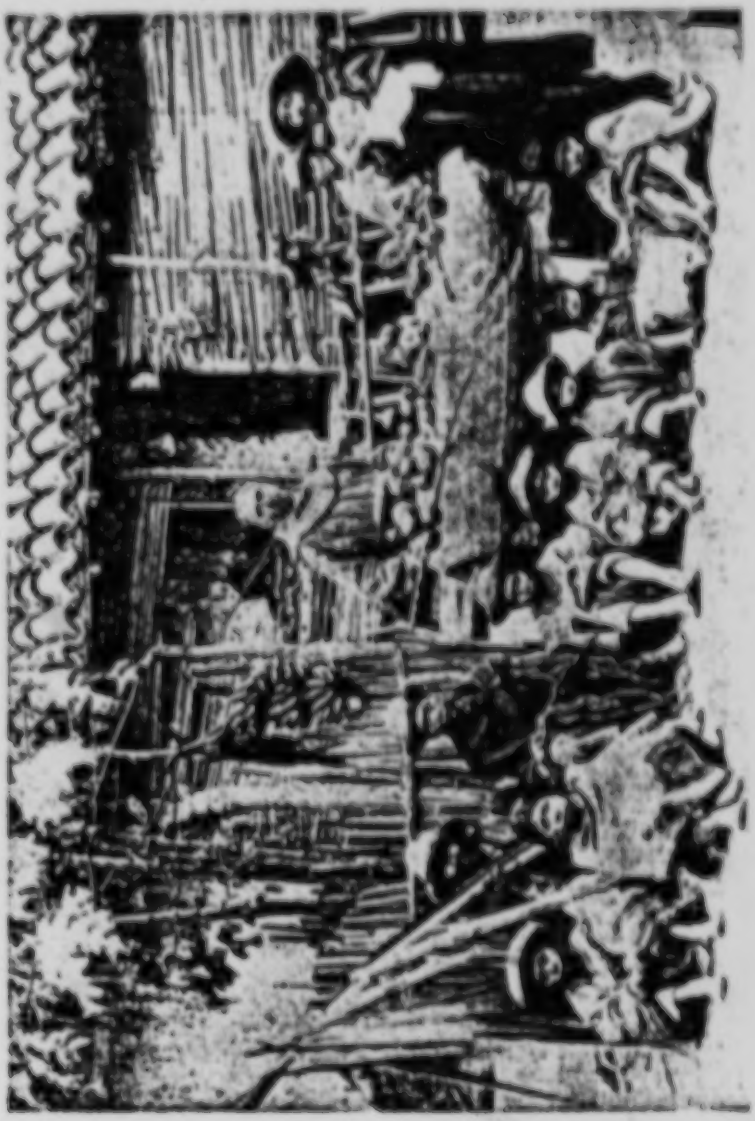
Word to the Reader

114 This little work, which some will call not only useless but also a waste of effort is now born, but perhaps others who like to study races will find it useful for Ethnography, despite the fact that it is inadequate to give a perfect idea of the race among which I have lived since the year 1893.

Before beginning this third work I have tried to acquire some knowledge. I am not the first to write about these Indians; I have been preceded by D'Orbigny, Pelleschi, /xiv/ Mantegazza,

4: Nino--63 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

792
142
291



Agricultural Industry of the Missions

4: Niño--M M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chirigano SF10

797
648

The San Antonio Mill in Parapiti.

4: Nino--99 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/39 cont./

174 197 In support of the aforesaid is the language, which differs little from Guaraní, spoken in the Republic of Paraguay, in various parts of Brazil, and even in Corrientes, and language is an irrefutable argument for one or more nations, but inasmuch as this language is very reduced in the latter places, and it was general in the former (Paraguay) until a rather recent period, it might well be concluded that the Chiriguano originated in Paraguay.

648 797 This Nation is attempting in our times to enlarge or extend its domain into the territories occupied by the Chiriguano, especially as far as degree 22, where almost all of the missions are located, including those of Parapiti Grande, which are located at 19°58' latitude south of the meridian of Paris. Bolivian diplomacy has powerful arguments to uphold its rights, with the support of the missions, principally those of Parapiti, whose first founding goes back to the eighteenth century. The Franciscan Father Narciso Llamedo built there a moral and a physical edifice, whose vestiges can still be seen today, by authority of the Most Illustrious Archbishop of Chuquisaca and supported by the Royal Audiencia of Charcas. Neither the Chiriguano language nor the invasion of this race gives any right to Paraguay, because all authors and explorers are in agreement that this race did not exist here before the thirteenth century. In the fifteenth century the Chiriguano were visited by the Inca Tupanqui with a large force of men from Cusco. Later, in the sixteenth century, the resident viceroy of Lima vainly attempted to humiliate the pride of this race, and finally everyone sees that the Bolivian Nation has exercised full authority here since before and after the war of Independence, and that the missions have progressed and are progressing in the shadow of the Bolivian flag, which has always waved in these remote lands.

174 Someone might observe and says Why, when the Chiriguano /70/ emigrated from Paraguay, did they not settle on the banks of the Pilcomayo and on the immense pampas of the Gran Chaco? At first glance this question constitutes a grave embarrassment to one who does not know the race, but it is easy to answer it satisfactorily. All barbarous tribes remain in

/74 cont./

175 648 wiped out the few soldiers whom Francisco Pizarro led into Cajamarca, overpowering Emperor Atahualipa by killing 5,000 Indians.

The Chiriguano, better advised than the Quechua and their emperor, formed great armies to combat the invaders, and these were defeated many times by the terrible host; on other occasions they destroyed their fields in order to make them perish from need, and other times they made captives of the women, after having killed the men and other younger males.

175 ●799 The unequal struggle lasted for centuries, and finally they were conquered little by little by the missionaries. The latter, with only the Cross and preaching, obtained greater victories, because whereas the whites presented themselves to the barbarians with superiority of arms, sowing devastation and making the rivers run with blood, the missionaries presented themselves with humility, sowing the divine seed, and conquered them with the word of the Gospel.

The barbarians recognized the difference between them, and while in the beginning they destroyed the first missions, killing a missionary priest (?), when they understood more

> 2. The Chiriguano Indians of Ingre Valley set fire to the mission of the Jesuit fathers and plucked from the altar Father Lisardi, who was killed by 17 arrows in the mission plaza, dressed in his sacramental vestments.

perfectly that the priest proposed the conquest of their souls /75/ and the defense of their country, they delivered themselves completely into the hands of the missionary, not in order to be educated as Christians, but in order not to lose their independence. Only through the agency of the missionaries is the vast country which includes a distance of more than 300 leagues from north to south and more than 60 from east to west entirely open today to trade and civilization. The Jesuits were slowly replaced by the Franciscans, who

/75 cont./

175 founded various missions, and today what is not in the hands
177 of the respective diocesan authority is all in the power of the latter group, who have irrigated this soil with the sweat of their labors for centuries (1).

1. The Jesuit Father Pons made efforts to found missions in the stretch between the Pilcomayo and Parapiti, with whose Indians he began to speak, but he was unable to do anything. This was done in the first half of the seventeenth century.

174 There is no doubt about the Paraguayan origin of the
167 Chiriguano native, as there is none about that of the Guarayo, whose language is the brother of the former's, despite the fact that they do not understand each other well, owing to the great variations which both have undergone. Paraguay is southeast of Bolivia and the region occupied by the Chiriguano tribe northwest of the former, with the Gran Chaco being the extensive region which separates the two republics of Paraguay and Bolivia. The domicile of the Chiriguano in the Gran Chaco is another circumstance which weighs heavily in indicating the Paraguayan origin of the tribe.

All that remains is to know the route which the Chiriguano followed in their migration to Bolivia; it might have been done in a straight line, crossing the Gran Chaco, which distance from the last cordillera west of Parapiti and Charagua to Paraguay is scarcely 100 leagues, but this route offers the insuperable obstacle of lacking the most important element for life, water. This has clearly been demonstrated by the calamities suffered by the various expeditions organized by the Bolivian government for the purpose of opening a straight road to Paraguay by setting out from Isoso (2).

2. The explorer Francés Thouar, after having gone over the route opened by the Arana, had to retreat because of lack of water and in a rash step became lost and, with several others, nearly perished from hunger and thirst.

/77 cont./

199 "Conumi," lad, do not have an accent
194 on the i in Chiriguano, but they do in
171 Guaraní.

199 In past centuries the race, and therefore the language, em-
178 braced a great deal of territory, but today it is greatly
361 reduced, and I can state without danger of error that it is
162 still numerous in Caipipendi, Pipi, Choreti, Tasete, Araticu,
and in the Potosí and Tarija missions; but in the former
places it is scattered among many little towns, while in the
latter it makes up respectable towns of 500, 1,000, and
2,000 souls (2).

2. Choreti Guasu is located on the left bank of the Parapiti in Cordillera Province; it almost forms a single town with Membirai, and between the two of them they have about 110 families.

199 Purity of language is now no longer found in any town
178 or in the missions, in the first because of living among
199 whites and continually emigrating to the Argentine Repub-
• 797 lic, and in the second, the missions, for a third reason,
instruction in Spanish, which the missionaries give the boys
and girls in the schools; thus, if the race is not finished first,
as is feared, because of the continual epidemics and
vagrancy, the language will soon be lost, and then the few
books that exist will only serve as an historical monument
for posterity, which will be able to recognize the merit and
labor of the missionaries who spread among them, the
Chiriguano, and poured out sweat with the sole purpose of
civilizing them in a Christian way (3).

3. There are a grammar, a Spanish-Chiriguano dictionary, a catechism with its translation, Father Corrado's masterpiece, a small Chiriguano-Spanish "Nene" /"Infant"; the work referred to is Nino's Nene Chiriguano/, and many unpublished sermons.

464 /78 cont./ Today there is already a need for farmers,
799 and everybody is coming to the missions looking for day laborers, muleteers, and herders, cheese-makers, house-builders, etc., etc. How will it be later? (2) The immi-

> 2. H. Montero's project, approved by the Commission in the year 1910, may well be approved by Congress, but it seems impossible to me that the caciques will report the Indians who try to go to Argentina. To charge missionary padres to send 25 per cent of the people to the intendancies, where they will receive a daily pay which is lower than what they are paid in their own town, is to drive away the missionary who cannot comply with this obligation every month because the Indians will resist it or run away.

gration of useful people, not idle people, is necessary, but not in order to destroy the missionary centers. /79/ as is proposed, because this would soon end up by destroying the tribe, but colonizing what is unpopulated. What did the government achieve by the absence of missionaries in Villa Montes? That the Indians will now not work for anyone, and only do so when they are good and ready. All the authority of a delegation was not sufficient to get a few days' work out of its population, and for this reason the previous work was at the point of being completely destroyed; weeds had taken over in the vineyards and gardens which had been so fruitful and so well maintained in the time of the earlier missionaries.

175 Now almost all of the great Chiriguano centers have
464 disappeared, and barely the names of the great caciques of
[161] some faction or other remain; in all of the cantons the disappearance of the labor force causes astonishment, and
[799] service is scarcely to be obtained for fuel. Even the missions
[162] are undergoing this decline; in Acero Province there must be some 5,000 souls, in Cordillera some 8,000, in the

/79 cont./

175 Chaco and O'Connor Province. 5,000. in the Tarija
444 missions there are 4,500. and in those of Porcó. 3,905. which
[197] makes a total of 26,405. including men and women. big
[162] and small. old and young. But of this number there are scarcely 8,000 day laborers. or strong men fit for any work. and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through
[131] their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from
[465] north to south. more than 40 from east to west; if today the cultivation of these lands is difficult. tomorrow it will be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the day laborer. tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

648 There is a great struggle under way between the Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase
[167] his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate and does dominate the Chiriguano. as one who is nobler and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence as long as he can. but. because he is weak and inferior. yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave. he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where he is treated with more apparent humanity. though not certain and real. but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[444] 1. According to references. the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month. without food. which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless. since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive. the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed. bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

175 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former
197 times and the very missions which antedate South American
361 independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and others are on the point of disappearing.

/50 cont./

797 Because of the intervention of political authority, the present missionaries will fall heir to the same fate, if the law of the department is not changed, because, it seems, they have dropped to the category of agencies of said authority and of all the Christians who are continually coming here in search of hands; and H. Montero's proposal will not only aggravate the situation, but it will leave these regions without workers for agriculture and cattle-raising. It is certain that labor makes man more moral, but it must be confessed that the Indian is lazy and opposed to working for the whites, whom he considers the usurpers of his lands. They will voluntarily go to work where they are treated with humanity, but where they are allotted the worst food and hard labor, they go with repugnance, despite the suggestions of the missionaries.

46 648 797

The caciques who respect and follow the missionary's orders become tired of continually seeking laborers for the whites, because they are aware of the unwillingness to obey; the result is that sometimes both Indians and caciques hide in the country, and when they get tired of this, they go away from the mission for a long time, leaving their families in misery. The missionaries struggle to gather the dispersed ones together again, but it often happens that the efforts of several months are lost in one night or in a few days, and in spite of the laws that exist in Bolivia, nobody has concerned himself with Chiriguano emigration. Reasons for the disappearance of masons, carpenters, shoemakers, and musicians are not lacking at the present time, since the most important thing is to get apparently luxurious clothing from head to feet, which cannot be obtained here very easily, either because they spend the money on other trifles or because there are no companies which provide all facilities to the laborer (1).

46

1. Today the whites who mistreat the Chiriguano are few. When a day's pay was fixed at 40 centavos, there was some difficulty, which has now disappeared; the Indian is now earning

46

/80 cont./

well in his own home; he only lacks the facility to procure what the Argentines give him and then he will resign himself to not emigrating.

799 As I have said above, nowadays the principal centers of the tribe have been reduced to the missions. For this reason I judge it appropriate to speak briefly of each of these which exists at the present time, so that the reader /illustration appears here/ /81/ can form some idea, however vague, of the efforts of the Franciscan missionaries, who are the only persons who today spend years and even their whole lives in the midst of privations and infirmities, experiencing solitude and enduring a sad and woeful life, in order to instruct and reduce some Indians who have little appreciation of religious and civil instruction.

The First Missionaries among the Chiriguano and a Precious Discovery

080 The primary end which the seraphic St. Francis of Assisi proposed with the founding of the Order of Minors was the reformation of the customs in the nations of the world and the teaching of the true Religion to the infidels of the Universe. /The remainder of p. 81 and the first paragraph of p. 82 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 82 follows./

799 175 But let us return to the primary object of this section. We have at hand the Crónica de la Provincia de San Antonio de los Charcas, written by the Franciscan Father Diego de Mendoza, O.F.M., in 1665. In his first book, Chapters 13 and 14, may be read in summary what immediately follows.

The first civilized man who entered the region of the Chiriguano to the east of Tarija was Father Simón de San Payo, a priest-cleric, son of Portuguese people, a native of Brazil, and, as such, informed about the language of

[text continues on p. 118]

/82 cont./

797
175

these Indians; he was there for four years. But the arrival of this priest neither can nor should be considered in the sense of missionary, because his motives for going there were very different from the religious instruction of the Chiriguano, with whom he lived in a fashion not at all correct, for which reason the Viceroy Marqués de Monte Claros made him leave.

Nevertheless, the Viceroy, as a good Catholic, was burning with the ardent desire to have the many Chiriguano souls enlightened by the light of the Gospel, and, in order to bring this about, he decided to send to the region the illustrious Sons of Loyola. These, with the fervor which characterizes them, accepted the offer with much pleasure, with the condition that the ill-fated Father Simón de San Payo, who had behaved so badly the first time, should not return there.

But the Indians urgently asked for this cleric, and furthermore none of the Fathers and Brothers of the Company knew the language of the Indians whom they were to catechize. Finally, since the Jesuit Fathers had set the exclusion of that bad priest as a sine qua non condition,* the Viceroy stopped insisting in their presence.

Had he perhaps also desisted from carrying on his project of civilizing the Chiriguano? No. He made proposals in the name of His Majesty before the Superior of the Convent of San Francisco de Chuquisaca, and, once the matter was known by the community, 17 religious spontaneously volunteered for such holy work.

From among these volunteers two were selected by royal decree, to wit, Father Agustín Sabio and Father Francisco Gonzalez, with the promise that more religious would be sent as necessity required.

Nonetheless, the Chiriguano Indians insisted that /83/ the Licenciado Simón de San Payo be allowed to come back, because, according to what was found out later from statements by the cacique, this misguided man had made many and various promises to the unfortunate savages.

4: Nino--119 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/83 cont./

797
175

A new hearing was held before the Audiencia; there was opposition against the return of the said priest, but the opposite opinion prevailed, and consequently it was ordered that the missionaries who were dispatched for the civilization of the Chiriguano should take the Licenciado with them, as was done to their great regret and to that of the Franciscan community.

On November 2 of 1609 the three charged with this duty left Chuquisaca, passed through Potosí, where they baptized the first three Chiriguano, passed through Tarija, and arrived at their town, located near the Salinas Valley, on December 22 of the same year.

This first arrival did not correspond to the most noble purposes of our missionaries, both because of the intrigues of the Licenciado and because of the inconstancy and avarice of the barbarians, which we know perfectly well. Even today, despite being completely reduced in the several missions, they reveal the same inconstancy and avarice, which indicates that they have always been the same, not inclined toward the mysteries and practices of our holy Religion.

Nevertheless, the seed left in the field of Salinas by the first missionaries of San Francisco de Chuquisaca did not fall upon completely sterile ground, and it slowly began to yield its fruit, since in later years others entered the same region.

What is surprisingly impressive about this is that there was found in the area of Salinas a large and heavy cross that had been placed in a cave located in the depths of the forest.

This cross rested on three pyramids of medium-sized stones, was made out of a thick piece of quinaquina wood, 15 feet long and two-thirds of a foot in diameter, retained its natural bark, and had in same three spikes of the same wood with their octagonal heads placed in the arms and foot of the said cross; twelve men were needed to move it to the town of La Torre.

/83 cont./

797
175

The cross was found by an Indian who had followed a deer which took refuge in the same cave; it was later moved to Tarija and placed in the church of San Francisco.

[173] None of the Indians could give any certain explanation for this precious relic; nevertheless, tradition from father to son, to grandson, to great-grandson and great-great-grandson, etc., among those Chiriguano states that /84/ in very remote times a man "of considerable height, white of face, with a long beard, with extensive hair, who wore long clothing almost to his feet, with a tunic and square cape or blanket," had walked about with that piece of wood, preaching to them that God had come to the world and that He had died upon another piece of wood like that one, and, seeing that they did not wish to believe him or accept his doctrine, he had withdrawn into that cave, where he stayed for a long time; he had gone away later and left the piece of wood there.

When the Fathers of the Company of Jesus founded missions in Paraguay among the Guaraní, they found a tradition that the Apostle Santo Tomé or Santo Tomás /Saint Thomas/ had been among them, had taught them the religion of Christ, had predicted that this religion would be lost among them, and that in distant times others dressed almost like him and with a cross in their hands would announce the same doctrine to them. The Indians were convinced that the prophecy had come true with the arrival of the Jesuit Fathers.

We know through Christian chronicles and histories that God performs miracles by means of the relics of the saints and the things that have belonged to them or have been used by them. We can consequently lend credence to the coming of an Apostle, or of St. Thomas, first because of the Gospel, "Euntes in mundum universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae," and, second, because of the tradition among the Guaraní Indians, the Chiriguano, and those of Carabuco in the province of Omasuyos, department of La Paz, where another cross was found, and, thirdly, because of the miracles performed by means of it.

/84 cont./

797
175

We have said that the strength of 12 men was needed to move the cross found among the Chiriguano from the cave to the town of La Torre. Nevertheless, on the occasion of a fire which destroyed the church and a metal chalice, one soldier went into the temple to save the cross from the fire, and he alone took it from among the flames, which scarcely left any signs of the fire on the Holy Wood.

In a quarrel which occurred among some soldiers Francisco del Cerro was gravely injured by a deadly stab wound; neither doctors nor surgeons were present, and meanwhile this soldier was bleeding and was in danger of dying.

In those days they were very faithful, and since they fervently venerated the cross which they had found in the cave, they removed a small part of the Holy Wood, reduced it to powder, /85/ the wounded man drank it in some water, the blood ceased to flow, and within four days he was completely well, without need of any other medicine.

From these and other extraordinary deeds performed by the Holy Wood, we can deduce, still depending on the tradition of the Paraguay Indians, that it was quite probable that one of the Apostles of Christ came to preach the faith in this part of the world and even probable that this Apostle might have been St. Thomas, because the description given by the Guaraní and Chiriguano Indians corresponds to that of the same Apostle told to us in the ecclesiastical histories.

Missions of the Colegio de Potosí (1)

[361]

1. The department of Potosí does not have any Chiriguano Indians, and thus the Franciscans of that Colegio /school/ could not have catechized them by establishing missions, but by previous agreement with the missionaries of Sucre and permission of the government and diocesan authority, they came into possession of their territory.

/85 cont./

797 San Antonio del Parapiti Grande. -- This mission was founded on April 25 of 1903, in spite of the violent struggle against it made by the whites of the region through the press and even by actions, when on August 30 of this same year a stubborn corregidor at the head of 25 or 30 armed militiamen, almost all of them taken by force, tried to dislodge the missionary, who remained firm, without, however, putting up the slightest resistance or making any actual defense against such an attack. This settlement has continued to advance and to make material progress. It numbers 1,479 souls; the town is located on an immense plain, and the buildings -- the mission -- on a small hill; the elevation of the town above sea level is 580 meters -- meridian from Paris, 19° 58' south latitude, 60° 32' 45" west longitude (2).

2. This mission, founded by Father Francisco del Pilar, was organized by Father Narciso Llamedo; destroyed by the patriots, it was again founded in the year 1871 and abandoned in 1880 because of persecutions. It has been reorganized.

080 Here is how I described its panorama in the year 1908: It is an enchanting location, and anyone who comes here for the first time is ecstatic: he first sees the beaches and the Parapiti River, whose capricious course is admirable and whose waters are the plaything of the south and north winds, which make it change its direction whenever it suits their fancy. This immense beach, with the waters usually in the middle, looks like certain regional maps of the world, where /86/ centers of population have been engraved in the middle and immense deserts at the sides, and the painting grows when it is observed from the mission house among the branches of the leafy woods on the left edge.

/86 cont./

000 Next, the ecstatic visitor admires in the distance an immense savanna, that incalculable bluish-green carpet which seems to have been rolled out flat; it extends for leagues and leagues, giving a perfect impression of the sea; secular and gigantic trees, the algarrobas and quebrachos, which stand out, besides the other lesser trees which are present in abundance and which look like the waves of the stormy Pacific when they are agitated by the winds. Finally, the picture is made more interesting by the clear and cloudless mornings, as they almost always are, which offer a picturesque and otherwise enchanting perspective and panorama.

The smiling aurora is accompanied by the beneficent zephyr produced by the nearness of the river, which, with its gentle breezes, refreshes very early the heated atmosphere, and an abundant dew is sprinkled like diminutive pearls upon the leaves. Then there appear in the distance among the branches and the foliage the first luminous red clouds which announce the nearness of the great star, king of the universe, who seems to be rising unwillingly from his fluffy bed, finally letting his majesty be seen above the horizon. As he continues on his course, he becomes larger, and behind the woods is displayed that globe of fire, it being possible to look at it without its ardent rays damaging the vision of one who looks at it (1).

1. "Continuación de la Historia de las Misiones de Postosí," by Father Bernardino de Nino, p. 32.

• 797 2. San Francisco Solano del Parapiti Grande. -- This second mission of the great Parapiti was united with the aforementioned one up to October of the year 1908, and its residents depended on the same conversor /literally "converter"/ in both material and spiritual matters, especially in cases of grave illness. Since the first of November of that year two missionaries have resided there to do everything possible to advance spiritual matters; this date then may be regarded as the real and true date of its founding.

/86 cont./

797 and since it is a work of God, it is hoped that it will progress despite the lack of effort and the little willingness on the part of Indians in following the example of their neighbors.

Little by little, they will come to understand the spiritual good which is intended for them. /87/, because boys and girls are now being gathered together for instruction and, God grant, their number will increase with time! At the beginning the missionary lived in an ancient building left from the year 1871, and the tiny church is also ancient, but a new house has been built with a sala and two cells for dormitories. This new establishment is at present composed of some 300 souls, but it may grow, because there are many Indians in the forest and outside of the mission.

Its climate is satisfactory; its panorama offers little to see, because the town and the mission house are standing on a plain. It could be dominant only on a height, but, on the other hand, its location is convenient because of having the water of the river quite near, and it would not require much work to bring it close to it by means of a wide ditch. The town is at a height of 545 meters above sea level, 5,490 meters in distance from San Antonio, and the geographical difference is minimal (1).

1. Before Independence it was united with the previously mentioned one; in 1871 it was separated off, as it is at present.

2. San Buenaventura de Yvu. -- It is about 18 leagues from the above and was founded on May 3, 1893, after the end of the Curuyuqui war, in which the Indians were completely defeated at the end of January, 1892. At the present time it has 119 families and a population of 652 souls, while at the end of the last century its inhabitants exceeded a thousand. Near the mission house, at approximately 100 meters more or less, there is a hill with a surface of about half a league, which has small springs of rich and crystalline water, from which comes the name "Yvu," "water's eye" /hojo de agua/;

/87 cont./

797 the climate is very healthy, but the lack of food is continual, and they must often eat the roots of the serpentine arum, or mangara, bitter and poisonous before it is cooked (?).

> ?. Flora Cruceña of R. Peña. The fire makes it lose the poisonous part, but not all of the bitterness.

The buildings are constructed on a level site located on a small rise. The panorama which runs from north to northeast is [133] extensive and pleasant; there in the distance can be seen the hills of Taremacua and the cordillera of Ururigua, through which Nature opened a gateway to give passage to the waters of the Parapiti River, which fearlessly and with great boldness hurls itself from a great height, forming by its imposing waterfall a lake of white foam, like a boll of wild cotton, and then following its rapid course through San Antonio, Mariqui, Cumbarüi, and Isoso, /88/ where it is completely lost. Still farther beyond, to [137] the north and northwest, in the midst of a thick forest of quebrachos, [133] thickets, and secular algarrobas, are seen the tops of the ranges of Salinas and Timboirenta and something of Incahuasi, and at a short distance from the town is seen a round hill called "Tunpa repoti," the Chiriguano history and meaning of which I am not ignorant, and in front of the mission house, at the distance of half a league, are the pampas of Curuyuqui located among algarrobas and other trees; up to here the panorama of Yvu is similar to that of green Umbria of the kingdom of Italy. The [137] picture is dismal to the west and south, because the heart is oppressed by a consideration of the sands of the desert, however, much the springs of the west suggest the ancient and capricious fountains of the temples of Arcadia. Nevertheless, in the rainy season the hills and the plains garb themselves with fresh grass and wild flowers, lending to the nearby horizon a pleasant and varied appearance. The town is located at 770 meters above sea level, and at 20° 44' 35" south latitude, and 65° 50' 7" longitude west of the meridian of Paris, according to what is recorded in the

/88 cont./

797 "Historia de las Misiones" (1).

1. The whites call this place "Ibo," giving rise to the Cuevo-Ibo question debated so much in the legislative chambers. The jurisdiction of Cuevo today extends from the Irenta range to that of Aguaragüe from west to east and in the north continues to the Parapiti River; Camatindi and Tacuaranti ought to belong to Ñancaroinza, just as Itatiqui, Ipitacuapi, and Caimbeti, as far as the Parapiti River, should belong to the Carandaiti canton.

4. Santa Rosa de Cuevo. -- This mission was founded in the year 1887. Fifteen kilometers separate it from the previous one by an entirely level road, and today it has a population of 1,238 inhabitants, while at the time of its founding or a few years later its population reached 2,115, as is stated in the Historia of Father Angélico Martarelli (2).

[648]

2. During the Chiriguano uprising of 1892 the mission was the saving refuge of all the inhabitants of the Cuevo canton, and during the campaign it was made the headquarters. Colonel Frías, Colonel Chavarría, and General Gonzalez, with their respective troops, and many other militiamen, with their leaders, were there.

Its buildings, located on a very prominent hill, have the appearance of a fortress from whatever direction they are observed; when they are considered in terms of their solidity, beauty, and topographic level, it is difficult to find others like them in these parts. Its panorama is delightful; /illustration appears here/ /89/ it is surrounded by fields and hills very beautiful to the eye and pleasing to the heart, just as its inhabitants who breathe that perfumed air are pleasing. In the distance the hills of Aguaragüe to the east, those of Irenta and

[Text continues on p. 128]

4: Nino--127 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
312
133

View of the Santa Rosa Mission

/89 cont./

797 Saararenta to the west and southwest, and those of Salinas to the north make its location harmonious. Its land is extremely fertile when it is irrigated by abundant rains, and in its fields there is no lack of water needed for the livestock, despite the scarcity and saltiness of the little that comes down by way of the stream of Irenta, from which the missionaries and settlers supply themselves and drink.

With the opening of this mission, there then disappeared the fear which had previously held sway among the travelers who had passed through these regions with distrust, because the numerous Chiriguano, together with the Toba, inspired terror in times not long past, so much so that, in order to found the missions of Parapiti Grande, Father Francisco Solano in the year 1870 had to make a wide swing by way of the Tarija missions and lengthen his voyage by more than 35 leagues. Today this is the route of the traders to Santa Cruz and Tarija; in this sense, too, the Republic has greatly benefited; it is one more town, quite advanced in every sense, in which the official language is making rapid progress. Its elevation above sea level is 855 meters (1).

1. It is located at 20° 38' latitude south of the meridian of Paris and 65° 42' west longitude.

5. San Pascual de Boicovo. -- This mission of Boicovo (butterfly serpent) was founded in the year 1875, 12 years before that of Santa Rosa, from which it is separated by the cordillera of Saararenta by a distance of 45 kilometers to the southwest, being at a height of 765 meters above sea level. It has a population of 300 or more souls, while at the beginning it had 1,210, according to the history of the missions. There are few infidels, and few also are those who do not speak the Spanish language; among the Christians, rare is the neophyte who does not know how to express himself in it and infants drink it with their milk. Oh, the prodigy of the Catholic religion! This is not seen where missionaries do not reside.

/89 cont./

•777 The mission building is located on quite a high hill: it has a beautiful church, too large for the few settlers: the town has very little ventilation, for which reason contagious diseases do great damage. The smallpox of 1880 carried off more than 300 souls, that of 1894, 100, and that of 1895, 45, because the majority had been saved in the /90/ previous years, and yet the black vomit, or yellow fever, carried off 50 victims. The site occupied by the mission has no panorama because of the ranges to the east and west that are a few meters away. It is a mousehole, embellished with the mission building, houses constructed with some skill, and abundant fruit trees: it has little land of any value for agriculture and livestock, because it is completely wooded, but more than enough for the few settlers (1).

1. This mission was founded as the result of a bloody war which its settlers, together with the Toba and Chiriguano of Cuevo and Yvu, waged against the whites of Igüembe in the year 1874 to 1875.

[illegible]. Igüembe, Huacaya, Ingre, and Cuevo. -- In addition to the missions already described, the towns whose names head up this small section were founded by the Franciscan missionaries of the Colegio de Potosí. Their beginnings date from the years 1870, 1875, 1881, and 1882, respectively, and they continue to be cared for by the missionaries of Potosí, except for Ingre, ceded to those of the Colegio de Sucre in the year 1904.

Their settlers are all of the white race, having come from the departments of Tarija, Santa Cruz, Sucre, and Cochabamba. At the beginning they assisted the missionaries in the conquest of the souls and civilization of the Chiriguano, there being particularly distinguished in this regard the inhabitants of Huacaya and Igüembe, from which came the missionaries for the Christianization of the Indians of Boicovo.

/90 cont./

•797 Cuevo, Ivu, and Parapiti. Today these regions are populated by whites, and this evidently proves that the Cross of the Redeemer, planted by the missionary and watered by his sweat, is more powerful than the cannon of the kings, which could not make the Chiriguano surrender prior to South American independence (?).

2. The whites who assisted the missionaries in Boicovo and in Parapiti received from the Supreme Government an allotment of land half a league square.

7. San José de Ñumbía. -- The territory of the mission to be founded is located on the left bank of the Pilcomayo River at 21° latitude and 64° 50' longitude west of the meridian of Paris, 16 leagues from San Pascual de Boicovo and from Igüembe, in whose canton it is located. Anyone who might like to know the particulars of the events concerning the founding of this mission should read my little work, "La continuación de la Historia," etc., p. 164.

/91/ The site is beautiful, located on the banks of a great river with an abundance of fish of all colors and sizes; five small towns must be joined in order to found the mission, which could be done, were times different, because the Indians are like the other Chiriguano. The missionaries of Potosí did everything necessary for the founding of the mission up to taking possession of the land and getting approval of the titles, which were handed over to the missionaries of Sucre, together with the chaplaincy of N. S. del Rosario del Ingre /Our Lady of the Rosary of Ingre/ (1).

1. The missionaries of Sucre were prepared to found the mission at the end of the year 1905, when the Supreme Court decided that the opposition of Lema should be handled in the ordinary tribunals; thus it has remained.

4: Nino--131 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/91 cont./

Cuevo

361 175 [103] The town of Cuevo is located on the left bank of the torrent or stream of the same name. Before the war of the year 1875, and even later, it was known by the Chiriguano who lived there as Ñumbicto, which means "halfway field," and in fact it occupies a beautiful level place located almost midway between the ranges to the west and those to the east.

Almost all of the first white inhabitants were from the department of Santa Cruz, and it is an undeniable fact that Colonel Víctor Antezana moved to the region of Cuevo-Ibo with some militiamen from Lagunillas and built a fortress where the public cemetery of Cuevo is today, and another one where the church of San Buenaventura of the mission of Tvu has been built, both works which are owed to the constancy and activity of the Franciscan missionaries of the Villa Imperial. The fortresses are later than 1875.

[799] [648] Subsequently, the town was formed under the protection of the missionaries themselves and around the Cross of the Savior; it was completely burned by the Indians in the uprising of Curuyuqui in 1892, but the inhabitants of Cuevo who did not perish, with the assistance of the flourishing mission of Santa Rosa, built anew and in better condition the new town, which continues to progress today.

195 648 [361] In the war of the year 1875 all the Chiriguano of Cuevo-Ibo and Huacaya, together with the treacherous Toba and guided by the great cacique Corone, who lost his life in the torrent of Baecua opposite the town of Igüembe, rose up as one man to overwhelm all the whites in the region.

/92/ In this critical situation the intrepid subprefect of the province of Acero, D. Antonio Menduiña, with the militiamen from Monteagudo, San Juan del Piray, Huacareta, and Ingre, flew to the region of Igüembe and with these people overwhelmed the innumerable and ferocious host, reducing it at once to impotence by the slaughter of Caipipendi.

/92 cont./

361 645 Cuevo had belonged by law from long before Independence, and still belonged by right of conquest after the defeat of the barbarians, to the department of Chuquisaca, but the Representación Cruceña /representatives from Santa Cruz/ has constantly demanded the region of Cuevo-Ibo as an integral part of the territory of Santa Cruz.

The current legislature has ended this much-discussed matter on the basis of the law of 1898. Cuevo consequently now belongs to the department of Santa Cruz, because that law fixes as the interdepartmental boundary the left bank of its stream, which is about 150 or 200 meters from the town.

Even the Representación Tarijeña /from Tarija/ has [199] been consulted in this matter and has fixed its boundaries at the right bank of the stream of Camatindi; this was based on the same law and on the fact that the territory was settled by Christians from Tarija and was won over by the Franciscan missionaries from the Colegio of the same city since before 1875. Tarija still retains the region of Caipipendi, which belonged to the Huacaya canton.

When the interdepartmental arrangement is finally made, Sucre will lose a zone of 12 to 14 leagues from Cuevo to the right bank of the Parapiti River, and another eight leagues or so from the right bank of the Camatindi stream, not counting the incalculable zone lost toward the east. Here is the law promulgated: /the remainder of p. 92, p. 93, and six lines, including a footnote, on p. 94 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 94 follows./

Ibo or Ivu Canton

631 645 Once the interdepartmental problem is solved in a friendly fashion, according to the bill approved in the Chamber of Deputies in this year of 1912 and promulgated as the law of the nation, the department of Sucre is prepared to elevate to the rank of canton the region of Ibo or Ivu, the capital of which might be the San Buenaventura Mission, located at this very place.

/94 cont./

631 645 If this were the case, the boundaries of the new canton should be the following, according to the agreement made by the Representación Chuquisaqueña /from Chuquisaca/: on the south the left bank of the stream Vitiacua, on the north the parallel of the stream of Cuevo, on the east the range of Aguaragüe up to said parallel, on the west the ranges of Saararenta and Irenta, and on the southwest the stream of Chimbe.

[792] [162] Within this delimitation are included several Chiriguano towns, the most populous being the missions of Santa Rosa, with more than 1,200 inhabitants, and that of San Buenaventura de Ivu with 652 souls.

White families are few, but not less than 40, which could give a total of at least 160 souls. It might be that with time this small population will grow in the new canton, as that of Cuevo grew.

799 172 463 648 Years are needed for the Chiriguano Indian to be able to take over the political government of a town, in spite of the fact that in the relatively new missions there are musicians, carpenters, woodworkers, masons, saddlers, shoemakers, tailors, and young men who know how to write well and to read better, but it is one thing to know an art or a trade and quite another one to have to administer justice.

/95/ The experience of many years of missionary life and what I have seen in the missions abandoned since the war of Independence justifies my opinion that many years are needed for the Chiriguano Indians to be able to fill certain public offices such as that of corregidor and parish alcalde.

A Project

000 The eastern zone, which today belongs to the three departments of Santa Cruz, Tarija, and Sucre, is somewhat threatened by foreign countries, but it might be that the Bolivian Republic could make friendly settlements with the neighboring nations.

/96 cont./

175
648

The expedition entrusted by the Supreme Government to an Englishman, which was to enter the Cayuguari region through Picuigua (water for dovelings), can be said to have failed, because the two attempts which it made were without result and it had to return in order not to perish because of the absolute lack of water.

Picuigua is some 12 leagues distant from Cayuguari. Picuigua is a dry lake, but, with drilling, sufficient water can be obtained for the garrison of the fort which is to be established, should it turn out that the news of the existence of a permanent lake in Cayuguari, where there are some 50 families, is false. /The last paragraph of p. 96, p. 97, and the first three paragraphs of p. 98 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 98 follows./

Itatiqui

361
[131]

The town of Chiriguano infidels with which I head these few lines is located 11 leagues from the Franciscan Mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu and seven leagues from the missions of the Parapiti Grande, at 19° 43' 13" latitude south of the meridian of Paris, and at 60° 29' 42" west longitude.

799
361

The Colegio de Misiones Franciscanas de Potosí is trying to establish in this place a Misión Convenora which would depend on the Fathers established on the banks of the Parapiti River. The idea is eminently civilizing and progressive, because this place is located along the highway which, coming out of Yacuiba, passes /99/ through Charagua and ends in the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

In the journey from the little town of Buyuive to the Parapiti Grande, there is no other town which might be able to provide services for the travelers and the vehicles which traverse it every day without being able now to count upon any assistance in their difficult crossing.

799

The Indian of Itatiqui is too poor and lazy; it is necessary to get him moving and watch over him so that he may become useful and progress; in his territory there is no water, nor are there artificial lakes so that he and his livestock

/99 cont./

797 might drink, but these latter could easily be obtained with well-constructed dams; but someone to direct him and make him work is lacking.

With the founding of a Misión Conversora the Indian would have the guarantees which at present he does not possess; he would live in his town, which was reorganized not long ago, with the prospect of being protected by the missionary; he would establish his artificial lakes, and the traveler would have a place in which to rest and to sleep, in guest houses, without any danger either to his property or to his physical health.

648 The Supreme Government has been more concerned with this advancement in the region of the Gran Chaco. It issued its decree for a measure of the lands of three leagues more or less in extent which they had possessed ab immemorabili, but when steps were taken to lay out the lines, it turned out that another private party had set boundaries, leaving for the Indians the town and a small parcel of uncultivated lands, and the latter quite limited. Because of the measures taken by this private party, the Indians have lost all of the cultivated land of Igüitiyapi, near which the said private party has undertaken the considerable enterprise of establishing an artificial lake in the place called Caapirenta, pointing out that the measure against the Indians was performed in the same year, 1911, a few months before the order of the Supreme Government in favor of the natives was put into effect.

800 In order that the good intentions of the nation and of the missionaries of Potosí might not come to naught, the Supreme Government should give an impartial person the commission to set himself up in the place, to seek data on the Indians and other well-intentioned people, and subsequently to give a conscientious report so that just decisions might be made. /The last paragraph on p. 99 and the first four paragraphs on p. 100 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 100 follows./

/100 cont./

•797

Missions of the Colegio de Tarija (2)

2. At present the Colegio de Tarija has only the missions located in the province of Azero, because Chimeo and Itau seem to be towns of whites rather than Indians.

To describe the glories of this apostolic Colegio of Franciscans is to attempt the impossible in this small work, the purpose of which is not a description of the works of the missionaries, as I observed in the introduction, but rather to tell of the origin and customs of the Chiriguano tribe.

/101/ Tarija might be called the land of missionaries, before and after Independence; it is sufficient to travel casually through that department, and it will become apparent that a church here, a parish house there, and yonder a mission building, all are due to the constancy, patience, self-denial, suffering, and anguish of the Tarija missionary; there are the churches of San Roque, Caraparí, Sella, and Tupiza, which are of yesterday.

Let us penetrate into Azero and Cordillera. What memories they evoke, although some are destroyed and others are falling into decay! Oh how majestically does the image of Brother Francisco del Pilar rise up, he to whose heroic patience are owed all of the missions prior to Independence! Abapó! What an imperishable memory! The church and the mission house are still there, and I have even seen a part of the schools, now almost destroyed; yes, these memories made me pour out tears! They were memories of my brothers, persecuted then and harassed today by men who do not know their merits and by an authority which calls itself the protector of missionaries. Oh no! We might call it by another name, but we shall not pronounce it, but continue forward, for missionaries know how to pardon, as followers of Christ, and even should they be somewhat dismayed by so many unpleasant events, they continue at their tasks, erecting new buildings and repairing the old deteriorated ones.

/101 cont./

361 797 1. Machareti. -- Father Jerónimo de la Peña was the first to enter Machareti, but, before he could begin any work, death intervened, and only after a century, that is, in the year 1869, could the Cross of Redemption be raised, around which began to gather the settlers dispersed by the war and the death of Captain Taruncunti, not very friendly to the missionaries.

[162] Before the mission had been founded for ten years, it numbered more than 3,000 souls, but today it is much smaller, [167] its inhabitants reaching 1,500. Emigration to the Republic [464] of Argentina is a real plague for this area, because the principal recruiters of Indians for work outside of Bolivian territory are there, and it is useless to cite laws, because there are clever interpreters; meanwhile all wail for workers.

361 [133] Machareti has a delightful and picturesque panorama; to the north and to the east the human eye cannot take in the immensity of the plains or the exuberance of the woods and the variety and caprice of the hills. The town is located on a great plain, but is now quite reduced; its buildings, atop a high hill which dominates everything; it has a beautiful church with painting and /102/ gildings, a mission house of two stories, two great halls, with their respective patios, for instruction, and a third one for the music school, and also other buildings for shops (1).

361 797 131 1. When the Machareti mission was founded, it cut off the retreat of the bellicose Huacayeños, who were coming into the Gran Chaco by the Chorro road, some 15 leagues from Huacaya and some 12 from Ivu; its altitude above sea level is 771 meters and it is located at 20° 49' 58" south latitude and 63° 3' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/102 cont./

●797 2. Tigüipa. -- This mission, dedicated to the universal Patron of the Church, the Patriarch St. Joseph, began its existence on May 20, 1872, the day when, for the first time, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated, and there was planted in its territory the Tree of Redemption; it is some 12 kilometers from Machareti, with quite a rough road.

361 797 [162] At present it has a population of 800 souls. The town, made up of both infidels and neophytes, is quite neat; the buildings are not very well arranged, and the ones which merit consideration are: its tall and beautiful church, broad and well-proportioned, with its magnificent choir, gilded altars, and well-turned railings; in addition, the beautiful mechanism of double trusses which support the roof. Its house is new, of a single story, and was begun in the month of August or July in the year 1910 and dedicated in March of this year; the other buildings neither follow any arrangement nor are of any worth, and lend to the whole a rather sad appearance, but once the renovation of both towns has been completed, the planned arrangement of the buildings for instruction and workshops will be made.

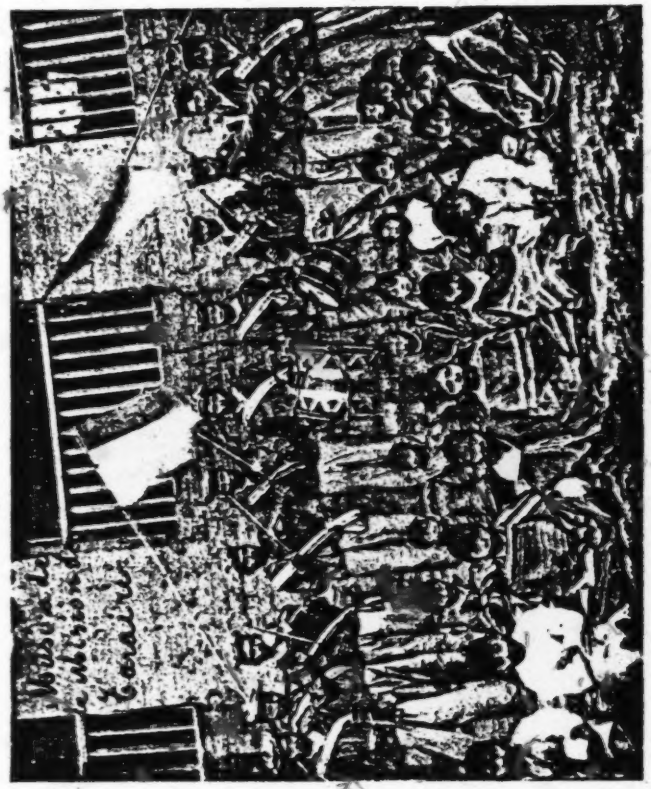
[133] Its panorama has nothing in particular: to the west, the last range of the Andes, to the north and south, some rather high hills rise at a short distance and obstruct the view for the curious observer, who, frustrated in his desire to see and observe, finds a slight relief to the east, where the horizon opens out and gladdens the heart; it seems to be the older sister of the San Pascuál de Boicovo Mission. The climate is in general healthy, in spite of the fact that the mission is located in a hollow, but the water, or the location of the place, dulls the understanding of its residents, according to what all the travelers note (2). /Illustration appears here./

[563] [464] [131] 2. In the years of abundance several nomadic tribes come to this mission and remain there serving the Chiriguano in exchange for food. Its elevation above sea level is 715 meters, and it is located at 20° 27' 18" south latitude and 62° 14' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

[text continues on p 141]

4: Nino--140 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

•797



Music of the Tarairí Mission

/103/

●797 3. Tarairi. -- While the immortal Pope Pius IX was declaring the immaculate conception of Most Holy Mary, the Patroness of the Seraphic Order, a dogma of the faith, the religious of the same family belonging to the Colegio de Tarija, by ways unknown to human understanding, were founding the Misión de la Purísima de Tarairi, which was the first one on the left bank of the Pilcomayo and, of course, was very dangerous, being among Indians who did not wish to hear about either religion or morality, not to mention the dangers from the other Indians of the region, the Toba and Mataco. It is about five leagues from Tigüipa and three from Camatindi, a town of white Christians; the road is fair, but there are some ups and downs.

The buildings of this mission are colossal; it seems that everything, from the church to the workshops, was done magnificently; the former is high and wide, the roof has double trusses like the one in Tigüipa, one man being the director of both, its altars are carved, and the image of the Patroness is precious. The buildings are uniform, which indicates that the construction followed a plan; for this reason there is nothing superfluous or anything which is not in direct communication; this building is so convenient that the Padre Conversor can direct from his window the processing of the sugar, raw and milled, and even the manufacture of tiles and bricks and the respective kilns.

The town is large and is divided into two; the one of the infidels is located toward the south on one hand, and the one of the neophytes in front of the mission building. They are neatly lined up, as in every mission, and all have straw roofs. The population is made up of some 1,200 inhabitants, who leave much to be desired, perhaps because of the proximity of Villa-Montes, are quite insubordinate and will quickly refer any matter, however trifling it might be, to the Delegación del Gran Chaco, which, unfortunately, at least in past times, gave too much credence to the lies

/103 cont./
[797] of the Indians (1).

[721]

1. This mission, because it was the first one north of the Pilcomayo, was the target of the Chiriguano and Toba, who repeatedly tried to destroy it; its elevation above sea level is 662 meters, and it is located at 21° 8' 27" south latitude and 62° 17' 4" west of the meridian of Greenwich.

4. Aguairenta. -- This mission was founded in the year 1849, and at the present time it is the oldest, because for a long time now Chimeo and the town of Itau have been elevated in rank to true Doctrinas /a curacy, also an Indian village newly consecrated to the Christian religion/. Three caciques of three parties joined together for the founding of Aguairenta, since each one wanted the missionary in his town. The distance which separates the Aguairenta mission from the one /104/ of Tarairi is more than 22 leagues by way of a quite level and wide road.

According to what has been described with some exaggeration and for not very good motives, Aguairenta is the queen of the plains, the muse of poets, and the contemplation of the wise men; it is certain that its panorama is quite delightful, as are its meadows, full of fragrance because of the many orange groves. It has abundant water, which makes the land fertile, but it is not found at any great distance.

[563] [191] [177] The settlers have been reduced to a few and are mixed with the whites; almost all speak the Spanish language well, and the customs and style of dress are like those of the mestizo settlers, in spite of the fact that an occasional one may be seen dressed in the old way (1).

1. By a decree of January 4, 1911, Aguairenta has been declared a headquarters for troops, who have had possession of the place since the end of 1910. Nevertheless the Government

/104 cont./

797

has left the mission house and the garden for the use and comfort of the Father-Chaplain. It is located at 778 meters above sea level and at 21° 46' 10" south latitude and 62° 48' 35" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

5. San Francisco and San Antonio. -- In the missions called San Antonio and San Francisco del Pilcomayo the Supreme Government decided to found a city under the name of Villa-Montes; but after it was handed over by the missionaries in the year 1906, instead of progressing, those flourishing settlements have retrogressed. The vineyards and gardens have deteriorated. The buildings are falling into ruin, and morality fell precipitously and is progressively worse there. The schools for boys and girls have been reduced to very few students, and for these few the national treasury distributes 160 bolivianos per month, while to the chaplain who has to live there it pays no more than 240 bolivianos per year.

[87]

Everything that belonged to the two missions, such as implements, carpentry, buildings, sugar mills, cattle, horses, etc., was handed over with an inventory to the national delegate, Dr. Don Leonidio Trigo, and the missionaries, without being able to use even a cell which might serve as lodging for the night for the Father Chaplain, had no other recourse but to shake even the dust from their sandals.

[162]

The approximate population of Chiriguano natives in the above towns is 4,500 souls (2).

2. The Supreme Government rented the mission building to the German company, which has made little progress. It is located at 460 meters above sea level and at 21° 16' 15" south latitude and at 62° 20' 2" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/105/

797 Itau, Chimeo. -- Itau has been in existence for more than a century, and Chimeo more than half a century. In the first reside two missionaries, one of whom attends to spiritual matters for the parish of Chimeo, which has been reduced to almost nothing. Indians and Christians live in the area, the latter being more numerous than the former. Itau and Chimeo were missions and officially still are, because the diocesan authority could not accept them due to a lack of clergy, but in fact they are no longer missions. Itau has many white settlers, and in Chimeo the missionary is not even in residence, which indicates that a permanent stay there would be little less than useless, because of the lack of settlers.

7. Yacuiba, Caiza, Carapari, and Camatindi. -- The towns with whose names we have headed these few lines all belong to the white race and are populated centers, especially the first one, where the political authority of the province of the Gran Chaco resides, in addition to which the customs office is also there, because the town is the one nearest to the boundary with the Republic of Argentina. All of them are helped in spiritual matters by the missionaries of Tarija and in some they have a permanent residence.

797 361 8. Carandaiti. -- This recently formed town merits a few exclusive lines. It is some eight leagues from the Machareti mission by a somewhat rough road, deserted and lacking in water. It can be regarded as the largest canton of the province of Azero, inasmuch as its very extensive territory goes to the right bank of the Parapiti River, as long as the interdepartmental question of Cuevo-Ibo is not settled.

The town of Carand[illegible]ves its founding to the parishes of the canton of Igüembe, Huacaya, and Ingre. After the war of 1875, the Indians of Huacaya were pacified with the founding of the Boicovo mission and the military fort of Huacaya. In a few years several of them left this place, and, with the inducement of receiving in recompense one league of land, they explored Carandaiti and settled in that place. They were attacked by the tribes repeatedly, suffered a few

/105 cont./

797 361 setbacks, and endured the bitterness of having some captured by the savages, but the establishment of the town is now an accomplished fact. It has a pretty church, consecrated at the end of July, 1908, and the only thing lacking is a priest in residence to attend to them spiritually with great care, because Machareti is quite far for this widespread parish (1).

1. The Christians who explored the territory of Carandaiti received the land promised; there is no potable water other than that of the ponds, which are in danger of being emptied. The preservation of this town should receive the attention of the Government of Bolivia for the sake of commerce, the cattle industry, transportation, and the prospect of new explorations to the east.

128 127 /106/ With the brief summary which I have made with reference to the missionaries among the Chiriguano and to the towns of whites built in the same region, presided over by the Franciscans of Tarija and Potosí, I bring an end to this second chapter, in which several opinions regarding the origin and point of departure of the Chiriguano for the region which they occupied, and with slight differences occupy at present, have been expressed.

There is no invention in it; by means of patient verification from different persons at different times, by consulting numerous authors, who, by study, reference, or in passing, have left something in writing, I have come to learn certain facts which, if they are believed here, are also believed in other places, and I have concluded that not all of it could be a fable, and as I have heard them told, so do I present them to my readers. This is the chapter which has concerned me most, and I do not know if the time, vigils, and the sleep of which my eyes have been deprived have been well employed; be that as it may, the public now has it.

4: Nino--149 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chapter Three

Characteristics of the Chiriguano

Introduction

At the end of the nineteenth century, and specifically in the year 1897, the whole Catholic world was invited in advance to attend the great exhibition of sacred art which took place in Turin, beautiful and grand Italian city of the Piedmont. The Pontiff of Rome made his voice heard and the Catholics of the five parts of the terrestrial world made preparations to participate in the literary, scientific, manufacturing industry, and other competitions.

The missions could not fail to take part in this contest of competency; they could not close their ears to the voice of the Supreme Hierarch of the world; with the fervor of the first Christians, with the humility of neophytes, directed by missionaries of all of the Catholic orders and congregations, they prepared an extraordinary contest. In Turin were seen the rarities and products of the missions of China, Africa, Palestine, North America, the colony of Eritrea, Oceania, Patagonia, South America, etc.

Although Bolivia occupies a quite modest place on maps of the world and is slowly being organized to rise to a very great height, it exhibited its products in the said world exposition and was even represented by its tribes. They sent there everything that could be sent from the missions of Guarayos, the missions of Tarija, and those of Potosí. It was then that an Italian photographer, employed in Tarija, went through its missions and those of Potosí, taking pictures of views, panoramas, groups of Chiriguano, families, churches, missionaries, etc. (1).

797
126

1. The order to take part came from the Curia Generalicia of Rome and the Most Reverend Father Commissioner in Bolivia disposed that the Colegio of Potosí be united

/109 cont./

797
126

with that of Tarija because the inhabitants of the missions of both colegios were of the same Chiriguano race.

/110/ The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 148/ is one of the said photographs; it shows a group of Chiriguano women with their festive clothing and adornments, who are ready to attend a public gathering for drinking; it was made in the Boicovo Mission and taken with the others to the exposition. The group of Indian day laborers is reserved for the chapter which deals with work and chores; both groups show the physical constitution of the race, about which Señor del Campano, after the exposition was over, wrote his book; perhaps this gentleman also had seen the four Chiriguano who were brought from the Tarija missions (1).

[113]

1. Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani /Information on the Chiriguano/. Florence, 1902. This is the most complete work that exists in Italy, in view of which I decided to write the present one here where the Chiriguano live.

Physique

14

After having studied the territory that a tribe occupies and consigned to paper what is most characteristic, and, next, having discovered appropriately by means of traditional and historical data or well-founded suppositions the origin and derivation of the tribe, the first thing that is exhibited to the ethnographer and to any observer is the physical body; its proportions, whether large, small, or average, soon strike the eye, the latter, the observer, considers mentally what the former, the physical ethnographer, sees, and begins his narration and then goes on to the character.

/110 cont./

144 Some explorers and travelers, after having happily concluded their investigative labors, have set down in their reports that the Chiriguano Indians have changed greatly in physique since the whites or Creoles entered their territory, but nothing could be less exact than this. Clandestine [563] unions between Christian men and Chiriguano women have [799] been quite rare, and even rarer are legitimate unions [799] through Catholic marriage, from which generally comes propagation and change in races (2).

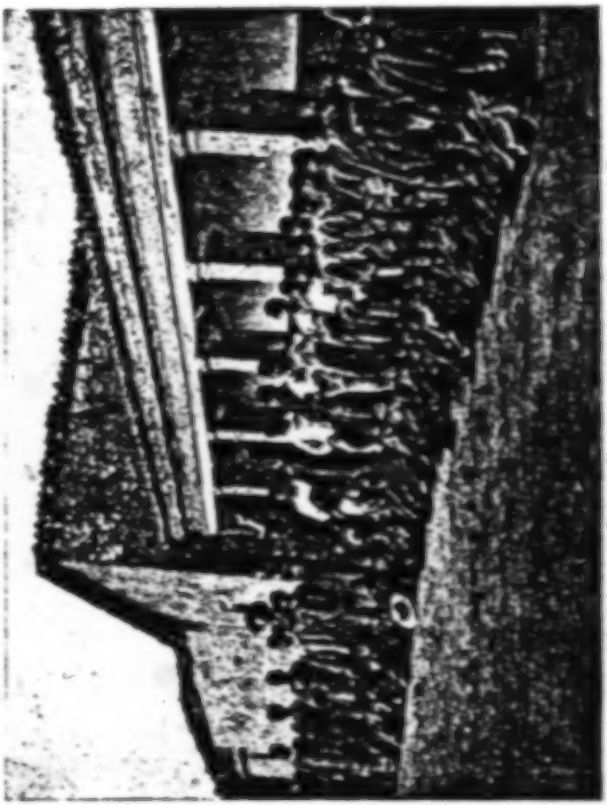
> 2. In 20 years of missionary life I have blessed but four marriages between Christian white men and Chiriguano neophytes.

114 144 If Señor del Campano states that for a period of 40 years the Chiriguano have maintained themselves without change, on the basis of photographs taken in the year 1860, which were placed at his disposal by Professor Mantegazza, and those which the missionaries of Potosí and Tarija sent in 1898 to the Turin Exposition, among /111/ which was a skull collected by the author of this work in the fields of Curuyuqui and sold by Father Giannecchini to the Florence museum, what can be said by some missionaries who have grown old and who are growing old among these Indians and who know the race in old men and in young boys, in old women and in damsels, before and after the white Christians were introduced in number?

In my judgment the said change does not exist, because an occasional isolated case, an occasional family, where the mixture of the two races has taken place, cannot be adduced as proof that the physique of the race has varied greatly. Travelers and explorers pass through a region rapidly; they can devote little time to the study of a race, and consequently their written reports, worthy of all respect, are somewhat exaggerated, as were those of the Spaniards

4: Nino--155 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
87



Children of St. Buenaventura School in Ivo

/116 cont./

797
829
177

Difficulties in Reducing Them

If among other tribes missionaries have been able to found missions without considering the material advantages for the Indian, among the Chiriguano this has not been the case. I can say that almost all of them have been founded when the Indian was undergoing some calamity or persecution by his neighbors: Santa Rosa, Ivu, Parapiti, etc. were founded in this way. The Indian does not consider his spiritual well-being; when he admits the missionary into his land, he is thinking of the material advantages. By the same token if in other missions young and old are baptized without distinction, among these people this is not what happens. To baptize an adult Indian who is enjoying good health would be like asking for pears from an elm; he only requests this sacrament when he sees that there is no longer any hope of life, and in the first years of a mission even this is difficult and a great many of them reject it categorically. I could enumerate cases which have happened to me. There are persons who want to be condemned simply because they have heard from the lips of missionaries that those who do not receive baptism are not saved, and, inasmuch as nobody received it before the founding of the mission, they want to descend to the place of punishment in order to see their loved ones again. Oh sad and lamentable ignorance, from which some do not wish to emerge (?)!

2. In Yvu there was less difficulty because of the proximity of Santa Rosa, and in Parapiti there was none because of the repeated foundings in that place.

In case of calamity or persecution, the missionary is quickly sought by the caciques, who do not rest until they have gained their ends. One modern proof of this is offered to us in the case of the cacique of the village of Pipi, who

/116 cont./

799 829 177 not long ago continually appeared at the Yvu mission to take me to found a mission in his town and thus to free it from persecution by a neighbor, according to what he said. For this he promised everything, goodness, docility, adherence, free work, and all the rest; religion and baptism only were reserved for children, as in other towns. While the Indian is well off and not bothered by anyone in his lazy life with its frequent drinking, it is not easy to get good things out of him.

799 829 871 177 /117/ Even for the education of a child it is necessary to bribe the Indian with material things. He does not resist handing over his children, but he wants them to be given clothing. No matter how much they may have, he brings them to school completely naked or with a shirt all ragged and torn, so that the missionary will immediately dress them, and let it be noted that he does not ask this as a favor. Up to a certain point he seems to demand it, saying, "Ropa emeé chupé," give him clothing. If the missionary asks something as a favor, he must pay them back in material things; should he forget, they ask for them.

829 799 177 It has already been seen that the Tarairi mission was founded in the year 1854, this being the first founding to take place on the left bank of the Pilcomayo River, being due to the zeal of Father José Giannelli. It was near Easter, and the missionary let it be known to various caciques that at that time there would be a commemoration of the death of God and that they should also come, with their pains and afflictions, to demonstrate their adherence to the truths and dogmas of the Catholic faith. He knew through experience that the Chiriguano have a special tenderness for the dead. In fact, a great number of them gathered there to hear the word of the missionary father, who thought that he had conquered them all, seeing them so attentive and silent and seeing them crying and full of compunction. But Easter came, the day of joy, and those who had come to cry about the death of Jesus came once more before the missionary, asking for new

/117 cont./

829 clothing in payment for the service. Let the reader imagine
797 how the poor father, who had nothing, felt when he heard
177 such a petition (1)!

1. Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Vices and Their Consequences

883 It seems to be and is an unfortunate truth that in this
842 tribe, once so numerous, there is no lack of coquettish girls, who, if they restrained themselves from flirting any more, would not be so bad. The unfortunate thing is that these poor girls, in order to enjoy mundane pleasures and drink to the depths the dregs of corruption, or also in order not to have the nuisance of nursing children and training
[756] them, have recourse to a very simple thing. They consult
[278] the old women who bear the name of sorcerers, and these
[885] show them the remedy, which consists of a drink that they extract from certain plants or herbs which almost all the Chiriguano women and Indian sorcerers know wonderfully well.

883 /118/ These unfortunate girls, usually orphans, once the
786 period of puberty is over, drink this venomous beverage,
[881] suffer a great deal, if indeed they do not die, and are
[842] sterilized, and they then give themselves up to orgies at the time of general drinking, which is the most terrible thing that you can imagine, because at them morality is offended by words and very licentious stories, by raucous laughter and giggling by men and women, by their glances, and finally by their acts, although these take place at a
797 suitable distance from the said gathering.

/118 cont./

797 [786] [883] These facts cannot be denied, because they are based on the experience of centuries. Unfortunately, they do occur, and it is very difficult to uproot them. There is no lack of repentance or lack of punishment, admonitions, and fears, but civilizing action is not enough for this, nor even often the Gospel, because: animalis homo non percipit quae Dei sunt. We can say that the action of the missionary is one of yesterday among the Chiriguano. The Christians or neophytes have changed much in relation to the infidels throughout the region, but a great deal more is still lacking for them to come to understand the strength of Religion and civilization, since, naturally, abandoned humanity gives free rein to passions and it is indeed difficult to contain it afterwards in a short time (1).

1. The infidels of the missions complain about the neophytes, but they do not understand that times have changed, and the race as well. Murders are committed in other places, but this does not happen in the missions. [674]

847 Sister to the sterility which the coquettish girls manage to procure is abortion. There is no woman who does not know the thousand ways for procuring this, always provided that they have not obtained or resorted to remedies for sterilizing themselves at puberty. In general it is those girls who have been betrayed by their lovers or abandoned by those who have sworn fidelity to them throughout their lives who come to this excess of killing innocent babies. For this reason they not only hate the perpetrator, but also his fruit in their bellies, and thus they make an effort to get rid of the innocent one by plucking it dead from their breast.

847 586 836 848

/122 cont./

152 other towns, and they returned almost en masse, and the first
591 thing they did when they once again trod the soil of their home-
167 land was to cry. I witnessed the arrival of a cacique with
186 his large family. Men and women came loaded with their household goods and children. They arrived in poor condition, covered with dust and sweat (it was at the end of December), tired and sad, and when they saw their fellow countrymen and relatives happy and content under the paternal rule of the Catholic missionary, they put their burdens down on the ground, in the houses of others, and then there broke out the tears and the wails, thus arousing the consternation of all the inhabitants and the missionary (2).

2. Father Cserado relates an analogous case in his Historia de las Misiones de Tarija.

Poor unfortunates! In spite of the vices which dominate their corrupt nature, there is something noble in the Chiriguano race. Their fondness for their native place, for their home, is great. They will make any sacrifice to return and prefer to die of hunger and thirst. They will never abandon their town and their home, unless constrained by necessity, fear, or persecution.

Along the road from Yvu to Parapiti there is a town called Itatiqui, where not even drinking water can be found in the vicinity. Want is eternal there; the crops are miserable there; and they either beg for water or steal it from the lakes which are more than five kilometers from the town. Some six years ago there were about 120 families there, persecuted by some whites to whom they did not wish to be subjected. I tried to take them away to form a part of San Antonio Mission, but it was impossible to move them from the place.

They prefer to suffer hunger, thirst, vexations, and persecu-
● 790 tions there, but they do not abandon the place. They would re-
829 main there very happily /123/ if a small mission were built for
177 them, as they desire, which is somewhat difficult, considering the special circumstances of the place, since the civil and

/123 cont./

797 829 179 religious education of the boys and girls would not make much progress because their parents are in continual movement. Some effort at least has been made to help them by means of the property rights which they have in the territory, about three leagues long by half a league wide, and the plan was then to build them some small chapel, but I believe that these efforts will be left in the filing cabinet for centuries to come (1).

1. Today, instead of missions, they are building forts for the purpose of colonization. Doubtless the epoch of a new method of colonization has arrived, but nobody is ignorant of the fact that this costs the Republic millions, while the cost of a mission is relatively nothing, and the advantages and poogress incomparable. What advances are there in Crevaux, in Guachalla, and other places? What buildings are there of note and stability? None. In a single hour the Toba or any other savage may destroy them by fire. Don Fernando Guachalla, the president-elect, said it well when he said that the best and cheapest method of colonizing is that of founding missions.

175 511 [132] [136] Before the Parapiti missions were organized, those Indians suffered considerable misery, because the place was quite dry in the rainy season, and they had no means of planting along the banks of the river, since the few lands there were in the hands of the whites. Father Giannocchini passed through there in 1887 as an expeditionary to Paraguay, and when he saw them so poor and so reduced in number, he exhorted them to move to some mission, but they answered that it was not easy to leave the place where they had been born and had grown old.

/123 cont./

Aptitudes

461 157 It cannot be denied that laziness is innate in the Chiriguano Indian, but, when compared with the Toba, Mataco, and other tribes, I assert that they do a great deal or even too much. They need a guide, they need to be watched over, but when this is not lacking, they are hard working. The whites 464 in the regions inhabited by these Indians do not know of any other laborers. All the towns of Cordillera, Azero, and Gran Chaco have been built with the energies of the Chiriguano. With these same laborers are sustained the agriculture and cattle raising of these provinces, and even by means of them are the national roads of these regions kept clean and open, as well as those from one canton to another, the one from Yacuiba to Santa Cruz and the one from Taperilla. The Chiriguano laborers began and are continuing the work on the Azero bridge, /124/ and many of them are still working on the Bermejo River close to where it arrives at Yacuiba (1).

1. A private enterprise composed of Don Braulio Zapata, corregidor of Carandaiti, the subprefect, Don Ramón Menduiña, and other well-known and rich men of the same town is organizing an expedition to the fields of Cayuguari to found a fort there and to conquer the territory. The subprefect plans to open a cart road, with the help of the Chiriguano cacique, Mandepónai, and his soldiers.

• 797 The paternal rule of the missionaries has managed to make the Chiriquano much more docile; it has succeeded in building towns and large centers of population around the Cross; there is not one of the towns of those who live in complete ignorance of Religion that can be compared with them. The Missionaries have succeeded in building magnificent churches, great teaching establishments, comfortable and airy houses, workshops for arts and crafts. They have managed to implant the teaching of

/124 cont./

●797 Religion, that of reading and writing, and even the art of musical chords, which is only seen in the great centers of the world (2).

[533] 2. In the Potosí missions there are four music bands, and in those of Tarija, two.

The history of the Tarija missions is glorious in all of its pages. The reader can consult, whenever he wishes, the one of the Colegio of Potosí in its two epochs as well. This will cast a brilliant light upon the matter, and the traveler can say nothing to contradict it when, ecstatically, he contemplates the grandiose, strong, and well-planned edifice of the Santa Rosa Mission, that of the elevated Machareti Mission, that of the old or semisecular Tarairi Mission, and the one which, as though by enchantment and with order, is being built in the mission of San Antonio del Parapiti Grande.

797 All of this shows that the Chiriguano, in spite of his
157 indolence, is docile, and with gentleness and a little strictness
177 at the same time he will do whatever the white and the missionary wish him to do. It finally demonstrates that, though he does have his vices and defects, certain human virtues are not lacking. It shows that it is necessary to educate his nature by teaching, with civilization, as the carpenter with his plane smooths a piece of wood if he wants to make the job elegant, or a blacksmith with his file smooths the rough iron until he has made a key, a lock, or any other object.

/125/ Philanthropy

577 To end this third chapter and then pass on to deal with
829 Chiriguano religion, I am going to say in passing that they are very compassionate with the unfortunate. If one of them suffers the harshness of imprisonment, they all make every effort to ask that he be freed and will even sacrifice whatever they may
[736] have to obtain it. If someone is sick, he is visited by many; if one is left an orphan, all are his fathers, mothers, grandparents, and brothers and sisters, or at least they are his uncles and aunts or brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

/130 cont./

776 What I am going to set down here will cast some light on this subject and will enlighten the intelligence of the studious man for its investigation.

124 From conversations with the true Chiriguanos it is impossible
776 to form any idea of the supreme being that they accept. I say true Chiriguanos, by which I mean those who have had almost no contact with missionaries or whites. Today it is difficult to find one of these. Yet despite this, if one should ask the old people who live far from the missions, "Who made all that we see?" they answer, "Quia ndipó?" Who can it be? "Who created us?" They answer: "Ti! Ndicuaá á?" What do you mean? Do you not
•797 know? And they give a purely material explanation, as happened
177 on an exploration and trip that I made several years ago in the
829 company of other missionaries south of the canton or town of
[114] Huacaya, where I talked with an old cacique who had taken part in the war of 1875 against Igüembe and who, after the pacification, preferred to live outside the mission and planned to die there, because he is convinced that Indians who live in missions die earlier, just as, according to him, all of his companions from Boicovo have already died, which is not true, because they still are alive there, as old as he is (1).

1. The Indians have had and will continue to have the false and erroneous idea that baptism makes those who receive it die, because it is administered to men and women who are in immediate danger of death, and hence those who are old do not wish to be baptized when they are enjoying good health.

192 In the Chiriguano language we find the word Tunpa, which means "superior being" or "marvelous being." When for the first time they saw a large clock with its "tick, tock" and the pendulum making the hands move and giving energy to the hammer to strike the hours with its little bell or wire string, when they saw for the first time the photographic camera which reproduced the image of one or more of them, the clock and camera were Tunpa for the Chiriguano. They applied this word to both things,

/130 cont./

192 and it is the one that they apply to anything that causes them wonder or admiration over something new.

776 192 [197] It is the missionary and the Christians who have made it understood to the Indian that Tunpa means God, the maker of all things visible and invisible. Father Corrado, one of the most illustrious Franciscan missionaries, who thoroughly understood the Chiriguano language, in which he wrote a brief but profound catechism, says clearly in a note on its first page that it cannot be stated /131/ that the word Tunpa means God, and he only puts it in his catechism because all the writers who have dealt with the Chiriguano race give the word Tunpa the meaning of God.

This Tunpa of which the Chiriguano cannot give a clear idea and which the missionaries and Christians explain as meaning the true God, Tunpaete vae (1), is for the Indian the source

[193]

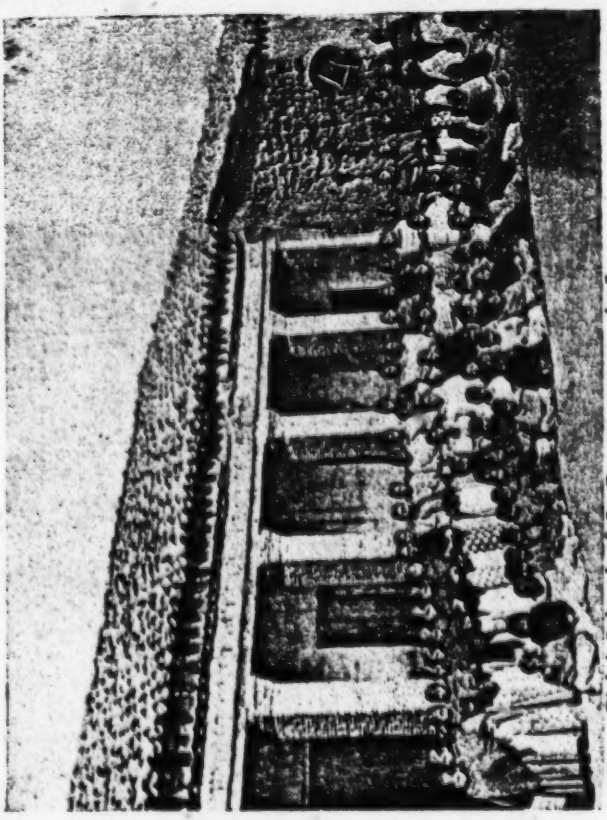
1. The particle "Ete" in this language expresses the superlative degree. It is put after a noun, pronoun, adjective, or verb.

of all that is good, a living and material being, in contrast to another divinity. He makes it rain, he makes the algarrobas, maize, gourds, and everything edible ripen, he wards off sickness and all calamities, in spite of which all these kindnesses are still attributed to the sorcerers, men of flesh and blood like anyone else, who consequently have the name Tunpaete, for which reason I said that, for the Indian, Tunpa is a living physical being. If the missionary, as Columbus did, could announce in advance an eclipse or the appearance of a comet, for the Indian he is a Tunpa (2).

2. Several times I have announced beforehand eclipses of the moon. Last year, long before it became visible, I announced to the Indians the appearance of Halley's comet. This was sufficient for me to be called Tunpaete.

4: Nino--187 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
871



Girls' School of S. Buenaventura de Ivo

/143 cont./

000 The sun is a beneficent star; it gives us light, warms us in winter, causes food to grow for men and animals, /144/ it is a creation which God has put in the world so that, as a second cause it will maintain the universe and all things in it, this being the principal virtue granted to it by the Maker of all things.

821 782 The Chiriguano understands the virtue of the sun to the extent that it strikes his corporal senses, and thus it was with difficulty in ancient times that he elevated his spirit to the contemplation of another invisible Being superior to the star of the day, from which it came about, according to some writers, that the Chiriguano would address some prayer to this king of the sky, like some tribe, and timidly and courteously uncover the head upon meeting an intrepid fox.

But however much I asked about this subject, no one gave me any information about such a prayer. The only thing they said that the old people did was to call the sun father and ask it not to hide its face. Today, when the country is invaded by whites and [797] even by people from the Old World, today when there is no Chiriguano place that has not been trod by the foot of the missionary, founding missions here, passing through there, and in another place exploring the will of the Indians, all has changed and those who do not know of the existence of the true God are few. There are few Indians who do not know that the sun is a work of God and therefore incapable of receiving outward demonstrations of veneration, when they do not even render it to God (1).

1. It is very probable that formerly the ancients were happy when the sun came out, as anyone would be happy, and that they would have a special fondness for it, whence comes the argument by some that they address prayers to it, but it is natural for man to be happy when the sun appears.

797

The Santa Rosa Mission Band

135 /145 cont./
Caraparirenta there is an occasional stone of this, which has been brought there by water.

In Huacaya Canton, along the shores of the Pilcomayo on the lower slopes of the hills of Oriente, it is asserted that there must be mines or deposits of gold. A stream brings little nuggets to [648] certain places. Almost all the whites there say that the Indians pick up these nuggets, sell some of them, and work others into rings or earrings for their wives, but up to now, however hard the whites have tried to discover the place, they have never found an Indian who would take them (2).

776
778

2. They say that in the woods on the peak of a small hill there are two bells hanging from a tree and in another place a building with two

/150 cont./

756 Even for rain the sorcerers perform their incantations with
789 their maize-husk cigar, making a turn in the planted fields,
731 but if the drought is general, the incantations are public per-
821 formed in the town in front of the house of the principal cacique.
One of these was performed in the early days of the above-
[797] mentioned mission. The missionary had admonished them to
stop it, but when they answered insolently, he formed or
organized a commission with shotguns and old rifles. The three
or four sorcerers fled, but one of them fell into the hands of the
commission, was punished for his insolence, and in a few
minutes a torrential shower refreshed the entire territory of the
mission.

756 In concrete cases, when the sorcerer is required by a
755 particular family, he establishes himself in the house of the sick
man; he asks him a thousand questions regarding the sickness,
the houses that he has frequented, the friends with whom he has
drunk, the companions with whom he has played, and the
things that he has earned. Then he lights his maize-husk cigar and
smokes, blowing the smoke over the body of the patient, espe-
cially the affected part.

Then, depending on the greater or lesser seriousness of the
illness, depending on the nature of the disease, whether it re-
quires blows or joltings, which is the most likely, he delivers
them so atrociously that they are likely to end the patient's life,
and if not he is content with rubbing the affected part hard /151/
and sucking it with his mouth, extracting from the patient's body
the worms which the rascal has hidden in his mouth (1).

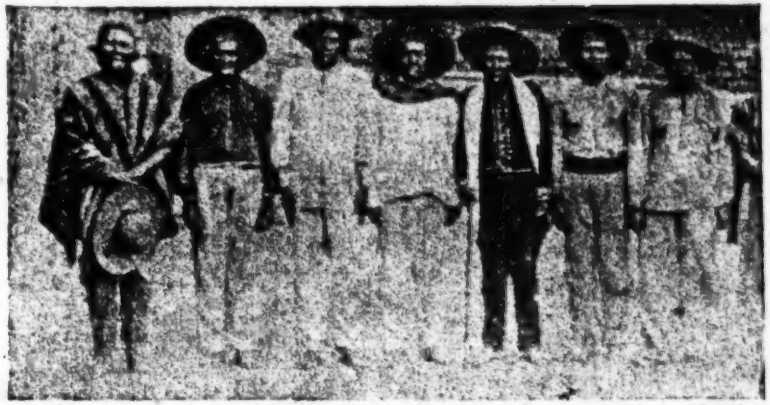
[164]

1. In many cases worms can be found in the bodies of these Indians between the flesh and the skin. I myself, with the use of fenelina, have made worms as big as chickpeas come out of their bodies, without their having had any wound at all.

Mission House of San Antonio del Parapiti

4: Nino--214 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

792
622
291



Group of Caciques from the Ivo Mission

/158 cont./

000 361 or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances. The only large town that I found on my travels is Membirai, which is joined to Choreti guasu on the left bank of the Parapiti. I know Caipipendi, where I often slept; the Indians are many, but they live in different places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (2).

[114] [62]

•797 619 361

2. The beautiful Santa Rosa Mission was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place shown them by the missionary. In Yumbía there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique

622

Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /159/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple; when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the sorcerer to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

[631] [643]

1. In each tribe there is but one cacique; many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

[262] [273] At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep or rest in their homes, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

622 /159 cont./
may be general rejoicing with the drinking of the pretasted
[262] Cangüi, chicha, squash and beans to eat together with Aticúi,
[273] meal, and Atipíi, parched corn. In his prolonged discourse
he recommends union in labor so that it may soon be finished,
since the field of the cacique is planted first and then those of
the rest, with all of them helping one another. When I came to
the missions, the soldiers of the cacique Güiraesa still did it in
this way. I shall speak of this cacique and his family in another
chapter.

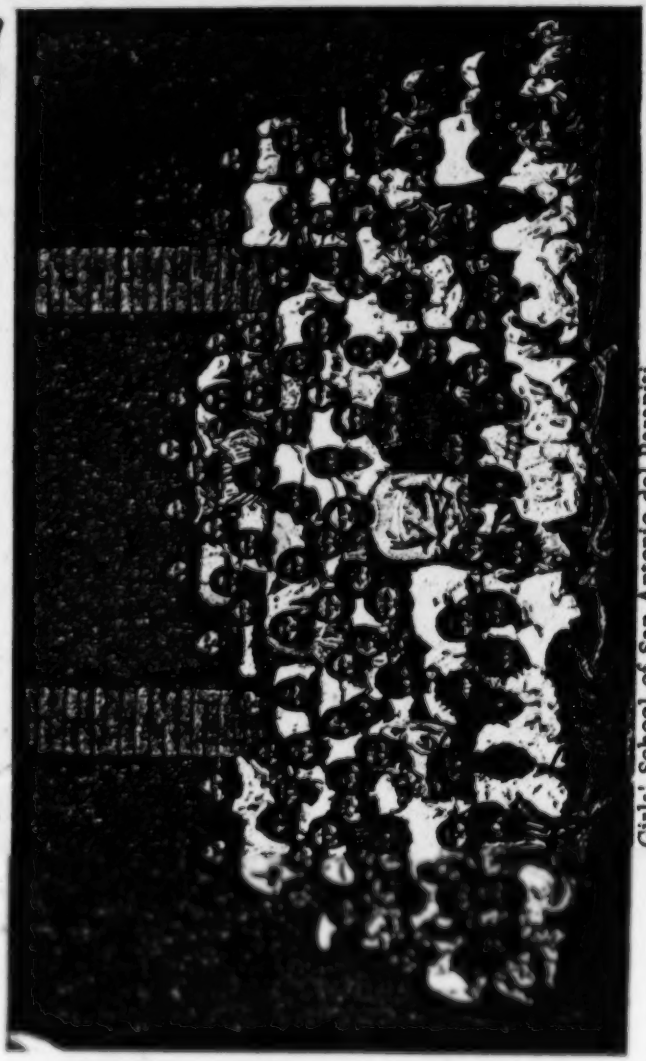
622 The cacique also arbitrates the arguments which frequently
692 arise in the planting season, since even among these people
there reigns covetousness of the property of others, should it be
good and free of brush; he settles family disputes, admonishing
the parents and also their children. If a theft occurs, it is also he
who makes claims before the cacique of the neighboring tribe,
but if this should occur within his own, he will summarily administer justice. His sentence is absolute and in general not
subject to appeal (2).

• [797] 2. There are several caciques in the missions,
because they are made up of several tribes.
The missionary governs them all, with the result
that the authority of the caciques is almost
nominal.

721 It frequently happens that, as a result of some affront done
to some woman of a tribe, a bloody war begins, which assumes
the characteristics of a regional one. This happened during the
[643] 1850's in the Cuevo region. The cacique Güiracoti tried without
[837] success to have relations with the wife of Yaveau, cacique of the
right bank of the stream of Cuevo. In revenge the offended man
disposed of a head of cattle belonging to /160/ Güiracoti;
hostilities were then declared and each cacique prepared for war.

4: Nino--220 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
871



Girls' School of San Antonio del Parapiti

/164 cont./

622 643 648 566 46 Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large number of Indians, like Tarúire, derives great benefits from his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income is regular, because generally the caray who makes a request for peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future; interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62 595 It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques; even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

• [797] 3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques; some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 [555] [556] /165/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661] 1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

/166 cont./
643 [631] Indians wanted it (2).

> 2. The regional cacique Tengua died in 1900, Machirope in 1905, and the others who have been named in the middle of the nineteenth century, except Chiturí. Baringai of Igüembe is considered a regional cacique without being one; he is the oldest known Indian, at least among the caciques.

Today only one of the former regional caciques is still living. This is Mandepónai, who must be about 84 years old, a very robust and obese Indian with a constitution of iron. His authority extends throughout the Gran Chaca. He is respected and obeyed up to a certain point by the Toba, Mataco, and Choroti, and other known races; he is very well received in the other regions through which he passes, and his authority is not contradicted elsewhere, but is not respected either, /167/ because at the present time the Chiriguano element too has almost radically changed its political system; today it is the political authority which rules, and the cacique is a humble servant of any caray who comes to him asking for peons.

643 797 648 669 662 The Machareti Mission exists through his efforts, and he has always been faithful to the missionaries. In the Curuyuqui War, the Tunpa tried to get Mandepónai to use his influence to make the Toba and Chiriguano of his region revolt, as Tengua did, but the great cacique was not to be moved; instead he and his people went over to the side of the Santa Rosa Mission and the white Christians who had taken refuge in it.

At that time some whites, perhaps because of their hate for the missionaries of Machareti, tried to implicate Mandepónai as an accomplice of the Tunpa, but this calumny was belied by his praiseworthy procedure. He gave warning of the day on which the rebels were to burn the mission, went personally with his soldiers to Santa Rosa on January 27, before the final battle, and there confronted Tengua, accusing him of treason to the whites. His loyalty to the missionaries is to his glory.

/167 cont./

643 and when he addresses his people he does not fail to remind them
648 that if they enjoy peace they owe it to him, for he consented
649 to the founding of their mission; more or less the same thing
797 is said by other caciques or their successors, through whose in-
662 fluence the missions have been founded (1).

1. When the slander against Mandepónai was believed, the delegate Chavarría went to Machareti with all his forces to punish the cacique, but nothing came of it because it all turned out to be false.

/168/

000

Chapter Six

Towns, Houses, and Work

Introduction

The glacial period and horrible icy places with their new flora and fauna in the dawn of the Quaternary era, a mysterious period for certain modern unbelievers, holds no mystery whatsoever for true believers, who see in it, or in its sudden appearance, a punishment for the disobedience of the first man. Adam sins, and the land, until then so beautiful and fecund, is covered with snows and ice, with brambles and briars; before his sin, no shelter was needed, but, as a result of rebellion against the Creator, he was laden with needs. /The remainder of the introduction on pp. 168-169 is omitted. The following illustration appears opposite p. 169. The remainder of p. 169 follows./

000 /175 cont./
remains joined better and is more compact (1).

• 797

1. When a mission is founded, the first building is the mission house made in the usual way. But in the Potosí missions they are all of timber, and any traveler would marvel at their height and strength.

342 178 The ancient Chiriguano houses were of different form, and they were not alike in size or beauty in the towns. Some were distinguished by their roundness and conical form, and others because they were small and low. The latter had no importance at all and could scarcely even be called huts, in spite of the fact that, to the poor Chiriguano, dominated by his laziness, the smallness of a dwelling does not detract from its importance.

342 171 I am going to deal at some length with the way the houses of conical form were built, because they indicate skill on the part of the builder or because they make one's imagination take wing and fly to China, Africa, and Japan, where similar forms are found and thus make us ever more convinced of the unity of the human race.

As explorers, travelers, histories, and well thought out books say and as is also observed in the pictures of illustrated geographies, it is evident that in China, Japan, Africa, New Zealand, and in the east of Australia not a few of the inhabitants /176/ have houses in conical form.

This form seems to be the original one of the human race, and it is very probable that man has used it in the five parts of the world, since it is even found among the Chiriguano.

342 335 In fact, in order to construct a comfortable house before the Conquest, the clever Chiriguano used the following method. He first obtained a single post of some four or five meters and planted it at a depth of approximately one meter (1).

[476] [574]

1. For any small job for which the Indian must trouble his friends, he would get nothing without offering them a drink. Not even money is so esteemed and appreciated as chicha by the Chiriguano.

/187 cont./

301 buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions.
302 The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicuana
[197] /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts in the presence of his companions (1).

[797]
[114]
[121]

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbía had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter
294 is woven by them themselves with palm leaves, Carandai;
285 they bring them from the places where they are abundant, Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect
292 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older
554 Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (2).

291 2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap,
302 the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of
304 long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in
178 few places now, and the straw hat is being

/189 cont./

291 Clothing in the fashion of Adam is still seen everywhere. In the towns the men, and almost everywhere the women, are at least dressed from the waist to below the knee, because for work or for coolness the Cutama or tipoy, which can cover them up to the shoulders, is allowed to fall to the waist, the rest being left visible.

Gala Dress

292

For the ancient Chiriguano, the Ambícuai, doublet, was fine and festive clothing. This single name includes the Guasupi cangao, hat, the Ambícuai, sagum or frock coat, and
[554] the Guasupi timbiao, breeches. Because the doublet is an object of luxury, they do not all wear it, its use being limited to the grandees or caciques, to rich men, and to sorcerers.
292 It is made entirely of tanned skins, which are those of the wild
28 boar, peccary, or pygmy deer. They are tanned with the
[824] bark of the Curupau, the astringent acacia or sevil, which contains a great deal of tannin.

126 Skillful men are needed to make a complete doublet like
291 the one made in the Santa Rosa Mission by the Indian
● 797 Cachupari, which, when taken to the Turin exposition, was acquired by the Florence Museum, along with the skull that I acquired in Curuyuqui and other objects, such as the Yandugua, a kind of parasol of ostrich feathers, etc., objects which the missionaries of Potosí sent along with the missionaries of Tarija (2).

2. The missionary who was charged with taking all the things to the exposition and leading the Chiriguano of both sexes, as the program directed, was the late Franciscan Father Doroteo Giannecchini.

/190 cont./

292 The Chiriguano, when he is dressed in these skins, considers himself a grandee, and he is one before his companions and the caciques themselves. But from the beginning, even before it is even worn, such clothing gives off a very disagreeable odor, like that of the soles of shoes. Let the reader imagine what it must be like when it has been used for some time. It can easily be understood that the Chiriguano, when [296] wearing the doublet, has nothing else on his body, and that all of the sweat, etc. sticks to it, and it should be noted that the outfit is never washed, which adds to the smell.

[622] /191/ The cacique Nambi of Ivu made his visits to the [797] P.P.C.C. of Santa Rosa Mission to ask for a mission in his town, dressing himself in his old and filthy doublet before making the visit. He embraced the missionaries and talked quite close to them, the result being almost unbearable (1).

1. The outfit is completed by a pair of boots called Timainu, which literally means: com- [224] panion of the shin bone. These are necessary for hunters so that they will not hurt their legs when they are pursuing wild animals.

The illustration that I put at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 255/ will make the description of the Ambícuai more easily understood. There appear in it a young man and an old man standing, a woman sitting on a chair, and a young girl sitting on the ground. The old man dressed in a doublet is the cacique Güiraesa of Santa Rosa; the woman who is seated on the chair is his wife, the man on his right is his son Yandareca, and the girl is his Christian daughter, named Prisca.

[291] The Chiriguano who does not have a doublet is satisfied with his long poncho or with a blanket wrapped around his body down to his knees, but today it is rare that he cannot dress himself moderately well with some six varas of linen, [432] which at the most will cost him two bolivianos. Today every [439] thing can be bought in the small retail stores (2).

2. The doublet is used today in some areas to

/199 cont./

301 5. "Mboivera," or pieces of silver for adornment.
6, 7, 8. Metal tembetas.
9. A hollow-cane tembeta.
10. "Yapicuana," or band for the hair.
11. "Aguá," or long band for adornment of the queen in drinking festivals.
412 12. Wooden comb.
534 13. Porongo for playing as a musical instrument.
14, 15. "Senene," or Chiriguano flutes.
16. "Igüiramimbi" for playing as a musical instrument.
17. Stone ax.

/200/

Chapter Eight

The Chiriguano Family

Introduction

000 The theory of the founder of the transformist school, in which he attempts to demonstrate and establish the origin of the human race by means of evolution, is completely absurd. /The remainder of the introduction, pp. 200-202, is omitted in the translation. Page 202 continues as follows./

The Family

Genesis tells us of the origin of the human race, and outside of this book all is confusion; faith teaches us that God created the first man in His image and likeness, and later gave him a companion, taking her from his rib, from which it is deduced that the family began in the world, or in historical times, from the beginning of humanity (2).

792
773
871

2. Readers already know the story which Anduari told me regarding the creation of

/202 cont./

797 the second Chiriguano man and the second
793 Chiriguano woman; I have even made use of
871 this to condemn the vice of polygamy in my monthly instructions to the infidels.

000 /The last paragraph on p. 202 and the first paragraph on p. 203 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 203 follows./

621 It is very natural that the Chiriguano race should form a
59 family. Each tribe, or people, is an association of families.
603 They are made up of fathers and children, but many times they have at their head a grandfather and grandmother who are much respected but who never give any orders or manage things; instead they serve their children willingly as servants, the grandfather in bringing in firewood, planting, and weeding, and the grandmother in everything that a woman can do.

831 There does not seem to be any other race like the
867 Chiriguano in Bolivia, which like none other gives free rein to the passions, especially lewd ones. A maiden who commits a bad act is the pride of her mother, who is content with saying that now her daughter is a woman and ready for it. If a young man does similar things and his father finds out about it, he will ponder the act of his son and say, Cuimbae co, he is a man. This expression is heard frequently (1).

[797] 1. When the missionary attempts to reprehend or
[861] punish the sin of some Chiriguano boy, the father, the grandfather, or the cacique petitions for him, and the best words to lessen the punishment or to say that he deserves no punishment are: Cuimbae ma co, he is now a man.

181 Excessive corruption is the result, and, if the Toba race is distinguished by its inclination toward thievery, the Chiriguano are distinguished by their inclination toward lechery, as old and wise missionaries of the stature of Father Corrado and
000 Father Giannecchini can testify. Let the reader consider that the

• 797 /203 cont./ Let the reader consider that the work of the missionary, who strives for and dedicates himself to the reduction of the Indian, would not amount to much if he could make light of immorality, a sin which God anciently punished with two floods, one of water and one of fire, thus manifesting His just indignation with these words: Non permanebit spiritus meus in homine, quia caro est.

595 With these inclinations not at all restrained, but instead fomented with the five physical senses and all the faculties of the soul, it is not strange that there should exist among the Chiriguano a tendency to very frequent bigamy and polygamy as a luxury or a sign of greatness. /204/ If no all have many wives, it is either because it is not easy to support them or because they are not easily found, because every woman would like to be the only mistress in her house (1).

1. In the house of a polygamist or bigamist, the one who gives orders and is in charge as mistress and manager is the oldest, as long as she anticipates her husband's thinking; since, as she knows his irremediable incontinence, in order not to lose her authority in the house, she advises a second and third marriage, etc., and then the master of all of these women imposes the respect due the oldest woman.

[643] Almost all regional caciques are polygamists, and they have a woman in almost every town of their dependency, without counting the eight or twelve that they have in the town where they live. Caciques can do this because they have
595 authority, although they do not give them anything. Formerly
178 polygamy was much more extensive. It is not so now because
[797] the race has been much reduced, and there has penetrated everywhere, if not the missionary, the Christian, who at times is a reproach for the lasciviousness of the carnal Ava.

/204 cont./

643 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves
648 are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live
797 as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 The important men assert that to possess many wives is
574 necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality
829 to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because
643 the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

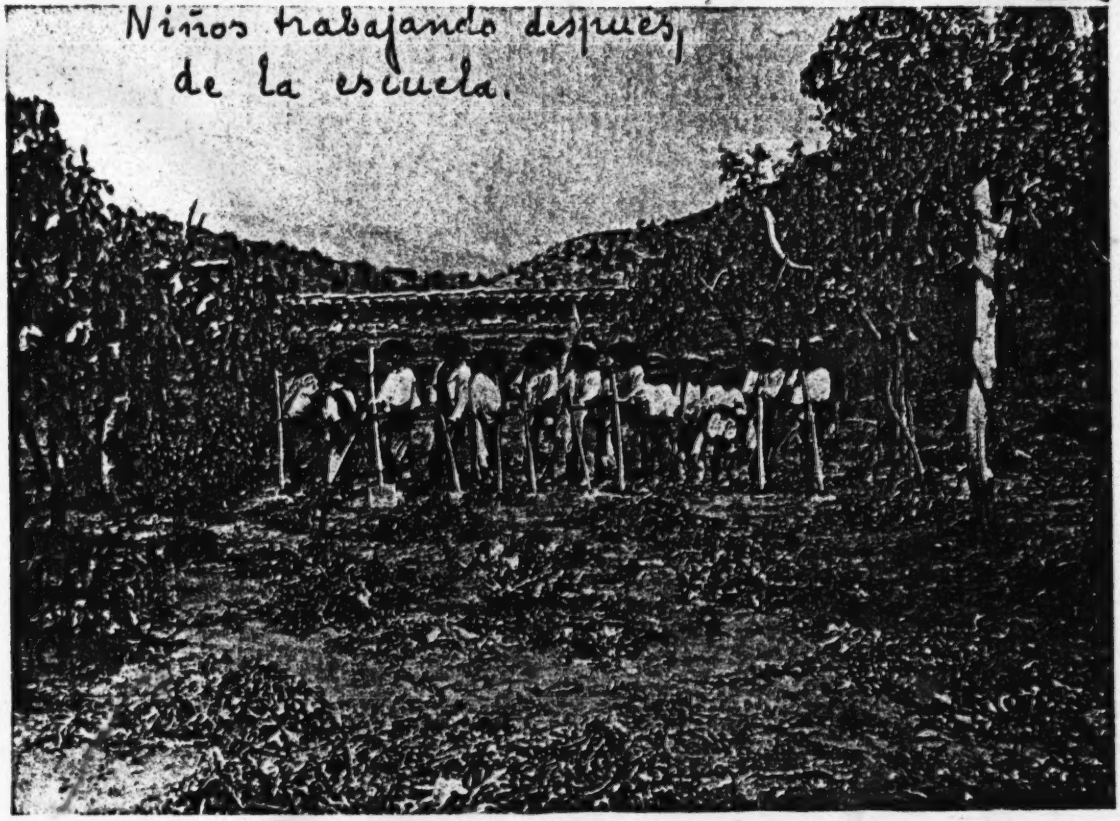
595 The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they
622 do not become such in their youth, when they are like humming-
[582] birds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] 1. Formerly, women were abundant because of
[167] wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

4: Nino--278 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
464
871



Education of neophytes through work

/210 cont./

846 slowly accepting that of the whites. They do not come out of
178 the house until they are completely well, and they only do it on a Sunday morning. They then wear a new dress for the first time and present themselves at the door of the church to receive the post partum blessing (1).

> 1. I saw an extraordinary case, from which no illness resulted. They have been accustomed to the post partum blessing by the virtuous old mistresses, and they continue this.

846
302 Soon, in a week or two, the woman is completely well, and she is allowed to go out to bathe and paint her face with urucu, returning gradually to her usual tasks. Childbirth is
844 regarded by the Chiriguano as a time of fasting, in which some
785 authors say that all the members of the family participate, but this is not true; only the husband shares this obligation, and he does it for two or three days (2).

> 2. They say that it is necessary for the baby's father to fast so that it may not die nor any harm come to it when it grows up.

797 The missionaries try to eradicate from the neophytes the
785 superstition that is represented by the husband's fasting, but
844 when their mothers see that their grandchildren are dying,
178 they reprehend in their children the abandonment of the customs of yesteryear. I knew an old woman who was very attached to these customs and who tried in every way to force her son to fast, in view of the fact that the newborn babies died every time her daughter-in-law gave birth.

/212 cont./

736 very easily manages to make the milk come down. She
603 grinds watermelon seed or sarsaparilla root, Isipocagua, and
824 washes herself repeatedly, squeezing herself over or above her
853 breasts, and makes the famished child suck continuously for several days, and in a short time she achieves the desired result. Sometimes even young women lose their milk. They then look for the root and juice of the sámolo, or cipoi, wash the breasts with this juice, and succeed in nursing their children again (2).

2. In the confirmation administered by the Bishop in October, 1909, in Ivu Mission, an old woman of some 60 years of age presented her granddaughter, whom she had nursed. She is still alive, and so is the twin granddaughter, although not very strong.

Joy and Grief

855 For the Chiriguano race their joy at the birth of a male child is the same as at that of a female child, because if the former helps his father in field chores and in hunting and fishing, the latter helps her mother in household chores, and the father as much as the grandfather very much like to eat meal which has been ground by the hands /213/ of their daughter
765 or granddaughter. If either one dies, the grief that the old
855 people feel is very heavy. I witnessed many times a mother's agonies of grief over the death of her son and the profound feeling of the father over the irreparable loss of his idolized daughter.

● 797 What I am going to relate will better convince my
758 readers. In the month of July in the year 1909, a rabid dog
164 at the girls' school of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission bit Cecilia Yaguándai slightly and Ana Yarandui and Delina Aragúndai more severely. The two latter, younger than the

/213 cont./

797 first, came to me to be treated for their wounds, to which I
758 applied cotton soaked with ammonia, of which I also made
164 them drink five drops. The two went through a high fever for four days, but they are alive. Cecilia did not consider her bite very important and did not come to me; I did not know that she had been bitten. She did not have a high fever either, because in fact scarcely any blood came out, according to what her companions say.

The month of January came, just six months after June, and the little girls who had been treated with ammonia again had the same degree of fever and recovered. The other girl began to be afraid of water and to be laughed at by her companions for this fear, so much so that she was the object of foolish tricks. She went down to the town, she wanted to drink water, was unable to, and she told her parents. At once she said that she had pain in her wrist, in her little breast, and in her shoulder, and nothing could be done to treat her; the sickness got worse and she received the last rites. The night before she died she tried to run out of the house; she howled without rest and tried to hit and bite her mother. In all, she had true hydrophobia, which carried her to the grave in three days (1).

> 1. The child Cecilia was bitten by the rabid dog right on her wrist, which is where the first pain began six months later. When I blessed her with holy water, she was afraid and shrank away.

Until she was buried, I did not know what had happened in the month of July, but when I saw such a similarity to rabies, I inquired and it turned out to be this which had
753 caused her death. Her parents, since they could not be
754 persuaded that the bite could produce an effect after so long a time, attributed her violent death to sorcery, stating that this must have been done by a young man who a few days earlier

/216/

Chapter Nine

881

Children, Puberty, the Tembeta (1)

1. This will deal with the puberty of the girls and the imposition of the tembeta for boys, which is carried out a little before their puberty, so that when this does appear they will have the mark of manhood.

Introduction

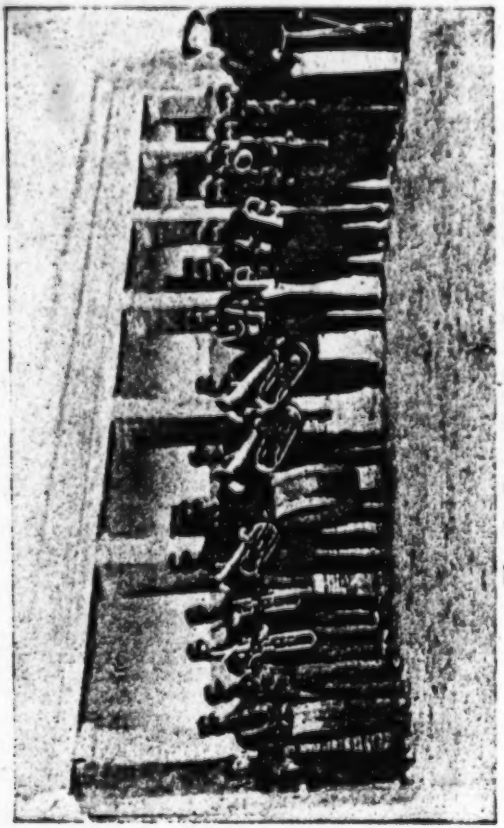
797 533 [126] At the beginning of this chapter /see p. 294/ my readers will see a small band of young, luxuriously uniformed musicians with a Franciscan missionary at their side. These are the musicians of San Buenaventura de Ivu, whose photograph was taken on the pastoral visit made by the renowned and wise Delegate General M. R. P. Wolfgango Privaser, illustrious and glorious in the seraphic religion, on the 23rd day of September, 1908. His secretary, the intelligent Father Angel Domáica, was the one who was charged with taking this group and the others in the Potosí and Tarija missions.

[648] All the musicians are Chiriguano boys whose fathers were in the 1892 uprising in the fields of Curuyuqui, half a league away from what is today the mission building, which at that time did not exist. They are the sons of fathers who all wear the tembeta and of mothers who in their puberty underwent the strict tests which I shall relate in this chapter.

175 648 Their fathers declared war to the death, not on the Cross, but on the white, be he Christian or not, because he saw in him a tyrant and hangman, and he wished to cast off the yoke by destroying the one whom he considered its maker. But it is certain that the Indian in his hate and rancor, which he has consistently maintained /illustration appears here/ /217/ against the caray /white man/, did not know how to make a categorical distinction, because not all have bad hearts. If there are some bad ones, real executioners of humanity, there are also very good and compassionate ones, from whom they received and still receive favors.

4: Nino--294 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
533



The S. Buenaventura de Ivo Band

/217 cont./

175 648 [799] The parents of these youths would not have thrown themselves into a disastrous war if the Supreme Government had quickly decreed the founding of the mission which they desired, as can be read in the history of the Colegio de Potosí; in it is clearly seen what the Ivu people did to try to have the presence of a missionary father, because political authority always showed itself to be humanitarian with the unfortunate Indians.

It has now been 19 years since that bloodletting, and still the pampas of Curuyuqui are sown with human bones; one can still see traces of their fortifications, where they fought like lions, with such unequal weapons; the memory of that horrible and destructive occurrence is still retained (1).

1. Some 500 men and women died in the war, but almost all were outsiders; the others, who knew the place, saved themselves by taking flight and hiding. They do not like to have anyone talk to them about this uprising.

797 87 [648] [175] As a consequence of the war the decree to found the mission came, and just a few days after the defeat the measuring and laying out of the necessary land was done. Today fathers and sons live tranquilly; some of them have gone on to a better or to a worse life, many have experienced the paternal government of the missionary, which they do not tire of praising. The sons have learned the religion and practice it. They have learned the alphabet and read books. They have learned religious singing, and several of them know and play the music which has been taught to them by the missionaries. 797 It is truly surprising to see the changes which have been brought about in such a short time in such bellicose Indians! This is the virtue of the Cross! Others could have done nothing, as nothing had been done or will be

/217 cont./

797 done wherever there are no missionaries (2).

2. In every sense civilization brought by the missionary is preferable. Colonization of the sort which they are trying to implant today is very costly, brings little material progress and no moral progress. I refer to the latter more than to the former.

Education of the Children

000 In man, love and tenderness for his children is natural; just as the birds, the animals, and the very beasts of the forest love /218/ and take care of their young, this same inclination, with much greater reason, is found in the rational creature made in the image and appearance of God. /The remainder of this paragraph and the next two paragraphs on p. 218 are omitted in the translation. The last paragraph on p. 218 follows./

The true love of fathers for their children is only found in the Catholic Religion; this can be proved by many examples of incredulous persons who, despite their incredulity, taught the catechism to their children. Outside of Catholicism, /219/ the potential of the soul is not cultivated, a pure materialism is taught, and how can anyone who does not profess any religion at all educate his children? What education will he be able to give if, in addition to this, he is ignorant? His tenderness or love will scarcely have any effect, never a moral one.

855 This is the tenderness of the Chiriguano. They love their children truly; all of the work of the Chiriguano is only aimed toward the corporal well-being of the child; he gets his daily food for him, thinks about his clothing, sweats in order to shelter him and defend him from the inclemency of the seasons, from the fury of the winds, and from the impetuosity of the rain, but he does not concern himself with his morality.

/219 cont./

868 to his mother with satisfaction and then tells his companions about it.

/220/ There are also men who teach boys the way to be quick in fights and even the way to dodge enemy arrows, as well as bullets. The man who teaches this is called Puruncanise, or man who scratches. He is the terror of the boys in the town where he lives. The method he uses is to run after the boys, and woe to the one who out of weakness or carelessness lets himself be caught! In the hands of the puruncanise he suffers the martyrdom of being scratched all over his body with long fingernails, which he lets grow on purpose, in addition to the blame he gets for letting himself be caught by an old man. In a second race it is not likely that the boy being taught will let himself be caught (1).

868 554 463

868 856 239

1. Those who are older have the calf of the leg scratched with the tooth of the Acuti /agouti/ by another of the art. A lot of blood comes out of this, and upon recovering, they say that they are very good at running and can resist fatigue much more than those who did not allow themselves to be scratched.

862 When all the boys of the tribe have received practical lessons from such a neighbor, they indeed may be ready for war, because skill consists in knowing how to shoot in order to injure and also how to dodge the enemy arrow. The Indians [554] who know such strategy are called Queremba by their companions.

721 726 797 In the last war of Curuyuqui, the Indians attacked the Santa Rosa Mission while Colonel don Tomás Frías was there. He chose as a target an Indian Queremba who seemed to be the chief of the company and lost some eight or ten bullets without having the pleasure of felling him. Almost all the Indians learn this way of fighting; hence their combats do not last long. That of Curuyuqui lasted eight hours because they were sheltered in trenches.

4: Nino--305 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
133

Panorama of the S. Pascual Mission

/226 cont./

881 do not advise anyone of their puberty, even
178 their mothers, and the consequences are sad in no few cases. They do not tell anyone because the older girls make fun of them.

163 A single thing is noted in the missions, and it is that the
582 neophytes, when they get to the age of about 35, stop having children. Perhaps this is because they marry very young, at about 16 to 20 at the latest. If it is true that the Chiriguano
581 women of old were ready for marriage /227/ as soon as they came out of their hiding or fasting, the union which they contracted was certainly neither continuous nor for life with the same person. One or two months with one, then a rest until giving birth, afterwards again joining the same man, or perhaps she would seek out another if the first had become bored
• 799 with her or she with him. But this does not happen in the
581 missions; those who contract marriage do it for life, because it is a Catholic union and, as such, indissoluble, just as the natural marriage of the infidels would be, but the Chiriguano does not understand this, since in principle he wishes to be a hummingbird, coming to rest on many flowers and not stopping at any of them until he reaches a certain age.

881 In the districts where the fasting lasted for a year, such
881 as in Cuevo, before the town of San Juan Bautista and the
785 Santa Rosa Mission were founded, after the first rigorous month
184 the maidens were made to eat meat and beans also, and they were even allowed to drink a little mild chicha, so that they would not become too weak or die. If the chicha had turned sour, it would be prejudicial for later married life, producing the effects of which I have already spoken.

881 Finally, to conclude such a delicate subject, let it be
178 noted that at the present time the custom of such a rigorous
177 fast for the female sex is observed in very few places; today the region is inhabited by the white race, which is making them understand that all this is superstition, because of the example of their daughters, who, in spite of the fact that they have done nothing of what has been said, live in perfect

/234 cont./

539 "I further wish," the Aguara-Tunpa continued, "that you may never /235/ forget the day on which your bad luck made you inferior to your companion; take also this button which will distinguish you from the descendants of the one who is your superior." He made a hole in his lower lip and put the tembeta on him; and that was the beginning of the difference between the white race, or caray, and the Chiriguano, who believe that they owe their misfortune to the Aguara-Tunga (1).

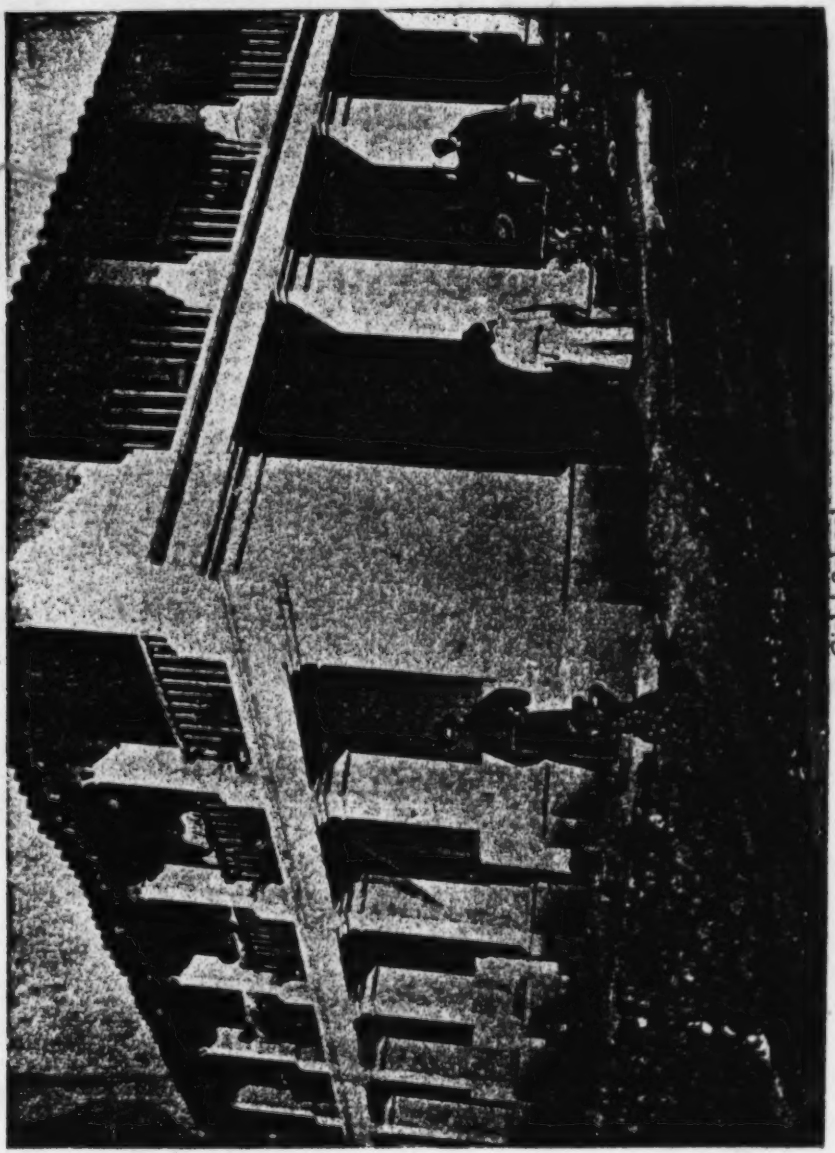
1. Today few Indians believe in such a legend. They consider the fox to be a four-footed animal and the rascal that he is, and the young people listen to storytelling just because they like to hear it.

Here we have humanity left to its free will, without being enlightened by the true religion; they believe in a patchwork of lies and superstitions; they respect or are frightened by a wild animal, giving it the name of a marvelous being able to do good or evil to them; tremble in the presence of a dauntless fox, who is a thief without intelligence or speech, and disfigure the faces of their children, making the goodness, strength, prestige, and nobility of the individual consist of a piece of tin, wood, or hollow cane; they subject their tender and delicate damsels to rigorous fasting, to imprisonment for months and even a year, because of a false belief in sorcery, in supposed sicknesses and spells, ruining their health and even risking their lives (2).

2. Almost all the present-day Chiriguano have a slight smattering of the true religion; for this reason they no longer concern themselves with their old customs of fasting, hiding, putting on the tembeta, and long hair.

4: Nino--338 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

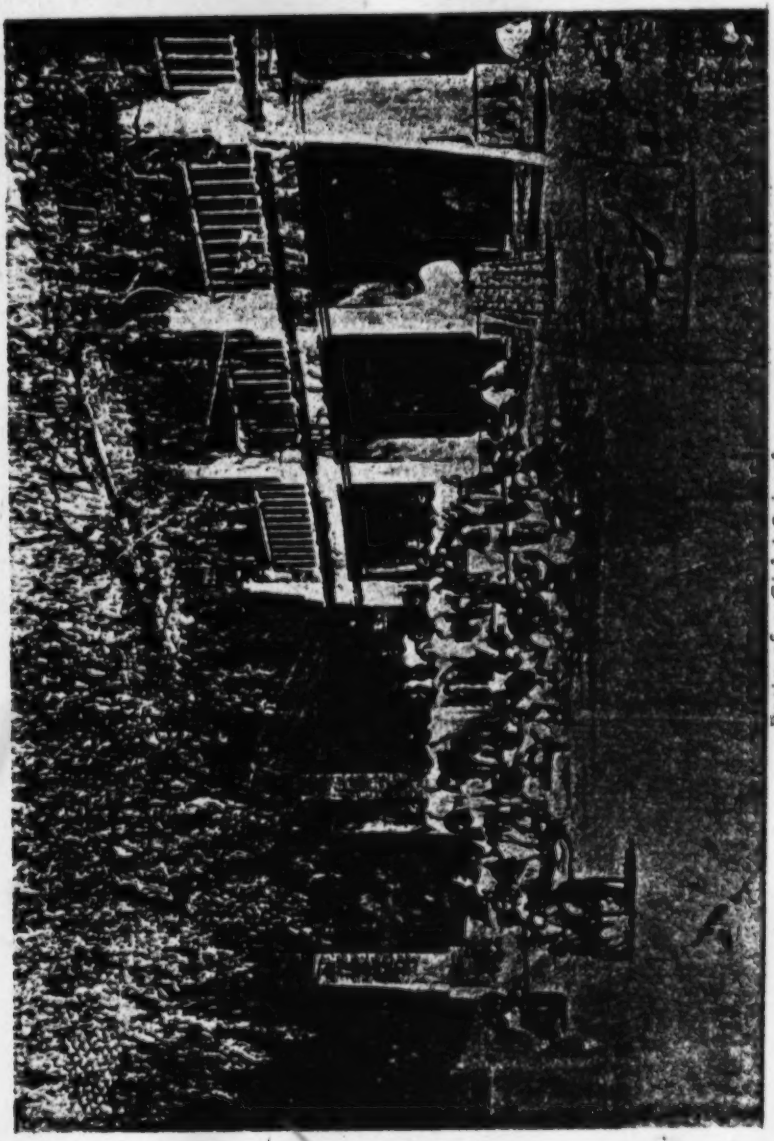
• 797



Girls' School

4: Nino--345 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

• 797



Patio of a Girls' School

/263 cont./

527 273 The fiesta of the Ayarise is an annual one, and it is always understood that the Indians have drink; thus in the general fiestas it does not end in one day; /264/ it lasts a long time until the chicha bottled in the vessels outside comes to an end; when this is finished, they repair to the large pitchers indoors, which are in reserve, like the reserve corps in a war. After eight or ten days the fiesta can be considered at an end, and then the ucau vaé with all his soldiers takes leave of the purumuncau vaé with thousands of thanks, congratulating him for the order which has been maintained, the joy which has reigned, and the abundance of food and drink prepared. On finishing the praises, the guest in turn invites his friend and all the people for a similar affair in his tribe, with the month and day immediately being set.

527 574

527 273 Thus does the Chiriguano fiesta end, leaving everyone content and satisfied. But it is repugnant to see them drink without resting; the surroundings of these places look as though they were flooded by rain, their bodies give off an unpleasant odor, their faces seem swollen, their eyes out of their sockets, their lips with the tembeta sag like a baby lamb's, and just to approach one of them or the place where they are drinking is the same as approaching a sewer, such is the fetidness! But the Chiriguano is very content and glories in the piglike state in which he finds himself, saying, Asagũipo, I am drunk, and when he is getting over his drunkenness, he confirms what a good state he was in. Poor beast! (1)

[178]

1. Formerly, the intoxication of the Chiriguano was almost never complete; today, with the use of liquor, he frequently loses consciousness. Would that this harmful drink could be eliminated! The mission Indians no longer glory in their drunkenness; they say that they have been drunk, but not as an honorable act.

[199] [177]

/266 cont./

574 576 [194] The second t of the word tuti is pronounced double (1).

1. In other places the salutation is different. They say Catapiri or Aguyeti, good things, prosperity. But the other seems to me to be more in conformity with the universal salutation, as is done everywhere.

If the visitor is a person he knows, the host then says, Nde pa co? Is it thee? And the other answers, Checo, it is I, and then goes on to say Imeño pa nei? Are you living? Imeño aí, I am living. And he enters the house of his uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law, or whoever it may be, since it seems that the Chiriguano has relatives everywhere, and he would have them all over the world, if there were Chiriguano all over the world.

574 576 622 Often it is the cacique who receives strangers, if these come looking for him, as naturally happens, but any Indian at whose house he may come will at once say to him with all courtesy, Eyú, come in, if he is on foot, and Egüeyi, come down, if he is mounted. At once he presents him with the best seat that he has and begins the conversation; meanwhile the lady of the house puts at his disposal a large jar of chicha with the respective maté or tumbler, and, aided by her daughters, she prepares the best meal. The captain, or cacique, of Tiasía prepared for me a maté of boiled corn with salt, arivivi, or very hot chili peppers, and hard-boiled eggs chopped into small pieces. 123 [622]

I noted the great cleanness of the food and the utensils, and then, as I have already said elsewhere, I had a long talk with the Indian, who was quite loquacious and frank, about various religious matters, and in conclusion he made me understand that he would not go to the Boicovo Mission or to the others, because prayer and baptism cause death; that my companions and I had made it not rain that night in order that we might not get wet, and that it is not God who created man, and, when asked who it was, he answered naturally and with astonishment, Ndicuaá á pa? Don't you know? (2) /Illustration appears here./

797 771

2. In the other place I did not set down everything

[Text Continues on P.362]

/266 cont./

797 771 that the cacique had said with reference to their idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

574 576 /267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leaving the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu ndereé, I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma, I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tunpa reño eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

541 177 If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Lagunillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing. The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano [184] fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbapa páure, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe, in addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

[648] 1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Igüembe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Azero,

/273 cont./

175 History tells us that the Chiriguano were not the first in-
727 habitants of the region that they now occupy. Other savages
728 had lived here, who handed over the territory by reason or right of the stronger. Subjugated by the number and valor of the invaders, some of them emigrated to perish, and others remained as vassals in their own land and little by little came to an end, leaving the Chiriguano masters of their land.

175 In time the Incas tried to conquer this extensive territory,
648 leaving behind innumerable marks of their tenacity, but they
[101] had to abandon this noble thought, contenting themselves with calling them with great contempt: Chiriguanos or Chirihuanos,
175 cold excrement. But however warlike or invincible a people
648 or nation shows itself to be or is, its hour to succumb arrives.
797 What was not achieved by the Incas or by the arms of the Spaniard here has been brought about by the patience of the missionary and the tenacity of the whites of Santa Cruz and
648 Tarija. Today the dread Chiriguano is subdued and bows his
797 haughty head. He has been reduced to nothing, and one who does not live in the missions is the vassal of the white man, who has dominated him completely. It is the disposition of Providence, which subdues the proud and decrees that they experience, although much more gently, what they made the invaded ones experience. It seems that in the last war of
[181] Curuyuqui, the Chiriguano learned his inferiority, but it cannot be denied that this race has been one of the most warlike that has existed here (2).

175
648
727
266

2. The Incas tried to conquer the Chiriguano in order to moderate their customs. The Chiriguano treated the Tapíi with great cruelty; according to what has been told by the natives of Parapiti, they fattened them in order to eat them later.

/279 cont./

727 Those who are older, men and women, surround the poor prisoners and insult them until they are tired, recriminate against them for the war, to which their husbands may have given rise, mock once more the memory of the dead men who did not know how to defend their town, calling them men of no courage, good only for women's work, good only for making chicha, and when they are tired of talking, the festivities begin with drinking, dancing, and singing, with which they celebrate their splendid victory.

The prisoners remain silent, do not raise their heads, do not say a word, and even refuse to eat food if it is offered them. They cannot oppose the brutal acts of their conquerers, who would put an end to their lives if they attempted to do such a thing. 797 The last war of Curuyuqui is still living proof of what has been 727 said, but happily many unfortunate women had help in their misery because of the presence of the missionary (2).

> 2. When the defenseless damsels understood the intention of their masters, they ran away, making a joke of the vigilance of those brutes, entered the school as a last refuge, and learned religion.

727 During the days of celebration and afterward, they start [525] playing their dice game, and they wager the prisoners, who are no good to them, among whom are the mature women, boys and children under seven, and an occasional girl whose new owner does not need her. When they are tired of them, they barter them or [437] sell them for nothing, for a sheep, a goat, /280/ a hat. The [438] sale or barter is not done in the town of the conquerers, but in others farther away. Thus it happens that many innocent boys and girls may find there relatives who would pay even more than what is asked for them.

164 /286 cont./ From this and other causes come the many skin
757 diseases which do not let them sleep. The itch is cured with saltpeter found in the dry stream beds. They call it Curuyuqui, or salt for curing the itch, but this remedy does not always produce its effect. The itch principally attacks those of few years, and
[237] nursing infants catch it from their mothers. Lepers are cured very efficaciously by means of hot cow dung, and it is enough to apply it two or three times for a cure within three days without any further remedy, but they do not resign themselves easily to using this repugnant but efficacious remedy.

164 Smallpox and measles are epidemics which appear from time to time; for this reason I do not put them in the list of endemic diseases like the former ones. The Chiriguano runs from smallpox as a person with hydrophobia does from water, since through experience he knows that anyone who gets it has a hard time being saved from a horrible death. When it enters a town, it sows fear and desolation. Sick people resign themselves to death, and the healthy ones flee in terror to other tribes. It seems that it is not easy to attack smallpox directly, and up to now only vaccination has better effects (2).

797
164

2. When smallpox breaks out, the missionaries go wherever their ministry is needed, like doctors and priests. Up to now none of them has caught it, perhaps because they are vaccinated or because they have different blood.

In 1909 the town of Cuevo, which is about eight kilometers from Yvu, was decimated by smallpox. I vaccinated all the people of Yvu and those who were not residents there. But the vaccine did not take in all of them, as occasionally happens. Nevertheless, few got sick and only two died. The remedy that I administered after the initial fever had begun was rather strong wine vinegar. The sickness ran its course only in those who had not drunk the /287/ vinegar or who had not been able to retain it in the stomach. I administered one cup every six hours three times, and it was enough for this terrible illness, which would cause so many deaths in Cuevo, to pass almost unperceived in the San Buenaventura Mission (1).

1. More people became sick and died in the

/287 cont./

797 164 Santa Rosa Mission, but the use of the vinegar, which I began to administer later, made the mortality stop.

Measles usually attacks children, as does diarrhea, and because they are very delicate it is difficult to treat them, for which reason almost all of them succumb. Lemon and vinegar are efficacious remedies for both illnesses; in many cases I have ad-
164 ministered camomile with good results. Diarrhea in infants comes
261 from a scarcity of food, for then the mothers eat very hot things, such as the fruit or potato of serpentine arum, algarrobas, and other wild plants, as a result of which the infants drink the very hot milk, which damages their bellies and produces inflammation (2).

[757] 2. There exists near or around the lakes a herbaceous plant called pazote, and by the Indians and whites páico. A tisane made from this herb is efficacious against smallpox and measles.

Dysentery occurs in older people, and an occasional case of it shows up even in children. The cause of this illness is the very poor diet in times of want, when they eat wild roots and
164 fruits. Here there is a very effective remedy, which the whites
757 call meloncillo and the Indians Ñurantimbucu. This is a thorny bush with long thorns, from which its name comes. At the time when it buds, or in the springtime, its thorns are slightly purple, and its roots are the remedy. They are boiled and the patient is given this water to drink for a week. The eye sickness attacks all, big and small, without distinction and is so bad that some
[797] lose their sight completely or are left with only one eye. In the missions this is treated with white lead or lead acetate, and it suffices to apply it two or three times to bring about a complete cure.

164 The convulsive cough, or whooping cough, is another illness which attacks children up to ten years old, causing many deaths. It shows up in the cold months and even in the rainy season, some-
[757] times attacking grown-ups, among whom it does not cause death. There is in the hills a yellow flower which around here is called

/287 cont./

164 757 vira-vira. The tisane made from these flowers has salutary effects, but it is not strong enough to bring about a radical cure, /288/ especially if the precaution of wrapping the child up after the potion is drunk is not taken (1).

1. Most effective for whooping cough is the use of petroleum. The child is anointed from his forehead to his belly and made to drink a few drops. In 1910 almost all of those whom I treated with petroleum got well.

164 Consumption, or tuberculosis, attacks men and women and appears in both sexes as a stomach-ache. This pain can be considered the beginning of the sickness, which usually appears after the age of 40, but in certain places it carries to the grave persons who have not yet reached the age of 20.

In the Santa Rosa mission this disease alone, in less than ten years, caused the death of more than 70 schoolgirls; at that time this mortality was attributed to the bad water there, but as it is found in other places where the water is excellent there must be another cause. For young people or adolescents it could not be the continual fires, because there are none in the schools.

164 754 755 The Chiriguano has no remedy for tuberculosis, and one who gets it is resigned to death, because whether or not he attributes everything to sorcery, he believes in it and in the poison in this case; hence the sick person goes for help to the sorcerer, who to get rid of the illness, without succeeding, uses atrocious and even immoral means when dealing with women (2).

•[797]

2. The missionary buys remedies from the apothecary to treat the Indians. These remedies are almost always repugnant. If the sick person does not drink it in the presence of the missionary, he will pour it out; he has more faith in the sorcerer.

/295 cont./

765 589 When the year of mourning ends, the widow continues her silence until one of the relatives of the deceased visits her with all respect as a person worthy of veneration, because she has wept much and with grief for the dead; he tells her that this is now enough, that she can go out and again appear at the public drinkings, since this visit takes place two or three days before some general drinking affair. The widow makes them ask her many times and once more reflects on the virtues /296/ and greatness of the husband she has lost through death; she curses the bad sorcerers and poisons, finally consenting to stop mourning, leave the house, and take part in the coming fiesta (1).

1. During the year of mourning the widows are continually cloistered in their homes, coming out only when they have to; they go to the spring for water and to the field for food.

[302] [301] [292] During the year the hair has grown out at least some 30 centimeters; she then removes the rag from her head, combs her hair carefully, puts the well-known cosmetic on her face and feet, adorns her neck and arms with necklaces and bracelets, dresses in her best tipoy, and goes out with some woman friend. In this first appearance she does not take part in the dancing or singing, so that all may know that she still feels the absence of her husband, and all respect her silence. Only afterwards does her public life begin anew, like the rest, that is, she sings and dances as before.

587 589 797 736 A few weeks later, if someone should ask her to be his wife, she will probably consent, if she is still young and has small children, because the reader can imagine the suffering of a widow, who must seek food for herself and her little ones. Oh, how often have silent tears run down my face on seeing the tears of widows and fatherless children who, for lack of food, not knowing whom to ask for aid, have come to the missionary or to one superior to them to ask for help! How could one deny it? Only a heart of bronze could have done so.

/296 cont./

000 If the missionary goes into the forest and goes among the barbarians in the name of Christ, he teaches them to love him and to know him, and, like his divine Master, he is compassionate toward the afflicted and toward those who are suffering. Like Him, he does not close his ear to one who asks for charity, but divides what he has with the hungry, dresses the naked, and, when he has nothing else, at least has soothing words to console the sad. This is the life of the missionary, which, by great effort and much perspiration, is gradually transforming the places and the hearts of the inhabitants of this region, into which civilization has come through him. Oh, how the Supreme Government and the inhabitants of Bolivia should appreciate him, both of them, because of his work of moral and political civilization! But even should men not recognize this, his eternal reward will be greater (2). /Illustration appears here/

114
797

2. The work of the missionaries is greatly appreciated in Europe. Some governments exempt them from military service and give them free passage on ships and railways. This is even done by the enemies of Catholicism. The missionary of San Buenaventura de Ivu /the author/ has been exempted from military service by the Italian Government.

4: Nino--401 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

291 142 148 297

Girls' School of San Pascual Mission

/297/

Chapter Fourteen

Infidels and Neophytes of the Missions

Introduction

797
648

The continual revolts of the Chiriguano against the white race clearly demonstrate their aversion toward the Christian element, which they consider to be the effective cause of their misfortunes and of the almost total loss of their territory, of which not too long ago they considered themselves the legitimate owners and absolute rulers. It is as clear as the midday sun that the Christian, with the patience and constancy of an anchorite and in many circumstances risking his life, has gradually taken over the extensive region. Today there is no corner where an occasional Christian family is not living. In many places the Chiriguano tribe has completely disappeared, whether through epidemics or through loss of freedom; in some places a rather considerable nucleus exists under the control of a master, either because of the territory which it cultivates or because of a debt which has been contracted (1).

161
464
466
648

1. The caciques of the Curuyuqui war, in their ignorance, thought that they could recover the lost territory and, in revenge, take over most of the Republic.

797
648
[184]

The Indians located in the area to the left of the Pilcomayo River took only one thing into consideration when they resolutely refused to have a conversion mission founded; they only considered that behind the missionary would come those whom they considered invaders; they only understood that white Christians would gather behind or around the Cross, which Father Giannelli planted with considerable daring in the middle of the nineteenth century. But why is it that the Indians of Tarairí /298/ are still owners of their land? Because of the missionary, whom one faction, in its ignorance, wanted to leave when the destruction of the flourishing missions of San Francisco and San Antonio began, where six years ago building a new London was attempted, with almost

/298 cont./

797 648 nothing yet begun, but rather with a most evident deterioration of the building and the gardens which the Franciscans of Tarija left behind so well arranged and so flourishing (1).

1. When the Tarairí Mission was established through the persuasive words of the missionary, it was attacked by neighboring tribes and by the warlike Huacayeños, who were located some 100 kilometers away. The Chiriguano missions were founded where there was no nucleus of whites.

The people of Tarairí were the first to see a Franciscan father in their territory, and they are the last to understand the material advantages that the mission brings to them. The people of Tigüipa, Macharetí, Boicevo, Cuevo, and Ivu, and, finally, those of the two Parapiti missions, called San Antonio and San Francisco, came to realize that only the missionary could present their territorial rights before the Supreme Government and assist them in countering the ill will of some whites who, because they were too tyrannical, brought about the Curuyuqui uprising, in which the Indian was completely humiliated when he believed he would exterminate all the whites (2).

2. Through the suggestion of the missionary, the Indians of Itatiqui were assisted in their small territory by the Prefecture of Santa Cruz, before which proceedings for purchase were in process. Today they have been helped by the Supreme Government, which has proclaimed an edict for measuring and setting boundaries, but they have scarcely half a league left to them, despite having possessed from time immemorial three and a half leagues.

926 181 It has been seen in the course of these pages that the Indian is formidable at the beginning of battle, but if victory does not come soon, he turns cowardly and flees.

000
726
648
181

/298 cont./

soon, he turns cowardly and flees. The eight-hour battle at Curuyuqui, considering that the weapons were so unequal, can be regarded as a prodigious feat, because once the Chiriguano were so far from their towns, they had to resign themselves to winning or dying before falling prisoner.

797
177

Infidels

The adult Indian has no appreciation of religion, whatever it may be. To be sure, first his ignorance and then, more than anything, his pride and laziness contributed to this, because he turns his back on anyone who tries to instruct him. Some of them come to the monthly instruction, but almost all are like those described by the royal Psalmist in that they have eyes but do not see, ears but do not hear, /299/ and a tongue but do not speak, do not sing praises, and do not worship their Creator (1).

> 1. It seems that the demon of luxury has them blind, deaf, and mute with regard to religion and worship and keeps them away from the Spirit of God.

It is not likely that the Chiriguano will ask for the founding of a mission, because he does not want anyone to disturb his peace and tranquility in his own land. He considers the mission an unbearable yoke for himself and for his children. It is almost useless, it is almost a waste of time, to speak to the Indian about the supernatural, to make him yield and accept the mission. He does not understand or wish to understand why animalis homo non percipit ea quae Dei sunt. Only when he sees himself persecuted with regard to his person, his family, and his property, only in order not to fall completely into slavery, only to free himself from the harassments which he receives from his fellow man, does he then ask for a mission with much insistence, until he obtains the end desired. This is also one of the ways that God uses to secure the redemption and salvation of an endless number of souls (2).

> 2. There are a number of Chiriguano families

/799 cont./

799
177

in Pipi; to free themselves from such vexations, they have been asking for a mission. There are still more of them in Caipipendi; I have spoken with them repeatedly, because they have their own land, but they are still not inclined to ask for the founding of a mission, and the reason for this is clear, they are not greatly persecuted.

Even in this case the adult proposes the bases of the agreement; he asks for freedom to follow his barbarous customs, without being obliged to receive baptism and consequently to enter the church to hear Mass and to do other things proper to Catholic worship, because his hair and the tembeta are out of place in God's house, and they feel extreme embarrassment on seeing themselves mixed in among children, young people, and whites. The advantage that religion presents is the education of the youth and the baptism of the infants, who in great quantities fly straight to heaven, because there are many who die, regenerated by holy baptism.

Provided that he does not speak to them about religion or about receiving baptism, the missionary can do what he wishes with the adult Indian. It is enough if he only shows a little foresight from the beginning regarding the way in which they must live in the mission. One who freely and spontaneously gave his name obeys in every respect, provided that effort and care are taken to suppress any disorder or disobedience immediately.

[464
466]

If he is needed for personal labor, it is not likely that he will refuse, at least in the first years, even though he be paid no wages /300/ nor given anything, since he understands that the missionary orders the construction of a building, not for speculation, but for the moral and civil progress of his children. If the missionary ordains, as is the case, that during the night they cease singing, they will comply, in spite of the fact that at times it is necessary to remind them with some sharpness, noting here that words alone are of little value.

/300 cont./

797 177 In sum, the adult Indian infidel, when carefully watched over, is quite submissive in complying with the orders of the missionary father, and even when drunk he is gentle and humble. Although it is quite true that he wishes to know nothing of religion as long as he lives, in order not to learn to pray and to comply with what religion demands, nevertheless today almost all ask for or receive baptism at the time of death. The difficulties which formerly occurred with respect to the sick who were in danger of death, which would be interminable in the telling, have now almost completely disappeared. (1)

1. It is more difficult to baptize old women, for it is they who advise a sick person to refuse to accept baptism while others coax him to accept for material gain. In such cases it is very necessary to know their language.

[595] If an Indian or a cacique had two or more wives when a mission was founded, bit by bit the missionary can make him give them up until he has but one. This requires some effort, but through persuasion and threats the desired end can be obtained, because this is one of the conditions which the minister of God sets when he is asked by the Indians to establish a mission. This is what I did in San Antonio del Parapiti, and they accepted all the conditions very willingly.

761 797 177 The adult Chiriguano is not baptized while he enjoys good health; he only does it at the time of dying and when he is almost sure that he cannot live any longer. In the past it was even difficult to baptize infants, because they were convinced that baptism is the cause of death, for in their ignorance they did not understand that those who receive baptism in a serious illness died because of the gravity of the disease.

The missionary, because of his long experience, easily recognizes who is in danger of dying, and it is unlikely that he will err, because the serious illnesses of the Chiriguano are known diseases, such as dropsy, smallpox, dysentery, and consumption, to name the principal ones. He thus baptizes precisely those who cannot live, because it would be very

761 /301/
797 difficult afterward to make them comply with what religion re-
177 quires. The result of this is that the Indian believes without foundation that baptism causes death (1).

797
762
177

1. Some of them experience so much sadness with being adult Christians that they try to take their own lives; this happens when they are half out of their minds with some dangerous illness.

797
177 When a baptized person whose life is in danger survives, it is not likely that he will comply with what religion requires, and only at the missionary's insistence is the matter finally resolved, but he enters the church secretly, seeking the corners or the sacristy, so that no one will see him, and, when there is a change of missionaries, he takes advantage of the ignorance of the one who is new to the mission so as not to attend religious ceremonies. Then what kind of Christians are these? In church they are like idiots, being almost unable to learn prayers, either because it is difficult or because they are unwilling to learn them. In church they are little different from brutes; in their houses they behave like the infidels among whom they live; they play, sing, and drink the same as the rest of them (2).

2. We should not be too astonished by the behavior of the Indian who has survived after being baptized while gravely ill, because the poor souls had never seen a church in their lives nor did they know anything about the obligations of praying to and worshiping a Supreme Being, about whom, in their unbelief, they had no exact idea and barely a remote one.

In a mission already old, all this does not happen. There are Indians with tembeta and long hair, there are old women with their tipoy who go to Mass and comply with the other obligations of the Catholic Church, but almost all are mute, that is to say, they do not utter a single word of prayer. Some will say, and I too say, that with time the opposite will be the case, but

/301 cont./

797 177 this time has hardly come, because the infidel in the Chiriguano missions does not leave followers, since his children have almost all been baptized. They are getting old and dying without being replaced.

797 763 177 Some of them are baptized in order to make the missionary happy and in order that the family will not suffer any blame, but several times it has happened that as a dying person who had no thought of being made a Christian breathed his last or gave almost no sign of life, the relatives hastily called. Finally, others [764] accept and profess being Christians so that the missionary will permit or tolerate the burial of the body in their own home, and this is the first thing that the sick person asks for after being catechized, for which reason many difficulties are encountered. When it is hinted to the sick person /302/ that he must repent, he either denies completely that he is guilty before God or he does not abhor his past actions. All of these difficulties occur at the beginning of a mission; everything changes with the passage of time, and there is scarcely any which is not in the end easily overcome (1).

797 177

1. When a mission is founded, it is ordered that the missionary be told about sick people so that he can comply with the charity of Christ, to make them know the truth, the reward or punishment which awaits them in eternity. For just this reason he reprimands those who hide the sick. When the latter explicitly refuse to be baptized, and the missionary does not manage to convince them of the error, he leaves them. Such cases have occurred.

273 For the Indian infidel, drunkenness is a very honorable act, an action which indicates greatness, friendship, and benevolence, and he glories in it, saying clearly and with great satisfaction, Asagllipo ma, I have got drunk. They say it to anybody and appear before anybody in this state. Nevertheless, [797] when corrected and admonished by the missionary, if they do not hide it when he is inspecting the town, at least they avoid appearing at the mission house.

/302 cont./

797
46
177

With regard to material things, the Indian in the missions has more freedom than the others outside. He does not lift a hand without being paid. He works in the construction of buildings, such as house, church, rooms for the teaching of letters, music, arts and crafts, he builds fences, and, despite the fact that all of this is for their benefit and that of their children, they are paid for it. They only have the task of planting and weeding, but in the end the missionary provides them with yokes of oxen, plowshares, and even harness, and the produce is theirs to keep or is used to buy merchandise. Thus they do nothing gratis (2).

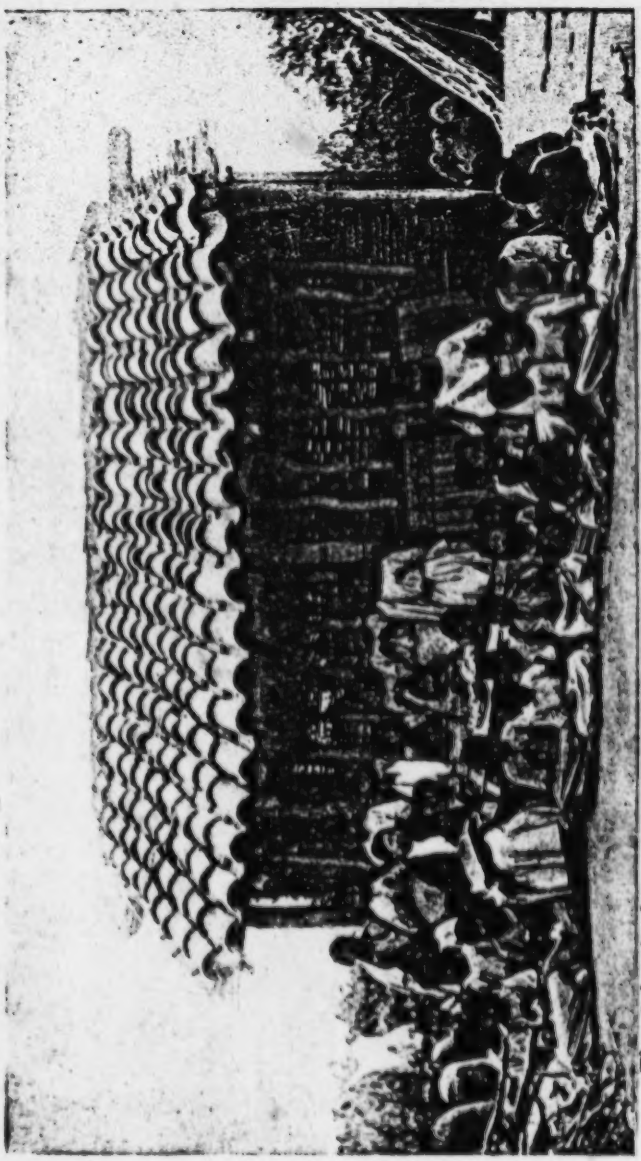
2. The merchandise brought by the missionaries from Tarija and other places is distributed gratis to the students and sold at warehouse cost to the older ones.

They are completely free to work in their fields or for the whites, but they must tell the missionary or the cacique. Nevertheless, they do not always comply with this. If, however, someone needs them for work and they do not feel like it, they answer either that the missionary will not let them or that they must talk with him first, but it is enough for him to intervene and request it, and the Indian will come up with all sorts of objections, and if the missionary starts to listen to them all, soon nobody will obey him. He must show himself to be firm and that he knows how to distinguish true necessities or reasons from deceptions and traps, so that he will not be fooled. In the Chiriguano missions it is almost impossible to get 20 per cent of their labor, as the mission rules require, /illustration appears here/ /303/ believing perhaps that missionaries make them work for nothing, or are making a profit out of them (1).

1. The 20 per cent is not obtained in any mission. Only in Parapiti do the men work half a day per week, but this is a custom imposed by the priests before the founding of the mission, because they had no funds whatever. The missionaries take advantage of this custom for plantings and buildings which are for them themselves.

4: Nino--410 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
871



The School of San Francisco Solano, Working in the Shade of the Hurdle or Shelter

/303 cont./

362 What the Chiriguano thinks least about is his house; it is
356 very hard to find one who makes a comfortable one. If he does
797 begin to build one, he is a long time finishing it, if indeed he ever does, and if it falls into ruins, he bothers little about repairs; when it rains, the house fills up with water and becomes a mud-hole, but he and the family are there sleeping and snoring like dormice. To make them renovate their villages, it is almost always necessary to threaten them and promise punishment and at times apply it, so that what happened in the fable of the toads will not occur.

461 The Indian is always ready to drink; if for this it is neces-
273 sary to pile up firewood and carry it from great distances, no one shirks; everyone shakes off his natural laziness with great enthusiasm. Both men and women then become quite active for ten days or two weeks, in order then to drink for six days or more, during which their faces become repugnant, both because of the cosmetics with which they think they beautify themselves and because of their state of half or total drunkenness. Then they talk of many things, and then finally some of them remember about collecting from others, and quarrels arise from this, and to stop these and also to put an end to the idleness the missionary must firmly intervene. If the Indians had a good crop of maize and the drinking bout were prohibited entirely or in part they would organize them in the fields where they plant, and then worse things would happen.

797 Chicha by itself does not cause much damage in their stomachs,
273 and they easily bear up for several days without more than a half-inebriation; the bad thing now is a scandalously widespread abuse of alcohol, which very soon intoxicates them until they are senseless and do not even know that they are alive. The missionary is vigilant in his enforcement of the rules, but it seems that they are members of a secret sect, and they tell him only when it is all over, or when they wish to avenge some grievance.

/303 cont./

Neophytes

797
177

The infidels' children, or neophytes, grow up like their parents or even worse, being different from them in having a purely /304/ materialistic civilization; on the missionary's part special care is taken in their education; their parents hand them over, or, more accurately, the missionary takes them, from the age of seven, and they surrender them without the least resistance, but if they can hide them, they make no excuses and let them grow up in the forest (1).

1. Nobody should be surprised if they leave something to be desired and try to hide their children, because it should be taken into consideration that it was and is a pleasure for the infidel to see his son grow up to be like him.

797
871
177

When they have entered the school, the children learn from the first letters up to writing, if they can; the more intelligent even learn music, and the most able learn masonry, tailoring, carpentry, shoemaking, and tanning. The school is daily, morning and afternoon, and all of them attend from the age mentioned until they are grown up or married, which generally occurs at the age of 18 or 20. The children are absent from school only by permission, but there is never any lack of those who, when they can, mock the vigilance of the teacher, as even happens in the great centers.

The children have time to spare in which to learn reading, writing, and all that they ought to believe and practice in order to demonstrate their religious beliefs through good works. They are not ignorant of what our Holy Mother Church demands; they see the good examples of fervent Christians as well as the evils of others, and, since humanity is more inclined toward evil than toward good, the tender plants, not well grounded in the practices of Religion, can easily adhere to what is contrary to divine law

/304 cont./

797 871 177

and our Holy Mother Church (2).

2. The children know how to pray much better in the missions than in other centers, because in every mission there are two teaching establishments, one for boys and one for girls.

The youth grow up under the punctilious care of the missionary, who, by example and word, imbues their hearts with every goodness and love of holy and moral things, and moreover he makes them avoid, insofar as possible, all contact with the old people, managing it so that they see nothing, especially at night, not allowing them to sleep in their houses, except in case of illness and mourning, but it is not easy to avoid it altogether, because three times a day the children go down to the town to eat in their homes, and at fiesta time they are given a holiday, /305/ which they use in hunting birds or in bringing in firewood and foodstuffs (1).

1. The girls receive a more polished education under the uninterrupted vigilance and care of preceptoresses, who teach them, in addition to theoretical-practical religion, all the chores of their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; the vestments and chasubles for use in the solemnities are the work of these girls.

797 177 273

What is most ruinous to young neophytes are certain whites of the neighboring cantons, whose profession it is to sell liquor and coca, which they secretly bring into the missions at times of celebration, during which even those of the race enter into the same trade, because they have seen that it is a very lucrative business.

167 593 578

In addition many of them emigrate temporarily to the establishments of the Argentine Republic, where, with the excuse that they are going to earn a great deal with a little work, they lead too free a life, drink liquor like water, and become accustomed to drunkenness; then the first thing that they buy is an outsize

/305 cont./

167 knife; they learn to use it like the gauchos, get into fights, are
593 injured, and even get killed, and, when they return to the mission,
578 they only bring a little black clothing for themselves, a trifle or nothing for their wives, to whom they deliver a sovereign beating on the first chance they get, with reason or without, and then, at the first drinking bout they molest peaceful people, disturb public order, and always or nearly always it becomes necessary to bewail
167 the spilling of blood. Let there be added to all of this the fact that
797 the virus of irreligion is beginning to be inoculated hereabouts, and inasmuch as they are not well grounded in the dogmas of the Catholic faith, the result is that those who do not behave like infidels or indifferent persons are Protestants on the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and Catholics in the mission.

000 There is no doubt; moral, religious, and civil progress is the work of time; it is not the work of 40 or 50 years, as some believe. How long does it take to implant social reform among civilized people? How long did it take the Church to become established in the Roman Empire? Truth fought against error for more than 300 years; she was persecuted, shut up in the catacombs, and bathed in the blood of millions of martyrs of the Catholic faith, but in the end she triumphed and raised herself, radiant, above the ruins of error which had reigned for so many centuries.

797 No effort to implant social reform is made in the missions; what is being done is to build, to uproot the Indian from the jungle, to make him come out of barbarism, and to begin to teach him to be a man, to consider himself nobler than the brute; an effort is being made to remove from him the superstition /306/ in which he was born, so that he may believe in the maxims of the true faith. What sacrifice then must it not cost the missionary, who spends the best years, or even all the years, of his life in order to realize this grandiose project without earthly recompense, but rather with the marked scorn of those who should appreciate his highly civilized work (1).

1. The Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi has been in the Potosí Missions since the year 1872; almost all the missions have been founded by him;

/306 cont./

•797

no son of Bolivia can glory in having worked as this man has for the nation which did not see his birth. If others work, they are well paid, but not the missionaries.

It has already been noted above that the children, in addition to writing, are taught music, arts, and crafts; thus, what Campos says, that the missionary is trying to make an anchorite out of the Chiriguano, is not true. It would be more than enough for the missionary if his neophytes simply practiced the Religion like faithful Christians and, like the inhabitants of the Republic, obeyed the laws of the Nation. For this reason, after having learned what they ought to do and practice and what has been said above, they help their parents with the work in the field; others lend their services to the whites by day, week, or month (2).

2. It would be possible here to list a pleiad of the missionaries of Tarija who have sacrificed themselves civilizing the Chiriguano; instead of thanking them, Campos' ire was raised against them. As a National Delegate, he should have done the former; in other regions the missionaries would have been decorated.

The poor missionary buried here far from the centers of civilization strains to make his town flourish, even materially; he teaches them everything he knows when time permits, tries to have them instructed in the rest outside of the missions, in the capitals. The lovely buildings, the grandiose churches, the well-organized orchestras are the work of neophytes under the immediate direction of the missionary, but what deceptions! When he least expects it, the musicians disappear one after another, the blacksmiths and other skilled workmen take flight, some temporarily and others remain in a foreign and distant land for long years, deserting wives and children. The material suffering which is experienced in the missions is bearable, but the moral suffering is not so much so; nevertheless there is resignation throughout, because God allows it to be thus, and this is

/306 cont./

●797 continually shown (3).

3. A rest is almost imperative after a long stay in the missions, in order to refresh the spirit, because a bow which is always bent breaks, says the Evangelist St. John.

/307/ There is no traveler who does not marvel upon considering the progress of the missions, upon considering the beautiful works of the Indians, when they think that years ago there were impenetrable jungles and bare hills on the site now occupied by the grandiose temple and buildings. As was said by an enlightened Englishman, Protestant in religion, of course, the Catholic missions among the Chiriguano are like oases in the desert, and to see them at a distance stirs who knows what in the heart; even I do not know what I experience when on some journey I again approach and see them in the distance.

The Method

The method established since the beginning of the first founding of the missions cannot be improved upon, in that it looks toward moral and civil progress and has yielded practical results, especially in some missions where, despite the fact that they have been in existence only few years, almost all speak the national language moderately well. Is this not a near prodigy, achieved with a race whose language has no analogy with

000 civilized languages? /The remainder of p. 307 and the first paragraph on p. 308 are omitted. The remainder of p. 308 follows./

167 Following the method which has been implanted, the
464 missions progress and would progress further if the Chiriguano
[797] were not so changeable. Neither in their towns nor in the neighboring cantons is there any lack of work for them; but rather it is day laborers who are not to be found; they prefer to go far away where they may earn less than here, spending their small gains on things that are useless and harmful to them (1).

[511] 1. There are neophytes who stay on the haciendas

/308 cont./

167
464
511

of the Argentine Republic for eight or ten years; they drink it all up and when they want to come back they scarcely bring back more than a knife and a small black garment /ternito/, which costs little.

If one asks the reason for this procedure, so strange for them themselves, they answer that in their town they could never save up ten or 15 bolivianos, because they spend them immediately on trifles for themselves and their families, while in the Argentine Republic they keep their money in the master's house and, when they come back, buy clothing and even animals, tools, saddles, and other items. There is some truth in this, but just as it is not completely true that here their money does not last, neither is it completely true that they bring clothing and other things from Argentina. Those who are a little careful and who are not lazy dress very well here, while the vice-ridden in Argentina let themselves be overcome by laziness and return as naked as they were before; they arrive, spend or waste, if they have anything, and finally go off to live as they please (2).

101
167

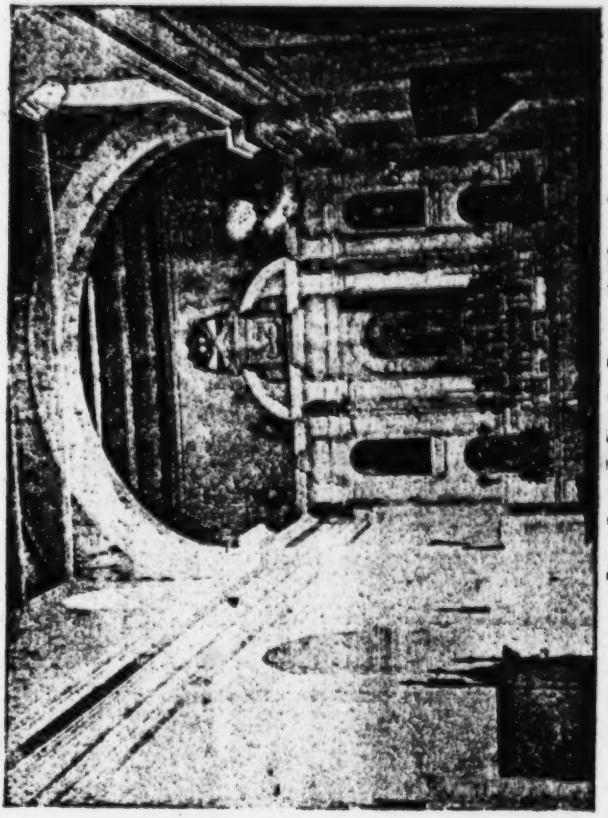
2. The Chiriguano Indians call the gauchos, or natives of Argentina, criollos /Creoles/; they apply the same name to those of their own race who settle there for many years.

● 797
87
191
177

The method of instruction as it is applied yields prodigious results in the girls, who, in addition to learning their letters and worship, learn in the schools the tasks proper to their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; certain mission schools for girls, for example, the one at San Antonio del Parapiti and the one at San José de Tigüipa arouse real admiration in visitors, both because of /illustration appears here/ /309/ the handiwork which is done in them and, in the former, because of the Spanish language, which from first to last they all speak with considerable perfection, since from the beginning the language of their parents has been absolutely prohibited for them in the school, even among themselves.

4: Nino--418 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797



Interior of the S. Pascual Church

/309 cont./

797 87 868 191 177 Should this method be followed, in a few years nobody would know that the mission Chiriguano belong to the race, because little by little the parents would teach their children the Spanish language, as I have already seen them do in the San Pascual de Boicovo Mission, and, if the morality still leaves something to be desired, later perhaps by means of preaching, the advice of the missionary, and the example of those who are good, all will be corrected. Semen est verbum Dei; it does not fall upon completely sterile ground (1).

797 177 1. The San Pascual de Boicovo Mission is so advanced in every respect that application has been made for it to be promoted to the rank of parish. In language, clothing, and behavior they differ little from the whites.

797 291 177 Almost from the beginning the schoolgirls were forbidden the use of the tipoy, being forced to dress in the same way as the women residents of the nearby towns; today they are very accustomed to the said clothing and do not change it for any reason in the world in the missions; only those girls who run away and even practically denounce their religion dress in the tipoy again, like the infidels, in order not to be recognized. By means of the teaching of the Catholic religion, the learning of the national language, and the change in clothing, the transformation is continually taking place, until little by little the distinction between the races will disappear, by means of the union of their tastes.

What the missionaries have done for the clothing of the girls, they are also doing for that of the boys, trying to make it decent. For both boys and girls, so long as they reside in the schools, the missionary of each mission provides their clothing, having it brought from some departmental capital and distributing it free of charge twice and even three times a year, or when he sees the needs of each student. In this way, after they are married, they themselves work in order to continue dressing in the same fashion or better than when they were in school, since some also wear socks /botines/ and shoes, and there are a number of women who

797 291 177

/309 cont./

in addition to the ordinary clothing, use a waist /corpiño/, hat, socks, and small rug /alfombrita/ in church (2). /Page 310 and

000

[184] [492]

2. The place where they dress most elegantly is in the missions of the Parapiti Grande, especially the women, who even have saddles for traveling and for riding about on horseback.

the first paragraph on p. 311 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 311 follows./

Conclusion

797

In conclusion, let it be noted for a final time that the Bolivian nation and people have opened to commerce and industry the broad region described in the first chapter of this work. This is due to the Franciscan missionaries, whose labor dates from the year 1609; they faced all the dangers; they risked their lives in the forests, in the torrential rivers, on the summits of the hills, they suffered thirst, hunger, fatigue, cold and heat, they endured with resignation the calumny and persecution of the people without conscience who never failed to make them the target of their filthy mouths and tongues.

[648]

The work has been accomplished; previously nobody went among the Chiriguano without the risk of falling victim; today the entire region is one with more or less large towns, there are provincial capitals, cantons and vice-cantons; the merchant passes through the Chiriguano towns, sleeps, very highly esteemed, in their houses, and the whites themselves, scattered throughout the region, have every guarantee of safety. This is a real prodigy owing to the Religion of Jesus Christ, preached by the missionaries; it is one more proof of the fact that the Cross is constructive.

[177]

/312/ It is evident that the native element is disappearing because of the causes previously enumerated during the course of these lines (1).

000

1. If the present missions remain and new ones are founded in the centers that are left today,

/332 cont./

Music of the Mbapa Páure /omitted in the original source/
Chiriguano carnival 361
Music of the Alleluía /omitted in the original source/
Bows, arrows, etc. 368
Group of Choroti Indians 384
Choroti Indian houses 392
Girls' school of the San Pascual Mission 401
Schoolgirls at work (San Francisco del Parapiti) 410
Interior of the San Pascual Church 418
Group of Mataco Indians 422
Group of Toba Indians 430

/The corrections in the list on p. 333 have been made in the text of the translation. Page 333 continues with the following note concerning the end map./

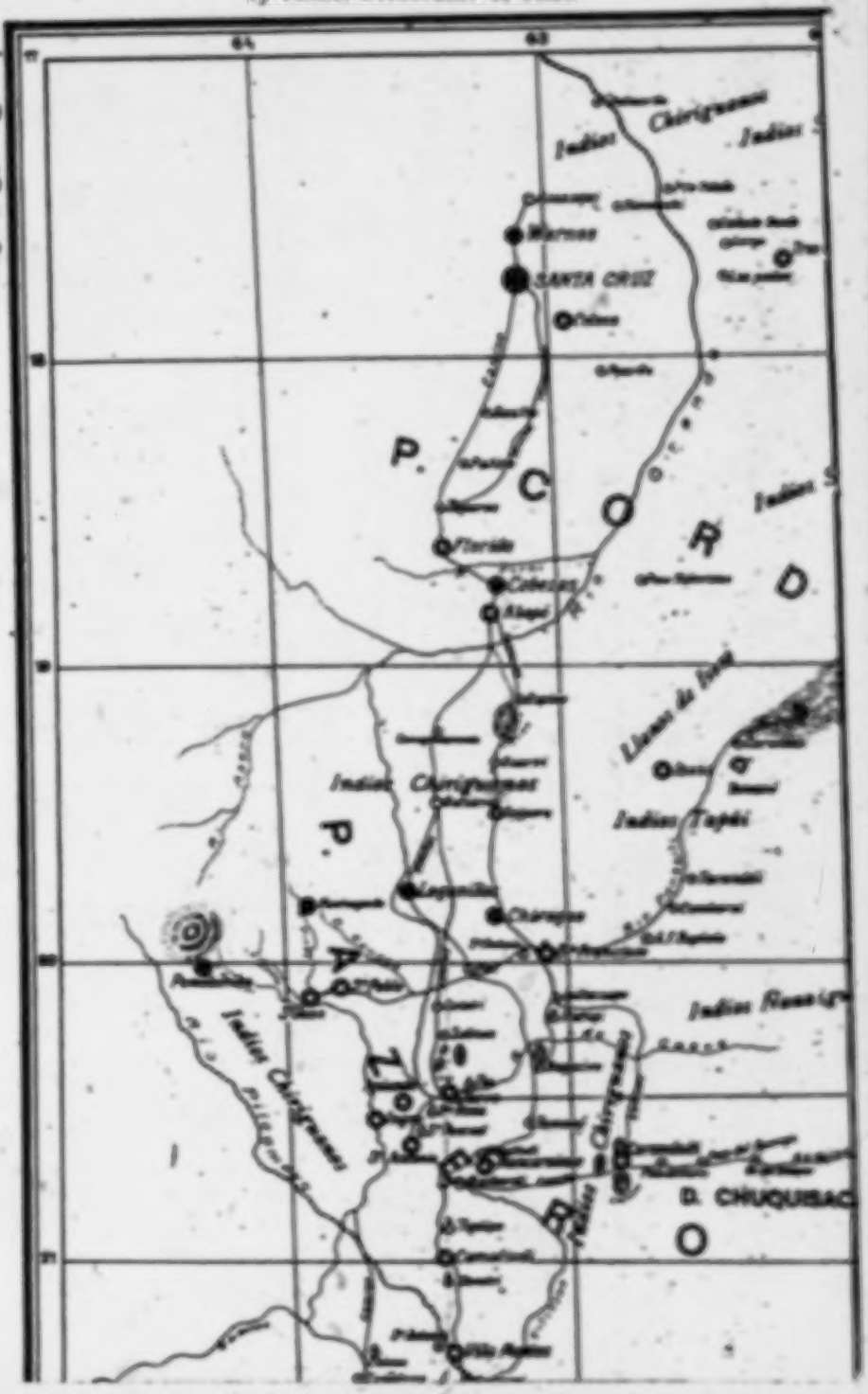
101 Note: The map which is found at the end of the work con-
102 tains the following errors: (1) the juntas of San Antonio should
103 be of San Francisco; (2) the line which comes out of Cuevo
131 toward the Azero River is not a river, but a dividing line between
133 Santa Cruz and Sucre; (3) the missions of the Parapiti occupy
361 the left bank of said river; (4) Ibo occupies the right bank of the
797 Cuevo River; (5) the projected city of Manso should be near the bank of the Pilcomayo River.

4: Nino--447 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Map of the Gran Chaco

by Father Bernardino de Nino

102
101
103
131
133
361
797

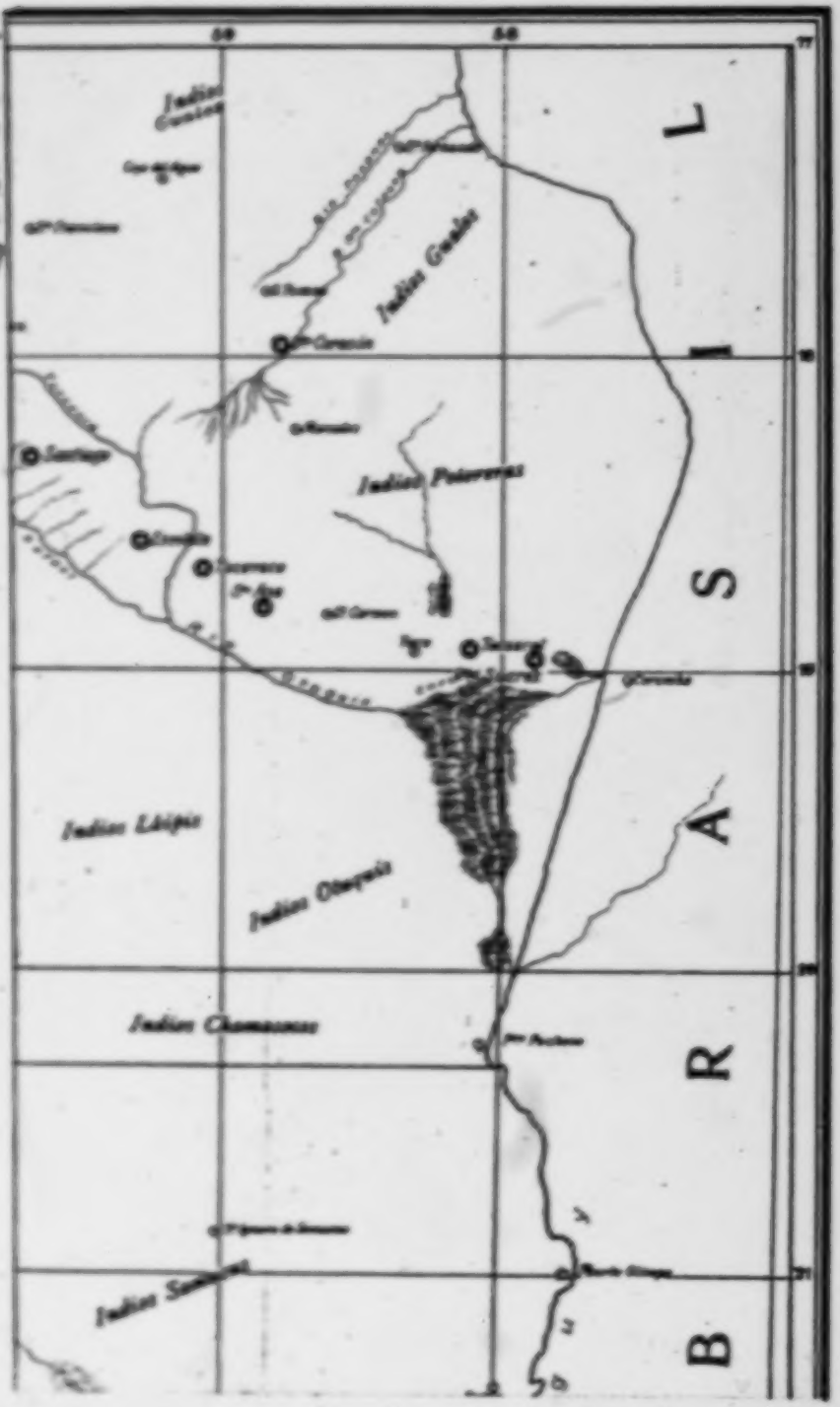


4: Nino--448 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
799

4: Nimo--449 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Some Choroti live near Yacuiba. In nearly all of the Chiriguano territory there are Mestizos and Whites. There are also several large missionary stations in their territory. Some few Chiriguano live in the village of Sta Rosa to the north of Sta Cruz de la Sierra. Some Chiriguano who sought refuge in central Chaco after their last rebellion, live there still. They are the only tribe of Chiriguano-Indians who are quite independent of the Whites.

The country which is inhabited by the Chiriguano and partly by the Chané is a border land between the Andine mountains and the great plain of the Chaco. It is in the valleys between the outermost mountain ridges towards the Chaco and on the plain to the east of them that the Chiriguano and the Chané live. The land of the Chiriguano and Chané-Indians is not a real country of primeval forests. There are some great forests, but on the whole it is sparsely wooded, in places even very poorly wooded. The supply of water is the governing condition for settlement in the land of these Indians. It may be said that wherever there is access to water there the country is inhabited, at any rate as regards the region south of the Rio Grande, one of the great rivers that run through their territory There need not be a great supply of water for the Indians to find the country inhabitable. All that is necessary is sufficient drinking-water for man and beast, as at Itatique and in the Caipipendi valley near Rio Parapiti.

The biggest rivers running through the territory of the Chiriguano and the Chané are the Rio Grande, the Rio Parapiti and above all the Rio Pilcomayo. The Rio Grande may now almost be considered the boundary river of these tribes towards the north, and is of but little importance to them. The Rio Parapiti is a strange river. While well supplied with water in the mountains it is almost shrinks to nothing in the plains during the dry season. During the rains it is very full of water and may be dangerous to ford. Fish are plentiful only in the Rio Pilcomayo, and we

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
291

Both men and women among the Chiriguano and Chané have sandals which, however, they seldom wear. In Part I of this work I have given an account of the geographical distribution of sandals in S. America. Obviously sandals are a cultural element which the Chiriguano and Chané have got from the area of civilization in the west.

C
Ce
[177]

A pair of sandals with fastenings differing from the usual kind are depicted here. A sandal with very similar binding but of another shape is described and depicted by ERIC VON ROSEN[1]) in his recent, splendid work.

C
Ce
[114]

The Chiriguano and Chané wear girdles which as a rule are woven, though they are sometimes made of leather. As I pointed out in Part I, the woven girdle belongs to the western cultural elements and the leather belts to the southern. The leather girdles worn by the Chiriguano and Chané are provided with pockets and sometimes ornamented with coins, and are consequently imitations of the gorgeous cincture worn by the Argentine gauchos. NINO[2]) is of the same opinion, and he points out that they are called »bosa» (from the Spanish word »bolsa»[3]) owing to their being provided with a pocket.

C
Ce
291
177

As already mentioned in Part I the woven »head-band» or frontlet also belongs to the dress of the Chiriguano and Chané-men. The frontlet is certainly a western culture-element.

C
Ce

Chiriguano and Chané shirts and ceremonial tipoys are of native make and are often dyed blue with indigo. The frontlets are blue or red. Chiriguano and Chané women wear a kind of hair-band with tassels which they most likely learned to make in the missions.

[386]
[292]
[177]
[177]

[1]) (4) Fig. 84, P. 127.

[2]) P. 191.

[3]) »Bolsa» is »bosa» in the Chriguano languages as these Indians do not pronounce l.

5tNordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XX.

Musical instruments.

C
Ce
534 The Chiriguano and Chané have the following musical instruments: drums, flutes, whistles, and trumpets. Among the latter tribe I have also seen the panpipe and the musical bow. The panpipe may possibly occur among the Chiriguano too.

I have already, in Part I, dealt with the drum, the whistles, and the musical bow. The two former, I concluded, were Peruvian, the latter a post-Columbian culture-element.

C
Ce
[197] When studying Indian musical instruments we must bear in mind that, in post-Columbian times, they have learnt a good deal from Whites and negroes.

C
Ce
[197] [212] At the mission stations the Indians are always instructed by the missionaries in music. At the Bolivian mission-stations it is not unusual to come across Indians who very well understand musical notation, though unable to read or write. At the Chiriguano mission stations there are full-blown musical bands.

C
[192] A large drum is called by the Chiriguano »angúahuasi», a ordinary drum »angúa» or »angúarai». Like the Guarani Indians in Paraguay the Chiriguano call a mortar »angúa». The Mataco sometimes make drums by stretching a skin over a wooden mortar. So too, if we are to be guided by the name, the Chiriguano drums must originally have appeared.

The long wooden-whistle (fig. 35 A) is very common among the Chiriguano and Chané, and often of great size; the round wooden whistle is more rare. Both are often elaborately carved.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
286
*171

Weaving-bodkins of bone are found among the Quichua. LEHMANN-NITSCHE depicts one from Puna de Jujuy[1]) and I found one in an excavation at Ollachea,[2]) Peru. COBO[3]) mentions their use by the Incas.

C
Ce
286
531
Ce
[177]

The large fabrics woven by the Chiriguano and Chané are not adorned with figures. On the other hand, it is not rare to see ribbons with woven human figures and other ornaments (fig. 57). The Chané on the Rio Parapiti are said to have learnt these ornaments from a Quichua woman who had immigrated to these parts. The Chiriguano girls are never seen to wear the ornaments they have learnt to embroider at the mission schools. These are flowers and the like, generally European ones, which interest the Indians very little, and are too strange for their fancy. This does not prevent the work they do at the mission schools being excellently done. At the mission schools the Indian girls also sew and crochet lace. But they never make these things once they have left school.

C
797
871
531
286
177

C
Ce.
286

Fig. 56. Weaving-implement of wood. A and B from the Chiriguano. C from the Chané.

A = R. M. E. 48. 1/4. B = R. M. E. 146. 1/4. C = R. M. P. 21. 1/4.

---

[1]) Pl. IV. C5.

[2]) (3) Pl. 3. Fig. 12.

[3]) »Van apretando y tupiendo la tela con un hueso puntiagudo y liso» .... COBO T. 4, p. 204. COBO gives a description of the Peruvian loom. P. 203.

8:Nordenskiöld E-S,W(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C Ce 177 301 [439] [822] is conservative, which may partly be connected with the fact that for him, as KARSTEN has pointed out, colours and ornaments have a great magical importance. When the Chiriguano and Chané obtain by barter glass-beads for their labrets, these must be blue, like the turquoises they were wont to fasten in them.

C Ce 177 When they come across anything in the culture of the Whites that approximates to their own conception of the ideal, the Indians have no difficulty in adapting it to their own use. We know that the dance mask is an Indian practice: it is therefore quite natural for the Indians to have embraced the carnival of the Whites with great interest and have added to it their own dances, in which they appear with masks on.

B. *The influence of the bronze age culture on that of the Chiriguano and Chané.*

C Ce [128] In the table 21 I have put together the cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané have very probably obtained from the culture zone in the west. We can see at a glance that this influence has been very considerable. The positive influence has been greater even than from the Whites.

If we look into the table we shall find that the Chiriguano and Chané have especially learnt from the culture zone in the west such things as are connected in some way with festivals. Here belong the men's festal attire, several adornments worn by men and women, the feather parasol, the finer sorts of pottery, the ornamentation of calabashes with pyrograving, several musical instruments, games, etc. C Ce [747] When we know with what interest the Indians have embraced the festivals of the Catholic Church, wherever they have had an opportunity of doing so, it can easily be understood that the tribes that were neighbours of the Incas, also imitated their festivals.

/Pages 1-147 (Introduction and Chapters 1-8), Plates 1-15, and Figs. 1-73 are omitted in the translation./

/148/ Chapter Nine

The Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Just as I have tried to give a picture of the life of the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, I shall also try to describe the Chané and Chiriguano Indians and my various visits among them. These Indians are considerably more advanced than the "savages" of the Chaco. For the most part they live in a state of dependence on the whites, and their old unique culture is disappearing more and more.

The Chiriguano are now also to a very considerable extent Christians. For more than 300 years, first the Jesuits and then the Franciscans have tried, with varying results, to convert them to the one soul-saving Christian faith. Even now there are several mission stations among the Chiriguano, but none among the Chané.

In the Chané and Chiriguano we meet people with a higher culture, people who are entirely different from the Indians about whom we have read in the preceding chapters. Comparisons between the two types of culture that we come across in the Chaco are, naturally, of interest.

What will perhaps surprise the reader most is the fact that the two primitive cultures are able to exist side by side, and have doubtless done so for centuries, without fusing, indeed, without learning from each other, and this even though there are no natural boundaries here.

Ce 123 648

/150/ Unfortunately, I do not know whether Vocapoy undertook the long journey to the village of the great chief, but, as a result of the surveying, I won the confidence of the Indians.

Ce 142 302 291

Fig. 75. Chané Indian.
Rio Itiyuro.

Ce 123 648
C 114 797
T 114 101

When I left the Choroti and the Ashluslay at the end of July, 1908, I proceeded by way of Yacuiba to San Francisco on the /151/ Rio Pilcomayo. San Francisco was a mission station which the Franciscans had had among the Chiriguano, but which /Fig. 76 appears here/ has now been abandoned. Not far from it live the Tapiete Indians among whom I spent a week in August, 1908.

/152 cont./
earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other 123
fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout. 439
There are always two villages in these mission stations, 437
one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt 361
more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more 797 •
fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent.

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through 133
which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected [135]
mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco. The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The wood- 137
land, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monoto- 241
nous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the droughts seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge 731
swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the 136
woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds.

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting 114
Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti.

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the 133
/153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand. If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of 137
bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti.

/153 cont./

In the dry season the wind heaps large dunes along the banks of the river. After it has left the mountains, it does not receive a tributary. The Rio Parapiti is very wide, but never deep. During the driest period its bed is transformed into a sand desert where the wind plays with the fine river sand. When it storms, the sand is swept across the bottom of the river. If one wishes to cross it on such days, one may perhaps not get his feet wet, but he must shield his eyes. C 133 132

The Rio Parapiti is rich in fish, but the fish are tiny. The banks are quite fertile, but inasmuch as they are flooded during the rainy season, the harvests are easily lost. Often in the dry season everything is wasted by the scorching droughts. The locusts, too, hawk about in these regions and leave behind in their own unappetizing bodies a poor substitute for what they have destroyed. C 13

On the Rio Parapiti, high up in the mountains, live the Quichua Indians, then come the Chiriguano, beyond them, near the river, the Tapiete, also called Yanaygua, then the Chané, and finally, in the unknown wilderness, the Tsirakua Indians. C 101

My first visit on the Rio Parapiti was paid to Father Carmelo, who had a small mission station there among the Chiriguano. I became very fond of this monk; /154/ he had such confidence-inspiring friendliness. He is one of the missionaries who are needed here, people who desire and are able to sacrifice themselves for others, who show an equally great friendship toward all. C 114 797

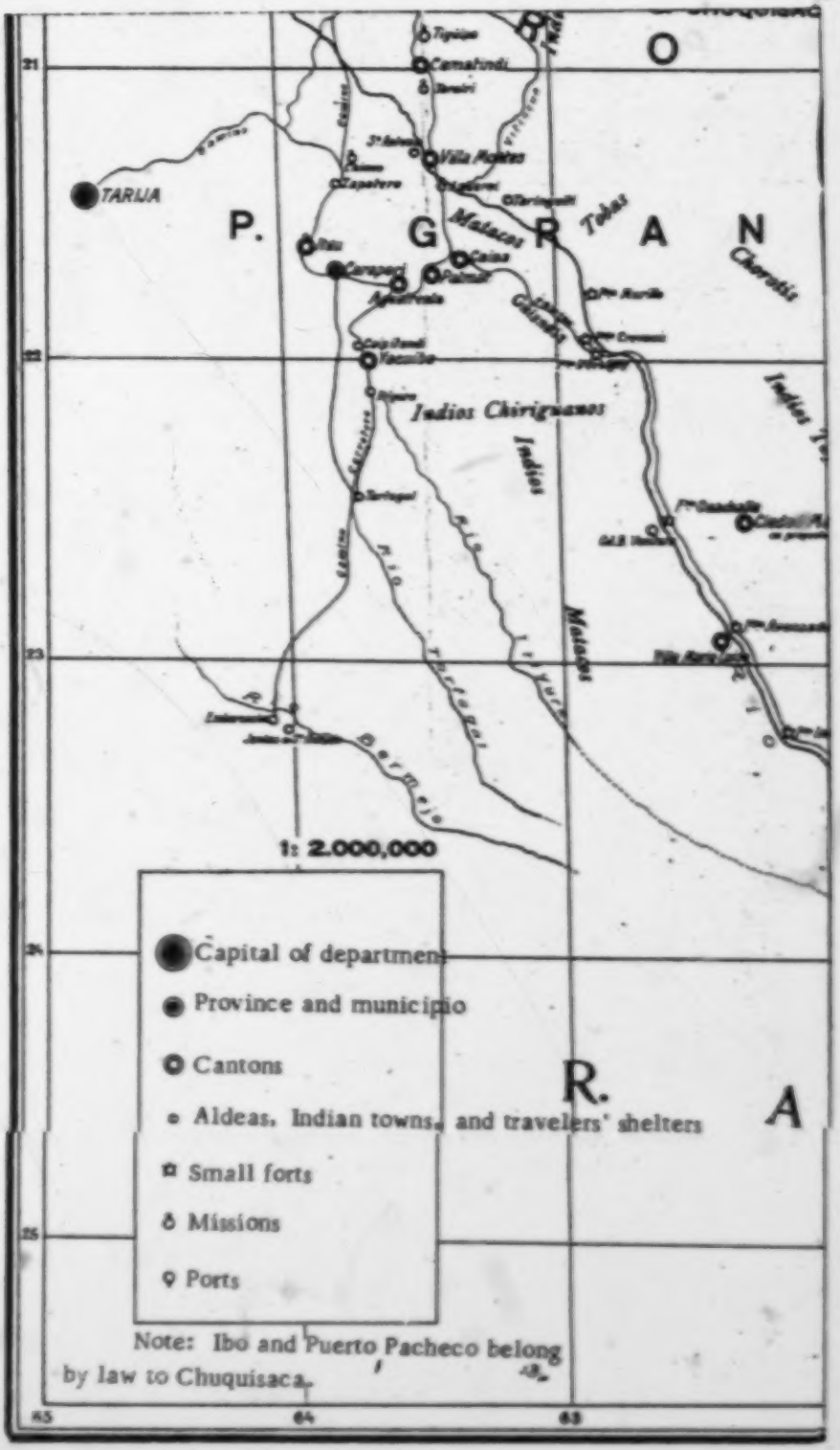
I now continued along the Rio Parapiti to Isiporenda on the north bank of the river. The Tapiete live opposite Isiporendo. I shall later describe a visit that I made to them. C 114 T [31]

At Isiporenda I met the first Chané, or, as they are called here, Tapuy. I then visited most of their villages. I made the acquaintance especially of some of their storytellers, of whom Batirayu, the nephew of the last great chief, Aringui, became my good friend. Ce 114 [101] [538] [123]

From the lower Rio Parapiti I proceeded by way of Charagua, a village inhabited almost exclusively by whites, to the Caipipendi valley, where I stayed with the Chiriguano chief Taruiri. C 114

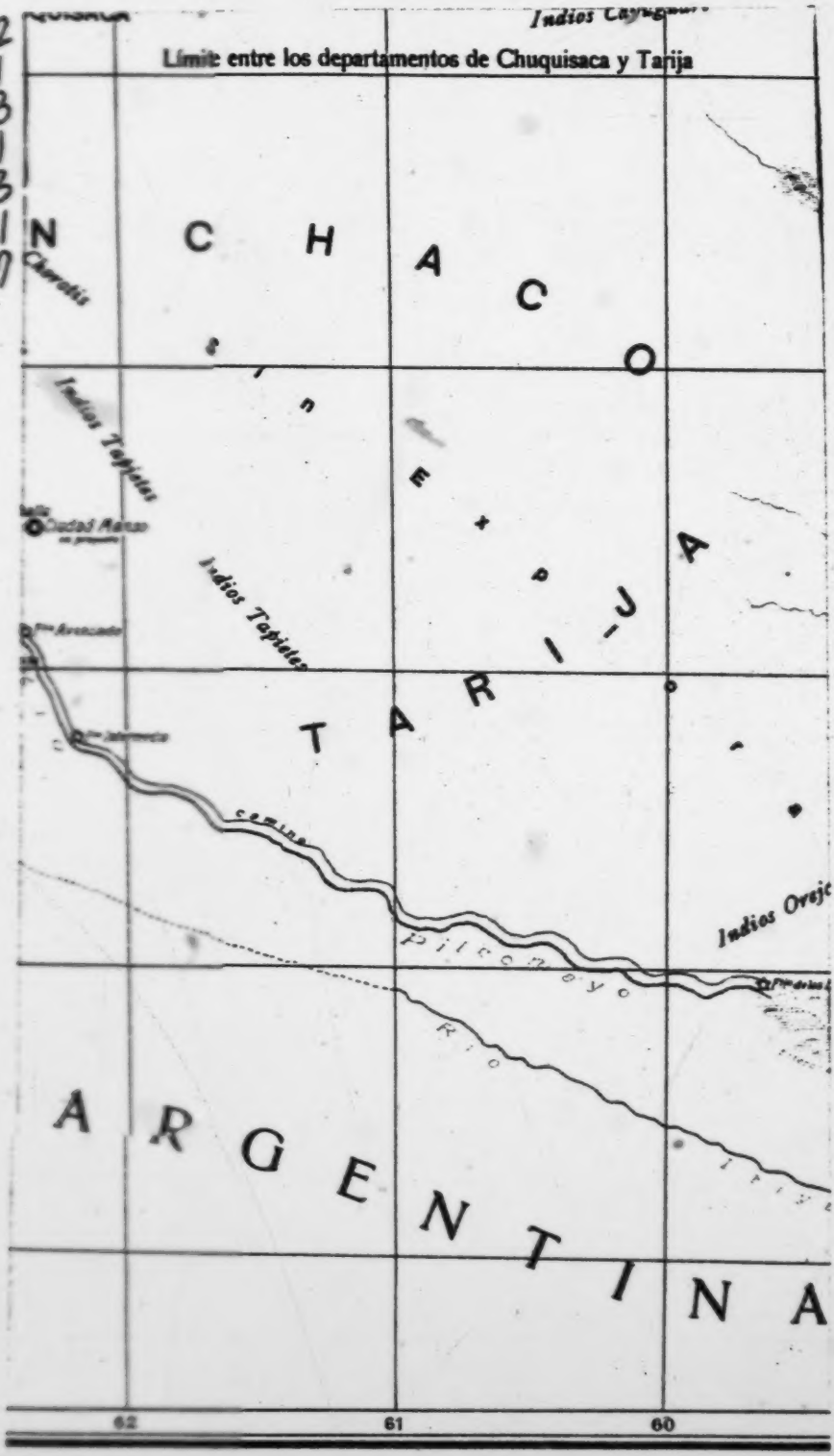
4: Nino-450 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



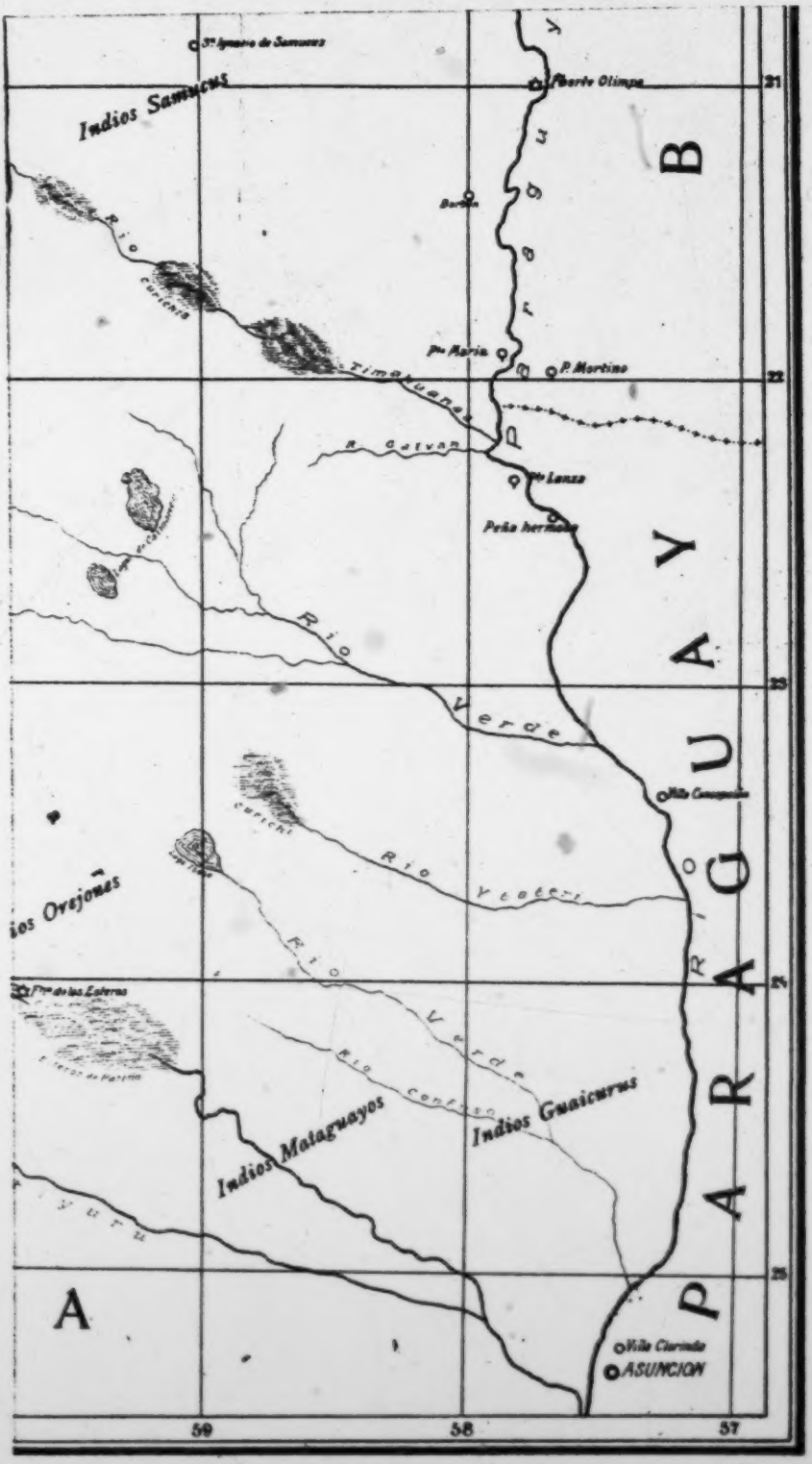
4: Nino--451 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
799



4: Nino--452 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

102
101
103
131
133
361
797



/157 cont./ One old woman who was supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by ethnographers either, the promise of the old woman was not very friendly, Ce 124 197 123 Ce

The Chané use their old language for many expressions that are abusive, for example, karitimisóyti, which they translate as son of a w---e. An invitation to coitus is called pocóne. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for example, siparakinânoyé, siparakinânoyé, siparakinânoyé, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, which they did not know how to translate. 195 197 Ce [533] C

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief Taruiri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Taruiri I also visited another chief, Yumbay, an old worthy who was always embracing me and saying: "I am Yumbay." /Fig. 77 appears here./ "Yes, the great, mighty Yumbay," I chimed in, which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered. 114 126 C [123]

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the mission at Ivu. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region, Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spreading into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in Ivu died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged frightfully among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix. Around this the other swine would get drunk and /159/ continue to drink obligos (1) until they were finally lying on the table. C 797 164 [114] [133] [312] C [764] C [273]

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the latter must drink up. C [576]

/159 cont./

In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities. 114 [64] [65] [273]

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either. 797 756

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the 114

415 531

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igüembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 114 It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant. [133] [137]

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things. 123 157 173 443

/159 cont./

things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78). 323

From Maringay I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of Mimosaceae, cacti, small algorrobas, and other fine-leaved trees. This woodland is seldom so dense than one cannot easily get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa, 361 797 [114] [342] [137] 132

415
531

Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth. Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger. 132 [73]

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and across the great plain of Boyuovis, over the country that was the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuqui, they fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the right to rob all weaker peoples. 133 648

After my excursion to Maringay I left the land of the Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already described in this book, to the Choroti and Ashluslay. 114

/161 cont./

In the wilderness of the Chaco there still lives a Chiriguano 173 361
chief, Cayuhuari, in whose village no white man has been. It is said to lie on a big lake. Large herds of horses and cows graze there, and the maize granaries are always full. The Indians are rich there, because no whites are there. At least so it is said.

Cayuhuari, who has lived in the Chaco since the uprising 563
in 1890, has an abducted white woman as a daughter-in-law. It is said that, with the Toba, he visited the sugar factories of northern Argentina. He had his daughter-in-law with him. The owners of the factory offered to rescue her from the Indians. "I do not want to leave them," she said. "With them I have my children." This answer honors her.

The manners and customs of the Chiriguano Indians have 114
been described by several authors (4), mostly missionaries, /162/ 797 [113]

4. We find most of the literature cited by Domenico del Campana: "Notizie," etc., loc. cit. /"Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani (Notes on the Chiriguano)," Arch. per L'Anthr. e la Etn. Firenze, 1902. Page 61./

so that we know more about them than about the Choroti and the Ashluslay.

A part of what I have reported about these Indians is not new, though seen in a new light. Nevertheless, various things, especially concerning religion, differ from the descriptions of the various missionaries. What I have gathered here is from the Chané, and the missionaries know the Chiriguano best.

What I do not like in the various descriptions of the Indians by the missionaries is that they seem to be striving to paint their shortcomings in colors that are all too faint, so that their own "civilizing work" may seem as important as possible. The missionaries seem to me to be unable to describe the religion of the Indians objectively.

6: Nordenskiöld--15 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
S-Am. Indians S3

/162 cont./

C
114
797

When I read how the missionaries describe their own conquest of the land of the Chiriguano Indians, it does not please me to hear only about the courage of the former and the brutality of the latter. I do not deny that the missionaries were brave, but I admire more the love of freedom and the courage of the Chiriguano Indians. If it became too difficult for the monks, soldiers almost always came to their aid. The Indians yielded to the missionaries not only as a result of the "religion of love," but as a result of bullet and lead. The path to the one soul-saving church was not infrequently soaked with blood.

/163/

Chapter Ten

From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Indians as Geographers

S
823

Is there a single habitable place on the South American continent which has not been discovered by the Indians?

I venture to answer "no" to this question. We find Indians on the highest peaks of the Andes, there are Indians in the dry scrub forests of the northern Chaco, Indians rove about in the deep virgin forests of eastern Bolivia, the inhospitable islands around Tierra del Fuego are inhabited by Indians, in former times many Indians lived on the pampas of Argentina.

What a vast period of time these people required to discover every brook, every pool, every cliff, every grove on the South American continent. For four hundred years the white man with all his resources has sought to explore South America, and yet much more than one usually believes is still unexplored. He is acquainted with all the large rivers and trade routes in the interior of South America, but there are still vast regions that the foot of a white man has never trod. The Indians know every cranny, or at least have known it.

/167 cont./ C 175 648

to conquer the land. His description of the Chiriguano as a cannibalistic race of extremely low standing /168/ surely originated in his own imagination. The tradition about these battles has been preserved in the mountain valleys.

The territory of the Chiriguano, in spite of the centuries-long valiant defense, was conquered, step by step, in the Spanish era. As recently as 1890 part of them made a last attempt at rebellion, but they were defeated, as has been mentioned, in the battle at Curuyuqui, on the plain of Boyuovis. About 5,000 Indians had gathered there and for a whole day fought the whites in an unequal battle against fire-arms. The battle had begun in the morning and it had not yet ended in the evening when it grew dark. - The situation was becoming extremely unpleasant for the whites, since their ammunition was almost gone. Unfortunately, however, the morale of the Indians was broken. They abandoned their entrenchments in the quiet of the night.

C 175 797

Another very important chapter in the history of these Indians is the long and persistent effort of the missionaries to conquer the land of the Indians in a comparatively peaceful manner. This is treated in detail in the literature.

Ee 829

Here, however, I do not wish to speak of the history of these Indians as we know it through the literature, but of the Indian as historian.

C Ce [173]

If one talks to the Indians, they do not know much about their own history; their tradition does not go back very far. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me they had first lived on the upper Rio Parapiti (1), but were driven away from there by a great chief. Some remained where they are now living, others set out through the Chaco to the Rio Paraguay, which river,

Ce 173 648 [13] Ce [113]

1. This is confirmed by Viedma: Descripcion geografica y estadistica de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Coleccion Pedro de Angelis. Buenos Aires, 1836. Vol. III. Pages 180-181.

Ce [167]

C 524 /197 cont./

I saw the "parama" game played by the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley. It is played by two. A button or the like is placed on a stone as a goal, whereupon they throw small round stones made of clay shards. The button is supposed to be struck down, and the one /Figs. 100 and 101 appear here/ who comes closest to it wins a stroke. The game goes on until one of them has five or more strokes, according to agreement.

C Ce 524 The Chané and Chiriguano children also have a number of toys which are illustrated here (Figs. 104-105). One of these, "mou-mou" (Fig. 104), is strange. With it /198/ a buzzing tone is produced if the threads are first twisted and then stretched.

Ce 524

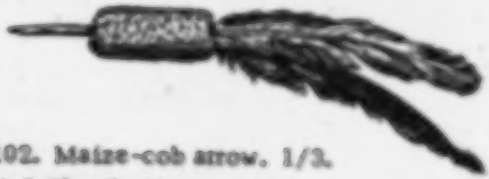


Fig. 102. Maize-cob arrow. 1/3.
"Sóuki." Chané. Rio Parapiti.

Fig. 103. Little stick for the huirahuahua game. 1/3. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

Now I have no doubt properly bored my readers with Indian games and toys. Perhaps I have dwelt too long on this subject, so little studied in South America, which interested me keenly on my journey. As among the Choroti and Ashluslay, I liked playing with the boys. This is also a way of coming closer to the Indians, of winning their confidence.

Ee [123]

Ee 85

Like the Choroti and Ashluslay children, the children of the Chané and Chiriguano are seldom bored; like the former, they are well-behaved and good children. It is usually very lively on the playgrounds in the villages. This is true of the heathen. The children who have fallen into the hands of the monks look melancholy and reserved; they have already been given a taste of what the children of the white man learn, training and the beginning of civilization. "You shall..." "You shall not..."

[797] [177]

C
Ca
855

/210 cont./

accompanies his father on the hunt and feels extraordinarily proud and clever if he is allowed to go home with the "common" hunting booty. The children see and learn. It is fun for them to help father and mother.

Ca
142
291
302
411

Fig. 110. Chané boy. Rio Paraguay.
He has arrows with blunt tips in his hand.

Ca
855
[777]

How different is the child-rearing in the missions, which is based on spying and tattling.

Ca
[736]

Motherless children are taken in by relatives. Here, too, one not infrequently sees older women caressing the children of others.

E
Ea
581

/212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

E
Ea
582

Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

E
[171]

This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Matacco.

E
Ea
595

Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

E
[143]
E
[596]

E
Ea
582

Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

E
577
177
797
831

/214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

E
[857]

E
577
831
175

The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

C 165 /215 cont./
President Belzu in Sucre. The latter governed between 1848-1855; thus, 100-year-old Maringay is obviously not more than about 80. An 80-year-old Indian is therefore the oldest of his tribe.
C 145 Among the Indians one almost always sees /Fig. 112 appears here/ that the one who has grown-up grandchildren is very frail and senile and stands at the brink of the grave. Indian men and women mature very rapidly, but also age quickly. At 50 the Indian is an
C [114] old man, at 70 a so-called centenarian. Im Thurn (1) likewise

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 190.

believes that the Indians do not grow old. /216/ He thinks that
C 142 they seldom reach an age older than 40 or 50.

Maringay's hair was slightly gray. There are some Indian men and women whose hair is almost whitish yellow, but they are
C [145] [164] rare (Fig. 112). I never saw a bald Indian. When they are older, their faces are deeply furrowed. Not infrequently they become blind in old age, less often deaf.

Ee 142 515 Among the Choroti and Ashluslay the appearance of old people is often frightening; they are dirty, emaciated, and bleary-eyed. This is not the case among the Chané and Chiriguano. These Indians know how to grow old in beauty, and even the old people keep themselves nice and clean.

Ee 756 If the Chané or Chiriguano Indian becomes seriously ill, the medicine man is sent for, as among other Indians.

The Chiriguano and Chané distinguish between two kinds of medicine men, whom they call "ipáye" or "ipáyepótchi." The
Ee [754] former are good and lift the spell; the latter are able to lift the spell and to bewitch.

C 756 ● 797 I once jokingly asked a Chiriguano whether Father Bernardino in Ivu was an "ipáye" or an "ipáyepótchi." The Indian answered dutifully, an "ipáye." The position of the missionary among the Indians is that of medicine man; he assumes their power and their influence.

C Ee 756 177 In the preceding I said that the whites in the vicinity of Ivu sent for an Indian medicine man to drive away smallpox.

Ce 323 531 ce [237] [413]

/245 cont./

The coarser vessels, as well as all cooking vessels, are decorated with only finger imprints and clay loops put on them. The finer vessels are subsequently painted (see Pl. 19 /see p. 93/). /246/ With a brush made of agouti hairs (1) the decorations are

1. Dasyprocta.

Ce [386] Ce 323

painted in white, dark brown, and black. The white pigment is a kind of earth (kaolin); the others are made out of slate and sandstone. They paint freehand and compose the decorations from memory, not from models. Wood, maize cobs, and cow excrement are heaped around the vessel. The fuel is lighted and must burn with a vigorous fire for a quarter of an hour or, if the vessel is large, even longer (Fig. 122).

Ce [314] [824]

If the vessel has been painted, it is varnished with resin, "taraviruti," which is collected from a Mimosoideae, and with resin from the palo santo (see p. 93 /untranslated; Palosanto is identified there as Bulnesia Sarmienti/). The former gives a yellowish polish; the latter looks like greenish-black glaze.

Ce [789]

When a pot is made, it is baptized before it has cooled, so that water will boil rapidly in it.

C 531 323 386

In Maringay's village individual vessels were painted with a mixture of urucú or some other color and a vegetable fat. I was unable to see how this latter was prepared.

Ee 286

The Chiriguano and Chané women are skillful weavers. The material for the Indian weaving is, as a rule, cotton and sometimes sheep wool.

Ee [439] [177]

Since large quantities of cloth are imported by the whites, native weaving is disappearing more and more. Thus, I did not see any looms among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley, and native woven goods were very rare.

Ee 286 531 [797]

As a rule, all the weaving of these Indians is without ornamentation, or else this is very simple. The girls in the missions learn from the monks how to embroider all kinds of flowers, such as roses, violets, etc. They do this superbly.

Ee
286
531
[797]

/246 cont./

Strangely enough, after they leave the sewing class, the Indian women cease to use these decorations. It would be better if the missionaries taught the Indian children /247/ decorations connected with their imaginative life. The results of their work would then be entirely different.

Ce
286
532
177

A couple of generations ago a few Chané women learned from a Quichua woman how to weave decorations which

C
286
531

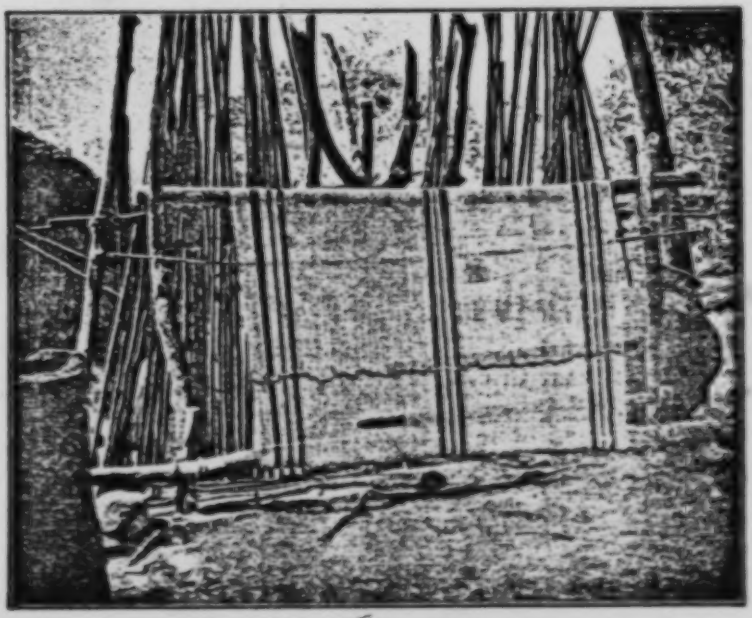


Fig. 123. Loom. Chiriguano.
Tihuīpa.

Ce
286
532
[171]

one still sees on various Chané fabrics. They were stylized animals and human beings. Plant ornamentation does not make much impression on the Indian women. Animal and human figures stimulate their imagination, and they teach them to their children.

6: Nordenskiöld--147 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/297/

Chapter Eighteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

The Catholic Missions among the Chiriguano

Gradually all the Indians are bound to come under the influence of the whites. This is unavoidable. Day by day the areas in which they still live independently are diminishing. As soon as their territories have been conquered, they will be forced, in one way or another, to work for the whites and to become completely dependent on them. As a rule, they are also badly treated, exploited, and morally ruined.

In this unfortunate situation it is therefore fortunate that there have been and are self-sacrificing human beings who have done something and are willing to do something to help the Indians. These persons are the missionaries. It cannot be denied that they have tried and succeeded in doing important civilizing work among them. Enthusiasm and a willingness for self-sacrifice are required in order to become a missionary. No one could, for his own pleasure, spend his whole life in regions where the solitude must be terrible in the long run and where life offers no diversions or enjoyments.

For the missionary, the work of religious conversion is the most important thing. He wants to save souls from hell, "tatahuasurenda" (1). Fortunately, the Catholic missionaries

1. Tatahuasurenda = where the big fire is. Guarani word invented by the missionaries.

are wise enough to /298/ think a little about this life and to strive for improvement in the material conditions of life of the Indians.

Ee /298 cont./

177 797 The Indian, who loves an independent life, but is forced into the dance of civilization, does not want to become a mission child, but chooses this as the lesser evil. In the mission he is under guardians, but not under oppressors.

Ce 797 When my friend, the Chané Indian Batirayu, of whom I have spoken several times here, asked me whether it would not be best to ask the missionaries to come to the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, he thought of them as rescuers from the oppression of the white masters.

C 797 When I asked the Chiriguano chief Maringay whether he did not want missionaries to come to his village, the old man became quite indignant and said peevishly: "I have not done anything bad."

Ee 797 177 The greatest importance of the missionaries lies in the fact that they try to protect the Indians from the oppression and the vices of the whites. I have been pleased to see how the missionaries forbid liquor, the accursed liquor, in the mission stations.

Nevertheless, I do not believe in the future of the missions. It seems to me they are condemned to oblivion. To the extent that the Indians are given better treatment by the other whites and receive proper compensation for their work, they will leave the missions and forsake the guardianship of the Franciscan monks.

The missionaries, however, will always have the honor of having tried, at least to some extent, to protect the Indians from the other Christians. They have also earned honor for the studies they have made of the language, manners, and customs of the Indians.

Fear of the Rubber Regions

C 648 466 167 In a previous chapter I spoke of the migration of the Indians to Argentina. In the /299/ northernmost territory of the Chiriguano Indians another emigration is taking place. It differs from the first, among other things, by the fact that it is not voluntary. It concerns the rubber regions in northeastern

gave regular battle to the whites. This battle, in which about 5,000 Chiriguano Indians took part, was fought at Curuyqui, on the tableland of Boyuovis. The result of the struggle was long undecided, but the Indians were at length compelled to give way before the superior weapons of the whites. 181 648

According to a Chiriguano legend, man's soul, some time after corporeal death, comes to the abode of the great spirit Tumpà, where it enjoys to the full everything in which it delighted during its earthly existence. But no joy is permanent. When the soul has spent its allotted time with Tumpà, it is obliged to return to the world and there enter into the body of a fox. When the fox dies, the soul moves into a rat, and, when this animal dies, into a branch of an old tree in the forest. The tree ages, withers away and dies and, as the branch decays, the soul, too, gradually perishes. When the branch has finally become mould, the flame of the soul is extinguished for ever. 775

797.

Fig. 232. A large wooden cross raised near the Franciscan mission for Chiriguano, at Aguayrenda. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[pp. 226-268 not processed]

C 114 /2 cont./ outside of the Toba, whom I met only in passing, I got to know on this journey the Chiriguano and the Izozó, who, like the former, speak a dialect of the Guaraní language; the Tapieté, Churupí, Mataco, and Chorote. All of these Indian tribes are not unknown in ethnological literature. On Chiriguano history we are oriented through old documents from even the first years of the Spanish conquest, and we owe to the Franciscan missionaries, who have taught among them for a long time, quite important ethnological publications. The Churupí have been studied minutely under the name Ashluslay by Erland Nordenskiöld, and the Oblates of Immaculate Mary in Esteros and Lake Escalante are striving intensively to make ethnological investigations. I have proposed to deal with all of these tribes systematically. This survey will be made on the basis of the results of my journey, and I begin in this first publication with the Chiriguano and Izozó.

C Cc [197] C 175 114 797 A 114 101 C 121

General Information

C Cc 174 361

As I said in the introduction to this work, I first met the Chiriguano in Machareti and the Izozó in the area around the fort of Toledo and in the fort "15 de Agosto," several kilometers from the former two.

Figure 1 presents a view of Machareti, a Chiriguano town created in its present form by the Franciscan mission. When the Paraguayan army retook Machareti, it had already been abandoned by the Padres, and now a Chiriguano, in the role of commissioner /comisario/, is the chief of the town, there also being a few caciques. The houses, more or less in the form of modern ranchos (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 /see p.40 /), are on both sides of wide streets which run parallel and at right angles, as in most of the towns of the former Spanish colonies. When I was present in Machareti, there was great need /3/ among these Indians because of the severe drought which had ruined their plantings, which were some distance from the town. At the side of the ranchos are often found deposits which were structures of native houses built on sticks. Although

C 361 [632] [797] C [342] [363] C [731] C [342] 000

1 [See P. 8 -- Analyst]

/3 cont./ Although

C 799 177 178 126 many primordial customs of the Chiriguano have been lost because of the influence of the missions, there have nevertheless been preserved a sufficient number of native objects to make a relatively complete ethnological collection among these Indians.

Ce 648 167 361 The Izozó, having abandoned their homes in the regions of the lower Parapití River during the Chaco War, had been provisionally moved to the environs of the fort of Toledo and the fort "15 de Agosto," where they were living in ranchos abandoned by the soldiers. In the environs of the forts they Ce 241 311 731 169 [361] had scratched out large fields for their plantings, but, because of the great drought, they had had no chance to plant, with the result that part of them had already returned to the western region when I was in these forts. When I began my return from Machareti, a large part of them were near the fort Ce 162 of Carandayty. According to the data kindly given me by the Toledo military authorities, the number of Izozó who had come to Toledo and "15 de Agosto" up to June 30, 1935, reached 1,647 adults, 724 minors, and 122 small children, a total of 2,493 souls. On August 24, the end of my stay in Toledo, there were in this fort and in "15 de Agosto" only 503 adults, 141 minors, and 26 small children, most of them having returned to the west by this time.

Ce 101 [199] These Izozó Indians, who speak a dialect of the Guaraní language, indignantly reject the name Chiriguano. They say that they are Guaraní and Paraguayans and that their name is Ce 101 114 Izozó. Up to now I have not seen this name in ethnological literature and it does not appear in Moreno's work, Cuestión de Límites con Bolivia /Question of Boundaries with Bolivia/, Vol. II. Only on the map of Bolivia drawn by the engineer Franz Germann (Hamburg, 1904) is there noted between the Rio Grande and the Rio Parapití the name "Izozeños." The Ce 101 [361] Izozó near Toledo told me that their homes were in the region of the estuaries of the lower Parapití. Since these Indians rejected not only the name Chiriguano but also the name Chané

C
Gi
175
648
797

/10 cont./

At the end of the 18th century relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards modified to the point that from this time on the mission managed to propagate the faith somewhat more among the Chiriguano. In 1779 the Intendente of Cochabama, Don Tomás Leso, after a bitter struggle, defeated the Saypuru faction, which was the one most feared. Later the reduction of Florida was formed on the western shore of the Guapay, with some hundreds of families who had not assisted the Saypurú faction and so, fearing their vengeance, followed the Spaniards (36). Several years later a few other

36. Moreno II, p. 244.

missions were founded by the Franciscans, together with the fort at Saypurú, as a defense for the missions. But by 1799 the Chiriguano had attacked six of these missions, devastating them completely (37). A strong campaign against the

37. Moreno II, p. 245.

Chiriguano, directed by Intendente Viedma in person, had not had any success at all, the army of 2,000 men having turned back when their officers were killed by the enemy. In spite of this the missionaries repaired the destroyed reductions (38).

38. Moreno II, p. 246.

According to the notes of Father Antonio Comajuncosa (39),

39. Moreno II, pp. 246 and 247. A historical manifesto of what the missionaries of Tarija have wrought.

there already existed in the year 1810, 18 missions among the Chiriguano in the southern zone of the Pilcomayo River. Through the influence of the missions and through both violent

/14 cont./

131 without our having any information on their stopping place. Some Chorote live in the territory of the Chiriguano, near Yacuiba, and also, without counting the missions, the whole territory has been penetrated by whites and mestizos.

[563] [797]

131 174 According to these data given by Nordenskiöld, the territory of the Chiriguano, after their definitive subjection by the whites and up to the present time, has remained the same as that which they had at the time of their independence, except, it would seem, that they have come down more into the valleys and do not now live, as was stated in the 16th century documents, on top of the inaccessible mountains, which, as natural fortresses, offered them a secure refuge during their expeditions.

Towns and Houses

361 177 The arrangement of the towns and the form of the houses of the Chiriguano are not at the present time the primordial ones, and they have probably passed through two different transformations, one after the other, first under the influence of the architecture of Inca culture and later the architecture of the whites. /15/ According to the Annua de la Compañía de Jesús Tucumán and Peru, of the year 1596, the Chiriguano towns were composed of only a few houses that were large enough to house as many as 100 persons. In his "Descripción breve de toda la tierra del Perú, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata y Chile /A Brief Description of all the Land of Peru, Tucumán, Río de la Plata, and Chile/," Father Lizarraga (56) describes the Chiriguano

361 340 [113]

56. Madrid, 1909. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 15. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

towns in the following way: "The largest of the towns is one of five houses: the common number is three; but they are very long, more than 150 paces, with a two-sloped roof with posts in the middle, upon which the framework is constructed, and one kin group /parentela/ lives between one post and the next one."

/15 cont./

342 171 "In 1627 the Jesuits found near Yapeyú a Guaraní aldea with four houses in which some 100 Indians lived. They found identical dwellings in San Ignacio and nearby regions. These houses were quadrangular and extremely long, often in excess of 50 meters."

361 177 178 Even during the time of their independence the Chiriguano had departed from the primordial construction of their towns, which had served in the first place for defense, since at the end of the 18th century Viedma describes their houses as "a few small ranchos made of cane" (61).

[113] 61. Viedma, Francisco de: Descripción de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra /Description of the Province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra/, Colección Angelis, Vol. 3, Buenos Aires, 1836, written 1793, p. 181. Cited by Nordenskiöld.

000 Photographs of Chiriguano Towns (tenta) and Houses (o)

I.C. 353. Chiriguano town, Machareti (Fig. 1).
I.C. 355. Scene in the town of Machareti (Fig. 17).
I.C. 356. Chiriguano in front of their house in Machareti (Fig. 14).
I.C. 357. Chiriguano storehouse in Machareti (Fig. 16).
I.C. 358. Chiriguano boys in front of their rancho in Machareti (Fig. 15).

361 [199] [363] [177] The Chiriguano town of Machareti was built in its present form by Franciscan missionaries, with wide, parallel, and right-angled streets, following the common form of old Spanish colonies, since their construction is not a product of the indigenous Chiriguano culture. But in parts, the houses and [343] primarily the maize storehouses built on posts, correspond to the houses of other Chiriguano towns, on which we have information from Erland Nordenskiöld and Eric v. Rosen (62).

62. Nord. 1, pp. 173, 176. Nord. 2, pp. 1-3. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 191 and 192, Figs. 188-192.

/82 cont./

Ee 531 Figure 33b, which corresponds, as does also the form of this flute, completely to ancient Peruvian models. Also, the surface of the Chiriguano cane flute I. A. 494 (cf. Fig. 34a /see p. 89/) shows some incisings.

One of the tattooed decorations is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld, who found it on a woman's arm (310).

310. Nord. 1, Fig. 108.

Social Conditions among the Chiriguano and Chané

C Ce 114 With regard to the social conditions among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I am unable to add to the few data which we know on this subject because the situations in which I found myself when with these Indians were not appropriate for such investigations.

Ce 115 124 126 /83/ Among the Izozó whom I found in Toledo there were some who were designated as cacique. To one of these, who spoke Spanish perfectly, I owe the vocabulary of the Izozó language which I wrote down. I met the Chiriguano only in C 114 Machareti, where they had lived for a long time under the supervision of the missionaries and, at the time of my trip, under 197 the chieftainship of one of their own fellows who exercised the 622 functions of a commissioner /comisario/. Two other Chiriguano Indians whom I met in Machareti were identified as caciques.

Ee 129 In order to complete my statements about the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I must make a resumé of what we know from the literature regarding the social conditions of those Indians, referring to Moreno's statements, which are based on old documents, as well as those of v. Nordenskiöld, which are based upon his own investigations.

Ee 178 648 643 000 Naturally, many of the old Chiriguano and Chané social institutions have been lost since they lost their independence from the whites. Also, the power of the great caciques has diminished appreciably since they have been dependent on the whites. When Nordenskiöld

Ce 692 643 68

/89 cont./
of the deceased (359).

359. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 421

Private property is highly respected among the Chiriguano. According to Métraux, even the closest relatives cannot make use of the property of one of them without his consent. The possession of a piece of land is guaranteed to a Chiriguano by planting any plant on it or by clearing the circumference of the land required and making large slashes in the trees. When he selects a plot for his planting, the Chiriguano examines it carefully to determine that there are no traces of a previous planting (360).

C 423

360. Métraux I, pp. 334 and 340.

C 241 476 [622]

After the land selected for the planting has been cleared, relatives and friends are called together to help with the work. Formerly, the cacique of the town also took part by keeping watch for the workers (361).

361. Métraux I, p. 337.

/90/

Religion

C Ce 797 971 178 538

In their many years of activity the missions have naturally influenced notably the religious notions of the Chiriguano and Chané. Most of them today are Christians. Some still retain part of their primordial ideas, expressed in their legends. I shall limit myself here to referring the reader again to the Chané legends taken down by Nordenskiöld (362) and mentioned several times in the preceding.

362. Nord. 1, pp. 251-296.

/90 cont./

000 preceding. I must also cite A. Métraux's publication, "Les
792 Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguano e dans l'Amérique de Sud
[113] Men-Gods among the Chiriguano and in South America/" (363).

363. In the Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, No. 1, Tucumán, 1931.

in which he deals with the cases, repeated several times, in which some individuals among the Chiriguano appear as Messiahs and, acquiring many proselytes, gave the mission administrations much to do.

796 [126] Plaited Objects Used in Religious Celebrations, from the Collection

I. A. 1439. (Chiriguano) Length 70 cm. (Fig. 43b.)
I. A. 1440. " " 37 cm. (Fig. 43a.)

[171] Plaited objects like those mentioned above are also very com-
796 mon among the Paraguayans and made in the same way. This
● 797 custom of making such plaited figures and having them blessed,
177 as the Chiriguano also do, is connected with the Catholic ritual, and the Chiriguano no doubt received it from the missionaries along with the other rites of the Catholic religion (364).

364. See the opposite opinion of Métraux I. p. 462.

532 The masks that the Chiriguano make to carry during the Carnival
[529] fiestas are also modern objects. Some such Chiriguano masks are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and Métraux (365).

365. Nord. 1, Fig. 119. Métraux I. Plate 86 and Fig. 121.

415
531
[99]

[108]

Plate LXIX

/See p. 264 for caption./

1: Métraux--264 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
531

/Caption: for Plates LXI-LXXI, pp. 252-262 cont./

LXVII Incised, pyrographed, and painted calabashes. Prov.: 1, Caratindi (Igũembé); 2 and 6, Macharetí; 3, Tiwiraiti; 4, Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo); 5, Caipipendí. Remarks: On No. 3, more or less deformed numbers. Calabash No. 4 is painted, pyrographed, and incised. (Nos. 1-3 and 5 /sic/ = 1/?; 4-5 /sic/ = 1/5 approximate nat. size.)

LXVIII Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Prov.: 1, Ñawirenda; 2 a and b, Caratindi (Igũembé Valley); 3 a and b, Yumbía; 4, Ibopeytí. Remark: On No. 3 a and b a very stylized bird has been represented. (Nos. 1-3 = 1/2; 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

LXIX Pyrographed and incised calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1 and 3, Caipipendí; 2 and 4, Macharetí; 5, Tiwiraiti (upper Pilcomayo); 6, Ñawirenda (upper Pilcomayo). Remarks: Calabash No. 1 is decorated with a series of engraved numbers going from 1 to 10; Calabash No. 6 with motifs clearly European in inspiration. (Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 6 = 1/2; 2 and 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

[801]
[199]

LXX Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1 and 4, Tarairi; 2, Macharetí; 3, Caipipendí. (Nos. 1 and 2 = 1/3; 3 = 1/2; 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

LXXI Painted, incised, and pyrographed calabashes. Prov.: 1, Ivu; 2, Igũembé; 3 and 4, Caipipendí. (Nos. 1-3 = 1/2; 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

/229 cont./

304 759 881 same operation, because he never takes one alone. There must always be two, four, six, eight, or ten (2).

2. In a town of 30 or 40 families there was usually never any lack of boys of the same age. The number of the boys to be pierced should never be an odd number: superstition and nothing else.

[801]

304 881 The boys appear for the operation on the designated day, led by their fathers and mothers. Meanwhile, other curious [985] persons gather there, men, women, boys, and girls, to see [114] and /230/ attend this solemn act, which, as I have learned, is not preceded by any day of fasting; thus what certain writers have said in this regard is wrong, as is the rest that refers to the person who does the operation, for whom the qualification of being an Ipaye, sorcerer, is not required for the imposition of the tembeta.

Before beginning the operation the surgeon authoritatively addresses those who are to be men, telling them to be valiant and strong in their pain, without letting their moans be heard or crying, because these are not the signs of a brave man, of a man who wears the tembeta, which is the sign of virility, of [195] a man who must be able to face the dangers of war. Finally, he orders them that it is time to give up the ü, ö in their answers, and in its place he orders them to replace it with Ts.

When this brief and eloquent discourse is over, the first boy stretches out on the ground or on a cot, and in order to give himself courage he says in a vibrant voice, Che rani tayicutuca, may I be the first to be pierced, words which are greeted by the gathering with jubilation and at the same time with wonder, since they already know the pain that he is going to suffer (1).

[195] [193]

1. The Chiriguano Indian also uses the imperative to order himself, that is to say, his verbs still have the first person of the imperative mood, which indicates considerable arrogance.

/380 cont./

296 spread among the Chiriguano recently for it has not yet spread throughout the territory they inhabit. The Chiriguano who live far removed from the half-breed or Indian populations of the Cordillera are not "coqueros," and only rarely does one meet among them some old man who accepts a quid of coca.

296 Ivu is the last point toward the east and north where I could distribute my supply of coca to advantage. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 85-91) sought to demonstrate that the custom of blackening the teeth went along cheek by jowl with that of chewing coca and derived from it. As a matter of fact, this habit has a very marked western distribution and follows the zone of coca cultivation.

296 The Chiriguano mix each quid of coca with the ashes reaped from a tree (ulala) whose scientific name I do not know. These ashes (tanimbo), which corresponds to the llicta of the Quichua, are contained in a small leather bag.

296 Coca is a luxury commodity which the Quichua Indians or half-breeds come to sell to the Chiriguano. To avoid all argument and all fraud on the part of unscrupulous sellers, the Chiriguano have recourse to balances of their own making. They fabricate them with /381/ two calabashes cut in half to serve as scales (Figs. 54 and 55). The balance with scales was in use in pre-Hispanic times /Fig. 54 appears here/ in the ancient Inca Empire (see Nordenskiöld, 16) and so I believed at first that among the Chiriguano it represented a survival of /Fig. 55 appears here/ the Andean influence, whose importance we shall see further on. Among the Chiriguano, however, this object is designated by the Spanish name /382/ mbalanza, which seems to indicate that they borrowed it from the half-breeds. The latter and the Quichua use them in their commercial transactions, but especially for weighing the precious coca. Perhaps it was the same in prehistoric times. There is nothing to prove that only metals were weighed, as has been supposed with respect to these ancient scales.

For weights the Chiriguano use old Bolivian silver coins and express measures according to the old Spanish system. By a tacit convention a coin worth two modern sous is the equivalent of one ounce.

1: Métraux--148 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Modern Quechua SE24
Q
804
405

Fig. 54. Balance with scales in use among the Quichua half-breeds of the Tarija region. Prov.: Narvaez River. (1/5 nat. size.)

C
804
405

Fig. 55. Balance (mbalanza) in use among the Chiriguano for weighing coca. Prov.: Saladito (upper Pilcomayo).

/382 cont./

804 439 [177] The Chiriguano measure the cloth which Syrian peddlers come to offer them with varas, that is, a stick about 80 centimeters long, the length of the ancient Spanish vara. This instrument has been borrowed from the Bolivian half-breeds.

Chapter VI

121 Art among the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

To Professor Félix F. Outes.

The artistic sense of the Chiriguano is manifested in pottery decoration, pyrography, and wood carving.

We shall study these three activities one after the other.

Pottery Technique

114 323 The Chiriguano pottery technique has been studied briefly by Campana (p. 54), following Father Giannechini's notes, and by Outes (3, pp. 122-123), who adds some details communicated to him by the naturalist Holmberg to the ones he took from Campana's work. Nordenskiöld (1 and 10, pp. 142-147) completed on many points Campana's brief survey, so that I myself shall have few new things to note.

317 323 The clay used by Chiriguano potters comes from beds well known to the Indians, where they go from time to time to lay in fresh supplies. It is enough to see old vessels full of earth around a hut to know that a woman lives there still practicing the ancestral industry. Where adequate clay is [439] lacking, pottery is imported. Thus in the Tigüipa mission all the vessels in use were made in Macharetí.

323 In order to be used the clay must be degreased with powder /383/ coming from potsherds. Fragments of old vessels are ground in a mortar until after being put through a sieve, they give a fine powder which is kneaded for a rather

/230 cont./

304 Then the one doing the operation looks among his imple-
881 ments for the string with which he takes the exact measure-
[304] ments so that the hole will be in the middle and above the
304 chin. Then he prepares the Guasupirasa, which literally means:
413 piercer of the cured skin of pygmy deer. Certain writers have
881 believed that the guasupirasa is a pygmy-deer horn on the
[114] basis of the name guasu, with which the name of the article begins, but it is a mistake. The guasupirasa is a round piece of iron of the size of a costalera needle, which they call Yargũ in Quichua /Quechua/ (2).

> 2. If it were a slender deer-horn, it would be liable to break, and if it were slightly sharpened the hole would be very large and it would be difficult to hold the first tembeta, which should be small. There would be many other problems, which are avoided with the slender and strong iron.

304 As I have said, he takes the appropriate measurements
881 with a string; he puts his hand on his guasupirasa, and upon seeing this the mother is frightened and weeps in silence, and the other people shrink back. Finally, utilizing the services of another practitioner, he has him press very strongly with the index fingers of both hands at the edges of the temples, at the point where the ears are attached, and when he is sure /231/ that the boy keenly feels the pain that the assistant's fingers cause in his ears he quickly and deftly inserts the well-sharpened iron, and the hole is made with considerable skill, the Guasupirasa passing up to the tip of the nose.

He at once puts a hollow little tube of tin on the iron and lowers it little by little in order to pull it out of the pierced lip, where instead there remains in place the little tube, which sticks out a little on both sides of the lip. In
[301] Chiriguano this tube is called Tembetandi, or white tembeta.

/192 cont./ C Ce 524

On the Rio Pilcomayo three pins were used on each side. The distance between the pins of the opponent was three ells. Ee Each pin consisted of a shelled ear of maize, and the distance between them was supposed to be a hand span (1). The balls [804] [323]

1. Longest distance between thumb and little finger.

used are made of fired clay and are hollow, with small, rattling pellets inside (Fig. 99). /Plate 17 appears here./

C Ce 524

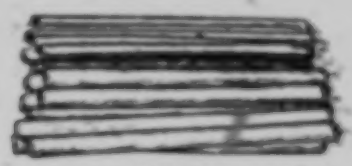


Fig. 95.
Little sticks for the tshócareta game. 2/9.

/193/ The Life of the Indian Children C Ce 855

If one speaks of the life in the villages, one must not forget the children. The children play, but also help the adults. They are reared like the Choroti and Ashluslay children. They spend their lives in happy freedom, without thrashings and harsh words.

The Chiriguano and Chané children have a number of games and toys which one never sees the children of the whites in Bolivia use, and all of which seem to me to be genuinely Indian. Ee 524

First of all, the Indian children play the games of the adults that I have already mentioned. Of the Choroti and Ashluslay games, they are familiar with the hockey-like game of ball, which the Chiriguano call "tâca." I did not see it played among the Chané. As goals they use pits, and sometimes they hit the Ee 857 526 [171]

[text continues on p. 47] ball with rackets.

/128 cont./

121 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not show Him homage in some way.

771 124 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find out with special care, constancy, and assiduousness what religion they profess and what type of worship they render to their divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

[115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion, and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt true, however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

776 775

[805] [791] [192] 1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the months by moons, and they have other very similar customs. It is very notable that they also have some Hebrew words.

577 791 /129/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is, natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts, since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/234/

Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

Ee 178 527 273 [538] [805]

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Ee 273 415 527 531

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

Ee 531 [527] [323] [462]

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

Ee [N1]

Ce 821 /294 cont./
"yánduinyaka," the head of the ostrich; the two largest stars in Centaurus are "yánduipoy," necklace of the ostrich; Venus is called "coemilla," morning. Orion with the sword "hiirayiasa" (birds meet). Another constellation is "huázupucu," roebuck horn; another, "borévi," tapir. They call the Pleiades "ychu," but they do not know the meaning of the name, and this is the most important constellation of all.

Ee 821 If one sits with the Indians in their huts, they can indicate the position of the most important constellations in the sky without seeing them. They know their position at all times of the year.

Ee 821 •805 Ee [241] The starry sky is not only the watch and the compass of the Indians. It is also their calendar. In this the Pleiades play an especially important part here, as among other Indians. When they first /295/ become visible on the horizon at dawn, the proper time has come for the sowing of maize. The fact that this relatively unimportant constellation plays such an important role in the astronomy of the Indians has given rise to fantastic speculations about Babylonian influence.

Ee 821 If one asks Indians about the size of the stars and their distance from us, they stand there perplexed and prefer not to answer at all. They understand, however, that they must be far away.

C 821 773 The stars do not play an important role in the legends. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, however, said there was once a brother who was playing with his little sister. They tried to catch each other, they sang and jumped. Now they are sitting in the firmament as two stars.

Two clusters of stars in the southern part of the southern firmament are the ashes of an old man and an old woman, a Chiriguano once told me. It was an evening in August.

Ce [821] [773] In legends, the sun is a man and the moon a woman. The Chané children stole fire from an old man, the sun, and the two-headed Yahuéte hid under the tiru of the moon-woman when he was being pursued by the son of the armadillo-god.

/65/

Chapter Two

Origin, Language, Statistics

Introduction

There are many men, even among those who are considered wise, who on the great question of the origin of man pay homage to certain theories which sane reason, good logic, and well-understood science reject as absurd.

The ultimate absurdity in this series of disquisitions is the delirium of Darwin, who would have man, a rational being, originally descend from another being that was irrational, that is, the monkey. /The remainder of p. 65 and the first four paragraphs of p. 66 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 66 follows./

What can properly be called history develops in peoples to the extent that they have advanced along the path of civilization.

Savage tribes cannot have a history in the strict sense of the word, because they lack civilization and the adequate means for obtaining it, principally writing. The latter is doubtless the great lever which has raised peoples from their penetration and ignorance.

173 It is certain that the Chiriguano do not have a written history, but they do not lack certain traditions, more or less fabulous, with respect to their origin.

/67/ And as for matters dealing with that history which we could call modern, they do have knowledge of relatively recent epochs, the truth of which cannot be doubted, inasmuch as these historical facts are related to the conquest of these regions by the Spaniards, as will be seen in the following section.

/334 cont./

241 Before taking possession of a new plot of land the
423 Chiriguano is always careful to make sure that there is no trace
243 of previous cultivation. Otherwise the former owner or his
[685] descendants would have the right to lodge a complaint against him to the chief of the village.

[824] The Chiriguano makes known his new property right by planting any edible plant before the rainy season, for example, the large squash (gindako-wasu) which spreads everywhere and is not smothered by the underbrush. He can equally well insure possession of the chosen terrain by knocking down the underbrush all around and making big gashes in the trees (1).

[171] 1. Compare this manner of insuring property rights with the method observed by the Caxinawa /Cashinawa/ in the same circumstances: "I saw (an Indian is speaking) rising ground which is suitable for a planting. I am going to make a planting for this summer. I broke many branches on this hill to mark this excellent place. No one can make his clearing on this hill. This hill is excellent; do not go there to make your planting." (Abreu, p. 69.)

241 In the middle of the dry season, say, in August, the
243 Indian, with a long stick sharp on both sides, fells the underbrush which encumbers his future field and sets fire to it. This operation has the further advantage of fertilizing the soil, thanks to the bed of ashes, which is a rather good fertilizer.

The cultivated fields are usually cleaned up after the harvest.
[231] The domestic animals, who feed there with little expense, are first let out there, and then the fields are set afire.

[221] Sowing takes place in the month of November when the first rainstorms have softened the soil. This time is announced by
1 • [821] the appearance of the Pleiades (itsu) above the horizon early in the morning.

532 /480 cont./

Figure 11. Guanaco (José Miguel).

[821] Figure 12. (A)a blue jaguar who lives in the sky (personification of the spots on the moon) getting ready to eat the moon (B) and the sun (C), thus bringing on an eclipse.

Chapter XIV

The Treatment of Illnesses

Sorcerers and Remedies

956 178 [123] Sorcerers. Medicine men have become so rare among the Chiriguano that I could not get to know a one during my whole trip. Only on the upper Pilcomayo did they allude in front of me to a talented paye who lived in a nearby village.

Although great sorcerers endowed with supernatural powers and surrounded with great prestige no longer exist, there still must be in each village a man or woman capable of curing certain illnesses and of pronouncing incantations.

A scene I witnessed at Timboy (Salado River, upper Pilcomayo) demonstrates well that the profession of sorcerer, less important though it may be, has nevertheless not disappeared. I was living in the home of a Bolivian half-breed whose [122] child's body was covered with purulent pimples. His parents began by appealing to my medical knowledge, but I declared myself incompetent to treat this case or any other. They then 75 called an old Indian woman, who appeared one morning with [824] a plant in her hand, a kind of wild pumpkin which the half-breeds call sandía del monte. This plant, crushed and mixed with hot water, is used for external washing. They stretched the child out on the ground and commanded him to hold himself motionless. The old woman sat down near him and began to mutter inaudible incantations which she interrupted only to spit often on the limbs of the little patient. Then she would take up her recitation again, at the same time spreading the saliva over his body from head to feet. Nordenskiold (5, p. 44,

/464 cont./

[464] [757] [824]

4. To stop dysentery, one must drink a decoction made of corn and watermelon seeds ground together.

[239]

5. Stitches in the side are treated by drinking a fragment of armadillo shell ground up and by rubbing the ailing place with a portion of this same calabash heated.

6. Tumors and swellings of the throat or knee are made to disappear by applying on the sore region the leaves of a shrub called urukuna, heated in a pot. Another herb (yundurimbiu) has the same virtue.

/465/ Urukuna leaves put in compresses on the skull dissipate headaches, protect one from congestion, and cure erysipelas. The leaves of yandipa (bedondillo) have all the virtues of urukuna.

7. Hemorrhages are stopped by means of latex or the roasted leaf of the liana supuapempe.

8. Kaa-upaya is an efficacious herb in cases of stomach ailments; and soto root cures pains in the feet (rheumatism?).

9. Guaya is a liana which cures any swelling in the side.

[153] [821]

10. Goiter, rare among the Indians, is attributed by them to the sun. They treat it with tutío, a yellow fruit which reminds one of an apple, or by putting around the neck compresses of the blood of the gallinazo, carancho, or banduria, kinds of vultures.

11. Ophthalmia or conjunctivitis is doctored with drops extracted from the bark of the algarrobillo or with the glue taken from the bud of the membirá plant. The leaves of yandi-wope are excellent for cases of ophthalmia.

12. A variety of caraguatá makes diarrhea stop.

13. The flower kaa-ro (bitter herb) cures skin eruptions and is as good for malaria.

14. The herb inái (tooth of water) is a remedy against whooping cough, which can also be treated with an infusion made of boiled or roasted wasps and drunk warm.

15. Tingi bark attached around the belly is excellent for fighting dropsy, as are the leaves of the aturu (palo de india), a tree reminiscent of laurel, or the herb kaa-paye, taken as an infusion.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipeye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial felines.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/11 cont./

133 From Igüembre Canton natural and artificial lakes begin to appear, the first ones end in Cuevo Canton and the later ones begin to appear from Buyuive, vice-Canton of Ñancaroinza, and continue through Caipipendi, Carandaiti, and Parapiti, on the right bank. Some of them may well dry up during the year, but if the rains are plentiful they will easily last until the new rainy season. The lakes are a great benefit in the arid zones, and without them there would be no life, since there is none where they are lacking; it is precisely through the lack of water that it is difficult to cross the plains of the Gran Chaco to get to Paraguay more quickly. A railroad from Santa Cruz to Isoso and from the east to Oriente in a straight line would avoid all difficulty; it would be 100 leagues through level, only slightly irregular terrain.

Climate

132 ●821 Without taking into consideration an occasional isolated exception, in the entire area or in most of it we can state as a general principle, through experience, that in the vast region inhabited by the Chiriguano race there are only two seasons of the year, called summer and /12/ winter, despite which they distinguish by name four seasons, "Aracu, Roi, Maentiha, Ipiroha," hot, cold, planting, and harvest, or summer, winter, spring, and fall.

132 The two seasons of which I speak are very marked: the summer by the abundance of rain, and the winter by drought. The first rains begin in the month of November or sometimes at the end of October, increase gradually and are frequent in the month of January, scarce in February, irregular in March, and generally stop in the month of April, or after Easter. The rains are preceded and accompanied by lightning and thunder, which fill one with fear, especially when there is added to them violent wind, and they end leaving in the air an incomparable freshness; rarely does rain fall calmly as in other parts of the world.

The rain is nearly always brought by the south wind, rarely by the others, and never or almost never by the north wind. In the area now inhabited by the Chiriguano snow is almost never seen; on rare occasions it falls in the highest

/143 cont./

Prayers

771 Certainly the fact that this race does not have external manifestations of worship greatly attracts the attention of men of science and missionaries. The Chiriguano is born and grows like a little lamb is born and grows. They do not know where they come from, and all of their actions are reduced to pure nature. The Chiriguano never raises his mind or his heart upward. He discusses the firmament; he counts the stars and [821] even separates them into groups as though by astronomical principles; he admires the grandiosity of the sun and of the moon, he understands the beneficence of the nourishing world, but the totality remains mute and silent before the works of nature or [782] of creation. Visible things do not lead the intelligence of the Chiriguano to the knowledge of the Cause of such effects, and inasmuch as he has a rather vague idea of God, he does not offer worship to Him or to anything which resembles Him.

782 It is consequently useless to look for idols in this country, just as it is extremely useless to inquire about temples or hermitages for religious gatherings. Prayers, however much they may be investigated, are very abridged, if there are any, and are not worth being called such, because they are rather a kind of boasting by the one uttering them, in order that all may see that he is eloquent in speaking. This is what they do in the general gatherings when they drink for many days and eat in the [539] plaza. Enthusiasm comes in the heat of drinking, and, on seeing an immense multitude, someone will raise his voice, saying more or less the following: Cheru Tunpa, icaviño taicó, pucu emeé cheve cherecovena, cherimbiuna emoñimoña cheve, tacherori catu taicó, anu tamano. My God, make me be well off, give me a long life, make my food be produced, give me happiness, do not allow me to die (2).

[761] 2. The only thing that the Chiriguano wants is to live forever, but he sees that it is impossible and contents himself with expressing his vehement desire, but he does not believe that death comes to him naturally.

/143 cont./

000 The sun is a beneficent star; it gives us light, warms us in winter, causes food to grow for men and animals, /144/ it is a creation which God has put in the world so that, as a second cause it will maintain the universe and all things in it, this being the principal virtue granted to it by the Maker of all things.

821 782 The Chiriguano understands the virtue of the sun to the extent that it strikes his corporal senses, and thus it was with difficulty in ancient times that he elevated his spirit to the contemplation of another invisible Being superior to the star of the day, from which it came about, according to some writers, that the Chiriguano would address some prayer to this king of the sky, like some tribe, and timidly and courteously uncover the head upon meeting an intrepid fox.

But however much I asked about this subject, no one gave me any information about such a prayer. The only thing they said that the old people did was to call the sun father and ask it not to hide its face. Today, when the country is invaded by whites and [797] even by people from the Old World, today when there is no Chiriguano place that has not been trod by the foot of the missionary, founding missions here, passing through there, and in another place exploring the will of the Indians, all has changed and those who do not know of the existence of the true God are few. There are few Indians who do not know that the sun is a work of God and therefore incapable of receiving outward demonstrations of veneration, when they do not even render it to God (1).

1. It is very probable that formerly the ancients were happy when the sun came out, as anyone would be happy, and that they would have a special fondness for it, whence comes the argument by some that they address prayers to it, but it is natural for man to be happy when the sun appears.

/150 cont./

756 Even for rain the sorcerers perform their incantations with
789 their maize-husk cigar, making a turn in the planted fields,
731 but if the drought is general, the incantations are public per-
•821 formed in the town in front of the house of the principal cacique.
[797] One of these was performed in the early days of the above-mentioned mission. The missionary had admonished them to stop it, but when they answered insolently, he formed or organized a commission with shotguns and old rifles. The three or four sorcerers fled, but one of them fell into the hands of the commission, was punished for his insolence, and in a few minutes a torrential shower refreshed the entire territory of the mission.

756 In concrete cases, when the sorcerer is required by a
755 particular family, he establishes himself in the house of the sick man; he asks him a thousand questions regarding the sickness, the houses that he has frequented, the friends with whom he has drunk, the companions with whom he has played, and the things that he has earned. Then he lights his maize-husk cigar and smokes, blowing the smoke over the body of the patient, especially the affected part.

Then, depending on the greater or lesser seriousness of the illness, depending on the nature of the disease, whether it requires blows or joltings, which is the most likely, he delivers them so atrociously that they are likely to end the patient's life, and if not he is content with rubbing the affected part hard /151/ and sucking it with his mouth, extracting from the patient's body the worms which the rascal has hidden in his mouth (1).

[164] 1. In many cases worms can be found in the bodies of these Indians between the flesh and the skin. I myself, with the use of fenelina, have made worms as big as chickpeas come out of their bodies, without their having had any wound at all.

/153 cont./

756
278

and does not know how to do it goes to the sorceresses, pays them, and obtains it.

This seems to be a fable which in itself does not merit any importance, as indeed it is not given any by Father Giannecchini, who does not deny it in his writings, as Señor del Campano states. Poison exists among the Chiriguano. They do not extract it from chamico, which is a species of datura, nor do they extract it from other plants or herbs. The sorcerers reveal nothing; the young people do not know about it, and the few old people who are alive only tell what has been said above. Be that as it may, this is a belief of the tribe, and as such I have told it.

Lunar Eclipse

•821 One night while waiting for a lunar eclipse, I found myself in conversation with the cacique Anduari of the mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu, and I was reminded of something which I remembered regarding this phenomenon which was about to occur on the moon. Chiriguano towns are true hells during an eclipse, because of the shouts, cries, whistles, and every warlike instrument which they use to make noise. When I came to the [114] [648] missions, /154/ the war of Curuyuqui had just happened, and when I heard so much and such an extraordinary hubbub on the night of an eclipse, I believed that it was a new uprising, as was also believed by the inhabitants of Cuevo, who came out armed to find out the cause of so much noise (1).

301
533
114

1. The Italian professor Mantegazza states that the Chiriguano, in order to whistle loudly, take out the tembeta or button which they have in their lower lip. This is incorrect and denied by all; what the renowned anthropologist refers to must be a special case, since they cannot even drink without the button.

/154 cont./

773
821
[115]

I asked Anduari the cause of such an uproar, and he told me the following story. The jaguar had sworn to destroy the Chiriguano, as had also the Aguara-Tunpa. The Tunpa, who knows everything and always compassionate toward them, told this to his relatives, who are in the sky and who are called Güirayohasa, the constellation of the Pleiades. These relatives then informed those who were in danger, and they took the precaution of hiding themselves.

Nevertheless, two of the most valiant Chiriguano, in order not to be in continual fear, prepared to put an end to the jaguars. They went out into the countryside, made themselves two long swords of soto wood, and thus armed, they found out where the jaguars drank water. They hid, watching for the arrival of their enemies in order to slay their leader.

They did not have to wait long; when all of them came by and when the leader put his head down to drink from the spring of crystalline water, one of the Chiriguano delivered a great blow on his head with the sword, separating it from the body; with the utmost facility the rest of them fled in several directions, and the head, jumping, disappeared from their presence.

It was pursued by both warriors, but the head prayed to the moon, which it encountered on its way, and the moon took pity and hid it in its breast, and when the warriors arrived and inquired about the jaguar's head, the moon answered in all calmness that it knew nothing and had seen nothing. Naturally they had no faith in its words, and they went away from there, saying to it that one day the tiger would be seen and everyone would know who it was (2).

2. When the chief of the jaguars disappeared, the latter were finished and there was calm, the Indians being able to go out once more without fear to their tasks in the fields.

When the young men were far away, the moon rejoined the jaguar's head to its body, and it lived, but it no longer wished to live on earth /155/ for fear of its enemies, preferring to remain with its liberator, reviver, and benefactor, but later it made its ferocity known.

/155 cont./

773 As the Chiriguano had predicted, the jaguar very soon began to put into practice in the heights of the moon its natural inclination to kill and eat defenseless beings. Its peaceful, compassionate, and defenseless liberator lent itself marvelously to its voracity, and the tiger attacked it, but the moon came crying to the inhabitants of the earth, to the Chiriguano, calling them to its defense, if they did not wish to remain eternally in the dark (1).

1. If the eclipse is total, they believe that the jaguar has swallowed the moon whole; if it is partial, this is because it did not have time to swallow it.

The Indians, despite the bad deed that the moon had done against them, and more for their convenience than out of compassion, came out of their towns en masse, some with shouts others with whistling, and others with the horns of cows and bulls; they frightened off the Yagua rogũi, yellow jaguar, who out of fear of the Chiriguano, remembering what had happened to it, desisted from its intention, and since then, every time a lunar eclipse occurs, they do the same thing. The fabulous belief passes from the old to the young, from grandfathers to grandsons.

114 On a bright moonlit night the missionary was sleeping peacefully in the Ivu mission, and the moon was obscured by a total eclipse. This was during the month of June in 1909. The missionary did not know the language, and I was absent. The [191] children, who spoke a little Spanish, in their desire for the missionary to see the phenomenon of the eclipse, awakened him with a great uproar, shouting to him: Jaguar is eating moon (2).

2. They say nothing of the eclipse, total or partial, of the sun, doubtless because it occurs very rarely; the old people have but an obscure idea of this phenomenon.

/176 cont./

342
335 The post thus set up served as a central point for the new house; next he traced a more or less round circle without having any recourse whatsoever to the rules of theoretical geometry, being ignorant of its existence; nevertheless, his reason helped him enough. Having traced the circle and having secured ahead of time enough forked poles /horquillas/ some two meters high, he put them in holes some 50 or 60 centimeters deep around the circumference, leaving the entrance facing the plaza.

Once these poles have been well fixed in the ground around the center pole, the Indian, with the help of his companions and relatives, prepares rafters, straw, bejuco or ceiba bark, hollow cane or small sticks. He then begins, after an appropriate period of rest, to put in place first the rafters, tying them to each other, the center post serving as a prop, and then he ties them to the poles around the circumference, one to each pole, until he finishes. Before beginning, the precaution is taken of singeing the bejuco. The rest is done as has been described in the modern houses, but when the placing of the roof and the walls around are finished, the center post, which would only be an obstruction for the fire which is constantly burning in the center of the house, is removed (2).

[824]

2. Singed bejuco does not rot, regardless of the season in which it has been pulled up. It is resistant and is not attacked by the wood borer. Those who use it so much have experience.

[821] Everyone knows that conical houses are very solid, when care is taken to select good wood and /illustration appears here/ /177/ to cut it during the waning moon. If the rafters have the fork downward, conical houses are much more solid (1).

[554]

1. A house in conical form among the ancient Chiriguano indicated great ability on the part of the builder and status on the part of its owner; for this reason they were owned only by caciques, rich persons, and other important persons.

/229 cont./

881 304 [821] For the piercing of the lip, a full moon is necessary, so that the open wound will not have bad results, will gradually get larger, and will not form a swelling. The boys who are ready for the tembeta must not be younger than seven years of age or older than 12. In the first case they would not be able to stand the pain, and in the second the piercing would be difficult because the lip would have hardened.

Thus, when the moon is at its maximum and the boy is of the proper age, he little by little becomes prepared for the operation. The mother and father prepare him with loving words, stimulating his vanity so that he may afterward be esteemed and loved by the girls. Then they make him understand the need for piercing his lip, so that everyone will know [186] that he belongs to the noble Chiriguano race and is worthy of [885] being a member of it; finally, they make him understand that only when he has the tembeta will the grandees of the nation respect him and treat him kindly (1).

[869] [171]

1. Christian mothers, to encourage their sons to endure suffering and even martyrdom itself, show them Heaven, an invisible dwelling place. The savage infidels encourage their children with earthly promises, such as the love of women; qui de terra est; de terra loquitur; this is the effect of ignorance.

The boy hears the nice things that his parents say to him as a deaf man hears music. What he considers more and what occupies all his concern is the pain that the opening of his lip is going to cause him. Nevertheless, he cannot hide or run away; he must submit to the operation in spite of his fear of it. In fact, before the full moon the father goes with his son to the house of the surgeon and tells him the reason for his visit, asking him to make his boy into a man. The surgeon-doctor makes an appointment for the next day or another one, and in the meantime he looks for a second boy to undergo the

304 881 759

/284 cont./

000 The philosopher Focion said that he who has the fewest desires to satisfy is the happiest man on earth. This is a truth based on experience, but it is not true happiness; it is part of it, because complete happiness is not attained here.

The true Chiriguano dressed in the old way and his wife with her tipoy must have been the happiest beings on earth, but as they are children of the first man, they also inherited affliction, pain, and death. These three things are almost always the consequence of illness, and they come from the intemperate life that I have described, just as they also come from the drinking and eating.

515 751 The Chiriguano takes no care of his person, although he loves life, which he would like to be eternal, however much he may walk dragging himself along. His foodstuffs are not at all [262] hygienic; he eats /illustration appears here/ /285/ often and with [252] too much greed rotten meat, vegetables, and maize itself, which [271] he parches but never cooks completely. The water he drinks is not always clear or free of microbes and small worms that are visible; [273] the very chicha that is manufactured with such elaborate effort and care is drunk still sour, and, finally, shelter is unimportant. In periods of great heat he lies on the ground, taking on his back the burning rays of the sun; he protects himself little in the abrupt changes of temperature, and if he gets wet in the rain or has taken a voluntary bath of cold water or water heated by the sun, he lets his clothes dry on his body; from these come the illnesses that I shall presently enumerate, illnesses that he suffers from, which make him unhappy and then carry him to the grave.

753 821 The rainbow that God gave to Noah as a sign that He would not flood humanity again with the waters of a new deluge is a sad sign for the Chiriguano. If this so natural phenomenon appears in a town and begins in front of or over a house, when it disappears it does not end or turn to nothing but hides itself in the belly of one of the residents, who in time will get sick and die of dropsy, from which it follows that this illness, which is rare among them, is caused by the rainbow (1).

1. Another natural phenomenon is the whirlwind.

[TEXT Continues on p. 385]

/285 cont./

753
821

which rises continually to the sky in these interminable plains, taking behind it all of the trash that it finds along its way. It is called Cusumino, and, according to them, it causes pains in the feet, knees, and bones. When a whirlwind begins in a town, they try to cut it with a knife.

Illnesses and Remedies

164

The most common illnesses among the Chiriguano are the intermittent fevers that are endemic, tuberculosis or consumption, eye disease, convulsive coughing, diarrhea, dysentery, mange or itch, and tumors accompanied by a kind of leprosy that covers a large part of the body. The intermittent fevers appear at the time of the first rains and continue until the time of the fruits and fresh maize. These fevers are not fatal, but one who is attacked by them has a rather afflicted life. Their remedies are vegetal; 757 they boil quebracho or algarroba bark, and they drink this water, but it does not always have a salutary effect. /286/ If a small dose of quinine is administered during the intermittent fevers, they immediately get well (1).

1. They get well with a small dosage, perhaps because their bodies are not accustomed to the remedies of the apothecary. Another efficacious remedy for the intermittent fevers is bitter coffee or coffee with a [illegible] sugar.

164

The itch, tumors, and leprosy do not cause death. 262 Chiriguano food is almost always saltless. They are not careful 263 in selecting it, and stinking meat does not disgust them. Their 751 water is not always clear; they bathe at any hour and, after bathing, 515 do not dry their bodies. If it rains, they let the wet clothing dry 080 on their person. From this and other causes come the many skin

When I offered a

/182 cont./ Chacobo a

cigarette, he took only a few puffs, kept the smoke in his mouth for a few seconds, and then threw the cigarette away. Nevertheless, the Chacobo plant tobacco, but use it exclusively as a remedy. If a Chacobo gets a "boro," a fly larva, "Dermatomya," under his skin, he covers the fly larva's entry spot with tobacco powder and is then able to squeeze out the dead larva in a few hours. The Choroti and Ashluslay are passionate smokers. /183/ For them smoking is one of the greatest enjoyments of life. These contrasts are quite strange.

P 276 249 757 C Ce 276 171

The Chiriguano and the Chané have extensive plantings which, in contrast to the clearings of the Choroti and Ashluslay in the wilderness, are well tended. In former times they used spades made of hard wood with attractive handles (Fig. 89), but these have now gone out of use and have been entirely supplanted by iron spades. Not infrequently the fields lie far from the villages, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley. This is due to the fact that water is not available throughout the year everywhere in the vicinity of the plantings.

Ce 241 [412] [177] C Ce [312]

As has been mentioned, the produce obtained is stored in granaries built on piles (Fig. 84), so that it will be at least somewhat protected from rats, moisture, etc. These granaries are seen everywhere, except among the Chané on the Rio Pilcomayo.

C Ce 251 343

The fields are fenced in with fences built brush-shaped, which are often difficult to climb over. There is no fertilization of the fields. On the other hand, a field that has been exhausted is left to lie fallow.

Ce 241 C Ce

The time of sowing is determined by the position of the Pleiades, "ychu." When this passes across the horizon very early in the morning, it is sowing time. When the rainy season begins, everything must be sowed.

[821] Ce

The men clear and sow. Everyone helps with the harvest, men, women, and children. Among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley the men sowed the maize, that is, they took care of the larger plantings, whereas the women were gardeners and planted gourds, beans, etc.

241 462 C [241] [462]

c /293 cont./
539 South America. Since, however, this is not the proper place
171 for comparative studies with regard to the legends collected by me, I have contented myself with only presenting the material.

c As we have seen, we learn to understand some of the
539 religious conceptions of the Indians from the legends. They are also interesting from the viewpoint that a whole assortment of little features from the life of the Indians is reproduced. They give us a glimpse into their imaginative life.

c Only the content of the legends collected by me, not
539 the form, is usable as research material. I hope that the
114 native South American ethnographers in particular will add to
126 the collection made by me and also write down the legends in the original languages. In order to be able to do this, however, a complete /294/ mastery of them will be necessary. The best method would be to let the Indians tell these legends into a phonograph.

c
Ce
824 The Indians and Natural Phenomena.
Ce

In one of the Chané legends the story is told of how
[773] Yahuéte, the two-headed jaguar, was on the point of de-
Ce vouring the moon. Maringay called Yahuéte "Yahuaróhui."
[776] These Indians explain eclipses of the sun and moon by saying
Ce that the sun and moon are attacked by Yahuéte. The Choroti,
[171] too, as has been mentioned, speak of a predatory animal that
[776] attacks the sun and the moon.

If one wanders with an Indian through forest and meadow on a starlit night, the starry sky is his compass and his watch. He will point to Orion or some other constellation and show how much farther it will move before one arrives.

Ce He does not give names to many constellations, but he
824 knows them all. The Chané call the part of the Milky Way nearest the Southern Cross "yándurape," that is, ostrich-way; the Southern Cross, along with a few adjacent stars, is

Ce 821 /294 cont./
"yánduinyaka," the head of the ostrich; the two largest stars in Centaurus are "yánduipoy," necklace of the ostrich; Venus is called "coemilla," morning; Orion with the sword "húirayúasa" (birds meet). Another constellation is "huázupucu," roebuck horn; another, "borévi," tapir. They call the Pleiades "ychu," but they do not know the meaning of the name, and this is the most important constellation of all.

Ce 821 If one sits with the Indians in their huts, they can indicate the position of the most important constellations in the sky without seeing them. They know their position at all times of the year.

Ce 821 805 Ce [241] The starry sky is not only the watch and the compass of the Indians. It is also their calendar. In this the Pleiades play an especially important part here, as among other Indians. When they first /295/ become visible on the horizon at dawn, the proper time has come for the sowing of maize. The fact that this relatively unimportant constellation plays such an important role in the astronomy of the Indians has given rise to fantastic speculations about Babylonian influence.

Ce 821 If one asks Indians about the size of the stars and their distance from us, they stand there perplexed and prefer not to answer at all. They understand, however, that they must be far away.

C 821 773 The stars do not play an important role in the legends. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, however, said there was once a brother who was playing with his little sister. They tried to catch each other, they sang and jumped. Now they are sitting in the firmament as two stars.

Two clusters of stars in the southern part of the southern firmament are the ashes of an old man and an old woman, a Chiriguano once told me. It was an evening in August.

Ce [821] [773] In legends, the sun is a man and the moon a woman. The Chané children stole fire from an old man, the sun, and the two-headed Yahuéte hid under the tiru of the moon-woman when he was being pursued by the son of the armadillo-god.

C /295 cont./
●821 The waxing and waning of the moon, according to Maringay's explanation, was caused by the fact that a larger or smaller piece of it is put in the firmament.

C 821 177 The sun rises over the water and then shines for us during the day. In the evening it dips into the water again, and at night it shines for the other human beings on the other side of the earth. This was Maringay's idea of the course of the sun. I believe, however, that he learned this from the whites.

Ee 821 784 [763] When a meteor, "baeréndi," falls, it means the death of a chief. About a shooting star, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti said: "He is going to sleep with his girl." Maringay was more realistic in his explanation. "The star lets something fall," said the old man.

Ee 821 [789] [825] [784] [484] /296/ When it thunders, Chiquéritunpa is walking about. The medicine men, "ipáye," are able to make rain. When the swallow, "máchurupimpi," flies low, it will rain, the Indians say. Another bird, "chóncho," announces rain. If one is going traveling, one should not put a jug in water, but dip up the water with a calabash, otherwise it will rain. In a

Ce 821 773 myth about the destruction of the world related to me by the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, the world is destroyed by water. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me how the world was

Ce 821 [784] [825] destroyed by a storm. Otherwise the wind plays an unimportant role in the myths. If one places a warmed jug in flowing water, there will be a storm, say the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. The rainbow, "yii," is a snake.

NoMordenskiöld E-4,9(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

is conservative, which may partly be connected with the fact that for him, as KARSTEN has pointed out, colours and ornaments have a great magical importance. When the Chiriguano and Chané obtain by barter glass-beads for their labrets, these must be blue, like the turquoises they were wont to fasten in them.

When they come across anything in the culture of the Whites that approximates to their own conception of the ideal, the Indians have no difficulty in adapting it to their own use. We know that the dance mask is an Indian practice: it is therefore quite natural for the Indians to have embraced the carnival of the Whites with great interest and have added to it their own dances, in which they appear with masks on.

B. *The influence of the bronze age culture on that of the Chiriguano and Chané.*

In the table 21 I have put together the cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané have very probably obtained from the culture zone in the west. We can see at a glance that this influence has been very considerable. The positive influence has been greater even than from the Whites.

If we look into the table we shall find that the Chiriguano and Chané have especially learnt from the culture zone in the west such things as are connected in some way with festivals. Here belong the men's festal attire, several adornments worn by men and women, the feather parasol, the finer sorts of pottery, the ornamentation of calabashes with pyrograving, several musical instruments, games, etc. When we know with what interest the Indians have embraced the festivals of the Catholic Church, wherever they have had an opportunity of doing so, it can easily be understood that the tribes that were neighbours of the Incas, also imitated their festivals.

/145 cont./

776 778 small apartments, owned by the Iya, a child who leaves footprints when it walks. They believe these things as though they were real.

312 778 823 776 Among the many springs that are plentiful in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission there are several with hot, sulphurous water. None of the old people will go near these springs, and the only ones who do it are boys and girls who, because they have embraced the Catholic religion perhaps and because the teaching of the /146/ missionary makes them understand that only God need be feared, have no fear of these inoffensive things. Nevertheless, [761] when some schoolgirl dies, the old people say that such a thing has happened because of the lack of care shown by them when they approached and bathed in these springs owned by the Iya.

778 776 The aforesaid shows that the old Chiriguano is very superstitious, and because of his love of life he respects the places where the imaginary genii can be found. If such places were [761] discovered and disturbed through someone's error, he either would [753] soon die or he would lead an unfortunate life full of long sicknesses ending in death, and for this reason it is impossible for a true Chiriguano to reveal the places which, according to his affirmations, are possessed by genii (1).

1. At the end of the year 1899 a gentleman from Sucre began work in the petroleum site of Mandiyuti in Cuevo. Unfortunately, he died of acute bronchitis, but the Indians attributed his death to the anger of the Iya.

Sorcerers

754 756 Another consequence of ignorance is a belief in sorcerers. This belief, however, is much more general. The working man accepts it, as does the moderately enlightened. The man who is in a completely savage state accepts it, as well as the one who is beginning to become civilized. It is accepted in America, as in old Europe, extensive Asia, deserted Africa, and newest Oceania. Nevertheless, the word "sorcerer" does not have the

167 [464] /312 cont. /Some years ago, old Taruiri, having learned from some Chiriguano that Brazilians were "carifiosos," that is, generous, had the idea of going to their country to find work, for which he hoped to be well paid. He banded together with 45 other Chiriguano before whom he held out the glittering fortune which awaited them in the country to the east. With this adventurous spirit and boldness which characterize the Guarani, they did not hesitate to take off toward the unknown. They first passed through Chané territory and followed the course of the Parapiti to the desert. There they rushed boldly into these unexplored regions, dried-up expanses, which separate the Izozoc from Chiquitos. They were all armed with bows and arrows to defend themselves from a possible attack by the Tsirakua, the tracks of whose squared-off sandals they often [271] saw in the sand. No water, of course, but only aipóy roots, [824] which permitted them to stand the thirst. After 12 days of walking, this band arrived at Chiquitos, then from there reached the Paraguay River and Corumbá. Taruiri was not a little surprised to find brothers there, "that is," he explained to me, "people who spoke my language, badly it is true, but who nevertheless made themselves understood." When I inquired discreetly as to the success of his business over there, Taruiri answered, shaking his head and in a tone shot through with sadness and disillusionment: "All that was only a lie," todo era engaño.

Taruiri does not know and will never know that by doing this he accomplished an exploit that would be the pride and glory of an explorer. For him, it was a question of a simple trip, scarcely longer and more arduous than the one he undertook in the past to go to Argentina.

193 539 648 484 Does anyone want other modern examples of their spirit of adventure and of that ease with which the Guarani move about? I transcribe as such the curious tale told to me by the Indian Cipriano from the Ivu mission, who, confused as he may be, refers to definitely authentic facts:

/394 cont./

241 Before taking possession of a new plot of land the
423 Chiriguano is always careful to make sure that there is no trace
243 of previous cultivation. Otherwise the former owner or his
[685] descendants would have the right to lodge a complaint against him to the chief of the village.

[824] The Chiriguano makes known his new property rights by planting any edible plant before the rainy season, for example, the large squash (gindako-wasu) which spreads everywhere and is not smothered by the underbrush. He can equally well insure possession of the chosen terrain by knocking down the underbrush all around and making big gashes in the trees (1).

[171] 1. Compare this manner of insuring property rights with the method observed by the Caxinawa /Cashinawa/ in the same circumstances: "I saw (an Indian is speaking) rising ground which is suitable for a planting. I am going to make a planting for this summer. I broke many branches on this hill to mark this excellent place. No one can make his clearing on this hill. This hill is excellent; do not go there to make your planting." (Abreu, p. 69.)

241 In the middle of the dry season, say, in August, the
243 Indian, with a long stick sharp on both sides, fells the underbrush which encumbers his future field and sets fire to it. This operation has the further advantage of fertilizing the soil, thanks to the bed of ashes, which is a rather good fertilizer.

The cultivated fields are usually cleaned up after the harvest.
[231] The domestic animals, who feed there with little expense, are first let out there, and then the fields are set afire.

[221] Sowing takes place in the month of November when the first rainstorms have softened the soil. This time is announced by
[821] the appearance of the Pleiades (itiu) above the horizon early in the morning.

/334 cont./

241 The Chiriguano who is getting ready to sow takes care
243 to hoe his field and to rid it of all weeds. For this he uses
/335/ a shovel, which I shall describe, in part from Campana
243 (p. 98), not having seen this instrument whole.

241 The shovels (sipe of the Chiriguano, even not so long
412 ago, were entirely of wood, preferably wood of the urundei
[824] (Astronium urundeuva F. Allemao) or of the palm siripa. Although narrower and longer, they resembled those of our bakers. The edges were straight, almost parallel, and only the cutting edge was slightly rounded at the sides. Toward the top they ended in a point, a
[824] kind of embryonic handle, which was lengthened by a stick to which it was attached with ties made of churqui (Nilotica farnesiana), of lianas, or toboroši fibers. The two shovels examined by Campana measured 70 centimeters in length and 15 in width; one of them, however, was less wide at the top than at the bottom by several centimeters (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Shovel (sipe) made of wood, without its handle, formerly in use among the Chiriguano (from Campana, Pl. VIII, Fig. 1).

If the Chiriguano have abandoned the ancient wooden shovel, they have nevertheless faithfully kept the long handle to which it was attached and which permitted them to work the soil without having to bend over. A remark of psychological order becomes necessary in this regard. The Chiriguano
[439] could well have acquired in the Syrians' stores, where they are available, shovels already provided with handles and ready to use. If they felt the need to modify the handle and to give it the traditional form, it is because it did not correspond to the movements and position of the body and hands which an age-old tradition had ingrained.

In each human group all manual labor requires certain set gestures to which, to a certain extent, the tools are adapted. This explains the variations these exhibit from country to country and even from tribe to tribe. With regard to this, Professor

/338 cont./

241 Sorghum (triku) (Sorghum sacchariferum) (1);

[262] 1. Sorghum is cultivated only on a very small scale. It is a delicacy that the Chiriguano reserve for children, who suck its stalk.

/339/ Sugar cane;
Melons;
Watermelons (sandias);
Prickly pear (saini) (Opuntia spec.);
Fig trees;
Orange trees (in the missions).

[199] The Chiriguano cultivate only on a very small scale the plants which, like sorghum, sugar cane, fig trees, and orange trees, have been introduced by the Europeans. Of these only melons enjoy general favor.

248 They always devote some parts of their fields to the cultivation of plants of value only for their arts and manufactures. These are: cotton plants (mandiyú), cucurbitaceous plants (iá) which grow on the ground next to their squash and furnish the containers they need, roucou (urukú), which scarcely exists except in the northern part of their habitat, and finally a species of reed (Arundo donax) with which they make the shafts of their arrows.

249 They also plant tobacco (pẽtĩ), but I have never seen any in their fields. According to Nordenskiöld (10, p. 25), its cultivation is insignificant and rare. The Chiriguano are not great smokers, and the numerous packs of cigarettes I took along for them found only a few devotees. Among the Toba, Matako /Mataco/, or Chorotí /Choroti/ my stocks would have been exhausted in the wink of an eye, for these Indians love tobacco more than anything in the world.

[276] [123]

276 756 824 [178] The use of tobacco among the ancient Chiriguano, as among their ancestors in Paraguay or Brazil, was reserved for the medicine men for their magical operations. Their use made of it a plant endowed with "mystical" virtues, and its

/339 cont./
consumption was limited (1).

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.

We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the Indians of the Carurutí region in Caipipendí valley. From the end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6).[1]

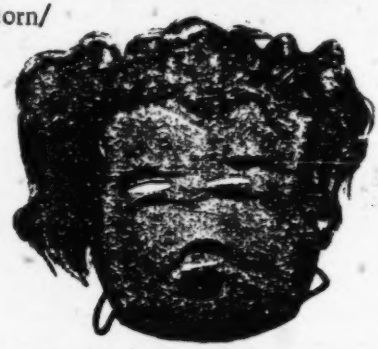
This temporary migration of the whole population of a village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

[1] [Fig 6 appears on p. 69-- Analyst]

/341 cont./

241 115 ladder, that is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps. Captain Karnapadyú's chacra /cultivated clearing/ was about 200 meters by 70 meters in size. At the edge stood a small wooden hut covered with straw.

The "Captain" began by showing me some manioc plants and had me cross a large square sown exclusively with beans and gourds /citronilles/. The corn fields came next. They were divided in two by a second hedge formed of trunks and thorns. Squash /courges/ grew between the rows of corn. After the maïzal /field of corn/ followed a second expanse covered with beans, squash, and melons, which Karnapadyú told me belonged to his daughter. Here and there rose several stalks of sorghum. A new cornfield was opposite the



241 532 322 237

Fig. 8. Mask (tovaraanga) carved out of a calabash and provided with hair and eyebrows of horsehair. It was hung up in a planted field where it was serving as a scarecrow. Prov.: Cururutí. (1/5 nat. size.)

241 115 [322] [415] [824] first, and another cabin rose at its edge. In both of these properties the only plants cultivated for their manufacturing value were the cucurbitaceous ones from which the Indians make their cups and bottles.

Next, on the opposite cliff, I visited the chacra of another Indian of the same village. A steeper and more difficult road than the first led to it. The plantation was lower down a hill on which a little hut was perched. These fields were almost solely covered with corn among whose stalks grew squash. As before, the maïzales were preceded by plantings of beans and squash.

/344 cont./

526 immediately, chased by his comrades who pulled his hair
178 energetically. The awkward player who threw the ball in such
243 a way that his partner could not catch it was in the same
789 category as the one who let it fall, on condition, however, that his opposite number had not made the gesture of catching it. Once the corn was ripe, they stopped playing mbotó.

526
171
→

[177]
→

The game of mbotó has a wide distribution in South America, but it is limited to the populations of the Amazonian basin and the Guianas. Doubtless the Chiriguano introduced it into the Chaco (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 168).

417
251
824

Fig. 10. Forked tree on which the Chiriguano pile corn inside their huts. This device may have given rise to the corncribs on piles.

526
789
243

This game without any doubt derives from a magical rite whose object was to promote the beneficial course of the sun and to oblige it to shine without interruption to make the corn ripen. The straw shuttlecock represents the sun. The period when this game is played and the meaning the Chiriguano attach to it make my hypothesis a very likely one. Preuss demonstrated that in all of Central America and even in North America the /345/ tennis game arose out of a magical operation intended to influence the sun.

Fig. 11. Straw shuttlecock (mbotó), accessory for the game of the same name. Prov.: Carurutí. (1/3 nat. size.)

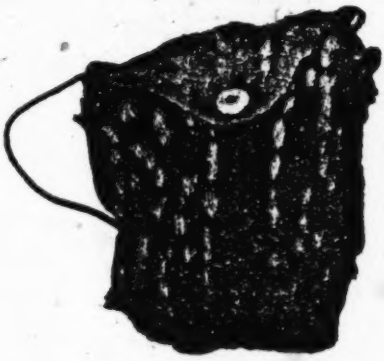
/353 cont./

372 [171] In former times the Chiriguano made fire exactly like all the Indians of South America, by rubbing two sticks one against /354/ each other. One of my friends from Carurutí reconstructed one of these devices for me in the hope of surprising me and getting a good price for it. He took two sticks of tata iwira, or fire wood (1), cut one of them lengthwise

[824]

1. According to Father D. Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 91), the Chiriguano might use, for obtaining fire by rotation, sticks made from the wood of a red liana whose

415 281 372 ←



415 281 →

Fig. 23. Small deerskin bag in which a Chiriguano used to carry a tinderbox and its accessories. Prov.: Pípi. (1/3 nat. size.)

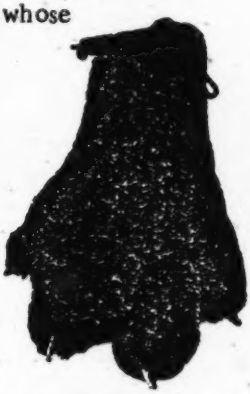


Fig. 24. Puma paw (yagua-pintaipo) made into a bag. Prov.: Saladito. (1/4 nat. size.)

372 [824]

flower has five yellow petals with a red spot on one of them. The Chiriguano name for this plant is isipo-pinta.

and provided one of its sides with two cups along which he contrived a perpendicular groove. These two little furrows were intended to conduct the glowing sawdust onto the tinder placed on the ground. /Fig. 25 appears here./ The other stick was slightly sharpened to allow it to go into the cups. Since this

/363 cont./

234 To end up, one could still cite among Chiriguano food
262 the cheese they make in some villages. Each time they
butcher they take care to keep the abomasus in order to make
[177] milk separate. Chiriguano cheeses are of the same quality as
those of the half-breeds, who for once have taught something
[272] to our Indians. I shall add that I have never seen a Chiriguano
drink milk.

312 The problem of water does not come up for the Chiriguano
133 as for the other Indians of the Chaco. Numerous rivers cross
their territory, and several of them are large enough not to dry
up even in the middle of the dry season. These watercourses
form innumerable quebradas, gorges or valleys, which give
its characteristic aspect to the country inhabited by our Indians.
[361] Sometimes villages are built near springs or small lakes, like
the Ivu mission, which is provided with plenty of water.

312 When I crossed the Caipipendí valley, the river which
occupies the bottom was nearly dry. The Indians had scooped
out small wells about one meter in depth in the sand of its
bed. They had surrounded them with slabs of stone to prevent
any caving in and to preserve the water which accumulated in
them from the heat of the sun. In this same valley, in a village
situated on top of a hill, the Indians had dug a cistern four to
five meters in diameter in which rain water had collected.

271 The Chiriguano have found a way to purify the muddy
312 water they often have to drink. They crush caraguatá leaves
● 824 between two stones, then steep them in the water, and all its
impurities settle as a result of the action of the juice of this plant.

264 The Chiriguano do not eat at set times. They make a
rather substantial breakfast very early in the morning and again
take some food toward the middle of the day. In the evening
[562] about six o'clock they make a kind of dinner. Since the men
are served first, then the women and children, it follows that
the meals drag out in length. At any moment of the day one
[415] can see someone eating. The food /364/ is presented to each
one in a calabash or terra-cotta bowl which each holds on his
knees. They pick up the pieces with their fingers but imbibe
liquids with a wooden spoon (Figs. 42 and 43). After eating,
they wash their hands. I have seen some rinse out their mouths.

413
243

Fig. 29. Iron peg with leather handle used for husking ears of corn. Chiriguano. Prov.: Saladito. (1/2 nat. size.)

412
824

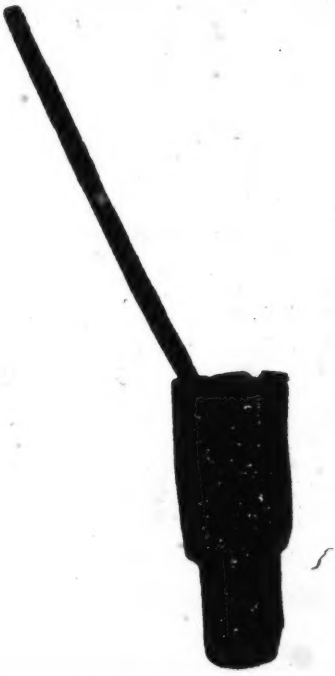


Fig. 30. Chiriguano mortar (angué) made of urundey wood (Astronium urundeuva Fr. Allemao), with its pestle. The lower, recessed part is buried in the ground. Prov.: Ivu. (1/15 nat. size.)

C 273 /368 cont./

A certain variety of kāwi is prepared by boiling it again after passing it through the sieve and "bottling" it only after letting it cool a second time.

Kāwi is generally covered with a thick oily layer which the Indians are far from scorning. The mistress of the house takes the precaution of pouring a certain quantity of it into the vessels which do not have any.

In their descriptions of the preparation of kāwi, Giannecchini and Nordenskiöld say nothing about the temisu, the umopirai, and, in general, a good many of the stages the corn goes through before being converted into beer. This silence is probably due to the very complexity of this operation, more than one detail of which certainly escaped them. The preparation of kāwi is a tiring occupation which requires great effort. The Indians display a veritable science in its manufacture. It is easier to distill alcohol, and, in any case, this is a task demanding less physical activity. Perhaps centuries of groping were needed for arriving at determining the time of cooking, the proportions of roasted and chewed flour, the quality of the grain, etc. All that is the result of minute observations, many trials, and also much reflection. These considerations are intended to justify the remark made at the beginning of this chapter: a simple cooking recipe often tells as much about the civilization of a people as a perfected tool.

C 273 824 [171] Ce [273] [824] [114]

/369/. The fruits of the mistol, chañar, or algarroba can give a chicha that the Chaco Indians like very much, but which the Chiriguano scorn. They have recourse to it only in case of scarcity. The Chané of the Izozoc, whom I could not visit, have the specialty of kāwi from batatas. The Chiriguano also know how to make use of this tuber to prepare a fermented drink, but they judge it to be of inferior quality and declare that one must be a poor devil to take any. (Nordenskiöld, 2, p. 236) (1).

1. Barco Centenera (p. 315) already mentions the different types of chicha prepared by the Chiriguano: "El vino de maiz y de algarroba,

/369 cont./

273
824

De Molles, y de murta bien obrado,
Seguro que bebian casi arroba,
Que media á cada cual le estaba dado."
/The wine of maize and of algarroba,
Of Molles, and of myrtle well worked,
It is certain that they drank almost
an arroba,
The measure which was given to each
one./

273
574
576
[123]
[114]

Kāwi is too respected a drink to be drunk in any old way. Etiquette requires one to comply with certain rules if the honor of participating in a drinking bout is done you. I sometimes had a chance to be invited to these festivities, and on such an occasion I was able to make the following observations which I am setting down just as I noted them in my field notebook: The men are seated in a circle on chairs or benches. The women squat behind them, on skins spread out on the ground. The kāwi is brought in vessels shaped like bulls, and one of them is put down at the feet of the "captain." The girl who has brought it fills a small calabash and offers it to the "captain," who empties it. Next he serves me and gives the vessel back to her. He does the same with my neighbor, then with several of the guests. Then he hands the calabash to his wife and goes to sit down. The latter serves the rest of the men present.

[554]

A second vessel, brimming over with kāwi, is put this time before another Indian who perhaps is held in some esteem. He drinks first, then busies himself with his companions. Two large calabashes are then given over to the women, and from that moment on, the distribution no longer seems to follow any order. Men and women drink and serve their neighbors without obeying any rule of decorum other than not to forget other people. They acquit themselves perfectly in this duty of politeness, and nobody is neglected, not even the very small children, who take alarming quantities of kāwi.

/374 cont./

415 surmounted by two nipples, remains of stylized ears. These protuberances can be perforated and allow a suspension cord to pass through, which permits hooking the bowl to a beam of the hut (Fig. 41).

Spoons

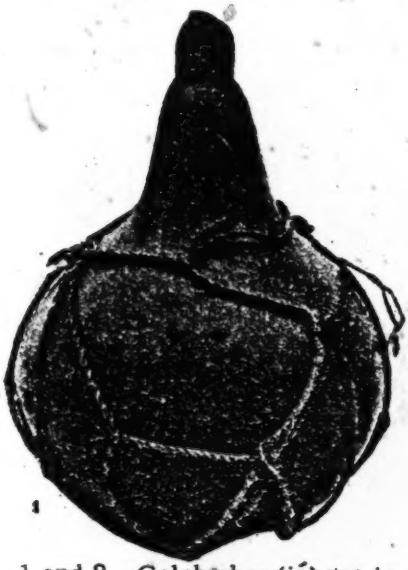
412 Spoons are very common among the Chiriguano. Their
191 form connects them closely to those which have been made
192 known to us by the excavations carried out on the Bolivian altiplano and in northwestern Argentina. It is among the ancient populations of this region that we must seek the origin of this cultural element (on this subject see Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 91-92), of which the Chiriguano have faithfully kept the primitive aspect and even certain peculiarities such as the indentations of the handle which /Plates XIX-XXI appear here/ /375/ are seen on one of our specimens and on one discovered in the Puna de Jujuy (Pucara de Rinconada) by Boman (2, Vol. II, Plate LIX, Fig. 142).

Beside these spoons, whose use spread under the influence
412 of the civilized peoples of the west, the Chiriguano kept the
237 most rudimentary forms of this utensil: the valves of a fresh-
● 824 water mollusk (anodonta) (in Chiriguano: inta) are often used by them to eat liquid dishes; the shell of the fruit of a bignoniacea (?) opened lengthwise also appears in the north of the Chiriguano territory as the survival of a time when spoons were still unknown to them (Fig. 44).

412 Some small calabashes, ovoid or round, with a jutting peduncle, can, after being cut through the middle, replace
[191] wooden spoons to advantage (Fig. 45). It was in this natural form that the spoon spread in tropical America where Andean influence did not make itself felt. The Chiriguano do not disdain using these half-calabashes to dip into the bean pot or the meat broth. Calabashes like the one of Figure 46 /see p. 139/ take the place of ladles.

415
286
824

Plate XX



1 and 2. Calabashes (iá) put in a net in order to be transported or hung in the hut. Prov.: Saladito and Ivu. (1/3 nat. size.)

415
824

3. Calabash with lid cut out in star shape. Prov.: Saladito. (1/3 nat. size.) 4. Calabash with automatic closing. Prov.: Ivu. (About 2/5 nat. size.)

412
322
824

Figs. 42-43. Wooden spoons (karuha or iwira-karu). No. 42 comes from Caruruti and 43 from Nawirenda. (1/4 nat. size.)

Fig. 44. A bignoniaceous or an asclepiadaceous fruit whose shell cut in half is utilized by the Chiriguano as a cup or spoon. Prov.: Caipipendí. (2/5 nat. size.)

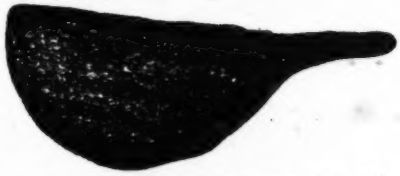


Fig. 45. Calabash cut in half to serve as a spoon. Prov.: Macharetí. (1/4 nat. size.)

236
824
→

Fig. 46. Ladle carved out of a calabash. Prov.: Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo). (1/7 nat. size.)

412
322
824
←

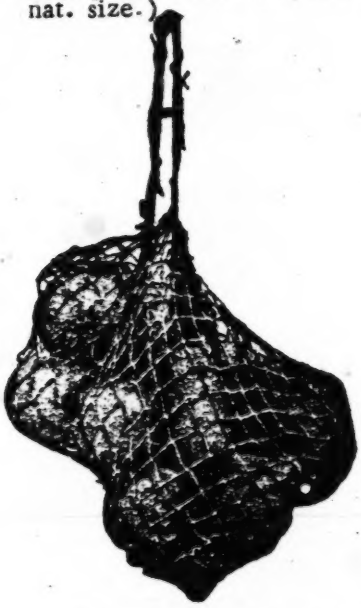


Fig. 47. Reserve calabashes hanging in a net inside a Chiriguano hut. Ibopeytí.

/380 cont./
276 177 171 spread among the Chiriguano recently for it has not yet spread throughout the territory they inhabit. The Chiriguano who live far removed from the half-breed or Indian populations of the Cordillera are not "coqueros," and only rarely does one meet among them some old man who accepts a quid of coca.

276 171 302 114 Ivu is the last point toward the east and north where I could distribute my supply of coca to advantage. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 85-91) sought to demonstrate that the custom of blackening the teeth went along cheek by jowl with that of chewing coca and derived from it. As a matter of fact, this habit has a very marked western distribution and follows the zone of coca cultivation.

276 [824] The Chiriguano mix each quid of coca with the ashes reaped from a tree (ulala) whose scientific name I do not know. These ashes (tanimbo), which corresponds to the llicta of the Quichua, are contained in a small leather bag.

276 439 804 Coca is a luxury commodity which the Quichua Indians or half-breeds come to sell to the Chiriguano. To avoid all argument and all fraud on the part of unscrupulous sellers, the Chiriguano have recourse to balances of their own making. They fabricate them with /381/ two calabashes cut in half to serve as scales (Figs. 54 and 55). The balance with scales was in [177] use in pre-Hispanic times /Fig. 54 appears here/ in the ancient Inca Empire (see Nordenskiöld, 16) and so I believed at first that among the Chiriguano it represented a survival of /Fig. 55 appears here/ the Andean influence, whose importance we shall see further on. Among the Chiriguano, however, this object is designated by the Spanish name /382/ mbalanza, which seems to indicate that they borrowed it from the half-breeds. The latter and the Quichua use them in their commercial transactions, but especially for weighing the precious coca. Perhaps it was the same in prehistoric times. There is nothing to prove that only metals were weighed, as has been supposed with respect to these ancient scales.

804 177 For weights the Chiriguano use old Bolivian silver coins and express measures according to the old Spanish system. By a tacit convention a coin worth two modern sous is the equivalent of one ounce.

/383 cont./

323 Chiriguano woman will never be seen making one single vessel at a time: since before continuing she must wait until each one of the parts making up the piece of pottery is dry, she occupies this interval by beginning another vessel, which will dry while she works on the first one again.

415
531

Figs. 57-58. Vessels (yapepó). The rolls of clay of which they are composed are still apparent and constitute a rudimentary ornamentation. No. 57 comes from Caruruti, No. 58 from Yacuiba. (1/4 nat. size.)

323 /384/ When she judges that the bottom has taken on some firmness, she rolls between her hands a roll to which she tries to give a regular diameter. Then she applies it on the base, forming a perfect circle. She cuts off the part which extends beyond the junction point. Next she flattens the roll with her hand, the compression being made from inside to outside, with the back of the left hand and the right palm. When the whole periphery has thus been raised, she evens off the edge, filling all the depressions with pieces [824] of wet earth. Then she smooths the outside of the vessel with a [412] stripped ear of corn and a splinter of bamboo. These two instruments are placed beside her and frequently dipped in water so that the earth [237] does not stick to them. The inside surfaces are polished with the valve of a shell (anodonta) (Plate XXIV, 2). The raw clay, once it is shaped, is supple and resistant like leather. Vessels can be

/431 cont./

Chapter VIII

Weaving

286 Weaving is a very widespread industry among the Chiriguano.
[177] Unfortunately, at the present time its products are commonplace and, since they have been using aniline dyes (1), often very ugly.

386
824

1. The Chiriguano used to extract blue dye from a plant they call kaa-howi, that is to say, "blue grass." They also used to grow it. In order to color their tiru (large sleeveless bag slipped on over the tipoy, of the same shape but less ample), they dipped them into a decoction of this grass. Sometimes also they used to add coloring woods, such as palo soto or quebracho, to this bouillon. The leaves of a tree which easily reaches a height of eight to ten meters, the iwira kaa-howi, also furnish a blue dye, but for that they must be young and the tree must be in bloom.

With piari, black resin which exudes from the trunk of the algarroba (Prosopis), Chiriguano women blacken the tiru which they had dyed blue. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc., pp. 16-17 and 173.)

286
[291]
[177]
Most of their ponchos are copied from those of the Bolivian half-breeds.

/432/ The type of loom prevalent among the Chiriguano is the one which has been given the name Arawak loom. Plate LXXII[2] gives an idea of it. Two forked sticks are set in the ground. They support two /Fig. 87 appears here/ parallel crossbars, one of which, the lower one, is a pestle of hard and heavy wood. The warp threads are rolled around them, but at each circuit turn back on themselves after going over a /433/ small cord stretched parallel to the ground. Once the cloth is finished, this string is removed, and in an instant the piece of cloth, which until then formed an endless band, opens up (Fig. 91).[2]

[2] [See p. 244--Analyst]
[3] [See p. 275--Analyst]

/439/

Chapter IX

Basketry and Its Techniques

1. General Considerations

C Ce 285 [171] Basketry is far from being as abundantly represented among the Chiriguano and the Chané as among the Indian tribes of the Amazon basin or the Guianas. The secondary role it plays in their industry is due to the nature of the soil where they live and the climate they enjoy. Palm trees with pinnate leaves are lacking, C Ce 137 to my knowledge at least, over the whole extent of their territory; as for the ones whose leaves open like fans, if they are numerous in certain places, their occurrence is far from being uniform. The palms which the Chiriguano Indians call karandaí (Copernicia australis) form veritable groves here and there, whereas over vast regions they are lacking or appear only sparsely. I saw a considerable number of them Gu [285] between San Luis and the [482] Saladito River, and I have crossed some large palm groves between Yacuiba and Villamontes, on the Pilcomayo, and south of the Parapití River, going C [824] from Cuevo to Pipi. I noted, moreover, that the distribution of [137] the karandaí coincided with that of a certain type of basketry [285] (twilled work /named in English/), for which the Indians use these leaves.

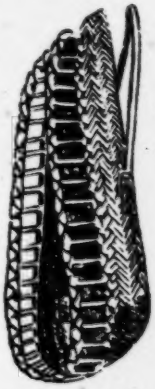


Fig. 97. Back basket used by the Guarayú Indians for transporting heavy loads (from Nordenskiöld).

Gu 285 482 Nordenskiöld (10, p. 169) recounts an anecdote which illustrates well the influence the environment exerts on this industry. At the time of one of his trips into the Chaco, the scholar was Gu [171] accompanied by several Guarayú Indians, who followed him as far as Chiriguano country. The Guarayú customarily load their baggage and the products of their fields into back baskets of a special type (see Fig. 97) which have a wide distribution in tropical America, from the Guianas to Paraguay (Nordenskiöld 11, p. 171 and Map 21).

Gu 285 482 [824] /439 cont./
p. 171 and Map 21). Their baskets being in bad shape, the Guarayú wanted to make some new ones and were very annoyed not to find in the region into which they had come the palm trees with pinnate leaves which they were in the habit of using for this purpose. Now, Guarayú and Chiriguano are brothers in race and language and emigrated at the same period from Paraguay to settle in the vicinity of the Andes. When leaving their country of origin, both were acquainted with this type of basket used by their ancestors, the Guarani, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, /440/ and still favored among their first cousins from Paraguay, the Kainguá (Métraux, 2, p. 206). The disappearance of this cultural element among the Chiriguano is due solely to the lack of appropriate raw materials.

C Gu 285 482 174 824 [144] [197]

C 177 482 In order to make up for the absence of back baskets, indispensable to a farming people /Fig. 98 appears here/ the Chiriguano borrowed from their neighbors in the Chaco, either the Mataco or the Choroti, the carrying nets (in Chiriguano: añapoka) whose use is so widespread among the latter and is so characteristic of their civilization. Carrying nets today are in general use among the Chiriguano, and in every village each family has at /Fig. 99 appears here/ least one (Figs. 98 and 99). In spite of this wide diffusion, the Chiriguano añapoka betrays its origin by its form and technique (see Figs. 100 and 101 /see pp. 283 -285/), which are both found in the tribes we have just enumerated (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208, Technique I). Although considerably more advanced on the way to civilization than the seminomadic tribes of the Chaco, the Chiriguano do not by any means equal them /441/ in the art of making nets. The añapoka I collected cannot be compared with the deep bags which the Matako or the Choroti, for example, make for the same purpose. In the village of Machareti, where Toba live with Chiriguano, it is the former who furnish the latter with the /Fig. 100 appears here/ carrying nets they need (see Fig. 99 /see p.282/) (1).

C [171] C [286] C [563] [439]

C 286 482 171 1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 163, Fig. 49 A) gives the detail of the technique of a Chiriguano carrying net. This technique is not found on any

[Text continues on p. 283]

/453 cont./

285 [531] [171] Another point of contact between the basketry of the Chiriguano and that of the Indians of the east and north of South America is the occurrence of baskets in twilled work in which elements of two colors are combined, following a changing rhythm, to produce geometric figures. The basket of Plate LXXVIII, with the frets standing out in black on the sides, is representative of this form of art, which, in the Guianas, shone with a lively brilliance.

Baskets of the pegall or "telescope" type are divided into two categories according to the principle of their plaiting. To make one kind (Plate LXXIX and Fig. 111), the basket-maker began by crossing the warp elements with one another in such a way that they radiate from a single center. Then he interlaced according to a binary rhythm the rigellas which /454/ left the common center like so many rays. Baskets of the second category have been plaited by intermingling the elements of the warp and woof at right angles so as to make the bottom without any precise point from which the elements come away (Plate LXXX, 2). The photographs (Plates LXXIX and LXXX, 2) show what I mean better than any description.

[824] The stalks which serve for the fabrication of baskets in twilled work are taken from the leaves of the karandaí palm (Copernicia cerifera Mart. or Copernicia australis). The leaves are cut into fine strips and softened by immersion.

Sieves and fire fans belong in the basketry called twilled, but I shall deal with them in a separate chapter.

Description of baskets in "twilled work"

Plate LXXVIII, Figures 1 and 2. Height, 7 centimeters; diameter, 17.5 centimeters. Provenance: Caipipendí.

This basket belongs to the category of those called "telescopes" or /Fig. 110 appears here/ pegall of Guiana. Plate LXXIX which shows us the detail of its upper surface also indicates its technique with sufficient clarity so that no diagram is necessary. The warp is composed of 32 flexible elements radiating from a common center. They begin by interlacing for two rounds; then,

[See P. 308 - Analyst]

/458 cont./

285 I was present at the making of a sieve at Caruruti in the Caipipendí valley. Here is what I noted about it: "The raw
• [824] material is furnished by the leaves of the karandaí palm (Copernicia australis), which is cut into fine strips. The plaiting is done very simply: they form a square by crossing at right angles the elements of the woof and warp, following the rhythm of 1 (one element over, the other under, etc.) In order to slip in the woof elements, it suffices to raise each time all the strips

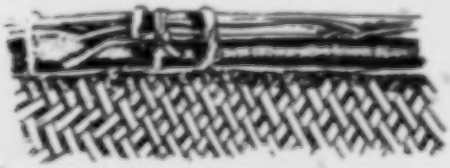


Fig. 115. Detail of the rim of the sieve of Plate LXXXIV, 2.

of the warp which have already been crossed by the woof. When the sieve is plaited, they choose a straight, flexible branch and carefully split it in two. Each of the two halves is bent into a circle so that one of the hoops can fit into the other. The unplaited elements of the warp and woof are inserted between the two hoops (see Fig. 115), then securely tied. Since the hoops have a diameter a little smaller than the width of the woven square, the result is that when it is fastened into the circle, it bulges out. All the ends which stick out are cut off."

285 The string used to attach the sieve to the hoops is made in the
283 following manner: "The bark of a tree (embira) is taken off in wide, long strips, in turn divided into finer lengths. They take two of these lengths, moisten them with saliva, and roll them on the right calf, each one separately, then the two together. When the cord must be of a certain length, they have to add new pieces. These splices must be made without changing the diameter of the cord and without any gaps. For that they are always careful

/460 cont./

Fans or Fire-blowers

C 372 184 [171] Great was my surprise when upon arriving in the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo region I found fire fans identical with those of the Indians of Brazil and the Guianas. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 56) barely mentions them and insists on their rarity. The fact is explained by the absence of this cultural element in all the rest of the zone inhabited by the Chiriguano. In most of the villages they use old hats or fragments of baskets to fan the fire.

C 372 285 Plate LXXXV. Length, 28.5 centimeters; width, 31 centimeters. Provenance: Saladito.

The making of these fans is rather simple. The leaves composing them cross in a rhythm of two. On the edge the stalks have been bent back and, passing again across the fabric, are interlaced to form a pucker on each side. The free ends /Plates LXXXIII-LXXXV appear here/ /461/ have been plaited on top and one part passed into a split stick forming the handle (Fig. 117).

C [171] An important remark must be made on the subject of these fans. They /Fig. 117 appears here/ differ little from the fans made of a single pinnate palm leaf, such as are found in Brazil and Paraguay. C [824] The Chiriguano, having no palm trees of this species in their new homeland, had to /Fig. 118 appears here/ adopt the palmate leaves of the karandaí. They replaced the petiole, which forms the handle, with the split stick to which I have alluded. (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 106 and 107, pp. 219-220.)

C 285 353 797 [824] /462/

"Flowers"

On feast days the Chiriguano of the Franciscan missions decorate the church with artificial "flowers" which they make from leaves of karandaí palms. These decorations are of ancient origin and derive directly from the straw amusements /jeux/ still made by the Indians in various /Fig. 119 appears here/ regions of America, notably in the Guianas. G 285 353 The natives of the latter region often hang them in their houses where they perhaps

[See p. 322 -- Analyst]
[Text continues on p. 324]

/467 cont./

302 The women never cut their hair according to the custom of the other Indian women of the Chaco, so they have heads of long and remarkably soft hair. They gather their hair together [301] on the nape of the neck by means of a red or blue ribbon, which they knot on the forehead after passing it around the head (see Plate VI, 1 and 2 /see p. 73/).

302 Chiriguano women are extremely meticulous about their 515 hair and wash it nearly every day. For soap they use ñitira seeds, 824 412 388

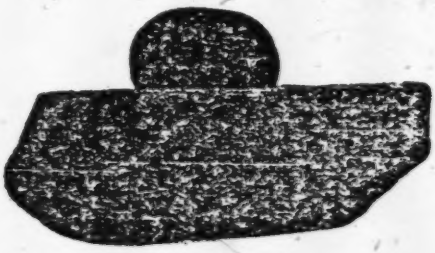


Fig. 122. Chiriguano stone mortar for crushing ñitira seeds. Prov.: Ivo. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

which they crush in a little mortar (Fig. 122) especially intended for that use. The ñitira seeds, rich in saponin, lather easily.

302 For me it was always a pleasant spectacle in the morning to see the women come back from the river with their hair twisted on the front of the head and fastened into a conical chignon. They would let it dry, then would begin to comb it slowly until it was soft and shining.

412 Two types of comb coexist among the Chiriguano. On the 303 upper Pilcomayo in the Igüembé valley and in Ivu, they are carved 184 out of a small board, and often the flat part which serves as the handle is cut out /468/ with art. In the Caipipendí valley and among the Chané, besides combs of the preceding type there are others composed of fine splinters of wood wedged between two splinters of bamboo and held in place by a clever plaiting of cotton threads forming a design.

415
237

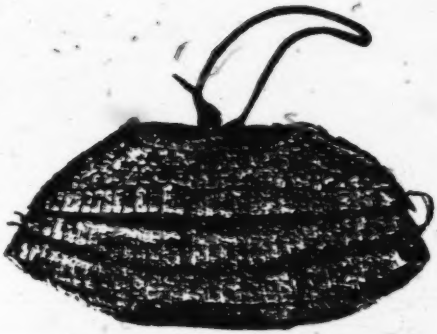


Fig. 130. Armadillo shell (tatu-pire) in which Chiriguano women keep objects for needlework, small pieces of cloth, etc. Prov.: Saladito. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

412
824

Fig. 131. Bull's testicle (toro-upía) which the Chiriguano hang up in their huts as a small container. Prov.: Saladito. (About 1/7 nat. size.)

415
237

Fig. 132. Broom made of karandaí leaves (tupisa). Prov.: Yumbía (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/4 nat. size.)

532 /480 cont./

Figure 11. Guanaco (José Miguel).

[821] Figure 12. (A): blue jaguar who lives in the sky (personification of the spots on the moon) getting ready to eat the moon (B) and the sun (C), thus bringing on an eclipse.

Chapter XIV

The Treatment of Illnesses

Sorcerers and Remedies

756 178 Sorcerers. Medicine men have become so rare among the Chiriguano that I could not get to know a one during my whole [123] trip. Only on the upper Pilcomayo did they allude in front of me to a talented paye who lived in a nearby village.

Although great sorcerers endowed with supernatural powers and surrounded with great prestige no longer exist, there still must be in each village a man or woman capable of curing certain illnesses and of pronouncing incantations.

A scene I witnessed at Timboy (Salado River, upper Pilcomayo) demonstrates well that the profession of sorcerer, less important though it may be, has nevertheless not disap- [122] peared. I was living in the home of a Bolivian half-breed whose child's body was covered with purulent pimples. His parents began by appealing to my medical knowledge, but I declared 75 myself incompetent to treat this case or any other. They then [824] called an old Indian woman, who appeared one morning with a plant in her hand, a kind of wild pumpkin which the half-breeds call sandía del monte. This plant, crushed and mixed with hot water, is used for external washing. They stretched the child out on the ground and commanded him to hold himself motionless. The old woman sat down near him and began to mutter inaudible incantations which she interrupted only to spit often on the limbs of the little patient. Then she would take up her recitation again, at the same time spreading the saliva over his body from head to feet. Nordenskiold (5, p. 44,

/482 cont./

756 Judging from this text, the Chiriguano sorcerer, like his
787 Tupinamba or Siberian colleague, put himself into a state of trance so that his spirit, free from corporeal bonds, could go to engage in battle with the soul of the evil-intentioned individual who is implacable against his patient.

778 The hupia, that is, the magical force, is indispensable to one who claims to be a good sorcerer. At least this is the meaning I give to this word translated in the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (p. 73) by: "remedy, antidote," but of which it is said that possession is indispensable to every medicine man. This word suffixed to any noun whatever expresses the faculty, the power, the facility to make or obtain the thing signified by the noun. Thus a dog trained to hunt deer is wasu-rupia (wasu: deer), a warrior is tuwaiso-rupia (tuwaiso: enemy), etc.

[193]

237 Fig. 137. Calabash
415 containing snake fat.
757 Prov.: Saladito.
(About 1/2 nat. size.)

757 Remedies. 1. Snake fat (mboikira) is
[237] efficacious against leprosy. The Indians keep it in a small calabash sealed with wax (Fig. 137).

2. A little cotton impregnated with castor oil (yandí) and rubbed on the skin is an excellent liniment for rheumatism.

[237] 3. A similar virtue is attributed to chicken fat (Fig. 138). In
302 everyday life they resort to
[237] chicken fat or castor oil to
[824] anoint the body, which they
[415] then rub with roucou paste.
[237] Women generally have their

Fig. 138. Section of bamboo containing chicken fat. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/2 nat. size.)

824
302
415
386

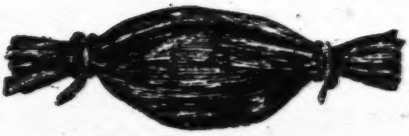


Fig. 139. Small bag made of corn husks, containing roucou paste. Prov.: Salado grande (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

Fig. 140. Calabash containing roucou seeds. Prov.: Caipipendí. (About 1/5 nat. size.)

415
237
757
→

Fig. 141. Case containing a fox penis (aguara-kankuy). Prov.: Ibopeytí. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

/484/

412 However, these awls are too abundant in each village for their use to be only sacred. It is probable that the Chiriguano use them as a simple tool for solely secular purposes.

[171] At Tilcara, Debenedetti (2, Fig. 176, p. 232) discovered specimens made of deerhorn identical with our Chiriguano examples.

824 757 8. I have in my collections seeds whose virtues are multiple: they are an excellent remedy for skin eruptions, ulcers, and toothaches.

9. For stomach-ache the Chiriguano recommend the absorption of particles of wood (mboipinda).

232 [824] 10. Certain seeds (of a graminaceous plant?) when crushed give a paste or powder with which they treat animals whose sores are attacked by worms.

11. When cows' hooves tend to work loose, they bathe them with fragments of limestone (itakwi).

757 237 12. Fat extracted from a cow's foot is an effective ointment for cases of rheumatism.

13. The beak of the toucan is said to enjoy great medicinal properties. They grate it and drink in water the powder which comes from it (Campana, 111).

Stitches in the side and dysentery are treated with a piece of armadillo shell burned, ground, and dissolved in water, which the patient drinks.

757 [114] In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (passim) and Nino's book (pp. 288-290) is found many a very interesting piece of information on the pharmacopoeia of the Chiriguano. I shall summarize them in order to complete my own observations.

757 164 1. The oil which floats on kãwi, when it is done, is a good remedy for headaches.

2. Salt, ground and drunk mixed with the urine of a small child, quiets stomach pains.

[824] 3. Rheumatism is doctored by applying on the ailing part a branch of ulala (ñankawina) from which the thorns have been removed and which has been heated.

164 /484 cont./
757
824 4. To stop dysentery, one must drink a decoction made of corn and watermelon seeds ground together.

[237] 5. Stitches in the side are treated by drinking a fragment of armadillo shell ground up and by rubbing the ailing place with a portion of this same calabash heated.

6. Tumors and swellings of the throat or knee are made to disappear by applying on the sore region the leaves of a shrub called urukuna, heated in a pot. Another herb (yundurimbiu) has the same virtue.

/485/ Urukuna leaves put in compresses on the skull dissipate headaches, protect one from congestion, and cure erysipelas. The leaves of yandipa (hediondilla) have all the virtues of urukuna.

7. Hemorrhages are stopped by means of latex or the roasted leaf of the liana supuapempe.

8. Kaa-upaya is an efficacious herb in cases of stomach ailments; and soto root cures pains in the feet (rheumatism?).

9. Guaya is a liana which cures any swelling in the side.

[753] [821] 10. Goiter, rare among the Indians, is attributed by them to the sun. They treat it with tutía, a yellow fruit which reminds one of an apple, or by putting around the neck compresses of the blood of the gallinazo, carancho, or bandurria, kinds of vultures.

11. Ophthalmia or conjunctivitis is doctored with drops extracted from the bark of the algarrobillo or with the glue taken from the bud of the membiría plant. The leaves of yandi-wope are excellent for cases of ophthalmia.

12. A variety of caraguatá makes diarrhea stop.

13. The flower káa-ro (bitter herb) cures skin eruptions and is as good for malaria.

14. The herb inái (tooth of water) is a remedy against whooping cough, which can also be treated with an infusion made of boiled or roasted wasps and drunk warm.

15. Tingi bark attached around the belly is excellent for fighting dropsy, as are the leaves of the aŧuru (palo de india), a tree reminiscent of laurel, or the herb kaa-paye, taken as an infusion.

164 /485 cont./

757 16. Gonorrhea is treated with the boiled root of the
824 mistol and tapir fat.

[237] 17. Earaches pass away if drops of chicken, beetle, and cicada fat are poured into the auditory canal.

18. The root of chirimoya del monte (aratibu) is a good antidote if one feels poisoned.

752 19. Snake bites lose their seriousness if one applies some
824 of the herb ururu, guaje, tobacco, or nicotine on the wound.

The sap of the liana isipo-poro-mboyi, although poisonous, nonetheless constitutes an excellent antidote for the same cases.

752 20. By putting melted wax on the wound, you do not risk
237 dying when a mad dog has bitten you.

21. Wounds produced by a sharp instrument heal if burned chicken feathers are spread on them.

757 22. It suffices for a woman to drink the powder of a shell in water to put her fallen uterus back in place.

/486/

757 23. The red leaves of the añankamisa, iwira-ro (quebracho
824 cacha) bark, the woody plant toba-pitše, taken as infusions, are as many remedies for fever.

[752] 24. Compresses of kaa-ruruntirái make abscesses burst.

25. In case of constipation it is good to drink the latex of the kaa-si (cardencha, lechetresna).

752 26. After any serious fall one must drink water in which
757 one has made an infusion of a sort of vervain (kaimberai)
824 pounded beforehand. The consequences of the shock will not be felt if one applies on the sore regions poultices made with this same plant carefully ground.

27. Recommended for spreading on sprains are cara guatá leaves or a thick glue obtained by boiling the bark of iwira-pitiyu-wasu. This substance is equally good for fractures.

757 28. The Chiriguano chew the bark of iwira-pitiyu-wasu to make
824 their violent toothaches stop and to make their teeth more solid.

29. A cataract is doctored in the following way: One boils kuruwa leaves and bathes the patient's head with this infusion.
[237] Then one takes the gall from the dorado fish with pincers or

/486 cont./

757 824 237 some similar object and rubs the sick person's eyes with it until the cataract comes off.

30. The tannin contained in kurupaî bark is a disinfectant which hastens the healing of wounds.

752 757 824 31. The leaves of kurupaîraî (small sébil), squeezed and put into compresses on a tumor, act in a lenitive way.

757 824 [302] 32. The plant wambero (kind of purslane) is a laxative. It has a scarlet flower which girls dry and pulverize to be able to color their cheeks red.

33. Iwowi bark, pounded and roasted, is a good remedy for any pain affecting the limbs. The ash taken from the pips of this [752] tree hastens the healing of wounds.

34. Powdered inâi seeds make teeth fall out.

35. The root of the isipo-poro-mboyi, ground and kneaded with salt and tallow, is an emollient which is spread on tumors.

36. When they feel pains in the limbs, the Chiriguano apply on the ailing part a poultice made of iva-wasu roots, crushed and roasted.

37. The seeds of the yandi-wasu, taken in doses of two or three, are a good emetic.

38. The sarâi is a tree reminiscent of our walnut tree. Its inner bark yields a powder which is spread on skin eruptions.

39. A climbing plant called kaa-ruwa is supposed to have medicinal properties. /487/ It is taken in the form of an infusion, or poultices are made with it after it is pounded.

40. Another climbing plant, the kaa-tai (barba de chivato) is a very active caustic which can produce burns if the compresses made with its flowers, leaves, and twigs ground together and mixed with water are kept on too long. If the hands are rubbed with this plant, they become numb.

41. The roots of the shrub mboipina, well cooked, yield a broth which combats atrophy.

757 825 42. A species of bug (tambeyùa) is used in the native pharmacopoeia as a caustic.

757 271 43. The Chiriguano have great faith in the virtue of hot water. Every sick Indian has beside him a small vessel the size of an egg, full of hot water. Those who are attending him

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano women still dress in tipoys, a long, sacklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, *right*). Some tipoys (tiru) are so long that they need to be folded. 291

Anciently, *Chiriguano* men shaved their foreheads, as did the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband. 302 412

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a tasseled fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

Body painting.—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass. 302 178

Ornaments.—The distinctive ornament of the *Chiriguano*, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 59, *e*). Originally, labrets were made of rosin, as were those of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip. 301 178

Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean woven frontlets studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 59, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the *Chiriguano* in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads. 301 177 [439]

Miscellaneous.—The *Chiriguano* have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout *Chiriguano* territory. 515 824

Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers. 302

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The rivers in *Chiriguano* territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River. 501

/3 cont./

133 The lakes are natural, but not permanent; they are
[135] many and large; in some the water is very good, but from
others not even the cattle /4/ drink, because it contains so
[132] much saltpeter. They all receive water from the sky, which
sometimes falls with great force and fills them at a single
time. White Christians are now making artificial lakes,
especially in the Gran Chaco and in the vicinity of Caipipendi.
271 When water is completely lacking, the Indian scratches the
824 ground, looking for the root of the "sipoy," samolo, which is
as large as a watermelon; he cuts it at the top, squeezes the
pulp with his hand, it turns to water, and he drinks; thus the need
is met, but when this drink is taken for a long period, it gives
rise to sickness.

311 The land lends itself to farming and to cattle raising,
312 but both industries diminish in those years when the beneficial
433 action of the rains is scarce. Then the crops are lost, and the
132 cattle die from lack of food and from the great amounts of
water that they drink from the rivers and lakes on whose banks
they stay through lack of energy; nonetheless this rarely happens throughout the region, which, because of embracing a wide area, in one place or another receives showers which renew nature.

Extent and Area

131 The Chiriguano tribe or race was extremely numerous and
[161] thus once took in an extraordinarily large area; traces of these
[464] Indians are found in the vicinity of Tarija, and they may be
found beyond Santa Cruz, where even today Chiriguano men and
women are in larger part those in domestic service with the
genteel families. Toward the capital of the Republic the
Indians still remember that their grandparents used to live in
Tacopaya and even beyond, in Talisco, included in the same
district. Then they extended toward the Bermejo River and,
finally, eastward to within a few leagues of Carandaiti, where the
arid zone, inhabited by the Toba and other savages, begins.

824 /16 cont./
137
[114] I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it through experience and careful reading; when describing certain plants, I shall also make note of the use made of the bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall, straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood borer does not damage it; it is much used here in the construction of upper roofs, especially for the braches or trusses on which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its
[342] wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less
[492] value; it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows, but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to
[296] make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears
[515] and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the face free of blemishes; here it is known by the name "timboy."

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. moniliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which reason drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it.
[372] It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatane," fire that smells; the wood is yellow.

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of
[342] trees of this class here and there; it is the most abundant tree,
[281] the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does not eat it; the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites; the latter call it sebil and the former "Curupau."

245 ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in
137 fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters,
824 its leaves are dark green; it produces abundant fruit in a sort of pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds, which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They
[302] serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces
[303]
[439]

/17 cont./

245 137 824 [302] [303] [439]

and feet with them, as will be seen; for this last purpose it is prepared beforehand, many pods being boiled in an olla, and pastes of every size are made from the decoction, depending on the value that they wish them to have; it is traded by Chiriguanos and whites.

137 824

The Bixa orellana, or "Urucu," as the Indians call it, is a plant of high value for the Chiriguano; he will travel far to obtain a small amount in the towns or places where it is prepared.

ALGARROBO. -- The place where this extraordinarily large tree abounds is in the pampas; thus in the plain of "Curuyuqui" of Yvu Mission, Isoso, Parapiti, and the Gran Chaco it is found forming forests. It is very bulky and has [342] [415] long branches which on some touch the ground; its trunk is thick and not always erect, the wood is excellent, similar to oak in spite of being dark, and it is much used for making tuns, door and window casings, and even for barrels. In [262] [273] Chiriguano this tree is called /18/ "Ivopei," and the "Ivope" pod is long, compressed, and yellow; when it is ripe, it is sweet and much sought after by livestock and by the Chiriguano; it is their food and drink in times of scarcity as well as other times, and the mead that they make is extremely intoxicating. On the bank of the Pilcomayo even the whites eat this pod; the Toba, Choroti, Mataco, and others hold their orgies when the algarrobo ripens.

ALGARROBO CHICO. -- This is a smaller tree than the previous one, even its fruit is smaller, speckled in color, and sweeter than the true algarrobo, but not as abundant as the [262] first. As the pods are small and the seeds within abundant, it is not highly thought of among the Chiriguano; they only eat it out of necessity or as a tidbit; the wood is not valued very highly because undoubtedly there are others that are better. In Chiriguano it is called "Ivope rai."

ALGARROBO AGRIO. -- This is also small, and it is called [262] "sour" because the flavor of the pods really is sour. In times of scarcity it is also food for the Chiriguano; the pods are small, and the tree has its congenial sites. The Chiriguano Indians call it "Ivopetayi."

/18 cont./

137 ALGARROBO NEGRO. -- Among the Indians this is
●824 called "Ivopene," and the whites call it tusca; it multiplies and grows very fast. Sometimes 20 or 30 newly sprouted plants can be counted around a single cake of cow dung, which indicates that the cattle eat it in abundance, and where it does not already exist they sow it with their bowels.
[262] It grows to a height of some three meters and is very thorny, which makes it difficult to travel through places where it is abundant; when there is no other food it is one of the Chiriguano's resources.

[322] ALGAROBILLA. -- The wood of this plant, which the Chiriguano call "Igüirayepiro," is black and very good for cabinetmakers; it is a species of ebony and is strong. Implements of war and those for fiestas of the tribes are made of this wood; its trunk is twisted, and it rarely has a single trunk; the flowers are yellow and the berries much sought after, by goats, but it makes them abort.

ALGODONERO /cottonwood/. -- This is a leafy tree with many branches; it grows to a height of two meters, has yellow flowers and a white boll when it is ripe, which is then picked, dried in the sun, the material pulled away from the seeds and cleaned. The "mandiyu" cotton is very useful; hammocks, ponchos, saddlebags, and sacks are made with it; it would even be easy to manufacture macana, but this is not done because what comes from outside is very cheap and /19/
[757] showier, even though it is not as strong as the other. Its leaves used as a poultice are anticancerous, and its seeds in the form of a pomade work against herpes and skin eruptions; oil for lighting can be extracted from the seeds.

ANNONA. -- The annona is a bush which grows to barely one meter; it has congenial places, the pampas, which have soil mixed with sand. In the said pampas it thrives in abundance, but it is even found in other places. The ripe fruit is red and like the pineapple in shape, but the pulp and seeds are like the chirimoya, as is the flavor of the pulp. Before it ripens, even the skin is very similar to that of the chirimoya. The Chiriguano call it "Araticu."

ASPIDOSPERMO BLANCO. -- This tree is of great size and it is abundant almost everywhere; the wood is white and good

/19 cont./

137 in dry places; when dampness penetrates it, it is destroyed in a
824 few years, as experience has shown. The bark that is found
[757] under the first layer is split, washed in tepid water, and left to steep overnight; it cures intermittent fever. The Argentinians call it cacha, the whites quebracho, and the Chiriguano "Igüiraro."

AZUFAIFO /jujube tree/. -- This is abundant hereabouts
[262] and is a tree of medium size. Its wood is not valued very highly, but the fruit, the size of a grape seed and of a dark coffee color, is a great resource in times of scarcity for the poor Chiriguano. It ripens in January and February and is liked even by cattle and by sheep and pigs. The whites call it mistol and the Chiriguano "Yuá."

245 BANANA TREE. -- Cultivated in orchards and well fenced-in fields, it forms a grove, and each plant yields or produces a cluster, very large on some of them. When the ripe cluster is removed, the plant that produced it must be cut in order that the others may produce their own. There are several
[262] varieties, large and small, the latter very sweet and eaten as fruit, and the former only when boiled and roasted; the whites call them plátano, and the Chiriguano "Pacoba."

137 BIGONIA ACUOSA. -- This is a tiny little bush one vara
824 in height, which under the ground has a large root like a
[271] watermelon and even larger; it contains much pulp which, when squeezed, yields potable water and is used for it in times of scarcity. The Chiriguano call it "Sipoi."

[342] CATALPA. -- This is a large tree and fairly strong. Its wood is used in the construction of houses. The color of the /20/ wood is dark, but when it is newly cut it is somewhat
[515] green. Its flowers are purple, and the Chiriguano chew them to whiten their teeth; they are bitter and because of this the tree is called "Tayi," or bitter, in Chiriguano, the whites call it lapacho.

CEIBA. -- A large tree with deformed trunk, and furnished with sharp points, broad leaves, and large, white flowers which produce a material similar to cotton without fibers, for which reason it is smoother and shinier; it is used for mattresses
[322] and pillows and candle wicks. The wood is spongy and not at
[415] all hard; from it are made troughs to hold water from year to year and in this way they are not soon damaged. Its ashes

/20 cont./ Its ashes
[137] are good for the manufacture of soap, the bark is an emetic.
[824] The whites call it toborochi and the Chiriguano "Samuú."
[388] There are several varieties and all of them are utilized to
[757] some degree or other.

[322] CEIBO. -- This tree is smaller than the former, but its
[415] wood is much superior, very fibrous, and rather light in weight, being used to make troughs which are very durable since they neither split nor are eaten by wood borers. It is very pretty when
[262] it blooms; the flowers are fiery red and good for salads. The Chiriguano call it "Suinandi."

DRAGO /dragon tree/. -- A tall tree, straight and quite thick; the wood is strong and useful. If an incision is made
[757] in the tree, a very red resin comes out; its bark is the best for making the teeth hard and for curing scurvy. The gum called "dragon's blood" is extracted from this tree. The whites call it tipa and the Chiriguano "Güirapitiyu guasu."

ENEA /cattail/. -- An aquatic plant which abounds in certain ponds and pools formed by the water of rivers which flow away from the main stream; the Indians use it for roofing their houses, muleteers for packsaddles, and others for mats in the dwellings, on which they also have their bedding for sleeping. This is the totora or matara of the whites and the "Caipempe" of the Chiriguano.

[262] ESTORAQUE /storax/. -- This is a very large tree of the forest; it has whitish flowers and yellow fruit the size of a fig, which is edible and a favorite of parrots and monkeys; the Chiriguano eat it as a fruit and call it "Aguai."

GARGATEA or CARICA MAMAYA. -- This tree is not very abundant nor is it found in every section. It is of normal size, with a straight trunk and smooth bark softer than the fig tree; the wood is soft and is of no use at all, being similar to that
[262] of the ceiba, or toborochi. Its leaves are like those of the fig
[252] tree, and the fruit is of the /21/ same size and form, but yellow; it is edible and good when boiled or roasted, if eaten raw, it hurts the mouth. In Chiriguano it is called "Caincantina."

/21 cont./

137 GUAYABO /guava/. -- This fruit-bearing tree is found
824 wild and cultivated; it is of medium size, and the fruit, when
[245] ripe, is yellow on the outside and purple on the inside, and
its bittersweet flavor is very pleasant and laxative. The green
fruit and the roots are astringent; the Chiriguano know it by
the same name. The wood has no use at all, and even if it
[262] did, the Indians would not use it because it produces edible fruit.
They regret it when any of these trees and others, like the
algarrobo, are destroyed.

GÜEMBE. -- This plant thrives on the trunks of high trees,
where it puts its root, and others which penetrate the ground
[492] hang down from there. The roots and lianas are dark in color;
very strong and durable halters are made from its bark; it is
not found everywhere. One encounters it from the left bank
of the Parapiti River; its fruit is similar to that of maize, for
which reason it is called maize of the air, and it is edible.

HIGUERA AMERICANA /Amerigan fig/. -- This is the
[262] guapoy of the Chiriguano and the bibosi of the populace; al-
though the fruit is rather sour, it is edible. Bats like it, and it
[757] is annoying to have this tree near the dwellings; it has a milky
juice like the common fig tree, which, applied to wounds,
heals them. In addition to the above fig tree, there is the
[245] common one which flourishes with very little care, in the towns,
[439] especially the Mission ones, it is widely cultivated by the
[431] natives and its fruit is used by them for gifts and trade with the
whites.

244 MANDIOCA. -- This plant is called "Mandio" or
"Mandiporopi" by the Chiriguano Indians. A little book
written by a Jesuit missionary of the old Paraguay missions
relates that this plant was left to those Indians by Saint
Thomas the Apostle who, according to their tradition, came
here to preach the doctrine of the Redeemer. Mandioca is
[252] an excellent food and very digestible; it is eaten boiled,
[262] roasted, and fried in lard. It is a plant cultivated by whites
and by Indians.

/21 cont./

137 MARA or CAOBA /mahogany/. -- This tree is found in
824 all sections. It is a strong wood, but the white part at the
sides is subject to decay. It is rather heavy and hard and is
[342] [352] only used for door and window casings and even for tables.
The leaves are permanent, but not too good for shade. If the
[757] leaves are touched with some force in order to pick them, they
cause a skin eruption which disappears only when treated with
bees' honey; I cured myself this way twice.

137 /22/ MELOCOTÓN /peach tree/. -- This tree, native to
Persia, is quite productive in this region, but its fruit, severely
attacked by the black butterfly, does not reach maturity because
it always has worms. The apple tree grows in high places and
where the atmosphere is not so hot, but both of these are
orchard trees, not native ones, having been imported by the
whites, who cultivate them, which can also be said of the
quince tree.

137 MOLLE. -- This tree is not found in the central part of the
824 region and thus is not native here, being obtained only by
cultivation. The whites and the Missionaries have introduced
it into the towns with good results. It is found in abundance in
[757] the district under the jurisdiction of Padilla; it has permanent
[273] leaves, which are medicinal, as is the resin which comes from
the trunk; a cooling beverage, pleasant and similar to wine,
except that its odor is somewhat disagreeable, is made from
[757] the seeds. The eucalyptus is another tree which thrives
regularly here, but it has also been imported; its leaves, also
permanent, are very good medicine for the endemic fevers; its
trunk is an excellent wood. Neither tree has a name in
Chiriguano, from which it can be deduced that they have been
imported, like the grape vine, the common fig tree, the
peach, quince, etc.

MORA OR MORERA /mulberry/. -- This tree is found
wild from the left bank of the Parapiti River in Cordillera Prov-
ince. It rises to a height of some 15 meters, is bulky with a
very leafy top, and the fruit is smaller than that of the culti-
vated mulberry; the wood is solid and compact like that of the
soto and has even better qualities; it is used for machines for
milling sugar cane, plantations of which are common from the
banks of the Parapiti River, where sugar of the highest quality

/22 cont./

137 is manufactured. On the slopes of the hills is also found the
824 blackberry /zarzamora/, whose fruit is so pleasant to the palate, but whose thorn, which is like a cat's claw, is quite dangerous and barbed. The mulberry in Chiriguano is called "Tatayigua."

245 NARANJO /orange/. -- Neither the orange nor the lemon are native to the Chiriguano region, but they flourish greatly and grow to some height. Where it is easy to open irrigation ditches and possible to irrigate orange and lemon trees, they produce large, juicy fruit, the former being very sweet and the sourness of the latter being mild. The citron tree flourishes and is a plant imported here; its fruits are as big as gourds. The Chiriguano cultivate the orange tree here and there, but the whites cultivate it on a large scale; I know of some /23/ rather large orange groves, and they exist in nearly all the missions.

137 NOGAL. -- This tree of extraordinary height is only found
824 wild; the leaves are very small and somewhat like those of the true nogal; the fruit is edible, but its shell is hard to crack.
[258] The flavor and characteristics are the same as those of walnuts, so that oil, which is used instead of that from the olive, can be extracted from them. The wood is rather dark and good
[322] for carpentry and cabinetwork, but it is inferior to that of the true nogal, which is found in the cultivated state where there
[386] is sufficient moisture; a dark coffee-colored dye is prepared from the leaves, the bark of the trunk, or the roots, for dyeing wool, for staining other woods, and for printing ink.

NOPAL. -- This is the fruit-bearing plant which is most abundant in the region and which is found everywhere without any cultivation, for which reason it is most highly regarded by the Chiriguano, who is naturally lazy. But since it is sought
[245] by the cattle, it is beginning to disappear or, more exactly, it is not found very much in the woods and clearings, but the Indian still cultivates it because it flourishes easily without need of irrigation and multiplies without the need of planting other shoots. It is convenient for the laziness of the Indian; the yellow flowers come out around each spathe and the fruit matures there as well; it is full of small seeds and sweet pulp, pleasant and refreshing. Some trees are covered with long

/23 cont./ some trees[1] are covered with long
137 sharp points and others are not, only having an occasional im-
82 perceptible sharp point; the fruit of both is pleasant and serves
439 for gifts and trade for the Indian, who sells it to the whites,
431 the ones who, rushing to get rich more quickly and easily, are
648 little concerned about the nopal and the fig tree. In Chiriguano it is called "Saini."

PALM or PALMER. -- The palm tree has congenial places, where immense forests are formed and sometimes grow all around a lake like a great garland; it is a very tall and smooth tree without a single branch. Its leaves are in the form of a
435 fan and are used to make hats and for sieves, which are sold
342 for 30 or 40 centavos apiece. The wood is good for joists in houses, and it is also split into shingles for roofs and is quite durable, if the precaution is taken of cutting them after the full moon. In Chiriguano it is called "Carandai," and the place which they occupy, "Carandaiti," palm grove.

PALMA CHRISTI. -- A not very durable plant, it grows to a height of four meters, has a soft, hollow trunk, large leaves, /24/ and flowers in the form of a bunch of grapes. The seeds are found inside little burrs, like chestnuts; said burrs in some plants open by themselves in the warmth of the sun, while others must be opened or carefully broken with a little hammer or a stone. The name indicates that it is a beautiful plant, but this beauty is in the broad, abundant petiolate leaves. There are several types with reference to
757 size and quality of seeds; I know five kinds. Castor oil is
302 extracted from this plant or from its seeds for use as medicine; we use it in the missions to fuel the lamp of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Chiriguanos mix it with "Achiote" seeds and put the resulting cosmetic on their faces and on their calves down to the feet. In Chiriguano the plant is called "Cauiro," and the oil, "Yandi." Even the leaves of the
757 palma Christi are medicinal, some being hot and others cool; thus when headache is a result of overexposure to the sun, the leaves of the white spurge are applied; if, on the other hand, it is the result of high humidity, the leaves of the red spurge are applied. The seeds of the dark purple spurge are very small, but contain more oil than others.

[1] [i.e., nopal trees. -Acosta]

/24 cont./

245 PAPAYO. -- This tree is neither native like the palma Christi, nor is it found wild like the latter. It is grown in orchards or in well-fenced fields, grows very fast, and produces fruit one year after being planted. Its trunk is straight, soft, and hollow; some have two or three branches and rise up to four meters high. The fruit is refreshing, yellow, with a smooth skin, of the size and shape of a small melon, even the flavor being somewhat similar, but it is more digestible. Many fruits are bunched around the trunk and are also found here and there at each leaf, but always attached to the trunk. The plants which produce the fruit are the good ones, and they call them "females." There are others which they call "males," but their fruits are useless and are not attached to the trunk, but rather hang from it like streamers. It is useless to pick them. To have a good papayo tree they assert that, in transplanting one, it is necessary to take the precaution of always putting or burying two plants in each hole, one of which will always be a female, and the one which turns out to be male will be pulled out. I do not know if this is true, but I did it this way in January of this year. The fruit contains many seeds which, [257] when ground and drunk in an emulsion, are good for getting rid of worms. The fruit and the tree have a resinous milk. [258] Therefore, in order for the fruit to be good and digestible, it is better to cut off the ends and make about five or six vertical cuts so that this resin may come out; by the next day /illustration appears here/ /25/ it is already very pleasant. It is nevertheless best to take the precaution of letting them begin to ripen on the plant itself; in this condition, uncut, they will last up to six days without going bad; then they can easily be transported great distances.

137 PASSION FLOWER. -- This is a climber which is found
824 on fences, clothing them in the rainy season with abundant
[252] foliage, as does the "supua," whose fruit is edible and good
[262] roasted or boiled, as is the leaf. The fruit of the passion flower is of the size of an apple and just as smooth, the skin is thin and the inside is found to be covered with a white, stringy membrane. When this is broken, the seeds of the fruit come

[Text Continues on P. 43]

/25 cont./

137 forth bittersweet and very good. These are ash-colored and
•824 pearly and very highly regarded by Chiriguano and whites.
The blossom of the passion flower is purple, forming a garland like a crown of thorns; it has its calyx, five petals and three pistils, for which reason it is called passion flower, and it is certainly worthy of admiration. The Indians call it "Murucuya."

PIÑON. -- A euphorbiaceous plant, this little tree exists
[177] in a cultivated state and was introduced into this Chiriguano region by the white Christians. It grows in orchards and elsewhere, and its maximum height is three meters. Its small
[757] trunk is slender and top heavy, and its fruit consists of black seeds which are not edible but which, when ground and diluted in water, make a powerful purgative and therefore must be used with great care, because they can cause death.

137 SAUCE /willow/. -- It grows and develops on the banks and in the bed of torrents, as well as on the shores of streams, which shows that it seeks damp places, but from these places
[342] the force of a flood often uproots it. The common willow has no special qualities; only its branches are useful in the building of houses because they are flexible, fibrous, and not heavy; little use is made of the trunk. It is a tall, large tree with very tiny leaves. In addition to the common willow there is also the weeping willow, whose branches touch the ground; it is neither native nor found wild; some whites plant it to beautify their interior patios. In Chiriguano the common willow is called "Igüirapucu."

SAÚCO /elder/. -- It is not found everywhere, only being found along streams with little water which are in the wood. It grows to four meters in height, its trunk is slender and soft, its branches have a pith which is easily extracted, and its white flowers in the shape of a parasol are sudorific. The whites do a good deal of searching for this flower /26/ for their illnesses. Even the leaves are medicinal; when drunk in a decoction they are a good purge. What a pity that it is found in such limited areas!

/26 cont./

137 SOTO. -- This gigantic tree is found everywhere from
● 824 the province of Tomina, but there are places where it is more abundant. In the spring, when the budding begins, its leaves are red, and later they turn green. In the autumn its fruit, which the parrots like, are red and are in bunches like cherries. Seen from a distance by a European, he thinks they are cherries. The wood of the soto is strong and does not rot; in dampness or in water it is better than iron, since it does not deteriorate.
[342] It is very widely used in the construction of houses, especially when they are of frame construction. A great deal of tannin, which the Europeans use in tanneries, is extracted from the soto. It is called palo cuchi by the whites here and "Urundei" by the Chiriguano.

249 TOBACCO. -- An annual plant which flourishes everywhere, but only the whites cultivate it on a large scale, especially in Sapirangui and Chiquiacá, whose products have some fame. Even an occasional Indian cultivates it for his own use and to give to his friends. There is another similar plant, and, when he lacks real tobacco, the Indian deceives himself with its leaves. The true tobacco is called "peenti" in Chiriguano, and the other "huacapeenti," which, literally explained, means
276 "cow tobacco." In Bolivia there is considerable consumption of tobacco wrapped in paper or maize husks; rarely does one see cigars of pure tobacco, like the Havanas and others; the Chiriguano smokes a lot and acquires the habit at a tender age.
[857] Children of four years of age have already begun to smoke;
[562] women also smoke.

137 TACUARA. -- In the past when there were no cattle, the
824 tacuara, or hollow cane, was very abundant; vestiges still remain of some immense canebrakes, but the plant has been re-
[435] duced almost to the cultivated one, with the result that what was previously found in the forest at the disposal of the first occupant is found today in the possession of private parties, and anyone who is planning to build a dwelling must pay for hollow cane at the rate of 80 centavos per hundred, and the worst of it is that it is not found everywhere. This lack is made up for by small rods from trees, but these are neither as light nor always

/26 cont./

137 as straight as cane. Beyond Santa Cruz there are still groves;
● 824 in addition there are groves of another cane called "Bambú," which is the best known, and in Chiriguano it is called
[417] "Tacuarembo." It rises to a height of about 15 meters and is used for making /27/ ladders and scaffolding in construction
249 because it is light and strong. The shoots are tender and contain a sugary substance highly regarded by the Indians; it is not sought much today, because there are abundant plantings of sugar cane, which is of great utility for the production of sugar and alcohol. This last thrives with great ease and little work. Planting is done in two ways, making furrows and burying it or planting cuttings. The former is the better method where the
137 freshets of the rivers do not penetrate. On the slopes and tops
824 of hills which contain water there is another sort of slender cane, very strong and heavy, which is not hollow like the other classes and is called caña brava by the whites, and
[285] "Tacuarembo" by the Chiriguano. They use it for weavers'
[513] reeds and for sleeping cots.

TAMARIND. -- This beautiful and useful tree is not native, but it thrives with enough care and grows to a respectable height; the fruit that it produces is abundant, consisting of abundant pods more or less the size of chick-pea pods; the pulp is blackish and pleasant to the taste, but it is bad for
[757] the teeth. It is astringent and is administered as medicine for intestinal inflammations, especially to children. It is also
[272] a good tonic drink on excessively hot days; it is prepared with sugar, water, and a little of its pulp. The tree is rather sensitive to cold, and the flowers wilt easily with the south wind. For this reason the whites plant it in their patios, which are surrounded by the living quarters.

TARINGUI. -- The name of this tree is Chiriguano. The taringui is found in some regions, but not in others. It is of the cactus variety, rises up to six meters, its branchage is abundant and close, which gives a fine shade against the blazing rays of the sun. Its branches or leaves are striated and armed with spines; the fruit is tiny, but sweet and otherwise pleasant, and much liked by foxes, who only get it when it falls from the tree. The ulala or opuntia is smaller than the taringui, its leaves have the same form, the color is ash-gray and they are less a abundant, or, more properly, few. The fruit is a smooth berry

/27 cont./

137 which is purple when mature and opens into three sections
824 when ripe. It has an insipid sweetness, but one which both
[262] whites and Chiriguano like. The color is a bright purple, it is abundant, and in certain years of scarcity it is a resource for human life in the months of February and March. In Chiriguano it is called "Ñacagüina." The carapari is another cactus, taller than the preceding ones, which also has its congenial land, /28/ since it is not found everywhere. It is admirable for its tall, striated leaves or branches, ash-gray and armed with spines; its fruit is very pleasant and also sought
[342] by foxes. The trunk is soft like that of all cacti; nevertheless
[759] doors are made of this wood and are durable enough. The pulp of the trunk is used medicinally to cure liver ailments, etc. They say that it is even good for goiter. There is another species of cactus which grows to some 20 or 25 centimeters; it is round and thick, striated and armed with spines.
[524] In Chiriguano it is called "Zipepe." The children, as we shall see, make wheels by cutting off its spines, and, making it roll, they use it as targets for their arrows. Finally, there is another which is trailing and long, covering the ground where it grows and making the place impenetrable. This has and
[262] produces a very delicious fruit which is called "Tapiacaru" in Chiriguano.

TILANDSIA. -- This plant is known to the Chiriguano
[342] by the name of "Caraguata guasu." Its special place is the
[283] hills, and among them it has some more congenial to it; it
[492] grows well enough, and its leaves are extraordinarily broad and long and ash-gray in color; in the middle there is a thick stalk which rises quite high and is good wood for house rafters; from the crushed leaves they make cord and from these are made first-rate halters for tying up animals in the rainy season.
[286] The Toba and even the Chiriguano make a kind of net which
[171] they call chipa or "añapoca," which is very useful, inasmuch
[482] as the women can carry any weight in a bag of that kind; from
[227] the same they make nets so as to be able to fish in the rivers, and these are pieces of work which would attract attention in any part of the Old World.

/28 cont./

139 There is another small caraguata which invades wide areas
● 824 of land, preventing any animal from entering there, because
it has spines on the bottoms of the leaves. In times of scarcity
[262] its root is food for the poor Chiriguano; the root contains a
little starch which has the taste of mandioca, but it requires
[283] great effort to pull it up. The leaf of this tilandsia is also good
for making cord.

Finally, there is a third one which flourishes abundantly in trees and on the rocks of the hills, but which has no peculiar properties; it is large because of its leaves, which measure up to one meter in length. The plant is thick, the leaf fleshy, and it is used to decorate the streets with arches during processions. The aloe is similar to the second type of tilandsia, but aloe leaves are wide and thick, full of juice, while those of the tilandsia are slender, arched, and dry. The aloe is not abundant; only an occasional shrub or plant is found.

244 /29/ TOMATO. -- This plant which produces fruits so pleasant and useful to the culinary art flourishes exuberantly in these lands; the fruit from each plant is abundant and is produced the year round when some care is taken to protect the plant from the cold or from the light frosts which customarily
[237] fall in June and July. To do this it suffices to pile up dry cow dung in two or three places in the tomato patch and set them
[177] afire. True tomato plants are also found in the woods, but it is presumed that some bird must have carried the seed to such places; the tomato is a plant which has been brought into the Chiriguano country, as is the case with the onion, the sweet potato, and the cabbage.

222 In the woods there is a kind of tomato in the wild state, which is somewhat similar in appearance and taste, but which is quite different from the true one; it is picked green and allowed to ripen in a room on top of a piece of wood; in a
[244] few days it turns red, which is a sign that it is ripe. The chili pepper also produces abundantly and with little care; it is a plant which lasts up to three years if care is taken to prune it, and the second and third years the fruits are very hot. Another kind of small, round chili pepper abounds in the woods and bears spontaneously; it is called arivivi by the whites and "quii rai" by the Chiriguano. It is hot, and some cure sickness,

222 /29 cont./ It is hot, and some cure sickness,
[957] or inflammation of the eyes, with it. Nevertheless, one should not confuse this little plant with another similar one whose fruits lack flavor and which is called by the Chiriguano "Aguara quii," which is to say, literally, chili pepper, of the fox. The best way not to confuse it is to taste the fruit; it is found everywhere.

243 TRIGO /wheat/. -- The Eternal Creator of all things in his bounty and mercy arranged that this small plant, necessary in every aspect, should yield its fruit in every region inhabited by man; thus, in spite of the excessive heat, it is harvested here in abundance, and the farmer is not robbed of his hopes if he takes care to irrigate the field opportunely. Barley also flourishes in irrigated lands, but the cultivation of both has been abandoned for reasons already expounded in these pages and also because birds greatly bother both crops, as also happens in the rice paddies, which will be found empty if they are left to the discretion of our flying friends.

[824] There also thrives together with maize, or in other places,
[412] the wheat called Guinea, or sweet sorghum, which the Chiriguano call "Tricu" and which is indigenous; it is sweet, matures with maize, and they suck it, as well as the panicled sorghum, which is a kind of sorghum /30/ without sweetness and used for making brooms for sweeping. The seed of both plants is liked by birds.

137 VID /grapevine/. -- Farther on I have said that this plant
824 pre-eminently required for the Sacrifice, like wheat, thrives quite vigorously in this region. I add here that in the woods
[262] there is a tree with small leaves and unimportant wood, which rises up to some eight meters above the ground and whose fruit is the size of an olive, has a dark coffee color and a flavor like that of the grape, matures in the month of February, is edible, and is called "Ivaviyu" in Chiriguano. Also in the wild state is the native grape with its twining trunk. Its fruits are like a bunch of grapes; they are white and some even black, and they are good for the manufacture of brandy.

/30 cont./

137 824 276 YERBA DEL DIABLO. -- This is the datura which is so abundant in the countryside and fields and which is a real plague. It rises to one meter in height, has branches, broad leaves, white flowers, and fruit armed with spines which, when dry, are enough to draw blood. The leaves and seeds make one lose one's memory. In this respect I remember one incident when an Indian woman absent-mindedly or out of ignorance covered an olla of hot food with datura leaves; half an hour later she ate it and it gave her a bad headache and a short spell of vertigo. Her little granddaughter, a schoolgirl about six years old, ate some also, and she suffered a complete loss of memory and all her actions were those of a demented person, a state which lasted some 24 hours. It seems that the Chiriguano [757] do not know that this plant and its seeds and leaves are poisonous; the latter, dried, are medicinal, alleviate the effects of asthma, and are prescribed for asthmatic Indians. Christians know it by the name of chamico, and the Indians by that of "caazi," that is, painful herb.

137 824 SAPALLO /squash/. -- There are eleven species of this creeping plant, which I shall discuss in another chapter, only adding that watermelon and melon also grow here, as well as the cucumber and the beet. The "curugua" and the "curuguami" [262] of the Chiriguano are plants which are similar to the sapallo, but they climb trees and produce there an oblong, sweet, and fragrant fruit; when one enters a house, it is immediately evident if there are curugua fruits there; they are edible both green and ripe, but they are preferable in the ripe state.

I shall forgo describing many trees and plants whose [342] medicinal virtues are known; I shall take up others when dealing with medicines; however, before I forget it, I shall note here at the end of the flora that a region where /31/ there are damp places abounds in secular cedars, whose wood is used in carpentry for doors, windows, tables, etc. So that it may not be subject to rot, it is necessary to get mature plants whose color is light red; the whitish one is attacked by the wood borer; the odor of the wood is narcotic, and this property keeps away insects; its odor is similar to that of the cedar of Lebanon, and for this reason the conquistadors gave the name of cedar to this tree which the Chiriguano call "Igüirane," or stinking stick.

/160 cont./

574 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accomodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

574 178 [431] [273] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he asks nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretasted liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 527 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quiriquinchos, /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

622 224

2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

293 824 171

[Text Continues on P. 221]

/161 cont./

273
824
171

and the Mataco; thus the fruit of the chañar, mistol, and algarroba are used in the manufacture of chicha.

Subalterns

621
623

The cacique of a tribe is not alone in political, judicial, and administrative administration. In order to have a more correct administration, he, as sole and supreme authority, selects counselors and assistants, whom he seeks from among the most competent persons of the tribe. The primary advisors are whatever sorcerers there may be; these men are thus feared and hence respected by the people, who make use of them in sickness and calamity, both public and private.

621
624
554

Next in rank as counselors come other men to whom they give the name Igüira iya, owner of the stick or baton, according to the signification of the word and which corresponds in Spanish to hombre de mando ó autoridad /man in command or authority/. Thus they are the alcaldes, to whom the cacique hands over part of his authority with absolute subordination, so that through complaints, ineptitude, or other causes, the alcaldes are summarily dismissed and then others appointed. In each tribe there is a single alcalde who does everything, because the cacique, in his town, is better than an emperor, not having to lift a straw and spending his time in prolonged idleness.

/162/ The alcaldes in the tribes take charge of the rest of the settlers; in a search for peons they hear the sarcasms and recriminations of their fellows, and many times they definitely disobey them, even going so far as to insult them with: Mburubicha pa nde? Perhaps you are a cacique?" (1)

1. In the missions with many tribes there are as many caciques and alcaldes as there are tribes composing them. In this regard the custom of the Indians has been respected for a better and more honest administration.

/171 cont./

342 335 which form the skeleton of the house, but where the forest is not tall and the trees slender, nine are needed.

[476] [574] Once the timber has been transported with the help of his companions and relatives and they have been treated with food and chicha, the day for setting up the house is set. The center posts are first placed, with the two holes being dug quite deep; next comes the placement of the four or six lateral ones, which are much shorter so that rain will not stay on the roof and there will not be continual and copious dripping. I measured several relatively new houses, and their pitch from the ground to the ridgepole is about 42 o/o in some and in others 38, it being possible to conclude that the average is 40 (1).

1. Chiriguano houses are rectangular with only one room, which, if it is very long, has in the middle another post which holds up the ridgepole so that it may not bend or break.

[178] This proportion is maintained today by the houses in Chiriguano towns, and it cannot be otherwise, because the roof is entirely of straw and the rain would stay on it if it did not have sufficient slope. Some who by mistake build them without this proportion realize at the time of the first torrential rains, and even more in the ones, that follow, the mistake that they have made, but in vain, because /172/ it is very difficult for the Indian to correct his lack of foresight.

Once the skeleton of the house has been set up vertically, the rest is simpler to do, except for the placement of the ridgepole and the side beams; the latter can be cut in half to make it easier to move them, in addition to making finding them easier. The placement of these beams is followed by that of the rafters and the reinforcing pieces of wood to strengthen the walls. The rafters are tied with bejuco or with spiny ceiba bark, [824] which is called Samuu by the Indians and Toborochi by the whites.

/172 cont./

342 ●824 The hardest part is finished with the previous operation; a short rest is taken, and then the owner of the new building must obtain enough hollow cane, engaging for this purpose Indians who have horses. But if the cane is very far away and has owners to boot, he gathers long sticks of astringent acacia or sebil and puts them horizontally every 15 centimeters on top of the rafters with the same above-mentioned lianas. Some [283] people, to tie the cane or sticks, use thin cords made from cowhide, but this, in addition to being more expensive, is less durable than bejuco (1).

[137] [178] [423]

1. Before the whites settled in Chiriguano country, hollow cane was abundant and had no owners; at the present time it cannot be found, and, if there is any, it is in private hands and must be bought.

Generally, before the walls are begun the house is covered with capíi, red straw, or, should this not be available, with capiáncua, straw for harnesses of beasts of burden, which is of inferior quality and very soon frays to pieces with the rain, sun, and strong winds, while the capíi may last for more than ten years.

[476] If it can be obtained by staying for a few days in a place where it is plentiful, he pulls it up there and reduces it to rather large handfuls; the gathering is done in several days, engaging Indians who own horses. When the material is in the town, he rests for a few days or weeks; he informs or invites those who wish to take part, in particular those who are closest to him by kinship or friendship. These then go about tying the capíi be- [354] tween two horizontal canes toward the side of the roots, forming long, narrow lines, and when they are so placed, they attach them horizontally, beginning at the bottom and working /173/ upward or toward the ridgepole, where they leave a large vent to let out the eternal smoke of their inextinguishable fires (1).

1. Now the red straw is disappearing almost completely; the destruction of this necessary

/173 cont./

342 element and that of the hollow cane are due
●824 to the abundance of cattle, which destroy even the straw for harnesses.

342 When the placement of the roof has been completed, they
574 all come down and gather in the hut of the friend, who, as a
[476] reward or payment for the service rendered, offers them a cup
[831] of chicha, and they drink this amidst jokes and crudities, at times very heavy, especially should maidens or women of 30 years or older who do not keep quiet pass by. But as the people know each other well and are friends, the greatest harmony reigns, and, when everything is finished, they take leave of the owner, thanking him for his gifts, and he shows them his gratitude for the services which they have rendered (2).

2. The workers only ask for chicha in recompense, but if the owner has beans or gourds cooked for them in a stew with considerable stimulant in the form of chili pepper, arivivi, it is a feast or carnival for all.

342 The rest of the work is done with less haste and at a more
312 opportune time. In fact, most wait until the rainy season to do
[221] it, for then water is abundant, and this to be sure deserves the approbation of all because it is more economical and easier. Thus, taking into consideration the laziness of the Indian man
[461] and the tasks which the Chiriguano woman has, it would be expensive and quite tiresome to bring the water on their shoulders from great distances, which is avoided during the rainy season.
[356] Then during each shower not only is the construction of the walls of the new houses done, but also the repair of those which have come apart during the year, and it is very amusing to see from a distance the women around the houses with their sleeves rolled up or with the tipoy down to the waist, making holes in the wet ground with shovel or hoe, pouring a little water in, kneading the earth, forming large balls of it, and putting it between the canes which are already attached.

/173 cont./

342 The canes, or sticks, are attached in the same way as in the roof, with the difference that for the walls they are put in double order, outside and inside, so that they can serve as a support for the dampened earth, which in the end is like a large bag, long and tall, around the house. This other work [462] is done by the Indian men, engaged beforehand by the promise of chicha; next they too dig in the wet soil /174/ dampened by the rain or by water, and help the women in the operation of forming the walls.

With such simplicity, the four walls are raised in a single day, everything being completed; at the present time almost all houses have a gallery where the men and women always sit to enjoy the cool of the mornings and the evenings in friendly gatherings, a gallery which is even used for sleeping on excessively hot nights, especially when inside there is an abundance of vinchucas and other insects (1).

346 476

1. In Parapiti a school for 150 girls was built and finished in 12 hours; nothing had been prepared for this building; it was planned the day before and done at once by all the inhabitants.

342 With the erection of the gallery, the house is completely finished, and the Indian content and satisfied. In present-day buildings care is taken to place the door, or entry, at one end of the house which corresponds to the gallery, and many have two, one in front of the other, in order to have a way to the patio which they make with a fence of thorns for greater comfort.

342 28 [322] [824] The doors are of cane, which they tie together like mats, but vertically, with ceiba bark or with cowhide thongs, which are more durable indoors. If an Indian can get a cowhide, he makes a door of Guayapa wood, or, as the whites call it, zacharrosa, or another soft wood, which he puts in a hole left in the construction; he makes another frame with its hinges made of the same wood, soaks the hide, and fastens it in this

/176 cont./

342
335 The post thus set up served as a central point for the new house; next he traced a more or less round circle without having any recourse whatsoever to the rules of theoretical geometry, being ignorant of its existence; nevertheless, his reason helped him enough. Having traced the circle and having secured ahead of time enough forked poles /horquillas/ some two meters high, he put them in holes some 50 or 60 centimeters deep around the circumference, leaving the entrance facing the plaza.

Once these poles have been well fixed in the ground around the center pole, the Indian, with the help of his companions and relatives, prepares rafters, straw, bejuco or ceiba bark, hollow cane or small sticks. He then begins, after an appropriate period of rest, to put in place first the rafters, tying them to each other, the center post serving as a prop, and then he ties them to the poles around the circumference, one to each pole, until he finishes. Before beginning, the precaution is taken of singeing the bejuco. The rest is done as has been described in the modern houses, but when the placing of the roof and the walls around are finished, the center post, which would only be an obstruction for the fire which is constantly burning in the center of the house, is removed (2).

• [824]

2. Singed bejuco does not rot, regardless of the season in which it has been pulled up. It is resistant and is not attacked by the wood borer. Those who use it so much have experience.

[821] Everyone knows that conical houses are very solid, when care is taken to select good wood and /illustration appears here/ /177/ to cut it during the waning moon. If the rafters have the fork downward, conical houses are much more solid (1).

[554]

1. A house in conical form among the ancient Chiriguano indicated great ability on the part of the builder and status on the part of its owner; for this reason they were owned only by caciques, rich persons, and other important persons.

/178 cont./

353 [356] Chiriguano towns attract the attention of all travelers and explorers because of the cleanliness which reigns in their houses, which, despite having a notable quantity of furnishings, are well kept up through the assiduous work of the mistress of the house. [415] [352] Jars with wide mouths are in the corners; those with narrow mouths, in which the chicha must ferment, lean vertically against the walls; the plates and spoons are on small triangular tables of hollow cane in the corners; small ollas are placed inside the empty large pots, and these in times of abundance, and even in times of scarcity, are full, some with shelled maize, others with beans and gourd seeds, and others with wool and cotton for making ponchos, blankets, or outer garments.

[824] [251] /179/ Above, at an appropriate height, they hang a mat of hollow cane or little sticks well tied together well with Ivi, or ceiba, and there they put other trifles or small things, when they do not have anything else to put there, such as cheeses and charqui, or dried meat. The mat is usually hung on one side of the house on one of the rafters by means of thongs of cowhide or other material. They are placed there so as not to be in the way of those who must pass beneath (1).

[824]

1. The Ivi is a species of ceiba, samuu, but it does not have points like the latter. There is another called Cuari or Tayipiruru, which is very straight, has very strong fibers, and is only cut at the branches in order to pull off the bark. A fourth type of ceiba is called Iviru guasu; it is large and smooth. Each type has its congenial place, like every tree.

Finally, in the corners of the house or where it is most convenient, up high, they put one or more cords, which form an angle from one wall to the other, and there each member of the family puts his own clothing and the men hang the harness of their beasts of burden. Today the Chiriguano who are not lazy are not so poor, and when one enters a house one is amazed by all the abundance of furnishings so well arranged.

/180 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it; most of them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have [513] this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they [178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and [237] to have cots like the whites use; the open part of the latter is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred; in the Ivu Mission almost all make them of this material.

574 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either;
576 when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on
516 the ground; nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit
352 down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For
322 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of
[574] wood and called Apica. There are some with two places and up to four with their respective dividers; there are some for [412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter [438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like [439] those of the whites; they make the latter for their own use [824] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharrosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel.
352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks, Quiha ó inni, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/183 cont./

323 size, which they /184/ call Itaisi, with which the polishing of the pieces is completed (1).

1. The operations which they also perform with the shell and with the stone are for the purpose of giving fineness to the vessels and of closing any chinks.

[824] When they leave the piece which has been begun, they cover it with leaves of the Causíro, palma Christi, and at the time when they begin it again they dampen the edges with a small rag. This rag serves also for dampening the piece before polishing it with any of the above-mentioned tools. When it is finished and before it has been exposed to the air very long, they polish it with the Itaisi, and, when it is quite dry they fire it if it is not to have pictures on it.

531 Every painted piece of pottery is called Sacuarama. The [192] paintings are white, black, and red. The white is called Tovanti, the black Itau, and the red Itaurucu. They grind [237] up the three colors separately, dissolve them in water, and apply them with a slender feather from a chicken or other bird. The figures are varied; those of trees, animals, and men are rare; they are lines, unintelligible groupings. Without knowing it themselves, they follow a general system, and some of them make fine pieces, especially for storing water.

323 In order to fire them they select a still day, and a big [843] piece is carried to the forest, because there is plenty of firewood there and also to avoid having pregnant women coming close to watch, because their presence, according to what they [237] say, would make the vessel break. They pile firewood around it and light it, taking care that the fire does not go out before it is burning well; sometimes instead of firewood they also use dry cow-manure, and it seems that this is very good for even- [237] ness of the baking. If the pot has paintings, they let it cool a little when they take it out of the fire and then quickly pass over the pictures the excrement of the Taragüirisi, which melts with

/189 cont./

291 Clothing in the fashion of Adam is still seen everywhere. In the towns the men, and almost everywhere the women, are at least dressed from the waist to below the knee, because for work or for coolness the Cutama or tipoy, which can cover them up to the shoulders, is allowed to fall to the waist, the rest being left visible.

Gala Dress

292

For the ancient Chiriguano, the Ambícuai, doublet, was fine and festive clothing. This single name includes the Guasupi cangao, hat, the Ambícuai, sagum or frock coat, and
[554] the Guasupi timbiao, breeches. Because the doublet is an object of luxury, they do not all wear it, its use being limited to the grandees or caciques, to rich men, and to sorcerers.
292 It is made entirely of tanned skins, which are those of the wild
28 boar, peccary, or pygmy deer. They are tanned with the
[824] bark of the Curupau, the astringent acacia or sevil, which contains a great deal of tannin.

126 Skillful men are needed to make a complete doublet like
291 the one made in the Santa Rosa Mission by the Indian
797 Cachupari, which, when taken to the Turin exposition, was acquired by the Florence Museum, along with the skull that I acquired in Curuyuqui and other objects, such as the Yandugua, a kind of parasol of ostrich feathers, etc., objects which the missionaries of Potosí sent along with the missionaries of Tarija (2).

2. The missionary who was charged with taking all the things to the exposition and leading the Chiriguano of both sexes, as the program directed, was the late Franciscan Father Doroteo Giannecchini.

/193 cont./

302 Another of the cosmetics frequently used by men and women
137 is the Carasapa. This is an annual plant with broad leaves, and
824 its stem grows /194/ to the height of a meter or a little more.
The color of the plant itself and of its leaves is, for about half of it, somewhere between red and purple. The flower is large and about 30 centimeters long, its color being the same as that of the plant, but much brighter. There is enough of the plant everywhere, but it is not very abundant. The flower is somewhat heavy when it has seeds, and since the stem is slender and flexible, the result is that when it cannot hold itself upright it leans over toward the ground, forming an arch, hence its name Carasapa, or arched plant (1).

[527]

1. At carnival time even the neophytes paint their faces, as do the whites. They buy face paint which the whites sell, and the infidels forsake their achiote at the carnivals.

303 When the flower and seed are in season, the coquettes do their harvesting in order to use it, and they look pretty. The Carasapa also has its preparation, without which its application would not be easy. They first grind up some white beans, sift this meal very fine, and then grind the Carasapa in a mortar with a little water, put this mixture in a cloth, squeeze over the bean meal the water which comes out, washing or coloring it, and then dry the dough in the sun, spread out on a cloth or a Cutama. The preparation is not difficult, but not all of them go to the trouble to do it, and for those who prepare it, it is a profitable item.

302 The way to use it is the same as for the achiote, but it
[531] does not have any peculiarity, and hence it is only used at fiestas and at carnival time. Maidens beautify their faces by forming two circles of carasapa on their fresh cheeks and paint their eyebrows with achiote. Formerly, when young girls wore the Atira, pompadour /copete/, at fiestas it was painted with the carasapa mixture, after having been oiled with palma Christi.

/194 cont./

302 The flower of the Guambero, purslane, has the same properties as the carasapa, but it is little used, and they content themselves with just sticking the leaves on their faces, and this only at carnival time, the result being a gay set of dancers. Finally, the Indians have a fourth cosmetic, which they call Mboinucu, or achiote of the viper. It is red, and they assert that it is food for the viper, hence its name. They use it by rubbing it on their cheeks, which makes them a bright red.

292 [529] [178] As noted above, the ancient Chiriguano man, Ava, and the Chiriguano woman of long ago, Cuña, at solemn fiestas and on days /195/ of general rejoicing, after having adorned their faces and washed their persons, wore the tiru and the mandu, respectively (1).

> 1. If the Indian dressed in a tiru does not have breeches, guasupi timbiao, he wraps his body from the waist down with a shorter poncho which comes to the calf. It is also of cotton, and the women weave it. It is called Tirupeé, or sheath that warms, "alias" wrap /abrigo/.

[286] [462]

The Tiru is a kind of long poncho, from which it differs because of the two openings that it has near the wrists: the hands are put into said openings and remain free for movement, and, the tiru fastened to the wrists, nothing impedes the motion of the one wearing it. It is spun and woven by the women, and the raw material is cotton. The tiru differs in color, some are black, others dark red, and others blue. The first color is obtained with black mud, Tuñúñ, mixed with the resin of the algarroba, Piari; the second, with sorillo bark, Urundeibau; and the third, with wild indigo, Caogüi (2).

[286] 297 386 [824]

> 2. Today this is all purchased commercially, and the indigo plant, which is abundant in certain places, is ignored. They buy the indigo and the other colors, just as they buy for their poncho and their tipoi.

[439] [178]

/195 cont./

292 The black tiru is first dyed with sotillo bark, and then they
386 immerse it in a vessel which has well-steeped black mud and
•824 algarroba resin. After some time they wash it and dry it out, leaving the permanent color. The dark red is made with only boiled sotillo bark. Finally, to dye with indigo they crush this leaf and expose it to the sun's rays, then they crush it again in the same way, after which they put it in a large earthenware vessel with water, in which the tiru is immersed and comes out a light blue, but, if they want it to be like the blue of drill, it is necessary to boil the indigo.

In order to dye everything red they also use a species of onion that they call Tunpaipi, which literally translated, means feet of God and is abundant in the fields, and another
292 one called Chapi, which is found in the hills. Everything said about the tiru is applicable to the mandu of the women, with the sole difference that this is open at both ends and is attached to the shoulders with two enormous silver needles that they call Yu guasu, big needles, which are also disappearing.

301 When a woman is occupied with domestic and other work,
302 she ties her hair up tightly with a band, Apicuá, /196/ of cotton
[527] or wool, so that it will not inconvenience her at her tasks, but
[515] when there is a fiesta, she washes her person, washes her head, combs her heavy and shining hair, and lets it loose, flowing over her body as far down as it will go (1).

[178]

1. The young women today put up their hair like the white women, making braids through which they draw a band that they call Aflopea, braided cord. The hair fastened in the old way was like a baton, since not a hair was to be seen, even horizontally, all of it being covered by the band, aflopea.

/211 cont./

853 262 There is no special food or more abundant food for mothers after childbirth. She who gives her breasts to her little one eats little and extremely poorly. Her ordinary food is parched maize, parched maize meal, bread made of the same, herbs, beans, gourds, other things of this nature, and rarely a little purchased beef, other meat from animals that died from sickness, lack of pasture, or snake bite, and, finally, game or chicken. In spite of this extremely bad food, milk is abundant in her breasts; the children are almost always hanging from them and sucking and never seem to dry them up, which indicates that they are excellent nursers.

648 464 853 Mestizo or white mothers who sometimes have little or no breast milk because of sickness or some accident make contracts with Chiriguano mothers, pay them well, and treat them better, but it seems that continued good and satisfactory nursing harms them, /212/ it also being prejudicial to the breast as well as to both newborn babies, the weaker child succumbing first (1).

1. Naturally the Chiriguano women refuse to be wet nurses for white children, because they abhor them. When through experience they learn of the sad consequences, communicated by others, they resist even more and only do it when force or the right of the stronger prevails.

845 [163] [165] Twins

Multiple births are rare, and those of two children are frequent. In the former case the newborn babies die very soon, and in the latter case one almost always lives, and many times 736 603 both live. When twins survive or through the death of the mother a newborn child is left an orphan, it is very easy for the grandmother to care for one twin or the orphaned child. [853] [824] Although the old woman may have reached or passed 60, she

/212 cont./

736 very easily manages to make the milk come down. She
603 grinds watermelon seed or sarsaparilla root, Isipocagua, and
824 washes herself repeatedly, squeezing herself over or above her
853 breasts, and makes the famished child suck continuously for several days, and in a short time she achieves the desired result. Sometimes even young women lose their milk. They then look for the root and juice of the sámolo, or cipoi, wash the breasts with this juice, and succeed in nursing their children again (2).

2. In the confirmation administered by the Bishop in October, 1909, in Ivu Mission, an old woman of some 60 years of age presented her granddaughter, whom she had nursed. She is still alive, and so is the twin granddaughter, although not very strong.

Joy and Grief

855 For the Chiriguano race their joy at the birth of a male child is the same as at that of a female child, because if the former helps his father in field chores and in hunting and fishing, the latter helps her mother in household chores, and the father as much as the grandfather very much like to eat meal which has been ground by the hands /213/ of their daughter
765 or granddaughter. If either one dies, the grief that the old
855 people feel is very heavy. I witnessed many times a mother's agonies of grief over the death of her son and the profound feeling of the father over the irreparable loss of his idolized daughter.

797 What I am going to relate will better convince my
758 readers. In the month of July in the year 1909, a rabid dog
164 at the girls' school of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission bit Cecilia Yaguándai slightly and Ana Yarandui and Delina Aragúndai more severely. The two latter, younger than the

/220 cont./

857 868 The boys have different ways of learning how to be accurate in shooting arrows and to be good hunters and brave warriors. In the field or in the woods they amuse themselves usefully, ambushing and taking as a target little birds and even grasshoppers when there are any, and when they go back home they give proof of their manliness by sticking the arrow into the mortar in which their mother customarily grinds maize.

857 868 526 [411] [824] When the boys gather together in the town, they learn the use of the arrow, shooting it at a wooden wheel which one of them makes roll as fast as he can. This wheel is made of a type of round cactus which grows a cuarta or a little more and is called Zipepe. The boys, armed with arrows, line up, and the best one will succeed in driving his into the soft material of the zipepe. /221/ The zipepe is at the same time a school for target shooting and a game; of the latter they have 524 others which I shall name in passing. They have the Pinono, top. This is different from that of the towns of the Republic. It is a small gourd with a hole in the middle in the upper part. When they spin it, the air produces a prolonged sound like that of little calves who are lowing very gently, and from this comes its name, Pinono.

Another game for young and old is pelota, which has a definite season. This is when there is fresh maize, or the cold is beginning to be felt. They call it Topo, and it is done with the husk of fresh maize; thus, when the fresh maize season ends, the game of pelota also ends, and they amuse themselves with many other games that they have (1).

000

1. These will not be listed because this is not the subject of this chapter, and in addition it would be very tiring for the reader.

/231 cont./

881 304 [828] In general, with the method of pressing strongly on the patient's temples, the one performing the operation manages it so that the patient feels little or nothing of the pain of the piercing, according to what they say, and it is probable, because one sharp pain diminishes or makes another one feel less strong. But it is also certain that the boy, seeing himself before so many spectators and girls, makes every effort not to cry out or weep, because the Indians do not deny that many somewhat cowardly ones do shout and even cry a little (1).

1. Some boys, very fearful, when their fathers begin to talk to them about the tembeta and the need to have the hole made, run off to another tribe in the presence of their relatives, but the latter persuade them, and they return to their town.

I have asked more than one Indian and all agree in asserting that not a drop of blood comes from the hole. The day on [785] which the imposition of the tembeta is done is a day of strict [784] fasting, and they do not even let them drink a little chicha; other foods cannot be chewed by them for several days either. On some, somewhat careless ones, there is a swelling, and on others not. [757] The swelling of the lip is avoided, according to [824] them, by heating the leaves of the bush Urucuna in the flame or embers of the fire and applying them continually around the 881 hole. The cicatrization of the lip may take a month, during which time the little Chiriguano stays at home, letting himself be seen in the streets and in the plaza once in a while (2).

[759] 2. For a Chiriguano it is a great honor to put the tembeta in place on the boys, so that he asks nothing for this honorable operation; but the boy's parents make some small gift, which he receives with satisfaction.

/231 cont./

304 881 [824] Meanwhile the one who performed the operation now gives final admonishments to the boy, and he, following all of these instructions and those of his father, keeps the little tube in continual motion so that it will not stick to the flesh, and on the days that follow he begins to put around it little twigs /232/ from the bush called Yacurimbíu, food of the turkeys. When it has healed, he will cut a larger stick from the same bush and put it in alone, removing the tembetandi, and continue enlarging the hole this way little by little until he can put in a tembeta of hollow cane, which also goes on taking on larger dimensions until it seems big enough. Then he buys a de luxe tembeta and he puts it in, never to remove it again, either day or night, since it would be a great embarrassment for a Chiriguano to appear in public without his tembeta (1).

1. If the Chiriguano were to be without his tembeta while asleep, saliva would run out, because the hole is rather large in most of them.

301 The hollow-cane tembetas are made by every Chiriguano, while those of wood and tin are made by craftsmen. In spite [326] of there not being any blacksmiths or tinsmiths among them [439] and as neither tin or lead nor anything similar is available, [177] the result is that the material for making them is brought from other parts, being bought from the whites, with whom they have maintained relations since the beginning of Tarija, out of which region the Chiriguano were expelled.

The Tembeta in Other Tribes

301 171 The use of the tembeta may be another argument for the unity of the human race; indubitably the Chiriguano use it as a tradition passed on from father to son, and thus successively up to our times. The tembeta is found in use by savage tribes almost throughout the world; in Africa the Noers /Nuer/ and

/239 cont./

Old Method of Farming

241 In planting the fields which are already old, they use the same method of applying fire to the weeds and stubble that are left after the harvest; this method is even coming to be practiced by the whites and the mestizos. As far as fertilizing the land, the Chiriguano does not worry about it, because the lands are virgin and the Indian hardly plants maize on a large scale, and, if it rains regularly until the grain has become hard, the crop is abundant and the farmer has enough to eat and an abundance of chicha to drink, which is what he wants.

412 Formerly the ava had nothing but a wooden shovel and a stone ax, which is hard to find today. He obtained his livelihood with these insignificant tools; the ax served him for cutting trees and bushes and the spade for pulling up all the grass and brush. The spade was like those used by bakers for [824] putting bread in the oven; it was of soto wood and was at- [239] tached to a rather long handle with bejuco vines or strips of toborochi bark; the handle was always long, because the Indian /240/ neither knew nor does he now know how to bend his back at his farm chores; these spades were also made from the shoulder blade of cattle, horses, or asses (1).

000

1. Baron don Erland Nordenskiold, in addition to the pots from various regions of Bolivia, sent to the Swedish museum pots made by the Chiriguano, wooden spades, and stone axes.

241 Planting was usually done in the month of November, [221] after the ground had received at least two rains. Then the Indian would first destroy with his spade the small amount of grass that had come up, and then he would notify his friends and relatives so that they might help him to plant on the day indicated. The cacique took part in the general [476] planting, ordering that those under him should help one [534] another; thus, early on the said day, at daybreak, they would

/274 cont./

Offensive War and Weapons

643 When a tribe was preparing to attack another, if it foresaw
701 that it would last longer than usual, and the cacique judged that
705 more preparations were required, in his position as supreme chief or captain general he would commission subalterns called Queremba, experts, to inspect all the armament available, and if the report of these chiefs was not satisfactory, a general order was given to make up and repair all the deficiencies as quickly as possible.

411 The bows and arrows were made in the public plaza or out-
●824 side each house; the wood which was to serve for bows was different from that for arrows. War bows measured /275/ a meter
[283] and a half more or less, and to shoot one they used a twisted cord made of pygmy-deer hide, which was both light and strong. The wood that they use even today for hunting bows is called Igũirapitiragua.

The arrows are made of different kinds of wood, but the most common are Ovei, guayancansillo /a kind of guaicum/, Yaguasíi, tola, and Igũirane, smelly wood. This last is very poisonous, and the tribe that uses it must be a very bad enemy of his opponent, because whoever is wounded with these arrows will recover only with difficulty, and the wound is a continual suppuration of illness, which slowly consumes him, almost without any hope of his being able to be helped and to enjoy life once more with his companions.

Every arrow ends in a point, and on both sides it has its edges the opposite way so that when it enters the flesh it is difficult to remove, and one who does not know how to remove it can produce a greater wound than the one the arrow made when it entered.
[283] The arrow is inserted into a little piece of hollow cane, one
[239] meter long, where it is securely attached with string made of toborochi bark, and the string is covered with a little bit of wax (1).

1. At the end of the cane, with the same string and wax, many attach a feather of a falcon or of a carcancho, not for decoration, but so that the shot may be more accurate. The feathers of these birds are more resistant than others.

/291 cont./

764 Now the funeral begins, which consists of crying as hard as possible, men and women, and shedding real or false tears. While they are crying they also dig the grave, /292/ which at most is two meters deep. The weeping lasts all night without rest and is accompanied by strict fasting, because so long as the deceased is visible, it would be a dishonor to take food. If there are young children in the house, they are taken by the neighbors or by some relative who takes care of them with all humanity through everything, since the unfortunate ones, when they see so much confusion, act stupid and go after the first person who shows them any tenderness. To wet their mouths and in order to cry unceasingly, those who attend the funeral, drink a little new chicha, if there is any; otherwise they are content with a little water (1).

●[824]

1. Those who cannot shed tears because they do not mourn the death of the deceased put chili pepper in their eyes, and with this, which they call a medicine, the tears fall copiously.

On the next day, when the grave has already been dug, they first put the deceased in the vessel, Yambúi. They also put in a small jar of chicha, a little parched meal, a flintstone, a steel, tinder, fresh maize husk, and tobacco, a live parrot or chicken, a bow and arrow, and other things which belonged to the deceased, and they close it with another jar, and if the dead person is a nursing infant, they put in its sepulcher a small jar of the [775] mother's milk. All these things are necessary for the journey to the other life and clearly indicate that the Chiriguano have an idea, although a material one, of the immortality of the soul.

764 775 Now enclosed in the funeral urn, they lower it into the hole by means of ropes, and meanwhile the cries redouble, until it disappears below the ground. The body is placed with the face toward the east, because they all want the deceased to attain glory, the paradise which is shown by the light of the sun. Placed thus, the deceased or his soul will not always be going about in search of happiness; he will run toward the sun as iron or steel goes toward a magnet.

T /323 cont./
433
648 They devote themselves to planting, hunting, fishing, and
167 raising livestock; they rarely go en masse to Chiriguano towns and even more rarely to those of the whites, to which they do little damage.

Miscellany

C
824 In the section "Flora" in Etnografía Chiriguana /Chiriguano
757 Ethnography/ I described the passion flower of the Chaco region of Bolivia, which is called granadilla de monte /wild passion flower/ there. Its roots are medicinal and those with pretenses of being doctors there employ them to cure tapeworm.

There is a small tree called "Nuranti mbucu," long thorn, by the Chiriguano, and meloncillo /small melon/ by the whites of Santa Cruz. It grows three or four meters high at most; when it blooms, its tips are a quite light purple; its roots are put on to boil for a period of one and a half hours, and the clarified water is an effective remedy for treating dysentery.

C
122 The Franciscan school /colegio/ at Potosí, the Reverend Father Prefect of Missions, and the Padres Conversores of the same school deferred to my suggestion that they /324/ help me in publishing the Etnografía Chiriguana, for which I thank each and every one of them from the bottom of my heart.

I extend in these pages the same thanks to a group of gentlemen from the city of Sucre, who, encouraged by Doctor Don Tomás Arana, assisted in the publication with a subscription of ten bolivianos per copy.

Finally, special thanks have been earned by two young ladies from the city of Sucre and another from the city of Oruro, who, through special deference to the author, have favored him with extraordinary alms, without imposing upon him any obligation whatsoever.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

IV.

Hunting Equipment.

C
Ce
411
[224]
C
[223]

The Chiriguano and the Chané are not keen huntsmen. They are rarely seen out hunting. Their hunting-weapons are the bow and arrow, the pellet-bow, clubs, slings, and snares, all of their own manufacture. The Chiriguano have bird-nets too, and formerly they had the bola as well. The Chiriguano and the Chané have no weapons exclusively used in warfare. Formerly they had lances[1]).

C
Ce
411

The bow and arrow are going quite out of use among these Indians except for fishing and as a weapon for boys. The degenerate type of bow now seen among the Chané and Chiriguano is certainly not original. According to LIZARRAGA[2]) the Chiriguano used to have bows of a man's height. It is of great interest to learn from LIZÁRRAGA that the Chiriguano used to protect their left wrist with a small piece of wood to prevent the skin being grazed by the bow-string. Something similar occurs among the Ashluslay (see Part I. P. 42).

C
[714]

C
Ce
414
[134]
[824]
[171]*

Their arrows are very like those used by the Choroti and Ashluslay. The arrow shafts are of the same kind of reed[3]). At the Rio Parapiti this plant, which grows abundantly beside the Rio Pilcomayo is cultivated by the Indians. On the Rio Parapiti there is a place called Ouivarenda, which means »where there is chuchio.» This plant, the *Gynerium* sp. whose seed-stalks so many Indian tribes use

[1]) CHOMÉ P. 331.

[2]) P. 328.[4] »Andan desnudos y quando mucho qual ó qual tiene una camisetilla hasta el ombligo; . . . son grandes flecheros; sus armas son arco y flecha; el arco tan grande como el mismo que lo tira, y porque la cuerda no lastime la mano izquierda, en la muñeca encajan un trocillo de madera y allí da la cuerda».

[3]) *Arundo donax.*

[4] [Errata: this should read "See Serrano y Sanz P. 328."
(Errata Sheet, Cat. 116, P. 245 -- Analyst.]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5)(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
ce
441
[824]

for arrow shafts has been completely destroyed by cattle along the Rio Parapiti. Formerly the Chané made the shafts for their arrows of »chuchio».

The arrow points are made of hard wood and sometimes of iron. Arrows with several tips are used for fishing and sometimes also for shooting birds. Arrow-tips made of cactus spikes are used by some Chiriguano for fishing. Some characteristic types of arrows are depicted here (fig. 6). Some arrows are feathered to guide the flight. The feathers are fixed in the way that MEYER calls »Peruvian cemented feathering». The feathers are quite small as on Chaco arrows generally. Arrows with thickened heads (bird arrows) are very common. Some of them have the shape we see depicted here (fig. 6 E). This type does not occur among any of the other tribes I got to know during my travels, but they are common among several peoples living in the east, e. g. the Cainguá, Guató, and Bororó, and in the northern part of S. America, among the Trio, Guahibo and others. They have most likely been introduced here by the Chiriguano. It is not probable that they have come from the Arawaks for, as a rule, they do not use blunt bird-arrows. In Part I I have published a map (No. 3) showing the distribution of the bird-arrow in S. America. Later on I will deal with arrows particularly used for fishing. The Chiriguano and Chané sometimes use a special kind of bast to bind round the arrow where the point is inserted in the shaft. The same kind of bast is not met with among the Choroti and Ashluslay or among the other Chaco tribes I have got to know. It occurs, however, among the Cainguá.

C
[824]
[226]

C
Ce
*[171]

C
[171]

C
ce
[283]
*[171]

In part I I have already published a map showing the distribution of the sling in S. America. I have nothing to add to this which cannot be seen in the subjoined drawings (fig. 7).

The pellet-bow is rather common among the Chiriguano and also among the Chané. It is chiefly used by boys and youths. I wish here to make a few additions to what I have said about the pellet-bow in Part I.

This contrasts with the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro and is certainly owing to the poverty of the first-mentioned.

Sometimes the Chiriguano and Chané calabashes are surrounded by a net for greater convenience of carrying. I have already dealt with these in the foregoing.

The stoppers of calabash-bottles are generally pieces of empty corn-cobs. These are now and then used also as stoppers for earthen-vessels. The Choroti and Ashluslay, as a rule, make use of wax, which material is little used by the Chiriguano and Chané.

Fig. 51. Calabash. Chiriguano. R. M. 523. 1/6.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177

guano until they had settled in their present territory, let us say by trade or other connections with the tribes living in N. E. Bolivia. I will not assert that this is impossible, but I am of opinion that it cannot apply to most of these cultural elements. In any case it does not apply to such cultural elements as rubber balls, certain kinds of basket work of palm-leaves, and hammocks, which clearly overstepped the natural confines as a result of emigration. The rubber for the balls must be procured from the north, and suitable palm-leaves for basket-work is not to be found locally. The hammock is not the kind of bed best suited to this part of the continent.

C
Ce
177
241

Mandioca is now cultivated only as a rarity by the Chiriguano and Chané. It is highly probable that, before they settled in their present habitat, this plant was of considerable importance to them. Neither the Chiriguano nor the Chané depended so largely on maize before they came to the parts they now inhabit. Here they have an excellent soil for growing maize.

C
Ce
177
226

Fish and game are now certainly of less importance to these Indians than they used to be. I mentioned earlier that the Chiriguano and Chané now make the impression of fishermen without water to fish in. A method of fishing which is of no little importance to the kinsmen of these Indians, is fishing with poison. In these parts it is rare, but occurs, at least among the Chiriguano.

C
Ce
177
824

»Chuchio» (*Gynerium* sp.) was formerly the plant that yielded at least the material for the arrows of the Chané Indians. As it has now been uprooted, its place is taken by another growth of grass, *Arundo donax*. It was not until post-Columbian times that this reed, which is used by the Chiriguano, Chané, and all the Chaco tribes for the shafts of their arrows and for other purposes, was introduced into S. America, where now, not least in El Gran Chaco, it has an exceedingly widespread distribution. (I ought to have pointed this out in the First Part of the pre-

[text continues on p. 212]

5tNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF
Chane SF8

C
Ce
177
824

sent work.) It follows that these Indians used other material for their arrows in pre-Columbian days. The Choroti and Ashluslay probably had wooden shafts to their arrows, as Chuchio does not, and probably never did grow in their country. Before *Arundo donax* grew in the Chaco it must have been difficult in many places to find material for flutes, etc. Even in the country of the Chiriguano and Chané there were reeds only in certain parts, so that the introduction of *Arundo donax* may have been of importance for other things than the material for arrows.

C
Ce
177
285

The difficulty of getting suitable material for basket-making has resulted in the baskets being of less importance to the Indians of the district under examination than to the Arawaks and Guarani-tribes elsewhere. Presumably the Chiriguano and Chané used to have carrying-baskets, which were supplanted by carrying-nets of Caraguatá or Yuchan.

C
Ce
174
[343]
[515]

Pile-barns are probably a reminiscence from a time when the Chané lived in swampy parts.

I have already pointed out that the great cleanliness of the Chané and Chiriguano shows that they immigrated to their present habitat from warmer, well-watered parts.

C
Ce
177

There are not many cultural elements of which we can say with absolute certainty that they were brought by the Chiriguano, and not by the Chané. Such are, however, urn-burials and »tembeta» of the kind now in use. This is not precluded by the fact that these cultural elements were originally western. Finger-mark ornamention, the wooden mortar, and certain bird-arrows, spindles of the Bakaïri type with a little knob on the top of the stick, are also cultural elements with such a distribution that we can assume that they were originally more intimately connected with the Chiriguano than with the Chané. Further comparative investigations, and access to an extensive quantity of the necessary material will doubtless enable us, from a study of the minor details in the external form of

6: Nordenskiöld--29 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Chaco Indians SK4

C.I.
C
Ce
824

Plate 16. Caraguata. A plant used in a variety of ways by the Indians in the Chaco.

C Ce 174 515 /204 cont./

and Mataco, who still in part dress in fur cloaks, seem to me, like the Fuegians and Patagonians, to have immigrated to the Chaco from the cold pampas in the south where washing was extremely unpleasant, whereas the Chiriguano and Chané come from the north, out of the warm, humid, virgin forests, from the great rivers, where bathing was always pleasant and refreshing. Now, where /Fig. 109 appears here/ they live under the same climatic conditions, the former have preserved their dirt, the latter their cleanliness.

C Ce 264 171 515

Im Thurn (1) reports that the Indians in Guiana bathe

1. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883.

C 304

Fig. 108.
Woman's tattooed arm. Chiriguano.
Itapenbia.

C Ce 264 171 515

immediately after eating, without any harm to them. I often observed the same thing here.

C Ce 515 824 Ce 302 412

The Chiriguano and various Chané shampoo the head with the seeds of "nyantêra," which they grind. For the same purpose the Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the bark of the mistol /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./, "yûag." The nails, and /205/ not least the toenails, are also very carefully tended. For combing they use combs carved in wood or made out of sticks of cane tied together.

352 [114] been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks [171] made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. [513] Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of 353 considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly 415 array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize [531] beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

[352] → [291] [302] [411] [415] ← [237] [824] → 354 →

Fig. 194. Man and young woman. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this im- 356 possible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

291 The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of [177] European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 163 and fig. 85 (12), pp. 15 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 59.

7: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

302 The hair is tended with very neat-looking wooden combs (fig. 196).
[412] Among the Chiriguano I also noticed composite combs of the type used in the Chaco (fig. 85).

[386] Among the men as well as the women, the custom obtains of painting
[824] the face red, the pigment being prepared from Bixa orellana. Many of the men I met in the neighbourhood of San Luis had red-painted the whole face below the eyes, and some of the women had circular red
302 spots, about 3 to 4 cm in diameter, painted on their cheeks. On the
304 other hand, I did not see any tattooed Chiriguano. Instances of tattooing have, however, been noted by Nordenskiöld, who also has seen Chiriguano women who had stained their teeth dark blue with some vegetable extract.[1] In the past, tattooing as well as teeth-staining were commonly practiced by the Chiriguano.

301

Fig. 197. Lip-stud (tembeta) of tin, with inlaid, pierced, turquoise-coloured glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. $^2/_3$. Riksm. 03. 3. 822.

Another Chiriguano ornament intimately connected with the human body is the lip stud (»tembeta»), which is exclusively worn by men and by youths who have attained marriageable age. The Chiriguano lip stud of the present day consists of a hollow tin cylinder with two laminate projections (fig. 197). The cylinder is filled with some waxy substance, into which are embedded a number of small beads of stone, glass or porcelain, usually of a turquoise-blue colour. The lip stud is inserted from the inside, through a hole made in the lower lip, so that its circular, bead-beset, front surface barely shows beyond the skin of the lip. The base of the lip stud, which is slightly concave, then rests against the teeth of the lower jaw. This quaint ornament creates no displeasing impression, but should a Chiriguano take it out, he would look both pitiable and ridiculous, as the saliva then runs through the large hole in the lip. Hence it is considered disgraceful to be seen without the lip stud, and on many occasions I have noticed the women scornfully deriding such men as had sold their lip ornaments. As soon as a man had taken out his lip stud, he generally put his hand to his mouth for concealment until he had time to put in a substitute stud, usually made of wood.

The lip stud that is here shown, which weighs 18.5 grammes, has a base plate 3.4 cm long, and its cylinder is 1 cm high, with a diameter

[1] Nordenskiöld (35), pp. 83, 85 and (18), pp. 187—188.

All arrow-shafts have the forepart strengthened by a waxed lashing of 411 bast or string, of a width from 5 to 11 cm. The rear end of the shaft is generally also reinforced with a waxed lashing, applied immediately above the string notch. This latter lashing is usually about 1 cm wide. In those of the arrows here reproduced that seem to be without notch-end lashing, this has become detached, except in the case of the arrow in fig. 40, which never was provided with a lashing of this kind.

I have mentioned in the foregoing that the Chiriguano cultivate a kind of reed plant (Arundo donax) in order to obtain therefrom a suitable material for making arrow-shafts. In making a reed into an arrow-shaft, the arrow-head is fitted to the thicker end of the reed (the lower part of the growing reed), because in this way, when the arrow is being discharged, the joints glide more easily over the bow stave than if the thinner end of the reed were turned to the front. The reed joints are, moreover, smoothed down with some sharp instrument in order to lessen the friction between arrow and stave. Arrow-shafts of a certain very light kind of wood are used by the Chiriguano of San Luis. Such wooden shafts I only saw on the long bird and fish arrows. I have never observed either arrow poison, or feathering on arrows, among the Chiriguano, but Nordenskiöld has seen feathered Chiriguano arrows.[1]

[824]

For bird-shooting the Chiriguano use arrows with club-shaped, wooden heads. The striking-face of this blob-head is usually slightly conical, and sometimes given a small, cylindrical projection (fig. 212). This type of arrow-head has been constructed for the purpose of preventing the arrow — if it misses its object — from fixing itself in the stem or branch of a tree, and of making it instead drop to the ground. As birds frequently are sitting high aloft in the trees, the hunter would not have much chance of recovering his arrow, on missing his bird,

223
411

Fig. 206. Fig. 207.
63.3 gm. 63.3 gm.
Arrows with lanceolate iron heads, and reed shafts. Chiriguano, San Luis, Bolivia. ⅓ Ethn.

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 26.

[Text continues on p. 212]

411 [226] two barbed prongs made of some hard wood (figs. 213 and 214). The arrow in fig. 210, which has only one prong, is used both in hunting and [829] for fish-shooting. The Chiriguano also use fish arrows pointed with a number of cactus spines.[1]

The fish spear has in later times become a very scarce implement with the Chiriguano. The only specimen obtained, as far as I know, is the one brought home by me, and now belonging to the Riksmuseum in Stockholm (figs. 215 and 216). Erland Nordenskiöld, who has compiled [114] a map of the distribution of the fish spear in South America, has been kind enough to inform me that the only mention he has come across in the literature, concerning its occurrence among the Chiriguano, is to be found in the account of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's unsuccessful expedition against these Indians.[2]

The fish spear I came upon among the Chiriguano in the neighbourhood of San Luis, has a 260 cm long shaft, made of some light kind of wood, very free from knots,[3] at one end of which two barbed wooden prongs are lashed on by means of a thin leather thong. The full lengths of the prongs are, respectively, 32.1 and 31.5 cm, and they project 20.1 cm from the shaft. One of the points has, however, been of a somewhat greater length, but has got blunted off. Both points have seven barbs on their outer sides. To ensure a perfectly firm fastening of the prongs, the fore end of the shaft has been wrapped with a piece of cloth, and over this the prongs have been lashed on.

323 I have already enumerated the various kinds of Chiriguano household [462] furniture. Among them, clay vessels hold a very important place. The Chiriguano are clever potters. It is only the women, though, who work at this industry.

In fig. 217 we see a potter's workshop, with a number of finished and unfinished pieces of earthenware. At the hut entrance is sitting a woman, who, with a piece of stick, is giving a finish to a large pot, which has been built up of rolls of clay, and is still unburnt.

[126] In figs. 218—225 I have reproduced some typical Chiriguano clay vessels that I collected at Aguayenda. These vessels are particularly well made. The peculiar rim warts seen on the hanging vessel in fig. 225,

---

[1] Nordenskiöld (II), fig. 13 a.
[2] Acosta (I), Part I, Chap. XV.
[3] Unfortunately, during the transportation home, the handle was, unknown to me, cut into two parts.

[P. 216 is blank]

323 counterparts of which are found on many ancient Peruvian clay vessels, have been more fully described by me in »En förgången värld».[1] The cord by which this vessel was suspended passed round the edge, and then upwards, between the points of the rim warts. At each wart a hole has been pierced through the rim of the vessel, but these perforations are so very small that they cannot very well have been used for fixing any string by which to hang up the vessel.

Besides the clay pots here reproduced — often graceful of shape and beautifully painted — there are also plain, unpainted clay vessels for cooking and other kitchen purposes. Chiriguano ceramics are of an exceedingly great variety as to form, and many of the shapes are identical with those of clay vessels found in ancient Indian graves and in the ground of ancient dwelling-sites in those regions of the Andes that border on the present Chiriguano country.

824 Next to clay vessels, bottles and bowls made of calabash may be said
415 to predominate among the household furniture of the Chiriguano. The bowls are often provided with pokerwork ornament (fig. 226).

273 On festivals — and also usually, though not always — the Chiriguano drink an intoxicating liquor (»chicha», in Chiriguano: »cangui»), which they prepare from maize. In [415] huge wooden mortars the maize is [531] pounded to flour, which is poured into large clay vessels filled with → water. This mixture is made to boil, and when it has cooled down, lumps of chewed maize dough are put into it to produce fermentation. These masticated mouthfuls of maize are usually allowed to dry in the sun, before use, and are then frequently spread on a [114] bedstead (fig. 190). This method of preparing maize beer naturally

Fig. 218. A jug for holding maize beer. Earthenware. Bottom part and inside unpainted. The rest painted brownish yellow, with ornaments in dark brown (marked in black) and red (marked in thin lines). Chiriguano. Agua-yrenda, Bolivia. $^{2}/_{3}$. Rikm. 05. 3. 837.

[1] see Rosen (I), p. 344 et seq.

534 same way as Pan pipes, and *naturally gives out tones, when one end of the tube is closed, different to those producible with both ends open.* The pipe is open at both ends, therefore, not only because this allows the instrument to be easily cleaned from dust, dirt and saliva, but also because *this construction gives the possibility of a greater number of tones.*

531
415
824
534
301
531

Fig. 226. Bowl, of calabash, up-turned, with pokerwork ornaments. Chiriguano. Carapari. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 831.

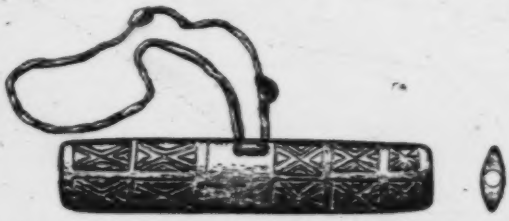


Fig. 227. Whistle, made of hard, black wood. Incised ornaments. Two cracks near one end of the tube have been filled up with a waxy substance. Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 848.

534 171 That the Indians occasionally also give a thought to keeping dust, etc., from getting into their whistling pipes, is, besides, evident from the pipe shown in fig. 228, which is an Araucan whistle from Cautin, Chile, a tubular piece of wood, 27.5 cm long. A common brass thimble is fitted over the lower end of the pipe, and for its top end there is a small, well made stopper of woollen-yarn, connected to the pipe with a string, so as not to get lost when taken out for the whistle to be blown. Concerning this stopper, Eric Boman, who has reproduced the pipe in one of his works, writes as follows: »Este tapón sirve para cerrar la boca del silbato, cuando éste no se usa, e impedir que entren allí tierra y otras impurenzas.»[1] »This stopper serves to keep the mouth of the whistle closed when the latter is not being used, and prevents dust and other dirt from entering.»

Fig. 228. Whistle, found at Cautin. Chile. From Boman.

Objects of tubular form, in construction corresponding to the one here reproduced in fig. 227, have been found in ancient Peruvian graves, and not only the Chiriguano, but also many other tribes now inhabiting areas in the neighbourhood of what once was the Inca domain, are still

[1] Boman (3), p. 518.

/22 cont./

352 513 [251] The Chiriguano generally sleeps on a kind of cot (catre), that is, a bed frame made of cane. Such beds, which in addition to their own purpose also serve for drying maize, have been represented in drawings by Eric v. Rosen (95), Erland

95. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 190.

[174] [178] v. Nordenskiöld (96), and Métraux (97). No doubt /23/ the

96. Nord. 2, Fig. 2.

97. Métraux 1, Fig. 125, p. 470.

cold climate of the region to which the Chiriguano had emigrated made them abandon the use of the hammock for sleeping, not very practical for such a climate, and replace it with the cot, which was already common among the tribes of those regions. Lacking a cot, the Chiriguano sleep on the ground. In that case they use for a bed large mats made of cane or palm leaves, or also hides (98). I acquired from the Chiriguano one

[232] [824] [126] [824]

98. Nord. 1, p. 177. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 200. Métraux 1, p. 470.

such mat plaited out of palm leaves (Fig. 95).

Chiriguano Mat (túpa) in the Collection

I. A. 540. Length 1.75 m. Width 1.50 m. (Fig. 95).

352 17 [126] In some Chiriguano houses I also saw wooden benches (apika), but unfortunately I could not acquire a specimen. Those benches in the form of a sled are very similar to the kind of benches that are very common among the Indians of Brazil (99) and those that we also know from the ancient

[113] 99. Carly /sic/ von den Steinen: Unter den

Ce 322 412 171 /28 cont./ The main difference between the Chané combs and the combs of the Chaco tribes is that the teeth of the latter are made of little sticks of cane, and the teeth of the former, of little sticks of any other kind of wood. The /29/ wooden teeth of the Izozó comb in our collection are between two flat little sticks of cane vertical to them, and on the handle end, between the little sticks whose lower parts form the teeth, shorter little sticks have been inserted, so that at the lower part of the comb there is a certain distance between the teeth. The lacing, consisting of cotton threads, covers the upper part of the comb as far as the edge, but also slightly covers the lower part which forms the teeth. The lacing is not secured with wax.

Ce 322 412

Ce [284]

With respect to hair care, we still must mention the data of Nordenskiöld and of Métraux (127) /see footnote 127 above/ to the effect that the Chiriguano and some of the Chané rub their hair with "Nyantéra" seed ("ñitira," according to Métraux), and the Chané of the Parapití with the rind of the mistol /Zizyphus mistol/, "yuag."

C Ce 302 824

From Father Lizárraga's description (128), we know that

C Ce 302 178 [171]

128. Moreno II, p. 101.

the Chiriguano and Chané in the past plucked out the hairs of the body, except from the head, as do most of the Indians of South America. Father Lazarraga /sic/ says that the Chiriguano plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes. This custom does not exist today, and the photographs of nude Chiriguano men shown by Lehmann-Nitsche (129) show that today as a general

129. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Fig.

rule they do not remove hair from the pubic regions. Also one meets today some middle-aged men who have mustaches, such as the cacique of the Izozó shown in Figure 10 and some of the Chiriguano men shown in drawings by Lehmann-Nitsche (130).

130. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Plates VIII-X.

C
Ce /34 cont./
756 most other Indians of South America, there is a professional
171 physician who is charged with the treatment of the sick, this
treatment in most cases consisting of sorcery among these
C Indians too. The physician attempts to dispel the evil by
Ce sucking out foreign objects which have penetrated the body of
755 the bewitched sick person. In addition to such treatment,
757 remedies are used among the Chiriguano and Chané, which,
[824] in addition to those made of plant substances, include the
[237] fat of various animals applied externally for different illnesses.
Ce The Chané treat wounds with boiling water.
752

Burial among the Chiriguano and Chané who live outside
C the missions is generally still done in urns, according to
Ce primordial custom. According to Nordenskiöld (149), the
764
415

149. Nord. 1, p. 208.

large pots in which chicha is prepared are also used as funeral urns, and another pot is used to close the urn. Often the dying person, even before being completely dead, or soon after death, is crammed into the urn in a squatting position. A calabash of water is placed with the dead person in the urn, which is buried within the house. Commonly the house, after
Ce the burial, is abandoned for some time, but is occupied again
768 later. Such a funeral urn of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi
C Valley is shown in a drawing by Erland Nordenskiöld (150).
764
415

150. Nord. 1, Fig. 113.

Up to half of the urn, which is provided with a cover, is disenterred. Nordenskiöld's statement that the Chiriguano use the same pots which serve for the preparation of meals as funeral urns is significant. From that we can deduce that a funeral urn found in other regions might also have served, during the lifetime of the dead person buried in it, some other purpose related to the economy of those Indians.

C 386 323 531 /56 cont./The white color is an earth paint (kaolin), the red, dark brown, and black are pulverized mineral substances of the corresponding colors (248). Métraux has published the results

248. Nord. 2, p. 145.

of chemical analyses and petrographic observations which he made on these mineral colors (249).

249. Métraux I, 385.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano at times paint their vessels with a paint consisting of a mixture of urucú and oil, which is probably applied after the vessel has been baked (250).

250. Nord. 2, p. 145.

C Ce 323 Before the vessel is baked, it must be quite dry. In the case observed by Nordenskiöld among the Chané on the Itiyuru River, the vessel was dried for a day in the shade, which can be done, according to another note by Nordenskiöld, in the sun as well (251). The baking is done, according to Nordenskiöld's

251. S. Linné, op. cit., p. 121.

observations, by piling firewood, maize cobs, and dry cow dung around the vessel. This fuel must burn with a strong fire for a quarter of an hour and, if the vessel is large, even longer (252).

252. Nord. 1, p. 246. Cf. Nord., Fig. 122.

C 323 [824] Some of the Chiriguano vessels are varnished. According to Nordenskiöld, such vessels are common among the Chiriguano and Chané on the Itiyuru River. They smear them with the resin of a Minosoidea, which the Chiriguano call "taraviruti." When varnished in this way the vessels acquire a yellowish sheen. Only the vessels of the Chané on the Itiyuru sometimes show black

Ce 323 824 386

/60 cont./

C 285 Plaited objects of the first type are made in such a way that the strips of one group are plaited with the strips of another group vertical to the first one, in such a way that the strips of the first group pass alternately a certain number of the strips of the second group and are passed by them, and in such a way that the meshes which go in the same direction form lines of steps. The number of the strips passed each time by one strip of the other group is generally three or two at a time, but there are cases in which only one strip is passed each time.

C [126] [513] [415] [291] Ce [415] [126] Among the plaited objects of this type, I obtained from the Chiriguano a large sleeping mat, small flat baskets /canastillas/, sieves, a quadrangular basket /cesta/, and a hat, and from the Izozó small flat baskets /canastillas/similar to those of the Chiriguano and two different kinds of baskets /cestas/. In addition, the Chiriguano and Chané also infrequently use fans for fanning the fire (tapèkua) plaited out of palm leaves (260).

C Ce 285 372

260. Nord. 1, p. 56.

Ce [824] Métraux has described and shown in a drawing such a fan for fanning the fire. This fan is plaited out of the leaves of the caranday palm in the "Stufengeflechte" style, in such a way that strips of the first group pass alternately two strips of the second group and are /Plates XXVI-XXVII appear here/ /61/ passed by them. The leaflets, separated from the stem, enlace a stick which, forming the upper edge of the fan, replaces the stem of the pinnate leaves of other palms which are used by other tribes of South American Indians in the manufacture of plaited fans (261).

261. Métraux I, pp. 460 and 461 and Plate 85.

/61 cont./

C 126 285

Plaited Objects of the First Type (Stufengeflechte) in the Collection

I. A. 540. Mat (Chir.) Lgth. 1.72 m. Width 1.50 m. (Fig. 95)
I. A. 541. Flat basket (Chir.). Dia. 39 cm. (Fig. 92b.)
I. A. 542. " " " " 42 cm.
I. A. 543. " " " " 43 cm.
I. A. 544. " " " " 38 cm.
I. A. 545. " " " " 38 cm.
I. A. 546. " " " " 32 cm. (Fig. 93.)
Ce [285] I. A. 744. " " (Izozó) " 36 cm.
I. A. 745. " " " " 37 cm.
I. A. 746. " " " " 46 cm. (Fig. 92a.)
I. A. 547. Sieve (Chiriguano). " 38 cm.
I. A. 548. " " " 39 cm. (Fig. 94.)
I. A. 549. " " " 39 cm.
Ce 285 126 I. A. 551. Basket " Lgth. 32 cm. Ht. 16 cm. (Fig. 101)
I. A. 677. " (Izozó) " 33 cm. " 16.5 cm. (Figs. 98a,100)
I. A. 678. " " " 28 cm. " 14 cm. (Fig. 98b)
I. A. 725. a. " " " 27 cm. " 12 cm. (Fig. 86a)
I. A. 679. " " " 21 cm. " 22 cm.
I. A. 680. " " " 39 cm. " 31 cm.
I. A. 681. " " " 27 cm. " 23 cm. (Fig. 96).
I. A. 682. " " " 31 cm. " 26 cm.
I. A. 683. " " " 26 cm. " 21 cm. (Fig. 97)
I. A. 684. " " " 55 cm. " 29 cm.
I. A. 685. " " " 44 cm. " 30 cm.
C 285 I. A. 686. " " " 46 cm. " 24 cm.
[291] I. A. 512. Small bag with cover (Chir.) " 9.5 cm.
I. A. 554. Hat (Chiriguano). Ht. 12 cm. Dia. 30 cm. (Fig. 99.)

The material of the plaited objects that I have mentioned above consists of strips of palm leaves or strips of cane, and that of the Chiriguano basket I. A. 551, of strips of wood. Because these Indians do not have palms with pinnate leaves available, they C [824] must use the peltate leaves of the caranday, from which comes the difference between the plaited objects of these Indians and those of other Tribes.

8: Schmidt--193 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/73 cont./

The Technique of Making Nets

C
Ce
286

The technique of making nets is widespread among the Chiriguano and Chané and is used to make various objects, such as fishnets, hammocks, nets for carrying burdens, bags, and slings. The material used for making these nets generally consists of threads made of caraguata fibers. In the collection there are two Chiriguano burden-carrying nets made of woolen threads and another one made of strips of cowhide.

C
Ce
[283]
[824]
C
[482]

The common technique of making nets among the Chiriguano and the Chané is the technique called "Knotentechnik," in German, using the knot called the reef knot in English. Figure 138, a and b, shows such a "reef knot," and Figure 142 shows the technique of making nets with this "reef knot." According to Nordenskiöld (275), the Chiriguano and Chané use small

C
Ce
[284]

275. Nord. 3, p. 207.

rectangular boards for making their nets, like those with which we are familiar from many other tribes of South America. Unfortunately, I did not acquire such a board from the Chiriguano or from the Izozó. By continually wrapping the first board with a thread the simple loops which are shown in the diagram (Figure 142) in the upper row are formed. The thread, after having reached the other end of the board, are wrapped continuously in the opposite direction around a second board, being connected each time, with a knot, with the loops of the thread wrapped around the first board. If the thread has been looped in the manner described, until it gets to the first loop of the first row, the first board can be removed to serve in the formation of the third row of the meshes of the net, which is made in the same way as the second, but in the opposite direction. It is clear that nets made with this technique, in their simplest and least complicated form, must have a rectangular form, and this form is typical of all of the nets of the Chiriguano and Izozó, while various other South American tribes, for example, the Bakairí /Bacairi/, who formerly lived on the tributaries of the Xingú River (in Mato Grosso), make triangular nets.

C
Ce
[171]

/76 cont./

The Working of Skins and Leather Tanning

C Ce 281 [824] [177]

The Chiriguano and Chané know the art of tanning leather, and they use for that the bark of the "Piptadenia" and other trees. No doubt they obtained the knowledge of this craft from the whites. They use not only tanned leather, but also strips of animal skin for the making of sundry objects (279), but the

279. Nord. 2, p. 165.

C 224 292 177

craft of working leather and skins is not an important one. It is said that formerly the Chiriguano, when they went hunting, wore leather clothing conforming to the European style (280).

280. Nord. 1, p. 184. Nord. 2, pp. 60, and 61. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

C 281 294

Beyond that, leather is not used for making clothing, except to make sandals (281). The men's modern custom of wearing

C 291 177

281. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23.

a leather belt must be attributed to the influence of the whites.

C 281 [492]

Without counting its application to the making of bridles and saddles for horses and asses, either draft or saddle animals, on which we have no data, strips cut from leather or from animal skins are used in the form of straps, principally to transport or hanging up some object. In place of the common vegetable-fiber cords, leather straps are often put on the nets for carrying burdens, on hammocks, and also on the hoops mentioned above, in which they keep things. The band of the Chiriguano net for carrying burdens I. A. 564 consists of an untanned cowhide strap. See Figure 134 /see p. 200/. The Izozó vessel I. A. 617 has a leather strap attached to its handles. The strings of the bows for shooting arrows are strips of animal skin, and the Chiriguano net I. A. 573 is made of cowhide strips.

Ce [281]

/80 cont./

Ee 534 The double whistle I.A. 495 consists of two pieces of cane joined together in the manner of Panpipes. In contrast to the flutes described in the preceding, the two tubes of these whistles have lips. One, which has four holes for making the sounds vary, measures 33.5 cm., and the other, which does not have such holes, is only 7 cm. long. A whistle of this kind, but not double, is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (303).

303. Nord. 2, Fig. 36b.

In addition to these musical instruments, Nordenskiöld describes a few others that he saw among the Chiriguano and Ee [171] Chané. Among them can also be found those round flutes which are used by many tribes of the Chaco and one of which is shown in a sketch by Nordenskiöld (304). They also have large

304. Nord. 2, Fig. 35.

trumpets, which the Chiriguano call "angùahuasi," while the common trumpet is called by the same name as is the mortar, "angúa" or "angúarai." One can also find trumpets made out Ee [237] [824] of a cow's horn or a calabash, which are blown at the upper end (305).

305. Nord. II, p. 119, Fig. 37 A and B.
Métraux I, p. 337, Fig. 35.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Panpipes, which consist of several flutes joined together, are rarely found among these Indians (306).

306. Nord. 2, p. 126.

Ee 415 532 Plastic art is little developed among the Chiriguano and Chané. On rare occasions we find plastic art in the form of animals in the forms of the baked clay pottery of the Chiriguano (307).

307. Nord. 2, Fig. 41, N. 4, and Fig. 45, N. 20.

/341 cont./

243 Parrots are veritable plagues for agriculture in the Chaco
825 and cause great damage. In order to fight their voracious
532 bands the Chiriguano make scarecrows by attaching to the tip of flexible poles the masks they wear during the carnival festivities and which they have no use for afterward (Fig. 8). It is the need to be constantly /342/ on the watch to repulse the intrusion of these formidable bands of plunderers which obliges the Indians to come and live in their fields as soon as the corn ripens. The children and young people have the task of frightening off by their shouts these insatiable marauders. As soon as they see or hear a flock of parrots, they emit a long modulation which, it seems, has the effect of scaring them. If
243 the parrots come too near or perch on the fields, the Indians
411 make them flee by bombarding them with stones with their slings. They have two kinds of these. Wherever the Chiriguano
[177] are in direct contact with the Quichua /Quechua/, these slings are of wool (Plate VII, 1 and 2); elsewhere, especially in the Caipipendí valley, they are of vegetable fibers and made according to the net technique (Plate VII, 3). No doubt the Chiriguano borrowed this weapon from the Andean populations. To be convinced of this it suffices to compare the slings of the Indians and half-breeds of the department of Tarija with that of the Chiriguano (Rosen, 1, Fig. 267, p. 261).

[825] Another means of scattering the birds is to stretch a string above the fields. I do not know the effect that this measure can have on them.

243 The fields of the Chiriguano Indians are always surrounded
825 by a high, thick hedge which protects them from animals, wander-
[351] ing cows and horses, which could get in and play havoc with them. Grasshoppers sometimes do them much harm. In the Caipipendí valley I saw a field in which they were swarming and which seemed to have been abandoned for this reason (1).

1. When grasshoppers are particularly numerous, the Chiriguano dig ditches which they make them go into and in which they bury them. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 83.)

231
223

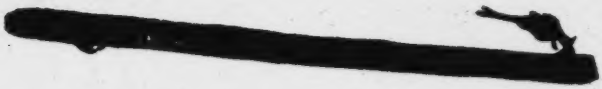
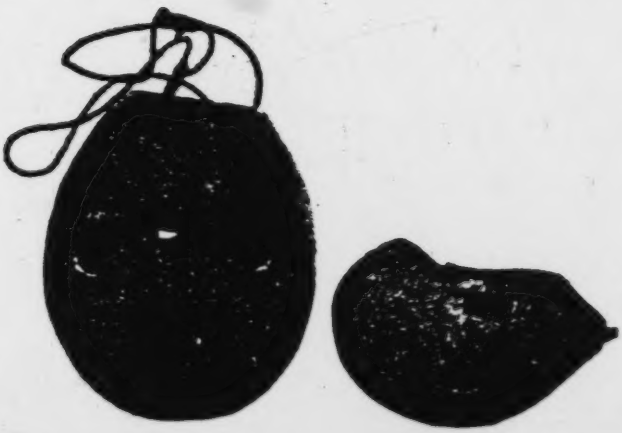


Fig. 16. Perch with troughs for tame parrots which the Chiriguano use for catching wild ones. Prov.: Ñawirenda. (1/10 nat. size.)



231
415
825

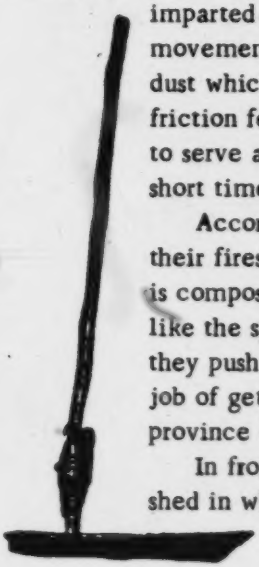
Fig. 17. Perforated calabashes in which the Chiriguano put chicks to protect them from birds of prey. Prov.: a, Carurutí; b, Ibopeytí. (1/4 nat. size.)

/354 cont./

372 small stick was too short to be handled with ease, he fastened it securely to another stick by means of vegetable fibers (embira) (Fig. 25). This done, he sat down on the ground, pressing the soles of his feet on the small cupped stick, and imparted with the palms of the hands a rotating movement to the other stick. The glowing sawdust which was detached by the effect of the friction fell on dried dung placed near the gadget to serve as tinder, which, at the end of a rather short time, began to catch fire.

354 According to the season, the Chiriguano light their fires inside the hut or outside. The hearth is composed of long branches which they lay out like the spokes of a wheel. As the ends burn, they push them closer to the central fire. The job of getting the dead wood falls within the province of the men (Fig. 26).

[462] [313] 343 In front of the huts they often erect a little shed in which the women do the cooking. The



[372] Fig. 25. Ancient apparatus for making fire, reconstructed by a modern Chiriguano. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/6 nat. size.)

roof of this shelter serves as a shelf for putting provisions and utensils on.

Preparation of Food

262 The modern Chiriguano do not seem to observe any food prohibitions, at least in daily life, for the custom of fasting, for women at the time of puberty and for men upon the birth of a [789] child, is not yet lost. In olden days certain animals /355/ were [825] taboo (1). The men of a few villages thus reserved for themselves

[775] 1. In order not to kill one of their dead relatives transformed into a fox, the Chiriguano

/355 cont./

142
291
351
372

Fig. 26. Chiriguano woman lighting a fire. Upper Pilcomayo. (Photo. A. M.)

262
[705] do not hunt nor eat this animal (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 3).

[756] Medicine men cannot under any circumstances eat pimento. If a man refuses to taste this condiment, one can be sure he is a magician (id., p. 184).

[765] Grilled corn is strictly forbidden for persons in mourning, whose tears would dry up if they ate this dish.

[825] the exclusive right to eat deer meat, which thus instilled in them
[769] the agility and suppleness of this animal. Women could eat, without

/480 cont./

75 Fig. 16) was present at an analogous treatment also practiced /481/ by a medicine woman on a child at Yumbia, not far from the Salado. She rubbed him and blew on his body (1).

[113] [192]

1. In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc. (p. 72), we find the word hunga translated "to rub, to massage" and the sentence ʼiyari ʼerungarunga tein, irói á ʼe with the following meaning: "My grandmother rubbed me enough, but I did not get well." The medicine women, add the authors of the dictionary, use the word hunga to express the act of rubbing with the hand any painful part of the body, especially the chest, without any remedy other than the saliva they spit on their hand. These women attribute a special virtue to saliva. [827]

755 756 The sick boy's father told me that, once suffering from prolonged headaches, he had had recourse to a sorceress, an old woman with woolly hair, who was called the Samba. She sucked the place where the ache was localized and drew out worms from it. The half-breed got well, of course.

757 [825] In the toldería of Ñawirenda, where there was a child ill with fever, his mother had made him eat crushed garrapatas (ticks). The unfortunate child's lips were purple from it.

756 755 [121] I shall devote a special study to Chiriguano medicine men in a future volume of this Review. Meanwhile I shall limit myself to describing, according to the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano (pp. 166-167), the way in which these powerful personages customarily proceed when they are called to the bedside of a sick person. I am forced to have recourse to the observations made by another for lack of having been able to be present myself at the spectacle which Father Giannechini evokes with as much accuracy as vivacity. The great Chiriguano paye are now all in the Ivoka where they take

/486 cont./

757 824 237 some similar object and rubs the sick person's eyes with it until the cataract comes off.

30. The tannin contained in kurupâî bark is a disinfectant 752 257 824 which hastens the healing of wounds.

31. The leaves of kurupaîraî (small sébil), squeezed and put into compresses on a tumor, act in a lenitive way.

757 824 32. The plant wambero (kind of purslane) is a laxative. It has a scarlet flower which girls dry and pulverize to be able [302] to color their cheeks red.

33. Iwowi bark, pounded and roasted, is a good remedy for any pain affecting the limbs. The ash taken from the pips of this [752] tree hastens the healing of wounds.

34. Powdered inâi seeds make teeth fall out.

35. The root of the isipo-poro-mboyi, ground and kneaded with salt and tallow, is an emollient which is spread on tumors.

36. When they feel pains in the limbs, the Chiriguano apply on the ailing part a poultice made of iva-wasu roots, crushed and roasted.

37. The seeds of the yandi-wasu, taken in doses of two or three, are a good emetic.

38. The sarâi is a tree reminiscent of our walnut tree. Its inner bark yields a powder which is spread on skin eruptions.

39. A climbing plant called kaa-ruwa is supposed to have medicinal properties. /487/ It is taken in the form of an infusion, or poultices are made with it after it is pounded.

40. Another climbing plant, the kaa-tai (barba de chivato) is a very active caustic which can produce burns if the compresses made with its flowers, leaves, and twigs ground together and mixed with water are kept on too long. If the hands are rubbed with this plant, they become numb.

41. The roots of the shrub mboipina, well cooked, yield a broth which combats atrophy.

757 •825 42. A species of bug (tambeyùa) is used in the native pharmacopoeia as a caustic.

757 271 43. The Chiriguano have great faith in the virtue of hot water. Every sick Indian has beside him a small vessel the size of an egg, full of hot water. Those who are attending him

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The migrations, wars, and the religious conversion of the *Chiriguano* have been the subjects of many historical monographs. The most important of these are by Corrado (1884), Serrano y Sanz (1898), Domínguez (1918), Gandía (1929 a, and b), Métraux (1930 b), Coni (1925), Moreno (1929), and Finot (1939). The Jesuit missionary work among the *Chiriguano* has been described by Lozano (1941) and Muriel (1918).

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

As today *Chiriguano* and *Chané* share in the same culture, the following data may apply to both tribes.

Farming.—The *Chané*, conquered by the *Chiriguano*, were proficient farmers who, though practicing a tropical type of agriculture, were probably acquainted with many of the methods of cultivation of the Andean area. The *Chiriguano* adopted their traditions. The new habitat of the *Chiriguano* did not offer the same resources for hunting and fishing as had their homeland. Therefore, these Indians depend on farming to a larger extent than any other *Tupi-Guarani tribe*. The basis of their livelihood is maize, of which they have 11 varieties, all related to those of Paraguay. Then follow in order of importance: Pumpkins, beans (11 varieties), sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, peanuts, and some Barbary figs (*Opuntia* sp). Sweet potatoes were grown on a large scale by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

These Indians also raise cotton, tobacco, urucú, and, in the Parapeti region, reeds for arrow shafts (*Arundo donax*). Plants of the Old World adopted by the *Chiriguano* include melons, watermelons, oranges, sugarcane, and sorghum.

Chiriguano men clear the fields and surround them with a tall fence as a protection against the inroads of wild or domesticated animals, a task which is considered to be particularly strenuous. They also till the soil, but at harvest time they are assisted by the women and children. The latter, armed with slings, drive away the parakeets and other birds which prey on the crops. Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 183) observed that among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro region, large maize fields were tended by men while pumpkins and beans were raised by the women.

Collecting wild food.—When their crops fail, the *Chiriguano* subsist on the same species of pods and fruits as those collected by the Chaco Indians: Algarrobo, tusca, mistol, caraguatá, and other plant foods.

Hunting.—Hunting is a very secondary economic activity, at least in modern times. Peccaries, which are the main game animal, are hunted with specially trained dogs and killed with bows and arrows or with clubs. Rheas, which are abundant in the Chaco plains, are caught with bolas. Pigeons are captured with clap nets. Special arrows with two points are used for hunting yacu birds (*Penelope* sp.).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chaco SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chaná* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chaná* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chaná* (*Guana*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "*á, á*" instead of the childish "*à, à*."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Fathers Chomé (1819 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women removed the hut with stones to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

136
● 225

/For a listing of the various types of native fauna in the Chirigusno area and their cultural recognition and use by the people, see category 116, pp. 50-93./

/133/

773 The Cururu then, before the total flood, went into the ground, carrying burning embers in his mouth, and there, by blowing on them, he did not let them go out. When he found out that the liquid element had disappeared from the face of the earth, he once again took into his mouth the embers of fire, came out into the open air, sought out the two children, delivered the fire to them, and thus they were able to cook the fish which they were patiently extracting from the fresh water, and thus they were able to give warmth to their shivering members (1).

[538]
• [825]

1. When children bother a toad, it will puff itself up to remind them that by blowing it did not let the fire go out, reminding them that they owe it gratitude. This is what the very old people tell the children.

The two children grew older until they were old enough to propagate, which in fact they did until the Chiriguano had again multiplied, all of whom, according to them, descended from those two beings.

This story, as I said, clearly manifests, with very slight differences, the idea of the universal flood, of Noah's ark, and of the human race which was saved in it. At the same time it demonstrates the ill will of Aguara-Tunpa against God and His creatures, and the new multiplication of the race on the banks of a river.

776 173 792 The primary divinities, one completely good and the other good and bad, depending on his will, are only two, but tradition and relatively contemporary history teach us that in different times and in various regions some daring Indian who was fond of laziness and other people's property, with a degree of loquacity and extraordinary promises, managed to gather around him in his new house, which he had deliberately built outside the town, a multitude of Indians from near and far and claimed to be Tunpa, an extraordinary and marvelous being. Others, including a certain woman of great daring, have claimed to be Tunpa ichi, "mother of God," which had little effect, and on other occasions,

/146 cont./

754 same meaning everywhere. In Europe the ignorant masses call
756 sorcerer or witch the man or woman who has made a formal pact with the devil; among the Chiriguano and whites of the Gran Chaco it is the man or woman who succeeds in curing illness or who is in possession of other prestigious abilities (2).

752 2. I know an Indian who treats snake poisoning
756 without using any medicine. He blows upon and rubs the bitten part, and it gets well with no
[825] other remedy. He catches snakes, holds them against his breast, puts them in his pockets, in his hat, and they do not bite him. I cannot explain this phenomenon.

773 But who was the father of sorcerers among the Chiriguano?
825 Guarerai, Indian, Iñeé iya vae, eloquent one, told the following
776 story: In a very remote epoch there was a general drought which
756 continued with the imminent danger of all the sown fields being
754 lost. When the cause had been discovered by the king of the birds, Güiraqué, the kite, organized a commission to the lord of rain, called Choncho, so that he might /147/ make it rain. But as the latter paid no attention to the king's embassy, he came personally to find out why and to punish his disobedience if he found him guilty. But the choncho answered that it was not up to him, but up to another bird called chena, whom King Milano confronted, and as he wavered when he denied it or tried to free himself of blame, suspicion was aroused that he was the author of so much evil, and as the evil-doer he was immediately run through by King Milano's lance.

787 This is a fable, but it is certain that the choncho is respected
825 and feared. If this small bird sings in an angry tone, it is a sign to the Chiriguano that evil will come to him, and then he commends himself to it and says: aguye ndepochi, cheru mi, tome taicó cavi; do not be angry, may everything go well with me. If it sings happily, the Chiriguano will be well received by his relatives and friends, and if the choncho says, To, To, it is a sign that wherever he goes he will find a lot of chicha, for which reason they never do any harm to this little bird.

754
756 /147 cont./
731
825 According to the story of Guaretai, the choncho is the
776 father of good sorcerers, especially those who make it rain, and the chena is the father of bad sorcerers, or those who hold back the rain. In any public calamity in certain places, all the Indians will gather around the Ipaye, or sorcerer, so that the calamity may cease. If this continues despite the sorcerer's promise and he is unable to blame anyone else for his impotence, as the choncho did, he is killed with blows and burned without pity, but if he can blame it on another chena, the latter will suffer the capital punishment, and his protests of innocence or ignorance will be of no avail. Such is the fury of the mob when they are exalted by the harangues of the good Ipaye!

825 Before passing on from these feared and respected birds, I
787 shall say in passing that at night a whitish bird that they call
763 Tetê walks and flies about. When they see it, it is a sure sign to the Indians that in some house the women are about to cut their hair as a sign of mourning, that is, that someone in the town will die. As for the small owl /lechuza/, Suinda, the beliefs of the Chiriguano are the same as those of the common people of Europe and America, the differences among them being slight (1).

765 1. As will be seen, mourning among the Chiriguano women consists of cutting their hair and wearing the dirtiest rag on their heads. Mourning is always complete, that is, they observe strict mourning for any dead person.

756 /148/ Good sorcerers, represented by the choncho, are very
754 compassionate, and they do everything possible so that the race may enjoy good health, fortune, good crops, without experiencing hunger or epidemics, while bad sorcerers bring every evil to the poor Chiriguano. They hold back rain and order epidemics, as well as hunger and death. Bad sorcerers are called Mbaecuá.

754 The Chiriguano does not die because it is so decreed, because
761 it is a condition of human nature; he does not die as a result of sin of the first man. He dies because bad sorcerers exist; without

/152 cont./

756 Then she[1] waits for some viper to come into sight, and, if
278 it is long in coming, she makes it appear by imitating its hiss.
825 When she sees it, she does not run away or become frightened, but instead, with all the calm in the world, she kills it with a stick, or better with a piece of hollow cane, hangs it from a low bush, and then, from the head down, pours over it chicha oil, which mixes with the venom secreted by the viper. She applies the little jar to the tip of the tail and collects the first venom (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. She cuts off the tip of the tail so that the poison is not left inside the body of the snake. The oil serves to agglomerate the poison and to facilitate the draining.

/153/ If it turns out to be very little, she calls another viper, imitating its hiss, and sometimes as many as five of them come, and she does with them what she did with the first one, until she has obtained enough. She works at this for four or five days; she goes very early and returns late, and when the operation is over, she buries the dead snakes, erases her tracks, gets dressed again, hiding the little jar in her breast, and returns to town as fresh as can be, carrying on her shoulders, and hung from her head a sling full of stems or tree roots, or, if they are in season, algarrobas or some other fruit; the latter are preferred.

756 Venom thus prepared is very pernicious, and in order to
278 administer it in a small dose, it suffices to dampen in it the end of a straw and wash it in the gourd of chicha which the enemy is invited to take. Sorceresses prepare the best chicha, which is called Copiriru, recooked chicha, and, since the Chiriguano is a glutton, he easily falls into the trap, under the pretext of a reconciliation. The method used by the sorceresses to obtain the venom has been discovered because on occasion they have broken the ties of friendship with some intimate friend or kinship with some sister, who knew the secret (1).

1. Sorceresses who possess venom are known; one who wishes to take revenge on an enemy

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 210]

[1] [i.e., the sorceress-Analyst]

/181 cont./

462 bulls, deer, etc. If all this carving were woman's work, it
415 would have but one name, Sacuarama, but since it is man's
531 work, each figure has the name of the quadruped, biped, or reptile that it represents (2).

• [825]

2. Thus they say Machuru haangaño, figure of a lizard, Yaimba haangaño, figure of a dog. Even the men call the figure of a jaguar or a dove: Sacuarama.

/182/ With this second task the work can be considered finished. Days or weeks are employed depending on the greater or lesser quantities of the matés. They now color all the
[386] etched figures with ground charcoal and paint the empty spaces
[237] with Urucú, achiote, making them firm with the Taragüirisi, which is abundant everywhere, then singeing them in the flame of the fire so that the pictures will never lose their shine and luster or the painting of carbon and urucú come off (1).

237
323
825

1. The Taragüirisi is a species of ant which is common in cold weather. Its length is not over half a centimeter and its thickness three. It moves about the small branches of certain small trees, where it leaves its speckled whitish excrement. All potters provide themselves with an abundance of this material.

Pottery

323
[462] I shall now go on to consider women's work, limiting
[317] myself to the most important, such as clay vessels and textiles.
[484] For the former the Chiriguano woman provides herself beforehand with the best clay, which she knows very well and even brings from long distances, if it is not found in the territory of the tribe. Naturally the potter not only wishes to avoid the loss of her labor, but also, insofar as she can, she wishes to

/277/

726 But before the combat begins one or two of the bravest men go out of the camp at the cacique's order to reconnoiter the field
•[825] or enemy town. The scouts enter the enemy town with every precaution, imitating, on the one hand, the noise of the fox, on the other the call of the Yancuruntu, owl, and, finally, that of the Surumucucu. If no one discovers the presence of these scouts, the combat when it comes is terrible, but, if they are discovered, the alarm signal is given, and the fight begins at once, into which the ones invaded throw themselves with their naked bodies, and they may easily come out victorious, throwing back the enemy in their formidable charge (1).

1. From this the whites deduce and believe that the Indians are preparing for war against them when they hear the Yancuruntu, owl, in their houses in the country.

The scouts, if they are not discovered, leave the town with much caution, return without delay to the camp, and report to the cacique the state of the enemy, and all listen with great interest to this account. The cacique thanks the scouts for their valor, intrepidity, and daring and once more charges all to be careful and brave in the coming attack. Then he orders silence, and they all rest without sleeping, each group talking in very low voices so that nobody will sense their presence.

726 Before the hour of combat comes, the cacique and the
714 queremba order the preparations; the riders saddle their horses
292 and come up to the infantry soldiers, who tighten their bows and put on their wrist the deerhide guard, fasten their aprons or girdles at the waist to cover the most delicate part of the body, some of them put on the armor, Ayo, made of tree bark, others the Tiru, lifted to the waist, and all of them put on ostrich feathers, chicken feathers, or maize husks around their faces so that they can recognize one another in the heat of battle, not wound one another, and assist one another in case one or more of them is surrounded by the enemy.

/210 cont./

When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short, and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again. Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize and meal. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."

In a Chané village, Aguarâti, I saw a girl who was sitting in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet, which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and closet had disappeared.

P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has bitten the girl.

When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is marriageable.

/211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this. A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.

For one day the father may not consume anything, so that the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians do not like prattlers.

When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig. 79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta.

1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

/218 cont./

766 754 825 If a Chiriguano is killed by a jaguar, he is /219/ buried with his head downward, so that he will not go about as such an animal. This notion of a jaguar who was a human being is widespread, especially among the Quichua /Quechua/, where this

764 415

Fig. 113. Chiriguano grave.
Caipipendi.

766 754 825 strange animal, as has been mentioned, is called uturunco (cf. p. 12 /untranslated/). If a fox howls at night near the village, someone will die.

763 825

Ee 838 171 c Ce [1/3]

/224 cont./

According to Westermarck (2), homosexuality is very

2. Westermarck: Ursprung und Entwickelung der Moralbegriffe /Origin and Development of Ideas of Morality/. Vol. II. Leipzig, 1909.

widespread among the Indians of America. The conception that this is a disgrace is by no means as marked everywhere as it is among the Indians mentioned here.

Ee Ce 839 171 c Ce 833 171 [839]

/225/ Among the Chané and Chiriguano I did not hear anything about onanism. Among the Choroti, on the other hand, it is said to be practiced by the men who are ignored by the women at a dance.

Perversions in the relationship between men and women, which were common in ancient Peru, do not seem to occur here. The primitive mammal position in coitus is said to be common among the Chaco tribes.

M 832 824

Mataco gave me a root which they used as an aphrodisiac.

Ea 825 773 839

The relationship between human beings and animals is so intimately intertwined in the legends of the Indians that one cannot always determine whether they mean the one or the other. The legends that describe love affairs between human beings and animals are not descriptions of bestiality, which seems to be unknown among these Indians.

Ee 834 171

The sense of modesty has developed very differently among these peoples. It seems to me to depend very much on the mode of dress. None of these Indian men or women of whom I have spoken here regards it as improper, insofar as they have not been completely corrupted or civilized, to expose the upper part of the body. The Chiriguano and Chané women are much more ashamed than the Choroti and Ashluslay when they expose the sexual parts. The latter were very reluctant to undress completely in order to be photographed. I did not even dare propose such a thing to the former.

Ee [126]

C 821 /295 cont./

The waxing and waning of the moon, according to Maringay's explanation, was caused by the fact that a larger or smaller piece of it is put in the firmament.

C 821 177

The sun rises over the water and then shines for us during the day. In the evening it dips into the water again, and at night it shines for the other human beings on the other side of the earth. This was Maringay's idea of the course of the sun. I believe, however, that he learned this from the whites.

Ee 821 784 [763]

When a meteor, "baeréndi," falls, it means the death of a chief. About a shooting star, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti said: "He is going to sleep with his girl." Maringay was more realistic in his explanation. "The star lets something fall," said the old man.

Ee 821 [789] [825] [784] [484]

/296/ When it thunders, Chiquéritunpa is walking about. The medicine men, "ipáye," are able to make rain. When the swallow, "máchurupimpi," flies low, it will rain, the Indians say. Another bird, "chóncho," announces rain. If one is going traveling, one should not put a jug in water, but dip up the water with a calabash, otherwise it will rain. In a

Ce 821 773

myth about the destruction of the world related to me by the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, the world is destroyed by water. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me how the world was destroyed by a storm. Otherwise the wind plays an unimportant role in the myths.

Ce 821 [784] [825]

If one places a warmed jug in flowing water, there will be a storm, say the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. The rainbow, "yii," is a snake.

174 342 [114] or a district threatened with flooding through rainfall or the flowing in of the oceanic tide. In my opinion, however, this has usually not been the case.

342 343 825 174 [171] According to my thinking, it is the fear of predatory animals that has given rise to the pile-construction idea. Those granaries built on pole-supports, that are so commonly met with in widely different countries, have, we know, as a rule been constructed for the express purpose of furnishing protection against noxious animals, such as lesser carnivora, rodents and insects. As an example, the »njalla» of the Lapps is built

361 342 343

Fig. 190. Part of a Chiriguano village. To the right a pile-barn. Ibitibi. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

342 343 825 171 174 as a protection against wolverines[1], and many of the native tribes of Africa erect their food depositories, or grain bins, on pole-supports to make them safe against mice and white ants.[2] Both the Balenge people, who inhabit a fairly arid country, and the Babisa, who live on the edge of the Bangwulo swamp, build their corn bins on piles.[3] As the Babisa often build their huts on a platform of beaten clay[4] (not piles, it will be noted) as a protection against the annual heavy floodings of the rainy season, this will naturally give rise to the supposition that the Babisa

[1] see Dudeen (1), p. 35.
[2] see Rosen (1), pp. 411—412.
[3] see Rosen (1), pp. 332, 349 (fig. A), and 411—412.
[4] see Rosen (1), p. 319 and plate 67 (figs. C and D), also plate 68, fig. D.

[P 196 is blank]

342 granaries, at any rate, are raised on supports in order to keep the stored
343 crop from getting wet. That such is not the case will, however, be
825 apparent from the fact that the granaries are empty during the time of
171 the rains. It should be remembered that, in these parts, the period of
174 vegetation coincides with the duration of the rainy season, and that the crops are harvested and stored only after the cessation of the rains. During the time the grain reposes in the granaries no rain falls at all, and on that account the granaries of the Balenge are often unprovided with a roof.[1] Moreover, Babisa, as well as Balenge, stated that the pile-built grain bins were constructed solely as a protection against damage to the corn from rats and white ants. The practice of erecting buildings on piles as a safeguard against flooding is entirely non-existent in the Bangweolo region.

Fig. 193. Ancient Peruvian hut. Vase-painting. After Joyce.

The fundamental idea of storing food in structures built on piles may, in my opinion, be traced back to the custom of primitive peoples of keeping freshly killed meat, and other food, safe from depredation by larger or smaller raiding animals, by suspension on trees. The »njalla», which is erected on a single pole, or on the lopped stem of a growing tree left on its root, may, I think, be taken to be a development of the primitive tree cache. The four-poled Lappish larder called »luopte», or »luove» (cfr. the Swedish words »loft», and »lave»), is on the other hand most probably an imitation of the »hebrä» stores of the land-settled folk, which, presumably, also have received their pile-building construction with a view to forming a protection against noxious animals. For the »hebrä» is probably nothing but a development of the »lave». In order to keep divers implements safe, not only from wild animals, but also from mischievous domestic cattle, such as goats, it is sometimes necessary to construct at the homestead a »lave», the floor of which is either supported by three or four rooted tree-stumps, or by poles driven into the ground (fig. 189). When it is desired to shelter the stored utensils from rain, a roof is built at a suitable height from the floor, and if a still more effective shelter is required, the space between the floor and the roof is filled in with walls. At the stone-age

[1] von Rosen (4), fig. 325.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

experiment carried out at Rockelstad in the summer of 1919[1], the »stone-age men» soon found themselves compelled to build a »lave» so that the goats should not damage such foodstuffs and implements as had to be kept outside the hut.[2] 342 343 825 171

It is my belief that the »lave» has also supplied the idea of building dwelling-houses on pole-supports. Wherever people in a certain stage of civilization have found themselves settled on solid ground, they have had need of raised food-platforms, partly for keeping their foodstuffs safe from damage on the part of domestic as well as noxious animals, partly for the purpose of drying, smoking or roasting the food (see pp. 38, 47 and 48). If such a people, living on the edge of a lake or a swamp, had wished — for defensive purposes or some other reason — to build their dwelling-huts or other buildings in the water, then, if the bottom of the lake afforded good holding for piles, such buildings would have been constructed in the same way as the food-platforms or pole-supported granaries previously employed on firm ground (compare fig. 28 with fig. 115). Where the people in question has been lacking in sufficient skill to construct large pile-buildings in the water, or if the lake bottom was unsuited to this mode of construction, then huts were built on rafts or quagmire islands, after the manner of the swamp dwellers of Alvastra and Bangweolo.[3] 174

The furnishing of the Chiriguano huts is exceedingly plain. The fire-place, which forms a very necessary heating centre at night during the cold season, consists of a few stones serving as supports for the cooking pots. There is no hole in the roof for letting out the smoke, which has to find its way out through the doorway or through fissures in the walls. As a rule, the food is generally cooked on a fire outside the hut (fig. 189). 354 [252]

Bedsteads of the type seen in fig. 190 are to be found in nearly every hut. These bed frames are made of laths or reeds, and are covered with skins. Nordenskiöld states as his opinion that the idea of these bedsteads has not been borrowed from the civilization of the whites.[4] In the analytical treatise he has written upon this question he adduces conclusive arguments for his opinion, as it seems to me. In Central Africa, one finds bedsteads that are very similar to the Indian ones,[5] and that certainly have not 352 114 [171]

[1] Klein, pp. 88—89.
[2] Klein (1).
[3] For lake- and marsh dwelling-places in different parts of the world, see Montelius (1).
[4] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 8—12.
[5] von Rosen (6), p. 403.

/137 cont./

773 In this beautiful and picturesque place there were fruit trees of all kinds, the fruits that they produced were beautiful to see and agreeable to the palate. Before leaving them the Tunpa gave them free use of all the fruit produced by the trees, prohibiting them from touching and eating the fruit of only one.

826 773 After a few days the man, passing under the prohibited tree and seeing the beauty of its fruit, said, "Why would God not want us to eat such beautiful fruit? There would not be anything bad in my simply tasting them, and furthermore he cannot see me." So he took one and put it in his mouth to eat, but at the same time that he was doing this he turned his head, and the fruit, instead of going down to his stomach, stuck in his throat, thus forming the haseuranti, or what is commonly called the Adam's apple (2).

> 2. The woman never touched the forbidden fruit, and the proof is that there is nothing in her throat: there is no haseuranti or Adam's apple: this is what the Indian himself says.

773 According to the account the woman did not eat the forbidden fruit, but in spite of this she felt the effects of the disobedience of her husband or companion, since, like him, she was ashamed of being /138/ naked and she felt the stirrings of concupiscence, which previously neither she nor the man had felt, and as a consequence of which they were united matrimonially, only after having broken the divine precept.

The Tunpa was not long in appearing, and before him they were both ashamed to see themselves naked, and they covered their nakedness by sitting huddled up on the ground. The Tunpa, who knew everything, called them to him gently, forgiving their sin, and gave them each proper clothing, and bade them farewell, allowing them to multiply.

The Indian, as anyone can understand, sees this as the reorganization of the Chiriguano race, but we can all see in this story the creation of man, his primordial innocence, his life in paradise, the prohibition which God imposed on him,

/297 cont./

Mourning

765 The interment over, they cry all that day, until the sun sets and night comes; then everyone goes home, only the closest [785] relatives staying to weep. Fasting, already mentioned, lasts for [302] three days, and on the first day after the burial all the women relatives cut off their hair and lay it on the grave. While cutting it off they look toward the east. The hair stays on the grave for some time, and later they take it off, and, if they burn it, it is [826] not on the grave, but away. They prefer not to burn it, however, because they would feel heat /220/ on their heads. If they notice or sense some noise coming from the hole, they heat a stone, put it on top, and the noise stops (1).

764 765 1. If the deceased is a cacique, they all weep until dawn, and afterward they meet every night for about a week.

765 They also put on the grave the tembeta, the bag, and the weapons which belonged to the deceased, such as his lance or some kind of saber, bows and arrows, so that he will not go looking for them, and when for any reason they leave the house alone, they put over the hole the pestle of the mortar, and, if this is done, the deceased will not move from his place. The souls of [775] those who have died in a bad way, for example, suicides, walk about continually, find no rest, go showing at set hours, and are, according to what they believe, demons or their companions.

The dead person's nearest relatives sincerely grieve over the disappearance of the deceased, as the tears and sorrow shown on their faces prove. If, instead of a man, it is a woman who disappears from among the living, the widower feels the same grief; if the dead woman leaves small children, the picture that the house presents is truly heartrending, the house where the morning sun will not find present the mother who so tenderly cared for her little ones (2).

2. The children demand to go back and they

/480 cont./
75 Fig. 16) was present at an analogous treatment also practiced
/481/ by a medicine woman on a child at Yumbia, not far
from the Salado. She rubbed him and blew on his body (1).

[113]
[192]

1. In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc. (p. 72), we find the word hunga translated "to rub, to massage" and the sentence tiyari ñerungarunga tein, irõi á ñe with the following meaning: "My grandmother rubbed me enough, but I did not get well." The medicine women, add the authors of the dictionary, use the word hunga to express the act of rubbing with the hand any painful part of the body, especially the chest, without any remedy other than the saliva they spit on their hand. These women attribute a special virtue to saliva.

•[827]

755
75 The sick boy's father told me that, once suffering from
prolonged headaches, he had had recourse to a sorceress, an
old woman with woolly hair, who was called the Samba. She
sucked the place where the ache was localized and drew out
worms from it. The half-breed got well, of course.

757 In the toldería of Ñawirenda, where there was a child ill
[825] with fever, his mother had made him eat crushed garrapatas
(ticks). The unfortunate child's lips were purple from it.

756 I shall devote a special study to Chiriguano medicine men
755 in a future volume of this Review. Meanwhile I shall limit
[121] myself to describing, according to the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano (pp. 166-167), the way in which these powerful personages customarily proceed when they are called to the bedside of a sick person. I am forced to have recourse to the observations made by another for lack of having been able to be present myself at the spectacle which Father Giannechini evokes with as much accuracy as vivacity. The great Chiriguano paye are now all in the Ivoka where they take

/225 cont./

885 195 her duties /226/ serve her companion in whatever he may wish, and henceforth in her answers she ceases to use the ü ü which children use and adopts the é é suitable for women.

885 571 The young woman, in spite of being scarcely 13 years old when she comes out into public life, and despite a slight embarrassment which she feels when first presented to society as a woman ready and suitable for marriage, little by little begins to lose this misgiving, very natural in girls, and acquires frankness in answering quite clearly persons who may question her, whoever it may be, always staying within the limits of morality. What is immoral will cause astonishment in her and perhaps embarrassment at the beginning, but she soon becomes accustomed to it, because she hears it in the house, she hears it at the drinking bouts, during the gatherings and parties. From hearing a lot of this, it begins to cause pleasure in her, which brings on a continual and loud laughter, since day or night the women laugh long and loud. This is usually a sure sign that in a gathering or party there is some gallant present who is giving free rein to his tongue (1).

1. Missionaries who know the language of the Indians and who find themselves at the beginning in a new mission may be astonished by the frankness with which boys and girls of 12 or 13 years answer them.

• [827] The men state that their wives are better at enduring hunger and thirst. They attribute this to the strict fasting which they undergo at puberty, but the women say that the neophytes are stronger than they, because they go out sooner after giving birth.

881 178 In none of the missions do the maidens follow the custom of their mothers at the time of puberty. When the first signs appear, the only thing conceded to them is some three days leave for rest, and so that her mother may tell her, as should be done in analogous circumstances, to hide what must be hidden. When this short leave ends, they return to school as before, and continue their work without any inconvenience (2).

2. Many of these maidens, out of modesty,

/221 cont./

881 304 [828] In general, with the method of pressing strongly on the patient's temples, the one performing the operation manages it so that the patient feels little or nothing of the pain of the piercing, according to what they say, and it is probable, because one sharp pain diminishes or makes another one feel less strong. But it is also certain that the boy, seeing himself before so many spectators and girls, makes every effort not to cry out or weep, because the Indians do not deny that many somewhat cowardly ones do shout and even cry a little (1).

> 1. Some boys, very fearful, when their fathers begin to talk to them about the tembeta and the need to have the hole made, run off to another tribe in the presence of their relatives, but the latter persuade them, and they return to their town.

I have asked more than one Indian and all agree in asserting that not a drop of blood comes from the hole. The day on [985] which the imposition of the tembeta is done is a day of strict [784] fasting, and they do not even let them drink a little chicha; other foods cannot be chewed by them for several days either. On some, somewhat careless ones, there is a swelling, and on [759] others not. The swelling of the lip is avoided, according to [824] them, by heating the leaves of the bush Urucuna in the flame or embers of the fire and applying them continually around the 881 hole. The cicatrization of the lip may take a month, during which time the little Chiriguano stays at home, letting himself be seen in the streets and in the plaza once in a while (2).

[759]

> 2. For a Chiriguano it is a great honor to put the tembeta in place on the boys, so that he asks nothing for this honorable operation; but the boy's parents make some small gift, which he receives with satisfaction.

/280 cont./

000 defeated, may the evil ones die. While the war lasts, it is the
722 rule that women and their daughters must not sit in a squatting
784 position, but with their legs stretched /281/ out in front, so that
516 their fathers and husbands who are in battle will not feel any
828 tiredness (1).

722
533
535
177

1. The Italian del Campano, relying on the writings of Father Giannecchini, a missionary of the Colegio de Tarija, writes in his work that, before the fighting began and during it, women and maidens come out to the plaza and in a loud voice sing and dance the Aré aré. This song and dance must have originated among the Toba, who at that time were numerous in the Gran Chaco region, because in the Ivu region and other regions they scarcely know the name of the Aré aré, and not all share in that knowledge, as has been proved, for in no combat which has occurred to the north, south, and west of Ivu has the Aré, aré been danced and sung.

726
727

During the Curuyuqui war the Santa Rosa mission was invaded by the rebels, who, in spite of their number and strength, were unable to enter the town which they intended to burn. Then and afterward the missionaries witnessed painful scenes of women who, crying their hearts out, raised their voices and threw ashes to obscure the enemies' vision. Bitter memories of that massacre are still retained, at which some of them laugh today, but they cried then. Whenever I hear the sad stories, my eyes overflow with tears (2).

726

[648]

2. The Curuyuqui rebels first attacked the town of Cuevo, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in Santa Rosa the night before. In a few days they attacked the mission, from which it can be concluded that their hate was against the whites, and concomitantly against the Indians who were

/67 cont./

Origin

212 The Chiriguano tribe has no written language, for which reason it is difficult to determine exactly its origin, the place from which it came, and the time the immigration took place. They admire our modern paper, which they call "Tunpapire," skin of God, and they say that we are fortunate because by means of this we are able to make our thoughts and wishes known to friends and relatives at great distances. What then would they say if they had the faintest idea of the telegraph and the telephone and so many other modern inventions, such as that of flying through the air, in this twentieth century, which quite justly might be called: century of the globes?

773 They recount that "Aguara Tunpa," Fox-God, tried to destroy the work of the true God by killing all men. To achieve this end he made use of the "Iguasu," big water; he then opened the gates or shores of the seas and flooded the whole land; the waters of the earth's surface called those of the sky "Iporu," flood, and thus the human race perished. But before there took place the total destruction of the Chiriguano, to whom humanity was confined, a woman took her two children, a male and a female, put them in a "Choguáo," big gourd, left them to the mercy of the waters, and, when these went down, they found themselves in Paraguay, where they again multiplied (1).

1. The two children, after disembarking, did not perish from the cold, because the "Cururu," toad, took pity on them, bringing them fire in his mouth, for which reason the true Chiriguano never hunts this inoffensive animal.

173 I have said that they do not have writing, but, on the other hand, they do have a kind of oral tradition, "Miani," which is transmitted from father to son. This tradition is also wrapped in a veil of confusion, however, because they

/116 cont./

797
829
177

Difficulties in Reducing Them

If among other tribes missionaries have been able to found missions without considering the material advantages for the Indian, among the Chiriguano this has not been the case. I can say that almost all of them have been founded when the Indian was undergoing some calamity or persecution by his neighbors: Santa Rosa, Ivu, Parapiti, etc. were founded in this way. The Indian does not consider his spiritual well-being; when he admits the missionary into his land, he is thinking of the material advantages. By the same token if in other missions young and old are baptized without distinction, among these people this is not what happens. To baptize an adult Indian who is enjoying good health would be like asking for pears from an elm; he only requests this sacrament when he sees that there is no longer any hope of life, and in the first years of a mission even this is difficult and a great many of them reject it categorically. I could enumerate cases which have happened to me. There are persons who want to be condemned simply because they have heard from the lips of missionaries that those who do not receive baptism are not saved, and, inasmuch as nobody received it before the founding of the mission, they want to descend to the place of punishment in order to see their loved ones again. Oh sad and lamentable ignorance, from which some do not wish to emerge (2)!

2. In Yvu there was less difficulty because of the proximity of Santa Rosa, and in Parapiti there was none because of the repeated foundings in that place.

In case of calamity or persecution, the missionary is quickly sought by the caciques, who do not rest until they have gained their ends. One modern proof of this is offered to us in the case of the cacique of the village of Pipi, who

/116 cont./

797 829 177 not long ago continually appeared at the Yvu mision to take me to found a mision in his town and thus to free it from persecution by a neighbor, according to what he said. For this he promised everything, goodness, docility, adherence, free work, and all the rest; religion and baptism only were reserved for children, as in other towns. While the Indian is well off and not bothered by anyone in his lazy life with its frequent drinking, it is not easy to get good things out of him.

797 829 871 177 /117/ Even for the education of a child it is necessary to bribe the Indian with material things. He does not resist handing over his children, but he wants them to be given clothing. No matter how much they may have, he brings them to school completely naked or with a shirt all ragged and torn, so that the missionary will immediately dress them, and let it be noted that he does not ask this as a favor. Up to a certain point he seems to demand it, saying, "Ropa eneé chupé," give him clothing. If the missionary asks something as a favor, he must pay them back in material things; should he forget, they ask for them.

829 797 177 It has already been seen that the Tarairi mision was founded in the year 1854, this being the first founding to take place on the left bank of the Pilcomayo River, being due to the zeal of Father José Giannelli. It was near Easter, and the missionary let it be known to various caciques that at that time there would be a commemoration of the death of God and that they should also come, with their pains and afflictions, to demonstrate their adherence to the truths and dogmas of the Catholic faith. He knew through experience that the Chiriguano have a special tenderness for the dead. In fact, a great number of them gathered there to hear the word of the missionary father, who thought that he had conquered them all, seeing them so attentive and silent and seeing them crying and full of compunction. But Easter came, the day of joy, and those who had come to cry about the death of Jesus came once more before the missionary, asking for new

/117 cont./

829 clothing in payment for the service. Let the reader imagine
797 how the poor father, who had nothing, felt when he heard
177 such a petition (1)!

1. Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Vices and Their Consequences

883 It seems to be and is an unfortunate truth that in this
842 tribe, once so numerous, there is no lack of coquettish girls, who, if they restrained themselves from flirting any more, would not be so bad. The unfortunate thing is that these poor girls, in order to enjoy mundane pleasures and drink to the depths the dregs of corruption, or also in order not to have the nuisance of nursing children and training
[756] them, have recourse to a very simple thing. They consult
[278] the old women who bear the name of sorcerers, and these
[885] show them the remedy, which consists of a drink that they extract from certain plants or herbs which almost all the Chiriguano women and Indian sorcerers know wonderfully well.

883 /118/ These unfortunate girls, usually orphans, once the
786 period of puberty is over, drink this venomous beverage,
[881] suffer a great deal, if indeed they do not die, and are
[842] sterilized, and they then give themselves up to orgies at the time of general drinking, which is the most terrible thing that you can imagine, because at them morality is offended by words and very licentious stories, by raucous laughter and giggling by men and women, by their glances, and finally by their acts, although these take place at a
797 suitable distance from the said gathering.

/122 cont./

152 other towns, and they returned almost en masse, and the first
591 thing they did when they once again trod the soil of their home-
167 land was to cry. I witnessed the arrival of a cacique with
186 his large family. Men and women came loaded with their household goods and children. They arrived in poor condition, covered with dust and sweat (it was at the end of December), tired and sad, and when they saw their fellow countrymen and relatives happy and content under the paternal rule of the Catholic missionary, they put their burdens down on the ground, in the houses of others, and then there broke out the tears and the wails, thus arousing the consternation of all the inhabitants and the missionary (2).

2. Father Corrado relates an analogous case in his Historia de las Misiones de Tarija.

Poor unfortunates! In spite of the vices which dominate their corrupt nature, there is something noble in the Chiriguano race. Their fondness for their native place, for their home, is great. They will make any sacrifice to return and prefer to die of hunger and thirst. They will never abandon their town and their home, unless constrained by necessity, fear, or persecution.

Along the road from Yvu to Parapiti there is a town called Itatiqui, where not even drinking water can be found in the vicinity. Want is eternal there; the crops are miserable there; and they either beg for water or steal it from the lakes which are more than five kilometers from the town. Some six years ago there were about 120 families there, persecuted by some whites to whom they did not wish to be subjected. I tried to take them away to form a part of San Antonio Mission, but it was impossible to move them from the place.

They prefer to suffer hunger, thirst, vexations, and persecu-
799 tions there, but they do not abandon the place. They would re-
829 main there very happily /123/ if a small mission were built for
177 them, as they desire, which is somewhat difficult, considering the special circumstances of the place, since the civil and

/123 cont./

797 religious education of the boys and girls would not make much
829 progress because their parents are in continual movement. Some
179 effort at least has been made to help them by means of the property rights which they have in the territory, about three leagues long by half a league wide, and the plan was then to build them some small chapel, but I believe that these efforts will be left in the filing cabinet for centuries to come (1).

000

1. Today, instead of missions, they are building forts for the purpose of colonization. Doubtless the epoch of a new method of colonization has arrived, but nobody is ignorant of the fact that this costs the Republic millions, while the cost of a mission is relatively nothing, and the advantages and progress incomparable. What advances are there in Crevaux, in Guachalla, and other places? What buildings are there of note and stability? None. In a single hour the Toba or any other savage may destroy them by fire. Don Fernando Guachalla, the president-elect, said it well when he said that the best and cheapest method of colonizing is that of founding missions.

175 Before the Parapiti missions were organized, those Indians
511 suffered considerable misery, because the place was quite dry
[132] in the rainy season, and they had no means of planting along the banks of the river, since the few lands there were in the
[146] hands of the whites. Father Giannecchini passed through there in 1887 as an expeditionary to Paraguay, and when he saw them so poor and so reduced in number, he exhorted them to move to some mission, but they answered that it was not easy to leave the place where they had been born and had grown old.

/124 cont./

797 Religion. that of reading and writing. and even the art of musical chords. which is only seen in the great centers of the world (2).

[533] 2. In the Potosí missions there are four music bands. and in those of Tarija. two.

The history of the Tarija missions is glorious in all of its pages. The reader can consult. whenever he wishes. the one of the Colegio of Potosí in its two epochs as well. This will cast a brilliant light upon the matter. and the traveler can say nothing to contradict it when. ecstatically. he contemplates the grandiose. strong. and well-planned edifice of the Santa Rosa Mission. that of the elevated Machareti Mission. that of the old or semisecular Tarairi Mission. and the one which. as though by enchantment and with order. is being built in the mission of San Antonio del Parapiti Grande.

797 All of this shows that the Chiriguano. in spite of his
157 indolence. is docile. and with gentleness and a little strictness
177 at the same time he will do whatever the white and the missionary wish him to do. It finally demonstrates that. though he does have his vices and defects. certain human virtues are not lacking. It shows that it is necessary to educate his nature by teaching. with civilization. as the carpenter with his plane smooths a piece of wood if he wants to make the job elegant. or a blacksmith with his file smooths the rough iron until he has made a key. a lock. or any other object.

/125/ Philanthropy

577 To end this third chapter and then pass on to deal with
• 829 Chiriguano religion. I am going to say in passing that they are very compassionate with the unfortunate. If one of them suffers the harshness of imprisonment. they all make every effort to ask that he be freed and will even sacrifice whatever they may
[136] have to obtain it. If someone is sick. he is visited by many; if one is left an orphan. all are his fathers. mothers. grandparents. and brothers and sisters. or at least they are his uncles and aunts or brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

/130 cont./

What I am going to set down here will cast some light on this subject and will enlighten the intelligence of the studious man for its investigation.

From conversations with the true Chiriguanos it is impossible to form any idea of the supreme being that they accept. I say true Chiriguanos, by which I mean those who have had almost no contact with missionaries or whites. Today it is difficult to find one of these. Yet despite this, if one should ask the old people who live far from the missions, "Who made all that we see?" they answer, "Quia ndipó?" Who can it be? "Who created us?" They answer: "Ti! Ndicuaá á?" What do you mean? Do you not know? And they give a purely material explanation, as happened on an exploration and trip that I made several years ago in the company of other missionaries south of the canton or town of Huacaya, where I talked with an old cacique who had taken part in the war of 1875 against Igüembe and who, after the pacification, preferred to live outside the mission and planned to die there, because he is convinced that Indians who live in missions die earlier, just as, according to him, all of his companions from Boicovo have already died, which is not true, because they still are alive there, as old as he is (1).

> 1. The Indians have had and will continue to have the false and erroneous idea that baptism makes those who receive it die, because it is administered to men and women who are in immediate danger of death, and hence those who are old do not wish to be baptized when they are enjoying good health.

In the Chiriguano language we find the word Tunpa, which means "superior being" or "marvelous being." When for the first time they saw a large clock with its "tick, tock" and the pendulum making the hands move and giving energy to the hammer to strike the hours with its little bell or wire string, when they saw for the first time the photographic camera which reproduced the image of one or more of them, the clock and camera were Tunpa for the Chiriguano. They applied this word to both things.

/204 cont./

643 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves
648 are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live
997 as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 The important men assert that to possess many wives is
578 necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality
829 to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because
827 the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute
643 king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they
622 do not become such in their youth, when they are like humming-
[illegible] birds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] 1- Formerly, women were abundant because of
[169] wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

/167 cont./

to conquer the land. His description of the Chiriguano as a cannibalistic race of extremely low standing /168/ surely originated in his own imagination. The tradition about these battles has been preserved in the mountain valleys.

The territory of the Chiriguano, in spite of the centuries-long valiant defense, was conquered, step by step, in the Spanish era. As recently as 1890 part of them made a last attempt at rebellion, but they were defeated, as has been mentioned, in the battle at Curuyuqui, on the plain of Boyuovis. About 5,000 Indians had gathered there and for a whole day fought the whites in an unequal battle against fire-arms. The battle had begun in the morning and it had not yet ended in the evening when it grew dark. The situation was becoming extremely unpleasant for the whites, since their ammunition was almost gone. Unfortunately, however, the morale of the Indians was broken. They abandoned their entrenchments in the quiet of the night.

Another very important chapter in the history of these Indians is the long and persistent effort of the missionaries to conquer the land of the Indians in a comparatively peaceful manner. This is treated in detail in the literature.

Here, however, I do not wish to speak of the history of these Indians as we know it through the literature, but of the Indian as historian.

If one talks to the Indians, they do not know much about their own history; their tradition does not go back very far. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me they had first lived on the upper Rio Parapiti (1), but were driven away from there by a great chief. Some remained where they are now living, others set out through the Chaco to the Rio Paraguay, which river,

1. This is confirmed by Viedma: Descripcion geografica y estadistica de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Coleccion Pedro de Angelis. Buenos Aires, 1836. Vol. III. Pages 180-181.

C 175 648
C 175 797
Ce 829
C Ce [173]
Ce 173 648 [131]
Ce [113]
Ce [167]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "ná." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

831 191 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

583 191 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guarani*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Paraguay River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

591 595 622 556 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate. 764 765 The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwika) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

/173 cont./

342 824 element and that of the hollow cane are due to the abundance of cattle, which destroy even the straw for harnesses.

342 574 [476] [131] When the placement of the roof has been completed, they all come down and gather in the hut of the friend, who, as a reward or payment for the service rendered, offers them a cup of chicha, and they drink this amidst jokes and crudities, at times very heavy, especially should maidens or women of 30 years or older who do not keep quiet pass by. But as the people know each other well and are friends, the greatest harmony reigns, and, when everything is finished, they take leave of the owner, thanking him for his gifts, and he shows them his gratitude for the services which they have rendered (2).

2. The workers only ask for chicha in recompense, but if the owner has beans or gourds cooked for them in a stew with considerable stimulant in the form of chili pepper, arivivi, it is a feast or carnival for all.

342 312 [221] The rest of the work is done with less haste and at a more opportune time. In fact, most wait until the rainy season to do it, for then water is abundant, and this to be sure deserves the approbation of all because it is more economical and easier. Thus, taking into consideration the laziness of the Indian man [441] and the tasks which the Chiriguano woman has, it would be expensive and quite tiresome to bring the water on their shoulders from great distances, which is avoided during the rainy season. [356] Then during each shower not only is the construction of the walls of the new houses done, but also the repair of those which have come apart during the year, and it is very amusing to see from a distance the women around the houses with their sleeves rolled up or with the tipoy down to the waist, making holes in the wet ground with shovel or hoe, pouring a little water in, kneading the earth, forming large balls of it, and putting it between the canes which are already attached.

/199 cont./

291 302 304 198

replaced by the cloth one, although it costs a great deal; the customs of yesteryear are now disappearing, and those of today, or of the whites, are penetrating rapidly.

302 418 [331]

For the Chiriguano virility consists of a vigorous head of hair; nevertheless, although he prizes hair on his head, he never allows any other hair on his body, except that of the eyelashes and eyebrows, which he forms into arches. He pulls out the rest of the hair on his face and body with his Tendivaha pehe, or tweezers. These consist of some little pieces of tin or a piece of cane slit down the middle, and sometimes a knife. With great patience and bit by bit he pulls out or cuts off all the hair that appears on his chin, thus looking like another woman. Others who are called /illustration appears here/ /189/ rich pull out their hair with thin pieces of silver, which they call Mbeivera (1).

302

1. During my stay in the territory I saw only one Indian who had a thick beard, but because of this uncleanliness he was considered disgusting. When the hairs grew, he cut them with scissors. Today the young men are beginning to wear mustaches and goatees, and many shave with razors.

[198]

291 [191]

The ancient Chiriguano clothing was very simple and too immoral, as is still seen among those Indians where the civilization of the Cross has not penetrated, such as the Chacobo north of Santa Cruz and others in the Bolivian Chaco. Boys go about naked until the age of ten or twelve, and girls up to seven, at which age they are content to cover the most delicate part of the body because of a trace of modesty which exists among them. Even grown men make use of this most simple garment when they are in the country busy at work or when they are returning to town loaded with firewood or food.

[Text Continues on P. 260]

/202 cont./

797 the second Chiriguano man and the second
793 Chiriguano woman: I have even made use of
871 this to condemn the vice of polygamy in my monthly instructions to the infidels.

000 /The last paragraph on p. 202 and the first paragraph on p. 203 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 203 follows./

621 It is very natural that the Chiriguano race should form a
59 family. Each tribe, or people, is an association of families.
603 They are made up of fathers and children, but many times they have at their head a grandfather and grandmother who are much respected but who never give any orders or manage things: instead they serve their children willingly as servants, the grandfather in bringing in firewood, planting, and weeding, and the grandmother in everything that a woman can do.

• 831 There does not seem to be any other race like the
867 Chiriguano in Bolivia, which like none other gives free rein to the passions, especially lewd ones. A maiden who commits a bad act is the pride of her mother, who is content with saying that now her daughter is a woman and ready for it. If a young man does similar things and his father finds out about it, he will ponder the act of his son and say, Cuimbae co, he is a man. This expression is heard frequently (1).

[797] 1. When the missionary attempts to reprehend or
[861] punish the sin of some Chiriguano boy, the father, the grandfather, or the cacique petitions for him, and the best words to lessen the punishment or to say that he deserves no punishment are: Cuimbae ma co, he is now a man.

181 Excessive corruption is the result, and, if the Toba race is distinguished by its inclination toward thievery, the Chiriguano are distinguished by their inclination toward lechery, as old and wise missionaries of the stature of Father Corrado and
000 Father Giannecchini can testify. Let the reader consider that the

Ee 581 /212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

Ee 582 Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

Ee [171] This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Matacc.

Ee 595 Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

Ee [643] Ee [586]

Ee 582 Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

c 577 177 797 831 /214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

c [837]

c 577 831 175 The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

/214 cont./

577 entirely untouched by the civilization of the whites, an opinion
831 which I shall reproduce here verbatim:
175

"Ce qui m'a fort surpris, c'est que dans la licence où ils vivent, je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'il échappat à aucun homme la moindre action indécente à l'egard des femmes, et jamais je n'ai oui sortir de leur bouche aucune parole tant soit peu déshonnête

643
291
415
142
352
516

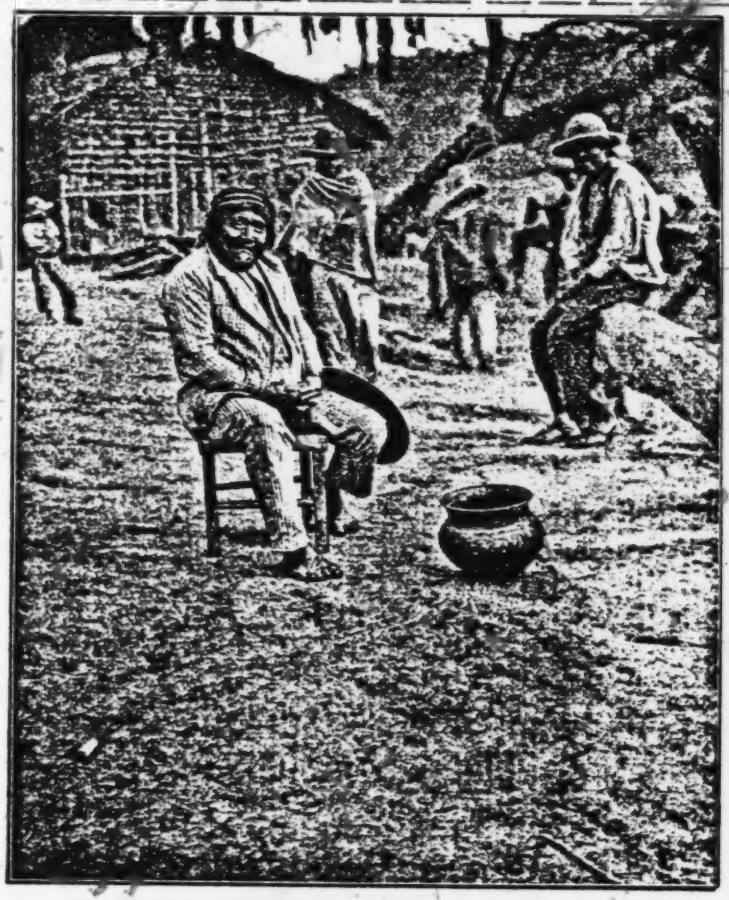


Fig. 111. The Chiriguano chief Mandepora.

577 /What surprised me very much is that in the freedom in which
831 they live I never noticed the slightest indecent behavior on the
175 part of any man with regard to women, and never did I hear from their lips any word that was the least bit immodest/."

Ce 834 171

/221 cont./

K. v. d. Steinen (1) and Koch-Grünberg (2) have pointed

1. K. v. d. Steinen: op. cit., p. 25.

C Ce [113]

2. Koch-Grünberg: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 133 /Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern (Two Years among the Indians), Berlin, 1909/.

out that even the women among the Indians on the Xingu and Rio Negro speak of sexual parts quite openly, as of something natural. The same is true among the Indians with whom I became acquainted. When I inquired about words touching on the most intimate things, even the women, indeed, the young girls, answered in the most natural manner.

Ce [124]

C Ce 195 834 838

There are words, however, which are prohibited. Such words among the Choroti are "ametché," which is an abusive word, "ictivähi," which designates homosexual intercourse, "huéle," which means onanism, and "tévi" among the Chané /222/ and Chiriguano, which has the same meaning as ictivähi. Here, too, the unnatural in sexual life is so shameful that it is not proper to speak of it.

C 834 838

There are also Indians who never want to speak about such things. This was true, for example, of a Chiriguano whom I had with me on my first trip on the Rio Parapiti. He even pretended that he had never heard such things mentioned. When I asked him about homosexuality among his countrymen, he feigned stupidity and said more or less: "Is that what the whites do?"

C [124]

Ce 538 831 [551]

Among the Indians, as among ourselves, there are nevertheless some who take pleasure in telling obscene stories. Such a one was the old Chané Bóyra, he who had the abusive name yúruhuasu, big-mouth. The more disagreeable the things he related, the more old Bóyra enjoyed himself. Sometimes he told such things that even my friend Batirayu, who used to interpret, was quite embarrassed. The old Chiriguano Yambási was also one who could tell all kinds of obscene stories.

Ce [115] C [538] [831]

Ee /227 cont./

831 The Indians regard the natural aspect of sexual life very differently from the way we view it as a rule. We do not find among these people all the corruption which is in civilized Ee society, but various things are to be found here already. As far 838 as homosexuality in particular is concerned, conditions among primitive peoples, as is known, show that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than in our hypercivilization.

/228/

Chapter Fourteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Chiefs and Laws

Ee 622 643 [111] The chiefs have an entirely different position among the Chané and Chiriguano than among the Ashluslay and Choroti. They have considerable power. Among the chiefs there are the great chiefs, who rule over several villages, and the village chiefs, Ee who have command over only one village or a part of one. 643 Among the great chiefs whom I met, the noteworthy ones are the old woman Vuáyruyi, the chief over the Chané villages on the Rio Itiyuro, Taruiri, who rules over most of the Caipipendi valley, Mandepora (Fig. 111), who in former times had considerable power in and around Machareti, and Maringay in the Ee Iguembe valley.

622 Nowadays the chiefs have no symbol of their office other 293 than silver-mounted sticks. According to Corrado, they formerly 643 wore a large tuft of hair on the head, "yattira," as well as green [301] stones which hung at their ears. At the festivals and dances they had [302] the right to use the "yandugua," a rod decorated with a bunch of ostrich feathers, and "iguirape," a staff carved with peculiar figures. Ee Of these I was able to acquire only a yandugua. I did not even see the rest.

622 The office of chief seems to be hereditary as a rule. 555 Capability and the art of using words well are required, however. 643

846 [844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other
756 resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which
763 is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [831] Choroti, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a [171] rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike
648 nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 134.
[2] Nordenskiöld (15).

/463 cont./

796 273 578 The attraction of the carnival consists of the enormous consumption of kāwi and alcohol which takes place then. Men and women drink, one trying to outdo the other; and, under the influence of drink, old angers and secret hates are awakened and the most excited provoke each other and come to blows.

796 532

Fig. 120. Chiriguano Indians wearing masks. (Photo. by the R. P. H. Catinari.)

796 273 578 /464/ The "captain" must then call them to order and separate the combatants.

Some people increase the tumult by blowing into their 796 534 sénéné (long whistles).

Sexual passions become aroused, and the men begin to 796 832 786 539 whirl around the women, whom they entreat, a calabash of kāwi in the hand, while reciting to them in a singsong tone pieces of verse of this type:

Epuka, puka maipota	Laugh harmoniously
Ṣeve no	For me
Epuka, puka maipota	Laugh harmoniously
Ṣeve no.	For me.

/464 cont./

796 Eyu šekuama — Come and kiss me
832 Šemireko mi — My little wife
786 Diyuru emesie — Give me thy mouth
539 Tuiša dipota — I love thee much
Šo songo pe — With my heart

Ime deresa ikavi — Thou hast pretty eyes
Ime diyuro misiray — Thou hast a little mouth
Tuiša dipota — I love thee much
Pairamo ayporu deve. — For that I am going to ask for thee.

796 During this time young or old men with their faces
532 covered by a mask (añawasu) run here and there, force the peo-
522 ple to dance by blows of a stick, play tricks on them, and address jokes to them.

796 The feast lasts as long as there is kãwi or alcohol. At
[273] the moment when it is on the point of ending, a final ceremony takes place. The rite of going out is similar to the rite of entering: the couple who planted the flowery stick tear it from the ground and go out of the village, followed by the añawasu and all those who took part in the festival. The procession advances to a certain distance from the village to the sound of the flutes and drums. They throw away the masks and throw stones while shouting. The carnival is finished and everyone goes home.
[585] Some take along their new wife, for it is at this moment that most marriages are celebrated.

796 The carnival festivity such as I have just described in-
177 volves only a few elements borrowed from the half-breeds or
178 creoles, outside of the coincidence of dates. This is an ancient
[241] feast of a purely agricultural character, which the Chiriguano have acquired the habit of celebrating at the same time as the Bolivian carnival. Besides, the Indians of Ibopeytí are pagans.

796 The masked men are supposed to represent the spirits of the
241 dead, as their name indicates (aña: spirit; wasu: great). As in
171 the festivals of the Guianas and Central America, they come in numbers /Plate LXXXVI appears here/ /465/ to insure for their

[text continues on p. 329]

generals, that is the ones who have several camps under their command, have at least one wife in each camp. C 622

Two or three days after delivery, mother and child wash, the new mother resting for only that length of time. C M 846

The father acknowledges his child and takes it into his arms with the following words: "This is my child." In some tribes it is customary for the husband to take to his bed when his wife is in labor, as an act of acknowledgement; and among the Chiriguanos the man takes his place beside his wife and for three days is cared for as if he had... given birth to a child! Then he gets up, but does not make any trips or work until seven days have elapsed, after which period the wife also gets up and washes. While the couple is in labor they eat nothing but water and a pap made with corn and bean broth; they abstain from eating meat.

It is quite common for a man to have two or more sisters simultaneously as wives. I can also give assurance that every now and then a father will not disdain even his own daughter. If no one will acknowledge a child as his own the mother may kill it. M 595 [588] [847]

The Indians are very skilled midwives: the white settlers themselves use their services. It is said that they are extraordinarily expert in taking advantage of the precise moment of crisis, holding the patient in a more or less straight position, apparently even shaking her, but without doing her harm. To this activity they add words to which the Indians attribute [185] virtue and to which the whites, who do not understand them, ascribe even more. So is it always! M 844 ● C

Let it not be thought, however, that in the matter of love-making they limit their efforts to a more or less expressive pantomime. The fact is that they have words and expressions and a language which lend themselves admirably to amorous declarations and which they use. The harmoniousness of the Guaraní language is well known to all, it might even be said that it is too much so when used by the men and by the Chiriguanos, whose mother tongue it also is. But even the Matacos, the rude, unpolished Matacos who seem to be the last on the anthropological scale of all these South American Indians, have their harmonious expressions and the well-bred ideas which correspond to them. M 832 ●

I remember an occasion on board ship when there was among us a good looking Indian woman who was quiet, impassive and even M 832

Ee 838 171/c ce [113]

/224 cont./

According to Westermarck (2), homosexuality is very

2. Westermarck: Ursprung und Entwickelung der Moralbegriffe /Origin and Development of Ideas of Morality/. Vol. II. Leipzig, 1909.

widespread among the Indians of America. The conception that this is a disgrace is by no means as marked everywhere as it is among the Indians mentioned here.

Ee ce 839 171 c Ce 833 171 [839] M 832 824 Ea 825 773 839

/225/ Among the Chané and Chiriguano I did not hear anything about onanism. Among the Choroti, on the other hand, it is said to be practiced by the men who are ignored by the women at a dance.

Perversions in the relationship between men and women, which were common in ancient Peru, do not seem to occur here. The primitive mammal position in coitus is said to be common among the Chaco tribes.

Mataco gave me a root which they used as an aphrodisiac.

The relationship between human beings and animals is so intimately intertwined in the legends of the Indians that one cannot always determine whether they mean the one or the other. The legends that describe love affairs between human beings and animals are not descriptions of bestiality, which seems to be unknown among these Indians.

Ee 834 171

The sense of modesty has developed very differently among these peoples. It seems to me to depend very much on the mode of dress. None of these Indian men or women of whom I have spoken here regards it as improper, insofar as they have not been completely corrupted or civilized, to expose the upper part of the body. The Chiriguano and Chané women are much more ashamed than the Choroti and Ashluslay when they expose the sexual parts. The latter were very reluctant to undress completely in order to be photographed. I did not even dare propose such a thing to the former.

Ee [126]

C
Ce
834
171

/225 cont./

Nevertheless, if in the evening one sat beside the fire in the hut and was acquainted with the family, they seemed to be quite free and easy. The Choroti and Ashluslay men are very shameless. The men among the Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, less so. It is very common for the Chiriguano and Chané women, conversing in a group, to pass water standing up and to let the urine run down their legs, which may be regarded as less than clean. The men, on the other hand, always step aside in order to relieve themselves.

C
Ce
[514]

C
Ce
833
171
834

/226/ As has been mentioned, the sexual act among the Ashluslay often takes place in the presence of onlookers. At the Choroti /Fig. 114 appears here/ dances one had to be careful in the darkness not to stumble over the loving couples. One never sees anything like that among the Chiriguano or Chané. Since many /227/ are lying in the same hut, however, one sees even among them what one always sees if one has overnight guests. This is not the least reason why the sexual life has no secrets even for small children.

C
Ce
834
177
517

Apparently life with the whites heightens the sense of modesty. The Indian women are even embarrassed to expose their breasts. Morality declines in proportion as the sense of modesty grows.

This should be taken into consideration by all those who sew clothing for naked heathen children.

C
Ce
121

Many of my readers may perhaps feel that this chapter should not have been included in my book. Nevertheless, it seems to me proper to say something about deviations in the sexual sphere. It contributes to an understanding of the people whom I am describing here. I have, of course, not been able to speak about all the realism that came out in the conversations around the camp fire (1).

1. If our daily papers, which are meant for the public, write about all kinds of things, one need not be too prudish in a travel account.

/478 cont./

532 Figure 3. Woman (kuña) drawn by Iwawásei. At the beginning she was content to make an enormous head surmounting a stunted body and long thin legs. Upon my remark that the [834] woman was naked, Iwawasei, out of modesty, dressed her by surrounding her legs with a kind of oval which she scribbled in black. She ended her drawing with the hair when I showed my surprise at the woman's baldness.

Figure 4. Dog (yeimbá) drawn by Consito. The body is in profile and the head seen straight on. The front legs end in two claws, the hind ones in two balls.

Figure 5. Iguana drawn by Asensio. He had a predilection for this animal, which he engraved on his flutes, and he hurried to reproduce it on my notebook, keeping the slightly angular style of his incised drawings. /Plates XCI-XCIII appear here./

/479/ Figure 6. Masculine individual (aña) drawn by José Miguel. On one hand, four fingers; on the other, five.

Figure 7. Woman (kuña) drawn by Asensio. The artist [834] began by drawing her naked, and it was only afterward that he had the idea of clothing her, drawing her dress as if seen in cross section.

Figure 8. Chiriguano shooting with a bow. He grasps the wood of the bow with his right hand and the cord with the left according to the Chiriguano custom (drawing by José Miguel).

Figure 9. The author of these lines as seen by Consito. His wide-brimmed hat is transformed into an American sailor's cap; and his glasses, which evidently impressed the Indians, are indicated head on, although the author is drawn in profile with his head thrown back. The blackened parts represent his suit.

Plate XCII

Figure 1. Uru, hen (José Miguel).

Figure 2. Ñandu (nandu), drawn by Consito, who has given it the regulation number of toes on one foot, but has forgotten one on the other.

[Text Continues on P. 358]

Ee 834 171

/221 cont./

K. v. d. Steinen (1) and Koch-Grünberg (2) have pointed

1. K. v. d. Steinen: op. cit., p. 25.

C Ee [113]

2. Koch-Grünberg: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 133 /Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern (Two Years among the Indians), Berlin, 1909/.

out that even the women among the Indians on the Xingu and Rio Negro speak of sexual parts quite openly, as of something natural. The same is true among the Indians with whom I became acquainted. When I inquired about words touching on the most intimate things, even the women, indeed, the young girls, answered in the most natural manner.

Ee [124]

C Ee 195 834 838

There are words, however, which are prohibited. Such words among the Choroti are "ametché," which is an abusive word, "ictivähi," which designates homosexual intercourse, "huéle," which means onanism, and "tévi" among the Chané /222/ and Chiriguano, which has the same meaning as ictivähi. Here, too, the unnatural in sexual life is so shameful that it is not proper to speak of it.

C 834 838

There are also Indians who never want to speak about such things. This was true, for example, of a Chiriguano whom I had with me on my first trip on the Rio Parapiti. He even pretended that he had never heard such things mentioned. When I asked him about homosexuality among his countrymen, he feigned stupidity and said more or less: "Is that what the whites do?"

C [124]

Ce 538 831 [551] Ce [115] C [538] [831]

Among the Indians, as among ourselves, there are nevertheless some who take pleasure in telling obscene stories. Such a one was the old Chané Bóyra, he who had the abusive name yúruhuasu, big-mouth. The more disagreeable the things he related, the more old Bóyra enjoyed himself. Sometimes he told such things that even my friend Batirayu, who used to interpret, was quite embarrassed. The old Chiriguano Yambási was also one who could tell all kinds of obscene stories.

Ee 838 171 c ce [113]

/224 cont./

According to Westermarck (2), homosexuality is very

2. Westermarck: Ursprung und Entwickelung der Moralbegriffe /Origin and Development of Ideas of Morality/. Vol. II. Leipzig, 1909.

widespread among the Indians of America. The conception that this is a disgrace is by no means as marked everywhere as it is among the Indians mentioned here.

Ee 839 171 c Ee 833 171 [839]

/225/ Among the Chané and Chiriguano I did not hear anything about onanism. Among the Choroti, on the other hand, it is said to be practiced by the men who are ignored by the women at a dance.

Perversions in the relationship between men and women, which were common in ancient Peru, do not seem to occur here. The primitive mammal position in coitus is said to be common among the Chaco tribes.

M 832 824 Ea 825 773 839

Mataco gave me a root which they used as an aphrodisiac.

The relationship between human beings and animals is so intimately intertwined in the legends of the Indians that one cannot always determine whether they mean the one or the other. The legends that describe love affairs between human beings and animals are not descriptions of bestiality, which seems to be unknown among these Indians.

Ee 834 171 Ee [126]

The sense of modesty has developed very differently among these peoples. It seems to me to depend very much on the mode of dress. None of these Indian men or women of whom I have spoken here regards it as improper, insofar as they have not been completely corrupted or civilized, to expose the upper part of the body. The Chiriguano and Chané women are much more ashamed than the Choroti and Ashluslay when they expose the sexual parts. The latter were very reluctant to undress completely in order to be photographed. I did not even dare propose such a thing to the former.

C
Ce
834
171

/225 cont. /

Nevertheless, if in the evening one sat beside the fire in the hut and was acquainted with the family, they seemed to be quite free and easy. The Choroti and Ashluslay men are very shameless. The men among the Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, less so. It is very common for the Chiriguano and Chané women, conversing in a group, to pass water standing up and to let the urine run down their legs, which may be regarded as less than clean. The men, on the other hand, always step aside in order to relieve themselves.

C
Ce
[514]

C
Ce
833
171
834

/226/ As has been mentioned, the sexual act among the Ashluslay often takes place in the presence of onlookers. At the Choroti /Fig. 114 appears here/ dances one had to be careful in the darkness not to stumble over the loving couples. One never sees anything like that among the Chiriguano or Chané. Since many /227/ are lying in the same hut, however, one sees even among them what one always sees if one has overnight guests. This is not the least reason why the sexual life has no secrets even for small children.

C
Ce
834
177
577

Apparently life with the whites heightens the sense of modesty. The Indian women are even embarrassed to expose their breasts. Morality declines in proportion as the sense of modesty grows.

This should be taken into consideration by all those who sew clothing for naked heathen children.

C
Ce
121

Many of my readers may perhaps feel that this chapter should not have been included in my book. Nevertheless, it seems to me proper to say something about deviations in the sexual sphere. It contributes to an understanding of the people whom I am describing here. I have, of course, not been able to speak about all the realism that came out in the conversations around the camp fire (1).

1. If our daily papers, which are meant for the public, write about all kinds of things, one need not be too prudish in a travel account.

/118 cont./

797 These facts cannot be denied, because they are based
[786] on the experience of centuries. Unfortunately, they do
[883] occur, and it is very difficult to uproot them. There is no lack of repentance or lack of punishment, admonitions, and fears, but civilizing action is not enough for this, nor even often the Gospel, because: animalis homo non percipit quae Dei sunt. We can say that the action of the missionary is one of yesterday among the Chiriguano. The Christians or neophytes have changed much in relation to the infidels throughout the region, but a great deal more is still lacking for them to come to understand the strength of Religion and civilization, since, naturally, abandoned humanity gives free rein to passions and it is indeed difficult to contain it afterwards in a short time (1).

1. The infidels of the missions complain about the neophytes, but they do not understand that times have changed, and the
[674] race as well. Murders are committed in other places, but this does not happen in the missions.

847 Sister to the sterility which the coquettish girls manage to procure is abortion. There is no woman who does not know the thousand ways for procuring this, always provided that they have not obtained or resorted to remedies for
847 sterilizing themselves at puberty. In general it is those girls
586 who have been betrayed by their lovers or abandoned by
● 836 those who have sworn fidelity to them throughout their
848 lives who come to this excess of killing innocent babies. For this reason they not only hate the perpetrator, but also his fruit in their bellies, and thus they make an effort to get rid of the innocent one by plucking it dead from their breast.

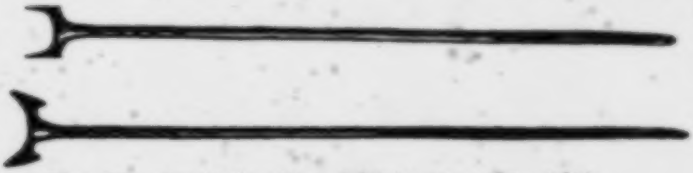
/179 cont./ C Ce 415 556
ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla, and many other things.

It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all night, as in a Choroti or Ashluslay village. The young men and the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they are not busy brewing maize for a festival.

C Ce 512 836 C Ce 512 264 273

C 276

Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2.



C 412

Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

C Ce 512 264 273 533 765

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, the men somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a truly refreshing bath. Ce 515 512

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Rio Itiyuro the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Rio Parapiti in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also Ce 512 482

/119 cont./

000 the wives of Christ their infinite goodness, and the priests the sciences and their Author. Each one in his branch turns his affection to the object which pleases him most. Even Indians have this privilege, because they are men who come from the same tree, whose trunk is in Adam and Eve (2).

773

2. They say that the first forebears of the Chiriguano race are different from the progenitors of Christians and missionaries, because we are of a different color, wealth, intelligence, and worth. They add that their first father's name was Araparigua.

837 684 593 As a consequence of the foregoing, the Chiriguano has no object which he loves other than his fellow man, because idleness and ignorance do not make him aspire to other things. A man and a woman love each other reciprocally, but as they also inherit the original sin, they are subject to its many consequences. Thus it happens that cases where a man betrays his wife, or she him, are not rare. What is the result of this? If it is the woman who was unfaithful to the conjugal bonds, the man will remedy it by providing her with goodly number of whacks with a stick and separating from her definitively, and if it should be the man, which is generally what happens, it is not so easy for the woman to do anything /120/ about it. Instead she usually sees herself more and more oppressed. The husband makes a martyr of her. Well-founded jealousy begins to destroy her. She can do nothing against her rival. She has no religion which will help her resign herself to 837 her fate. She makes every effort to avenge herself in 684 some way, but it is difficult, she thinks in this extreme 593 case that she achieves all she can do by taking her life. 762 To do this, she finds a rope, puts it around her neck, ties it to any small tree or such thing, casts loose her body, and, since no one sees her, in a few minutes she ceases to exist (1).

1. A woman of some 25 years of age

/120 cont./

762 [837] [784] [593]

committed suicide in her own home early one Sunday morning at a height of one meter. She did it by kneeling down.

Suicide is not rare even among men, and there were several during my stay among the Chiriguano. The men, if they are young, commit it in order not to suffer the reproach of their parents for something bad they have done. If they are older than their wives, it is because they have no other way to remedy the woman's infidelity, because there are cases in which a man dominated by his wife and somewhat timid in nature does not dare in such circumstances to throw the bad one out of his house, and thus he believes that he can fix everything by taking his life. These unpleasant happenings and accidents happen in the fields or in the woods.

Boxing and Dueling

175 721 628

In ancient times this race was very numerous and constantly in a state of war against its common enemies, but there were other wars in which one town rose up against another for trivial reasons. In the middle of the nineteenth century there was a bloody war between the towns of Yvu and Caraguatarenta against those of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo because of oppression which the cacique Güiracoti had tried to practice (2).

2. This regional war occurred before Chimeo Mission was founded. Güiracoti deceived the authorities of Cordillera, who were quartering people in the vicinity and around Parapiti in order to repress the audacity of Yaveau, whom they believed to be the head of the revolution.

/159 cont./

622 may be general rejoicing with the drinking of the pretasted
[262] Cangũi, chicha, squash and beans to eat together with Aticũi,
[273] meal, and Atipíi, parched corn. In his prolonged discourse he recommends union in labor so that it may soon be finished, since the field of the cacique is planted first and then those of the rest, with all of them helping one another. When I came to the missions, the soldiers of the cacique Gũiraesa still did it in this way. I shall speak of this cacique and his family in another chapter.

622 692 The cacique also arbitrates the arguments which frequently arise in the planting season, since even among these people there reigns covetousness of the property of others, should it be good and free of brush; he settles family disputes, admonishing the parents and also their children. If a theft occurs, it is also he who makes claims before the cacique of the neighboring tribe, but if this should occur within his own, he will summarily administer justice. His sentence is absolute and in general not subject to appeal (2).

[799] 2. There are several caciques in the missions, because they are made up of several tribes. The missionary governs them all, with the result that the authority of the caciques is almost nominal.

721 It frequently happens that, as a result of some affront done to some woman of a tribe, a bloody war begins, which assumes the characteristics of a regional one. This happened during the
[643] 1850's in the Cuevo region. The cacique Gũiracoti tried without
● [837] success to have relations with the wife of Yaveau, cacique of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo. In revenge the offended man disposed of a head of cattle belonging to /160/ Gũiracoti; hostilities were then declared and each cacique prepared for war.

/263 cont./

535 184 173 Someone went to teach it in the towns located behind the hill of Aguaragüe, and the towns located on the right bank of the Cuevo River intended to introduce it, but, seeing the dismal consequences that resulted from it, they have abstained to this day, so that it is a fact that the Mbapa páure is now limited to the small towns of Caraguatarenta, Ñagua, and Caraguatagüe, and it is certain that it is neither heard nor seen in the large towns of Santa Rosa and Ivu, which are a few kilometers away (1).

[837]

1. In the towns where the Mbapa páure is sung, there are upset marriages, because the dance is between a man and woman holding hands, which does not happen in the Ayarise; therefore, or to avoid said upsets, many caciques do not allow it to be introduced into their area of jurisdiction.

The Music of the Mbapa páure

527 533 535 [184] This is another piece of music which has been scored for a band by the Reverend Father Domingo F. Regini; it is much simpler than the ayarise, but the song and dance attract a great deal of attention, because they are not known in all the Chiriguano towns. It is a kind of carnival which lasts for a long time, but when the said time is over, nobody again remembers the Mbapa páure until a year has passed. Here are the words of [539] the song: Tavia, Tavia -- Erecosiye mbapa páure -- Tirisoti, tirisoti -- Ancua chopi -- Chopi nano saraviyé -- Eh! Eh! Uetepeso, güeremeso -- Yagua tairari, yagua tairari -- Yurumbopi -- Yémanta -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. Explanation: Let us sing the mbapa paure, like the blackbird sings, let us sing until we are left with our mouths twisted and we are tired, even though it give us a pain in the chest, let us challenge even the jaguar, and let our mouths stretch. Eh! Eh!

Ee 581 /212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

Ce 582 Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

Ce [171] This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Matacc.

Ee 595 Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

[643] Ee [586]

Ee 582 Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

c 577 177 797 831 /214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

c [837]

c 577 831 175 The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

Ce 834 171

/221 cont./

K. v. d. Steinen (1) and Koch-Grünberg (2) have pointed

1. K. v. d. Steinen: op. cit., p. 25.

C Ce [113]

2. Koch-Grünberg: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 133 /Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern (Two Years among the Indians), Berlin, 1909/.

out that even the women among the Indians on the Xingu and Rio Negro speak of sexual parts quite openly, as of something natural. The same is true among the Indians with whom I became acquainted. When I inquired about words touching on the most intimate things, even the women, indeed, the young girls, answered in the most natural manner.

Ce [124]

C Ce 195 834 838

There are words, however, which are prohibited. Such words among the Choroti are "ametché," which is an abusive word, "ictivähi," which designates homosexual intercourse, "huéle," which means onanism, and "tévi" among the Chané /222/ and Chiriguano, which has the same meaning as ictivähi. Here, too, the unnatural in sexual life is so shameful that it is not proper to speak of it.

C 834 838

There are also Indians who never want to speak about such things. This was true, for example, of a Chiriguano whom I had with me on my first trip on the Rio Parapiti. He even pretended that he had never heard such things mentioned. When I asked him about homosexuality among his countrymen, he feigned stupidity and said more or less: "Is that what the whites do?"

C [124]

Ce 538 831 [551]

Among the Indians, as among ourselves, there are nevertheless some who take pleasure in telling obscene stories. Such a one was the old Chané Bóyra, he who had the abusive name yúruhuasu, big-mouth. The more disagreeable the things he related, the more old Bóyra enjoyed himself. Sometimes he told such things that even my friend Batirayu, who used to interpret, was quite embarrassed. The old Chiriguano Yambási was also one who could tell all kinds of obscene stories.

Ce [115] C [538] [831]

Ce 539 831

/223 cont./

In the evening the fox asked the sister of the wood fowl: "Where do you want to lie?" "Here," she said.

"Then I shall lie down beside you," said the fox. A little farther away the wood fowl lay down. When the sister had fallen asleep, the fox stretched out his hand and took hold of the wood fowl. The latter came and lay down beside the fox.

"Are you married?" said the wood fowl.

/224/ "No, my mama did not want to marry me off," answered the fox... (1)

1. Omitted as being too realistic.

The fox now slept two nights with the wood fowl and became pregnant. After a time the fox gave birth.

One day several birds came by there. "Give me a bow and arrow, I want to shoot," said the fox. "You cannot shoot, after all you are not a man," said the wood fowl.

"I am a man," said the fox; he took a bow and arrow and departed. When he came to the "supua," he took down his penis and put it on again.

Ce 838 [735] e [838] Ce [762]

I was told about a Chané Indian from Yacundai on the Rio Parapiti who was in the habit of wandering about in strange villages as a sponger. The Indians finally got tired of him, and once when he was completely drunk several Chiriguano Indians in the Caipipendi valley abused him. After this insult he betook himself to the lower Rio Parapiti. When news of what had happened to him in Caipipendi reached there, he hung himself in despair over this disgrace.

Ee 838 Ee [681] [762] [684]

Strangely enough, it is not regarded as a disgrace among these Indians to be the active one in a homosexual relationship, but the passive one is deeply despised. He is regarded as a woman. This is the reason why some inconsiderate whites punish incorrigible Indians with -- an enema. An Indian thus mortified disappears forever. It is assumed that he commits suicide. An Indian punishes his unfaithful wife by means of "tévi" and then leaves her. I saw Chané boys playing "tévi."

Ee
838 /224 cont./
171
c
Ce
[113]

According to Westermarck (2), homosexuality is very

2. Westermarck: Ursprung und Entwickelung der Moralbegriffe /Origin and Development of Ideas of Morality/. Vol. II. Leipzig, 1909.

widespread among the Indians of America. The conception that this is a disgrace is by no means as marked everywhere as it is among the Indians mentioned here.

Ee
Ce
839
171
c
Ce
833
171
[839]

/225/ Among the Chané and Chiriguano I did not hear anything about onanism. Among the Choroti, on the other hand, it is said to be practiced by the men who are ignored by the women at a dance.

Perversions in the relationship between men and women, which were common in ancient Peru, do not seem to occur here. The primitive mammal position in coitus is said to be common among the Chaco tribes.

M
832
824
Ea
825
773
839

Mataco gave me a root which they used as an aphrodisiac.

The relationship between human beings and animals is so intimately intertwined in the legends of the Indians that one cannot always determine whether they mean the one or the other. The legends that describe love affairs between human beings and animals are not descriptions of bestiality, which seems to be unknown among these Indians.

Ee
834
171
Ee
[126]

The sense of modesty has developed very differently among these peoples. It seems to me to depend very much on the mode of dress. None of these Indian men or women of whom I have spoken here regards it as improper, insofar as they have not been completely corrupted or civilized, to expose the upper part of the body. The Chiriguano and Chané women are much more ashamed than the Choroti and Ashluslay when they expose the sexual parts. The latter were very reluctant to undress completely in order to be photographed. I did not even dare propose such a thing to the former.

Ee /227 cont./
831 The Indians regard the natural aspect of sexual life very differently from the way we view it as a rule. We do not find among these people all the corruption which is in civilized
Ee society, but various things are to be found here already. As far
838 as homosexuality in particular is concerned, conditions among primitive peoples, as is known, show that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than in our hypercivilization.

/228/

Chapter Fourteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Chiefs and Laws

Ee
622
643
[111] The chiefs have an entirely different position among the Chané and Chiriguano than among the Ashluslay and Choroti. They have considerable power. Among the chiefs there are the great chiefs, who rule over several villages, and the village chiefs,
Ee who have command over only one village or a part of one.
643 Among the great chiefs whom I met, the noteworthy ones are the old woman Vuáyruyi, the chief over the Chané villages on the Rio Itiyuro, Taruiri, who rules over most of the Caipipendi valley, Mandepora (Fig. 111), who in former times had con-
Ee siderable power in and around Machareti, and Maringay in the Iguembe valley.

622 Nowadays the chiefs have no symbol of their office other
293 than silver-mounted sticks. According to Corrado, they formerly
643 wore a large tuft of hair on the head, "yattira," as well as green
[301] stones which hung at their ears. At the festivals and dances they had
[302] the right to use the "yandugua," a rod decorated with a bunch of ostrich feathers, and "iguirape," a staff carved with peculiar figures.
Ee Of these I was able to acquire only a yandugua. I did not even see the rest.

622 The office of chief seems to be hereditary as a rule.
555 Capability and the art of using words well are required, however.
643

Ec 838 171 c ce [113]

/224 cont./

According to Westermarck (2), homosexuality is very

2. Westermarck: Ursprung und Entwickelung der Moralbegriffe /Origin and Development of Ideas of Morality/. Vol. II. Leipzig, 1909.

widespread among the Indians of America. The conception that this is a disgrace is by no means as marked everywhere as it is among the Indians mentioned here.

Ec Ce 839 171 c Ce 833 171 [839]

/225/ Among the Chané and Chiriguano I did not hear anything about onanism. Among the Choroti, on the other hand, it is said to be practiced by the men who are ignored by the women at a dance.

Perversions in the relationship between men and women, which were common in ancient Peru, do not seem to occur here. The primitive mammal position in coitus is said to be common among the Chaco tribes.

M 832 824 Ec 825 773 839

Mataco gave me a root which they used as an aphrodisiac.

The relationship between human beings and animals is so intimately intertwined in the legends of the Indians that one cannot always determine whether they mean the one or the other. The legends that describe love affairs between human beings and animals are not descriptions of bestiality, which seems to be unknown among these Indians.

Ec 834 171

The sense of modesty has developed very differently among these peoples. It seems to me to depend very much on the mode of dress. None of these Indian men or women of whom I have spoken here regards it as improper, insofar as they have not been completely corrupted or civilized, to expose the upper part of the body. The Chiriguano and Chané women are much more ashamed than the Choroti and Ashluslay when they expose the sexual parts. The latter were very reluctant to undress completely in order to be photographed. I did not even dare propose such a thing to the former.

Ec [126]

/117 cont./

829 clothing in payment for the service. Let the reader imagine
797 how the poor father, who had nothing, felt when he heard
177 such a petition (1)!

1. Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Vices and Their Consequences

883 It seems to be and is an unfortunate truth that in this
842 tribe, once so numerous, there is no lack of coquettish girls, who, if they restrained themselves from flirting any more, would not be so bad. The unfortunate thing is that these poor girls, in order to enjoy mundane pleasures and drink to the depths the dregs of corruption, or also in order not to have the nuisance of nursing children and training
[756] them, have recourse to a very simple thing. They consult
[278] the old women who bear the name of sorcerers, and these
[885] show them the remedy, which consists of a drink that they extract from certain plants or herbs which almost all the Chiriguano women and Indian sorcerers know wonderfully well.

883 /118/ These unfortunate girls, usually orphans, once the
786 period of puberty is over, drink this venomous beverage,
[881] suffer a great deal, if indeed they do not die, and are
[842] sterilized, and they then give themselves up to orgies at the time of general drinking, which is the most terrible thing that you can imagine, because at them morality is offended by words and very licentious stories, by raucous laughter and giggling by men and women, by their glances, and finally by their acts, although these take place at a
797 suitable distance from the said gathering.

/223/

881 raised to the ceiling. They leave her there for a period of
[785] four days in strict fasting and, of course, without her opening her mouth to speak to anybody, not even to ask for necessary things, because if she should talk or ask for anything, misfortune would appear at once.

At the end of this first test, which the maiden has scarcely felt, they lower her on the fifth day, wash her head with potash of Ñetira, and shave off the adolescent girl's hair. Meanwhile in a corner of the house far from the door, they have prepared a wall like a corner piece, made out of slender sticks a meter and 50 centimeters high more or less.
[785] Wrapped in her tipoi or clean clothing, the unfortunate girl goes there, into her pen, and begins her strict fast, which they call Yicuacu, or hiding (1).

1. This rigorous way of life does not seem at all strange to the maidens, because before it comes their mothers have prepared them for it, and they believe in everything with blind faith.

The girl remains in her enclosure for a week without doing anything, with face to the wall in order not to see or talk to
[262] anybody. Her usual fare is boiled maize, Atiruru. Sometimes she also eats meat if there is any, but in very small quantities. She neither tastes nor desires other foods. Were she to eat parched maize, she would not be good at feeding her children when she has them, because her breasts would be
[271] dry all her life. Her usual beverage should be natural clear water. Were she to drink chicha, she would be barren, be-
[273] cause it contains alcohol and acridness, which would stop the
[842] effects of conception during her marriage.

881 When the week is over, the fasting continues, but less
868 harshly; her parents have obtained cotton or wool, have
867 prepared the spindle and wheel, with the little potsherd in
283 which they put a few ashes or sand so that the spindle will turn more easily. The mother hands over all this to her daughter, who begins to work and learns that she has been born for work.

/183 cont./
323 size, which they /184/ call Itaisi, with which the polishing of the pieces is completed (1).

1. The operations which they also perform with the shell and with the stone are for the purpose of giving fineness to the vessels and of closing any chinks.

[824] When they leave the piece which has been begun, they cover it with leaves of the Causíro, palma Christi, and at the time when they begin it again they dampen the edges with a small rag. This rag serves also for dampening the piece before polishing it with any of the above-mentioned tools. When it is finished and before it has been exposed to the air very long, they polish it with the Itaisi, and, when it is quite dry they fire it if it is not to have pictures on it.

531 Every painted piece of pottery is called Sacuarama. The
[192] paintings are white, black, and red. The white is called Tovanti, the black Itau, and the red Itaurucu. They grind
[237] up the three colors separately, dissolve them in water, and apply them with a slender feather from a chicken or other bird. The figures are varied; those of trees, animals, and men are rare; they are lines, unintelligible groupings. Without knowing it themselves, they follow a general system, and some of them make fine pieces, especially for storing water.

323 In order to fire them they select a still day, and a big
• [843] piece is carried to the forest, because there is plenty of firewood there and also to avoid having pregnant women coming close to watch, because their presence, according to what they
[237] say, would make the vessel break. They pile firewood around it and light it, taking care that the fire does not go out before it is burning well; sometimes instead of firewood they also use dry cow-manure, and it seems that this is very good for even-
[237] ness of the baking. If the pot has paintings, they let it cool a little when they take it out of the fire and then quickly pass over the pictures the excrement of the Taragüirisi, which melts with

593
586

/208 cont./

love can accomplish much, and they really love their children, without making much outward show of this.

Finally, the man, whenever he wishes, can dismiss his wife with great ease. He does it with contempt, in biting words, calling her Cuña pochi, bad woman, Cuña imuquere, lost woman, good only for lighting the fire. No one could endure such scorn for an hour, and she understands that the rascal has won the love of another, younger woman.

515 When a mother goes to the spring or river, she takes her son or daughter with her, bathes herself and also her child, and then grinds up some grains of Ñetira, a kind of potash, leaving her hair and that of her daughter clean and shiny. The bath is daily, but the washing of the hair with ñetira is not.

/209/ Pregnancy and Birth

•843 When a woman finds herself pregnant, she does not give up her customary chores, but goes to the field as usual and fetches from there heavy loads of maize and other things.

482 285 [171] They use for this, as I have already noted, a kind of close-woven net which the Toba make with the bark of the caraguata or maguey. Those made by the Chiriguano are like the wooden fruit-baskets /chipas/. They are open on top, where they have an easily untied cord, in the middle of which there is a wide band for holding the weight with the forehead (1).

482

1. The Chiriguano woman lets all the weight of the load she is carrying rest on her spinal column, etc., holding it with her forehead. If the water is some distance away, she does the same; if not, she carries the vessel vertically on her left shoulder, or on her head, where she places a pad of rags.

/209 cont./

843 Near the time of giving birth, she carries less weight,
262 prepares what is necessary, which consists of some cloth pads
415 and her new little olla in which to cook the maize which she
[753] must eat boiled. If the olla were old or used, the newborn would be subject to mal caduco, or epilepsy, and if a woman who has just given birth were to eat parched maize, her breasts would dry up and would not give milk for feeding the child.

844 At the time of giving birth the only person left in the house is the midwife; the others, even the husband, go out, but he returns as soon as the birth has taken place, in order to lend some help to his wife and the midwife, who alone cannot attend to the newborn child and its mother, who fights with her very life against the pains, for which she is consoled at the sight of the fruit of her womb, which for a moment makes her forget her present suffering.

They at once cover with sand every trace of the event, wrap up with bands, cloths, or other things the body of the woman who has just given birth, and lay her on the ground face down, making her rest on a bed which has little or no resemblance to such, but as every Chiriguano woman is strong, she puts up with this as though she were in a featherbed.

184 Throughout the whole world birth is a very dangerous thing,
846 and it is even here. The Chiriguano women also need considerable rest. When some old women were asked about the matter, they stated that childbirth formerly lasted almost two weeks, and they marvel that the neophytes get up so quickly, returning to their customary labors within eight days; they attribute this robustness to the lack of strict fasting in the years of puberty.

846 /210/ It is consequently an error to state that puerperae go to the lake or river to bathe from the second or third day, much less on the same day as the birth. Natural reason would not allow the latter. There might have been some extraordinary case in which some woman walked immediately after giving
[178] birth, but it would not cease to be an extraordinary case. The neophytes are abandoning the custom of their grandmothers and

6: Nordenskiöld--59 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/206/

Chapter Twelve

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

From the Womb to the Grave

C Ce 843 Ce [123] Ce 844 Ce 846 Ce [171] Ce 846 262 Ce [825] C 846 262 Ce 171 846

The Chané and Chiriguano women work hard even during pregnancy, until they are to give birth. In Vocapoy's village there was a pregnant woman to whom I gave a pigeon that I shot. Vocapoy thereupon told me in great excitement that a pregnant woman must not eat pigeons. When a Chané or Chiriguano child comes into the world, it undoubtedly does not cause its mother much pain. These women are healthy and give birth easily, as do all Indian women who lead a healthy life and have never worn tight-fitting clothing. They also do not lie in childbed; instead, that must be done by the papa of the little one. Here, too, we come across this strange custom, the "couvade," which is known from so many Indian tribes. The husband is supposed to lie down for several days and observe a diet. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti he is permitted to eat only cooked maize and maize soup during the first few days, and later sweet potatoes as well. For several days he may not eat meat. For example, if he eats the meat of a goat, he will die, bleating as it does. The Chiriguano Indian Taco told me that he got his fat stomach because he did not observe this important custom. "I should have lain for five days and stayed on a diet," he said.

The custom of the couvade, as is well known, is very widespread in South America. Among the tribes with whom I am familiar it definitely occurs, aside from the /207/ Chiriguano and Chané, among the Choroti, Gûarayû, and Chacobo. K. v.d. Steinen (1), who describes this custom in detail from the Rio Xingu,

Ce [113]

1. Karl v. d. Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/. Berlin, 1894.

/151 cont./

755 Men sorcerers use in their cures, in addition to the cigar, the
756 tupicho. But what the tupicho consists of is difficult to determine. There are sorcerers who use for it a little round stone with some designs on it; according to what I saw in the San Pascual Mission, others use a long bone likewise bearing designs, and, as I saw in Caipipendi and other places, others make do with words alone. The value of the tupicho is not known, but the Indians have much fear of it. I could tell stories about this.

Sorceress Curers

756 There is no doubt about the existence of female curers and sorcereresses, who, like the men, are feared in the tribe, because it is easier for them to administer some slow or violent poison in drinks. They are designated by the name Cuña ipaye, sorceress (2).

> 2. I know several women who are curers and sorceresses at the same time; at least they are considered as such by the Indians of the tribe.

Generally these women are the daughters of sorcerers, but this does not prevent others from being one also. They cure sick men or women with wild herbs, tree bark, and roots which they dig out of the ground. They are in this case true curers, as are certain women among the whites.

756 There are others, and plenty of them; it can be said that
844 every old mother is one for her young daughters. They serve
759 as midwives; they help their daughters and other women in their deliveries. Some of them are so skilled that they are accepted by the women whom the Indians call ladies. During the time when I was living among the Chiriguano, I saw only three die in childbirth.

756 The only thing which is deplorable among these curers is the
278 use of Mbayachi, a poison that they administer with much dissimula-
682 tion, mixing it with chicha and giving it to persons whom they hate, immediately washing or hiding the gourd, glass, or cup in which they administered it to the patient.

/209 cont./

843 Near the time of giving birth, she carries less weight,
262 prepares what is necessary, which consists of some cloth pads
415 and her new little olla in which to cook the maize which she
[753] must eat boiled. If the olla were old or used, the newborn would be subject to mal caduco, or epilepsy, and if a woman who has just given birth were to eat parched maize, her breasts would dry up and would not give milk for feeding the child.

844 At the time of giving birth the only person left in the house is the midwife; the others, even the husband, go out, but he returns as soon as the birth has taken place, in order to lend some help to his wife and the midwife, who alone cannot attend to the newborn child and its mother, who fights with her very life against the pains, for which she is consoled at the sight of the fruit of her womb, which for a moment makes her forget her present suffering.

They at once cover with sand every trace of the event, wrap up with bands, cloths, or other things, the body of the woman who has just given birth, and lay her on the ground face down, making her rest on a bed which has little or no resemblance to such, but as every Chiriguano woman is strong, she puts up with this as though she were in a featherbed.

184 Throughout the whole world birth is a very dangerous thing,
846 and it is even here. The Chiriguano women also need considerable rest. When some old women were asked about the matter, they stated that childbirth formerly lasted almost two weeks, and they marvel that the neophytes get up so quickly, returning to their customary labors within eight days; they attribute this robustness to the lack of strict fasting in the years of puberty.

846 /210/ It is consequently an error to state that puerperae go to the lake or river to bathe from the second or third day, much less on the same day as the birth. Natural reason would not allow the latter. There might have been some extraordinary case in which some woman walked immediately after giving
[178] birth, but it would not cease to be an extraordinary case. The neophytes are abandoning the custom of their grandmothers and

/210 cont./

846 slowly accepting that of the whites. They do not come out of
178 the house until they are completely well, and they only do it on a Sunday morning. They then wear a new dress for the first time and present themselves at the door of the church to receive the post partum blessing (1).

> 1. I saw an extraordinary case, from which no illness resulted. They have been accustomed to the post partum blessing by the virtuous old mistresses, and they continue this.

846
302 Soon, in a week or two, the woman is completely well, and she is allowed to go out to bathe and paint her face with urucu, returning gradually to her usual tasks. Childbirth is
●844 regarded by the Chiriguano as a time of fasting, in which some
785 authors say that all the members of the family participate, but this is not true; only the husband shares this obligation, and he does it for two or three days (2).

> 2. They say that it is necessary for the baby's father to fast so that it may not die nor any harm come to it when it grows up.

797 The missionaries try to eradicate from the neophytes the
785 superstition that is represented by the husband's fasting, but
844 when their mothers see that their grandchildren are dying,
178 they reprehend in their children the abandonment of the customs of yesteryear. I knew an old woman who was very attached to these customs and who tried in every way to force her son to fast, in view of the fact that the newborn babies died every time her daughter-in-law gave birth.

/206/

Chapter Twelve

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

From the Womb to the Grave

C Ce 843 Ce [123] Ce 844 Ce 846 Ce [171] Ce 846 262 Ce [825] C 846 262 Ce 171 846

The Chané and Chiriguano women work hard even during pregnancy, until they are to give birth. In Vocapoy's village there was a pregnant woman to whom I gave a pigeon that I shot. Vocapoy thereupon told me in great excitement that a pregnant woman must not eat pigeons. When a Chané or Chiriguano child comes into the world, it undoubtedly does not cause its mother much pain. These women are healthy and give birth easily, as do all Indian women who lead a healthy life and have never worn tight-fitting clothing. They also do not lie in childbed; instead, that must be done by the papa of the little one. Here, too, we come across this strange custom, the "couvade," which is known from so many Indian tribes. The husband is supposed to lie down for several days and observe a diet. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti he is permitted to eat only cooked maize and maize soup during the first few days, and later sweet potatoes as well. For several days he may not eat meat. For example, if he eats the meat of a goat, he will die, bleating as it does. The Chiriguano Indian Taco told me that he got his fat stomach because he did not observe this important custom. "I should have lain for five days and stayed on a diet," he said.

The custom of the couvade, as is well known, is very widespread in South America. Among the tribes with whom I am familiar it definitely occurs, aside from the /207/ Chiriguano and Chané, among the Choroti, Gûarayû, and Chacobo. K. v.d. Steinen (1), who describes this custom in detail from the Rio Xingu,

Ce [113]

1. Karl v. d. Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/. Berlin, 1894.

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

534 171 174 114

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

361 622

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

582 595 881 [304] [301] 585 574 844 846

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

846 [844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other
756 resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which
763 is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [831] Choroti, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a [171] rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike
648 nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 134.
[2] Nordenskiöld (16).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1819 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

/211 cont./

853 262 There is no special food or more abundant food for mothers after childbirth. She who gives her breasts to her little one eats little and extremely poorly. Her ordinary food is parched maize, parched maize meal, bread made of the same, herbs, beans, gourds, other things of this nature, and rarely a little purchased beef, other meat from animals that died from sickness, lack of pasture, or snake bite, and, finally, game or chicken. In spite of this extremely bad food, milk is abundant in her breasts; the children are almost always hanging from them and sucking and never seem to dry them up, which indicates that they are excellent nursers.

648 464 853 Mestizo or white mothers who sometimes have little or no breast milk because of sickness or some accident make contracts with Chiriguano mothers, pay them well, and treat them better, but it seems that continued good and satisfactory nursing harms them, /212/ it also being prejudicial to the breast as well as to both newborn babies, the weaker child succumbing first (1).

1. Naturally the Chiriguano women refuse to be wet nurses for white children, because they abhor them. When through experience they learn of the sad consequences, communicated by others, they resist even more and only do it when force or the right of the stronger prevails.

845 [163] [165] 736 603 [853] [824]

Twins

Multiple births are rare, and those of two children are frequent. In the former case the newborn babies die very soon, and in the latter case one almost always lives, and many times both live. When twins survive or through the death of the mother a newborn child is left an orphan, it is very easy for the grandmother to care for one twin or the orphaned child. Although the old woman may have reached or passed 60, she

/214/

753 had asked for her as his wife, a proposal which had not been
754 accepted; but it must be noted that the Indians attribute every death to sorcery.

765 The loss of this child was greatly mourned by relatives
[764] and others, and her parents, who loved her very much, burned all of the clothes and things that she had, in addition to having buried with her the best and abundant clothing which her father had just brought her from the Argentine Republic. The girl had three donkeys which had been given to her by her father. They sold them in order not to see them any more, in order not to be reminded of their late daughter each moment and immediately weep.

855 I have related this event so that my readers may know
765 that the Chiriguano love their children whether male or female, so that they may see the grief they feel, and so that they may know that in case of hydrophobia the medicine which I administered to the girls Ana and Delina is a good remedy; after the last fever they are now completely well (1).

114

1. If some new missionary or other readers may not know of it, let them now know that ammonia drunk as drops in water and placed on snake bites and bites of other poisonous animals or insects is very efficacious. In ignorance of having been bitten by a spider, I suffered the consequences for seven months and got well as soon as I applied ammonia to it. For another bite I used ink very efficaciously; it is enough to paint the bitten part with it.

Deformed Children

•845
847 It is not easy to ascertain why the Chiriguano kill their
732 children who are born deformed. Some writers have stated that they do it so that all will be valiant warriors, but this reason is not satisfactory because deformed women are not found either, and certainly women are not good for war.

/214 cont./

845 I judge that they take away the lives of these unfortunates,
847 not to do them harm, but to do a highly philanthropic act for
732 them, since they would have even greater suffering were they to be left blind, crippled, lame, one-handed, mute, and deaf for the rest of their lives (2).

[191]
[734]

2. Similar philanthropic acts are still practiced among the Toba and other tribes; so that they will not suffer much and long, they also bury sick persons alive.

732 Today one sees an occasional deformed person, and these isolated cases are either due to parents not brave enough to kill /215/ their children or perhaps they can be attributed to illnesses contracted at an advanced age. As a conclusion to
181 the present chapter, let it be noted that some have written things about which they know nothing, making the Chiriguano out to be ferocious wild animals without compassion, but a particular fact cannot be used to draw general conclusions. True explorers state, as I do, that in general the Chiriguano is humanitarian; he loves his relatives in life and in death, and they are astounded by the conduct of the whites, who upon the death of their relatives slaughter cattle, drink brandy, and play as if it were a fiesta (1).

000

1. The conduct of certain civilized persons should not be reproved by the world. Even in the most civilized nations there are benefit dances. They drink, dance, and do other things, while the poor or the sick suffer. The Catholic takes out his money and gives it away in secret, without ever bragging about it; this is the true way to help humanity.

/357 cont./

252 A rudimentary way of preparing corn, but also little valued, consists of boiling the kernels in water for a long time until they have become soft (atiruru) (3).

262
881
765
846

3. Atiruru is a dish whose consumption is intimately associated with the observance of magico-religious prohibitions. It is the only permissible nourishment for girls when they have their first menstrual periods, for people in mourning, and for women for a period of ten days after giving birth (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 14).

252 /358/ The Chiriguano make a broth with corn flour (api)
262 and meat, which is not bad.

They do not use haphazardly the 11 varieties of corn which they cultivate. Each, according to its properties, is intended for the preparation of a definite dish. Yellow corn (avati-hendi-vaé or avati-iyu-vaé) serves for making chicha or corn beer; white corn (avati-ndi) is roasted, as is avati-kanana. The corn called katšintši, or crinkled corn, is generally roasted, as are avati-tšore and avati-saimpini (gray corn), which are intended to be roasted and made into flour.

262 Avati-rai, or small corn, is planted only in times of scarcity when the harvest has been bad. Of small stature, it yields only one ear of reduced size, but has the advantage of growing fast (Nino, pp. 241-242).

A Chiriguano's meal in normal times is not made up exclusively of corn, even if this grain figures in all his menus. The popularity which corn has is also shared by beans, or kumanda. The Chiriguano cultivate 11 varieties of them also.

The Chiriguano eat beans either dry or fresh. In the
[252] latter case they are cooked in the pod in water or under ashes.
[263] Beans boiled in the pod are seasoned with pimento. Then one has the dish called sopiriwa.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1819 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

/209 cont./

843 Near the time of giving birth, she carries less weight,
262 prepares what is necessary, which consists of some cloth pads
415 and her new little olla in which to cook the maize which she
[753] must eat boiled. If the olla were old or used, the newborn would be subject to mal caduco, or epilepsy, and if a woman who has just given birth were to eat parched maize, her breasts would dry up and would not give milk for feeding the child.

844 At the time of giving birth the only person left in the house is the midwife; the others, even the husband, go out, but he returns as soon as the birth has taken place, in order to lend some help to his wife and the midwife, who alone cannot attend to the newborn child and its mother, who fights with her very life against the pains, for which she is consoled at the sight of the fruit of her womb, which for a moment makes her forget her present suffering.

They at once cover with sand every trace of the event, wrap up with bands, cloths, or other things the body of the woman who has just given birth, and lay her on the ground face down, making her rest on a bed which has little or no resemblance to such, but as every Chiriguano woman is strong, she puts up with this as though she were in a featherbed.

184 Throughout the whole world birth is a very dangerous thing,
• 846 and it is even here. The Chiriguano women also need considerable rest. When some old women were asked about the matter, they stated that childbirth formerly lasted almost two weeks, and they marvel that the neophytes get up so quickly, returning to their customary labors within eight days; they attribute this robustness to the lack of strict fasting in the years of puberty.

846 /210/ It is consequently an error to state that puerperae go to the lake or river to bathe from the second or third day, much less on the same day as the birth. Natural reason would not allow the latter. There might have been some extraordinary case in which some woman walked immediately after giving
[178] birth, but it would not cease to be an extraordinary case. The neophytes are abandoning the custom of their grandmothers and

/210 cont./

846 178 slowly accepting that of the whites. They do not come out of the house until they are completely well, and they only do it on a Sunday morning. They then wear a new dress for the first time and present themselves at the door of the church to receive the post partum blessing (1).

> 1. I saw an extraordinary case, from which no illness resulted. They have been accustomed to the post partum blessing by the virtuous old mistresses, and they continue this.

846 302 Soon, in a week or two, the woman is completely well, and she is allowed to go out to bathe and paint her face with urucu, returning gradually to her usual tasks. Childbirth is 844 785 regarded by the Chiriguano as a time of fasting, in which some authors say that all the members of the family participate, but this is not true; only the husband shares this obligation, and he does it for two or three days (2).

> 2. They say that it is necessary for the baby's father to fast so that it may not die nor any harm come to it when it grows up.

797 785 The missionaries try to eradicate from the neophytes the superstition that is represented by the husband's fasting, but 844 when their mothers see that their grandchildren are dying, 178 they reprehend in their children the abandonment of the customs of yesteryear. I knew an old woman who was very attached to these customs and who tried in every way to force her son to fast, in view of the fact that the newborn babies died every time her daughter-in-law gave birth.

6: Nordenskiöld--59 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/206/

Chapter Twelve

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

From the Womb to the Grave

C Ce 843 Ce [123] Ce 844 Ce 846 Ce [171] Ce 846 262 Ce [825] C 846 262 C Ce 171 846

The Chané and Chiriguano women work hard even during pregnancy, until they are to give birth. In Vocapoy's village there was a pregnant woman to whom I gave a pigeon that I shot. Vocapoy thereupon told me in great excitement that a pregnant woman must not eat pigeons. When a Chané or Chiriguano child comes into the world, it undoubtedly does not cause its mother much pain. These women are healthy and give birth easily, as do all Indian women who lead a healthy life and have never worn tight-fitting clothing. They also do not lie in childbed; instead, that must be done by the papa of the little one. Here, too, we come across this strange custom, the "couvade," which is known from so many Indian tribes. The husband is supposed to lie down for several days and observe a diet. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti he is permitted to eat only cooked maize and maize soup during the first few days, and later sweet potatoes as well. For several days he may not eat meat. For example, if he eats the meat of a goat, he will die, bleating as it does. The Chiriguano Indian Taco told me that he got his fat stomach because he did not observe this important custom. "I should have lain for five days and stayed on a diet," he said.

The custom of the couvade, as is well known, is very widespread in South America. Among the tribes with whom I am familiar it definitely occurs, aside from the /207/ Chiriguano and Chané, among the Choroti, Gúarayú, and Chacobo. K. v.d. Steinen (1), who describes this custom in detail from the Rio Xingu,

Ce [N3]

1. Karl v. d. Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/. Berlin, 1894.

/207 cont./

says it is probably known to all Brazilian tribes. On the other hand, the custom of the couvade seems to be unknown to the Quichua /Quechua/ and Aymara, that is to say, to the mountain culture in Bolivia and Peru. This is one of the many contrasts between the Indians of the mountains and of the virgin forest.

The Gûarayû Indians of northeastern Bolivia told me that if a man goes hunting immediately after his wife's confinement and, for example, shoots a parrot, he might kill his child. That is, during the first days of life the soul of the child follows the father.

Illegitimate children are very rarely born among the Chané and Chiriguano. I believe, perhaps I am mistaken, that the women of these Indians are chaste before they marry. On the Rio Itiyuro, among about 500 Chané, there was only one child born to an unmarried woman. Deformed children are very rarely born. Thus, from what I saw and what Batirayu said, in the entire Parapiti Valley, among 1500-2,000 Chané, there is no one who was born blind, none cross-eyed, no idiot, and only one with deformed extremities, and four deaf mutes. I did not observe any Indians with a serious stutter.

I do not know whether among these Indians, too, deformed children are immediately killed, but this is probably the case. Nor do I know whether abortion occurs. It is certain, however, that these healthy women seldom bear children who are not well formed. Nevertheless, in the Parapiti valley, as was said, there was a boy with deformed extremities. One hip bone was too short and one arm was also crippled. This boy was treated by all with extraordinary kindness, /208/ and loud approval was expressed when I gave him a few small presents.

When the child begins to walk, it is given a name. This is not given by the father or mother, but by its grandparents. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti I wrote down a few names. If it is a boy, he is called, for example, yatéurembi (lip of the tick), huásucaca (guanaco), tátunambi (armadillo ear), yánducúpe (ostrich back), vacainyáca (cow head), aguárachivi (fox urine), derésa paravéte (your poor eyes); if it is a girl, for example, árasaypoti (guava blossom) (1). A great many of the names are

1. Psidium guayava.

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

534 171 174 114

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

361 622

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

582 595 881 [304] [301] 585 574 844 846

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

846 [844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 756 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 763 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [931] Choroti, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a [171] rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 648 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 134.
[2] Nordenskiöld (14).

generals, that is the ones who have several camps under their command, have at least one wife in each camp. C 622

Two or three days after delivery, mother and child wash, the new mother resting for only that length of time. M 846

The father acknowledges his child and takes it into his arms with the following words: "This is my child." In some tribes it is customary for the husband to take to his bed when his wife is in labor, as an act of acknowledgement; and among the Chiriguanos the man takes his place beside his wife and for three days is cared for as if he had... given birth to a child! Then he gets up, but does not make any trips or work until seven days have elapsed, after which period the wife also gets up and washes. While the couple is in labor they eat nothing but water and a pap made with corn and bean broth; they abstain from eating meat.

It is quite common for a man to have two or more sisters simultaneously as wives. I can also give assurance that every now and then a father will not disdain even his own daughter. If no one will acknowledge a child as his own the mother may kill it. M 595 [588] [847]

The Indians are very skilled midwives: the white settlers themselves use their services. It is said that they are extraordinarily expert in taking advantage of the precise moment of crisis, holding the patient in a more or less straight position, apparently even shaking her, but without doing her harm. To this activity they add words to which the Indians attribute [185] virtue and to which the whites, who do not understand them, ascribe even more. So is it always! M 844

Let it not be thought, however, that in the matter of love-making they limit their efforts to a more or less expressive pantomime. The fact is that they have words and expressions and a language which lend themselves admirably to amorous declarations and which they use. The harmoniousness of the Guaraní language is well known to all, it might even be said that it is too much so when used by the men and by the Chiriguanos, whose mother tongue it also is. But even the Matacos, the rude, unpolished Matacos who seem to be the last on the anthropological scale of all these South American Indians, have their harmonious expressions and the well-bred ideas which correspond to them. C M 832

I remember an occasion on board ship when there was among us a good looking Indian woman who was quiet, impassive and even M 832

648 /115 cont./
178 obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

157 Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, incon-
181 stancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even
[847] suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They
[762] only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome
[461] by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family.
[186] But if near the carai /sic; see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

[533] They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of
[273] their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and
[178] cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not com-
[674] mon formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

[648] 1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge
[685] great secrecy so that the authorities will not
[754] make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/118 cont./

797 These facts cannot be denied, because they are based
[786] on the experience of centuries. Unfortunately, they do
[883] occur, and it is very difficult to uproot them. There is no lack of repentance or lack of punishment, admonitions, and fears, but civilizing action is not enough for this, nor even often the Gospel, because: animalis homo non percipit quae Dei sunt. We can say that the action of the missionary is one of yesterday among the Chiriguano. The Christians or neophytes have changed much in relation to the infidels throughout the region, but a great deal more is still lacking for them to come to understand the strength of Religion and civilization, since, naturally, abandoned humanity gives free rein to passions and it is indeed difficult to contain it afterwards in a short time (1).

1. The infidels of the missions complain about the neophytes, but they do not understand that times have changed, and the race as well. Murders are committed in other places, but this does not happen in the missions.

[674]

• 847 Sister to the sterility which the coquettish girls manage to procure is abortion. There is no woman who does not know the thousand ways for procuring this, always provided that they have not obtained or resorted to remedies for
847 sterilizing themselves at puberty. In general it is those girls
586 who have been betrayed by their lovers or abandoned by
836 those who have sworn fidelity to them throughout their
848 lives who come to this excess of killing innocent babies. For this reason they not only hate the perpetrator, but also his fruit in their bellies, and thus they make an effort to get rid of the innocent one by plucking it dead from their breast.

/118 cont./

847 But if they do not achieve this purpose, they do not hesitate to commit another greater crime, that of strangling the newborn or burying it alive. In spite of the fact that these [692] cases are not very frequent, neither are they very rare, and they are easily discovered by relatives or neighbors, who denounce them to the town authority, who cannot remedy the matter either, because should he take measures, /119/ they scarcely listen to reason or to the advice that they hear, which they listen to as one listens to the rain fall.

000 Let it thus be understood once and for all that the Chiriguano, like every savage race, need first of all instruction, and later firmness, because without the first they will always be ignorant, and without the second they will scorn the instruction they have received. The Hebrew people, accustomed to religion from the beginning of the world, received admonitions, advice, and laws from Moses, with whom God communicated directly. When the people prevaricated, it was God himself who imposed upon them the punishment which suited their guilt. Sacred history is full of such acts (1).

1. With the law of encroachment, there was committed the error of carrying off prisoner an old missionary. Other such acts will follow this, and when the Chiriguano see that not even the padre is freed from jail, they will lose all fear, and they will henceforth always be criminals. The Indian does not listen to advice; rather he listens to what hurts him.

Suicide

Love is natural to humanity. There must always be an object which is loved. The scholar loves his books, the mechanic his tools, the astronomer his telescope, the mathemetician his theodolite, the philosopher his principles,

/214/

753 had asked for her as his wife, a proposal which had not been
754 accepted; but it must be noted that the Indians attribute every death to sorcery.

765 The loss of this child was greatly mourned by relatives
[764] and others, and her parents, who loved her very much, burned all of the clothes and things that she had, in addition to having buried with her the best and abundant clothing which her father had just brought her from the Argentine Republic. The girl had three donkeys which had been given to her by her father. They sold them in order not to see them any more, in order not to be reminded of their late daughter each moment and immediately weep.

855 I have related this event so that my readers may know
765 that the Chiriguano love their children whether male or female, so that they may see the grief they feel, and so that they may know that in case of hydrophobia the medicine which I administered to the girls Ana and Delina is a good remedy; after the last fever they are now completely well (1).

114

1. If some new missionary or other readers may not know of it, let them now know that ammonia drunk as drops in water and placed on snake bites and bites of other poisonous animals or insects is very efficacious. In ignorance of having been bitten by a spider, I suffered the consequences for seven months and got well as soon as I applied ammonia to it. For another bite I used ink very efficaciously; it is enough to paint the bitten part with it.

845

Deformed Children

847 It is not easy to ascertain why the Chiriguano kill their
732 children who are born deformed. Some writers have stated that they do it so that all will be valiant warriors, but this reason is not satisfactory because deformed women are not found either, and certainly women are not good for war.

/214 cont./

845 I judge that they take away the lives of these unfortunates,
847 not to do them harm, but to do a highly philanthropic act for
732 them, since they would have even greater suffering were they to be left blind, crippled, lame, one-handed, mute, and deaf for the rest of their lives (2).

[171] [734]

2. Similar philanthropic acts are still practiced among the Toba and other tribes; so that they will not suffer much and long, they also bury sick persons alive.

732 Today one sees an occasional deformed person, and these isolated cases are either due to parents not brave enough to kill /215/ their children or perhaps they can be attributed to illnesses contracted at an advanced age. As a conclusion to
181 the present chapter, let it be noted that some have written things about which they know nothing, making the Chiriguano out to be ferocious wild animals without compassion, but a particular fact cannot be used to draw general conclusions. True explorers state, as I do, that in general the Chiriguano is humanitarian; he loves his relatives in life and in death, and they are astounded by the conduct of the whites, who upon the death of their relatives slaughter cattle, drink brandy, and play as if it were a fiesta (1).

000

1. The conduct of certain civilized persons should not be reproved by the world. Even in the most civilized nations there are benefit dances. They drink, dance, and do other things, while the poor or the sick suffer. The Catholic takes out his money and gives it away in secret, without ever bragging about it; this is the true way to help humanity.

/207 cont./

says it is probably known to all Brazilian tribes. On the other hand, the custom of the couvade seems to be unknown to the Quichua /Quechua/ and Aymara, that is to say, to the mountain culture in Bolivia and Peru. This is one of the many contrasts between the Indians of the mountains and of the virgin forest.

The Gúarayú Indians of northeastern Bolivia told me that if a man goes hunting immediately after his wife's confinement and, for example, shoots a parrot, he might kill his child. That is, during the first days of life the soul of the child follows the father.

Illegitimate children are very rarely born among the Chané and Chiriguano. I believe, perhaps I am mistaken, that the women of these Indians are chaste before they marry. On the Rio Itiyuro, among about 500 Chané, there was only one child born to an unmarried woman. Deformed children are very rarely born. Thus, from what I saw and what Batirayu said, in the entire Parapiti Valley, among 1500-2,000 Chané, there is no one who was born blind, none cross-eyed, no idiot, and only one with deformed extremities, and four deaf mutes. I did not observe any Indians with a serious stutter.

I do not know whether among these Indians, too, deformed children are immediately killed, but this is probably the case. Nor do I know whether abortion occurs. It is certain, however, that these healthy women seldom bear children who are not well formed. Nevertheless, in the Parapiti valley, as was said, there was a boy with deformed extremities. One hip bone was too short and one arm was also crippled. This boy was treated by all with extraordinary kindness, /208/ and loud approval was expressed when I gave him a few small presents.

When the child begins to walk, it is given a name. This is not given by the father or mother, but by its grandparents. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti I wrote down a few names. If it is a boy, he is called, for example, yatéurembi (lip of the tick), huásucaca (guanaco), tátunambi (armadillo ear), yánducúpe (ostrich back), vacainyáca (cow head), aguárachivi (fox urine), derésa paravéte (your poor eyes); if it is a girl, for example, árasaypoti (guava blossom) (1). A great many of the names are

1. Psidium guayava.

Ce 551 /208 cont./ untranslatable. Not infrequently a nickname is added to this name. Thus, for example, the Chané chief Boyra (Boy-snake) was called yŭruhuasu, which means big-mouth. Indeed, old Boyra was a talker who had a great weakness for everything that was a bit indecent.

Ee 862 163 Ee 847 163 Mothers nurse for an unusually long time, and it is several years, as a rule, before they have another child. Perhaps the woman also aborts the fruit of her womb occasionally, like the Choroti woman, so that the family will not become too burdened.

In the mission station in Ivu I tried to gather statistics about the number of surviving children in 127 Chiriguano marriages and found that in ten marriages there were no children, in 27 one, in 35 two, in 29 three, in 13 four, in 9 five, and in 4 six. These figures, however, are quite uncertain. Nevertheless they show that here, as among many other Indian tribes, there is a sort of two-children system.

C 847 114 C [113] Corrado (2) maintains with certainty that infanticide occurs

2. Corrado: El Colegio Franciscano De Traija y sus misiones. Quaracci, 1884. Pages 526-527.

among the Chiriguano. It is done in desperate cases among us, too, and therefore the example cited by Corrado means nothing. C 847 The question is: does /209/ infanticide and abortion occur as an institution accepted by the tribe, as among the Choroti? /Fig. 110 appears here./

C Ce 868 857 The Chané and Chiriguano children, as has been mentioned, are brought up in freedom. They spend their childhood playing. Gradually the child begins to help its parents in small matters, for example, in carrying water and wood, tying up /210/ the domestic animals, fishing, etc. The girls learn spinning, weaving, making clay vessels, brewing maize beer, etc. from their mothers. They learn everything by imitation. The boys pursue small birds around the village and in this way learn the use of weapons. The children accompany their parents to fish and to till. The boy

/118 cont./

797 These facts cannot be denied, because they are based
[786] on the experience of centuries. Unfortunately, they do
[883] occur, and it is very difficult to uproot them. There is no lack of repentance or lack of punishment, admonitions, and fears, but civilizing action is not enough for this, nor even often the Gospel, because: animalis homo non percipit quae Dei sunt. We can say that the action of the missionary is one of yesterday among the Chiriguano. The Christians or neophytes have changed much in relation to the infidels throughout the region, but a great deal more is still lacking for them to come to understand the strength of Religion and civilization, since, naturally, abandoned humanity gives free rein to passions and it is indeed difficult to contain it afterwards in a short time (1).

1. The infidels of the missions complain about the neophytes, but they do not understand that times have changed, and the
[674] race as well. Murders are committed in other places, but this does not happen in the missions.

847 Sister to the sterility which the coquettish girls manage to procure is abortion. There is no woman who does not know the thousand ways for procuring this, always provided that they have not obtained or resorted to remedies for
847 sterilizing themselves at puberty. In general it is those girls
586 who have been betrayed by their lovers or abandoned by
836 those who have sworn fidelity to them throughout their
● 848 lives who come to this excess of killing innocent babies. For this reason they not only hate the perpetrator, but also his fruit in their bellies, and thus they make an effort to get rid of the innocent one by plucking it dead from their breast.

/207 cont./

says it is probably known to all Brazilian tribes. On the other hand, the custom of the couvade seems to be unknown to the Quichua /Quechua/ and Aymara, that is to say, to the mountain culture in Bolivia and Peru. This is one of the many contrasts between the Indians of the mountains and of the virgin forest.

The Gúarayú Indians of northeastern Bolivia told me that if a man goes hunting immediately after his wife's confinement and, for example, shoots a parrot, he might kill his child. That is, during the first days of life the soul of the child follows the father.

Illegitimate children are very rarely born among the Chané and Chiriguano. I believe, perhaps I am mistaken, that the women of these Indians are chaste before they marry. On the Rio Itiyuro, among about 500 Chané, there was only one child born to an unmarried woman. Deformed children are very rarely born. Thus, from what I saw and what Batirayu said, in the entire Parapiti Valley, among 1500-2,000 Chané, there is no one who was born blind, none cross-eyed, no idiot, and only one with deformed extremities, and four deaf mutes. I did not observe any Indians with a serious stutter.

I do not know whether among these Indians, too, deformed children are immediately killed, but this is probably the case. Nor do I know whether abortion occurs. It is certain, however, that these healthy women seldom bear children who are not well formed. Nevertheless, in the Parapiti valley, as was said, there was a boy with deformed extremities. One hip bone was too short and one arm was also crippled. This boy was treated by all with extraordinary kindness, /208/ and loud approval was expressed when I gave him a few small presents.

When the child begins to walk, it is given a name. This is not given by the father or mother, but by its grandparents. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti I wrote down a few names. If it is a boy, he is called, for example, yatéurembi (lip of the tick), huásucaca (guanaco), tátunambi (armadillo ear), yánducúpe (ostrich back), vacainyáca (cow head), aguárachívi (fox urine), derésa paravéte (your poor eyes); if it is a girl, for example, árasaypoti (guava blossom) (1). A great many of the names are

1. Psidium guayava.

/87 cont./

C 881 [302] The girl is nubile when, after the first menstruation, she has undergone a certain ceremony, which lasts until her hair, cut short, has grown out again to medium length. This ceremony of the girls, which is called "yimundia," consists of her being put in a kind of separate room inside the house. Until the following menstruation, she must stay on a diet and she must not eat anything but cooked maize and meal (339). Only in the

C [262]

339. Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

company of her mother may she temporarily leave the separate room to bathe and to take care of her other needs (340).

340. Nord. 1, p. 210.

C 881 304 We also learn from Nordenskiöld that the Chané boys from 10 to 12 years of age must also undergo certain ceremonies, which consist in having a man who is particularly expert in such matters pierce the lower lip (341) and put a small stick through the hole,

C [413] [237]

341. According to Métraux I, pp. 346 and 347 and Fig. 12, the Chiriguano formerly used for that purpose punches made of horn.

and his grandfather puts deep wounds in his body so that he may be valiant in battle and in hunting and takes him out in the morning, when it is cold, to bathe (342).

342. Nord. 1, p. 211.

C Ce 882 848 Chiriguano and Chané girls are watched over by their mothers /88/ until their marriage (343), and illegitimate children are

343. Nord. 1, p. 179.

C Ce 882 848 Ce 583 584

/88 cont./

rarely born (344). Marriages are made among the Chané by a

344. Nord. 1, p. 207.

method whereby the young man who wishes to marry sends several pieces of game to the girl's parents. He puts firewood in front of her house, and, if it is used, this signifies consent. But only after having worked for one year for his future mother-in-law can he marry the girl. The night before the wedding, which is celebrated by drinking a good amount of chicha, the young man sleeps with the girl (345).

Ce 585

345. Nord. 1, pp. 211 and 212.

C Ce 595 643 622 C Ce 582

While young men have but one wife, older men, and particularly caciques, often have several wives. Thus the substitute great cacique on the Itiyuru had four wives, who lived in different towns, and the cacique Maringay had two wives, who lived together (346). Marriage between brother and sister is prohibited,

346. Nord. 1, pp. 212 and 213.

while cousins may marry (347).

347. Nord. 1, p. 212.

Ce 843 Ce [461] Ce 846

Certain foods are forbidden to the pregnant woman. Thus, among the Chané on the Itiyuru a pregnant woman cannot eat doves. But they do their work until they give birth (348). After

348. Nord. 1, p. 206.

a child has been born, the man must go through the "couvade," which means that he must remain lying down for several days and must stay on a certain diet. Among the Chané on the Parapití for the first few days he may eat only cooked maize and maize soup,

C
524

/197 cont./

I saw the "parama" game played by the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley. It is played by two. A button or the like is placed on a stone as a goal, whereupon they throw small round stones made of clay shards. The button is supposed to be struck down, and the one /Figs. 100 and 101 appear here/ who comes closest to it wins a stroke. The game goes on until one of them has five or more strokes, according to agreement.

C
Ce
524

The Chané and Chiriguano children also have a number of toys which are illustrated here (Figs. 104-105). One of these, "moumou" (Fig. 104), is strange. With it /198/ a buzzing tone is produced if the threads are first twisted and then stretched.

Ce
524

Fig. 102. Maize-cob arrow. 1/3.
"Sóuki." Chané. Rio Parapiti.

Fig. 103. Little stick for the huirahuahua game. 1/3. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

Now I have no doubt properly bored my readers with Indian games and toys. Perhaps I have dwelt too long on this subject, so little studied in South America, which interested me keenly on my journey. As among the Choroti and Ashluslay, I liked playing with the boys. This is also a way of coming closer to the Indians, of winning their confidence.

Ee
[123]

Ee
85
[797
177]

Like the Choroti and Ashluslay children, the children of the Chané and Chiriguano are seldom bored; like the former, they are well-behaved and good children. It is usually very lively on the playgrounds in the villages. This is true of the heathen. The children who have fallen into the hands of the monks look melancholy and reserved; they have already been given a taste of what the children of the white man learn, training and the beginning of civilization. "You shall..." "You shall not..."

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "tà." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

851 171 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

583 171 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapetí River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

591

595 622 556 *Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of* wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate. The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

764

765

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

/111 cont./

141 both men and women, and fair hair indicates either an
142 oddity or a clandestine affair. The forehead is rather small, as are also the languid, downcast eyes; the face is round, the nose flat, the mouth wide, the denture white as ivory, the chin short, and the lips rather thick. /112/ The
142 men do not wear beards, and anyone would believe that they
302 are beardless, but the main reason why they do not have one is that they pull out the hairs as they grow, and for this they have some tin tweezers with which they make all the hair disappear, and they do well, because otherwise, in view of their slovenliness, with long beards they would really be orangutans (1).

[186] 1. The Toba call the Chiriguano tigre face because of his round face, and the latter gets back at them by calling them horse face because of their long faces. In the missions the neophytes wear mustache and goatee.

141 They have a chest thrust forward, rather heavy
[291] shoulders and arms, normal-sized hands, and not very big feet, in spite of the fact that they grow as they will since they always go barefoot, especially the women, and not
147 all of them wear sandals /ojotas/. When they are enjoy-
[853] ing good health, they are very robust, and the women without the slightest bother will nurse two babes at their
[609] breasts. Whenever some white Christian woman is not able to nurse, she usually seeks out a Chiriguano woman to wet-nurse her child; this, in addition to being very advantageous because of the goodness of the blood, is also quite eco-
855 nomical. But it is true that most Indian women do not
[609] wish to take care of children other than their own; most
[466] of the time they agree to it with reluctance, or by force, this last occurring when the Indians are subject to a master.

/211 cont./

853 222 There is no special food or more abundant food for mothers after childbirth. She who gives her breasts to her little one eats little and extremely poorly. Her ordinary food is parched maize, parched maize meal, bread made of the same, herbs, beans, gourds, other things of this nature, and rarely a little purchased beef, other meat from animals that died from sickness, lack of pasture, or snake bite, and, finally, game or chicken. In spite of this extremely bad food, milk is abundant in her breasts; the children are almost always hanging from them and sucking and never seem to dry them up, which indicates that they are excellent nursers.

648 464 853 Mestizo or white mothers who sometimes have little or no breast milk because of sickness or some accident make contracts with Chiriguano mothers, pay them well, and treat them better, but it seems that continued good and satisfactory nursing harms them, /212/ it also being prejudicial to the breast as well as to both newborn babies, the weaker child succumbing first (1).

1. Naturally the Chiriguano women refuse to be wet nurses for white children, because they abhor them. When through experience they learn of the sad consequences, communicated by others, they resist even more and only do it when force or the right of the stronger prevails.

845 [63] [65] 736 603 [853] [824]

Twins

Multiple births are rare, and those of two children are frequent. In the former case the newborn babies die very soon, and in the latter case one almost always lives, and many times both live. When twins survive or through the death of the mother a newborn child is left an orphan, it is very easy for the grandmother to care for one twin or the orphaned child. Although the old woman may have reached or passed 60, she

/212 cont./

736 very easily manages to make the milk come down. She
603 grinds watermelon seed or sarsaparilla root, Isipocagua, and
824 washes herself repeatedly, squeezing herself over or above her
853 breasts, and makes the famished child suck continuously for several days, and in a short time she achieves the desired result. Sometimes even young women lose their milk. They then look for the root and juice of the sámolo, or cipoi, wash the breasts with this juice, and succeed in nursing their children again (2).

2. In the confirmation administered by the Bishop in October, 1909, in Ivu Mission, an old woman of some 60 years of age presented her granddaughter, whom she had nursed. She is still alive, and so is the twin granddaughter, although not very strong.

Joy and Grief

855 For the Chiriguano race their joy at the birth of a male child is the same as at that of a female child, because if the former helps his father in field chores and in hunting and fishing, the latter helps her mother in household chores, and the father as much as the grandfather very much like to eat meal which has been ground by the hands /213/ of their daughter
765 or granddaughter. If either one dies, the grief that the old
855 people feel is very heavy. I witnessed many times a mother's agonies of grief over the death of her son and the profound feeling of the father over the irreparable loss of his idolized daughter.

797 What I am going to relate will better convince my
758 readers. In the month of July in the year 1909, a rabid dog
164 at the girls' school of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission bit Cecilia Yaguándai slightly and Ana Yarandui and Delina Aragúndai more severely. The two latter, younger than the

/470 cont./
352 and Arawak tradition. Some hammocks, not many, are crudely
[286] woven. The threads which /Fig. 126 appears here/ compose
[199] them are of wool; formerly they were doubtless of cotton (Plate XXXVIII).

352 It is a delicate business to persuade a Chiriguano mother to
854 sell you the hammock of her nursling. She fears that an /Plate
754 LXXXVIII appears here/ /471/ evil-intentioned person will profit by the fact that the fabric is impregnated with urine, in order to indulge in magical practices which would make the new-born child die.

342
351

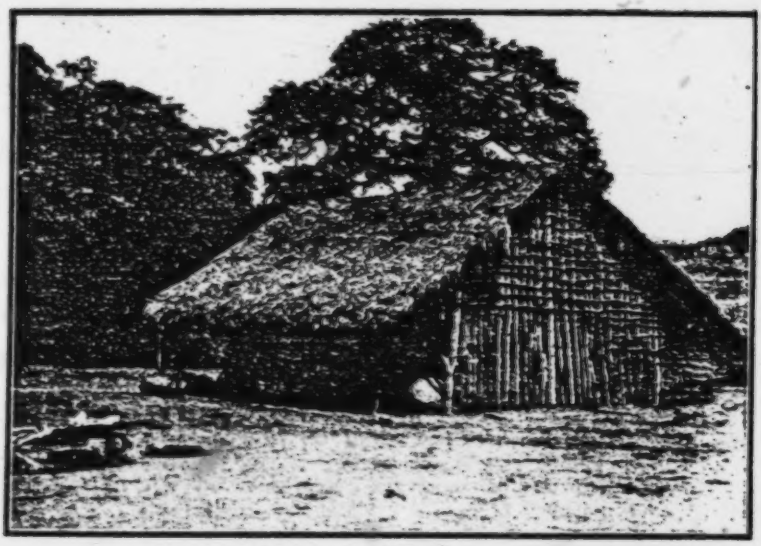


Fig. 124. Chiriguano hut. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (Photo. A. M.)

353 Along the walls are lined up vessels of all dimensions
[415] which /Figs. 127 and 128 appear here/ are kept there for the drinking feasts; some contain seed, others serve as linen cupboards or provision bags. On the walls, generally in the four
[352] corners, hang reed screens or hoops made of palm leaves /Fig. 129 appears here/ which take the place of shelves (Figs. 126 and 129).

[TEXT Continues on P. 342]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C
482
854
C
Ce
531
323

Carrying devices.—In contrast to other *Guaraní*, the *Chiriguano* do not have basketry knapsacks; women use large carrying nets with a tumpline. Babies are carried in a woven sling, straddling their mother's hip.

FIGURE 58.— *Chiriguano* and *Chané* pottery decorations. (After Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 32.)

291
854

283
516
291

343

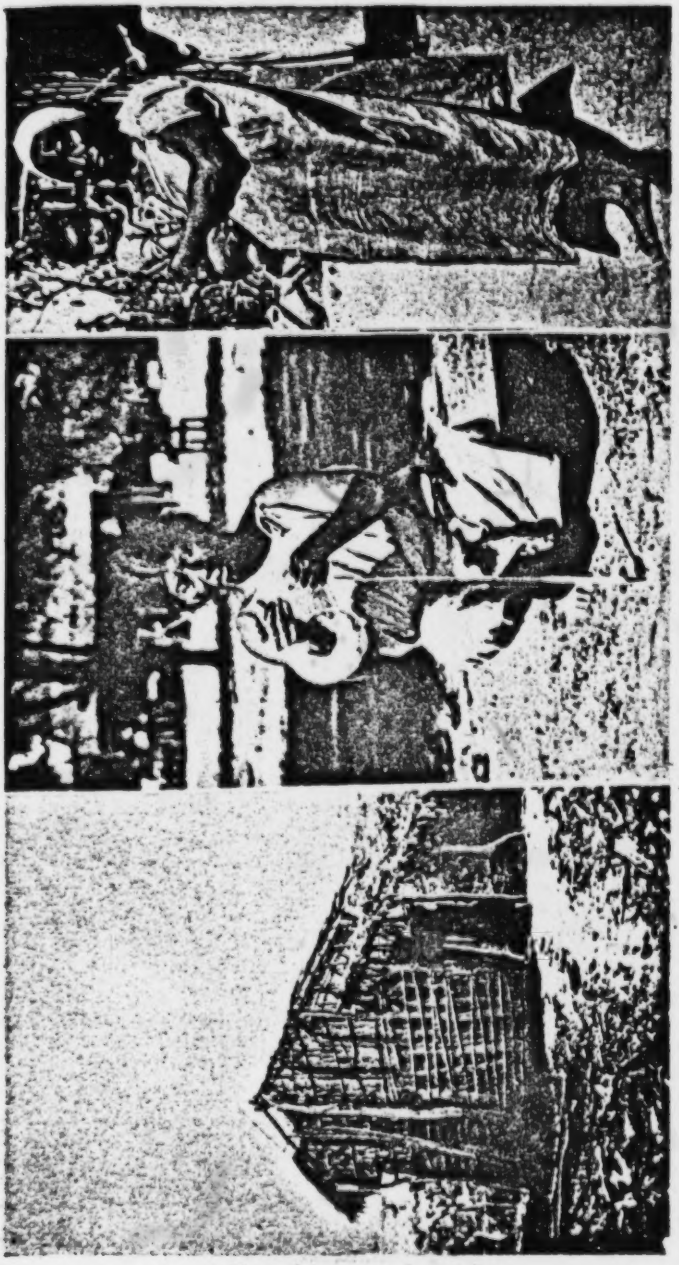


PLATE 42.—Chiriguano Indians. *Left:* Granary on piles. *Center:* Woman spinning. *Right:* Woman and child. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[End Plate 2]

/210 cont./

Infant Care

854 [352] For the newborn child to rest in, they have a kind of net which they hang at one end of the lodging. Its mother places it there when it sleeps, and she covers it with a piece of cloth so that the flies will not bother it. Some wool or cotton hammocks are crudely made /211/ by them, and these are called Iní ó quiha, the last term of which literally means quietness.

The mother almost never leaves her newborn child, and to go to the spring or to the river she takes advantage of the time when it is asleep, leaving it in the care of some person, even a little one. She cannot yet carry it in the folds of her clothing, because the child's tender limbs cannot bear such a position. Only when they have become somewhat stronger does the mother walk from one end of the town to the other, to the field, to the spring, without leaving her child at home, like weasels or like the kangaroos of Australia, who do not leave their young in the caves when they go out, making leaps like a jerboa.

147 854 The sun in the Chiriguano region is very hot and yet children exposed to its action do not feel its effects very much, if at all. They receive its rays perpendicularly, from in front, from all sides, and square on their faces, and it is as though they were in the shade. The only effect that it has on them is the copper color of the race, because experience has shown that this color is acquired (1).

142 1. The color of the newborn babies is rather strange; they look like mice. Many newborn babies are completely white, but not like Europeans; the difference between the former and the latter can be seen immediately.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
291
114
*171

of the body with a garment resembling a »pampanilla». This may mean the tipoy, but also something else[1]).

C
Ce
291
854
*171
482

As MAX SCHMIDT[2]) has pointed out, the Paressi make their tipoys and their bearing-bands (to carry the children) in exactly the same way. The bearing-bands used by these Indians are identical with the tipoys in both shape and material. They differ from the latter only in being somewhat longer in proportion to their width. STADEN[3]) speaks of the »typpoy» as a garment. In an anonymous early description, also from the coast of Brazil, printed in PURCHAS[4]), the bearing-band is called »tupiya». The same word is thus used by the Guarani-speaking Indians on the coast of Brazil both for the bearing-band and the female dress. In some parts the same article has, indeed, been used both as a bearing-band for children and a woman's garment. According to BARBOSA RODRIGUES[5]) it would seem to be so among the Tembé Indians. The bearing-band does not occur among the Chiriguano and Chané; they carry the child cradled in the tipoy.

Ce
291
482
*171

I do not consider it too bold to assume that the tipoy and the bearing-band have the same origin, and that the one has suggested the other. In all likelihood, the bearing-

[1]) It is obvious from the following quotation from OVIEDO (T. 2, P. 271), where he tells of the female apparel of the Bubores living near Lake Maracaibo that the »Pampanilla» also might mean a small piece of cloth covering the genitals. »y las mugeres una pampanilla ó pedaço de algodon texido tan ancho como un palmo colgando delante de sus vergüenças».

[2]) (4) P. 218.

[3]) T. 2, P. 3. »/derselbigen wilden weiber machen dinger von baumwollen garn/ wie ein Sack vnden unnd oben offen/ die ziehen sie an/ und heyssen auff ire sprache Typpoy».

[4]) P. 1391.

[5]) (2) P. 42. »As mulheres . . . . . usam uma facha larga de algodão tecido branca ou tinta de urucu, passada a tiracollo sobre o hombre direito, que pendendo sobre o corpo, encobre-lhes a parte vergonhosa e serve para nella trazerem constantemente filhos. Dão a esta facha o nome de *tupóy*»

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
291
482
*171

way. The tipoys are, as a rule, woven. Tipoys manufactured in hammock-technique I know of only from the Siriono and the Ararandeuára (Tembé). These latter are also used as bearing-bands. Probably this is also the case among the uncivilized Siriono. Tipoys in this technique are probably earlier in origin than the woven ones.

Ce
Ce
752
196
291
482

The word »tipoy» has also been used with another meaning, viz., for a band used to support an injured arm.[1]) A band or sling of the kind has exactly the same shape as an Indian bearing-band. Only once can I remember having seen an Indian with his arm in a sling like this. He was a Pauserna man.

»Tipoya» can also be interpreted »a kind of hammock».[2])

C
Ce
352
854
482
*171

The question is if the hammock has not also been suggested by the bearing-band. In the first place we must remember that Indians also in different parts where the hammock is unknown, are careful not to put their babies on the ground. Thus, the Yuracáre and the Chimáne who have no hammocks, use cradles of bark-cloth in which they suspend their babies. When the Mosetene woman goes to work in the fields with her baby, she puts it into a bearing-bag which she hangs up in a tree. COMINGES[3]) mentions that he saw among the Guaná Indians, who seldom use hammocks, a child which the mother had placed in a bag slung like a hammock. So it does not seem so very unreasonable to suppose that Indian women tried to use the bearing-band in the same way when the child had to be

[1]) [2]) I here give BRAZ DA COSTA RUBIM's definition of the word TIPOIA »Do guarani tupoi, vestido de mulher. Tira larga tecida com palha de miritizeiro; grande camiza sem mangas feita do entrecasco de certas arvores de enlaçada e estopenta fibra; o lenço o tiracolo para descansar o braço; serpentina de rede carregada por dous homens.»

[3]) »En uno de éstos una mujer joven que parecía una criatura, pero que, acabando de dar el pecho á un niño completamente desnudo, y colocándole en una bolsa de red, que á manera de hamaca pendía de las *tacuaras* del techo.» P. 192.

[text continues on p. 68]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

C
Ce
352
834
482
*171

put down and they feared the snakes. The Guarayú have bearing-bands which are made in the very same technique as most hammocks. Such bearing-bands were also used by the Carios[1]) in Southern Brazil.

Table 8.

The distribution of the tipoy. Map. 7.

C
Ce
291
*171
102
S
102
291

2. Ashluslay, G. M. Woven without seam. Wool.
4. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 8. Woven without seam. Wool or Cotton.
5. Chané, R. M. P. 130. Woven without seam. Wool or Cotton.
6. Mataco, R. M. M. 166. Woven without seam. Wool.
20. Paressi, MAX SCHMIDT (4) P. 217. Woven without seam. Cotton.
25. Mojo, CASTILLO P. 324.
38. Carios, STADEN.
40. Guarayú (Guarayos).
41. Guarayú (Pauserna), G. M. Woven without seam, cotton
45. Gorocotoque, SCHMIDEL (1) P. 264.
51. Siriono. Made in hammock technique.
94. Chiquito, BURGOS P. 341.
98. Ararandeuára. (Tembé). I have gathered from LANGE's photographs that Ararandeuára-girls wear quite short Tipoy in ordinary hammock technique; BARBOSA-RODRIGUES (2) P. 42.
I. Guarani, Paraguay. AZARA (2) P. 416.
5 P. Xarayes, NÚNEZ CABEZA DE VACA. T. 1, P. 300.
X 4. Payaguá. AZARA (2) P. 360.
I F. Indians near Lake Maracaibo. OVIEDO Vol. 2, P. 285. »Tomaron unas indias vestidas unas sayas texidas sin costura, que les tomaba desde la cabeza hasta los pies, e unos capillos como de frayles».

[1]) STADEN (2) Fig. P. 153.

Plate III

142
291
302
516
854
←

142
291
516
→

Fig. 5
(I.C. 360) - Chiriguano women with babies in Machareti

Fig. 6
(I.C. 335)--Chiriguano men in Machareti

142
291
516

Fig. 7
(I.C. 361)--Chiriguano boys in Machareti

Fig. 8
(I.C. 362)--Chiriguano children in Machareti

C Ce 482 489 492 /78 cont./ concerning means of transport by land we do not have any evidence except through the sundry implements which serve for carrying burdens. We can assume from the form of the double bags mentioned in the chapter on weaving that they use their horses and burros to transport loads.

C Ce 286 415 482 [484] The objects used to transport burdens have already been mentioned in preceding chapters. Among them the most general is the carrying net, which often has a band. By means of it burdens are carried on long trips or the fruits of the harvest are brought in from the fields to the houses, or water is brought, often from a distance, to the dwellings. The carrying net is used in such a way that the band goes across the forehead of the bearer so that the weight of the burden rests on his back (292).

292. See Nord. 2, p. 95.

Nordenskiöld has published a photograph of a woman who is carrying a load in her net (293).

293. Nord. 1, Fig. 87.

C Ce 415 482 [854] Baskets are not used by the Chiriguano and Chané for carrying loads; they are used among these Indians only to store things. Neither is any special band used to carry infants; rather they are carried in a fold of the tipoy.

Only if water is near the house are water jugs sometimes carried on the shoulder without a net, but not on top of the head. C Ce [177] This latter appears only in the cases where the Indians are directly influenced by the whites, as happens in the missions (294).

294. Nord. 2, p. 95.

C Ce [484] For carrying small amounts of water when traveling, these Indians also use calabashes enlaced with string, or small baked clay vessels /79/ provided with a string or a leather strap, such as, for example, the vessel I. A. 617 shown in Figure 56b.

/111 cont./

141 both men and women, and fair hair indicates either an
142 oddity or a clandestine affair. The forehead is rather small, as are also the languid, downcast eyes; the face is round, the nose flat, the mouth wide, the denture white as ivory, the chin short, and the lips rather thick. /112/ The
142 men do not wear beards, and anyone would believe that they
302 are beardless, but the main reason why they do not have one is that they pull out the hairs as they grow, and for this they have some tin tweezers with which they make all the hair disappear, and they do well, because otherwise, in view of their slovenliness, with long beards they would really be orangutans (1).

[186] 1. The Toba call the Chiriguano tigre face because of his round face, and the latter gets back at them by calling them horse face because of their long faces. In the missions the neophytes wear mustache and goatee.

141 They have a chest thrust forward, rather heavy
[291] shoulders and arms, normal-sized hands, and not very big feet, in spite of the fact that they grow as they will since they always go barefoot, especially the women, and not
147 all of them wear sandals /ojotas/. When they are enjoy-
[853] ing good health, they are very robust, and the women without the slightest bother will nurse two babes at their
[609] breasts. Whenever some white Christian woman is not able to nurse, she usually seeks out a Chiriguano woman to wet-nurse her child; this, in addition to being very advantageous because of the goodness of the blood, is also quite eco-
● 855 nomical. But it is true that most Indian women do not
[609] wish to take care of children other than their own; most
[466] of the time they agree to it with reluctance, or by force, this last occurring when the Indians are subject to a master.

/212 cont./

736 very easily manages to make the milk come down. She
603 grinds watermelon seed or sarsaparilla root, Isipocagua, and
824 washes herself repeatedly, squeezing herself over or above her
853 breasts, and makes the famished child suck continuously for several days, and in a short time she achieves the desired result. Sometimes even young women lose their milk. They then look for the root and juice of the sámolo, or cipoi, wash the breasts with this juice, and succeed in nursing their children again (2).

2. In the confirmation administered by the Bishop in October, 1909, in Ivu Mission, an old woman of some 60 years of age presented her granddaughter, whom she had nursed. She is still alive, and so is the twin granddaughter, although not very strong.

Joy and Grief

855 For the Chiriguano race their joy at the birth of a male child is the same as at that of a female child, because if the former helps his father in field chores and in hunting and fishing, the latter helps her mother in household chores, and the father as much as the grandfather very much like to eat meal which has been ground by the hands /213/ of their daughter
765 or granddaughter. If either one dies, the grief that the old
855 people feel is very heavy. I witnessed many times a mother's agonies of grief over the death of her son and the profound feeling of the father over the irreparable loss of his idolized daughter.

797 What I am going to relate will better convince my
758 readers. In the month of July in the year 1909, a rabid dog
164 at the girls' school of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission bit Cecilia Yaguándai slightly and Ana Yarandui and Delina Aragúndai more severely. The two latter, younger than the

/214/

753 had asked for her as his wife, a proposal which had not been
754 accepted; but it must be noted that the Indians attribute every death to sorcery.

765 The loss of this child was greatly mourned by relatives
[764] and others, and her parents, who loved her very much, burned all of the clothes and things that she had, in addition to having buried with her the best and abundant clothing which her father had just brought her from the Argentine Republic. The girl had three donkeys which had been given to her by her father. They sold them in order not to see them any more, in order not to be reminded of their late daughter each moment and immediately weep.

•855 I have related this event so that my readers may know
765 that the Chiriguano love their children whether male or female, so that they may see the grief they feel, and so that they may know that in case of hydrophobia the medicine which I administered to the girls Ana and Delina is a good remedy; after the last fever they are now completely well (1).

114

1. If some new missionary or other readers may not know of it, let them now know that ammonia drunk as drops in water and placed on snake bites and bites of other poisonous animals or insects is very efficacious. In ignorance of having been bitten by a spider, I suffered the consequences for seven months and got well as soon as I applied ammonia to it. For another bite I used ink very efficaciously; it is enough to paint the bitten part with it.

845 Deformed Children

847 It is not easy to ascertain why the Chiriguano kill their
732 children who are born deformed. Some writers have stated that they do it so that all will be valiant warriors, but this reason is not satisfactory because deformed women are not found either, and certainly women are not good for war.

/217 cont./

797 done wherever there are no missionaries (2).

> 2. In every sense civilization brought by the missionary is preferable. Colonization of the sort which they are trying to implant today is very costly, brings little material progress and no moral progress. I refer to the latter more than to the former.

Education of the Children

000 In man, love and tenderness for his children is natural; just as the birds, the animals, and the very beasts of the forest love /218/ and take care of their young, this same inclination, with much greater reason, is found in the rational creature made in the image and appearance of God. /The remainder of this paragraph and the next two paragraphs on p. 218 are omitted in the translation. The last paragraph on p. 218 follows./

The true love of fathers for their children is only found in the Catholic Religion; this can be proved by many examples of incredulous persons who, despite their incredulity, taught the catechism to their children. Outside of Catholicism, /219/ the potential of the soul is not cultivated, a pure materialism is taught, and how can anyone who does not profess any religion at all educate his children? What education will he be able to give if, in addition to this, he is ignorant? His tenderness or love will scarcely have any effect, never a moral one.

●855 This is the tenderness of the Chiriguano. They love their children truly; all of the work of the Chiriguano is only aimed toward the corporal well-being of the child; he gets his daily food for him, thinks about his clothing, sweats in order to shelter him and defend him from the inclemency of the season, from the fury of the winds, and from the impetuosity of the rain, but he does not concern himself with his morality.

/219 cont./

855 The child grows up in his sight with all the imperfections of little lambs or kids, because that is also the way in which he, the father, grew up.

855 462 When children of either sex are still in swaddling clothes, they receive the care of the mother, the grandmother, or other women who may be very closely related. It is unusual for a man to take care of newborn children, both because this is natural in all the countries of the world and because it would offend his dignity. But when the child begins to open his eyes well and to have some understanding of external things, he takes it in his arms with all the love that the child in its innocence inspires.

But the one who normally cares for the children of both sexes until the age of six or seven years is the mother. She washes them, bathes them, puts them to sleep, nurses them, takes them from one place to another, carrying them in the folds of her clothes. The father only helps at this task when the mother cannot attend to it because she has others, or because she is busy making chicha, preparing food, etc. (1).

1. If there is no mother because of death or for some other reason, the man finds himself in a difficult situation with regard to his children and quickly seeks out a female relative.

868 School of Arms and Strategy

At the age of seven years and even sooner, the father takes special charge of his male child, with the girls remaining in the charge of the mother; he makes for his son a bow and arrows suitable for his age and strength and begins to train him, teaching him to use them and the way to aim and shoot (2).

2. The father takes his son to the woods, where he begins to hunt little birds, and, if he manages to get some, he takes them

/221 cont./

Private Life

593 888 The father and mother take great pains for the material or corporal well-being of their children, both male and female, and they in turn have affection for their parents. Nevertheless there is no lack of creatures with very bad inclinations, who forget their parents' goodness, forget the labors undertaken by the latter in caring for them in their tender years, and abandon them in their old age in the midst of their suffering and privations.

593 861 867 273 The father and mother almost never address harsh words to their children; much less do they correct them with corporal punishment. The children attend the public drinking sessions in the company of their parents, and how strange it can seem to see father and son sometimes drunk together in the streets or in the plaza of the town! They see their fathers in other people's fields, taking advantage of the first fruits, and then the son does what he has seen. He hears his mother telling stories not at all clean, he sees acts not at all moral, he witnesses altercations in the house, hears his mother's jealousy, sees his father's bad deeds, and he thus will naturally follow the same path when he arrives at an age of competence and even before.

855 603 581 If the woman is very young when she is married, as often happens, it is the grandparents who take care of the grandchildren so that the young daughter may have more time to enjoy herself, since in the beginning /222/ marriage is nothing but fun for the young people (1).

855 593 606 1. Young girls help their mothers in the care of their own children and in the preparation of chicha, knowing that the drunken husband will first hit her, or even his parents-in-law if they try to protect her.

/227 cont./,
881 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently,
178 and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection
177 of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where
226 there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the
462 little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Parirenta.

881 /228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and
[195] not a boy, the time to give up the ú ú of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man
[304] ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother,
[301] and other relatives make him understand that for this it is necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of
[885] the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip,
[554] Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

[192] 1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ita, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

/293 cont./

765 are allowed to when the burial is over: an aunt accompanies them, especially a maternal one if they have one, and stays in the house for a while, if she does not have children of her own.

They look for her in vain, silent and confused, and not even the tenderness of an aunt, who must swallow her own tears in silence, can distract them from their thoughts. When she hears the motherless ones looking for and asking for the one who was the author of their days, she answers the poor creatures with emotion, and even with force, that she will soon return, either from a nearby town or from the field, and meanwhile tears run down her cheeks, giving the lie to her pretended serenity. But the innocent little ones do not understand and continue with their questions, looking at the aunt dismayed and even frightened. What a sad picture!

768 587 When it is a woman who leaves her husband a widower with children, naturally in a short time he must find another wife who will serve as mother to the motherless children and take care of the house, because a man cannot attend to the things which are the domain of a woman. For a short time he can get his close relatives to attend to such things, but they soon get tired or return to the duties of their own home. Then the widower must look for another woman privately and without hurting the feelings /294/ of the neighbors, who naturally understand the distress of the widower who, if he has a mother or an unmarried sister, does not take such a step and tries to abstain from a second marriage as long as he can, but in every case before the year ends he will have found a new companion to brighten his days and make his life pleasanter (1).

768 587 593 602 855

1. The widower tries to marry a sister of the deceased or a close relative, so that she will have affection for the motherless children. When a new wife is tyrannical or is thrown out, either some other relatives of the deceased or of the widower himself take care of the children: the Chiriguano feel deeply the suffering of bereaved children.

/192 cont./ C Ce 524

On the Rio Pilcomayo three pins were used on each side. The distance between the pins of the opponent was three ells. Ee Each pin consisted of a shelled ear of maize, and the distance [804] between them was supposed to be a hand span (1). The balls [323]

1. Longest distance between thumb and little finger.

used are made of fired clay and are hollow, with small, rattling pellets inside (Fig. 99). /Plate 17 appears here./

C Ce 524

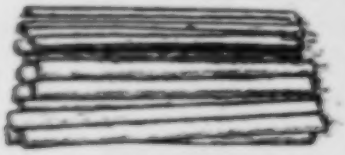


Fig. 95.
Little sticks for the tshücareta game. 2/9.

/193/ The Life of the Indian Children C Ce 855 ●

If one speaks of the life in the villages, one must not forget the children. The children play, but also help the adults. They are reared like the Choroti and Ashluslay children. They spend their lives in happy freedom, without thrashings and harsh words.

The Chiriguano and Chané children have a number of games and toys which one never sees the children of the whites in Bolivia use, and all of which seem to me to be genuinely Indian. Ee 524

First of all, the Indian children play the games of the adults that I have already mentioned. Of the Choroti and Ashluslay games, they are familiar with the hockey-like game of ball, which the Chiriguano call "tsca." I did not see it played among the Chané. As goals they use pits, and sometimes they hit the C Ce 857 526 [171]

[text continues on p. 47] ball with rackets.

Ee /210 cont./

868 accompanies his father on the hunt and feels extraordinarily
857 proud and clever if he is allowed to go home with the "common" hunting booty. The children see and learn. It is fun for them to help father and mother.

Ce 142 291 302 411

Fig. 110. Chané boy. Rio Parapiti.
He has arrows with blunt tips in his hand.

Ee
●855 [797] How different is the child-rearing in the missions, which is based on spying and tattling.

Ee [736] Motherless children are taken in by relatives. Here, too, one not infrequently sees older aunts caressing the children of others.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1819 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

/219 cont./

868 to his mother with satisfaction and then tells his companions about it.

/220/ There are also men who teach boys the way to be quick in fights and even the way to dodge enemy arrows, as well as bullets. The man who teaches this is called Puruncanise, or man who scratches. He is the terror of the boys in the town where he lives. The method he uses is to run after the boys, and woe to the one who out of weakness or carelessness lets himself be caught! In the hands of the puruncanise he suffers the martyrdom of being scratched all over his body with long fingernails, which he lets grow on purpose, in addition to the blame he gets for letting himself be caught by an old man. In a second race it is not likely that the boy being taught will let himself be caught (1).

868 554 463

868 856 237

1. Those who are older have the calf of the leg scratched with the tooth of the Acuti /agouti/ by another of the art. A lot of blood comes out of this, and upon recovering, they say that they are very good at running and can resist fatigue much more than those who did not allow themselves to be scratched.

882 When all the boys of the tribe have received practical lessons from such a neighbor, they indeed may be ready for war, because skill consists in knowing how to shoot in order to injure and also how to dodge the enemy arrow. The Indians who know such strategy are called Queremba by their companions.

[554]

721 726 797 In the last war of Curuyuqui, the Indians attacked the Santa Rosa Mission while Colonel don Tomás Frías was there. He chose as a target an Indian Queremba who seemed to be the chief of the company and lost some eight or ten bullets without having the pleasure of felling him. Almost all the Indians learn this way of fighting; hence their combats do not last long. That of Curuyuqui lasted eight hours because they were sheltered in trenches.

/347 cont./

433 between the roof beams. Once out of this region the ethnog-
224 rapher will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire
184 these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him,
[411] they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an old man or crudely made specimens without any value other than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some rare lover of hunting.

224 The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendí
411 are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using
184 it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were intended, from what they told me, for killing the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.). They are long reeds armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate IX, 1). One must not conclude that the yakú, abundant as they may be, rep-
[433] resent an appreciable food resource. Besides, hunting is scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for
[126] fun. The Indian who gave up to me the handsomest lot of
[425] these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained to me, /348/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them without his consent.

● 857 Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shoot-
868 ing with a bow than ours. One can see them run around the
224 village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows (Plate XII, 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach. Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16 appears here./

223 Some Indians of the Caipipendí valley sold me large
[126] bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts. That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are certainly not numerous in this region; in a month's stay I
287 did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17
439 appears here/ feather dusters, which the Chiriguano sell in the

[Text continues on p. 91]

/433 cont./

283
857
291
516
342

Fig. 88. Chiriguano girls spinning. Masaví (Igüembé Valley). (Photo. A. M.)

286
413

moving the front /434/ warp threads back each time they have been crossed with the help of the reed. The woman who has just passed the woof through grasps this dagger firmly and with a sharp blow raises the threads of the warp after pulling on the reed. Difficult jobs, probably the execution of some /Fig. 89 appears here/ complicated figures, are accomplished with a wooden needle, which unfortunately I never saw used.

Tupi-Guarani SL6
Tupinamba SO9
Guarani SM4
Chane' SF8

/436 cont./

000 animals or human beings. There is nothing like that among the
C Chiriguano. The simplicity /437/ of their fabrics forms a striking
286 contrast with the richness and variety of the decoration of their
53 pottery. Their inferiority in this respect is far from corresponding
17 to the skillfulness which is their wont in all their activities. It is
C enough to see the admirable pieces of work executed by little
286 Chiriguano girls in the missions to realize what they would have
174 been capable of if historic traditions had not held them away
857 from this art. Their distant Tupi-Guarani ancestors were
T-G acquainted with only rudimentary forms of weaving, and it can
286 be asserted that /Fig. 95 appears here/ this industry remained
174 foreign to all the Tupi tribes which did not undergo the influence
T of a nation more civilized than they. The Tupinamba of the
286 Brazilian coast apparently practiced only the double-thread
174 technique (Doppelfadentechnick) by means of which they used
G to make their hammocks. The ancient chroniclers note the use
286 of the tipoy among the ancient Guarani of Paraguay, which is an
[175] indication of the existence of weaving among that subdivision
[291] of the Tupi family. Their present-day descendants, the Kainguá
/Caingua/, could pass for good weavers to judge by the fineness
G of the several fabrics which have been collected among them.
[291] These are for the most part wide belts which they pass between
their legs and knot around their loins. In reality, weaving is in
its beginnings among them, /438/ as is shown by their loom. It
is only a simple frame around which the warp threads are coiled.
The woof is passed through, thread after thread, as in darning.

C No doubt it was the Chané who taught the Chiriguano to weave,
Ce and as they had probably not reached a /Fig. 96 appears here/
286 very high level in this art, they could only transmit to their
177 successors and suzerains, the Chiriguan, a still little-developed
technique, which the latter have scarcely improved on.

/26 cont./

137 SOTO. -- This gigantic tree is found everywhere from
824 the province of Tomina, but there are places where it is more abundant. In the spring, when the budding begins, its leaves are red, and later they turn green. In the autumn its fruit, which the parrots like, are red and are in bunches like cherries. Seen from a distance by a European, he thinks they are cherries. The wood of the soto is strong and does not rot; in dampness or in water it is better than iron, since it does not deteriorate.
[342] It is very widely used in the construction of houses, especially when they are of frame construction. A great deal of tannin, which the Europeans use in tanneries, is extracted from the soto. It is called palo cuchi by the whites here and "Urundei" by the Chiriguano.

249 TOBACCO. -- An annual plant which flourishes everywhere, but only the whites cultivate it on a large scale, especially in Sapirangui and Chiquiacá, whose products have some fame. Even an occasional Indian cultivates it for his own use and to give to his friends. There is another similar plant, and, when he lacks real tobacco, the Indian deceives himself with its leaves. The true tobacco is called "peenti" in Chiriguano, and the other "huacapeenti," which, literally explained, means
276 "cow tobacco." In Bolivia there is considerable consumption of tobacco wrapped in paper or maize husks; rarely does one see cigars of pure tobacco, like the Havanas and others; the Chiriguano smokes a lot and acquires the habit at a tender age.
[857] Children of four years of age have already begun to smoke;
[562] women also smoke.

137 TACUARA. -- In the past when there were no cattle, the
824 tacuara, or hollow cane, was very abundant; vestiges still remain of some immense canebrakes, but the plant has been re-
[435] duced almost to the cultivated one, with the result that what was previously found in the forest at the disposal of the first occupant is found today in the possession of private parties, and anyone who is planning to build a dwelling must pay for hollow cane at the rate of 80 centavos per hundred, and the worst of it is that it is not found everywhere. This lack is made up for by small rods from trees, but these are neither as light nor always

/32 cont./

*136 bending or breaking every bush in its path. It is also a swimmer.
*825 Saddlemakers make from its hide headstalls and reins which
[281] are durable and hence highly valued. When the tapir is very small, it has a pelt like a fawn with yellow stripes and is easily domesticated. It is abundant near rivers and is very rare on the plains; few are found in the province of Acero. In the region of Cuevo and in others there are none at all, doubtless because these places are being settled by another type of man, that is to say, by whites, who can destroy them easily with the use of gunpowder. The Chiriguano like its
[262] meat very much, and they call this animal "Borevi."

ARDILLA /squirrel/. -- A climbing quadruped which looks for its food in the trees which it climbs and goes down very quickly. There are two classes of these, one large and red in color and the other smaller and dark, but both are very graceful, with a rather long tail almost as large as the body as far as the neck and covered with rather long and very soft hair. When they sleep, they cover themselves up and protect themselves from the cold, the dew, and even from the rain with this tail, which they keep horizontally along the length of the body in order to climb and descend more nimbly. They
[262] have very little meat, which is full of gristle, and, despite
[224] the fact that they are quite edible, the Indians hunt them very
[857] little; only the children hunt them for diversion and for practice in the use of the bow.

ARMADILLO. -- This animal, called "Tatu" by the Indians, is abundant. There are six types, which are: "Tatu," the generic name, or the true armadillo; "Taturapúa," balled armadillo; "Tatu rabucu," armadillo with hairs; "Tatu guasu," large armadillo; "Tatu acuti," a species of viscacha; "Anguya tutu," a species of large rat, but also with scales in common
[262] with the armadillo. For the Indians the flesh of all of them
[224] is edible, and the Indians of Yvu and Itatiqui continually go out hunting them. In dry places, like the pampas of the Gran Chaco, armadillos are more numerous; there they make their burrows under the ground in great lengths, making it dangerous to go on horseback through such places because the animals can sink in easily and at a gallop can break their legs, if they are not unlucky enough to crack their heads open. /Illustration appears here./

[TEXT Continues on P. 53]

/41 cont./

*136 The Chiriguano hunts and kills the fox as a mischievous
*825 and harmful animal, but he does not eat its meat because
[224] it is very strong and lean; /42/ he does eat it occasionally,
[262] when he finds it to be fat, airing it so that it may lose its bad
odor; it is a common food of the Toba Indians. The children
● [857] entertain themselves with this poor animal, catching it alive
and making it fight with the dogs, who kill it slowly.

*136 I here bring to an end this brief resumé of the principal
quadrupeds by size, ferocity, and special characteristics.
I have omitted the description of many because they are found
in other regions, and others because they do not offer anything
unusual for consideration. Rats are plentiful and in some years
invade the towns. There is no lack of female foxes /raposas/,
[231] which are easily domesticated; the ferret is rarely seen and is
very nervous and harmless, but it has the peculiarity of hunting
all the insects in a house.

Reptiles, Amphibians, Fish, and Insects

It is not necessary for me to dwell particularly and extensively on the types of living things indicated at the beginning of this section, because they are found in every region of the world; I shall describe the singular peculiarities of the known ones and the nature of some which are peculiar to this place and to South America.

Almost all the snakes here are poisonous because the place
*[825] is very hot, but the most poisonous is the rattlesnake; it
[231] operates rapidly with its fang, and only with immediate
cauterization can the patient free himself of its death-dealing
effects, while the boa, which is thick and long, is harmless,
so much so that some domesticate it and put it into their
cane fields so that it will scare off every harmful beast, even
the fox which, as we have seen, is the animal which does the
most damage to the sugar cane.

/43 cont./

*136 There are wasps, and they are of several classes, but the yellow or red ones are the most vicious; there are bees in the trees, in the roofs, in the walls, and in the ground, and all of them make hives in order to make honey and wax, but the best honey is that of the bees called señoritas. Both things, that is, honey and wax, are known as beneficial by the Indians, but they devote themselves to this very little, because they consider it the work of lowly and poor people, and the Chiriguano does not like to consider himself such. Wax is seldom gathered, even in times of scarcity, nor does the neophyte or new Christian work at earning his living by looking for beeswax.

222 237 [461] 237 464

A spider bite almost always produces bad consequences, which can be avoided by the use of ammonia; this is another plentiful insect. In the rainy season they extend their webs from one tree to another, obstructing the road, no matter how wide it may be, and frequently travelers who are out at night or who get up early are bothered by these webs, which stick to their faces and clothing, /44/ just as the spiders themselves, which are so loathsome, not infrequently catch hold. The bite of those that live in the forest, they state, is not poisonous.

*136 *825 [759]

All spiders are called "Yanduti" in Chiriguano, and the web, "Yanduti nupa," or spider's bed; from the web of the forest spiders the children make nets for catching birds or for their games. When wet they are quite elastic. The true tarantula, which the whites call apasanca and the Indians "Yanduti huasu," is quite ugly because of its fuzz, eight legs, and two arms. The natives state that it is poisonous, but its bite is not fatal. They almost never come out by twos, but upon killing one and wanting to know if it has a companion, it is enough to burn the dead one in order to cause the live one to come out the moment it smells the odor. The apasancas, or tarantulas, come out when it is about to rain and do not make a good impression. The natural enemy of spiders, including the tarantula, is another flying insect the size of an acorn, which the people of Santa Cruz call

[859]

/52 cont./

*136 uprising, should this pair of owls start to sing on occasion in
*825 a town or near the house of some whites. The second is called "Surumucucu," because its cry sounds like this. Neither of the two is harmful. They are plentiful where there are trees; the first eats bats, toads, and mice, for which reason it is not attractive to the Chiriguano, but it is a very
[223] pretty bird, and its feathers are like the finest velvet. The
[262] second is good food for the Indians, who hunt it on bright moonlit nights.

CARDINAL. -- A little bird the size of a swallow, with a red crest, ash-gray feathers, and a white breast. The region of the cardinals begins in Parapiti Grande; occasionally a pair of them appear in some part of Yvu, and there are also some in the countryside of Carandaiti. I have seen them in both places, as I have also seen flocks of 15 to 20 in Parapiti. It has no peculiarity other than its crest and its song at certain
[439] times of the day. The Chiriguano Indians of Parapiti and some Tapii of Isoso try to catch this little bird alive and take it to the interior of the Republic, to Sucre or Potosí, to sell or trade it /53/ for used clothing; in this sense it is a small, lucrative business.

*136 CARPINTERO or PICAMADEROS /woodpeckers/. -- This
*[825] is a black bird with a fiery red crest, and it is called "Arapatuare" in Chiriguano. When it flies away in fright, it makes a loud noise with its wings, is fast, and flies in a straight line. It is the continual desire of this little creature the size of a rondón to clamber tirelessly about dry and hollow trees, beating on them with its hard beak in order to make come out and to eat the insects that they contain. Sometimes the traveler, upon hearing these noises in the woods, believes that someone is cutting firewood and doing carpentry, or is inclined to believe, from the prolonged rattling of a hollow, dry tree being struck by the woodpeckers, that it is about to fall, if he does not know that it is being pecked by this little bird. Both of these things have happened to me on occasion.
[223] The Chiriguano does not waste time hunting the woodpecker, because it is a semisolitary bird, and scarcely three or four
• [857] are found together in one place. Only the children hunt them for fun and in order to learn to be accurate in the handling of bow and arrow.

*136 /62 cont./ It is only
•[857] hunted by children, for whom every little bird is a joy and a pleasure.

There is also a species of oropéndola /oriole/, which makes a very funny nest, conical like a globe, with the wide part open toward the top; it hangs it from tree branches by means of long, slender threads. Sometimes there are many nests in a single tree. Neither vipers nor another, large bird can do any damage in such a shelter.

TORDO /thrush/. -- Thrushes are innumerable everywhere from Monteagudo eastward. They fly in flocks. The males are completely black, blacker than writing ink, and the females a kind of tan. They cause incalculable damage in newly planted fields, scratching up and eating the seeds very dexterously. At the time of sprouting they pull up the tender plant of maize, wheat, barley, and rice; consequently they are a true plague, and the moment the farmer is careless, he will harvest only wind for his labor. Their flesh is good, but the Indians only hunt them because of the damage they do. The thrush, like no other bird, takes singular pleasure in following the cattle grazing tranquilly in the field, and some readers will be able to understand the object and purpose of this singularity.

*[825] This type of thrush, called "Choronchíu" in Chiriguano, sings little and has less grace in its song. But there is another class of thrush which is quite amusing. It is found about nine or ten leagues south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra; it is also black, and the female is black as well. It is frequently domesticated and sings with variety and strength. This little animal is a precious thing and an enchanting one. Nevertheless, in the domestic state every small thing which it finds it comically carries off with its beak and hides; it could well be pounds sterling or quintos. It loves its master and abhors strangers, ruffling itself up and pecking furiously.

439 A thrush of this second species is worth something more
[435] than five bolivianos or duros in Santa Cruz, and in Salta or
Tucumán it is worth up to 30 nacionales. There are Indians
[171] in Parapiti and others who /63/ trade in thrushes. They catch

/220 cont./

859 868 The boys have different ways of learning how to be accurate in shooting arrows and to be good hunters and brave warriors. In the field or in the woods they amuse themselves usefully, ambushing and taking as a target little birds and even grasshoppers when there are any, and when they go back home they give proof of their manliness by sticking the arrow into the mortar in which their mother customarily grinds maize.

859 868 526 [411] [824] When the boys gather together in the town, they learn the use of the arrow, shooting it at a wooden wheel which one of them makes roll as fast as he can. This wheel is made of a type of round cactus which grows a cuarta or a little more and is called Zipepe. The boys, armed with arrows, line up, and the best one will succeed in driving his into the soft material of the zipepe. /221/ The zipepe is at the same time a school for target shooting and a game; of the latter they have 524 others which I shall name in passing. They have the Pinono, top. This is different from that of the towns of the Republic. It is a small gourd with a hole in the middle in the upper part. When they spin it, the air produces a prolonged sound like that of little calves who are lowing very gently, and from this comes its name, Pinono.

Another game for young and old is pelota, which has a definite season. This is when there is fresh maize, or the cold is beginning to be felt. They call it Topo, and it is done with the husk of fresh maize; thus, when the fresh maize season ends, the game of pelota also ends, and they amuse themselves with many other games that they have (1).

000

1. These will not be listed because this is not the subject of this chapter, and in addition it would be very tiring for the reader.

/275 cont./

726 727 Then they enter the houses, pillage anything of value they find, break all the clay vessels, pour out all the chicha, without taking any for fear that it may be poisoned, and, finally, before the eyes of the women and children prisoners, set fire to the town, which burns until it is reduced to ashes.

[203] As soon as victory has been declared by the invaders, the cacique orders that one of the horsemen take the happy news to their town, so that the women can rejoice and finish the fermentation of the chicha. Meanwhile, when the pillaging is over and the houses reduced to ashes, they divide among all of them the women, girls, and children, and take them triumphantly back to the town. Some lancers lopped from their victims some heads of the men - killed in the combat, which will serve as trophies of war.

/279/ After the Victory

727 524 859 The victors are received with extraordinary joy, and then all glances are first fixed on the heads that are on the tips of their lances; they insult them and jeer them with much cruelty, hang them from some tree in the town or in the plaza, and there they stay as toys for the little boys, who set up games using them as targets to learn the use of the arrow and be good shots, and when they have become tired of seeing them there, they take them down, tie them to strings, and drag them through the streets, attracting everybody's attention with their shouting and games. They are thus very inhumane, and their parents watch with pleasure what their children are doing (1).

1. After or during the war of Curuyuqui, they brought to the town the head of the Indian Chabuco, and they did more or less what I have said, with slight differences.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The bat and ball game »táca» (a kind of hockey), is played by the Chiriguano boys. I have not seen this game among the Chané. We also saw in Part I that the game is played by many tribes in the Chaco and by the Araucanians. Besides playing with long, bent sticks the Chiriguano also play with a kind of racket The balls are always of wood. I have not seen rackets elsewhere. In part I we saw that the game with maize leaf balls is especially met with in the northeastern part of S. America. C Ce 526 C [857]

We find a most interesting ball game among the Chané which is not known by the Choroti and Ashluslay. It is played with india-rubber balls (Map 9). All the way from the Chané in El Gran Chaco to the West Indies and Mexico the game is characterized by the players not being allowed to touch the ball with their hands but having to catch and butt it with their heads, shoulders, hips or feet. In the Journal of the Royal Danish Geographical Society I have given an account of the distribution in South America of games with india-rubber balls. I here repeat in part what I wrote there, as the Danish language is not likely to be known any better than the Swedish. I can also add something to what I wrote there. Ce 526 171*

As the conformity of the rules of the game all the way from Mexico to the Chané is of the greatest anthropogeographical interest, I reproduce many of them here word for word as given by several authors. The game is mentioned from the Chané in Litterae Annuae of 1605. The author of this description says of these Indians that they played at ball using their heads instead of bats, and that they were quite as clever as the Spaniards were with their hands and bats.[1])

This game »tóki» is still played by the Chané at Rio Parapiti, where I have seen boys playing at ball with their heads. Ce 526 [857]

[1]) Page 409. »Indos videlicet huius Prouinciae, pilae ludo capitibus tabellarum loco, tanta dexteritate exerceri, quanta Hispani, manibus, atque tabellis.»

/183 cont./

The Chané and the Chiriguano are not great hunters. Perhaps in former times there was more hunting. Their hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow. For hunting wild pigs they use clubs; for ostrich hunts the boleadora /bola/, "churima," was formerly used. Snares and bird nets are also found. In former times the hunters wore /184/ a costume of leather cut in imitation of a European cut, obviously copied from the Spaniards (1). This

1. Viedma already mentions this costume, p. 181.

was not permitted to hang in the house. Formerly, also among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, no meat could be cooked in the house; rather, this had to be done a short distance away. Boys are, of course, eager hunters of small birds. Like the men, they sometimes use clay-projectile bows.

There are hunting dogs specially trained for hunting wild pigs. In a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro I saw how all the dogs had a red cross painted on their heads, so that they would not be bitten by a mad dog running about in the vicinity. It was truly amusing to see how these heathen Chané protected their dogs against rabies with the sign of the cross.

Batirayu told me that Chané men, when they go hunting, are not permitted to sleep with their wives the night before.

Fishing is carried on differently in the various rivers.

In the Rio Itiyuro women and children almost exclusively do the fishing. There are only small fish there too. I saw three methods of fishing there. Angling, fishing with calabashes, and fishing by damming up pools. The fishhooks consist of bent needles obtained from the whites. Floats and sinkers are not used.

Fishing with calabashes is done in the following way. Several bunches of leaves, which give shade, are stuck in the bottom of the river, and in front of each of these is placed a calabash (Fig. 90) with sour, ground maize (residue from beer brewing). The fish gather in the calabashes, which are taken out from time to time by the women. The latter creep toward the calabash, quickly place a hand over the opening, lift /185/ it up, and then empty the contents into pits along the river bank.

/192 cont./ C Ca 524

On the Rio Pilcomayo three pins were used on each side. The distance between the pins of the opponent was three ells. Ea [804] Each pin consisted of a shelled ear of maize, and the distance between them was supposed to be a hand span (1). The balls [323]

1. Longest distance between thumb and little finger.

used are made of fired clay and are hollow, with small, rattling pellets inside (Fig. 99). /Plate 17 appears here./

C Ca 524

Fig. 95.
Little sticks for the tshócareta game. 2/9.

/193/ The Life of the Indian Children C Ca 855

If one speaks of the life in the villages, one must not forget the children. The children play, but also help the adults. They are reared like the Choroti and Ashluslay children. They spend their lives in happy freedom, without thrashings and harsh words.

The Chiriguano and Chané children have a number of games and toys which one never sees the children of the whites in Bolivia use, and all of which seem to me to be genuinely Indian. Ea 524

First of all, the Indian children play the games of the adults that I have already mentioned. Of the Choroti and Ashluslay games, they are familiar with the hockey-like game of ball, which the Chiriguano call "tsca." I did not see it played among the Chané. As goals they use pits, and sometimes they hit the Ea 857 ● 526 [171]

[text continues on p. 47] ball with rackets.

/208 cont./

Ce 551 untranslatable. Not infrequently a nickname is added to this name. Thus, for example, the Chané chief Boyra (Boy-snake) was called yúruhuasu, which means big-mouth. Indeed, old Boyra was a talker who had a great weakness for everything that was a bit indecent.

Ee 862 163 Mothers nurse for an unusually long time, and it is several years, as a rule, before they have another child. Perhaps the woman also aborts the fruit of her womb occasionally, like the Choroti woman, so that the family will not become too burdened.

Es 849 163 In the mission station in Ivu I tried to gather statistics about the number of surviving children in 127 Chiriguano marriages and found that in ten marriages there were no children, in 27 one, in 35 two, in 29 three, in 13 four, in 9 five, and in 4 six. These figures, however, are quite uncertain. Nevertheless they show that here, as among many other Indian tribes, there is a sort of two-children system.

C 849 114 C [113] Corrado (2) maintains with certainty that infanticide occurs

2. Corrado: El Colegio Franciscano De Traija y sus misiones. Quaracci, 1884. Pages 526-527.

among the Chiriguano. It is done in desperate cases among us, too, and therefore the example cited by Corrado means nothing. C 849 The question is: does /209/ infanticide and abortion occur as an institution accepted by the tribe, as among the Choroti? /Fig. 110 appears here./

Ee 868 857 The Chané and Chiriguano children, as has been mentioned, are brought up in freedom. They spend their childhood playing. Gradually the child begins to help its parents in small matters, for example, in carrying water and wood, tying up /210/ the domestic animals, fishing, etc. The girls learn spinning, weaving, making clay vessels, brewing maize beer, etc. from their mothers. They learn everything by imitation. The boys pursue small birds around the village and in this way learn the use of weapons. The children accompany their parents to fish and to till. The boy

C
Ce
858
857

/210 cont./

accompanies his father on the hunt and feels extraordinarily proud and clever if he is allowed to go home with the "common" hunting booty. The children see and learn. It is fun for them to help father and mother.

Ce
142
291
302
411

Fig. 110. Chané boy. Rio Parapiti.
He has arrows with blunt tips in his hand.

Ee
855
[777]

How different is the child-rearing in the missions, which is based on spying and tattling.

Ee
[736]

Motherless children are taken in by relatives. Here, too, one not infrequently sees older aunts caressing the children of others.

/34 cont./

Play

Ce 524 [857]

Of the different kinds of games, those found among the Chiriguano and the Chané are those of movement, those of skill, and those of chance. But the games of movement are only performed by children.

Ce 526

Among the games of movement we must mention here principally the game of ball, struck with the head. Nordenskiöld saw Chané boys play this. A solid rubber ball is first thrown into the air, and two teams parry it with their heads, without touching it with the hand. This game, called "toki" by the Chané, no doubt was much more common in former times and was also practiced by adults. This was stated to me by the cacique of the Izozó in Toledo and was stated long ago by the author of Littarae Annuae for 1605 with regard to the Chané (151).

151. Litterae Annuae, 1605, p. 409.
According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 101.

Ce 773 526

It also follows from a Chané legend noted by Nordenskiöld (152).

152. Nord. 1, p. 261.

According to this legend, the fox "Aguaratumpa" sets the white condor free only on the condition that he obtain a white rubber ball. In what follows, the legend describes in detail how first the ostrich "Yandu" plays with the bat "Andira" with this ball, hitting it with his head. When the White Condor came flying out with the white ball, the Demon Aguaratumpa orders a bird to get a black rubber ball, and with this he plays the entire town, and the ostrich "Yandu" this time with the fox Aguaratumpa. /35/ The latter exchanged his ball for a stone and threw it at the ostrich. The latter, stopping the stone with his head, died.

/36 cont./

Ce 857 524

Three other games of skill described by Nordenskiöld are played only by children (163). For one of these, called

163. Nord. 1, pp. 196 and 197.

"sóuki," they use two arrows fitted with maize cobs (164).

164. Nord. 1, Fig. 102.

These two games are played by the children of the Chané of the Parapití.

C 857 524

Nordenskiöld saw the third game, called "parama," played by the children of the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley (165).

165. Nord. 1, Fig. 103.

With small round stones, propelled with pieces of baked clay, they try to knock down a button, or some such thing, from a rock.

C 524 126

I obtained from the Chiriguano in Machareti some children's toys which belong to these games of skill.

Toys in the Collection

I. A. 504. Top (Chiriguano). Length 18 cm.
I. A. 505. " " " 16 cm. (Fig. 35b.)
I. A. 506. Rattle " " 25 cm.
I. A. 507. Small sling " " 55 cm.
I. A. 510. Toy called "mou-mou" (Chiriguano). Diameter of the disk 6 cm. (Fig. 36a.)

A specimen of a top similar to those mentioned (see Fig. 35b /see p. 89/) and originating among the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi valley is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (166).

166. Nord. 1, Fig. 104. B.

/36 cont./

C 524 177 The small sling I. A. 507, made out of a small forked stick, two strips of rubber obtained from an automobile tire, and leather, is not of native origin, nor is the rattle shown in Fig. 35a. /Plates XII-XIII appear here./

C 524 857 /37/ The toy shown in Figure 36a, called mou-mou by the Chiriguano, is made of a small gourd disk with a toothed edge and a double string. The latter passes through two holes in the disk. By alternately twisting and stretching this string, a rapid rotation of the disk is produced, together with a humming noise. Among other Chané children's toys there Ce [524] [857] are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld a hoop with a rope, a musical instrument consisting of two bows (167), and a

167. Nord. 1, Fig. 104. C and D.

C [171] small musket. The Chiriguano children in the Caipipendi valley and those of the Chorote also play with such muskets (168).

168. Nord. 1, Fig. 23.

C 524 Among the games of skill we must mention, finally, the string games, some of which are shown in sketches by Métraux, which a Chiriguano man made for him (169). The

169. Métraux I, pp. 443, 446. Plates 89 and 90.

Chiriguano children also know this game.

C Ce 524 There are two games of chance among the Chiriguano and the Chané. One, called "chúcaráy" by the Chiriguano and "chunquanty" by the Chané, is played with four small boards, and the other, called "asúcareta," with a large number of boards, concave on one side and convex on the other (170).

170. Nord. 1, p. 191 and Fig. 95.

/87 cont./

C 462 rope, making nets, plaiting mats and baskets, leatherwork, the manufacture of weapons, the decoration of cuyas and calabashes, and the building of houses. Only the following work is apportioned to women: carrying water, cooking, making fermented beverages, gathering fruits and roots, ceramics, making hammocks, spinning, and plaiting bands. The following work is apportioned to both C [462] sexes: fishing, with the difference that the women catch small fish in shallow water, while the men fish in deep water, planting and harvesting, cooking -- attributed in the preceding to the women -- in that men at times participate in the preparation of game, fetching firewood, which on most occasions is men's work, but among the Chané on the Parapití River women's as well, the raising of domestic animals, sewing and weaving, in that in some regions men also weave, although in general weaving is C 857 women's work. Children also participate, depending on their sex, 868 in the respective work of their parents, particularly in the 462 harvest (336) /there is no footnote bearing this number/, and in this way seeing and imitating, they learn from a very early age the work that they must do in later life.

C 361 I have already mentioned in the chapter on towns and houses 592 that Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of only a few houses, each of them inhabited by up to 100 persons. Today, as C 178 a general rule, only one family lives in each house, but often 592 together with the husbands of the daughters, who live for a time 583 before the nuptials and also during the first part of the marriage [591] in the house of the mother-in-law (337). The Chiriguano clears

337. Nord. 1, p. 176.

a piece of ground for his daughter, one which the son-in-law can work/ doing the planting and harvesting (338).

338. Métraux I, p. 345.

/482 cont./

302 faces and legs oiled in this way, which gives them a very strange reddish and shiny hue. This custom, which was already [171] noted /483/ in the sixteenth century among the Tupinamba of [178] the Brazilian coast, is tending to fall into disuse.

Roucou in paste form is kept in a small corn-husk bag (Fig. 302 139), /Fig. 139 appears here/ as is kalasapa, a substance com- 386 posed of a mixture of roucou and pounded aroma seeds, which [415] gives a violet color.

757 4. Jaguar fat (yaguapira) cures any "leprosy" (karatši) if 237 one rubs oneself with it after heating it.

5. Iguana fat makes cramps go away and heals wounds. [752] Its use is external.

6. The dried penis of a fox makes toothaches and earaches go away. For that it suffices to touch the ailing part with the end /Fig. 140 appears here/ of this member. The Indians consider it very malodorous and touch it only with repugnance. [415] To avoid this inconvenience they provide it with a handle and shut it up in a bamboo case (Fig. 141).

7. Deerhorns heated and /Fig. 141 appears here/ applied against the neck will cure a stiff neck. The medical use of [172] deer (wasu) horns explains the frequent presence of the horns of this animal in the archeological strata of the neighboring Andean regions. Some have thus been found in the ruins of the Alfarcito, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 21), at Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, p. 232), at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 235, p. 453), and at Tastil (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, Fig. 78 f).

● 858 Horns adhering to a fragment of the skull and whose use 304 could only have been magical or medical must be distinguished 237 from the ones which the Indians work into awls. These in- 412 struments still have a ritual use and are reserved for piercing the lower lip of children when they are old enough to wear the labret. At least this is what Campana (p. 80) informs us. Besides, the Indians all have confirmed this detail to me. [171] Formerly, the Tupinamba of Brazil practiced this operation with an awl of the same nature (see Métraux, 3, p. 105).

/202 cont./

797 the second Chiriguano man and the second
793 Chiriguano woman; I have even made use of
871 this to condemn the vice of polygamy in my monthly instructions to the infidels.

/The last paragraph on p. 202 and the first paragraph on p. 203 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 203 follows./

621 It is very natural that the Chiriguano race should form a
59 family. Each tribe, or people, is an association of families.
603 They are made up of fathers and children, but many times they have at their head a grandfather and grandmother who are much respected but who never give any orders or manage things; instead they serve their children willingly as servants, the grandfather in bringing in firewood, planting, and weeding, and the grandmother in everything that a woman can do.

831 There does not seem to be any other race like the
867 Chiriguano in Bolivia, which like none other gives free rein to the passions, especially lewd ones. A maiden who commits a bad act is the pride of her mother, who is content with saying that now her daughter is a woman and ready for it. If a young man does similar things and his father finds out about it, he will ponder the act of his son and say, Cuimbae co, he is a man. This expression is heard frequently (1).

[797]
[861]

1. When the missionary attempts to reprehend or punish the sin of some Chiriguano boy, the father, the grandfather, or the cacique petitions for him, and the best words to lessen the punishment or to say that he deserves no punishment are: Cuimbae ma co, he is now a man.

181 Excessive corruption is the result, and, if the Toba race is distinguished by its inclination toward thievery, the Chiriguano are distinguished by their inclination toward lechery, as old and wise missionaries of the stature of Father Corrado and Father Giannecchini can testify. Let the reader consider that the

/208 cont./

Ce 551 untranslatable. Not infrequently a nickname is added to this name. Thus, for example, the Chané chief Boyra (Boy-snake) was called yúruhuasu, which means big-mouth. Indeed, old Boyra was a talker who had a great weakness for everything that was a bit indecent.

Ee 862 163 Mothers nurse for an unusually long time, and it is several years, as a rule, before they have another child. Perhaps the woman also aborts the fruit of her womb occasionally, like the Ee 847 Choroti woman, so that the family will not become too burdened.

E 163 In the mission station in Ivu I tried to gather statistics about the number of surviving children in 127 Chiriguano marriages and found that in ten marriages there were no children, in 27 one, in 35 two, in 29 three, in 13 four, in 9 five, and in 4 six. These figures, however, are quite uncertain. Nevertheless they show that here, as among many other Indian tribes, there is a sort of two-children system.

C 847 114 Corrado (2) maintains with certainty that infanticide occurs

C [113]

2. Corrado: El Colegio Franciscano De Traija y sus misiones. Quaracci, 1884. Pages 526-527.

among the Chiriguano. It is done in desperate cases among us, too, and therefore the example cited by Corrado means nothing. C 847 The question is: does /209/ infanticide and abortion occur as an institution accepted by the tribe, as among the Choroti? /Fig. 110 appears here./

Ee 868 857 The Chané and Chiriguano children, as has been mentioned, are brought up in freedom. They spend their childhood playing. Gradually the child begins to help its parents in small matters, for example, in carrying water and wood, tying up /210/ the domestic animals, fishing, etc. The girls learn spinning, weaving, making clay vessels, brewing maize beer, etc. from their mothers. They learn everything by imitation. The boys pursue small birds around the village and in this way learn the use of weapons. The children accompany their parents to fish and to till. The boy

/202 cont./

797 the second Chiriguano man and the second
793 Chiriguano woman; I have even made use of
871 this to condemn the vice of polygamy in my monthly instructions to the infidels.

000 /The last paragraph on p. 202 and the first paragraph on p. 203 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 203 follows./

621 It is very natural that the Chiriguano race should form a
59 family. Each tribe, or people, is an association of families.
603 They are made up of fathers and children, but many times they have at their head a grandfather and grandmother who are much respected but who never give any orders or manage things; instead they serve their children willingly as servants, the grandfather in bringing in firewood, planting, and weeding, and the grandmother in everything that a woman can do.

831 There does not seem to be any other race like the
● 867 Chiriguano in Bolivia, which like none other gives free rein to the passions, especially lewd ones. A maiden who commits a bad act is the pride of her mother, who is content with saying that now her daughter is a woman and ready for it. If a young man does similar things and his father finds out about it, he will ponder the act of his son and say, Cuimbae co, he is a man. This expression is heard frequently (1).

[797] 1. When the missionary attempts to reprehend or
[861] punish the sin of some Chiriguano boy, the father, the grandfather, or the cacique petitions for him, and the best words to lessen the punishment or to say that he deserves no punishment are: Cuimbae ma co, he is now a man.

181 Excessive corruption is the result, and, if the Toba race is distinguished by its inclination toward thievery, the Chiriguano are distinguished by their inclination toward lechery, as old and wise missionaries of the stature of Father Corrado and
000 Father Giannecchini can testify. Let the reader consider that the

/223/

881 raised to the ceiling. They leave her there for a period of
[785] four days in strict fasting and, of course, without her opening her mouth to speak to anybody, not even to ask for necessary things, because if she should talk or ask for anything, misfortune would appear at once.

At the end of this first test, which the maiden has scarcely felt, they lower her on the fifth day, wash her head with potash of Ñetira, and shave off the adolescent girl's hair. Meanwhile in a corner of the house far from the door, they have prepared a wall like a corner piece, made out of slender sticks a meter and 50 centimeters high more or less.
[785] Wrapped in her tipoi or clean clothing, the unfortunate girl goes there, into her pen, and begins her strict fast, which they call Yicuacu, or hiding (1).

> 1. This rigorous way of life does not seem at all strange to the maidens, because before it comes their mothers have prepared them for it, and they believe in everything with blind faith.

The girl remains in her enclosure for a week without doing anything, with face to the wall in order not to see or talk to
[262] anybody. Her usual fare is boiled maize, Atiruru. Sometimes she also eats meat if there is any, but in very small quantities. She neither tastes nor desires other foods. Were she to eat parched maize, she would not be good at feeding her children when she has them, because her breasts would be
[271] dry all her life. Her usual beverage should be natural clear
[273] water. Were she to drink chicha, she would be barren, be-
[842] cause it contains alcohol and acridness, which would stop the effects of conception during her marriage.

881 When the week is over, the fasting continues, but less
868 harshly; her parents have obtained cotton or wool, have
867 prepared the spindle and wheel, with the little potsherd in which they put a few ashes or sand so that the spindle will
283 turn more easily. The mother hands over all this to her daughter, who begins to work and learns that she has been born for work.

/221 cont./

Private Life

593 888 The father and mother take great pains for the material or corporal well-being of their children, both male and female, and they in turn have affection for their parents. Nevertheless there is no lack of creatures with very bad inclinations, who forget their parents' goodness, forget the labors undertaken by the latter in caring for them in their tender years, and abandon them in their old age in the midst of their suffering and privations.

593 861 867 273 The father and mother almost never address harsh words to their children; much less do they correct them with corporal punishment. The children attend the public drinking sessions in the company of their parents, and how strange it can seem to see father and son sometimes drunk together in the streets or in the plaza of the town! They see their fathers in other people's fields, taking advantage of the first fruits, and then the son does what he has seen. He hears his mother telling stories not at all clean, he sees acts not at all moral, he witnesses altercations in the house, hears his mother's jealousy, sees his father's bad deeds, and he thus will naturally follow the same path when he arrives at an age of competence and even before.

855 603 581 If the woman is very young when she is married, as often happens, it is the grandparents who take care of the grandchildren so that the young daughter may have more time to enjoy herself, since in the beginning /222/ marriage is nothing but fun for the young people (1).

855 593 606 1. Young girls help their mothers in the care of their own children and in the preparation of chicha, knowing that the drunken husband will first hit her, or even his parents-in-law if they try to protect her.

/221 cont./

Private Life

593 888 The father and mother take great pains for the material or corporal well-being of their children, both male and female, and they in turn have affection for their parents. Nevertheless there is no lack of creatures with very bad inclinations, who forget their parents' goodness, forget the labors undertaken by the latter in caring for them in their tender years, and abandon them in their old age in the midst of their suffering and privations.

593 861 867 273 The father and mother almost never address harsh words to their children; much less do they correct them with corporal punishment. The children attend the public drinking sessions in the company of their parents, and how strange it can seem to see father and son sometimes drunk together in the streets or in the plaza of the town! They see their fathers in other people's fields, taking advantage of the first fruits, and then the son does what he has seen. He hears his mother telling stories not at all clean, he sees acts not at all moral, he witnesses altercations in the house, hears his mother's jealousy, sees his father's bad deeds, and he thus will naturally follow the same path when he arrives at an age of competence and even before.

855 603 581 If the woman is very young when she is married, as often happens, it is the grandparents who take care of the grandchildren so that the young daughter may have more time to enjoy herself, since in the beginning /222/ marriage is nothing but fun for the young people (1).

855 593 606 1. Young girls help their mothers in the care of their own children and in the preparation of chicha, knowing that the drunken husband will first hit her, or even his parents-in-law if they try to protect her.

/223 cont./

881 868 867 283 The young girl receives her mother's injunctions without uttering a word, without making any comment, respects the advice and admonishments in the same silence and more than that of a mute, because she hears and keeps quiet without making any movement at all, withog raising her eyes or moving her head. She begins her work as soon as her mother withdraws: she combs the wool or cotton with her fingers, cleans it of /224/ whatever dirt it may contain, and begins to spin, a duty learned from early childhood (1).

[785]

1. The maiden who fasts can only work in the place where she is enclosed; therefore she cannot help her mother even to clean the house.

881 868 867 286 When her mother sees that she has enough to make some small article, she directs the weaving, and the first thing that is made is the Hapicuana for her father and then another for her mother, with which they are very happy, and even their friends congratulate them on the work of the daughter, for whom they, of course, profess sympathy and respect as a sacred person, because she is in the period of fasting or hiding, since both things are done when these maidens reach puberty (2).

2. The same word, Yicuaca, is used for the fasts ordered by the Church for neophytes. There is no other word in the language.

881 885 During the first month or first moon, Yasi, the seclusion or hiding is the most rigorous, because the symptoms of puberty should manifest themselves two times in order that they may be considered true ones, that is to say, the Chiriguano do not believe that a woman is ready for marriage until after it has been ascertained that her menstruation is regular. This, which for women is their relief and their health, is called Hugüi in adults, but for pubescent girls the first as well as the second is called, as I have already said, Yimundía.

/224 cont./

881 After this neither the fasting nor the hiding or seclusion
885 are so rigorous, and occasionally the maiden, who is now a woman, comes out of her pen into public life, returns to domestic chores, and begins to attend the drinking sessions in order to be seen and to catch the attention of the young men. An occasional one will do this, but the majority, taking their parents' advice, persist and continue fasting until their hair grows out again, even to the shoulders, and others persist for a year without coming out into the light, with the result that many of them become quite pale like alabaster, and, like people with light-blue eyes, when they come out into the light they see very little. But with the whiteness of their skin, their smooth and shiny hair, and their blue eyes, with their ornaments of necklaces and bracelets, and the achiote cosmetics which they charmingly have had put on their cheeks and brows by their older companions, they inspire the admiration of all the people who have congregated (3). /Illustration appears here./

3. The reader will easily understand that to come out of seclusion is like a wife who comes out of her house to move into that of her husband; for this reason one comes out highly adorned.

881 /225/ During the fasting and seclusion, the maiden does
867 not go out by day; her going out is done at night, not for diversion, but only for what is absolutely necessary, and this is generally done very early, before daybreak, so that she may get used to not being lazy, so that she may know that she ought to be very diligent, to avoid being deceived by sleep, because the one who is to be her companion for life is accustomed to eating early, before going to the field or the forest. For this reason a woman must be an early riser in order to prepare what is necessary for herself, for her husband, and for her children, who also ask for food soon after awakening.

[text continues on p. 306]

/225 cont./

881 When she goes out at night, her mother accompanies her,
867 but before this is done she receives a thousand pieces of ad-
593 vice and admonishment to walk slowly and very carefully, not to step on things that might injure her, such as excrement and other things that her enemies or evil spirits have scattered around the house, especially by the door and along the path which she must follow. The maiden listens and keeps quiet, absorbs everything, and does everything as well as or better than a Carthusian novice, because her mother has already filled her head with so many superstitions and has frightened her with too many dangers.

The father rarely concerns himself with his daughter during the fasting period: he only sees to it that she does not lack food and work. He rarely talks to her, but he loves her like
[574] his own eyes and soul. Other persons cannot address her, nor do her parents permit many and prolonged visits during that period; in addition everyone also knows that that house is now sacred and abstains as much as possible from frequenting it (1).

1. When an attempt was made to reorganize the S. Antonio Mission of Parapiti, the daughter of a prestigious Indian was keeping a strict fast. It was said of her that she could die, it was so strict. Hardly anyone could see her, and the poor girl in fact did die a short time later.

885 When the seclusion period decided on by her parents ends,
195 the girl puts away her clothing of what we might call penitence, washes her face, combs her hair, now grown out, adorns her cheeks with the help of her friends, adorns her neck and throat with necklaces of beads, reales, or medios of silver, puts bracelets on her wrists, rings on her fingers, puts on her tipoi of drill or chintz, in various colors, and goes out in public in order that thus decked out she will arouse admiration and some young man may fall in love with her and ask for her to be his wife when it seems appropriate to him, because now she is no longer a child, but a woman who can carry out

/347 cont./

433 between the roof beams. Once out of this region the ethnog-
224 rapher will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire
184 these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him.
[411] they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an old man or crudely made specimens without any value other than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some rare lover of hunting.

224 The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendí
411 are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using
184 it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were intended, from what they told me, for killing the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.). They are long reeds armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate IX, 1). One must not conclude that the yakú, abundant as they may be, rep-
[433] resent an appreciable food resource. Besides, hunting is scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for
[126] fun. The Indian who gave up to me the handsomest lot of
[425] these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained to me, /348/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them without his consent.

857 Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shoot-
868 ing with a bow than ours. One can see them run around the
224 village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows (Plate XII, 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach. Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16 appears here./

223 Some Indians of the Caipipendí valley sold me large
[126] bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts. That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are certainly not numerous in this region; in a month's stay I
287 did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17
439 appears here/ feather dusters, which the Chiriguano sell in the

[see continues on p. 91]

/473/

Chapter XIII

Toys and Games

524 [126] All the toys which Chiriguano parents make for their children or the latter put together themselves are represented in my collections. Nevertheless, I consider it useless to give a description of them, for Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 193-200) has been greatly /Fig. 133 appears here/ concerned with this and has reproduced all of them. Simply as a curiosity I sketch a doll clothed in the traditional tipoy and the hair of which is intertwined with a ribbon in the Chiriguano manner (Fig. 133). A little bag (Fig. 134) contains a whole assortment of tipoy in miniature. Minuscule vessels and baskets (Fig. 109) have [868] been made for the use of little girls, who, in playing, thus learn little by little to become excellent housewives.

String figures. I have never seen children make string figures (cat-craddle /cat's cradle/), but I know they are acquainted with them. At Caruruti an Indian amused himself by executing a whole series for me, some of which were sewn by the Indians themselves onto the leaves of my notebook. According to the figure they wanted to produce, they used both hands or helped with the mouth and feet (Figs. 135 and 136). The "full moon" (Plate XXXIX, 3) /Fig. 134 appears here/ was made by my Indian who, having sat down, used feet and hands.

524 121 String figures have extraordinary interest from the point of view of comparative ethnography. If they prove themselves identical in two different regions, they can testify to trade or migrations, like certain games which pass from one region to the other without modifying their character or modalities. Games are the most stable of all cultural elements since they are independent of the environment, race, or way of life, at least in general. It is urgent to collect in South America /474/ the greatest possible number of string figures in order to be able to study their distribution. For this continent we know only a very small number, but this, insignificant as it may be, already allows us to establish some very curious facts.

[Text continues on p. 346]

/219 cont./

855 The child grows up in his sight with all the imperfections of little lambs or kids, because that is also the way in which he, the father, grew up.

855 462 When children of either sex are still in swaddling clothes, they receive the care of the mother, the grandmother, or other women who may be very closely related. It is unusual for a man to take care of newborn children, both because this is natural in all the countries of the world and because it would offend his dignity. But when the child begins to open his eyes well and to have some understanding of external things, he takes it in his arms with all the love that the child in its innocence inspires.

But the one who normally cares for the children of both sexes until the age of six or seven years is the mother. She washes them, bathes them, puts them to sleep, nurses them, takes them from one place to another, carrying them in the folds of her clothes. The father only helps at this task when the mother cannot attend to it because she has others, or because she is busy making chicha, preparing food, etc. (1).

1. If there is no mother because of death or for some other reason, the man finds himself in a difficult situation with regard to his children and quickly seeks out a female relative.

• 868

School of Arms and Strategy

At the age of seven years and even sooner, the father takes special charge of his male child, with the girls remaining in the charge of the mother; he makes for his son a bow and arrows suitable for his age and strength and begins to train him, teaching him to use them and the way to aim and shoot (2).

2. The father takes his son to the woods, where he begins to hunt little birds, and, if he manages to get some, he takes them

/219 cont./

•868 to his mother with satisfaction and then tells his companions about it.

/220/ There are also men who teach boys the way to be quick in fights and even the way to dodge enemy arrows, as well as bullets. The man who teaches this is called Puruncanise, or man who scratches. He is the terror of the boys in the town where he lives. The method he uses is to run after the boys, and woe to the one who out of weakness or carelessness lets himself be caught! In the hands of the puruncanise he suffers the martyrdom of being scratched all over his body with long fingernails, which he lets grow on purpose, in addition to the blame he gets for letting himself be caught by an old man. In a second race it is not likely that the boy being taught will let himself be caught (1).

868 554 463

868 856 239

1. Those who are older have the calf of the leg scratched with the tooth of the Acuti /agouti/ by another of the art. A lot of blood comes out of this, and upon recovering, they say that they are very good at running and can resist fatigue much more than those who did not allow themselves to be scratched.

882 When all the boys of the tribe have received practical lessons from such a neighbor, they indeed may be ready for war, because skill consists in knowing how to shoot in order to injure and also how to dodge the enemy arrow. The Indians who know such strategy are called Queremba by their companions.

[554]

721 726 797 In the last war of Curuyuqui, the Indians attacked the Santa Rosa Mission while Colonel don Tomás Frías was there. He chose as a target an Indian Queremba who seemed to be the chief of the company and lost some eight or ten bullets without having the pleasure of felling him. Almost all the Indians learn this way of fighting; hence their combats do not last long. That of Curuyuqui lasted eight hours because they were sheltered in trenches.

/220 cont./

857 The boys have different ways of learning how to be accurate
868 in shooting arrows and to be good hunters and brave warriors. In the field or in the woods they amuse themselves usefully, ambushing and taking as a target little birds and even grasshoppers when there are any, and when they go back home they give proof of their manliness by sticking the arrow into the mortar in which their mother customarily grinds maize.

857 When the boys gather together in the town, they learn the
868 use of the arrow, shooting it at a wooden wheel which one of
526 them makes roll as fast as he can. This wheel is made of
[411] a type of round cactus which grows a cuarta or a little more
824] and is called Zipepe. The boys, armed with arrows, line up, and the best one will succeed in driving his into the soft material of the zipepe. /221/ The zipepe is at the same time a school for target shooting and a game; of the latter they have
524 others which I shall name in passing. They have the Pinono, top. This is different from that of the towns of the Republic. It is a small gourd with a hole in the middle in the upper part. When they spin it, the air produces a prolonged sound like that of little calves who are lowing very gently, and from this comes its name, Pinono.

Another game for young and old is pelota, which has a definite season. This is when there is fresh maize, or the cold is beginning to be felt. They call it Topo, and it is done with the husk of fresh maize; thus, when the fresh maize season ends, the game of pelota also ends, and they amuse themselves with many other games that they have (1).

000

1. These will not be listed because this is not the subject of this chapter, and in addition it would be very tiring for the reader.

/223/

881 raised to the ceiling. They leave her there for a period of
[785] four days in strict fasting and, of course, without her opening her mouth to speak to anybody, not even to ask for necessary things, because if she should talk or ask for anything, misfortune would appear at once.

At the end of this first test, which the maiden has scarcely felt, they lower her on the fifth day, wash her head with potash of Ñetira, and shave off the adolescent girl's hair. Meanwhile in a corner of the house far from the door, they have prepared a wall like a corner piece, made out of slender sticks a meter and 50 centimeters high more or less.
[785] Wrapped in her tipoi or clean clothing, the unfortunate girl goes there, into her pen, and begins her strict fast, which they call Yicuacu, or hiding (1).

1. This rigorous way of life does not seem at all strange to the maidens, because before it comes their mothers have prepared them for it, and they believe in everything with blind faith.

The girl remains in her enclosure for a week without doing anything, with face to the wall in order not to see or talk to
[262] anybody. Her usual fare is boiled maize, Atiruru. Sometimes she also eats meat if there is any, but in very small quantities. She neither tastes nor desires other foods. Were she to eat parched maize, she would not be good at feeding her children when she has them, because her breasts would be
[271] dry all her life. Her usual beverage should be natural clear
[273] water. Were she to drink chicha, she would be barren, be-
[842] cause it contains alcohol and acridness, which would stop the effects of conception during her marriage.

881 When the week is over, the fasting continues, but less
• 868 harshly; her parents have obtained cotton or wool, have
867 prepared the spindle and wheel, with the little potsherd in
283 which they put a few ashes or sand so that the spindle will turn more easily. The mother hands over all this to her daughter, who begins to work and learns that she has been born for work.

/223 cont./

881 The young girl receives her mother's injunctions without
868 uttering a word, without making any comment, respects the
867 advice and admonishments in the same silence and more than
283 that of a mute, because she hears and keeps quiet without making any movement at all, without raising her eyes or moving her head. She begins her work as soon as her mother withdraws: she combs the wool or cotton with her fingers, cleans it of /224/ whatever dirt it may contain, and begins to spin, a duty learned from early childhood (1).

[785]

1. The maiden who fasts can only work in the place where she is enclosed: therefore she cannot help her mother even to clean the house.

881 When her mother sees that she has enough to make some
868 small article, she directs the weaving, and the first thing
867 that is made is the Hapicuana for her father and then another
286 for her mother, with which they are very happy, and even their friends congratulate them on the work of the daughter, for whom they, of course, profess sympathy and respect as a sacred person, because she is in the period of fasting or hiding, since both things are done when these maidens reach puberty (2).

2. The same word, Ticuacu, is used for the fasts ordered by the Church for neophytes. There is no other word in the language.

881 During the first month or first moon, Yasi, the seclusion
885 or hiding is the most rigorous, because the symptoms of puberty should manifest themselves two times in order that they may be considered true ones, that is to say, the Chiriguano do not believe that a woman is ready for marriage until after it has been ascertained that her menstruation is regular. This, which for women is their relief and their health, is called Hugili in adults, but for pubescent girls the first as well as the second is called, as I have already said, Yimundía.

/241 cont./

Modern Farming and Seeds

241 177 [407] Today planting with the spade is disappearing, and if this tool is necessary for weeding, an iron one has been substituted. The plow has become general, as have the yoke and oxen, and in the missions even boys of 12 break in oxen two and a half years old. They first do the planting for the mission, then for themselves and their fathers, and finally they help those who have no sons; the missionary provides them with young oxen, plowshares, and even halters when they are very poor.

The neophytes in most of the Potosí missions have learned to perfection this new method of farming, and they are so advanced that they are competitive with and even superior to many mestizo farmers. The older ones teach the younger ones, fathers teach their sons, and the latter as well as the former manufacture plow and yoke out of selected wood with all the perfection that these implements require. It is satisfying to see upon a farm 40 or 50 yokes of oxen, directed and driven by young men and boys who yesterday were like their grandparents! The whites themselves do their planting on a large scale, aided by these Chiriguano, who receive in exchange double daily wages (1).

[868] [407] [231] 46

> 1. A peon plowman is not obliged to bring oxen; it is the white who waits for him with the yoke hitched. If a peon brings his own, he earns up to triple daily wages, because they are worth exactly three strong peons, the two oxen and the man who drives them. Thus it is not much to pay him triple.

243 262 Today it seems to me that there must not be another country where the different types of maize thrive better. This is the principal element, the daily food, not only of the Chiriguano tribe, but of all those who inhabit most of Bolivia. Here in particular, when there is no harvest, its lack is greatly felt by whites and blacks, that is to say, by mestizos and by Chiriguano.

/309 cont./

797 87 868 191 177 Should this method be followed, in a few years nobody would know that the mission Chiriguano belong to the race, because little by little the parents would teach their children the Spanish language, as I have already seen them do in the San Pascual de Boicovo Mission, and, if the morality still leaves something to be desired, later perhaps by means of preaching, the advice of the missionary, and the example of those who are good, all will be corrected. Semen est verbum Dei; it does not fall upon completely sterile ground (1).

797 177 1/ The San Pascual de Boicovo Mission is so advanced in every respect that application has been made for it to be promoted to the rank of parish. In language, clothing, and behavior they differ little from the whites.

797 291 177 Almost from the beginning the schoolgirls were forbidden the use of the tipoy, being forced to dress in the same way as the women residents of the nearby towns; today they are very accustomed to the said clothing and do not change it for any reason in the world in the missions; only those girls who run away and even practically denounce their religion dress in the tipoy again, like the infidels, in order not to be recognized. By means of the teaching of the Catholic religion, the learning of the national language, and the change in clothing, the transformation is continually taking place, until little by little the distinction between the races will disappear, by means of the union of their tastes.

What the missionaries have done for the clothing of the girls, they are also doing for that of the boys, trying to make it decent. For both boys and girls, so long as they reside in the schools, the missionary of each mission provides their clothing, having it brought from some departmental capital and distributing it free of charge twice and even three times a year, or when he sees the needs of each student. In this way, after they are married, they themselves work in order to continue dressing in the same fashion or better than when they were in school, since some also wear socks /botines/ and shoes, and there are a number of women who

/208 cont./

untranslatable. Not infrequently a nickname is added to this name. Thus, for example, the Chané chief Boyra (Boy-snake) was called yúruhuasu, which means big-mouth. Indeed, old Boyra was a talker who had a great weakness for everything that was a bit indecent.

Mothers nurse for an unusually long time, and it is several years, as a rule, before they have another child. Perhaps the woman also aborts the fruit of her womb occasionally, like the Choroti woman, so that the family will not become too burdened.

In the mission station in Ivu I tried to gather statistics about the number of surviving children in 127 Chiriguano marriages and found that in ten marriages there were no children, in 27 one, in 35 two, in 29 three, in 13 four, in 9 five, and in 4 six. These figures, however, are quite uncertain. Nevertheless they show that here, as among many other Indian tribes, there is a sort of two-children system.

Corrado (2) maintains with certainty that infanticide occurs among the Chiriguano. It is done in desperate cases among us, too, and therefore the example cited by Corrado means nothing. The question is: does /209/ infanticide and abortion occur as an institution accepted by the tribe, as among the Choroti? /Fig. 110 appears here./

The Chané and Chiriguano children, as has been mentioned, are brought up in freedom. They spend their childhood playing. Gradually the child begins to help its parents in small matters, for example, in carrying water and wood, tying up /210/ the domestic animals, fishing, etc. The girls learn spinning, weaving, making clay vessels, brewing maize beer, etc. from their mothers. They learn everything by imitation. The boys pursue small birds around the village and in this way learn the use of weapons. The children accompany their parents to fish and to till. The boy

2. Corrado: El Colegio Franciscano De Traija y sus misiones. Quaracci, 1884. Pages 526-527.

C
Ce

/210 cont./

857

accompanies his father on the hunt and feels extraordinarily proud and clever if he is allowed to go home with the "common" hunting booty. The children see and learn. It is fun for them to help father and mother.

Ce
142
291
302
411

Fig. 110. Chané boy. Rio Parapiti.
He has arrows with blunt tips in his hand.

Ee
855
[797]

How different is the child-rearing in the missions, which is based on spying and tattling.

Ee
[736]

Motherless children are taken in by relatives. Here, too, one not infrequently sees older aunts caressing the children of others.

/87 cont./

C 462 rope, making nets, plaiting mats and baskets, leatherwork, the manufacture of weapons, the decoration of cuyas and calabashes, and the building of houses. Only the following work is apportioned to women: carrying water, cooking, making fermented beverages, gathering fruits and roots, ceramics, making hammocks, spinning, and plaiting bands. The following work is apportioned to both sexes: fishing, with the difference that the women catch small fish in shallow water, while the men fish in deep water, planting and harvesting, cooking -- attributed in the preceding to the women -- in that men at times participate in the preparation of game, fetching firewood, which on most occasions is men's work, but among the Chané on the Parapití River women's as well, the raising of domestic animals, sewing and weaving, in that in some regions men also weave, although in general weaving is women's work. Children also participate, depending on their sex, in the respective work of their parents, particularly in the harvest (336) /there is no footnote bearing this number/, and in this way seeing and imitating, they learn from a very early age the work that they must do in later life.

C 857 C 858 C 462

I have already mentioned in the chapter on towns and houses that Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of only a few houses, each of them inhabited by up to 100 persons. Today, as a general rule, only one family lives in each house, but often together with the husbands of the daughters, who live for a time before the nuptials and also during the first part of the marriage in the house of the mother-in-law (337). The Chiriguano clears

C 361 C 592 C 178 C 592 C 593 C 587 [591]

337. Nord. 1, p. 176.

a piece of ground for his daughter, one which the son-in-law can work, doing the planting and harvesting (338).

338. Métraux I, p. 345.

/229 cont./

881 304 [821] For the piercing of the lip, a full moon is necessary, so that the open wound will not have bad results, will gradually get larger, and will not form a swelling. The boys who are ready for the tembeta must not be younger than seven years of age or older than 12. In the first case they would not be able to stand the pain, and in the second the piercing would be difficult because the lip would have hardened.

Thus, when the moon is at its maximum and the boy is of the proper age, he little by little becomes prepared for the operation. The mother and father prepare him with loving words, stimulating his vanity so that he may afterward be esteemed and loved by the girls. Then they make him understand the need for piercing his lip, so that everyone will know [186] [885] that he belongs to the noble Chiriguano race and is worthy of being a member of it; finally, they make him understand that only when he has the tembeta will the grandees of the nation respect him and treat him kindly (1).

[869] [171]

1. Christian mothers, to encourage their sons to endure suffering and even martyrdom itself, show them Heaven, an invisible dwelling place. The savage infidels encourage their children with earthly promises, such as the love of women; qui de terra est; de terra loquitur; this is the effect of ignorance.

The boy hears the nice things that his parents say to him as a deaf man hears music. What he considers more and what occupies all his concern is the pain that the opening of his lip is going to cause him. Nevertheless, he cannot hide or run away; he must submit to the operation in spite of his fear of it. In fact, before the full moon the father goes with his 304 881 759 son to the house of the surgeon and tells him the reason for his visit, asking him to make his boy into a man. The surgeon-doctor makes an appointment for the next day or another one, and in the meantime he looks for a second boy to undergo the

/104 cont./

797

has left the mission house and the garden for the use and comfort of the Father-Chaplain. It is located at 778 meters above sea level and at 21° 46' 10" south latitude and 62° 48' 35" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

3. San Francisco and San Antonio. -- In the missions called San Antonio and San Francisco del Pilcomayo the Supreme Government decided to found a city under the name of Villa-Montes; but after it was handed over by the missionaries in the year 1906, instead of progressing, these flourishing settlements have retrogressed. The vineyards and gardens have deteriorated. The buildings are falling into ruin, and morality fell precipitously and is progressively worse there. The schools for boys and girls have been reduced to very few students, and for these few the national treasury distributes 160 bolivianos per month, while to the chaplain who has to live there it pays no more than 240 bolivianos per year.

[871]

Everything that belonged to the two missions, such as implements, carpentry, buildings, sugar mills, cattle, horses, etc., was handed over with an inventory to the national delegate, Dr. Don Leocadio Trigo, and the missionaries, without being able to use even a cell which might serve as lodging for the night for the Father Chaplain, had no other recourse but to shake even the dust from their sandals.

[162]

The approximate population of Chiriguano natives in the above towns is 4,500 souls (?).

2. The Supreme Government rented the mission building to the German company, which has made little progress. It is located at 460 meters above sea level and at 21° 16' 15" south latitude and at 62° 20' 2" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

4: Nimo--155 M-3 (1909-1911) 1912 SF10 Chuquamo SF10

797
897

Children of the Sunshine School in Zuni

/116 cont./

not long ago continually appeared at the Yvu mission to take me to found a mission in his town and thus to free it from persecution by a neighbor, according to what he said. For this he promised everything, goodness, docility, adherence, free work, and all the rest; religion and baptism only were reserved for children, as in other towns. While the Indian is well off and not bothered by anyone in his lazy life with its frequent drinking, it is not easy to get good things out of him.

/117/ Even for the education of a child it is necessary to bribe the Indian with material things. He does not resist handing over his children, but he wants them to be given clothing. No matter how much they may have, he brings them to school completely naked or with a shirt all ragged and torn, so that the missionary will immediately dress them, and let it be noted that he does not ask this as a favor. Up to a certain point he seems to demand it, saying, "Ñupa omoé chupé," give him clothing. If the missionary asks something as a favor, he must pay them back in material things: should he forget, they ask for them.

It has already been seen that the Tarairi mission was founded in the year 1894, this being the first founding to take place on the left bank of the Pilcomayo River, being due to the zeal of Father José Giannelli. It was near Easter, and the missionary let it be known to various caciques that at that time there would be a commemoration of the death of God and that they should also come, with their pains and afflictions, to demonstrate their adherence to the truths and dogmas of the Catholic faith. He knew through experience that the Chiriguano have a special tenderness for the dead. In fact, a great number of them gathered there to hear the word of the missionary father, who thought that he had conquered them all, seeing them so attentive and silent and seeing them crying and full of compunction. But Easter came, the day of joy, and those who had come to cry about the death of Jesus came once more before the missionary, asking for new

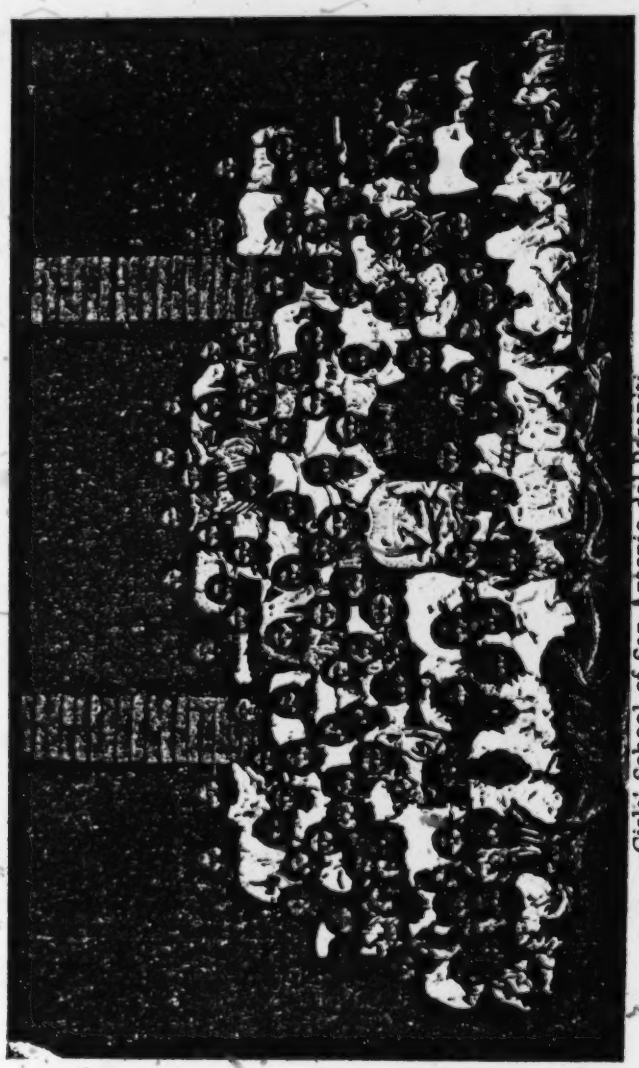
4t Nino--167 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
• 571

Girls' School of S. Buenaventura de Ivo

4: Nino--220 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
871



Girls' School of San Antonio del Parapiti

/199 cont./

301 5. "Mboivera," or pieces of silver for adornment.
6, 7, 8. Metal tembetas.
9. A hollow-cane tembeta.
10. "Yapicuana," or band for the hair.
11. "Aguá," or long band for adornment of the queen in drinking festivals.
412 12. Wooden comb.
534 13. Porongo for playing as a musical instrument.
14, 15. "Senene," or Chiriguano flutes.
16. "Igüiramimbi" for playing as a musical instrument.
17. Stone ax.

/200/

Chapter Eight

The Chiriguano Family

Introduction

000 The theory of the founder of the transformist school, in which he attempts to demonstrate and establish the origin of the human race by means of evolution, is completely absurd. /The remainder of the introduction, pp. 200-202, is omitted in the translation. Page 202 continues as follows./

The Family

Genesis tells us of the origin of the human race, and outside of this book all is confusion; faith teaches us that God created the first man in His image and likeness, and later gave him a companion, taking her from his rib, from which it is deduced that the family began in the world, or in historical times, from the beginning of humanity (2).

792
793
871

2. Readers already know the story which Anduari told me regarding the creation of

/202 cont./

797 793 871 the second Chiriguano man and the second Chiriguano woman; I have even made use of this to condemn the vice of polygamy in my monthly instructions to the infidels.

000 /The last paragraph on p. 202 and the first paragraph on p. 203 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 203 follows./

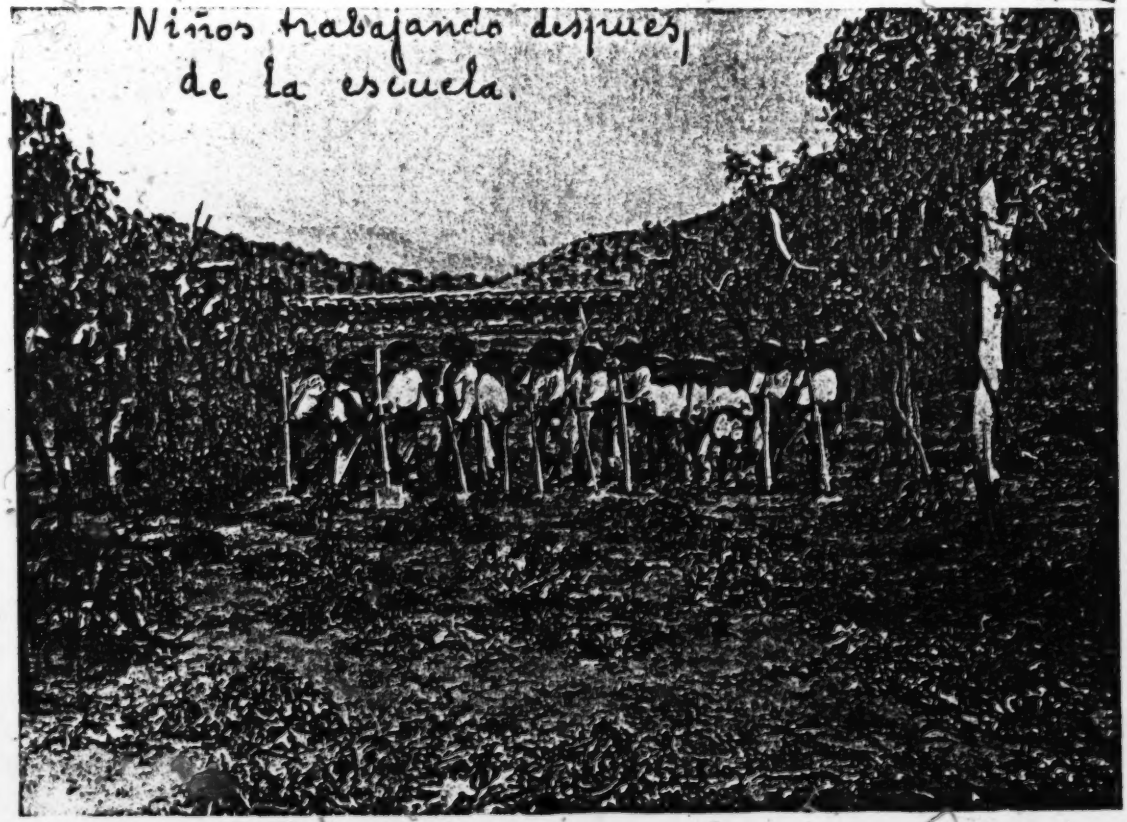
621 59 603 It is very natural that the Chiriguano race should form a family. Each tribe, or people, is an association of families. They are made up of fathers and children, but many times they have at their head a grandfather and grandmother who are much respected but who never give any orders or manage things; instead they serve their children willingly as servants, the grandfather in bringing in firewood, planting, and weeding, and the grandmother in everything that a woman can do.

831 867 There does not seem to be any other race like the Chiriguano in Bolivia, which like none other gives free rein to the passions, especially lewd ones. A maiden who commits a bad act is the pride of her mother, who is content with saying that now her daughter is a woman and ready for it. If a young man does similar things and his father finds out about it, he will ponder the act of his son and say, Cuimbae co, he is a man. This expression is heard frequently (1).

[797] [861] 1. When the missionary attempts to reprehend or punish the sin of some Chiriguano boy, the father, the grandfather, or the cacique petitions for him, and the best words to lessen the punishment or to say that he deserves no punishment are: Cuimbae ma co, he is now a man.

181 Excessive corruption is the result, and, if the Toba race is distinguished by its inclination toward thievery, the Chiriguano are distinguished by their inclination toward lechery, as old and wise missionaries of the stature of Father Corrado and 000 Father Giannecchini can testify. Let the reader consider that the

4: Nino--278 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10



Education of neophytes through work

/217 cont./

175 648 [797] The parents of these youths would not have thrown themselves into a disastrous war if the Supreme Government had quickly decreed the founding of the mission which they desired, as can be read in the history of the Colegio de Potosí; in it is clearly seen what the Ivu people did to try to have the presence of a missionary father, because political authority always showed itself to be humanitarian with the unfortunate Indians.

It has now been 19 years since that bloodletting, and still the pampas of Curuyuqui are sown with human bones; one can still see traces of their fortifications, where they fought like lions, with such unequal weapons; the memory of that horrible and destructive occurrence is still retained (1).

1. Some 500 men and women died in the war, but almost all were outsiders; the others, who knew the place, saved themselves by taking flight and hiding. They do not like to have anyone talk to them about this uprising.

797 871 [648] [175] As a consequence of the war the decree to found the mission came, and just a few days after the defeat the measuring and laying out of the necessary land was done. Today fathers and sons live tranquilly; some of them have gone on to a better or to a worse life, many have experienced the paternal government of the missionary, which they do not tire of praising. The sons have learned the religion and practice it. They have learned the alphabet and read books. They have learned religious singing, and several of them know and play the music which has been taught to them by 797 the missionaries. It is truly surprising to see the changes which have been brought about in such a short time in such bellicose Indians! This is the virtue of the Cross! Others could have done nothing, as nothing had been done or will be

4: Nino--401 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Girls' School of San Pascual Mission

4: Nino--410 M-3 (1883-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

168 791

The School of San Francisco Solano, Working in the Shade of the Hurdle or Shelter

/303 cont./

Neophytes

797
177

The infidels' children, or neophytes, grow up like their parents or even worse, being different from them in having a purely /304/ materialistic civilization; on the missionary's part special care is taken in their education; their parents hand them over, or, more accurately, the missionary takes them, from the age of seven, and they surrender them without the least resistance, but if they can hide them, they make no excuses and let them grow up in the forest (1).

1. Nobody should be surprised if they leave something to be desired and try to hide their children, because it should be taken into consideration that it was and is a pleasure for the infidel to see his son grow up to be like him.

797
871
177

When they have entered the school, the children learn from the first letters up to writing, if they can; the more intelligent even learn music, and the most able learn masonry, tailoring, carpentry, shoemaking, and tanning. The school is daily, morning and afternoon, and all of them attend from the age mentioned until they are grown up or married, which generally occurs at the age of 18 or 20. The children are absent from school only by permission, but there is never any lack of those who, when they can, mock the vigilance of the teacher, as even happens in the great centers.

The children have time to spare in which to learn reading, writing, and all that they ought to believe and practice in order to demonstrate their religious beliefs through good works. They are not ignorant of what our Holy Mother Church demands; they see the good examples of fervent Christians as well as the evils of others, and, since humanity is more inclined toward evil than toward good, the tender plants, not well grounded in the practices of Religion, can easily adhere to what is contrary to divine law

/304 cont./
797 and our Holy Mother Church (2).
871
177

2. The children know how to pray much better in the missions than in other centers, because in every mission there are two teaching establishments, one for boys and one for girls.

The youth grow up under the punctilious care of the missionary, who, by example and word, imbues their hearts with every goodness and love of holy and moral things, and moreover he makes them avoid, insofar as possible, all contact with the old people, managing it so that they see nothing, especially at night, not allowing them to sleep in their houses, except in case of illness and mourning, but it is not easy to avoid it altogether, because three times a day the children go down to the town to eat in their homes, and at fiesta time they are given a holiday, /305/ which they use in hunting birds or in bringing in firewood and foodstuffs (1).

1. The girls receive a more polished education under the uninterrupted vigilance and care of preceptoresses, who teach them, in addition to theoretical-practical religion, all the chores of their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; the vestments and chasubles for use in the solemnities are the work of these girls.

797 What is most ruinous to young neophytes are certain whites
177 of the neighboring cantons, whose profession it is to sell liquor
273 and coca, which they secretly bring into the missions at times of celebration, during which even those of the race enter into the same trade, because they have seen that it is a very lucrative business.

167 In addition many of them emigrate temporarily to the
593 establishments of the Argentine Republic, where, with the excuse
578 that they are going to earn a great deal with a little work, they lead too free a life, drink liquor like water, and become accustomed to drunkenness; then the first thing that they buy is an outsize

/308 cont./

167
464
511

of the Argentine Republic for eight or ten years; they drink it all up and when they want to come back they scarcely bring back more than a knife and a small black garment /ternito/, which costs little.

If one asks the reason for this procedure, so strange for them themselves, they answer that in their town they could never save up ten or 15 bolivianos, because they spend them immediately on trifles for themselves and their families, while in the Argentine Republic they keep their money in the master's house and, when they come back, buy clothing and even animals, tools, saddles, and other items. There is some truth in this, but just as it is not completely true that here their money does not last, neither is it completely true that they bring clothing and other things from Argentina. Those who are a little careful and who are not lazy dress very well here, while the vice-ridden in Argentina let themselves be overcome by laziness and return as naked as they were before; they arrive, spend or waste, if they have anything, and finally go off to live as they please (2).

101
167

2. The Chiriguano Indians call the gauchos, or natives of Argentina, criollos /Creoles/; they apply the same name to those of their own race who settle there for many years.

797
87
191
177

The method of instruction as it is applied yields prodigious results in the girls, who, in addition to learning their letters and worship, learn in the schools the tasks proper to their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; certain mission schools for girls, for example, the one at San Antonio del Parapiti and the one at San José de Tigüipa arouse real admiration in visitors, both because of /illustration appears here/ /309/ the handiwork which is done in them and, in the former, because of the Spanish language, which from first to last they all speak with considerable perfection, since from the beginning the language of their parents has been absolutely prohibited for them in the school, even among themselves.

/309 cont./

797 Should this method be followed, in a few years nobody would
87 know that the mission Chiriguano belong to the race, because
868 little by little the parents would teach their children the Spanish
191 language, as I have already seen them do in the San Pascual de
177 Boicovo Mission, and, if the morality still leaves something to be desired, later perhaps by means of preaching, the advice of the missionary, and the example of those who are good, all will be corrected. Semen est verbum Dei; it does not fall upon completely sterile ground (1).

797
177

1. The San Pascual de Boicovo Mission is so advanced in every respect that application has been made for it to be promoted to the rank of parish. In language, clothing, and behavior they differ little from the whites.

797 Almost from the beginning the schoolgirls were forbidden
291 the use of the tipoy, being forced to dress in the same way as
177 the women residents of the nearby towns; today they are very accustomed to the said clothing and do not change it for any reason in the world in the missions; only those girls who run away and even practically denounce their religion dress in the tipoy again, like the infidels, in order not to be recognized. By means of the teaching of the Catholic religion, the learning of the national language, and the change in clothing, the transformation is continually taking place, until little by little the distinction between the races will disappear, by means of the union of their tastes.

What the missionaries have done for the clothing of the girls, they are also doing for that of the boys, trying to make it decent. For both boys and girls, so long as they reside in the schools, the missionary of each mission provides their clothing, having it brought from some departmental capital and distributing it free of charge twice and even three times a year, or when he sees the needs of each student. In this way, after they are married, they themselves work in order to continue dressing in the same fashion or better than when they were in school, since some also wear socks /botines/ and shoes, and there are a number of women who

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
286
*171

Weaving-bodkins of bone are found among the Quichua. LEHMANN-NITSCHE depicts one from Puna de Jujuy[1]) and I found one in an excavation at Ollachea,[2]) Peru. COBO[3]) mentions their use by the Incas.

C
Ce
286
531
Ce
[177]

The large fabrics woven by the Chiriguano and Chané are not adorned with figures. On the other hand, it is not rare to see ribbons with woven human figures and other ornaments (fig. 57). The Chané on the Rio Parapiti are said to have learnt these ornaments from a Quichua woman who had immigrated to these parts. The Chiriguano girls are never seen to wear the ornaments they have learnt to embroider at the mission schools. These are flowers and the like, generally European ones, which interest the Indians very little, and are too strange for their fancy. This does not prevent the work they do at the mission schools being excellently done. At the mission schools the Indian girls also sew and crochet lace. But they never make these things once they have left school.

C
797
871
531
286
177

C
Ce.
286

Fig. 56. Weaving-implement of wood. A and B from the Chiriguano. C from the Chané.

A = R. M. E. 48. 1/4. B = R. M. E. 146. 1/4. C = R. M. P. 21. 1/4.

---

[1]) Pl. IV. C5.

[2]) (3) Pl. 3. Fig. 12.

[3]) »Van apretando y tupiendo la tela con un hueso puntiagudo y liso» .... COBO T. 4, p. 204. COBO gives a description of the Peruvian loom. P. 203.

/357 cont./

252 A rudimentary way of preparing corn, but also little valued, consists of boiling the kernels in water for a long time until they have become soft (atiruru) (3).

262
881
265
846

3. Atiruru is a dish whose consumption is intimately associated with the observance of magico-religious prohibitions. It is the only permissible nourishment for girls when they have their first menstrual periods, for people in mourning, and for women for a period of ten days after giving birth (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 14).

252 /358/ The Chiriguano make a broth with corn flour (api)
262 and meat, which is not bad.

They do not use haphazardly the 11 varieties of corn which they cultivate. Each, according to its properties, is intended for the preparation of a definite dish. Yellow corn (avati-hendi-vaé or avati-iyu-vaé) serves for making chicha or corn beer; white corn (avati-ndi) is roasted, as is avati-kanana. The corn called katiatli, or crinkled corn, is generally roasted, as are avati-tiore and avati-saimpini (gray corn), which are intended to be roasted and made into flour.

262 Avati-rai, or small corn, is planted only in times of scarcity when the harvest has been bad. Of small stature, it yields only one ear of reduced size, but has the advantage of growing fast (Nino, pp. 241-242).

A Chiriguano's meal in normal times is not made up exclusively of corn, even if this grain figures in all his menus. The popularity which corn has is also shared by beans, or kumanda. The Chiriguano cultivate 11 varieties of them also.

The Chiriguano eat beans either dry or fresh. In the
[252 latter case they are cooked in the pod in water or under ashes.
263] Beans boiled in the pod are seasoned with pimento. Then one has the dish called sopiriwa.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chaco SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guaraní*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1819 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

4: Nino--162 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/117 cont./

829 clothing in payment for the service. Let the reader imagine
797 how the poor father, who had nothing, felt when he heard
177 such a petition (1)!

1. Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Vices and Their Consequences

883 It seems to be and is an unfortunate truth that in this
842 tribe, once so numerous, there is no lack of coquettish girls, who, if they restrained themselves from flirting any more, would not be so bad. The unfortunate thing is that these poor girls, in order to enjoy mundane pleasures and drink to the depths the dregs of corruption, or also in order not to have the nuisance of nursing children and training
[756] them, have recourse to a very simple thing. They consult
[277] the old women who bear the name of sorcerers, and these
[883] show them the remedy, which consists of a drink that they extract from certain plants or herbs which almost all the Chiriguano women and Indian sorcerers know wonderfully well.

883 /118/ These unfortunate girls, usually orphans, once the
786 period of puberty is over, drink this venomous beverage,
[881] suffer a great deal, if indeed they do not die, and are
[842] sterilized, and they then give themselves up to orgies at the time of general drinking, which is the most terrible thing that you can imagine, because at them morality is offended by words and very licentious stories, by raucous laughter and giggling by men and women, by their glances, and finally by their acts, although these take place at a
797 suitable distance from the said gathering.

/216/

Chapter Nine

881

Children, Puberty, the Tembeta (1)

1. This will deal with the puberty of the girls and the imposition of the tembeta for boys, which is carried out a little before their puberty, so that when this does appear they will have the mark of manhood.

Introduction

797 533 [126] At the beginning of this chapter /see p. 294/ my readers will see a small band of young, luxuriously uniformed musicians with a Franciscan missionary at their side. These are the musicians of San Buenaventura de Ivu, whose photograph was taken on the pastoral visit made by the renowned and wise Delegate General M. R. P. Wolfgango Privaser, illustrious and glorious in the seraphic religion, on the 23rd day of September, 1908. His secretary, the intelligent Father Angel Domáica, was the one who was charged with taking this group and the others in the Potosí and Tarija missions.

[648] All the musicians are Chiriguano boys whose fathers were in the 1892 uprising in the fields of Curuyuqui, half a league away from what is today the mission building, which at that time did not exist. They are the sons of fathers who all wear the tembeta and of mothers who in their puberty underwent the strict tests which I shall relate in this chapter.

175 648 Their fathers declared war to the death, not on the Cross, but on the white, be he Christian or not, because he saw in him a tyrant and hangman, and he wished to cast off the yoke by destroying the one whom he considered its maker. But it is certain that the Indian in his hate and rancor, which he has consistently maintained /illustration appears here/ /217/ against the caray /white man/, did not know how to make a categorical distinction, because not all have bad hearts. If there are some bad ones, real executioners of humanity, there are also very good and compassionate ones, from whom they received and still receive favors.

/222 cont./

553
551
603

The Giving of the Name and Puberty

The giving of the name is done when the boy or little girl begins to understand and articulate words, so that by repetition it may be impressed on their memory and they may know what their name is. Generally, grandmothers in the case of girls and grandfathers in the case of boys have the privilege of giving the name, and they do this by noting some physical peculiarity of the little boys and girls, such as Tesapona, pretty eyes, Saanti, white eyes, Cuñanti, white woman. But sometimes no peculiarity is noted, and they baptize them with the name of parts of the body of animals, such as Yaguacupe, jaguar spine, Tatunai, armadillo tooth, Yaguaracu, jaguar fever. Generally, women's names end in Iru, that is, vessel or receptacle. Thus, for the Chiriguano a woman is something born and destined to serve him as he thinks best (2).

000

2. Only Catholicism, brought by the Redeemer and preached by the apostles, reinstates woman; where it has not penetrated, she remains a slave, as in Africa and in other places on the globe.

● 881

For children of both sexes a critical period approaches, the period of puberty, which in many is precocious and which normally occurs at the age of 11 or 12. The life or death of the Chiriguano, his future well-being or misfortunes, depend on this critical period. If all the prescriptions engraved on the minds of the family fathers are observed by those who reach that age, all the rest of their lives will be a delight, and, if not, every kind of calamity will overcome them.

When the maiden shows the first symptoms of puberty, Yimundía, her parents make her rest for a few days until what many out of modesty call sickness, Mbaerasi, goes away. Then she is put in a hammock or something similar, and, lying down on it like a body without a soul, she is

/223/

881 [785] raised to the ceiling. They leave her there for a period of four days in strict fasting and, of course, without her opening her mouth to speak to anybody, not even to ask for necessary things, because if she should talk or ask for anything, misfortune would appear at once.

At the end of this first test, which the maiden has scarcely felt, they lower her on the fifth day, wash her head with potash of Ñetira, and shave off the adolescent girl's hair. Meanwhile in a corner of the house far from the door, they have prepared a wall like a corner piece, made out of slender sticks a meter and 50 centimeters high more or less. [785] Wrapped in her tipoi or clean clothing, the unfortunate girl goes there, into her pen, and begins her strict fast, which they call Yicuacu, or hiding (1).

1. This rigorous way of life does not seem at all strange to the maidens, because before it comes their mothers have prepared them for it, and they believe in everything with blind faith.

The girl remains in her enclosure for a week without doing anything, with face to the wall in order not to see or talk to [262] anybody. Her usual fare is boiled maize, Atiruru. Sometimes she also eats meat if there is any, but in very small quantities. She neither tastes nor desires other foods. Were she to eat parched maize, she would not be good at feeding her children when she has them, because her breasts would be [271] dry all her life. Her usual beverage should be natural clear water. Were she to drink chicha, she would be barren, be- [273] cause it contains alcohol and acridness, which would stop the [842] effects of conception during her marriage.

881 When the week is over, the fasting continues, but less harshly; her parents have obtained cotton or wool, have 868 prepared the spindle and wheel, with the little potsherd in 867 which they put a few ashes or sand so that the spindle will 283 turn more easily. The mother hands over all this to her daughter, who begins to work and learns that she has been born for work.

/223 cont./

881 868 867 283 The young girl receives her mother's injunctions without uttering a word, without making any comment, respects the advice and admonishments in the same silence and more than that of a mute, because she hears and keeps quiet without making any movement at all, without raising her eyes or moving her head. She begins her work as soon as her mother withdraws; she combs the wool or cotton with her fingers, cleans it of /224/ whatever dirt it may contain, and begins to spin, a duty learned from early childhood (1).

[785]

1. The maiden who fasts can only work in the place where she is enclosed; therefore she cannot help her mother even to clean the house.

881 868 867 286 When her mother sees that she has enough to make some small article, she directs the weaving, and the first thing that is made is the Hapicuana for her father and then another for her mother, with which they are very happy, and even their friends congratulate them on the work of the daughter, for whom they, of course, profess sympathy and respect as a sacred person, because she is in the period of fasting or hiding, since both things are done when these maidens reach puberty (2).

2. The same word, Yicuacu, is used for the fasts ordered by the Church for neophytes. There is no other word in the language.

881 885 During the first month or first moon, Yasi, the seclusion or hiding is the most rigorous, because the symptoms of puberty should manifest themselves two times in order that they may be considered true ones, that is to say, the Chiriguano do not believe that a woman is ready for marriage until after it has been ascertained that her menstruation is regular. This, which for women is their relief and their health, is called Hugũi in adults, but for pubescent girls the first as well as the second is called, as I have already said, Yimundía.

/224 cont./

881 After this neither the fasting nor the hiding or seclusion
885 are so rigorous, and occasionally the maiden, who is now a woman, comes out of her pen into public life, returns to domestic chores, and begins to attend the drinking sessions in order to be seen and to catch the attention of the young men. An occasional one will do this, but the majority, taking their parents' advice, persist and continue fasting until their hair grows out again, even to the shoulders, and others persist for a year without coming out into the light, with the result that many of them become quite pale like alabaster, and, like people with light-blue eyes, when they come out into the light they see very little. But with the whiteness of their skin, their smooth and shiny hair, and their blue eyes, with their ornaments of necklaces and bracelets, and the achiote cosmetics which they charmingly have had put on their cheeks and brows by their older companions, they inspire the admiration of all the people who have congregated (3). /Illustration appears here./

3. The reader will easily understand that to come out of seclusion is like a wife who comes out of her house to move into that of her husband; for this reason one comes out highly adorned.

881 /225/ During the fasting and seclusion, the maiden does
867 not go out by day; her going out is done at night, not for diversion, but only for what is absolutely necessary, and this is generally done very early, before daybreak, so that she may get used to not being lazy, so that she may know that she ought to be very diligent, to avoid being deceived by sleep, because the one who is to be her companion for life is accustomed to eating early, before going to the field or the forest. For this reason a woman must be an early riser in order to prepare what is necessary for herself, for her husband, and for her children, who also ask for food soon after awakening.

[text continues on p. 306]

/225 cont./

881 867 593 When she goes out at night, her mother accompanies her, but before this is done she receives a thousand pieces of advice and admonishment to walk slowly and very carefully, not to step on things that might injure her, such as excrement and other things that her enemies or evil spirits have scattered around the house, especially by the door and along the path which she must follow. The maiden listens and keeps quiet, absorbs everything, and does everything as well as or better than a Carthusian novice, because her mother has already filled her head with so many superstitions and has frightened her with too many dangers.

The father rarely concerns himself with his daughter during the fasting period; he only sees to it that she does not lack food and work. He rarely talks to her, but he loves her like his own eyes and soul. [574] Other persons cannot address her, nor do her parents permit many and prolonged visits during that period; in addition everyone also knows that that house is now sacred and abstains as much as possible from frequenting it (1).

1. When an attempt was made to reorganize the S. Antonio Mission of Parapiti, the daughter of a prestigious Indian was keeping a strict fast. It was said of her that she could die, it was so strict. Hardly anyone could see her, and the poor girl in fact did die a short time later.

885 195 When the seclusion period decided on by her parents ends, the girl puts away her clothing of what we might call penitence, washes her face, combs her hair, now grown out, adorns her cheeks with the help of her friends, adorns her neck and throat with necklaces of beads, reales, or medios of silver, puts bracelets on her wrists, rings on her fingers, puts on her tipoi of drill or chintz, in various colors, and goes out in public in order that thus decked out she will arouse admiration and some young man may fall in love with her and ask for her to be his wife when it seems appropriate to him, because now she is no longer a child, but a woman who can carry out

/225 cont./

885 195 her duties /226/ serve her companion in whatever he may wish, and henceforth in her answers she ceases to use the ú ú which children use and adopts the é é suitable for women.

885 571 The young woman, in spite of being scarcely 13 years old when she comes out into public life, and despite a slight embarrassment which she feels when first presented to society as a woman ready and suitable for marriage, little by little begins to lose this misgiving, very natural in girls, and acquires frankness in answering quite clearly persons who may question her, whoever it may be, always staying within the limits of morality. What is immoral will cause astonishment in her and perhaps embarrassment at the beginning, but she soon becomes accustomed to it, because she hears it in the house, she hears it at the drinking bouts, during the gatherings and parties. From hearing a lot of this, it begins to cause pleasure in her, which brings on a continual and loud laughter, since day or night the women laugh long and loud. This is usually a sure sign that in a gathering or party there is some gallant present who is giving free rein to his tongue (1).

1. Missionaries who know the language of the Indians and who find themselves at the beginning in a new mission may be astonished by the frankness with which boys and girls of 12 or 13 years answer them.

[827] The men state that their wives are better at enduring hunger and thirst. They attribute this to the strict fasting which they undergo at puberty, but the women say that the neophytes are stronger than they, because they go out sooner after giving birth.

●881 178 In none of the missions do the maidens follow the custom of their mothers at the time of puberty. When the first signs appear, the only thing conceded to them is some three days leave for rest, and so that her mother may tell her, as should be done in analogous circumstances, to hide what must be hidden. When this short leave ends, they return to school as before, and continue their work without any inconvenience (2).

2. Many of these maidens, out of modesty,

/226 cont./

881 178 do not advise anyone of their puberty, even their mothers, and the consequences are sad in no few cases. They do not tell anyone because the older girls make fun of them.

163 582 A single thing is noted in the missions, and it is that the neophytes, when they get to the age of about 35, stop having children. Perhaps this is because they marry very young, at about 16 to 20 at the latest. If it is true that the Chiriguano 581 women of old were ready for marriage /227/ as soon as they came out of their hiding or fasting, the union which they contracted was certainly neither continuous nor for life with the same person. One or two months with one, then a rest until giving birth, afterwards again joining the same man, or perhaps she would seek out another if the first had become bored 790 with her or she with him. But this does not happen in the 581 missions; those who contract marriage do it for life, because it is a Catholic union and, as such, indissoluble, just as the natural marriage of the infidels would be, but the Chiriguano does not understand this, since in principle he wishes to be a hummingbird, coming to rest on many flowers and not stopping at any of them until he reaches a certain age.

881 785 184 In the districts where the fasting lasted for a year, such as in Cuevo, before the town of San Juan Bautista and the Santa Rosa Mission were founded, after the first rigorous month the maidens were made to eat meat and beans also, and they were even allowed to drink a little mild chicha, so that they would not become too weak or die. If the chicha had turned sour, it would be prejudicial for later married life, producing the effects of which I have already spoken.

881 178 177 Finally, to conclude such a delicate subject, let it be noted that at the present time the custom of such a rigorous fast for the female sex is observed in very few places; today the region is inhabited by the white race, which is making them understand that all this is superstition, because of the example of their daughters, who, in spite of the fact that they have done nothing of what has been said, live in perfect

/227 cont./
881 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently,
178 and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection
177 of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where
226 there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the
462 little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Parirenta.

881 /228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and
[195] not a boy, the time to give up the ú ú of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man
[304] ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother,
[301] and other relatives make him understand that for this it is
[885] necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip,
[554] Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

[192] 1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ita, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

/229 cont./

881 304 [821] For the piercing of the lip, a full moon is necessary, so that the open wound will not have bad results, will gradually get larger, and will not form a swelling. The boys who are ready for the tembeta must not be younger than seven years of age or older than 12. In the first case they would not be able to stand the pain, and in the second the piercing would be difficult because the lip would have hardened.

Thus, when the moon is at its maximum and the boy is of the proper age, he little by little becomes prepared for the operation. The mother and father prepare him with loving words, stimulating his vanity so that he may afterward be esteemed and loved by the girls. Then they make him understand the need for piercing his lip, so that everyone will know that he belongs to the noble Chiriguano race and is worthy of being a member of it; finally, they make him understand that only when he has the tembeta will the grandees of the nation respect him and treat him kindly (1).

[186] [885]

[869] [171]

1. Christian mothers, to encourage their sons to endure suffering and even martyrdom itself, show them Heaven, an invisible dwelling place. The savage infidels encourage their children with earthly promises, such as the love of women; qui de terra est; de terra loquitur; this is the effect of ignorance.

The boy hears the nice things that his parents say to him as a deaf man hears music. What he considers more and what occupies all his concern is the pain that the opening of his lip is going to cause him. Nevertheless, he cannot hide or run away; he must submit to the operation in spite of his fear of it. In fact, before the full moon the father goes with his son to the house of the surgeon and tells him the reason for his visit, asking him to make his boy into a man. The surgeon-doctor makes an appointment for the next day or another one, and in the meantime he looks for a second boy to undergo the

304 881 759

/229 cont./

304 759 881 same operation, because he never takes one alone. There must always be two, four, six, eight, or ten (2).

2. In a town of 30 or 40 families there was usually never any lack of boys of the same age. The number of the boys to be pierced should never be an odd number; superstition and nothing else.

[801]

304 881 The boys appear for the operation on the designated day, led by their fathers and mothers. Meanwhile, other curious [785] persons gather there, men, women, boys, and girls, to see [114] and /230/ attend this solemn act, which, as I have learned, is not preceded by any day of fasting; thus what certain writers have said in this regard is wrong, as is the rest that refers to the person who does the operation, for whom the qualification of being an Ipaye, sorcerer, is not required for the imposition of the tembeta.

Before beginning the operation the surgeon authoritatively addresses those who are to be men, telling them to be valiant and strong in their pain, without letting their moans be heard or crying, because these are not the signs of a brave man, of a man who wears the tembeta, which is the sign of virility, of a man who must be able to face the dangers of war. Finally, [195] he orders them that it is time to give up the ú, ú in their answers, and in its place he orders them to replace it with Ta.

When this brief and eloquent discourse is over, the first boy stretches out on the ground or on a cot, and in order to give himself courage he says in a vibrant voice, Che rani tayicutuca, may I be the first to be pierced, words which are greeted by the gathering with jubilation and at the same time with wonder, since they already know the pain that he is going to suffer (1).

[195] [193] 1. The Chiriguano Indian also uses the imperative to order himself, that is to say, his verbs still have the first person of the imperative mood, which indicates considerable arrogance.

/230 cont./

304 Then the one doing the operation looks among his imple-
881 ments for the string with which he takes the exact measure-
[804] ments so that the hole will be in the middle and above the
304 chin. Then he prepares the Guasupirasa, which literally means;
413 piercer of the cured skin of pygmy deer. Certain writers have
881 believed that the guasupirasa is a pygmy-deer horn on the
[114] basis of the name guasu, with which the name of the article begins, but it is a mistake. The guasupirasa is a round piece of iron of the size of a costaleta needle, which they call Yargüi in Quichua /Quechua/ (2).

> 2. If it were a slender deer-horn, it would be liable to break, and if it were slightly sharpened the hole would be very large and it would be difficult to hold the first tembeta, which should be small. There would be many other problems, which are avoided with the slender and strong iron.

304 As I have said, he takes the appropriate measurements
881 with a string; he puts his hand on his guasupirasa, and upon seeing this the mother is frightened and weeps in silence, and the other people shrink back. Finally, utilizing the services of another practitioner, he has him press very strongly with the index fingers of both hands at the edges of the temples, at the point where the ears are attached, and when he is sure /231/ that the boy keenly feels the pain that the assistant's fingers cause in his ears he quickly and deftly inserts the well-sharpened iron, and the hole is made with considerable skill, the Guasupirasa passing up to the tip of the nose.

He at once puts a hollow little tube of tin on the iron and lowers it little by little in order to pull it out of the pierced lip, where instead there remains in place the little tube, which sticks out a little on both sides of the lip. In
[301] Chiriguano this tube is called Tembetandi, or white tembeta.

/231 cont./

881 304 [828] In general, with the method of pressing strongly on the patient's temples, the one performing the operation manages it so that the patient feels little or nothing of the pain of the piercing, according to what they say, and it is probable, because one sharp pain diminishes or makes another one feel less strong. But it is also certain that the boy, seeing himself before so many spectators and girls, makes every effort not to cry out or weep, because the Indians do not deny that many somewhat cowardly ones do shout and even cry a little (1).

1. Some boys, very fearful, when their fathers begin to talk to them about the tembeta and the need to have the hole made, run off to another tribe in the presence of their relatives, but the latter persuade them, and they return to their town.

I have asked more than one Indian and all agree in asserting that not a drop of blood comes from the hole. The day on [785] which the imposition of the tembeta is done is a day of strict [784] fasting, and they do not even let them drink a little chicha; other foods cannot be chewed by them for several days either. On some, somewhat careless ones, there is a swelling, and on others not. The swelling of the lip is avoided, according to [757] them, by heating the leaves of the bush Urucuna in the flame [824] or embers of the fire and applying them continually around the 881 hole. The cicatrization of the lip may take a month, during which time the little Chiriguano stays at home, letting himself be seen in the streets and in the plaza once in a while (2).

[759] 2. For a Chiriguano it is a great honor to put the tembeta in place on the boys, so that he asks nothing for this honorable operation; but the boy's parents make some small gift, which he receives with satisfaction.

/231 cont./

304 Meanwhile the one who performed the operation now gives
● 881 final admonishments to the boy, and he, following all of
[824] these instructions and those of his father, keeps the little tube in continual motion so that it will not stick to the flesh, and on the days that follow he begins to put around it little twigs /232/ from the bush called Yacurimbíu, food of the turkeys. When it has healed, he will cut a larger stick from the same bush and put it in alone, removing the tembetandi, and continue enlarging the hole this way little by little until he can put in a tembeta of hollow cane, which also goes on taking on larger dimensions until it seems big enough. Then he buys a de luxe tembeta and he puts it in, never to remove it again, either day or night, since it would be a great embarrassment for a Chiriguano to appear in public without his tembeta (1).

1. If the Chiriguano were to be without his tembeta while asleep, saliva would run out, because the hole is rather large in most of them.

301 The hollow-cane tembetas are made by every Chiriguano, while those of wood and tin are made by craftsmen. In spite
[326] of there not being any blacksmiths or tinsmiths among them
[439] and as neither tin or lead nor anything similar is available,
[177] the result is that the material for making them is brought from other parts, being bought from the whites, with whom they have maintained relations since the beginning of Tarija, out of which region the Chiriguano were expelled.

The Tembeta in Other Tribes

301
171 The use of the tembeta may be another argument for the unity of the human race; indubitably the Chiriguano use it as a tradition passed on from father to son, and thus successively up to our times. The tembeta is found in use by savage tribes almost throughout the world; in Africa the Noers /Nuer/ and

/210 cont./

When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short, and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again. Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize and meal. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."

In a Chané village, Aguarâti, I saw a girl who was sitting in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet, which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and closet had disappeared.

P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has bitten the girl.

When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is marriageable.

/211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this. A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.

For one day the father may not consume anything, so that the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians do not like prattlers.

When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig. 79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta.

1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

seen any Chiriguano using this typical ancient Andean garment. Ponchos of the cloak type, and robes of the kind used by the Chaco Indians, on the other hand, I have seen worn by the Chiriguano men, who put them on against cold and wet. Formerly the Chiriguano men dressed in the »chiripa», which was a rectangular skirt that was fastened in front to a cord tied round the waist, then passed between the legs, and fixed to the cord above the buttocks. One may still see, here and there, some small boy wearing nothing but this primitive garment. On their heads the men often wear a broad, red, turbanlike frontlet (fig. 194), and, when setting out on long marches, they put on their feet sandals, the straps of which bear distinct resemblance to straps on sandals that have been found in ancient graves on Puna de Jujuy.[1]

Fig. 195. Chiriguano boy with long, flowing hair. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

The women also possess sandals, but, like the men, generally walk about barefooted. The women's clothing consists of a loose-fitting, tubular garment made of woollen, or cotton, stuff. It is called »tipoy». The upper part of it is pinned together over the shoulders by means of cactus spines or metal pins, in the manner seen in fig. 190, which leaves the arms free, or the garment may be fastened under the armpits in the way the girl in fig. 194 is wearing it.

Nowadays the men mostly wear their hair bobbed, and with a frontal fringe (fig. 194), but I have seen boys, not fully grown, with long hair, hanging loose down (fig. 195). In former days all the men had long hair, which they gathered on the top of the head, where it was secured with a frontlet, a custom not yet quite discarded in some out-of-the-way parts of the country. The women let their hair grow long, give it a centre parting on the top of the head (fig. 190), plait it into tresses and tie it up, or allow it to hang loose. One may sometimes see girls with short hair (fig. 194), but in such cases the hair has been cut short as a sign that its owner has entered upon her first menstruation. On the death of a near relative it is also the custom of the women to cut off their hair.

Fig. 196. Wooden comb. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 829.

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), fig. 23; von Rosen (1), fig. 84.

1 [footnote 1 appears on p. 200 - - An.]

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

534 171 174 114

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

361 622

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

582 595 881 [304] [301] 585 574 844 846

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

8: Schmidt--65 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/25 cont./

C
Ce
302

Cutting and Combing the Hair, and Head Adornment

The women wear their hair plaited into long or medium long braids hanging down to their shoulders (113). As can be

113. See Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Plates XI and XII.

seen in Figures 4, 5, and 12 and in the photographs of Chiriguano women published by Lehmann-Nitsche, the hair of the women and girls is always parted over the forehead. The girls always have such a part from childhood. (See Fig. 8 /see p. 28/.) At the time of the first menstruation, the girls' hair is cut short (114), and the women also cut their hair in the

C
Cs
[881]
[965]

114. Nord. 1, p. 210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 201.

event of the death of the husband or one of their close relatives; sometimes they cut it twice when the husband dies (115).

115. Nord. 1, p. 220.

C
Ce
301
126

At the nape of the neck, and sometimes also at the top of the head, the hair is tied together with cotton bands. The collection which I brought to the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay contains 29 of these bands used by Izozó women, all of which have the same typical form.

Ce
301

Bands for Women's Hair, from the Collection

(I. A. 624-652.) (Izozó.) (I. A. 646 and 641 shown in Fig. 32a and b.)

The length of these bands for the hair, on the average, is 1.04 cm. /sic/. The longest band measures 1.45 meters, and the shortest, 0.65 meters. The average length of the tassels is 14.3 cm. The longest tassel measures 17.5 cm.; the shortest, 9 cm.

/87 cont./

C 881 [302] The girl is nubile when, after the first menstruation, she has undergone a certain ceremony, which lasts until her hair, cut short, has grown out again to medium length. This ceremony of the girls, which is called "yimundia," consists of her being put in a kind of separate room inside the house. Until the following menstruation, she must stay on a diet and she must not eat anything but cooked maize and meal (339). Only in the

C [262]

339. Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

company of her mother may she temporarily leave the separate room to bathe and to take care of her other needs (340).

340. Nord. 1, p. 210.

C 881 304 We also learn from Nordenskiöld that the Chané boys from 10 to 12 years of age must also undergo certain ceremonies, which consist in having a man who is particularly expert in such matters pierce the lower lip (341) and put a small stick through the hole,

C [413] [237]

341. According to Métraux I, pp. 346 and 347 and Fig. 12, the Chiriguano formerly used for that purpose punches made of horn.

and his grandfather puts deep wounds in his body so that he may be valiant in battle and in hunting and takes him out in the morning, when it is cold, to bathe (342).

342. Nord. 1, p. 211.

C Ce 887 848 Chiriguano and Chané girls are watched over by their mothers /88/ until their marriage (343), and illegitimate children are

343. Nord. 1, p. 179.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SX6 Choroti SX6
Chiriguano 5F10

Ci 304 785 761

almost with pride. *Evidently it is thought that the very scars afterwards act as a sort of charm against the spirits.*[1]

If scars left by wounds are considered to possess desirable, magical properties, it would easily be supposed that perforations that have been kept open must possess the same properties in a greatly enhanced degree. Among the Chiriguano, neighbours of the Choroti, the actual piercing of the lower lip constituted the most important of the ceremonial acts performed on the boys on their having attained puberty, and among the Chané — whose culture is akin to that of the Chiriguano — not only was the lower lip pierced on this occasion, but the boys were also given other wounds on the body.[2]

Co 881 304 171

Ci 304 789

From what I have adduced above, it will therefore be seen that, according to the belief of the Indians, *the making of punctures or perforations on the body, has in itself magic effects, and, consequently, that these magic effects are not believed to arise with the fixing of some ornamental object of magical character — e. g., a tembeta, or an ear disc — into the perforation.*

Ci 304 789 562

This being so, here, in my opinion, lies the explanation of the fact that Choroti girls sometimes have pierced ear-lobes, although it has never *with certainty* been shown that they ever wear ear discs. On the other hand, from reasons I shall present below, *it is probable* that old Choroti women, with distended ear-lobes, *exceptionally* do wear ear discs.

I myself, as well as other investigators of the Chaco peoples, have seen elderly women among the Choroti with holes in their ears so large that one was forced to suppose that the lobes had been stretched in some way or other. Such stretching, however, may not *necessarily* be due to the wearing of ear blocks, but *may* have been produced by manual manipulation. That, by such means, perfectly monstrous distension of the soft parts of the body can very well be brought about, is proved by, among other things, the practice of the Hottentot women of lengthening out — merely by frequent pulling — the labia minora into an enormous size.[3] A similar stretching of the hole in the ear-lobe might, from the Indians' point of view, have for its object the increasing, proportionately to its size, the magic properties of the hole. Among the Incas, the size

[1] Karsten (4), p. 135. Italics by von Rosen.
[2] Karsten (4), p. 200.
[3] von Luschan (1), p. 398.

/219 cont./

868 to his mother with satisfaction and then tells his companions about it.

/220/ There are also men who teach boys the way to be quick in fights and even the way to dodge enemy arrows, as well as bullets. The man who teaches this is called Puruncanise, or man who scratches. He is the terror of the boys in the town where he lives. The method he uses is to run after the boys, and woe to the one who out of weakness or carelessness lets himself be caught! In the hands of the puruncanise he suffers the martyrdom of being scratched all over his body with long fingernails, which he lets grow on purpose, in addition to the blame he gets for letting himself be caught by an old man. In a second race it is not likely that the boy being taught will let himself be caught (1).

868 554 463

868 856 237

1. Those who are older have the calf of the leg scratched with the tooth of the Acuti /agouti/ by another of the art. A lot of blood comes out of this, and upon recovering, they say that they are very good at running and can resist fatigue much more than those who did not allow themselves to be scratched.

882 When all the boys of the tribe have received practical lessons from such a neighbor, they indeed may be ready for war, because skill consists in knowing how to shoot in order to injure and also how to dodge the enemy arrow. The Indians who know such strategy are called Queremba by their companions.

[554]

721 726 797 In the last war of Curuyuqui, the Indians attacked the Santa Rosa Mission while Colonel don Tomás Frías was there. He chose as a target an Indian Queremba who seemed to be the chief of the company and lost some eight or ten bullets without having the pleasure of felling him. Almost all the Indians learn this way of fighting; hence their combats do not last long. That of Curuyuqui lasted eight hours because they were sheltered in trenches.

/87 cont./

C 881 [302] The girl is nubile when, after the first menstruation, she has undergone a certain ceremony, which lasts until her hair, cut short, has grown out again to medium length. This ceremony of the girls, which is called "yimundia," consists of her being put in a kind of separate room inside the house. Until the following menstruation, she must stay on a diet and she must not eat anything but cooked maize and meal (339). Only in the

C [262]

339. Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

company of her mother may she temporarily leave the separate room to bathe and to take care of her other needs (340).

340. Nord. 1, p. 210.

C 881 304 We also learn from Nordenskiöld that the Chané boys from 10 to 12 years of age must also undergo certain ceremonies, which consist in having a man who is particularly expert in such matters pierce the lower lip (341) and put a small stick through the hole,

C [413] [237]

341. According to Métraux I, pp. 346 and 347 and Fig. 12, the Chiriguano formerly used for that purpose punches made of horn.

and his grandfather puts deep wounds in his body so that he may be valiant in battle and in hunting and takes him out in the morning, when it is cold, to bathe (342).

342. Nord. 1, p. 211.

C Ce 882 848 Chiriguano and Chané girls are watched over by their mothers /88/ until their marriage (343), and illegitimate children are

343. Nord. 1, p. 179.

C
Ce
882
848

/88 cont./
rarely born (344). Marriages are made among the Chané by a

Ce
583
584

344. Nord. 1, p. 207.

method whereby the young man who wishes to marry sends several pieces of game to the girl's parents. He puts firewood in front of her house, and, if it is used, this signifies consent. But only after having worked for one year for his future mother-in-law can he marry the girl. The night before the wedding, which is celebrated by drinking a good amount of chicha, the young man sleeps with the girl (345).

Ce
585

345. Nord. 1, pp. 211 and 212.

C
Ce
595
643
622

While young men have but one wife, older men, and particularly caciques, often have several wives. Thus the substitute great cacique on the Itiyuru had four wives, who lived in different towns, and the cacique Maringay had two wives, who lived together (346). Marriage between brother and sister is prohibited,

C
Ce
582

346. Nord. 1, pp. 212 and 213.

while cousins may marry (347).

347. Nord. 1, p. 212.

Ce
843
Ce
[461]

Certain foods are forbidden to the pregnant woman. Thus, among the Chané on the Itiyuru a pregnant woman cannot eat doves. But they do their work until they give birth (348). After

Ce
846

348. Nord. 1, p. 206.

a child has been born, the man must go through the "couvade," which means that he must remain lying down for several days and must stay on a certain diet. Among the Chané on the Parapití [illegible] for the first few days he may eat only cooked maize and maize soup,

/117 cont./

829 clothing in payment for the service. Let the reader imagine
797 how the poor father, who had nothing, felt when he heard
177 such a petition (1)!

1. Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Vices and Their Consequences

883 It seems to be and is an unfortunate truth that in this
842 tribe, once so numerous, there is no lack of coquettish girls, who, if they restrained themselves from flirting any more, would not be so bad. The unfortunate thing is that these poor girls, in order to enjoy mundane pleasures and drink to the depths the dregs of corruption, or also in order not to have the nuisance of nursing children and training
[756] them, have recourse to a very simple thing. They consult
[278] the old women who bear the name of sorcerers, and these
[885] show them the remedy, which consists of a drink that they extract from certain plants or herbs which almost all the Chiriguano women and Indian sorcerers know wonderfully well.

883 /118/ These unfortunate girls, usually orphans, once the
786 period of puberty is over, drink this venomous beverage,
[881] suffer a great deal, if indeed they do not die, and are
[842] sterilized, and they then give themselves up to orgies at the time of general drinking, which is the most terrible thing that you can imagine, because at them morality is offended by words and very licentious stories, by raucous laughter and giggling by men and women, by their glances, and finally by their acts, although these take place at a
797 suitable distance from the said gathering.

/118 cont./

797 These facts cannot be denied, because they are based
[786] on the experience of centuries. Unfortunately, they do
[883] occur, and it is very difficult to uproot them. There is no lack of repentance or lack of punishment, admonitions, and fears, but civilizing action is not enough for this, nor even often the Gospel, because: animalis homo non percipit quae Dei sunt. We can say that the action of the missionary is one of yesterday among the Chiriguano. The Christians or neophytes have changed much in relation to the infidels throughout the region, but a great deal more is still lacking for them to come to understand the strength of Religion and civilization, since, naturally, abandoned humanity gives free rein to passions and it is indeed difficult to contain it afterwards in a short time (1).

1. The infidels of the missions complain about the neophytes, but they do not understand that times have changed, and the race as well. Murders are committed in other places, but this does not happen in the missions.

[674]

847 Sister to the sterility which the coquettish girls manage to procure is abortion. There is no woman who does not know the thousand ways for procuring this, always provided that they have not obtained or resorted to remedies for
847 sterilizing themselves at puberty. In general it is those girls
586 who have been betrayed by their lovers or abandoned by
836 those who have sworn fidelity to them throughout their
848 lives who come to this excess of killing innocent babies. For this reason they not only hate the perpetrator, but also his fruit in their bellies, and thus they make an effort to get rid of the innocent one by plucking it dead from their breast.

/223 cont./

881 868 867 283 The young girl receives her mother's injunctions without uttering a word, without making any comment, respects the advice and admonishments in the same silence and more than that of a mute, because she hears and keeps quiet without making any movement at all, without raising her eyes or moving her head. She begins her work as soon as her mother withdraws; she combs the wool or cotton with her fingers, cleans it of /224/ whatever dirt it may contain, and begins to spin, a duty learned from early childhood (1).

[785]

1. The maiden who fasts can only work in the place where she is enclosed; therefore she cannot help her mother even to clean the house.

881 868 867 286 When her mother sees that she has enough to make some small article, she directs the weaving, and the first thing that is made is the Hapicuana for her father and then another for her mother, with which they are very happy, and even their friends congratulate them on the work of the daughter, for whom they, of course, profess sympathy and respect as a sacred person, because she is in the period of fasting or hiding, since both things are done when these maidens reach puberty (2).

2. The same word, Yicuacu, is used for the fasts ordered by the Church for neophytes. There is no other word in the language.

881 885 During the first month or first moon, Yasi, the seclusion or hiding is the most rigorous, because the symptoms of puberty should manifest themselves two times in order that they may be considered true ones, that is to say, the Chiriguano do not believe that a woman is ready for marriage until after it has been ascertained that her menstruation is regular. This, which for women is their relief and their health, is called Hugüi in adults, but for pubescent girls the first as well as the second is called, as I have already said, Yimundía.

/224 cont./

881 After this neither the fasting nor the hiding or seclusion
● 885 are so rigorous, and occasionally the maiden, who is now a woman, comes out of her pen into public life, returns to domestic chores, and begins to attend the drinking sessions in order to be seen and to catch the attention of the young men. An occasional one will do this, but the majority, taking their parents' advice, persist and continue fasting until their hair grows out again, even to the shoulders, and others persist for a year without coming out into the light, with the result that many of them become quite pale like alabaster, and, like people with light-blue eyes, when they come out into the light they see very little. But with the whiteness of their skin, their smooth and shiny hair, and their blue eyes, with their ornaments of necklaces and bracelets, and the achiote cosmetics which they charmingly have had put on their cheeks and brows by their older companions, they inspire the admiration of all the people who have congregated (3). /Illustration appears here./

> 3. The reader will easily understand that to come out of seclusion is like a wife who comes out of her house to move into that of her husband; for this reason one comes out highly adorned.

881 /225/ During the fasting and seclusion, the maiden does
867 not go out by day; her going out is done at night, not for diversion, but only for what is absolutely necessary, and this is generally done very early, before daybreak, so that she may get used to not being lazy, so that she may know that she ought to be very diligent, to avoid being deceived by sleep, because the one who is to be her companion for life is accustomed to eating early, before going to the field or the forest. For this reason a woman must be an early riser in order to prepare what is necessary for herself, for her husband, and for her children, who also ask for food soon after awakening.

[text continues on p. 306]

/225 cont./

881 When she goes out at night, her mother accompanies her,
867 but before this is done she receives a thousand pieces of ad-
593 vice and admonishment to walk slowly and very carefully, not to step on things that might injure her, such as excrement and other things that her enemies or evil spirits have scattered around the house, especially by the door and along the path which she must follow. The maiden listens and keeps quiet, absorbs everything, and does everything as well as or better than a Carthusian novice, because her mother has already filled her head with so many superstitions and has frightened her with too many dangers.

The father rarely concerns himself with his daughter during the fasting period; he only sees to it that she does not lack food and work. He rarely talks to her, but he loves her like
[574] his own eyes and soul. Other persons cannot address her, nor do her parents permit many and prolonged visits during that period; in addition everyone also knows that that house is now sacred and abstains as much as possible from frequenting it (1).

1. When an attempt was made to reorganize the S. Antonio Mission of Parapiti, the daughter of a prestigious Indian was keeping a strict fast. It was said of her that she could die, it was so strict. Hardly anyone could see her, and the poor girl in fact did die a short time later.

●885 When the seclusion period decided on by her parents ends,
195 the girl puts away her clothing of what we might call penitence, washes her face, combs her hair, now grown out, adorns her cheeks with the help of her friends, adorns her neck and throat with necklaces of beads, reales, or medios of silver, puts bracelets on her wrists, rings on her fingers, puts on her tipoi of drill or chintz, in various colors, and goes out in public in order that thus decked out she will arouse admiration and some young man may fall in love with her and ask for her to be his wife when it seems appropriate to him, because now she is no longer a child, but a woman who can carry out

/225 cont./

885 195 her duties /226/ serve her companion in whatever he may wish, and henceforth in her answers she ceases to use the ú ú which children use and adopts the é é suitable for women.

885 571 The young woman, in spite of being scarcely 13 years old when she comes out into public life, and despite a slight embarrassment which she feels when first presented to society as a woman ready and suitable for marriage, little by little begins to lose this misgiving, very natural in girls, and acquires frankness in answering quite clearly persons who may question her, whoever it may be, always staying within the limits of morality. What is immoral will cause astonishment in her and perhaps embarrassment at the beginning, but she soon becomes accustomed to it, because she hears it in the house, she hears it at the drinking bouts, during the gatherings and parties. From hearing a lot of this, it begins to cause pleasure in her, which brings on a continual and loud laughter, since day or night the women laugh long and loud. This is usually a sure sign that in a gathering or party there is some gallant present who is giving free rein to his tongue (1).

1. Missionaries who know the language of the Indians and who find themselves at the beginning in a new mission may be astonished by the frankness with which boys and girls of 12 or 13 years answer them.

[827] The men state that their wives are better at enduring hunger and thirst. They attribute this to the strict fasting which they undergo at puberty, but the women say that the neophytes are stronger than they, because they go out sooner after giving birth.

881 178 In none of the missions do the maidens follow the custom of their mothers at the time of puberty. When the first signs appear, the only thing conceded to them is some three days leave for rest, and so that her mother may tell her, as should be done in analogous circumstances, to hide what must be hidden. When this short leave ends, they return to school as before, and continue their work without any inconvenience (2).

2. Many of these maidens, out of modesty,

/227 cont./

881 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently,
178 and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection
177 of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where
226 there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the
462 little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Parirenta.

881 /228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and
[195] not a boy, the time to give up the ú ú of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man
[304] ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother,
[301] and other relatives make him understand that for this it is necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of
[885] the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip,
[554] Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

[192] 1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ita, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

/229 cont./

881 For the piercing of the lip, a full moon is necessary, so
304 that the open wound will not have bad results, will gradually
[821] get larger, and will not form a swelling. The boys who are ready for the tembeta must not be younger than seven years of age or older than 12. In the first case they would not be able to stand the pain, and in the second the piercing would be difficult because the lip would have hardened.

Thus, when the moon is at its maximum and the boy is of the proper age, he little by little becomes prepared for the operation. The mother and father prepare him with loving words, stimulating his vanity so that he may afterward be esteemed and loved by the girls. Then they make him understand the need for piercing his lip, so that everyone will know
[186] that he belongs to the noble Chiriguano race and is worthy of
[885] being a member of it; finally, they make him understand that only when he has the tembeta will the grandees of the nation respect him and treat him kindly (1).

[869]
[171]

1. Christian mothers, to encourage their sons to endure suffering and even martyrdom itself, show them Heaven, an invisible dwelling place. The savage infidels encourage their children with earthly promises, such as the love of women; qui de terra est; de terra loquitur; this is the effect of ignorance.

The boy hears the nice things that his parents say to him as a deaf man hears music. What he considers more and what occupies all his concern is the pain that the opening of his lip is going to cause him. Nevertheless, he cannot hide or run away; he must submit to the operation in spite of his fear
304 of it. In fact, before the full moon the father goes with his
881 son to the house of the surgeon and tells him the reason for his
759 visit, asking him to make his boy into a man. The surgeon-doctor makes an appointment for the next day or another one, and in the meantime he looks for a second boy to undergo the

/396/

000 first and foremost gasoline cans. Artistic ceramics have become the
323 appanage of a few old women who are not founding a school and who
178
463
887
531

323
415
142
302

Fig. 64. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is placed on the preceding one and flattened between the thumb and
[531] the other fingers of the potter. Finger impressions result from this, forming a crude design.

323 will carry the secret of their art to the grave. Already today,
178 obliged to satisfy a large demand, they endlessly repeat the same
463 motifs and have a vexing tendency to draw them hastily and
887 without any care at all. These designs are becoming awkward,
531 crude, and are taking on a primitive appearance which is far from corresponding to the taste and culture of the Chiriguano.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/117 cont./
829 clothing in payment for the service. Let the reader imagine
797 how the poor father, who had nothing, felt when he heard
177 such a petition (1)!

1. Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Vices and Their Consequences

883 It seems to be and is an unfortunate truth that in this
842 tribe, once so numerous, there is no lack of coquettish girls, who, if they restrained themselves from flirting any more, would not be so bad. The unfortunate thing is that these poor girls, in order to enjoy mundane pleasures and drink to the depths the dregs of corruption, or also in order not to have the nuisance of nursing children and training
[756] them, have recourse to a very simple thing. They consult
[278] the old women who bear the name of sorcerers, and these
[885] show them the remedy, which consists of a drink that they extract from certain plants or herbs which almost all the Chiriguano women and Indian sorcerers know wonderfully well.

883 /118/ These unfortunate girls, usually orphans, once the
786 period of puberty is over, drink this venomous beverage,
[881] suffer a great deal, if indeed they do not die, and are
[842] sterilized, and they then give themselves up to orgies at the time of general drinking, which is the most terrible thing that you can imagine, because at them morality is offended by words and very licentious stories, by raucous laughter and giggling by men and women, by their glances, and finally by their acts, although these take place at a
797 suitable distance from the said gathering.

/221 cont./

Private Life

593 888 The father and mother take great pains for the material or corporal well-being of their children, both male and female, and they in turn have affection for their parents. Nevertheless there is no lack of creatures with very bad inclinations, who forget their parents' goodness, forget the labors undertaken by the latter in caring for them in their tender years, and abandon them in their old age in the midst of their suffering and privations.

593 861 867 273 The father and mother almost never address harsh words to their children; much less do they correct them with corporal punishment. The children attend the public drinking sessions in the company of their parents, and how strange it can seem to see father and son sometimes drunk together in the streets or in the plaza of the town! They see their fathers in other people's fields, taking advantage of the first fruits, and then the son does what he has seen. He hears his mother telling stories not at all clean, he sees acts not at all moral, he witnesses altercations in the house, hears his mother's jealousy, sees his father's bad deeds, and he thus will naturally follow the same path when he arrives at an age of competence and even before.

855 603 581 If the woman is very young when she is married, as often happens, it is the grandparents who take care of the grandchildren so that the young daughter may have more time to enjoy herself, since in the beginning /222/ marriage is nothing but fun for the young people (1).

855 593 606 1. Young girls help their mothers in the care of their own children and in the preparation of chicha, knowing that the drunken husband will first hit her, or even his parents-in-law if they try to protect her.